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ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE ALTAIC LANGUAGES

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BY

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CONTENTS

Preface. 7
Introduction 11
Chapter one. The problem of interlingual borrowings in Altaic languages 13
Chapter two. Comparative phonology of Altaic languages 22
Chapter three. Comparative and historical phonologies of Altaic subgroups 136
Chapter four. Elements of a comparative morphology of Altaic languages 173
Chapter five. Classification of Altaic languages and dating of Proto-Altaic 230
Structure of the dictionary and adopted conventions 237
Selected bibliography and abbreviations of quoted literature 241
Abbreviations of periodical editions 265
Abbreviations of language names 267
Dictionary 271
Indices 1557

PREFACE

This is a first attempt at an etymological dictionary of Altaic languages. The history of Altaic comparative studies is a difficult one. Even now there is still no consensus among scholars on the very problem of the existence of Altaic as a genetic unit. We sincerely hope that this publication will bring an end to this discussion, which has lasted for more than 30 years.

The dictionary presented below should by no means be regarded as final and conclusive. We have tried to collect all existing etymologies that seem to be semantically reliable and fit the established system of phonetic correspondences. Among the 2800 etymologies presented approximately half are new, developed by our team during more than 10 years of preparatory work. New etymologies will most certainly follow, while some of those presented will doubtlessly be rearranged or even refuted in the course of future research. The current reconstruction will also inevitably change - as it happened with Indo-European, Uralic and most of the other established language families during the decades of their investigation. Nevertheless, we regard it as a valid starting point, worth presenting to the general academic audience, and look forward for criticism, suggestions and corrections.

Wherever necessary we give references to etymological literature, although we decided to keep the discussion as short as possible. Many existing etymologies are not mentioned in this dictionary because they contradict the system of correspondences followed in the present volume or because we think we have found better solutions. It would be futile, e.g., to struggle with some of the etymologies linking words with Jpn. *p- to those with Altaic *k'-, since we do not believe that such a correspondence exists at all. We must say, however, that most of the etymologies presented in the classical works of G. Ramstedt and N. Poppe, as well as very many Japanese etymologies of R. Miller and S. Martin, have been preserved, which in itself shows that the proposed phonological reinterpretation of the Proto-Altaic system is just an extension of previous research.

The Altaic family as a genetic unity of Turkic, Mongolian and Tungus-Manchu languages had been proposed as early as 1730 by F. J. v.

Stralenberg. Until the early 20th century, however, there was no clear idea about the classification or comparative grammar of Altaic. The few scholars that studied the languages regarded them rather as part of a common Ural-Altaic family, together with Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages - an idea now completely discarded.

The undebatable father of scientific Altaic studies was Gustaf John Ramstedt. He started his research in the very beginning of the century, and made a huge contribution both to Altaic studies as a whole and to the study of individual subgroups of Altaic. His research was concluded by the fundamental "Einführung in die Altaische Sprachwissenschaft" published in 1952, two years after his death in 1950. Ramstedt formulated many basic phonetic rules of correspondences between the Altaic languages, laid the foundations of Altaic comparative grammar, and finalized the subclassification of the Altaic family by separating Uralic from Altaic and adding Korean and Japanese to its classic "Western" core.

Other scholars whose contributions to the Altaic field were really substantial are N. Poppe, K. Menges, V. Tsintsius, V. Illich-Svitych, S. Martin and R. A. Miller. A full account of their achievements would deserve a special study, but suffice it to say that due to their efforts a basic reconstruction of Common Altaic was already available by the late fifties / early sixties of the 20th century.

A reaction started in the sixties. A number of scholars (for some reason, primarily Turcologists) initiated what seemed at that time a counter-Altaic revolt. The names of the main anti-Altaicists are G. Clauson, G. Doerfer and A. Shcherbak. Among them G. Doerfer should be distinguished as the most consistent, most fruitful, and most vigorous in his anti-Altaic efforts.

Although the arguments of anti-Altaicists were many - from phonetic to lexico-statistical - their basic argument can be summed up as follows: the relationship between the Altaic languages is not what a genuine genetic relationship should be. All the numerous resemblances between them were explained as a result of secondary convergence within a "Sprachbund" of originally unrelated languages. The whole idea of the original Proto-Altaic unity was very seriously threatened.

Simultaneously the Eastern branch of Altaic - Korean and Japanese, or Korean-Japanese - was brought under heavy suspicion. No serious alternative for Korean was proposed, but an active search for non-Altaic relatives of Japanese began. Distinguished scholars like S. Murayama (who always hesitated between the Altaic and Austronesian affinity of Japanese) and P. Benedict started searching for Japa-

nese-Austronesian parallels, with Benedict (following mainly the Japanese scholar Kawamoto) finally proclaiming the inclusion of Japanese - without Korean and Altaic - into his Austro-Thai family.

After a critical evaluation of the problem we came to the conclusion that Altaic should be still characterized as a genetic unity, probably forming a branch of the larger Nostratic macrofamily, but certainly a separate family on its own. The very fact that it is possible to compile a dictionary of common Altaic heritage appears to be a proof of the validity of the Altaic theory.

The work on the dictionary started in the late 80's. Initially we worked together with I. Shervashidze, who later switched to different projects, and the work was continued by S. Starostin, A. Dybo and O. Mudrak. We must gratefully mention our numerous younger colleagues and students who helped at various stages of compiling the dictionary, and especially Ilia Gruntov, Vladimir Glumov, Vasiliy Chernov and Martine Robbeets. The work was sponsored by grants from the Soros ("Open Society") foundation, from the Russian Foundation of Fundamental Research and the Russian Foundation of Humanities; since 1997 the research was supported by the Investor Group "Ariel" within the framework of the "Tower of Babel" project.

All the work was conducted within the STARLING database created by S. Starostin. The Altaic database is constantly available on line at the Web address *http://starling.rinet.ru*. Special thanks go to programmers: Ph. Krylov who designed the Windows version of STARLING software, Yu. Bronnikov who designed the scripts for the Internet site; and to S. Bolotov who designed the fonts for this complicated edition.

We would like also to express deep gratitude to colleagues who had read the manuscript and given us many valuable suggestions, both stylistical and etymological: Bernard Comrie, Alexander Lubotsky and Cormack McCarthie.

INTRODUCTION

(by S. A. Starostin)

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM OF INTERLINGUAL BORROWINGS IN ALTAIC LANGUAGES

Since the gist of the anti-Altaic criticism is the idea that what Ramstedt and Poppe regarded as common Altaic heritage is in fact a result of later borrowings, it is this problem that we shall tackle first in the introduction.

This problem is of utmost importance for the whole Altaic theory. We must be able to distinguish between commonly inherited morphemes and borrowed ones - since interlingual borrowing was very widely practiced during the final stages of the development of Altaic languages.

There are two basic contact zones in the Altaic area: the Turko-Mongolian and the Mongolo-Tungus. There had also been some contacts between Tungus and Korean, Korean and Mongolian, Korean and Japanese - but they are relatively insignificant in comparison with the very intense Turko-Mongolian and Mongolo-Tungus contacts.

1.1. Turko-Mongolian contacts.

It has been convincingly demonstrated by several authors (in a most detailed way by Clark 1980) that there are no (or almost no) Mongolian loanwords in Early Old Turkic, i.e. before the 13th century A.D. However, already in the *Secret History of Mongols* (13th c.) we find a number of identifiable Turkic loanwords. Logically enough, in Late Old Turkic, Middle Turkic and modern Turkic languages we also find a large number of Mongolisms.

This can only mean that Turko-Mongolian contacts started in the 13th century, and there were no direct contacts before that time.

But there is also a large number of Turko-Mongolian matches that cannot be explained as post-13th century loans. This fact was acknowledged by most critics of the Altaic theory, and a bold attempt was made by Doerfer to explain such matches as being prehistoric loans from Turkic into Mongolian (for Altaicists, of course, such matches represent rather common inherited vocabulary).

Let us formulate the criteria that distinguish early Turkic borrowings in Mongolian loans from the inherited vocabulary (= prehistoric loans in Doerfer's terminology).

1. The words involved are attested in Turkic before the 13th century;
2. They appear in Mongolian in a form typical for 13th century Uyghur/Karakhanide Turkic

The latter criterion means that in the donor language the following changes occurred, compared with Proto-Turkic: a) voiced *d-, *g- > *t-, *k-; b) *ĺ, *ŕ > *š, *z; c) long vowels and diphthongs disappeared.

The most obvious criterion here is b), since the correspondences Turk. *ĺ (>š) : Mong. s and Turk. *ŕ (>z): Mong. z, ǯ, s only occur within this layer of loanwords (see Clark 1980). Let us take a closer look at such cases:

PT *jāĺıl 'green, greens' (OT *jašıl*): WMong. *jasil* 'buckthorn'
PT *gEŕik 'turn, order' (OT *kezik*): WMong. *kesig* 'wake, turn' (already in MMong. as *kešik*)
PT *gEŕ- 'to walk, walk through' (OT *kez-*): WMong. *kesü-, kese-* 'to wander, roam'
PT *eĺi 'lady, beg's consort' (OT *iši*): WMong. *esi* 'empress' (MMong. *esi*)
PT *seŕik 'feeling' (OT *sezik*): WMong. *sesig*
PT *(i)āĺ-ru 'exceedingly' (OT *ašru*): WMong. *asuru*
PT *dūĺ- 'to meet' (OT *tuš-*): WMong. *tus(u)-*
PT *kīĺ 'sable' (OT *kiš*): WMong. *er-kis* 'male sable', *ebsi-gis* 'female sable'
PT *Koĺ 'pair' (OT *qoš*): WMong. *qos(i)* (MMong. *qoši*) id.
PT *Koĺ 'hut, camping' (MK *qoš* 'family'): WMong. *qos(i)* (also *qošlıγ* > WMong. *qosiliγ*)
PT *jüŕüm 'grape' (OT *üzüm, jüzüm*) > WMong. *üǯüm*
PT *jēmiĺč 'vegetable(s)' : MMong. (HY) *ǯemiši*
PT *Kaĺčı- 'to scrape' (OT *qaši-*), *Kaĺčı-gu 'scraper' (e.g. Chag. *qašaγu*): MMong. *qaši'ur* 'scraper'
PT *biĺč-, *biĺč- (OT *biš-*) 'to become boiled', *biĺč-lak 'smth. boiled' > WMong. *bis(i)laγ, basilaγ* 'a k. of home cheese'
PT *Kar-ĺı 'opposite' (OT *qaršı*) > WMong. *qarsi*
PT *uluĺ 'country, city' (OT *uluš*) > WMong. *ulus*
PT *jaĺ- 'blaze', *jaĺın 'lightning' (OT *jašu-, jašın*) > WMong. *jašin* id.
PT *jEŕ 'copper' > WMong. *ǯes* id.
PT *boĺ 'free, empty', *boĺan- 'to become empty, poor' (OT *boš, bošan-*) > WMong. *busani-* id.; *boĺug 'permission' (OT *bošuγ*) > WMong. *bošuγ* id.
PT *aŕig 'fang' > MMong. *aǯuγ (*ačuγ* in Uygh. script)
PT *bogaŕ 'pregnant' (OT *boγaz*) : WMong. *boγus*
PT *KĀĺ 'jade' (OT *qaš*): WMong. *qas(i)* (MMong. *qaši*)
PT *ēdiĺ 'vessel' (OT *eδiš*): WMong. *idis(i)* id.
PT *Kebiŕ 'carpet' (OT *kebiz*): WMong. *kebis* id.
PT *keleŕ / *keler 'lizard' (OT *keler*): WMong. *keles*

PT **arbíl* 'magic' (OT *arvïš*): WMong. *arbis* 'knowledge'
PT **duĺa-* 'to hobble', **duĺak* 'hobble' (OT *tuša-, tušaq*): WMong. *tuša-, tusi-* 'to hobble', MMong. *tušaγa* 'hobble'
PT **Kaĺaŋ* 'lazy' (OT *qašaŋ*): WMong. *qašaŋ* id.
PT **Köĺi-* 'to screen', **Köĺi-ge* 'shadow' (OT *köši-, kösige*): MMong. *köši-, kösige*

From these loans we may infer that:

1. OT š (< *ĺ) is rendered in Mong. as s, frequently followed by optional -i (Mongolian lacked a phonological distinction between š and s, but s was pronounced as š before i); sometimes we find -š- in front of other vowels (*bošuγ, tuša-*) - an obvious feature of incompletely adapted loanwords;
2. OT z (< *ŕ) is also usually rendered as s, but in a few cases—as ǯ;
3. Initial j- is rendered either as j- (*jasil, jašin*) or as ǯ- (*ǯemiši, ǯes*). This may reflect dialectal variation within Turkic (note that many modern languages also display the variation j-/ǯ- < PT *j-) or an OT articulation like *d́-;
4. No voiced initial consonants - except b - are present in this layer of loans, which is quite consistent with OT phonology;
5. Turkic syllabic structure is retained with the following details:
a) verbal stems usually add a vowel (*kez- > kese-, kesü-; tuš- > tus(u)-*); this is explained by the fact that Mong. has very few monosyllabic verbal stems.
b) polysyllabic nominal stems usually do not, but occasionally also add one (*tušaq > tušaγa*);
c) monosyllabic nominal stems never add a vowel (except the parasitic -i after -s- - to render Turkic š);
6. vowels are usually quite faithfully retained - except i which is regularly rendered by i (of course there is occasional variation between o and u, and of weak vowels in the non-initial syllable);
7. voiced intervocalic consonants are rendered as voiced (notably -g- is rendered as -γ- > -0- in *boγaz > boγus*, cf. Kalm., Dag. *bōs*).

Now if we investigate the loans from Mongolian into modern Turkic languages we find a very similar system of correspondences:
WMong. *sibaγu(n)* 'bird' (MMong. *šiba'un*) : Chag. *šibaγun*
WMong. *qaγurai* 'dry' > Tat. *qawrai*
WMong. *qaŋsiγar* 'beak, nose' > Uzb. *qanšar*
WMong. *dabaγan*, MMong. *daba'an* 'mountain pass' > Chag. *taban*
WMong. *γaγursu* (Khalkha *gūrs*) 'chaff' > Kirgh. *qaursu*
WMong. *qara-* 'look', *qaraγul* 'patrol' (MMong. *qara'ul*) > Chag. *qara-, qarawul*

WMong. *egeči*, MMong. *egeči* 'elder sister' > Chag. *egeči*
WMong. *ǯabsar*, MMong. *ǯab(u)sar* 'gap, interval' > Kirgh. *ǯapsar*
WMong. *giryaul*, *yuryuul* (MMong. *xurqa'ul*) 'pheasant' > Chag. *qïryavul*
WMong. *yura(n)* 'roebuck' (MMong. *qura-ltuq*) > Oyr. *quran*
WMong. *silegüsü(n)* 'lynx' (MMong. *šile'usun*) > Kum. *silewsün*
WMong. *soqur* (MMong. *soxar*, *soqor*) 'blind' > Koman *soqur*
WMong. *ǯuuqa* 'stove' > Leb., Kumd. *joqqï*
WMong. *šigüder*, MMong. *ši'uder(en)* 'dew' > Chag. *šüdürün*
etc.

Of course the system slightly differs: Mongolian voiced initial consonants are usually rendered by voiceless Turkic ones (since voiced consonants are only retained in Oghuz languages that had hardly any direct contacts with Mongolian and obtained all their Mongolisms through Kypchak and Karluk intermediaries). But in general we see that both loans from Turkic into Mongolian and vice versa reflect generally a single socio-linguistic situation: intensive Turko-Mongolian contacts after the 13th century, with loanwords flowing in both directions - a situation quite consistent with what we know about the history of Turkic and Mongolian peoples.

A well-known fact, however, is the existence of a large number of different Turko-Mongolian matches, frequently doublets to those investigated above. Thus we have OT *azïy* 'fang' (PT **arïg*) corresponding to WMong. *arayа*, *arija*, MMong. *ara'a*, *aral* id. Doerfer and other anti-Altaicists (e.g. Shcherbak) would like to view such cases also as borrowings, but belonging to an earlier stratum.

We can indeed reconstruct a hypothetical (as Doerfer would put it, "teleologische Sternchenform") PT **arïga* borrowed in PM as **arïya*, and having later lost the final vowel. Note that we cannot presume the other direction of borrowing, since PM had no **-ŕ-*, and in the case of a borrowing from Mong. into Turkic we would expect something like **arïg*. But what about MMong. *aral* 'fang', *ara-tai* 'predator' - forms clearly derived from a root **ara-* (**ari-*), together with the form **ara-ya* / **ari-ya*? In order to explain these forms we have to use a more imaginative scenario: a) either postulate a PT root **arï*, lost in all attested Turkic languages and borrowed in Mong. as **ari* (**ara*), along with its derivative, PT **arï-ga*; later the new derivatives **ara-l* and **ara-taj* were formed on Mongolian ground, while the plain root **ari* was lost, just as in Turkic; b) or postulate PT derivatives **arï-l*, **arï-taj* (with suffixation quite peculiar for Turkic) that were borrowed into Mongolian together with **arï-ga*, but were subsequently lost in Turkic.

Needless to say, explanations like this are unsatisfactory. A much easier and more elegant solution is to trace both Turkic and Mongolian

to a common Altaic root **arí*, with a common old suffix **-ga*. As is frequently the case, the suffixless stem was not preserved, but it gave rise to a set of derivatives in Mongolian.

Besides providing a better explanation of Turko-Mongolian matches (and the case of **arïg* is not isolated - there are literally hundreds of such cases), such a solution also helps to avoid the inevitable conclusion at which Doerfer arrived in his investigations: that all early loanwords marched in only one direction - from Turkic to Mongolian. Indeed, Turkic has more distinctions than Mongolian in what concerns, e.g., the oppositions **l-*ĺ* or **r-*ŕ*. Mongolian has only **l* and **r*, thus all cases of Turk. **ĺ* : Mong. **l* and Turk. **ŕ* : Mong. **r* are to be explained as borrowed in Mongolian from Turkic; and there are no obvious cases of a converse situation.

But oneway borrowing is a specific situation which requires an explanation. This may be either a big difference in the cultural levels of contact participants, which we have absolutely no reason to suppose in this case, or borrowing from a dialect which once existed (and of course also borrowed from the other contact participant), but later ceased to exist. We would thus have to suppose that Old Turkic (and in fact all other Turkic languages) are descendants of a PT dialect that had no contacts with Mongolian; but there existed a hypothetical "sister-Proto-Turkic" that had contacts with Mongolian but later ceased to exist without leaving any trace.

We see that the general scientific principle of Occam's razor clearly speaks in favour of the genetic relationship between Turkic and Mongolian, since this is inevitably the simplest solution in all available cases.

1.2. Mongolo-Tungus contacts.

Borrowings from Mongolian into Tungus-Manchu languages are quite abundant. The majority of them penetrated from Mongolian into Manchu, and from Manchu into the other Tungus-Manchu languages; but a considerable number penetrated also from Dagur into the neighbouring Solon language, and from Buryat into Evenki and the neighbouring Even and Negidal languages. How can we distinguish Mongolian loanwords from inherited common Altaic etyma?

Consider the following examples:

PM **hižaγur* 'root' : Evk. (Kamn.) *iʒagur*, Sol. *oǯōr*

PM **hüre* 'seed' : Sol. *ur*

PM **hergi* 'steep bank' : Man. *ergi*

PM **hačiγuri* 'favour' : Nan. *ačeuri*

PM **harga(l)-sun* 'dung' : Evk. *argahun*

PM **hojimu-sun* 'stockings' : Evk. *oimahun, oimusu*

PM **hab-taj* 'sorcery' > Evk. *aptaj, *hab-galdaj* 'shaman mask' > Evk. *awaɣaldaj*

PM **huta-sun* 'thread' > Evk. *uta-sun*

PM **hergi-* 'go round', **hergiɣül-* 'turn round' > Man. *erguwe-*, Evk. *ergūlge* 'device for tanning skins' (= Mong. **hergiɣüleg*), Evn. *ergin-*.

These and many other examples reveal one phonetic peculiarity: a correspondence of PM *h- : TM 0-. They also have another peculiarity: in the vast majority of them the wordform structure of Mongolian (including all derivational suffixes) is faithfully retained in TM languages. It is obvious that the words entered TM languages already after the loss of *h- in Mongolian - which (in Northern Mongolian dialects) occurred as early as in the XIVth century.

Consider now another group of examples:

PM **hila-ɣan* 'fly' : Orok *pulikte, pumikte*, Evk. *hunmikte* (PTM **pulmi-kte*) 'midge'

PM **hünir* 'smell' : Orok *pū(n)* 'smell', Evk. *huńŋukte-* 'to smell' (PTM **puń-*)

PM **halagan* 'palm (of the hand)': Ul. *pańa*, Evk. *hanŋa*, Man. *falaŋŋu* id. (PTM **palŋa*)

PM **hari-* 'be tired, exhausted' : Evk. *harū-*, Man. *fara-* 'to faint, feel giddy' (PTM **paru-*)

PM **heki* 'head' : Evk. *hēje* 'forehead', Man. *fexi* 'brain' (PTM **pējKe*)

PM **hiru-ɣar* 'bottom, ground' : Evk. *here*, Man. *fere*, Ul. *pere(g)* (PTM **pere*)

etc.

This group of examples has a quite different correspondence for PM *h-, viz., PTM *p-. If we suppose borrowing from Mongolian, we have to assume that:

1. This borrowing occurred long before the XIVth century, in the period when Mong. *h- was still pronounced as *p- (a feature not preserved in any Mongolian dialect);

2. This borrowing occurred even earlier, namely, during the epoch of Common TM unity (somewhere in the 1st millennium BC), since all of the above examples belong to the common TM wordstock, so apparently were borrowed into PTM;

3. Borrowed were not the Mongolian forms listed above, but their roots, which were later supplied (in many cases) with different TM suffixes.

Many other groups of examples also show very specific features. Cf.:

a) WMong. *qou* 'all': Evk. *kūkte*, Orok *kupu-kte*
WMong. *qalu-* 'to come near': Orok *qal-* id., Man. *xanči* 'near'
WMong. *kere-* 'quarrel, fight': Evk. *kerbe-* 'kill', Man. *keru-le-* 'to fine'
WMong. *qura* 'rain': Evk. *kur-ge-kūn*, Ul. *kūre(n)* 'storm'
WMong. *küči(n)* 'strength': Evk. *kusī-* 'to fight', *kusīn* 'strength', Man. *xusu-n* id.
b) WMong. *qučil-* 'to scrape with fingers' : Evk. *osī-*, Orok *χosị-* 'to scrape'
WMong. *kilγa-su* 'hair': Evk. *inŋa-kta*, Orok *sịnaqta* id.
WMong. *kür* 'precipice': Evk. *ure*, Orok *xure* 'mountain'
WMong. *qudurγa* 'tail strap': Evk. *irgi*, Orok *xudu* 'tail'
WMong. *kele(n)* 'tongue': Evk. *inńi*, Man. *ileŋgu*, Orok *sinu* id.

In group a) we have words with PTM *k-; in group b) - with PTM *x-. Mongolian in both cases has k- (= q- in front of back vowels). So why would TM languages borrow the same Mongolian phoneme both as TM *k- and TM *x-?

Note that both groups of examples seem to be archaic enough (different suffixation and wide distribution in TM).

To explain this picture we can either postulate two different phonemes in early Mongolian (at the time of borrowing > TM), e.g. *k$_1$ and *k$_2$, with this distinction lost and not reflected in any variety of Mongolian, or try to presume a different direction of borrowing (TM > Mong., with both TM *k- and *x- > Mong. k-; but why not *x- > Mong. h- in this case?).

This all is theoretically possible, but certainly the usual solution a historical linguist assumes in such cases is that we are dealing with genetic relationship and that two phonemes have to be reconstructed for Proto-Altaic (in our case - *k and *k'), which converged in Mongolian, but stay distinct (as *k- vs. *x-) in Tungus-Manchu.

We see that here, too, a hypothesis about common origin fares much better than the loanword theory. Of course, there are loanwords from Mongolian into TM languages, but they are recent (certainly after the XIVth century) and penetrated from Mongolian into different TM languages (basically - into Manchu and Evenki, also through a different route - from Dagur into Solon) long after the split of Proto-Tungus-Manchu.

One of the significant arguments that Doerfer raised against the Altaic theory was the absence of common Turkic-TM vocabulary. Indeed, if the three families are not related and all the lexical parallels observed are due either to borrowings in Turkic from Mongolian, in Mongolian from Turkic, and in TM from Mongolian, we would expect no common

Turkic-TM parallels without Mongolian intermediaries. But in fact we do have quite a number of such cases, somehow overlooked by the critics:

PT *ăčaj / *ĕčej 'elder female relative' : PTM *asī 'woman' PT *Ebü(r)dek 'duck': PTM *ābu, *ābu-lduka 'a k. of duck' PT *baḳ- 'to look, watch': PTM *baKa- 'to find' PT *bAja 'recently': PTM *baǰi- 'early' PT *bilik 'wick': PTM *bulin id.

PT *birak- 'to abandon, throw': PTM *burī- 'to lose, let go'

PT *bodu- 'to fasten, attach': PTM *boda- 'to accompany'

PT *bul- 'icy surface': PTM *belu- / *bul- 'slippery ice surface'

PT *būt 'thigh' : PTM *begdi / *bugdi 'leg'

PT *čEl, *čEl-pe- 'film, membrane': PTM *čalba-n 'bark'

PT *jak- 'to burn': PTM *deg-že-gi- id.

and many, many others (see the body of the dictionary). To explain those cases we have either to refute them all, or to suppose a third ancient contact zone (Turkic > TM) which is extremely dubious (there exist loans in Evenki from Yakut and vice versa, apparently reflecting quite recent contacts; but no archaic contacts seem to be observable), or - which is the most preferable solution - once again to presume genetic relationship.

A very important issue while formulating any genetic hypothesis is the problem of basic vocabulary. However, to make a correct estimation of the proportion of basic vocabulary preserved in each branch, one needs to have a sufficient knowledge of comparative phonology, i.e. regular correspondences established between languages compared. Here we must agree with the critics: the correspondences established between Altaic languages in the classical works of Ramstedt and Poppe indeed were unsatisfactory in many respects, partially due to insufficient attention paid to the stratification of loanwords. But instead of trying to improve the correspondences and to untangle difficult phonological and lexical riddles, the critics had chosen an easier way: to refute the genetic relationship as such.

Some researchers, however, took a different approach. Among them we should name such distinguished scholars as V. M. Illich-Svitych (with his three-way distinction of stops in PA), V.Tsintsius (with her many papers on PTM phonology and the three-way correspondence of stops), S. Martin (with a pioneer attempt at the Korean-Japanese reconstruction, which was largely unsuccessful, but provided a lot of insights into the prehistory of Korean and Japanese) and R. Miller (with many successful attempts at establishing phonetic correspondences between Japanese and other Altaic languages).

All this work was summarized and continued in the book of one of the authors of the present dictionary (АПиПЯЯ). Even since that time many correspondences have been made more precise and some changed, during the prolonged collective processing of the vast Altaic evidence. Below we shall outline the reconstruction of PA phonology as it is now perceived by the authors.

CHAPTER TWO

COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY OF ALTAIC LANGUAGES

2.0. Root structure

The most common root structure in Altaic languages is **CVCV*, occasionally with a medial consonant cluster - **CVCCV*. The final vowel, however, is very unstable: best preserved in TM languages (although also not always easily reconstructable because of morphological processes), it is frequently dropped in Korean, Mongolian and Turkic (in the latter family in fact - in the majority of cases). Japanese usually preserves the final vowel, although its quality is normally lost (shifted to the previous syllable or fused with the quality of vowels in suffixed syllables); however, in cases when the final (medial) root consonant is lost (on the process **cVRV-γV* > **CVRγV* > **CVγV* > **CV* in Japanese see below), Japanese reflects original disyllables as monosyllables.

Japanese also has quite a number of monosyllabic verbal roots of the type **CVC-*. We agree with Martin (JLTT) that these roots were originally disyllabic as well, however reconstructing them as **CVCa-* is certainly incorrect. The OJ verbal conjugation shows explicitly that the verbal stems — if we examine their interaction with the gerundive suffix *-i — can be subdivided into three main types: **CVCa-* (those having the gerund in -e < *-a-i), **CVCə-* (those having the gerund in -i < *-ə-i), and **CVC-* (those having the gerund in -ji < *-i). We can only suggest the possibility that the latter type reflects original verbal roots **CVCi* (occasionally perhaps also **CVCu*, although there are reasons to suppose that some of the latter actually merged with the type **CVCə-*). The gerund form in *-i in this case may actually reflect the original final root vowel that had early disappeared before other verbal suffixes of the type *-V(CV)-.

A small number of trisyllabic roots such as **àlak'u* 'walk', **kabari* 'oar', **k'obani* 'armpit' etc. are also reconstructed for Proto-Altaic. It cannot be excluded that in many or most of these cases the final syllable is originally a suffix, but the deriving stem is not used separately and the derivation had already become obscure in the protolanguage.

The monosyllabic structure **CV* was typical for pronominal and auxiliary morphemes, but a small number of verbal (and, quite exceptionally, nominal) monosyllabic roots can also be reconstructed:

PT **b(i)ā-* 'bind', PTM **ba-* 'propose for marriage', Kor. *pa*, PJ **bə́* 'string' (PA **bə́*)

PT **jạ-t-* 'lie', PM **de-b-* 'lay, put', PTM **dē* 'bed', **dē-du-* 'lie', PJ **dà-ntə̀-r-* 'spend the night' (PA **də̌*)

PT **Ko-* 'put', PTM **ga-* 'take', PK **kà-* id. (PA **ga*)

PM **ni-ɣu-* 'hide, concel', PTM **nē-* 'put', PJ **ná-* 'lie, sleep', PK **nū-b-* 'lie' (PA **nə́*)

PT **sa-t-* 'sell', PJ **si-rə* 'price', but PK **sà-* 'buy' (PA **sa*) PT **dē-* 'say', PM **da-wu-* 'sound', PTM **de(b)-* 'song, tune' (PA **tə́*)

PT **jē-* 'eat', PM **ǰe-mü-* 'be hungry', **ǰo-ɣug* (< **ǰa-ɣug*) 'meal', PTM **ǰe-p-* 'eat', PK **čā-* 'eat', OJ *ja-pa-* 'hungry' (PA **ǰə̄*)

PTM **pē-* 'be unable, not dare': PM **ja-da-* 'be unable', PJ **piá-r-* 'become less, humble oneself' (PA **pʻə̄*)

PT **be-ŋ*, PTM **be*, PJ **bá-i* 'bait' (PA **bə́*)

PT **dī-n* 'spirit, breath', Manchu *ǰu-n* 'pulse, vein', but PJ **tí*, PM **či-su* 'blood' (PA **čị̄ū*; here the **-n* in PT and Manchu is probably suffixed)

PM **do-*/**du-* 'middle', PTM **dō* 'inside', PK **tə́i* 'inside' (PA **də̀*)

A special type of cases is represented by a number of verbal roots emerging as monosyllables of the type **CV* in some languages, but having the structure **CVl(V)* or, less frequently, **CVr(V)* in others:

PT **ạl-* 'take', PM **ali-* 'take, receive', PTM **al(i)-* id., but PJ **á-* 'receive' (PA **ə́la*)

PM **bür-il-* 'die, perish': PTM **bu-* 'die' (but *bur-* in some forms, e.g. in Nanai) (PA **bŭri*)

PM **ere-* 'healthy, sober': PTM **eri-* 'to breathe', PJ **àr-* 'be': PT **er-* 'be' (but **e-* in many verb forms in modern languages) (PA **ə̌ra*)

PT **gẹl-* 'come', PM **gel(i)-* 'walk, run after', PTM **gel-* 'get on one's way', but PK **ká-* 'go away', PJ **kə̀-* 'come' (PA **gə̀le*)

PT **Kɨl-* 'do, make', but PM **ki-* id., PJ **kì-* (in **kì-túk-* 'build') (PA **ki(lo)*)

PT **ol-* 'sit' (but frequently *o-* in **ol-tur-*, **o-tur-* id.), PM **ol-* 'obtain' (< 'become'): PTM **ō-* 'to become; to make'; PK **ó-* 'come' (PA **ə̀lu*)

PM **hil-* 'warm', PTM **pile-* 'dry under the sun', but PJ **pə̀-* 'dry up' (PA **pʻilo*)

PT **sal-* 'to put', but PK **hə̀-*, PJ **sV́-* 'make, do' (PA **sị́ole*)

We reconstruct disyllables here, but the exceptional loss of **r* and **l* remains unexplained. A possible solution would be to reconstruct those roots as **CVC*, with the root-final resonant lost occasionally. However, the number of cases is not large, and the roots in question are

frequently used as auxiliary verbs, which by itself could explain the exceptional phonetic development. It is also possible that *-r- and *-l- in those cases are originally suffixed, and the roots belong to the rare (but existing) type *CV*. The problem obviously requires further investigation.

2.1. The consonant system of Proto-Altaic

The consonants reconstructed for Proto-Altaic are:

p'-	p	b	m				
t'	t	d	n	s	z	r	l
č'	č	ǯ	ń	š	j	ŕ	Ĺ
k'	k	g	ŋ				

It is interesting to note that *z and *j are in complementary distribution: *z occurs only word-initially, while *j never occurs in the beginning of the word. However, their reflexes are so different that it seems hardly possible to regard them synchronically as a single phoneme.

The correspondences between Altaic languages can be summarized as follows:

PA	Tung.	Mong.	Turk.	Jpn.	Kor.
*p'-	*p-	*h-, *j-	*0-, *j-	*p-	*p-
*p'	*p	*h, b / -b	*p	*p	*p
*p-	*p-	*b-,h-	*b-	*p-	*p-
*p	*b	*b	*b	*p	*p
*b-	*b-	*b-	*b-	*p- / b[a,ə,Vj]	*p-
*b	*b	*h / [*R]b, *b[Vg] /-b	*b	*p [*iV,*j]w	*b / -p
*m-	*m-	*m-	*b-	*m-	*m-
*m	*m	*m	*m	*m'	*m
*t'-	*t-	*t- /č[i]	*t- [dV+Ĺ,ŕ,r]	*t-	*t-
*t'	*t	*t / č[i] / -d	*t	*t	*t
*t-	*d-/ǯ(i̯)	*d- / č[i]	*d-	*t- / d[i,ə]	*t-
*t	*t	*d / č[i]	*t	*t	*r / -t
*d-	*d-	*d- / ǯ[i]	*j-	*d- / t [V + *p',*t',*k',*č']	*t-
*d	*d	*d / ǯ[i]	*d	*t / [*iV,*j] j	*r / -t
*n-	*n-	*n-	*j-	*n-	*n-
*n	*n	*n	*n	*n	*n
*r	*r	*r	*r	*r, *t	*r

PA	Tung.	Mong.	Turk.	Jpn.	Kor.
*l-	*l-	*l-, n-	*j-	*n-	*n-
*l	*l	*l	*l	*r	*r
*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-, h-
*s	*s	*s	*s	*s	*s
*z-	*s-	*s-	*j-	*s-	*s-
*č'-	*č-	*č-	*č-	*t-	*č-
*č'	*č	*č	*č	*t	*č
*č-	*ǯ-	*d- / *č[i]	*d-	*t-	*č-
*č	*s	*č	*č	*s	*č
*ǯ-	*ǯ-	*ǯ-	*j-	*d-	*č-
*ǯ	*ǯ	*ǯ	*j	*j	*č
*ń-	*ń-	*ǯ-	*j-	*m-	*n-
*ń	*ń	*j, n	*ń	*n, *m	*ń
*ŕ	*r	*r	*ŕ	*r / t[i,u]	*r
*Ĺ-	*l-	*d- /ǯ[i]	*j-	*n-	*n-
*Ĺ	*l	*l	*Ĺ	*s	*r
*š-	*š-	*s- / *č[*A]	*s- / *č[*A]	*s-	*s-
*š	*š	*s	*s	*s	*s
*j	*j	*j, h	*j	*j, *0	*j, *0
*k'-	*x-	*k-	*k-	*k-	*k-
*k'	*k/x	*k, g[Vh] / -g	*k	*k	*k, h
*k-	*k-	*k-	*g-	*k-	*k-
*k	*k	*g / -g	*k, g[(V)r]	*k	*0, h /-k
*g-	*g-	*g-	*g-	*k-	*k-
*g	*g	*h, g[Vh] / -g	*g	*k/[*iV] 0	*0, h / -k
*ŋ-	*ŋ-	*0-, *j-/ g[u] / n[a,o,e]	*0-, *j-	*0-/*n-(/*m[i]-)	*n-
*ŋ	*ŋ	*ŋ, n, m,h	*ŋ	*n, *m	*ŋ, 0

Below is an outline of the development of every Proto-Altaic consonant with full reference to the text of the dictionary.

2.1.1. PA initial *p'

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*p'-	*0-, *j-	*h-, *j-	*p-	*p-	*p-

Notes:

Turkic usually has 0-, but frequently has a j- before original diphthongs *i̯a, *i̯o (note: never before *i̯u).

Mongolian usually has *h-, but in some cases also has a j- (before original *e and diphthongs, but much less frequently than Turkic).

The problem of Khalaj h-

Doerfer has reconstructed PT *h- which yields h- in Khalaj, but 0- in all other Turkic languages. It may well be that Khalaj indeed reflects a phoneme lost elsewhere. In that case we would certainly expect Khalaj h- to reflect PA *p'- (just as MMong. has h- < *p'- or Evk. has h- < *p'-). The real situation is, however, much more complex.

We may note that PA *p'- is in fact in the vast majority of cases reflected as Khalaj h-. Cf.: Khal. *hadaq* 'foot' < PT **(h)adak* < PA **p'ágdi*; Khal. *haɣač* 'tree' < PT **(h)i̯-gač* < PA **p'[i̯ù]ju*; Khal. *hi̯raq* 'far' < PT **(h)i̯ra-* < PA **p'ìra*; Khal. *hēl* 'wet' < PT **(h)ōl* < PA **p'óle*; Khal. *hāri̯* 'bee' < PT **(h)āri̯* < PA **p'éra*; Khal. *har-qan* 'tired, lean' < PT **(h)ār-* < PA **p'ára*; Khal. hat- 'to throw' < PT **(h)ạt-* < PA **p'àt'a*; Khal. *hič-* 'to extinguish' < PT **(h)öč-* < PA **p'öči*; Khal. *hāčuɣ* 'bitter' < PT **(h)iāčig* < PA **p'i̯áč'o*; Khal. *huv-* 'to rub' < PT *(h)ob- < PA **p'i̯òpo*; Khal. *hüsgün-, hiz-* 'to demolish' < PT **(h)üŕ-* < PA **p'uŕi*; Khal. *hadru-* 'to separate' < PT **(h)adi̯r-* < PA **p'ādA*; Khal. *hīt* 'hole' < PT **(h)ūt* < PA **p'ót'è*; Khal. *harq* 'excrement' < PT **(h)ark* < PA **p'arkV*; Khal. *has-* 'to hang' < PT **(h)as-* < PA **p'asi*; Khal. *hidiš* 'vessel' < PT **(h)ẹdil* < PA **p'ādi*; Khal. *hur-* 'to hit' < PT **(h)ur-* < PA **p'úri*; Khal. *häräk-* 'to rise' < PT **(h)ör-* < PA **p'óre*; Khal. *hārt* 'back' < PT **(h)ār-t* < PA **p'i̯òrí*.

There are only six cases where Khalaj has 0- in the place of PA *p'-, and all of them can be easily explained as recent borrowings from Azeri or Turkmenian: Khal. *ič-* 'to drink' (= Turkm., Az. *ič-*) < PT **(h)ič-* < PA **p'íč'i*; Khal. *ät* 'meat' (= Turkm. *et*, Az. *ät*) < PT **(h)et* < PA **p'èta*; Khal. *aɣīr* 'heavy' (= Turkm., Az. *aɣi̯r*) < PT **(hi)agi̯r* < PA **p'i̯àká*; Khal. *ōn* 'ten' (= Turkm. *ōn*, Az. on) < PT **(h)ōn* < PA **p'VbV(n)*; Khal. *esür-* to cough' (= Turkm. *üsgür-*) < PT **(h)üskür-* < PA **p'i̯ùsi*; Khal. *äkki* 'two' (= Turkm., Az. *ik(k)i*) < PT **ẹk(k)i* < PA *p'i̯òk'e*.

In all other cases when Khalaj has 0-, the Turkic forms go back to PA roots with *0- or *ŋ-, cf.: Khal. *uč-* 'to fly' < PT **uč-* < PA **ùč'o*; Khal. *äl* 'hand' < PT **el* < PA **ŋàli*; Khal. *išüt-* 'to hear' < PT **ẹlit-* < PA **alí*; Khal. *uza-, uzu-* 'long' < PT **uŕa-, *uŕi-* < PA **i̯uŕo*; Khal. *aɣi̯z* 'mouth' < PT **Agi̯ŕ* < PA **ága*; Khal. *ol-* 'to be' < PT **ol-* < PA **òlu*; Khal. *ū-* 'to sleep' < PT **ū-* < PA **ŋǔju*; Khal. *o* 'that' < PT **o-* < PA **ó*; Khal. *äm-* 'to suck' < PT **em-* < PA **emV*; Khal. *aš* 'meal' < PT **(i)aĺ* < PA **i̯oĺe*; Khal. *it* 'dog' <

PT *it* < PA **ŋi̇̀ndo*; Khal. *aŋla-* 'to understand' < PT **āŋ-* < PA **ēŋV*; Khal. *ič* 'interior' < PT **ič* < PA **ič́u*; Khal. *ä-rä* 'that side' < PT **a-* < PA **é*; Khal. *ušaq* 'knuckle-bone' < PT **(i)aĺ(č)uk* < PA **ȁĺča*; Khal. *ēz* 'inside' < PT **ə̄ŕ* < PA **ə́ŕi*; Khal. *ānd* 'oath' < PT **ānt* < PA **ə́nta*; Khal. *äy-* 'to bend' < PT **eg-* < PA **egi*; Khal. *ēr-* 'to reach' < PT **ēr-* < PA **íre*; Khal. *ēn-* 'to go down' < PT **ēn-* < PA **ŋḗni*; Khal. *ist* 'upper part' < PT **ə̄ŕ-t* < PA **ōŕi*; Khal. *äŋgür* 'dusk' < PT **iŋir* < PA **ína*; Khal. *ilgär* 'in front' < PT **ilk* < PA **íleḱa*; Khal. *elč-* 'to measure' < PT **öl-č-* < PA **i̯úle*; Khal. *ïlän-* 'to cry' < PT **ijŋala-* < PA **i̯ùjŋula*; Khal. *inžï-* 'suffer' < PT **ēn-* < PA **ēnV*; Khal. *īš* 'deed, work' < PT **īĺč* < PA **íĺi*; Khal. *al-t* 'below' < PT **al-* < PA **ale*; Khal. *al-* 'to take' < PT **ạl-* < PA **ála*; Khal. *är-* 'to be' < PT **er-* < PA **ĕra*; Khal. *arï-*, *aru-* 'clean' < PT **ạrï-* < PA **ero*; Khal. *arqa* 'back' < PT **ar-ka* < PA **ara*; Khal. *arpa* 'barley' < PT **arpa* < PA **arṕa*; Khal. *ej* 'front' < PT **öŋ* < PA **òŋè*; Khal. *ēm* 'trousers' < PT **(i)öm* < PA **i̯umi*; Khal. *ärin* 'lip' < PT **Erin* < PA **i̯ȁ́ré*; Khal. *ēšük* 'covering' < PT **ēĺü-* < PA **ḗĺpo*; Khal. *irdek* 'duck' < PT **Ebü-rdek* < PA **ȁ́jbi*; Khal. *ut-* 'to win' < PT **ut-* < PA **ut́a*; Khal. *eger* 'hunting dog' < PT **eker* < PA **ŋi̯ȁ́ḱu*.

However, there is a significant number of cases where Khalaj has initial h- which appears to be an innovation (prothesis), cf.: Khal. *hil-* 'to die' < PT **öl* < PA **oli*; Khal. *här* 'man' < PT **ēr* < PA **ə́ri*; Khal. *hāj* 'moon' < PT **āń* < PA **ə́ńu*; Khal. *hūt* 'fire' < PT **ōt* < PA **ōt́a*; Khal. *hāj-* 'to say' < PT **ạj-* < PA **eju*; Khal. *häv* 'house' < PT **eb* < PA **ìbe*; Khal. *häšü-* 'to dig' < PT **eĺ-* < PA **ḗĺV*; Khal. *hirin, hürün* 'white' < PT **ürüŋ* < PA **obri*; Khal. *hin-* 'to grow' < PT **ə̄n-* < PA **ə́ni*; Khal. *havul* 'quiet' < PT **ăm-* < PA **ȁmV*; Khal. *hāγa-* 'back' < PT **(i)āg-* < PA **i̯ȁ́ga*; Khal. *hāz-* 'to go astray' < PT **āŕ-* < PA **ḗŕa*; Khal. *hajaz* 'clear sky' < PT **ańaŕ* < PA **ŋańa*; Khal. *hikkä* 'lung' < PT **öpke* < PA **oṕekV*; Khal. *häjir-* 'to twist, spin' < PT **egir-* < PA **egVrV*; Khal. *hiri-* 'to plait' < PT **ə̄r-* < PA **ə́re*; Khal. *ham* 'vulva' < PT **(i)am* < PA **i̯amu*; Khal. *hāll* 'front' < PT **āl-* < PA **āla*; Khal. *hĕžäš* 'anger' < PT **ə̄č* < PA **ə́č́é*; Khal. *hāla-bula* 'variegated' < PT **āla* < PA **ə́lV*; Khal. *āč* 'hunger' < PT **ạč* < PA **ēč́o*; Khal. *hat* 'horse' < PT **at* < PA **atV*; Khal. *hoqlaγo* 'bow' < PT **ok-* < PA **ȍḱà*; Khal. *häjlä-* 'sieve' < PT **ĕlge-* < PA **algi*; Khal. *hāra* 'space between' < PT **āra* < PA **ə́rV*; Khal. *haz* 'few' < PT **āŕ* < PA **āŕa*; Khal. *häps-* 'to winnow' < PT **ebs-* < PA **eba*; Khal. *hoqu-* 'to call' < PT **ok-* < PA **oki*; Khal. *hottuz* 'thirty' < PT **otuŕ* < PA **ŋ[i̯u]-*.

One may note that this prothetic h- is very frequent before long vowels and before the following -j-, -v-. However, the rules are not strict, and in general the emergence of h- in Khalaj is unpredictable. Absence of h- in Khalaj is therefore an almost certain sign of *0- (or *ŋ-) in Altaic, but its presence may be original or secondary. We shall thus continue to use PT forms without initial *h- (keeping in mind though

that it was probably present in the system) - given that the reconstruction of *h- can be made only on Khalaj data, and the latter is often quite ambiguous.

2.1.2. PA non-initial *-pʻ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*pʻ	*p	*h (*w),b / -b	*p	*p	*p

Notes.

Japanese can occasionally have -m- before the following nasal, cf. *t́i̯ŭ̯pʻo > *túmá- (= PT *tubńa- < *tupńa-).

The PM consonant *-h- in intervocalic position is traditionally romanized as -ɣ-, because it is not orthographically distinguished from -g- (or -G-, also romanized as -ɣ-). In order not to depart from tradition too much, we shall write -g- for -g- ("non-vanishing" -g-) and -ɣ- for -h- ("vanishing" -g-), even though phonetically it was most probably -h- (perhaps voiced -ɦ-) in Middle Mongolian.

It should also be noted that Mongolian did not tolerate *-h- (-ɣ-) in front of -i-: in this position it always has -j-. Sometimes -j- also appears instead of *-h- (-ɣ-) before -e-.

Mongolian preserves non-initial *pʻ as b in syllable-final position and in clusters with resonants. In intervocalic position it exhibits a variation of *-h- (sometimes with a preservation of the labial feature, *-hw- = -w-) and *-b-.

Japanese usually preserves *-pʻ- as -p-, but (as in case of other aspirated and voiced stops) reveals occasional cases of secondary voiced or prenasalized *-(m)p-.

It turns out that there is a fairly good correlation between Mong. *-h- and Jpn. *-p-, on the one hand, and Mong. *-b- and Jpn. -mp-, on the other. Here is a complete correlation chart:

2.1.2.1. Mong. *-h- : Jpn. *-p-

PA	Mong.	Jpn.
*čʻepʻa	*čoɣu-da-	*tapai
*čʻi̯opʻe	*čöɣe-rüm	*tə̀pî
*epʻo	*(h)aɣag	*əpə-mənə
*kə́pʻa	*keɣe	*kápúa
*ki̯àpʻu	*kajir-	*kùpí-(mpisù)
*ki̯ùpʻu	*kuji-	*kùpà-
*kăpʻu	*kaɣa-	*kupai

PA	Mong.	Jpn.
*k'àp'a	*kaɣur-čag	*kàpì
*k'ǎp'a	*kawu-da-	*kapa
*k'ɛ̌p'e	*kewü-	*kəpə̀-
*k'op'ira	*köɣürge	*kápárá
*ĺi̯ŭp'u	*ǯeɣeg	*nùp-
*ŏp'ikV	*(h)öɣe	*pùkùpùkù-si
*ǒp'a	*uwu-	*apa-ik-
*pép'a	*baɣa-su	*páp(u)i
*si̯ǒp'i	*süje	*sípína
*ši̯úp'u	*siɣü-	*súp-
*sép'a	*siɣüre-	*sápár-
*t'ǎp'e	*tawul-	*təpə̀r-
*t'áp'a	*taji-	*tápútuá-
*t'i̯op'e	*taɣa-	*təp-
*t'ɛ̌p'a	*taɣ-, *tuji-	*tàpú-
*ǯap'u	*ǯaɣa-	*dup-

2.1.2.2. Mong. *-b- (-w- before consonants) : Jpn. *-mp-

PA	Mong.	Jpn.
*č'ĭp'[u]	*čuwčali	*tùmpá-mái
*di̯up'u	*ǯiber	*tumpasa
*ép'a	*ebür	*ámpárá
*gàp'a	*gabi	*kàmpà-
*góp'a	*gobur	*kámpú
*kèp'i	*kibag	*kìmpí (/*kìmí)
*kŏp'e	*köbü-re	*kəmpu
*kup'V	*kubi	*kùmpà-r-
*k'ep'orV	*kabir-	*kəm(p)ura
*ĺip'u	*ǯibi	*numpa-
*op'a(rV)	*(h)obur	*ampura-
*sǎp'i	*sibeɣe	*sìmpá
*sǎ̀p'i	*sabaga	*sìmpái
*săp'i	*sabir-/*sibere-	*simpuki
*sèp'o	*saba	*sə̀mpa
*si̯ǎp'i	*sebesüre-	*símpə́m-
*si̯ǎp'u	*saw-ga	*súmpa-
*sĭ́p'i	*sibe-	*simpai
*šop'e	*čow-kar	*səmpa-
*tɛ̌p'e	*debi-	*tə́mp-
*t'ɛ̆p'a	*tebeg	*tampua

PA	Mong.	Jpn.
*t'i̯ŏp'e	*tübü- (but also *teɣe-, *teji-)	*túmpú-
*t'óp'ú	*tobid	*túmpúa
*t'op'u	*toburu-	*tùmpú-ra

There are several cases of Mong. -b- : Jpn. -p- after Jpn. initial *p-: apparently in this position prenasalization did not occur. Cf.:

PA	Mong.	Jpn.
*ĕp'a	*ebej	*pàpà
*p'ép'a	*haba-kai	*pápái
*p'i̯ŏp'[a]	*jabu-	*pápúr-

There are some exceptions, most of them allowing for an explanation:

1. PA *ĕp'o > Mong. *aba-rga*, but Jpn. **àpà-*. Jpn. **àpà-* 'big' may in fact belong to another root, cf. TM **ebi-* 'to be satiated, enough'.
2. PA **gi̯ŏp'e* > Mong. *gübege*, but Jpn. **kəp(u)i*. Jpn. **kəp(u)i* 'swelling of feet' may in fact, together with **kàpà-* 'hard, strong' reflect a different Altaic root **k'àpe* 'strong; to swell' (cf. TM **xabul-* 'swell'), or at least may have been influenced by this root phonetically.
3. PA **k'i̯ap'e* > Mong. *kibe*, but Jpn. **kàpàrá(n)kí*: an example of "Lyman's law", prohibiting two voiced (prenasalized) consonants within one root in Japanese.
4. PA **k'ĕp'o* > Mong. *kajila-*, but Jpn. **kàmpàr-*. Here Mong. *kajila-* 'melt' was probably influenced by *kajira-* 'burn, roast'.
5. PA **làjp'V* > Mong. **niɣa-*, but Jpn. *nàimpàr-*. Irregular development in this case was probably caused by the cluster -jp'- (perhaps the same in 6 and 7?)
6. PA **sĭ̯p'i* > Mong. *siɣu-*, but Jpn. **sìmpàr-*. Jpn. **sìmpàr-* 'tie, bind' may be actually a combined reflex of PA **sĭ̯p'i*, **sŭ̯bi* and **ši̯ŭ̆po*, all distinguished only in the Western Altaic branch.
7. PA **ǯip'o* > Mong. **ǯiɣar*, but Jpn. **(d)impu-s-*.

We see that the exceptions are both few and dubious, while the evidence in favour of Mong. *-h- : Jpn. *-p- and Mong. *-b- : Jpn. *-mp- is rather strong. One would be tempted to reconstruct two different phonemes here, but this is probably not the best solution, since there exist two other rows of correspondences (for PA *-p- and *-b- respectively), and there is no trace of evidence in favour of the existence of four series of stops in Altaic.

The explanation here is perhaps prosodic. Already Poppe in his "Introduction" noticed the split in Mongolian and put forward a hypothe-

sis that the reason for the split may have been accentological, something like Verner's law causing voicing of *-p- (in our reconstruction, *-p'-), e.g., in a stressed position. The idea was at that time purely hypothetical, since there was nothing to prove or disprove it. But if we look at the charts above, we may notice that, although exceptions are rather many, there is in Japanese a general tendency for words in type 1 to have low pitch on the syllable with -p- (cf. *tàpî, *kùpà-, *kàpì, *kàpà-, *pùkùpùkù-si, *tàpàr-), and in type 2 to have high pitch on the syllable with *-mp- (cf. *tùmpá-mái, *ámpárá, *kámpú, *kìmpí, *sìmpá, *sìmpái, *símpám-, *túmpú-, *túmpúa, *tùmpú-ra). Pitch, especially on non-initial syllables, is not always reconstructable, and certainly was subject to a lot of secondary influences (analogical, morphological etc.). Nevertheless, the correlation seems significant and may help us reconstruct prosodic characteristics of non-initial syllables in Proto-Altaic (on the better known prosody of the initial syllables see below).

It is therefore highly probable that PA possessed some prosodic distinction on the second syllable (pitch or perhaps vowel length) that caused voicing of *-p'- > *-b- in Mongolian and prenasalization (probably initially through gemination *-p'- > *-pp- > *-mp-) in Proto-Japanese. Mongolian has not preserved traces of this feature elsewhere; Japanese, however, demonstrates its effects in every series of stops, not only labials. See more on that below.

Examples for medial *-p'- can be found in following entries of the dictionary: *áp'a, *ap'akV, *č'ăp'a, *č'ap'i, *č'ep'à, *č'ĕp'u, *č'i̯ŭp'ì, *č'íp'ú, *č'ĭ̯p'[ú], *č'i̯op'è, *č'íp'a, *č'i̯op'a, *č'i̯ŭp'a, *č'op'i, *č'up'V, *dĕp'a, *di̯up'ú, *ĕp'a, *ép'á, *ep'ò, *ĕp'o, *ép'V, *gàp'á, *gep'V, *gi̯ŏp'e, *gi̯ŭp'a, *góp'á, *gŏp'i, *i̯ap'i, *i̯ăp'u, *i̯ap'u, *i̯op'érV, *kăp'è, *kìp'é, *kìp'í, *kĕp'à, *kĕp'V, *ki̯ap'a, *ki̯àp'ù, *ki̯ùp'u, *ki̯up'ù, *kŏp'é, *kŏp'V, *kŏp'i, *kùp'V́, *kup'e, *k[ā]p'á, *k'ăp'ù, *k'àp'à, *k'ap'u, *k'ap'V, *k'ắp'à, *k'āp'a, *k'i̯àp'e, *k'ĕp'ó, *k'ep'orV, *k'ĕp'è, *k'i̯ắp'a, *k'i̯óp'e, *k'i̯up'e, *kúĺap'V, *k'ŏp'e, *k'óp'ì, *k'óp'i, *k'óp'ira, *láp'ì, *ĺàp'o, *ĺắp'V, *ĺep'a, *lép'ó, *lip'ú, *li̯ap'V, *li̯àp'[à], *ĺi̯ŭp'ù, *lop'V, *nĕp'é, *nep'V(ĺV), *op'á(rV), *ŏp'ìkV, *op'V, *ŏp'à, *ŏp'V, *ŏp'V, *pép'à, *p'ăp'a, *p'ap'o, *p'ép'a, *p'i̯ŏp'[á], *săp'í, *sắp'í, *săp'í, *sàp'ì, *sep'a, *sèp'ó, *sèp'ù, *si̯ắp'ú, *si̯ắp'í, *si̯ŏp'è, *si̯ŏp'u, *si̯ŏp'ì, *síp'í, *šĭp'V, *šiop'a, *šiúp'ù, *sép'à, *šop'é, *tắp'V, *tĕp'é, *tŭp'e, *t'áp'à, *t'ắp'è, *t'i̯op'è, *t'ăp'o(rV), *t'èp'à, *t'ep'V, *t'ĕp'á, *t'ep'à, *t'ĕp'a, *t'i̯ŏp'é, *t'i̯op'u, *t'i̯up'i, *t'i̯ŭp'o, *t'óp'ú, *t'op'u, *t'òp'ú, *t'ŭp'i, *ùp'í, *zep'i, *ǯap'ù, *ǯắp'V, *ǯip'o, *šip'u, *ǯi̯ap'e, *ǯòp'è, *ǯap'V(ĺV).

2.1.3. PA initial *p

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*p-	*b-	*b-,h-	*p-	*p-	*p-

Notes.

Mongolian has here variation between b- (in the majority of cases) and *h- (less frequently, but still in a sufficient amount of cases).

Here, too, we may note a dependence of the distribution on prosodic factors.

a) before an original long vowel (on their reconstruction see below) Mongolian always has *b-: **pàjku* > **beg-*, **pàlča* > **balči-*, **pâli* > **bilaγu*, **pàli* > **belčir*, **pàt'e* > **batagana*, **pék'o* > **baka-*, **pérV* > **berseγü*, **pèžo* > **böži*, **pi̯ât'e* > **bat-*, **pi̯ôro* > **burga-*, **pōto* > **bodu-*, **pót'o* > **buta*, **pùge* > **bug*, **pūsa* > **busu*.

The only exception is the root **pûne* 'to ride', where Mong. has a strange variation between **hunu-* and **unu-*, so far unexplained.

b) before a vowel with high pitch Mongolian always has *b-: **pâda* > **bad-*, **pélaba(nV)* > **barimal*, **pép'a* > **baγa-su*, **píla* > **bila-*, **píŋŋe* > **beγer*, **pi̯álagV* > **balaga-*, **pûlo* > **boli-*, **pi̯ôltorV* > **bolžir-*, **pi̯óso* > **bosuga*, **pi̯úk'i* > **böküne*, **pógi(-rV)* > **böγere*, **pótirkV* > **büdürkei*, **púla* > **bul-*, **púre* > **bor-*.

c) before a short vowel with low pitch Mongolian usually has *h-: **pi̯ôka* > **(h)agi*, **pôk'e* > **hok-tal-*, **pìlži* > **(h)ilži*, **pi̯àt'e* > **hataγa*, **pèsa* > **hesi*.

There are two exceptions here, both probably explainable:

1. **pi̯ûč'a* 'to tear, split, cut' > Mong. **biči*, **bičal-*; the root is expressive and its prosodic characteristics are not quite firmly established.
2. **pôru* 'to snow, rain' > Mong. *boruγa*. The root is very close to **bóru* 'smoke, whirlwind' (> Mong. *bur-gi-*), and could have been easily influenced by it.

It seems thus that in this case, too, the Mongolian split was caused by prosodic factors. Moreover, it is difficult to separate the two described processes: split of medial *-p'- and of initial *p- in Mongolian. We can put forward the following explanation.

The process *p'- > *h- must have already happened very early, since it is common both to Turkic and Mongolian, probably in the common Turko-Mongolian protolanguage, and, as is often the case, triggered a series of further changes. Thus, Proto-Turko-Mongolian reduced the three-way distinction of **p'-*p-*b* in initial position to a two-way distinction **p-*b* (although word-medially and in other local series the three-way distinction was kept, see below). After the split of

Turko-Mongolian Turkic merged *p and *b into one voiced phoneme *b, both initially and medially. Mongolian, however, had a slightly more complicated development. The first change here was that of *-b- > *-w- (except in clusters, see below); next medial *-p- > -b-, just as in Turkic: we shall see below that PA *-p- and *-b- develop in different ways in Mongolian, which means that they had not merged early. In this way Mongolian also arrived at a two-way distinction *p-*b (in medial position phonetically it was rather *p'-*b), but in a fashion different from that of Turkic.

As seen from the above, Proto-Mongolian must have had some pitch distinctions that later became lost. It probably had high pitch on initial syllables with original vowel length (independently of tone) and on initial syllables with short vowels, but original high tone. It also had high pitch on non-initial syllables corresponding (at least partly) to high pitch in Japanese. Whether this high pitch reflects original high tone or vowel length on non-initial syllables is yet to be established. The process that happened afterwards can be described as follows: early Proto-Mongolian *p changed into *b in syllables with high pitch.

Finally, the rest of the instances of *p which were all probably aspirated (= *p') by that time, changed to *f and then to *h, both initially and medially.

2.1.4 PA non-initial *p

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*p	*b	*b	*b	*p	*p

Notes.

As we have said above, Turkic and Mongolian had a process of voicing *-p- > *-b-, although this voicing probably occurred independently. Tungus-Manchu also underwent the same process.

PA *-p- is generally reconstructed on the basis of Mong. *-b- (not changing to *-h-, as PA *-b-, see below) and Kor. *-p-. Note that such a behaviour of *-p- in Korean differs from *-t- and *-k- (which are normally reflected as *-d- > -r- and *-g- > -0-) and means that medial *-p- in Korean had early merged with voiceless *-p'-.

In Japanese *-p-, like other voiceless unaspirated stops, is not subject to prenasalization (< *gemination), as was shown by I. Gruntov. An only exception is noticed in a root with an initial voiceless aspirated *t'-, which means that an early assimilation *C'VCV > *C'VC'V was operating in Japanese. Cf.: PA *t'èpa > *t'èp'a > PJ *tàmpá.

Occasionally one can also meet Jpn. -m- < *-p- before the following nasal, cf. **dàpà* > **dàmà* (= Mong. **daba-γan*); **lépù* > **númà* (= PTM **lebē-n*).

Examples for PA *p can be found in the following entries: **àpo, *apuči, *apV, *ǎpi, *čʿipV, *čʿupa, *dǎpà, *ěpo, *gúpu, *ipe, *i̯òpe, *i̯ǎpV, *i̯upo, *kăpi, *kěpV, *kēpu, *ki̯àpì, *ki̯opu, *ki̯òpù, *kopV, *kʿàpe, *kʿápa, *kʿapV, *kʿèpà, *kʿèpù, *ńipV, *ńi̯ŏpo, *ŋúpu, *pi̯apì, *pʿi̯ŏpo, *sápa, *sapV, *sĕpo, *sepV, *sípa, *sĭpi, *sìpò, *sipV, *si̯ŏpe, *sĭpe, *sipa, *šĭ̯ŭpo, *tapV, *tʿápV̀, *tʿèpá, *zīpe, *zi̯upi, *ǯape.*

2.1.5 PA initial *b-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*b-	*b-	*b-	*b-	*p-	*p- / *b[a,ə,Vj]

Notes.

Initial *b- is usually well preserved in Turkic, Mongolian and Tungus-Manchu. In Korean it was devoiced like all voiced consonants in general and merged with *p- and *pʿ-.

The most tricky reflex of *b- is found in Japanese, where three rules regulate its development:

1. PA *b- > Jpn. p- before all voiceless aspirated consonants: **bǎtʿi* > **pìntì, *bǎkʿu* > **pukusi, *bekʿu* > **punku, *bi̯ŏtʿe* > **pútá, *bŏrkʿi* > **púk-, *bi̯ukʿe* > **pùkùmpái, *bŭtʿu* > **pùt-, *bi̯ŭkʿi* > **pìnkàm-, *bŏtʿe* > **pàntàk-, *bučʿo* > **pətəpər-.*
2. PA *b- > Jpn. *p- before *i and *u: **balu* > **puruki, *bǎŕ[i]* > **pìrà-, *básІ* > **písák-, *bǎ̀di* > **pitapi, *bǎ̀ri* > **pìtà, *bĕ̀du* > **pùtuà-, *bēǯu* > **piji-nta-* (~ *pui-*), **bi̯ǎĺmi* > **pínsá, *bi̯ālu* > **pu-, *bi̯ŏ́ru* > **pítú-nsi, *bi̯ási* > **písásí, *bi̯ŏ̀gi* > **pìja-, *bi̯ogo* > **pia, *bi̯ŏ́li-tʿi* > **píntì, *bi̯or[a]* > **púrí, *bi̯ŏ́r[e]* > **pírí-p-, *bi̯udu* > **pí-n-kai, *bi̯ùdo* > **pùjà-kà, *bi̯ugu* > **pu, *bi̯ŭ̀lo* > **pùrà, *bi̯uri* > **pitə, *bi̯ūgi* > **pìwà-musi, *bŏ̄gdu* > **puti, *bŏ̀ku* > **pùkù-m-, *bŏ́li* > **pusi, *bŭ́li* > **púr-, *bŭ́lі* > **pùsì, *bǎ̀lu* > **pùrù-.*
3. PA *b- > Jpn. *b- before low vowels and before the following *j: **bǎja* > **bái-m-, *bèka* > **bàkà, *bǎka* > **bàkàr-, *bǎ̀ka* > **bàká-, *bašo* > **basi-r-, *bǎ̀to* > **bàtà, *bǎ́* > **bə, *bāla* > **bàràpai, *bāŕa* > **báráp-, *bĕ́* > **bá-i, *bĕ̀je* > **bà, *béjo* > **bí* (~ **bái*), **bĕ̀re* > **bàtá-, *bĭ̀ (*ba)* > **bà-, *bíju* > **bú(i)-, *bi̯ǎĺča* > **bánsá-, *bi̯ŏ̄ga* > **bà, *bi̯ŏ̀la* > **bàrà-mpì, *bi̯ólo* > **bárì, *bi̯òsa* > **bàsái, *bóju* > **bíjá, *bi̯úga* > **bà, *bi̯ujri* > **bì, *bŏ̀ka* > **bàkì, *bòda* > **bàtà, *bŏ̀de* > **bántár-, *bŭ̀ka* > **bàkù, *bŏ́ke* > **bákás-, *bójĺo* > **básí-p-, *bóra* > **bár-, *borso(kʿV)* > **bàsákí, *bŏ́lo* > **bár-, *bùjre* > **bàrà-, *búĺa* > **básurá-, *bŭ́lo* > **bàsì-, *bùro* > **bàr-, *bŭ̄ŋe-* > **bamia-.*

There are four exceptions, where Jpn. for ar[illegible]n- < *-p- before the following voiceless *p- instead of the expected *b-: PA *l[illegible]-yan); *lépù > *númà (= PTM *pàrá-; PA *bi̯ura > *para-p-; PA *bŭte > *pàtákài. [illegible] jority of cases, however, follows the established [illegible] the following entries: *àpo, *gúpu, *ipe, *i̯òpe, *i̯ăpV, *i̯upo, *kopV, *k'àpe, *k'ápa, *k'apV, *i, *p'i̯ŏpo, *sápa, *sapV, *sĕpo, *e, *sipa, *šĭ̯ŭpo, *tapV, *t'ápV̀,

Note that this split must have happened rath[illegible] Japanese (but before the reconstructed Proto-Jap[illegible] it depends on PJ vowels, already after a whole se[illegible] that they underwent after PJ split from Proto-A[illegible] vocalism).

The phonetic reasons here are not easy to dis[illegible] what we reconstruct as PJ *b was in fact a fricat[illegible] it is actually w-, but most Ryukyu dialects hav[illegible] case we may think that the original *b weake[illegible] vowels, but preserved its stopped articulation[illegible] high vowels *i and *u, after which *b was devo[illegible] of *-j- (in cases like *biju > *bu(i), *bóju > *bija, *bi[illegible] cial attention, because this is very similar to w[illegible] nese with intervocalic *-b-, *-d- and *-g- (that ch[illegible] -i̯-diphthongs, see below). The following *-j- mu[illegible] ing effect on *b-, so it changed to *b́- (or *b̥) and[illegible] the general process of devoicing *b > *p.

Kor.	Jpn.
*p-	*p- / *b[a,ə,Vj]

Turkic, Mongolian and Tun- like all voiced consonants in

in Japanese, where three rules

The process of fricativizing *b- > *β- proba[illegible] some archaic Korean dialects, which explains v[illegible] rean also has 0- (< *w-) as a reflex of PA *b-. Un[illegible] these cases are very few, which means that the *b- > *p- in the long run prevailed. The probab[illegible] Korean are:

PA *bĭ 'I, we' > Kor. *úrí 'we' (= PT *bi-ŕ)
PA *bi̯ujri 'spring, well' > Kor. *ù- in *ù-mír id. (*[illegible]
PA *borso(k'V) 'badger' > Kor. *ùsɨrk id.
PA *bùjre 'wrong, bad' > Kor. *ōi- id.
PA *bíju 'to be' > Kor. *ì- id.

aspirated consonants: *bằt'i > *, *bi̯ŏt'e > *pútá, *bŏrk'i > *púk-, *ik'i > *pìnkàm-, *bŏt'e > *pàntàk-,

*[illegible] > *puruki, *bắr[i] > *pìrà-, *básiědu > *pùtuà-, *bēʒu > *piji-nta- (bi̯ŏ́ru > *pítú-nsi, *bi̯ási > *písásí, *píntì, *bi̯or[a] > *púrí, *bi̯ŏ́r[e] > pùjà-kà, *bi̯ugu > *pu, *bi̯ŭ̀lo > musi, *bŏgdu > *puti, *bŏ̀ku > ĭĺi > *pùsì, *bằlu > *pùrù-.

id before the following *j: *bắja -, *bằka > *bàká-, *bašo > *basi-r-, , *bā́ŕa > *báráp-, *bĕ́ > *bá-i, *bĕ̀je -, *bĭ́ (*ba) > *bà-, *bíju > *bú(i)-, *bàrà-mpì, *bi̯ólo > *bárì, *bi̯òsa > ɹjri > *bì, *bŏ̀ka > *bàkì, *bòda > *bŏ́ke > *bákás-, *bójĺo > *básí-p-, o > *bár-, *bùjre > *bàrà-, *búĺa > ŭŋe- > *bamia-.

2.1.6 PA non-initial *-b-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.
*b	*b	*h/ [*R]b, *b(Vg) /-b	*b

Examples for non-initial *-b- can be found entries: *èbà, *ắbá, *ăbu, *čăbà, *čabV, *čį̆obe, *čį̆ob *č'ibe, *č'i̯abVk'V, *č'i̯ōbé, *ebo, *debV, *ĕbà, *ĕbè,

**g̱iube, *g̱iūbe, *gȍ̄bè, *gòbù, *ìbè, *i̱obo, *ŋi̱ȍ̄bu, *i̱ùbú, *i̱úb[u], *kabari, *kábó, *kébà(rV), *kȍ̄bú, *kób[e], *kúbé, *kubirgV, *k'ā̆bo, *li̱ùbu, *k'ébá, *k'ébà, *k'íbù, *k'i̱ȍ̄ba(kV), *k'i̱óbarV, *k'i̱ȍ̄be, *k'i̱ā̆̀bu, *k'i̱ube, *k'i̱ubu, *k'òbàni, *k'íbà, *làbò, *labV̀, *lábó, *múbè, *nébì, *nìbi, *ń[i̱ō]lba, *ŋi̱àbi, *ebVrV, *pi̱ȕ̄bi, *p'ȍ̄ba, *p'ùb(a)gV, *p'ubá-ktV, *p'VbV, *p'[i̱o]bu, *sábà, *sā̆bí, *sábó, *sāba, *sebV(nV), *sebe, *sibo, *sìbi, *sȉ̄bi, *ši̱ábu, *si̱ā̆̀bo, *si̱ȕ̄bi, *si̱úbu, *suba, *ši̱ábu, *ši̱óbi, *ši̱uba, *tabu, *tā̆̀bi, *tā̆̀bú, *ti̱ubu, *tȉ̄búlka, *túbù, *t'abi, *t'ā̆bá, *t'éba, *t'ebV, *t'ȅ̄bà, *t'ébo, *t'úbé, *t'ŭge, *ǯi̱aba, *ǯi̱úbù, *ǯȉ̄bì, *ǯVbV, *ǯebí, *si̱ā̆bi, *ǯobá, *ǯebò, *eba(-ku), *ni̱abo, *dubi, *ńùbV.*

Notes.

In all languages, in addition to normal reflexes, we may observe weakened reflexes (-j-, in clusters also -0- in Turkic, -j-, -w- in Mong., -0- in Korean, -0- in clusters in TM, -0- (usually after -u- or -j-) in Japanese). It is quite probable that *-b- had an allophonic variant *-w- already in Proto-Altaic, but there seems to be not enough evidence to reconstruct a distinction between *-b- and *-w-.

Mong. normally has *-b- > -h-, but preserves -b- after resonants (see below). Thus in a few cases when Mong. has intervocalic -b- and Jpn. has -w-/-j- (which is the normal reflex after -i-diphthongs) and Kor. has -b-, it seems appropriate to reconstruct the cluster *-jb-. These are the cases:

PA **ā̆jbo* : Mong. *ebe-sü*, Jpn. **àwə̀-* (here *-j- is also responsible for the fronting *a > e in Mong.)

PA **ȅ̄jba* : Mong. **(h)abad*, Jpn. **áwá-tá-*

PA **kejbe* : Mong. **keb-te-*, **kebiji-*, Jpn. **kəjə-*, Kor. **kìbúr-*

PA **ki̱ójbu* : Mong. **kubakaj*, Jpn. **kúi*

PA **t'ȅ̄jbo* : Mong. **tabi-*, Kor. **tā̆̀bi-*

PA **t'ujbu* : Mong. **tobi-*, Jpn. **tuà* (here *-j- is actually preserved in TM **tujba-*)

PA **ŭ̀jba* : Mong. **ibil-*, Jpn. **àwà*

PA **ǯŭ̀jbe* : Mong. **ǯoba-*, Jpn. **duàwà-*, Kor. **čubir-*.

There is another important group of cases where Mongolian preserves intervocalic -b- rather than changing it to *-h- (-ɣ-). This is the position of -b- before the following vowel + g, h (=ɣ). Cf.:

PA **ĺabo* > Mong. **debeɣe*

PA **sábo* > Mong. **sibe-gčin*

PA **sebVnV* > Mong. **sebe-ɣün*

PA **sibo* > Mong. **sibaga*

PA **sìbi* > Mong. **sibag*

PA **tȉ̄bulka* > Mong. **čibaga*

PA *t'ā̆ba* > Mong. **tabag*
PA **šebi* > Mong. **šibe-γü*
PA **si̯ābi* > Mong. *siböge*

In all of these cases we can neither reconstruct *-p'- (there is either a Turkic or TM form with *-b-), nor *-p- (there is voicing > *-mp- in Japanese, or Korean has *-b-), nor *-jb- (Japanese does not have -w-), so that the only solution is reconstructing *-b- with the mentioned positional condition.

We see that, unlike the case of -*p'-, the split of *-b- into *-h- and *-b- in Proto-Mongolian has nothing to do with prosody, being rather triggered by the "velar dissimilation rule".

Let us now look at the rules of split in Japanese. Here, too, we have a double reflex: stop (prenasalized or not - on this distinction see below) and resonant (fricative) *-w- (in some cases -j- or -0-, depending evidently on the vocalic environment). As was stated in Starostin 1997, the conditions of this split are purely vocalic: *-w- emerges after original diphthongs with -i̯-. Cf.:

a) PA **čă̆ba* > PJ **tàpàra*; PA **č'abu* > **tupa-*; PA **ĕba* > PJ **àpù-*; PA **ĕ̀be* > PJ **àp-*; PA **ebi* > PJ **impu-sia-*; PA **gŏ̀be* > PJ **kàp-*; PA **kabari* > PJ **kapiara*; PA **kábo* > PJ **kámpiá*; PA **kéba* > PJ **kápí*; PA **kŏ̀bu* > PJ **kúmpuá*; PA **kúbe* > PJ **kuámpá-*; PA **k'éba* > PJ **kápà*; PA **k'ibu* > PJ **kúpá*; PA **k'òbani* > PJ **kàpìná*; PA **k'íba* > PJ **kápiàru(n)tai*; PA **làbo* > PJ **nàpá*; PA **labV* > PJ **nàp-*; PA **Ĺabo* > PJ **náimpú*; PA **nébi* > PJ **nípí-*; PA **sā̆bi* > PJ **símpí*; PA **sábo* > PJ **sámpúrap-*; PA **sāba* > PJ **sàmpàk-*; PA **sìbi* > PJ **sìmpù-*; PA **tā̆̀ba* > PJ **tàpì*; PA **t'ā̆ba* > PJ **tàmp(u)î*; PA **t'éba* > PJ **támpì*; PA **t'ĕ̀ba* > PJ **tapasir-*; PA **t'úbe* > PJ **tuámpí* (~ -ə-); PA **žebo* > PJ **dapara-*; PA **tā̆̀bu* > **tùmpúnai*;

b) PA **č'i̯ŏ̀be* > PJ **tùwái*; PA **gi̯ube* > PJ **kuwa-*; PA **gi̯ūbe* > PJ **káwár*; PA **i̯ùbu* > PJ **ùwá*; PA **k'i̯ŏ̀be* > PJ **kua*; PA **k'i̯ube* > PJ **kəwâi*; PA **ŋi̯àbi* > PJ **muà* (~ **mà*); PA **pi̯ŭ̀bi* > PJ **piwa-*; PA **si̯ŭ̀bu* > PJ **súwá-i*; PA **ži̯aba* > PJ **duá-mp-* (< **dawV-mp-*).

We know only one exception: PA **ši̯ábu* > PJ **súmp-*. This root is very sparsely represented in Turkic and TM languages, so that the vowel reconstruction is not quite secure (but PJ **súmp-* in this case can actually be a secondary contraction < **suwu-mp-* and thus conform to the general rule).

Note that in all these cases plain vowels and diphthongs are reconstructed independently of the Japanese evidence, and the distribution is rather apparent. Since in many cases — especially when there is no TM evidence— it is rather difficult to distinguish reflexes of plain vow-

els from those of diphthongs, the Japanese distinction of *-p- vs. *-w- may actually help to reconstruct the vocalism. Such are the cases: (with plain vowels):

PA *èba* > PJ **àp-*; PA **gébo* > PJ **kámpí*; PA **gòbu* > PJ **kùpà-*; PA **ibe* > PJ **ìpùa*; PA **k'éba* > PJ **kámpánái*; PA **múbe* > PJ **mápí-rənka-*; PA **p'ɔ̀ba* > PJ **pàp-*; PA **p'uba-ktV* > PJ **pampuki*; PA **sába* > PJ **sápár-*; PA **tàbu* > PJ **tùpìjái*; PA **tɨ̀bulka* > PJ **tùmpákì*; PA **túbu* > PJ **túpí*; PA **ʒɨ̀bi* > PJ **(d)ìpià*; PA **ʒebi* > PJ **(d)impir-*;

(and with diphthongs):

PA **čo̯be* > PJ **tɔwə*; PA **čo̯beŕV* > PJ **túrá-*; PA **i̯úb[u]* > PJ **úwa-*; PA **li̯ùbu* > PJ **nì* (**nùi*); PA **k'i̯óbarV* > PJ **káwá(ra)-k-*; PA **k'i̯ubu* > PJ **k(u)i*; PA **ši̯ábu* > PJ **súwá-*; PA **si̯à̀bo* > PJ **sàwuà*; PA **ši̯óbi* > PJ **síwá*; PA **ʒi̯úbu* > PJ **dúwài*.

Japanese also regularly has *-w- or *-j- as a reflex of PA *-jb- (reconstructed on the basis of TM *-jb- or Mong. -b-, that has not shifted to -ɣ-, see above): PA **ǎjbo* > PJ **àwà-*; PA **àjbi* > PJ **û*; PA **ějba* > PJ **áwá-tá-*; PA **kejbe* > PJ **kəjə-*; PA **ki̯ójbu* > PJ **kúi*; PA **pàjbu* > PJ **pùjà-*; PA **t'ujbu* > PJ **tuà*; PA **ŭjba* > PJ **àwà*; PA **ʒŭ̀jbe* > PJ **duàwà-*.

The phonetic source of this distribution is probably the same as of initial *b- > *w- before the following *j (see above). Voiced consonants must have been palatalized in early Proto-Japanese after original *-i̯- diphthongs and these palatalized allophones (probably because they were also fricativized: *-b́- > *β́, *-d́- > *-ð́-, *-ǵ- > *-ɣ́-; on the development of dentals and velars see below) later escaped the general process of devoicing of stops.

We may note that here too Japanese has quite a number of cases with prenasalized *-mp- among stop reflexes of *b. This may mean that, unlike Mongolian where only voiceless *p was voiced in certain pitch environments, Japanese carried this process throughout the whole system of voiceless aspirated and voiced stops; see more on this below.

2.1.7 PA initial *m

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*m-	*b-	*m-	*m-	*m-	*m-

Notes.

In general, the correspondences here are quite straightforward, except for the Turkic development *m- > *b-.

Here we should perhaps answer (belatedly) Doerfer's critique in TMN which maintained (p. 60): "es ist nicht bewiesen, daß einem mo. m- ein tü. b- (oder irgend ein anderer Laut) entspricht, für mo. m- (außer bei Nasalen) findet sich im Tü. kein einziges Vergleichswort." If this were the case, it would indeed be an argument against the relationship of Turkic and Mongolian. But is it?

Doerfer examines only six cases taken out of KW:

1. Mong. *miqan* 'meat' - Turk. **bikin* 'thigh'. This etymology seems incorrect to us, too (on Mong. *miqan* see PA **mék'u*, on Turk. **bikin* see PA **bi̯ük'a*)
2. Mong. *mačaγ* 'fast' - Turk. **bačag* id. Doerfer says that "Nach Gabain 1950, 300b ist atü. *bačaγ* ein Lehnwort aus dem Sogd.". But Sogdian does not have anything similar. The only proposed Sogdian match was *p'šyk* 'hymn', which even Clauson in his dictionary rejected as extremely implausible (and concluded that **bačag* is a genuine Turkic word). On the other hand, we have in Manchu the verb *maču-* 'to lose weight' and the noun *mačixi* 'fast', which can hardly be explained as borrowed from Mong. < Turkic (especially because of the verb which is absent in these subgroups). Finally, we have Jpn. *mátúr-* 'to celebrate, worship' which makes the common Altaic nature of the root rather plausible, exactly with the meaning "to fast, hunger with religious purposes" (see **máč'a*).
3. Mong. *ma, me,* turk. *mä* 'take!' - correctly dismissed as a 'Lallwort'.
4. Mong. *majiγaq* 'clubfooted' - Turk. **bań-* 'to bow'. Here several things should be said. The Mong. word, actually only Kalmuck, is most probably borrowed from Turkic, cf. forms like Uzb. *bajmaq*, Kaz. *bajnaŋda-* etc. The Turkic root **bań-*, however, means 'clubfooted' only in derivatives, and does not mean 'to bow' at all. The attested meanings are rather 'to sway' or 'collapse' (with this meaning we have in Old Turkic *majiš-*), and it corresponds quite well to WMong. *mai-mari-* 'to sway, walk swayingly'. Doerfer says: "Mo. **mayi-* und tü. **bañ-* wären aber nicht vergleichbar". Why? The transfer of nasalization to *-j- is a quite regular process in Turkic (and, on the other hand, the correspondence Turk. *-ń- : Mong. *-j- is also quite regular), so there seems to be nothing against this comparison, although in a shape distinct from the one proposed by Ramstedt. See PA **meju* (with further TM and Korean parallels).
5. Mong. *metü* 'like, similar' - Turk. *bet* 'face'. Doerfer does not like the semantic side of the comparison. We can only say that the change 'face' > 'compare, similar' is fairly common (cf. Russ. *lico* 'face', *sličat'* 'to compare'; Turkic *beŋiz-* and *beŋze-* - on which see below - etc.). That 'face' was the original meaning here is also corroborated

by the TM parallel, **miata* 'skin from animal's head' (the semantics here is quite straightforward, and we still have *m- corresponding to Turkic *b-). See PA **mi̯at'i*.

6. Mong. *mögersün* 'cartilage' - **bujŋuŕ* (**büjŋür*) 'horn'. Again, Doerfer does not like the semantic side, and again we must say that the change 'horn' <> 'cartilage' does not seem strange at all to us ('horn' is frequently associated with horny matter, callosities and various bones).

Doerfer says further: "Nun gibt es aber kein Lautgesetz mo. -g- = Turk. -ŋ-". This is typical for his system of criticism: first he criticizes the "Lautgesetze" put forward by Ramstedt and Poppe, and then he declines the parallels because they do not follow those "Lautgesetze". You cannot have it both ways: either the phonetic rules are wrong, in which case no comparison is possible at all until new rules are found, or you accept the system of rules and therefore the comparisons on which they are based.

The correspondence between Mong. -ɣ- (-w-) and Turk. -ŋ- (< PA *-ŋ-) is in fact quite common, see in the dictionary: **ăŋu*, **ēŋV*, **gă̈ŋi*, **goŋV(ŕV)* [about which Doerfer also says: "aus lautlichen Gründen mindestens unwahrscheinlich")], **maŋi* (by the way, also with **m-:*b-*), **ńaŋo*, **ni̯ă̈ŋe*, **nŭŋu*, **siŋra*, **sìŋu*, **si̯oŋre*, **tuŋa* etc.

Doerfer proceeds to say: "Von dieser Art nun sind alle Beispiele, die Ramstedt (und Poppe 1960, 34-6) bringt, stets handelt es sich um Lallwörter, Onomatopoetika, semantisch oder lautgesetzlich nicht einwandfreie Gleichungen usw." We could say that all Doerfer's criticism is of this sort. He may notice mistakes and wrong comparisons (as in 1 and 4), but his entire spirit is set on discrediting the theory. To be sure, there are very many faulty comparisons in Ramstedt's and Poppe's papers, but instead of trying to correct the etymologies and widen the scope of comparison, he restricts himself to picking at the Turkic and Mongolian parallels and enjoying every vulnerable one of them.

Now back to *m- > Turkic *b-. Besides the above cases, the following instances of Turkic *b- < PA *m- can be found:

Turk. **bAńi-* 'to fade away, disappear, weaken' : Mong. **maɣu* 'bad': TM **maja-* 'to fail, be unsuccessful' < PA **maja*

Turk. **baj* (~ -ń) 'holy, God' : TM **maji-n* 'protecting spirit': OJ *mji* id. < PA **maji*

Turk. **bejŋi* 'brain' : Mong. **maŋlai* 'forehead' : OJ *mimi* 'ear' (< 'temple', a rather common semantic development) < PA **màjŋi*

Turk. **bińĺ(ik)* 'cat' : Mong. *malur* 'wild cat' : OJ *musasabji* 'squirrel' < PA **máĺe*

Turk. **bAkan* 'necklace' : TM **muKa* 'skin from deer's neck' : MKor. *mok* 'neck' : OJ *muk-* 'turn the head, neck' < PA **mi̯ák'u*

Turk. **baltu* 'axe': Mong. **milaɣa* 'whip': TM **mala* 'cudgel': MKor. *már* 'stick, pole' < PA **màli*

Turk. **bal* 'honey': Mong. **milaɣa-* 'to smear with oil': TM **mala* 'sesame oil, plant oil' < PA **malV*

Turk. **botu* 'young of camel': Mong. *manǰi* (< *mandi*) 'male elk': TM **manda-ksa* 'elk' < PA **mǎndo*

Turk. **beŋi* 'joy': Mong. *maɣa-s-* 'to enjoy' < PA **maŋi*

Turk. **bAsa* 'also, as well': Mong. *masi* 'very, extremely': TM **masi* 'strong, strongly', OJ *masu* 'more, again', *mas-* 'to become bigger' < PA **másа*

Turk. **bAlɨg* 'wounded': Mong. *milan* 'disease, plague': TM **māl-* 'to die (of epidemic)' < PA **màli*

Turk. **būn* 'defect': TM **mana-* 'to be exhausted, worn out': OJ *muna-si* 'empty, useless' < PA **mắn[u]*

Turk. **bal* 'head': Mong. *malǰan, melǰen* 'bald': TM **meli-* 'back part of neck': MKor. *màrí* 'head' < PA **mĕ́lǯŭ*

Turk. **beŋiz* 'face; be similar' (note the meanings!): Mong. *maji-qai* 'skin covering the head of animals': OJ *mane* 'imitating, similarity' < PA **méŋa*

Turk. **baŋ-* 'to trot': Mong. *meŋde-* 'to hurry': TM **meŋ-* id. < **měŋa*

Turk. **beŋ* 'mole': Mong. *meŋge* : Kor. *məŋ* 'scar, bruise' < PA **meŋe*

Turk. **bečin* 'monkey' (not from Persian, as often suggested): Mong. *meči(n)* id.: OJ *masi* id. < PA **méča*

Turk. **bAgatur* 'hero': Mong. *magta-* 'to praise, glorify': TM **m[ia]g-* 'to shamanize': MKor. *mār* (< **maga-r*) 'speech': OJ *mawo-s-* 'to speak (polite)' < PA **mi̯àga*

Turk. **b(i)āka* 'frog': Mong. *mekelei / melekei* id.: TM **moKo(lV)-* 'bat': MKor. *màkùrí* 'toad' < PA **mi̯ák'o*

Turk. **bön* 'stupid, foolish': Mong. *mene-re-* 'to become dull, stupid': TM **mian-* 'to be confused': MKor. *mìńńijáp-* 'to be afraid, scared' < PA **mi̯ắni*

Turk. **bAńıl* 'overripe': TM **munī-* 'to rot, spoil': MKor. *mǎi-p-* 'bitter, acid': OJ *m(j)in(w)or-* 'to ripen' < PA **mi̯ójni*

Turk. **belek* 'gift': Mong. *melǰe-* 'to bet, wager': TM **mula-* 'to pity': MKor. *mùr'i-* 'to present, barter': OJ *m(w)orap-* 'to obtain, receive gifts' < PA **mi̯óle*

Turk. **bert-* 'to break, damage, wound': Mong. *mer* 'wound': TM **mur-dul-* 'slaughter' < PA **mi̯ore*

Turk. **bar-* 'to walk, go': Mong. **mör* 'road': MKor. *mōr-* 'to follow, drive': OJ *mjiti* 'road' < PA **mi̯óri*

Turk. **boj-* (~ -ń-) 'to be careless; forbid': TM **mija-* 'to go astray, be misled': MKor. *mì-čhi-* 'be mad': OJ *majwo-p-* 'to go astray' < PA **mi̯ŏjo*

Turk. **buŋ* 'suffering': Mong. *muŋ* 'difficulty': Evk. *miŋnī-* 'to nag (of joints, heart)': Jpn. *mugo-* 'horrible' < PA **mi̯uŋo*

Turk. **buŕ-* 'to damage, oppress': TM **muru-* 'to press, oppress': MKor. *mīr-* 'to push' < PA **mi̯uŕu*

Turk. **böke* 'big snake': Mong. *mogaji* 'snake': TM **mŭkŭ* id.: Kor. *mək-kuri* 'big black snake': OJ *mukade* 'centipede' < PA **mi̯ūko*

Turk. **bōjn* 'neck': Mong. *mun-daya* 'crest, withers': TM **moŋa-n* 'neck': MKor. *mjə-k* id. < PA **mŏ́jno*

Turk. **bok* 'dirt, dung' : Mong. *moki(n)* 'gum, clay, sulphur': TM **muK-* 'to fart, bad smell' < PA **mŏkʹV*

Turk. **bük-tel* 'mature': Mong. *mökü-* 'to perish': TM **muxu-* 'lose powers': MKor. *mùk-* 'to be old': OJ *mukasi* 'in old times' < PA **mókʹi*

Turk. **buluŋ* 'corner, angle': TM **mulu* 'ridge of roof': MKor. *mǎrǎ* id.: OJ *mune* id. < PA **mólu*

Turk. **būč-gak* 'outer corner, angle': TM **muč-* 'edge, end': MKor. *mǎč(h)-* 'to finish, end' < PA **mŏ́čʹa*

Turk. **bōl-* 'to divide, separate': Mong. *möli-* 'to cut (boughs etc.)': TM **mol-* 'to cut into pieces': MKor. *mǎrǎ-* 'to cut, trim' < PA **móli*

Turk. **bodun* 'people': Mong. *muži* 'territory, province': TM **mugdī* / **megdī* 'bank, shore': MKor. *màt(h)* 'place, enclosure': OJ *mati* 'street' < PA **múgda*

Turk. **bulan* 'elk': Mong. *maral* (< **malar*) 'mountain deer': TM **mul-* 'deer, elk' < PA **mula*

Turk. **büt-* 'to end, accomplish': Mong. *möči-s* 'just enough': TM **mute-* 'to fulfil': MKor. *mòtǎ-n* 'all': OJ *muta* 'together with' < PA **mŭ́tʹi*

Turk. **būka* 'bull': Mong. **mok-* '2-years-old male deer; penis': TM **muxa-* 'man, male' < PA **mūkʹo*

Turk. **büt-* 'to believe': Mong. *mede-* 'to know': TM **mute-* 'be able': MKor. *mìt-* 'to believe' < PA **mi̯uti*

Turk. **bök-* 'be satiated, full': Mong. **meke-* 'to suck': TM **muKu-* 'to fill mouth with liquid': MKor. *màk-* 'to eat, drink': OJ *makanap-* 'to feed' < PA **mùkʹe.*

We have only included here (as Doerfer demanded) examples reflected in Old Turkic. Some of these etymologies are new, but some are well known in the literature (like **mása* > Turk. **bAsa*, **mĕĺžu* > Turk. **baĺč* [which Doerfer omitted from his "short list", but elsewhere - TMN 2, 253 - mentions briefly as "unklar"], **mi̯ăkʹo*, **mi̯àĺa*, **mi̯uŋo*, **mŏjno*, **móli*, **múgda*, **múnu*, **mŭ́tʹi*, **mŏ́ča*). To be sure, not all of them would pass the test of Ramstedt's and Poppe's correspondences, especially in

the field of vocalism; but as we intend to show, their correspondences were actually too simplified and it is of course impossible to stuff all the really existing parallels into their Procrustean bed. But instead of trying to reevaluate the system of correspondences, Doerfer and other critics used them rigidly with the single purpose of dismantling the Altaic theory.

This lengthy passage may have little value in and of itself, but we wanted to dwell on this particular correspondence in detail to show the reader the sort of anti-Altaic criticism that has nearly ruined the whole field of studies.

2.1.8 PA non-initial *m

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*m	*m	*m	*m	*m	*m

Examples on non-initial *m can be found in the following entries: *emV(ŋV), *ămo, *ămV, *àmú, *àmV, *Ìèmo, *čamu, *čàma, *tĕma, *ǯi̯ŏmu, *čį̇ùmi, *čʹamo, *čʹĭmu, *čʹį̇úmu, *čʹį̇umu, *čʹį̇ùme, *čʹìme, *čʹìmu, *čʹóme, *čʹomi, *dàma, *ema, *ĕma, *ĕme, *èmi, *emo, *gămo, *gèmo, *gĕmo, *gíme, *ìmè, *ìmé, *į̇ámu, *umV, *į̇ùme, *į̇umi, *į̇úmu, *į̇umu, *kajamV, *kàma, *kami, *kàmo, *kāma, *kāmV, *kéma, *kĕma, *kímo, *kį̇ămò, *kį̇ămù, *kį̇uma, *kį̇umo, *kŭmu, *kŏme, *kúma, *kumi , *kumi, *kúmi, *k[į̇a]ma, *kʹéma, *kʹèmá, *kʹèmì, *kʹàmo, *kʹį̇omo(lV), *kʹį̇ome, *kʹį̇ŏme, *kʹŏmi, *kʹòmu, *kʹòmu, *kʹume, *kʹumi, *kʹumV, *kʹ[ō]mo, *lămo, *làmò, *lemV, *lēmo, *Ìį̇ŏmo(ŋa), *lį̇òmù, *lį̇ŭmo, *mĕmV, *ńàme, *lami, *ńămò, *ńamo, *năm̀o, *nĕmè, *nema, *ńĭmi, *ńį̇ama, *nį̇áme, *ńį̇áme, *ńį̇àmi, *nį̇ùmà, *ńį̇ŭmi, *nīme, *luma, *numu, *ŏmu, *omurV, *pĕma, *pʹémi, *pĭmà, *pʹĭmù, *pʹòme, *pʹŏmu, *pʹuma, *pʹ[ò]jamV, *săm̀u, *sám[u], *sarumV, *sāmo, *sĕme, *sĕmi, *sēma, *sèmi, *sìmò, *šį̇ăm̀u, *zį̇àmo, *sį̇òmì, *sį̇umi, *sį̇ŏmi, *sòmú, *suma, *súme, *sume, *s[į̇ù]mu, *šĭmi, *šimučʹV, *šŏmo, *š[į̇a]mì, *tĕmo, *tèmò, *tʹème, *tumi, *túmu, *tʹàma, *tʹăma, *tʹámu, *tʹāma, *tʹĕma, *tʹèmo, *tʹemV, *tʹĕmu, *tʹĭmá, *tʹŏmù, *tʹome, *tʹŭmu, *tʹúmu, *tʹŭmi, *úmu, *úmu-tki, *umuŋ(t)o, *ǯèmá, *ǯŭmo, *ǯima, *emV, *kemV, *sį̇ame, *tʹŭmV, *dămù, *čʹòmu, *tʹį̇ame, *muma, *tʹį̇àma, *samV, *čʹimV, *kʹamo, *simo, *čʹámo.

Notes.

Non-initial *m, like initial *m, is generally well preserved. The only exception are several cases where it (like all other resonants except *Í and *ŕ) disappears in Japanese. Cf.:

PA *čį̇ùmi > PJ *ti

PA **ĺi̯ŏmo(ŋa)* > PJ **ná(N)* 'name' (with the Hateruma dialect possibly still preserving a trace of the nasal as *nàN* 'name'; note that the verbal root **nəm-* 'to pray' still preserves *m)

PA **súme* > PJ **sua*

PA **t'ŭmV* > PJ **tù*

We should first note that there are only nominal stems in this list. Verbs never behave like this (except for two or three very archaic and probably originally monosyllabic roots — see above on root structure).

A suggestion put forward in Starostin 1997 was that we are dealing here with the working of an archaic nominal suffix (or several suffixes) like **ga*, perhaps also **ŋa* - actually, quite common, e. g., in Turkic and Mongolian, so that, e.g. **súme-ga* > **súmga* > **súga*, and, with final dropping of -g- > **sua*. However, we shall see below that *-g- could disappear only in a position after a diphthong, so the proposed rule has to be slightly modified. The diphthongs indeed had a palatalizing and fricativizing effect on the following voiced stops, but those were only stops of the second syllable (since diphthongs could occur only in the first syllable of the root). It seems probable, however, that voiced consonants in the third syllable were always fricativized (and, as a consequence, usually dropped) in early Japanese. This would explain a large proportion of nouns whose Auslaut can only be explained as a result of contraction - i.e. nouns in *-ai, *-ia and *-ua in PJ (all these sequences do not occur or occur only very rarely in the first syllable of a polysyllabic root).

We can now formulate the following hypothesis about prehistoric Japanese: any resonant preceding the weakened *-ɣ- in the third syllable was also weakened and dropped, together with the following vowel, viz.: **CVRVɣV* > **CVRɣV* > **CVɣV*. On the other hand, **CVCVɣV* > **CVCV*. This would account for the so called "-r-loss" observed by Martin and Whitman in their Korean-Japanese comparison ("-r-loss" is the most frequent phenomenon, but there certainly is also "-l-loss" , "-m-loss" and "-ŋ-loss" in Japanese).

Among the words listed above we can only find the word for "name" with the suffix **ŋV*, which is quite clearly seen, e.g. in Evk. *nim-ŋā-n-* 'to shamanize', *nim-ŋā-kān* 'fairy-tale'. It seems therefore probable that in Proto-Japanese **ĺi̯ŏmo-ŋa* > **ni̯ŏmɣa* > **ni̯õɣa* > **ná(N)*. This word is further interesting because it may also accept a second velar suffix *-k'V (originally, probably, diminutive), cf. TM **nimŋākā-n* = Turk. **jom(ŋ)ak* = Mong. **domag*. The Kor. parallel is also known and it is MKor. *ni'jàkì* 'tale'. Now it seems that the Kor. form also reflects a common PKJ form like **ni̯omɣa-kV*, with a development *-mɣ- > -'- very

similar to Japanese. This would date the first part of the process we are describing (**CVRVɣV > *CVRɣV*) to the common Korean- Japanese period. But unlike Japanese, Korean did not usually drop the resonant - instead, it dropped the *-ɣ- (sometimes, perhaps preserving it as -h-, see below) and the final vowel. The resonant is dropped in this case because a second suffix was added and the combination *-mɣ- turned out to be located in an intervocalic position.

More on this interesting Japanese development will follow, in notes on other PA resonants.

2.1.9 PA initial *t'-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*t'-	*t- [dV+ĺ,ŕ,r]	*t- / č[i]	*t-	*t-	*t-

Notes

In the vast majority of cases where the difference between *t- and *d- can be established (i.e. when the Oghuz reflexes are present), Turkic has *t-. Voiced *d- emerges, however, almost exceptionlessly when this consonant is followed by *ĺ: cf. PT **dõĺ* < PA **t'õĺi*, PT **dūĺ* < PA **t'ūĺke*, PT **dūĺ* < PA **t'ūĺi*, PT **d(i)āĺ-* < PA **t'i̯āĺke* (cf., however, **taĺak* < **t'aĺp'V*). Less systematic is the behaviour of *t'- in front of the following *ŕ and *r: we have **torgaj*, **tōŕ*, **tōrum*, **turup* / **turum*, **tor*, **tēŕ*, **töŕ* / **törü*, **ter*, **terkü*, **terk-*, **törpigü*, **töre*, **teŕek* as opposed to **dīŕ* (but with suffixation: **tir-sgek*), **dīre-*, **da(:)ŕ*. There is also a tendency of voicing *t- > *d- before *-b- (in **debe* 'camel' < **t'ībŋe*, **debir-* 'to capsize' < **t'ebV* as opposed to **tabiĺgan* < **t'ēba*, but even in the latter case cf. secondary voice in Az. *dowšan).*

2.1.10 PA non-initial *-t'-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*t'	*t	*t / č[i] /-d	*t	*t	*t

Notes

In Mongolian, where all voice distinctions are neutralized in syllable-final position, *t' > -d; *t' is also palatalized (> *č) in front of the following *i, just as in Anlaut.

Examples of PA *-t'- can be found in the following entries: **at'i*, **bàt'í*, **bi̯ǒt'è*, **bǒt'é*, **bǔt'ù*, **ět'è*, **ět'a*, **gắt'ì*, **get'V*, **got'ò*, **gǘt'ù*, **ìt'á*, **ìt'ù*, **it'VKV*, **i̯ǒt'íkV*, **i̯ǘt'e*, **kāt'e*, **két'ò*, **két'ò*, **kít'u*, **ki̯ǫ̀t'è*, **kòt'e*, **kŏt'i*, **kòt'V*, **kùt'á*, **k'ét'ò*, **k'i̯ǒt'ekV*, **k'i̯ōt'e*, **làt'á* (~ *ĺ-*), **mét'i(-rkV)*, **mét'ò*, **mi̯at'è*,

**mi̯at'i, *mi̯ót'i, *mi̯ot'i, *mŭt'i, *nìt'á, *nìt'à, *ńùt'V, *i̯ŏt'à(mu), *ŏt'è, *pàt'á, *păt'e, *pi̯ăt'è, *pi̯ăt'e, *pŭt'ò, *pVt'okV, *p'át'à, *p'ăt'à(-kV), *p'ăt'à, *p'ăt'i, *p'út'a, *p'ŏt'è, *p'ŏt'è, *sít'i, *sìt'ò, *sitV, *ši̯ăt'i, *tèt'o, *t'ăt'u, *t'ut'i, *t'utV, *ut'à, *ót'ó(rV), *t'at'àkV, *si̯ót'e, *pát'ò, *t'ăt'e.*

The number of clear cases with *-t'- is smaller than of those with *t'-, because the reflexes of *-t'- are different from those of *-t- only in intervocalic position in Kor. and Mong. (and even in Mong. the two phonemes coincide in the position of palatalization, i.e. before *i). The distinction, however, is indirectly supported by Jpn., where non-initial *t' is subject to secondary voicing (prenasalization), as opposed to PA *t. Cf.:

1. **at'i > *itua, *bi̯ŏt'e > *pútá, *bŭt'u > *pùt-, *ĕt'a > *átúkáp-, *găt'i > *kítár-, *got'o > *kəti, *gŭt'u > *kutu-, *ìt'u > *ùt-, *i̯ŏt'ikV > *ìtínkuà, *két'o > *kátù, *kít'u > *kútúrənk-, *ki̯ŏt'e > *kàtài, *kŏt'i > *kutu-, *k'ét'o > *kátá-, *mét'i(-rkV) > *mitua, *mét'o > *mátà-, *mi̯at'e > *mətər-, *mi̯ot'i > *mita, *mŭt'i > *muta, *ńùt'V > *màti, *i̯ŏt'a(mu) > *àtàmà, *ŏt'e > *ətá-nà, *pàt'a > *pàtàr-, *pi̯ăt'e > *pətàp- / *pùtùk-, *pŭt'o > *pəta, *pVt'okV > *pàtàtàkí-su, *p'at'a > *pátà / *pàtá, *p'ăt'a(-kV) > *pátá, *p'ăt'a > *pàtàk-, *p'út'a > *pátà, p'ŏt'e > *pàtà-pər-, *p'ŏt'e > *pətə, *sít'i > *sítáp-, *sìt'o > *sìtəmi, *ši̯ăt'i > *sitəki, *t'ăt'u > *tútú-nká, *t'ut'i > *tutuk-, *t'utV > *təti, *ut'a > *ata-p-, *t'at'akV > *tatak-, *pát'o > *pátà;*
2. **băt'i > *pìntì, *bŏt'e > *pàntàk-, *ĭt'a > *àntùkàr-, *kut'a > *kàntuá, *lăt'a > *nàntá, *nìt'a > *nàntà- / *nàntá-, *sitV > *sintai, *ót'o(rV) > *ántárá, *t'ăt'e > *tàntùk-.*

2.1.11 PA initial *t

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*t-	*d-	*d- / č[i]	*d- /ǯ(i̯)	*t-	*t- / d[i,ə]

Notes.

Mong. has č- in the position before -i-, even though the reflexes of *t'- and *t- are distinguished in other positions. The only exception is the numeral "two", where Mong. has *ǯiw- / ǯui-* - probably because in all other cases the sequence **ti̯V-* had first changed to **ti-* and then to **či-*, whereas here **ti̯u-* was preserved longer and finally yielded **di̯u- > *ǯu-*.

The TM languages show palatalization in sequences with diphthongs: **ǯola < *ti̯ŏ́li, *ǯō(l) < *ti̯ŏ́le, *ǯube < *ti̯ubu, *ǯir- < *ti̯āre*, whereas the sequence **ti-* itself stays intact and yields **di-*. Note that this differs from the behaviour of **t'i̯-* and **di̯-* which never get palatalized in TM.

Japanese has a clearcut distribution here: *t in front of voiceless aspirated consonants and +back *a, *u; *d in front of -back *i, *ə, cf.:

1. *tĕp'e > PJ *támp-, *tằba > *tàpì, *tàbu > *tùpìjái, *tagu > *tuku-nai, *taja > *tajə-r-, *tál[u] > *túrá-, *tàńo > *tànuà-, *tằnŋù > *tùna, *tara > *tari, *tāŋa > *táná, *tà̀bú > *tùmpúnai, *tĕma > *támá, *tĕmo > *támár-, *tèmo > *tàmà, *tègà > *tàkài, *tēga > *taka, *tĕla > *tar(a)-, *tè̀tu > *tùtù-, *tḭùke > *tùk-, *tì̀bulka > *tùmpákì, *tógi > *túkà, *tok'a > *takua, *tó́ru > *túrúmpài, *túbu > *túpí, *tùdi > *tùtù-, *tŭ̀gi > *tùk-, *tuju > *tua-p-, *tumi > *tuntumi, *túŋi > *túmà, *turi > *tura, *tùru > *tùrû, *tŭ́jk'u > *túnka-, *tūri > *tùtùm-, *tūti > *tútú
2. *tắlba > *dásà, *tàĺbe > *dàsàp-, *tắjV > *(d)ia, *télki > *(d)íká(n)ta, *tĕ́re > *dántá-ri, *tèri > *(d)ìrà, *tḭó́le > *(d)i, *tḭó́li > *(d)ísì, *tire > *(d)ír-, *tíri > *(d)ita-, *tóle > *dá, *tòlu > *dàr-, *tó́j- > *də-

2.1.12 PA non-initial *t

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*t	*t	*d / č[i]	*t	*r / -t	*t

Examples of non-initial *t can be found in the following entries: *ătV, *bằtò, *bŭ̀té, *čḭ́átu, *găte, *gàtù, *ite, *ìtí, *kḭáta, *kḭ́átu, *kḭùtí, *k'ĕta, *k'et[o], *mèto, *m[ḭu]ti, *nḭutu, *pótirkV, *pōto, *p'ĕ́ta, *p'ĕ̀tá, *p'ĕ́t[e], *sḭóti, *sḭata, *sḭútu, t'otá, *t'[u]tV́, *zḭó́ta, *šḭòto, *pŭ̀ti.

Notes.

See above (notes to *-t'-) for an explanation of the relatively low number of clearly reconstructed *-t'- and *-t- (in a great number of cases the two phonemes cannot be distinguishedr).

Korean must originally have had *-d- (> MKor. -r-) in intervocalic position, but *-t in syllable-final position. This is clearly seen in verbal paradigms like *mūd-* (i.e. *mūt- / mūrV-*) and *tăd-* (i.e. *tăt- / tărV-*), as well as in roots of the CVCV structure, where Korean normally has -r- (*piri-*, *čūri-*), except for cases where an early vowel reduction in the first syllable occurred (*sta(h)*, *ptit*). Sometimes however the -t-grade was already in MKor. analogically extended to the intervocalic position, and thus we have *mit-*, *tat-* without any alternations. No alternations are attested in nominal paradigms, cf. *sot, soth* with uniform -t-.

In Japanese, medial *-t- is never voiced except for a few cases after an original aspirated stop: *p'ĕ̀ta > *pàntá, *t'ota > *tanta-juap-, *t'[u]tV > *tàntə-, which proves that such roots underwent progressive aspiration in early PJ (> *p'ĕ̀t'a, *t'ot'a, *t'[u]t'V), after which prenasalization (voicing) became possible.

2.1.13 PA initial *d

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*d-	*j-	*d- / ǯ[i]	*d-	*t-	*d- / t[V+*p',*t', *k',*č']

Notes.

In Mong. *d- > *ǯ- in front of the following -i-. Before other vowels palatalization normally does not occur; a few cases like *ǯaha < *di̯ògе and *ǯehü-wün < *dēgni probably reflect a later secondary vowel shift (*ǯiha > *ǯa'a and *ǯihü-wün > *ǯe'ün) in the specific hiatus environment after loss of -h-.

In Jpn. there must have been an early devoicing of *d- in front of the following voiceless aspirated consonants: in this position *d- behaves exactly as *t'-, i.e. yields voiceless t-. Otherwise it gives a uniform *d-reflex. Here are all the cases of devoicing: PA *dǎk'i > *tìkà-, *dǎŋkV > *tànká, *dělp'a > *tàpìra, *dělp'i > *timpə-, *dék'a > *tákái, *dǐl(o)-čʻV > *tàsì, *di̯up'u > *tumpasa.

2.1.14 PA non-initial *d

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*d	*d	*d / ǯ[i]	*d	*r / -t	*t / [*iV,*j] j

Examples of non-initial *-d- can be found in the following entries: *ădV, *bădo, *bădì, *bědù, *bi̯udu, *bi̯udi, *bi̯údò, *bi̯ùdo, *bòdà, *bŏdé, *bodi, *buda, *čʻadVbV, *ĕda, *ĕdV, *ēda, *gĕdì, *gi̯odV, *gòdè, *gódú, *idV, *i̯ude, *i̯ŏde, *i̯uda, *i̯udi(rV), *i̯ŭdu, *i̯ûdu, *kădaŋV, *kádì(rV), *kádù, *kadV, *ki̯adi, *ki̯ód[o], *ki̯àdi, *ki̯ădu, *tʻi̯udu, *ki̯udu, *ki̯ŭdi, *kude, *kʻada, *kʻádí(-rV), *kʻàd[ú], *kʻědò, *kʻi̯ăda, *kʻi̯údo(rgV), *kʻŏda, *kʻude, *kʻùdì, *mi̯údu, *módè, *mude, *nad[i], *ni̯údurgi, *ni̯údi, *nŏdà, *odi, *pădà, *pédá, *pʻădì, *pʻădo, *pʻădV, *pʻāda, *pʻedí, *pʻi̯udo, *pʻude, *pʻŭdi, *ni̯ădda, *sedurkʻV, *sèdá, *sidí, *sido, *sidu, *sidV, *sōdV, *suda, *tădе, *tùdì, *tʻédù, *odi, *udu, *udV, *udV, *ǯādV, *si̯udu, *ǯàdé, *tĭdu.

Notes.

Korean shows here the same distribution as for *-t-, i.e. -r- in intervocalic position, but -t in syllable-final position (cf. verbal paradigms like *kāt- / kərV-, nud- / nurV-, kjəd- / kjərV-, pid- / pirV-). A generalization of -t- occurred in *kot-* 'straight' and the nouns *mut, pāt*; on the other hand, -r- has been preserved in *phir* < **pirh* < **pirVh* < **budVkV* and in *nir-kup* < **nadi-* 'seven', probably because of a late vowel reduction.

Just as in the case with *-t-, the stop is preserved in cases of an early vowel reduction in the first syllable (*sti-, stii, ptui-* etc.).

PTM usually preserves *-d- quite well, except in trisyllabic stems of the type CVdVrCV (**xürgü* < **k'i̯udorgV*, **ńurga* < **ni̯adurgi*, **xargan* < **k'adi-rgV*, **burgu-* < **bĕdu-rgV*), where -d- has disappeared in the secondary cluster *-dr- < *-dVr-.

Japanese has the same distribution of reflexes as for *-b-, i.e. *-j- after diphthongs, but *-t- elsewhere, with occasional prenasalization > *-nt-:

1. **bi̯udu* > **pi̯uj-* > **pí-n-kai*, **bi̯udi* > **pìjú*, **bi̯údo* > **pújù*, **bi̯ùdo* > **pùjàkà-*, **i̯ude* > **əja(n)si*, **i̯uda* > **aja*, **i̯udi(rV)* > **iá-r-*, **i̯ŭdu* > **i*, **ki̯adi* > **kí-*, **ki̯ód[o]* > **kájuá-p-*, **ki̯udu* > **kui*, **k'i̯ằda* > **kàjù-*, **mi̯údu* > **múi*, **ni̯údurgi* > **níji-* > **nínkír-*, **ni̯udi* > **ní-*, **ni̯ằda* > **nàjàm-*, **si̯udu* > **sia;*
2. **bằdi* > **pitapi*, **bĕ̀du* > **pùtuà-*, **bòda* > **bàtà*, **č'adVbV* > **tatipi-*, **gĕ̀di* > **kítà*, **gòde* > **kə̀tàpa-*, **kádi(rV)* > **kítú-*, **kádu* > **kútúwá*, **k'ĕ̀do* > **kəti*, **k'ùdi* > **kùtù-pìkì*, **móde* > **mə́tə́-pər-*, **nŏ̀da-* > **nàtùkà-*, **pằda* > **pátà*, **p'ắdi* > **pítú*, **p'āda* > **pátú-*, **tùdi* > **tùtù-*, **t'édu* > **tútáp-*, **tĭ̀du* > **tùtùmí;*
3. **bŏ̀de* > **bántə́r-*, **ēda* > **ántá*, **gódu* > **kúntár-*, **k'adi(-rV)* > **káintúr-*, **k'ad[u]* > **kùntùr-*, **p'edi* > **pintua-*, **sèda* > **sàntàmà-*, **sidi* > **sintar-*, **udu* > **ùntài*, **péda* > **pantara*, **ǯàde* > **dántə́.*

In a few cases before a nasal PA *-d- > Jpn. -n-, cf. **kắdaŋV* > **káni-pà*; **t'i̯udu* > **tùnâi* (= PT **Tidin*); **nad[i]* > **nana-* (= PTM **nadan*).

2.1.15 PA initial *n-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*n-	*j-	*n-	*n-	*n-	*n-

Note.

Before original *i and *-i̯-diphthongs, PTM may have ń- instead of n- here (the distinction of *n- and *ń- in PTM in this position is very dubious), so in this position the best evidence for the distinction is presented by Mongolian (which has *ǯ < *ń) and Japanese (which has *m < *ń), see below. Otherwise PA *n- is quite stable and preserved everywhere except Turkic (where all non-nasal resonants > *j-).

2.1.16 PA non-initial *n

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*n	*n	*n	*n	*n	*n

Examples of non-initial *n can be found in the following entries: **ắni*, **ằni*, **ā́ni*, **čĭ̯ŭ́nu* (?), **di̯ā́no*, **enu*, **énV*, **éna(kV)*, **gènə́*, **gŭ̀no*, **ína*, **i̯unu*, **i̯ŭ́ne*, **i̯ùnì*, **ì̀na*, **kằnu*, **kā́na*, **ki̯úne*, **kòna(-kV)*, **kune*, **guna*,

PTM usually preserves *-d- quite well, except in trisyllabic stems of the type CVdVrCV (**xürgü* < **kʻi̯udorgV*, **ńurga* < **ni̯adurgi*, **xargan* < **kʻadi-rgV*, **burgu-* < **bĕdu-rgV*), where -d- has disappeared in the secondary cluster *-dr- < *-dVr-.

Japanese has the same distribution of reflexes as for *-b-, i.e. *-j- after diphthongs, but *-t- elsewhere, with occasional prenasalization > *-nt-:

1. **bi̯udu* > **pi̯uj-* > **pí-n-kai*, **bi̯udi* > **pìjú*, **bi̯údo* > **púju*, **bi̯ùdo* > **pùjàkà-*, **i̯ude* > **əja(n)si*, **i̯uda* > **aja*, **i̯udi(rV)* > **iá-r-*, **i̯ŭdu* > **i*, **ki̯adi* > **kí-*, **ki̯ód[o]* > **kájuá-p-*, **ki̯udu* > **kui*, **kʻi̯ăda* > **kàjù-*, **mi̯údu* > **múi*, **ni̯údurgi* > **níji-* > **nínkír-*, **ni̯udi* > **ní-*, **ni̯ăda* > **nàjàm-*, **si̯udu* > **sia;*
2. **bădi* > **pitapi*, **bĕdu* > **pùtuà-*, **bòda* > **bàtà*, **čʻadVbV* > **tatipi-*, **gĕdi* > **kítà*, **gòde* > **kətàpa-*, **kádi(rV)* > **kítú-*, **kádu* > **kútúwá*, **kʻĕdo* > **kəti*, **kʻùdi* > **kùtù-pìkì*, **móde* > **mátə-pər-*, **nŏda-* > **nàtùkà-*, **păda* > **pátà*, **pʻădi* > **pítú*, **pʻāda* > **pátú-*, **tùdi* > **tùtù-*, **tʻédu* > **tútáp-*, **tĭ̀du* > **tùtùmí;*
3. **bŏde* > **bántər-*, **ēda* > **ántá*, **gódu* > **kúntár-*, **kʻadi(-rV)* > **káintúr-*, **kʻad[u]* > **kùntùr-*, **pʻedi* > **pintua-*, **sèda* > **sàntàmà-*, **sidi* > **sintar-*, **udu* > **ùntài*, **péda* > **pantara*, **ǯàde* > **dántá.*

In a few cases before a nasal PA *-d- > Jpn. -n-, cf. **kădaŋV* > **káni-pà*; **tʻi̯udu* > **tùnâi* (= PT **Tɨdɨn*); **nad[i]* > **nana-* (= PTM **nadan*).

2.1.15 PA initial *n-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*n-	*j-	*n-	*n-	*n-	*n-

Note.

Before original *i and *-i̯-diphthongs, PTM may have ń- instead of n- here (the distinction of *n- and *ń- in PTM in this position is very dubious), so in this position the best evidence for the distinction is presented by Mongolian (which has *ǯ < *ń) and Japanese (which has *m < *ń), see below. Otherwise PA *n- is quite stable and preserved everywhere except Turkic (where all non-nasal resonants > *j-).

2.1.16 PA non-initial *n

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*n	*n	*n	*n	*n	*n

Examples of non-initial *n can be found in the following entries: **ăni*, **ànì*, **ăni*, **čɨ̯ŭnu* (?), **di̯ăno*, **enu*, **ĕnV*, **ĕna(kV)*, **gèná*, **gùno*, **ĭna*, **i̯unu*, **i̯ŭne*, **i̯ùnì*, **ìna*, **kằnu*, **kắna*, **ki̯úne*, **kòna(-kV)*, **kune*, **guna*,

**kʲiune, *kʲə̀no, *kʲiə̆no, *kʲiŭnu, *kʲòbàni, *mana, *mána, *mə̆n[u], *mènò, *miə̆ni, *mùne, *múnu, *nə̆ne, *ńə̀na, *ŋéni, *ŋénu, *ə́ni, *ə̀ni, *ə̀nV, *pùnV, *pə̆ne, *pʻiani, *piànà, *pʻiun[e], *pʻŭnV, *sə̀ni, *sə̀nV, *siono, *siə̆na, *siùnu, *siə̆ni, *sióna, *sə̀nu, *sə̀na, *sùnà, *sūnu, *tʻānо, *tʻə̆nV, *tʻiùni, *zíni, *ziə̀ni, *sə̀ni, *kunu, *ziōnu.*

Notes.

Non-initial *n is usually rather stable in Altaic languages. Cases when it is lost comprise the following:

a. In Mong., *-n- is lost before the nominal suffix -su (*či-su* < **čin-sun*); but just as in Japanese (see below), it is the only attested case of such a development and the root may in fact have been **čiū*. In a couple of cases *-n- was assimilated to a neighbouring velar and became *-n- > *-ŋ- > -h- (*neγü* < **ŋēni*, *küγün* < **kiune*).

b. In TM, *-n- is sometimes lost in verbal monosyllabic roots after a long vowel: **sī-* (**sə̄-*) < **siūni*, **ā(n)-* < **āni*.

c. Korean regularly loses *-n- in the cluster *-jn-, cf. *čăi, kə̄i, mjə-k*; after a labial, *n is frequently assimilated to m, cf. *mom, pom, pom-nor-, s-pam*. Finally, sometimes *n > *ń, probably due to the original following front vowel, cf. *nań(ă)-, əńirim, ańă, mińi-*.

d. Unlike most other resonants, -n- seems to be always preserved in Japanese. The only exception seems to be **tí* 'blood' < PA **čiŭnu*. It cannot thus be excluded that we should reconstruct a monosyllabic **čiū* here, with a secondarily added suffix -n in Turkic (**dīn*) and Manchu (*ǯun*).

2.1.17 PA initial *s-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-, h-	*s-

Notes

Mongolian sometimes shows assimilation *sVč- > *čVč- (cf. **sarču* > **čarča-*, **sə̀č'i* > **seče-* / **čeče-*, **siuču* > **čiča-*, **suču* > **čučal(i)*, **s[ió]č'i* > **soči-* / **čoči-*). It seems that *s- has completely passed into *č- before *-č-, but is preserved better (with later dialectal variation s-/č-) before *-č'-, but the number of examples is rather limited and we would better postpone making final decisions.

In Korean we have a double reflex: *h- before PA *-ia-, *-io- (except in cases of vowel reduction, when *s- stays as the first element of a cluster), but *s- in all other cases.

1. **siə̆bi* > **hō-*, **siə̀jri* > **hjà*, **siame* > **hàmír*, **siə̆ŕi* > **hə̆rk*, **siarpu* > **hār*, **siə̀jri* > **hə̆i-*, **sioga* > **hoar*, **sióga* > **hə-*, **siògе* > **hók*, **siə̀gu* > **hə̆i*,

*s̯óle > *hằ-, *s̯óna > *hằnàh, *s̯ŏ̀rme > *hím, *s̯ót'e > *hàthúi, *s̯ṑje > *hjāi-, *s̯ŏ́jri > *hjá, *hàr-, *s̯ōlu > *húrí-, *s̯ŏ́l[e] > *hār-, *s̯ōjru > *hjə.

2. *sa > *sà-, *sagu > *sòth, *sə̆jgo > *sə̆i-, *sajri > *sjá-, *sə̆́jV > *sə̆i-m, **sə̆̀kà > *sah-, *sə̆k'V > *sàk-, *sali > *sirh-, *saĺ(b)i > *sər-, *sápa > *sàpók, *sə̆p'i > *sàp, *sə̆̀p'i > *sap-, *sàrp'a > *sárp, *sàru > *súrí, *sə̆́ri > *sari-, *sèk'u > *sàkí-, *sĕme > *sam, *sĕ̀ni > *sín, *sejŋi > *sjā'òŋ, *sèp'o > *sōp, *seri > *sìr'ái, *sero > *sàrí-, *seru(k'V) > *sərk, *sése > *sìskú-, *sési > *sàsə̆́m, *sebe > *s̯ìpɨ̀-, *sĕ̀gu > *sà'ó-nab-, *sə̆́mi > *sām, *sŭre > *sār-, *sílV > *sìrì, *sĭ́lgu > *sir-, *síŋri > *sì'úr, *sìŋu > *sìin, *siŕu > *sìrím, *sìt'o > *sàtə̆̀ri, *s̯iuga > *sāi, *s̯iuru > *sir-, *s̯iuŋe > *sáŋ-, *s̯iúnŋi > *sòní, *s̯iŭ́re > *sòrə̆́i, *s̯iúsa > *sàsə̆́r, *s̯iŭ́jro > *sjāi-, *s̯iŭ́na > *s(j)ən-, *s̯iŭ́ra > *sàrə̆-, *sīĺa > *sár, *sĭ́la > *sàr-, *sóga > *sù'ìr, *soge > *sūi-, *sogŋV > *soŋ'i, *sŏ̀nu > *sànhə̆̀iŋ, *sŏ̀k'e > *sòk-, *sólo > *sə̆r-, *sóra > *sə̆́rb-, *suga > *sói, *súgo > *so'ok, *sugu > *sɨŋ'a, *sùjli > *súi, *sŭ́ku > *sok-kori, *suk'e > *sak-, *súme > *sàm, *sŭ́ri > *sír-, *sū > *su.

The only exception known is *s̯ŏ́su > *sìs-, *sɨ̀s-, where preservation of *s- is clearly explained by assimilation, just as in *s̯uču > *čɨ̀čhɨ́i- and *s[i̯ó]č'i > *čòčh-.

2.1.18 PA non-initial *s

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*s	*s	*s	*s	*s	*s

Examples for *-s- can be found in the following entries: *ase, *bási, *bi̯ási, *bi̯òsá, *bŭsi, *bi̯ùsí, *mi̯usi, *dasa, *dắsi, *dísa, *eso, *ès[i], *gaso, *gi̯ose, *gusa, *ìsú, *isV, *i̯úse, *kaserV, *kasa, *késu, *kesa, *kesV, *kíso, *ki̯osa, *kósV, *kusu, *k'ắsi, *k'ə̆si, *k'ásV, *k'ə̆́sa, *k'ĕsa, *k'i̯ŏ̀sú, *k'i̯úsè, *k'i̯ŭso, *k'i̯ŭ́se, *k'usa, *másа, *màsò, *mésV, *mi̯úsu, *mùsi, *mŭ̀sV, *nàsà, *ńésa, *nèse, *ŋŭ̀sí, *orusi, *ŏ̀se, *pə̆̀si, *pĕ̀su, *pĭ̀sa, *pi̯ósò, *púsa, *puse, *pūsa, *p'èsì, *p'ắsi, *pasi, *pĕ̀sá, *p'ísi(KV), *pisV, *p'ís[a], *p'i̯úsa, *p'i̯ŭsi, *p'i̯ŭso, *p'ŭ́sa, *sése, *sési, *si̯ə̀sa, *si̯ŏ́su, *si̯úsa, *t'aso, *t'i̯àsá, *t'ŏ̀si, *t'i̯ŏ̀so, *ùso, *úsu, *zi̯ə́su, *ži̯oso, *gi̯aso, *ni̯oso.

It seems to be the most stable Altaic phoneme, preserved without any changes in all branches.

In Jpn. it almost never gets voiced (prenasalized), except in some clusters (see below); the only exceptions are: *pánsú < *p'ŭ́sa, *pa(n)sa- < *puse, *pa(n)sai < *púsa and *kínsú < *k'ắsi. Reasons for voicing in these four cases are not yet clear.

TDK
KİTAPLIĞI

2.1.19 PA *z-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*z-	*j-	*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-

Notes.

PA *z- is distinguished from *s- only within Turkic (*j- < *z- vs. *s- < *s-) which explains its relative rareness: when there is no Turkic reflex, one can reconstruct either *z- or *s-. A trace of the distinction *z- : *s- is, however, recoverable also in Korean, where *z-, unlike *s-, can never give a *h-reflex, even in the position before diphthongs, cf.: *z̧ə̆lVbi > *sjə̄rb-, *z̧ə̂su > *sə̀sk-, *z̧o̲ĺa > *sə̀r-.

This allows us to additionally reconstruct *z- in several cases when the Turkic reflex is absent: *z̧ə̀[k´]ó, *z̧ə̀mo, *z̧ō̲nu.

Another peculiarity of PA *z is that it is only found in word-initial position. This may indicate that it is either a complementary variant of some other PA phoneme (either *r, *ŕ or *j - neither of these three occurs in word-initial position), or has merged word-medially with some other phoneme (either *-s- or *-ʒ-). This problem cannot so far be resolved from within Altaic.

2.1.20 PA *-r-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*r	*r	*r	*r	*r	*r, *t

PA *-r- is one of the most frequent phonemes, but found only non-initially; examples can be found in the following entries: *ə̆jVrV, *ə̆ra, *ara, *arV, *ə̆rV, *ə̆́rV, *bə̆́ra, *bə̀rì, *bə̀ri, *bə̀ré, *bi̯are, *bi̯or[a], *bi̯ó̲r[é], *bi̯ura, *bi̯uri, *bi̯ure, *bí̆re, *bó̆ru, *bù̆ri, *čə̆rikV, *tə̆́re, *čʲi̯ŭru, *čʲŭ̀ra, *čʲə̀ro, *čʲera, *čʲĭre, *čʲire, *čʲò̲rV, *čʲ[i̯o]ra, *dari, *dərV(mV), *di̯ari, *dorVkV, *dòru, *dòru, *dōre, *egVrV, *ə̀ra, *èrì, *ə́ro, *ə́ra, *ə́re, *gàrá, *gera, *gə̀rè(bV), *gə̆rV, *giru, *gi̯ə̆ri, *gi̯ə̆́ru, *gi̯óra, *gə̀re, *gure, *gŭri, *gùri, *tara, *i̯ə̀ré(KV), *ìri, *íru, *orV, *i̯aru, *i̯ò̲re, *i̯ugerV, *ūre, *i̯ùru, *i̯úrù, *íre, *ì̀rú, *íru, *kabari, *kàra, *kara, *kàra(ma), *kàrò(mV), *kare, *kèro, *kàru, *kə̆rV, *kaserV, *kéra, *kéro, *keru(ĺV), *kə̀ru, *kìro, *ki̯ə̆ro, *ki̯aʒurV, *ki̯óru, *ki̯ó̲r[i], *ki̯ure, *ki̯urumV, *koru, *kóre, *kúra(mV), *kure, *kuri, *kúro(mV), *kŭ̀rV, *ki̯ə̆ru, *kʲə̆ra, *kʲi̯ā̆ra, *kʲáru , *kʲə̀re, *kʲer[o], *kʲēro, *kʲĭrégV, *kʲìri, *kʲírù, *kʲi̯ə̂rà, *kʲi̯ə̀re, *kʲi̯óbarV, *kʲi̯ó̲ro, *kʲi̯ura, *kʲi̯ure, *kʲi̯ùru, *kʲi̯ŭ̀rú, *kʲi̯ŭ̀ru(mV), *kʲi̯ú̆re, *kʲóp`ìra, *kʲoru, *kʲó̆ra, *kʲori, *kʲùre, *kʲ[ŭ̀]ri, *mə̆́ro, *méra, *mi̯ore, *mi̯óri, *mi̯ùri, *mò̀ro, *mórV, *múra, *mŭ́ro, *m[í]ro, *nèra, *ŋə̀rá, *nə̆́re, *ńə̆ra, *néro, *ni̯ò̲ri, *nĭ̀ra, *ni̯uru, *ńóro, *núra, *nŭ́ru, *ŋurV, *ó̆ri, *óru, *ò̲rù, *orusi, *ò̲rV, *ó̆re, *ebVrV, *ò̲r(e)kV, *pi̯àri, *pi̯óro(-kʲV), *pi̯ó̲ro, *pŏ̀ru, *púre,

**pure, *pĭ̀rò, *pʻárà, *pʻărV, *pʻára, *pʻèrì, *pʻèro, *pʻerV, *pʻéra, *pʻîrá, *pʻĭ̂ru, *pʻi̯ári, *pʻi̯áru, *pʻi̯árV, *pʻi̯ôrí, *pʻi̯ŭri, *pʻôre, *pʻûri, *pʻôrV, *pʻóre, *pʻúri, *pʻŭrV, *pʻŭrVkʻV, *pʻù̆ri, *sàru, *sara, *sero, *sáro, *saru, *sarV, *seri, *seru(kʻV), *sera, *sĭ̀ra, *sire, *si̯orekʻV, *sira, *si̯ú̆ra, *sóra, *sú̆ri, *sèrV̀, *sèru, *ši̯ôri, *ši̯ŭru, *ši̯ú̆r[e], *tărа, *tárV, *tàro, *tēru, *tèrì, *tire, *ti̯ă̆re, *tĭ́ri, *turi, *tùru, *tūri, *tʻaŋgiri, *tʻari, *tʻéra, *tʻèra, *tʻiru, *tʻi̯ă̆ru, *tʻi̯òra, *tʻi̯ú̆re, *tʻĭ́ri, *tʻoŋerV, *tʻŏri, *tʻóro(-kʻV), *tʻoru, *tʻóro, *tʻórV, *tʻór[e], *tʻi̯ò̆re, *ŭra, *ura, *ŏri, *ú̆ro, *zàrá, *zēra, *zuru, *zi̯à̆re, *ʒă̆ra, *ʒére, *ʒé̆ro, *ʒèri, *ʒi̯aru(kV), *ʒĭ́rV, *šero, *ʒŭ̀rVko, *sà̆rV, *i̯ure, *ár̆i, *si̯òri.*

Notes.

Korean frequently has -j- as a development of *-jr-.

In Jpn., the distribution between -r- and -t- is as yet unclear: it may well be that Jpn. here reflects some original distinction lost in other languages. A suspicious fact is an extreme frequency of non-initial *r, far exceeding that of any other PA phoneme, which may be an indication that we are in fact dealing here with two original phonemes, perhaps still distinguished in Japanese.

Besides -t-, Japanese sometimes has voiced (prenasalized) *-nt-. Unlike with the stops, however, the distribution here appears to be plainly positional: *-nt- in the vast majority of cases appears in intervocalic position before the following intervocalic -r-: cf. **tĕ́re > *dántá-ri, *gi̯óra > kántúrá, *keru > *kunturi, *koru > *kùntírà, *ôr(e)kV > *àntàràk-, *pʻi̯ōri > *pìntárí, *šèru > *sùntàre, *ʒi̯aru > *dunturi.* Voiceless *-t- does not appear in such a position except in verbal stems, where the following -r- is syllable-final (**ĭ́re > *ítár-, *kʻēro > *kátár-, *saru > *sutar-*). In a few other cases (**i̯úru > *úntì, *seri > *sìntí, *mi̯ŭri > *mí(ntú), *nĭ̆ra > *nàntùki, *pʻire > *pintipa*) the reasons for voicing are not quite clear: note that the last two words are not actually attested in modern dialects and the readings with -nt- (OJ -d-) may in fact be fictitious, and -ntú in **mí-ntú* 'water' may be a suffix (the root is **mí* and may go back to PA **mi̯ūri-gV*, see below).

In nominal stems Jpn. has several cases of *-r- > -0-, all of which should be explained by original suffixation: **pà-* 'fire' < **pʻore-gV; *pa* 'leaf' < **pure-gV* (cf. Mong. **bor-gu-*), **kua* 'flour' < **gure-gV, *mə* 'weed' < **moro-gV* or *-ŋV* (cf. Evk. *moriŋā*), **bi* 'well, spring' < **bi̯ujri-gV* (cf. TM **bira-ga*), *kua* 'basket' < **kʻure-gV, *pia* 'layer' < **pi̯ari-gV* (cf. TM **par-ga-*) or **-ŋV* (cf. PT **biar-ŋa-k*), *ta* 'field' < **tʻi̯ora-gV* (cf. Mong. **tari-ja-* < **tari-ɣa-*), *pu* 'growth' < **pʻŭri-gV* (cf. Turk. **urug*), *su* 'nest' < **zuru-gV,* perhaps also **mí* 'water' < **mi̯ūri-gV* (cf. Man. *mū-ke*).

In Mong. *r is normally preserved, although there are some indications that it could have been lost before the nominal suffixes *-su-, *-du

(cf. **ǰi-sü-*, **mo-du-*). There is also one case of a presumable metathesis *-r-l- > *-l-r- (**beltereg* < **ber-teleg*), but this phenomenon is much less widespread than the reverse one (i.e. *-l-r- > *-r-l-, see below).

Just as *l is dissimilated before the following *l (see below), *r in Mongolian was possibly dissimilated before the following *-r-, and the combination *-rVr- yielded *-hVr- (*-ɣVr-). Cases like this are, however, not easy to find: cf. perhaps *eɣere-* 'seek, wish' < **here-re-* < PA **p'ĕro*; on **kajir(a)-* 'bark' < **kari-ra* < PA **k'ĕŕa* see below.

In TM, *-r- (just like *-n-) sometimes is lost in monosyllabic roots after a long vowel: **bū-* < **bi̯ōr[e]*, **bū-* < **būri*, **mō* < **mūro*, **mū* < **mi̯ūri*, **ī-* < **īre-*, **sē* < **zēra*, **dā* < **tārV*.

2.1.21 PA initial *l-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*l-	*j-	*l-, n-	*l-	*n-	*n-

Notes.

There are only about 40 clear examples of initial *l- because it is distinguished from *Ĺ (or *lı) only in Mongolian (where the latter > *d- / *ǰ-, see below). The distinction between *l- and *Ĺ- is thus not absolutely secure, but rather probable because it supports the distinction of non-initial *l and *Ĺ.

Turkic, Korean and Japanese do not distinguish reflexes of *l- from those of *n- (see above). Tungus has regularly *l- here (although within Tungus there exists a strong tendency of confusing *l- and *n- as well); Mongolian has in many cases preserved *l- (especially before labials, but also in some cases before velars), but many dialects tend to replace *l- by *n-, and in some cases no traces of *l- are preserved at all. Still it may be observed that cases with *l- in Mong. reveal a high rate of correlation with *l- in Tungus (cf. **làbo*, **labV*, **làkŭ*, **lak'a*, **lăŋi*, **láp'i*, **làble*, **lebu(nV)*, **lebV*, **li̯òmu*, **li̯ùbu*, **li̯u[k]u*, **lŭge*). We assume, therefore, that the tendency of *l- > *n- was unilateral, and reconstruct *l- in all cases when it emerges in Tungus and/or Mongolian (note that there does not exist a single case with Mong. *l- and TM *n- - which shows that Mong. *l- cannot be a secondary variant of the original *n-).

Let us once again return to Doerfer's criticism. In TMN 1, 63 he says:

"Ich möchte mich hier kurz fassen und nur soviel sagen, daß ich das gesamte Material für mit l- anlautende Wörter des Tu. durchgearbeitet habe (bei Benzing, 1955a und V), ohne im Tü. und Mo. auch nur ein einziges vergleichbares Wort zu finden."

Let us see what we have:

Turk.	Mong.	TM	PA
	*naɣa- 'on this side'	*la-kV, *la-ŋ 'near'	*la-
*jaba 'very'	*lab / *naj 'very,better'	*lab-du 'many, plenty'	*làbò
*joblač 'fine goat's hair'	*lobsi 'rags'	*leb-/*lab- 'rags'	*labV̀
*jöke 'lime-tree'	*nüger-sü 'alder'	*laKa- 'elm, oak'	*lako
*jak- 'smear'	*lag 'mud, dirt'	*lakti- 'soot'	*làku
	*laka 'sheat-fish'	*laka 'goby'	*lak'a
	*naki- 'to bend'	*laxu- 'to hang'	*làk'ù
*jilik 'marrow'	*nila- 'clingy'	*lala- 'gruel; slime'	*làlè
*jalk- 'suffer pain, be nauseated'	*nal(k)-'be faint, drowsy, weak'	*lali 'be hungry, weak'	*lalV
	*laji 'mud, dirt, silt'	*laŋga 'slimy, clammy'	*lǎŋi
*jap- 'to smooth, level, flat'	*labta- 'to be flat'	*lapta- 'flat'	*láp'ì
*jām-čik > *jān-čik 'pocket, bag'	*nambuga 'leather sack'	*lam(b)a 'bag'	*láḿo
	*namug 'marsh, swamp'	*lāmu 'sea'	*lǎ̀mò
*jāŕ-'to miss, sin'	*nargi- 'to carouse'	*largī 'disorder, commotion'	*lá́ŕgu
	*labku 'marshy ground'	*lebē 'marsh'	*lépù(-nV)
	*labsi- 'eat greedily'	*lebge- id.	*lebV
	*neke- 'to pursue, follow	*leKe- 'intend, demand'	*lèjk'á
*jaglik 'kerchief'	*nolga 'shaman's adornment'	*lelu(ke) 'apron, corsage'	*lélugV
*jam- 'pubic hair, groin'	*lami- 'meat on sheep's rump'	*lemuk 'fat under skin of animals'	*lemV
*jAń- 'to shake, sway'	*naji- 'shake, sway, hang over'	*leŋgī- 'bow, incline'	*leńa
	*najita- 'sneeze'	Ma. leje- 'sing without rhythm'	*l̰iája
*japal (Sib.)	*niɣalta 'spleen'	Orok lipče 'spleen'	*l̰iap'V

Turk.	Mong.	TM	PA
'spleen'			
*jap-ıĺč- 'glue, stick to'	*niγa- id.	*lipa-, *labgān- id.	*làjpʹV
*jagıŕ 'brown'	*nogoγan 'green'	*log- 'green, dark'	*l̥ŏga
Chuv. śəʷmren	*lumu 'bow'	*liam- 'bow, shoot'	*l̥òmù
	*neγüne 'lady bug'	Ud. loŋto 'butterfly'	*l̥òŋè
	*luw-ka 'eye pus'	Evk. lū 'resin, gum'	*l̥ùbu
*jigi/*jıgı 'thick, dense'	*lüg / *lig id.	*lōgdi, *luku(tu) id.	*l̥u[k]u
*jīg-la- 'weep,cry'		*ligi- 'snore'	*lígà
*jügen 'bridle'		*luksi 'belt in a yoke-team'	*lŭge
*jükün- 'to bow'	*nugu- 'to bend'	*loka- 'hanger, to hang'	*luke
	*nowkai 'rodent nest'	*lopi(gi) 'squirrel nest'	*lopʹV
	*nüke 'hole, make a hole	*lokto- 'break through'	*lúkʹì
	*nogtu 'wild boar'	*luke(te) id.	*luko
	*nagaj 'female tarbagan'	*loŋ-sa 'lynx, sable'	*lúŋa
	*nogu-γal 'young of lynx	*luKV 'lynx'	*l[ù]kʹV̀

It is worth noting that both in Mong. and TM *l- may be called "an expressive phoneme": the number of words starting with *l- and meaning 'slimy substance', 'mud', 'to shake, sway', 'snore, shout' is quite considerable. It seems, however, that this was the original PA situation (no matter what caused it ultimately), because several of these roots are undoubtedly common Altaic. But there is also a number of quite neutral roots with *l-, such as **la-* 'near, this side', **làbo* 'more, better', **lako* 'foliate tree', **láp'i* 'flat, broad', **lắmo* 'bag', **lə̀mo* 'sea', **lèjk'a* 'intend, demand', **lélugV* 'kerchief, pendant', **l̥ŏga* 'green, dark', **l̥òmu* 'bow', **l̥ŭ́k'a* 'seam', **lŭge* 'halter, rope for animals', **lopʹV* 'nest', **luko* 'wild pig', **lúŋa* 'furry animal', **lùkʹV* 'lynx' etc.

2.1.22 PA non-initial *l

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*l	*l	*l	*l	*r	*r

Examples for *-l- can be found in the following entries: *agula, *ǎla, *ála, *àlak'u, *ale, *álikV, *àlu, *ǎla, *àle, *ǎli, *àlV, *álV, *balu, *bāla, *pǔlo, *bě̌ló, *belV, *bèli, *bīli, *bi̯ǎlu, *bi̯ǒla, *bi̯ǒla, *bi̯ǒli, *bi̯ǔlò, *bi̯ólò, *bi̯ule, *bi̯ǔle, *bi̯olo, *bǒlo, *bǔli, *bǔlu, *bǔlV, *bulV, *čǎlù, *čǎlo, *čě̌lV, *čèlV, *či̯òlú, *č'ali, *č'àlù, *č'i̯ale, *č'i̯álV, *č'i̯olu, *č'i̯ǒli, *č'ǒli, *č'uli, *dàli, *dalo, *dàli , *talo, *dile, *dě̌lì, *dǐlo, *dilu, *di̯ǔlu, *dǔle, *dǔli, *ělV(-k'V), *ělV, *gǎli, *gǎlV, *gèla, *gèle, *gìlè, *gilu, *gi̯ālu, *gi̯ǎla, *gi̯ǔla, *goli, *gǒli, *gùlì, *ile, *ílék'a, *ìlù, *ìla, *i̯ǒle, *i̯úle, *i̯ùlò, *i̯ùjŋula, *kǎla, *kǎle, *kǎlo, *kalu, *kela, *kele, *ki̯ujilV, *ki̯úli, *kǒlé, *kólè, *kōli, *kǔlV, *k'ala, *k'alo, *k'ale, *k'alVbV, *k'ela, *k'íla, *k'ile, *k'ílo, *k'i̯ǎli, *k'ùla, *k'i̯ǔli, *k'i̯úle, *k'óla, *k'ǒli, *k'uli, *k'úlo, *k'ǔli, *làlè, *lalV, *lélugV, *l̥iul[o], *màli, *màlù, *male, *mála, *màli, *melo, *mě̌lu, *mi̯ali(-k'V), *mi̯alu, *mi̯óle, *mi̯ólo, *mòle, *mólu, *mǒli, *mula, *nālV, *zelo, *ni̯ála, *nóle, *nuli, *nǒ̀lo, *dilu, *ŋǎli, *ŋèlu, *ŋi̯ōle, *ŋǒla, *ǒli, *óligV, *olu, *ǒ̀lu, *pala, *pǎluk'V, *pǎli, *pǎli, *píla, *pǐ̌le, *pi̯ǎlagV, *bǎlu, *púla, *p'ǎlà, *p'éle, *l̥élV, *p'i̯ǐlo, *p'i̯ole, *p'i̯ǒlo, *p'i̯ula, *p'i̯ǎle, *p'ǐ̌le, *p'ǒle, *p'ǔle, *p'ǔli, *p'ǔlo, *sálo, *sali, *sela, *séle, *si̯óle, *sìlá, *sila, *si̯alo(-kV), *si̯ǒlo, *si̯ōlu, *si̯ǔli, *sǐ̌la, *sǒlo, *sǒ̀lV, *šǐ̌lí, *tál[u], *tǎlV, *telV, *tě̌la, *tēlo, *tilV, *tóle, *dǎla, *tòlu, *tole, *tǔlu, *ti̯óle, *t'ǎla, *t'élù, *t'ělV, *t'i̯àlo, *t'i̯ǒlo, *t'i̯ula, *t'i̯ule, *t'ǒlu, *t'ǒlV, *t'olu, *ǔlu, *ulu, *ůlo, *zǎli, *zela, *zi̯ǎlVbi, *zǔli, *žǎlo, *žǎli, *žǎlV, *žela, *žélu, *ži̯ōlu, *ži̯ul[u], *ži̯ůlu, *gi̯òlo, *ni̯àlo, *gi̯ǎlá, *éli, *dala, *čalu, *t'ǒle, *ži̯ale, *ůla, *t'ulu, *dǎlV, *kàla.

Notes.

1. Turkic always preserves l.
2. In Mong. there are some cases of the loss of *-l- before the nominal suffix *-sü-, usually with variation across dialects (cf. *söl-sü 'gall' > WMong. *sösü(n)*, Khalkha *sös*, but MMong. *sülsü*, Bur. *hülhen*). Two other processes must be also mentioned:

a) The sequence *-l-r- is regularly metathesized > *-r-l-, cf. *hurul < *p'ulo, *maral < *mula (although this does not seem to happen before the suffixes -čir, -bur, -kir in *belčir, *čilbur, *čulu-kir, and perhaps in the clusters *jl, *bl cf. *ölir < *ójle, *ǰilar < *di̯úblu).

b) The sequence *-l-l- is regularly dissimilated > *-j-l- (or -h-l- if the intermediate vowel is -e-), cf. *küjil-sü < *k'ōli, *mojil (= PT *beleĺ) < *melu, *beɣelej < *bili, *majila-su < *mi̯alu.

3. In TM *l is well preserved (except for sporadic cases of assimilation in clusters like *xińŋa- < *xil-ŋa- 'hair'). However, just as with *-n- and *-r-, there are cases of the loss of *-l in monosyllabic roots after a

long vowel: **ō-* < **ōlu, *nā* < **nālV, *sō-* < **sōlV, *tī-* < **t'i̯ōlo, *sī* (but **sīl-se*) < **si̯ūli, *ǯō* (but Nan. *ǯōl*) < **ti̯ŏle.*

4. Korean has -0- (-i-) for **-jl-*, cf. *păi* < **p'ējlo, kui* < **k'ūjlu, pih* < **bi̯ujlu, oijə-s* < **ojle, sui* < **sujli.*
5. Japanese loses **-l-* (just like most other resonants) before the original suffix **-gV-*, cf. **ká-* < **kal-gV* < **k'ila-gV* (= PT **Kił-k*, Mong. *kil-ga-*), **dua* < **dul-ga* (or **dul-ba*, cf. TM **dolba?*) < **dŭle, *pa* < **pal-gV* < **pala-gV, *du* < **dul-gV* < **di̯ūlu-gV* (= Mong. **dulaγa-*, PT **jułig*), **da-* < **ǯal-gV* < **ǯalo-gV* (cf. Mong. *ǯalga-*), **pə* (reduplicated **pə-pə*) < **pəl-gV* < **p'ulo-gV, *pu-* < **pul-gV* < **bi̯alu-gV.*
6. Intervocalic **-l-* is lost in Korean and Japanese (but also in some forms of the Turkic paradigm) in a few basic verbal roots: cf. **gele* 'to come', **ōlu* 'to be', **si̯ŏle* 'to make, put', **ala* 'to take, receive', **p'îlo* 'to dry, heat'. This seems to be a Proto-Altaic morphonological peculiarity; see more on that in the section on root structure.

2.1.23 PA initial **č'-*

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
**č'-*	**č-*	**č-*	**č-*	**č-*	**t-*

Note.

Except for Jpn. **č'-* > **t-*, the phoneme is well preserved — but of course lost its originally distinctive aspiration — in all subgroups.

2.1.24 PA non-initial **-č'-*

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
**č'*	**č*	**č*	**č*	**č*	**t*

Examples of non-initial **-č'-* can be found in the following entries: **ǎč'V, *buč'o, *áč'u, *č'éč'i, *č'eč'u, *č'[i]č'V, *ēč'o, *gàč'i, *gi̯óč'e, *ič'u, *ič'V, *ŏč'é, *káč'u, *ki̯ǎč'ù, *kĕč'á, *ki̯ūč'ú, *k'ǎč'V, *máč'à, *máč'V, *mi̯ač'e, *mùč'e, *mŏč'a, *ni̯ač'i, *nĕč'á, *neč'è, *néč'ù, *pi̯ŭč'à, *puč'ù, *p'ač'V, *p'éč'V, *peč'i, *p'îč'i, *p'i̯ǎč'o, *p'úč'í, *sàč'i, *šiàč'í, *s[i̯ó]č'i, *šimuč'V, *t'uč'V, *ùč'e, *ùč'ik'V, *ŭč'o, *úč'u, *ŭč'i, *ǯeč'i, *k'ač'e, *kéč'à.*

Notes.

In Korean a reflex **s* is also possible in consonant clusters after vowel reduction (**čC* is not allowed), and in syllable-final position, where the distinction **-č* : **-s* was already weakened in MKor.: MKor. *kàčh / kàs* 'skin' < **káč'u*, MKor. *năčh, năs* < **ŋi̯àkča, *pìs-kírì-* < **peč'i, *sàskí* < **šiàč'k[o], *skú-mí-* < **ùč'ik'V.*

As in other cases, Japanese here has a split reflex (*-t- or voiced / prenasalized *-nt-):

1. **buč́o > *pətə-pər-, *č́eč́u > *tùtù-nsí, *ēč́o > *ətər-, *ič́u > *utu, *kɨáč́u > *kútí, *máč́a > *mátúr-, *máč́V > *mátuá, *mùč́e > *màtú, *neč́e > *nətì, *ńéč́u > *mútúkár-, *pɨ̀ǔč́a > *pàtùr-, *puč́u > *puta-, *šɨàč́i > *sìtú, *sɨóč́i > *sítá-nkap-, *ùč́ikV > *ùtùkù-, *ǔč́o > *ətá-, *ǯeč́i > *(d)ìtí, *ḱač́e > *kətə, *kéč́a > *kátà, *mənč́u > *mùtù-ki, *mɨúkč́a > *mútì*
2. *č́éč́i > *tíntí-, *ǒč́e > *ántá-, *kěč́a > *kəntuá, *kɨuč́u > *kùntək-, *něč́a > *nəntá-, *ṕúč́i > *púntí, *ṕɨ̌ǎnč́i > *pínták-.*

2.1.25 PA initial *č-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*č-	*d-	*d- /*č[i]	*ǯ-	*č-	*t-

Notes.

This phoneme was first reconstructed in АПиПЯЯ, on the basis of examples with *d- in Turkic and Mongolian correlated with affricate reflexes in TM and Korean.

In Turkic and Mongolian PA *č- early merged with PA *t- and yields exactly the same results. The reflex of *č- and *t- is quite similar also in Japanese; but note that PA *č- never yields *d- (unlike *t- which gives *d- before i, ə). Finally, in Korean and Tungus the reflex of *č- is the same as that of *ǯ- (q.v.).

2.1.26 PA non-initial *-č-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*č	*č	*č	*s	*č	*s

Examples for non-initial *č can be seen in the following entries: **apuči, *ǎčV, *éča , *guči, *ǐče, *ɨ̀ǔču, *káče, *kǎči, *kěči, *kɨoči, *kɨuču, *kóčè, *kūči, *ḱǎču, *kɨ̀áčo, *kɨ̀oča, *ḱɨ̀ùčù, *ḱɨ̀ùča, *ḱùčV, *láčà, *měča, *nòču, *óče, *ṕuču, *ṕǒči, *ṕùčV, *sìča, *sɨuču, *súču, *šàčú, *šéčo, *šɨòče, *šɨǒča.*

Notes.

This row of correspondences occurs only in non-initial position and is thus in complementary distribution with word-initial *č-. Although its reflexes seem to be quite different from those of *č-, the difference is not difficult to explain. In Turkic we have a voiceless reflex, similar to the standard reflex of voiceless unaspirated consonants, whereas in initial position we find *č- > *d- with deaffrication (so that d-, -č- here is in fact analogous to d-, -t- < PA *t). In Korean we would expect something like *-ǯ-, but the general process of devoicing has resulted in *-ǯ-

> -č-. In Mong. we have a uniform reflex -č-, thus the phoneme behaves exactly like unaspirated *-t- in the position of palatalization, i.e. like [*ť]. In TM and Jpn., an early process of fricativization resulted in *-č- > -š- > -s-.

In a few cases TM has -š- instead of the expected -s-. This happens regularly due to assimilation after the preceding *š- (**šoša-, *š[e]še-, *šušu*), and in consonant clusters *-jč- or *-bč- (**ŋüši-, *ma[b]ši-*).

Korean has the same variation of -s and -č in syllable-final position as with *č': **čás* < **sičа*, MKor. *sùs* < **suču*, MKor. *čís / číčh* < **šį̣oče*, *nȁs-ká-* < **ŋő́jču*.

It is worth noting that just as all other voiceless stops medial *č is never voiced (prenasalized) in Japanese, except in some clusters with resonants (on which see below).

2.1.27 PA initial *ǯ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*ǯ-	*j-	*ǯ-	*ǯ-	*č-	*d-

The phoneme gives quite simple and uniform reflexes in all branches. Note that in Japanese it always yields *d-, independently of following vowels or consonants. This indicates that by the time of the devoicing processes (*d- > *t-, see above) it was still an affricate or a palatalized *ď-; see more on this below.

2.1.28 PA non-initial *ǯ

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*ǯ	*j	*ǯ	*ǯ	*č	*j

Examples for medial *-ǯ- may be found in the following entries: **ažo, *ȁǯV, *bȁǯá, *bēǯu, *čˊāǯV, *kį̣aǯurV, *kùǯi, *kˊěǯa, *kˊį̣ő́ǯa, *kˊuǯV, *kˊuǯV, *laǯV, *nāǯV, *ò̀ǯa, *pȅǯo, *pį̣oǯi, *sàǯV, *s[į̣o]ǯe, *ǯaǯa, *ǯį̣ò̀ǯu, *ǯő́ǯe, *ǯāǯV*.

Notes.

Medial -ǯ- is not frequent, but seems to be reliably reconstructable.

In Jpn. -t- is encountered occasionally, as a result of early assimilation (cf. the variants *ti* < **tiji / titi*; **duta-ka* < **duda-ka* instead of the expected **duja-ka*). However, the standard and most frequent reflex is a uniform *-j- (sometimes reduced to -0- in -ia-/-ai- diphthongs, like in **sài-r-* < **sàǯV*).

In Kor. in syllable-final position we may also have the reflex -s (as with other affricates): MKor. *čjás* < **č'ăjžV*, *kàskàp-* < **k'i̯ŏža*, *sàskì* < **s[i̯u]ǯakV*.

The *-j-reflex in Turkic was also criticized by Doerfer in TMN. He takes five rather unfortunate examples from Ramstedt's KW and comes to the conclusion that "Für mo. Wörter mit -ǯ- finden sich also im Tü. keine Vergleichswörter". The phoneme is not frequent, but nevertheless we can counter this conclusion with the following examples:

PT **čAj-na-* 'to chew, bite' : Mong. **ǯaǯi-* 'to chew' (< **čaǯi-* with assimilation) < PA **č'ăžV*

PT **ŏj-* 'to think, understand' (-j- is lost here in Old Turkic, but well preserved in Yak. *üöj-*): Mong. **üže-* 'to see' < PA **ébǯo*

PT **Kại̯r* 'salt steppe' : Mong. **kuǯir* 'salty earth' < PA **ki̯ạǯurV*

PT **Kaji̯ra-* 'to whet, sharpen; to rub teeth' : Mong. **kaǯa-* 'to bite' < PA **k'ĕža*

PT **KAj-* 'to turn back, towards' : Mong. **kaǯiwu* 'side, edge' < PA **k'i̯ŏža*

PT **jāj* 'summer' : Mong. **naǯir* id. < PA **nāžV*

PT **oj-* 'to play' : Mong. **oǯu-* 'to kiss' < PA **òǯa*

PT **jogan* (probably < **jojgan* with dissimilation) 'thick' : Mong. **ǯuǯaγan* id. < PA **ǯi̯òǯu*

PT **jōj* 'cunning, lying': Mong. **ǯüǯig* 'show, act, theatre' < PA **ǯóǯe*

Several of these words ('salt steppe', 'summer', 'play', 'thick') could be found in the literature, and in fact the words for 'play/kiss' and 'summer' are dealt with in other parts of Doerfer's TMN. But he still says "keine Vergleichswörter"...

2.1.29 PA initial *ń-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*ń-	*j-	*ǯ-	*ń-	*n-	*m-

Notes.

The Mong. reflex ǯ-, still absent in АПиПЯЯ, was discovered and proved by A. Dybo [Дыбо 1995].

The phonetically strange reflex in Japanese can be explained as a result of a shift *ń- > *ŋ- > *m- (already after the original *ŋ- had yielded 0- word-initially, see below). The change *ń- > *ŋ- is typologically rare, but attested, e.g., in Southern Chinese dialects. It is perhaps worth noting that the reflex *ń > ž (ǯ) is typical for Northern Chinese dialects. So the Altaic languages here reproduce the same model of development that was typical for Chinese in the 8th-10th centuries AD.

2.1.30 PA non-initial *-ń-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*ń	*ń	*j, n	*ń	*ń	*n, *m

Examples for medial *ń can be found in the following entries: *ǎńe(-čV), *ắńu, *i̯ṵńa, *číńo, *čʻàńè, *tàńo, *eńa, *ěńa, *eńa, *ińo, *kʻi̯ùńí, *kèńu, ki̯ońo, *kúńà, *kúńe, *kʻeńo, *kʻěńó, *kʻéńo, *kʻi̯ṵńu, *kʻùńe, *kʻōńi, *kʻùńi, *peńo, *leńa, *l̂ùńi, *mắńa, *mańukʻV, *meń[o], *mińV, *mi̯óńù, *mṍńe, *mùńa, *mūńa(kV), *n[u]ńa, *ŋắńa, *ŋàńì, *ǒńè, *i̯ańu, *pańi, *beńa, *pʻúńe, *póńe, *pàńé, *pʻeńu, *pʻońa, *pʻúńe, *sáńo, *sańV(-kʻV), *si̯ắńi, *ni̯ańa, *kṍńi.

Notes.

Non-initial *ń exists in Turkic, TM and Korean, but is a highly unstable phoneme.

Turkic. The normal reflex here is *ń (often hardly distinguishable from *j). The palatal quality, however, is lost in secondary clusters (cf. *jīn-čik, *jaŋɨ < *jań-gɨ, *En-č, *saŋ-k < *sań-k), and frequently (although not always) after *i, *o and *ü (cf. *gün as opposed to *guńal, *Kīn, *jonɨrčga, *Konak).

Mongolian. Here there are two basic reflexes: -j- and -n-, the distribution of which has been established by I. Gruntov. The rules are:

a) the basic reflex is *-j-;

b) the reflex -n- appears: in a dissimilative manner after -i- (*kinu-, sinu-, sine);* after and before *h (= intervocalic *-ɣ-), like in *čineɣe, inije-, keneɣe, kunija, munig, nimniɣa, suɣunag, hünir, huni-, hani, hünesü.*

Palatal *-ń- also disappears (just like *-n-, *-r-) before the nominal suffix -su (*ja-su, *hü-sü*) and is liable to velar assimilation *-ń- > *-ŋ- > -h- (cf. *gege-ɣe < *geɣe- < *geŋe- < *geńe-; köŋge-n < *köń-ge-; saŋ-ga- < *sań-ga-; oŋgo-n < *oń-go-*). In some cases with initial velar it is not quite clear whether we are dealing with a case of velar assimilation (*köyene < *köŋene < *köńene*) or a positional variant of -j- (*köɣene* = /köjene/).

PTM. Tungus-Manchu normally has -ń- except for some cases of neutralization before -i- and in consonant clusters (*xeŋ-gu- < *xeń-gu-, *xunǯi < *xuń-ǯi, *ŋāni- = *ŋāńi-, *mun-di- < *muń-di-, *uŋia- < *uńi-ga-, *pani- = *pańi-, *munī- = *muńī-, *puŋel < *puń-gV-l*). Note that no cases of a loss of *-ń- are attested (perhaps accidentally).

Korean. The cluster *-jń- regularly yields -j- here (cf. *s-pjə, sai, kui, păi*). Otherwise, the normal reflex is *ń, with a sporadic change to -n- after *i and *u, cf. *pinir, nūn, kin(h)* and in clusters (*an-č-*).

Japanese. Here the reflexes are -m- (evidently < *-ŋ- < *-ń-, just as word-initially) and -n-; the distribution is so far unclear. There are

two possible cases of *-ń- > -0- before a suffixed *-gV: **ka-* 'day' < **gi̯ojńu-gV* (cf. Mong. *gege-γe*) and **ka* 'mosquito' < **kuńe-gV* (cf. TM **kuńī-kta*).

2.1.31 PA initial *š-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*š-	*s- /*č[*A]	*s- / *č[*A]	*š-	*s-	*s-

The reconstruction of PA *š- is based on the reconstruction of PTM *š — a phoneme usually reflected as š in Manchu, but as č in other languages. Elsewhere the phoneme basically merged with *s-, but traces of a special behaviour can be found in Turkic and Mongolian —where *š- > *s- only before front vowels, whereas before back vowels *š- > *č- —, as well as in Korean, where, despite a certain paucity of evidence, one can observe that *si̯- yields *h- before *-a-, *-u- , whereas *ši̯- always yields *s-.

2.1.32 PA non-initial *-š-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*š	*s	*s	*š	*s	*s

Non-initial *-š- is extremely rare (and, for some reason, found almost exclusively after velars); examples for *-š- are restricted to: **bašo, *guša, *kóši, *kŏše, *kùši, *kušu, *kušV, *k'i̯ŏše, *k'ŏši.*

Notes.

As seen from the correspondences, medial *-š- is distinguished from *-s- only in TM. The correspondence, however, is quite parallel to initial *š-, only without the positional affrication in Turkic, Mongolian and Korean. So the phoneme still seems worth reconstructing.

In Jpn. *-š-, like *-s- is not liable to voicing (prenasalization) - at least in those few cases where it is reflected at all.

2.1.33 PA *-ŕ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*ŕ	*ŕ	*r	*r	*r	*r / t[i,u]

Examples for *-ŕ- can be found in the following dictionary entries: **àŕì, *āŕa, *bằŕ[i], *bāŕa, *baŕV, *bĕŕa, *bi̯ŏ́ru, *boŕV, *bŭŕi, *čiobeŕV, *čiuŕi, *čiúŕu, *č'iŕV, *deŕa, *ǯiŕe, *dŭŕi, *éŕa, *gằŕ[à], *gằŕV, *gi̯ằŕá, *gi̯ŏ̀ŕe, *gíŕa, *gŏ́ŕV, *gŭŕi, *íŕu, *ki̯úŕu, *kìŕa, *k'aŕa, *k'éŕà, *k'ĕ́ŕo, *k'i̯óŕa, *k'i̯ŏ̀ŕo, *k'i̯uŕa,*

**kʲu̯ŕu, *kʻuŕe, *kʻ[ú]ŕa, *sʲu̯ŕo, *mʲu̯ŕu, *ńʲă̆ŕe, *ńʲà̆ŕi, *nʲă̆ŕ[à], *nʲú̯ŕe, *núŕi, *ŋ̀ŏ̀ŕa, *omuŕV, *ŏ̀ŕe, *ŏ́ŕi, *ŏ́ŕi, *pĕ̀ŕe, *pĕ́ŕV, *pŭ̀ŕi, *aguŕV, *pʻʲŏ̀ŕe, *pʻŭ́ŕi, *saŕi, *sáŕo, *sắŕo(-gV), *sắŕi, *siŕu, *šʲŭ́ŕu, *sʲắŕi, *sʲŭ́ŕe, *sʲŭ̀ŕi, *tŏ́ŕu, *tʻĕ́ŕa, *tʻeŕo, *tʻè̀ŕù, *tʻʲú̯ŕe, *tʻŏ̀ŕe, *tʻŏ́ŕe, *úŕi, *ʲu̯ŕo, *ú̯ŕV, *šʲu̯ŕi, *šʲ[ʲō]ŕo, *aŕV.*

Notes.

PA *ŕ, like *r, occurred only in non-initial position.

It is reconstructed basically on Turkic evidence where it is clearly distinct from *r. One may note, however, that the Jpn. correspondence also differs. Superficially Jpn. has the same two reflexes - r and t - as for PA *r. Here, however, they are in rather clear complementary distribution: -t- occurs only before root-final -i and -u, whereas -r- occurs in all other cases (root-finally, before -a and -ə). The only exceptions are those when the reflex of *-ŕ- is attested in the second syllable of a trisyllabic stem: **turu(m)pai, *sita-t(a)-, *katana, *kətəpək-, *kuruma.* In all probability the second vowel here is a result of later assimilation either to the first or to the third one.

Here, as with other resonants, in PTM loss of *-ŕ- after a long vowel in monosyllables is attested: **sā- < *sāŕi.*

In Jpn., however, *-ŕ- (like other palatal resonants) is never lost. Its *-t-reflex is also never voiced (prenasalized). This lack of voicing may be important: it probably means that the change -ŕ- > -t- occurred quite late, already after the process of prenasalization of original stops was completed — which also complies with the fact that the change -ŕ- > -t- happens before PJ *-i and *-u, vowels that evidently come from many different Altaic sources, i.e. already after various important vocalic changes in the history of Japanese.

2.1.34 PA initial *Ĺ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*Ĺ-	*j-	*d- / ǯ[i]	*l-	*n-	*n-

Notes.

Initial *Ĺ- is reconstructed in a small but significant number of cases where all languages reflect *l- but Mong. has a reflex typical for *d-. In one case — **lʲŏ́mo(ŋa)* — even the TM forms have not preserved traces of *l- (probably because of very early nasal assimilation **lʲŏmo(ŋa)* > **ńʲŏmo(ŋa)*), but the Mongolian reflex *d- cannot be explained in any other way.

One could reconstruct something like a voiced lateral affricate here, but we assume that this correspondence is in fact a match for the

widely attested word-medial PA *-Í- (see below), whose initial reflex was hitherto unknown.

To provide additional information on Turkic *j- corresponding to TM *l- (but this time < *Í-) we shall list the cases here:

Turk.	Mong.	TM	PA
*jaku'coat'	*daku	*laKu (/*leKu) 'warm trousers'	*Íak´V
*jaba 'wild onion'	*debeɣe 'meadow'	*labikta 'moss, cudbear'	*Íábó
*jek 'demon; to hate'	*ǯikeji (> ǯe-) 'mediocre, worse'	*lāK- 'difficulty, disorder'	*Íàk´è
*jāpak 'fork,	*daɣaga(n)	*lap(ki) 'poles with bifurcation'	*Íáp´V
bifurcation'	'horizontal bar'		
*jap- 'mass of hair or wool'	*daɣaki 'exuviation, tangled hair'	*lepu- 'feather, down'	*Íep´a
*jigren-'to hate, abhor'	*ǯig- id.	*lēgī- 'to scold'	*Íègì
*jip- 'violet, purple'	*ǯibi 'rust'	Evk. lipereme 'dark red'	*Íip´ú
*jom(ak) 'tale, legend; medicine'	*dom(ag) 'tale, magic'	*nim-ŋā- 'fairy-tale'	*Íi̯ŏmo(ŋa)
*jul- 'to ransom'	*doli- id.	Evk. lelol- 'to ask'	*Íi̯ul[o]
*jip 'thread'	*ǯiɣeg (> *ǯe-) 'thin thread'	*lup- 'to prick, pierce'	*Íi̯ŭp´ù
*jēl- 'to ride, trot'	*ǯilu- 'flee, run away'	*lelu- 'to jump, ride, trot'	*ÍélV
*jugur- 'to knead'	*ǯiɣura-	*lug-	*Íi̯uga(rV)

2.1.35 PA non-initial *-Í-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*Í	*Í	*l	*l	*r	*s

Examples for *-Í- can be found in the following dictionary entries: *ăĺi, *aĺi, *alV, *ā́ĺa, *boĺe, *bŏĺi, *bŭ́ĺa, *bŭ̀ĺi, *bŭ̀ĺo, *čŏĺe, *dà̀ĺà, *ĕ́ĺV, *gaĺi,

**gi̯ǐlò*, **gi̯ā́lu*, **gi̯ǒ́lV*, **gi̯ù̌lo*, **g[i̯ú]le*, **i̯á́la*, **íla*, **i̯oíe*, **ťíla*, **íli*, **k'ě̌lú*, **ki̯ǒ̌le*, **ki̯uíe*, **ki̯oía*, **kǒ́li(kV)*, **kuĺV*, **k[ā]le*, **k'ā́li*, **k'ā̀lo*, **k'é́le*, **k'íla*, **k'i̯uíe*, **k'i̯ǔ́la*, **kúĺap'V*, **k'úla*, **k'ǔ̀la*, **máe*, **mi̯à́là*, **mi̯uíi*, **mi̯ǔ́li*, **móle*, **ńílu*, **ni̯ā́li*, **ńi̯ǒ́le*, **oía*, **p'aíi*, **p'ě̌lo*, **p'i̯ǒ́lo*, **p'ǔ̀li*, **sáío*, **si̯ǒ́le*, **sīla*, **ši̯ā̀lì*, **tà́l[o]*, **teíV*, **ti̯ǒ́lì*, **ti̯ǔ́lu*, **tù̀le*, **tǔ̀le*, **t'uíi*, **t'ǒ́li*, **t'ú́li*, **ǔ́là*, **uíe*, **uíi*, **oíi*, **uĺukV*, **ǔ̀li*, **zi̯oía*, **zi̯úía*, **žě̌lo*, **gè̀la*, **k'i̯aĺu*, **i̯ǒ́le*.

Notes.

PA **Í* is well preserved in all branches. Besides the standard reflexes we may note the following:

a) In Turkic, **-Í-* > **-l-* in combination with some affixes (Helimski's rule, see Хелимский 1986b); cf. **jul-tuŕ* (not **juĺ-tuŕ*) < **p'i̯uío*.

b) In Mong., **-Í-* > -0- before the affixes -du-, -su- (cf. *ho-dun* < **hol-dun* < **p'i̯uío*, **si-dü* < **sil-dü*, **na-su* < **nal-su*, **mö-sü* (but also **möl-sü*)). Just like **-l-*, **-Í-* is dissimilated > -j- before the following -l- (**bujil-* < **bǒli*, **üjile* < **ilü-le* < **íli*) and metathesized before the following -r- (**kerelžegene* < **kele-r-žegene* < **k'ě̌lú*) .

c) In Kor., **-jĺ-* > **-j-*, -0- (cf. *na(h)* < **najĺV*, *soi* < **zejĺu*, *pɨi-* < **bujĺe*).

d) In Jpn., **-Í-* (just like **-ŕ-* and **-ń-*), never yields -0- in combination with the following affixes. Thus the only reflex here is -s-, which, however, can also be voiced (prenasalized) into -ns-.

Conditions for prenasalization are here exactly the same as in the case with -nt- < -t- < **-r-* (see above): **-s-* > -ns- in intervocalic position before the following intervocalic -r-: cf. **ki̯ǒ̌le* > **kànsìrì*, **mi̯ǔ́li* > **mínsárá-*, probably also **gǐ̌lo* > **kìsàra-nki* (not **kinsaranki* because of the dissimilation rule in Japanese); but in verbal stems **si̯ǒ́l[e]* > **sásír-*, **p'ě̌lo* > **pàsìr-*, **móle* > **músír-*, **búla* > **básúrá-*. Exceptions are **gi̯ā́lu* > *kusira* and **dǎ̀la* > **dàsìrà* 'shrine' (the latter probably under influence of **sira* 'castle'). Note, however, that voicing of **-Í-* occurs rather frequently in old consonant clusters (**Íč*, **Íb*, etc., see below).

2.1.36 PA **-j-*

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
**j*	**j*	**j, h*	**j*	**j, *0*	**j, *0*

Examples of PA **-j-* see in the following dictionary entries: **ǎjV*, **ǎjVrV*, **ǎja*, **bǎja*, **bǎjV*, **bě̌je*, **béjo*, **bíju*, **baja*, **bóju*, **č'aju*, **č'ǎjV*, **č'iju*, **éjá*, **ěju*, **gǎjá*, **gǎju*, **gajV*, **gijo*, **gojV*, **gǒje*, **kajamV*, **kaje*, **kaji*, **kàji*, **keju*, **kě̌ju*, **kìjá*, **ki̯ájo*, **ki̯àjú*, **ki̯ujilV*, **kúja*, **kúja*, **kujV*, **k'éja*, **li̯ája*, **maja*, **maji*, **majV*, **meju*, **mi̯oje*, **mi̯ǒjo*, **móju*, **nàje*, **najV(rV)*, **ni̯ǎji*, **neji*, **lě̌ja*, **ńūje*, **ŋi̯aji*, **ŋǔ̀je*, **ŋǔju*, **òje*, **ǒje*, **póju*, **pàjá*, **pàje*, **pàjò*, **p'ajo*, **p'āji*, **p'íjo*, **p'oje*, **p'ójV*, **p'ūji*, **p'uje*, **p'ujV*, **p'[i̯ù]ju*, **p'[ò]jamV*,

**sə̀ja, *saji, *sajo, *sə́jV, *sèjV, *si̯õje, *sĭju, *siju, *ši̯õju, *ši̯ù̂jò, *taja, *tə̀jV, *tə́jV, *tə́j-, *tuju, *t'ə́ja, *t'ə̌ja, *t'ijV, *t'oje, *t'ŭja, *t'ùji, *t'úju, *uji, *ùjò, *uju, *ujV(k'V), *ə́jV, *ʒə́ja, *naja, *dijV, *néji, *suji, *aje, *ŋi̯ūja, *ŋūja, *mùjV.*

Notes.

PA *j is reconstructed only in word-medial position. It may well be thought, however, that it was represented word-initially as the first part of the *i̯-diphthongs *i̯a-, *i̯u-, *i̯o- (see below).

PA *-j- is preserved everywhere, but in every subgroup it has a tendency to disappear — in the vicinity of front vowels, being swallowed up by preceding diphthongs etc.

In Mong. -j- tends to be replaced by -h-, mostly before the following -e or -u-vowels.

In TM there are several cases of *-j- disappearing after a long vowel: **gõ̀je* > **gū*, **ni̯ə̀̀ji* > **ńā-*, **ńūje* > **ńē-*, **p'ə́ji* > **pā*, **p'ŭji* > **pū-*, **si̯õje* > **sū-*, **tə́jV* > **dā*, **ŋi̯ūja* > **ŋō-*.

In Turkic there are several cases when original *-j- seems to be reflected as *-d-: cf. **ŋi̯ūja* > **jid*, **ŋūju* > **ūdi-*, **sèjV* > **sedre-*, **gə̌ju* > **Kadgu*. Note that in the cases where Chuvash has preserved these roots it has not the standard -r-reflex, but -j- (*ijγъ, sajra, xojγa*), so that in fact *-d- (*-ð-) may have been introduced here already after the separation of Chuvash. The conditions of its appearance, however, are not clear. In the case of **ūdi-* 'sleep', e.g., it could be just an added suffix (because the simple noun **ū* 'sleep' is also preserved); in **jid* and **sedre* it could be a result of dissimilation < *-j-; finally, old interdialectal loans also cannot be excluded (in **Kaja* 'rock' we also find *-j- instead of an expected *-d-).

2.1.37 PA initial *k'-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*k'-	*k-	*k-	*x-	*k-	*k-

Note.

In PT, *k- and *g- are only distinguished before front vowels; before back ones we always write *K- which means that we cannot distinguish *k- from *g- in this position.

2.1.38 PA non-initial *-k'-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*k'	*k	*k, g / -g	*k/x	*k, h	*k

Examples of PA *-k'- can be found in the following entries: **ák'à, *ak'a, *ák'a, *ǎk'è, *ǒk'à, *ǎk'ú, *alak'u, *bǎk'ù, *bek'ú, *bi̯ǒk'à(rV), *bi̯ùk'a, *bùk'e, *bi̯ùk'í, *bukV, *bi̯uk'e, *čěk'a, *č'ǎk'i, *č'ak'e, *č'ak'a, *č'ěk'à, *č'ekV, *č'ēkV, *č'ik'ò, *č'ǐk'à, *č'ǐk'a, *č'i̯abVkV, *č'i̯ák'e, *č'i̯āk'e, *č'i̯ǒk'ó, *č'úk'i, *č'òk'e, *č'ŏk'i, *č'ǒk'a, *č'[i̯a]k'i, *dǎk'ì, *dék'à, *dǒn(e)kV, *èk'á, *ěk'à, *gék'á, *gók'ì, *gǔk'à, *i̯ák'V, *uk'e, *ík'è, *kák'á, *kǎk'i, *kak'o, *kǎk'ò, *kǎk'i, *kek'V, *kǒk'ò, *kǒk'è, *kòĺbèk'V, *kók'à, *kók'e, *kúk'è, *k'i̯ǒk'ò, *làk'ù, *ĺak'V, *làk'a, *ĺǎk'è, *li̯úk'a, *lok'o, *lúk'ì, *mak'é, *mi̯ák'ù, *mék'à, *mék'ù, *mi̯ǎk'o, *mi̯ǎk'ó, *mi̯ók'[ú], *mŏk'V, *mók'ì, *múk'è, *mǔk'é, *mūk'o, *m[ù]k'è, *ni̯ák'ì, *nak'i, *lak'[a], *nìk'é, *nǐk'ú, *nǐk'e, *nǔk'é, *ŋi̯àk'u, *òk'è, *ók'è, *ok'V, *pák'[ò], *pǎluk'V, *pék'ò, *pi̯ùk'ì, *pi̯úk'i, *pǔk'a, *pák'à, *pěk'i, *pek'V, *p'ěk'V, *p'ok'e, *p'ŏk'i(-rV), *p'ŭrVk'V, *sak'o, *sàk'a, *sak'u(rV), *sèk'u, *sík'è, *sǐk'ú, *si̯ǒk'ù, *si̯ák'à, *si̯ǒk'ù, *si̯orek'V, *sòk'e, *suk'e, *sukˇì, *šǎk'a, *šek'a, *ši̯ák'ù, *ši̯ùk'u, *tàk'u, *tǐk'i, *tok'à, *t'ǎk'ì, *t'ák'ù, *t'ák'ù, *t'ǎk'ò, *t'ǎk'ù, *t'ak'i, *t'ěk'o, *t'ik'V, *t'i̯ak'a, *nek'V, *t'i̯úk'e, *t'ŏk'ù, *t'ŏk'V, *t'ǔk'V, *t'ǔk'ù, *uk'i, *úk'u, *ŭk'urkV, *úk'è, *uk'V, *ǯi̯ak'a, *ǯi̯ók'è, *ǯǔr(V)k'e, *uk'è, *č'ak'V, *púk'V, *ǯak'V.*

Notes.

In Mong., there are cases of secondary voicing *-k- > -g- in front of a following -g- (-h-): cf. **sögüγe, *čaga-γan, *jaga-γan, *sege-γe-* (but also **seke-γe*) < **si̯ǒk'u, *sege-γe* (but also **seke-γe*) < **si̯ák'a*. Less frequent are other cases of voicing: **ege-če* as a suffixed form of **eke, *ogo-da-su, *daga-* in variation with **daka-*. The reflex *g also regularly occurs in syllable-final position, where all laryngeal features were neutralized in Mongolian (see above on labials and dentals). In two cases (**uγurga* and **ǯeγergene*; perhaps also **čiγire* < **č'ik'ò-rV*) there occurred further weakening *-g- > *-h- in a secondary cluster *-k'r- (on cluster development see below).

In TM, where the distinction between *-k- and *-x- is maintained in the Southern subgroup (see below), PA *-k'- can yield both *-k- and *-x-. The distribution here seems to depend on the original following vowel: before PA *-a and *-e PTM has *-k-, while before the high vowels *-i and *-u, as well as before *-o, PTM has *-x-. Cf.:

1. *ǎk'a > *akā, *ǒk'à > *ok-, *čěk'a > *ǯeki, *č'ǐk'à > *čiku-, *č'ǒk'a > *čōk(i)-, *dék'à > *deke-, *gék'á > *gek(u)-, *gǔk'a > *guk-, *uk'e > *ukī, *ík'è > *ikē-, *kǒk'è > *xuku-n / *kuku-n, *làk'a > *lāk-, *mak'é > *maka-, *mǔk'é > *mōk-, *nìk'e > *nīka, *pǔk'a > *pukē-n, *p'ok'e > *puke-, *sòk'e > *sōk-, *šàk'a > *šāk-, *t'i̯ak'a > *tiaku, *ǯi̯ak'a > *ǯiaka, *ǯi̯ók'è > *ǯuke*
2. **ǎk'ú > *axiri-, *č'i̯ǒk'ó > *čixa-, *dǎk'ì > *daxa-, *kǎk'i > *kaxa-, *làk'ù > *laxu-, *lok'o > *loxa, *mi̯ǎk'ó > *muxa-, *mók'ì > *muxu-, *mūk'o (~ -u) > *muxa- / *muxe-, *sèk'u > *sexu-, *si̯ǒk'ù > *six-, *t'ǎk'ò > *tāxVr, *t'ak'i (~ -u) > *taxi, *t'ěk'o > *texēn, *t'ŏk'ù > *toxan, *t'ǔk'ù > *tux-, *č'ik'ò > *čixe-*

Korean has normally -k-. However, after vowel reduction *CVk'- regularly yields *Ch-; in a few cases the reflex -h- (or even -0-) is observed even without vowel reduction, due to causes yet to be discovered.

In Japanese we have the usual split of *-k'- into voiceless *-k- and voiced (prenasalized) *-nk-:

1. *ák'a > *ák-, *ǎk'e > *ákúr-, *ǒk'a > *àkuàjài, *àlak'u > *àrúk-, *bǎk'u > *pukusi, *bi̯ǒk'a(rV) > *pákárí, *bǒrk'i > *púk-, *bi̯uk'e > *pùkùmpái, *čēk'a > *təkə, *č'ǎk'a > *ták-, *č'ík'o > *təkusa, *č'ǐk'a > *tàkàrà, *č'i̯āk'e > *tàkì, *č'ŏk'i > *tuku-mpap-, *dǎk'i > *tìkà-, *ěk'a > *kaka, *gók'i > *kúkì, *gǔk'a > *kakàr- (but also *kànkì), *ík'e > *íkár-, *kǎk'o > *kákì, *kǒk'o > *kàk-, *kǒk'e > *kàkàrà, *kǒk'a > *káká-, *kúk'e > *kuaku-mi, *k'i̯ǒk'o > *kakurai, *k'i̯ujk'e > *kùkùi, *làk'u > *nuki, *l̀àk'e > *nəkə, *lok'o > *nàkâ, *lúk'i > *núk-, *mék'a > *máká-, *mék'u > *múkúrua, *mók'i > *múkási, *múk'e > *mák-, *m[u]k'e > *màkànàp-, *òk'e > *àkàr-, *ǒk'e > *ák-, *pěk'o > *pàkàr-, *pi̯ǔk'i > *pìkù-, *sèk'u > *sùk-, *sík'e > *síkími, *sǐk'u > *súkú-má-, *si̯ǎk'a > *sákà-, *si̯ǒk'u > *súk-, *suk'i > *suki, *sǔjk'i > *sikar-, *šǐǎk'u > *súk-, *tok'a > *takua, *t'ǎk'i > *tíkáp-, *t'ák'u > *túkáp-, *t'ǔk'ù > *tùkàm-, *úk'u > *úká-nkáp-, *úk'e > *báká, *ž̯iók'e > *dúkì, *uk'e > *bəkə;

2. *ǎk'u > *ùnkàt-, *bek'u > *punku, *bi̯ǔk'i > *pìnkàm-, *borso-k'V > *bàsánkí, *č'i̯ǒk'o > *tànká-, *gék'a > *kánkám-, *kák'a > *kánká-, *lèjk'a > *niànkàp-, *mak'e > *mənkar-, *mańuk'V > *mùnánkí, *mi̯ǎk'o > *manka, *mi̯ók'[u] > *mánká-, *mǔk'e > *mànkúrúa, *nìk'e > *nìnkà-, *nǐk'[u] > *nànkàp-, *nǔk'e > *nuànkà-, *pi̯ǔk'i > *pínkúrásí, *tújk'u > *túnká-, *t'ěk'i > *tìnkìr-

2.1.39 PA initial *k-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*k-	*g-	*k-	*k-	*k-	*k-

Notes.

For Turkic see notes to *k'-.

PA *k- is distinguished from *k'- in Turkic (where the opposition is recoverable before front vowels) and in TM.

2.1.40 PA non-initial *-k-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*k	*k, gVr	*g / -g	*k	*0, h	*k

Examples for *-k- can be found in the following entries: *bèka, *bǎka, *bǎká, *bǎkV, *báku, *bǔkà, *bǒku, *bǒkà, *bǒke, *čărikV, *či̯oke, *č'áko, *č'ika, *č'ǎki, *č'ukV, *dáku, *děkà, *dorVkV, *ěka, *kìkú, *k'òké, *k'ǎka, *k'ǎkú, *k'ōkí,

**k'ùkè, *k'ókì, *lako, *l̥o̍ki, *luko, *luke, *mĕko, *mi̯ūko, *nĕka, *neku, *nĕko, *ni̯ăke, *nĭkV, *oki, *ó̍ki, *o̍r(e)kV, *pi̯àki, *p'i̯àká, *pi̯o̍ka, *p'i̯ukò, *pōki, *sa̍̀kà, *sa̍ki, *si̯aku, *si̯ōku, *sūku, *sokV, *soke, *su̍̆ku, *suku, *ti̯ùke, *t'a̍̀kù, *t'akV, *t'ékù, *t'ĕ̀ki, *t'i̯ákù, *t'i̯ukV, *t'o̍̀kè, *t'ukì, *t'ukí, *t'ukV, *ùkú, *úku, *zi̯úko, *ʒòkó, *si̯ùku, *šăke.*

Notes.

Non-initial *-k- is somewhat hard to distinguish from *-k'- (see above). The reflexes in Jpn. and Turkic are basically the same - except that in Japanese *-k-, unlike *-k'- is not prenasalized (see below) and Turkic *-k-, unlike *-k'-, is regularly voiced before the following *r: cf. **iagir, *biagir, *ugra-, *Kagur, *čigir, *jogurgan, *jogurt-, *boguŕ, *sogur, *tagra-, *sigir, *jagir* (in one case - **dEgiŋ* - also before *ŋ).

In TM *-k-, always gives a stop *-k- (unlike *-k'- which in very many cases yields *-x-, see above).

In Kor. *-k- usually does not give -k-, but disappears or leaves aspiration (-h-); exceptions are cases of vowel reduction in the first syllable (**skór* < **si̯aku*), and assimilations (like *mək-kuri* 'big black snake' < **mi̯ūko, sok-kori* (but mod. *sokhuri* = **soh-kuri*) 'basket' < **su̍̆ku*).

The really decisive language here is Mongolian which regularly has *-g- < *-k-.

In very many cases, however - when Turkic has *-k- without a following *r, the Mong. reflex is unknown (or has a syllable-final -g, or has a -g- before the following -ɣ-), the TM reflex is ambiguous, and the Kor. reflex is unknown or has a syllable-final -k, *-k- and *-k'- cannot be distinguished from each other. This explains a relatively small number of clear cases of *-k-.

Japanese, as we said above, does not usually voice (prenasalize) *-k-, like all other unaspirated stops. All exceptions occur only in roots with initial aspirated consonants: **k'a̍̀ku* > **kùnkùtú, *k'ōki* > **kunki, *p'i̯àka* > **pànkiá-, *t'a̍̀ki* > **tinkui, *t'ĕ̀ki* > **tìnkìr-, *t'uki* > **túnk-*. This is obviously the result of an early assimilation process *C'VCV > *C'VC'V (see above on the same with other stops).

2.1.41 PA initial *g

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*g-	*g-	*g-	*g-	*k-	*k-

Notes.

Turkic neutralizes the distinction of *k- and *g- before back vowels, see above, so in that position we write *K- in Proto-Turkic.

The correspondence Mong. ɣ- : Turkic q- — i.e. exactly PA *g- before back vowels— was also criticized by Doerfer (p. 60), who says he can find only one clear case: Mong. ɣar 'hand, arm' : Turk. *qar* (i.e. **Kar*) 'arm'.

He is correct in abolishing four of Ramstedt's examples that are actually borrowings. We think that Ramstedt's another example (Turk. **Kob-* 'to follow, chase': Mong. **guji-* 'to search, ask' (cf. also TM **gob-* 'to hunt', Jpn. **kàp-* 'to ask') is still quite valid. Doerfer argues that the older form attested in Mong. is *ɣuju-* (in the SH), so that *ɣuji-* must be a recent assimilation, and cannot therefore go back to a form with *b-. To this we may comment that the SH is by no means the most archaic form of Mongolian with respect to vowels: numerous cases of assimilation are already attested there — such as *ǯurokan* 'heart' against WMong. *ǯirüken*. More significantly, no process like "assimilation of u to the preceding j" has ever taken place in the history of Mongolian. Still another refuted example (for semantic reasons) is Turk. **Kol-* 'to beg, beggar' (not "bitten" as Doerfer writes): Mong. *ɣolu-* 'to be unhappy, despise'; the original meaning here was obviously just 'be unhappy, endure' (cf. the TM and Jpn. parallels in PA **gi̯òlo*), whence "to be a beggar" is a quite natural development.

Let us now look at other examples:

Turk. **Kadgu* 'sorrow' : Mong. **gaj* id. < PA **gằju*

Turk. **KAj-* 'to pay respect' : Mong. **gajika-* 'to wonder' < PA **gajV*

Turk. **Kal* 'wild, rough': Mong. **galǯaɣu* 'wild, rabid' < PA **gắli*

Turk. **Kabɨk*, **Kabɨ́* 'shell, husk': Mong. **gawr-su* 'chaff, straw' < PA **gébo*

Turk. **KAkɨ-* 'to be angry': Mong. **gaɣa-* id. < PA **gĕ́ga*

Turk. **Kalɨŋ* 'thick': Mong. **goli-* 'be tall, stately, gross' < **gi̯ālu*

Turk. **Kiāl-* 'to stay behind': Mong. **gal-* 'to walk slowly, be lazy' < PA **gi̯ắla*

Turk. **Kula-* 'to jump over', **Kulač* 'fathom' (< *'spread') : Mong. **guldu* 'along smth.' < PA **gi̯ŭldo*

Turk. **Kōl* 'valley' : Mong. **gowl* id. < PA **goblu*

Turk. **Kodɨ* 'below, downwards': Mong. **gudu-* 'to lower, downward' < PA **gódu*

Turk. **Koŋuŕ* 'beetle' : Mong. **guwur* 'larva of a gad-fly' < PA **goŋV(ŕV)*

Turk. **Kun-* 'to rob, plunder, attack' : Mong. **gani* 'berserk; to strive, endeavour' < PA **guna*

Turk. **Kūtuŕ* 'mad, enraged, instigate': Mong. **gutu(ra)-* 'lose power, lose courage' < PA **gŭ́t'u*

Most of these examples have been mentioned in the literature, and four are actually taken from the same text which Doerfer is criticizing.

This is again an example of Doerfer's debating technique (for *m-, *l-, *-ǯ-, see above): poor evidence is criticized while better evidence is omitted from discussion.

2.1.42 PA non-initial *g

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*-g-	*g	*h, g, -g	*g	*0, h, -k	*k,[*iV]0

Examples for *-g- can be found in the following entries: *agà, *ágà, *agu-la, *ȁgò, *ági, *ȁgV, *bagu, *begV, *bi̯ŏga, *bi̯ŏgi, *bi̯ogo, *bi̯úga, *bi̯ŭge, *bi̯ugu, *bògé, *bi̯ūgi, *bŏga, *bŭgà, *čágo, *čĭŏge, *čʹi̯aga, *čʹùgù, *čʹŏga, *čʹ[a]ge, *dằgá, *dagi, *dằgì, *dagV, *tègà, *di̯òge, *d[é]gì, *ĕgi, *egVrV, *égó, *gĕ́gà, *i̯agu, *i̯ắga, *i̯ắgi, *i̯ắga, *i̯ugerV, *i̯úgu, *i̯ŭge, *kŭ̀gù, *kʹegVnV, *kʹi̯oge, *kʹi̯ŭ̀ge, *Ĭ̀ègì, *li̯ŏga, *lĭ́gà, *lŭge, *mi̯àga, *mūga, *ńi̯ŏ̀gè, *ni̯ugu, *Ĭi̯uga(rV), *ŏ̀ge, *óligV, *pʹágò, *pi̯áge, *pŏ́ga, *pŏ́gí(-rV), *pŏ́gV, *pùgò, *pʹȁgò, *pegò, *pʹi̯ȁ̆ge, *pʹi̯agu, *agurV, *pʹi̯agV, *pʹi̯ùgV, *pʹŏ́gè, *pʹugu, *pʹŭ́gé, *sago, *si̯oga, *ságú, *sagè, *ségì, *segu, *sĕ̀gù, *sĭ̀gà, *sĭ̀gà, *sígá, *sigo, *sigí, *sĭ́gú, *si̯ȁ̆gi, *si̯óga, *sagu, *si̯ŏ́gu, *si̯ŏ̀gu, *si̯uga, *sĭ́gò, *sógà, *soge, *si̯òge, *sogì, *sogú, *sugá, *súgò, *sugú, *ĕ́ga, *ši̯ogo, *ši̯ŏ̀gV, *ši̯uga(lV), *tago, *tagù, *teg[u], *tēga, *tógì, *tŭ̀gì, *tʹằgè, *tʹégè, *tʹégè(-rV), *tʹi̯age, *tʹi̯úgo, *tʹi̯ŭ̀ge, *tʹògà, *tʹoge, *tʹògì, *i̯uga, *úgà, *uge, *ugi, *i̯uge(ŕV), *zego, *ǯígù, *tegá, *di̯ági, *ǯi̯úgi, *ǯuge, *ǯugi, *zagè, *čʹi̯ugu, *togV, *kagVlV, *tʹȁ̆go.

Notes.

In Mong., the usual reflex is -h- (orthographically -ɣ-, see above; -j- in front of -i-), but before the following -ɣ-, -j- we see a stop reflex -g-: *aga-ɣar (the WMong. spelling is *aɣar*, but modern forms like Khalkha *agār* show that it should be amended to *aɣaɣar*) < *aga; *aguji < *ága; *aɣu- (Khalkha *ū-dam*), but *agu-ɣu, *agu-ji (Khalkha *agū, aguj*) < *égo, *nogo-ɣan < *li̯ŏga, *ügej < *ŏ̀ge, *sigi-ɣa- < *síga, *sigu-j < *sĭ̀go, *dege-ɣe < *teg[u], *togu-ɣa(n) < *tʹi̯age, *tuguj < *tʹi̯ŭ̀ge, *ǯögeji < *ǯuge.

In clusters with resonants and in syllable-final position, Mongolian always has the stop reflex g.

In Japanese the distribution of reflexes is quite similar to that of *-b- and *-d-, namely, after original diphthongs we always have a 0-reflex, (cf. *-w- < *-b-, *-j- < *-d-), usually resulting in vowel contraction, but sometimes leaving a trace as -j- or -w-; in other cases there may be either *-k- or the voiced (prenasalized) *-g-:

1. *bi̯ŏ̀ga > *bà, *bi̯ŏ̀gi > *pìja-, *pì, *bi̯ogo > *pía, *bi̯úga > *bà, *bi̯ŭ̀ge > *bə, *bi̯ugu > *pu, *bi̯ūgi > *piwə-, *čĭŏge > *tia, *di̯òge > *dà-, *i̯ắga > *ia, *i̯ugerV > *bəri, *i̯úgu > *ú-pa-, *kʹi̯ŭ̀ge > *k(ù)i, *li̯ŏga > *nà, *mi̯àga >

**màwə̀-s-, *ńi̯ò̰ge > *mù-(kuâ), *li̯uga(rV) > *niàr-, *pi̯áge > *píjái, *p'i̯agu > *pu, *p'i̯agV > *pí, *p'i̯ùgV > *pà, *si̯oga > *sa, *si̯óga > *sá-, *sə́-, *si̯ŏ̰gu > *sú, *si̯ŏ̰gu > *suà-rá , *šiogo > *səjə, *t'i̯úgo > *tu-i, *t'i̯ṵ̆ge > *tù, *i̯uge(rV) > *ùrà;*

2. **aga > *àkî, *ága > *ákúp-, *bṵ̆ga > *bák-, *č'úgu > *tùkà, *dă̰gi > *(d)ìkùsà, *tèga > *tàkài, *d[é]gi > *(d)íká, *gĕ́ga > *kákúat-, *kṵ̆gu > *kùkùpí, *k'egVnV > *kəkənə-, *lḛ̏gi > *nìkù-, *lĭ́ga > *nák-, *mūga > *mákí, *p'ágo > *pákuá, *pṵ̆go > *pək-, *p'àgo > *pàkà, *pego > *pəkurə, *p'ŏ̰ge > *pákə́r-, *sage > *sakai-mp-, *ségi > *sík-, *sḛ̏gu > *sùkù-jaka, *sḭ̆ga > *sàkàpì, *sḭ̆ga > *sàkùrì, *sḭ̆go > *sika, *sóga > *sáká-i, *sogi > *suki-, *súgo > *sə́kə́, *tagu > *tuku-nai, *tēga > *tàkà-, *tógi > *túkà, *tṵ̆gi > *tùk-, *t'ă̰ge > *tək-, *t'égə > *tákə́, *t'égə(-rV) > *tákárá, *t'òga > *tàkù-, *t'ògi > *tùkà, *úga > *ákú, *ǯígu > *dúk-, *zage > *sək-;*
3. **bògə > *bənkám-, *dă̰ga > *dánká-, *ĕ́go > *ənki-rə, *pŏ̰gi(-rV) > *púnkúri, *p'ùge > *pànk-, *ságu > *súnkúi, *síga > *sánk(úr)-, *sḭ̆go > *sìnkài-, *sigi > *sinkúrai, *sḭ̆gu > *súnká-, *sogu > *sunkur-, *suga > *sankí, *sugu > *sunkai.*

In Korean, the standard reflex is -0- (at the syllable boundary written as -'-) or -h-, with distribution as yet unclear; -k- is preserved only in cases of early vowel reduction in the first syllable (**skă̰r- < *ségi, *skúr < *ši̯ŏ̰gV*). A few cases that appear to have -k- in a syllable-final position most probably reflect a contraction < *-Vg-Vk, with a frequent velar suffix -k (< *-k'V); thus probably *ak-su* 'heavy rain' < **agak-su* (PA **aga*); *čók* 'bundle' < **čuguk* (PA **č'ùgu*); *čàk* 'lye' < **čuga-k* (PA **č'ṵ̆ga*, cf. PT **čōgak*, PTM **čuguk*), *hók* 'wart' < **hoge-k* (PA **si̯ò̰ge*); *sik-* 'to cool off' < **sig-Vk-* (PA **šiogo*, cf. PT **sog-ik*, Manchu *šax-* < **sig-ak-*), *tuk* 'mound, dam' < **tug-Vk* (PA **tógi*).

2.1.43. PA initial **ŋ-*

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
**ŋ-*	**0-,*j-*	**n-,*0-,*j-,*g-*	**ŋ-*	n-	**0-,*m-/*n-*

Notes.

PA **ŋ-* is best preserved in TM.

In Turkic, the usual reflex is 0-, but there are a few cases of j- before original diphthongs with -i̯- and *-e-, cf. **jal-* < **ŋḛ̏lu*, **jānu-* < **ŋĕ́nu-*, **jar-i̯n* < **ŋḛ̏ra*, **jebeg* < **ŋi̯àbi*, **jid* < **ŋi̯ūja*. In one quite exceptional case we have *n-, reconstructed in Turkic in just one word, viz. the interrogative pronoun **nē* < PA **ŋi̯V*.

Mongolian has a quite complicated distribution, depending on the following vowel. It must be stressed that the distribution must be quite

recent, because the vowels that follow have the timbre acquired already in Mongolian, after the complicated changes of the original PA system. Thus Mongolian has:

a) *j- in several cases before original diphthongs: **jeɣü-* < **ŋi̯àbi, *ja-(ɣu-)* < **ŋi̯V*
b) *g- in front of -u-: **gub-* < **ŋupu, *gura* < **ŋurV, *gu* < **ŋ[i̯u]*
c) *0- in front of -ö-, -ü-: **öle* < **ŋi̯ōle, *ündü-sü* < **ŋi̯ǜŋt'e, *öčü-* < **ŋǒǰču, *üne-* < **ŋònŋi-, *ösügeji* < **ŋǜsi, *öjekeji* < **ŋǜje*
d) *n- in all other cases: **na-m-* < **ŋa, *naji-* < **ŋǎńi, *neɣü-* < **ŋéńi, *naŋ-si-* < **ŋénu, *naran* < **ŋèra, *nagčar-kaj* < **ŋi̯àkča, *nokaj* < **ŋi̯àk'u, *nolig* < **ŋǒla, *nojir* < **ŋúǰu.*

Japanese has normally *0-, but in three cases *n- before the following *-n- (original or secondary), probably due to assimilation: **nàs-* < **ŋānsa, *nàn-kà-* < **ŋǒla(-kV)* and **nV̀* (**nà-ni*) < **ŋi̯V*. It appears, however, to have a reflex *m- < *ŋ- before diphthongs, cf. **mùrà-(saki)* < **ŋi̯ōle, *màtà* < **ŋi̯ǜŋt'e, *mà* < **ŋi̯àbi, *màmì* < **ŋi̯ǎŋe*. This evidently means that the combination **ŋi̯-* > **ń-* in early Proto-Japanese, because m- is the standard reflex of PA *ń-, see above.

2.1.44 PA non-initial *ŋ

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*-ŋ-	*ŋ	*ŋ, h	*ŋ	*ŋ, 0	*n,*m

Examples of PA *-ŋ- can be found in the following entries: **àŋa, *ăŋu, *aŋV, *ǎŋo, *bǔŋe, *čĭŋV, *č'aŋo, *diŋe, *ēŋV, *èŋV, *găŋi, *gi̯aŋu, *goŋV(ŕV), *íŋo, *iŋV, *òŋè, *i̯oŋo, *káŋV, *kèŋi, *keŋV, *kòŋa, *kŏŋe, *kōŋa, *kúŋe, *kŭŋi, *k[i̯a]ŋe, *k'aŋa, *k'eŋa, *k'i̯ŏŋa, *k'i̯óŋi, *k'i̯úŋu, *k'i̯uŋu, *k'oŋi, *lǎŋi, *li̯òŋè, *lúŋa, *lúŋu, *maŋi, *méŋa, *měŋa, *méŋu, *meŋe, *míŋa, *mi̯uŋo, *mŏŋi, *m[a]ŋi, *ńáŋa, *ni̯áŋa, *ńaŋo, *nĕŋu, *ni̯ǎŋe, *ńi̯oŋe, *ni̯ŏŋe, *ni̯àŋu, *nŭŋu, *ŋi̯ǎŋe, *òŋi(čV), *ŏŋe, *pi̯úŋu, *p'ĕŋi, *pĭŋa, *p'i̯ŭŋi, *p'i̯ùŋi, *p'ŏŋe, *saŋe, *sǎŋo, *saŋu(ńV), *seŋa, *sìŋù, *si̯ăŋe(rV), *si̯ŭŋV(-kV), *si̯ùŋe, *si̯úŋe, *s[i̯ú]ŋu, *šàŋu, *šŏŋe, *tāŋa, *tàŋo, *tuŋa, *túŋì, *t'aŋa, *t'ǎŋu, *t'áŋe, *t'eŋa, *t'èŋo, *t'ĕŋà, *t'i̯oŋe, *t'i̯ùŋo-(bV), *t'oŋe, *t'oŋerV, *t'ŭŋe, *t'úŋi, *uŋe, *ǯi̯ŏŋè, *si̯ùŋu, *ńuŋe, *nuŋu, *si̯āŋa, *t'uŋe, *pòŋa, *č'i̯aŋu, *ši̯ŏŋe.*

Notes.

PA *-ŋ- is a quite frequent phoneme, but its reflexes are not easy to establish, because they have to be separated from the (also frequent) clusters like *-ŋk-, *-ŋg- and *-ŋn-, *-nŋ- (on which see below).

In Turkic, *ŋ normally stays unchanged, except a few cases of assimilation (**gemürgen* < **geŋürgen* < **gi̯aŋu, *bōn-čok* < **bōŋ-čok* < **mōŋi*).

The same is valid for TM, which generally ...ave the timbre acquired al-
but has occasional cases of palatalization *-ŋ- ...d changes of the original PA
*būni < *bṵ̀ŋe, *xońi < *kʻoŋi).

In Mongolian, *-ŋ- has complicated reflexes ...hongs: *jeγü- < *ŋi̯àbi, *ja-(γu-)
in syllable-final position — with occasional ass... *ŋurV, *gu < *ŋ[i̯u]
fore dentals: *men-dü < *méŋu, perhaps also *n... ü-sü < *ŋi̯ù ŋtʻe, *öčü- < *ŋṓjču,
vocalic position it is reflected just like PA *-g-, i... *ŋù̀je
in the vast majority of cases. We should not... naji- < *ŋà́ńi, *neγü- < *ŋḗni,
Mongolian in these cases frequently has not -g... -kaj < *ŋi̯àkča, *nokaj < *ŋi̯ȁ̀kʻu,
usual PM *-h- (< PA *-g-), almost always rer...
Mongolian. Some other types of reflexes are al... e cases *n- before the follow-
ronments:

a) PA *-ŋ- is reflected as *-g- after *n- (rule est... due to assimilation: *nàs- <
*nagaj < *luŋa, *nagaču < *nĕŋu, *nige(n) < *n̥i-ni) < *ŋi̯V. It appears, how-
some variation in this position: we have b... diphthongs, cf. *mùrà-(saki) <
and *nigül (> Khalkha *nügel*) from *ni̯ắŋe; ... *ŋi̯ȁ̀ŋe. This evidently means
nōs) and *nogur-su* (Dong. *noGosun* etc.) from ...roto-Japanese, because m- is
(= *neγüne*, Khalkha *nữne*) from *li̯òŋe.

b) before the following *-ɣ- and *-b- it is reflec...
*si̯ṵ̆ŋV(-kV), *temeγel < *tʻéŋo, *kamar* (but al...
with standard reflexes of the same ro...
kaγu-rga-sun.

...ɣ.	Kor.	Jpn.
	*ŋ, 0	*n,*m

c) in a few cases before the following -ir-, -ur-... the following entries: *àŋa,
stead of the expected -ɣ- ~ -j-: *aŋgir < *aŋa ...e, *ēŋV, *èŋV, *gắŋi, *gi̯aŋu,
*ʰ(ö)ŋgür < *pʻŏŋe, *öŋgül < *ŏŋe*; note ...ŋi, *keŋV, *kòŋa, *kŏŋe, *kōŋa,
WMong. *noŋγa-su* < *noŋgur-su* together w... *kʻi̯óŋi, *kʻi̯úŋu, *kʻi̯uŋu, *kʻoŋi,
nogur-su and *nowur-su*, see above. In these ...*měŋa, *méŋu, *meŋe, *míŋa,
to suppose any original clusters, so there n... *nĕŋu, *ni̯ắŋe, *ńi̯oŋe, *ni̯õŋe,
variation between *-ɣ- and *-ŋg- in this posi... *pʻĕ̀ŋi, *pĭ̀ŋa, *pʻi̯ŭŋi, *pʻi̯ùŋi,

Korean normally has ŋ in syllable-final pos... -ʻ- at the syllable boundary) or -ŋʻ- in interv... *si̯ắŋe(rV), *si̯ṵ̆ŋV(-kV), *si̯ùŋe,
cases we also encounter assimilated reflexes -n... *túŋa, *túŋì, *tʻaŋa, *tʻắŋu, *tʻáńe,
-ń- (*kíń- < *kĕ̀ŋi, *kiń- < *kŏŋe*) or -n- (*kắ... *tʻoŋerV, *tʻṵ́ŋe, *tʻúŋi, *uŋe,
si̯uŋe-lV). ...òŋa, *čʻi̯aŋu, *šĭ̀õŋe.

Japanese can reflect *-ŋ- as -n- or -m-, with...
so far unclear (as in the case of PA *-ń-, see abo...

Like other resonants (*r, *l, *m) *-ŋ- can c... ut its reflexes are not easy to
nominal stems before original velar suffixes: *... ted from the (also frequent)
gemü-rgen), *ía < *iŋV-gV* (cf. Manchu *joŋga... which see below).
Mong. *köw-γün* 'son'), *kuà < *kʻi̯uŋ(u)-gV, *na... d, except a few cases of as-
naga-ji), *mú-i < *méŋ(u)-gV, *nùa < *ni̯ùŋ(u)-gV ...*bōn-čok < *bōŋ-čok < *mōŋi*).
seŋ(i)-gV (cf. TM *seŋ-gi*).

2.1.45. The problem of voicing (prenasalization) in Japanese and its consequences for Altaic

While discussing the fate of PA *p' we have paid attention to the fact that the PJ prenasalized reflex *-mp- is correlated with the PM voiced reflex *-b- and that both the voicing in Mongolian and prenasalization in Japanese may have been due to prosodic factors. We have also seen that the majority of cases with -mp- are associated with high pitch (in cases when it can be reconstructed), while the majority of cases with -p- are in syllables with low pitch.

Let us now try to examine the whole Japanese evidence and see if these conclusions are valid elsewhere, not only for Altaic *-p'-.

The following preliminary remarks must be made here:

Unlike the first syllable, the pitch in the second and following syllables has several restrictions in Japanese:

1. All possible values of pitch are found in disyllabic nouns;
2. In tri-(and more)-syllabic nouns, with very few exceptions, high pitch on the first syllable can only be followed by high pitch;
3. In verbs, with very few exceptions, high pitch can only be followed by high pitch
4. In tri-(and more)-syllabic verbs low pitch can only be followed by low pitch;
5. In adjectives high pitch can only be followed by high pitch, and low pitch can only be followed by low pitch.

Voicing (prenasalization) in polysyllabic forms also has one general restriction, namely: two voiced (prenasalized) consonants within one stem are not allowed.

It follows that several cases of apparent exceptions may be actually due to the above restrictions: the pitch of the second syllable is irrelevant (neutralized) in trisyllabic nouns like *$C\acute{V}CV\acute{C}V$ (*$C\acute{V}C\grave{V}C\acute{V}$ is not allowed), in verbs like *$C\acute{V}C\acute{V}$- (*$C\acute{V}C\grave{V}$- is not allowed), in adjectives like *$C\acute{V}C\acute{V}$- or *$C\grave{V}C\grave{V}$- (neither *$C\acute{V}C\grave{V}$-, nor *$C\grave{V}C\acute{V}$- are allowed); absence or presence of nasalization is irrelevant (neutralized) in a structure like *$CVCVnCV$ (*$CVnCVnCV$ is not allowed).

Below we shall restrict our observations to relevant structures only.

1. PA voiceless aspirated or voiced stops : PJ voiceless stops

a) low pitch: *$k'\grave{a}p'a$ > *$k\grave{a}p\grave{i}$; *$k'\check{e}p'e$ > *$k\grave{a}p\grave{a}$-; *$\check{o}p'ikV$ > *$p\grave{u}k\grave{u}p\grave{u}k\grave{u}$-$si$; *$t'\grave{e}p'a$ > *$t\grave{a}p\grave{a}$-; *$t'\check{a}p'e$ > *$t\grave{a}p\grave{a}r$-; [*$\check{e}p'a$ > *$p\grave{a}p\grave{a}$]; *$l\grave{i}\grave{a}p'a$ > *$n\grave{a}p\grave{a}i$; *$s\grave{a}p'i$ > *$s\grave{i}p\grave{a}$; *$t'\check{u}p'i$ > *$t\grave{u}p\grave{a}k$- (but modern *tsubaki* - with secondary voicing?); *$\check{z}\grave{o}p'e$ > *$d\grave{a}p\grave{a}r\acute{a}$; *$s\grave{e}p'u$ > *$s\grave{u}p\grave{a}$-dai; *$\check{c}\check{a}ba$ > PJ *$t\grave{a}p\grave{a}ra$; *$\check{e}ba$ > *$\grave{a}p\grave{u}$-; *$k'\acute{e}ba$ > *$k\acute{a}p\grave{a}$; *$k'\grave{o}bani$ > *$k\grave{a}p\grave{i}n\acute{a}$; *$t\check{a}ba$ > PJ *$t\grave{a}p\grave{i}$; *$\grave{i}be$ > PJ *$\grave{i}p\grave{u}a$; *$t\grave{a}bu$ > PJ *$t\grave{u}p\grave{i}j\acute{a}i$; *$\check{z}\check{i}bi$ > PJ *$(d)\grave{i}pi\grave{a}$; *$n\grave{i}bi$ > $n\grave{i}p\grave{a}p$-; *$b\check{a}t'o$ > *$b\grave{a}t\grave{a}$; *$k\acute{e}t'o$ > *$k\acute{a}t\grave{u}$;

*kiòt'e > *kàtài; *mét'o > *mátà-; *i̯ŏt'a(mu) > *àtàmà; *pàt'a > *pàtàr-; *pi̯ăt'e > *pàtàp- / *pùtùk-; *p'at'a > *pátà* (but also *pàtá*); *p'ăt'a > *pàtàk-; *p'út'a > *pátà; *sìt'o > *sìtàmi; *pát'o > *pátà; *bòda > *bàtà; *gĕdi > *kítà; *k'ùdi > *kùtù-pìkì; *păda > *pátà; *najadi > *nàità-m-; *ēč'o > *àtàr-; *neč'e > *nàtì; *pi̯ŭč'a > *pàtùr-; *k'ač'e > *kàtà; *kéč'a > *kátà; *ŏk'a > *àkuàjài; *č'i̯ĭk'a > *tàkàrà; *č'i̯āk'e > *tàkì; *gók'i > *kúkì; *gŭk'a > *kàkàr-; *kắk'o > *kákì; *kŏk'e > *kàkàrà; *k'i̯ujk'e > *kùkùi; *ŏk'e > *àkàr-; *pĕk'o > *pàkàr-; *x̯i̯ók'e > *dúkì; *č'úgu > *tùkà; *dă̆gi > *(d)ìkùsà; *tègа > *tàkài; *kŭgu > *kùkùpí; *p'àgo > *pàkà; *sĕ̆gu > *sùkù-jaka; *sĭ̆ga > *sàkàpì; *sĭ̆ga > *sàkùrì; *tógi > *túkà; *t'ògа > *tàkù-; *t'ògi > *tùkà;

b) high pitch: *kĕ́p'a > *kápúa; *pép'a > *pap(u)í; *t'ĕ́p'a > *tàpú-; [*p'ép'a > *papái]; *ki̯ùp'u > *kùpá; *láp'i > *nípá; PA *kéba > *kápí; *k'íbu > *kúpá; *làbo > *nàpá; *túbu > *túpí; *bi̯ŏt'e > *pútá; *p'ăt'a(-kV) > *pátá; *p'ắdi > *pítú; *ki̯áč'u > *kútí; *máč'V > *mátuá; *mùč'e > *màtú; *ši̯àč'i > *sìtú; *ŭč'o > *àtá-; *ʒeč'i > *(d)ìtí; *úk'e > *báká; *d[é]gi > *(d)íká; *mūga > *mákí; *págo > *pákuá; *sóga > *sáká-i; *súgo > *sáká; *tóga > *táká; *t'ége > *tákà; *úga > *ákú; *ŏt'e > *átá-nà.

2. PA voiceless aspirated or voiced stops: PJ voiced (prenasalized) stops

a) high pitch: *č'ĭ̆p'[u] > *tùmpá-mái; *góp'a > *kámpú; *kèp'i > *kìmpí; *sắp'i > *sìmpá; *sắp'i > *sìmpái; *t'i̯úp'o > *túmpúa; *t'op'u > *tùmpú-ra; *kāp'a > *kàmpú-; *nĕ̆p'e > *nàmpú-; *t'ĕ̆pa > *t'ĕ̆p'a > *tàmpá; *kábo > *kámpiá; *kŏ̆bu > *kúmpuá; *Ĺabo > *náimpú; *sắ̆bi > *símpí; *t'úbe > *tuámpí; *tă̆bu > *tùmpúnai; *gébo > PJ *kámpí; *tĭ̆bulka > PJ *tùmpákì; *kut'a > *kàntuá; *lăt'a > *nàntá; *nìt'a > *nàntə-; *p'ĕ̆ta > *p'ĕ̆t'a > *pàntá; *ēda > *ántá; *x̯ăde > *dántá; *kĕ̆č'a > *kàntuá; *p'úč'i > *púntí; *borso-k'V > *bàsánkí; *č'i̯ŏk'o > *tànká-; *mańuk'V > *mùnánkí; *mŭk'e > *màŋkúrúa; *bòge > *bànkám-; *ságu > *súnkúi; *sigi > *sinkúrai; *suga > *sankí;

b) low pitch: *gàp'a > *kàmpà-; *kup'V > *kùmpà-r-; *k'ĕ̆p'o > *kòmpàr-; *làjp'V > *nàimpàr-; *sĭ̆p'i > *sìmpàr-; *ùp'i > *ùmpà-p-; *sāba > *sàmpàk-; *t'éba > PJ *támpì; *bă̆t'i > *pìntì; *bŏ̆t'e > *pàntə̀k-; *k'ad[u] > *kùntùr-; *udu > *ùntài; *ki̯uč'u > *kùntə̀k-; *ă̆k'u > *ùnkàt-; *bi̯ŭ̆k'i > *pìnkàm-; *lèjk'a > *niànkàp-; *nĭ̆k'[u] > *nànkàp-; *t'ĕ̆ki > *t'ĕ̆k'i > *tìnkìr-; *k'ă̆ku > *k'ă̆k'u > *kùnkùtú

The general picture which emerges is quite curious. We see that there are many more examples with low pitch and voiceless stops (67 cases) than with high pitch and voiceless stops (30 cases); and with high pitch and voiced stops (34 cases) than with low pitch and voiced stops (19 cases). Moreover, of the 30 cases with high pitch and voiceless consonants 22 cases are disyllabic nominal structures of the type **CVCV́*; and of the 19 cases with low pitch and voiced consonants 15 are disyllabic verbal structures of the type **CV̀CVC-*.

We may with high probability suppose that there was a tendency in Proto-Japanese for a metatony *CV́CV̀ > *CV́CV́ in disyllabic nouns (note that, as we have said above, trisyllabic nouns with low pitch after high pitch are already completely absent); and for a metatony *CV̀CV́C- > *CV̀CV̀C- in disyllabic verbs (again, as we have said above, trisyllabic verbs with high pitch after low pitch are already completely absent). If we exclude those cases we get the following distribution of tones and voice (prenasalization) on non-initial syllables:

	High	Low
Voiced	22	4
Voiceless	8	56

It is therefore very probable that voicing (prenasalization) in Proto-Japanese depended on the tone (pitch) of the syllable: high tone caused prenasalization while low tone did not. Since - at least in the series of labial stops - this phenomenon is clearly correlated with voicing in Mongolian (see above), we may safely project this prosodic feature on the Proto-Altaic level, and reconstruct high tone (pitch) where Japanese has prenasalization, and low tone (pitch) where it has none.

It is most certain that this conclusion will have far-reaching consequences. Several phenomena (pitch on non-initial syllables in Korean, vowel length on non-initial syllables in Tungus-Manchu; loss or preservation of final vowels in Turkic, Mongolian and Korean) may possibly be explained using this information. But this remains work for the future.

2.2. Development of the PA consonantal system in the daughter languages.

2.2.1. Tungus-Manchu.

The TM system appears to be the most archaic. Only the following changes took place:

A. Voicing of initial unaspirated dentals:

1. *t- > *d-, *č- > *ǯ-

B. Spirantization of the velar *k'

2. *k' > x

C. Loss of the distinction of aspirated vs. unaspirated consonants

3. *p'-, *t'-, *č'- > *p-, *t-, *č-

4. *-p- > -b-, *-č- > -s-

[Note: the latter rule probably means that the affricates in early PTM were phonetically fronted: otherwise we would expect a merger of *-č- with *-š-, not with *-s-.]
5. *-p′-, *-t′-, *-č′- > *-p-, *-t-, *-č-
D. Loss of *z-:
6. *z- > *s-
E. Loss of resonants in some structures of the type CV̄R(V):
7. *CV̄n-, *CV̄r-, *CV̄l-, *CV̄j- > *CV̄-
F. Loss of palatal *Ĺ, *ŕ
8. *Ĺ, *ŕ > *l, *r

Note that rules 1-5 are successive; a change in their order would lead to different events. Rule 7 must also precede rule 8 (since *Ĺ and *ŕ are never lost, their change to *l, *r must have occurred already after the original *l and *r were lost). But in relation to each other, the groups of rules 1-5 and 7-8, as well as 6 (*z- > *s-) are independent, and could have occurred in any order.

2.2.2. Turkic.

The following processes must have happened resulting in the reconstructed PT system:
A. Loss of *š
1. *š- > *č′- before back vowels
2. *š > *s elsewhere
B. Loss of *p′-
3. *p′- > *h- (still present in PT to judge from the Khalaj data, see above)
C. Deaffricatization of *č-
4. *č- > *t-
D. Loss of initial resonants
5a. *ń- > *ǯ-, *Ĺ- > *d-
5b. *n-, *l- > *d-, *m- > *b-, *ŋ- > 0-
E. Palatalization of *d-, *z- and *ǯ-
6. *d-, *z- > *ǯ- > *j-
F. Loss of aspiration contrast
7. *p- > *b-, *t- > *d-, *k- > *g-
8. *-p- > -b-, *-k- > -g- [the latter only before -r-]
9. *p′ > p, *k′ > *k, *č′ > *č, *t′ > *t [occasionally *t′- > *d- before *r, *ŕ, *Ĺ]

Rules 1-5a are the earliest, because they are common for Turkic and Mongolian (see below); this is the main reason why we think that the initial resonants were lost not simultaneously, but in two successive steps (first the palatalized, then the rest).

Rules 5-8 are specifically Turkic and have to be ordered exactly this way, because otherwise the final system would look quite differently.

2.2.3. Mongolian

Here we must suppose the following sequence of events:
A. Loss of *š
1. *š- > *č'- before back vowels
2. *š > *s elsewhere
B. Loss of *p'
3. *p'- > *h-
C. Deaffricatization of *č-
4. *č- > *t-
D. Transformation of resonants
5a. *ń- > *ǯ-, *Ĺ- > *d-
5b. *ŋ- > *0-, *n-, *g- (depending on the following vowel, see above)
5c. *-ŕ- > *-r-, *-Ĺ- > -l-, *-ń- > -n- or -j- [the latter with still unclear distribution]
E. Loss of *z
6. *z- > *s-
F. Palatalization of dentals before *i
7. *t' > *č', *t > *č, *d > *ǯ
G. Fricativization of *-b-, *-g-, *-ŋ-
8. *-b- > *-w- [except for positions in clusters and before *k, *g]
*-g- > *-h- [except for positions in clusters and before *g]
*-ŋ- > *-h- [except for positions in clusters where it stays as *-ŋg-; after *n- where *-ŋ- > -g-; and before *b, *g where *-ŋ- > *-m-]
H. Intervocalic Lautverschiebung
9. *-p- > *-b-, *-t- > *-d-, *-k- > *-g- [but not *-č- > *-ǯ-!]
10. *-p'- > *-p-, *-t'- > *-t-, *-k'- > *-k-, *-č'- > *-č-
I. Accent transformation of *p
11. *pV̀ > (*fV) > *hV
J. Initial Lautverschiebung
12. *p-, *t- > *b-, *d-
13. *t'-, *k'-, *č'- > *t-, *k-, *č-

Rules 1-5a are common Turko-Mongolian (see above).

Rules 5b-6 are in fact independent and unordered; they could also be positioned anywhere in between any of the rules 8-13 or even after them.

Rules 7-8 also are independent of each other and their order could be reversed; but they both had to precede the ordered group of rules 9-13.

2.2.4. Japanese

A. Loss of *l-, *Ĺ-
1. *l-, *Ĺ- > *n

B.
2. -g- > -ɣ- in the 3d syllable
C. Transformation of affricates
3. *č > *č′-, -š-
4. *z, *š > *s
5. *č′ > *ť′, *ǯ > *ď
D. Aspiration rules [established by I. Gruntov; Z here denotes any voiced consonant]
6. *CVC′V, *ZVC′V > *C′VC′V; *C′VCV (not *C′VZV) > *C′VC′V
E. Palatalization rules
7. *b > *ḃ, *d > *ḋ, *g > ġ after *i̯-diphthongs and before -j-
8. *ŋ- > *ń- before *i̯
F. Prenasalization rule
9. *-C′-, *-Z- (not *-C-!) > *-nC- in non-initial syllables with high pitch
G. Voice shifts and mergers
10. *b- > *β- before low vowels, *d- > *ð- always
11. (*k > g, *p > b), *t > *d [but *ḋ before front vowels]
12. *ḃ > *β, *ḋ > *ð, *ġ > *ɣ
13. *C′, *Z > *C
H. Transformation of resonants
14. *ŋ- > *0-
15. *ŕ > *t before -i, -u
16. *Ĺ > *nĹ before *-rV-, *r > *nr before *-rV-
17. *nr > *nt, *r > *t (sporadically)
18. *Ĺ > *s, *ŕ > *r, *l > r, *ń > *ŋ
19. *ŋ > m-, -m- / -n-
I. Disappearance of voiced fricatives
20. *β > *b-, -w-, *ð > *d-, -j-, *-ɣ- > *-0-

The final rule may not in fact be necessary: it depends on our interpretation of the reconstructed PJ system. S. Martin, e.g., prefers to reconstruct *-b- and *-d- in intervocalic position as well, even though OJ and all dialects reflect -w- and -j-; on the other hand, it may be argued

that PJ did not have *b- and *d-, but only *w- (*β-) and *j- (*ð-), even though Ryukyu dialects have b- and d- - these all are non-distinctive features.

The rules of phonetic development in Japanese are rather complicated and involve a hypothesis about several intermediate steps with assimilations, prenasalizations and palatalizations. Moreover, only rules 1-2 (*l- > *n- and weakening of *-g- in the 3d syllable) are common to Japanese and Korean and distinguish this subgroup both from Turko-Mongolian and Tungus-Manchu. Since both prenasalized consonants (clusters like *-mp-, *-nd- etc.) and palatalized consonants (*d́, *ǵ) are quite common in Austronesian languages, one might speculate that most phonological changes in the history of Japanese occurred already after the very early split of Korean and Japanese (around the 3d millennium BC) and the subsequent migration of Proto-Japanese to the Japanese archipelago, under the influence of substratum Austronesian languages.

2.2.5. Korean

A. Loss of *l-, *ĺ-
1. *l-, *ĺ- > *n
B.
2. -g- > -ɣ- in the 3d syllable
C. Transformation of affricates
(3a) *-i̯u- > *-u-
3b. *si̯- > *ś- > *h-
4. *z, *š > *s
D. Voice shift
5. *t, *k > *d, *g
6. *-b-, *-d-, *-g- > *-w-, *-r-, *-ɣ-
7. *C´, *Z > *C
E. Resonants
8. *ŋ-, *ń- > *n-
9. *r, *ŕ, *l, *ĺ > *r
10. *-jR- > *-j-
F. Final dialectal developments
11. *-ɣ- > -h- ~ -0-
12. *-ŋ- > -h- ~ -0-

Groups of rules C, D and E are independent of each other and could have happened in any order - but after groups A and B (the only two rules common to Japanese and Korean) and before group F.

2.3. Consonant clusters

Initial consonant clusters are highly atypical for modern Altaic languages (although occasionally they emerge due to vowel loss, as in some Southern Mongolian dialects, Korean and modern Japanese dialects), and were certainly absent in Proto-Altaic. However, medial consonant clusters were fairly common.

The most frequent medial clusters are nŋ, rk, ŋg, jb, jr, lg, lb, rg, nt, jkʻ, gd, jl, bl, rpʻ, lkʻ, lk, ŋn, kt (each reconstructable at least in five roots).

The most typical cluster types are "resonant" + "occlusive", but we also meet "occlusive" + "resonant", "resonant" + "resonant" and "occlusive" + "occlusive".

Here is a complete chart of PA consonant clusters and their reflexes.

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
*rpʻ	(r)p	rb	rp	rp	p	*àrpʻá, *sàrpʻa, *sarpʻe, *sarpʻi,*sirpʻa
*rp	rp	rb	rb	r?	(m)p	*sɨarpu, *kʻɨŭrpe, *sàrpa
*rb	rp/b	rb	r		t	*tʻărba, *tʻĕrbò
*rm	r	rm	m	m		*kʻĭrma, *sɨŏrme
*rtʻ	rt	t	[rt]			*tertʻa, *ērtʻa
*rt	rt	d	rd	r	(n)t	*kɨòrtème
*rd	r(V)t	rd/(r)ʒ	r[d]		t	*bŭrdV, *kĕrdu
*rč?	rč	rč	č	nč	ns	*sarču, *šĕrčú
*rs	rs	rs	rs	s	s	*borso(kʻV), *kărsi, *kirsi
*rkʻ	rk	rk	rg	k	k	*bŏrkʻi , *sarkʻV, *sedurkʻV, (*tʻerkʻo)
*rk	rk	rg	rk(/gd)	(r)k	(n)k	*čúrka, *kòrke, *ńɨărke, *pʻerkV, *erka ,
						*gérki, *kʻĭrka, *s[é]rko,*tʻɨárko, *pʻarkV
*rg	r(V)g	rg,r(V)ɣ	rg	r(h)	nk	*érga, *ɨàrgi, *mɨurgu,

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
						*ńargu, *kubirgV,
						(*kʻúrgo), *gurgi
*ŕm	ŕ	rm/rb	m	r(V)m	m	*eŕmu, *kʻi̯ǎŕme
*ŕk	ŕ	rk				*kʻűŕkV
*ŕg	ŕ	rg	rg	r	(rV)k	*i̯ŭŕgi (?), *tʻíŕge, *lǎŕgu, *ńi̯uŕge
*lpʻ	lp	lb	lp		(m)p	*dĕ̀lpʻi , *dĕ̀lpʻà
*lp	lp	lb	lb	(r)p	(m)p	*ălpa, *šálpu, *ni̯à̀lpá
*lb	l(Vg), lb	lb	l(b)	r(V)b,rm	(m)p	*tʻelbu, *ulbo
*lm	l	l(b)	lm, ?lVp	rVm	m	*kʻòlmV, *ŋalma, *čʻi̯ŏl[m]i (?), *kúlme
*ltʻ	l	lt	lt	r	(n)t	*màltʻe, *mìltʻe, *kaltʻo
*lt ?	lt	lt	ld	t?	t	*kelta(rV), *pi̯ŏ́ltorV (?)
*ld	l(d)	ld	ld	r	t	*alda, *zi̯ŭ̀ldu, *gi̯ŭldo, *gűldi
*lč		lč	lž		(n)t	*pà̀lčà
*lń	l		lń		n	*kʻèlńí
*lkʻ	lk	lk	lk	nk	k	*mi̯olkʻo, *nelkʻV,*pʻi̯à̀lkʻi
*lk	l(k)	lg	lk	rk	(n)k	*salkV, *kʻòlke, *télki, *nilko
*lg	lg / l(V)k	lg, lVɣ	lg	r	(n)k	*pʻi̯ŏlge, *sĭ́lgù, *di̯ŭ̀lgu, *pʻŭ̀lgi, *tʻi̯ò̀lgu, *tʻi̯olge, *ălgi, *pà̀lgà
*Ípʻ	Í	lb	lp		(m)p	*tʻaÍpʻV
*Íp	Í	lb	l(b)		s(Vp)	*ĕ́Ípo, *ŭ́Ípe, *kaÍpa
*Íb	Í	lb, lVɣ	lb	r(b)	(n)s	*ĭ́Íbi, *kòÍbèkʻV,

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
						*kʻǒĺba, *mĕĺba, *sèĺbò,
						*tǎĺbà, *tàĺbe,*ńǎĺba, *nèĺbù
*Ím	Ím	lb	lVb	rm	(n)s	*bi̯ǎĺmi
*Íd	Í	ld	d			*tǔĺdi
*Ín	n	jVl	ln>lŋ			*kʻi̯ǔĺnu
*Íčʻ	Íč	lč	lč	č	(n)s	(*čʻíĺčʻu) , *bilčʻi
*Íč	Íč	lč	l/j	r	(n)s	*ǎĺča, *bi̯ǎĺča, *kèĺčo
*Íž	Í(č)	lž	l/j	r ~č	s	*pǐĺži, *ĕĺžu, *kèĺžo, *mĕĺžu
*Íń	ń	n	lń			*pʻoĺńe
*Ík	Í	lg	lk			*iĺkV, *tʻūĺke, *tʻi̯ǎĺke
*Íŋ	j ~ ń	lVg	lŋ	r		*pʻáĺŋa
*mpʻ	m(b)	m	mp	m(p)	mp	*kampʻo, *kómpʻi , *kʻómpʻ[e], *ki̯ampʻa
*mp	p	mb	mb/mp	p	mp	*kòmpo, *sǎ̀mpi, *sèmpa
*mb	m	mb	mb	m	m	*kumba(ka), *li̯àmba, *ámbe, *ni̯ombu
*mt	mt	md	mt		mVt	*kómtV, *símta
*mr	rb/rm	nd	md			*čʻǎ̀mro
*ml		mVl	lm	m		*kʻi̯uml[e]
*mč	nč	mž	m[s]		s	*nǐmči(-kʻV)
*mń		mn	mń			*ni̯amńa
*mŕ	bŕ	md	nd			*kemŕa
*ms	s	bs			ns	*kámsa
*mkʻ	mVk		mk		(n)k	*s[i̯ù]mkʻi
*mk	mg	mk/nk	ŋk		nk	*i̯òmke
*mg	mg	mg/ŋg	mg	ŋ	(m)	*tʻumgi, *ki̯omga
*mŋ	ŋ	m	mŋ			*kʻĕ́mŋV
*ntʻ	nt	nt	nt	nt	nt	*antʻa, *kǎ̀ntʻV,

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
						*kʻi̯ŏntʻ[a], *tʻintʻa
*nt	nt	nd/nč	nd	nt,ń	(n)t	*ǎnta, *zǔnti, *gentV, *kanti, *ki̯àntú,
						*ùntu, (*pʻǔnte), *i̯ánti(-kV)
*nd	t	nd/nǯ	nd		n	*ǎnda, (*kènda), *măndo, *ŋ̀ndó
*nr		ŋgVr	ŋg?/nd	nVr	r	*ménrV, *pi̯únri
*nčʻ	nč	nč	nč	nč	(n)t	*kʻi̯ǔnčʻo, *mànčʻu, *ménčʻo, *pʻi̯ǎnčʻi
*nǯ	nč	nǯ	nǯ		(n)s	*mi̯ǔnǯù, *sanǯV, *kènǯé
*ns	s		ŋs (<ns)		s	*ŋ̀ansa
*nŕ	nŕ	r	[ńr]	nVr	r	*píńŕa
*nŋ	ŋ(g)	n/m	nŋ(ŋń)	n	m,(n)	*ènŋù, *ki̯onŋu, *ŋònŋi, *pʻǎnŋi, *si̯únŋi, *si̯únŋu, *mónŋo, *ńanŋa, *sònŋu, *tʻànŋú, *tʻi̯ǔnŋá, *gèn̩ŋa, *tǎnŋù
*ńd	ń	nd	nd		m	*mi̯óńde
*ńŋ	ń (n)	ɣ/ŋg	nŋ (ńŋ)	ń	n	*i̯uńŋu, *píńŋe, *pʻòńŋa
*ŋtʻ	ŋ(d)	n,ŋd,(ŋ)ǯ(i)	nd,ŋd	ŋt	nt	*uŋtʻe, *uŋtʻV, *aŋtʻà, *kuŋtʻV
*ŋt		d, nd	ŋd		nt	*kòŋti, *tʻǒŋta
*ŋd	t		ŋd	ń	n	*óŋdu
*ŋr	ŋVr	ɣVr/nd	r	Vr		*siŋra, *síŋri, *si̯oŋre
*ŋn	n	(n)/ŋ,ŋn	ŋ(n)	0,ŋʼ	n,(m)	*múŋna, *ńi̯ūŋne, *tʻaŋnà, *tʻǎŋnV, *kaŋne

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
*ŋč	ŋč	ǯ	s		ns	*ńi̯ŋči
*ŋń	n	ŋ/ɣ	ŋń	0	(nV)m	*ńéŋńi, *ńi̯ù̯ŋńù
*ŋĺ	ŋVĺ	ŋl			s	*muŋĺe
*ŋs	ŋs			s		*eŋsV
*ŋkʹ	ŋ(k)	jVk,nVk	ŋ(k)		nk	*pʹi̯àŋkʹi, *dǎŋkʹV, *bǎŋkʹi
*ŋk	ŋ	ŋ(g)	ŋk	ŋk	nk	*šaŋku, *ǒŋke, *pʹùŋké, *zìŋke
*ŋg	ŋ(g)	ŋg	ŋg	ŋk,-ŋ(h)	nk	*koŋgV, *ĺeŋgV, *puŋga, *kʹuŋgo, *tʹaŋgiri, *čaŋgu, *maŋga, *ĺoŋgV, *téŋgu
*jpʹ	jp	ɣ, -b	p	p	(m)p	*sìjpʹó, *làjpʹV
*jp		b	(b)		p	*túipè
*jb	b	b	(j)b	b(0)	w(j)	*ǎjbo, *éjba, *ki̯ójbu, *ǔjbà, *ǎjbi, *tʹujbu, *ǯǔjbe, *kejbe, *pǎjbu, *tʹèjbo
*jm	jm	(jV)m	(j)m	m	m	*kijmV, *pʹojme, *pʹujme
*jt	t	d	t	t	(i)t	*kǎjta
*jr	r	r	r	0(i)	r/t	*bi̯ujri, *mi̯ǔjre, *sajri, *si̯ǒjri, *bùjre, *séjra, *si̯ǎjrí,*si̯ǎjri, *si̯ǔjro, *tʹájri, *tʹàjrá
*jl	l	l	l	0(i)	r	*bi̯ùjlu, *kʹǒjli, *kʹǔjlu, *ńǎjla, *ójle, *pʹèjló
*jč	č	č	š	č	s	*ŋǒjču
*jǯ	(jč)	ɣVǯ	(j)ǯ	č	t/j	*čʹǎjǯV
*js	js	s				*ijsV
*jń	n,ń	n/j/gVɣ	ń	0(i)	n	*gi̯òjńu, *pʹèjńé, *pòjńV́, *zèjńa
*jŕ	ŕ	j	ǯ	0	0(j)	*gǔjŕe, *kʹi̯ǔjŕo

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
*jĺ	ĺ	l	l	0(i)	(n)s	*bojĺe, *nàjĺV, *zejĺu
*jkˊ	(jV)k	k	(j)k	k	k	*kˊi̯ujkˊè, *lèjkˊá, *pˊèjkˊV, *sajkˊV, *sǒ̵jkˊì, *tǔ̵jkˊú, *g[i̯o]jkˊu, *pˊĭjkˊe
*jk	g(<k)	g	jk			*ujkV
*jg	g	ɣ	j ~g	0(i)	0	*săjgo
*jŋ	j(V)ŋ	ŋ/ɣ/j	ŋ	0(i),ń	m,j,n	*màjŋì,*mújŋi, *kˊi̯ójŋo, *i̯ùjŋula, *sejŋi, *sĭ̯jŋo
*bd			bd		t	*ǯabda
*pr	r(b)	wr (ɣVr)	rp	r		*kˊăpra, *kˊắpri
*br	r	wr, r	(bV)r	r	r	*kàbro, *obri, *tˊǒ̵bru
*bl	(bV)l	ɣVl/jVl/wl	l(b)	r	r	*nable, *èbla, *goblu, *lằblè, *dible, *di̯úblu
*bčˊ	(b)č	wč	č			*ubčˊV
*bč		č	[b]š		s	*m[a]bči
*bǯ	(b)j	ǯ	ǯ		*ébǯo	
*pˊŕ	pVŕ	ɣVr			t	*kùpˊŕó
*bŕ	(b)ŕ	ɣVr			r	*nĭ́bŕo
*bĺ	(b)ĺ		bl		s	*nibĺa
*bs	s	s	bs		s	*zi̯ă̆bsa
*bkˊ	k	k	bk		k(Vp)	*ibkˊV
*bg	g(j)	b/g	bg			*subga
*bŋ	b	mVɣ	bŋ			*tˊĭ̆bŋe
*gm?	gVn	ɣVm	m			*egmV
*ktˊ	t	gt	kt	t(h)	t	*di̯oktˊV, *pˊoktˊo(-rV), *zaktˊi
*kt	t	gd/gǯ	gd	t(h)	t	*bǔ̵ktV, *čắkte, *mi̯uktu, *tˊắkta, *gằgtà
*gt?	(g)t	ɣVǯ	gd			*zi̯ǒ̵gtu

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
*gd	d	d/ǯ	gd	t(h)/r	(n)t	*bŏgdu, *múgdà, *pǎgdì, *p'ágdi , *si̯ŏgdú, *ǯŭgdV, *mùgdó
*kr	r	ɣVr	kVr	(h)	kVr	*bŭkrV, *ńikrV
*gr	gVr	ɣVr	rg	rh	r	*ki̯ǎgru
*kl?	gl	gl	lg,g(l)		(n)k	*t'aklu, (*ĺekleKV)
*gl		wl	lg	r	(0)	*negle
*kŕ	gr/ gVŕ	ɣVr	kt	rk	kVr	*čikŕo
*gĺ	gVĺ	ɣVl	l			*kogĺu
*gn	gn	ɣVɣ	ŋg,n		nk,-N	*dègni, *zi̯ognV
*gs	gVs	gs	ks	(h)s		*segsV, *t'ŏgsu
*k'ŋ	k	ŋg	ŋk		k	*p'ŭk'ŋi
*kŋ	g	ŋg	ŋ			*kekŋV
*gŋ	g	ɣVg	ŋ(g)	ŋ	m	*àgŋa, *sogŋV
*gń	g		ŋń	ń		*ńugńa
*kč'			kč	čh	t	*mi̯úkč'[à]
*kč		gč	ks	č		*ŋi̯àkča
*kǯ	č	gǯ	gǯ			*p'ukǯi
*t'k'?	t	t	kt			*ŏt'k'V
*tk?	dg (gd)	d(Vg)	kt			*ǯi̯utke
*dg?	gd	d	(g)d			*zodgV
*č'k	čk		čVk	sk		*ši̯ŏč'ko
*sk		sk	sk		(n)sVk	*p'ŭske

It may be noted that some consonants behave differently in clusters than in plain intervocalic position. Exact rules, however, are rather difficult to formulate because of the general instability and rarity of consonant clusters. Especially unstable are the clusters with -j- as the first component: this consonant may leave direct traces in Turkic and TM (but may also disappear without a trace there), but tends to disappear elsewhere. A number of *-j-clusters are reconstructed on indirect evidence: preservation of *-b- (instead of regular *-ɣ-) in Mongolian (where *-jb- thus behaves similarly to *-rb-, *-lb-); fricativization of *-jb-, *-jg- in Japanese; development *-jR- > -0- in Korean. It is also tempting to reconstruct *-j-clusters in two small groups of cases:

a) since clusters with *-j- occasionally result in vowel diphthongization in Japanese (cf. the cases **làjp'V*, **kə́jta*, **k'i̯ŭ́jŕo*, **lèjk'á*), we could reconstruct similar clusters in a few other cases where PJ has *-ia- in the structure *CiaC- (generally very rare), namely, in **dél̆ì* 'mane, collar' (= **dé̯jlì*), PJ **(d)iárì*; **l[ù]kʷV* 'wild cat' (= **lòjkʷV*, PJ **niàkua*), **mi̯ore* 'hurt, damage' (= **mi̯ojre* or **mojre*, PJ **miar-*), **p'èrì* 'edge' (= **p'èjrì*, PJ **piàrì*).

b) since clusters with *-j- occasionally transfer this -j- to the beginning of the syllable in Korean (cf. the cases **č'ə̆j̆ʒV*, **k'i̯ójŋo*, **lèjk'á*, **mə́jno*, **p'èjńe*, **sajri*), we could reconstruct similar clusters in several other cases when Korean has -jə- but without any trace of a PA *-i̯-diphthong (which is the usual source of Korean -jə-), namely in **tŭ́kʷú* 'make a sign' (= **tŭ́jkʷú*, PK **tjək-*), **máŋV* 'go-between' (= **májŋV*, PK **mjàniŕi)*, **č'ak'e* 'forearm' (= **č'ajk'e*, PK **čjàkái-*), **č'ēkʷV* 'k. of cloth' (= **č'ējkʷV*, PK **čjək-*), **č'ə́p'u* 'ulcer' (= **č'ə́jp'u*, PK **čjūpók)*, **č'[a]ge* 'bast' (= **č'[a]jge*, PK **čjòhă̆i)*, **dằl̆à* 'hide, enclosure' (= **dằj̆là*, PK **tjár*), **kesa* 'suffer' (= **kejsa*, PK **kjəs-*), **kĕ̀č'á* 'slanting' (= **kĕ̀jč'á*, PK **kjáčh*), **nèra* 'thin, flat' (= **nèjra*, PK **jər-p-*), **ʒapʷV(ĺV)* 'wormwood' (= **ʒajpʷV(ĺV)*, PK **čjəpii-*). Absence of the standard development *-jr- > -0- in some of these cases (**k'i̯ójŋo*, **májŋV*, **dằj̆là*, **nèjra*) could in fact be explained by an early shift of *-j- to a different position within the syllable.

Since these phenomena in Japanese and Korean are difficult to link to each other and to any evidence in other Altaic languages, the reconstruction of *-j- in such cases still remains problematic.

2.4. Vowels

The traditional system of vowel correspondences proposed by Ramstedt and Poppe was already perceived as outdated during the writing of "The Altaic Problem and the Origin of Japanese" (АПиПЯЯ). Further research led to its complete revision. We now suppose that the PA vowel system was completely devoid of vowel harmony which evolved in all the subgroups later as a result of complex interaction between the vowels of the first and the second syllables in polysyllabic roots and derivatives.

The system assumed to be Proto-Altaic consisted of five vowels (*i, *e, *u, *o, *a) and three diphthongs (*i̯u, *i̯o, *i̯a), the diphthongs being restricted to the first syllable of the word. The interaction of eight vocalic units of the first syllable and five vocalic phonemes of the second syllable leads to an extremely diverse system of correspondences, of

which the traditional Ramstedt-Poppe correspondences are only a small subset.

The diphthongs with *-i̯- are basically reconstructed where Turkic and TM have specific reflexes (*-ia- in Turkic, *-ia- and *-ü- (-iu-) in TM); in several cases, however, diphthongs have been lost in those subgroups as well and can be reconstructed only on circumstantial evidence, see below.

The phonetic nature of PA diphthongs is still debatable. We prefer to treat them as diphthongs because they are preserved as such in a number of cases in PT, PTM and Korean, but an interpretation of diphthongs as front vowels could also be possible. In that case, *i̯a = *ä; *i̯o = *ö; *i̯u = *ü. Further research is needed to choose one of these two alternative solutions.

The TM system of vowels appears to be the most conservative and was used as a basis of reconstruction. Turkic, Mongolian and Korean usually modify the first vowel under the influence of the second one. Thus, fronted first vowels usually signal that the second vowel was a front one. However the second vowel could also be fronted or shifted to back under the influence of the first vowel, leading to numerous variations in reflexes. Japanese seems to have exclusively assimilated the first vowel to the second one (a process very similar to what later happened in Mongolian), so that the quality of Japanese vowels in the first syllable is normally a good indicator of the original quality of the second vowel, which itself may have been assimilated or disappeared altogether.

Vowels of the non-initial syllable are generally very unstable in all modern Altaic languages. They tend to become assimilated to initial vowels, are frequently contracted in various combinations with following suffixes, and are often lost completely. They are best preserved in Tungus-Manchu languages and completely lost in the majority of Turkic and Korean roots. The situation therefore is very close, e.g., to Germanic or to the Nakh languages in the Eastern Caucasus, where the quality of non-initial vowels can now only be recovered on the basis of umlaut processes in the first syllable. Thus, the approach we have chosen - reconstructing non-initial vowels on indirect evidence (the way they have influenced the vowels that preceded them) - seems to be the only possible solution. Rules for individual development of non-initial vowels in particular subbranches of Altaic have yet to be established, and depend substantially on a future analysis of verbal and nominal morphophonemics and accent systems.

Below we list the vocalic correspondences between the Altaic languages. In the Proto-Altaic column we list all recoverable combinations

of the first and second syllable vowels. The notation U in PTM, PM and MKor. means that any of the two back rounded vowels - u or o - can act as a reflex, due to frequent variation between u/o in those languages. Similarly, the notation A in MKor. means that either a or ə can act as a reflex (due to very frequent a/ə variation in Korean). The notation P stands for any labialized consonant (modifying adjacent vowels in Mongolian and Turkic) and R - for any liquid resonant (conditioning the development of closed / open vowels in Turkic).

PA	PTM	PM	PT	PJ	MKor.
*a-a	a	a	a (Pa-/Pạ-)	a	A
*a-e	a	a [i]	a-, i̇	ə	A
*a-i	a	a [e]	e [a]	i	A [i]
*a-o	a	a [i, e]	o (ja, aj)	a	ă [o]
*a-u	a	a [U]	a	u	A [U]
*e-a	e	a [e]	a (ạ) [e]	a	A
*e-e	e	e (ja-)	e (ęR; ja-)	ə	A [i, i̇]
*e-i	e	e [i]	e (ęR; ja-)	i	i [i̇, A]
*e-o	e	a [e, Pü/Pö, üP/öP]	ạ [ę]	ə [a]	ă [U]
*e-u	e	e [a, Po, oP]	e [a, ạ]	u	U [a]
*i-a	i	i	i̇ [i]	a	A
*i-e	i	e [i]	e (ęR)	i	i [i̇]
*i-i	i	i (Pe)	i	i	I
*i-o	i	i	i̇	i [ə]	U [i̇]
*i-u	i	i	i̇ [i]	u	i [i̇]
*o-a	U	U	o	a	Ă
*o-e	U	ö [ü, o]	ö [o]	ə	i̇ [U]
*o-i	U	ö	ö [o]	u	U
*o-o	U	u	o	ə	Ă
*o-u	U	U	o	u	ă [U]
*u-a	U	a [U]	u [o]	a	A
*u-e	u	U [ü, ö]	ü	ua (Pa-)	i̇ [A]
*u-i	u	ü [ö]	ü [u]	u	U [i̇]
*u-o	U	U	u	ə	U [i̇]
*u-u	U	U	u	u	U
*i̯a-a	ia (Si)	a	ia, ja [e]	a	ă (Pa, aP)
*i̯a-e	i	i [a,e]	ia, ja	ə	i [(j)ə]
*i̯a-i	ia (Si)	i [e]	ia, ja [e]	i	ă [(j)ə]

PA	PTM	PM	PT
*i̯a-o	U	e	ia, ja, pa
*i̯a-u	U	a, U	e, a, Pa
*i̯o-a	U	a, U	ia, ja, pa
*i̯o-e	U	e, ö	e, a, Pa
*i̯o-i	U	i [e, ö]	ia, ja, pa
*i̯o-o	i	ö [ü, U]	o [u]
*i̯o-u	ia (Si)	e [i, u]	u [o]
*i̯u-a	U	U [i]	ɨ
*i̯u-e	ü, Pu	ö [ü, U]	ü, iR [ö]
*i̯u-i	i (Pu-)	ö [ü, U]	ü [ö]
*i̯u-o	ü	U	u [o]
*i̯u-u	U	i [U,ü,ö]	ɨ

e notation U in PTM, PM and
nded vowels - u or o - can act
ween u/o in those languages.
that either a or ə can act as a
n in Korean). The notation P
odifying adjacent vowels in
liquid resonant (conditioning
n Turkic).

T	PJ	MKor.
/Pa-)	a	A
	ə	A
	i	A [i]
aj)	a	ă [o]
	u	A [U]
e]	a	A
ja-)	ə	A [i, ɨ]
ja-)	i	i [ɨ, A]
	ə [a]	ă [U]
]	u	U [a]
	a	A
	i	i [ɨ]
	i	I
	i [ə]	U [ɨ]
	u	i [ɨ]
	a	Ă
	ə	ɨ [U]
	u	U
	ə	Ă
	u	ă [U]
	a	A
	ua (Pa-)	ɨ [A]
	u	U [ɨ]
	ə	U [ɨ]
	u	U
ə]	a	ă (Pa, aP)
	ə	i [(j)ə]
ə]	i	ă [(j)ə]

2.4.1. PA *a

PTM *a - PJ *a

This correspondence indicates the PA sequence
rather stable. All languages normally have *a he
exceptions:

1. Turkic normally has *a, but in a few cases - clo
   > *bạk-, *dắgá > *jạgu-k, *k'ắsa > *Kạsɨk, *mana
   *ạtkɨm, *p'ắra > *ạ̄r-, *p'ắt'a > *ạt-. Usually th
   served after historical labials, but the distribu
   (cf. *ắla, *dắgá and *k'ắsa above; cf., on the ot
   *p'āda > *adɨ-, *p'ắp'a > *apa-, *pàt'á > *bat-, *bắra
2. Korean has both a and ə, cf.

a) *agà > *ak-su, *ák'à > *àk-, *alda > *arăm, *ălpa > '
   > *ārắi, *dasa- > *tàs-, *kāma > *kàmóthi, *k'ápa >
   (but also *kàph-), *k'ắsa > *kàsắm, *mana > *
   *mára > *mar-, *nát'a > *nāt, *pala > *par, *pắl
   *pák'à > *pàk-, *p'át'à > *pàt(h), *p'ắt'à(-kV) >
   *p'ắt'à > *pat-, *sắja > *sāi-, *sápa > *sàpók, *sàrp
   *tắra > *tār, *t'ájrá > *tājà, *t'aŋnà > *tàŋ'àrí,
   *tám

b) *ála > *ər-, *ant'a(gV) > *ántàk, *bắra > *pər-, *gắt
   *k'ắra > *kjər, *láčà > *nàčhúr, *p'ắlà > *pár(h)

3. Japanese, as we said, normally has *a in this ty
   However, it should be borne in mind that Ja
   *a and *ə within one morpheme. Therefore,

where Japanese has *ə in the second syllable — probably because of some prehistoric vowel contractions that are hardly recoverable in detail — reveal also *ə, not *a, in the first syllable, cf.: **tǎĺbà* > **dásə̀*, **zàrá* > **sə̀tə́*, **ʒǎ́ra* > **dárə́-*.

PTM *a - PJ *ə

Except for the three cases listed above, this correspondence indicates the PA sequence **CaCə* (in Japanese **CaCe* > **CeCe* > **CəCV*). Other languages have the following reflexes here:

1. Mongolian has either *a or a fronted reflex *i/e:

a) **ǎk'ə́* > **(h)aki-*, **ámbə* > **(h)amban*, **ə̀le* > **al-*, **káče* > **kači*, **kaje* > **kaji-*, **kǎp'ə́* > **kaji-či*, **kare* > **kar-bu-*, **kaserV* > **kasirag*, **kǎt'ə* > **katari-*, **k'ə̀pe* > **kab-*, **máĺe* > **malur*, **pə̀t'ə* > **batagana*, **sarp'ə* > **sarbaɣa*, **t'ə̀gè* > **taji-la;*

b) **āńe(-č'V)* > **eje*, **en-*; **k'ə̀re* > **kira*, **làlè* > **nila-*, **ĺə̀k'ə́* > **ʒekej*, **mak'é* > **mek(e)-*, **màlt'ə* > **meltür-* > **möltür-*, **ńam(ń)ekt'V* > **ʒimuɣu-su*, **sagè* > **siɣu-g-*, **tǎ́de* > **čidör*, **zagè* > **seg* (on the distribution of *e and *i see below).

2. Turkic normally has *a- in Anlaut, but *-ɨ- after a consonant, cf.: **ǎk'ə́* > **(i)aku-ru-*, **ale* > **ăl*, **ə̀le* > **ăl-* (but also **āńe-č'V* > **Enč*); but **čǎkte* > **Tīt*, **č'ak'ə* > **čɨkan*, **káče* > **Kɨča*, **kaje* > **Kɨj-*, **kə̀le* > **Kɨlič*, **kaŋne* > **Kɨna*, **kǎp'ə́* > **Kɨp-*, **kare* > **Kɨrɨĺ*, **kaserV* > **Kɨsɨr*, **kǎt'ə* > **Kītɨr-*, **k'ə̀re* > **Kɨrɨg*, **làlè* > **jɨlɨk* > **jilik*, **máĺe* > **bɨnĺik*, **nable* > **jɨlɨm*, **ńàme* > **jɨmga*, **ńam(ń)e-* > **jɨmurt*, **nǎ́ne* > **jīn*, **pə̀t'ə* > **bɨt*, **sagè* > **sɨgɨt-*, **sarp'ə* > **sɨp*, **tǎ́de* > **dīd-*, **zagè* > **jɨg-*.

3. Korean also has a split into back *a and front *ə:

a) **ale* > **àrái*, **āńe(-č'V)* > **ànč-*, **ńam(ń)e-kt'V* > **nàmòk*, **pə̀t'ə* > **pátǎ́rí*, **pàńé* > **pám*, **k'ač'ə* > **kàčí*.

b) **ə̀le* > **ərí-*, **kǎt'ə* > **kə̀thí-*, **ĺə̀k'ə́* > **nək-*, **mak'é* > **mə̀k-*, **ńàme* > **jám-*, **tǎ́de* > **tət*.

PTM *a - PJ *i

This correspondence reflects the sequence **CaCi*, with a variation of back and front reflexes in other languages.

1. Turkic has normally *e, but also *a:

a) **ǎli* > **ẹ́lit-*, **ălgi* > **ĕlge-*, **ǎni* > **eŋ*, **ə̀jbi* > **Ebür(d)ek*, **ə̀ni* > **en*, **ǎ́ni* > **ēn-čü*, **bə̀dì* > **bEd-*, **bə̀ri* > **bEr-*, **bə̀ri* > **bẹr*, **čărikV* > **dẹrek*, **č'ăk'i* > **čekü-rtke*, **č'ali* > **čEl*, **č'ə̀ki* > **čEket*, **də̀li* > **jẹlim*, **gǎt'ì* > **gē(j)t-*, **kǎči* > **geč-*, **kaji* > **gejik*, **kǎk'i* > **Kēk-*, **kami* > **KEmek*, **kăpi* > **gebre-*, **kǎk'i* > **gēkir-*, **k'ádí(-rV)* > **KEdir-*, **k'ǎĺi* > **keĺ*, **k'ǎsi* > **kes-*,

**kʻăsi > *kes-, *màjŋì > *bejŋi, *ŋàli > *el, *pàli > *bęldir, *pʻădì > *ędiĺ, *pʻaĺi > *ęĺ, *pʻănŋi > *ēŋe-, *pʻătʻi > *ētük, *săbi > *sEbrük, *sajri > *ser-, *saĺ(b)i > *seĺ-, *săpʻí > *sep-, *sàpʻì > *sEp, *sàčʻi > *sEč-, *săki > *sēk-, *săŕi > *sEŕ-, *tʻàki > *TEk-, *zăli > *jęl.*

Among more or less secure examples there are 22 cases of open *e and 8 cases of closed *ę.

b) **álikV > *Ălaŋir, *àrì > *aŕig, *àpi > *Abi-, *ági > *āgu, *áli > *Āl, *atʻi > *Ati, *básı > *basig, *bàtʻí > *bat-, *dàgì > *jagi-, *dàkì > *jAk-in, *dăsi > *jAs-, *găli > *K(i)al, , *kádì(rV) > *Kadir, *kărsi > *KArsak, *lápʻì > *jap-, *maji > *baj, *màli > *baltu, *màli > *bAlig, *lami > *jAmak, *păsi > *bas-, *páli > *bālik, *pʻágdi > *adak, *pʻăsi > *as-, *saji > *sAj-, *sali > *sal-, *săMpi > *sAP, *săpʻíʼ > *sapak, *saŕi > *sAŕak, *tàbi > *dabul, *tʻaŋgiri > *taŋri* (but also **teŋri*), **tʻari > *tArakaj, *zaktʻi > *jątŕuk, *ǯáli > *jÁl-.*

Note that closed *ą is quite rare here (only 2 cases as opposed to 16 cases of open *a).

2. Mongolian can also have front reflexes i/e or a back reflex *a:

a) **ági > *eɣe-de-, *čărikV > *čirgaj, *čʻàki > *čigör-, *dagi > *deɣüren, *dari > *dereji-, *dàli > *ǯil-, *gătʻì > *getül-* (but also **gatul-*), **kádì(rV) > *keder, *kăkʻi > *kek-, *kami > *kemerlig, *kăpi > *kebere, *kărsi > *kirsa, *kăkʻi > *kekere-* (but also **kakira-*), **kʻádí(-rV) > *kederge, *kʻăpri > *keɣürge, *màli > *milaɣa, *màli > *milan, *lami > *limbaj, *páli > *bilaɣu, *pàli > *belčir, *pasi > *hesüre-, *pʻāji > *hejil-, *saji > *seji-le-, *saĺ(b)i > *sel(b)-* (but also **salb-*), **săpʻí > *sibeɣe, *săpʻí > *sibere-* (but also **sabir-*), **saŕi > *ser-, *sàčʻi > *seče-, *săki > *sege-, *săŕi > *seri-, *tʻari > *čirükej.* [Note that *i usually occurs before *-a-, *-ö- and *-u-, while *e occurs before *i, *e and *ü, thus **sibeɣe* and **sibere-* must go back to earlier **siböɣe* and **siböre-*].

b) **ăĺi > *al-dar, *álikV > *(h)alag-, *ăni > *aŋ-ka, *àrì > *ariɣa, *àpi > *abu-ra-, *áli > *aliya, *ăni > *anǯu, *atʻi > *ači, *bătʻí > *bat-ga, *bădì > *badara, *bărì > *baraɣun, *bàri > *baraɣa, *dàgì > *dajin, *dàkʻì > *daka-, *dăsi > *dasinga, *găli > *galǯaɣu, *kanti > *kančir, *kʻăĺi > *kali-sun, *kʻăsi > *kasu-, *lăŋi > *laji, *lápʻì > *labta-, *màjŋì > *maŋlai, *ŋàńi > *naji-, *pʻágdi > *(h)adag, *pʻăsi > *(h)asa-, *pʻănŋi- > *hana-, *sajri > *sar(b)a-, *săMpi > *samba-gan, *săpʻí > *sabaga, *tʻăkʻì > *taki-, *tʻaŋgiri > *taŋgarag, *tʻájri- > *tara-, *zăli > *salki, *ǯăli- > *ǯala-.*

In a few cases (**dàli > *dölü, *tàbi > *düjiren, *čʻăkʻi > *čoku*), the vowel becomes labialized under the influence of secondary labialization of the second syllable (caused probably by an original labial suffix like *-bV- > -wV-: **dàli-bV > *dàli-w- > *delü-* > **dölü* etc.).

Mongolian and Turkic evidence displays a large number of e/a doublet readings, showing that the split into front and back variants in Turkic and Mongolian is secondary, probably caused by the old dialec-

tal variant development **CaCi* > **CeCE* vs. **CaCi* > **CaCA*. In general there is no direct correlation between front and back reflexes in Turkic and Mongolian; we find that Turkic slightly prefers front reflexes (44 cases of *e vs. 36 cases of *a), while Mongolian rather favours back reflexes (33 cases of *a vs. 29 cases of *e, plus 4 cases with a variation *e/a).

3. Korean, too, has a split into *a and *ə, but also has a number of *i-reflexes:

a) **ǎĺi* > **ār-*, **ǎni* > **àńí*, **ànì* > **an-*, **ánì* > **ān-*, **at'i* > **àtǎr*, **bàrì-* > **pàrǎ-*, **bàri* > **pār*, **dàli* > **tàr-*, **kàji* > **kāi-*, **kǎk'i* > **kài'ò-*, **k'ǎsi-* > **kàsk-* (but also **kəsk-*), **láp'ì* > **nàp-* (but also **nəp-*), **màli* > **már*, **pǎli* > **par-*, **pasi* > **pàs-*, **p'ǎt'i* > **pàtì*, **saŋe* > **sài'ó-*, **sǎp'í* > **sap-*, **sǎŕi* > **sari-*, **zakt'i* > **sàt*, **zăli* > **sar-*

b) **pǎli* > **pār-*, **sajri* > **sjə-*, **saĺ(b)i* > **sər-*, **sǎp'í* > **sàp*

c) **ǎpi* > **ìpà-tí*, **ǎli* > **ìr-bàń-*, **dǎsi* > **tìsài*, **ŋǎńì* > **nīń-*, **pańi* > **pìń-*, **sali* > **sirh-*, **t'ájri* > **tí-*.

PTM *a - PJ *u

This correspondence reflects the PA sequence **CaCu*. Other languages have the following reflexes:

1. Turkic predominantly has *a (**tāt* < **t'ǎt'u*, **daŋ-* < **tǎnŋù*, **saran* < **saru*, **samala* < **sǎmù*, **sakɨrtka* < **sak'u(rV)*, **bańak-* < **mańuk'V*, **Kara* < **kàru*, **Kadgu* < **gǎju*, **čal-* < **č'àlù*, **dal* < **čălù*, **āń* < **ǎńu*, **aglak* < **ăgu-la*).

Closed *ạ is attested, however, in **jạ́r-* < **lǎŕgu*; and in some trisyllables before -u- we have a secondary labialization -a- > -o- (**jogurgan* < **dáku*, **bokursɨ* < **bǎk'u*).

2. Mongolian has *a, but may also reveal labialized reflexes u/o:

a) **ăgu-la* > **ayula*, **apuči* > **(h)abisu-n*, **ǎmú* > **(h)ama-n*, **bǎk'ù* > **baki*, **čălù* > **daldaw*, **č'abu* > **čayur*, **č'àlù* > **čali*, **gǎju* > **gaj*, **kádù* > **kada-*, **kàru* > **kara*, **k'ăp'ù* > **kaya-*, **làku* > **lag*, **làk'ù* > **naki-*, **lǎŕgu* > **nargi-*, **málṭ'u* > **malta-*, **pǎluk'V* > **haluka*, **sak'u(rV)* > **sag*, **sarču* > **čarča-*, **saru* > **sar-*, **sagu* > **sag-su*, **šǎŋu* > **čaŋ*, **tàbù* > **day-*, **tagù* > **dagna-*, **tàbú* > **daya-*, **t'ámu* > **tama-*, **t'ǎŋu* > **tayu*, **t'ǎt'u* > **tačir*, **žap'ù* > **žaya-*;

b) **ǎk'ú* > **uku-*, **bagu* > **buyurul*, **balu* > **bulagan*, **č'ābu* > **čuw*, **gàtù* > **gudu-* (but also **godu*), **káč'u* > **kuči-*, **kalu* > **kul-*, **kǎnu* > **kuna*, **k'ap'u* > **kubilžagana*, **mańuk'V* > **munig*, **ńabĺu-čV* > **žulža-gan*, **saŋu(ńV)* > **suwnag*;

c) **ăbu* > **owči*, **ăŋu* > **oγuna*, **ắńu* > **oji(n)*, **bāku* > **bog*, **čamu* > **dom*, **kʻăču* > **kočur-*, **kʻáru* > **kormu-sun*, **ńargu-* > **ǯorgul*, **sarumV* > **sormu-*, **šalpu* > **čolbun*, **tʻák'ù* > **toki*, **tʻaklu* > **togli*, **tʻànŋú* > **tonu-*

3. Korean displays similar reflexes: normally **a* or **ə*, but occasionally also **u* or **o*:

a) **àlu* > **àr-* (but also **ər-*); **káčʻu* > **kàč*, **làkʻù* > **náks*, **màlù* > **maru*, **tắnŋù* > **tan*, **tʻákʻù* > **tàk*, **tʻámu* > **tām-*, **ǯapʻù* > **čàp-*;

b) **gắju* > **kəiʻəm*, **mańukʻV* > **məijùkí*, **sarumV* > **səm*, **šàčú* > **čəs*, **tʻátʻu* > **tətái*;

c) **bagu* > **pùhɨi-*, **čălù* > **čùr-kí*, **kádù* > **kùrʻái*, **máltʻu* > **mùt-*, **maru* > **muri*;

d) **kắnu* > **kón*, **kʻắkú* > **koāŋ*, **kʻáru* > **kòró*, **lắŕgu* > **nòrắs*, **tàbù* > **tòbɨi-*.

In a certain number of words seemingly pointing to **CaCa* (with TM **a* and Jpn. **a*) Mongolian unexpectedly displays front **i* or **e*; Turkic has **o*; and Korean has **ă* or labialized **o*, **u* (typical for PA **o*, see below). It seems appropriate to reconstruct here the type **CaCo*, with secondary merger of **CaCo* and **CaCa* in Japanese. The following comments are needed here:

1. Turkic normally has **o* (with occasional narrowing > **u* in contact with labials, cf. **um-* < **ắmo*, **budur-* < **bădo*, **buta-* < **bắtò*, **Kumiŕ* < **kàmo*, **jum-* < **nắmo*). For the **o* reflex cf. **tʻaso* > **tosun*, **tʻăpʻo(rV)* > **topra-k*, **tắŋo* > **doŋuŕ*, **tago* > **dogra-*, **sāmo* > **som*, **sáŕo* > **soŕak*, **pʻapʻo* > **op-la*, **ńamo* > **jo[m]*, **ńắmò* > **jom-*, **mắro* > **bōr*, **măndo* > **botu*, **kʻắno* > **Kon-*, **kʻalo* > **Kolaŋ*, **kʻăbo* > **Kob-*, **karmo* > **kor-daj*, **kaltʻo* > **Kolak*, **kakʻo* > **Koki-*, **kàbro* > **Kor*, **gắmo* > **Koma*, **čʻáko* > **čok*, **čálo* > **dōl-*, **čágo* > **ToK-*, **ắŋo* > **oŋ*, **àpo* > **obu-*.

In the following cases, however, we find the reflex **a*: **čAm* < **čʻamo*, **čar* < **čʻàro*, **čārba-* < **čʻắmro*, **Kalɨm* < **kălo*, **KAĺak* < **kʻắĺo*, **jaba* < **làbò*, **jaba* < **Ĺábó*, **jĀmčɨk* < **lắmo*, **jAŋgak* < **ńaŋo*, **ajɨt-* < **pʻajo*, **sag-* < **săjgo*, **saja-* < **sajo*, **sargan* < **sáro*, **jala-* < **ǯắlo*.

It is easy to see that with few exceptions the **a*-reflex is present in the vicinity of Turkic palatals **j*, **č* or **Ĺ*.

2. Mongolian, as said above, has normally **a*, but rather frequently also the fronted reflexes **i* or **e*:

a) **ắmo* > **ama-*, **talo* > **dalu*, **dali*, **kakʻo* > **kaku-*, **kălo* > **kala-*, **kaltʻo* > **kalta-s* (but also **kelte-*), **kampʻo* > **kamki-*, **kʻăbo* > **kaγur-*, **kʻắĺo* > **kal-*, **kʻắno* > **kani*, **labo* > **lab* / **naj*, **lắmo* > **nambuga*, **măndo* > **manǯi*, **ma[kʻ]o* > **makiji-*, **mắro* > **mara-*, **ńắmò* > **ǯaγu-n*, **pʻádo* > **(h)adar*, **pʻajo* > **haγu-*, **pʻapʻo* > **hawl-*, **săjgo* > **saγa-*, **salo* > **sal(u)-*,

**jeŋi), *zēra > *jar-, *ʒela > *jAla, *ʒèmá > *jam, *ʒéja > *jāj, *tert'a > *dart-, *zela > *jạla-ŋuk.*

b) **tḗma > *dēmin, *dék'à > *jEken, *ĕbà > *ebs-, *ĕda > *ed, *ēŋa(k'V) > *ēŋ, *ĕra > *er-, *éjba > *ēb-, *éna(kV) > *ēn, *éra > *Ērig, *ét'a > *ēt-, *gĕla > *gEle-ĺč-, *gèná > *gEne, *gék'á > *Kek-, *kéma > *Kemeke, *kemŕa > *kEbŕe, *kéjna > *gĒne, *kép'à > *gēp, *k'ébá > *gEbre, *k'èpà > *kebü-, *méŋa > *bEŋiŕ, *mḗča > *bĒčin, *nema > *jem-, *ńĕra > *jęr, *pédá > *bEdiŕ, *p'ètá > *et, *t'éba > *Teb, t'èk'á > *tek-, *t'eŋa > *TEŋ-, *t'ĕp'á > *tepö, *t'ẽŋà > *tEŋ, *t'èp'à > *TEpiŕ.*

Note that closed *ạ and *ę are very rare here and occur only before *-r- and *l (**Kạrɨn, *jạrɨn, *jęr, *jạlaŋuk*).

2. Mongolian also can have both *a and *e:

a) **dẽlp'à > *dalba-, *ĕda > *ada-, *èk'á > *(h)agsa-, *eńa > *ajaga(n), *erka > *arga-, *ēda > *(h)ada, *éjba > *(h)abad, *éra > *ar-, *gẽnŋa > *gana-, *kelta(rV) > *kaltar, *kènda > *kandagaj, *k'éŕà > *kajir(a)-, *k'éma > *kamgar, *k'eŋa > *kaŋka-, *k'épà > *kabta-su, *k'ẽta > *kadaga-la, *léńa > *naji-, *mék'à > *mak-, *méŋa > *maji-kai, *nèra > *nari-n, *nèra > *nara-su, *ŋẽrá > *naran, *pélaba(nV) > *barimal, *pép'à > *baɣa-su, *p'ép'a > *haba-kai, *p'éta > *(h)ada-, *p'ètá > *(h)adaska, *sēma > *samur-, *šek'a > *sakaɣu, *t'ẽja > *tajibu-, *t'ek'a > *taka, *t'eŋa > *taŋga-, *t'ĕp'a > *taɣ-, *t'éŕa > *tarbalʒi, *t'èbà > *tawlai, *zēra > *sara, *ʒela > *ʒali-, *ʒèmá > *ʒamug, *méra > *maril, *tert'a > *tata-.*

b) **bĕŕa > *berele-, *tḗma > *demej* (also with secondary labialization **demü > *dömü-*), **dék'à > *dek-, *èbla > *(h)eɣülde, *eńa > *ende-, *ĕp'a > *ebej, *ép'á > *eb-, *ĕra > *ere-, *éna(kV) > *eŋ, *éŕa > *ereɣü, *gèná > *gene-, *gék'á > *gek-, *kemŕa > *kemde-, *kèra > *kere-, *kép'à > *keɣe, *kĕč'á > *keč, *k'ébá > *keɣür, *k'èpà > *kebe, *lèjk'á > *neke-, *měŋa > *meŋde-, *mḗča > *mečin, *nema > *neme-, *pédá > *beder, *p'éra > *herbe-kei, *séjra > *sereɣe, *sèdá > *sede-, *tēga > *deɣe-, *t'éba > *tew-ke, *t'èk'á > *teg-si, *t'ĕp'á > *tebeg* (but also **tab), *t'ẽpá > *teberi-, *t'èp'à > *tebči-.*

There are also several cases of *i (before *j: **lẽja > *niɣe-, *zèjńa > *sine;* and also **ńĕra > *ʒir(u)-, *sép'à > *siɣüre- < *siɣöre-?*). The general distribution of *e and *i is here more or less the same as in the types **CaCe, *CaCi* (see above): *e occurs only before *e and *ü; but final *-a, -u and *-ö (also *-i) are extremely rare in this type, so that the expected reflex *-i- is very rare, too. It probably means that the type **CeCa* was very early transformed into **CeCe* (or **CaCa*), while **CaCe* first changed into **CaCi.*

It is also worth noting that, unlike the type **CaCe* where fronting in Turkic and Mongolian must have been an independent process (the correlation between Turkic *e and Mong. *e in that type is more or less

random), here we find a largely interdependent development: in most cases when Mong. has *a, Turkic also has *a (25 cases against 9 cases of Mong. *a - Turk. *e), and in most cases when Mong. has *e, Turkic also has *e (16 cases against 9 cases of Mong. *e - Turk. *a). This probably means that the process of splitting *CeCa into *CaCa / *CeCe started earlier than the process of splitting *CaCe (on which see above); but the conditioning factors for it still remain unclear.

3. Korean, as always, has a double reflex: *a or *ə:

a) *bétà > *pàdǎr, *tḗma > *tāmǎi-n, *dék'à > *tái (?), *dĕp'a > *tàpók-, *èbla > *árh, *éča > *àčhǎm, *eńa > *āń-, *ḗna(kV) > *ánh, *ḗra > *ar-, *kéma > *kàmá, *kéra > *kari, *k'ébà > *kai, *mék'à > *màk-, *ŋḕrá > *nár, *lèja > *ná-, *pép'à > *pap, *tḗla > *tarh-, *t'ĕp'á > *tapar, *zèjńa > *sái.

b) *ḗńa > *àńí, *ép'á > *ap-, *erka > *àrk-, *ḗ́ra > *àrjáb-, *kḗjna > *kāi, *kḕč'á > *kjáčh, *lèjk'á > *njàkí-, *nema > *nām-, *p'ḗ́ra > *pàr-, *séjra > *sāi(h), *tēga > *tə-, *t'ep'à > *tàph-, *t'ḗpá > *tàpír-, *zēra > *sār, *kéč'à > *kàčh, *méra > *màr'úi.

4. Japanese, as we said above, has a uniform *a. Since PJ *a and *ə are hardly compatible in one morpheme, almost none of the words in question have an *ə in the second syllable here, except for one case: PA *ǯèmá > PJ *dàmá(n)kui, where as a result the first vowel became secondarily assimilated (on some similar cases < PA *CaCa see above). Another similar case may be *čĕk'a > PJ *təkə (although here a reconstruction *čĕk'o can not be entirely excluded; on the type *CeCo see below).

PTM *e - PJ *ə

This correspondence (except for the irregular case with *ǯèmá, on which see above), indicates PA *CeCe. Other languages have the following reflexes:

1. Turkic uniformly has *e, with the open and closed variants distributed in the following way:

a) *ḕme > *eme, *k'éĺe > *keĺč, *sebe > *seb, *tḗp'é > *depre-, *t'égè(-rV) > *Tegre

b) *gḗle > *gęl-, *gḗrè(bV) > *gęr-tü

In one case, viz. *(j)īn-čik < *p'èjńé, we observe a narrowed *-i-reflex, probably conditioned by the medial -j-.

After initial *j- (< *n-) there may also appear back *a (*ą): cf. *nḗmè > *jama-, *nḕp'é > *jap-, *nḗre > *jąr-.

The distribution between *e and *ę, *a and *ą here seems to be conditioned by the following consonant: closed variants appear before *r and *l, open variants are found elsewhere.

2. Mongolian, too, uniformly has *e, except in the position after *j- (**ja-su* < **jan-su* < **p'ejńé*). Just as in the case of **CeCa*, *-i- could be possible, but the only attested cases here are with the vowels *-e-, *-i- or *-ü- in the second syllable (**eme* < **ĕme*, **ečige* < **ĕt'è*, **gere(-γe)* < **gĕrè(bV)*, **kenǯe* < **kènǯé*, **kewü-* < **k'ĕp'è*, **deglej* < **ĺekleKV*, **nebse-* < **nĕp'é*, **nere* < **nĕre*, **selü-* < **séle*, **debi-* < **tĕp'é*).

We see thus that PA **CeCe* behaves exactly like the fronted variant of **CaCe*, see above.

3. Korean has reflexes similar to those of **CaCi*, i.e. basically *a or *ə, but also a number of *i and *ɨ-reflexes:

a) **ĕme* > **ám*, **ĕt'è* > **àtă*, **gĕle* > **ká-*;

b) **ĕbè* > **àp-*, **séle* > **sàrì*;

c) **kejbe* > **kìbúr*, **nĕp'é* > **nìp-*, **nĕre* > **(n)ìrh-*, **nìră-*, **sése* > **sìs-kú-*, **sebe* > **sìpɨ-*;

d) **gĕrè(pV)* > **kɨr*, **neč'è* > **nìč-*.

PTM *e - PJ *i

This correspondence reflects the type **CeCi*, and other languages have the following reflexes:

1. as in the case of **CeCe*, Turkic has a more or less uniform reflex *e, with the open and closed variants distributed in the following way:

a) **gĕdì* > **ged*, **gérki* > **Kerke-*, **kĕŋi* > **geŋɨŕ*, **kĕči* > **gēč*, **ŋĕ́ni* > **ēn-*, **pĕk'i* > **bek*, **télki* > **Tel(k)-*, **dĕ́li* > **jēl;*

b) **k'èlńí* > **kẹli*, **tĕ̀rì* > **dẹri*, **ǯèri* > **jẹr-;*

The rules of distribution appear similar to those in the type **CeCe*, i.e. closed *ẹ before *r, *l, open *e elsewhere (however, several cases of open *e before *r,*l - **Kerke*, **Tel*, **jēl* - are also attested).

Just as in the case of **CeCe* there are some examples of -a- after *j- (cf. **zep'i* > **jap-*, **ǯebí* > **jAb*); cf. also **nébì* > **jub-ga*, probably a vowel metathesis < **jab-gu*.

We see that in general the type **CeCi* behaves in Turkic very similarly to **CeCe*; but there are a few attested cases where Turkic has a narrow *-i- here: **bèli* > **bil-* (but in a derivative: **bel-gü*); **dègni* > **(j)igne*, **p'edí* > **idi*; **sĕ̀ni* > **sin-čök*; **sejŋi* > **siŋil*.

2. Mongolian has either *e or *i:

a) **bèli* > **bele-*, **dĕ̀lp'i* > **delbe-*, **dĕ́li* > **del*, **gĕdì* > **gede*, **kĕŋi* > **keŋ-*, **kĕči* > **keči-*, **ńéŋńi* > **ǯeγü-n*, **ŋĕ́ni* > **neγü-*, **ségì* > **seg-l-*, **sĕ́mi* > **seme-*, **télki* > **deleg*, **néji* > **nej*, **éli* > **el-*, **dègni* > **ǯeγü-wün*.

b) **gérki* > **girgawl*, **k'èmì* > **kim*, **ĺègì* > **ǯig-*, **nébì* > **niγu-n*, **neji* > **ni-sa-*, **peč'i* > **hiče-*, **p'edí* > **hide*, **pĕk'i* > **hike*, **p'émi* > **himer-*, **p'èrì*

> *hir-, *seri > *sireɣe, *tə̀ri > *čiraj, *t'ə́k'i > *čig, *ǯə̀ri > *ǯirke-, *ǯebi > *ǯib-.

The general distribution rules of *i and *e (*-i- before *a, *u and *ö; *-e- before *e, *i and *ü) are somewhat violated here by a relatively large number of CiCe (hiče-, hide, hike, himer-, sireɣe, ǯirke). The reason for this development is yet to be established.

3. Korean has exactly the same reflexes as in the type *CeCe:

a) *ŋə́ni > *nàń(ắ-), *sə́mi > *sām, *sejŋi > *sjā'òŋ, *sési > *sàsắm, *sə̀mi > *sàm-, *t'ə̌ki > *tàhí-;

b) *ebi > *əbí-, *mét'i(-rkV) > *mərtàkán, *nébi > *nà-, *pə̌k'i > *phək, *p'éŋi > *paŋ-, *ǯeč'i > *čjəčái, *éli > *ər-;

c) *č'éč'i > *čičír-, *kə̌ŋi > *kíń-, *neji > *ní, *sə̌ni > *sín, *seri > *sìr'ái, *zep'i > *sìp-;

d) *bə̀li > *pírí-, *peč'i > *pìs-kírì-, *télki > *tìrkuər.

PTM *e - PJ *u

Here it is natural to reconstruct *CeCu, with the following correspondences in other languages.

1. as in *CeCa, Turkic can have both *a and *e:

a) *ènŋu > *ąnkaj, *keju > *Kąjɨn-, *keru > *KArɨ́l-, *kə̌ru > *Kąri, *kə́rdu > *Kə̄rt-, *lélugV > *jaglɨk, *meju > *bań-, *néč'u > *jačan-, *ŋə̀lu > *jAl-, *ŋə́nu > *jānu-, *p'eńu > *Ań, *sèk'u > *sąk(ɨ)-, *sə̀gù > *sąg, *šèru > *sar-, *t'elbu > *tAlagu, *sèp'ù > *sąp

b) *bə̌dù > *bEdü-k, *bek'ú > *bEkre, *č'eč'u > *čeček, *eŕmu > *eŕen, *kə̀ju > *Kej-, *kēpu > *gēb-, *k'èpù > *Kębi-Íč-, *mělu > *bęleĺ, *nə́ŋu > *jeŋe (but also *jaŋa in Yak. saŋas), *pə̀su > *bes, *šə̌rčú > *serče, *téŋgu > *deŋgil, *tə̀tu > *Tetig, *t'élù > *tēl, *t'ə̀rù > *tEŕek, *zejĺu > *jElme-, *élǯu > *Elčgek.

We can notice the following here: *e is almost always open (except in *Kębiĺč and *bęleĺ), but *a is for the most part closed *ą (*ąnkaj, *Kąjɨn-, *Kąri, *Kə̄rt-, *sąk-, *sąg, *sąp). All the cases with open *a contain a palatal (*jaglɨk, *bań-, *jačan, *jānu-; *sar- < *šèru). Thus, the distribution between *a and *ą in the type *CeCu is similar to the distribution of *a and *o in the type *CaCo, see above.

2. Mongolian reflexes are rather complicated in this type of correspondence. We can have

a) *a: *ə̌rù > *ar(a)-su; *keju > *kajira-; *kə̌ru > *kari-; *kə́rdu > *kažir; *lépù > *lab-ku (but also *lob-ku); *meju > *maji-; *nə́ŋu > *nagačų; *ŋə́nu > *naŋ-si-; *sedurk'V > *sadurkaj; *sek'u > *saki-; *seru(k'V) > *sarku; *sə̀gì > *saji(n); *šèru > *sara-; *tēru > *dar-ta-; *t'ə̀mu > *tamara-.

After or before a labial there usually appears a labialized reflex *o or *u (although some cases of *a are also attested, cf. **maji-* and **tamara-* above, as well as a variant reflexation **labku* and *lobku*):

b) *o/*u: **bẽǯu- > *buǯa-; *k'èpù > *kubil-; *mĕlu > *mojil-; *pĕsu > *(h)osu-; *p'eńu > *(h)ojimu; *segu > *sowsar; *t'elbu > *tolbu.*

A labialized reflex also appears in **una-gan < *ènŋù* and **nolga < *lélugV*, despite the absence of labials. Here we are probably dealing with an early vowel metathesis or assimilation **una-gan < *anu-gan* and **nol(u)ga < *nal(u)ga.*

Besides the back reflexes we also observe front *e and *i:

c) *e: **bĕdù > *bedi-γün, *bek'ú > *bekir, *déru > *derbe-, *eŕmu > *ermen, *keru > *kereldüg, *kẽńu > *kene-ge-* (but also **kinu-*); **kẽpu > *kebi-; *k'ĕĺú > *kerelǯegene, *méŋu > *men-dü, *méru- > *merije-* (but also **marija-*), **t'édù > *teǯije-, *t'élù > *tele-, *zejĺu > *seleme, *ĕĺǯu > *elǯigen;*

d) *i: **č'ép'u > *čijigan, *mék'ù > *mikan, *nèku > *nigu, *tètu > *čida, *sèp'ù > *sibsirga;*

The distribution of *e and *i here is standard (*e before -i-, -e-, -ü-, *i before -a-, -u-).

We may notice that here, too, as in the case of **CeCa,* Mongolian and Turkic largely coincide in the distribution of back and front variants — Mong. back : Turkic back in 13 cases; Mong. back : Turkic front in 8 cases (interestingly enough, most of them close to labials, i.e. with the Mong. reflex o/u); Mong. front : Turkic front in 9 cases; Mong. front : Turkic back only in 3 cases.

It is also interesting to notice the different behaviour of **CeCa* and **CeCu* both in Turkic and Mongolian: a) **CeCa* yields PT *a (almost never closed *ạ) and PM *a without any labialized variants in the vicinity of labials; b) **CeCu* yields PT *ạ (with a variant *a only in the vicinity of palatals) and PM *a, with a variant *o/*u close to labials.

This all seems to indicate that the development **CeCa > *CaCa,* but **CeCu > *CạCu* was a common Turko-Mongolian feature, with the vowel *ạ preserved in Turkic (and ultimately reflected as Yak., Chuv. -i- vs. -a- in other Turkic languages), and having developed into *o(*u) in Proto- Mongolian before or after labials (while plain *a stayed unchanged).

3. Korean can have here both standard reflexes *a/*ə and labialized *o/*u:

a) **keru > *kar-; *késu > *kàs* (but also **kàs*); **k'èpù > *káps, *sèk'u > *sàkí-, *sègù > *sà'ó-náb-, *šèru > *sár;*

b) **seru(k'V) > *sərk, *t'elbu > *tārəb-, *t'ĕŕù > *tār-;*

c) **bek'ú > *pok, *eŕmu > *òrmí, *keju > *kò'ɨ, *lélugV > *nòríkái, *ŋèlu > *nōr-ra-, *téŋgu > *thòŋ, *zejĺu > *sói;*

d) **čʹĕpʹu > *čjūpók, *meju > *mūi-, *nĕŋu > *nùʹi, *tʹékù > *tùthəb-.*

Occasionally, we also encounter a reflex **i* close to labials: **bědù- > *pìrɨ-, *lépù > *nɨp(h).*

Just as in the case with PA *a (**CaCo*) there is also a fifth type of correspondence. In a number of cases when TM has *e and Jpn. either *ə or *a (i.e. where we would reconstruct PA **CeCe* or **CeCa*), all other languages have quite different reflexes: Korean has *ă or *o/u (typical for PA *o, see below, and for PA **CaCo*, see above); and Turkic has predominantly closed *ą or *ę. It seems probable that we are dealing here with the PA root structure **CeCo*. Let us mention at once that distribution between Jpn. *a and *ə is still unclear in this type of correspondence, but it seems hardly possible to reconstruct any additional distinctions here: the opposition **a : *ə* does not seem to correlate with anything else outside Japanese. It is possible that we are dealing with early vowel assimilations which result in part of the **CeCo* words being assimilated to **CeCe*, and another part to **CaCo*.

Let us sum up the evidence for **CeCo* in other languages.

1. Turkic, as in most heterovocalic stems, can have both back and front reflexes:

a) **ĕpʹo > *Ap* (but also **Ep), *ĕro > *ąrɨ, *ēčʹo > *ąč, *épo > *Āb, *gébó > *Kąb-, *kèĺčo > *Kąĺ(č)ɨ-, *kèlžo > *KAĺga, *kʹĕdò > *KAd, *kʹeńo > *Kąń, *kʹĕńó > *Kąń-, *kʹepʹorV > *KApur-, *kʹĕŕo > *Kaŕgan-, *kʹétʹò > *Kąt, *kʹēro > *Kąrga-, *néro > *jArman-, *zelo > *jąlɨŋ, *sero > *sąr-, *šéčo > *sąč-, *tĕmo > *dam, *tʹèmo > *Tąm-, *tʹeŕo > *dAŕ, *žĕlo > *jąĺɨ-, *žebò > *jAbaĺ.*

b) **béjo > *bEje, *depo > *jębi-, *epʹò > *Epej, *eso > *ęsür-, *ĕgó > *ēg-id-, *ĕĺpo > *ēĺü-, *gĕbo > *geb-, *gĕmo > *gēmi, *kèro > *gErü, *kéro > *gErüĺ-, *lēmo > *jēmiĺč, *melo > *bęl, *métʹò > *bętü(g), *pĕkʹò > *bēken-, *pʹĕlo > *ęĺ-, *pʹĕro > *er-, *tēlo > *dēl(b)ü-, *tʹerkʹo > *TęrKe-, *zego > *jEgit.*

In the majority of cases when there is a Chuvash or Yakut reflex available, they point here to closed *ą and *ę. Exceptions are **dakɨ* (Yak. *taɣanɨ*), **Kaŕgan-* (Yak. *xahān-*), **dam* (Chuv. *tom-la-*, Yak. *tamma-* - but notice also the PT variant **dim*), **dart-* (Chuv. *tort-*); **geb-* (Chuv. *kavža-*, but also *kɔʷbɔʷš* < **gębĺ-*); **er-* (Yak. *erke*, but Chuv. *jərgań*, probably < **ęrk-*); **ĕĺü-* (Chuv. *alɔk*). Reflexes of open *a or *e in these few cases are probably due to later vocalic assimilations or dialectal mixture.

2. Mongolian, too, has both back and front reflexes:

a) *a: **béjo > *bajita-sun, *bĕló > *balai, *epʹò > *aɣag, *ĕpʹo > *(h)aba-, *ĕro > *ariɣ-, *ĕgó > *aɣu-, *épo > *aba, *gébó > *gawr-su, *kèro > *kari-, *kèĺčo > *kalča-, *kèlžo > *kalža-, *kʹeńo > *kajaɣa, *kʹéńo > *kaji-, *kʹĕpʹó > *kajila-,*

**k'ep'orV > *kabir-, *k'ét'ò > *kata-, *k'ēro > *kara/ija-, *lēmo > *lamaya, *néro > *narba-, *pék'ò > *baka-, *sero > *sariwu, *šéčo > *saču-, *t'erk'o > *tariki, *t'eŕo > *tar-, *t'ȅrbò > *tarbagaj, *t'ȅjbo > *tabi-, *t'ébo > *tab, *zego > *saɣaka-, *žȅĺo > *žalka-, *sèp'ó > *saba;* in **ȅĺpo > *(h)olbug* Mongolian has a secondary labialization (< **(h)albug*).

b) *e / i: **depo > *debte-, *emo > *emü-, *eso > *es-, *kéro > *kere-, *két'ò > *ketü, *k'ȅŕo > *kerig, *mét'ò > *med, *p'ȅjló > *helige, *pego > *heɣü, *sèĺbò > *selbi-ɣür; *zelo > *sildaŋ,*šero > *sira-.*

The distribution of *e and *i here is standard (-e- before e, ü, i; -i- before a).

But additionally Mongolian has quite a number of labialized reflexes **ö/ü*, probably developed secondarily from *e/i through regressive labialization and thus also pointing to the labialized nature of the second vowel: **ébžo > *üže-, *gȅbo > *güji-, *gèmo > *gömür-, *k'ědò > *küdeŋ, *k'ȅńó > *köŋgen, *mèto > *möči-, *mȅnò > *mön, *pȅžo > *böži-, *p'ȅĺo > *hülde-, *zelo > *sülde, *žebò > *žöɣelen.*

In this case, as with **CaCe* (and unlike **CeCa, *CeCu*) it is difficult to find a direct correlation between front/back reflexes in Mongolian and Turkic. The developments **CeCo > *CąC-/*CęC-* in Turkic and *> *CaC-/*CeC-/*CöC-* in Mongolian thus must have been independent processes, already after the disintegration of Proto-Turko-Mongolian. It can also be seen that the vowel *ą in PT here differs from the vowel *ą in the type **CeCu* (see above): while the latter reflects a common Turko-Mongolian development **CeCu > *CąCu* (with *ą yielding specific a/o reflexes in Mongolian), the former is a purely Turkic development (no o/u-reflexes are attested in Mongolian in the type **CeCo*).

3. Korean, as said above, demonstrates here reflexes typical for PA *o, namely *ă or *o/*u:

a) **bȅĺó > *pằrk-, *gèmo > *kằm-, *kèĺčo > *kằr-, *két'ò > *kằtằk-, *k'eńo > *kằń, *k'ȅńó > *kằnằr-, *k'éńo > *kằńằi, *lēmo > *nằmằrh, *mȅko > *mằi-, *mét'ò > *mằt, *néro > *nằr-, *p'ȅjló > *pằi, *p'ȅĺo > *pằrb-, *p'ȅro > *pằrá-, *šéčo > *čằčhằi-, *tȅmo > *tằm-, *t'eŕo > *tằrk, *t'ȅjbo > *tằbi-, *zelo > *sằr-, *šero > *sằrm-.*

Here we should also attribute the cases **ēč'o > *áč-* / **ač-* and **ep'ò > **ap*, reduplicated **páp:* because in Kor. *ă could not stand in word-initial position, it was probably early replaced by *a- / **ə-*.

b) **ȅp'o > *opɨ(s), *gébó > *kò'ɨi, *gȅmo > *kòmằr, *kèĺžo > *kór(čhí), *lép'ó > *nòph-, *mȅnò > *móm, *nȅko > *nóh-, *t'ènọ > *toŋ'ăi, *t'ébo > *tōb-, *sèp'ó > *sōp*

c) **kéro > *kūr-, *k'ep'orV > *kùpɨràŋ, *k'ét'ò > *kùt-, *mèto > *mūd-, *sèĺbò > *súr, *zego > *sú(h).*

2.4.3. PA *i

PTM *i - PJ *a

This type reflects the PA structure *CiCa*. Other languages display the following reflexes:

1. Turkic can have either back *ɨ or front *i:

a) **čʹĭpʹa* > **čīp*, **iĺa* > **ɨĺɨ-*, **ĭna* > **iŋir*, **īĺa* > **īĺ(č)*, **kĭ̀ba* > **Kibak*, **kìjá* > **Kij(g)ak*, **kĭ̀ŕa* > **Kir-*, **kʹíla* > **Kɨl(k)*, **kʹĭ̀rka* > **Kirk-*, **lĭ́gà* > **jīg-*, **nĭ̀ra* > **jir*, **pʹĭ̀rá* > **ɨra-*, **sĭ̀gà* > **sigra*, **siŋra* > **siŋir*, **sípa* > **siba-*, **símta* > **simta-*

b) **ìla* > **iler-*, **ĭ̀na* > **ini*, **kʹĭ̀ĺa* > **Kiĺe-*, **nìtʹá* > **jit-*, **nìtʹà* > **jiti*, **píńŕa* > **bińŕ*, **sìlá* > **sil*, **sīĺa* > **sīĺ* (but also **sīĺ*), **síla* > **sīl-* (but also **sīla-*), **tʹĭ̀má* > **Tiŋ(mi)*, **tʹĭ̀ntʹa* > **tint-*

2. Mongolian normally has *i, but a variation i/e before the following -e-, cf. **dísa* > **ǰise-*, **ìla* > **ile*, **ìtʹá* > **itege-*, **tʹĭ̀má* > **čimeɣe*, but **kʹĭ̀ĺa* > **kelbe-*, **kelke-*, **nìtʹá* > **nete-*).

3. Korean has a usual variation of *a and *ə:

a) **čʹĭ̀kʹà* > **čjakai*, **ĭ̀na* > **àńǎ*, **kʹíla* > **kār(h)*, **kʹĭ̀ĺa* > **kár*, **nìtʹà* > **nát*, **píńŕa* > **pànǎr*, **pĭ̀mà* > **pām*, **sīĺa* > **sár*, **tʹĭ̀má* > **tamir-*

b) **ĭna* > **àńìrim*, **nìtʹá* > **njàth-*, **sìča* > **čás*, **sila* > **sàrí*, **síla* > **sàr-*, **ǰima* > **čjàmír-*

Note that in some cases, despite the breaking of *i (> a/ə), a trace of it is left as -j- (*čjakai*, *njəth-*, *čjəmir-* etc.).

PTM *i - Jpn. *i

Here it would be natural to reconstruct PA **CiCi*, but Turkic parallels show that we are in fact dealing with two types of structures:

a) PTM *i - Jpn. *i - Turk. *i < PA **CiCi*

b) PTM *i - Jpn. *i - Turk. *e < PA **CiCe*.

Although PA *-e turns most initial vowels into PJ *ə, it evidently behaved differently with PA *-i-, which was not assimilated (a special development is also attested for PA *-u- before *-e, see below).

We shall start with the type **CiCe*.

1. Turkic. As we said above, the normal reflex here is *e, cf. **čʹibe* > **čebir-*, **ibè* > **eb*, **ibè* > **ebin*, **ìmé* > **em-*, **íkʹè* > **ēke-*, **nīme* > **jem-kek*, **pʹĭ̀jkʹe* > **ejekü*, **síkʹe* > **sekü*, **tʹĭ̀bŋe* > **debe*, **tʹíŕge* > **tēŕ-*, **zìŋke* > **jeŋgül*.

Closed *e normally appears before *r, *l (cf. a similar distribution in types **CeCe*, **CeCi*) although in a few cases open *e occurs in this position as well, cf. **čʹĭ̀re* > **čęr*, **dile* > **jęlin*, **ile* > **ęl-t-*, but **kʹile* > **kel-*, **tire*

> **deriŋ*. Closed **ę* is also observed (for unknown reasons) in **diŋe* > **jęŋ-*, **p'ĭk'è* > **ękе-*.

2. Mongolian, like Turkic, has for the most part **e* here, but can also retain **i*:

a) **bĭre* > **ber-*, **č'ĭre* > **čer*, **dile* > **deleŋ*, **dible* > **dewel*, **diŋe* > **dęjil-*, **gibe* > **gewü-n*, **gire* > **gere*, **ìbè* > **eүüde*, **ipe* > **ebül*, **ík'è* > **(h)egde-*, **nìk'é* > **negsi*, **pĭle* > **heliүe*, **píńŋe* > **beүer*, **sík'e* > **seg*, **t'ĭbŋe* > **teme-үen*, **t'íŕge* > **terge-*.

b) **č'ĭme* > **čimöge*, **ĭče* > **ičи-*, **ile* > **ileүe-*, **ìmé* > **(h)ima-gta*, **íre* > **ire-*, **k'ile* > **kilim*, **k'ĭrégV* > **kiröүe*, **sìpe* > **siber*, **zìŋke* > **siŋgen-*.

The distribution here is more or less usual for **e/i*: **-i-* before **a*, **u* and **ö*; **-e-* before **e*, **i* and **ü*. Just as in the type **CeCi*, however, there is a number of exceptional **-i-* reflexes before the following *-e-*, *-i-* (*ileүe-*, *ire-*, *siber-*, *siŋgen*, *kilim*).

3. Korean, as in most rows of correspondences, can have a front reflex (**i*) or a back reflex (**ɨ*):

a) **č'ĭre* > **čiri-*, **ìbè* > **íp*, **ìmé* > **ima-*, **ík'è* > **ikɨi-*, **íre* > **iri-*, **nìk'é* > **nìk-*, **nīme* > **nìmá*, **síle* > **sìrì*

b) **píńŋe* > **pìńɨrìm*, **tire* > **tír-*.

PTM *i - PJ *i - PT *i
(reflecting PA **CiCi*)

In this type, Mongolian normally also has **i*, but a variation **i/*e* before the following *-e-* (i. e. behaves exactly like with the type **CiCa*, see above), cf. **ìtí* > **(h)ideүür*, **ĭlbi* > **(h)ilbeүe-sün*, **šĭmi* > **sime*, **šík'i* > **siүe-*, **tìk'i* > **čike*, but **bĭli* > **beүelej*, **p'ĭč'i* > **(h)ečüg-le* (*?*(h)ečeg-le-*), **p'ísi(KV)* > **heske-*.

Korean has predominantly **i* (**bilč'i* > **pìč-*, **íli* > **īr*, **pĭlǰi* > **pìrí-*, **sidí* > **sīd-*, **síŋri* > **sì'úr*, **sít'i* > **sìtɨráp-*, **t'íri* > **tìrɨ-*, **ǰĭbì* > **čìp*), but also *-ɨ-* in **šĭmi* > **simɨi-* - i.e. the same reflexes as in the type **CiCe*.

PTM *i - PJ *u

This correspondence presupposes PA **CiCu*. In the words of this type other languages have the following reflexes:

1. Turkic may have back **ɨ* or front **i*:

a) **č'iju* > **čijɨk*, **č'ĭmu* > **čim-*, **č'ĭmu* > **čim-*, **íru* > **ir*, **ìsú* > **isir-*, **íŕu* > **ir* (but also **ír*), **ìrú* > **irim*, **k'ĭjĺu* > **Kijĺ-*, **nĭk'ú* > **jik-*, **p'ĭmù* > **im*, **p'ĭru* > **ir-*, **sĭgú* > **sig-*, **sĭk'ù* > **sik-*, **sìk'u* > **sik*, **sìŋù* > **siŋok* (but also **siŋök*), **siju* > **si-rga*, **šimuč'V* > **čimič-*, **t'íĺ[k']ù* > **tiki-*

b) **č'íľč'u* > **sīľč*, **ič'u* > **ič*, **ìt'ù* > **it-*, **íru* > **īr-*, **kìkú* > **Kik-*, **k'íbù* > **Kibente*, **líp'ú* > **(j)ip-*, **sľlgù* > **silk-*

2. Mongolian normally has **i*, but occasionally **e* in front of the following *-e-* (as in the type **CiCa*), cf. **kít'u* > **kičiɣe-*, **sľlgù* > **silgeɣe-*, **sísu* > **sisegej*, but **č'íľč'u* > **čelčeji-* (but also **čili-* and, quite exceptionally, **čulčaji-*), **ìt'ù* > **ete-*, **kìkú* > **kegǯe-*, **k'ìj'lu* > **kelbe-* (but also **kilu-*).

3. Korean, as usual, can have both front (**i*) and back (**ɨ*) variants:

a) **č'íju* > **čī-n*, **íru* > **iráŋ*, **kít'u* > **kìtɨr'ó-*, **k'íru* > **kìrɨmá*, **nǐk'ú* > **nìkì-*, **p'īru* > **pīr-*, **sľlgù-* > **sir-*, **t'í[k']ù* > **tìk-*, **č'íp'ú* > **čìp-*.

b) **č'ímu* > **čúmàkúi* (probably assimilation < *čímàkúi*), **íru* > **ɨrp-*, **ìsú* > **ɨsɨr-*, **íru* > **ɨrɨ-*, **sìŋù* > **sɨin*, **sísu* > **sɨs-*.

In a number of cases we observe the correspondence PTM **i* : PJ **ə*. Turkic almost exclusively has a reflex **ɨ* here, thus pointing to an original back second vowel, while Korean has variation between **ɨ* and **o/*u*, and Mongolian has a uniform **i*. It is natural to reconstruct here PA **CiCo*, cf.:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor	Jap
**č'ik'ò*	**čike-*	**čigɨt* (but also **čigit*)	**čiɣire*	**čùkír*	**təkusa*
**dǐlo*	**dilačā*	**jɨl*	**ǯil*	**torč*	**tàsì*
**kíso*	**kisa-*	**kɨs-*	**kisa-*	**kɨs-*	**kəsə́(n)ká-*
**ńiro*	**ńiru-*		**ǯirga*		**mərəkə*
**p'ìlo*	**pile-*		**hil-*		**pə̀-*
**sǐjŋo*	**siŋu-*	**siń-*	**süj* (< **sijü*)		**sənàpà-*

Cf. also **níbŕo* > PM **niɣur*, PT **jūŕ* (instead of **jībŕ* with contraction), PJ **nər-*.

More frequently, however, Japanese appears to have a reflex **i* in the same row of correspondences, cf.:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor	Jap
**číńo*	**ǯiŋ*	**diŋ*	**čineɣe*	**čīń-*	**tínám-*
**č'ǐk'o*	**čiKi*	**čikanak*	**čigta*	**čítóri* (<**čítóri*)	**tikiri*
**gijo*	**gia-*	**Kij*			**ki*
**gǐlò*	**gil-*	**Kiĺ*			**kìsàra-(n)ki*
**íŋo*	**iŋi-*	**iŋɨra-*	**iŋča-*		**íná-nak-*
**kímo*	**kim-*	**Kim-*	**kima-*		**kímá-*

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor	Jap
*kìro	*k[i]ren-	*Kɨr-	*kira-		*kìr-
*ŋ̍ndó	*ŋinda-	*ɨt (also *it)			*ìnú
*p´íjo	*pia-	*ijik (probably a sec-ondary fronting < *ɨjɨk)		*pu-	*pí
*sìjp´ó	*sip-	*sɨjpa-	*sibka-	*spù- (with re-duction)	*sìmpər-
*sìmò	*sim-	*sɨm	*similʒan		*sìmài
*sĭgò	*sig-	*sɨgun	*seɣe- ~ *siɣe-		*sika
*čikŕo	*ʒik-	*Tɨgra-	*čiɣirag	*čirk- (~-ɨ-)	*tíkàrà
*ʒip´o		*jɨpar	*ʒiɣar		*(d)impu-
*sìpò	*sibu-		*sibür	*súp(h)	*sìpì

It appears, therefore, that in Japanese, *i was more "resistant" to the influence of second vowels than other vowels of the first syllable: it tends to stay unchanged before the following *o and does not change to *ə before the following *e (see above). It did, however, assimilate to the following *a and *u (see above), yielding *a and *u respectively.

2.4.4. PA *o

Preliminary note.

The vowels *o and *u are generally hard to distinguish in Altaic because there is constant variation — probably dialectal in origin — between o and u in Tungus-Manchu, Mongolian and Korean. There are, however, some general guidelines which still allow us to make this distinction in PA:

a) Korean *ă seems to correspond exclusively to PT *o or *ö, not to PT *u or *ü.

b) Korean *ɨ, on the other hand, is predominantly found corresponding to Turkic *u or *ü, not to *o or *ö (although there are some exceptions, see below).

Thus it seems reasonable to base the distinction between *o and *u on Turkic and Korean indications, ignoring the constant o/u variation in TM and Mongolian.

PTM *o/*u - PJ *a

This correlation points to the PA type *CoCa in most cases when Turkic has *o and Korean has *ă. TM and Mongolian here have a variation of *o and *u, cf.:

1. TM:

a) *ŏk'à > *ok-, *bŏkà > *boka-, *bóra > *borī-, *č'ŏk'a > *čōk(i)-,*kòŋa > *koŋna-, *kōŋa > *kōŋā-, *k'òbàni > *xobanī, *ŋòla > *ŋōli-, *ŋòŕa > *ŋōr-ča-, *òǯa > *(x)oǯu, *pŏga > *poga-, *tok'à > *dokta-, *p'ŏńŋa > *pōnŋa-.

b) *kòna(-kV) > *kuŋge, *kŏk'à > *kuKe-, *k'ŏĺba > *xulbü-, *op'á(rV) > *(x)upara-, *ōt'a > *(x)utinŋe, *sŏra > *sure, *t'otá > *tut[a]-, *č'ŏga > *čuguk.

2. Mongolian:

a) *ŏk'à > *oki, *bòdà > *boda, *bŏkà > *bogoni, *č'ōk'a > *čoki-,*kòŋa > *koŋ-, *kŏk'à > *koki-, *kōŋa > *koŋku, *k'òbàni > *koŋ-, *k'ŏĺba > *kolbu-, *ŋòla > *nolig, *op'á(rV) > *(h)obur, *òǯa > *oǯu-, *ōt'a > *(h)očki-n, *pŏga > *boɣo-, *sŏra > *sori-

b) *górà > *guri-, *kòna(-kV) > *kunar, *oĺa > *(h)ulalǯi, *ŏp'à > *uw(u)-, *tok'à > *duku.

PTM *o/*u - PJ *ə

This correlation points to the PA type *CoCe when there is an indication of a front second vowel: front *ö or *ü in Mongolian, front *ö in Turkic or *ɨ in Korean (by the way, this is the only case when Kor. *ɨ can reflect PA *o; in all other cases *ɨ is indicative of PA *u, see above). On PTM *o/u : PJ *ə reflecting PA *CoCo see below.

Let us look at the reflexes in more detail:

1. TM, as always, has variation between *o and *u here (although *u is more frequent):

a) *bŏke > *bokan-, *bŏt'é > *botā-, *ďŏne(k'V) > *doŋka, *kŏŋe > *koŋ-, *kŏše > *koša, *kòt'e > *kota-, *ŏŋke > *oŋka, *ŏt'è > *(x)ot-, *ŏk'è > *oK-, *pŏk'è > *poK-, *p'ŏre > *pora-n, *t'òŋke > *toŋal-, *bojĺe > *bol-, *t'ome > *tom-ka-n.

b) *bŏdé > *buduri-, *čŏĺe > *ǯule, *č'óme > *čuŋnu, *gŏre > *gur-, *gŏje > *gū, *ŏč'é > *(x)uč-, *kóčè > *kuči-, *kŏk'è > *xuku-n, *kŏlé > *kul-, *kŏp'é > *kupe-, *kóre > *kuri-, *kòrke > *kurke, *k'òlke > *xulki-, *móĺe > *mul-, *mòle > *mul-, *nóle > *nul-, *òje > *ujV-, *ŏje > *uju-, *òk'è > *(x)uk-t-, *ŏse > *us(a), *ò[k']è > *uKu-, *ŏt'è > *(x)ut-, *p'olńe > *pulńe-, *p'ome > *pum-te, *p'ŏre > *puri-, *p'ŏt'è > *put-, *p'ŏle > *pul-, *p'ŏt'è > *putē, *soge > *sug-, *soke > *suku-, *t'ŏkè > *tuKa-la, *t'oŋerV > *tuŋde, *t'ŏŕe > *turgun, *t'ŏŕe > *turV, *ǯŏk'e > *ǯuke, *ǯŏǯe > *ǯuǯa-, *boĺe > *bulu-, *dōre > *dūr-, *póńe > *puń-

2. Turkic also has both a back reflex *o and a front reflex *ö:

a) *dŏ̄ne-kʹV > *jōnak, *gòdè > *Kodur-, *òŋè > *oŋ (but also *öŋ), *kólè > *Kolu, *kŏŋe > *Koŋur-, *óče > *očig, *ǒse > *osa-, *pʹolńe > *oń, *soge > *sogli-, *šopʹé > *čopur, *tʹoŋerV > *To(ŋ)gurak, *tʹǒŕe > *tōŕ, *ǯǒkʹe > *jōk, *ǯǒǯe > *jōj, *dōre > *jori-, *bojĺe > *boĺ, *tʹome > *Tomar.

After labials, sometimes a narrowed reflex *u is attested: *bŏ̄ke > *buk-.

b) *oŋne > *öŋ, *bògé > *bögü, *boĺe > *bölĺük, *čŏĺe > *döĺ, *gŏ̄re > *gör-, *gŏ̄je > *göjü-, *ǒčʹé > *ǒč, *kóčè > *göč-, *kŏ̄kʹè > *gökürʹ, *kʹòké > *kök, *kòlé > *Köl-, *kŏpʹé > *göpe(ne), *kóre > *Kört, *kòrke > *Körke, *kŏše > *Kösri, *kòtʹe > *göt, *ŏ̄ge > *ög-, *ŏ̄je > *öj, *òkʹè > *ökün-, *ǒtʹè > *öt-, *ò[kʹ]è > *ög, *ǒkʹè > *ök-, *ǒre > *ör-, *ǒtʹè > *ötü-, *pʹŏ̄gè > *ög-, *pʹome > *ömül-dürük, *pʹŏ̄re > *ört, *pʹŏ̄le > *öl, *pʹǒre > *ör-, *soke > *sök-, *tʹŏ̄ke > *Tök, *tʹŏ̄ŕe > *töŕ, *tole > *döle-, *ōkʹe > *ōkü.

After labials, sometimes a narrowed reflex *ü is found as well: *bŏ̄dé > *büdi-, *mòle > *bül-, *pŏ̄kʹè > *bügde, *pʹŏ̄tʹè > *üt-, *pʹǒtʹè > *ŭ̄t.

3. Mongolian can have any labialized vowel, although *u occurs relatively rarely.

a) *bògé > *bogda, *gŏ̄re > *gori, *kʹòké > *kog-si-, *kòrke > *korgu, *kŏše > *kosiɣu, *kòtʹe > *kota-gar, *òje > *oji-mu- (but also *üji-), *ò[kʹ]è > *oki-n (but also *öki-n), *pŏ̄kʹè > *hoktal-, *pʹǒre > *horaj, *šopʹé > *čob, *tʹoŋerV > *towrai, *tʹǒŕe > *tortag

b) *gŏ̄je > *gujir-, *kŏ̄lé > *kul-či-, *òkʹè > *(h)uki-la-, *pʹŏ̄tʹè > *hutuɣa, *ǯǒkʹe > *ǯug (but also *ǯüg), *póńe > *huni-

c) *oŋne > *önü-, *čŏĺe > *döli, *čʹóme > *čöm, *dŏ̄ne-kʹV > *döŋ(ge), *òŋè > *öŋge, *ōčʹé > *öče-, *kóčè > *köske, *kŏ̄kʹè > *kökön, *kŏpʹé > *köb- (but also *küb-), *kóre > *kör, *kʹòlke > *kölge, *móĺe > *möl3i-, *nóle > *nöl-, *oče > *očüge, *ǒŋke > *öŋ, *ǒse > *ös, *ǒtʹè > *öči-, *ǒkʹè > *ög-, *ǒre > *ör-, *ǒtʹè > *öte-, *pʹŏgè > *(h)öɣeg-si-, *pʹǒre > *(h)örde-, *soke > *sögüd- (but also *sog-suji-), *tʹŏkè > *tögüčeg, *tʹŏŕe > *töre, *kóbe > *köbsi-

d) *bŏ̄dé > *büdüri-, *bŏ̄ke > *büg- (but also *bög-), *boĺe > *büli (but also *böle), *bŏ̄tʹé > *büči, *gòdè > *gü3i-, *kólè > *küli-, *ŏ̄ge > *ügej, *ŏ̄je > *üje, *pʹolńe > *hüne-sü, *pʹome > *(h)ün-Külčig, *pʹŏ̄tʹè > *hütü-, *soge- > *süji-, *ǯǒǯe > *ǯüǯig, *dōre > *dürbe-, *tole > *döli-gen.

It seems that no direct correlation can be established between back and front row reflexes in Turkic and Mongolian. In both subgroups the front reflexes (*ö in Turkic, *ö/*ü in Mongolian) are the most abundant, which explains a relatively high proportion of Turk. *ö : Mong. *ö/*ü (23 cases against just 2 cases of Turk. *o : Mong. *o); but there are also 10 cases of Turk. *o : Mong. *ö/*ü and 11 cases of Turk. *ö : Mong. *o/u - which shows clearly that the distribution is random and the process of

fronting **CoCe* > **CöC-* must have operated independently in Turkic and Mongolian.

4. Korean, as said above, in the majority of cases has the reflex **i* here (otherwise typical for PA **u*, see below); but it can also have labialized **o* and **u* reflexes:

a) **bŏt'é* > **pìth-*, **čŏĺe* > **čirə*, **dŏne-k'V* > **tɨŋ*, **gŏre* > **kírì-*, **gòje* > **kɨi-*, **k'òké* > **kɨh-*, **kŏŋe* > **kɨń-*, **kŏše* > **kìsírk* (a metathesis < **kɨsírk*), **móĺe* > **mɨr-*, **mòle* > **mɨrə-*, **p'ome* > **phɨm* (~ **phum*), **p'ŏre* > **pír*, **p'ŏt'è* > **pìth-*, **p'ŏle* > **pìrhí-*, **t'ŏre* > **tɨrí*, **šŏše* > **čìčh-*, **bojĺe* > **pìi-*, **póńe* > **pìńək*.

b) **kŏk'è* > **kokăi-*, **kŏp'é* > **kòp-* (but also **kùp-*), **ŏge* > **ói-răb-*, **ŏre* > **ōr*, **p'ŏt'è* > **pot*, **t'òŋke* > **tonkor-*, **t'ome* > **tòmá*.

c) **kòrke* > **kúkì*, **kòt'e* > **kút*, **nóle* > **nuri-*, **ŏk'è* > **ukɨr*, **soge* > **sūi-*.

PTM **o/u* - PJ **u*

This correlation may point to **CoCu* (see below), but there is also a rather large number of cases when Turkic and/or Mongolian have a fronted reflex **ö* here, pointing to a front second vowel. In such cases it is natural to reconstruct PA **CoCi*, assuming that the vowel **o* in Japanese did not get assimilated to the following **i*, but stayed labialized (just like the vowel **u*, see below).

The individual subgroups behave here as follows:

1. TM, as usual, has variation between **o* and **u*:

a) **bŏĺi* > **bolgikta*, **č'ŏk'i* > **čoK[i]-*, **gòlí* > **goli*, **goli* > **gola*, **k'ŏjli* > **xolda-n* (but also **xul-ŋsi*), **mŏli* > **mol-*, **oki-* > **ok-*, **t'ògì* > **togar*

b) **gók'i* > **gugda*, **kóši* > **kuši-pun*, **kómp'i* > **kumpe(ke)*, **kŏt'i* > **kutu-*, **k'ŏmi* > **xumu-*, **k'óp'i* > **xup-*, **k'ōkí* > **kūkta*, **k'ŏli* > **xule-*, **mók'i* > **muxu-*, **òŋi(čV)* > **uŋ-se*, **ŏp'ikV* > **upVkte*, **ŏti* > **(x)utur-*, **ŏri* > **uri*, **p'ŏgí(-rV)* > **pugi-*, **pótirkV* > **putukā*, **sogì* > **sugulē-n*, **k'ori* > **xurē*, **ŋònŋi* > **ŋunŋe*, **sŏjk'i* > **sujKu-*, **k'ōńi* > **xuńa-*.

2. Turkic occasionally has **o* (**k'ŏjli* > **Kol*, **oki* > **ok-*, **k'ori* > **Korum*); but **ö* in the vast majority of cases: **bŏĺi* > **böĺ*, **bŏrk'i* > **bŏrk*, **č'ŏk'i* > **čök-*, **goli* > **Köl-*, **kóši* > **köse-*, **kómp'i* > **gömül-dürük*, **kŏt'i* > **göt-*, **k'ŏmi* > **göm-*, **k'óp'i* > **köp*, **k'ōkí* > **kök*, **k'ŏli* > **kŏl*, **mók'i* > **böktel* (~-ü-), **mŏli* > **bŏl-*, **òŋi(čV)* > **öŋüč*, **ŏp'ikV* > **öpke*, **ŏti* > **öt-*, **ŏni* > **ŏn-*, **ŏri* > **ŏr*, **ŏri* > **ŏr* (/**ŭr*), **pŏgí(-rV)* > **bögür*, **sogì* > **sögül-*, **ŋònŋi* > **öŋ-ed-*, **sŏjk'i* > **sök-*, **k'ōńi* > **kŏjnek*.

3. Mongolian, likewise, has both back and front reflexes, and the back ones are also rather rare (only **ŏti* > **oči-*, **bŏĺi* > **bujil-* (but also **büjil-*), **sogì* > **suɣumaji*, **k'ōńi* > **kunija*). In the vast majority of cases Mongolian has **ö*, somewhat less frequently - **ü*:

a) **č'ŏk'i > *čökü-, *gók'î > *gögde-, *gòlí > *gölmi, *goli > *göle-, *kóši > *kösi-, *kómp'i > *kömürge, *kŏt'i > *kötü-, *k'ŏjli > *köl, *k'óp'î > *köb-čin, *k'ŏkí > *kögene, *mók'î > *mökü-, *mŏli > *möli-, *òŋi(čV) > *öŋgül-, *ŏp'ikV > *(h)öγe, *ŏni > *öndü, *ŏr'i > *örü, *ŏr'i > *örgü- (*ergü-), *pŏgí(-rV) > *böγere, *t'ògi > *töγe, *sŏjk'i > *sögeγe-*

b) **bŏrk'i > *bürkü-, *k'ŏli > *küjil-, *oki > *üge, *pótirkV > *büdürkei, *p'ōki > *(hü)gün; *k'ori > *kür, *ŋònŋi > *üne-*

It is interesting to observe that **CoCi* generally behaves in Turko-Mongolian somewhat differently than **CoCe*: back reflexes in the former type are much less frequent. It is reasonable to suppose that the fronting **CoCi* > **CöCi* already occurred in common Turko-Mongolian, while the process **CoCe* > **CöC-* operated (as we mentioned above) already after the split of the protolanguage and did not occur in some dialects.

4. Korean here has the standard labialized reflexes *o or *u; there are no cases of *i, and two cases of *ă (**k'ŏli* > **kărăm* and **mŏli* > **mără-*) can be easily explained by secondary vowel assimilation.

a) **gók'î > *kòkái, *k'óp'î > *kòp-, *oki > *o'ăi-, *ŏr'i > *òră-, *k'ori > *kòráŋ.*

b) **č'ŏk'i > *čùk-, *k'ŏjli > *kūi-, *mók'î > *muk-, *ŏni > *un-tu, *pŏgí(-rV) > *pùr* (with a secondary dissimilative or contractive variant **pir*), **k'ŏńi > *kùńí.*

As we said above, the correspondence PTM *o/u : PJ *u can also reflect PA **CoCu*. In this case both Turkic and Mongolian uniformly have back vowels (Turkic *o, Mong. *o/u), while Korean reveals the reflex *ă (typical also for *CoCa and *CoCo), as well as the standard back vowels *o/u.

1. In TM we observe, as usual, both *o and *u:

a) **dòru > *dora(n), *goblu > *gola, *kobu > *kobi, *koru > *koru, *olu > *ola-, *óŋdu > *oŋda, *óru > *or-, *ŏlu > *ō-, *p'ŏmu > *pom-, *sòmú > *soma, *sònŋu > *soŋka, *t'ók'u > *tokta-, *t'ŏk'ù > *toxan, *t'ŏlu > *tol-, *t'ŏmù > *tomka-, *t'op'u > *top(V)g-, *ŏmu > *omga*

b) **bŏgdu > *bugdi, *bŏku > *bukse, *dòru > *duru-, *kŏru > *kuri, *moju > *muja-, *mólu > *mulu, *ŋŏjču > *ŋujši- (= *ŋüši-), *ŏrù > *(x)urī-, *pŏru > *pur-, *póju > *puj(u)-, *p'ó[k]u > *puk-* (but also **pok-*), **sogú > *suge-le-, *sŏnu > *suna, *tŏŕu > *duri, *t'ŏbru > *turku-, *t'òp'ú > *tup-, *t'oru > *turi-kta, *t'olu > *tule-, *k'oru > *xurumü-, *t'ŏgsu > *tuksa-*

2. Mongolian also has back *o or *u:

a) **dòru > *doru, *goblu > *gowl, *kŏbú > *koγu-su, *koru > *korbu, *k'oru > *koru-, *nòču > *noču-, *ŏmu > *(h)omu, *omurV > *omur-, *óru > *ori-* (but also **uri-*), **ŏrù > *oro-, *ŏlu > *ol-, *pŏru > *boruγa, *p'ŏmu >*

**homba-, *sogú > *soγoŋgu-, *tolu > *dolgi-, *t'ŏbru > *towr, *t'ŏgsu > *togsi-, *t'ók'ù > *togsi-, *t'ôlu > *tolugai, *t'ŏmù > *tomu-, *t'op'u > *tojig* (but also **tuwkai*), **t'òp'ú > *tob-.*

b) **bŏgdu > *budu-, *dòru > *dura-, *gódú > *gudu-, *olu > *(h)ul-, *sòmú > *sumu, *sònŋu > *sun-du-, *tŏ́ru > *duru-sun.*

3. Korean has *ă, *o or (less frequently) *u:

a) **kŏru > *kắrái, *moju > *mắin, *mólu > *mằrằ, *ŋŏ́jču > *nằč-, *p'ó[k]ù> *păk-* (~-a-), **sòmú > *sămái, *t'ŏbru > *tàràčhí, *t'ôlu > *tằikòr, *t'oru > *tắrái, *t'olu > *tằr(b)-.*

b) **goblu > *kōr, *kŏbú > *kō-r-, *koru > *kòrài, *k'oru > *kòrh-, *k'ŏmu > *kōmá, *ŏ́mu > *òmìnòi, *óŋdu > *òńắrí, *ôlu > *ó-, *pŏru > *pora, *tolu > *tór.*

c) **póju > *pùthjà, *tŏ́ru > *turəi.*

PTM *o/u - PJ *ə

This type evidently reflects PA *CoCo.

TM here has the usual split into *o and *u:

a) **kòmpo > *komba-, *mŏ́jno > *moŋa-n, *mónŋo > *monŋi-, *mŏ̀ro > * *mōr-, *p'okt'o(rV) > *pokta, *šŏ́mo > *šom-, *lok'o > *loxa, *ót'ó(rV) > *utu-.*

b) **kŏ̀k'ò > *kuk-pun, *sŏ̀k'o > *suK-, *sŏ́lo > *sula-, *t'ŏ́ro(-k'V) > *turākī.*

A similar split is, as usual, observed in Mongolian:

a) **bójĺo > *bolgu-ɣa-, *borso-k'V > *borki, *kŏ̀k'ò > *kokir, *kòmpo > *kombo-, *p'okt'o(-rV) > *hogtorgui, *sŏ̀k'o > *sogug, *šŏ́mo > *čomu-*

b) **mŏ́jno > *mundaɣa, *mónŋo > *mun-, *sŏ́lo > *sula-, *t'ŏ́ro(-k'V) > *turagu.*

Other languages have quite uniform reflexes: *o in Turkic, *ă in Korean.

2.4.5. PA *u

PTM *o/u - PJ *a

The correspondence is quite similar to PTM *o/u : PJ *a < PA *CoCa, see above. However, we reconstruct **CuCa* in cases when Turkic has the reflex *u, not *o:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	PJ	PK
*bŭ́gà	*bugar	*būg	*baɣa-gi-	*bák-	
*bŭ̀kà	*boKi-	*bukagu	*bugu-	*bàkù	
*bŭ́ĺa	*bolga-	*būĺ-	*bala-	*básúrá-	

PA	PTM	PT	PM	PJ	PK
*čŭra	*ǯur-	*dur-		*tàt-	*čàrí
*kúra(mV)	*kor-	*Kur-	*kor-	*kátáma	
*kumba(ka)	*kōmba	*Kumgan	*kombuga	*kámá	
*kúńà		*Kuńak	*kujag	*kámì	
*kùtʻá	*kuturi	*Kut	*kutug	*kàntuá	
*kʻúĺa	*xolda-	*Kuĺ	*kolta-	*kásá	
*mùńa	*mun-di-	*buńur-	*mana-	*màmuàr-	*mòńi-, *màńăr
*múra	*murV-	*bura-	*murui	*márə	*muri
*mūńa(kV)	*mōń(i)ka	*buńgak	*manaka		
*pʻŭsa	*puse	*us	*hasaɣu-	*pánsú	(*psi-)
*úgà	*ug-	*ugut	*(h)aɣag	*ákú	
*útʻa		*ut-	*učira-	*átá-	

It is important to notice that both Mongolian and Korean seem to have some *-a-reflexes here (which they do not show in the *CoCa type, see above). This allows us to classify several other cases as reflecting PA *CuCa*, even though Turkic may have *-o- there (this is usually in the vicinity of labials, where *o and *u are extensively confused in Turkic as well):

PA	PTM	PT	PM	PJ	PK
*buda	*boda-	*bodu-			*pət
*čʻupa	*čub-rī-	*čubar	*čabidar		
*guša	*gošī-		*gasi-ɣun		
*kúja	*kujukī		*kajil-		*kàjú
*kuja	*kuju-kta			*kaja	*kài'óm
*kukata	*koKalta		*kagda	*kakatə	
*kúma	*kumu-n	*Komuŕ			*kàmínkó
*guna	*gun-	*Kun-	*gani-		
*kʻùla	*xol-sa		*kalimu	*kàra-	
*kúĺapʻV	*kolopo-kta			*kásípà	*kàràp
*kʻusa	*xusikta		*kusi	*kasi	*kasi
*lúŋa	*loŋ-sa		*nagaj	*ná-i	*nèŋ'úrí
*múgdà	*mugdī	*bodun	*muǯi	*mátì	*màt(h)
*mula	*mul-	*bulan	*maral		
*múŋna	*muŋ-	*bunar	*maŋ-		*mah
*mūga	*mōgdi		*maj-	*mákí	
*ńugńa	*ńuŋńakī	*jugak		*nāńí	
*pŭkʻa	*pukēn	*bokak	*bakawu		

PA	PTM	PT	PM	PJ	PK
*pūsa	*pūski		*busu-	*pásí	*pàsk
*suda		*sud-	*sadara-		
*tuŋa	*doŋota	*doŋ	*dayara-		
*t'ŭja	*tuju-	*toj	*tayu-		
*núra	*nora-		*norum	*nárámp-	*nar-

In many cases, however, the type **CuCa* is very difficult to distinguish from **CoCa*, basically because the TM and Jpn. evidence is the same for both types.

PTM *o/u : PJ *ua

This is a very specific type of correspondence and the only one where PJ reveals a diphthong (in numerous other cases the PJ diphthongs *ua, *ia, *ai go back to contractions after the disappearance of some intervocalic consonant). It must be said that Turkic regularly has *ü here, while Mongolian, too, may have *ü or *ö, and Korean *ɨ: this all points to an original front vowel in the second syllable. Therefore we may choose here between reconstructing PA **CuCe* or **CuCi*. However, **CuCi* must be reconstructed for the type PTM *u : PJ *u (with front reflexes in Turkic and Mongolian, see below), since the Japanese reflex there is quite parallel to that of **CoCi* (see above). Therefore it is most probable that we are dealing here with a specific Japanese development of **CuCe* (probably through **CuəCe*). Details of the development of PA **CuCe*:

1. TM, as usual, has variation of *o and *u, although *u is encountered more frequently:

a) **dŭle > *dolba; *kup'e > *kopu-, *luke > *loka-, *muŋĺe > *moŋla, *mŭk'é > *mōk-, *puse > *pos-, *p'ŭske > *poske-, *p'ùgé > *pōg-, *šŭjbe > *šoba-, *kure > *kora-, *uge > *oksari, *tùĺe > *dōlā*

b) **bŭté > *butu-; *bŭŋe > *būni-; *gŭjŕe > *gužej; *kúbé > *kub-, *kúk'è > *kuKu-; *kúmle > *ku(l)maka; *kúńe > *kuńī-kta; *kúŋe > *kuŋ-; *k'ude > *xuda, *lŭge > *luksi, *múbè > *mub(up)-, *mùč'e > *muči-kta, *múk'è > *muK-, *nŭk'é > *nuK-, *nure > *nur-, *ŋŭje > *ŋūjelse, *ūre > *ūri, *p'úńe > *puń-, *pűne > *punŋe-, *p'uje > *puju-, *p'ujme > *pume-, *p'úńe > *puńe-, *p'ùŋké > *puŋk(u)-, *suk'e > *suK-, *súme > *sumu-, *t'úbé > *tuba, *t'ŭge > *tuge-, *t'ule(kV) > *tulge, *ùč'e > *uč-, *úk'è > *(x)uKu-, *ūĺpe > *ulgu-kī, *uŋt'e > *(x)unda-, *uŋe > *uŋ-, *uk'è > *(x)uKu-, *t'űŋe > *tuŋke, *únŋe > *(x)uŋ(ia)-.*

2. Turkic usually has *ü, but occasionally also *ö:

a) **bŭté* > **büt-*, **gŭjŕe* > **gürel*, **gure* > **Kürül*, **kúbé* > **güb-*, **kude* > **güde-*, **kúmle* > **Külmür*, **kúńe* > **güńe* (but also **guńa*), **kune* > **güni*, **k'ude* > **küdüg*, **lũge* > **jügen*, **luke* > **jükün-*, **mùne* > **bün*, **muŋĺe* > **büŋül*, **púre* > **bür*, **pűne* > **bűn*, **p'uje* > **üjük*, **suk'e* > **süksük*, **súme* > **süm-*, **t'ũge* > **tüge-*, **t'ű́ŋe* > **tüŋ-*, **t'ule(kV)* > **tülki*, **ùč'e* > **üčün*, **ű́lpe* > **ű̃l*, **uŋe* > **üŋ-*, **ű́nŋe* > **ű̃n*, **kure* > **Küre-*, **uge* > **ügi*

b) **bŭŋe* > **böŋre-*, **kúŋe* > **göjŋ-il*, **k'ùńe* > **köń-*, **ŋŭje* > **öjek*, **ūre* > **ör* (~ **ür*), **puse* > **bös-*, **p'uŋké* > **öŋ* (but also **oŋ*), **uk'è* > **ökte*.

Back **u* is attested only in one case: **ʒŭjbe* > PT **jub-ka*.

3. Mongolian can have any labialized vowel, just as in the type **CoCe*:

a) **bùjre* > **buruγu*, **gure* > **guril*, **kude* > **kuda*, **k'ude* > **kuda-ldu*, **luke* > **nugu-*, **múk'è* > **muku-*, **mùne* > **mun-du-*, **pűne* > **hunu-*, **p'uje* > **hujil-*, **p'ùgé* > **(h)ug-* (but also **(h)üg-*), **suk'e* > **sukaj*, **sume* > **sumun*, **t'ũge* > **tuji-*, **ùč'e* > **učir*, **úk'è* > **(h)ukaγa*, **ű́nŋe* > **uŋ-si-*, **kure* > **kur(u)-*, **uge* > **uγuli*, **ubre* > **(h)uwr*, **tŭĺe* > **dul*

b) **bŭté* > **bodu(γa)*, **túpè* > **dobu* (but also **döbe*), **gŭjŕe* > **goju*, **lũge* > **logtu*, **púre* > **bor-*, **p'ùŋké* > **(h)oŋgu-*, **sŭre* > **sori-*, **t'úbé* > **tojiguu*, **ű́lpe* > **olbo*, **uŋt'e* > **(h)ona-*, **uŋe* > **oŋgi*, **ʒŭjbe* > **ʒoba-*, **t'ű́ŋe* > **toγuna*, **ūre* > **orai*

c) **bŭŋe* > **büŋsi-*, **dŭle* > **düli-*, **múbè* > **müjide*, **p'úńe* > **hünir*, **p'úńe* > **hü-sü*, **uk'è* > **(h)üki*

d) **kúbé* > **köw-* (but also **küw-*), **kup'e* > **köbü-*, **mùč'e* > **möčir*, **mùk'é* > **mök-*, **nŭk'é* > **nögči-*, **nure* > **nör-*, **ńūje* > **ʒöγe-*, **ŋŭje* > **öjekeji*, **p'ŭnte* > **hötün*, **p'ŭske* > **(h)öskil-*, **súme* > **sömü-sü*.

4. Korean can have here **o* (pointing to an original labialized vowel), but **a/*ə* reflexes are also rather frequent, which links together the Korean and Japanese (see below) reflexes of **CuCe*. It is worth noting that **-u-* is very rare (but cf. **ʒŭjbe* > **čubir-*).

a) **bùjre* > **ōi-*, **gŭjŕe* > **kò'í-*, **kúk'è* > **kòkí*, **múk'è* > **moka-*, **pűne* > **pòm-nor-*, **ubre* > **órh-*, **uŋe* > **òŋ-táŋ-* (but also **ùŋ-táŋ-*).

b) **kúŋe* > **kà'ón-tăi*, **kup'e* > **kàpăi-*, **nure* > **nàrhó-*, **p'ŭnte* > **pántó*, **suk'e* > **sak-*, **súme* > **sàm*, **t'úbé* > **tàbàkí*, **ùč'e* > **áčh*.

c) **kúńe* > **kàńúi*, **p'ùŋk'é* > **pàŋkìr-*, **p'ùgé* > **pàhí-*, **uŋt'e* > **əŋtəŋ'i*, **ʒŭjbe* > **jàbíi-*, **múbè* > **məbi-* (but also **mìbi-*), **sŭre* > **sār-*.

5. Japanese normally has **-ua-*, but **-a-* after labials:

a) **dŭle* > **duà*, **gŭjŕe* > **kuà-p-*, **gure* > **kua*, **kúbé* > **kuámpá-*, **kúk'è* > **kuaku-mi*, **kúmle* > **kuáma*, **kune* > **kuanami*, **luke* > **nuaki* (~ *-ə-*), **nŭk'é* > **nuànkà-*, **nure* > **nuarua-* (~ *-ə-*), **súme* > **sua*, **sume* > **suama*, **sŭre* > **suarasi*, **t'úbé* > **tuámpí* (~ *-ə-*), **t'ule(kV)* > **tuara*, **ʒŭjbe* > **duàwà-*, **k'ùre* > **kuà*, **t'ű́ŋe* > **túa*;

b) **bùjre* > **bàrə-*, **bŭté* > **pàtákài*, **bùŋe* > **bamia-*, **múbè* > **mápí-rə(n)ka-*, **mùč'e* > **mátú*, **múk'è* > **mák-*, **mùne* > **màntù-*, **muŋĺe* > **masu-*, **mŭk'é* > **mànkúrúa*, **p'úńe* > **páná*, **pure* > **pá*, **puse* > **pansa-*, **pűne* > **pana-*, **p'úńe* > **pánái*, **p'ùŋké* > **pànká-*, **p'ŭske* > **pànsìk-*, **p'ùgé* > **pànk-*.

A special situation ariseis when the first consonant is absent or dropped in PJ. In such a case early PJ must have had a regular reflex **uaC-* > OJ *uoC-*; but since the diphthong -uo- in OJ can only occur after consonants, it is regularly replaced by wo-. In fact we are not able to distinguish PJ **bəC-* < PA **bVCV* from PJ **uaC-* < PA **uCe*:

**ŋŭje* > PJ **bà* ~ **uà* (OJ *wo*), **ūre* > PJ **bətə* ~ **uatə* (OJ *woto-*), **úk'è* > PJ **bákà* ~ **uákà* (OJ *woka*), **ŭĺpe* > PJ **bəsə* ~ **uasua* (OJ *woso*), **ubre* > PJ **bətu* ~ **uatu* (OJ *wotu*), **uk'è* > PJ **bəkə* ~ **uakə* (OJ *woko*).

Note that in several cases OJ has variation wo- / u- here (*woso* ~ *uso*, *wotu* ~ *utu*, *woko* ~ *uko*).

PTM *u : PJ *u

This correspondence points to PA **CuCi* in cases when Turkic and/or Mongolian have front reflexes, indicating a front second vowel.

Details of **CuCi* reflexation:

1. TM has the usual split into *o and *u, although *u is a more frequent reflex:

a) **gurgi* > **gorgakta*, **gŭri* > **gora*, **gùri* > **gori-*, **kuri* > **kori*, **k'ŭli* > **xol-*, **p'ukǯi* > **pogǯV*, **sùjli* > **sol-gi*, **tùldi* > **dōldī-*, **tűti* > **dodo-ka(n)*, **t'ŭmi* > **tōma*, **zŭnti* > **sōn-da-*

b) **bűli* > **bul-*, **č'uli* > **čulbi-*, **dŭŕi* > **dur-*, **dűli* > **dulbu-*, **guči* > **gusi*, **gŭŕi* > **gurē-*, **gùli* > **gūle*, **gűldi* > **gulde-*, **kŭŋi* > **kuŋā*, **kut'i* > **kuta*, **kūči* > **kusű-*, **k'ùdi* > **xudekī*, **k'uli* > **xulē-*, **mújŋi* > **muŋi*, **mùsi* > **musun*, **műt'i* > **mute-*, **p'ŭri* > **puŗ-*, **p'ūji* > **pū-*, **p'ŭdi* > **pude-*, **p'úli* > **pule-*, **p'ŭĺi* > **pule-*, **p'úk'ŋi* > **puŋku*, **sŭri* > **suru-*, **tŭgi* > **dug-*, **túŋi* > **duŋ-*, **turi* > **duru-n*, **t'ŭp'i* > **tupi-*, **t'ut'i* > **tute-*, **t'úĺi* > **tulī-*, **uĺi* > **ulē-*, **zŭli* > **suli-*, **ǯugi* > **ǯugū-*.

2. Mongolian has either *ü or *ö (but normally no back reflexes):

a) **bűli* > **büli-*, **dűli* > **dülei*, **gurgi* > **güreɣe*, **gŭri* > **gür*, **gűldi* > **güldi-*, **kuri* > **kürijen*, **kūči* > **küči-n*, **k'ŭli* > **küjilen*, **p'ŭri* > **hüre*, **p'ŭri* > **(h)üre-*, **p'úk'ŋi* > **hüŋgü-*, **tŭgi* > **tügsi-*, **tumi* > **düŋgür*, **turi* > **düri*, **t'ùji* > **tüjit-*, **uĺi* > **(h)ülte-*, **úč'i* > **üǯüɣür*, **zŭli* > **sülbe-*,**zŭnti* > **sünde-sü*, **p'ŭdi* > **hüde-*

b) **č'uli* > **čölü-*, **dŭŕi* > **dörü*, **gŭŕi* > **görü-*, **gùri* > **gör-*, **kŭŋi* > **köw*, **k'ùdi* > **ködü-sü*, **mújŋi* > **möɣer-sü*, **mùsi* > **mösü(n)*, **műt'i* > **möči-*, **nuli* > **nölüɣe*, **p'ūji* > **(h)öjeɣe*, **p'ukǯi* > **(h)ögǯeg*, **p'ŭli* > **(h)ölmej*,

.*sùjli > *söl, *tūri > *dörseji-, *t'ukì > *tögüs-, *t'ŭĺi > *tölöb, *t'ùmi > *tömü-sün, *úŕi > *öri, *ǯugi > *ǯöɣe-

3. Turkic may have a back *u or a front *ü:

a) *bŭli > *bulga-, *gurgi > *Kurgak, *kuri > *Kur-, *k'ŭli > *Kula, *mújŋi > *bujŋuŕ (but also *büjŋüŕ), *mùsi > *bus, *nuli > *juli-, *p'ŭri > *urug, *p'ūji > *uji-, *p'ŭdi > *ud-, *p'ŭri > *ur-, *sùjli > *suli (but also *süli), *t'ùji > Tujug, *t'ŭĺi > *dūĺ, *t'ùmi > *tum-gu-, *uĺi > *uĺa-, *ŭč'i > *ūč, *zŭnti > *junt

b) *č'uli > *čülik-, *dŭŕi > *jüŕ-, *dŭli > *jūl-, *gŭri > *gür, *gŭŕi > *güŕ-, *gùri > *Kür, *gŭlì > *gül, *gŭldi > *gūl-, *kŭŋi > *güŋ, *kut'i > *Küte(re), *kūči > *gŭč, *k'ùdì > *küdiŕ > (with assimilation) *kidiŕ, *p'ŭĺi > *ül-, *p'ŭk'ŋi > *ūk-, *sŭri > *sūr-, *mŭt'i > *büt-, *tŭgi > *düg-, *tumi > *düm-, *túŋì > *düŋür, *turi > *dür, *tŭĺdi > *dül-ün-, *tūri > *dūr-, *tŭti > *dūtük, *t'ukì > *tüke-, *t'ŭp'i > *tübkür-, *t'út'i > *tüt-, *t'ut'ì > *Tüt-, *úŕi > *üŕ-, *zŭli > *jül-, *ǯugi > *jü-.

4. Korean may have *o/*u or *ɨ:

a) *dŭli > *tor (but also *tur-), *kūči > *kóčăk, *mŭt'i > *mòt(á)-, *p'ŭri > *pòrì, *uĺi > *ori-.

b) *č'uli > *čūr-, *gŭri > *kūrk-, *nuli > *nùrí-, .*sùjli > *súi, *t'ut'i > *tùtíŕi-, *ŭč'i > *učuk.

c) *gŭŕi > *kìrì-, *gùri > *kìrì-, *mújŋi > *mìi'ìm, *p'ŭli > *pìrhăi, *p'ŭĺi > *phír-, *sŭri > *sír-,*tŭĺdi > *tìd-, *t'út'i > *tìt-, *ǯugi > *čì- (probably < *čij- < *čig-).

PTM *o/u : PJ *ə

This correlation points to PA *CuCo when Turkic and Mongolian have back vowels (PT *u, PM *u/o); Korean in these cases also has *o/u or *ɨ.

1. TM:

a) *pŭlo > *polo-kta, *k'úlo > *xol- (but also *xul-), *mŭro > *mō, *pŭt'o > *pota, *ùjò > *oji-.

b) *bŭĺo > *bulī-, *gŭno > *gūn-, *kúro(mV) > *kurumV, *k'ul(g)o > *xulgu-, *luko > *luke-, *pùgo > *pūg-, *p'ŭlo > *pul-, *ŭč'o > *(x)uča-, *ùso > *usī-.

2. Mongolian:

a) *pŭlo > *boli-, *kúro(mV) > *kormaj, *k'úlo > *kolkida-, *luko > *nogtu-, *mŭro > *mo-du.

b) *gŭno > *guni-, *kùp'ŕó > *kuɣur, *k'ul(g)o > *kulu-su, *pŭt'o > *buta, *pùgò > *bug, *p'ŭlo > *hurul, *ŭlo > *uli-.

3. Korean:

a) *kúro(mV) > *korim, *k'ul(g)o > *kōr, *mŭro > *mòró, *p'ŭlo > *pór-, *ùso > *ós.

b) *k'úlo > *kùbɨr- (?), *ŭlo > *ūr-.

c) **bŭĺo > *pìrə-, *gŭno > *kìnìr-, *luko > *niktai.*

PTM *u/o : PJ *u

This correlation may point, as we noticed above, to PA **CoCi, *CoCu* and **CuCi*. However, in cases where PT has a back *u (corresponding to PTM *u/o and PJ *u) it seems possible to reconstruct PA **CuCu*. Other languages have the usual labialized reflexes here (*o/u in TM, *o/u in Mongolian, *o/u in Korean):

1. TM:

a) **kušu > *košikta, *múnu > *moŋ-nV-, *sŭku > *soka-, *ùkú > *oKa-, *úk'u > *(x)oksa-, *úmu > *omu-* (but also **umu-*);

b) **gŭt'ù > *gutu-, *kŭmu > *kum-, *kŭgù > *kūku, *luŋu > *luŋur, *nŭŋu > *nuŋari, *ŋŭju > *ŋu(j)a, *p'uču > *pusi(-kV), *tuju > *duja, *tŭjk'ú > *duKū-, *t'ŭmu > *tumŋu-, *uĺukV > *ulēk, *zūru > *suru.*

2. Mongolian:

a) **nŭŋu > *nowur-, *ŋŭju > *nojir, *tŭjk'ú > *doki-, *t'ŭmu > *tom-;*

b) **č'ùgù > *čug-, *gŭt'ù > *gutu-, *kŭmu > *kumi-, *kušu > *kusiga, *múnu > *mun-, *sŭku > *sugu-, *tuju > *duɣul-, *uju > *uj, *ùkú > *ugtu-, *úk'u > *uka-, *uĺukV > *ulig, *úmu > *(h)umaj.*

3. Korean

a) **č'ùgù > *čòk, *kŭgù > *kòhài, *sŭku > *sok-kori;*

b) **ùkú > *ùhíi-, *úmu > *ūm.*

In a couple of cases (usually in the vicinity of labials) Kor. has an unexpected reflex -a-/-ə- here, possibly due to dissimilation: **kŭmu > *kàm-, *p'uču > *pàčɨm, *tŭjk'ú > *tjàk-.*

Since PA **CuCu* and **CuCo* are kept distinct only in Japanese (and in a few cases where Korean has **CɨC- < *CuCo*), it is generally difficult to distinguish those two types of root structure from each other.

2.4.6 Diphthongs

Among subgroups of Altaic, diphthongs are present in Turkic (only *ia), Tungus-Manchu (*ia and *iu; the latter is usually noted as *ü in the reconstruction of Benzing and Tsintsius which we follow, but was probably phonetically rather something like **i̯u*), Korean (-ja-, -jə-, -ju-) and Japanese (*ua, *ia, *ai, *ui, *əi). All Japanese diphthongs usually originate from various contractions after the loss of intervocalic consonants (see above); the only exception is *ua which can go back to PA *u in the context **CuCe*. Korean diphthongs are generally unstable and may also reflect various contractions, but in some cases do represent original diphthongs (see below). We shall see, however, that most

original diphthongs can also be represented by Korean monophthongs, due to the general instability of Korean vocalism.

The reliable sources for reconstructing the PA system of diphthongs are thus Turkic and Tungus-Manchu.

We find the following rows of correspondences involving diphthongs in PT and PTM:

2.4.6.1. PTM *ia : PT *ia

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bi̯ä́lča	*bial-	*biāĺč	*bilčaɣu		*bánsá-pápí
*gi̯ä́la	*giala-	*Kiāl-	*gal-		*kára-
*i̯àkʻì	*iaKu	*iak-			*ìkà-i
*i̯ánti	*iandaku	*(i)anduk	*jəńʔ		
*ki̯ampʻa	*kiam/pa	*K(i)am/pak		*kàmá	*kàm(p)-
*ki̯áta	*kiata	*K(i)atir-	*kadaraŋ		*kátú-
*ki̯àdi	*kiade-le-	*K(i)adi-	*kaʒi	*kjəd-	
*kʻi̯árà	*(x)iarū-n	*K(i)ariĺ	*kari		*kárà
*kʻi̯ápʻa	*xiap-	*K(i)āpan	*kab-		
*mi̯ali(kʻV)	*mia(l)-	*b(i)alk-	*mel-	*mằrk-	
*pʻi̯àká	*piaKa	*iagir			*pànkiá-
*si̯àjri	*siarū-	*siarig	*sira	*hằi-	*sìruà-
*si̯ák'a	*siaK-	*siāk-	*seke-	(*skằi-)	*sákà-
*tʻi̯akʻa	*tiaku	*tiakigu	*takija		
*tʻi̯àsá	*tias-	*t(i)as	*tasu		*tàsí-

In some cases Turkic may have *e as an old (dialectal?) variant of *ia:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*mi̯atʻi	*miata	*bĕt	*metü		
*ńi̯àrì	*ń(i)ari	*jeŕne	*ʒer-me-	*nằr-ná-	*mìtù
*pʻi̯àlbí	*pialakī	*jelbe			*pìmpárí
*si̯à̀gi	*siakta	*següt	*siɣer		
*si̯à̀sa	*siasi-n	*ses			*sàsà

To these examples we may add a number of others where Turkic has initial *ja-, because the sequences *ja- and *jia- are not distinguished there:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*di̯ari	*ʒ(i)arami	*jar-	*ʒirke	*tằràmí	*(d)ìtàti

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*jáǧi	*iag-ǯakta	*jāg	*eɣükü		
*p´jǎnč´i	*pianči-	*jaṇč-	*niča-		*pínták-
*njála	*nial-	*jAl-ki-	*naliɣur	*nǎrǎ	
*njaṅa	*ńiani-	*jaṅ-			*nama-
*ńjama	*niama	*jAmač	*nam		*mama
*njálì	*ń(i)ali-	*jāĺ	*nilaɣu	*nǎr	
*ńjàmi	*ńiam-	*jam	*ǯim		
*p´jàlk´i	*pialki-	*jAlki-		*pə́nkái	*pìkàr-
*p´jàŋk´i	*piaŋkV	*jAŋak	*(h)enike		*pìnkùrái
*zjàni	*sian-	*jaŋak	*sinaɣa		
*ǯjàjnà	*ǯian-	*jan-		*čái	*dànì
*ǯjak´a	*ǯiaka	*jaka	*ǯaki-		

We can see the following regularities here:

1. Japanese can have here only *a or *i, which would point to a distinction of two types: **CiaCa* and **CiaCi*.
2. In cases when Jpn. has *a, Mongolian usually has *a (**gal-*, **kadaraŋ*, **kari*, **malu*, **tasu-*, **nam*; exceptions are only **bilčaɣu* and **seke-*), whereas in cases when Jpn. has *i, Mongolian only has *e/*i (**sira*, **ǯirke*, **niča-*, **(h)enike*)
3. Korean frequently has *ǎ here (but also a number of *a/ə cases, with a distribution not yet clear).

There is a special group of cases where all the correspondences are basically the same, but TM has *i instead of the expected *ia:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*k´jǎda	*xidar			*kǎráb-	*kàjù-
*sjǎ́ri	*siru-	*siaŕ	*siraɣu	*hǎrk	*situ
*šjǎ́lì	*šilki		*silbi	*sǎ́rh	*sìsì
*zjǎbsa	*sibsV	*jasimuk	*sisi		*sasa(n)kai
*k´jǎli	*xilŋü	*Kele-	*kele-	*kǎró-	
*zjǎlVbi	*silba-	*jelbi-	*silbe-	*sjə̄rb-	*sìrà(m)p-

It can be easily seen that all these cases involve words with initial fricatives and short vowels, as opposed to cases with all other initial consonants or with fricatives and long vowels. We may therefore safely postulate a rule according to which the short diphthong *-ia- changed to *-i- in PTM after fricative consonants.

Thus, the correspondence rules for PA **CiaCa* and **CiaCi* are:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*ia-a	*ia/*Sĭ	*ia(/ja-)/e	*a(/e)	*ă/*A	*a
*ia-i	*ia/*Sĭ	*ia(/ja-)/e	*e/i	*ă/*A	*i

But these are not all correspondences involving diphthongs. We also find a number of cases where Turkic has the same as above, viz. *ia or, sometimes, *e, corresponding to PJ *ə. In these cases TM has not *ia, but usually *i, while Mong. has a variation of i/e and a, and Korean, a variation of *i and *a/*ə (sometimes *jə). Here we reconstruct PA *C̣iaCe:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*č′i̯ăk′e	*čiK-	*čiāk-	*čag	*čək	*tə̀kì
*i̯ăré(KV)	*irki	*Erin	*eriwü-		*ə̀tə́(n)kapi
*k′i̯ăk′e	*(x)igǯa-	*K(i)ak	*kagda-		
*n̡ăke	*nikimna	*jaka	*nigur-su		
*n̡áme	*nim(b)a	*jAm	*namaɣa	*nìmắr	
*ńi̯áme	*ńim-	*jem-ür-	*ǯime	*namira	*mə́má-
*n̡ắŋe	*niŋī-	*jAŋil	*niɣül		*nə́nə́sír-
*ńi̯ăŕe	*ńiru-	*jąŕ-	*ǯiru-	*nìrk-	
*ńi̯ăŕke	*nirku-	*jarkak	*ǯirge-		*mə̀(n)k-
*pi̯ằt′è	*pita-	*b(i)at	*hataɣa		*pə̀tə̀p-
*pi̯ắt′e	*pit(a)	*biāt	*bat-	*patik	
*p′i̯ằge	*pigi-n	*jag-	*(h)aɣa-	*pí	
*ti̯ắre	*ǯir-	*d(i)ār		*tjə̀r-	
*zi̯à̀re	*sir-	*jara	*sirka		*sə̀r-
*ǯi̯ap′e	*ǯipu-	*jąpitak	*ǯajidaŋ		

A quite complicated problem is involved in reconstructing PA sequences *C̣iaCo and *C̣iaCu. There is a significant number of cases where Turkic has a *-ia-diphthong, Japanese shows *a, Korean, *ă or *o/u and Mongolian, *e/i. The correspondence is therefore quite similar to *CaCo (see above), and it seems plausible to reconstruct here *C̣iaCo. PTM, however, quite unexpectedly has here a labialized vowel (*o/u):

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*k̡i̯ằmò	*kum-	*Kiam	*keme-		*kàmù-
*k̡i̯ájo	*koja	*K(i)ajir	*kej		*kái-
*k̡i̯ăro	*kori	*K(i)arga	*kerije	*kằr-	*kara-su
*k′i̯áčo	*xusu-	*K(i)ača	*kičir	*kòčái	*kasunkapi
*k′i̯áno	*xuŋī-kta	*Kiān			
*mi̯ăk′ó	*muxa-	*b(i)ak	*mekeji-		*manka

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*mi̯ák'o	*moKo(lV)-	*b(i)āka	*meke-lej	*mə̀kúrí	
*p'i̯áč'o	*pŭč-	*iāči-g		(*pčắ-)	
*si̯àbo	*sōba		*seɣül		*sàwùa
*si̯alo(-kV)	*solüki	*sialɨk	*sileɣü-sü	(*sira-)	
*zi̯à[k']ó	*suka-		*segle-	*suk-	*sànka-
*t'i̯árko	*turki		*terge	*tằrkó	
*t'i̯àlo	*tōli	*T(i)alk-	*telej	*tắr-	*tàra-

As for **C̯iaCu*, we would (by analogy with other vocalic developments) expect here PT *ia and PJ *u. Such a correspondence, however, is completely absent. Instead we find a number of cases where the reflexes are quite similar to PA **CaCu* (*a in Turkic, *a or *o/u in Mongolian, *u in Japanese, *o/u in Korean), but TM has a labialized reflex *o/u, just like in the case with **C̯iaCo*. Turkic additionally can have here *e, and Korean - (j)ə. We tentatively reconstruct the type **C̯iaCu* for this correspondence, although none of the languages (except perhaps Korean in a few cases) has preserved a diphthong here. In TM, the type **C̯iaCu* must have early coincided with **C̯iaCo* and lost the diphthong because of vowel labialization; in Turkic, the words of the type **C̯iaCu* must have early undergone an assimilative change > **C̯ɔCu* > **CöC-* and gave the same reflex as **C̯ioCe* (see below).

Here are examples of the hypothetic **C̯iaCu* type:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*čɨ̯átu	*ǯutī	*dāt	*dadu-		
*gi̯ălu	*gulukun	*Kalɨŋ	*goli-		
*gi̯á́lu	*goldi	*K(i)āĺ-		*kòrhói	*kusirə
*i̯ámu	*umu-	*(i)am	*(h)uma-	*ùmùk	*úmá-
*i̯ap'u	*upa	*(i)apɨl	*oɣuli		
*i̯aru	*ora-	*(i)arkun	*(h)ori	*ə̀rí-	
*kɨ̯áč'ù	*kuči-n	*KĒčir	*kačir		*kútí
*ki̯àjú	*kuje	*K(i)aj	*kuj	*kùrì-	*kùjúr-
*ki̯ằmù	*kuma	*Kạma		*kōm	*kùmà
*ki̯aǯurV	*kuǯur-	*Kạjɨr	*kuǯir		
*ki̯átu	*kota	*gēt	*godoli		
*ki̯ăru	*kor-pi-	*gẹrge-	*kara	*kari-	
*k'i̯àbu	*xū(be)	*K(i)ab	*kaɣul-	*kjə[b]-	
*mi̯ák'ù	*muKa	*bAkan		*mòk	*múk-
*mi̯alu	*molori	*b(i)ala-	*majila-		*murua
*ni̯àŋu	*ŋuŋi	*(i)aŋɨŕ	*nuntug	*nón	(*nùa)

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*ŋi̯ə̀k'u	*ŋōKe	*eker	*nokaj	*nəkori	
*p'i̯áru	*por-	*ar-	*hor-	*pòròkí	
*ši̯ə̀mu	*šūm-	*s(i)amar	*sumal	*sjə́m	
*ši̯ábu	*šoba-	*seb-re-	*saɣa-		*súmp-
*ši̯ə́k'ù	*šoKa-	*s(i)āki-	*sokar	*sjōkjə́ŋ	*súk-
*t'i̯ə̌ru	*turē-	*tɛ̨rk-	*tarki-		
*t'i̯ə̀ku	*tōkī	*teke	*togij		
*zi̯ə́su	*suse	*jās	*(h)us-	*sə̀sk-	*súsá-
*ʒi̯aru(kV)	*ʒugde-n	*jɛ̨rük		*dunturi	
*si̯ə́p'ú	*sup-	*sep-	*saw-ga		*súmpa-

2.4.6.2 PA *i̯o

Above we have considered a number of forms which point to PA *C*i̯*aCo*. There is, however, also a very similar row of correspondences where Mongolian has a back reflex *a or *o/u. Here we tentatively reconstruct PA *C*i̯*oCa*, since Jpn. *a may reflect both PA *-o and *-a. But since Mongolian vocalism is not the most stable and indicative one, we cannot exclude that the reconstructions *C*i̯*oCa and *C*i̯*aCo should be reversed. The relevant cases are:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bi̯ə̌ga	*buga		*baɣu-	*pá	*bà
*bi̯ə̌la	*bule	*b(i)aldak	*bol-/*bul-		
*bi̯ə̌là	*boloka	*bal-gin	*bal-	*puro	*bàrà(m)pì
*bi̯ə̀sá	*bosoga	*basig			*bàsái
*gi̯óra	*gurbi	*K(i)argi			*kántúrá
*ki̯omga	*kumga	*K(i)amgak	*kamkak		
*ki̯osa	*kosi-	*Kasi	*kasi-		
*ki̯oĺa	*kola	*K(i)aĺaŋ	*kula-gai		*kasum-
*k'i̯ə̌ŋa	*xoŋa-	*K(i)aŋ-	*ka[m]ar	*kóh	*kaN-k-
*k'i̯óŕa	*(x)or-	*Kaŕilgan	*karg-		*kátúrá
*k'i̯ə́ʒa	*xoʒa-n	*K(i)aj-	*kaʒiwu	*kə̌č-	*kajər-
*li̯ə̌ga	*ĺog-	*jagiŕ	*nogoɣan	*nò-nə̌-	*nà
*pi̯ə̌ka	*puka	*bakir	*(h)agi	(*phá)	*pàkuá-
*si̯oga	*sug-	*s(i)agun	*saɣali	*hoar	*sa
*si̯óga	*sogda-	*sagri	*sajir	(*hə̀ŋŋùr)	*sá-
*ši̯ə́ča	*šušu	*siāč	*čas		
*zi̯oĺa	*sulū-n	*jaĺ(č)-	*soloŋga	*sə̀r-	*sas-

We can also see here another important distinction: although Turkic has one *-ia- case here (**siāč*), it is in the vicinity of the palatal *č, and the normal reflex appears to be non-diphthongized *a (or *ą), cf. **bąlgin, *basig, *Kańɨlgan, *jągɨŕ, *bakɨr, *sagrɨ, *jąĺ(č)-, *Kasɨ-*.

There is also a quite similar row of correspondences where Japanese displays not *a, but *i, and Mongolian also has a front reflex *e/i (but sometimes also labialized *ö). Here it seems plausible to reconstruct the PA sequence **C̨oCi*:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*i̯ōt´ik´V	*ōkta			*òtǎi	*ìtí(n)kuà
*k´i̯óŋi	*(x)uŋ-	*K(i)aŋ		*kù´ɨi	*kímí
*Íi̯ŏki	*luktu-		*ǯigutu-		*nìnká-
*mi̯ójńi	*munī-	*b(i)arńɨl		*mǎi-b-	*mínə́-r-
*mi̯óri		*bar-	*mör-	*mōr-	*mítí
*mi̯ót´i			*möči	*mǎtǎi	
*p´i̯ŏrí	*purki-	*ār-t	*hörö-ne		*pìntárí
*si̯óti	*soti		*sido	(*stà(h))	*sítá
*si̯òmì	*sumu		*simarga		*sìmə
*si̯ŏmi	*sōm-		*sima-		*sìmàr-
*ši̯óbi	*šoba-				*síwá
*ti̯óĺi	*ǯola	*diāĺ	*čilayu	*tōrh	*(d)ísì

The only reliable case of a diphthong in PT here is **diāĺ* 'stone', i. e. again in a position before the palatal *Í.

A third similar row of correspondences where we reconstruct **C̨oCe*, differs from the preceding one in that Japanese here has either *ə or a narrowed reflex *u. Korean may have a labialized *o/u or a diphthong *jə (/*(j)a), sometimes monophthongized to *i:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bi̯ŏt´è		*bạt	*büte-		*pútá
*či̯obe	*ǯuba-				*təwə
*č´i̯op´è	*čup-/*čop-	*čap-čak	*čöyerüm	*č(j)apa-	*tə̀pî
*gi̯ŏp´e		*Kāp-	*göb-/*güb-	*kòpóm-	*kəp(u)i
*i̯oĺe	*ulī-	*(i)aĺ	*öl		
*i̯òpe	*upsi		*ibeye-	(*p-sí-)	*ə̀p-
*ki̯òt´è	*kotoran-	*Kat-	*kete		*kə̀tài
*k´i̯ŏbe	*xub(u)te	*K(i)ab	*köbdü		*kua
*k´i̯óp´e	*xupu-	*Kạp-			*kúmpá-
*k´i̯óše	*xuše	*Kas	*kisu-		*kə̀sà-/*kùsà-
*k´i̯ŏt´ekV	*xūkte	*Kạtkuč	*kedgene	*kúitə́kí	

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*lị̀ọ̀ŋè	*loŋ-		*neɣüne		*nèmì
*mị̀oje	*mujē-		*mejeɣe-	*mùi-	
*mị̀ónde	*mundu-kān	*b(i)ańi-	*möndele	*mám-	
*mị̀óre	*mur-		*mereji-		*mútúm-
*nị̀ŏŋe	*noŋ-	*jaŋɨŕ	*nige(n)	*njèǹi(k)	*nəmi
*ŋị̀ōle	*ŋule-	*(i)āl	*öle	*nùrí-	*mùrà-
*p´ị̀ólge	*pulga-	*ą̀lki-	*(h)ergül		*pə(n)k-
*sị̀ōje	*sū-	*sā(j)-	*siɣü-	*hjāi-	
*sị̀óĺe	*sulu	*siāĺ-	*sila-	*hār-	*sósír-
*sị̀ópˊè	*supti-	*s(i)ap-			*sáp-
*sị̀ŏrme	*sumu-		*sirmö-	*hím	
*šị̀òče	*šoša-	*s(i)ač		*číčh	
*tị̀óle	*ǯō(l)	*d(i)ālak	*deliɣün	*tira	*(d)ə-i (~-u-,-i-)
*ǯị̀óke	*ǯuku-	*jāk	*ǯüg		*dákâ
*ǯị̀ókˊè	*ǯuke		*ǯike-ɣün		*dúkì
*ǯị̀ǒŋè	*ǯōŋi-	*jaŋ	*ǯeɣü-	*čá(ŋ)-	*dùmài

In a rather large number of cases Turkic may also have a front reflex *e in the same row of correspondences:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*čị̀oke	*ǯuku-n	*dEgiŋ		*čúi	
*čˊị̀ǒkˊe	*čūKa	*čekin		*soksăi	*tùkúsi
*ị̀ŏde	*(x)odinsa	*ed-	*(h)ideɣe-		
*ị̀òre	*ur	*ęr-kek	*(h)üreɣe	*òràpì	*ətə
*kị̀òrtème	*kutumi-	*gErtme	*kedemen		*kù(n)tàmənə
*kˊị̀ome	*xumā-n	*kEmük	*kemi		
*mị̀óle	*mula-	*bęlek	*melǯe-	*mūr-	*məráp-
*ńị̀ǒgè	*ńōg-	*jEgin	*ǯeɣe		*mù-kuâ
*ńị̀oŋe	*ńuŋ-de-	*jEŋ	*ǯiŋ-de-		
*pˊị̀ole	*pul-sa	*Eldiri	*helde-		*pərə
*sị̀obe	*subgu	*seb-	*seb		
*sị̀oge	*sogi-	*s[e]göl	*söɣel	*hók	
*sị̀oŋre	*soro-ptun	*sEŋir	*seɣer		
*tˊị̀olge	*tolga	*TElgen	*telegen		
*tˊị̀ŏpˊé	*tubu-	*tep-	*teɣe-	*tjap-	*túmpú-
*tˊị̀ór(g)e	*turga-	*Terki	*terki-	*tòrí	*túrí-
*tˊị̀ǒre	*tōrī-	*ter	*türije-		*tùtuà-ma-

We see that in reflexes of PA diphthongs that we have been dealing with so far two basic principles are observed:

1. The correlation "Turkic *ia : TM *ia/*i" points to PA *i̯a before non-labialized vowels
2. The correlation "Turkic *ia or *a : TM *o/*u" points to PA *i̯a before labialized vowels or *i̯o before non-labialized vowels.

But there are also two other rows of correspondences where Turkic has labialized *u or *o, whereas Tungus-Manchu has *i or *ia. Japanese here has *ə (less frequently *a) or *u, thus indicating that the second vowel was *o or *u. It seems therefore natural to reconstruct here the two missing sequences: *C*i̯oCo* and *C*i̯oCu*, assuming that in TM there occurred a labial dissimilation in the first syllable, whereas in Turkic, conversely, labialization was retained because of assimilation to the vowel of the second syllable. The evidence is following:

*C*i̯oCo*

TM has here *i; Turkic - *o/u; Mongolian - any labialized vowel; Japanese - usually *ə (but sometimes also *a); Korean - a variation of *i and *(j)ə.

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bi̯ólò	*bila-		*bolǯu-		*bárì
*bi̯óro	*bir[u]-kan		*borgija	*pìrə́/*pjə̀r	
*č'i̯ǒk'ó	*čixa	*čok-	*čoku-		*tənká-
*gi̯ǒkó	*gik-	*Kog-	*güji-		*kàká-
*gi̯òlo	*gil-	*Kol-	*golu-		*kərápá-
*ki̯oŕo		*Konak	*köɣene	*kìŕím	*kəmài
*k'i̯omo(lV)	*ximŋe-kte	*Kumlak	*kömeli		*kamira
*k'i̯ójŋo	*xiŋü-	*Kujaŋ	*köji-	*kjə̀ní	*kəju-
*k'i̯ǒk'o	*xīkeri		*kokima-		*kakurai
*k'i̯ǒ́ro	*xirga-	*Kūrt	*koro-kai		
*Íi̯ǒ́mo(ŋa)	*nim-ŋā-	*jom(ŋak)	*dom(ak)	*nì'jàkì	*ná(N), *nəm-
*mi̯olk'o	*milkü-		*mölki-	*miK-	*məkə-jəp-
*mi̯ólo	*mila-	*bol-	*möl-(/*mel-)	*mīr-	*mə́r-
*mi̯ojo	*mija-	*boj-		*mì-	*majua-
*pi̯ǒ́ltorV	*pilti-	*buldɨr-	*bolǯir-	*pìtùrí	*pàtuâ
*pi̯ǒ́ro	*piregde	*bōr-	*burga-		
*p'i̯ǒ́lo	*pile-	*jōl		*pjər-	
*p'i̯ǒ́Ío		*jul-duŕ	*ho-du	*pjər-	*pəsi
*si̯ǒlo	*silu-kta	*solak	*söl-		
*ši̯ogo	*šig-	*sogɨ-k		*sik-	*səjə-

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*t'i̯o̯so	*tisū-	*Tusu(g)	*tüsi-	*thas	*tàsùkà-

***Ci̯oCu**

TM here has *ia or *i, with the usual distribution (normally *ia, but *i for short *i̯o after sibilants; Turkic - *o/u; Mongolian - *u/o, but also non-labialized *e/i; Japanese has *u; Korean - *ă or *u/o (but sometimes also *jə).

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*č'i̯olu	*čial-	*čoluk	*čile-	*čərk,*čjəri-	*tur-
*ŋi̯o̯bu	*ńiabe-ri-	*ju(b)-	*jeɣü-	*nūb-	
*ki̯ójbu	*kiaba-	*Kuba/*Koba	*kubakaj		*kúi
*ki̯opu	*kiaba-	*Kobga	*kob-		
*ki̯óru	*kiaru	*Kur	*kiri	*kòră-	*kúrá
*k'i̯o̯sú	*xisi-		*kusu-		*kùsú
*mi̯óńù	*mianam			*măńăm	*múnà-
*ńi̯oru	*ńiara-	*jur-	*ʒur-		
*si̯o̯gdu	*sigde		*sudal		*sùntí
*si̯o̯gu	*sigūn			*hăi	*suà-rá
*si̯ōku	*siaKu		*segel-		*suki
*si̯o̯k'ù	*six-	*suk-	*sekeɣe	(*skí-)	*súk-
*si̯ōlu	*siali-		*sila-	*húrí-	*sura-
*si̯o̯p'u	*sip-	*supɨ	*sibo-		
*si̯o̯jru	*siaraŋ	*sūrɨk	*surgaɣag	*hjə	
*t'i̯òlgu			*tergel	*tăr	*tùkùi
*zi̯o̯gtu	*sigdi-pu	*jo(g)ta	*seɣüʒi		
*ʒi̯òʒu	*ʒ(i)aʒi-	*jogan	*ʒuʒaɣan	*čăč-	*dùtá-ka-

2.4.6.3 PA *i̯u

The simpliest cases where one may reconstruct a PA *i̯u-diphthong are those where PTM has *ü (which may also be phonologically treated as *i̯u). In all those cases Japanese has a variation of *u or *ə, and Korean, of *a/ə (sometimes preceded by -j-, and thus also pointing to a diphthong) or *u/o. Turkic and Mongolian can have either front or back labialized vowels (ö/ü, u/o). We may note, however, that there is a clear correlation between Turkic and Mongolian here: when Turkic has a back vowel, Mongolian has one, too; and, reversely, when Mongolian has a front vowel, Turkic also has a front one. It seems therefore possible to reconstruct two different PA sequences with the diphthong *-i̯u-

distinguished from each other in Turko-Mongolian. We reconstruct them as **CiuCe* and **CiuCo* respectively (reasons for determining the final vowels will be given further below):

1. *CiuCe

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*CiuCe	*ü	*ü/*ö	*ü/ö/*u/*o	*(j)A/O	*u/ə

Here Turkic may additionally have a delabialized reflex *i before liquids (*r, *l), frequently in variation with *ü. Cf.:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*biure		*bürče	*bürge	*pjərók	
*giube	*güb-	*Küb-			*kuwa-
*iude		*öd-kün-			*əja-(n)si-
*iúle	*ül(k)e-	*öl-č-	*üli-	*ərkùr	
*iúse	*üse-	*ös-	*ös-	*ìsàk (< *jə-)	
*iùge	*ū(g)-	*ög-	*uɣur		
*iúte	*üt-	*ōt-	*öte-		
*kiúne	*kün-	*Kün	*küɣün		*kúní
*kiure	*kürekte	*Körtük	*kur		
*kiube	*xū(b)-	*kü(b)	*küw-	*kubii-	*kàwaî
*kiùge	*xūkte	*Kögme	*köɣeme	*kàhúm	*k(ù)i
*kiujke	*xüj(k)e	*kök		*kòkìri	*kùkùi
*kiupe	*(x)üpi-	*Küpi-	*köbe-		
*kiŭrpe	*xürbe	*körpe	*körbe		
*kiúsè		*küs-	*kosiŋ		*kúsài
*kiúle	*xül-	*kōle	*kölü-sü		
*kiúre	*xür-	*gīr-	*kür-	*kūr-	*kúrá-
*kiúse	*xüse	*kūse-	*küse-		*kəs-
*ŋiùŋtè	*ŋūŋte		*ündü-sün		*màtə
*siùŋe	*süŋü-	*s[i]ŋ	*söŋ	*səŋ-/*sən-/*san-	*sùnsù-
*siúŋe	*süŋkē-	*söŋül/-ü-			*súmápú
*siúre	*sür-	*sör	*sür-/*sur-	*sòrăi	
*tiùke		*dök-		*tahi-	*tùk-
*tiúre	*türē-kse	*dīr	*türej	*tàrí	

We see that among the listed examples, words with TM initial labials are completely lacking. In fact there are several examples with the same correspondence after labials, where PTM appears to have *u, not *ü (so that the rows are in complementary distribution):

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bi̯ŭge	*bug-	*bögür	*böɣerüg	*pàhói	*bə
*bi̯ule	*bulin	*bilik			
*bi̯ŭle	*bula	*bile-	*büle-	*pjəró	
*bi̯uk'e	*buKu-			*pàk	*pùkù(m)pái

2. *Ci̯uCo

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*Ci̯uCo	*ü	*u/o	*u/o	*(j)A/O	*u/ə

Cf.:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*gi̯ŭldo	*gülde-	*Kula-	*gulda-		
*i̯ùlò	*ül-	*oluk	*(h)olugaj		*ùruà
*i̯upo	*üb-	*ubut	*ubaj		*əpəpə-
*k'i̯údo(rgV)	*xürgü	*Kudruk	*kudurga	*s-kòrí	
*k'i̯ŭso	*xüse-	*Kus-			
*mi̯uŋo	*müŋnī-(~-i-)	*buŋ	*muŋ		*munkua-
*p'i̯ukò	*püKV	*oka	*(h)ugulǯa		*puki
*ši̯ŭ̄po	*šŭ̄ba	*sub-luk	*subu-		
*ši̯ù̄jò	*šŭ̄je	*sojagu	*sojuɣa	*sāi	*sèjà
*t'i̯úgo	*tüksa	*Tugur	*tuɣurga	*tù'ái	*tu-i
*t'i̯ŭp'o	*tüpa	*tubńak	*tuwra	*tòph	*túmái
*ńi̯ūno	*ńün-	*jōn-	*ǯoma-gul		

By analogy with other vocalic rows of correspondences, one would also expect the existence of **Ci̯uCa*, **Ci̯uCi* and **Ci̯uCu* in PA. However, the correspondences to PTM *ü are exhausted by the two correspondences described above. On the other hand, there are exactly three rows of correspondences left which involve labialized vowels in Turkic, Mongolian, TM and Korean and which have as Japanese reflexes *a, *i and *u respectively. It is therefore natural to assume that these are the rows reflecting PA **Ci̯uCa*, **Ci̯uCi* and **Ci̯uCu*, and that the diphthong in those sequences was lost in TM, being preserved only before neutral (mid-high) vowels of the second syllable, i.e. in sequences **Ci̯uCe* and **Ci̯uCo*. These system considerations, apart from natural phonetic plausibility, are in fact the basic reason for reconstructing **Ci̯uCe* for the correspondence TM *ü - Turkic *ü/ö and **Ci̯uCo* for the correspondence TM *ü - Turkic *u/o.

3. *CʲuCa

Here TM has the usual variation of labialized *u/o. Mongolian has the same, but in some cases also a fronted *i-reflex. Turkic quite systematically displays non-labialized *ɨ, while Korean and Japanese have *a-like reflexes (*a in Japanese, *a/ə in Korean).

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bʲura	*burī-	*bɨrak-		*pərɨ-	*parap-
*gʲʊ̀la	*gōl-	*Kɨl-	*gulbi-		*kàrú-
*ʲuda	*udī-				*aja
*kʲʊ̀ta	*kōta	*Kɨt			*kàta-
*kʲʊ́ńa	*xuńi-	*Kɨjn	*könüɣe- (< *kinüɣe-)		*káná-
*nʲùmà	*ńume-	*jɨm-ĺčak	*nomu-/*nima-		*nàmia
*nʲʊ̀ra	*ńūrikte		*norakai	*narot	
*lʲuga(rV)	*lug-	*jɨgur- (*jugur-)	*ǯiɣura-	*nəhɨ́r-	*nàir-
*pʲʊ̀čʹa	*puče-	*bɨč-	*bičɨ-	(*pčɨ́č-)	*pàtùr-
*pʲʊ́sa	*pusi-		*hisuge	*pàs-	*pásám-
*sʲuga	*sog-	*sɨgɨrčɨk	*sojir	*sāi	
*sʲʊ́na		*sɨn	*sonos-	*s(j)ən-	
*sʲúsa	*susē-	*sɨs		*sàsɐ̌ʹ	*sása
*sʲʊ́ra	*sori	*sɨr-	*sur	*sàrɐ̀-	*satu-i
*zʲuĺa	*suli-	*jɨĺ	*sili		*sasu

4. *CʲuCu

This sequence behaves quite similarly to *CʲuCa in TM, Turkic and Mongolian (although in Turkic we occasionally also find a front reflex *i), but is reflected as *u in Japanese and as *u/o (occasionally also *ɨ, *i) in Korean.

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*čʲʊ́nu	*ǯun-	*dɨn	*či-su		*t(u)i
*dʲʊ̀lu	*dūl-	*jɨli-g	*dulaɣan		*dù
*ʲùbú	*(x)ob-		*öje-	*ɨb-	*ùwá-
*ʲʊ̀du	*(x)odu	*ɨduk	*id-		*i/ju
*ʲúmu	*uma-kta	*imit(~ɨ)			*úmái
*ʲumu	*umī-	*im-	*öm-	*umur-	
*ʲujŋula		*ɨjŋala-	*ujila-	*ùnàr-	
*ʲùru	*uru-	*ɨra	*urma-		*ùrià-
*ʲúrù	*urū-	*irk-	*ir-	*ur-	*ú(n)tì
*ʲʊ̀čʊ	*ōs-	*ɨčgun-			*us-

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*t'i̯udu		*Tɨdɨn	*tuʒi		*tùnaî
*ki̯uču	*kusi-	*Kɨč-gɨr-	*kuča-	*kìčhɨ-m	*kusam-
*ki̯ūč'ú	*kočі-	*Kɨč-	*koči	*kùčíčh-	(*kùntək-)
*ki̯udu	*kudē	*Kɨdɨg	*kiʒaɣar		*kui
*ki̯ùp'u	*kupen	*Kɨp	*kib	*kīp	*kùpá
*ki̯ùp'ù	*kob-ta	*Kɨpɨ-	*kuji-		*kùpà-
*ki̯úŕu	*kur-	*Kɨŕak	*kür-dün		*kúrúmá
*k'i̯ùčù	*xosī-kta	*Kɨč-	*kučil-	*kóč	*kùsì
*k'i̯ŭnu	*(x)on-	*Kɨn-	*kina		*kunank-
*k'i̯úŋu	*xuŋke-	*Kɨŋ-	*kiji- / keje-		*kúnkúm-
*k'i̯ŭŕu	*xuri-	*Kɨŕ-	*küre-	*kùrí	*kúrá-
*k'i̯ùru	*xur-ge	*Kɨr-		*kórǎ-	*kùrù-sì-
*k'i̯ŭrú	*xura-kta	*KɨrtɨĺÍ	*körü-sü	*kúr	*kùrí
*k'i̯ŭĺnu	*xulŋu	*kīn	*köjil-sü		
*ĺi̯ŭp'ù	*lup-	*jip	*ʒeɣeg	*nupi-	*nùp-
*mi̯údu	*muduri			*mìrí	*múi
*mi̯urgu	*murgi			*mír(h)	*mùnkí
*ni̯údurgi	*nurga	*jɨdruk	*nidurga		(*nínkír-)
*ni̯uru	*ńur(g)a-	*jɨr-	*nürgi-	*nòr-	
*ńi̯ùŋńu	*ńōŋńa	*jin / *jin	*ʒuŋgag	*nu(ŋ)-	*ùmì
*pi̯úŋu	*poŋdV	*bɨŋɨt	*boŋčiliki	*pì'út	*pùnâ
*ši̯ŭŕu	*šurgī-	*sɨŕ-	*sir-		
*si̯uču	*sosa-	*sɨč-	*čiča-ga	*čìčhíi-	
*si̯úŋŋu	*suŋŋī-		*sinaɣa		*súná
*si̯ùŋu	*soŋa-	*siŋ-			*sùnà-
*si̯útu	*sut-		*side-	*sòt-	*súta-
*si̯ŭbu	*sube-	*sīb-ri	*seɣü-	*sìbúr	*súwá-i
*ši̯ŭk'u	*šuK-		*süke		*súkí
*ši̯úp'u	*šupa-	*sɨp-	*siɣü-	(*sp-)	*súp-
*ši̯ŭru	*šuri-	*sɨrɨčga-	*sirü-		
*ti̯ŭm(k)u	*duŋk-	*dɨm-	*düŋ-		
*zi̯ŭldu	*suldu-	*jɨldɨŕ	*šülde-sü		
*ʒi̯úbù	*ʒubu		*ʒüj		*dúwài

5. *CiuCi

In this type of correspondence both TM and Japanese have *i, but TM - just as in the type *CiuCe - has *u after labial consonants. Turkic has front *ü (with occasional delabialization > *i) or *ö, Mongolian - any

labialized vowel, also repeating the behaviour of PA *CiuCe. Korean has predominantly *i/i, but can also have a labialized reflex *u/o.

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*biuri		*bir	*büri	*pìrí-	*pitə
*biūgi	*bugu-tuna	*bŏg	*böγe-sü		*pìwə-
*biŭkʻí	*buk-	*bük-	*bök-		*pìnkàm-
*čiùmi		*Tümen		*čímín	*ti
*čʻiŭpʻì	*čip[u]	*čüγe-		*čòp-	*tìpì-sà
*iumi	*(x)im-	*(i)öm	*ömü-		
*iùnì	*īn-		*ün-ǯi-	(*nūi)	*ìnə-tí
*kiùtí	*kitiri		*küderi		*kìtúnái
*kiŭdi	*kidu-	*gŭd-		*kìrí-	
*kʻiŭli	*xil(i)-	*kül-	*küli-		
*kʻiŭčʻi		*kŏče	*küč-	*kìčàŋ	
*miuĺi	*mul-		*mulga-	*mòrə́-	*misu-
*miŭri	*mū		*mören	*mír	*mí-
*piúnri	*ponda			*pìnír	*pírái
*piŭbi	*pubu-	*bij-	*(h)üji-	*pjàpə́i-	*piwa-
*piŭkʻì	*poKa-		*hokar		*pìkù-
*pʻiŭŋi	*puŋtu	*öŋi			*pina
*pʻiŭri	*purkē-		*hurin		*pìrù-m-
*siŭbi	*sīb-		*söγe-	*sùb-	*siwa-
*siúni	*sī-	*sŏn-	*sönü-		*sín-
*siŭtʻi	*site-	*sŭt	*ü-sün	(*stí-)	
*siŭŕi	*sir-	*süŕ-	*sür-		
*tʻiupʻi	*tip-	*tüpi			
*tʻiùni	*tīnu-	*tün	*tüne		
*ziupi	*sibe-	*jib	*sübe	(*sp-)	
*ǯiúgi	*ǯija-	*jügür-		*čòh	
*ǯiuŕi		*jür-	*ǯor	*čiri-	

2.5. Prosody in Altaic

Above we repeatedly mentioned prosodic factors as reasons for certain phonetic changes in Mongolian (voicing *p > *b) and Japanese (voicing / prenasalization). The general outline of prosodic reconstruction for the first syllable was given in Starostin 1995. Here we shall confine ourselves to a brief table of correspondences.

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*V̌	*V̌	*V̌	*V	*V̀	*V́
*V̂	*V̌	*V̌	*V	*V́	*V̀
*V́	*V̌	*V̄	*V	*V̀	*V́
*V̂	*V̄	*V̌	*V	*V́	*V̀

A few comments:

1. The table above describes the behaviour of vowel length / tones only in the first syllable. As for the second syllable, it appears to have had no length distinctions, but a distinction in pitch should be probably reconstructed, on the basis of Japanese tones and voicing of the initial consonant of the second syllable in Japanese and Mongolian, see above. The reflexes of second syllable pitch in other languages are as yet unclear.
2. Proto-Tungus-Manchu has preserved vowel length in initial syllables with original vowel length + low pitch. PTM occasionally also has vowel length on vowels of the second syllable, but its origins are as yet unclear.
3. Proto-Turkic has preserved vowel length in initial syllables with original vowel length + high pitch. Whether PT preserves any prosodic distinctions in non-initial syllables is as yet unclear.
4. Proto-Mongolian has lost all traces of the original prosody except for voicing *p > *b in syllables with original high pitch (see above).
5. Korean and Japanese appear to reflect original pitch distinction (in a contrasting manner, Japanese high tone usually corresponding to Korean low tone, and vice versa), but do not reflect vowel length. It must be said that Korean has vowel length, but it appears to have developed secondarily, due to contractions (see Ramsey 1978). Some traces of Proto-Japanese vowel length may also be preserved in Ryukyu dialects, but it is as yet unclear how the Ryukyu length correlates with Turkic or TM.
6. While evaluating tone correspondences one should keep in mind that several secondary metatonic processes happened in Japanese (on the second syllable, see above) and in Korean, basically in the verb subsystem: all verbs have a strong tendency towards low pitch on the first syllable.
7. The phonetic interpretation given above is certainly not definitive. While there is little doubt that length should be reconstructed where it is reconstructed, the entities marked as high (*v́) and low (*v̀) tones are phonetically not quite clear and their places can in fact be exchanged.

CHAPTER THREE

COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL PHONOLOGIES OF ALTAIC SUBGROUPS

The phonological section of this introduction would be incomplete without an account of phonological developments in each of the Altaic subgroups. Although for the most part we use traditional reconstructions and correspondences, there are also some innovations presented and some points to discuss. Therefore we give below a short outline of the comparative-historical phonology for each of the subgroups of Altaic, as currently perceived by the authors of the dictionary.

3.1. **Turkic** [by A. Dybo]

The system of Proto-Turkic accepted in this dictionary looks like this:

Consonants

p	b		-m-	
t	d	s	-n-	-r-, -l-
č	j		-ń-	-ŕ-, -ĺ-
k	g		-ŋ-	

Vowels of the first syllable:

i	ü	ɨ	u
e	ö	ạ	o
e		a	

All the vowels could be short or long.

Vowels of other syllables:

I		U
		O
	A	

The row of any non-first vowel (front or back) depended on the row of the vowel of the first syllable, thus producing seven (eight?) vocalic allophones:

i	ü	ɨ	u
e	ö	a	(o)

The back -o- is actually not attested, but it may be perhaps reconstructed in some auxiliary morphemes.

Thus, the reconstruction is almost completely traditional, with only the following modifications:

1. The distinction of initial voiced/voiceless consonants is primarily based on Oghuz evidence, as was already shown in Иллич-Свитыч 1963, 1965, accepted in EDT and additionally elaborated in АПиПЯЯ 6-10, Дыбо 1991 and PP 70-85. We should mention that the distinction of *g- vs. *k- is reliably reconstructed only before front vowels; before back vowels we can only reconstruct a "hyperphoneme" *K-.
2. Medial voiced/voiceless consonants: reconstruction is for the most part traditional. Details of development can be summarized as follows: the original voiced labial and velar stop are fricativized and/or lost in most languages and in most combinations with preceding and following vowels. Original voiceless consonants are regularly voiced in intervocalic position in Siberian languages and in Chuvash. In the Oghuz languages, voiceless consonants become voiced after originally long vowels; the new voiced labial becomes fricative, and even disappears in some positions, in a part of the Turkmen dialects, in Khorezmian (Oghuz) dialects of Uzbek and in Salar (details see in PP 36, 61). In the Karluk languages the voiceless labial and velar stops are regularly voiced after original long vowels, and occasionally after short ones. A similar reflexation is observed in Kypchak languages, where additional morphological analogies tend to obscure the situation: all Kypchak languages demonstrate a morphological voicing of labials and velars in an intervocalic position on a morpheme boundary.
3. O. Mudrak (Мудрак 1989, Мудрак Дисс.) has reconstructed a separate phoneme, *-jı-, reflected as -j- in Chuvash, but coinciding with *-d- in other languages. Since the examples of it are not very numerous, and it does not seem to have any specific Altaic origin, we have not adopted this reconstruction in the dictionary.
4. On the reconstruction of *-ń- and its distinction from the clusters *-jn-, *-jŋ- see PP 85-87 (where *-ń- is denoted as *-j̄-). Clusters are reflected as such in Oghuz languages (with a permitted vowel insertion in word-final position, and with -j- frequently lost after front vowels); Kypchak languages reveal a different development of clusters after original long and short vowels, cf. *Kojn* 'sheep' > *koj*, **bejŋi* 'brain' > *mij* as opposed to **Kājnat* 'wing' > *kanat*, **Kījn* 'punishment' > *kijin*, **Kōjn* 'armpit' > *kojun*, **bōjn* 'neck' > *bojun*.

5. The problem of *ŕ and *ĺ is treated in the classical "zetacism-sigmatism" spirit, with an additional modification by O. Mudrak, who has shown (see Мудрак 1989, Мудрак Дисс.) that in Chuvash, *ĺ > l in syllable-final position, but > š (ž) between vowels; *ŕ > r, but *ŕs > s.
6. For Chuvash it has been shown that dentals and velars were palatalized not only in front of original diphthongs (*čul* < **diāĺ* 'stone', *jur* < **Kiār* 'snow'), but also in front of *i, *i̯ - earlier this palatalisation was only noticed on morphemic boundaries; details see in Мудрак 1988, Мудрак Дисс.
7. For a detailed account of the reflexes of Turkic vowels in Chuvash see Мудрак 1993, Мудрак Дисс.
8. Long vowels are reconstructed on the basis of Turkmen and Yakut reflexes, taking into account also the voicing of stops after original long vowels in Oghuz languages. Short vowels are also reflected as pharyngealized in Tuva and Tofalar, as opposed to non-pharyngealized original long vowels (pharyngealization is well recorded in Бичелдей 2001, Рас. Фил, Рассадин 1995); this reflexation was first formulated in Илич-Свитыч 1963. On the preservation of long *ā and *ō in Gagauz see in PP 23-24. Besides, the distinction of *ē vs. *e is preserved in Azerbaidzhan as a distinction of close vs. open e; in Turkmen the long and short vowels also give different qualitative reflexes in some environments (e.g. *ab > ov, but *āb > āv). We prefer to regard the opposition of short vs. "half-long" vowels in Khalaj as non-distinctive (probably just phonetic variants, as can be seen from numerous variations between short and half-long in G. Doerfer's records), but the plain long ("super-long") vowels appear to be reasonably well derived from original long vowels.
9. One of the most complicated problems in Turkic reconstruction is the distinction of open/close *e vs. *ę, *a vs. *ą.

Close *ą was reconstructed by O. Mudrak (see Мудрак 1993, Мудрак Дисс.) for the correspondence Turk. a - Chuv. i̯, Yak. i̯. Let us mention that Yak. can also have a secondary -i̯- < *a in front of -j-, cf. *i̯j* 'moon', *ki̯jāt* 'wing', *i̯j-* 'show, describe'.

As to the reconstruction of *e and *ę, no final agreement has been reached so far. In the dictionary we have adopted the reconstruction of O. Mudrak (as proposed in Мудрак 1993, Мудрак Дисс.), but A. Dybo still keeps her own views, presented in Дыбо Дисс., PP 39-44. Both researchers agree that the Oghuz distinction of open *e : close *ę is not original. The distribution of e (=ä) and ę (=e) in Azerbaidzhan is complementary, e occurring after j-, in front of š, č and the Common Oghuz *j (not in front of the secondary j < *g), and ä occurring in all other cases. The Azerbaidzhan situation is thus secondary compared with

Turkmen where short open and close e are not distinguished at all. Thus, for short vowels we have two sets of correspondences:

*e : Oghuz *e, Yak. e, Chuv. a

*ę : Oghuz *e, Yak. i, Chuv. i (before nasals and r, as well as after ś - ě)

As for the long vowels, O. Mudrak regards the Proto-Oghuz distinction (based on the correspondences between Turkmen and Azerbaidzhan) as secondary, with a rather complicated formulation of conditioning rules. The distinction *ē vs. *ę̄ is reconstructed only on the basis of the correspondences *ē > Yak. ie, Chuv. a; *ę̄ > Yak. ī, Chuv. i. O. Mudrak additionally introduces a "labialized" e, which yields complicated reflexes in Chuvash (in particular, i in front of l), while the Oghuz languages reflect it as e independent of neighbouring consonants; examples of this e^w are few and this phoneme has not been adopted in the dictionary.

According to A. Dybo, the opposition of *ē vs. *ę̄ in Oghuz goes back to Common Turkic and is additionally reflected in Khalaj:

*ē : Oghuz *ē, Khal. ā̈, Yak. ie, Chuv. a

*ę̄ : Oghuz *ę̄, Khal. īe (ä after initial h-), Yak. ie, Chuv. a

For a small number of examples where Oghuz, Yakut and Chuvash have a variation of close and open reflexes (and Chuvash sometimes j+vowel) she reconstructs PT *e (or *ę) followed by *-j- as the first element of a consonant cluster. In Chuvash initial *ej- of this type apparently gave rise to a rising diphthong; the following reconstructions are proposed:

*ęj : Oghuz *ę, Yak. e, Chuv. -i-/jə-, i-, Khal. ä

*ējˉ : Oghuz *ē, Yak. ie, Chuv. -i-, Khal. īe

*ę̄j: Oghuz *ę̄, Yak. ī, Chuv. -i-/ja-, Khal. īe.

The details of the reconstruction, as well as precise origins of this Proto-Turkic distinction are yet to be established.

9. In reconstructing the diphthong *-ia- (long and short) we follow Владимирцов-Поппе 1924, relying on the correspondence of Turkic a (ā) to Chuv. ju- word-initially and -u- (-o-) with palatalization of the preceding consonant in a postconsonantal position. Its Mongolian parallels are, however, not as straightforward as proposed in that paper (see above on Altaic vowel correspondences).

10. Difficult, and not completely solved yet, is the problem of reconstructing vowels of non-initial syllables. Proto-Turkic probably lacked labial vowel harmony and had a distinction of labialized vs. plain vowels in non-initial syllables, independently of the features of the first syllable. This can be proved by the material of MK, as well as by Runic Turkic evidence, see e.g. Meyer 1965. This distinction is additionally

reflected in some vowel-consonant combination reflexes in the Oghuz and Kypchak languages, see details in PP 44, and in the "o"-dialect of Yakut and in Uyghur, where the original second labialized vowel causes labialization of the vowel of the first syllable (as opposed to the second non-labialized vowel, causing the Uyghur Umlaut), e. g.: Uygh. *xotun*, Yak. *xotun* 'woman', Orkh., OUygh. *qatun (*Katun)*, as opposed to Yak. *balɨk*, Uygh. *belik* 'fish', MK *baliq (*balik)*, Osm. *jarum*, Yak. *jarɨm*, Uygh. *jerim* 'half', MK *jarɨm (*jarim)* etc.

As to reconstructing the PT labialized low vowels, we tend to accept the hypothesis of G. Clauson (EDT), who reconstructs *o/*ö in non-initial syllables in the cases where daughter-languages reveal a variation in labialization of the first syllable and a variation between high and low reflexes of the second syllable (which may itself lose labialization): cf. the reconstructions **sigöl* 'wart' and **süŋök* 'bone' in EDT. At least in Common Oghuz the reflexes of this *-ö- were redistributed: high vowel in a closed syllable, low vowel in an open one, cf. **s[e]göl* 'wart': *sögöl* (OUygh.), *sigil* (MK), Tur. *sigil*, Az. *zijil*, Turkm. *siŋŋil*; **siŋök* 'bone': *süŋök* (Orkh.), *süŋük* (OUygh.), *süŋük* (MK, KB), Tur. *süŋük*, Az. *sümük*, Turkm. *süŋk*, *süjek*; **sinčök* 'ankle-bone': Tur. dial. *sinžik*; but **tepö* 'hill, top': *töpü* (OUygh.), *tepe* (Tefs.), *töpü* (KB), Tur. *tepe*, dial. *depe*, Az. *täpä*, Turkm. *depe*; **tikö* 'piece, part': *tikü* (MK), Tur. *tike*, Az. *tikä*, Turkm. *tike*. See PP 45.

11. Proto-Turkic and most modern Turkic languages possess the so-called vowel harmony: all words are subdivided into "front" (with vowels *i, *e, *ę, *ü, *ö) and "back" (with vowels *ɨ, *a, *ą, *u, *o). The vowel of any non-initial syllable has to be "harmonized" with the vowel of the initial syllable.

Below is a table of basic consonant correspondences between Turkic languages:

PT	OUyg h	Karak h	Yak	Tuva	Tof	Khak	Shor	Oyr	Kirgh	Uygh	Uzb	Kaz., KKalp	Nog	Bashk	Tat	Kum	Balk	Karaim	Turkm	Az	Gag	Tur	Khal	Chuv
b-[1]	b-	b-	b-	b-/p-	b-/p-	p-	p-	b-	b-	b-/p-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b- (Sib. p-)	b-, p-	b-	b-	b-/p-	b-/p-	b-/p-	b-/p-	b-	p-
p/V̌_	p	-p-, -b-, -p	-b-, -p	V″v V, ɦV-, -″p	V″pV, -″p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-p-, -b-[2], -p	p	p	p, -b-	p, -b-[2]	p, -b-	p, -b-	p, -b-	p, -b-	p, -b-	p, -b-	p	p	p	p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p
p/V̄_	-p-	-p-, -b-, -p	-b-, -p	VvV, -p	VbV, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	p	-v-, -p/b[3]	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p
-b-	b	v	b /0[4]	-v- /-0-[4], -g	-b- /-0-[4], -g	-b- /-0-[4], -g/-b	-b- /-0-[4], -g[5]/-p	b/0[6]	-b- /-j- /-0-[4]	b/v/g/j/0[5]	v/g/j/0[5]	b/w/j/0[4]	b/w/j/0[4]	w/j/0[4]	w/j/0[4]	w/j/0[4]	w/j/0[4]	w/j/0[4]	w/j/0[5]	v/j/0[5]	v/0[4]	v/j/0[5]	v/0[4]	v/0[4]
-m(-)	m, -n	M, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n
t-	t	t	t	t, d[7]	t, d[7]	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t, d	t	t	t, d[7]	t, d[7]	t, d[7]	t, d[7]	t	t[8]
t/V̌_	t	t	t[9]	V″d V, -″t	V″tV, -″t	-d-, -t	-d-[10], -t	-d-, -t	t	t	t	t[11]	t[11]	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	-d-[12], -t
t/V̄_	t	t	t[9]	VdV, -t	VdV, -t	-d-, -t	-d-[10], -t	-d-, -t	t	t	t	t[11]	t[11]	t	t	t	t	t	d, -t	d	d, -t	d, -t	t	-d-[12], -t
d-	t	t	t	t, d[7]	t, d[7]	t	t	t	t	t	t	t, (d-)	t, (d-)	t	t	t, d	t	t	d	d, t[13]	d, t[7]	d, t[7]	t	t[8]
d	d	ð	t	VdV,	VdV,	z, -s	z, -s	ɗ, j[14]	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	d	-r-

PT	OUygh	Karakh	Yak	Tuva	Tof	Khak	Shor	Oyr	Kirgh	Uygh	Uzb	Kaz., KKalp	Nog	Bashk	Tat	Kum	Balk	Karaim	Turkm	Az	Gag	Tur	Khal	Chuv
				-t	-t																			
s-	s	s	0	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	h	s	s	s	s	ϑ,s[15]	s	s	s	s	s[16]
s/V̆_	s	s	-h-, -s, -t[17]	-"z-, -"s	"s	z	z	z	s	s	s	s	s	ϑ	s	s	s	s	ϑ,s[15]	s	s	s	s	-s- (=-z-)[18]
s/V_	s	s	-h-, -s, -t[17]	-z-, -s	-z-, -s	z	z	z	s	s	s	s	s	ϑ	s	s	s	s	ϑ,s[15]	s	s	s	s	-s- (=-z-)[18]
n	n	n	n	n[19]	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n[21]	n	n	n	n, m
r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r, -j/-0-	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
l	l	l	l'	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	
č-	č	č	s	š	š	s	š	č	č	č	č	š	š	s	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	ś[8]
č/V̆_	č	č	-h-, -s	-"ž-, -"š	-"ǯ-,-" š	-ǯ-, -s	-ǯ-, -š	č	č	č	č	š	š	s	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	ź[12]
č/V̄_	č	č	-h-, -s	-ž-, -š	-ǯ-, -š	-ǯ-, -s	-ǯ-, -š	č	č	č	č	š	š	s	č	č	č	č	-ǯ-, -č	ǯ	-ǯ-, -č	-ǯ-, -č	č	ź[12]
j-	j	j	s	č	č	č	č	d', j[14]	ǯ	j[20]	j[21]	ž	j	j	j, ǯ[22]	j, ǯ	ǯ	j	j	j	j	j	j	ś
j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	d', j[14]	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j
j[1]	d	ð	t	VdV,	VdV	z	z	-j-	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	d	j/v/0[4]

PT	OUygh	Karakh	Yak	Tuva	Tof	Khak	Shor	Oyr	Kirgh	Uygh	Uzb	Kaz., KKalp	Nog	Bashk	Tat	Kum	Balk	Karaim	Turkm	Az	Gag	Tur	Khal	Chuv
												-k/-q[26]		-k/-q[26]		-k/-q[26]	-k/-q[26]							
g-[30]	k	k	k	k, x[17]	k, x[17]	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k, g	k, g	k	g	g	g-	g-	k	k
g	g, ɣ[26]	g, ɣ[26]	0	-0-, -g /-ɣ[26]	-0-, -g/-ɣ[26]	-0-, -g /-ɣ[26]	-0-, -g /-ɣ[26]	0/j/g[6]	0/j/g[4]	g, ɣ, -k/-q[31]	g, ɣ, -k /-q[31]	-w-/ -j-, -0/-w/-j[4]	-w-/ -j-, -0/-w/-j[4]	-w-/ -j-, -0/-w/-j[4]	-w-/ -j-, -0/-w/-j[4]	-w-/ -j-, -0/-w/-j[4]	-w-/ -j-, -0/-w/-j[4]	g/w/j/ 0[4]	ɣ/w /j[6]	ɣ/w/j[6], -0[32]	ɣ/w /j[6], -0[32]	ɣ/w /j[6], -0[32]	ɣ/w /j[8], -0[32]	v/0[4]
ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ, 0[33]	ŋ, 0[33]	-g- /-0-, -ŋ	-g- /-0-, -ŋ	ŋ[34]	ŋ	ŋ, n[35]	ŋ, -j-, n[35]	ŋ, -j-, n[35]	ŋ, -j- n[35]	ŋ, -j- , -g-, n[35]	ŋ, -j- , -g-, n[35]	ŋ, -j- , n[35]	ŋ, -j- , -g-, n[35]	ŋ, -j- , -g-, n[15]	ŋ[36]	n, j	n, m, j[6]	n, m, j[6]	ŋ, j , g, n[37]	n, m[4]

Notes.

1. In most languages (except Tur. and Gag.) > m- before a following nasal, with slightly differing rules. The same is true for (*-p-) > *-b- > *-m- in the second syllable.
2. Voicing occurs on morpheme boundaries and occasionally - in cases of morphological reanalysis (cf. cases like Tat. sipir- / sibir- 'to sweep', where -ir- could have been re-analysed as a causative suffix).
3. Probably dialectal variants, occasionally rendered in orthography.
4. Depending on vocalic environment.
5. After labialized vowels.
6. Depending on vocalic environment and with dialect variation.
7. See more details in PP.
8. *t-, *d-, *č- > č- in front of -i-, -i-.
9. -d- in the intervocalic cluster *-rt- and in the beginning of auxiliary morphemes.
10. Occasionally recorded as voiceless in Verbitskiy's materials.
11. -d- in the beginning of auxiliary morphemes.
12. *-t-, -č- > -ǯ- in front of -i-, -i-.
13. *d- > t- before the following voiceless -x-.
14. Variation in dialects and recordings.
15. Variation in dialects.
16. *s- > š- in front of -i-, -i-.
17. Distribution unclear.
18. *-s- > -ž- in front of -i-, -i-.
19. In some dialects lost with compensatory vowel nasalization.
20. In dialects also ǯ-.
21. In dialects also variants ǯ-, ž- before narrow vowels.
22. Normally j before a, o, ö, u, ü, ɛ; ǯ before e, i, ɨ; but the distribution may be additionally somewhat confused because of dialect variation.
23. In most languages is not distinguished from *-j-, but causes nasalization of initial *b- > m-.
24. Frequently causes nasalization of initial *j- > n-.
25. Before back vowels voiceless *k- and voiced *g- cannot be distinguished in PT; in this position we usually write *K-.
26. Depending on whether the following/preceding vowel is front or back.
27. Depending on whether the following vowel is wide or narrow.
28. Depending on whether the original following/preceding vowel was front or back.

29. Depending on whether the original following/preceding vowel was front or back. *K- > j- before an original diphthong.
30. Reconstructable only before front vowels.
31. Devoicing of final *-g is a characteristic feature of the Karluk languages; however, both in Uzbek and in Uighur it occurs irregularly, depending probably on morphological derivational analogies.
32. In the end of a polysyllabic word. Details see in PP.
33. Variation in dialects; in case of disappearance nasalization is preserved on the preceding vowel.
34. In dialects also -g- or -0-.
35. In some combinations and in the end of a polysyllabic word.
36. In combinations with palatals - n, in some vocalic environments - j.
37. Distribution not quite clear.

Basic vowel correspondences between Turkic languages

PT	OUygh	Karakh	Yak	Tuva	Tof	Khak	Shor	Oyr	Kirgh	Uygh	Uzb	Kaz, KKalp	Nog	Bashk	Tat	Kum	Balk	Karaim	Turkm	Az	Gag	Tur	Khal	Chuv
i	i	i	i	i	i	ə	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	e	e	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	ə, ъ[38]
ī	i	i	ī	i	i	ə	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	e	e	i	i	i	ī	i	i	i	ii	ə, ъ[38]
ẹ	(i)	(i)	i	e	e	i	e	e	e	e, ä[39]	e	e	e	i	i	e	e	e	e	ä, e[40]	e	e	ä	i
ẹ̄	(i)	(i)	ī	e	e	i	e	e	e	e, ä[39]	e	e	e	i	i	e	e	e	ī	e	e	e	īe	i
e	(e)	(e)	e	e	e	i	e	e	e	e, ä[39]	e, a[41]	e	e	i	i	e	e	e	e	ä, e[41]	e	e	ä	a[42]
ē	(e)	(e)	ie	e	e	i	e	e	e	e, ä[39]	e	e	e	i	i	e	e	e	ā	ä, e[41]	e	e	ā	a[42]
a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a,e[43]	a, ɔ[44]	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	o[45]
ā	a	a	ā	a	a	a	a	a	a	a, e[43]	a, ɔ[44]	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	ā	a	a	a	āa	o[45]
ạ	a	a	i	a	a	a	a	a	a	a, e[43]	a, ɔ[44]	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	i
ạ̄	a	a	ī	a	a	a	a	a	a	a, e[43]	a, ɔ[44]	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	ā	a	a	a	āa	i
i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	ə, ъ[46]
ī	i	i	ī	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	ī	i	i	i	ii	ə, ъ[46]
u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	o	o	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	ъ[w47]
ū	u	u	ū	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	o	o	u	u	u	ū	u	u	u	ūu	ъ[w47]
o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	ŭ	o	o	u	u	o	o	o	o	o	O	o	o	vi-, -u-[48]

PT	OUygh	Karakh	Yak	Tuva	Tof	Khak	Shor	Oyr	Kirgh	Uygh	Uzb	Kaz, KKalp	Nog	Bashk	Tat	Kum	Balk	Karaim	Turkm	Az	Gag	Tur	Khal	Chuv
ō	o	o	uo	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	ŭ	o	o	u	u	o	o	o	ō	o	O	o	ūo	vu-, -u-[48]
ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	u	ü	ü	ö	ö	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü/i[49]	ɔʷ[50]
ű	ü	ü	ű	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	u	ü	ü	ö	ö	ü	ü	ü	ű, üj	ü	ü	ü	ű̄ü, ṻi[49]	əʷ[50]
ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ŭ	ö	ö	ü	ü	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	Ö	ö	ö, e[49]	vi-, -u-/-ü-[51]
ő	ö	ö	üö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ŭ	ö	ö	ü	ü	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	Ö	ö	ē	va, -ʁʷva

Notes.
38. Before and after š.
39. The closed variant - in the position of the so called Uyghur Umlaut (before ä, i in the second syllable).
40. The closed variant - after j-, before back affricates and sibilants (š, č), the Common Oghuz *j (not before the secondary -j < *g) and v; otherwise - ä.
41. -a- is a rather rare, probably dialectal, variant.
42. > e in the vicinity of palatals.
43. The variant e - in the position of the so called Uyghur Umlaut (before ä, i in the second syllable).
44. Details see in Мудрак 2002.
45. In the Upper dialect o, in the Lower dialect and in literary Chuvash - u; u in all dialects adjacent to the reflexes of *g and *b.
46. ъ - before and after š; in Anlaut - jъ. Details see in Мудрак Дисс.
47. *ubC > *uvC > uC. Labialization of ъ is present in the Upper dialect (but one should mention that before and after labials this labialization is automatic).
48. vụ- in the Malokarachin dialect.
49. Dialectal variation.
50. Labialization of ə is present in the Upper dialect (but one should mention that before and after labials this labialization is automatic).
51. In the vicinity of velars *ö merges with *u.

3.2. **Mongolian** [by O. Mudrak]

Unlike Turkic, all modern Mongolian languages can be sufficiently well derived from the attested Middle Mongolian language. Attempts to reconstruct for Proto-Mongolian any features absent in the written records have so far been unsuccessful. Thus, the Proto-Mongolian system reconstructed so far is practically identical with Middle Mongolian and has the following phonemes:

Consonants

	b		m	w	
t	d		n	r	l
č	ǯ	s		j	
k	g	h/ɣ	ŋ		

Of these consonants, w, r and ŋ occur only word-medially; w is distinct in Written Mongolian orthography and was probably distinct from -ɣ- in Middle Mongolian, but the actual orthographic systems of

Middle Mongolian do not make a difference between -w- and -ɣ(u)-. On the other hand, h- occurs only word-initially and is in clear complementary distribution with -ɣ-.

A general process characteristic of Southern Mongolian languages was the voicing of intervocalic stops and transfer of their original "voicelessness" to the preceding consonant: *ZVCV > CVZV. All Southern Mongolian languages reveal, to a larger or lesser extent, the working of this general rule, which was first formulated in Helimski 1984. This "voicelessness" phonetically was probably realized as aspiration, which - in cases when there was no initial consonant - resulted in the emergence of secondary h- in Southern Mongolian: *VCV > hVZV. This h- is to be carefully distinguished from the original *h- preserved in MMong. and Dagur.

Vowels

i	ü	u
e	ö	o
		a

In non-initial syllables only i, e, ü, u and a are attested; there are, however, some indications that *-ö and *-o could originally also occur in this position.

Like Turkic, Proto-Mongolian and Middle Mongolian possessed vowel harmony, which has to a large extent disintegrated in modern languages, especially in Southern Mongolian. All words were subdivided into two types: "front" (with the vowels *i, *e, *ü, *ö) and "back" (with the vowels *i, *u, *o, *a): the vowel *i, therefore, was neutral in respect to vowel harmony.

In the chart below we give only correspondences of the vowels of the first syllable: although the non-initial vowels are well enough recorded in MMong. and preserved in WMong., in all modern languages they became hopelessly reduced, and their quality may for the most part only be restored on the basis of the behaviour of the initial vowel.

Below is a chart of phonetic correspondences between Mongolian languages.

PM	WMong.	MMong.	Khalkha	Kalm.	Bur.	Ord.	Dag.	Mongor	S.-Yugh.	Dong.	Bao.	Mog.
*b[1]	b	b	b/-v(-)	b/ -w(-)	b	b/-w(-)	B/-v-/-r	b-/p-/-w-/b	b-/p-/-w-	b-(v-)/p-/-v(u)-	b-(v-)/p-/-v(0)-/-b	b/-f
*m[2]	m	m	m, -m/n	m, -m/n	m, -m/n	m, -m/n	M, -m/n	m	m	m, -n	m	m
*w[3]	-u(-)	Vu (Chin.-Mong.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
*t[4]	t	t	t	t	t	t/d-	t	t/d	t/d	t/-d~t-/č	t	t
*d[5]	d(=t)	d, -t (Chin.-Mong.)	d	d	d	d	d,-r	d-/t-, d	d	d/ǯ	d	d
*n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n/-ŋ	n
*r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r, -0	r	r
*l[6]	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l, -r	l	l, -n	l	l
*č[7]	č	č, (ǯe Chin.-Mong.)	c/č	c/č	s/š	č/ǯ-	č	ć-/-ʒ́-	č/ǯ	č/-ǯ-	č/-č- ~ -ǯ-	č
*ǯ[8]	ǯ	ǯ	ʒ/ǯ	z/ǯ	z/ž	ǯ	ǯ	ʒ́(ǯ)/ć(č)	ǯ/č	ǯ	ǯ	ǯ
*j[9]	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j/0	j	j	j/0	j
*s[10]	s	s/š	s/š	s/š	h/š, -t	s/š	s/š, -r	s/ś(š)/ʒ	s/š	s/š	s/š	s/š
*kA[11]	q	x (~ q-) (HY), q/-x- (SH), q (Middle Asia Mong.)	x	x, ki	x	x/G-, ki	x, k	x/G-/-G-	x/G-/-ɣ-/-G-	q/G-/-G(~ɣ)-	x/G-	q
*kE[12]	k	k (gu Chin.-Mong.)	x	k	x	k/g-	k	k/g-/-g-	k/g/-ɣ-/-g-	k/g-/-g-	k/g-	k
*gA[13]	ɣ	q, -x (Chin.-Mo.), q/-ɣ- (Middle Asia)	g	g	g	g	g	G/x-	G/x-/-ɣ-	G/q-	G/x-	ɣ

PM	WMong.	MMong.	Khalkha	Kalm.	Bur.	Ord.	Dag.	Mongor	S.-Yugh.	Dong.	Bao.	Mog.
*gE[14]	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g/k-	g/k-/-ɣ-	g	g	g
*ŋ[15]	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ, -n	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
*h[16]	0	x (Chinese-Mong.), h- (IM, MA, PS)	0	0	0	0	x/š (Tsitsikar, Butkhas), 0 (Khailar)	x/f/ś(š)	h	h/x/f/š	h/x/f/š	0 ~ ʔ (ZM)
*ɣ[17]	-ɣ-/-g-	-'- (Chin.-Mong.), -0- (Mid.-As.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
*a[18]	a	a	a	a/ä	a	a	a	a/0-/ā/i	a	a/ə	a/e/i	a/o/ō
*u[19]	u	u	u	u/ü	u	u	o/wa-/-(u)a-/u	u/0-/o/ə	u/0-/ə	u	u/e/a/o	u
*o[20]	o	o	o	o/ö	o	o/u	o/wa-/-(u)a-	u-/0-/o,u/ō	o/ō	o-/o~u/-uaN	o-/o~u	o/u
*i[21]	i	i	i/V	i/V	e/i/V	i/V	i/V	i/V	i/V	i/ə/V	i/V	i/V
*e[22]	e	e (~u)	e/i/ö	e/i/ö	e/ü	e/i/ö/ü	e/ü	0-/i-/e/ə/a/i/u	e,i-,0-/o-	je-/ie/e/ü	e/-iN, -aN	e/ü
*ü[23]	ü	u	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	u-(~0-)/u/ə/i	u-(~0-)/u/ə	u	u-/u,e/-oŋ	ü
*ö[24]	ö	o (Chin.-Mong.), u (Mid.As.)	ö	ö	ü	ö/ü	ü	0-/o-/o/u/ō	ö(o)/ō(ō)	o-/o~u/-uaN	o-/o~u	ü, ö

Notes.

1. Voiceless variants in Southern Mongolian languages appear before a voiceless consonant of the next syllable. *-b- is not fricativized after nasals; in Khalkha, Ord. and Dag. also after -l-.

2. Northern languages and Dagur have a variation -m/-n at the end of a non-initial syllable.

3. In all modern languages and Middle Asiatic MMong. sources not distinguished from *-ɣ-. A difference may be observed, however, in WMong. and in Chinese MMong. sources, where the sequence -Vw- tends to be rendered by a single character as opposed to the sequence -Vɣu-, usually rendered by a pair of characters.

4. In Ord. d- before the following voiceless stops. In Mongor d before following fricatives (< *s, *č) and intervocalically; voicing did not occur, however, if the initial syllable started with a resonant or 0-. In S.-Yugh. *t- > d- before the following *-k-; intervocalic voicing occurred more or less in the same positions as in Mongor. Dong. also usually has voiced -d- between vowels, although dialectal variation is observed; *t- > č- before *-e-.

5. Occasional intervocalic devoicing can be observed in Dong. (*motu* 'tree') and Baoan (*hotoŋ* 'feather'). Mongor usually (although not completely consistently) has a devoiced t- in cases when the next syllable started with a voiceless consonant (thus *ZVCV > *CVZV). In Dong. *d- > ǯ- before *-e-.

6. Syllable-final -l yields -r in Mongor, but is preserved in some dialects.

7. In Ord. - ǯ- before the following voiceless stops. In Northern Mongolian languages front ("hissing") reflexes are observed before all vowels except *i, and occasionally also before *i - in combinations like *čiɣa-, *čiɣe-, as well as before the syllables with labial *-u- or *-ü-. Mongor and S.-Yugh. have a voiced intervocalic reflex; in a few cases initial voicing (probably assimilative) or spirantizantion are also observed. Dong. and Bao. also have intervocalic voicing of *-č-, but here it appears to be restricted to a position after initial voiceless consonants and *h-, with some dialectal variation.

8. Devoicing is observed in Mongor and S.-Yugh. before some originally voiceless consonants (which may become voiced themselves, thus *ZVCV > *CVZV). In Northern Mongolian languages front ("hissing") reflexes are observed before all vowels except *i, and occasionally also before *i - in combinations like *ǯiɣa-, *ǯiɣe-, as well as before the syllables with labial *-u- or *-ü-.

9. In most modern languages *j is lost before a following *-i-, frequently resulting in vocalic contractions.
10. Mongor has voicing *-s- > -ʒ- in the nominal suffix -su; it occurs, with few exceptions, after initial voiceless consonants and *h-, as well as after initial nasals and *j-. Palatalization *s > š occurs in all languages before the vowel *i; in Dong. also before *e.
11. This row of correspondences describes the behaviour of *k before or after back vowels (or *i in back-row words). Ord. has a voiced reflex before the following voiceless stop. Mongor and S.-Yugh. have initial G- before the following -(r)d-, -ǯ-. Between vowels *-k- is usually voiced in these languages (in S.-Yugh. also fricativized: -ɣ-), but it can stay voiceless if the first syllable starts with a resonant (therefore in situations when the "transfer of voice" - *ZVCV > *CVZV - was impossible). In Mongor *k is palatalized (> ć) before *i. Dong. and Bao. have voicing in basically the same positions as in Mongor, but initial voicing may also occur before following resonants, and intervocalic voicing may sometimes occur even after a syllable starting with a resonant.
12. This row of correspondences describes the behaviour of *k before or after front vowels. The distribution of voiced / voiceless reflexes is similar to *kA.
13. This row of correspondences describes the behaviour of *g before or after back vowels (or *i in back-row words). In Mongor and S.-Yugh., voiceless x- appears before an original voiceless consonant in the next syllable (*ZVCV > *CVZV); in Mongor *k is palatalized (> ć) before *i. Dong. and Bao. have voiceless reflexes in monosyllabic stems before a liquid (also in a few other cases, like **gasi-ɣun*, probably due to assimilation).
14. This row of correspondences describes the behaviour of *g before or after front vowels. In Mongor and S.-Yugh., devoicing occurs according to the same rules as for *gA; other Southern Mongolian languages, however, do not have devoicing here.
15. In most cases *ŋ is just a variant of *n in combinations with velar consonants; it never occurs word-initially or between vowels. However, there is a distinction between *-n and *-ŋ in syllable-final position.
16. Initial *h- is well preserved in Dagur and Southern Mongolian languages. The distribution of reflexes in Mongor, Dong. and Bao. depends on following vowels. Generally (omitting some subtle details), the labial reflex is found before *u, *ü, sibilant reflexes before *i, laryngeal and velar reflexes elsewhere.
17. Intervocalic *-ɣ- is in complementary distribution with *h- (and may in fact be reconstructed as *-h-). It is rendered as -ɣ- (in the back row)

or -g- (in the front row) in WMong., reflected as -0- (or a laryngeal) in MMong. and is lost in all modern languages, usually causing vowel contractions.

18. In Kalm., ä before a following *i. In Mongor the basic reflex is a; after palatal affricates and j before a lengthened second vowel the reflex is i. In a number of disyllabic and trisyllabic words the initial *a- is lost; on the other hand, *a is lengthened > ā in disyllables with *-u in the second syllable. Dong. and Bao. have a reduction (*a > ə) in a number of disyllabic words, and Bao. has -i- after affricates. Mog. has -o- before liquids, and a lengthened reflex before *u, *i of the second syllable.

19. In Kalm. ü before a following *i. Dag. has a diphthong before a short -a- of the second syllable (the sequence *bu- in such case > *bua- > ba-), but -u- before a lengthened second -ā-. Bao. has -o- after G-, -a- after b-. Mongor has a frequent reduction *u > ə > 0, following a rather complicated system of rules. In S.-Yugh. the reduction occurs before liquids, in non-initial syllables the usual reflex is ə.

20. In Kalm. ö before a following *i. The distribution of reflexes in Dag. is similar to *u. Ord. has u in an open syllable before *-u- in the following syllable; a similar distribution is observed in Mog. Mongor has lengthening o > ō before the following *-u-; in Anlaut u- is preserved only before liquids, otherwise a reduction *u- > 0- occurs; in Inlaut Mongor has -o- or -u-, with a rather complicated distribution of reflexes. S.-Yugh. has long ō in the same context as in Mongor (i.e. before -u- of the second syllable); next to *m *o is sometimes reflected as ū. The rules of variation o~u in Dong. and Bao. are not quite clear.

21. *i is the least stable vowel in all Mongolian languages. It usually becomes assimilated to the vowel of the second syllable (the so called "breaking of the vowel *i"). The particular rules of "breaking" differ from language to language; see the description, e. g., in Poppe 1955.

22. In Khalkha, i before back affricates and clusters of -l-+affricates. In Kalm., i after j- and before back affricates. In Ord., i after j-, č-, ǯ-. In Mongor, a complicated distribution of reflexes (usually u after labials, and a variety of reflexes before liquids *r, *l, depending on preceding consonants). Dong. has -e- after affricates and j-, otherwise usually a diphthong -ie-. Labialized reflexes in all languages usually occur in Anlaut before an *-ü- of the next syllable. A labial u- (=ü-) is regular in Chinese MMong. transcriptions, MA and in Mogol; Ord. has ö- before labials, otherwise ü-; Dag. has e- before labials, otherwise ü-; Dong., Bao. and Mongor have 0- before labials, otherwise u-; S.-Yugh. has 0- before labials, otherwise o-.

23. The distribution of reflexes in Mongor and S.-Yugh. is similar to *u. In Southern Mongolian languages one has to assume an early merger of front and back labialized vowels in many contexts.
24. Ord. has ü in open syllables before the following *-ü-. The reflexes in Southern Mongolian languages are generally the same as those of *o.

3.3. Tungus-Manchu [by A. Dybo and S. Starostin]

While dealing with the TM protoforms, we have basically adopted the classical reconstruction of V. Tsintsius (Цинциус 1949) rather than its somewhat reduced version in Benzing 1955; some modifications were also introduced in Иллич-Свитыч 1965, in АПиПЯЯ and Дыбо 1990.

Consonants

p	b			m
t	d	s	l, r	n
č	ǯ	š	j	ń
k	g	x		ŋ

The resonants *r and *j are reconstructed only word-medially.

All TM languages distinguish velar and uvular consonants; both, however, go back to a single row of velars, split according to the position adjacent to front or back vowels. In the table below we give only velar reflexes, but one should keep in mind that they are always split (k/q, g/G, x/ɣ, χ/ʁ).

Vowels

i	ü	u
e		o
	a	

One diphthong (*ia) is also reconstructed, although it is possible that the phoneme reconstructed as *ü could have also been a diphthong (*iu or *ui). All vowels could be short or long.

All vowels except *o could occur both in the first and the following syllables. Unlike Turkic and Mongolian, Proto-Tungus-Manchu appears to have had no vowel harmony. Some restrictions on the coexistence of different vowels in adjacent syllables were, however, present: the back vowels *a, *o could not be combined with the front vowel *e; *u could not follow *o, *ü could not follow *i.

All modern languages have developped a specific variety of vowel harmony (probably under Mongolian influence): every word may be

characterized as "back" or "front", depending on the particular combination of vowels. Words with -a- or -o- in the first or second syllable are always "back"; words with -e- in the first or second syllable are always "front". The -i- and -u- vowels are neutral, i. e. they may occur both in "back" and "front" words (but frequently have different allophones, depending on the row of the word). The *-ü- vowel usually occurs in "front" words, but combinations *aCü and *oCü seem also to be attested. Velars shift to uvulars in "back" words, but are preserved in "front" words. It should be mentioned that the combinations of the neutral vowels -u- and -i- are usually treated as "back", with velars shifting to uvulars in combinations *CiCi, *CuCu, *CiCu and *CuCi, although there may be occasional variation.

Basic correspondences of TM consonants:

PTM	Evk	Evn	Sol	Neg	Oroch	Ud	Ulcha	Orok	Nan	Man	Jurch
p-	h-[1]	h-[2]	0-	x-	x-[3]	x-[4]	p-	p-	p-/f-[5]	f-	f-
p[6]	p/w/0	b/w/0	b/w/g	p/w/0	p/w/0	f/w	p/b	p/b	p/f/b	f/b	f
b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	p-
b[7]	w/0	w/0	w/0	w/0	b/w/0	b/w/0	b/w/0	b/w/0	b/w/0	b/f/w/0	b/w
m-	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m[8]	m
t-	t	t	t	t	t[9]	t[9]	t[9]	t[9]	t[10]	t[10]	t[10]
t	t	t	t	t	t[9]	t[9]	t[9]	t[9]	t[10]	t[10]	t[10]
d-	d	d	d	d	d[11]	d[11]	d[11]	d[11]	d[12]	d[12]	d[12]
d	d	d	d	d	d[11]	d[11]	d[11]	d[11]	d[12]	d[12]	d[12]
s-	s-[13]	h-[14]	s-[15]	s-	s-	s-	s-	s-	s-	s-/š-	s-
s	s[13]	s[16]	s[15]	s	s	s, h	s	s	s	s	s
n-	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
l-[17]	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n
l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
r	r	r	r	j, 0	j, 0	j, 0	r	r	r	r	r
č-	č-	č-	š-	č-	č-	c-	č-	č- > t-	č-[18]	č-	č-
č	č	č	š	č	č	s	č	č > t	č	č	č
ǯ-	ǯ-	ǯ-	ǯ-	ǯ-	ǯ-	ʒ-	ǯ-	ǯ-> d	ǯ-[19]	ǯ-	ǯ-
ǯ	ǯ	ǯ	ǯ	ǯ	ǯ	ʒ	ǯ	ǯ > d	ǯ[19]	ǯ	ǯ
š-[20]	č	č	š	č	č	c	č	č > t	č	š/s	s, c
š[20]	č	č	š	č	č	s	č	č > t	č	š/s	s, c
ń-[21]	ń	ń	n	ń	ń	ń	ń	n	ń	ń	ń
ń	ń	ń	n	ń	ń	ń	ń	n	ń	ń	ń

PTM	Evk	Evn	Sol	Neg	Oroch	Ud	Ulcha	Orok	Nan	Man	Jurch
j	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]
k-	k-	k-	k-/x-	k-	k-	k-	k-	k-	k-	k-/x-	k-
k[23]	k	k	k/x/ɣ/0	k/x	k/x/0	k/x/ɣ/0	k/0	k/0	k/0	k/x	k/x
g-	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
g[24]	ɣ	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w
x-	0	0	0	0	0	0	x/s[4]	x/s[4]	x/s[4]	0/x[25]	h
x[26]	k	k	k/x/ɣ/0	k/x	k/x/0	k/x/ɣ/0	x/0	x/0	x/0	k/x	k/x
ŋ-	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ, ni-	ŋ/ń/m[22]	ŋ/ń/m/w[22]	ŋ/ń/m/w[27]	ŋ/m/w[27]	ŋ/m/w/0[28]	g/w[29]	g/w/ŋ[29]
ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ, 0	ŋ, 0	ŋg, 0[30]	ŋg, 0[30]	ŋg, 0[30]	ŋg, m	ŋ, m

Notes

1. 0- in the North Baikal dialect.
2. 0- in the Kamchatka and Arman dialects.
3. Sporadically - s- before -i-.
4. s- before *-i- and *-ia-.
5. p- in literary Nanai and in the Naikhi dialect; f- in the Bikin dialect; in Kur-Urmi usually x-, but some examples of f- are also attested, obviously because of interdialectal borrowings (the Kur-Urmi dialect historically belongs rather not to Nanai, but to the Northern subgroup of TM).
6. Intervocalic *-p- is rather stable in Ulcha, Orok and Nanai, where it is usually preserved (but occasionally can be voiced > -b-; in Bikin Nanai the standard reflex is -f-). Evenki and Even have either a stop (Evk. -p-, Evn. -b-) or a resonant (Evk. -w-/-0-, Evn. -w-/-0-). In АПиПЯЯ we reconstructed *-p- for the former, but *-b- for the latter row of correspondences. It appears, however, that they are in complementary distribution, the Evk.-Evn. -w-reflex appearing for the most part between identical vowels (in sequences *apa, *epe, *upu, *ipi, *iapa, also *opa > *opo); in a number of exceptions, where Evenkí and Even have -p- between identical vowels, we are probably dealing with later vocalic assimilations.
7. All languages except Manchu usually have -w-/-0- here; Manchu has a variation -b-/-w- (occasionally also -f-). Languages of the Southern branch can also occasionally have -b- here: for the most part we may be dealing with Manchu loanwords, but a genuine dialect variation also cannot be excluded. In Northern languages (in Even, much less frequently in Evenki dialects) the reflex -ɣ- is also sometimes observed, usually before the following -u-.

In this row of correspondences, Tsintsius 1949 and Starostin (АПиПЯЯ) reconstructed PTM *-w-; in the dictionary we have adopted Benzing's reconstruction *-b-, thus eliminating PTM *-w- from the system altogether. Note that the only reliable case where initial *w- can be reconstructed, PTM *wā- 'kill', should also be rather emended to *Vbā- (probably *ebā-, cf. eb- in Manchu eb-te ǧaxun 'hunting bird' = *'killing bird').

PTM *-b- is usually well preserved in all languages in clusters with consonants (*-rb-, *-lb- etc.).

8. > ń in the position of palatalization.

9. Sporadically > č before -i-.

10. > č before -i- and -ia-.

11. Sporadically > ǯ before -i-.

12. > ǯ before -i- and -ia-.

13. The Evenki dialects are classified into s-dialects, š-dialects, h-dialects and s/h-dialects, see details in Bac. In the s-dialects *s > s; in the š-dialects *s > š; in the h-dialects *s > h; in the s/h-dialects *s- > s-, -s- > -h-.

14. 0 in the Kamchatka dialect, s in the Arman dialect.

15. > š before -i-, -ia-; c or č in some old recordings.

16. On the development in Even dialects see details in РЭС. In the Kolyma-Omolon dialect *-s-, *-s > š; in the Indigir dialect *-s- > -h-; in the Arman dialect *s > č in consonant clusters.

17. All languages reveal (in various degrees) the tendency of shifting *l- > n-.

18. In the Bikin dialect: č before i, otherwise c.

19. In the Bikin dialect: ǯ before i, otherwise ʒ.

20. The reconstruction of *š was introduced in АПиПЯЯ, following a suggestion of O. Mudrak. We must add that a fricative reflex, besides Manchu, is also present in the Bikin dialect of Nanai; all other languages have completely merged PTM *š and *č.

21. Initial *ń- may develop into j- between front vowels and *-ia-, although exact rules are not yet quite clear, because of a great deal of confusion between *n- and *ń- (sometimes also *ŋ-) in this position.

22. Depending on the vocalic environment.

23. Intervocalic *-k- is usually preserved. It can, however, yield -0- in trisyllabic words in Ulcha, Orok and Nanai, and occasionally also gives -0-reflexes in Oroch and Udehe (very rarely - in Even). A fricative reflex (with a not quite clear distribution) is also attested in Negidal, Solon, Udehe, Manchu and Jurchen. In a few cases in disyllabic and trisyllabic

forms variants with -G- are attested in Southern languages, being probably just misrecordings for a weakened intervocalic uvular -q-.

24. Intervocalic *-g- is extremely unstable. In this position it is usually articulated as a fricative -ɣ- (in the back row alternatively recorded as -G-, -ɣ- or -ʁ-) and is best preserved in Evenki. The most frequent reflexes in other languages are -w-, -j- or -0-, depending on vocalic environment.

25. The basic reflex in Manchu is 0- (occasionally j-, sometimes nasalized to n- in front of the following nasal). The reflex x- is, however, also not unfrequent (unlike Northern languages that only have 0- here). Note that in all attested cases, Jurchen, which is actually an old Manchu dialect, still has h- (that was possibly pronounced as x-), thus a number of words with x- < *x- in Manchu may be a result of old interdialectal mixture.

26. Intervocalic *-x- is an innovation in PTM reconstruction, first proposed in Дыбо 1990. It is based on the distinction between -k- and -x- in Ulcha, Orok and Nanai. Northern languages, as well as Oroch, Udehe and Manchu have completely merged the reflexes of *-k- and *-x-. Such a reconstruction seems probable for two reasons: 1) the languages that preserve the distinction between *-k- and *-x- are exactly the same languages that preserve initial *x-; 2) the distinction between *-k- and *-x- seems to reflect the Altaic distinction *-k- : *-k'- (see above), thus exactly parallelling the distinction *k- : *x- in word-initial position.

27. Depending on the vocalic environment; w- before a diphthong.

28. ŋ- or m- depending on the vocalic environment; w- before a diphthong; 0- before a following nasal.

29. w- before a diphthong.

30. ŋ in *Ciŋi; 0 in trisyllabic suffixed forms and in disyllables ending in a nasal (see Цинциус 1949, 44).

The Tungus-Manchu languages have also a rich system of consonant clusters, frequently yielding rather complicated reflexes. Here is the basic system of correspondences for non-standard TM consonant clusters:

PTM	Evk	Evn	Sol	Neg	Oroch	Ud	Ulcha	Orok	Nan	Man
pk	pk	pk	kk	pk	pp	kp	pp	kp	kp	x
pt	pt	pt	kt, tt	pt	tt	pt, tt				
rp	rp	rp	rp, pp	tp	pp	kp	lp	rp	rp	p, rf
lp	lp						lp	lp	lp	lf,p
lb	lb	lb	lb	lb	bb	gb	lb	lb	lb	lb, b

PTM	Evk	Evn	Sol	Neg	Oroch	Ud	Ulcha	Orok	Nan	Man
rb	rb	rb	rb	lb, db	bb	gb	rb, lb	lb	rb, b	b
rk	rk	rk	rk,kk	jk, tk,sk	kk	k	č	tt	jk	č
rg	rg	rg	rg, gg	jg,dg, žg	gg	g	ǯ	d	jg, g	ǯ, nč, nǯ
gd	gd	d	dd	gd	gd	gd	gd	gd	gd	d
kt	kt	t	kt, tt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	x
ks	ks	s	kč, čč, rč	ks, xs	ks	k-h	ks	sk	ks	x
ls	ll, lr, ld	lr, ld	ld	l	kt	l-h	lt	lt, l-s-	lt	x
ns	nn, nr, nd	nr, nd	nd	n	s	-h-	(n)t	t	(n)t	ng/x
ms	mn, mr, md	mr,md	nd	mn	ms	m-h	ms	ps	ms	ng/x
lg	lg	lg	lg	lg	gg	g	ld	lǯ	lg	lg
lk	lk	lk	lx	lk	kk	k	lč	lt	lk	
ld	ld	ld	ld	ld	gd	gd	ld	ld	ld, lǯ	nd, nǯ
lt	lt	lt	lt	lt	kt	kt	lt	lt	lt	lč
ŋg	ŋg, ŋn	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg
ńg	nŋ, ńŋ	nŋ		nŋ, ńŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋg,ńd, ńǯ	nd	ng, nǯ	ng, nǯ
ńŋ	nŋ, ńŋ	nŋ	ŋ, ń	nŋ, ńŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ń	n	jŋ, ŋ	ń
nŋ	nŋ	nŋ		nŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋg, nǯ	ŋg, nǯ	ŋg, ŋǯ	nǯ
ŋt	ŋt	ŋt		ŋt	ŋt	ŋt	ŋt		ŋt	nt
ŋd	ŋd, ŋn	n		ŋn	ŋn	ŋd	ŋd	ŋd	ŋd	ŋd, ŋn
ŋn	ŋn	ŋn	ŋ	ŋn	ŋn	ŋn	ŋn	ŋn	ŋn	
ŋń	ŋń	ń	ŋ	ŋń	ŋń	ŋń	ŋń	ŋn	ŋń	ŋǵ
ŋm	ŋm	ŋm	mm	ŋm	mm	ŋm	ŋm	mŋ	ŋm, mŋ	ŋg
ŋs	ŋn	ŋr, ŋs	ŋs	ŋn	ŋn, ŋs	ŋd	ŋd	nd	ŋs	ŋs, nn
ŋk	ŋk	ŋk		ŋk	ŋk	ŋk	ŋk	kk	ŋk	ŋk
ńk	ŋk	ŋk		ŋk	ŋk	ŋk	nd	nd	nǯ	nč

PTM	Evk	Evn	Sol	Neg	Oroch	Ud	Ulcha	Orok	Nan	Man
nt	nt	nt	nt	nt	nt	nt	nt	tt	nt	nt, nd
nd	n	n	n	n	n	n	nd	nd	nd	nd
nb	m	m	m	m	m	m	mb	mb	mb	
mg	mg, mŋ	mŋ	mm		mm	ŋm	ŋb	mg	mb	ŋgg
lm	nm	nm	nm	nm	nm	nm	lm	nm	nm	lm
rm	nm	nm	mm	nm	rm	m	lm	lm	rm	lm
lŋ	nŋ, ńŋ	nŋ	ŋ, ń	nŋ, ńŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ń	n	jŋ, ŋ	lŋ

Basic correspondences of Tungus-Manchu vowels:

PTM	Evk	Evn	Sol	Neg	Oroch	Ud	Ulcha	Orok	Nan	Man	Jurch
i	i	i/į[1]	i	i/į[1]	i/į[1]	i/į[1]	i/į[1]	i/į[1]	i/į[1]	i	i
ü[2]	i	i/į[1]	i	i/į[1]	i/u[1]	i/u[1]	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u	u
u[3]	u	u/ụ[1]	u	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u	u
e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e
o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
ia[4]	ê	ā	ʻa, ā	ā	ā	ā (eä)	ia	ia	ia, ā	ʻa	ʻa

Notes

1. Depending on the row of the word
2. Since *ü is very rare in "back" words, the reflexes like Evn. į or Nan. o are only rarely found.
3. In non-initial back-row syllables in Southern languages we usually meet the notation -ụ-, not -o-; occasionally it also occurs in initial syllables. In Even, the notation ụ alternates with ö (in Cyrillic sources ɵ).
4. Notation for the reflexes of *-ia- varies significantly in Southern languages: we meet (probably synonymic) notations ia and ā, in Udehe also frequently eä. In polysyllabic forms this diphthongs sometimes tends to merge with *-i-.
5. Most languages tend to reduce vowels in non-initial, especially final syllables. Evenki and Nanai are the most conservative languages in this respect; Manchu and Even - the least conservative. Even, in fact, can have a special neutral reduced vowel replacing all vowels in non-initial syllables; in "front" words it is transcribed as ъ, in "back" words - as ъ.
6. All languages except Manchu and Jurchen preserve the distinction between short and long vowels (although in the case of *ia it is somewhat obscured because of the monophthongization *ia > ā). Long vow-

els in Manchu are secondary, going back to contractions after the loss of medial consonants.

However, in existing sources for most languages length is marked extremely irregularly, with a great deal of confusion. Our reconstruction is therefore primarily based on the evidence of two most extensively and accurately recorded languages: Evenki and Nanai, the evidence of which is in most cases mutually concordant.

7. All vowels in non-initial syllables are frequently subject to reduction and morphological adjustments. In Manchu and Jurchen initial vowels are also frequently modified under the influence of non-initial ones: the rules are too abundant and detailed to be layed out here.

3.4. Korean

Korean is one language with a set of very close dialects. The earliest attestations (the Kirim wordlist) are from around the 10th century, but the wordlist is short and Chinese transcriptions seem to be applied unsystematically, so that proper phonetic interpretation is difficult (and perhaps impossible). Accurate recordings start only from the 15th century, and the language of that period (15th-16th centuries) is usually called Middle Korean.

The phonology of Middle Korean is basically used as "Proto-Korean" in this dictionary, with some additional reconstruction based on morphophonemics: the alternations -p- / -w- and -t- / -r- in verbal stems indicate the existence of special intervocalic stops *-b- and *-d- in Proto-Korean (as opposed to *-p- and *-t- that did not result in any alternations). The system of PK consonants is thus presented as follows:

p	b	m		
t	d	n	r	
č		ń	j	s
k		ŋ	'(0)	h

The voiced phonemes *b and *d, as said above, were not preserved in Middle Korean: they yielded voiceless reflexes (p, t) syllable-finally, and changed to -w-, -r- respectively intervocalically. The Middle Korean system therefore lacks a distinction in voice. This is one of the basic reasons why we interpret the Middle Korean ń (orthographic "triangle") as a nasal (based primarily on the Kor. values of Chinese loanwords), not as a voiced fricative z: voiced consonants were certainly absent in Middle Korean. This solution was already accepted in АПи-

ПЯЯ; see also Vovin 1993 and Robbeets 2000. As for the reconstruction of non-initial voiced consonants, we accept here the basic reconstruction proposed in Ramsey 1986, rather than the poorly grounded theory of intervocalic voicing *-VCV- > *-VZV- put forward in Martin 1996.

Voiced consonants and resonants except *m and *n did not occur word-initially.

Middle Korean already possessed aspirated consonants (ph, th, čh, kh), but they still were relatively rare and most probably go back to PK plain stops influenced by the *-h- of the next syllable (thus *khi-* 'big' < **kih-* etc.), or of the preceding syllable (thus *manh-ta* 'many' > *mantha,* but with both variants still attested in MKor.). The process of forming aspirates was still not completed in MKor.: besides *khi-* 'big' we have, e.g. *ko* 'nose', with the endings added to the stem *koh-;* all modern dialects already have *kho.* It generally appears that the aspiration process operated earlier in verbs and adjectives than in nouns.

Already in MKor. texts there was a pronounced tendency of confusing syllable-final -s, -č(h) and -t, although they are still frequently distinguished. In modern Korean dialects those consonants completely merged in -t.

In modern Korean dialects this system is basically preserved, but with the following transformations:

1. Voiceless consonants have usually become voiced in intervocalic position.
2. A new series of "tense" consonants (p:, t:, k:, č:, s:) has arisen, due basically to simplification of MKor. consonant clusters (sp > p:, st, pt > t:, sk, pk > k:, pč > č:, ps > s:).
3. The nasal ń changed into j, 0 or s - with considerable variation between dialects and in different positions.
4. The laryngeals ' and h disappeared everywhere except word-initially. -h- disappeared completely, but left an occasional trace in the aspiration of preceding or following consonants (see above). -'- also disappeared completely; the only trace of it may be seen in the development of the combination -r'- yielding tense l: (r:).
5. The only Korean liquid r is usually articulated as r intervocalically, but as l at the end of a syllable - although the actual reflexes may differ.

The system of MKor. vowels is the following:

i	ɨ	u
	ə	o
	ă	a

The phonetic nature of ə and ă is debatable: it is most probable that ə was originally a front *e, while ă was a mid-high vowel like ə or ʌ (it is also worth mentioning that ă is the only MKor. vowel that did not occur word-initially). Throughout the dictionary we use the traditional transcription.

Like Turkic and Mongolian, Middle Korean possesses vowel harmony. Within a polysyllabic word only the vowels a/ă/o or ə/ɨ/u could be combined with each other (with a few orthographic variations); the vowel i was neutral and could occur in any of the word types. This information can be used for trying to interpret the Proto-Korean system: one of the possible interpretations is, e.g., treating o as *u, ă as *o, ə as *e, ɨ as *ö and u as *ü. Such a treatment, however, would be only speculative: while rendering of Chinese characters gives indeed good reason to think that ə goes back to *e, there is no evidence from Sino-Korean that ă and ɨ were labialized. In many cases, ă and ɨ do indeed go back to Altaic labialized vowels (see above), but by no means always: ɨ can also go back to *i, and ă to *ia, see above. It is thus best to regard the MKor. (and PKor.) system as a result of a number of different phonetic processes and restructurings, and we preserve the above system of symbols for "Proto-Korean".

All MKor. vowels could be long or short, and it was convincingly demonstrated by Ramsey 1978 that the long vowels should have originally resulted from contractions and a reduction of the vowel of the next syllable. In many individual cases, however, this is not quite clear, so we preserve the feature of length for "Proto-Korean" - although it certainly is not of Altaic origin.

Finally MKor. (and probably Proto-Korean) possessed diphthongic combinations: ɨi, əi, ăi, ui, oi, ai, jə, ja (in loanwords also ju, jo).

All modern Korean dialects have significantly restructured the MKor. system. Thus, in literary Korean falling diphthongs are usually monophthongized (ɨi > i, əi > e, ai, ăi > ä, ui > wi, oi > we); ă disappears (> a or ɨ, with considerable variation); ə is preserved, but already as a back unrounded ʌ. Length is preserved in many dialects (e.g., literary Seoul), but is usually not rendered orthographically.

In MKor. orthography, length was marked by two dots and thus perceived as a prosodic feature of a syllable, opposed to one dot (= rising, or high tone) and to no dots (= falling, or low tone). Some of the modern dialects have completely lost all prosodic distinctions; some

have merged the two tones, but preserve length as a prosodic feature; some appear to have preserved all distinctions. However, no systematic recordings of modern dialect prosody (except for the notation of length in S. Martin's KED) is known to us, so we base ourselves almost exclusively on Middle Korean evidence.

In Proto-Korean and Middle Korean the high and low tone are certainly distinctive; however, as was shown by Ramsey 1978 and Ramsey 1991, there is a very strong tendency in Middle Korean towards low tone on verbal and adjectival stems.

3.5. Japanese.

Japanese, like Korean, is a single language. However, it is attested considerably earlier (major literary monuments already since the 8th century), and has a much larger dialectal diversity than Korean.

The phonology of all modern dialects (including the Ryukyu dialects) can be derived from the system attested in Nara texts and known as Old Japanese (a debatable question is whether some of the Ryukyu dialects - the Amami dialects - reflect the distinction of e vs. je after front (dental) consonants, the distinction that was certainly already lost in Old Japanese). However, some phonetic features of the Ryukyu dialects - such as preservation of labial *p-, *b- and dental *d- - may be actually archaic and preserve the situation preceding that of Old Japanese. Additionally, we are able to establish some pre-OJ phonological system on the basis of verbal and nominal morphophonemics.

A general outline of the Proto-Japanese (PJ) reconstruction was already put forward in the seventies (see Старостин 1975), and we still keep this system, with a few modifications (notably, a reinterpretation of the OJ i-ji distinction, see below). A very similar system can be found in the works of other authors, e. g., in the largest ever compendium of Japanese historical phonology, S. Martin's JLTT.

The periodization of Japanese adopted in the present volume is like this:

1. PJ - Proto-Japanese. A reconstructed language that must have been spoken during the first centuries of our era.
2. OJ - Old Japanese. The language of the 7th-8th centuries, as reflected in early inscriptions and in the earliest Nara texts: Kojiki, Nihon shoki and Man'yōshū.
3. MJ - Middle Japanese. A rather vague term referring to all post-Nara and Pre-Meiji attested stages of Japanese. Various stages of MJ are re-

ferred in literature as Late Old Japanese, Middle Japanese, Early Modern Japanese, with variously drawn chronological borders.
4. Modern Japanese - Japanese dialects attested in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The PJ system of consonants can be reconstructed as follows:

p	b	w	m		
t	d	j	n	r	s
k					

In the system outlined above members of the pairs b-w and d-j are actually in complementary distribution, *b and *d occurring only word-initially, and *w and *j only intervocalically. For this reason some authors, e.g., S. Martin, prefer to reconstruct only *b and *d. However, no sources or modern dialects have any reflexes of intervocalic stops here, as opposed to word-initial position, where at least some of the Ryukyu dialects have b- (Hateruma, Yonaguni) and at least one dialect (Yonaguni) appears to have preserved d-. Historically, there certainly are cases where -w- and -j- do not go back to earlier *-b- and *-d- but are rather filling a hiatus after some consonant losses (e.g. *-g- > -0- > -w-, -j-); *-j- in some cases evidently reflects PA *-j-.

In fact, although PJ *b- and *d- in very many cases reflect PA *b- and *d-, some authors (e.g. Murayama 1978) have expressed doubts in the plausibility of such reconstruction for PJ. The arguments concern mainly the reflex d- in Yonaguni: Murayama attempted to show that old records of this dialect actually reveal j-. Additionally, Old Japanese does not have a distinction of j- : 0- before the following i-vowel. In cases like *isi* 'stone', obviously an early development **disi* (< PA **ti̯ó̯li*) > **jisi* > *isi* had taken place. But Yonaguni has here always 0- instead of d-; it only has d- in cases where it directly corresponds to OJ j-. Still, since the only source of OJ w- and j- are PA *b-, *d- (*t-), and since the nature of Ryukyu reflexes is debatable, we keep the notation *b-, *d- for Proto-Japanese; in cases like *isi* 'stone' we shall write **(d)isi*, because there is no evidence from within Japanese whether the form was actually **disi* or **isi*.

Besides voiceless intervocalic stops, OJ also had voiced -b-, -d-, -g-. The general consensus now is that in most cases these voiced stops reflect PJ clusters *-mp-, *-nt-, *-nk- which are the only consonant clusters possible in PJ and may have actually been pronounced as prenasalized stops. In some cases these clusters actually reflect original PA clusters; but, as we tried to show above, in many more cases they go back to plain voiceless or voiced consonants in syllables with high pitch. It is

therefore also possible to regard the OJ situation as original, or possibly as resulting from a merger of clusters *-mp-, *-nt-, *-nk- and voiced *-b-, *-d-, *-g- (from earlier plain stops).

Below we give a chart of correspondences between PJ consonants, OJ consonants and modern standard Japanese (to avoid confusion, we list the modern reflexes in standard modern romanization, where ch = /ć/, j = /ʒ́/, sh = /ś/, ts = /c/, z = /ʒ/). We do not list correspondences in other dialects, because they are basically the same (except for occasional different behaviour of vowel sequences originating from intervocalic consonant loss).

PJ	OJ	Tokyo
*p[1]	p	h-/f-, -w-/-0-
*b[2]	w	w/0
*-mp-	-b-	-b-
*-w-[3]	-w-	-w-/-0-
*m	m	m
*t[4]	t	t/ch/ts
*d[5]	j	y
*-nt-[6]	-d-	-d-/-j-/-z-
*-j-[7]	j	-j-/-0-
*n	n	n
*-r-	r	r
*s[8]	s	s/sh
*-ns-[9]	z	z/j
*k	k	k
*-nk-	-g-	g

Notes.

1. f- before -u-, h- elsewhere; -w- before -a-, -0- (with vowel contractions) elsewhere.
2. *b- is not reconstructed before *-u-; in Tokyo w- before -a-, 0- elsewhere.
3. -w- before a, -0- (with vowel contractions) elsewhere.
4. ch before i, ts before u, t elsewhere.
5. *d- is not reconstructed before i (see above).
6. j before i, z before u, d elsewhere.
7. 0 before i, e, y elsewhere.
8. sh before i, s elsewhere.
9. j before i, z elsewhere.

Vowels

The Proto-Japanese system is reconstructed as consisting of four vowels:

i u

ə

a

and five diphthongs: ia, ua, ui, əi, ai.

There may be some indications in Ryukyu (basically Okinawa) dialects of the existence in PJ of a vocalic length distinction; the problem is, however, far from clear and requires further investigation.

The diphthongs (except *ua in some cases) themselves have evolved from earlier contractions, see above, and the discussion in Старостин 1975 and JLTT 57-64. Below we give a chart of vocalic correspondences between PJ, OJ and standard modern Japanese:

PJ	OJ	Tokyo
i[1]	(j)i	i
u	u	u
ə	o	o
a	a	a
ia[2]	(j)e	e
ua[3]	(w)o	o
ui	i	i
əi	i	i
ai	e	e

Notes.

1. OJ ji is distinguished from i after velar and labial consonants; the distinction is neutralized after dentals.
2. OJ je is distinguished from e after velar and labial consonants; the distinction is neutralized after dentals.
3. OJ wo is distinguished from o after dental and velar consonants; the distinction after labials also existed, but was already disappearing during the Nara period, and in most cases is difficult to be recovered from the writing system.

Prosody

The reconstruction of the PJ accentology is based on the accented Middle Japanese (11th century) dictionary "Ruijumyōgishō" (RJ) and on modern dialect data. RJ regularly marks high pitch (V́) with a single upper dot, and low pitch (V̀) - with a single lower dot. The system of

OJ accents is unknown, but a good guess is that it was close to the system attested in RJ. A discussion of the phonetic interpretation of the Middle Japanese and PJ accent system see in АПиПЯЯ 64-67, 136-137. With the exception of the Kyoto "circumflex" pitch, all dialectal accent systems are well derivable from the RJ accents, with the following correspondences:

a) Monosyllabic nouns

PJ	RJ	Kyoto	Tokyo	Kagoshima	PR	Shuri	Hateruma
*V́, *V́-nká	kó, -gá 'child'	kő, -gá	kò, -ga	kó, kó-gà	*A	ké 'hair'	kȉ
*V̀, *V̀-nká	tà, -gá 'field'	tã̂, tã̂-gá	tá, -ga	tà, tà-gá	*B	tã́	tã̌

The first type here corresponds to Martin's 1.1 or H(H), the second - to Martin's 1.3a or L(L). Martin (JLTT 179-182, 600-602) reconstructs two more accent types for monosyllabic nouns, namely 1.2 or H(L) and 1.3b or L(H). We should say that the number of words in the two latter classes is quite insignificant, and the correspondences far from clear. The type 1.3b is most probably just a collection of irregularities, while the type 1.2 may have some reality, since Kyoto has a distinct pitch pattern here (marked by Hirayama as 1;25). However, the number of words in this class (of which the most common one is *nâ* 'name') is quite small and it may well be an innovation in Kyoto-type dialects. It seems not quite probable that monosyllabic nouns had possessed more than two distinctive types of pitch.

b) Disyllabic nouns

PJ	RJ	Kyoto	Tokyo	Kagoshima	PR	Shuri	Hateruma
1.*V́V́, -nká	túmé, -gá 'claw'	tsúmé, -gá	tsùme, -ga	tsúmè, ' tsùmé-gà	*A	tšímì	s̱i̱m̱ì
2.*V́V̀, -nká	ísì, -gá 'stone'	íshì, -gà	ishí, -ga	íshì, ìshí-gà	*A	ʔíšì	ʔìšì
3.*V̀V̀, -nká	ìnù, -gá 'dog'	ínù, -gà	inú, -ga	ìnú, ìnù-gá	*B	ʔíń	ʔìnú
4.*V̀V́,-nká	kàtá, -gá 'shoulder'	kàtá, kàtà-gá	káta, -ga	kàtá, kàtà-gá	*B	kátá	kàtá
5.*V̀V,-nká	jòrú, -gá 'night'	jòrû, jòrú-ga	jóru, -ga	jòrú, jòrù-gá	*B	júrú	jùrú

Here type 1 is Martin's 2.1 or HH(H); type 2 is Martin's 2.2b or HL(L); type 3 is Martin's 2.3 or LL(L); type 4 is Martin's 2.4 or LH(H); and type 5 is Martin's 2.5 or LH(L). Martin also lists a type 2.2a or *HH(L) which differs from type 2.2b in Tokyo-type dialects (instead of VV́ - V̀V), but he himself expresses doubts about its existence (JLTT 162); most of the words of this type probably just exhibit occasional irregularities or are a result of interdialectal influence. Type 5 no doubt exists, but differs from type 4 only in Kyoto-type dialects and is not reflected in RJ - which is certainly a recording of the old Kyoto-type dialect. Therefore one also cannot exclude here a later Kyoto innovation - although its origins are not yet clear. It has been argued that nouns of this type go back to an earlier structure *CVCVN, with a word-final nasal, but the arguments in favour of such a solution are clearly insufficient.

c) Trisyllabic nouns

PJ	RJ	Kyoto	Tokyo	Kagoshima	PR	Shuri	Hateruma
1. *V́V́V, -nká	kébúrí, -gá 'smoke'	kémúrí, -gá	kèmuri, -ga	kèmúrì, kèmùrí-gà	*A	kìbúšì	kʲpʊ̀sɨ
2. *V̀V̀V́, -nká	nàmìdá, -gá 'tear'	námìdà, -gà	námida, -ga	nàmìdá, nàmìdà-gá	*B	nádá	nàǹdá
3. *V̀V́V́, -nká	sùzúmé, -gá 'sparrow'	sùzùmé, -gá	sùzume, -ga	sùzùmé, sùzùmè-gá	*B	ʔúsádʑí 'hare'	ʔùsàgí
4. *V̀V̀V̀, -nká	kàtànà, -gá 'knife'	kátànà, -gà	kataná, -ga	kàtàná, kàtànà-gá	*B	kágáŋ 'mirror'	kàtàná
5. *V̀V́V̀, -nká	kàbútò, -gá 'helmet'	kàbútò, -gà	kábuto, -ga	kàbùtó, kàbùtò-gá	*B	gúdʑírá 'whale'	gùdzɨrá

Here type 1 is Martin's 3.1 or HHH(H); type 2 is Martin's 3.5b or LLH(H); type 3 is Martin's 3.6 or LHH(H); type 4 is Martin's 3.4 or LLL(L); and type 5 is Martin's 3.7b or LHL(L).

Although other accent patterns are also possible (Martin also lists: 3.1a or *HHH(L); 3.2a or HHL(L); 3.2b - also HHL(L), but with different behaviour in Tokyo type dialects; 3.3 or HLL(L); 3.5a or LLH(H), but with different behaviour in Tokyo type dialects; 3.7a or *LHH(L)).

However, the above five types represent the absolute majority (more than 90%) of all trisyllabic nouns.

d) Verbs

PJ	RJ	Kyoto	Tokyo	Kagoshima	PR	Shuri	Hateruma
*V́-	ják(ù) 'to burn'	ják(ú)	jàk(u)	ják(ù)	A	jàtšúŋ	jàgùŋ
*V̀-	kàk(ú) 'to write'	kák(ú)	kák(u)	kàk(ú)	B	kátšúŋ	hàkùŋ
*V́V́-	kórós(ù) 'to kill'	kórós(ú)	kòros(u)	kòrós(ù)	A	kùrúsùŋ	kùràsùŋ
*V̀V̀-	fikàr(ú) 'to shine'	híkár(ú)	hikár(u)	hìkàr(ú)	B	fi̱tšájúŋ	pi̱kàrùŋ
*V̀V́-	àrík(ù) 'to walk'	àrùk(ú)	arúk(u)	àrùk(ú)	B	ʔáttšúŋ	ʔàrùgùŋ

Martin (JLTT198-204) distinguishes only two verbal accent classes: type A (corresponding to our *V́- and *V́V́-) and type B (corresponding to our *V̀- and *V̀V̀-); the type *V̀V́- is labelled as B′. It contains only a few verbal stems and Martin may be right in regarding it as secondary.

e) Adjectives

PJ	RJ	Kyoto	Tokyo	Kagoshima	PR	Shuri	Hateruma
*V́V́-	ámá(sì) 'sweet'	ámà(i)	àma(i)	ámà(i)	A	ʔàmá(sàŋ)	ʔámà(háŋ)
*V̀V̀-	tàkà(sí) 'high'	tákà(i)	taká(i)	tàká(i)	B	táká(sáŋ)	tàkà(hàŋ)

These two types correspond to Martin's type A and type B respectively. RJ contains also a few adjectival stems with the accent V̀V́-, the origin of which (just as of the verbal *V̀V́- type) is not quite clear; their reflexes coincide with the type *V̀V̀- in all dialects.

CHAPTER FOUR

ELEMENTS OF A COMPARATIVE MORPHOLOGY OF ALTAIC LANGUAGES

4.1. Derivation in Proto-Altaic

A dictionary is not a proper place for a comprehensive comparative grammar. However, knowledge of derivational morphology is absolutely necessary for evaluating proposed etymologies: in a vast number of cases we are faced with the inevitability of comparing different suffixed word forms. Here is the list of basic suffixes, with an explanation of their functions and examples.

4.1.0. PA *-0-

Although parts of speech, at least nouns and verbs, are clearly distinguishable in all Altaic languages, 0-derivation (conversion) is also not an uncommon phenomenon. It is especially frequent in TM languages (cf. numerous cases like **idu-* 'to command': *idu* 'order', **xila-ga* 'flower, ornament' : **xila-ga-* 'to adorn' etc.), rather common in Mongolian (**kele-* 'to speak', **kele* 'tongue, speech', **čimki-* 'to pinch', **čimki* 'a pinch' etc.). The phenomenon is less common in Turkic and Korean, and is absent in Japanese (in the latter case because a derived noun always ends in *-i and is thus formally distinct from the verbal stem; this -i, however, may be a late addition, so that in pre-Proto-Japanese 0-conversion could have been quite normal).

4.1.1. PA *-b-

The basic function of this suffix, as described in EAS 2, 157-160 (cf. also Vovin 1997, 8), is passive / causative, and it is quite productive in TM (see Benzing 122-123). A *-b- (-p-/-w-) suffix is widely attested in Korean, and a *-p- suffix - in Japanese, although their function is less obvious here: in Japanese the suffix is frequentative or just stem-forming, in Korean it is basically used in politeness forms, probably reflecting the original passive semantics. In Mongolian, as Ramstedt writes, this suffix - due to its phonological weakening - can be clearly detected only

in clusters with preceding liquids, and has lost productivity. We must add that the suffix may be in many cases preserved as -ɣe- / -ɣi- > -ji-, but without external evidence it would be difficult to trace it to *-b-.

Finally, in Turkic, there are just a few cases when *-b- is preserved as -b- after liquids; in some cases it disappears without a trace, leaving only vowel labialization (*-Vb- > -u), and is generally rather poorly preserved.

PA *ărV 'witchcraft, craft' (PT *ar- 'to deceive, make magic'; PTM *ar- 'to come to one's senses; appear in one's imagination'): PT *ar-ba- 'to make magic; deceive', PTM *ar-bu- 'shape, form'

PA *bójĺo 'to learn, be attentive' (not attested suffixless, see under *-gV): PM *bol-ba- 'trained, educated', PJ *bə́sí-pa- 'to teach'

PA *č'uli 'to grow less, shrink' (PK *čūr-): PM *čölüji-, Evk. čul-bi-

PA *dure 'to burn, set fire' (Bur. düre-, Evn. dur-): PM *dür-be- 'to blaze, flame', Man. do-bu- 'to set fire'

PA *ĕŕa 'to go astray, mistake' (PT *ār-, Evk. ere- 'to be mistaken', PJ *árá- 'to behave violently': PM *ere-ɣü 'torture, crime', PTM *eru- (= *eru-bu-) 'bad, torture', PK *ərjə́-b- 'to be difficult, in distress'

PA *gi̯ùla 'thin, short' (Nan. Gōl- 'rare (with intervals)', PJ *kàrú- 'light'): PT *Kɨl-bi- 'thin, short', PM *gul-bi- 'be thin, lean'

PA *íĺa 'to rub, smear' (PT *ili-, PM *(h)ili- 'to rub, stroke', PTM *ile- 'to lick'): PM *(h)il-bi-, PK *ər(b)u- 'to rub'

PA *ile 'to go away, drive away' (Mong. ile- 'go away'): PM *ile-ɣe- 'to send', PTM *il-be- 'to drive'

PA *i̯òpe 'to cover, to wear' (PM *ibe-, PJ *àp-): PM *ibe-ɣe-, PJ *əpə-p-

PA *íru 'to be ashamed, shy, hostile' (PT *īr 'shame, to be ashamed', Kor. iri- 'to scare, threaten'): PM *(h)ir-ba- 'discontent, cranky', PJ *útúa-(m)p- 'to shun, neglect'

PA *k'úlo 'to roll, turn' (PT *Kula- 'to roll down, fall', PTM *xol- / *xul- 'walk round, turn round', Jpn. koro 'round log'): PM *köl-be- 'to lie on one side', PK *kur-b- > *kubr- > kuwir- (?) 'to roll', PJ *kárá-mp- id.

PA *máro 'to roll, bend' (PTM *mari- 'to turn, return', PK *mă̆r- 'to roll up'): PM *mari-ja- 'to crawl, be in ambush', PTM *mari-b- 'to bend, curl', PJ *mátuá-p- (-áp-) 'to roll up, wrap'

PA *nĕ́ 'to lie, put' (PTM *nē-, PJ *ná-): PM *ni-ɣu- 'to hide, conceal', PK *nū-b- 'to lie'

PA *olu 'to be startled, annoyed' (PTM *ola- 'be afraid, startled'): PM *ulba-ji-, *ülbe-ji- 'be weak, dizzy', PTM *olba-n- 'to be bored'

PA *p'ĕ̆lo 'walk, run' (PT *e̯ĺ-, PTM *peli-): PTM *pel-bu- 'to lead', PK *pă̆rb- 'to tread'

PA *t'édù 'transmit' (PTM *tedē-): PM *teži-je-, PTM *tedē-b-, PJ *tútá-p-

PA **t'ĕja* 'be calm, quiet' (PTM **teje-*, PJ **tàjá-*): PM **taji-bu-*, PTM **teje-ba-n-*, PJ **tàjù-* (with a regular development *-b- >-w-(-u-) after -j-)

As noted by Ramstedt, at least in some cases (Evk. *duku-* 'write', *duku-wu-n* 'smth. written, letter') the same suffix may form Nomina actionis, and indeed, it is probable for forms like PTM **ar-bu-* or PM **ere-γü*. Cf. also the following cases where -b-nouns may go back to original verbal stems:

PA **ăli* 'to deceive; be angry' (PT **Āl* 'deceit, trick'; PTM **ali-* 'to be angry'): PM **(h)ali-γa* 'frolic, tricksy', **albi-n* 'devil, evil spirit', PK **ìrbàń-* 'to steal', PJ **ira-p-* 'to play, sport'

PA **i̯ùme* 'to tie, strap, belt' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **(x)üme-nse* 'strap', **(x)üme-le-* 'to girdle'): PM **(h)umu-ji-* 'to tighten, shrink', PK **ùmì-i-* 'to pucker, close up', PJ **àm-pí* 'belt'

PA **t'ăk'ĭ* 'to sacrifice, respect' (PM **taki-*): PT **toku* 'ceremony', PTM **taKu(b)-*, PJ **tíká-p-* 'to take oath'

PA **dŭle* 'to spend the night' (PM **düli-* 'to spend the night'): PTM **dol-ba* 'night', PJ **duà* 'night' (the development of *-lV-b- > -0 in Jpn. is similar to cases of *-RVg-, *-RVŋ- > -0, see below)

In a few cases, *-b- seems to be denominative, but this is probably due to secondary nominalization of the original verbal stem in Turkic:

PA **i̯áĺa* 'female; to seduce' (PT **eĺi* 'woman'): PK **ər-bù-* 'to seduce, be flirty', PJ **ásuá-mp-* 'to play'

PA **ărV* 'open space' (PT **(i)āra* 'space, distance'): PM **arba-* 'to stretch (of fingers)', PTM **ar-bu-* 'space between two river branches'

However, in a small, but significant number of cases *-b- seems to be purely denominative, forming nouns from nouns, with not quite clear semantic differentiation (originally collective?):

PA **ătV* 'horse' (PT **ăt*): PM **adu-γu-* 'cattle, horse', PTM **abdu-* 'cattle, herd'

PA **gĕ̀rè* 'word, name' (PM **gere* 'witness', PK **kír* 'poetry, letter', PJ **kàtà* 'word, speech'): PM **gere-γe* 'witness', PTM **ger-bŭ̃* 'name', PK **kír-bá-r* 'poetry, letter', PJ **kàtà-pà* 'word, speech'

PA **kádù* 'a k. of harness' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **kada-la*, -ra): PM **kada-γa-r* 'bridle', PK **kùr-bái* > **kùr'ái* id., PJ **kútú-wá* id. (note the -w-reflex here - either reflecting a form like **kádù-j-bV*, or else a result of contamination with PJ **ba* 'ring')

PA **níre* 'a k. of foliate tree' (PJ **níra-i*): Evk. *ńirāwi* 'a k. of poplar', PK **nìrí-p* 'elm'

PA **p'ĕ́ra* 'bee' (PT **āri*, PJ **pátí*): PM **her-be-kei*, Evk. *herē-p-ti-n*

4.1.2. PA *-p'-

Because of the similarity of reflexes, it is difficult to distinguish the PA *-b- and *-p'- suffixes. A deverbative instrumental suffix *-pu-n is, however, well established for PTM (see Benzing 63), and it seems to have clear external correlates at least in a number of cases:

PA *t'i̯ùŋo 'staff, pole, lean on a pole' (PTM *tüjŋe-, both nominal and verbal): PM *tuji-ban*, PTM *tüjŋe-pun*, PJ *tùmìpá*

PA *kóši 'lever' (PM *kösi- 'to prop, lever'): PTM *kuši-pu-n* 'pole, lever', PJ *kúsàpì* 'wedge'

PA *módè 'bend, circle' (PTM *moda- 'bend'): PK *mùrV-p* 'knee', PJ *mátə̀-pə-r-* 'to turn round'

PA *pi̯ŭbi 'to mince, saw' (PT *bij-, PTM *pubu-, PJ *piwa-*): PTM *pubu-pu-* 'saw', PK *pjàpǎi-* 'to mince'

In the last two examples we see a secondary noun->verb conversion in Japanese and Korean. Similar verbal semantics is observed in:

PA *nìbi 'to smoke, smell' (PK *nǎi* 'smoke'): PTM *nibu-p-* 'to smoke', PJ *nìpə̀-p-* 'to smell'

PA *ʒŭrVko 'courage, joy' (PM *ʒirga-*, PTM *ʒurga-*): PK *čírkə́-p-*, PJ *də̀rə̀kə̀-p-*

PA *ʒē 'to eat' (PT *jē-*, PK *čā-si-*): PM *ʒa-ɣu-g* (> *ʒoɣog*) 'food', but PTM *ʒe-p-* 'eat', PJ *da-pa-* 'hungry'

PA *íru 'sing, song' (PT *ir*, PJ *útà*): PM *ira-ɣu* 'melodious sound, harmony' [but possibly < PT *iragu*]; PK *ir-p-* 'to chant', PJ *útá-p-* 'to sing'

On verbal *-p(u)- in TM see Benzing 117, 122; this suffix has become extremely productive in Japanese.

In all of these cases it is in fact possible to suppose original verbal semantic and nominal passive/instrumental derivation ("smth. which is X-ed" or "smth. with which one X-es"), with subsequent noun/verb conversions.

4.1.3. PA *-m-

Ramstedt (EAS 2, 104-114) gives numerous examples of the usage of PA *-m- as a nomen verbi, still quite productive in Turkic and Korean (Turk. *alım* 'taking' etc.). Because of productive noun/verb conversion, in many cases we can observe further verbalization of such nouns; in Japanese, in fact, the suffix is predominantly verbal (while the *-m-i nouns appear already secondarily derived). Vovin (1997, 3) regards the PJ circumflex pitch as reflecting the same suffix (*kùrâ 'dark colour' <

**kúrá-m*), but there does not seem to exist enough evidence to corroborate such a development. In the same paper (p. 6) he reconstructs a "gerund" in *-mye (PJ *-mi, Kor. -mjə, Man. -me) which is in fact a combination of the deverbative *-m- with the gerund suffix *-jV (on which see below).

Consider the following cases:

PA **gə̆̀ju* 'sorrow, be sorry' (PM **gaj*): PK **kəi'ə-m* 'envy', PJ **kùjà-m-* 'to feel sorry, regret'

PA **ɨ̀rú* 'omen, divination; to divine' (PJ **ùrá*): PT **ɨri-m* 'omen', PTM **īr-me-* 'to ask'

PA **kə̆̀lo* 'to change, borrow' (PM **kala-* 'to change', PK **kə̆̀r-* id., PJ **kár-* 'to borrow'): PT **Kali-m* 'ransom', PTM **kalma-gda* 'rich bride'

PA **kara* 'to look, observe' (PM **kara-*): PM **kara-mu-l* 'sight', PTM **kara-ma-* 'to guard, protect', PK **kàr-m-* 'to keep, preserve'

PA **kɨ̨uču* 'to cry, cough' (PM **kuča-* 'to bark'): MMong. *xuča-m* 'barking', PK **kìčhí-m* 'cough', PJ **kusa-ma-* 'sneeze'

PA **núra* 'to pile, stack' (Man. *nora-*): Chuv. *śorъm* 'stack', PM **norum* id.

PA **si̯ə̆́k'ù* 'hollow, crack; to stick into' (PT **suk-* 'stick in, insert', PTM **sixa-* 'hollow vessel', PK **skí-* 'to insert, sheath', PJ **súk-* 'be hollow'): OT *suqɨm* 'hollow wood', PK **skɨ́-m* 'crack' (cf. also Jpn. *suki-ma*)

PA **tál[u]* 'be together' (PK **tə̆́rí-*, PJ **túrá-*): PT **deli-m*, PM **dali-m*, PK **tə̆r-m-*

This *-m- should probably be distinguished from the optative *-m-, observable in several branches of Altaic (see below).

Another function of PA *-m- (see EAS 2, 218-220) is denominative adjectival, well preserved in TM (*-ma, see Benzing 66, 90 and *-mi, see Benzing 90) and Mongolian (*-maj), and observable in a large number of Common Altaic derivatives:

PA **zejì̯lu* 'metal' (PTM **sele*, PK **sói*, PJ **sunsu*): PT **jel-me*, PM **sele-me* 'sable' (= PTM **sele-me* 'metallic')

PA **č'ə̄k'V* 'a k. of cloth' (PT **čēk* 'cotton shirt', Man. *čeke* 'upper short clothes'): PT **čēk-me-n* 'a k. of upper cloth', Man. *čeke-mu* 'velvet'

PA **də̆́rV* 'back, waist' (PT **jari-n* 'shoulder, shoulder-blade', PM **dere* 'pillow'): PM **dere-m-deg* 'pillow', PTM **dara-ma* 'waist, back'

PA **kàra* 'thin stick, rod' (Evk. *kar(i)* 'rod, thin branch'): PT **Kar-ma-k* 'fishing rod, hook', PK **kár-mó* 'axle', PJ **kàri-mà* 'id.'

PA **kúra* 'sheath, basket' (PM **kor* 'quiver', Evk. *kor* 'dish made of birch bark'): PT **Kur-ma-n* 'wooden vessel, quiver', PM **korum-(saga)* 'quiver', PTM **kor-ma-ki* 'sheath', PJ **kátá-ma* 'basket'

PA **kúro* 'a k. of clothes' (PT **Kur* 'belt'): PM **kor-ma-j* 'lap. skirt', PTM **kuru-mV* 'a k. of upper clothes', PK **kori-m* 'clothes string, lace', PJ **kárá-má* 'clothes'

PA **k'i̯ùge* 'palate, jaw' (PJ **k(ù)i* 'fang'): PT **Kög-me* 'gum (of tooth)', PM **köɣe-me* 'throat, pharynx', PK **kəhú-m* 'jaw'

PA **mi̯óńù* 'heart; breast' (PJ **múnà-*): PTM **miańa-m*, PK **mə̀ńə̀-m*

PA **i̯ə̀t'à* 'top of head, head' (PK **utu*): PTM **utu-mu-k* 'back of head', PJ **àtàmà* 'head'

PA **sela* 'bolt, hinge' (PTM **sele* 'arrow, cross-bow', PJ **saru* 'bolt'): PT **sal-ma* 'horse noose', PTM **selu-mi* 'cross-bow'

PA **p'èrì* 'edge' (PM **hir*, PTM **pere*, PJ **piàrì*): PM **hir-meg*, PTM **pere-mū̆*

PA **p'orV* 'trace' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **oru-k* 'path, road'): PM **horu-m* 'trace', PK **pòróm* 'sign'

In TM nouns in *-m- could be verbalized, giving rise to specific derivatives like **xulukī-m-a-* 'to hunt for squirrels' etc. (see Benzing 116-117).

Note also the usage of *-m- in some animal and plant names:

PA **di̯ari* 'a small animal' (suffixless in PT **jar-Kiajnat* 'bat'): Orok *daramị(n)* 'otter', PK **tə̀ràmí* 'flying squirrel'

PA **kàrà* 'a k. of weed, cockle' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **kara-ɣu* 'darnel grass, smut', Kor. *kara-ǯi* 'Setaria viridis'): PT **KAra-mu-k* 'cockle', (?) PM **kar-ba-ɣur* 'a k. of shrub or weed', PJ **kàrà-mù-sì* 'a k. of hemp'

PA **sera* 'a k. of garlic' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **sara-na*): PT **sari-m-sak*, PM **sar-mu-g*

In some of the examples above, as well as in the following, *-m- appears in a combination with further suffixes:

PA **ő̆re* 'to plait, weave' (PT **ō̆r-*, PM **ör-*, PK **ōr*, PJ **ə́r-*): PT **ör-mek*, PM **ör-mege* 'woven cloth'

PA **k'áru* 'a k. of cloth' (PK **kòró* 'satin, ornamented silk'): PT **KAr-s* (probably by contraction < **KArm-s-* = PM **kor-mu-su-*) 'a k. of upper clothes', PM **kor-mu-su-* 'thin silk kerchief', PTM **xara-mu-sa* 'thigh covers, stockings'

4.1.4. PA *-d-

This suffix is found in a large number of stems, and its primary function seems to have been adjectival / adverbial when used as a denominative (sometimes, through conversion, yielding nouns or verbs again; on the denominative verbal *-dā- in TM see Benzing 116). Cf.:

PA **ămV* 'quick, timely' (PT **(i)am* 'now', PTM **am(a)* 'quick', PK **ām* 'surely, certainly'): PT **(i)am-di* 'now', PM **(h)am-ǯi-* 'to be on time'

PA **ĕgó* 'big, many' (PM **aγu-* 'large, very', PK **há-* 'to be great, many'): PM **aγu-da-* 'large, wide', PTM **eg-di* 'big, many'

PA **gókʲ* 'high, peak' (PK **kòkái*, PJ **kúkì* 'peak'): PM **gög-de-* 'high, lofty', PTM **gug-da* 'high'

PA **i̯ámu* 'hole, pit' (PT **(i)am* 'vulva', PTM **umu-* 'hole, nest', PJ **úmá-* 'to dig'): PM **(h)uma-da-g* 'lower part of belly', PTM **um-de-k-* 'hole, nest'

PA **méŋu* 'whole' (PJ **mú-i*): PM **men-dü* 'healthy', PTM **meŋ-de-* 'whole', PJ **mui-(n)tu-*

PA **mi̯ukʲu* 'blunt, hornless' (PT **muk-*, PM **mökü*): PM **mug-ǯi-*, PTM **mug-de-ke*, PK **mìth*

PA **mùne* 'defect, lack' (PT **bün*): PM **mun-du-* 'to become insufficient', PJ **màn-tù-* 'poor'

PA **ńi̯oŋe* 'cold' (PT **jEŋ* 'frazil'): PM **ǯiŋ-de-* 'to suffer from cold', PTM **ńuŋ-de-* 'cold'

PA **ō̆ni* 'high' (PT **ōn-*): PM **ön-dü-*, PK **un-tu* [if **-nt-* can reflect **-nd-*], PJ **un-tu*

PA **sago* 'old, age' (PK **sǎ-n* 'grown up'): PM **seγü-de-r* 'age', PTM **sag-da-* 'senior, old'

PA **si̯oga* 'arrow' (PJ **sa*): PM **saγa-da-g* 'quiver', PJ **sà-já* 'sheath'

PA **pʲi̯ole* 'blanket, skin (as covering)' (PJ **pərə*): PT **El-di-ri* 'skin of kid or lamb', PM **hel-de-* 'to dress (leather)'

This **-d-* may originally have represented the same morpheme as the locative case marker **-dV* (on which see below).

Due to adjective->noun conversion, PA **-d-* has in many cases become just a nominal stem-marker without any specific meaning - especially in Mongolian where we have a rather large class of nouns ending in -du(n). Cf.:

PA **kʲăpʲà* 'bark, skin' (PJ **kapa*): PM **kaw-da-* 'bark; page', PTM **xab-da-(nsa)* 'leaf', Kor. dial. *kəp-te-gi* 'bark, skin'

PA **pʲi̯ŏ̆lo* 'star' (PK **pjīr*, PJ **pásí*): PT **jul-du-ŕ*, PM **ho-du* etc.

Cases of deverbatives in **-d-* are rare, but also attested:

PA **múnu* 'be wrong, mad, uneasy': (PT **bun-*, PM **muna-* 'to become mad'): OT *munduz* 'mad, foolish', PM **mun-dur* 'shame', PJ **mún-tú-ka-* 'difficult'

PA **šĭkʲi* 'urine, urinate' (PT **sīk*, PTM **šiKē-*): PT **sīg-d-* > **sīd-*, PM **siǯi-ŋ*, PTM **šikte-*, PK **stò-ŋ*, PJ **sitə*

PA **tʲi̯ukV* 'fall, drop' (PTM **tüK-*): PTM **tüg-de* 'rain', PK **tīd-*

PA **t'i̯ula* 'to intend, reason' (PM **tula-*, PTM **tul-*): PT **Til-da*, PM **tul(a)-da*

Since in these cases the suffixless stem may be both verbal and nominal, it seems reasonable to assume that here we are also in fact dealing with *-d- in an original adjectival function (see above) (e.g. *'rain (n.)' -> *'rainy (adj.)' > *'rain (n.)' again).

4.1.5. PA *-t- (intransitive ~ passive)

The assumption of a suffix *-d- in Turkic monosyllabic verbal stems (**tod-*, **jod-*, **kod-* and **jüd-*) led Ramstedt (EAS 2, 162-163) to reconstruct a "continuative" verbal suffix *-d- (also reflected as Mong. *-d-, but, significantly, never within exact Turk.-Mong. lexical matches). It seems, however, that such a *-d- suffix in Turkic does not exist (all the above verbal stems have more plausible whole-root etymologies), whereas there is a number of cases where Turkic verbal *-t- corresponds to Mong. *-d-, e. g.:

PA **ăĺi* 'to know, to hear' (PT **ala-* 'to tell', PK **ār-* 'to know'): PT **e̯ĺi-t-* 'to hear', PM **al-da-r* 'fame'

PA **ĕju* 'to speak, sound' (PT **aji-* 'to say', PM **aji* 'sound, voice', Evk. *ejē* 'demand'): PT **a̯ji-t-* 'to say, demand', PM **aji-da-* 'to cry, recite', PTM **ejē-t-* 'to ask'

This is exactly the correspondence that reflects PA *-t- (see above); we may note, however, that if preceded by resonants, PA *-t- here rather gives a voiced reflex in TM (in Turkic, where *-lt-/*-ld- and *-rt-/-rd- are very difficult to distinguish, we usually have *-ld-, but *-rt-):

PA **ắli* 'to deceive; be angry' (PT **Āl* 'deceit, trick'; PTM **ali-* 'to be angry'): PT **āl-da-* 'to deceive', PJ **ira-t-* 'to be nervous, angry'

PA **enV* 'pain, sickness' (PTM **enū* 'illness, pain, to feel pain'): PT **eni-t-* 'to become confused, suffer', PTM **enū-t-* 'to feel pain, be sick'

PA **gǔno* 'to think' (PM **guni* 'be sad', PTM **gūn-* 'to think; to say'): Ord. *Guni-d-* 'be sad', PTM **gūn-de-* 'to say, think'.

PA **i̯ùbú* 'to be hungry, exhausted' (Man. *uba-* 'to become spoiled (of meet)', PK **īb-* 'to wither, dry up', PJ **ùwá-* 'to be hungry'): PM **öje-de-* 'to be exhausted', PTM **(x)ob-da-* 'to be exhausted, become spoiled (of meat)'

PA **uju* 'sad, ashamed' (PM **uji*, PJ **u-*): PT **uja-t-* (also with a strange variant **ujad-* in Old Turkic), PM **uji-d-*

PA **dè* 'to lie' (PTM **dē* 'bed'): PT **jạ-t-* 'to lie', PTM **dē-du-* (with assimilation) 'to lie', PJ **dà-ntà-r-* 'to spend the night'

PA **làku* 'dirt, dregs' (PM *lag): PM **lag-da-* 'to become sticky, dirty', PTM **lak-ti-* 'to be burnt (of food)'

PA **mi̯ore* 'to hurt, damage, wound' (PM **mer*, PJ **miar-*): PT **bEr-t-*, Evk. *mur-du-l-*

PA **p'ŏ̯re* 'fire, burn' (PTM **puri-* 'to dry over fire', PK **pír* 'fire'): PT **ör-t* 'flame', PM **(h)ör-de-* 'to burn, flame up'.

PA **bāla* 'child, young' (PT **bāla*): PT **bāl-dɨ́r* 'wife's younger sister', PM **bal-či-r* 'very young, infant', PTM **bal-di-* 'to bear, be born'

We see that the verbs with the -t-suffix are usually intransitive, thus the original meaning may have been reflexive or even passive (if passive *-t- was opposed to causative *-b-, on which see above).

In a few cases, however, the same suffix is used denominatively and semantically exactly duplicates the PA adjectival *-d- (on which see above):

PA **k'i̯ŏbe* 'touchwood, tree fungus' (PT **K(i)ab* 'tree fungus', PJ **kua* 'mushroom'): PM **köb-dü* 'moss', PTM **xub(u)-te* 'touchwood'

PA **k'ŏ̯jli* 'limb, extremity' (PT **Kol* 'arm', PM **köl* 'foot'): PT **Kol-tuk* 'armpit', PTM **xol-da-n* 'side, thigh'

PA **pi̯úŋu* 'a k. of fish' (PJ **pùnâ*): PT **biŋɨ-t*, PM **boŋ-či-liki*, PTM **poŋ-dV*, PK **pì'ú-t*

PA **ǯi̯ap'e* 'bare, saddleless' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **ǯipu-čān* 'fur coat worn on bare body'): PT **jạpi-tak*, PM **ǯaji-daŋ* 'saddleless'.

4.1.6. PA *-t'-

Proto-Turkic *-t- is more frequently transitive (and even causative), and in this function it continues PA *-t'- (on Turk.-Mong. matches see Ramstedt 1912, 21-23). Cf. the following cross-language matches:

a) denominative and deverbative transitive

PA **ắnda* 'to do wrong' (PM **(h)anda-* 'to err, mistake', PTM **(x)an(d)u-* 'to accuse'): PTM **(x)an(d)u-t-* 'to tease', PJ **ánáɨ-t-ur-* 'to despise'

PA **ằpi* 'to enjoy, rest' (PTM **ā(b)-* 'to sleep'): PT **(i)abɨ-t-* 'to comfort', PK **ìpà-tí* 'feast'

PA **ắmo* 'mouth; taste' (PT **um-* 'to hope for, desire'; PM **ama(n)* 'mouth'; PJ **ámá-* 'tasty, sweet'): PM **am-ta* 'taste', PTM **am-ta-* 'to taste', PJ **ántí* 'taste'.

PA **k[ā]p'á* 'to cover' (PT **Kāp-* 'to cover', **Kāp* 'sack', PTM **kupu-* 'to cover', **kupu* 'covering'): PM **kab-ta-ga* 'sack', PTM **kup-tu-* 'to cover', **kup-tu-* 'covering, hat', PJ **kàmpú-tua* 'helmet'

PA **mi̯àga* 'glory, praise' (not attested suffixless, cf. Orch. *magui-* 'to shamanize', PK **mā-r* 'speech', PJ **màwà-s-* 'to speak'): PT **bAga-tu-r* 'hero', PM **mag-ta-* 'to praise, glorify', Evk. *mig-di-* 'to be noisy'

PA **pǐŋa* 'to separate, emit' (PK **piŋi-* > **phí-*): PTM **piŋ-ta-*, PJ **pànà-t-*

PA **p'ăp'a* 'shaman, to shamanize' (PM **hab*): PM **hab-taj*, PTM **pap-ta-*

PA **umuŋo* 'to forget' (PTM **omŋa-*): PT **umni-t*, PM **um-ta-*

b) verbs of motion:

PA **ǯi* 'to come' (PTM **ǯi-*): PT **je-t-*, PM **ǯi-d-kü-*

PA **čǰba* 'to hurry' (PT **čb-*): PM **(h)aba-d* 'at once, instantly', PJ **áwá-tá-* 'to hurry'

PA **l̨i̯ǒki* 'to run away' (PJ **nìnká-*): PM **ǯigu-tu-* 'to run away', Evk. *luk-ti-n-* 'to run some distance'

PA **nǔk'é* 'to pass' (Evk. *nök-* 'to loose way'): PM **nög-či-* 'to pass', Nan. *nuk-te-* 'to move to another location'

PA **t'ǎja* 'to float, slide' (PT **tāj-*, PTM **tia-*): PM **taji-tu-*, PJ **taju-ta-p-*

Just as with **-t-*, there seems to be a number of suffixed denominative (less frequently deverbative) **-t'-*cases with adjectival (~ ->nominal) meaning, and it would seem to be natural to equate this suffix with Mong. (productive) adjectival -tu and Japanese -tu id.:

PA **bi̯olo* 'all, completely' (PT **bile* / **bula*): PM **bul-tu*, PTM **bil-[t]i-*

PA **bi̯ugu* 'joint' (PTM **bogi-ja-* 'cuff, wristband', PJ **pu* 'joint, knot'): PM **bog-tu* 'collar bone, shoulder bone', Ud. *bog-do-lo* 'shoulder'

PA **k'épà* 'side' (PJ **kápá*): PT **Kap-ta-l* 'side', PM **kab-ta-su* 'side boards on saddle', Evn. *ewu-t-le* 'side'

PA **láp'ì* 'flat, broad' (PK **nàp-* / **nàp-* 'level, wide', PJ **nípá* 'yard'): Tuva *čï'pï-t* 'flat', PM **lab-ta-* 'to be flat, level', PTM **lap-ta-* id.

PA **p'ŭři* 'to crush' (PT **üř-*, PM **hürü-*, PTM **puru-*, PK **pur-*): PM **(h)ür-te-sü-* 'rags', PTM **pur-te-* 'crumbs'

PA **s[i̯ú]ŋu* 'to sink' (PT **siŋ-*, PM **siŋge-* ~ **siŋgu-*): PTM **suŋ-ta* 'deep', PJ **sín-tú-m-*

PA **luko* 'wild pig' (PTM **luke* 'boar'): PM **nog-tu-mal* 'wild male boar', PTM **luk-te* 'wild boar'

However, because of lack of Mongolian data or because of a neutralized -č- reflex in Mongolian, PA **-t'-* is in very many cases impossible to distinguish from **-t-*, cf.:

PA **bi̯ǒli* 'arm muscles' (PTM **bola-* 'cuff', PK **pǎrh* 'arm'): PT **b(i)al-ti-r* 'calf of leg', PM **bul-či-* 'muscles of arms and legs', PJ **pín-tì* 'elbow'

PA **kăp'è* 'to squeeze, press together' (PT **Kip-* 'to press together', PTM **kap* 'together'): PT **Kip-tu* 'scissors', PM **kaji-či* id.

PA **kēńa* 'elbow, angle' (PM **ka(j)* 'front legs', PJ **kana-i* 'rule, gusset'): PT **Kiajna-t* 'wing', PT **keńe-tu* 'shin; stockings'

PA **t'ékù* 'become thick (of liquids)' (PK **tōi-*, PJ **túka-*): PTM **tek-ti*, PK **tùthàb-*

PA **zìŋke* 'light, quiet' (PM **siŋge-n*): PTM **siŋku-ti*, PJ **sìntúka-* (< **sìnkú-ta-*)

And there is further a functionally quite similar PA nominal suffix *-kt'-, which is clearly seen in the following examples:

PA **i̯úmu* 'a k. of fruit or berry' (PJ **úmá-* 'plum'): OT *imi-ti* (*imi-t*) 'a k. of hawthorn', PTM **uma-kta* 'brier, cornel'

PA **kumi* 'eyebrows, hair on temples' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **kömü-ske* 'eyebrow'): PTM **kumi-kte* 'eyelid', PK **kùmì-t* 'hair on temples'

PA **ki̯ure* 'woodcock, woodpecker' (PM **kur*) : PT **Kör-tük*, PTM **küre-kte.*

PA **k'i̯àre* 'a k. of insect' (cf. PK **kǎr-kàmíi* 'a k. of spider'): PM **küri-d* 'moth larva', PTM **xīrü-kte* 'ant'

PA **k'i̯ŭrú* 'bark, shell' (PM **körü-sü* 'bark', PK **kúr* 'shell, oyster'): PT **Kir-ti-Í* 'bark, surface', PTM **xura-kta* 'bark'

Benzing 72 regards this PTM *-kta as collective; it is interesting to note that it is paralleled by verbal iterative *-kta- (see Benzing 119). The latter usage, however, seems to be absent outside Tungusic.

In many of the cases listed above it could be in fact also possible to reconstruct *-kt'-:

Ud. *bog-do-lo* may go back to PTM **bogo-kta-*, Evn. *ewu-t-le* to PTM **xebu-kte-*, PTM **luk-te* can be a crasis of **luku-kte* and **suŋ-ta*, of **suŋu-kta.* This will leave us with only **lap-ta-* and **pur-te-* as reflexes of "adjectival" *-t'-. No matter how we shall explain these two examples, it seems quite possible that no PA "adjectival" *t' existed, while all such cases should be explained as reflecting PA *-kt'-. We can add a number of other examples:

PA **č'ǐk'o* 'pivot, bolt' (PTM **čiKi*): PM **čig-ta* 'lock, bolt', PK **čí-tó-ri* 'pivot, hinge'

PA **k'i̯ǎkú* 'doll' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **KAgu-r*, PTM **xaku-kan*): PK **koāŋ-tai*, PJ **kùnkù-tú*

PA **si̯ǎgi* 'a k. of foliate tree' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **siye-r* 'nut tree'): PT **segü-t*, PTM **siak-ta* (like **lukte*, most probably a crasis < **siagV-kta*)

PA **sagu* 'a k. of vessel' (PT **sagu*): PT **sAgu-t*, PK **sòth.*

Note that in a few cases when this suffix was preceded by a consonant cluster, Korean and Mongolian reveal different reflexes (losing the second element -t'- instead):

PA *ńam(ń)e* 'a k. of tree' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **jimu-rt*, PM **ǯimu-γu-*): PTM **ńamńi-kta*, PK **nàmò-k*, PJ **màmìti*

PA **sirp'a* 'thick hair, bristle' (PM **serbe* 'crest, bristle'): PT **sirt* 'bristle', PM **sir-ke-g* id., PTM **sirpa-kta* id.

To sum up this rather difficult topic of dental suffixes in Proto-Altaic, the original situation emerges as follows:

1. adjectival/adverbial denominative *-d-, *-t- and *-kt'-
2. intransitive (passive?) deverbative *-t-
3. transitive and motional denominative/deverbative *-t'-

It should also be borne in mind that PT *-t and Mong. *-d can in some cases actually reflect the original plural suffix *-t'V (reflected also in PTM as *-ta, in Korean as *-ti-r and in Japanese as *ta-ti). The suffix *-kt'- in fact may be characterized broadly as "collective" (this is how Benzing 72 qualifies the PTM *-kta) and perhaps containing this very suffix (PA plural *-t'V).

4.1.7. PA *-n-

As noticed in EAS 2 (pp. 168-169, 220-223) this suffix occurs in two functions:

1. as a deverbative with intransitive (reflexive) usage, cf.:

PA **ȁpi* 'to enjoy, rest' (PTM **ā(b)-* 'to sleep'): PT **(i)abi-n-* 'to enjoy oneself', PTM **ābun-* 'to entertain'

PA **m[ù]k'è* 'to suck' (PT **bök-* 'be satiated', PM **meke-* 'female breast, to suck', PK **màk-* 'to eat'): PTM **muKu-n-* 'fill mouth with liquid', PJ **màkà-nà-p-* 'to feed'

PA **pék'ò* 'to contrive, think of' (PM **baka-* 'to covet, wish'): PT **bȩken-* 'to appreciate', Ul. *peken-* 'be embarrassed'

PA **saru* 'be worn out, torn' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **suta-r-*): PT **sara-n*, PM **sar-n-i-*

It should be mentioned that in Japanese this suffix occurs only within the compound -na-p- (besides *maka-nap-* cf. also *soko-nap-* 'to harm' < **sȍk'o; ura-nap-* 'to divine' (*ura* 'divination', **ȉrú*); *usi-nap-* 'lose' < **i̯ŭ̌cu; noga-nap-* 'to pass' < **nŭ̌k'é* etc.), and because of this -p- (originally causative, see above) has acquired rather a transitive usage.

On the usage of this suffix as (re)iterative *-na- in TM see Benzing 120.

The derivatives in *-n- in PA could also have a nominal usage (like OT *tütü-n* 'smoke', PTM **xebī-n* 'play' etc., see Benzing 58, Gabain 73 etc.), but this seems to be a secondary nominalization.

2. as a denominative with a rather loose semantics, frequently in
a) body parts:

PA **bi̯ŭk'a* 'thigh' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **boka-γur* 'behind, buttocks') : PT **biki-n* 'thigh', PTM **bōKa-n* id.

PA **bŏ̀kà* 'rib, breast bone' (PJ **bàkì* 'side of body'): PT **boka-na* 'false ribs', PM **bogo-ni* 'first rib'

PA **č'ăžV* 'cheek, cheekbone' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **ǯaži-γur* 'part of cheek', **ǯaži-la-* 'to chew'): PT **čAj-na-* 'to chew; jaw, cheek', Man. *ǯaži-n* 'cheekbone'

PA **kòt'e* 'hole' (PT **göt* 'anus, buttocks', PK **kút* 'hole'): PT **göte-n(e)* 'stomach', Evn. *qotaṅa* 'concave, cavity'

PA **seŋa* 'fringe, hair lock' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **sAŋak*, **sAŋat*, PM **saŋ-maj*): PM **saŋ-na* 'forelock', PTM **seŋ-ne* 'gill, fringe'

PA **sɛ̀gù* 'health, blood' (PT **sąg* 'healthy'): PM **saji-n* 'good', PK **sà'ó-ná-b-* 'strong, valid'

b) animal names:

PA **ăŋu* 'wild game' (PT **Ăŋ* 'wild game, hunt', PTM **aŋa* 'wild game'): PM **(h)oγu-na* 'male mountain antelope', PTM **aŋa-nV* 'mountain ram; enclosure for deer'

PA **gúri* 'deer, game' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **görü-γe-*): PTM **gur-na-* 'squirrel, ermine', PK **kòrá-ní* 'deer'

PA **k'uŕe* 'a k. of furry animal' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **xur-ka-* / **xur-ga-* 'bear'): PT **Küŕe-n* 'ferret, weasel', PM **küre-ne* id.

PA **sĭgò* 'deer, horned animal' (PJ **sika*): PT **sigu-n*, PM **seγe-n-ek*

PA **ebVrV* 'worm, snake' (PTM **ūre*): PT **ebre-n*, Ul. *were-n*.

c) plant names:

PA **bi̯uk'e* 'vessel; gourd' (Kor. *pak*): Evk. *buku-n* 'birch bark put into cradle', PK **pàkòní* 'bamboo basket'

PA **di̯ŭlgu* 'a k. of foliate tree' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **dulgi-kta* 'alder'): PT **jilgu-n* 'tamarisk', PM **doluga-na* 'hawthorn'

PA **tagù* 'root' (PTM **daga*): PT **TAg-na*, PM **deg-ne-/*dag-na-*, PJ **tuku-nai*

d) but also not infrequent in other semantic groups:

PA **báku* 'pole, pillar' (PK **pò* 'beam'): PT **bak-na* 'rung of a ladder', PM **baga-na* 'central pole'

PA **emo* 'front' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **öm-ge-n* 'upper part of breast'): PM **emü-ne* 'front, South', PTM **ume-n* 'one'

PA **t'i̯udu* 'a period of time' (PM **tuǰi* 'always'): PT **Tidi-n* 'time, appointed time', PJ **tùnâ-* 'longlasting, always')

PA **lébù* 'swamp' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **lab-ku*, PK **nip-h*): PTM **lebē-n-*, PJ **númà* (< **núbà-n-*)

PA **moju* 'all, whole' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **muja-kin*): PK **mǎi-n*, PJ **múi-na*

PA **nj̀àlpá* 'tin, lead' (not attested suffixless): PTM **ńālba-n* 'tin', PJ **nàpá-n(r)i* > **nàmári*

PA **ńj̀àrî* 'man, young man' (PTM **ń(i)ari*): PT **jeŕ-ne* 'son-in-law', PK **nǎr-ná-* 'brave'.

PA **p'árà* 'cross-beam, constructing piece' (PJ **pári*): PT **ara-n*, PM **(h)aran-ga*, PTM **para-n*

PA **p'àlà* 'field, level ground' (PJ **pàrà*): PT **ala-n*, PTM **pāla-n*

PA **p'j̀àlk'i* 'lightning, thunder' (PT **jAlki-*, PTM **pialki-*): PT **jAlki-n*, PTM **pialki-n-* (perhaps also PK **pánkái* < **pálkán-*?)

PA **sebV* 'strange, supernatural' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **sebe-ɣün*, PTM **sebe-ki*): PTM **sebe-n*, PK **sòn*

PA **sị̀ŏgu* 'sun; sky' (PK **hǎi* 'sun'): PTM **sigū-n* 'sun', PK **hànǎ-r* 'sky' (also PJ **suà-rá* < **suàn-rá*)

The original function of this *-n- is not quite clear (unlike Ramstedt, we do not compare it with the TM diminutive in *-ńa, both for phonetic reasons and because of the lack of direct lexical matches). But this suffix has become extremely productive in Mongolian and TM (in the shape of final -n; on its further verbalization as -n-a- in TM see Benzing 116) and can be qualified as a general nominal determinative. It can perhaps be compared with the nominative -no, very frequent in Old Japanese. Since in Mongolian and Turkic words in -n lose it before the plural -d (-t), its original function may have been "singulative", i.e. specifically expressing the singular number of a noun.

The suffix *-n- can sometimes occur in conjunction with other suffixes, cf. cases like:

PA **k'úrgo* 'intestine, belly' (PK **kùrài* 'stomach'): PT **Kurg-sa-k* 'belly, stomach', PTM **xurke-n-se* 'belly (of fish)'

A "collective" suffix in -n- is sometimes observed in TM (see Benzing 73, based on Menges 1952), but it is basically found in complex formations like *-na-r, *-n-il or *-na-sal where the original "collective" meaning is actually expressed by other morphemes, so that the "collective" function of PA *-n- is extremely dubious.

4.1.8. PA *-l-

The suffixed *-l- is very widely spread in all Altaic languages (although in Korean and Japanese it has, for obvious phonetic reasons, merged with *-r-), both by itself and in combination with other suffixes.

Two basic functions of *-l- can be established.

a) a deverbative nominal suffix, as in:

PA **niă̆ŋe* 'to curse, swear' (PTM **niŋī-* 'to curse'): PT **jAŋi-l* 'mistake, fault', PM **niγü-l* 'sin', Sol. *niŋī-l* 'curse'.

The derived noun in *-l- can be an abstract noun (as in the above example), but very frequently also an attributive (participial) noun, like in:

PA **ŏse* 'to be bad, guilty' (PM **ösi* 'revenge, hate', PTM **usa* 'bad', **usē-* 'be sick, unable'): PT **osa-l* 'careless, dilatory', MMong. *ösü-l* 'revenge, hate', PJ **ȯsȯ-r-* 'to be scared, afraid'

The verbal meaning of -r- in PJ **ȯsȯ-r-* reflects further verbalization of the nominal stem in *-l-, which is observed in a great number of cases and was obviously present already in Common Altaic.

The precise semantic definition of PA *-l- is rather difficult. In Turkic, it is involved in forming the passive voice in -l- (as well as, of course, deverbative nouns and verbs in -la-/-le-); in TM, it participates in building inchoatives (*duku-l-* 'start to write', see Benzing 120); in Mongolian, it is rather transitive (*qaγa-l-* 'split, divide' as opposed to *qaγa-ra-* 'be split, divided'). The possible starting point here could be a transitive participle, with a secondary development into passive in Turkic (which is still to be explained, and is probably the result of completely restructuring old voice categories in Turkic). See the discussion of the *-l-suffix in Ramstedt 1912.

Cf. the following cross-language matches:

PA **čĭŋV* 'to listen, consider' (not attested suffixless; with different suffixes cf. PTM **šiŋi-re-* 'to understand', **šiŋ-k-si-* 'attentive'): PT **diŋ-la- / *diŋ-le-* 'to listen, hear', PM **čiŋ-la-* 'to listen'

PA **č'amo* 'to suffer hardships' (PT **čAm* 'fine, claim'): PT **čAm-la-* 'to be insulted, angry at', PM **čima-la-* 'to be dissatisfied', Neg. *čamu-lị-* 'to be unwilling to share', Jpn. *tamar-* 'to endure'.

PA **ĕka* 'bad, weak' (PTM **eke-* 'to decrease; evil', PJ **ȧk-* 'to be bored, satiated'): OT *egi-l* 'common, ordinary', PM **(h)ege-l* 'low, uneducated, not very good', Nan. *exe-le* 'bad, low'

PA **ēŋV* 'to think, understand' (PT **āŋ* 'intelligence'): PT **āŋ-la-* 'to understand', Evn. *eŋē-li-* 'to peer, investigate'

PA **gă̆(j)t'ï* 'to go, come' (PT **gē(j)t-* 'to go'): PM **getü-l- / *gatu-l-* 'to cross over', PJ **kítá-r-* 'to come, arrive'

PA **gĕnŋa* 'to bend' (suffixless perhaps in Man. gen 'horse's counter'): PM **gana-l-ǯa-* 'to be bent', PTM **gē(n)ŋe-l-* id.

PA **č'ĭk'a* 'to rise, sprout' (PT **čik-* 'to go out, come out', PM **čiki-* 'sprout', PK **čhí-* 'to rise, raise'): PM **čiki-le-* 'to sprout', Evk. *čiki-l-tu-* id.

PA *gùri* 'to slander, go mad' (PT **Kür* 'trick', PM **gör* 'slander, deceit', PTM **gori-* 'to go mad', PK **kìrɨ-* 'to be mistaken'): OT *kür-lü-k* 'trick', PM **gör-le-* 'to slander', Ud. *guleäla-* 'to go mad'

PA **idV* 'to follow, lead, arrange' (PM **iǯi* 'set, complete set', PTM **idu* 'order (n.); to command'): PM **iǯi-l* 'equal, identical', Nan. *idu-le-* 'to arrange in order'

PA **kɨ̯ŏr[i]* 'to roll, churn' (PT **Kiār-* 'to mix'): PM **kuru-l-* / **küri-l-* 'to whirl', Evn. *kuru-l-dāwna* 'churn-staff'

PA **kɨ̯ŭčʹú* 'to slander, swear' (PM **koči* 'nickname, slander'): Kalm. *xoč-l-* 'to slander', Nan. *qoča-lɨ-* 'to harm (of an evil ghost)'

PA **kʹĕpʹó* 'become wet, overflow' (PTM **xep-*): PM **kaji-la-* 'to melt', PJ **kə̀mpà-ra-* 'to overflow'

PA **kʹĕpʹè* 'to dry out, become fragile; to break' (PT *kEp(i)- 'to dry out, disappear', PTM **xepe-* 'to break, destroy'): PM **kewü-l-* 'to break, be fragile', PTM **xepe-le-* 'to break, destroy', PJ **kə̀pà-r-* 'to break'

PA **kʹɨ̯ə̀bu* 'to peel, skin' (PT **K(i)ab* 'peeled skin', PTM **xū(be)* 'membrane scraper', PK **kjá* 'rice husks'): PM **kaɣu-l-* 'to peel off, skin', PK **kìʹú-r* 'bran'

PA **kʹókì* 'to bind, wrap' (PM **kög* 'wrapper, curtain', PTM **xuku-* 'to wrap'): PTM **xuku-lī-* 'to wrap', PJ **kúkú-r-* 'to bind, tie'

PA **mɨ̯ójńi* 'to become overripe, rot' (PTM **munī-*): PT **bAńi-l*, PJ **mínə́-r-*

PA **ò̀kʹè* 'to grieve, be angry' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **ökün-*, PTM **(x)uk-t-*): PM **(h)uki-la-* 'to weep, sob', PJ **ə̀kə̀-r-* 'to be angry'

PA **óru* 'to cry, shout' (PT **ori* 'cry, shout', PM **uri-* 'to invite', PTM **or-* 'roar, shout'): PT **or(i)-la-* 'to shout', PM **ori-la-*, Nan. *oral* 'echo')

PA **pʹapʹo* 'to attack' (PT **op-*): PT **opla-*, PM **haw-l-*

PA **pʹə̀tʹà* 'to strike, hit' (PT **ạt-*, PK *pat-): PM **(h)ata-l-ga* 'adze', PTM **pāti-la-* 'to strike, hew'

PA **ségì* 'to litter, mat' (PTM **seg(i)-*, PJ **sík-*): PM **seg-l-*, PK **skə̆́-r-*

PA **zɨ̯ə̀[kʹ]ó* 'hang, droop' (PTM **suka-*, Kor. *suk-*, PJ **sə̀nka-*): PM **seg-le-*, PJ **sə̀nka-r-*

PA **soge* 'breathe' (PTM **sugī*, PK **sūi-*): PT **sog-li-*, PM **süji-le-*

PA **tʹə̆́pʹè* 'go through' (PT **top*, PTM **tap-*): PT **topu-l-*, PM **tawu-l-*, PJ **tə̀pə̀-r-*

PA **tʹikʹV* 'to fear, hate' (PT **tik-*): PM **čiku-l*, PTM **tiKu-l-*

PA **tʹúmu* 'clever, understand' (PM **tomi-*): PM **tomi-la-*, PJ **túmə́-r-*

PA **utʹà* 'to be able, understand' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **(h)ud-ka*, PJ **ata-p-*): PTM **uti-l-*, PK **ə́ti-r-*

b) a denominative attributive suffix (often with further nominalization, less frequently with further verbalization; on denominative verbal *-lā- in TM see Benzing 116):

PA *ăgu 'uninhabited place, wilderness' [not attested suffixless; with a different suffix PTM *agī- 'to walk without a road']: PT *ag-la-k 'wilderness'; PM *aɣu-la 'mountain'; PTM *agu-lā-n 'meadow'

PA *gódú 'down, to lower' (PT *Kodɨ): Chuv. *xər-lə* 'bowing the head', PJ *kúntá-r- 'to lower, go down'

PA *ibè 'door, yard' (PT *eb 'house', PK *íp 'door'): Chuv. *av-la-n* 'to marry', PTM *ib-le 'yard, dwelling'

PA *i̯ap'u 'adze' (PTM *upa): PT *Apɨ-l 'hoe', PM *oɣu-li 'adze', Nan. *ofa-li* id.

PA *kĕp'V 'belly' (PT *gĒpe 'swollen (of belly)'): PM *kewe-li 'belly, pregnancy', PTM *kepe-l- id.

PA *ki̯opu 'a k. of vessel' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT *Kob-ga 'pail, bucket'): PM *kobi-l / *kobu-l 'groove, gutter, trough', PTM *kiabi-l-de 'bobber'

PA *k[i̯a]ŋe 'a k. of board' (PT *K(i)aŋ 'vehicle, skis'): PT *K(i)aŋ-lɨ id., PTM *küŋi-le 'skis'

PA *k'i̯omo 'a k. of fragrant and edible plant' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM *xim-ŋe-kte 'bird-cherry'): PT *Kum-la-k 'hop', PM *köme-li 'a k. of wild onion or garlic', PJ *kami-ra 'a k. of garlic'

PA *k'i̯ŭ́ru 'red, brown' (PJ *kúrá- 'dark', PK *kùrí 'copper'): PT *Kɨ́rɨ-l 'red; gold', PM *küre-l 'bronze'

PA *li̯ap'V 'spleen' (not attested suffixless, cf. Orok *lip-če*): Tof. *ča'p'a-l*, PM *niɣa-l-ta* id.

PA *mék'ù 'meat; part of body' (PM *mika-n 'meat'): Neg. *mexi-le* 'fat under bird's skin', PJ *múkú-rua 'body, dead body'

PA *mi̯ák'o 'frog' (PT *b(i)āka): PM *meke-lei*, Evk. *moko-lo-čī* 'bat', PK *màkùrí 'toad'

PA *ŋi̯aji 'lower side' (Chuv. aj, PTM *ŋia(j)-): PTM *ŋia-la 'lower', PK *nằrí- 'to go down'

PA *òŋi 'windpipe, part of neck' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT *öŋü-č, PTM *uŋ-se*, PJ *ùnà-nsi): PM *öŋgü-le-ɣür*, PTM *uŋe-le-.

PA *ŏt'è 'old' (Chuv. *vadъ*, PTM *ute): PM *öte-l- 'to be old, old', PTM *ute-le- 'earlier, before'

PA *pi̯ŭ́k'í 'a k. of insect' (Evk. *heke* 'nit'): PT *böke-le-k*, PJ *pínkú-rá-sí*

PA *p'ugu 'tinder, excrescence' (Chuv. *ъʷvъʷ*): PM *huɣu-la*, PTM *pug(u)-la* id.

PA *si̯oga 'arrow' (PJ *sa): PM *saɣa-li 'cross-bow', PK *hoar 'bow'

PA **sábó* 'service' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **sibe-gčin* 'fem. servant', PTM **sab(u)-ka-* 'to get accustomed'): PTM **sabu-li-* 'to serve, present gifts', PJ **sámpú-rap-*

PA **sogi* 'a k. of meat dish' (PJ **suki-*): PT **sögü-l-*, Evk. *suɣu-lē-n*

PA **šiuga* 'bucket' (PT **sugu*): PM **saɣu-l-ga*, PTM **šug-le-*

PA **t'üge* 'storm, dust' (PTM **tuge*): PT **tüge-le-*, PM **tuji-l-*

PA **t'ukV* 'calf, lamb' (PTM **tuKu-*): PT **tok-li*, PM **tugu-l*

The attributive suffix *-li- is still quite productive in TM, see Benzing 90.

This suffix is often combined with following velar suffixes, as in:

PA **k'iór̀a* 'a k. of tree with red berries or red bark' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **(x)or-b-*, **(x)or-aŋ-*): PT **Kar̀i-l-gan / *Kar-li-ga-n* 'currant', PM **kar-gi-l* 'viburnum', PJ **kátú-rá* 'Cereidiphyllum japonicum'

PA **k'iàp'e* 'a k. of insect, butterfly' (PM **kibe* 'moth'): PT **kepe-lek* 'butterfly', PJ **kàpàrànki* 'cricket'

PA **lemV* 'meat, fat (of animals)' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **jami-r̀*, **jam-du* 'groin; pubic hair'): PM **lami-l-ka-j* 'meat on sheep's rump', PTM **lemu-k* 'fat (under the skin of animals)'

Such suffix combinations have become quite productive in Mongolian (*-lga-) and especially in Turkic (*-lik, *-lig).

It seems in fact possible to unite both usages of PA *-l-, by assigning it a general original attributive (denominative or deverbative) meaning. But we must stress that only with the latter meaning did the suffix become a part of the Common Altaic inflectional paradigm. In some daughter branches it has penetrated the nominal paradigm as well (cf. the Mong. comitative in -luɣa, generally after verbal nouns, and the TM nominal affixes as -l-un, -l-ken - see EAS 2, 40-43), but this seems to be a later development.

4.1. 9. PA *-r-

PA *-r- appears to be even more frequent than *-l-. In Turkic, it is the general aorist suffix, used both as a finite form and as a participle. In this function it is compared (in EAS 2, pp. 87-89) with the Mong. supinum in -ra and the "preparative converb" in -ru-n, as well as with the participia futuri in TM and Korean. Its quite probable Japanese match is the general attributive -ru in the verbal paradigm.

When it comes to derivation, one should note that in Mongolian, -ra-/-re- is basically an intransitive verbal suffix, as opposed to -l(a)-, see EAS 2, 194, 199 (see also above). If this is indeed the same mor-

pheme, then we might be able to reconstruct the Common Altaic verbal opposition *-l- 'transitive participle' : *-r- 'intransitive participle', subsequently passing into the domain of word-derivation. We can also note the usage of -r- as an intransitive morpheme in Old Japanese (which expanded later and led to the formation of the present-day passive in -r-), as well as the reflexive usage of -r- in Korean; since, however, these languages merged *-l- and *-r-, the origin of these inflectional morphemes cannot be firmly established. Ramstedt (1912, 32-37) characterizes PA *-r(a)- as 'verbum neutrale oder inchoativum'.

It seems, however, important to stress the modal function of -r- as an inflectional morpheme (meaning "in order to", "necessary to" in Mong., TM and Korean), which seems to be lacking in case of *-r- as a derivational suffix.

But one should be cautious while reconstructing PA *-r-. It should be borne in mind that the only group preserving the original distinction *-r- : *-ŕ- is Turkic, and Turkic has a quite different - causative - *-ŕ-suffix, also corresponding to -r- in other Altaic languages. The situation is further complicated by an alternation -ŕ- / -r- within Turkic ("Helimski's rule"), due to which *-ŕ- becomes *-r- in a postconsonantal prevocalic position (so that **CVC-ŕV-* > **CVC-rV-*). Therefore, some of the following matches with an apparently transitive usage of *-r- may in fact reflect PA *-ŕ-, on which see below.

PA **èbà* 'join, meet' (PJ **àp-*): PTM **ebu-re-* 'join, meet', PK **àbór-* 'join'

PA **ǎǩè* 'to advance gradually, slowly' (PM **(h)aki-*): PT **aku-ru-* 'slowly'; PJ **ákú-rá-* 'to be, come late'

PA **àpo* 'to wear out, be spoiled' (PJ **àpà-* 'weak, faded'): PT **obu-ra-* 'to wear out, decay', PM **ebe-re-* 'to weaken'

PA **bŏdé* 'to jump, trot' (PT **büdi-* 'to dance, jib', PK **ptùi-* 'to jump'): PM **büdü-ri-* 'to stumble', Nan. *budu-ri-* 'to hurry', PJ **bántá-r-* 'to jump'

PA **bŭĺa* 'confusion, fright' (PT **būĺ-* 'to be bad-tempered, irritable'): PT **būĺ-ur-ga-* 'to be worried, confused', PJ **bású-rá-* 'to forget'

PA **bŭŋe* 'to howl' (PTM **būni-*): PT **böŋ-re-*, PM **büɣü-re-*

PA **čukV* 'to jump, trot' (PM **čogi-*; PK **čhú-* 'to dance'): Bur. *sojo-r-*, Evk. *čuke-rē-*

PA **gèmo* 'to complete, fill in' (PTM **gemu* 'all', PJ **kàm-* 'to be filled in'): PM **gömü-r-ge* 'storage', PJ **kàmà-r-* 'to be filled in'

PA **gòdè* 'to be diligent, persistent' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **kàtà-pa-* 'to endure'): OT *qoδu-r-* 'to take trouble, make efforts', PM **güǯi-re-* 'to be energetic, persistent'

PA **gǔno* 'to think' (PM **guni* 'be sad', PTM **gūn-* 'to think; to say'): Dun. Guni-ra- 'be sad', PK **kìnɨr-* 'to tak care of'

PA **íŋo* 'to neigh' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **iŋ-ča-*, PJ **íná-nak-* etc.): PT **iŋɨ-ra-*, Nan. *iŋgiri-*

PA **idV* 'to follow, lead, arrange' (PM **iǯi* 'set, complete set', PTM **idu* 'order (n.); to command'): PT **Ede-r-* 'to follow', Man. *idu-re-* 'to arrange in order'

PA **i̯umu* 'to help, gather' (PM **öme* 'help'): PT **ime-r-* 'to gather, work collectively', PM **öme-r-* id., PK **umu-r-* 'to crowd, cluster'

PA **kăpi* 'to break, fragile' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **kab-Vk-*): PT **geb-re-* 'to become weak, fragile', PM **kebe-re-* 'to break down'

PA **kăt'e* 'to knock (of hooves), trot' (PTM **kete-* / **kata-* 'knocking, trotting', PK **kàthí-* 'to stumble'): PT **Kɨtɨ-r-* 'to walk, go round', PM **kata-ri-* 'to trot', PTM **kata-r* / **kete-r*

PA **kǎk'i* 'to belch, choke' (PM **kaka-* id., PTM **kaxa-* 'to choke'): PT **gēki-r-*, PM **kaki-ra-* / **keki-re-* 'to belch'

PA **kijmV* 'vapour, steam; anger' (PK **kīm* 'steam, vapour', PT **Kɨjm-* 'to move'): Khak. *qɨjmɨ-ra-* 'to move', PM **kimu-ra-* 'to be in disorder, conflict', Nan. *kīmu-r* 'enmity'

PA **k'uŋgo* 'to freeze, snow' (PJ **kənkə-*): PM **kuŋga-r* 'snow-drift', PJ **kənkə-r-* 'to freeze'

PA **lép'ó* 'to rise, high' (PT **lepū-* 'to move out, jump out'): PTM **lepu-ru-* id., PJ **námpá-r-* 'to rise'

PA **mi̯ók'[ú]* 'to bow' (PT **bok-*): PTM **miaxu-rV-*, PJ **mánká-r-*

PA **nìt'á* 'weak, quiet' (PT **jit-* 'to get lost', PTM **nita-* 'weak, faded'): PM **nete-re-* 'to become worse, deteriorate', Man. *nita-ra-* 'to weaken, diminish', PJ **nàntà-rà-ka* 'quiet, peaceful'

PA **ǒti* 'to move, change place' (PT **öt-* 'to pass by', PM **oči-* 'walk, move, go'): PM **oči-ra* 'along', Evk. *utu-r-* 'to reel, turn round', PJ **ùtù-r-* 'to move, change place'

PA **pǎdà* 'to spread; flag' (PJ **pátà*): PT **bAd̯-ra-k*, PM **bada-ra-*, Evk. *hada-r-ga-*.

PA **p'ó[k]u* 'to swell' (PTM **puk-* / *pok-*): PT **ok-ra* 'pimple, pustule', PTM **poko-ri-* 'to be cracked (of skin)', Kor. *pagɨ-l* 'boiling, bubbling', PJ **púkú-rà-* 'to swell'

PA **sábà* 'to be hindered, obstruct' (PT **sab-*): PT **sab-ra-*, PM **saɣa-ra-*, PJ **sápá-r-*

PA **sĕjV* 'be thin, rare' (PM **seji-*, PJ **sài-*): PT **sed-re-*, PM **seji-re-*, PTM **sē-r*

PA **sēma* 'get lost, deviate' (Evk. *sēm-* 'to be lost'): PT **samu-r(a)-* 'to be in a complicated position', PM **samu-ra-* 'make disorder'

PA *sĭ̀gà* 'sigh, holding breath' (PTM **sigu-* 'stop crying, breathing'): PM **seɣü-re-* 'sigh, pant', PJ **sàkù-rì* 'hiccough'

PA **ŭt'a* 'to meet' (PT **ut-*, PJ **átá-*): PT **ut(a)-r-* 'opposite', PM **učі-ra-* 'to meet', PJ **átá-r-*

PA **šebí* 'bad, to suffer' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **jabɨ-ŕ*, **jab-la-* etc.): PT **jab-rɨ-*, PJ **(d)impi-r-*

PA **-r-* also functions as a denominative suffix, forming adjectives (sometimes, as usual, with further nominalization or verbalization). It is probably quite different in origin from the verbal **-r-* and must have had an original meaning 'pertaining to' or 'located in the region of', whence the well known usage of **-r-* as a locative suffix in Turkic, Mongolian and Korean, see EAS 2, 38-39.

Examples of this Common Altaic suffix are given below (note the frequent usage of **-r-* in color names, animal/plant names and body parts):

PA **bagu* 'white, grey' (PK **pùhɨi-* 'grey', Evn. *bāwụ-* 'clear (of sky)'): PM **buɣu-ru-l* 'grey', Evk. *bayu-ri-l* 'clear (of sky)'

PA **č'upa* 'green, blue' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **čabi-dar* 'yellowish'): PT **čuba-r* 'variegated', PTM **čub-rī-* 'green, blue, yellow'

PA **i̯ăk'V* 'light, white' (PT **Āk*, PJ **áká-*): PTM **ixe-re* 'candle, light', Kor. *igɨl-* 'bright, burn', PJ **aka-r(u)-* 'bright'

PA **kádì* 'strong, oppressive' (PJ **kítú-* 'strong, brave'): PT **Kadɨ-r* 'hard, strong, cruel', PM **kede-r* 'angry, inobedient', PTM **kada-ra-ku* 'courageous, diligent'

PA **kòŋa* 'brown, black' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **koŋ-na-* 'black'): PT **Koŋu-r* 'dark brown', PK **kăn̆ăr* 'shadow'

PA **mŏ̄ŋi* (~ -e) 'round' (Kor. *muŋi* 'round thing'): PM **möɣer* 'wheel, hoop', Man. *mumu-ri* 'blunt, rounded', MKor. *mūŋɨrí-* 'round (stone)'

PA **p'i̯ăká* 'mighty, heavy' (PTM **piaKa*, PJ **pànkiá-*): PT **iagɨ-r* 'heavy', Evn. *hiqār* 'brave'

PA **si̯ăŋe* 'yellowish, greyish' (not attested suffixless, cf. Evk. *siŋa-ma*): PM **saɣa-r-*, PTM **siŋa-ri-*

PA **t'ŏk'V* 'curved' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **Toku-j*, **Tokɨ-m*, PTM **tok-čika-*): PM **toki-r*, PTM **toKa-r-*

Cf. further:

PA **bădo* 'a k. of bird' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **bödü-ne* 'quail'): PT **budu-r(čin)* 'quail', Evk. *bada-ra* 'dun-bird'

PA **bă̄ja* 'happiness, joy' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **bAj-ga* 'feast', PJ **bái-m-* 'to smile'): PT **bAj-ra-m* 'feast', **bAj-ra-k* 'prize', PM **baja-r* 'joy, feast'

PA **bi̯ŭge* 'rock, hill' (PTM **buga* / **buge* 'hill, mound', PK **pàhói* 'rock', PJ *bə 'hill'): PT **bögü-r* 'mountain slope', PM **böγe-rü-g* id.

PA **čʻaju* 'resin, juice' (PJ **tuju* 'juice'): PT **čAji-r* 'resin, tar', PK **či-r-* 'slushy, watery'

PA **dagV* 'shoulder bone, back' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **daga-ńa* 'hip, hip-bone'): PT **jagir* 'back, shoulderblade', PM **daji-ra* 'withers'

PA **debV* 'young (of birds or animals) (PM *deγü 'younger sibling'): PT **jab-ri* 'young of birds and animals', PTM **debe-re-* 'young of birds'

PA **épʻá* 'breast, rib' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **eb-či-γü-n* 'bosom'): PM **ebü-r* 'breast', PJ **ámpá-rá* 'rib'

PA **gi̯aŋu* 'wild onion' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **k(u)i* < **gi̯aŋ(u)-gV*): PT **gEmü-r-gen*, Evk. *guŋu-r*

PA **kámsa* 'wind, whirlwind' (PJ **kánsá-* 'wind'): PT **Kasi-r-ku* 'whirlwind', PM **kabsa-ra-* 'to blow (of a cold wind)'

PA **kábó* 'enclosure' (PTM **kaba* 'tent covered with bark', PJ **kámpiá* 'wall'): PTM **kaba-ra-* 'fence, enclosure', PK **kòʻă-r* 'district'

PA **kami* 'a k. of cloth' (Orok *qāmị* 'women's belt'): PM **keme-r-lig* 'a k. of silk', Evk. *kam-rā-* 'to hem a garment'

PA **ki̯ùtí* 'a k. of fox' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **kìtúnái* 'fox'): PM **küderi* 'musk-deer', PTM **kitiri* 'a k. of fox'

PA **kŏše* 'edge, protrusion' (PTM **koša* 'angle, river bend'): PT **Kös-ri* 'wind-screen, sides of the chest', PK **kìsírk* 'protrusion, edge of roof'

PA **kekʻV* 'palate, throat' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **kekü-γe* 'throat, cavity'): PT **gekir*, **gekir-dek* 'throat, trachea', PM **kekü-re-g* (/ **kekü-deg*) 'thorax', PTM **kexe-re* 'hard palate'

PA **kekŋV* 'breast, chest, rib' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **keŋ-tire* 'breast, chest'): PT **gEg-re-k* 'lower soft ribs', PM **keŋgi-r-dek* 'chest'

PA **ki̯áčʻù* 'hole; mouth' (PJ **kútí*): PT **KEči-r* 'trachea', PM **kači-r* 'cheek'

PA **kōŋa* 'bell' (PJ **káná-i*): PT **Koŋ-ra-* 'to ring, toll', **Koŋ-ra-k* 'bell', PTM **kōŋV-r* 'ringing sound'

PA **kumi* 'a k. of insect' (PK **kàmíi* 'spider', PJ **kùmuâ* id.): PT **Kumi-r-* 'ant', PM **kömö-re-ge* 'a k. of insect'

PA **kʻébá* 'corpse' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **kámpá-nái*): PT **gEb-re*, PM **keγü-r*, Man. *eo-re-n*

PA **kʻíbà* 'ash tree' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **xiba-gda*): PT **Keb-r-üč*, PM **küji-r-sü-*, PJ **kápià-ru-(n)tai*

PA **kʻi̯ǒkʻò* 'spine, skeleton' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **koki-ma-* 'skeleton, skull'): PTM **xīKe-ri* 'spine', PJ **kaku-rai* 'coccyx'

PA **láčà* 'a k. of plant with drooping branches' (PJ **násì* 'pear'): Man. *lasa-ri* 'drooping branches', PK **nàčhú-r* id.

PA **lako* 'a k. of foliate tree' (PT **jöke* 'lime-tree'): PM **nüge-r-* 'a k. of alder', Man. *laχa-ri* 'a k. of oak'

PA **ĺeŋgV* 'a k. of predator' (not attested suffixless, cf. Orch. *liŋga-pu* 'wolverine'): PM **ǰiŋge-r* 'bitch', PTM **leŋgu-r* 'wolf; cat'

PA **lúŋu* 'morning or evening dawn' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **núN-si* 'rainbow'): Evk. *luŋu-r* 'evening, dusk', PK **nò'i̯-r* 'morning or evening dawn'

PA **mŭk'é* 'a k. of fish' (Evk. *mekē* 'crucian'): WMong. *mökü-rü* 'female carp', Orok *mokkiri* 'a k. of small fish', Jpn. *maguro* 'tuna-fish'

PA **nŭŋu* 'wool, down' (PT **juŋ* id., PJ **núnuá* 'fabric, cloth'): PM **nowu-r-(su)* 'wool, down', Man. *nuŋγa-ri* id.

PA **ŋi̯àk'u* 'dog, wolf' (PTM **ŋōKe*): PT **eke-r* 'hunting dog', Man. *nuxe-re* 'puppy', PK **nəko-ri* 'badger'

PA **pińŋe* 'scar, pimple' (PTM **pinŋa*): PT **beńir*, PM **beγer*, PK **pìńi̯rìm*

PA **pŏgí* 'kidneys, testicles' (PTM **pugi-n*): PT **bögü-r*, PM **böγe-re*, PK **pi̯r*, PJ **púnkúri*

PA **pŏgV* 'male deer' (PT **bugu*): PT **bugu-ra* 'camel stallion', PM **boji-r* 'male (of animals)'

PA **p'émi* 'thread, twist a thread' (PJ **pímá*): PM **hime-r-*, Evn. *нетъr-*

PA **p'okt'o* 'environs' (PT **pokta* 'way'): PT **ota-r* 'pasture, far environs', PM **hogto-r-gui* 'environs', PJ **pətə-ri* id.

PA **sak'u* 'a k. of stinging insect' (PM **sag* 'insect eggs, nits'): PT **saki-r-tka* 'tick', PJ **su(n)ka-ru* 'digger wasp'

PA **sigo* 'rain, snow storm' (PTM **siga-*): PM **siγu-r-*, **siγu-r-ga*, PJ **sinkú-rai*

PA **sórka* 'blossom, blossoming plant' (PK **sărkó*, PJ **sák-*): PM **surga-r*, PJ **sákú-ra*

PA **si̯óga* 'back, back skin' (PJ **sa-*): PT **sagri*, PM **saji-r* / **saγa-ri*, PTM **sog-da-*

PA **si̯ŏpe* 'rib' (PTM **subi-n*): PT **sabar*, PM **sübe-r-gen*.

PA **si̯uga* 'a k. of bird' (PK **sāi*): PT **sigi-r-*, PM **soji-r*

PA **si̯ŭbu* 'end' (PJ **súwá-*): PT **sīb-ri*, PTM **sube-rē*

PA **sŭku* 'scoop, bucket' (PTM **soKa-*): PT **sogu-r-*, PM **sugu-ra-*

PA **t'égè* 'edge, border' (PM **teg*, PK **thá*): PT **Teg-re*, PTM **tegē-r*, PJ **tákà-rá*

PA **t'i̯úgo* 'cover' (PK **tù'ái*, PJ **tu-i*): PT **Tugu-r*, PM **tuγu-r-ga*

PA **t'ăt'u* 'rash, scabs' (PT **tāt*): PM **tači-r*, PTM **tuta-ri-l-*

PA **ùč'e* 'reason' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **üč-ün*, Evn. *u̯čiq*, PK **áčh*): PM **uči-r*, Man. *uču-ri*

PA **uŋe* 'hollow, pit' (PT **üŋ-* 'to dig'): PT **üŋü-r*, PM **oŋga-r-kaj*

PA **ót'ó* 'bushes, low trees' (cf. Evk. *utu-n*): PT **ot-ru-g* 'island', Orok *ute-ri-kte* 'low trees', PJ **ántá-rá* 'bushes'

PA **šip'o* 'perfume, fumes' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **(d)impu-s-*): PT **jïpa-r*, PM **šiɣa-r*, PJ **(d)impu-r-*

This "attributive" **-r-* often appears followed by other suffixes (diminutives etc.):

PA **-r-dV-k'V*, **-r-k'V*

PA **àjbi* 'a k. of duck' (PJ **û*): PT **Ebür(d)ek*, Evn. *āwụldụqa* (reflecting **-l-dV-k'V*)

PA **č'ēk'V* 'a k. of cloth' (PT **čēk* 'cotton shirt', Man. *čeke* 'upper short clothes'): OUygh. *čekrek* 'cotton shirt', PM **čege-deg* 'a k. of cotton shirt'

PA **úmu* 'to bear' (PTM **umu-*, PK **ūm*, PJ **úm-*): PT **(j)umur-tka* 'egg', PM **öm-dege*, PTM **umū-kta* id.

PA **-r-č'V*

PA **č'ĭme* 'knuckle, cartilage' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **čimöge* 'marrow'): PT **čEmi-rči-k* 'cartilage, gristle', Evk. *čīme-či-n* 'knee-cap, fat under knee-cap'

PA **k'aŋa* 'hair, long hair' (PJ **kàmì*): PM **koŋgu-rča-g* 'cluster, bunch', PK **kà'ú-č* 'moustache, beard'

PA **k'àp'à* 'a k. of vessel, box' (PJ **kàpì* 'scoop, ladle'): PT **Kapi-rča-k* 'box, basket', PM **kaɣu-rča-g*, **kaji-rča-g* id.

PA **-r-gV*

PA **ătV* 'horse' (PT **ăt*): PT **ad-gïr* (< **at-rïg*) 'colt', PM **ažirga* id.

PA**bĕdù* 'thick, large' (PT **bedü-* 'to become thicker, grow', PK **pìrì-* (***pìdì-*) 'thick, satiated', PJ **pùtuà-* 'thick'): PM **bedi-ɣü-* 'thick', PTM **burgu-* (< **budu-r-gu-*) 'thick'

PA **k'ị́údo* 'tail' (PK **s-kòrí*): PT **Kud-ruk* 'tail', PM **kudu-rga* 'tail strap', PTM **xü-r-gü* 'tail'

PA **nị́údu* 'fist, strike with the fist' (PM **nidu-*): PT **jïd-ruk* 'fist', PM **nidu-rga* 'fist', PTM **nu-rga* 'fist', PJ **ní-nkír-* 'to hold in the hand'

PA **sị́udu* 'hoof deformation' (PTM **sudu*, PJ **sia*): PT **sïdï-r-ga-k*, PM **söd̈ü-r-ge*

PA **-r-k'V*

PA **bị́ál̈mi* 'knee, ankle' (PJ **pínsá* 'knee'): PT **bAĺma-k* 'boot, shoe', PM **belbe-r-kej* 'ankle', PTM **b[i]leb-ki* 'knee, knee cap', Kor. *palma-k* 'a k. of footwear'

PA **k'uǯV* 'part of stomach': PM **kuǯi-rkaj* 'thick part of stomach', PTM **xuǯü-k* 'urinary bladder'

PA **mét'i* 'bird's crop or navel; pudenda' (PJ **mitua* 'pudenda'): PT **böte-ke* 'bird's crop, craw; kidneys of animals; vulva'; Evk. *motoko* 'vulva'; PK **màrtàkán* 'bird's navel'

PA *-r-sV

PA **bǎk'ù* 'a sharp instrument' (PM **baki* 'tongs'): PT **boku-rsi* 'wooden plough', PJ **puku-si* 'digging stick'

PA *-r-t'V

PA **ăbu* 'interior of the mouth' (not attested suffixless; cf. Neg. *aw-ǯan-* 'to gape'): PT **ăbu-rt;* PM **ow-či*

4.1.10. PA *-č'-

We find both nominal and verbal suffixes with *-č'-

a) denominative diminutive (cf. EAS 2, 215-218, Benzing 60), cf.:

PA **č'ĭp'[ú]* 'small bird' (PTM **čipi-*, PK **čjāpì* 'swallow'): PT **čip-či-k* 'sparrow', PM **čuw-ča-li* 'snipe', Evk. *čipi-čā* 'small bird'

PA **káŋV* 'dog' (PK **kàŋí* > **kà(h)í*): PT **KAŋ-či-k* 'bitch', PTM **ka-či-kā-* 'puppy', PK **kàŋ'á-čí* 'puppy'

PA **lǎmo* 'a k. of bag' (PTM **lam(b)a* 'bag, saddlebag'): PT **jĀm-čik* 'pocket, sash, bag', PK **nǎmǎ-čh* 'small bag, pocket'

Originally diminutive forms with *-č'- are also:

PA **bŭkrV* 'pea, nut, cone' (PTM **boKari* 'pea'): PT **bur-ča-k* 'pea', PM **buyur-ča-g* id., PK **phǎ-s* id.

PA **dĭlo* 'year; sun, sun cycle' (PT **jil,* PM **ǯil* 'year'): PTM **dila-čā* 'sun', PK **tol-č* 'anniversary', PJ **tàsì* 'year'

PA **k'ăp'a* 'bladder, film' (OT *qap* 'caul', PTM **xap[a]* 'fish bladder', Kor. *kapo* id.): PT **Kāp-či-k* 'scrotum, bladder', PM **kabi-ča-k* 'groin'

PA **págò* 'box, vessel' (PT **bog,* PTM **paga*): PT **bog-ča,* PTM **paga-ča.*

PA **sĕni* 'heel, ankle' (PK **sín* 'footwear'): PT **sin-čök* 'ankle-bone, hip-bone', Neg. *seńočhi* 'heel'

PA **sùna* 'crest, hairlock' (Nan. *sōno*): PM **san-čig,* PTM **sōno-ča*

This suffix is expressive and must have had an unaspirated variant *-č-: cf. the reflex in PJ **tàsì,* as well as the following case, where both TM and Japanese point to *-č-:

PA **òŋi* 'windpipe, part of neck' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **öŋgü-le-yür,* PTM **uŋe-le-*): PT **öŋü-č,* PTM **uŋ-se,* PJ **ùnà-nsi*

A similar case of expressive *-č- may be:

PA **kʲi̯ȁre* 'a k. of insect' (cf. PK **kȁr-kàmɨi* 'a k. of spider'): PT **K(i)ari-nč-ɣa* 'ant, tick', PJ (reduplicated) **kìrí(n)-kíri-su* 'grasshopper'

b) verbal intensive, usually denominative, but also deverbative (on PTM intensive *-či-, *-ča- see Benzing 119):

PA **ȁńe* 'to be quiet, sit' (PM **eje* 'peace', PTM **āńi-* 'to enjoy, feast'): PT **En-č* 'tranquil, at peace', PK **àn-č-* 'to sit', PJ **àn-tà-(ja-ka)-* 'quiet, peaceful'

PA **ȁni* 'not, negative verb' (PT **en,* PTM **ān-*, PK **an-*, PJ **nà-, -an-):* PTM **ān-či* 'not', PK **à-čhjá-d-* 'not to like'

PA **mónŋo* 'to knead, press, stroke' (PT **boŋ* 'mallet', PM **muna* id., PTM **monŋi-* 'to squeeze', PJ **mám-* 'to knead, rumple'): PM **mun-ča* 'mallet', PTM **monŋi-ču-* id., PK **mȁn-čí-* 'to stroke, rub'

PA **pasi* 'run, hurry' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **hesü-re-*, Evn. *hasu̯-l-*): PTM **pasi-č-*, PK **pàs-* / **pàč-*

PA **pʲȍba* 'to crawl, squat' (PJ **pàp-*): PM **(h)oji-či-*, Evk. *hewi-č-*

PA **pʲȍkʲi* 'to trample, kick' (PTM **peK-/poK-*): PT **ök-če* 'heel', PTM **pok-či-*.

PA **si̯ŭ́ri* 'to flow, drip' (PT **sür-*, PTM **sir-):* PM **sür-či-*, PJ **sìtà-t-*

Ramstedt (1912, 29-32) regards the suffix -č(a)- in Mong. as 'reciprocal' and corresponding to PT *-Í(č)-, but the actual evidence does not appear to support this point of view.

In cases like PM **mun-ča* 'mallet' or PT **ök-če* 'heel', we see this suffix functioning already as a nomen instrumenti, and similar cases are:

PA **làkʲù* 'to bend, hang' (PM **naki-* 'to bend', TM **laxu-* 'to hang', PJ **nuki* 'cross-beam'): Evk. *laku-ča* 'loop', PK **nák-s* 'hook'

PA **kȕrV* 'to cut out, sharp' (PTM **kōri-* 'to delve, carve out'): PT **Kur-č* 'sharp, hard (of steel)', PM **kur-ča* 'sharp' (probably originally 'cutting instrument' > 'sharp')

In TM the suffix *-č- with this function can become further verbalized ("to treat with...", like Nan. *okto-či-* 'to treat with herbs, medicines' etc., see Benzing 116).

4.1.11. PA *-ǯ-

1. Nominal

The suffix *-ǯ- is well preserved in TM languages, basically as an adjective suffix (*-g-ǯ-: **sēg-ǯe-* 'red', **sō-g-ǯa-* 'yellow', **ĺog-ǯa-* 'green, dark', **šāk-ǯa-* 'white', **(x)ig-ǯa* 'grey, yellow', **xur(i)-gǯa* 'grey', **kuku-gǯa* 'blue'), but also in other cases (**gul-ǯa* 'hearth', **seg-ǯe-* 'wild deer', **saji-ǯa* 'sieve' etc.) . Mong. has a number of nouns in -ǯ-, mostly with preceding -l- (**bagal-ǯa-ɣur* 'throat', *gal-ǯa-ɣur* 'wild, rabid',

**haji-ǯa-ɣan* 'ship', **uga-lǯa* 'male mountain goat', **kija-ǯa* 'sedge', **kubi-lǯa* 'tick', **simi-lǯe* 'a k. of bird of prey'; **guran-ǯu* 'whetstone', **an-ǯu* 'fine' etc.). In Turkic and Japanese one would expect a *-j-, and indeed there exists an adjectival *-ja-ka (OJ *niko-ja-ka* 'mild', *suku-ja-ka* 'healthy' etc.).

In several cases this suffix can be traced to Common Altaic:

PA **sə̀gù* 'health, blood' (PT **sąg* 'healthy'): PTM **sēg-ǯe-* 'red', PJ **sùkù-ja-ka-* 'healthy'.

PA **ńabĺu* 'to be born, child' (PJ **mus-*): PM **ǯul-ǯa-gan*, PTM **ńab(ul)-ǯa*

PA **k'ə̌lú* 'a small wild animal' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **kùsá-(m)pú*, PT **Külĺü-l*): PM **kerel-ǯe-gene*, PTM **xelde-gǯe* (~ *-gde).*

In Turkic, however, the situation is complicated. No cases of a *-j- : *-ǯ- correspondence in suffixed morphemes have been attested; there is, however, a number of cases when Turkic has an unexpected -č-:

PA **ání* 'to hold, present' (TM **anī-* 'to present a gift', PK **ān-* 'to hold in the arms'): PT **ēn-čü* 'gift, fief', PM **an-ǯu* 'fine'

PA **ìbè* 'door, yard' (PT **eb* 'house', PK **íp* 'door'): PT **eb-či* 'housewife, woman', PTM **ib-ǯe* 'relative-in-law'

The last case suggests that the very widely attested PT suffix of nomina agentis *-či may in fact go back to PA *-ǯ-; but more evidence would be needed to make it a certainty.

The original function of PA *-ǯ- remains not quite clear: it can be characterized broadly as "adjectival" (Benzing 60 qualifies PTM *-ǯ(u) as diminutive, which is not at all secure).

2. Verbal We find a similar, but quite isolated case of Turk. -č-: Mong. -ǯ- in:

PA **kìkú* 'to bite; rub, scrape' (PT **Kik-* 'to rub, grind', PTM **kik-* 'to bite'): OT *kik-čü-r-* 'to rub, grind (at each other)', PM **keg-ǯe-* 'to scrape off, incise'.

This may be a secondary (assimilative?) development in Mong. of the PA intensifying *-č'-, on which see above.

There is, however, evidence for a PA verbal *-ǯ- as well. In TM, the suffix -ǯ- occurs as an intransitive (or, perhaps, reflexive / medial, in the sense of doing smth. for or by oneself), cf. **deg-ǯe-* 'burn', **sine-ǯi-* 'be poor, distressed', **seb-ǯe-n-* 'to have fun', **gob-ǯa-* 'to hunt' etc. (there is also a *-ǯa-, marking imperfective or durative aspect, see Benzing 118, but it is not completely clear whether it is the same morpheme). It again has a quite probable direct match in PJ *-ja-, the standard Old Japanese passive suffix.

In Mong. we only find verbal -ǯ- in combination with a preceding -l-: **aɣu-lǯa-* 'to meet', **taji-tu-lǯa-* 'drag one's feet', **koru-lǯa-* 'whirl',

**naji-lǯa-* 'shake, sway', **melme-lǯe-* 'become full', **gurba-lǯa-* 'move creeping', **delbe-lǯe-* / **dalba-lǯa-* 'shake, sway', *bol-ǯa-* 'agree upon time', *dürbe-lǯe-* 'to blaze, flame', **gana-lǯa-* 'be bent' etc.

In Turkic, this -lǯ- would normally correspond to *-Í(č)-, and we indeed find Turkic *-Í(č) as an intransitive (reflexive) suffix; but it seems mainly to correspond to Mongolian *-ld- in the same function, so that the Turkic evidence remains uncertain.

To sum up: Proto-Altaic probably had an intransitive (medial?) verbal suffix *-ǯ-, preserved in PTM as *-ǯ-, in Japanese - as -j- and in Mongolian as -ǯ- (with an addition of -l-, probably on analogy with the similar -ld-suffix). The absence of direct lexical matches with this suffix suggests, however, that it could have been not a derivational, but a purely inflectional morpheme, which it has remained in Japanese: indeed, the perfectly possible OJ passive *jaka-ja-* 'to be burnt' is in fact a precise match of PTM **deg-ǯe-*.

4.1.12. PA *-ń-

A diminutive in *-ńa exists in TM (see EAS 2, 220), and a possible case of *-ń- in PA could be:

PA **t'i̯ŭp'o* 'nail, hoof' (PTM **tüpa*): PT **tub-ńa-k* (with a different suffix order = PTM **tüp-ken* < **tüp-ke-ń*?), PJ **túmá-i*.

The evidence for this suffix is, however, extremely limited, and its existence in PA is dubious (the actual form underlying PT **tub-ńa-k* could be, e.g., **tup-ni-gak* or the like).

4.1.13. PA *-Í-

A verbal reciprocal suffix *-Í(č)- is widely represented in Turkic. It has its closest match in Mongolian -ld- and TM *-ld- (see Benzing 121) with the same meaning, which is historically a combination of *-Í- with the intransitive/passive *-t- (on which see above). The question remains open whether Turkic *-Í(č)- reflects just *-Í- or a similar combination *-Íd- or *-Ít-, which would phonetically yield the same result. However, available TM parallels show just -l- here, and there are also archaic cases of reciprocal -l- (without -d-) in Mongolian, so that PA reciprocal *-Í- can be safely reconstructed.

Direct lexical comparisons for forms incorporating *-Í- with Korean and Japanese are not numerous (just as in case with *-ǯ-, because the morpheme was originally not just derivational but rather inflectional), but they seem to show standard reflexes (*-r- in Korean, *-s- in Japanese). This -s- in Japanese is, however, very difficult to distinguish

from the reflex of PA *-s- (see below), with which it of course completely merged; it is probable, however, that Jpn. -s- goes back to *-Í- in the following direct lexical matches:

PA *ǒč'é 'bad, anger' (PT *ǒč 'revenge, anger', PJ *ántá- 'to fear'): PT *ǒče-Í(č)- 'to take revenge', MMong. *öče-ldü-* 'id., be inimical', PJ *ántá-s-* 'to intimidate'

PA *kéro 'to fight, kill' (PM *kere-* 'to quarrel, fight', PK *kūr-* 'to curse, deprecate', PJ *kár-* 'to curse'): PT *gErü-Í(č)- 'to quarrel, fight', PM *kere-l-dü-* id., Man. *keru-le-* 'to fine', PJ *kárá-s-* 'to kill'

PA *t'ěbà 'to run' (PTM *tēb-* with different suffixes): PT *tabi-Í-*, PM *taw-li-*, PJ *tapa-si-r-*

The original meaning of *ántás- and *kárás- in Japanese must have been "fear each other > intimidate" and "fight with each other > kill". The reciprocal meaning was lost after PA reciprocal *-Í- merged with the general causative -s- in Japanese (note, however, that *kárás- within Japanese cannot be explained as a causative from *kár- 'curse', so that only the Altaic etymology provides an explanation of this form's structure).

Further examples of direct lexical matches involving PA *-Í- are:

PA *ădV 'to fit, be equal' (PTM *ada-*): PT *ădaĺ 'friend, companion'; PM *adali* 'equal, similar'

PA *běŕa 'peace' (PT *bAŕ* 'peace', PTM *bere* 'peaceful'): PT *bar-i̇Í(č)- 'to establish peace', PM *bere-le-* 'to be shy; to do a favour'

PA *čị̆ŏge 'to give, exchange' (PT *dẹg-* 'to cost, be worth', PM *düji-* 'to buy or sell wholesale', PK *čú-* 'to give', PJ *tai* 'goods for exchange'): PT *dẹgi-Í(č)- 'to change, exchange', PTM *ǯugē-l-* 'to exchange'

PA *kāmV 'to be weak, oppress' (PT *KĀma-* 'to become blinded, dumb; to set teeth on edge', PM *kama-* 'to be mangy', PTM *kama-* 'to oppress'): PT *KĀma-Í(č)- id., PTM *kama-li-* 'to oppress'

PA *k'ằno 'match, other side' (PM *kani* 'friend, mate'): PT *Konu-Í(č) 'friend', MMong. *qani-l-qa-* 'to compare'

PA *ǒk'è 'to put, heap; to give' (PT *ǒk-*, PM *ök-*, PJ *ǎk-*): PT *ǒkü-Í* 'many' (*'put together'), Kor. *ugi-l - ugi-l* -ha- 'to congregate, be numerous'

PA *kị̀ădi 'seam, to sew, lace' (PT *K(i)adi-*, PM *kaǯi-*, PK *kjàd-*): PT *K(i)adi-Í* 'leather belt' (*'sewn together'), Evk. *kêdelē-* 'to lace, befringe'

PA *p'ị́áru 'to spin, plait, wrap' (PT *ar-*, PTM *por-*): PT *ari-Í* 'woven stuff' (*'woven together'), PTM *porV-l-* 'to spin, turn round'

TDK KÜTÜPLIĞI

There also seems to have existed a nominal (diminutive? attributive?) *-Í-. It occurs in several nouns with a hardly definable semantic sphere, but also, probably significantly, in a number of words denoting plant world, cf.:

PA *ki̯uma* 'a blood-sucking insect' (PTM **küme* 'flea, gnat'): PT **Kum-Íu-j* 'louse, tick', PK **kāmàrí* 'leech'

PA **p'ărV* 'thill' (PTM **para*): PT **ari-Í*, PM *((h)ara-l.*

PA **gure* 'flour' (PK **kărà*): PT **gürü-Í(č)*, PM **guri-l*

PA **lēmo* 'fresh, raw' (PJ **nàmâ*): PT **jẽmi-Í-č* 'vegetables', PK **nămă-rh* id.

PA **mĕlu* 'a k. of berry' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **m[e]li-kte*): PT **bele-Í(č)* 'rowan', PM **moji-l-(su)-* 'bird-cherry'

PA **mi̯alu* 'a k. of evergreen tree' (PJ **murua* 'juniper'): PT **bAla-Í(č)* 'fir tree', PM **maji-la-su* 'cypress'

Just as in the case with *-ŕ- (see below), however, it cannot be excluded that Turkic *-Í- in these cases actually reflects a combination *-l-s- and we are actually dealing with the reflexes of plain *-l- here: cf. the two very suspicious (in this respect) Turko-Mongolian matches: **bele-Í(č)* - **mojil-su-* and **bAla-Í(č)* : **majila-su.*

4.1.14. PA *-ŕ-

The evidence of Turkic, where *-ŕ- is a well known causative morpheme, suggests that PA *-ŕ- was a transitive (causative) marker, and identical in this function to Mong. -r-, -ri- and the transitive -r- occurring in TM and Korean (see Ramstedt 1912, 23-29, with some confusion of *-ŕ- and *-r-; EAS 2, 176-177). The situation, however, is rather complicated by the facts that only Turkic distinguishes between *-ŕ- and *-r-, that Turkic *-ŕ- sometimes also appears as *-r- (due to Helimski's rule, see above; in such cases the causative therefore may also have the shape of -r-), and that PA *-r- by itself was rather an intransitive marker (see above), so finding direct matches for PT *-ŕ- is rather difficult.

The same morpheme is used in Turkic for forming deverbative nouns (adjectives or action results), and following direct lexical comparisons may be quoted:

PA *gŭt'ù* 'to deteriorate' (PM **gutu-* 'to deteriorate', PTM **gutu-* 'to rage, disgrace', PJ **kutu-* 'to rot'): PT **Kūtu-ŕ* 'mad, enraged', **Kūtu-r(a)-* 'to become mad, enraged', PM **gutu-ra-* 'to deteriorate, become spoiled'

PA **kúbé* 'to wish, hope, like' (PM **köwü* ~ **küwü* 'wish, profit', Man. *keo, keb* 'friendly, lovingly', PJ **kuámpá-* 'to flatter'): PT **gübe-ŕ* 'proud', PM **köγe-r* (**köwe-r*) 'joy, happiness', Evk. *kuwe-r* 'bride'

PA **kàmo* 'to brew alcohol' (PJ **kàm-* 'to brew sake'): PT **Kumi-ŕ* 'fermented milk', PM **kimu-r(a-γa-)* 'fermented milk with water'

PA **keju* 'to boil' (PK **kò'i-*): PT **Kā-ŕ-ga-n* 'kettle', PM **kaji-ra-* 'to burn, roast', **kajir-su-* > **kaji-su-* 'kettle', PTM **kej-re-* id.

PA **kǒk'à* 'to be deficient, damaged' (PT **Kōk-* 'to decrease, diminish', PM **koki-* 'to be damaged', PJ **káká-* 'to be deficient'): PT **Kōku-ŕ* 'deficient, empty', PM **koki-r* 'deficient, humble', **koki-ra-* 'to become deficient'

PA **k'ăbo* 'to deceive, slander' (PT **Kobu* 'slander', PK **kə̄-* 'lie, deceit'): OT *qovuz* 'conjuration, exorcism', PM **kaγur-* 'to deceive'

Note that the intransitive meaning in cases like PM **gutu-ra-* or **koki-ra-* may be either due to the secondary influence of the intransitive -ra- (see above), or in fact reflect a different PA formation with an *-r-suffix.

The following cases may in fact reflect PA *-ŕ-, although the Turkic reflex is absent or is transformed to -r- due to Helimski's rule:

PA **č'éč'í* 'to press, squeeze' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **tíntí-ma-*, **tíntí-k-*): Man. *čeče-re-*, PK **čičír-*.

PA **dèlp'i* 'to burst, break' (PJ **timpə-* 'to become worn out'): PM **delbe-re-* 'to burst, break through', Evk. *delpe-r-ge-* 'to split'

PA **ěbè* 'to carry on the back' (PTM **ebe-*, PK **əp-*, PJ **əp-*): PM **eγü-re-*, Nan. *i̯wa-ri̯-* 'to unload'

PA **ěbà* 'to winnow, fan' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **eb-s-* 'to winnow'): Nan. *ebi-ri-* 'to shuffle, hoard', PJ **apu-r-*, **apu-t-* 'to blow, fan'

PA **ìsú* 'to crush' (PTM **(x)ise-* 'to crush', PJ **ùsú* 'mortar'): PT **isi-r-* 'to bite' (= **is-r-* < **is-ŕ-*), Kor. *isi-r-* 'to grind, crush'

PA **i̯udi* 'to choose' (PM **ödü-* 'to conceive, instigate'): PT **üdü-r-* (= **üd-r-* < **üd-ŕ-*), PJ **iá-r-* 'to choose, select'

PA **ki̯òt'è* 'to singe, heat' (PT **Kat-* 'to heat', PM **kete* 'fire steel', PJ **kàtà-i* 'soldering iron'): PT **Katir-* (= **Kat-r-* < **Kat-ŕ-*) 'to heat, bake', Evk. *kotoron-* 'to singe, burn'

PA **k'et[o]* 'to tear apart, rip' (PM **kadu-* 'to mow; to sever ribs from the spine', PTM **xetü-* 'to tear apart'): PT **Kota-r-* 'to tear out, break' (= **Kot-r-* < **Kot-ŕ-*), PM **kadu-ra-* 'to rip with fangs'

PA **màlt'e* 'to bend, twist' (PTM **maltu-*): PM **möltü-r-* / **multu-r-* 'to twist, contort', PJ **mànti-r-* 'to twist, bend'

PA **ńi̯áme* 'to curse, harm' (PM **ǯime* 'guilt', PTM **ńum-* 'to weaken, be sick', PJ **mámá-* 'to argue, conflict'): PT **jemü-r-* 'to crush, curse, re-

proach' (= **jem-r-* < **jem-ŕ-*), PTM **ńime-r-* 'shame', PK **nami-ra-* 'to curse, swear'

PA **săp'í* 'sprinkle, scatter' (PT **sep-*): PM **sabi-r-*, **sibe-re-*, PK **spìrí-*, **spăr-*.

PA **sidu* 'to rub off, peel off' (PTM **sidu-*): PT **sidi-r-* (= **sid-r-* < **sid-ŕ-*), PM **sidu-r-*

PA **sidí* 'to suspend' (PK **sīd-* 'to load'): PT **süd-re-* (< **süd-ŕe-*) 'pull, tug', PM **sidu-r-* 'pull the reins', PJ **sinta-r-* 'to hang down'

PA **sijp'ó* 'to press, knead' (PT **sijpa-*): PT **sijpi-r-* (= **sijp-r-* < **sijp-ŕ-*), PTM **sipe-r-*, PJ **sìmpò-r-*

PA **šĭp'V* 'sweep' (Evk. *čipi-*): PT **sipü-r-* (< **sip-r-* < **sip-ŕ-*), PM **siγü-r-*, PK **psí-r-*

PA **sép'à* 'to grip' (PM **siγü-*, PK **spă-*): PM **siγü-re-*, Man. *sefe-re-*, PJ **sápá-r-*

PA **t'ăkù* 'to repair' (PTM **taku-*): PT **Tag-ra-* (< **Tag-ŕa-*), PJ **tùkùr-*

PA **-ŕ-* is also used as a denominative suffix, very similar in sphere to **-r-* (see above), cf.:

PA **gébó* 'shell, husk' (PK **kòbìi* 'bamboo bark', PJ **kámpí* 'rice ear'): PT **Kąbi-ŕ* 'husk, shell', PM **gaw-r-su* 'chaff, straw'

PA **goŋV* 'a k. of insect' (PTM **guŋgu* 'big fly'): PT **Koŋu-ŕ* 'beetle', PM **guwu-r* 'larva of a gad-fly'

PA **kĕŋi* 'hollow, empty' (PK **kíń-* 'nest, to nest'): PT **geŋi-ŕ* 'nasal cavity', Evk. *keŋ-re* 'hole, ice-hole'

PA **kúmle* 'a k. of ungulate' (PJ **kuáma* 'foal'): PT **Külmü-ŕ* 'male chamois', Evk. *kuma-ra-n* 'Siberian stag'

PA **óŋdu* 'a k. of small wild animal' (PTM **oŋda*, PJ **uni*): PT **utiŕ*, Orok *onnori*, PK **òńărí*.

PA **pédá* 'spot, ornament' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **pede-ne-* 'to mark, dirty'): PT **bedi-ŕ*, PM **bede-r*, PJ **panta-ra*

PA **p'át'à* 'uncultivated land, field' (PJ **pátà*): PT **Ati-ŕ*, PM **(h)ata-r*

PA **p'ŏk'i* 'ox, cow' (not attested suffixless, cf. Evn. *höken*): PT **ökü-ŕ*, PM **hüke-r*, Evk. *huku-r*

PA **p'ŏŋe* 'mildew, slime' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **puŋ-da* [or < **puŋ-ra*?]): PT **öŋe-ŕ*, PM **(h)öŋgü-r*

PA **įuge* 'river' (PTM **ugē*): PT **ügü-ŕ*, PM **üje-r*, Man. *we-re-n*, PK **jàhí-r*, PJ **ùrà*

The archaic nature of this **-ŕ-* is dubious: it is not excluded that in these cases Turkic actually reflects a combination of the plain **-r-*suffix with a subsequent -s- (cf. the match PT **Kąbi-ŕ* = PM **gaw-r-su*), which phonetically yielded **-ŕ-*.

There are, however, several specific cases, where *-ŕ- occurs in words meaning 'two' or 'pair' and in some paired body parts:

PA *kǒk'ə 'breast' (PM *kökö-n, PTM *kuku-n): PT *gökü-ŕ 'breast', PJ *kàkàrà 'heart'

PA *mújŋi 'horn' (Evk. muŋi 'tendon'): PT *bujŋu-ŕ 'horn', PM *möǰ'er- 'cartilage'

PA *p'i̯ǒk'e 'pair, couple' (PT *ẹki 'two', PJ *pàká 'other'): PT *ẹki-ŕ, PM *(h)eki-re 'twins'

PA *ti̯ubu 'two' (PTM *ǯube, PK *tū): PT *TVbVr (~ -ŕ), PM *ǯui-ri-n, PK *tū-rh

This may in fact be an archaic dual marker; whether it corresponds to the Japanese plural in -ra is not quite clear (the latter may be rather a match for the plural reflected in PT *la-r, PM *na-r and TM *-l).

4.1.15. PA *-j-

In a number of nouns we encounter a final *-(a)j or *-e in Turkic, apparently corresponding to *-i in Mongolian and to a long final vowel (*-ī or *-ū) in TM (on the PTM "Koseform" -ī see Benzing 66), cf.:

PA *ǒge 'lonely' (with different suffixes cf. PT *ögü-n, PK *ói-rǎb-): PT *öge-j, PM *ügej, PTM *ugī.

PA *sǐgó 'thick growth': PM *sigu-j, PTM *sigū, PJ *sìnkài-

PA *ačV 'woman, elder female relative': PT *ǎčaj / *ěčej, PTM *asī

PA *t'ari 'a k. of water bird' (with a different suffix cf. PTM *tar-mī): PT *tara-ka-j, PM *čirü-ke-j

PA *t'i̯ǎku 'a horned animal': PT *teke, PM *togij, PTM *tōKī

PA *kúńe 'moth, worm': PT *güńe, PTM *kuńī-kta, PK *kàńúi

PA *mi̯ūko 'snake' (cf. PK *mək-, PJ *múká-tai): PT *böke, PM *mogaji, PTM *mūkū

PA *k'i̯ǔge 'palate, jaw' (with different suffixes cf. PTM *xūk-te, PJ *k(ù)i, PK *kàhú-m): PT *Kög-me, PM *köɣe-mej

PA *úmu 'to bear, give birth' (PTM *omu-/umu-, PK *ūm, PJ *úm-): PT *umaj 'placenta', PM *(h)umaji 'womb'

On the basis of these matches it seems possible to reconstruct a common Altaic suffix *-j-, probably diminutive or expressive. One should also note that *-kī is a very widespread suffix in TM (see Benzing 66-67), and it seems to correspond to Mongolian *-kai, Turkic *-kaj with the same function. In many cases, though, the suffix is different to recover: in Turkic it tends to disappear after all vowels except *-a (and even in those cases is rather rare), while in Mongolian it is impossible to distinguish from original *-gi.

From a few examples above it would seem that Japanese and Korean also may reflect this suffix as *-i. In fact, *-i is a very well-known suffix in the Korean-Japanese area (cf. Martin 1995, 142, Vovin 1997, 9), where it forms both deverbative nouns (Jpn. *kak-* 'write', *kak-i* 'writing', **anka-* 'raise', **anka-i* > *age* 'raising') and (in Japanese) often serves as a direct stem marker: **pə-i* > OJ *pi* 'fire', in compounds *pə-* etc. However, this *-i seems rather to be a later addition. In the case of 'fire', e.g., this suffix was obviously added after the disappearance of the medial *-r- (PJ **pə-* 'fire' < **p'ŏre+gV*). It is perhaps more appropriate to regard it as a continuation of the PA demonstrative pronoun *i, serving as a nominative suffix (and indeed attested in this function both in Korean and Old Japanese).

A verbal *-j- may have also existed, although it is difficult to find direct lexical matches, due to the very unstable phonetical nature of *-j-. Proto-Japanese has verbal stems in **CVCa-*, **CVCu-* and **CVCə-*, but no stems in **CVCi-*. One may suspect that Pre-Proto-Japanese stems in *-i- had lost their final vowel and thus gave rise to numerous verbal stems in **CVC-*. At the same time, PJ has numerous alternations like **tuk-* 'be attached' / **tuka-* 'attach' or **dak-* 'burn' / **daka-* 'be burnt'. They can thus be reconstructed for an earlier stage as **tuki-* / **tuka-*, **daki-* / **daka-*; **tuki-* here could actually go back to **tuka-ji-* (with a very early contraction > **tuki-*, because it was not affected by the regular later Old Japanese development *ai > e), the suffix *-ji- acting as what Vovin 1997 calls 'transitivity flipper'. The Altaic source of this *-ji- is, however, not quite clear. It may be related to the causative (or 'transitivity flipper') *-g- (on which see below), but the development *-g- > -j- here would require a special explanation, since normally it only occurs after diphthongs (or should one reconstruct *-jg- here?). Another possible solution would be to trace this PJ *-ji- to a PA suffix *-ji-, preserved in Mong. -ji- forming "verba status" (*qumi-* 'to bind together' : *qumi-ji-* 'to be bound'; Ramstedt 1912, 56-58 derives them as well from PA *-gi-, which seems somewhat dubious).

4.1.16. PA *-s-

1. A deverbative *-s- is attested in all branches of Altaic. In Turkic and Mongolian there is a desiderative -se- (both deverbative, like OT *kel-se-* 'want to come', and denominative, like OT *suv-sa-* 'want water' = 'become thirsty'), see EAS 2, 187-188. Although Ramstedt separates this suffix (tracing it back to **se-* 'do, say' - a rather dubious derivation) from -s- in cases like Mong. *ölü-s-* 'become hungry' or Nan. *puli-si-*

'walk', they seem to be essentially the same affix with an original desiderative or inchoative meaning ('want to...' or 'begin to...'), and as such probably identical to the optative in -s-, widely attested in Turkic, Mongolian, TM and Korean (see EAS 2, 84-85). In Korean and Japanese the same -s- is used (since the oldest written texts) as a marker of politeness (see Vovin 1997, 9), also a quite understandable semantic development from an original desiderative.

Japanese is unique in having this morpheme functioning as a transitive (in pairs like *kuda-r-* 'to be lowered' : *kuda-s-* 'to lower'). This may be a result of several morphological and phonological developments:

a) a fusion of the verbal stem with the separate verb **sV-* 'to do, make', resulting in a general transitive/causative suffix formation; similar compounds with *hã-* are widely attested in Korean. The same formation may be reflected in TM as intensive / frequentative *-su- (*-si-), on which see Benzing 119.
b) a development of *-ĺ- > -s- that led to the inclusion into this category of several old reciprocal formations (see above on **kárə́s-*, **ántə́s-*);
c) in a few cases like PM **gudu-s* 'downward' = PJ **kúntá-s-* 'to lower' this -s- may have still another origin, going back to the PA directional suffix (see below)

The following cross-language matches can illustrate the PA deverbative (desiderative/inchoative) *-s-:

PA **ămo* 'mouth; taste' (PT **um-* 'to hope for, desire'; PM **ama(n)* 'mouth'; PJ **ámá-* 'tasty, sweet'): PT **um-sa-* 'to hope for, long', PM **am-sa-* 'to taste', PK **má-s* 'taste' (PA **ămo-s-* 'want to taste')

PA **bŏke* 'to lie in ambush' (PT **buk-*, Kalm. *büg-*): PM **büg-si-* id., PJ **báká-s-* 'to attack, assault' (PA **bŏke-s-* 'start lying in ambush, position oneself in ambush')

PA **ebí* 'to be weak, to wither' (PK **èbí-* 'to be exhausted, hungry'): PK **ə̄p-s-* 'to lack, be insufficient', PJ **impu-sia-* 'in bad spirits' (PA **ebí-s-* 'become exhausted, insufficient')

PA **èk'á* 'to paw, hit with hooves' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **ek-te-*, PJ **ànkà-k-*): PT **ag-sa-* 'to hobble, limp', PM **(h)ag-sa-* 'to have fits, convulsions' (PA **èk'á-s-* 'start pawing')

PA **i̯òpe* 'to cover, to wear' (PM **ibe-*, PJ **ə̀p-*): PTM **up-si* 'clothes, belt', PK **p-sí-* 'to put on (hat)' (PA **i̯òpe-s-* 'get clothed')

PA **tĕp'é* 'wave, flap, fly' (PM **debi-*, PJ **támp-*): PM **debi-s-*, PTM **dep-si-* / **dap-si-* (PA **tĕp'é-s-* 'start flying, soar up')

PA **t'ə́ja* 'to float, slide' (PT **tāj-*, PTM **tia-*): PM **te-si-*, PTM **ti-sa-* (PA **t'ə́ja-s-* 'start sliding')

PA **t'ə́ŋe* 'admiration; condolence' (PT **tāŋ*): PT **taŋ-su-*, PM **taŋ-si-* (PA **t'ə́ŋe-s-* 'become admiring')

PA **t'ukì* 'to come to an end' (PT **tüke-*): Yak. *tüksü*, PM **tögü-s-*, PJ **tuku-s-* (PA **t'ukì-s-* 'become exhausted')

Note that the Japanese forms here (**bə́ká-s-* 'attack', **tuku-s-* 'exhaust') synchronically contain the transitive marker -s-; historically, however, they match well PM **büg-si-* and **tögü-s-* and thus reflect PA **bə̌ke-s-* 'start lying in ambush' and **t'uki-s-* 'start being exhausted'.

2. An adverbial directive suffix -s(i) is attested in Mongolian and Tungus (see EAS 2, 48-49), and this may have left a trace in some derived verbs, cf.:

PA **gódú* 'down, to lower' (PT **Kodɨ*): PM **gudu-s* 'downward', PJ **kúntá-s-* 'to lower'

PA **i̯úgu* 'up, above' (PT **jüg-*, PM **öγe-*, PTM **ug-*, PK **ù(h)*): PT **jüg-se-* 'to rise', PM **ög-se-* id., PTM **ugV-si* 'above, up'; one is also tempted to add PJ **àkà-s-* 'to rise', which may reflect a merger of this root with PA **ŋi̯ə̀k'ə* 'top, above'.

3. A "general-purpose" nominal suffix -s- is widely attested in Mongolian (usually as -su(n)) and TM (usually as -su- or -sa, often in a compound -k-sa), see EAS 2, 225-227, 239 (although separating the Mong. -su- and attempting, strangely enough, to derive the TM -su from Chinese *shou* 'hand'; on the TM -su-/-sa- see Benzing 89). This suffix became quite obsolete in Turkic (although some traces of it after *-l- and *-r- may still be observable as *-ĺ- and *-ŕ-, see above), while in Japanese it may have been preserved as the finite form of adjectives (-si), frequently incorporated into the adjective stem as a derivational morpheme (*utuku-si-* 'beautiful' etc.).

This suffix may in fact be nothing else than the pronominal *sV of the 3d person, preserved in Turkic as *-sɨ-, the pronominal suffix of the 3d person, and in Japanese as the demonstrative *sə / *si. This would explain its apparent disappearance in Turkic: the suffix has not disappeared at all, but preserved its original function, while in Mongolian and TM it was desemanticized. Benzing (69-70) regards PTM *-sa as a collective suffix, so in fact we may be dealing here both with a PA pronominal *-sV and collective *-sa, which are rather difficult to keep apart in individual cases.

Some examples of this *-s- in cross-language matches:

PA **č'i̯ə̀k'ə* 'grass, weed' (PTM **čūKa*): PK **sok-săi*, PJ **tùkúsi* 'horse-tail'

PA **k'ə̀p'ə̀* 'a k. of vessel, box' (PJ **kàpì* 'scoop, ladle'): PT **KAp-sa-k* 'basket', PTM **xap-sa* 'box'

PA **s̯ūli* 'gall' (PTM **sī*): PM **söl-sü*, PTM **sīl-se*

PA **šo̯ǒgV* 'juice' (not attested suffixless, cf. PK **skú-r* 'honey'): PM **siγü-sü*, PTM **šūk-se*

PA **šo̯uba* 'water' (PT **sıb*, Man. so- 'sprinkle'): PM **u-su*, PTM **šobī-ksa*; cf. also PT **sıb-sı-*, **sıb-sa-*, containing the verbal *-s-suffix (see above).

In combinations with velar suffixes:

PA **pʻe̯tá* 'meat; skin' (PT **et*, PJ **pàntá*, PTM **pētē*): PM **(h)ada-ska*, PTM **pētē-ske*

PA **tʻi̯ŭŕe* 'leg, knee' (PT **dīŕ*, PK **tàrí*): PT **tir-sge-k* 'elbow', PTM **türē-kse* 'boot-top'

4.1.17. PA **-g-*

The suffix **-g-* is known as a causative marker in TM (see Benzing 122), Mongolian and Korean (where it is reflected as -0-), see EAS 2, 170-175. It is, however, not attested at all in Turkic and Japanese. On the other hand, there is a number of Common Altaic verbal stems in **-g-* which can rather be classified as intensive or factitive and are not necessarily causative ("do or undergo smth. repeatedly"), see Ramstedt 1912, 10-20. Cf.:

PA **bójĺo* 'to learn, be attentive' (also attested with the causative/passive **-b-*, see above): PT **boĺ-gu-* 'to learn', PM **bol-gu-(γa)-* 'to be cautious', PK **pǎi-hó-* 'to learn'

PA **èmi* 'to avoid, taboo' (PJ **ìm-*): PT **em-ge-* 'to suffer, be tortured', PM **emi-γe-* 'to be timid, shy away'

PA **gǒŕV* 'to move, be irritated' (Evk. *gori-* 'to move, stir'): PT **Kōŕ-ga-* 'to be irritated, agitated', PTM **gur-ge-* 'to move, stir'

PA **kʻēro* 'to shout, speak' (PTM **xērī-* 'to shout, call'): PT **Kạr-ga-* 'to swear, curse', PM **karija-* / **karaγa-* id.

PA **pʻĭ̄ru* 'pray, bless' (PK **pīr-*): Yak. *irā* (< **ira-ga*), PM **hiru-γe-*, PTM **piru-gē-*

PA **šo̯ŭŕu* 'leak, ooze' (PT **siŕ-*): PM **sir-gü-*, PTM **šur-gī-*

PA **tʻélù* 'string, spreader' (PT **tēl*, PM **tele-*, PJ **túrù*): PM **tel(i)-ge-*, PTM **tel-ge-*

PA **čʻamo* 'to suffer hardships' (PT **čAm* 'fine, claim'): OT *čam-γ-uq* 'slanderer', PM **čima-γa-* 'queasy', PK **čhǎm-* 'to endure, bear'.

Vovin (1997, 3-4) characterizes this morpheme as "transitivity flipper" (thus analogous to PA **-b-*, see above) and, besides Kor. -0- and TM **-g-*, relates here also the PJ verbal suffix **-i-* (**tuk-* 'be attached' / **tuka-i-* 'attach', **dak-* 'to burn', **daka-i-* 'to burn (intr.)'). There are prob-

lems with this solution, however: we would correct those pairs to **tuk-* / **tuka-* and **dak-* / **daka-*, while the -i in OJ forms like *tuke* < **tukai*, *jake* < **dakai* should rather be regarded as a gerund suffix, just like the -i in the respective matches *tuk-i* and *jak-i*. But the forms of the type **tuk-* themselves may go back to earlier **tuki-* < **tuka-ji-*, where *-ji- might reflect an earlier PA *-jV-, but hardly *-gV- (see above)

One can also note a rather common TM suffix *-gā-n denoting the result of an action (see Benzing 58), having probably the same source.

It thus seems that the causative meaning of *-g- in TM, Mong. and Kor. is secondary, being derived from an original factitive / intensive meaning.

However, the main function of PA *-g-, attested in all branches (although in Korean it is somewhat difficult to find its traces - due to loss of intervocalic *-g-), is the formation of derived nouns and adjectives (both from verbal and nominal stems). The number of cross-language parallels here is huge, and vowels after *-g- may differ due to secondary affixation, but essentially this is a single derivational type:

PA **ànǫ* 'right' (PT **oŋ*): PM **eŋ-ge* 'south; front', PTM **āŋ-gi-* 'right'

PA **àŕì* 'thorn, fang' (PJ **ìrà* 'thorn', cf. also Manchu *ar-sun* id.): PT **aŕi-g* 'fang', PM **ari-ɣa-* 'fang, molar tooth'

PA **ǎŕV* 'open space' (PT **(i)āra* 'space, distance'): PM **ara-ɣu* 'spaced, thin', PTM **ara-gan* 'open space'

PA **bǎt'í* 'dirt' (PTM **batu-* 'frozen soil', PJ **pìntì* 'dirt'): PT **bati-g* 'swamp, marsh', PM **bat-ga* 'dirt' (perhaps also PK **ptǎi* 'dirt')

PA **bi̯ujri* 'well, spring' (PTM **bira* 'river', PK **ù-* 'well, spring'): PTM **bira-ga-* 'spring', PJ **bi* 'well'

PA **bi̯ure* 'flea' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **bür-če*): PT **bür-ge*, PM **bür-ge*, PK **pjàró-k*

PA **bǔka* 'chain, rim' (PJ **bàkù*): PT **buka-gu* 'fetters, chain', PM **bugu-ji* (< -ɣi) 'bracelet, noose'

PA **bǔĺa* 'confusion, fright' (PT **būl-* 'to be bad-tempered, irritable'): PT **būĺV-gu* 'sadness', PM **bala-g* 'guilt', PTM **bol-ga-* 'to be afraid, worry' (secondary verbalization)

PA **čèlV* 'to split, hole, crack' (PT **dil-* 'to split'): PM **čilü-ɣe* 'space between', PTM **ǯēl-ge* 'crack, narrow passage'

PA **číńo* 'power, ability' (PK **čīń* 'shape, appearance; to make, produce'): PT **dɨŋ* 'very, strongly', PM **čine-ɣe* 'force, ability', PTM **ǯiŋ* 'very, extremely'

PA **č'ép'u* 'ulcer, furuncle' (Evk. *čepe* 'ulcer, pustle'): PT **čīp-ga-n* 'furuncle', PM **čiji-ga-n* 'tumour, albugo', PK **čjūpó-k* 'ulcer, furuncle' [*-kV?]

PA **di̯ùlu* 'warm' (PTM **dūl-* 'to warm (of sun)', PT **jɨ̀lɨ-* 'to be warm'): PT **jɨ̀lɨ-g* 'warm', PM **dula-ɣa-n* 'warm', PJ **dù* 'warm water'

PA **ĕ̀ra* 'rough' (PJ **árá-* 'rough', Kor. *al-* 'bare, simple'): PT **Ēri-g* 'rough', PM **ar-gu-* 'dry, hard, rough'

PA **ĕ̀ro* 'clean' (PT **a̤ri* - 'to be clean'): PT **a̤ri-g* 'clean', PM **ari-ɣu-n* 'clean'

PA **gi̯òjńu* 'dawn, daylight' (PT **gün* 'sun', PK **kúi* 'dawn'): PM **gege-ɣe* 'dawn, daylight', Man. *geŋ-ġe* 'light', PJ **ka(i)* 'day'

PA **guša* 'bitter, sour' (PTM **goši*): PM **gasi-ɣu-n*, PTM **goši-g-di*

PA **i̯unu* 'cow' (with a different suffix cf. PT **in-ken* 'female camel'): PT **in-ge-k*, PM **üni-ɣe-n*

PA **kàma* 'to unite, gather' (PM **kamu-*): PT **KAmu-g* 'all, together', PM **kamu-g* id.

PA **kāmV* 'to be weak, oppress' (PT **KĀma-* 'to become blinded, dumb; to set teeth on edge', PM **kama-* 'to be mangy', PTM **kama-* 'to oppress'): PM **kama-ɣu* 'scab, herpes', PTM **kama-ga* 'loss, trouble'

PA **ki̯àpì* 'depth, edge' (PT **kiabu-* 'bottom of boat', PJ **kìpà* 'edge, side', PM **köb* 'depth'): PM **köbe-ɣe* 'edge, side', PK **kɨp-hí-* 'deep'

PA **ki̯ằro* 'crow, raven' (PTM **kori* 'a mythical bird'): PT **KAr-ga* 'crow', PM **keri-je* id.

PA **kŭŋi* 'child' (PT **güŋ* 'female slave', PTM **kuŋa* 'child, childhood', PM **köw* 'child'): PM **köw-ɣü-n* 'child, son', PJ **kúa* 'child'

PA **ki̯očɨ* 'nasty' (Oyr. *kača-*; Man. *kušu-n* 'hate, uneasyness'): PM **keče-ɣü* 'difficult, unpleasant', PK **kŭčh(i)-* 'nasty'

PA **kuri* 'wattle, fence, enclosure' (PT **Kur-* 'to erect, build', PTM **kori* 'blockhouse, cage'): PT **Kur-ga-n*, PM **küri-je-n* 'enclosure'

PA **ki̯udu* 'shore, border' (PTM **kudē* 'shore, land', PJ **kui* 'fortress'): PT **Kɨdɨ-g* 'edge, border', PM **kiši-ɣa-r* 'border'.

PA **k'ádí(-rV)* 'to scrape off, scraper' (PT **KEdir-* 'to skin (a sheep)', PJ **káintúr-* 'to scrape off'): PM **kedir-ge* 'scraper', PTM **xar-ga-n* 'chock (for processing fish skins)'

PA **k'ăpra* 'to scrape, plane' (PT **K(i)arba-* 'to grope; rake up'): PM **kawra-ji* 'file', PTM **xarpu-gda* 'plane, knife'

PA **k'eńo* 'edge' (PT **Ka̤j* ~ *-ń*, PK **kắń*): PT **Ka̤ji-g* (~ *-ń-*), PM **kaja-ɣa* id.

PA **k'ĕ̀ro* 'to remunerate, repay' (PTM **xeri-* 'price, payment'): PT **Kaŕ-ga-n-* 'to acquire, win', PM **keri-g* 'miserly', Nan. *xer-gẽ* 'wake, ritual celebration'

PA **k'éma* 'a k. of reed or leek' (PJ **kámá* 'reed'): PM **kam-ga-r* 'wild leek', PTM **xeŋ-gu-kte* 'wild onion'

PA **k'íla* 'hair' (PT **Kɨl*): PM **kil-ga-su* 'horse's hair, tail hair', PK **kār(h)-*, PJ **kái* 'hair'

PA **k'ílo* 'stalk, stem' (PTM **xila-* 'to blossom'): PT **Kɨl-ga* 'beard (of grain, awn', PM **kil-ga-na* 'meadowgrass', PTM **xila-ga* 'flower', PK **kɨrɨ(h)* 'stubble; stump'

PA **k'ĭrma* 'snow, hoar-frost' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **xima-ŋsa* 'snow': PT **Kɨra-gu* 'hoar-frost', PM **kirma-g* 'first snow'

PA **k'óp'ĭra* 'rift (in a river), bridge' (PT **köpür* 'bridge', PTM **xupuru* 'rift (in river); bridge', PJ **kápárá* 'shallow place'): PT **köpürü-g* 'bridge', PM **köɣür-ge* id.

PA **k'[ú]ŕa* 'pole; finger' (PTM **xurū* 'hoof; handful'): PT **K[a]ŕ-gu-k* 'pole, peg', PM **kuru-ɣu* 'finger, toe', PK **kàrà-k* 'finger; pole'

PA **lǎŋi* 'dirt, slime' (PM **laji*): PTM **laŋ-ga* 'cloggy, slimy substance', PJ **nìn-kà-r-* 'be dreggy, muddy'

PA **lábó* 'a k. of plant' (PT **jaba*, PJ **náimpú*): PM **debe-ɣe* 'meadow, pasture', PTM **labi-k-ta* 'a k. of moss'

PA **lúŋa* 'a k. of furry animal' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **loŋ-sa* 'lynx, sable'): PM **naga-j* 'female tarbagan', PJ **ná-i* 'rat'

PA **l̥ul[o]* 'to ransom, ask' (PT **jul-* 'to ransom', PM **doli-* 'to barter, ransom'): PT **julu-g* 'ransom', PJ **na-i* 'price'

PA **n̥uru* 'song and dance' (PT **jɨr* 'song', PK **nor-* 'to amuse oneself'): PM **nür-gi-* 'noisy discussion', Evn. *nörgʊ-* 'to dance and sing'

PA **ńaŋo* 'nut' (PJ **mama-i* 'bean'): PT **jAŋ-ga-k* 'walnut', PM **ǯiɣa-g* 'walnut', PTM **ńaŋu-kta* 'cone, nut'

PA **ńíkrV* 'a k. of thorny tree' (PJ **míkúri*): PM **ǯeɣer-ge-ne*, PTM **ńikri-k-ta*

PA **óče* 'late, evening' (PJ **ásá-*): PT **očɨ-g* 'youngest, latest', PM **öčü-ge* 'yesterday', PK **ǎčái* id.

PA **ŏŕe* 'other, one of two' (PTM **urē-* 'to be similar'): PT **öŕ-ge* 'other', PM **örü-ge-l* 'one of two'

PA **pala* 'tooth' (PK **par*): Nan. *paloa*, PJ **pa*

PA **puli* 'red' (PTM **pula-* with different suffixes): PM **hula-ɣan*, PTM **pula-gi-* (PK **pɨrk-* reflects rather **puli-k'V*)

PA **púre* 'leaf, bud' (PT **bür*): PM **bor-gu-*, PJ **pá.*

PA **p'adV* 'be sober, attentive' (PM **haǯi-*): PT **adɨ-g*, PM **hada-ɣu* / **haǯi-g* 'sober, attentive'

PA **p'èrì* 'edge' (PM **hir*, PTM **pere*, PJ **piàrì*): PM **hiru-ɣa*, PTM **pere-g-*, **per-gī*)

PA **p'ŭri* 'seed' (PM **hüre* 'seed', PTM **puri* 'family, children', PK **pòrì* 'wheat'): PT **uru-g* 'seed; kin', PJ **pú* 'growth'

PA **p'ŭli* 'root, foundation' (PT **ul*): Man. *fulexe*, PK **pìrhǎi*, PJ **pú-*.

PA **p'ŭ̀sa* 'plan, reason' (PT **us*, Evn. *huse*, PJ **pánsú*): PT **usu-g*, PM **hasa-γu-* (secondary verbalization).

PA **s̯i̯ǎŕi* 'earth, sand, marsh' (PT **siaŕ*, PJ **situ*): PM **sira-γu*, PTM **siru-gi*

PA **š̯ŭ̀jò* 'thorn, needle' (PTM **šŭje*, PK **sāi*, PJ **sə̀jà*): PT **soja-gu*, PM **soju-γa*.

PA **tĭ́ri* 'thick, plenty' (PT **dīr-*, PTM **dir-*, PJ **(d)ita-*): PM **čir-ga-γu-*, PTM **dir-ga-*

PA **ti̯ŏ̂le* 'spleen' (PTM **ǯō(l)*): PM **deli-γü-n*, PJ **(d)i*

PA **t'i̯ò̀ra* 'to cultivate (earth)' (PT **TAŕi-*): PM **tari-ja-n* 'crops', PJ **tà* 'field'

PA **ǯǎ̆lo* 'fasten, hang' (PT **jala-*, PTM **ǯala-n*, PK **čă̆ră̆-*): PT **jala-gu*, PM **ǯal-ga-* (secondary verbalization), PJ **dá-i*

PA **ǯebí* 'bad, to suffer' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **jabi-ŕ*, **jab-la-* etc.): PT **jab-ga-n*, PM **ǯibe-γü-*

The precise meaning of this PA **-g-*, next to being a general noun marker, is not quite clear; Benzing (68-69) regards PTM **-g* as collective, which seems possible but not ultimately proved.

4.1.18. PA **-k-*

Unlike **-g-*, the PA voiceless unaspirated **-k-* was in the vast majority of cases only building denominative nouns, cf.:

PA **ămV* 'quick, timely' (PT **(i)am* 'now', PTM **am(a)* 'quick', PK **ām* 'surely, certainly'): PT **(i)am-ki* 'recent', PM **(h)ama-gaj* 'sudden, quick', PTM **ama-kā-* 'quick'

PA **ắnta* 'oath; comrade' (PT **Ānt*; PM, PTM **anda* 'friend', PJ **ánta* 'enemy'): PM **anda-g(a)* 'oath, to take an oath', PTM **anda-ka-* 'friend, follower'; here the derivative is also secondarily used as a verb in PTM and PT **Ānt-ik-* 'to take an oath'

PA **bi̯óro* 'bank, rift' (PK **pìrə́* 'bank'): PM **bor-gi-ja* 'river rift', PTM **bir[u]-ka-* 'precipice, mountain'

PA **bi̯udu* 'down, feather; curly' (with a different suffix cf. PM **buǯi-ji-* 'to be curly'): PT **bidik* 'moustache', PM **buǯi-gir* 'curly', **boǯi-gu* '(bird) down'

PA **bŏ́ru* 'dust; smoke, whirlwind' (PT **bur*): PT **buru-k* 'whirlwind, puff of smoke', PM **bur-gi-* / **bür-gi-* 'to rise (of dust, smoke)' (secondary verbalization), PTM **bure-ki* 'dust; fresh snow'

PA **č'i̯ŏ́li* 'grey, light' (PT **čĀl* 'grey, light', PM **čil* 'clear, cloudless'): PM **čil-ge-* 'clear, cloudless', PTM **čol-ka* 'grey, white'

PA **ép'V* 'grandfather' (PTM **epu* 'grandfather, elder relative', PK **àpí* 'father'): PM **ebü-ge-* 'grandfather, ancestor', Orok *epe-ke* 'grandfather'

PA **ét'è* 'elder relative' (PT **Ata* / **Ete* 'father', PK **àtă* 'man', PJ **tətə*, **ti* 'uncle'): PT **Ata-ka-* / **Ete-ke-* 'uncle', PM **eči-ge* 'father', PTM **eti-(r)kē-* 'old man'

PA **ĕna* 'middle, width' (PT **ēn*): PM **eŋ* 'breadth, width', PTM **(x)ene-kŭ* 'sheath, scabbard', PK **án-h* 'middle', PJ **nà-ká* id.

PA **gŭri* 'wide, broad, thick' (PT **gür* 'thick, broad', PTM **gora* 'far', PM **gür* 'wide, broad'): PM **gür-ge-r* 'thick', PK **kūr-k-* id.

PA **ǐt'á* 'to rely, trust' (PTM **(x)iti* 'custom, order, occasion'):

PTM **(x)iti-ka-* 'custom, order'; a secondary verbalization is observed in PM **ite-ge-* 'to hope, believe, trust, reason', PJ **àntù-kà-* 'to take upon oneself; to trust smb. with'

PA **i̯aru* 'deer, antelope' (PTM **ora-n*): PT **Ar-ku-n* 'a cross-bred horse', PM **(h)oro-ŋgo* 'a k. of antelope'

PA **i̯òre* 'male' (PTM **ur*, PJ **àtə*): PT **ęr-ke-k* 'male', PTM **uri-k-čān* 'elk (2 y. old)'

PA **i̯ŭdu* 'wonder, supernatural' (PM **ide* 'sacred energy', Evk. *odu* 'wonder', PJ **i* / **ju* 'sacred'): PT **idu-k* 'sacred', PM **idu-gan* 'female shaman'

PA **i̯ùlò* 'hollow, hole, intestine' (PT **ülV* 'fistula', PJ **ùruà* 'hollow, hollow tree-trunk'): PT **olu-k* 'hollow tree-trunk', PM **(h)olu-gaj* 'thick intestine'

PA **i̯ŭt'e* 'thick liquid' (PT **ŏt* 'gall'): PM **öte-ge-* 'thick (of liquids)'; secondarily verbalized in Evk. *it-ke-* 'to ferment bread'

PA **kàra* 'opposite, enemy' (PT **Karu* 'opposite', PM **kari* 'foreign, alien')": PT **Kara-k* 'bandit', PJ **kàtà-ki* 'enemy, adversary'; secondarily verbalized (or else reflecting the factitive in *-g-) is PM **kar-gu/a-* 'to meet'

PA **kòt'e* 'hole' (PT **göt* 'anus, buttocks', PK **kút* 'hole'): PT **götü-k* > **gütü-k* 'tailless', PM **kota-ga-r* 'hollow', Evk. *koto-ko-n* 'concave, cavity'

PA **kòŋa* 'brown, black' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **koŋ-na-* 'black'): PM **koŋ-gu-r* 'light brown', PJ **kàn-kâ-* 'shadow'.

PA **kušu* 'nut' (PJ **kusi*): PT **Kusi-k*, PM **kusi-ga*, PTM **koši-k-ta*

PA **k[i̯a]ŋe* 'a k. of board' (PT **K(i)aŋ* 'vehicle, skis'): PT **K(i)aŋa-k* id., PM **kaŋ-ga* 'a k. of board, cross-bar'

PA **k'ăpri* 'fan, bellows' (probably secondary verbal usage in PT **kŏrü-* 'to use bellows', PTM **xarpu-* 'to sweep'): PT **kŏrü-k* 'bellows', PM **keɣür-ge* id., PTM **xarpu-kī* 'fan, broom'

PA **kʲ̆ăra* 'tide, flood' (PJ **kátà*): Turk. *qarıq* 'ditch', PM **kar-gi* 'rapids, overfall'

PA **kʲi̯ōtʲe* 'a k. of knife or arrow' (Evk. *utu* 'a k. of arrow'): PM **kitu-ga* 'knife', PTM **(x)utu-ke* 'knife on a shaft'

PA **kʲ̆ĕńó* 'light, thin' (suffixless cf. perhaps Turkm. Gaj 'стать стельной (о верблюдице)'): PM **köŋ-ge-n* 'light (not heavy)', PJ **kàmá-ka-* 'small, thin'

PA **kʲ̆ŏrV* 'dung, excrements' (not attested suffixless, cf. Kor. *kərim*): PM **kor-gu-l* , PTM **xōri-k-ta.*

PA **ĺăpʲV* 'bifurcated pole' (PT **jāpa* 'wooden fork, shovel', PTM **lapa-* 'bifurcated pole'): Turkm. *jāba-q* 'wooden fork', PM **daɣa-ga-n* 'horizontal bar in a yurt', Evk. *lapki* 'branch inserted between branches'

PA **nʲi̯ála* 'shallow' (Nan. *nʲi̯ala* 'overflowed place', PK **nă̆ră̆* 'ford'): PT **jAl-ki-* 'shallow', PM **nala-gar* 'declivity, overflowed plain', Evn. *ńala-kʲu* 'shallow')

PA **ŏtʲè* 'old' (Chuv. *vadъ*, PTM **ute*): PM **öte-gü* 'old man', Evk. *uta-kān* 'old age'

PA **pʲi̯ósò* 'stairway, step' (PJ **pási*): PT **bAs-ki-č*, PM **bosu-ga*, PTM **pise-ku*

PA **pʲi̯ăr[e]* 'bank' (PT **jār*): PM **her-gi*, Evk. *hirki*

PA **sańV* 'bird dung' (PTM **sańa*): PT **saŋ-k*, PM **saŋ-ga-*.

PA **sápa* 'brace, vice' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **sab-salga*): PT **saba-k*, PTM **sab-ga*, PK **sàpó-k*

PA **sáŕo* 'fence, village' (PTM **saru* 'tent in a boat', PJ **sátuá* 'village'): PT **soŕa-k* 'village', PM **sirö-ge* 'fence', Orok *sarụ-qa* id.

PA **să̆pʲí* 'long hair, offshoot' (PJ **sìmpá-i* 'pistils, stamens'): PT **sapa-k* 'branch, bunch', PM **saba-ga* 'yak wool'.

PA **sʲi̯ŏpʲu* 'oval-shaped' (PT **supi*): PT **supi-k*, PM **sibo-ga-r*

PA **sʲi̯ŏru* 'pole' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **siara-ŋ*): PT **sīru-k*, PM **sur-ga-ɣag*

PA **sĭĺa* 'sharp stick, tooth' (PT **sīĺ*, PTM **sila-*, PK **sár*, PJ **sàs-*): PT **sīĺe-k*, PM **sile-gü* 'toothed animal'

PA **ǯeŕV* 'edge, row, front' (PT **jeŕe-*, probably secondary as a verb in OT; PTM **ǯeri-n*): PT **jeŕe-k*, PM **ǯer-ge*

A very consistent group among those derivatives is represented by names of small animals (PT **-k*, **-kaj*, PM **-gan(a)*, *-ga-li*, PTM **-kī* , **-ke-n*, **-ku* (see Benzing 66-67), PJ **-ki*):

PA **balu* 'sable' (not attested suffixless, cf. Evk. *balini*): PM **bula-gan* 'sable, game', PJ **puru-ki* 'sable'

PA **ènŋù* 'young of an ungulate' (PJ **ùmà* 'horse'): PT **ạn-kaj*, PM **una-ga-n*, PTM **(x)enŋe-kēn*

PA **kʼi̯ŏŕo* 'lamb, deer' (PT **Koŕɨ* 'lamb'): PM **kuri-ga-n* id., PTM **xir-ki* 'wild deer'

PA **kʼi̯úĺa* 'sable, squirrel' (PT **kīĺ* 'sable'): PM **kul-ga-na* 'mouse', PTM **xulu-kī* 'squirrel'

PA **ĺepʼa* 'feather, down, wool' (PT **jAp* 'a mass of hair or wool'): PT **japa-k*, PM **daɣa-ga-n* 'foal' ('hair fading')

PA **pə̀tʼe* 'louse, biting insect' (PT **bɨt*): PM **bata-ga-na*, Evk. *hānte-ku*

PA **pʼi̯ani* 'hen, chicken' (PJ **pina*): PM **jaŋ-ga-li* 'a k. of small bird', PTM **pinu-kī*

PA **pʼi̯un[e]* 'a small wild animal' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **pün-čül-* 'hedgehog'): PT **enü-k* 'young of a wild animal, puppy', PM **hüne-gen* 'fox', PTM **püńe-kī* 'jerboa, weasel'

Only in a very small number of cases do we encounter PA **-k-* as a deverbative verbal suffix, cf.:

PA **i̯úrù* 'to gather, crowd' (PM **ir-* id., Kor. ul 'clan', PJ **ú(n)tì* id.): PT **ir-k-* 'to gather', PM **ir-ge-n* 'people'

PA **kāšu* 'to tickle' (PT **gīči-*): PT **Kɨči-k*, PM **giži-ge*, PTM **kaša-ka-*, PJ **kúsú-nkú-r-*

PA **kʼi̯úŋu* 'to bend, bow' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **Kɨjŋɨ-r-*, PM **keji-ǯaŋ*, **keje-de-*): PT **Kɨjŋɨ-k* 'curved', PM **keji-ge* 'oblique, slanting', PTM **xuŋ-ke-* 'to bow', PJ **kún-kú-m-* 'to be curved, bent'

PA **ńŏlo* 'to pluck, pick out' (PT **jol-*; PTM **ń[u]li-* 'to exuviate, fade', PJ **màr-* 'to pluck, tear off'): PM **ǯul-ga-* 'to pick, pluck', PTM **ń[u]li-ki-* 'naked'

It may well be so that in all these cases Mongolian (the only language actually pointing to **-k-*) has an innovation: the original verbal stem developed a nominal usage through conversion, and the derivative in **-k-* was built already from this secondary noun; and in the case of *ǯul-ga-* we may actually be dealing with PA factitive **-g-*, and not with **-k-*.

4.1.19. PA **-kʼ-*

Unlike PA **-k-*, the aspirated **-kʼ-* is quite well attested in building derived verbs from verbal stems, cf.:

PA **bə̌ĺó* 'pale' (PM **bala-ji* 'blind', PTM **beli* 'pale', PJ **pàrá-* 'to clear up'): Neg. *bel-ki-* 'to whiten', PK **pə̌r-k-* 'bright'

PA **bi̯ŭ̀lò* 'to soak, gush forth' (Kor. *pul-li-* 'to wet', PJ **pùrə̀* 'bath'): PT **bula-k* 'spring, well', PM **bul-ka-* 'to soak', PTM **b[ü]ll-kü-* id.

PA **čʼĭ́mu* 'to pinch, pluck' (PM **čim* 'a pinch', PJ **túm-* 'to pluck'): PM **čim-ki-* 'to pinch', PK **čùmə̀-kúi* 'fist, handful'

PA **enu* 'to beware, attention' (PM **(h)ana-* 'to beware, PT *anu- 'to get ready'): PT **anu-k* 'ready', PM **(h)aŋ-ka-* 'to pay attention'

PA **i̯ă̆pV* 'to bend, turn' (not attested suffixless; cf. PT **ebi-r-* 'to turn'): PM **eb-ke-* 'to bend, fold', PTM **obo-ka* 'hook', PJ **àpù-kuà* 'stick with a hook'

PA **kup'e* 'light, floating' (PM **köbü-* 'drift on the surface'): Bur. *xübxe-lze-* 'drift on the surface', PTM **kep(u)ke-* id.

PA **k'óp'i* 'foam' (PT **köp-* 'to swell', PM **köɣe-* 'to foam, swell up', PTM **x[o]pu-* 'foam'): PT **köpü-k* 'foam', PM **köb-ke-ji-* 'to swell'

PA **k'úlo* 'to roll, turn' (PT **Kula-* 'to roll down, fall', PTM **xol-* / **xul-* 'walk round, turn round', Jpn. *koro* 'round log'): PM **kol-ki-da-* 'to be restless, go round and round', Jpn. *koro-g-* 'to roll, rotate'

PA **lalV* 'weak, exasperated'(PM *nala-ji- 'be slow, sluggish', PTM **lali-* 'be hungry, weak, exasperated'): PT **jal-k-* 'to suffer pain, be nauseated', PM **nal-ka-ji-* 'be faint, drowsy, weak'

PA **p'ísi* 'break, cleave, peck' (PTM **pis-*, PK **psɨ́-*, PJ **písí* 'fish-fork'): PM **hes-ke-*, PTM **pis-k-*, PK **ps-kɨ́-r*, PJ **pisi(n)k-*

PA **t'i̯ă̆ru* 'to curse' (PTM **turē-*) : PT **tɐr-k-*, PM **tar-ki-*

As we see, in many of the above cases nominalization of the derived form in *-k'- also occurs (cf. PT **bula-k, *anu-k, *köpü-k,* PTM **obo-ka,* PK **čùmə̀-kúi, *ps-kɨ́-r,* PJ **àpù-kuà*), and in some of the cases all available derivatives are only nominal, cf.:

PA **kopV* 'to plane, whet' (PTM **kuba-*): PM **kobi-ki* 'a k. of chisel', Orok *qu̯waqu̯* 'plough'

PA **ŏ̆ri* 'to cover' (PTM **ora-* 'become covered', PK **òrái* 'door'): PM **örü-ke* 'cover of roof window', PTM **ur-ke* 'door'

PA **p'i̯ă̆ru* 'to spin, plait, wrap' (PTM **por-*): PT **ar-ka-g* 'weft, woof', PK **pòrò-kí* 'swaddlingclothes')

The deverbative instrumental suffix *-ku is rather widely attested in TM (see Benzing 1011), and it is this suffix that corresponds to PM *-ki in Orok *qu̯wa-qu̯* = PM **kobi-ki* (see above); one can thus suspect that this usage was already present in PA. The same form seems also to be reflected in PJ *-ku 'adjective and verb nominalizer' and MKor. -ko 'subordinative gerund marker' (see Vovin 1997, 9).

But the largest group of derivatives here, just as in the cases with PA *-g- and *-k-, are denominative nouns, cf. the following cross-language parallels:

PA **ă̆ni* 'very' (PTM **ana-* 'very', PK **àńí* 'first, beginning'): PT **eŋ(k)* 'very', PM **aŋ-ka* 'very, extremely; original'

PA **ă̆ra* 'back, behind' (PM **aru*): PT **ă̆r-ka* 'back', PM **aru-ki* 'back, behind', PTM **ar-ka-* 'back'

PA **č'i̯álV* 'a k. of thorny plant' (PT **č(i)ali* 'bush', PJ **tára* 'Aralia'): PT **č(i)ali-kan* 'nettle', PM **čulu-ki-r* 'кумарчик гобийский', PTM **čil[u]-k-te* 'wild pear; a k. of tree with red bark'

PA **č'ŏrV* 'pike' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **čor-tan*): PM **čuru-kaj*, Man. *čur-χu* 'young fish'

PA **gĕbo* 'light, empty' (PTM **gebu-*): Chag. *keve-k* 'empty', PM **güji-ke-* 'shallow, light'

PA **ki̯ujilV* 'a k. of bird' (PJ **kiari* 'plover'): PM **qojilu-g* 'wild turkey', PTM **kilu-k-* 'goose, swan', PK **kíirjá-kí* 'goose'

PA **kàbro* 'a k. of ferment' (PT **Kor* 'ferment, yeast, bitter', PM **kowr* 'poison, harm', PJ **kàrà-* 'bitter'): PM **ko(w)r-ka-g* 'pus (in a wound)', PTM **kabu-k-ta* (< **kabur-k-ta*) 'salmon fat, salmon stomach'

PA **kōŋa* 'bell' (PJ **káná-i*): PM **koŋ-ku* 'bell', PTM **kōŋā-k-ta* id.

PA **kŭŋi* 'child' (PT **güŋ* 'female slave', PTM **kuŋa* 'child, childhood', PM **köw* 'child'): PM **kew-ke-n* 'daughter, girl', PTM **kuŋā-kā-n* 'child'

PA **k'ùjlu* 'ear, to hear' (PK **kúi* 'ear'): PT **Kul-ka-k* 'ear', PM **kul-ki* 'ear wax', PJ **kí-k-* 'to hear'

PA **ĺep'a* 'feather, down, wool' (PT **jAp* 'a mass of hair or wool'): PT **jApa-k(u)* id., PM **daɣa-ki* 'tangled hair'

PA **li̯ŏm(o)ŋa* 'name, spell' (PT **jom* 'luck, omen; medicine'; PM **dom* 'magic, legend', PTM **nimŋā-* 'to shamanize', PJ **ná(N)* 'name', **nəm-* 'to pray'): PT **jom(ŋ)a-k* 'tale, legend, riddle', PM **doma-g* 'legend', PTM **nimŋā-kā-* 'fairy-tale', PK **nì'jà-kì* 'tale, story'

PA **máĺe* 'wild cat' (OT *müš*): PT **bińĺi-k* 'cat', (WMong. *malu-qai*), Man. *mala-xi*

PA **ŋŏjč'u* 'thin, small' (PTM **ŋujši*, PJ **úsú-*, Kor. *nač-*): PM **öčü-ken*, PTM **ŋujši-ku-*, PK **nǎč-ka-*

PA **ŋŭje* 'long hair' (PJ **bà* 'tail'): PT **öje-k* 'part of animal's skin under the neck or between legs', PM **öje-keji* 'lower part of animal's belly'

PA **págò* 'box, vessel' (PT **bog*, PTM **paga*): PTM **paga-kī*, PK **phǎkái*

PA **p'ăt'à* 'bottom, lower side' (PTM **pata*, PJ **pátá):* PT **at-ki-*, PM **hat-ku*, PTM **pata-ka*, PK **pàtó-k*

PA **si̯ăŕi* 'earth, sand, marsh' (PT **siaŕ*, PJ **situ*): PM **sir-ke*, PK **hǎrk*

PA **t'i̯oŋe* 'space' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **tuŋe-r* 'lake'): PT **Teŋe-k* 'air space', PM **töŋ-ki-* 'hollow', Evk. *tuŋu-ke* 'backwater', PK **taŋh* 'hollow'

PA **t'op'u* 'knee, knee cap' (PJ **tu(m)pu-*): PT **topi-k*, PM **tuw-kai*

PA **ǯòp'è* 'hollow under knee or neck, corner' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **dəpə-rá*): PM **ǯob-ki*, PTM **ǯup(u)-ku*

Although the semantics of most of these derivatives is quite neutral, we should note cases like **ŋ̄ǰc̓u* 'small' > Mong. **öčü-ken*, **kŭŋi* 'child' > Mong. **kew-ken*, PTM **kuŋā-kān*, and the well-known fact that these suffixes (Mong. -ken / -qan, PTM *-kān) are productive diminutives. It seems thus quite probable that PA *-k̓- in its denominative function had a diminutive meaning (which remained productive in TM, see Benzing 58-59, and Mongolian, but can also be observed in many cases in Turkic, Korean and Japanese).

Another source of this morpheme may be the adjectival marker *-k̓(i)-, reflected in Mong. (-ki), Turkic (-kɨ /-ki), see EAS 2, 234; cf. also the PJ attributive adjectival suffix *-ki.

4.1.20. PA *-ŋ-

The suffix *-ŋ- is not frequent, but firmly established for Altaic (see EAS 2, 229). It only forms nouns from verbs or nouns (cases of verbal usage of the -ŋ-derivatives are clearly secondary), and in this respect is fully synonymous with PA *-g-. Cf. the following cross-language lexical matches:

PA **ə̀ja* 'to go, walk' (PTM **āja-* 'to run quickly'): PM **aja-ŋ* 'journey, travel', PTM **āj[a]-ŋ* 'swift', PJ **àjùm-* 'to walk'

PA **dálo* 'wing, shoulderblade' (PT **jāl* 'counter, mane', PM **dalu* 'shoulderblade', **dali* 'wing'): PM **dala-ŋ* 'counter, scruff', PK **tə̆r'ái* > **tə̆r'ái* 'wing (of a saddle)'

PA **ína* 'dawn, dusk' (PTM **ine-* 'to dawn'): PT **iŋ-ir* 'dusk', PTM **ine-ŋī* 'day'

PA **ìri* 'to rot, pus, be sick' (PT **iri-* 'to rot'): PT **iri-ŋ* 'pus', PJ **ìtà-m-* 'to be sick'

PA **íru* 'trace, furrow' (PT **īr* / **ir̄*): PM **(h)ira-ɣa-* 'ripple, riffle', PK **ìráŋ* 'furrow'

PA **kọ́la* 'to steal, deceive' (PTM **kola* 'cunning, deceit'): PT **K(i)ala̗ŋ* 'lazy, vile', PM **kula-ga-j* 'robber, thief', PJ **kasu-m-* 'to steal, rob'

PA **k̓alo* 'girth, tug' (PT **xala* 'tug, belt'): PT **Kola-ŋ* 'saddlegirth', PK **kora-ŋ* 'fetters'

PA **k̓i̯ŭč̓i* 'a k. of cereal' (PT **kə̄če* 'barley'): PM **küči-ŋ-gi* 'a leguminous plant', PK **kìčàŋ* 'millet'

PA **mólu* 'ridge, corner' (PTM **mulu*, PK **mə̀rə̀*): PT **buluŋ*, PJ **múná-*

It is not quite clear whether this suffix can be related to the productive PTM *-ŋ(u)- denoting "nicht entfremdbares Eigentum" (see Benzing 61-62 for a discussion of this morpheme), which otherwise has no known Altaic parallels. On the other hand, *-ŋ- in deverbatives like

**āja-ŋV, *ìri-ŋV* etc. may be compared with the productive attested TM suffix *-ŋa- forming "past durative actions" ("vorübergehend andauernde Handlung"), see Benzing 120.

4.1.21. Summary of PA derivational suffixes

*-b-	a) deverbative verbal passive/causative
	b) denominative nominal (collective?)
*-p'-	deverbative passive/instrumental
*-m-	a) deverbative nominal
	b) denominative nominal (adjectival)
*-d-	denominative/deverbal adjectival
*-t-	a) deverbative verbal intransitive/passive
	b) denominative/deverbal adjectival
*-t'-	deverbative verbal transitive/motional
*-kt'-	denominative/deverbal adjectival
*-n-	a) deverbative verbal intransitive (reflexive)
	b) denominative nominal
*-l-	a) deverbative nominal
	b) denominative nominal (attributive)
*-r-	a) deverbative nominal (intransitive)
	b) denominative nominal (attributive)
*-č'-	a) denominative diminutive
	b) deverbative verbal intensive
*-ǯ-	a) adjectival
	b) intransitive (medial?)
*-ĺ-	verbal reciprocal
*-ŕ-	a) deverbative transitive
	b) suffix of paired body parts
*-j-	denominative expressive
*-s-	a) denominative nominal (=pronominal)
	b) deverbative / denominative desiderative/inchoative
*-g-	a) denominative/deverbative nominal
	b) factitive/intensive deverbative verbal
*-k-	denominative nominal; suffix of small animals
*-k'-	a) attributive (-> denominative nominal)
	b) diminutive
	c) deverbative verbal
*-ŋ- -	deverbative/denominative nominal

4.2. Proto-Altaic inflection

4.2.1. Noun

4.2.1.1. Case suffixes

Nominative 0: TM *0 (Benzing 79); Jap 0; Kor. 0; Mong 0; OT 0

Accusative *be: TM *ba / *be (Benzing 80-81); OJ wo

Partitive *ga: TM *ga (Benzing 82); OJ possessive ga; ?Kor. accusative -i-r (*-g- is lost regularly, but the source of -r is not quite clear); ?Mong. accusative *-ɣ; OT -(i)ɣ/-(i)g

Genitive *-ńV: PTM *ŋi; OJ no; Kor. -ń; Mong *n; OT ŋ (forms like -ŋi presuppose *-ń-ki)

Dative / locative *du / *da: TM dative *du (Benzing 83), locative suffix -dā- (Benzing 61); OJ attributive/locative -tu (although this suffix can also be compared with Mong. adjectival -tu, see below); Mong. dative/locative -da / -du-r, attributive -du; OT locative/ablative -ta/-da/-te/-de

Dative / instrumental *-nV: OJ dative/locative ni.OT instrumental -(i)n/-(i)n

Dative / directive *-k'V: TM Directive *kī (Benzing 84); OT dative -qa/-ke

Comitative / locative *lV: TM locative *lā (Benzing 84), prolative *lī (Benzing 84); Mong. comitative *-luɣa; ?Turk. -li, -li-ɣ (EAS 2, 46-47); Kor. instrumental / lative -ro

Comitative / equative *-č'a: OJ comitative to; Mong. ablative ča; terminative ča(ɣa); OT equative -ča/-če

Allative *-gV: TM allative *gī (also loc. suffix -gī-, Benzing 60-61); Mong. *-(ɣ)a (arch., EAS 2, 39-40); OT directive -ɣa-ru / -ge-rü; Kor. -'əi

Directive *-rV: Mong. directive -ru; OT directive -ɣa-ru / -ge-rü (also *-ra, *-rü); Kor. lative -ro (a merger of the comitative and directive cases)

Instrumental / ablative *ǯV: TM instrumental *ǯi (Benzing 87), elative *gī-ǯi; OJ ablative ju / jo̤o ; (?) PT terminal dative *(j)a.

4.2.1.2 Plural suffixes

PA *-t'-: PTM *-ta(n) / *-te(n) (basically in Manchu, in other languages used as the 3d plur. pronom. suffix), Mong. -d, Turk. *-t, PJ *ta-ti, PK *-ti-r

This is the most common and probably original PA plural suffix.

PA *-s-: PTM *-sa-l (Benzing 76-78), Mong. *-s

This suffix is restricted to the TM-Mong. area, and may in fact reflect the PA collective *-sa (see above).

PA *-l-: PTM *-l, PT *-lar, PM *-nar, PJ *-ra

In Turkic, Mongolian and Japanese this suffix seems to have been originally restricted to forming plurals of animate nouns, and in Japanese it basically reflects associativity ("brothers and those together with them, associated with them"). Ramstedt (EAS 2) suggests that it was originally a separate noun **larV* which accounts for the specific reflex n- in Mongolian (otherwise typical for *l- in word-initial position, see above). Turkic and Japanese already treat it as a suffix (word-initial *l- is absent in Turkic, just as word-initial *r- is absent in Japanese). Loss of *-rV in TM and Japanese, however, is difficult to account for - perhaps one should think of an early assimilative process in a suffixed morpheme (something like *-larV > *-lrV > *-llV).

Above we have already dealt with the suffix *-ŕV which may have had an original dual meaning. Outside Turkic the reflexes of *-ŕ- cannot be distinguished from those of *-r-, and it seems interesting to note the peculiar plural in *-r in TM, which occurs in nouns whose singular ends in *-n (like Evk. *beju-n - beju-r* 'wild deer', *oro-n - oro-r* 'tame deer' etc., see Benzing 1025). We have suggested above that this *-n may have had a special "singulative" meaning, and we may note that words with the *-ŕV suffix often have counterparts with *-n in other languages (cf. PT **kökü-ŕ* 'breast', PJ **kəkə-rə* 'heart' vs. PM **kökö-n*, PTM **kuku-n* 'breast' etc.). It is therefore tempting to reconstruct "singular" *-nV opposed to "dual" *-ŕV, "plural" *-t'V and "associative plural" **larV*. It should be stressed that in PA, as in most modern Altaic languages, all these suffixes need not have been obligatory, probably only used in situations when the number of a noun had to be explicitly expressed, and thus implementing something similar to the category of determination (note that Korean may reflect this *-n as its 'thematic case', see Холодович 11):

kǒk'ə̀* 'breast, two breasts, breasts' (indeterm.) **kǒk'ə̀-nV* 'one breast' : **kǒk'ə̀-ŕV* 'two breasts' : (kǒk'ə̀-t'V* 'many breasts') (determ.)

**ə̀na* 'brother, two brothers, brothers' (indeterm.) **ə̀na-nV* 'one brother' : **ə̀na-ŕV* 'two brothers' : **ə̀na-t'V* 'many brothers' : **ə̀na-larV* 'brothers and those with them' (determ.)

Such a situation would account quite well for the various plural patterns that we observe in modern Altaic languages.

4.2.2. Numerals

Common Altaic numerals are treated as lexemes in the body of the dictionary, so here we shall just list the forms with a few additional comments:

1 **bi̯uri*: PT **bir*, PJ **pitə* (cf. also PM **büri* 'all, each', PK **pìrí-* 'at first').

This seems to be the original PA numeral for 'one'. Other languages have innovations: PM **nige* 'one' < PA **ni̯ŏŋe* 'single' (PT **jaŋi̯ŕ* 'single', PJ **nəmi* 'only', PTM **noŋ-* / **non-* 'be the first, begin'); PTM **emu-* (/**ume-*) 'one' < PA **emo* 'front' (PT **öm-gen* 'upper part of breast', PM **emü-* 'front'; PK **hằnàh* 'one' < PA **si̯óna* 'single, one of a pair' (PT **si̯ŋar* 'one of a pair', PM **son-du-* 'odd', Man. *soni-* 'single, odd', PJ **sa-* 'together, reciprocally').

2 **ti̯ubu*: Old Bulg. *tvi-rem* 'second'; PM **ǯiw-rin* ~ **ǯui-rin* 'two (fem.)'; PTM **ǯube-* 'two'; PK **tū*, **tū-rh* (= **tubu*, **tubu-rh*) 'two'.

Some languages have introduced innovations: PT **e̯k(k)i* 'two' < PA **p'i̯ò̯k'e* 'pair, couple' (cf. also PT **e̯kiŕ* 'twins' = PM **(h)ekire* id.); PM **gojar* 'two' (changed to **qojar* in North. Mong. under the influence of **qo-rin* '20' or **qoji* 'follow, behind') < PA **gojV* 'different, other' (PTM **goj* / **gia*, PJ **kía*); PJ **puta-* 'two' < **puč'u* 'pair, half' (PT **buč-uk*, PK **pča-k*).

3 **ŋi̯u*: PM **gu-rban* 'three', **gu-čin* 'thirty', PT **o-tuŕ* 'thirty' (= PM **gu-čin*), PJ **mi-*. PT **ü-* in **üč* 'three' may also reflect the same root, although the suffixation is not clear.

TM and Korean have interesting innovations. PTM **ila-n* 'three' goes back to a PA root **ìlù* meaning 'third (or next after three = fourth)', consisting of three objects', reflected in PT as **ölöŋ* 'song with three out of four verses rhyming (first, second and fourth)' and in PJ as **ùrù-pu* 'bissextile (year or month)'; PK **sāi(h)* 'three' appears to go back to PA **séjra* meaning 'an object consisting of three parts', cf. PM **sere-γe* 'trident, pitchfork' = PJ **sárápi* 'rake, pitchfork'.

Numerals after 'three' are well reconstructable because of precise TM - Japanese matches, although other languages have in some cases introduced their own innovations.

4 **tōjV*: PTM **dü-gin* = PJ **də-*. This is one of the most stable PA numerals and it is also preserved in PT **dō̃-rt*, PM **dö-rben* 'four', **dö-čin* 'forty'. The etymology of MKor. *nəi* 'four' remains unclear.

5 **t'u*: PTM **tu-ńga*, PJ **i-tu-* (the prefixed i- is somewhat unclear: it is also used as a separate word meaning 'fifty', but the historical root here is no doubt **tu-*). This numeral is also preserved in PM **ta-bun*

'five', **ta-bin* 'fifty' and PK **tà-* 'five'. PT, however, has replaced this common numeral by an etymologically obscure **bẹ́(k)*.

6 **ńu*: PTM **ńu-ŋu-*, PJ **mu-*. Also reflected in Mong. as **ǯi-rgu-* 'six', **ǯi-ran* 'sixty', perhaps also in MKor. as *jə-(sis)* - although loss of initial **ń-* is not quite regular. An innovation of obscure origin has been introduced in PT (**alti*).

7 **nadi*: PTM **nada-n*, PJ **nana-*. The same numeral is reflected in PT **jẹt(t)i* and PK **nìr-(kúp)*. The relationship of Mong. **dolu-γan* 'seven', **dala-n* 'seventy' is somewhat unclear: it may suggest an original proto-form **ĺadi-* or **ladi-* with dissimilation (or metathesis) in Mongolian.

8 **ǯa*: PTM **ǯa-pkun*, PJ **da-*. Problematic is the relationship of PK **jà-t-* 'eight' (possible if we assume a dialectal development **ǯ- > *j-*, like in **jár(h)* 'ten' < **ǯi̯ŏŕo*, see below). The origin of PM **naji-man* and PT **sekiŕ* 'eight' remains obscure.

9 **kʹegVnV*: PTM **xegün*, PJ **kəkənə-*. Other languages have introduced innovations: PT **tokuŕ*, PM **je-sün* 'nine', **ji-ren* '90', PK **a-hop*).

10 **čị̆obe* (or **tị̆obe*): PTM **ǯuba-n*, PJ **tɘwə*. Being a direct TM-Jpn. isogloss, this root is the most probable candidate for '10' in PA. Other languages have introduced innovations going back to roots with a general meaning 'many, big number': cf. **ǯi̯ŏŕo* > PK **jár(h)* 'ten', but PT **jŭŕ* 'hundred', Man. *ǯiri, ǯirun* 'a very big number', PJ **dàrà-* '10000'; **pʹVbV* > PT **ō-n* '10', PM **ha-rban* '10', **ha-na* 'all', Orok *pōwo* 'a bundle of 10 squirrels', Nan. *poã* 'collection, gathering', PJ **-pə (-pua)* 'hundred' (in names of hundreds).

20 **kʹi̯ura*: PTM **xori-n*, PM **kori-n*. This is the only numeral after '3' which does not reveal a direct TM-Jpn. correspondence. Therefore we suspect that the PJ word for '20', viz. **pata-ti*, may have originally sounded like **kata-ti* (which is the regular reflex of **kʹi̯ura*), but was influenced by '2' (**puta-tu*, see above) and consequently changed to **pata-ti*. The same root is evidently present in PT **Kɨrk* 'forty' - perhaps an original reduplication < **Kɨr-kɨr* ('20'+'20'); the simple **Kɨr* must have been replaced by **(j)egir-mi*, a form probably derived from **ẹk(k)i* 'two'.

100 **ńə̀mò*: PTM **ńamā*, PJ **muàmuà*, PM **ǯaγu-n* (< **ńam-ŋu-*). Cf. also PT **jom-* 'big number, all' (in the meaning 'hundred' replaced by **jŭŕ*, see above). Korean has introduced an innovation, **ón*, of obscure origin.

1000 **čị̆ùmi*: PTM has no word for thousand (all languages reveal a later mongolism *miŋgan* < PM **miŋgan* = PT **biŋ* 'thousand'). However, PJ **ti* 'thousand' has a plausible parallel in PK **čɨ́mín* id. and PT **Tümen* '10000'. PA **miŋa* is a local Mong.-Turk. isogloss (resembling Middle

Chinese *mwàn* '10000') and possibly not common Altaic, so the original root seems to be **čiùmi* reflected in Kor., Jpn. and Turkic.

We see thus that - despite a rather widespread misconception of numerals being not reconstructable for PA - PA had a complete set of numerals from 1 to 1000, and most of them are recoverable because of significant archaisms preserved in the TM and Japanese areas. Some individual systems were considerably modified (thus, Turkic introduced innovations for most numerals except 'one', 'three' (?), 'four' and 'seven'; Mongolian introduced innovations for 'one', 'eight', 'nine', 'ten' and 'thousand' etc.), but the original system is nevertheless clear.

4.2.3. Pronouns

4.2.3.1. Personal pronouns

1 p. **bǐ*, pl. **ba ~ *bu* (*obl. *mi-n-, *ma-n- ~ *mu-n-*)

For PA we can also reconstruct a stem **ŋa*, reflected in some cases as Mong. **na-d-, *na-m-*, and preserved in Korean as **nà* and in Jpn. as **a-*.

2 p. **si*, pl. **su* (*obl. *si-n-, *su-n-*)

It seems also possible to reconstruct a second stem **na*, preserved in Kor. **nà* and Jpn. **ná*, and possibly reflected in the PT 2d p. ending **-ŋ* (although velarization here is not quite clear).

The relationship within the suppletive pairs **bi - *ŋa* and **si - *na* is not quite clear; the forms **ŋa* and **na* may have originally been restricted to some oblique cases (cf. the situation in Mongolian).

We must also mention the isolated Mong. 2d p. pronoun: sing. *či*, pl. *ta*, presupposing original **t'i*, pl. **t'a*. Although Altaic parallels are lacking, the pronoun is no doubt archaic (having certain Nostratic parallels: PIE **tŭ*, PU **ti-*). The stems **t'i* and **na* are thus both candidates for the stem of PA oblique cases of the 2d p. pronoun. **na* may be a Kor.-Jpn. innovation (the Turkic parallel here is not quite secure), but one can also not exclude a possibility that **t'i* and **na* were opposed in some other way (e.g., in number).

4.2.3.2. Interrogative pronouns

**k'a(j)* 'who'

**ŋi̯V* 'what, who'

4.2.3.3. Demonstrative pronouns

**sV, *kō, *la, *o* (near deixis)

**č'a, *e, *i, *t'a (*t'e)* (far deixis)

4.2.3.4. Reflexive pronouns

It can be suggested that a function similar to that of a reflexive pronoun was fulfilled by the stem **mēno* 'self; body' (possibly related, and partially confused, with **méŋu* 'whole').

4.2.4. Adjectives

In Proto-Altaic, adjectives were hardly distinct from nouns or participial verbal forms. There is, however, one specific morpheme that was probably regularly used for deriving attributes (= adjectives) from nouns and nominal forms, viz. PA *-k'i, well detectable in Mong. -ki, PT *-k, PTM *-ki and Jpn. (attributive adjectival) -ki. This suffix evidently could also be joined to the genitive marker *-ńV, resulting in a contraction *-ń-k'i > *-ŋi, *-ŋ in TM and Turkic.

Another suffix that could form attributes (=adjectives) from nouns was probably *-t'u > Mong. -tu, Jpn. -tu (the latter has probably merged *-t'u and the dative/locative *du, see above).

4.2.5. Verbs

In all Altaic languages verbal stems may be simple or derived - either from nouns or from verbs. In the latter case productive suffixes usually form what is called voices or diatheses. The following verbal forms can be reconstructed for PA:

*-b- passive / causative
*-t- intransitive / passive
*-t'- transitive
*-n- intransitive / reflexive
*-č'- intensive
*-ǯ- intransitive (medial?)
*-ĺ- reciprocal
*-ś- transitive / causative
*-s- desiderative / inchoative
*-g- factitive / intensive

All these suffixes have been described above in the section concerning derivation. Their productivity varies in subbranches of Altaic, and it is not quite clear which of them actually formed part of the verbal paradigm, and which were less productive and purely derivational in Proto-Altaic.

Some of these suffixes do not actually change the voice or diathesis, but rather modify the character of action, and should be perhaps characterized as moods. Among the suffixes above such are the desiderative / inchoative *-s- (see EAS 2, 83) and the intensive *-č'-. Another common Altaic mood suffix is *-m-, originally probably optative and reflected as optative *-ma-, *-mu- in PTM (see Benzing 121), MKor. intention marker -ma and assumptive (hypothetical) *-m- in OJ (see Vovin 1997, 7). An imperative (non-2d person) in *-nV seems to be reflected in OT *-(jï)n and OJ *-na. Lack of a suffix (a pure verbal stem) was probably used for the 2d person imperative mood (see EAS 2, 81-82).

4.2.5.1 Participial and tense / aspect suffixes

Verbal stems - simple and derived - in Altaic languages are usually followed by participial suffixes, and such forms can function either as attributive (= participles) or finite. The following participial suffixes can be reconstructed for Proto-Altaic:

PA *-jV 'a gerund suffix': PT *-(j)a, PM *-ɣa, PKor. -a / -ə, PJ *-i (see EAS 2, 108-111, Vovin 1997, 5, calling the morpheme "infinitive");

PA *-p'V 'a gerund suffix (probably perfective, see EAS 2, 122-124): PT *-p, PM *-ba(j), PTM *-pī (Benzing 143), PJ *-(m)pa;

PA *-rV 'aorist or indefinite present' (perhaps originally intransitive, see above): PT *-r; PM *-ra / -re (supinum); PTM *-ra 'aorist of the 1st class of verbs'; Kor. -r indefinite present or future suffix; PJ *-r-u (after consonantal stems *-u) 'general attributive verbal form' (cf. Vovin 1997, 4, reconstructing this morpheme as attributive);

PA *-t'V 'past tense': PT *-t- 'past (or perfect) suffix', Kor. -t- 'past (or regressive) suffix', PJ *-t- 'past suffix' (see EAS 2, 115-117, Vovin 1997, 7);

PA *-lV transitive (?) participle, with somewhat unclear function, see above;

PA *-k'V 'preterite': PJ *-ki, PK *-kə- (Vovin 1997, 6). The suffix is lost in Turkic, while Mong. and TM seem to preserve it within the compound suffix *-k'sV- (PTM *-ksa-, see Benzing 140; not *-kV-, as stated by Vovin), Mong. past gerund -g-sa-n. It is interesting to mention that, whereas PJ *-ki is a finite morpheme (used in a sentence-final predicate), the same preterite paradigm in Japanese includes the attributive *-si (possibly related to PTM *-s-aorist, see above); the Mong.-Tung. compound *-k'-sV- may in fact be a combination of these two morphemes.

TM languages reflect also participles (= aorist suffixes) in *-s- and *-d-, see Benzing 123-128, which seem to be opposed to *-r- as intransitive (medial) vs. transitive (active), but it is so far unclear whether it is a TM innovation or an archaic feature. *-s- seems to have a parallel in Japanese (see above), and *-d- in Mongolian (praeteritum imperfecti *-ǯi, see Poppe 1965, 265). There may also be traces of past (or perfect) participles in *-č'V and *-šV (on *-šV within the dubitative *-ma-šV see below).

It appears that the *-t'V- and *-k'V-, perhaps also *-sV- and *-dV- (tense or aspect) morphemes directly followed the verbal stem (consisting of the root + voice / diathesis modifiers), while the *-jV, *-p'V, *-rV and *-lV markers acted as converbs and occupied the next position in the verbal wordform. Many details, however, are still to be worked out.

4.2.5.2 Personal endings

Conjugation with personal suffixes is attested in Turkic, Mongolian and TM, but is completely absent from Korean and Japanese. In most cases the personal suffixes coincide with personal pronouns, so the morphemes could be secondarily added to the verbal wordform in individual subbranches. An opposition of the 2d - non-2d personal endings may be, however, reconstructed for the imperative mood (see above on the Turkic-Japanese matching *-nV marker).

4.2.5.3 Negation

There are two common Altaic negative particles: **āni* (probably general negation) and **ma* (probably a prohibitive particle). The existing evidence suggests strongly that they were independent words in Proto-Altaic (for **ma* cf. Man. *u-me* and MKor. *mō-t*, functioning as separate words; for **āni* cf. Chuv. *an*, TM **ān-*, MKor. *an-*, Jpn. *na-* functioning as separate words). In some branches, however, they tend to become incorporated into the structure of a verbal wordform: thus PT has generalized the negative particle *-m- (which has thus superseded the original optative *-m-, on which see above), and Japanese, the negative particle *-an-.

The negative (prohibitive) particle **ma* can perhaps be also discovered within the OJ dubitative (or irreal optative) marker -ma-si, which A. Vovin (1997, 8) has compared with the PTM subjunctive marker *-mča- (~ *-mša-), thus presupposing PA **ma-šV*.

A third archaic negative particle (verb) is **e*, attested in TM and Mongolian. It seems worth mentioning that in TM it is combined with

the aorist marker -s-, and in Mongolian it is attested as **e-se*. It may thus have been differentiated from **āni* by some additional tense/aspect feature (being, e.g., originally a past negative).

CHAPTER FIVE

CLASSIFICATION OF ALTAIC LANGUAGES AND DATING OF PROTO-ALTAIC

To demonstrate the genetic subclassification of Altaic we shall take the list of matches between Altaic subgroups in the realm of the basic vocabulary:

Item	Turkic	Mongolian	Tungus-Manchu	Korean	Japanese	PA
all	*büt-			*mòt-		*mŭt'ì
all	*Kop	*kow	*kupukte			*kŏp'V
ashes		*hüne-sü	*pulńe-			*p'oĺńe
bark	*Kāpuk			*kàph-	*kapa	*k'ắp'à
bark	*Kaŕ	*kajir(a)-				*k'éŕà
bark	*Kirtɨĺ	*körü-sü	*xura-kta			*k'i̯ŭrú
belly		*keweli	*kepel-			*kĕ́p'V
belly				*pắi	*pàrá	*p'ə̀jló
bite		*kem-			*kàm-	*kə̀ma
black	*Kara	*kara			*kùruà-	*kàru
blood		*či-su			*tí	*čį̆ŭnu
bone		*ja-su		*s-pjə́	*pə̀niá	*p'ə̀jńé
breast		*čeɣeʒi	*ča(i)ʒan	*čjə̌č	*tì(tí)	*č'ă̆jʒV
breast		*kökön	*kuku-n			*kŏ̆k'è
burn	*jak-		*deg-ʒe-gi-	*thằ-	*dák-	*dĕ́kà
f.-nail		*kimul-su		*kom(h)		*k'i̯uml[e]
f.-nail				*tòph	*túmá-i	*t'i̯ŭp'o
cloud				*kúrùm	*kùmua	*k'ò̆lmV
cold		*köji-ten	*xiŋŭ-			*k'i̯ójŋo
cold	*sogi-k		*šig-			*šį̆ogo
come	*gęl-				*kə̀-	*gĕ̆le
die		*bür-il-	*bu(r)-			*bŭri
dog	*ɨt		*ŋinda		*ìnú	*ŋĭ̆ndó
drink			*um(i)-	*mà-		*umV
dry	*Kūrɨ-	*kawra-			*káwá(ra)-k-	*k'i̯óbarV
ear	*Kul-kak			*kúi		*k'ŭ̆jlu
earth		*siraɣu		*hă̆rk		*si̯ắŕi

Item	Turkic	Mongolian	Tungus-Manchu	Korean	Japanese	PA
eat	*jē-		*ǯe-p-	*čă-		*ǯē
egg	*jumurtka	*ömdege	*umūkta			*úmu-tki
eye		*ni-dü	*ńia-sa	*nú-n	*mà-	*nʲà
fat	*jāg	*eɣü-kü				*ʲáǵi
fat			*ximū-	*kìrím		*kʲáŕme
feather	*jüg		*dekte-			*d[é]gì
feather		*hö-dün			*pánái	*pʹúńe
fire				*pɨ́r	*pə̀-i	*pʹə̌re
fish		*ǯiɣa-			*(d)íwuá	*dʲáǵi
fly		*degde-	*deg-			*tēga
foot			*palga-n	*pár	*pànkì	*pə̀lgà
full	*dōl-		*ǯalu-			*čáĺo
full			(*čak)	*čhə̆́-		*čʹáko
full			*milte-		*mìt-	*mìltʹe
give	*bēr-		*bū-			*bʲóŕ[é]
give				*tā-	*átá-pá-	*ʲáťá
go			*ŋene-	*nàń-	*ín-	*ŋéni
good				*tjōh-	*də̀-	*dʲòge
green	*gök	*köke				
green		*nogo-ɣan	*Ílog-			*lʲŏga
hair	*Kɨl(k)		*xińŋa-		*ká-i	*kʹíla
hair		*hü-sü	*puńe-			*pʹúńe
hand	*el		*ŋāla			*ŋə̀li
head	*balč			*mərí		*mə́Ĺǯu
hear			*dōldī-	*tɨd-		*tə̀Ĺdi
heart			*miaŕam	*mə̀ńə̀m		*mʲóńù
heart	*jürek	*ǯirüke				*ǯə̀r(V)kʹe
horn		*eber		*s-pír		*ʲopʹérV
I	*bę-	*bi	*bi		*bà-	*bə̌
I				*nà	*a-	*ŋa
know			*sā-		*sir-	*sə́ŕi
leaf	*japur-gak	*labči		*níph		*lʲàpʹ[à]
lie	*ją-t-		*dē			*dè
lie		*keb-			*kəjə-	*kejbe
lie				*nū-b-	*ná-	*nə́
liver	*biagir		*pākin			*pʲə̀ki
long			*ŋōli-		*nàn-kà-	*ŋə̀la
long	*uŕi-n	*ur-tu				*ʲuŕo

Item	Turkic	Mongolian	Tungus-Manchu	Korean	Japanese	PA
louse		*sirke			*sìrám(u)i	*sʲə̀jrí
man	*ēr	*ere				*árі
many				*mān(h)	*manai-	*mana
meat				*sárh	*sìsì	*šʲə̀lì
moon				*tár	*tùkùi	*tʻʲòlgu
mouth		*ama-n	*am-ŋa			*ámo
name		*nere		*(n)ìrh-		*nére
neck	*bōjn		*moŋa-n	*mjə-k	*nəmpV	*mójno
new			*nebi		*nípí-	*nébì
new	*jaŋɨ	*sine		*sái		*zèjńa
night			*dolba		*duà	*dŭle
nose		*ka[m]ar	*xoŋa-	*kóh		*kʻʲŏŋa
not			*ā(n)-	*àn-	*nà-	*àni
not		*e-se	*e-			*e
one	*bir				*pitə	*bʲuri
rain	*jag-			*pí		*pʻʲə̀ge
red		*hula-ɣan	*pula-	*pɨrk-		*puli
road		*mör-			*mítí	*mʲóri
root		*ündü-sü	*ŋŭŋte		*mətə	*ŋʲŭŋtʻè
root		*hiǯa-ɣur	(*puǯuri)			*pʲoǯi
root			*pule-	*pɨrhǎi		*pʻŭli
round			*murV		*márə	*múra
round			*toŋal-	*toŋkor-		*tʻòŋké
round		*tob-			*tùmpú-ra	*tʻòpʻú
round	*deg-	*tögörig				*tegá
sand				*mòrʼaʻi	*mana-n-kua	*mára
say		*kele-		*kǎró-		*kʻʲə̀li
seed	*urug	*hüre				*pʻŭri
sit		*saɣu-			*súwá-	*šʲábu
skin				*kàph-	*kapa	*kʻáp'à
skin	*jīn		*nansa			*náne
sleep	*ū-		*ŋuja		*úi-	*ŋúju
small		*öčü-	*ŋüši-			*ŋójču
small		*ǯiǯig	*nisi			*ńŭŋči
stand	*dur-				*tàt-	*čŭra
star	*jul-duŕ	*ho-dun		*pjīr	*pəsí	*pʻʲŏ́lo
stone	*diāĺ	*čila-ɣu	*ǯola	*tōrh	*(d)ísì	*tʲóĺì
sun			*sigū-n	*hǎi		*sʲŏgu

Item	Turkic	Mongolian	Tungus-Manchu	Korean	Japanese	PA
swim		*oji-mu-			*ə̀jə̀nk-	*òje
tail	*Kudruk		*xürgü	*s-kòrí		*k'i̯údo
that	*Ti-	*te-re	*ta-	*tjə́		*t'a
that		*ča-	*čā-			*č'a
this		*e-ne	*e-			*é
this	*gə̄			*ki	*ká-	*kō
thou	*sẹ-		*si		*si	*si
thou				*nə̀	*ná	*ná
tongue		*kele	*xilŋü			*k'i̯ə̆li
tongue				*hjə́	*sìtá	*si̯ə́jri
tooth				*par	*pa	*pala
tooth	*sīĺ	*si-dü				*sīĺa
tree		*mo-du	*mō			*mú̜ro
two		*ǯiw-rin	*ǯube	*tubu		*ti̯ubu
warm	*jɨli-g	*dula-ɣan				*dji̯ŭlu
warm				*tə̌-	*àtà-	*ōt'a
water			*mū	*mír	*mí-	*mi̯ŭri
water	*sɨb	*u-su				*ši̯uba
we	*bi-ŕ	*ba	*bue	*ú-rí	*bà-	*bə̌-
what	*nV	*ja-ɣu-			*nə̀	*ŋi̯V
white	*siarɨg			*hə̆i-	*sìruà-	*si̯ə̀jri
white		*čaga-ɣan	*šāk-			*šə̀k'a
who	*kem	*ken	*xia			*k'a(j)
who			*ŋū	*nú-		*ŋi̯V
woman		*eme		*ámh	*mía	*ə̌me
far	*ɨra-				*pàrú-ka	*p'ìrá
heavy				*mɨ-	*ə́m(p)ə́-	*ámbe
near	*jạgu-		*daga			*də̆gá
near	*jAkɨ-				*tìkà-	*də̀k'ì
salt	*dūŕ	*dabu-su				*čo̜beŕV
short		*hokar	*poKa-			*pi̯ŭk'ì
snake		*mogaji	*mŭkŭ			*mi̯ūko
snake				*pə̆jàm	*pàim(p)V	*p'[ò]jamV
thin				*kə̆nə̆r-	*kòmá-	*k'ə̌ńó
thin		*nari-n	*ner-	*jɨr-p-		*nèra
thin		*nim-gen	*niambu-			*ni̯ombu
wind	*jẹl	*sal-ki				*zə̆li
worm	*Kūrt	*koro-kai				*k'i̯ó̜ro

Item	Turkic	Mongolian	Tungus-Manchu	Korean	Japanese	PA
year		*oj	*aṅŋa			*ǻṅu
year	*jil	*ǯil			*tòsì	*dĭlo
year			*sē	*sīr		*zēra

This list is basically the same as given in Starostin 1991 (pp. 25-63, 85-104), but with some additions and corrections added during the years of work on the Altaic dictionary, which have consequently resulted in some calculational changes, albeit statistically insignificant. The average percent of matches revolves around 20, which gives us the date of split of Proto-Altaic at around the end of 6th millennium B.C. We see an increase up to about 25% between Turkic, Mongolian and TM, and an increase to 33% between Korean and Japanese, which would speak in favour of two basic subbranches of Altaic.

However, if we look at the figures in more detail and take into account the division between 35 more stable items and 65 less stable items, proposed by S. Y. Yakhontov, the picture appears to be somewhat more complicated.

Language pairs	Matches in the standard 100 w.-list	Matches in Yakhontov's modified 100 w.-list	Matches in Yakhontov's 35-wordlist	35/65 w.list ratio
TuMo	25	24	11	31 / 20 : 1.55
TuTM	25	22	10	29 / 18 : 1.61
TuKo	17	13	5	14 / 12 : 1.17
TuJap	19	19	7	20 /18 : 1.11
MoTM	29	30	11	31 / 29 : 1.07
MoKo	18	17	8	23 / 14 : 1.64
MoJap	22	17	9	26 /12 : 2.17
TMKor	23	23	9	26 / 22 : 1.18
TMJap	22	20	8	23 /18 : 1.28
KorJap	33	30	11	31 /29 : 1.07

This chart shows us that while the overall 35 / 65 wordlist ratio is > 1 in all cases (the situation which indicates genetic relationship, meaning that the rate of matches within the most stable 35 word range is higher than the rate of matches within the less stable 65 word range), in two cases - Mongolian-TM and Kor.-Jpn. - it is dangerously close to 1. Lexicostatistically this may indicate the borders of ancient dialect zones within Proto-Altaic, suggesting that Tungus-Manchu does not really

constitute a unity with Turkic-Mongolian, and throwing some doubts on the genetic unity of Korean-Japanese.

Additionally it provides an explanation why the genetic situation within Altaic looks somewhat different from that within, e.g., Indo-European - which was the main reason for the whole anti-Altaic criticism. Altaic appears to be different from Indo-European in two main respects:

a) it is somewhat older than Indo-European: while the split of Proto-Indo-European (or Proto-Indo-Hittite) can be dated to the 4th millennium B.C., the split of Proto-Altaic must have occurred at least a thousand years earlier;
b) whereas the subbranches of Indo-European are rather old (e.g., Balto-Slavic may be dated around the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C, and Indo-Iranian - by the verge of the 2d and 3d millennia B.C.), the subbranches of Altaic are considerably younger: Turkic - beginning of our era, Mongolian - around the 10th century A.D., Tungus-Manchu - around the 4th century B.C., Japanese - around the 5th century A.D., Korean - around the 11th century A.D. Furthermore, whereas the oldest texts in ancient Indo-European languages are attested quite early, the written monuments of Altaic languages date back not earlier than to the 8th century A.D. This all creates an impression of a much more distant genetic relationship between Altaic languages than that between Indo-European languages. Consequently - basically due to the absence of archaic attestation - Proto-Altaic is somewhat more difficult to reconstruct than Proto-Indo-European. It is also quite possible that some other branches of Altaic might have existed, but they could have been wiped out by later waves of migrations of Altaic (and non-Altaic) languages.

The overall distribution of lexical isoglosses confirms the above classification, but yields some additional information on the dialect distribution within Proto-Altaic.

The core of the common Altaic vocabulary is constituted by etyma reflected in Turko-Mongolian (at least in Turkic or Mongolian) and in Korean-Japanese (at least in Korean or Japanese) - with or without Tungus-Manchu parallels. The number of such roots within the present volume is 1841; most of them (1553) are also reflected in Tungus-Manchu.

There are, however, two other lexical groups:

a) Turkic-Mongolian roots with Tungus-Manchu parallels (615); without Tungus-Manchu parallels (57)

b) Korean-Japanese roots with Tungus-Manchu parallels (195); without Tungus-Manchu parallels (23)

We see thus that Tungus-Manchu occupies a specific position within the Altaic family, sharing a large number of isoglosses both with the Turkic-Mongolian and the Korean-Japanese branches. In the dictionary we call the former "Western isoglosses" and the latter, "Eastern isoglosses". Historically such a situation may be explained by a "central" position of Tungus-Manchu among the Proto-Altaic dialects. At the same time, one can also not exclude a scenario of later prehistorical borrowings (already after the split of Proto-Altaic, but before a wide geographical separation of Turko-Mongolian and Tungus-Manchu, on one hand, and Tungus-Manchu and Korean-Japanese, on the other).

The position of Tungus-Manchu within Altaic thus resembles the position of Greek within Indo-European: due to its original "central" geographic location, Greek shares a large number of isoglosses both with European languages (primarily Italo-Celtic) and with Indo-Iranian languages.

The Proto-Altaic nature of almost a thousand "Western" or "Eastern" isoglosses mentioned above is questionable; nevertheless we decided to include them into the dictionary because potentially any of them may turn out to be common Altaic - there is always a chance that, e.g., a Korean match for a Western isogloss exists but has not yet been recovered, or a chance that an archaic etymon reflected in Korean-Japanese has been lost in Turko-Mongolian. We must stress that phonetically and morphologically these isoglosses behave just like all other common Altaic roots.

To sum up: Proto-Altaic split into three branches, viz. Turco-Mongolian, Tungus-Manchu and Korean-Japanese, around the 6th millennium B.C. Tungus-Manchu must have occupied a central dialectal position, which explains its shared isoglosses both with Turko-Mongolian and Korean-Japanese.

Two subbranches - Turko-Mongolian and Korean-Japanese - in their turn, had split rather early, around the 4th millennium B.C. However, reconstructing Proto-Turko-Mongolian or Proto-Korean-Japanese would in fact be almost equivalent to reconstructing Proto-Altaic, because of small time span separating those units from the original protolanguage. There is still some doubt about the existence of common Korean-Japanese: the specific similarities between these two subbranches might be due to secondary dialectal interaction.

The next splits occurred already closer to our era: first the split of Tungus-Manchu, next the split of Turkic, Japanese and Korean dialects.

STRUCTURE OF THE DICTIONARY AND ADOPTED CONVENTIONS

The dictionary is presented in the alphabetical order of PA reconstructions. Each dictionary item consists of:

1. The proposed PA reconstruction. Variants are supplied in brackets: e.g. the notation *ágà (~ e-) means that for PA both *ágà and *égà can be reconstructed. Capital V denotes a vowel of unknown quality. Vowel quantity is explicitly specified; if there is neither a breve nor a macron sign above the vowel, it means that quantity is unknown in this case.
2. The reconstructed meaning.
3. A short enumeration of subgroup reflexes
4. Detailed reflexes in subgroups (in the order: Tungus-Manchu, Mongolian, Turkic, Japanese, Korean). For each of the subgroups we give a reconstruction and reflexes in ancient and modern languages. The meanings are not reconstructed: rather, we enumerate attested meanings and refer to these numbers while listing individual reflexes.

For most languages the basic sources (see below) were Russian dictionaries, which means that most meanings had to be translated into English from Russian. To preserve semantic accuracy, we decided to keep the original Russian meanings which are always given in brackets after the English ones.

Each section may be completed by more or less detailed comments and references (given in small type).

5. General comments and references (if any).

The following conventions are used in individual reconstructions:

1. In Turkic and Tungus-Manchu, only long vowels are explicitly marked, and short vowels are left unmarked.
2. The placement of any symbol within brackets means that the presence of the denoted phoneme (sound) cannot be ascertained: this is usual, e.g., in PT for (i)a, i.e. *ia or *a when there is no Chuvash reflex; in PTM for (x), i.e. *x- or *0- when there are no Southern Tungus-Manchu reflexes; in PM for (h), i.e. *h- or *0- when there is no Middle Mongolian attestation or Southern Mongolian reflex; in PJ for (d), i.e. *d- or *0- in a position before *i (in the latter case, how-

ever, we prefer writing just *i- when external evidence explicitly shows that there was no *d-).

3. Capital letters (except capital G, traditionally used for denoting a voiced uvular) are used in the following way:
   A (in Turkic): *a or *ą
   E (in Turkic): *e or *ę
   K (in Turkic): *k or *g; (in Tungus-Manchu): *k or *x
   T (in Turkic): *t or *d
   V: a vowel of unknown quality

Adopted transcription

Throughout the dictionary we have attempted to use a unified system of transcription, generally accepted in the German and Moscow schools of Altaic studies (its basic features are: using the symbols c, ʒ, č, ǯ, š, ž for affricates and sibilants; j for the palatal resonant; ɨ for the high back unrounded vowel). We have, however, preserved traditional orthography for romanized Modern Japanese. For Jurchen we use the phonetic transcription proposed in Мудрак 1985, 1988a; this transcription, as well as the transcription of Middle Mongolian works taken from HY is based on Early Mandarin as reconstructed in Tōdō 1970 and Dragunov 1929, 1930.

Notation of length: all long vowels are marked with the diacritic ¯; short vowels (if specifically marked) with the diacritic ˘; long (tense) consonants - by a colon :.

Palatalization: all palatalized consonants are marked with the diacritic ´.

Nasalization: all nasalized vowels and consonants are marked with the diacritic ˜.

Closed vowels: closed e, a (in Tungus-Manchu languages also u, i, ə, ъ) are marked with the diacritic ̣.

Special vocalic symbols: in Chuvash, we use ъʷ, əʷ to denote specific labialized mid-high and mid-low vowels; in Kalmuck, ɛ̄ is used to denote the mid-low long front vowel; in Even, ъ̣ is used to denote the mid-high reduced vowel.

Prosodic symbols: " after a vowel is used to denote pharyngealization in Tuva and Tofalar; high tone (pitch) in Korean and Japanese is marked with the diacritic ´; low tone (pitch) in Korean and Japanese, with the diacritic ̀. In the Tokyo system, ´ is used rather for marking the place of accent (the pitch summit of a word); words without such a summit (the so called "zenhei" words, articulated with a gradual rising of pitch towards the end of the word) are marked by the diacritic ̀ on

the first syllable. In the Kagoshima system, where a word can also contain only one high-pitch syllable, this syllable is marked by ´; the words without high pitch are, however, marked with ` on each syllable. The "rising-falling" pitch at the end of the word in Kyoto is marked by the diacritic ˆ.

Sources

For each language, the most authoritative source was chosen. If the form is quoted from that source and if it is an alphabetically ordered dictionary, no references are usually given. In all other cases references are given in brackets (without a page number if the referenced work is an alphabetically ordered dictionary, with a page number otherwise).

Here is the list of sources utilized for each individual language:

Tungus-Manchu

For all languages except spoken Manchu, the basic source is TMC; for spoken Manchu we used Yamamoto 1969 (with references to the numbers of lexical items, since this is not an alphabetical dictionary). Numbered references are also given to Grube 1896 for Jurchen.

Mongolian

Written Mongolian: KW; in most cases reference is also given to L
Middle Mongolian: SH
Khalkha: MPC
Kalmuck: KW
Ordos: ĐO
Mogol: Ligeti 1954; references are also given to ZM and Weiers
Dagur: MGCD
Dongxiang: MGCD
Baoan: MGCD
Shira-Yughur: MGCD
Mongor: SM

Turkic

Old Turkic: EDT
Karakhanide Turkic: EDT
Turkish: TPC
Gagauz: ГРМС
Azerbaidzhan: APC
Turkmen: ТурκмРС
Salar: ССЯ
Khalaj: D-T

Uzbek: УРС
Uyghur: УйРС
Karaim: КРПС
Tatar: ТатРС
Bashkir: БРС
Kirghiz: КиРС
Kazakh: КазРС
Balkar (Karachay-Balkar): КБРС
Kara-Kalpak: ККРС
Kumyk: КумРС
Noghai: НРС
Sarı-Yughur: ССЮЯ
Khakas: ХРС
Shor: ШРРШС
Oyrot (Mountain Altai): ОРС
Tuva: ТувРС
Tofalar: Рассадин 1995
Chuvash: ЧувРС
Yakut: ЯРС
Dolgan: Stachowski 1993

Japanese

Old Japanese: JB
Middle Japanese: accented forms are given according to RJ (XIth c.); all other post-Nara and pre-Meiji forms are given according to KKJ and IKJ
Modern Japanese:
Tokyo: БЯРС (accents are given according to Hirayama 1960)
Kyoto, Kagoshima: Hirayama 1960. Data from these dialects are given according to the Japanese accentological tradition, i.e. only with accent differences from Tokyo explicitly noted.

Korean

Middle Korean: Nam, Liu
Modern Korean: KED

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ЯЖУ - *Малов С. Е.* Язык желтых уйгуров: Словарь, грамматика. Алма-Ата, 1957.

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ЯРС - Якутско-русский словарь / Под ред. П. А. Слепцова. М., 1972.

ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICAL EDITIONS

AASF - Annales academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian toimituksia. Helsinki.

ArO - Archiv orientální. Journal of the Chechoslovak Oriental Institute. Prague.

AO - Acta Orientalia (Copenhagen)

AO (Budapest) or AOH - Acta Orientalia Hungarica. Budapest.
BSOAS - Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. London.
CAJ - Central Asiatic Journal (International periodical for the language, literature, history and archeology of Central Asia). The Hague-Wiesbaden.
FUF - Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen. Helsinki.
HJAS - Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. Harvard-Yenching Institute.
JA - Journal asiatique. Paris.
JAOS - Journal of the American Oriental Society. Baltimore, Maryland.
JRAS - The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. London.
JSFOu - Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsinki.
KCsA - Kõrõsi Csoma Archivum. Budapest.
KSz - Keleti Szemle. Budapest.
MSFOu - Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsinki.
NyK - Nyelvtudománi Közlemények. Budapest.
OS - Orientalia Suecana. Stockholm.
RO - Rocznik orientalistyczny. Lwów, Kraków, Warszawa.
SPAW - Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Berlin.
StO - Studia Orientalia (or: Studia orientalia fennica). Helsinki.
T'oung Pao - T'oung Pao. Archives concernant l'histoire, les langues, la géographie, l'ethnographie et les arts de l'Asie Orientale. Leiden.
UAJb. - Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher. Wiesbaden.
UJb. - Ungarische Jahrbücher. Berlin-Leipzig.
ZDMG - Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig-Wiesbaden.

ВЯ - Вопросы языкознания. М. (Институт языкознания АН СССР).
ДАН - Доклады Академии Наук СССР.
ДАН-В - Доклады Академии Наук СССР. Серия В. М.-Л., 1922-1933.
ЗКВ - Записки коллегии востоковедов при азиатском Музее Академии Наук СССР. Л.
ИАН - Известия императорской Академии наук. СПб.
ИАН СССР - Известия Академии Наук СССР. Л.-М.
ИРАН - Известия Российской Академии Наук. М.
СТ - Советская тюркология. Баку (Академия наук СССР, Академия наук АзССР).

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGE NAMES

Alb. - Albanian
All. - Allaikhi dialect of Even
An. - Aniui dialect of Udehe
Anat. - Anatolian Turkish
Arab. - Arabic
Arm. - Arman dialect of Even
Armen. - Armenian
Av. - Avestan
Az. - Azerbaidzhan (Azeri)
Balk. - Balkar
Bao. - Baoan
Bar. - Barab dialect of Tatar
Barg. - Barguzin dialect of Evenki
Bashk. - Bashkir
Bel. - Beluj
Bik. - Bikin dialect of Nanai
Bulg. - (Old) Bulgar
Bur. - Buryat
Chag. - Chaghatay
Chin. - Chinese
Chmk. - Chumikan dialect of Evenki
Chul. - Chulym dialect of Shor
Chuv. - Chuvash
Crim.-Goth. - Crimea Gothic
Dag. - Dagur
Darkh. - Darkhat dialect of Buryat
Dolg. - Dolgan
Dong. - Dongxian
Drav. - Dravidian
Evk. - Evenki
Evn. - Even
Finn. - Finnish
FU - Finno-Ugric
Gag. - Gagauz
Gr. - Greek
H - Halitsk dialect of Karaim
Hung. - Hungarian
IE - Indo-European
Il . - Ilimpi dialect of Evenki
Iran. - Iranian
Ital. - Italian
Jpn. - Japanese
Jurch. - Jurchen
K - Krym (Crimea) dialect of Karaim
Kach. - Kachinsk dialect of Khakas
Kag. - Kagoshima
Kalm. - Kalmuck
Kam. - Kamas
Kamn. - Kamen-Tungus dialect of Evenki
Karag. - Karagas
Karakh. - Karakhanide Turkic
Kas. - Kasan Tatar
Kashg. - Kashgar dialect of Uyghur
Kaz. - Kazakh
KBalk. - Karachay-Balkar
Kirgh. - Kirghiz (Qyrghyz)
Khad. - Khadi dialect of Oroch
Khak. - Khakas
Khal. - Khalaj
Khant. - Khanty-Mansi
Khor. - Khorezm (= Oghuz) dialect of Uzbek
Khorch. - Khorchin dialect of Ordos
Khwar. - Khwarezmian
KKalp. - Kara-Kalpak
Koib. - Koibal dialect of Khakas
Kond. - Kondom dialect of Shor
Kor. - Korean
Kott. - Kottish

Krg. - Karagas dialect of Tuva (according to Castr.)
Krm. - Karaim
Kum. - Kumyk
Kumd. - Kumanda dialect of Oyrot
Kurd - Kurdish
Kur-Urm. - Kur-Urmi dialect of Nanai
Küär. - Küärik dialect of Khakas
Kypch. - Kypchak
Kyz. - Kyzyl dialect of Khakas
Kyo. - Kyoto
Lat. - Latin
Leb. - Lebedi dialect of Oyrot
L.-Amg. - Lower Amgun dialect of Negidal
Lobn. - Lobnor dialect of Uyghur
MMong. - Middle Mongolian
Man. - Manchu
May. - Maysk dialect of Evenki
MC, MChin - Middle Chinese
MJ, MJpn. - Middle Japanese
MKor. - Middle Korean
MKypch. - Middle Kypchak
Mod. - modern (used for various languages)
Mog. - Mogol
Mong. - Mongolian
Mord. - Mordovian
MPers. - Middle Persian
Mras. - Mrassa dialect of Shor
MTurk. - Middle Turkic
Nakhich. - Nakhichevan dialect of Azerbaidzhan
Nan. - Nanai
Naikh. - Naikhinsk dialect of Nanai
Neg. - Negidal
Nep. - Nepsk dialect of Evenki
Nerch. - Nerchinsk dialect of Evenki
NKor. - North Korean
Nogh. - Noghay
Nostr. - Nostratic
OC - Old Chinese
Ogh. - Oghuz
Oir. - Oirat (= Kalmuck)
OJ, OJpn. - Old Japanese
Okin. - Okinsk dialect of Buryat
Okh. - Okhotka dialect of Even
OKypch. - Old Kypchak
Ol. - Olsk dialect of Even
Olk. - Olekma dialect of Evenki
Olkh. - Olkhon dialect of Buryat
ORuss. - Old Russian
Ord. - Ordos
Ork. - Orok
Orch. - Oroch
Orkh. - Orkhon Old Turkic
Osm. - (Old) Osmanian
Osset. - Ossetic
OT, OTurk. - Old Turkic
Oyr. - Oyrot (Mountain Altai)
PA, PAlt. - Proto-Altaic
Pekhl. - Pekhlevi
Pers. - Persian
PIE - Proto-Indo-European
PJ, PJpn. - Proto-Japanese
PK, PKor. - Proto-Korean
PKartv. - Proto-Kartvelian
PM, PMong. - Proto-Mongolian
PNC - Proto-North-Caucasian
Prakr. - Prakrit
PS - Proto-Samoyedic
PT, PTurk. - Proto-Turkic
PTM, PTung. Proto-Tungus-Manchu

PU - Proto-Uralic
Qyz. - Qyzyl dialect of Khakas
Rum. - Rumanian
Russ. - Russian
Sag. - Sagai dialect of Khakas
Sak. - Khotan-Saka
Sakh. - Sakhalin dialect of Evenki
Sakk. - Sakkyryr dialect of Even
Sal. - Salar
Sam., Samoyed. - Samoyedic
Sanskr. - Sanskrit
Selk. - Selkup
Sib., Seb., Sib.-Tat. - Siberian Tatar
Siber. - Siberian Russian
Sino-Kor. - Sino-Korean
Slav. - Slavic
SMan. - spoken Manchu (Sibo)
Sogd. - Sogdian
Sol. - Solon
SUygh. - Sary-Uyghur
S.-Yugh. - Shira-Yughur
Sym. - Symsk dialect of Evenki
Syr. - Syrian
T - Trakai dialect of Karaim
Tadzh. - Tadzhik
Tar. - Taranchi
Tashk. - Tashkent dialect of Uzbek
Tat. - Tatar
Tek. - Teke dialect of Turkmen
Tel. - Teleut dialect of Oyrot
Tib. - Tibetan
TM, Tung. - Tungus-Manchu
Tng. - Tungir dialect of Evenki
Tob. - Tobolsk dialect of Tatar
Todzh. - Todzha dialect of Tuva
Tof. - Tofalar
Tok. - Tokyo
Tokh. - Tokharian
Tokk.-- Tokki dialect of Evenki
Tott. - Totti dialect of Evenki
Tomm. - Tommot dialect of Evenki
Tunk. - Tunkin dial. of Buryat
Tur. - Turkish
Turk. - Turkic
Turkm. - Turkmenian
Ud. - Udehe
Udm. - Udmurt
Ul. - Ulcha
Upper-Kond. - Upper Kondom dialect of Shor
Ural. - Uralic
Urm. - Urmi dialect of Evenki
Uygh. - Uyghur
Uzb. - Uzbek
Vit. - Vitim dialect of Evenki
Vog. - Vogul (Mansi)
WMong. - Written Mongolian
Yak. - Yakut
Yen. - Yenissei Old Turkic
Yerb. - Yerbogochen dialect of Evenki
Yon. - Yonaguni dialect of Japanese (Ryukyu)
Yukagh. - Yukaghir
Zabajk. - Zabajkal dialect of Russian

A

✱**ăbu** interior of the mouth: Tung. ***(x)abu-ǯan-**; Mong. ***owči**; Turk. ***Ăburt**.

PTung. ***(x)abu-ǯan-** to gape, open mouth (разинуть, раскрыть (пасть)): Neg. *awǯan-*.

◊ TMC 1, 9. Cf. perhaps also Nan. Naikh. *aoǯan* 'a talisman against the throat disease' (contaminated with *aoǯan* 'ruff'; with a carved picture of a ruff), see Он. 44.

PMong. ***owči** interior side of the cheek; mouthful (внутренняя сторона щеки; глоток, количество жидкости, которое можно набрать в рот): WMong. *ouči, oɣuči* L 602, 625; Kh. *ōč*; Bur. *ōšo(n)*; Kalm. *ōčə*; Ord. *ōčʹi* 'gorgée'; Mog. *ɔči-* 'to drink' (Weiers); Dag. *ūčə*; Dong. *oču-* (*očɨ-*); S.-Yugh. *ūčə*; Mongr. *ōčɨ-* 'to drink' (SM 299), *ūčiɣu* 'a drink' (Тод. Мгр. 369).

◊ KW 292, MGCD 523. The Mongor forms could be derived from *ū-* 'drink' (v. sub **ŏpʹà*), but the affixation in that case would be unclear.

PTurk. ***Ăburt** 1 cheek-pouch, inside of the mouth 2 gum 3 mouthful, gulp 4 cheek 5 molar 6 to take a mouthful, swallow (1 внутренняя полость рта 2 десна 3 глоток 4 щека 5 коренной зуб 6 глотать): OTurk. *a[vurt]* (*?adurt*) (OUygh., late med. texts TT II); Tur. *avurt* 1; Gag. *aurt* 1, 4; Turkm. *howurt* (dial.) 1, 3; MTurk. *awurt* (Sangl.) 3, (MKypch.) *oɣurt, owurt* 1, 3 (Houts., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *urt* (dial.) 1; Tat. *urt* 2; Bashk. *urt* 1; Kirgh. *ūrt*; Kaz. *urt* 1; KBalk. *uwurt* 4; KKalp. *urt* 1; Kum. *uvurt* 1, 4; Nogh. *uwirt* 1; Khak. *ōrt-a-* 6; Shr. *ōrt-a-* 6; Oyr. *ūrt* 'throat', *ūrt-a-* 6; Tv. *ārt-a-* 6; Chuv. *urʊlʊ*, dial. *vʊʷrlʊʷ* 5 (Ашм. V 320); Yak. *omurt* 1, 3.

◊ EDT 65, ЭСТЯ 1, 407-409, Лексика 225-226, Мудрак 115. The Old Uyghur form is poorly readable, so *-δ-* is dubious. Yak. *-m-* is irregular: could it be a trace of PA **umV* 'drink', otherwise lost in Turkic?

‖ KW 292, Лексика 226. A Western isogloss.

✱**ăčV** elder relative, ancestor: Tung. ***asī**; Turk. ***ăčaj / *ĕčej**; Kor. ***àčă-**.

PTung. ***asī** 1 wife of elder brother 2 woman 3 wife (1 жена старшего брата 2 женщина 3 жена): Evk. *asī* 2; Evn. *asị* 2; Neg. *asī* 2; Man. *aša* 1; SMan. *ašə, asə* 3 (908); Ul. *asị* 3; Ork. *asị* 2; Nan. *aśa* 2; Orch. *asa* 2; Ud. *ahanta* 2; Sol. *ašē, ašī* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 55. TM > Dag. *aškā* (Тод. Даг. 123).

PTurk. ***ăčaj / *ĕčej** 1 old man or woman 2 mother 3 grandmother 4 sister (of woman) 5 mother (if the grandmother is still alive) 5 mother (addr. to an elder woman) 6 aunt, sister of father 7 elder brother 8 uncle 9 ancestor 10 Father! (to the God) 11 old man, elder man 12 husband 13 younger brother of father's father 14 grandfather 15 father (1 старый мужчина или женщина 2 мать 3 бабушка 4 сестра (женщины) 5 мать (при живой бабушке) 5 мать (обр. к пожилой женщине) 6 тетя, сестра отца 7 старший брат 8 дядя 9 предок 10 Отче! (обр. к Богу) 11 старик, пожилой человек 12 муж 13 младший брат деда 14 дед 15 отец): OTurk. *ečï* 7, 8 (Orkh.), *ečü* 9 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *eči* 1 (MK), *ečü* 10 (KB); Tur. *ağu* (dial.), *eže* 11; Uzb. *эča, ača* 2, 3; Uygh. *ača* 6; Tat. *aǯa, aǯi, ɛǯi* 5 (dial., ТТДС 22, 551), *azɨj, ɛzi* 11, 15 (dial., ТТДС 23, 540); Bashk. *äsä* 2; Kirgh. *ačaj* 5, *aǯa* 11; Kum. *aǯaj* 5, *ečiw* 6; SUygh. *ači* 4, *ača* 12, 15; Khak. *aǯa* 7, 8; Shr. *ača* 7, 8; Oyr. Leb. *aǯɨ, aǯa* 7, *ača* 13; Tv. *ača* 15; Tof. *aš'a, aǯa* 7, 15; Chuv. *aźa* 15; Yak. *ehe* 14; Dolg. *ehe* 14.

◊ VEWT 35, ЭСТЯ 1, 231-235, TMN 2, 15, Егоров 35, *Лексика* 299, Clark 1977, 128, Stachowski 43. Shortness is suggested by pharyngealization in Tofalar, so the variants with -ǯ- are probably due to expressive gemination (**aččV / *eččV*).

PKor. ***àčă-** 1 aunt 2 uncle (1 тетя 2 дядя): MKor. *àčămì* 1, *àčàpí* 2; Mod. *ağä* 1, 2, *ağʉməni* 1, *ağäbi* 2.

◊ Nam 341, KED 1076, 1077.

‖ An expressive kinship "nursery" word with the typical structure *VCV; the root must have denoted some elder relative, both male and female. Deriving TM *asī from a Chinese (TMC 1,55) or Sino-Korean (SKE 15) source is quite impossible. The Mongolian reflexes are problematic: Mong. *eǯei* 'mother, elder sister' (whence Yak. *eǯij*, Dolg. *eǯij*, see Кал. V 27, Stachowski 43) is probably < Turkic.; Mong. *ečige* 'father' reflects rather PA **ĕt'ĕ* (q.v.). One should, however, note an isolated Dagur form *ačā* 'father' (Тод. Даг. 122), whence certainly Solon *ača* id. and possibly Evk. (Vit.) *ači* 'ancestor' (TMC 1, 59).

***áč'u** to doubt: Tung. ***ačʉ-**; Jpn. ***útákáp-**; Kor. ***ə̄ču-b-**.

PTung. ***ačʉ-** 1 to slander, slander 2 to answer (клеветать, клевета): Man. *ačuχa-da-, ačuχan* 1; Nan. (On.) *ačōgo-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 60.

PJpn. ***útákáp-** to doubt (сомневаться): OJpn. *utakap-*; MJpn. *útákáf-*; Tok. *ùtaga-*; Kyo. *útágá-*; Kag. *utagá-*.

◊ JLTT 780.

PKor. ***ə̄ču-b-** to be indecisive, irresolute (быть нерешительным, колебаться): Mod. *ə̄ʒur-* (-w-).

◊ KED 1135.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; not quite certain because of sparse attestation in TM and Korean.

***ădV** to fit, equal, similar: Tung. ***ada-**; Mong. ***adali**; Turk. ***ădaĺ**.

PTung. ***ada-** 1 twins 2 to unite, attach 3 close, neighbour (1 близнецы 2 соединять, присоединять 3 близкий, соседний): Neg. *adaxụ* 1; Man. *ada-* 2, *adaki* 3; Ul. *adaụ* 1; Ork. *adāw* 1; Nan. *ada-* 2, *adō* 1; Orch. *adawu* 1; Ud. *ada'u* 1 (Корм. 204).

◊ TMC 1, 14.

PMong. ***adali** equal, similar (равный, похожий): MMong. *adali* (HY 51, SH), *adali* (MA 95); WMong. *adali* (L 9); Kh. *adil*; Bur. *adli*; Kalm. *ädḷ́*; Ord. *adil, adila, adili, adali*; Mog. *adōli* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *adiĺ, adili* (Тод. Даг. 118), *adəĺ* (MGCD), *adili* (MD 111); Dong. *adali* (Тод. Дн. 110); Bao. *adəli* (Тод. Бн. 133), *adali* (Tungren); Mongr. *dali* (SM 42), *adali* (Minghe).

◊ KW 21, MGCD 94. Mong. > Yak. *atïlï*, Dolg. *atalï* (Кал. MEJ 38, Stachowski 38), Evk. *adalī* (cf. Doerfer MT 98, Rozycki 11), Russ. Siber. *adali* (Аникин 74).

PTurk. ***ădaĺ** friend, companion (друг, товарищ): OTurk. *adaš* (OUygh. - Buddh., Man.); Karakh. *aδaš* (MK, KB), *ajaš* (IM); Kirgh. *ajaš*; Yak. *atas*.

◊ VEWT 5, EDT 72. A hypothesis about **adaĺ* < (compound) *at-daĺ* with 'name' as the first component is impossible (in that case we would expect **ataĺ* and 'namesake' as the earliest meaning). The form *attaš* is attested since MTurk.: *attaš* 'namesake' (Tefs.), *adaš* 'namesake' (Chag. Sangl.), *ataš* 'namesake' (CCum.) - and contaminates with **adaĺ*. Modern languages for the most part reflect the compound, see ЭСТЯ I 203-204. Cf. Tuva *a'dašqï-lar* 'a father with his children' ("namesakes"; NB: pharyngealization as a reflex of **-t-*). A possible reflex of **adaĺ* is Chuv. *ural-a-š-* 'to agree about acquiring smth. collectively, together' and *ural-a-n-* 'to form a light circle (of astronomical bodies)': both are semantically quite far from *ura-la-n-* 'to recover'.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. several similar roots: **idV* 'to follow, lead'; **i̯ude* 'to imitate, simulate', with a natural tendency towards contamination.

***agà** rain; air: Tung. ***aga**; Mong. ***agaɣar**; Jpn. ***àkî**; Kor. ***ak-su**.

PTung. ***aga** rain (дождь): Man. *aGa*; SMan. *ahā* (2015); Jurch. *ah-ga* (8).

◊ TMC 1, 11. Cf. also **agdī* 'thunder'.

PMong. ***agaɣar** air, atmosphere (воздух, атмосфера): WMong. *aɣar* (L 13); Kh. *agār*; Bur. *agār*; Kalm. *aɣṛ, aɣār*; Ord. *aGāri* 'espace celeste, l'aspect du ciel', *aGār* métaph. 'bonne entente entre les voisins'; Mog. ZM *ɔ̄ur* (15-8b) 'cloud'.

◊ KW 3.

PJpn. ***àkî** autumn (осень): OJpn. *akji*; MJpn. *àkí*; Tok. *áki*; Kyo. *àkî*; Kag. *akí*.

◊ JLTT 379.

PKor. ***ak-su*** heavy rain (*ливень*): Mod. *aksu*, *ǝksu*.

◊ KED 1080.

‖ Lee 1958, 119 (Kor.-TM), АПиПЯЯ 291, TMC 1, 11. The TM form is not borrow < Mong., pace Rozycki 11. **agaɣar* (cf. the length in all dialects) < **aɣa-ɣar*, with regular dissimilation. The Jpn. form may be attributed here if it originally meant "rainy season" (cf. "rain, thunder" in TM); autumn is not so rainy in present-day Japan, but it must have been different in the original homeland.

✱**ágà (~ e-)** mouth, to open mouth: Mong. ***ag-***; Turk. ****Agiŕ***; Jpn. ****ákúp-***; Kor. ****hà-***.

PMong. ***ag***, ***aguj*** 1 cave, grotte, pit 2 crack (1 пещера, грот, яма 2 промежуток, пространство между): WMong. *aɣui* 1 (L 16), aɣ 2; Kh. *aguj* 1; Bur. *agi* 1; Kalm. *aɣū* 1, aG, *āG* 2; Ord. *aG^{w}ī* 1; Dag. *agui*.

◊ KW 3, MGCD 664.

PTurk. ****Agiŕ*** 1 mouth 2 lip, lips 3 mouth of a river, of a cleft (1 рот 2 губа, губы 3 устье реки, ущелья): OTurk. *aɣiz* (Orkh.) 3, *aɣiz*, *aɣaz* (OUygh.) 1, 3; Karakh. *aɣiz* 1, 3; Tur. *aɣiz* 1, 3; Gag. *ās* 1, 3; Az. *aɣiz* 1, 3; Turkm. *aɣiz* 1, 3; Sal. *aɣiz* 1; Khal. *aɣiz* 1, 3; MTurk. *aɣiz* 1; Uzb. *ɔɣiz* 1, 3; Uygh. *eɣiz* 1, 3; Krm. *aɣiz* 1, 3; Tat. *awiz* 1, 3; Bashk. *awiδ* 1, 3; Kirgh. *ooz* 1, 3; Kaz. *awiz* 1, 3; KBalk. *awuδ* 1, 3; KKalp. *awiz* 1, 3; Kum. *awuz* 1, 3; Nogh. *awiz* 1, 3; SUygh. *aɣis* 1; Khak. *ās*, *axsi* (3 P.) 1, 3; Shr. *aqsi* 1, 3; Oyr. *ōs* 1, 3; Tv. *ās*, *aqsi* (3 P.) 1, 3; Tof. *ās*, *aqsi* (3 P.) 1, 3; Chuv. *vъ^{w}rъ^{w}*, *urъ-lъ* 3; Yak. *uos* 2; Dolg. *uos* 2.

◊ VEWT 8, EDT 98, ЭСТЯ 1, 81-83, Мудрак Дисс. 115, Лексика 224-225, Stachowski 245.

PJpn. ****ákúp-*** 1 to yawn 2 yawn (1 зевать 2 зевок): MJpn. *ákúf-* 1; Tok. *ákubi*, *akúbi* 2; Kyo. *ákùbì* 2; Kag. *akubí* 2.

◊ JLTT 379. RJ registers high tone, but modern reflexes are tonally all quite irregular.

PKor. ****hà-*** yawn (зевок): MKor. *ha-phii'om*, *hà'óijòm*, *hahoi'om*; Mod. *haphum*.

◊ Nam 469, KED 1788.

‖ SKE 5, Martin 234, Колесникова 1972a, 77-78, АПиПЯЯ 80, 283 (confused with **ák'a*), Лексика 225. Despite Poppe 95 Mong. *aɣur* 'steam, anger' hardly belongs here (see under **ap`i*). The root should be distinguished from **ák'a*, although they tend to be confused: thus, Mong. **ag* 'crack' could quite possibly reflect **ák'a*. Some phonetic comments: Mong. **aguji* regularly < **aɣuji* with velar fricative dissimilation; Korean has lost the first vowel in a long derivative (a rather frequent phenomenon).

✱**ǎ́gi** acid: Tung. ****(x)aK-***; Mong. ****eɣe-de-***; Turk. ****ā̆gu***.

PTung. ****(x)aK-*** to become rotten, bitter (протухнуть, прогоркнуть): Man. *aqša-*.

◊ TMC 1, 26.

PMong. ***eɣe-de-** 1 to become sour 2 curd (1 киснуть 2 творог): WMong. *egede-* 1, *egeǯegei* 2; Kh. *ēde-* 1, *ēǯgij* 2; Bur. *ēde-* 1, *ēzgej* 'cream'; Kalm. *ēde-* 1, *ēzgē* 2; Ord. *ēde-* 1, *ēǯigī, ēdem* 2; Dag. *ēde-* (Тод. Даг. 138) 1.

◊ KW 130, 131, MGCD 246.

PTurk. ***ą̄gu** 1 poison 2 musk (1 яд 2 мускус, кабарговая струя): OTurk. *aɣu* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *aɣu* 1 (MK); Tur. *au* 1; Az. *aɣı* 1; Turkm. *āvı* 1; MTurk. *aɣu* 1; Uzb. *ɔɣu* 1; Uygh. *aɣi, oɣa* 1; Krm. *aɣu*; Tat. *aɣu* 1; Bashk. *aɣıw*; Kirgh. *aɣū* 2; Kaz. *aɣu* dial.; KBalk. *aɣu*; Kum. *aɣuw, aɣu*; Nogh. *aɣuw*; SUygh. *aɣa* 1; Khak. *ō* 1; Tof. *ā* 1 (Рас. ФилЛ 9); Yak. *ı̄* 2.

◊ VEWT 9, 13, ЭСТЯ 1, 67. The Kypch. forms with -ɣ- (not shifted to -w-) and *-uɣ may be borrowed from Chag.

‖ Poppe 57 (Turk.-Mong.). A Western isogloss. The Manchu form is isolated in TM, but seems to be reliable.

***àgŋa** net; to spin, plait: Tung. ***aŋ(g)a**; Mong. ***aɣoga**; Turk. ***āg**; Jpn. ***àm-, *àmì**.

PTung. ***aŋ(g)a** net (for catching fish under ice) (сеть (для подледного лова рыбы)): Neg. *aŋa*; Ul. *aŋGa*; Ork. *aŋGa*; Nan. *aŋga*; Orch. *aŋga*.

◊ TMC 1, 45.

PMong. ***aɣoga** leading string in net (ведущая веревка в сети): MMong. *a'oga* (SH).

PTurk. ***āg** net (сеть): Karakh. *aɣ* (KB, IM); Tur. *aɣ; aɣ, av* (Osmanli); Az. *aɣ*; Turkm. *āq* (dial.); MTurk. *aɣ* (Sangl.); Uzb. *āɣ* (dial.); Krm. *av, uv*; Tat. *aw*; Bashk. *aw*; Kirgh. *ū*; Kaz. *aw*; KBalk. *aw*; KKalp. *aw*; Kum. *aw*; Nogh. *aw*; Khak. *aɣ* (Sag.); Shr. *aɣ*; Oyr. *aɣ* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 7, 20, ЭСТЯ 1, 117-118, 152-153, Лексика 418-419. On *aŋnɨɣ* (Shor), *aɣnɨχ* (Khak.) v. sub **ǎŋu*.

PJpn. ***àm-, *àmì** 1 to knit, weave 2 net (1 вязать, ткать 2 сеть): OJpn. *amji* 2; MJpn. *àm-* 1, *àmì* 2; Tok. *ám-* 1, *amí* 2; Kyo. *àm-* 1, *ámì* 2; Kag. *àm-* 1, *amí* 2.

◊ Cf. also OJ *ama* 'fisherman'. JLTT 381, 676.

‖ Лексика 419. The root has some irregularities (Jpn. tone does not correspond to Turkic length): there may have been some interaction with **ǎŋu* q.v.

***ǎgò** trade: Mong. ***(h)ag-su-, *(h)aɣu-ra-**; Turk. ***Agɨ**; Jpn. ***àkì**.

PMong. ***(h)ag-su-, *(h)aɣu-ra-** 1 borrowing or lending money at interest, loan 2 belongings, possessions (1 заем 2 собственность, пожитки): WMong. *aɣsun* (L 15) 1, *aɣura, aɣura-su(n)* 2 (L 18); *aɣsu-* 'troquer une chose contre une autre'; Kh. *agsan* 1, *ūrs(an)* 2; Bur. *agsa-* 'to barter'; Mongr. *asGu-* 'donner ou recevoir en prêt, louer' (SM 15).

◊ Mong. *aɣura* > Man. *aGura*, Nan. *aχura* 'household objects', see Poppe 1966, 189.

PTurk. ***Agɨ*** 1 treasure 2 silk brocade (1 сокровище 2 парча): OTurk. *aγɨ* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *aγɨ* (MK, KB) 2; Tur. Osm. *aγɨ*, dial. *aγɨ* 2; MTurk. *aγɨ* 2.

◊ EDT 78. Clauson points out that the oldest attested meaning is 'treasure', later concretized to 'silk brocade'.

PJpn. ***àkì*** 1 trade 2 to trade (1 торговля 2 торговать): OJpn. *akji* 1, *akjinap-* 2; MJpn. *àkìnaf-* 2; Tok. *akiná-* 2; Kyo. *ákiná-* 2; Kag. *akiná-* 2.

◊ JLTT 675. The accent in Kagoshima is irregular. Cf. also OJ *akap-*, MJ *àgàf-* (*aka-f-*), *aganaf-* 'to buy, pay for' (JLTT 674, 675).

‖ Владимирцов 319 (Turk.-Mong.). An interesting common Altaic economic term, denoting the barter process or barter objects.

✱**agu-la** uninhabited place, wilderness: Tung. ***agulān***; Mong. ***aγula***; Turk. ***aglak***.

PTung. ***agulān*** meadow, plain (поляна, равнина): Evk. *awlān, aγlān*; Evn. *awlъn*; Neg. *awlan*; Ul. *awda(n)*; Ork. *awla(n)*; Nan. *aodā*; Orch. *auda, aula*.

◊ TMC 1, 9. Despite Doerfer MT 73, cannot be borrowed from Mong. *aylaγ* (< Turk., see below).

PMong. ***aγula*** mountain (гора): MMong. *a'ula* (HY 2, SH 10), *awla* (IM 433), *(a)ula, ūla* (MA 372, 189); WMong. *aγula(n)* (L 17); Kh. *ūl*; Bur. *ūla*; Kalm. *ūlə*; Ord. *ūla*; Mog. *aula*; ZM *āwla* (17-8b); Dag. *aul(a)* (Тод. Дар. 122), *aule* (MD 116); Dong. *ula* (Тод. Дн. 137); Bao. *ōle* (Тод. Бн. 145), *ulə*; S.-Yugh. *ūla*; Mongr. *ula* (SM 469), *ulā*.

◊ KW 454, MGCD 662. Mong. > Sol. *aula* id.

PTurk. ***aglak*** 1 lonely, uninhabited (place) 2 unemployed, out of work 3 field (1 незаселенное место 2 безработный, лишенный службы 3 поле, степь): OTurk. *aγlaq* 1 (OUygh. - Buddh.); Karakh. *aγlaq* 1 (MK), *aγla-ju* 1 (MK; deverb. from **aγla-* 'to be deserted' (unattested)), *aγla-t-* (MK) 'to send away (people)'; Tur. *aylak* 2; *aγlak* (dial.) 1; Gag. *ajlaq, hajlaq* 2; Krm. *awlaq* 1; Tat. *awlaq* 1; Bashk. *awlaq* 1; Kirgh. *ōlaq* 1; Kaz. *awlaq* 1; KBalk. *awlaq* 1; KKalp. *awlaq* 1; Kum. *awlaq* 3; Nogh. *awlaq* 1; Khak. *aγlax* 1; Chuv. *ulax* 1.

◊ EDT 84, 85, VEWT 8, ЭСТЯ 1, 64. Turk. > WMong. *aγlaq, aylaγa* id. (KW 3, Щербак 1997, 95). Tends to contaminate with **āb-lag* 'hunting lands'.

‖ Poppe 58. A Western isogloss. May be derived from the root reflected in TM as **agī-* 'to walk without a road', 'wilderness' (TMC 1, 13; its borrowing from Mong. *aγui* 'wide', suggested by Poppe 1972, 101, Doerfer MT 123, is highly dubious). Note that vowel length in PT **aglak* is unknown; if the original meaning of the root was 'to nomadize', one is tempted to compare also PT **āgɨl* 'settlement' (originally perhaps 'nomadic settlement'; see Лексика 492-493, 522-523, ЭСТЯ 1, 65-66, 83-85, TMN 2, 82-84, Stachowski 257), whence probably MMong.,

WMong. *ajil* id. (> Evk. *ail* etc., see Doerfer MT 125). Not borrowed from Turkic, but rather genuine may also be WMong. *ajimak* 'a group of ajil's' (TMN 1, 184-185: Mong. > Khak., Tuva *ajmaq* (see also ЭСТЯ 1, 110), Man. *ajman* etc.).

✱**aguŕV** colostrum: Mong. ***uɣurag**; Turk. ***ạguŕ**.

PMong. ***uɣurag*** colostrum (молозиво): WMong. *uɣuraɣ, uɣuruɣ* (L 865); Kh. *ūrag*; Bur. *ūrag*; Kalm. *ūrəg* (KPC); Ord. *ūraG*; Mongr. *uraG* (SM 473).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *ūrak*, see Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***ạguŕ*** colostrum (молозиво): Karakh. *ɑɣuź* (MK), *oɣuz* (Tefs.); Tur. *aiz sütü*, dial. *āz, ɑɣuz*; Turkm. *ovuz*; MTurk. *ɑɣuz* (Sangl., Pav. C., IM); Uzb. *ɔɣiz*; Uygh. *oɣuz*; Tat. *uɣiz*; Bashk. *iwíð*; Kirgh. *ūz*; Kaz. *uwiz*; KBalk. *uwuz*; KKalp. *uwiz*; Kum. *uwuz*; Nogh. *uwiz*; Khak. *ōs*; Tv. *ā-zi* (contamination with 3d p. poss.); Chuv. *ĭrri* (3Sg.); Yak. *uosax*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 405-407, EDT 98, Егоров 344.

‖ KW 454, Владимирцов 196, Мудрак Дисс. 186. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss, but, despite TMN 2, 80-81, Щербак 1997, 95 hardly borrowed in Mong. < Turk.

✱**ǎ̀gV** sharp, whet: Tung. ***āga-**; Mong. ***(h)ag**.

PTung. ***āga-*** 1 arrow point, notch 2 whetstone (1 острие, зазубрина (у стрелы) 2 оселок, точильный камень): Evk. *āɣen* 2; Evn. *āɣɔn* 2; Neg. *ɑɣat* 1, *ɑɣan* 2; Man. *atan* 1; Nan. *ɑŋā* 2; Orch. *āta* 1, *awa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 12, 13. TM > Yak. *ɑɣān*.

PMong. ***(h)ag*** 1 part of blade (close to handle) 2 notch on fish-fork (1 часть острия (ближе к рукоятке) 2 зазубрина остроги): WMong. *ɑɣ*, (L 19: *ɑɣǯam* 'blunt wooden arrow tip'); Kh. *āg* 1; Bur. *āg* 2; Kalm. *aG* 2.

◊ KW 2. Length in Khalkha and Buryat may also indicate a possibility of reconstructing **(h)ɑɣag*.

‖ TMC 1, 13. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, but borrowing is impossible to suppose. Cf. also notes to **ǒk'a*.

✱**ǎ̀ja** to go, walk: Tung. ***āj-**; Mong. ***aja-**; Turk. ***Aj-**; Jpn. ***àjùm-**.

PTung. ***āj-*** 1 swift 2 to run quickly 3 to step (on sand, snow) (1 быстрый 2 быстро бежать 3 ступать (по песку, снегу)): Evn. *ajiŋ* 1; Man. *aja-* 2; Ork. *aja-mụnžị* 1; Nan. *āi-* 3 (Он. 30).

◊ TMC 1, 21.

PMong. ***aja-*** journey, travel (поход, путешествие): MMong. *ajan* (SH); WMong. *ajaŋ, ajan* (L 23); Kh. *ajan*; Bur. *ajan*; Kalm. *ajan*; Ord. *ajan*; Dag. *ajan* (Тод. Дар. 118), (MGCD *ajin*).

◊ KW 4, MGCD 99. Mong. > Kirgh. *ajaŋ* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 106-107).

PTurk. ***Aj-*** 1 to revolve, rotate, go round 2 to tarry 3 to lead, lead round 4 to speed up 5 to drive (1 вращаться, вертеться, обходить 2

мешкать 3 кружить, водить 4 ускорять 5 гнать): Tur. *ajla-(n)*- 1, *ajlak* 'шатающийся без дела'; Gag. *ajla-*, *ajlan*- 1, *(h)ajda*- 5; Az. *ajlan*- (dial.) 1; Turkm. *ajla*- 3; Uzb. *ajlan*- 1, 2; Uygh. *ajlan*- 1, 2; Krm. *ajlan*- 1; Tat. *əjlən*- 1; Kirgh. *ajlan*- 1, *ajda*- 5; Kaz. *ajda*- 5, *ajnal*- 1; KBalk. *ajlan*- 1; KKalp. *ajlan*- 1, 2; Kum. *ajlan*- 'to move, visit'; Nogh. *ajlan*- 1; Khak. *ajn-ıt*- 4, *ajla-*, *əjlə*- 1; Shr. *ajlan*- 1; Oyr. *ajla*- 1, *ajda*- 5; Yak. *ajgɨ-s-ɨn*- 'to tarry; to go, visit frequently' (**ajɨg-ɨš-ɨn-*).

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 106-107, 109-110. The forms meaning 'rotate, go round, walk in circles' are hardly connected with aj 'moon'.

PJpn. ***àjùm-*** to walk (ходить, гулять): OJpn. *ajum-*; MJpn. *àjùm-*; Tok. *ayúm-*; Kyo. *áyúm-*; Kag. *àyùm-*.

◊ JLTT 679.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 243.

✱**ǎjbi** a k. of duck: Tung. ***ābu-***; Turk. ***Ebür(d)ek***; Jpn. ***û***.

PTung. ***ābu-*** a k. of duck (утка-морянка) (вид утки (утка-морянка)): Evn. *āwụldụqa*; Ork. *awụŋGa*; Orch. *auŋa*; Ud. *auŋga*.

◊ TMC 1, 10.

PTurk. ***Ebür(d)ek*** duck (утка): OTurk. *ödirek* (OUygh.); Karakh. (MK) *ördek*; Tur. *ördek*; Gag. *jördek*; Az. *ördäk*; Turkm. *ȫrdek*; Khal. *irdäk*; MTurk. *evrek*, *evek* (Qutb); Uzb. *ọrdak*; Uygh. *ö(r)däk*; Krm. *ördek*, *erdek*; Tat. *ürdɛk*; Bashk. *üjräk*; Kirgh. *ördök*; Kaz. *üjrek*; KKalp. *üjrek*, *ördek*; Kum. *ördek* dial.; SUygh. *jürdek*; Khak. *örtek*; Shr. *örtek*; Oyr. *örtök*; Tv. *ödürek*, *edirek*.

◊ EDT 205, ЭСТЯ 1, 547-548, TMN 2, 31, Лексика 172.

PJpn. ***û*** cormorant (баклан): OJpn. *u*; MJpn. *ú*; Tok. *ú*; Kyo. *û*; Kag. *ú*.

◊ JLTT 559.

‖ Лексика 172. Jpn. **û* must be a later contraction < **iw(V)*; medial *-j- must be reconstructed to explain the spirantization *-b- > -w-.

✱**ǎjbo** grass: Tung. ***(x)abü-***; Mong. ***ebe-sü***; Jpn. ***àwə̀-***.

PTung. ***(x)abü-*** stem, stalk (стебель): Evk. *ayi(n)*; Evn. *ay*; Neg. *ayị(n)*; Man. *afa*.

◊ TMC 1, 13.

PMong. ***ebe-sü*** grass (трава): MMong. *ebesun* (HY 9, SH), *äwäsun* (IM), *ibäsun* (MA); WMong. *ebesü(n)* (L 287); Kh. *öws(ön)*; Bur. *übhe(n)*; Kalm. *öwsṇ*; Ord. *öwösü*; Mog. *ebäsun*; ZM *ebäsun* (20-8); Dag. *eus* (Тод. Дар. 141), *euse* (MD 147); Dong. *osun*; Bao. *vəsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *wēsən*; Mongr. *usə*, *wesə*, *jesə* (SM 483).

◊ KW 303, MGCD 538.

PJpn. ***àwə̀-*** green, blue (зеленый, синий): OJpn. *awo-*; MJpn. *àwò-*; Tok. *aó-*; Kyo. *áo-*; Kag. *aó-*.

◊ JLTT 825.

‖ *-j- should be reconstructed to account for Mong. e- and for Jpn. -w-. The semantic derivation *'grass' > 'green' is quite common.

***aje (~ *ejo)** to reach, come close: Mong. ***aji-su-**; Jpn. ***ǒjǒmp-**.

PMong. ***aji-su-** to come close to, come up to (приближаться, подходить): MMong. *ajisu-* (SH); WMong. *ajisu-, ajisi-, ajis-* (L 22); Kh. *ajs-*; Kalm. *ās-* 1.

◊ KW 21.

PJpn. ***ǒjǒmp-** to reach (достигать): OJpn. *ojob-*; MJpn. *ójób-*; Tok. *òyob-*; Kyo. *óyób-*; Kag. *oyób-*.

◊ JLTT 744.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

***ǎjV** good, fitting: Tung. ***aja, *aju-**; Mong. ***(h)aja**; Turk. ***ǎja-**.

PTung. ***aja, *aju-** 1 good 2 handsome, beautiful 3 to save, help (1 хороший 2 красивый 3 спасать, помогать): Evk. *aja* 1, *aj(ū)-* 3; Evn. *aj* 1, *aj(ị)-* 3; Neg. *aja* 1; Man. *aj-luŋGa* 2, *aj-sila-* 3; Jurch. *aju-bulu* (419) 3; Ul. *aja* 1; Ork. *aja* 1, *ajụ-* 3; Nan. *ai, ajā* 1; Orch. *aja* 1, *ai-či-* 3; Ud. *aja* 1, *ai-sigi-* 3; Sol. *ai, aja* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 18-20. Man. > Dag. *ajšilā-* 'help' (Тод. Дар. 119).

PMong. ***(h)aja** favourable circumstances (благоприятные обстоятельства): WMong. *aja* (L 22), *aji*; Kh. *aja*; Bur. *aj-dar, aja*; Kalm. *aja*; Ord. *aja*.

◊ KW 4.

PTurk. ***ǎja-** 1 to esteem 2 to pity, look after 3 very (1 почитать 2 беречь, жалеть 3 очень, сильно): OTurk. *aja-* 1, *ajı* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *aja-* (MK) 1, 2, *ajı* 3 (KB); Tur. *aj-* 2, *aja-* dial. 1; Az. *ajin* 'cult, ceremony'; Turkm. *aja-* 2; MTurk. *aja-* 1 (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *aja-* 2; Uygh. *aji-* 2; Krm. *aja-* 2; Tat. *aja-* 2; Bashk. *aja-* 2; Kirgh. *aja-* 2; Kaz. *aja-* 2; KBalk. *aja-* 2; KKalp. *aja-* 2; Kum. *aja-* 2; Nogh. *aja-* 2; Khak. *aja-* 2, aj 3; Shr. *aja-* 2 (in *ajabān* 'remorseless'); Tv. *aj* 'well'; Chuv. *oja-* 'to care'.

◊ VEWT 10-11, EDT 267-8, ЭСТЯ 1, 101-102, Федотов 2, 298. Deriving **aja-* 'to respect, esteem' from *aj 'fear' (VEWT 11) is hardly plausible. Clauson (EDT 182) thinks that OUygh. *ajı* 'very' is an unusually early example of the elision of -g in *aŋıγ* 'evil', which means 'very' in many OUygh. texts, but this is hardly plausible phonetically; so it may belong here, together with Khak. *aj* 'very' (although the final narrow ı is a problem). Sevortyan relates here also SUygh. *ajıγ* 'good omen, good luck', but this may be a reflex of OUygh., Karakh. *ajıq* 'vow, promise' (EDT 270).

‖ KW 3, Владимирцов 282 (Turk.-Mong.), EAS 97, 139, Poppe 66 (with an unreliable Korean parallel), АПиПЯЯ 290, Дыбо 12. A Western isogloss. Because of a semantic difference, TM forms are hardly borrowed from Mong., despite Doerfer MT 46.

***ăjVrV** sour milk, melted fat: Tung. ***ajara-**; Mong. ***ajirag**; Turk. ***ajran**.

PTung. ***ajara-** 1 to take off fat (while melting) 2 spoon for taking fat off (1 снимать жир (в процессе растапливания) 2 ложка для снимания жира): Ul. *ajara-* 1, *ajaraqụ* 2; Nan. *ajaraχo* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 21.

PMong. ***ajirag** kumys (кумыс): MMong. *aijirax* (HY 25); WMong. *ajiraγ* (L 21); Kh. *ajrag*; Bur. *ajrag*; Kalm. *ărəg*; Ord. *ărəq*; Dag. *airag*.

◊ KW 26. Mong. > Man. *ajara*, see Doerfer MT 236, Rozycki 21, Russ. Siber. *ajrák* (Аникин 78).

PTurk. ***ajran** kumys (кумыс): Karakh. *ajran* (MK); Tur. *ajran*; Az. *ajran*; Turkm. *ajran*; Uzb. *ɔjrɔn*; Uygh. *ajran*; Krm. *ajran*; Tat. *ɛjrɛn*; Bashk. *ajran*; Kirgh. *ajran*; Kaz. *ajran*; KBalk. *ajran*; KKalp. *ajran*; Kum. *ajran*; Nogh. *ajran*; Khak. *ajran*; Oyr. *ajran*; Chuv. *ujran*, dial. *uŕan*, *oren* (Anatri).

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 111, EDT 276, Лексика 449, Федотов 2, 272. Chuv. > ORuss. *урень* (Фасмер 4, 167, Шипова 350). Turk. > Russ. dial. *ajrán* Аникин 78.

‖ Владимирцов 283. Despite Doerfer TMN 2, 180, Щербак 1997, 96, hardly borrowed in Mong. < Turk. A Western isogloss; but cf. perhaps Kor. *ari-* 'bitter', Middle Jpn. *era-* 'rank, offensive'.

***akt'V** a castrated animal: Mong. ***akta**; Turk. ***atan**.

PMong. ***akta** castrated (кастрированный): MMong. *axta* (HY 9), *aqtas* (SH Козин) 'gelding'; WMong. *aγta* (L 15); Kh. *agt*; Bur. *agta*; Kalm. *aktə*; Ord. *aGta*; Dag. *arete* (MD).

◊ KW 5. Mong. > Man., Nan. *aqta*, Sol. *akta* (TMC 1, 26, Rozycki 14); MKor. *àktái* (Lee 1958, 119).

PTurk. ***atan** a castrated camel (кастрированный верблюд): Karakh. *atan* (MK); Turkm. *atan* (dial.); MTurk. *atan* (IM); Kirgh. *atan*; Kaz. *atan*; KKalp. *atan*; Nogh. *atan*; Tv. *adan*.

◊ EDT 60, ЭСТЯ 1, 202-203. Turk. > WMong. *atan* 'castrated camel'. Cf. also Yak. *at* 'castrated', *attā-* 'to castrate' - homonymous with *at* 'horse', which is probably a secondary merger (the two roots obviously are to be kept separate).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

***ák'à** to open, opening: Jpn. ***áká-**; Kor. ***àk-**.

PJpn. ***áká-** to open (открывать): OJpn. *aka-*; MJpn. *áká-*; Tok. *àke-*.

◊ JLTT 675 (in OJ the root is usually confused with **áká-* 'get bright').

PKor. ***àk-** 1 mouth 2 a little open, apart 3 opening, slit (1 рот 2 приоткрытый 3 отверстие): MKor. *akui*, *ìp-àkói* 1; Mod. *aguri* 1, *agu* 2, *agɨt* [*akɨs*] 3.

◊ Nam 333, 407, KED 1067.

‖ Martin 238. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss: in other languages (Turkic, Mongolian) the root has probably merged with **ága* 'mouth, open mouth' q. v.

***akʻa-** a k. of aquatic bird: Tung. ***aKa**; Mong. ***(h)akawna**; Turk. ***Akaṅa**.

PTung. ***aKa** loon, diver (rarapa): Neg. *axanī*; Man. *aqa ńexe*; Ul. *aṅi*; Nan. *āṅi*.

◊ TMC 1, 24.

PMong. ***(h)akawna** loon, diver, gull (rarapa, чайка): WMong. *aqauna, aquuna* (L 60), *aγa(γ)una*; Kh. *axūn, axūna*; Bur. *axūna*; Kalm. *axūnə, aγūnə*.

◊ KW 3. Mong. > Oyr. *aγūna* etc., Sib.-Tat. *aγun, aγuin* 'partridge, black-cock' (Тумашева КСТТ 97), Bar. *aγawin* 'partridge' (ЯБТ 123).

PTurk. ***Akaṅa** 1 gull 2 white partridge (1 чайка 2 куропатка): Khak. *aγaja, aγajaŋ* (Sag., Kach.) 'a k. of bird'; Shr. *aγɨj* 1; Tv. *aγanaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 9.

‖ TMC 1, 24. A Western isogloss. The TM languages reflect a compound **aKa-nīkü* (with **nīkü* 'duck' < PA **nīkV* q.v.); the same compound in a somewhat distorted shape may be also present in the PT and PM forms.

***ákʻa** elder brother: Tung. ***akā / *kakā**; Mong. ***aka**; Turk. ***(i)āka**.

PTung. ***ak- / *kaka** 1 man 2 elder brother (1 мужчина 2 старший брат): Evk. *akā*, akin 2; Evn. *aqa, aqъn* 2; Neg. *aga / axa* 2; Man. *xaxa* 1, *axun* 2; SMan. *haha* 1 (829); Jurch. *xaxa-aj* (298) 1, *axun* (*axun-un*) (286) 2; Ul. *aGa* 2; Ork. *aGa / aqa* 2; Nan. *ā* 2; Orch. *aka, akin* 2; Ud. *agaʻ* 2 (Корм. 203); Sol. *axā, axin* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 23-24, 459. Forms like Evk. *akā* can be < Mong. (see TMN 1, 139, Poppe 1972, 100), but this is impossible for **akin* and **kaka*.

PMong. ***aka** elder brother (старший брат): MMong. *aqa* (HY 28, SH), *axai ekeči* 'elder aunt' (HY 28), *aγā* (IM 432), *āγa* (MA 266, 185, 256); WMong. *aqa* (L 59); Kh. *ax; axaj* 'aunt' (resp. address); Bur. *axa*; Kalm. *axə*; Ord. *axa*; Dag. *akā, aga* (Тод. Даг. 118, 119, MD 112), ag (MGCD); Dong. *aγa*; S.-Yugh. *aʁa* (MGCD: *aGa*); Mongr. *aGa* 'frère aîné', *āGa* 'frère puînté du père' (SM 2).

◊ KW 3, MGCD 126. Cf. also WMong. *aki*, Kalm. *ākə* 'elder brother's wife' (KW 20).

PTurk. ***(i)āka** 1 elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather 2 respectful address 3 elder (1 старший брат; старший дядя; отец; дедушка 2 почтительное обращение 3 старший): OTurk. *aqa* 1 (OUygh., from I-t half of XIII century, see ДТС); Tur. *aγa* 1, 2; Gag. *aγa* 1, 2; Az. *aγa* 2; Turkm. *āGa* 1; Khal. *aγa* 2; MTurk. *aqa* 1 (Oghuz-nama), *aγa* 1 (Abush.), *aqa* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *эγa* 1; Uygh. *aγa* 1; Krm. *aqa* 2 (K), *aγa* 2, 3 (K, T); Tat. *aγa* 1, 2; Bashk. *aγaj* 1, 2; Kirgh. *aγa* 1; Kaz. *aγa* 1, 3; KKalp. *aγa* 1, 2; Kum. *aγa* 1, 2; Nogh. *aγa* 1, 2; SUygh. *aqa* 1,2, *qiz aγa* 'тесть' (ЯЖУ 11, 13); Khak. *aγa* 1 ('father's father'); Shr. *aqqa* 'father's father'; Oyr. *aqa* 1, 2; Tv. *aqɨ* 1; Yak. *aγa* 1 ('father'), 3; Dolg. *aga* 'father'.

◊ VEWT 13, ЭСТЯ 1, 70-71, 121-122, Лексика 291, Stachowski 28. Note the expressive gemination of the medial -k- in Tuva and elsewhere.

‖ EAS 91, KW 3, Владимирцов 324, Poppe 55, Цинциус 1972a, 40-45. АПиПЯЯ 290. A Western isogloss. The Turkic forms are relatively late attested and could be < Mong., see TMN 1, 137, Щербак 1997, 199, but the Mong.-Tung. parallel still holds.

✱**ák'à (~ -k-,-o)** dirt, filth: Tung. ***(x)aK-**; Mong. ***(h)ag**; Jpn. ***ákà**.

PTung. ***(x)aK-** 1 to menstruate 2 dirt 3 rust, mould 4 to rust, mould (1 менструировать 2 грязь 3 ржавчина, плесень 4 ржаветь, плесневеть): Evk. *akarču-* 1; Evn. *oqu, aqūsa* 3, *oqū-, aqū-* 4; Sol. *akų* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 24, 2, 11.

PMong. ***(h)ag** 1 pock-mark 2 dirt, taint (1 оспина 2 грязь, налет): WMong. *aγ* 1 (MXTTT); Kh. *ag* (MXTTT) 1; Bur. *ag* 2; Kalm. *ag* 2 (KPC).

PJpn. ***ákà** liquid dirt, filth (жидкая грязь): OJpn. *aka*; MJpn. *ákà*; Tok. *aká*; Kyo. *ákà*; Kag. *aká*.

◊ JLTT 378. The Kagoshima accent is irregular; otherwise all data points to **ákà*.

‖ The root is not very widely represented, but seems reliable.

✱**ǎk'è** to advance gradually, slowly: Mong. ***(h)aki-**; Turk. ***(i)akuru-**; Jpn. ***ə́kúr(á)-**.

PMong. ***(h)aki-, *(h)akuj** 1 to advance gradually, 2 work, earnings, mode of life (1 продвигаться постепенно 2 работа, образ жизни): WMong. *aki-* (L 25); Kh. *axi-* 1, *axui* 2; Bur. *axi-* 1; Kalm. *axū* 2; Ord. *ax^{w}ī* 2.

◊ KW 4.

PTurk. ***(i)akuru-** slowly, quietly, gradually (медленно, постепенно): OTurk. *aquru* (OUygh.); Karakh. *aqru, aqrun* (MK), *aqru* (KB); Tur. *arqun* (Osmanli); MTurk. *aqrın* (Sangl.), *aγrın* (Бор. Бад.); Krm. *arqıtın*; Tat. *ɛkren, ɛkerten; ɛkert* (dial.); Bashk. *aqrın*; Kirgh. *aqırın*; Kaz. *aqırın*; KBalk. *aqırın, aqrın, aqırtın*; KKalp. *aqırın*; Khak. *āγırın, aγrın, aγırtın*; Shr. *aγırın*; Oyr. *aqqırın, aqqır-aqqır*; Yak. *arγ̄ıj, orγ̄uj*.

◊ VEWT 14, ЭСТЯ 1, 123-124, EDT 89-90. The forms with -in and -tin are old forms of Instr. and Abl. cases, so the PT word is a noun. Yak. reflects the -u of the second syllable.

PJpn. ***ə́kúr(á)-** 1 to be, come late 2 to send, advance (1 опаздывать 2 посылать, отправлять): OJpn. *okura-* 1, *okur-* 2; MJpn. *ókúrá-* 1, *ókúr-* 2; Tok. *òkure-* 1, *òkur-* 2; Kyo. *ókúré-* 1, *ókúr-* 2; Kag. *okuré-* 1, *okúr-* 2.

◊ JLTT 741.

‖ The Turk. and Jpn. forms reflect a derivative **ak'e-ru-*.

✱**ǎk'ú** to dig, delve: Tung. ***axiri-**; Mong. ***uku-**; Jpn. ***ùnkàt-**.

PTung. ***axiri-** to sweep, rake up snow (подметать, разгребать снег): Ul. *aχiṛi-*; Ork. *aχiṛi-*; Nan. *aχiṛi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 25.

PMong. ***uku-*** 1 to dig, delve 2 adze 3 notch (on animal's ears) 4 axe (1 копать 2 долото 3 зарубка, метка (на ушах животных) 4 топор): MMong. *uqu-* 1, *uqali* 4 (SH); WMong. *uqu-* 1, *uqumi* 2 (L 892); Kh. *uxu-* 1, *uxmi* 2, 3; Bur. *uxami* 2; Kalm. *uxə-* 1; Ord. *uxa-*.

◊ KW 447. Mong. > Manchu *uxu-* 'to gouge' (see Rozycki 216).

PJpn. ***ùnkàt-*** to delve, dig (долбить, копать): OJpn. *ukat-*; MJpn. *ùgàt-*; Tok. *ugát-*; Kyo. *úgát-*; Kag. *ugát-*.

◊ JLTT 777. Kagoshima has an irregular tone.

‖ PJ **ùnkàt-* and PTM **akiri-* may reflect a PA derivative **ǎk'ú-rV-*.

✱**ǎla** take, receive: Tung. ****al(i)-***; Mong. ****ali-***; Turk. ****ạl-***; Jpn. ****á-***.

PTung. ****al(i)-*** 1 take, receive 2 give, hand over (1 брать, получать 2 давать, передавать): Evk. *al-* 1; Evn. *al-* 1; Neg. *al-* 1; Man. *ali-* 1; SMan. *ᡳali-* (1404); Jurch. *ali-* (242) 2; Ul. *alụ̄-* 2; Ork. *alị-* 1; Nan. *alị-* 1; Orch. *alō-* 2; Ud. *ali-* 1, *alu-* 2; Sol. *ali-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 26-27.

PMong. ****ali-*** 1 to take, receive 2 give! (1 брать, получать 2 дай!): WMong. *ali* 2 (L 31); Kh. *aĺ, aliv* 2; Bur. *aĺē* 2; Kalm. *aĺ, aĺə* 2; Ord. *ali* 2; Dag. *ali-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 120); Dong. *ali*; Bao. *an*; Mongr. *ali* 2.

◊ KW 6, MGCD 103. Dagur is the only language reflecting the complete verbal paradigm of **ali-*; it may well be that Dag. *ali-* is in fact a TM loanword.

PTurk. ****ạl-*** to take (брать): OTurk. *al-* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *al-* (MK, KB); Tur. *al-*; Gag. *al-*; Az. *al-*; Turkm. *al-*; Sal. *al-*; Khal. *al-*; MTurk. *al-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔl-*; Uygh. *al-*; Krm. *al-*; Tat. *al-*; Bashk. *al-*; Kirgh. *al-*; Kaz. *al-*; KBalk. *al-*; KKalp. *al-*; Kum. *al-*; Nogh. *al-*; SUygh. *al-*; Khak. *al-*; Shr. *al-*; Oyr. *al-*; Tv. *al-*; Chuv. *il-*; Yak. *ɨl-*; Dolg. *ɨl-*.

◊ EDT 124-125, VEWT 14-15, ЭСТЯ 1, 127-128, Егоров 68, *Лексика* 336, 337, Stachowski 259.

PJpn. ****á-*** to get, receive (получать): OJpn. *u* (stem *a-*); MJpn. *ú* (stem *a-*); Tok. *é-*; Kyo. *é-*; Kag. *é-*.

◊ JLTT 681. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

‖ KW 6, EAS 140, Poppe 75, Doerfer MT 239 (attempts to disprove the etymology in TMN 2, 122 are futile). The reason for close **ạ* in PT is unclear (**al-* would be normally expected). Note, however, that the Jpn. reflex represents loss of **-l-* in a verbal stem, thus strongly suggesting an original monosyllabic form **ál* (cf. **gèle*, **sélo*).

✱**ála** hail, ice: Tung. ****(x)al-dan***; Jpn. ****árárái (~-ría)***; Kor. ****ər-***.

PTung. ****(x)al-dan*** frazil (in spring, close to the shore) (наледь (весной у берега)): Neg. *aldan*.

◊ TMC 1, 31.

PJpn. ****árárái (~-ría)*** hail (град): OJpn. *arare*; MJpn. *áráré*; Tok. *araré*; Kyo. *àràré*; Kag. *araré*.

◊ JLTT 383. Modern tones are quite irregular.

PKor. ***ər-** 1 to freeze 2 ice (1 замерзать 2 лед): MKor. *ər-* 1, *ərím* 2; Mod. *əl-* 1, *ərim* 2.

◊ Nam 361, 367, KED 1143, 1146.

‖ Martin 232. Basically a Kor.-Jpn. isogloss; the TM evidence is very scanty and thus dubious.

✱**ǻla (~ -ē-)** front side: Turk. ***āl**; Kor. ***àr-p**.

PTurk. ***āl** 1 front 2 forehead 3 in front of 4 towards the front of (1 перед 2 лоб 3 впереди, спереди 4 вперед): OTurk. *alın* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *alın* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *al* 1 (dial.), *alın* 1, 2; 'face'; Gag. *anni* 2; Az. *alın* 2; Turkm. *ālın* 1, 2; Sal. *aldı-* 1; Khal. *hānl(ı)*, *hāll* 2; MTurk. *alı* 1 (Abush.), *alnı-da* 'in the presence of' (Abush.), *aldı* (Babur) 3; Uzb. *ɔl-d-i* 1; Uygh. *ajl, aldi* 1, *al-dın* 3, *al-γa* 4; Krm. *al-d-ı* 1 (K), *alın* 1 (T, H); Tat. *al* 1, *al-d-ı* 1, *alın* 1; Bashk. *al, aldı* 1; Kirgh. *al* 1, *al-d-ı* 1; Kaz. *al-da* 3, *al-d-ı* 1; KBalk. *al, allı* 1, *al-da* 3, *al-γa* 4; KKalp. *al-d-ı* 1; Kum. *al* 1, *al-dan* 3; Nogh. *al-d-ı* 1; SUygh. *al* 1, *alım, alın* 1, 2; Khak. *alnı* 1; Shr. *alnı* 1, *alın-da* 3; Oyr. *aldı, alın* 1; Tv. *alın* 'face'; Chuv. *om* 1.

◊ EDT 121, 147; VEWT 14 (should be distinguished from **al-* 'below'), TMN 2, 120, ЭСТЯ 1, 124-125, 146, Федотов 2, 280, Лексика 198-199. See EDT 121 commenting on the absence of early attestation of the suffixless form.

PKor. ***àr-p** front (перед): MKor. *àrp*; Mod. *ap* [*aph*].

◊ Nam 348, KED 1098.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss. Cf. also Evk. *alga* 'Southern mountain slope', *algaja* 'right river bank', *algakačan* 'mountain' - in TMC 1, 30 united with *alga* 'blessing' which is somewhat dubious.

✱**àlakʹu** to walk, step: Mong. ***alku-**; Jpn. ***àrùk-**.

PMong. ***alku-** to step (шагать): MMong. *alqu-* (MA 99); WMong. *alqu-* (L 34); Kh. *alxa-*; Bur. *alxa-*; Kalm. *alxə-*; Ord. *alxu-*; Dag. *alku-, alxu-* (Тод. Даг. 120), *aleku-* (MD 112); Dong. *hanku*; Bao. *xalGə-*, (MGCD) *halGolə-*; S.-Yugh. *alGə-*; Mongr. *(x)arGu-* (SM 13), (MGCD) *xalGula-*.

◊ KW 7, MGCD 105.

PJpn. ***àrùk-** to walk (ходить, гулять): OJpn. *aruk-*; MJpn. *àrík-*; Tok. *arúk-*; Kyo. *àrùk-*; Kag. *àruk-*.

◊ JLTT 677.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. See АПиПЯЯ 278. Man. *alxun* 'step', *alkūn* 'the gait of a horse or other livestock' is no doubt borrowed from Mongolian (see Rozycki 16-17). The Jpn.-Mong. comparison seems to us preferable to other etymologies of the Mongolian form (see ОСНЯ 3,66-70; Poppe 96, KW 7 - Mong. *alqu-*: Turk. **āl-*). The stem can be possibly derived from a root reflected in Mong. **ala* 'inner side of thigh' (L 26; Poppe 75; pl. *alas*, whence Evk. *alas*, see Doerfer MT 94; hence also WMong. *alčaji-*, Khalkha *alcaj-* 'to spread the legs', Dag. *alčī-* id.,

WMong. *alčayar, alčaŋ*, Khalkha *alcan* 'bowlegged'; but to be distinguished is **ale* 'below' q. v.).

***alda** fathom: Tung. ***alda-n**; Mong. ***alda**; Jpn. ***ata**; Kor. ***arǎ-m**.

PTung. ***alda-n** distance between (расстояние между): Man. *andan, alda-*; Jurch. *an-dan-do* (816) 'to follow'; Ul. *alda(n)*; Ork. *alda(n)*; Nan. *aldã*; Orch. *agda(n)*; Ud. *agda(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 31.

PMong. ***alda** fathom (сажень): MMong. *ᵭalda* (SH), *ālda* (MA 98); WMong. *alda* (L 29); Kh. *ald*; Bur. *alda*; Kalm. *aldə*; Ord. *alda*; Dag. *alda* (Тод. *Дar.* 119), *alede* (MD 112); Dong. *anda* (MGCD); *anda-la-* (Тод. *Дн.* 110) 'to measure by fathoms'; Bao. *aldə*; S.-Yugh. *alda*; Mongr. *arda* 'brasse, 5 pieds chinois' (SM 12), *alda* (MGCD)3.

◊ KW 6, MGCD 102. Mong. > Evk. *alda* 'fathom', Russ. Siber. *aldán* (Аникин 82).

PJpn. ***ata** a measure of length (мера длины): OJpn. *ata*.

PKor. ***arǎ-m** fathom, the span of both arms (сажень): MKor. *arǎm*; Mod. *arim*.

◊ Nam 335, KED 1071.

‖ Ozawa 38-40, АПиПЯЯ 16, 71, Rozycki 18-19. Despite Doerfer MT 111, TM forms are hardly < Mong. (because of a semantic difference). A possible parallel in Turkic could be **adi[Í]* > OT *adɨt* 'handful', Kirgh. *adiš*, Yak. *itiš* 'palm' (VEWT 7, ЭСТЯ 1, 100-101, 410, *Лексика* 252, Stachowski 263), but there are some phonetic and semantic problems. Note, however, that OJ *ata* also denotes a small measure of length (8 sun, or about 12 centimetres) - rather a span than a fathom. Such a semantic development may presuppose an earlier usage of **alda* in constructions like 'big fathom' - 'small fathom' (= 'span') both in Turkic and Japanese.

***ale** below, lower: Turk. ***ăl**; Jpn. ***ərə-**; Kor. ***àrái**.

PTurk. ***ăl** 1 lower side, below 2 (as adj.) being below , lower (1 низ, нижняя сторона 2 нижний): OTurk. *altɨn* 2 (Yen. ПМК 90, OUygh.); Karakh. *altɨn* 2 (MK, IM), *alt* 1 (Tefs); Tur. *alt* 1; Gag. *alt* 1; Az. *alt* 1; Khal. *a[:]lt* 1; Krm. *alt* 1 (K); Tat. *alt* 1 (dial., Дмитриева Бараб.126); Kirgh. *ald(ɨ)* 1; SUygh. *altɨ* 1 (ЯЖУ 14); Khak. *altɨ* 1; Shr. *altɨ* 1; Oyr. *ald* 1, *altɨyɨ* 2; *altɨ* 1 Tuba; Tv. *a'ldɨ* 1; Tof. *aldɨn* 'в низовье реки' (Рас. *ФиЛ* 153); Chuv. *old(ъ)* 'gusset'; Yak. *alɨn* 1; Dolg. *alɨn* 1.

◊ VEWT 14, ЭСТЯ 1, 140-141, Stachowski 32. VEWT confuses (after Bang and Brockelmann) the roots **al-* 'below' and **āl* 'front'. They are indeed mixed in Kirgh. and Oyr. lit., where we have *ald* 'front, below', but are distinguished in dialects (Tuba: *ald* 'front', with a voicing in the consonant cluster after an old long vowel, but *altɨ* 'below'). The Chuv. form probably goes back to the compound **koltuk altɨ* 'axillary concavity, gusset' (attested in Tur., Gag., Az., see Дыбо 154). Most languages reflect **al-tɨ-* (the simple form al is not attested, see the discussion in EDT 121), but the reality of the root **āl* is proved

by a different derivative in Yakut. Cf. also Sib.-Tat. *alaša* 'low, low place' (KCTT 100). Another possible old derivative in -čak may be PT **aĺ(č)ak* (Karakh. *ašaq*, Turkm. *ašāq* etc., see ЭСТЯ 1, 214-215) 'below, bottom part; low, humble': its traditional derivation from **āĺ-* 'to cross (a mountain)' is unsatisfactory both phonetically and semantically. A certain problem is the attribution of the adjective **al-čak* (see ЭСТЯ 1, 143-144, EDT 129). Older occurrences of *alčaq* (MK, KB, Tefs., Rabg. etc.) present the meaning 'modest, humble'; cf. also Sib.-Tat. *alcaq* 'valetudinarian' (KCTT 101), Turkm. *alčak* 'affable' and perhaps Tur. *alčak* 'mean, vile', *alča-* 'to offend, humiliate'. This group of forms may in fact reflect a different root, otherwise represented by PT **Alɨg*, see under **àle* 'weak, tired'. Another group of forms - Chag. *alčaq* 'bas' (Pav. C.), Tur., Az., Crim.-Tat. (and Oghuz texts like Korkut) *alčaq* 'low, low place' probably represents an Oghuz innovative derivation in -čak from the root *al-* (which is why -lč- did not yield -š- here), perhaps influenced by Mong. *alča-gar, alča-n* 'stunted, undersized', derived from Mong. *alčaji-* 'to spread legs apart'.

PJpn. ***àrə-** to lower, go down (опускаться): OJpn. *oru-*; MJpn. *òru-*; Tok. *orí-*; Kyo. *òrì-*; Kag. *òrì-*.

◊ JLTT 742. For final *-ə- cf. the causative PJ **àrə-s-*, OJ *oros-* 'to lower, drop'.

PKor. ***àrái** below, lower side (низ, нижняя сторона): MKor. *àrái*; Mod. *arä*.

◊ Nam 336, KED 1069.

‖ SKE 6, EAS 106, Martin 230. The tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular.

***àle** weak, tired, confused: Tung. ***āli-**; Mong. ***al-**; Turk. ***ăl-**; Jpn. ***ərə-ka**; Kor. ***ərí-**.

PTung. ***āli-** to get tired (уставать): Neg. *ālī-*; Ul. *āl(ị)-*; Ork. *ālị-*; Nan. *ālị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 32.

PMong. ***al-da-, -ǯi-, -ga-** 1 get tired 2 disturbed, absent-minded, lazy 3 to lose, miss (1 уставать 2 рассеянный, ленивый 3 лишаться, делать промах): MMong. *alǯa-* 'behindert, in Not, Schwierigkeit sein', *alǯi'as* 'Abweichung, Fehler ', *alda-* 'verlieren, verfehlen, straffällig werden', *aldal* 'Strafe' (SH), *aldara-* 'to become loose', *alɣūr* 'slow' (MA 98), *aldāng* 'sin' (IM); WMong. *alǯija-* 1 (L 34), *al-ŋai* 2 (L 32); Kh. *alda-* 3, *alǯā-* 1, *algū, almai* 2; Bur. *alžā-* 1, *almaj* 2; Kalm. *aldə-* 3, *almā* 2; Ord. *alda-* 3; Dag. *alšē-* 1 (Тод. Дар. 120), *alede-* 3 (MD 112); Bao. *andaGa-* 'to let loose, to make free'; Mongr. *xarǯā-* (SM 161) 1, *(a)rda-* (SM 12, 309) 3.

◊ KW 7. Mong. > Tuva *aldag* 'misdoing, inadvertence', KBalk. *alǯar-*, Kirgh. *alǯɨ-* 'to err, become mad', Kum. *alǯa-* 'to suffer', Yak. *alār-* (< **ala-ɣa-r-*), KKalp. *alaɣa-da-la-n-* 'to digress, be absentminded' etc.

PTurk. ***ăl-** 1 to become weak 2 bad 3 to be vile (of a man), to turn septic (of a wound) 4 weak, inferior 5 upset 6 old, worn-out 7 crazy 8 lazy man 9 to hurry 10 fool 11 to go mad 12 to deceive 13 perplexed 14 dumb, foolish 15 doubt, surprise 16 error 17 be in doubt, perplexed 18 absent-minded, unattentive 19 weakness (1 слабеть 2 дурной 3 быть

подлым (о человеке), воспаляться (о ране) 4 слабый, худший 5 расстроенный 6 старый, изношенный 7 безумный, ошалелый 8 лентяй 9 торопиться 10 дурак 11 сходить с ума 12 обманывать 13 растерянный 14 глупый, простоватый 15 сомнение, удивление 16 ошибка 17 сомневаться, сбиваться, путаться 18 рассеянный, невнимательный 19 чахлость, немощь): OTurk. *alaŋ-a-d-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *alıγ* 2 (MK), *alıq-* 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *alık*, (Osm.) *alu* 4, *alaz*, *alız* 4 (dial.), *alkın* 5 (dial.); Gag. *alıq* 7, 10; Turkm. *al-ŋ-a-sa-* 9; MTurk. *aluq* 7 (Abush. 27); Uygh. *alaq*, *alaŋ* 7; Krm. *alas* 19; Tat. *ala-ma* 2, 6; Bashk. *alama* 2, 6, *al-jatıu* 11; Kirgh. *alaŋ*, *alaγ-dı* 18; Kaz. *alaŋ* 18; KBalk. *alın-* 11; KKalp. *alaŋ* 18; Nogh. *ala-ŋ-γa-s-ar* 18; SUygh. *alγač* 8 (ЯЖУ 14); Khak. *alıγ* 10, alas 5, *al-ın-*, *al-ax-* 11, (caus.) 12; Shr. *al-aq-tır-* (caus. from **al-aq-*) 12, *al-aq-qan* 13, *alıγ* 10, *al-ın-* 11; Oyr. *alā* (< *alaγ*) 14, *alu* (< *alıγ*) 10, *alaŋ* 15, *alγas* 5, *al-ın-* 11; Tv. *alāq-* 17, *alaŋ* 15; Yak. *alγas* 16.

◊ VEWT 16-17, TMN 2, 116, EDT 129, 138, 149, ЭСТЯ 1, 132, 145-146, Clark 1977, 128. See also Oghuz **al-čak* sub **al-* 'below'. Tends to contaminate with **āl* 'red' and **āla* 'variegated', cf. Uygh. *al-gädän* 'naïve' ('red nape'), Turkm. *āla-samsık* 'foolish' ('variegated fool'), Bashk. *al-jot* 'fool' ('red fellow'). KW 7. Turk. **algaŕ* > *algaz* > MMong. *alγasa-* 'faul, nachlassig sein' (SH), then Mong. > Kirgh., KBalk. , Kum. *alγasa(r)-*, Nogh. *alas-la-r-* 'to become embarrassed', (Karaim) 'to be scared' etc. Despite Sevortyan, Tokharian A *ālās* 'iners, ignavus' (Poucha 27), B *alās-* 'be sick' (Sieg-Siegling 91) not < Turk., but < Sanskr. *alasa.*

PJpn. ***ərə-ka*** foolish (глупый): OJpn. *oro-ka*; MJpn. *óró-ka*; Tok. *óroka*; Kyo. *óròkà*; Kag. *oroká*.

◊ JLTT 511. All modern forms point to a low tone (either **ərə̀ká* or **ərə̀kà*), but the accent attested in RJ contradicts it.

PKor. ***ərí-*** to be foolish, mistaken (быть глупым, ошибаться): MKor. *ərí-*; Mod. *əri-sək-*.

◊ Nam 361, KED 1129.

‖ Martin 243, Whitman 1985, 129, 194, 246. The most probable accent reconstruction is **ə̀le*, with regular correspondences between Turk., TM and most Japanese dialects; Kor. has a frequent "verbal" low tone.

✱**ălgi** net, sieve: Tung. ***alga***; Turk. ***ĕlge-***; Kor. ***ərkəmi***.

PTung. ***alga*** net (сеть): Evk. *alga*; Man. *alGan*; Ul. *arGa*; Nan. *alGa*; Orch. *agga*; Sol. *alga*.

◊ TMC 1, 30. TM > Dag. *algan, alxan* (Тод. Даг. 119). Nan. > Russ. Siber. *algá* (Аникин 82).

PTurk. ***ĕlge-*** 1 to sift; 2 sieve (сито, просеивать): OTurk. *elge-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *elge-* 1 (MK), *ele-* 1 (IM), *elek* 2 (IM); Tur. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; Gag. *iele-* 1, *ielek* 2; Az. *älä-* 1, *äläk* 2; Turkm. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; Sal. *elex* 2 (ССЯ 324); Khal. *häjlä-* 1, *häjläk* 2; MTurk. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *ela-* 1, *elak* 2; Uygh. *ägli-* 1, *älgäk* 2; Krm. *ele-*, *öle-* 1, *elek*, *ölek* 2; Tat. *ilɛ-* 1, *ilɛk* 2;

Bashk. *ile-* 1, *ilek* 2; Kirgh. *ele-, elge-* 1, *elek, elgek* 2; Kaz. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; KBalk. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; KKalp. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; Kum. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; Nogh. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; Khak. *ilge-* 1, *ilgek* 2; Shr. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; Oyr. *elge-* 1, *elgek* 2; Tv. *egle- / elge-* 1; Tof. *elge-* 1, *elgek* 2; Chuv. *alla-* 1, *alla* 2.

◊ EDT 143, VEWT 40, ЭСТЯ 1, 261-263, Егоров 24. The behaviour of the internal cluster is phonetically normal (not on a morphemic boundary). Turk. **elgek* > WMong. *elgeg*, Kalm. *elgəg* (KW 119, TMN 2, 118, Щербак 1997, 114).

PKor. ***ərkəmi** a coarse sieve (грубое сито): Mod. *əlgəmi*.

◊ SKE 53.

‖ EAS 145, SKE 53 (Kor. is somewhat doubtful: KED 1142 has only *əlgim čhe* 'rough sieve' - lit. 'pock-marked sieve').

***á̋li** to deceive, trick: Tung. ***ali-, *alak-**; Mong. ***aliɣa**; Turk. ***Āl**; Jpn. ***ira-p-**; Kor. ***ìrbə̀ń-**.

PTung. ***ali-, *alak-** 1 to be angry 2 to endure 3 to regret 4 to envy (1 сердиться 2 терпеть 3 сожалеть, каяться 4 завидовать): Evk. *ali-* 1; Evn. *alêl-* 1; Neg. *alị-* 1, *alaxị-* 4; Man. *a̋la-* 3; Ul. *alị-* 2; Nan. *alị-* 2, *alaqị* 4; Orch. *ali-* 2; Sol. *a̋ê-, alī-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 29, 32.

PMong. ***aliɣa** 1 frolic, tricksy 2 to deceive (1 игривый, шаловливый 2 обманывать): MMong. *alija* (SH, Козин) 1; WMong. *alija* 1 (L 32), *alašira-* 2 (Ko 74); Kh. *alia* 1; Bur. *a̋lā* 1; Kalm. *a̋lā, ä̋lā̆n* 1; Ord. *a̋lā*; Dag. *ələ̄* 1.

◊ KW 6, 22. Cf. also *albin* 'devil, evil spirit' (> Yak., Dolg. *albɨn* 'deception, liar' (Kał. MEJ 56, Stachowski 31).

PTurk. ***Āl** 1 device, trick, deceit 2 to deceive (1 обман, хитрость 2 обманывать): OTurk. *al* 1 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.), *al-ta-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *āl* 1 (MK, KB), *alda-* (MK); Tur. *al* 1, *aldat-* 2; Az. *al* 1 (dial.), *al-da-n-* 'to be deceived, to err'; Turkm. *āl* 1, *ālda-* 2; MTurk. *al* 1, *alda-* 2; Uzb. *alda-* 2; Uygh. *aldi-* 2; Tat. *alda-* 2; Bashk. *alda-* 2; Kirgh. *alda-* 2; Kaz. *alda-* 2; KBalk. *alda-* 2; KKalp. *alda-* 2; Kum. *al* 1, *alda-* 2; Nogh. *alda-* 2; Khak. *alda-* 2; Shr. *alda-* 2.

◊ EDT 120-121, TMN 2, 93, ЭСТЯ 1, 126-127. A discussion of *albastɨ* (= Mong. *albin*) see in TMN 2, 109-110. Turk. **āl-da-* > Mong. *alda-* 'to deceive' (MA, cf. also TMN 2, 116, Щербак 1997, 97) > Evk. *alda-* etc. (Doerfer MT 109). On Mong. *alda-* 'to lose' see **à̋le* 'weak, tired'.

PJpn. ***ira-** to play, tamper with; concern oneself with (играть, возиться, совать куда-л. нос): MJpn. *iraf-*.

◊ JLTT 698. .

PKor. ***ìrbə̀ń-** to steal (воровать): MKor. *ìrpə̀ń-, ìrwə̀s-*.

◊ Nam 405.

‖ PKE 21. Ramstedt cites Kor. *ari-* 'angry', but all dictionaries available to us only have *ari-* 'bitter, pungent'. A suffixed form **á̋li-bV* may

be probably recovered in Mong. *albin*, Kor. **ìrbáń-* (and perhaps also PT **alba-sti*) and PJ **ira-p-*.

✱**álikV** a k. of small animal: Tung. ***(x)algi-n**; Mong. ***(h)alag-**; Turk. ***Ălaŋɨr**; Jpn. ***írúká**.

PTung. ***(x)algi-n** otter (male) (выдра (самец)): Neg. *algī*; Man. *algin*.

◊ TMC 1, 30.

PMong. ***(h)alag-** jerboa (тушканчик): WM̨ong. *alaγdaγa*, *alaγdaǫai* (БАМРС); Kh. *alagdāx*, *algadāx*; Bur. *alagdāgan*.

◊ Formally - a compound meaning "variegated colt" (although one should note that the standard spelling for "colt" is WMong. *dayaγan*, Khalkha *dāga*). Mong. > Tuva *alaq-tāŋɨ* 'jerboa' (reinterpreted as 'variegated lump'), Russ. Siber. *alagdá*, *alagdáj* (Аникин 79), Man. *alaqdaχan* (Rozycki 15).

PTurk. ***Ălaŋɨr** a k. of rat, jerboa (вид крысы, тушканчик): Karakh. *alaŋɨr* (MK); Turkm. *alaqa* 'gopher', *alaŋŋɨrt* 'field mouse'; MTurk. *alaŋγarat* 'gros rat' (Pav. C. 30).

◊ EDT 149.

PJpn. ***írúká** dolphin (дельфин): OJpn. *iruka*; MJpn. *iruka*; Tok. *ìruka*; Kyo. *irúká*; Kag. *irúka*.

◊ JLTT 426.

‖ In Turk. and Mong. the stem is associated with the reflexes of **ālV* 'variegated' (q. v.), which is most probably a folk etymology. In Japanese the meaning 'dolphin' must be a secondary transformation of 'otter-like animal' (cf. the meaning 'otter' in TM).

✱**ălpa** unable, sick; being at service, man-at-arms: Tung. ***alba-**; Mong. ***alba-n**; Turk. ***ălp**; Jpn. ***apar-**; Kor. ***àrphǎ-**.

PTung. ***alba-** 1 to be unable 2 lazy (1 не мочь 2 ленивый): Evk. *alba-* 1; Evn. *albъ-* 1; Neg. *alba-* 1; Ork. *alba-* 1; Nan. *albaqto* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 30.

PMong. ***alba-n** 1 compulsion, forcing 2 to force 3 service, duty (1 насилие, принуждение 2 принуждать 3 служба, обязанность): MMong. *alban* 3 (HYt); WMong. *alba(n)* 1, 3 (L 27); Kh. *alba* 3, *alba-da-* 2; Bur. *alba(n)* 3, *alba-da-* 2; Kalm. *alwə*, *alwn̥* 1, 3; Ord. *alba* 3, *alba-da-* 2, to take a tribute; Dag. *alba* 3 (Тод. Дар. 119), *alebe* 3 (MD 112); Mongr. *arwan* 3 (SM 15), *alwan* (MGCD).

◊ KW 9, MGCD 101. Mong. > Shor *alban* etc. (VEWT 16, Щербак 1997, 199); > Man. *alban* etc. (Doerfer MT 116, Rozycki 15), Russ. dial. *albán*, Oyr. *alman* > Russ. Siber. *almán* (Аникин 81, 83).

PTurk. ***ălp** 1 difficult, hard 2 warrior 3 hero 4 brave 5 giant 6 landlord (1 трудный 2 воин 3 герой 4 храбрый 5 великан 6 помещик, землевладелец): OTurk. *alp* 1, 2, 4 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); *alp-a-γut* 2 (OUygh.).; Karakh. *alp* 2, 4 (MK, KB, Tefs., IM); *alpaγut* 2 (MK); Tur. *alp*

3, 4; MTurk. *alp* 2, 3 (Sngl).; Uzb. *alp* 3; Uygh. *alpawut* 2; Krm. *alp* 'chief', *alpawut* 'gentry man'; Tat. *alıp* 3, 5, *alpawıt* 2; Bashk. *alpawıt* 2, *alpamïša* 5 (from Alp Amïša, a folklore name, = Tat.); Kirgh. *alp* 3, 4, 5, *albūt* 'hot-tempered'; Kaz. *alıp* 5, *albıt*, *albırt* 'hot-tempered'; KKalp. *alp* 3, 5, *albıra-* 'be exhausted, embarassed'; Khak. *alıp* 4, *albıx-* 'to act as a meddler'; Shr. *alıp* 4; Oyr. *alıp* 4; Tv. *albıq-* 'to pant, stifle', *albā-* 'to lapse into oblivion'; Chuv. *olъp* 5, *olbut* 2; Yak. *alıp* 'witchcraft; part of some names of spirits'.

◊ EDT 127-128, VEWT 18, ЭСТЯ I 139, Федотов 2 276. Clauson's hypothesis that the reflexes of **alpawut* in recent languages are the result of a re-borrowing from Mong. (cf. Lit. Mong. *albaɣut* (Kow. 84) < Turk.), partly contaminated with Mong. *alban* 'tax', is unnecessary: a semantic shift 'warrior' > 'gentry' > 'landlord' seems to be natural. Cf. a borrowing from Mong. *alba-tu* in Tuva, Oyr. *albatu*, *albatı*, Kirgh. *albatı* 'tax-payers, people'.

PJpn. ***apar-** to pity (жалеть, сострадать): OJpn. *apare-m-*; MJpn. *áfáre-b-*, *afare-m-*; Tok. *awaré-m-*; Kyo. *áwáré-m-*; Kag. *àwàrè-m-*.

◊ JLTT 388, 679. The accent situation is not quite clear: modern dialects rather uniformly point to low tone (also in the noun **apara-i* 'sympathy, pity' > Tokyo *áware*, Kyoto *áwàrè*, Kagoshima *awaré*); but the only accentuation attested in RJ is *ápáre-b-*.

PKor. ***àrphə̀-** to be ill (болеть): MKor. *àrphə̆-*; Mod. *aphi-*.

◊ Nam 347, KED 1078.

‖ Poppe 85, 121 (Turk-Mong.); TMN 2, 110-111.

***àlu** good, beautiful: Tung. ***(x)ala**; Mong. ***(h)olig**; Jpn. ***ùrùpà-**; Kor. ***àr-**.

PTung. ***(x)ala** tasty, sweet (вкусный, сладкий): Evk. *ala*; Evn. *alъqə̂*; Neg. *alagdi*.

◊ TMC 1, 27.

PMong. ***(h)olig** good quality (хорошее качество): WMong. *oliɣ* (MXTTT); Kh. *olig*; Bur. *olig*; Kalm. *oliG* 'Brauchbarkeit'.

◊ KW 284.

PJpn. ***ùrùpà-** beautiful, excellent (красивый, прекрасный): OJpn. *urupa-si*; MJpn. *ùrùfà-si*; Tok. *uruwashí-*; Kyo. *úrùwàshì-*; Kag. *uruwáshi-*.

◊ JLTT 843. The Kagoshima accent is irregular.

PKor. ***àr-** pretty, beautiful (красивый): MKor. *àrə̆m-táp-*; Mod. *arim-tap-*.

◊ Nam 336, KED 1071.

‖ SKE 14. Kor. has a usual "verbal" low tone.

***àlV** to destroy, kill: Tung. ***āli-**; Mong. ***ala-**; Turk. ***Alk-**.

PTung. ***āli-** 1 to crumble (of earth, snow) 2 to kill an animal (after a long hunt) (1 обваливаться (о почве, снеге) 2 убивать зверя (при облаве)): Neg. *āli-w-* 1; Ud. *ali-* 2, *alip-* 'to become spoiled (of meat)' (Корм. 205, 206).

◊ TMC 1, 32.

PMong. ***ala-*** to kill (убивать): MMong. *ala-* (SH 4), *ala-* (HYt), *ala-* (IM 432), *alā-* (MA 97).; WMong. *ala-* (L 26); Kh. *ala-*; Bur. *ala-*; Kalm. *al-*; Ord. *ala-*; Mog. *olā-*, *āla-*; ZM *ɔ̄la-* (24-10b); Dag. *ala-* (Тод. Дar. 119), *ale* (MD 112); Dong. *ala-* (Тод. Дн. 109); Bao. *ale-* (Тод. Бн. 133), *alə-* (MGCD); S.-Yugh. *ala-*; Mongr. *ala-* (SM 3).

◊ KW 7, MGCD 102.

PTurk. ***Alk-*** to finish; destroy; (refl.) perish, be exhausted, come to an end (заканчивать, выполнять; уничтожать): OTurk. *alq-* (Orkh., OUygh.), *alq-ın-* (refl.) (OUygh.); Karakh. *alq-* (MK, IM), *alq-ın-* refl. (MK, IM), *alqış-* 'to destroy each other' (MK); Tur. *alk-* (dial.); *alk-ış-* (Old Osm.) 'to destroy (many)'; Kirgh. *alq-ın-* 'to weaken' (P I 390), 'to rage' (Юд. 51) (?); Kaz. *alq-ın-* 'to get short of breath, chafe' (?); KKalp. *alq-ın-* 'to get short of breath'.

◊ EDT 135, 137, 138-139; VEWT 17. Reflexes in modern languages are not quite secure. The reflexive form *alkın-* 'weaken' (but note the difference in meanings in Radlov and in modern dictionaries) may be derived both from **alk-* and from **alık-* 'to deteriorate, disintegrate' (EDT 138), which belongs rather to **Al* 'silly, weak', *alıγ* 'bad, weak, wicked' (in any case, cannot be morphologically identified with **alk-*), thus modern languages may exhibit a contamination.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**álV (~ *ē-)** variegated: Mong. ***ala-g***; Turk. ***āla***; Kor. ***ər-***.

PMong. ***ala-g*** variegated (пестрый): MMong. *alax-* (HY 13), *alax* (SH), *alā* (IM 432), *ala* (MA 97, 99); WMong. *alaγ* (L 26); Kh. *alag*; Bur. *alag*; Kalm. *aləg*; Ord. *alaq*; Mog. *alō*; Dag. *alag* (Тод. Дar. 119), *alahe* (MD 112); Bao. *aləG*; S.-Yugh. *alag*; Mongr. *alaG* (SM 3).

◊ KW 6. Mong. > Man. *alxa* etc. (TMC 1, 27; Doerfer MT 75; Rozycki 15).

PTurk. ***āla*** variegated (пестрый): OTurk. *ala* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ala* (MK); Tur. *ala*; Gag. *ala-ǯa*; Az. *ala*; Turkm. *āla*; Sal. *ala*; Khal. *hala-bula*; MTurk. *ala*; Uzb. *ɔla*; Uygh. *ala*; Krm. *ala*; Tat. *ala*; Bashk. *ala*; Kirgh. *ala*; Kaz. *ala*; KBalk. *ala*; KKalp. *ala*; Kum. *ala*; Nogh. *ala*; SUygh. *ala*; Khak. *ala*; Shr. *ala*; Oyr. *ala*; Tv. *ala*; Chuv. *ola*; Yak. *ala*.

◊ EDT 126, VEWT 15, ЭСТЯ 1, 129-130, TMN 2, 95-97, Федотов 2, 274, Лексика 607.

PKor. ***ə̀rì-nùk-*** to be spotted, ornamented (быть пятнистым, украшенным): MKor. *ə̀rì-núk-*; Mod. *əlluk*, *əllə̀ŋ*.

◊ Nam 360, KED 1143, 144.

‖ SKE 7, KW 6-7, Лексика 607. Despite Doerfer TMN 2, 96, Щербак 1997, 97, there is no reason for assuming Turk. > Mong., and even less - Mong. > Turk. (despite Rozycki 16). Cf. also Evn. (Okh.) *iler* 'variegated' (< **elir* ?; see TMC 1, 312).

✱**ǎĺa** to cross (a mountain): Tung. ***ala-**; Mong. ***alu-s**; Turk. ***(i)āĺ-**; Jpn. ***asu**.

PTung. ***ala-*** 1 to cross (a mountain) 2 mountain 3 mountain pass 4 ravine (1 переваливать (гору) 2 гора 3 горный перевал 4 лощина): Evk. *ala-* 1, *alakīt*, *alan* 3; Evn. *alṵn-* 1, *alṵn* 3; Neg. *alan-* 1, *alaxīt* 3; Man. *alin* 2; SMan. *alin* 2 (2067); Jurch. *ali-in* (39) 2; Nan. *ala* 3 (Bik.); Ud. *ala* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 27-28.

PMong. ***alu-s*** on the other side; far away (на другой стороне): MMong. *alus* (SH), *udur ālus* 'через день' (MA 273); WMong. *alus* (L 33); Kh. *als*; Bur. *alas*; Kalm. *als*; Ord. *alus*; Mongr. *alāŋ* 'contrée, pays' (SM 4).

◊ KW 8. Mong. > Kirgh. *alïs* 'far, far away' etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 147), Yak., Dolg. *olus* 'very' (Kał. MEJ 16, Stachowski 193).

PTurk. ***(i)āĺ-*** 1 to cross (a mountain) 2 to surpass (1 переходить (через гору) 2 превосходить): OTurk. *aš-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *aš-* 1 (MK); Tur. *aš-* 1; Gag. *aš-* 'to go beyond the range of vision'; Az. *aš-* 1; Turkm. *āš-* 1, 2; Khal. *āš-* 1; MTurk. *aš-* 1, 2; Uzb. *ɔš-* 1, 2; Uygh. *aš-* 1, 2; Krm. *aš-* 1, 2; Tat. *aš-* 2; Bashk. *aš-* 2; Kirgh. *aš-* 1, 2; Kaz. *as-* 1, 2; KKalp. *as-* 1; SUygh. *as-* 1; Khak. as- 1, 2; Shr. *as-* 1, 2; Oyr. *aš-* 1, 2; Tv. *aš-* 1, 2; Yak. *ās-* 1, 2; Dolg. *ās-* 'to go by'.

◊ VEWT 30, ЭСТЯ 1, 212-214, EDT 255, Stachowski 41. The OT gerund *ašru* 'having crossed over, exceeded > very' > Mong. *asuru* (Clark 1980, 42, Щербак 1997, 102-103).

PJpn. ***asu*** steep bank, precipice (крутой берег, обрыв): OJpn. *asu* (*azu*).

‖ EAS 108, 139, TMC 1, 28, ЭСТЯ 1, 214, Poppe 96, KW 7, 8, VEWT 30, ОСНЯ 1, 274, АПиПЯЯ 291. Despite Doerfer MT 91, TM cannot be explained as borrowed < Mong.

✱**ǎĺčà** knucklebone; foot: Tung. ***(x)ajū**; Mong. ***(h)alču**; Turk. ***(i)aĺ(č)uk**; Jpn. ***àsì**.

PTung. ***(x)ajū*** knucklebone (лодыжка, бабка): Evk. *ajū*, *ajūkān*; Sol. *ajṵ̄xā̃*.

◊ TMC 1, 23.

PMong. ***(h)alču-*** 1 knucklebone 2 depression on the side of an anklebone (1 лодыжка, щиколотка 2 выемка, впадина в лодыжке): WMong. *alču*, *alčuŋγai* 2 (L 29); Kh. *alc* 'вогнутая сторона бабки, верблюд (название положения игральное кости' (БАМРС); Kalm. *alcə* 1; Ord. *alčaG* 'голень'.

◊ KW 8. See also Дыбо 1993. Mong. > Tat. *alču* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 144-145); Manchu *alču*, Neg. *alčuxān* etc. (TMC 1, 34; see Doerfer MT 115, Rozycki 15).

PTurk. ***(i)aĺ(č)uk*** 1 ankle joint, knucklebone 2 die (1 лодыжка, бабка 2 альчик): Karakh. *ašuq* 1 (MK); Tur. *ašuq* 2 (Osmanli), *ašik* 1, 2; Az. *ašıG* 2; Turkm. *ašiq* 2; Khal. *ušaq* 2; MTurk. *ašuq* 1, 'bone of the elbow'

(Abush.); Uzb. *ɔšiq* 2; Uygh. *ošuq* 1, 2; Krm. *ašiq* 2; Tat. *ašiq* 2; Bashk. *ašiq* 2; Kirgh. *ašiq* 2; Kaz. *asiq* 1, 2; KBalk. *ašiq* 1, 2; KKalp. *asiq* 2; Kum. *ašiq* 2; Nogh. *asiq* 1, 2; Oyr. *ažiq* 2.

◊ EDT 259, VEWT 30, ЭСТЯ 1, 216-217, TMN 2, 64-65, Лексика 288.

PJpn. ***àsì** foot (нога): OJpn. *asi*; MJpn. *àsì*, *àsí*; Tok. *ashí*; Kyo. *áshì*; Kag. *áshí*.

◊ JLTT 385. OJ also has a variant *a-* in compounds (obviously a contraction).

‖ Poppe 86, 95, TMN 2, 115, АПиПЯЯ 275, Дыбо 15, Лексика 288.

***ăĺi** to know; to listen, hear: Tung. ***ala-**; Mong. ***al-dar**; Turk. ***ęĺit-**; Kor. ***ār-**.

PTung. ***ala-** 1 to tell 2 (caus.) to teach, explain 3 to offer as sacrifice 4 to be responsible 5 royal decree (1 учить, объяснять 2 рассказывать 3 приносить в жертву 4 нести ответственность 5 высочайшее повеление): Evk. *alawū-* 2; Neg. *ala-čị-* 3; Man. *ala-* 1; SMan. *alə-* 'to tell, to inform' (1346); Jurch. *alawa-gi* (576) 5; Ul. *alaụ-* 2, 4; Ork. *alaụ-* 2; Nan. *alō-sị-* 2; Orch. *alụ-* 1, *alaw-* 2; Ud. *alau-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 28. Cf. also Man. *algi-* 'to be glorified', *algin* 'fame' - probably belonging here and not (despite Doerfer MT 239) borrowed from Turk. **ạlkı-* (a quite different root, see **p'i̯ōlge*); TM **al-du* 'news, rumours, information' (TMC 1, 31).

PMong. ***al-dar** fame, honour (слава, почет): MMong. *aldar* (SH); WMong. *aldar* (L 30); Kh. *aldar*; Bur. *aldar*; Kalm. *aldṛ*; Ord. *aldar*; Dag. *aldar,aldūr* (Тод. Дar. 120); *aldartī*, *aligiən* (MGCD), *aledere* 'news' (MD).

◊ KW 6, MGCD 102.

PTurk. ***ęĺit-** to hear (слышать): OTurk. *ešid-* (Orkh.), *ešit-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ešit-* (MK, KB); Tur. *išit-*; Gag. *išit-*; Az. *ešit-*, pass. *ešidil-*; Turkm. *ešit-*, pass. *ešidil-*; Sal. *išti-*; Khal. *išüt-*; MTurk. *ešit-* (Abush. 63); Uzb. *ešit-*; Uygh. *ešet-* (Kashg., УНС 109); Krm. *šit-*; Tat. *išet-*; dial. (Mishar) *iš-* 'hear' (ТТДС 156), (Bar.) *išɛn-* 'listen' (ЯБТ 140); Bashk. *išet-*; Kirgh. *ešit-*; Kaz. *est-*; KBalk. *ešt-*; KKalp. *esit-*; Kum. *ešit-*; Nogh. *esit-*; Khak. *is-* / *ist-*; Chuv. *ilt-*; Yak. *ihit-*, pass. *ihilin-*; Dolg. *ihit-*, pass. *ihilin-*.

◊ VEWT 51, EDT 257-8, ЭСТЯ 1, 318-319, Еоров 69, Stachowski 123. Note -d- in Runic and the voicing of -t before a vowel in Az. and Turkm. Khak. has two forms of stem (*is-* and *iste-*, morphonologically distributed, so that *is-* < *iste-*; the same historical process could have occurred with. Küär. *äš-*, Kach. *eš-* (R 1, 905); so the only clear evidence for the stem **eĺ-* are Tatar dialectal reflexes (in which case -t may be a causative suffix, see Bang 1925, Zajączkowski 1932). Shor *este-* 'to hear', *estel-* 'to be heard' do not belong here, being derived from **es* > *is* 'mind, memory', like Mod. Uygh. *aŋla-* 'to hear' < *aŋ* 'mind'.

PKor. ***ār-** to know (знать): MKor. *ār-*; Mod. *āl-*.

◊ Nam 346, KED 1089.

‖ EAS 140, 154, SKE 7 (Mong.-Kor.-Tung.), АПиПЯЯ 282; closed **ę* in PT may be explained by a secondary narrowing in a disyllable **eĺ-it-* > **ęĺ-it-* (cf. **er-kek* > **ęr-kek* etc.).

***áĺi** sand: Tung. ***al-**; Mong. ***ele-sü**; Turk. ***Aĺu**; Jpn. ***ísá-, *ísuá**.

PTung. ***al-** 1 dirt 2 to poach (in dirt) 3 bay, shore inlet (1 грязь 2 вязнуть 3 бухта в берере реки): Evk. *aldi-* 2; Nan. *alian* 3 (On.); Ork. *alāq* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 29, 31.

PMong. ***ele-sü** sand (песок): MMong. *elesun* (HY 'pebble' 3, SH); WMong. *elesü(n)* (L 308); Kh. *els(en)*; Bur. *elhe(n)*; Kalm. *elsn̥*; Ord. *eles, elüsü, elesü*; Dag. *eler* (Тод. Даг. 139).

◊ KW 120. Mong. > Evk. *ellun, eldun* 'stony place, Icelandic spar' (TMC 2, 448).

PTurk. ***Aĺu** red clay, ochre (красная глина): Karakh. *ašu* (MK); Tur. *aši*, dial. *ašu, ašur*, Osmanli *ašu*; MTurk. *aši* (AH 6).

◊ VEWT 30, EDT 256, Лексика 376.

PJpn. ***ísá-, *ísuá** 1 sand 2 sea shore, beach (морской берег, побережье): OJpn. *isa-gwo* 1, *iswo* 2; MJpn. *ísá-gó* 1, *ísó* 2; Tok. *isago* 1, *ìso* 2; Kyo. *ísó*; Kag. *íso*.

◊ JLTT 427.

‖ PJ **ísuá* < **ísá-gV*; the root's similarity to **(d)isi* 'stone' is accidental (no -i/-a alternation exists in Japanese).

***aĺV** fresh crops, germinated seeds: Tung. ***alu-**; Mong. ***(h)alir-su**; Turk. ***(i)ăĺ-**.

PTung. ***alu-** 1 currants 2 a k. of berry (моховка) (1 смородина 2 моховка (ягода)): Evk. *aluɣ* 1; Neg. *aloj* 1; Ul. *ālụ* 1; Ork. *allụ* 1; Orch. *ālā̄ ~ āli* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 33.

PMong. ***(h)alir-su** 1 chaff 2 fresh grass 3 blue-berry 4 bilberry, cranberry (1 кожура плодов, мякина 2 свежая трава, отава 3 черника, брусника 4 черника, клюква): WMong. *alisu* 1 (KW 22), *alir-su(n)* 4 (L 32); Kh. *alirs* 3; Bur. *alirhan* 2, 3; Kalm. *älsn*. 1.

◊ KW 22. Mong. > Evk. *alersun*, Man. *alisun* (Poppe 1966, 197, TMC 1, 32, Rozycki 16).

PTurk. ***(i)ăĺ-** 1 seed, cereals, crops; 2 graft, 3 vaccine, 4 pus (primarily - as a material for vaccinacion?) 5 tanning matter, 6 starch (1 семя, злаки, зерновые 2 привой 3 вакцина 4 гной (первоначально - как прививка?) 5 дубильное вещество 6 крахмал): Karakh. *aš-liq* 1 (*ašliq tariɣ önar* 'crops spring') (MK; IM); Tur. *aši* 2, 3; Gag. *haš-la-* 'to plant out seedlings; to graft; to vaccinate'; Az. *aš, aši* 3, 5; Turkm. *aš-Gar* 5; Sal. *aš-liq* 1 (ССЯ 296); MTurk. *aši* 2 (Pav. C.), 'pollen' (Zenker I 56); Uzb. *ɔš* 5, *ɔš-liq* 1; Uygh. *aš-liq* 1, *aš-la-* 'to tan'; Krm. *aš-liq* 1, *aš-la-* 'to graft'; Tat. *aš-liq* 1, *aš* 1, 4 dial. (Sib., КСТТ 107), *aš-la-* 'to starch'; Bashk. *ašlıq* 1, *ašla-* 'to graft', dial. *aš* 'pus' (Бhh III 26); Kirgh. *aš* 'fruit of some wild plants, berry', *aštıq* 1, *aša-* 'to tan'; Kaz. *astıq* 1; KBalk. *aš-lıq* 1, *aš-ügü* 'one of cereal cultures'; Kum. *aš* 1 (Сатыб. 73), *aš-la-* 'to pollinate; to tan'; Nogh. *as* 'a grain, a seed', *aslıq* 1; Khak. *as* 1, *as-ta-n-* 'to beware

of a disease' ('to vaccinate oneself'?); Shr. *aš* 1; Oyr. *aš* 1; Yak. *as* 4, *as*, *ahɨlɨk* 'fruit of some wild plants, berry'; Dolg. *ahɨlɨk* 'berry'.

◊ VEWT 30, ЭСТЯ 1, 211-212, 216, Stachowski 29. A lot of etymological confusion here. Forms meaning 'to tan, tanning matter; starch' may be either borrowed from Persian or, rather, derived from **(i)alʹ* 'meal' (v. sub **i̯oĺe*), see Лексика 378. The latter root, due to its phonetic similarity (or even identity) has in general influenced the present one: 'cereals' are influenced by 'porridge' and **(i)alʹ-la-* 'to graft, to pollinate' by **(i)alʹ-la-* 'to fertilize' (= 'to feed'). It seems nevertheless impossible to unite them completely.

‖ A Western isogloss: outside the Western area cf. perhaps OJ *azami* 'sow-thistle'.

✱**ámbe** heavy, big: Tung. ***amba-**; Mong. ***amban**; Jpn. ***ám(p)á-**; Kor. ***mɨ̀-**.

PTung. ***amba-** 1 big 2 many 3 very (1 большой 2 много 3 очень): Man. *amba* 1; SMan. *amə* 'big, large'(2398); Jurch. *amban* (*amban-an*) (668) 1, *amban-lar* (724) 2; Ul. *amba(n)* 1, 3; Ork. *ambaramžį* 3; Nan. *amba(n)* 1; Orch. *amba* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 36-37. The relation of Neg. *amban*, Oroch, Ud. *amba*, Ul., Orok *amba(n)*, Nan. *ambā* 'evil spirit' is not quite clear.

PMong. ***amban** big, large, heavy; minister, official (большой, тяжелый): WMong. *amban* (L 36); Kh. *amban*; Bur. *amba*; Kalm. *ambn̥*; Mongr. *amba* 'dignitaire, légat, ambassadeur' (SM 6).

PJpn. ***ám(p)á-** heavy (тяжелый): OJpn. *om(w)o-*; MJpn. *ómó-*; Tok. *òmo-*; Kyo. *ómó-*; Kag. *ómo-*.

◊ JLTT 838.

PKor. ***mɨ̀-** heavy (тяжелый): MKor. *mɨ̀-káp-* (*mɨ̀-káw-*); Mod. *mugəp-* (*mugəw-*).

◊ Nam 225, KED 652.

‖ Martin 233, АПиПЯЯ 103, 277. Kor. has lost the initial vowel, as in many other cases (**mɨ̀-* < **əmɨ̀-*). Rozycki 17 supposes Man. > Mong. which is not excluded.

✱**amča** plough: Tung. ***anǯa**; Mong. ***anǯi-sun**; Turk. ***amač**; Jpn. ***anti**.

PTung. ***anǯa** plough (плуг, соха): Man. *anǯa*; Ul. *anǯa*; Nan. *anǯa*.

◊ TMC 1, 43.

PMong. ***anǯi-sun** plough (плуг): MMong. *anǯasun* (HY 19); WMong. *anǯisu(n)* (L 47); Kh. *anǯis*; Bur. *anzaha(n)*; Kalm. *ändəsn̥, äntəsn̥, änǯəsn̥, andəsxə, ancəsn̥, ancn̥*; Ord. *andus, anǯasu, anǯusu, anǯus*; Dong. *anǯasun* (Тод. Дн.), *nǯasə*; Bao. *anǯisoŋ* (Тод. Бн.), *anǯasun*.

◊ KW 10, 11, 23, MGCD 113. Forms with -d- in some dialects are probably due to dissimilation with -su(n). Mong. > Sol. *anǯasū*.

PTurk. ***amač** plough (плуг): Karakh. *amač* (MK); Tur. Osm. *amač*; Turkm. *omač*; MTurk. *amač* (Sangl.); Uzb. *ɔmɔč*; Uygh. *amač*; Kirgh. *amač*.

◊ EDT 156, TMN 2, 124. Turk. > Pers. *āmāǯ* (see Horn 11 on the lack of Iranian etymology of the Persian word; the derivation in Bailey 326: *āmāǯ* < **mātač* is hardly credi-

ble), despite Molnár 2001 (suggesting a different direction); but Chag. (Sangl.) *amaž* is certainly a backloan < Persian. The word is also present in Armen. *mač* 'plough handle', where it is most probably < Iranian.

PJpn. ***anti** a good plough (хороший плуг): OJpn. *adi-sukji*.

‖ Ozawa 312-313, TMC 1, 43. An interesting common Altaic cultural term. The TM forms could be < Mong. (see Rozycki 19), but the absence of -su(n) (universally present in the Mong. form) suggests rather their genuine nature.

✱**ămo** mouth; taste (**amo-t'a, *amo-sa*): Tung. ***amŋa, *amta-**; Mong. ***ama-, *amsa-, *amta**; Turk. ***um-, *um-sa-**; Jpn. ***ámá-, *ántí**; Kor. ***más**.

PTung. ***amŋa, *amta-*** 1 mouth 2 to taste (1 рот 2 пробовать на вкус): Evk. *amŋa* 1, *amta-* 2; Evn. *amŋъ* 1, *amtъ-* 2; Neg. *amŋa* 1, *amta-* 2; Man. *aŋga* 1; SMan. *aŋə* 1 (27), *aŋa* 1; Jurch. *am-ŋa* (494) 1; Ul. *aŋma* 1; Ork. *amŋa / aŋma* 1; Nan. *amGa* 1; Orch. *amma* 1; Ud. *aŋma* 1; Sol. *amma, angai* 1.

◊ See TMC 1, 38-39. PTM **amta-* 'to taste' is hardly borrowed from Mong., since Mong. *amta(n)* is used only as a noun; however, forms like Evk. *amta* etc. 'taste', as well as -la-derivatives (Evn. *amtъl-*, Nan. *amtala-* etc.) are most probably < Mong., see Doerfer MT 19. For PTM **amŋa* 'mouth' borrowing is excluded. The stem **amŋa* within TM tends to contaminate with **aŋa* 'hole' (v. sub **àŋa*), which is obviously a secondary development.

PMong. ***ama-, *amsa-, *amta*** 1 mouth 2 to taste 3 taste (1 рот 2 пробовать на вкус 3 вкус): MMong. *aman* (HY 45, SH), *aman* (IM 432), *aman* (MA 99) 1, *amsa-* (HY 25), *amsa-* (MA 101) 2, *amtan* (HY 25) 3, *amtata'i* (SH), *omṭaṭā* (IM 432) 'sweet', *amta* (MA 101) 3; WMong. *ama(n)* 1 (L 35), *amsa-* 2 (L 39), *amta(n)* 3 (L 39); Kh. *am* 1, *amsa-* 2, *amt(an)* 3; Bur. *aman* 1, *amha-* 2, *amta(n)* 3; Kalm. *amn̥* 1, *amsa-* 2, *amtn̥* 3, *am-la-* 'to spell, to speak'; Ord. *ama* 1, *amsa-* 2, *amta* 3; Mog. *aman, amun* 1, *amsa* 2, *amta* 3 (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *ɔ̄mɔ̄n* (1-7a) 1; Dag. *ama* 1 (MGCD am), *anta-* 2, *anta* 3 (Тод. Дат. 120, 121) (MGCD: ant), *ame* 1, *amete* 'tasty' (MD 114); Dong. *amaŋ* 1 (MGCD: *aman*), *amusa-* 2, *anda-tu* 'tasty' (Тод. Дн. 110); Bao. *amaŋ* (Тод. Бн. 133) 1, *amtəg* 3 (MGCD); S.-Yugh. *aman* 1, *amsa-* 2, *amtan* 3; Mongr. *ama* 1 (SM 5), *amusa-* 2 (SM 7), MGCD *amsa-*), *amata-, amuta* 3 (SM 6, 7), *amta* 3 (MGCD).

◊ Cf. also Mong. **amasar* 'cavity, hole'. Тод. Мгр. 314, Тод. ЯМВМ 112, KW 9, 10, MGCD 105, 109; TMN 1, 148, 149., Bur. *amhagar* 'разверстый'. Mong. *amtan* > Yak., Dolg. *amtan* (Kał. MEJ 41, Stachowski 33).

PTurk. ***um-, *um-sa-*** 1 to hope for 2 to envy 3 an object of hope, desire; hope (1 надеяться 2 завидовать 3 объект надежды, желания; надежда): OTurk. *umuγ* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *um-* 1, *umdu* 3 (MK, KB), *umdu-či* 'beggar' (MK); Tur. *um-* 1, *umsan-* 1, *umu* 3; Gag. *um-* 1,; Az. *um-* 1, *umsun-* 'to be disappointed', *umažaG* 3; Turkm. *ɨmtɨl-* 'to wait for food'; MTurk. *um-unč* 3 (Pav C.); Uzb. *um-* 1 (dial. Khorazm.), *umsun-* 'to experience a flow of milk in one's breast and a desire to feed a

baby'; Krm. *um-* 1, *umsun-* 1; Tat. *omtɨ-l-* 1; Kirgh. *umu-* 1, *umsun-* 1, *umtul-* 'to strive'; Kaz. *umtɨ-* 'to dart, lunge'; KKalp. *umɨt-*, *ɨmtɨl-* 'to strive'; Nogh. *ɨmtɨ-* 'to dart, lunge'; Khak. *umzan-* 1 (Верб.); Oyr. *umzan-* 'to go in a direction', *umza-* 'to make smb. to go in a direction'; Chuv. *ъᵚmza-* 2; Yak. *umsu-gu-j-* 'to become keen on, addicted', *umnahɨt* (**umdačɨt*) 'beggar'.

◊ EDT 155-156, 157, 158; VEWT 513, ЭСТЯ 1, 595-596. Some derivatives tend to merge with Pers. *umīd* 'hope' (whence certainly Turkm. *umīt*, Gag., Karaim, Kum. *umut* id.) Not quite clear is the relation of this root to the verb *ɨntɨ-* 'to yearn', Chuv. *ъnDъ-* (ЭСТЯ I 653-654).

PJpn. ***ámá-, *ántí** 1 taste 2 tasty, sweet (1 вкус 2 вкусный, сладкий): OJpn. *adi* 1, *ama-* 2; MJpn. *ádí* 1, *ámá-* 2; Tok. *àji* 1, *àma-* 2; Kyo. *áji* 1, *ámà-* 2; Kag. *áji* 1, *áma-* 2.

◊ JLTT 389, 825.

PKor. ***más** taste (вкус): MKor. *más*; Mod. *mat [mas], mət* [*məs*].

◊ Nam 203, KED 588, 614.

‖ EAS 116, 140, Poppe 68, Колесникова 1972a, 73-77, Martin 248, АПиПЯЯ 46-47, 70, 291, Rozycki 18. A common Altaic root with old derivatives meaning 'taste': **ámo-sa-* > Turk. **umsa-*, Mong. **amsa-*, Kor. **más*; **ámo-t'a* > Mong. **amta*, TM **amta-*, Jpn. **ántí*. The deriving root itself, with its basic meaning 'mouth', could probably also designate 'to taste' in predicative function (cf. the suffixless Jpn. **ámá-* 'tasty, sweet' and PT **um-* (*'to taste, have a taste for' > 'to hope'). Despite Doerfer MT 19, TM **amŋa* 'mouth' cannot have anything in common with Mong. **haŋga* 'crack, hole' (on this form see sub **àŋa* and **p'eŋi*).

✱**ə̀mú** river, valley: Tung. ***āmu-**; Mong. ***ama-n**; Jpn. ***ùmí**; Kor. ***omi**.

PTung. ***āmu-** 1 lake 2 river (1 озеро 2 река): Evk. *āmut* 1; Evn. *amar, āmār* 2; Neg. *amụt* 1; Man. *omo* 1; SMan. *omə* 1 (2082); Jurch. *omo* (45) 1; Nan. *amoā* 1; Orch. *amu* 1; Ud. *amuli* 'name of a river' (Корм. 207); Sol. *amụžɨ* 1, *amur* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 40. Man. > Oroch, Ul. *omo*, Orok *omō* id.

PMong. ***ama-n** valley (падь, долина): MMong. *ama-sar* 'mountain fold' (SH); WMong. *ama(n)*; Kh. *am(an)*; Kalm. *amn*; Ord. *ama(n)*.

◊ KW 9. Should be distinguished from **ama-n* 'mouth'.

PJpn. ***ùmí** sea (море): OJpn. *umji*; MJpn. *ùmí*; Tok. *úmi*; Kyo. *ùmí*; Kag. *umí*.

◊ JLTT 562.

PKor. ***omi** land sink, pool (впадина (заполненная водой), лужа): Mod. *omi*.

◊ KED 1200.

‖ Cf. Amu-Darya in Turk.; Oyr. Umar 'big river (Ob').?

***ămV** quick, timely: Tung. ***am-**; Mong. ***(h)am-**; Turk. ***(i)am-**; Kor. ***ām.**

PTung. ***am-** 1 quick, quickly 2 to be in time, to catch up 3 to reach, touch (1 быстрый, быстро 2 успеть, застать вовремя 3 достать, дотянуться): Evk. *ama, ama-kān* 1, *amin-, ami-ltän-*; Evn. *āmrъq* 1, *āmъltъn-* 2; Man. *am-bu-, am-ča-* 3; SMan. *aməčə-* 2; Nan. *am-qa-čị-* 3 Bik.; Sol. *amarī* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 34, 37, 38. TM > Dag. *amilta-* 'to be in time, catch' (Тод. Даг. 120).

PMong. ***(h)am-** 1 sudden, quick 2 to be on time (1 внезапный, быстрый 2 быть вовремя): WMong. *ama-γai* 1, *am-ǰi-* 2 (L 41); Kh. *amǰi-* 2; Bur. *amža-* 2, *amžalta* 3; Kalm. *amγā* 1,; Ord. *amǰi-* 2.

◊ KW 9.

PTurk. ***(i)am-** 1 now 2 recent (1 сейчас 2 недавний): OTurk. *am-tï* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *am-dï* 1 (MK, KB); SUygh. *am-γo, am-dö-ko* 2 (ЯЖУ 15); Khak. *am* 1, *am-dï-γï, am-γï* 2; Shr. *am, amdï* 1, *amdïγï* 2, *am-oq* 'at once'; Tv. *am* 1, *amγï* 2, *amdï* (< *amdïγï*) 'the same'; Tof. *am, amdï', amγï* 2; Yak. *anï* (< **am-dï*) 1; Dolg. *anï* 1.

◊ VEWT 18, 41, EDT 156-157, ЭСТЯ I 357, Stachowski 34, Лексика 83 (with some confusion of **am-* and **em-* q.v. sub **imé).*

PKor. ***ām** surely, certainly (точно, конечно): Mod. *ām.*

◊ KED 1093.

‖ AKE 6, EAS 117.

***ȁmV** to be quiet; sleep: Tung. ***ām-**; Mong. ***amu-, *ami-**; Turk. ***ăm-**.

PTung. ***ām-** 1 to sleep 2 to be sleepy (1 спать 2 хотеть спать): Evk. *āme-* 2; Evn. *āmol-* 2; Neg. *āma-* 2; Man. *amga- / amxa-* 1; SMan. *aməhə-* 1 (528); Ul. *amasị-* 2; Ork. *āma-* 2; Nan. *āmalo-, āmasị-* 2; Orch. *āma-si-* 2; Ud. *amahi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 1-2.

PMong. ***amu-, *ami-** 1 to rest 2 peace, rest 3 to be / become quiet 4 life, soul (1 покоиться, отдыхать 2 покой, мир 3 успокаиваться 4 жизнь, душа): MMong. *amin* (HY 49) 4, *amuxulaŋ* 'peace' (HY 55), *amu-* 1, *amura-* 3, *ami-du* 'alive', *amor* (IM 432), *amu-* 1, *amur* 2, *amin* 4, *ami-du* 'alive', *hamisqu* 'breath' (MA 100, 102), *amur* 1, *ami(n)* 4, *amu-* 1, *amur-li-* 3 (SH); WMong. *amu-, amura-, amara-* 1, *amur* 2 (L 36, 40); Kh. *amar, amgal* (<**amu-gal*) 2; 'easy', *aṁ* (*amin*) 4, *amra-* 1, *aṁsga-* 'to breathe'; Bur. *amar* 2, *amar-* 1, *amgalan(g)* 'peaceful', *ami(n)* 4, 'breath', *amisxa-* 'to breathe'; Kalm. *amr, amγūləŋ* 2, *amr-* 1, *ämn* 4, *ämsχə-* 'to breathe'; Ord. *am, amur, amūlaŋ, amuγūlaŋ* 2, *amara-* 1, *ami* 4, *amus ge-* 3, *amisχa-* 'to breathe'; Mog. *amdun* 'lebendig' (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *amūdu'i* 'alive'; Dag. *amar(a)-* 1, 3, *amal, amūl* 2, *ami* 4, *amisa-* 'запыхаться' (MD 6, Тод. Даг. 120); Dong. *hamura-* 1, *amin* 4 (Тод. Дн. 110, 139); Bao. *hamera-* 1 (Тод. Бн. 150) (MGCD: *hamər-*); S.-Yugh. *amura-* 1 (MGCD *amərа-*), *amar* 2; Mongr. *xamurā-* (SM 154), *xamburā-* 1, *ami* (SM 6) 4, *amuraG* 'ami, qui s'accorde bien' (SM 6).

◊ KW 9, 22, Тод. Мгр. 314, 373, MGCD 106, 109, 110. Mong. > Tuva *ami* 'life' etc., Sol. *ami*, Man. *ami-la-*, see Doerfer MT 136; > Shor etc. *abir* (R), Tuba, Nogh. *awir* 'peace, quietness' - see ЭСТЯ I 59; > Evk. *amurā-*, Man. *amuran*, see Doerfer MT 99.

PTurk. ***ăm-*** 1 gentle, quiet 2 to love, desire, rejoice 3 politeness 4 beloved 5 to be quiet (1 тихий, спокойный 2 любить, радоваться 3 вежливость 4 милый, любимый 5 быть спокойным): OTurk. *amul*, *amïl* 1, *amraq* 4, *amïr-*, *amran-* 2, *amril-* 5 (OUygh.); Karakh. *amul* 1, *amraq* 4, *amïrt-* 'to calm', *amril-* 5 (MK, KB); Tur. *imil*, *umul* 1 (dial.); Khal. *havul* 'good' (?); MTurk. *imrayγ* 4; Uygh. *amraq* 4; Kïrgh. *amïz* 'honour'; KBalk. *amïr* 'desire'; Kum. *amraq* 'disposition, aptitude'; SUygh. *amïr* 1, *amïra-* 5; Khak. *amïr* 1, *amïra-* 5; Oyr. *amïr* 1, *amïra-* 5; Tv. *amïr* 1, *amïra-* 2, *amïraq* 3; Chuv. *ъʷmъʷr* 'quiet and grey (weather)'; Yak. *amarax*, *amïrax* 'compassionate'; Dolg. *amarak* 'compassionate'.

◊ EDT 160-161, 162-163, 164, VEWT 19, ЭСТЯ 1, 59-60 (confused with *abra-* 'to save' < Mong.), Stachowski 33, TMN 2, 125, Федотов 1, 82. Turk. > MMong. *amraχ* 'sweetheart', *amuraγ* 'friend' (IM), *amraq bol-* 'to fall in love' (MA), *amara-* 'sich lieben', *amarah* 'Liebe' (SH), Mongr. *amuraγ* 'friend' (Тод. Мнгр. 314) etc.; but modern Kypchak and Siberian forms may be reborrowed < Mong.

‖ KW 9, VEWT 19, TMC 1,2-3, АПиПЯЯ 292, Дыбо 13, Rozycki 17. A Western isogloss. The root presents considerable difficulties because of widespread later interlingual borrowings (see TMN 2, 125, Щербак 1997, 97-98). A specific problem is raised by initial h- in some Southern Mongolian forms (Dong. *hamura-*, Bao. *hamera-*, Mongor *xamurā-* 'to rest'). The aspiration here is evidently secondary, because it is absent both in Dagur and in most attested Middle Mongolian sources (but cf. MA *hamisqu*). It is, therefore, probable that these forms are in fact borrowed from modern Turkic dialects with secondary aspiration (cf. h- in Khalaj). This would be indeed an argument in favour of the whole **amura-* group of words in Mong. to be regarded as borrowed from Turkic (although later reborrowings into modern Turkic languages were, of course, also possible). However, significant semantic and formal differences do not allow us to regard as borrowed, on the one hand, the Turkic forms going back to attested Old Uyghur (e.g. *amïr-* 'to love), on the other hand, Mong. *ami-n* 'life, soul' and *amu-* 'to rest'.

✱**ánda** to do wrong; to accuse, tease: Tung. ***(x)an(d)u-***; Mong. ***anda-***; Turk. ***āt-aĺč-***; Jpn. ***ánā-***.

PTung. ***(x)an(d)u-*** 1 to accuse 2 to tease (1 обвинять 2 дразнить, надоедать): Evk. *anū-* 1; Neg. *anut-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 44.

PMong. ***anda-*** to err, mistake (ошибаться): MMong. *anduri-* (SH) 'to be upset, alarmed'; WMong. *anda-*, *andu-* (L 42, 43), *andaγu-*; Kh. *anda-*; Bur. *anda-*; Kalm. *and-*; Ord. *andū-*.

◊ KW 10, Тод. ЯМВМ 113.

PTurk. ***āt-aĺč-*** to be mistaken, to err (ошибаться, заблуждаться): Turkm. *ādaš-* (А-Б); MTurk. *adaš-*; Uygh. *adaš-*; Krm. *adaš-*; Tat. *adaš-*; Bashk. *aδaš-*; Kirgh. *adaš-*; Kaz. *adas-*; KKalp. *adas-*; Kum. *adaš-*; Nogh. *ȧdas-*.

◊ VEWT 5. Strange reflexes of the medial consonant (voicing in Kypchak, δ in Bashk.) may somehow reflect the original cluster "resonant + stop".

PJpn. ***ánά-*** to despise, tease (презирать, насмехаться): OJpn. *ana-tur-*; MJpn. *ánά-tur-*; Tok. *anador-*.

◊ JLTT 676.

‖ A different etymology of the Jpn. form (see АПиПЯЯ 18, 81 and **ŋenu*) seems less probable because of an obvious parallelism between the Jpn. and TM forms.

ǎni** very: Tung. ***ana-; Mong. ***aŋ-ka***; Turk. ***eŋ***; Kor. ***àńí***.

PTung. ***ana-*** very (очень): Nan. *anam*; Orch. *ana, anī, anu*.

◊ TMC 1, 41.

PMong. ***aŋ-ka*** 1 original 2 very, extremely (1 первоначально, -ый; 2 очень, чрезвычайно): MMong. *aŋqa* (SH) 2, *anqani quina* 'quite behind'(MA 103); WMong. *aŋqa(n)* (L 45); Kh. *anx(an)* 1; Bur. *anxa(n)* 1; Kalm. *aŋxən* 1; Ord. *aŋxan* 1; Dag. *aŋke* 1 (MD 115); Mongr. *aŋ* 1 (SM 9).

◊ KW 11-12. Mong. > Kirgh. *aŋqi-* 'be first'.

PTurk. ***eŋ*** very (очень): OTurk. *eŋ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *eŋ* (KB); Tur. *en*; Gag. *heŋ*; Az. *än*; Turkm. *iŋ*; Uzb. *eŋ*; Uygh. *äŋ*; Krm. *eŋk*; Tat. *iŋ*; Bashk. *iŋ*; Kirgh. *eŋ*; Kaz. *eŋ*; KBalk. *eŋ*; KKalp. *eŋ*; Nogh. *eŋ*; SUygh. *jeŋ*; Khak. *iŋ*, dial. *niŋ*; Shr. *eŋ*; Oyr. *eŋ*; Tv. *eŋ*; Yak. *eŋin* 'diverse, various'; Dolg. *eŋin-eŋin* 'diverse'.

◊ VEWT 45, EDT 166, ЭСТЯ 1, 365-366, Stachowski 43. Turk. > Mong. *eŋ*, see TMN 2, 130.

PKor. ***àńí*** beginning, first, preliminary (сначала, прежде всего, начерно): MKor. *àńí*; Mod. *ä-bəl*.

◊ Nam 339, KED 1102.

‖ SKE 5, EAS 119. Turkic and Mongolian reflect a suffixed form **ǎni-kV*, with assimilation *-n- > *-ŋ- (and further reduction in Turkic).

àni** not, negative verb: Tung. ***ā(n)-; Turk. ***en***; Jpn. ***nà-, *-(a)n-, *ìnά***; Kor. ***àn-***.

PTung. ***ā(n)-*** not (не, нет): Evk. *āčin*; Evn. *ān, āč*; Neg. *āčin*; Man. *aqu*; SMan. *aqu* (3017); Jurch. *a-ĉwi* (705); Ul. *ana*; Ork. *ana*; Nan. *anā*; Orch. *ana*; Ud. *anči*; Sol. *ašī*.

◊ All forms listed must go back to a common negative stem **ān-*. See TMC 1, 41, 60.

PTurk. ***en*** not (prohibitive particle) (не (запретительная частица)): Chuv. *an*.

◊ Егоров 26-27, Федотов 1, 43-45. An isolated Chuv. form, but probably archaic (cf. the external evidence). Cf. also Karakh. (MK Oghuz) *aŋ* 'an exclamation meaning "no"'

(see EDT 165) - but it is a hapax, occurs only within a reduplication *aŋ aŋ*, does not regularly correspond to Chuv. an and may be just onomatopoeic.

PJpn. ***nà-**, ***-(a)n-**, ***ìná** 1 not (verbal negation) 2 lacking, non-existent 3 not, negation 4 to negate, dismiss (1 не (глагольное отрицание) 2 нет, отсутствующий, несуществующий 3 не, несогласие 4 отрицать, не допускать): OJpn. *-(a)n-* 1, *na-* 2, *ina* 3, *ina-b-* 4; MJpn. *-(a)n-* 1, *na-* 2, *ìná* 3, *ìnà-b-* 4; Tok. *ná-* 2, *-na-* 1, *ína* 3, *inam-* 4; Kyo. *nà-*; Kag. *nà-*.

◊ JLTT 424, 697, 835. *-(a)n- is a verbal negation, probably reflecting the original first vowel of the root *an- (preserved because of the loss of final -i in an auxiliary verbal morpheme). *ìná is a regular reflex of *àni, while the adjective *nà- 'lacking, non-existent' reveals a secondary loss of initial vowel.

PKor. ***àn-** not (не): MKor. *àn(i)-*; Mod. *an(i)-*.

◊ Nam 334, KED 1068.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 95-96, 277, Vovin 1997, 3. Basically an Eastern isogloss, with a Western remnant in Chuvash. Cf. also MKor. *àčhját-* (-r-) 'not to like' (cf. TM **ān-či-*). Korean has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**ắni** to hold, present: Tung. ***anī-**; Mong. ***anǯu**; Turk. ***ēnčü**; Kor. ***ān-**.

PTung. ***anī-** to present a gift (дарить, награждать): Evk. *anī-*; Evn. *aṇi-*; Ulch. *ajban* (< **ani-pan*) 'gift'.

◊ TMC 1, 21, 43.

PMong. ***anǯu** fine (штраф): MMong. *anǯu, amǯu* (SH); WMong. *anǯu* (L 47); Kh. *anʒ*; Bur. *anza* 'dowry'; Kalm. *anz*; Mongr. *nʒar* 'cadeaux qu'on donne à l'occasion des funerailles à tous ceux qui y assistent' (SM 267).

◊ KW 11.

PTurk. ***ēnčü** 1 fief, land and vassals presented by the ruler 2 gift, dowry (1 владение, земля и челядь, пожалованные начальником 2 подарок, приданое): OTurk. *inčü* (*/anču*) 1 (OUygh.); Turkm. *īnǯi* 2; MTurk. *enčü* 1 (Abush. 82); Uzb. *inǯu* 1; Uygh. *änči* 1 (dial.); Tat. *inče* 2; Bashk. *inse* 2; Kirgh. *enči* 1, 2; Kaz. *enši* 2; KBalk. *enči* 'own'; KKalp. *enši* 2; Kum. *enči-li* 'own'; Khak. *inǯi* 2; Oyr. *enči* 1, 2; Yak. *eńńie* 2.

◊ VEWT 44, EDT 173, ЭСТЯ 1, 361-362, Лексика 347-348, Дыбо 1997. Turk. > MMong. *enčü*, WMong. *inǯe*, Kalm. *inǯə* (KW 208, 296). Mong. *inǯe* 'dowry' may be in fact a word of different (Chinese) origin, see Haenisch 82, TMN 2, 224, EDT ibid., and modern Turkic forms may reflect a confusion of the original form and the later mongolism.

PKor. ***ān-** to hold in the arms (держать в руках): MKor. *ān-*; Mod. *ān-*.

◊ Nam 345, KED 1083.

‖ SKE 11, Дыбо 15.

✱**ắnta** oath; comrade, match: Tung. ***anda**; Mong. ***anda**; Turk. ***Ānt**; Jpn. ***ánta**.

PTung. ***anda** friend (друг): Evk. *anda*; Neg. *anda*; Man. *anda*; Jurch. *al-da-xaj* (330) cf. **alda* (1-31), *an-dan-do* (816) 'to follow'; Ul. *anda*; Ork. *anda*; Nan. *anda*; Orch. *anda*; Ud. *anda*.

◊ TMC 1, 42-43. TM (Nan. *andaχa* etc.) > Dag. *antaka* (Тод. Дат. 121).

PMong. ***anda** 1 friend 2 oath (1 друг 2 клятва): MMong. *anda* 1 , *andaqar* 2 (SH), *andoɣ-* (IM 432) 'to make an oath', *andă* 1, *andaɣar* 2 (MA 102); WMong. *anda* 1, *andaɣar*, *andaɣai* 2 (L 42); Kh. *and* 1, *andgaj* 2; Bur. *anda* 1; Kalm. *andə*, *andn̥* 1, *andəɣər* 2; Ord. *anda* 1; Mog. ZM *andaɣ* (24-9b) 2; Dag. *ande* 1 (MD 115); Dong. *andaɣa(n)* 2; Bao. *andərəG* 2; S.-Yugh. *andaGar* 2; Mongr. *ndaGa* (SM 261) 2, (MGCD *amdaGa*).

◊ KW 10, MGCD 106, 624, TMN 1, 151-152.

PTurk. ***Ānt** oath (клятва): OTurk. *ant* (OUygh.); Karakh. *and* (MK); Tur. *ant* (*andı*); Az. *and*; Turkm. *ant*; Khal. *a:nd*; MTurk. *ant*; Uzb. *ɔnt*; Uygh. *ant*; Krm. *ant*; Tat. *ant*; Bashk. *ant*; Kirgh. *ant*; Kaz. *ant*; KBalk. *ant*; KKalp. *ant*; Kum. *ant*; Nogh. *ant*; Oyr. *ant-ɨq-* 'to take an oath'.

◊ EDT 176, VEWT 20, TMN 2, 128, ЭСТЯ 1, 151. Original vowel length is proved by Turk., Az. -d.

PJpn. ***ánta** 1 enemy 2 other (1 враг 2 другой): OJpn. *ata* 1, *ata-si* 2; MJpn. *átá* 1, *átà-sì*, *ada-si* 2; Tok. *adá* 1; Kyo. *ádà* 1; Kag. *ádà* 1.

◊ Modern dialects point to **ántà*; RJ has *átá*. See JLTT 376-377.

‖ EAS 153, KW 10, Владимирцов 318, Poppe 83, VEWT, TMC. Despite TMN 2, 128, Щербак 1997, 98, there is no reason to suppose Turk. > Mong.; for TM, however, a borrowing from Mong. cannot be excluded (see Poppe 1972, 100, TMN 1, 152, Doerfer MT 37, Rozycki 18).

✱**antʻa** hill, slope: Tung. ***antaga**; Jpn. ***antuma**; Kor. ***əntək(h)**.

PTung. ***antaga** slope of a mountain (склон горы): Evk. *antaɣa*; Evn. *antɤ̄ɣ*; Neg. *antaɣa*; Man. *antu*; Nan. *antaǯia*; Ud. *anta*.

◊ TMC 1,44.

PJpn. ***antuma** East (восток): OJpn. *aduma*.

◊ JLTT 389.

PKor. ***əntək(h)** hill (холм): MKor. *ənthək*; Mod. *əndək*.

◊ Nam 366, KED 1139.

‖ An Eastern isogloss: in Turk. cf. perhaps, Turkm. *aŋŋat* 'sandhill, mound'.

✱**ȁńe(-čʻV)** to be quiet, sit: Tung. ***āńi-**; Mong. ***eje**, ***en-**; Turk. ***Enč**; Jpn. ***ànta-**; Kor. ***ànč-**.

PTung. ***āńi-** 1 to enjoy 2 feast (1 радоваться 2 праздник): Evn. *āńi-* 1; Nan. *ańā* 2 (Он.).

◊ TMC 1, 45.

PMong. ***eje, *eŋ-ke** peace, quietness (мир, покой): MMong. *eje, eŋke* (SH, HYt); WMong. *eje* (L 304); Kh. *eje, enx*; Bur. *eje, enxe*; Kalm. *ejə, eŋkə*; Ord. *ẹje, eŋχ'e*.

◊ KW 118, 123. Mong. > Yak. *eje*, Dolg. *eje-* (see Kał. MEJ 50, Stachowski 44).

PTurk. ***Enč** tranquil, at peace (спокойный, мирный): OTurk. *enč; enčsire-* 'to be uneasy' (OUygh.); Karakh. *enč* (MK, KB), *enčrü-n-* 'to live in peace' (KB); Tat. *inčü* 'peace' (dial., Bar., ЯБТ 139) dial.; SUygh. *inǯek-tɨɣ* 'quiet' (ЯЖУ 32); Oyr. *enčü* 1, *enčik-* 'to get accustomed', *enčik* 'habit', *enči-le-* 'to soothe'.

◊ EDT 171-172, 173, 174, VEWT 172, 43.

PJpn. ***ǹntà-** quiet, peaceful (мирный, тихий, спокойный): OJpn. *oda-pji-si*; MJpn. *òdàfikà, oda-si*; Tok. *odáya-ka*; Kyo. *ódáyákà*; Kag. *odayaká*.

◊ JLTT 504, 838.

PKor. ***ànč-** to sit (сидеть): MKor. *ànč-*; Mod. *anč-*.

◊ Nam 346, KED 1088.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 297. Korean has a "verbal" low tone. Deriving Kor. *anč-* from Sino-Korean an (SKE 11) should of course be rejected. The Turk., Kor. and Jpn. forms reflect a derivative with *-č'V; Mong. *eŋke* < **ànź-kV*.

✱**ā́ńu** moon; (moon cycle), year: Tung. ***aŋŋa**; Mong. ***oj**; Turk. ***āń**.

PTung. ***aŋŋa** year (год): Evk. *aŋŋanī*; Evn. *aŋŋъn*; Neg. *aŋŋanī*; Man. *aŋa*; SMan. *ani* (2723); Jurch. *ania* (79); Ul. *aŋa(n)*; Ork. *anaŋi*; Nan. *ajŋaŋa, ajŋaŋi*; Orch. *aŋŋaŋi*; Ud. *aŋa(n)*; Sol. *aŋẽ, aŋa*.

◊ TMC 1, 43-44. TM > Dag. *aŋẽ* (*sar*) 'January' (Тод. Даг. 121).

PMong. ***oj** 1 anniversary 2 year (1 годовщина 2 год): MMong. *oin* 'time' (IM = MA 443); WMong. *oi* 1 (L 603); Kh. *oj* 1; Bur. *oj* 1; Kalm. *ō* 2; Ord. *oǫ̈n* 1, 2.

◊ KW 303.

PTurk. ***āń(k)** moon, month (луна, месяц): OTurk. *aj* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *aj* (MK, KB); Tur. *aj*; Gag. *aj*; Az. *aj*; Turkm. *āj*; Sal. *aj*; Khal. *hāj*; MTurk. *aj; aй* (CCum.); Uzb. *ɔj*; Uygh. *aj*; Krm. *aj*; Tat. *aj*; Bashk. *aj*; Kirgh. *aj*; Kaz. *aj*; KBalk. *aj*; KKalp. *aj*; Kum. *aj*; Nogh. *aj*; SUygh. *aj*; Khak. *aj*; Shr. *aj*; Oyr. *aj*; Tv. *aj*; Tof. *aj̃*; Chuv. *ojъx*; Yak. *ij*; Dolg. *ij* 'month'.

◊ VEWT 10, TMN 2, 169, EDT 265, ЭСТЯ 1, 98-99 (see there on the reasons of reconstructing *-ń), Мудрак Дисс. 178, Федотов 2, 271, Лексика 55, 76-77, Stachowski 258.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 283, Дыбо 11, Мудрак Дисс. 70, Лексика 77. A Western isogloss.

***àŋa** hole, crack, gape: Tung. ***aŋa-**; Mong. ***aŋ, *aŋga-**; Turk. ***aŋ-**; Jpn. ***ànà**.

PTung. ***aŋa-** 1 dig 2 crack, hole 3 open (1 копать 2 щель, дыра 3 открывать): Evk. *aŋa-* 1, *aŋa-/ āŋā-* 3, *aŋa* 2; Evn. *aŋ-* 1, *āŋa-* 3; Neg. *aŋa-* 1, 3, *aŋa* 2; Ul. *aŋGala* 2; Ork. *āŋGa-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 45-46.

PMong. ***aŋ, *aŋga-** 1 crack, hole, gape 2 to open one's mouth; to gape (щель, расщелина, дыра 2 раскрывать рот; открываться, зиять): WMong. *aŋga-* 2, (L 43) *aŋ* 1, *aŋɣai-* 'be wide open'; Kh. *aŋ* 1, *aŋgai-* 2; Bur. *aŋg(an)* 1; Kalm. *aŋ, aŋgə* 1; Ord. *aŋ* 1; Dag. *xangai-* 2 (Тод. Дar. 173) (but Тод. Дar. 121, MGCD: *aŋgī, angai*); Dong. *anGəi-* 2; Bao. *aŋGi-* 2; S.-Yugh. *aŋɣī-* 2; Mongr. *ŋGai* (SM 9, *aŋGə̄-*) 2.

◊ KW 11, MGCD 111, 528. Mong. > Yak. *aŋa-*, Kirgh. *aŋqaj-* etc. (KW 21). The isolated Dag. *xangai-* with x- is strange; it may reflect a trace of another root (cf. PA **p'éŋi*) that disappeared in most dialects.

PTurk. ***aŋ-** 1 to be wide open 2 to be perplexed, astonished 3 wide open 4 fool, simpleton 5 obtuse, stupid 6 astonished 7 to have one's mouth opened 8 to be drowsy, faint 9 to look at with surprise 10 to gape (1 быть широко открытым 2 быть удивленным, опешить 3 широко открытый 4 дурак, простак 5 бестолковый 6 удивленный 7 разинуть рот 8 быть сонным, вялым 9 смотреть с удивлением 10 зиять): Karakh. *aŋıl ačuq* 3 (MK); Tur. (dial.) *anuk, aŋız* 4; Turkm. *aŋal-* 2, *aŋqar-* 2, 7; MTurk. (MKypch.) *aŋɣı* 6 (AH); Uzb. *aŋraj-* 2, 7; Tat. *aŋɣı-miŋge bul-* 3; (dial.) *aŋɣıl* 5; Kirgh. *aŋqaj-, aŋɣar-* 1, 9 (< Mong.?), *aŋqō* 4, *aŋır-* 2, *aŋıraj-* 10; Kaz. *aŋtar-, aŋır-* 2, *aŋqaw* 4; KKalp. *aŋqaw* 4; Nogh. *aŋqı-tiŋke* 'daffy', *aŋra* 4, *aŋšaj-* 7; Khak. *aŋaj-* 'to miss', *aŋmaj-* 2, 7, *aŋmax* 'standing with one's mouth open'; Tv. *aŋɣada-* 2; Yak. *aŋar-* 8.

◊ EDT 184, ЭСТЯ 1, 155, 156-157.

PJpn. ***ànà** hole (дыра): OJpn. ana; MJpn. *ànà*; Tok. *aná*; Kyo. *àná*; Kag. *aná*.

◊ The Kyoto accent is irregular (*ánà* would be expected. JLTT 381.

‖ Poppe 72, АПиПЯЯ 81. Mong. **aŋga-* < **àŋa-ga-*.

***ăŋatV** a k. of duck: Tung. ***andi**; Mong. ***aŋgir**; Turk. ***Ăŋ(k)ıt**; Jpn. ***anti**.

PTung. ***andi** scoter, a k. of duck (турпан, утка-чернеть): Evk. *anni, andi, ende*; Neg. *aniˌ*; Nan. *āni, āŋgi* (On.) 'diver'.

◊ TMC 1, 43; 2, 453.

PMong. ***aŋgir** scoter (турпан): MMong. *aŋgir* (SH); WMong. *aŋɣir* (L 44-45: "a k. of yellow duck"); Kh. *angir*; Bur. *angir*; Kalm. *äŋgr̥*; Ord. *ʔaŋgir* 'yellow'.

◊ KW 23. Mong. > Evk. *aŋır* etc., see Doerfer MT 68; > Yak. *aŋır* 'выпь', Oyr. *aŋır* 'варнавка', Tuva *aŋgır*, Kirgh. *aŋɣar* etc. (despite TMN 2, 129 those forms cannot go back to **aŋgırt* and must be recognized as borrowings). It is also interesting to note WMong.

ažir, Khalkha *ažir* 'teal, Anas crecca' (L 62), possibly < **adir* < **aŋdir*, with a different (old dialectal?) development of the medial cluster.

PTurk. ***Ăŋ(k)ɨt*** wild duck (дикая утка): OTurk. *aŋɨt* (OUygh.); Karakh. *aŋɨt* (MK); Tur. *angut* 'огарь', *ankɨt* (dial.); Az. *anGut-boGaz* 'длинношеий'; Turkm. *aŋk* 'red duck'; MTurk. *anqud* (Sngl); Uzb. *anɣirt* 'red duck'; Krm. *anqɨt*, *ankit* 'ostrich, vulture, dragon'; Kum. *haŋqut*; SUygh. *aŋɨt*; Khak. *āt*.

◊ VEWT 21, *Лексика* 172. Doerfer's (TMN 2, 129) PT **aŋgɨrt* is a quite artificial construct: it is based on occasional modern forms (like Uzb. *aŋɣirt*) which reflect a contamination of **aŋɨt* and the borrowed Mong. *aŋɨr* (with the influence of *aŋgɨrt* 'careless'). All old sources (see EDT 176) reflect only **aŋɨt*. (Yak. *ńintāla* 'горбоносый турпан' (Пек.), despite VEWT, < Evk. *niltalbuki* 'a black duck with white head, from *nilta-* 'to loose hair', lit. 'bald bird' TMC I 593; *annɨ*, *andɨ* < TM **andi*; *anńa*, *anńarɨjar* dial. 'a k. of sea bird, морянка' (*ДСЯЯ* 48) < Mong. *aŋgir*).

PJpn. ***anti*** a k. of duck (вид утки): OJpn. *adi*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 71, *Лексика* 172. Cf. also Mong. *aŋgat* 'аркалик (птица)' (< Turk.); but for **aŋgir* borrowing is hardly possible, despite TMN 2, 130, Щербак 1997, 192. Mong. -r here requires an explanation: it is most probably a result of reinterpreting the original **aŋgid* as a plural form and rebuilding a new singular **aŋgir* (cf. **nökör* - **nököd* etc.). The word is widely spread in Siberian languages, see Аникин 70.

✱***ə̀ŋo*** right: Tung. ***āŋ(gi)-***; Mong. ***eŋge-***; Turk. ***oŋ***.

PTung. ***āŋ(gi)-*** right (правый): Evk. *anŋū*, *āńŋū*; Evn. *āngъɣ*; Neg. *ańŋi-dā*; Ul. *anžį*; Ork. *āńžē*; Nan. *āŋgia*; Orch. *āńžä*; Ud. *ajaŋaža*; Sol. *angida*. ◊ TMC 1, 40-41.

PMong. ***eŋge-*** 1 South 2 front (of cloth) (1 юг 2 перед (одежды)): WMong. *eŋger* 1, 2 (L 318); Kh. *enger* 1, 2; Bur. *enger* 2; Kalm. *eŋgə*, *eŋgr̥* 'shore'; Ord. *enger* 2; Dag. *enge* 2; *eŋge-le-* 'выступать, выдаваться'; Dong. *engie* 2; Bao. *əŋgər* 2; Mongr. *ŋge* (SM 293) 2.

◊ MGCD 263, KW 122.

PTurk. ***oŋ*** 1 right 2 good, lucky 3 West (1 правый 2 благоприятный, счастливый 3 запад): OTurk. *oŋ* 1, 2, 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *oŋ* 1, 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *on* 1, 2 (dial.); Turkm. *oŋ* 2; MTurk. *oŋ* 1 (Abush.); Uzb. *o̤ŋ* 1, 2; Uygh. *oŋ* 1; Krm. *oŋ* 1, 2; Tat. *uŋ* 1, 2; Bashk. *uŋ* 1, 2; Kirgh. *oŋ* 1, 2; Kaz. *oŋ* 1; KBalk. *oŋ* 1, 2; KKalp. *oŋ* 1, 2; Kum. *oŋ* 1, 2; Nogh. *oŋ* 1, 2; SUygh. *oŋ* 1; Khak. *oŋ* 1, 2; Shr. *oŋ* 1, 2; Oyr. *oŋ* 1, 2; Tv. *oŋ* 1; Chuv. *ъʷn-* 4; Yak. *uŋa* 1, 'southern'; *uŋuor* 'on the other bank'; *oŋor-* 'to do, make'; Dolg. *oŋuor* 'on the other bank'; *oŋor-* 'to do, make'.

◊ EDT 166-167, 168-169, VEWT 352, *ЭСТЯ* 1, 456-460, TMN 2, 165-166, Stachowski 195, 243. *ЭСТЯ* also adds the verb *oŋ-* 'to prosper'; but, according to EDT, in OT this verb has the shape on-, while the form *oŋ-* appears later (in Middle Kypchak and Old Osman texts, as well as in a number of modern languages), probably as a result of contamination.

‖ *ЭСТЯ* 1, 459. A Western isogloss.

***aŋtʻà** a k. of fragrant plant: Tung. ***(x)an(d)ikta**; Mong. ***(h)aǯVrgana**; Turk. ***Aŋduŕ**; Jpn. ***àntùsà**.

PTung. ***(x)an(d)ikta** mint; name of a geranium-like plant (мята; назв. растения (из семейства гераниевых)): Evk. *anī*, *anikta*; Neg. *aṇīkta* 'willow-herb'; Orch. *anikta*.

◊ TMC 1, 43.

PMong. ***(h)aǯVrgana** geranium (герань): WMong. *aǯarɣana* (L 61); Kh. *aǯargan*; Bur. *azargana*; Kalm. *aǯərhn* (KPC).

PTurk. ***Aŋduŕ** 1 a medicinal shrub, elecampane 2 cypress, juniper 3 shrub, bush (1 род лекарственного растения, девясил 2 кипарис, можжевельник 3 кустарник): Karakh. *aŋduz* 1 (MK); Tur. *andiz* 3; Gag. *andiz* 3; Turkm. *andiz* 'переступень двудомный'; *aŋŋiza* 'a k. of mountain plant'; MTurk. *anduz* 1 (Sngl); Tat. *andiz* 2; Bashk. *andiδ* 2; Kirgh. *qar-andiz*, *qarındiz*, *antiz* (South dial.) 2; Kaz. *andiz*, *andźi* 'аир'; KBalk. *andiz* 2; Nogh. *andiz* 2.

◊ VEWT 21, EDT 178, ЭСТЯ 1, 150-151.

PJpn. ***àntùsà** Catalpa ovata (катальпа): OJpn. *adusa*; MJpn. *àdùsà*; Tok. *azusa*.

◊ JLTT 389.

‖ Name of a fragrant grass, probably geranium-like. One should also note Mong. *inaɣda* (Khalkha *janagd*) 'willow-herb' - looking suspiciously close to some TM forms (a loan from TM?).

***ăŋu** wild game: Tung. ***aŋa-**; Mong. ***(h)oɣuna**; Turk. ***Ăŋ**.

PTung. ***aŋa-** 1 wild game 2 mountain ram 3 to graze (of deer) 4 enclosure for deer (1 дикий зверь, дичь 2 горный баран 3 пастись (об оленях) 4 загон для оленей): Evk. *aŋa* 1, *anaŋ* (dial.) 2, *aŋa-* 3, *aŋan* 4; Evn. *anṵŋ* 2, *aŋ-* 3; Neg. *aŋa-* 3; Ork. *āŋa-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 42, 45-46.

PMong. ***(h)oɣunu** male mountain antelope (самец горной антилопы): WMong. *oɣuni*, *onu* (L 603); Kh. *ōno*; Bur. *ōno*; Kalm. *ōn*; Ord. *ōŋo*.

◊ KW 292. Mong. > Manchu *onon* 'the male zeren' (see Rozycki 168).

PTurk. ***Ăŋ** wild game (дикий зверь): OTurk. *aŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *aŋ-di-* 'to hunt', *aŋči* 'hunter' (MK); Turkm. *aŋta-* 'to chase'; MTurk. *aŋ*; Uzb. *aŋ* 'hunting' (dial.); Uygh. *aŋ*; Krm. *aŋ*; Tat. aŋ 'elk, dear' (dial.); Bashk. *aŋdi-* 'to track, waylay'; Kirgh. *aŋ*; Kaz. *aŋ*; KKalp. *aŋ*; Nogh. *aŋ*; Khak. *aŋ*; Shr. *aŋ* 'sable'; Oyr. *aŋ*; Tv. *aŋ*; Yak. *iŋ* 'fence for wild reindeer'.

◊ Лексика 152, 417, EDT 166. Shor *aŋniɣ*, Khak. *aɣniχ* 'net for catching sables' is a contamination of this root and **ag* 'net'. Turk. > Mong. *aŋ* id., see Clark 1977, 128-129.

‖ A Western isogloss.

aŋV** separate, different: Tung. ***aŋa-; Mong. ***aŋgi-***.

PTung. ***aŋa-*** 1 foreigner 2 orphan (1 чужеродец 2 сирота): Evk. *aŋnakī* 1, *aŋaǯakān* 2; Evn. *aŋъǯa* 2; Neg. *aŋnaxī* 1, *aŋaǯaxān* 2; Man. *anaqu* (*šuj*) 2; Ul. *aŋaǯa*, *aŋańį* 2; Ork. *aŋada* 2; Nan. *aŋǯįnį* 1, *aŋGaǯā* 2; Orch. *aŋnaińi* 1, *aŋaǯa* 2; Ud. *aŋnaxi* 1, *aŋaǯa* 2; Sol. *aŋaǯī* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 46. TM > Dag. *anikē* (Тод. Даг. 121).

PMong. ***aŋgi-*** 1 apart, separately 2 class, group (1 отдельно, порознь 2 класс, группа): MMong. *aŋgida* 1 (ȘH), *aŋgida* 'outer' (HYt), *angəda* 1 (LH); WMong. *aŋgida* 1, *aŋgi* 2 (L 44); Kh. *angid* 1, *angi* 2; Bur. *angil-* 'to be separated', *aŋgi* 2; Kalm. *äŋgi* 2; Ord. *aŋgi* 'piece, part' 2; Dag. *aŋg(i)* 2.

◊ KW 23.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

ə̀pi** to enjoy, rest: Tung. ***ā(b)-; Mong. ***abu-ra-***; Turk. ***(i)abi-***; Jpn. ***ìpà-p-***; Kor. ***ìpàt-***.

PTung. ***ā(b)-*** 1 to sleep 2 to lie 3 to entertain (1 спать 2 лежать 3 заинтересовать, развлекать): Evk. *ā-* 1; Evn. *awụn-* 3; Neg. *ā-* 1; Ul. *aụ-* ~ *aw-* 1, 2; Ork. *ā(wụ)-* 1, 2; Nan. *ao-* 1, 2; Orch. *ā-* 1; Sol. *ā-šin-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 2, 10 (should be distinguished from **ām-* q. v. sub **ə̀mV*). Loss of *-b- in some forms is in this case probably secondary (analogical, based on the reanalysis of the root element *-b- as a verbal suffix).

PMong. ***abu-ra*** to save (спасать): MMong. *abura-* (HY 39, SH); WMong. *abura-* (L 6); Kh. *avra-*; Bur. *abar-*; Kalm. *awṛ-*; Ord. *awura-*; Dag. *avra-* (Тод. Даг. 118).

◊ KW 20. Mong. > Yak. *abrā-*, Dolg. *abirā-*, Koman *abra-* etc. (VEWT 2, Щербак 1997, 199, Kał. MEJ 41, Stachowski 27); > Chuv. *upra-* 'to preserve' (Róna-Tas 1971-1972).

PTurk. ***(i)abi-*** 1 to enjoy oneself, be happy (refl.) 2 to comfort (caus.) (1 радоваться, быть счастливым 2 утешать, успокаивать): OTurk. *abiniq* 'consolation' (USp. 43), *avin-ču* 'concubine' (YB 1); Karakh. *avin-* 1 (MK), *avit-* 2 (KB); Tur. *avun-* 1, *avut-* 2, 'to deceive'; Gag. *aut-* 'to deceive'; Az. *ovun-* 1, *ovut-* 2; Khal. *avun-* 1, *avut-* 2; MTurk. *awut-* 2, *awun-* 'to find comfort' (Sangl.); Uzb. *ɔvun-* 1, *ɔvut-* 2; Krm. *avun-*, *uvun-* 'to be consoled', *uvut-* 2; Khak. *abit-* 'to lull'; Shr. *abit-* 'to lull'; Tv. *aat-* 'to lull'; Tof. *aat-* 'to lull'; Yak. *ia-hax* 'play'; Dolg. *ia-hak* 'play'.

◊ EDT 7, 12; VEWT 2, ЭСТЯ 1, 66, Stachowski 257. The meaning 'to lull' may belong to the homonymic **(i)abu-* 'to bend, swing', on which see under **i̯ə̀p[ò]*.

PJpn. ***ìpà-p-*** to enjoy, feast, celebrate (праздновать): OJpn. *ipa-p-*; MJpn. *ifa-f-*; Tok. *iwá-*; Kyo. *íwá-*; Kag. *ìwà-*.

◊ JLTT 700.

PKor. ***ìpàt-*** 1 feast 2 to provide, entertain, help (1 праздник 2 снабжать, предоставлять, помогать): MKor. *ìpàtí* 1, *ìpàt-* 2; Mod. *ibaži* ha- 2.

◊ Nam 400, KED 1329.

‖ Low tone in Kor. is due to the root's verbal nature. Semantic development is modified by changes in diathesis (e.g. in Mongolian 'save' < 'comfort' < 'cause to enjoy' etc.).

***àpo** to wear out, be spoiled: Tung. ***abu-**; Mong. ***ebe-**; Turk. ***obu-ra- / *obu-n-**; Jpn. ***àpà-**.

PTung. ***abu-** 1 to lack, be insufficient 2 to become exhausted, lean 3 to be tired 4 to bleed (1 недоставать, не хватать 2 худеть, чахнуть 3 уставать, обессилевать 4 истекать кровью): Evk. *abuḷ-* 1, *abu-* 4; Evn. *abъ̄l-* 1; Neg. *abụl-* 1; Man. *absa-* 2, *abuliqabi* 3; Ul. *abụlị-* 1; Ork. *abụlị-* 1; Nan. *abolị-* 1; Orch. *abuli-* 1; Ud. *abuli-* 1; Sol. *abụl-* 1.

◊ TMC 1,6-7. It is interesting to compare the Evk. form *abu-* with OT (8th cent.) ab- 'to bleed' (EDT 4) - perhaps a separate root? Note the irregular preservation of *-b- in all languages, possibly suggesting an early loan from Manchu. TM > Dag. *abila-* (Тод. Даг. 118).

PMong. ***ebe-** 1 to be ill 2 to weaken 3 illness (1 болеть 2 изнемогать, обессилеть 3 болезнь): MMong. *ebet-* (SH), *ebečin* 3 (HYt), *äbdä-* (IM), *ibăd-* (MA) 1; WMong. *ebed-* 1 (L 286), *ebere-* 2; Kh. *övd-* 1, *övrö-* 2; Bur. *übde-* 1, *übešen* 3; Kalm. *öwdə-* 1; Ord. *öwöd-* 1, *öwöčin* 3; Mog. *ebätu-*; ZM *ebätun* 'pain' (4-7a); Dag. *eude-* 1, *eur* 3 (Тод. Даг. 141, MD 146); Dong. *otu-* 1 (Тод. Дн. 132); Bao. *vete-* 1 (Тод. Бн. 136), (MGCD) *ɛtə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *wēd-* 1; Mongr. *(w)idi-*, *udi-* 1 (SM 188, 464), (Тод. Мгр. 368).

◊ KW 302, MGCD 536.

PTurk. ***obu-ra- / *obu-n-** 1 to wear out (intr.), decay 2 to cease, stop 3 to tire 4 to be destroyed (1 изнашиваться, стареть 2 прекращаться 3 уставать 4 развалиться, разрушиться): Tat. *uwa-l-*, *wa-l-* 1, 3, 4 (dial., ТТДТС 112, 451); Kirgh. *ura-* 4; Khak. *ūra-* 1; Oyr. *ūra-* 1; Chuv. *i̯vъn-* 3; Yak. *ūraj-* 2.

◊ VEWT 356, 515. Kalm. *ōr-* 'to fall apart, become spoiled' may be < Turkic, but the immediate source is unclear (Tat.?). The Chuv. form may be a dialectal variant of *il̆vn-*, see Егоров 342, Федотов 2, 468.

PJpn. ***àpà-** bleak, weak, faded (бледный, слабый): MJpn. *àfâ-*; Tok. *awá-*; Kyo. *áwa-*; Kag. *awá-*.

◊ JLTT 826.

‖ Cf. **ebi*.

***apuči** elder in-law: Tung. ***abusi**; Mong. ***(h)abisu-n**; Turk. ***Abuč-ka**.

PTung. ***abusi** 1 husband of elder sister 2 husband of father's or mother's younger sister 3 brother-in-law, son-in-law (1 муж старшей сестры 2 муж младшей сестры отца или матери 3 зять): Evk. *awus* 1; Evn. *āwụs* 1, 2; Neg. *awụs* 1, 2; Ul. *aụsị* 3; Nan. *aosị* 3; Orch. *auśä* 3; Ud. *auhi* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 11. TM > Dag. *auš'ē* 'elder sister's husband' (Тод. Даг. 122).

PMong. ***(h)abisu-n*** wife of elder brother (in relation to the wife of younger brother) (жена старшего брата (по отношению к жене младшего брата)): WMong. *abisun* (L 4); Kh. *avsan*; Bur. *ab'han*; Kalm. *awsn̥*, *äwsn̥*; Ord. *awisun*.

◊ KW 20. Mong. > Kaz. *abisin*, Khak. *abzin* etc. (VEWT 2, Poppe 1974, 126).

PTurk. ***Abuč-ka*** 1 husband, old man 2 foster-mother 3 elder sister 4 uncle (1 муж, старик 2 кормилица 3 старшая сестра 4 дядя): OTurk. *avïčγa*, *abučγa* 1, *abučqa* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *avïčγa* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *abuš* 3 dial.; MTurk. *abušqa*, *avušqa* 4 (Abush., Sangl.); Tat. *abušqa*, *awucqa* 1 dial. (Sib.); Bashk. *abïšqa* 1; Kirgh. *abïšqa* 1; Kaz. *abïšqa* 1 dial.; Khak. *apsax*, *apčax*, Koib. *abïsqa* 1; Shr. *apšïj* 1, *apšaq* 'bear'; Oyr. *apšijaq* 1; 'bear'; Tv. *ašaq* 1; Tof. *ašńaq* 1; Chuv. *obaška*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 60-61, EDT 6, Егоров 274-275, Федотов II 282, Аникин 72. Chuv. is not quite regular and may be an early loanword from Tat. Formally the Turk. word may be derived from **aba* 'elder in the mother's line' (+ dimin. -č).

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. has -s- (instead of the expected *-č-) probably because of a fusion with the productive suffix -su(n).

apV** to take: Tung. ***abgu-; Mong. ***abi-***; Turk. ***ạbuč***.

PTung. ***abgu-*** 1 to pull out, take from 2 (refl.) to appear (1 вытаскивать, вынимать 2 (возвр.) появляться): Evn. *abgịn-* 2; Neg. *abgụ-* 1; Ul. *aGbụmbụ-* 1, *aGbụn-* 2; Ork. *aGbụn-*; Nan. *aGbị-mboGo-* 1, *aGbịačị-* 2; Orch. *ābu-* 1; Ud. *agbu-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 3-4.

PMong. ***ab-*** to take (брать): MMong. *abu* (HY 39), *ab-* (SH), *oba-*, *aba-* (IM 432), *abu-* (MA 94, 97); WMong. *abi-*, *ab-* (L 1,2), *abu-*; Kh. *av-*; Bur. *aba-*, *ab-*; Kalm. *aw-*; Ord. *ab-*, *aw-*; Mog. *afu-*, *ab-*; ZM *ɔ̄b-* (24-6a, 41-1); Dag. *aw-* (Тод. Даг. 118); Dong. *agi-* (Тод. Дн. 110), *иγu-* (MGCD) (?); Bao. *ab-* (Тод. Бн. 132), *apə-* (MGCD); S.-Yugh. *ab-*; Mongr. *awu-*, *abu-* (SM 16).

◊ KW 19, MGCD 91. Cf. also *abuča* 'taking, handful' (KW 20).

PTurk. ***ạbuč*** handful (пригоршня): Karakh. *avut* (MK), *avut-ča*, *avuč-ča* (KB), *avuč* (Tefs).; Tur. *avuč*; Gag. *auč*; Az. *ovuč*; Turkm. *ovuč*, *jan-avuč*; Sal. *uǰ*; MTurk. *avuč* (MA, Sangl., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *xɔwuč*; Uygh. *oč*; Krm. *avuč*, *uvuč*, *uvuc*; Tat. *uč*; Bashk. *us*; Kirgh. *ūč*; Kaz. *uwïs*; KBalk. *uwuč*; KKalp. *uwïs*; Kum. *uvuč*; Nogh. *uvïs*; SUygh. *oš*; Khak. *ōs*; Shr. *oš*; Oyr. *ūš*; Chuv. *ĭvъś*.

◊ EDT 44, VEWT 3, ЭСТЯ 1, 409-410, Егоров 342, Дыбо 179-181, Лексика 25-253. Turk. > MMong. *a'uč* id. (Щербак 1997, 103).

‖ A Western isogloss. KW 19, Poppe 44. Despite TMN 4, 307-310, PT **ạbuč* (**ạbut*) cannot be regarded as a variant of **adïl[l]* (on which see sub **alda*) - although the two roots could have influenced each other. The

closed vowel in PT is not quite clear (under the influence of the two following labial phonemes?).

***áp'a** father: Tung. ***apa**; Mong. ***ab[u]**; Turk. ***apa**; Kor. ***àpí**.

PTung. ***apa** grandfather; uncle (elder brother of father, mother) (дедушка; дядя (старший брат отца, матери)): Neg. *apa*; Nan. *papa* (Naikh.), *fafa* (Bik.) (redupl.).

◊ TMC 1, 47, 2, 34.

PMong. ***ab[u]** 1 father 2 paternal uncle (1 отец 2 дядя со стороны отца): MMong. *abaqa* (HY 28, SH) 2, *abaγa* (MA 402) 2; WMong. *abu*, *aba* 1, *abaγa* 2 (L 2, 5); Kh. *av* 1; *avga* 2; Bur. *aba* 1; *abgaj* 2; Kalm. *āwə* 1; *awγə* 2; Ord. *awaGa*, *aGā* 2; Mog. ZM *ɔɣɔj* (12-16) 2; Dong. *aba*, *apa*, *avi*; Bao. *ābe*, *abo*; S.-Yugh. *awi*, *aba*; Mongr. *āba*, *āwa* (SM 1); *āGa* 2.

◊ KW 19, 21. Mong. **abaga* > Chag. *abaqa* etc. (see TMN 1, 108, Щербак 1997, 199); > Evk. *awaga* etc., see Doerfer MT 89.

PTurk. ***apa (*appa)** father (отец): OTurk. *apa* (Orkh., OUygh.) 'ancestors'; Karakh. *apa* (MK) 'father, bear' ("Kypch."), (KB) 'ancestor'; Tur. *aba*; Az. *aba* (dial.); Turkm. *aba* (dial.); Sal. *aba* (Kakuk), *aba*, *apa* (ССЯ); Tat. *aba* (dial.); Bashk. *apa* (dial.); Kirgh. *aba*; KBalk. *appa*, *aba*; SUygh. *awa*; Khak. *aba*; Oyr. *aba* 'father, bear'; Tv. *ava*; Chuv. *oba* 'bear'.

◊ EDT 5, VEWT 1, ЭСТЯ 1, 54-58, Лексика 305, Федотов 2, 281, Аникин 71. Cf. also **bāpa* 'grandfather, mother's father' (Turkm. *bāba* etc., see ЭСТЯ 2, 10-13, Лексика 294, 305). Voicing of -p- in many languages is probably due to expressive gemination.

PKor. ***àpí** father (отец): MKor. *àpí*; Mod. *abəži*, (*vulg.*) *abi*.

◊ Nam 338, KED 1074.

‖ EAS 140, Цинциус 1972a, 32-37. A common Altaic "nursery" word. Cf. *ep'V.

***àp'akV (~ -k'-)** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***(x)apkā-**; Turk. ***apaka**; Jpn. ***àpàkì**.

PTung. ***(x)apkā-** oak tree (дуб): Neg. *apkā-kta*.

◊ TMC 1, 47.

PTurk. ***apaka** 1 Alnus fruticosa; Labrador tea 2 a k. of fern (1 вид ольхи; багульник 2 вид папоротника): Karakh. *apa baši* 'Cannabis sativa, it is a plant which grows like Cucumis sativus and has a thorny stern, it is eaten in the mountains' (MK Qypch.); Tat. *abaγa* 2; Bashk. *abaγa* 2; Chuv. *uba-zarri* 2; Yak. *abaγa* 1.

◊ VEWT 1, Попов 1986, 92. OT and Chuv. reflect a folk etymology (confusion with *apa* 'bear').

PJpn. ***àpàkì** a k. of oak (сизый дуб): OJpn. *apakji*; MJpn. *àpàkì*.

◊ JLTT 388.

‖ The root is sparsely attested, but seems reliable.

***ap'i** wind, vapour: Tung. ***apka**; Mong. ***aɣur**; Turk. ***Ep-**.

PTung. ***apka** sky (небо): Man. *abqa*; SMan. *abka*, *apka*; Jurch. *a-puha*; Nan. *apqa* (Kur.-Urm.), *afqa* (Bik.).

◊ TMC 1, 8.

PMong. ***aɣur** steam, vapour; anger (пар; гнев): MMong. *a'ur* (HY 42, SH), *āwur*, *awur*, *hawur* (MA 108, 270 'anger'); WMong. *aɣur* (L 17); Kh. *ūr*; Bur. *ūr*; Kalm. *ūr*, ur; Ord. *ūr*; Mog. ZM *āwur* (15-8b) 'cloud'; Dag. *aur* (Тод. Дар. 122), *aure* (MD 116); Dong. *ūr*; S.-Yugh. *ūr*; Mongr. *ụ̄r* (SM 473).

◊ KW 450, 454, MGCD 108, 347, 663.

PTurk. ***Ep-** 1 to blow 2 movement of air, breeze 3 energy, tempo 4 gusty (wind) (1 дуть, веять 2 движение воздуха, ветерок 3 порыв, темп, энергия 4 порывистый (о ветре)): Uzb. *äpkin* (dial.) 2; Tat. *ip-* 1 (Seb.); Kirgh. *epkin* 3; Kaz. *epkin* 2; KKalp. *epkin* 3; Nogh. *epkinli* 4; Oyr. *epkin* 2.

◊ Лексика 42.

‖ A Western isogloss; however, in Jpn. the root probably merged with **ěbà* 'winnow, blow' q.v. (cf. especially the PJ form with a velar suffix **apu-(n)k-*, OJ *apug-*).

***ǎra** back, behind: Tung. ***arka-**; Mong. ***aru**; Turk. ***ǎrka**; Jpn. ***àtuà**.

PTung. ***arka-n** back (спина): Evk. *arkan*; Evn. *arqъn*; Neg. *ajkan*; Ork. *atta(n)*; Orch. *akka(n)*; Ud. *aka(n)*; Sol. *arkā*.

◊ TMC 1, 51.

PMong. ***aru** back, behind, North (спина, задняя сторона, север): MMong. *aru* (HY 11, SH 9), *aradan* 'behind', *ārudur* 'to the back' (MA 104, 106); WMong. *aru* (L 54), *aru-ki*; Kh. *ar*; Bur. *ara*; Kalm. *arə*, *ārə*, *arkə*; Ord. *aru* 'back, east'; Dag. *ar* (Тод. Дар. 121), *arkən* (MGCD); S.-Yugh. *ār*.

◊ KW 12, 14, 21, MGCD 114.

PTurk. ***ǎrka** back (спина, задняя сторона): OTurk. *arqa* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *arqa* (MK, KB); Tur. *arka*; Gag. *arqa*; Az. *arxa*; Turkm. *arqa*; Sal. *arχa*, *arGa* (ССЯ 292, 293); Khal. *arqa* (*arxa* < Az.); MTurk. *arqa* (Sangl.); Uzb. *ɔrqa*; Uygh. *a(r)qa*; Krm. *arqa*, *arxa*; Tat. *arqa*; Bashk. *arqa*; Kirgh. *arqa*; Kaz. *arqa*; KBalk. *arqa*; KKalp. *arqa*; Kum. *arqa* 1; Nogh. *arqa*; SUygh. *arqa*, *harqa*; Khak. *arɣa*; Shr. *arɣa*; Oyr. *arqa*; Tv. *a'rɣa* 'mountain forest'; Chuv. *orɣa-lъx* 'saddle strips'; Yak. *arɣā*, *arɣa-s*; Dolg. *arga-lā-* 'to turn one's back towards smb.'.

◊ EDT 200-201, 215, VEWT 26-27, ЭСТЯ 1, 174-175, 179-180, Лексика 267-268, Федотов 2, 288, Stachowski 36.

PJpn. ***àtuà** behind, trace (задняя сторона, след): OJpn. *atwo*; MJpn. *àtó*; Tok. *áto*; Kyo. *àtó*; Kag. *ató*.

◊ JLTT 387.

‖ EAS 139, KW 12, Poppe 78, Колесникова 1972a, 84-87, Дыбо 305, Лексика 268, TMN 2, 29-30, Doerfer MT 46. PT **arka* and PTM **arka* go back to a dative-locative formation **ara-k'a*.

✱**ara** a k. of insect: Tung. ***(x)arabgī**; Mong. ***araɣalǯin**; Jpn. ***ari**.

PTung. ***(x)arabgī** larva of a gad-fly (личинка носоглоточного овода): Evk. *arawgī*; Evn. *arъbgъn*; Neg. *ajibgin*.

◊ TMC 1, 52.

PMong. ***araɣalǯin** spider (паук): WMong. *araɣalǯin, aɣalǯin*; Kh. *ālʒ*; Kalm. *arālǯn*; Dag. *âlcǯi, agaleǯi*.

◊ KW 12. There is some confusion between this form and **haba-kai* id. (v. sub **p'ép'a*) - which resulted in a mixed form **haɣalǯin*, reflected in MMong. (HY 12) *xa'alǯin* - however, the Dagur form definitely points to a 0-Anlaut in PM.

PJpn. ***ari** ant (муравей): OJpn. *ari*; MJpn. *ari*; Tok. *àri*; Kyo. *árí*; Kag. *arí*.

◊ JLTT 384. Kyoto and Tokyo point to **árí*, but Kagoshima reflects an aberrant variant with initial low tone.

‖ The root denotes some small biting insect.

✱**árі (~ *ĕra)** man: Mong. ***ere**; Turk. ***ēr**.

PMong. ***ere** male, man (мужчина): MMong. *ere* (HY 29, SH), *ärä* (IM), *irä̆* (MA); WMong. *ere* (L 321); Kh. *er*; Bur. *ere*; Kalm. *erə*; Ord. *ere*; Mog. ZM *errä* (9-6a); Dag. *er, ergun* (Тод. Дат. 140) *ere* (MD, 145); Dong. ere; Bao. ere; S.-Yugh. *ere*; Mongr. *rē* 'mâle non châtré de certains animaux, masculin' (SM 313).

◊ KW 123, MGCD 264.

PTurk. ***ēr** man (мужчина): OTurk. *er* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *er* (MK, KB); Tur. *er*; Az. *är* 'husband'; Turkm. *ăr*; Sal. *er*; Khal. *här*; MTurk. *er* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *är*; Krm. *er*; Tat. *ir*; Bashk. *ir*; KBalk. *er*; KKalp. *er adam*; Kum. *er*; SUygh. *jer*; Khak. *ir*; Shr. *er*; Oyr. *er*; Tv. *er*; Chuv. *ar*; Yak. *er*; Dolg. *er*.

◊ VEWT 46, TMN 2, 178-9, EDT 192, ЭСТЯ 1, 290-291, Лексика 303, 561, Егоров 30, Stachowski 46, 128.

‖ KW 123, Владимирцов 324, Poppe 79, 106, Цинциус 1972a, 45-49, ОСНЯ 1, 247, АПиПЯЯ 54, 283. A well known Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. (see TMN 2, 179, Щербак 1997, 115) is quite improbable because of the final vowel. Cf. **ìòre*.

✱**àrp'á** barley, millet: Tung. ***arpa**; Mong. ***arbaj**; Turk. ***arpa**; Jpn. ***àpá**.

PTung. ***arpa** barley; oats (ячмень; овес): Man. *arfa*.

◊ TMC 1, 52. Despite its isolated nature, the Manchu word is certainly archaic and can hardly be explained as a borrowing < Mong. *arbai*, despite Rozycki 20.

PMong. ***arbaj** barley (ячмень): MMong. *arbəi* (HY 8), *arbăi, ārbăi* (MA 104, 253); WMong. *arbai* (L 49); Kh. *arvaj*; Bur. *arbaj*; Kalm. *arwə̄*,

arwā; Ord. *arwā̃*; Mog. *arfɛi*, *arfā* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *apa*; Mongr. *šbə* 'spelt' (SM 370).

◊ KW 15, TMN 2, 24. Mongor may reflect a trace of the originally unvoiced stop in the intervocalic cluster. Mong. > Tuva *arvaj*.

PTurk. ***arpa*** barley (ячмень): OTurk. *arpa* (OUygh.), *abra* (late OUygh.); Karakh. *arpa* (MK, KB); Tur. *arpa*; Gag. *arpa*; Az. *arpa*; Turkm. *arpa*; Sal. *arfa* (ССЯ 292); Khal. *arpa*; MTurk. *arpa* (Sangl.); Uzb. *arpa*; Uygh. *a(r)pa*; Krm. *arpa*; Tat. *arpa*; Bashk. *arpa*; Kirgh. *arpa*; Kaz. *arpa*; KBalk. *arpa*; KKalp. *arpa*; Kum. *arpa*; Nogh. *arpa*; Khak. *arba*; Oyr. *arba*; Chuv. *orba*.

◊ EDT 198, VEWT 27, ЭСТЯ 1, 176-177, TMN 2, 24, Лексика 460, Егоров 27, Федотов 2, 286. Turk. > Hung. *árpa*, see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***àpá*** millet (просо): OJpn. *apa*; MJpn. *àfá*; Tok. *áwa*; Kyo. *àwá*; Kag. *awá*.

◊ JLTT 388.

‖ EAS 90, KW 15, Poppe 87. АПиПЯЯ 67. The Mong. form cannot be explained as a Turkism (despite TMN 2, 24, Щербак 1997, 100). The Turkic form is sometimes compared with Proto-Iran. **arba-* (corresponding to Gr. *alphi*), cf. East Iranian forms going back to **arpasyā-* (or **arbasyā*) (Стеблин-Каменский 1982, 23), but it is not identical (loss of the final syllable is hard to explain); on the other hand, the Jpn. parallel is a strong argument in favour of the Altaic origin of the Turkic form.

ărV** witchcraft, craft: Tung. ****ar-; Mong. ****arga***; Turk. ****ar-***.

PTung. ****ar-*** 1 to make, work, construct 2 to come to one's senses 3 to cause fear (of an evil ghost), to appear in one's imagination 4 shape, form 5 evil spirit (1 делать, производить, работать 2 приходить в чувство 3 чудиться, пугать (о злом духе) 4 вид, форма 5 злой дух): Evk. *arit-* 3, *arū-* 2, *arinka* 5; Evn. *ar-*, *arị-* 3, *ar-* 2, *arịŋqъ* 5; Neg. *ajị* 5; Man. *ara-* 1, *arbun* 4, *ari* 5; SMan. *arəvən*, *arəvun* 'appearance, form' (2342); Nan. *arị* 5.

◊ TMC 1, 48, 49, 51, 52. Man. > Dag. *arbun* (Тод. Даг. 121).

PMong. ****arga*** way, method (способ, способность, хитрость): MMong. *arqa* (SH 9), *aryă* (MA 294), *aryа-da-* 'to deceive' (MA 105), *aryad-* (IM 432); WMong. *aryа*; Kh. *arga*; Bur. *arga*; Kalm. *arGə*; Ord. *arGa*; Dag. *arga* (Тод. Даг. 121), *arehe* (MD 115); Dong. *raG*; S.-Yugh. *arag*; Mongr. *arGa*.

◊ KW 13, MGCD 115. Mong. > Turk. *aryа* (since Chag., see VEWT 25, ЭСТЯ 1, 170-171), Tung. *arga* (TMC 1, 49, Rozycki 20).

PTurk. ****ar-*** 1 to make magic, cast spells 2 to deceive (1 колдовать, заклинать 2 обманывать): OTurk. *ar-* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.), *arvïš* 'magic' (OUygh.); Karakh. *ar-* 1 (MK, KB), *arva-* 1 (MK); Tur. *arpaɣ* 'magic' (dial.); Turkm. *arvax* dial. 'evil spirit'; MTurk. *arba-* 1 (Sangl., Бад.);

Uzb. *avra-* 1, 2; Uygh. *a(r)ba-* 1; Tat. *arbi-* 1 (Sib., KCTT 103); Bashk. *arba-* 1; Kirgh. *arba-* 1, 2; Kaz. *arba-* 1, 2; KKalp. *arba-* 1, 2; SUygh. *arva-* 1 (ЯЖУ 16); Khak. *arba-* 1; Shr. *arba-* 1, *arbiš* 'magic'; Oyr. *arba-n-* 'to scold'; Yak. *arbā-* 1 (Пек. I 139 'to praise for magic purposes').

◊ EDT 193, 199, VEWT 24, ЭСТЯ I 168-170. Turk. > MMong. *arba-* 'to put spells' (SH 8); Turk. *arbiš* > Mong. *arbis* 'knowledge' (Clark 1980, 41).

‖ A Western isogloss.

***árV** open space: Tung. ***ara-**; Mong. ***ar-**; Turk. ***(i)āra**.

PTung. ***ara-** 1 open space 2 open ritual court (открытое пространство): Evk. *araŋan* 1; Evn. *arŋŋn* 1; Ul. *aračų* 2; Orch. *arāču* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 48.

PMong. ***ar-** 1 poorly grown, thin 2 space 3 island (1 редкий, покрытый редкой растительностью 2 пространство, промежуток 3 остров): MMong. *aral* 3 (SH), *aral* (MA 104); WMong. *aral* 3 (L 48); Kh. *armaG* 1, *aral* 3; Bur. *arma* 2, *armagar* 1, alar 3; Kalm. *arū*, *armъG* 1, *arl* 3; Ord. *aral* 3 *armaq* 2; Dag. *alla*, *aral* 3 (Тод. Дат. 120); Dong. *aran* 3; Bao. *alər*, *arən* (Tungren); S.-Yugh. *aral* 3; Mongr. *rāl*, *ral* (Huzu), *arā(r)* (SM 9, 11) 3.

◊ KW 14, 15, MGCD 116, TMN 1, 119-120. The original meaning of the root **ar-* must have been 'space between banks (or river branches)', whence **ara-ŋu*, **ara-ma(g)* 'spaced, thin' and **ara-l* 'island'. Mong. *aral* > Chag., Kirgh. etc. *aral* 'island; thicket, island covered with thick bushes'; Evk. *aral* 'wood island in a steppe'. Despite TMN ibid., "thicket" is obviously a secondary semantic development in Turkic, because only the meaning "island" is attested in Mong. Bur. *alar* > Yak. *alar*, Russ. Siber. *alár* (Аникин 80).

PTurk. ***(i)āra** 1 space between 2 on one's way, under way (1 промежуток, пространство между 2 в пути, по дороге): OTurk. *ara* 1 Orkh., OUygh.; Karakh. *ara* (MK); Tur. *ara*; Gag. *āra*; Az. *ara*; Turkm. *āra* 1; Khal. *hāra*; MTurk. *ara* (Abush.); Uzb. *ɔra*; Uygh. *ara*; Krm. *ara*; Tat. *ara*; Bashk. *ara*; Kirgh. *ara*; Kaz. *ara*; KBalk. *ara*; KKalp. *ara*; Kum. *ara*; Nogh. *ara*; SUygh. *ara*; Khak. *ara*; Shr. *ara*; Oyr. *ara*; Tv. *ara*; Yak. *āra* 2; Dolg. *āra-k-* 'to go away', *ārā-* 'not to reach'.

◊ EDT 196, VEWT 22, TMN 2, 24, ЭСТЯ 1, 162-164, Stachowski 41. Derived is probably **ārik* 'island; arik, ditch; thicket' id. (VEWT 23, 25, ЭСТЯ 1, 167, 187-188, Лексика 95, 110, Stachowski 37).

‖ KW 14 (Turk.-Mong.). A Western isogloss. Cf. also PTM **arbu-* 'space between two river branches'; Mong. *arba-* 'растопыриваться (о пальцах)'.

***arV (~ e-)** to change, sell: Mong. ***aralǯi-**; Turk. ***Ar-**.

PMong. ***aralǯi-** 1 to change, exchange, barter 2 exchange, change (1 менять, обменивать, торговать 2 обмен, торговля): MMong. *aralǯi-* 1 (SH), *āralǯi* 2 (MA 104); WMong. *aralǯi-* 1 (L 48); Kh. *arilǯi-* 1; Bur. *aralža-* 1; Kalm. *arcldə-*, *arclcə-* 1 (?); Ord. *arilǯi-* 1, *arilǯān* 2; Dag. *aralǯi-*, *allǯi-*,

(Тод. Дar. 120) *aližï-*; Dong. *arunža-* 1; Bao. *anžï-, anža-* 1; S.-Yugh. *arālža-, arālžï-* 1; Mongr. *rālžï-* (*arāžï-* (SM 10)).

◊ KW 15, MGCD 118, 319.

PTurk. ***Ar-*** gift (дар): Karakh. *armaγan* (MK, Oghuz); Tur. *armaγan*; Az. *armaγan*; MTurk. *armaγan*; Kirgh. *arna-* 'to dedicate, design for'.

◊ EDT 231, 232, VEWT 27.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; not quite reliable. Jpn. **úr-* could be a match, but it may also reflect PA **úŕi* q.v.

✱**āŕa** small, scarce; recent: Tung. ***ara-***; Mong. ***araj***; Turk. ***Āŕ***; Jpn. ***àrà-(ta-)***; Kor. ***ārǎi***.

PTung. ***ara-*** scarcely (едва): Evk. *aran*; Evn. *arъn*; Man. *arqan*; SMan. *arəqən* (2952); Sol. *arā*.

◊ TMC 1, 48.

PMong. ***araj*** scarcely, just a little (едва ли, слегка): MMong. *aran* (SH); WMong. *arai* (L 48); Kh. *araj*; Bur. *araj*; Kalm. *arā*; Ord. *arā*; Mog. ZM *arei* 'so it is, is it so?' (27-7b); Dag. *arān* (Тод. Дar. 121); S.-Yugh. *arān*; Mongr. *araŋ* (SM 11), cf. *aráaG* 'ruines de ville où il ne reste plus que les murs des maisons detruites' (SM 11).

◊ KW 13, MGCD 116. Mong. > Kirgh. *araŋ*, Oyr. *araj* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 167-168), Yak., Dolg. *araj* (Stachowski 36).

PTurk. ***Āŕ*** few, a little (немного): OTurk. *az* (Orkh. ПМК, OUygh.); Karakh. *az* (MK); Tur. *az*; Gag. *az*; Az. *az*; Turkm. *āz*; Khal. *ház*; Uzb. ɔz; Uygh. *az*; Krm. *az*; Tat. *az*, *ɛz*; Bashk. *aδ*, *äδ*; Kirgh. *az*; Kaz. *az*; KBalk. *az*; KKalp. *az*; Kum. *az*; Nogh. *az*; SUygh. *az*; Khak. *as*; Shr. *as*; Oyr. *as*; Tv. *as*.

◊ EDT 277, VEWT 32, ЭСТЯ 1, 93-94

PJpn. ***àrà-(ta-)*** new (новый): OJpn. *arata-*; MJpn. *àtàrà-si*; Tok. *atarashí-*; Kyo. *átáráshì-*; Kag. *atarashí-*.

◊ JLTT 383, 677, 826. The MJ and most modern form present a metathesis *atarasi-* < *arata-si-* (but cf. Yonakuni *àrà-* 'new'); the stem **àràtà* itself is preserved as a nominal and verbal stem (cf. **àràtà-ma-* > Tokyo *aratamé-* 'to renew' etc.).

PKor. ***ārǎi*** yesterday, in the past (вчера, в предыдущий день, в прошлом): MKor. *ārǎi, ārái*; Mod. *āre* 'day before yesterday'.

◊ Nam 336.

‖ EAS 110, KW 13, Владимирцов 361. Low tone in **àrà-tà-* is probably secondary (a result of some contamination?); cf. Yonaguni (suffixless) *àrà-* < **árá-* 'new'. Despite Doerfer MT 44, TM is hardly borrowed from Mong. (although some forms - Evk., Evn. *arai* - are).

✱**àŕì** thorn, fang: Tung. ****(x)ar- (?)***; Mong. ****ariγa***; Turk. ****aŕig***; Jpn. ****ìrà***.

PTung. ****(x)ar-*** 1 shoot, bud; fang 2 tooth of a saw 3 a flower name (1 росток; клык 2 зубец инструмента, 3 назв. цветка (лютик, пострел)): Evk. *argā-wākte* 3 (?); Man. *arGan* 1,2, *arsun* 1; SMan. *arəhən* (625) 2.

◊ TMC 1, 50. Man. *arGan* is most likely < Mong. **araya(n)*, see Rozycki 20.

PMong. ***ariya*** 1 molar tooth 2 fang 3 tooth of a chisel etc. (1 коренной зуб 2 клык 3 зубец инструмента): MMong. *ara'a* 2 (SH), *aratai* 'predator' (HY 10), *aral* 2 (IM 432), *ariă*, *narиă* 2 (MA 105, 246); WMong. *araγa* 1 (L 47), *arija*; Kh. *arā* 1, 3; Bur. *arā(n)* 1, 2, 3; Kalm. *arān* 1, 2; Ord. *arā* 1, 3, *araŋGa* 'an extra tooth'; Dag. *arā* 1, 2 (Тод. Даг. 121), 3 (MD 115); Bao. *arə*; S.-Yugh. *arā*; Mongr. *arā* 1 (SM 9), *aranda* 'rênes' (SM 11), *rā* (MGCD).

◊ KW 12, MGCD 114. Cf. WMong. *araga-tan*, *arijatan* (> Bur. *ar'jatan*) 'predator' > Evk. *arātu*, see Poppe 1966, 196. Mong. > Tuva *arā* 'rifling'.

PTurk. ***aŕig*** fang (клык): OTurk. *aziγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *aziγ* (MK); Tur. *azi*; Az. *azi*; Turkm. *azi*; MTurk. *azu* (Sangl.); Uzb. *ɔziq*; Tat. *azaw*; Bashk. *aδaw*; Kirgh. *azū*; Kaz. *azuw*; KBalk. *azaw*; KKalp. *azuw*; Kum. *azuw*; SUygh. *aziγ*; Khak. *aziγ*; Shr. *azij*; Oyr. *azu*, *azū*; Tv. *aziγ*; Chuv. **ora* > Mari *ora-puj* 'id.'; Yak. *ahī*, dial. *ihī*.

◊ VEWT 33, ЭСТЯ 1, 96-98, Лексика 229. Turk. > Mong. **ažuγ* (*ačuγ* in Uygh. script, see Clark 1980, 41).

PJpn. ***ìrà*** thorn (шип, колючка): MJpn. *ìrà*; Tok. *ira*.

◊ JLTT 425.

‖ KW 12, Владимирцов 361, EAS 111, Poppe 81, Лексика 229. Despite TMN 2, 55-56, Щербак 1997, 103 Mong. is not < Turk. The TM reflexes are weak: the Evk. form is semantically difficult, while Manchu *arGan* may well be borrowed < Mong.; however, the parallel form *ar-sun* is hard to explain as a loan (no similar form is attested in Mong.).

aŕV** or: Turk. ***aŕu; Jpn. ***ar-***.

PTurk. ***aŕu*** or (или): OTurk. *azu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *azu* (MK); Tv. *azi*.

◊ EDT 280.

PJpn. ***ar-*** or, perhaps (или, возможно): OJpn. *arupa*, *aruipa*; MJpn. *arufa*, *aruifa*; Tok. *aruiwa*.

◊ JLTT 384.

‖ JOAL 147. An interesting Turkic-Jpn. isoǧloss.

ase (~ p′-)** to catch fire; hot: Mong. ***(h)asa-; Turk. ****isig / *isig***.

PMong. ***(h)asa-*** to catch fire (загораться): WMong. *asa-* (L 55); Kh. *asa-*; Bur. *aha-*; Kalm. *as-*.

◊ KW 16.

PTurk. ****isig / *isig*** 1 hot 2 warm (1 горячий 2 теплый): OTurk. *isig* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *isig* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *sižak* 1; Az. *isti* 2; Turkm. *issi* 1; Sal. *hissi* 2; Khal. *hissī*, *hisk* 1; MTurk. *isti* 2 (Pav. C.), *isiγ* (Бор. Бад., Abush.); Uygh. *issiq* 1; Krm. *issi* 1, 2 (HK), *sižaq* 2 (K), *isi-t-* (K) 'to warm'; Tat. *esse* 1; Kirgh. *isiq* 1, *isi* 'heat, hot wind'; Kaz. *issi* 1; KKalp.

issi 1; Nogh. *issi* 1; Khak. *azag* 1; Oyr. *izü* 1; Tv. *iziγ* 1; Tof. *i'siγ* 1; Chuv. *ъʷžъʷ* 2; Yak. *itī, ičiges* (< **isi-geč*) 2; Dolg. *itī, ičiges* 2.

◊ Derived from **isi-* / **isi-* 'to be hot'. See VEWT 173-4, TMN 2,182, EDT 246, ЭСТЯ 1, 668-671, Лексика 19-20, Stachowski 123, 130.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 288. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; cf. (?) Kor. (SKE 217) *s:ə-da* 'to be hot'; *s:ə-da* 'to kindle (fire)' (the forms are nowhere to be found except SKE).

✱**ătV** horse: Tung. ***abdu-***; Mong. ***aduɣu-***; Turk. ***ăt***.

PTung. ***abdu-*** 1 cattle, herd 2 household, property 3 cloth, fabric (1 скот, стадо 2 домашнее хозяйство, имущество 3 ткань): Evk. *abdu* 1, 2; Evn. *abdu* 2, 3; Neg. *abdun* 1; Man. *adu* 3; SMan. *adun* 'herd, flock' (2319); Jurch. *ad-hu* (551) 3; Ork. *abdu* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 5-6. Man. *adun* 'herd' is probably < Mong. (see Новикова 1972, 107).

PMong. ***aduɣu-*** 1 horse(s), cattle 2 drove, herd 3 to herd (1 лошадь, домашнее животное 2 табун лошадей 3 пасти): MMong. *adusun* 1, *adu'u(n)* 2 (SH), *adu'uči* 'herdsman' (HY 30), *adu(w)sun, adasun* 1 (MA 95, 96), *adon, adoson* 1 (IM 432); WMong. *aduɣusu* 1, *aduɣu* 2, *aduɣula-* 3; Kh. *adūs* 1, *adūn* 1, 2, *adūla-* 3; Bur. *adūha(n), adaha(n), adūn* 1, 2, *adūl-* 3; Kalm. *adūsn* 1, *adūn* 2; Ord. *adaGus(u)* 1, *adū* 2; Dag. *adōsa* 1, *adō* 2 (Тод. Даг. 118, MGCD, MD 111), *adōse* 'animal' (MD 111); Dong. *asun* 1, *adula-* 3 (Тод. Дн. 110); Bao. *asoŋ* 1, *adal-* 3 (Тод. Бн. 133), *adələ-* 3 (MGCD); Mongr. *āsə* (SM 15) 1, *dulā-* (SM 64) 3.

◊ KW 2, MGCD 94. Mong. > Chag. *adun*, see TMN 119; > Evk. *aduɣun* etc., see Poppe 1966, 189, 195, Doerfer MT 98-99, Rozycki 11.

PTurk. ***ăt*** horse (лошадь): OTurk. *at* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *at* (MK, KB); Tur. *at*; Gag. *at*; Az. *at*; Turkm. *at*; Sal. *at, ac*; Khal. *hat*; MTurk. *at*; Uzb. *ɔt*; Uygh. *at*; Krm. *at*; Tat. *at*; Bashk. *at*; Kirgh. *at*; Kaz. *at*; KBalk. *at*; KKalp. *at*; Kum. *at*; Nogh. *at*; SUygh. *a't*; Khak. *at*; Shr. *at*; Oyr. *at*; Tv. *a't*; Chuv. *ut*; Yak. *at*; Dolg. *at*.

◊ EDT 23, VEWT 30, ЭСТЯ 1, 197-198, TMN 2, 4-5, Лексика 441, Ашм. III, 316-320, Stachowski 38.

‖ Новикова 1972, 108, АПиПЯЯ 15, Doerfer MT 99. A Western isogloss. Cf. also PT **adgir* (Лексика 442, ЭСТЯ 1, 107-108, Stachowski 40), Mong. *ažirga* 'stallion', Dag. *adirag, adirga*, S.-Yugh. *ažirγa*, Mongor *ažirGa* (see KW 2, Владимирцов 397, VEWT 6; TMN 2, 186-187, Щербак 1997, 94: Turk. > Mong.; Mong. > Evk. *ažirga* etc., see Poppe 1966, 192, Doerfer MT 75, MKor. *ačirkəi măr*, see Lee 1958, 119). It is possible to reconstruct **atbV* or **abtV*.

✱**at'i** son, young: Mong. ***ači***; Turk. ***Ati***; Jpn. ***itua***; Kor. ***àtă̆r***.

PMong. ***ači*** grandson, junior nephew (внук, младший племянник): MMong. *ači* (HY 29) 'grandchild (male, by father)', *hači* 'Enkel'

(HYt); WMong. *ači* (L 8); Kh. *ač*; Bur. *aša*; Kalm. *ača*; Ord. *ači*; Dong. *hačə* (Тод. Дн. 140), *hači* (MGCD); Mongr. *aći sunʒə* (SM 15), *ači* (MGCD).

◊ KW 18, MGCD 125. Dong. h-, as well as the variation 0-/h- in HY is secondary. Mong. > Oyr. *ači*; Evk. dial. *ači* (TMC 1, 59).

PTurk. ***Atɨ*** (junior) nephew, grandson ((младший) племянник, внук): OTurk. *atɨ* (Orkh.); Uygh. dial. Lobn. *ataj-ɨm* 'oh, my child!'; SUygh. *atɨ*; Khak. *adaj* 'dog' (< *'cub').

◊ VEWT 31, EDT 40, ЭСТЯ 1, 79.

PJpn. ***itua*** 1 young, lovable 2 cousin (1 юный, милый 2 племянник): OJpn. *itwo-kwo* 2, *it(w)ok(j)e-na-* 'young, small'; MJpn. *ito, ito-si-* 1, *itó-ko* 2; Tok. *ito-shí-* 1, *itóko* 2; Kyo. *ítóshì-* 1, *ítòkò* 2; Kag. *itóshi-* 1, *itokó* 2.

◊ JLTT 428. Accent correspondences are unclear.

PKor. ***àtằr*** son (сын): MKor. *àtằr*; Mod. *adɨl*.

◊ Nam 335, KED 1069.

‖ Владимирцов 324, АПиПЯЯ 287.

✱**aʒo** a k. of salmon: Tung. ***aʒi-n***; Mong. ***(h)iʒe***; Jpn. ***àjû***.

PTung. ***aʒi-n*** a k. of salmon (калуга): Evk. *aʒin*; Neg. *aʒiṇ*; Man. *aʒin*; Ul. *aʒi(n)*; Ork. *aʒi(n)*; Nan. *aʒĩ*; Orch. *aʒi(n)*; Ud. *aʒi(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 16.

PMong. ***(h)iʒe*** a small fish, coming from the ocean into rivers (небольшая рыба, приплывающая из океана в реки): WMong. *iʒe* (MXTTT); Kh. *iʒ*.

PJpn. ***àjû*** trout (форель): OJpn. *aju*; MJpn. *àjú*; Tok. *áyu*; Kyo. *àyû*; Kag. *ayú*.

◊ JLTT 388.

‖ The root denotes some salmon-like fish; the meaning of the Mong. form is unfortunately not very well defined.

✱**àʒV** younger relative: Tung. ***āʒi-***; Mong. ***aʒi-n***.

PTung. ***āʒi-*** 1 first child 2 small child 3 the most (1 первенец 2 маленький ребенок 3 самый, наиболее): Evn. *āʒiṇ* 1; Man. *aʒi-ge* 2, *aʒi* 1; SMan. *aʒigə* 2 (2403); Nan. *aʒĩ* 3, *aʒi-go-* 'родить первенца'; Ud. *aʒiga* 'girl'.

◊ TMC 1, 16-17, 55, Он. 29.

PMong. ***(h)aʒi-n*** wife of younger brother (as related to the wife of elder brother) (жена младшего брата (по отношению к жене старшего брата)): WMong. *aʒin* (L 62); Kh. *aʒin*; Ord. *aʒin*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; one of numerous common Altaic kinship "nursery" words.

B

***bə́** to bind: Tung. ***ba-**; Turk. ***b(i)ā-**; Jpn. ***bə́**; Kor. ***pa**.

PTung. ***ba-** 1 to propose for marriage 2 proposed for marriage since childhood (1 сватать 2 осватанные с малолетства): Evk. *ba-* 1; Man. *ba-čixi* 2.

◊ TMC 1,60.

PTurk. ***b(i)ā-** 1 to bind 2 to fasten 3 bundle 4 bond, rope (1 связывать 2 укреплять 3 связка 4 веревка): OTurk. *ba-* 1, 2, *ba-γ* 3, 4, 'confederation' (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ba-* 1, 2, *ba-γ* 3, 4 (MK, KB, At.); Tur. *ba-γ* 3, 4, *ba-γ-la-* 1,2; Gag. *bā-la-* (< **bag-la-*) 1; Az. *bay* 3, 4; Turkm. *bāG* 4; Sal. *baχ* 4; Khal. *vā-* 1, *bay* 4 (*bay* m.b. < Ogh.); MTurk. *bay* 4; Uzb. *bɔy* 3, 4; Uygh. *bay* 3, 4; Krm. *bay* 3, 4; Tat. *baw* 3, 4, *bɛj* 4; Bashk. *baw* 4, *bäj* 4; Kirgh. bō 3, 4; Kaz. *baw* 3, 4; KBalk. *baw* 4; KKalp. *baw* 3, 4; Kum. *baw* 3, 4; Nogh. *baw* 4; SUygh. *pay* 4; Khak. (dial.) *pay* (Kyz.) 4; Shr. *pay* (R) 4; Oyr. *bū* 4; Tv. *bay-la-* 1; Tof. Bay 4; Chuv. *pъjav* 4; Yak. *bā-j-* 1, 2, *bia* 4; Dolg. *bā-j-* 1, *bia* 4.

◊ EDT 292, 310, ЭСТЯ 2, 13-17, Федотов 1, 411, VEWT 53 (**bā, deriv. *bā-g*), Stachowski 55, 69. Turk. **bāg* > Mong. *bay* (KW 27, TMN 2, 254), *bayča* (> Man. *baqsan* etc., see Doerfer MT 142). Yak. has a standard verbal stem modifier (-j-).

PJpn. ***bə́** rope (веревка): OJpn. wo; MJpn. *wó*; Tok. *wó*; Kyo. *wó*; Kag. *wó*.

◊ JLTT 503. The Tokyo accent is aberrant (**wò* would be expected), but Kyoto, Kagoshima and the RJ gloss (*wó*) point to **bə́*.

PKor. ***pa** rope, string (веревка): Mod. *pa*.

◊ KED 701.

‖ EAS 57, SKE 179, Martin 228, ОСНЯ 1, 172, АПиПЯЯ 68. One of the few common Altaic monosyllabic roots. Mong. **bayu-* 'to bind' is probably < Turk. (Щербак 1997, 103). Doerfer's (TMN 2, 254) criticism is unacceptable ("unklar, da kor. Nominalstamm, tü. Verbalstamm").

***bə́č´V (~ *p-, -č-)** sister: Mong. ***bača-gan**; Turk. ***bāča-**.

PMong. ***bača-gan** girl (девушка): Kh. *bacgan*; Bur. *basagan*.

◊ Будаев 142, 245, Аникин 124 (> Russ. Siber. *bacagan* 'girl').

PTurk. ***bāča** 1 elder sister 2 husbands of sisters (1 старшая сестра 2 мужья сестер между собой (свояки)): OTurk. *bača* (OUygh., late -Lig. VSOu) 2; Karakh. *baža-naq* 2 (IM); Tur. *bajı* 1, *bajanak* 2; Gag. *bajanaq* 2; Az. *bajı* 1, *bajanaG* 2; Turkm. *bajı* 1, *bāja* 2; Sal. *paja* 2 (ССЯ);

MTurk. *baji* 1 (R), *bača* 2 (MA, Pav. C.), *bažanaq* 2 (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *bɔ̀ža* 2; Uygh. *baža* 2; Tat. *paca* (KCTT) 2; Kum. *bažiw* 1; Khak. *paža* 2, *piže* 1; Oyr. *bada* 2, 'wives of brothers'; Tv. *baža* 2; Tof. *baža* 2; Chuv. *poźana* 2.

◊ VEWT 54, TMN 2, 682, ЭСТЯ 2, 24, 26-27, Лексика 310, Егоров 168, Ашм. X, 33, Федотов 1, 453. Turk. > WMong. *baža*, Kalm. *baz*, Khalkha *baz*, Bur. *baz*, Ord. *baža* 'brother-in-law', whence Kirgh., KBalk., Kum., Yak. *baža*, Evk. *baža*, Kaz., KKalp., Nogh., Bashk. *bažа*. The Khak., Oyr. and Tuva forms may also be < Mong. Cf. also ORuss. печенег.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Manchu *baša* 'wife's younger sister' is isolated and most probably < Mong. (see TMC 78, Rozycki 26).

***bàdì** face, colour: Tung. ***bāda**; Turk. ***bEd-le**; Jpn. ***pítápi (/ *pìtàpi)**.

PTung. ***bāda** 1 face 2 shape, form, colour (1 лицо 2 вид, форма, цвет): Evk. *bāde* 1; Evn. *bād* 1, 2; Nan. *bādo* 'opposite to', *bādo-bādo* 'face to face'.

◊ TMC 1, 63, Он. 56.

PTurk. ***bEd-le (?)** such, similar, so (такой, подобный, таким образом): Karakh. *böjle* (Tefs.); Tur. *böjle*, (dial.) *bele*; (dial.) *bile-m* 'myself' etc.; Az. *bejlä*, *belä*, dial. *bilä-m* 'myself' etc.; Turkm. *bejle*; Khal. *bilä-m*, *bilä-si*, *bilä-miz* 'myself, himself, ourselves' etc. (< Az.); MTurk. *bejle*, *böjle* (Pav. C.); Oyr. *bejde* (Kumd.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 107-108. Cf. perhaps also Yak. *bet-tex* (Dolg. *bettek*) 'here, closely', Yak., Dolg. *beterē* 'this, nearest side' (although it may go back to **bĕt* 'face'; derivation < **be-rü* 'this side' in ЭСТЯ 2, 124, followed by Stachowski 59, is hardly plausible). The sometimes proposed explanation as **bu ile*, i.e. "together with it" or "by means of it" is not quite acceptable for semantic reasons. As for the Oghuz variants with a labialized vowels, they may have an assimilative origin. But on the whole the attribution of the Turkic form is still dubious (although the semantic derivation "similar, such as" < "face, looks" seems to be quite common in Altaic).

PJpn. ***pítápi (/ *pìtàpi)** forehead (лоб): OJpn. *p(j)itap(j)i*; MJpn. *fitáfi (/ fitàfi)*; Tok. *hìtai*; Kyo. *hìtàí*; Kag. *hitái*.

◊ JLTT 410.

‖ Contaminations were possible: cf. **peda*, **páda*.

***bădo** a k. of bird (quail, dun-bird): Tung. ***badara**; Mong. ***bödüne**; Turk. ***budur-**.

PTung. ***badara** dun-bird (нырок, крохаль): Evk. *badara*.

◊ TMC 1, 63. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***bödüne** quail (перепелка): MMong. *bodena* (HY 14), *būdene* (LH); WMong. *bödüne*; Kh. *bödnö*; Bur. *büdene*; Kalm. *bödnə*; Ord. *bödönö*; Mongr. *bodono* (SM 26), *puduri* (SM 305).

◊ KW 54. Mong. > Chag. *büdänä*, *bödänä* etc. (ЭСТЯ 2, 101-102; TMN 1, 218, Lig. VMI 21, Щербак 1997, 201), Chuv. *putene* (Róna-Tas 1971-1972). One should also mention WMong. *badana*, Khalkha *badna* 'перепел немой' (БАМРС 1, 213).

PTurk. ***budur-** quail (перепелка): Karakh. *budursɨn* (MK); *bujurčun, bujurčɨn* (AH); Khak. (*pudurčun, püdürčün*); Chuv. *pъʷržъgan* 'wagtail'.

◊ EDT 309, Лексика 173, ЭСТЯ 2, 305-306. The root was strongly influenced by **bɨldur-* (q.v. sub **pi̯ŏltorV*); this explains the Khak. form (one would expect *puzur-*).

‖ Лексика 174. A Western isogloss. Mong. **bödüne* is a result of assimilation < **bedüne*.

***bagu** white, grey: Tung. ***bag-**; Mong. ***buɣurul**; Kor. ***pùhɨi-**.

PTung. ***bag-** 1 white 2 clear (of sky, weather) (1 белый 2 ясный (о небе, погоде)): Evk. *bagda-ma*, -rin 1, *baɣurin* 2; Evn. *bāwụn, bāị* 2; Neg. *bagdajīn* 1; Sol. *bagdarin, bogdarin* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 62.

PMong. ***buɣurul** grey (of hair etc.) (серый, седой): MMong. *burul* (MA 127); WMong. *buɣurul* (L 131); Kh. *būral*; Bur. *būral*; Kalm. *būrəl*; Ord. *būral*; Dag. *bōral, bōlal* (Тод. Даг. 127), *bōrol*; S.-Yugh. *būrol*; Mongr. *bōrol*.

◊ KW 65, MGCD 164. Mong. > Turk. *buɣurla*, Chuv. *pъʷvъrla* id.; Evk. *burul* etc. (see Doerfer MT 99); > Man. *burulu* (*morin*), MKor. *puru* (*mǎr*) 'a horse of red and white coat' (see Lee 1958, 119).

PKor. ***pùhɨi-** grey, milky white (серый, молочно-белый): MKor. *pùhɨi-*; Mod. *pūjə-* [*pūjəh-*], *pōja-* [*pōjah-*].

◊ Nam 267, KED 792, 818.

‖ Note Karakh. (MK, hap. leg.) *bögrül* 'a horse or sheep with white flanks' (EDT 328-329) - although the vocalism in this form is not clear.

***bǎ́ja** happiness, joy: Tung. ***baj-li**; Mong. ***bajar**; Turk. ***bAj-ra-m/k, bAj-ga**; Jpn. ***bái-m-**.

PTung. ***baj-li** favour, mercy (благосклонность, милость): Man. *bajli*.

◊ TMC 1, 66. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***baja-** 1 joy, feast 2 to be happy, enjoy (1 радость, праздник 2 быть счастливым, радоваться): MMong. *bajas-* (HY 36, SH) 2, *bājas* (IM) 1, *bajas-* (MA) 2; WMong. *bajar* 1, *bajas-* 2 (L 77); Kh. *bajar* 1, *bajas-* 2; Bur. *bajarla-* 2; Kalm. *bajr̥* 1; Ord. *bajas-* 2; Dag. *bajir* 1, *bais(a)-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 123), *baire* 1, *baise-* 2 (MD 117, 118); Dong. *bajasu* 1, *bajasu-* 2; Bao. *bese-* 2; S.-Yugh. *bajar* 1; Mongr. *bēsə-* (SM 25) 2, *bajar* 1.

◊ KW 29, MGCD 139.

PTurk. ***bAj-ra-m/k, bAj-ga** 1 feast 2 horse-race 3 a prize in horse-race (1 праздник 2 скачки 3 приз за победу в скачках): Karakh. *baδram* (MK), *bajram* (MK Oghuz) 1; Tur. *bajram* 1; Gag. *bajram* 1; Az. *bajram* 1; Turkm. *bajram* 1, *bajraq* 3; MTurk. *bajram* (Бор. Бад.) 1, *bajɣa* 1 (P. de C.); Uzb. *bajram* 1, *pajgä* (R) 3, *bajraq* (dial., Khorazm) 3; Uygh. *bajram* 1, (dial.- Lobn.) *bajɣa* 1; Krm. *bajram* 1; Tat. *bɛjrɛm* 1, *bɛjgi* 2;

Bashk. *bajram* 1, *bäjgi* 2, 3; Kirgh. *majram* 1, *bajge* 2, 3; Kaz. *mäjram* 1, *bäjge* 2, 3, (dial.) *bajraq* 3; KBalk. *bajram* 1; KKalp. *bajram* 1, *bäjge* 2, 3, *bajraq* 3; Kum. *bajram* 1; Nogh. *bajram* 1; Khak. *paj* 1 (Sag.), *pajram* 1; Shr. *bajram* 1, *pajγa* 1 (R); Oyr. *bajram* 1.

◊ VEWT 54, 56, ЭСТЯ 2, 32, 33-34 (erroneously under **baδrak* 'flag'), 35-36, TMN 2, 384-385. Here one should reconstruct **-j-* (not **-δ-*), dissimilated before -r- according to Mudrak's rule. Formally **baj-ra-m* and **baj-ra-k* are deverbatives from a hypothetical **baj-ra-* 'to celebrate'; **baj-ga* is a denominative with a usual East.-Kypch. suffix. Menges' (1933, 101)·hypothesis of *bajga* < Russ. is quite unlikely (cf. the areal and the Chag. fixation). A rather popular theory of Iranian origin is also excluded: the only acceptable etymology of Pers. *bajram* is < Turkic (see also ЭСТЯ). Because of semantics, hardly connected with Mong. *baj* 'sign, goal, road sign'. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *bajgá* (Аникин 109).

PJpn. ***bái-m-** to smile (улыбаться): OJpn. *wem-*; MJpn. *wém-*; Tok. *em-*.

◊ Cf. also OJ *we-rak-* 'to laugh with joy' (another derivative of the same root). See JLTT 681.

‖ Turk. **bAj-ra-* = Mong. **bajar* = OJ *we-ra-* < PA **bǎja-rV-* (it is interesting to note the double suffixation in PT **bAj-ra-k* = OJ *we-ra-k-*).

***baja (~ -i̯a-)** place, to be located: Tung. ***bia, -gun**; Mong. ***baji-**.

PTung. ***bia, -gun** 1 place (in a dwelling) 2 rookery, sealery 3 earth 4 estate 5 servants (1 место (в жилище) 2 лежбище морского зверя 3 земля 4 поместье 5 слуги): Evk. *bê* 1; Evn. *bā* 2; Man. *boiχon, boiGon* 3, 4; SMan. *ɓohən, ɓohun* 3 (2112); Jurch. *boj-hu* (276) 5, *boŋ-xoŋ* 3; Ork. *bê* 1; Ud. *beä* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 78, 89. Man. > Sol. *boigō* 'estate'.

PMong. ***baji-** to stand, stay, be located (стоять, стать, находиться): MMong. *bai'ji-* (SH), *bai'i-* (HY 35), *bāi-*, *bai-* (IM), *bai-* (MA); WMong. *baji-* (L 72); Kh. *baj-*; Bur. *baj*; Kalm. *bā-*; Ord. *bā-*; Mog. *bɛi-*; ZM *ba'i-* (40-10); Dag. *bai-* (Тод. Даг. 122, MD 117); Dong. *bai-*, *vai-*; Bao. *bei-*, *vi-*; (MGCD) *va-*; S.-Yugh. *bai-*; Mongr. *bə̄-*, *wə̄-* (ŞM 23), (MGCD 138) *wai-*, *ba-ŋ* (Minghe).

◊ KW 39-40, MGCD 138.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss (cf. also notes under **bi̯ogo*).

***bǎjV** rock: Tung. ***baj-**; Mong. ***baji-ča**; Turk. ***bAji̯r**.

PTung. ***baj-** rock, cliff (скала): Evk. *bajtu*.

◊ TMC 1, 66. Attested only in Evk., but hardly borrowed from Mong.

PMong. ***baji-ča** rock (скала): WMong. *bajiča* (L 73); Kh. *bajc*; Bur. *bajsa*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *bajča* (TMC 1, 66), Russ. Siber. *bajca*, (Bur. >) *bajsanistij* (Аникин 110-111).

PTurk. ***bAji̯r** 1 hill, 2 foot-hill 3 hummock (1 холм 2 подножье горы 3 пригорок): Tur. *bajır* 1; Gag. *bajır* 'mountain'; Turkm. *bajır* 1; Krm. *bajır* 1; Khak. *pār* 2; Yak. *biar* 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 37-38, VEWT 57. The root should be distinguished from **bāgɨr* 'liver' (although there may occur secondary mergers, cf. Tat. *bawur* 'slope'). It has no relationship (suggested in ЭСТЯ) to Mong. *bajir* 'place' (derived from *baji-* 'to be' and borrowed in Uzb. *bajir* 'accustomed to local conditions', Kirgh. *bajir* 'attachment to a place', Nogh. *bajir* 'proper'); intermediate (not quite clear) cases are Chag. *bajɨr* 'plain, desert' (Pav. C.), Az. *bajɨr* 'the external part of the inhabited area as opposed to the internal part', Khal. *bajir* 'uncultivated (place)'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**bằka** to look, watch: Tung. ***baKa-**; Turk. ***bạk-**; Jpn. ***bàkàr-**; Kor. ***pò-**.

PTung. ***baKa-*** to find, obtain (находить): Evk. *baka-*; Evn. *baq-*; Neg. *baxa-*; Man. *baχa-*; SMan. *bahə-* (1562); Jurch. *baxa-biar* 'obtain' (366); Ul. *bā-*; Ork. *bā-*; Nan. *bā-*; Orch. *bā-*; Ud. *ba'-* (Корм. 210); Sol. *baxa-*.

◊ TMC 1, 66-67.

PTurk. ***bạk-*** to look, watch (смотреть): Karakh. *baq-* (MK, KB); Tur. *bak-*; Gag. *baq-*; Az. *bax-*; Turkm. *baq-*; Sal. *pax-, vax-* (ССЯ 440, 542); MTurk. *baq-* (Abush.); Uzb. *bɔq-*; Uygh. *baq-*; Krm. *baq-*; Tat. *baq-*; Bashk. *baq-*; Kirgh. *baq-* 'to look after'; Kaz. *baq-* 'to look after'; KBalk. *baq-*; KKalp. *baq-* 'to look after'; Kum. *baq-*; Nogh. *baq-* 'to graze'; Khak. pax-; Oyr. *baq-*; Tv. *baq-qɨ-la-* 'to peek, to arise'; Tof. *ba'k-*; Chuv. *pъʷx-*; Yak. *bɨk-* 'to appear, to arise'; Dolg. *bɨk-* 'to look out'.

◊ EDT 311, VEWT 58, ЭСТЯ 2, 38-40, Мудрак 99, Stachowski 70.

PJpn. ***bàkàr-*** to understand (понимать): OJpn. *wakar-*; MJpn. *wàkàr-*; Tok. *wakár-*; Kyo. *wákár-*; Kag. *wàkàr-*.

◊ JLTT 782.

PKor. ***pò-*** to see (видеть): MKor. *pò-*; Mod. *po-*.

◊ Nam 259, KED 788.

‖ The root should be distinguished from **pĕ́k'o* q.v. The etymology in SKE 204, linking the Kor. form with the Jpn. and TM accusative marker, is hardly credible. Kor. has a "verbal" low tone.

✱**bằká (~ -o)** to divide: Tung. ***baK-**; Jpn. ***bàká-**.

PTung. ***baK-*** 1 separate 2 to break, divide bread (1 отдельный 2 разламывать хлеб): Evk. *bakla* 1; Evn. *bĕ̄kъl* 1; Nan. *baqta-* 2 (dial.).

◊ TMC 1, 67. Cf. also Dolg. (< Evk.?) *baka* 'scraper to separate flesh from skin', *bakalā-* 'to separate flesh from skin' (Stachowski 51).

PJpn. ***bàká-*** to divide (делить): OJpn. *waka-*; MJpn. *wàka-*; Tok. *waké-*; Kyo. *wàkè-*; Kag. *wàkè-*.

◊ JLTT 783.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**báku (~ -a)** pole, pillar: Tung. ***baksa**; Mong. ***bagana**; Turk. ***bakna (~ -g-)**; Kor. ***pò**.

PTung. ***baksa*** prop, central pole (подпорка, центральный столб): Evk. *baksa*; Ul. *baqsa*; Nan. *baqsa*.

◊ TMC 1, 67.

PMong. ***bagana** central pole (центральный столб, колонна): WMong. *bayana* (L 68); Kh. *bagana*; Bur. *bagana*; Kalm. *baxənə*; Ord. *baGana* 'жердь для понукания животных'; Dag. *bagas*.

◊ KW 29, MGCD 132. Mong. > Chag. *bakan* etc., see ibid., VEWT 58, ЭСТЯ 2, 42-43; > Yak., Dolg. *bagana* (Stachowski 50); > Man. *baxana*, see Doerfer MT 101, Rozycki 22; Tu >. Russ. *bagan* (Аникин 106).

PTurk. ***bakna (~ -g-)** rung of a ladder, step of a staircase (ступенька лестницы): Karakh. *bayna* (MK).

◊ EDT 316.

PKor. ***pò** beam, cross-beam (балка): MKor. *pò*; Mod. *po, tɨl-bo*.

◊ Nam 259, KED 786.

‖ KW 29, Doerfer MT 101. The Turkic and Mong. words are very similar, but quite different semantically, so one can hardly suppose a loan.

***bāku (~ -k'-)** small cattle: Mong. ***bog**; Turk. ***bākana**.

PMong. ***bog** small cattle, sheep and goats (мелкий скот, овцы и козы): WMong. *boγ* (L 110); Kh. *bog*; Kalm. *bogə* (KPC).

PTurk. ***bākana** 1 sheep skin 2 lamb 3 baby (1 овечья шкура 2 ягненок 3 ребенок): Tur. *bayan* 1, (dial.) *bayalak, baynak* 1, *bayana* 3; Az. *bayana* 1; Turkm. *bayana* 1; MTurk. *bayana* 1 (R); Uzb. *bayana* 1 (Khor.); Kirgh. *bayłan, bayɨlan* 'lamb that has stopped suckling', *bayɨldɨr* 'wild lamb, 1-year-old mountain goat'; Kaz. *bayana* 2; KKalp. *baylan* 'a well-fed early lamb'.

◊ VEWT 55, Лексика 390. The Kypchak form *baylan* 'lamb' has hardly anything to do with Tat., Kaz. *baqlan* 'cormorant' (despite TMN 2, 298, Аникин 112).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Some Turkic forms meaning 'lamb, baby' may actually also continue PA **bèka* q.v. Cf. also Evk. (Titov) *baxana* 'he-goat' (< unattested Yak.?).

***bǎkV** knucklebone: Tung. ***baK-**; Mong. ***bagul- / *bugul-**; Turk. ***bakań**.

PTung. ***baK-** 1 muscles of thigh 2 knucklebone (of a horse); fetlock (1 мышцы бедра 2 бабки (лошади); щетки): Man. *baqalaži* 2; Nan. *bagdixī* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 62, 67.

PMong. ***bagul- / *bugul-** shoulder, shoulder bone (плечо, плечевая кость): WMong. *buγulaγ, buγuluγ* (L 131); Kh. *bugalag*; Bur. *bagalsag, bagansag* 'arm muscles'; Kalm. *bayltsəG* 'wrist joint; wrist'; Dag. *boGolžār* 'wrist, carpus' (Поп. Дар. 71); Mongr. *baGūr* (SM 19: *baGūr*) 'bracelet'; *baGūr yäse* 'metacarpus', *baGarźiaG* 'tibia', *narin baGarźiaG* 'radius'.

◊ KW 28, Дыбо 227. On Turkic loans see KW 28.

PTurk. ***bakań** 1 hoof 2 knucklebone 3 joints in animals' feet (1 копыто 2 бабка 3 суставы в ногах животных): OTurk. *baqanaq* 1

(OUygh.); Karakh. *baqanaq, baqajaq* 1 (MK); Tur. *bakanak, bakɨnak* 1, 2 (dial.); Az. *bayanay, bayančay* 3 (dial.); Uygh. *baqalčäq* 'shinbone'; Tat. *bɛkɛl* 2; Bashk. *bäqäl* 3; Kirgh. *baqaj* 3; Kaz. *baqaj* 3; Nogh. *baqaj* 3; Khak. *payajax, maxajax* 2; Tof. *mahniq* 'metatarsus' (ФиЛ 205).

◊ VEWT 58, EDT 316-317, ЭСТЯ 2, 43-44, Дыбо 310, Лексика 286-287.

‖ Дыбо 310; Лексика 287. A Western isogloss.

✱**bàkʿa (~ -k-)** to slide, sweep: Tung. ***bāKa- / *bāKu-**; Jpn. ***pàk-**.

PTung. ***bāKa- / *bāKu-** to slide (скользить, соскальзывать): Evk. *bākerō-*; Evn. *baqṵrkịn-*; Neg. *baxụkịn-*; Ul. *baụrsụ-*; Ork. *baụr-*.

◊ TMC 1, 68.

PJpn. ***pàk-** to sweep (мести, подметать): OJpn. *pak-*; MJpn. *fâk-*; Tok. *hák-*; Kyo. *hák-*; Kag. *hàk-*.

◊ JLTT 684.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**bàkʿù** a sharp instrument: Tung. ***bāgba**; Mong. ***baki**; Turk. ***bokursɨ**; Jpn. ***pukusi**.

PTung. ***bāgba** 1 stake, bar, spear 2 to delve with a stake, spear 3 to hit (with a stake, stick) (1 пешня, лом, копье 2 долбить пешней, копьем 3 бить (палкой или другим твердым предметом)): Evn. *bayṵḍ-* 3; Neg. *bābga* 1; Man. *bo-* 2, *bon* 1; Ul. *baGba* 1; Ork. *bābGa ~ bāGba* 1; Nan. *baGba* 1; Ud. *bagba-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 61-62.

PMong. ***baki** tongs (щипцы): WMong. *baki*; Kh. *baǵ*; Bur. *baxinsag* 'багор'; Kalm. *bakə*.

◊ KW 29.

PTurk. ***bokursɨ** wooden plough, ploughshare (деревянный плуг, соха): OTurk. *boqursɨ* (OUygh: YB); Karakh. *boqursɨ* (MK); Uygh. *boqusa, buqusa* (Jarr.); Kirgh. *būrsun*.

◊ EDT 319. Voicing *-k- > -g- > -0- in Kirgh. is unclear. Molnar's (Molnár 2001) etymology < Sanskr. *vi-karṣati* presupposes an unattested derivative and is generally quite dubious.

PJpn. ***pukusi** digging stick (палка-копалка): OJpn. *pukusi*.

◊ JLTT 417.

‖ PT **bokursɨ* probably < **bakursɨ* (with a vowel narrowing in the first syllable of a trisyllabic word); PTM **bāgba* < **bāk-ba* through assimilation. Note a remarkable similarity of the Turkic and Japanese derivation. Cf. other similar roots: **pʿi̯ùjge, *pokʿe, *pʿùge, *pʿago*.

✱**bāla** child, young: Tung. ***baldi-**; Mong. ***balčir**; Turk. ***bāla, *bāldɨŕ**; Jpn. ***bàràpa(i)**.

PTung. ***baldi-** to bear, be born (рождать(ся)): Evk. *baldi-*; Evn. *baldṵ-*; Neg. *baldị-*; Man. *banǰi-*; SMan. *banǰi-, banǰə-* (694, 2146); Jurch.

boldi-xaj (388); Ul. *baldị-*; Ork. *balǯị-*; Nan. *balǯị-*; Orch. *bāgdi-*; Ud. *bagdi-*; Sol. *baldi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 69-70. Man. *banǯibu-* 'to compile, write' > Dag. *banǯibū-* (Тод. Даг. 124). Cf. also Orok *balaŋga* 'young of seal' (ibid.) - perhaps preserving the original root without the dental suffix.

PMong. ***balčir** very young, infant (малолетний): WMong. *balčir* (L 80); Kh. *balčir*; Bur. *balšar*; Kalm. *balčṛ*.

◊ KW 32. Cf. also S.-Yugh. *bala* 'egg' - an isolated form and hardly archaic (< Turk. *bala* 'child'?).

PTurk. ***bāla, *bāl-diŕ, *bāla-pan** 1 young animal, nestling, 2 child 3 a man's wife's younger sister 4 younger relative (1 молодое животное, птенец, 2 ребенок 3 младшая сестра жены 4 младший родственник): OTurk. *baldiz* (OUygh.) 3; Karakh. *bala* 1 (MK), *baldiz* 3 (MK); *baldir* 'step-son, step-daughter' (MK); Tur. *bala* 1, 2, *baldiz* 3, *balaban* 'falcon' (dial.); Gag. *baldısqa* 3; Az. *bala, balaG* 1, 2, *baldiz* 3; Turkm. *bāla* 1, 2, *bāldiz* 3; Sal. *bala* 1, 2; Khal. *bala* 2; MTurk. *bala* 1, 2 (Abush., Бор. Бад.), *baldiz* 3 (P. de C.); Uzb. *bɔla* 1, 2, *bɔldiz* 3, *palapan* 1 (dial.); Uygh. *bala* 1, 2; Krm. *bala* 2, *baldiz* 3; Tat. *bala* 1, 2, *baldiz* 3; Bashk. *bala* 2, *baldiδ* 3; *belekej* 'small'; Kirgh. *bala* 2; Kaz. *bala* 2, *baldiz* 3, *balapan* 1 (R); KBalk. *bala* 2; KKalp. *bala* 2, *baldiz* 3; Kum. *bala* 1, 2; Nogh. *bala* 2, *baldiz* 3; SUygh. *mila, mle* 2; Khak. *pala* 2, *pasti* 3; Shr. *pala* 2, *pasti* 3; Oyr. *bala* 1, 2, *passi* 3 (Tel., R); Chuv. *poldъr* 3, 4 (Aš. IX 282); Yak. *balıs* 3, 4; Dolg. *balıs* 3, 4.

◊ EDT 332, 334, VEWT 59, 60, ЭСТЯ 2, 47-50, 53-54, Лексика 71, 306-307, 312, Stachowski 51, 52. Turk. > Kalm. *baldṛ* (KW 30). Khak. *pasti* < **bazli* < **balzi* with metathesis.

PJpn. ***bàràpa(i)** child (ребенок): OJpn. *warapa*; MJpn. *wàràfà, wàràfè*; Tok. *wárabe*; Kyo. *wáràbè*; Kag. *warabé*.

◊ JLTT 568. The Tokyo accent points to a variant **bàràpá(i)*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 289. Jpn. low tone (or Turkic length) is irregular. The Western languages all reflect a common derivative **bāl(a)-tV*.

***balu** sable: Tung. ***bali-**; Mong. ***bulagan**; Jpn. ***puruki**.

PTung. ***bali-** sable (one year old) (соболь (одноосенний)): Evk. *balini*.

◊ TMC 1, 71.

PMong. ***bulagan** sable, game (соболь, дичь): MMong. *buluxan* (HY 10), *buluqan* (SH), *bul(u)ɣan* (MA); WMong. *bulaɣan* (L 133), *buliɣa*; Kh. *bulga(n)*; Bur. *bulgan*; Kalm. *bulɣən*; Ord. *bulaGa*; Dag. *balag*, (Тод. Даг. 124) *balga*; S.-Yugh. *bulaGan*; Mongr. *bulGa*.

◊ KW 60, MGCD 168. Mong. > Chag. *bulɣan*, see TMN 1, 215.

PJpn. ***puruki** a k. of sable (вид соболя): MJpn. *furuki*.

‖ Ozawa 314-315. Despite obvious similarity, the etymology raises some problems. The MJpn. *furuki* is said to be an animal breeding in Korea, but no Korean match is available. R. A. Miller's hypothesis that *furuki* was borrowed from Mongolian, seems rather far-fetched (no

early Mong.-Jpn. contacts have been noticed so far), so we prefer to regard the word as genuine until some further evidence becomes available. Rather complicated is the attribution of PT **albuga* (VEWT 16): Khak. *albɨγa* 'sable', Oyr. *albaγa* 'sable; game' (Леб. Баск. 137). Cf. also *alda* 'game' (Туба Баск. 101, Яимова 109-110 *albaga, albaa, alabuga* (= "perch"). This may be al (al perü 'wild wolf') + *bulgan, bulɨq* 'sable' (< Mong.; see Потанин 1881, Очерки Северозападной Монголии, p. 139), see ibid. *aldɨq* 'sable'. The word is obviously tabooistic and folk-etymologically analysed as "red ox", but may also be a distortion of the original **baluga* (cf. the external evidence). On the other hand, one may note the resemblance of the Turkic word with Mong. *elbeŋkü* 'racoon', see KW 207 (> Evk. *elbiγe, elbiŋē*, Man. *elbixe*, TMC 2, 445).

✱**bǎlu** early, ancient: Tung. ***bala-**; Turk. ***baldɨr**; Jpn. ***pùrù-**.

PTung. ***bala-** ancient, earlier (давно, прежде): Ul. *balana*; Ork. *balana*; Nan. *balana*.

◊ TMC 1, 68-69.

PTurk. ***baldɨr** beginning of the spring season, lambing season (начало весеннего сезона, сезона рождения ягнят): Karakh. *baldɨr* (MK); Uygh. *baldi(r)* (dial.: УДС 23) 'last year'.

◊ The root tends to mix with **bildur* 'last year', but is explicitly distinguished by MK (as *baldɨr* vs. *bildir*).

PJpn. ***pùrù-** old (старый): OJpn. *puru-*; MJpn. *fùrù-*; Tok. *furú-*; Kyo. *fúrù-*; Kag. *furú-*.

◊ JLTT 828.

‖ Лексика 72 (but the Turkic root should be divided and Mong. **boli-* attributed rather to **pŭ́lo* 'old, ancient - although the two roots may have converged in Mong.).

✱**bǎŋkʻi** to kick: Tung. ***baŋ-sala-**; Turk. ***böŋk-**.

PTung. ***baŋ-sala-** to kick (пинать, брыкаться): Man. *bašila-*; Ul. *basala-*; Ork. *basala-*; Nan. *baŋsala-*; Orch. *baŋsala-*; Ud. *baŋčala-*.

◊ TMC 1, 72.

PTurk. ***böŋk-** to kick, buck (пинать, брыкаться): Karakh. *möŋ-* (MK); Uygh. *möŋ-*, *möŋkü-*; Kirgh. *möŋkü-*; Kaz. *möŋki-*; Khak. *mükü-*; Oyr. *mökü-*; Tv. *mög-*; Tof. *möŋ-* (Рас. Фил 207); Yak. *möx-*.

◊ EDT 767, VEWT 342, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ An expressive Turk.-Tung. isogloss, with secondary vowel labialization in Turkic.

✱**bára** goods, to possess, earn: Tung. ***bara-***; Mong. ***bari-***; Turk. ***bār***; Kor. ***pər-***.

PTung. ***bara-*** 1 many 2 to increase 3 capacious (1 много 2 увеличиваться, возрастать 3 емкий, просторный): Evk. *bara-ma* 1, *bara-l-* 2; Evn. *baran* 3; Neg. *baja* 1; Man. *baran* 1; Ork. *bara* 1; Sol. *barā* 1.

◊ Some forms may be borrowed from Mong. (cf. Bur. *baran*; note, however, that the word is attested only in Buryat and probably borrowed < Turk., while the TM forms are very widely spread; Dag. *barān* certainly < TM, see Тод. Дar. 124), but the root is still probably genuine. See TMC 1, 73.

PMong. ***bari-*** to take, hold (брать (руками), хватать): MMong. *bari-* (HY 33, SH), *bāri-* (IM), *bari-* (MA); WMong. *bari-* (L 85); Kh. *bari-*; Bur. *bari-*; Kalm. *bär-*, *bä́r-*; Ord. *bari-*; Mog. *bari-*; ZM *bari-* (24-7b); Dag. *bari-* (Тод. Дar. 125, MD 119); Dong. *bari-*; Bao. *vār(ə)-*; S.-Yugh. *bar-*; Mongr. *bari-*, *wari-* (SM 22, 481).

◊ KW 38, TMN 1, 198, MGCD 143.

PTurk. ***bār*** 1 there is, there are 2 existence, goods 3 all (1 есть, имеется 2 весь, все): OTurk. *bar* 1, 2 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.), *barča* 3; Karakh. *bar* 1, 2, *barča* 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *var* 1, 2; Gag. *var* 1, 2; Az. *var* 1, 2; Turkm. *bār* 1, 3; *barča* 3; Sal. *bār*, *par*, *vār* 1, *bar*, *par* 'rich' (ССЯ); Khal. *vār* 1, 2; MTurk. *bar* 1, 2, 3, *barča* 3; Uzb. *bɔr* 1, 2, *bɔriča* 3; Uygh. *ba(r)* 1, 2, 3, *baričä* 3; Krm. *bar* 1, 2, 3, *barca*, *barča* 3; Tat. *bar* 1, 2, 3, *barča* 3, *barsı* 3; Bashk. *bar* 1, 'rich', *barı* 3; Kirgh. *bar* 1, 'rich', *barča* 3; Kaz. *bar* 1; KBalk. *bar* 1, 'rich', *barı* 3; KKalp. *bar* 1, 2, *barša* 3; Kum. *bar* 1, 3, 'rich', *barı* 3; Nogh. *bar* 1, 2, 3; SUygh. *par* 1; Khak. *par* 1, 2, *parčan* 3; Oyr. *bar* 1, 2, 3; Tv. *bar* 1, *barı* 2; Tof. *bar* 1; Chuv. *por* 1, 'any', 3, 'rich', *porəš* 3; Yak. *bār* 1, 2, *bar(ı)* 3; Dolg. *bār* 1, 2, *bar(ı)* 3.

◊ VEWT 62, EDT 353, 356-7, ЭСТЯ 2, 61-63, Лексика 326-327, 332-333, Федотов 1, 444-445, Stachowski 52, 53, 56. Syntactically it is an abstract noun frequently acting as a predicate.

PKor. ***pər-*** to earn (зарабатывать): Mod. *pʌ̄l-*.

◊ KED 765.

‖ KW 38, VEWT 62, TMC 1,73, АПиПЯЯ 287, Лексика 326-327; ОСНЯ 1, 175, 176. Doerfer (MT 239) tries to argue ("Die Quantitätsverhältnisse weichen ganz ab"), but the phonetic match is quite regular (Turk. long : TM short).

✱**bàrì** right, straight, direct: Tung. ***bāru***; Mong. ***barayun***; Turk. ***bEr-***; Jpn. ***pìtà***; Kor. ***pàrə̀-***.

PTung. ***bāru*** in the direction of (postpos.) (по направлению к (послелог)): Man. *baru*; Ul. *bā- / bē-*; Ork. *bāru-*; Nan. *bāro-*; Orch. *bai-ti*.

◊ See TMC 1, 75.

PMong. ***barayun*** righthand side; West (правая сторона; запад): MMong. *bara'un* (HY 50, SH), *barān* (IM), *bărawun* (MA); WMong. *barayun* (L 84); Kh. *barūn*; Bur. *barūn*; Kalm. *barūn*; Ord. *barūn*; Mog. ZM

baranɣ̄l (7-1a); Dag. *baran* (Тод. Дар. 124), *baren* (MD 119); Dong. *borun*; S.-Yugh. *barūn*; Mongr. *baroŋ*, *waroŋ* (SM 22, 482) (MGCD *waraŋ*).

◊ KW 35, MGCD 145. MMong. *baranqar* > Chag. *buranɣar* 'right wing (of an army)', see Щербак 1997, 200. Mong. > Evk. *baron*, see Doerfer MT 126, Rozycki 25.

PTurk. ***bEr-*** 1 southern, right 2 to the South, to the right (1 южный, правый 2 к югу, направо): OTurk. *ber-din* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.), *beri-je* 2, *ber-gärü* 2 (Orkh.).

◊ EDT 359,364, 370. The forms *ber-din* (*abl.*), *ber-ije* (adv.), *ber-gerü* (*dir.*) - from a spatial noun **ber*. The usually related *berü* 'this side, here' etc. (EDT 355, ЭСТЯ II 124-125) should be rather kept apart. It is unclear morphologically (*bērü* < *ber-rü* seems to be a unique development) and may be derived from the demonstrative *bu* 'this', just like *naru*, *aŋaru*, *onaru* 'that side, there' is derived from the demonstrative stem *an-* 'that' (see Brockelmann 1954, 134).

PJpn. ***pìtà*** direct, straight (прямой): OJpn. *pjita*; MJpn. *fitò*; Tok. *hita-to* 'directly, closely'.

◊ JLTT 409.

PKor. ***pàrə̀-*** direct, straight; right (прямой; правильный): MKor. *pàrə̀-*; Mod. *parɨ-*.

◊ Nam 238, KED 706.

‖ EAS 57, SKE 191, Poppe 21. "Verbal" low tone in Korean. Doerfer (TMN 1, 207) attempts to dismantle Ramstedt's comparison (Tung.-Kor.-Mong.) by preferring Ramstedt's own earlier (KW 35) derivation of Mong. baraɣun 'right; West' < *bara-* 'to end' - which is evidently much weaker semantically.

✱**bàri** a k. of cloth: Tung. ***bārga-***; Mong. ***baraɣa***; Turk. ***bẹr***; Kor. ***pār***.

PTung. ***bārga-*** to clothe, put on (одевать(ся)): Ul. *bargaǯi-*; Ork. *baGdụxị-*; Nan. *bāraǯiGo-*, *bārolị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 73.

PMong. ***baraɣa*** cloth (ткань): WMong. *baraɣa* (L 82); Kh. *barā*; Bur. *barān*; Kalm. *barān*.

◊ KW 33.

PTurk. ***bẹr*** 1 tunic 2 cloth, linen (1 жакет 2 ткань): Karakh. *ber-tü* 'a tunic', *bertü-le-n-* 'to wear a tunic'; Chuv. *pir* 2.

◊ EDT 358, 359 (MK), VEWT 71.

PKor. ***pār*** curtain (занавес): MKor. *pār*; Mod. *pāl*.

◊ Nam 245, KED 723.

‖ Mongolian and TM reflect a suffixed form **bàri-ga*.

✱**bāŕa (~ -o)** to rejoice, be proud: Tung. ***bāra-či-***; Mong. ***bar-da-***; Turk. ***bAŕ-***; Jpn. ***báráp-***.

PTung. ***bāra-či-*** to rejoice (радоваться): Ul. *bārači-*; Nan. *bārāčị-*; Orch. *bārači-*.

◊ TMC 1, 73.

PMong. ***bar-da-** to be proud, to boast (гордиться, хвастаться): WMong. *barda-*; Kh. *barda-*; Bur. *bardam* '1 чванство, кичливость, 2 гордец'; Kalm. *bardṃ*; Ord. *barda-*; Dag. *bardan* (n.) (Тод. Даг. 124); S.-Yugh. *bardam* (n.); Mongr. *bārda-* (*bardoŋ* (SM 21), *pardaŋ* 'fanfaron, présomptueux' (SM 302)).

◊ KW 34, MGCD 143.

PTurk. ***bAŕ-** to hazard, make a decision (осмеливаться, решаться): Uzb. *baz-* (Sart., R); Tat. *baz-*; Bashk. *baδɨ-*; Kaz. *baz-*; KBalk. *baz-*; KKalp. *baz-n-a* 'панибратство'; Kum. *baz-*; Nogh. *baz-n-a batuv* (gerund from a refl. form); Yak. *bahɨ-rɨ-j-* 'to speek in an excessively loud and excited manner (expr.)' (?).

◊ VEWT 66.

PJpn. ***báráp-** to laugh (смеяться): OJpn. *warap-*; MJpn. *wáráf-*; Tok. *wàra-*; Kyo. *wárá-*; Kag. *warά-*.

◊ JLTT 783.

‖ Not quite secure, because of tone incongruence. Jpn. could have merged the roots **bāŕa* 'rejoice' and **běŕa* 'peace'.

***bǎŕ[i]** wide, thick: Tung. ***baru-n**; Mong. ***bar-**; Turk. ***bAŕɨk**; Jpn. ***pìrə̀-**; Kor. ***pǎr**.

PTung. ***baru-n** 1 thick 2 round, full (1 толстый 2 круглый, полный): Evn. *barụ-n* 1; Man. *barun* 2; Nan. *barõ* (Kur-Urm.) 2; Orch. *bau(n)* 1; Ud. *bau* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 76.

PMong. ***bar-** broad and thick (of a beard), coarse (of textiles) (толстый, взлохмаченный о ткани, бороде, (редко) в названиях чего-л. округлого, большой палец (дет.)): WMong. *barbaji-* (L 84); Kh. *barvaj-*; Bur. *barba-*; Kalm. *bar-də-γər*, *barwə̃-*.

◊ KW 34, 35.

PTurk. ***bAŕɨk** 1 thick, stout 2 a stubby man (1 толстый, дюжий 2 коренастый человек): MTurk. *bazuq* (OKypch., AH, CCum.) 2; Krm. *bazɨq/x* (H,Q,T) 1, 2; Tat. *bazɨq* 2; Bashk. *baδɨq* 1; KBalk. *bazɨq* 1; Kum. *bazɨq* 1.

◊ VEWT 66. The word is exclusively Kypchak (probably also borrowed in Chuv. *pɨzɨk* id.), but is apparently archaic.

PJpn. ***pìrə̀-** 1 wide 2 fathom (1 широкий 2 сажень): OJpn. *pjiro-* 1, *p(j)iro* 2; MJpn. *firò-* 1, *firò* 2; Tok. *hiró-* 1, *hiro* 2; Kyo. *hírò-* 1; Kag. *hiró-* 1.

◊ JLTT 408, 828.

PKor. ***pǎr** fathom (сажень): MKor. *pǎr*; Mod. *pāl*.

◊ Nam 246, KED 723. The modern form reflex a merger with MKor. *pār* 'armful' (v. sub **p'ǎĺŋa*).

‖ Whitman 1985, 193, 210 (Kor.-Jpn.). The vowel reflex in Korean is irregular, which leaves a possibility of Kor. **pǎr* and Jpn. **pìrə* 'fathom' going back to a different root (reconstructable as **Piari* or **Piali*); the

coincidence of **pìrə* 'fathom' and **pìrə-* 'wide, broad' in Jpn. must be in that case secondary.

***baŕV** opposite, inimical: Tung. ***bargi-**; Mong. ***bar-lug**; Turk. ***bAŕ**.

PTung. ***bargi-** 1 opposite 2 enemy, inimical (1 противоположный 2 враг, противник, враждебный): Evk. *bargī* 1, *bargūk* 2; Evn. *bargъ̨ʲ* 1, *bargъ̨q* 2; Neg. *bajgi-* 1, *bajgun* 2; Man. *baǯi-la* 1, *baqčin* 1, 2; Jurch. *bai-ǯu-mij dī-* 'to be inimical' (797); Ul. *baǯi* 1, *baǯu(n)* 2; Ork. *baǯǯə̂* 1; Nan. *bajGi* 1, *bajGō(n)* 2; Orch. *baggi-* 1, *baǯuɣi* 2; Ud. *bagä* 1, *bagia* 2; Sol. *bargī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 73-75.

PMong. ***bar-lug** servant, slave (слуга, раб): WMong. *barluɣ* (L 88); Kh. *barlag*.

◊ Mong. > Russ. бурлак (?).

PTurk. ***bAŕ** stranger, foreign (чужак, иностранец): Karakh. *baz* (MK, KB); Krm. *bazı* 'some, someone'.

◊ EDT 388.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***básІ** payment, loan: Tung. ***basa-**; Turk. ***basıg**; Jpn. ***písák-**; Kor. ***pskūi'í-, pskú-**.

PTung. ***basa-** payment (плата): Man. *basa, base*.

◊ TMC 1, 76. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***bas-ıg** 1 a k. of tax 2 a coin (1 вид подати, налога 2 монета): OTurk. *basıɣ* (OUygh.) 1; Tat. *bas*, pas, *bās* 'price', *pas-lı* 'valued, expensive' (Sib., KCTT 108, 177); Chuv. *pus* 2.

◊ EDT 373, Ашм. X, 4-5, Федотов 1, 449-450. The OT form is usually regarded as derived from **bas-* 'to press' (v. sub **pȁsi*), but external evidence suggests that this is one of the numerous inner Turkic folk-etymological reinterpretations. Chuv. *pus* "copec" needs some additional comments. According to Егоров 166 it can either be derived from *pus-* 'break' < Turk. **bas-*, or be borrowed from Pers. *pōst* "skin" > Tur. *post*, Uzb. *pust* 'id.' (Turkic forms see in VEWT 386). The latter hypothesis is rather improbable because the form means 'coin' only in Chuv., and because this borrowing is absent in other languages of the Volga region. VEWT 387 suggests Chuv. *pus* < Mari *puš* 'debt, tax' < *pu-* 'give'. The word is absent from the Mari dictionary, one only finds *puišaš* 'arrears'; cf., on the other hand, Udm. *pus* 'sign, subscription' < Chuv. *puzə* id. < *pus-* 'to press'. This etymology is, therefore, equally dubious, and our equation of Chuv. *pus* = OT *basıɣ* seems preferable.

PJpn. ***písák-** to sell, barter (продавать, торговать): MJpn. *fisák-*; Tok. *hisag-*.

◊ JLTT 690.

PKor. ***pskūi'í-, pskú-** to loan, borrow (одалживать, брать в долг): MKor. *pskūi'í-, pskú-*; Mod. *k:ui-, k:u-*.

◊ Nam 62, KED 197, 206.

‖ TMC 1, 76 (TM-Turk.). Korean has a usual vowel loss between a stop and a fricative (**psku-* < **pis(i)-ku* or **pəs(i)-ku*). Note the velar suffixation in Turkic, Korean and Jpn.

✱**bašo** to run, drive: Tung. ***baša-**; Mong. ***bisi-ɣu, *busi-ɣu**; Jpn. ***basi-r-**.

PTung. ***baša-** to drive, urge (гнать, погонять): Man. *baša-*.

◊ TMC 1, 78. Attested only in Manchu, but having reliable external parallels.

PMong. ***bisi-ɣu, *busi-ɣu** 1 quick, swift 2 to run away (of horses) (1 быстрый, ловкий 2 убегать (о лошадях)): MMong. *biši'un* 'fair, smart' (38 HY); *bišun* (MA); WMong. *bisiɣu, bušiɣu* 1 (L 106, 140), *busqu-* 2; Kh. *bušū* 1, *busga-* 2; Bur. *bušū* 1; Kalm. *bušū* 1; Ord. *bušū* 1.

◊ KW 63. Mong. > Kirgh. *bosqïn* 'flight'.

PJpn. ***basi-r-** to run, hurry (бежать, спешить): MJpn. *wasir-*.

‖ Cf. **p'às[a]*.

✱**bə̀tò** a k. of plant (for making ropes): Tung. ***batu-kin**; Turk. ***buta-**; Jpn. ***bàtà**.

PTung. ***batu-kin** rope (made of bark) (веревка (из коры)): Neg. *batuxïn*; Ul. *batuxun*; Nan. *bartoxī*; Orch. *bātuxā*; Ud. *batixi*.

◊ TMC 1, 77.

PTurk. ***buta-** 1 основные нитки 2 bast, bass (for ropes) (1 основные нитки 2 лыко, мочало (для веревок)): Karakh. *butar* (MK) 1 (Clauson's 'papyrus reed' is hardly correct; one should rather translate it as 'warp of cotton cloth'); Chuv. *pъʷdъʷr* 2.

◊ EDT 307. Cf. also (ДТС 89) *batatu* 'cotton yarn', in a medical text.

PJpn. ***bàtà** cotton (хлопок): OJpn. *wata*; MJpn. *wàtà*; Tok. *watá*; Kyo. *wátà*; Kag. *watá*.

◊ JLTT 569.

‖ The root evidently denoted some k. of plant used for making ropes or yarn. Note however that the Turkic reflex is poorly attested and not quite reliable; in PTM a reconstruction **bartu-kin* is also possible (and perhaps preferable). The PA form should thus perhaps be changed to **bə̀rtò* - a Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**bə̀t'í** dirt: Tung. ***batu-n**; Mong. ***bat-ga**; Turk. ***bat-**; Jpn. ***pìntì**; Kor. ***ptə́i**.

PTung. ***batu-n** frozen soil (мерзлота, мерзлая почва): Evk. *batun*; Evn. *batṵn*; Man. *batun*; Ul. *bātu(n)*; Nan. *batō*.

◊ TMC 1, 77.

PMong. ***bat-ga** 1 dirt, sweat 2 to perspire (1 грязь, пот 2 потеть): WMong. *bataɣa, batɣa* 1; *badqu-* 2 (L 67); Kh. *batxa*; Bur. *badxa*; Kalm. *batəɣə, batxə*.

◊ KW 36. Mong. > Oyr. *patqa* etc.

PTurk. ***bat-gak** swamp, marsh (болото): OTurk. *batïɣ-* (in *batïɣ-daqï* 'swamp-living' (of dragons)) (OUygh.); Karakh. *batïɣ* (MK, KB); Tur.

batak; Gag. *bataq*; Az. *bataG*; Turkm. *batGa*; Khal. *bat-laq* 'Lehm, Morast'; MTurk. *batγaq* (San.); Uzb. *bɔtqɔq*; Uygh. *patqaq*; Krm. *bataq*; Tat. *bat-qaq* (dial.); Bashk. *batqaq*; Kirgh. *batqaq*; Kaz. *batpaq*; (dial.) bat 'sediment in water'; KBalk. *batmaq, batxaq*; KKalp. *batpaq*; Kum. *batmaq*; Nogh. *batpaq*; Khak. *patɨγ* 'marshy, marsh'; Chuv. *put-kax, put-lъx*.

◊ EDT 301, ЭСТЯ II 79, 80, VEWT 65, Егоров 169, Ашм. X 42, 48. Traditionally analysed as derivatives from **bat-* 'to sink'; the derivational suffixes may be indeed both deverbative and denominative. But the external cognates are tempting.

PJpn. ***pìntì** dirt (грязь): OJpn. *pjidi*; MJpn. *ɸidì*; Tok. *hiji*.

◊ JLTT 412.

PKor. ***ptə́i** dirt (грязь): MKor. *ptə́i*; Mod. *t:ä*.

◊ Nam 147, KED 419.

‖ Whitman 1985, 141, 181, 213. Korean has a usual reduction: **ptə́i* < **pitə́i*.

***bə̀ʒá** early: Tung. ***baʒi-**; Turk. ***bAja**; Jpn. ***pàjá-**.

PTung. ***baʒi-** early (рано): Evk. *baʒi-kir*; Evn. *baʒ*; Neg. *baʒiŋ*; Orch. *bāʒika*; Ud. *baʒi*.

◊ TMC 1, 64.

PTurk. ***bAja** recently (недавно): OTurk. *baja, baja-qɨ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *baja* (MK); Tur. *baja, bajak*; Az. *bajaG*; Turkm. *bajaq, baja-qɨ*; Khal. *bajaq* < Az.; MTurk. *baja* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bɔja*; Uygh. *baja*; Krm. *baja-γɨ, baja-qɨ*; Tat. *baja*; Bashk. *baja*; Kirgh. *baja*; Kaz. *baja-γɨ*; KKalp. *baja-γɨ*; Kum. *baja-γɨ*; Nogh. *baja-γɨ*; SUygh. *pija*; Khak. *paja*; Shr. *paja*; Oyr. *baja*; Tv. *bije*; Chuv. *paźъr*.

◊ EDT 384, 385, VEWT 56, ЭСТЯ 2, 30-32, Лексика 83. The Chuvash form is difficult.

PJpn. ***pàjá-** early, swift (ранний, быстрый): OJpn. *paja* (n), *paja-* (adj.); MJpn. *ɸàjá* (n), *ɸàjà- / ɸájá-* (adj.); Tok. *háya* (n.), *hayá-* (adj.); Kyo. *hàyá* (n.), *háyà-* (adj.); Kag. *hayá* (n.), *hayá-* (adj.).

◊ JLTT 402, 827. A rare case of the structure CV̀CV́ in an adjective, preserved under the influence of the noun. Already in RJ a variant *pàjà-* is witnessed, and modern dialects reflect only the latter in the adjectival form.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 77, Дыбо 11, Лексика 83-84. PJ has an irregular devoicing here (or should one think about a secondary assimilative voicing **baʒi* < **paʒi* in PTM? In that case PA **pàʒa* should be reconstructed).

***bə́** bait: Tung. ***be**; Turk. ***beŋ**; Jpn. ***bái (~ biá)**.

PTung. ***be** bait (приманка, наживка): Evk. *be*; Evn. *bē*; Neg. *beγewun*; Man. *be*; Ul. *bei*; Ork. *bē-ni*; Nan. *bē*; Orch. *be-ppe, be-meike*; Ud. *be-kpe*.

◊ TMC 1, 117-118.

PTurk. ***beŋ** bait, bird-seed (приманка, корм для птиц): OTurk. *meŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *meŋ* (MK, KB); Tur. *ben, beŋ* (dial.); Turkm. *meŋ*; MTurk. *meŋ* (MA); Yak. *meŋiä* < **meŋ-eg* (Dimin.); Dolg. *meŋe*.

◊ VEWT 334, EDT 766, Stachowski 178. Turk. > WMong. *meŋ*, see KW 261.

PJpn. ***bai (~ bia)*** bait (приманка, наживка): OJpn. *we*; Tok. *é*; Kyo. *ê*; Kag. *è*.

◊ JLTT 392. Accent reconstruction is not quite clear.

‖ Miller 1985a, 78. An interesting monosyllabic root (TM evidence indicates that Turk. -ŋ is suffixed).

bĕdù** thick, large: Tung. ***burgu-; Mong. ***bediɣün, *büdüɣün***; Turk. ***bEdü-k***; Jpn. ****pùtuà-***; Kor. ****pìrɨ̀-***.

PTung. ***burgu-*** fat, thick (толстый, жирный): Evk. *burgu*; Evn. *bergъ*; Neg. *bojgo*; Ul. *boǯo(n)*; Ork. *boddo(n)*; Nan. *bujgu*; Orch. *boggo*; Ud. *bogo*; Sol. *burgu*.

◊ TMC 1, 112.

PMong. ***bediɣün, *büdüɣün*** thick (толстый): MMong. *bid[o]n* (IM), *bidun* (MA); WMong. *büdügün, bidügün* (L 144); Kh. *büdűn*; Bur. *büdűn*; Kalm. *büdűn, bödűn*; Ord. *büdűn, bidűn*; Mog. *beidűn*; ZM *beidun* (18-3a); Dag. *budūn* (Тод. Дат. 128), *budun* (MD 126); Dong. *biedun*; Bao. *beidoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *budűn*; Mongr. *budin* (SM 31), *bidun* (Huzu).

◊ KW 66, MGCD 173. The South.-Mong. (Dong., Bao.), as well as Mog. *beidűn* (ZM *beidun*) and the Manchu loanword *bedun* (see TMN 1, 234) indicate that the original vowel was *e (**bedi-ɣün*), with subsequent assimilation in most dialects. Mong. > Yak. *bödöŋ* 'high'.

PTurk. ***bEdü-k*** 1 big 2 high (1 большой, крупный 2 высокий): OTurk. *bedük* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *beδük* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *büjük* 1; Gag. *bűk* 1; Az. *böjük* 1; Turkm. *bejik* 2; Khal. *bidik/büdük* 1; MTurk. *bejik* 1, 2 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bujuk* 1, 2; Uygh. *büjük* 1, 2; Krm. *büjűḱ* 1; Tat. *bijek* 2; Bashk. *bejek* 1; Kirgh. *bijik* 1; Kaz. *bijik* 1; KBalk. *mijik* 1; KKalp. *bijik* 1; Kum. *bijik* 2; Nogh. *bijik* 1; SUygh. *bezik* 1; Khak. *pözək* 1, 2; Shr. *mözük* 2; Oyr. *bijik* 2; Tv. *bedik* 2; Tof. *bedik* 2.

◊ VEWT 67, EDT 299-301, ЭСТЯ 2, 288-290. PT **bEdü-k* 'big, high' is derived from **bEdü-* 'to become bigger, grow' (OT *bedü-*, Tur. *büjü-*, SUygh. *pezi-*, Az. *böjü-*, Khal. *bidi-*, Tuva *bedi-*, Gag. *bű-*, Karaim *büjü-*).

PJpn. ****pùtuà-*** 1 thick 2 big (1 толстый 2 большой): OJpn. *putwo-* 1; MJpn. *fùtò-* 1; Tok. *futó-* 1; Kyo. *fúto-* 2; Kag. *futŏ-* 2.

◊ JLTT 829.

PKor. ****pìrɨ̀-*** thick, satiated (толстый, сытый): MKor. *pìrɨ̀-*; Mod. *puri-*.

◊ Nam 270, KED 813.

‖ Gombocz 1905, KW 66, Poppe 53 (Turk.-Mong.), Martin 243-244, АПиПЯЯ 16, 68, 72, 280, Дыбо 12. Verbal low tone in Kor. Doerfer's (TMN 1, 235; 4, 275) criticism of the Turk.-Mong. match ("lautgesetzlich nicht vergleichbar;...passen im Vokalismus nicht...") is incorrect, because *-e- is well reconstructable for Proto-Mongolian. PTM **burgu* is a contraction < **bedu-rgu* (a similar phonetic development cf. in PTM

**xürgü* 'tail' < **kʲudo-rgV*). In Kor. one would expect **pùrì-*; the attested *pɨ̀rì-* is an obvious result of vocalic assimilation.

***begV** a k. of ferment: Tung. ***bege**; Mong. ***beɣe-**; Turk. ***bEgni**.

PTung. ***bege** 1 ferment (made of animal liver or brain) 2 medicine (1 закваска (из печени или мозга животного) 2 лекарство): Evk. *beɣe* 1, 2; Evn. *beɣ* 2; Neg. *beɣe* 2; Orch. *bē-de-* 'to treat (with medicine)'; Nan. *bē* 'rotten food' (On.)

◊ TMC 1, 119.

PMong. ***beɣe-** to rot, mould (протухать, плесневеть): WMong. *bege-* (БАМРС); Kh. *bē-*; Kalm. *bē-*.

◊ KW 43-44.

PTurk. ***bEgni** millet beer (просяное пиво): OTurk. *begni* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *begni* (MK, IM).

◊ EDT 328. The word is also present in some Iranian languages (Sogd. βɣ'ny, Osset. *bägäny*, where it is most probably a Turkic loanword, despite TMN 2, 311, Bailey 320 [with a dubious Iranian etymology]). Turk. > Mong. *bekni, begni*, see Щербак 1997, 193.

‖ A Western isogloss; not quite reliable.

***bə̌je** man; self, body: Tung. ***beje**; Mong. ***beje**; Jpn. ***bə̀**.

PTung. ***beje** person, man (человек): Evk. *beje*; Evn. *bej*; Neg. *beje*; Nan. *beje* 'person'; Sol. *bei, beje*.

◊ Homonymic forms in other languages denoting "body" should be probably regarded as mongolisms, but this is hardly plausible for all the forms meaning "man" (since that meaning is absent in Mong.), despite Doerfer MT 20, Rozycki 29. See TMC 1, 122-123.

PMong. ***beje** body, person, self (тело, личность, сам): MMong. *beje* (HY 45, SH), *bäjä* (IM), *bǐjǎ, bijä-du* (MA); WMong. *beje* (L 94); Kh. *bije*; Bur. *beje*; Kalm. *bī, bījə*; Ord. *bije, beje*; Dag. *bej(e)* (Тод. Даг. 125); Dong. *beije*; S.-Yugh. *bəi*; Mongr. *bīje* (SM 26), (MGCD) *buje*.

◊ KW 47, MGCD 147. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *beje* 'self' (Kał. MEJ 40, Stachowski 57).

PJpn. ***bə̀** man (мужчина): OJpn. *wo(nokwo)*, *wotokwo*; MJpn. *wo(noko)*, *wòtòkò*; Tok. *otokó*; Kyo. *ótoko*; Kag. *otokó*.

◊ JLTT 507, 513. A compound **bə̀-nə-kua*, **bə̀-tu-kua* lit. 'male child'. The root is attested also separately as OJ *wo* 'male', as well as in the compound **bə-su* (OJ *wosu*, modern *osu* 'male').

‖ EAS 57, 98, KW 47, Владимирцов 261, Poppe 66, АПиПЯЯ 79, 105, 276.

***béjo** an ungulate animal: Tung. ***bejū-**; Mong. ***baji-ta-su**; Turk. ***bEje**; Jpn. ***bí (~ *bə́i)**.

PTung. ***bejū-** an ungulate animal (копытный зверь): Evk. *bejūn*; Evn. *bujūn*; Neg. *bejūn*; Ul. *buju(n)*; Ork. *buju(n)*; Nan. *bejū*; Orch. *beju(n)*; Ud. *bui, buji*; Sol. *bejū-nī beje* 'hunter'.

◊ TMC 1, 121-122. The root is also attested in verbal function ('to hunt for ungulates'): Evk. *bejū-*, Evn. *bujū-*, Neg. *bejū-* etc.

PMong. ***baji-ta-su*** farrow (horse, cow) (яловая (кобыла, корова)): WMong. *bajitasu, bajidasu* (L 74, 76); Kh. *bajdas*; Bur. *bajtaha(n)*; Kalm. *bāsn*; Ord. *bādasu*; S.-Yugh. *baidāsən* (MGCD 136).

◊ KW 40. Cf. also WMong. *bajilγa-* 'покрывать кобылу'. Mong. > Evk. *bajtahun* etc. (TMC 1, 66; Poppe 1966, 197, Doerfer MT 125); Mong. **bajtal* (the deriving stem for *bajta-sun* < **bajtal-sun*, although not attested) > Turk., Kirgh. *bajtal* etc. (VEWT 57, ЭСТЯ 2, 36-37, TMN 2, 388, Лексика 444).

PTurk. ***bEje*** (foaled) mare (кобыла): OTurk. *be* (OUygh. - YB); Karakh. *be* (MK, IM); MTurk. *beje* (Sangl.); *bej* (CCum.); Uzb. *bijä*; Uygh. *bijä* (dial.); Krm. *bije*; Tat. *bijɛ*; Bashk. *bejä*; Kirgh. *bē*; Kaz. *bije*; KKalp. *bije*; Nogh. *bije*; SUygh. *pie, pi*; Khak. pī; Oyr. bē; Tv. *be*; Yak. *biä*.

◊ EDT 291, VEWT 75, ЭСТЯ 2, 133, Лексика 443. Forms as *bije* < **beje*, show a secondary vowel narrowing in front of -j-; the Kirgh., Oyr. and Tuva-Tof. forms point to *E.

PJpn. ***bí (~ *bə́i)*** pig (свинья): OJpn. wi; MJpn. *wí*; Tok. *i(noshishi)* (*'pig' + 'flesh').

◊ JLTT 420.

‖ The root denotes any ungulate in TM; in other languages we observe a specialization of meaning ("mare", "horse", "cow" in Turk.-Mong., "pig" in Jpn.).

✱**bàka** young, short time: TM ***bekte-***; Mong. ***baga***; Jpn. ***bàkà-***.

PTung. ***bekte-*** a short time (недолго): Neg. *bekte*; Ul. *bekte*; Nan. *bektẽ*; Orch. *bekte*.

◊ TMC 1, 123.

PMong. ***baga*** young, small (молодой, маленький): WMong. *baγa* (L 67); Kh. *baga*; Bur. *baga*; Kalm. *baγə*; Ord. *baGa*; Dag. *bage* (MD 117); S.-Yugh. *baʁa*.

◊ KW 28, TMN 1, 213.

PJpn. ***bàkà-*** young (молодой): OJpn. *waka-*; MJpn. *wàkà-*; Tok. *waká-*; Kyo. *wáka-*; Kag. *waká-*.

◊ JLTT 844.

‖ See Ozawa 300-301, Miller 1985, 143. On possible Turkic parallels see Лексика 390 (also under **bāku*).

✱**bekʻú** a k. of fish: Tung. ***beKe***; Mong. ***bekir***; Turk. ***bEkre***; Jpn. ***punku***; Kor. ***pok***.

PTung. ***beKe*** goby (морской бычок): Orch. *bexe*.

◊ TMC 1, 123. Attested only in Oroch, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***bekir*** sterlet (стерлядь): WMong. *beker*; Kh. *bexer*; Kalm. *bekṛ*.

◊ KW 41.

PTurk. ***bEkre*** sterlet (стерлядь): Turkm. *bekre, bekire* (dial.); MTurk. *bekre* (R); Uzb. *bekre* (dial.); Bashk. *bikre*; Kaz. *bekire*; KKalp. *bekire*.

◊ VEWT 68, ЭСТЯ 2, 108.

PJpn. ***punku** goby, swellfish (бычок, вид рыбы): Tok. *fúgu*; Kyo. *fùgû*; Kag. *fúgu*.

◊ JLTT 416. Accent is not quite clear (Tokyo and Kyoto point to **pù(n)kû*, Kagoshima - to **pú(n)ku*).

PKor. ***pok** swellfish, blowfish (бычок (рыба)): MKor. *pok*; Mod. *pok*.

◊ Liu 388, KED 795.

‖ Martin 244 (Kor.-Jpn.) Cf. **pák'[o]*. The Turk. forms are rather late and may be borrowed < Mong. (hardly < Sam. **wekana* / **wekV(rV)*, despite Helimski 1995).

***bēle (~ -i)** waist, lap: Tung. ***belge**; Mong. ***belkeɣü**; Turk. ***bẹ̄l(k)**.

PTung. ***belge** lap (колени (передняя часть бедер при сидячем положении)): Evk. *belge*; Evn. *bēlgъ*; Neg. *belge*; Ul. *belǯe*; Ork. *beĺde*; Nan. *belge*; Ud. *bege*.

◊ TMC 1, 123.

PMong. ***belkeɣü** waist (поясница): WMong. *belkegü-sü(n)* (L 98); Kh. *belxűs*; Bur. *belxűhə(n)*, *belxenseg* 'big belt'; Kalm. *belkűsn̥*; Ord. *belχűs*.

◊ KW 42.

PTurk. ***bẹ̄l(k)** 1 waist 2 mountain pass, ridge 3 back (1 поясница 2 горный перевал, хребет 3 зад, сзади): OTurk. *bẹl* (Yen., OUygh.) 1, 2; Karakh. *bẹl* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *bel* 1, 2, 3; Gag. *bel* 1; Az. *bel* 3; 1; Turkm. *bīl* 1; Sal. *bil* 1; Khal. *bīel* 1; MTurk. *bẹl* 1 (Бор. Бад., Sangl.); Uzb. *bel* 1, 2; Uygh. *bäl* 1; Krm. *bel* 1, 2; Tat. *bil* 1, 2; Bashk. *bil* 1, 2; Kirgh. *bel* 1, 2; Kaz. *bel* 1, 2, 3; KBalk. *bel* 1; KKalp. *bel* 1, 2, 3; Kum. *bel* 1; Nogh. *bel* 1, 2; SUygh. *peĺ* 1, 2; Khak. *pil* 3; 1, 2; Oyr. *bel* 3; 1, 2; Tv. *bel* 1, 2; Tof. *bel* 1; Chuv. *pilək* 1, 2, 3; Yak. *bīl* 1.

◊ VEWT 69, TMN 2, 416, EDT 330, ЭСТЯ 2, 135-137, Лексика 268-269, Егоров 160, Мудрак 1989, Дыбо 119-121. Turk. > Mong. *bel*.

‖ Poppe 76, Дыбо 306, Мудрак Дисс. 69, Лексика 269. A Western isogloss. Doerfer (TMN 2, 416) cannot say anything but "kaum dürfte das Wort auf ein "altaisches" *belke zurückgehen". Cf. also WMong. *beldüge*, Kalm. *böldəgn* 'die Weichen' (KW 56).

***bèli** to be acquainted, assist, employ: Tung. ***bele-**; Mong. ***bele-**; Turk. ***bil-**; Kor. ***pírí-**.

PTung. ***bele-** to help (помогать): Evk. *bele-*; Evn. *bel-*; Neg. *bele-*; Ul. *bele-či-*; Ork. *beĺe-*; Nan. *bele-či-*; Orch. *bele-či-*; Ud. *bele-si-*.

◊ TMC 1, 124.

PMong. ***bele-** 1 to prepare 2 ready (1 готовиться 2 готовый): MMong. *belen* 2, *belet-* 1 (SH), *bilän* 2 (MA); WMong. *belen*, *beleken* 2, *bele-dke-* 1 (L 97); Kh. *belde-* 1, *belxen*, *belen* 2; Bur. *belen* 2; Kalm. *beln̥* 2; Ord. *belen* 2; Dag. *belen* 2, *belke-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 126), *belede-* 1 (MD 121);

Dong. *bəlian, belien* 2; Bao. *balaŋ* 2, *bəldə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *belēn*; Mongr. *bulen* 2, *belen* (SM 24) 2, *belesGa-* (SM 24), *beledGa-* 1 (Huzu).

◊ KW 42, MGCD 148. Mong. > Evk. *belen*, Man. *beleni* etc. (TMC 1, 125), see Doerfer MT 78, Rozycki 28; > Yak. *belem*, Dolg. *belen-nē-, belem-nē-* (Kał. MEJ 40, Stachowski 57).

PTurk. ***bil-*** to know (знать): OTurk. *bil-* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *bil-* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *bil-*; Gag. *bil-*; Az. *bil-*; Turkm. *bil-*; Sal. *bil-*; Khal. *bil-*; MTurk. *bil-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bil-*; Uygh. *bil-*; Krm. *bil-*; Tat. *bel-*; Bashk. *bel-*; Kirgh. *bil-*; Kaz. *bil-*; KBalk. *bil-*; KKalp. *bil-*; Kum. *bil-*1; Nogh. *bil-*; SUygh. *bil-*; Khak. *pəl-*; Shr. *pil-* (R.); Oyr. *bil-*; Tv. *bil-*; Tof. *bil-*; Chuv. *pe^{w}l-*; Yak. *bil-*; Dolg. *bil-*.

◊ VEWT 75, EDT 330-331, ЭСТЯ 2, 137-139, Stachowski 60. Cf. also **belgü* 'sign' (ЭСТЯ 2, 108-111) (= WMong. *belge*, see TMN 1, 216, Щербак 1997, 104). Turk. **bil-ig* > Mong. *bilig* (TMN 2, 418, Щербак 1997, 106).

PKor. ***pírí-*** to use, employ (использовать, употреблять): MKor. *pírí-*; Mod. *puri-*.

◊ Nam 270, KED 814.

‖ EAS 106, Poppe 21, 76, Doerfer MT 78. Cf. also Kor. *paraži* 'aid, assistance'. The reason for narrowing **bel-* > **bil-* in PT is unclear; cf. **bel-* in the more archaic **bel-gü* 'sign'.

bə̀ló** pale: Tung. ***beli; Mong. ***balaj***; Jpn. ****pàrá-***; Kor. ****pə̌rk-***.

PTung. ***beli*** 1 pale 2 to whiten (1 бледный 2 белить): Evk. *beli* 1; Neg. *belki-* 2; Orch. *bēli* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 123-124.

PMong. ***balaj*** blind; dark (слепой; темный): MMong. *balāi* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *balaj* (L 78); Kh. *balaj, balar*; Bur. *balaj, balar*; Kalm. *balā, balr*; Ord. *balā* 'stupide'; Dag. *baliə* 'vague, indistinct' (MGCD 134), *baliē* 'blind' (MD).

◊ KW 30, 31. Mong. > Evk. *bali* etc. (TMC 1, 70,), see Poppe 1972, 100, Doerfer MT 19, Rozycki 24 (> Dolg. *bali, balī*, see Stachowski 51); > Yak., Dolg. *balaj*, see Kał. MEJ 40, Stachowski ibid.

PJpn. ****pàrá-*** to clear up (of sky, weather) (проясняться (о небе, погоде)): OJpn. *para-*; MJpn. *fârá-*; Tok. *haré-*; Kyo. *hàrè-*; Kag. *hàrè-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

PKor. ****pə̌rk-*** bright (светлый): MKor. *pə̌rk-*; Mod. *pak-* [*palk-*].

◊ Nam 247, KED 732.

‖ Martin 227 (Kor.-Jpn.). Jpn. has an irregular p-.

belV** hysterics, panic, mourning: Tung. ***beli(n); Mong. ****belbe-***; Turk. ****bElin̨***.

PTung. ***beli(n)*** 1 hysterics 2 silly (1 истерика 2 глупый): Evk. *belin* 1; Neg. *belin* 1; Man. *beli* 2; Nan. *belčī* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 124. TM > Dag. *belin* (Тод. Даг. 126).

PMong. ****belbe-*** mourning, widow (траур, вдова): MMong. *belbisun* (HY 32, SH), *b[ä]llbes* 'unmarried woman' (IM), *bilbusun* (MA); WMong.

belbüsü, (L 96) *belbesü(n)*; Kh. *belevsen*; Bur. *belbehe(n)*; Kalm. *belwəsn̩*; Ord. *belbesen* 'widow'; Dag. *belbisen* (Тод. Даг. 126), *belibsen*; S.-Yugh. *bölbösən*, *belwəsən*.

◊ KW 42, MGCD 148.

PTurk. ***bElin̩*** panic, terror (паника, ужас): OTurk. *belin̩* (OUygh.); Karakh. *belin̩* (MK), *belin̩-le-* 'to be terrified' (KB); Tur. *belin* 'frightened' (dial. *pelin̩*, *pen̩il-de-*); Turkm. *belin̩ al-* 'to fear, be disgusted'; MTurk. *belin̩-le-* 'to be terrified' (Qutb); Bashk. *bilen-dä-* 'to be scared, startled'; Kirgh. *belim-či* 'a hysterical woman'; Kaz. *belin̩*; Nogh. *belen̩* 'scary'; Oyr. *pelin̩* 'faked illness' (R); Tv. *belin̩-či*, *belin̩-ne-*; Tof. *belin̩-ši* 'scary', *belin̩-ne-* 'be startled'.

◊ EDT 343, 344, VEWT 69, ОСНЯ 2, 98 (with a different TM parallel).

‖ TMC 1, 124 (TM-Turk.). A Western isogloss.

✱**beńa** red clay, dirt: Tung. ***ben̩-ge-***; Turk. ***bAńak***; Jpn. ***pání***.

PTung. ***ben̩-ge-*** to sully (пачкать): Neg. *ben̩ge-*.

◊ TMC 1, 126. Attested only in Negidal, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***bAńak*** dung (навоз): OTurk. *majaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *majaq*, *bajnaq* (MK, Oghuz XI c.); Uygh. *majaq*; Tv. *mijaq*; Tof. *mĭjaq*.

◊ VEWT 322, 336, EDT 350.

PJpn. ***pání*** red clay (красная глина): OJpn. *pani*; MJpn. *fání*.

◊ JLTT 398.

‖ If the Negidal form belongs here, it may reflect, together with PT **bAńak*, a common derivative **beńa-kV*.

✱**bə̀ré** daughter-in-law: Tung. ***bener***; Mong. ***beri-***; Jpn. ***bə̀tə́-***.

PTung. ***bener*** younger relative-in-law (младший свойственник, свойственница (шурин, свояченица)): Evk. *bener*; Evn. *benъr*; Neg. *bene*; Ul. *bener*, *beneli*; Nan. *bener*; Orch. *bene*; Ud. *bene*.

◊ TMC 1, 125.

PMong. ***beri-*** 1 daughter-in-law, bride 2 wife of the elder brother (1 невестка, невеста 2 жена старшего брата): MMong. *beri* (SH, HY 29) 1, *berigen* (SH, IM), *berigan* (HY 28) 2; WMong. *beri* 1, *bergen* 2 (L 99); Kh. *ber* 1, *bergen* 2; Bur. *beri* 1, *berigen* 2; Kalm. *berə* 1, *bergn̩* 2; Ord. *bere* 1, *bergen* 2; Mog. *bɛiri* 1 (Weiers); Dag. *beri* (*beŕ*) 1, *berigen* 2 (Тод. Даг. 126, MD 122); Dong. *bieri* 1, *beGen* 2 (Тод. Дн.); Bao. *vere* 1 (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *beri*, *jeri* 'épouse, femme' (SM 25, 492), *bergen* (SM 25) 2.

◊ KW 42, TMN 1, 198, 209. Mong. > Evk. *berigei* etc., see Doerfer MT 101, Rozycki 29.

PJpn. ***bə̀tə́-*** girl (девушка): OJpn. *woto-mje*; MJpn. *wòtó-mé*; Tok. *otóme*, *òtome*; Kyo. *òtómè*; Kag. *otomé*.

◊ JLTT 513. The root should be kept distinct from OJ *wòtò-kwò* 'man', which in all probability goes back to **bə̀-tu-kua* 'male child' and is parallelled by OJ *wono-kwo* id.

‖ For TM one has to suppose a resonant metathesis: **bener* < **bere-n*.

✱**běŕa** peace: Tung. ***bere**; Mong. ***berele-**; Turk. ***bAŕ- / *bAr-**.

PTung. ***bere** to ease, peaceful (успокаивать, мирный, смирный): Evk. *bere*; Man. *beǯiǵe-*; Ork. *bere-mi*.

◊ TMC 1, 127.

PMong. ***berele-** to be shy; to do a favour (to a respected person) (быть застенчивым; оказывать услугу почтенному лицу): WMong. *berele-*, (L 99) *berile-*; Kh. *berle-*; Kalm. *berl̥-*, *berm̥šə-*; Ord. *berele-*.

◊ KW 42.

PTurk. ***bAŕ** peace (мир): OTurk. *baz* (Orkh.); MTurk. *baz* (Qutb, AH); Krm. *baz*; *baz-la-* 'to comfort, console'; Bashk. *baδ-a-* 'to be shy'; KBalk. *baz-a-ma* 'shelter, secure place'.

◊ EDT 388 (together with *baz* 'an alien'), VEWT 62, 66.

‖ A Western isogloss. The Mong. word is usually analysed as 'to behave like a daughter-in-law' (see e.g. KW 42, L 99), which may be a folk-etymology (in view of the external evidence).

✱**bétà / *pédà** sea, ford: Tung. ***pedē-**; Jpn. ***bátá**; Kor. ***pàtá-h, *pàdă̆r**.

PTung. ***pedē-** to ford, cross over (переехать, переправиться): Evk. *hedē-*; Man. *fida-*, *fide-*; Sol. *edelbū-*.

◊ TMC 2, 360.

PJpn. ***bátá** 1 sea 2 to ford (1 море 2 переправляться, переходить вброд): OJpn. *wata* 1, *watar-* 2; MJpn. *wátár-* 2; Tok. *wàtaru* 2; Kyo. *wátár-* 2; Kag. *watár-* 2.

◊ JLTT 783.

PKor. ***pàtá-h, *pàdă̆r** sea (море): MKor. *pàtá* (*pàtáh-*), *pàră̆r*; Mod. *pada*.

◊ Nam 236, 238, KED 703.

‖ An Eastern isogloss, with a peculiar variation of laryngeal features. Cf. perhaps Mong. *bide-* (?L 108: *bitü-*) 'to wander' (for semantics cf. Russ. *брод* 'ford' - *бродить* 'wander').

✱**bēǯu** numerous, great: Tung. ***beǯun**; Mong. ***buǯa-**; Turk. ***bāj, -tak**; Jpn. ***piji(n)ta- (~ pui-)**.

PTung. ***beǯun** 1 ten deer 2 multitude (1 десять оленей 2 множество): Evn. *beǯen* 1; Man. *buǯu baǯa* 2; Nan. *beǯu* 'thick (of a tree)' (On.) (?).

◊ TMC 1, 103, 120. Manchu also has *buǯun* '100000' which may be borrowed < Chin. *boqian* id.

PMong. ***buǯa-** strong, durable, quite good (крепкий, сильный, отличный): WMong. *buǯaγai* (L 143); Kh. *buʒgaj*; Bur. *bužagar*; Kalm. *buzgā* (*öl.*).

◊ KW 64 (Ramstedt regards the Kalm. dialectal form as borrowed from Khalkha).

PTurk. ***bāj** 1 rich, noble 2 many, numerous (1 богатый, знатный 2 много, многочисленный): OTurk. *baj* 1 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *baj* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *baj* 1; Gag. *baj* 1; Az. *baj* 1; Turkm. *bāj* 1; MTurk. *baj*

1; Uzb. *bɔj* 1; Uygh. *baj* 1; Krm. *baj* 1; Tat. *baj* 1, *bajtaq* 2; Bashk. *baj* 1; Kirgh. *baj* 1; Kaz. *baj* 1; KBalk. *baj* 1; KKalp. *baj* 1; Kum. *baj* 1; Nogh. *baj* 1; SUygh. *päj* 1; Khak. *paj* 1; Oyr. *baj* 1, *bajtaq* 2; Tv. *baj* 1; Chuv. *pojan* 1; Yak. *bāj* 1; Dolg. *bāj, bājdak, bājdik* 1.

◊ EDT 384, VEWT 56, TMN 2, 259, ЭСТЯ 2, 27-29, 36, Лексика 304, 332, Федотов 1, 440, Stachowski 55, 56. Turk. > Mong. *bajan* 'rich' (KW 29, Щербак 1997, 103), whence Evk. *bajan* etc. (TMN ibid., Doerfer MT 37).

PJpn. ***piji(n)ta- (~ pui-)** to surpass (превосходить): OJpn. *p(j)iida-, p(j)ida-*; MJpn. *fiida-*; Tok. *hiidé-*; Kyo. *híidé-*; Kag. *ĥiidé-*.

◊ JLTT 688. Original accent is not quite clear.

‖ Note the common derivative **bĕǯu-tV* (-t´V) reflected in PT **bāj-ta-k* and PJ **piji-(n)ta-*.

***bǐ** I, 1st person pronoun: Tung. ***bi; *bue, *mü-n-**; Mong. ***bi, *min-; *ba, *man-**; Turk. ***bẹ-**; Jpn. ***bà-**; Kor. ***úrí.**

PTung. ***bi; *bue, *mü-n-** 1 I 2 we (1 я 2 мы): Evk. *bi* 1; *bu, mit* 2; Evn. *bi* 1; *bu, mut* 2; Neg. *bi* 1; *bu, bitta / butta* 2; Man. *bi* 1; *be, muse* 2; SMan. *bī* 1 (2869); *bō* 2 (2871), *mesə* 2 (2872); Jurch. *mi-n* (853) 1; Ul. *bi* 1; *bū, bue* 2; Ork. *bi* 1; *bu* 2; Nan. *mi,* dial. *bi* 1; *bū, bue* 2; Orch. *bi* 1; *bu, biti* 2; Ud. *bi* 1; *bu, minti* 2; Sol. *bi* 1; *bū, miti* 2.

◊ TMC 1,79: **bi* 'I', 98: **bue* 'we (excl.)', 539: **mü-n-* 'we (incl)'.

PMong. ***bi, *min-; *ba, *man-** 1 I 2 we (1 я 2 мы): MMong. *bi, mino* (gen.) (HY 31, SH), *bi, m[e]ni* (gen.) (IM), *bi, minu, mini* (gen.) (MA) 1; *bida* (HY 31), *ba, mano* (HYt, SH), *ba, man-* (IM) 2 etc.; WMong. *bi, minu* (gen.) 1; *bide, ba, man-* 2; Kh. *bi, minij* (gen.) 1; *bid, ba, man-* 2; Bur. *bi, menī* (gen.) 1; *man-* 2; Kalm. *bi, minē* (gen.) 1; *bid(ŋ), man-* 2; Ord. *bi, mini* (gen.) 1; *man-* 2; Mog. *bi* 'I', *nami, name, mini* (gen), *bidä, mōn-* 'we'; ZM *bi* (26-2), *mennɛi* (gen.) (26-10a); Dag. *bī, minī* (gen.) 1; *bed, bā, mān-* 2 (Тод. Дат. 123, 125, 126, 154); Dong. *bi, mini* (gen.) 1; *bižien, ma-* 2; Bao. *be, mene* (gen.) 1; *bede, man-* 2; S.-Yugh. *bə;* Mongr. *bu* (SM 30), *muni* (gen.), *ndā* (D) (SM 247, 260) 1; *buda* (SM 30) 2.

◊ KW 44, MGCD 151.

PTurk. ***bẹ-** 1 I 2 (**bi-ŕ*) we (1 я 2 (**bi-ŕ*) мы): OTurk. *ben* 1 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.), *men* 1 (OUygh.), *biz* 2 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *men* 1 (MK, KB), *biz* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *ben* 1, *biz* 2; Gag. *ben* 1, *bis* 2; Az. *män* 1, *biz* 2; Turkm. *men* 1, *bīz* 2; Sal. *mē(n)* 1, *pise(r)* 2 (ССЯ 128); Khal. *män* 1, *biz* 2; MTurk. *ben* 1 (Abush.), *biz* 2 (Abush.); Uzb. *men* 1, *biz* 2; Uygh. *män* 1, *biz* 2; Krm. *men* 1, *biz* 2; Tat. *min* 1, *bez* 2; Bashk. *min* 1, *beð* 2; Kirgh. *men* 1, *miz* 2; Kaz. *min* 1, *biz* 2; KBalk. *men* 1, *miz* 2; KKalp. *men* 1, *biz* 2; Kum. *men* 1, *biz* 2; Nogh. *men* 1, *biz* 2; SUygh. men 1, *piz* 2; Khak. *min* 1, *pəs* 2; Shr. *men* 1, *pis* 2; Oyr. *men* 1, *mis* 2; Tv. *men* 1, *bis* 2; Tof. *men* 1, *bi's* 2; Chuv. *e-bə* 1, *e-bər* 2; Yak. *min* 1, *bihigi* 2 (Poss.); Dolg. *min* 1, *bihigi* 2.

◊ EDT 346 (**bę-n*), 388 (**biŕ*), ЭСТЯ 2, 129-130, VEWT 77, 333, Stachowski 60, 179.

PJpn. ***bà-** I, we (я, мы): OJpn. *wa-*; MJpn. *wàré, wátákúsí*; Tok. *wàtashi*; Kyo. *wàte*; Kag. *ói*.

◊ The form *watakusi* is regarded by Mochizuki 1971 as **wa-tu-(a)ku* si 'my place direction', and by Martin (JLTT 569) as **ba-tukusi* 'exhaust me' or 'I exhaust'. Rising accent in *wátákúsí* is unclear.

PKor. ***úrí** we (мы): MKor. *úrí*; Mod. *uri*.

◊ Nam 389, KED 1238.

‖ EAS 79, Владимирцов 357, ОСНЯ 2, 55-56, 63-66, JOAL 157, АПиПЯЯ 57, 68, 104-105, 276. An alternation **bi* / **mi-ne-* (sing.) ; **ba* / **mi̯u-n-* (plur.) should be reconstructed. Korean has undergone an irregular (dialectal) loss of **b-* (**úrí* < **bú-rí*).

***bíju** to be, sit: Tung. ***bi-**; Mong. ***büji- (< *bijü-)**; Jpn. ***b(u)í-**.

PTung. ***bi-** to be (быть): Evk. *bi-*; Evn. *bi-*; Neg. *bī-*; Man. *bi-*; SMan. *bi-* (3016); Jurch. *bie-i* (704), *bie-fume* (614); Ul. *bi-*; Ork. *bi-*; Nan. *bi-*; Orch. *bī-*; Ud. *bi-*; Sol. *bi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 79-80.

PMong. ***büji-** to be (быть): MMong. *bue* (HY 51, SH), *bi* (IM, MA); WMong. *büi* (L 143: *bü-*); Kh. *bij*; Bur. *bī*; Kalm. *bī*; Ord. *bī*; Mog. *bi, be* 'ist', ZM *be* (27-5a); Dag. *bei* (Тод. Дар. 125); Dong. *bi-, vei-*; Bao. *vi-*; S.-Yugh. *bī, wai*; Mongr. *(w)ī-* (SM 187, 483), *bi-* (Minghe).

◊ KW 44, MGCD 150.

PJpn. ***b(u)í-** 1 to sit 2 to be (1 сидеть 2 быть): OJpn. *wi-* 1, 2; MJpn. *wí-* 1, 2; Tok. *ì-* 2; Kyo. *í-* 2; Kag. *í-*.

◊ JLTT 698.

‖ EAS 57, Poppe 112, Ozawa 304-307, ОСНЯ 1, 184, Murayama 1962, 109, АПиПЯЯ 68, 111, 280. Cf. perhaps MKor. *ì-* 'to be' (with loss of **b-*, like in **uri* 'we')?

***bilč'i** to mix, knead: Tung. ***bilča-**; Mong. ***bilča-**; Turk. ***biĺči-**; Jpn. ***písípə́**; Kor. ***pìč-**.

PTung. ***bilča-** to mix (flour), to glue (смешивать (муку), клеить): Man. *bilča-*.

◊ TMC 1, 83. Attested only in Manchu, and could be in fact < Mong., if not for the difference in meaning.

PMong. ***bilča-** to become flat and watery; to smear all over (размазывать(ся)): WMong. *bilča-, bilče-* (L 103); Kh. *ƀalca-*; Bur. *bilsa-*; Kalm. *bilca-*; Ord. *bilčal-*.

◊ KW 45.

PTurk. ***biĺči-** to stir up, churn (milk, butter) (помешивать, взбивать (молоко, масло), пахтать): Turkm. *pišek* 'churn pestle', -le- 'to churn'; Uzb. *piškak* 'churn pestle'; Tat. *peš-* (Сиб., Тумашева 180); Bashk. *beše-* 'to churn; to beat', *beškäk* 'churn-staff'; Kirgh. *biš-* / *biš-*;

biškek 'churn-staff for kumis'; Kaz. *pis-*; KKalp. *pis-*; *piskek* 'a big churn'; Nogh. *piskek* 'churn-staff'; Chuv. *paźer-* 'to hit, beat'; Yak. *bis-* 'to smear'; Dolg. *bis-* 'to smear'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 309-310, Stachowski 61, Ашм. X, 241-242. In a part of languages the root merges with **bilč-* "to ripen"; it differs from the latter by its original transitivity and consequent front vocalism.

PJpn. ***písípə́** a k. of bean paste; salted meat or fish (вид бобовой пасты; соленое мясо или рыба): OJpn. *p(j)isip(w)o*; MJpn. *fisifó*.

◊ JLTT 409.

PKor. ***pìč-** to mix up, brew (месить (тесто), готовить (рисовое вино)): MKor. *pič-*; Mod. *pit-* [*pič-*].

◊ Liu 417, KED 864.

‖ SKE 202, Miller 1970, 129.

✱**bĭli** wrist: Tung. ***bile-n**; Mong. ***beɣelej**; Turk. ***bilek**.

PTung. ***bile-n** 1 wrist 2 lapel on mittens (1 запястье 2 отворот на рукавицах): Evk. *bile(n)* 1, 2; Evn. *bilen* 1; Neg. *bile* 2; Ork. *bile* 2; Ud. *bule* 1 (Корм. 215), *bilepti*, *bulepti* 'bracelet' (Корм. 212).

◊ TMC 1, 83, Дыбо 260.

PMong. ***beɣelej** gloves (рукавицы): WMong. *begelei* (L 94); Kh. *bēlij*; Bur. *bēlej*; Kalm. *bēĺē*; Dag. *bēli*, *bēĺ* (Тод. Дар. 125, MD 121).

◊ KW 44, MGCD 147. Mong. > Chag. *bählä* etc., see TMN 4, 273-274; > Russ. Siber. *béla*, see Аникин 149.

PTurk. ***bilek** wrist, forearm (запястье, предплечье): OTurk. *bilek* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bilek* (MK, KB); Tur. *bilek*; Gag. *bilek*; Az. *biläk*; Turkm. *bilek*; MTurk. *bilek* (Бор. Бад., Sangl.); Uzb. *bilak*; Uygh. *biläk*; Krm. *bilek*; Tat. *belɛk*; Bashk. *beläk*; Kirgh. *bilek*; Kaz. *bilek*; KBalk. *bilek*; KKalp. *bilek*; Kum. *bilek*; Nogh. *bilek*; Khak. *pəlek*; Shr. *pilek* (R, Верб.); Oyr. *belek*; Tv. *bilek*; Yak. *belenčik*, *belenńik* (dial.).

◊ EDT 338-339, VEWT 76, TMN 2, 314, ЭСТЯ 2, 145-146, Дыбо 172-175 (with detailed analysis of phonetic variants and derivatives), Лексика 256. Turk. **bilek-jüŕük* > **bile(g)ŕük* 'bracelet' (EDT 345, Stachowski 60) > Mong. *bilüčüg* / *bilisüg* / *bülüžüg* (see Clark 1980, 41).

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. *beɣelej* < **bejelej* < **bele-lej*. See EAS 109, Колесникова 1972a, 97-98, Дыбо 311, Лексика 250. Doerfer's (MT 240) attempt to refute the TM form by reconstructing **biglēn* is quite artificial: forms like Ul. *gileptu(n)* go back to a quite separate root (see **gilu*).

✱**bĭ́re** a k. of predator: Tung. ***birin**; Mong. ***ber-**; Turk. ***bŏ̄rü**.

PTung. ***birin** female of a predator (самка хищника (медведя, тигра)): Evk. *birin*; Evn. *biran*; Neg. *bijin*; Man. *birin ~ barin*.

◊ TMC 1, 84-85.

PMong. ***ber-** young of wolf (волчонок): MMong. *borte čino* (SH); WMong. *beltereg* (L 98: *belterge*); *berte činua*, *börtü* (L 128); Kh. *beltreg*; Bur. *belterge*; Kalm. *beltərəg*.

◊ KW 42. Mong. **beltereg* is a regular metathesis < **berteleg*. Mong. *börtü* (*berte*) *činua* is translated as 'multicolored wolf (name of the legendary ancestor of Chinggis Khan)' and *börtü* is glossed in L 128 as 'mottled, speckled, grey' - but in fact it is basically used with *činua* and is probably the original deriving stem of *beltereg*. -büri in MMong. *ǰö'e-büri*, WMong. *čögebüri* 'jackal' may be borrowed < Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 163).

PTurk. ***bō̲rü** wolf (волк): OTurk. *böri* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *böri* (MK,KB); Tur. *börü* (dial.); Turkm. *bō̲rü*; Sal. *püŕe* (ССЯ); Khal. *bīeri*; MTurk. *böri* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *bo̲ri*; Uygh. *böri*; Krm. *börü*; Tat. *bürc*; Bashk. *büre*; Kirgh. *börü*; Kaz. *böri*; KBalk. *börü*; KKalp. *böri*; Kum. *börü*; Nogh. *böri*; SUygh. *böji*, peri; Khak. *pŭr*; Shr. *pörü* (R); Oyr. *börü*; Tv. *börü*, dial. (Todzh.) *börük*; Chuv. *pirə*; Yak. *börö*; Dolg. *börö*.

◊ EDT 356, VEWT 84, TMN 2, 333, ЭСТЯ 2, 219-221, Лексика 160, Stachowski 63. The hypothesis of the word being borrowed from an East Iranian source runs into difficulties, basically because of the lack of early attested forms with -k (only in Tuva dialects and the hypothetical Bulgar source of Russ. *бирюк* (cf. Аникин 128-129)). See also Abaev 1, 263 (isn't the East Iranian form itself < Turkic?)

‖ A Western isogloss. KW 42, Лексика 160. In Turk. one has to suppose a secondary assimilation < **bērü*.

***bi̯alge** throat, to swallow: Tung. ***bilga**; Mong. ***balgu-**.

PTung. ***bilga** throat (горло, глотка): Evk. *bilga*; Evn. *bi̯lgъ*; Neg. *bi̯lga*; Man. *bilχa*; SMan. *biləhā* (62); Ul. *bi̯lǯa*; Ork. *bi̯lda*; Nan. *bi̯lGa*; Orch. *bigga*; Ud. *bigaŋa* (Корм. 212).

◊ TMC 1, 82. TM > Dag. *bilgara* (Тод. Даг. 126).

PMong. ***balgu-** 1 to swallow 2 gulp (1 глотать 2 глоток): WMong. *balγu-* (L 80) 1, *balγu* 2; Kh. *balga-* 1, *balga* 2; Bur. *balga-* 1, *balga* 2; Kalm. *balγə-* 1, *balγə* 2.

◊ KW 31.

‖ KW 31, ОСНЯ 1, 173. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***bi̯ălu** dirt, mud: Tung. ***bul-**; Mong. ***bul-**; Turk. ***bạl-**; Jpn. ***pu-**; Kor. ***piro**.

PTung. ***bul-** 1 snuff 2 swamp, marsh 3 become dull, colourless (1 нагар, шлак 2 болото, топь, грязь 3 тускнеть): Evk. *bulē* 2, *būl-* 3; Evn. *bule* 2; Ul. *bu̯la(n)* 1; Orch. *bule* 2; Ud. *bula(n)* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 106, 109. Evk. > Dolg. *bilē* 'dirt' (Stachowski 60).

PMong. ***bul-** dreggy, muddy, turbid (мутный, грязный): MMong. *buluŋgir* (HY 53), *bulaŋ́ir* (MA); WMong. *bulaŋgir* (L 133); Kh. *buliŋgar*; Bur. *bulangir*; Kalm. *buĺəŋgər*; Ord. *bulaŋgir*, *buliŋgir*.

◊ KW 30. Mong. has a number of similar forms with -a-: *balar* 'turbid', *balbi-* 'to become dirty, sullen', *bala* 'snuff', *balǯira-* 'be wet, soaked'. These may reflect a contamination of **bul-* with another root, see **balai* 'blind; dark'. The assumption of Mong. *bulaŋgir* being borrowed from Turkic (cf. MTurk. *bulγančaq*, derived from *bulγa-* 'to stir up') see in Щербак 1997, 110; on the other hand, Mong. is certainly the source of Tat. *bolaŋir* 'muddy, cloudy' etc.

PTurk. ***bạl-*** mud, clay (грязь, глина): Karakh. *balčɨq* (MK,IM), *bal(ɨ)q* (MK); Tur. *balčɨk*; Az. *palčɨG*; Turkm. *palčɨq*; Sal. *palčɨx* (ССЯ 435 и др.); Khal. *palčoq* (< Az.); MTurk. *balčɨq* (Pav. C.), *palčɨq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *balčiq*; Uygh. *balčuq*; Krm. *balčɨq*; Tat. *balčɨq*; Bashk. *balsɨq*; Kaz. *balšɨq*, *balqaš*; Kum. *balčɨq*; Nogh. *balšɨq*; Khak. *palčax* (Sag.); Oyr. *bal-qaš*; Tv. *balɣaš*, *malɣaš*; Tof. *ba'lxaš*; Chuv. *pɨlʒъk*; Yak. *bɨlɨk* 'sand, silt, brought by water' (Пек.).

◊ EDT 333, 336, VEWT 60, Мудрак Дисс. 179, Лексика 374. Turk. > Mong. *balčig* (Щербак 1997, 103). In Chuv. one would rather expect *pɨšax*, so the form may reflect a slightly different morphologically **bạlɨ-čak*.

PJpn. ***pu-*** dandruff (перхоть): Tok. *fu-ke*.

◊ JLTT 417 (accent unclear). A compound with *ke* 'hair'.

PKor. ***piro*** dandruff, mange (перхоть, чесотка): MKor. *piro*; Mod. *piru*.

◊ Nam 276, KED 852.

‖ KW 30, ОСНЯ 1, 185, Martin 247. Jpn. **pu* (attested only within a compound) reflects a contraction < **bi̯ắl(u)-gu*; Kor. *piro* < **pjəro* (with a frequent variation *jə / i).

bi̯ắlča** harm, wound: Tung. ***bial-; Mong. ***bilčawu***; Turk. ***biāĺč***; Jpn. ***bánsá-pápí***.

PTung. ***bial-*** 1 to harm, damage 2 to be in a difficult position, obstructed (1 вредить 2 затрудняться, не сметь, не добиться): Evk. *bêl-* 2; Evn. *beleŋe-* 1; Man. *bele-* 1; Ul. *bajlị-* 'to wound'.

◊ TMC 1, 66, 79; 125.

PMong. ***bilčawu*** wound, scar (рана, шрам, нарыв): WMong. *bilčaɣu*, (L 104) *bilčuu*; Kh. *ɓalcū*; Ord. *bilčirū*, *bülčürū*.

PTurk. ***biāĺč*** wound (рана): OTurk. *baš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *baš* (MK, KB); Tur. *baš* (dial.); Turkm. *bāš*; Tv. *baiś* (Krg. Castr. 124); Chuv. *püźek* 'scar'; Yak. *bās*; Dolg. *bās*.

◊ EDT 376, VEWT 65, ЭСТЯ 2, 88-89, ОСНЯ 1, 172, Мудрак Дисс. 90, 194, Stachowski 57. Usually united with *balɨɣ* 'wound, wounded', but cf. PA **màli*.

PJpn. ***bánsá-pápí*** damage, harm, disaster (вред, несчастье): OJpn. *wazapap(j)i*; MJpn. *wazafafi*; Tok. *wàzawai*; Kyo. *wázáwái*; Kag. *wazawái*.

◊ JLTT 569.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 90, 194.

bi̯ắlmi** knee, ankle: Tung. ***bialebki; Mong. ***belberkej***; Turk. ***bAĺmak***; Jpn. ***pínsá***; Kor. ***parmak (~ -ă-)***.

PTung. ***bialebki*** 1 knee cap 2 knee (1 коленная чашечка 2 колено): Nan. *bi̯lōkị* (Он. 66) 1; Ud. *bāluga* (-uɣa), *böloɣo* (-uɣo) 1 (Корм. 211); Sol. *bolōxi* 2.

◊ Cf. also (?) Oroch *milcuki* 'knee cap' (with a strange m-) (Аврорин - Лебедева 204). See TMC 1, 123. TM > Dag. *bolōgi*, *bolōki* 'knee cap' (Тод. Даг. 127).

PMong. ***belberkej*** pastern, ankle (of horses, animals) (бабка (у лошадей, животных)): WMong. *belber(e)kei* (L 96) *belbenčeg* (DO 63); Kh. *belberxi, berevxi*; Bur. *berbegei*, dial. *belhen*; Kalm. *belu̯rkə̄, belu̯ncag*; Ord. *belbenčik*.

◊ KW 42.

PTurk. ***bAÍ-mak*** boot, shoe (ботинок, обувь): Karakh. *bašmaq* (MK Oghuz), *bašaq* (MK Chigil), *bašmaq* (IM); Tur. *bašmak, pašmak*; Az. *bašmaG*; Turkm. *bašmaq, pašmaq* ("heel of a camel; boot"); MTurk. *bašmaq* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. dial. (Khorazm) *baš-liq* 'heel-piece of a boot'; Tat. *bašmaq*; Bashk. *bašmaq*; Kirgh. *bašmaq-ta-* 'to sole (a boot)'; KBalk. *bašmaq*; KKalp. *bašmaq*; Kum. *bašmaq*; Nogh. *bašmaq*.

◊ EDT 382-383, ЭСТЯ 2, 93-95, ОСНЯ III 69, TMN 2, 293-294. Doerfer's inner etymology (*bašmak* with vowel elision < **baša-mak* from **baša-* 'to cut, make notches') is impossible: *baša-* is derived from **bâĺ(č)* 'wound' with a long vowel, while *bašmak* has a short one.

PJpn. ***pínsá*** knee (колено): OJpn. *pjiza*; MJpn. *fizá*; Tok. *hìza*; Kyo. *hízá*; Kag. *híza*.

◊ JLTT 412.

PKor. ***parmak (~ -ă-)*** a k. of footwear (вид обуви): Mod. *palmak*.

◊ KED 727.

‖ SKE 186 (Kor.-Turk.); Дыбо 1989a (Mong-TM). For a different treatment see ОСНЯ III 67-69 (cf. **pə̀lka* below).

bi̯are to build, construct: Tung. ***biri-***; Mong. ***bari-***; Turk. ***b(i)ar-k***.

PTung. ***biri-*** 1 to lay planks 2 planking 3 tent, construction 4 fence 5 frame (1 стелить жерди 2 настил 3 шатер, постройка 4 забор 5 рама): Evk. *biri-* 1, *biriptir* 2, 3; Evn. *birken* 2, 3; Neg. *bijēɣē* 2; Man. *biregen, bireken* 4, *beren* 5; Nan. *berē* 5 (possibly < Man.); Orch. *bipti* 3; Ud. *bīpti* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 84, 127.

PMong. ***bari-*** to build (строить): WMong. *bari-* (L 85); Kh. *bari-, barilga* 'building'; Bur. *bari-*; Kalm. *bər-* KPC 92; Ord. *bari-*.

◊ Usually considered to be one of the meanings of the polysemantic *bari-* 'to take, hold', which is probably a folk-etymological analysis.

PTurk. ***b(i)ar-k*** 1 house 2 home, household (1 постройка, здание 2 дом, имущество): OTurk. *barq* 1, 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *barq* 1, 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *bark* 2; Az. *barı* 'fence'; MTurk. *barq* 2 (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *barq* 1.

◊ EDT 359-360, VEWT 63, 66, ЭСТЯ II 62. *Bark* is traditionally linked with *bār* 'there is', *barı* 'belongings', but cf. the Az. word which can be hardly explained in this way.

‖ A Western isogloss. Not quite reliable because of secondary contaminations in Turco-Mongolian.

***bi̯ási** penthouse, decking: Tung. ***bi(a)sere-**; Turk. ***bAs-tirma**; Jpn. ***písási**.

PTung. ***bi(a)sere-** 1 decking 2 shelf under ceiling 3 bed 4 pedestal (1 настил 2 полка под потолком 3 кровать 4 подставка, пьедестал): Man. *besergen* 3, 4; Ul. *bisere(n)* 1; Nan. *besere, bisere* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 85.

PTurk. ***bAs-tirma** penthouse (навес): Turkm. *bassirma*; MTurk. *basturma* (R - Zenker); Uzb. *bɔstirma*; Tat. *bastirma* (dial.); Kirgh. *bastirma*; Kaz. *bastirma*; KKalp. *bastirma*.

◊ Лексика 528. Formally derived from **bastir-* 'to cause to press' - which seems rather far-fetched semantically. We may deal here rather with a compound of **bas* + **terme* 'wall, building', secondary influenced by **bastir-ma*, **bastir-ik* 'pole for fixing hay and sheaves', see ЭСТЯ 2, 76-77.

PJpn. ***písási** penthouse, shade (навес, укрытие): MJpn. *fisási*; Tok. *hìsashi*; Kyo. *hísáshí*; Kag. *hìsáshì*.

◊ JLTT 409.

‖ The root is similar to **pi̯óso* 'stairway, step' (q.v.), but should be strictly distinguished.

***bi̯ŏga** place: Tung. ***buga**; Mong. ***baɣu-**; Jpn. ***bà**; Kor. ***pá**.

PTung. ***buga** place (место, местность): Evk. *buɣa*; Evn. *bā*; Neg. *boa ~ boɣa*; Man. *ba*; SMan. *bā* (2562); Jurch. *buha-i* (71); Ul. *bu̯a*; Ork. *bō*; Nan. *boa*.

◊ TMC 1, 100.

PMong. ***baɣu-** 1 to step down, camp 2 camp (n.) (1 спускаться, останавливаться на постой 2 лагерь, стоянка): MMong. *bu-* (IM), caus. *bawulɣa-* (MA), *bau'u-* 1 (SH), *bū-* 1 (Lig.VMI); WMong. *baɣu-* 1, *baɣudal* 2 (L 71); Kh. *bū-* 1, *būdal* 2; Bur. *bū-*; Kalm. *bū-*; Ord. *bū-*; Mog. *bū-*; Dag. *bō-* (Тод. Даг. 126, MD 126); Dong. *bao-, bau-*; Bao. *bu-, bū-*; S.-Yugh. *bū-*; Mongr. *bū-*(30), *bau-* (Minghe).

◊ KW 64, TMN 1, 201, MGCD 164. TMN 1, 201.

PJpn. ***bà** place (место): OJpn. *pa* 'edge'; MJpn. *bà*; Tok. *bà*; Kyo. *bà*; Kag. *bà*.

◊ JLTT 390. All sources except Tokyo point to low tone. A rare case of preservation of **b-* (which normally gives OJ w-), probably for syntactic reasons - the word is usually employed in genitive constructions, **-nə ba > *-mba > ba*.

PKor. ***pá** place where, circumstance (aux. word) (место, где; обстоятельство (служ. слово)): MKor. *pá*; Mod. *pa*.

◊ Liu 359, KED 701.

‖ KW 40, Lee 1958, 106, АПиПЯЯ 81, Menges 1984, 282-283, TMC 1, 101. In PA it is somewhat difficult (but probably necessary) to distinguish between **bi̯ògа* 'place', **b(i̯)aja* 'to be located' and **bi̯ogo* 'open place' q. v.

***bi̯ŏ̀gi** to be cold, freeze: Tung. ***bog(i)- / *begi-**; Mong. ***beɣe-re-**; Jpn. ***pìja-, *pì**.

PTung. ***bog(i)- / *begi-** 1 to freeze 2 cold 3 frazil (1 обморозить, мерзнуть 2 холодный 3 наледь): Evk. *beɣī-* 1, *beɣin, boɣin* 2 *boɣoro* 3; Evn. *bei-, beɣi-* 1, *böɣe* 3; Neg. *bejī-* 1; Man. *beje-* 1; Jurch. *bei* 2 (95); Ul. *beji-* 1; Nan. *beji-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 87, 119.

PMong. ***beɣe-re-** be cold (зябнуть): WMong. *begere-* (L 94); Kh. *bēre-*; Bur. *bēre-*; Kalm. *bēr-*; Ord. *bēre-*; Dag. *bēre-* (Тод. Дат. 126), *bēde-* (MD 120).

◊ KW 44, MGCD 147.

PJpn. ***pìjá-, *pì** 1 to freeze 2 ice, hail (1 замерзать 2 лед, град): OJpn. *pji* 2; MJpn. *fija-* 1, *fi* 2; Tok. *hié-* 1; Kyo. *hìè-* 1; Kag. *hìè-* 1.

◊ JLTT 405.

‖ EAS 91, KW 44, Poppe 60, АПиПЯЯ 69, 106, 280. Despite Doerfer MT 20, TM cannot be borrowed < Mong.

***bi̯ogo** place, open place: Tung. ***biga**; Mong. ***buji-**; Jpn. ***pía**.

PTung. ***biga** field, steppe (поле, степь): Man. *biGan, bixan*; SMan. *bihan* (2079); Ud. *biga, biɣa* (Корм. 212).

◊ Nan. *bi̯χā* is probably < Man. See TMC 1, 81.

PMong. ***buji-** 1 far off, unpopulated (place) 2 place of migration (1 отдаленный, захолустный 2 место, с которого перекочевали или на которое собираются перекочевать): WMong. *bojid, bujid* 1 (L 113, 132: *bojida, bujida*), *bujira* 2; Kh. *bujd* 1, *bujr* 2; Bur. *bujda* 1; Ord. *bujda* 1.

PJpn. ***pía** 1 room, place (in a dwelling) 2 place, surroundings (1 место (в жилище), комната 2 место, окрестности): OJpn. *pje* 1, 2; MJpn. *fé* 1, 2; Tok. *he-yá* 1; Kyo. *héyà* 1; Kag. *heyá* 1.

◊ Martin (JLTT 404) derives the word for 'room' from PJ **pià* 'part, separate' q.v., which is improbable because of its accent. A merger of two roots must have occurred here.

‖ The root is somewhat difficult to distinguish from **b(i̯)aja* q.v. (and in Jpn., indeed, the two roots could have merged - with additional mixture with **p'āji* 'part' q.v.). Jpn. **pia* must be a contraction < **paja* (**puja*).

***bi̯ŏ́k'à(rV)** **(~ *p-)** dirt, patina: Mong. ***boki(r)**; Turk. ***bakɨr**; Jpn. ***pə́kə́rí**.

PMong. ***boki(r)** 1 taint, patina; chewing gum 2 dirty (1 налет, патина; жвачка 2 грязный): WMong. *boki* 1, *bokir* 2 (L 114); Kh. *boɣ́* 1, *boxir* 2; Ord. *boki* 1; Mongr. *boGodi* (: *dege* ~) 'clopin-clopant' (SM 27).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *boki*, see Doerfer MT 125.

PTurk. ***bakɨr** 1 copper 2 patina (1 медь 2 налет, патина): OTurk. *baqɨr* 1 (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *baqɨr* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *bakɨr* 1; Gag. *baqɨr*

1; Az. *paxɨr* 2; Turkm. *baqɨr* 1; MTurk. *baqɨr* (MA, Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *baqir, paqir* 1; Uygh. *paqir* 1; Krm. *bayɨr* 1; Tat. *baqɨr* 1; Bashk. *baqɨr* 1; Kirgh. *baqɨr* 1; Kaz. *baqɨr* 1; KBalk. *bayɨr* 1; KKalp. *baqɨr* 1; Kum. *bayɨr* 1; Nogh. *baqɨr* 1; SUygh. *paqir* 1; Khak. *pāγər* (Kyz., Joki) 1; Oyr. *baqras* 'brass kettle'; Chuv. *pъʷgъʷr* 1; Yak. *bayaraχ* 'pot for boiling milk'.

◊ EDT 317, VEWT 58, ЭСТЯ 2, 45-46, Лексика 405-406. Turk. > WMong. *baqar, baqur* (Kalm. *baχr*), see KW 29, Щербак 1997, 104. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *bakírka* (Аникин 111-112).

PJpn. ***pə́kə́rí*** dust (пыль): MJpn. *fokori*; Tok. *hòkori*; Kyo. *hókórí*; Kag. *hokóri*.

◊ JLTT 414.

‖ Лексика 406. Jpn. *-ə- in the first syllable is irregular, due to assimilation or bad compatibility of *a (which would be expected) and *ə.

bi̯ŏla** end (of a branch etc.): Tung. ***bule; Mong. ***bol- / *bul-***; Turk. ***bAldak***.

PTung. ***bule*** staff, shaft (древко (копья), рукоятка): Ul. *buli(n)*; Ork. *būliγe(n)*; Nan. *bulẽ*; Orch. *bule*; Ud. *bul'a*.

◊ TMC 1, 106, 109.

PMong. ***bol-*** a thick end of smth., bulb (толстый конец чего-л., луковица): WMong. *bolčaγu*; Kh. *bolcū*; Bur. *bulsū*; Kalm. *bulə* 'callosity'; Ord. *bolčogor* 'утолщенный на конце'.

◊ KW 59. Cf. also *bulγu-* 'uprooted', *bulγul-* 'to disjoint' (L 134), *bulži-* 'to be disjointed' (L 137) > Evk. *bulži-*. The root tends to contaminate with **bul-* < PA **pula* 'to swell'.

PTurk. ***bAldak*** 1 hilt 2 stalk, stem (1 рукоятка 2 стебель, ствол): Tur. *baldak* 1; Turkm. *baldaq* 2; MTurk. *baldaq* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bɔldɔq* 1; Uygh. *baldaq* 1; Tat. *baldaq* 1; Bashk. *baldaq* 1; Kirgh. *baldaq* 1; Kaz. *baldaq* 1; KKalp. *baldaq* 1; Nogh. *baldaq* 1.

◊ VEWT 60, ЭСТЯ 2, 52. Similar forms of the type **balčak* may be borrowed from Mong., while WMong. *baldaγ, bardaγ*, Khalkha *baldag, bardag*, Mongor *bardaG* 'hilt' are rather < Turkic.

‖ A Western isogloss.

bi̯ŏla** a k. of bush, spiraea: Tung. ***boloka; Mong. ***balčirgana, *baldargana***; Turk. ***bạl-gin***; Jpn. ***bàrà(m)pì***; Kor. ***pùrò***.

PTung. ***boloka*** spiraea (таволга): Evk. *boloko*; Neg. *boloxokto*; Ul. *boloi̯qta*; Nan. *boloqto*; Orch. *bolokto*; Ud. *bolokto* (Корм. 213).

◊ TMC 1, 93.

PMong. ***balčirgana, baldargana*** heracleum dissectum, angelica (борщевник, дягиль): WMong. *balčirγana, baldarγana* (L 80); Kh. *baldargana, balčirgana*; Bur. *balšargana*; Kalm. *balčrgənə* 'Waldknoblauch, Wolfswurz'.

◊ KW 32. Mong. > Khak. *paltirgan*, Tof. *ba'ltirγan* 'борщевник, дягиль'; Hung. *bojtorján* 'burdock' (cf. Gombocz 1912).

PTurk. ***bạlgɨn*** 1 tamarisk, 2 viburnum (1 тамариск 2 калина): Karakh. *bulɣuna*, (dial.) *malɣuna* (MK) 1; Az. *palan* 2 (R); Turkm. *balxɨ* 'a k. of white mulberry'; Uzb. *balxi* 'white mulberry'; Uygh. *balan* 2 (РУС 1956); Tat. *balan* 2; Bashk. *balan* 2; Kirgh. *balɣɨn* 1 'a k. of bush similar to žilɣɨn'; KBalk. *balan* 2 (Karach.); Shr. *palan* 2 (R); Oyr. *balan* 2; Chuv. (*palan* < Tat.), (**polan* > Mari *polan* 2); Yak. *bɨlax* 'white willow; willow branches as fodder'.

◊ EDT 338, ЭСТЯ 2, 52, VEWT 59, 324, Дмитр. 189, 201. Turk. > Mong. *balɣu, balɣuna* 'tamarisk'. Forms like *balxɨ* may be secondarily modified ('Balkh mulberry'), but in any case not < Iranian.

PJpn. ***bàrà(m)pì*** a k. of fern (вид папоротника): OJpn. *warabji*; MJpn. *wàràbì, wàràfi*; Tok. *wárabi*; Kyo. *wáràbì*; Kag. *warabí*.

◊ JLTT 568. The Tokyo accent is irregular (pointing to a variant **bàràpí*). Cf. perhaps also **bàrá* 'straw'.

PKor. ***pùrò*** salad, Lactuca (салат-латук): MKor. *puro, pùrù*; Mod. *puru*.

◊ Liu 394, KED 813.

‖ KW 31. Tone correspondence between Korean and Japanese is irregular.

✱***bi̯ŏli*** arm muscles: Tung. ***bola-n***; Mong. ***bul-čiŋ, *bul-čir-***; Turk. ***b(i)altɨr***; Jpn. ***píntì***; Kor. ***pa̍rh***.

PTung. ***bola-n*** cuff (нарукавник, обшлаг рукава): Neg. *bolan*; Ork. *bolo*; Nan. *bōlo*.

◊ TMC 1, 91. Length in Nan. (Naikh.) must be secondary.

PMong. ***bul-čiŋ, *bul-čir-*** 1 muscles (of thighs and arms) 2 gland (1 мышцы (рук и ног) 2 железа): MMong. *bilčirqai* 2 (MA); WMong. *bulčiŋ* 1, *bulčirqai* 2 (L 134); Kh. *bulčin* 1, *bulčirxaj* 2; Bur. *bulšan* 1, *bulšarxaj* 2; Kalm. *bulčəŋ* 1, *bulčarxā*, -xā 2; Ord. *bulčiŋ*; Dag. *balčirt* 1 (Тод. Даг. 124); Mongr. *paʒarGā* 2 (SM 301).

◊ KW 61. Mong. > Kirgh. *bulčuŋ* etc., Yak., Dolg. *bilčiŋ* (Kał. MEJ 94, Stachowski 70); > Man. *bulča(n)*, see Doerfer MT 137. Cf. also **bulʒir* 'gland' (KW 59).

PTurk. ***b(i)altɨr*** calf of leg (икра ноги): OTurk. *baltɨr* (OUygh.); Karakh. *baldɨr* (MK); Tur. *baldır*; Gag. *baldır*; Az. *baldır*; Turkm. *baldır*; MTurk. *baldɨr* (MA), *baltɨr* (Sangl.); Uzb. *boldir*; Krm. *baldır*; Tat. *baltɨr*; Bashk. *baltɨr*; Kirgh. *baltɨr*; Kaz. *baltɨr*; KBalk. *baltɨr, baldır*; KKalp. *baltɨr*; Kum. *baldır*; Nogh. *baltɨr*; Khak. *paltɨr*; Shr. *paltɨr*; Oyr. *baltɨr*; Tv. *ba'ldır*; Tof. *baldır*; Yak. *ballɨr*.

◊ VEWT 61, ЭСТЯ 2, 54-55, Лексика 283-284.

PJpn. ***píntì*** elbow (локоть): OJpn. *pjidi*; MJpn. *fìdì*; Tok. *hijí*; Kyo. *híjì*; Kag. *híji*.

◊ JLTT 412.

PKor. ***pa̍rh*** arm (рука (верхняя часть)): MKor. *phằr*; Mod. *phal*.

◊ Nam 462, KED 1736.

‖ Дыбо 313, Лексика 284. Martin 247, Whitman 210. The vocalism in Mong. **bul-či-* is probably influenced by the descriptive root *bul-* (*bult-*, *buld-*, *bült-* etc.) 'to be swollen, swell', see **bula*. Note that PT, Mong. and Jpn. reflect a common derivative **bi̯ol-t'i-* (**bi̯oli-t'V-*).

***bi̯ólò** time, agree upon time: Tung. ***bila-**; Mong. ***bolǯu-**; Jpn. ***bə́rì**.

PTung. ***bila-** to agree upon time (уславливаться, договариваться о сроке): Man. *bila-*.

◊ TMC 1, 81. Attested only in Manchu, but with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***bolǯu-** to agree upon time (уславливаться, договариваться о сроке): WMong. *bolǯu-*, *bolǯa-* (L 119); Kh. *bolǯo-*; Bur. *bolzo-*; Kalm. *bolzə-*; Ord. *bolǯo-*; Dag. *bolǯō*, *bolǯōlo-* (Тод. Дар. 127).

◊ KW 51. Mong. > Evk. **bolǯor* 'съезд, собрание' > Russ. Zabajk. *bol'ǯor* (Аникин 133).

PJpn. ***bə́rì** time, occasion (время, случай): MJpn. *wórì*; Tok. *orí*; Kyo. *órì*; Kag. *orí*.

◊ Accent is not quite clear: RJ has *wórì*, but modern dialects (except Kyoto which is ambiguous) point rather to **bə̀rì*. This may be explained by a folk-etymological influence of **bə̀r-* 'to bend'.

‖ Mong. **bolǯu-* > Evk. *bolǯo* etc., see Poppe 1966, 192, Doerfer MT 101; *bolǯal* 'appointed time' > Chag. *bolǯal* etc., see ЭСТЯ 2, 188-189, Щербак 1997, 200).

***bi̯olo** all, completely: Tung. ***bil-**; Mong. ***bul-tu**; Turk. ***bile (bula)**.

PTung. ***bil-** completely, wholely (целиком, полностью): Man. *bilči*, *bulǯi*; Nan. *bilde-bilde*.

◊ TMC 1, 82.

PMong. ***bul-tu** all, whole, entire(ly) (весь, целый, полностью): MMong. *bulun* 'together' (SH); WMong. *bultu* (L 136); Kh. *bult*; Bur. *bult(an)*; Kalm. *bultə*; Ord. *bultu*; Dag. *bolto* (Тод. Дар. 127).

◊ KW 60.

PTurk. ***bile (bula)** with, together, also (вместе с, с, также): OTurk. *bile*, *bilen* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bile* (MK, KB); Tur. *bile* 'even'; Gag. *-jlan*; Az. *bilä* (dial.); Turkm. *bile*, *bilen*; Sal. *bile*; Khal. *bilä*; MTurk. *bile* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bilan*; Uygh. *bilän*; Krm. *bila*; Tat. *belɛn*; Bashk. *-benen*; Kirgh. *minen*; Kaz. *-ben*; KBalk. *bla*; KKalp. *benen*; Kum. *bulan*; Nogh. *-ben*; SUygh. *bile(n)*; Khak. *minaŋ*; Shr. *mine* 'here, now'; Oyr. *bila* (dial., Tuba); Tv. *bile*; Chuv. *-bala(n)*; Yak. *-inan* (?).

◊ EDT 364-365, ЭСТЯ 2, 140-142. Phonetic variants are explained by the transformation of the root into a postposition and, further, into a case ending. The form bile is attested quite early and therefore can be hardly treated as an assimilation < *bir-le* (derived from *bir* '1', cf. *bir-ge*, *bir-če* with a similar meaning).

‖ A Western isogloss; in the front row variant **bile* Turkic reveals a secondary delabialization < **büle*.

***bi̯ònV** a k. of predator: Tung. ***boṅa**; Turk. ***bAnu**.

PTung. ***boṅa** a big monkey (большая обезьяна): Man. *boṅo, moṅo*; SMan. *moni* 'monkey' (2212); *boni* 'year of the monkey' (2724); Jurch. *bo-noŋ* (151).

◊ TMC 1, 94, 545. The secondarily nasalized Manchu form *moṅo* was borrowed in Sol., Oroch, Ud., Ul., Nan. *moṅo* and Dag. (Тод. Дар. 155) *moṅō* 'monkey', Kh. *moṅō* 'male young of monkey'.

PTurk. ***bAnu** wild cat (дикая кошка): OTurk. *manu* (OUygh.); Tat. *manul*; Tv. *manɨ*.

◊ EDT 767. Turk. > Kalm. *manl*, Dag. *manū* (Tod. 153) (probably contaminated with Mong. proper *malur* < **malul* q. v. sub **máĺe*). Uygh. *molun* 'wild cat' may be a mongolism.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Palatalized *-ń- in TM is a secondary assimilation result. The root must have denoted some wild predator. It is tempting to compare similar forms in Mong. and Jpn., denoting some (mythical?) aquatic predator: PJ **bàni* 'crocodile', WMong. (БАМРС) *banuqai* 'a rare aquatic creature, dwelling in water during daytime and on the shore during nighttime' - but the semantic change seems too far-fetched.

***bi̯or[a]** color, shape: Tung. ***borkan**; Mong. ***baraɣa**; Turk. ***bArɨk (??)**; Jpn. ***púrí**.

PTung. ***borkan** color, beauty (цвет, красота): Evn. *borkan*; Man. *bočo*; SMan. *boča, boču* (2417); Jurch. *bo(i̯)čo-gaj* (628); Ork. *boччo*; Nan. *bojqo*; Orch. *boqqo*; Ud. *boko*.

◊ TMC 1, 96.

PMong. ***baraɣa** shape, silhouette (форма, силуэт): MMong. *bara'a* (SH); WMong. *baraγa* (L 83), *bara*; Kh. *barā*; Bur. *barā*; Kalm. *barān*; Ord. *barā*; Dag. *barā* (Тод. Дар. 124); Dong. *barā*.

◊ KW 33. Mong. *bara-ji-* 'to be unclearly visible' (Bur. *baraj-* , Khalkha *baraj-*) > Yak. *barij-, boruj-* 'id.', *barɨk, boruk* 'darkness'.

PTurk. ***bArɨk (?)** unclear silhouette (неясный силуэт): Karakh. *barɨq* (MK); Yak. *barɨk, boruk* 'darkness'.

◊ ДТС 84. A somewhat dubious etymon: the OT form is quoted from the Uzbek edition of MK, not confirmed by Clauson and Dizin; the sense of the passage is rather obscure; the Yak. form may be secondarily built on the basis of the borrowed *barij-, boruj-* 'be badly visible'. But cf. perhaps Kirgh. (ep.) *burqu* 'variety'?

PJpn. ***púrí** shape, sight (образ, вид): MJpn. *furi*; Tok. *fùri*; Kyo. *fúrí*; Kag. *fúri*.

◊ Usually regarded as a derivative from fur- 'to shake' which is rather dubious for semantic reasons.

‖ The Turkic match is rather weak (see notes above), but otherwise the etymology seems quite credible.

***bi̯ŏr[é]** give; take, collect: Tung. ***bū-**; Turk. ***bēr-**; Jpn. ***pírí-p-**.

PTung. ***bū-** to give (давать): Evk. *bū-*; Evn. *bō̄-*; Neg. *bū-*; Man. *bu-*; SMan. *bu-* (1398); Ul. *būwu*; Ork. *bū-*; Nan. *bū-*; Orch. *bū-*; Ud. *bū-*; Sol. *bū-*.

◊ TMC 1, 99.

PTurk. ***bēr-** to give (давать): OTurk. *ber-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ber-* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *ver-*; Gag. *ver-*; Az. *ver-*; Turkm. *ber-*; Sal. *be(r)-,ve(r)-*, *vē(r)-*; Khal. *ver-* (< Az.); MTurk. *ber-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *ber-*; Uygh. *bär-*; Krm. *ver-*; Tat. *bir-*; Bashk. *bir-*; Kirgh. *ber-*; Kaz. *ber-*; KBalk. *ber-*; KKalp. *ber-*; Kum. *ber-*; Nogh. *ber-*; SUygh. *per-*; Khak. *pir-*; Shr. *per-*; Oyr. *ber-*; Tv. *ber-*; Tof. *ber-*; Chuv. *par-*; Yak. *bier-*; Dolg. *bier-*.

◊ VEWT 70, ЭСТЯ 2, 114-116, EDT 354-5, Stachowski 59.

PJpn. ***pírí-p-** to gather, collect (собирать, подбирать): OJpn. *pjirip-*; MJpn. *fíróf-*; Tok. *hìro-*; Kyo. *hìrò-*; Kag. *hiró-*.

◊ JLTT 689. The Kyoto accent is aberrant (under literary influence?).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 282. The root seems quite secure, but reveals a variation of the vocalic reflex in the 2d syllable: **bi̯ŏre* (> Turk., TM), **bi̯ŏri-* (> Jpn.).

***bi̯óro (~ -ŕ-)** bank, rift: Tung. ***bir[u]-kan**; Mong. ***borgija**; Kor. ***pìrə́**.

PTung. ***bir[u]-kan** 1 precipice 2 mountain (1 обрыв, утес 2 гора): Man. *ɓoran* 1; Sol. *biraxan* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 84.

PMong. ***borgija** 1 river rift 2 hill, mound; frail soil with poor vegetation (1 речной порог, перекат 2 холм, насыпь; рыхлая земля с бедной растительностью): WMong. *borgija* 1, 2 (L 121); Kh. *borgio* 1, 2; Bur. *bōri* 2, *borjo-gor* 'неровный, каменистый'.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *borī*, Orok *bōri*. Cf. also *bartaγa* (L 89) 'uneven terrain, broken country; hillock, knoll' (< **bortaγa* ?); Ord. *borǯoŋ* 'croûte de salpêtre ou de sel mêlés de terre qui se forme à la surface des terrains salpêtreux et sur les bords des lacs de sel', Kalm. *borǯəŋ* 'быстрина'.

PKor. ***pìrə́** bank, precipice (берег, обрыв): MKor. *pìrə́*.

◊ Nam 276.

‖ Lee 1958, 106 (TM-Kor.).

***bi̯ŏ́ru** calf, lamb: Tung. ***biaru**; Mong. ***biraɣu**; Turk. ***buŕagu**; Jpn. ***pítú-nsí**; Kor. ***puruk**.

PTung. ***biaru** sheep (овца): Evk. *bêru*.

◊ TMC 1, 78. Isolated in Evk., but despite Poppe 1972, 103, hardly < Mong. (because of semantic difference).

PMong. ***biraɣu** calf (1 year old) (теленок (1 года)): MMong. *bura'u* (SH), *buru* (MA); WMong. *biraγu* (L 106); Kh. *ɓarū*; Bur. *burū*; Kalm. *bürŭ*; Ord. *birū* 'calf (2 year old)'; Mog. ZM *borɔ̄γol* (20-8), KT *borɔ̄wol* (20-6); Mongr. *burū* (SM 36).

◊ KW 69. Mong. > Evk. *boro* 'one-year-old calf' (TMC 1, 96) ; Evk. **borow-čăn* (unattested diminutive) > Russ. Siber. *borovčán, borovčák, borokčán* 'one-year-old calf, foal', *burún* '2-year-old calf' (Аникин 117, 145; but has no relation to Russ. *боров*).

PTurk. **buŕa-gu** calf (теленок): OTurk. *buzaɣu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *buzaɣu* (MK, IM); Tur. *buzaɣu*; dial. *buza-* 'to bear a calf', Osm. *buza-la-* 'id.'; Gag. *buzā*; Az. *bïzov*; Turkm. *buzaw*; Sal. *puzo, pūzï* (ССЯ 457); MTurk. *buzaɣu, buzaɣ, buzaw* (Sangl., MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *buzoq*; Uygh. *mozaj*; Krm. *bïzuv, buzuv*; Tat. *bïzaw*; Bashk. *bïδaw*; Kirgh. *muzō*; Kaz. *buzau*; KBalk. *buzow*; KKalp. *buzaw*; Kum. *buzaw*; Nogh. *buzaw*; Khak. *pïzo*; Shr. *puza* (R); Oyr. *bïza*; Tv. *bïzā*; Chuv. *pъʷru*.

◊ EDT 391, VEWT 74-5, ЭСТЯ 2, 239-242, *Лексика* 438-439. Bulg. **burəʷu* > Hung. *borjú*, see MNyTESz 1, 345-346. The derivation from **boŕ* 'grey' and assumption of borrowing Turk. **buŕagu* > Mong. *biraɣu* (Щербак 1997, 108) is hardly plausible.

PJpn. **pítú-nsí** sheep (овца): OJpn. *pjituzi*; MJpn. *fitúzí*; Tok. *hìtsuji*; Kyo. *hítsújí*; Kag. *hitsúji*.

◊ JLTT 411. The word may indeed have **usi* 'ox' (with secondary voicing) in the second part, but Martin's analysis of the first part as *pi 'beard' seems hardly credible (in Kor. *jəm-so* the first part is also etymologically "goat", not "beard").

PKor. **puruk** bull-calf (бычок): Mod. *puruk-so* (so 'cow'), *purugi*.

◊ KED 813.

‖ KW 69, Владимирцов 361, Poppe 21, 81, Новикова 1972, 117. In Jpn. we have to assume a secondary vocalic development in a long word: **pútí-(u)si* > **pítú(n)si* (the word is most probably a compound with **usi* 'cow' in the second part, cf. the Korean match).

✱**bi̯òsá** field, mountain slope: Tung. **bosoga**; Turk. **basiɡ**; Jpn. **bàsái**.

PTung. **bosoga** North slope of a mountain (северный склон горы): Evk. *bosoɣo*; Evn. *bosaɣ*; Neg. *bosoɣïda, bosoji*; Sol. *bosog* 'forest'.

◊ TMC 1, 97.

PTurk. **basiɡ** field, cornfield (поле): Tur. *bâsu-raχ* 'fenced garden, yard' (dial. Zonguldak - Eren 182); Tat. *basu*; *basaw* (R, Kas.); Bashk. *baθïw*; Chuv. *pozъ*.

◊ VEWT 64 (hardly < **bas-* 'to press'), Федотов I 450-451. Turk. > Mari *pasu*, Udm. *busi*.

PJpn. **bàsái** early rice (ранние рисовые посевы): OJpn. *wase*; MJpn. *wàsé*; Tok. *wáse*; Kyo. *wásè*; Kag. *wasé*.

◊ JLTT 568. The accent in Kyoto is irregular (*wàsé* would be expected).

‖ The original meaning may be reconstructed as "vegetation on a mountain slope". All forms reflect a suffixed shape **bi̯òsa-gi* (-ga).

✱**bi̯ŏt'è** to cover: Mong. **büte-, *büteɣe-**; Turk. **bat-**; Jpn. **pútá**.

PMong. **büte-, *büteɣe-** to cover, stop up (покрывать, закрывать): MMong. *butugai* 'to finish, close' (HY 51), *bute'e-* (SH); WMong. *bütü-, bütege-*; Kh. *bütē-, bitŭ̄-*; Bur. *büte-*; Kalm. *büt-*; Ord. *bütē-*; Dag. *butu-, butūn* 'covered, secret'; S.-Yugh. *putŭ̄-le-*; Mongr. *pudē-* (SM 304).

◊ KW 70, MGCD 153. Mong. > Tat. *bite-*, Kaz. *betä-*.

PTurk. ***bạt-*** 1 to hide, conceal (trans.) 2 to hide (intr.) 3 to get lost (1 прятать, скрывать 2 прятаться 3 теряться): Karakh. *batur-* (MK) 1; Az. *bat-* 3; Uzb. *bɔt-* 2; Tat. *bat-* 2; Kum. *bat-* 3; SUygh. *pat-* 2; Chuv. *p̆idar-* 1, *p̆idan-* 2.

◊ Егоров 173, Федотов I 466-467, EDT 308, ЭСТЯ 2, 78-79: the root should be distinguished from **bat-* 'to sink' (v. sub **pàt'á*).

PJpn. ***pútá*** lid, cover (крышка): MJpn. *futa*; Tok. *fùta*; Kyo. *fútá*; Kag. *fúta*.

◊ JLTT 419.

‖ The front vowel in Mong. is not quite regular here: **but-* would be normally expected.

bi̯udi** a k. of weed, pigweed: Mong. ***budurgana; Jpn. ****pìjú***; Kor. ****pìrăm***.

PMong. ***budurgana*** a k. of grass (Suaeda prostrata, Iljinia Regelii) (вид травы (поташник)): WMong. *buduryana* (L 131); Kh. *budargana*; Bur. *budargana*; Kalm. *budṛγənə* 'жерняк, вид Артемизии'; Ord. *budurGana, budurGanaq* 'Reamuria soongorica Maxim.'.

◊ KW 57. Mong. > Man. *budurxana* (see TMC 1, 102).

PJpn. ****pìjú*** pigweed, Amaranthus (марь, амарант): MJpn. *fijú*; Tok. *hiyu*.

PKor. ****pìrăm*** pigweed, Amaranthus (марь, амарант): MKor. *pirăm, pìrĭm*; Mod. *pirim*.

◊ Liu 411, 412, KED 852.

‖ Martin 238, Whitman 213. Despite the tone discrepancy, the Kor.-Jpn. parallel is still very convincing.

bi̯údò (~ p-)** cold, fog: Mong. ***budaŋ; Turk. ***bud-***; Jpn. ****pújù***.

PMong. ***budaŋ*** fog (туман): MMong. *budan* (SH, MA), *buduŋgu* 'dunkel' (HYt); WMong. *budaŋ* (L 129), *budun*; Kh. *budan*; Bur. *budan*; Kalm. *budŋ*; Ord. *budaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *budaŋ*.

◊ KW 57, MGCD 685.

PTurk. ***bud-*** 1 to freeze 2 to be sad, sorry (1 замерзать 2 грустить, тосковать): Karakh. *buδ-* (MK) 'to die of cold'; Tur. *buj-, bij-, büj-, bujux-* (dial.) 1; Az. *bij-, bujux-* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *buj-* 1; Uzb. *buj-γur-* 1, *bujuγ* 'cold' (dial.); Tat. *bojiq-* 2; Bashk. *bojoq-* 2; Kirgh. *bujuq-* 1; Kaz. *bujiq-* 1; KBalk. *bujuq-* 1, 2; KKalp. *bujuq-* 1; 'дремать'; Kum. *bujuq-* 'сжиматься от холода или испуга'; Khak. *puzux-* 2; Tv. *būq-* 2 (borrowed?).

◊ EDT 298, ЭСТЯ 2, 242-243.

PJpn. ****pújù*** winter (зима): OJpn. *puju*; MJpn. *fuju*; Tok. *fuyú*; Kyo. *fúyù*; Kag. *fúyu*.

◊ JLTT 419.

‖ A diphthong has to be reconstructed because of the *-j-reflex in Jpn.; cf. also Orok *pidul-* 'to freeze completely' (of a river) (TMC 2, 37).

***bi̯ùdo (~ -u)** gruel, paste; to swell in water: Mong. ***budaɣa**; Turk. ***botka**; Jpn. ***pùjàkà-**; Kor. ***pīd-, *pídVh**.

PMong. ***budaɣa** 1 gruel, soup 2 food (каша, суп): MMong. *buda'an* (HY 24, SH), *budan* (IM), *budan* (MA) 1; WMong. *budaɣa(n)* (L 129) 1; Kh. *budā(n)* 1; Bur. *budā* 1; Kalm. *budān* 1; Ord. *budā* 1,2; Mog. ZM *bodɔ̄n* 'gruel' (15-1a); Dag. *badā* 2 (Тод. Даг. 123, MD 117), *bedā* 2 (MD 120), *budā* 1, 2; Dong. *budan* 2; Bao. *badaŋ* 2; S.-Yugh. *budān* 1; Mongr. *budā* (SM 30) 1, 2.

◊ KW 57, MGCD 165. Mong. > Man. *buda* etc. (TMC 1, 102; Doerfer MT 116; Rozycki 36).

PTurk. ***botka** gruel, porridge (каша): MTurk. OKypch. *butɣa* (At-Tuhf.); Uzb. *bu̯tqa*; Uygh. *botqa*; Tat. *botqa*; Bashk. *butqa*; Kirgh. *botqo*; Kaz. *botqa*; KKalp. *botqa*; Nogh. *botqa*; Khak. *potxɨ*; Oyr. *botqo*; Tv. *botqa* (Krg.); Chuv. *pъʷdъʷ*; Yak. *butuɣas*.

◊ VEWT 82, ЭСТЯ 2, 201. There seems to have existed a deriving verb **bot-* or **bod-* (*but-, *bud-) 'to stir (porridge)', reflected only in Yak. *butuj-*.

PJpn. ***pùjàkà-** to swell (being immersed into water) (разбухать (в воде)): Tok. *fuɣaké-*; Kyo. *fúɣáké-*; Kag. *fuɣaké-*.

◊ JLTT 797. The MJ accent is unattested. Kyoto and Tokyo point to original low tone, but Kagoshima is aberrant.

PKor. ***pīd-, *pídVh** 1 to swell, get bloated (in water) 2 glue, paste, gruel (1 разбухать 2 клей, крахмал, каша): MKor. *phír* 2; Mod. *put-* (*pur-*) 1, *phul* 2.

◊ Nam 465, KED 832, 1763.

‖ Cf. perhaps also Man. *bužu-* 'to cook': the form may go back to PTM **büdigu-*. MKor. *phír* < **pírh* < **pírVh* < **pídVh* (with an early vowel reduction, which explains the reflex -r as originally intervocalic).

***bi̯udu** down, feather, curly: Tung. ***bodu-**; Mong. ***buǯi- / *boǯi-**; Turk. ***bidik (*bidńik)**; Jpn. ***pí-n-kai**.

PTung. ***bodu-** curly, fleecy (кудрявый, курчавый): Evn. *bodu̯ru̯qa*.

◊ TMC 1, 103. Attested only in Evn., but having quite probable external parallels.

PMong. ***buǯi- / *boǯi-** 1 curly, fleecy 2 down (of bird) 3 be curly (1 кудрявый, пушистый 2 пух 3 быть курчавым): WMong. *bužigir* 1 (L 143), *božuɣu* 2 (L 123), *bužiji-* 3 (L 143); Kh. *bužgir* 1, *boʒgo* 2; Kalm. *bužəɣər* 1, *bužī-* 3; Ord. *bužī-* 3.

◊ KW 57-58. Mong. > Yak. *bužur-*, Evk. *bužir* etc., see Doerfer MT 78.

PTurk. ***bidik (*bidńik)** moustache (усы): Karakh. *biδiq* (MK), *bijiq* (IM); Tur. *bijik*; Gag. *bijiq*; Az. *biɣ*; Turkm. *mijq* (dial.); MTurk. *biɣ, miɣ* (Sangl.); Uzb. *mijiq* (dial.); Krm. *mijix*; Tat. *mijiq*; Bashk. *mijiq*; Kirgh.

mijiq; KBalk. *mijiq*; KKalp. *mijiq*; Kum. *mijiq*; Nogh. *mijiq*; Oyr. *mijiq*; Chuv. *mъ̆jъ̆x*; Yak. *bitik*; Dolg. *bitik*.

◊ VEWT 73, EDT 301, ЭСТЯ 2, 304, Лексика 223, Stachowski 71.

PJpn. ***pí-n-kai*** beard (борода): OJpn. *pjige*; MJpn. *fige*; Tok. *hìge*; Kyo. *hígé*; Kag. *híge*.

◊ JLTT 406. Historically a compound with **kai* 'hair'.

‖ KW 58, Владимирцов 174, Poppe 21, 53, Лексика 224. Despite Лексика 223, Turk. **budra* 'curls' (ЭСТЯ 2, 245) very probably represents the same root as **bidik* 'moustache' and also belongs here. Jpn. **pí-* should be regarded as an early contraction < **bi̯uj-* < **bi̯udu*.

✱**bi̯úga** wheel, pommel of a saddle: Mong. ***büɣü-rge***; Jpn. ***bà***; Kor. ***pàhói***.

PMong. ***büɣü-rge (~ -wr-)*** pommel of a saddle (лука седла): MMong. *buurkä* (MA 154); WMong. *bügürge* (L 145), *büürke* (MXTTT); Kh. *bŭ̄reg*; Bur. *bŭ̄rge*; Kalm. *bŭ̄rəg*, *bŭ̄rgə*; Ord. *bŭ̄rge*; Dag. *bū̆reg* (Тод. Дат. 128); S.-Yugh. *bŭ̄rge*.

◊ KW 70-71, MGCD 173.

PJpn. ***bà*** wheel (колесо): OJpn. wa; MJpn. *wà*; Tok. *wá*; Kyo. *wã́*; Kag. *wà*.

◊ JLTT 567.

PKor. ***pàhói*** wheel (колесо): MKor. *pàhói*; Mod. *pakhwi*.

◊ Nam 239, KED 710.

‖ Martin 246. Low tone in Jpn. is probably due to contraction. In Mong. one has to assume **büɣü-rge* < **biɣe-r-gü*. Cf. Manchu *faχun* 'rim of a wheel' (< Kor.?).

✱**bi̯ŭ̆ge** rock, hill: Tung. ***bug-***; Mong. ***böɣerüg***; Turk. ***bögür***; Jpn. ***bə***; Kor. ***pàhói***.

PTung. ***bug-*** hill, mound (холм, бугор): Evk. *buɣa*, *buɣan*; Evn. *bu̯ɣu̯n*, *buɣjeńe*, *buɣъ̆ndъ̆*; Ul. *bo(n)*; Nan. *buen*, *bugdure*.

◊ TMC 1, 101, 102.

PMong. ***böɣerüg*** 1 mountain slopes 2 hill (1 горные склоны 2 холм): WMong. *bögerüg*, *bögereg*; Kh. *bŭ̄rög* 1; Kalm. *bŭ̄rəg* 2.

◊ KW 57.

PTurk. ***bögür*** mountain slope (склон горы): Tur. *böɣür*; Turkm. *bövür* 'side'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 207. The root is historically different from **bögür* 'kidney', but they are hard to distinguish within Turkic.

PJpn. ***bə*** hill, hillock (холм): OJpn. *wo*; MJpn. *wo*.

◊ JLTT 503.

PKor. ***pàhói*** rock (скала): MKor. *pàhói*; Mod. *pawi*.

◊ Nam 239, KED 708.

‖ Cf. **bŭ̆k'e*, **pāko*.

***bi̯ūgi** a k. of insect: Tung. ***bugu-tuna**; Mong. ***böɣe-sü**; Turk. ***bŏ̄g**; Jpn. ***pìwə̀-musi**.

PTung. ***bugu-tuna** 1 mosquito 2 gad-fly (1 комар 2 слепень): Evk. *bu̯gutu̯na* 1; Man. *bekto* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 102, 123.

PMong. ***böɣe-sü** louse (вошь): MMong. *bo'esun* (HY 12, SH), *buwăsu-tu* 'with lice', *buäsun* (MA), *būsūn* (LH); WMong. *bögesü(n)* (L 125); Kh. *bŏ̄s(ön)*; Bur. *bŏ̄he(n)*; Kalm. *bŏ̄sn̥*; Ord. *bŏ̄sü*; Mog. *busu* (Weiers); ZM *bosun* (21-8); Dag. *bŭ̄s* (Тод. Дат. 128); Dong. *bosun*; Bao. *bosuŋ*, *bosoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *bŭ̄sən*; Mongr. *bōsə* (SM 29).

◊ KW 57, MGCD 160.

PTurk. ***bŏ̄g, *bŏ̄g-en, *bŏ̄g-ček** 1 insect 2 phalanx, tarantula 3 gad-fly 4 wolf (1 насекомое 2 фаланга, тарантул 3 слепень 4 волк): Karakh. *bög*, *böj* 2 (MK), *bij* 2 (MK - Oghuz); Tur. *böɣ* 2, *büɣe*, *büɣe-lek* 3, *böžek* 1, (dial.) 4; Gag. *böžek* 1; Az. *böv* 2; Turkm. *mŏ̄j* 2, *bij* 2, *mŏ̄žek* 4; MTurk. *bew* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *bij* 2; Krm. *bij* 2; Tat. *böjɛ* 2, *böžɛk* 1; Bashk. *böjö* 2, *böžäk* 1; Kirgh. *bŏ̄*, *böj*, *böjü*, *böjön* 3; Kaz. *büji* 2; KKalp. *mij* 2; Kum. *mija* 2; Nogh. *bij* 2, 'queen bee', *böžek* 'beetle'; Chuv. *pъʷvan* 3.

◊ EDT 323, VEWT 82-3, Лексика 184. Partly contaminated with **böke-l* 'gad-fly ' (v. sub **pi̯ŭk'i*). The form in -ček is a diminutive. Turk. > Hung. bögöly 'gad-fly', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***pìwə̀-musi** a k. of insect (day-fly, ephemera) (вид насекомого (поденка, мотылек)): MJpn. *fiwòmúsì*.

◊ JLTT 408.

‖ KW 57, VEWT 82-3, АПиПЯЯ 294, Лексика 184. The Jpn. tone seems to contradict Turkic length (but is not sufficiently well attested).

***bi̯ugu** joint: Tung. ***bog-**; Mong. ***bog-tu**; Turk. ***bogum**; Jpn. ***pu**.

PTung. ***bog-** 1 cuff, wristband 2 shoulder (1 обшлаг 2 плечо): Evk. *boɣjan* 1; Evn. *bujan* 1; Ud. *bogdolo* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 87, 118.

PMong. ***bog-** collar bone, shoulder bone (ключица, плечевая кость): WMong. *boɣtu* (L 111), 'arm bone, part of arm from shoulder to elbow, part of animal's front leg' (Kow. 1211); Kh. *bogt(o)* 'elbow bone'; *buguj* 'distal end of forearm, forearm, carpus'; Bur. *bogto* 'shoulder bone'; Kalm. *bōG*, *bokčə* (*čimgn*), *boktə* 'shoulder bone'; Ord. *boGto* 'elbow bone'; *bugūi* 'ankle' (Khorch.).

◊ KW 49, 53, Дыбо 226. The variant **buguj* (< **boguj*) is conaminating (and sometimes hard to separate from) **bugu-j* 'bracelet, noose' (v. sub **bŭkə̀*). Mong. > Yak. *boxto unuox* 'animal's radial bone'.

PTurk. ***bogum** joint (сустав): Karakh. *boɣim*, *boɣun* (MK); Tur. *boɣun*, *boɣum*; Turkm. *boGun*; Sal. *puɣum* (Kakuk); MTurk. *boɣun* (Sangl., Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *bu̯ɣin*; Uygh. *boɣam*; Krm. *buvun*; Tat.

buwɨn; Bashk. *bɨwɨn*; Kirgh. *mūn*; Kaz. *buwɨn*; KKalp. *buwɨn*; Kum. *bɨwɨn*; Nogh. *buwɨn*; Khak. *pun*; Oyr. *mun*, *pūn* (dial.).

◊ EDT 316, ЭСТЯ 2, 170-171, Лексика 260, TMN 2, 348-349.

PJpn. ***pu*** joint, knot (место соединения, узел): OJpn. *pu*.

◊ JLTT 416.

‖ KW 53, ЭСТЯ 2, 171; Дыбо 309, Лексика 260.

✱**bi̯ùjlu (~ -i)** blood: Tung. ***boldu-***; Mong. ***bülüŋ***; Kor. ***píh***.

PTung. ***boldu-*** pulse (пульс): Ork. *bolduni*.

◊ TMC 1, 92. Attested only in Orok, but with rather probable external parallels.

PMong. ***bülüŋ*** blood clot (сгусток крови): WMong. *bülüŋ*, *bülin* (L 146, 147); Kh. *bülen*; Bur. *büliŋ*.

PKor. ***píh*** blood (кровь): MKor. *phí*; Mod. *phi*.

◊ Nam 465, KED 1771.

‖ Medial *-jl- is reconstructed to account for loss of *-l- in Kor. (-h should be regarded as a suffix, as in a number of other cases).

✱**bi̯ujri** well, spring: Tung. ***bira***; Mong. ***bürü-dü***; Jpn. ***bì***; Kor. ***ù-***.

PTung. ***bira*** 1 river 2 spring (1 река 2 ручей, ключ): Evk. *bira* 1, *biraja* 1,2; Evn. *bi̯ra* 1, *bi̯raqčan* 2; Neg. *bi̯ja* 1, 2, *bi̯jaxān* 2; Man. *bira* 1, *biraGa*, *birGan*, *birχa* 2; SMan. *birā* 1 (2087); Jurch. *bira* (40) 1; Ul. *bi̯ra* 2; Nan. *bi̯rã* 2; Orch. *biaka* 2; Ud. *bā'sa* 1 (Корм. 212); Sol. *bira* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 1, 84.

PMong. ***bürü-dü*** 1 swamp (with a spring) in a river bed 2 well (1 болото (с источником) в русле реки 2 криница): WMong. *bürüdü* 1; Kh. *bürd* 2; Kalm. *bürdə* 1; Ord. *bürdü* 1.

◊ KW 67.

PJpn. ***bì (~ *bùi, *bài)*** well (колодец): OJpn. wi; MJpn. *wì*; Tok. *i*.

◊ JLTT 420.

PKor. ***ù-*** well (колодец): MKor. *ù-mír*; Mod. *umul*.

◊ Nam 389, KED 1239 (-mir 'water').

‖ Whitman 1985, 139, 245 (Kor.-Jpn.). Loss of final resonant in Kor. makes us reconstruct the medial -j-, which also explains several other phenomena: *-i-vowel in PTM (-u- would be expected after a labial); *b- in PJ (*p- would be expected before i). Korean has also lost the initial *b-, as in some other cases; cf. in this respect the interesting Old Koguryo and Silla forms: Old Koguryo **wöl*, Silla **öl* (see Miller 1979, 9). Jpn. **bì* < **bi̯ujr(i)-gV*.

✱**bi̯ûkʻa (~ -u)** side (of body), thigh: Tung. ***bōKan***; Mong. ***bokaɣur***; Turk. ***bɨkɨn***.

PTung. ***bōKan*** thigh (бедро, ляжка): Evk. *bōkan*; Evn. *bōqn̥*; Man. *buxi*; Ud. *bō'* (Корм. 213).

◊ TMC 1, 90.

PMong. ***bokaɣur** behind, buttocks (зад, ягодицы): MMong. *baqa'ur* (MA), *baɣūr* (IM), *baqaūr* (LH), *baɣaɣur* 'derrière' (Lig.VMI); Kh. *buxar* (Most.); Kalm. *bokūr* 'Schurke, Schelm'; Mog. *buɣār* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *boGo*; Bao. *boGor*.

◊ KW 50.

PTurk. ***bi̯kin** thigh (бедро): OTurk. *bi̯qin* 'hip' (OUygh.); Karakh. *bi̯qin* 'hip, flank' (MK); Tur. *bi̯kin* (dial.); Turkm. *bi̯qin*; MTurk. *bi̯qin* 'hip, flank' (Sangl.); Uzb. *biqin*; Uygh. *biqin*; Tat. *bi̯ɣin* (Sib.); Bashk. *bi̯ɣim*; Kirgh. *miqin*; Kaz. *miqin*; KBalk. *bi̯ɣin*; Khak. *pixti*; Oyr. *bi̯qin*, *miqin*; Tv. *bi̯ɣin*.

◊ EDT 316, VEWT 73, TMN 2, 301, ЭСТЯ 2, 304-305, Лексика 280. The Khak. form is a rebuilt posessive form.

‖ Дыбо 6, Лексика 280. A Western isogloss.

***bi̯uk'e** vessel; gourd: Tung. ***buKu-**; Jpn. ***pùkù(m)pái (~ -ia)**; Kor. ***pàk**.

PTung. ***buKu-** 1 birch cradle 2 birch bark put into cradle 3 suitcase (1 берестяная люлька 2 береста, которую кладут в люльку 3 чемодан): Evk. *bukun* 2; Evn. *buk* 1; Man. *buqtulin* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 105.

PJpn. ***pùkù(m)pái (~ -ia)** gourd (тыква): MJpn. *fùkùbe*; Tok. *fukube*.

PKor. ***pàk** 1 gourd; scoop 2 bamboo basket (1 тыква; черпак 2 бамбуковая корзина): MKor. *pàkòní* 2; Mod. *pak* 1, *paguni* 2.

◊ Nam 236, KED 702, 710.

‖ Martin 232. An Eastern isogloss. In Kor. the root could contaminate with **págo* (q.v.), which can explain the prosodic irregularity.

***bi̯ŭk'í** to bow, bend: Tung. ***buk-**; Mong. ***bök-**; Turk. ***bük-**; Jpn. ***pìnkàm-**.

PTung. ***buk-** hump, to bend (горб, гнуться): Evk. *buke-*; Evn. *bökčen-*; Neg. *boxon*; Man. *boqto*, *buqtu*, *buqda-*; Ul. *boqo(n)*; Ork. *boqqo*; Nan. *bukũ*; Ud. *boxo*; Sol. *buktur*.

◊ TMC 1, 104. Man. > Dag. *bogto* 'hill, mound' (Тод. Даг. 126).

PMong. ***bök-** 1 hump 2 to bend (tr.) 3 to bend, bow, incline 4 humpbacked (1 горб 2 гнуть 3 сгибаться, наклоняться, кланяться 4 горбатый): MMong. *bokotur*, *bogotur* (SH), *bukä-tu* (MA) 4; WMong. *böke* 1, *bökeji-*, *bökü-* (L 126, 127) 2; Kh. *böx(ön)* 1, *bögtör* 4; Bur. *büxe(n)* 1, *bükti-*, *bügdi-* 3; Kalm. *bökn̥* 1; Ord. *bökö* 1, *bögötör* 4; Mog. ZM *bökkän* 'the hump of a camel'; Dag. *bug* 1 (Тод. Даг. 128), (MGCD) *buēktuē*, *buku*; S.-Yugh. *bögön* 1; Mongr. *pugī-*, *bukī-* (Huzu) 3.

◊ KW 55, MGCD 161, 162, 181. Mong. > Oyr. *bökö-* 'bend (tr.)', Yak *bököj-* 'bow, bend' (intr.), Kirgh. *bök-* 'припасть к земле, опуститься на колени (о верблюдице, для случки)'.

PTurk. ***bük-** 1 to bow, bend 2 to curve, bend, wrap smth. (1 сгибаться, кланяться 2 сгибать, складывать, свертывать): Karakh. *bük-* 1 (MK); Tur. *bük-* 2; Gag. *bük-* 2; Az. *bük-* 2; Turkm. *bük-* 2; Sal. *pöx-* 2 (ССЯ 454); MTurk. *bük-* 1 (Sangl. Pav. C.); Uzb. *buk-* 2; Uygh. *pük-* 2; Krm. *büg-ül-* 1 (K); Tat. *bög-* 2; Bashk. *bögö-* 2; Kirgh. *bük-* (-gV-) 2; Kaz. *bük/g-* 2; KBalk. *bük-* (-gV-) 2; KKalp. *bük-* (-gV-) 2; Kum. *bük-* (-gV-) 2; Nogh. *bük-* (-gV-) 2; Khak. *pük-* 2; Shr. *pük-* 2; Oyr. *bük-* (-gV) 2; Tv. *bük-* 'to wrap'; Chuv. *pᵃʷk-* 2; Yak. *bük* 'a bend, flexion'; *bügülē-* 2.

◊ EDT 324, VEWT 91-92, ЭСТЯ 2, 290-293.

PJpn. ***pìnkàm-** be twisted, warped (быть искривленным, покоробленным): MJpn. *figàm-*; Tok. *higám-*; Kyo. *hígám-*; Kag. *higám-*.

◊ JLTT 688.

‖ EAS 147, KW 55, Poppe 56, ОСНЯ 1, 191. Despite Doerfer MT 56, TM is hardly borrowed from Mong., and (despite TMN 2, 352) the Turk. and Mong. forms are certainly related. Cf. also Turk. **bok-* 'to cross (legs), bend (knees)' (VEWT 79, EDT 311), WMong. *boki-* (KW 49) 'to bend', reflecting a back-row variant of the same root. Part of the Mongolian (**bög-*) and TM forms seem to go back to a variant **bi̯ŭ̀ki*.

✱**bi̯ule** wick: Tung. ***bulin**; Turk. ***bilik**.

PTung. ***bulin** wick (фитиль): Neg. *bulin*; Ul. *buli(n)*; Nan. *bulī*.

◊ TMC 1, 108.

PTurk. ***bilik, *bEĺ-mek(e)*** 1 wick 2 tinder, mushroom (1 фитиль 2 трут, гриб): Karakh. *bilik* (MK) 1; Uzb. *pilik* 1; Uygh. *pilik* (Jarr.) 1; Tat. *meškɛ* 2; Bashk. *bäšmäk* 2; Kirgh. *bilik* 1; KKalp. *pilik* 1; Khak. *miske* 2; Shr. *meške* 2; Oyr. *meške* 2.

◊ EDT 339, VEWT 69, 72, ЭСТЯ VI.

‖ TMC 1, 108. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss

✱**bi̯ŭ̀le** to rub, whet: Tung. ***bula**; Mong. ***büle-**; Turk. ***bile-**; Kor. ***pjə̀ró**.

PTung. ***bula** thorn (шип, колючка): Man. *bula*; SMan. *bəlā* (2160).

◊ TMC 1, 106. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***büle-** to bore, prick, incise (with a knife etc.) (колоть, надрезать (ножом и т. п.)): WMong. *büle-* (L 146); Kh. *büle-*; Kalm. *bül-*.

◊ KW 66.

PTurk. ***bile-*** 1 to sharpen 2 whetstone (1 точить 2 точильный камень): Karakh. *bile-* (MK) 1; Tur. *bile-* 1; Gag. *bile-* 1, *bilä* 2; Az. *bülöv, bilöv* 2; Turkm. *bilev* 2; MTurk. *bile-* 1, *bilew* 2 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *bilä-* (Jarr.) 1; Krm. *bile-* 1, *bülew* 2; Tat. *belɛw* 2; Bashk. *beläw* 2; Kirgh. *bülö* 2; Kaz. *bilew* 2; KBalk. *bile-* 1, *bilew* 2; Kum. *bile-* 1, *bilew* 2; Nogh. *bilew* 2; Khak. *pəlö* 2 (R); Shr. *pile* 2; Oyr. *bilü* 2; Tv. *bili-* (Castr.- Soj.) 1; Chuv. *pᵃʷlev* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 142-143, EDT 332-333 (< **bi* 'blade', denom. - but Turkm. shortness contradicts this derivation). Turk. **bile-gü* > Mong. **bile-γü* id., see Щербак 1997, 106.

PKor. ***pjə̀ró*** inkstone (for rubbing the ink from an ink stick) (чернильный камень): MKor. *pjə̀ró*; Mod. *pjəru*.

◊ Nam 258, KED 775.

‖ Turk. **bile-* is usually derived from **bij* 'edge' (q. v.) which is hardly the case (**bijle-* cannot be reconstructed).

bi̯ŭlò** to soak, gush forth: Tung. ***b[ü]lkü-; Mong. ***bul(ka)-***, ***bilka-***; Turk. ***bulak***; Jpn. ***pùrə (~ -ua)***; Kor. ***puri- (~ -i-)***.

PTung. ***b[ü]lkü-*** 1 to soak, wet 2 to splash, swash (1 смочить, намочить 2 плескаться, бить ключом): Evk. *bilki-* 1, *bulkiw-* 2; Man. *bulχu-* 2; Nan. *bi̯lχo-* 1, *bolqo- ~ bulχo-* 2; Ud. *beäku-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 82, 108. The vocalism is not quite clear because of the doublets with -i- and -u- (due to interdialectal borrowing and perhaps also Mongolian influence, see below).

PMong. ***bul(ka)-***, ***bilka-*** 1 to soak, wet 2 to issue from the ground (as water) 3 to overflow (1 мочить 2 вытекать из земли (о воде) 3 переливаться, литься через край): WMong. *bulqa-* (L 136), *bulqu-* 1, *bulara-* 2 (L 133), *bilqa-* 3 (L 105); Kh. *bulxa-* 1, *ƀalxa-* 3; Bur. *bulxa-* 'to gargle', *bilxa-* 3; Kalm. *bulxə-* 1, *bilxə-* 3.

◊ KW 45, 60. Mong. > Kaz. *bilqi-* etc. (VEWT 74).

PTurk. ***bulak*** spring, well (источник, колодец): OTurk. *bulaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bulaq* (KB, IM); Tur. *bulak*; Az. *bulaG*; Turkm. *bulaq*; Khal. *bula:G* 'well; tear'; MTurk. *bulaγ* (Abush.), *bulaq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *bulɔq*; Uygh. *bulaq* (dial.); Tat. *bolaq*; Kaz. *bulaq*; KBalk. *bulaq*; KKalp. *bulaq*; Kum. *bulaq*; Nogh. *bulaq*; SUygh. *bulaq*; Khak. *pulux* (R - Sag.); Shr. *puluq* (R); Tv. *bilaq*; Tof. *bilaq* (Pac. Фил).

◊ EDT 336, VEWT 87, ЭСТЯ 2, 257-258, TMN 2, 355. Cf. Kaz. *bula-* 'to flow, gush forth'. Turk. > WMong. *bulaγ*, Kalm. *bulag* (KW 59; TMN ibid., Щербак 1997, 110), whence Evk. *bulak* (Doerfer MT 125).

PJpn. ***pùrə (~ -ua)*** bath (ванна, купание): MJpn. *fùrò*; Tok. *fúro, furó*; Kyo. *fùró*; Kag. *furó*.

◊ JLTT 418.

PKor. ***puri-*** to soak, make wet (мочить): Mod. *puri-* (SKE 211), *pulli-*.

◊ KED 836.

‖ TMC 1, 108 (TM-Mong.). An expressive root with difficult reconstruction. The two variants in Mong. and TM are probably due to interdialectal borrowing, but direct borrowing from Mong. into TM is hard to justify: the meanings are not in mutual correlation (Mong. *bilka-* is 'overflow', while *bilki-* in TM is 'to wet, moisten'; Mong. *bulka-* is 'to dip, rinse', while TM *bulku-* is 'to splash'). The Korean reflex is not quite certain (Martin KED 836 considers *pulli-* to be a factitive of *pūd-* 'swell' - which is, however, somewhat questionable).

***bi̯ura** to abandon, lose: Tung. ***burī-**; Turk. ***bɨrak-**; Jpn. ***pàra-p- / *pára-p-**; Kor. ***pəri- / *pə̀rí-**.

PTung. ***burī-** 1 to let slip 2 to disappear 3 to let go (1 выронить, потерять 2 исчезать, пропадать 3 отпускать): Evk. *burī-* 1; Evn. *beri-* 1; Man. *burubu-* 2; Jurch. *buru-wi-xie* (840) 1; Orch. *bui-* 1; Sol. *burī-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 113.

PTurk. ***bɨrak-** 1 to let, to abandon 2 to send 3 to throw (1 бросать 2 покидать 3 посылать): Karakh. *bɨraq-*, *bɨraɣ-* (IM) 1; Tur. *bɨrak-* 1; Az. *burax-* 1, 2; MTurk. *bɨraq-* (Pav. C.), (OKypch.) 1; Krm. *bɨraq-* (K) 1, 3; Bashk. *bɨraq-tɨr-* 'to throw out'; Kum. *burax-* (dial.) 2; Shr. *purqa-* (R) 3; Oyr. *bɨrk-ɨra-* 'to scatter, become scattered'; Chuv. *pъʷrax-* 1, 3; Yak. *bɨrax-* 1, 3; Dolg. *bɨrak-* 1, 3.

◊ VEWT 74, ЭСТЯ 2, 307-308, Егоров 148, Федотов I 399-400, Stachowski 71.

PJpn. ***pàra-p- / *pára-p-** to sweep away, to drive out (сметать, убирать, выгонять): OJpn. *para-p-*; MJpn. *fárà-f- / fàrá-f-*; Tok. *hará-*; Kyo. *hárá-*; Kag. *hàrà-*.

◊ JLTT 684. Accent is not quite clear: modern dialects point to **pàràp-*, but RJ has a variation of *fáràf-* and *fàráf-*.

PKor. ***pəri- / *pə̀rí-** to throw away, to abandon (выкидывать, покидать): MKor. *pə̌rí- / pərí-*; Mod. *pəri-*.

◊ Nam 241, KED 759-760.

‖ SKE 184, 192, Martin 243. The Jpn. form is dubious because of irregular devoicing and somewhat aberrant semantics; cf. also an odd variation between **pə̀r-* and **pər-* in Kor., suggesting that we may be dealing with more than one root here: one of them could have also resulted in Mong. *bara-* 'to end, finish'. Turkic has a peculiar disyllabic structure and Ramstedt may be right in suggesting an old compound; for the second part cf. **ek-* 'to sow' < 'to throw' (v. sub **pʹèkʹa*).

***bi̯ure** flea: Mong. ***bürge**; Turk. ***bürče / *bürge**; Kor. ***pjə̀rók**.

PMong. ***bürge** 1 flea 2 louse (1 блоха 2 вошь): MMong. *burge* (HY 12) 2, *birik* (IM) 1, *burkä* (MA) 1, *būrge* (Lig.VMI) 1; WMong. *bürge, büürge* 2; Kh. *bʉ̄reg* 2; Kalm. *bʉ̄rgə* 1; Ord. *bʉ̄rge* 1; Dong. *bəŋɣə*; Bao. *bərgə*; Mongr. *būrge* (SM 35), 2 (MGCD *burgə*).

◊ KW 71, MGCD 513. Cf. also (L 138) *burɣuusun* 'mosquito, gnat'. Length in Northern forms may be expressive.

PTurk. ***bürče / *bürge** flea (блоха): Karakh. *bürge* (MK, IM); Tur. *pire*; Gag. *pire*; Az. *pirä*; Turkm. *büre*; MTurk. *bürge* (MA, Pav. C., Sangl.); Uzb. *burga*; Uygh. *bürgä*; Krm. *bürče*; Tat. *börčɛ*; Bashk. *börsä*; Kirgh. *bürgö*; Kaz. *bürge, bürše* (dial.), *burša* (dial.); KBalk. *bürče*; KKalp. *bürge*; Kum. *bürče*; Nogh. *bürše*; Chuv. *pъʷrźa*.

◊ EDT 362, VEWT 92, ЭСТЯ 2, 298-299, Лексика 182-183. The Kypch. form **bürče* is a diminutive.

PKor. ***pjə̀rók*** flea (блоха): MKor. *pjə̀rók*; Mod. *pjəruk*.

◊ Nam 258, KED 775.

‖ KW 71, SKE 198, ОСНЯ 2, 99-100, *Лексика* 183. In Turkic one would rather expect **bir-*: this variant is indeed reflected in most Oghuz languages; others may have reintroduced -ü- under Mongolian influence.

✱**bi̯uri** one: Mong. ***büri***; Turk. ***bir***; Jpn. ***pitə***; Kor. ***pìrɨ́-***.

PMong. ***büri*** all, each (каждый, все): MMong. *buri* (SH, HYt); WMong. *büri* (L 148); Kh. *bür*; Bur. *büri*; Kalm. *bürə*; Ord. *büri*; S.-Yugh. *burən*; Mongr. *bu* (SM 30), *bur*, *burən*.

◊ KW 67, MGCD 178.

PTurk. ***bir (*bīr)*** one (один): OTurk. *bir* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *bir* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *bir*; Gag. *biŕ*; Az. *bir*; Turkm. *bir*; Sal. *pyr*, *pir*, *pur* (Kakuk); Khal. *bi*; MTurk. *bir* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bir*; Uygh. *bir*; Krm. *bir/bır*; Tat. *ber*; Bashk. *ber*; Kirgh. *bir*; Kaz. *bir*; KBalk. *bir*; KKalp. *bir*; Kum. *bir*; Nogh. *bir*; SUygh. *bır*; Khak. *pər*; Shr. *pir*; Oyr. *bir*; Tv. *bir*; Tof. *bir*; Chuv. *pəʷr*; Yak. *bīr*; Dolg. *bīr*, *bir*.

◊ VEWT 76, TMN 2, 383-4, EDT 353-4, ЭСТЯ 2, 146-151, Егоров 157, Федотов I 421-422, Stachowski 61. Cf. also Khak. *praj* 'all', Tat. dial. *pərəj* 'any' (KCTT 179), Az. *birə-di* 'one, all together'.

PJpn. ***pitə*** one (один): OJpn. *pjito*; MJpn. *fitó-*, *fitó-*, *fitò-*; Tok. *hitótsu*; Kyo. *hîtótsu*; Kag. *hitótsu (xi̯tóT)*.

◊ JLTT 411.

PKor. ***pìrɨ́-*** at first, begin (сначала, впервые, начинать): MKor. *pìrɨ́s*, *pìrɨ́só*; Mod. *piroso*.

◊ Nam 276, 277, KED 852.

‖ KW 67, Martin 238, АПиПЯЯ 73, 99, 277. Doerfer (TMN 2, 384) doubts Ramstedt's Turk.-Mong. comparison for phonetic reasons, which is hardly justified: Turkic frequently reveals a secondary delabialization -ir-, -il- < *-ür-, *-ül- (especially after labials).

✱**bi̯ùsí (~ p-)** to hide: Turk. ***bus-***; Jpn. ***pìsə́-ka***; Kor. ***pskɨ́-***.

PTurk. ***bus-*** to hide, lay an ambush (прятаться, устраивать засаду): OTurk. *bus-* (OUygh.- Suv.); Karakh. *bus-* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *pus-*; Az. *pus-* 'to eavesdrop'; Turkm. *bus-*; Khal. *bus-xo* 'Hinterhalt, Lauer'; MTurk. *bus-* (Pav. C., Sangl.); Uzb. *pis-*; *pus-* (dial.); Tat. *pos-*; Bashk. *buɘ-*.

◊ EDT 371, ЭСТЯ 2, 278-279, TMN 2, 291-292.

PJpn. ***pìsə́-ka*** hidden, secret (тайный, секретный): OJpn. *p(j)is(w)oka*; MJpn. *fisóka*; Tok. *hísoka*; Kyo. *hìsókà*; Kag. *hisoká*.

◊ JLTT 409. Cf. also **pìsòmà-* 'to lie concealed' (see JLTT 690).

PKor. ***pskɨ́-*** to extinguish, go out (fire) (тухнуть, гаснуть): MKor. *pskɨ́-*; Mod. *k:ɨ-*.

◊ Nam 71, KED 233.

‖ Korean has a usual loss of narrow vowel between a stop and a fricative. The back row in PT is not quite regular (**büs-* would be expected). It might be better to reconstruct **biso* (> Turk. **bis-*, with a subsequent labial assimilation > **bus-*). In TM cf. perhaps Nan. *busī* 'rodents' stores' (TMC 1, 115).

✱**bòdà** body; intestines, belly: Mong. ***boda**; Turk. ***bod**; Jpn. ***bàtà**.

PMong. ***boda** substance, matter, body (предмет, сущность, тело): MMong. *bodo* 1, 2 (SH); WMong. *boda* (L 108); Kh. *bod*; Bur. *bodo*; Kalm. *bodə*; Ord. *bodo*.

◊ KW 48. Mong. > Evk. *bodo*. The root should be distinguished from **bodu* 'cattle'. Philosophical connotations may have been acquired under the influence of Sanskr. *bhūta*, but a direct loan from Sanskr. is hardly credible, despite Sukhebatar 40.

PTurk. ***bod** 1 body, stature 2 self 3 kin, tribe 4 counter for persons 5 length (1 тело, стан, рост 2 сам 3 род 4 сч. слово для лиц 5 длина): OTurk. *bod* 1, 2, 4 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bod* 1 (MK, KB), *boj* 3 (MK - Oghuz), *bod* 4 (KB); Tur. *boj* 1; Gag. *boj* 1, 5; Az. *boj* 1; Turkm. *boj* 1; Sal. *bojaɣır* (< *boji agir*) 'pregnant' (ССЯ); Khal. *bod* 1; MTurk. *boj* 1 (Sangl., MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *boj* 1, 5; Uygh. *boj* 1, 5; Krm. *boj* 1, 2, 5; Tat. *buj* 5; Bashk. *buj* 1, 5; Kirgh. *boj* 1, 2, 5; Kaz. *boj* 1, 2, 5; KBalk. *boj* 1, 5; KKalp. *boj* 1, 2, 5; Kum. *boj* 1, 2, 5; Nogh. *boj* 1, 5; SUygh. *poz* 1, 4; Khak. *pos* 2; Shr. *pozu* 2; Oyr. *boj* 2, 5; Tv. *bot* 2; Chuv. *pü* 1, 5.

◊ EDT 296-297, VEWT 77, TMN 2, 358-361, ЭСТЯ 2, 176-178, Лексика 265.

PJpn. ***bàtà** 1 intestines 2 belly (1 внутренности, кишки 2 живот): OJpn. *wata* 1; Tok. *watá* 1; Kyo. *wátà* 1; Kag. *watá* 1.

◊ JLTT 569.

‖ EAS 57, Poppe 21, 53, KW 48, VEWT 77, АПиПЯЯ 279, Лексика 266. Despite TMN 2, 360, Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk.

✱**bŏdé** to jump, trot: Tung. ***buduri-**; Mong. ***büdüri-**; Turk. ***büdi-**; Jpn. ***bə́ntə́r-**; Kor. ***ptùi-**.

PTung. ***buduri-** to hurry (спешить, торопиться): Nan. *buduri-*.

◊ TMC 1, 103. Manchu *buduli-* 'to stumble' may be related, but may also be borrowed < Mong. (see Doerfer MT 78); the Nanai form, however, is hardly borrowed because of different semantics.

PMong. ***büdüri-** to stumble (спотыкаться): WMong. *büdüri-*, *büdüre-* (L 144); Kh. *büdre-*; Bur. *büder-*; Kalm. *büdṛ-*; Ord. *büdür(e)-*; Dag. *buduri-* (Тод. Даг. 128); Dong. *bužiri-*; S.-Yugh. *budər-*; Mongr. *budəri-* (SM 31).

◊ KW 66, MGCD 173. Mong. > Yak. *büdür* etc. (VEWT 91), Evk. *budir-* etc. (Doerfer MT 78).

PTurk. ***büdi-** 1 to dance 2 to jib 3 dance (1 танцевать 2 топтаться 3 танец): OTurk. *büdi-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *büδi-* (MK) 1; Tat. *bej-* 1;

Bashk. *beje-* 1; Kirgh. *bij* 3, *bij-le-* 1; Kaz. *bij* 3, *bij-le-* 1, *büji-*1 (dial.); KKalp. *bij* 3; Kum. *bij* 3, *biji-* 1; Nogh. *biji-*; Oyr. *pije-le-* 1 (ГАЯ); Yak. *bitij-* 1, 2, *bitī* 'танец'.

◊ EDT 300, VEWT 91, ЭСТЯ 2, 131-132 (the word has been contaminated with another root, reflected in Mong. *bŏ̈ši-* (KW 54) [despite Щербак 1997, 111, hardly borrowed from Turk.] - see PA **pĕ̈šo*.

PJpn. ***bə́ntə́r-*** to jump (прыгать): OJpn. *wodor-*; MJpn. *wódór-*; Tok. *òdor-*; Kyo. *ódór-*; Kag. *odór-*.

◊ JLTT 740.

PKor. ***ptùi-*** to jump (прыгать): MKor. *ptùi-*; Mod. *t:wi-*.

◊ Nam 169, KED 513.

‖ Korean demonstrates a frequent vowel loss between two stops. Note that Mong., TM and Jpn. reflect a common derived stem **bode-rV-*.

bodi (~ -e)** a k. of platform: Tung. ***bedu- / *budu-; Turk. ***böd***; Kor. ***ptə́i (?)***.

PTung. ***bedu- / *budu-*** small table (столик): Neg. *bet*; Ul. *beduli*; Ork. *bedu*; Nan. *bedur, budduru*.

◊ TMC 1, 127.

PTurk. ***böd*** throne (трон): OTurk. *böd* (Orkh.); Yak. *büttäx, bittäx* (Пек.) 'cross-bar in a stool, cross-piece in a boat' (?).

◊ VEWT 82, EDT 298. The Yak. word may belong here if it is not derived from **büt-* 'to end'.

PKor. ***ptə́i*** raft (плот): MKor. *ptə́i*; Mod. *t:e*.

◊ Nam 153, KED 454.

‖ Basically a Turk.-Tung. isogloss; the Kor. word may belong here if it is not derived from *ptí-* 'to float' (q.v.). If the parallel is correct, then most TM languages have a secondary shift u > e after a labial (a very frequent phenomenon there).

bŏga (~ -u, -o)** pregnant (of animals); to bear a bastard or miscarry: Tung. ***bogī-; Mong. ***boɣo-***; Turk. ***bogaŕ***; Kor. ***pə̀i-***.

PTung. ***bogī-*** to bear a bastard; to suffer a miscarriage (родить ребенка вне брака; родить раньше срока): Evk. *boɣī-*; *bō-kān* (< **boɣo-kān*) 'slave'; Neg. *boɣịn-*; Man. *bojχolo-* 'to escape (from a trap), get off the hook'; Ul. *bojal-*; Nan. *bojaGo-*.

◊ TMC 1, 87, 90.

PMong. ***boɣo-*** slave, servant (раб, слуга): MMong. *bo'ol* (HY 28, SH), *b[a]wān, bawa* (IM), *bual* (MA); WMong. *boɣol*, (L 112) *boɣul*; Kh. *bōl* 1; *būrž* 'slave in the second generation'; Bur. *bōl, bogōl*; Kalm. *bōl*; Ord. *bōl*.

◊ KW 53, TMN 1, 212. Mong. > Evk. *bol* etc., see Doerfer MT 89.

PTurk. ***bogaŕ*** pregnant (of animals) (беременная (о животных)): Az. *boɣaz* (dial.); Turkm. *boɣaz*; Khal. *poos*; MTurk. (*töl*) *boɣaz*

(Oghuz-nama); *boγaz, boγuz* (MA); Uzb. *bu̯γɔz*; Uygh. *boγaz*; Tat. *buwaz*; Bashk. *bɨwaδ*; Kirgh. *booz*; Kaz. *buwaz*; KBalk. *buwaz*; KKalp. *buwaz*; Kum. *buwaz*; Nogh. *buwaz*; Khak. *pōs*; Oyr. *poos*; Tv. *boos*; Yak. *buos*; Dolg. *buos*.

◊ VEWT 78, ЭСТЯ 2, 169, Stachowski 67. Turk. > WMong. *boγus*, Kalm. *bōs* (KW 54), Dag. *bōs* (Tod. 127), see Clark 1980, 39.

PKor. ***pǎi-*** to be pregnant (быть беременной): MKor. *pǎi-*; Mod. *pā-*.

◊ Nam 251, KED 745.

‖ EAS 57, АПиПЯЯ 295. Doerfer's attempt (TMN 2, 348) to refute the Turk.-Tung. parallel for semantic reasons is unsuccessful. The meaning 'slave' in Mong. and Tung. is obviously derived < 'bastard', 'illegal child' (derivation < **boγo-* 'bind' and attempt to derive the TM words for 'slave' < Mong. in Poppe 1972, 96 is unsuccessful). The Kor. word has been secondarily associated with *pǎi* 'belly' (see under **pĕjlo*).

bŏgdu** to paint, variegated: Tung. ***bugdi; Mong. ***budu-***; Turk. ***bodo-***; Jpn. ***púti***.

PTung. ***bugdi*** 1 variegated 2 pimple, rash (**bugdeke, *bug(d)-su-ke*) 3 to form (of pimples, rash) (1 пестрый 2 прыщи, сыпь 3 высыпать (о прыщах, сыпи)): Evk. *bugdi* 1, *bugdeke, buksukē* 2; Evn. *bū̆di̯* 1, *bu̯du̯li̯* 2; Man. *busxe-ne-* 3; Ork. *bu̯gžį* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 101. On Evk. *budan* 'rash' see under PA **bŭte*. Evk. > Dolg. *bugdī, bugdi* (Stachowski 64).

PMong. ***budu-*** to paint (красить): MMong. *buduq* (MA) 'paint'; WMong. *budu-* (L 130); Kh. *buda-*; Bur. *buda-*; Kalm. *budə-*; Ord. *budu-*; Dag. *bodo-* (Тод. Дат. 127), bode- (MD 124), *bodu-*; S.-Yugh. *budə-*; Mongr. *budi-* (SM 31), *buda-* (Huzu, Minghe).

◊ KW 57, MGCD 165. Mong. > Evk. *buda-* etc., see Doerfer MT 94.

PTurk. ***bodo-*** 1 to paint, dye 2 dye (1 красить 2 краска): OTurk. *boduγ* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *boδo-* (MK) 1, *boδoγ* (MK) 2; Tur. *boja-* 1, *boja* 2; Gag. *boja-* 1, *boja* 2; Az. *boja-* 1, *boja, bojaG* 2; Turkm. *boja-* 1, *boja, bojaG* 2; Sal. *bojaχ* 2 (Kakuk); Khal. *boda-* 1, *bodaγ* 2; MTurk. *boja-* (Abush., Sangl.) 1, *bojaγ/q* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *bu̯ja-* 1, *bu̯jɔq* 2; Uygh. *boju-/a-* 1, *bojaq* 2; Krm. *boja-* 1, *boja* 2; Tat. *buja-* 1, *bujaw* 2; Bashk. *buja-* 1, *harɨ bujaq* 'серпуха' (a dying plant); Kirgh. *bojo-* 1, *bojoq* 2; Kaz. *boja-* 1, *bojau* 2; KBalk. *boja-* 1, *bojaw* 2; KKalp. *boja-* 1, *bojaq* 2; Kum. *boja-* 1, *bojaw* 2; Nogh. *boja-* 1, *bojaq* 2; Oyr. *pojo-* 1 (ГАЯ), *poju-* (dial. - Bask. Kum.); Tv. *budu-* 1, *buduq* 2; Chuv. *pəʷve-* 1; Yak. *butuj-* 1, *butuk* 2.

◊ EDT 300, VEWT 77, ЭСТЯ 2, 178-179, Еоров 155. Despite EDT, Tel. *bodu-* is a Mongolian loanword. Chuv. -v- instead of **-r-* is not quite clear here (perhaps it is a trace of the archaic **-gd-*cluster?).

PJpn. ***púti** spot, spotted, variegated (пятно, пестрый): OJpn. *puti*; MJpn. *futi*, *bútí*; Tok. *búchi*; Kyo. *búchì*; Kag. *búchi*.

◊ JLTT 390. Modern dialects have expressive voicing. Accent reflexes vary between **púti* and **pútì*.

‖ KW 57. Mong. may be < Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 107).

✱**bògé** wizard, holy: Tung. ***bugu-ča**; Mong. ***bogda**; Turk. ***bögü**; Jpn. ***bànkám-**.

PTung. ***bugu-ča** idol (идол): Ul. *bōčo*; Nan. *bugǯē*, *bukčē*; Orch. *bōčo*.

◊ TMC 1, 97.

PMong. ***bogda** holy, sacred (святой, божественный): WMong. *boγda* (L 111); Kh. *bogd*; Bur. *bogdo*; Kalm. *bogdə*; Ord. *bogdo* (Тод. ЯМВМ 122).

◊ KW 49.

PTurk. ***bögü** wizard (мудрец, колдун): OTurk. *bögü* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bögü* (MK); Tur. *böjü*; Gag. *bű*; MTurk. *bügü* (Pav. C.).

◊ EDT 324, VEWT 83, ЭСТЯ 2, 293-294. Turk. > Mong. *böγe* id., see TMN 1, 234. Turk. > Hung. *bű* 'witchcraft' (< **büγü*), see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***bànkám-** to worship, bow in obeisance (поклоняться, почитать): OJpn. *wogam-*; MJpn. *wògám-*; Tok. *ogám-*; Kyo. *ógám-*; Kag. *ogám-*.

◊ JLTT 740. Accent in Kyoto is irregular (pointing to **bà(n)kàm-*).

‖ One of common Altaic religious terms.

✱**bojĺe** empty, meagre: Tung. ***bol-**; Turk. ***boĺ**; Kor. ***pɨi-**.

PTung. ***bol-** 1 clear 2 meagre (1 чистый 2 постный): Neg. *boltu-boltu* 1; Man. *bolGo* 1, 2; SMan. *bolə̀hən*, *bolə̀hun* 'clean, pure' (2550).

◊ TMC 1, 93.

PTurk. ***boĺ** free, empty (свободный, пустой): OTurk. *boš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *boš* (MK, KB); Tur. *boš*; Gag. *boš*; Az. *boš*; Turkm. *boš*; Sal. *boš*; Khal. *boš*; MTurk. *boš* (Sangl.); Uzb. *bo̱š*; Uygh. *boš*; Krm. *boš*, *bos*; Tat. *buš*; Bashk. *buš*; Kirgh. *boš*; Kaz. *bos*; KBalk. *boš*; KKalp. *bos*; Kum. *boš*; Nogh. *bos*; SUygh. *bos*, *pos*; Khak. *pos*; Shr. *pos*; Oyr. *boš*; Tv. *boš*; Tof. *bo'š*; Chuv. *požъ*; Yak. *bosxo* (**boš-ka*); Dolg. *bosko* 'a little'.

◊ EDT 376, VEWT 82, ЭСТЯ 2, 203-204, Мудрак Дисс. 126, Федотов 1, 457, Stachowski 63. The Chuv. form has a regular reflex, presupposing a final vowel. Turk. **boĺa-n-* > *bošan-* > Mong. *busani-* 'become empty, poor' (KW 63); **boĺ-u-g* 'permission' > Mong. *bošuγ* (Clark 1980, 41).

PKor. ***pɨi-** empty (пустой, свободный): MKor. *pɨi-*; Mod. *pī-*.

◊ Liu 410, KED 850.

‖ Medial *-j- is reconstructed to account for the loss of *-Ĺ- in Korean. Phonetically a good match would be PJ **bəsa-na-* 'small, young (of children)', but the semantics raises some doubt here. Ramstedt (SKE 186) compares Turk. *boš* with Mong. *bulgu* 'free, broad' > Kirgh. *buluk-* 'to try to free smb.'; but we have not found either word in accessible sources.

***bójĺo** to learn, be attentive: Mong. ***bolgu-ɣa-**; Turk. ***boĺgu-**; Jpn. ***bási-pa-**; Kor. ***pȁihó-**.

PMong. ***bolgu-ɣa-** be cautious, gingerly (быть осторожным, осмотрительным): MMong. *boluxa'a-* (HY 33), *bolqa'a-* (SH); WMong. *bolɣuɣa-* (L 117); Kh. *bolgō-*; Bur. *bolgō-*; Kalm. *bolɣā-*; Ord. *bolgō-*.

◊ KW 50. Mong. > Oyr. *polyō-* etc. (see TMN 1, 233); Evk. *bolgo-* etc., see Doerfer MT 135.

PTurk. ***boĺgu-** 1 to learn 2 to teach, make learn 3 teaching 4 student (1 учиться 2 учить, наставлять, заставлять выучить 3 наставление 4 ученик, подмастерье): OTurk. *bošɣu-n-* 1, *bošɣu-t-*, *bošɣu-r-* 2, *bošɣut* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *bošɣut* 4.

◊ VEWT 82, EDT 379. Derivation from *bošuɣ* 'allowance, pardon' (EDT) is hardly plausible.

PJpn. ***bási-pa-** to teach (учить): OJpn. *wosipa-*; MJpn. *wósífa-*; Tok. *òshie-*; Kyo. *óshié-*; Kag. *oshié-*.

◊ JLTT 742.

PKor. ***pȁihó-** to learn (учиться): MKor. *pȁihó-*; Mod. *päu-*.

◊ Nam 252, KED 749.

‖ Street 1980, 287 compares the PT form with Mong. *bolba-sun* 'trained, educated, mature' (possibly also related as a suffixed form). Medial *-j- should be reconstructed to account for loss of *-Í- in Korean.

***bóju** esteem: Tung. ***buje-**; Mong. ***boj**; Turk. ***bujur-**; Jpn. ***úja / *bíjá**; Kor. ***pȁi-hă̋-**.

PTung. ***buje-** 1 to wish, desire, love 2 to thank (1 желать, любить 2 благодарить): Man. *buje-* 1; Jurch. *buj-je-mij* (385) 1, *bij-il-sia-maj* 2 (815).

◊ TMC 1, 103.

PMong. ***boj** care, caring, rearing (забота, уход): WMong. *boi* (L 113); Kh. *boj*.

PTurk. ***bujur-** to order (приказывать): OTurk. *bujur-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bujur-* (MK); Tur. *bujur-*; Gag. *bujur-*; Az. *bujur-*; Turkm. *bujur-*; MTurk. *bujur-* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *bujur-*; Uygh. *bujru-*, *bujur-* (dial.); Krm. *bujur-*; Tat. *bojir-*; Bashk. *bojor-*; Kirgh. *bujur-*; KBalk. *bujur-*; KKalp. *bujir-*; Kum. *bujur-*; Nogh. *bujir-*; Oyr. *bujur-*; Chuv. *pür-*.

◊ VEWT 87, EDT 387-388, ЭСТЯ 2, 245-247, TMN 2, 362.

PJpn. ***úja / *bíjá** 1 esteem, worship 2 to esteem, worship (1почет 2 почитать): OJpn. *wija, uja* 1, *wija-b-* 2; MJpn. *újá* 1; Tok. *ùya-(ma-)*; Kyo. *úyá-(má-)*; Kag. *uya-(má-)*.

◊ JLTT 566, 781.

PKor. ***pȁi-hă̋-** to bestow a favour (оказывать почести): MKor. *pȁihă̋-*; Mod. *pephul-*.

◊ Nam 252, KED 774.

‖ Originally we related to this root Mong. *beile* 'prince of the 3d rank' which is usually considered to be borrowed from Manchu *beile* id.

(cf. also Mong. *beise* = Man. *beise* 'prince of the 4th rank'). Both words are rather loans from some third language, perhaps Kitan (and cf. also the Old Bulgarian rank *bojla*) and may be ultimately related to PT **beg* which itself is either < Chinese or < Iranian (see Шервашидзе 1989); but Mong. *boji* 'care' seems to be a more satisfactory comparison. Both semantically and phonetically the etymology seems quite plausible (except perhaps for the variant -i- vowel in Old Japanese, possibly conditioned by the following -j-).

✱**bŏ̀kà** rib, breast bone: Tung. ***boka-**; Mong. ***bogoni**; Turk. ***bokana**; Jpn. ***bàkì**.

PTung. ***boka-** breast bone (грудная кость): Evk. *bokolī*; Evn. *bokoli̯wu̯n*; Man. *boqšon*; Ork. *bokko* 'belly'.

◊ TMC 1, 90.

PMong. ***bogoni** first rib (первое ребро): Kh. *bogino* (*xavirga*); Kalm. *boɣəni*; Ord. *boGoni, boGono*.

◊ KW 49.

PTurk. ***bokana** false ribs (ложные ребра): Bashk. *boɣana* (dial.); Kirgh. *boqono*; Kaz. *buɣana* (*süjek*); Khak. *poɣana*; Oyr. *boɣono söök*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 305, Лексика 275.

PJpn. ***bàkì** side (of body) (бок): OJpn. *wakji*; MJpn. *wàkì*; Tok. *wakí*; Kyo. *wákì*; Kag. *wàkí*.

◊ JLTT 567.

‖ KW 49, Дыбо 5, Лексика 275-276. The Jpn. word could also go back to **bi̯ŭ̆k'a*, but in that case it would rather have a **p-*.

✱**bŏ́ke** to lie in ambush: Tung. ***bokan-**; Mong. ***büg-**; Turk. ***buk-**; Jpn. ***bə́ká-s-**.

PTung. ***bokan-** to catch up with, take revenge on (настигать, догонять, мстить): Evk. *bokon-*; Evn. *boqə̯n-*; Neg. *boxon-*; Nan. *boqoŋGi̯-*; Orch. *bō-, bokko-*; Ud. *bo'n-o-* (Корм. 213); Sol. *boxon-*.

◊ TMC 1, 90.

PMong. ***büg-** to lie in ambush, to hide (сидеть в засаде, прятаться, таиться): WMong. *bügsi-*, (L 126) *bögsi-*; Kh. *bügši-*; Kalm. *büg-*; Dag. *bugši-* (Тод. Даг. 128).

◊ KW 66.

PTurk. ***buk-** 1 to lie in ambush 2 to hide (1 сидеть в засаде 2 прятаться): Turkm. *buq-* 2; MTurk. *buq-* (Pav. C.: Abu-l-Gazi) 1; Uzb. *biq-* 1; Kirgh. *buq-* 2; Kaz. *buq-* 2; KBalk. *buq-* 2; KKalp. *buq-* 1; Nogh. *buq-* 2; Yak. *bük-* 2 (Пек.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 248.

PJpn. ***bə́ká-s-** to attack, commit a crime (нападать, совершать преступление): OJpn. *wokas-*; MJpn. *wókás-*; Tok. *òkas-*; Kyo. *ókás-*; Kag. *okás-*.

◊ JLTT 740.

‖ KW 66.

***bŏki (~ -e)** to stop up: Tung. ***bōk-**; Mong. ***bögle-**; Turk. ***bök-**.

PTung. ***bōk-** 1 to stop, hinder 2 to tie up (1 задерживать, предотвращать 2 спутывать, привязывать): Evk. *bōk-* 1; Evn. *boq-* 1; Neg. *bok-* 1, 2; Man. *boxi-* 2; Ul. *boqi-* 2; Nan. *boqi-* 2; Orch. *boki-* 2; Ud. *bo'i-* связать (человека, животное, пойманное живьем) (Корм. 213).

◊ TMC 1, 89. TM > Dag. *boki-* (Тод. Даг. 127).

PMong. ***bögle-** to bar, hinder, stop up (затыкать, предотвращать): MMong. *bokle-* (SH); WMong. *bögle-* (L 125); Kh. *böglö-*; Bur. *bügle-*; Kalm. *bögl-*; Ord. *böglö-*; Dong. *buɣulie-*; *buɣun* 'plug'; Mongr. *bugəle-*, *bugule-* (SM 32).

◊ KW 54, MGCD 161.

PTurk. ***bök-** to dam, plug (ставить плотину, затычку): Karakh. *bök-* 'запрудить'(MK), böken- 'быть загороженным (дорога)' (At.); Tur. *böke-* (dial.); MTurk. *böken* 'плотина' (R, Pav. C. 173); Uzb. *puqak* 'пробка'; Uygh. *pok* 'пробка'; Krm. *bök-lä-* (T) 'запирать, закрывать'; Tat. *büki* 'пробка'; Bashk. *büki* 'пробка'; Kirgh. *bögö-*; Kaz. *böge-*; KKalp. *böge-*; Oyr. *bök* 'затвор, пробка'; Chuv. *pъʷgъʷ* 'пробка'.

◊ EDT 324, 326, VEWT 82, 83, ЭСТЯ 2, 208-210, Егоров 146. Clauson prefers the reading with -g-, which is hardly justified. A variant with *-g- (Tur. *büye-*, Chuv. *pəvə* 'dam', Turkm. *böve-*, *bövet* 'id.', Yak., Dolg. *büö* 'plug') may be a result of the influence of *bog- 'to choke, dam' (cf. **boɣ-* 'dam' in Tuva, Uzb., Kum., Nogh., Oyr., Tat., Bashk.).

‖ EAS 58, KW 54, Poppe 58, 59 (Turk.-Mong.). A Western isogloss. The root is quite well attested in Turkic and borrowing is highly improbable, so Doerfer's (TMN 1, 229) skepticism seems ungrounded. A slight problem is the variation of *-k- and *-g- in Turkic, probably assimilative in this case (**bök-* should be the original variant).

***bŏku** throat, Adam's apple: Tung. ***bukse**; Mong. ***bagalǯaɣur**; Turk. ***boguŕ (/*bokuŕ)**; Jpn. ***pùkùm-**.

PTung. ***bukse** 1 cartilage, gristle 2 Adam's apple (1 хрящ 2 дыхательное горло, кадык): Evk. *bukse* 1, *bukeč* 'голова рыбы'; Evn. *būs* 1; Neg. *buxse* 1; Man. *buge, buxe* 1; *buge moŋGon* 2; SMan. *boxə; boxəē* 2 (64); Ul. *bukse* 1; Ork. *buske* 1; 'голова рыбы'; Nan. *bukse* 1; Orch. *bukse* 1; Ud. *buxe* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 105. Evn. > Russ. Siber. *bugači* (pl.) (Аникин 137).

PMong. ***bagalǯaɣur** throat (горло): WMong. *baɣalǯaɣur* (L 68); Kh. *bagalǯūr*; Bur. *bagalzūr*; Kalm. *baɣəlzūr*; Ord. *baGalǯūr*.

◊ KW 28. Cf. also Ord. *bagul* 'hair on chin'.

PTurk. ***boguŕ, *bokur-dak** 1 throat 2 Adam's apple (1 горло 2 кадык): OTurk. *boɣuz* 1 (OUygh.), *boɣzï* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *boɣoz* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *boɣaz* 1, *boɣurdak, boɣurtlak* (dial.) 2; Gag. *buwaz* 1; Az.

boγaz 1; Turkm. *boGaz* 1, *boqurdaq* 1; Sal. *poγtaχ*, *poχtaχ* 1; Khal. *boγaz*, *boγuz*, *boγɨz* 1; MTurk. *boγuz* (Abush., Бор. Бад.) 1, *boqurdaq*, *boγardaq* (Sangl.) 2; Uzb. *bų̇γiz* 1; Uygh. *boγuz* 1; Krm. *boγoz*, *boγaz* 1; Tat. *buγaz* 1 (k), *puγɨrtaq* (dial.), *pūrtaq* (dial.) 2; Bashk. *boγaδ* 1, *boγarδaq* 'trachea'; Kirgh. *boγos* 'place where two rivers meet' (South.); Kaz. *buγaz*, *buγɨz* 'shaft-bed in a shovel' (dial.); KBalk. *boqqur* 2, *boγurdaq* 2; KKalp. *buwaz-aq* 'glass for a kerosene lamp'; Kum. *boγaz* 'channel, strait'; Nogh. *boγaz* 'double chin; channel, strait', *boγɨrdaq* 1; Tv. *boos* (*bosqu*); Tof. *boos* (*boqsu*); Chuv. *pir* 1; Yak. *buosax* 1.

◊ VEWT 78, TMN 2, 344, ЭСТЯ 2, 167-168, 184, Лексика 230-231. The derivative **bokur-dak* consistently displays reflexes of voiceless *-k-; it is present also in some reflexes of **boguŕ* (Kirgh. *boγos*, Kaz. *buγaz*, Nogh. *boγaz*, Bashk. *boγaδ*, Kum. *boγaz*) - all probably under the influence of **bokak* 'crop, craw' (v. sub **pŭk'a*).

PJpn. ***pùkùm-** to hold in mouth (держать во рту): OJpn. *pukum-*; MJpn. *fùkùm-*; Tok. *fukúm-*; Kyo. *fúkúm-*; Kag. *fùkùm-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

‖ KW 28, Дыбо 5, Лексика 231-232. In Mong. the vocalism was influenced by a similar root (Mong. **bakaγu*, **bakalaγur* < **pŭk'a* q.v.); a remnant of the original root vocalism may be seen in WMong. *boγaγu* 'crop, goitre' (coexisting with *baqaγu*) - however, the latter form may as well be a Turkism < Turk. **bokak*.

***bŏlo (~ -e)** to be: Mong. ***bol-**; Turk. ***bōl-**; Jpn. ***bə́r-**.

PMong. ***bol-** to become (становиться): MMong. *bol-* (IM, SH, HYt), *bul-* (MA); WMong. *bol-* (L 114); Kh. *bol-*; Bur. *bolo-*; Kalm. *bol-*; Ord. *bol-*; Mog. *bolu-*; Dag. *bol-* (Тод. Даг. 127), *bole-* (MD 125), *bolo-*; Dong. *bolu-*, *volu-* (MGCD: *olu-*); Bao. *ol-*; S.-Yugh. *bol-*; Mongr. *boli-* (SM 19), *ōli-* (SM 296), (MGCD: *ulə*).

◊ KW 50, MGCD 157.

PTurk. ***bōl-** to become (становиться): OTurk. *bol-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bol-* (MK, KB); Tur. *ol-*; Gag. *ol-*; Az. *ol-*; Turkm. *bol-*; Sal. *vol-*, *vō-*, *bō-* (Тен.ССЯ); Khal. *ộl-*; MTurk. *bol-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bų̇l-*; Uygh. *bo(l)-*; Krm. *bol-*; Tat. *bul-*; Bashk. *bul-*; Kirgh. *bol-*; Kaz. *bol-*; KBalk. *bol-*; KKalp. *bol-*; Kum. *bol-*; Nogh. *bol-*; SUygh. *pol-*; Khak. *pol-*; Shr. *pol-*; Oyr. *bol-*; Tv. *bol-*; Chuv. *pol-*; Yak. *buol-*; Dolg. *buol-*.

◊ EDT 331-332, VEWT 79, TMN 2, 358, ЭСТЯ 2, 185-188, Федотов 1, 442, Stachowski 66. Forms with o- may represent a different root (see **ol-tur-*). On the other hand, the geographical distribution of this variant matches quite closely the change *b- > v- in a number of words with grammatical function (for Haladzh cf. *vīer-* 'give', *vāor* 'there is'), so most of the forms with o- may indeed reflect **bol-* > **vol-* > *ol-*; the different root **ol-* is with more certainty reflected only in Middle Uyghur (At., Tefs., IM - cf. *bar*, *bir-* in the same sources) and Middle Kypchak (Bulgat, Ettuhf., see ЭСТЯ 2, 186).

PJpn. ***bə́r-** to be (быть): OJpn. *wor-*; MJpn. *wór-*; Tok. *ór-*; Kyo. *ór-*; Kag. *ór-*.

◊ JLTT 742. Accent in Tokyo is aberrant; all other dialects, as well as RJ *wór-*, point to **bár-*.

‖ KW 50, Poppe 99, Miller 1981, 851, Street 1985, 639, АПиПЯЯ 68. Doerfer (TMN 2, 358), quite fantastically, links also TM **ō-* (what about "Lautgesätze"?) : "altes indoeur. Lw. : **u̯ol-* 'wollen'" (isn't this "Omnikomparatismus"?).

***boĺe** an indirect relative: Tung. ***bulu-**; Mong. ***büli**; Turk. ***böĺük**.

PTung. ***bulu-** bastard (внебрачный ребенок): Evk. *bulumǯu*.

◊ TMC 1, 109. The word is attested only in Evk. (whence Yak. *bulumǯu* - hardly vice versa), but has possible external parallels.

PMong. ***büli** cousin, niece (son or daughter of mother's relative); family (двоюродный брат, двоюродная сестра (сын или дочь родственника матери); семья): WMong. *bülü, büli, böle* (L 147); Kh. *bül*; Bur. *büle*; Kalm. *büla, böla*; Dag. *bule* (Тод. Даг. 128); S.-Yugh. *bulai*; Mongr. *bulai*.

◊ KW 55, 66, MGCD 175. Mong. > Turk. *bula*, Kaz. *bölö*, Yak. *bile* etc. (see the list in ЭСТЯ 2, 217-218, Лексика 293-294), Evk. *bule* 'family'.

PTurk. ***böĺük** a relation by marriage (свойственник, родственник по браку): OTurk. *böšük* (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 380-381.

‖ Tekin 1979, 129-130. A Western isogloss.

***böĺi** a k. of cedar, pine: Tung. ***bolgikta**; Mong. ***bujil- / *büjil-**; Turk. ***böĺ**; Jpn. ***pusi**.

PTung. ***bolgi-kta** dwarf cedar (кедровый стланик): Evk. *bolgig, bolgikta*; Evn. *bolgiy, bolgit*; Neg. *bolgikta*; Ul. *bolǯiqta*; Ork. *boγi, boγita*; Nan. *bolGoqto* (Kur-Urm.); Orch. *boggikta*; Ud. *bogbö* (Корм. 213).

◊ TMC 1, 91-92.

PMong. ***bujil- / *büjil-** almond (миндаль): WMong. *büilesü ~ bujilasu* (MXTTT); Kh. *bujls(an), büjls(en)*; Bur. *büjlõhe(n)* 'wild apricot'.

PTurk. ***böĺ** cedar, pinus Siberica (кедр, сибирская сосна): Oyr. *möš*, = dial. (Bask. Tuba); Tv. *pöš*, (Castr. Krg.) *böjš*; Tof. *böš*; Yak. *bes* 'pine', dial. 'larch bast' (ДСЯЯ 1 81).

◊ VEWT 71.

PJpn. ***pusi** small shrubs used as firewood (кустарник, используемый в качестве дров): MJpn. *fusi*.

‖ Дыбо 11. Mong. **bujil-* is a regular dissimilation < **bulil-*.

***bóra (~ -ŕ-)** to divide: Tung. ***borī-**; Jpn. ***bár-**; Kor. ***pərí-**.

PTung. ***borī-** to divide (разделять, отделять): Evk. *borī-*; Evn. *boŗi-*; Neg. *boji-*; Ul. *boŗi-*; Ork. *boŗi-*; Nan. *boŗi-*; Orch. *boi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 95-96.

PJpn. ***bár-** to divide, split (разделять, расщеплять): OJpn. war-; MJpn. *wár-*; Tok. *wàr-*; Kyo. *wár-*; Kag. *wár-*.

◊ JLTT 783.

PKor. ***pārí-*** to divide, split open (расщеплять, раскрывать): MKor. *pārí-*; Mod. *pari-*, *pāl-*.

◊ Liu 375, KED 706, 765, 766.

‖ Martin 243. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**bǒrk'i** to cover, cover: Mong. ***bürkü-***; Turk. ***bǒrk***; Jpn. ***púk-***.

PMong. ***bürkü-*** to cover (покрывать): MMong. *burgu-* (HY 38), *burku-* (MA); WMong. *bürkü-*, *bürke-* (L 149, 150); Kh. *bürxe-*; Bur. *bürxe-*; Kalm. *bürkə-*; Ord. *bürχü-*; Mog. *bürkü-* (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *burk* 'clothed' (10-2b); Dong. *pugutu-* 'to become murky'; Mongr. *puger* 'cover sp.' (SM 306).

◊ KW 68. Mong. > Chag. *bürke-* etc.

PTurk. ***bǒrk*** hat, cap (шапка, головная повязка): OTurk. *börk* (OUygh. - Lig. VSOu); Karakh. *börk* (MK, KB); Tur. *börk*, (dial.) *bürk*, *pörk*; Az. *börk* (dial.); Turkm. *bǒrik*; Khal. *bôk* (KhM), *birgäk*; MTurk. *pörük* (MA), *börk* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *bụrk*; Uygh. *börk*; Krm. *bärik* (H), *b'ork* (T); Tat. *bürek*; Bashk. *bürk*; Kirgh. *börük*; Kaz. *börik*; KBalk. *börk*; KKalp. *börik*; Kum. *börk*; Nogh. *börk*; SUygh. *pörük*, *perik*; Khak. *pörək*; Shr. *pörük*; Oyr. *börük*; Tv. *bört*; Tof. *bö'rt*; Yak. *bergehe*; Dolg. *bergehe*.

◊ EDT 362, VEWT 84, TMN 2, 289, ЭСТЯ 2, 221-223, Лексика 482, Stachowski 58. In Tuva, Tof. *-rk > rt is regular. Reconstruction of length is not quite certain: Turkm. length is not confirmed by Khalaj and contradicts pharyngealization in Tofalar. Turk. > WMong. *bürgü*, Kalm. *bürgə* (KW 67), Khalkha *bürx* (although theoretically this may as well be an indigenous derivative of *bürü-*, cf. similar Turkic forms: Tur. dial. *bür-me*, *bür-gü* 'headgear').

PJpn. ***púk-*** to thatch (a roof) (крыть (крышу)): OJpn. *puk-*; MJpn. *fúk-*; Tok. *fùk-*; Kyo. *fúk-*; Kag. *fùk-*.

◊ JLTT 694. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ Cf. **bǔri* (with possible contaminations).

✱**borso(k'V)** badger: Mong. ***borki***; Turk. ***borsuk, *borsmuk***; Jpn. ***bə̀sákí, *ùsákí***; Kor. ***ùsɨrk***.

PMong. ***borki*** old badger (старый барсук): WMong. *borki* (L 121); Kh. *boŕx*; Kalm. *borkə*.

◊ KW 52.

PTurk. ***borsuk, *borsmuk*** badger (барсук): Karakh. *borsmuq* (MK), *borsuq* (MK Oghuz); Tur. *porsuk*; Az. *porsuG*; Sal. *porsuχ* (ССЯ); MTurk. *porsuq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *bɔrsiq*; Uygh. *borsuq*; Tat. *bursɨq*; Bashk. *burhɨq*; Kirgh. *borso-l-doj* 'young badger'; Kaz. *borsɨq*; KBalk. *borsuq*; KKalp. *porsɨq*; Kum. *porsuq*; Nogh. *borsɨq*; Khak. *porsɨx*, *morsɨx*, (dial.) *moršɨx*; Shr. *porsuq*; Oyr. *morsɨq*; Tv. *morzuq*; Tof. *borsuq*; Chuv. *porъš*.

◊ EDT 369, Лексика 164, TMN 2, 284, ЭСТЯ 7, Егоров 165, Федотов 1, 446-447. Reflexes of m- in Siberian languages may be due to the nasal in the suffix (cf. the form in

MK). Among the traditional derivations one should mention the connection with **bur-si-* 'to stink, rot', but external parallels indicate that this is rather a folk etymology.

PJpn. ***bàsákí, *ùsákí** hare (заяц): OJpn. *usakji*, OJ East. dial. *wosagji*; MJpn. *ùságí*; Tok. *ùsagi*; Kyo. *ùsàgí*; Kag. *usagí*.

◊ JLTT 564, JOAL 116-118.

PKor. ***ùsɨrk** badger (барсук): MKor. *ùsɨrk*.

◊ Nam 390.

‖ The meaning in Jpn. ('hare') is probably a result of contamination with **togsV-kV* 'hare' (which should have normally yielded PJ **tusaki*); this could also explain the tonal discrepancy between Jpn. and Kor. Korean, as in several other cases, has a loss *b- > *0-; cf. Old Koguryo **wus(i)kam* 'rabbit' (see Miller 1979, 10). All languages reflect a trisyllabic form **borso-kV*, with an original diminutive suffix. Loss of -s- in Mong. is somewhat strange; cf. perhaps alternatively TM **barka-na* 'bear's cub' > Evk. *barka-na*, *barka-čan*, Neg. *bajkana*, Ud. *bakana* (TMC 1, 75).

✱**bŏru (~ -a,-o)** dust; smoke, whirlwind: Tung. ***bure-ki**; Mong. ***bur-gi- / *bür-gi-**; Turk. ***bur-uk**; Kor. ***pă̆ră̆-m**.

PTung. ***bure-ki** 1 dust 2 fresh snow (1 пыль 2 пороша): Evk. *burki* 2; Evn. *bụrqụ* 2; Man. *buraki* 1; Jurch. *bureŋ-ki* (59) 1; Ul. *burexi* 1; Nan. *burexī* 1; Orch. *burexi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 113.

PMong. ***bur-gi- / *bür-gi-** to rise (of dust, smoke) (подниматься (о пыли, дыме)): MMong. *burqalix* 'whirlwind' (SH); WMong. *burgi-(ra-)* (L 138), *bürgi-ni-*; Kh. *burgi-*; Bur. *burja-*, *borjol-* (Tsongol); Kalm. *bürgn-*, *bürgəń-*; Ord. *burgila-*, *burgi-*; Mongr. *puʒirā-* (SM 306).

◊ KW 68. Mong. > Man. *burgi-*, see TMN 1, 227; > Turk. Uzb. *burqira-n-* 'клубиться, дымиться', Kirgh. *burk-ura-*, *burgu-* 'валить клубами', Nogh. *burki-ra-* 'клубиться', Bashk. *borqo-* 'вздыматься (о пыли)', KKalp. *burqi-* 'валить клубами'.

PTurk. ***bur-uk** 1 dust 2 smoke 3 to curl (of smoke) 4 to choke (in smoke) 5 to blow (of a snow-storm) 6 to produce smoke puffs 7 soot (1 пыль 2 дым 3 клубиться (о дыме) 4 задыхаться (в дыму) 5 мести (о вьюге) 6 пускать дым клубами 7 сажа): Turkm. *buruG-sa-* 3; Uzb. *buruq-sa-* 3; Uygh. *burux-t-un bolmaq* 4; Kirgh. *buruq-su-* 3, bur *et-* 3, *bura-t-* 6; Khak. *pir* 1, *pirin* 7, *pur-la-* 3, *puryun-na-* 5; Shr. *pirin* 7; Yak. *buruo* (< **burug*) 2; Dolg. *buruo* 2.

◊ VEWT 89, Stachowski 67. The stem interacts with the derivatives of **bur-* 'to stink, smell' and **bur-* 'to twist'- see ЭСТЯ 2, 268-271

PKor. ***pă̆ră̆m** wind (ветер): MKor. *pă̆ră̆m*; Mod. *param*.

◊ Nam 241, KED 704.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 288. See TMC 1, 113 (Mong.-Tung.); despite ОСНЯ 1,188 the TM root is hardly related to Turk. **bōr* (on which see **māro*)

and to Mong. *bur* 'dirty, dark'. The Korean root belongs rather here than to Manchu *fara-* 'to dry' (SKE 191).

***boŕV** grey: Mong. ***boro**; Turk. ***boŕ**.

PMong. ***boro** grey (серый): MMong. *boro* (HY 42 'ashes coloured', SH), *borǎ* (MA); WMong. *boro*, (L 121) *boru*; Kh. *bora*; Bur. *boro*; Kalm. *borə*; Ord. *boro*; Mog. *borō* 'dunkelgelb, gelbbraun' (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *boro(ŋ)*; Mongr. *burondog, boro* (SM 28).

◊ KW 51, MGCD 584. Mong. > Evk. *boro, boroŋ*, Man. *boro* (TMC 1, 96), see Doerfer MT 60, Rozycki 34; Tat. *bora*, Yak., Dolg. *boroŋ* (Stachowski 62). Cf. also Mong. *bur* 'dark, sludgy' - which, as well as Chag. *bor* 'reddish (horse)' etc. (see TMN 2, 330) are rather < Pers. *bōr* 'dark brown'.

PTurk. ***boŕ (~ ō)** grey (серый): OTurk. *boz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *boz* (MK); Tur. *boz*; Gag. *boz, bōz*; Az. *boz*; Turkm. *boz*; MTurk. *boz* (Sangl.); Uzb. *bʉz*; Uygh. *boz, bos*; Tat. *büz*; Bashk. *buδ*; Kirgh. *boz*; Kaz. *boz*; KBalk. *boz*; KKalp. *boz*; Kum. *boz*; Nogh. *boz*; SUygh. *poz*; Oyr. *bos*.

◊ EDT 388, VEWT 82, TMN 2, 335, ЭСТЯ 2, 171-173, Лексика 605. Turk. > Old Russ. *bosij*, dial. *búsij, busój*, see Аникин 147 (with lit.).

‖ KW 51, Владимирцов 361, Poppe 20, 81, ОСНЯ 1, 183. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Despite TMN 2, 335, Щербак 1997, 109, Mong. cannot be borrowed from Turkic.

***bǒtʹé** to bind: Tung. ***botā-**; Mong. ***büči**; Jpn. ***pə̀ntə̀k-**; Kor. ***pɨ̀th-**.

PTung. ***botā-** 1 to tie (with a knot) 2 to be bound, tied (1 вязать (узлом) 2 завязаться): Evk. *botō-* 1; Evn. *beteb-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 97. Cf. also **beti-ke* 'the hip part of high boots, trousers' (TMC 1, 127).

PMong. ***büči** string, rope (веревка): MMong. *bući* 'braid, cord, belt' (HY 23); WMong. *büči* (L 143); Kh. *büč*; Bur. *büše*; Kalm. *büčə*; Ord. *büči*.

◊ KW 70. Mong. > Tat. *meče-* 'to harness an outrunner', Kum. *mičew* 'tow-line' (with secondary m-), whence Russ. *бечева*.

PJpn. ***pə̀ntə̀k-** to untie (развязывать): OJpn. *podok-*; Tok. *hodók-*; Kyo. *hódók-*; Kag. *hòdòk-*.

◊ JLTT 691.

PKor. ***pɨ̀th-** to be attached (быть прикрепленным, прицепленным): MKor. *pɨ̀th-*; Mod. *put-* [*puth-*].

◊ Nam 275, KED 846.

‖ Cf. **puti* 'quilt, weave' and **pʹútʹa* 'thread, yarn': the roots are sometimes hard to distinguish.

***bučʹo (~ -o-)** to dry on fire, under the sun: Tung. ***bučī-**; Mong. ***bučal-**; Jpn. ***pə̀tə̀-pər-**; Kor. ***pčōi-**.

PTung. ***bučī-** 1 to dry on fire 2 to become dry 3 unripe, coarse (1 сушить у огня, вялить на огне 2 пересыхать, ссыхаться 3 неспелый, необработанный): Evk. *bučī-* 1; Evn. *bučị-* 1; Neg. *bočị-* 1, *bočuxịn* 3; Ul. *bučị-* 2, *bučule* bi 3; Nan. *bočo-* 2, *bočō* 3; Orch. *buksa-* 2, *buču* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 97-98, 117.

PMong. ***bučal-*** to boil (варить, кипеть): MMong. *bučal-* (SH), *bučal(a)-* (MA); WMong. *bučal-* (L 129); Kh. *bucla-*, *bučla-*; Bur. *busal-*; Kalm. *busḷ-*; Ord. *bučal-*; Mog. *bučōl-*; ZM *bečāl* (14-7a); Dag. *bačila-* (Тод. Даг. 125), *bačile-* (MD 116); Dong. *bučula-*; S.-Yugh. *pužalu-*.

◊ KW 63, MGCD 172.

PJpn. ***pàtà-pər-*** 1 to emit heat 2 heat (1 испускать тепло 2 тепло): OJpn. *p(w)ot(w)op(w)or-* 1; MJpn. *fòtòfor-* 1; Tok. *hotoborí, hòtobori* 2; Kyo. *hótóbóri* 2; Kag. *hotobóri* 2.

◊ Dialects reflect both low and high tones. The consistent spelling *fotofor-* in RJ prevents the analysis **pə-* 'fire' + **təm(p)ə-r-* 'burn' presented in JLTT 693.

PKor. ***pčōi-*** to dry on fire, under the sun (сушить на огне, на солнце): MKor. *pčōi-*; Mod. *č:wē-*.

◊ Nam 432, KED 1491.

‖ Korean has a usual loss of narrow vowel between a stop and an affricate. Cf. also Kor. *č:i-* 'to steam, cook' (SKE 32).

✱**buda** to attach, follow, accompany: Tung. ***boda-***; Turk. ***bodu-***; Kor. ***pət***.

PTung. ***boda-*** to follow smb., accompany (следовать за кем-л., сопровождать): Evk. *bodo-*; Evn. *bod-*; Neg. *bodo-*; Ul. *bodo-*; Ork. *bodo-*; Nan. *bodo-*; Ud. *bodo-*.

◊ TMC 1, 88.

PTurk. ***bodu-*** 1 to fasten (with a nail, arrow) 2 to be fastened, attached 3 wooden nail in camel's nose for fastening the tether 4 nail (1 прикреплять, прибивать (гвоздем, стрелой) 2 быть прикрепленным 3 деревянный гвоздик в носовой перегородке верблюда для прикрепления привязи 4 гвоздь): OTurk. *bodu-* 1 (OUygh.), *bodul-* 2, *budlu* 3 (OUygh. - YB); Karakh. *bodu-* 1 (MK), *butlu* (= *budlu*) 3 (MK); Tur. *pojra* 'wheel hob', dial. *bujru, bujlu*; Turkm. *büjli* 3; MTurk. *bujla* (MA) 3; Uygh. *bujla* 3; Bashk. *bujlıq* 'a bridle detail, суголовник'; Kirgh. *bujla* 3; Kaz. *bujda* 3; KKalp. *bujda* 3; Nogh. *bojısqan* (< **bodı-š-kan*) 'woollen lead for fastening calves during milking'; Khak. *pozıy* 4; Shr. *pozuy* 4.

◊ EDT 300, 304, 305, ЭСТЯ 2, 287. The original meaning of the root is clearly 'to fasten, attach'. The -u-vowel in the name of camel harness may be a result of borrowing in Karakh. from a Kypchak-type dialect, with further dispersion from Karakh. Turk. *bujla* > Mong. *bujla* 'id.' > Tuva *bujla*.

PKor. ***pət*** friend, companion (друг, товарищ): MKor. *pāt*; Mod. *pāt* [*pəs*].

◊ Nam 256, KED 771.

‖ A rather usual case of secondary nominalizing in Korean (cf. *pa* 'rope' < **bā́* 'to bind' etc.).

✱**bŭgà** heat, steam: Tung. ***bugar**; Mong. ***baɣa-gi-**; Turk. ***būg**; Jpn. ***bák-**.

PTung. ***bugar*** burnt forest, wood (гарь, горелый лес): Evk. *buɣar*; Evn. *bōrin*.

◊ TMC 1, 101.

PMong. ***baɣa-gi-*** to fumigate (дымить): WMong. *baɣagi-* (L 68); Kh. *bāgi-*.

PTurk. ***būg*** steam, fog (пар, туман): Karakh. *bu* (MK, IM); Tur. *bu* 'aroma' (poet.), *buɣu* 'steam'; Gag. *bū*; Az. *buG*; Turkm. *būG*; MTurk. *buɣ* (Sangl., Pav. C.), *muɣ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *buɣ*, *buɣ-la-* 'to steam'; Uygh. *buɣ*; Krm. *buv*; Tat. *bu*, *bu-la-n-* 'to vaporize'; Bashk. *bi̯w*; Kirgh. *bū*; Kaz. *buw*; *buw-la-* 'to steam', *bu-la-* 'to treat with steam (medically)'; KBalk. *buwaq* 'hoar-frost'; KKalp. *puw*; Kum. *buɣaq* 'hoar-frost'; Nogh. *buw*; *buwaldi̯r* 'hoar-frost'; Oyr. *buu*; Chuv. *pъʷv*.

◊ EDT 292, VEWT 86, ЭСТЯ 2, 229-230, Лексика 37. The behaviour of final -g after a long vowel is probably regular (although this combination is rather rare). Turk. > MMong. *buɣ* (АФМ) 'steam' (Щербак 1997, 163).

PJpn. ***bák-*** to boil, seethe (кипеть, варить(ся)): OJpn. *wak-*; MJpn. *wák-*; Tok. *wàk-*; Kyo. *wák-*; Kag. *wák-*.

◊ JLTT 783.

‖ Martin 226 compares the Jpn. form with Kor. *pagi̯l-*, but PA *-g- could not have been preserved in Korean. The latter should be rather derived from PA *p'ó[k]ù 'swell' q.v.

✱**bùjre** wrong, bad: Mong. ***buruɣu**; Jpn. ***bàrə̀-**; Kor. ***ōi-**.

PMong. ***buruɣu*** wrong, bad (неверный, дурной, несправедливый): MMong. *buru'u* (SH, HY 51), *burū* (MA); WMong. *buruɣu* (L 138); Kh. *burū*; Bur. *burū*; Kalm. *burū*; Ord. *burū*; Dag. *borō* (Тод. Дат. 128, MD 126); Dong. *buru*; S.-Yugh. *burū̃*; Mongr. *burū*.

◊ KW 62, MGCD 170. Mong. > Evk. *burū* etc., see Doerfer MT 123.

PJpn. ***bàrə̀-*** bad (плохой): MJpn. *wàrò-*; Tok. *warú-*; Kyo. *wárù-*; Kag. *warú-*.

◊ JLTT 844.

PKor. ***ōi-*** 1 bad, wrong 2 left (1 плохой, неверный 2 левый): MKor. *ōi-* 1; Mod. *ōi-* 1, 2.

◊ Nam 386, KED 1221.

‖ In TM cf. perhaps Evn. *bēruw-* 'to slander' (TMC 1, 127). Medial *-j- should be reconstructed to account for the loss of *-r- in Korean; the Korean word may belong here if it is another case of *b- > 0-, like in *úrí* 'we' < **bi̯ĕ-ŕV*, *ì-* 'to be' < **bíju*, *ù-* 'well' < **bi̯ujri*, *ùsi̯rk* 'badger' < **borso-k'V*.

***bŭkà** chain, rim: Tung. ***boKi-**; Mong. ***bugu-**; Turk. ***bukagu**; Jpn. ***bàkù**.

PTung. ***boKi-** chain (цепь): Neg. *boxopụn*; Ul. *bojpụ(n)*; Nan. *bojotō*; Ud. *baxula*.

◊ TMC 1, 90.

PMong. ***bugu-** 1 bracelet 2 noose (1 браслет 2 петля, аркан): MMong. *bugi* 'rope', *bugija* 'fetters' (SH), *buɣū* 1 (IM 433), *buqau* 1 (MA); WMong. *buɣui*, *baɣu*, *baɣui* 1 (L 71, 131), *buɣujil* 2 (L 131), *baɣuu* (SM) 1; Kh. *bugujvč* 1, *bugujl* 2; Bur. *bugāg* 1, *bugɨ*, *bugūlī*, *bugɨbša* 2; Kalm. *buɣū* 1, 'neck bandage'; Ord. *buGū* 1; S.-Yugh. *boʁorči* 1; Mongr. *baGūr* 1 (SM 19).

◊ KW 58, MGCD 166, Дыбо 226. The word is attested already in SH, so it cannot be (despite TMN 2, 278) a modern loanword from forms like Kirgh. *buɣaw* etc. See also notes to **bog-* (sub **bịugu)*.

PTurk. ***bukagu** fetters, chain, string (путы, цепь, веревка): OTurk. *buqaɣu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *buqaɣu* (MK); Tur. *bukaɣı*; Gag. *buqaa*, *bıqaa*; Az. *buxov*; Turkm. *buqaw*; MTurk. *buqaɣu*, *buqaw* (Sng., MA); Uzb. *bụɣɔw*; Krm. *buqov*, *buɣuw*; Tat. *boɣaw*; Bashk. *bɨɣaw*; Kirgh. *boɣoo*; Kaz. *buɣaw*; KBalk. *buɣow*; KKalp. *buɣaw*; Kum. *buɣaw*; Nogh. *buɣaw*; Chuv. *pъʷɣav* 'iron manacles'; Yak. *bakāji* (?).

◊ EDT 314, VEWT 87, ЭСТЯ 2, 248-250, Егоров 152, TMN 2, 277-278. Turk. > Mong., cf. MMong. *buxa'u* (SH) id., see TMN ibid., Щербак 1997, 108. Yak. *bakāji* with irregular -a- and -k- may reflect some interdialectal loan. Turk. > Hung. *békó* (Gombocz 1912).

PJpn. ***bàkù** spool, rim, frame (катушка, обод): Tok. *wakú*; Kyo. *'wákù*; Kag. *wakú*.

◊ JLTT 567.

‖ Дыбо 226 (Turc-Mong-TM).

***bŭkrV** pea, nut, cone: Tung. ***boKari, *boKa-kta**; Mong. ***buɣurčag**; Turk. ***burčak**; Kor. ***phǎs**.

PTung. ***boKa-ri, *boKa-kta** 1 pea 2 cone 3 nut 4 tree fungus (1 горох 2 шишка 3 орех 4 древесная губа): Evk. *bokoto*, *bokokto* 2, 3; Evn. *bokot* 2, 3; Neg. *boxoto* 2, 3; Man. *boχori* 1, *baχa* 2; Ul. *bōqto* 3; Ork. *bōqto* 2, 3; Nan. *bōqto* 3; Orch. *bokto* 3; Ud. *bo'to* 2, 4 (Корм. 213); Sol. *boxrō* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 90, 91. TM > Dag. *bokrō* 'peas' (Тод. Дар. 127). Nan. *boχorị* 'pea' is most probably < Manchu.

PMong. ***buɣurčag** pea (горох): MMong. *burčax* (HY 8); WMong. *buɣurčaɣ*, (L 132) *buɣurčai*; Kh. *būrcag*; Bur. *būrsag* 'semen, fruit of vegetables'; Kalm. *būrcəg*; Ord. *burčaq*; Dag. *borečō* (MD 126), *borčō*; Dong. *puča*, *puža*; Bao. *pəžaG*; S.-Yugh. *purčaG*; Mongr. *puǯaG* (SM 305), *puǯaG*.

◊ KW 65, MGCD 171. Variants without -ɣ- (WMong. *burčaɣ* etc.) should be regarded as Turkisms), but those with -ɣ- can be hardly explained in this way, despite Clark 1980, 43, Sukhebaatar; Southern Mong. forms are ambiguous, because they could have underwent secondary vowel shortening.

PTurk. ***burčak** bean, pea (бобы, горох): OTurk. *burčaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *burčaq* (MK); Tur. *burčak*; Gag. *borčaq*; Turkm. *burčaq*; MTurk. *burčaq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *burčɔq*; Uygh. *počaq*; Krm. *burčax*; Tat. *borčaq*; Bashk. *borsaq*; Kirgh. [*būrčaq* < Mong.]; Kaz. *buršaq*; KBalk. *burčaq*; KKalp. *buršaq*; Kum. *burčaq*; Nogh. *buršaq*; SUygh. *pirčaq*; Shr. *mirčaq*; Oyr. *mirčaq*; Chuv. *pъʷrźa, paʷrźe*.

◊ EDT 357, VEWT 89, ЭСТЯ 2, 275-277. Turk. > WMong. *burčag*, Kalm. *burcəg* (KW 62, see TMN 2, 281, Щербак 1997, 110). Chuv. > Mari *pursa*; Bulg. > Hung. *borsó*, see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***phắs** beans, peas (бобы, горох): MKor. *phắs*; Mod. *phat* [*phath*].

◊ Nam 462, KED 1739.

‖ Дыбо 10, AKE 15, EAS 58. Phonetically a rather complicated case because of the rare medial cluster *-kr- with non-standard reflexes. Turkic, Mongolian and probably Korean reflect a suffixed form **bukrV-čʹV* (MKor. *phắs* = **phắč* < **bukVr-čʹV*); medial -k- in the cluster had disappeared in PT and yielded -ɣ- in Mong. Another derivative from the same root may be the Turk.-Mong. name of various kinds of berries: PT **bögürtlen* 'blackberry' etc., Mong. **böɣerel(ǯi)gene* 'raspberry etc.' (KW 56).

***bŭ́ktV** leg, thigh: Tung. ***begdi / *bugdi**; Turk. ***būt**.

PTung. ***begdi / *bugdi** 1 leg 2 foot (1 нога (leg) 2 нога (foot)): Evk. *begdi* 1; Evn. *bŏ̄dъl* 1; Neg. *begdi* 1; Man. *betxe* 2; SMan. *betəxə, betəkə* 1, 2 (137, 2285); Jurch. *bodi-xe* (505) 2; Ul. *begdi* 1; Ork. *begǯi* 1; Nan. *begd'i* 2; Orch. *begdi* 1; Ud. *begdi* 1; Sol. *beldīr* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 118-119.

PTurk. ***būt** 1 thigh 2 leg, foot (1 бедро 2 нога): OTurk. *but* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *but* (MK) 1; Tur. *but* 1; Gag. *but* 1; Az. *bud* 1; Turkm. *būt* 1; Khal. *būt* 1; MTurk. *but* (Abush., Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *but* 'groin'; Uygh. *put* 2; Krm. *but* 1; Tat. *bot* 1; Bashk. *bot* 1; Kirgh. *but* 2; Kaz. *but* 1; KBalk. *but* 2; KKalp. *put* 1; Kum. *but* 2; Nogh. *but* 1; SUygh. *put* 2; Khak. *put* 1; Oyr. *but* 2; Tv. *but* 2; Tof. *bu̇t* 2; Yak. *būt* 1; Dolg. *būt* 1.

◊ VEWT 90, EDT 297, ЭСТЯ 2, 280-281, Лексика 282, Stachowski 67.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 289, Лексика 282. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

***bŭ̀kʹe (~ -i)** hill, mound: Tung. ***būKa**; Mong. ***buka**; Turk. ***bük**; Kor. ***puk (~ -i-)**.

PTung. ***būKa** island (остров): Evk. *būka, bukačān*; Evn. *bu̯qčan*; Neg. *boxačan*; Man. *buqsa*; Ul. *bāča(n)*; Ork. *boata*; Nan. *boačā*; Orch. *boača*; Ud. *bugasa*.

◊ TMC 1, 104.

PMong. ***buka** 1 canal 2 haycock, shock (1 канал 2 копна): WMong. *buqa* 1, *buqal* 2; Kh. *buxaĺ* 2; Bur. *buxal* 2; Kalm. *buxə* 1; Mog. ZM *boqqə̄n* 'hillock' (17-9a).

◊ KW 58. The original meaning was 'heap, mound of earth' (whence also 'island, dam > canal', cf. the meanings in related languages).

PTurk. ***bük** 1 wood, forest 2 hill 3 meadow 4 valley between mountains (1 лес 2 холм 3 луг 4 долина между гор): Karakh. *bük* 'bushes, underwood', *büktir* 'rocky mountain top' (MK); Tur. *bük* 'thicket at the waterside'; MTurk. *bük* 1 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *bük* 'thick (wood, garden)'; Tat. *bük* (dial.) 3, *pükter* 'snow-drift' (КСТТ); Kirgh. *bök* 2, *böktör* 'foot-hills'; Kaz. *bökter* 'steep hill'; Khak. *pük* 3; Shr. *pük* 3; Oyr. *bük* 4; Tv. *bü'k* 4.

◊ VEWT 91, EDT 324, 325, ЭСТЯ 2, 291, Лексика 94.

PKor. ***puk (~ -i-)** heaping of earth (куча земли): Mod. *puk*.

◊ KED 823.

‖ SKE 208, Дыбо 11. Cf. **bi̯uge*, **pāko*. Jpn. **bə́ká* is rather to be derived from PA **úk'e* q.v. (although contaminations were possible).

***buk'V** to doubt, be stupid: Tung. ***buK-**; Mong. ***bukinid-**; Kor. ***puki**.

PTung. ***buK-** 1 to worry 2 to doubt, guess, contemplate (1 волноваться 2 догадываться, сомневаться, раздумывать): Man. *buxe-* 2; Nan. *bogbi̯-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 87, 105.

PMong. ***bukinid-** to be sad, grieve, be troubled (печалиться, горевать; томиться, застаиваться): WMong. *bukinid-*, *bokinid-* (L 133); Kh. *buxinda-*; Bur. *buxinda-*; Kalm. *buxtənə-* KPC 125.

◊ Mong. > Evn. *boqutna-* (TMC 1, 91).

PKor. ***puki** idiotic person, stupid character (глупец, дурак): Mod. *pugi*.

◊ KED 810.

‖ One of the many verbs of emotion reconstructed for PA; cf. **pŭ̀go*, and perhaps Mod. Jpn. *baka* 'fool' (with expressive b-).

***bŭli** to stir, shake, smear: Tung. ***bul-**; Mong. ***büli-**; Turk. ***bulga-**; Jpn. ***púr-**.

PTung. ***bul-** 1 to smear 2 to caress, stroke (1 мазать 2 гладить): Evk. *bulku-* 1, *bul-* 2; Evn. *bel-*, *böl-* 2; Neg. *bolki̯-* 1, *bul-* 2; Man. *bilu-* 2; Ul. *bu̯lči̯-* 2; Ork. *bolda-* 1, *bu̯li̯-* 2; Nan. *buli-* 2; Orch. *būli-či-* 2; Sol. *bulgu-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 105-106, 108.

PMong. ***büli-** to stir (взбивать, помешивать (кумыс)): MMong. *bule-* (SH); WMong. *büli-*, *büle-* (L 146); Kh. *büle-*; Bur. *büli-*; Kalm. *bülə-*, *büĺ-*; Ord. *büli-*.

◊ KW 66. Mong. > Russ. Siber. *булить* 'to churn butter', see Аникин 141.

PTurk. ***bulga-** to stir, stir up (помешивать, перемешивать): OTurk. *bulγa-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bulγa-* (MK); Tur. *bula-*; Gag. *bula-*; Az. *bula-*; Turkm. *bula-*; Khal. *bulγa-*; MTurk. *bulγa-*; *bula-* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *bula-*, *bulγa-*; Uygh. *bulγu-*; Krm. *bulγa-*, *bolγa-*; Tat. *bolγa-*; Bashk. *bolγa-*; Kirgh. *bulγa-*; Kaz. *bilγa-*, *bulγa-*; KBalk. *bulγa-*; KKalp. *bilγa-*; Kum. *bulγa-*; Nogh. *bilγa-*, *bulγa-*; SUygh. *polγa-*, *pula-*; Khak. *pulγa-*; Shr. *pulγa-*; Oyr. *bulγa-*; Tv. *bilγa-*, (dial.) *bulγa-*; Tof. *bulha-*; Chuv. *pъlxa-n-* 'to become turbid'; Yak. *bulā-*, *bulkuj-*, *bilā-*; Dolg. *bulkuj-*.

◊ EDT 337, VEWT 88, ЭСТЯ 2, 253-256, Ашм. X, 112, Stachowski 65. The Turk. root is the probable source of Mong. *bulγa-* 'to confuse, uprise' (see TMN 2, 322-323, Щербак 1997, 110).

PJpn. ***púr-** to shake up, wave, rub (взмахивать, трясти, тереть): OJpn. *pur-*; MJpn. *fúr-*; Tok. *fùr-*; Kyo. *fúr-*; Kag. *fúr-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

‖ See EAS 57-58, 106.

***bŭlu (~ -a, -o)** cloud: Tung. ***bol-**; Turk. ***bulut (*bulıt)**.

PTung. ***bol-** 1 autumn 2 air 3 to blow (of wind, snow) (1 осень 2 воздух 3 дуть, падать (о ветре, снеге)): Evk. *bolo* 1, *bolgo* 2, *bolī-* 3; Evn. *bolъnị* 1; Neg. *bolo* 1; Man. *bolori* 1; SMan. *bolori* 'autumn, fall' (2728); Jurch. *bolo* (75); Ul. *bolo* 1; Ork. *bolo* 1; Nan. *bolo* 1; Orch. *bolo* 1; Ud. *boloni* 1; Sol. *bolo* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 92-93.

PTurk. ***bulut (*bulıt)** cloud (облако): Karakh. *bulut* (MK); Tur. *bulut*; Gag. *bulut*; Az. *bulut*; Turkm. *bulut*; Sal. *bu(:)lıt*; Khal. *bulıt*; MTurk. *bulut* (MA); Uzb. *bulut*; Uygh. *bulut*; Krm. *bulut*; Tat. *bolıt*; Bashk. *bolot*; Kirgh. *bulut*; Kaz. *bұlt*; KBalk. *bulut*; KKalp. *bult*; Kum. *bulut*; Nogh. *bulıt*; SUygh. *pılıt*; Khak. *pulut*; Shr. *pulut*; Oyr. *bulut*; Tv. *bulut*; Tof. *bulut*; Chuv. *pəʷləʷt* 'sky, cloud'; Yak. *bilit*; Dolg. *bilit*.

◊ VEWT 88 (the connection with PT **bulga-* 'to mix' is not obvious at all); TMN 2, 323; EDT 333, ЭСТЯ 2, 262-264, Лексика 24, Stachowski 71. Turk. > MMong. (ИМ) *bulut*, see Щербак 1997, 163. Derived are Kypch. forms like Kaz., KKalp. *buldır* 'foggy, cloudy', Kirgh. *buldur* 'fuzzy, cloudy', Nogh. *buldır* 'id.'

‖ A Turk.-TM isogloss. A Nostratic etymology (Ural. **pilwe* et al.) see in ОСНЯ 1, 179-180.

***bŭlV** to grab, find: Tung. ***bule-**; Mong. ***buliγa-**; Turk. ***bul-**.

PTung. ***bule-n** enemy (враг): Evk. *bulēn*; Evn. *bulъn*.

◊ TMC 1, 109-110.

PMong. ***buliγa-** to attack, rob, grab (нападать, грабить, хватать): MMong. *buli-* (SH) 'to rob', *bulqa-* (SH) 'to fight', *balγa* 'fighting' (IM); WMong. *bulija-* (L 134), *buliγa-*; Kh. *bulā-*; Bur. *bulā́-*; Kalm. *bulā-*; Ord. *bulā-*; Dag. *baliē-* (MD 119), *bolē-*; Dong. *bili-*; Bao. *bəl-*, *bula-*; S.-Yugh. *bələ-*; Mongr. *bulə-*, *buli-* (SM 33).

◊ KW 59, MGCD 167. Mong. > Turk.: Kirgh. *bula-*, Uygh. *bulu-* 'to rob'; > Yak., Dolg. *bilǯā-* (Kał. MEJ 19, Stachowski 70). A Mong. source is possible also for the Chag. form *bula-* (see above).

PTurk. ***bul-*** to find (находить): OTurk. *bul-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bul-* (MK, KB); Tur. *bul-*; Gag. *bul-*; Khal. *bul-*; MTurk. *bula-* (Pav. C. 174); Krm. *bul-*; Yak. *bul-*; Dolg. *bul-*.

◊ EDT 332, VEWT 87, ЭСТЯ 2, 252-253, Stachowski 65.

‖ KW 59, VEWT 87. A Western isogloss. In Turkic 'find' obviously < 'grab, capture', the original meaning being well-preserved in PT **bulun* 'captive, prisoner' (EDT 343).

✱**bulV** ice, jelly-like substance: Tung. ***belu / *bul-***; Turk. ***bul-***.

PTung. ***belu / bul-*** 1 flat, slippery ice surface 2 to become gelatinous, jelly-like (1 гладкая, скользкая поверхность льда 2 образоваться (о льде, шуге, насте), застывать, становиться густым, студенистым): Evk. *belu* 1, *buldi-lē-* 2; Evn. *buldid-* 2; Neg. *bel, bulǯi-* 2; Ul. *belu, bolu* 1, *bulde-* 2; Ork. *belu* 1; Nan. *belu, bulu* 1, *bulǯi-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 107, 124. Cf. also **bul-da-* 'slippery' (TMC 1, 107).

PTurk. ***bul-*** 1 hoar-frost 2 frazil, icy surface (1 изморозь 2 наледь): Turkm. *buldurčin* 1, *buldura-* 'to glitter (of dew, hoar-frost)'; Uzb. *bulduriq* 1; Oyr. *puluɣ* 2 (dial., Leb. R); Tv. *buluq* 2; Yak. *bulūs* 'glacier'.

◊ Лексика 38.

‖ A Turk.-TM isogloss. ? Cf. Karakh. *bulduni* 'a k. of milk dish' (MK) (= Evk. *buldumna*, - if the original meaning was "congeal").

✱**bú́la** confusion, fright: Tung. ***bolga-***; Mong. ***bala-***; Turk. ***bū́l-***; Jpn. ***básúr-***.

PTung. ***bolga-*** 1 to be afraid 2 to worry 3 to be shy, confused (1 пугаться 2 беспокоиться 3 робеть, смущаться): Evk. *bolgo-*; Neg. *bolgo-* 1; Ork. *bolGo-*; Nan. *bōlda-ǯi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 92.

PMong. ***bala-*** 1 guilt 2 reason, cause (1 вина 2 причина): WMong. *balaɣ* 1, 2; Kh. *balag* 1, 2; Bur. *balā* 1, 2; Kalm. *balā* 2.

◊ KW 30.

PTurk. ***bū́l-*** to be bad-tempered, irritable (быть раздражительным, иметь плохой характер, сердиться, возбуждаться): OTurk. *buš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *buš-* (MK, KB); Gag. *būš-*; Turkm. *būš-la-* 'to be the first to communicate good news'; MTurk. *buš-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uygh. *puš-*; Krm. *bušuryan-* 'to argue, be disgusted'; Tat. *poš-*; Bashk. *boš-*; Kirgh. *biš-*; KBalk. *bušuw* 'sadness'; Kum. *buš-*; Khak. *puzux-* 'to be sad', *puzu-r-a-* 'to be inflamed'; Tv. *bužuryan-* 'to be anxious, angry'; Chuv. *pъžъ-r-yan-* 'to be anxious, sad'.

◊ VEWT 90, EDT 377, ЭСТЯ 2, 284-285, Мудрак Дисс. 96, Егоров 152, Федотов 1, 410. The devoicing in a number of Kypch. languages may be caused by the influence of a Persian loan *pušman, pušajman* 'remorse, regret' (Гаффаров 1, 97).

PJpn. ***básúr-** to forget (забывать): OJpn. *wasur-*; MJpn. *wásúrá-*; Tok. *wàsure-*; Kyo. *wásúré-*; Kag. *wasuré-*.

◊ JLTT 783.

‖ Despite Poppe 75, the Tungus root has nothing to do with Mong. *bulga* 'confusion, uprise' (a probable Turkic loanword, see under **búli*). Cf. **bùĺo*.

***bŭĺì (~ -o-)** joint, sinew: Tung. ***bul-**; Mong. ***büli-ken**; Jpn. ***pùsì**.

PTung. ***bul-** 1 to form, spring up (of an ulcer, lump, swelling) 2 to be, become convex, pop out (of eyes) 3 sinew, cartilage (1 вскочить (о волдыре, шишке) 2 вытаращить (глаза), быть лупоглазым, выпуклым 3 сухожилие, хрящ): Evk. *bulbente-* 1, *bulle* 3; Evn. *boldụra* 2, *bülrъ* 3; Neg. *bule* 3; Man. *bulǯa-* 1; Ork. *bụldā-*, *bolǯịna* 2; Nan. *bolǯa-* 2, *bulte* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 106, 107, 108, 109.

PMong. ***büli-ken** sinew; thick part of sinew (толстое сухожилие, мышечная связка): WMong. *büleke, büleki, bülike(n)*; Kh. *bülx*; Bur. *bülxi(n)*; Kalm. *bülkn̩*.

◊ KW 66.

PJpn. ***pùsì** a knot, bamboo joint etc. (узел, сустав бамбука и т.п.): OJpn. *pusi*; MJpn. *fùsì*; Tok. *fushí*; Kyo. *fúshì*; Kag. *fushí*.

◊ JLTT 418.

‖ Дыбо 311, Лексика 250-251.

***bŭĺo** to pity, be sad: Tung. ***bulī-**; Jpn. ***bàsì-**; Kor. ***pìrə́-**.

PTung. ***bulī-** to be sad (тосковать): Evk. *bulī-*; Evn. *bụl-*; Ul. *bụldažị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 107-108.

PJpn. ***bàsì-** to pity, regret (жалеть): OJpn. *wosi-*; MJpn. *wòsì-*; Tok. *oshí-*; Kyo. *óshì-*; Kag. *oshí-*.

◊ JLTT 839.

PKor. ***pìrə́-** to envy, be jealous (завидовать, ревновать): MKor. *pìrə́-hă̆-*; Mod. *purəp-* (-w-).

◊ Liu 404, KED 813.

‖ Korean has a verbal low tone. An Eastern isogloss, but cf. **bŭ́ĺa* : the two roots are very similar and their reflexes could have been mixed in Turk. and Mong. (which also has a form *bulara-* (БАМРС) 'to be exhausted, tired').

***bŭŋe** to howl: Tung. ***būni-**; Mong. ***büŋsi-, *büɣüre-**; Turk. ***böŋre-**; Jpn. ***bàmià-k- (~ -ai-)**.

PTung. ***būni-** to howl (выть): Evk. *būnī-*; Evn. *būni-*; Neg. *būnī-*; Ul. *buńi-ku* 'trumpet'; Ork. *būni-*; Nan. *būni-ku* 'trumpet'; Ud. *buni-*; Sol. *būnī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 110. TM > Dag. *būnī-* (Тод. Даг. 128).

PMong. ***büŋsi-, *büɣüre-** to howl (выть): WMong. *büŋsi-* (MXTTT); Kh. *bünši-, bŭ̄re-*; Bur. ?? *bŭ̄je-* 'to hum'.

◊ A variant **möɣüre-* is also attested (Khalkha *mŏ̄rö-*, Moŋgr. *mōro-* (SM 242) etc.)

PTurk. ***böŋre-** to howl (кричать (в первую очередь, о животном)): OTurk. *müŋre-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *müŋre-* (MK); Tur. *bögür-*; Turkm. *möŋŋür-, möŋre-*; MTurk. *muŋra-* (Sangl.); Uygh. *möri-*; Krm. *mövrä-*; Tat. *mögrɛ-*; Bashk. *möŋrä-*; Kirgh. *mŏ̄rŏ̄-*; Kaz. *möŋire-*; KKalp. *möŋrä-*; Khak. *mŭ̄re-*; Oyr. *mŏ̄rŏ̄-*; Tv. *mŏ̄re-*; Yak. *möŋürüö-, mögürüö-*.

◊ VEWT 342, EDT 770, ЭСТЯ 7. The variant **baŋra-* is also attested (see VEWT 327).

PJpn. ***bàmià-k- (~ -ai-)** to howl (выть): MJpn. *wamek-, womek-*; Tok. *wamék-*; Kyo. *wámék-*; Kag. *wàmèk-*.

◊ JLTT 783.

‖ Poppe 35, 73. An onomatopaeic root, but widely represented and (except for secondary fronting **būŋi-* > **büni-* in TM) with quite regular correspondences.

***bŭrdV** beard: Tung. ***burgakta (/*gurgakta)**; Mong. ***burǯi-**; Turk. ***burut**.

PTung. ***burgakta (/*gurgakta)** beard, moustache (борода, усы): Evk. *gurgakta*; Evn. *gurgъt*; Neg. *gojgakta*; Ul. *bụ̆ǯaqta*; Ork. *Gụ̆daqta*; Nan. *boGaqta / bošaqta*; Orch. *bažakta*; Ud. *guakta*; Sol. *gụ̆ggakta, gụ̆rgakta*.

◊ TMC 1, 173. Some languages reflect a secondary assimilation **burga-kta* > **gurga-kta*.

PMong. ***burǯi-** fleecy, curly (of hair) (курчавый, пушистый): WMong. *burǯi-* (L 140); Kh. *burǯgar*; Bur. *burǯagar*; Kalm. *burzəɣər*; Ord. *buržuGur*.

◊ KW 63. Cf. also **burči-* id. (Kalm. *burcəgr*, KW 62).

PTurk. ***burut** moustache (усы): Turkm. *murt*; MTurk. *burut* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *murt, murut*; Uygh. *burut*; Tat. *murt* (dial., Sib.); Kirgh. *murut*; Kaz. *murt*; KKalp. *murt, murut*; Nogh. *murt, murut*.

◊ EDT 301 (sub *bıδık*), VEWT 90, TMN 2, 290-291, Лексика 224 (with etymological discussion).

‖ Лексика 224. A Western isogloss. TM reflects an early assimilation (**burda-kta* > **burga-kta*) - the process which went on and led to a further assimilation **burga-kta* > **gurga-kta* in some dialects.

***bŭri (~ -i̯ū-, -e)** to cover, shade: Tung. ***bū-**; Mong. ***bürü-**; Turk. ***bürü-**.

PTung. ***bū-** to shade (light) (заслонять свет): Evk. *bū-*.

◊ TMC 1, 99. Cf. perhaps also: Evk. *boro* 'dusk'; Manchu *boro* 'hat (made of straw)' (see TMC 1, 96). A possible derivative is also **bō-gda* 'hat; upper clothes' (TMC 1, 87).

PMong. ***bürü-** 1 to cover 2 dusk, darkening (1 закрывать 2 сумерки, сумеречный): MMong. *buri-* 1 (SH), *b[o]r[o]nčäk* 'cover, blanket' (IM); WMong. *bürüj, bürüg* 2 (L 150); Kh. *büre-* 1, *bürūl, bürij* 2; Bur. *büri-* 1, *bürūl, bürūr* 2; Kalm. *bür-* 1, *bürū* 2; Ord. *büri-* 1; Dag. *burī* (Тод. Даг. 128, MD 127) 2, *burgiēn* 2; S.-Yugh. *burʁoloG* 2; Mongr. *burə-, buri-* 1.

◊ KW 68, 69, MGCD 177, 178. Mong. > Man. *buri-* etc., see Doerfer MT 142.

PTurk. ***bürü-, *bür-ke-** to cover up (покрывать, закрывать): Karakh. *bürün-* 'to be covered' (MK, KB), *bürkek* 'cloudy', *bürkür-* 'to become cloudy' (MK); Tur. *bürü-* (also of clouds), *bürge, bürgü* 'kerchief, thin curtain'; Gag. *bürü-*; Az. *bürü-*; Turkm. *büre-*; MTurk. *bürke-* (MA, Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *burka-*; Uygh. *pü(r)kä-*; Tat. *börkɛ-*; Bashk. *börkä-n-* 'to be covered', *börköü* 'stifling'; Kirgh. *bürkö-*; Kaz. *bürke-*; KKalp. *bürke-*; Kum. *bürke-* (also of clouds); Nogh. *bürke-*; Khak. *pürge-*; Shr. *pürge-*; Oyr. *bürke-*; Tv. *bürge-* (also of clouds); Tof. *bürhü-*; Chuv. *pəʷrke-*; Yak. *bürüj-*; *bürküj-* 'to become cloudy'; Dolg. *bürüj-*; *bürkük* 'cloudy'.

◊ EDT 363, 367, ДТС 133, VEWT 92, ЭСТЯ 2, 296-298, Stachowski 68. The form in -ke- is an intensive and can hardly be regarded as a mongolism.

‖ KW 68, Poppe 111, ОСНЯ 1, 192. A Western isogloss - but Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 111. Cf. **bŏrk'i*.

***bŭri (~ -ŕ-, -o-, -e)** to die, perish: Tung. ***bu(r)-**; Mong. ***bür-il-**.

PTung. ***bu(r)-** to die (умирать): Evk. *bu-*; Evn. *bu-ni* 'deceased'; Neg. *bu-*; Man. *buče-*; SMan. *bečə-* (744); Jurch. *bu-če-xie* (389); Ul. *bu(l)-*; Ork. *bu(l)-*; Nan. *bude-*, bu(r)-; Orch. *bu-de-, bu-kki-*; Ud. *bu-de-, bu-kki-*; Sol. *bu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 98-99.

PMong. ***bür-il-** to die, perish (погибать, разрушаться): MMong. *burel-* (tr.) (SH); WMong. *büril-* (L 149); Kh. *bürle-*; Ord. *bürilge-*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 290, TMC 1, 99. A Mong-Tung. isogloss. TM demonstrates an exceptional case of loss of *-r- (recoverable in some forms of the paradigm) after an original short vowel, so the root may have been monosyllabic (**buŕ*) in PA.

***bùro (~ -o-, -ŕ-)** to break, crush: Tung. ***bur-**; Mong. ***burči-**; Jpn. ***bàr-**.

PTung. ***bur-** to crush, demolish (ломать, уничтожать): Evk. *burgī-*; Evn. *borgo̯-*.

◊ TMC 1, 112. Cf. also Evk. *borowun* 'scraper (for bone)', *burbenti-* 'to break through' (TMC 1, 96, 111).

PMong. ***burči-** to crush, destroy (ломать, разрушать): WMong. *burči-* (L 137); Kh. *burša-, borči-*; Bur. *buršī-* 'to be wrinkled, rumpled'.

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *buržugui* 'корявый' and a number of other Kypch. forms.

PJpn. ***bàr-*** to break; to bend (ломать; гнуть): OJpn. *wor-*; MJpn. *wòr-*; Tok. *ór-*; Kyo. *òr-*; Kag. *òr-*.

◊ JLTT 742.

‖ A reconstruction of *-ŕ- is also possible; in the latter case Turkic could have merged the root with **buŕ-* < **mi̯uŕu* q.v.

bŭsi (~ -o-, -e)** kidney, liver: Tung. ***bosa-kta; Mong. ***büse***; Turk. ***bögse(k) < *bös-ge(k)***.

PTung. ***bosa-kta*** kidney (почка): Evk. *bo̯sokto*; Evn. *bosty̯*; Neg. *boxokto*; Man. *bosχo*; SMan. *bošəqu, bosəqu* 'kidneys' (92); Ul. *bosoqto*; Ork. *bosoqto*; Nan. *bosoqto*; Ud. *bōkto*; Sol. *bosokto*.

◊ TMC 1, 97. TM > Dag. *basarta* (Тод. Дар. 125).

PMong. ***büse*** belt (пояс): MMong. *buse* (HY 23, SH), *busä* (IM), *busə̃* (MA), *būse* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *büse* (L 151); Kh. *büs(en)*; Bur. *behe*; Kalm. *büsə*; Ord. *büse*; Dag. *bese, buse* (Тод. Дар. 126, MD 122); Dong. *pišie*; Bao. *se*; S.-Yugh. *pəsē*; Mongr. *риза, busə* (Huzu).

◊ KW 69, MGCD 179. Mong. > Evk. *busɛ*, see Doerfer MT 94.

PTurk. ***bögse(k) < *bös-ge(k)*** a part of human or animal trunk (часть туловища): OTurk. *bögsig* 'some part of body (belly?)' (OUygh.); Karakh. *bökseg* 'woman's breast; upper part of chest' (MK); MTurk. *bökse* 'the part of a human or animal body above the waist' (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bu̯ksa* 'side part of the body below the breast and down to the hip; (dial.) lower part of body'; Tat. *büksɛ* 'belly; bird crop'; Bashk. *bükʒä* 'short person (abusive)'; Kirgh. *böksö* 'side of body; foot-hill'; KBalk. *böksün* 'half of animal carcass'; Tv. *böskek* 'bird's breast'; Tof. *böksek* 'bird's breast'; Chuv. *paʷźexe* 'crop'; Yak. *böskö-j-* 'to appear abdominous'.

◊ EDT 329, VEWT 84, 83, ЭСТЯ 2, 213-214, Лексика 278. Forms without -k meaning 'buttock' or 'lower part of body' are most probably borrowed < Mong. **bögse*, having quite different origin (see under **pi̯oko*) - although some contaminations were not excluded.

‖ A Western isogloss - but cf. also MKor. *khòŋ-phǎs* 'kidney' (*khòŋ* 'bean'), where *phǎs* is also folk-etymologically analysed as 'bean', but may in fact continue the same Altaic root.

bŭté** itch, scab: Tung. ***butu-; Mong. ***bodu(ɣa)***; Turk. ***büt-***; Jpn. ****pàtákài***.

PTung. ***butu-*** 1 a hoof disease, to suffer from hoof disease 2 pimple, pustule, to pustulate (1 копытница (болезнь оленей), болеть копытницей 2 прыщ, угорь, покрываться прыщами, пупырышками): Evk. *butu-, butun* 1, *buture-* 2; Evn. *butuke*; Man. *buturi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 116.

PMong. ***bodu(ɣa)*** smallpox (оспа): WMong. *bodu(-ɣa)* (L 109); Kh. *bodō*; Kalm. *bodə*; Ord. *bodō*.

◊ KW 48. Mong. > Evk. *budan* 'rash'.

PTurk. ***büt-** to heal (of a wound) (заживать (о ране)): OTurk. *büt-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *büt-* (MK); Turkm. *bit-; bitik* 'scar, cicatrice'; MTurk. *büt-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bit-*; Tat. *bet-äš-*; Bashk. *böt-öš-*; Kirgh. *büt-*; Kaz. *bit-*; KKalp. *pit-*; Nogh. *bit-*; Khak. *püt-*; Oyr. *büt-*; Tv. *bü't-*; Yak. *büt-*.

◊ EDT 299 (sub **büt-* 'finish'), ЭСТЯ 2, 154-155. Cf. also Chuv. *pĭtča* 'гнойный лишай'.

PJpn. ***pàtákài** mange, scabies (чесотка): OJpn. *patake*; MJpn. *fàtákè*; Tok. *hàtake*; Kyo. *hàtákè*; Kag. *hatake*.

◊ JLTT 401. The Tokyo accent is irregular (*hátake* would be expected).

‖ PJ has irregular devoicing *b- > p- here. Turkic forms may belong here if they are not a specialized semantic development of **büt-* 'to finish, end' (a secondary merger is possible).

***bŭt'ù (~ -o-)** to beat, break: Tung. ***bute-, *butekte-**; Mong. ***buta-**; Jpn. ***pùt-**; Kor. ***puti'ič-**.

PTung. ***bute-, *butekte-** to break, crush (ломать, дробить, разбивать): Evk. *butēkte-; butukte* 'piece'; Evn. *bu̯t-*; Neg. *bokta-l-*; Ul. *bu̯qta-*; Nan. *boqta-*; Orch. *buktaga-*; Ud. *bukta-*.

◊ TMC 1, 116.

PMong. ***buta-** 1 to break 2 be broken (1 ломать 2 ломаться): MMong. *butăra-* (MA); WMong. *buta-ra-* (L 141) 2; Kh. *butar-* 2, *butal-* 1; Bur. *butar-* 2; Kalm. *butṛ-* 2; Ord. *butara-* 2; Dong. *pudura-* (MGCD), *putura-* 2; Mongr. *pudərā-* (SM 304) 2!.

◊ KW 63, MGCD 172. Mong. > Chag. *butra-* etc. (VEWT 90-91, ЭСТЯ 2, 308-309) (not vice versa, despite Щербак 1997, 110: OTurk. *budra-* is invented, and OTurk. *budraq* 'scattered' is a hapax misinterpreted by Malov, see EDT 307).

PJpn. ***pùt-** to beat, hit (бить): Tok. *bút-*; Kyo. *bùt-*; Kag. *bùt-*.

◊ A verb (not attested in OJ) with an expressive voicing *p- > b-. See JLTT 680.

PKor. ***puti'ič-** to hit, bump, collide (бить, сталкиваться): MKor. *puti'ič-*; Mod. *pudit-* [*putič-*].

◊ Nam 265, KED 812.

‖ Poppe 21, 101; Martin 233.

Č

✱**čằbà (~ -o)** sack: Tung. ***ǯaPku**; Jpn. ***tàpàra**; Kor. ***čar.**

PTung. ***ǯaPku** quiver (колчан): Man. *ǯabqu*; Ul. *ǯapaṷ(n)*; Nan. *ǯafṷ*; Orch. *ǯapku*.

◊ TMC 1, 251.

PJpn. ***tàpàra** sack (мешок): MJpn. *tàfâra*; Tok. *tawará*; Kyo. *táwàrà*; Kag. *tawará*.

◊ JLTT 544.

PKor. ***čar** sack (мешок): MKor. *čar*; Mod. *čaru*.

◊ Nam 416, KED 1376.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Kor. **čàr* is a contraction < **čawar* < **čabar*.

✱**čabV** helmet, headgear: Tung. ***ǯabuka**; Mong. ***daɣulga**.

PTung. ***ǯabuka** ear-flaps, headgear (наушники): Ul. *ǯawa*; Nan. *ǯaṷa*; Orch. *ǯawa, ǯauka*; Ud. *ǯauga*.

◊ TMC 1, 240.

PMong. ***daɣulga** helmet (шлем): MMong. *du'uluqa* (HY 19), *dăwulɣa* (MA); WMong. *daɣulɣa, duɣulɣa* (L 271); Kh. *dūlga*; Bur. *dūlga*; Kalm. *dūlyə, dūlxə*; Ord. *dūlGa*.

◊ KW 104. Mong. > Chag. *davulɣa, dubulɣa, duvulɣa, duluɣa*, see Щербак 1997, 203.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**čágo** a k. of small predator: Tung. ***ǯagari**; Mong. ***ǯeɣe-ken**; Turk. ***ToK- (?)**.

PTung. ***ǯagari** bear's head; bear (3 y. old) (голова медведя; медведь (3-х лет)): Evk. *ǯaɣari*; Neg. *ǯaɣaskačān*; Man. *ǯajra* 'медведица (самка медведя-муравьеда)'; Nan. *ǯārị*; Ud. *ǯāi*.

◊ TMC 1, 242.

PMong. ***ǯeɣe-ken** 1 wolverine 2 jackal (1 росомаха 2 шакал): MMong. *ǯo'ebori* 2 (SH); WMong. *ǯegeken* (L 1051: *ǯigege*) 1, *čöge-büri* 2; Kh. *ǯēx(en)* 1, *cōvör* 2; Bur. *zēgen* 1; Kalm. *zēgən* 1 (KPC).

◊ On -büri see under **beltereg*.

PTurk. ***ToK-** weasel (ласка): Khak. *totxanax* (Sag.); Shr. *toqɨnas, toqumas, toqumdas* (R); Oyr. *toqtonoq*; Tv. *toqtan* (R).

◊ VEWT 485. A local Syberian form, probably a compound of the expected **dog-* with some obscure second component (possibly **dog-kumtiŕ* 'weasel-beaver').

‖ A Western isogloss. Initial *ǯ- in Mong. is irregular (one should expect either **deγe-ken* or **čiγe-ken*: cf. in this respect the interesting WMong. form *čöge-büri* (< **čiγö-büri* ?) 'jackal'); this may be due to an interaction with Turk. **jēbke* (see under **zībekV*).

***čákte** pine, larch: Tung. ***ǯagda**; Turk. ***Tīt**.

PTung. ***ǯagda** pine-tree (сосна): Evk. *ǯagda*; Evn. *ǯaγdᵾ*; Neg. *ǯagda*; Man. *ǯaqdan*; SMan. *ǯahədə*, *ǯahədā* (2158); Ul. *ǯagda*; Nan. *ǯāGda*; Sol. *ǯagda*.

◊ TMC 1, 242. Cf. also Evk. *dêkta*, Evn. *dêt*, Orok *ǯēqta* 'fir-needles, fallen leaves' (TMC 1, 202) - dialectal variants? A TM source is very probable for WMong. *ǯodaw*, Khalkha *ǯodō*, Bur. *žodō* "Siberian fir tree".

PTurk. ***Tīt** larch-tree (лиственница): OTurk. *tıt* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tıt* (MK); Tat. *tet aγac* (dial., KCTT 200); Kirgh. *tıt* 'mulberry tree'; Khak. *tıt*; Shr. *tıt*; Oyr. *tıt*; Tv. *dıt*; Tof. *tıt* (Pac. ФиЛ), *dıt* / *tıt*; Yak. *tīt*; Dolg. *tīt*.

◊ VEWT 479, EDT 449, Stachowski 224. The meaning in Kirgh. is influenced by tut < Iran., see Стеблин-Каменский 1982, 88-89.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; the PT form, despite Helimski 1995, is hardly < Sam.

***čálo** full, fill: Tung. ***ǯalu(-m)**; Mong. ***del-**; Turk. ***dōl-**; Jpn. ***tár-**; Kor. ***čăra-**.

PTung. ***ǯalu(-m)** full (полный): Evk. *ǯalum*; Evn. *ǯalᵾ-*; Neg. *ǯalum*; Man. *ǯalu-*; SMan. *ǯalū* (2629); Jurch. *ǯaw-lu-xa* (726); Ul. *ǯalᵾ(n)*; Ork. *dalᵾmǯi*; Nan. *ǯalo*; Orch. *ǯalu-*; Sol. *ǯalᵾ̄*.

◊ Derived from PTM **ǯalu-* 'to fill, be filled'. See. TMC 1, 247.

PMong. ***del-** 1 full, abundant, wide 2 to expand 3 wide, broad (1 полный, обильный, обширный 2 расширяться 3 обширный, широкий): MMong. *delger* 1, *delge-* 2, *delike* (HY 54), *delegai* 3 (SH); WMong. *delger* 1 (L 249), *delge-*, *dele-*, *deli-* 2 (L 248, 249, 250), *delegei* 3 (L 248: *delegüü*); Kh. *delger* 1, *delge-*, *dele-* 2, *delxij*, *delū̃* 3; Bur. *delger*; Kalm. *delgr̥* 1, *del-* 2; Ord. *delger* 1; Dag. *delgere-*, *delgē-* (Тод. Дar. 136: *delge-*, *delgere-*); S.-Yugh. *delgeri*, *delgē-*; Mongr. *derge-* 'étẹindre, déployer, étaler, dérouler' (SM 52), *dəlge-*.

◊ KW 86, MGCD 214, 215. Mong. > Yak. *delegej*, *delej*; > Oroch *dele*, Ul. *delen*, Nan. *dele*, *delekū*, Man. *deležen* 'open space' (TMC 1, 233, 234).

PTurk. ***dōl-** full (полный): OTurk. *tolu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tolu* (MK); Tur. *dolu*; Gag. *dolu*; Az. *dolu*; Turkm. *dōlı*; Sal. *doli*(:); *t'olı* (Kakuk); *tōl-* v. (ССЯ); Khal. *tūol-* (v.); MTurk. *tola* (Abush., Pav.C.); Uzb. *tụla*; Uygh. *tola*, *tolγan*; Krm. *tolı*; Tat. *tulı*; Bashk. *tulı*; Kirgh. *tolo*; Kaz. *tolı*; KBalk. *tolu*; KKalp. *tolı*; Kum. *tolu*; Nogh. *tolı*; SUygh. *tolo*; Khak. *tol-* (v.); Shr. *tol-dır-* (v.); Oyr. *tolo*; Tv. *dolu*; Tof. *dolu*; Chuv. *tol- (v.)*, *tolli*; Yak. *tuol-* (v.), *toloru*; Dolg. *tuol-* (v.), *toloru*.

◊ VEWT 486, EDT 491-492, ЭСТЯ 3, 257-259, Stachowski 226, 231. PT **dōl-i* is derived from **dōl-* 'to get filled'.

PJpn. ***tár-*** be sufficient, full (б. достаточным, полным, хватать): OJpn. *tar-*; MJpn. *tar-*; Tok. *tàri-*; Kyo. *tárí-*; Kag. *tarí-*.

◊ JLTT 764.

PKor. ***čăra-*** be sufficient, enough (быть достаточным): MKor. *čăra-*; Mod. *čara-*.

◊ Nam 412, KED 1375.

‖ Martin 243, JOAL 133-137, Miller 1981, 853, 858, 863; 1986, 195-196, АПиПЯЯ 13, 45-46, 75, 282, Дыбо 12.

✱**čălù** a k. of broad-leaved plant: Tung. ***ǯali-kta***; Mong. ***daldawu***; Turk. ***dal***; Jpn. ***tùrù***; Kor. ***čùr-kí***.

PTung. ***ǯali-kta*** 1 hawthorn 2 willow (1 боярышник 2 ива): Evk. *ǯalikta* 1; Neg. *ǯālta* 1; Ul. *ǯatala* 2; Ork. *dātaqta* 1; Nan. *ǯalaqta* 2; Ud. *ǯalikta* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 246, 253.

PMong. ***daldawu*** lime-tree, linden (*липа*): WMong. *daldau* (L 226: *dalduu*); Kh. *daldū*.

PTurk. ***dal*** 1 branch 2 tree 3 willow (1 ветка 2 дерево 3 ива, верба): OTurk. *tal* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tal* 1 (KB), 3 (MK); Tur. *dal* 1; Gag. *dal* 1; Az. *dal* 1; Turkm. *tal* 3; Sal. *dāl* 2; MTurk. *dal* 3 (Pav. C.), *tal* 1 (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *tɔl* 3; Uygh. *tal* 3; Krm. *tal* 3; Tat. *tal* 3, (dial.) 1; Bashk. *tal* 3; Kirgh. *tal* 3; Kaz. *tal* 1, 3; KBalk. *tal* 3 (also 'poplar'); KKalp. *tal* 1, 3; Kum. *tal* 3; Nogh. *tal* 3; Khak. *tal* 3; Shr. *tal* 3; Oyr. *tal* 3; Tv. *tal* 3; Yak. *talax* 3; Dolg. *talak* 1, 3.

◊ EDT 489, VEWT 457, ЭСТЯ 3, 130-131, *Лексика* 125-126, Stachowski 216. Turkm. *tal* (with irregular t-) may be a loan from Kypchak: there seems to be no reason to postulate two different roots for PT.

PJpn. ***tùrù*** vine (*лоза*): Tok. *tsurú*; Kyo. *tsúrù*; Kag. *tsurú*.

◊ JLTT 557.

PKor. ***čùr-kí*** stalk, branch without leaves (стебель, ветка без листьев): MKor. *čùrkí*; Mod. *čulgi, čulgəri*.

◊ Liu 672, HMCH 297, KED 1507.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 13, 77, 288, Дыбо 10. Jpn. and / or Kor. can be also compared with TM **čuru-* 'willow, poplar' (TMC 2, 417); this could explain the tonal discrepancy between Jpn. and Kor.

✱**čalu** wave, to overflow: Tung. ***ǯal-***; Mong. ***dolgi-***; Turk. ***dal-g-***.

PTung. ***ǯal-*** 1 to overflow (of sea, river) 2 to be agitated, wave (of sea) 3 spirit - master of the sea (1 заливать, затоплять водой 2 плескаться, волноваться (о море) 3 дух-хозяин моря): Evk. *ǯalki-* 2; Evn. *ǯāl-, ǯālqab-* 1; Neg. *ǯalalgun* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 245, 246. Evk. *ǯalki-* > Yak. *ǯalkij-* id. (not vice versa, despite TMC).

PMong. ***dolgi-** wave (волна): MMong. *doligijan* (HY 3); WMong. *dolgija(n)* (L 259); Kh. *dolgio(n)*; Bur. *dolgin, doljodo-*; Kalm. *dolγān*; Dag. *dolǵēn* (Тод. Дar. 137), *doleǵēn* (MD 137).

◊ KW 94, MGCD 184. Mong. > Evk. *dolgin* etc., see Doerfer MT 102; > Yak., Dolg. *dolguj-* (see VEWT 458, 487, Stachowski 81-82).

PTurk. ***dal-g-** wave (волна): Tur. *dalga* 2; Az. *dalγa* 2; MTurk. *talγa* 'Wellenschlag', *talγum, talqum* 'sea waves'.

◊ KW 94, VEWT 458, 487. An Oghuz word.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***čàma** to hesitate, argue: Tung. ***ǯām-**; Mong. ***dam-**; Jpn. ***tàmiàrap- (~ -ai-)**.

PTung. ***ǯām-** 1 argument, quarrel 2 to argue (1 спор, ссора 2 спорить): Man. *ǯaman* 1, *ǯamara-* 2; Nan. *ǯāmorā* 1, *ǯāmora-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 247.

PMong. ***dam-** to hesitate (сомневаться): WMong. *damna-, damla-* (L 228); Kh. *damna-, damla-*; Bur. *damžag-guj* 'doubtless, certain'; Kalm. *damnə-*.

◊ KW 75, 76.

PJpn. ***tàmiàrap- (~ -ai-)** to hesitate (сомневаться): MJpn. *tàmèraf-*; Tok. *tamerá-*; Kyo. *támérá-*; Kag. *tamerá-*.

◊ JLTT 763. The accent in Kagoshima is irregular (under literary influence).

‖ One of the suffixed forms - **čàma-rV-* (TM **ǯāmV-ra-*) or **čàma-lV-* (Mong. **dam-la-*) may be reflected in PJ **tàmià-ra-*; the diphthong -ia- (~ -ai-) may, however, suggest a more complex origin of the Japanese form.

***čamu** a k. of tree: Tung. ***ǯamu**; Mong. ***dom**; Jpn. ***tum(u)i**.

PTung. ***ǯamu** brier (шиповник): Man. *ǯamu, ǯamuri*; SMan. *ǯamərə* (2166); Ud. *ǯamukta*.

◊ See TMC 1, 247-248.

PMong. ***dom** lime-tree, linden (липа): WMong. *dom* (L 260); Kh. *dom*.

PJpn. ***tum(u)i** mulberry (тутовое дерево): OJpn. *tum(j)i*.

‖ Cf. **ńam(ń)ektV* (partial contaminations were possible). WMong. *ǯamur* 'fruit of sweet-briar (eglantine)' (L 1033) is most probably a Manchu loanword.

***čaŋgu** gift, loan: Tung. ***ǯaŋ(g)-**; Jpn. ***tu(n)ku-**.

PTung. ***ǯaŋ(g)-** 1 be in need, straitened 2 loan, as a loan (1 терпеть нужду 2 долг, взаймы): Man. *ǯaŋGala-* 1; Sol. *ǯan-da, ǯan-či* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 249.

PJpn. ***tu(n)ku-** 1 toll, tribute 2 to compensate, reimburse (1 пошлина, дань 2 компенсировать, вознаграждать): OJpn. *tuki* 1; MJpn.

mí-túki-mono 1, *tùkùnóf-* 2; Tok. *mìtsugi* 1, *tsuguná-* 2; Kyo. *mítsúgí* 1, *tsúgúná-* 2; Kag. *mitsúgi* 1, *tsuguná-* 2.

◊ JLTT 482, 772. Accent variation is not quite clear: the noun points to high tone, the verb - rather to low tone (although their relationship can hardly be doubted).

‖ A Tungus-Japanese isogloss; not quite secure because of sparse attestation in TM.

✱**čărikV** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ✱**ǯarikta**; Mong. ✱**čirgaj**; Turk. ✱**dẹrek**.

PTung. ✱**ǯari-kta** hawthorn (боярышник): Ul. *ǯaraqta*; Nan. *ǯariqta*; Orch. *ǯarakta*.

◊ TMC 1, 246.

PMong. ✱**čirgaj** dense, tall (forest) (густой, высокоствольный (о лесе)): WMong. *čirγai* (L 192); Kh. *čargaj*; Bur. *šereŋgi* 'thin growth, pinery' (?); Kalm. *čirγā* 'dense (branches); a k. of tree or bush'.

◊ KW 442.

PTurk. ✱**dẹrek** 1 poplar 2 tree (1 тополь 2 дерево): Karakh. *terek* 1 (MK); Tur. *tirek* (dial.) 2; Turkm. *derek* 1; MTurk. *terek* 1 (Abush., Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *terak* 1; Uygh. *deräk* 1; Krm. *terak* 2; Tat. *tirɛk* 1; Bashk. *träk* 1; Kirgh. *terek* 1; Kaz. *terek* 1, 2; KBalk. *terek* 2; KKalp. *terek* 1; Kum. *terek* 2; Nogh. *terek* 1; SUygh. *terek* 2; Khak. *tirek* 1; Shr. *terek* 1; Oyr. *terek* 1; Tv. *terek* 1; Chuv. *tirek* 1; Yak. *tirex* 1.

◊ VEWT 475, EDT 543, ЭСТЯ 3, 205-206, Лексика 105, 134-135. Iranian origin is quite improbable.

‖ A Western isogloss. Closed *ę in PT is not quite clear: perhaps a secondary narrowing in a disyllabic structure.

✱**čĕkʻa** to repeat, again, always: Tung. ✱**ǯeki**; Mong. ✱**daki-**; Turk. ✱**d(i)akɨ**; Jpn. ✱**təkə**.

PTung. ✱**ǯeki** always, constantly (всегда, постоянно): Neg. *ǯek*; Ul. *ǯek-ǯek*; Nan. *ǯek*; Orch. *ǯe, ǯeki*; Ud. *ǯe* 'at this time'.

◊ TMC 1, 283.

PMong. ✱**daki-** 1 to repeat 2 one more time, again (1 повторять 2 снова): WMong. *daki-* 1 (L 223); Kh. *daxi-* 1, *daxin* 2; Bur. *daxi-* 1, *daxin* 2; Kalm. *däkən* 2; Ord. *daχi-* 1; Dag. *dagi-* (MGCD 206), *dagī* 'again' (Тод. Дar. 134).

◊ KW 73. Mong. > Evk. *daki* etc., see Doerfer MT 76.

PTurk. ✱**d(i)akɨ** 1 additionally, and others, plus 2 again, once more (1 кроме того, к тому же, и другие, больше, вдобавок 2 опять, еще раз): OTurk. *taqɨ* 1, 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *taqɨ* 1 (MK); Tur. *daha* 1, *bir daha* 2 (*takɨ* as a clitic); Gag. *tā* 1, 2; Az. *däxi* 'too'; Turkm. *daGɨ* 1; Sal. *tāγɨ, taxi* 1, 2 (ССЯ); Khal. *taqɨ* 1, 2; MTurk. *daxɨ, taqɨ* 1 (Abush., Sangl.), *dayɨ* (MA) 1; Uzb. *tayin* 2; Uygh. *texi* 1, 2; Krm. *daa* (K) 1, 2, *dayɨ* (H, T) 1, 2, *dayɨn* (H,K) 2, *daxɨ* (K) 1, *daxa* (K) 1, 2; Tat. *tayɨn* 2, 'in order to'; Bashk. *tayɨ* 2; Kirgh. *daa, dayɨ, tayɨ* 1, 2; Kaz. *tayɨ* 2; KBalk. *dayɨ-da* 1, 2; KKalp. *dayɨ* 'al-

though', *tayɨ* 1, 2; Kum. *dayɨ* 1, 2; Nogh. *tayɨ* 1, 2; SUygh. *ta'qi, dayɨ* 2; Khak. *tā, dā* 1; Oyr. *daa* 'although' (ГАЯ); Tv. *dā* 1, *dān* 'wholly, always', *tān* 'very, excessively'; Yak. *dayanɨ* 1.

◊ VEWT 457, EDT 466, ЭСТЯ 3, 122-123. Phonology is somewhat uncertain because the stem is functioning as a clitic.

PJpn. ***təkə*** always, eternally (всегда, вечно): OJpn. *toko*.

◊ JLTT 548.

‖ Gombocz 1905, 278, KW 73, Владимирцов 319, . Mong. is hardly < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 153. Jpn. **təkə-* < **takə* because of the incompatibility of *a and *ə in PJ.

✱**čĕlV** a k. of small animal: Tung. ***ǯele-kī***; Jpn. ***tái (~ -ia)***; Kor. ***čār***.

PTung. ***ǯele-kī*** ermine (горностай): Evk. *ǯelekī*; Evn. *ǯiliki*; Neg. *ǯelexī*; Man. *ǯelken*; Ul. *ǯieli(n)*; Ork. *ǯeĺei*; Nan. *ǯeli*; Orch. *ǯeleki*; Ud. *ǯelexi*.

◊ TMC 1, 284.

PJpn. ***tái (~ -ia)*** marten (куница): MJpn. *té*; Tok. ten.

◊ The source of -n in the modern form is not quite clear; MJ has explicitly no second syllable.

PKor. ***čār*** sable (соболь): Mod. *čāl*.

◊ KED 1392.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. The Jpn. form reflects a suffixed formation **čĕl(V)-gV*.

✱**čèlV** to split, hole, crack: Tung. ***ǯēlge***; Mong. ***čilüɣe***; Turk. ***dil-***.

PTung. ***ǯēlge*** crack, narrow passage (щель, узкий проход): Evk. *ǯēlge*; Nan. *ǯelgẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 283. Nan. has a secondary vowel shortening (the old length is proved also by the Dagur loanword from TM - *ǯēlge, ǯēleg*, see Тод. Дар. 143).

PMong. ***čilüɣe*** space between, leisure (промежуток): MMong. *čolo* (SH); WMong. *čilüge(n)* (L 183); Kh. *čölō*; Bur. *sülō*; Kalm. *čölēn*; Ord. *čölō*; Dag. *čulē* (Тод. Дар. 182, MD 131; MGCD *šol*); S.-Yugh. *čölō*; Mongr. *ćoloG* 'enfoncement' (SM 454).

◊ KW 444, MGCD 577. Mong. > Evk. *čulē* etc., see Doerfer MT 101.

PTurk. ***dil-*** to split, cut in slices (расщеплять, отрезать ломтики): OTurk. *til-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *til-* (MK); Tur. *dil-, dil* 'thin slice'; Gag. *dil-*; Az. *dilim* 'slice'; Turkm. *dil-*; Khal. *tilim* 'slice'; MTurk. *til-* (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *til-*; Uygh. *til-*; Krm. *dilim* (K) 'slice'; Tat. *tel-*; Bashk. *tel-*; Kirgh. *til-*; Kaz. *til-*; KBalk. *til-*; KKalp. *til-*; Kum. *til-*; Nogh. *til-*; Khak. *təl-*; Oyr. *til-*; Tv. *dil-*; Chuv. *čəl-*.

◊ VEWT 480, EDT 490-491, TMN 2, 553, ЭСТЯ 3, 230-231, Егоров 322, Мудрак 76.

‖ KW 444, Владимирцов 183, Poppe 16 (Turk.-Mong.). A Western isogloss. The root was originally verbal (cf. PT); Mong. and TM reflect a velar derivative **čèlV-gV*. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 2, 554) criticism the

comparison still seems valid (although the narrowing *e > i in PT is not quite clear). Miller (1985b, 207) cites a MJ *tir-* 'cut in narrow strips' which would be a nice match, but we were unable to identify the source of the word.

✱**čikŕo** firm, strong: Tung. ***diktu (~ ǯ-)**; Mong. ***čiɣirag**; Turk. ***Tɨgra- / *Tɨgɨŕ**; Jpn. ***tíkàrà**; Kor. ***čirk-**.

PTung. ***diktu (~ ǯ-)** firm, tough (плотный, коренастый, сильный): Neg. *diktu*; Man. *ǯuktu*; Ul. *diktu*; Ork.-*ǯiktu*; Nan. *ǯiktu*; Orch. *diktu*.

◊ TMC 1, 205.

PMong. ***čiɣirag** firm, tough, strong (крепкий, сильный): MMong. *čijirax* (HYt); WMong. *čigiraɣ* (L 179); Kh. *čireg*; Bur. *širag*; Kalm. *čirəg*; Ord. *čiraG*; Dag. *čira* (Тод. Дар. 181); Dong. *čəqara*; Mongr. *ćiraG* (SM 456).

◊ KW 443. Mong. > Oyr. *čiraq*; > Man. *čira* etc., see Doerfer MT 115, Rozycki 48.

PTurk. ***Tɨgra- / *Tɨgɨŕ** 1 firm, tough 2 narrow, compact, firm (1 крепкий, плотный 2 узкий, тесный, плотный): OTurk. *tɨɣra-q* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨɣraq* 1 (MK); Turkm. *dɨqɨz* 1 (a contamination with *dɨq-* 'to stuff'); Bashk. *tɨɣɨz* 1, 2; Kirgh. *tɨɣɨz* 2; Oyr. *tūs* 2; Chuv. *tъʷvъʷr* 2; Yak. *tijis* 2.

◊ VEWT 477, EDT 471.

PJpn. ***tíkàrà** force, strength (сила): OJpn. *tikara*; MJpn. *tíkàrà*; Tok. *chikará*; Kyo. *chíkàrà*; Kag. *chikára*.

◊ JLTT 546.

PKor. ***čirk-** tough, firm (прочный, крепкий): MKor. *čirkɨi-*; Mod. *čilgi-*.

◊ Liu 686, KED 1551.

‖ Владимирцов 199, Poppe 15, Ozawa 121-123, JOAL 99, Miller 1985, 144-145. Mong. may be < Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 156), but not necessarily.

✱**číńo** power, ability: Tung. ***ǯiŋ**; Mong. ***čineɣe**; Turk. ***diŋ**; Jpn. ***tíná-m-**; Kor. ***čǐń-**.

PTung. ***ǯiŋ** very, extremely, really (очень, совершенно, действительно): Evk. *ǯiŋ*; Neg. *ǯiŋ*; Man. *ǯin, ǯiŋ*; Ul. *ǯiŋ*; Ork. *ǯiŋ*; Sol. *ǯiŋ-ki* 'real'.

◊ TMC 1, 258.

PMong. ***čineɣe** force, strength, ability (сила, способность): WMong. *činege(n)* (L 188); Kh. *činē*; Bur. *šenē(n)*; Kalm. *činēn*; Ord. *činē*; Dag. *činē* (Тод. Дар. 181, MD 130).

◊ KW 441, MGCD 572. Cf. MMong. (MA) *čine-* 'to measure', Mongor *ćinē-* id. (SM 452).

PTurk. ***diŋ*** 1 very, strongly 2 strong, powerful 3 healthy 4 power 5 compact, dense (of earth) 6 to become strong 7 virgin soil (1 очень, сильно, чрезвычайно 2 крепкий, сильный, мощный 3 здоровый 4 сила, мочь 5 залежный, плотный (о земле) 6 окрепнуть 7 целина): OTurk. *tiŋ ürki* 'recent' (OUygh. - ДТС); Tur. *din* 1, *dinč* 2, 3; Gag. *dinč* 2; Turkm. *diŋ* 1, *diŋe* 'only'; Uzb. *tin-ka* 4, *tiŋ* 5; Uygh. *tiŋ* 5; Kirgh. *tiŋ* 2, *tiŋ-* 6; Kaz. *tiŋ* 2, 7, *tiŋ-aj-* 6; KKalp. *tiŋ* 7; Kum. *tin* 7; Khak. *tiŋ* 2; Shr. *tiŋ* 1; Oyr. *tiŋ* 2; Tv. *diŋ* 1, *diŋziγ* 2; Tof. *diŋzi-* 6; Chuv. *tъnk* 'crammed, stuffed'; Yak. *tiŋ* 2; Dolg. *tiŋ* 2.

◊ VEWT 478, Stachowski 238. Turk. > WMong. *čiŋ, čiŋγa* (KW 437, 441), whence Nan. *čiŋqĩ* et al. (TMC 2, 397). Derivatives with the meaning 'healthy' in ЭСТЯ 3, 344-345 are erroneously attributed to *din-* 'rest'; Yak. *tiŋ, diŋ* 'strained, tense' belongs not here (despite VEWT, but to *tiŋ-* 'pull, stretch').

PJpn. ***tíná-m-*** be related, connected (быть связанным, иметь отношение к): MJpn. *tíná-m-*; Tok. *chinám-*; Kyo. *chínám-*; Kag. *chinám-*.

◊ JLTT 767. The Tokyo accent is irregular (**chìnam-* would be expected).

PKor. ****čĭń*** 1 shape, appearance, conduct 2 to make, produce (1 форма, вид, поведение 2 делать, производить): MKor. *čĭń* 1, *čĭs-* (*čĭń-*), *čiń-* 2; Mod. *čĭt* [*čĭs*] 1, *čĭt-* [*čis-*] (*či-*) 2.

◊ Nam 441, 445, KED 1557.

‖ Владимирцов 172. The Korean form speaks in favour of reconstructing palatal *-ń-; Turkic and Tungus reveal a secondary -ŋ- resulting from a suffixed form **čiń(o)-gV* (= Mong. **čineγe*).

čĭŋV** to listen, consider: Tung. ****ǯiŋ-; Mong. ****čiŋla-***; Turk. ****diŋla- / *diŋle-***.

PTung. ****ǯiŋ-*** 1 to understand 2 attentive, conscious (1 понимать 2 сознательный, серьезный): Evk. *ǯiktew-* (< **ǯiŋ-ktew-*) 1; Ul. *dinile* 2; Nan. *ǯiŋire, ǯiksi-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 207, 256.

PMong. ****čiŋla-*** to listen (слушать): WMong. *čiŋna-, čiŋla-* (L 190); Kh. *čagna-*; Bur. *šagna-*; Kalm. *čiŋnə-* (KPC); Ord. *čiŋna-*; Dag. *činčilə-*; Dong. *čenlie-, čanlie-*; Bao. *čoŋlə-*; Mongr. *ćinla-* (SM 452), *čiŋla-* (Huzu), (MGCD *čaŋla-*).

◊ MGCD 559.

PTurk. ****diŋla- / *diŋle-*** 1 to listen 2 to hear 3 to consider, meditate (1 слушать 2 слышать 3 размышлять, обдумывать): OTurk. *tiŋla-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tiŋla-* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *dinle-* 1; Az. *dinlä-* 1; Turkm. *diŋle-* 1; MTurk. *diŋle-, tiŋla-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *tiŋla-* 2; Krm. *dinle-, tiŋla-* 2; Tat. *tiŋma-* 1; Bashk. *tiŋla-* 1; Kirgh. *tiŋša-* 1; Kaz. *tiŋda-* 1; KBalk. *tiŋla-* 1; KKalp. *tiŋla-* 1; Kum. *tiŋla-* 1; Nogh. *tiŋla-* 1; SUygh. *tiŋna-* 2; Khak. *tiŋna-* 1; Oyr. *tiŋda-* 1; Tv. *diŋna-* 2; Tof. *diŋna-* 2; Chuv. *čъnla-* 3.

◊ The verbal stem **diŋla-* is derived from the noun **diŋ* (OT *tiŋ*, Turkm. *diŋ* 'reason, mind, cleverness'). See VEWT 478, EDT 522, ЭСТЯ 3, 236-237.

‖ Владимирцов 172. A Western isogloss. Mong. can be < Turk., see Щербак 1997, 156.

✱**čipV (~ -b-)** slow, sluggish: Tung. ***ǯibge***; Mong. ***čibda-***.

PTung. ***ǯibge*** slow, sluggish; miserly (медленный, медлительный; скупой): Man. *ǯibge*.

◊ TMC 1, 255. Attested only in Manchu, but having a probable Mong. parallel.

PMong. ***čibda-*** slow, sluggish; thin (of water flow); miserly (медленный, медлительный; тонкий (о потоке воды); скупой): WMong. *čibdaγ* (L 174); Kh. *čavdag*; Bur. *šabdag*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**čiádu (~ *čioda)** a k. of ungulate animal: Tung. ***ǯudura***; Mong. ***dudura-***; Turk. ***T(i)adun***.

PTung. ***ǯudura*** a pig (looking like a wild grey or white pig) (свинья (похожая на диких серых или белых кабанов)): Man. *ǯudura*.

◊ TMC 1, 270. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***dudura-*** foal of a donkey, young of small cattle (осленок, детеныш мелкого скота): WMong. *dudurai, duduraŋ* (L 270); Kh. *dudraj, dudran*; Ord. *dudurã*.

PTurk. ***T(i)adun*** 1 a one- or two-year old calf 2 ox (1 годовалый или двухгодовалый теленок 2 вол): Karakh. *таδын* (MK) 1; Khak. *tazɨn* 2.

◊ EDT 457.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**čiátu (~ *t-)** sweet, taste: Tung. ***ǯutī***; Mong. ***dadu-***; Turk. ***dāt***.

PTung. ***ǯutī*** sweet (сладкий): Evk. *ǯutī*; Evn. *ǯut*.

◊ TMC 1, 279.

PMong. ***dadu-*** to get accustomed (привыкать): MMong. *dadu-* (SH); WMong. *dadu-*, (L 215) *dad-*; Kh. *dad-*; Bur. *dada-*; Kalm. *dad-*; Dag. *dadlag* 'experience'.

◊ KW 71, MGCD 188.

PTurk. ***dāt-*** 1 to taste 2 taste 3 sweet, tasty 4 to get accustomed (1 иметь вкус (1a пробовать на вкус) 2 вкус 3 сладкий, вкусный 4 привыкать): OTurk. *tat-* 1, 1a (OUygh.), *tatɨγ* 2 (OUygh.), *tatɨγ-lɨγ* 3 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tat-lɨγ* 3 (MK), *tatɨ-* 1 (MK, KB), *tatɨγ* 2 (MK, KB), *tatɨγ-lɨγ* 3 (MK); Tur. *tat-* (*tatar*) 1a, *tat (-d-), tadım, tatık* 2, *tatlı* 3, *dad-a-* 'to bait, lure', *dad-a-n-* 4; Gag. *dat-* 1a, *dat* 2, *datlı* 3, *dad-a-n-* 4; Az. *dad-* 1a, *dad* 2, *dadlı* 3, *dadan-* 4; Turkm. *dāt/d-* 1a, *dāt* 2, *dāt-lı* 3; Khal. *tāt-* 1; MTurk. *tat-* 1a (Abush., Pav. C., Sangl.), *tat* 2 (Sangl.), *tat-lɨγ*3 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔt-* 1a, *tati-* 1, 1a *tɔt* 2, *tɔtli* 3; Uygh. *teti-* 1, 1a, *tatq* 2, *tatliq* 3; Krm. *tat-* 1a, *tati-* 1, 1a, *tat* (K), *tatuv* (T,H,K) 2, *tatlı* (T,H,K) 3, *tatan-* (K) 4; Tat.

tat- 1, 1a, *tat* 2, *tatlɨ* 3; Bashk. *tatɨ-* 1a, *tat* 2, *tatlɨ* 3; Kirgh. *tat-* 1 a, *tatɨ-* 1, *tatɨq* 2, *tattuw* 3, *tatq-a-n-* 4; Kaz. *tat-* 1, 1 a, *tätti* 3; KBalk. *tat-* 1 a, *tatɨw* 2, *tatlɨ* 3; KKalp. *tat-* 1 a, *tatɨ-* 1, 1a, *tatlɨ* 3; Kum. *tatɨ-* 1, *tatɨw* 2, *tatli* 3; Nogh. *tat-* 1, 1 a, *tatɨq* 2; SUygh. *tatɨ-* 1 a, *tatɨγ* 3; Khak. *tadɨ-* 1, *tadɨγ* 2, *tadɨlɨγ* 3; Shr. *tatqɨ* 2; Oyr. *tatu* 2, 3; Chuv. *tuda-l-* 1, *tuda-n-* 1a, *todъ* 2, *tut-lъ* 3.

◊ VEWT 466, EDT 449-450, 452, 454, ЭСТЯ 3, 162-164, Федотов 2, 256-257. Oghuz (Osman) devoicing is secondary. Turk. > Mong. **tati-* > *tači(ja)-* 'become accustomed' (KW 385) > TM *tati-* id. (TMC 2, 170.)

‖ See АПиПЯЯ 13, 14. A Western isogloss. The Turkic forms (where both the meanings 'to taste' and 'to get accustomed (*to taste)' are represented), provide a good link between TM **ǯutī-* 'sweet' and Mong. **dadu-* 'to get accustomed'. See also notes to **dasa-*.

***čįobe (~ *t-)** ten: Tung. ***ǯuba-n**; Jpn. ***təwə**.

PTung. ***ǯuba-n** ten (десять): Evk. *ǯān*; Evn. *ǯān-nụ*; Neg. *ǯān*; Man. *ǯuwan*; SMan. *ǯuan* (2744); Jurch. *ǯuwa* (645); Ul. *ǯụwa(n)*; Ork. *ǯōn*; Nan. *ǯoã*; Orch. *ǯā(n)*; Ud. *ǯā(n)*; Sol. *ǯã̄*.

◊ TMC 1, 248.

PJpn. ***təwə** ten (десять): OJpn. *towo*; Tok. *tô*; Kyo. *tô*; Kag. *tô*.

◊ JLTT 550. Original accent unclear, as in all numerals.

‖ JOAL 84. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

***čįobeŕV (~-įabu-)** salt; bitter, acid: Tung. ***ǯujar-**; Mong. ***dabusu**; Turk. ***dūŕ**; Jpn. ***túrá-**; Kor. ***čjər-**.

PTung. ***ǯujar-** bitter, acid (горький, кислый): Evk. *ǯêri-pču*; Evn. *ǯụịr*, *ǯụjịr*; Neg. *ǯojaji-gdi*; Man. *ǯu-šu-xun*; SMan. *ǯušuxun* (431); Ul. *ǯụjụr-si*; Ork. *dū.re*; Nan. *ǯojor-si*; Orch. *ǯui-si*; Ud. *ǯūhi* 'sour' (Корм. 235); Sol. *ǯišil-* 'to turn sour'.

◊ TMC 1, 254. Man. > Dag. *ǯusun* (Тод. Даг. 145).

PMong. ***dabu-su** salt (соль): MMong. *dabusun* (HY 24), *ṭābuson* (IM), *dabusun* (MA); WMong. *dabusu(n)* (L 213); Kh. *davs(an)*; Bur. *dabha(n)*; Kalm. *dawsn̥*; Ord. *dawusu*; Mog. *dabsun*, *dōpsun*; ZM *dɔ̄bsun* (24-6a); Dong. *dansun*; Bao. *dabsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *dābsən*; Mongr. *dabsə* (SM 37).

◊ KW 80-81, MGCD 185. Mong. > Man. *dabsu* etc., see Poppe 1966, 195, Doerfer MT 38, Rozycki 52.

PTurk. ***dūŕ (~ *-ū̃-)** salt (соль): OTurk. *tuz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tuz* (MK, KB); Tur. *tuz*; Gag. *tuz*; Az. *duz*; Turkm. *dūz*; Sal. *duz*, *düź*, *tuz*; Khal. *tūz*; MTurk. *tuz* (MA); Uzb. *tuz*; Uygh. *tuz*; Krm. *tuz*; Tat. *toz*; Bashk. *toδ*; Kirgh. *tuz*; Kaz. *tụz*; KBalk. *toδ*; KKalp. *duz*; Kum. *duz*; Nogh. *tuz*; SUygh. *duz*; Khak. *tus*; Shr. *tus*; Oyr. *tus*; Tv. *dus*; Tof. *tus*; Chuv. *tъʷvar*; Yak. *tūs*; Dolg. *tūs*.

◊ VEWT 502, EDT 571, ЭСТЯ 3, 288-289, Stachowski 234.

PJpn. ***túrá-** unbearable, hard, bitter (горький; тяжелый, невыносимый): OJpn. *tura-*; Tok. *tsùra-*; Kyo. *tsúrà-*; Kag. *tsúra-*.

◊ JLTT 842.

PKor. ***čjər-** to be salty (быть соленым): Mod. *čəl-* [*čjəl-*].

◊ KED 1442.

‖ Владимирцов 258, АПиПЯЯ 13, 19, 49-50, 70, 285, Дыбо 11. Mong. *dabu-su* regularly < **dabur-su*; borrowing in Mong. < Turk. is absolutely improbable, despite Щербак 1997, 160. The Turk.-Mong. parallel is an old etymology (starting with Pelliot 1935, 231) which Doerfer (TMN 2, 510-511) tries in vain to refute. A small problem is the preservation of *-b- (one should rather expect **dayu(r)-sun* in Mong.), which should be probably explained by an old assimilation **čo̯oberV-* > **čo̯operV* in pre-PM. For Jpn. one has to assume a rather universal semantic change 'bitter' > 'hard, unbearable'. Cf. perhaps also MKor. *čùijəmí* 'vinegar dregs'.

✱**čo̯ŏge** to give, exchange: Tung. ***ǯugē-**; Mong. ***düji-**; Turk. ***deg-**; Jpn. ***tai (~ *tia)**; Kor. ***čù-**.

PTung. ***ǯugē-** to exchange (обмениваться): Evk. *ǯuyē-lge-*; Evn. *ǯuyēn-met-/č-*; Neg. *ǯuye-t-*; Man. *ǯuwe-n* 'debt'; Jurch. *ǯuo̯-mu-sun-* 'to lend' (443); Ul. *ǯue-či-*; Ork. *due-li-*; Nan. *ǯue-či-*; Orch. *ǯuwe-či-*; Ud. *ǯue-si-*; Sol. *ǯugut-*.

◊ TMC 1, 270, 267.

PMong. ***düji-** to buy or sell wholesale (покупать оптом): WMong. *düi-* (L 279); Kh. *düj-*.

PTurk. ***deg-** 1 to cost, to be worth 2 price 3 to change, exchange 4 allotment, portion 5 worth 6 change, exchange (1 стоить, быть достойным 2 цена 3 изменять(ся), обмениваться 4 доля (причитающееся) 5 достойный, положенный 6 перемена, обмен): OTurk. *teg-im* 1, *teg-im-lig* 5, *teg-ir* 4 (OUygh.), *teg-š-il-*, *teg-š-ür-* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *teg-* 1 (MK - ДТС), *teg-ir* 4 (MK), *teg-iš* 5 (KB), 'given in exchange' (MK), *teg-š-üt* 'exchange price' (MK), *teg-š-ür-ül-* 3 (KB); Tur. *deɣ-* 1, *dejer* 2, *deɣ-im* (dial.) 2, *dejiš* 6, *dejiš-* 3; Gag. *dïš* 6, *dïš-* 3; Az. *däjär* 2, *däjiš-* 3; Turkm. *deg-* 1, *degiš-* 3; MTurk. (Xwar.) *deg-* 1, (OKypch.) *deg-ir* 2, *teg-iš* 2 (Sangl.), *teg-iš-* 3 (Sangl.); Uygh. *tegiš-* 3; Krm. *tij-* 1, *degiš-* 3; Kum. *tij-* 1; Chuv. *tivəś* 'debt'.

◊ EDT 482, 485, 487, 488, ЭСТЯ 3, 181-182, 179-180, Лексика 338. Usually regarded as a development of **deg-* 'to touch, reach', which is somewhat dubious semantically; external parallels also seem to indicate that the two roots are originally distinct.

PJpn. ***tai (~ *tia)** goods for exchange (обмениваемые товары): OJpn. *te*.

PKor. ***čú-** to give (давать): MKor. *čù-* 'give', *čūi-čhú-* 'to present'; Mod. *ču-*.

◊ Liu 670, 673, HMCH 332, KED 435.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 13 (with a different Mong. parallel). Mong. *düji- has a secondary narrowing < *döji-; the early PJ form must have been *təjV, with a subsequent contraction.

✱**čo̯oke** a k. of small animal (squirrel, otter): Tung. ***ǯuku-n**; Turk. ***dEgiŋ**; Kor. ***čúi**.

PTung. ***ǯuku-n** otter (выдра): Evk. *ǯukun*; Evn. *ǯōkъn*; Neg. *ǯuxin*; Ork. *dōkso*; Nan. *ǯuku(n)*; Orch. *ǯūku(n)*; Ud. *ǯugu*; Sol. *ǯūxū̃*.

◊ TMC 1, 271. Cf. also Evk. *ǯuktu* 'lynx' (ibid.). Evk. > Dolg. *ǯukun, ǯükün* (see Stachowski 91).

PTurk. ***dEgiŋ** squirrel (белка): OTurk. *tejiŋ* (Orkh.); Karakh. *tegiŋ* (MK - erroneously glossed 'sable', see EDT), *tejiŋ* (KB); Tur. *dejin, deɣin* (dial.); MTurk. *tejin* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tijin*; Uygh. *tijin*; Tat. *tijen*; Bashk. *tejen*; Kirgh. *tɨjɨn*; Kaz. *tijin, tijin*; Oyr. *tijiŋ*; Tv. *dīŋ*; Yak. *tīŋ*; Dolg. *tīŋ*.

◊ VEWT 470, EDT 569, ЭСТЯ 3, 180-181, *Лексика* 164-165, Stachowski 224. Criticism of the borrowing (< Ugrian) theory see in *Лексика* 165, Аникин 546-547.

PKor. ***čúi** rat, mouse (крыса, мышь): MKor. *čúi*; Mod. *čwi*.

◊ Liu 673, KED 1517.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 14, *Дыбо 7, Лексика* 165. Voicing of -k- in PT must be due to early assimilation.

✱**čo̯ò̀lú (~ t-)** ice, hail: Tung. ***ǯalka**; Turk. ***dolu**; Jpn. ***tùrárá**.

PTung. ***ǯalka** 1 fine snow 2 to fall (of fine snow) (1 снежок 2 падать (о мягком снеге)): Neg. *ǯalka-* 1, *ǯalka* 2; Ud. *ǯaka-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 246.

PTurk. ***dolu** hail (град): OTurk. *tolɨ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tolɨ* (MK, KB); Tur. *dolu*; Gag. *tolu*; Az. *dolu*; Turkm. *dolɨ*, (А-Б) *dōlɨ*; Khal. *tôlɨ*; MTurk. *tolɨ* (MA), *tolu* (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *duli*; Uygh. *tolɨ* (dial.); Kaz. *dolɨ* (dial.); Khak. *toŋ-dol* (*toŋ-* 'frozen'); Tv. *dolu*; Yak. *tolon*; Dolg. *tolot*.

◊ VEWT 486, EDT 491, ЭСТЯ 3, 260-261, *Лексика* 31-32, Stachowski 226. Cf. also *Tol 'ice' (Tuva *doš*, Tof. do"š, Oyr. *toš* *Лексика* 18, VEWT 491, ЭСТЯ 3, 267).

PJpn. ***tùrárá** icicle (сосулька): MJpn. *turara*; Tok. *tsùrara*; Kyo. *tsùràrá*; Kag. *tsurará*.

‖ Vocalism is not quite clear: in TM one would expect *ǯial-, but the existing forms point rather to *ǯal- (note, however, that TM *-ia- and -a- tend to get confused after affricates).

✱**čo̯ùmi** thousand: Turk. ***Tümen**; Jpn. ***ti**; Kor. ***čʻímín**.

PTurk. ***Tümen** ten thousand; very much (десять тысяч; очень много): OTurk. *tümen* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tümen* (MK, KB), (Kypch. 14 cent.) *dümen*; Tur. *tümen*; Turkm. *tümen* (arch.); MTurk. *tümen* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tuman*; Uygh. *tümän*; Krm. *tümen, kimen, timen*; Tat. *tömɛn*; Kirgh. *tümön*; SUygh. *tŭ̈men* (ЯЖУ); Oyr. *tümen*; Tv. *tümen*; Yak. *tümän*.

◊ VEWT 504, EDT 507-508, Лексика 574-575. In general we agree with Doerfer's arguments (TMN 2, 632-642: the Turkic word is the source of Persian *tūmān* '10000', not vice versa, although in some cases the word was borrowed back into Turkic (in particular: Az. *tümän*, Khal. *timän* 'a Persian coin', KBalk., Kum. *tümen* '10 roubles'); the Tokharian word, whose IE source is highly dubious, is most probably < Turkic; a Chinese source is extremely dubious). Turk. > Mong. *tümen* (see TMN 2, 641, Щербак 1997, 160), whence Evk. *tumen* etc., see Doerfer MT 78. Week evidence of initial voice (*d- should be expected in PT) may be due to later cultural interborrowing.

PJpn. ***ti*** thousand (тысяча): OJpn. *ti*; MJpn. *-ti*; Tok. *chi*.

◊ JLTT 546.

PKor. ***čímín*** thousand (тысяча): MKor. *čímín*.

◊ Nam 437.

‖ SKE 38. Despite TMN 2, 641 the Turk.-Kor. parallel seems quite acceptable. Jpn. **ti* reflects a suffixed form **čį̆um(i)-gV*.

✱**čį̆ŭnu** blood; spirit, breath: Tung. ***ǯun-***; Mong. ***čisu***; Turk. ***dīn***; Jpn. ***tí***.

PTung. ****ǯun-*** pulse, vein (пульс, кровеносный сосуд): Man. *ǯun*.

◊ TMC 1, 275. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ****čisu*** blood (кровь): MMong. *čisun* (HY 48, SH), *čiṣun* (IM), *čisun* (MA); WMong. *čisu* (L 192); Kh. *cus*; Bur. *šuha(n)*; Kalm. *cusn̥*; Ord. *ǯusu*; Mog. *čusun*; ZM *čosun* (3-7b); Dag. *čos* (Тод. Дат. 182), *čose* (MD 130); Dong. *čusun*; Bao. *čisoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *čusun*, *čüsən*; Mongr. *cəzu*, *cəzə* (SM 438), (MGCD *čisə*).

◊ KW 434, MGCD 582.

PTurk. ****dīn*** 1 spirit, breath 2 rest 3 to rest 4 to pant 5 to breathe 6 quiet 7 sultriness (1 дыхание, дух 2 отдых 3 отдыхать 4 задыхаться 5 дышать 6 спокойный 7 духота): OTurk. *tin* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tin* 1 (MK, KB), *tin* 2 (MK); Tur. *tin* 1, *din-le-* 3; Gag. *din-ne-n-* 3; Az. *tinč-ix-* 4, *dinč* 2; Turkm. *dīnč* 2; Khal. *tinč* 6; MTurk. *tin-* 3 (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *tin* 1, *tin-* 3; Uygh. *tin* 1, *tin-* 3; Krm. *tin-* 5, *tinc* 2; Tat. *tin* 1; Bashk. *tin* 1, *tin-s-iw* 7; Kirgh. *tin* 1, *tin-* 3, 5; Kaz. *tin-is* 1, 2; KBalk. *tin* 1, *tin-č-i-* 'to rot, addle', *tin-č-aj-* 3, *tin-im* 2; KKalp. *tin* 1, *tin-* 3; Kum. *tin-iš* 1, *tin-č-aj-* 3; Nogh. *tin-is* 1, *tin-š-iq-* 4, *tin-š-a-j-* 3; Khak. *tin* 1, *tin-* 5, *tin-a-n-* 3; Shr. *tin* 1, *tin-* 5, *tin-a-n-* 3; Oyr. *tin* 1, 2, *tin-* 5; Tv. *tin* 1, *tin-* 5; Tof. *tin* 1, *tin-* 5; Chuv. *čəm* 1; Yak. *tīn* 1, *tīn-* 5; Dolg. *tīn* 1, *tīn-* 5.

◊ VEWT 478, EDT 512, ЭСТЯ 3, 341-345, Мудрак Дисс. 38-39, Stachowski 238, 239. Some Oghuz reflexes have voiceless t-, probably because of Kypchak influence; still the reconstruction of *d- seems preferable.

PJpn. ***tí*** blood (кровь): OJpn. *ti* 'blood; spirit, force'; MJpn. *tí*; Tok. *chì*; Kyo. *chí*; Kag. *chí*.

◊ JLTT 545. The reading *ti* for 'blood' in OJ is quite certain because of the makurakotoba *tipayaburu*, which is written alternatively with the characters 𣑊 (Kojiki), 千 (e.g. Man'yōshū 2663) and 血 (Man'yōshū 3236).

‖ Ozawa 120-121, АПиПЯЯ 72, 92, 274. The Jpn. form may reflect a contraction of the suffixed **čiŭ̯n(u)-gV*, but since loss of *-n- is not attested elsewhere, one cannot exclude a monosyllabic reconstruction **čiŭ̯*, with a suffix *-n added in Turkic and TM. Cf. also Mong. **činar* 'quality, image' (see Владимирцов 172, Poppe 15, 69; in VEWT 478 and KW 441 considered to be borrowed < Uygh. *tinar*).

✱**čiŭ̯ru (~ -a)** to scratch: Tung. ***ǯurū-, *ǯura-n**; Turk. ***dirŋa-k**; Kor. ***čūr.**

PTung. ***ǯurū-, *ǯura-n** 1 to draw 2 a scratch, line (1 чертить 2 черта, полоска): Evk. *ǯurū-* 1; Neg. *ǯojan* 2; Man. *šišu-* 1; SMan. *ǯušu-, ǯuši-* 1 (1315, 2380); Ul. *ǯura(n)* 2; Nan. *ǯorā* 2; Orch. *ǯurara* 'striped'; Ud. *ǯūnda-* 1; Sol. *ǯurī-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 278.

PTurk. ***dirŋa-k** finger-nail, claw (ноготь, коготь): OTurk. *tirŋaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tirŋaq* (MK, KB); Tur. *tırnak*; Gag. *tırnaq*; Az. *dırnaG*; Turkm. *dırnaq*; Sal. *ʒırna(:)χ*; Khal. *tırnaq*; MTurk. *tirŋaq/tirŋaɣ* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tirnɔq*; Uygh. *tirnaq*; Krm. *tırnax*; Tat. *tırnaq*; Bashk. *tırnaq*; Kirgh. *tırnaq*; Kaz. *tırnaq*; KBalk. *tırnaq*; KKalp. *tırnaq*; Kum. *tırnaq*; Nogh. *tırnaq*; SUygh. *dərmaq*; Khak. *tiɣax*; Shr. *tiɣaq*; Oyr. *tırGaq*; Tv. *diɣaq*; Tof. *diɣaq* 'comb'; Chuv. *čərne*; Yak. *tiŋirax*; Dolg. *tiŋirak.*

◊ Derived from PT **dirŋa-* 'to scratch, scrape'. See VEWT 465, 479, TMN 3, 200 (there are no reasons to postulate different roots here: we have obviously a case of a complicated behaviour of the medial -ŋ-); EDT 551, 549-50, ЭСТЯ III 345-349, Егоров 324, Дыбо 312, 323-325, Лексика 258, Stachowski 238.

PKor. ***čūr** file (напильник): MKor. *čūr*; Mod. *čūl.*

◊ Liu 672, HMCH 251, KED 1507.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281,13; Дыбо 311-312, 323-324. Despite Doerfer MT 77, the TM forms are hardly borrowed from Mong. *ǯiru-*, which happens to have a quite different origin (see **ńi̯aŕe*). Cf. also **čʹiŕV.*

✱**čiu̯ŕi** even, straight: Mong. ***čir-**; Turk. ***düŕ**; Kor. ***čìrì-**.

PMong. ***čir-** straight (прямой): WMong. *čiraɣa, čirɣa*; Kalm. *čirɣə.*

◊ KW 442.

PTurk. ***düŕ** even, level (1 ровный 2 упорядочивать): OTurk. *tüz* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1, *tüz-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *tüz* 1, *tüz-* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *düz* 1, *düz-* 2; Gag. *düz* 1, *düz-* 2; Az. *düz* 1, *düz-* 2; Turkm. *düz* 1, *düz-* 2; Sal. *tüz, tiz* 1; MTurk. *tüz* 1 (MA), *tüz-* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tuz-* 2; Uygh. *tüz-* 2; Krm. *tüz, tiz* 1, *tüz-, tüzü-* 2; Tat. *töz* 1, *töz-* 2; Bashk. *töðö-* 2; Kirgh. *tüz* 1; Kaz. *tüz-e-* 2; KBalk. *tüz* 1, *tüz-e-t-* 2; KKalp. *düz* 1, *düz-, düze-, tüze-* 2; Kum. *tüz* 1; Nogh. *tüz-* 2; SUygh. *tüz* 1, *tüz-* 2; Khak. *tüs* 1, *tüz-e-t-* 2; Shr. *tüs* 1, *tüz-e-t-* 2; Oyr. *tüs* 1, *tüze-* 2; Tof. *düs*; Chuv. *türə, törə* (NW) 1.

◊ See ЭСТЯ 3, 309-312, VEWT 508, EDT 571, 572. The word is interacting with **diŕ-* 'to string, thread' (v. sub **čiu̯ŕu).*

PKor. ***čïrɨ̀-*** to go straightly, take a short way (идти напрямик): MKor. *čïrɨ̀-*; Mod. *čirɨ́-*.

◊ Nam 436, KED 1530.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 13. The Mong. reflex is not quite certain: it is attested only in Kalm. and not quite satisfactory vocalically. The root is phonetically very close to **čị́úŕu* 'string', and was obviously liable to contaminations (in particular, Jpn. **túrá* 'row' may actually continue either root).

✱**čị́úŕu** string, to string: Mong. ***dürü-***; Turk. ***diŕ-***; Jpn. ***túrá***; Kor. ***čur-***.

PMong. ***dürü-*** to stick into (втыкать): MMong. *duru-* (MA 185); WMong. *dürü-* (L 283); Kh. *düre-*; Bur. *düre-*; Kalm. *dür-*.

◊ KW 105-106.

PTurk. ***diŕ-*** 1 to bead, string 2 arrange in a row (1 нанизывать 2 располагать в ряд): OTurk. *tiz-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *tiz-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *diz-* 1, 2; Gag. *diz-* 1, 2; Az. *düz-* 1, 2; Turkm. *düz-* 1, 2; Khal. *tiz-* 1; MTurk. *tiz-*, *tüz-* (Abush., Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *tiz-* 1, 2; Uygh. *tiz-* 1, 2; Krm. *tiz-* 1, *tüz-* 1, 2; Tat. *tez-* 1, 2; Bashk. *teδe-* 1, 2; Kirgh. *tiz-* 1, 2; Kaz. *tiz-* 1, 2; KBalk. *tiz-* 1, 2; KKalp. *diz-* 1, 2; Kum. *tiz-* 2; Nogh. *tiz-* 1, 2; Khak. *təs-*, *čəs-* 1; Oyr. *tis-* 1; Tv. *dis-* 1; Chuv. *tir-* 1; Yak. *tis-* 1; Dolg. *tis-* 1.

◊ VEWT 482, EDT 572, ЭСТЯ 3, 218-220, Stachowski 223. The word (with the meaning 'to arrange in a row') interacts with **düŕ* 'even, level' (v. sub **čị́uŕi*).

PJpn. ***túrá*** row, line (ряд, линия): OJpn. *tura*; MJpn. *túrá*; Tok. *tsura*.

◊ JLTT 556.

PKor. ***čur-*** 1 to string, bead 2 string, line (1 нанизывать 2 линия, веревка): MKor. *čùr-hjə-* 1, *čúr* 2; Mod. *čul* 2.

◊ Nam 434, Liu 672, KED 1507. The noun is absent in Nam and HMCH, but adduced with high tone in Liu, while the derived verb is given with low tone both in Nam and Liu. The original accent is thus not quite clear.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 14, 77. Cf. also **čị́uŕi* (with some contaminations possible).

✱**čŏĺe** front, front part: Tung. ***ǯule***; Mong. ***döli***; Turk. ***döĺ***; Kor. ***čirə***.

PTung. ****ǯule*** front, front part (перед, передняя часть): Evk. *ǯulē*; Evn. *ǯul*; Neg. *ǯul-lē*; Man. *ǯule-ri*; *ǯulkun* 'hollow under neck'; Jurch. *ǯule* (*ǯule-le*) (598); Ul. *ǯuli*; Ork. *duli*, *dulde*; Nan. *ǯule*; Orch. *ǯulē-du*; Ud. *ǯulē* (Корм. 235), *ǯulie*; Sol. *ǯuldē-du*.

◊ TMC 1, 273-274.

PMong. ***döli*** flat surface, Absatz *auf dem* Bergabhang (плоская поверхность, плато на склоне горы): WMong. *döli*, *döl* (L 267); Kh. *döl*; Kalm. *dölə*.

◊ KW 98.

PTurk. ***döĺ** mountain slope (склон горы): Tur. *döš* (dial.); Az. *döš*; Uzb. *tụš*; Uygh. *töš*; Kirgh. *töš*; Nogh. *tös*; Khak. *tös*; Tv. *dö'š*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 287. The root should be kept distinct from **dŏĺ* 'breast' q. v. sub **t'ōĺi* (see Щербак 1970, 197).

PKor. ***čɨrə** before, beforehand (прежде, заранее): MKor. *čɨrə*, *čɨrjə*; Mod. *čire*.

◊ Nam 436, KED 1529.

‖ KW 98 (Turk.-Mong.), SKE 35 (Kor.-Tung.), АПиПЯЯ 289.

✱**čŏtakV (~ -ukV)** pulp, mushroom; lip: Tung. ***ǯudakta / *ǯedukte**; Turk. ***dōtak**.

PTung. ***ǯudakta / *ǯedukte** 1 piece of meat (without bones) 2 tree mushroom (1 кусок мяса (без костей) 2 древесный гриб): Evk. *ǯedukte*, dial. *dedukte* 1; Ork. *dụdaqta / ǯụǯaqta* 2; Orch. *dudakta* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 219, 230, 282.

PTurk. ***dōtak** lip (губа): Tur. *dudak*; Gag. *dudaq*; Az. *dodaG*; Turkm. *dōdaq*; Sal. *totax*, *totɨx*; Chuv. *toda*, *tuda*.

◊ VEWT 491, TMN 2, 603-604, ЭСТЯ 3, 251, Федотов 2, 256, Лексика 226.

‖ Лексика 226. An interesting Turk.-Tung. isogloss: phonetically quite regular except secondary (assimilatory) voicing -t- > -d- in TM.

✱**čŭra** to stand: Tung. ***ǯur-**; Turk. ***dur-**; Jpn. ***tàt-**; Kor. ***čàrí**.

PTung. ***ǯur-** to stand still (стоять (спокойно, молча)): Evn. *ǯụr-ụl-*.

◊ TMC 1,278. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***dur-** to stand (стоять): OTurk. *tur-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tur-* (MK, KB); Tur. *dur-*; Gag. *dur-*; Az. *dur-*; Turkm. *dur-*; Sal. *dɨr-*; Khal. *tur-*; MTurk. *tur-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tur-*; Uygh. *tur-*; Krm. *tur-*; Tat. *tor-*; Bashk. *tor-*; Kirgh. *tur-*; Kaz. *tụr-*; KBalk. *tur-*; KKalp. *tur-*; Kum. *tur-*; Nogh. *tur-*; SUygh. *dur-*; Khak. *tur-*; Shr. *tur-*; Oyr. *tur-*; Tv. *tur-*; Tof. *dur-*; Chuv. *tъʷr-*; Yak. *tur-*; Dolg. *tur-*.

◊ VEWT 500, EDT 529-530, ЭСТЯ 3, 296-301, Stachowski 232. Turk. > WMong. *toru-* 'get smwh., arrive smwh.' (KW 402).

PJpn. ***tàt-** to stand (стоять): OJpn. tat-; MJpn. *tàt-*; Tok. *tát-*; Kyo. *tàt-*; Kag. *tàt-*.

◊ JLTT 765.

PKor. ***čàrí** seat; place, location (сиденье; место, расположение): MKor. *čàrí*; Mod. *čari*.

◊ Liu 642, KED 1377.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 101, 277. Korean has a "verbal" low tone, showing that the noun is a deverbative (although the original verb is not attested).

✱**čúrka (~ -i̯o-)** swift stream, current: Tung. ***ǯurku**; Mong. ***dargil**; Jpn. ***tákí, *tanki-t-**.

PTung. ***ǯurku** 1 rapid, swift stream 2 fairway (1 быстрое течение, быстрина 2 фарватер): Evn. *ǯụrqụ* 1; Neg. *ǯojkụ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 277.

PMong. ***dargil** rapid current (быстрина, быстрое течение): WMong. *dargil* (L 233); Kh. *dargil*; Kalm. *därgl*.

◊ KW 89. Mong. > Evk. *dargi* etc., see Doerfer MT 123.

PJpn. ***táki, *tanki-t-** 1 swift current, waterfall 2 to foam, overflow (1 быстрый поток, водопад 2 пениться, переливаться): OJpn. *takji* 1, *tagjit-* 2; MJpn. *táki* 1, *tagir-* 2; Ṭok. *tàki* 1, *tagír-* 2; Kyo. *táki* 1, *tágír-* 2; Kag. *táki* 1, *tagír-* 2.

◊ JLTT 539, 761.

‖ Ozawa 119-120, 241-242 (Jpn.-Mong.). A good common Altaic landscape term.

Č‘

✱**č‘a** that, beyond, not very far: Tung. ***čā-**; Mong. ***ča-**; Kor. ***čə̀**.

PTung. ***čā-** that, further (not very far) (тот (находящийся дальше)): Evk. *čā-*; Evn. *čā-*; Neg. *čā-*; Man. *ča-*; Ul. *ča-*; Ork. *čō-*; Nan. *ča-*; Orch. *čā-*; Ud. *ča-*; Sol. *sā-*.

◊ TMC 2, 376-377. Cf. also Manchu *če* 'they' (TMC 2, 418-419).

PMong. ***ča-** that, beyond (тот): MMong. *ča'a-da* (SH) 'near, close'; WMong. *ča-*, *či-*, *čiɣa-* (L 157, 158); Kh. *cā-*; Bur. *sā-*; Kalm. *cā-*; Ord. *čāna*; Dag. *čā-š* (Тод. Дar. 181), *čāši* 'thither' (MD 127); Bao. *čiataŋ* 'near'; Mongr. *ćaGša*, *taGšə* (SM 442).

◊ KW 423, 424. Cf. also **čina-* 'beyond, other side'.

PKor. ***čə̀** this (этот): MKor. *čə̀*.

◊ Liu 650.

‖ KW 423, Poppe 26, Rozycki 43. Hardly a loanword in TM < Mong., despite Doerfer MT 20.

✱**č‘abo** to pinch: Tung. ***čaba-**; Mong. ***čibka**; Kor. ***čūb-**.

PTung. ***čaba-** 1 to grip (with claws) 2 claw 3 to pinch (1 хватать (когтями) 2 коготь 3 щипать): Evk. *čawarī-* 1; Neg. *čawa-* 1; Ul. *čawa-qta* 2; Ork. *čawa-qta* 2; Nan. *čawa-qta* 2, (Bik.) *cawači-* 1; Ud. *čaban* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 375.

PMong. ***čibka** trigger, slingshot, string (of a stringed instrument) (smth. which is pinched) (курок, рогатка, струна (струнного инструмента) (то, что ущипывают)): WMong. *čibqa*ˌ(L 175); Kh. *čavx*; Bur. *šabxa*; Kalm. *čawəg* (KPC).

PKor. ***čūb-** to pick (подбирать, собирать): MKor. *čūs-* (*čūń-*), *čūń-* (< **čubuń-*); Mod. *čūp-* (-w-), *čūt-* [*čūs-*].

◊ Nam 435, KED 1509.

‖ Cf. **č‘íp‘u*.

✱**č‘abu** army, war: Tung. ***čabu-ka**; Mong. ***čaɣur**; Turk. ***čAbuĺ(č)**; Jpn. ***tupa-**.

PTung. ***čabu-ka** army (войско): Neg. *čawxa*; Man. *čōχa*; SMan. *čuahə* 'soldier'(1141); Jurch. *čaw-xa* (269); Ul. *čaụχa*; Ork. *čaụχa*; Nan. *čaoχa*; Orch. *čaụxa*; Ud. *čawaha*, *čauha*; Sol. *čoɣa*.

◊ TMC 2, 402. Man. > Dag. *čōga*, *čuag* (Тод. Дar. 181).

PMong. ***čaɣur*** military raid (военный поход): MMong. *ča'ur* (SH); Bur. *sūr sereg*; Ord. *čirik čūr* 'army'.

PTurk. ***čAbuĺ(č)*** military commander (военный командир): OTurk. *čabuš* (Orkh., Yen.), *čavuš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *čavuš* (MK); Tur. *čavuš*; Az. *čovuš* 'leader of a pilgrimage'; MTurk. *čawuš* (Sangl.); Krm. *čavuš* (K) 'senior worker'; Kum. *čawuš* 'herald'.

◊ VEWT 101, EDT 399, TMN 3, 35-38. Criticism of the hypothesis of the word's Iranian origin see in TMN.

PJpn. ***tupa-*** 1 armour, weapon(ry) 2 soldier (1 вооружение, оружие 2 солдат): OJpn. *tupa-m(w)ono* 1, 2; MJpn. *tufa-mono* 1, 2; Tok. *tsùwamono* 2; Kyo. *tsuwamonó* 2; Kag. *tsuwamonó* 2.

◊ JLTT 558. Accent is not clear.

‖ Владимирцов 209.

✱***č'ábu*** sound, fame: Tung. ***čab-***; Mong. ***čuw***; Turk. ***č(i)āb***; Jpn. ***tuáp-***.

PTung. ***čab-*** 1 to be noisy 2 noise 3 to resound (1 шуметь 2 шум 3 отдаваться, разноситься (о звуке)): Evk. *čiwi-*, dial. *čawir-* 1; Neg. *čawgi-* 1; Ul. *čāo* 2; Ork. *čajiqotči-* 1; Nan. *čawali-* 3, *čaō* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 389.

PMong. ***čuw*** 1 rumour, gossip, echo, fame 2 to sound, cry (1 слух, эхо, слава, дурная слава 2 звучать, кричать): WMong. *čuu* (L 207) 1, *čuugi-* 2; Kh. *čū* 1, *čūgi-* 2; Bur. *sū hurag* 1, *sūja-* 2; Kalm. *cŭ* 1, *cūgi-*, *cŭgi-* 2; Ord. *čū* 'notorious', *čūgi-* 2; Dag. *čōgīn* 1.

◊ KW 435, 436. Mong. > Kirgh. *čū* and some other Kypch. forms.

PTurk. ***č(i)āb*** fame, good reputation, news (слава, хорошая репутация , новости): Karakh. *čav* (MK, KB); Tur. *čav*; Az. *čov*; Turkm. *čāv* (arch.); Khal. *čov* (may be < Az.); MTurk. *čaw* (Sangl.); Khak. *sab-laɣ* 'renowned'; Shr. *šap-tiɣ* 'renowned'; Oyr. *čap*; Tof. *šaɣ*.

◊ VEWT 93, EDT 393. Final -p in Siberian languages is not quite clear.

PJpn. ***tuáp-*** to address; to ask (обращаться; спрашивать): OJpn. *twop-*; MJpn. *tóf-*; Tok. *tò-*, *tó-*; Kyo. *tó-*; Kag. *tò-*.

◊ JLTT 771. Tokyo *tò-* and Kagoshima *tò-* point to an accent variant **tuàp-*.

‖ Владимирцов 256, Poppe 44; despite Щербак 1997, 193, not borrowed in Turk. < Mong. The vocalism is not entirely clear: the diphthong in OJ is either secondary (from **č'ābu* one would expect **tup-*), or points to a contraction < **tVwap-*. In the latter case the PA form should rather be reconstructed as **č'i̯āba*, with the Jpn. form analysed as containing a frequent -p-suffix (note that the TM evidence does indeed allow for an alternative reconstruction **čiab-*, because of the variation -i-/-a- in Evk.).

✱***č'adVbV*** scorpion, viper: Turk. ***čAd(b)an***; Jpn. ***tatipi***.

PTurk. ***čAd(b)an*** scorpion (скорпион): Karakh. *čaδan* (MK, KB); Tur. *čajan*, *čijan* 'сколопендра'; Turkm. *čajān*; MTurk. *čajan*, *čijan*

(Abush., Sangl.), *čiban* (R - Calc.Wb., Pav. C.); Uzb. *čajɔn*; Uygh. *čajan*; Tat. *čajan*, (R, Буд. - Kas.) *čejban* 'millipede'; Bashk. *sajan*; Kirgh. *čajan*; Kaz. *šajan*; KKalp. *šajan*; Nogh. *šajan*.

◊ VEWT 94, EDT 403, Лексика 64, 184-185. Turk. > Kalm. *caja* 'crayfish' (?), see Щербак 1997, 111.

PJpn. ***tatipi** viper (гадюка, ядовитая змея): OJpn. *tadipji*; MJpn. *tatifi, tadifi*.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss.

***č'[a]ge** a k. of plant (reed) and its bast: Mong. ***čaɣal-su**; Turk. ***čig (~-ī-)**; Kor. ***čjòhǎi**.

PMong. ***čaɣal-su** paper (бумага): MMong. *ča'alsun* (HY 20, SH), *čalsun* (MA); WMong. *čaɣasu(n)* (L 159), *čaɣalsun* (DO 696); Kh. *cās*; Bur. *sārha(n)*; Kalm. *cāsn̥*; Ord. *cāsu*; Dag. *čās* (Тод. Дат. 180), *cāse* (MD 127); S.-Yugh. *čāsən*; Mongr. *ćā(r)ʒə* (SM 441), *ćālʒə* (Huzu), (MGCD *čālsə*).

◊ KW 424, MGCD 553. Mong. > Evk. *čārsun*, see Poppe 1966, 196, Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***čig (~-ī-)** 1 reed 2 reed mat 3 things woven from reed (1 тростник, чий 2 тростниковая циновка 3 изделия, плетеные из чия (тростника)): OTurk. *čiɣ* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *čiɣ* (MK) 'reed screen'; Tur. *čiɣ, čiɣ* 'reed partition'; MTurk. *čiɣ* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *čij* 1, 3; Uygh. *čiɣ* 1; Kirgh. *čij* 1, 3; Kaz. *šij* 1, 3; KBalk. *čij* 2; KKalp. *šij* 2; Nogh. *šijboj* 'любисток' (?); SUygh. *ǯiɣ* 1; Oyr. *čij* 1.

◊ VEWT 107, 110; EDT 404, 412. Turk. > MMong. (HY 20) *čix*, WMong. *čig*, Khalkha *čig*, Ord. *čīg* 'bamboo screen'. The Nogh. form may be a compound; for the second part cf. **bińan*.

PKor. ***čjòhǎi** paper (бумага): MKor. *čjòhǎi*; Mod. *čoŋi*.

◊ Nam 432, KED 1486.

‖ PKE 39 (Kor.-Mong.). The meaning 'paper' in Mong. and Kor. must be derived from original '(reed) bast, bark'. Labialized -o- (as well as the source of modern -ŋ-) in Kor. is not quite clear.

***č'aju (~ -e-)** resin, juice: Turk. ***čAjɨr**; Jpn. ***tuju**; Kor. ***čɨr-**.

PTurk. ***čAjɨr** resin, tar (смола, деготь): Tat. *čɛjɨr*; Bashk. *sajɨr*; Kirgh. *čajɨr*; Kaz. *šajɨr*; KBalk. *čajɨr*; KKalp. *šajɨr*; Kum. *čajɨr*; Nogh. *šajɨr*.

◊ VEWT 95.

PJpn. ***tuju** juice (сок): OJpn. *tuju*; MJpn. *tuju*; Tok. *tsuyu*.

◊ See comments to **tuju* 'dew' (s.v. **č'iju*).

PKor. ***čɨr-** slushy, watery (водянистый, жидкий): MKor. *čɨr-*; Mod. *čil-*.

◊ Nam 439, KED 1551.

‖ Kor. **čɨr-* (with contraction) = Turk. **čAjɨr*. Cf. perhaps also WMong. *čei-dem*, Kalm. *čīdm, cīdm* 'water mixed with kumis' (although this may be a derivative of *čeji-* 'white, whitish').

***č'ájV (~ -ē-)** sand, sandbar: Mong. ***čeɣel**; Turk. ***čāj.**

PMong. ***čeɣel** 1 deep (water) 2 spring, place with springs 3 small pool (1 глубокая (вода) 2 источник, место с родниками 3 пруд, лужа): MMong. *če'el* (SH) 1; WMong. *čegel* 2 (L 169); Kh. *cēl* 2; Bur. *sēl* 1; Kalm. *cēl* 3; Dag. *čēle* (Тод. Дар. 181).

◊ KW 428.

PTurk. ***čāj** 1 small river 2 sand, pebbles 3 flood, freshet 4 shallow (1 речка 2 песок, галька 3 половодье, наводнение 4 мелководный): Tur. *čaj* 1; Az. *čaj* 1; Turkm. *čāj* 1, *čāge* 2; MTurk. *čaj* 1, *čeke* 2; Bashk. *saj* 'a river weed' (?); KBalk. *čaj* (in the hydronym *qaračaj*); Shr. *šajiq* 3; Oyr. *čaj-r-am* 4; Yak. *čaj* 2 (?).

◊ The word is poorly attested (almost only in some modern Oghuz languages and Chag., see VEWT 95, Лексика 94; the Yakut parallel is phonetically unclear - borrowed from Tuva or Altai?). Turk. **čāj-ka* (Turkm. *čāge*, Chag. *čeke*) > Kalm. *cekē* (KW 426). The forms (despite semantic difference) may have an Iranian origin: Pers. (Pekhl.) *čāh* 'well, spring' < **čāθa* > Av. *čāta*, Kurd. *čāl*, Bel. *čāt*, Osset. *čad* 'lake', Wakhi *čot* 'pond' (Horn 97, Аб. 1, 285, 329, Расторгуева 1990, 191, ЭСВЯ 130); a certain Persian loan is Khal. *čā* 'Brunnen, Grube'. Osset. *č'aj* 'well' is regarded by Abaev as a borrowing from Pers. through Georgian (*ça* 'well'). The relationship to the verbal stem *čāj-* 'to swill' (ОСНЯ 3, 59-60) (< 'wash water off from the surface'?) is yet to be determined.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Not quite reliable because of scarce attestation in Turkic (the form may actually have an Iranian origin).

***č'ǎjʒV** breast: Tung. ***ča(i)ʒa-n**; Mong. ***čeɣeʒi**; Turk. ***čičig (/*čičig)**; Jpn. ***tì, *tìtí**; Kor. ***čjə̀č.**

PTung. ***ča(i)ʒa-n** 1 breast (fem.) 2 udder (1 грудь (ж.) 2 вымя): Evk. *ʒadan* 2; Evn. *ʒeʒin(/-a-)* 2; Neg. *ʒojan* 1; Man. *čeʒen* 1; Ork. *dada-qta* 1, 2; Nan. *ʒaʒaqta* 1, 2 (On.) .

◊ TMC 1,242, 2,419. The Manchu form may be < Mong. (see Rozycki 45); in that case one has to reconstruct **ʒa(j)ʒa(n)* for PTM. In both cases initial **ʒ-* is historically a result of assimilation to the medial *-ʒ-*.

PMong. ***čeɣeʒi** breast (грудь): MMong. *če'eʒi* (SH); WMong. *čegeʒi(n)* (L 170); Kh. *cēʒ*; Bur. *sēʒe*; Kalm. *cēʒə, čēʒə*; Ord. *čēʒi*; Mog. *čeiʒi* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *čēʒi* (Тод. Дар. 181, MD 128); S.-Yugh. *čīʒ*; Mongr. *śiʒan.*

◊ KW 428, 438, MGCD 565.

PTurk. ***čičig (/*čičig)** 1 breast (fem.) 2 female sheep 3 sheep tail 4 roasted sheep tail 5 roasted fat (1 грудь (женская) 2 овцематка 3 курдюк 4 жареный курдюк 5 жареный жир): MTurk. *čičiɣ* 2, 3 (R - Vamb.), *čičiɣ, čičiq* 4 (R - Zenker); Tat. *čižiq* (R, Bud. - Kas.), *čiʒiq* (R - Tob.) 5; Chuv. *čəžə* 1.

◊ VEWT 110. An onomatopaeic root, attested late - but possibly archaic because of the external evidence. The assumed semantic development in Chag. and Tat. is 'udder' > 'roasted udder' > 'fat roasted piece of meat'.

PJpn. ***tì, *tìtí** breast (fem.) (грудь (женская)): OJpn. *ti*; Tok. *chichí*; Kyo. *chìchí*; Kag. *chichí*.

◊ JLTT 545, 546.

PKor. ***čjə́č** breast (f.) (грудь (женская)): MKor. *čjə́s*; Mod. *čət* [*čəč*].

◊ Nam 426, KED 1460.

‖ Martin 227, Lee 1958, 107, АПиПЯЯ 32-33, 76, 88, 279. An expressive reduplicated root, but no doubt common Altaic. Because of its structure, liable to assimilations (**č'ə̀jšV* > **šə̀jšV* or **č'ə̀jč'V*).

✱**č'ə̀ki** a k. of coniferous tree: Tung. ***čāK-**; Mong. ***čigör-**; Turk. ***čEket**.

PTung. ***čāK-** fir-tree (ель): Evk. *čākre*.

◊ TMC 2, 379. Isolated in Evk., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***čigör-** cypress tree (кипарис): MMong. *čigorsun* (pl. *čigot*) (HY 6, SH).

PTurk. ***čEke-t** 1 coniferous forest 2 pistacio nut 3 (fruit) stone, seed 4 hazel-nut 5 wild jujube 6 young coniferous growth 7 bush, shrub 8 fir branch (1 лес (хвойный) 2 фисташковый орех 3 косточка, семечко 4 лесной орех 5 дикая ююба 6 молодые хвойные поросли 7 кустарник 8 ветка ели): Karakh. *šeki-r-tük* 2 (MK); Tur. *čeki-r-dek* 3; Gag. *čeker-dek* 3; MTurk. *čeke-r-dek, čekidɛ* 5 (Pav. C., R - Babur); Krm. *čegirdek, čekirdek* 3, *čeger* 'blackthorn'; Tat. *čiki* 4 (dial.); Kirgh. *čege-dek, čege-l-dek* 8; KBalk. *čeget* 'forest, wood' (Karach.), 'North' (Balk.); Nogh. *šege-r* 7; Shr. *šet* 7 (R); Oyr. *čet ayaš* 6; Tv. *šet* 6.

◊ VEWT 102, EDT 867-868. Morphologically -t - is a collective suffix, -dak/-dik - a denominative suffix. The word is attested in MK, but in an aberrant (dialectal) shape with *š-*, and the meaning 'nut' is probably secondary, the original meaning of the root being 'coniferous tree, branch'. Several other plant names may be related, cf.: Chag. *čekɛ* 'berries found in the Fergana mountains'; Uzb. *čakanda* 'облепиха крушиновидная', Uygh. *čäkändä* 'a bush with red fruits' (R 3, 1947 Taranchi, mod. *čakanda* 'a k. of thorny bush'), Az. *čäkil* 'mulberry'; Kirgh. South. *čekende* 'хвойник; кузьмичева трава; эфедра двуколосковая' (its pseudoberries are edible; despite Yudakhin, not < Iranian - the word is not attested in Persian). Turk. > Pers. *čäkäldäk* 'blackberry' (Гафаров).

‖ EAS 63. A Western isogloss.

✱**č'áko** many; be full, enough: Tung. ***čak**; Turk. ***čok**; Jpn. ***tákú-páp-**; Kor. ***čhə́-**.

PTung. ***čak-** 1 full 2 strongly (1 полный 2 сильно, крепко): Man. *čaq seme* 2; Ork. *čak bi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 379.

PTurk. ***čok** 1 many, very 2 vile, hooligan 3 to gather, multiply 4 group, crowd (1 много, очень 2 дурной, хулиган, баловник 3 собирать(ся), размножать(ся) 4 толпа, множество): Karakh. *čoq* 1 (ДТС - КВ), *čōq* 2 (MK - Oghuz), *čoɣ-al-* 3; Tur. *čok* (-ɣu) 1, *čoɣal-* 3; Gag. *čoju* 4, *čoq-la-n-* 3; Az. *čox* 1, *čoxal-* 3; Turkm. *čoq* (-qu) 4; MTurk. *čoq* 1 (Sangl., Oghuz-nama, AH), *čoq-* 3 (Abush.); Krm. *čoq* 1, *čoɣı* 4 (K); Kirgh. *čoq* 1;

Kaz. *šoγɨr* 4; KKalp. *šoq* 2, 4; Nogh. *šoq* 'дружно'; Khak. *sox* 2; Oyr. *čoq-* 3; Tv. *šoγ* 2.

◊ VEWT 113, EDT 405, 406. The Oghuz adverb 'much', in the 12th c. (KB) 'very, extremely', is probably the same word as *čoq* 'bad, vile'(Ogh. 11) (cf. also the Tuva parallel). Turk. > Mong. (Khalkha) *cox* in *cox xara* 'very black'. The identification of *čoq-(la-)* 'gather, collect' with *čoγ-la-* 'to bind, pack' (ДТС) or *čoq-* 'to bend' (EDT) is rather dubious. Vocalic length is unclear (cf. the voicing of -k- in Western Oghuz).

PJpn. ***tákú-páp-** to hoard, assemble (запасать, накапливать): OJpn. *takupap(a)-*; MJpn. *tákúfáf(a)-*; Tok. *takuwaé-*, *tàkuwae-*; Kyo. *tàkùwàè-*; Kag. *takuwaé-*.

◊ JLTT 762. Accent is somewhat uncertain, though most sources (RJ, Tokyo *tàkuwae-*, Kagoshima) point to **tákúpáp-*. It is also worth noting Middle Jpn. and modern *takusán* 'much, many': the word is shaped and perceived as a kango (澤山 'swamps and mountains'), but is apparently not attested in Chinese sources and may represent a folk etymology. Its accent, however, differs from that of **tákú-páp-* (Kyoto *tákùsàn* and Kagoshima *takusán*, together with the Tokyo form, point to **tàkù-sà[mà]*).

PKor. ***čhă-** to be full, fill (быть полным, наполнять): MKor. *čhă-*; Mod. *čha-*.

◊ Nam 447, KED 1561.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 283. The comparison of PT **čok* with Sino-Kor. *čjok* (SKE 39, AKE 7, EAS 63) should be, of course, rejected; on the other hand, the comparison of Kor. *čhă-* (a regular reduction < **čăhă-*) with Mong. *čad-*, *čas-* in SKE 46 cannot explain the aspiration of *č-* in Korean. See further МССНЯ,331.

✱**čʹakʹa** to wrap, tie: Tung. ***čaK-**; Turk. ***čak-**; Jpn. ***ta(n)k-**; Kor. ***čhằ-**.

PTung. ***čaK-** to wrap up, collect (заворачивать, собирать): Evk. *čak-*; Evn. *čaq-*; Neg. *čak-*.

◊ TMC 2, 378.

PTurk. ***čak-** to bind, fetters, harness (связывать, оковы, упряжь): Tur. *čakɨl-* 'to be bound, fastened' (of yoke animals), *čaγan* 'camel fetters'; Gag. *čaqildaq* 'rope harness'; MTurk. *čaγan* 'camel fetters'; Oyr. *čaqɨ* 'stick for binding horses'.

◊ VEWT 94, 96 (but Oyr. *čaki* is regarded as borrowed < Mong. *čaqu*, on which see **čʹakʹV)*.

PJpn. ***ta(n)k-** 1 to bind one's hair into a bun 2 to bundle together; to wear on the belt (1 связывать волосы в узел 2 связывать; носить на пояске): OJpn. *tak-* 1; MJpn. *tagana-* 2.

◊ JLTT 761.

PKor. ***čhằ-** to wear on the belt (носить на пояске): MKor. *čhằ-*; Mod. *čha-*.

◊ Nam 447, KED 1562.

‖ Дыбо 15. Korean has a frequent vowel reduction between a stop and a fricative (**čhă-* < **čəhă-*).

***č'ak'e** forearm: Tung. ***čaxan**; Turk. ***čɨkan(ak)**; Kor. ***čjàkái-**.

PTung. ***čaxan** 1 place under the knee 2 calf of leg 3 back part of heel 4 cubit, armpit (1 место под коленом 2 икра ноги 3 задняя часть пятки 4 локоть, подмышка): Evk. *čakan, čāke* 1, *čakča* 2; Neg. *čaxā* 3; Nan. *čaχā* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 378, 380.

PTurk. ***čɨkan(ak)** elbow, forearm (локоть, предплечье): MTurk. *čaɣanaq* (Sangl., CCum., AH); Uzb. *čekänäk* (dial.); Uygh. *ǯäjnäk*; Krm. *cɨɣanaq*; Tat. *cɨɣanaq* (dial.); Bashk. *sɨɣanaq* (dial.); Kirgh. *čɨqanaq*; Kaz. *šɨɣanaq* 'bay'; KBalk. *čɨna*; KKalp. *šɨɣanaq*; Nogh. *šɨɣanaq*; SUygh. *čikenek*; Khak. *čɨɣanax*; Shr. *šɨɣanaq*; Oyr. *čaɣanaq*; Tv. *šenek*; Tof. *če'henɛk*; Chuv. *čike* 'cubit'.

◊ VEWT 96, EDT 404, Егоров 325, Лексика 249.

PKor. ***čjàkái-** groin, inguinal region (пах, паховая область): MKor. *čjàkái'jám*; Mod. *čagämi*.

◊ Nam 419, KED 1372.

‖ Дыбо 311, Лексика 250. A reconstruction **č'ajk'e* is not excluded because of the Korean form; this is perhaps the reason for *-x- in TM (where in this context one would rather expect **čakan*).

***č'ăk'i** a k. of insect: Tung. ***čaKu- (~ š-)**; Mong. ***čoku**; Turk. ***čekü-rtke**.

PTung. ***čaKu- (~ š-)** a k. of midge (мошка-мокрец): Evk. *čakimukta*; Neg. *čoxomto*; Ul. *čōqta*; Nan. *čōqta*.

◊ TMC 2, 379.

PMong. ***čoku** beetle (жук): WMong. *čoqu* (L 199); Kh. *cox*; Bur. *soxo*.

PTurk. ***čekü-rtke** locust, grasshopper (саранча, кузнечик): Karakh. *čekürge* (MK Oghuz; Tefs.); Tur. *čekirge*; Az. *čekirtge*; Turkm. *čekirtge*; MTurk. *čegürtke, čewürtke* (Sangl.); Uzb. *čigirtka*; Uygh. *čekätkä*; Krm. *čegirtke*; Tat. *čikertkɛ*; Bashk. *sɨŋertkä*; Kirgh. *čegirtke*; Kaz. *šegirtke*; KKalp. *šegirtke*; Nogh. *šegertki*; Khak. *saɣɨrtxɨ*; Tv. *šergi*; Yak. *saxsɨrɣa* 'fly'; Dolg. *haksɨrga* 'fly'.

◊ VEWT 103, EDT 416-417, Лексика 187, Stachowski 94. Forms like Tat. dial. *sikertke* are a result of contamination with **sēk-* 'jump' (v. sub **sáki)*.

‖ A Western isogloss. Note a labial vowel in the second syllable which in this case must be reflecting suffixation (**č'ăk'i-bV-*); Mong. **čoku* < **čaku* with a frequent secondary vowel assimilation.

***č'ak'V** section, prop (in a building): Tung. ***čaKi-**; Mong. ***čaku**; Kor. ***čhái**.

PTung. ***čaKi-** 1 partition (in house) 2 to tread a path (< 'make a partition'?) (1 перегородка (в строении) 2 протоптать (тропу)): Evk. *čaki-* 2; Man. *čaxin* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 379. The Evk. form (borrowed in Yak. *čāki* 'rammed path') presupposes a secondary semantic development and is somewhat uncertain here. Man. > Dag. *čagin* (Тод. Даг. 180).

PMong. ***čaku*** prop, support (подставка, подпорка): WMong. *čaqu* (L 167); Kh. *cax*; Kalm. *caxlūr* (KPC).

PKor. ***čhái*** section of a building (секция здания): MKor. *čhái*; Mod. *čhă*.

◊ Liu 695, KED 1576.

‖ Korean has a frequent vowel loss between *č'- and *-k-.

✱**č'ali** membrane, bark: Tung. ***čalban***; Turk. ***čEl(p)-***.

PTung. ***čalban*** birch, birch bark (береза, береста): Evk. *čalban*; Evn. *čālban*; Neg. *čālban*; Nan. *čalbā*; Orch. *čā(b)ba*; Ud. *čafakt'ai* 'березняк'.

◊ TMC 2, 380-382. TM > Dag. *čālbān* (Тод. Даг. 180).

PTurk. ***čEl*** 1 film, membrane 2 albugo 3 mucus discharged by the eye 4 unhusked rice 5 thin bread, cake 6 husk in grain (1 пленка, кожица, подмездрина 2 бельмо 3 глазной гной 4 неошелушенный рис 5 тонкая лепешка 6 шелуха в крупе): Karakh. *čelpek* 3 (MK); Tur. *čel-tik* 4; *čelpik* 3 (Red. only); Az. *čäl-tik* 4; Turkm. *čelpek* 5, *čel-tik* 6; Khal. *čäl-tik* 4; MTurk. *čelpek* 5 (Sangl.); Uzb. *čalpak* 5; Uygh. *čälpäk* 5; Tat. *cilen* 'cow's afterbirth' (dial. KCTT); Kirgh. *čel* 1, 2, *čelpek* 5; Kaz. *šel* 2, 'fat under skin', *šelpek* 5; KKalp. *šelpek* 5; Nogh. *šel-te-* 'to husk grain'; Oyr. *čel* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 103, EDT 418-419, Лексика 392. Ogh. *čel-tik* > Pers. *čaltuk, šaltūk* (despite VEWT 104). Turk. *čelpek* > Pers. *čalpak* (TMN 3, 1111). The meaning 'eye pus, mucus' in **čel-pek* developed under the influence of the similar **čapak* (see under **čap-* 'plaster'), but the two roots should be clearly distinguished (despite EDT 418).

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**č'àlù** sharp, to cut: Tung. ***čal-***; Mong. ***čali***; Turk. ***čal-***; Jpn. ***tùrù(n)kì***.

PTung. ***čal-*** 1 to cut off 2 to cut, engrave 3 bed in cross-bow 4 arrow head (1 отрезать 2 резать, вырезать 3 ложе в самострела 4 наконечник стрелы): Evk. *čalī* 4; Neg. *čōlị-* 1; Man. *čoli-* 2; Ul. *čālụ-* 1, 2, *čaγlị, čaịlqa* 3; Ork. *čaγla* 3; Nan. *čālị-* 1, 2; Orch. *čali* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 382, 405. Some forms reflect a PTM derivative **čal-ga* (**čal-gi*).

PMong. ***čali*** 1 sharp 2 sharp instrument, crowbar (1 острый 2 острый инструмент, лом): MMong. *čalir* 2 (SH); WMong. *čali* 1, *čalir* / *čaril* 2 (L 163, 166); Kh. *calir* / *caril* 2; Bur. *salī-* 'to be sharp'; Kalm. *caĺə, cälə* 1, *caĺr, cälr* 2; Ord. *čalir* 2.

◊ KW 420, 421.

PTurk. ***čal-*** 1 to knock (down), hit, agitate 2 to whet 3 to slaughter 4 to mow 5 scythe 6 to sting, pierce 7 to sweep 8 to chop 9 a k. of broom 10 to sharpen, whet 11 whetstone 12 mowing, hay time 13 to trip 14

blade (1 сбивать, ударять, бить, взбалтывать 2 точить 3 убивать, закалывать 4 косить 5 коса 6 жалить, закалывать 7 подметать 8 изрубить, отрубить 9 вид метлы, веник-голик 10 точить 11 оселок 12 покос 13 дать подножку 14 острие, лезвие): OTurk. *čal-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čal-* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *čal-* 1, *čalgı* 9, *čalgı orayı* 5; Gag. *čalım* 14; Az. *čal-* 1, 6, 7, *čalɣı* 9; Turkm. *čal-* 10, 7, 6, *čalGı* 5, 11; Khal. *čal-* 1, 6; Uzb. *čal-* 1, *čalɣı ɹɪrɔq* 5; Uygh. *čal-* 1, *čalɣa* 5; Krm. *cal-* 1, 4, *calqı, calɣı* 5; Tat. *čal-* 1, 3, *čalɣı* 5; Bashk. *salı-* 3; Kirgh. *čal-* 1, 3, *čalɣı* 5, *čalɣın* 12; Kaz. *šal-* 13, *šalɣı* 5, *šalɣın* 12; KBalk. *čal-* 4, *čalqı* 5; KKalp. *šal-* 1, 3, 13, *šalɣı* 5, *šalɣın* 12; Kum. *čal-* 1, 4, *čalɣı* 5; Nogh. *šal-* 1, 3, 4, *šalɣı* 5; SUygh. *čal(ı)-* 8; Khak. *sal-* 1; Shr. *šalɣı* 5; Oyr. *čalɣı* 5; Tv. *šalı-* 10; Chuv. *śol-* 4, *śolʲk* 9; Yak. *sālin-* 'to fall abruptly'.

◊ VEWT 97, EDT 417-418 , Егоров 206, Федотов 2, 132, 133. The difference in length between Turkm. and Yak. allows to suppose a merger of at least two roots, perhaps originally distinguished semantically and phonetically as **čāl-* 'to knock down' (reflected in Yak., not reflected in Turkm.) - **čal-* 'to sharpen, whet' (reflected in Turkm., not reflected in Yak.). Since "Verba des Schlagens" are generally vague semantically, in most languages it is difficult to draw a line between them.

PJpn. ***tùrù(n)kì** sword (меч): OJpn. *turugji*; MJpn. *tùrùgì, tùrùkì*; Tok. *tsurugí*; Kyo. *tsúrùgì*; Kag. *tsurugí*.

◊ JLTT 557. Kagoshima accent is irregular.

‖ KW 420, ОСНЯ 1, 196-197. KW 420, ОСНЯ 1, 196-197. The Jpn. form can be alternatively compared with PTM **dargi* 'harpoon'.

✱**č'amo** to suffer hardships: Tung. ***čamu-li-**; Mong. ***čima-**; Turk. ***čAm**; Jpn. ***tamar-**; Kor. ***čămh-**.

PTung. ***čamu-li-** to eat smth. alone, be not willing to share (съесть что-л. одному (не поделиться)): Neg. *čamulį-*.

◊ TMC 2, 383. Attested only in Neg., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***čima-** 1 to want or demand more, be dissatisfied 2 queasy (1 быть неудовлетворенным 2 придирчивый, разборчивый): WMong. *čamaɣaŋ* 2, *čima-la-, čima-rqa-, čama-rqa-* 1 (L 184); Kh. *camān* 2, *čamla-, čamarxa-, camārxa-* 2.

PTurk. ***čAm** 1 a backbiting man 2 to exact a fine 3 claim 4 reproach 5 to be offended 6 to be angry (1 клеветник 2 штрафовать 3 претензия, рекламация (юрид.) 4 упрек 5 обижаться 6 сердиться): OTurk. *čam* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čamɣuq* 1 (MK); Khal. *čammal-tur-* 'to look nervous, angry'; MTurk. *čam-la-* 'to speak with disgust' (R, Pav. C.); Kirgh. *čam-da-n-* 4; Kaz. *šam* 'that which causes offence', *šam-da-n-* 4; KBalk. *čam* 'joke, mockery', *čam-la-n-* 6; KKalp. *šam-la-n-* 5, *šam-šıl* 'resentful, sensitive'; Nogh. *šam-la-n-* 6; SUygh. *č'imig* 'badly'; Oyr. *čam* (dial., R) 4, *čam-da-l-* (dial., R) 5.

◊ EDT 421-422, 423, VEWT 98, D-T 97. At least part of the forms may ultimately have a Chinese source (MC *zậm* 'slander'). Cf. also *čaman* 'lazy horse, dog'; Tur. *čamura jat-* 'to

decline from paying a debt' (slang; lit. 'to lie down in dirt' - perhaps a reanalysis based on the analogy with *čamur* 'dirt', cf. also *čamur* (metaph.) 'low, humble').

PJpn. ***tamar-** to endure, bear (терпеть, выносить): Tok. *tamar-*.

PKor. ***čămh-** to endure, to bear (терпеть, выносить): MKor. *čhăm-*; Mod. *čhām-*.

◊ Nam 448, KED 1571.

‖ The Kor. form reflects an earlier **čămh-* < **čam(o)-g-*, with a velar suffix (cf. the Mong. form). The root is sufficiently attested in Mong. and Kor.; but the Turkic forms may have a borrowed origin, the TM and Jpn. forms are attested worse, so the archaic nature of the root is somewhat dubious.

✱**č'ámo (~ -e-)** a k. of tree: Mong. ***čöme-sü ?**; Turk. ***čAm**; Jpn. ***támú-kui**; Kor. ***čămh**.

PMong. ***čöme-sü ?** bird-cherry, cornel (черемуха, кизил): Kalm. *cöms*.

◊ KW 432.

PTurk. ***čAm** 1 pine tree 2 fir-needle (1 сосна 2 хвоя): Tur. *čam* 1, *čam japrayı* 2; Gag. *čam* 1; Az. *šam* 1; MTurk. *čam ayač* 1 (Pav. C.); Krm. *čam*, cam 1; Khak. *sabal* 2; Shr. *šabal* 2.

◊ VEWT 97. Dmitrieva (Дмитриева 1979, 205) derives the Oghuz word for 'fir-tree' from Arab. *šam* 'candle', which is dubious phonetically and unlikely because of the Khak. and Shor forms (pointing to **čamal*); more probably an original Turkic root, although localized.

PJpn. ***támú-kui** ash-tree (ясень): MJpn. *támúki*.

◊ JLTT 540.

PKor. ***čămh** oak-tree (вид дуба): MKor. *čhăm-nam'u*; Mod. *čham-namu*.

◊ Liu 692, KED 1571.

‖ SKE 47. It is worth noting that the Korean word also means 'sesame' or 'anise' (in compounds, see KED 1570, 1571): this may be in fact a merger with the reflex of PA **č'i̯umu* 'seed, cone' (q.v.).

✱**č'ámro** a k. of small animal: Tung. ***čamduk-**; Mong. ***čindaga**; Turk. ***čārba- (*čārma-)**.

PTung. ***čamduk-** 1 mouse 2 tarbagan (1 мышь 2 тарбаган): Evk. *čamukčān* 1; Evn. *čāmъ̄ŋ* 2, *čāmъ̄ŋčan* 1; Orch. *čunduki* 1; Ud. *čundihe* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 383, 390. The relation of Evn. *čīdъ̄ya* 'polar suslik' is not quite clear (< Mong. 'hare'?).

PMong. ***čindaga** white hare (заяц-беляк): WMong. *čindaγa(n)* (L 188); Kh. *čandaga*; Bur. *šandaga(n)*; Kalm. *čindəγən*; Ord. *čindaGa(n)*; Dag. *šandag* (Тод. Дар. 183).

◊ KW 441. Mong. > Man. *čindaχan* 'snow rabbit, Lepus timidus' (Rozycki 48).

PTurk. ***čārba- (*čārma-)** 1 squirrel 2 sable, marten (1 белка 2 соболь, куница): Khak. *sarbax* 1; Shr. *šarbaq* 1; Oyr. *čirbiq* 1; Yak. *sārba* 2.

◊ VEWT 100, 403. A regional Siberian root.

‖ Дыбо 8, Лексика 166. A Western isogloss, with a specific development of the medial cluster *-mr-.

***č'àńè (~ *č-, -e-)** building: Jpn. ***tànà**; Kor. ***čáń.**

PJpn. ***tànà** building, residence (здание, резиденция): OJpn. *tono*; MJpn. *tònò*; Tok. *tono*.

◊ JLTT 550.

PKor. ***čáń** city wall, fortress, (KED) mountain pass (городская стена, крепость, (KED) горный перевал): MKor. *čás* (< **čáń*); Mod. *čä*.

◊ Nam 418, KED 1409. Only the later form *čás* is attested in MKor., but the modern form *čä* points unambiguosly to **-ń-*.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps also Dag. *čēn* 'town' (Тод. Даг. 181).

***č'aŋo** people, gathering: Tung. ***čaŋit**; Mong. ***čiɣul-**; Jpn. ***tami**; Kor. ***č(j)ōŋ.**

PTung. ***čaŋit** 1 robber 2 enemy, clan enmity (1 разбойник 2 враг, родовая вражда): Evk. *čaŋit* 1; Nan. *čaŋgiči-* 'to wait for a convenient time for retaliation' (On.); Ork. *taŋičį* 2; Orch. *čaŋiti* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 384. Evk. > Dolg. *čaŋit, čaŋit* (see Stachowski 72).

PMong. ***čiɣul-** 1 to gather (of public) 2 public assembly, society (1 собираться 2 народное собрание, общество): WMong. *čiɣul-* 1, *čiɣulɣan* 2 (L 178); Kh. *čūla-* 1, *čūlgan* 2; Ord. *čūl-* 1, *čūlGan* 2.

◊ Mong.> Evk. *suglān* 'gathering', see Аникин 509.

PJpn. ***tami** people, subjects (народ, подданные): OJpn. *tam(j)i*; MJpn. *tàmì*; Tok. *támi*; Kyo. *támì*; Kag. *támi*.

PKor. ***č(j)ōŋ** slave (раб): MKor. *čjōŋ*; Mod. *čōŋ*.

◊ Nam 433, KED 1483.

◊ JLTT 540. Accent in Tokyo and Kagoshima is quite irregular (reflecting an early borrowing < Kyoto?).

‖ Jpn. and Mong. suggest that the original meaning was "people, public gathering"; in TM and Korean the root shifted the meaning to "foreign people" > (TM) "enemies, robbers", Kor. "slave(s)".

***č'ăp'a (~ -u, -i)** to chop, hit: Tung. ***čapka**; Mong. ***čabči-**; Turk. ***čap-**; Kor. ***čak-**.

PTung. ***čapka** fish spear (острога): Evk. *čapka*; Neg. *čapka*; Ul. *čaqpa*; Ork. *čapqa*; Nan. *čaqpā*.

◊ TMC 2, 384.

PMong. ***čabči-** to chop, mow (колоть, рубить, косить): MMong. *č[e]wča-* (IM), *čabči-* (MA); WMong. *čabči-* (L 154); Kh. *cavči-*; Bur. *sabša-*; Kalm. *capči-*, *čapči-*; Ord. *ǯabči-*; Dag. *čirč-* (Тод. Даг. 181 *čerči-*), *čarči-*; Dong. *čiǯi-*; Bao. *čəbči-*; S.-Yugh. *ǯabča-*; Mongr. *ǯabśǯi-* (SM 76), *ćavći-* (Huzu), *čabǯi* (Minghe).

◊ KW 437, MGCD 555. Mong. > Man. *sabči-*, Nan. *čapči-* etc., see Doerfer MT 115, Rozycki 172; > Kirgh. *čapči-* 'бить ногой (о лошади)'.

PTurk. ***čap-*** 1 to beat, hit 2 to attack, rob 3 chisel 4 hack, hoe, hatchet 5 to chop 6 to scythe, mow 7 to dig 8 to break 9 sharp 10 scythe 11 to whet, sharpen (a scythe) 12 metal shavings after forging 13 trap 14 whetstone for sharpening scythes 15 to whip 16 to hack, adze 17 shavings 18 booty 19 currycomb (1 бить, ударять 2 нападать, грабить 3 резец 4 мотыга, тяпка, сечка 5 рубить 6 косить 7 копать (кетменем) 8 разламывать 9 острый 10 коса 11 точить (косу) 12 обсечки металла при ковке 13 капкан 14 брусок для точки кос 15 хлестать 16 тесать 17 стружка 18 добыча, трофей 19 скребница): Karakh. *čap-* 1 (MK); Tur. *čap-* 2, *čapla* 3, *čapa* 4, *čapak* 12; Gag. *čapanaq* 18; Az. *čap-* 5, 2; Turkm. *čap-* 5, 2, *čapGi* 4, *čapGir* 9; Sal. *čap-*, *ča'-* 1 (ССЯ); Khal. *čap-* 2; MTurk. *čap-* 5, 2 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *čɔp-* 5, 7, *čɔpqi* 4; Uygh. *čap-* 5, 6, *čapqu* 4; Krm. *cap-* 1; *čap-* 1, 5, *čapa* 19; Tat. *čap/b-* 5, 6, 1, *čapqi* 4; Bashk. *sap/b-* 6, 5, 1, *sapqi* 4; Kirgh. *čap/b-* 5, 7, 1, *čapqi* 4, 10; Kaz. *šap/b-* 5, 6, 2, *šapqi* 4; KBalk. *čab-* 2; KKalp. *šap/b-* 5, 6, 2; Kum. *čap-* 5, *čapɣi* 4; Nogh. *šap/b-* 5, *šapqi* 4; SUygh. *ča'p-* 1, 5, 8; Khak. *sap-* 1, 5, 6, *saxpi*, *sapxi* 10; Shr. *šap-* 1, 6, *šapqi* 13; Oyr. *čap-* 5, 6, *čapqi* 10, 13; Tv. *šap-* 1, 2, *šap-ta-* 15; Tof. *šap-ti* 17, *šapti-la-* 16; Chuv. *śop-* 1, 11, *śopkaś* 14; Yak. *sabā-* 1.

◊ VEWT 99, EDT 394, Егоров 203, 219, Федотов 2, 85, 137-8, Ашм. XII, 247-249.

PKor. ***čak-*** fish spear (острога, гарпун): Mod. *čak-sal*, *čak-suŋi*.

◊ KED 1387.

‖ KW 437, ОСНЯ 1, 201. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 112. Several subgroups reflect a PA derivative **čʻapʻ(V)-kʻV* (PT **čapki* = PTM **čapka* = Kor. **čak-* (< **čapk-*)).

✱**čʻăpʻa (~ -u, -i)** glue, clay: Tung. ***čapa***; Mong. ***čabaɣ(u)***; Turk. ***čap-***.

PTung. ***čapa*** 1 fish roe, caviar 2 white clay (1 рыбья икра 2 белая глина): Evk. *čapa* 1, *čapida*, *čawiža* 2; Neg. *čapa* 1; Nan. *čapa* 1; Orch. *čapa* 1; Ud. *čafa* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 74, 384.

PMong. ***čaba-*** glue, fish glue (клей, рыбий клей): MMong. *č[a]bsun* (IM); WMong. *čabaɣu* (L 154) *čabau* (DO 697); Kh. *cavū(n)*; Bur. *sabū(n)*; Kalm. *cawəg*; Ord. *čawū*; Dag. *čagu*.

◊ KW 423, MGCD 1697.

PTurk. ***čap-*** 1 to plaster 2 eye pus 3 to puncture (a tumour, furuncle) (1 мазать, залеплять, обмазывать 2 глазной гной 3 прокалывать (опухоль, нарыв)): Karakh. *čap-* 1 (MK); Tur. *čapak* 2; Gag. *čapaq* 2; Uzb. *čapi-* 1; Uygh. *čap-li-* 1, *čapaq* 2; Kirgh. *čap-ta-* 1, *čabaq-ta-* 3; Kaz. *šabaq-ta-* 3; KKalp. *šabaq-ša-la-* 3; Kum. (aq) *čap-* 'to blanch, pipeclay'; Tv. *šap-* 'to pour water and stamp (ground)'(?); Chuv. *śop-* 'заворачивать пирог'.

◊ VEWT 99, EDT 394, Ашм. XII, 248. Turk. > Hung. *csipa* 'eye pus' (<**čapaγ*), see Gombocz 1912.

‖ KW 423. A Western isogloss.

***č'ap'i (~ *č'ep'a)** a k. of horned animal: Mong. ***čaγa**; Turk. ***čepiĺ**.

PMong. ***čaγa** reindeer (олень (домашний)): WMong. *čaγa* (L 154: *ča*); Kh. *cā*; Bur. *sagān* 'breeding reindeer'; Kalm. *cā* (KPC).

PTurk. ***čepiĺ** a half-year or 1-year-old kid ((полу)годовалый козленок): Karakh. *čepiš* (MK); Tur. *čepiš, čepič*; Az. *čäpiš*; Turkm. *čebiš*; Khal. *čapiš* (< Az.?); Uygh. *čivič*; Kirgh. *čebič*; KBalk. *čemič*; Kum. *čebič*.

◊ VEWT 105, EDT 399, Щербак 1961, 120. Cf. also Chag. *čiber* 'mountain goat' (R). The reflex -b- in Turkm. and Uygh. may be an indication of original vowel length (?) Shcherbak's hypothesis of the word being borrowed < Iranian is dubious; Pers. *čapiš, čapuš* itself may well be borrowed < Turkic. In any case, the Persian form cannot be a regular IE match for Lat. *caper*. Cf. WH 1, 157, sub caper: "Np. čapiš...lautlich unmöglich"; indeed, Common Iranian -p- (< IE -p-) > Mod. Pers. and NW-Iran. -b-, in exceptional cases -v- (Расторгуева ЗИФ 114-115); a parallel for *caper* may perhaps be found in Sak. *caų*, Osset. *cäv* 'goat' (see Аб. 1, 307, Bailey 105). One should mention the problematic "Wanderformen" Rum. *cap*, Alb. *tsap*, Ital. dial. *cappo*, Crim.-Goth. *stap*, Slav. **cápъ* 'he-goat'; cf. also Oyr. *čāp* 'one year-old roebuck' (< Mong.?). See Трубачев 1960, 89-90, Orel 47 with literature; note especially Hubschmid's (1954, 49) hypothesis of the Turkic origin of this Wanderwort.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. There are alternatives: the Mong. form can be compared with Evk. *čenekū, čeŋek* 'reindeer' (TMC 2, 421), while the Turkic may be compared with Evk. *čubukī, čêwakūn* 'mountain ram' (TMC 2, 410). On the whole, a rather obscure case: cf. Хелимский 2000, 286 on a possibility of the Mongolian word being borrowed < Sam.

***č'are (~ -ŕ-, -o)** bare, barefooted: Tung. ***čara-ku**; Mong. ***čira-ma**.

PTung. ***čara-ku** barefooted (босой): Ul. *čaraqu*; Nan. *čaraqō*.

◊ TMC 2, 385.

PMong. ***čira-ma** naked, bare, nude (голый): WMong. *čirama, čirma* (L 192); Kh. *čarmā*; Kalm. *čirm̥*.

◊ KW 442.

‖ A Tung.-Mong. isogloss.

***č'àro** to cut off, tear off: Tung. ***čari-**; Turk. ***čar**; Jpn. ***tàt-**; Kor. ***čări-**.

PTung. ***čari-** to tear (рвать): Evk. *čari-*.

◊ TMC 2, 385. Attested only in Evk., but with probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***čar** 1 whetstone 2 sickle 3 to whet (1 точильный камень 2 серп 3 точить): Sal. *čār-* 'to cut, stick in' (ССЯ: Udzh.); MTurk. *čar-la-* 3 (Pav. C.); Tat. *čar* 1, 'mill stone', *čar-la-* 3; Bashk. *sar* 1; Kaz. *šar* 1; KKalp. *šar* 1; Kum. *čar* 1, 'spool'; Nogh. *šar* 1; Shr. *šar* 1; Oyr. *čar* 1; Chuv. *śorla* 2; Yak. *sardaγa, sardāna* 'short heavy arrow with a broad head' (Пек.).

◊ VEWT 99-100, Егоров 221, Федотов 2, 143 (borrowing < FU **śorva* 'horn' is hardly credible). Bulg. > Hung. *sarló* 'sickle', see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 494-495. The root is

certainly genuine, although some influence of the Iranian *čarik, čarx* 'wheel' could have existed.

PJpn. ***tàt-*** to cut, cut off (резать, отрезать): OJpn. tat-; MJpn. *tàt-*; Tok. *tát-*; Kyo. *tàt-*; Kag. *tàt-*.

◊ JLTT 766.

PKor. ***čări-*** to cut off, chop off (отрезать, отрубать): MKor. *čări-*; Mod. *čari-*.

◊ Nam 413, KED 1376.

‖ Martin 229, АПиПЯЯ 76, ОСНЯ 1, 209. The Japanese form may be alternatively derived from PA **t'at'V* q.v.

✱**č'ăǯV** cheek, cheekbone: Tung. ***ǯaǯi-***; Mong. ***ǯaǯi-***; Turk. ***čAj-na-***.

PTung. ***ǯaǯi-*** cheekbone (скула): Man. *ǯaǯin*; Ul. *ǯaǯiqta*; Nan. *ǯaŋǯiχta*.

◊ TMC 1, 242.

PMong. ***ǯaǯi-*** 1 to chew 2 part of cheek (1 жевать 2 часть щеки): MMong. *ǯeaǯolom-* 1 (IM); WMong. *ǯaǯi-la-* (L 1041: *ǯaǯil-*) 1, *ǯaǯi-γur* 2 (L 1041); Kh. *ǯaǯla-* 1, *ǯaǯūr* 2; Bur. *žažal-, zažal-* 1; Kalm. *ǯaǯḷ-* 1 (KPC); Ord. *ǯaǯil-* 1; Mog. *ǯaǯul-* 1 (Weiers), *ǯaǯi-* 1 (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *ǯeǯile-* 1; Dong. *ǯaǯulu-* 1; Bao. *ǯɛǯal-* 1; S.-Yugh. *ǯaǯil-* 1; Mongr. *ǯaǯili-* (SM 77), *ǯaǯilə-* 1.

◊ MGCD 422.

PTurk. ***čAj-na-*** 1 to chew 2 to bite (1 жевать 2 кусать): Tur. *čiγne-, čejne-* 1 (R); Gag. *čīne-* 1; Az. *čejnä-* 1; Turkm. *čejne-* 1; Sal. *čene-, čäinä-* 1 (ССЯ); MTurk. *čajna-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čajna-* 1; Uygh. *čajna-* 1; Krm. *cajna-, čajna-, čejne-* 1; Tat. *čɛjnɛ-* 1, 2; Bashk. *säjnä-* 1; Kirgh. *čajna-* 1; Kaz. *šajna-* 1; KBalk. *čajna-* 1; KKalp. *šajna-* 2; Kum. *čajna-* 1; Nogh. *šajna-* 1; Khak. *tajna-* 1; Shr. *tajna-* 1; Oyr. *čajna-* 1; Tv. *dajna-* 1; Tof. *tajna-* 1.

◊ VEWT 95, Расс. Фил 168. Forms with t- in some Siberian languages are rather enigmatic.

‖ Дыбо 5, Лексика 220. A Western isogloss. In Mong. and TM one has to presume an early assimilation (**ǯaǯi-* < **čaǯi-*).

✱**č'ébV** branch, forked branch; staff: Tung. ***čebu-(gan)***; Mong. ***čib-***; Turk. ***čĀb-***.

PTung. ***čebu-(gan)*** 1 lever 2 forked branch 3 brace, clinch (1 рычаг 2 раздвоенная ветка (подпорка для подвешивания котла над огнем) 3 скоба, крепеж): Evk. *čewe* 2; Man. *čoban* 1; Nan. *čebe* 3 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 401, 419.

PMong. ***čib-*** whip, lash (плеть, кнут): MMong. *čiču'a* (SH); WMong. *čibčirga* (L 174); Kh. *čavčirga*; Ord. *ǰibčarGa*; Mongr. *śźū* (SM 393).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *čečuγa* etc., see Doerfer MT 78, Rozycki 180; > Chag. *čupčuryа*

PTurk. ***čĀb-*** whip-lash (плеть): Karakh. *čavɨγ, čaγɨγ* (MK); Tur. *čavun* 'leather whip'; Turkm. *čāv-la-* 'to lash with a rod, whip'; Tv. ? *šavɨ-la-* 'to lash (of branches)'; Chuv. *čъvъš* 'sound of the whip or rod', *čъʷvaš-la-* 'to lash'.

◊ EDT 395. See also under **čĭp*.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. also **č'ĭpV, *č'ĭp'a*.

č'éč'í** to press, squeeze: Tung. ***čeče-re-; Jpn. ***tíntí-***; Kor. ***čìčír-***.

PTung. ***čeče-re-*** to press, squeeze in arms (жать, сжимать в объятиях): Man. *čečere-*.

◊ TMC 2, 422. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable Kor.-Jpn. parallels.

PJpn. ***tíntí-*** to press, compress (сдавливать): MJpn. *tidi-k-*; Tok. *chìjime-*; Kyo. *chíjímé-*; Kag. *chijimé-*.

◊ JLTT 768.

PKor. ***čìčír-*** to press down (давить, придавливать): MKor. *čìčír-*; Mod. *čiǯiri-*.

◊ Nam 443, KED 1537.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

č'eč'u** flower: Turk. ***čeček; Jpn. ***tutu(n)si***.

PTurk. ***čeček*** 1 flower 2 chicken-pox (1 цветок 2 оспа): OTurk. *čeček* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *čeček* (KB) 1; Tur. *čiček* 1, 2; Gag. *čiček* 1, 2; Az. *čičäk* 1, 2; Turkm. *čeček* 1; Sal. *čičex* (ССЯ) 1, 'bud'; MTurk. *čeček* (Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *čečak* 1, 2; Uygh. *čečäk* 1, 2; Krm. *čiček, čeček* 1, 2; Tat. *čəčək* 1, 2; Bashk. *säsäk* 2, *säskä* 1; Kirgh. *čeček* 2; *aq čeček* 'a k. of tree', *čečekej* 'crystalline lens'; Kaz. *šešek* 1, 2; KBalk. *čeček* 2; KKalp. *šešek* 2; Kum. *čeček* 1, 2; Nogh. *šešek* 1, *šešekej* 2; SUygh. *č'uǯug*; Oyr. *čeček* 1; Chuv. *śeśke* 'flower, leaf'.

◊ VEWT 102, EDT 400-401, *Лексика* 120. Turk. > Mong. *čečeg*, see TMN 3, 57, Щербак 1997, 112. Kypch. > Chuv. *čečče, čeček* (see Егоров 322, Федотов 2, 408-409); some Turkic forms (Tuva *čeček*, perhaps also Oyr. *čeček* and some of the Kypchak forms) may be borrowed back < Mong.

PJpn. ***tutu(n)si*** a k. of rhododendron (вид рододендрона): OJpn. *tutuzi*; MJpn. *tùdùsí*; Tok. *tsutsúji*; Kyo. *tsútsùjì*; Kag. *tsutsúji*.

◊ JLTT 558. Accent reconstruction unclear.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss; not quite reliable. Cf. **č'[i]č'V*: one cannot exclude that this is the same expressive root (*'sprout'), with some irregular developments.

č'egV(nV)** a k. of insect: Tung. ***čegene-; Mong. ***čeγV- / *čiγV-***; Kor. ***čìnə̀i***.

PTung. ***čegene-*** crayfish (рак): Neg. *čeγenex*; Ul. *čẽni*; Ork. *teinei*; Nan. *čēnī*; Orch. *čeŋei*; Ud. *čendeuxie*.

◊ TMC 2, 419.

PMong. ***čeɣV- / *čiɣV-*** 1 locust 2 multiped, wood louse (вид насекомого): MMong. *čəurge* 1 (HY 12); WMong. *čigigči* 2 (L 179); Kh. *čijgč* 2; Bur. *šīgej* 2; Kalm. *čīgən* 2.

◊ The WMong. and modern forms may have been influenced by *čiɣig* 'wet' (semantically cf. Russ. мокрица 'wood louse' < мокрый 'wet').

PKor. ***činə́i*** centipede,multipede (стоножка, многоножка): MKor. *činə́i*; Mod. *čine*.

◊ Liu 681, KED 1527.

‖ The TM and Kor. forms reflect a common *-n-suffixation.

✱**č'ĕk'à (~ -i̯a-)** to strike fire: Tung. ***či(K)u- (~ -e-)***; Mong. ***čaki-***; Turk. ***č(i)ak-***; Jpn. ***ták-***; Kor. ***čhắ-***.

PTung. ***či(K)u- (~ -e-)*** fire steel (кресало, огниво): Ul. *čiu(n)*; Ork. *ču*; Nan. *čiū*; Ud. *cui* (arch.) (Корм. 311).

◊ TMC 2, 400.

PMong. ***čaki-*** to strike fire (высекать огонь): MMong. *čaqi-* (MA); WMong. *čaki-*, *čakil-* (L 161); Kh. *caxi-*, *caxila-*; Bur. *saxil-*; Kalm. *cak-*, *cakl̥-*, *cäkl̥-*; Ord. *ǯakil-* 'to scintillate, glare, lighten'; Mog. ZM *čaqeldour* (19-5b) 'moonshine'; Dag. *čakil-* (Тод. Дар. 180 *čakilgān* 'lightning').

◊ KW 420, 424. Mong. > Evk. *čakêlga*, see Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***č(i)ak-*** 1 to strike fire 2 flint, fire steel (1 высекать огонь 2 кремень, огниво): OTurk. *čaq-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *čaq-* (MK) 1; Tur. *čak-* 1; Gag. *čaq-* 1; Az. *čax-* 1; Turkm. *čaq-* 1; Khal. *čaqmaq* 2; MTurk. *čaq-* (Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *čaq-* 1; Uygh. *čaqmaq-taš* 2; Krm. *čaq-* 1; Tat. *čaq-* 1; Bashk. *saɣ-/saq-* 1; Kirgh. *čaq-* 1; KBalk. *čaɣ-/čaq-* 'to produce sparks, shoot from a flint gun'; KKalp. *šaq-* 1; Kum. *čaq-* 'to pull the trigger', *čaqma* 2; Nogh. *šaqpa* 2; SUygh. *ča'q-* 1; Khak. *sax-* 1; Shr. *šaɣɨn* 'spark'; Oyr. *čaq-* 1; Tv. *šaq-* 1; Tof. *ča'q-* 1; Yak. *sax-* 1.

◊ VEWT 95, TMN 3, 80-81, Лексика 373. Kypch. > Chuv. *čakma* 'fire steel', whence > Mari, Udm. (Федотов 2, 387). The verb is usually regarded as one of the meanings of **čak-* 'hit, strike', but the semantics 'strike fire' is attested quite early and allows to use the Turkic material in the Altaic comparison.

PJpn. ***ták-*** to burn, put on fire (жечь, зажигать): OJpn. *tak-*; MJpn. *ták-*; Tok. *tàk-*; Kyo. *ták-*; Kag. *ták-*.

◊ JLTT 762.

PKor. ***čhắ-*** flint, silicon (кремень, кремний): MKor. *čhắ-tòr*; Mod. *čhadol*.

◊ Liu 690, KED 1562.

‖ KW 420, 424, Poppe 26, JOAL 99. Korean has a frequent vowel reduction between a stop and a fricative. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 112 (TMN 3, 82: "Onomatopoetica").

***č'èk'ù (~ *č'i̯ok'e, -k-)** handle: Turk. ***čEkük / *čEküč**; Jpn. ***tùkà**; Kor. ***čhái.**

PTurk. ***čEkük / *čEküč** hammer (молот): Karakh. *čekük* (MK: Oghuz), *čeküč* (IM); Tur. *çekiç*; Gag. *çekiç*; Az. *çäküç*; Turkm. *çekiç*; MTurk. *čeküč, čöküč* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *ǫkič* 'hack'; Krm. *cokuc, cekic, čöküč*; Tat. *čükeč*; Bashk. *sükeš*; KBalk. *čögüč*; Kum. *čöküč*; Nogh. *šökiš.*

◊ VEWT 103, EDT 415. (< Iran., see TMN 3, 85-86?). Despite EDT, hardly derived from *ček-* 'to pull'. The controversy concerning the Iranian origin of the Turkic word vs. the Turkic origin of the Modern Persian one (see Doerfer, Clauson), should be probably resolved as follows: Old Persian (= Av. *cakuš-* 'axe / hammer for throwing') > Pers. *čakuš* 'hammer'; but Pers. *čekoč, čekoǯ* are phonetically aberrant (see Horn 99) and should be regarded as Turkisms; Pers. *čekuš* is a mixed form. The source of Pers. *čekoč* is Turk. *čeküč* - a diminutive in -č for the form *čekük*. Turkic forms in -š (Khal. *čäkkuš*, Kirgh. *čöküš*, KKalp. *šökkiš*, possibly also Nogh. *šökiš*, Bashk. *sükeš*) may be iranisms. Turk. > Mong. *čeküč* (see Щербак 1997, 112).

PJpn. ***tùkà** handle (ручка): OJpn. *tuka*; MJpn. *tùkà*; Tok. *tsuká*; Kyo. *tsúkà*; Kag. *tsúka.*

◊ JLTT 554. Tone in Kagoshima is irregular (all other evidence points to **tùkà).*

PKor. ***čhái** whip; handle (кнут; ручка): MKor. *čhái*; Mod. *čhä, čhä-č:ik.*

◊ Nam 449, KED 1576.

‖ Korean has a usual vowel loss between a stop and a fricative.

***č'ek'V** part of shoulder close to neck: Mong. ***čekerej**; Turk. ***čekn.**

PMong. ***čekerej** part of breast (close to upper spine) (часть груди (у верхней части позвоночника)): MMong. *čekerei* (SH).

PTurk. ***čekn** part of shoulder between the neck and shoulderblade (часть плеча между шеей и лопаткой): OTurk. *čikin* (OUygh.); Tur. *çekin*, dial. *çeɣin, çeɣn*; Az. *çijin*; Turkm. *çigin*; Khal. *čïn*; MTurk. *čikin* (Abush., Sangl.); Chuv. *śan* 'body'.

◊ EDT 415, VEWT 103, Дыбо 129-130, Лексика 238-239 (see there about details of phonetic reconstruction).

‖ Дыбо 308; Дыбо 130-131, Лексика 238-239 (but Evk. *čeke* 'throat, palate' should rather be derived < **šek'a* q.v.): A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

***č'ēk'V** a k. of cloth: Tung. ***čeKe**; Mong. ***čegedeg**; Turk. ***čĒk-**; Kor. ***čjək-.**

PTung. ***čeKe** 1 upper short clothes 2 velvet (1 короткая верхняя одежда 2 бархат): Man. *čeke* 1, *čekemu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 419 (other forms: Oroch, Ul., Nan. *čeke* 'velvet' may be borrowed from Manchu).

PMong. ***čegedeg** a k. of cloth, short shirt (вид ткани, короткая рубашка): WMong. *čegedeg* (L 169); Kh. *cegdeg, cegēdeg*; Kalm. *cegədeg*; Ord. *čigedek* 'touloupe courte'.

◊ KW 426.

PTurk. ***čĒk-*** 1 woven cotton fabric 2 cotton shirt 3 woollen cloth 4 a k. of upper clothes (jacket, trousers, cloak) (1 хлопковая ткань 2 хлопковая рубашка 3 шерстяная ткань 4 вид верхней одежды (куртка, шаровары, плащ)): OTurk. *čekrek* 2 (OUygh. - XIV c.); Karakh. *čekrek* 2 (MK); Tur. *čekmen, čäpkän* 4; Turkm. *čăkmen* 'gown'; MTurk. *čekmen* 4, 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čakmɔn* 4; Uygh. *čäkmän* 4; Krm. *cekmen, čekmän* 3; Tat. *čikmɛn* 4; Bashk. *säkmän* 4; Kirgh. *čekmen, čepken* 3, 4; KBalk. *čepken* 3, 4; Oyr. *čekpen, čepken* 3, 4; Tv. *šekpen* 3, 4; Tof. *šekpen* 3.

◊ VEWT 103, EDT 416, 413.

PKor. ***čjə́k-*** shirt, coat (рубашка, куртка): MKor. *čjə́k-sàm*; Mod. *čəksam, čəgori*.

◊ Nam 425, KED 1418, 1425.

‖ KW 426, SKE 27. A cultural term, but borrowing (either in Mong. < Turk. or in Manchu < Mong.) is hardly possible. The Kor. form is somewhat dubious (tone does not correspond to Turkic; perhaps we should regard it as an old loan < Manchu; if it is not, a reconstruction **č'ējk'V* is possible). Mong. -g- speaks in favour of PA *-k-, but may be a result of assimilation (before -deg, like **ogo-da-su* < **oko-da-su*), thus (on Korean evidence) more probable is the reconstruction of *k'.

č'ep'à** rag: Mong. ***čoɣu-da-; Turk. ***čepürek***; Jpn. ***tapai***; Kor. ***čapa- (~ -ă-)***.

PMong. ***čoɣu-da-*** strip, long narrow piece (полоска, длинный узкий кусок): WMong. *čoɣudasu(n)* (L 195); Kh. *cūdas*.

PTurk. ***čepürek*** 1 rag, patch 2 worn, used clothing (1 тряпка, лохмотья 2 изношенная одежда): OTurk. *čopra* (perhaps = *čöpre*) 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čöpür-čepür* ; *čopra* (~ *čübrä*) 2 (MK); Turkm. *čüprek* 'oakum'; MTurk. (OKypch.) *čüprek* 1 (Houts.); Krm. *čiprek, ciprek, čüpräk* 1; Tat. *čüpräk* 1; Bashk. *sepräk* 1; Kirgh. *čüpürek, čüpürek-čapɨraq* 1; KKalp. *šüberek* 1; Kum. *čüpürek* 1; Nogh. *šiberek, šüberek* 1; Khak. *sübrek* 1; Shr. *šübürek* 1; Oyr. *čeberek, čibirek* 1.

◊ EDT 398, VEWT 118 (confused with **čöp* 'dirt'), Аникин 677. Perhaps (as suggested in EDT 398) connected with Karakh. (MK) *čöpür* 'goat's hair', Chag., Turkm. *čöpür* id.

PJpn. ***tapai*** a k. of cloth (made of bast), cloth in general (вид ткани (из лыка), ткань вообще): OJpn. *tape*; MJpn. *tafe*; Tok. *shiro-tae*.

◊ JLTT 537.

PKor. ***čapa- (~ -ă-)*** rags, odd ends of paper or cloth (тряпка, лоскутья): Mod. *čabägi*.

◊ KED 1379.

‖ Mong. **čoɣu-da-* - with a secondary (usual) labialization < **čaɣu-da-*. Cf. also **č'ɨop'a*, from which this root is sometimes difficult to distinguish.

***č'ép'u** ulcer, furuncle: Tung. ***čepe**; Mong. ***čijigan**; Turk. ***čīpgan**; Kor. ***čjūpók**.

PTung. ***čepe** ulcer, pustule (*лишай, нарыв, прыщ*): Evk. *čepe*.

◊ TMC 2, 421. Attested only in Evk., but having reliable external parallels.

PMong. ***čijigan** tumour, albugo (*опухоль, бельмо*): MMong. *čeiγān* (IM), *čiqan* (MA); WMong. *čijiγan*, *čiqan*; Kh. *čīγan*, *cagān*; Bur. *šīxan*; Kalm. *cagā*, *cagā̆*; Ord. *čagā*.

◊ KW 419.

PTurk. ***čīpgan** 1 furuncle 2 rash, pimple (1 *фурункул* 2 *сыпь, прыщ*): Karakh. *čïbïqan* (MK) 1; Tur. *çïban* 1; Gag. *çïban* 1; Az. *çïban*1, *çivzä* 2; Turkm. *çïban* 1; MTurk. *çïban* (Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *čipqɔn* 1; Krm. *cïban*, *çïban* 1; Tat. *čuwan* 1, *čebi* 'цыпки'; Bashk. *säbärt-* 'обметать губы', *sebeške* 'цыпки'; Kaz. *šïjqan* 1; Nogh. *šïjqan*, dial. *šuba* 1; Shr. *šïbïryan* 2; Oyr. *čïbïtqan*, (dial. - Верб.) *čibiške* 2; Tv. *šiviški* 2; Tof. *šibiški* 2, 1; Chuv. *śъʷban*, *śъʷvan* 1.

◊ VEWT 106, EDT 396, TMN 3, 1151, Егоров 208, Федотов 2, 96. The Kaz. and Nogh. forms may be < Mong. (although they differ semantically).

PKor. ***čjūpók** furuncle, ulcer (*нарыв, прыщ*): MKor. *čjūpók*; Mod. *čubu-kho* 'red bulbous nose' (= MKor. *čjūpók-kò*).

◊ Nam 436, KED 1498.

‖ Poppe 26 (Turc-Mong). Mong. cannot be borrowed < Turk. In PT a secondary vowel narrowing has occurred (probably **čïpgan* < **čāpɨgan*); otherwise correspondences are quite regular. Note velar suffixation reflected in PT, Mong. and Kor. (PA **č'ép'u-ka-*).

***č'era (~ -o)** snow, to freeze: Mong. ***čar**; Turk. ***čar-**.

PMong. ***čar** 1 snow crust 2 to freeze (1 *наст, снежная корка* 2 *замерзать, затвердевать*): WMong. *čar* 1, *čarča-* 2 (L 165); Kh. *car* 1, *carca-* 2; Bur. *sarsa-* 2, *sarja* 'tramped snow'; Kalm. *car* 1; Ord. *ǯarča-* 2.

◊ KW 422. Mong. > Oyr. *čarča-* 'to freeze'.

PTurk. ***čar-** 1 snow dust 2 fog (1 *пороша* 2 *туман*): Karakh. (MKypch.) *čas* 2; Tur. (dial.) *çars* 2; Tat. *čas* 2 (dial.); Bashk. *sar* 'animal trace on snow'; KBalk. *čars* 2; Kum. *çars* 2; Oyr. dial. (Leb.) *šarša* 1.

◊ Лексика 29, 35. The derivative **čar-s* is somewhat peculiar morphologically and could be a loanword - from the (unattested) Mong. **čar-su(n)* (?).

‖ KW 422. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

***č'ibe** to twist, turn: Tung. ***čib-**; Mong. ***čüw**; Turk. ***čebir-**.

PTung. ***čib-** to wriggle, roll (*извиваться, кататься*): Evk. *čiwar-*.

◊ TMC 2, 389. Cf. also Evk. *čepče-* 'to roll; to plait (a string, rope)'. An expressive and isolated root, therefore the PTM reconstruction is dubious.

PMong. ***čüw** ring (*кольцо*): WMong. *čü* (MXTTT); Kh. *cū̆*; Bur. *süj*.

PTurk. ***čebir-** 1 to twist, turn 2 round (1 *крутить, поворачивать* 2 *круглый*): Karakh. *čevür-* 1 (MK); Tur. *çevir-* 1; Gag. *çevir-* 1, *çevrä* 2; Az.

čevir- 1; Turkm. *čövür-* 1; MTurk. *čewür-* 1 (Sangl.); Uygh. *čäbir-* 1; Krm. *civir-, čevir-* 1, *civre* 2; KBalk. *čüjür-* 'to tuck', *čüjre* 'contrariwise'; Kum. *čüjür-* 'to wrap'; Nogh. *šüjir-* 'to twiddle a whirligig'; Chuv. *śavar-/śar-* 1, *śavra* 2; Yak. *sebirij-* 'to uncoil (of a twisted rope)'.

◊ VEWT 102, EDT 398, Егоров 201-201, Федотов 2, 80. Despite VEWT, there are no reasons to regard the Chuv. word as a borrowing.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 287. A Western isogloss; Mong. **čüw* < **čiw* with secondary assimilative labialization. The PA nature of the root is somewhat dubious because of its expressive meaning and the isolatedness of Evenki forms.

✱**č'[i]č'V** spout, prick, penis: Tung. ***čiču**; Mong. ***čiči-**; Kor. ***čǎči**.

PTung. ***čiču** 1 penis 2 spout (of a tea-pot) (1 penis 2 носик (чайника)): Man. *čočo* 1; Ul. *čičų* 1,2; Ork. *tųtų* 1; Nan. *čičiqo* 2; Ud. *čičko* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 403.

PMong. ***čiči-** 1 to prick 2 prick, thorn, sprout (1 колоть, прокалывать 2 шип, росток): MMong. *čičigina* 'Krautwurzel' (SH); WMong. *čiči-* 1, *čičigür, čičijesü(n), čičiγesü(n)* 2 (L 176); Kh. *čiči-* 1, *čičūr* 2; Kalm. *čiča-* 1, *čičūr, čičēsn̥* 2; Ord. *žiči-* 1; Dag. *čiči-* 1 (Тод. Дат. 181).

◊ KW 442.

PKor. ***čǎči** penis (penis): Mod. *čāži* (orth. *čǎči*), *čot* [*čoč*].

◊ KED 1383, 1488.

‖ SKE 25 (Kor.-Tung.). An expressive word with not quite secure vocalic correspondences (cf. also in Turkic: Uzb. *čųčɔq* 'penis' (of a child) = Kirgh. *čüčök* 'острица, брань по поводу детей', Khal. *čučo* 'pee' (in childr. language); cf. also **č'eč'u* 'flower'.

✱**č'iju** wet, moisture: Tung. ***čikpa-**; Mong. ***čiγig**; Turk. ***čij-ik**; Jpn. ***tuju**; Kor. ***čī-n, *čhuk-**.

PTung. ***čikpa-** 1 wet 2 to become wet, soak (1 мокрый 2 мокнуть): Neg. *čip-* 2; Ul. *čiqpa* 1; Ork. *čiqpa* ~ *čipqa* 1; Nan. *čaqpa* 1; Orch. *čippa* 1; Ud. *čipa* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 398. Cf. also Evk. *čīw-* 'to flow, leak' (TMC 2, 389) which could reflect the original **čiju*.

PMong. ***čiγig** moisture (влага): WMong. *čigig* (L 179), *čig*; Kh. *čijg*; Bur. *šīg*; Kalm. *čīg*; Ord. *čīg*; S.-Yugh. *čīg*.

◊ KW 443, MGCD 568.

PTurk. ***čij, *čij-ik** 1 wet, soaking, moist 2 dew 3 moisture 4 raw (1 мокрый 2 роса 3 влага, влажный 4 сырой): Karakh. *či/čі* 3 (MK), *či-la-* 'to moisten' (MK), *čiq-* 'to absorb moisture' (MK), *čiγ-la-n-* 'to be half-cooked' (MK), *čig* 4 (IM); Tur. *čiγ, čij* 1, 2; Gag. *čij* 1, 2; Az. *čij* 'raw'; Turkm. *čīg* 1, *čīG* 2; Sal. *čix-ču* 2 (ССЯ); Uzb. *čiq* 2 (dial.), *čīγ* 1 (Хɔrazm); Krm. *čij, cij* 4, *čix* 2, 'hoar-frost'; Tat. *čiq* 2; Bashk. *sej* 4, *isiq* 2; Kirgh. *čij-ki* 4, *čiq* 2, 3; Kaz. *šiq* 2; KBalk. *čij* 4, *čiq* 2; KKalp. *šiq* 2; Kum. *čij* 4, *čiq* 2;

Nogh. *šij* 4, *šiq* 2; Khak. *six* 1, 3; Shr. *šiq* 3, *šiqtiγ* 1; Oyr. *čij* 4, *čiq* 3; Tv. *šiq* 3, 'meadow', *šiqtiγ* 1; Tof. *šiq* 1; Yak. *sīk* 2, 3; Dolg. *hīk* 2.

◊ EDT 393, 406,408, 413, 418, VEWT 107, Лексика 39, Stachowski 106. The actual reflexes are best explained if we postulate an opposition **čij* 'wet, raw' - **čij-ik* 'dew, moisture' (with further contractions). Some forms, however, could be secondarily borrowed from Mong. (see Kal. 34).

PJpn. ***tuju** dew (poca): OJpn. *tuju*; MJpn. *tuju*; Tok. *tsuyu*.

◊ JLTT 558. There is considerable confusion of three words in Japanese: a) RJ *tùjú*, Tokyo *tsúyu*, Kyoto *tsúyú*, Kag. *tsúyu* 'dew'; b) RJ *túju*, Tokyo *tsúyu*, Kyoto *tsúyù*, Kag. *tsuyú* 'juice'; Tokyo *tsùyu*, *tsúyu*, Kyoto *tsúyú*, Kag. *tsúyu* 'early rainy season'. It seems that there had existed several original words but their dialectal reflexes got hopelessly mixed up.

PKor. ***čī-n, *čhuk-** 1 fluid, liquid, sap 2 be moistened, wet (1 жидкость, сок 2 быть мокрым, влажным): MKor. *čīn* 1, *čhuk-*, *čhùk-čhùk-hă-* 2; Mod. *čīn* 1, *čhuk-*, *čhukčhuk-ha-* 2.

◊ Liu 685, 701, Nam 450, KED 1543, 1635, 1637.

‖ EAS 64, KW 443, Лексика 39. A PA derivative **č'iju-k'V* is reflected in PT **čijik* = Mong. *čiγig* = PTM **čik-* = Kor. **čhuk-*. Also here probably Kor. *čhú-m* 'phlegm'. In Japanese (perhaps also in Korean) there is some confusion of this root with **č'aju* 'resin, tar' q.v.

***č'ika (~ -u)** to stamp, ram; stamped path: Tung. ***čiKi-**; Mong. ***čig**; Turk. ***čigir**.

PTung. ***čiKi-** 1 edge, border 2 to go along the shore, come out on the shore 3 stamped snow (1 край, граница 2 идти по берегу, выходить на берег 3 утоптанный снег): Evk. *čiki* (Tomm.); Man. *čikin* 1, *čiki-ra-* 2; Nan. *čiku-le-* 2 (Kur-Urm.).

◊ TMC 2, 389, 391.

PMong. ***čig** 1 to stamp, ram 2 narrow, pressed 3 direction (1 набивать, затыкать 2 узкий, сдавленный 3 направление): WMong. *čigǯi-* 1 (L 180), *čig* 3 (L 178), *čig* 2; Kh. *čigǯ-* 1, *čig* 3; Bur. *šegžűn* 'набитый (о трубке)', *šeg* 3; Kalm. *čig* 2; Ord. *čig*; Dong. *čiGai-* 1; Bao. *čiχə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *čiGə-* 1.

◊ MGCD 569, KW 438.

PTurk. ***čigir** 1 to stamp, ram (ground) 2 stamped snow 3 boundary, limit 4 small path (1 топтать, утаптывать (землю) 2 утоптанный снег 3 граница 4 узкая тропа): Karakh. *čiγru-* 1, *čiγir* 4 (MK); Tur. *čiγir* 4, 'coomb, trace of an avalanche'; Turkm. *čiGir* 3; Khal. *čiγir* 'bad road'; MTurk. *čiγir* 'thawed spot' (Sangl.), 'snow stamped by strong wind' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čijir* 'trace'; Uygh. *čiγir jol* 4; Tat. *čiγir* 3; Kirgh. *čijir*, *čijir* 4; Kaz. *šijir* 'stamped'; KBalk. *čijir-t-* 'to stamp snow, grass'; Tv. *šīr* 2; Tof. *šīr* 'spot on snow or ground with many tracks'.

◊ VEWT 95, 107, EDT 409, 410. Cf. perhaps also PT *čig- 'to draw a line' (VEWT 110). Turk. > Mong. Khalkha čijr 'stamped road', Kalm. čir 'eaten and stamped grass' (KW 443).

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. > Tung. (Evk. čigǯan, čigle- etc.), see TMC 2, 389 (perhaps also Nan. ǯi̯Gda-, TMC 1, 255) - although Evk. čiki 'stamped snow' must be genuine.

✱**č'ȉk'à** bead, treasure: Tung. ***čiku-**; Turk. ***čEk- (~ -i-)**; Jpn. ***tàkàrà**.

PTung. ***čiku-** 1 bead 2 ornament (made of carp's bones) (1 бисер 2 украшение (из костей карпа)): Evk. *čikti* 1; Neg. *čiktį* 1; Ul. *čikukte* 2; Nan. *čiku-kte* (Sch.) 2, *čičči* 1 (Naikh.); Orch. *čixite* 1, *čukčikti* 'beads'.

◊ TMC 2, 392.

PTurk. ***čEk- (~ -i-)** silk bead embroidery (вышивка бисером по шелку): Karakh. *čikin* 'embroidered brocade' (MK); MTurk. *čikin* 'floral designs embroidered in silk' (Sangl.); Tat. *čigen* 'golden embroidery' (R - Kas.); *čig-* 'to embroider'; Bashk. *sige-* 'to embroider'; KBalk. *čij tigiš* 'вышивание гладью'.

◊ EDT 415-416, ДТС 143. Despite Clauson, cannot be < Chin.

PJpn. ***tàkàrà** treasure (сокровище): OJpn. *takara*; MJpn. *tàkàrà*; Tok. *takará*; Kyo. *tákàrà*; Kag. *takará*.

◊ JLTT 538.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term.

✱**č'ík'á** to cut, cutting instrument: Tung. ***čikā-**; Jpn. ***tánkání**.

PTung. ***čikā-** to cut, hack, chop off (отрезать, отрубать, отсекать): Evk. *čikā-*; Evn. *čiqi̯-*; Neg. *čixa-*; Man. *čikiri* 'shavings'; Ork. *čike* 'support for cutting, hacking smth.'.

◊ TMC 2, 390, 391.

PJpn. ***tánkání** chisel (долото, резец): OJpn. *tagani*; MJpn. *tágáné*; Tok. *tàgane*; Kyo. *tágáné*; Kag. *tagané*.

◊ JLTT 537 (not mentioning the OJ form). Tone in Kagoshima is aberrant. Already in MJ the word was obviously influenced by *kane* 'metal'.

‖ A Tung.-Jap. isogloss.

✱**č'ík'a (~ -o, -u)** to rise, sprout: Tung. ***čiK(i)-**; Mong. ***čiki**; Turk. ***čik-**; Kor. ***čhi-**.

PTung. ***čiK(i)-** to sprout (прорастать, подниматься из земли): Evk. *čiki-ltu-*; Man. *čiq-ǯala-*.

◊ TMC 2, 391 (cf. also Man. *čiqte-n* 'stem, stalk', *čiq-si-* 'to ripen, become grown-up').

PMong. ***čiki** 1 sprout 2 to sprout (1 росток 2 прорастать): WMong. *čiki(n)* 1, *čikile-* 2 (L 181); Kh. *čix* 1, *čixle-* 2; Bur. *šexen* 1, *šexer-* 2; Ord. *ǯiχile-* 2; Mongr. *ćigi* (SM 448) 1.

◊ Homonymous with *čiki(n)* 'ear' - but certainly quite different etymologically.

PTurk. ***čik-** to go out, come out (выходить): Karakh. *čiq-* (MK, KB); Tur. *čik-*; Gag. *čiq-*; Az. *čix-*; Turkm. *čiq-*; MTurk. *čiq-* (Abush., Sangl.);

Uzb. *čiq-*; Uygh. *čiq-*; Krm. *čɨq-*; Tat. *čɨq-*; Bashk. *sɨq-*; Kirgh. *čɨq-*; Kaz. *šɨɣ-/q-*; KBalk. *čɨɣ-/q-*; KKalp. *šɨɣ-/q-*; Kum. *čɨɣ-/q-*; Nogh. *šɨɣ-/q-*; Khak. *sɨx-*; Shr. *šɨq-*; Oyr. *čɨq-*; Yak. *sɨyarɨj-* 'to move, be displaced' (?).

◊ EDT 405-406, VEWT 107-108.

PKor. ***čhi-*** to raise, rise (поднимать, подниматься): MKor. *čhí-*; Mod. *čhi-*.

◊ Nam 452, Liu 704, KED 1655.

‖ In Kor. - a usual vowel loss between a stop and a fricative; cf. also SKE 48.

✱**č'ik'ò** straw, chaff: Tung. ***čixe-***; Mong. ***čiɣire***; Turk. ***čigit / *čigɨt (~ -k-)***; Jpn. ***təkusa***; Kor. ***čùkɨr***.

PTung. ***čixe-*** 1 straw; bast 2 stub, broom remains (1 соломинка; лыко 2 пенек, остаток от веника): Man. *čike-ku* 1; Nan. čixin 2 (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 392.

PMong. ***čiɣire*** chaff, straw (солома): MMong. *čiji'ulsun* 'matting' (HY 21); WMong. *čigire*, (L 179) *čigirsü(n)*; Kh. *čijrs*.

◊ KW 443. Mong. > Yak. *sigiri* 'мочалка из лыка, стружки'.

PTurk. ***čigit / *čigɨt (~ -k-)*** cotton seed(s) (хлопковое семя, семена): Karakh. *čigit* (MK - Argu); Tur. *čiɣɨt*, *čiɣit* 'seed; freckle'; Az. *čijid*; Turkm. *čigit* 'seed'; MTurk. *čigit* (Sangl., Pav.C); *čiɣɨt* 'spots on a pregnant woman's face' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čigit*; Uygh. *čigit*; Kirgh. *čigit*; Kaz. *šijit*; KKalp. *šigit*.

◊ EDT 414, TMN 2, 88, Лексика 116.

PJpn. ***təkusa*** a k. of horse-tail (вид хвоща): MJpn. *tòkùsà*; Tok. *tokusá*; Kyo. *tókùsà*; Kag. *tokúsa*.

◊ JLTT 549. Kagoshima reflects **tákúsá*, but all other forms reflect low tone, probably under double influence of **kùsà* 'grass' and **tùkúsi* 'horse-tail' (q.v.).

PKor. ***čùkɨr*** chaff (мякина): MKor. *čùkɨr*; Mod. *čuk-čəŋi*, *č:uk-čəŋi*.

◊ Liu 670, KED 1505.

‖ Дыбо 10, Лексика 116. In Jpn. it is difficult (but probably necessary) to distinguish the reflex of this root from **č'i̯ò̀k'e* 'forage grass' (> Jpn. **tukusi* 'horse-tail') q.v. The Mongolian form also raises problems: it probably reflects a suffixed **č'ik'rV* with a development -kr- > -ɣVr- (cf. similarly *buɣurčag* < **bŭkrV*, *uɣurga* < **uk'rukV* / **uk'urkV*); otherwise -ɣ- is very hard to explain.

✱**č'ǐk'o (~ -k-)** pivot, bolt: Tung. ***čiKi***; Mong. ***čigta***; Turk. ***čɨkanak***; Jpn. ***tikiri***; Kor. ***čítóri***.

PTung. ***čiKi*** pivot (шарнир, петля): Evk. *čiki*; Evn. *čīq*; Neg. *čix*.

◊ TMC 2, 391.

PMong. ***čigta*** lock, bolt (засов, запор): WMong. *čiɣta* (L 178); Kh. *čagt*; Bur. *šagta*; Kalm. *čiktə* 'Leit- oder Halsstrick der Kälber und Füllen'.

◊ KW 439. Mong. > Kirgh. *čiqta*. Cf. also the common Mong. **čiki(n)* 'linchpin' - formally coinciding with the word for 'ear', which may be a secondary coincidence.

PTurk. ***čikanak*** lock, pivot (засов, стержень): Tat. *ciγanak* (Sib.); Bashk. *siγanaq*, dial. *siγansaq*; Oyr. *čiγanak*, dial. *čānaq* (Верб.).

◊ Дыбо 171. It is also necessary to note Kaz. *šege*, Kirgh. *čege* 'nail', possibly going back to the same root.

PJpn. ***tikiri*** balance beam (коромысло, балансир (весов)): MJpn. *tikiri*; Tok. *chikiri*.

PKor. ***čítóri*** pivot, hinge (шарнир, петля): MKor. *čítóri*; Mod. *čidoli*.

◊ Liu 682, KED 1528. The explanation in KED < *či-* 'carry' + *tòr-* 'turn' is tonally implausible and obviously folk-etymological.

‖ Дыбо 43. Note dental suffixation in Mong. and Kor. (PA **č'ík'(o)-t'V*).

✱**č'íĺč'u** to swell: Tung. ***čilču-***; Mong. ***čulčaji- / *čelčeji- / *čili-***; Turk. ***sīĺč***; Jpn. ***tu(n)si-m-***.

PTung. ***čilču-*** swelling, gland (опухоль, железа): Evk. *čilčun*; Man. *čilčin*; SMan. *čiličin* 'wen' (151); Ul. *čulču-kte*; Nan. *čilču-kte*; Ud. *cikci* (Корм. 310).

◊ TMC 2, 394.

PMong. ***čulčaji- / *čelčeji- / *čili-*** to swell (пухнуть): WMong. *čulčaji-*, *čulčuji-* (L 206), *čelčeji-*, *čiliji-* (L 183); Kh. *culc-*, *celc-*; Bur. *sulsaj-* 'to be plump (about children)'; Kalm. *culcī-*, *čilī-*; Ord. *ǯulčʷī-* 'to be swollen'.

◊ KW 433, 440. Cf. also Khalkha *colcoŋ* 'nodule'. Mong. > Kirgh. *čulčuj-* etc.

PTurk. ***sīĺč-*** 1 to swell 2 swelling, tumour (1 пухнуть 2 опухоль): OTurk. *siš-*, *šiš-* 1, *šiš* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *siš* 2, *sišil-* 1 (MK), *šiš-* 1 (Tefs., IM); Tur. *šiš-* 1, *šiš* 2; Gag. *šiš-* 1, *šiš* 2; Az. *šiš-* 1, *šiš* 2; Turkm. *čīš-* 1, *čīš* 2; Khal. *šiš-* 1; MTurk. *šiš-* (Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *šiš-(mɔq)* 1, *šiš* 2; Uygh. *išši-(maq)* 1; Krm. *šiš-*, *sis-* 1; Tat. *šeš-* 1; Bashk. *šeš-* 1; Kirgh. *šiši-* 1; Kum. *šiš-* 1; Nogh. *sis-* 1; SUygh. *siz-* 1; Khak. *səs-* 1, *səs* 2, (Qyz.) *čəǯək* 2; Shr. *šiš-* 1, *šiš* 2; Tv. *i'š-* 1; Chuv. *šiś-* 1; Yak. *is-* 1; Dolg. *is* 2.

◊ VEWT 424, EDT 857, ДТС 524 , Егоров 341, Федотов 2, 467, Stachowski 128-129. Languages display both assimilations and dissimilations (loss) of the first consonant. Loss of length in Yak., Tuva and Tof. is not quite clear (Turkm. clearly demonstrates a long -ī-); if we take into account the Chuv. reflex (-i- corresponding to Common Turkic i/i), we should perhaps reconstruct a PT form **sījĺč-* (see Мудрак Дисс. 158).

PJpn. ***tu(n)si-m-*** to have discoloration appear on the skin (as in the bruises from a beating) (появляться (о синяках на коже)): MJpn. *tusim-*, *tuzim-*.

‖ EAS 108, KW 440, Poppe 117, Мудрак Дисс. 91, Miller 1970, 129, JOAL 119. In Turkic one has to suppose a dissimilation (**sīĺč* < **čiĺč*; cf. Turkm. *čīš-*, perhaps preserving an archaism). PA **č'íĺč'u* may be a par-

tial reduplication, or else have a suffixed *-č'V (**č'íĺu-č'V*; cf. Mong. *čili-*, perhaps reflecting an original simple stem). A possibility of reconstructing **č'íjĺu-č'V* should be also considered (see above on the Turkic reflexes).

✱**č'ȉme** knuckle, cartilage: Tung. ***čīme- (~š-,-ű-)**; Mong. ***čimöge**; Turk. ***čEmirčik**; Kor. ***čəŋk- (< *čəm-k- ?)**.

PTung. ***čīme- (~š-,-ű-)** 1 knee-cap, fat under the knee-cap 2 ankle, huckle-bone (1 коленная чашечка, клейкая масса (в коленном суставе) 2 лодыжка): Evk. *čīmečin* 1; Evn. *čimnēk* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 395.

PMong. ***čimöge** marrow, marrow-bone (костный мозг, мозговая кость): MMong. *čimegan* (HY 48), *čimigän* (MA); WMong. *čimüge(n)*, *čömüge(n)* (L 186, 203); Kh. *čömög*; Bur. *semege(n)*, dial. *šemege(n)*; Kalm. *čimgn̦*; Ord. *čömögö*; Dag. *šimug* (Тод. Дат. 183), *šimehe* (MD 216), *šimag*; Dong. *čumeGe*; S.-Yugh. *čeŋgən*; Mongr. *čimuge* (SM 451).

◊ KW 440, MGCD 578. Mong. > Evk. *čēŋa* 'marrow bone'; Yak., Dolg. *čoŋku* 'marrow, marrow bone' (hardly < Evk. *čūkī* 'scull', despite Stachowski 75); cf. Аникин 516.

PTurk. ***čEmirčik** cartilage, gristle (хрящ): Tat. *čəməj* 'knucklebone'; Kirgh. *čemirček* 'хрящ на лопатке и мечевидном отростке'; Kaz. *šemiršek*; KKalp. *šemiršek*; Nogh. *šemiršek*; Oyr. *čamaj* 'cheekbone'.

◊ VEWT 251. Widely spread forms like Chag. *kämirčäk* are probably due to contamination with **kEmük* 'bone' (v. sub **k'i̯ome*).

PKor. ***čəŋk-** 1 knee 2 shin, shank (1 колено 2 голень): Mod. *čəŋgaŋi*, *čəŋgäŋi* 2.

◊ KED 1450.

‖ Лексика 261.

✱**č'ǐ́mu** to pinch, pluck (with fingers): Tung. ***č[i]m-**; Mong. ***čim-**; Turk. ***čim-**; Jpn. ***túm-**; Kor. ***čum**.

PTung. ***č[i]m-** 1 to grip with claws 2 to pick one's teeth 3 to pinch (1 хватать когтями 2 ковырять в зубах 3 брать щепотку): Evk. *čomdokolō-* 3; Neg. *čimŋet-* 2 (Цинциус 1982); Man. *čamna-* 1; Nan. *čimi-* 'поджать под себя ноги' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 375, 406. Vocalism is hard to reconstruct: aberrations are probably due to the root's expressive nature.

PMong. ***čim-** 1 to pinch 2 a pinch (1 щипать 2 щипок): WMong. *čimki-*, *čimči-* (L 185) 1; *čim* 2; Kh. *čimxe-* 1; Bur. *šemxe-* 1; Kalm. *čimkə-*, *čimčə-* 1; Ord. *čimke-*; Dag. *čuēk* 2; Bao. *čoŋGə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *čimke* 2; Mongr. *čiŋgi-* (SM 453) 1; *čimō-* 'cueillir'.

◊ KW 440, MGCD 571. Mong. > Oyr. *čimči-* etc. (VEWT 111).

PTurk. ***čim-** 1 to pinch 2 a pinch, thimbleful (1 щипать, брать щипком 2 щипок, щепотка): Tur. *čimdik*, *čimǰik* 2; Gag. *čimdik* 2; Az. *čimdik-le-* 1, *čimdik* 2; Turkm. *čümmük* 2; MTurk. *čimdi-* 1, *čimdik* 2 (Pav.

C.), (CCum.) *čimdi-* 1; Uzb. *čim-, čimči-, čimči-la-, čimdi-, čimi-t-* 1, *čimdi-m* 2; Uygh. *čimdi-, čimqi-* 1, *čimdim* 2; Krm. *čimde-* 1, *čimdik* 2, *cimda-, čimda-* 'to bite'; Tat. *čemče-t-, čemče-n-* 1, *čemček* 2; Bashk. *semte-* 1, *semte-m* 2; Kirgh. *čimči-, čimči-la-* 1, *čimčim* 2; Kaz. *šimši-, šimši-la-* 1; KBalk. *čimdi-* 1; KKalp. *šimši-, šimši-la-* 1, *šim, šimšim* 2; Nogh. *šimti-* 1, *šimqim* 2; SUygh. *ǯume-* 'to pick out, pull out'; Khak. *čimǯi-la-* 1, *čimčix* 2; Shr. *šimči-* 1, *šimčik* 2; Oyr. *čimči-* 1, *čimči-m* 2; Tv. *šimči-* 1, *šimčim* 2; Tof. *šimǯi-* 1, *šimǯim* 2; Chuv. *čəbat-* 1, *čaptam, čapkam* 2 (?).

◊ VEWT 108, TMN 3, 99, Егоров 323, Федотов 2, 413. Chuv. *čəbat-* is phonetically strange; it may reflect a secondary denasalization (Мудрак Дисс. 50), but may actually be a trace of a different root, cf. PA **č'ip'u* or **č'abo*.

PJpn. ***túm-** to pluck (with fingers) (срывать, хватать (пальцами)): OJpn. *tum-*; MJpn. *túm-*; Tok. *tsùm-*; Kyo. *tsúm-*; Kag. *tsúm-*.

◊ JLTT 775.

PKor. ***čum** fist, handful (кулак, горсть): MKor. *čúm, čùmàkúi*; Mod. *čūm, čumək*.

◊ Nam 433, 434, KED 1496, 1509. Original tone is not quite clear.

‖ Poppe 26, JOAL 98, АПиПЯЯ 76; TMN 3, 99 ("möglich, daß hier ein Zusammenhang besteht...Jedoch sind die Wörter anscheinend expressiv, daher nicht gut als urverwandt vergleichbar.")

***č'ĭmu** top, edge: Tung. ***čīme**; Mong. ***čimarkai**; Turk. ***čim- / *čum- (*čom-)**; Jpn. ***tuma**.

PTung. ***čīme** 1 top (of tree, mountain) 2 crown, sinciput (1 вершина (дерева, горы) 2 темя): Evk. *čīme* 1; Evn. *čem* 1; Nan. *čimčikẽ* 2 (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 395. Cf. also Evk. *čīmka* 'middle post in the house'.

PMong. ***čimarkai** temple (of head), sides of forehead (висок, стороны лба): WMong. *čimarqai* (L 184); Kh. *čamarxaj*; Bur. *sabirgaj* 'temple, temporal'; Ord. *čimarxā*.

PTurk. ***čim- / *čum- (*čom-)** 1 top, upper part 2 staff (with a knob) 3 lump, pompon, knob (1 верхушка 2 палка (с набалдашником) 3 комок, помпон, набалдашник): Karakh. *čomaq* 2; Az. *čomaG* 2; Turkm. *čömmek* 1; Uygh. *čomčak* 1; Chuv. *čъʷmak* 3.

◊ VEWT 115, TMN 2, 94-95, EDT 422. The Chuv. reflex points to **-i-*.

PJpn. ***tuma** edge, side, rim; skirt, lap (бок, сторона; подол): OJpn. *tuma*; MJpn. *tuma*; Tok. *tsumá*; Kyo. *tsúmà*; Kag. *tsúmà*.

◊ Accent reconstruction difficult (see JLTT 555).

‖ The root seems reliable, although in Turkic its reflex is rather hard to distinguish from a homonymous reflex of **č'i̯úmu* 'rounded object'.

***č'imV** a k. of fish: Tung. ***čime**; Mong. ***čima**.

PTung. ***čime** 1 a k. of salmon 2 burbot (1 вид кеты 2 налим): Man. *čima, čime* 1; Ul. *čimada* 'name of a fish', (Sch.) *čêmada* 2; Orch. *čume* 1; Ud. *cuma* 'тихоокеанский лосось' (Корм. 312).

◊ TMC 2, 414. Neg. *čẽŋan*, Oroch *čiŋen* 'burbot' perhaps reflect a contamination with **siaŋa-n* 'burbot' (v. sub **si̯ãŋa)*.

PMong. ***čima** a small carp (маленький карп (рыба чам)): WMong. *čima* (L 184); Kh. *čam*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, and borrowing in Mong. < TM is not excluded (although the meanings differ); in Turkic cf. perhaps Chuv. *śomga* 'rainbow trout'.

***č'ipV** sharp edge, peg: Tung. ***čibuke**; Mong. ***čibe**; Turk. ***čib**.

PTung. ***čibuke** 1 awl 2 through(out) (1 шило 2 насквозь): Evk. *čiwuke* 1; Nan. *čioqo* 1; Orch. *čiok-čiok* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 389. The word resembles Mong. *siböge* 'awl', but this is probably fortuitous: *siböge* cannot be borrowed as **čibuke*, and has a separate TM parallel.

PMong. ***čibe** penis (penis): WMong. *čibe* (L 174); Kh. *čiv*; Bur. *šebe* 'мочевой проток (анат.)'; Kalm. *čiwə, čiwl̥*.

◊ KW 442, 443.

PTurk. ***čib** 1 nail, peg 2 corner 3 penis 4 fir (1 гвоздь, колышек, чека 2 угол 3 penis 4 хвойное дерево): OTurk. *či/iv* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. (*čiǯ* 1 MK - a miswriting instead **čiv*?); Tur. *çivi* 1; Gag. *çivi* 1; Az. *çiv* 1; Turkm. *çüj* 1; Uzb. *çuv* 1; Uygh. *çüä* 3 (R, by animals), *çivä* 'space between legs above the knees', *çivilän* 'back saddlegirth' (fixed with a wooden peg); Krm. *çüj, çüw*, (K) *çivij* 1; Tat. *çöj* 'wedge, cotter'; Bashk. *söj* 1; KBalk. *çüj* 1; KKalp. *šüj* 1; Kum. *çüj* 1; Nogh. *šüj* 1; Oyr. *çiiš* 'wedge'.

◊ VEWT 110, 121, EDT 393-394, 396, Лексика 125, 398. Because of well known semantic correlations of the type 'penis': 'thorn': 'fir (needle)' it is tempting to compare also the name of the fir-tree: Tat. dial. (KCTT) *çivi, civi*, Khak. *sibi*, Shor *šübe*, Oyr. *çibi* (Tuba *çibi*), Tuva *šivi*, Tof. *šibi*. However, the intermediate form meaning 'thorn' is not attested, and the medial consonant here is rather **-p-* (unless we suppose interdialectal loans), so it may be unrelated.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **č'íp'a, *č'ébV*.

***č'íp'a** branch, sharp branch: Tung. ***čipa-**; Turk. ***čĩp**.

PTung. ***čipa-** 1 edge of sledge brake-stick 2 sharp (1 наконечник палки-тормоза для саней 2 острый): Evk. *čipan* 1; Neg. *čip-čip* 2; Nan. *čip* '(to stick into, pierce) deeply' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 398.

PTurk. ***čĩp** branch (ветка): Karakh. *čip, čibiq* (MK); Tur. *çibik, çubuk*; Gag. *çibiq*; Az. *çubuG*; Turkm. *çĩbiq*; MTurk. *çubuq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *çiviq*; Uygh. *çiviq*; Krm. *cibuq, cubuq, çubuq* 'lash'; Tat. *çibiq* [*çibirqi* 'lash']; Bashk. *sibiq*; Kirgh. *çĩbiq*; Kaz. *šibiq*; KBalk. *çibiq* 'lash'; KKalp. *šibiq*; Kum. *çubuq*; Nogh. *šibiq*; Khak. *simix*; Shr. *šimiq*; Oyr. *çibiq*; Tv. *šiviq*; Tof. *šibiq*; Chuv. *čъbъk* 'lash'.

◊ EDT 393, 395, VEWT 106, TMN 3, 1059, Лексика 118-119, Егоров 320, Федотов 2, 403-404. Forms meaning 'lash' reflect a contamination with PT *čĀbik 'lash' (v. sub *č'i̯ōbé).

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; possible but not very reliable. The root seems to be distinct from *č'ébV 'branch, staff' and from *č'ipV 'sharp edge' q.v. - although contaminations were of course possible.

✱**č'íp'ú** to press (with fingers), pinch: Tung. ***čip-**; Jpn. ***túmpə́-m-**; Kor. ***čìp-**.

PTung. ***čip-** 1 to press (with fingers) 2 to squeeze, press 3 to stuff, stick 4 to clutch 5 to pick with a finger (food remnants) 6 to lick (1 сжимать (пальцами) 2 жать, давить 3 набивать, заталкивать 4 хватать, зажимать 5 подбирать пальцем (остатки еды) 6 лизать, облизывать): Evk. *čīpčī-* 3, *čipka-* 2, *čĭw-* 6; Evn. *čịpčụ-* 3, *čụ̄-* 6; Neg. *čipixet-* 1, *čipixịla-* 2, *čịpčị-* 3, *čịw-* 6; Man. *čibu-* 3; Ul. *čipeči-* 5; Ork. *čipo-* 5; Nan. *čip* 'tightly', *sefele-* (Bik.) 4; Orch. *čipči-* 3, *čipopu(n)* 'index finger'; Ud. *čipči-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 389, 398, 399. Evk. length in some forms is probably expressive or compensatory.

PJpn. ***túmpə́-m-** to stuff, press into (сжимать, сужать): MJpn. *tuboma-*; Tok. *tsùbome-*; Kyo. *tsúbómé-*; Kag. *tsubomé-*.

◊ JLTT 771.

PKor. ***čìp-** 1 to pick up, pinch 2 tongs, tweezers (1 щипать, брать пальцами 2 клещи, щипцы): MKor. *čìp-* 1, *čìpkái* 2; Mod. *čip-* 1, *čipke* 2.

◊ Liu 687, KED 1554, 1555.

‖ An Eastern isogloss (but cf. *č'abo, with possible contaminations). In Turk. cf. Chuv. *čəbət-* 'to pinch' - possibly reflecting a contamination of the above root with Turk. *čim- (q.v.).

✱**č'ĭp'[ú]** small bird: Tung. ***čipi-**; Mong. ***čuwčali**; Turk. ***čipčik**; Jpn. ***tùmpá-mái (~ -ia)**; Kor. ***čjəpì**.

PTung. ***čipi-** 1 a small bird 2 swallow (1 птичка 2 ласточка): Evk. *čipi-čā* 1; Evn. *čĭbъlъn* 1; Neg. *čịptija* 1; Man. *čibin* 2; SMan. *čivaqən* 2 (2240); Nan. *čịpịaqo* 2; Ud. *čiwjau* 'sparrow'.

◊ TMC 2, 398. The root is expressive and subject to various irregular changes.

PMong. ***čuwčali** snipe (кулик): WMong. *čuučali* (L 207); Kh. *cūcaĺ*; Bur. *sūsālžan* 'кулик', *sūsagālžan* 'бекас'; Kalm. *čūčḷ* (KPC); Ord. *čūčil-*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *čōčanli, čočori* 'the common snipe' (Rozycki 49).

PTurk. ***čipčik** sparrow (воробей, мелкая птица): Karakh. (MKypch.) *čapčuq, čipčiq* (AH), *šipšiq* (Ettuhf.); Tur. *čimček*, (dial.) *čabčik, čipčik*; Turkm. *čimčiq*, dial. *čipžiq*; MTurk. *čipčuq, čupčuq* (MA, Abush., Pav. C.), *čimčik* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čumčuq*; Uygh. *tumučuq*; Krm. *cifciq*; Tat. *čipčiq*, dial. *čipij*; Bashk. *säpseq* 'wagtail; (dial.) sparrow', *sipqaj* 'утка-поганка'; Kirgh. *čimčiq; čimeldirek* (South.) 'a small green bird'; Kaz.

šibišiq; KKalp. *šimšiq*; Kum. *žimčiq*, dial. *čimčik*; Nogh. *šimšiq*; Shr. *čimčigeš* 'titmouse' (Верб., Upper-Kond.); Oyr. *čibilčik* (dial.) 'a k. of bird' (R, Верб., Kumd.).

◊ VEWT 109, Лексика 176. Turk. > Mong. *čipčiqaj* (TMN 3, 123, Щербак 1997, 113).

PJpn. ***tùmpá-mái (~ -ia)** swallow (ласточка): OJpn. *tubame*; MJpn. *tubame*; Tok. *tsùbame*; Kyo. *tsùbàmé*; Kag. *tsubamé*.

◊ JLTT 552.

PKor. ***čjəpì** swallow (ласточка): MKor. *čjəpì*; Mod. *čëbi*.

◊ Nam 425, KED 1464.

‖ SKE 26 (Tung.-Kor.), АПиПЯЯ 293, Дыбо 8, EAS 63, Лексика 176-177. The vocalism is not quite certain because of expressive changes (Mong. **čuwčali* may be < **čiγu-čali*, but -jə- in Kor. is harder to explain). Cf. **sipV*.

✱**č'ïre** to stink, be rotten: Tung. ***čiri-**; Mong. ***čer**; Turk. ***čẹr**; Kor. ***čiri-**.

PTung. ***čiri-** to stink (вонять, плохо пахнуть): Evk. *čiri-*; Nan. *čiriftala-* (Bik.).

◊ TMC 2, 399.

PMong. ***čer** 1 phlegm 2 tumour (1 слизь, мокроты 2 опухоль): WMong. *čer*; Kh. *cer* 1; Bur. *ser* 2; Kalm. *cer* 1; Ord. *čir* 1; Dag. *čire* 'dirt, manure'.

◊ KW 427.

PTurk. ***čẹr** 1 bodily heaviness, constipation (euphem.) 2 rotten, foul 3 to rot 4 illness 5 dirt 6 to be sick, ill 7 rot 8 glue 9 anguish, sorrow (1 запор (эвфем.) 2 гнилой, сгнивший 3 гнить 4 болезнь 5 грязь 6 болеть, хворать 7 труха, гниль 8 клей 9 тоска, скорбь): Karakh. *čer* 1 (MK), *čer-le-n-* 'to be constipated; to suppurate (of eyes)' (MK); Tur. *čer* 4, *čirk* 5, *čiriš* 'flour paste'; Gag. *čiriš* 8; Az. *čär* 'horse's heart attack', *čärlä-* 6, *čirk* 5; Turkm. *čirk* '(dirty) spot; insult', *čerrik* 'illness (of cattle)'; MTurk. *čir* 'tumeur, clou', *čire-* 'se dégoûter'; Uzb. *čiri-* 3, *čirik* 2, *čirk* 'snuff; hardened wheel ointment'; Uygh. *čiri-* 3, *čirik* 2; Krm. *ciri-*, *čiri-* 3, *cirik*, *čirik* 2, *čiriš* 8; Tat. *čir* 4, *čirlä-* 4, *čere-* 3, *čerek* 7; Bashk. *sir* 4, *sere-* 3, *serek* 2; Kirgh. *čer* 9, 'hard tumour', *čerle-* 'to be anguished', *čiri-* 3, *čirik* 2, *čirenč* 8; Kaz. *šer* 4, 9, *širi-* 3, *širik* 2; KBalk. *čiri-* 3, *čirik* 2; KKalp. *šer* 9, *šir-* 3, *širik* 2, *širiš* 'slime'; Kum. *čer* 4, 9, *čiri-* 3, *čirik* 2, *čirkew* 'maggots in rotten food'; Nogh. *šer* 4, *širi-* 3, *širik* 2; Oyr. *čiri-* 3, *čirik* 2; Chuv. *čir*, dial. *čẹr* 4, *śər-* 3, 6, *śərək* 2.

◊ VEWT 105, EDT 427, 430, TMN 1077, Егоров 211-212, 326, Федотов 2,111-112, 420. As Doerfer notes, Turkic forms of the type *čirkin* 'dirty, nasty, ugly' (Chag., Tur., Gag., Tat., Uzb.) are rather borrowed from Persian *čirkin* (which itself is derived from *čirk*, borrowed < Turkic).

PKor. ***čiri-** to be foul, emit a foul odour (плохо пахнуть): Mod. *čiri-*.

◊ KED 1531.

‖ EAS 63, SKE 35, ОСНЯ 1, 207.

✱**č'ire** to cut, scrape: Tung. ***čire-**; Turk. ***čert-**.

PTung. ***čire-** to scrape off (сцарапать, содрать): Evk. *čir-čī-*; Nan. *čīre* '(to cut smth.) across' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 400.

PTurk. ***čert-** 1 to cut (off edges), make notches 2 to click 3 to pinch 4 to pinch (a musical instrument) (1 обрезать (края), делать зарубки 2 щелкать 3 щипать 4 играть на щипковом инструменте): Karakh. *čert-* 1 (MK); Az. *čärt-* 1, 2; Turkm. *čirt-* 1, 3; Khal. *čirt-* 2; Uzb. *čert-* 2, 4; Tat. *čirt-* 2, 3, *čärdäk-lä-* 'to hew'; Bashk. *sirt-* 2, 3; Kirgh. *čert-* 2, 4; Kaz. *šert-* 2, 4; KBalk. *čert-* 'to mark'; KKalp. *šert-* 2, 4; Kum. *čert-* 1, 2, 4; Nogh. *šert-* 2, 3, 4; Khak. *sirte-* 2; Shr. *širte-* 2; Oyr. *čert-* 1, 2; Chuv. *śart* 'a dent for inserting bottom into banded vessels'.

◊ VEWT 105, EDT 428, Федотов 2, 87-88. The semantic development here is 'to make notches, indents' > 'break the edge', 'pinch' (whence 'to click with fingers') - not onomatopoetic, as suggested by Clauson.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Not quite reliable because of scarce attestation in TM.

✱**č'iŕV** to drag, draw: Mong. ***čir-**; Turk. ***čiŕ-**.

PMong. ***čir-** to drag, pull (тащить, тянуть): WMong. *čir-* (L 191); Kh. *čire-*; Bur. *šere-*; Kalm. *čir-*; Ord. *čir-/šir-*; Dag. *šoro-* (Тод. Даг. 184), *šore-* (MD 218); Bao. *čirgə-*; S.-Yugh. *čirGa-*, *čerGa-*.

◊ KW 442, MGCD 563, 572. Mong. *čir-γa* 'sleigh' > Dolg. *hirga, sirga*, see Stachowski 119.

PTurk. ***čiŕ-** to draw (чертить): OTurk. *či/iz-* (OUygh.); Tur. *čiz-*; Gag. *čiz-*; Az. *čiz-*; Turkm. *čiz-*; Khal. *či/iz-*; MTurk. *čiz-*, *siz-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čiz-(mɔq)*; Uygh. *siz-(maq)*; Krm. *ciz-*, *čiz-*; Tat. *siz-*; Bashk. *hiδ-*; Kirgh. *čiz-*, *siz-*; Kaz. *siz-*; KBalk. *siz-*; KKalp. *siz-*; Kum. *siz-*; Nogh. *siz-*; Khak. *siz-ir-* 'to scrape, plane'; Chuv. *čər-* 'to draw, scrape, tear'.

◊ VEWT 112, EDT 432, Егоров 323, Федотов 2, 413-414. . The variant **siŕ-* is probably due to assimilation.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; not quite reliable, since the Mong. word can also belong to **čiuru* q.v.

✱**č'i̯abo (~ *č'i̯obe)** foam, bubble: Tung. ***čobī- (~ š-)**; Mong. ***čeɣer**.

PTung. ***čobī- (~ š-)** 1 foam 2 saliva 3 to sprinkle (1 пена 2 слюна 3 прыскать): Evk. *čowī-ksa* 1,2; Evn. *čoγlį* 1; Neg. *čoxsa* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 402.

PMong. ***čeɣer** 1 foam or scum 2 bubble (1 накипь 2 пузырь): WMong. *čeger* 1 (L 169); Kh. *cēr* 1, *cevrū* 2; Bur. *seberū* 2.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**č'i̯abVk'V** oyster, shell: Tung. ***čiabikta***; Kor. ***čjòkài***.

PTung. ***čiabikta*** shell (раковина): Evk. *čêwika* (Il.); Neg. *čōkta*; Ul. *čoiqta*; Ork. *toiqta*; Nan. *čoiqta*; Orch. *čojikta*.

◊ TMC 2, 387, 404.

PKor. ***čjòkài*** oyster, shell, clam (моллюск, раковина): MKor. *čjòkài*; Mod. *čogä*.

◊ Nam 432, KED 1469.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**č'i̯aga** cold, frozen snow: Tung. ***čiaga***; Mong. ***ča(g)-su***; Kor. ***čhằ-***.

PTung. ***čiaga*** 1 frozen snow 2 to become frozen (of snow) (1 наст 2 образовываться (о насте)): Evk. *čēγa* 1; Evn. *čaqaj* 1; Man. *čaq-ǯa-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 387.

PMong. ***ča(g)-su*** snow (снег): MMong. *časun* (HY 1, SH), *čāson* (IM), *časun* (MA); WMong. *času(n)* (L 166); Kh. *cas(an)*; Bur. *saha(n)*; Kalm. *casn̥*; Ord. *ǯasu*; Mog. *čōsun*; ZM *čɔ̄ϑun* (19-9a); Dag. *čas* (Тод. Дar. 180), *čase* (MD 128); Dong. *časun*, *ǯansun*; Bao. *časoŋ*, *čabsoŋ* (Tungren); S.-Yugh. *čekseu* (MGCD *ǯasən*), *čeksen* (Sichuan); Mongr. *ćasə* (SM 444), *čaxsə* (Minghe).

◊ KW 423, MGCD 564.

PKor. ***čhằ-*** cold (холодный): MKor. *čhằ-*; Mod. *čha-*.

◊ Nam 447, KED 1561.

‖ Kor. *čhiw-* 'cold' is a secondary derivation from *čhằ-*. Mong. *ča-sun* may actually reflect a contamination with **čar-sun*, cf. **čar* 'crust (of snow), наст' (see **č'era*); Southern Mongolian languages seem, however, to preserve traces of a velar **čag-su*.

✱**č'i̯āk'e** time: Tung. ***čiK-***; Mong. ****čag***; Turk. ****čiāk***; Jpn. ****tàkì***; Kor. ****čək***.

PTung. ***čiK-*** grown-up (возмужалый, совершеннолетний (о мужчине от 30 до 40 лет)): Man. *čiqsin*.

◊ TMC 2, 392. Attested only in Manchu, but quite possibly going back to the Altaic root for 'time' (*'timely' > 'grown-up').

PMong. ****čag*** time (время): MMong. *čax* (HY 5, SH), *čaq* (MA); WMong. *čaγ* (L 156); Kh. *cag*; Bur. *sag*, *segēn*; Kalm. *cag*; Ord. *čag*; Dag. *čag(i)* (Тод. Дar. 180); Dong. *ča*; S.-Yugh. *čeg*; Mongr. *čaG*.

◊ KW 419, MGCD 556.

PTurk. ****čiāk*** 1 time, measure 2 precisely, exactly (1 время, пора 2 точно, впору): OTurk. *čaq* 1, 2 (late OUyġh.); Karakh. *čaq* 2 (MK); Tur. *čaγ* 1; Gag. *čāq*, *čaq* 'up to'; Az. *čaγ* 1; Turkm. *čāG* 1; MTurk. (OKypch.) *čaq* 'when (conj.)'; Uzb. *čɔq* 1, *čɔqum* 'certainly'; Uygh. *čaq* 2; Krm. *čaγ* (K), *caq* (H) 1; Tat. *čaq* 1, 2; Bashk. *saq* 1, 2; Kirgh. *čaq* 1, 2; Kaz. *šaq* 1, 2; KBalk. *čaq* 1, *čaq-lï* 'this much'; KKalp. *šaq* 1, 2; Kum. *čaq* 1, 2; Nogh. *šaq* 1, *šaq-lï* 'this much'; Khak. *sax* 2; Oyr. *čaq* 1; Tv. *šaq* 1, 2; Chuv. *čox* 1;

Yak. *sax* 1, *sayа* 'about (the time when, the size of)'; Dolg. *haga* 'about (the time when, the size of)'; *sagi̯na* 'while'.

◊ VEWT 95, Егоров 327, Лексика 67, EDT 404, ДТС 139, Федотов 2, 425, Stachowski 92-93, 208. Forms like Chag. *čaγ*, Uygh. *čaγ* or Tof. *šaγ* 'time' are borrowed < Mong., but this cannot be assumed for most other forms quoted above.

PJpn. ***tə̀kì*** time (время): OJpn. *tokji*; MJpn. *tòkì*; Tok. *tokí*; Kyo. *tókì*; Kag. *tokí*.

◊ JLTT 548.

PKor. ***čək*** time (время): MKor. *čək*; Mod. *čək*.

◊ Nam 422, KED 1423.

‖ EAS 64, KW 419, Poppe 26, Martin 244, Menges 1984, 266, АПиПЯЯ 76. Jpn. tone is irregular; it may be, however, due to an influence of another root (cf. **ček'a*, OJ *toko* 'always, eternally' /accent unknown/). Mong. *čag* may be < Turk. (see TMN 3, 27-28, Щербак 1997, 112), but may as well be genuine. The Kor. reflex is quite regular (the attested *čək* is just an orthographic variant of the expected **čjək*), despite Doerfer's doubts in TMN ibid.

č'i̯ā́k'e (~ -u)** small: Mong. ****čaka; Turk. ****čĀka***; Kor. ****čjāk-, *čjāk-***.

PMong. ****čaka*** new-born child (новорожденный ребенок): MMong. *čaxun* (~ *ajaqa*) 'small cup, pan' (HY 19); WMong. *čaqa* (L 166); Kh. *cax*; Ord. *ǯaxa* 'inheritor'.

◊ Mong. > Tuva *čayа* 'bear cub' (Менгес 1979, 170).

PTurk. ****čĀka*** new-born child (новорожденный ребенок, детеныш): Tur. *čayа* (dial.); *čayа* 'young of birds' (Old Osm. XIV c.); Az. *čayа*; Turkm. *čāGa*; MTurk. *čaqa* (Pav. C.), (Xwar.) *čaqa* 'young of birds' (Фазылов 2, 511); Uzb. *čaqalǝq*, (Tashk.) *čaqa*; Uygh. *bala-čaqa* 'children' (dial.); Tat. *čayа*; Kirgh. *bala-čaqa* 'children'; Kaz. *qi̯zi̯l šaqa* 'quite naked (of young of animals)'; KKalp. *qi̯zi̯l šaqa* 'quite naked (of young of animals)'; Nogh. *bala-šayа* 'children'.

◊ VEWT 96, Менгес 1979, 170.

PKor. ****čjāk-, *čjāk-*** small (маленький): MKor. *čjāk-*, *čjāk-*; Mod. *čak-*.

◊ Nam 419, 425, KED 1386.

‖ SKE 20, EAS 64. Turkic forms are attested late and can be < Mong.; however, Turkm. *čāGa* with a long vowel is hard to explain as a loan. On the other hand, cf. Karakh. *čekün* 'young of marmot' (EDT 415), Evk. *čekše* 'tarbagan': if these words are related, the PA reconstruction should be changed to **č'ek'a*.

č'[i̯a]k'i** temple; ear: Tung. ****čaKar; Mong. ****čiki***; Turk. ****čęke***; Kor. ****čăkami***.

PTung. ****čaKar*** temple; eyelid (висок; веко): Evk. *čakar*; Evn. *čaqarba*.

◊ TMC 2, 378. Occasional forms with -o- (Evk. dial. *čōkawran*, *čokomī*, Evn. *čoqṛrron*) may actually reflect PA **č'ōk'e* q.v.

PMong. ***čiki*** ear (ухо): MMong. *čikin* (HY 45, SH), *ček[ä]n* (IM), *čiqin* (MA); WMong. *čike, čiki(n)* (L 181); Kh. *čix(en)*; Bur. *šexe(n)*; Kalm. *čikn̦*; Ord. *ǯike(n)*; Mog. *čekin, čikin*; ZM *čeqin* (2-1b); Dag. *čiki* (Тод. Дат. 181, MD 129); Dong. *čəqeŋ, čəGən, čɨGɨn*; Bao. *čixaŋ, čixoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *čəGən, čiGən*; Mongr. *ćigi* (SM 448).

◊ KW 439, MGCD 573.

PTurk. ***čẹke*** 1 temple 2 cheekbone (1 висок 2 скула): Karakh. (MKypch.) *čeke* 1 (At-Tuhf.); Turkm. *čekge* 1, 2; MTurk. *čeke* 'back of head' (Vamb.); Uzb. *čakka* 1, 2; Uygh. *čekä* 1; Krm. *čege* 1; Tat. *čigɛ* 1; Bashk. *sikä* 1; Kirgh. *čeke* 1; Kaz. *šeke* 1; KKalp. *šeke* 1; Kum. *čeke* 1; Nogh. *šeke* 1; Chuv. *čigə* 1.

◊ VEWT 103, TMN 3, 87f, Егоров 326, *Лексика* 203. Despite the lack of ancient attestation, the root is evidently archaic.

PKor. ***čăkami*** chin of helmet (подбородок шлема): MKor. *čăkami*; Mod. *čagämi*.

◊ Nam 412, Liu 631.

‖ KW 439, Poppe 55, АПиПЯЯ 294 (without the Tung. form), *Дыбо* 4, *Лексика* 203. The vocalism is not quite certain: a reconstruction of *-i̯a- is possible if we admit a secondary monophthongization **č'i̯a-* > **ča-* in PTM.

✱***č'i̯ale*** to spread, open wide: Tung. ***čildi-***; Mong. ***čala-***.

PTung. ***čildi-*** 1 to spread, open wide 2 become wider (of footwear) (1 расширяться, широко раскрываться 2 разнашиваться (об обуви)): Evk. *čildi-* 1; Evn. *čil̦dụm-* 2; Nan. *čildin-* 'прибывать (о воде)' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 393. The Nan. meaning reflects a contamination with čilqa- < *tilka- q.v.

PMong. ***čala-*** to open wide, have a wide opening (широко раскрываться): WMong. *čalaji-* (L 162); Kh. *calaj-*; Bur. *salū* 'spacious'; Kalm. *calā-*; Ord. *čalā-*.

◊ KW 420.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱***č'i̯ālu (~ *č'i̯ōla)*** to talk nonsense, babble: Tung. ***čōlī-***; Mong. ***čal-***; Turk. ***čAl-***.

PTung. ***čōlī-*** 1 to gossip, prattle, babble 2 tongue (1 болтать, пустословить, лепетать 2 язык): Evk. *čōlī-* 1, *čōlī* 2; Neg. *čōl̦ī-* 1; Nan. *čolči-* (On.) 1.

◊ TMC 2, 405.

PMong. ***čal-*** to talk nonsense, blab (говорить чепуху, болтать): WMong. *čalči-* (L 162); Kh. *čalči-*; Bur. *šali-, šalšaran* 'lisping'; *šalšagana-* 'to talk nonsense'; Kalm. *čälčə-*; Ord. *ǯalči-*; Dag. *čolči-*.

◊ KW 438, MGCD 561.

PTurk. ***čAl-** 1 noisy, talkative man 2 blasphemy (1 болтун, болтовня 2 богохульство): OTurk. *čo/ulvu* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *čalaŋ* 1 (MK).

◊ EDT 418, 420.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**č'i̯álV** a k. of thorny plant: Tung. ***čil-**; Mong. ***čulkir**; Turk. ***č(i)alɨ-**; Jpn. ***tára**.

PTung. ***čil-** 1 growth, bushes 2 a k. of tree with red bark (1 растительность, кусты 2 вид дерева (краснокорый лозняк)): Evn. *čɨlḍuqa* 1; Man. *čolχo* mō 2.

◊ TMC 2, 393, 405.

PMong. ***čulkir** a k. of plant (кумарчик гобийский): WMong. *čulkir* (MXTTT); Kh. *culxir*.

PTurk. ***č(i)alɨ-(gan)** 1 bush, shrub 2 nettle 3 thorn (1 куст 2 крапива 3 колючка): Tur. *čalɨ* 1; Gag. *čalɨ* 'blackthorn; thorn'; Az. *čalɨ* 1; Turkm. *čalɨ* 'солянка кустарниковая'; Khal. *čalu* 'eine Pflanze zum Verbrennen'; MTurk. *čalaγan* 2 (R - Vam.); Uzb. *čalɔw* 'ковыль волосистый'; Kirgh. *čalqan* 2; Shr. *šalɣɨn*, (R) *šalɣanaq* 2; Oyr. *čalqančaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 97, Лексика 110. Clauson (EDT 420) relates here OT (MK) *čalqan* 'spread of an injury' which is not quite probable (rather a derivative from the polysemic *čal-).

PJpn. ***tára** a k. of plant, Aralia manchurica (japonica) (вид растения, аралия): OJpn. *tara*; MJpn. *tára*; Tok. *tara(noki)*.

◊ JLTT 542.

‖ The root denotes a wild plant, probably thorny; the vocalic reconstruction is not quite certain. In TM one would expect a **čial-*, but the diphthong may have been distorted in a long form with initial affricate; Mong. **čulukir* may similarly represent a later assimilation < **čalu-kir*. In that case one could reconstruct **č'i̯ála*.

✱**č'i̯aŋu (~ *č'i̯oŋe)** a sharp bone, sharp instrument: Tung. ***čoŋkī-**; Turk. ***čeŋe**; Kor. ***čəŋ (~ *čjəŋ)**.

PTung. ***čoŋkī-** 1 to peck 2 pecking, beak (1 клевать 2 клевание, клюв): Evk. *čoŋkī-* 1, *čoŋkī* 2; Evn. *čoŋqъ-* 1, *čoŋqъn* 2; Neg. *čoŋkị-* 1, *čoŋkị* 2; Man. *čoŋgi-*, *čoŋki-* 1; Nan. *čoŋkị-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 407.

PTurk. ***čeŋe** jaw (челюсть): Gag. *čenä*; Az. *čänä*; Turkm. *čene* (dial.); Khal. *čänä*; MTurk. *čaŋa*, *čeŋe* (Pav. C., AH); Krm. *ceŋge*; Kum. *čene*; Yak. *seŋie*.

◊ Лексика 220. Despite Буд. 1, 483-484, D-T 98 the Pers. *čānah* 'lower jaw' cannot be the source of Turkic forms; it does not have any Iranian etymology and is itself most likely a Turkism.

PKor. ***čəŋ (~ *čjəŋ)** chisel (зубило): Mod. *čəŋ*.

◊ KED 1450.

‖ It is also tempting to compare PJ **tùnuá* 'horn'.

***č'i̯apa** groin, hip: Tung. ***čiabu-**; Mong. ***čabi.**

PTung. ***čiabu-** 1 thigh, hip 2 buttock (1 бедро 2 ягодица): Ul. *čiwu* 1; Nan. *čêokị* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 389.

PMong. ***čabi** groin (пах): WMong. *čabi* (L 155); Kh. *cav́*; Kalm. *cävə*; Ord. *cawi*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Not quite secure: the TM forms can be alternatively derived from **čiKü-ki*, a diminutive of **čiKi* (**čiKü*) 'pivot' (q. v. sub **č'ĭk'o*); cf. with the same anatomical meaning Ewk. *čiki*, Ewn. *čị̄q*, Neg. *čịx*, Ud. *cigi* (TMC 2, 391, Корм. 310). For this etymological direction see Дыбо 1988, p. 120.

***č'i̯ò̯k'e (~ -k-)** grass, weed: Tung. ***čūKa**; Turk. ***čekin**; Jpn. ***tùkúsi**; Kor. ***soksăi.**

PTung. ***čūKa** grass (трава): Evk. *čūka*; Evn. *čūk*; Neg. *čōxa*; Sol. *čuka*.

◊ TMC 2, 411.

PTurk. ***čekin** different weed kinds (различные виды сорных трав): Karakh. *čikin / čekin* 'a plant growing among the vines and eaten by cattle' (MK); MTurk. *čekin* 'greens, grass; a weed on rice fields, with black seeds and sharp awns' (Pav. C., Sangl.), *čekil-dam* 'tulip bulb; a root similar to wild garlic' (Pav. C., for *dam* cf. Uzb. *dam* 'pungency, bitterness' < Pers.); Uzb. *čakalak* 'bush thicket' (or perhaps to PT **čEke-t?*); Tat. *čɛkɛn* 'corn cob' (< Chuv.?); Bashk. *sɛkɛn* 'corn cob' (< Chuv.?); Kirgh. *čeken* 'рогоз широколистый'; KKalp. *šigin* 'weed growing on rice fields, куриное просо', *šigildik* 'reed'; Khak. *səgen* 'dry grass'; Chuv. *čakan* 'reedmace'.

◊ VEWT 111, EDT 415, Рас. Фил 277, Егоров 316. Chuv. *čakan*, despite Дмитриева 1997, 52-53 and Rona-Tas, is not connected with **jeken* 'reed' (v. sub **dék'ä*). Cf. other grass names: Chuv. *čiken kиґъkə* 'geranium' (according to Ашм., grass helping from colics - Дмитриева 1997, 56); *śikka kиґъkə* 'camomile' (according to Ашм. it hosts a plantlouse, to summon which the children say "śikka!" - Дмитриева 1988,51); Uygh. *čigä* 'plant fibre, wild hemp (VEWT), Yak. *sige* 'тальниковые стружки, лыко'. Tuva *sigen* 'hay' (Tuva), (Tof. 'grass') has an irregular s-, so perhaps should be regarded as borrowed from Khak.

PJpn. ***tùkúsi** horse-tail (хвощ): Tok. *tsùkushi*; Kyo. *tsùkúshì*; Kag. *tsukushí*.

PKor. ***sok-** horse-tail (хвощ): MKor. *soksai, soksăi*; Mod. *soksä*.

◊ Liu 464, KED 983.

‖ Mong. *čike-n* in names of plants may be a merger of this root and **č'ik'a* q.v. Kor. *soksăi* 'horse-tail' is hard to separate from Jpn. *tukusi* id.; most probably we are dealing with an assimilation here (*soksăi* < **čoksăi*).

***č'i̯ǒk'ó** to agree, confirm: Tung. ***čixa**; Mong. ***čoku-**; Turk. ***čok-**; Jpn. ***tànká-**.

PTung. ***čixa** 1 will, wish, agreement 2 to agree, to wish (1 воля, желание, согласие 2 соглашаться, желать): Man. *čiχa* 1, *čiχala-* 2; SMan. *čihalə-* 'to be fond of, like to' (1890); Ul. *tiχala-* 2; Nan. *čiχala-* 2; Orch. *čixala-* 2; Ud. *čāla-*, *čahala-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 390-391.

PMong. ***čoku-** to agree, confirm (соглашаться, подтверждать): WMong. *čoqu-* (L 199); Kh. *coxo-*; Bur. *soxom* (adverb); Ord. *ǯuxum* 'vrai'.

PTurk. ***čok-** 1 to pray 2 to sacrifice 3 to baptize 4 to worship 5 bailment, pledge (1 молиться 2 приносить жертву 3 креститься 4 поклоняться 5 порука, поручительство): Turkm. *čoqun-* 3; Uzb. *čo̧qin-* 3, 1 (disapprovingly), 4; Uygh. *čoqun-* 3; Tat. *čuqïn-* 3; Bashk. *suqïn-* 3; Kirgh. *čoqun-* 3, 4; KKalp. *šoqïn-* 3; Kum. *čoqun-* 3; Nogh. *šoqïn-* 3; SUygh. *čoq et-* 1 (ЯЖУ); Khak. *čoγïn-* 1 (Sag.- R 2, 2014); Shr. *šoqta-* 'to besprinkle idols with an exclmation šoq!' R 4, 1024); Oyr. *čoγïr-* 2 (Lebed. R 3, 2014), *čoqto-* 'to besprinkle idols with an exclamation čoq!' (R 3, 2009); Chuv. *śъk* 5.

◊ VEWT 113-114, Егоров 328, Федотов 2, 426-427. Räsänen's attempt to explain the verb as "baptism through immersion" (linking Kypch. *čoqur* 'pit' and Taranchi *čoqur-* 'to sink' (R 3, 2007) appears unconvincing. The former word is derived from *čok-* 'to delve', and the latter should be corrected to *čökür-* according to more modern sources. The semantic transfer of a pagan ceremony to the Christian one seems quite natural in an islamicized society. The same root may be represented by the exclamation (made during a libation), Oyr. *čoq!*, Shor *šoq!*, and further - the approbatory exclamation Kirgh. *čok!*, Kaz. *šoq!* etc. Quite unlikely is the hypothesis of a loan from Hebrew (Y. Malov, quoted in Федотов). In fact, the meaning in Chuv. ('pledge') and the external parallels suggest that the religious component in the meaning of **čok-* is relatively late (having evolved after the separation of Bulgars): 'pledge' > 'sacrifice' > 'praying' > 'baptizing'. Turk. > Hung. *csök* 'sacrifice', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***tànká-** to commit, fulfil, come to an agreement (совершать, достигать, приходить к соглашению): OJpn. *t(w)oga-*; MJpn. *tògá-*; Tok. *togé-*; Kyo. *togé-*.

◊ JLTT 769. Accent in Kagoshima is aberrant.

‖ A good common Altaic verbal root.

***č'i̯óli (~ -e, *č'i̯álo)** grey, light: Tung. ***čolka**; Mong. ***čil- / *čel-**; Turk. ***čĀl**.

PTung. ***čolka** grey, white (of hair) (седой): Evk. *čolko*; Neg. *čolko*.

◊ TMC 2, 405. Cf. also **čul-* 'green, blue'.

PMong. ***čil- / *čel** 1 albino 2 clear, cloudless (1 альбинос 2 ясный, безоблачный): WMong. *čilbaŋ* 1 (L 182), *čil*, *čel* 2 (DO 703), *čilge-* 2; Kh. *čalbaŋ*, *čil*; Bur. *šalgar* 2; Kalm. *cel*, *čilgṛ* 2; Ord. *čilbaŋ* 1, *čil* 2.

◊ KW 426, 440.

PTurk. ***čĀl** grey, grey-headed (серый, седой): Karakh. *čal* (MK, KB); Tur. *čal*; Az. *čal*; Turkm. *čāl*; MTurk. *čal* 'having grey hair amid black hair' (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *čəl* 'old man'; Krm. *čal*; Tat. *čal* 'grey hair'; Bashk. *sal*; Kirgh. *čal*; Kaz. *šal* 'old man'; KBalk. *čal*; KKalp. *šal*; Kum. *čal*; Nogh. *šal*; Khak. *čal*; Oyr. *čal*; Yak. *sālɨr* 'light-bay (horse); pepper-and-salt (hair)'.

◊ EDT 417, VEWT 96, TMN 2, 31, Аникин 640. Turk. > WMong. *čal*, Kalm. *cal*, Khalkha *cal būral* 'grey-haired, roan'; Russ. *чалый*.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***č'i̯ŏl[m]i (~ -e, *č'i̯ăl[m]o)** to hobble, tether: Tung. ***čulupkī-**; Mong. ***čilbur**; Turk. ***č(i)al-**, ***č(i)alma**.

PTung. ***čulupkī-** 1 to hobble (a dog) 2 dog-collar (1 привязывать (собаку) 2 собачий ошейник): Evk. *čulupkī-* 1, *čulupkīwun* 2; Evn. *čölipkin* 1, *čölipkin-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 413.

PMong. ***čilbur** bridle (уздечка): MMong. *čilbur* (HY 18, SH), *čolbor* (Lig.VMI), *čəlbur* (MA 403); WMong. *čilbuɣur*, *čulbuɣur* (L 182); Kh. *culbūr*; Kalm. *culwūr*; Ord. *čulbūr*; Dag. *šolbur* (Тод. Дар. 184); S.-Yugh. *čəlbūr*.

◊ KW 433-434, MGCD 581. Mong. > Oyr. *čilbɨr* etc.; > Man. *čilburi*, see TMN 1, 309-310, Doerfer MT 137, Rozycki 48.

PTurk. ***č(i)al-** 1 turban 2 noose, lasso 3 to plait, wrap 4 to bind by throwing the rope 5 to become entangled 6 to entangle 7 band, strap 8 to bind around, wrap around 9 to plait (1 тюрбан 2 аркан, лассо 3 заплетать, заворачивать 4 связывать захлестом, наметывать 5 заплетаться 6 запутать 7 тесьма, завязка 8 обвязывать, обматывать 9 плести): Tur. *čalma* 1; Gag. *čal-* 8, *čalma* 1; Az. *čalma* 1; Turkm. *čalma* 1, *čal-* 3, *čalšɨq* 'entangled (of a rope)'; MTurk. *čalma* 1, 'flask fastened to the saddle' (Pav. C., Sangl.), 'apron' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čal-(mɔq)* 4, *čalma* 1; band, facing; Uygh. *čal-ma-š-* 5; Krm. *cal-* 8, *calma* 1, *calman* 'wattle'; Tat. *čal-* 4, *čalma* 1; Bashk. *salɨ-* 8, *salma* 1; Kirgh. *čal-* 4, *čalɣɨč* 7, *čalma* 2; Kaz. *šal-* 8; KBalk. *čalma* 1, *čal-* 9, *čalman* 'wattle'; KKalp. *šal-* 8; Kum. *čal-* 9, *čalma* 1; Nogh. *šalma* 1, *šaluw* 7; Khak. *salba* (Sag.) 'лычко для метания камней'; Oyr. *čalma* 2, dial. (Leb.) *čalɨ-* 6; Tv. *šalba* 2; Tof. *šalɨšqaq* 'criss-crossing'.

◊ EDT 420, VEWT 97, Лексика 395. Turk. > Mong. *čalma*, *salma* 'lasso', see TMN 4, 316-317, Щербак 1997, 163 (although the meaning 'lasso' is not widely spread in Turkic, Doerfer suggests that it may have been the original, pre-Islamic, meaning of the derivative **čal-ma*). Note Chuv. *čъʷlɣa-* 'to entangle' - usually derived as a loanword < Tat. *čulɣa-* < PT **čog-la-*, but in this case one would rather expect *čulɣa-* - so the Chuv. form may actually reflect PT **čial-*. The root is attested late, but does not seem to be borrowed, or a specialized development of **čal-* 'hit, chop' (as suggested in TMN).

‖ A Western isogloss. The medial cluster is not quite secure (perhaps one should rather reconstructed **č'i̯ŏli* with different suffixes). It is interesting to mention MKor. *čjámpúr* 'horse's mudguards' (Nam 426) - perhaps a (somewhat distorted) loanword < Mong. *čilbur*.

✱**č'i̯olu** crippled: Tung. ***čial-**; Mong. ***čile-**; Turk. ***čol-**; Jpn. ***tur-**; Kor. ***čərk**.

PTung. ***čial-** 1 to be unable 2 to choke 3 exhausted 4 to stumble (while going down the hill) (1 не мочь 2 застрѣвать в горле, давиться 3 истощенный 4 спотыкаться (при спуске с горы)): Evk. *čelgek* 3, *čelē-* 4; Evn. *čelgъk-* 'break (limb)'; Man. *čili-* 2; Ul. *čī̯la-* 1; Nan. *čī̯la-* 1; Orch. *čīla-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 393, 420. The peculiar vocalism is best explained by supposing **čial-* Cf. also **čulug-* (TMC 2, 413) < **čialug-* (?).

PMong. ***čile-** to stiffen, get oedema (неметь, затекать, уставать): MMong. *čile-* 'erschöpft sein' (SH); WMong. *čile-* (L 182); Kh. *čile-*; Bur. *šelden* (adj.), *šele-* 'to peter', *šala-*; Kalm. *čilə-* 'become ill, powerless (of princes)'; Ord. *čile-*; Dong. *čila-*.

◊ KW 440, MGCD 570. Mong. > Yak. *silaj-*, Dolg. *hilaj-* (see Stachowski 118).

PTurk. ***čol-** 1 crippled 2 to deteriorate, dwindle 3 defect 4 short-statured (1 калека (с дефектной рукой) 2 убывать, иссякать 3 порок, изъян 4 куцый, короткий): OTurk. *čoluq* (OUygh.) 1, *čol-* 2, *čolmaq* 3 (OUygh. late - Suv.); Karakh. *čoluq* (MK) 1; *čolquj* 'worn (of a sole), crippled (of an arm, hand)' (MK); Tur. *čolak*; *čolpa* 'unskilful, awkward'; Gag. *čolaq* 1; Az. *čolaG* 1; Turkm. *čolaq* 1; Khal. *čolaq* 'handless, lame'; MTurk. *čolaq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *čo̜lɔq* 'handless, lame', *čo̜ltɔq* 4; 'bungler, unskilled person'; Uygh. *čolaq* 1, 4; Krm. *čolaq* (K) 1; Tat. *čulaq*; Bashk. *sulaq* 1; Kirgh. *čolu-* 'to pull out, pick out', *čolǯuj-* 'become curved, warp', *čoloj-* 'become short, limbless', *čoloq* 1, 4; Kaz. *šolaq* 4, *šoltij-* 'to shorten'; KBalk. *čolaq* 1; KKalp. *šolaq* 1, 4; Kum. *čolaq* 1; Nogh. *šolaq* 1; *šoltaŋ-la-* 'to move aside angrily'; Oyr. *čoltuq* 4; Tv. *šoluq* 'sensitive, huffish'.

◊ EDT 419-420, VEWT 115, TMN 3, 89, Дыбо 152. Turk. > Mong. *čolaq* (Щербак 1997, 113). The existing forms are derived from a verb **čol-* 'become defective' (cf. the attested OUygh. *čol-* and forms like Kirgh. *čolu-*).

PJpn. ***tur-** to have cramps (сводить судорогой): Tok. *tsur-*.

PKor. ***čərk** lame (хромой, с больными руками или ногами): MKor. *čərk*.

◊ Nam 422.

‖ Cf. also Kor. *čjəri-da* 'to be stiff (of limbs)', SKE 30, ОСНЯ 1, 203.

✱**č'i̯op'a (~ *č'i̯ap'u)** a k. of clothing: Tung. ***čop-**; Mong. ***čuba**; Turk. ***čAp**.

PTung. ***čop-** a k. of overcoat (вид плаща): Evn. *čobaqa*; Sol. *čibkeǯa*.

◊ TMC 2, 388, 401.

PMong. ***čuba*** overcoat (плащ, верхняя одежда): WMong. *čuba* (L 203); Kh. *cuv*; Bur. *suba*; Kalm. *cuwə* '(fur) coat' (KPC); Ord. *čuwa*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *čuba* id., KBalk. *čuba* 'corset' (but cf. also Gag. *čupak*). The traditional etymology (< Arab. *ǯubba*) is not plausible phonetically.

PTurk. ***čAp-*** 1 a k. of cloak 2 lap, skirt 3 used clothing 4 bedding under the saddle 5 woman's gown 6 gown 7 gusset (in clothes) (1 род плаща 2 подол, фалда 3 старая, потертая одежда 4 подстилка под седло, чепрак 5 женский халат 6 халат 7 клин (в одежде)): Karakh. *čapγut* 'a padded garment' (MK); Tur. *čaput* 3, *čaprak* 4; Gag. *čapraq* 4; Turkm. *čabıt* 5, *čapan* 6, *čapi* 'ornamental trimming for clothes' lap'; Khal. *čabuγ* 'trimmed section on a woman's tunic'; MTurk. *čapan* 1 (R; Pav. C. *jamaγlıγ čapan* 'mended cloak'), *čabuq* 2 (Pav. C.), (OKypch.) *čapγut* 3 (AH); Uzb. *čэрэп* 1; Uygh. *čapan* 1; Tat. *čapan* 1, *čapraq* 4, *čabu* 2; Bashk. *sapan* 6, *sabıw* 2; Kirgh. *čabū* 7; *čapan* 6, *čapan-čapqıt* 'upper clothes', *čopqut* 'quilted coat under armour; expensive costume'; Kaz. *šabu* 2, *šapan* 6; KKalp. *šabuw* 7, *šapan* 6, *šobıt* 'used things', *šopqıt* 'rags'; Kum. *čabıw* 7, 2; Nogh. *šabuw* 'gusset-like front part of gown's laps'; Khak. *sabıγ* 7; Shr. *šabır* 6; Oyr. *čabu* 7; Tv. *šavıγ* 7; Tof. *šabıγ* 7.

◊ VEWT 99, EDT 396, TMN 3, 47, Аникин 643. Several derivations are clearly distinguishable: a) **čap-gut* 'upper clothes, garment' (with later development > 'used clothes'); b) **čap-rak* 'bedding under the saddle'; c) **čap-an* 'cloak, gown'; d) **čap-gu* 'lap, gusset' - all clearly related to each other.

‖ A Western isogloss; somewhat difficult - but necessary - to distinguish from **č'ep'à* 'rag' q.v.

✱**č'i̯op'è** water container, vessel: Tung. ***čup- / *čop-***; Mong. ***čöγerüm***; Turk. ***čap-***; Jpn. ***tàpî (~ -ua-)***; Kor. ***č(j)apa-***.

PTung. ***čup- / *čop-*** 1 pit, deep place 2 to submerge, dive (1 яма, глубокое место 2 погружаться, нырять): Evk. *čopkī*, *čuper* 1, *čoro-* 2; Neg. *čop ṭi̯k-* 2; Ork. *čubbe-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 408, 416.

PMong. ***čöγerüm*** pond (пруд, водоем): WMong. *čögerüm*, *čögerem*, *čögürüm* (L 201); Kh. *cə̄röm*; Bur. *sə̄rem*; Kalm. *cə̄rṃ* (KPC).

PTurk. ***čap-*** 1 big vessel, barrel, pail 2 basin (1 большой сосуд, бочка, чан, кадка 2 бассейн, яма для стока воды): OTurk. *čopun* 1 (OUygh., late - Suv.); Tur. *čopul* 2; MTurk. *sapčaq* (AH) (OKypch.); Krm. *capcaq*, *čapčaq* 1; Tat. *čapčaq* 1; Bashk. *sapsaq* 1; Kirgh. *čapčaq* 1; KBalk. *čapčaq* 1; KKalp. *šapšaq* 'wooden vessel for shaking up milk'; Kum. *čapčaq* 1; Nogh. *šapšaq* 1; Khak. *saban*, *sapčax* 1; Shr. *šapčaq* 1; Oyr. *čapčaq* 1; Tv. *šopulaq* 'spoon'; Chuv. *śöpśe* 1; Yak. *sabaraj* 1.

◊ VEWT 99, ДТС 153, Егоров 223,Федотов 2, 148-149. Forms with -u- in the second syllable demonstrate vowel assimilation (*čopu-* < **čapu-*). External parallels strongly suggest that the word is not derived from **čap-* 'hit', but is an original noun.

PJpn. ***tàpî (~ -ua-)*** gutter (желоб): Tok. *tói*; Kyo. *tôî*; Kag. *toí*.
◊ JLTT 548.

PKor. ***č(j)apa-*** earthenware jar, bowl (глиняный кувшин): Mod. *čabägi*.
◊ KED 1379.

‖ A common derivative **č'i̯op'è-rV* is reflected in Mong. **čöγe-rü-m* and Evk. *čupe-r*; another suffixed form, **č'i̯op'è-kV* (originally diminutive) may be reconstructed on the basis of Evk. *čop-kī* and Kor. *čabä-gi*. The root must have denoted a big water container, perhaps both artificial and natural.

✱**č'[i̯o]ra** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***čuru-***; Mong. ***čara-su***; Turk. ***čar-***; Kor. ***čori-***.

PTung. ***čuru-*** a k. of willow (вид ивы): Evk. *čurumkurē*; Neg. *čojomka*; Nan. *čoromqola*.
◊ TMC 2, 417.

PMong. ***čara-su*** oak tree (дуб): WMong. *čarasu* (MXTTT); Kh. cars; Bur. *sarsa*; Dag. *carese* (MD 128).

PTurk. ***čar-*** 1 plane tree 2 gooseberry 3 asp tree 4 a k. of poplar (1 платан 2 крыжовник 3 осина 4 вид тополя): Karakh. *čarun* (MK) 1; Uygh. *čarčaj* 2 (?); Kirgh. *čar terek* 4; Tv. *šarlan* 3.
◊ VEWT 110, EDT 430, Дмитриева 1972, 186.

PKor. ***čori-*** oak tree (дуб): MKor. *čorič'ham-namo*; Mod. *čorič'ham-namu*.
◊ Liu 662, KED 1472.

‖ The vocalism is uncertain; it is possible that the TM form should be removed from here and compared with Jpn. **tùrù*, see notes to PA **čălu*. In such case a reconstruction **č'aro* for the present root would be possible.

✱**č'i̯ŭ[g]a** scarce, poor: Tung. ***čuki***; Mong. ***čukag***; Turk. ***čīgań***.

PTung. ***čuki*** bad (плохой): Ul. *čuqana*; Nan. *čukī* (On.); Orch. *čuki*.
◊ TMC 2, 411.

PMong. ***čukag*** scarce, poor, rare (редкий, бедный): WMong. *čuqaγ* (L 208); Kh. *čuxag*; Bur. *šuxag*; Kalm. *cuxəγ*; Ord. *ǯuxaG*.

PTurk. ***čīgań*** 1 poor 2 mischief 3 impolite, rough (1 бедный 2 беда, несчастье 3 грубый, неучтивый): OTurk. *čïγań* (Orkh.), *čïγaj* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *čïγaj* (MK), *čïγan* (MK - Argu) 1; Tur. *čïγaj*, *čïγan* (dial.) 1; MTurk. *čïγaj* (R), *čïγan* (R, Pav. C.) 1; Krm. *čïǰïr* 2 (with an unexplained -r); Kum. *čïγın* 3; Khak. *sāj* 2; Shr. *šāj* 2.
◊ VEWT 107, EDT 408-409, Лексика 334. Chuv. *čuxan* 'poor' may be of different origin (cf. an aberrant reflex of *g), cf. *čux* 'mediocre', *čuxъ* 'poor' (< **jok?*).

‖ A Western isogloss, somewhat questionable phonetically. Unclear is -k- in TM and Mong. (*-g- would be expected). A possible solution is to reconstruct for all three subgroups a suffixed form *č'i̯ugu-kV.

✱**č'i̯ugu** to tie up, bandage: Tung. ***čuga-**; Mong. ***čig**; Turk. ***čɨg-**.

PTung. ***čuga-** to fix, attach (приделывать, прикреплять): Ud. *čuga-*.

◊ TMC 2, 410. Attested only in Ud., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***čig** bandage, splint (бандаж, лубок): WMong. *čig* (L 179); Kh. *čig*.

PTurk. ***čɨg-** 1 to tie up (a parcel) 2 to sew (with small stitches) 3 parcel, pack 4 knot 5 to tie in a knot (1 увязывать (тюк, сверток) 2 шить (мелкими стежками), подшивать 3 узел (упаковка) 4 узел 5 завязать узлом): Karakh. *čɨɣ-* 1; Tur. *čɨki, čɨkɨn* 3; Gag. *čɨqɨ* 3; Turkm. *čig-* 5, *čigin* 4; Khal. (*tīn* u) *čɨqɨn* 'small parcels in women's working room'; MTurk. *čik* 4 (Pav. C.), (OKypch) *čɨq-* 1 (AH); Uygh. *čig-* 5, *čigik* 4; Kirgh. *čije* 4; KKalp. *šije* 'tightly bound'; SUygh. *čig-, čik-* 5; Khak. *sɨɣ-la-* 2; Oyr. *či-de-* 2.

◊ EDT 405, VEWT 94. Forms apparently pointing to *čɨk- most probably reflect a contraction of the suffixed form *čɨgɨ-k-.

‖ A Western. isogloss; borrowing in Mong. is possible, but not very probable for semantic reasons.

✱**č'i̯ǔme (~ -i)** a k. of insect: Tung. ***čīme- (~š-,-ū̃-)**; Turk. ***čümeli**; Kor. ***čóm**.

PTung. ***čīme- (~š-,-ū̃-)** a k. of insect (насекомое (мухообразное с пестрыми крыльями)): Evk. *čīmečīldūn*; Ud. *cimgi* (Корм. 310).

◊ TMC 2, 395.

PTurk. ***čümeli** ant (муравей): OTurk. *čümeli* (OUygh.); Karakh. *čümeli* (MK - Chigil); MTurk. *čü/umadu* 'small ants' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čumɔli*; Uygh. *čümälä* (R - Tar.); Tat. *čümöldü* (R - Bar.); Oyr. *čumalɨ*, dial. *čubalɨ*; Tv. *šimɨl* 'maggot'.

◊ EDT 423, VEWT 121, Лексика 184.

PKor. ***čóm** a k. of worm, teredo; poisonous insect, poison (червь-древоточец): MKor. *čóm*; Mod. *čom*.

◊ Liu 665, KED 1482.

‖ Лексика 184.

✱**č'i̯úmu** round(ed) object: Tung. ***čumbu-**; Mong. ***čom-**; Turk. ***čɨmur**; Jpn. ***túmúnsí**.

PTung. ***čumbu-** 1 globe, sphere 2 rounded, swollen (of a mosquito) 3 (sleigh) arc (1 шар 2 раздувшийся (о комаре) 3 дуга (нарты)): Evk. *čumbukte* 1, *čumkilēptin* 2; Nan. *čembu-čembu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 414.

PMong. ***čom-** 1 bouquet; bud 2 bud-shaped (1 букет; почка 2 имеющий форму бутона): WMong. *čomurlaγ*, (L 197) *čomurliγ* 1, *čombuγar*, *čombun* 2; Kh. *comorlog* 1, *combogor*, *combon* 2; Ord. *čomõ-* 'avoir la forme de bouton de fleur'.

PTurk. ***čɨmur** 1 buds 2 lily 3 sphere, globe, fist (1 почки 2 лилия 3 шар, округлость, кулак): Oyr. *čomur* 2; Tof. *šomur* 1 (Рас. ФиЛ 89, 231); Chuv. *čъʷmъʷr* 3.

◊ The Chuvash form points to **-ɨ-*. The root is very localized, but seems to be distinct from **čɨm-* / **čum-* 'top; stick with a knob' (although a contamination was of course possible).

PJpn. ***túmúnsí** hair-whorl (завихрение волос): OJpn. *tumuzi*; MJpn. *túmúzí*; Tok. *tsùmuji*; Kyo. *tsúmúji*; Kag. *tsumuji*.

◊ JLTT 556. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ An expressive common Altaic root; both in Turkic and Japanese its reflexes may have partially coincided with the reflexes of **č'ĭmu* 'top, edge' q.v., but in Mongolian and TM they seem to be distinct.

***č'i̯umu** seed, cone: Tung. ***čum- / *čim-**; Mong. ***čöme**; Turk. ***čɨm**.

PTung. ***čum- / *čim-** cone (of any fir tree) (шишка): Evk. *čunmī* (< **čum-nī*); Neg. *čimčukte*; Ul. *čimčikte*; Ork. *čipčikte*; Nan. *čimčikte*; Orch. *čimčikte*.

◊ TMC 2, 395, 414.

PMong. ***čöme** fruit stone, grain, seed (косточка, зерно, семя): WMong. *čöme*, *čömü* (L 202); Kh. *cöm*; Bur. *seme-* 'щелкать кедровые орехи'.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *čīme*, *čēme* etc. (see TMC 2, 421).

PTurk. ***čɨm** 1 turf 2 meadow 3 various kinds of grass (with seeds) (1 дерн 2 луг, лужайка 3 различные виды трав): Karakh. *čɨ/im* 1, *čɨmgen* 1, 2; Tur. *čimen* 2, *čim* 1; *čemen* 'тмин; пажитник'; Gag. *čim* 1, *čimen* 1, 2; Az. *čämän* 2, *čim* 1; Turkm. *čemen* 2, 'bundle, bouquet'; Khal. *čämän*, *čimän* 2 (< Pers.?); Uzb. *čaman* 2, *čim* 1; Uygh. *čim* 1, *čimän* 2; Kirgh. *čɨm* 1; *čemirček* 'травянистое растение со съедобным корнем' (cf. also *čɨmɨldɨq* 'повилика', *čɨmɨldɨrɨq*, *čɨmɨndɨq* (dial.) 'чина'); Kaz. *šɨm* 1; Nogh. *šim* 1; Khak. *čɨm-čolyaj* 'хлебенки (an edible bulbous plant'); Oyr. *čemene* 'потничная трава'; Chuv. *čemčem/n* 'горец, птичья гречишка' (Дмитриева-Саллонтаи VII, 49).

◊ The primary root is **čim* 'turf', whence **čim-gen* 'meadow', borrowed in Pers. *čaman* (see EDT 423; not vice versa, despite TMN 2, 99-100); but many of the modern forms meaning 'meadow' or 'bouquet' are already backloans from Persian.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***č'i̯ŭp'a (~ -u)** a k. of insect: Tung. ***čope-**; Mong. ***čubali**; Turk. ***čɨpɨn**.

PTung. ***čope-** 1 locust 2 larva (of insects) (1 саранча 2 личинка (насекомых)): Evk. *čepeder* 1; Ul. *čobị* 2; Nan. *čobị* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 401, 421.

PMong. ***čubali** ant (муравей): MMong. *čubali* (MA 136).

PTurk. ***čïpïn** 1 fly 2 gad-fly 3 mosquito 4 bee (1 муха 2 овод 3 комар 4 пчела, шершень): Karakh. *čïbïn* 1, 3 (MK); Tur. *ǰibin* 1, 3; Az. *čibin* 1,2; Turkm. *čïbïn* 3; Uzb. *čibin* 3; Uygh. *čivin* 1,2; Tat. *čeben* 1, 2; Bashk. *seben-le-* 'to be annoyed by fly-bites (of animals)'; Kirgh. *čïmïn* 1,2; Kaz. *šïbïn* 1,2; KBalk. *čibin* 1,2; Kum. *ǰibin* 1,2; Oyr. (dial.) *čïmïn* 4.

◊ VEWT 110, EDT 838, TMN 3, 53, Лексика 186.

‖ An expressive Western isogloss.

***č'i̯ŭp'ì** small, narrow: Tung. ***čip[u]-**; Mong. ***čüɣe-n**; Jpn. ***tìpì-sà-**; Kor. ***čòp-**.

PTung. ***čip[u]-** narrow (узкий): Evk. *čipikte, čipileme*; Evn. *čupuṭi*.

◊ TMC 2, 398.

PMong. ***čüɣe-n, -ken** small (in number), few (мало, немного): MMong. *čuejen* (HY 44), *čun* (MA); WMong. *čüge(ge)n*, (L 201:) *čögen, čögeken, čögüken*; Kh. *cŏn*; Bur. *šŏdej*; Kalm. *cŏ(k)n*; Ord. *čŏkön, čŏröm*; Dag. *čuēn* (Тод. Дат. 182); Dong. *čueGuan* (MGCD *čoɣuan*); Bao. *čoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *čŭn*; Mongr. *cón* (SM 454), *cógwən* (SM 453).

◊ KW 432, 460, MGCD 577. In Bur. two roots are contaminated **čüɣe-n* 'few' and **öčü-* 'sm, little'. *šŏdej* means 'little', but *üsŏ(n)* - 'few'.

PJpn. ***tìpì-sà-** small (маленький): OJpn. *tip(j)isa-*; MJpn. *tìfisa-*; Tok. *chīsá-*; Kyo. *chésa-*; Kag. *chíisa-*.

◊ JLTT 842. Kagoshima has an irregular reflex; otherwise all dialects point to low tone.

PKor. ***čòp-** narrow (узкий): MKor. *čòp-*; Mod. *čop-*.

◊ Liu 665, KED 1482.

‖ Martin 249. Korean has a "verbal" low tone. In Turk. cf. perhaps Kirgh. *čïpqa* 'strainer', *čïpqala-* 'to strain'.

***č'óga** ashes, glowing coals: Tung. ***čuguk (~ -b-)**; Turk. ***čōg, -ak**.

PTung. ***čuguk- (~ -b-)** 1 snuff 2 to burn (with fire) 3 to hiss (of glowing coals in contact with water) (1 нагар 2 обжечь (огнем) 3 шипеть (о раскаленных углях в соприкосновении с водой)): Evk. *čuke*, dial. *čuwukī* 1, *čuwkān-* 2; Neg. *čowixān* 3; Ud. *čauk-čuk* (expr.) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 410, 412.

PTurk. ***čōg** glowing heat, glowing coals (жар, тлеющие уголья): OTurk. *čoɣ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *čoɣ* (MK); Turkm. *čōg*; MTurk. *čoɣ* (Vamb.); Uzb. *čuɣ*; Uygh. *čoq, čoɣ*; Kirgh. *čoq*; Kaz. *šoq*; SUygh. *čoɣ*; Khak. *soɣ*; Shr. *šoɣ*; Oyr. *čoq*; Yak. *suos*; Dolg. *huos*.

◊ VEWT 113, 114, Лексика 366-367, EDT 405, Stachowski 113 (Yak. *suos* = Tur. *čogaš* 'sun heat'). Turk. > WMong. *čoɣ*, Kalm. *cog* (KW 429, TMN 2, 119, Щербак 1997, 113). Mong. > Yak. *čox*.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

***čʻòkʻa** to peck, gouge: Tung. ***čōk(i)-**; Mong. ***čoki-**; Turk. ***čok-**; Kor. ***čhắ-**.

PTung. ***čōk(i)-** 1 to gauge 2 to stick into 3 to peck 4 to dig, delve (1 выдалбливать, вырезать 2 втыкать 3 клевать 4 копать, ковырять): Evk. *čōk-* 4; Evn. *čuq-* 4; Neg. *čok-* 1; Man. *čoki-* 2; Ul. *čoqi-* 3; Nan. *čoqi-* 3; Ud. *cugu* 'adze' (Корм. 311).

◊ See TMC 2, 403. Secondary vowel shortening in Nan.

PMong. ***čoki-** to strike, punish (бить, наказывать): MMong. *čoqoli'ul-* 'to overthrow' (SH); WMong. *čoki-* (L 196); Kh. *coxi-*; *coxi-lo-* 'клевать'; Bur. *soxi-*; Kalm. *cok-*; Ord. *ǯoki-*; Mog. ZM *čǯqor* 'axe' (22-4a); Dag. *čoki-*; Mongr. *čugu-* 'клевать' (SM 440).

◊ KW 429.

PTurk. ***čok-** 1 to peck to delve, dig 3 to pick at 4 to stab 5 to pick (eyes) 6 pitfall, delve (1 клевать 2 долбить, копать 3 ковырять 4 закалывать 5 выкалывать (глаза) 6 рытвина, углубление): OTurk. *čoq-* 4 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čoq-* 'to rush at the prey (of a bird)' (MK); Tur. *čoku-* 1, *čukur* 6; Gag. *čuqur* 6; Az. *čuxur* 6; Turkm. *čoq-* 1, *čuqanaq*, *čuxur* 6; MTurk. *čo/uqu-* (Sangl., Pav. C. (5)); *čuqur* 6 (Sangl.; starting with Old Kypch.); *čux-la-* 3 (MA 137); Uzb. *čuqi-* 1, *čuqu-la-* 2, 3, *čuqur* 6; Uygh. *čoqu-* 1; Krm. *čoq-* 'to sting', *čoɣi-* 1 (K), *č/cuqu/ir* 6; Tat. *čuqı-* 1, *čoqı-* 2; Bashk. *suqı-* 1, *soqo-* 2, 3; Kirgh. *čoqu-* 1, *čuqu-* 3; Kaz. *šoqı-* 1, *šuqı-* 1, 3; KKalp. *šoqı-* 1, *šuqı-* 2, 3; Kum. *čoqu-* 1; Nogh. *šoqı-* 1, *šuqı-* 2, 3; Khak. *sox-la-* 1; Oyr. *čoqu-* 1, 3.

◊ VEWT 114, 119, EDT 406. Kypchak languages suggest a distinction between **čoki-* 'to peck' and **čuki-* 'to dig, delve', absent elsewhere, and possibly a result of interdialectal loans.

PKor. ***čhắ-** to kick (бить, пинать): MKor. *čhắ-*; Mod. *čha-*.

◊ Nam 447, KED 1562.

‖ EAS 64, KW 429, Дыбо 13, Doerfer MT 68. Martin 239 compares OJ *tuk-* which can belong here, too, but is an obvious merger of several roots.

***čʻòkʻe (~ -i̯u-)** cheek bone: Mong. ***čoku**; Turk. ***čügde**; Kor. ***čjókái**.

PMong. ***čoku** temple, sinciput (висок, темя): WMong. *čoqu* (L 199); Kh. cox; Bur. *soxo* 'forehead; (Okin.) temple'; Kalm. *coxə* (KPC); Dag. *čoko* (Тод. Даг. 181).

◊ Mong. > Man. *čoki*, see Doerfer MT 137; Kirgh. *čoqu* etc. (see TMN 3, 119).

PTurk. ***čügde** 1 the projecting bone behind the ear 2 back of head 3 back of axe (1 выступающая кость за ухом 2 затылок 3 обух топора): OTurk. *čügte* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *čügdei* (MK) 1; Turkm. *čüwde* 2, 3; Uzb. (dial.) *čüjdä* 2; Bashk. *šöjδä* 'papilla of the first neck vertebra, back side of blade'; Kaz. *šüjde* 2, 3; KKalp. *šüjde* 2; Nogh. *šüjde* 2, cerebellum; Chuv. *śivət*, *śütə* 'woman's plait' (Ашм.).

◊ EDT 414, Егоров 213, Федотов 2, 116 (both gloss the Chuv. word as obscure), Лексика 202.

PKor. ***čjókái*** cheek (щека): MKor. *pó-čjókái* (a compound with *pó-* 'cheek').

◊ HMCH 199, Nam 261.

‖ Лексика 203. Cf. also notes to **č'[i̯a]k'i*.

✱**č'ŏk'i** to incline, sink: Tung. ***čoK[i]-***; Mong. ***čökü-***; Turk. ***čök-***; Jpn. ***tuku-(m)pap-***; Kor. ***čùk-***.

PTung. ***čoK[i]-*** 1 to incline, bow 2 to squat (1 наклоняться, кланяться 2 сидеть на корточках): Evk. *čoko-* 2; Neg. *čoxi̯ti̯n-* 'свернуться клубком'; Man. *čuqu-* 1; Nan. *čoqčojgan* 'squatting' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 411, 404. Cf. also **čūči-* 'to squat' (TMC 2, 418) < **čUk-či-* (?).

PMong. ***čökü-*** to lose all hope, to be a beggar (терять надежду, быть нищим): WMong. *čökü-*, *čöküre-* (L 201); Kh. *cöxö-*, *cöxrö-*; Bur. *süxer-*; Kalm. *cökə-*, *cökr̥-*; Ord. *ǯöχörölči-*; Dag. *čakaral* 'утомление, усталость' (Тод. Даг. 180); Mongr. *ćugo* 'eclipse'.

◊ KW 431, 432.

PTurk. ***čök-*** 1 to kneel down 2 to sink 3 to sit (1 опускаться на колени 2 оседать, тонуть 3 присесть, сесть на корточки): OTurk. *čök-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čök-* 1 (MK); Tur. *çök-* 1; Gag. *çök-* 1, 2, 3; Az. *çök-* 2; Turkm. *çök-* 1, 2; Sal. *çök-*, *çöx-* 1 (ССЯ); MTurk. *çök-* 1 (Sangl.); Uzb. *çuk-* 1, 2; Uygh. *çök-* 1, 2; Krm. *çök-*, *cok-* 1; Tat. *çük-* 1; Bashk. *sük/g-* 1, 2; Kirgh. *çök-* 1, 2; Kaz. *šök/g-* 1, 2; KBalk. *çök/g-* 1, 2, 3; KKalp. *šök/g-* 1, 2; Kum. *çök/g-* 1, 2, 3; Nogh. *šök/g-* 1, 2; SUygh. *čoGe-* 3; Shr. *šök-* 2; Oyr. *čögö-dö-* 1; Chuv. *śъk-* 'to fall', *śъʷg-ъʷn-* 1; Yak. *sügürüj-* 1.

◊ VEWT 117, TMN 3, 120-122, EDT 413-4, Егоров 205, Федотов 2, 90-91. Turk. > WMong. *čökü(le)-*, Kalm. *čökl-* (KW 444; TMN 2, 121, Щербак 1997, 113).

PJpn. ***tuku-(m)pap-*** to squat (сидеть на корточках): MJpn. *tuku-baf-*; Tok. *tsukuba-*.

PKor. ***čùk-*** 1 to die 2 to kill (**čùk-jo-*) 3 to bow, incline 4 to squat (1 умирать 2 убивать (**čùk-jo-*) 3 наклоняться 4 сидеть на корточках): MKor. *čùk-* 1, *skúr-* 3, *čùskɨrí-* 4, *čùkjó-m* 'killing'; Mod. *čuk-* 1, *čugi-* 2, *k:ul(h)-* 3, *č:ugɨri-* 3, 4.

◊ Nam 433, 434, 63, KED 1503, 1504, 219, 1470, 1494.

‖ VEWT 117, KW 431 (without the Korean form), EAS 64, SKE 43, АПиПЯЯ 286. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 3, 122) criticism, the root is certainly common Altaic. In Mong. cf. also reduplicated forms: Khalkha *cogcojǯ sū-*, Bur. *sogsojžo hū-* 'to squat', *sogsogono-* 'to curtsey'. The original meaning must have been 'squat', 'kneel down' - whence 'incline, sink', and further metaphorical developments: 'lose hope', 'die'.

✱**č'ŏli (~ -e)** steppe: Tung. ***čulbi-***; Mong. ***čolid***; Turk. ***čöl***.

PTung. ***čulbi-*** a small hill (небольшой холм): Evk. *čulbikān*.

◊ TMC 2, 413. Attested only in Evk., with possible parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***čolid** area with many small lakes (местность, покрытая мелкими озерами): WMong. *čolid* (L 197); Kh. *coĺd*.

PTurk. ***čöl** steppe, desert (степь, пустыня): OTurk. *čölig* 'name of a country' (Orkh.); Tur. *čöl*; Az. *čöl*; Turkm. *čöl*; MTurk. *čöl* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *čụl*; Uygh. *čöl*; Krm. *čöl*; Bashk. *sül* 'desert'; Kirgh. *čöl*; Kaz. *šöl*; KKalp. *šöl*; Kum. *čöl*; Nogh. *šöl*; SUygh. *čöl* (ЯЖУ); Khak. *söl*; Oyr. *čöl*; Tv. *šöl* 'field, plaza'; Tof. *šöl* 'steppe, desert'.

◊ VEWT 117, TMN 3, 122-123, EDT 420. Turk. > WMong. *čöl* 'desert' (because of uncertainty of OT *čölig* doubted by Clark 1977, 135).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**č'óme** together, all: Tung. ***čuŋnu**; Mong. ***čöm**; Jpn. ***tə́mə**.

PTung. ***čuŋnu** all, entirely (весь, все, целиком): Neg. *čuŋnu*; Ul. *čuŋnu*; Nan. *čuŋnu*; Ud. *čoŋno*.

◊ TMC 2, 415.

PMong. ***čöm** all, entirely (весь, целиком): WMong. *čöm* (L 202); Kh. *cöm*; Bur. *süme*; Kalm. *cöm*; Ord. *čöm*.

◊ KW 432. Mong. > Chag. *čö/om* 'tout entier; tous' (Pav.C.).

PJpn. ***tə́mə** together (вместе): OJpn. *tomo*; MJpn. *tómó*; Tok. *tomó, tómo*; Kyo. *tómò*; Kag. *tómo*.

◊ JLTT 549. Most sources point to high tone in the first syllable (except the aberrant Tokyo variant *tómo*).

‖ A not quite clear phonetic development in TM; perhaps one has to reconstruct **č'óŋme*, with cluster simplification in Mong. and with dissimilation **čuŋmu* > **čuŋnu* in TM.

✱**č'omi (~ -e)** stack, to stack: Tung. ***čum-**; Mong. ***čomu-**; Turk. ***čömele**.

PTung. ***čum-** 1 to put into a stack 2 a wood stack (1 собирать в кучу 2 поленница): Evk. *čumče-* 1, *čumče* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 414. Attested only in Evk. (Evk. > Yak. *čömčöx*, not vice versa), but having probable Turkic and Mongolian parallels.

PMong. ***čomu-** 1 to collect, stack 2 haystack (1 собирать, складывать в стог 2 стог): WMong. *čomu-ru-* 1, *čomuɣ* 2 (L 197); Kh. *comro-* 1, *comog* 2; Bur. *somo* 1, *somō* 2; Kalm. *comaɣ* 'cone hillock'; Mongr. *čumoG* 'petite tente' (SM 440), *ćomboG* 'tas, meule' (SM 454).

◊ KW 430.

PTurk. ***čömele** stack, haystack (стог, копна): Uygh. *čömülä*; Krm. ? *čömel* 'więzy'; Tat. *čümɛlɛ*; Bashk. *sümälä*; Kirgh. *čömölö*; Kaz. *šömele*; Chuv. *śəʷmel*.

◊ Егоров 210, Федотов 2, 108, Мудрак Дисс. 137.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***č′òmu (~ -i̯o-)** to cram, stop up: Jpn. ***tùm-**; Kor. ***čǎm-**, ***čǎm-**.

PJpn. ***tùm-** to be crammed, to cram (быть впихнутым, впихивать): OJpn. *tum-*; MJpn. *tum-*; Tok. *tsúm-*, *tsúme-*; Kyo. *tsùm-*, *tsùmè-*.

◊ JLTT 774, 775.

PKor. ***čǎm-** to be closed, shut; to hide, submerge (быть закрытым; прятать, погружать): MKor. *čǎm-*; *čǎmǎ-tì-*, *čǎm(ki)-* 'to soak, submerge'; Mod. *čam-gi-*, *čam-gi-*.

◊ Nam 413, 417, KED 1395, 1396.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss; Western parallels may have merged with **šŏmo* 'to dive, scoop' q.v.

***č′op′i (~ -e)** dregs, dirt: Tung. ***čupa**; Mong. ***čöb**; Turk. ***čöp**.

PTung. ***čupa** dregs, grounds; porridge (гуща, осадок; каша): Evk. *čupa*.

◊ TMC 2, 415.

PMong. ***čöb** dirt, dregs (грязь, осадок): WMong. *čöb* (L 200); Kh. *cöv*; Bur. *süb*; Kalm. *cöb*; Ord. *cöb caG* "dirty time" = 'time of war, hunger etc.'.

◊ KW 431.

PTurk. ***čöp** 1 dregs, impurity, rubbish 2 stick, small branch, straw 3 penis 4 grass, hay (1 мусор 2 палочка, веточка, соломинка 3 penis 4 трава, сено): OTurk. *čöb*, *čöbik* 1 (OUygh. Budd.); Karakh. *čöb* 'dregs of wine; any piece of noodles'; *čübek* 3 (MK; with Kypch. phonology *šöbik* 'огрызок от фрукта'); Tur. *čöp* 1, 2, 3; Gag. *čöp*, *čep* 'gag in a barrel', *čepkä* 'grapevine, wine dregs', *čepel* 'dirty'; Az. *čöp* 2; Turkm. *čöp* 2; Sal. *čöp* 'weed, grass'; MTurk. *ču/üb* 2 (Pav. C.), 1 (Sangl.); Uzb. *čup* 1, 2; Uygh. *čöp* 'grass; noodles'; Krm. *čöp* 1, 4; Tat. *čüp* 1, *čübek* 'oakum, combings'; Bashk. *süp* 1, 'weed'; Kirgh. *čöp* 4; 'afterbirth'; *čöbögö* 'dregs after boiling butter'; Kaz. *šöp* 1, 4; KBalk. *čöb* 2, 4; KKalp. *šöp* 1, 4; Kum. *čöp* 1, 'weed; lot'; Nogh. *šöp* 1, 2; Shr. *šöp* 1, *šöbek* 'hemp straw'; Oyr. *čöp* 1; 4; afterbirth'; Chuv. *śüpə* 1; 'newborn child'.

◊ VEWT 118, EDT 394, 396, Егоров 323, Федотов 2, 148. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *čup* 'dregs', see Аникин 677.

‖ A Western isogloss; Mong. may be < Turkic.

***č′òrV** pike: Tung. ***čōr-**; Mong. ***čurukai**; Turk. ***čortan**.

PTung. ***čōr-** 1 pike 2 young fish (1 щука 2 рыбья молодь): Man. *čurχu* 2; Sol. *sōraldī* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 113, 400. The Manchu form is regarded as a mongolism by Rozycki, but (unlike Evk. *čirukaj* 'pike') is more probably a genuine cognate.

PMong. ***čurukai** pike (щука): MMong. *čuraqa* (SH); WMong. *čurqai*, (L 207:) *čuruqai*; Kh. *curxaj*; Bur. *surxaj*; Kalm. *curxə*.

◊ KW 434. Mong. > Evk. *čirukai*, see Doerfer MT 131. Cf. also Kalm. *cordag* 'young pike' (KW 430) - possibly a Turkism.

PTurk. ***čortan*** 1 eel 2 pike (1 угорь 2 щука): Tur. *čortan* 1; Turkm. *čortan* 2; Uzb. *čųrtan* 1; Tat. *čurtan* 2; Bashk. *sortan* 2; Kirgh. *čorton* 2; Kaz. *šortan* 2; KKalp. *šortan* 2; Kum. *čortan* 2; Nogh. *šortan* 2; Khak. *sortan* 2; Shr. *šortan* 2; Oyr. *čorton* 2; Tv. *šortan* 2; Chuv. *śъʷrdan, śъʷrtan* 2; Yak. *sordoŋ* 2; Dolg. *hordoŋ* 2.

◊ VEWT 116, Лексика 178, Stachowski 108.

‖ KW 434, Лексика 178. A Western isogloss.

✱**čʹùgù** bundle: Mong. ***čug-***; Turk. ***čug***; Jpn. ***tùkà***; Kor. ***čok***.

PMong. ***čug-*** 1 together 2 to bind together (1 вместе 2 связывать): WMong. *čuγ* 1, *čuγla-* 2 (L 205), *čuγčala-* 'accumuler'; Kh. *cug, cugla-*; Bur. *sug*; Kalm. *cuG, cuγlə-*; Ord. *čugla-* 's'assembler'; S.-Yugh. *čoG*; Mongr. *ćoG* (SM 453), *ćuʒolo-* 'entasser, amonceler, se rassembler' (SM 460).

◊ KW 433, MGCD 580. Mong. > Oyr. *čuq* etc. (VEWT 119).

PTurk. ***čug*** 1 bundle 2 to bind, pack, wrap (1 связка 2 связывать, упаковывать, обматывать): OTurk. *čuγ* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čuγ* 1, *čuγ-la-* 2 (MK); Tur. (dial.) *čuγ* 1; Az. *čulγa-* 2; MTurk. *čuγ* 'yoke' (Pav. C.), *čulγa-* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *čulγa-* 2; Krm. *čulγa-* 2; Tat. *čolγa-* 2; Bashk. *sɨw* 'placenta', *solγa-* 2; Kirgh. *čū* 1, (South.) *čuq* 'swaddle' (**čuguk*), *čulγa-* 2; Kaz. *šuw-maq* 1, *šulγaw* 'портянки'; KBalk. *čulγa-* 2; KKalp. *šuw-maq-la-* 2, *šulγa-n-* 'обертываться портянками'; Nogh. *šuw-maq* 1; Khak. *sulγa-* 2; Shr. *šu* 1 (R), *šulγa-* 2; Oyr. (dial.) *čū* 1, *čū-la-* 2 (R); Tv. *šuγla-* 'to cover (with a blanket)'; Yak. *sū* 'wrapper', *sū-lā-* 2; Dolg. *hū-lā-* 2.

◊ VEWT 119, EDT 405, 407, Stachowski 114.

PJpn. ***tùkà*** bundle (связка): OJpn. *tuka*; *tuka-na-* 'to bundle'; MJpn. *tùkà, tùkà-nè*.

◊ JLTT 554.

PKor. ***čok*** women's hairdo (женская прическа, узел): MKor. *čok*; Mod. *č:ok*.

◊ Nam 430, KED 1477.

‖ Korean **čok* should be explained as a contraction < **čʹugu-kV*, with a frequent suffixed -k.

✱**čʹukV (~ -o-)** to jump, trot: Tung. ***čuKe-rē-***; Mong. ***čogi-***; Kor. ***čhú-***.

PTung. ***čuKe-rē-*** to move warily; to jump cautiously (осторожно передвигаться; осторожно прыгать): Evk. *čukerē-*.

◊ TMC 2, 412. Attested only in Evk., but having probable parallels in Mong. and Kor.

PMong. ***čogi-*** to trot (not very swiftly) (скакать, бежать (не слишком быстро)): WMong. *čogi-* (L 196); Kh. *cogi-*; Bur. *sojor-*; Ord. *čogi-*.

PKor. ***čhú-*** to dance (танцевать): MKor. *čhu-*; *čhú-m* 'dance' (n.); Mod. *čhu-*.

◊ Liu 701, KED 1629.

‖ Korean has a frequent vowel loss between a stop and a fricative.

***č'úk'i (~ -i̯u-)** a k. of fish: Turk. ***čüke**; Kor. ***čòkɨi**.

PTurk. ***čüke** sterlet (стерлядь): Tat. *čökɛ*, dial. (KCTT) *čükä*; Bashk. *sögä*; Chuv. *śъʷga*.

◊ VEWT 121, Федотов 2, 152. A local Volga region word; cf. however Turkm. *čüj balɨk* 'pike', lit. 'nail-fish' - which may be a reanalysis of the original root.

PKor. ***čòkɨi** gilthead fish (Collichthys fragilis); porgy (sea bream) (вид рыбы): MKor. *čòkɨi*, *čjokɨi*; Mod. *čogi*.

◊ Nam 427, 432, KED 1470.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss.

***č'uli** to grow less, shrink: Tung. ***čulbi-**; Mong. ***čölü-**; Turk. ***čülik-**; Kor. ***čūr-**.

PTung. ***čulbi-** to starve, become lean (худеть, истощаться): Evk. *čulbi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 413. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***čölü-** to diminish, deteriorate (уменьшаться, ухудшаться): WMong. *čölüi-* (L 202); Kh. *cölij-*.

◊ Cf. also WMong. *čuluid-* id.

PTurk. ***čülik-** to become shabby (становиться потрепанным, заношенным): Karakh. *čülik-* (*čülük-*) (MK); Tur. (dial.) *čil* 'little'; Turkm. *čül-čaGa* 'little children', *čülpe* 'small child'; MTurk. *čüle-* 'être alteré' (Pav. C.); Kirgh. *čölük-* 'to be exhausted, weakened'; Khak. *sülek-* 'to wear unusual clothes'.

◊ VEWT 121, EDT 420.

PKor. ***čūr-** 1 to shrink, grow less 2 to starve, be famished (1 уменьшаться, сокращаться 2 голодать): MKor. *čuri-hi-* 1 (tr.), *čūri-* 2; Mod. *čūl-* 1, *čūri-* 2.

◊ Liu 670, KED 1496, 1508.

‖ SKE 44.

***č'upa** grey: Tung. ***čub-rī-**; Mong. ***čabidar**; Turk. ***čubar**.

PTung. ***čub-rī-** green, blue, yellow (зеленый, синий, желтый): Evk. *čūri-n,-rin*; Evn. *čū̯ru̯ńa*; Neg. *čojīn*; Sol. *sū̯rī*, (Ивановский) *čuɣurin*.

◊ The root is probably **čub-*; see TMC 2, 417-418.

PMong. ***čabidar** yellowish (of horse's color) (желтоватый, игреневый (о масти)): MMong. *čabdar* (MA); WMong. *čabidar* (L 155); Kh. *cavdar*; Bur. *sabidar*; Kalm. *cäwdṛ* (KPC); Ord. *čawidar* 'robe de cheval: alezan à crinière et queue blanches'; Dag. *čebdəg*; S.-Yugh. *čabdar*.

◊ MGCD 554.

PTurk. ***čubar** variegated (пестрый): Tat. *čuwar*; Kirgh. *čār*.

◊ VEWT 118-119. Note however that most of the forms listed in VEWT actually reflect PT **čopur* (v. sub **šop'é*), so the root **čubar* appears to be very late and local.

‖ A Western isogloss. KW 431, Poppe 26, 48. Mong. > late MTurk. *čabdar* (see Щербак 1997, 202), Evk. *čabidar* etc., see Doerfer MT 101, Rozycki 41.

✱**č'up'V** through: Tung. ***čup-***; Mong. ***čoɣu***.

PTung. ***čup-*** 1 through and through, completely 2 to pull out (1 насквозь, совершенно 2 выдергивать): Evk. *čup* 1, *čuptū-* 2; Evn. *čöptъre* 1, *čuptъl-* 2; Neg. *čop* 1, *čoptu-* 2; Ul. *čup* 1, *čuptuǯi-* 2; Ork. *tup*, *čup* 1, *tuptulli-* 2; Nan. *čop* 1; Orch. *čop* 1, *čuppu-* 2; Ud. *čofu* 1; Sol. *suttā-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 415-416.

PMong. ***čoɣu*** 1 through and through, completely 2 to pierce, make a hole 3 to be pierced (1 насквозь, совершенно 2 протыкать, делать отверстие 3 продырявиться): WMong. *čoɣu* 1, *čoɣul-* 2 (L 195), *čoɣuru-* 3; Kh. *cō* 1, *cōlo-* 2; Bur. *sōlgo* 'ice-hole, прорубь', *sōnog* 'hole'; Kalm. *cōl-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *čōl-* 2; Mog. *čōlō*; ZM *čɔ̄lɔ̄* 'hole, window' (14-4b); Dag. *čōro-* 3 (Тод. Даг. 182); Bao. *čolə-*, *čorə-* 2; S.-Yugh. *čūl-*; Mongr. *ćōli-* (SM 454), *čōlə-* (Huzu) 2.

◊ MGCD 573, 574.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss (but cf. also Tuva *šuptu* 'all' < TM?). See PKE 38 (although Kor. *čōi* hardly belongs here).

D

✱**dǎgá** near; to follow: Tung. ***daga**; Mong. ***daɣa-ri-**; Turk. ***jạgu-**; Jpn. ***dánká-**; Kor. ***ta(h)-**.

PTung. ***daga** 1 near 2 soon 3 for a short time (1 близкий 2 вскоре 3 ненадолго): Evk. *daga* 1; Evn. *dā-lị* 1; Neg. *daɣa* 1; Man. *da-rtaj* 2; SMan. *ḋaritī, dartai* 'at once, instantaneously' (2689); Jurch. *di-ɣa-sa* (681) 1; Nan. *da-ptị* 3; Ud. *dā-sa'* 1 (Корм. 226); Sol. *daga* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 187-188.

PMong. ***daɣa-ri-** to pass; to hit in passing, offend (проходить мимо; задевать): MMong. *da'ari-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *daɣari-* (L 218); Kh. *dajra-*; Bur. *dajra-*; Kalm. *dār-*; Ord. *dāri-*; Dag. *dāri-*; S.-Yugh. *dār-*; Mongr. *dāri-* 'rencontrer en chemin, dire en passant' (SM 45).

◊ KW 83, MGCD 191, TMN 1, 318. Mong. > Chag. *dari-*; Yak., Dolg. *tārij-* (Kał. MEJ 28, Stachowski 219); Man. *dari-* id. The original meaning is 'to pass closely' (not 'hit', pace Doerfer).

PTurk. ***jạgu-** 1 to draw near 2 near (1 приближаться 2 близкий): OTurk. *jaɣu-* (OUygh.) 1, *jaɣuq* (Orkh.) 2; Karakh. *jaɣu-* (MK, KB) 1, *jaɣuq* (MK) 2; Tur. *javuk* 2; Az. *javi-* 1 (dial.), *jowuG* 2; Turkm. *jovu-* 1 (dial.), *jowuq* 2; MTurk. *javu-* (Pav. C.) 1, *javuq* (Abush.) 2; Uzb. *jɔvuq* 2; Tat. *jawuq, juwiq* (dial.); Kirgh. *ǰū-* 1, *ǰūq* 2; Kaz. *žuw-* 1, *žuwiq* 2; KBalk. *žuwuq, zuwuq*; KKalp. *žuw-* 1, *žuwiq* 2; Kum. *juwuq* 2; Nogh. *juwi-* 1; Oyr. *jū-, ḋu-* 1, *jūq, ḋūq* 2; Tv. *čōq* 2; Chuv. *śĭvъx* 2; Yak. *čugas* 2; Dolg. *hugas, čugas* 2, *hugahā-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 62-63, EDT 898, 901, Stachowski 75, 110.

PJpn. ***dánká-** soon after, before long (вскоре, немного спустя) : MJpn. *jágáte*; Tok. *yàgate*; Kyo. *yàgàté*; Kag. *yagáte*.

◊ JLTT 570. The accent in Kagoshima is aberrant, otherwise all dialects point to high tone.

PKor. ***ta(h)-** following (следующий): Mod. *tai-m*.

◊ KED 388.

‖ EAS 51, 91, 92, KW 72, Poppe 22, Doerfer MT 241, АПиПЯЯ 15, 26-27, 71, 278, Дыбо 12. Closed vowel in Turkic is unexpected (*jag- would be a normal reflex).

***dǎgì** enemy, alien: Tung. ***dagu-r**; Mong. ***dajin**; Turk. ***jagı**; Jpn. ***(d)ìkùsà**; Kor. ***tōi**.

PTung. ***dagu-r** 1 friend 2 Daghur 3 allied kin (1 друг 2 дагур(ы) 3 союзный род): Evk. *doγor, dayor* 1; Evn. *doγō* 1; Man. *daχur* 2; Nan. *doχa* 1, 3; Sol. *dayūr* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 189, 211, 212. Neg., Oroch, Ul., Orok *doχa* 'allied kin' < Nan. (which itself may be historically a Manchurism). TM > WMong. *dayur*, Dag. *dagur, daur* (Тод. Дар. 134), Yak. *doγor*, Dolg. *dogo, dogor* (Stachowski 81).

PMong. ***dajin** war (война): MMong. *dai'jiṅ, dai'jisun* (SH), *dāin* 'enemy' (IM), *dain* (MA); WMong. *dajin* (L 222); Kh. *dajn*; Bur. *daj(n)*; Kalm. *dāṅ*; Ord. *dāṅ* 'war; enemy'; Dag. *dain, daisan* (Тод. Дар. 134, MD 132); S.-Yugh. *dain*.

◊ KW 83, MGCD 192. Mong. > Man. *dain* etc., see Doerfer MT 115, Rozycki 54.

PTurk. ***jagı** enemy, war (враг, война): OTurk. *jaγı* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jaγı* (MK); Tur. *jaγı*; Az. *jaγı*; Turkm. *jaγı*; Khal. *jaγı*; MTurk. *jaγı* (Houts.); Uzb. *jɔw*, (dial.) *jaw, jāγı*; Uygh. *jaw, jaγı, jäγı* (dial.); Tat. *jaw*; Bashk. *jaw*; Kirgh. *žō*; Kaz. *žaw*; KBalk. *žaw, žaw, zaw*; KKalp. *žaw*; Kum. *jaw*; Nogh. *jaw*; SUygh. *jaγı*; Khak. *čā*; Shr. *čā*; Oyr. *jū, ǰu*; Tv. *čā*; Chuv. *śu* 'heathen'; Yak. *sıa-kār* 'rogue, villain'.

◊ VEWT 178, ЭСТЯ 4, 55-56, Лексика 561, Федотов 2, 129 (?).

PJpn. ***(d)ìkùsà** warrior, war (воин, война): OJpn. *ikusa*; MJpn. *ìkùsà*; Tok. *ikusá*; Kyo. *ìkúsà*; Kag. *ikusá*.

◊ JLTT 423. Kyoto points to **ìkúsà*, all other forms - to **ìkùsà*.

PKor. ***tōi** barbarian (варвар): MKor. *tōi*; Mod. *twē*.

◊ Nam 161, KED 496.

‖ EAS 50, 88, KW 83, Владимирцов 267, Дыбо 7, 15. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. (TMN 4, 101-102, Щербак 1997, 121) is impossible. A suffixed form **dagi-gu* (**dagi-u*) accounts for labialization in the second syllable (in TM, Jpn. and, originally, in Kor.).

***dagV** shoulder bone, back: Tung. ***daga-**; Mong. ***dajira / *dayari**; Turk. ***jagır, *jagrın**.

PTung. ***daga-** hip, hip bone, shoulder bone (бедро, бедренная кость, плечевая кость): Evk. *dayańa*; Neg. *dayańa*; Man. *dabsi* 'shoulder'; Ork. *dāna*.

◊ TMC 1, 184, 188. TM > Dag. *dagan* (Тод. Дар. 134).

PMong. ***dajira / *dayari** 1 withers 2 abrasion, sore on back of animal (1 холка 2 ссадина на спине животного): MMong. *da'ari* 1 (SH), *dari* 2 (MA); WMong. *dajira* 1 (L 222: *dajir* 2), *dayari* 2 (L 218); Kh. *dajr* 1, 2; Bur. *dāri, dajr* 2; Kalm. *dāra* 1; Ord. *dāri* 2; Dag. *dāre* (MD 131), *dāri, dāŕ* (Тод. Дар. 135), *dār* 2,; Dong. *daru-san* 2; S.-Yugh. *dārə* 2; Mongr. *dāra, dāri* (SM 45) 2.

◊ KW 83, MGCD 182. Mong. > Evk. *dayarin* etc., see Poppe 1966, 190, Doerfer MT 76.

PTurk. ***jagɨr, *jagrɨn** back, shoulderblade (спина, лопатка): Tur. *jaγrɨ*, dial. *jaγɨr, jaγrɨ*; Turkm. *jaγɨrnɨ; jaγɨrɨn, jaγrɨn* (dial.); Sal. *jaγrə* (Kakuk); MTurk. *jaγrɨn* (Pav. C., AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jaγrin*; Tat. *jawɨrɨn, jawɨrnɨ, ǯawɨr* (dial.); Bashk. *jawɨrɨn* (dial.); Kum. *jawrun*; Nogh. *jawɨrɨn*.

◊ VEWT 178, ЭСТЯ 4, 65-67, Дыбо 139-141, Лексика 242.

‖ Владимирцов 318, Колесникова 1972a, 89-91. A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 121 Mong. is not < Turk. Turk. **jagɨr* represents in fact a merger of two different original roots (see **ńeka*). See also TMN 4, 177-178 (with unconvincing criticism).

***dáku** coverlet: Tung. ***dakan-**; Turk. ***jogurgan**; Jpn. ***dúká**.

PTung. ***dakan-** 1 to cover 2 coverlet, mat (1 покрывать 2 покрывало, подстилка): Ul. *daqan-* 1, *daqanča(n)* 2; Ork. *daqan-* 1, *daqapta* 2; Nan. *daqa-* 1, *daqača* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 191.

PTurk. ***jogurgan** blanket (одеяло): OTurk. *joγurqan* (OUygh.); Karakh. *joγurqan* (MK); Tur. *joγan*; Gag. *joγan*; Az. *joγan*; Turkm. *joγan*; Sal. *joγan*; Khal. *joγān*; MTurk. *joγan* (Ettuhf.), *juγan* (Houts.), *jawurqan* (MA); Uygh. *jo(r)tqan*; Krm. *joγan*; Tat. *juγan*; Bashk. *juγan*; Kirgh. *ǯūrqan*; KBalk. *ǯuwuγan, ǯūγan, žuwuγan, zuwuγan*; Kum. *jowuγan*; Nogh. *jurqan, juwɨrqan*; Khak. *čoγan*; Oyr. *ǰūrqan*; Tv. *čōγan*; Yak. *suoγan*; Dolg. *huorgan, suorgan*.

◊ EDT 907, VEWT 205, ЭСТЯ 4, 225-226, Stachowski 112.

PJpn. ***dúká** floor (пол): OJpn. *juka*; MJpn. *júká*; Tok. *yùka*; Kyo. *yúká*; Kag. *yúka*.

◊ JLTT 579. Cf. Kor. *jò* 'cushion, mattress' < Jpn.?

‖ Cf. also Bur. *dagadxa* 'unworked leather, leather mat'. Turk. -o- must be a result of secondary narrowing in a polysyllabic word < **jagu-rgan*.

***dǎk'ì** follow, near: Tung. ***daxa-**; Mong. ***daka-, *daga-**; Turk. ***jAk-ɨn**; Jpn. ***tìkà-**.

PTung. ***daxa-** to follow, obey (следовать, подчиняться): Neg. *daxaw-*; Man. *daχa-*; SMan. *dahə-* (1181); Jurch. *tai-xa* (360); Ul. *daχaụ-*; Ork. *daχụrị-*; Nan. *daχa-*; Orch. *daχu-*; Ud. *dahala-* (-li-) 'to agree' (Корм. 226).

◊ TMC 1, 191.

PMong. ***daka-, *daga-** to follow (следовать за к.-л.): MMong. *daqa-* (HY 33, SH); WMong. *daγa-* (L 216); Kh. *daga-*; Bur. *daxa-*; Kalm. *daxə-*; Ord. *daGa-*; Dag. *daga-* (Тод. Дар. 134), *dahe* (MD 131); Dong. *daGa-*; Bao. *daGa-*, (MGCD) *degə-*; S.-Yugh. *tawa-* (MGCD *dawā-*); Mongr. *daGā-* (SM 38).

◊ KW 72, MGCD 189. The variant with -g- is obviously a result of later assimilation < **daka-*.

PTurk. ***jAk-** 1 to come near 2 near 3 to come near to each other, pass 3 good (1 приближаться 2 близкий 3 приближаться, подходить 4 хороший): OTurk. *jaq-* (OUygh.) 1, *jaqɨn* (OUygh.) 2, *jaqɨš-* (OUygh.) 3; Karakh. *jaq-* (MK, KB) 1, *jaqɨn* (MK) 2, *jaqɨš-* (MK) 3, *jaχšɨ* (MK) 4; Tur. *jakɨn* 2, *jakɨš-* 3, *jakšɨ* 4; Gag. *jaqɨn* 2, *jaqɨš-* 3; Az. *jaxɨn* 2, *jaxšɨ* 4; Turkm. *jaq-* 1, *jaqɨn* 2, *jaGšɨ* 4; Sal. *jaχɨn* 2, *jaχšɨ* 4; MTurk. *jaqɨn* (MA) 2, *jaχšɨ* 4 (MA); Uzb. *jaqɨn* 2, *jaxši* 4; Uygh. *jaq-* 1, *jeqin* 2, *jaqši* 4; Krm. *jaqɨn* 2, *jaqšɨ* 4; Tat. *jaqɨn* 2, *jaxši* 4; Bashk. *jaqɨn* 2, *jaqšɨ* 4; Kirgh. *ǯaqɨn* 2, *ǯaqšɨ* 4; Kaz. *ǯaqɨn* 2, *ǯaqsɨ* 4; KKalp. *ǯaqɨn* 2, *ǯaqsɨ* 4; Nogh. *jaqɨn* 2, *jaxšɨ* 4; SUygh. *jahGɨn* 2, *jaxš(i)* 4; Khak. *čaγɨn* 2, *čaxsɨ* 4; Tv. *čɨγɨ* 'close to'; Tof. *čɨ'xa-* 'to press to'.

◊ VEWT 178, 180, EDT 896-9, 901, 904, 908-9, ЭСТЯ 4, 63-64, 81, 84, TMN 4, 179.

PJpn. ***tìkà-** near (близкий): OJpn. *tika-*; MJpn. *tìkà-*; Tok. *chiká-*; Kyo. *chíka-*; Kag. *chiká-*.

◊ JLTT 842.

‖ KW 73, ОСНЯ 1, 215-216, Doerfer TMN 4, 105 (with some unsubstantial criticism), MT 241, АПиПЯЯ 15, 26-27, 71, 278. Despite Doerfer MT 142, TM is hardly borrowed from Mong.

***dála** wave, deep place: Tung. ***dal-**; Mong. ***dalaj**; Turk. ***dāl-**; Jpn. ***dara**.

PTung. ***dal-** 1 overflow, inundation 2 small wave, jet (1 наводнение, половодье 2 струя, рябь, волны): Neg. *dalan* 1; Man. *dol-čin* 2; Ul. *dala(n)* 1; Nan. *dalā* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 193, 214. Rozycki 61 proposes Man. *dolčin* < Mong. *dolgijan* (v. sub **čalu*), which is hardly possible.

PMong. ***dalaj** sea, ocean (море, океан): MMong. *dalai* (HY 3, SH), *dalai* (MA); WMong. *dalai* (L 224); Kh. *dalaj*; Bur. *dalaj*; Kalm. *dalā̆*, *dalā̆*; Ord. *dalā̆*; Dag. *dalai* (Тод. Дар. 134: *dalɛ̄* MD 132); S.-Yugh. *dalī*; Mongr. *dalī*, *dalə̄* (SM 41).

◊ KW 73, MGCD 193, 633. Mong. > Evk. *dalai* (Doerfer MT 125); Chag. *dalaj* etc., see TMN 1, 325, VEWT 130).

PTurk. ***dāl-** 1 to sink 2 ocean (1 погружать(ся) 2 море, океан): OTurk. *taluj* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Tur. *dal-* 1; Gag. *dal-* 1; Turkm. *dāl-* 1 (dial.); MTurk. *tal-*, *dal-* 1; Krm. *dal-* 1; Tat. *tal-* 1 (dial.); Tv. *tal-* (Castr.) 'swim'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 133-134 (to be separated from **Tal-* 'to faint'); EDT 502 (the Chinese etymology of OT *taluj* seems hardly plausible: the compound MC *dâj-lwi* is not attested, and we would expect **Tajluj*, not **Taluj* anyway).

PJpn. ***dara** sea bottom, deep place (морское дно, глубокое место): OJpn. *jara*.

‖ Владимирцов 368, Doerfer MT 125. Despite TMN 1, 325, EDT 502 Mong. cannot be < Turkic (initial d- cannot be explained). See notes to **t'ȍle*.

✱**dala (~ -e-)** a k. of building: Mong. ***dal**; Jpn. ***da**.

PMong. ***dal** warm shelter for large cattle (хлев, стойло): WMong. *dal* (L 223); Kh. *dal*; Bur. *dal*; Kalm. *dalə* (KPC).

PJpn. ***da** house (дом, комната): OJpn. ja; MJpn. *já*; Tok. *yá*; Kyo. *yà*; Kag. *yà*.

◊ JLTT 569. RJ has the "right upper" dot and the original accent is not quite clear.

‖ Street 1985, 640. A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**dàli** to roast, burn: Tung. ***dalga-**; Mong. ***dölü**; Jpn. ***(d)ìr-**; Kor. ***tàr-**.

PTung. ***dalga-** to roast (жарить): Evk. *dalga-*; Evn. *dalgat-/č-*; Neg. *dalga-*; Ul. *ǯalGa-*; Ork. *dalda-*; Nan. *dalGa-*; Sol. *dalga-* 'to burn'.

◊ TMC 1, 193-194.

PMong. ***dölü** flame (пламя): WMong. *dölü, döli* (L 267); Kh. *döl*; Bur. *düle(n)*.

◊ Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *tölön* (Stachowski 228).

PJpn. ***(d)ir-** to roast, fry (жарить): OJpn. *ir-*; MJpn. *ìr-*; Tok. *ír-*; Kyo. *ìr-*; Kag. *ìr-*.

◊ JLTT 698.

PKor. ***tàr-** to roast, burn (жарить, жечь): MKor. *tàr-hí-*; Mod. *tāl-* 'be hot, burned'.

◊ Liu 200, KED 403.

‖ EAS 1, 124, SKE 252. Korean has a usual verbal low tone; Mong. **dölü* < **delü* (from an earlier **deli-w*). On a possible Turkic reflex see under **ǯi̯ale*.

✱**dàli** glue; to glue, stick: Tung. ***dāl-bu-**; Mong. ***ǯil-**; Turk. ***jẹli-m**.

PTung. ***dāl-bu-** to glue, stick to (клеить, прилипать): Evk. *dalbu-*; Evn. *dālbu-*; Neg. *dālbụ-*; Man. *dalu-*; Ul. *darpụ-*; Nan. *dālpo-*; Ud. *dagbu-*.

◊ Cf. also Evk. *dāl-* 'to stick to, be boring' (which probably reflects the original suffixless stem **dāl(a)-*). See TMC 1, 192.

PMong. ***ǯil-** fish glue (рыбий клей): MMong. *ǯil-sün* (MA); WMong. *ǯilaɣan*; Kalm. *ǯalān* 'Schleim'; Bao. *ǯilsoŋ* 'glue'; Mongr. *ǯulsə* 'glue'.

◊ KW 107, MGCD 555.

PTurk. ***jẹli-m** glue (клей): OTurk. *jelim* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jelim* (MK); Tur. *jilim*; Turkm. *jelim*; MTurk. *jelim* (Ettuhf.), *jilim* (AH); Uzb. *jelim*; Uygh. *jelim*; Tat. *ǯilem*; Bashk. *jelem*; Kirgh. *ǯelim*; Kaz. *želim*; KBalk. *jelim, ǯelim, želim*; KKalp. *želim*; Nogh. *jelim*; SUygh. *jilim*; Shr. *čelim*; Oyr. *jelim, ḑelim*; Chuv. *śilə̆m*; Yak. *silim*; Dolg. *hilim*.

◊ EDT 928-929, VEWT 196, ЭСТЯ 4, 179-180, TMN 4, 189, Stachowski 103.

‖ ЭСТЯ 4, 180. A Western isogloss. Turkic must have a secondary narrowing *e > *ę here (in a disyllabic structure?).

***dalo** sweet, tasty: Tung. ***dal-di**; Turk. ***j[ɨ]l-ɨnčga**; Kor. ***tằr-**.

PTung. ***dal-di** tasty, sweet (вкусный, сладкий): Evk. *dalli*, *daldi*; Evn. *dalrŋ*; Neg. *daliǥdī*.

◊ TMC 1, 195.

PTurk. ***j[ɨ]l-ɨnčga** tasteless food (пресная пища): Karakh. *jïlïnčγa* (MK).

◊ EDT 931.

PKor. ***tằr-** sweet (сладкий): MKor. *tằr-*; Mod. *tal-*.

◊ Nam 140, KED 403.

‖ SKE 253, EAS 51. In Turk. *-a- would be expected; Karakh. *jïlïnčga* is probably an assimilation < **jalïnčga*.

***dalpʹV (~ -e-, -p-)** to shake, sway: Mong. ***delbe- / *dalba-**; Turk. ***jelpi- / *jalpi-**.

PMong. ***delbe- / *dalba-** to shake, sway, wave (качать, трясти): MMong. *dilbu-* 'to fan' (MA 213); WMong. *delbegene-*, *delbelǯe-*, *dalbalǯa-* (L 225, 247); Kh. *delbegne-*, *delbelǯe-*, *dalbalǯa-*; Bur. *dalba-* 'махать, развеваться'; Kalm. *delwlzə-*, *dalwlzə-*; Dag. *delebure* 'fan' (MD 136).

◊ KW 75, 87. A Mong. origin is probable for Oyr. *talbï-*, Turk. *tal(a)bï-*, *dalabï-* etc. (see EDT 493), although one should note that the derivatives *talpïn-* and *talpïr-* are already attested in MK.

PTurk. ***jelpi- / *jalpi-** 1 to flap, winnow 2 to shake, sway 3 fan (1 махать, веять 2 трясти, качать 3 веер, опахало): Karakh. *jelpit-* 1 (caus.) (MK); Tur. *jelpaze* 3; Az. *jelpik* 3; Turkm. *jelpe-* 1; MTurk. *jelpi-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *jelpi-* 1; Uygh. *jälpü-* 1; Krm. *jelpi-* 1; Tat. *ǯilpe-* 1; Bashk. *jelpe-* 1; Kirgh. *ǯelpi-*, *ǯelbire-* 1; Kaz. *želpi-* 1; KKalp. *želpi-* 1; Kum. *jelpi-* 1; Nogh. *jelpi-* 1; Khak. *čelbe-*, *čalbra-* 2; Oyr. *jelbi-*, *ǰelbi-* 1, *jalbra-* 2; Tv. *čelbi-*, *čelwi-* 1; Yak. *salbɨrā-* 2.

◊ EDT 920, VEWT 182, 196, ЭСТЯ 4, 182. Derivation from **jel* 'wind' is highly improbable (at the most we can speak of a secondary contamination of roots).

‖ KW 87. An expressive Turk.-Mong. isogloss, tending to merge (both in Turk. and Mong.) with the reflexes of **delpʹa* 'flat, broad' ("to shake, flatter (of flat objects)"). One cannot exclude that a merger indeed took place, and the original shape of the root had been **dalV* (~ -e-) without the *-pʹ-: cf. WMong. *dalaji-* 'to brandish, swing' (see TMN 1, 328-329), dele- 'to wave, flap (wings)'; Karakh. *jalŋu* 'flip-flap, the swing' (EDT 930), see SKE 258.

***dálV (~ -ē-)** nape, withers: Mong. ***dalaŋ**; Turk. ***jāl**; Kor. ***tər-mi**.

PMong. ***dalaŋ** counter, withers, nape of neck (of animals) (загривок, холка): WMong. *dalaŋ* (L 224); Kh. *dalaŋ*; Bur. *dalan*; Kalm. *dalŋ*

(KPC); Ord. *dalaŋ* 'long hill'; Mog. ? *dallanä* 'to carry on the shoulders' (Ramstedt 1906).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *dalaŋ* etc., see Poppe 1974, 121, Doerfer MT 96, Rozycki 54.

PTurk. ***jāl*** mane, counter, scruff (холка, грива): Karakh. *jal* (MK); Tur. *jal* (dial.); Az. *jal*; Turkm. *jāl*; Khal. *jāl*; MTurk. *jal* (AH); Uzb. *jɔl*; Uygh. *jal*; Krm. *jal*; *jalda-* 'to swim grasping the horse's counter; to swim'; Tat. *jal*; Bashk. *jal*; Kirgh. *ǰal*; Kaz. *žal*; KBalk. *ǰal*; KKalp. *žal*; Kum. *jal*; Nogh. *jal*; Shr. *čal*; Oyr. *jal*, *ďal*; Tv. *čal*; Yak. *sāl*.

◊ Дыбо 220-222, EDT 916, ЭСТЯ 4, 85-86, 93-94 (for **jāl-da-*), Лексика 146-147.

PKor. ***tər-mi*** counter, scruff (затылок, загривок, шиворот): Mod. *təlmi*.

◊ KED 449.

‖ KW 73, Poppe 97, Дыбо 306, Лексика 147; TMN 4, 106 ("...unklar"). The root seems to be distinct from **dḗlì* (**dḗjlì*) q.v.

✱**dǎĺà (~ -o)** to close, hide: Tung. ***dal(i)-***; Mong. ***dal-***; Turk. ***jaĺ-***; Jpn. ***dàsìrə***; Kor. ***tjə́r***.

PTung. ***dal(i)-*** to close (закрывать): Evk. *dal(i)-*; Man. *dali-*; SMan. *dali-* 'to defend' (794); Ul. *dālị-*; Nan. *dālịa-*.

◊ See TMC 1, 192. TM > Dag. *dali-* (Тод. Дат. 134). Length in Ul. and Nanai is not clear.

PMong. ***dal-*** hidden, secret (тайный, спрятанный): MMong. *dalda* 'Schirm, Schutz' (SH), *dalda*, *daldadu* (MA 138); WMong. *dalda* (L 225); Kh. *dald*; Bur. *dalda*; Kalm. *daldə*; Ord. *dalda*; Dag. *dalda* (Тод. Дат. 134; MGCD *dalida*), *dalede* (MD 132); S.-Yugh. *dalda*.

◊ KW 73, MGCD 195. Mong. > late MTurk. *dalda* (see ЭСТЯ 3, 138-139, Щербак 1997, 203), Sol., Nan. *dalda* etc. (see Doerfer MT 18, Rozycki 54).

PTurk. ***jaĺ-*** to close, hide (закрывать(ся), прятать(ся)): OTurk. *jaš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaš-* (MK); Az. *jaš-* (dial.); Turkm. *jaš-*; MTurk. *jaš-* (AH); SUygh. *jas-*; Yak. *sas-*.

◊ VEWT 192, ЭСТЯ 4, 160-161. Very widely spread are also the derivatives **jaĺın-*, **jaĺır-*, see ibid.

PJpn. ***dàsìrə*** shrine, enclosure for worship of deities (храм): OJpn. *jasiro*; MJpn. *jàsìrò*; Tok. *yáshiro*; Kyo. *yáshìrò*; Kag. *yashiró*.

◊ JLTT 574. Accent in Tokyo is irregular.

PKor. ***tjə́r*** temple (храм): MKor. *tjə́r*; Mod. *čəl*.

◊ Nam 155, KED 1441. Kor. > OJ *tera* (**tiárà*), see JLTT 545.

‖ EAS 51, KW 73, Владимирцов 365, Poppe 22-23, 77, Дыбо 12, Miller 1970, 127, Street 1980, 297, JOAL 86. Despite Doerfer MT 18, PTM **dali-* cannot be borrowed from Mong.

✱**dàma** ill, sick, bad: Tung. ***dam-***; Turk. ***jAman***; Jpn. ***dàm-***.

PTung. ***dam-*** 1 old, worn out 2 to act as an aggressor (1 ветхий, старый 2 выступать зачинщиком): Nan. *dambịča-* 2; Ud. *dāmpihi-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 195.

PTurk. ***jAman** 1 bad, wicked 2 sickness, i*ä* 'to carry on the shoulders' скверный 2 болезнь, воспаление): OTurk. *jar*
jaman 1 (MK); Tur. *jaman* 1; Az. *jaman* 1; Turkm[erfer MT 96, Rozycki 54.
MTurk. *jaman* (AH) 1; Uzb. *jɔmɔn* 1; Uygh. *jam*[ка, грива): Karakh. *jal* (MK);
jaman 1; Bashk. *jaman* 1; Kirgh. *ǯaman* 1; Kaz. *ïl*; MTurk. *jal* (AH); Uzb. *jɔl*;
KKalp. *žaman* 1; Kum. *jaman* 1; Nogh. *jaman* [ping the horse's counter; to
jaman, ɗaman 1, 2. [. *žal*; KBalk. *ǯal*; KKalp. *žal*;

◊ VEWT 184, EDT 937, ЭСТЯ 4, 109. Cf. Yak. *simija*'. *čal*; Yak. *sāl*.
disease' is attested already in Old Turkic. [or *jāl-da-), Лексика 146-147.

PJpn. ***dàm-*** to be ill, sick (болеть): OJpn, загривок, шиворот): Mod.
yám-; Kyo. *yám-*; Kag. *yám-*.

◊ JLTT 785. RJ and Tokyo point to **jàm-*; the tonally [
reflexes may have been influenced by the literary languag[Лексика 147; TMN 4, 106

‖ Despite SKE 75 there is no reason at all t[from *dêlì (*dêjlì) q.v.
gin of the Turkic form (MC *ja-mạn* 'savage, ba[Mong. ***dal-***; Turk. ***jaĺ-***; Jpn.
mantically; the usage of PT **jAman* for a bad
close to Japanese and may suggest that the ori[Evk. *dal(i)-*; Man. *dali-*; SMan.
was 'ill(ness), sick(ness)').

✱**dǎ̀mù** only: Tung. ***dāmu***; Jpn. ***dùmài***. [134). Length in Ul. and Nanai is not

PTung. ***dāmu*** 1 only, merely 2 perhaps, [
венно 2 может быть, пожалуй): Evk. *dāmuk* спрятанный): MMong. *dalda*
damə 1 (2970); Nan. *damụ* 1 (may be < Manchu) [138); WMong. *dalda* (L 225);

◊ TMC 1, 195. [*da*; Dag. *dalda* (Тод. Дар. 134;

PJpn. ***dùmài*** ever (usually with negati[*dalda*.
(обычно с отрицанием)): OJpn. *jume*; MJpn[(see ЭСТЯ 3, 138-139, Щербак 1997,
Kyo. *yúmè*; Kag. *yumé*. [i 54).

◊ JLTT 579. Modern dialects point also to a variant **d*[ся), прятать(ся)): OTurk. *jaš-*

‖ An interesting TM-Jpn. isogloss. It is p[ial.); Turkm. *jaš-*; MTurk. *jaš-*
particle *jamu* mentioned by MK for contexts l
will you' (see EDT 934). [pread are also the derivatives **jaĺin-*,

✱**dǎ̀ŋkʻV (~ t-)** blame, guilt: Tung. ***daŋ-***; Jpn. ***t[***rship of deities (храм): OJpn.

PTung. ***daŋ-*** to blame, rebuke (упрекат[*irò*; Kag. *yashiró*.
daŋǯaxan-; Man. *daŋsi-*; Ul. *daŋsụ-*; Nan. *daŋsị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 196. [Mod. *čal*.

PJpn. ***tànká*** guilt (вина): OJpn. toga; M[JLTT 545.
tógà; Kag. *togá*. [5, Poppe 22-23, 77, Дыбо 12,

◊ JLTT 547. Accent in Kyoto is irregular (perhaps i[86. Despite Doerfer MT 18,
ciation). [ıg.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. [ıman; Jpn. ****dàm-***.

[act as an aggressor (1 ветхий,
[. *dambịča-* 2; Ud. *dāmpihi-* 1.

***dàpà** to cross (a mountain): Tung. ***dāb-**; Mong. ***daba-**; Jpn. ***dàmà**.

PTung. ***dāb-** to cross (a river) (переправляться): Evk. *dāw-, dāγ-*; Evn. *daw-*; Neg. *daw-*; Man. *dō-*; SMan. *dau-* (1219); Ul. *daụ-*; Ork. *dāụ-*; Nan. *dā(w)-*; Orch. *dau-*; Ud. *dau-*.

◊ TMC 1, 187 (the words in 185-186, e.g. Man. *daba-, dabaGan*, are < Mong., cf. Doerfer MT 38, Rozycki 52).

PMong. ***daba-** cross (a mountain) (переваливать (через гору)): MMong. *daba-, daba'an* (SH); WMong. *daba-* (L 211); Kh. *dava-*; Bur. *daba-*; Kalm. *daw-, dawān*; Ord. *dawa-*; Dag. *dawa-, dau-, dawā* (n.) (Тод. Даг. 134, MD 133); Dong. *dava-*; S.-Yugh. *dawa-*; Mongr. *dawā-* (SM 47).

◊ KW 80, MGCD 184. All languages also reflect the derivate **daba-γan* 'mountain pass'. Mong. > Chag. *taban* 'mountain pass' (see Щербак 1997, 203).

PJpn. ***dàmà** mountain (гора): OJpn. jama; MJpn. *jàmà*; Tok. *yamá*; Kyo. *jámà*; Kag. *jamá*.

◊ JLTT 571.

‖ KW 80, Poppe 23, 45, JOAL 85, 86, Murayama 1962, 108, АПиПЯЯ 15, 104, 109 (with an explanation of Jpn. -m-: **dàmà* < **dàpa-(ga)n* = Mong. *dabaγan*), 276.

***dari (~ t-)** to freeze: Tung. ***dar-**; Mong. ***dereji-**; Jpn. ***(d)ita-**.

PTung. ***dar-** 1 icedrift 2 snow crust 3 water flowing over ice (1 торос 2 наст 3 вода, текущая поверх льда): Evk. *dar* 1, *darkin* 2, 3; Nan. *darχol* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 198. Cf. also Yak. *tarɨn* 'frazil' - possibly from some TM source.

PMong. ***dereji-** to become stiff, freeze stiff (замерзать, застывать): WMong. *dereji-* (L 253); Kh. *derij-*.

PJpn. ***(d)ita-** to freeze, freeze stiff (замерзать, застывать): MJpn. *ita-*.

‖ The root is not widely represented, but seems to be well reconstructable for PA.

***dărV(mV)** back, waist: Tung. ***darama**; Mong. ***dere(me)**; Turk. ***jarɨn**.

PTung. ***darama** waist, back (поясница, спина): Evk. *darama*; Evn. *darъm*; Neg. *dajama*; Man. *dara, darama*; SMan. *darəmə* (95); Ul. *darama*; Ork. *darama*; Nan. *darama*; Orch. *dāma*; Ud. *dāma*; Sol. *darama*.

◊ TMC 1, 198. TM > Dag. *daram, darma* (Тод. Даг. 135); > Dolg. *darama* (Stachowski 77).

PMong. ***dere(me)** pillow, cushion (подушка): MMong. *dere* (HY 21, SH), *dirǎ* (MA); WMong. *dere* (L 253), *derem-deg*; Kh. *der(en)*; Bur. *dere*; Kalm. *derə, derm-deg*; Ord. *dere*; Dag. *derbe* (Тод. Даг. 136; MGCD *dereb*, MD 136: *derebe*); *dareme* 'back' (MD 133);; S.-Yugh. *dere*; Mongr. *dere* (SM 52), (MGCD *dəre*).

◊ KW 89, MGCD 218.

PTurk. ***jarɨn*** shoulder, shoulderblade (плечо, лопатка): OTurk. *jarɨn* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jarɨn* (MK); SUygh. *jarɨn*; Khak. *čarɨn*; Shr. *čarɨn*; Oyr. *jarɨn*, *ďarɨn*; Tv. *čarɨn*; Chuv. *śorъm*; Yak. *sarɨn*; Dolg. *sarɨn*, *sannɨ*.

◊ EDT 970, ЭСТЯ 4, 66, Лексика 242, Дыбо 139-141, Федотов 2, 142, Stachowski 209. Forms going back to **jagrɨn* are due to a merger with **jagɨr* (v. sub **dagV*).

‖ A Western isogloss. Somewhat different in Дыбо 305, Лексика 242; for Turkic cf. also PTM **dīre* 'shoulderblade' (TMC 1, 205).

✱**dasa** to regulate, govern: Tung. ***dasa-***; Mong. ****das-***; Turk. ****jAsa-***; Kor. ****tàs-***.

PTung. ****dasa-*** to govern, regulate (править, управлять): Man. *dasa-*; SMan. *dasə-* (1039).

◊ TMC 1, 201. Man. > Dag. *dasa-* 'to correct, govern' (Тод. Даг. 135).

PMong. ****das-*** to get accustomed (привыкать): WMong. *das-*, *dasu-* (L 236, 237); Kh. *das-*; Kalm. *das-*; Ord. *das-*; Dag. *dasūn* 'sweet' (Тод. Даг. 135); S.-Yugh. *dasanna-* (MGCD 188).

◊ KW 79.

PTurk. ****jAsa-*** 1 to determine, govern 2 to create (1 определять, управлять 2 создавать): Tur. *jasa-* 1; Turkm. *jasa-* 2; Sal. *jasa-* 2; MTurk. *jasa-* 1 (Ettuhf., Pav. C., Abush.) 1, 2; Uzb. *jasa-* 2; Uygh. *jasa-* 2; Krm. *jasa-* 1, 2; Tat. *jasa-* 1, 2; Bashk. *jaha-* 1, 2; Kirgh. *ǰasa-* 1, 2; Kaz. *žasa-* 2; KKalp. *žasa-* 2; Kum. *jasa-* 2; Nogh. *jasa-* 2; Khak. *čaza-* 2; Shr. *čaza-* 2; Oyr. *jaza-*, *ďaza-* 1, 2; Tv. *čaza-* 2.

◊ VEWT 191, ЭСТЯ 4, 150-152. The verb has been also read in the Kül-Tegin inscription (8th c.), but Clauson (EDT 974) contests the reading. Turk. > Mong. *ǰasa-* id. (KW 468), whence Evk. *ǰasa-* etc., see Doerfer MT 61; TMN 4, 92-96, EDT and Щербак 1997, 204, however, regard the Turkic forms as Mongolisms).

PKor. ****tàsǎr-*** 1 to govern, regulate 2 to improve, order, correct (1 управлять, регулировать 2 улучшать, упорядочивать, исправлять): MKor. *tàsǎr-* 1, *tàsk-* 2; Mod. *tasiri-* 1, *tak*:- 2.

◊ Liu 194, 202, KED 386, 392.

‖ Lee 1958, 107 (TM-Kor.). The combination of meanings in Mong. here is suspiciously similar to PA **čįǎtu* (> Mong. *dadu-*); so one may wonder if Mong. **das-* is not actually a derivative of **dad-* (**dad-s-*). In that case the form should be removed from the present etymology.

✱**dǎsi** a flat cover: Tung. ***dasi-***; Mong. ***dasinga***; Turk. ****jAs-***; Kor. ****tìsài***.

PTung. ****dasi-*** to cover (покрывать, закрывать): Evk. *das-*; Evn. *das-*; Neg. *das-*; Man. *dasi-*; Ul. *dasị-*; Ork. *dasị-*; Nan. *dasị-*; Orch. *dasi-*; Ud. *dahi-* (*dai-*) (Корм. 226).

◊ TMC 1, 200-201.

PMong. ***dasinga*** board (доска, полка): WMong. *dasiŋγa* (L 236); Kh. *dašinga*.

PTurk. ***jAs-** flat and broad (широкий и плоский): Karakh. *jasɨ* (MK); Tur. *jassɨ*; Gag. *jasɨ*; Az. *jastɨ*; Turkm. *jasɨ*; MTurk. *jassɨ* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jassi*; Tat. *jassɨ, jastɨ*; Bashk. *jaθɨ*; KBalk. *ǰassɨ*; Kum. *jassɨ*.

◊ VEWT 191, EDT 973-974, ЭСТЯ 4, 153-154, 155-156 (see there the list of other derivatives of the root **jAs-*), Лексика 98.

PKor. ***tìsài** tile (черепица): MKor. *tìsài*.

◊ Nam 179. The word is not attested in modern dictionaries, but KED 920 mentions a bound noun -sä 'roof tile', attested in compounds *ok-sä, maŋ-sä* and *pət-sä*. It is quite probable that this -sä is a later contraction < **tsä* < *tisai*.

‖ The Turk. form can also be derived from **nese* 'to flatten, make even' q.v.

***dè** to lie: Tung. ***dē-**; Mong. ***de-b-**; Turk. ***jạt-**; Jpn. ***dàntà-r-**.

PTung. ***dē-** 1 to lie 2 bed 3 decking (1 лежать 2 постель 3 настил): Man. *dedu-* 1; SMan. *dudu-* 1 (522); Jurch. *dedu-rie* (355) 'to lie, to sleep'; Ul. *deduxu* 3; Ork. *deduxi* 3; Nan. *dederi* 3; Orch. *dē* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 227, 230.

PMong. ***de-b-** 1 to lay, put, spread, bed 2 saddle cushion 3 mat, rug (1 класть, подстилать, 2 подушка седла 3 подстилка): MMong. *debusger* (HY 23) 2, *däbos-* (IM), *dibă̆s-* 1, *dībisgă̆r* 2 (MA), *debsgər* 2 (LH); WMong. *debšije* 3, *debsi* 2 (L 239: *debse*); Kh. *devžē* 3, *devs(en)*, *devsger* 2; Bur. *debdi-* 1, *debhe(n)* 2; Kalm. *dewsə-* 1 KPC 191, *dewsə* 2; Ord. *dewes-* 1; Dag. *debseg* 2, *deuse-* 1; Bao. *dēsə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *debse* 2, *debsger* 3; Mongr. *dēsəgu* 3, *d(w)ēsə-* , *debse-* (Minghe) 1.

◊ KW 90, MGCD 209.

PTurk. ***jạt-** to lie, to sleep (лежать, спать): OTurk. *jat-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jat-* (MK); Tur. *jat-*; Gag. *jat-*; Az. *jat-* 1, 2; Turkm. *jat-*; Sal. *jaht-*; Khal. *jat-*; MTurk. *jat-* (MA); Uzb. *jɔt-*; Uygh. *jat-*; Krm. *jat-*; Tat. *jat-*; Bashk. *jat-*; Kirgh. *ǰat-*; Kaz. *žat-*; KBalk. *žat-*; KKalp. *žat-*; Kum. *jat-*; Nogh. *jat-*; SUygh. *jat-*; Khak. *čat-*; Shr. *čat-* (R); Oyr. *ɗat-*; Tv. *čɨ't-*; Tof. *čɨ't-*; Yak. *sɨt-*; Dolg. *hɨt-*.

◊ VEWT 192, EDT 884, ЭСТЯ 4, 156-158, Stachowski 120.

PJpn. ***dàntà-r-** to spend the night (ночевать): OJpn. *jador-*; MJpn. *jàdor-*; Tok. *yadóru*; Kyo. *yádór-*; Kag. *yadór-*.

◊ JLTT 784. The form seems to be derived from **dà* 'room, house', but the tone contradicts it (all dialects except Kagoshima point to **dà(n)tàr-*).

‖ One of the common Altaic monosyllabic verbal roots. Note dental suffixation (probably **dē-ta-*) reflected in PT, TM and Jpn.

***debí (~ ǯ-)** bad, to suffer: Mong. ***ǯib-**; Turk. ***jAb-**; Jpn. ***(d)impi-r-**; Kor. ***jəbúi-**.

PMong. ***ǯib-** aversion, disgust, indignation (отвращение, негодование): WMong. *ǯibegüü, ǯebegüü* (L 1048); Kh. *ǯivŭ(n), ǯevŭ(n)*; Bur. *zebŭ(n)* 'arrogant, proud'.

◊ Mong. > Evn. *ǯöbēnŋъ* 'austere, serious' (TMC 1, 266).

PTurk. ***jAb-** 1 bad, coarse, wicked 2 to become bad, weak 3 heavy, difficult, severe 4 tasteless, insipid (1 плохой, грубый 2 ухудшаться, слабеть 3 тяжелый, трудный, суровый 4 пресный, безвкусный): OTurk. *jabɨz* 1 (Orkh.), *javɨz* 1 (OUygh.), *javγan* 1 (OUygh.), *jablaq* (Orkh.) 3, *javlaq* (OUygh.) 3; Karakh. *javrɨ-* 2, *javra-* 'to become rough, coarse', *javɨz* 1, *javγan* 1, *javlaq* 3 (MK); Tur. *javuz* 1, *javan* 4; Gag. *javan* 4; Az. *javan* 4; Turkm. *jovuz* 1, 3, *juwan* 4 (dial.); MTurk. *javlaq* (R) 'very' , *javuz* (Ettuhf., AH) 1; Uzb. *jɔwuz* 1, *jōγan* 4 (dial.); Uygh. *javuz* 1; Tat. *jawɨz* 1; Bashk. *jawɨδ-* 1; Kirgh. *ǯūγan* 4; Kaz. *žawɨz* 1; KKalp. *žawɨz* 1; SUygh. *jus* 1; Khak. *čaγban* 4; Yak. *suos* 3.

◊ VEWT 176, EDT 879, 881-882, ЭСТЯ 4, 47-48, 51. Turk. > WMong. *ǯabqai, ǯabaγan* (KW 468), whence again some Turkic forms (Kirgh. *ǯabɨq* etc., see ЭСТЯ 4, 9-10). One could perhaps also note Kaz. *žawra-*, Uzb. *ǯɔwra-* 'to suffer from cold, shiver' (ЭСТЯ 4, 20) which may be = Karakh. *javra-*, *javrɨ-* and thus should not be compared to Mong. *daγara-* (despite KW 82).

PJpn. ***(d)impi-r-** to oppress (угнетать): MJpn. *ibir-*; Tok. *ibir-*.

PKor. ***jàbúi-** to get emaciated, haggard (истощаться, становиться изможденным): MKor. *jà'úi-*, *jà'ói-*; Mod. *jəwi-*.

◊ Liu 563, KED 1165.

‖ Finch 1987, 17 (Jpn.-Mong.). One of the few exceptional cases of *ǯ- > *j- in Kor. (cf. **ǯa* 'eight').

***debV** young (of birds or animals): Tung. ***debere**; Mong. ***deγü**; Turk. ***jabrɨ**.

PTung. ***debere-n** young (of birds) (птенец): Man. *deberen*; SMan. *devərəxən* 'puppy, young' (2179); Ul. *deuru(n)*; Ork. *dewre(n)*; Nan. *deuruẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 239.

PMong. ***deγü** younger sibling (младший брат или сестра): MMong. *de'u* (HY 28, SH); WMong. *degü*, (L 246:) *degüü*; Kh. *dü̃*; Bur. *dü̃*; Kalm. *dü̃*; Ord. *dü̃*; Mog. *döün*; Dag. *deu* (Тод. Даг. 136, MD 136); Dong. *ǯiao, ǯiau*; Bao. *dəu, du*; S.-Yugh. *dü̃*; Mongr. *dü̃* (SM 56), *dū*.

◊ KW 106, MGCD 242. Mong. > Man. *deo* etc., see Poppe 1966, 192, Doerfer MT 117, Rozycki 59.

PTurk. ***jabrɨ** young of birds and animals (детеныш птиц и животных): Tur. *javru, javrɨ*; Gag. *javru*; MTurk. *javrɨ* (Ettuhf.); Chuv. *śъʷvъʷr, śurъ*.

◊ VEWT 176, ЭСТЯ 4, 53, Лексика 168-169, TMN 4, 220, Федотов 2, 140-141.

‖ Poppe AU 105, Дыбо 9, Лексика 169. A Western isogloss.

✱**d[é]gì** feather, wing: Tung. ***dekte-***; Mong. ***ǯiɣür***; Turk. ***jüg***; Jpn. ***(d)íká***.

PTung. ***dekte-*** 1 feather 2 wing (1 перо 2 крыло): Evk. *dektenne* 1, 2; Evn. *detle* 1, 2; Neg. *detele* 1; Man. *detxe* 1, 2; SMan. *detəxə* 1 (2294); Ul. *dektekte* 1; Ork. *dektekte* 1; Nan. *degdece* 1; Orch. *dektese* 1, 2; Ud. *dektehe* 1, 2; Sol. *dettele* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 1,231.

PMong. ***ǯiɣür*** wing (крыло): MMong. *ǯəu'ur* (HY 15), *ǯi'ur* (SH), *ǯebūr* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ǯigür* (L 1053); Kh. *žigűr* < lit.; Bur. *žegűr* < lit.; Ord. *ǯigűr* < lit.; Mongr. *ǯār, ćār, sār*.

◊ KW 114.

PTurk. ***jüg*** feather (перо): Karakh. *jüg* (MK, KB); Tur. *jüg, jüv* (dial.), Osm. *jüg*; Khak. *čüg*; Tv. *čüg*.

◊ EDT 910, *Лексика* 150. Räsänen (VEWT 211b) confuses this root with **juŋ* 'wool', but they are certainly unrelated (although may tend to contaminate).

PJpn. ***(d)íká*** kite (out of paper) (бумажный змей): MJpn. *ika, ika-nobori*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 44, 287, *Лексика* 150. Labialization in PT is probably secondary (**jüg* < **jegü* < **jegi-gü*, cf. the Mong. form).

✱**dègni** needle, thorn, arrow: Tung. ***dēŋgu***; Mong. ***ǯeɣü-wün***; Turk. ***(j)igne***; Jpn. ***(d)inka***.

PTung. ***dēŋgu*** 1 cross-bow 2 arrow (1 самострел 2 стрела): Ul. *dēŋgure* 1; Ork. *dēŋgure* 1; Nan. *dēŋgure* 1; Orch. *deŋgu* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 234.

PMong. ***ǯeɣü-wün*** needle (игла): MMong. *ǯou'un* (HY 20), *ǯe'u* (SH), *ǯūn* (IM); WMong. *ǯegün* (L 1044: *ǯegüü, ǯeü, ǯegün*); Kh. *ǯűn*; Bur. *zűn*; Kalm. *zűn*; Ord. *ǯű*; Mog. *ǯöwn* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *ǯū*, (Тод. Дар. 143) *ǯeu*; Dong. *ǯun*; Bao. *ǯuŋ*; S.-Yugh. *ǯűn*; Mongr. *ǯū* (SM 94), *ǯū*.

◊ KW 485, MGCD 465.

PTurk. ***(j)igne*** needle (игла): OTurk. *jiŋne* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jigne* (MK); Tur. *ijne*; Gag. *īnä*; Az. *ijnä*; Turkm. *igne, iŋne*; Khal. *īnä* (< Az.); MTurk. *igne* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ignä*; Uygh. *ignä, jiŋnä, jignä*; Krm. *ijne*; Tat. *inä*; Bashk. *ĭnä*; Kirgh. *ijne*; Kaz. *ĭjna*; KBalk. *ijne*; KKalp. *ijne*; Kum. *ine*; Nogh. *ijne*; SUygh. *jiŋne*; Khak. *iŋe*; Shr. *ingä*; Oyr. *ijne*; Tv. *ine*; Yak. *inne, ińe*; Dolg. *iŋne, ińe, inne*.

◊ EDT 110, VEWT 169, ЭСТЯ 1, 367-369, *Лексика* 106.

PJpn. ***(d)inka*** thorn, bur (шип): Tok. *igá*; Kyo. *ìgâ*; Kag. *íga*.

◊ JLTT 421. The word is not attested in OJ, and the modern accentuation is controversial: Tokyo and Kagoshima point to **(d)ínkà*, while Kyoto rather to **(d)ínkâ*.

‖ Владимирцов 196. Mong. **ǯeɣü-ɣün* must go back to **ǯiɣe-ɣü-n*.

***děkà** to burn: Tung. ***deg-ǯe-gi-**; Turk. ***jak-**; Jpn. ***dák-**; Kor. ***thǎ-**.

PTung. ***deg-ǯe-gi-** to burn (жечь): Evk. *ǯegdī-*; Evn. *ǯegde* 'burned place'; Neg. *ǯegdī-*; Man. *dejši-*; SMan. *deži-, diži-* (483); Jurch. *ǯeh-din-ku* (686); Ul. *ǯegdečiwu*; Ork. *degde-*; Nan. *ʒegdi-*; Orch. *ǯegdi-*; Ud. *ǯegdi-*.

◊ A causative form derived from PTM **degǯe-* 'to burn', see TMC 1, 281-282.

PTurk. ***jak-** 1 to burn (tr.) 2 light, ray 3 to produce fire (1 жечь 2 свет, луч 3 высекать огонь): Karakh. *jaq-* 1 (MK); Tur. *jak-* 1; Gag. *jaq-* 1; Az. *jax-* 1; Turkm. *jaq-* 1, *jaɣtï* 2; Khal. *ja:q-* 1; MTurk. *jaq-* 1 (Abush.); Uzb. *jɔq-* 1, *jɔɣdu* 2; Uygh. *jaq-* 1; Krm. *jaq-* 1; Tat. *jaɣ-* 1, *jaqtï* 2; Bashk. *jaq-* 1, *jaqtï* 2; Kirgh. *ǯaq-* 1; Kaz. *žaq-* 1; KKalp. *žaq-* 1, *žaqtï* 2; Kum. *jaq-* 1; Nogh. *jaq-* 1; Tof. *ča'q-* 3; Chuv. *śot- 1, śo-dъ* 2; Yak. *saq-* 1.

◊ VEWT 180, TMN 4, 201-202, EDT 897, ЭСТЯ 4, 62, 81-82, Федотов 2, 146, Лексика 362. This stem should be distinguished from **jan-* 'to burn (intr.)'.

PJpn. ***dák-** to burn (tr.) (жечь): OJpn. *jak-*; MJpn. *ják-*; Tok. *yàk-*; Kyo. *ják-*; Kag. *jáT*.

◊ JLTT 784.

PKor. ***thǎ-** to burn (гореть, жечь): MKor. *thǎ-* (*itr.*), *thǎi'ó-* (tr.); Mod. *tha-* (*itr.*), *thäu-* (tr.).

◊ Nam 456, 457, KED 1684, 1697.

‖ Martin 227, JOAL 90-94, АПиПЯЯ 35-36, 90, 279. Korean has a usual vowel reduction between a stop and a fricative.

***dék'à** a k. of reed or bamboo: Tung. ***deke-**; Mong. ***dek-**; Turk. ***jEken**; Jpn. ***tákái**; Kor. ***tái**.

PTung. ***deke-** 1 a k. of willow 2 rope made from it 3 bush 4 tree (1 тальник 2 канат из тальниковых прутьев 3 куст 4 дерево): Neg. *dekke* 1, *dexen* 2; Jurch. *do-ɣo* (115) 4; Ul. *deke(n)* 2, *deksu(n)* 3; Ork. *deksu(n)* 3; Nan. *dē* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 231.

PMong. ***dek-** a k. of grass (вид травы): Kalm. *dekm* 'Leinpflanze'.

◊ KW 85.

PTurk. ***jEken** a k. of grass, reed (вид травы, тростника): OTurk. *jigen* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jigen* (MK); Turkm. *jeken*; MTurk. *jekän* (R.), *jigän* (AH); Uzb. *jäkän*; Uygh. *jekän*; Tat. *jegɛn* (dial.), *ǯikɛn*; Bashk. *jekän*; Kirgh. *ǯeken*; Kaz. *žeken*; KBalk. *zegen*; KKalp. *žiken*; Nogh. *jeken*; Oyr. *jeken, jekken, dēken*.

◊ EDT 913, VEWT 195, ЭСТЯ 4, 172-173. Turk. > Mong. *ǯeken, ǯege-sün* (KW 472, Щербак 1997, 123); Hung. *gyékény* (MNyTESz 1, 1125).

PJpn. ***tákái** bamboo (бамбук): OJpn. take; MJpn. *táké*; Tok. *tàke*; Kyo. *táké*; Kag. *táke*.

◊ JLTT 539.

PKor. ***tái** bamboo (бамбук): MKor. *tái*; Mod. *tä*.

◊ Liu 204, KED 418.

‖ Martin 225, Whitman 1985, 188, 215, Дыбо 11. The tone incongruence between Kor. and Jpn. should be explained by contraction in Kor.; however, the zero reflex in Kor. is somewhat strange (one would at least expect *tahi).

✱**dek'V (~ -k-)** harness, hook: Tung. ***deken**; Turk. ***jEk-**.

PTung. ***deken*** last pair of dogs in the team (последняя пара собак в упряжке): Ul. *deke(n)*; Nan. *dekẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 231.

PTurk. ***jEk-*** to harness (запрягать): Krm. *jek-, jik-*; Tat. *šik-*; Bashk. *jek-*; Kirgh. *šek-*; Kaz. *žek-*; KBalk. *žek-*; KKalp. *žek-*; Kum. *jek-*; Nogh. *jek-*; Oyr. *jek-, ǰek-*.

◊ VEWT 195, ЭСТЯ 4, 172.

‖ Дыбо 12. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**dĕ̀lì** mane; collar: Tung. ***delü-n***; Mong. ***del***; Turk. ***jēl***; Jpn. ***(d)iárì**.

PTung. ***delü-n*** mane (грива): Evk. *delin*; Man. *delun*; SMan. *delən, dulun* (2281); Nan. *derbini* (?).

◊ TMC 1,232. The Nan. form may be < Mong. (Bur. *delben*).

PMong. ***del*** mane, crest (грива, холка): MMong. *del* (HY 15, SH), *dīl-* (IM), *dil* (MA); WMong. *del* (L 247); Kh. *del*; Bur. *delben*; Kalm. *del*; Ord. *del*; Dag. *dēlbur* (Тод. Дar. 136) *delin* (MD 136); S.-Yugh. *del*.

◊ KW 74, 85, MGCD 212.

PTurk. ***jēl*** 1 mane 2 feather (1 грива 2 перо): OTurk. *jel* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jel* 1 (MK); Tur. *jele* 1; Gag. *jelä* 1; Az. *läläk* 2; Turkm. *jelek* 2; Khal. *jälāk* 2; Krm. *lelek* 2; SUygh. *ǰelɨ* 1; Khak. *čilen* 1; Tv. *čel* 1; Tof. *čel* 1; Chuv. *śilγe* 1; Yak. *siel* 1.

◊ VEWT 181, TMN 4, 188-189, EDT 916, ЭСТЯ 4, 85-86 (confused with **jāl*, v. sub **dālV*), Лексика 147, 566. The Oghuz name of 'feather' (*jelek / lelek*, see ЭСТЯ 4, 179) is probably derived from this root; perhaps also **jel-ke* 'back of head (including the neck)', see VEWT 196, ЭСТЯ 4, 181.

PJpn. ***(d)iárì*** collar (воротник): MJpn. *eri*; Tok. *erí*; Kyo. *érì*; Kag. *éri*.

◊ JLTT 393.

‖ EAS 52, KW 74, 85, Poppe 22, 75, АПиПЯЯ 72, 287, Лексика 147; TMN 4, 106 ("...unklar"). TM is hardly < Mong., despite Doerfer MT 76, Rozycki 58. The diphthong in Jpn. may indicate PA *dĕ́jlì. Cf. *dālV.

✱**dĕ̀lp'à** flat, wide: Tung. ***delpi-n***; Mong. ***dalba-***; Turk. ***jalpɨ***; Jpn. ***tàpìra**.

PTung. ***delpi-n*** wide, roomy (широкий, просторный): Man. *delfin*.

◊ TMC 1, 233. Attested only in Manchu, but having quite probable external parallels.

PMong. ***dalba-*** to be flat and wide (быть плоским и широким): MMong. *dalba-ru* (SH); WMong. *dalbaji-* (L 225); Kh. *dalbaj-*; Bur. *dalba-*; Kalm. *dalwā-*.

◊ KW 75.

PTurk. ***jalpɨ*** 1 broad, flat 2 blade, paddle 3 shallow (1 широкий, плоский 2 лист, лопасть 3 мелкий): Karakh. *jalbɨ* 1 (MK); Tur. *jalpɨk* 1; Gag. *jalpaq* 1; Turkm. *jalpa* 2, *jalpaq* 1, 3; MTurk. *jalpaq* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔlpɔq* 1; Uygh. *jalpaq* 1; Krm. *jalpaq* 1; Tat. *ǯɛlpɛk* 1; Bashk. *jalpaq* 1; Kirgh. *ǯalpaq* 1; Kaz. *žalpaq* 1; KKalp. *žalpaq* 1; Kum. *jalpaq* 1; Nogh. *jalpaq* 1; Khak. *čelbax, nalpax* 1; Oyr. *jalbaq, ɗalbaq* 1; Tv. *čalbaq* 1; Tof. *čalbaq* 1; Yak. *salbax* 2; Dolg. *halbax* 'span; foot'.

◊ EDT 919, VEWT 182, ЭСТЯ 4, 14, 100-101, Stachowski 94. This root should be distinguished from **japur-gak* 'leaf' and from **jalpi-* / **jelpi-* 'to shake, sway'.

PJpn. ***tàpì-ra*** flat, even (плоский, ровный): OJpn. *tapjira*; MJpn. *tàpìrá*; Tok. *tàira, tairáka*; Kyo. *tàirá*; Kag. *taíra*.

◊ JLTT 538. Tokyo and Kagoshima point rather to **tápírá*.

‖ VEWT 183, KW 75 (Turk.-Mong.), Цинциус 1984, 8, АПиПЯЯ 71, 287. Mong. has also a front vowel variant *delbe* 'flatness', *delbeger* 'broad, wide', *ǯilbigar* id.

✱**dɛ̀lp'i** to burst, break: Tung. ***delpe-***; Mong. ***delbe-***; Turk. ***deĺ-***; Jpn. ***timpə-***.

PTung. ***delpe-*** to split (раскалываться, трескаться): Evk. *delpe-rge-, delpe-m-*; Evn. *depčerge-*; Neg. *detpejkin-*; Sol. *delpe-*.

◊ TMC 1, 233.

PMong. ***delbe-*** to burst, break through (лопаться, разрываться): WMong. *delbe-le*, -re- (L 247, 248); Kh. *delbere-*, -le- (Tr.); Bur. *delber-, delbel-* (Tr.); Kalm. *delwl̥-*; Ord. *delbel-*.

◊ KW 87.

PTurk. ***deĺ-*** to make holes (продырявливать): Karakh. *teš-* (MK); Tur. *deš-*; Gag. *deš-*; Az. *deš-*; MTurk. *teš-* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *teš-*; Uygh. *täš-*; Krm. *teš-*; Tat. *tiš-*; Bashk. *tiš-*; Kirgh. *teš-*; Kaz. *tes-*; KBalk. *teš-*; KKalp. *tes-*; Kum. *teš-*; Nogh. *tes-*; Khak. *tis-*; Oyr. *teš-*; Tv. *deš-*; Tof. *deš-*; Yak. *tes-*; Dolg. *tes-*.

◊ VEWT 476, EDT 559, ЭСТЯ 3, 210-212, TMN 2, 657, Stachowski 221.

PJpn. ***timpə-*** to become worn down, out (изнашиваться, приходить в упадок): MJpn. *tib(u)-*; Tok. *chibi-*.

◊ JLTT 767. PJ accent not clear.

‖ Poppe 44 (Mong.-Tung.), Дыбо 13. Despite Doerfer MT 64, the TM form is hardly borrowed from Mong.

✱**depo (~ -b-)** wet, soak: Tung. ***deb-***; Mong. ***debte-***; Turk. ***jẹbi-***.

PTung. ***debe-*** 1 paste, fool 2 to paint 3 paint (1 пастила, кисель 2 красить 3 краска): Evk. *dewe-* 2; Evn. *dewe-* 2; Neg. *dewekse* 3; Man. *debse* 1; Ul. *dewekse* 3; Ork. *dewē-* 2; Orch. *dewukse, dewekse* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 227, 228.

PMong. ***debte-** to soak, become wet (мокнуть): WMong. *debte-, debtü-* (L 239); Kh. *devte-*; Bur. *debte-*; Kalm. *deptə-*; Ord. *debte-*; Mog. ZM *debtäl-* 'to make fall into the water' (15-3a); Dag. *debte-* (Тод. Дар. 135), *derte-*; S.-Yugh. *debtē-*; Mongr. *təbdē-, tudē-* (SM 427).

◊ KW 88, MGCD 210. Cf. MMong. (SH) *debul-* 'to boil'.

PTurk. ***jębi-** to become wet, soak (мокнуть): Karakh. *jebe* 'dampness' (MK); Uzb. *ivi-*; Uygh. *ivi-*; Krm. *jibi-, ibi-*; Tat. *ǯebe-*; Bashk. *jebe-*; Kirgh. *ǯibi-*; Kaz. *žibi-*; KKalp. *žibi-*; Kum. *jibi-*; Nogh. *jibi-*; Shr. *čibi-*; Oyr. *ďibi-*; Chuv. *śəʷve* 'whey'; Yak. *sibīn-* 'fresh'.

◊ EDT 872, VEWT 202, ЭСТЯ 4, 196-197. Except Uzb., Uygh., Chuv. and possibly Yak. all languages actually reflect **jęp-* (**jip-*); the Inlaut stop may be a result of secondary gemination, or reflect a merger with some other root. Original voiced *-b- (> -v-), however, is well preserved in the derivative **jębiĺ(č)* 'wet' (Karaim *jüvüš*, Tat. *jüwiš*, Bashk. *jĭvĭš*). Turk. > Kalm. *ǯĭ-* 'durchnäßt werden' (KW 114; although phonology is somewhat strange: one would rather expect Kalm. *ǯiw-*).

‖ KW 88. A Western isogloss.

***děpʿa (~ *t-)** soft, fluffy: Tung. ***dep-**; Kor. ***tàpók-**.

PTung. ***dep-** 1 fluffy, furry 2 squirrel's nest 3 rot, soft (1 мягкий, пушистый 2 беличье гнездо 3 гнилушка): Evk. *debdirin* 1; *depe, depe-me* 3; Evn. *debuli* 1; Neg. *depe-depe ōjį̄* 1; Ork. *deberūli* 1; Nan. *debǯini* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 227, 236.

PKor. ***tàpòk-** thick, luxurious (густой, пышный): MKor. *tàpòk-*; Mod. *tabok-, taborok-*.

◊ Nam 130, KED 385.

‖ An expressive TM-Kor. isogloss.

***déru (~ -ŕ-)** to shake, sway: Tung. ***der(gi)-**; Mong. ***derbe-**; Jpn. ***dúr-**.

PTung. ***der(gi)-** 1 to shiver, tremble 2 to sway (1 дрожать, трястись 2 развеваться): Evk. *dergi-, deriŋ-* 1; Man. *dergiše-* 2; Ul. *derǯi-* 1, *dēremneči-* 1; Nan. *dergi-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 237.

PMong. ***derbe-** to sway, swing (махать, колыхаться): MMong. *derbel-* (SH); WMong. *derbe-* (L 252); Kh. *derve-*; Bur. *derbelze-*; Kalm. *derwə-*; Ord. *derwe-*.

◊ KW 90.

PJpn. ***dúr-** to shake, sway (качать(ся), махать): MJpn. *jur-*; Tok. *yùr-*; Kyo. *yúr-*; Kag. *yúr-*.

◊ JLTT 788.

‖ Cf. also PTM **deri(n)-* 'jump, run'.

***deŕa (~ -o)** to flatten, flat: Mong. ***daru-**; Turk. ***jaŕ-**; Kor. ***tàrì-**.

PMong. ***daru-** to press down (прижимать, припечатывать): MMong. *daru-* (HY 39, SH), *dāra-* (IM), *daru-* (MA); WMong. *daru-* (L

233); Kh. *dar-*; Bur. *dara-*; Kalm. *dar-*; Ord. *daru-*; Mog. *daru-* (Ramstedt 1906), *dōru-*; Dag. *dara-* (Тод. Дат. 135), *dare-* (MD 132); Dong. *daru-*; Bao. *da(r)-*; S.-Yugh. *dārə-*; Mongr. *dāri-* (SM 45).

◊ KW 77, MGCD 201.

PTurk. ***jaɟ-, *jaɟi*** 1 flat 2 steppe, flat ground 3 to spread, spread out, flatten folds (1 плоский 2 степь, плоская почва 3 расстилать, расправлять складки): OTurk. *jaz-* 3 (OUygh.) *jazɨ* 1,2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jaz-* 3 (MK, KB), *jazɨ* 2 (MK); Tur. *jazɨ* 2; Gag. *jaz-* 3; Az. *jazɨ* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *jaz-* 3, *jazɨ* 2; MTurk. *jaz-* 3 (Pav. C.), *jazɨ* 2 (Ettuhf., AH); Uzb. *jɔz-* 3; Uygh. *jaz-* 3, *jazi, jezi* 2 (dial.); Tat. *jaz-* 3; Bashk. *jaδ-* 3; Kirgh. *ǰaz-* 3, *ǰazɨ* 1, 2; Kaz. *žaz-* 3, *žazɨ* 2 (dial.); KKalp. *žaz-* 3; Kum. *jaz-* 3; Nogh. *jaz-* 3, *jazɨ* 2 (dial.); SUygh. *jaz-* 3; Khak. *čazɨ* 2; Oyr. *jas-*, *ɗas-* 3, *jazɨ, ɗazɨ* 1, 2; Tv. *čas-* 3; Yak. *sɨhɨ* 2.

◊ VEWT 194, EDT 983, 984, ЭСТЯ 4, 69-70, 73, Лексика 97.

PKor. ***tàrì-*** to iron (утюжить): MKor. *tàrì-*; Mod. *tari-*.

◊ Nam 129, KED 383. Cf. also Mod. Kor. *taru-* 'to tan, make pliant' (KED 382).

‖ SKE 257, 258.

✱**dible** hem: Tung. ***dilbi-***; Mong. ***dewel***; Turk. ***jEl(b)-***.

PTung. ***dilbi-*** 1 to make facing 2 hem, hemming 3 skin (for a coat) 4 raincoat, umbrella (1 подшивать (подол) 2 кант, окантовка 3 шкура (на парку) 4 накидка от дождя, зонтик): Evk. *dilbikte* 3; Neg. *ǰilbu-* 1; Man. *ǰilbi-* 1, *ǰilbi(n)* 2; *delbin* 2; Ul. *deli-ku* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 206, 232.

PMong. ***dewel*** fur coat; list, facing (меховое пальто, тулуп; окантовка, облицовка): MMong. *dejel* (HY 22), *de'el-ün* (*ǯaxa*) (HY 23), *de'el* (SH), *dil* (IM), *dil* (MA), *dəbəl* (LH); WMong. *degel, debel* (L 238), *degelen, degelei* (L 243); Kh. *dēl*; Bur. *degel*; Kalm. *dewl̥, deglē*; Ord. *dēl*; Dag. *debel, dēl* (Тод. Дат. 135); Mongr. *dēr* (SM 51), *del* (Huzu).

◊ Mong. > Man. *dexelen* etc. (see Doerfer MT 61), Chag. *dägälä*; > MKor. *təkirəi* (Lee 1964, 193). KW 85, 90. A variant of the same stem is probably WMong. *dülei*, Khalkha *dülij* 'raincoat'. Bur. > Russ. Siber. *dygýl*, see Аникин 192-193.

PTurk. ***jEl(b)-*** a k. of short coat (вид короткой куртки): Tur. *jelek*; Az. *jeläk, jelän* (dial.); Turkm. *jelek* (dial.), *jelbegej*; MTurk. *jeläk* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *ǰeläk*; Krm. *jelek*; Tat. *ǰilɛn, ǰilbɛgɛj*; Bashk. *jelän, jelbägäj*; Kirgh. *ǰelek, ǰelbegej*, dial. *ǰelegej*; Kaz. *želek, želeŋ, želbegej, želegej*; KKalp. *želek, želeŋ, želbegej*; Kum. *jelbegej*; Nogh. *jeleŋ*.

◊ VEWT 196, ЭСТЯ 4, 177, 178.

‖ KW 85, EAS 174 (with several misquoted forms), TMN 1, 328. A Western isogloss. Some rather strange variants coexist within Mong. and TM, and archaic interborrowing is not excluded; it is also possible that the root should be reconstructed as **dible*, to account for the development in Mong. Another possibility is comparing the Mong. forms (at

least part of them) with Evk. *lipêre* 'a k. of winter clothes', Tuva *čüvür* 'trousers' (?).

✱**dijV (~ *t-)** tar, to melt: Tung. ***dī**; Jpn. ***(d)í-**; Kor. ***tī-**.

PTung. ***dī** pitch, tar (вар, смола): Orch. *dī*; Ud. *dī*.

◊ TMC 1, 202.

PJpn. ***(d)í-** to cast (*лить (металл)*): OJpn. *i-* ; MJpn. *í-*; Tok. *ì-*; Kyo. *í-*; Kag. *í-*.

◊ JLTT 698.

PKor. ***tī-** to forge, to cast (ковать, отливать (из металла)): MKor. *tī-*.

◊ Nam 178.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**dile** udder: Tung. ***dilba**; Mong. ***deleŋ**; Turk. ***jęlin**.

PTung. ***dilba** diaphragm; breast (диафрагма, брюшина; грудь): Evk. *dilba*; Evn. *dịlbъ*; *delbe* 'пах'; Neg. *dịlba*; Ul. *dịlba* 'women's breast cover'; Ork. *ǯịlịa* 'nipple'; Nan. *ǯịlba* 'women's breast cover'; Ud. *digba* 'stomach cavity' (Корм. 227); Sol. *dilva*.

◊ TMC 1, 206, 232.

PMong. ***deleŋ** udder (вымя): WMong. *deleŋ* (L 249); Kh. *deleŋ*; Bur. *delen*; Kalm. *deləŋ*; Ord. *deliŋ*; Dag. *delīn*; Dong. *ǯielien*; S.-Yugh. *deleŋ*; Mongr. *dəlaŋ*, *diliŋ* (SM 55).

◊ KW 86, MGCD 213. Mong. > Evk. *deleŋ* etc., see Doerfer MT 99, Rozycki 58.

PTurk. ***jęlin** udder (вымя): Karakh. *jelin* (MK); Tur. *jelin*; Gag. *jelin*; Az. *jelin*; Turkm. *jelin*; MTurk. *jelin* (R., Буд.), *jilin* (AH); Uygh. *jelin*, *jilim*, *žilim*; Tat. *ǯilen*; Bashk. *jelen*; Kirgh. *ǯelin*; Kaz. *želin*; KBalk. *jelin*, *ǯelin*, *želin*; KKalp. *želin*; Kum. *jelin*; Nogh. *jelin*; Oyr. *jelin*, *ǵeli*; Chuv. *śilə*; Yak. *silin*.

◊ EDT 930, ЭСТЯ 4, 180-181, *Лексика* 148.

‖ Poppe 22, 76, *Лексика* 148 (with lit.). A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 123 Mong. cannot be borrowed < Turk.

✱**dile (~ t-, -ĺ-)** a k. of insect or worm: Tung. ***dilu-kē**; Mong. ***dele-**; Kor. ***tīroŋ**.

PTung. ***dilu-kē** fly (муха): Evk. *dilkēn*; Evn. *diliken*; Neg. *dirkēn*; Man. *derxuwe*; SMan. *durəwē*, *duruwū* (2256); Ork. *ǯiĺokto*; Nan. *ǯiluekte*; Sol. *dilxẽ*, *dilukẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 207.

PMong. ***dele-** 1 beetle 2 midge (1 жук 2 мошка): WMong. *delegči* 1 (L 248); Kh. *delegč* 1, *delenč* 2; Kalm. *delənč* 2 (KPC).

PKor. ***tīroŋ** worm, earth-worm (червь, земляной червь): MKor. *tiroŋ'i*, *tirjoŋ*, *tirjoŋ'i*; Mod. *čīrəŋi*.

◊ Liu 260, KED 1529.

‖ A common derivative **dile-kV* (-k'V) is reflected in Mong. **dele-g-* and TM **dilu-kē*.

✱**dĭlo** year; sun, sun cycle: Tung. ***dilačā**; Mong. ***ǯil**; Turk. ***jɨl**; Jpn. ***tàsì**; Kor. ***torč**.

PTung. ***dilačā** sun (солнце): Evk. *dilačā*; Neg. *dilača*.

◊ TMC 1, 206.

PMong. ***ǯil** cycle year (год, годовой цикл): MMong. *ǯil* (SH, HYt), *ǯīl* (LH); WMong. *ǯil*; Kh. *žil*; Bur. *žel*; Kalm. *ǯil*; Ord. *ǯil*; Mog. *ǯil* 'time' (Weiers); Dag. *ǯil* (Тод. Дar. 143), *ǯile* (MD 178); S.-Yugh. *ǯəl*; Mongr. *ǯir*, *ǯur* (SM 92), (MGCD *ǯil*).

◊ KW 109, MGCD 444. Mong. > Dolg. *ǯɨl* (Stachowski 92, 118).

PTurk. ***jɨl** year (год): OTurk. *jɨl* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨl* (MK); Tur. *jɨl*; Gag. *jɨl*; Az. *il*; Turkm. *jɨl*; Sal. *jel*; MTurk. *jɨl* (MA), il (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jil*; Uygh. *jil*; Krm. *jɨl*; Tat. *jɨl*; Bashk. *jɨl*; Kirgh. *ǯɨl*; Kaz. *žɨl*; KBalk. *žɨl*; KKalp. *žɨl*; Kum. *jɨl*; Nogh. *jɨl*; SUygh. *jil*; Khak. *čɨl*; Shr. *čɨl*; Oyr. *ɗɨl*; Tv. *čɨl*; Tof. *čɨl*; Yak. *sɨl*; Dolg. *hɨl*.

◊ VEWT 200, EDT 917, ЭСТЯ 4, 275, Лексика 70-71, Stachowski 118.

PJpn. ***tàsì** year (год): OJpn. *tosi*; MJpn. *tòsì*; Tok. *toshí*; Kyo. *tóshì*; Kag. *toshí*.

◊ JLTT 551.

PKor. ***torč (-s)** anniversary (cycle) (полный год, годовщина): MKor. *tors*; Mod. *tot* [*tols*], *tol*.

◊ Liu 230, KED 478.

‖ EAS 52, KW 109, Владимирцов 171, Martin 246, ОСНЯ 1, 220, JOAL 119, АПиПЯЯ 31, 88, 278-279, Дыбо 11, Лексика 71. Mong. may be < Turk. (see TMN 4, 251, Щербак 1997, 124). The Eastern form go back to a suffixed **dĭlo-č'V*.

✱**dilu** juice, resin: Tung. ***dilgu**; Mong. ***ǯilij**; Turk. ***jülük / *juluk**.

PTung. ***dilgu** tree juice (древесный сок): Evk. *dilgu*; Evn. *dɨlgъs*; Neg. *dɨlgʊksa*; Ul. *ǯêlčʊma*; Ork. *ǯɨlʊ*; Nan. *ǯɨlkõ*; Orch. *duguksa*.

◊ TMC 1, 207.

PMong. ***ǯilij** rosin, colophony (канифоль, смола): WMong. *ǯilij* (MXTTT); Kh. *žilī*; Bur. *želī*.

PTurk. ***jülük / *juluk** juice (сок): Oyr. *juluq*, *ɗuluq*, *jülük*; Tv. *čuluq*.

◊ VEWT 212, EDT 927-928, ЭСТЯ 4, 266, Лексика 263-264. The root should be distinguished both from **jilik* and from **julɨŋ* (v. sub **làlè*, **dilu*), although all three tend to contaminate.

‖ Дыбо 10. A Western isogloss. One wonders if the root is not actually derived (as **dij-lu*) from **dijV* 'tar, to melt' q.v.

✱**dilu** brain: Tung. ***dili**; Mong. ***ǯiluɣa / *ǯulaj**; Turk. ***julɨŋ / *jülüŋ**.

PTung. ***dili** 1 head 2 horn foundation (1 голова 2 основание рогов): Evk. *dil, del* 1; Evn. *dịl* 1; Neg. *dịl* 1; Man. *ǯili* 2; Ul. *dịlị* 1; Ork. *ǯịlị* 1; Nan. *ǯịlị* 1; Orch. *dili* 1; Ud. *dili* 1; Sol. *dęli, dil(i)* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 205-206. The comparison with Mong. *ǯiluɣa*, Turk. **jular* 'halter' (EAS 52, KW 114, Poppe, 23) is hardly acceptable.

PMong. ***ǯiluɣa / *ǯulaj** 1 brain 2 sinciput, fontanelle (1 мозг 2 темя): MMong. *ǯ[o]lā* 1 (IM); WMong. *ǯiluɣa* (Schmidt) 1, *ǯulai, ǯula* 2 (L 1078); Kh. *ʒulaj* 2; Bur. *zulaj* 2; Kalm. *zulā* 2 (KPC); Ord. *ǯulā* 2; Dag. *ǯol* 2 (Тод. Дат. 144), *ǯole* 'the temple (of the head)' (MD 179).

PTurk. ***julɨŋ / *jülüŋ** marrow, spinal marrow (костный мозг, спинной мозг): Karakh. *julun* (MK); MTurk. *jülün* (MA), *julun* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jülüŋ* (dial.); Uygh. *julun* (dial.); Bashk. *jilim*, dial. *jelen, jelem, jolon*; Kirgh. *ǯülün, ǯulun*; Kaz. *žulɨn*; KKalp. *žulɨn*; Nogh. *julɨn*; Khak. *čələŋ*; Shr. *čɨlɨŋ*; Oyr. *jülün, ǵülüŋ*; Tv. *čün*; Yak. *sülün*; Dolg. *hünńü*.

◊ EDT 930, ЭСТЯ 4, 266, Лексика 263, Stachowski 115.

‖ Дыбо 314, Лексика 263. A Western isogloss; but cf. notes to **mańa*.

✱**diŋe** to win: Tung. ***diŋe-**; Mong. ***dejil-**; Turk. ***jęŋ-**.

PTung. ***diŋe-** to press; to win (давить; побеждать): Ud. *diŋe-*.

◊ TMC 1, 207. Attested only in Ud., but having probable Turk. and Mong. parallels.

PMong. ***dejil-** to win (побеждать): WMong. *dejil-, dejile-* (L 246); Kh. *dijl-*; Bur. *dīle-*; Kalm. *dīl-*; Ord. *dīl-*.

◊ KW 92.

PTurk. ***jęŋ-** to win (побеждать): Karakh. *jeŋ-* (MK); Tur. *jen-*; Gag. *jen-*; Az. *jen-, jin-* (dial.); Turkm. *jeŋ-*; Khal. *jeŋg-*; MTurk. *jeŋ-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jeŋ-*; Uygh. *jäŋ-*; Krm. *jeŋg-, jeń-*; Tat. *ǯiŋ-*; Bashk. *jeŋ-*; Kirgh. *ǯeŋ-*; Kaz. *žeŋ-*; KBalk. *ǯeŋ-*; KKalp. *žeŋ-*; Kum. *jeŋ-*; Nogh. *jeŋ-*; Khak. *čiŋ-*; Shr. *neŋ-, neg-*; Oyr. *jeŋ-, ǵeŋ-*; Chuv. *śən-*.

◊ EDT 942, ЭСТЯ 4, 187, Лексика 576. Ramstedt's hypothesis of **jeŋ-* being derived from **jeg-* 'better, top' could be accepted, but the Ud. parallel *diŋe-* makes it questionable. We prefer to regard -ŋ- here as the root consonant.

‖ KW 92. A Western isogloss. The Turkic and Mong. forms are no doubt related, but Ramstedt treats them both as derived from **deg-* 'top'. Since we divide the traditional reconstruction of the latter root into **dịòge* and **tēga* (q.v.), such a derivation seems less plausible. The Ud. form *diŋe-*, albeit isolated in TM, also supports deriving Turk. **jęŋ-* and Mong. *dejil-* from a separate root.

✱**dísa** to guard, preserve: Tung. ***disu-**; Mong. ***ǯise-**; Jpn. ***jásí-nap-**.

PTung. ***disu-** to guard, preserve (защищать): Evk. *disut-*; Evn. *disut-*; Neg. *disut-*; Nan. *ǯīsun-*.

◊ TMC 1, 208.

PMong. ***ǯise-*** to guard; to prepare (сторожить; готовить(ся)): WMong. *ǯise-*, *ǯese-* (L 1047, 1063); Kh. *ǯese-*; Bur. *zehe-*; Kalm. *zesə-*; Mongr. *ǯīsəle-* 'faire attention, garder, veiller à' (SM 93).

◊ KW 473.

PJpn. ***jási-nap-*** to feed, take care of (кормить, растить, заботиться о): OJpn. *jasinap-*; MJpn. *jásínaf-*; Tok. *yàshina-*; Kyo. *yáshíná-*; Kag. *yashiná-*.

◊ JLTT 785.

‖ A good common Altaic verbal root.

✱**dị̯ági (~ -i̯o-)** fish: Mong. ***ǯiɣa-***; Jpn. ***(d)íwuá***; Kor. ***thi***.

PMong. ***ǯiɣa-*** fish (рыба): MMong. *ǯiqasun* (HY 12, SH), *ǯixuči* 'fisher' (HY 30), *ǯanɣāṣu* (IM), *ǯiɣasun*, *ǯiqasuni* (Partit.) (MA); WMong. *ǯiɣasu(n)* (L 1050); Kh. *ʒagas*; Bur. *zagaha(n)*; Kalm. *zaɣъsn̥*; Ord. *ǯaGasu*; Dag. *ǯagas*, *ǯaus* (Тод. Дат. 141), *ǯause* (MD 176); Dong. *ǯaGasun*; Bao. *ǯil(G)asoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *ǯaɣasən*; Mongr. *ǯaGasə* (SM 78).

◊ KW 463, MGCD 423. -g- is probably secondary (< *ǯigag-?); with *-ɣ- cf. *ǯiɣarčag* 'косяк рыб' (Khalkha *ʒārcag*).

PJpn. ***(d)íwuá*** fish (рыба): OJpn. *iwo*; MJpn. *íwó*; Tok. *ùo*; Kag. *íwo*.

◊ JLTT 563.

PKor. ***thi*** fish (a suffix in fish names) (рыба (суффикс в назв. рыб)): MKor. *kàmó-thì* etc.; Mod. *kamul-čhi* 'eel', *sam-čhi* 'mackerel' etc..

‖ АПиПЯЯ 100, 275, Дыбо 46, Лексика 178, Vovin 2000. TM *ǯoji* (in fact *ǯobi*) 'Salmo lenoc' (compared in some of the above sources) has a precise match in WMong. *ǯebege* and has to be separated; see *ǯi̯abo*. The Jpn. form could also belong there phonetically, but the close match with Kor. *thi* makes its derivation from *dị̯ági* more plausible.

✱**dị̯ắno (~ *dị̯ṓne)** flat surface, land: Tung. ***dunse***; Mong. ***denǯi***; Turk. ***jān***.

PTung. ***dunse*** 1 earth 2 land 3 wood, taiga (1 земля 2 суша 3 тайга): Evk. *dunne*, *dunde* 1; Evn. *dȫmŋe*, *dȫnde* 2; Ul. *duente* 3; Nan. *duente* 3; Ud. *dühö* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 224.

PMong. ***denǯi*** terrace (between the steppe and the river bank) (терраса (между равниной и речным берегом)): WMong. *denǯi*, (L 252:) *deŋǯi*; Kh. *denǯ*; Kalm. *denǯ*; Ord. *denǯi*; Dag. *denǯi* 'small hill, mound' (MD 136).

◊ KW 88.

PTurk. ***jān*** side (сторона): OTurk. *jan* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jan* (MK); Tur. *jan*; Gag. *jan*; Az. *jan*; Turkm. *jān*; Sal. *jan*; Khal. *jān*; MTurk. *jan* (Bor.Bad, Abush.); Uygh. *jan*; Krm. *jan*; Tat. *jan*; Bashk. *jan*; Kirgh. *ǯan*; Kaz. *žan*; KBalk. *ǯan*, *žan*, *zan*; KKalp. *žan*; Kum. *jan*; Nogh. *jan*; SUygh. *jan*; Khak. *nan*, *čan*; Shr. *čan*; Oyr. *jan*, *ďan*; Tv. *čan*; Chuv. *śom*.

◊ VEWT 184, EDT 940, ЭСТЯ 4, 113, 118-119, TMN 4, 120, Федотов 2, 135. The word has an anatomical meaning ('hip') in old sources, but the meaning 'side' is also attested and must be more archaic, to judge from external evidence; the more abstract meaning in Chuvash ('vicinity') also supports 'side' as the original meaning.

‖ A Western isogloss. The meaning 'side' in Turkic is easily deducible from 'land' (cf. Russ. страна - сторона).

✱**dị̀ari** a small animal (flying squirrel): Tung. ***ǯ(i)arami (~ d-)**; Mong. ***ǯirke**; Turk. ***jar- / *jer-**; Jpn. ***(d)ìtàti**; Kor. ***tǎràmí**.

PTung. ***ǯ(i)arami (~ d-)** otter (выдра): Ork. *daramị̀(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 198. An isolated Orok word, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ǯirke** chipmuck (Tamias sibiricus Laxmann) (Gomb.) (бурундук): WMong. *ǯirke* (MXTTT); Kh. *žirx*; Bur. *žerxi*; Kalm. *ǯirxə* (KPC).

◊ Not from Evk. *ǯeleki* 'ermine', pace Аникин 184.

PTurk. ***jar- / *jer-** bat (летучая мышь): Karakh. *jersgü, jerise* (MK Chigil); Tur. *jarasa, jarasi̇k*; Gag. *jarasa*; Az. *jarasa*; Turkm. *jarasa* (dial.), *jarɣānat*; Sal. *jeresen*; MTurk. *jarasa* (AH), *jar-qanat* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jɔr-qanɔt*; Krm. *jeri qanati*; Tat. *jar-qanat*; Bashk. *jar-ɣanat*; Kirgh. *ǰar-ɣanat*; Kaz. *ǰar-qanat*; KKalp. *ǰar-ɣanat*; Kum. *jar-qanat*; Nogh. *jar-ɣanat*; Khak. *čar-xanat*; Oyr. *jar-ɣanat, ǰar-ɣanat*; Tv. *ča'sqi*; Chuv. *śara-śerźi*; Yak. *sarī kɨnat*.

◊ EDT 972, VEWT 189, TMN 4, 143, ЭСТЯ 4, 140-141, Лексика 168. The word is etymologically difficult because of the unclear suffix *-sa / *-se attested in early forms and some of the modern reflexes. In most modern languages the word is folk-etymologically rebuilt as **jari-Kiajnat* 'film-wing' (or 'naked sparrow' in Chuv.).

PJpn. ***(d)ìtàti** Mustela itatsi itatsi, kolinsky (колонок, ласка): OJpn. *itati*; MJpn. *ìtàti*; Tok. *ìtachi, itachí*; Kyo. *ítàchì*; Kag. *itachí*.

◊ JLTT 427. Tokyo reflects a tone variation between **(d)ìtàti* and **(d)ìtáti*.

PKor. ***tǎràmí** flying squirrel (белка-летяга): MKor. *tǎràmí*; Mod. *taram-čwi*.

◊ Nam 135, KED 382.

‖ Лексика 168. Low tone in Jpn. does not correspond to Kor. (but cf. different dialectal variants). The root must have denoted some small rodent, possibly a flying squirrel (which could explain the meaning 'bat' in Turkic). One should also mention PM **ǰaraɣa* 'hedgehog, porcupine' = Karakh. *jarpuz* 'mongoose', possibly derived from the same root. A different etymology of the Turkic word (comparing it with Evk. *ńarbakin* 'naked' and deriving from a **ńarV* 'naked skin', see Stachowski 1999) seems less likely to us.

✱**dị̀ọge** good, better: Mong. ***ǯaɣa**; Turk. ***jẹg-**; Jpn. ***də̀-**; Kor. ***tjōh-**.

PMong. ***ǯaɣa** good, well (ладно, хорошо): MMong. *ǯa'arin* (SH) 'omen'; WMong. *ǯaɣa*, (L 1022: *zaɣa-bala* 'for certain'); Kh. *ǯā*; Bur. *zā*; Kalm. *zā, zā̆, ǯā̆*; Ord. *ǯā*; Dag. *ǯē, ǯā* (Тод. Даг. 143), *ǯē* (MD 176); Dong.

ǯa; S.-Yugh. *ǯa*; Mongr. *ǯāri* 'signe par lequel la divinité manifeste sa volonté' (SM 83), *ǯē-le-* 'consentir' (SM 87).

◊ KW 469, MGCD 416.

PTurk. ***jẹg-*** 1 better 2 upper part, surface (1 лучше, лучший 2 верх, поверхность): OTurk. *jeg* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jeg* 1 (MK); Tur. *jeγ, jej* 1; Az. *jeg* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *jeg* 1; MTurk. *jik* 1 (AH); Chuv. *śi, śije* 2.

◊ EDT 909-910, VEWT 194, ЭСТЯ 4, 165-166, TMN 4, 184-185, Федотов 2, 115-116.

PJpn. ***dà-*** good (хороший): OJpn. *jo-*; MJpn. *jò-*; Tok. *í-, yó-*; Kyo. *ě*; Kag. *yò-*.

◊ JLTT 845.

PKor. ***tjōh-*** good (хороший): MKor. *tjōh-*; Mod. *čō-* [*čōh-*].

◊ Nam 162, KED 1488.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 103, 275. Despite the meaning of the Chuvash form ("up") the Turk. root should be rather compared with this Korean and Japanese data than with Mong. *degde-* 'rise' etc. (see VEWT 194 with literature). On the latter root see under **tēga*. The Mong. vocalism in **ǯaγa* is somewhat aberrant: it is probably a result of early vowel assimilation < **ǯiγa* (the variants *ǯiγa-* and *ǯaγa-* in WMong. interchange frequently).

✱**dịokt'V (~ t-)** socks, stockings: Tung. ***dokta***; Mong. ***degtej***.

PTung. ***dokta-n*** socks, stockings (носки, чулки): Evk. *dokton*; Evn. *dōtṭn*; Neg. *dokton*; Ul. *doqto(n)*; Ork. *doqto(n)*; Nan. *doqto(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 213.

PMong. ***degtej*** fur stockings (унты, меховые чулки): WMong. *degtei*; Kh. *degtī* (Амаржаргал).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**dịúblu (~ -a)** a k. of predator: Tung. ***dolbi***; Mong. ***ǯilar***; Turk. ***jolbars***.

PTung. ***dolbi*** fox (лиса): Man. *dobi*; SMan. *dovi* (2207); Jurch. *dolbi* (153), *do-bi* (151).

◊ TMC 1, 211.

PMong. ***ǯilar*** cat (кошка): WMong. *ǯilar* (MXTTT); Kh. *ǯalar*.

◊ Sukhebaatar derives the word from Tib. *byi la* 'cat', but the final -r is hard to explain.

PTurk. ***jolbars*** panther, leopard, tiger (пантера, леопард, тигр): OTurk. *jolbars* (OUygh.: Suv.); Turkm. *jolbars*; MTurk. *jolbars* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jọlbars*; Uygh. *jolbars*; Tat. *julbarıs*; Bashk. *julbarıə*; Kirgh. *ǯolbars*; Kaz. *žolbarıs*; KKalp. *žolbarıs*; Nogh. *jolbarıs*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 219, Лексика 157. The Turkic form is analysed as 'road panther' which is most probably a folk etymology (under the influence of the borrowed bars 'panther'): even if one takes *jol* with a secondary late attested meaning 'line, stripe', shortness of -o- in Turkm. contradicts the etymology (**jōl* 'road' has a long vowel).

‖ A Western isogloss.

***dy̆ŭlgu (~ -a)** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***dulgikta**; Mong. ***dolugana**; Turk. ***jɨlgun**.

PTung. ***dulgi-kta** alder (ольха): Evk. *dulgik*; Evn. *döktъ*; Orch. *duggimtu*; Ud. *dugumpe* (Корм. 228), *duɣumne*.

◊ TMC 1, 222.

PMong. ***dolugana** hawthorn, mayflower (боярышник): WMong. *doluɣana, doluɣuna, dolunu* (L 260); Kh. *dolōgono*; Bur. *dolōgono*; Kalm. *dolāna*.

◊ KW 94. Mong. > Yak. *dologon* etc. (see TMN 4, 315, ЭСТЯ 3, 269-270, Лексика 123-124).

PTurk. ***jɨlgun** tamarisk (тамариск): Karakh. *jɨlɣun* (MK); Tur. *ılgın*; Az. *julɣun*; Turkm. *jɨlɣun, jɨlɣɨn*; MTurk. *jɨlɣɨn* (Houts.), *julɣun* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *julɣun*; Uygh. *žulɣun*; Kirgh. *žɨlɣɨn, žɨlɣam*; Kaz. *žɨŋɣɨl*; KKalp. *žɨŋɣɨl*; SUygh. *julɣum, jolɣam*.

◊ VEWT 165, 200, EDT 926, ЭСТЯ 4, 277-278, Лексика 134. Kaz. > Russ. dial. džengil', see Аникин 183-184.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***dy̆ùlu** warm: Tung. ***dūl-**; Mong. ***dulaɣan**; Turk. ***jɨlɨ-g**; Jpn. ***dù**.

PTung. ***dūl-** to warm (of sun) (пригревать (о солнце)): Evk. *dūl-*; Evn. *dy̆ūl-*.

◊ TMC 1, 221.

PMong. ***dulaɣan** warm (теплый): MMong. *dula'an* 'hot, sunheat' (HY 6); WMong. *dulaɣan* (L 272); Kh. *dulān*; Bur. *dulān*; Kalm. *dulān*; Ord. *dulān*; Dag. *dulān* (Тод. Даг. 138, MD 138); S.-Yugh. *dulān* (MGCD *dəlān*).

◊ KW 101-102, MGCD 237.

PTurk. ***jɨlɨ-g** warm (теплый): OTurk. *jɨlɨɣ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨlɨɣ, ılıɣ* (MK); Tur. *ılık*; Gag. *ılı*; Az. *ılıG* 'warmish'; Turkm. *jɨlɨ*; Sal. *jili*; MTurk. *ılıq, jɨlɨq* (Abush., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *iliq*; Uygh. *ilman*; Krm. *jɨlɨ*; Tat. *žɨlɨ*; Bashk. *jɨlɨ*; Kirgh. *žɨluu*; Kaz. *žɨlɨ*; KBalk. *žɨlɨ*; KKalp. *žɨllɨ*; Kum. *jɨlɨ*; Nogh. *jɨlɨ*; SUygh. *ılıɣ*; Khak. *čɨlɨɣ*; Shr. *čɨlɨ-* (v.); Oyr. *ǰılu*; Tv. *čɨlɨɣ*; Tof. *čɨlɨɣ*; Yak. *sɨlās*; Dolg. *hɨlās*.

◊ Derived from **jɨlɨ-* 'to be warm'. See VEWT 200, EDT 919, 925, ЭСТЯ 4, 275-276, Лексика 21, Stachowski 118.

PJpn. ***dù** warm water (теплая вода): OJpn. *ju*; MJpn. *ju*; Tok. *yú*; Kyo. *yũ*; Kag. *yù*.

◊ JLTT 578.

‖ EAS 51, KW 102, Владимирцов 174, Poppe 23, 75, JOAL 85, ОСНЯ 1, 221-222, Murayama 1962, 108, АПиПЯЯ 51, 72, 284, Дыбо 11, Лексика 21. Despite Щербак 1997, 124, Mong. cannot be explained as a Turkic loanword, and despite Doerfer MT 72 the TM and Mong. forms should be regarded as genuinely related. Note that several forms reflect an original derivative *dị̆ūl(u)-gV (Turk., Mong. and Jpn. *dù < *dị̆ul-gu).

✱**dị̆upʿú** wing, fin: Mong. ***ǯiber**; Jpn. ***tumpasa**.

PMong. ***ǯiber** 1 fish fin 2 wing (1 рыбий плавник 2 крыло): WMong. *ǯiber* (L 1048) 1; Kh. *ǯiver* 1; Bur. *žeber* 2; Kalm. *ǯiwṛ* (KPC) 1, 2.

PJpn. ***tumpasa** wing (крыло): OJpn. *tubasa*; MJpn. *túbásà*; Tok. *tsúbasa*; Kyo. *tsùbásà*; Kag. *tsubasá*.

◊ JLTT 552. Accent not quite clear: modern dialects point rather to **tùmpásà*.

‖ JOAL 98. A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss; cf. perhaps Tuva *čakpa* (< **japka*) 'fin'.

✱**dŏ (~ t-)** inside, middle: Tung. ***dō**; Mong. ***do- / *du-**; Kor. ***tǎi**.

PTung. ***dō** inside (внутренность): Evk. *dō*; Evn. *dō*; Neg. *dō(n)*; Man. *do*; SMan. *do-, ḍo-* (2586-2589); Jurch. *do-lo* (600); Ul. *dō*; Ork. *dō*; Nan. *dō*; Orch. *dō*; Ud. *dō* (Корм. 227); Sol. *dō-*.

◊ TMC 1, 209-210.

PMong. ***do- / *du-** 1 inside 2 middle, mediocre 3 middle (1 внутри 2 средний, посредственный 3 середина): MMong. *dotora* (HY 50), *dotona* (SH) 1, *dutar, dutură* (MA) 1, *dunda* (HY 50, SH) 2, *dumda, donda* (IM), *dundă* (MA) 3; WMong. *do-tur(a)* 1 (L 265), *du-li* 2, *du-mda* 3 (L 273); Kh. *dotor* 1, *duĺ* 2, *dund* 3; Bur. *dosō* 1, *dunda* 3; Kalm. *dotṛ* 1, *dundə* 3; Ord. *dotor* 1, *dunda* 3; Mog. *dotōna* 1, *dunda* 3; ZM *dotana* (4-3a) 1, *donda* (9-1b) 3; Dag. *duatar, dotor* 1, *duanda* 3, *duande* (MD 137) 3; Dong. *tudoro, sudoro* 1, *dunda* 3; Bao. *dorə*; S.-Yugh. *hdoro* 1, *dunda* 3; Mongr. *turo* (SM 434), *šduro*, tudor (SM 427) 1, *dunda* (SM 64) 3.

◊ KW 97,102, MGCD 227, 237. Mong. *du-li* > Evk. *dulin* etc., see TMC 1, 222-223; Doerfer MT 20; Rozycki 63.

PKor. ***tǎi** place, inside (место, внутренность): MKor. *tǎi*; Mod. *te*.

◊ Nam 147, KED 454.

‖ TMC 1, 210, Rozycki 61. One of the few monosyllabic roots in PA.

✱**dŏn(e)kʿV** withers, back: Tung. ***doŋka**; Mong. ***dŏŋ(ge)**; Turk. ***jōnak**; Kor. ***tɨŋ**.

PTung. ***doŋka** saddle (for children or horses) (седло (детское; конское)): Evk. *doŋqa*.

◊TMC 1, 216. Attested only in Evk. and rather problematic. It matches phonetically Evn. dōŋqъn, Nan. dōŋqo (On.) 'place where wild birds roost', derived in TMC 1, 211 from *dō- 'to sit down'. Let us note, however, that the verb means exclusively 'sit down (of birds), roost', so the meaning 'saddle' is hardly derivable from it. We may well be dealing with a secondary semantic contamination in Nan. and Evn.

PMong. ***döŋ(ge)*** 1 neck cangue 2 prop, support (1 шейная колодка 2 подпорка): WMong. *döŋge* 1, *döŋ* 2 (L 267, 268); Kh. *döngö* 1; Bur. *dünge* 1; Kalm. *döŋ* 2; Ord. *döŋgö* 1; Dag. *duŋgu* (MGCD 229).

◊ KW 99.

PTurk. ***jōnak*** saddleblanket (потник): Karakh. *jonaq* (MK); Turkm. *jōna*; MTurk. *jona, juna* (Houts., Pav. C.); Kaz. *žona* (dial.); KKalp. *žona*; SUygh. *junaq*; Oyr. *jonoq*; Tv. *čonaq*.

◊ VEWT 206, 211, EDT 949, ЭСТЯ 4, 222-223, Лексика 543.

PKor. ***tìŋ*** back (спина): MKor. *tìŋ*; Mod. *tiŋ*.

◊ Liu 255, KED 546.

‖ The Kor. word is alternatively compared with Mong. *tüŋke* 'muscles of the back' (SKE 268, EAS 49, 120) - but we were unable to find the word in available sources.

✱**dōre** to go, walk, approach: Tung. ***dūrē-***; Mong. ***dürbe-***; Turk. ***jori-*** / ***jüri-***; Jpn. ***dór-***.

PTung. ***dūrē-*** 1 to walk, wander (off) 2 to run 3 to leap, gallop (1 идти пешком, бродить 2 бежать 3 прыгать, скакать): Evk. *dūrē-* 1, *dūrēŋi-*3; Evn. *ǯūre-nǯid-* 1; Neg. *dūjē-* 1; Man. *ǯura-* 1; SMan. *ǯura-* 'to start, to set out, to leave' (1173); Nan. *duere-* 1; Ul. *duere-* 1; Ork. *dūruŋu-* 3; Orch. *due-, duwe-* 1; Ud. *due-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 226, 277, 278. Variants with ǯ- are not quite clear.

PMong. ***dürbe-*** to run (in panic) (бежать (в панике)): MMong. *durbe-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *dürbe-*, (L 281) *dürbi-*; Kh. *dürve-*.

PTurk. ***jori-*** / ***jüri-*** to walk (ходить): OTurk. *jorï-* (Orkh., OUygh.), *jüri-* (Orkh.); Karakh. *jor(ï)-* (MK, KB), *jüri-* ~ *jöri-* (KB); Tur. *jürü-*; Gag. *jörü-*; Az. *jeri-, jürü-*; Turkm. *jör(e)-*; Sal. *jür-*; MTurk. *jüri-* ~ *jöri-* (MA), *jürü-* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jur-*; Uygh. *žür-* (*jür-*), *jörü-*; Krm. *juru-, jürü-*; Tat. *jörü-, jör-*; Bashk. *jörö-*; Kirgh. *žür(ü)-*; Kaz. *žür-*; KBalk. *žür(ü)-*; KKalp. *žür-*; Kum. *juru-, jürü-*; Nogh. *jür(ü)-*; SUygh. *jor-, žor-, jör-, jür-*; Khak. *čör-*; Shr. *čör-*; Oyr. *ǰor-*; Tv. *čor(u)-*; Tof. *čoru-*; Chuv. *śüre-*; Yak. *sirit-*; Dolg. *hirit-*.

◊ VEWT 207, 213, EDT 957-8, ЭСТЯ 4, 229-231, TMN 4, 217-218, Stachowski 120. Clauson regards both forms together, but notes that *jori-* is attested earlier than *jür(i)-*.

PJpn. ***dór-*** to approach (приближаться, подходить): OJpn. *jor-*; MJpn. *jór-*; Tok. *yòr-*; Kyo. *yór-*; Kag. *yór-*.

◊ JLTT 787.

‖ EAS 52, АПиПЯЯ 284, Дыбо 13. The frequently compared with Turk. WMong. *ǯorči-* 'to ride, wander' (see KW 476, Владимирцов 187, VEWT 207), is most likely a loanword (*ǯorči-* < **ǯorti-*, from the Turk. derived form **jor(ï)t-* (ЭСТЯ 4, 226-227); cf. also **joriga* 'pedestrian; ambler' (ЭСТЯ 4, 225) > WMong. *ǯiruγa*, see VEWT 207, KW 115, TMN 4, 152, whence Yak., Dolg. *ǯoruo*, see Kał. MEJ 23, 35, Stachowski 91)),

**jori-* > WMong. *ǰori-* 'to head (somewhere)' (KW 478; hence Man. *ǰori-*, see Doerfer MT 115); see Щербак 1997, 125. Note that Doerfer's criticism (TMN 4, 219-220) of the Tung.-Turk. comparison is unacceptable. However, an archaic opposition of two roots (with **d-* and **ǰ-*) cannot be excluded: besides a peculiar variation **jori-/ *jüri-* in PT note also the tonal mismatch between PT **dūr-* and PJ **dȯ́r-*.

✱**dòru** rule, permission: Tung. ***dora(n)**; Mong. ***dura-**; Turk. ***jor-**; Jpn. ***dùrù-**.

PTung. ***dora-n*** law (закон): Man. *doron*; SMan. *dorən* 'official rank'(1047); Jurch. *doro-un* (255); Ul. *doro(n)*; Ork. *doro(n)*; Nan. *dorō*; Orch. *doro(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 216-217. Borrowing from Mong. *töre* is excluded, despite Rozycki 62.

PMong. ***dura-*** 1 will, intent; 2 wish, desire, liking 3 to wish, love (1 воля, намерение 2 желание, симпатия 3 любить; желать): MMong. *durat-* 'to hope, consider' (HY 33), *durala-* 3 (HYt), *dura(n)* (SH), *dura(n)* (MA) 1; WMong. *dura* (L 274) 1; Kh. *dur* 1,2, *durla-* 3; Bur. *dura(n)* 1, *durla-* 3; Kalm. *durn̦* 1; Ord. *dura* 1; Mog. *dɔrɔn* 2 (Weiers); ZM *dorɔ̄n* (5-5a) 1; Dag. *duar* (Тод. Дar. 137) 1, *duare* 1, *duarele-* 3 (MD 138); Dong. *duran* 1; S.-Yugh. *dura* 1; Mongr. *durān* (SM 66) 1.

◊ KW 103, MGCD 238.

PTurk. ***jor-*** to explain, interpret (a dream) (толковать (сон)): Karakh. *jor-* (MK, KB); Tur. *jor-*, *jora-*; Turkm. *jor-*; MTurk. *jor-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uygh. *ǰoru-*; Krm. *jor-*, *jora-*; Tat. *jura-*; Bashk. *jura-*; Kirgh. *ǰoro-*, *ǰoru-*; Kaz. *žor-*; KKalp. *žori-*; Nogh. *jori-*.

◊ EDT 955, VEWT 208, ЭСТЯ 4, 223-224. Turk. > Mong. *jor-* (Щербак 1997, 125). The root should be distinguished from **jȯ̂r-* 'to untie, release' (Yak. *süör-*, OT *jör-*) - the latter is different both phonetically and semantically, although it can, through contamination, also attain the meaning 'to interpret' (thus in MK and OUygh.).

PJpn. ***dùrù-*** 1 to be allowed 2 to allow (1 быть разрешенным 2 разрешать, позволять): OJpn. *jurus-* 2; MJpn. *jùrù-* 1, *jùrùs-* 2; Tok. *yurús-* 2; Kyo. *yùrùs-*; Kag. *yùrùs-*.

◊ JLTT 788.

‖ An interesting common Altaic root, with the original meaning reconstructable perhaps as 'interpretation (of desires or intentions)' and thus 'permission, rule'.

✱**dòru** weak, slack, emaciated: Tung. ***duru-**; Mong. ***doru**; Turk. ***jor-**; Jpn. ***dùrù-**.

PTung. ***duru-*** to become worn out, old (одряхлеть): Man. *duru-*.

◊ TMC 1, 225. Attested only in Manchu, but having reliable external parallels.

PMong. ***doru*** weak, feeble, emaciated (слабый, истощенный): WMong. *doru*, *dorui* (L 263); Kh. *dor*, *doroj*; Bur. *doroj*; Kalm. *dorū*; Mongr. *durī*.

◊ KW 96, MGCD 226.

PTurk. ***jor-** to tire, tired (уставать, усталый): Tur. *jor-, jorul-, joryun*; Gag. *jorul-, joryun*; Az. *jor-, jorul-, joryun*; Turkm. *jor-, joryun*; MTurk. *jorul-* (Ettuhf., AH), *joryun* (Pav. C.); Krm. *jorul-, joryun*; Kum. *jorul-*.

◊ VEWT 207, ЭСТЯ 4, 223.

PJpn. ***dùrù-** slack, languid, quiet (вялый, расслабленный, спокойный): OJpn. *juru-*, jura-; MJpn. *jùrù-*; Tok. *yurú-*; Kyo. *yúrù-*; Kag. *yurú-*.

◊ JLTT 845.

‖ The root is homonymous with **dòru* 'rule, permission', but hardly has anything in common with it etymologically.

***dorVkV** a k. of badger: Tung. ***d[o]riken**; Mong. ***dorugun**; Turk. ***jorukan**.

PTung. ***d[o]rike-** 1 lynx 2 a k. of bear 3 wild boar (1 рысь 2 вид медведя 3 дикая свинья): Evn. *deriken* 2; Neg. *dejexe* 1; Man. *dorGori* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 230, 237, 217.

PMong. ***dorugun** badger (барсук): MMong. *dūrqan* (LH); WMong. *doroγon, doruγu(n), doryu* (L 262, 263); Kh. *dorgo*; Bur. *dorgon*; Ord. *dorGo*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *dorokon* etc., see Doerfer MT 39, Rozycki 62.

PTurk. ***jorukan** 1 badger 2 suslik (1 барсук 2 суслик): Khak. *čoraxa* (Radl.); Oyr. *joroqon* (Radl.).

◊ VEWT 207. Turk. > WMong. *ǯoruγan, ǯoruqan*, Kalm. *zoryən, zorxən* (KW 476).

‖ A Western isogloss.

***dubi (~ t-)** skilled, accustomed: Tung. ***dub-**; Mong. ***düj**.

PTung. ***dub-** to get accustomed (привыкать, приучаться): Evk. *dū-*; Evn. *dū̀-*; Man. *dubi-*; Jurch. *tu-bi-ba tei-bew* 'fixed habits' (784).

◊ TMC 1, 217-218.

PMong. ***düj** 1 skill, dexterity 2 to be right or correct (1 умение, сноровка 2 быть верным, правильным): WMong. *düi* 1, *düi-* 2 (L 279); Kh. *düj* 1, *düj-* 2; Bur. *düj* 1.

◊ Despite Lessing ibid., *düji-* is hardly < Chinese.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***dŭle** night: Tung. ***dolba**; Mong. ***düli-**; Jpn. ***duà, *duà-rû**.

PTung. ***dolba** night (ночь): Evk. *dolbonī*; Evn. *dolbъ*; Neg. *dolbon*; Man. *dobori*; SMan. *dóvərə* 'night, evening' (2661); Jurch. *dol-wo* (78); Ul. *dolbo*; Ork. *dolboni*; Nan. *dolbo*; Orch. *dobbo*; Ud. *dogbo*; Sol. *dolbo*.

◊ TMC 1, 213-214.

PMong. ***düli-** to spend the night (without sleep) (проводить ночь (без сна)): WMong. *düli-* (L 280); Kh. *düle-*; Kalm. *dül-*; Ord. *düli-*; Dag. *dule-* (MD 139).

◊ KW 105. Mong. > Man. *duli-* etc., see TMC 1, 223, Rozycki 63.

PJpn. ***duà, *duà-rû** night (ночь): OJpn. *jwo(ru)*; MJpn. *jò(rú)*; Tok. *yóru*; Kyo. *yòru*; Kag. *yorú*.

◊ JLTT 575, 577.

‖ Murayama 1962, 108, АПиПЯЯ 71, 97, 276 (but the Turkic parallels listed there should be rejected). PJ **duà* reflects a suffixed form < **dǘl(e)-gV* (-bV).

✱**dǘli** mad, crazy: Tung. ***dulbu-**; Mong. ***dülei**; Turk. ***jǘl-**; Kor. ***tor**.

PTung. ***dulbu-** 1 stupid, dumb 2 deaf (1 глупый 2 глухой): Evk. *dulbu-n* 1; Evn. *dụlbụr* 1; Man. *dụlba* 1; Ork. *dụl-dụl* 1; Nan. *dulbi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 221-222.

PMong. ***dülei** deaf (глухой): MMong. *dǘlaiji* (HY 49), *dolä* (IM), *dulăi* (MA), *dūli* (LH); WMong. *dülei* (L 280); Kh. *dülij*; Bur. *dülij*; Kalm. *dülē*; Ord. *dülī*; Dag. *dulī* (Тод. Даг. 138, MD 139); Dong. *dulei*; Bao. *dəli*; S.-Yugh. *delī-*; Mongr. *dulī* (SM 64).

◊ KW 105, MGCD 244. Mong. > Kaz. *dülej* etc. (ЭСТЯ 3, 324-325).

PTurk. ***jǘl-** 1 to be mad, crazy 2 anger 3 to be sexually excited (1 сходить с ума 2 гнев 3 быть в состоянии полового возбуждения): Oyr. *ǵül-* 1; Chuv. *śĭlə* 2; Yak. *sǘl-* 3.

◊ VEWT 213, ЭСТЯ 4, 33. Chuv. > Hung. *gyűlöl* 'be angry'. Forms like Kirgh. *ǰǒlü-*, Uygh. *ǰölü-* 'to go mad, speak in one's sleep' are obviously < Mong. *ǰeɣüle-*, but the Chuv. and Yak. forms, as well as the Oyr. form *ǵül-* seem to be archaic.

PKor. ***tor** wicked, base, wild (дикий, грубый): Mod. *tol*; *tul-* 'stupid; clumsy'.

◊ KED 478, 509, 510.

‖ SKE 272, Lee 1958, 108.

✱**dure (~ t-, -ŕ-, -i)** to burn, set fire: Tung. ***dur-**; Mong. ***dür-**.

PTung. ***dur-** 1 to burn, blaze, flame 2 to set fire (1 гореть, пылать 2 разводить огонь): Evn. *dur-* 1; Man. *dobu-* 2; Ul. *durǯegdeli-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 211, 224-225. Man. *dobu-* < **dur-bu-* = Evn. *durъb-*.

PMong. ***dür-** to blaze, flame (вспыхивать, пылать): WMong. *dürbelǯe-* (L 281); Kh. *dürelǯe-*, *dürsxij-*; Bur. *dürge-*, *düre-*; Kalm. *dürwə-*; Mog. *dürgä-*, *dürü-* (Ramstedt 1906).

◊ KW 106.

‖ Poppe 22. Мудрак Дисс. 185. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, but despite Doerfer MT 147, hardly a loanword in TM.

✱**dŭŕi** ring: Tung. ***dur-**; Mong. ***dörü**; Turk. ***jüŕ-**.

PTung. ***dur-** 1 a k. of bracelet 2 stirrup 3 saddle (for children) (1 вид браслета 2 стремя 3 седло (детское)): Evk. *durēki* 2; Ork. *dūrēke* 3; Nan. *durǯi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 217, 225. The word for 'stirrup' (cf also Sol. *durēŋki* id., see TMC 1, 226) may be a Mongolian borrowing, see Doerfer MT 126.

PMong. ***dörü** 1 ring in bull's nose 2 stirrup (1 кольцо в носу у быка 2 стремя): MMong. *doro'e* (HY 18), *dorebči* (SH) 1, *durā* (IM) 2; WMong. *dörü* 1, *dörüge* 2 (L 269); Kh. *dör* 1, *dörō* 2; Bur. *düre* 1, *dürō* 2;

Kalm. *dör* 1, *dörē* 2; Ord. *dörö* 1, *dörō̃* 2; Dag. *durēŋǵ* 2 (Тод. Дar. 138 *durēŋgi*); S.-Yugh. *durē* 2; Mongr. *durō* (SM 67), *durōm* 'anneau, boucle' (MGCD 230).

◊ KW 99, MGCD 230.

PTurk. ***jüŕ-*** 1 finger ring 2 joint 3 stirrup (**üŕeŋgü* < **jüŕeŋgü*) (1 кольцо (на палец) 2 сустав (пальцевый) 3 стремя): Karakh. *jüzük* 1 (MK), *üzeŋü* 3 (KB); Tur. *jüzük* 1, *üzengi* 3; Gag. *jüzük, üzük* 1; Az. *üzük* 1; Turkm. *jüzük* 1, *üzeŋŋi* 3; MTurk. *jüzük* 1 (AH, Ettuhf.), *üzük* 1 (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *uzuk* 1; Uygh. *üzük* 1; Krm. *jüzük, üzük, ezik, izik* 1; Tat. *jözek* 1; Bashk. *jöðök* 1; Kirgh. *ǯüzük* 1; Kaz. *žüzik* 1; KBalk. *ǯüzük, züzük* 1; KKalp. *žüzik* 1; Kum. *jüzük* 1; Nogh. *jüzik* 1; Khak. *čüstük* 1; Shr. *čüstük* 1; Oyr. *jüstük, ǰüstük* 1; Tv. *čü'stük* 1, *čüs* 2; Chuv. *śəʷrəʷ* 1, *ǰъrana* 3; Yak. *sühüöx* 2, *iheŋe* 3; Dolg. *hühüök* 2.

◊ EDT 986, VEWT 214, TMN 2, 146,147-148, ЭСТЯ 1, 623-625, 4, 260, 261-262, Егоров 212, Лексика 548-549, Stachowski 115. Turk. > Hung. *gyűrű* (see Lig. MNyTK 77-79). The reason of *j- > 0- in the PT name of "stirrup" (< *"ring-formed") is unclear (irregular change in a long form?).

‖ KW 99, Poppe 23, Лексика 549. A Western isogloss.

E

✱**é** that (deictic root): Tung. ***e-**; Mong. ***e-ne**; Turk. ***ạ(-n)**; Jpn. ***á-**; Kor. ***ā-mò**.

PTung. ***e-** this (этот): Evk. *er, eri*; Evn. *er*; Neg. *ej*; Man. *ere*; SMan. *erə* (2881); Jurch. *e(r)se* (854); Ul. *ej*; Ork. *eri*; Nan. *ei*; Orch. *ei*; Ud. *eji*; Sol. *er*.

◊ TMC 2, 460-462.

PMong. ***e-ne** this (этот): MMong. *ene* (SH, HYt), *enɛ* (IM), *ină* (MA); WMong. *ene* (L 316); Kh. *ene*; Bur. *ene*; Kalm. *enə*; Ord. *ene*; Mog. *enä*; ZM *ena* (13-6a); Dag. *ene* (Тод. Даг. 139); Dong. *ene*; Bao. *ene, ine*; S.-Yugh. *ene*; Mongr. *ne*.

◊ KW 122, MGCD 262.

PTurk. ***ạn-** that (*obl.cases*) 2 here, look (part.) (тот (основа косв. падежей) 2 вот, тут): OTurk. *an-ta* (loc.), *aŋ-ar* (dat.) (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *an-da* (loc.), *oŋ-a* (dat.) (MK, KB); Turkm. ana 2; Sal. *an-di* (loc.), *aŋ-a* (dat.); Khal. *ărä* 'that side' (vocalism under influence of *bărä* 'this side'); MTurk. *an-da* (loc.), *aŋ-a* (dat.) (Babur); Krm. *an-da* (loc.), *an-ar* (dat.); Tat. *an-da* (loc.), *aŋ-a* (dat.), *an-ar* (dat.) (Mish.); Bashk. *an-ta, an-da* (loc.), *aŋ-a* (dat.); Kirgh. *an-ta* (loc.), *a-(ɣ)a* (dat.); KBalk. *an-da* (loc.), *aŋ-ɣa* (dat.); SUygh. *a* (nom.); Khak. *an-da* (loc.), *a-ɣaa* (dat.); Shr. *an-da* (loc.), *a-(ɣ)a* (dat.); Oyr. *an-da* (loc.), *o-(ɣ)o* (dat.); Tv. *in-da* (loc.), *a(ŋ)-a* (dat.); Tof. *in-da* (loc.), *a(ŋ)-a* (dat.); Chuv. *on-da* (loc.), *ъʷn-a* (dat.); Yak. *ana-rā* 2.

◊ VEWT 19, EDT 165, ЭСТЯ 1, 147-150, 157. In OT and most modern languages the root a(n)- acts as an oblique stem for ol 'that' (as well as a deriving stem for pronominal adverbs). Only in SUygh. *a-* is the direct stem.

PJpn. ***á-** that (тот): MJpn. *a-*; Tok. *à-re, à-no*; Kyo. *áre*.

◊ JLTT 376.

PKor. ***ā-mò** someone, some (кто-то, некоторый): MKor. *āmò* (cf. also *ànǐ* 'some, someone', *àrăm* 'oneself'); Mod. *āmu*.

◊ Nam 337, KED 1072.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 111-112, 277; EAS 126, KW 122, АПиПЯЯ 56, 292, Doerfer MT 21, Rozycki 70.

✱**e** not: Tung. ***e-***; Mong. ***e-se***.

PTung. ***e-*** not (не (отрицательный глагол)): Evk. *e-*; Evn. *e-*; Neg. *e-*; Jurch. *ej-xe* (476), *esi(n)-in* (710); Ul. *e-*; Ork. *e-*; Nan. *e-*; Orch. *e-*; Ud. *e-*; Sol. *e-*.

◊ TMC 2, 432.

PMong. ***e-se*** not (не): MMong. *ese* (SH, HYt), *ise* (IM), *is(ă)* (MA); WMong. *ese* (L 333); Kh. *es*; Bur. *ehe*; Kalm. *es*; Ord. *ese*; Mog. *sa, sɛ*; ZM *eϑϑä* (27-7a); Dag. *es* (Тод. Дат. 140); Dong. *ese*; Bao. *se*; Mongr. *sə, sī*.

◊ KW 128, MGCD 272.

‖ Poppe 65, KW 128, ОСНЯ 1, 265, АПиПЯЯ 44, 291. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**èbà** to join, meet: Tung. ***ebu-re-***; Mong. ***aɣu-lǯa-***; Turk. ***ab-***; Jpn. ***àp-***; Kor. ***àbór-***.

PTung. ***ebu-re-*** 1 to meet 2 to wait (1 встречать 2 ждать): Ul. *eureči-* 1, 2; Nan. *ērūče-* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 471.

PMong. ***aɣu-lǯa-*** to meet, join (встречаться, объединяться): MMong. *a'ulǯa-*, *a'ulča-* (SH), *a'ulǯa-* (HYt) 'to have an audience of a khan'; WMong. *aɣulǯa-* (L 17); Kh. *ūlʒa-*; Bur. *ūlza-*; Kalm. *ūlzə-*; Ord. *ūlǯa-*; Dag. *aulǯi-* (Тод. Дат. 122), *auležī* (MD 116).

◊ KW 454, MGCD 663, TMN 1, 169. A variant with h- is attested in the Leiden manuscript (*hawulǯarin* 'present'), but this is certainly not the reason for reconstructing **hayu-lǯa-* - against the overwhelming weight of other Middle Mong. sources and Dagur; it should be rather compared with Mongr. *fūla-* 'offrir, sacrifier' (105) (further perhaps to **hab* 'sorcery' q. v. sub **p'ăp'a*).

PTurk. ***ab-*** to crowd, come together (собираться, встречаться): OTurk. *av-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *av-* (MK, KB).

◊ EDT 4, 10, ДТС 69.

PJpn. ***àp-*** to meet, join, fit, agree (встречать; соединяться, подходить): OJpn. *ap-*; MJpn. *àf-*; Tok. *á-*; Kyo. *à-*; Kag. *à-*.

◊ JLTT 679.

PKor. ***àbór-*** to unite, join (объединять, соединять): MKor. *à'ór-*; Mod. *aulɨ-*, *əulɨ-*.

◊ Nam 340, KED 1076, 1134.

‖ SKE 12, Martin 234, Ozawa 167-168. An attempt of Doerfer (TMN 1, 173) to disprove Ramstedt's etymology (by supposing **h-* in Mong.) is unsuccessful. Korean has a low tone, typical for the verbal subsystem.

✱**ĕbà** to winnow, fan: Tung. ***ebiri-***; Turk. ***ebis-***; Jpn. ***apu-***.

PTung. ***ebiri-*** to shuffle, hoard (сгребать, смахивать): Evn. *ewerge* 'two-paddled oar'; Nan. *ebiri-*.

◊ TMC 2, 433.

PTurk. ***ebi-s-*** to winnow, blow (веять): Karakh. *evüs-* (MK); Tur. *evis-*; Az. *äs-*; Turkm. *övüs-, ös-*; Khal. *häp(i)s-, häs-*; Chuv. *avъs-*.

◊ EDT 15, VEWT 49, ЭСТЯ 1, 553-554. Cf. also **epki-n* 'cool wind, gust of wind' (Лексика 42). The form *es-*, attested already in MK (see EDT 240, ЭСТЯ ibid.) is possibly a contraction of **ebs-*.

PJpn. ***apu-*** to blow, fan (раздувать, обвевать): MJpn. *afu-r-, afu-t-*; Tok. *aór-*; Kyo. *áór-*; Kag. *aór-*.

◊ JLTT 676. Accent not quite clear: Kyoto and Tokyo point to **àpùr-*, but Kagoshima - to **ápúr-*.

‖ The root is not widely represented, but seems quite reliable. A derivative **ěbà-rV* is reflected in Nan. *ebiri-* = OJ *apu-t-, apu-r-*.

✱***éba(-ku)*** marshmallow, hollyhock: Tung. ***ebke-***; Mong. ***(h)abuga***; Jpn. ***ápúpi***; Kor. ***à'ók***.

PTung. ***ebke-*** 1 heather 2 a k. of plant 3 hawthorn (1 вереск 2 вид растения 3 боярышник): Evk. *ebkemkirē* 1; Neg. *epkexin* 2; Ul. *ewxexi* 2; Ork. *ewxexi* 2; Nan. *opokta* 3; Orch. *ewxexi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 22, 433.

PMong. ***(h)abuga*** marshmallow (пастушья сумка): WMong. *abuγa* (MXTTT); Kh. *avga* (MXTTT).

◊ Mong. > Man. *abuχa* (*ilχa*) id.

PJpn. ***ápúpi*** hollyhock (шток-роза): OJpn. *apupji*; MJpn. *áfúfi*; Tok. *àoi*; Kyo. *áóí*; Kag. *aói*.

◊ JLTT 382.

PKor. ***à'ók*** marshmallow (алтей аптечный или лекарственный (Althaea officinalis)): MKor. *à'ók*; Mod. *auk*.

◊ Nam 340, KED 1076.

‖ Lee 1958, 105 (Man.-Kor.).

✱***ěbè*** to carry on the back: Tung. ***ebe-***; Mong. ***eɣüre-***; Jpn. ***àp-***; Kor. ***àp-***.

PTung. ***ebe-*** carry (on oneself) (переносить): Evk. *ewe-*; Nan. *ịwarị-* 'to unload'; Orch. *ewugi-* 'to bring', *iwa-dala-* 'to put a person on one's shoulder (in play)'.

◊ TMC 1, 295, 2, 436.

PMong. ***eɣüre-*** to carry on the back (нести на спине): MMong. *u'ur-* (SH); WMong. *eγüre-* (L 301: *egür-, ügür-*); Kh. *ūre-*; Kalm. *ūr-*; S.-Yugh. *orγu-*; Mongr. *urgu-*.

◊ KW 461, MGCD 686.

PJpn. ***àp-*** to carry on the back (нести на спине): OJpn. *op-*; MJpn. *òf-*; Tok. *ò-*; Kyo. *ò-*; Kag. *ó-*.

◊ JLTT 743. Tone is controversial: RJ and Kyoto < **àp-*, but Tokyo and Kagoshima < **áp-*.

PKor. ***àp-*** to carry on the back (нести на спине): MKor. *àp-*; Mod. *ap-*.

◊ Liu 554, KED 1149.

‖ Martin 238. Korean has a verbal low tone.

✱**ebí** to be weak, to wither: Tung. ***ebe-**; Jpn. ***impu-sia-**; Kor. ***èbí-**.

PTung. ***ebe-** 1 weak 2 to yield, be submitted 3 foolish, obstinate 4 lax, tarrying (1 слабый 2 уступать, подчиняться 3 глупый, упрямый 4 медлительный, расслабленный): Evk. *ewe-ǯekin* 'едва-едва'; Man. *ebe-ri, ebi-lun* 1; Ul. *ebe-le* 3; Ork. *ebe-le* 4; Nan. *ebe-ri-* 2; Orch. *ebe-le* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 436. Some forms (esp. those in -ri) may be borrowed from Mongolian (see under **apo*), while the Ul. and Orok forms may be < Manchu (because of -b- instead of the expected -w-).

PJpn. ***i(m)pu-sia-** in bad spirits, bad-mooded (в дурном настроении, расстроенный): OJpn. *ibuse-*; MJpn. *ibuse-*.

◊ JLTT 829.

PKor. ***èbí-** 1 to be exhausted, hungry 2 to lack, be insufficient (1 быть истощенным, голодным 2 недоставать, не хватать): MKor. *ə'uí-* 1, *əpsìwí-, əps-* 2; Mod. *əp-* [*əps-*].

◊ HMCH 95, Nam 369, KED 1150.

‖ PKE 59. An Eastern isogloss. Cf. **àpo*.

✱**èbla** egg: Tung. ***(x)elū-**; Mong. ***(h)eɣülde**; Turk. ***o(bi)l-duruk**; Kor. ***árh**.

PTung. ***(x)elū-** 1 to hatch 2 egg (1 высиживать яйца 2 яйцо): Evk. *elū-* 1; Evn. *olŋa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 15, 448. Cf. also Evk. *elī-mektekēn*, Sol. *ēluxē* 'newborn child'.

PMong. ***(h)eɣülder** breed (порода): WMong. *egülder* (L 300); Kh. *ülder*; Bur. *ülter*.

PTurk. ***o(bi)l-duruk** milt, roe (молоки, икра): Tur. *oɣulduruk* 'womb, ovary'; Turkm. *ovulduruq*; MTurk. *oɣulduruq* (R - ShS); Uzb. *ɔvuldiriq* (dial.); Tat. *uwuldiq*; Bashk. *iwildiriq* (dial.); Kirgh. *ulduruq*; Kaz. *ulduruq, üldürük*; Chuv. *vəʷlǯəʷ*.

◊ VEWT 358. Usually derived from **ogul* 'son', which is rather dubious for external reasons. See Мудрак Дисс. 146. Дыбо 156.

PKor. ***árh** egg (яйцо): MKor. *ár* (*árh-*); Mod. *al*.

◊ Nam 346, KED 1088.

‖ In Turk. **obil-duruk* probably < **abil-duruk* with secondary narrowing in a long wordform. Kor. **árh* reflects a suffixed **èbla-gV*.

✱**ebo** enough, big: Tung. ***ebi-**; Mong. ***(h)öɣ-** / ***(h)öb-**; Kor. ***ò'ǎ-**.

PTung. ***ebi-** 1 enough 2 to be satiated 3 greedy 4 to eat greedily (1 достаточно 2 насыщаться, наедаться): Evk. *uwi-* 2; Man. *ebi-* 2; Jurch. *oh-pih-leh* 2; Ul. *ebiri-* 4, *ebe-su(n)* 3; Nan. *ebe-sū* 3; Orch. *eburi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 243, 433.

PMong. ***(h)öɣ- / *(h)öb-** 1 huge, big 2 complete, whole (1 громадный, большой 2 весь, целиком): WMong. *ögelei* 1 (L 631), *öb-či* 2 (L 627); Kh. *ŏlij* 1, *övč* 2.

PKor. ***ò'ǎ-** whole, complete (целый, быть целым): MKor. *ò'ǎ-n, ò'ǎr-*.

◊ Nam 381.

‖ Cf. PJ **àpà-* 'big' which may reflect a merger of this root with **èp'o* q.v.

***ebVrV** worm, snake: Tung. ***ūre**; Turk. ***ebren**; Jpn. ***bàràtì (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***ūre** 1 worm 2 snake (1 червь (дождевой) 2 змея): Evk. *ūre* 1; Neg. *uje* 1; Ul. *were(n)* 2; Ud. *wē* (Корм. 219), *uje*.

◊ TMC 1, 132; 2, 289.

PTurk. ***ebren** snake (змея): Tur. (Osm.) *evren* 'dragon', cf. mod. 'heaven vault' (< 'snake-rainbow' ?); Gag. *ievrem* 'fiery snake'; MTurk. MKypch. *ewren* 'adder' (Houts.); Chuv. *vəʷre śəlen* 'dragon' (lit. 'hot snake'), *vereni* (Bulg.).

◊ EDT 14.

PJpn. ***bàràtì (~ -ua-)** big snake (большая змея): OJpn. *woroti*; MJpn. *wòròtì, wòròdì*; Tok. *órochi*; Kyo. *óròchì*; Kag. *oróchi*.

◊ JLTT 512. Accent in Tokyo and Kagoshima is aberrant.

‖ The Turkic form strongly suggests that PJ **bàràtì* is a contraction of a longer **àbàràtì*.

***ébʒo** to see, understand: Tung. ***eʒe-**; Mong. ***üʒe-**; Turk. ***ō(j)-**.

PTung. ***eʒe-** to understand, remember (понимать, запоминать): Man. *eʒe-*; SMan. *eʒə-* 'to memorize' (1866); Ul. *eʒe-*; Ork. *ede-mu-*; Nan. *eʒe-*; Orch. *eʒe-*; Ud. *egʒe-*.

◊ TMC 2, 439. TM > Dag. *eʒi-* (Тод. Даг. 138).

PMong. ***üʒe-** to see (видеть): MMong. *uʒe-* (HY 32, SH); *uʒɛ-* (IM), *uʒä-, huʒä-* (MA); WMong. *üʒe-* (L 1014); Kh. *üʒe-*; Bur. *üze-*; Kalm. *üz-*; Ord. *üʒi-*; Mog. *üʒä-*; ZM *ouž* (5-4b); Dag. *uʒi-* (Тод. Даг. 170, MD 231), *uʒ-*; Dong. *uʒe-*; Bao. *nʒe-*; S.-Yugh. *eʒe-*; Mongr. *uʒa-* (SM 465), *uʒe-*.

◊ KW 460, MGCD 331, 689.

PTurk. ***ō(j)-** to think, understand (думать, понимать): OTurk. *ö-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ö-* (MK); Yak. *üöj-*.

◊ EDT 2-3, VEWT 368. Derived is probably **ŏ-g* 'thought', **ŏg-re-* 'to learn' (see ЭСТЯ 1, 496-498, 501-502, Stachowski 198, 252).

‖ A Western isogloss. The medial cluster with *-b- should be reconstructed in order to account for labialization in Turk. and Mong. However, the Turkic form may be alternatively compared with Mong. *ojun* 'thought' - if the latter is not related to PT **ōd* 'thought' (as suggested by Владимирцов 285 and supported in Мудрак Дисс. 103).

***éča** early, morning: Tung. ***esī**; Jpn. ***àsâ**; Kor. ***àčhǎm**.

PTung. ***esī** now, just now, not long ago (сейчас, только что, недавно): Evk. *esī*; Evn. *esi-me*; Neg. *esī*; Man. *esi* 'yes, certainly'; Ul. *esi*; Ork. *esi*; Nan. *esi*; Orch. *esi*; Ud. *esi*; Sol. *eši*.

◊ See TMC 2, 467-468.

PJpn. ***àsâ** morning (утро): OJpn. *asa*; MJpn. *àsà*; Tok. *ása*; Kyo. *àsâ*; Kag. *asá*.

◊ JLTT 384.

PKor. ***àčhǎm** morning (утро): MKor. *àčhǎm*; Mod. *ačhim*.

◊ Nam 342, KED 1077/

‖ Martin 236. An Eastern isogloss.

***ēč'o** be weak, exhausted: Tung. ***eče-**; Turk. ***ạ̄č**; Jpn. ***ətər-**; Kor. ***áč-**.

PTung. ***eče-** to feel constrained (чувствовать стеснение): Ul. *ečise-*; Nan. *ečisi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 471.

PTurk. ***ạ̄č** hunger (голод): OTurk. *ač* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ač* (MK); Tur. *aç*; Gag. *āç*; Az. *aj*; Turkm. *āç*; Khal. *āč*, *ɔ̄çu-*; MTurk. *aj* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔç*; Uygh. *aç*; Krm. *aç*; Tat. *aç*; Bashk. *as*; Kirgh. *aç*; Kaz. *aš*; KBalk. *aç*; KKalp. *aš*; Kum. *aç*; Nogh. *aš*; Khak. *as*; Shr. *aš*; Oyr. *aç*; Tv. *aš*; Chuv. *viźъ*; Yak. *ās*; Dolg. *aç-çik* 'hungry'.

◊ EDT 17, VEWT 3, ЭСТЯ 1, 208-209, Stachowski 28.

PJpn. ***ətər-** 1 to be worse 2 to become weak (1 быть хуже, уступать 2 слабеть): OJpn. *otor-* 1, *ot(w)or(w)op-* 2; MJpn. *òtòr-* 1, *òtòròf-* 2; Tok. *otór-* 1, *otoroé-* 2; Kyo. *ótór-* 1, *ótóróé-* 2; Kag. *otór-* 1, *òtòròè-* 2.

◊ JLTT 743. The Kagoshima accent in *otór-* is irregular (probably under literary influence).

PKor. ***áč-** to be in disorder, confusion (быть в беспорядке, смятении): MKor. *áčɨ́rəp-* (-w-) 2; Mod. *əžirəp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 365, KED 1136.

‖ The parallel seems reliable despite tone discrepancy between Turk.-Tung., on the one hand, and Kor.-Jpn., on the other.

***ěda** thing, goods: Tung. ***idegē (/*e-)**; Mong. ***aǯi- / *ada-**; Turk. ***ed**.

PTung. ***idegē (/*e-)** thing (вещь): Evk. *ideɣē*; Nan. *idẽ* 'reason' (On.)

◊ Cf. also Il. *egdekē* 'clothes'. TMC 1, 298.

PMong. ***aǯi- / *ada-** 1 household 2 work (1 домашнее хозяйство 2 работа): WMong. *aǯi* 1, *aǯil* (L 61) 2; Kh. *aǯ* 1, *aǯil* 2; Bur. *ažal*, *adal* 2; Kalm. *aǯəl* 2; Ord. *aǯi* 2; Dag. *aǯil* (Тод. Даг. 118).

◊ KPC 29.

PTurk. ***ed, *ed-gü** 1 thing, goods 2 good, excellent 3 good action, benefit (1 вещь, добро, имущество 2 хороший, отличный 3 благодеяние): OTurk. *ed* 1 (OUygh.), *edgü* 2; Karakh. *eδ* 1, *eδgü* 2 (MK, KB);

Tur. *iji* 2; Turkm. *ejgi-lik* 3; Sal. *ī* 1; Tat. *ige, ijge*; Kirgh. *ijgi-lig* 3; KBalk. *igi,izgi* 1; Nogh. *ijgi* 1; Tv. *eki* 2; Tof. *e'kki* 2; Yak. *ütüö* 2; Dolg. *ötüö* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 245-247, 248-249, 329-330, VEWT 35-36, EDT 33, 51, Stachowski 201. PT **ed-gü* is derived from PT **ed* 'thing, goods' (*Лексика* 326) (> Mong. *ed*, MMong. (SH etc.) *ed*, see Щербак 1997, 113). Mong. *edege-* 'to feel better, recover' (Dag. *edge-*) is also possibly < Turkic.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ēda** silly, evil: Tung. ***ēde-**; Mong. ***ada**; Turk. ***Ada**; Jpn. ***ántá**.

PTung. ***ēde-** 1 silly 2 defect, shortcoming (1 глупый 2 недостаток, увечье): Man. *eden* 2; Ul. *ede(n)* 1; Nan. *ēdē* 1; Orch. *ede* 1; Ud. *ēde* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 439. Man. > Dag. *eden* (Тод. Даг. 138).

PMong. ***ada** devil, evil spirit (злой дух): MMong. *ada* (HYt); WMong. *ada* (L 9); Kh. *ad*; Bur. *ada*; Kalm. *adə*; Ord. *ada*.

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *ada* (KW 1).

PTurk. ***Ada** 1 danger 2 to endanger (1 опасность 2 подвергать опасности): OTurk. *ada* (*tuda*) 1, *adart-* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Shr. *aza* 'name of an evil spirit' (Верб.); Tv. *adam* 'dashing, extraordinary'; Yak. *ataɣastā-* 'to insult'.

◊ EDT 40, 68.

PJpn. ***ántá** useless, vain (бесполезный, напрасный): MJpn. *ada*; Tok. *adá*; Kyo. *ádà*; Kag. *adá*.

◊ JLTT 376. The word is usually confused etymologically with **áta* 'foe', which seems, however, to have a different origin. Modern accentuation points to **ántá*, but it may be secondary because of this confusion.

‖ Mong. may be < Turk., see EDT 40, Щербак 1997, 94. The Jpn. high tone seems to contradict the TM length, but it may be secondary, see above.

✱**ědV** host, husband: Tung. ***edī-**; Mong. ***eǯen**; Turk. ***Edi**.

PTung. ***edī-** husband (муж): Evk. *edī*; Evn. *edi*; Neg. *edī*; Ul. *edi(n)*; Ork. *edi*; Nan. *eǯi*; Orch. *edi*.

◊ TMC 2, 437-438. Despite Doerfer MT 18, the root cannot be a Mong. loanword - unlike forms like Evk., Man. *eǯen* 'host', obviously recent borrowings (cf. Rozycki 67).

PMong. ***eǯen** host (хозяин): MMong. *eǯen* (HY 27, SH), *äǯinu* (IM), *iǯä-lä-* (MA); WMong. *eǯen* (L 336); Kh. *eǯen*; Bur. *ezen*; Kalm. *ezn̥*; Ord. *eǯin*; Mog. *eǯän*; ZM *eižän* (9-8a); Dag. *eǯin* (Тод. Даг. 138, MD 142); Dong. *eǯen*; Mongr. *nʒēn* 'l'individu en lui-même, propre, séparément, famille' (SM 267), *rʒi-le-* 'se rendre maître de, usurper, ravir' (SM 312).

◊ KW 129-130.

PTurk. ***Edi** host (хозяин): OTurk. *edi* (*idi*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *iδi* (MK); Tur. *ije, ɨs, is*; Az. *jijä*; Turkm. *eje*; MTurk. *eje* (Бор. Бад., Abush.), *ije* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *äjä* (dial.); Krm. *ije*, je; Tat. *ijä*; Bashk. *ĭjä*; Kirgh. *ē*; Kaz. *ĭje*; KBalk. *ije*; KKalp. *ije*; Kum. *jeje*; Nogh. *ije*; SUygh. *ise*; Khak. *ē*; Shr. *ē*; Oyr. *ē*; Tv. *ē* (< Oyr. or Khak.); Yak. *iččí*; Dolg. *iččí*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 237-241, TMN 2, 176, EDT 41, Лексика 324-325, Stachowski 122. Some forms (Tur. *is*, is, Yak. *iċċi* etc.) go back to a suffixed **ede-si*; the Khak. and Shor forms should be explained as a haplology of the same form.

‖ EAS 97, KW 130, Poppe 53, 105, Цинциус 1972a, 49-52, Дыбо 6. A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 114, Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk. Doerfer's (TMN 2, 177-178) doubts in the validity of the etymology are hardly grounded: all forms are easily explained if we suppose a protoform like **edije*. The form can be in fact an old derivative of **cda* 'thing, household' (q. v., cf. Poppe UJb XIII, 114, 120).

✱**ége** to rise, lift: Tung. **ek-se-**; Mong. ***(h)ag-sa-**; Turk. ***(i)āg-**; Jpn. ***á(n)ká-**.

PTung. ***ek-se-** 1 to carry, take with smb. 2 to put, preserve (1 нести, везти; держать при себе 2 положить, оставить на сохранение): Evk. *ekse-* 1; Ork. *ekse-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 443-444.

PMong. ***(h)ag-sa-** to raise, put up (поднимать; прицеплять к поясу): WMong. *aγsa-* (L 14); Kh. *agsa-*; Bur. *ahā-*.

PTurk. ***(i)āg-** to rise (подниматься): OTurk. *aγ-* (Yen., OUygh.), *aγ-tur-* (*caus.*) (Orkh.); Karakh. *aγ-* (MK, KB); Gag. *ā-* 'to vaporize'; Turkm. *āγ-* 'to overflow'; MTurk. *aγ-*; Bashk. *awa-la-* (of the sun).

◊ EDT 77, ЭСТЯ 1, 68-70. ЭСТЯ is probably right in distinguishing the roots **(i)āg-* (*a:γ-* I) 'to rise' and **iāg-* (a:ɣ II) 'to turn over, fall', although the former is only sparsely represented in modern languages, having for the most part dissolved within the reflexes of the latter. In OT the stems *aγ-* 'to rise' and *aγna-* 'to tumble, roll on one's back' are quite clearly distinct.

PJpn. ***á(n)ká-** 1 to raise 2 give (1 поднимать 2 давать): OJpn. *aga-* 1; MJpn. *ágá-* 1; Tok. *àge-* 1, 2; Kyo. *ágé-* 1, 2; Kag. *agé-* 1, 2.

◊ Also intrans. **ánká-r-* 'to rise'. See JLTT 674, 675.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 275; Miller 1981, 869. Cf. **i̯ā́ga*.

✱**ĕgi (~ -e, -a)** to bend: Tung. ***ege-**; Mong. ***eɣe-**; Turk. ***eg-**; Kor. ***ə̀i-**.

PTung. ***ege-** 1 to encircle, surround, go round 2 ring (1 окружать 2 кольцо): Evk. *eγe-l-* 1; Neg. *eg-di* 2; Ul. *eje-* 1; Ork. *eji-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 437.

PMong. ***eɣe-** 1 outstanding corner 2 ring, ear-ring (1 выступающий угол 2 кольцо, серьга): MMong. *e'emek* 2 (SH); WMong. *egeg* 1, *ege-meg* 2 (L 297, 298); Kh. *ēg* 1, *ēmeg* 2; Bur. *ēmeg* 2; Kalm. *ēg* 1, *ēməg* 2; Ord. *ēg*, *nēg* 1 *ēmek*, *ēmük* 2.

◊ KW 130. Mong. > Yak. *iämäx*, Shor *äkpäk* etc.

PTurk. ***eg-** to bend (гнуть): OTurk. *eg-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *eg-* (MK); Turkm. *eg-*; Khal. *äj-*, *äjri*; Chuv. *av-*, *aj-*; Yak. *iex-*; Dolg. *iek-*.

◊ EDT 99, VEWT 37, ЭСТЯ 1, 330-332, Егоров 19, Stachowski 122 (Yak. *iex-* < **eg-ik-*).

PKor. ***ə̀i-** to surround, encircle (окружать): MKor. *ə̀i'uə-*; Mod. *e-u-*.

◊ Nam 371, KED 1159.

‖ KW 130, SKE 51.

✱**egmV** shoulder, collarbone: Tung. ***emu-ge**; Mong. ***eɣem**; Turk. ***egin**.

PTung. ***emuge*** collarbone (ключица): Ork. *emo-te*; Nan. *emue-čen* 'lower part of thorax' (On.); Ud. *emuge*.

◊ Дыбо 252, TMC 2, 437.

PMong. ***eɣem*** shoulder, collarbone (плечо, ключица): MMong. *egem, egan* (*egam*) (SH), *igem* (LH); WMong. *egem* (L 298); Kh. *egem*; Bur. *ēm*; Kalm. *ēm*.

◊ KW 130. Mong. > Evk. *eγem*, see Doerfer MT 125. The word reveals a peculiar variation of -g- and -γ-: the Khalkha form *egem* may be a literary hypercorrection, but the Secret History also has -g-, not -'-, contradicting the reconstruction **eγem* based on Bur. and Kalm. Perhaps one should reconstruct **egm(e)* for Proto-Mong., to account for this unusual reflexation.

PTurk. ***egin*** shoulder (плечо): OTurk. *egin* (OUygh.); Karakh. *egin* (MK); Tur. *eγin, ejin* 'back'; Az. *äjin* 'body'; Turkm. *egin* (dial.); MTurk. *egin* (Abush., Pav. C.), in (Pav. C.) 'back'; Uzb. *egin*; Krm. *īn*, in; Kirgh. *ijin*; Kaz. *ïjïn*; KKalp. *ijin*; Nogh. *ijin*; SUygh. *igen*; Khak. *iŋnï*; Shr. *äŋin, egini*; Oyr. *ijin*; Tv. *eγin*; Chuv. *avъn*, an; Yak. *ien*.

◊ EDT 109, VEWT 37, ЭСТЯ 1, 225-227, Егоров 26, Лексика 239, Федотов 1, 42-43.

‖ KW 130, Владимирцов 321, Poppe 60, Колесникова 1972a, 92-93, Дыбо 307, Лексика 240. A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 114, Mong. is not < Turk. May be derived from **ĕgi* 'to bend' q. v. Doerfer (TMN 2, 192) protests against the Turk.-Mong. comparison, but restricts himself to "einigen grundsätzlichen Bemerkungen" (a loan theory would have to explain Turk. *-n > Mong. -m).

✱**ḗgó** big, many: Tung. ***egdi**; Mong. ***aɣu-**; Turk. ***ḗg-id-**; Jpn. ***ənki-rə**; Kor. ***ə'uí-**.

PTung. ***egdi*** 1 big 2 many (1 большой 2 много): Evn. *eγdъ* 1; Neg. *egdi* 2; Ul. *egdi* 2; Ork. *egǯi* 2; Nan. *egǯi* 2; Orch. *egdi* 2; Ud. *egdi* 2; Sol. *egdūγ* 1.

◊ See TMC 2, 359-360.

PMong. ***aɣu-*** 1 large, wide, vast 2 very (1 обширный, широкий 2 очень): MMong. *a'ue* (HY 53, SH), *āw, aw* (MA 108, 371) 1; WMong. *aγuu, uu* (L 18), *aγudam* (L 16) 1, *aγui* (L 16) 2; Kh. *agū, ūdam, ūǯim* 1, *agū, aguj* 2; Bur. *ū, ūžam* 1; Kalm. *aγū, ū* 1; Ord. *ūǯim* 1; Mog. *ɔγui* 1 (Weiers); ZM *ɔ̄γu(n)* (13-1) 1; Dag. *au* 1 (Тод. Даг. 122, MD 116); Dong. *aGui, aγui* 1, *uida*; Bao. *ū* 1; S.-Yugh. *aγui, ūǯim*; Mongr. *ụ̄* (SM 462), *au* (Minghe) 1.

◊ KW 3, 453, MGCD 96, 547, 661, 662.

PTurk. ***ḗg-id-*** 1 to grow, bring up 2 high, raised up 3 huge (1 растить, воспитывать 2 высокий, поднятый 3 огромный): OTurk. *igid-*,

egid- 1, *ediz* (< **ēdgiŕ*) 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *igiδ-* 1, *eδiz* 2 (MK); Turkm. *ăgirt* 3; Yak. *īt-* 1; Dolg. *īt-* 1.

◊ EDT 73, 103, VEWT 36, 169, ЭСТЯ 1, 224-225, Stachowski 131.

PJpn. ***ənki-rə** wide and spacious (обширный и просторный): OJpn. *ogjiro*.

◊ JLTT 504.

PKor. ***ə̀'uí-** to be broad, wide, extensive (быть широким, протяженным): MKor. *ə̀'uí-*.

◊ Nam 364.

‖ EAS 73, VEWT 169, SKE 62, 59, АПиПЯЯ 291. Korean has *ə-* instead of the expected **ă*, because the latter cannot stand in Anlaut. A derivative of the same root may be MKor. *ón* 'hundred' (< **ēgo-nV*).

***egVrV** to twist, spin: Mong. ***eɣere-**; Turk. ***egir-**; Kor. ***ə̀rì**.

PMong. ***eɣere-** to spin (крутить, прясть): WMong. *egere-* (L 299); Kh. *ēre-*; Bur. *ēre-*; Kalm. *ēr-*; Ord. *ēre-*; Dag. *ēr-* (Тод. Дат. 140; MGCD *ēre-*).

◊ KW 131, MGCD 248.

PTurk. ***egir-** to twist, spin (крутить, прясть): Karakh. *egir-* (MK); Tur. *ejir-*; Az. *äjir-*; Turkm. *egir-*; Sal. *iɣer-*; Khal. *häjir-*; MTurk. *egir-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jigir-*; Uygh. *jiger-*, *igir-*; Krm. *ijir-*; Tat. *ir-* (dial.); Kirgh. *ijir-*; Kaz. *ijir-*; KBalk. *ijir-*; KKalp. *ijir-*; Kum. *ijir-*; Nogh. *ijir-*; Khak. *īr-*; Shr. *īr-*, *egir-*; Oyr. *ijir-*; Tv. *ēr-*; Chuv. *avъr-la-*; Yak. *īr-is-* 'спутаться о лесках'; *ieregej* 'humming-top'; Dolg. *ieregej* 'drill'.

◊ EDT 112, ЭСТЯ 1, 227-231, TMN 2, 192, Федотов 1, 27, Stachowski 122. The Chuv. form reflects a partial merger with **ebir-* (v. sub **i̯ə̆pV*).

PKor. ***ə̀rì** spool (катушка): MKor. *ə̀rì*; Mod. *əlle*.

◊ Nam 360, KED 1144.

‖ KW 131, Владимирцов 194. Despite TMN 2, 193, Щербак 1997, 114, Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk. The stem may be derived from **ĕ́gi* 'to bend' q.v.

***éjá (~ -o)** to be afraid: Mong. ***aju-**; Turk. ***Ej-men-**; Jpn. ***ájá-**.

PMong. ***aju-** 1 to be afraid 2 fear, danger, risk (1 бояться 2 страх, риск): MMong. *aju-* (HYt, SH), *āj-*, *aj-* (MA 96) 1, *ajl* (MA 223) 2, *oja-* 1, caus. *ajula-* (IM 433); WMong. *aji-*, *aju-* 1, *ajul* 2; Kh. *aj-*, *ajū-* 1, *ajūl* 2; Bur. *aj-* 1; Kalm. *ă-* 1; Ord. *ă-* 1; Mog. *aī-*; ZM *a'i-* (6-3a); Dag. *aj-* 1 (Тод. Дат. 118, MD 111), *aidaGan* 2; Dong. *aji-* 1, *ajiGu* 2; Bao. *ai-* 1; Mongr. *aji-* 1 (SM 17), *ajəgu* 2.

◊ KW 25.

PTurk. ***Ej-men-** to be shy, timid, afraid (смущаться, робеть, пугаться): OTurk. *ejmen-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ejmen-* (MK); Tur. *imen-*; Az. *ejmän-* (dial.); Turkm. *ejmen-*; MTurk. *ejmen-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb.

ijmän-; Uygh. *äjmän-*; Krm. *emen-*; Tat. *imän-*; Kirgh. *ijmen-*; Kaz. *ïjmen-*; KKalp. *ijmen-*; Nogh. *ijmen-*; Oyr. *ijmen-*.

◊ VEWT 10, EDT 273, ЭСТЯ 1, 249-251. Turk. > WMong. *ajman-* (Щербак 1997, 96); but Mong. **aju-* can be hardly regarded as a Turkism.

PJpn. ***ájá-*** 1 to be afraid, feel anxiety 2 dangerous (1 бояться 2 опасный): OJpn. *aja-bum-* 1; MJpn. *ájá-búm-* 1, *ájá-fú-* 2; Tok. *ayabúm-* 1, *àyau-* 2; Kyo. *áyábúm-* 1, *áyáù-* 2; Kag. *ayabúm-* 1, *ayáu-* 2.

◊ JLTT 679, 826.

‖ Poppe 66, АПиПЯЯ 79.

✱**ějba** to hurry: Tung. ***ebV-***; Mong. ***(h)abad***; Turk. ***ēb-***; Jpn. ***áwá-tá-***.

PTung. ***ebV-*** 1 to surpass 2 hurriedly, quickly (1 перегонять 2 быстро, торопливо): Man. *ebuxu sabuχu* 2; Jurch. *ewu-ro* (362) 2; Ork. *ebes-sun-* 1; Nan. *ebe-saba* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 433. The Orok and Nan. form may be < Manchu (or influenced by Manchu), judging from the preservation of -b-.

PMong. ***(h)abad*** at once, instantly (сразу, мгновенно): WMong. *abad* (L 2); Kh. *avd*; Bur. *abahār*; Ord. *awun*.

◊ Despite Mostaert *awun* cannot be connected with ab- 'to take'.

PTurk. ***ēb-*** 1 to hurry 2 quick (1 спешить 2 быстрый): OTurk. *evük* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *ev-* (KB) 1, *evek* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *ev-* 1; Turkm. *ăv-* 1; MTurk. *ev-* (MA, IM, Qutb., Houts.); Khak. *ibek* 2; Shr. *ibek* 2; Chuv. *avaš-* 1; *avăk* 'moment; quick'.

◊ EDT 4, 8-9, VEWT 34, Егоров 19 (Федотов 1, 25-26 - differently).

PJpn. ***áwá-tá-*** to hurry, scurry (спешить, суетиться): MJpn. *awata-*, RJ *áfátú*; Tok. *àwate-*; Kyo. *áwáté-*; Kag. *awaté-*.

◊ JLTT 679.

‖ Ozawa 8, Дыбо 12. Medial *-j- has to be reconstructed to account for lack of spirantization in Mong. and for -w- (not -p-) in Jpn. Note a similar dental suffixation in Mong. and Jpn.

✱**ěju (~ -o)** to speak, cry, sound: Tung. ***ejē-***; Mong. ***aji-***; Turk. ***ạj-ıt-***; Kor. ***òi'ó-***.

PTung. ***ejē-*** 1 to ask, desire 2 demand (n.) 3 to envy (1 просить, желать 2 требование, просьба 3 завидовать): Evk. *ejē* 2, *ejēt-* 1; Evn. *ejet-* 1,3; Neg. *ejēt-* 1; Nan. *ējueči-* 3; Orch. *eječi-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 442.

PMong. ***aji-*** 1 sound, voice 2 to cry, speak loudly; to recite 3 melody, tune (1 звук, голос 2 кричать, болтать 3 мелодия): WMong. *ai* 1 (L 19), *aji-la-*, *aji-da-* 2 (L 20: *ajilad-* 'to perceive; to recite; to say'), *aja* 3 (L 22); Kh. *ajlda-* 2; Bur. *ajlada-* 2; Kalm. *ā̆* 1, *ā̆l-*,*ā̆d-* 2; Ord. *ajalGa* 3; Dag. *aila-* 2 (Тод. Дат. 119, MD 111); Mongr. *ajaŋ* 3.

◊ KW 25. Mong. *ajalγu* 'tune, tone' (L 23) > Chag. *ajalγu* etc. (VEWT 11, TMN 1, 195-196).

PTurk. ***ạj-ɨt-** 1 to say 2 to prescribe, tell 3 to ask, demand 4 to concern (1 говорить 2 указывать, предписывать 3 просить 4 касаться ч.-л.): OTurk. *ajɨt-* 3 (OUygh.), *aji-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *aj-*, *ajɨt-* 1 (MK), *ajɨt-* 3 (KB); Tur. *ait-* 4; Turkm. *ajt-* 1; Khal. *hāj-* 1; MTurk. *aj(ɨ)t-* 1; Uzb. *ajt-* 1; Uygh. *ejt-* 1; Tat. *ɛjt-* 1; Bashk. *äjt-* 1; Kirgh. *ajt-* 1; KBalk. *ajt-* 1; KKalp. *ajt-* 1; Nogh. *ajt-* 1; Khak. *ajt-* 1 (dial.), *ajɨt-* 'sing'; Tv. *ajɨt-* 2; Tof. *ajɨt-* 2; Chuv. *ɨjt-* 3; Yak. *ɨj-* 2, *ɨjɨt-* 3; Dolg. *ɨjɨt-* 3.

◊ VEWT 10, ЭСТЯ 1, 99-100, 111-112, Егоров 342, EDT 268-9, Stachowski 259. PT **ạjɨt-* is derived from **aj-* 'to point out, prescribe'. Before the 11th c. it had only a causative meaning; the meaning 'say, tell' developed later.

PKor. ***òi'ó-** to recite (декламировать): MKor. *òi'ó-*; Mod. *weu-*.

◊ Nam 387, KED 1223.

‖ KW 4, 25, Владимирцов 282, Poppe 67, АПиПЯЯ 286.

***ĕka (~ -o)** bad, weak: Tung. ***eke**; Mong. ***(h)egel**; Turk. ***ek-**; Jpn. ***àk-**.

PTung. ***eke** 1 to decrease 2 bad, low 3 weak 4 evil (1 уменьшаться 2 плохой, низкий 3 слабый 4 зло, злой): Man. *ék̀e-* 1, *exe* 4; SMan. *eki-* 1 (2864), *exə* 4 (2508); Jurch. *exebe* (341) 2; Ul. *ekeči(n)* 3; Ork. *ekkē* 3; Nan. *ekečī* 3; *exele* (Kur-Urm.) 2.

◊ TMC 2, 444.

PMong. ***(h)egel** low, uneducated, not very good (низкий, необразованный, не очень хороший): WMong. *egel* (L 297); Kh. *egil*; Bur. *egēlej*; Kalm. *egl*; Ord. *egel*, *egēn*.

◊ KW 117.

PTurk. ***ek-** 1 to decrease, be insufficient 2 common, ordinary, low class; fault, faulty (1 уменьшаться, быть недостаточным 2 обычный, низкородный; недостаток, недостаточный): OTurk. *egsü-* 1, *egil* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *egsü-* 1 (MK); Tur. *eksi-*, *eksil-* 1, *eksik* 2; Gag. *jisil-* 1; Az. *äskik* 2; Turkm. *egis-*, *egsil-* 1, *egsik* 2; MTurk. *eksü-* 1 (Abush.), *öksü-*, *öksül-* 1 (Pav. C.), *öksük* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uygh. *ögsü-* 1 (dial.); Krm. *eksil-* 1, *eksik* 2; Kirgh. *öksü-* 1, *öksük* 2; Chuv. *iksəl-* 1, *jəksek* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 257-258, Егоров 77, Мудрак Дисс. 199; EDT 106, 117. The Chuv. Anlaut is not quite clear (*iksəl-* < **jəksəl-*?; one of the cases with prothetic j-, so the openness / closedness of the vowel in PT remains unknown); Федотов 1, 193 derives Chuv. *jəksik* from PT **jek* (v. sub **l̀āk'ə*), but this is phonetically impossible.

PJpn. ***àk-** to be bored, satiated (пресыщаться, наскучивать): OJpn. *ak-*; MJpn. *àk-*; Tok. *akí-*; Kyo. *àkì-*; Kag. *àkì-*.

◊ JLTT 675.

‖ Дыбо 12. Mong. may be < Turk.

✱**èkʻá** to paw, hit with hooves: Tung. ***ekte-**; Mong. ***(h)agsa-**; Turk. ***agsa-**; Jpn. ***ànkà-k-**.

PTung. ***ekte-*** 1 to paw, hit with hooves (of a horse); to rough-house 2 to faint (1 бить копытами; буянить 2 падать в обморок): Man. *ekte-* 1; Ud. *ektine-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 444.

PMong. ***(h)agsa-*** 1 to have fits, convulsions 2 to fling fiercely 3 to chafe, behave nervously (of a horse); to rough-house 4 feeling of weariness (from physical labour) (1 биться в судорогах 2 яростно бросаться 3 горячиться (о лошади); буянить 4 чувство усталости, разбитости от физического труда): WMong. *aɣsur-*, *aɣsa-* 1; Kh. *agsra-*, *agsči-* 3, *agsga* 4; Bur. *agšan* 'frolic, prankish'; Kalm. *agsra-* 3, *agsag* 'wild'; Ord. *agsur-* 2 *agsum* 'яростный, пылкий, необузданный'.

◊ KW 5. Mong. > Evk. *aksa-* 'to be insulted, grudge', Evn. *ās-*, Neg. *aksa-*, Ul. *aqsa-*, Orok *aqsa-*, Nan. *aqsa-*, Oroch *aksa-* id., Man. *aqšula-* 'to curse' (TMC 1, 25).

PTurk. ***agsa-*** 1 to hobble, limp 2 lame (1 хромать 2 хромой): Karakh. *axsa-* (MK) 1, *aqsaq*, *aɣsaɣ* (MK) 2; Tur. *aksa-* 1; Az. *axsa-* 1; Turkm. *aGsa-* 1; Uzb. *ɔqsa-* 1; Tat. *aqsa-* 1; Bashk. *aqha-* 1; Kirgh. *aqsa-* 1; Kaz. *aqsa-* 1; KBalk. *axsa-*, *asxa-* 1; KKalp. *aqsa-* 1; Kum. *aqsa-* 1; Nogh. *aqsa-* 1; SUygh. *axsa-* 1; Khak. *axsa-* 1; Tv. *asqa-* 1; Yak. *axsɨm* 2.

◊ EDT 95, ЭСТЯ 76. Turk. > Mong. *asag* '(animal) lameness'.

PJpn. ***ànkà-k-*** to paw (the air); struggle, strive (бить копытами (о лошади); напрягаться): OJpn. *agak-*; MJpn. *àgàk-*; Tok. *agák-*; Kyo. *ágák-*; Kag. *àgàk-*.

◊ JLTT 674. Usually analysed as a compound **asi* 'foot' + **kak-* 'scrape', which is probably a folk-etymological explanation.

‖ KW 5. Both Turkic and Mongolian languages have also a derivative meaning 'rampage, rage, raging': Karakh. *aχsuŋ*, *axsum* (MK), *aqsun* (QB), Chag. *aqsum*, *axsum*, Az. *aqsɨn*, Kirgh. *aqsɨm* etc.; WMong. *aɣsum*, Khalkha *agsaŋ*, Bur. *agsam*, Ord. *agsum* (DO 7) 'wild, raging', Khalkha *agsam* 'rampage'. Doerfer (TMN 2, 90) supposes a loanword in Turk. < Mong.; Shcherbak (1997, 103) - vice versa; the final decision is still unclear.

✱**ěkʻà (~ -o)** elder sister: Tung. ***eKe / *keKe**; Mong. ***eke, *egeče**; Turk. ***eke**; Jpn. ***kaka**; Kor. ***kjə̀-čìp**.

PTung. ***eKe / *keKe*** 1 woman, wife 2 elder sister (1 женщина 2 старшая сестра): Evk. *ekīn* 2; Evn. *ekъn* 2; Neg. *exe* 1, *exīn* 2; Man. *xexe* 1; SMan. *xexə* 1 (833, 924); Jurch. *xexe-e* (299) 1; Ul. *ēqte* 1; Ork. *ekte* 1; Nan. *ekte* 1; Orch. *eki* 2; Ud. *exi(n)* 1, 2; Sol. *xexe* 1.

◊ See TMC 1, 480; 2, 443 (cf. a similar parallelism in the words for "man" and for "elder brother").

PMong. ***eke, *egeče** 1 mother 2 elder sister (1 мать 2 старшая сестра): MMong. *eke* (HY 28, SH), *äke* (IM), *ikă* (MA) 1, *ekči* (HY 28), *egeči* (SH), *igäǯi* (MA) 2; WMong. *eke* 1 (L 305), *egeči* 2 (L 297); Kh. *ex* 1, *egč* 2; Bur. *exe* 1, *egeše* 2; Kalm. *ekə* 1, *egəčə, ekčə* 2; Ord. *eke* 1, *egeči* 2; Dag. *eg* 1, *egči, ekē* 2 (Тод. Дar. 138, 139); MGCD: *ekči, ekē* 2; *egeči, ekē* 2, *ehe* 1 (MD 142); Dong. *eGečə* 2; S.-Yugh. *hge* 1, *ayeči* 2; Mongr. *kaǯi* (SM 194) 2, *āǯī* (SM 2) 2.

◊ KW 118, TMN 1, 190, MGCD 254, 274. Mong. > Chag. *egäči*, see Щербак 1997, 203.

PTurk. ***eke** elder sister (старшая сестра): OTurk. *eke* (OUygh.); Karakh. *eke* (MK); *ege-t* 'female servant of bride' (MK); Turkm. *ekeǯi*; Chuv. *akka*.

◊ VEWT 38, ЭСТЯ 1, 222-224, TMN 1, 190, 2, 91-92, EDT 100, 102, Егоров 23.

PJpn. ***kaka** mother (мать): MJpn. *kaka*; Tok. *o-kǎ-san*; Kyo. *ò-kǎ-sán*; Kag. *o-kā-sán*.

PKor. ***kjə-čìp** woman (женщина): MKor. *kjəčìp*; Mod. *kjěžip*.

◊ Nam 42, KED 132. Historically a compound ('woman' + 'house, family'), with *čip* 'house' in the second part.

‖ EAS 91, KW 118, Poppe 55, VEWT 38, АПиПЯЯ 292, Цинциус 1972a, 29-31, Дыбо 6. The root is (like most other kinship terms) a "nursery word", but very well attested in all branches, so - despite Doerfer TMN 1, 190-191 - all forms cannot be explained as borrowings (although some later interactions were of course possible, e.g. Mong. *egeče* may - because of its irregular -g- and meaning coinciding with Turkic - be a later Turkic loanword).

✱**éli** sufficient: Tung. ***ele-**; Mong. ***el-**; Jpn. ***ír-**; Kor. ***ər-**.

PTung. ***ele-** 1 enough 2 to have enough, be satiated (1 довольно, достаточно 2 удовлетвориться, насытиться): Evk. *elī, ele* 1, *elekče-* 2; Evn. *elъkъn* 1; Neg. *ele* 1; Man. *ele-* 2; Jurch. *'o-le-he-huŋ* 'content, happy'; Ul. *ele* 1, *ele-* 2; Ork. *ele* 1, *ele-* 2; Nan. *elē* 1, *ele-* 2; Orch. *ele* 1, *ele-* 2; Ud. *ele* 1, *ele-* 'to complete'; Sol. *aĺe-ćáu, eĺlećáu* 'I am full, I have had enough'.

◊ TMC 2, 448-449.

PMong. ***el-** 1 all, every kind of 2 abundance, abundant (2 весь, всевозможные 2 обилие, обильный): WMong. *ele* 1 (L 308), *eldeb* 1 (L 307), *elbeg* 2 (L 306); Kh. el, *eldev* 1, *elbeg* 2; Bur. *eldeb* 1, *elbeg* 2; Kalm. *elēdə, eldəb* 1, *elwəg* 2.

◊ KW 119, 120. Mong. > Yak. *elbē-, elbex*, Dolg. *elbek* (Kał. MEJ 16, Stachowski 44), Chuv. *ilpek* (Róna-Tas 1971-1972).

PJpn. ***ír-** to need (нуждаться): MJpn. *ír-*; Tok. *ìr-*; Kyo. *ír-*; Kag. *ír-*.

◊ JLTT 698. The verb is homonymous with **ir-* 'enter', but probably quite different etymologically.

PKor. ***ər-** enough, sufficiently, nearly (достаточно, почти): MKor. *əru, əro*; Mod. *əl-čhu*.

◊ Nam 360, KED 1146.

‖ KW 119, Lee 1958, 108 (TM-Kor.), Rozycki 68. Despite Doerfer MT 20, TM **ele* is hardly < Mong. (a particle in Mong. vs. a widespread verb in TM).

***élV** peace: Tung. ***elke**; Mong. ***el**; Turk. ***ēl**.

PTung. ***elke** peaceful, silent (тихий, осторожный): Evk. *elke*; Neg. *elke*; Man. *elxe*; SMan. *eləxə* 'leisurely' (2956); Ul. *erke*; Ork. *erke*; Nan. *elke*; Orch. *ekke*; Ud. *eke*.

◊ TMC 2, 447-448. TM > Dag. *elke* (Тод. Даг. 139).

PMong. ***el** 1 peaceful 2 relatives (1 мирный 2 родственники): MMong. *el* (SH); WMong. *el* 1 (L 306), *elgen* 2; Kh. *el* 2; Bur. *eldin*; Kalm. *el*.

◊ KW 118.

PTurk. ***ēl** 1 peace 2 people, country (1 мир 2 народ, страна): OTurk. *el* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *el* 1, 2 (MK); Tur. *il, el* 2; Gag. *iel* 2; Az. *el* 2; Turkm. *īl* 2; MTurk. *il* (AH), *el* (Abush., Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *el* 2; Uygh. *il, äl* 2; Krm. *el* 2; Tat. *il* 2; Bashk. *il* 2; Kirgh. *el* 2; Kaz. *el* 2; KBalk. *el* 2; KKalp. *el* 2; Kum. *el* 2; Nogh. *el* 2; Khak. *il* 2; Oyr. *el* 2; Chuv. *jal* 2; Yak. *il* 2.

◊ EDT 121-122, VEWT 39, TMN 2, 194, ЭСТЯ 1, 339-343, Егоров 352, Лексика 316. The meaning "peace" attested in MK is probably the most archaic (cf. the external parallels; typologically cf. also Slavic **mirъ* 'peace' > 'world'), suggesting a development *'peace' > 'peaceful people, realm, country'.

‖ EAS 145, KW 118, Poppe 76, ОСНЯ 1, 268, Rozycki 68. A Western isogloss (in fact, basically Turk.-Tung., since Mong. may be < Turk., see TMN 2, 200; Clark 1980, 43 on Mong. *elči* < Turk. *ēl-či*).

***ělV(-kʻV)** deer: Tung. ***(x)elkēn**; Mong. ***ili**; Turk. ***elik**.

PTung. ***(x)elkēn** 1 wild deer 2 domestic deer (1 дикий олень 2 домашний олень): Evk. *elkēn* 1; Evn. *iēlken, elken* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 448.

PMong. ***ili** new-born deer (новорожденный олененок): MMong. *ele'ut* 'a k. of camel' (SH); WMong. *ili* (L 407), *eli*; Kh. *il*; Bur. *eli*; Kalm. *ilə*.

◊ KW 206. Cf. also **il-gi(n)* 'goat skin' (KW 207).

PTurk. ***elik** roebuck, wild goat (косуля (общее назв. и самка)): OTurk. *elik* (OUygh. - YB); Karakh. *elik* (KB); Tur. *elik* (dial.); MTurk. (MKypch.) *elik* (Houts., AH); Bashk. *ilek*; Kirgh. *elik*; Kaz. *elik*; KKalp. *elik*; Khak. *ilək*; Shr. *elik*; Oyr. *elik*; Tv. *elik*; Tof. *elik*; Yak. *elik* 'чубарый олень'.

◊ EDT 142, VEWT 40, ЭСТЯ 1, 265-266, Лексика 153.

‖ KW 207, ОСНЯ 1, 273, Лексика 153, 389. A Western isogloss.

***élpo** to cover: Tung. ***elbe-, *eldu-**; Mong. ***(h)olbug**; Turk. ***ēĺü-**; Jpn. ***ǝsǝp-**.

PTung. ***elbe-, *eldu-** to cover (a tent), tent cover (покрывать (чум), покрышка (чума)): Evk. *elbe-; ellun, eldun*; Evn. *ēlrimi, ēlde*; Neg. *elbe-*; Man. *elbe-*; Ul. *elbene* 'sail'; Nan. *elbē* 'roof'; Orch. *ebbe-*; Ud. *egbe-*; Sol. *eldū̃*.

◊ TMC 2, 445, 448.

PMong. ***(h)olbug** cushion for sitting (подушка для сидения): WMong. *olbaγ*, (L 608) *olbuγ*; Kh. *olbog*; Bur. *olbog*; Ord. *olboG*.

◊ Mong. > Tuva *olbuq* id., see TMN 2, 111, Yak. *olbox*, Dolg. *olbok* (Stachowski 191). In Mong. the word also means 'quilted jacket worn under armour' and in this meaning is borrowed in Turkic (Kirgh. *olpok* etc.) and TM (Manchu *olbo* etc.), see Doerfer TMN 2, 111, Rozycki 167 (somewhat differently Аникин 414).

PTurk. ***ēĺü-** 1 to cover 2 (door) curtain > door (1 покрывать 2 (дверной) занавес > дверь): Karakh. *ešü-* 1, *ešik / ešük* 2 (MK); Tur. *ešik* 2; Gag. *ješik* 2; Az. *ešik* 2; Turkm. *išik* 2; Khal. *ĕšük* 2; MTurk. *išik* 2 (AH, IM), *išük* (IM), *ešik* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ešik* 2; Krm. *ešik* 2; Tat. *išīk* 2; Bashk. *išīk* 2; Kirgh. *ešik* 2; KBalk. *ešik* 2; KKalp. *esik* 2; Kum. *ešik* 2; Nogh. *esik* 2; Khak. *īzīk, ĭzīk* 2; Shr. *ežik* 2; Oyr. *ežik* 2; Tv. *ežik* 2; Chuv. *algъ, alъk* 2.

◊ EDT 256, 260, TMN 2, 183-184, Егоров 24, ЭСТЯ 1, 396-398, Лексика 511-512, 517.

PJpn. ***ǝsǝp-** to cover (покрывать): OJpn. *os(w)op-*; MJpn. *osof-*; Tok. *òso-*; Kyo. *ósó-*; Kag. *osó-*.

◊ JLTT 743 (homonymous with 'attack' and 'suppress' - obviously a secondary confusion with derivatives of **ǝs-* 'push, press').

‖ PKE 46-47, Street 1980, 287, Дыбо 15, Лексика 512. Mong. **(h)olbug* < **(h)albug*, with a frequent labial attraction.

***élV** to scratch, rake, row: Tung. ***elbe-s-**; Mong. ***ele-**; Turk. ***ēĺ-**.

PTung. ***elbe-s-** to swim, bathe (плыть, плавать, купаться): Evk. *elbes(kēt)-*; Neg. *elbesi-*; Man. *ebiše-*; SMan. *efəša-, efəsə-* (2301); Ork. *ulbesi-*; Nan. *elbusi-*; Orch. *ebbesi-*; Ud. *egbesi-*; Sol. *elbešī-* 'to wade'.

◊ TMC 2, 445. The original meaning of the root was probably 'to scrape, rake up', cf. Evn. Arm. *ēlbi-* 'to rake up' (TMC 2, 445).

PMong. ***ele-** to rub off, be rubbed off, to wear out (стирать, стираться): MMong. *el-* (HY 38), *ēlä-* (IM), *ilä-* (MA); WMong. *ele-* (L 308); Kh. *ele-*; Bur. *eĺe-*; Kalm. *el-*; Ord. *ele-*; Dong. *elie-*; Bao. *elə-*; Mongr. *ilē-* (SM 191).

◊ KW 119, MGCD 257.

PTurk. ***ēĺ-** 1 to dig 2 to tear, rip open 3 to row 4 to swim 5 to throw away (1 копать 2 рвать 3 грести 4 плавать 5 выкидывать): Tur. *eš-* 1; Az. *eš-* 2; Turkm. *ijš-gek* 'oar'; Khal. *häšü-*; MTurk. *eš-* 1 (Abush.); Tat. *iš-* 2; Kirgh. *eš-* 1; Khak. is- 3; Tv. *ešti-* 4, *eš-* 3; Tof. *eš-, e'hit-* 3; Chuv. *alt-* 1; Yak. *es-, is-* 5.

◊ VEWT 51, EDT 255-6, ЭСТЯ 1, 315-316, Мудрак Дисс. 95. Chuv. *iš-* 'to row; to swim; to demolish, tear' is evidently borrowed from Tat. (as opposed to the genuine *al-t-*). Khal. h- is unclear here (external evidence clearly points to *0-).

‖ A Western isogloss. See KW 119, Poppe 78, 126, VEWT 51 (Turk.-Mong.), АПиПЯЯ 287, Дыбо 14.

✱**ĕĺʒu** donkey: Tung. ***eji-ken***; Mong. ***elʒigen***; Turk. ***eĺgek***.

PTung. ***eji-ken*** donkey (осел): Neg. *ejxe*; Man. *ejxen*; SMan. *eixen* (2218); Jurch. *oh-hen*; Ul. *ejxe*; Nan. *ejxe*.

◊ TMC 2, 447.

PMong. ***elʒigen*** donkey (осел): MMong. *elʒigan* (HY 9), *ūlʒige* (IM), *ilʒigen* (LH), *ilʒigän* (MA); WMong. *elʒige(n)* (L 311); Kh. *ilʒig*, *ilʒgen*; Bur. *elžege(n)*; Kalm. *elʒŋne*, *ēlʒŋnə*; Ord. *elʒige(n)*; Mog. *elʒiɣōn* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *enʒeɣe* (Тод. Дн.); Bao. *nʒige* (Тод. Бн.).

◊ KW 119. Mong. > Oyr. *älʒigän*.

PTurk. ***eĺgek*** donkey (осел): OTurk. *ešgek* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ešgek*, *ešjek* (MK); Tur. *ešek*; Gag. *iešek*; Az. *eššäk*; Turkm. *ešek*; MTurk. *ešek* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ešäk*; Uygh. *ešäk*; Krm. *ešek*; Tat. *išäk*; Bashk. *išäk*; Kirgh. *ešek*; Kaz. *esek*; KBalk. *ešek*; KKalp. *ešek*; Kum. *ešek*; Nogh. *ešek*; Oyr. *eštek*; Chuv. *ažak*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 317-318, TMN 2, 65, EDT 260.

‖ KW 119, Владимирцов 323, Poppe 86. A Western isogloss. The phonology of the word strongly resists all attempts to regard it as an interlingual borrowing (Turk. > Mong. > TM, see, e.g., Rozycki 67), as well as attempts to derive it from Armen. *eš* etc.

✱**ema (~ -o)** to come: Tung. ***eme-***; Mong. ***amada-***.

PTung. ***eme-*** to come, reach, arrive (приходить, прибывать): Evk. *eme-*; Evn. *em-*; Neg. *eme-*; Nan. *eme-*; Orch. *emegi-* 'to return'; Ud. *eme-*.

◊ TMC 2, 452.

PMong. ***amada-*** to meet smb., cross one's way (поджидать на пути, идти навстречу): WMong. *amada-* (L 35); Kh. *amda-*; Bur. *amada-*; Kalm. *amd-* (KPC 40); Ord. *amada-*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. perhaps also Karakh. *öme* 'guest, foreigner'.

✱**ĕma (~-o)** to stay, be left, leave: Tung. ***emē-n-***; Jpn. ***àmà-***.

PTung. ***emē-n-*** to leave (оставлять, покидать): Evk. *emēn-*, *emē-*; Evn. *emēn-*; Neg. *emēn-*; Orch. *imene-*; Ud. *imen-*; Sol. *emēn-*.

◊ TMC 2, 453.

PJpn. ***àmà-*** 1 plenty 2 all 3 to stay, be left (1 повсюду, в изобилии 2 весь 3 оставаться): OJpn. *amane-* 1, *ama-r-* 3; MJpn. *àmànè-* 1, *àmà-r-* 3; Tok. *amanéku* 1, *amár-* 3; Kyo. *ámánékú* 1, *ámár-* 3; Kag. *amanekú* 1, *àmàr-* 3.

◊ JLTT 676.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 279. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps also MKor. *màmír-* 'to stay, remain' (< **Vmə-mir-*, with a rather usual Korean loss of initial vowel?).

***ème** woman, female: Tung. ***emV**; Mong. ***eme**; Turk. ***eme**; Jpn. ***mía**; Kor. ***ámh**.

PTung. ***emV** 1 mother-in-law 2 female 3 female deer, elk (1 теща, свекровь 2 самка 3 самка оленя, лося): Evk. *emugde, umigde* 3; Evn. *ömiri* 3; Neg. *umigde* 3; Man. *emile* 2, *emeke* 1; SMan. *eməxə* 1 (926); Nan. *emxe* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 268, 451-452.

PMong. ***eme** 1 woman 2 wife (1 женщина 2 жена): MMong. *eme* 1, *emege* (HY 29), *emegu'un* 2 (HY 30, SH), *emä* (IM), *imă* (MA) 1; WMong. *eme* 1 (L 311); Kh. *em* 1, *emgen* 2; Bur. *eme* 1; Kalm. *emə* 1; Ord. *eme* 1, *emegen* 'old woman'; Mog. ZM *emmä* (9-6b); Dag. *emgun, emeg* 1, 2 (Тод. Даг. 139), *eme* (MD, 143) 1,2; Dong. *eme* 1; Bao. *eme* 1; S.-Yugh. *eme* 1; Mongr. *imu* (: *xara* ~) 'nom que la jeune fille se donne devant ses parents le jour de son mariage' (SM 192), *mugen* 'femme âgée' (SM 245).

◊ KW 121, MGCD 259. Mong. *emegčin* 'female' > Yak. *emēxsin*, Dolg. *emēksin* (Кал. MEJ 45, Stachowski 45).

PTurk. ***eme** 1 female 2 old woman (1 самка 2 старуха): Karakh. *oma* (MK "Tibetan") 1 (?); Tur. dial. *eme* 2; Az. dial. *ämä* 2; Kirgh. *eme* 2; Chuv. *ama* 1.

◊ VEWT 42, ЭСТЯ 220, Егоров 25, EDT 156 (a "nursery" word, spread also in other Altaic languages).

PJpn. ***mía** 1 woman 2 female (1 женщина 2 самка): OJpn. *mje* 1; MJpn. *mé* 1; Tok. *me-sú* 2; Kyo. *mé-sù*; Kag. *me-sú*.

◊ JLTT 474, 476. Although modern dialects point to **mià-sù*, RJ has explicitly *mé* with a high tone.

PKor. ***ámh** woman, wife, female (женщина, жена, самка): MKor. *ám* (*ámh-*); Mod. *am*.

◊ Nam 348, KED 1093.

‖ EAS 116, Цинциус 1972a, 20-27, Menges 1984, 265, АПиПЯЯ 89, 279. In Jpn. cf. also *omo* 'mother' (see Ozawa 61, Murayama 1962, 110, Miller 1985a, 82); in MKor also *ámí* 'mother' (see Martin 236). Jpn. *mia* represents a relatively rare case of a loss of initial vowel in Japanese.

***èmi (~ a-, *ime)** to avoid, taboo: Mong. ***emiɣe-**; Turk. ***emge-**; Jpn. ***ìm-**.

PMong. ***emiɣe-** to be timid, shy away (робеть, смущаться): MMong. *emi'e-* (SH); WMong. *emije-* (L 313); Kh. *emē-*; Bur. *emē-*; Kalm. *emē-*; Ord. *emē-*.

◊ KW 121. Mong. > Man. *ejme-* id.

PTurk. ***emge-** 1 to suffer, be tortured 2 bother, worry, pains (1 страдать, подвергаться пыткам 2 хлопоты, мучение, труд): OTurk. *emge-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *emge-* 1, *emgek* 2 (MK); Tur. *emen-* 1, *emek* 2; Az. *ämäk* 2; Turkm. *emgen-* 1, *emgek* 2; MTurk. *emgen-* (AH, Pav. C) 1, *emgek* (AH, Abush.), *emek* (Pav C.) 2; Uzb. dial. *emgɛk* 2; Uygh. dial. *emgɛn-* 1, *emgɛk* 2; Krm. *emgen-* 1, *emgek* 2; Tat. *imgɛn-* 1, *imgɛk* 2; Bashk. *imgɛn-* 1, *imgɛk* 2; Kirgh. *emgek* 2; Kaz. *eŋbek* 2; Nogh. *embek* 2; Tv. *eŋbek* 'chronic illness'; Chuv. *aman-* 1, *amak* 'illness'; Yak. *emek* 'decrepit'.

◊ EDT 159, VEWT 42, ЭСТЯ 1, 272-275, 25-26. Turk. > Mong. *emge-* (Щербак 1997, 114).

PJpn. ***ìm-** to avoid, taboo (избегать, подвергать табу): OJpn. *im-*; MJpn. *ìm-*; Tok. *ím-*; Kyo. *ìm-*; Kag. *ím-*.

◊ JLTT 697. The accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ KW 121.

***emo** front: Tung. ***ume- / emu-**; Mong. ***emü-**; Turk. ***ömgen**.

PTung. ***ume- / emu-** one (один): Evk. *umūn*; Evn. *ömъn*; Neg. *emen*; Man. *emu*; SMan. *emə* (2734); Jurch. *emu* (636); Ul. *ụm*; Ork. *umūke*; Nan. *emu(n)*; Orch. *om*; Ud. *omo*; Sol. emũ.

◊ TMC 2, 270-272. The old meaning was probably 'front', cf. TM **ume-* 'Adam's apple', 'neck foundation' (TMC 2, 273), **omko-ta* / **emko-ta* 'forehead' (TMC 2, 17); **emker* 'bank, shore', Orok *emiγe* 'edge' (TMC 2, 450).

PMong. ***emü-** front, South (перед, юг): MMong. *emune* (HY 50, SH), *umunä, ämunä* (MA), *umene* (LH); WMong. *emü-ne* (L 314-315); Kh. *ömnö*; Bur. *ümene* (Alar.); Kalm. *ömnə*; Ord. *ömönö*; Dag. *emel* (Тод. Дar. 139), *emele* (MD 143); Dong. *melie*; Bao. *məltə śaŋ, mələ*; S.-Yugh. *ölmõ*; Mongr. *mešə, mani* 'autrefois, jadis, anciennement' (SM 237, 231).

◊ KW 295, MGCD 544. Cf. also *em-ǰi-* 'to make or sew a hem'.

PTurk. ***ömgen** upper part of breast (верхняя часть груди): Karakh. *ömgen* (MK); Kirgh. *ömgök*; Khak. *öŋmen*.

◊ Дыбо 137-138, EDT 159, ЭСТЯ 1, 537, Лексика 271.

‖ EAS 117, Владимирцов 154, SKE 54, Дыбо 307, Лексика 271. A Western isogloss. The vocalic reconstruction is somewhat uncertain: because of variation in PTM it is not quite clear whether Mong. has a secondary delabialization or Turkic has a secondary labialization. PA **ome* is also possible.

***emV (~ *ami)** to suck: Mong. ***em-kü-**; Turk. ***em-**.

PMong. ***em-kü-** to swallow, bite, chew (глотать, кусать, жевать): MMong. *emgu-gu* / *omgu-gu* 3 (SH); WMong. *emkü-* (L 313); Kh. *ömxö-*; Bur. *ümxe-*; Kalm. *ümkə-*; Ord. *uŋki* 'bouchée'; Dag. *unku-, umku-, enku-* (Тод. Дar. 140); Mongr. *uŋkwā* 'bouchée' (SM 475); *xaŋgu-* (SM 157).

◊ KW 457.

PTurk. ***em-ig, *em-ček** 1 breast (fem.) 2 to suck 3 nipple (1 грудь (жен.) 2 сосать 3 сосок): OTurk. *emig* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ẹm-* 2 (MK), *ẹmig* 1 (MK); Tur. *em-* 2, *emžik* 1; Az. *ämžäk* 3; Turkm. *em-* 2, *emžek* 1; Khal. *äm-* 2; MTurk. *ẹm-* 2 (Pav. C.), *emček* 1 (Abush.); Uzb. *emčak* 1; Uygh. *äm-* 2, *ämčäk* 1; Tat. *im-* 2, *imčɛk* 1; Bashk. *imsäk* 1; Kirgh. *emček* 1; KKalp. *emšek* 1; Nogh. *emšek* 1; SUygh. *emɨγ* 1; Khak. *em-* 2, *imžek* 1; Tv. *em-* 2, *emig* 1; Tof. *em-* 2, *emij* 'udder'; Chuv. *əʷm-* 2; Yak. *em-* 2, *emīj* 1; Dolg. *emij* 1.

◊ VEWT 41-2, EDT 158-9, ЭСТЯ 1, 271-272, Егоров 63, *Лексика* 273-274, Stachowski 45. PT **em-ig* and **em-ček* (the latter form is first attested in the 13th c.) are derived from **em-* 'to suck'.

‖ A Turko-Mongolian isogloss. One is tempted to suppose lost **pʻ-* and to unite this root with TM **pemu-*, Jpn. **pàm-* (see **pèma*). This is, however, hardly possible, because both Middle Mongolian and Dagur have 0- here (while Mongor x- can easily be secondary in front of a voiceless stop). A possible solution would be a loss of **h-* (< **pʻ-*) in Proto-Mongolian (or even Proto-Turko-Mongolian) under the influence of a phonetically close "nursery" word, **ĕme* 'mother, female' q.v.

***emV(ŋV)** saddle, belt: Tung. ***emu-l**; Mong. ***emeɣe-l**; Turk. ***ẹ̈dŋe-r**.

PTung. ***emu-l** 1 quiver ornated with horse's hair 2 hoop of shaman's drum 3 belt 4 horse or deer pack 5 pack strap (1 колчан, расшитый конским волосом 2 обруч шаманского бубна 3 пояс 4 вьючная сумка (часть ниже завязок) 5 вдержка на сумке-торсуке): Evk. *ōmu* 1, *umul* 3, *ōmi* 5, *emin* 4, *emi-lge* 4; Neg. *ūm* 2; Ul. *omali* 3; Ork. *ụmụl* 3; Nan. *omol* 3; Orch. *umu* 3, *omoγo* 3; Ud. *umu* 3; Sol. *omul* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 18, 266, 269.

PMong. ***emeɣel** saddle (седло): MMong. *eme'el* (SH), *ämäl* (IM), *imăl* (MA), *imēl* (LH), *jemējil* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *emegel* (L 312); Kh. *emēl*; Bur. *emēl*; Kalm. *emēl*; Ord. *emēl*; Mog. *emōl, jamāl*; ZM *jämäl* (22-8a); Dag. *emēl* (Тод. Дат. 139), *emele* (MD 143); Bao. *emel*; S.-Yugh. *emel, emēl*; Mongr. *imer* (SM 192), (MGCD) *imel*.

◊ KW 121, MGCD 259. Mong. > Evk. *emeγen* etc. (TMC 2, 452), see Poppe 1966, 190, Doerfer MT 21; cf. also Jurch. *eŋ-em-meir* 'saddle' (226) preserving archaic phonology.

PTurk. ***ẹ̈dŋe-r** saddle (седло): Karakh. *eδer* (MK); Tur. *eyer*; Gag. *jēr*; Az. *jähär*; Turkm. *ejer*; Sal. *eŋer* (Kakuk); MTurk. *ẹger*; Uzb. *egar*; Uygh. *egə(r)*; Krm. *jer*; Tat. *ijɛr*; Bashk. *ejär*; Kirgh. *ēr*; Kaz. *er*; KBalk. *ijer*; KKalp. *jer*; Kum. *er*; Nogh. *ijer*; SUygh. *ezer*; Khak. *izer*; Shr. *ezer*; Oyr. *ēr*; Tv. *ezer*; Tof. *e'zer* (Pac. Фил 183); Chuv. *jəner*; Yak. *iŋīr*; Dolg. *iŋīr*.

◊ EDT 63, VEWT 36, ЭСТЯ 1, 241-242, 658-659, *Лексика* 539, Stachowski 261. Reflexes of the cluster are complicated by borrowings: e.g. Tuva, Tof. is < Khak. Turk. **edŋer-čak* 'pack saddle' > MMong. *iŋγirčaq*, WMong. *jaŋγirčaq* id. (TMN 2, 128-129, Щербак 1997, 164, Аникин 88).

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 102, Лексика 539. A Western isogloss. The Turkic form should be explained as a contraction < **emŋe-der* (**emŋe-* = Mong. *emeɣe-*).

✱**ĕna(kV)** middle, width: Tung. ***(x)ene-kŭ**; Mong. ***eŋ**; Turk. ***ēn**; Jpn. ***nàká**; Kor. ***ánh**.

PTung. ***(x)ene-kŭ** sheath, scabbard (ножны, футляр): Evk. *enekī*; Evn. *eńki*; Neg. *enexī*.

◊ TMC 2, 455.

PMong. ***eŋ** breadth, width (ширина): WMong. *eŋ* (L 317); Kh. *eŋ*; Bur. *en(g)*; Kalm. *eŋ*; Ord. *eŋ*; Mongr. *aŋ* 'largeur des étoffes, la chaîne d'un tissu' (SM 9).

◊ KW 122, MGCD 261.

PTurk. ***ēn** breadth, width (ширина): Karakh. *en* (MK, KB); Tur. *en*; Az. *en*; Turkm. *īn*; Khal. *hän*, *hān*; Uzb. *en*; Uygh. *än*; Krm. *en*; Tat. iŋ; Bashk. *iŋ*; Kirgh. *en*; Kaz. *en*; KBalk. *en*; KKalp. *en*; Kum. *en*; Nogh. *en*; Khak. *in*; Oyr. *en*; Chuv. *an*; Yak. *ien*; Dolg. *ien*.

◊ EDT 165, VEWT 43, ЭСТЯ 1, 352, Егоров 26, Stachowski 122.

PJpn. ***nàká** middle (середина): OJpn. *naka*; MJpn. *nàká*; Tok. *náka*; Kyo. *nàká*; Kag. *naká*.

◊ JLTT 491.

PKor. ***ánh** middle, inside (середина, внутренность): MKor. *án* (*ánh-*); Mod. *an*.

◊ Nam 345, KED 1081. Cf. also dial. *anak* id. (KED 1068).

‖ VEWT 43, Martin 234. Note a common Altaic derivation in *-kV, reflected in all languages except Turkic; for TM we suppose a semantic development 'sheath' < 'receptacle' < 'inside, middle'. Jpn. has lost the first vowel in this archaic trisyllabic structure, and Kor. has rising tone also due to contraction.

✱**ènŋù** young of an ungulate: Tung. ***(x)enŋe-**; Mong. ***unagan**; Turk. ***ạnkaj**; Jpn. ***ùmà**.

PTung. ***(x)enŋe-** young of deer, horse (one year old) (олененок, жеребенок (годовалый)): Evk. *eŋnekēn*; Evn. *ēnken*; Neg. *eŋnexēn*.

◊ TMC 2, 457.

PMong. ***unagan** foal up to one year old (жеребенок до года): MMong. *unuxan* (HY 9), *unəɣa* 'осленок' (IM), *unaɣan* (MA 153); WMong. *unaɣa(n)* (L 875); Kh. *unaga*; Bur. *unaga(n)*; Kalm. *unəŋ* (KPC); Ord. *unaGa(n)*; Dag. *unek* 'kid' (Тод. Даг. 171); S.-Yugh. *naGan*; Mongr. *naGa* (SM 254).

◊ MGCD 674. Mong. > Evk. *unukān* etc., see Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 218. Associating **una-ga(n)* with *una-* 'to fall, drop' is most certainly a folk etymology. -gan is a widely spread suffix in animal names (*daɣa-ga(n)* 'colt', *qura-ga(n)* 'lamb' etc.); the usage of *una-gan* as 'having certain characteristics from birth' is also easily explainable: cf. phrases

like *unaγan širuγa* 'a horse able to travel at an amble since birth', lit. 'foal-ambler' = 'fast ambler since foalhood'.

PTurk. ***ạnkaj*** young of ungulates (less than 1-year-old) (детеныш копытных животных (до года)): Oyr. *anaj*; Tv. *anaj*, Todzh. *a'naj*; Tof. *anhaj*; Yak. *iŋāx* 'young of ungulates and bears'.

◊ Рассадин 154.

PJpn. ***ùmà*** horse (лошадь): OJpn. *uma*; MJpn. *ùmà*; Tok. *umá*; Kyo. *úmà*; Kag. *umá*.

◊ JLTT 561.

‖ All forms reflect a suffixed **ènŋù-kV*. A certain phonetic problem is raised by u- in Mong.; one has to assume PM **unu-gan* (cf. the early TM loans: Evk. *unukān* 'foal', Sol. *unuxũ* 'kid'; see on it Poppe 1974, 128) with vocalic assimilation from earlier **anu-gan*. Otherwise the etymology seems quite plausible, and appears to explain the Jpn. form better than the usual theory of Chinese borrowing (neither MC *mạ́*, nor OC *mrāʔ* can explain the initial *um-* in Japanese).

enu (~ -o)** to beware, attention: Tung. ***(x)en-te-; Mong. ***(h)an-***; Turk. ***anu-***.

PTung. ***(x)en-te-*** 1 to beware 2 attentively, slowly (1 быть осторожным 2 внимательно, медленно): Evn. *ente-* 1, *ēntukukēn* 2; Man. *entexeme* 'always, eternally'.

◊ TMC 2, 454. Man. > Dag. *entegem* (Тод. Даг. 140).

PMong. ***(h)an-*** 1 to pay attention 2 vigorous 3 attentive 4 to aim at 5 to beware (1 обращать внимание 2 энергичный, сильный 3 внимательный 4 нацеливаться 5 быть осторожным, остерегаться): WMong. *aŋqa-* 1 (L 46: *aŋqar-*), *anuγu-* 2,3, ana- 5 (L 42); Kh. *anxa-* 1, *anūr* 3, *anūxan* 2, ana- 5; Bur. *anxar-* 1, *anda-*, *anžar-* 'to notice'; *andadag* 'very sensitive'; Kalm. *aŋxər-* 1; Ord. *anug-* 4.

◊ KW 12.

PTurk. ***anu-*** 1 ready, certain 2 to get ready (1 готовый, уверенный 2 готовиться): OTurk. *anu-* (OUygh.) 2, *anuq* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *anu-* (MK), *anut-* (caus.) (KB, MK) 2, *anuq* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. dial. *anik* 1; Turkm. *aniq* 2; MTurk. *anut-* (caus.) (Qutb) 2, *anuq* (IM, Qutb) 1; Uzb. *ɛniq* 2; Uygh. *eniq*; Krm. *aniq* 1; Tat. *aniq* 1; Bashk. *aniq* 1; Kirgh. *aniq* 1; Kaz. *aniq* 1; KKalp. *aniq* 1.

◊ EDT 171, 179, 182, ЭСТЯ 1, 151-152.

‖ A Western isogloss.

énV** pain, sickness: Tung. ***enū-; Mong. ***ene-ri, -l-***; Turk. ***ēn-***.

PTung. ***enū-*** 1 illness, pain 2 to feel pain, be sick (1 болезнь, боль 2 болеть, испытывать боль): Evk. *enū* 1, *enūt-* 2; Evn. *en* 1, *en-* 2; Neg. *enux* 1, *enū-* 2; Man. *en seme* 'groan'; Ul. *enū* 1, *enu-* 2; Ork. *enu-* 2, *enū* 1; Nan. *enusi-* 2, *enū* 1; Orch. *enu-* 2; Ud. *ene* 1; Sol. *enūn-* 2, *enexū* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 454-455.

PMong. ***ene-ri, -l-** 1 to feel pity, compassion 2 to suffer (1 жалеть, сострадать 2 страдать): MMong. *eneri-kui* (HY 40), *eneri-* (MA) 1; WMong. *eneri-* 1, *enel-* 2 (L 317); Kh. *enere-* 1, *enele-* 2; Bur. *enel-* 2; Kalm. *enl̥-* 2; Ord. *enel-* 2; Mog. ZM *inäl* 'lament, complain' (4-8b).

◊ KW 122.

PTurk. ***ēn-** 1 to suffer 2 to be abashed, distressed 4 colic 5 to grizzle, slug 6 (birth) pains, labours 7 impatience 8 drag, disturbance 9 flaw, fault 10 obtuse, absent-minded 11 to torture, offend (1 страдать 2 растеряться, прийти в замешательство 4 колика 5 капризничать, нежиться 6 потуги, родовые схватки 7 нетерпение 8 обуза, помеха 9 упущение, промах 10 рассеянный, бестолковый 11 мучить, обижать): OTurk. *enegü* 4 (OUygh.); Karakh. *enčik-* 'to lose feelings' (MK, KB), *enegü* 4 (MK), *enit-* (AH) 2; Tur. *inǯi-* 1; Gag. *enǯek* 'newborn'; Az. *inǯi-* 1; Khal. *inǯi-* 1; MTurk. *entük-* 1; Uzb. *entik-* 1; Uygh. *inǯik* 6; Krm. *inǯit-*, *inčit-* 11 (T); Tat. *intek-* 1, *enǯe-le-* 5; Bashk. *intek-* 1, *inte-* 11; Kirgh. *ente-le-* 2, *entik-* 'to suffer from dyspnoea', *enő* 10; KBalk. *inǯi-* 1; Kum. *inǯi-* 1; Nogh. *enew* 4; Oyr. *enči* 6, *enčik* 7; Chuv. *anʌ̆x-* 1, 7, *anzux* 'dumb, sclerotic person'; Yak. *enn'e-lik* 8, *enči* 9.

◊ EDT 174, 184, ЭСТЯ 1, 283, Егоров 29. Doerfer (Khal.) suggests Arabic origin, which is quite improbable. Vowel length is suggested by the voiced -ǯ- of the suffix in several languages.

‖ KW 122, Poppe 69. A Western isogloss. Despite Doerfer MT 47, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

✱**eńa** sin, bad behaviour: Tung. ***eńe-**; Mong. ***ende-**; Turk. ***(i)ańıg**; Kor. ***āń-**.

PTung. ***eńe-** to sin (грешить): Ul. *eńe-*; Ork. *en(n)e-*.

◊ TMC 2, 456.

PMong. ***ende-** to be mistaken (ошибаться, заблуждаться): MMong. *ende-* (SH); WMong. *ende-*; Kh. *ende-*; Bur. *ende-*; Kalm. *endəgdə-*; Ord. *endegdel* 'fault, mistake'; Dag. *ende-* (Тод. Даг. 139); S.-Yugh. *eŋdē-*.

◊ KW 122, MGCD 261. Mong. > Evk. *ende-* etc., see Doerfer MT 111, Rozycki 69.

PTurk. ***(i)ańıg** sin, evil (грех, зло): OTurk. *ańıγ* (Orkh., OUygh.), *ajıγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ajıγ* (MK); Yak. *aǰī*; Dolg. *ańī*.

◊ VEWT 20, EDT 182, ЭСТЯ 1, 113, Stachowski 34.

PKor. ***āń-** to rob, steal (грабить, похищать): MKor. *ās-*, *āń-* (*ànă-*); Mod. *at- [as-]*.

◊ Nam 350, KED 1096.

‖ The root must have denoted "bad behaviour" in general, whence all the attested meanings: "mistake", "sin", "robbery".

✱**ĕńa** mother, elder sister: Tung. ***eńi-***; Turk. ***ana / *eńe***; Jpn. ***ánái***; Kor. ***ə̀ńí***.

PTung. ***eńi-*** mother, female (мать, самка): Evk. *eńin*; Evn. *eńin*; Neg. *eńin*; Man. *eńen*; Jurch. *enin* (283); Ul. *eń-*; Ork. *enin*; Nan. *eńin*; Orch. *ene, eńi*; Ud. *eńi(n)*; Sol. *enē, enī*.

◊ TMC 2, 456.

PTurk. ***ana / *eńe*** mother (мать): OTurk. *ana ~ ene* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ana ~ ene* (MK); Tur. *ana*; Gag. *ana*; Az. *ana*; Turkm. *ene*; Sal. *ana*; MTurk. *ana* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *ana*; Krm. *ana*; Tat. *ana*; Bashk. *inä*; Kirgh. *ene*; Kaz. *ene, ana*; KBalk. *ana*; KKalp. *ene, ana*; Kum. *ana*; SUygh. *ana*; Khak. *inä*; Oyr. *ene*; Tv. *ïje*; Chuv. *ańne*; Yak. *ïje*; Dolg. *ińe*.

◊ EDT 169-170, VEWT 19, 44, TMN 2, 130, ЭСТЯ 1, 278-281, Егоров 28, Лексика 298-299, 300-301, Stachowski 127.

PJpn. ***ánái*** elder sister (старшая сестра): OJpn. *ane*; MJpn. *ane*; Tok. *àne*; Kyo. *áné*; Kag. *áne*.

◊ JLTT 382.

PKor. ***ə̀ńí*** mother (мать): MKor. *ə̀ńí*; Mod. *əi*.

◊ Nam 363, KED 1134.

‖ Цинциус 1972a, 27-29, АПиПЯЯ 78. A "nursery word" (like most kinship terms), but no doubt archaic.

✱**eńa** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***eńukē***; Mong. ***ajaga(n)***; Turk. ***ańak***.

PTung. ***eńukē*** a big kettle (большой котел): Neg. *eńi*; Ul. *eńue*; Ork. *enue, enuγe*; Nan. *eńue*; Orch. *eneiŋki* 'birch box for dishes'.

◊ TMC 2, 455.

PMong. ***ajaga(n)*** cup (чашка): MMong. *ajaqa* (HY 19, SH, LH), *ajaγa* (IM 433, MA 108); WMong. *ajaɣa(n)*; Kh. *ajaga(n)*; Bur. *ajaga*; Kalm. *ājə*; Ord. *ajaGa*; Dag. *ajaga* (Тод. Даг. 118); Dong. *jiGa, iγa*; Bao. *(a)jiGə*; Mongr. *jaGa* (SM 486).

◊ KW 20. TMN 2, 171.

PTurk. ***ańak*** 1 pot, cup 2 hole; mouth 3(river) mouth (1 сосуд, чашка 2 отверстие; рот 3 устье (реки)): OTurk. *ajaq* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ajaq* 1 (MK); Tur. *ajak* 3; Az. *ajak* 3; Turkm. *ajaq* 3; MTurk. *ajaq* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔjɔq* 1, 3; Uygh. *ajaq* 1; Krm. *ajaq* 1; Bashk. *ajaq* 1; Kirgh. *ajaq* 1; Kaz. *ajaq* 1; KBalk. *ajaq* 1, 3; KKalp. *ajaq* 3; Kum. *ajaq* 1; Nogh. *ajaq* 1; SUygh. *ajaq* 1; Khak. *ajax* 1; Shr. *ajaq* 1; Oyr. *ajaq* 1; Tv. *ajaq* 1, 3; Yak. *aǰax* 1, 2; Dolg. *ańa, ańak* 2.

◊ VEWT 11, ЭСТЯ 1, 105, TMN 2, 171-2, EDT 270, Stachowski 34. Turk. > Mongor *ajaG* 'paquet' (SM 16), ZM *ajāq* (14-2a); > Russ. Siber. *aják* (Аникин 104).

‖ Владимирцов 293. A Western isogloss. Mong. may be < Turk. (TMN 2, 171, Щербак 1997, 95-96).

✱**ēŋa(kʻV)** chin, jaw: Tung. ****(x)eŋge***; Turk. ****ēŋ***; Jpn. ****ánk-***.

PTung. ****(x)eŋge*** beak (клюв): Man. *eŋge*.

◊ TMC 2, 457. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable parallels in Turkic and Mongolian.

PTurk. ***ēŋ** 1 cheeks 2 jaw, chin (1 щеки 2 челюсть, подбородок): Karakh. *eŋ* 1, *eŋek* 1, 2 (MK); Tur. *enek* 2; Az. *äŋ* 2; Turkm. *āŋ* 'lower jaw', *eŋek* 2; MTurk. *eŋek, enek* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *engäk* 2; Uygh. *iŋäk* 2; Tat. *ijäk* 2; Bashk. *ĭjek* 2; Kirgh. *ēk* 2; Kaz. *ĭjek* 2; KKalp. *ijek* 2; Nogh. *ijek* 2; SUygh. *iŋek* 2; Khak. *ek* 2; Shr. *ēk* 2; Oyr. *ēk* 2; Chuv. *ana* 2; Yak. *iŋ* 2.

◊ EDT 166, 183, VEWT 45, ЭСТЯ 1, 284-285, Лексика 218-219, Федотов 1, 45.

PJpn. ***ánk-** 1 gills 2 jaw, chin (1 жабры 2 челюсть, подбородок): OJpn. *agji, agjitopji*; MJpn. *ágì, ágító*; Tok. *agó* 2, *agito* 1,2; Kyo. *àgô* 2; Kag. *ágo* 2.

◊ JLTT 377. RJ, Tokyo and Kagoshima point to **á(n)kV̀* (the root ending is somewhat hard to reconstruct), but Kyoto has an unexpected circumflex tone.

‖ One could also reconstruct **ēna(kV)* - in which case cf. Kor. *anim* 'jowl, meat of the cheek' (KED 1068).

***eŋsV** shoulder, back part: Turk. ***eŋse**; Kor. ***ə̀skə́i**.

PTurk. ***eŋse** back of the neck (задняя часть шеи): Tur. *ense*; Gag. *jensä*; Turkm. *jeŋse*; MTurk. *eŋse, äŋsä* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ensä*; Krm. *eŋse, ense*; Kirgh. *eŋse*; Kaz. *eŋse*; KKalp. *eŋse*; Kum. *eŋse*; Nogh. *eŋse*; Oyr. *eŋze*; Chuv. *ənze, jənze*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 190-191, Егоров 65, Лексика 237-238.

PKor. ***ə̀skə́i** shoulder (плечо): MKor. *ə̀skə́i*; Mod. *ək:ä*.

◊ Nam 369, KED 1121.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss. For the Turk. form cf. alternatively TM **pisa* (see Лексика 239).

***ēŋV** to think, understand: Tung. ***eŋē-**; Mong. ***aɣuda-la-**; Turk. ***āŋ, *āŋ-la-**; Jpn. ***ə̀mə̀-p-**.

PTung. ***(x)eŋē-** to peer, investigate (заглядывать, разведывать): Evn. *eŋēli-, eŋēt-*.

◊ TMC 2, 458. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***aɣuda-la-** to search, investigate, rummage (искать, рыться в чем-л.): WMong. *aɣudala-* (L 16); Kh. *ūdla-*; Bur. *ūdal-*; Kalm. *ūdl̥-*; Ord. *ūdala-*; Mog. *audɔl-* (Weiers); ZM *oudal* (24-9a) 'investigation'.

◊ KW 454.

PTurk. ***āŋ, *āŋ-la-** 1 to understand 2 intelligence 3 to hear 4 to discern (dial.) (1 понимать 2 разум, ум 3 слышать 4 различать (диал.)): OTurk. *aŋla-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *aŋla-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *anla-* 1; Az. *anla-* 1; Turkm. *āŋla-* 1, *āŋ* 2; Khal. *aŋla-* 1 (< Az.); MTurk. *aŋ* 2, *aŋla-* 1 (San.); Uygh. *aŋla-* 3; Tat. *aŋ-yar-* 1; Kirgh. *aŋ* 2; SUygh. *aŋna-* 3; Khak. *aŋdi-* 'to look attentively'; Chuv. *ъʷn* 2; Yak. *aŋlā-* 4.

◊ VEWT 20, TMN 2,130, EDT 165, 186, ЭСТЯ 1, 153-154. WMong. *aŋ-ǯira-* 'to know, understand' < Turkic Siberian languages (*aŋ-sira-* with the affix of incomplete verb quality); WMong. *aŋqar-* < Turk. **āŋ-gar-*.

PJpn. ***ə̀mə̀-p-*** to think (думать): OJpn. *omop-*; MJpn. *òmòf-*; Tok. *omó-*; Kyo. *ómó-*; Kag. *òmò-*.

◊ JLTT 741.

‖ ЭСТЯ 1,154 (Turk.-Mong.), АПиПЯЯ 286. The Jpn. word poses some problems: its accent does not correspond to Turkic length, and if we reconstruct **ēŋo* (as required by Jpn. **ə-*), PT should have a closed **ą̄*. It is worth while therefore to consider other explanations of Jpn. **ə̀mə̀-p-*: e. g. compare it with Mong. *ojun* 'thought' and reconstruct a separate protoform like **uńo*.

ȅŋV** cloud, darkness: Tung. ****ēŋ-; Mong. ****eɣüle***.

PTung. ****ēŋ-*** 1 to disappear, become invisible 2 to close eyes; to miss (a sight) 3 to go down (of sun, moon, stars) 4 shady, unlit place (1 скрываться из виду 2 закрывать глаза; упускать (из виду) 3 заходить (о солнце, луне, звездах) 4 затененное, неосвещенное место): Evk. *ēŋ-* 1; Evn. *ēŋut-* 2; Orch. *eŋgi-* 3; Ud. *ēŋigi-* 3; Nan. *eŋmiẽ* (On.) 4

◊ TMC 2, 457, 458.

PMong. ****eɣüle*** cloud (облако): MMong. *e'ulen* (HY 1, SH), *ulät* (IM), *iulän* (MA); WMong. *egüle(n)* (L 300); Kh. *ūl(en)*; Bur. *ūle(n)*; Kalm. *ūlṇ*; Ord. *ūle, üjle*; Dag. *eulen* (Тод. Даг. 141, MD 146); Dong. *olien*; Bao. *ōloŋ, uloŋ*; Mongr. *ulin, uliŋ, uloŋ* (SM 470).

◊ KW 461, MGCD 685.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

ə́po** to hunt, kill: Tung. ****wā- (= *ebā-); Mong. ****aba***; Turk. ****Āb***; Jpn. ****ə́p-***.

PTung. ****wā- (= *ebā-)*** to kill (убивать): Evk. *wā-*; Evn. *wā-, mā-*; Neg. *wā-*; Man. *wa-*; SMan. *vā-* (739); Jurch. *wa-du-lar* (459); Ul. *wāwụ*; Ork. *wā-*; Nan. *wā-*; Orch. *wā-*; Ud. *wā-*; Sol. *wā-*.

◊ TMC 1, 127-129. TM > Dag. *wātā-* (Тод. Даг. 129).

PMong. ****aba*** hunt, chase (охота): MMong. *aba* (SH), *abači* 'hunter' (HY 30), *abala-* 'to hunt' (IM); WMong. *aba* (L 2); Kh. *av*; Bur. *aba*; Kalm. *awə*; Ord. *awa*; Dag. au; Mongr. *bārdi-, wārdi-* 'lutter, se mesurer à la lutte' (SM 21, 481).

◊ KW 19, TMN 1, 107. Mong. > Man. *aba* etc., see Doerfer MT 115, Rozycki 9.

PTurk. ****Āb*** hunt, chase (охота): OTurk. *ab* (Orkh.), *av* (OUygh.); Karakh. *av* (MK); Tur. *av*; Gag. *av*; Az. *ov*; Turkm. *āv*; MTurk. *aw* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔv*; Uygh. *aw*, dial. *ō*; Krm. *av*; Tat. *aw*; Kirgh. *ū*; Kaz. *aw*; KBalk. *uw*; Kum. *aw, haw*; Nogh. *aw*.

◊ EDT 3, VEWT 1, ЭСТЯ 62-64, TMN 2, 131, Лексика 417-418.

PJpn. ****ə́p-*** to follow, chase (преследовать, гнаться за): OJpn. *op-*; MJpn. *óf-*; Tok. *ò-*; Kyo. *ó-*; Kag. *ó-*.

◊ JLTT 743.

‖ KW 19, Poppe 46, 97. Cf. Manchu *ebte ǵaxun* 'hunting bird' (perhaps preserving the original shape of the root **eb(a)-*, that has elsewhere been irregularly reduced to **ewā-* > **wā-*). Despite TMN 1, 107, 2, 131, Щербак 1997, 94, there is no reason for assuming Turk. > Mong.

***ĕpʹa** mother, elder sister, aunt: Tung. ***ebke**; Mong. ***ebej**; Turk. ***apa**; Jpn. ***pàpà**.

PTung. ***ebke** grandmother, aunt, elder brother's wife (бабушка, тетка, жена старшего брата): Evk. *ewekē*; Neg. *ewexē*; Ul. *ewke*; Ork. *ewe(n)*; Nan. *euke*; Orch. *euke*.

◊ TMC 2, 433.

PMong. ***ebej** mother (мать): WMong. *ebei*; Kh. *evij* 'female otter'; Bur. *ebi* (Dial.); Kalm. *ewə*; Dag. *ewē* (Тод. Дат. 138).

◊ KW 129.

PTurk. ***apa** mother, elder sister, aunt (мать, старшая сестра, тетя): OTurk. *apa* (Yen.); Karakh. *epe* ~ *apa* (Oghuz=Qarluq Türkmen, MK); Tur. *aba* (Ank.), dial. *apa*; Turkm. *apa, afa* (dial.); MTurk. *apa* 'elder sister' (Sangl.); Uzb. *эpa*; Uygh. *apa*; Krm. *apaj* (Q); Tat. *apa*; Bashk. *apa*; Kirgh. *apa*; Kaz. *apa*; KBalk. *aba*; KKalp. *apa*; Kum. *abaj, apaj*; Nogh. *aba*; Shr. *abiče* (< *aba-eče*); Oyr. *abune* (< *aba-ene*); Tv. *ava*; Tof. *aba*.

◊ EDT 5, ЭСТЯ 1, 158-159, ССЯ 290-291, Лексика 300, 301, TMN 2, 3, Аникин 90. Front row variants (Tur. eve, Kaz. *ebej*, Yak., Dolg. *ebe* etc., see ЭСТЯ 1, 220-221, Stachowski 42) are recent and may have a Mong. origin.

PJpn. ***pàpà** mother (мать): OJpn. papa; MJpn. *fâfâ*; Tok. *háha*; Kyo. *háhà*; Kag. *háha*.

◊ JLTT 386. The accent in Tokyo and Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ Цинциус 1972a, 32-37, Poppe 43. One of the rather widely spread nursery kinship words.

***épʹá** breast, rib: Mong. ***eb-**; Jpn. ***ámpárá**; Kor. ***əp-**.

PMong. ***eb-** 1 breast 2 bosom (1 грудь 2 пазуха): MMong. *ebur* 2, *ebuže'un* (HY 46, SH), *emčon* (IM), *ibču-tu* (MA) 1; WMong. *ebür, öbür* (L 628) 2, *ebčigü(n)* (L 285) 1; Kh. *öwör* 2, *öwčū(n)* 1; Bur. *über* 2, *übsū(n)* 1; Kalm. *öwṛ* 2, *öpcūn, öpčūn* 1; Ord. *öwör* 2, *öbčū* 1; Mog. *ebčūn*; ZM *ebčoun* (2-8b); Dag. *eur* 1 (Тод. Дат. 176 *xeur* - with a strange x-), *erčū* (Тод. Дат. 140) 2; Dong. *ečen* 2; Bao. *vɛr* 1, *ɛbčoŋ* 2; S.-Yugh. *wər* 1, *χöžūn* 2; Mongr. *wer, ur, j(w)ər, jer* (SM 492), *ujer* (Huzu) 1, *śźū* 'poitrine, poitrail' (SM 391), *śižau* 2.

◊ KW 303, 298. MGCD 537, 539. Mong. > Evk. *owur*, see Poppe 1966, 197, Doerfer MT 127.

PJpn. ***ámpárá** rib (ребро): Tok. *àbara(bone)*; Kyo. *ábárá(bóné)*; Kag. *abara(bóne)*.

◊ JLTT 376.

PKor. ***əp-** beef brisket, breast of ox (грудинка, мясо на груди скота): Mod. *əpčin*.

◊ KED 1150.

‖ Lee 1958, 108 (Mong.-Kor.); a loanword in Kor. < Mong. is not excluded.

***epʻò** bread, food: Tung. ***epe**; Mong. ***aɣag / *haɣag**; Turk. ***Epej**; Jpn. ***əpə-mənə**; Kor. ***páp**.

PTung. ***epe** baked bread, cake (печеный хлеб, пирог): Evk. *ewedi*; Man. *efen*; SMan. *efən* 'Manchu bread' (364); Ul. *epe(n)*; Nan. *epẽ*; Sol. *ouo ~ uɣon ~ eweń*.

◊ TMC 2, 436.

PMong. ***aɣag / *haɣag** bran (отруби): WMong. *aɣaɣ* (L 12: *aɣa*); Kh. *āga*; Bur. *āgaha(n)*, *āha(n)* 'oatmeal'; Ord. *āG*; Dag. *āhe* (MD), *āga*, *xāg* (MGCD 90, Kuribayashi 175).

PTurk. ***Epej** baked bread (печеный хлеб): Tat. *ipi*; Bashk. *äpäj*.

◊ Forms like *epmek* may belong here but contaminated with **etmek* (v. sub **ite*).

PJpn. ***əpə-mənə** food (пища, еда): OJpn. *op(w)omono*.

◊ JLTT 509. The analysis of the word as "big thing" is obviously a folk etymology: cf. the same root also in a verbal derivative OJ *op(w)o-k-* 'to eat greedily'.

PKor. ***páp** food (пища): MKor. *páp*; Mod. *pap*.

◊ Liu 370, KED 734.

‖ The Kor. form (perhaps also the Dagur form with x-) reflect an expressive reduplication.

***ĕpʻo** big: Mong. ***aba-**; Turk. ***Ap / *Ep**; Jpn. ***àpà-**; Kor. ***opi-**.

PMong. ***aba-** huge (огромный): MMong. ? *aburin eme* 'principal wife' (SH, Козин); WMong. *abarɣa*, (L 6: *aburɣu*, *aburɣa*); Kh. *avraga*; Bur. *abarga*; Kalm. *awrGə*; Dag. *auruhe* 'big fish (probably sturgeon' (MD 116) (?).

◊ KW 20. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *oburgu* (Kał. MEJ 16, Stachowski 188); > Russ. dial. *абарга* 'рыба калуга' (Аникин 71).

PTurk. ***Ap / *Ep** emphatic strengthening particle (эмфатическая усилительная частица): Karakh. *ap / ep* (MK); Tur. *ap* (XIV c.), *apačik* 'quite, completely'; Az. *apǯiG* 'however'; Kirgh. *apej* 'an emphatic interjection'.

◊ EDT 3.

PJpn. ***àpà-** big; many (большой; много): OJpn. *opo-*; *opo(ki)-*; MJpn. *òfò-*; *ofo(ki)-*; Tok. *ô-*; *ōkí-*; Kyo. *ô-*; Kag. *ô-*.

◊ JLTT 838.

PKor. ***opi-** plentiful (обильный, многочисленный): Mod. *obut-hada* [*obus-*], *obit-hada*.

◊ KED 1201.

‖ SKE 174, Martin 239, АПиПЯЯ 102 (with literature), 274. Cf. also **ebo* (Jpn. reflects a merger of these two roots).

✱**ép'V** grandfather: Tung. ***epu**; Mong. ***ebü-gen**; Kor. ***àp-**.

PTung. ***epu** 1 elder sister's husband 2 grandfather, elder relative 3 bear 4 father's elder brother (1 муж старшей сестры 2 дед, старший родственник 3 медведь 4 старший брат отца): Neg. *epo, epa* 4; Man. *efu* 1; SMan. *efū* 1 (905); Ork. *ēpi* 2; *epeke* 2, 3; Orch. *epere* 2, 4.

◊ TMC 2, 459.

PMong. ***ebü-ge-** 1 old man, grandfather 2 ancestor (1 старик, дед 2 предок): MMong. *ebugan* 1, *ebuge(n)* 1,2 (SH); WMong. *ebügen* 1, *ebüge* 2 (L 290); Kh. *övgön* 1, *övög* 2; Bur. *übge(n)* 1; Kalm. *öwgn̦* 1, 2; Ord. *öwögö(n)* 1, 2; Dag. *eukē* 'elder sister's husband'.

◊ KW 302. Mong. *ebügen* > Chag. *äbügän* etc., see TMN 1, 109-111.

PKor. ***àp-** 1 father 2 parents (1 отец 2 родители): MKor. *àpí* 1, *àpàńí* 2; Mod. *əbi* (arch.), *abi, abəži* 1, *əbəi* 2.

◊ Nam 361, 362, KED 1074, 1130, 1131.

‖ SKE 3, Poppe 103. Cf. **áp'a*.

✱**ĕra** to be: Tung. ***eri-**; Mong. ***ere-**; Turk. ***er-**; Jpn. ***àr-**.

PTung. ***eri-** 1 to breathe 2 breath 3 soul (1 дышать 2 дыхание 3 душа): Evk. *erī-* 1, *erīn* 2, 3; Evn. *eri-* 1, erin 2; Neg. *ejī-* 1, *ejgen* 2, 3; Man. *erge-* 'to rest', *ergen* 2, 3; SMan. *erəxən* 'breath, life' (39, 693, 2965); Jurch. *erin-he* (= *erhen*) (517); Ul. *ersi-* 1, *erge(n)* 2; Ork. *er(i)-* 1; Nan. *erisi-* 1, *ergē* 2; Orch. *egge* 3; Ud. *ege* 2, 3, dial. *eje* 2; Sol. *ergē* 'life'.

◊ TMC 2, 464.

PMong. ***ere-ɣül** healthy, sober (здоровый, трезвый): MMong. *iläur* (MA 152), *elor* (IM 437), *ileur* (LH); WMong. *ere-gül, ele-gür*; Kh. *erűl*; Bur. *erűl*; Kalm. *erűl*; Ord. *erűl*.

◊ KW 128. Mong. > Oyr. *elűr* etc. (VEWT 41).

PTurk. ***er-** to be (aux.) (быть (вспом.)): OTurk. *er-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *er-* (MK, KB); Tur. *i-*; Gag. *i-/ir-*; Az. *i-*; Turkm. *er-*; Sal. *ir-* (Kakuk 182); Khal. *är-* (D. GCh 182); MTurk. *er-* (Abush.); Uzb. *e-, er-ür* (fut.); Uygh. e-; Krm. *e-*; Tat. *i-* (*i-ken* (perf.) 'it appears', *i-meš* (evident.) '...says that it is'); Bashk. *i-*; Kirgh. *e-*; Kaz. *e-*; KBalk. *e-*; KKalp. *e-*; Kum. *e-*; Nogh. *e-*; SUygh. *er-*; Khak. *i-*; Shr. *e-*; Oyr. *e-*; Tv. *e-/ir-*; Yak. *e-/er-*; Dolg. *e-/er-*.

◊ EDT 193-194, VEWT 46, ЭСТЯ 1, 218-220, Stachowski 42, 46. The verb frequently occurs as *e-*, without the final -r- (see ibid.).

PJpn. ***àr-** to be (быть): OJpn. *ar-*; MJpn. *àr-*; Tok. *ár-*; Kyo. *àr-*; Kag. *àr-*.

◊ JLTT 677.

‖ Cf. Mong. **a-* (MMong. *a-)* a defective auxiliary verb. This, together with the frequent absence of -r- in Turkic paradigms, may speak in favour of reconstructing monosyllabic **er* for PA.

***éra** rough: Mong. ***ar-**; Turk. ***Ērig**; Jpn. ***árá-**; Kor. ***ar-**.

PMong. ***ar-** 1 to become dry, hard 2 dry, hard, thick 3 to be rough, shaggy (1 засыхать, черстветь 2 густой, сухой, черствый 3 быть грубым, шершавым): WMong. *arγu-* 1 (L 51: *arγa-*), *arγu* 2, *arǯiji-*, *arǯaji-* (L 55) 3; Kh. *arga-* 1, *argū(n)* 2, *arǯī-*, *arʒaj-* 3; Bur. *arga-* 1, *argūn* 2, *arzaj-* 3; Kalm. *arzā-* 3; Ord. *arǯi-*, *arǯā-* 3; Dag. *arbəi-* (MGCD); Mongr. *rǯī-* (MGCD), *(a)rʒā-* (SM 13, 311), *rʒī-* 3.

◊ KW 16, MGCD 118.

PTurk. ***Ērig** rough, large (грубый, крупный): OTurk. *erig* (OUygh.) 'wild'; Karakh. *erig* (MK) 'lively, energetic'; Tur. *iri*; Az. *iri*; Turkm. *īri*; MTurk. *iri* (Бор. Бад.), *irik* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.), *erig* (Qutb.); Uzb. *jirik*; Uygh. *irik, jirik*; Krm. *iri*; Tat. *ĭrĭ*; Bashk. *ĭrĭ*; Kirgh. *iri*; Kaz. *iri*; KKalp. *iri*; Nogh. *iri*.

◊ EDT 221, 222, ЭСТЯ 1, 371-372. Modern languages reveal a secondary vowel narrowing. Turk. > Hung. *öreg*.

PJpn. ***árá** rough (грубый): OJpn. *ara-*; MJpn. *árá-*; Tok. *àra-*; Kyo. *árà-*.

◊ JLTT 825.

PKor. ***ar-** bare, naked, stripped to essentials (голый, простой): MKor. *ar-*; Mod. *al-*.

◊ Liu 526, KED 1088.

‖ Martin 225 (Kor.-Jpn.)

***ére (~ -i)** early: Tung. ***erü-n**; Mong. ***er-te**; Turk. ***ẹ̄r**; Kor. ***ìrì-**.

PTung. ***erü-n** time (время): Evn. *eri*; Neg. *ejun*; Man. *erin*; SMan. *erin* (2648); Jurch. *erin* (89); Ul. *eru(n)*; Ork. *eru(n)* / *eri(n)*; Nan. *erī*; Orch. *erū(n)*; Ud. *ēli(n)*; Sol. *erī*.

◊ TMC 2, 463-4. TM > Dag. *erin* (Тод. Даг. 140).

PMong. ***er-te** early (рано, ранний): MMong. *erte* (HY 76), *erde* (SH), *ärtä* (IM), *irtă* (MA); WMong. *erte(n)* (L 331); Kh. *ert(en)*; Bur. *erte*; Kalm. *ertə*; Ord. *erte*; Mog. *irte*; Dag. *erte, erde* (Тод. Даг. 140) 'early; morning', *erete* (MD 145) long ago, anciently; early; morning'; Dong. *ečie*; Bao. *ete*; S.-Yugh. *rde*; Mongr. *šde* (SM 372).

◊ KW 126, MGCD 269. Mong. > Evk. *erte* etc., see Doerfer MT 76, Rozycki 70.

PTurk. ***ẹ̄r** 1 early 2 early in the morning 3 tomorrow 4 (morning sun) > sunny mountain slope (1 рано 2 рано утром 3 завтра 4 (утреннее солнце) > солнечный склон горы): OTurk. *[ir ~ er* 4, *er-kenin,] erte* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *erte* 2 (MK); Tur. *er, erte* 2; Gag. *ierte* 'next day'; Az. *ertä* 2; Turkm. *ir* 1, *erte* 2; MTurk. *er* 1 (Bud.), *erte* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *erta* 2; Uygh. *ä(r)tä* 'morning'; Krm. *erte* 2; Tat. *irtä* 2; Bashk. *irtä* 2;

Kirgh. *erte* 2; Kaz. *erte* 2; KBalk. *ertte* 2; KKalp. *erte* 2; Kum. *ertä* 2; Nogh. *erte* 2; SUygh. *erte* 2; Khak. *irte* 'morning'; Oyr. *erte* 2; Tv. *erte* 2; Chuv. *ir* 3; Yak. *erde* 1; Dolg. *erčin* 1.

◊ EDT 202-203, VEWT 46, ЭСТЯ 1, 302-306, 369-370, Егоров 70, Лексика 79, Stachowski 47.

PKor. ***ìrɨ̀-*** early (ранний): MKor. *ìrɨ̀-*; Mod. *irɨ-*.

◊ Nam 400, KED 1326.

‖ EAS 146, KW 126, VEWT 46, SKE 69, Poppe 106, Menges 1984, 267, Дыбо 11, Лексика 79. Cf. perhaps also MKor. *jât* 'now' (< **jər-t* = Mong., Turk. **erte*?); Lee 1958, 108 also draws MKor. *ərɨ* 'time, season', *ərɨn* 'quickly', which we were unable to identify. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. (Щербак 1997, 116) is hardly plausible: the *-t'V suffix in this case must be Common Altaic. The etymology is still quite valid, despite all attempts of Doerfer (TMN 4, 257-259). Cf. also Turk. **er-k-* 'early; ancient' = Mong. *argi-* 'to be old, ancient, mature'.

✱**érga (~ -u)** a k. of box, enclosure: Tung. ***(x)erge**; Mong. ***(h)ergi-neg**; Turk. ***erge**; Kor. ***èrí**.

PTung. ***(x)erge** a k. of box (вид ящика): Evk. *erge*.

◊ TMC 2, 462. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***(h)ergi-neg** 1 cupboard (standing close to the door) 2 enclosure (for sheep, calves) (1 буфет (стоящий около двери) 2 загон (для овец, телят)): WMong. *ergineg* 1 (L 325); Kh. *eregneg* 1; Bur. *ergeneg* 1,2; Kalm. *ergənəg* 1; Ord. *ergenek* 1.

◊ KW 124.

PTurk. ***erge** 1 part of the yurt close to the door 2 threshhold 3 stairs (1 часть юрты рядом с дверью 2 порог 3 лестница): MTurk. *irgene* 'smth. belonging to the tent' (Sangl.); Kirgh. *ergilček* 1; Kaz. *erge, irge* 1; Khak. *irkən* 2; Oyr. *irge* 2; Chuv. *argъ* 'lap'; Yak. *ergene, ergine* 3.

◊ VEWT 47, Федотов 1, 56-57.

PKor. ***èrí** enclosure (загон, огороженное место): MKor. *èrí*; Mod. *ərí* (arch.).

◊ Nam 361, KED 1128.

‖ VEWT 47. The Turkic forms are attested late and those ending in -ne may actually be < Mong.; however, the Oyr. and Kaz. forms can hardly be explained as loans.

✱**èrì** a k. of fruit: Mong. ***üril**; Turk. ***erük**; Jpn. ***ìtàpi**; Kor. ***ɨrɨm**.

PMong. ***üril** plum (слива): WMong. *üril* (L 1013); Kh. *öröl* 'wild apple'; Kalm. *örl* 'wild pear'.

◊ KW 300. Cf. **ölir* (a different root, but liable to merger).

PTurk. ***erük** 1 plum 2 apricot (1 слива 2 абрикос): OTurk. *erük* 1, 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *erük* 1, 2 (MK); Tur. *erik* 1; Gag. *ierik* 1; Az. *ärik* 2; Turkm. *erik* 2; Sal. *örüx* 1; MTurk. *erük* (AH) 'peach', *örük* (Abush.) 1;

Uzb. *o̧rik* 2; Uygh. *ürük* 2; Krm. *erik* 1; Tat. *ürik* 2; Bashk. *ürük* 2; Kirgh. *örük* 2; Kaz. *orik* 2; KBalk. *erik* 1; KKalp. *erik* 2; Kum. *erik* 1.

◊ EDT 222, ЭСТЯ 1, 291-292.

PJpn. ***ìtàpi*** Japanese fig (японская фига): OJpn. *itabji*; MJpn. *ìtàbì, ìtàbí*.

◊ JLTT 427.

PKor. ***irim*** clematis berries, *akebi* seed (плод акабии): Mod. *irim*.

◊ KED 1285.

‖ ЭСТЯ 1, 292. In TM cf. perhaps Evk. dial. *erbeɣu* 'name of a shrub with yellow flowers, used instead of tea' (TMC 2, 462). Mong. **üril* 'plum' should be kept distinct from **ölir* 'small apple' (see under **ójle*); however, since the sequences -l-r and -r-l in Mong. are liable to metathesis, it is difficult to decide which protoforms are actually reflected in **üril* and **ölir*. In any case, labialization in Mong. is probably secondary here (either **üril* < **irü-l* or **ölir* < **clör* < **erö-l*).

✱**erka** to wrap, tie: Mong. ***arga-**; Turk. ***Arka-**; Kor. ***ə̀rk-**.

PMong. ***arga-*** 1 string, cord 2 woven basket (1 веревка 2 плетеная корзина): MMong. *arqamǰi* (SH) *aryā, aryamči* (IM 432) 1, *āruq* (MA 113) 2; WMong. *aryamǰi* 2, *aruɣ* 2; Kh. *argamǰ* 1, *arag* 2; Bur. *arag* 2; Kalm. *arəg* 2; Ord. *aruG* 2; Mog. ZM *ɔ̄ra* (13-3) 'fibre'; Dong. *areu* 2 (MGCD *arəu*); Bao. *aroG* 2 (MGCD *arGoŋ*); Mongr. *aruG* 2 (SM 14), *aroG* (MGCD).

◊ KW 13, MGCD 114, 115. Turkic origin of *aryamǰi* was supposed by Doerfer TMN 1, 122, but without sufficient reasons (Chag. *aryamǰi* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 1, 171-172) is certainly < Mong., see ibid.).

PTurk. ***Arka-*** lasso, thick string (лассо, толстая веревка): Turkm. *arqān*; Uzb. *arkan* 1.

◊ VEWT 26, ЭСТЯ 1, 175-176. Turk. > WMong. *arqala-*, Kalm. *arxəl-* (KW 14).

PKor. ***ə̀rk-*** to wrap, tie up (завязывать, заворачивать): MKor. *ə̀rk-*; Mod. *əlk-*.

◊ Nam 368, KED 1147.

‖ Cf. Nan. *erī* 'rope for binding up the yurt with ritual purposes' (TMC 2,463), suggesting that *-k- may be originally a suffix. Despite Щербак 1997, 162, Mongolian forms are hard to explain as borrowed from Turkic.

✱**ĕro** clean: Mong. ***ariɣ-**; Turk. ***ari-**; Jpn. ***árap-**.

PMong. ***ar-*** 1 clean 2 to clean 3 cloth for cleaning (1 чистый 2 чистить 3 платок (для чистки)): MMong. *arči-* 2, *aril-* 'to be clear' (SH), *ariun* 1, *orči-* 2, *[o]rčur* 3 (IM 433, 432), *ariun, āri-jun* 1, *arči-* 2, *arčiwur* 3 (MA 105, 106, 104, 178), *arilqa-* 1 (HYt); WMong. *ariɣun* (L 53) 1, *arči-* 2, *arčiɣur, alčiɣur* 3; Kh. *ariun* 1, *arči-* 2, *alčūr* 3; Bur. *aŕūn* 1, *arša-* 2, *aršūl* 3; Kalm. *ärūn* 1, *arč-* 2, *alčūr* 3; Ord. *arūn* 1, *arči-* 2, *alčūr* 3; Mog. *orūn* 1; ZM *ɔ̄rūn* 1 'pure, clean' (11-3a); Dag. *arūn* (Тод. Даг. 122), *aren* 1 (MD 115),

arči- 2; Dong. *arun* 1, *ači-* 'полоть' 2, *anču* 3; Bao. *aruŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *arūn*; Mongr. *arən, arin* (SM 11, 14) 1, *arili-* 'se purifier' (SM 14), *xaʒir* (SM 149) 3.

◊ KW 24, MGCD 119, 565. Mong. > Evk. *ariwūn*, see Poppe 1966, 189, Doerfer MT 125; > Chag. *arun*, see TMN 1, 129.

PTurk. ***ạrı-*** 1 clean, pure, to be clean 2 to clean, purify (1 чистый, быть чистым 2 чистить): OTurk. *arıγ* (Orkh.), *arı-, arıγ* (OUygh.) 1, *arıt-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *arı-, arıγ* (MK, KB) 1, *arıt-* (MK, KB) 2; Tur. *arı* 1, art- 2, Osm. *arıt-* 'to wipe'; Az. dial. *arı* 1, *arıt-* 2; Turkm. *arıG* 1, art- 2; Khal. *arıγ* 1, *arut-* 2; MTurk. *arı-* (Abush.), *arıγ* (Abush., Sangl., Qutb), *arı* (Pav. C.) 1, *arıt-* (Sangl., Qutb) 2; Uzb. dial. *ari-* 1; Uygh. *eriq* 1; Tat. *aru* 1; Bashk. *arıw* 1; Kirgh. *arū* 1; Kaz. *aru* 1; KBalk. *arıw* 1; KKalp. *aruw* 1; SUygh. *arıγ* 1; Khak. *arıγ* 1; Oyr. *aru* 1; Tv. *arıγ* 1, *arıt-* 2; Chuv. *ĭrҫ* 'good', *ĭrt-* 'перебирать ягоды, очищать дерево от сучьев'; Yak. *ĭrās* 1, *ĭrıt-* 'перебирать ягоды'; Dolg. *ĭras* 1.

◊ EDT 198, 213, VEWT 27, ЭСТЯ 1, 184-186, Мудрак Дисс. 182, Stachowski 261.

PJpn. ***áráp-*** to wash (мыть): OJpn. *arap-*; MJpn. *áráf-*; Tok. *àra-*; Kyo. *árá-*; Kag. *arágá-*.

◊ JLTT 677.

‖ EAS 88, KW 24, Владимирцов 199, Poppe 79, Ozawa 170-171, Мудрак Дисс. 182. Cf. TM forms: Orok *ārŋa-* 'to clean (with a brush)' (TMC 1, 50), Evk. *ertikē-* 'clean up' (TMC 2, 465). Despite TMN 1, 129, Щербак 1997, 100, Mong. can hardly be regarded as borrowed < Turk.

✱**ērtʿa (~ -o)** to carry on back: Mong. ***ači-***; Turk. ***ạ̄rt-***.

PMong. ***ači-*** to load, carry on one's back (грузить, нести на спине): MMong. *ači-* (SH Козин), *ača'an* 'груз'(HY), ači'ā 'груз' (IM), *ači-* (MA); WMong. *ači-* (L 8); Kh. *ači-*; Bur. *aša-*; Kalm. *ači-* (KPC); Ord. *ači-*; Mog. *ači-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *ači-*; Bao. *ače-* (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *śʒā* (n.).

◊ MGCD 126. Mong. > Evk. *atiga*, Man. *ači-*, see Poppe 1966, 192, Doerfer MT 100, Rozycki 11.

PTurk. ***ạ̄rt-*** to load, carry on back (нагружать, нести на спине): OTurk. (?) *arč-* (OUygh. - USp.); Karakh. *arčı* 'saddle-bag' (MK; < *art-čı*?); Tur. *ard-* (dial.), = Osm.; Gag. *ārt-*; Uzb. *ɔrt-*; Uygh. *a(r)t-*; Bashk. *art-*; Kirgh. *art-*; Kaz. *art-*; KKalp. *art-*; Nogh. *art-*; SUygh. *art-*; Khak. *art-*; Shr. *arta-*; Oyr. *art-art-*; Tv. *art-*; Chuv. *ort-*; Yak. *ĭrt-*; Dolg. *ĭrdā-*.

◊ VEWT 27, EDT 201, Егоров 276, Федотов 2, 287, ЭСТЯ 1, 180-181. Chuv. *ort-* may be restructured after **ar-ka* 'back'.

‖ VEWT 27, KW 18. A Turko-Mongolian isogloss; in Turkic the root has partially merged with PT **ārt* 'back' (see sub **p'i̯ò̯rí*).

✱**ə̀rù (~ -ŕ-)** skin: Tung. ***eruke-***; Mong. ***ar[a]-su***; Jpn. ***ùrəkə̀ (/*i-; ~ -ua-)***.

PTung. ***eru-ke-*** upper coat (шуба, кафтан): Evn. *irkenmi*; Ul. *eru(n)*, *erue(n)*; Orch. *erue*.

◊ TMC 1, 328, 2, 466.

PMong. ***ar[a]-su*** skin (кожа): MMong. *arasun* (HY 15, SH), *arāṣu* (IM 432), *arasun* (MA 104); WMong. *arasu(n)*, *arisu(n)* (L 49); Kh. *aŕs(an)*; Bur. *arahan*, *arha(n)*; Kalm. *arsn̥*; Ord. *arusu*; Mog. *arōsun*; ZM *ɔ̄rɔ̄sun* (20-9); Dag. *arsa*, *aras* (Тод. Дar. 122); Dong. *arasun*; Bao. *arsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *arsən*; Mongr. *arasə* (SM 11).

◊ MGCD 320. Cf. Mongor **(a)rāwa* 'hair, fur'. KW 14.

PJpn. ***ùrəkə̀ (/*i-; ~ -ua-)*** scales; dandruff (чешуя; перхоть): MJpn. *uroko*, *ìrokò*; Tok. *ùroko*, *úroko*; Kyo. *úrokò*; Kag. *urokó*.

◊ JLTT 426. The modern Tokyo accent variants are not quite regular (pointing to **ùrákə́* or **ùrəkə́)*.

‖ The TM and Jpn. forms reflect a common derivative **ə̀rù-kV* (diminutive).

✱**ə́ŕa** to go astray, mistake: Tung. ***er[e]-***; Mong. ***ereɣü***; Turk. ***āŕ-***; Jpn. ***árá-***; Kor. ***ərjə́-b-***.

PTung. ***er[e]-*** 1 bad 2 torture, torment 3 to torture 4 to be mistaken (1 плохой 2 пытка, мучение 3 мучить 4 ошибаться): Evk. *erū* 1, *ere-* 4; Man. *eru-n* 1; Ul. *eru-le-* 2; Nan. *erū* 2; Sol. *erū* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 465-466. For all the forms except Evk. *ere-* borrowing from Mong. cannot be excluded (see Doerfer MT 39, Rozycki 71), thus the actual TM protoform could have been **ere-*.

PMong. ***ereɣü*** torture, crime (пытка, преступление): MMong. *ere'u* (SH); WMong. *eregü(ü)* (L 321); Kh. *erű*; Bur. *erűdelge*, *erűde-* 'to torture'; Kalm. *erű*; Ord. *erű*; Dag. *erūle-* 'to torture' (MD 146), *erun*.

◊ KW 128, MGCD 269.

PTurk. ***āŕ-*** 1 to go astray, lose one's way 2 to lose mind, go mad 3 to miss (1 сбиваться с пути 2 сходить с ума 3 упускать, промахиваться): OTurk. *az-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *az-* 1 (MK, IM); Tur. *az-* 1; Gag. *āz-* (Дмитриев 1955) 1; Az. *az-* 1; Turkm. *āz-* 1; Khal. *hāz-* 1; MTurk. *az-* (Sangl., Houts., Pav. C., Qutb) 1; Uzb. *ɔz-* 1; Uygh. *az-* 1; Krm. *az-* 1; Tat. *az-* 1; Bashk. *aδ-* 1; Kirgh. *az-* 1; Kaz. *az-* 1; KKalp. *az-* 1; Nogh. *az-* 1; SUygh. *az-* 1; Khak. *as-* 1; Shr. *as-* 1; Oyr. *as-* 1; Tv. *as-* 1; Chuv. *or-* 2; Yak. *ās-* 1, 3.

◊ EDT 279, VEWT 22, 33, 193, ЭСТЯ 1, 94-95, Федотов 2, 283.

PJpn. ***árá-*** to behave violently, be in distress (быть бурным, буйствовать; быть заброшенным): OJpn. *ara-*; MJpn. *ara-*; Tok. *àre-*; Kyo. *áré-*; Kag. *àré-*.

◊ JLTT 677.

PKor. ***ərjə́-b-*** to be difficult, hard, in distress (быть трудным, находиться в затруднении): MKor. *ərjə́p-* (-w-); Mod. *ərjəp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 360, KED 1127.

‖ EAS 107, 145-146, SKE 56 (Mong.:Tung.:Kor.). Mong. and Turk. have also suffixed forms that may belong to the same root (with front / back vowel variation): cf. Mong. *arča-* 'to quarrel, argue'; *erüs-* 'to rival, compete'; Turk. **ersi-* 'mean, nasty' (see Дыбо 12); perhaps also Mong. **arila-* 'to disappear, vanish' (< '*to miss'), see MGCD 118.

✱**eŕmu** a k. of grass, wormwood: Mong. ***erme**; Turk. ***eŕen**; Kor. ***òrmí**.

PMong. ***erme** wormwood (Artemisia Sieversiana, Artemisia macrocephala) (полынь): WMong. *erme* (L 331); Kh. *erem*; Bur. *ürmehe(n)*, *ürmedehe(n)*; Kalm. *erm̥*; Ord. ?? *ērme* 'artemisia glauca Pall., d'apres Potanin'; Dag. *erem*.

◊ Mong. > Tat. *äräm* etc., see KW 126, 127, Лексика 132-133. Cf. also (as Mong. loanwords): Man. *eremu* 'wormwood', Khak. *irben* 'богородская трава', Yak. *erbesin* 'названия грубых сортов трав'.

PTurk. ***eŕen** wormwood (полынь): Kaz. *izen* (R); Chuv. *arъm*.

◊ VEWT 48, Егоров 346, Федотов 1, 57-58. Turk. (Bulg.) > Hung. *üröm*, see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***òrmí** a k. of grass (вид травы): MKor. *òrmí*; Mod. *olmi-phul*.

◊ Liu 580.

‖ The root denotes wormwood, artemisia in Turkic and Mongolian; in Korean the meaning is not quite certain (probably some sort of shepherd's purse, Capsella bursa-pastoris). The phonetic match is precise, anyway, and the reconstruction seems reliable.

✱**ès[i]** to take care of: Tung. ***ēske-**; Mong. ***asara-**; Turk. ***es**; Jpn. ***ìsàma-**; Kor. ***às-kàb-**, ***às-kí-**.

PTung. ***ēske-** 1 to worry 2 to wait, beware 3 to praise 4 to curse (1 беспокоиться 2 ждать, быть начеку 3 славить, восхвалять 4 ругать, бранить): Evk. *ēksit-* 2, *eskē-* 3; Evn. *ēske-* 3; Neg. *eksit-* 2; Man. *esuḱe-* 4; SMan. *esaxinə-*, *isixinə-* (1468); Ul. *eksen-* 1, 2; Nan. *ekseči-* 2; Ud. *ehie-* 'to take care of'.

◊ TMC 2, 443, 468.

PMong. ***asara-** to take care of (заботиться): MMong. *asara-* (HY 40, SH), *asor-* (IM 433), *asăra-* (MA 107); WMong. *asara-* (L 56); Kh. *asra-*; Kalm. *asṛ-*; Ord. *asara-*; S.-Yugh. *asara-* (MGCD 122).

◊ KW 16. Mong. > Chag. *asra-* etc. (VEWT 29, TMN 1, 131, Щербак 1997, 199); > Chuv. *usra-* (Róna-Tas 1973-1974); > Man. *asara-* (Doerfer MT 136). Derivation < Turk. *aša-* 'to eat' (Rona-Tas 1975, 201-211, Clark 1980, 42) is quite improbable.

PTurk. ***es** 1 memory, mind 2 to pity, regret (1 память, рассудок 2 жалеть, сожалеть): OTurk. *es* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *es* 1 (KB), *esirge-* 2 (MK); Az. *äksi* (< *äs-ki*) 'clever'; Turkm. *es* 1; MTurk. *es* 1 (AH, KW); Uzb. *es* 1; Uygh. *äs* 1; Krm. *es* 1; Tat. *is* 1; Bashk. iҘ 1; Kaz. *es* 1; KBalk. *es* 1; KKalp. *es* 1; Kum. *es* 1; Nogh. *es* 1; Oyr. *es* 1; Chuv. *as* 1.

◊ EDT 252, VEWT 49, 50, ЭСТЯ 1, 310, Егоров 33, Федотов 1, 61. Turk. > WMong. *esi*, Kalm. *iš* 'allowing, etiquette'.

PJpn. ***ìsàma-*** to admonish (увещевать): OJpn. *isama-*; MJpn. *ìsàma-*; Tok. *isamé-*; Kyo. *isámé-*; Kag. *isamé-*.

◊ JLTT 699. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular, probably under literary influence.

PKor. ***às-kàb-***, ***às-kí-*** 1 to be pitiful; to be precious, valuable 2 to spare, grudge; value, esteem (1 быть достойным сожаления; быть ценным, драгоценным 2 жалеть, завидовать; ценить, почитать): MKor. *às-kàp-* (-w-) 1, *às-kí-* 2; Mod. *ak:ap-* (-w-) 1, *ak:i-* 2.

◊ Nam 349, KED 1067.

‖ Дыбо 14. Vocalism is not quite certain (in Mong. one would rather expect a front *e-).

✱**eso** unripe, sour: Tung. ***esi-kin***; Mong. ***es-***; Turk. ***ẹsür-***; Jpn. ***àsì-***.

PTung. ***esi-kin*** unripe (незрелый, неспелый): Evk. *esikin*; Evn. *esъkni*; Man. *esxun*; SMan. *usəxən*, *usuxun* (388); Jurch. *(h)osu-xun* (539).

◊ TMC 2, 468.

PMong. ***es-*** 1 to pickle 2 sour milk, kumis (1 квасить 2 кислое молоко, кумыс): MMong. *esuk* 2 (HY 25, SH); WMong. *esüg* 2; Kh. *es-* 1, *ösög* 2; Bur. *ehē-* 1; Kalm. *is-* 1; Ord. *es-* 1, *üsük*, *esük* 2; S.-Yugh. *hsə-* 1.

◊ KW 210, MGCD 413.

PTurk. ***ẹsür-*** to become drunk (пьянеть, напиваться): OTurk. *esür-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *esür-* (MK); Tur. *esri-*; Turkm. *esre-*; MTurk. *esri-* (AH); Uzb. *äsïr-* (dial.); Krm. *esir-*; Tat. *isïr-*; Bashk. *iθïr-*; Kirgh. *esir-*; Kaz. *esïr-*; KBalk. *esir-*; KKalp. *esir-*; Kum. *esir-*; Nogh. *esir-*; Khak. *izïr-*; Shr. *ezir-*; Oyr. *ezir-*; Tv. *ezir-*; Chuv. *üzər-*; Yak. *itir-*; Dolg. *itiriktē-* 'to rejoice, have a feast'.

◊ EDT 251, VEWT 50, ЭСТЯ 1, 309-310, Stachowski 130.

PJpn. ***àsì-*** bad (плохой): OJpn. *asi-*; MJpn. *àsì-*.

◊ JLTT 826.

‖ Cf. perhaps also (although semantically dubious) OJ *asa-* 'to fade'.

✱**ét'a** to take care of, to deal with: Tung. ***ete-***; Turk. ***ēt-***; Jpn. ***átúkáp-***; Kor. ***àtáŋ***.

PTung. ***ete-*** 1 to guard 2 to nurse (1 охранять 2 нянчить): Evk. *etejē-* 1, 2; Evn. *etu-* 1, *etij-* 2; Neg. *etew-* 1, *etixi-* 2; Ul. *eteu-* 1, *etexi-* 2; Ork. *etew-* 1, *etexi-* 2; Nan. *etū-* 1, *etexi-* 2; Orch. *etu-či-* 1; Ud. *eteu-si-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 470.

PTurk. ***ēt-*** to organize, to make (устраивать, делать): OTurk. *et-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *et-* (MK); Tur. *et-*; Gag. *et-*; Az. *et-*; Turkm. *īdeg* 'keeping' ('присмотр'), *et-*; MTurk. *et-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *et-*; Uygh. *et-*, *ät-*; Krm. *et-*; Tat. *it-*; Bashk. *it-*; Kirgh. *et-*; Kaz. *et-*; KBalk. *et-*; KKalp. *et-*; Kum. *et-*; Nogh. *et-*; SUygh. *et-*, *jet-*, *it-*; Khak. *it-*; Oyr. *et-*; Tv. *et-*; Chuv. *at-*.

◊ EDT 36-37, ЭСТЯ 1, 312-313, Дыбо Дисс. 56, Федотов 1, 67. Shortness in Turkm. *et-* is no doubt secondary: cf. the derivative *īdeg*, and also regular intervocalic voicing -t- > -d- in all Oghuz languages (pointing to original length), see EDT ibid.

PJpn. ***átúkáp-*** to take care of, deal with (заботиться, иметь дело с): OJpn. *atukap-* 'to worry'; MJpn. *átúkáf-*; Tok. *àtsuka-*, *atsuká-*; Kyo. *átsúká-*; Kag. *atsuká-*.

◊ JLTT 678.

PKor. ***àtáŋ*** to flatter (льстить): MKor. *àtáŋ-hằ-*; Mod. *adaŋ-ha-*.

◊ Nam 335, KED 1069.

‖ Дыбо 15. Cf. also Mong. *atugaj* 'be! (imper.)' (MMong. *aduɣai* 'er soll sein', SH). Cf. **it'a*.

✱**ĕt'è** elder relative: Tung. ***(x)eti-**; Mong. ***ečige**; Turk. ***Ata / *Ete**; Jpn. ***tətə, *ti**; Kor. ***àtắ**.

PTung. ***(x)eti-*** 1 old man 2 father-in-law (1 старик 2 тесть, свекор): Evk. *eti-rkēn* 1, *etkī* 2; Evn. *eti-kēn* 1, *etki* 2; Neg. *eti-xen* 1, *etkī* 2; Sol. *etikkẽ̄* 1.

◊ See TMC 2, 469 (one should note that many forms listed there, like Man. *cčike* etc., are later mongolisms, see Doerfer MT 117, Rozycki 66).

PMong. ***ečige*** father (отец): MMong. *ečige* (HY 28, SH), *eče* (SH), *ičigä* (MA); WMong. *ečige* (L 292); Kh. *eceg*; Bur. *esege*; Kalm. *ecəgə*; Ord. *ečige*; Dag. *ečig* (Тод. Дат. 141) *ecihe* (MD 139).

◊ KW 129, TMN 1, 187.

PTurk. ***Ata / *Ete** 1 father 2 uncle 3 ancestor (1 отец 2 дядя 3 предок): OTurk. *ata* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ata*, *ataqi* 1 (MK); Tur. *ata* 3, dial. *ede* 2; Az. *ata* 1; Turkm. *ata* 'father's father'; MTurk. *ata* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *ɔta* 1; Uygh. *ata* 1, 3; Krm. *ata* 3; Tat. *ata*, *eti* 1, *etkej* 2; Bashk. *ata* 1, 'male'; Kirgh. *ata* 1, 3; Kaz. *ata* 1; KBalk. *ata* 1; KKalp. *ata* 3; Kum. *ata* 1; Nogh. *ata* 1, 'male'; SUygh. *ata* 1; Khak. *ada* 1; Oyr. *ada* 1, 3; Tv. *a'da* 1.

◊ EDT 40, 48, VEWT 31, ЭСТЯ 1, 200-201, TMN 2, 5-6, 9, Лексика 294, 304.

PJpn. ***tətə, *ti*** 1 father 2 uncle (1 отец 2 дядя): OJpn. *ti* / *titi* 1, *wo-di* 2; MJpn. *toto*, *tìtí* 1, *wo-di* 2; Tok. *chichí*, *o-tó-san* 1, *òji* 2; Kyo. *chìchí*, *ò-tó-sàn* 1, *ójí* 2; Kag. *chichí*, *o-tō-sán* 1, *ójì* 2.

◊ JLTT 514, 547. Accent reconstruction is difficult because of irregular transformations and reduplications (a nursery word).

PKor. ***àtắ** man (мужчина): MKor. *àtắ*.

◊ HMCH 212.

‖ Циниус 1972a, 37-40. Poppe 51, 56, АПиПЯЯ 296, Дыбо 6; a weak attempt of disproving the etymology see in TMN 1, 188. A "nursery" word, represented in all Altaic subgroups. Ramstedt (KW 129) compares the Mong. form with Turk. **eči* / **eče* 'elder brother', but it is obviously closer related to **ata* (Mong. **eči-ge* = Turk. **ete-ke* / **ata-ka*). The form **ete-k'e*, reflected in Turkic, Mongolian and Tungus, is probably an archaic diminutive, and Doerfer's (TMN 2, 9) attempt to treat the

Turk. form as a compound *ata* 'Vater' + *äkä* 'älteres Geschwister' is certainly faulty.

***èt'i (~ -t-)** thread, to quilt: Tung. ***etu- / *ute-**; Turk. ***Etek**; Jpn. ***ìtuá**.

PTung. ***etu- / *ute-** 1 to quilt, tuft 2 seam 3 quilted coat, lap 4 mitten lining 5 to put on, wear 6 upper clothes (1 стегать 2 шов 3 стеганая одежда, подол 4 подкладка рукавицы 5 надевать, носить 6 верхняя одежда): Evk. *utemc* 3, *uteptīn* 4; Evn. *ut-* 1, (All.) *etik* 6; Neg. *ute-* 1; Man. *etu-* 5, *etuku* 6; SMan. *utu-* 5 (199); *utuku* 'clothing, clothes, garb' (195); Jurch. *etu-xun* (846) 6; Ul. *uteče* 2, *utesu* 3; Ork. *utteuri* 3; Nan. *ute-* 1, *utesū* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 293, 295, 469.

PTurk. ***Etek** lap, edge of cloth (подол, край одежды): Karakh. *etek* (MK); Tur. *etek*; Gag. *ietek*; Az. *ätäk*; Turkm. *etek*; Khal. *hätäk*; MTurk. *etek* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *etäk*; Uygh. *etäk*; Krm. *etek*; Tat. *itäk*; Bashk. *itäk*; Kirgh. *etek*; Kaz. *etek*; KBalk. *etek*; KKalp. *etek*; Kum. *etek*; Nogh. *etek*; Khak. *idek*; Shr. *edek*; Oyr. *edek*; Tv. *e'dek*.

◊ EDT 50, VEWT 52, ЭСТЯ 1, 313.

PJpn. ***ìtuá** thread (нить): OJpn. *it(w)o*; MJpn. *ìtó*; Tok. *íto*; Kyo. *itó*; Kag. *itó*.

◊ JLTT 428.

‖ Дыбо 15.

G

✱**ga** to take; to put: Tung. ***ga-***; Turk. ***Ko-***; Kor. ***kà-***.

PTung. ***ga-*** to take (брать): Evk. *ga-*; Evn. *ga-*; Neg. *ga-*; Man. *Gaj-*; SMan. *Gia-* (1402, 1538); Jurch. *ga-gwa-i* (399); Ul. *Ga-*; Ork. *Ga-*; Nan. *Ga-*; Orch. *ga-*; Ud. *ga-*.

◊ TMC 1, 133-134.

PTurk. ***Ko-*** to put (класть): Tur. *ko-*; MTurk. *qo-* (Pav. C., IM); Krm. *qo-*; Chuv. *xĭv-*, *xu-*.

◊ VEWT 273, ЭСТЯ 6, 27-29. The root seems archaic, but in most languages (beginning with OT) was substituted by the synonymous **Kod-* (v. sub **k'ŏda*), being preserved only in Chag., Osm. and Chuv.

PKor. ***kà-*** to take (брать): MKor. *kà-čí-*; Mod. *kaži-*, dial. *ka-*.

◊ Nam 8, KED 27, SKE 83.

‖ SKE 83, Lee 1958, 111, МССНЯ 356, ОСНЯ 1, 225. One of the few PA monosyllabic roots. The relation of the Turk. form is somewhat dubious (for semantic and phonetic reasons). One may conjecture that the original shape was PT **Ka-* - actually attested in OT, see EDT 578 - which was early substituted by **Ko-* under the influence of the more widespread **Kod-* and then disappeared altogether.

✱**gàč'i (~ *gèč'a)** branch, bough: Mong. ***gač-***; Kor. ***káčí***.

PMong. ***gač-*** 1 bough 2 spruce 3 noble fir (1 сук 2 ель 3 пихта): WMong. *γačura* 1, *γačiγur* 2 (L 342: *γačura*, *γačuura* 'spruce'); Kh. *gačūr* 2; Bur. *gasūr* 1, 2; Kalm. *γacūrə* 3.

◊ KW 147.

PKor. ***káčí*** branch (ветка): MKor. *káčí*; Mod. *kaži*.

◊ Nam 7, KED 26.

‖ A Mong.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**gǎgtà** one of a pair: Tung. ***gagda***; Mong. ***gagča***; Turk. ***Kat***; Jpn. ***kàtà***.

PTung. ***gagda*** one of a pair (один из пары): Evk. *gagda*; Evn. *gād*; Neg. *gagda*; Man. *Gaqda, Gaqta*; Nan. *GaGda*; Orch. *gagda*; Ud. *gagda*.

◊ TMC 1, 135.

PMong. ***gagča*** single, alone (единственный): MMong. *qaxča* (HY 44, SH), *qaqčar* (*instr.*, IM), *γaqča* (MA); WMong. *γaγča* (L 343), *γanča*; Kh. *gagcār*, *gagc*, *ganc*; Bur. *gansa*, *gagsa*; Kalm. *γakcə*; Ord. *gagča*, *ganča*; Dag.

ganči (Тод. Дат. 130), *gaškā(r)* (Тод. Дат. 131), *gančare, gašikare* (MD 148); Mongr. *xaʒaGār, śʒaGār (instr.)* (SM 148, 388).

◊ KW 141, MGCD 283. The variant *ganča* is not quite clear. Mong. > Ul. *Gaqsi*, Orok *Gaqsa*, Evn. *gasun* (these forms should be kept distinct from the genuine PTM **gagda*).

PTurk. ***Kat*** layer (слой): OTurk. *qat* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qat* (MK, KB); Tur. *kat*; Az. *Gat*; Turkm. *Gat*; MTurk. *qat* (Houts., AH, IM, MA); Uzb. *qɔt*, dial. *qɛt*; Uygh. *qat*; Tat. *qat*; Bashk. *qat*; Kirgh. *qat*; KKalp. *qat*; Kum. *qat*; Khak. *xat*; Oyr. *qat*; Tv. *qa't*; Chuv. *xut*; Yak. *xat* 'double, X times'; Dolg. *kat* 'X times'.

◊ VEWT 241, ЭСТЯ 5, 335-336, TMN 3, 419, Stachowski 140, Ашм. XVI, 250-255, Федотов 2, 371-372. The original meaning must have been "one of two layers" - as witnessed by the Yak. meaning and by external evidence.

PJpn. ***kàtà*** one of two sides (одна из двух сторон): OJpn. *kata*; MJpn. *katà*.

◊ JLTT 442.

‖ Rozycki 85 (TM-Mong.). Despite Doerfer MT 51, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. The Mong. form presents some difficulties: apart from the unclear variant **ganča*, the form **gagča* itself can only belong here if it is an irregular development < **gagči* < **gagti*, or if it is a contraction of a derived form **gagta-ča*. Note that Jpn. **kàtà* may also be derived from PA **kal(t)o* q.v.

✱**gǎjá** oar, boat pole: Tung. ***ga(j)-***; Turk. ***K(i)aj-guk***; Jpn. ***kàjí***.

PTung. ***ga(j)-*** / ***gia-*** 1 to pole (in a boat) 2 boat pole 3 oar (1 отталкиваться шестом (в лодке) 2 лодочный шест 3 весло): Evk. *ga-* 1, *ga-wun* 2, *gêwun* 3; Neg. *gawụn* 2, *gêwụl* 3; Man. *guwafu* 2; Ul. *Goa-* 1, *Gêụlị* 3; Ork. *Gō-pụ(n)* 2, *Gêwụl* 3; Nan. *Gōa-* 1, *Gịol* 3; Orch. *gau-* 1, *gau* 2, *giu* 3; Ud. *gau, gou* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 134, 144. On the PTM level one can reconstruct an opposition of **ga-bu-* 'boat pole' and **gia-bu-* 'oar', which must be earlier morphological or dialectal variants.

PTurk. ***K(i)aj-guk*** boat, oar (лодка, весло): Karakh. *qajɣuq, qajɣɨq* (MK); Tur. *kajık*; Gag. *qajɨq*; Az. *GajıG*; Turkm. *Gajɨq*; MTurk. *qajɨq* (MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɛjiq*; Uygh. *qejiq*; Tat. *qajɨq*; Bashk. *qajɨq*; Kirgh. *qajɨq*; Kaz. *qajɨq*; KKalp. *qajɨq*; Kum. *qajɨq*; Nogh. *qajɨq*; Oyr. *qajɨq*; Yak. *xajık*, dial. *xojūk*.

◊ VEWT 233, ЭСТЯ 5, 212-213, TMN 3, 408-409 (derivation from **Kaj-* 'slide' is probably folk-etymological, cf. the external evidence).

PJpn. ***kàjí*** oar (весло): OJpn. *kai*; MJpn. *kai*; Tok. *kái*; Kyo. *kài*; Kag. *kaí*.

◊ JLTT 433.

‖ Murayama 1962, 107. An interesting common Altaic cultural term.

***gǎju** sorrow: Tung. ***gaja-**; Mong. ***gaj**; Turk. ***Kadgu**; Jpn. ***kùjà-**; Kor. ***kəi'əm**.

PTung. ***gaja-** 1 to have insomnia 2 to be possessed, demoniac (1 испытывать бессонницу 2 быть одержимым): Man. *Gajla-* 2; Ul. *Gajaǯu-* 1; Ork. *Gajaddi-* 1; Nan. *Gajaǯi-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 136.

PMong. ***gaj** sorrow, grief, woe (печаль, горе, несчастье): WMong. *γai* (L 344); Kh. *gaj*; Bur. *gaj*; Kalm. *gā*; Ord. *gā*; Dag. *gai* (Тод. Дат. 130).

◊ KW 149. Mong. > Man. Gaj 'impediment, obstacle' (see Rozycki 85).

PTurk. ***Kadgu** sorrow (печаль): OTurk. *qadγu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qaδγu* (MK, KB); Tur. *kajγı*; Az. *Gajγı*; Turkm. *GajGı*; MTurk. *qajγı* (Qutb., Pav. C); Uzb. *qɛjγı* (dial.); Krm. *qajγı*; Tat. *qajγı*; Bashk. *qajγı*; Kirgh. *qajγı*; Kaz. *qajγı*; KKalp. *qajγı*; Kum. *qajγı*; Nogh. *qajγı*; Chuv. *xojγa*.

◊ VEWT 217, ЭСТЯ 5, 201-203, Федотов 2, 352-353.

PJpn. ***kùjà-** to be sorry (сожалеть, прискорбный, достойный сожаления): OJpn. *kuja-*; MJpn. *kùjà-*; Tok. *kuyashí-*; Kyo. *kúyáshì-*; Kag. *kuyashí-*.

◊ JLTT 834. Also PJ **kùjà-m-* 'to feel sorry, regret'.

PKor. ***kəi'əm** envy, covetousness (зависть): MKor. *kəi'əm*; Mod. *kejəm*.

◊ Liu 52, KED 109.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 102. Cf. also Kalm. *gejūn*, WMong. *gejeγün* 'grievous, gloomy' (perhaps < **gaju-gi-* with secondary fronting). Note the peculiar *-d- in PT, reflected as -j- (not -r-) in Chuv.: perhaps we should rather reconstruct **Kaj(i)-dgu* for early PT, with subsequent development either > **Kajgu* or > **Kadgu*.

***gajV** surprise: Tung. ***gaji-**; Mong. ***gajika-**; Turk. ***KAj-**.

PTung. ***gaji-** 1 to beckon 2 to show 3 index finger 4 small finger 5 to indulge, be enthralled (1 манить 2 указывать 3 указательный палец 4 мизинец 5 увлекаться): Evk. *gajīw-* 1; Man. *Gajsilabu-* 5; Ul. *Gajawčụ(n)* 3, *Gojsantụ-* 5; Ork. *Gajaw* 4; Nan. *Gajaočị-* 2, *Gajaqoā* 4, *Gojsanto-* 5.

◊ TMC 1, 136, 158. On the semantic correlation "index finger" : "small finger" see Dybo 1995.

PMong. ***gajika-** to wonder, marvel (удивляться): MMong. *γiqa-*; *γaiγamši* 'wonderful' (MA 173); WMong. *γajiqa-* (L 345); Kh. *gajxa-*; Bur. *gajxa-*; Kalm. *γāxə-*; Ord. *Gāχa-*; Dag. *gajga-* (Тод. Дат. 130), *gajhe-* (MD 147).

◊ KW 149, MGCD 279. Mong. > Kaz. *qajqa-* etc. (VEWT 222), Yak. *xajγā-*, Dolg. *kājgā-* 'to praise' (Stachowski 142); > Evk. *gajka-*, Man. Gajqa- etc., see TMC 1, 136, Doerfer MT 102, Rozycki 85.

PTurk. ***KAj-** to pay respect (относиться уважительно): OTurk. *qaj-* (Yenis., OUygh.); Karakh. *qaj-* (MK); Tur. *kajır-*; Kirgh. *qajıš-*; Kaz. *qajıs-*; Khak. *xaj-*; Tv. *xaj dēr* 'to still, pacify'.

◊ EDT 674, ЭСТЯ 5, 194.

‖ A Western isogloss; maybe the same root as **gă̈ju* ('sorrow' > 'surprise'?)

***gắli** to hate, wild: Tung. ***galu-**; Mong. ***galǯaɣu**; Turk. ***K(i)al**; Jpn. ***kíráp-**.

PTung. ***galu-** to hate (ненавидеть): Evn. *galụt-*; Ul. *Galụ-*; Ork. *Galụ-*; Nan. *Galo-*; Orch. *galu-*; Ud. *galu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 138.

PMong. ***galǯaɣu** wild, rabid (дикий, бешеный): MMong. *qəlǯu* (LH); WMong. *ɣalǯaɣu, ɣalǯiɣu* (L 346); Kh. *galʒū*; Bur. *galzū*; Kalm. *ɣalzū*; Ord. *Galǯū*; Dag. *galǯō* (Тод. Даг. 130), *galeǯō* (MD 148); Bao. *Ganǯir-*; S.-Yugh. *Galǯū*; Mongr. *Garʒǯ̣* (SM 119), *Galǯū*.

◊ TMN 1, 410, KW 142, MGCD 280.

PTurk. ***K(i)al** wild, rough (дикий, грубый): OTurk. *qal* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qal* (KB); Turkm. *Galdav*; MTurk. *qal* (CCum.); KBalk. *qaltaq*; Khak. *xal*; Shr. *qal*; Oyr. *qal*; Tv. *xal-mal*; Yak. *xal*.

◊ EDT 614, VEWT 224, ДТС 410.

PJpn. ***kíráp-** to hate (ненавидеть): OJpn. *kjirap-*; MJpn. *kiráf-*; Tok. *kìra-*; Kyo. *kírá-*; Kag. *kirá-*.

◊ JLTT 708.

‖ Mong. *gelme-* 'to be scared, afraid' is probably a variant reflex of the same root - despite KW 133, Poppe 25, АПиПЯЯ 18, Дыбо 14, all connecting it with TM **ŋēle-*.

***gălV** clear (of sky, weather): Tung. ***galu-**; Turk. ***K(i)alɨ-**.

PTung. ***galu-** clear (of sky, weather) (ясный (о небе, погоде)): Man. *GalGa*; Ul. *Galụ-Galụ bi*; Ork. *Gāl-*; Nan. *GalGa*.

◊ TMC 1, 138.

PTurk. ***K(i)alɨ-** 1 sky 2 to clear up (of sky) (1 небо 2 проясняться (о небе)): OTurk. *qalɨq* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. (*kök*) *qalɨq* 1 (MK); Chuv. ? *jʊl-* 'to shine, glitter'; Yak. *kilej-xalaj* 'shining', *xalɨn-* 2, *xallān* 'clear sky, good weather'; Dolg. *kallān* 1.

◊ VEWT 226, Лексика 60-61, Stachowski 135.

‖ VEWT 226, TMC 1, 138. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

***gaĺi** to contest: Tung. ***gali-**; Jpn. ***kisuap- (~ *kisəp-)**; Kor. ***kjəru-**.

PTung. ***gali-** to contest (состязаться): Man. *Galgi-*; Nan. *Galị-*; Orch. *gali-*; Ud. *galoa-*.

◊ TMC 1, 138.

PJpn. ***kisuap- (~ *kisəp-)** to contest (соревноваться): MJpn. *kisof-*; Tok. *kisó-*; Kyo. *kísó-*; Kag. *kisó-*.

◊ JLTT 709. PJ accent unclear: Tokyo points to low tone in the first syllable, Kagoshima - to high; the Kyoto accent is ambiguous, while the word is not attested in RJ.

PKor. ***kjəru-** to compete, contend (состязаться, соревноваться): Mod. *kjəru-*.

◊ KED 111.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

***gămo** concubine, co-wife: Tung. ***gama**; Turk. ***Koma**; Kor. ***kòmá**.

PTung. ***gama** children of sisters (дети сестер, племянники): Ul. *Gamasụ*; Ork. *Gamasụ*; Nan. *Gamasō*; Orch. *gama, gamasu*.

◊ TMC 1, 138.

PTurk. ***Koma** 1 concubine 2 wives of the same husband (1 наложница 2 жены одного мужа по отношению друг к другу): Tur. *kuma* 1, 2; MTurk. *quma* (Pav. C.) 1; Krm. *quma* 1; Tat. *quma* (Буд.) 1.

◊ Turk. > MMong. (MA, LHa) *quma* id. (although Doerfer TMN 1, 415 suggests the opposite direction of loan - which is dubious because of the isolated nature of the MMong. form).

PKor. ***kòmá** concubine (наложница): MKor. *kòmá*.

◊ Nam 46.

‖ Ramstedt (SKE 415) thinks of a loan Kor. > Turk., which is highly improbable (see TMN 1, 415); despite late attestation in Turkic the root may well be archaic. For TM one should suppose the original meaning "children of smb.'s concubine(s)".

***gănji (~ -i̯a-)** to explain, tell, say: Tung. ***g(i)aŋna-**; Mong. ***geɣe-**; Turk. ***geŋe-**.

PTung. ***g(i)aŋna-** 1 to explain 2 to set (a riddle) (1 объяснять 2 загадывать (загадку)): Man. *ǵaŋna-* 1; Ul. *GaŋGa-* 2; Ork. *GaŋGaŋ Gajawo-* 2; Orch. *gaŋga-* 2; Ud. *gaŋiŋa* 'riddle' (Корм. 220).

◊ TMC 1, 140 (the Manchu word is separated as a Chinese loanword, which is hardly the case).

PMong. ***geɣe-** to speak, say (говорить, сказать): MMong. *ke'e-* (SH, HYt), *kē-* (HYt), *gi-* (MA); WMong. *ge-* (L 372); Kh. *ge-*; Bur. *ge-*; Kalm. *ge-, gē-, gī-*; Ord. *ge-*; Mog. *ge-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *geži* (MD 149-150) (quotation particle - converb from **ge-*); Bao. *ge-*; Mongr. *gi-* (SM 135).

◊ KW 132.

PTurk. ***geŋe-** 1 to advise 2 advice (1 советовать(ся) 2 совет): OTurk. *keŋeš* 2, *keŋeš-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *keŋe-* 'to settle one's affairs with someone' (MK, KB), *keneš* 2, *keŋeš-* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *gengeš-* 1 (dial.); Az. *gänäš-* 1 (dial.); Turkm. *geŋeš-* 1, *geŋeš* 2; MTurk. *keŋeš* 2, *keŋeš-* 1 (Abush., Sangl.); Uygh. *käŋäš-* 1 (dial.); Krm. *kenes, keneš* 2, *keneš-* 1; Tat. *kiŋäš* 2; Bashk. *käŋäš* 2; Kirgh. *keŋeš* 2, *keŋeš-* 1; Kaz. *keŋes* 2, *keŋes-* 1; KBalk. *kengeš* 'counsel'; KKalp. *keŋes* 2, *keŋes-* 1; Kum. *gengeš*

'counsel'; Nogh. *keŋes* 2; SUygh. *keŋes-* 1, *keŋis* 2; Oyr. *keŋeš-* 1 (Верб.); Chuv. *kanaš* 2, *kanaš-la-* 1.

◊ VEWT 253, EDT 727, 734, ЭСТЯ 3, 21-22, TMN 3, 613-614.

‖ Владимирцов 250, АПиПЯЯ 295, KW 132 (Turk.-Mong.). A Western isogloss.

***gàp'á** protection, care: Mong. ***gabi-**; Jpn. ***kàmpà-**.

PMong. ***gabi-** 1 care, diligence, attention, merit 2 to care, strive 3 skilled, careful (1 забота, прилежание, внимание, заслуга 2 заботиться, стараться 3 умелый, заботливый): WMong. *ɣabija* 1, *ɣabija-* 2, *ɣabšiɣai* 3 (L 340); Kh. *gavjān* 1, *gavšgaj* 3; Bur. *gabjā* 1, *gabšgaj* 3; Kalm. *gäwə̄* 'energy, efficiency'; Ord. *Gawijā* 1; Dag. *gabšigēn* 3; S.-Yugh. *gobtə* 1.

◊ KW 148, MGCD 275. See ЭСТЯ 5, 270-271 with an analysis of Mong. forms and Turkic loanwords. Mong. > Man. *gabsiχan* (see Rozycki 84).

PJpn. ***kàmpà-** 1 to take care of, protect 2 one of ancient titles (1 заботиться, защищать 2 один из древних титулов): OJpn. *kabane* 2; MJpn. *kabane* 2; Tok. *kabane* 2, *kabá-* 1; Kyo. *kábá-* 1; Kag. *kàbà-* 1.

◊ JLTT 700.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. It is interesting to note the Old Turkic title *qapaɣan* which may be = OJ *kabane* and Mong. *gabija(n)*.

***gàrá (~ -e-)** arm: Mong. ***gar**; Turk. ***Karɨ**; Jpn. ***kàtá**.

PMong. ***gar** hand, arm (рука): MMong. *qar* (HY 46, SH), *qār* (IM), *ɣar* (MA); WMong. *ɣar* (L 350); Kh. *gar*; Bur. *gar*; Kalm. *ɣar*; Ord. *Gar*; Mog. *ɣar*; ZM *ɣar* (2-9a); Dag. *gari*, *gaŕ* (Тод. Даг. 130, MD 148); Dong. qa; Bao. *xar*; S.-Yugh. *Gar*; Mongr. *Gar* (SM 118).

◊ KW 144-145, MGCD 284.

PTurk. ***Kar** 1 arm 2 forearm 3 shin-bone of animal 4 various measures of length (1 рука (верхняя часть) 2 предплечье 3 голенная кость животного 4 различные меры длины): OTurk. *qar* 1, *qarɨ* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qarɨ* (MK) 1; Tur. *karu-ža* 1; Az. *gari* 3 (dial.); Turkm. *Garɨ* 3,4; Khal. *qarɨ* 4; MTurk. *qar* 1 (Vam.), *qarɨ* 1 (Abush.), 2 (Houts.), 4 (in all sources); Uzb. *qari* 1,4, *qara* 3 (dial.); Uygh. *qeri* 4, *qaja* 3 (dial.); Tat. *qarɨ* 1, *qara* 4 (dial.); Bashk. *qar* 3; Kirgh. *qar* 1, *qarɨ* 1; Kaz. *qar* 2, *qarɨ* 2, 3; KBalk. *qarɨ* 4; KKalp. *qar* 2, *qarɨ* 2, 4; Nogh. *qarɨ* 4; SUygh. *qar* 2; Shr. *qarɨ* 1; Oyr. *qarɨ* 1; Tv. *qɨrɨ* 2; Tof. *qɨrɨ* 2; Chuv. *xor* 2, 4; Yak. *xarɨ*, *xara* 2, 3.

◊ TMN 3, 461-2, ЭСТЯ 5, 278-283, Дыбо 160-164, Дыбо 1989, Лексика 246-247, Федотов 2, 361. The usage of **Karɨ* as a measure ('cubit') may seem natural, but in fact reflects a merger with a different root, see under **K(i)arɨĺ*. Turk. > Hung. *kar* 'arm', see Ligeti 1933, MNyTESz 2, 369.

PJpn. ***kàtá** shoulder (плечо): OJpn. *kata*; MJpn. *kàtá*; Tok. *káta*; Kyo. *kàtá*; Kag. *katá*.

◊ JLTT 442.

‖ KW 145, Владимирцов 391, Poppe 24 (Turk.-Mong.; but TM **ŋāla* 'hand, arm' cannot belong here), Колесникова 1972a, 95-97; АПиПЯЯ 290, Дыбо 310-311, Лексика 247. Borrowing in Mong. < Turk. is quite improbable, despite Щербак 1997, 134 (even Doerfer in TMN 1, 207, 3, 461 describes the Turk.-Mong. match as "Zufall" - which in all his works is actually a synonym for "cognate").

✱**gari (~ -ŕ-, -o)** light: Tung. ***garpa**; Mong. ***gere-l**.

PTung. ***garpa** 1 ray 2 to shine (1 луч 2 светить): Evk. *garpa* 1, *garpa-* 2; Evn. *garpaŋ̣* 1, *garpụ-* 2; Neg. *gatpa* 1, *gatpa-* 2; Ul. *Garpačị-* 2; Ork. *Galpa* 1, *Galpa-, Garpa-* 2; Nan. *Garpa-* 2; Orch. *gappa-* 2; Ud. *gakpa-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 142. The root also has the meaning 'shoot (from a bow)' in most languages. This was compared by Poppe (18, 44, 87) with Mong. *qarbu-* id. - but the phonological correspondence is quite irregular, both if we assume genetic relationship or borrowing (on Mong. *qarbu-* see under PA **kare*). The resemblance is therefore either simply accidental, or the meaning of TM **garpa-* 'to shine, "shoot rays"' was modified under Mongolian influence.

PMong. ***gere-l** beam, light (луч, свет): MMong. *gere, gerel* (HY 42, SH), *gerä* (IM); WMong. *gerel* (L 378); Kh. *gerel*; Bur. *gerel*; Kalm. *gerl̥*; Ord. *gere, gerel*; Dag. *gerel*; Dong. *gieren*; S.-Yugh. *gerel*; Mongr. *gərēl, gərē* (SM 134), *gergeźa-* 'luire, briller' (SM 133).

◊ KW 134, MGCD 290, 292.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; on a possible Jpn. match see under **gìle*. See also notes to **ŋèra*.

✱**gə̀ŕ[à]** sharp edge: Tung. ***gara**; Turk. ***geŕ**; Jpn. ***kàtànà**; Kor. ***kárh**.

PTung. ***gara** bough, stick (сук, палка): Evk. *gara*; Evn. *gar*; Neg. *gaja*; Man. *GarGa; Garin* 'blade of a knife, edge of a sword'; SMan. *Garəhən* 'branch' (2134); Jurch. *gar* (758); Ul. *Gara*; Ork. *Gara*; Nan. *Gara*; Orch. *gā*; Ud. *gā*; Sol. *gar, gara*.

◊ TMC 1, 141, 142.

PTurk. ***geŕ** 1 notch of an arrow 2 aim (of a gun) (1 насечка на стреле 2 прицел (ружья)): Karakh. *kez* (MK) 1; Tur. *gez* 2; Gag. *kēz* 2; Az. *gäz* 1; Turkm. *gezlik* 'small knife'; MTurk. *kez* 'arrow shaft' (Abush., Pav. C.); Bashk. *kiδe* (dial.) 1; Kaz. *kez* 1; Tv. *kes* 1; Tof. *kes* 1.

◊ EDT 756, 760, VEWT 260, ЭСТЯ 5, 20-21, TMN 4, 2-4.

PJpn. ***kàtànà** knife (нож): OJpn. *katana*; MJpn. *kàtànà*; Tok. *kataná, katána*; Kyo. *kátànà*; Kag. *kataná*.

◊ JLTT 443.

PKor. ***kárh** knife, sword (нож, меч): MKor. *kár* (*kárh-*); Mod. *khal*.

◊ Nam 19, KED 1669.

‖ Martin 251 (Kor.-Jpn.), Lee 1958, 111 (Kor.-TM). Fronting in Turk. is unclear (**Kaŕ* would be normally expected). The Kor. word may also

reflect *kale q.v. (Joki 1963, 154); in any case, it actually reflects a suffixed form *gàŕ[a]-KV (cf. Man. GarGa) or *kale-kV.

✱**gə̀ŕV** wild goose: Tung. ***gār(u)a**; Turk. ***Kāŕ**.

PTung. ***gār(u)a** 1 owl 2 swan (1 сова 2 лебедь): Evk. *gāre* 1,2; Evn. *gār* 'a big mythical bird'; Neg. *gaja* 1; Man. *Garu* 2; Jurch. *gawr-un* (185) 2; Ul. *Goara(n)* 1; Orch. *garua* 1; Ud. *gā* 1.

◊ TMC 1,142-3.

PTurk. ***Kāŕ** goose (гусь): OTurk. *qaz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qaz* (MK, KB); Tur. *kaz*; Gag. *qāz*; Az. *Gaz*; Turkm. *Gāz*; MTurk. *qaz* (Houts., AH, Pav. C.); Uygh. *ɣaz*; Tat. *qaz*; Bashk. *qaδ*; Kirgh. *qaz*; Kaz. *qaz*; KKalp. *ɣaz*; Kum. *qaz*; Nogh. *qaz*; Khak. *xas*; Shr. *qas*; Oyr. *qas*; Tv. *qas*; Chuv. *xor*; Yak. *xās*; Dolg. *kās*.

◊ EDT 679, VEWT 243, ЭСТЯ 5, 184, Лексика 171, Федотов 2, 361, Stachowski 143.

‖ EAS 113, Poppe 18, Цинциус 1972, 6, АПиПЯЯ 80, Лексика 171, TMN 3, 387 ("onomatopoetisch"). The Turk. form is probably contaminated with *Kās == TM *gasa* 'crane, duck', which should explain the exceptional preservation of vowel length. See also comments to *kiujilV and *gi̯ə̀la.

✱**gaso (~ -i)** crane, aquatic bird: Tung. ***gasa**; Mong. ***geske**.

PTung. ***gasa** 1 crane 2 bird 3 swan 4 duck, water-bird 5 kite (1 журавль 2 птица 3 лебедь 4 утка, водоплавающая птица 5 коршун): Evk. *gasa* 1; Neg. *gasa* 3; Man. *Gasχa* 2; SMan. *Gasəhə* 2 (2172); Ul. *Gasa* 4; Ork. *Gasa* 4, 2, *Gasawaqqu* 5; Nan. *Gasa* 4; Orch. *gasa* 4; Ud. *gahä* 2, 4.

◊ TMC 1,143.

PMong. ***geske** fish-eagle (орел-рыболов): WMong. *geske*; Kalm. *geskə*.

◊ KW 135.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. On a possible reflex in PT see under *gājrV; if PT *Kāŕ at least partially reflects the present root, it would be an argument to reconstruct PA *gāso with a long *ā. One should also note Kor. dial. *kesani* 'goose' (KED 109) - if it is not a derivative of PK *kə̀jú 'goose' (see under *kúja).

✱**gə̆te** strong, very: Tung. ***gata- / *kada-**; Mong. ***küdür**; Turk. ***ged**; Jpn. ***kətə**.

PTung. ***gata- / *kada-** 1 strong, hard 2 daft, crafty 3 big, huge (1 сильный, крепкий 2 ловкий, умелый 3 большой, огромный): Evk. *gatakta* 2; Ork. *qadara* 3; Nan. *Gatoxõ* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 143, 360.

PMong. ***küdür** strong, hard (крепкий, сильный): WMong. *küdür* (L 497: *küder*); Kh. *xüder*; Bur. *xüder*; Kalm. *küdr*.

◊ KW 244.

PTurk. ***ged** very, extremely (очень, весьма): OTurk. *ked* (OUygh.); Karakh. *keδ* (MK, KB); Tur. *kej* (Osm.); Az. *gej*.

◊ EDT 700 (with a quite dubious hypothesis of borrowing < Sogd.).

PJpn. ***kətə** each, every (каждый, всякий): OJpn. *-goto* (ni); MJpn. *-goto* (ni); Tok. *-goto*.

‖ The root reveals some phonetic irregularities - probably because of contaminations with **két'o* 'much, many' and **kadi(rV)* 'strong, tough' q.v.

***gàtù** fur on animal's paws: Tung. ***gata-**; Mong. ***godu / *gudu-, *gutu-**; Jpn. ***kùtù**.

PTung. ***gata-** 1 hoof (of deer) 2 fur (1 копыто (оленя) 2 мех): Man. *Gatχuwa* 2; Ork. *Gataja* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 143, 144.

PMong. ***godu / *gudu-, *gutu-** 1 fur on animal's paws 2 shoe (1 мех на лапах животных 2 обувь, ботинок): MMong. *qudusun* (HY 22, SH) 2, *q[o]ḍāsun* (IM), *γutusun* (MA); WMong. *γodu* 1, *γutul* 2 (L 370) *γudasun, γudal, γutal* 2 (KW 152); Kh. *god(on)* 1, *gutas, gutal* 2; Bur. *godon* (pl. *gododo*) 1, *gutal, gutaha(n)* 2; Kalm. *γosn̥* 2; Ord. *Gutul* 2; Dag. *gočōr* 2; Dong. *Gudusun* 2; Mongr. *Gudusə* (SM 124).

◊ The forms meaning 'fur on animal's paw' and 'shoe' are hard to distinguish (cf. voiced -d- in MMong. forms for 'shoe'), but the reason of devoicing is not quite clear.

PJpn. ***kùtù** shoe (обувь, ботинок): OJpn. *kutu;* MJpn. *kùtù, kùtú;* Tok. *kutsú*; Kyo. *kútsù*; Kag. *kutsú*.

◊ JLTT 467. Jpn. > Kor. *kudu* id.

‖ KW 152, SKE 128, Poppe 24, Ozawa 89-90, Miller 1986a, 55. The development 'fur on paws' > 'shoe' in Mong. and Jpn. may well have been independent, but one has also to reckon with a possibility of ancient borrowings (especially because of some phonetic irregularities in Mong.).

***gə̀t'a (~ -t-)** berry, to gather berries: Tung. ***gata-**; Turk. ***Kat-**; Jpn. ***kàtai**; Kor. ***kə̀t-**.

PTung. ***gata-** 1 to gather berries 2 place of gathering berries (1 собирать ягоды 2 место сбора ягод): Ul. *Gātaw* 2; Ork. *Gata-* 1; Nan. *Gatao* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 143.

PTurk. ***Kat** 1 berry 2 blackberry (1 ягода 2 смородина): Karakh. *qat* (MK) 1; Tur. *kara-kat* 'chestnut' (dial.); Az. *Gara-γat* 2; Uzb. *qɔrɛ-γɛt* 2; Tat. *qara-γat* 2 (dial.); Bashk. *qara-γat* 2; Kirgh. *qara-γat* 1, 2; Kaz. *qat* 1; Khak. *xat* 1; Oyr. *qat* 'blackberry, bramble'; Tv. *qa't*, Todzh. *xat* 1.

◊ VEWT 241, ЭСТЯ 5, 332-333, Лексика 121.

PJpn. ***kàtai** provisions, food for travelling (провизия, запас пищи): OJpn. *kate;* MJpn. *kate;* Tok. *káte, katé;* Kyo. *kátè;* Kag. *katé*.

◊ JLTT 444. Without the RJ evidence it is somewhat difficult to reconstruct accent on the 2d syllable; however, all accent reflexes seem to point to low tone in the 1st syllable.

PKor. ***kə̀t-** 1 to gather 2 to gather harvest (1 собирать 2 собирать урожай): MKor. *kə̀t-* 1, *kə̀tú-* 2; Mod. *kət-* 1, *kədu-* 2.

◊ Liu 39, 47, KED 81, 95.

‖ Дыбо 10. Verbal low tone in Kor.

✱**gắt'ì** to go, come: Mong. ***getül- / *gatul-**; Turk. ***gē(j)t-**; Jpn. ***kítá-r-**.

PMong. ***getül- / *gatul-** to cross over (переходить, пересекать): WMong. *getül-* (L 380), *ɣatul-* (L 354); Kh. *getle-*, *gatla-*; Bur. *getel-*, *gatal-*; Kalm. *geṭl-*, *ɣaṭl-*; Ord. *gɛtül-*; Dag. *hedele-* (MD 158), *xedelgē-*, *xedlē-*.

◊ KW 135, 147, MGCD 288, 294.

PTurk. ***gē(j)t-** to go (away) (уходить): OTurk. *ket-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ket/δ-* (MK, KB); Tur. *git-*; Gag. *get-*; Az. *get-*; Turkm. *git-*; Sal. *Gī/i-* (Kakuk); MTurk. *kẹt-* (Abush., Sangl., MA); Uzb. *ket-*; Uygh. *kät-*; Krm. *ket-*; Tat. *kit-*; Bashk. *kit-*; Kirgh. *ket-*; Kaz. *ket-*; KBalk. *ket-*; KKalp. *ket-*; Kum. *get-*; Nogh. *ket-*; Oyr. *ket-* (dial.); Chuv. *kajt-*.

◊ VEWT 258, EDT 701, ЭСТЯ 3, 39-40, 49-50. Vowel length can be reconstructed on indirect evidence (voicing -t- > -d- in forms like Az. *gediš* 'going away' etc.).

PJpn. ***kítá-r-** to come, arrive (приходить): OJpn. *kjitar-*; MJpn. *kítár-*; Tok. *kitár-*; Kyo. *kítàr-*; Kag. *kìtàr-*.

◊ JLTT 709. Usually treated as a fusion of **ki-* 'having come' + **itar-* 'arrive', which is most probably a folk etymology in the light of external evidence. Accent reflexes in modern dialects are somewhat aberrant.

‖ Because of the peculiar shape of the Turkic form one should perhaps reconstruct **gắjt'i*.

✱**gébó** shell, husk: Tung. ***gub- (~ *geb-)**; Mong. ***gawr-su**; Turk. ***Kạb-**; Jpn. ***kámpí**; Kor. ***kòbìi**.

PTung. ***gub- (~ *geb-)** bud, flower button (бутон, головка цветка): Man. *gubsu*.

◊ TMC 1, 165. Cf. also Man. *Gubiri* 'name of a plant' (ibid.), *geferi* 'name of a plant' (TMC 1, 183).

PMong. ***gawr-su** 1 chaff, straw 2 feather (usually for writing) (1 солома, мякина 2 перо (обычно для письма)): WMong. *ɣaɣursu* (L 344), *ɣuɣursu* (L 365), *ɣuursu* (L 371), *ɣaursu* 1, 2; Kh. *gūrs(an)* 1, 2; Bur. *gūrha(n)* 2; Kalm. *ɣūrsṇ* 1, 2; Ord. *Gūrsu* 1; S.-Yugh. *gūrs* 'pipe' (MGCD 302); Mongr. *xūrʒə* (SM 185).

◊ KW 157. Mong. > Turk. *qavursun*, Kirgh. *qaursu* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 177).

PTurk. ***Kạb-** 1 bark 2 shell 3 husk 4 bran (1 кора 2 скорлупа 3 шелуха 4 отруби, мякина): OTurk. *qavïq* 4 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qavïq*, *qavuq* (MK, KB) 4; Tur. *kavuz* 3, *kavza* 2; Az. *Gaviz* (dial.) 3; Uzb. *qɛvuz* 3; Uygh. *qovzaq* 1; Kaz. *qavïz* 4; KKalp. *qavïz* 4; Kum. *quvïq* 3; Nogh. *qavïz* 4; Khak. *xōx* 4; Shr. *qōq* 3, 4; Tv. *xō-tarā* 'a k. of millet with sagging panicles'; Chuv. *xĭvъx* 4.

◊ VEWT 217, EDT 583, ЭСТЯ 5, 173-174, 178-179, Мудрак Дисс. 62. The root should be distinguished from *K(i)ab- 'peeled skin, peel' (v. sub *k'i̯ābu).

PJpn. ***kámpí** rice ear (рисовый колос): OJpn. *kabji*; MJpn. *kábjí*.

◊ JLTT 431.

PKor. ***kòbìi** 1 bamboo bark 2 patella (1 бамбуковая кора 2 коленная чашечка): MKor. *tái-s-kò'ïi* 1, *kòs-kò'ïi* 2.

◊ Liu 73, 207.

‖ Владимирцов 209, Poppe' 48, АПиПЯЯ 14, 280. One of several similar PA roots (see *k'ăp'a, *k'epa, kèp'i, k'i̯ābu).

***gĕbo** light, empty: Tung. ***gebu-**; Mong. ***güji-**; Turk. ***geb-**.

PTung. ***gebu-** 1 empty 2 thin, lean (1 пустой 2 тонкий, худой): Man. *gebsexun* 2; Ul. *geu(n)* 1; Ork. *gewu(n)* 1; Nan. *geũ* 1; Orch. *gewu(n)*; Ud. *geu*.

◊ TMC 1, 176.

PMong. ***güji-** 1 shallow 2 light (1 мелкий 2 легкий): MMong. *gojen* (HY 52) 1; WMong. *güjüken, güiken* (L 390), *güjin* 1; Kh. *güjüxen, göjön* 1; Bur. *güjxen* 1; Kalm. *gīgn, gīkn, gīn* 1,2; Ord. *gīn, gŭn*; Dag. *guān* (MD 152) 1.

◊ KW 137.

PTurk. ***geb-** 1 soft, mild, gentle 2 to become weak 3 empty (1 мягкий, нежный 2 слабеть 3 пустой): OTurk. *kevšek* (OUygh.) 1, *kevil-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *kevšek* (MK) 1, *kevil-* 2 (MK); Tur. *gevšek* 1; Gag. *kevše-* 2; Az. *kövšek* 1; Turkm. *gövšül* 'dilapidated'; MTurk. *kewšek* 1 (Pav. C.), (MKypch.) *kewil-* 2 (AH); Kirgh. *köpšö-* 2; Khak. *köpsek* 1; Tv. *kögžür-gej* 'рыхлый, хрупкий (снег, лед)'; Chuv. *kъʷbъʷš* 1, *kavža-* 2; Yak. *köp* 1.

◊ VEWT 244, 291, EDT 689, 691, ЭСТЯ 3, 9-10 (the root tends to contaminate either with *geb- 'chew' or with *köp 'foam').

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. *kup'e, *gupu.

***gĕdì** back (of head), behind: Tung. ***gedi-muk**; Mong. ***gede**; Turk. ***ged**; Jpn. ***kítà**.

PTung. ***gedi-muk** back of the head (затылок): Evk. *gedimuk*; Evn. *gedъmъk*; Neg. *gedemuk*.

◊ TMC 1, 177.

PMong. ***gede** / ***geǯige** 1 back of the head 2 plait 3 leaning or bending backwards 4 to bend backwards (1 затылок 2 коса 3 отклоняющийся назад 4 отгибаться назад): MMong. *gedergu* 'lying on the back', *geǯige* 'back troups, reserve' (SH), *giǯigä* 'plait, scruff' (MA); WMong. *gede* 1 (L 372), *gedereg* 'on back', *geǯige* 1,2 (L 381); Kh. *ged* 1, *ged-reg* 'back (adv.)', *geǯeg* 1,2, *gedger* 3, *gedij-* 4; Bur. *gedi-* 'to hog', *gezege* 2; Kalm. *gedṛgə* 'back (adv)', *giǯəgə* 1, 2; Ord. *gedergēn* 'backwards', *geǯige* 1,2; Mog. KT *gäǯigä* 'nape of the neck, occiput' (6-1a).; Dag. *gedī-* (Тод. Дат. 131) 4, *geǯige* (MD 150) 2, *gəǯig* 2; Dong. *GəǯəGi* 2; Bao. *gətəgulə-* 4;

S.-Yugh. *gedeger* 3, *gedī-* 4; Mongr. *gədē-* 'tenir la tête haute, se pencher en arrière' (SM 131), *gədēngī* 3, *gədē-* 4, *gidergu* 'backwards' (SM 136).

◊ KW 131, 135, MGCD 290. Mong. > Kirgh. *kežige* etc. (ЭСТЯ 6, 17-18), Evk. *gedikēn* 'plait' etc. (TMC 1, 177), see TMN 1, 492, Doerfer MT 47, Poppe 1966, 192, 1974, 120 (but **gedi-muk* cannot be < Mong.).

PTurk. ***ged** back, after (сзади, позади): OTurk. *kedin* (OUygh.); Karakh. *keδin* (MK, KB); MTurk. *kijin* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *kejin*; Uygh. *kejin, käjin*; Kirgh. *kijin*; Kaz. *kejin*; KKalp. *kejin*; Khak. *kizĭn*; Shr. *käzin*; Oyr. *kijin*; Chuv. *kaj*; Yak. *ke-lin*; *ketex* 'back of head'; Dolg. *ke-lin*; *ketek* 'back of head'.

◊ EDT 704, VEWT 246-247, ЭСТЯ 5, 23-24, Stachowski 144, 146. Forms like Yak. *ketex* 'back of head' clearly show that the root was **ged-*; the monosyllabic **ge-* (observable in Yak. *ke-lin* and perhaps Chuv. *kaj*) is most probably a result of secondary reinterpretation of the stems **gedin* and **gerü* (the latter < PA **kèro* q.v.). It is exactly this reinterpretation that allows to reconstruct **g-* in PT **ged-* (the root is not attested in Oghuz languages).

PJpn. ***kítà** North (север): OJpn. *k(j)ita*; MJpn. *kítà*; Tok. *kitá*; Kyo. *kítà*; Kag. *kíta*.

◊ JLTT 452.

‖ EAS 48, Владимирцов 206, Poppe 24, 53, Колесникова 1972a, 101-103, ОСНЯ 1, 228, АПиПЯЯ 71; Дыбо 4. Despite Doerfer's criticism (TMN 1, 492) the root still holds.

***gĕ́gà (~ -o)** to be angry: Tung. ***geg-**; Mong. ***gaɣa-**; Turk. ***KAki-**; Jpn. ***kákúat-**.

PTung. ***geg-** to be angry (сердиться): Evk. *gegin-*; Evn. *gegin-*; Neg. *gewxe-*; Ul. *gewxe-de-*; Nan. *geuxe-de-*; Orch. *geuxende-*; Ud. *ge-*.

◊ TMC 1, 177.

PMong. ***gaɣa-** to rave (бушевать): WMong. *γaγa-ra-* (БАМРС); Kh. *gā-ra-*; Bur. *gā-ra-*.

PTurk. ***KAki-** to be angry (сердиться): OTurk. *qaqi-* (OUygh.), *qaqi-γ* 'anger'; Karakh. *qaqi-*, *qaqu-* (MK); Tur. *kaki-*; Turkm. *qaqi-*; MTurk. *qaqi-* (AH, Qutb., Pav. C.); Krm. *qaqi-*; Kirgh. *qaq-*.

◊ VEWT 223, ЭСТЯ 5, 223-224. Turk. > WMong. *qaki-*, Kalm. *χäkə-* (KW 176).

PJpn. ***kákúat-** to complain (жаловаться): MJpn. *kákót-*; Tok. *kakót-*; Kyo. *kákót-*; Kag. *kakót-*.

◊ JLTT 702. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

‖ The PT form has an irregular **-k-*, most probably under the influence of the synonymous PA root **kak'i* (> PT **Kek-*).

***gék'á** hook, bend: Tung. ***gek(u)-**; Mong. ***gek-**; Turk. ***Kek- / *Kak-**; Jpn. ***kánkám-**.

PTung. ***gek(u)-** to bow, bend (гнуть, наклонять): Neg. *gexete-*; Man. *gexu-*; Ul. *gekel-gekel*; Ork. *gekkil-gekkil*; Nan. *gekel*.

◊ TMC 1, 178.

PMong. ***gek-** 1 to bow, nod 2 fish-hook, angle (1 склоняться, кивать 2 крючок для удочки, удочка): WMong. *geki-*, *gekü-* (L 375) 1, *göküj*, *gögi* (L 386) 2; Kh. *gexes xij-* 1, *göxij* 2; Bur. *gaxī-* 1, *güxɨ* 2; Kalm. *gekə-* 1; Dag. *gekēlǯi-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 131).

◊ KW 132.

PTurk. ***Kek- / *Kak-** 1 curved 2 stick with a hook 3 latch 4 to bend 5 to bend one's neck (1 кривой 2 палка с крюком 3 щеколда 4 гнуться 5 выгибать шею): Tur. *keke*, dial. *gege* 2; Uzb. *kekkaj-*, *qaqqaj-* 5; Tat. *kɛkre*, *kɛjre* 1, 2, *kɛkrɛj-* 4, (Sib.) *kɛgɛ* 3; Bashk. *käkere* 1, *käkeräj-* 4, *käkä-ŋ-lä-* 'извиваться о змее', *qaqaj-* 5; Kirgh. *qaqaj-*, *kekej-* 4, 5; Kaz. *qaqaj-*, *kekirej-* 5; KKalp. *qaqaj-*, *kejkej-* 5; Oyr. *kekej-* 5; Chuv. *kaгър* 2, 3, *kaгър-t-* 5; Yak. *keγij-*, *kekej-* 5.

◊ VEWT 248.

PJpn. ***kánkám-** to bend (гнуться): OJpn. *kagam-*; MJpn. *kágám-*; Tok. *kàgam-*; Kyo. *kágám-*; Kag. *kagám-*.

◊ JLTT 701.

‖ Cf. **gŭk'a*, **k'i̯úŋu*, **k'ōki*.

✱**gĕla** to search, hunt: Tung. ***gelē-**; Turk. ***gele-**; Jpn. ***kàr-**.

PTung. ***gelē-** to ask, demand, search (просить, требовать, искать): Evk. *gelē-*; Evn. *gelē-*; Neg. *gelē-*; Ul. *gele-*; Ork. *gele-*; Nan. *gele-*; Orch. *gele-*; Ud. *gele-*; Sol. *gelē-*.

◊ TMC 1, 179. TM > Dag. *gelī-* (Тод. Даг. 131).

PTurk. ***gele-** 1 to woo 2 to ask 3 messenger, in-between 4 parents having espoused their children 5 a promised bride (1 ухаживать, свататься 2 просить, выпрашивать 3 посланник, сват 4 родители, взаимно поженившие детей 5 просватанная девушка): Tur. (dial.) *geleşik* 4; Turkm. *geleşik* 4, *geleŋ* 'attention, care'; MTurk. (Xwar.) *keleči* 3 (Qutb); Krm. *keliš-* 1, *kl'a-*, *kl'an-* 'to wish, be favourably inclined'; Tat. *kileš-* 1, *käläš* 5; (Mishar) *kelä-* 2, (KCTT) *kläп-* 'to annoy, pester'; Bashk. *käläš* 5; KBalk. *keleči* 3; Kum. *geleš-* 1, *geleči* 3; Khak. *kəle-* 2, *kəlen-* 'to beg'; Chuv. *kalaś-* 1; *kəle-* 2.

◊ VEWT 248, ЭСТЯ 5, 32-33, Ахметьянов 112-114, Егоров 105, Федотов 1, 270-271. Some languages may reflect a merger with **kele-* 'speak' (v. sub **k'i̯ăli*). Turk. > Russ. клянчить.

PJpn. ***kàr-** to hunt for, demand, search; drive (охотиться, требовать, искать; гнать): OJpn. *kar-*; MJpn. *kàr-*; Tok. *kár-*, *kàr-*; Kyo. *kár-*; Kag. *kár-*.

◊ JLTT 704. The dialects also reflect **kár-*, but the reconstruction **kàr-* is more probable because of RJ evidence.

‖ Дыбо 14, Федотов 1, 270-271.

✱**gèle** to come; to go: Tung. ***gel-**; Mong. ***gel-**; Turk. ***gẹl-**; Jpn. ***kə̀-**; Kor. ***ká-**.

PTung. ***gel-** to get hardly on one's way (трогаться с места, с трудом собираться в путь): Evk. *gel-*; Ork. *gilin-*.

◊ TMC 1, 150, 178.

PMong. ***gel-** to walk slowly (ходить медленно): MMong. *geli-* 'hinterherlaufen, einholen' (SH); WMong. *geldüri-* (L 375), *gelderi-*, *gelgüri-*; Kh. *geldre-*; Kalm. *geldṛ-*; Dag. *geldure-* (Тод. Даг. 131).

◊ KW 132.

PTurk. ***gẹl-** to come (приходить): OTurk. *kel-* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *kel-* (MK, KB); Tur. *gel-*; Gag. *gel-*; Az. *gäl-*; Turkm. *gel-*; Sal. *gel-*, *gęj-*; Khal. *käl-*; MTurk. *kẹl-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *kel-*; Uygh. *käl-/kil-*; Krm. *kel-*; Tat. *kil-*; Bashk. *kil-*; Kirgh. *kel-*; Kaz. *kel-*; KBalk. *kel-*; KKalp. *kel-*; Kum. *gel-*; Nogh. *kel-*; SUygh. *kel-*; Khak. *kil-*; Shr. *kel-* (R); Oyr. *kel-*; Tv. *kel-*; Tof. *kel-*; Chuv. *kil-*; Yak. *kel-*; Dolg. *kel-*.

◊ VEWT 248; EDT 715, ЭСТЯ 3, 14-16, 31-32, Stachowski 143. The Chuv. and Yak. vowels correspond irregularly.

PJpn. ***kə̀-** to come (приходить): OJpn. *ko-*; MJpn. *kú*; Tok. *kú-*; Kyo. *kù-*; Kag. *kú-*.

◊ JLTT 716. The RJ form is *kú* (final), but modern dialects point unanimously to **kə̀-* (perhaps there was a metatony in this irregular paradigm).

PKor. ***ká-** to go (away) (идти, уходить): MKor. *ká-*; Mod. *ka-*.

◊ Nam 2, KED 6.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 99, 274. The verb loses the final resonant in Jpn., Kor. and in some forms of the Turkic paradigm: this must be an archaic feature (also present in some other frequently used verbs), speaking perhaps in favour of the root's original monosyllabic structure (**gèl*).

✱**gèĺa** to screen (from light), disappear: Tung. ***gēl-**; Turk. ***Köĺ-**; Jpn. ***kàsùm-**; Kor. ***kɨrɨmə́i**.

PTung. ***gēl-** 1 to disappear 2 to clear up (of sky) 3 to reflect light, throw shadow on (1 исчезать 2 проясняться (о небе) 3 отсвечивать, отражать тень): Evn. *gēl-* 2; Man. *gelmarče-*, *gelmerǯe-* 3, *gelf́en* 'pale'; Ul. *gel-* 1; Ork. *gēl-* 1; Nan. *gēl-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 178-179.

PTurk. ***Köĺ-** 1 screen, covering 2 to screen, obstruct light 3 shadow (1 укрытие, полог, занавес 2 давать тень, укрывать от света 3 тень): OTurk. *kösige* (OUygh.) 3; Karakh. *köši-* (MK) 2, *köšik* (MK) 1, *kösige* (MK) 3; Uygh. *köšükɛ* 1; Kirgh. *kösögö* 1; Khak. *közeŋe* 1; Shr. *közege* 1; Tv. *közege* 1, 3.

◊ EDT 753. The root tends to merge with PT **köĺ-* 'to shiver (of cold), freeze' (see VEWT 294), as well as with **köli-* 'shadow' - but they should be probably kept apart. Turk. > MMong. *köši-*, *kösige*, *kösge* (TMN 1, 481, Щербак 1997, 128, Clark 1980, 41) > Evk. *kuči-*, *kučiger* (Doerfer MT 125).

PJpn. ***kàsùm-*** be hazy, misty (быть сумрачным, туманным): OJpn. *kasum-*; MJpn. *kasum-*; Tok. *kàsum-*; Kyo. *kásúm-*; Kag. *kasúm-*.

◊ JLTT 705.

PKor. ***kɨ̀rɨ̀mə́i*** shadow (тень): MKor. *kɨ̀rɨ̀mə́i*, *kɨ̀rɨ̀mə́i*; Mod. *kɨrimʒa*.

◊ Nam 67, 68, KED 237.

‖ In Turkic **Keĺ-* would be expected; -ö- is probably due to the influence of a very close phonetically and semantically Karakh. *kölige* 'shadow'. In Korean one would expect rather **kə̀rVm-*, so the tone and vocalism appears to be distorted. This all may be due to expressive (tabooistic) reasons, as well as to the interaction between this root and PA **k'òlmV* 'cloud' q.v.

✱**gèmo** to complete, fill in: Tung. ***gemu***; Mong. ***gömür-***; Jpn. ***kəm-***; Kor. ***kə̆m-***.

PTung. ***gemu*** all (весь, все): Man. *gemu*; SMan. *gumə* (2816); Jurch. *ŋem-ur* (841); Ork. *gem*.

◊ TMC 1,179 (without the Orok form).

PMong. ***gömür-*** storage, depository, buttery (хранилище, склад, кладовая): MMong. *gumerge* (HY 20); WMong. *gömürge* (БАМРС); Kh. *gömrög*.

◊ Cf. **kömürge*.

PJpn. ***kəm-*** to be filled in, stuffed (быть заполненным, набитым): OJpn. *kom-*; MJpn. *kòm-*; Tok. *kóm-*; Kyo. *kòm-*; Kag. *kòm-*.

◊ JLTT 712. Cf. also PJ **kəmə̀r-* id.

PKor. ***kə̆m-*** to hide, conceal (прятать, скрывать): MKor. *kə̆m-čho-*; Mod. *kamčhu-*.

◊ Nam 24, KED 55.

‖ Cf. also notes to **k'ə́mi*.

✱**gə́mo** stern, boat: Tung. ***gemu ?***; Turk. ***gḗmi***; Kor. ***kòmə̆́r***.

PTung. ***gemu*** a utensil for cleaning river bottom (снаряд для очистки дна реки): Nan. *gemu* 'a long cord with attached stones and hooks for cleaning river bottom', *gemude-* (v.)

◊ TMC 1, 179. Attested only in Nanai, but having possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***gḗmi*** boat (лодка): OTurk. *kemi* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kemi* (MK, IM); Tur. *gemi*; Gag. *gemi*; Az. *gämi*; Turkm. *gämi*; Sal. *kimö*; MTurk. *keme* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *kema*; Uygh. *kemä*; Krm. *gemi*; Tat. *kimɛ*; Bashk. *kämä*; Kirgh. *keme*; Kaz. *keme*; KBalk. *keme*; KKalp. *keme*; Kum. *geme*; Nogh. *keme*; Khak. *kime*; Shr. *kebe*; Oyr. *keme*; Tv. *xeme*; Chuv. *kimə*.

◊ VEWT 251, TMN 3, 668-669, EDT 721-722, ЭСТЯ 3, 37-38. Turk. > Mong. *keme* (Щербак 1997, 126).

PKor. ***kòmə̆́r*** stern (корма): MKor. *kòmə̆́r*; Mod. *komul*.

◊ Nam 47, HMCH 271, KED 142.

‖ One of the common Altaic navigation terms.

✱**gèná** to suppose; unexpected: Mong. ***gene-**; Turk. ***gEne**; Jpn. ***kàná-**.

PMong. ***gene-** 1 unexpected, sudden(ly) 2 naive 3 be naive, make a mistake (1 неожиданно 2 наивный, легковерный 3 быть наивным, ошибаться): MMong. *genen, genet* (SH); WMong. *genedte* 1, *gene(n)* 2, *genede-* 3, *gene-* 3; Kh. *genen* 2, *gentxen, gent(ed)* 1; Bur. *gene* 1; Kalm. *genə-* 3, *gentə* 1; Ord. *genede-* 'позволить застать себя врасплох', *genedχen* 1; Dag. *genteken* (Тод. Даг. 131, MD 150), *gentken* 1; S.-Yugh. *genetele* 1, *genen* 2.

◊ KW 133, MGCD 291. The root is widely borrowed into Turkic and TM.

PTurk. ***gEne** again, also, however (снова, также, однако): Karakh. *kene* (MKypch.); Tur. *gene*; Az. *gänä*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 115.

PJpn. ***kàná-** 1 to be unable, be unable to bear 2 to suppose, foresee 3 before, earlier (1 не мочь, не переносить 2 предполагать, ожидать 3 ранее, до того): OJpn. *-kana-* 1, *kana-* 2, *kane-te* 3; MJpn. *-kana-* 1, *kàna-* 2, *kane-te* 3; Tok. *-kane-* 1, *kánete* 3; Kyo. *kànétè* 3; Kag. *kaneté*.

◊ JLTT 703. The meaning 'earlier, before' of *kanete* is derived < 'having foreseen'. Although Martin unites this **kana-* with **kànà-* 'to combine', we would prefer to keep the latter separate.

‖ The original meaning may be reconstructed as 'to be unexpected' / 'not expect smth.'.

✱**gènŋa** to bend: Tung. ***gē(n)ŋe-**; Mong. ***gana-**; Turk. ***KAŋir-**.

PTung. ***gē(n)ŋe-** 1 to stretch one's neck, raise one's head 2 to bend one's head 3 horse's counter, bone on the nape (1 вытягивать шею, поднимать голову 2 наклонять голову 3 загривок лошади, кость на тыльной стороне шеи): Evn. *gēŋel-* 1; Man. *gen* 3; SMan. *gen-dā* 'nape, back of the nape' (61); Nan. *guŋgule-* 2; Ud. *geŋgem* 1, *gendugule-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 179, 180.

PMong. ***gana-** to be bent, curved, hold one's chest out (быть согнутым, искривленным, выпячивать грудь): WMong. *ɣanalǰa-, ɣandaji-* (L 347); Kh. *ganalʒa-, ganaj-, gandaj-*; Bur. *ganaj-, ganajlza-* 'to sit back'; Kalm. *ɣandā-*; Ord. *Ganā-* 'to be inclined backwards'.

◊ KW 143.

PTurk. ***KAŋir-** to bend (гнуть): Tur. *kanir-*; Az. *Ganir-*; Turkm. *Gaŋir-*; Uzb. *qɛnir-* (dial.); Khak. *xāri-tart-* 'to change direction, turn sharply'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 194-195.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***gentV (~ k-)** male, self: Mong. ***gendü**; Turk. ***[g]ẹntü (-nd-)**.

PMong. ***gendü** male of animals (самец животных): WMong. *gendü(n)* (L 376); Kh. *gendŭ* 'самец рыси, барса'; Bur. *gende* 'male sable' (Tunk., Okin.); Kalm. *gendn̥*.

◊ KW 133.

PTurk. ***[g]ẹntü (-nd-)** self, himself (сам): OTurk. *kentü* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kendü* (MK); Tur. *kendi*, dial. *gendü*; Az. *gendi*; Yak. *kini* 'he'; Dolg. *gini* 'he', *gien* 'own'.

◊ EDT 728-729, ЭСТЯ 5, 38-39, Убрятова 1953, Räsänen 1957, 18, Stachowski 86.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Poppe 25, KW 133, ОСНЯ 1, 226-227 (despite Doerfer's criticism in TMN 1, 489 the forms are perfectly semantically compatible).

***gep'V** to disappear, obscure: Tung. ***gepe-**; Mong. ***geɣe-**.

PTung. ***gepe-** 1 dim, obscure 2 to disappear 3 to begin (of night) (1 тусклый, неясный 2 исчезать 3 наступать (о ночи)): Evk. *gepe-* 3; Evn. *gepeni* 'black' (All.); Ul. *geptu(n)* 1, *geptun-* 2; Nan. *gepejgen*, *geperie* 1; Ud. *gefu ō-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 180.

PMong. ***geɣe-** to lose (терять): WMong. *gege-* (L 373); Kh. *gē-*; Bur. *gē-*; Kalm. *gē-*; Ord. *gē-*; Mog. *gē-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *gē-* (MD 149); Mongr. *gē-* 'abadonner, quitter, laisser, ne pas achever, rejeter, déposer, placer, mettre' (SM 131).

◊ KW 135.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. **g̱iūp'a*.

***gera (~ -o, -u)** many: Tung. ***gere-n**; Mong. ***garu-**.

PTung. ***gere-n** 1 many 2 all (1 много 2 все): Man. *geren* 1; SMan. *gerən* 1 (2851); Ul. *gere(n)* 1; Ork. *gere(n)* 1; Nan. *gere(n)* 2; Orch. *gere(n)* 1, 2; Ud. *gele* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 182.

PMong. ***garu-** more than (больше чем, более того): WMong. *ɣarui*, *ɣarun* (L 352, 353); Kh. *garuj*; Bur. *garan*; Kalm. *ɣarn̥*; Ord. *Garū*, *Gar^{w}ī*.

◊ KW 146.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***gə̌rè(bV)** word, name, witness: Tung. ***gerbŭ**; Mong. ***gere(-ɣe)**; Turk. ***gẹr-tü**; Jpn. ***kə̀tə̀, *kə̀tə̀-pà**; Kor. ***kír, *kír-bə́r**.

PTung. ***gerbŭ** name (имя): Evk. *gerbī*; Evn. *gerbъ*; Neg. *gelbi*; Man. *gebu*; SMan. *gevə* (1005, 1356); Jurch. *ger-bu* (780); Ul. *gelbu*; Ork. *gelbu*; Nan. *gerb'i*; Orch. *gebbi*; Ud. *gegbi*; Sol. *gerbī*.

◊ См. TMC 1, 180-181.

PMong. ***gere(-ɣe)** witness, agreement (свидетель, свидетельство, соглашение): MMong. *gärči* (IM 437), *girä̆* (MA); WMong. *gere*, *gereči* (L

378); Kh. *gerē, gerč*; Bur. *gerē, gerše*; Kalm. *gerə*; Ord. *gere, gereči*; Dag. *gerčin* (Тод. Даг. 131), *gerē* (MD 150), *gerčil*; Bao. *ganǯəŋ*; S.-Yugh. *xur* (MGCD Gor; Mongr. *ganǯən*.

◊ KW 134, MGCD 293. Mong. > Evk. *gereči* etc., see Doerfer MT 132, Rozycki 8.

PTurk. ***gẹr-tü*** true, truth (верный, правда): OTurk. *kertü, kert-gün-* 'believe' (OUygh.); Karakh. *kertü* 'oath, truth', *kert-gün-* 'believe' (MK, KB); Tur. *ger-ček*; Gag. *ger-ček*; Az. *ger-čäk*; Turkm. *ger-ček*; Krm. *kerti, ker-ček*; KBalk. *kerti*; Kum. *gerti*; Nogh. *kerti*; Khak. *kirtə-n-* 'believe'; Yak. *kirdik, kirǯik*; Dolg. *kirdik*.

◊ VEWT 257, EDT 738, 741, ЭСТЯ 3, 28-31, Stachowski 149.

PJpn. ***kàtà, *kàtà-pà*** word, speech (слово, речь): OJpn. *koto, koto-ba*; MJpn. *kòtò, kòtò-bà*; Tok. *kotobá*; Kyo. *kótòbà*; Kag. *kotobá*.

◊ JLTT 459.

PKor. ***kɨ́r, *kɨ́r-bə́r*** 1 poetry, letter 2 to draw (1 поэзия, текст, буквы 2 рисовать, чертить): MKor. *kɨr, kɨ́r'uə́r* 1, *kɨ́rí-* 2; Mod. *kɨl* 1, *kɨ̄ri-* 2.

◊ Liu 98, 103, 104, KED 237, 247.

‖ KW 134, Poppe 25, 80 (Turk.-Mong.). Cf. also Old Koguryo **kŭš* (Lee reads **kɨl*, Miller 1979 emends to **kŭnš*, which is hardly correct).

✱**gérki** a k. of pheasant: Mong. ***girgawl, *k-***; Turk. ***Kerke-***; Jpn. ***kínkisí***.

PMong. ***girgawl, *k-*** pheasant (фазан): MMong. *xurqa'ul* (HY 14); WMong. *giryaul, yuryuul* (L 369), *kiryuul* (L 471), *kiraγul* (L 470); Kh. *gurgūl*; Bur. *gurgūl*; Kalm. *kiryūl* (KPC), *yoryūl*; Ord. *GurGūl*; Dag. *xorgōl* (Тод. Даг. 177); Bao. *golGor*; Mongr. *ćirGū* (SM 457), (MGCD) *GurGul*.

◊ KW 151, MGCD 305. Mong. > Chag. *qirγavul*, Turk. q*irqavul* etc. (ЭСТЯ 6, 232; see VEWT 266, Щербак 1997, 208, TMN 3, 451) > Kalm. *kiryūl, keryūl* (KW 232).

PTurk. ***Kerke-*** 1 a k. of bird (кедровка) 2 black-cock (1 кедровка 2 тетерев, глухарь): KBalk. *gerge* 'жаворонок, skylark'; Khak. *kergen* 1; Shr. *kergen* 1; Chuv. *karъk* 2.

PJpn. ***kínkisí*** pheasant (фазан): OJpn. *kjigjisi*; MJpn. *kízí*; Tok. *kijí*; Kyo. *kíjí*; Kag. *kíji*.

◊ JLTT 452.

‖ Cf. various similar bird names in TM: Evk. *goriwkī* 'swallow' (TMC 1, 161); Orok *kiru, kireu* 'crane' (TMC 1, 399); Oroch *kurau, koro*; Evk. *karaw, karawul* 'gray crane' (TMC 1, 379).

✱**gĕrV** house, house poles: Tung. ***gerbe-***; Mong. ***ger***; Turk. ***gerekü***.

PTung. ***gerbe-*** to procure poles (for the tent) (заготовлять жерди (для остова юрты)): Evk. *gerbe-*; Evn. *gerben-*; Neg. *gejbe-*; Ork. *gelbe-*; Nan. *gerbe-*; Orch. *gebbe-*.

◊ TMC 1, 181.

PMong. ***ger*** yurt, house (юрта, дом): MMong. *ger* (HY 17, SH), *ker* (IM), *kir* (MA); WMong. *ger* (L 377); Kh. *ger*; Bur. *ger*; Kalm. *ger*; Ord. *ger*; Mog. *ger*; KT *ger* (18-1a), ZM *geh[e]r* (22-10a); Dag. *geri, geŕ* (Тод.

Дar. 131, MD 150); Dong. *gie*; Bao. *gar, ger* (Tungren); S.-Yugh. *ger*; Mongr. *ger* (SM 133), *ges* 'maison, ménage, famille' (pl.) (SM 134), *Ger.*

◊ KW 134, MGCD 292.

PTurk. ***gErekü*** 1 tent, yurt 2 grating of the yurt (1 юрта 2 решетка юрты): OTurk. *kerekü* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *kerekü* 1 (MK); Turkm. *gerege* 2; MTurk. *gerege* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *keraga* 2; Bashk. *kirägä* 2; Kirgh. *kerege* 2; Kaz. *kerege* 2; KKalp. *kerege* 2; Nogh. *kerege* 2; Oyr. *kerege* 2.

◊ VEWT 255, TMN 3, 592, EDT 744, ЭСТЯ 3, 24-25, Лексика 503.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**get´V** to watch, look: Tung. ***gete-***; Mong. ***gete-***.

PTung. ***gete-*** to wake up, sober up (очнуться, протрезветь): Man. *gete-*; SMan. *getə-* 'to wake up, to waken' (533); Nan. *gete-*.

◊ TMC 1, 183.

PMong. ***gete-*** to watch, spy, lie in ambush (наблюдать, шпионить, сидеть в засаде): WMong. *gete-* (L 380); Kh. *gete-*; Bur. *gete-*; Kalm. *get-*; Dag. *gete-* (Тод. Дar. 131), *getēbei-* (MGCD 293).

◊ KW 135, Mong. > Sol., Evk. *gete-* 'to creep up, lie in ambush'; Yak., Dolg. *ketē-* (Stachowski 146).

‖ KW 135. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; despite TMN 1, 489, Doerfer MT 79, hardly a borrowing in TM < Mong. (because of semantic differences).

✱**gibe** mare: Tung. ***gibu-***; Mong. ***gewü-n***; Turk. ***KEbel***.

PTung. ***gibu-*** roe (косуля): Evk. *giwčēn*; Neg. *giwčēn*; Man. *ǵo*; Ul. *giu(n)*; Ork. *giu*; Nan. *giu*; Orch. *gă̄uča, giuča*; Ud. *giu, giuse*; Sol. *gīsē̄*.

◊ TMC 1, 148.

PMong. ***gewü-n*** mare (кобыла): MMong. *ge'un* (HY 9), *guun-du* (MA), *keun* (LH); WMong. *gegü(n)*, *gegüü* (L 374), *geü* (DO 273); Kh. *gū̆(n)*; Bur. *gū̆n(g)*; Kalm. *gū̆n*; Ord. *gū̆*; Dag. *geu* (Тод. Дar. 132, MD 151); S.-Yugh. *gū̆n*; Mongr. *gū* 'femeille de certaine animaux' (SM 138).

◊ KW 140, MGCD 306. Mong. > Evk. *gōn* etc., see Poppe 1966, 190, 1972, 96, Doerfer MT 102.

PTurk. ***KEbel*** a well-bred fast horse (благородная быстрая лошадь): Karakh. *kevel, kevil* (MK, KB).

◊ EDT 689.

‖ A Western isogloss. The isolated Karakh. form may be borrowed < Sak. *käbä* 'well-bred horse'; perhaps a better match in Turkic would be **Kojn* 'sheep' (Лексика 431, ЭСТЯ 6, 24-26) (> Mong. *qoni(n)* > Evk. *konin* etc., see TMN 3, 564, Щербак 1997, 139, Doerfer MT 37; despite KW 194 and Poppe 70, hardly a common Altaic **koni*). In that case Turk. **Kojn* < **Kobi-n*, with a subsequent reconstruction of PA **giabo(nV)*.

***gijo** notch, to cut aslant: Tung. ***gia-**; Turk. ***Kɨj-**; Jpn. ***ki**.

PTung. ***gia-** 1 to plane, notch 2 chips, shavings (1 строгать, скоблить (кривым ножом) 2 стружки): Neg. *gêsadan* 2; Man. *ǵa-* 1 (cf. also *geje-* to carve); Ul. *Gê-* 1; Ork. *Gê-* 1; Nan. *Gịa-* 1; Orch. *gâsa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 147, 178. If the original meaning is "to cut aslant" (cf. the Turkic parallels), cf. also Ud. *gojom*, Nan. *Gojmo* 'crooked, aslant' (TMC 1, 158).

PTurk. ***Kɨj-** 1 to cut aslant, make notches 2 to cut in small pieces (1 резать наискосок, делать зарубки 2 резать на мелкие кусочки): Karakh. *qɨj-* (MK) 1; Tur. *kɨj-* 2; Gag. *qɨj-* 2; Turkm. *Gɨj-* 1; MTurk. *qɨj-* (AH, Ettuhf.) 1; Uzb. *qij-* 1; Kirgh. *qɨj-* 1; KKalp. *qɨj-*; Nogh. *qɨj-* 1; Khak. *xɨj-* 1; Oyr. *qɨj-* 1; Tv. *qɨj-* 1; Chuv. *хъjъ* chip, sliver; Yak. *kɨj-* 'walk around'.

◊ VEWT 261, ЭСТЯ 6, 197-200. Turk. **Kɨjgač* > Kalm. *kīγəs* (KW 234). The meaning of the Orkh. hapax *qɨd-* (see EDT 595) is quite insecure and cannot serve as a basis for reconstructing **Kɨd-*; all other forms (including *qɨj-* 'to cut aslant' and *qɨj-ma* 'cut meat' in MK) point unambiguously to **Kɨj-*, see ЭСТЯ 6, 200, 202-203. There exist also common Turkic derivatives **Kɨj-ɨr* and **Kɨj-ɨk* 'oblique, bent'.

PJpn. ***ki** notch (зарубка): OJpn. *kji*.

‖ Kalm. *kāčə-* (WMong. *kijači-*, KW 222) 'to split (wood)' is probably borrowed from the Turk. derivative **Kɨjgač-* (although the latter now means basically 'slant', the original meaning was 'cut aslant'). If the latter was the original meaning in PA, one could also compare Mong. **geji-*, **geje-* 'slanting, oblique' (otherwise see notes to **k'i̯úŋ(k)u*).

***gìlè (~ -i, -o)** to shine, glitter: Tung. ***gilta-**; Mong. ***gil(b)a-**; Jpn. ***kìrà-**.

PTung. ***gilta-** 1 white 2 shine (1 белый 2 блестеть): Evk. *gilta-li* 1; Evn. *gɨltāl-* 2; Man. *gilta-* 2; SMan. *gilətərə-* (2043); Ul. *gilte* 2; Nan. *gilte-* 2; Sol. *giltarī* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 151-152.

PMong. ***gil(b)a-** to glitter, shine (блестеть): MMong. *gilibeligan* 'lightning' (HY 2); WMong. *gila-*, *gilba-* (L 382), *giluŋ*, *gilüŋ* 'shining' (L 383); Kh. *ǵala-*, *ǵalba-*, *gilbegne-*; Bur. *jalaj-*; Kalm. *gilēn*, *giləg*, *gilgṛ* 'light, glittering', *gilī-*, *gilwə-* 'glitter'; Ord. *gilba-*; Dag. *gialbagalǯi-* (MGCD 294), *gialebeleǯi-* (MD 151); Mongr. *ǯilōn* 'luisant, lisse, uni, glabre' (SM 87).

◊ KW 136. Mong. *gileji-* > Oyr. *kilä̈i-*; Mong. *gilba-lǯa-* > Man. *gilmarǯa-*, see Rozycki 89.

PJpn. ***kìrà-** shining, glittering (блестящий, сверкать): OJpn. *k(j)ira-k(j)ira-si* 'beautiful'; MJpn. *kìrà-kìrà-*; Tok. *kíra-kira*, *kira-mék-*; Kyo. *kírà-kìrà*, *kírá-mék-*; Kag. *kira-kíra*, *kira-mék-*.

◊ JLTT 708.

‖ KW 136, ОСНЯ 1, 230. In TM cf. also a variant **kilbe-* / **kilt-* 'glitter' (TMC 1, 393, 394; hence Yak. *kilbej-*, *kɨlbaj-*; but Dolg. *gilbej-*, *gɨlbaj-* may be directly < Mong.; see Kał. MEJ 103, Stachowski 86, 87). Since Mong. also has a variant **gilt-* (MMong. (MA) *qiltai-*, WMong. *giltagir*,

giltuji-, Kalm. *giltəgr, giltī-*, KW ibid.), the TM forms may be borrowed from Mong. (see Doerfer MT 21-22, Rozycki 89). Note that Jpn. **kìrà-* may also reflect PA **gari* q.v.

***gilu (~ -o, -a)** curved object: Tung. ***gil-**; Mong. ***gil-**; Turk. ***Kił**.

PTung. ***gil-** 1 ring 2 bracelet (1 кольцо 2 браслет): Evk. *gildī* 1; Neg. *gilǯixēn* 1; Ul. *gileptu(n)* 2; Sol. *diĺaptun* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 83, 150.

PMong. ***gil-** 1 to bevel 2 look askance, squint (1 скашивать 2 смотреть искоса, косить): WMong. *gileji-* (L 382: *gilaji-*) 2, *gilčiji-* 1; Kh. *gilǯij-* 'to trend, bend, squint'; Bur. *gelži-* 'to trend'; Kalm. *gils-gils giǯ xəl-* (KPC 144) 2, *gilčī-* 1.

PTurk. ***Kił** handle, ear (of a kettle, bucket) (ручка, ушко (чайника, ведра)): Tat. *qił, qıl* (dial.); Bashk. *qił, qıłıs* (dial.); Kaz. *qıł*; Khak. *xıłγa, xıłčı*; Shr. *qıłčı*; Oyr. *qıłı, qıldı*; Yak. *kıldı*.

◊ VEWT 263, ЭСТЯ 6, 209-210.

‖ A Western isogloss; cf. **gi̯ăĺu*.

***gĭĺò** cold: Tung. ***gil-**; Turk. ***Kıĺ**; Jpn. ***kìsàra-(n)ki**.

PTung. ***gil-** cold (холодный): Evk. *gildi*; Evn. *gilrᵾ*; Neg. *giłigdi*; Ul. *Gituli, Gitisi*; Ork. *Gičuli*; Nan. *Gičisi*; Orch. *gičı-si*; Ud. *gilihi*.

◊ TMC 1, 151. Most forms reflect a derivative **gil-si* / **gil-či*.

PTurk. ***Kıĺ** winter (зима): OTurk. *qıš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qıš* (MK); Tur. *kış*; Gag. *qıš*; Az. *Gış*; Turkm. *Gıš*; Khal. *qıš*; MTurk. *qıš* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qıš*; Uygh. *qıš*; Krm. *qıš*; Tat. *qıš*; Bashk. *qıš*; Kirgh. *qıš*; Kaz. *qıs*; KBalk. *qıš*; KKalp. *qıs*; Kum. *qıš*; Nogh. *qıs*; SUygh. *qıs*; Khak. *xıs*; Shr. *qıš*; Oyr. *qıš*; Tv. *qı˙š*; Chuv. *xəl*; Yak. *kıs, kıhın*; Dolg. *kıhın*.

◊ EDT 670, VEWT 268, TMN 3, 479, Лексика 75-76, ЭСТЯ 6, 253-254, Stachowski 167-168.

PJpn. ***kìsàra-(n)ki** second month of the lunar calendar (второй месяц лунного календаря): OJpn. *k(j)isarag(j)i*; MJpn. *kisaragi*; Tok. *kìsaragi*; Kyo. *kísárágí*; Kag. *kisaragí*.

◊ JLTT 451. Accent evidence is rather in favour of low tone, although the Kyoto form is aberrant.

‖ EAS 110, Лексика 76, Miller UAJ 1986, 47, Miller 1996, 114.

***gíme (~ *gemi)** defect: Mong. ***gem**; Turk. ***Kem**; Kor. ***kìmíi**.

PMong. ***gem** 1 defect, illness, damage 2 to regret (1 дефект, болезнь, вред 2 сожалеть, раскаиваться): MMong. *gise-, gise, g[e]si-* (IM) 2; *gemuri'ul-* 'to sicken' (SH), *gemur* 'Sorge' (HYt); WMong. *gem* 1, *gemsi-* 2 (L 375, 376); Kh. *gem* 1, *gemši-* 2; Bur. *gem* 1, *gemše-* 2; Kalm. *gem* 1, *gemši-* 2; Ord. *gem* 1, *gemši-* 2; Dag. *gem* 1 (Тод. Дар. 131, MD 150: *geme*), *gemši-* 2; Dong. *gien* 1 (MGCD *gən*), *giemere-* 'to be sick'; S.-Yugh. *gem* 1; Mongr. *gəŋša-* (SM 133) 2.

◊ KW 133, MGCD 291.

PTurk. ***Kem*** illness (болезнь): OTurk. *kem* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ig-kem* (MK, KB); Tur. *gem, kem* (dial.); Az. *käm* (dial.); Oyr. *kem*; Tv. *kem*; Yak. *kem* 'agnail (illness)'.

◊ EDT 720, ЭСТЯ 5, 34-35, VEWT 250, Clark 1977, 138, (should be distinguished from *kem* 'few' < Pers.). Cf. perhaps Chuv. *kъʷmъʷr* 'anger'.

PKor. ***kìmíi*** defect (on skin, jade) (дефект, изъян (на коже, драгоценном камне)): MKor. *kìmíi*; Mod. *kimi*.

◊ Nam 79, KED 266.

‖ KW 133. Cf. Evk. *gimdigī-* 'to break (of a belt, strap)' (TMC 1, 152).

✱**gire (~ -ŕ-)** bone: Tung. ***giram-ksa***; Mong. ***gere***.

PTung. ***giram-ksa*** 1 bone 2 skeleton (1 кость 2 скелет): Evk. *giramna* 1; Evn. *gir̥mr̥* 2 (also "grave"); Neg. *gijamna* 2; Man. *giraŋgi* 1; SMan. *giraŋə* 1 (167); Jurch. *gi(r)ba-an-gi* (510) 1; Ul. *Gi̯ramsa* 1; Ork. *Giransa* 1; Nan. *Gi̯rmaqsa* 1; Orch. *giamsa* 1; Ud. *gämaha, geämaha* 1, 2 (Корм. 221); Sol. *giranda* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 154.

PMong. ***gere*** 1 cheek bone 2 front teeth (1 скула 2 передние зубы): WMong. *gere* 1 (L 378); Kh. *gerē* 1; Kalm. *gerə šüdn̥* 2.

◊ KW 134.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**giru** shore; road: Tung. ***giri***; Turk. ***Ki̯rgak***; Kor. ***kírh***.

PTung. ***giri*** 1 shore 2 line, row 3 riverbed (1 берег 2 линия, ряд 3 русло): Evk. *giri* 1; Evn. *gi̯ri̯* 1; Neg. *gi̯ji̯* 1; Man. *girin* 2; SMan. *girin* 'hamlets scattered along a highway' (1020); Ul. *gi̯ri̯(n)* 3; Ork. *giri* 1; Nan. *gi̯r* 1; Orch. *gī* 1; Ud. *gī-ma* 1.

◊ TMC 1,155.

PTurk. ***Ki̯rgak*** edge (край): Karakh. *qi̯rɣaɣ* (MK) 'selvage, edge'; Tur. *ki̯rak*; Az. *Gi̯raG*; Khal. *qi̯raɣ*; MTurk. *qi̯ri̯ɣ, qi̯raɣ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qi̯rɣɔq*; Uygh. *qi(r)ɣaq*; Krm. *qi̯ri̯j*; Tat. *qi̯ri̯j*; Kirgh. *qi̯rū*; Kum. *qi̯ri̯j*; Nogh. *qi̯raq*; Khak. *xri, xi̯ri̯j, xi̯ri̯ɣ*; Oyr. *qi̯ri̯ɣ*; Tv. *qi̯ri*; Chuv. *xərə*; Yak. *ki̯rī*; Dolg. *ki̯rī*.

◊ VEWT 265, EDT 653, ЭСТЯ 6, 242-244, Stachowski 170.

PKor. ***kírh*** road (дорога): MKor. *kír* (*kírh-*); Mod. *kil*.

◊ Nam 81, KED 278.

‖ SKE 112, АПиПЯЯ 296. In Turkic the root is contaminating with the reflex of **k'ə̀re* q.v.

✱**gĭ́ŕa (~-o,-u)** girl, mate: Tung. ***girkī***; Turk. ***Kī̯ŕ***.

PTung. ***girkī*** 1 mate 2 wife 3 placenta (1 товарищ 2 жена 3 послед): Evk. *girkī* 1, 2, 3; Evn. *girkъ* 1, 2, 3; Neg. *gīxī* 1; Nan. *girki* 'idol, helping spirits'; Sol. *gikki* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 155.

PTurk. ***Kīŕ*** 1 girl 2 woman (1 девушка 2 женщина): OTurk. *qɨz* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨz* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *kɨz* 1; Gag. *qɨz* 1; Az. *Gɨz* 1; Turkm. *Gɨz* 1; Sal. *qɨz* 1; MTurk. *qɨz* 1 (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qiz* 1; Uygh. *qiz* 1; Krm. *qɨz* 1; Tat. *qɨz* 1; Bashk. *qɨδ* 1; Kirgh. *qɨz* 1; Kaz. *qɨz* 1; KBalk. *qɨz* 1; KKalp. *qɨz* 1; Kum. *qɨz* 1; Nogh. *qɨz* 1; SUygh. *qɨs* 1; Khak. *xɨs* 1; Shr. *qɨs* 1; Oyr. *qɨs* 1; Tv. *qɨs* 1; Tof. *qɨs* 1; Chuv. *xər* 1, *xər-(arъm)* 2; Yak. *kīs* 1; Dolg. *kīs* 1.

◊ VEWT 269, TMN 3, 569-70, EDT 679-80, Лексика 295, 318, ЭСТЯ 6, 190-191, Stachowski 172. For PT one should reconstruct variants **kīŕ/*kīr* (they are reflected in several derivatives, e.g. **Kīr-kɨn*, see Лексика 317-318, ЭСТЯ 6, 237, **Kɨr-nak*, see TMN 3, 456, ЭСТЯ 6, 240).

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. perhaps Mong. **gergei* 'wife' (if not derived from **ger* 'house'; Mong. pl. *gergen* > Yak., Dolg. *kergen* 'family', see Kał. MEJ 28, Stachowski 145).

✱**gi̯ə̀lá** goose, duck: Tung. ***gileŋē-***; Mong. ***galaɣu(n)***; Jpn. ****kàrí***.

PTung. ***gileŋē-*** a k. of duck (вид утки (утка-лотошка, крохаль)): Neg. *gileŋēti*; Ul. *gileńetu*.

◊ TMC 1, 152.

PMong. ***galaɣu(n)*** goose (гусь): MMong. *qalau'u* (SH, HY 13), *qalawun* (LH); WMong. *ɣalaɣu(n)* (L 346); Kh. *galū*; Bur. *galū(n)*; Kalm. *ɣalūn* (KPC 155); Ord. *Galū*; Dag. *galō* 'wild goose'; Mongr. *Galū* (SM 117).

PJpn. ****kàrí*** goose (гусь): OJpn. *kari*; MJpn. *kàrí*; Tok. *kári*; Kyo. *kárí*; Kag. *kári*.

◊ JLTT 440. Tones in Kyoto and Kagoshima point to **kárí*, but the attested RJ and Tokyo tones speak in favour of **kàrí*.

‖ In TM one would rather expect **gialeŋē*, but the existing forms may be explained as secondarily monophthongized. Despite АПиПЯЯ 80, the Jpn. form rather belongs here (semantically it is exactly = Mong. *ɣalaɣun*, and in case **kàrí* < **gāŕV* we would rather expect **kàtí*).

✱**gi̯ála** to stay behind, be separated: Tung. ***giala-***; Mong. ****gal-***; Turk. ****Kiāl-***; Jpn. ****kára-***.

PTung. ***giala-*** 1 to separate 2 division, partition 3 room 4 to stop (1 отделять, перегораживать 2 отделение 3 комната 4 делать остановку): Man. *ǵala-* 1,4, *ǵalan* 2; SMan. *ǵalə-* 'distant, separated' (2576); *ǵalən* 'room space, compartiment of a house' (448); Ul. *Gêlaqo* 3; Nan. *Gi̯ala-* 1; Ud. *gäla'u* 3 (Корм. 221); Sol. *gêlã* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 146. Sol. > Dag. *gēlāŋ, ǵalāŋ* 'room' (Тод. Дар. 131).

PMong. ****gal-*** 1 to walk slowly 2 to be lazy; to leave, go away (1 идти медленно 2 быть ленивым; уходить): WMong. *ɣalɣi-* 1, *ɣalira-* 2 (L 346); Kh. *galgi-* 1, *galira-* 2; Bur. *galgi-*; Kalm. *ɣaĺgə-* 'be ashamed, confused'; Ord. *Galgi-*.

◊ KW 142. Mong. > Kaz. *qalyi-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 232-233).

PTurk. ***Kiāl-*** to stay behind, remain (оставаться): OTurk. *qal-* (Orkh., OUygh., Yenis.); Karakh. *qal-* (MK, KB); Tur. *kal-*; Az. *Gal-*; Turkm. *Gāl-*; MTurk. *qal-* (Sangl., Qutb., Houts., AH, IM, MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɔl-*; Uygh. *qal-*; Tat. *qal-*; Bashk. *qal-*; Kirgh. *qal-*; Kaz. *qal-*; KBalk. *qal-*; KKalp. *qal-*; Kum. *qal-*; Nogh. *qal-*; Khak. *xal-*; Shr. *qal-*; Oyr. *qal-*; Tv. *qal-*; Tof. *qal-*; Chuv. *jol-*; Yak. *xāl-*; Dolg. *kāl-*.

◊ EDT 615-616, VEWT 224, ЭСТЯ 5, 226-227, Егоров 347, Федотов 2, 483, Stachowski 142.

PJpn. ***kára-*** to stay away, get apart; die (отделяться, удаляться; умирать): OJpn. *kara-*; MJpn. *kára-*.

◊ JLTT 704.

‖ The original meaning is well reconstructable as "to lag behind > become separated". The derivative **gi̯ā́la-kV* 'separation, lagging' is reflected in PTM **giala-ku* 'separated space, room' and the denominative **gal-gi-* in Mongolian.

gi̯ălu** thick, whole: Tung. ****gulu-kun; Mong. ****goli-***; Turk. ****Kalıŋ***.

PTung. ****gulu-kun*** 1 whole 2 (whole) piece (1 целый 2 (целый) кусок): Man. *gulxun* 1; SMan. *guluxun* 'complete, pure' (2348, 2820); Ul. *gulxu(n)* 2; Nan. *gulxū* 2; Ud. *guluhu* 2; Sol. *gulgū* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 169. TM > Dag. *gulgun* (Тод. Даг. 133).

PMong. ****goli-*** be tall, stately, gross (быть высоким, величавым, тучным): WMong. *ɣoliji-*; Kh. *golij-*; Bur. *golī-*; Kalm. *ɣoĺɣ-*.

◊ KW 150.

PTurk. ****Kalıŋ*** 1 thick, stiff 2 numerous (1 толстый, густой 2 многочисленный): OTurk. *qalın* (Orkh.) 1, *qalın* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *qalın* (MK) 1, (MK, KB) 2; Tur. *kalın* 1; Az. *Galın* 1; Turkm. *Galıŋ* 1; MTurk. *qalıŋ* (Qutb.) 1, *qalın* (MA, Houts., Abush., AH, Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *qɛlin* 1; Uygh. *qelin* 1; Tat. *qalın* 1; Bashk. *qalın* 1; Kirgh. *qalıŋ* 1; Kaz. *qalıŋ* 1; KKalp. *qalıŋ* 1; Kum. *qalın* 1; Nogh. *qalın* 1; Khak. *xalın* 1; Oyr. *qalıŋ* 1; Tv. *qılın*, dial. Todzh. 1; Tof. *xılın* 1; Chuv. *xulъn*, *xolъm* 1; Yak. *xalıŋ* 1.

◊ VEWT 226, ЭСТЯ 5, 238-239, Федотов 2, 354-355.

‖ A Western isogloss.

gi̯ā́lu** ring, bracelet, precious stone: Tung. ****goldi; Turk. ****KĀĺ***; Jpn. ****kusirə***; Kor. ****kòrhói***.

PTung. ****goldi*** 1 ring 2 loop (on handle of whip) (1 кольцо 2 петля (на кнутовище)): Evk. *goldi* 1; Man. *Gulǯarχan* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 159, 167.

PTurk. ****KĀĺ*** 1 jade 2 precious stone, the bezel of a finger ring (1 яшма 2 драгоценный камень, гнездо в кольце): Karakh. *qaš* (MK) 1; Tur. *kaš* 2; Az. *Gaš* 2; Turkm. *Gāš* 2; MTurk. *qaš* (Houts., IM, Pav. C., MA) 1,

2; Uygh. *qaš* 2; Tat. *qaš* 2; Bashk. *qaš* 2; Kirgh. *qaš* 2; Kum. *qaš* 2; Nogh. *qas* 2; Tv. *xaš* 2.

◊ EDT 669. KW 171. Turk. > Mong. *qas(i)*, (HY) *qaši*, see Clark 1980, 41, 42, Щербак 1997, 134.

PJpn. ***kusirə*** bracelet (браслет): OJpn. *kusiro*.

◊ JLTT 466.

PKor. ***kòrhói*** ring, bracelet (кольцо, браслет): MKor. *kòrhói*; Mod. *kori*.

◊ Nam 51, KED 140.

‖ A specific common Altaic cultural term.

✱**gi̯aŋu** wild onion: Tung. ***guŋur***; Turk. ***gEmürgen***; Jpn. ***k(u)i***.

PTung. ***guŋur*** garlic (чеснок): Evk. *guŋur*.

◊ TMC 1, 173. Attested only in Evk., with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***gEmürgen*** wild onion or garlic (дикий лук или чеснок): Karakh. *kövürgen* (MK), *kömürgen* (MK - Oghuz); Tur. *gümüren*; Gag. *kömüren*; Kirgh. *köbürgön*; Khak. *köbərgen*; Oyr. *köbürgen*; Tv. *kögürön* (dial.); Tof. *kögirhen*.

◊ EDT 691, ЭСТЯ 3, 100; VEWT 285; Лексика 124. Sometimes explained as derived from *köbür-* 'to foam' (see VEWT ibid.); this seems a folk etymology, but may explain the irregular -b- in some of the forms.

PJpn. ***k(u)i*** a k. of onion (вид лука): OJpn. *k(j)i*.

◊ JLTT 449.

‖ Cf. also some similar roots: **gokV*, **ki̯omga*, **k'ema* (with possible mergers). Medial -m- in Turk. may be either due to these mergers, or a result of labial assimilation (**gEmürgen* < **gEŋürgen*). The Jpn. form must go back to a suffixed **gi̯aŋ(u)-gV*.

✱**gi̯ări** to stretch, spread: Tung. ***girke-***; Turk. ***ger-***; Kor. ***kər-***.

PTung. ***girke-*** to spread (расстилать): Evk. *girke-*; Evn. *girkъ-*.

◊ TMC 1, 156.

PTurk. ***ger-*** to spread out, to hang (растягивать, вешать): OTurk. *ker-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ker-* (MK, KB); Tur. *ger-*; Gag. *ger-*; Az. *gär-*; Turkm. *ger-*; MTurk. *ker-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ker-*; Uygh. *ker-*; Krm. *ger-*; Tat. dial. *kər-* (KCTT); Bashk. *kir-*; Kirgh. *ker-*; Kaz. *ker-*; KBalk. *ker-*; KKalp. *ker-*; Kum. *ger-*; Nogh. *ker-*; Khak. *kir-*; Oyr. *ker-*; Tv. *xer-*; Tof. *ker-*; Chuv. *kar-*.

◊ VEWT 254, EDT 735, ЭСТЯ 3, 23-24.

PKor. ***kər-*** 1 to hang on, put on (smth.) 2 to spread out (1 вешать, надевать (что-л.) 2 расстилать): MKor. *kər-thí-* 1; Mod. *kəl-* 1, *kəlčhi-* 1, 2.

◊ Nam 38, KED 97, 100.

‖ The match is possible if TM **girke-* is a secondary contraction < **giarke-*. Another possibility would be to suppose **girke-* < **gerki-* and reconstruct PA **gĕrV*.

✱**gi̯ă̆ru** acacia: Tung. ***gur-**; Turk. ***KArakan**; Jpn. ***kútí-**; Kor. ***kor-**.

PTung. ***gur-** 1 acacia 2 polar birch 3 willow (1 акация 2 полярная береза 3 ива): Evk. *guran* 2; Man. *Goro* 1; Nan. *GorGolaži* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 161, 162, 173.

PTurk. ***KArakan** acacia (акация): Karakh. *qaraqan* (MK); Turkm. *GaraGan* 'солянка древовидная'; Khal. *qaraqan*; MTurk. *qaraqan[a]* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɔrɔγɔn*; Bashk. dial. *qaraγan*; Kirgh. *qaraγan*; Kaz. *qaraγan*; Khak. *xaraγan*; Shr. *qaraγan*; Oyr. *qaraγan*; Tv. *xaraγan*, Todzh. *qaraγan*.

◊ EDT 657, ЭСТЯ 5, 293-294, TMN 1, 275. Turk. > Mong. *qaraγana*, whence again into Turk. (Khak. *xaryana* etc., see ЭСТЯ ibid.).

PJpn. ***kútí-** Gardenia jasminoides (Gardenia jasminoides): MJpn. *kútínasi*; Tok. *kùchinashi*; Kyo. *kúchínáshí*; Kag. *kuchináshi*.

PKor. ***kor-** acacia, Caragana ussuriensis (акация): Mod. *koldam-čho*.

‖ The meaning 'acacia' is surprisingly well reconstructable for this root.

✱**gi̯àru** wave, stream: Tung. ***guru-**; Mong. ***goru-ka / *gori-ka**; Kor. ***kjə́r**.

PTung. ***guru-** 1 reach (of river) 2 whirlpool (1 плес 2 водоворот): Evk. *gurukā* 1, *guru-ma* 'straight (of a river reach)'; Ork. *GorGi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 161, 174.

PMong. ***goru-ka / *gori-ka** small river, rivulet, stream (речка, ручей): MMong. *goroxan* (HY); WMong. *γoruqa*, *γoriqa* (L 362); Kh. *gorx́*; Bur. *gorxo(n)*; Kalm. *γoroxa* (СЯОС).

PKor. ***kjə́r** wave (волна): MKor. *kjár*; Mod. *kjəl*.

◊ Nam 43, KED 116.

‖ Mong. and TM reflect a common derivative **gi̯àru-k'V*.

✱**gi̯ă̆ŕá** to walk, step: Tung. ***giari- / *gira-**; Mong. ***gar-**; Turk. ***gEŕ-**; Jpn. ***kàtí**.

PTung. ***giari- / *gira-** 1 to walk 2 to step (1 гулять 2 шагать): Evk. *gira-kta-* 2; Evn. *gi̯raŋ-*, *gi̯rqə̄-* 2; Neg. *gi̯jān-* 2; Man. *Garda-* 'to run', *ǵari-* 'to walk round, walk away'; Ul. *Gêri-* 1, *Gi̯ran-* 2; Ork. *Gi̯ran-*; Nan. *Gi̯ari-* 1, *Gi̯ran-* 2; Orch. *gā̆ri-* 1, *gia-* 2; Ud. *geä-li-* 1, *geäna-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 141, 142, 147, 154-155.

PMong. ***gar-** to go out (выходить): MMong. *qar-* (HY 36, SH), *qor-*, *qur-* (IM), *γă̆r-* (MA); WMong. *γar-* (L 350); Kh. *gar-*; Bur. *gara-*; Kalm. *γar-*; Ord. *Gar-*; Mog. *γaru-*; ZM *γaru-* (41-2); Dag. *gar-* (Тод. Дар. 130), *gare-* (MD 148), *garə-*; Dong. *qeri-* (MGCD *qiri-*); Bao. *xă̆r-* (MGCD *xarə-*); S.-Yugh. *Gar-*; Mongr. *Gari-* (SM 120).

◊ KW 145, MGCD 285.

PTurk. ***gEŕ-** to walk, walk through (ходить, проходить через): OTurk. *kez-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kez-* (MK, KB); Tur. *gez-*; Gag. *gez-*; Az. *gäz-*; Turkm. *gez-*; Sal. *gez-* (Kakuk); Khal. *käz-*; MTurk. *kéz-* (Sangl., MA, Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *kez-*; Uygh. *g/käz-*; Krm. *gez-*; Tat. *giz-*; Bashk.

gi̯ð-; Kirgh. *kez-*; KBalk. [*kezik* 'очередь']; KKalp. *gez-*; Kum. *gez-*; Nogh. *kez-*; Tof. *kes-*.

◊ VEWT 260, EDT 757, ЭСТЯ 3, 10-11. Cf. also (with -r-) Yak. *kerij-* 'walk around'. The derived Turk. **gEŕik* 'turn, order' (< *'going through') > MMong. *kešik* (SH), WMong. *kesig* 'wake, turn' (see TMN 1, 467-468, Clark 1980, 40). The verb itself was also borrowed, cf. WMong. *kesü-*, Khalkha, Bur. *xese-*, Dag. *kese-* 'to wander, roam'.

PJpn. ***kàtí*** walking (хождение пешком): OJpn. *kati*; MJpn. *kàtí*; Tok. *káchi*; Kyo. *káchí*; Kag. *kachí*.

◊ JLTT 444. The Kyoto accent is irregular, otherwise all evidence points to **kàtí*.

‖ ЭСТЯ 3, 11, JOAL 125, 126, АПиПЯЯ 74, 289, Дыбо 13.

✱**gi̯aso** to curse, horrify: Tung. ***gos-***; Mong. ***ges-***; Turk. ***Kias-***; Jpn. ***kasi-***.

PTung. ***gos-*** to curse (ругать): Neg. *gosowlā-*; Man. *gasxu-* 'to swear' (Захаров 305); SMan. *Gasəhə-* (1915, 1916); Ul. *Gosolo-*; Ork. *Gosi̯-*; Nan. *Gosōla-*, n. *Gosχo(n)*; Orch. *gosola-*.

◊ TMC 1, 162-163.

PMong. ***ges-*** 1 to punish 2 to suffer (1 наказывать 2 страдать): Kh. *gesgē-* 1; Kalm. *ges-* 'to suffer' (KPC).

PTurk. ***Kias-*** 1 horrible, terrible 2 to annoy 3 to become wasted, lose 4 vindictive 5 inimical (1 страшный, ужасный 2 досаждать 3 разоряться, терять 4 мстительный 5 враждебный): OTurk. *qasïnčïγ* (OUygh. Suv.) 1; Kirgh. *qas* 5; Kaz. *qas* 5; Shr. *qasta-* 2; Chuv. *jus-*, *juzъn-* 3, *jus-tar-* 2; Yak. *xasïmar* 4.

◊ EDT 668, Ашм. XI, 12.

PJpn. ***kasi-*** to curse, damn; cast a spell (проклинать; заклинать): OJpn. *kasi-r-*; MJpn. *kasi-r-*.

‖ Cf. **kasa*.

✱**gi̯óč'e** a k. of flower: Mong. ***gečigene***; Turk. ***gEč-***; Kor. ***kòč***.

PMong. ***gečigene*** silverweed, potentilla anserina (мать-и-мачеха): WMong. *gečigene* (L 381: *gičigene*); Kh. *gičgene*; Bur. *gešegenē(n)* 'название растения со съедобными корнями'; Ord. *gečigene*.

PTurk. ***gEč-*** a k. of flower (вид цветка): Turkm. *gečemžek* 'ластовень острый', *gečigeči* 'пастушья сумка'.; Kirgh. *küčük* 'catkins, aglets, flower buds'; Chuv. *kъčkъ* 'catkins, aglets, flower buds' (> Mari *kičke* 'willow buds'?).

◊ Федотов 1, 264. Not quite secure, since the root is (folk-etymologically?) contaminated either with *geče* 'goat' or with **gŭčük* 'puppy'.

PKor. ***kòč*** flower (цветок): MKor. *kòč*; Mod. *k:ot* [*k:očh*].

◊ Nam 54, KED 174.

‖ Very scantily represented in Turkic, so basically a Mong.-Kor. isogloss; not quite reliable.

***gi̯odV** belly, stomach: Tung. ***gudige**; Mong. ***gede-sün**.

PTung. ***gudige** stomach (желудок): Evk. *gudiγē*; Evn. *gudi*; Neg. *gudi*; Man. *guweǯixe*; Ud. *gudie*; Sol. *gudege*.

◊ TMC 1, 167. On Mong. *güǯiγe* < TM see Doerfer MT 22; backloans are probably Spoken Manchu *guǯuge* and Nan. *gūǯē*.

PMong. ***gede-sün** belly, intestines (живот, внутренности): MMong. *gedesun* (HY 47), *kesosun* (IM), *kitäsun, kuǯiesä* (MA 391, 345); WMong. *gedesü(n)*, *gedüsü(n)*; Kh. *gedes, gedsen*; Bur. *gedehe(n)*; Kalm. *gesn̥*; Ord. *gedüsü*; Mog. *gesän, gesäl*; ZM *gisäl* (3-6b); Dag. *gedes, getes* (Тод. Дar. 131), *ketes; geǯese, getese, ketese* (MD 150, 151, 183); Dong. *kiǯəsun, qiǯəsun, kiǯiesun*; Bao. *Gaǯisoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *gedesən*; Mongr. *gidesə* (SM 136), *gədesə*.

◊ KW 135, MGCD 289.

‖ TMC 1, 167. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***gi̯oje ?** to butt, horn: Tung. ***gujā-**.

PTung. ***gujā-** 1 to butt 2 horn 3 fang 4 to play (of animals) (1 бодать 2 рог 3 клык 4 играть (о животных)): Evk. *gujā-* 1; Evn. *gu̯j-* 1; Neg. *goja* 2; Man. *Guja-* 4; Ul. *Gu̯ja* 3; Ork. *Gu̯ja-* 1; Nan. *Goja* 2; Orch. *guja* 3; Ud. *guja* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 168.

‖ Basically a TM root, but cf. Yak. *kej-* 'to butt'. Jpn. **k(ù)i* 'fang' may belong here, too - but see under **kʻi̯ùge*). On the whole, rather dubious as a common Altaic etymon.

***g[i̯o]jkʻu** bird of prey: Tung. ***giax(ü-n)**; Turk. ***göjke**.

PTung. ***giaxü-n** 1 hawk 2 falcon (1 ястреб 2 сокол): Evk. *gêki* 2; Evn. *gãqo̯n* 1,2; Neg. *gêxin* 1; Man. *ǵaχun* 1; SMan. *ǵahun* 1 (2241); Jurch. *giaxun* (*giaxun-un*) (155) 2; Ul. *Gêχõ* 1; Nan. *Gi̯χõ* 1; Orch. *gãki* 1; Ud. *gäxi* (Корм. 221), *geäxi*.

◊ TMC 1, 146. Cf. also TM **kiak-* 'falcon, hawk' (TMC 1, 391) - variant of the same root with assimilation?

PTurk. ***göjke** kestrel, windhover, hawk (пустельга, ястреб): OTurk. *kekük* 'a bird of prey' (OUygh. - Irq Bitig); Karakh. *kekük* 'al-zummac, a bird the bones of which are used in conjurations and sorcery' (MK); Turkm. *gövenek*; MTurk. *köjkenek* (Pav.C., Abushk.); Kirgh. *küjkö*; Khak. *köjkenek*.

◊ VEWT 288, EDT 710, ЭСТЯ 5, 133-134, Лексика 170. Turk. > Mong. *küjkünek*.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 170. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.; seems reliable, but the front vowel in Turk. is unclear.

***gi̯ò̯ńu** dawn, daylight: Tung. ***giańam**; Mong. ***gegeɣe < *geɣeɣe**; Turk. ***gün(eĺ) / *guńaĺ**; Jpn. ***ka(i)**; Kor. ***kúi**.

PTung. ***giańam** dawn (рассвет, заря): Evk. *gêwan*; Evn. *găwu̯n*; Neg. *gêwan*; Ul. *Gêwa(n)*; Ork. *Gêwa(n)*; Nan. *Gi̯wā*; Orch. *găawan*; Ud. *gêäwa*.

◊ TMC 1, 145. The reflexes match almost exactly those of **miańam* 'heart', which makes us reconstruct **giańam* with a later assimilative development > **giawan*. Cf. perhaps also Jurch. *gen-gien* 'light, clear' = Man. *geŋgen*, SMan. *giŋiN* id. (a contamination with PTM **geŋg-* 'clean, clear'? - or the same root?), see TMC 1, 177.

PMong. ***gegeɣe < *geɣeɣe** dawn, daylight (рассвет, дневной свет): MMong. *gegejen* (HY 53, SH), *gegen* (SH), *geji-* 'to become light' (SH), *gigän* (MA); WMong. *gege(n)*, *gegege(n)* (L 373); Kh. *gegē(n)*; Bur. *gegē(n)*; Kalm. *gēn*, *gegēn*; Ord. *gegē(n)*; Dag. *gegēn* (Тод. Дар. 131, MD 149), *geji-* 'to get light (about the sky)' (MD 149); Bao. *gegaŋ*; Mongr. *gəgēn* (SM 132).

◊ KW 132, 135, MGCD 290.

PTurk. ***gün(eĺ) / *guńaĺ** 1 sun 2 day 3 sunny place 4 sun-heat (1 солнце 2 день 3 солнечное место 4 солнечный жар): OTurk. *kün* 1, 2 (Orkh., OUygh.), *küneš* 3 (YB), *isig qujaš* 4 (OUygh. - Br.); Karakh. *kün* 1, 2, *qujaš* 4 (MK), *küneš* 3 (Tefs.); Tur. *gün* 2, *güneš* 1, (dial.) *gujaš* 1; Gag. *gün* 1, 2, *güneš* 1; Az. *gün* 1, 2, *günäš* 1; Turkm. *gün* 1, 2, *güneš* 1, 4, *qujāš* 1 (dial.); Sal. *gün̈* 1, 2; Khal. *kin*, *kün* 1, 2, *kinäš* 'sonnig'; MTurk. *qujaš* 1 (Sangl., Abush., Pav. C.), *küneš* 1 (Pav. C., Abush., Бор. Бад.), *kün* 1, 2 (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *kun* 1, 2, *qujɔš* 1; Uygh. *kün* 1, 2, (dial.) *qojaš* 1; Krm. *kün* 1, 2, *küneš* 1, *qujaš*, *qujas* 1; Tat. *kön* 1, 2, *qojaš* 1; Bashk. *kön* 1, 2, *könäs* 4, *qojaš* 1; Kirgh. *kün* 1, 2; Kaz. *kün* 1, 2; KBalk. *kün* 1, 2; KKalp. *kün* 1, 2, *qujaš* 1; Kum. *gün* 1, 2 *güneš* 1; Nogh. *kün* 1, 2, *qi̯jas* 4; SUygh. *kun* 1, 2; Khak. *kün* 1, 2; Shr. *kün* 1, 2, *qujaš* 1; Oyr. *kün* 1, 2, dial. *qujaš* 1 (Kumd., Leb.); Tv. *xün* 1, 2; Tof. *xün* 1, 2; Chuv. *kon* 2, *xᵊʷvel* 1; Yak. *kün* 1, 2, *kuj̄ās* 'heat'; Dolg. *kün* 1, *kuńās* 'heat'.

◊ VEWT 301, 309 (Räsänen separates **gün* and **gun'al'*, which is hardly justified); EDT 679, 725, 734, ЭСТЯ 3, 100-104, 6, 112-113, Лексика 20-21, 64-65, 77-78, Федотов 1 306-307, Stachowski 161, 164. The forms **güńeĺ* and **guńaĺ* must be old dialectal variants.

PJpn. ***ka(i)** day, period of time (день, период времени): OJpn. *ke*.

◊ The root is also attested as a suffixed -ka (*patu-ka* '20 days', *itu-ka* '5 days' etc.), see JLTT 430, 448.

PKor. ***kúi** dawn (рассвет): MKor. *hăĭs-kúi*; Mod. *häk:wi*.

◊ Nam 484, KED 1815.

‖ Лексика 78, Doerfer MT 143. Cf. also Mong. *geji-* 'to dawn' (KW 137), proving that **geɣe-* < **geje-*. The Korean form points to a cluster with **-j-*, therefore a reconstruction **gi̯ò̯jnu* (with subsequent assimilative palatalization -jn- > -jń-) is perhaps more plausible; cf. also the variation **n/*ń* in PT. The Jpn. reflex is somewhat problematic: loss of

final resonant here may be explained by a standard development before a velar suffix (*ka < *gi̯ò̯jn(u)-gV, cf. Mong. *gege-γe, Man. geŋ-ge); but one would rather expect a PJ form like *ku(i). The irregular vowel may be due to contraction, cf. a similar case in PJ *ká 'mosquito' < PA *kúńe.

✱**gi̯ŏ[k]ó** to run, send: Tung. ***gik-***; Mong. ***güji-***; Turk. ***Kog-***; Jpn. ***kàká-***.

PTung. ***gik-*** 1 to gallop 2 to send 3 to spy (1 бежать рысью 2 посылать 3 разведывать): Evn. *gi̯qli̯-* 3; Man. *ǵaχala-ča-* 1; Ul. *Gi̯lta-* 2; Nan. *Gi̯qo-* 1, *Gi̯aqta-* 2; Orch. *gikta-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 137, 149.

PMong. ***güji-*** to run, gallop, flee (бежать, убегать): MMong. *gue-* (HY 16, 36), *gui'ji-* (SH), *gui-* (MA), *guj-* (IM); WMong. *güi-*, *güjü-* (L 390); Kh. *güj-*; Bur. *güj-*; Kalm. *gǖ-*; Ord. *güj-*; Mog. *güī-*; KT *gujä-* (10-6a); Dag. *gui-* (Тод. Дар. 133, MD 153); Mongr. *gwə̄-* (SM 140), *gui-* (Huzu).

◊ KW 140, MGCD 308.

PTurk. ***Kog-*** to drive, pursue (гнать, преследовать): Tur. *koγ-* (since 17th cent.); Uygh. *qoγla-* (dial.); Khak. *xoγ-*; Oyr. *qoγ-*; Yak. *kuolā-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 9-10, VEWT 275 (should be distinguished from PT *Kob-).

PJpn. ***kàká-*** to run, gallop, flee (бежать, скакать, убегать): MJpn. *kaka-*; Tok. *kaké-*; Kyo. *kàkè-*; Kag. *kàkè-*.

◊ JLTT 702.

‖ The medial consonant behaves irregularly: the Turk. and Mong. forms point to an intermediate *gi̯ogo, probably a result of assimilation < *gi̯oko.

✱**gi̯ola (~ -Í-, *gi̯alo)** to burn, fire: Tung. ***gul-***; Mong. ***gal***.

PTung. ***gul-*** 1 to blaze 2 to set fire 3 (bon)fire 4 hearth (1 сверкать 2 разжигать 3 костер 4 очаг): Evk. *gul-* 1; Evn. *gu̯l-* 2; Neg. *golo-wun* 3; Man. *Golon tuwa* 3; *gulgin* 'flame'; Ul. *Gol-ǯo(n)* 4; Nan. *Gola-* 2, *Golǯō* 4; Orch. *gogǯo(n)* 4; Sol. *gu̯lǯēr* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 169.

PMong. ***gal*** fire (огонь): MMong. *qal* (HY 22, SH), *qal* (IM), *γal* (MA); WMong. *γal* (L 346); Kh. *gal*; Bur. *gal*; Kalm. *γal*; Ord. *Gal*; Mog. *γōl*; *γɔ̄l* (18-2a); Dag. *gali*, *gaĺ* (Тод. Дар. 130, MD 148); Dong. *qan*; Bao. *xal*; S.-Yugh. *Gal*; Mongr. *Gar* (SM 118).

◊ KW 141-142, MGCD 279.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 294. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Poppe 24, 75 compares the TM stem with Mong. *γolu-mta* 'hearth', but cf. rather *gi̯ūĺo.

***gi̯òlo** to be unhappy, endure: Tung. ***gil-**; Mong. ***golu-**; Turk. ***Kol-**; Jpn. ***kàrápá- (~-uo-)**.

PTung. ***gil-** 1 to be sore, ache (of heart, wounds) 2 to be sad, annoyed, indignant (1 ныть, болеть (о сердце, ране) 2 грустить, досадовать, негодовать): Evk. *gilka-* 1; Evn. *gi̯lko-* 1; Man. *gila-, giŋqa-, giŋGa-, gilaža-, gilača-* 2; Ul. *gil-, gêl-* 1; Ork. *gilči-* 1; Nan. *Gi̯lki̯-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 151.

PMong. ***golu-** to be unhappy with smth., consider smth. bad (презирать, не любить): MMong. *qolu-* (HY 36); WMong. *γolu-, γol-* (L 359); Kh. *golo-*; Bur. *golo-*; Kalm. *γol-*.

◊ KW 150.

PTurk. ***Kol-** to beg (просить (милостыню), умолять): OTurk. *qol-* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qol-* (MK); MTurk. *qol-* (Pav. C., Abush.), *qol-či* 'beggar'; Uzb. *qɔlčir* 'Verleumder' (KW 183); Krm. *qol-*; SUygh. *qol-*; Yak. *kulu* 'give (imper.)'.

◊ VEWT 277, EDT 616, ЭСТЯ 6, 36-37. Turk. > WMong. *qolčir*, KW *xolčr* 'verschwenderisch, leichtsinnig' (KW 183).

PJpn. ***kərápá- (~-uo-)** to endure (терпеть, выносить): MJpn. *korafa-*; Tok. *koraé-*; Kyo. *kòràè-*; Kag. *kòràè-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

‖ KW 150.

***gi̯ó̞ÍV** edge; eyebrow: Tung. ***gula**; Turk. ***K(i)āÍ**.

PTung. ***gula** 1 edge, cliff 2 eyelashes 3 beard, moustache (1 склон, скат 2 ресницы 3 борода, усы): Evk. *gula* 1; Neg. *gulaxan* 1; Man. *Gulaqu* 1; Orch. *gūla* 1, *gulagö* 2; Ud. *gula* 1, *guluge* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 169.

PTurk. ***K(i)āÍ** eyebrow; edge, bank; saddle bow (бровь; край, берег; лука седла): OTurk. *qaš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qaš* (MK, KB); Tur. *kaš* (dial.); Az. *Gaš*; Turkm. *Gāš*; MTurk. *qaš* (Sangl., Pav. C., Abush.), *qaš* (CCum.); Uzb. *qɔš*; Uygh. *qaš*; Krm. *qaš*; Tat. *qaš*; Bashk. *qaš*; Kirgh. *qaš*; Kaz. *qas*; KKalp. *qas*; Kum. *qaš*; Nogh. *qas*; Khak. *xas*; Shr. *qaš*; Oyr. *qaš*; Tv. *qaš*; Tof. *xaš*; Yak. *xās*; Dolg. *kās*.

◊ EDT 669, VEWT 240, TMN 3, 389, ЭСТЯ 5, 343-345, Лексика 211-212, 542, Stachowski 143.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss, with very similar semantic developments. Лексика 212.

***gi̯ó̞p'e** to swell, form blisters: Mong. ***göb- / *güb-**; Turk. ***Kāp-**; Jpn. ***kəp(u)i (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***kòpó-m-**.

PMong. ***göb- / *güb-** 1 elevation, unevenness on the surface of an object; wart, blister, pimple 2 to have pimples 3 hill, mound (1 возвышение, неровность на поверхности предмета; бородавка, прыщ 2 иметь прыщи 3 холм, возвышение): WMong. *göbdürigüü* 1, *göb-*

dürigüde- 2 (L 385), *gübege(n)*, *gübüge(n)* 3 (L 388); Kh. *gövdrŭ* 1, *gövdrŭde-* 2, *güvē* 3; Bur. *gübē* 3, *gübɨ-*; Kalm. *göwē*, *güwē* 3; Ord. *göbdörŭ* 1, 3.

◊ KW 138, 140.

PTurk. ***Kāp-*** 1 to swell, form blisters 2 thick, swollen 3 hill, mound (1 распухать, нарывать 2 толстый, распухший 3 холм, возвышение): Karakh. *qapar-* 1, *qapa* (MK) 3; Tur. *kabar-* 1, *kaba* 2; Az. *Gabar-* 1, *Gaba* 2; Turkm. *Gābar-* 1, *Gāba* 2; MTurk. (OKypch.) *qabar-* (AH) 1, *qaba* (Houts., AH) 2; Uygh. *qapa(r)-* 1, dial. *qova* 2; Tat. *qabar-* 1, *qaba* 2; Bashk. *qabar-* 1, *qabaq* 3; Kirgh. *qabar-* 1, *qabaq* 3; Kaz. *qabar-* 1, *qaba* 2; KKalp. *qabar-* 1, *qapa* 2; Kum. *qabar-* 1, *qaba* 2; Nogh. *qabar-* 1; Tv. *xavar-*, *xapɨj-* 1; Chuv. *хъʷba-lan-* 1; Yak. *xaba-lan-* 1.

◊ VEWT 215, 233, ЭСТЯ 5, 158, 165-166.

PJpn. ***kəp(u)i (~ -ua-)*** swelling of feet (опухание ног): MJpn. *kofi*.

PKor. ***kòpó-m*** fever, malaria (*лихорадка, малярия*): MKor. *kòpó-m*.

◊ Nam 47.

‖ Cf. **kŏp'e*, **k'ăpe*.

✱**gi̯óra** a k. of reed: Tung. ***gurbi***; Turk. ***KAr(a)gu***; Jpn. ***kántúrá***.

PTung. ***gurbi*** reed (тростник): Man. *Gurbi(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 173. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***KAr(a)gu*** reed (тростник): Karakh. *qarɣu* (AH); Tur. *karɣɨ*; Az. *Garɣɨ*; Turkm. *GarGɨ*; Khal. Garɣo; MTurk. *qarɣu* (AH), *ɣarqu* (Бор. Бад.), *ɣaraw* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *ɣɔrɔw*; Chuv. *хорɣих* 'осот полевой, молочай' (< **Korgaɣu* with secondary -х ; Ашм. XVI, 194: *xur xuxi*, *xur xuxxi*, *xor хъvъх*).

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 306.

PJpn. ***kántúrá*** vine, creeper (*лоза*): OJpn. *kadura*; MJpn. *kádúra*; Tok. *kàzura*; Kyo. *kázùrà*; Kag. *kazúra*.

◊ JLTT 447. All dialects except Kyoto point to high tone.

‖ The Turk.-Manchu match is semantically straightforward; the Jpn. match is phonetically plausible, but less certain semantically.

✱**gi̯óro (~ -ŕ-)** to cut, carve, shear: Tung. ***giri-***; Mong. ***gur-***; Jpn. ***kár-***.

PTung. ***giri-*** to cut out (вырезать): Evk. *gir-*; Evn. *gi̯r-*; Neg. *gī-*, *gi̯j-*; Man. *giri-*; Ul. *Gi̯ri̯-*; Ork. *Gi̯ri̯-*; Nan. *Gi̯ri̯-*; Orch. *gī-*, *gi̯ji-*; Ud. *gī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 153-154.

PMong. ***gur-*** 1 carving 2 whetstone (1 резьба 2 точильный камень): WMong. *ɣorbi* 1, *ɣuranǯu* 2 (L 369); Kh. *gurvi* 1, *guranʒ* 2; Bur. *guŕba* 1; Kalm. *guŕwə*, *goŕwə* 1.

◊ KW 152, 156.

PJpn. ***kár-*** to shear, mow (срезать, косить): OJpn. *kar-*; MJpn. *kár-*; Tok. *kàr-*; Kyo. *kár-*; Kag. *kár-*.

◊ JLTT 704.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 288, Miller-Street 1975, 108ff (with a somewhat different distribution of roots). MKor. *kǎr-hǎi-* < **kàr-hǎi-* through assimilation (?). The root tends to contaminate with a number of similar roots: see **k'irga, *k'iregV, *kiro.*

***gi̯ŏŕe (~ *gi̯ǎŕu)** skin disease: Tung. ***gōr-**; Turk. ***KEŕi-**.

PTung. ***gōr-** 1 to exuviate, lose skin 2 a bird that has lost feathers (1 линять, сбрасывать кожу 2 облинявшая птица): Evk. *gōr-* 1; Evn. *gōr-* 1; Neg. *goj-* 1; Man. *Goqši* 2; Ul. *Golị-* 1; Ork. *Gərị-* 1; Nan. *Gōrị-* 1; Ud. *guai-* 1; Sol. *gori-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 160-161.

PTurk. ***KEŕi-** fever, contagious disease (лихорадка, заразная болезнь): OTurk. *kezik* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kezig* (KB, MK); Tur. *gezik* 'a rodent ulcer' (EDT), *kezek* 'gangrene'; MTurk. *kezek* 'a rodent ulcer' (Abush.), Kypch. *keziv* 'pestilence' (CCum.); Uygh. *kezik* 'typhus'; Bashk. *kiδew* 'pestilence'; Kirgh. *kezik* 'long uncurable disease'; Kaz. *kezik* 'fever'; KKalp. *gezik* 'a cold in the head'; Khak. *kizəm*; Oyr. *kezim, kezü*.

◊ EDT 758-759, VEWT 260 (derivation from *kez-* 'walk' is highly dubious).

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

***gi̯ose (~ -i, *gi̯aso)** stick, pole: Tung. ***gusa**; Mong. ***gesi-ɣün**.

PTung. ***gusa** 1 pole (for tying nets) 2 banner (1 шест (для привязывания сети) 2 знамя): Man. *Gusa* 2; Ul. *Gụsa* 1; Ork. *Gụsa* 1; Nan. *Gosa* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 175. Man. > Dag. *gusa* (Тод. Даг. 133).

PMong. ***gesi-ɣün** branch (ветка): MMong. *geši'un* (HY 7), *gešibūn* (Lig.VMI), *kešiut* (pl.) (SH Козин); WMong. *gesigün, gesigŭ̄* (L 380); Kh. *gešŭ̄n, gišŭ̄n*; Bur. *gešŭ̄(hen)*; Kalm. *gešŭ̄n*; Ord. *göšŭ̄*; Dag. *gesū* (Тод. Даг. 131, MD 150); Mongr. *kəzụ̄* 'attisoir' (SM 197).

◊ KW 135. Mong. > Khak. *köžö* 'bough'.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***gi̯ube** to hit, pound: Tung. ***güb-**; Turk. ***Küb-**; Jpn. ***kuwa-**.

PTung. ***güb-** to pound, strike (бить, выбивать, выколачивать): Evk. *giw-*; Evn. *gīw-*; Neg. *giw-*; Ul. *guji-*; Nan. *guji-*; Orch. *giwi-*; Ud. *giu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 148.

PTurk. ***Küb-** to pound, hit (laundry) (бить, выбивать (белье)): Tat. *küjɛ-*; Chuv. *kiv-*.

◊ VEWT 306, Федотов 1, 268, 290.

PJpn. ***kuwa-** to kick (пинать): OJpn. *kuwa-*; MJpn. *kuwa-*; Tok. *kér-*; Kyo. *kér-*; Kag. *kèr-*.

◊ JLTT 707. The tone is not clear because of later contraction; the conjugation type of the verb has secondarily changed (*ke-* would be regular in modern Jpn.).

‖ EAS 148, Poppe 25, Doerfer MT 73. Cf. **gŏp'i.*

***gi̯ūbe** to smoke, roast: Tung. ***gŭb-**; Turk. ***gübeč**; Jpn. ***káwə́r-**; Kor. ***kūb-**.

PTung. ***gŭb-** 1 to fume, smoke 2 furnace, stove (1 коптить, вялить 2 очаг, горн): Evk. *gī-* 1, *gīwun* 2; Man. *Guwa-xan* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 147, 165.

PTurk. ***gübeč** frying pan; earthenware pot (сковородка; глиняный горшок): Karakh. *küveč* ((MK); Tur. *güveč*; Gag. *güveč*; Az. *güvəǯ*; Turkm. *göweč*; Uzb. *kövăš* (dial.); Oyr. *kŏš* 'skull' (Вербн.).

◊ VEWT 151, 286, EDT 687-688, ЭСТЯ 3, 53-54.

PJpn. ***káwə́r-** to smell, fumigate (пахнуть; дымиться): OJpn. *kawor-*; MJpn. *kawor-*; Tok. *kàor-*; Kyo. *káór-*; Kag. *kaór-*.

◊ JLTT 703.

PKor. ***kūb-** to bake, fry (печь, жарить): MKor. *kūp-* (*kù'í-*); Mod. *kŭp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 63, KED 220.

‖ One of several similar roots (cf. **ki̯ajo, *ki̯aju*) tending to contaminate, which may explain some irregularities (notably, tone and irregular -a- in Jpn.).

***gi̯ùla** thin, short: Tung. ***gōl-**; Mong. ***gulbi-**; Turk. ***Kił-**; Jpn. ***kàrú-**.

PTung. ***gōl-** 1 rare (with intervals) 2 shallow (1 редкий (с промежутками) 2 мелкий): Evk. *gōrba* (Bac.) 2; Nan. *Gōlị* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 159. -r- in Evk. is not quite clear: *gōrba* may be < **gōlba* under the influence of the synonymous *arba* 'shallow'.

PMong. ***gulbi-** be thin, lean (быть тонким, худым): WMong. *ɣulbij-* (MXTTT); Kh. *gulbij-*; Bur. *gulba-gar*.

PTurk. ***Kił-** 1 thin 2 short (1 тонкий 2 короткий): Kirgh. *qilmij-*; Kaz. *qilmij-*; Khak. *xilbis*; Oyr. *qilbiq, qilbis* 1; Chuv. *xəldərke* 'худой, хилый, тонкий'; Yak. *kilgas* 2; Dolg. *kilgas* 2.

◊ On the rare reflexes of this root see VEWT 263, Stachowski 168.

PJpn. ***kàrú-** light (of weight) (легкий): OJpn. *karu-*; MJpn. *kàrú-nari*; Tok. *kàru-*; Kyo. *kárù-*; Kag. *káru-*.

◊ JLTT 831. Kyoto and Kagoshima point rather to **kárú-*, but the attested MJ form is *kàrú-*.

‖ A common derivative **gi̯ùla-bV-* is reflected in Turkic, Mongolian and TM.

***gi̯ŭldo** to stretch: Tung. ***gülde-**; Mong. ***gulda-**; Turk. ***Kula-**.

PTung. ***gülde-** to stretch (вытягивать, расправлять, разворачивать): Evk. *gilde-*; Evn. *gildъ-*; Neg. *gilde-*; Ul. *gulde-*; Ork. *gulči-*; Nan. *gulde-*; Orch. *gigdeli-* 'to change clothes'; Ud. *gigde-*.

◊ TMC 1, 150. Southern languages reflect à partial contamination with **gulde-* 'untie, unwrap' (v. sub **gúldi*).

PMong. ***guld-** along (вдоль): MMong. *ɣulatqa-* 'to roll' (MA 179); WMong. *ɣuldu*; Kh. *guld*; Kalm. *ɣuldə-* 'roll off, slide along'; Ord. *Gulad-* 'roll off'.

◊ KW 154. Mong. > Man. *Gula-* 'fall off (a rock)' (TMC 1, 169; Doerfer MT 111).

PTurk. ***Kula-** 1 to wave; jump over 2 to stretch 3 fathom (1 махать; перепрыгивать 2 тянуться 3 сажень): Karakh. *qulač* 3 (MK); Tur. *kulač* 3; Gag. *qolač* 3; Az. *Gulač*, *Golaǯ* 3; Turkm. *Gulač* 3; Sal. *qulaš* 3; MTurk. *qula-* 2 (Буд.), *qulač* 3 (АН, Бор. Бад.), *qulaǯ* 3 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qulač* 3; Uygh. *ɣulač* 3; Tat. *qolač* 3; Bashk. *qolas* 3; Kirgh. *qulač* 3; Kaz. *qulaš* 3; KKalp. *qulaš* 3; Kum. *qulač* 3; Nogh. *qulaš* 3; SUygh. *qulaš*, *Golaš* 3; Khak. *xulas* 3; Oyr. *qula-* 1, *qulaš* 3; Tv. *qulaš* 3; Chuv. *xъʷlaś* 3; Yak. *kulā-*, *kulas-ta-* 1.

◊ EDT 618, VEWT 298, TMN 3, 487, ЭСТЯ 6, 122, 129-131.

‖ TMC 1, 150 (Mong.-Tung.). A Western isogloss.

✱**gi̯uli** male deer: Tung. ***gil-**; Turk. ***Külmüŕ**.

PTung. ***gil-** reindeer (more than 5-years-old) (домашний олень (свыше 5 лет)): Evk. *gilge*, *gilduka*; Evn. *gilge*, *gi̯lr̥q*; Neg. *gi̯ldu̯ka*; Ud. *giloŋgüö* 'male roe'.

◊ TMC 1, 150. Cf. also **gilbe-* in Evk. *gilbe-* 'to tie deer in a tandem', *gilbe-wun* 'buckle, loop (on the back saddlebow, for tying the next deer in the caravan)', Evn. *gilbъn-*, Orok *gilben-* 'to tie in a tandem'.

PTurk. ***Külmüŕ** male chamois (самец серны): Karakh. *külmüz* (KB); Khak. *külbüs*; Oyr. *külmüs*; Tv. *xülbüs*; Tof. *xülbüs*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 139, Лексика 153.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**g[i̯ú]ĺe** to strain liquid: Tung. ***gile-**; Turk. ***Köĺ-er-**; Jpn. ***kə́s- (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***kə̀rɨ̀-**.

PTung. ***gile-** to sprinkle with wine (sacr.) (кропить, делать возлияние вином): Man. *gile-*.

◊ TMC 1, 152. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***Köĺ-er-** to be full to overflowing (быть переполненным, переливаться через край): Karakh. *kösher-* (MK).

◊ EDT 754.

PJpn. ***kə́s- (~ *-ua-)** to strain, filter (процеживать, фильтровать): Tok. *kòs-*; Kyo. *kós-*; Kag. *kós-*.

◊ The word is not attested in OJ sources; Martin JLTT 713 (contradicting Martin 213) takes it as a variant of **kua-s-* 'send/cross over', which is highly dubious.

PKor. ***kə̀rɨ̀-** to strain, filter (процеживать, фильтровать): MKor. *kə̀rɨ̀-*; Mod. *kərɨ-*.

◊ Liu 40, KED 82.

‖ Martin 232, JOAL 119 (Kor.-Jpn.). Reflexes outside the Eastern area are scarce, but still the comparison seems probable, despite some phonetic problems (in TM *-ü- would be expected).

✱**gi̯ù̯ĺo (~ -e)** to smoke, fume: Tung. ***gŭl-***; Mong. ***golu-mta***; Jpn. ***kùsù-(m)p-***; Kor. ***kər-***.

PTung. ***gŭl-*** to smoke, fume (коптить): Evn. *gīl-* 'кипеть'; Ul. *gulup-*; Ork. *gulitči-*; Nan. *gulu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 147, 149. Shortening in Nan. is not quite clear (perhaps a misrecording).

PMong. ***golu-mta*** hearth (очаг): MMong. *γulumtan* (MA 179); WMong. *γolumta* (L 359); Kh. *golomt*; Bur. *gulamta*; Kalm. *γulmṭ*, *γolmṭə*; Ord. *Gulumta*; S.-Yugh. *golomd*.

◊ KW 150, 154, MGCD 299.

PJpn. ***kùsù-(m)p-*** to smoke, fume (дымить(ся)): MJpn. *kusuba-*; Tok. *kusubúr-*; Kyo. *kúsúbúr-*; Kag. *kùsùbùr-*.

◊ JLTT 717.

PKor. ***kər-*** to be smoked (коптить(ся)): Mod. *kəl-*.

◊ KED 97 (derives from *kɨl-* < **kɨńɨr-* q. v. sub **k'ùńe*), which is phonetically implausible.

‖ Cf. **gi̯ola*.

✱**gi̯ù̯p'a (~ -u)** to extinguish: Tung. ***gūp-***; Turk. ***Kɨp-***.

PTung. ***gūp-*** to extinguish, be extinguished (гасить, гаснуть): Ul. *gūpu-*, *gōkpi-* (*itr.*), *gūptu-* (tr.); Ork. *gūptu-* (*itr.*), *gūpu-* (tr.); Nan. *gūp-*, *gūkpu-* (*itr.*), *gūpu-* (tr.).

◊ TMC 1, 159. Cf. also Evk. *kubdume* 'dark', see TMC 1, 421 (< **gup-tu-me* ?)

PTurk. ***Kɨp-*** 1 spark 2 ashes (1 искра 2 зола): Tat. *qɨpqɨn* 1; Kirgh. *qɨpɨn* 1; Kaz. *qɨpqɨn* 2; Khak. *xɨbɨn* 1,2; Oyr. *qɨbɨn* 1, *qɨbɨr* 2; Yak. *kɨbɨan* 1.

◊ VEWT 263, 265, Лексика 369, ЭСТЯ 6, 223.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. **gep'V*.

✱**gŏbè (~ -o)** to search, hunt: Tung. ***gob-***; Mong. ***guji-***; Turk. ***Kob-***; Jpn. ***kàp-***.

PTung. ***gob-*** to hunt (охотиться): Evk. *goγ-*, *gowǯo-*; Evn. *gobǯa-*; Neg. *gobǯo-*; Ork. *Gobdo-*; Orch. *gobǯono-*.

◊ TMC 1, 157.

PMong. ***guji-*** to search, ask (искать, просить): MMong. *qu'iu* (HY 39), *quju-* (SH), *quj-* (IM), *γuj(ă)-* (MA); WMong. *γuju-* (L 365), *γuji-*; Kh. *guj-*; Bur. *guj-*; Kalm. *γū-*, *γŭ-*; Ord. *guj-*; Dag. *goi-* (Тод. Дар. 132), *guai-*; Dong. *Goji-*; Bao. *Gui-*; Mongr. *Gwārla-* 'demander avec instance, prier, mendier' (SM 124).

◊ KW 156.

PTurk. ***Kob-*** to follow, chase (преследовать, гнаться): Karakh. *qov-* (MK); Tur. *kov-*; Gag. *qū-*; Az. *Gov-*; Turkm. *qov-*; MTurk. *qov-* (AH), *qaw-* (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qaw-* (dial.), *quw-*; Krm. *quw-*; Tat. *quw-*; Bashk.

qiw-; Kirgh. *qū-*, *qubala-*; Kaz. *quw-*; KBalk. *quw-*; KKalp. *quw-*; Kum. *quw-*; Nogh. *quw-*; Oyr. *qū-*; Chuv. *xu-*, *хъv-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 9-10, VEWT 275, Федотов 2, 315-316. The Karakh. derivative *qovdaq* 'greedy' (although scarcely attested) is a probable source of WMong. *qobduɣ* 'greedy', see Clark 1977, 147.

PJpn. ***kàp-*** to ask, beg (просить, умолять, выпрашивать): OJpn. *kop-*; MJpn. *kòf-*; Tok. *kó-*; Kyo. *kò-*; Kag. *kò-*.

◊ JLTT 714.

‖ KW 156, Владимирцов 160, 272, Poppe 24, 49, Ozawa 202-203, Miller 1985, 145, АПиПЯЯ 81.

✱**goblu** valley: Tung. ***gola**; Mong. ***gowl**; Turk. ***Kōl**; Jpn. ***kura**; Kor. ***kōr**.

PTung. ***gola*** valley (долина): Man. *golo*.

◊ TMC 1, 160. Manch. *golo* 'valley, watershed' has also acquired the meaning 'land between two rivers' and 'administrative region'. With the latter meaning it was borrowed into Ud. *golo* 'people', Nan. *Golo* id., (Bik.) 'region, locality'.

PMong. ***gowl*** river; river valley, centre (река; долина реки, центр): MMong. *qol* (SH), *ɣol* (MA); WMong. *ɣoul*; Kh. *gol*; Bur. *gol*; Kalm. *ɣol*; Ord. *Gol*; Mog. *ɣōl*; Dag. *gol* (Тод. Даг. 132), *gole* (MD 152); Dong. *Gon*; S.-Yugh. *Gol*; Mongr. *Gor* (SM 125), (MGCD *Gol*).

◊ KW 149-150, MGCD 298, 300. The meaning 'centre' in Mong. is obviously secondary (< 'river bed', 'river centre', despite Doerfer TMN 1, 438 who thinks of an opposite semantic development).

PTurk. ***Kōl*** valley (долина): Karakh. *qol* (MK); Tur. *kol* (dial.); Turkm. *Gōl*; MTurk. *qol* (B); Uygh. *qol* (dial.); Tat. *qul*; Bashk. *qul* (dial.); Kirgh. *qol*; KBalk. *qol*; Kum. *qol*; SUygh. *qol* 'gutter'; Khak. *xol*; Tv. *xol*.

◊ VEWT 277, Лексика 90-91, EDT 615 (confused with **Kol* 'arm'), ЭСТЯ 6, 43-46.

PJpn. ***kura*** deep valley (глубокая долина): OJpn. *kura*, *kura-tani*.

PKor. ***kōr*** valley (долина): MKor. *kōr*; Mod. *kōl*.

◊ Nam 51, KED 156.

‖ EAS 48, KW 150, SKE 121, Martin 245, Whitman 1985, 191, 222, Martin 1996, 39, АПиПЯЯ 19, 70. Mong. cannot be borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 139.; the isolated Manchu form may be < Mong. (see TMN 1, 439, Doerfer MT 116, Rozycki 91), but not necessarily so.

✱**gòbù (~ -u-)** beautiful: Mong. ***gowa**; Jpn. ***kùpà-**; Kor. ***kōb-**.

PMong. ***gowa*** beautiful, good (красивый, хороший): MMong. *qo'a* (SH), *ɣua* (MA), *qohā* (IM); WMong. *ɣuwa*, *ɣuua*, *ɣoua* (L 370); Kh. *gua*; Bur. *gō*; Kalm. *gō* 'straight'; Ord. *Gō*, *Gōn*; Dong. *gau*.

◊ KW 152, TMN 1, 421 (> Oyr. *qo*, Yak. *kuo*). Despite Joki 214 and Menges 1984, 273 not < Chin.

PJpn. ***kùpà-** 1 beautiful 2 fine, detailed (1 красивый 2 точный, подробный): OJpn. *kupa-si* 1; MJpn. *kùfa-sí* 2; Tok. *kuwashí-* 2; Kyo. *kúwàshì-* 2; Kag. *kuwashí-* 2.

◊ JLTT 834.

PKor. ***kōb-** beautiful, lovely (красивый): MKor. *kōp-* (-w-); Mod. *kop-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 52, KED 163.

‖ EAS 90, SKE 124 (despite Doerfer's - TMN 1, 422 - doubts, the comparison seems impeccable), Miller 1985, 144-145, АПиПЯЯ 15, 68, Ozawa 18.

✱**gòdè** to be diligent, persistent, to endure: Mong. ***güǯi-**; Turk. ***Kodur-**; Jpn. ***kətàpa-**.

PMong. ***güǯi- / *güd-ke** 1 to be energetic, persistent, stubborn, to take risks 2 to slander, calumniate (1 быть упрямым, настойчивым, энергичным 2 клеветать): WMong. *güǯire-*, *güǯirde-* (L 393) 1, 2, *güdke-* (L 388) 2; Kh. *güǯirde-*, *gütge-* 2; Bur. *güžer* 'slander'; *güžer* 'reckless, persistent'; Kalm. *güǯr-*, *gütkə-* 1; Ord. *güǯir* 'violence'; Dag. *guǯule-* (MD 153) 2, *geǯire* (n.).

◊ KW 139, MGCD 307.

PTurk. ***Kod-, *Kodur-** 1 to take trouble, make efforts 2 to overpower (1 прилагать усилия 2 осиливать, одолевать): Karakh. *qoδur-* (MK) 1; Yak. *xot-* 2; Dolg. *kot-* 2.

◊ EDT 605; Stachowski 154 (but, because of semantic difference, hardly to **Kod-* 'put aside').

PJpn. ***kətàpa-** to endure (терпеть): MJpn. *kòtàfa-*; Tok. *kotáe-*, *kotaé-*; Kyo. *kòtàè-*; Kag. *kòtàè-*.

◊ JLTT 713: the verb is usually treated as = **kətàpa-* 'to answer', but the two forms should be probably separated (because of the difference in meaning and external evidence).

‖ Cf. **kiŭdi*, **kit'u*.

✱**gódú** down, to lower: Mong. ***gudu-**; Turk. ***Kodɨ**; Jpn. ***kúntá-r-**.

PMong. ***gudu-** 1 to lower, be bent downward 2 downward (1 опускаться, склоняться вниз 2 вниз): WMong. *γuduji-* 1, *γudus* 2 (L 364, 365); Kh. *gudaj-*, *guduj-* 1, *gudas* 2; Bur. *gudɨ-* 1; Kalm. *γudī-* 1, *γudəs* 2; Ord. *Gudus* 'in the centre'.

◊ KW 153.

PTurk. ***Kodɨ** below, downwards (внизу, вниз): OTurk. *qodɨ* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qoδɨ* (MK, QB); Tur. *koju*; MTurk. *quju*, *qujɨ* (MA, Бор. Бад.), *quji* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *quji*; Uygh. *quju*; SUygh. *qozɨ*, *quzɨ*, *quzu*; Tv. *qudu*; Tof. *qudu*; Chuv. (?) *xərlə* 'bowing the head' (KW 153); Yak. *xotu* 'downstream; North'; Dolg. *kotun* 'in the direction of'.

◊ EDT 596, VEWT 275, ЭСТЯ 6, 31-32, Stachowski 154.

PJpn. ***kúntá-r-** to lower, go down (опускаться): OJpn. *kuda-r-*; MJpn. *kúdá-r-*; Tok. *kùdar-*; Kyo. *kúdár-*; Kag. *kudár-*.

◊ JLTT 715 (also **kúntá-s-* 'to lower').

‖ KW 153, Владимирцов 160, 319.

***gǒje** a k. of ferment: Tung. ***gū (~ *gǔ)**; Turk. ***göjü-**; Jpn. ***ki**; Kor. ***kī-**.

PTung. ***gū (~ *gǔ)** 1 poison 2 a poisonous plant (1 яд 2 ядовитое растение): Man. *gu orχo* 2; Ul. *gù* 2; Ork. *gǔ* 1; Nan. *gǔ* 1; Ud. *gū*.

◊ TMC 1, 164.

PTurk. ***göjü-** 1 capers 2 ferment for milk 3 a k. of fermented milk drink (1 каперсы 2 закваска для молока 3 вид квашенного молочного напитка): Turkm. *göjül* 1; Kirgh. *kŏrčök* 3; Chuv. *kəʷvelek* 2, *kəʷve-* 'to ferment'; Yak. *köjörgö* 2, *küörčex* 3; *köjün-* 'to ferment' (der. *kŏnńör-*).

◊ Егоров 103. Kirgh. > Kalm. *kŏrcəg* (see differently in KW 244, Лексика 451).

PJpn. ***ki** wine (вино): OJpn. *kji*.

◊ JLTT 449.

PKor. ***kī-** to make sour (of wine), coagulate (квасить (о вине), сгущать(ся)): MKor. *kī-hă-*.

◊ Nam 77, HMCH 314.

‖ Jpn. **ki* must be a result of early secondary contraction (**kəj-* > **ki*).

***gojV** different, other: Tung. ***goj / *gia**; Mong. ***gojar**; Jpn. ***kía**.

PTung. ***goj / *gia** other (другой): Evk. *gê*; Evn. *gā*; Neg. *gê*; Man. *Guwa*; SMan. *Guā* (3023) 'other,another'; Ul. *Gê-Gda* 'single'; *Goj*; Ork. *Gê-da* 'one, single'; *Goj*; Nan. *Gịa-Gda* 'single'; *Goj*; Ud. *geä*; Sol. *gẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 144, 157-158. Ramstedt's (SKE 185) idea about borrowing from Sino-Korean is impossible.

PMong. ***gojar** two (два): MMong. *xojar* (HY 42), *qojar* (SH), *qujar* (IM), *qujar* (MA); WMong. *qojar* (L 955); Kh. *xojor*; Bur. *xojor*; Kalm. *xojr*; Ord. *xojor*; Mog. *qojōr*; ZM *qejār* (25-1a); Dag. *xojir* (Тод. Дат. 177), *hojire* (MD 162); Dong. *Gua*; Bao. *Guar*; S.-Yugh. *Gūr*; Mongr. *Gōr* (SM 122).

◊ KW 181-182, MGCD 361. Northern dialects reflect *k-, due to contamination with **koji-* 'to be behind, follow' or with **korin* 'twenty'.

PJpn. ***kía** different, other (другой, отличный): OJpn. *kje*; MJpn. *ké*.

◊ JLTT 448.

‖ The Jpn. form reflects a contraction **kía* < **kVja*, frequent in roots with medial *-j-.

***gokV** a k. of reed or leek: Mong. ***gogu-**; Turk. ***Koga (~ -k-)**.

PMong. ***gogu-** a k. of wild leek (вид дикого лука): MMong. *qoqosun* (HY 8); WMong. *γoγud*, *γoγusu(n)* (L 358); Kh. *gogol*, *gogod*; Bur. *gogod*, *gōgol*; Kalm. *γoγəsn̥*; Ord. *gogot*; Dag. *gogos* (Тод. Дат. 132), *guagas*; Mongr. *GoGor* (SM 122).

◊ KW 149. Mong. > Evk. *gowohun*, see Poppe 1966, 197.

PTurk. ***Koga (~ -k-)** a k. of reed (вид тростника): Tur. *kova, koγa* (dial.); Uzb. *qoγa*; Krm. *qoγa*; Tat. *quγa*; Bashk. *quγa* (dial.); Kaz. *qoγa*; KKalp. *qoγa*; Kum. *qoγa*; Nogh. *qoγa*; Oyr. *qoγo*.

◊ VEWT 275, ЭСТЯ 6, 10-11.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss: not quite reliable because of late attestation, but borrowing in either direction seems improbable. Cf. **gi̯aŋu, *ki̯omga, *k'ema*.

***gók'ì (*-dV)** high, peak: Tung. ***gugda**; Mong. ***gögde-**; Jpn. ***kúkì**; Kor. ***kòkái**.

PTung. ***gugda** high, tall (высокий): Evk. *gugda*; Evn. *gu̯d*; Neg. *gogda*; Man. *Godo-χon*; Ul. *GuGda*; Ork. *GuGda*; Nan. *GoGda*; Orch. *gugda*; Ud. *gugda*; Sol. *guγda*.

◊ TMC 1,166.

PMong. ***gögde-** high, knobby, lofty (высокий, выдающийся, выступающий): WMong. *gü/ögde-ger*, (L 388:) *güdügür*; Kh. *güdgr, güdger*; Kalm. *gögdəgr*; Ord. *güdügür*; Mongr. *gudōr* (SM 139).

◊ KW 137.

PJpn. ***kúkì** peak (пик, горное ущелье): OJpn. *kukji*; MJpn. *kúkì*.

◊ JLTT 462.

PKor. ***kòkái** peak, height (пик, вершина): MKor. *kòkái*; Mod. *kogä*.

◊ Liu 61, HMCH 156, KED 134.

‖ Poppe 19, 51, АПиПЯЯ 288, 295. The Mong. and TM forms reflect a derivative in *-dV (probably originally locative). See also a discussion under **gudA*.

***gòlí** a k. of weapon for sea-hunting: Tung. ***goli**; Mong. ***gölmi**; Jpn. ***kùrúrí**.

PTung. ***goli** 1 a hook (in a needle for weaving nets) 2 net for large fish (1 язычок (в игле для вязания сетей) 2 сеть для ловли крупной рыбы): Evk. *goli* 1; Nan. *Golī* 2; Orch. *gōli* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 159.

PMong. ***gölmi** net (сеть): MMong. *golimi* (HY 21), *golmi* (SH); WMong. *gölmi* (L 386); Kh. *gölöm*; Bur. *gülem, gülme*; Kalm. *gölmṇ*; Mongr. *gurma*.

◊ KW 138.

PJpn. ***kùrúrí** an arrow for shooting sea-birds or for catching fish (стрела для водоплавающей птицы или для ловли рыбы): OJpn. *kururi*; MJpn. *kùrúrí*.

◊ JLTT 465.

‖ A common Altaic cultural term.

✱**goli** log, wooden block: Tung. ***gola**; Mong. ***göle- (~ -ü-)**; Turk. ***göl-**; Jpn. ***kura-i**.

PTung. ***gola** 1 log 2 burnt log, firewood (1 бревно 2 головешка, дрова): Evk. *golo* 1; Evn. *gol* 2: Neg. *golo* 1; Man. *Goldon, Golton* 2; Ul. *Goloŋqo* 2; Ork. *Golo* 1, 2; Nan. *Goloŋqo* 2; Orch. *golo*; Ud. *golo*.

◊ TMC 1, 159-160.

PMong. ***göle- (~ -ü-)** (wooden) crane, wooden log for lifting logs to a carriage ((деревянный) журавль, чурбан для поднятия бревен на телегу): Bur. *gülɨ*.

PTurk. ***göl-** 1 wooden board 2 woodblock 3 cross-bar (over fire) (1 деревянная доска 2 деревянный брусок 3 распорка (над огнем)): Turkm. *güle* 1; Khak. *kölbe* 2; Oyr. *kölzök* 'снегозащитные щиты' (?); Chuv. *kəle* 'задвижка'; Yak. *kölö* 3.

◊ Different etymologies in Федотов 1, 271 (Chuv. *kəle* - hardly to *kilit*); VEWT 289 (Yak. *kölö* - not to 'harness' *köl-*).

PJpn. ***kura-i** log with unpeeled bark (полено с неободранной корой): OJpn. *kure*; MJpn. *kure*.

◊ JLTT 464.

‖ The word is rather scantily represented in Turkic and Mongolian, but borrowing is rather improbable.

✱**goli (˜ -e)** female of an ungulate: Tung. ***gulu-**; Turk. ***göle**.

PTung. ***gulu-** female deer, roe (самка оленя, косуля): Evk. *gulkačān*; Evn. *gulkъ*; Ork. *gulu*; Ud. *gulugese*.

◊ TMC 1, 170.

PTurk. ***göle** 1 heifer 2 cow (1 телка 2 корова): Tur. *göle* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *göle* 1; Sal. *kölex* 2.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; cf. perhaps also MMong. *gölme*, WMong. *gölme*, Ord. *gülme* 'skin of ox or swine, saddle cloth'.

✱**gőli (~ -e)** to bury, put bones: Tung. ***gulī-**; Turk. ***gőli-**.

PTung. ***gulī-** to put animal bones on a special decking (класть кости животных на специальный лабаз): Evk. *gulī-*; Evn. *göli-*; Neg. *gulī-*; Ork. *guli-*.

◊ TMC 1, 170.

PTurk. ***gőli-** to bury (хоронить): Karakh. *köli-* (MK); Turkm. *gőle-*.

◊ EDT 716. Despite Clauson, not connected with *köle-* 'to shade'.

‖ An interesting Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**goŋV(ŕV)** a k. of insect: Tung. ***guŋgu**; Mong. ***guwur**; Turk. ***Koŋuŕ**; Kor. ***kūm(p)-**.

PTung. ***guŋgu** 1 big fly 2 grasshopper, dragon-fly (1 большая муха 2 кузнечик, стрекоза): Ul. *guŋguni* 2; Ud. *guŋgu* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 172.

PMong. ***guwur** larva of a gad-fly (личинка овода): WMong. *γuur* (L 371); Kh. *gūr*; Bur. *gūr*; Kalm. *γūr*.

◊ KW 157.

PTurk. ***Koŋuŕ** beetle (жук): OTurk. *qoŋuz* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qoŋuz* (MK); Uzb. *quŋgiz*; Uygh. *qoŋGuz*; Krm. *qomuz*; Tat. *qoŋγɨz*; Bashk. *quŋɨδ*; Kirgh. *qoŋuz*; Kaz. *qoŋɨz*; KKalp. *qoŋɨz*; Nogh. *qoŋɨz*; Khak. *xōs* (dial.); Oyr. *qoŋus, qoŋɨs, qomɨs*; Chuv. *хъʷmъʷr* 'drone'; Yak. *xomurduos*; Dolg. *komurduos*.

◊ VEWT 281, EDT 641, Лексика 187, ЭСТЯ 6, 61-62, Stachowski 152. Turkic > MMong. (MA) *qonquz*. A hardly plausible explanation of the Yak. form as "brown pig" see in Щербак 1997, 140-141.

PKor. ***kūm(p)-** larva of a beetle (личинка жука): MKor. *kūmpə̀ŋ, kūmpə̀ŋʹì*; Mod. *kumpeŋi*.

◊ Nam 63, KED 220.

‖ KW 157, Дыбо 8, Лексика 188 (Doerfer TMN 3, 527 regards the Turk.-Mong. match as "aus lautlichen Gründen mindestens unwahrscheinlich"), although phonetically the match is quite plausible. The Kor. form is not quite clear morphologically (*kūmp(j)əŋ(i)* < **kūŋ-p(j)əŋ*, a compound with some unclear second component?), but semantically matches the other forms very well.

***gópʹá (~ -u-)** stump: Mong. ***gobur**; Jpn. ***kámpú**.

PMong. ***gobur** having no branches (of a tree) (без ветвей (о дереве)): WMong. *γobur* (L 357); Kh. *govor*.

PJpn. ***kámpú** stump (пень): MJpn. *kabu*; Tok. *kàbu*; Kyo. *kábú*; Kag. *kábu*.

◊ JLTT 431.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

***gőpʹi (~ -e)** to beat, hit: Tung. ***gupuj-**; Mong. ***göbi-**; Turk. ***gőp-**.

PTung. ***gupuj-** to hit down berries by a special device (обивать ягоды битком): Evk. *gujā-*; Evn. *guj-*; Ul. *gupi-*; Nan. *gupi-*; Orok. *gupi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 168. Evk. *gujā-vun* 'биток' > Russ. dial. *gajevun*, Selk. *kujavun*, see Аникин 161 (with lit.).

PMong. ***göbi-** to pound, strike (бить, молотить): MMong. *gubur* (HY 35); WMong. *göbi-, gübi-* (L 386); Kh. *güve-, gövši-*; Bur. *gübi-*; Kalm. *göw-*; Ord. *göwö-, güwi-, güwe-*; Mog. *gubi* 'abstreifen (Asche)' (Weiers); ZM *gube-* (23-10a); Dag. *guwi-* (Тод. Даг. 133), *gubi-* (MD 152) 'shake (dirt off)'; Bao. *ki-*; Mongr. *gubu-, guwu-* (SM 139), *gui-, gubu-*.

◊ KW 138, MGCD 300.

PTurk. ***gőp-** 1 a wooden hammer for processing boot seams 2 to hit, pound (1 деревянный молоточек для обивки обувных швов 2 бить, колотить): Turkm. *gőbe* 1; Kirgh. *kübü-* 'to shake, shake off';

KKalp. *küpilde-* 'to lumber, rumble'; Khak. *küp-le-t-* 'to knock'; Chuv. *küpke-* 2; Yak. *kübürgē-* 'to hit ice with a pounder'.

◊ Modern expressive formations, but the root seems to be archaic.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **gjube*.

✱**górà (~ -ŕ-)** to starve, be empty: Tung. ***gure-**; Mong. ***guri-**; Jpn. ***kárà**; Kor. ***kòrh-**.

PTung. ***gure-** free, spacious (свободный, просторный): Neg. *gujexī*; Ul. *gure*; Ork. *gurei*; Nan. *guxe* (irreg. < **gure-ke* ?); Orch. *gure-ni*.

◊ TMC 1, 169.

PMong. ***guri-** hungry, starving (голодный, умирающий от голода): WMong. *γuriγa, γuriγu*; Kh. *guriad-*; Bur. *gurinxa*; Kalm. *γuŕă, γoŕŭ, γoŕű*.

◊ KW 151, 155.

PJpn. ***kárà** empty (пустой): MJpn. *kara* (in comp.); Tok. *kará*; Kyo. *kàrá*; Kag. *kárà*.

◊ JLTT 438. The accent in Kyoto is irregular, but Tokyo and Kagoshima point more or less certainly to **kárà*. Despite Martin (ibid.), the word should be probably distinguished from **kárà* 'shell'.

PKor. ***kòrh-** to be hungry; to be empty (быть голодным; быть пустым): MKor. *kòr-phă-, kòrh-*; Mod. *kophi-, kol-* [*kolh-*].

◊ Nam 51, KED 152, 160.

‖ Martin 231 (Kor.-Jpn.)

✱**gŏre** to see; understand: Tung. ***gur-**; Mong. ***gori**; Turk. ***göŕ (= *gör-s) / *gör-**; Kor. ***kíŕì-**.

PTung. ***gur-** 1 to look out, appear 2 to understand (1 выглядывать, показываться 2 понимать): Evn. *göpken-* 1; Neg. *gupket-/č-* 1; Ul. *gurpun-* 1; Ork. *golpon-, gorpon-* 1; Nan. *gurpun-* 1; Sol. *guru-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 163, 174. Sol. > Dag. *goro-, guru-* (Тод. Дат. 132).

PMong. ***gori** hope (надежда): WMong. *gori* (L 361); Kh. *goŕ*; Bur. *gori*; Kalm. *gör* (KPC); Ord. *Gori*; Dag. *goro-, guru-* 'to understand, think about smth.'.

PTurk. ***göŕ (= gör-s) / *gör-** 1 eye (**göŕ*) 2 to see, look (**gör-*) (1 глаз 2 видеть): OTurk. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2 (Orkh., Yen.,OUygh.); Karakh. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *göz* 1, *gör-* 2; Gag. *göz* 1, *gör-* 2; Az. *göz* 1, *gör-* 2; Turkm. *göz* 1, *gör-* 2; Sal. *gö(:)z* 1, *gör-* 2; Khal. *kęr-* 2; MTurk. *göz* (Sangl., Pav. C.), *köz* (Vamb.) 1, *kör-* (MA, Abush., Sangl.) 2; Uzb. *kųz* 1, *kųr-* 2; Uygh. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; Krm. *goz/koz* 1, *kor-* 2; Tat. *küz* 1, *kür-* 2; Bashk. *küδ* 1, *kür-* 2; Kirgh. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; Kaz. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; KBalk. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; KKalp. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; Kum. *göz* 1, *gör-* 2; Nogh. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; SUygh. *köz* 1, *gör-* 1; Khak. *kös* (Sag.) 1, *közenek* (Kizil.) 'window', *kör-* 2; Shr. *kös* (R) 1; Oyr. *kös*, dial. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; Tv. *köstük* 'eye-glass', *köskü* 'visible, good-eyed', *köskenek*

'window', *kör-* 2; Tof. *kösküt-* 'to show', *kör-* 2; Chuv. *koś* 1, *kor-* 2; Yak. *kör-* 2; *köhün-* 'to be seen'; Dolg. *kör-* 2; *köhün-* 'to be seen'.

◊ VEWT 292, TMN 3, 637f, EDT 756 (**göŕ*), 736 (**gör-*), Федотов 1, 310, 314, ЭСТЯ 3, 60-64 (**göŕ*), 77-79, 81-84 (**gör-*), Лексика 209, Stachowski 155, 156. The Chuv. reflex requires a supposition of a final cluster (**rs*) in the nominal stem; this may be a suffixed deverbative. OT *körüg* 'glance; image' > MMo, WMong. *körüg* 'image'.

PKor. ***kírì-*** to long for, miss, think of (стремиться к, думать о ком-л.): MKor. *kírì-*; Mod. *kiri-*.

◊ Nam 68, KED 237.

‖ PKE 85, АПиПЯЯ 281, Дыбо 14. ? Cf. Mong. *girkaj* 'having good eyesight'.

✱**gǒŕV** to move, be irritated: Tung. ***gori-***; Mong. ***gurba-***; Turk. ***Kōŕ-ga-***.

PTung. ***gori-*** to move, stir (шевелиться, двигаться): Evk. *gori-*; Evn. *gurgъldъ-* (*gurge* 'work, engagement'); Sol. *gurgelbū-* (trans.).

◊ TMC 1, 161, 173-174.

PMong. ***gurba-*** to creep, move creeping (of a snake) (ползать, двигаться подобно змее): WMong. *γurba-*; Kh. *gurvalžа-*; Kalm. *γurwā-*, *γurwlzə-*.

◊ KW 156.

PTurk. ***Kōŕ-*** 1 to be irritated, agitated 2 to move; irritate (1 быть возбужденным 2 двигать; возбуждать): Turkm. *Gōzγa-* 2; MTurk. *qozγa-* (Pav. C., Abush., Бор. Бад.) 2; Uzb. *qọzi-* 1, *qɔzγa-* 2; Uygh. *qozγa-* 2; Krm. *qozγa-* 2; Tat. *quzγa-* (dial.) 2; Bashk. *quδi-* 1 (dial.); Kirgh. *qozu-* 1, *qozγo-* 2; Kaz. *qoz-* 1, *qozγa-* 2; KBalk. *qoz-* 1, *qozγa-* 2; KKalp. *qoz-* 1, *qozγa-* 2; Kum. *qozγa-*, *xozγa-* 2; Nogh. *qoz-* 1, *qozγa-* 2; Oyr. *qosqo-* 2.

◊ ОСНЯ 3, 132-133. The roots **Kōŕ-* 'to be hungry' and **Kōŕ-* 'to be agitated' are usually considered to be a single root and are very hard to distinguish within Turkic.

‖ A Western isogloss. The root is homonymous with **gōŕa* 'to starve' (except that the final vowel is uncertain here), but it seems impossible to reduce the two roots to a single entity.

✱**got'ò (~ -u-, -e)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***gutkē-***; Mong. ***gutaγar***; Jpn. ***kəti (~ -ua-)***.

PTung. ***gut-kē-*** pike (щука): Evk. *gutkēn*; Evn. *götken*; Nan. *gūčẽ*; Orch. *gūče*; Ud. *guese*.

◊ TMC 1, 175.

PMong. ***gutaγari*** burbot (налим): WMong. *γutari*, *γutaγari* (L 370); Kh. *gutār*; Bur. *gutār*.

PJpn. ***kəti (~ -ua-)*** Platycephalus indicus (плосколоб индийский, Platycephalus indicus): Tok. *kochi*.

‖ It is not quite clear whether Mong. and TM reflect a common derivative **got'ò-gV* (with assimilation -g- > -k- in TM) or these are independent derivations.

✱**guči (~ -e)** eagle: Tung. ***gusi**; Turk. ***güči-**.

PTung. ***gusi** eagle (орел): Evk. *gus*; Evn. *gusete*; Neg. *gusixān*; Ul. *gusi*; Ork. *gusi*; Nan. *gusi*; Orch. *gusi*.

◊ TMC 1, 175.

PTurk. ***güči-** eagle (орел): Tur. *güčen, güčügen*; MTurk. *küčigen* (Houts.); Tat. *köcögän* (Sib.); Bashk. *kösögän* (dial.); Kirgh. *küčügen*; Kaz. *küšigen*; KKalp. *küšigen*; Oyr. *küčügen* (Tel.); Chuv. *kajъk-kəžək, kajъk-kəš* 'animals and birds'.

◊ TMN 3, 631, ЭСТЯ 5, 130. The Chuv. form is hardly derived from *Kuĺ 'bird', despite Федотов 1, 289.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**gudV (~ -o-) (?)** straight, vertical: Tung. ***goda-**; Mong. ***goda-**; Kor. ***kòt-**.

PTung. ***goda-** straight, vertical (прямой, вертикальный, высокий): Man. *Godoχon*.

◊ TMC 1, 166.

PMong. ***goda-** straight, vertical, sticking out (прямой, вертикальный, торчащий): WMong. *γodaγar* (L 357: *γoduγur*), *γodai* (L 357); Kh. *godgor, godoj-*; Bur. *godogor, godoj-*; Kalm. *γodγr, γodā-*; Ord. *GodoGor*.

◊ KW 149.

PKor. ***kòt-** straight, vertical (прямой, вертикальный): MKor. *kòt-*; Mod. *kot-*.

◊ Nam 50, KED 156.

‖ Lee 1958, 111, TMC 1, 166 (Tung.-Kor.). Not a very reliable root. Note that the Manchu form may belong here only if it is separated from TM **gugda* 'high, tall' (see under **gók'i*), which is not necessarily so. The reflex -t- in Kor. points rather to *-t'- (unless one presumes secondary morphonological analogies). One wonders if all the forms present here do not actually represent reflexes of **gok'-dV*, the suffixed form of PA **gók'i*.

✱**gŭjŕe** to love, like: Tung. ***guǯej**; Mong. ***goju**; Turk. ***güŕel**; Jpn. ***kuà-p-**; Kor. ***kò'í-**.

PTung. ***guǯej** 1 beautiful 2 lovely 3 deserving pity 4 to love, like (1 красивый 2 милый 3 жалкий, жалко 4 любить): Evk. *gužej* 1; Evn. *gužēj* 2, 3; Neg. *gužej* 1; Ul. *gužukuli* 1, *gužele* 3; Ork. *gužile* 3; Nan. *gužiele* 3; Orch. *gužeje* 3; Ud. *gužihi* 3; Sol. *gužēn-* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 167. TM > Dag. *gužeje* (Тод. Даг. 133).

PMong. ***goju** beautiful, good (красивый, хороший): WMong. *γoju, γoji* (L 358); Kh. *gojo*; Bur. *gojo*; Ord. *GojoGlo-* 'marcher d'un facon élégant et vive (femmes)'; Dag. *goji* (Тод. Даг. 132).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *gojo* etc., see Doerfer MT 102; MMong. *goiqan* > Chuv. *xüxəm* (Róna-Tas 1971-1972).

PTurk. ***güŕel*** beautiful (красивый): Tur. *güzel*; Gag. *gözäl*; Az. *gözäl*; Turkm. *gözel*; MTurk. *küzel* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *gu̯zal*; Uygh. *gözäl*; Krm. *guzaĺ* (K); Kirgh. *közöl*; Nogh. *közel*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 63-64, VEWT 295.

PJpn. ***kuà-p-*** 1 to love 2 love (1 любить 2любовь): OJpn. *kwopu-* 1, *kwopi* 2; MJpn. *kòfu-* 1; Tok. *kói* 2; Kyo. *kôi* 2; Kag. *koí* 2.

◊ JLTT 711, 714.

PKor. ***kò'í-*** to love, like (любить): MKor. *kò'í-*; Mod. *kwē-* (arch.).

◊ Liu 66, KED 188.

‖ Дыбо 12, Martin 236. The root contains a rare medial cluster *-jŕ-.

✱***gŭk'à*** (~ ***-o-***) curve, hook; to cling to: Tung. ***guk-***; Mong. ***gok-***; Jpn. ***kàk-***.

PTung. ***guk-*** 1 bent upwards (of head) 2 convex, hill 3 part of harness (a piece of iron with a ring) 4 (plough) thills 5 ski straps (1 задранный кверху (о голове) 2 бугор, выпуклость 3 часть упряжи (железка с кольцом) 4 оглобли (у сохи) 5 лыжные ремни): Evk. *gugarka* 3; Man. *gukdu* 2, Goqči 4; Ul. *gūksi* 5; Nan. *gukū* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 159, 166, 169.

PMong. ***gok-*** hook (крюк): MMong. *γuγa* (MA 223); WMong. *γoqa* (L 363), *γoqu*; Kh. *gox*; Bur. *goxo*; Kalm. *γoxə*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *goko*, Man. *Goχon* etc., see TMC 1, 158-159, KW 149, Doerfer MT 79, Rozycki 91). Cf. also Bur. *gogno-gor* 'with head bent upwards'.

PJpn. ***kàk-*** 1 hook; key 2 to attach, hang 3 to be attached (1 крюк; ключ 2 прицеплять, вешать 3 прикрепляться): OJpn. *kag(j)i* 1, *kak(a)-* 2, *kaka-r-* 3; MJpn. *kàgi* 1, *kàka-* 2, *kàkà-r-* 3; Tok. *kagí* 1, *kaké-* 2, *kakár-* 3; Kyo. *kági* 1, *kàkè-* 2, *kákár-* 3; Kag. *kagí* 1, *kàkè-* 2, *kàkàr-* 3.

◊ JLTT 433, 702. Accent in Kyoto *kàkè-* is irregular..

‖ Cf. **gék'á*, **k'i̯úŋu*, **k'ōki*.

✱***gŭldi*** to tether, bind: Tung. ***gulde-***; Mong. ***güldi-***; Turk. ***gŭl-***.

PTung. ***gulde-*** to untie, unwrap (развязывать, разворачивать): Neg. *gulde-*; Nan. *gulde-*.

◊ TMC 1, 170.

PMong. ***güldi-*** to bend the neck, to harness (сгибать шею, впрягать): WMong. *güldi-*; Kh. *güldij-*; Bur. *güldi-*; Kalm. *güldi-*.

◊ KW 139.

PTurk. ***gŭl-*** to tether, bind feet (привязывать, спутывать ноги): Karakh. *kül-tür-* (MK); Tur. *gülü-* (dial.); Turkm. *güjl-*; SUygh. *k'ul-*; Oyr. *kül-*; Tv. *xülü-*.

◊ VEWT 308, EDT 717 (incorrectly to *kül-* 'harness'), ЭСТЯ 3, 95-96.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **koli*, **k'i̯uli*, **k'íla*.

✱***gùlì*** dwelling, cottage: Tung. ***gūle***; Turk. ***gül***; Jpn. ***kùrà***.

PTung. ***gūle*** hut, dwelling-place (хижина, жилище): Evk. *gūle*.

◊ See TMC 1, 171. Attested only in Evk. (whence Russ. Siber. *gul* 'house, dwelling', see Аникин 171), but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. *gül 1 vestibule, inner porch 2 house, hut 3 home, dwelling-place (1 сени, прихожая 2 дом, хижина 3 жилище): Tur. *gil* 'family (as a second part of compound)', (dial.) 3; Az. *gil* 'family (as a second part of compound)'; Chuv. *kil, kül* 2; Yak. *külä* 1.

◊ VEWT 270, Егоров 112, Федотов 1, 291-292. Yak. *külä* is secondarily borrowed from Tungus, see VEWT 270; but *küle* may be inherited.

PJpn. *kùrà shed (сарай): OJpn. *kura*; MJpn. *kùrà*; Tok. *kurá*; Kyo. *kúrà*; Kag. *kùrá*.

◊ JLTT 464.

‖ EAS 48.

✱**guna** to rob, attack, torture: Tung. *gun-; Mong. *gani; Turk. *Kun-.

PTung. *gun- to punish, avenge (наказывать, мстить): Evk. *gunča-*.

◊ TMC 1, 172. Attested only in Evk., but having probable Turkic and Mongolian parallels.

PMong. *gani 1 berserk, frenzied 2 to strive, endeavor (1 безумный, яростный 2 стремиться): MMong. *qani* (HY 38), *qāni* 'stupid' (MA), *γani* (LH); WMong. *gani* 1, *gani-* 2(L 349); Kh. *gań* 1, *gani-* 2; Bur. *gani(g)* 1; Kalm. *gäńŗ-* 'to become mad'; Dag. *gāni* (Тод. Дар. 130) 1.

◊ KW 148.

PTurk. *Kun- to rob, plunder, attack (грабить, нападать): OTurk. *qun-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qun-* (MK); Turkm. *Gunuš-* (dial.); Kirgh. *qun-*; SUygh. *q'un-*; Tv. *xunā-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 141, VEWT 300, EDT 632.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. *k'i̯ūńa.

✱**gùno** to think: Tung. *gūn-; Mong. *guni-; Turk. *Kun-; Jpn. *kànà-m-; Kor. *kìnìr-.

PTung. *gūn- 1 to say 2 to think (1 сказать 2 думать): Evk. *gūn-* 1; Evn. *gȭn-* 1; Neg. *gūn-* 1; Man. *Guni-* 2; SMan. *Goni-* 2 (1848); Jurch. *xen-du-ru* (467) 1; Ul. *wembuwu* 1; Ork. *un-* 1; Nan. *un(de)-* 1; Orch. *gun-* 1; Ud. *gun-* 1; Sol. *gun-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 171. Loss of *g- in Ul., Orok and Nan., as well as vowel shortening is unclear (perhaps a different root).

PMong. *guni- be sad, anxious (грустить): WMong. *γuni-*; Kh. *guni-*; Bur. *guni-*; Kalm. *γuńə-*; Ord. *Gunid-*; Dag. *guni-*; Dong. *Gunira-*.

◊ KW 155.

PTurk. *Kun- 1 attention, care 2 usefulness 3 to yearn, be anxious, sorry (1 внимание, старание, прилежание 2 польза, толк 3 тосковать, печалиться, горевать): MTurk. *qunuq-* 3 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qunt* 1; Tat. *qon* 1, (dial.) *qonar* 2; *qono* 'diligent, busy', *qonoq-* 'to get used, become accustomed'; Bashk. *qont* (dial.) 1, *qonar* 2; Kirgh. *qunt* 1, *qunar* 2;

Kaz. *qunt* 1; KKalp. *qunt* 1; *quniq-* 'become accustomed'; Oyr. *qunuq-*, *qunan-*, *qunal-* 3; Tv. *qunuq-* 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 147-148, 149-150. **Kun-* 'to yearn, be sorry' and **Kun-* 'attention, usefulness' can hardly be separated; despite late attestation a theory of Mong. origin (< Mong. *guni-*) is hardly plausible because of quite different affixation.

PJpn. ***kənə̀-m-** to like, wish (любить, желать): OJpn. *konom-*; MJpn. *kònòm-*; Tok. *konóm-*; Kyo. *kónóm-*; Kag. *kònòm-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

PKor. ***kɨnɨr-** to take care of, to look after (заботиться, присматривать за): MKor. *kɨnɨr'ŭ-*; Mod. *kiniri-*.

◊ Nam 66, KED 232.

‖ Poppe 24, KW 155, ОСНЯ 1, 234, АПиПЯЯ 291. "Verbal" low tone in Korean. There are several "mental" verbs of the type KUNV in Altaic, and they are not always easy to distinguish from each other. Besides **gŭno* 'think' cf. also notes to **kə̀ńu* 'distress, envy', **k'i̯ŭnu* 'to long, covet', **k'i̯ŭńa* 'punishment' (the latter - with additional analogies with **guna* 'attack, torture'). On the whole this produces an extremely complicated etymological situation, and we are not sure we have disentangled everything correctly.

***gúpu (~ -o-)** empty, hollow: Tung. ***gub-**; Mong. ***gobi-**; Jpn. ***kùp-**.

PTung. ***gub-** 1 to submerge 2 to sink, get stuck in smth. (1 погрузиться, потонуть 2 вязнуть, увязать): Evn. *göbē-* 1, *gupturu-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 163, 173.

PMong. ***gobi-** 1 chute 2 empty place, desert (1 желоб 2 пустое место, пустыня): WMong. *γobil* 1, *γobi*, *γobija* 2 (L 357); Kh. *govil* 1, *goý* 2; Bur. *gobil* 1, *gubi* 2; Kalm. *γowl* 1, *γuẃ*, *γoẃə*, *γöẃə*, *γowi* 2 KPC 164.; Ord. *Guwil*, *Guwi* 2; Dag. *gobi*, *goɓ* (Тод. Дат. 132) 2; Dong. *gobi*; Bao. *gəbi*; S.-Yugh. *gobi*.

◊ KW 152, MGCD 296. Mong. > Evk. *gowi*, Man. *gobi*, see Doerfer MT 102, Rozycki 90. Forms like Kaz. *qobi*, Oyr. *qobi* etc. (ЭСТЯ 6, 6-7) are also most likely < Mong.

PJpn. ***kùp-** to make a nest (делать гнездо): OJpn. *su-kup-*; MJpn. *kùf-*, *sú-kùf-*.

◊ JLTT 718.

‖ An expressive root; not quite reliable because of scanty reflexation in TM and possible contaminations with **gebo* et al. On a possible reflex in Turk. see under **kobu*.

***gure** flour: Mong. ***guril**; Turk. ***Kürüĺ**; Jpn. ***kuà**; Kor. ***kə̀rə̀**.

PMong. ***guril** flour (мука): MMong. *qolir* (IM), *γulir* (MA), *γūlir* (LH); WMong. *γuril*, *γulir* (L 367); Kh. *guril*; Bur. *guril*; Kalm. *γujr̥*; Ord. *gulir*, *guril*; Mog. *γulur*; ZM *γorul* (16-7b); Dag. *goli(l)* (Тод. Дат. 132), *goli* (MD 152); Dong. *quruŋ*, *Guruŋ*; Mongr. *Gurir* (SM 127).

◊ KW 153. Mong. > Tadzh. *γulur* (Lig. VMI 46).

PTurk. ***Kürüĺ*** millet flour boiled in water or milk (просяная мука, сваренная в воде или молоке): Karakh. *küršek* (MK) 1.

◊ VEWT 311, EDT 747.

PJpn. ***kuà*** flour (мука): OJpn. *kwo*; MJpn. *kò*; Tok. *kó*; Kyo. *kŏ*; Kag. *kò*.

◊ JLTT 453.

PKor. ***kǎ̀rǎ̀*** flour (мука): MKor. *kǎ̀rǎ̀*, *kǎr*; Mod. *karu*.

◊ Nam 10, 20, KED 12.

‖ Martin 248. In Kor. the word seems to be related to *kǎr-* 'to grind, pulverize' - but this meaning is probably secondary (the verb originally means 'to polish, whet'). The tone discrepancy between Kor. and Jpn. should be explained either by the secondary influence of this verbal stem in Korean, or by contraction in Japanese (where **kuà* < **gur(e)-ga*); the first explanation seems more probable because the vowel reflex in Korean is also not quite regular (*-o- would be normally expected).

✱**gurgi** palate: Tung. ***gorgakta**; Mong. ***güreɣe**; Turk. ***Kurgak**.

PTung. ***gorgakta*** palate, uvula (нёбо, увула): Neg. *gorkakta*; Man. *Guŋqan* 'Adam's apple' (?); Ork. *Goǯaqta*.

◊ TMC 1, 161, 173.

PMong. ***güreɣe*** front part of the throat (передняя часть горла): WMong. *gürege(n)* (L 392); Kh. *gŭ̄rē(n)*; Bur. *gürō̄*; Kalm. *gürēn*; Ord. *gürē*; Dag. *gure*; S.-Yugh. *gurēn*.

◊ KW 139, MGCD 309. Mong. > Kirgh. *kürö*, Man. *gurexe* (see Doerfer MT 143).

PTurk. ***Kurgak*** palate (нёбо): Khak. *xurɣax*; Oyr. *qurɣaq*.

◊ VEWT 303, *Лексика* 230.

‖ A Western isogloss. See *Лексика* 230.

✱**gŭri** wide, broad, thick: Tung. ***gora**; Mong. ***gür**; Turk. ***gür**; Kor. ***kūrk-**.

PTung. ***gora*** far (далекий): Evk. *goro*; Evn. *gor*; Neg. *gojo*; Man. *Goro*; SMan. *Gorə* (2613); Jurch. *gor-o* (701); Ul. *Goro*; Ork. *Goro*; Nan. *Goro*; Orch. *gō*; Ud. *gō*; Sol. *goro*.

◊ TMC 1, 161-162. TM > Dag. *gōro* (*Тод. Даг.* 132).

PMong. ***gür*** 1 wide, broad 2 swollen (1 широкий 2 вспухший): MMong. *gur* (SH) 1; WMong. *güreger* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *gürger* 2; Bur. *güreger* 2; Ord. *güreger* 2.

PTurk. ***gür*** 1 stout-hearted, courageous 2 thick, dense, abundant 3 wide, broad 4 well fed (1 храбрый 2 толстый, плотный, обильный 3 широкий 4 откормленный): Karakh. *kür* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *gür* 2; Gag. *gür* 2; Az. *gür* 2; Turkm. *gür* 2; Krm. *kür* 2; Tat. *kör* 1, 4; Bashk. *kör* 1, 4; Kirgh. *kür* 'powerful'; Kum. *kür* 1; Nogh. *kür* 'friendly'; Khak. *kür* 1; Tv. *xür* 'healthy, well fed'; Chuv. *kəʷrəʷ* 1, 2; Yak. *kür* 3.

◊ VEWT 310-311, EDT 735, ЭСТЯ 3, 106, Федотов 1, 277-278. Turk. > WMong. *kür*, Kalm. *kür* (KW 246).

PKor. ***kūrk-*** thick (толстый): MKor. *kūrk-*; Mod. *kuk-* [*kulk-*].

◊ Nam 63, KED 219.

‖ Despite Poppe (1960,18 etc.) the TM form cannot be compared with Mong. *qola* 'far'.

✱**gùri** to slander, go mad: Tung. ***gori-***; Mong. ***gör-***; Turk. ***Kür***; Jpn. ***kùrùp-***; Kor. ***kɨ̀rɨ́-***.

PTung. ***gori-*** to go mad (сходить с ума): Evk. *gori-*; Nan. *Goria-*; Ud. *guleäla-*.

◊ TMC 1, 161.

PMong. ***gör-*** 1 slander, deceit 2 *slanderer* 3 to slander (1 клевета, обман 2 клеветник 3 клеветать): WMong. *gör* 1, *göre-či* 2, *görde-*, *görle-* 3 (L 387); Kh. *görč* 2, *gördö-* 3; Bur. *gürde-* 3; Kalm. *görd-* 'to deny' (KPC 147, 149); Ord. *gör* 1, *gördö-* 3, *görči* 2; S.-Yugh. *gördō-* 3.

◊ MGCD 300.

PTurk. ***Kür*** trick, device (трюк, прием, фокус): OTurk. *tevlig kürlüg* 'tricky', *tev kür* (Orkh., OUygh.).

◊ EDT 735, 745.

PJpn. ***kùrùp-*** to become crazy, go mad (сходить с ума): OJpn. *kurup-*; MJpn. *kùrùf-*; Tok. *kurú-*; Kyo. *kúrú-*; Kag. *kùrù-*.

◊ JLTT 717.

PKor. ***kɨ̀rɨ́-*** to be wrong, mistaken (ошибаться, заблуждаться): MKor. *kɨ̀rɨ̀(s)-*; Mod. *kɨrɨ-*.

◊ Nam 67, KED 236.

‖ Martin 246. Korean has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**gúri (~ -o-, -ɨ́-, -e)** deer, game: Tung. ***gurma-*** / ***gurna-***; Mong. ***görüɣe-***; Kor. ***kòráni***.

PTung. ***gurma-*** / ***gurna-*** 1 hare 2 squirrel 3 ermine (1 заяц 2 белка 3 горностай): Evk. *gurnun* 2; Evn. *gurnata* 3; Man. *Gulmaχun* 1; SMan. *Guləmahun* 'hare, rabbit' (2216); Jurch. *guRma-xaj* (150); Nan. *Gormaχō* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 161, 174. Cf. also Nan. (On.) *gorgo* 'fox'.

PMong. ***görüɣe-*** antelope, wild steppe animal, game (антилопа, дикое степное животное, дичь): MMong. *gore'e*, *gore'esun* (SH), *gors[o]n* (IM), *guräsun* (MA); WMong. *görüge(n)*, *görügesü(n)* (L 387); Kh. *görōs(ön)*; Bur. *gürōhe(n)*; Kalm. *görēsn̥*, *görē*; Ord. *görōs*; Mog. ZM *gor[ä]sun* 'wild ass' (21-1); Dag. *gurēs* (Тод. Дат. 133), *gurēse* (MD 153); S.-Yugh. *görösən*; Mongr. *korosə* 'bête féroce, bête sauvage' (SM 215).

◊ KW 138, MGCD 301. Mong. > Sol. *gures*, Man. *gurgu*, see Poppe 1966, 191-192, Doerfer MT 137.

PKor. ***kòráni*** deer, reindeer, elk (олень, лось): MKor. *kòráni*; Mod. *korani*.

◊ Liu 63, KED 138.

‖ PTM and Korean reflect a common derivative **gúri-nV-*. Note that Mong. **gura* 'roebuck' is to be kept apart, see **ŋurV*.

***gŭŕi** to unfasten, (un)tie: Tung. ***gurē-**; Mong. ***görü- / *gürü-**; Turk. ***güŕ-**; Jpn. ***kùr-**; Kor. ***kɨ̀rɨ̀-**.

PTung. ***gurē-** 1 to unfasten 2 to tie (a band) 3 string, lace (1 развязывать 2 подвязывать (унты) 3 завязки, тесемка): Evk. *gurē-* 1, *gurewu-* 2, *guren* 3; Evn. *gurelge-* 1, *gurŋn* 3; Man. *Guran* 3; Ul. *gure-li-* 1; Ork. *gure-li-* 1; Nan. *gure-li-* 1, *gorī* 2; Orch. *guže* 3; Ud. *gue-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 174.

PMong. ***görü- / *gürü-** to plait, spin (плести, ткать): MMong. *gur-* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *görü-*, *gürü-* (L 387, 392); Kh. *görö-*; Bur. *güre-*; Kalm. *gür-*; Ord. *gürü-*; S.-Yugh. *gur-*; Mongr. *guru-* (SM 144), *gurə-*.

◊ KW 139, MGCD 301.

PTurk. ***güŕ-** 1 to lace, bind 2 part of loom (1 вязать, связывать 2 нитченки): Turkm. *göze-* 1; MTurk. *küzük* (IM) 2; Kirgh. *küzük* 2; Oyr. *küzüg* 2 (dial. North.); Chuv. *kəʷrəʷ* 2.

◊ VEWT 312-313, ЭСТЯ 5, 131.

PJpn. ***kùr-** to wind (наматывать, сучить): OJpn. *kur-*; MJpn. *kùr-*; Tok. *kúr-*; Kyo. *kùr-*; Kag. *kùr-*.

◊ JLTT 716.

PKor. ***kɨ̀rɨ̀-** to unfasten (развязывать): MKor. *kɨ̀rɨ̀-*, *kɨ̀rɐ̆̀-*; Mod. *k:ɨrɨ-*.

◊ Nam 66, 67, KED 236.

‖ Poppe 25, 107, Miller 1996, 154, Tekin 1979, 127. Korean has standard verbal low tone.

***gusa (~ -o-, -č-)** elder male relative: Tung. ***gusin**; Jpn. ***kasə**.

PTung. ***gusin** maternal uncle (дядя по матери): Evk. *gusin*; Evn. *göser*; Ul. *gusi(n)*; Ork. *gusi(n)*; Nan. *gusī*; Orch. *gusin*; Ud. *gosoˈ*, *guseˈ* (Корм. 222).

◊ TMC 1, 175.

PJpn. ***kasə** father (отец): OJpn. *kaso*; MJpn. *kàzó*, *kázó*.

◊ JLTT 447.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

***guša** bitter, sour: Tung. ***goši-**; Mong. ***gasi-ɣun**.

PTung. ***goši-** bitter, sour (горький, кислый): Evk. *goči*; Evn. *got*; Neg. *gotɨgdi*; Man. *Gosi-χon*; SMan. *Gosəhun* (430); Ul. *Gotuli*; Ork. *Gotti*; Nan. *Gočɨ*; Orch. *gotisi*; Ud. *guačihi*; Sol. *gošɨ̄gdi*.

◊ TMC 1, 182-183.

PMong. ***gasi-ɣun** bitter (горький): MMong. *qaši'un* (SH, HYt), *qīsun* 'acid', *qāsun* 'bitter' (IM), *ɣašun* (MA), *qāsūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ɣasiɣu(n)* (L 354); Kh. *gašūn*; Bur. *gašūn*; Kalm. *ɣašūn*; Ord. *Gašūn*; Mog. *qašūn*, *ɣašūn*; ZM *qɔ̄šun* (14-9b); Dag. *gasūn* (Тод. Даг. 130), *gasun* (MD

148); Dong. *qɨšun, qəšun*; Bao. *xošal-* 'to become acid, bitter'; S.-Yugh. *Gašūn*; Mongr. *Gašən* (SM 121), *xašin, Gašin* 1.

◊ KW 147, MGCD 288. Also **gosi-γun*, Kalm. *gošūn* id. (KW 152); cf. also *gesigüne*, MMong. (HY) *geši'un*, Khalkha *gešűne* 'rhubarb' (> Russ. dial *gešún*, see Аникин 164).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. АПиПЯЯ 17, Мудрак Дисс. 41, Rozycki 92. ? Cf. OJpn. *kasu* 'dregs'.

***gŭtʻù** to deteriorate: Tung. ***gutu-**; Mong. ***gutu-**; Turk. ***Kūtuŕ**; Jpn. ***kutu-**.

PTung. ***gutu-** 1 to disgrace 2 to rough-house, rage (1 позорить, бесчестить 2 буянить): Man. *Gutubu-* 1; Ul. *Goto-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 163, 176.

PMong. ***gutu-** to deteriorate, lose power, lose courage, become spoiled (ухудшаться, терять силы, терять мужество, портиться): WMong. *γutu-, γutura-* (L 370); Kh. *guta-, gutra-*; Bur. *guta-*; Kalm. *γut-* 'конфузиться, стыдиться'; Ord. *Guta-* 'to be dishonest'; Dag. *goto-* (Тод. Даг. 132), *gotorolgā-*.

◊ KW 156, MGCD 305.

PTurk. ***Kūtuŕ** 1 mad, enraged 2 to become mad, rage 3 to instigate 4 instigation (1 сумасшедший, бешеный 2 сходить с ума, быть в бешенстве 3 подстрекать 4 подстрекательство): OTurk. *qutur-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qutuz* 1, *qutur-* 2 (MK); Tur. *kuduz* 1, *kudur-* 2; Gag. *quduz* 1; Az. *Guduz* 1, *Gudur-* 2; Turkm. *Guduz* 1, *Gūdura-* 2; MTurk. *qutuz* 1 (Ettuhf., Бор. Бад.), *qutur-* 2 (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *qutur-* 2; Uygh. *qutu(r)-* 2; Krm. *qutur-* 2; Tat. *qotoroq* 4, *qotɨr-* 2; Bashk. *qotort-* 3; Kirgh. *qutur-* 2; Kaz. *qutɨr-* 2; KKalp. *qutɨr-* 2; Kum. *qutur-* 2; Nogh. *qutɨr-* 2; Chuv. *xъʷdъʷr* 'boaster', *xъʷdъʷr-* 'to curse'; *kъdъr-* 2 (< Tat.); Yak. *qutur-* 2.

◊ VEWT 305, EDT 605, 608, ЭСТЯ 6, 103-105.

PJpn. ***kutu-** to rot, become spoiled (гнить, портиться): OJpn. *kutu-*, caus. *kutas-*; MJpn. *kùtu-*, caus. *kútás-*; Tok. *kuchí-, kùchi-*; Kyo. *kúchí-*; Kag. *kùchì-*.

◊ JLTT 717. Original accentuation is not quite clear. The causative *kútás-* in RJ and the variant *kúchí-* in Tokyo point to a high tone (corresponding to Turkic length), but other evidence is in favour of a low tone.

‖ Ozawa 209-210, KW 156. The original meaning may be reconstructed as 'deteriorate', with two directions of semantic development (> a) 'to become mad, enraged'; > b) 'to become spoiled, rot').

I

✱**i** a deictic root: Tung. ***i***; Mong. ***i-nu-***; Turk. ***i-na-***; Jpn. ***i***; Kor. ***í***.

PTung. ***i*** 3d p. deictic stem (указательная основа 3 *л.*): Man. *i; ineku* 'the same'; SMan. *ī* 'he, she' (2877); Jurch. *in*; Sol. *ini* 'his'.

◊ TMC 1, 315, 319.

PMong. ***i-nu-*** 3d p. possessive pronoun (притяж. местоим. 3 *л.*): MMong. *ino* (Gen.) (HYt, SH); WMong. *inu-* (L 412); Kh. *ń*; Bur. *ń*; Kalm. *ń*; Mog. *ini ~ ni ~ ne ~ i* (Weiers); Dag. *īn* 'he; this, that' (Тод. Даг. 146).

PTurk. ***i-na-*** that (тот): Turkm. *ina-ru*; Khal. *ína*; Tv. *inda* 'there', *indıγ* 'such'; Tof. *inda* 'there'.

PJpn. ***i*** that (тот): OJpn. *i*.

◊ JLTT 420.

PKor. ***í*** this (этот): MKor. *í*; Mod. *i*.

◊ Nam 397, KED 1316.

‖ SKE 66, ОСНЯ 1, 271-272, АПиПЯЯ 56-57, 297.

✱**ìbè** door, yard: Tung. ***ib-le***; Mong. ***eɣüde***; Turk. ***eb***; Jpn. ***ìpùa***; Kor. ***íp***.

PTung. ***ib-le*** 1 yard 2 dwelling, building (1 двор 2 жилище, жилые постройки): Man. *olen ~ ulen ~ ūlen* 2; Jurch. *ew-le* (197) 1.

◊ TMC 2, 16. Cf. also **ib-že* 'relative-in-law' (TMC 1, 295; = PT **eb-či* ?).

PMong. ***eɣüde*** door (дверь): MMong. *e'uden* 'gate, entry' (HY 16, SH), *iudän* (MA); cf. also *e'ede* (SH) 'Zeltgerüst, Türrahmen'; WMong. *egüde(n)* (L 300); Kh. *ūd(en)*; Bur. *ūde(n)*; Kalm. *ūdn̥*; Ord. *ūde*; Mog. *öüdän*; ZM *ujdän* (22-10a); Dag. *eude, eud* (Тод. Даг. 141, MD 146); Dong. *vižien*; Bao. *ndaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *üden, uden*; Mongr. *ude* (SM 464), *rde* (Huzu).

◊ KW 461, MGCD 685, TMN 1, 196.

PTurk. ***eb*** house (дом): OTurk. *eb* (Orkh.), *ev* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ev* (MK), *öv* (KB); Tur. *ev*; Gag. *jev*; Az. *ev*; Turkm. *öj*; Khal. *hāv*; MTurk. *öj* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *uj*; Uygh. *öj*; Krm. *üj*; Tat. *öj*; Bashk. *üj*; Kirgh. *üj*; Kaz. *üj*; KBalk. *üj*; KKalp. *üj*; Kum. *üj*; Nogh. *üj*; SUygh. *jü*; Khak. *ib*; Shr. *em*, (Kond.) *üj*; Oyr. *üj*; Tv. *ög*; Tof. *ög*; Chuv. *av-la-n-* 'to marry'.

◊ VEWT 34, EDT 3-4, ЭСТЯ 1, 287-288, 513-514, Егоров 21, Лексика 500. The word for 'woman' in some languages goes back to PT **eb-či* ("housewife"), see EDT 6; borrowed in Mong. as *ebsi* 'female of a big bear', see Clark 1980, 43).

PJpn. ***ìpùa** hut (хижина): OJpn. *ip(w)o, ip(w)ori*; MJpn. *ìfò, ìfòrì*; Tok. *ìo(ri)*; Kyo. *iórí*; Kag. *iórí*.

◊ JLTT 425. Modern dialects reflect rather **ípúa* - but RJ has quite explicitly both *ìfò* and *ìfòrì*.

PKor. ***íp** door (дверь): MKor. *íp*.

◊ Nam 406.

‖ Menges 1982, 109. A good common Altaic root; if TM **īb-ǯe* belongs here, can be reconstructed as **ĭbe*.

***ìbè (~ -p-)** grain: Tung. ***ibi-**; Turk. ***ebin**; Jpn. ***ìpì**; Kor. ***pjə́**.

PTung. ***ibi-** to pick out seeds (отбирать зерна (для посева)): Man. *ibaχa ǯafa-, ibaχala-*.

◊ TMC 1, 294. Attested only in Manchu, but having plausible external parallels.

PTurk. ***ebin** grain, seed (зерно, семя): OTurk. *evin* (OUygh.); Karakh. *evin* (MK, KB); Tur. Osm. *evin*, Anat. *efin*; MTurk. *evin* (Qutb); Oyr. *ebin*; Chuv. *avъn śap-* 'to flail', *avъn karti* 'cornfloor' > Mari (Low) *avən*, Mari (High) *ɛn*..

◊ VEWT 34, EDT 12, Мудрак Дисс. 82.

PJpn. ***ìpì** boiled rice, boiled grains (вареный рис, вареные зерна): OJpn. *ipji*; MJpn. *ìfi*.

◊ JLTT 421.

PKor. ***pjə́** rice plant, grain of rice (рис, рисовое зерно): MKor. *pjə́*; Mod. *pjə*.

◊ Nam 257, KED 774.

‖ In Kor. a frequent initial vowel reduction occurred.

***ibkʻV** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***ibkē-n**; Mong. ***(h)ükeg**; Turk. ***ükek**; Jpn. ***ukupa**.

PTung. ***ibkē-n** 1 scoop 2 small boat 3 box (1 черпак 2 маленькая лодка 3 ящик): Evk. *iwkēn* 1; Neg. *iwkēn* 1; Man. *weiku* 2; Ul. *uxe, ujgẽ* 1; Ork. *iwwe* 1; Nan. *juke(n), ujkẽ* 1, dial. *uixu* 2, *ujekẽ* 3; Orch. *eukke, jeuke* 1; Ud. *jūge* 1 (Корм. 242).

◊ TMC 1, 295, 2, 250, 251, 252 (forms like *ujeken* are most probably interdialectal loans).

PMong. ***(h)ükeg** trough, box for dishes (корыто, ящик для посуды): WMong. *ükeg, üküg* (L 1002, 1003); Kh. *üxeg*; Bur. *üxeg*; Kalm. *ükəg*; Ord. *ükek*.

◊ KW 456.

PTurk. ***ükek** box (ящик, сундук): Karakh. *ükek* (MK); Bashk. *ökälɛk* 'store, stall'; Kirgh. *ükök*; Tv. *ügek* 'kennel; basket'; Yak. *ügex* 'stock-room'.

◊ EDT 105, VEWT 370, Лексика 521. Derivation from *ők- 'to heap up' (v. sub *ók'ə), see Аникин 579-580 with lit., is dubious, primarily for semantic reasons.

PJpn. ***ukupa** scoop, vessel (черпак, сосуд): OJpn. *ukupa*.

‖ Mong. may be < Turk., but otherwise the root seems quite reliable.

***ìče** to go, reach, get ready to go: Tung. ***is-**; Mong. ***ičų-**; Jpn. ***ìsuà(n)k-**.

PTung. ***is-** to reach (достигать): Evk. *is-*; Evn. *ịs-*; Neg. *ịs-*; Man. *isi-*; SMan. *iši-* 'to be enough, suffice' (2798); Jurch. *isi-maj* (380); Ul. *ịsị-*; Ork. *ịsị-*; Nan. *ịsị-*; Orch. *isi-*; Ud. *ī-gi-*; Sol. *is-*.

◊ TMC 1, 329-330. TM > Dag. *išikē-* (Тод. Даг. 146).

PMong. ***ičų-** to go back, get ready to go back (возвращаться, готовиться к возвращению): MMong. *ičų-* (SH, HYt); Ord. *iči-*; Dag. *ič-* 'to go to a place' (Тод. Даг. 146: *iči-*), *iči* 'go' (MD 170); Mongr. *śǰi-*, (MGCD) *śiǰi-* 'to go to a place'.

◊ MGCD 534.

PJpn. ***ìsuà(n)k-** to hurry, get ready to go (спешить, готовиться уйти): OJpn. *iswog-*; MJpn. *ìswòg-*; Tok. *isóg-*; Kyo. *ísóg-*; Kag. *ìsòg-*.

◊ JLTT 699.

‖ One of the common Altaic verbs of motion.

***ič'u** inside: Mong. ***(h)iči-**; Turk. ***ič**; Jpn. ***utu**.

PMong. ***(h)iči-** to lie in a hole, lair (of animals), retire into hibernation (лежать в норе, логове (о животных), погружаться в спячку): WMong. *iči-*, *iče-* (L 397); Kh. *iče-*; Bur. *eše-*; Kalm. *ič-*.

◊ KW 212.

PTurk. ***ič** 1 interior of smth. 2 intestines 3 belly (1 внутренность 2 кишки 3 живот): OTurk. *ič* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1, *ičegü* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ič* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *ič* 1; Az. *ič* 1; Turkm. *ič* 1, *ičege* 2; Khal. *ič* 1, *ičgär* 2; MTurk. *ič* 1 (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uygh. *ič* 1; Tat. *eč* 1; Kirgh. *ič* 1, *ičegi* 2; Kaz. *iš* 1; KBalk. *ič* 1; KKalp. *ši* 3; SUygh. *hižigi* 3; Khak. *isker* 1; Tv. *i'žin* 3; Tof. *i'šti* 1, 2; Chuv. *ъš* 1; Yak. *is* 1; Dolg. *is* 1.

◊ VEWT 168, EDT 17, 25, ЭСТЯ 1, 388-391, 392-393, Stachowski 128-129.

PJpn. ***utu** hole, hollow (полость, нора): OJpn. *utu*; MJpn. *uturo*; Tok. *ùtsuro*; Kyo. *útsúró*; Kag. *utsuró*.

◊ JLTT 565. Accent not quite clear: either **ùtú-* (Kyoto, Kagoshima), or **útú-* (Kyoto, Tokyo). The root seems to be distinct from **úti* 'inside' (v. sub **ő́ri*), although the stems certainly tend to contaminate.

‖ Basically a Turk.-Mong. isogloss; the Jpn. reflex is somewhat dubious because of the influence of **ṓri* > PJ **útì* q.v.

***ič'V** to hope, see: Tung. ***iče-**; Mong. ***(h)iča-**.

PTung. ***iče-** to see (видеть): Evk. *iče-*; Evn. *it-/č-*; Neg. *iče-*; Ul. *ičewu*; Ork. *ite-*; Nan. *is(k)e-/ice-*; Orch. *iče-*; Ud. *ise-*; Sol. *isō-* 'to appear'.

◊ TMC 1, 334-335.

PMong. ***(h)ičа-*** to hope, trust, believe (надеяться, верить): WMong. *ičа-* (L 397); Kalm. *icə-*.

◊ KW 211-212.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**idV** to follow, lead, arrange: Tung. ***idu-***; Mong. ***iǯi***; Turk. ***Eder-***.

PTung. ***idu-*** 1 to command 2 to arrange in order 3 order (1 командовать 2 расставлять по очереди 3 очередь): Evn. *idu-* 1; Man. *idu* 3, *idure-* 2; Ul. *idu(n)* 3; Nan. *idu* 3, *idule-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 298.

PMong. ***iǯi*** 1 complete set 2 equal, identical 3 accustomed 4 to get accustomed (1 полный набор 2 равный, тождественный 3 привычный 4 привыкать): MMong. *iǯilidulče-* 4 (SH); WMong. *iǯi* 1, *iǯil* 2 (L 419); Kh. *iǯ* 1, *iǯil* 2, 3; Bur. *eǯel* 2, 3; Kalm. *iǯl* 3 'accustomed to each other (of animals)'; Ord. *iǯil*, *eǯil* 3 '=Kal'.

◊ KW 205.

PTurk. ***Eder-*** to follow (следовать): OTurk. *eder-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *eδer-* (MK); Turkm. *ejer-*; Uzb. *ejär-* (dial.); Tat. *ijär-*; Bashk. *ĭjär-*; Kaz. *ijer-*; Kum. *ijer-*; SUygh. *ezer-*; Khak. *izert-*; Tv. *eder-*; Chuv. *jer-*.

◊ EDT 67, VEWT 36, ЭСТЯ 1, 242-245, Егоров 61-62.

‖ A Western isogloss. The original meaning here is probably "arrange in order", whence all the other meanings are easily deduced. Cf. similar roots: *adV, *i̯ude*, with a possibility of secondary contaminations.

✱**ijsV** soot, smoke: Mong. ***(h)isu***; Turk. ***ɨjs***.

PMong. ***(h)isu*** soot (сажа): WMong. *isu*, (L 417) *isü*; Kh. *is*; Bur. *ehen*; Kalm. *iš*.

◊ KW 210-211.

PTurk. ***ɨjs*** 1 smoke 2 soot, dirty smoke 3 scent, odour 4 fumes (1 дым 2 копоть, сажа 3 запах, аромат 4 испарения): Tur. *is* 2; Az. *his* 2; Turkm. *īs* 3; Uygh. *is* 1; Tat. *is* 3; Kirgh. *is* 4; KKalp. *ijis* 3; Nogh. *ijis* 3; Chuv. *jъs* 3; Yak. *īs* 1, 2; Dolg. *īs* 1, 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 379, Егоров 76, Stachowski 263. The original meaning must have been 'smell, odour', see notes to **ɨ̄l(č)* (cf. the opposition *is* 'soot' - *ijis* 'smell' in Nogai etc.).

‖ Poppe 116, VEWT 167, KW 210, АПиПЯЯ 286, Лексика 371. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Cf. Kor. *ìs* 'moss' (?)

✱**ík'è** to be insolent, angry, flamed up: Tung. ***ikē-***; Mong. ***(h)egde-***; Turk. ***ēke- (~ ī-)***; Jpn. ***íká-r-***; Kor. ***ìkɨ́i-***.

PTung. ***ikē-*** 1 to sing 2 to sing obscene songs, blackguard (1 петь 2 петь непристойные песни, сквернословить): Evk. *ikē-* 1; Evn. *ikē-* 1; Neg. *ixē-* 1; Man. *jeke-* 2; Nan. *īkē-* 1 (Он.); Orch. *ike-* 1; Ud. *jexe-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 301.

PMong. ***(h)egde-** indignation (негодование, возмущение): WMong. *egdegüü* (MXTTT); Kh. *egdū*; Kalm. *egdūtə-* 'to resent' (KPC 691).

PTurk. ***ēke- (~ ī-)** to be insolent, quarrel (быть дерзким, ссориться): Karakh. *ike-*, *ikeš-* (MK); Tur. *igeš-*; Turkm. *īgen-* 'to scold, growl at'; Tat. *egeš-*; Kirgh. *egeš-*; Kaz. *eges-*; Nogh. *eges-*; Tv. *egen-* 'to feel uncomfortable'; Yak. *eγe* 'faultfinding', *eγelē-* 'to find faults'.

◊ EDT 101, 118-119.

PJpn. ***íkáɾ-** to be angry (сердиться): OJpn. *ika-r-*; MJpn. *íká-r-*; Tok. *ìkar-*, *ikár-*; Kyo. *íkár-*; Kag. *ikár-*.

◊ JLTT 696.

PKor. ***ìkɨ́i-** to overcome (побеждать, превосходить): MKor. *ìkɨ́i-*, *ìkí-*; Mod. *igi-*.

◊ Nam 397, 398, KED 1319.

‖ See SKE 68 (in Kor. cf. also *igɨrə-ǰida* 'to act up, put on airs'). One of the numerous common Altaic verbs of emotion. Semantic match between Turkic, Mongolian and Japanese is straightforward ("to be angry, indignant"). In TM one has to suppose a shift > "to be insolent, obscene" > "sing obscene songs, blackguard" (Manchu), with further generalization > "sing" in other languages. In Korean we see a different semantic shift > "to put on airs, be haughty" > "to overcome".

✱**ǐkʻi (~ -o)** to live, settle: Tung. ***ix[ē]-**; Jpn. ***ìk-**.

PTung. ***ix[ē]-** settlement (поселок, селение): Evk. *ikēn*; Nan. *i̯χõ*; Ud. *jogoso*, *joxo*.

◊ TMC 1, 302.

PJpn. ***ìk-** 1 to live 2 breath, life (1 жить 2 дыхание, жизнь): OJpn. *ik-* 1, *ikji* 2; MJpn. *ìk-* 1, *ìkí* 2; Tok. *ikí-* 1, *íki* 2; Kyo. *íkí-* 1, *ìkí* 2; Kag. *ìkì-* 1, *ikí* 2.

◊ JLTT 422, 697.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**ìla** evident, visible: Tung. ***il-**; Mong. ***ile**; Turk. ***iler-**; Jpn. ***àràp-ar-**.

PTung. ***il-** 1 figure, shape 2 body 3 example 4 exterior (1 фигура, форма 2 тело 3 пример 4 внешность): Evk. *ille* 2; Evn. *ilrъ* 2, *i̯lrъ̯n* 1, *ilun* 3; Ul. *i̯lta(n)* 4; Nan. *i̯lta* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 310, 311.

PMong. ***ile** known, evident, obvious (известный, очевидный): MMong. *ile* (SH), *ilă* (MA); WMong. *ile* (L 404); Kh. *il*; Bur. *eli*; Kalm. *ilə*; Ord. *ile*, *ele*; Mog. ZM *ilä* (10-2b); Dag. *il*, *ilēt* (Тод. Даг. 146 *ilte*), *ile* (MD 171); S.-Yugh. *hele*.

◊ KW 206, MGCD 407. Initial h- in S.-Yugh. is unclear. Mong. > Man. *ile* etc., see Doerfer MT 117, Rozycki 116; Yak., Dolg. *ile* (Stachowski 124).

PTurk. ***iler-** to be dimly visible (быть смутно видимым): Karakh. *iler-* (MK); Oyr. *eles* 'silhouette, ghost', *eleste-* 'be dimly visible'.

◊ EDT 150. The form attested in MK cannot be a mongolism (primarily for semantic reasons); however, Mong. *ilere-* also cannot be a Turkism, being rather derived from Mong. *ile*. Modern Turkic forms - Tuva *ilere-*, Oyr. *iler-* 'to become visible' are obvious late mongolisms.

PJpn. ***àràp-ar-** to appear (появляться): OJpn. *arap-ar-a-*; MJpn. *àràf-ar-a-*; Tok. *arawaré-*; Kyo. *áráwáré-*; Kag. *arawaré-*.

◊ JLTT 677. The Kagoshima accent is aberrant (type B would be expected). The stem **àràpà-* is also attested in **àràpà-s-* 'to express, cause to appear'.

‖ The Karakh. form is isolated, but borrowing is hardly possible here.

***ile** to drive: Tung. ***ilbe-**; Mong. ***ileɣe-**; Turk. ***ẹl-t-, *ẹl-č-**.

PTung. ***ilbe-** to drive (гнать): Evk. *ilbe-*; Evn. *ilbъ-*; Neg. *ilbe-*; Orch. *ibbe-*; Ud. *igbe-*; Sol. *íĺbere beije* 'driver'.

◊ TMC 1, 307.

PMong. ***ileɣe-** to send (посылать): MMong. *ile-* (SH) 'to go away', *ilä-*, *elä-* (IM), *hile-*, *ilä-* (MA), *ile-* 'to go', *ilē-* 'to send' (HYt); WMong. *ilege-* (L 404); Kh. *ilgē-*; Bur. *eĺgē-*; Kalm. *ilgē-*; Dag. *ilgē-* (Тод. Дar. 146).

◊ KW 207. Most modern forms point to a form with secondary suffixation **il(e)ɣeɣe-* > **ilgeɣe-*. Mong. > Evk. *elge-*, Man. *elge-*, *elgi-* etc. (see TMC 2, 446).

PTurk. ***ẹl-t-, -č-** 1 to bring, carry 2 to lead, drive, send (1 нести 2 вести, посылать): OTurk. *elt-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1, 2; Karakh. *elt-*, *elet-* (MK) 1; Tur. *ilet-* 1, 2; Turkm. *elt-* 1, 2; MTurk. *elt-* (Houts.) 2, *ilet-* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *elt-* 1; Uygh. *ilt-* (dial.) 1; Krm. *elt-* 1, 2; Tat. *ilt-* 1; Bashk. *ilt-* 1; KBalk. *elt-* 1, 2; Kum. *elt-* 1, 2; SUygh. *elt-* 1, 2; Chuv. *jeś-* , *leś-* 2; Yak. *ilt-* 1, 2.

◊ EDT 132, VEWT 41, ЭСТЯ 1, 267-269, Stachowski 125, 126. Turk. > Mong. *elde-*, Kalm. *eldə-* (KW 119).

‖ Дыбо 13. A Western isogloss.

***íléḱa (~ *élíḱa, -k-)** front, before: Tung. ***(x)elekē-s**; Turk. ***il(i)k**; Jpn. ***áráka-**.

PTung. ***(x)elekē-s** at first, in the beginning (сначала): Evk. *elekēs*; Evn. *elъkъs*; Neg. *elexes*.

◊ TMC 2, 449.

PTurk. ***il(i)k** front, before, East (перед, впереди, восток): OTurk. *ilki* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ilk* (MK); Tur. *ilk*; Gag. *jilk*; Az. *ilk*, *ilki*; Turkm. *ilki*; Khal. *ilgär*; MTurk. *ilk* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ilk*; Krm. *ilk*; Tat. *ïlïk*; Bashk. *ïlïk*; Tv. *elek*; Chuv. *ələk*; Yak. *il-in*, *il-iŋ* (*ilik* 'one who is not yet...'); Dolg. *ilin*; *ilik* 'not yet', *iligine* 'before'.

◊ EDT 140, VEWT 170, ЭСТЯ 1, 347-350, Егоров 62-63, Stachowski 125.

PJpn. ***áráka-*** beforehand, before (заранее, прежде): OJpn. *arakasime* (-z-); MJpn. *árákásime*; Tok. *àrakajime*; Kyo. *àràkàjìmé*; Kag. *arakajíme*.

◊ JLTT 383.

‖ Cf. Bur. *eĺge(n)* 'sunny side, Southern slope'.

✱**ìlù** third (or next after three), consisting of three objects: Tung. ***ilan***; Turk. ***ölöŋ***; Jpn. ***ùrùpu***.

PTung. ***ilan*** three (три): Evk. *ilan*; Evn. *ilъn*; Neg. *ilan*; Man. *ilan*; SMan. *ilan* (2737); Jurch. *(j)ilan* (638); Ul. *ila(n)*; Ork. *ila(n)*; Nan. *ilā*; Orch. *ila(n)*; Ud. *ila(n)*; Sol. *ilã*.

◊ TMC 1, 305-306.

PTurk. ***ölöŋ*** song with three out of four verses rhyming (first, second and fourth) (песня с тремя рифмующимися строфами (первой, второй и четвертой)): Turkm. *öleŋ*; MTurk. *öleŋ* 'a wedding song' (Sangl.); Uygh. *ölɛŋ* 'Kazakh's song'; Kirgh. *ölöŋ* 'song with one rhyme for a dozen lines (песня с рифмовкой на дюжину)'; Kaz. *ölöŋ*; Yak. *oloŋxo* 'Yakut metric epos'.

◊ VEWT 371, EDT 147.

PJpn. ***ùrùpu*** bissextile (year, month) (високосный (год, месяц)): MJpn. *ùrùfu*; Tok. *úrū, urű*; Kyo. *ùrû*; Kag. *urű*.

◊ Modern dialects point rather to **ùrúpù* (although accent on the non-first syllables is somewhat difficult to reconstruct because of contractions).

‖ An interesting etymon; the original meaning can be probably reconstructed as "(a group of) three objects, followed by a fourth". The Turkic form must represent a vowel assimilation < **ilöŋ*.

✱**ilV (~ -Í-)** to stand, become: Tung. ***ili-***; Kor. ***īr-***.

PTung. ***ili-*** to stand (стоять): Evk. *il-*; Evn. *ił-*; Neg. *iłit-*; Man. *ili-*; SMan. *ila-* (537,1216), *ili-* (538); Jurch. *ili-buŋ* (424); Ul. *ilsuwu*; Ork. *ili-*; Nan. *ilGo-*; Orch. *ili-*; Ud. *ili-*; Sol. *il-*.

◊ TMC 1, 302-303.

PKor. ***īr-*** 1 to become 2 to happen (1 становиться 2 случаться): MKor. *īr-* 1; Mod. *īl-* 2, *irə-na-* 1.

◊ Nam 405, KED 1351, 1356.

‖ Martin 1996, 75. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**iĺa** to rub, smear: Tung. ***ilba, ile-***; Mong. ****(h)il(b)i-***; Turk. ****iĺi-***; Kor. ****əru-***.

PTung. ***ilba, ile-*** 1 to smear 2 clay 3 to lick (1 мазать 2 глина 3 лизать): Evk. *ile-* 3; Neg. *ilede-* 3; Man. *ilba-* 1, *ilban* 2, *ile-* 3; Ul. *ile-* 3; Ork. *ile-* 3; Nan. *ilba-* 1, *ilbã* 2, *ile-* 3; Orch. *ile-* 3; Ud. *ile-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 306, 311.

PMong. ***(h)il(b)i-*** to stroke, rub (гладить, тереть): WMong. *ilbi-*, *ili-*, *ile-* (L 403, 404, 407); Kh. *ilbe-*, *ile-*; Bur. *elbe-*; Kalm. *il-*, *ilwə-*, *ill-*; Ord. *ilbe-*, (*elbe-*).

◊ KW 207.

PTurk. ***iĺi-*** 1 to rub, scrape 2 jack-plane (1 тереть, царапать 2 рубанок): Tat. *išı-* 1, *išqı* 2; KBalk. *išı-* 1.

◊ VEWT 167, ЭСТЯ 1, 667. Despite some mergers with **jiĺ-* (v. sub **niilu*), cf. Bashk. *jišı-*, *jišqı*, this appears to be a separate root.

PKor. ***əru-*** to rub, stroke, touch (тереть, гладить, трогать): Mod. *əru-(manǯi-)*.

◊ KED 1127.

‖ KW 207, Tekin 1975, 280, Street 1980, 296. The Korean form may belong here if it is historically distinct from **əri-* 'fondle' < **i̯áĺa* q.v.

īĺa** to fry, burn: Tung. *(x)ila-***; Mong. ****ila-***; Turk. ****īĺ(č)***.

PTung. ****(x)ila-*** to burn, kindle (жечь, разжигать): Evk. *ila-*; Neg. *i̯la-*; Man. *jila-*; Orch. *ila-*; Ud. *ila-*; Sol. *ila-*.

◊ TMC 1, 303-304.

PMong. ****ila-*** 1 to fry (on a pan) 2 frying-pan (1 жарить (на сковороде) 2 сковорода): Kh. *jalā-* 1; Bur. *jala* 2; Mongr. *īla-* 'faire brûler, chauffer le lit en briques' (SM 190).

PTurk. ****īĺ(č)*** 1 smoke 2 soot, dirty smoke 3 scent, odour 4 fumes (1 дым 2 копоть, сажа 3 запах, аромат 4 испарения): Karakh. *iš* 2 (MK), 'mist' (KB); KKalp. *is* 2; Nogh. *is* 2; SUygh. *is* 1; Khak. *is* 2; Oyr. *iš* 1, 2; Tv. *iš* 1; Tof. *iš* 1; Yak. *īs* 4.

◊ The root originally meant 'soot, smoke' and should be strictly kept distinct from PT **jid-* 'smell' and **ijs* 'smell, odour, fumes', although they have a natural tendency to merge. See VEWT 167, 170, EDT 254, 883, ЭСТЯ 1, 379-382, Лексика 370-371.

‖ A Western isogloss; cf. perhaps Jpn. **asai* 'sweat' (?).

īĺbi** fish bait: Tung. ****īlbī; Mong. ****(h)ilbeɣe-sün***; Jpn. ****i(n)sa-r-***.

PTung. ****īlbV*** 1 bait 2 uvula 3 plummet, sinker (1 наживка, приманка 2 язычок (ботала); увула 3 грузило (у сети, невода, удочки)): Evk. *īlbī* 1, 2; Man. *ilmaχa* 2, *ilmen* 3; Ul. *ilbuxe* 3; Nan. *ilbexe* 3; Orch. *ibbuxe* 3; Ud. *ilbexe* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 294, 306. Vowel shortening in Nanai is secondary.

PMong. ****(h)ilbeɣe-sün*** fish bait (приманка для рыбы): WMong. *ilbegesü(n)* (L 402); Kh. *ilbēs*.

PJpn. ****i(n)sa-r-*** to fish (ловить рыбу): OJpn. *isar-*, *izar-*; Tok. *isari* 'fishing'.

◊ JLTT 699.

‖ There may be more than one root here. Jpn. has, besides **i(n)sar-*, a synonymous **asar-* 'to fish'. One of the two Jpn. words may be alternatively compared either with TM **ŋisū-* 'to bring the killed animals

from the hunt' or TM **ŋusu* 'fishing-rod', with a provisional reconstruction of PA **ŋisV* or **ŋusV*.

***íĺi** work, craft: Tung. ***(x)ilga-**; Mong. ***üjile**; Turk. ***īĺč**; Jpn. ***isa-bə, *ísá-m-**; Kor. ***īr**.

PTung. ***(x)ilga-** 1 diligent 2 brave 3 handsome 4 crafty 5 to develop, become firm (1 прилежный 2 храбрый 3 стройный, удалой 4 умелый 5 развиваться, укрепляться): Evk. *ilga-n* 1,2,3,4; Evn. *ilgъrъlbъ-* 5; Man. *ildamu* 3,4; SMan. *ildamuŋə* 'good-looking, prim' (2525).

◊ TMC 1, 307.

PMong. ***üjile** deed, action, work (дело, действие, поступок, работа): MMong. *uele* (HY 36), *uejile* (SH), *ujle* (IM); WMong. *üile* (L 999); Kh. *üjle*; Bur. *üjle*; Kalm. *ũlə* (KPC); Ord. *üi̯le*; Dag. *weil, uil*, (Тод. Даг. 170) *uile*; Dong. *uiliə*; Bao. *lɛ*; S.-Yugh. *ulē, ulə*; Mongr. *ule* (SM 470), *uile* (Huzu).

◊ MGCD 690. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *üle* (Kał. MEJ 38, Stachowski 250).

PTurk. ***īĺč** work, deed (работа, дело): OTurk. *iš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *iš* (MK); Tur. *iş*; Gag. *iş*; Az. *iş*; Turkm. *īş*; Khal. *i̯ş*; MTurk. *iš* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *iš*; Uygh. *iš*; Krm. *iš*; Tat. *ĭš*; Bashk. *ĭš*; Kirgh. *iš*; Kaz. *ĭs*; KBalk. *iš*; KKalp. *is*; Kum. *iš*; Nogh. *is*; SUygh. *is, ɨs*; Oyr. *iš*; Tv. *iš*; Chuv. *əś*; Yak. *īs*.

◊ EDT 254, VEWT 174, ЭСТЯ 1, 395-396, Егоров 66.

PJpn. ***isa-bə, *ísá-m-** 1 craftsman, diligent person 2 to be brave (1 ремесленник, умелец 2 быть храбрым): OJpn. *isawo* 1, *isa-m-* 2; MJpn. *isawo* 1, *ísá-m-* 2; Tok. *ìsam-, isám-* 2; Kyo. *ísám-* 2; Kag. *ìsàm-*.

◊ JLTT 699. There is some confusion between **ísám-* 'to be brave' and **ìsàm-* 'to admonish' (v. sub **ès[i]*), but the RJ accentuation clearly opposes them to each other.

PKor. ***īr** work, profession (работа, профессия): MKor. *īr*; Mod. *īl*.

◊ Nam 404, KED 1348.

‖ EAS 109. Mong. *üjile* < **ilü-le*; Mong > Man. *uilen*, see Doerfer MT 119, Rozycki 222).

***iĺkV** to hope, believe: Tung. ***ilkV-**; Mong. ***ilga-**; Turk. ***iĺan- / *iĺen-**.

PTung. ***ilkV-** 1 to try 2 to hope (1 пробовать, пытаться 2 надеяться): Evk. *ilke-* 1, *ilkiče-* 2; Evn. *ielkъt-* 1; Neg. *ilki-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 309.

PMong. ***ilga-** to discern, distinguish (различать): MMong. *jilxa* (HY 40); WMong. *ilγa-* (L 406); Kh. *jalga-*; Bur. *ilga-*; Kalm. *ilγə-*; Ord. *ilga-*; Mog. ZM *elγɔ̄* (6-6b); Dag. *jalga-* (Тод. Даг. 147), *jalegā* (MD 168); Dong. *inGərə-, (j)inGara-*; S.-Yugh. *əlga-*; Mongr. *laGa-* (SM 219), *laGā-*.

◊ KW 206, MGCD 733. Mong. > Oyr. *ilγa-* etc. (VEWT 165, TMN 1, 194-195, ЭСТЯ 1, 652-653); > Man. *ilga-* (TMN 1, 195, Doerfer MT 137).

PTurk. ***iĺan- / *iĺen-** to believe, trust (верить, доверять): Karakh. *išen-* (MK, KB); Tur. *išan-* (dial.); Turkm. *išan-*; MTurk. *išan-* (Abush.,

Pav. C.); Uzb. *išɔn-*; Uygh. *išan-*, *išän-*; Krm. *išan-*; Tat. *išan-*; Bashk. *išan-*; Kirgh. *išen-*; Kaz. *sen-*; KBalk. *išan-*; KKalp. *isen-*; Nogh. *sen-*; SUygh. *isen-*; Khak. *ïzen-*; Oyr. *ižen-*; Chuv. *šan-*, *žen-* (NW); Yak. *isen-* (Пек.).

◊ EDT 264, VEWT 174, ЭСТЯ 1, 673-674.

‖ Дыбо 14. A Western isogloss.

✱**ìmé** now: Tung. ***ime-***; Mong. ***(h)ima-gta***; Turk. ***em-***; Jpn. ***ìmá***; Kor. ***ima-***.

PTung. ***ime-*** fresh, new (свежий, новый): Evk. *imekin*; Neg. *imexin*; Ork. *imɛw*; Nan. *imekī*; Ud. *imexi*.

◊ TMC 1, 314.

PMong. ***(h)ima-gta*** always, constantly (всегда, постоянно): WMong. *imaɣta* (L 409); Kh. *jamagt*; Bur. *imagta* 'right this one now, just this one'; Ord. *imagta*.

◊ Mong. > Manchu *imata* 'completely, all, totally, thoroughly' (Rozycki 115).

PTurk. ***em-*** now (сейчас): OTurk. *emti* (OUygh.); Tur. *imdi*; Az. *indi*; Turkm. *indi*, *š-ündi*; MTurk. *imdi* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *endi*; Uygh. *ämdi*; Krm. *endi*; Tat. *indï*; Bashk. *indï*; Kirgh. *emi*, *endi*; Kaz. *endï*; KBalk. *endi*; KKalp. *endi*; Kum. *endi*; Nogh. *endi*; Oyr. *emdi*; Chuv. *ənde*.

◊ EDT 156-157, VEWT 41, ЭСТЯ 1, 357-358, Егоров 65, *Лексика* 83 (with confusion of **em-* and **am-* q.v. sub **ămV)*.

PJpn. ***ìmá*** now (сейчас): OJpn. *ima*; MJpn. *ìmá*; Tok. *íma*; Kyo. *ìmá*; Kag. *imá*.

◊ JLTT 423.

PKor. ***ima-*** 1 now 2 lately, nowadays (недавно, на днях): Mod. *imi* 1, *ima-ǯək* (*čək* 'time') 2.

◊ KED 1328, 1329.

‖ *Лексика* 83.

✱**ìmè (~ -i)** a k. of vegetable: Jpn. ***ìmə̀ (~-ua)***; Kor. ***máh***.

PJpn. ***ìmə̀ (~-ua)*** potato (картофель): OJpn. *um(w)o*; MJpn. *ìmo*; Tok. *imó*; Kyo. *ímò*; Kag. *imó*.

◊ JLTT 423.

PKor. ***máh*** potato, yam (картофель, ямс): MKor. *má* (*máh-*); Mod. *mā*.

◊ Nam 191, KED 558.

‖ Whitman 1985, 180, 237. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss, so the reconstruction is rather approximate. Cf. perhaps Oroch *impai* 'a k. of onion (порей)' (TMC 1, 313); Orok *imu* 'potato' (ibid.) may be < Jpn.

✱**ǐ́na** dawn, dusk: Tung. ***ine-***; Turk. ***iŋir***; Kor. ***ənǐr-im***.

PTung. ***ine-ŋī*** day (день): Evk. *ineŋī*; Evn. *inъŋ*; Neg. *ineŋ(i)*; Man. *ineŋgi*; SMan. *inəŋə* (2657); Jurch. *ineŋi* 'sun, day' (3); Ul. *ineŋni*; Ork. *ineŋgi*; Nan. *ini*; Orch. *ineŋi*; Ud. *ineŋi*; Sol. *ineɣi*, *ineŋi*.

◊ The deriving stem is PTM **ine-* 'to dawn, begin (of day)', see TMC 1, 318-319.

PTurk. ***iŋir*** dusk (дымка, сумерки): OTurk. *iŋir* (~ *iŋïr*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *iŋir* (MK), *imir* (MK Oghuz); Tur. *inirik*, *iŋrik* (dial.), *ümez* 'fog'; Turkm. *ümür*, *iŋrik*; Khal. *äŋgür*, *äŋgür*; Uzb. *ümür*, *imir*; Krm. *iŋir*, *iŋɣir*; Tat. *iŋgĭr*; Bashk. *iŋĭr*; Kirgh. *iŋir*, *iŋirt*, *iŋirt*; Kaz. *iŋĭr*, *imirt*, *imirt*; KBalk. *iŋir*; KKalp. *iŋir*, *imirt*; SUygh. *iŋer*, *jiŋir*; Khak. *īr*; Shr. *īr*, *inar*; Oyr. *iŋir*, *īr*, *inir*; Tv. *imir*; Chuv. *ənərək*; *ənər* 'yesterday'; Yak. *im* 'morning and evening dawn'; Dolg. *im* 'morning and evening dawn'.

◊ EDT 162, 188, VEWT 172, ЭСТЯ 1, 354-356, Егоров 64-65, *Лексика* 34-35, 81, 83. Mudrak (*Лексика* 83) separates forms with -m-, comparing them with Evk. *umulge* 'shadow'.

PKor. ***ənïr-im*** 1 evening, dusk 2 dark, dusky (1 вечер, сумерки 2 темный): MKor. *ànïr-im* 1; Mod. *əsirim* 1, *əsire-hada* 2.

◊ Nam 363, KED 1132.

‖ *Лексика* 81-82. The Turk. form reflects a velar suffix (cf. PTM **ine-ŋi* 'day, dawn'). Cf. perhaps OJpn. *ina-(bjikari)* 'lightning' ('light in darkness'?).

✱**ìna** younger sibling: Tung. ***īnan***; Turk. ***ini***; Jpn. ****ànî***; Kor. ****àńằ***.

PTung. ***īnan*** 1 husband's younger brother 2 (younger) brother- / sister-in-law 3 sister's children 4 son-in-law 5 husband's younger sister (1 деверь, младший брат мужа 2 (младший) племянник / племянница 3 дети сестры 4 зять 5 младшая сестра мужа): Evk. *īnan* 1; Evn. *ịnъn* 2; Neg. *ịna* 3; Man. *ina* 3; SMan. *inā* 'sister's son (nephew); son of fater's or moter's sister (cousin)' (920); Ork. *ịna* 4; Nan. *ịnā* 5.

◊ TMC 1,315. Cf. also Man. *ene* 'heir' (TMC 2, 455).

PTurk. ***ini*** younger brother (младший брат): OTurk. *ini* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ini* (MK); Tur. *ini*; Az. *ini* (dial.); Turkm. *ini*; MTurk. *ini* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ini*; Uygh. *ini*; Tat. *ĭnĭ*; Bashk. *ĭnĭ*; Kirgh. *ini*; Kaz. *ĭnĭ*; KKalp. *ini*; Kum. *ini*; Nogh. *ini*; SUygh. *ini*, *ini*; Oyr. *ini*, *īn*; Yak. *ini*, *inī*; Dolg. *ini-bī*.

◊ EDT 170, VEWT 172, TMN 2, 226, ЭСТЯ 1, 362-363, *Лексика* 292, Stachowski 126.

PJpn. ****ànî*** elder brother (старший брат): OJpn. *ani*; MJpn. *ani*; Tok. *áni*; Kyo. *ànî*; Kag. *áni*.

◊ JLTT 382. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ****àńằ*** younger brother or sister (младший брат или сестра): MKor. *àńằ*; Mod. au.

◊ Nam 338, KED 1075.

‖ Vovin 1993 (Jpn.-Kor.). Cf. also MKor. *àńăm* 'family', *àńí* 'child'. The Korean reflexes raise some doubts: tone does not correspond to TM, medial -ń- is also irregular (unless it was palatalized in *àńí* before -i, and other forms were changed by analogy); see a discussion in Martin 1996, 67-68, Robbeets 2000, 116-117. In Japanese *'younger brother' >

*'brother'; with the introduction of **ətə* 'younger brother' (< **i̯ore* 'young male') **ani* changed its meaning to "elder brother".

***ińo** to laugh: Tung. ***ińe-**; Mong. ***(h)inije-**; Kor. ***ūń-**.

PTung. ***ińe-** to laugh (смеяться): Evk. *ińe-*; Evn. *ińˊ-*; Neg. *ińe-*; Man. *inže-*; SMan. *inǯi-*, *inǯə-* (186); Jurch. *inǯe-* (461); Ul. *ińe-kte-*; Nan. *ińe-mu*; Orch. *ińe-kte-*; Ud. *ińe-*; Sol. *ne-kte-*.

◊ TMC 1, 319-320.

PMong. ***(h)inije-** to laugh (смеяться): MMong. *jine'e* (HY 36), *jini'e-* (SH), *inä-bä* (MA), *inē-* (LH), *inē* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *inije-*, *inige-*, *inege-* (L 411); Kh. *inē-*; Bur. *eńē-*; Kalm. *ińē-*; Ord. *enē-*, *inē-*; Mog. *innā-*; Dag. *šinē-*, *xinē-* (Тод. Дат. 184), *šinēde-* (MD 216); Dong. *šinie-*; Bao. *šine-*, *ne-*; S.-Yugh. *ńī-*; Mongr. *šənē-* (SM 375).

◊ KW 208, MGCD 411.

PKor. ***ūń-** to laugh (смеяться): MKor. *ūs-*, *ùń-* (*ùńi-*); Mod. *ūt-* [*ūs-*].

◊ Nam 393, KED 1250.

‖ EAS 114, KW 208, Poppe 70, Robbeets 2000, 111. Mong., with a strange reflex of *h- in Southern dialects (opposed to 0- in MMong.) may in fact reflect a contamination: cf. Evk. *heŋne-* 'to laugh' (see under **pʻeŋkʻa*). In any case, despite Doerfer MT 23, the TM root is hardly < Mong.

***íŋo** to neigh: Tung. ***iŋi-**; Mong. ***iŋča-**; Turk. ***iŋira-**; Jpn. ***íná-nak-**.

PTung. ***iŋi-** to neigh (ржать): Evk. *iŋil-*; Man. *ilča-*, *inča-*; Nan. *iŋgiri-*; Sol. *iŋele-*.

◊ TMC 1, 321. The Manchu form (but not the rest) may be < Mong.

PMong. ***iŋča-** to neigh (ржать): MMong. *iŋuliža-* (HY 16); WMong. *inčaɣa-*, *iŋčaɣa-* (L 410, 411); Kh. *jancgā-*; *uŋgalda-*; Bur. *insagā-*; Kalm. *incəɣā-*; Ord. *inčagā-*; Dag. *ingilī-* (Тод. Дат. 146: "to moan").

◊ KW 208, MGCD 736.

PTurk. ***iŋira-** 1 to neigh 2 to bellow, purr (1 ржать 2 реветь, визжать, мурлыкать): Karakh. *iŋra-* (MK); Turkm. *iŋra-*; Bashk. *iŋiran-* 1; Chuv. *ənər-* 2; Yak. *iŋiran-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 658, Егоров 65, Мудрак 73.

PJpn. ***íná-nak-** to neigh (ржать): MJpn. *íná-nak-*; Tok. *ìnanak-*; Kyo. *ínánák-*; Kag. *inanák-*.

◊ JLTT 697.

‖ An expressive root, but quite regular and doubtlessly common.

***iŋV** shallow place: Tung. ***(x)iŋā**; Jpn. ***ía**; Kor. ***jə̄ (< *iʻə)**.

PTung. ***(x)iŋā** 1 sand (on a shallow place) 2 pebbles 3 small stone 4 shallow place (1 песок 2 галька 3 камушек 4 отмель): Evk. *iŋā* 1, 2; Evn. *iŋa* 1, 2; Neg. *iŋā* 2; Man. *joŋgan* 1; SMan. *ńuńan*, *ńohun* 1 (2111); Orch. *iŋo* 2; Ud. *iŋo* 4; Sol. *iŋā* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 320-321.

PJpn. ***ía** inlet (залив, бухта): OJpn. je; MJpn. *jé*.
◊ JLTT 392.

PKor. ***jə** a reef, a rock in the sea (риф, скала в море): Mod. *jə*.
◊ KED 1160.

‖ See SKE 76. An Eastern isogloss; the Jpn. form presupposes **iŋ(V)-gV*, with further contraction.

***ipa (~ -b-)** shell: Tung. ***ibu-kta (~ *igu-kta)**; Mong. ***(h)ibawu**; Jpn. ***apampi**.

PTung. ***ibu-kta (~ *igu-kta)** shells as ornaments (ракушки (как украшения)): Ork. *joqto*; Sol. *jogōsu̯*.
◊ TMC 1, 346.

PMong. ***(h)ibawu** sea shell (морская раковина): WMong. *ibau, ibaɣu* (L 396); Kh. *juvū*; Bur. *jobūn*.

PJpn. ***apampi** abalone, a k. of seashell (вид раковины): OJpn. *apabji*; MJpn. *áfâbì*; Tok. *áwabi*; Kyo. *áwàbì*; Kag. *awábi, awabí*.
◊ JLTT 388. Accent reconstruction is somewhat uncertain.

‖ Cf. also OJ *ebi* 'shrimp, shellfish' - perhaps an old dialectal variant of the same root.

***ipe (~ i̯a-)** cold, winter: Tung. ***ibaksa**; Mong. ***ebül**.

PTung. ***iba-ksa** frazil (шуга): Evk. *iwaksa*; Evn. *i̯wu̯s*; Neg. *i̯waksa*; Ul. *i̯waqsa*; Orch. *juaksa* (Корм. 242); Ud. *juakkä* (Корм. 242), *iwakä*.
◊ TMC 1, 295. Cf. also Evk. *ewīle-se, owīla-sa* 'early spring', *owīn* 'last spring snow crust' (TMC 2, 4-5).

PMong. ***ebül** winter (зима): MMong. *ubul* (HY 5), *ebul* (SH), *obol* (IM), *ubul, äbulža-* (MA); WMong. *ebül* (L 290); Kh. *övöl*; Bur. *übel*; Kalm. *öwl̥*; Ord. *öwöl*; Mog. *übül, ebulä*; Dag. *ugul* (Тод. Даг. 170), *eule* (MD 146); Dong. *uvun*; Bao. *ŋguŋ, ŋgoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *wəl*; Mongr. *ugur, gur* (SM 468), *rgul* (Huzu).
◊ KW 303, MGCD 538.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***ipʻi (~-p-,-e)** mouth; to say: Tung. ***(x)ipke-**; Jpn. ***íp-**; Kor. ***íp**.

PTung. ***(x)ipke-** to order, tell, lure (приказывать, велеть, подстрекать): Evk. *ipku-, ipke-*; Evn. *ipkъn-*; Ud. *ikpele-* (Корм. 237).
◊ TMC 1, 322.

PJpn. ***íp-** say (сказать, говорить): OJpn. *ip-*; MJpn. *íf-*; Tok. *yù-*; Kyo. *yú-*; Kag. *yú̍-*.
◊ JLTT 700.

PKor. ***íp** mouth; to recite (рот; рассказывать, декламировать): MKor. *íp* 'mouth', *ìp(h)-* 'to recite'; Mod. ip.
◊ Nam 406, 407, 409, KED 1363.

‖ Martin 249, АПиПЯЯ 111, 277. An Eastern isogloss (but cf. perhaps Mong. *abija(n)* (L 4), Khalkha *aʊ́a*, Bur. *aʙ́a* 'sound' (< **ibaja* ?); on a

possible Turkic parallel see under *ǒt'è); seems reliable, despite a tonal discrepancy between Kor. and Jpn.

✱**ire** to melt: Tung. ***irū-**; Turk. ***ẹri-**.

PTung. ***irū-** 1 to sink 2 to melt (1 погружаться 2 таять, образоваться проталинам): Evk. *irū-* 1; Evn. *irъl-* 2; Man. *iru-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 328, 329.

PTurk. ***ẹri-** to melt (таять): Karakh. *erü-* (MK); Tur. *eri-*; Gag. *jeri-*; Az. *äri-*; Turkm. *ere-*; Sal. *iri-*; MTurk. *eri-* (Abushk.); Uzb. *eri-*; Uygh. *iri-*; Krm. *iri-*; Bashk. *ire-*; Kirgh. *eri-*; Kaz. *eri-*; KBalk. *eri-*; KKalp. *eri-*; Kum. *iri-*; Khak. *irə-*; Oyr. *eri-*; Tv. *eri-*; Chuv. *irəl-*; Yak. *ir-*; Dolg. *ir-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 289-290, Stachowski 128, EDT 198.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**íre** to come, enter: Tung. ***ī-**; Mong. ***ire-**; Turk. ***ẹ̄r-**; Jpn. ***ítá-r-**.

PTung. ***ī-** to enter (входить): Evk. *ī-*; Evn. *ī-*; Neg. *ī-*; SMan. *ji-be-*; Jurch. *i-re-* (715); Ul. *ī-*; Ork. *ī-*; Nan. *ī-*; Orch. *ī-*; Ud. *ī-*; Sol. *ī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 293.

PMong. ***ire-** to come (приходить): MMong. *jire-* (HY 34, SH), *irä-*, *iro-* (IM), *irä-*, *irǎ-* (MA); WMong. *ire-* (L 413); Kh. *ire-*; Bur. *jere-*; Kalm. *ir-*; Ord. *ire-*; Mog. *irä-*; ZM *eirä* (40-7); Dag. *ire-* (Тод. Даг. 146, MD 173); Dong. *ire-*; Bao. *re-*; S.-Yugh. *ere-*; Mongr. *re-* (SM 313), *ire-*.

◊ KW 209, MGCD 412.

PTurk. ***ẹ̄r-** 1 to reach 2 to pass (1 достигать 2 проходить мимо): OTurk. *er-* (OUygh.) 1, *er-t-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *eriš-* (MK) 1; Tur. *er-*, dial. *ēr-*, *ir-* 1; Khal. *ệr-* 1; MTurk. *er-* (Pav. C., AH) 1, *ert-* (CCom) 2; Uzb. *eriš-* 1; Krm. *er-* 1; Tat. *ireš-* 1; Bashk. *ireš-* 1; KKalp. *eris-* 1; Khak. *irt-* 2; Shr. *ert-* 2; Oyr. dial. *eriš-* 1, *ert-* 2; Chuv. *irt-* 2; Yak. *irdē-* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 288-289, 303, Федотов 1,172-173. Räsänen (VEWT 46) connects also PT **eriĺ-* 'to contest, challenge' (ЭСТЯ 1, 293-294) - which, together with Mong. **eri-* 'to seek, search' (HY *ere-* 'to hope'), should be rather kept apart (possibly a separate PA root **erV*). Turk. > Hung. *ér-* 'to reach', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***ítá-r-** to reach (достигать): OJpn. *ita-r-*; MJpn. *ítá-r-*; Tok. *ìtar-u*; Kyo. *ítár-ú*; Kag. *itár-*.

◊ JLTT 699.

‖ Poppe 117 (Mong.-Tung.), KW 209, АПиПЯЯ 293-294. In Jpn. one could (following Ozawa) compare **ír-* 'to enter', but the latter should be rather compared with Kor. *tir-* id. (see **tire)*, while **ítá-r-* is also a perfect phonetic match for PA **íre*. Turk. reveals variants **ēr-* and **īr-* (< **īre-*?). Cf. also Koguryo **i-* 'to enter' (Lee 37, Menges 1984, 267).

✱**ìri (~ *e-)** to rot, pus, be sick: Mong. ***(h)ereke-**; Turk. ***iri-**; Jpn. ***ìtà-**.

PMong. ***(h)ereke-** to vesicate; to complicate (of a disease) (нарывать; осложняться (о болезни)): WMong. *ereke-* (L 322); Kh. *erxe-*; Kalm. *erk-*; Ord. *erkere-*.

◊ KW 125.

PTurk. ***iri-** 1 to rot 2 pus 3 to turn sour, coagulate (1 гнить 2 гной 3 прокисать, створаживаться): OTurk. *jirü-* 1 (OUygh.), *iriŋ* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *iri-* 1, *iriŋ* 2 (MK); Tur. *irin* 2; Gag. *jirin* 2; Az. *irin* 2; Turkm. *iriŋ* 2; MTurk. *iriŋ* 2; Uzb. *iri-* 1, *jiriŋ* 2; Uygh. *ǰiriŋ* 2; Krm. *irin* 2; Tat. *ïrï-* 3, *ïrïn* 2; Bashk. *ïrï-* 3, *ïrïn* 2; Kirgh. *iri-* 1, 3, *iriŋ* 2; Kaz. *ïrï-* 1, 3, *ïrïn* 2; KBalk. *irin* 2; KKalp. *iri-* 1, 3, *iriŋ* 2; Nogh. *irin* 2; Khak. *ïrï-* 1, 3, *ïrïn* 2; Oyr. *iri-* 3, *iriŋ* 2; Tv. *iri-* 1, *iriŋ* 2; Yak. *ireŋe* 2; Dolg. *ireŋe* 2.

◊ EDT 198, 233, ЭСТЯ 1, 372-374, Stachowski 128.

PJpn. ***ìtà-** to be ill, feel pain (adj.) (болеть, чувствовать боль): OJpn. *ita-*; MJpn. *ìtà-*; Tok. *itá-*; Kyo. *ítà-*; Kag. *itá-*.

◊ JLTT 829.

‖ KW 125.

✱**íru** song: Tung. ***ir-ke-**; Mong. ***ira-ɣu**; Turk. ***ir**; Jpn. ***útà**; Kor. ***irp-**.

PTung. ***ir-ke-** 1 to sing a song, versify 2 to cry, moan (1 петь, слагать стихи 2 кричать): Evk. *irkihin-* 2; Evn. *ɨrqъ-* 2; Man. *irgebu-* 1; SMan. *irəxəvə-* (1339) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 326, 327. Man. > Dag. *irgēbu-* (Тод. Дат. 146).

PMong. ***ira-ɣu** melodious sound, harmony (мелодический звук, гармония): MMong. *jira'u* (MA); WMong. *iraɣu* (L 413); Kh. *jarū*; Bur. *iragū* (< lit.); Ord. *iraGū*; Mongr. *joro* 'bruit, son, voix' (SM 494).

PTurk. ***ir** song (песня): OTurk. *ir* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ir* (MK); Tur. *ir* (dial.); Turkm. *ir* (dial.); MTurk. *ir* (Pav. C., AH); Tat. *ir* (dial.); Kirgh. *ir*; Khak. *ir*; Oyr. *ir*; Tv. *ir*; Yak. *iria*; Dolg. *iria*.

◊ EDT 192, VEWT 166, 201, Лексика 610, Stachowski 261. The root should be kept distinct from **jir*, although actively contaminating.

PJpn. ***útà** song (песня): OJpn. *uta*; MJpn. *útà*; Tok. *utá*; Kyo. *útà*; Kag. *úta*.

◊ JLTT 564.

PKor. ***irp-** to chant, sing songs (петь, декламировать): MKor. *irp-*; Mod. *ip-* [*ilph-*].

◊ Nam 396, KED 1302.

‖ Mong. may be < Turk. (cf. Karakh. *jiraɣu* 'singer', see TMN 4, 242, Щербак 1997, 164). Note also PJ **útá-p-* 'sing' = Kor. **ir-p-*.

✱**ìrú** omen, divination: Tung. ***īrme-**; Mong. ***irwa**; Turk. ***ir- / *ir-**; Jpn. ***ùrá**.

PTung. ***īrme-** to ask (просить): Evn. *īrmu-*; Ul. *iremesi-*; Ork. *ireme-*; Nan. *ireme-* (On.)

◊ TMC 1, 328.

PMong. ***irwa** (bad) omen ((дурное) знамение): MMong. *ira* (MA 242); WMong. *irua, iruua* (L 415); Kh. *jor(o)*; Bur. *joro*; Kalm. *jorə*; Ord. *joro*; Dag. *jor* (Тод. Дат. 147), *jore* (MD 173); S.-Yugh. *jor*.

◊ KW 219, MGCD 740. Despite EDT 197, hardly borrowed from Turkic; Mong. > Yak. *ira*.

PTurk. ***ir-** / ***ir-** omen (знамение; суеверие): OT *irü* (OUygh.) Tur. *irim* (dial.); Turkm. *irim*; MTurk. *irim* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *irim*; Uygh. *irim*; Tat. *irim*; Bashk. *irim*; Kirgh. *irim*; Kaz. *irim*; KKalp. *irim*; Nogh. *irim*; Khak. *rim* (R); Shr. *rim* (R); Oyr. *irim*; Tv. *irim* 'плохое самочувствие'.

◊ EDT 197, VEWT 166, ОСНЯ 3, 120, ЭСТЯ 1, 666. Back row in modern languages may be due to contamination with **ir-*, q. v. sub **p'ĭru*.

PJpn. ***ùrá** 1 divination 2 to divine (гадание): OJpn. *ura* 1, *ura-nap-* 2; MJpn. *ùrá* 1, *ùrà-naf-* 2; Tok. *uraná-* 2; Kyo. *úráná-* 2; Kag. *ùrànà-* 2.

◊ JLTT 563, 779.

‖ KW 219, Владимирцов 181.

✱**ĺru** to be ashamed, shy, hostile: Tung. ***ire(n)te-**; Mong. ***(h)ir-ba-**; Turk. ***īr-**; Jpn. ***útúa-**; Kor. ***iri-**.

PTung. ***ire(n)te-** to be ashamed (стыдиться): Man. *jerte-*; SMan. *irətə-* 'to be bashful, to feel shy' (1969); Nan. *irente-*.

◊ TMC 1, 329.

PMong. ***(h)ir-ba-** discontent, cranky (недовольный, раздраженный): WMong. *irba-* / *jarba-*, (L 413) *irbaɣana-*; Kh. *jarva-*; Bur. *irba-*; Kalm. *jarw-* (KPC 710).

PTurk. ***īr-** shame, be ashamed, frighten away (стыд, стыдиться, отпугивать): Karakh. *ir-*, *iril-* (MK); Turkm. *īr-*; Khak. *irək-* 'to languish, be bored'; Chuv. *jərən-*; Yak. *īr-* 'to rave, become crazy'.

◊ EDT 192, VEWT 173, (incorrect in) Егоров 80.

PJpn. ***útúa-** alienated, discontent (отчужденный, недовольный): OJpn. *utwo-*; MJpn. *útwó-*; Tok. *utó-*; Kyo. *útò-*; Kag. *úto-*.

◊ JLTT 844. The Tokyo accent is irregular; otherwise all evidence points to **útúa-*. Cf. also **útuá(m)p-* 'to shun, neglect', MJ *utoma-si* 'unpleasant, offensive'.

PKor. ***iri-** to scare, threaten, menace (угрожать, пугать): Mod. *iri-*.

◊ KED 1285.

‖ One of many common Altaic verbs of emotion. Correspondences are quite regular, and the etymology seems reliable.

✱**ĺŕu** trace, furrow: Tung. ***iru-n**; Mong. ***(h)iraɣa-**; Turk. ***īĺ** / ***īĺ**; Kor. ***irəŋ**.

PTung. ***iru-n** furrow (грядка, борозда): Man. *irun*, *jurun*; Nan. *irũ*.

◊ TMC 1, 328. Cf. perhaps also **ir-* 'to drag, trail' (TMC 1, 323-324) (< *'to leave a trace').

PMong. ***(h)iraɣa-** ripple, riffle (рябь (на поверхности воды)): WMong. *iraɣa* (L 412); Kh. *jarāt-*; Kalm. *erẽt-*.

◊ KW 124. WMong. *iraɣa*, *iralɣa* (Kalm. *irlγən*) 'ripple (on water)' > Man. *iraxi*, *iren* id., see Rozycki 117.

PTurk. ***īĺ** / ***īĺ** 1 trace 2 furrow (1 след 2 борозда, межа): OTurk. *iz* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *iz* 1 (MK); Tur. *iz* 1; Gag. *jiz* 1; Az. *iz* 1; Turkm. *īz* 1;

MTurk. *iz* 1 (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *iz* 1; Uygh. *iz* 1; Krm. *iz, iz* 1; Tat. *ïz* 1, *izan* 2; Bashk. *ïδ* 1, *ïδan* 2; Kirgh. *iz* 1; Kaz. *ïz* 1; KBalk. *iz* 1; KKalp. *iz* 1; Kum. *hizan* 2; Nogh. *iz* 1, *izan* 2; SUygh. *is* 1; Khak. *ïs* 1; Oyr. *is* 1; Tv. *is* 1; Chuv. *jər* 1, *jъran* 2.

◊ EDT 277, ЭСТЯ 1, 383-385, 646, 647, VEWT 175, Егоров 79, 75. There exists a verbal derivative **iŕ-te-* 'to follow one's tracks', attested as *iste-* as early as in OUygh. (see EDT 243) and in many modern languages (see ЭСТЯ 1, 383); but simultaneously there is a variant **īr-te-* (with **-ŕ-* > *-r-* according to Helimski's rule), attested already in MK (see EDT 208) and in Yak., Dolg. *irdē-*, see Stachowski 128.

PKor. ***ìráŋ** furrow (межа, борозда): MKor. *ìráŋ*; Mod. *iraŋ*.

◊ Nam 399, KED 1324.

‖ EAS 112, KW 209, Poppe 81, Lee 1958, 113, ОСНЯ 1, 251. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 2, 53) doubts ("allerdings zweifelhaft"), the comparison seems completely justified.

***ìsú** to crush, grind; bite: Tung. ***(x)ise-**; Turk. ***isïr-**; Jpn. ***ùsú**; Kor. ***isïr-**.

PTung. ***(x)ise-** 1 to crush 2 to beat 3 to butt, quarrel (1 ломать 2 бить 3 бодать, спорить): Evk. *išɛ-* (dial.) 1; Neg. *isi-kte-* 1; Man. *isele-* 2; Sol. *išilǯi-* 'to contest'; Orch. *isāmeči-* 'перетягивать (друг у друга, держась за противоположные концы веревки, - игра)' .

◊ TMC 1, 336.

PTurk. ***isïr-** to bite (кусать): Karakh. *isïr-* (MK); Tur. *isïr-*; MTurk. *isïr-, isur-* 'to bite, to eat' (Abush., Sangl.); Krm. *isïr-*; Kirgh. *isïr-*; Kum. *isïr-*; Khak. *izïr-*; Tv. *izïr-*; Tof. *i'sïr-*; Yak. *itïr-, istā-*; Dolg. *itïr-, istā-*.

◊ VEWT 167, EDT 251, ЭСТЯ 1, 671-672, Stachowski 262, 263.

PJpn. ***ùsú** mortar (ступка): OJpn. *usu*; MJpn. *ùsú*; Tok. *úsu*; Kyo. *ùsú*; Kag. *usú*.

◊ JLTT 564.

PKor. ***isïr-** to grind, crush (разбивать, дробить, ломать): Mod. *isïrə-(t:irida)*.

◊ KED 1287.

‖ SKE 73 (Kor.-Tung.), АПиПЯЯ 281.

***isV** to pinch, pluck out: Tung. ***is-**; Turk. ***iske-**.

PTung. ***is-** to pinch, pluck out (выщипывать, выдергивать): Evk. *is-*; Evn. *is-*; Neg. *īs-*; Man. *isi-*; Ul. *isī-*; Ork. *isi-*; Nan. *isō-*; Orch. *isi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 330.

PTurk. ***iske-** 1 to pinch, pluck out 2 pincers 3 chisel (1 выщипывать 2 щипчики, клещи 3 резец, долото): Karakh. *iske-* (MK) 1; Az. *iskänä* 3; Turkm. *iskew* 2, *isgänä* 3; Yak. *iskex* 2.

◊ EDT 246, VEWT 174 (Tadzh. *iskana* probably < Turk.), ЭСТЯ 1, 382-383.

‖ A Tung.-Turk. isogloss; not quite reliable because the Turkic form may reflect a contamination with **p'i̯úsa* q.v.

***ite (~ *eti)** to eat: Mong. ***ide-**; Turk. ***et-mek**.

PMong. ***ide-** to eat (есть): MMong. *jide-* (HY 25, SH), *idä-* (IM), *idä-* (MA); WMong. *ide-* (L 398); Kh. *ide-*; Bur. *ede-*; Kalm. *idə-*; Ord. *ide-*; Mog. *idä-*; ZM *idä* (16-2b); Dag. *ide-* (Тод. Дат. 146, MD 173); Dong. *iʒie-*; Bao. *nde-*; S.-Yugh. *ede-*; Mongr. *ide-* (SM 188).

◊ KW 205, MGCD 407, TMN 1, 188.

PTurk. ***et-mek** bread (хлеб): OTurk. *ötmek* (OUygh.); Karakh. *etmek* (MK), *epmek* (MK - Oghuz, Qypch.); Tur. *etmek, ekmek*; Gag. *iekmek*; Az. *äppäk*; Turkm. (dial.) *ekmek, epmek*; MTurk. *etmek, ötmek* (Pav. C.); Krm. *ekmek, etmek, ötmek*; Tat. *ikmäk*; Bashk. *ikmäk*; KBalk. *ötmek*; Kum. *ekmek*; Nogh. *ötpek*; Khak. *ipek*; Shr. *itpäk*; Oyr. *ötpök*.

◊ EDT 12, 60, VEWT 376, ЭСТЯ 1, 254-256. The oldest form is clearly **et-mek* with various subsequent assimilations.

‖ A Turkic-Mong. isogloss, but no doubt archaic: a Nostratic etymology see in МССНЯ 340, ОСНЯ 1, 273-4.

***ìtí** board: Tung. ***(x)ite**; Mong. ***(h)ideɣür**; Jpn. ***ìtá**.

PTung. ***(x)ite** board (on bottom of the birch-boat) (доска (на дне берестяной лодки)): Evk. *ite*; Neg. *īte*.

◊ TMC 1, 334.

PMong. ***(h)ideɣür** trough (корыто): WMong. *ideɣür* (L 400); Kh. *idūr*; Bur. *edū̆r*; Kalm. *idəš, idūr*.

◊ KW 205. The formal connection with *ide-* 'eat' ('trough for feeding animals') is probably due to a secondary contamination.

PJpn. ***ìtá** board (доска): OJpn. *ita*; MJpn. *ita*; Tok. *íta*; Kyo. *ìtá*; Kag. *itá*.

◊ JLTT 427.

‖ The Mong. reflex is somewhat dubious (because of a secondary merger with **ide-* 'eat, feed'), but the Tung.-Jpn. match still seems reliable.

***ɨ̀t′á** to rely, trust, take upon oneself: Tung. ***(x)iti**; Mong. ***itege-**; Jpn. ***àntùkàr-**.

PTung. ***(x)iti** 1 custom, order 2 to organize, prepare 3 occasion (1 обычай, порядок 2 организовать, готовить 3 случай): Evk. *iti(n)* 1, *itiɣā-* 2; Evn. *ɨtqa* 1, *ɨtu-, ɨtɤ-* 2; Neg. *ɨtqa* 1; Orch. *īti* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 333. TM > Dag. *ite* (Тод. Дат. 146).

PMong. ***itege-** to hope, believe, trust (верить, надеяться, доверять): MMong. *itege-* (HYt), *itqa-* 'to reason' (MA), *itegiltu* (LH)'zuverlässig'; WMong. *itege-* (L 417); Kh. *itge-, jatga-*; Bur. *idxa-*; Kalm. *itkə-* (KPC); Ord. *etege-*; Dag. *itge-* (Тод. Дат. 146), *itege-* (MD 174); S.-Yugh. *hdēge-*.

◊ MGCD 414.

PJpn. ***àntùkà-r-*** to take upon oneself (иметь отношение к, брать на себя заботу о): OJpn. *adukar-*; MJpn. *àdùkàr-*; Tok. *azukár-*; Kyo. *ázúkár-*; Kag. *àzùkàr-*.

◊ JLTT 680. The transitive parallel is **àntùkà-*.

‖ The root should be kept distinct from **ētʹa*, although they tend to be confused.

✱**ìtʹù** to hit, push: Mong. ***ete-***; Turk. ***it-***; Jpn. ***ùt-***.

PMong. ***ete-*** 1 to pick, dig 2 to cut (1 ковырять, копать 2 резать): MMong. *etke-* 2 (SH, HY 25); WMong. *ete-* 1 (L 335); Kh. *ete-* 1; Bur. *ete-* 1; Kalm. *et-* 1; Mog. *etqä-* 2; KT *etkä* (20-5a) 2; Mongr. *dige-* (SM 55) 2.

◊ KW 128. Forms with the meaning 'cut' may reflect a partial contamination with **heske-* q.v.

PTurk. ***it-*** to push, hit (толкать, ударять): Karakh. *it-* (MK); Tur. *it-*; Gag. *jitir-*; Turkm. *it-*; MTurk. *it-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *itar-*; Uygh. *itär-*; Krm. *it-*; Tat. *ĭt-*; Bashk. *ĭt-*; Kaz. *ĭjter-*; KKalp. *ijter-*; SUygh. *it-*; Khak. *ĭt-*; Shr. *it-*; Oyr. *it-*, *ijt-*; Tv. *it-*; Yak. *üt-*; Dolg. *it-*, *üt-*.

◊ EDT 38, VEWT 174, ЭСТЯ 1, 386-387, Stachowski 129, 254.

PJpn. ***ùt-*** to beat, hit (бить, ударять): OJpn. *ut-*; MJpn. *ùt-*; Tok. *út-*; Kyo. *ùt-*; Kag. *ùt-*.

◊ JLTT 781.

‖ Cf. perhaps Evn. *ɨtŋ-* 'to flounce, thrash about' (TMC 1, 333).

✱**itʹVKV** a k. of (big) bird: Tung. ***itiknija***; Mong. ***it-***.

PTung. ***itiknija*** 1 owl 2 crane (1 сова 2 журавль): Evk. *itiknija* 1; Evn. *ɨtɨqɲa* 1; Neg. *ɨtɨŋna* 1; Nan. *jatēnia* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 333.

PMong. ***it-*** 1 partridge 2 jay 3 falcon 4 a k. of hawk 5 hazel-hen (1 куропатка 2 сойка 3 сокол 4 ястреб-перепелятник 5 рябчик): MMong. *jitelogu* (HY 14) 4, *itawun* 1 (LH), *itaūn* 1 (Lig.VMI), *itelku* 'merlin' (MA 221); WMong. *itaγu* 1, *ite* 2, *itelgü* 3 (L 417, 418); Kh. *jatū* 1, *jotū* 5; Bur. *itag* (*šāzgaj*) 2; Kalm. *jotūn*, *itū* 'hazel-hen', *itə* 'a bird of prey', *itlγə* 3; Ord. *itū* 1, *ötölgö*, *etelge* 3; Mongr. *sdergu* 3 (SM 336).

◊ KW 211, 219. Mong. > Uzb. *itälgü* etc., Manchu *itulxen*, *iturxen* (TMC 1, 334), Man. *itu*, Sol. *itau* (Rozycki 117); MKor. *iktəkui* (Lee 1964, 191).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

I̯A

✱**i̯ā́ga** to fall over, shake: Tung. ***iaga-***; Mong. ***(h)egeji-***; Turk. ***iāg-***.

PTung. ***iaga-*** to crumble, fall down (обваливаться, осыпаться): Evk. *ê̄γaw-*; Neg. *ê̄γa-*; Man. *ja-qsa* 'берег с осыпью'; Ul. *jāga-*.

◊ TMC 1, 289.

PMong. ***(h)egeji-*** to shake, move, tremble (дрожать, двигаться, трястись): WMong. *egeji-* (L 297).

◊ Cf. also WMong. (L 296) *egče* 'steep, straight, abrupt' (cf. the meanings in TM) (> Yak., Dolg. *ekči*, see Kał. MEJ 24, Stachowski 44).

PTurk. ***iāg-***, ***iāg-na-*** 1 to roll over, fall over 2 to climb over 3 to tumble 4 to turn over, capsize, let fall (1 падать, опрокидываться, свешиваться 2 перелезать 3 валяться, перекатываться 4 ронять, опрокидывать): OTurk. *aɣna-* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *aɣna-* 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *aɣ-* 1, *aɣdır-* 2, *aɣın-* 3; Az. *aɣna-* 3; Turkm. *āɣ-* 1, 2, *āɣ-dar-* 4, *āɣına-* 3; Khal. *hāɣa*, *hōɣa* 'back, in the back'; MTurk. *aɣna-* 3; Uzb. *ɔɣ-* 1, *ɔɣna-* 3; Uygh. *aɣ-* 1; Krm. *avdar-* 4, *av-ɣa-la-n-* 3; Tat. *aw-* 1, *awdar-* 4, *awna-* 3; Bashk. *aw-* 1, *awdar-* 4, *awna-* 3; Kirgh. *ō-* 1, *ōna-* 3; Kaz. *aw-dar-* 4, *awna-* 3; KBalk. *aw-* 1, 2, *aw-la-* 'to skim', *awdar-* 4, *awna-* 3; KKalp. *aw-* 1, 2, *aw-dar-* 4, *awna-* 3; Kum. *av-* 1, *avdar-* 4, *av-la-n-* 'to turn over, incline', *avna-* 3; Nogh. *av-* 1, *av-dar-* 4, *avna-* 3; SUygh. *aɣına-* 3 (ЯЖУ 11); Khak. *aŋ-dar-* 4; Shr. *aŋ-dar-* 4; Oyr. *aŋ-tar-* 4, *aŋ-da-* (<**aŋ-na-*) 3; Tv. *aŋda-r-* 4, *aŋda-š-* 3; Chuv. *jъʷvan-* 1, 4; Yak. *āŋ-na-* 3.

◊ EDT 86-87, VEWT 7, ЭСТЯ 1, 69-70, 73-76. Forms like *aŋ-dar-* are not quite clear - caus. from the refl. **iāg-ın-* ? (but the refl. form is here not **iāg-ın-* but rather **iāg-na-*).

‖ A Western isogloss. Despite some confusion in Turkic, should be kept distinct from **ége* 'rise' (q.v.).

✱**i̯ā́ga (~ -i)** a k. of disease: Tung. ****(x)iag-***; Turk. ****īg***; Jpn. ****ia ~ *ai***.

PTung. ****(x)iag-*** cold (sickness), influenza (простуда, грипп): Evk. *ê̄γ*; Evn. *ā̄γ* 1; Neg. *ê̄γ*.

◊ TMC 1, 289.

PTurk. ****īg*** illness, decease (болезнь): OTurk. *ig* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ig* (MK, KB, Tefs.); Tur. *iɣžil*; Turkm. *īgli* 'rickety'; MTurk. *ig* (Sangl., Houts.); Chuv. *jъx* 'leprosy, scrofula'.

◊ EDT 98-99, Егоров 76-77, Федотов 1, 189, Мудрак 73, Мудрак Дисс. 157, VEWT 169.

PJpn. ***ia ~ *ai** contagious disease (заразная болезнь): OJpn. *(j)e, (j)e-jamji*; MJpn. e, *e-jami*.

◊ JLTT 392. Accent is not clear: in RJ both *è-jàmì* and *é-jàmì* are attested.

‖ Cf. Bur. *jogšo-* 'to ache, nag'. Turk. **īg* is perhaps a result of secondary narrowing < **(i)ēg*. In TM there exists also an apparent derivative **iagsi-* 'to sneeze' which is very similar to PT **aksɨr-* (**agsɨr-*) id. (see ЭСТЯ 1, 194-195). This may be either an old derivative, phonetically distorted in Turkic, or an independent onomatopoeic root.

***i̯ăgi** fat: Tung. ***iag-ǯakta**; Mong. ***eɣükü, *öɣekü**; Turk. ***jāg**.

PTung. ***iag-ǯakta** fat (of a bear) (жир (медведя)): Ul. *jaGǯaqta*.

◊ TMC 1, 337 (despite the isolated nature of the Ul. form its relationship with the Turkic and Mong. forms seems reliable).

PMong. ***eɣükü, *öɣekü** fat (жир): MMong. *e'ukun* (HY 24, SH), *o'ukun* (SH), *ukon* (IM), *ukun-* (MA); WMong. *ügekü, ögekü(n)* (L 631); Kh. *ȫx(ön)*; Bur. *ȫxe(n)*; Kalm. *ȫkn̥*; Ord. *ȫχö, ȫχü*; Dag. *eugu, ēge* (Тод. Дar. 138), *euwe* (MD 147); Dong. *fugun*; Bao. *gum* (MGCD *šgum*); S.-Yugh. *ȗkön* (MGCD *ȗgon*); Mongr. *ōke* (SM 296), (MGCD *ōku*).

◊ KW 304, MGCD 535.

PTurk. ***jāg** 1 fat n., butter 2 lard 3 thick, fat (adj.) (1 жир, масло 2 сало 3 толстый, жирный): OTurk. *jaɣ* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaɣ* (MK); Tur. *jaɣ* 1; Gag. *jā* 1; Az. *jaɣ* 1; Turkm. *jāɣ* 1; Sal. *jaɣ* 1; Khal. *jāɣ* 1; MTurk. *jaɣ* 1 (MA); Uzb. *jɔɣ* 1; Uygh. *jaɣ* 1; Krm. *jaɣ* 1; Kirgh. *ǯoo-n* 3; KBalk. *žau* 1; Kum. *jav* 1; SUygh. *jaɣ* 1; Khak. *čaɣ* 1; Shr. *čaɣ* 1; Oyr. *ď̄ū* 1; Tv. *čaɣ* 2; Tof. *čaɣ* 2; Chuv. *śu, śъʷv* 1; Yak. *sia* 1; Dolg. *hia* 1.

◊ VEWT 177, EDT 895, ЭСТЯ 4, 58-59, Лексика 453, Федотов 2, 127, Stachowski 117.

‖ TMC 1, 337 (TM-Turk.), АПиПЯЯ 282. A Western isogloss.

***i̯agu (~ *i̯oga)** hips, space between hips: Tung. ***oga**; Mong. ***aɣarčak**; Turk. ***(i)ag**.

PTung. ***oga** thigh, hip (бедро, ляжка): Evk. *oγo*; Evn. *ōγ*; Neg. *oγo*; Ul. *ō*; Ork. *ō*; Nan. *ō*; Orch. *ō*; Ud. *ō*; Sol. *oγo*.

◊ TMC 2, 5.

PMong. ***aɣarčak** flesh between the hips (мясо между ляжками): WMong. *aɣarčag*; Kh. *ārcag* 'таз'; Kalm. *ārcəg*; Ord. *ārcaq*.

◊ KW 21.

PTurk. ***(i)ag** 1 space between the legs 2 wedge between trouser legs (1 промежуток между ногами 2 клин между штанинами): OTurk. *aɣ* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *aɣ* (MK) 1; Gag. *ā* 2; Az. *aɣ* (dial.) 2; Uzb. *ɔɣ* 2; Uygh. *aɣ* 2; Krm. *aw* 1; Kaz. *aw* 2; Nogh. *aw* 2.

◊ EDT 75, ЭСТЯ 1, 67-68, Clark 1977, 127.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***i̯àk'ì (~ -k-)** liquid, flow: Tung. ***iaKu**; Turk. ***iak-**; Jpn. ***ìkà-i.**

PTung. ***iaKu** 1 swamp, ditch 2 brook (1 болото, лужа, канава 2 ручей): Evk. *jaku* 1, *jakta* 2; Man. *jōχon* 1; SMan. *johərən, johurun* 1 (2084); Nan. *jaqčị̄ra* 2; Ud. *jakpa'* 2 (Корм. 240).

◊ TMC 1, 339.

PTurk. ***iak-** to flow (течь): OTurk. *aq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *aq-* (MK); Tur. *ak-*; Gag. *aq-*; Az. *ax-*; Turkm. *aq-*; MTurk. *aq-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔq-*; Uygh. *aq-*; Krm. *aq-*; Tat. *aq-*; Bashk. *aq-*; Kirgh. *aq-*; Kaz. *aq-*; KBalk. *aq-*; KKalp. *aq-*; Kum. *aq-*; Nogh. *aq-*; SUygh. *aq-*; Khak. *ax-*; Oyr. *aq-*; Tv. *aq-*; Chuv. *jox-*.

◊ EDT 77, VEWT 12, ЭСТЯ 1, 118-120, Егоров 352, Федотов 2, 495.

PJpn. ***ìkà-i** pond (пруд): OJpn. *ike*; MJpn. *ìkè*; Tok. *iké*; Kyo. *ìkè*; Kag. *ìké*.

◊ JLTT 422.

‖ Мудрак *Дисс.* 196.

***i̯ǎk'V** light, white: Tung. ***ixere**; Mong. ***jagaɣan**; Turk. ***Āk**; Jpn. ***áká-**; Kor. ***ikɨr-**.

PTung. ***ixere** candle, light (светильник, свеча, свет): Neg. *ixere* (< STung.); Ul. *ixere*; Ork. *ixere*; Nan. *ixere*; Orch. *ixere*.

◊ TMC 1, 302.

PMong. ***jagaɣan** pink (розовый): WMong. *jaɣan* (L 423); Kh. *jagān*; Bur. *jagān*; Kalm. *jaɣan* (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***Āk** white (белый): OTurk. *aq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *aq* (MK); Tur. *ak*; Gag. *aq*; Az. *aɣ*; Turkm. *āq*; Sal. *aχ*; MTurk. *aq* ~ *aɣ*; Uzb. *ɔq*; Uygh. *aq*; Krm. *aq*; Tat. *aq*; Bashk. *aq*; Kirgh. *aq*; Kaz. *aq*; KBalk. *aq*; KKalp. *aq*; Kum. *aq*; Nogh. *aq*; SUygh. *aq*; Khak. *ax*; Shr. *aq*; Oyr. *aq*; Tv. *aq*; Tof. *aq*.

◊ VEWT 12, TMN 2, 84-5, ЭСТЯ 1, 116-117, EDT 75, *Лексика* 598-599.

PJpn. ***áká-** red (красный): OJpn. *aka-*; MJpn. *áká-*; Tok. *àka-*; Kyo. *ákà-*; Kag. *ákà-*.

◊ JLTT 825.

PKor. ***ikɨr-** to burn lively; to be deeply flushed (ярко гореть; сильно краснеть): Mod. *igɨl-kəri-* 1, *igɨl-igɨl-ha-* 1, 2.

◊ KED 1319.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 110, 277. The final vowel is not quite clear: some languages point to *-i or *-e, others - rather to *-a.

***i̯áĺa** female; to seduce, to frolic: Turk. ***eĺi**; Jpn. ***ásuámp-**; Kor. ***ər'ù-**.

PTurk. ***eĺi** lady, beg's consort (титул жены бега): OTurk. *i/eši* (OUygh.); Karakh. *i/eši* (MK).

◊ See EDT 256, TMN 2, 182-183. The word is borrowed in Mong.: MMong. *esi* (HY), WMong. *esi* 'empress', Kalm. *iš* 'mother' (KW 210), Ordos *iši Gatū* 'nom d'un sanctuaire, eši qatun' (DO 389), see Clark 1980, 41.

PJpn. ***ásuámp-*** to play, divert oneself (играть, развлекаться): OJpn. *aswob-*; MJpn. *áswób-*; Tok. *àsob-*; Kyo. *àsòb-*; Kag. *asób-*.

◊ JLTT 677. Kyoto accent is aberrant (*ásób-* would be expected).

PKor. ***ər'ù-*** / ***ərɨ̀-*** 1 to flirt 2 to marry 3 to fondle, play with 4 to have sexual intercourse (1 соблазнять, кокетничать 2 жениться 3 ласкать, заигрывать 4 иметь половые сношения): MKor. *ər'ù-*, *əru-*, *ərɨ-* 1, 2, 4; Mod. *ərɨ-* 3.

◊ Nam 360, 361, 367, KED 1127.

‖ ? Cf. Evk. *ilu* 'pregnant' (TMC 1, 311).

✱**i̯ámu** hole, pit: Tung. ***umu-***; Mong. ***(h)uma-***; Turk. ***(i)am***; Jpn. ***úmá-***; Kor. ***ùmúk-***.

PTung. ***umu-*** hole, nest (дыра): Evk. *umdē-k*, *umuk*; Evn. *umrēkēn*, *u̯mak*; Neg. *omu̯*; Ul. *omon*; Ork. *omo*; Nan. *omo*.

◊ TMC 2, 267-269. Cf. also verbal forms (Evk. *um-nut-* 'to hide', *um-rē-* 'to sink (in snow etc.)'. The root should be distinguished from **umū-* 'to lay eggs', **umū-kta* 'egg'.

PMong. ***(h)uma-*** scrotum with testicles; lower part of belly (мошонка; нижняя часть живота): WMong. *umadaγ* (L 874); Kh. *umdag*; Kalm. *omādəg*; Ord. *umadaG*.

◊ KW 285.

PTurk. ***(i)am*** vulva (vulva): Karakh. *am* (MK - Oghuz, Kypch.); Tur. *am*; Turkm. *am*; Khal. *hăm*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *am* (CCum., AH, At-Tuhf.); Tat. *am* (Буд. 1, 90); Kirgh. *am* (R); Kaz. *am* (R); Oyr. *am* (R); Yak. *abas* 'vulva'; *amanax* 'fat in the groins of cows, horses'.

◊ VEWT 18, EDT 155, R 1 643.

PJpn. ***úmá-*** to bury, dig into (закапывать, зарывать): OJpn. *uma-*; MJpn. *úmá-*; Tok. *ùme-*; Kyo. *ùmè-*; Kag. *umé-*.

◊ JLTT 778. The accent in Kyoto is irregular.

PKor. ***ùmúk-*** to form a cavity, be depressed (образовывать впадину, быть вогнутым): MKor. *ùmúk-hă-*, *ùmúk-*; Mod. *umuk-ha-*, *omok-ha-*.

◊ Liu 593, KED 1239.

‖ Cf. also notes to **úmu* 'to bear' (the reflexes of which tend to merge with the reflexes of **i̯amu* with specialized meanings 'vulva, genitals').

✱**i̯ánti(-kV)** a k. of small predator: Tung. ***iandaku***; Turk. ***(i)anduk (~ -nt-)***; Kor. ***jə̀ń***.

PTung. ***iandaku*** 1 racoon dog 2 badger 3 young of badger 4 wolverine (1 енотовидная собака 2 барсук 3 барсучонок 4 росомаха): Evk. *jantakī* 4; Neg. *jandako* 1; Man. *jandači* 3; Ul. *jandaqu̯* 1; Nan. *jandaqo* 1; Orch. *jandaku* 1, *jadači* 2; Ud. *jandasi* 2.

◊ TMC 1,341, 249. Interdialectal loans are not excluded.

PTurk. ***(i)anduk (~ -nt-)*** a k. of predator (вид хищника): Tur. *andık* 'вид гиены', Osm. *anduq*; MTurk. *andıq* 'espèce de loup cervier' (Pav. C.).

◊ VEWT 20, Лексика 159.

PKor. ***jə̀ń*** fox (лиса): MKor. *jə̀ń, jə̀ńi, jəńă*; Mod. *jəu*.

◊ Nam 374, 377, KED 1164.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 159.

✱**i̯ańu** line, furrow: Tung. ***ońa-***; Mong. ***(h)oji-su***; Turk. ***En***; Jpn. ***ùnài***.

PTung. ***ońa-*** 1 to draw 2 drawing, ornament 3 spot (1 рисовать 2 рисунок, орнамент, резьба 3 пятно): Evk. *ońo-* 1, *ońō* 2; Evn. *ońā-* 1, *ońān* 2; Ork. *ono* 3; Ud. *oño-* 1, *oño* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 20.

PMong. ***(h)oji-su*** a hollow below or above the ribs (углубление под ребрами): WMong. *oji-su* (L 606: *ojis* 'pit of the stomach'); Kh. *ojs*.

PTurk. ***En*** 1 earmark (on domestic animals) 2 to make an earmark 3 to castrate (1 метка на ушах (домашних животных) 2 ставить метку на ушах 3 кастрировать): Karakh. *ene-* 2 (MK), 3 (MK - Kypch.); Tur. *enek* 1, (dial.) *en* 1, *ene-* 3; Az. *en* (dial.) 1; MTurk. *en* (Bud.), *in* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *en* (dial.) 1; Uygh. *än* 1; Tat. *inä-* (dial.) 2; Bashk. *in, inäw* 1; Kirgh. *en* 1; Kaz. *en* 1, dial. *ene-* 2; KKalp. *en* 1; Nogh. *en* 1; Khak. *in* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 177-278, EDT 166, 171.

PJpn. ***ùnài*** furrow, seedbed (борозда, грядка): OJpn. *une*; MJpn. *ùnè*; Tok. *uné*; Kyo. *únè*; Kag. *uné*.

◊ JLTT 563.

‖ The root is very similar to **i̯ŭńa* 'pit, ravine' and **i̯ŭne* 'notch (on arrow)' q.v., and there could have been some interaction between them - which could, in particular, explain Turk. -n instead of the expected *-ń.

✱**i̯ằpV** to bend, turn; hook: Tung. ***oboka***; Mong. ***eb-***; Turk. ***ebir-***; Jpn. ***àpùkuà***.

PTung. ***oboka*** hook (крюк): Man. *obǵa* 'a k. of wooden hook serving as a bait for eagles'; Orch. *obō, oboγo*; Ud. *obo'* (Корм. 273).

◊ TMC 2, 4.

PMong. ***eb-*** 1 to bend, fold 2 knee 3 to roll (1 гнуть, сгибать, складывать 2 колено 3 вертеть): MMong. *ebkä-* 1 (IM), *ibkä-* 1 (MA),ebuduk 2 (SH), *äbdäk* 2 (IM), *ubuduk* 2 (MA),; WMong. *ebke-* 1 (L 288), *ebüdüg* 2 (L 290), *ebkere-* 3 (L 288); Kh. *evxe-* 1, *övdög* 2, *evxre-* 3; Bur. *ebxe-* 1, *übdeg* 2; Kalm. *epkə-* 1, *öwdəg* 2; Ord. *ebχe-, ewχʷe-* 1, *öwödök* 2; Mog. *ündük*; Dag. *ebke-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 138), *ebeke-* (MD 139); Dong. *odəu* 2; Bao. *ebdəg, vedeg* 2; S.-Yugh. *wədəg* 2; Mongr. *udiG, idiG* (SM 464), *wedeG* (Huzu) 2.

◊ KW 302, MGCD 251, 536.

PTurk. ***ebir-*** to turn (поворачивать): OTurk. *ebir-* (Orkh.), *evir-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *evür-* (MK); Tur. *evir-*; Turkm. *öwür-*; MTurk. *evir-*, *iber-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *öwür-* (dial.); Bashk. *äwir-*; Kaz. *üjïr-*; Khak. *ibïr-*; Shr. *ebir-*; Oyr. *ebir-*; Chuv. *avъr-*.

◊ EDT 14, VEWT 34, ЭСТЯ 1, 498-500, Егоров 20.

PJpn. ***àpùkuà*** stick with a hook, stick for carrying things (палка с крюком, палка для носки): OJpn. *apuk(w)o*; MJpn. *àfùkò*.

◊ JLTT 509.

‖ ЭСТЯ 1, 500. The Turkic form is hard to separate, although one would rather expect a back vowel (**iab-*) here. There indeed exists a PT root **(i)abi-* 'to bend, fall, swing' (Tat. *avu-* 'to bend, fall', Oyr. *abi-*, Tuva *aa-t-tin-* 'to swing', Kirgh. *oo-* 'to bend on one side, fall, swing, also in a play', *oon-* 'to roll, as a dog', Kaz. *awu-*, *awïn-*, *avï-t-qu-* 'id.', Nogh. *avï-*, *avna-*, *avda-* 'id.', Bashk. *aw-*, awn-, *awδ-* 'id.', KBalk. *aw-*, *awan-*, *awda-* 'id.', Karaim *avd-*, Kum. *avun-*), whose relationship to **ebir-* is not quite clear.

✱**i̯apʻi (~ *i̯opʻu)** to break: Tung. ***iapu-***; Mong. ***ebde-***.

PTung. ***iapu-*** to break, spoil, broken (ломать, портить, сломанный): Evk. *ĕp-* (Sym.); Neg. *jewus*; Ul. *jepu-*; Nan. *jepu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 291, 352.

PMong. ***ebde-*** to break (ломать, разрушать): MMong. *ebde-*, *obde-* (SH), *ibdä-* (MA); WMong. *ebde-* (L 285); Kh. *evde-*; Bur. *ebde-*, *ünde-* (Alar.); Kalm. *ebdə-*; Ord. *ebde-*; Dag. *erde-* (Тод. Дат. 140), *erede-* (MD 145); Bao. *vete-*; S.-Yugh. *ebde-*.

◊ KW 116, MGCD 249. Mong. *ebde-re-* > Man. *ebdere-* etc., see Doerfer MT 79, Rozycki 65. Cf. also WMong. *ibire-*, Khalkha *ivre-* 'to crumble'.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**i̯apʻu** adze: Tung. ***upa***; Mong. ***oɣuli***; Turk. ***Apił***.

PTung. ***upa*** adze (долото, тесло): Man. *efexun*; Nan. *ofali*, *ufali*; Orch. *upa*.

◊ TMC 2, 280-281, 471.

PMong. ***oɣuli*** adze (долото, тесло): WMong. *oɣuli* (L 603); Kh. *ōĺ*; Bur. *ōli*; Kalm. *ōĺə*; Ord. *ōli*; Dong. *uali*.

◊ KW 292, MGCD 522.

PTurk. ***Apił*** hoe (мотыга): Kirgh. *abïl-qasïm* 'one of the pegs in a plough'; Shr. *abił*; Oyr. *abił*, dial. *ōl* (Leb.).

◊ VEWT 2. Despite late and sparse attestation hardly borrowed from Mong. - for semantic and phonetic reasons, despite Аникин 73.

‖ KW 292, VEWT 2. A Western isogloss.

✱**i̯ăpʻu (~ *i̯ŏpʻa)** to hide, conceal: Tung. ***op-***; Mong. ***(h)ob***; Turk. ***Apï-***.

PTung. ***op-*** to hide, conceal (прятать, скрывать): Evk. *op-*; Nan. *up* 'having submerged' (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 22.

PMong. ***(h)ob** trickery, deceit, fraud (хитрость, уловка, происки): WMong. *ob* (L 598); Kh. *ov*; Bur. *ob*.

◊ Mong. > Tuva, Oyr. *op*, see VEWT 363.

PTurk. ***Apɨ-** 1 to hide 2 to be cautious 3 caution, precautions (1 прятать 2 быть осторожным 3 осторожность, предусмотрительность): Karakh. *abɨ-*, *abɨt-* (MK), *abɨn-* (refl.) (MK) 1; Uygh. *abajla-*, *avajla-* (refl.) 1; Bashk. *abajla-* 2; Kirgh. *abaj* 3; Kaz. *abajla-* 2; KKalp. *abajla-* 2.

◊ EDT 6, 7, 13.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**i̯ǎré** lower jaw, chin: Tung. ***irki**; Mong. ***eriwü-**; Turk. ***Erin**; Jpn. ***ətə(n)kapi**.

PTung. ***irki** gums (of teeth) (десны): Neg. *irxi*; Ul. *irxi(n)*; Ork. *irki*; Nan. *ilxī*; Orch. *ixi*.

◊ TMC 1, 327.

PMong. ***eriwü-** lower jaw, chin (нижняя челюсть, подбородок): MMong. *eri'un* (SH), *irun* (MA), *eirūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *erigü*, (L 322, 323:) *eregüü*, *ereü*, *eregün* (DO 248); Kh. *erű*; Bur. *erű*, *ürge(n)*; Kalm. *örgn*; Ord. *erű*; Mog. KT *oräu* (2-2a) 'cheek'; Dag. *erū* (Тод. Даг. 140, MD 146); Mongr. *irū* (SM 192).

◊ KW 299.

PTurk. ***Erin** lip (губа): OTurk. *erin* (OUygh.); Karakh. *erin* (MK); Tur. *erin* (dial.); Turkm. *erin*; Khal. *ārin*; MTurk. *iren* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *irin*; Krm. *erin*; Tat. *irĭn*; Bashk. *irĭn*; Kirgh. *erin*; Kaz. *erĭn*; KBalk. *erin*; KKalp. *erin*; Kum. *erin*; Nogh. *erin*; Khak. *irĭn*; Oyr. *erin*; Tv. *erin*; Tof. *erin* 'chin'.

◊ EDT 232-233, VEWT 48, ЭСТЯ 1, 292-293, Лексика 226-227. See also notes to **Erneg* 'edge'.

PJpn. ***ətə(n)kapi** chin (подбородок): OJpn. *ot(w)ogap(j)i*; MJpn. *òtógafi*; Tok. *òtogai*; Kyo. *òtógài*; Kag. *otogái*.

◊ JLTT 513. Accent in Tokyo and Kagoshima is irregular (points rather to **ətə-*).

‖ KW 299, Дыбо 308, Лексика 227.

✱**i̯àrgi (~ -o)** wild beast of prey: Tung. ***iarga**; Kor. ***írhì**.

PTung. ***iarga** leopard (леопард): Man. *jarGa / jarχa, jerxe*; SMan. *jarəha* (2220); Jurch. *jara* (148); Ud. *jagä* (Корм. 240); Nan. *jarga* (On.)

◊ TMC 1, 337, 355.

PKor. ***írhì** wolf (волк): MKor. *írhì*; Mod. *iri*.

◊ Nam 406, KED 1327.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. In Kor. one has to suppose a secondary monophthongization (**járhì* > **írhì*), cf. the attested Old Koguryo **yaši* (= **yarhi*) 'wolf' (see Miller 1979, 10).

I̯O

✱**i̯obo (~ *i̯ubi)** near, come near: Tung. ***ibē-**; Mong. ***ojira**.

PTung. ***ibē-** to come near (надвигаться, приближаться): Evk. *iwē-*; Man. *ibe-*; SMan. *ivenə-* 'to move forward' (1188).

◊ TMC 1, 296. Man. > Dag. *ibē-* (Тод. Дар. 145).

PMong. ***ojira** near (близкий): MMong. *ojira, ojiri* (HY 52, 55), *ojira* (SH), *wīr(b)ɛ* (IM), *uirā* (MA), *əira* (LH); WMong. *ojira* (L 605); Kh. *oirɨn*; Bur. *ojro*; Kalm. *ōrə*; Ord. *oō̆ro*; Mog. *ojrō*; ZM *ujrā* (6-8a); Dag. *wair* (Тод. Дар. 129), *uajre* (MD 229); Dong. *uira*; S.-Yugh. *öiro, oiro*.

◊ KW 304-305, MGCD 525.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**i̯ŏde** skin, to tan: Tung. ***(x)odinsa**; Mong. ***(h)ideɣe**; Turk. ***ed-**.

PTung. ***(x)odinsa** 1 summer skin of deer 2 to fade (of skin) (1 летняя шкура оленя 2 линять (о шерсти животных)): Evk. *odinna* 1; Evn. *odɒ̯ndɒ̯-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 6.

PMong. ***(h)ideɣe** tanning stuff (дубильное вещество): WMong. *ideɣe* (L 399); Kh. *idē(n)*; Bur. *ed́xe-* '1 заквашивать (хлеб) 2 дымить (кожу)'.

PTurk. ***ed-** to tan (leather) (дубить (шкуру)): Az. *ejmä* 'leather bag with clabber'; Turkm. *ej-*; Chuv. *ir-źə* 'skinner'; Yak. *etirik* ˊskin scraper'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 236-237, 335-336, Мудрак Дисс. 171, Лексика 377.

‖ Лексика 377. A Western isogloss.

✱**i̯ŏle** to hang on (smth.), hang on hook: Tung. ***ol-**; Mong. ***elgü-**; Turk. ***īl-**; Kor. ***ori**.

PTung. ***ol-** 1 hook (for hanging kettle) 2 to hang over fire (1 крюк (для подвешивания чайника) 2 подвешивать над огнем): Evk. *oldon* 1, *ollon-* 2; Evn. *olrāwu̯n* 1, *olrān-* 2; Neg. *olōn* 1; Ul. *ōrpu̯n* 1; Ork. *olǯi̯ɣa* 1; Nan. *olpi̯* 1; Orch. *ogǯi̯ɣa* 1; Ud. *olohu* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 14-15. TM forms like *elgu-* should be regarded as mongolisms. Evk. > Dolg. *oldōn, oldon* (see Stachowski 191).

PMong. ***elgü-** to hang on (smth.) (вешать (на что-л.)): MMong. *elgu-* (SH), *ulku-* (MA 276); WMong. *elgü-* (L 309); Kh. *ölgö-*; Bur. *ülge-*;

***i̯aru** young (of an animal): Tung. ***ora-**; Mong. ***(h)ori**; Turk. ***Arkun (?)**; Kor. ***àrí-**.

PTung. ***ora-** 1 small, young 2 *bear-cub* 3 female of bear (1 маленький, новорожденный 2 медвежонок 3 медведица): Evk. *oroŋāt* 3; Evn. *oịs*, *ojịs* (dial.) 2; Neg. *ojokon* 2; Man. *orčun*, *orχočo* 1; Ork. *oko* 2 (*voc.*); Nan. *orōqā* 1; Orch. *orko* ~ *oroko(n-)*.

◊ TMC 2, 25.

PMong. ***(h)ori** young, energetic (молодой, крепкий, свежий): WMong. *ori* (L 618); Kh. *oŕ*.

PTurk. ***Arkun** a cross-bred horse (лошадь смешанных кровей): Karakh. *arqun* (MK); Uygh. *a(r)ɣun*; Kirgh. *arɣɨn*.

◊ EDT 216, ЭСТЯ 1, 171. Cf. also **arga-mak* 'stallion' (> WMong. *arɣamaj*; see Щербак 1997, 162). The verb *arɣɨ-* 'to run swiftly (of a well-bred horse)' is attested in Kirgh., Kum. and Tuva (see ЭСТЯ 1, 172). Turk. > Bur. *arxan* 'bastard; cross-bred horse'. See also Аб. 1, 66 (Osset. *arɣonaq* 'well-bred dog' < Turkic).

PKor. ***àrí-** young (молодой, юный): MKor. *àrí-*; Mod. *ərí-*.

◊ Liu 545, KED 1128.

‖ The Turkic reflex is somewhat questionable; it belongs here if we suppose a semantic development 'young (animal)' > 'young horse, stallion'.

***i̯átá (~ -tʿ-)** to give, gift: Turk. ***(i)ātag**; Jpn. ***átápá-**; Kor. ***tā-**.

PTurk. ***(i)ātag** 1 sacrifice 2 price, sale 3 engagement, votive 4 gift (1 жертвоприношение 2 цена, продажа 3 помолвка, обет 4 подарок): Tur. *adaɣ* 1, 3, 4; Az. *adax* 3; Turkm. *ādaG* 3; Shr. *ada* 1; Yak. *atī* 2.

◊ VEWT 5. All the listed forms may be derived from **āta-* 'to name' (< **āt* 'name'), but the specific meanings rather suggest a secondary contamination.

PJpn. ***átápá-** 1 to give 2 price (1 давать 2 цена): OJpn. *atapa-* 1, *atapji* 2; MJpn. *átáfá-* 1, *átáfi* 2; Tok. *àtae-* 1; Kyo. *átáé-* 1; Kag. *ataé-* 1.

◊ JLTT 387, 678.

PKor. ***tā-** give (me) (дай (мне)): MKor. *tā-kò*; Mod. *tā-go*, *tā-o*.

◊ Liu 190, 191, KED 378.

‖ Korean demonstrates a frequent vowel elision. Phonetically a good match would be PTM **iata* 'ritual pollution, desecration in child-birth', but the meaning appears too specialized.

Kalm. *ölgə-*; Ord. *ülgü-*; Dag. *elgu-* (Тод. Даг. 139), *el(e)wē-* (MD 143); S.-Yugh. *olGo-, uγu-*.

◊ KW 294, MGCD 543. Mong. > Evk. *elgu* etc. (hardly vice versa; see Doerfer MT 89).

PTurk. ***īl-*** 1 to hang on (smth.) 2 hook (вешать (на что-л.) 2 крючок): OTurk. *il-* (OUygh.) 1, *ilin-* (refl.) (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *il-* (MK) 1, *ilin-* (refl.) (MK) 1; Tur. dial. *il-* 1, *ilmek* 2; Az. *ilmäk* 2; Turkm. *īl-* 1; MTurk. *il-* (Abush., Sangl.), *ilin-* (refl.) (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *il-* 1, *ilmoq* 2; Uygh. *il-* 1, *ilmaq* 2, 'loop'; Tat. *el-* 1; Bashk. *el-* 1; Kirgh. *il-* 1, *ilmek* 2; Kaz. *il-* 1; KBalk. *ilin-* (refl.) 1; KKalp. *il-* 1, *ilmek* 2; Kum. *il-* 1; Nogh. *il-* 1; Khak. *əl-*; Oyr. *il-* 1, *ilmek* 2; Tv. *il-* 1; Chuv. *ĵъlъ, ĵъlmak* 'loop'; Yak. *īl-* 1.

◊ VEWT 170, ЭСТЯ 1, 343-346, Егоров 73-74.

PKor. ***ori*** a fishing hook with several barbs (рыболовный крючок с зазубринами): Mod. *ori*.

◊ SKE 178. The noun is found only is absent from major MKor. and modern Korean dictionaries and thus somewhat dubious.

‖ SKE 178, EAS 106, Poppe 76 (Turk.-Mong.; assumption of Mong. being borrowed from Turk., see Щербак 1997, 120, is improbable). Turk. has a somewhat unexpected narrowing: **īl-* instead of **ḗl-*; however, the etymology still seems probable (despite Doerfer's categorical refusal: "lautgesetzlich unmöglich"; see TMN 2, 214).

✱**i̯oĺe** food: Tung. ***ulī-***; Mong. ***öl***; Turk. ****(i)aĺ, *(i)aĺ-a-***.

PTung. ***ulī-*** to feed (кормить): Evk. *ulī-*; Evn. *uli-*; Man. *ulebu-*; Nan. *uli-*; Ud. *ulikte* 'sacrificial fat' (Корм. 301).

◊ TMC 2, 260.

PMong. ***öl*** nutritive, nutrition (питательный, пища): WMong. *öl* (L 633); Kh. *öl*; Bur. *ül*; Kalm. *öl*; Ord. *öl*; S.-Yugh. *öl*.

◊ KW 294, MGCD 541.

PTurk. ****(i)aĺ, *(i)aĺ-a-*** 1 meal, food 2 to eat 3 porridge 4 to feed (1 еда, пища 2 есть 3 каша 4 кормить): OTurk. *aš* 1, *aša-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *aš* 1, *aša-* 2 (KB); Tur. *aš* 1; Az. *aš* 3; Turkm. *aš* 1; Khal. *āš, ɔ̄š* 1; MTurk. *aš* 1 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *aš* 1; Krm. *aša-* 2; Tat. *aša-* 2; Bashk. *aša-* 2; Kirgh. *aš* 1; KBalk. *aša-* 2; Nogh. *aša-* 2; Khak. *as* 1; Tv. *a'š* 1, *ažā-* 4; Tof. *aša-* 4; Yak. *as* 1; Dolg. *as* 1, *as-* 2.

◊ VEWT 29-30, ЭСТЯ 1, 210-212, TMN 2, 61-62, EDT 253, 256, Stachowski 38.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**i̯óĺe** to weave, bind: Tung. ***ul-***; Mong. ****(h)el-tü-***; Turk. ****ēĺ-***; Kor. ****jār-***.

PTung. ***ul-*** to sew (шить): Evk. *ullī-*; Neg. *uli-*; Man. *ufi-, ifi-*; SMan. *ifi-* (271); Ul. *urpi-*; Ork. *ulpi-*; Nan. *ulpi-*; Orch. *ippi-, uppi-*; Ud. *ulihi-*; Sol. *uldi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 322, 2, 261-262.

PMong. ***(h)el-tü-** to weave, knit (ткать, вязать): WMòng. *eltüle-* (L 310); Kh. *eltle-*.

PTurk. ***ēĺ-** to spin, twist (вить, сучить, плести): Az. *eš-*; Turkm. *īš-*; MTurk. *eš-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *eš-*; Uygh. *äš-*; Krm. *eš-*; Tat. *iš-*; Bashk. *iš-*; Kirgh. *eš-*; Kaz. es-; KBalk. *eš-*; KKalp. *es-*; Kum. *eš-*; Tv. *eš-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 396.

PKor. ***jə̄r-** to weave, tie together (ткать, связывать): MKor. *jār-*.

◊ Liu 566.

‖ Дыбо 1997a (Turk.-Mong.)

***i̯òmke** to crawl, move: Mong. ***ömkeri-, *önkeri-**; Turk. ***Emgek-**; Jpn. ***ùnkə̀k-**.

PMong. ***ömkeri-, *önkeri-** to roll, fall (кататься, падать): WMong. *ömkeri-, öŋkeri-, ömkere-, ömküri-* (L 635); Kh. *önxr-*; Kalm. *öŋkr-*; Ord. *öŋχörö-*; Mongr. *ŋgurō-* (SM 294).

◊ KW 297. Mong. Yak., Dolg. *üŋkürüj-* (Kał. EJE 130, Stachowski 251).

PTurk. ***Emgek-** to crawl (ползти): OTurk. *ömgekle-* (OUygh.); Tur. *emekle-*; Gag. *mekle-*; Az. *imäklä-*; Turkm. *imekle-*; MTurk. *emgekle-* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *emäklä-*; Uygh. *iŋäklä-* (dial.); Kirgh. *emgekte-*; Kaz. *eŋbekte-*; Khak. *ĭmekte-, nĭmekte-*; Shr. *emekte-*; Oyr. *emekte-, emgekte-*.

◊ EDT 160, VEWT 42, ЭСТЯ 1, 275. The noun **emgek* 'crawling' is preserved in Tur. dial. *imek*, Chag. *emgek* 'crawling child' (and, despite Clauson ibid. it certainly has nothing to do with **emgek* 'worry, pains', see **emge-*). Cf. also forms like Turkm. *eŋkej-* 'bow' and Yak., Dolg. *üŋk-* 'to bow' (contractions?); see Stachowski 251.

PJpn. ***ùnkə̀k-** to move (двигаться): OJpn. *ug(w)ok-*; MJpn. *ùgòk-*; Tok. *ugók-*; Kyo. *úgók-*; Kag. *ùgòk-*.

◊ JLTT 777. Cf. also Tok. *ugomek-* 'to crawl, cluster'.

‖ For possible TM reflexes see under **ònV*; cf. also PTM **uŋki-* 'send' (TMC 2, 277-278).

***i̯oŋo (~ *i̯uŋi)** weave (nets), net: Tung. ***inŋi-**; Mong. ***(h)öɣesi**.

PTung. ***inŋi-** to weave a net, to tie knots (ткать сеть, завязывать узлы): Evk. *inŋi-*; Evn. *inŋъ-*; Neg. *ińŋi-*; Ul. *ī-*; Nan. *inru* 'woven basket'; Orch. *iŋŋi-*; Ud. *iŋi-* (*iŋi-*) (Корм. 239), *ińiŋi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 317-318.

PMong. ***(h)öɣesi** fish-net (сеть для ловли рыбы): WMong. *ögesi(n)* (L 632); Kh. *ōš*; Kalm. *ōš*; Ord. *ōšdö-, ōšlö-* 'to fish with a fish-net'.

◊ KW 305.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. The TM form must go back to **iŋ-ni-* with a suffix (Mong. -ɣ- does not point to a cluster in PA).

***i̯òpe** to cover; to wear: Tung. ***upsi**; Mong. ***ibeɣe-**; Jpn. ***àp-**; Kor. ***psí-**.

PTung. ***upsi** 1 shaman clothes 2 belt made of badger's skin (1 одежда шамана 2 пояс из кожи барсука): Neg. *upsi* 1; Ul. *upsi* 1; Nan. *ufsi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 281.

PMong. ***ibeɣe-** to protect (защищать, покровительствовать): MMong. *ibe'e-* (SH), *hibe-* (MA 347), *ihe-* (HY); WMong. *ibege-* (L 396); Kh. *ivē-*; Bur. *ebigēl* 'protection' (dial.); Kalm. *ivē-* (KPC); Ord. *iwegē-*.

◊ Cf. perhaps also WMong. *ibe-* 'to pad, lay something between or under' (< *'to cover').

PJpn. ***àp-** to put on clothes (on the upper body); to cover (надевать одежду (на верхнюю часть тела); покрывать): OJpn. *op-*, *op(w)op-*; MJpn. *òfof-*; Tok. *o̍-*; Kyo. *ó-*; Kag. *ó-*.

◊ JLTT 742, 743. Modern tones point rather to **áp(w)áp-*, but this may be due to contraction.

PKor. ***psí-** to put on (hat) (надевать (шапку)): MKor. *psi-*, *sí-*; Mod. *s:i-*.

◊ Nam 317, 319, KED 1023.

‖ Korean has a frequent initial vowel reduction.

***i̯op'érV (~ *i̯ap'órV, -í-)** horn: Tung. ***opora**; Mong. ***eber**; Kor. ***s-pír**.

PTung. ***opora** nose (нос): Man. *oforo*; SMan. *ofərə* (24); Nan. *oporo*.

◊ TMC 2, 22.

PMong. ***eber** horn (рог): MMong. *eber* (HY 15, SH), *äbär* (IM), *ibär*, *hibär* (MA); WMong. *eber* (L 286); Kh. *ever*; Bur. *eber*, *über*; Kalm. *ewr̥*, *öwr̥*; Ord. *ewer*; Mog. ZM *ebär* (20-8); Dag. *xeur* (Тод. Дат. 176), *heure* (MD 161); Dong. *eve*, *uve*; Bao. *ver*; S.-Yugh. *ewer*, *eber*, *wer*; Mongr. *ujer* (SM 480), *wer*.

◊ KW 129,303, MGCD 249. Initial x- in Dagur is quite unclear.

PKor. ***s-pír** horn (рог): MKor. *spír*; Mod. *p:ul*.

◊ Nam 274, KED 832.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 46, 291. One of the cases with "prefixed" s- in Korean body part names (cf. also *s-pjə́ 'bone', **s-kòrí* 'tail').

***i̯òre** male, young male: Tung. ***ur**; Mong. ***(h)üreɣe**; Turk. ***e̯r-kek**; Jpn. ***ətə**; Kor. ***óràpí**.

PTung. ***ur** 1 male 2 elk (2 y. old) 3 1-year-old deer (1 самец 2 лось (2-х лет) 3 олень-однолетка): Evk. *ur* 1, *urikčān* 2; Neg. *ojčān* 2; Man. *urgešen* 3; Nan. *ojčā* 2; Orch. *uriča* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 281, 284, 285.

PMong. ***(h)üreɣe** 3 to 5-year-old stallion (жеребец от трех до пяти лет): WMong. *ürege*, *ürije* (L 1013); Kh. *ürē*; Kalm. *ürā̆* (KPC); Ord. *ürē*.

PTurk. ***ẹr-kek*** 1 man 2 husband 3 male (1 мужчина 2 муж 3 самец): Karakh. *erkek* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *erkek* 1; Gag. *erkek* 1; Az. *erkäk* 1; Turkm. *erkek* 1; Sal. *ärkex* 1; Khal. *hịrkäk* 1; Uzb. *erkak* 1; Krm. *erkek* 1; Tat. *irkɛk* 3; Bashk. *irkäk* 3; Kirgh. *erkek* 1; Kaz. *erkek* 1; KBalk. *erkek* 1; KKalp. *erkek* 1; Kum. *erkek* 1; Nogh. *erkek* 1; Oyr. *erkek* 1, 2; Tv. *irgek* 3; Tof. *i'rxek* 3; Yak. *irgex* 3; Dolg. *irgɛk* 3.

◊ VEWT 46, TMN 2, 178-9, EDT 192, ЭСТЯ 1, 297-298, 321-322, Лексика 303, 561, Eropов 30, Stachowski 46, 128. We follow Clauson (EDT 223-4) in separating **ẹ̄r* from **ẹr-kek*.

PJpn. ***ətə*** younger brother (младший брат): OJpn. *oto*, *otopji*; MJpn. *òtòùtò*; Tok. *otóto*; Kyo. *ótótó*; Kag. *otóto*.

◊ JLTT 513.

PKor. ***óràpí*** brother (брат): MKor. *óràpí*; Mod. *orabi*.

◊ Liu 575, KED 1197.

‖ The Turkic forms should be kept apart from the reflexes of **ẹ̄r* < **ár̄i* q.v.

i̯ŏt'à(mu) (~ *i̯ăt'ò-)** top of head, head: Tung. ***utumuk; Jpn. ***àtàmà***; Kor. ***utu***.

PTung. ***utumuk*** back of head (затылок): Evk. *utumuk*; Evn. *ötömöhök*; Ork. *utumu*.

◊ TMC 2, 294.

PJpn. ***àtàmà*** 1 top of head 2 head (1 темя 2 голова): MJpn. *àtàmà* 1, 2; Tok. *atamá* 2; Kyo. *átàmà* 2; Kag. *atamá* 1.

◊ JLTT 387.

PKor. ***utu*** 1 head 2 top of head (1 голова 2 темя, верхушка головы): MKor. *utu* 1; Mod. *udu-məri* 2.

◊ Liu 591, KED 1237.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

i̯ŏt'íkV** a k. of berry: Tung. ***ōkta; Jpn. ***ìtí(n)kuà***; Kor. ***òtǎi***.

PTung. ***ōkta*** currant (смородина): Evk. *ōkta*; Neg. *ōkta*; Man. *ukuxu*, -xe 'name of a berry'; Orch. *oktokto*.

◊ TMC 2, 11.

PJpn. ***ìtí(n)kuà*** strawberry, raspberry (земляника, малина): OJpn. *itib(j)ik(w)o*; MJpn. *ìtígò*; Tok. *íchigo*, *ìchigo*; Kyo. *ìchígò*; Kag. *ichigó*.

◊ JLTT 428. Most forms point to **ìtí(n)kuà*, but the Tokyo form *ìchigo* - to **ítí(n)kuá* or **ìtì(n)kuà*.

PKor. ***òtǎi*** mulberry (шелковица (ягода)): MKor. *òtǎi*; Mod. *oti*.

◊ Nam 379, KED 1197.

‖ Accent in Korean is irregular. An Eastern isogloss; cf. Yak. *oton* 'berry' (isolated in Turkic, but perhaps archaic).

ĮU

✱**įùbú** to be hungry, exhausted: Tung. ***(x)ob-**; Mong. ***öje-**; Jpn. ***ùwá-**; Kor. ***īb-**, ***ìbúr-**.

PTung. ***(x)ob-** 1 to become spoiled (of meat) 2 to get tired, exhausted 3 to get poor (1 портиться (о мясе) 2 уставать, изнемогать 3 беднеть): Evk. *obdo-* 1; Evn. *obdъ-* 2; Neg. *obolo-* 3; Man. *uba-* 1, *obdoqo jali* 'spoiled, tasteless meat'.

◊ TMC 2, 4, 5.

PMong. ***öje-** to be hungry, voracious (быть голодным, прожорливым): MMong. *ojese-* (SH) 1.

PJpn. ***ùwá-** to be hungry (голодать): OJpn. *uwa-*; MJpn. *ùwá-*; Tok. *ué-*; Kyo. *ùè-*; Kag. *ué-*.

◊ JLTT 777. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular, but all other dialects and RJ point to **ùwá-*.

PKor. ***īb-**, ***ìbúr-** to wither, dry up, decline, decay (вянуть, засыхать, ухудшаться, иссякать): MKor. *īp-* (*īw-*), *ìwìr-*, *ì'úr-*, *ì'ór-*; Mod. *iul-*.

◊ Nam 401, 403, 407, KED 1335.

‖ Ozawa 184-185. Korean has a "verbal" low tone.

✱**įúb[u]** to dig, hole: Tung. ***(x)ub-gā**; Turk. ***oba**; Jpn. ***úwa-**.

PTung. ***(x)ub-gā** burrow, hole (нора, дыра): Evk. *ubgā*; Evn. *ụbgụq*, dial. *ōwa*; Neg. *obga-* 'пролезать под снегом (о птицах)'; Man. o 'armpit'.

◊ TMC 2, 3, 242.

PTurk. ***oba** cavity, valley (впадина, долина): Tur. *ova*; Gag. *uva*; Az. *ova*; Uzb. *uwa*; Uygh. *ova*; Tv. *howu*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 403.

PJpn. ***úwa-** to plant (сажать): OJpn. *uwa-*; MJpn. *úwa-*; Tok. *ùe-*; Kyo. *ùè-*; Kag. *ué-*.

◊ JLTT 777. The tone reflex in Kyoto is aberrant (perhaps under literary influence).

‖ ЭСТЯ 1, 403 (Turk.-Tung.). The vocalism is not quite secure: the diphthong must be reconstructed because of Jpn. *-w-, but in Turkic one would rather expect **iba* in this case (perhaps **iba* > **uba* > **oba* because of later vowel assimilations).

***i̯ŭču** to become free, retire, disappear: Tung. ***ōs-**; Turk. ***ič-**; Jpn. ***us-**.

PTung. ***ōs-** to retire, make the place vacant (отступать, уступать (место)): Evk. *ōs-*; Evn. *ōs-*; Neg. *ōs-*; Ul. *osi̯-*; Ork. *ōssi̯-*; Nan. *ōsi̯-*; Orch. *osu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 25-26.

PTurk. ***ič-**, ***ič-gɨn-** to lose, disappear (терять(ся), пропадать): OTurk. *ičɣɨn-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ičɣɨn-* (MK), *ič-* (KB); MTurk. *ičqɨn-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Tat. *ičqɨn-*; Bashk. *isqɨn-*; Kirgh. *ičqɨn-*; KBalk. *ičxɨn-*; Kum. *išɣɨn-*; Nogh. *išqɨn-*; Khak. *isxɨn-*; Shr. *išqɨn-*; Oyr. *ičqɨn-*, *iqčɨn-*; Tv. *išqɨn-*; Yak. *ihigin-*.

◊ VEWT 164, ЭСТЯ 1, 672-673, ДТС 216.

PJpn. ***us-** to lose, get lost, disappear (терять, теряться, пропадать): OJpn. *usa-*, *usi-nap-*; MJpn. *úsá-*, *úsí-náf-*; Tok. *usé-*, *ùshina-*; Kyo. *ùsè-*, *úshiná-*; Kag. *usé-*, *ushiná-*.

◊ JLTT 780. Accent reconstruction is not quite clear: for **usinap-* 'to lose' the pattern **HHH* is more or less secure, but for **usa-* it seems best to reconstruct **ùsá-* (indicated by Tokyo and Kyoto). We may actually be dealing with two original roots heavily interacting with each other.

‖ Cf. also Kalm. *usχə-* 'to become free' (KW 452) - if not < Turk. The Jpn. form can be alternatively compared with MKor. *irh-* 'to lose'.

***i̯uda** ornament: Tung. ***udī-**; Jpn. ***aja**.

PTung. ***udī-** 1 to ornament 2 ornament (1 украшать 2 украшение): Evk. *udī-* 1; Neg. *uditkan* 2; Ork. *užɨ* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 248.

PJpn. ***aja** ornament, ornamented cloth (узор, узорная ткань): OJpn. *aja*; MJpn. *àjà*; Tok. *ayá*; Kyo. *áyà*; Kag. *áya*.

◊ JLTT 388. Modern dialects point rather to **ájà* (although it may be just an aberration in the Kagoshima dialect).

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

***i̯ude** to imitate, to simulate: Turk. ***öd-kün-**; Jpn. ***əja(n)si**.

PTurk. ***öd-kün-** to imitate (подражать, имитировать): Karakh. *ötgün-* (MK); Turkm. *öjkün-*; MTurk. *öjkün-* (Pav. C.), *ötgün-* (Abush.); Krm. *etkin-*; Oyr. *ökten-*; Tv. *ötün-*; Yak. *ütügün-*; Dolg. *ütügün-*.

◊ EDT 52, VEWT 368, ЭСТЯ 1, 515-516, Stachowski 254.

PJpn. ***əja(n)si** equal (такой же, одинаковый): OJpn. *ojazi*.

◊ JLTT 839.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss; but cf. *adV, **idV*, with a possibility of interaction.

***i̯udi(rV)** to choose: Mong. ***ödü-**; Turk. ***üdür-**; Jpn. ***iàr- ~ *aìr-**.

PMong. ***ödü-** to conceive, urge, instigate (затевать, побуждать): MMong. *etuldu* 'to discuss, agree' (HY 40); WMong. *edü-*, *ödü-* (L 294, 630); Kh. *ödö-*; Ord. *edü-*; Dong. *uduru-*; S.-Yugh. *ūdu-*.

◊ MGCD 540.

PTurk. ***üdür-** to choose, to select (выбирать): OTurk. *üdür-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *üδür-* (MK, KB); Tur. Osm. *ür-*; MTurk. (Xwar.) *üδür-* (Qutb), (MKypch.) *ür-* (Houts.); Khak. *üzür-*.

◊ VEWT 368, EDT 67-68.

PJpn. ***iàr- ~ *aìr-** to choose (выбирать): OJpn. *er-, erap-*; MJpn. *èráb-*; Tok. *ér-, eráb-*; Kyo. *èr-, éráb-*; Kag. *èr-, èrâb-*.

◊ JLTT 681, 682. All forms point to low tone in the first syllable.

‖ The Jpn. form must be derived < **idar-* < **idi-ra-*. Mong. reveals a causative meaning here: *'make choose' > 'instigate, urge'.

✱**i̯ŭ̯du** wonder, supernatural: Tung. ***(x)odu**; Mong. ***id-**; Turk. ***i̯duk**; Jpn. ***i / *ju**.

PTung. ***(x)odu** wonder (чудо): Evk. *odu*.

◊ TMC 2, 7. Attested only in Evk., but having reliable external parallels. Evk. > Yak. *odū* (not vice versa).

PMong. ***id-** female shaman (шаманка): MMong. *jituxan* (HY 31), *jətxan* 'волхв' (IM), *utugun / hotkun* (LH); WMong. *iduγan, uduγan* (L 861); Kh. *udug*; Bur. *udagan*; Kalm. *udəγən* (KPC); Ord. *udaGan* 'accoucheusse, accoucheur'; Dag. *jadagan* (Тод. Даг. 146), *jadegen* 'shaman (in direct contact with spirits)' (MD 168).

PTurk. ***i̯duk** sacred (священный): OTurk. *i̯duq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *i̯δuq* (MK); Kirgh. *ijiq*; KBalk. *ijiq*; Khak. *izix*; Oyr. *ijiq, ijik*; Tv. *idiq*; Chuv. *jərəx*; Yak. *itiq*.

◊ EDT 46, ЭСТЯ 1, 649-650, Егоров 80, Федотов 199, TMN 230-231 (most sources give a dubious inner Turkic derivation < **id-* 'to send', based on the old gloss in MK - most probably a folk etymology).

PJpn. ***i / *ju** sacred, purified (священный): OJpn. *i*, ju.

◊ JLTT 420. Also with -tu in attributive function: *i-tu-, ju-tu-*.

‖ Ozawa 52-53, 177-181. Despite Щербак 1997, 120, not a borrowing in Mong. < Turk. The Middle Jpn. *itiko* 'virgin consecrated to a deity, sorceress' (with a later form *itako* id.), which is compared by Miller (1985, 148) directly with the Mong. form, should be treated as a secondary distortion of **i-tu-kua* (lit.) 'sacred girl'.

✱**i̯ú̯du** to lead, direct: Mong. ***udu-**; Turk. ***īd-**.

PMong. ***udu-** to lead, direct (вести, направлять): MMong. *uduri-* (HY 54, SH); WMong. *udu-* (L 862: *udurid-*); Kh. *udir-*; Bur. *udarida-*; Kalm. *udṛdə-* (KPC); Ord. *udu-* 'donner la branle, mettre en train (une affaire)'; Bao. *durə-*; Mongr. *duru-* (SM 67).

◊ MGCD 667, TMN 1, 162-163.

PTurk. ***īd-** to send (посылать): OTurk. *id-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *iδ-* (MK); Turkm. *ij-*; MTurk. *ij-* (AH); Krm. *ij-*; Kirgh. *ij-*;

KBalk. *ij-*; Khak. *is-*; Shr. *is-*; Oyr. *ij-*, *is-*; Tv. *it-*; Chuv. *jar-*; Yak. *īt-*; Dolg. *īt-*.

◊ EDT 37-38, VEWT 164, ЭСТЯ 1, 332-333, Егоров 354, Stachowski 263.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

***i̯uga** child, son: Mong. ***öɣele ~ *oɣala**; Turk. ***ogul**; Kor. ***àhǎi**.

PMong. ***öɣele ~ *oɣala** stepbrothers (сводные братья): WMong. *ögelen* (DO 531); Ord. *xoŏd ölö* 'the second husband of the mother', *ölön kŭ* 'fils d'un autre lit'; Mongr. *ula* 'nés de la même mère, mais de différents pères' (SM 469).

PTurk. ***ogul** son (сын): OTurk. *oɣul* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *oɣul* (MK); Tur. *oul*; Gag. *ōl*; Az. *oɣul*; Turkm. *oɣul*; MTurk. *oɣul* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *oɣil*; Uygh. *oɣul*; Krm. *ovul*; Tat. *ŭl*; Bashk. *ŭl*; Kirgh. *ūl*; Kaz. *ŭl*; KKalp. *ul*; Nogh. *uwil*; SUygh. *oɣul*; Khak. *oɣıl*, *ōl*; Oyr. *ōl*, *ūl*; Tv. *ōl*; Chuv. *ĭvӌl*; Yak. *uol*; Dolg. *uol*.

◊ EDT 83-84, VEWT 358, TMN 2, 81, ЭСТЯ 1, 411-412, 414-417, Лексика 313-314, 323, 429-430, Егоров 341, Stachowski 243-244. Derived are: **ogulí* 'kin, generation', **oglak* 'kid' (ЭСТЯ 1, 404-405) etc. (ibid.)

PKor. ***àhǎi** child (ребенок): MKor. *àhǎi*; Mod. *ai*.

◊ Nam 343, KED 1076.

‖ It is interesting to note OJ *akwo* 'child' (usually in addressing) - usually regarded as *a-kwo* "my child", which may be a folk etymology. Cf. also WMong. (L 16) *aɣul ači* 'one's own grandson or descendant' (< Turk.?).

***i̯ù̯ge** to knead, press, crush: Tung. ***ŭ̄(g)-**; Mong. ***uɣur**; Turk. ***ög-**.

PTung. ***ŭ̄(g)-** to knead, press (мять, разминать, месить): Evk. *ī-*; Evn. *ī-*; Neg. *ī-*; Man. *uje-*; Nan. *ui-*; Orch. *ibbe* 'soft'.

◊ TMC 1, 294.

PMong. ***uɣur** mortar (ступка): MMong. *a'ur* (HY 21, SH); WMong. *aɣur*, *uɣur* (L 865: *uɣur*, *uɣuur*, *uur*, *aɣur*); Kh. *ūr*; Bur. *ūr*; Kalm. *ūr*; Ord. *ūr*; Dag. *ogor*.

◊ KW 454, MGCD 663. Mong. > Evk. *owur* etc., see Poppe 1966, 191, Doerfer MT 99, Rozycki 166; Chag. *oɣur* etc., see Владимирцов 247.

PTurk. ***ög-** 1 to knead, press 2 porridge, liquid soup (*'smth. pressed') (1 месить, мять 2 кашица, похлебка (*'давленая')): Karakh. *ögre* (~ *ü-*) 2 (MK); Tur. *öj-*, *öv-* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *öj-* 1; MTurk. *ügre* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *uwra*, *ugra* 2; Uygh. *ügrä*, *ögrä* 2; Krm. *iwre* 2; Tat. *ŭjrä* 2; Bashk. *ŭjrä* 2; Nogh. *üjre* 2; Khak. *ügre* 2; Oyr. *üre* 2; Tv. *öj-* 1; Yak. *üöre* 2.

◊ EDT 112, VEWT 369, ЭСТЯ 1, 324-325 (**ögü-re* 'porridge'), 515, 618-620. The root clearly has a *-g- and should be distinguished from **ŭk-* 'grind' q. v. sub **p'ŭk'ŋi* (although contaminations were possible).

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **p'i̯ōpo*. Despite TMN 2, 151, Chag. *oγur* and other late attested Turkic forms are most probably < Mong. (see Ligeti 1954, 110).

✱**i̯ugerV** enclosure for cattle: Tung. ***ugi(r)-**; Turk. ***ögür**; Jpn. ***bəri**; Kor. ***ur-**.

PTung. ***ugi(r)-** 1 herd 2 pasture 3 yard 4 gate 5 garden (1 стадо 2 пастбище 3 двор 4 ворота 5 огород): Evk. *ujur* 2 (Nep.), *uγuwa, uwuwa* 1 (Olk., Tng.); Evn. *ujirē* 4; Ork. *ujru* 2; Ud. *uhi* (Корм. 303), *uji* 5.

◊ TMC 2, 243, 252.

PTurk. ***ögür** 1 herd 2 tame 3 companion 4 group of people (1 стадо, стая 2 домашний 3 сотоварищ): OTurk. *ögür* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ögür* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *öjür* 2, 4; Turkm. *ōri* 'pasture'; MTurk. *ögür* 1,2, 3 (Sangl.); Uzb. *ujur* 1; Tat. *öjer* 1; Bashk. *öjör* 1; Kirgh. *üjür* 1, 2, 3; Kaz. *üjir* 1, 2; KBalk. *üjür* 'family'; KKalp. *üjir* 1, 2; Kum. *üjür* 1; 'attached'; Nogh. *üjir* 1; 'convivial'; Khak. *ōr* 1; Shr. *ōr* 1; Oyr. *ūr* 1; Tv. *ōr* 1, 3; Tof. *ōr* 1, 3; Yak. *üör* 1; Dolg. *üör* 1.

◊ VEWT 369, Stachowski 251. Turk. (with a later developed meaning 'companionship', see EDT 112) > WMong. *ügür*, Kalm. *ūr* (not vice versa, despite VEWT ibid.). A possible derivative (< *'to be tamed'?) can be PT **ögr-e-n-* 'to learn' (ЭСТЯ 1, 496-498).

PJpn. ***bəri** enclosure, cage (загон, клетка): MJpn. *wòrí, wórí*; Tok. *orí*; Kyo. *órì*; Kag. *orí*.

◊ JLTT 511.

PKor. ***ur-** 1 enclosure 2 fence 3 cage (1 загон 2 забор 3 клетка): MKor. *ùrí* 1, *úrh* 2, 3; Mod. *uri* 1, 3, ul 2.

◊ Liu 592, 595, KED 1238, 1246.

‖ Martin 227 (Kor.-Jpn.). Original vocalism is somewhat uncertain; a diphthong must be reconstructed to account for loss of *-g- in Jpn. (where **bəri* < **uəri* < **i̯ugVri*).

✱**i̯uge(ŕV)** river, small river: Tung. ***ugē(r)- / *ug-be(n)**; Mong. ***üjer**; Turk. ***ügüŕ (~ *ö-)**; Jpn. ***ùrà**; Kor. ***jə̀hír**.

PTung. ***ugē(r)- / *ug-be(n)** 1 wave 2 jet 3 river rift (1 волна 2 струя, рябь, зыбь 3 порог (на реке), перекат): Evk. *ūγe* 1, dial. *uwē, uwge-*; Neg. *uwē* 1, *ubge-n* 3; Man. *were-n* 2; Ul. *ugbe(n)* 3; Nan. *wē* 1, *ugbē* 3; Orch. *uwe* 1, 2; Ud. *wē* (Корм. 219), *ue* 1, 2, *ugbe(n)* 3.

◊ TMC 1,132; 2, 243, 247.

PMong. ***üjer** flood, freshet (поток, наводнение): MMong. *ujer* (HY 4); WMong. *üjer* (L 1002); Kh. *üjer*; Bur. *üjer*; Kalm. *üjr*; Ord. *üjer*; Dag. *ujir*; S.-Yugh. *ūr*.

◊ KW 456, MGCD 691, TMN 2, 156. Mong. > Tuva *üjer* (see Лексика 90).

PTurk. ***ügüŕ (~ *ö-)** small river (речка): OTurk. *ügüz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ügüz* (MK, KB); MTurk. Kypch. *ochus* (CCum.); Uygh. *ögüz*; SUygh. *ügüz*; Khak. *ūs*.

◊ VEWT 369, EDT 119-120, TMN 2, 156, Лексика 90.

PJpn. ***ùrà** bay, coast (залив, побережье): OJpn. *ura*; MJpn. *ùrà*; Tok. *urá*; Kyo. *úrà*; Kag. *urá*.

◊ JLTT 563.

PKor. ***jəhír** shallow place (отмель): MKor. *jàhír*; Mod. *jaul*.

◊ Nam 374, KED 1165.

‖ KW 456, Владимирцов 323, (Turk.-Mong.), PKE 63 (Kor.-Turk.). Low tone in Jpn. (not matching the low tone in Kor.) is probably due to contraction. The Mong. form cannot be separated, despite TMN 2, 156 ("lautgesetzlich mit der tü. Form nichts zu tun"). One should also note PTM **üge-n* 'river duct' (Neg. *ī̯en*, Ud. *jogo-so*, Ul. *ui-n*, TMC 1, 297, 2, 250); PT **ögen* (OUygh. *ögen*, Oyr. *ön*).

✱**i̯úgu** up, above: Tung. ***ug-**; Mong. ***öɣe-, *ög-se-**; Turk. ***jüg-**; Jpn. ***ú-pa-**; Kor. ***ùh**.

PTung. ***ug-** 1 above, up 2 to mount (1 верх, наверху 2 садиться верхом): Evk. *uɣī* 1, *uɣ-* 2; Evn. *öɣъ-* 1, *ū-* 2; Neg. *uvi- ~ uɣi-* 1, *okča-lā-* 2; Man. *ve-si-* 1; Jurch. *wi-si* (594) 1; Ul. *uji-* 1, *u̯-* 2; Ork. *ui, uwu* 1, *u̯-* 2; Nan. *uwu-j* 1, *ō-* 2; Orch. *ui-si* 1, *ū-* 2; Ud. *ui-* 1, *ū-na-* 2; Sol. *uɣe-sxī* 1, *ugu-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 243-244, 245-246.

PMong. ***öɣe-, *ög-se-** 1 upwards 2 to rise, ascend (1 наверх 2 подниматься): MMong. *o'e-de* (SH) 1; WMong. *ögede* (L 630) 1, *ögse-* (L 632) 2; Kh. *ōd* 1, *ögsö-* 2; Bur. *ōde* 1, *ügse-* 2; Kalm. *ōdə* 1, *öksə-* 2; Ord. *ōdö* 1; Mog. *öädä*; ZM *udä* (18-6a); Dag. *wēd* (Тод. Даг. 129) 1; Dong. *oǰie* 1; Bao. *odə* 1.

◊ KW 303, MGCD 535, TMN 1, 167-168.

PTurk. ***jüg-** 1 upwards 2 to rise 3 hill 4 high (1 вверх, наверх 2 подниматься 3 холм 4 высокий): OTurk. *jügerü* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *jükse-* 2 (MK); Tur. *jüksel-* 2, *jüše*, (dial.) *jüg, jüšek, jügšek, jüvšek* 3; Gag. *üsel-* 2; Az. *jüksäl-* 2, *uža* 4; MTurk. *jüksät-* 2 (Houts.), *jüče* 4 (AH); Krm. *öksel-* 2.

◊ EDT 915, ЭСТЯ 4, 263-264. The form **jügerü* is replaced in most modern languages by a back row variant **jokaru, *jokgaru* (see ЭСТЯ 4, 213-214); this may be due to a contamination with a synonymous root **jok* "up, above" (see ЭСТЯ 4, 215).

PJpn. ***ú-pa-** up, above (верх, наверху): OJpn. *u-pe*; MJpn. *ú-fe*; Tok. *ué, ùe*; Kyo. *úé*; Kag. *ué*.

◊ JLTT 560.

PKor. ***ùh** up, above (верх, наверху): MKor. *ù* (*ùh-*); Mod. *wi*.

◊ Nam 388, KED 1258.

‖ EAS 146-147, Poppe 60, Rozycki 222 (Mong.-Tung.), Martin 247, Menges 1984, 291, АПиПЯЯ 15, 81, SKE 284. This is a well known Altaic root, and the Mong.-Tung.-Kor. match seems undeniable. Doerfer first tried to abolish the obvious Mong.-Tung. parallel by attempting to

postulate the original meaning in Mong. as "opposite" (see TMN 1, 168-169), then included it into his list of Mong.>Tung. borrowings (Doerfer MT 25): both positions are certainly untenable. However, the Turkic and Japanese reflexes here are not devoid of problems. The Turkic reflex reveals an exceptional preservation of *i̯u- as jü- (regularly *i̯g- would be expected) - which may be explained by the inner Turkic confusion of the synonymous roots *jüg- and *jok- (< *ŋi̯ŏk´è q.v.). The Japanese match can be (and has been traditionally) explained as a compound of *u- 'top' with *pa (*ba) 'place' (v. sub *bi̯ŏga). However, in case of a compound we would rather expect *u-m-pa. It should be also noticed that the form *úpa- itself is very frequent as a first component of compounds, while the root *ú- alone is never attested. This all may mean that the Japanese form actually reflects a different root (with a medial labial consonant), or a merger of PA *i̯ugu with some different root. Such a root may be perhaps discovered in TM (*ebu-ri- 'to lift, raise', see TMC 2, 471) and Mong. (Kh. övx- 'to rise'), with a provisional reconstruction of PA *ébu.

✱**i̯ùjŋula** to weep, howl: Mong. ***ujila-**; Turk. ***ɨjŋala-**; Jpn. ***ùnàr-**.

PMong. ***ujila-*** to cry, weep (плакать, рыдать): MMong. *ui'jila-* (SH), *ujla-* (IM), *uila-*, *hujlaūl-* (caus.) (MA), *ūjla-* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ujila-* (L 866); Kh. *ujla-*; Bur. *ujla-*; Kalm. *ūl-*; Ord. *ujla-*; Mog. *ūila-*; Dag. *waila-* (Тод. Даг. 129), *uajle-* (MD 229), *uail-*; Dong. *uila-*; Bao. *lā-*, la-; S.-Yugh. *ūla-*; Mongr. (*u*)*lā-* (SM 469).

◊ KW 454, MGCD 670.

PTurk. ***ɨjŋa-la-*** to cry, weep (плакать, рыдать): Karakh. *aŋɨla-* 'to cry, howl (of a donkey)' (MK) (?); Tur. *inle-*, dial. *iŋile-*; Gag. *inne-*; Az. *inlä-*; Turkm. *iŋle-*; Khal. *i̯län-*; MTurk. OKypch. *iŋle-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ingala-*; Krm. *inle-*; Tat. *eŋgelde-*; Bashk. *ɨjla-*; Kirgh. *ɨjla-*; Kaz. *ɨnqɨl-da-*; KKalp. *iŋɨl-da-*; Khak. *ɨlγa-*; Shr. *ɨlγa-*; Oyr. *ɨjla-*; Tv. *ɨjɨla-*, *ɨɨla-*; Yak. *ɨ̄jɨla-*.

◊ VEWT 172, EDT 186, ЭСТЯ 1, 366-367.

PJpn. ***ùnàr-*** to howl, weep (выть, рыдать): Tok. *unár-*; Kyo. *únár-*; Kag. *ùnàr-*.

◊ JLTT 779.

‖ An onomatopaeic root, but with a rather precise phonetic matching between Turkic, Mongolian and Japanese.

✱**i̯úle** to measure, compare: Tung. ***ül(k)e-***; Mong. ***üli-***; Turk. ***ül-**, ***öl-č-***; Kor. ***ərkùr**.

PTung. ***ül(k)e-*** 1 to measure 2 to understand 3 to transmit, relay, teach (1 мерить 2 понимать 3 передавать, пересказывать, учить): Evk. *ilke-* 1; Evn. *ilkē-* 1; Neg. *ilkēt-* 1; Man. *ulxi-* 2, *ula-* 3; SMan. *ulixi-* 2

(1860); Jurch. *uli-* 3; Nan. *ilkeči-* 1 (Kur-Urm.); Orch. *ilēči-* 1; Ud. *ilewesi-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 258, 261; 1, 309.

PMong. ***üli-*** 1 to compare 2 shape, form, model, story (1 сравнивать 2 форма, модель, рассказ): MMong. *olgeor* (IM) 2, *uli-* 1, *ulige* 2 (SH); WMong. *üli-* 1; *üliger* 2 (L 1005); Kh. *üle-* 1; *ülger* 2; Bur. *üliše-* 1; *ülger* 2; Kalm. *ülə-* 1; *ülgŭr* 2; Ord. *üliger* 2; Dag. *urgil* 2 (Тод. Даг. 171), *ülegire* 'story'; Mongr. *xuGui* 2.

◊ KW 457, MGCD 693. Mong. > Evk. *ulgur* 'tale, story' etc., see Doerfer MT 48.

PTurk. ***ül-, *öl-č-*** 1 to measure 2 measure, measuring (1 мерить 2 мера, измерение): OTurk. *ülgü* (*ölgü*) 2; Karakh. *ülgü* (*ölgü*) 2; Tur. *ölč-* 1; Gag. *jölč-* 1; Az. *ölč-* 1, *ülgü* 2; Turkm. *ölče-* 1, *ülŋŋi* 2; Khal. *elč-* 1; MTurk. *ülgü* (*ölgü*) 2 (Pav. C.); *ölč-* (IM) 1; Uzb. *o̡lčä-* 1, *ulgi* 2; Uygh. *ölči-* 1, *ülgä* 2; Krm. *oĺč-*, *ölče-* 1; Tat. *ülčä-* 1, *ŭlgĭ* 2; Bashk. *ülsä-* 1, *ŭlgŭ* 2; Kirgh. *ölčö-* 1, *ülgü* 2; Kaz. *ölše-* 1, *ülgĭ* 2; KBalk. *ülgü* 2; KKalp. *ölše-* 1, *ülgi* 2; Kum. *ülgü* 2; Nogh. *ölše-* 1, *ülgi* 2; Khak. *ülgü* 2; Shr. *ülgä* 2; Oyr. *ülgü* 2; Chuv. *viś-* 1, *əlgə* 2; Yak. *üllehin-* 'divide, distribute'; Dolg. *üllehin-* 'divide, distribute'.

◊ EDT 142, VEWT 371, ЭСТЯ 1, 529, 632, Stachowski 250.

PKor. ***ə̀rkùr*** shape, appearance (форма, вид): MKor. *ə̀rkùr*; Mod. *k:ol*.

◊ Nam 367, KED 157.

‖ Note the widespread velar suffixation and the identity Mong. **üliger* = Kor. **ə̀rkùr*.

✱***i̯ùlò*** hollow, hole, intestine: Tung. ***ül-***; Mong. ***(h)olugaj***; Turk. ***oluk***; Jpn. ***ùruà***.

PTung. ***ül-*** 1 fistula, hollow nutshell 2 anus (1 свищ, пустой орех 2 anus): Evn. *i̯mni̯* 2; Man. *ulu* 1; Orch. *ī̆lmini* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 313; 2, 263.

PMong. ***(h)olugaj*** thick intestine (толстая кишка): WMong. *oluγai* (L 609); Kh. *olgoj*; Bur. *olgoj*; Ord. *ologŏ*.

PTurk. ***oluk*** gutter; hollowed-out tree trunk (желоб; выдолбленный древесный ствол): Karakh. *oluq* (MK); Tur. *oluk*; MTurk. *oluq* (IM, AH); Uygh. *olaq*; Krm. *oluq*; Tat. *ulaq*; Bashk. *ulaq*; Nogh. *oliq*; Chuv. *volъ* 'tree-trunk'.

◊ EDT 136-137, ЭСТЯ 1, 451, Мудрак Дисс. 125, 131, Ашм. V, 263, Федотов 1, 99, 130. There also exists a similar - but originally different - form **og(u)l-*, **ogluk*, reflected in Chag. *oγluq*, Tur. dial., Gag. *holluq*, Chuv. *valak*, Yak. (Пек.) *uoluk*, *uol-ba*, with natural contaminations.

PJpn. ***ùruà*** hollow, hollow tree-trunk (дупло, полый древесный ствол): Tok. *uró*, *ùro*; Kyo. *úrò*; Kag. *uró*.

‖ Turkic and Mongolian reflect a common derivative **i̯ùlò-kV*.

***i̯ùme (~ -o)** to tie, strap, belt: Tung. ***(x)üm-**; Mong. ***(h)umaji-**; Jpn. ***àmpí**; Kor. ***ùmɨi-**.

PTung. ***(x)üm-** 1 strap, tie 2 to girdle (1 ремешок, завязка 2 подпоясывать): Evk. *imenne* 1; Evn. *imъnru* 1; Neg. *imenne* 1; Man. *ińele-, uńele-* 2; Sol. *imende* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 314. Evk. *umurũ* 'strap, belt' etc. (TMC 2, 272) is borrowed from Mong. *ümrûl*, see Doerfer MT 27.

PMong. ***(h)umaji-** to tighten, shrink (суживаться, стягиваться): WMong. *umaji-* (MXTTT); Kh. *umaj-*.

PJpn. ***àmpí** belt (пояс, ремень): OJpn. *obji*; MJpn. *òbí*; Tok. *óbi*; Kyo. *òbí*; Kag. *obí*.

◊ JLTT 503.

PKor. ***ùmɨi-** to pucker, close up, shut up (делать складку, затягивать, закрывать): MKor. *ùmɨi-já-tɨr-*; Mod. *umurə-ǯi-, omurə-ǯi-*.

◊ Nam 390, KED 1239.

‖ SKE 286, EAS 117. Korean has a usual verbal low tone. The Jpn. form reflects fusion with an original labial suffix (**àmpí* < **i̯ùme-bV* = Mong. **umuji-*). Cf. also **i̯umi*.

***i̯umi** a k. of clothing: Tung. ***(x)im-**; Mong. ***emü- (*ömü-)**; Turk. ***(i)öm**.

PTung. ***(x)im-** 1 gown 2 a k. of ritual hat (1 халат 2 вид ритуальной шапки): Man. *ińantu* 2; Orch. *imǯa* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 313.

PMong. ***emü- (*ömü-)** 1 trousers 2 to clothe (1 штаны 2 одеваться): MMong. *emudun* (HY 23, SH), *ämodän* (IM), *umudän* (MA) 1, emus- (SH), *umus-, ămus-* (MA) 2; WMong. *ömü-dü(n)* (L 635), *emüdü(n)* 1, *emüs-, emüsge-, emüske-* (L 315) 2; Kh. *ömd(ön)* 1, *ömsö-* 2; Bur. *ümde(n)* 1, *ümed-, müd-* (Alar.); Kalm. *ömәs-* 2; Ord. *ömödü* 1, *ömös-* 2; Mog. *ündün* 1, *ömüsü-* 2; ZM *ondun* (13-4); Dag. *emese-* 2 (MD 143), *emse-* 2, (Тод. Дar. 139) *emsu-*, (Тод. Дar. 171) *umse-* 2; Dong. *mədun* 1, *musi-* 2; Bao. *mədoŋ* 1, *məsə-* 2; S.-Yugh. *mudən* 1, *məs-* 2; Mongr. *mosə-* (SM 242) 2.

◊ KW 296, MGCD 544.

PTurk. ***(i)öm** trousers (брюки, штаны): OTurk. *üm* (OUygh.) (=*öm*); Karakh. *öm* (MK); Tur. *im* (Osm.); Khal. *e͡m*; MTurk. *im* (Kypch. Houts.); SUygh. *im, jim, jüm*; Chuv. *jəʷm*.

◊ EDT 155, VEWT 520-521, Егоров 78, Федотов 1, 195, Мудрак 119, Лексика 478.

‖ Лексика 478. A Western isogloss. In TM a reconstruction **üm-* is also not excluded; if this is the case the root should be reconstructed as **i̯ume* and would be just a specialization of **i̯ùme* 'tie, belt': 'girdled clothes'.

***i̯úmu** a k. of fruit or berry: Tung. ***uma-kta**; Turk. ***imiti (~ *imɨt)**; Jpn. ***úmái.**

PTung. ***uma-kta** 1 brier 2 a sp. of berry 3 cornel (1 шиповник 2 шикша 3 кизил): Evn. *umtъ̆čan* 2; Man. *umpu* 3; Ul. *omaqta* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 16, 268. Manchu *umpu* is probably an assimilation < **umqu* < **uma-kta.*

PTurk. ***imiti (~ *imɨt)** a k. of hawthorn (вид боярышника): OTurk. *imiti* (Rach.) (can also be read as *imɨt*).

◊ ДТС 209. Attested only in Old Uyghur, but having possible parallels in Tung. and Jpn. Turk. > Mong. *imidi* (the word has been pointed out by Stefan Georg, who found it out in Позднеев: Учебник тибетской медицины (1908 г.), 339); cf. also WMong. imdij, Khalkha imdij 'боярышник полуперистый' (БАМРС). The Turkic word is, of course, not from Mongolian (which certainly has a borrowed shape with -d- in front of -i).

PJpn. ***úmái** plum (слива): OJpn. *ume*; MJpn. *úmé*; Tok. *ùme*; Kyo. *úmé*; Kag. *úme*.

◊ JLTT 562.

‖ The Jpn. word is usually derived from Middle Chinese *moj* 'plum', but the problem here is the same as in the word for 'horse' (see **èŋu*): inexplicable initial u- in Japanese. The matches in TM and Turkic may provide an alternative Altaic explanation of Jpn. **úmái.*

***i̯umu** to help, gather: Tung. ***umī-**; Mong. ***öm-**; Turk. ***im-**; Kor. ***umur-**.

PTung. ***umī-** to gather (собирать(ся)): Evk. *umīw-*; Evn. *u̯mi̯w-*; Man. *iḿa-*; Ul. *u̯mu̯čį̆-*; Ork. *u̯mtu̯-*; Nan. *omō-*; Orch. *umu-*; Ud. *ūmu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 312, 2, 267-268.

PMong. ***öm-** 1 to gather, to work collectively 2 help 3 property, inheritance (1 собирать(ся), работать сообща 2 помощь 3 имущество, наследство): MMong. *omer-* 1 (SH); WMong. *ömür-* 1, *ömü* 2 (L 635: *öme, ömüg*), *öm-či* 3 (L 635); Kh. *ömög* 2, *ömč* 3; Bur. *ümõr-* 'вступаться за кого-л., защищать'; *ümse* 3; *ümegle-*, *ümegšel-* 'защищать, покровительствовать'; Kalm. *ömәg* 'protection, defence' (KPC), *ömči*, *önči* 3; Ord. *ömõrö-* 1, *ömök* 2, *ömči* 3; Dag. *umeči* 3 (MD 232); S.-Yugh. *ömči* 3.

◊ KW 296, MGCD 544. Mong. > Turk. *ömük.*

PTurk. ***im-** 1 public gathering 2 to gather 3 collective work (1 народное собрание 2 собирать 3 помочь, общий труд): OTurk. *imer-* 2; Karakh. *imren* (MK) 1; Tur. *imeže* 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 633-634.

PKor. ***umur-** to crowd, cluster (собираться в кучу, кишеть): MKor. *umur-umur*; Mod. *umul-umul-ha-*, *omul-kəri-*.

◊ Liu 593, KED 1200, 1239.

‖ A reliable common Altaic root; a small problem is fronted **im-* instead of the expected **ɨm-* in Turkic.

***i̯ŭ̂ne** notch (on arrow): Tung. ***ün-**; Mong. ***oni**; Kor. ***ònǎi**.

PTung. ***ün-** 1 notch on an arrow 2 scar, mark (on face) 3 wrinkle (on face) (1 зарубка на стреле 2 рубец (след от язвы, прыща) 3 морщина (на лице)): Evk. *iпŋu* 3; Evn. *iпŋatu̯* 2; Man. *wen* 1; Nan. *ŭ̃* 1 (On.)

◊ TMC 1, 132, 318. The Man. and Nan. forms can be borrowed < Mong. (as are certainly Evk., Neg. un, see below), but the Northern forms can only be genuine.

PMong. ***oni** 1 hollow, groove, nick (on point of an arrow) 2 mark in sheep's ear (1 прорез, зарубка (на конце стрелы) 2 метка на ухе овцы): MMong. *ono* (SH); *honi* (MA) (with a secondary h-) 1; WMong. *oni*, *onu* 1 (L 614, 615); Kh. *oй* 1; Bur. *oni* 1; Kalm. *onə* 1, 2; Ord. *oni* 1; Dag. *oйči* 'knife for making nicks' (Тод. Даг. 160, MD 201).

◊ KW 286. Mong. > Sol. *ono*, Evk., Neg. *un* (TMC 2, 273). Cf. also **oni* 'defile, gorge'.

PKor. ***ònǎi** notch on an arrow (зарубка на стреле): MKor. *ònǎi*; Mod. *onii*.

◊ Nam 379, KED 1196.

‖ VEWT 362, Цинциус 1984, 43. The Kor. word is regarded as borrowed from Mong. in Lee 1964, 192, which is somewhat dubious (-ǎ- is unexplainable). See also notes to **i̯ŭ̂na* and **i̯aŋu*.

***i̯ŭ̀ni** to live, rest: Tung. ***in-**; Mong. ***ün-ǯi-**; Jpn. ***ìnə̀-tí**; Kor. ***nūi**.

PTung. ***in-** 1 to live 2 alive (1 жить 2 живой): Evk. *in-* 1; Evn. *īn-* 1; Neg. *īn-* 1; Nan. *iŋ-kī* 2; Orch. *ini* 2; Ud. *inigi* 2; Sol. *inirge-* 'to revive'.

◊ TMC 1, 315.

PMong. ***ün-ǯi-** to rest (отдыхать): MMong. *unǯi-(gu)* (SH); Bur. *ünže-* 'to spend a day'.

PJpn. ***ìnə̀-tí** life (жизнь): OJpn. *inoti*; MJpn. *ìnòtí*; Tok. *ínochi*; Kyo. *ìnóchì*; Kag. *ìnóchì*.

◊ JLTT 425. The word is obviously an old compound with *-tí 'spirit; blood'.

PKor. ***nūi** world, generation (мир, поколение): MKor. *nūi*.

◊ Nam 116.

‖ MKor. has a frequent initial vowel reduction.

***i̯unu** cow: Mong. ***üniɣen**; Turk. ***in-gek (/*in-gak), *in-ken**.

PMong. ***üniɣen** cow (корова): MMong. *uni'en* (SH), *unejen* (HY 11); WMong. *ünije(n)* (L 1010); Kh. *ünēn*; Bur. *üńē(n)*; Kalm. *ünē*, *ünēn*; Ord. *ünē(n)*; Mog. *üinä* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *unē*, (Тод. Даг. 171) *uńē*; Bao. *unaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *nīn*; Mongr. *unē* (SM 472).

◊ KW 458, MGCD 694. Mong. > Man. *unijen* etc., see Poppe 1966, 191, Sinor 1962, 321, Doerfer MT 139, Rozycki 218-219.

PTurk. ***in-gek (/*in-gak), *in-ken** 1 cow 2 female camel (1 корова 2 верблюдица): OTurk. *ingek* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1, *ingen* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ingek* 1, *ingen* 2 (MK); Tur. *inek* 1; Gag. *inek* 1; Az. *inäk* 1; Turkm. *inek* 1 (ЭСТЯ), *inen* 2; MTurk. *inek* 1 (AH), *inen* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *inäk*, *inäj* 1 (dial.); Uygh. *inäk* 1, (dial.) *ingan*, *iŋgan* 2; Krm. *inek* 1; Tat. *ïnäk* 1

(dial.); Kirgh. *inek* 1, *iŋgen* 2; Kaz. *inek* 1, *ĭŋgen* 2; KBalk. *inek, ijnek* 1; KKalp. *iŋgen* 2; Kum. *inek* 1; SUygh. *inek, enek* 1; Khak. *ĭnek* 1; Shr. *inek, näk* 1; Oyr. *inek, ijnek* 1; Tv. *inek* 1, *eŋgin* 2; Chuv. *əne* 1; Yak. *inax* 1.

◊ EDT 184, VEWT 172, ЭСТЯ 1, 358-361, Егоров 64, Лексика 436, 447-448). Turk. > Mong. *iŋgen* 'female camel'; Hung. *ünő* 'heifer' (Gombocz 1912).

‖ EAS 114, Владимирцов 175. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 163 Mong. cannot be borrowed from Turk.

✱**i̯ŭńa (~ -u, -e)** pit, ravine: Tung. ***uńi (~ ü-)**; Mong. ***(h)oni**; Turk. ***ījn**.

PTung. ***uńi (~ ü-)** small river, brook (речка, ручей): Ul. *uńi̯*; Ork. *uńi* 'river'; Nan. *ońi̯*; Orch. *uńi*; Ud. *uńi* "Аńuj river".

◊ TMC 2, 277.

PMong. ***(h)oni** defile, gorge (ущелье, теснина): WMong. *oni, onu* (L 614, 615); Kh. *oń*; Bur. *oni*; Kalm. *onə*; Ord. *oni*.

◊ KW 286. The root is homonymous with **oni* 'nick on point of an arrow' (v. sub **i̯ŭńe*), which must be a historical coincidence (judging from external data).

PTurk. ***ījn** hollow, pit, lair (берлога, яма): OTurk. *in* (OUygh.); Karakh. *in, jin* (MK); Turkm. *hīn*; Khal. *hĭn*; Kirgh. *ijin*; Chuv. *jənə*; Yak. *īn*; Dolg. *īn*.

◊ EDT 166, VEWT 172, Егоров 79, Stachowski 131.

‖ A Western isogloss. It is somewhat difficult to distinguish PA **i̯ŭńa* 'pit, ravine', **i̯ŭńe* 'notch (on arrow)' and **i̯ańu* 'line, furrow' because of natural contaminations, but such a distinction seems necessary.

✱**i̯uńŋu (~ -a)** to breathe, smell: Tung. ***uńŋu-**; Mong. ***(h)oŋguli-**; Turk. ***in-tik**.

PTung. ***uńŋu-** to smell (нюхать): Evk. *unŋu-*; Evn. *unŋu-*; Neg. *uńŋu-*; Ul. *uńe-*; Ork. *unene-*; Nan. *ujne-*; Ud. *uŋefe-* (Корм. 303).

◊ TMC 2, 274-275.

PMong. ***(h)oŋguli-** to gasp, breathe heavily (задыхаться, тяжело дышать): WMong. *oŋɣuli-* (L 613); Kh. *oŋgoli-*.

PTurk. ***in-tik (~ *e-)** to breathe heavily (тяжело дышать): Tat. *intek-* 'to become tired, exhausted'; Bashk. *intek-*; Kirgh. *intiq-*; Kaz. *intiɣ-*; Tv. *ındınnıɣ* 'panting, alarmed'; Chuv. *andъx-*.

◊ Егоров 29, Федотов 1,49.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**i̯upo** to be ashamed, taken aback: Tung. ***üb-**; Mong. ***ubaj**; Turk. ***ubut**; Jpn. ***əpəpə-**.

PTung. ***üb-** 1 to hate, abhor 2 to panic 3 to be ashamed (1 ненавидеть, питать отвращение 2 паниковать 3 стыдиться): Evk. *ibža-* 3; Man. *uba-, iba-* 1; SMan. *uva-* 'to dislike' (1904); Nan. *obosa-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 294-295, 639; 2, 4.

PMong. ***(h)ubaj** consciousness, attention (сознание, внимание): WMong. *ubai* (L 858); Kh. *uvaj*; Bur. *ubaj-güj* 'беззастенчивый, наглый'; Kalm. *ubāra-* 'to pay attention' (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***ubut** 1 shame 2 to be ashamed (1 стыд 2 стыдиться): OTurk. *ubut* (Orkh.) 1; Karakh. *uvut* (MK) 1; Tur. *ut, -du* 1, *ut-an-* 2; Az. *ut-an-* 2; Turkm. *ut-an-* 2; Gag. *ut-an-* 2; Uygh. *uvat, ubat* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 561-563.

PJpn. ***ərərə-** perturbed, taken aback (встревоженный, в замешательстве, мрачный): OJpn. *or(w)or(w)o-si*; MJpn. *obobo-si*.

◊ JLTT 838.

‖ All languages reflect the root with different derivational suffixes; the simple verbal stem is perhaps preserved only in Manchu.

✱**i̯ure** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***ürē-kte**; Turk. ***i̯rgaj**; Jpn. ***utu-kui**; Kor. ***ori**.

PTung. ***ürē-kte** 1 larch 2 rod, willow rod (1 лиственница 2 прут, прут ивы): Evk. *irēkte* 1; Evn. *irēt* 1; Neg. *ijēkte* 1; Ul. *urekte* 2; Ork. *urekte* 2; Nan. *urekte* 2; Orch. *ijekte* 2; Ud. *jakta* 2; Sol. *irēkte, irētte* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 329.

PTurk. ***i̯rgaj** 1 name of a plant (irga) 2 honeysuckle, woodbind 3 juniper (1 ирга 2 жимолость 3 можжевельник): Uygh. *iryaj* 1; Kaz. *iryaj* 3; Oyr. *jijra* 3; Tv. *iryaj* 1.

◊ VEWT 166.

PJpn. ***útú-kùi** Deutzia, a decorative shrub (вид декоративного кустарника): MJpn. *útú-gì*; Tok. *utsugi*.

◊ JLTT 565.

PKor. ***ori** alder (ольха): MKor. *ori-namo*; Mod. *ori-namu*.

◊ Liu 576, KED 1199.

‖ Turkic forms are usually derived < Mong. *iryaj* id., but the direction of borrowing may be opposite; however, Yak. *iarya* is certainly < Mong.

✱**i̯ùru** joy: Tung. ***uru-**; Mong. ***urma**; Turk. ***i̯ra**; Jpn. ***ùrià-**.

PTung. ***uru-** to enjoy, be merry (радоваться, веселиться): Evk. *urūwsī-*; Evn. *örus-*; Man. *ur-gun* 'joy'; SMan. *uruxun* 'joy' (1929); Jurch. *wur-hul-že-rie* (372); Ork. *uru-lǯini-*; Sol. *urun-*.

◊ TMC 2, 288. Man. > Dag. *urgun* 'joy' (Тод. Даг. 171).

PMong. ***urma** inspiration, enthusiasm (вдохновение, энтузиазм): WMong. *urma* (L 884); Kh. *uram*; Bur. *urma(n)*, *urmas*; Kalm. *urṃ*; Ord. *urma, urmas*; Dong. *uruma*.

◊ KW 451.

PTurk. ***i̯ra** character, disposition (характер, расположение): Tur. *ira*; Tat. *iraj* (dial.); Kirgh. *iraj*; KKalp. *iraj*; Oyr. *ira*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 659-660.

PJpn. ***ùrià-** merry, joyful (веселый, радостный): OJpn. *ure-si*; MJpn. *ure-si*; Tok. *ureshí-*; Kyo. *úréshì-*; Kag. *ureshí-*.

◊ JLTT 843.

‖ One of numerous common Altaic terms of emotion.

✱**i̯úrù** to gather, crowd: Tung. ***urū-**; Mong. ***ir-**, ***irge-**; Turk. ***irk-**; Jpn. ***ú(n)tì**; Kor. ***ur**.

PTung. ***urū-** 1 to gather, collect 2 crowd, gathering (1 собирать(ся) 2 толпа, собрание): Evk. *urūw-* 1, *urūwū* 2; Neg. *oju̯w-*; Ork. *uru-*; Sol. *oru̯-*.

◊ TMC 2, 287.

PMong. ***ir-**, ***irgen** 1 to fill up, to crowd 2 people (1 заполнять, толпиться 2 народ): MMong. *jirgen* (HY 28), *irge(n)* (SH) 2, *irken*, *hirken* (MA); WMong. *ir-* 1 (L 412), *irgen* 2 (L 414); Kh. *irgen* 2; Bur. *ergen* 2; *iraj-*, 'стоять рядами, шеренгами', *iralza-* 'мелькать (о множестве предметов, находящихся в движении)'; Kalm. *irgn̥* 2; Ord. *īrgen* '1 citizen, 2 chinese'; Mog. *irgan* 2 (Weiers); ZM *orgɔ̄n* (9-6a); Dag. *irgen* 2 (Тод. Даг. 146), *iregen* (MD 173).

◊ KW 209. Mong. > Jurch. *irhebe* (843), Man. *irgen* (see Rozycki 117).

PTurk. ***irk-** to gather (собирать(ся)): Karakh. *irk-* (MK); Tur. *irk-*; Turkm. *irik-* (dial.); MTurk. *irk-* (Pav. C.); Kirgh. *irk-il-*; Kaz. *irk-*.

◊ EDT 221, ЭСТЯ 1, 378-379.

PJpn. ***ú(n)tì** clan (род): OJpn. *udi*; MJpn. *udi*, *útì*; Tok. *úji*; Kyo. *újì*; Kag. *úji*.

◊ JLTT 566. The Tokyo accent is aberrant.

PKor. ***ur** clan, relatives (род, родня): Mod. *ul*.

◊ KED 1246.

‖ KW 209, Martin 228, Lee 25-26. Cf. Old Koguryo **uš* (see Miller 1979, 17).

✱**i̯ŭ́rgi (?)** fat; brain: Tung. ***irg[ü]**; Turk. ***ŭ́r**.

PTung. ***irg[ü]** 1 brain 2 head (1 мозг 2 голова): Evk. *irge* 1; Evn. *irgъ* 1; Neg. *igge / ijge* 1; Man. *uǯu* 2; SMan. *uǯu* 2 (1); Jurch. *(h)u(i)ǯew* (492) 2; Ul. *iǯe* 1; Ork. *īde* 1; Nan. *īge* 1; Orch. *igge* 1; Ud. *igi* 1; Sol. *igge*, *irge* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 326.

PTurk. ***ŭ́r** fat (жир): Karakh. *üz* (MK); MTurk. *üz* (AH), *öz* 'clinging mud' (Sangl.); Khak. *üs*; Shr. *üs*; Oyr. *üs*; Tv. *üs* 'liquid fat'; Tof. *üs* 'liquid fat'; Chuv. *jor-var* 'скоромная пища'; Yak. *üskäl*.

◊ EDT 278-279, Федотов 2, 491, VEWT 523, Мудрак Дисс. 154, Лексика 454-455. Chuv. *va-* points to a long **ŭ-*.

‖ A Turkic-Tungus isogloss; phonetically a good match, but semantics raises some doubts.

✱**i̯uŕo** long; late: Tuŋ. ***(x)ir- ~ (x)ür-**; Mong. ***urtu, *uri-du**; Turk. ***uŕi-n, *uŕa-k**; Kor. ***òrá-**.

PTung. ***(x)ir- ~ (x)ür-** ancient, former (старый, древний, прежний): Evn. *ir-bēt*; Neg. *ij*; Sol. *irēkte*.

◊ TMC 1, 329.

PMong. ***urtu, *uri-du** 1 long 2 formerly (1 длинный 2 прежде): MMong. *urdu* (HY 52), *urtu* (SH), *uruxši jire* 'to come before' (HY 40), *ortu* (IM), *urtu* (MA) 1, *urida* (HY 50), *urit* 2 (HY 28, SH); WMong. *urtu* 1 (L 884), *uri-du* 2 (L 883); Kh. *urt* 1, *uŕd* 2; Bur. *u(r)ta* 1; Kalm. *utə* 1; Ord. *urtu* 1; Mog. *urtu*; ZM *orṭo* (11-6b); Dag. *orto* (Тод. Даг. 160), *ortu* 1; *warda* (Тод. Даг. 129), *ordōn* (Тод. Даг. 160) 2, *o̤rete* 1 (MD 202); Dong. *fudu* 1; Bao. *fdu* (MGCD *ftə*) 1; S.-Yugh. *rdə* 1; Mongr. *fudur* (SM 101), (MGCD *šdur*) 1.

◊ KW 452, MGCD 681. Mong. > Dolg. *urut* 'formerly' (Stachowski 246).

PTurk. ***uŕi-n, *uŕa-k** 1 long 2 lie; grow 3 far 4 long (time), late (1 длинный 2 лежать; расти 3 далекий 4 долгий, поздний): OTurk. *uzun* 1, *uzaq* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *uzun* 1 (MK, KB), *uzaq* (MK) 3; Tur. *uzun* 1, *uzak* 3; Gag. *uzun* 1; Az. *uzun* 1, *uzan-* 2, *uzaG* 3; Turkm. *uzɨn* 1, *uzaq* 3; Sal. *uzɨn* 1, *uzɨχ* 3; Khal. *uzān-* 2, *uzāq* 3, *uzu̯n* 1; Uzb. *uzun* 1, *uzɔq* 3; Uygh. *uzun* 1, *uzaq* 3; Krm. *uzun* 1; Tat. *ozɨn* 1, *ozaq* 3; Bashk. *оδоп* 1; Kirgh. *uzun* 1, *uzaq* 2, 3; Kaz. *u̯zu̯n* 1; KBalk. *uzun* 1, *uzaq* 3; KKalp. *uzɨn* 1, *uzaq* 3; Nogh. *uzɨn* 1; SUygh. *uzun* 1, *ozaq* 3; Khak. *uzun* 1; Shr. *uzun* 1, *uzaq* 4; Tv. *uzun* 1, *uzaq* 3; Tof. *uzun* 1 *uza-* 'удлиняться'; Chuv. *vъʷrъʷm* 1, *vъʷrax* 3; Yak. *uhun* 1; Dolg. *uhun* 1.

◊ PT **uŕi-n* 'long', **uŕa-k* 'far, long' are derived from **uŕa-* 'to be long, prolonged'. See VEWT 518, EDT 281, 283, 288-9, ЭСТЯ 1, 570-572, Stachowski 241.

PKor. ***òrá-** late, long ago (поздний, давний): MKor. *òrá-*; Mod. *orä-*.

◊ Nam 379, KED 1198.

‖ EAS 112, KW 452, Poppe 81, АПиПЯЯ 34, 283. Cf. **ūre*.

✱**i̯úse** to grow, sprout: Tung. ***üse-**; Mong. ***ös-**; Turk. ***ös-**; Kor. ***ìsàk**.

PTung. ***üse** 1 seed 2 to grow 3 field ready for ploughing (1 семя 2 расти 3 пахотное поле): Evk. *isew-* 2; Evn. *isu-* 2; Neg. *isew-* 2; Man. *use* 1, *usi-n* 3; SMan. *usū* 1 (330, 1158, 2143); Jurch. *use* 1, *usi-in* (50) 3; Ul. *use* 1; Nan. *use* 1; Orch. *usi* 1; Ud. jehu- 2.

◊ TMC 1, 332; 2, 290, 291.

PMong. ***ös-** to grow (расти): MMong. *us-* (MA), *os-* (SH), *osge-* caus. (HYt); WMong. *ös-* (L 645); Kh. *ös-*; Bur. *üde-*; Kalm. *ös-*; Ord. *ös-*; Dag. *euse-* (Тод. Даг. 141); Dong. *osə-*, *osɨ-*; Bao. *ose-*; S.-Yugh. *ű̄s-*; Mongr. *ōsə-* (SM 298).

◊ KW 301, MGCD 550.

PTurk. ***ös-** to grow (расти): OTurk. *ös-* (OUygh.); Tur. *ös-*; Turkm. *ös-*; MTurk. *ös-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *u̯s-*; Uygh. *ös-*; Krm. *ös-*; Tat. *üs-*; Bashk.

*üϑ-; Kirgh. *ös-*; Kaz. *ös-*; KBalk. *ös-*; KKalp. *ös-*; Kum. *ös-*; Nogh. *ös-*; Khak. *ös-*; Shr. *ös-*; Oyr. *ös-*; Tv. *ö's-*.

◊ VEWT 376, ЭСТЯ 1, 552-553. Doubts about OT *ös-* see in EDT 241, 251, with a discussion in Clark 1977, 142-144.

PKor. ***ìsàk*** sprout, spike (побег, колос): MKor. *ìsàk*; Mod. *isak*.

◊ Nam 401, KED 1330.

‖ Poppe 108. In Kor. one has to suppose a secondary reduction **jàsVk* > **ìsàk*; otherwise the correspondences are regular.

✱**i̯ŭtʿe** thick liquid: Tung. ***üt-***; Mong. ***öte-***; Turk. ***ȫt***.

PTung. ***üt-*** 1 to ferment bread 2 jam, cream (1 квасить (хлеб) 2 варенье, крем): Evk. *itke-* 1; Man. *uta* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 334, 2, 293.

PMong. ***öte-*** thick (of liquids) (густой (о жидкостях)): MMong. *otkan* (SH); WMong. *öte-ge-n*; Kh. *ötgün* 'гуща'; Bur. *üdxe(n)* (of liquids, grass); Kalm. *ötkn*, *ötəgn*; Ord. *ödχön*; Mog. *utkōn* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *očeɣan* (Тод. Дн.).

◊ KW 302.

PTurk. ***ȫt*** gall (желчь): OTurk. *öt* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *öt* (MK); Tur. *öt*; Gag. *jöt*; Az. *öd*; Turkm. *ōt*; Sal. *öt*; MTurk. *öd* (Pav. C.), *öt* (AH, IM); Uzb. *o̧t*; Uygh. *öt*; Krm. *öt*; Tat. *üt*; Bashk. *üt*; Kirgh. *öt*; Kaz. *öt*; KBalk. *öt*; KKalp. *öt*; Kum. *öt*; Nogh. *öt*; SUygh. *jöt*; Khak. *üt*; Oyr. *öt*; Tv. *öt*; Chuv. *vat*.

◊ EDT 35, VEWT 376, ЭСТЯ 1, 504-505.

‖ A Western isogloss. Ramstedt (SKE 79) compares Kor. *jət* 'candy, taffy', but MKor. has consistently *jás* here.

K

✱**kabari** oar: Tung. ***kabri-kī***; Mong. ***kajiɣur, -bu(r)***; Jpn. ***kapiara***.

PTung. ***kabri-kī*** sledge pole (остол (палка для торможения нарт)): Evk. *kawrikī*; Neg. *kawrixī*; Ul. *qauri*; Ork. *qawrē*; Nan. *kaorī*; Orch. *kauri*.

◊ TMC 1, 358.

PMong. ***kajiɣur, -bu(r)*** 1 oar 2 pedal (1 весло 2 педаль): WMong. *qajiɣur* (L 915: *qajaɣur*), *qajibi*, *qajibu* (L 911: *qajiba*); Kh. *xajūr*, *xajv* 1; Bur. *xajūr* 2; Kalm. *xajūr*, *xāwr* 1, *xāwə* 2.

◊ KW 161, 181.

PJpn. ***kapiara*** oar (весло): OJpn. *kapjera*.

‖ A common Altaic cultural term. The difference between **kabari* and **gǎja* is not quite clear: both can mean 'oar' or 'boat pole' in daughter languages. The Mong. forms can be explained from an earlier form **kabi(r)-ɣur*, whence **kaibur* / **kai-ɣur*.

✱**kábó** enclosure: Tung. ***kaba-***; Mong. ***keji-d***; Jpn. ***kámpiá***; Kor. ***kòbă̆r***.

PTung. ***kaba-*** 1 tent (covered with bark) 2 to enclose, fence 3 fence, enclosure, camp (1 шалаш (крытый корой) 2 огораживать 3 забор, ограждение; лагерь, казарма): Man. *quwara-* 2, *quwaran* 3; SMan. *quarən* 'courtyard' (553); Ork. *qaura(n)* 1; Nan. *qawa* 1; Orch. *kawa(n)* 1; Ud. *kawa* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 391, 422. Manchu > WMong. *quwaran* 'barracks'.

PMong. ***keji-d*** monastery, temple (монастырь, храм): MMong. *ge-yid* 'house, building, boutique' (*hPhags-pa* script); WMong. *kejid* (L 444); Kh. *xijd*; Bur. *xīd*; Kalm. *kīd* (СЯОС); Ord. *kīd*.

◊ Владимирцов 272, as well as DO 420 compare the MMong. word with MTurk. *kebit* (ДТС 290) 'canteen, shop' (> Russ. *кибитка*, Kalm. *kiwde*), which, according to VEWT 244 is borrowed from Sogd. *qpyδ* id. Loss of -b-, though, as well as a pronounced religious meaning in Mong. make this derivation rather improbable; we are rather dealing with a -d-derivation (standard plural or collective suffix) from an original **keji* 'enclosure'.

PJpn. ***kámpiá*** wall (стена): OJpn. *kabje*; MJpn. *kábé*; Tok. *kàbe*; Kyo. *kábé*; Kag. *kábe*.

◊ JLTT 431 (wrongly spelled as OJp *kabe*).

PKor. ***kòbǎr*** district (провинция, район): MKor. *kò'ǎr*; Mod. *koĭl*.
◊ Liu 65, KED 148.

‖ The root is rather difficult to distinguish from **k'ǎp'u* 'barrier'. There also exists MJ *kòfòrì* 'district, county' - which is considered by most authors a loanword from MKor. *kò'ǎr* (= *kòwǎr*), see e.g. JLTT 457; the loan must have occurred already after the merger of -f- (< *-p-) and -w- in Japanese, which can explain the orthography.

✱**kàbro** a k. of ferment: Tung. ***kabu-kta***; Mong. ***kowr***; Turk. ***Kor***; Jpn. ****kàrà-***; Kor. ****kòr-***.

PTung. ***kabu-kta*** 1 salmon fat 2 salmon stomach (1 жир (калуги, осетра) 2 желудок (калуги)): Ul. *qaụqta* 1; Nan. *qaụqta* 2.
◊ TMC 1, 385.

PMong. ***kowr*** poison, harm (яд, вред): MMong. *qor* 'Schaden' (HYt), *qūr* 'убыток' (IM), *qurǎ* (MA); WMong. *qour, qoura* (L 973); Kh. *xor*; Bur. *xoro(n)*; Kalm. *xorŋ*; Ord. *xor*; Dag. *xor, kor* (Тод. Дар. 177), *hore, huore* (MD 164, 167); S.-Yugh. *χoro*; Mongr. *xurō, xor*.
◊ KW 188, MGCD 365. Cf. also WMong. *qorqaɣ, quryaɣ* 'pus (in wound)', Kalm. *xorxaɣ*. Mong. > Oyr. *qoroi*, Man. *qoro, xoron* etc. (Doerfer MT 81, Rozycki 109, 144). The forms meaning 'damage' may actually reflect a merger with a Turkic loanword **Kor* 'loss, harm', on which see under PA **k'oru*.

PTurk. ****Kor*** 1 ferment; yeast 2 bitter, astringent (1 закваска; дрожжи 2 горький, едкий): Karakh. *qor* 1 (MK, IM); Turkm. *Gor* 1; Uzb. *qɔr* 1 (dial.); Tat. *qur* 1 (dial.); Bashk. *qur* 1; Kirgh. *qor* 1; Kaz. *qor* 1; KKalp. *qor* 1; Yak. *kuras* 2.
◊ EDT 642, ЭСТЯ 6, 72.

PJpn. ****kàrà-*** bitter (горький): OJpn. *kara-*; MJpn. *kàrà-*; Tok. *kará-*; Kyo. *kárà-*; Kag. *kará-*.
◊ JLTT 830. Cf. also **kàrásì* 'vinegar; mustard'.

PKor. ****kòr-*** wine fungus, mould, scum (винный грибок, плесень, накипь): MKor. *kòr-'àčí*; Mod. *kolmaži*.
◊ Nam 51, KED 158.

‖ Cf. also MKor. *kóróm* 'pus', probably preserving the original accentuation.

✱**káče** wish, intent: Tung. ****kasaga-***; Mong. ****kači***; Turk. ****Kiča***; Jpn. ****kásí-rápa-***.

PTung. ****kasaga-*** 1 insistent, obstinate 2 to overcome (1 настойчивый, упорный 2 преодолевать (препятствия)): Evk. *kasaɣa-* 2; Evn. *qasъɣ* 1.
◊ TMC 1, 382.

PMong. ****kači*** interest, curious thing (интерес, интересная вещь): WMong. *qači* (L 901); Kh. *xač*.

PTurk. ***Kiča*** 1 passion, wish 2 to demand 3 to threaten (1 страсть, желание 2 настойчиво требовать 3 угрожать): Kirgh. *qiča-* 2; Kaz. *qisa* 'commotion, anger' (R 2, 803 - Kir.); Khak. *xiža* 1, *xižan-* 3; Shr. *qičan-* 3; Oyr. *qiča* 1; Tv. *qižan-* 3.

◊ VEWT 260.

PJpn. ***kǒsí-rápa-*** to plan, contrive (планировать, замышлять): OJpn. *k(w)osirapa-*; MJpn. *kósi̯ráfa-*; Tok. *kòshirae-*; Kyo. *kóshiráé-*; Kag. *koshiraé-*.

◊ JLTT 713.

‖ The suffixless root is nominal both in Turkic and Mongolian; verbs are derived from it by means of various productive suffixes.

✱**kǎči** to pass, go through: Tung. ***kas-***; Turk. ***geč-***.

PTung. ***kas-*** through, straight through (через, напрямик): Neg. *kas*; Man. *qas* 'quickly'; Ul. *qas*; Ork. *qas*; Nan. *qas*; Orch. *kas*; *kasa-* 'to send'; Ud. *kahilē*.

◊ TMC 1, 382.

PTurk. ***geč-*** to pass, wade (проходить, переходить вброд): OTurk. *keč-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *keč-* (MK, KB); Tur. *geč-*; Gag. *geč-*; Az. *keč-*; Turkm. *geč-*; Khal. *käč-*; MTurk. *kéč-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *keč-*; Uygh. *kä/eč-*; Krm. *keč-*; Tat. *kič-*; Bashk. *kič-*, *kis-*; Kirgh. *keč-*; KKalp. *keš-*; Kum. *geč-*; Nogh. *keš-*; SUygh. *keš-*; Khak. *kis-*; Shr. *kež-ir-* 'to ferry across the river'; Oyr. *keč-*; Tv. *ke'š-*; Tof. *ke'š-*; Chuv. *kaś-*; Yak. *kes-*.

◊ VEWT 245, EDT 693-694, ЭСТЯ 3, 32-34, TMN 3, 584.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**káč'u** covering, skin: Tung. ***kaču-***; Mong. ***kuči-***; Turk. ***KAč-(g)ač***; Kor. ***kàč***.

PTung. ***kaču(-ki)*** skin clothes (одежда из шкуры): Man. *qačiki*; Ul. *qačụi*; Nan. *qačoi*; Orch. *kačun*, *kačuki*.

◊ TMC 1,386.

PMong. ***kuči-*** to cover (покрывать, укрываться одеялом): MMong. *quči-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *quči-* (L 979); Kh. *xuči-*; Bur. *xuša-*; Kalm. *xuča-*; Ord. *Guči-*; Mog. *kuči-* (Weiers); Dag. *koči-*, *xoči-* (Тод. Дar. 150, 178), *koči-* (MD 183); Dong. *quči-*; S.-Yugh. *quǯo-*; Mongr. *xoǯi-* (SM 169), (MGCD *xuǯi-*).

◊ KW 200, MGCD 395. Mong. > Evk. *kuči-*, Man. *χusi-* etc., see TMC 1, 441, Doerfer MT 77, Rozycki 113.

PTurk. ***KAč-(g)ač*** Chinese brocade, woven fabric (китайская парча, узорная ткань): Karakh. *qačač* (MK).

◊ EDT 590.

PKor. ***kàč*** skin (кожа): MKor. *kàčòk*, *kàčh* (*kàs*); Mod. *kaǯuk*, *sal-gat* (*sal-gačh-*), (arch.) *kat* (*kačh-*).

◊ KED 25, 63, 64, 896.

‖ SKE 102, PKE 74, АПиПЯЯ 297.

✱**kắdaŋV (~ k'-)** a k. of foliage tree: Mong. ***kaduŋ***; Turk. ***Kadiŋ***; Jpn. ***káni-pà***.

PMong. ***kaduŋ*** 1 currant 2 birch (1 смородина 2 береза): WMong. *qaduŋ*; Kh. *xadan* 1; Kalm. *χadŋ* 2.

◊ KW 159.

PTurk. ***Kadiŋ*** birch tree (береза): Karakh. *qaδiŋ* (MK), *qajiŋ* (KB); Tur. *kajın* 'beech tree'; Az. *Gajın* 'maple tree'; Turkm. *Gajiŋ*; MTurk. *qajın* (Houts.); Uzb. *qɛjin*; Uygh. *qejin*; Tat. *qajin*; Bashk. *qajin*; Kirgh. *qajiŋ*; Kaz. *qajiŋ*; KKalp. *qajiŋ*; Nogh. *qajiŋ*; Khak. *xaziŋ*; Shr. *qaziŋ*; Oyr. *qajiŋ*; Tv. *xadıŋ*; Tof. *qadiŋ*; Chuv. *хорън*; Yak. *xatiŋ*; Dolg. *katiŋ*.

◊ VEWT 218, TMN 3, 183, ЭСТЯ 5, 214-215, Лексика 122, Федотов 2, 366, Stachowski 141.

PJpn. ***káni-pà*** birch (береза): OJpn. *kanipa* 'bark of some trees'; MJpn. *kánifâ*; Tok. *kaba*.

◊ JLTT 431.

‖ KW 159, TMN 3, 184(: "unklar"). In Jpn. we probably have a compound with **pa* 'leaf'; **káni* < **kadV-N* with regular nasal assimilation. The old form **kadiNpa* is reflected in the Ainu loanword *karinpa* 'birch tree or cherry tree'.

✱**kádì(rV)** strong, oppressive: Tung. ***kadara-ku***; Mong. ***keder***; Turk. ***Kadir***; Jpn. ***kítú-***.

PTung. ***kadara-ku*** courageous, diligent (смелый, храбрый, старательный): Man. *qadaraqu*; Ul. *qāda-*; Ork. *qadaraqu*; Nan. *qadaraqo*.

◊ TMC 1, 360.

PMong. ***keder*** angry, inobedient (сердитый, упрямый): MMong. *keder* 'haughty' (MA 213); WMong. *keder* (L 441); Kh. *xeder*; Bur. *xeder*; Kalm. *kedr̥*.

◊ KW 222. Chag. *keden* translating the MMong. form may be a distorted mongolism.

PTurk. ***Kadir-*** hard, strong, cruel (крепкий, сильный, жестокий): OTurk. *qadir* (Orkh., OUygh.); Bashk. *qajir* (dial.); Kirgh. *qajir* 'contradiction, objection'; KBalk. *qajir* 'angry'; Khak. *xazir*; Shr. *qazir*; Oyr. *qajir*; Tv. Todzh. *xadır*; Yak. *xatārij-* 'вымещать мстительность, неприязнь, злопамятствовать'.

◊ VEWT 218, TMN 3, 378-379, ЭСТЯ 5, 216.

PJpn. ***kítú-*** strong, brave (сильный, храбрый, суровый): MJpn. *kitu-*; Tok. *kìtsu-*; Kyo. *kìtsù-*; Kag. *kitsú-*.

◊ JLTT 832.

‖ A suffixed form **kádì-rV* is reflected in most subgroups.

***kádù** a k. of harness (bridle): Tung. ***kadala / *kadara**; Mong. ***kada-**; Jpn. ***kútúwá**; Kor. ***kùr'ói.**

PTung. ***kadala / *kadara** bridle (уздечка): Man. *χadala*; SMan. *hadələ, qadələ* (1255); Nan. *qadara, χadara*; Sol. *xadal, kadala.*

◊ TMC 1, 359 (the verb **kadala-* 'to regulate, oppress' reflected in several languages is derived from the noun 'bridle' rather than borrowed from Mong., where **kada-* means basically 'to nail'; however, there were vast possibilities of contaminating the original and borrowed roots (see under **kājt'ə*). Nan. *χadara* 'bridle' may be borrowed from Mong. (not quite plausibly, however: the forms like *qadar* are actually attested only in MMong. and Southern Mongolian dialects), but the Manchu and Solon forms are hard to explain as borrowings (despite Rozycki 97).

PMong. ***kada-** bridle (уздечка): MMong.. *qada'ar* (HY 18, SH), *qadāsu* (IM), *qādar* (MA), *qadār* (LH); WMong. *qaǯaγar* (L 947), *qaǯijar* (SM); Kh. *xaʒār*; Bur. *xazār*; Kalm. *xazār*; Ord. *xaǯār*; Mog. *qadār*; Dag. *xadāl* (Тод. Дar. 172 *xadāla*); Dong. *qata* (Тод. Дн.); *Gada*; Bao. *Gadər*; S.-Yugh. *Gadar*; Mongr. *Gaǯar* (SM 116), *Gaǯa-* (SM 117) 'ronger, brouter', *Gadar* (SM 115).

◊ KW 174, MGCD 316. Often derived from **kaǯa-* 'to bite' (see e.g. Doerfer MT 57), but MMong. and South Mongolian forms with -d- clearly contradict it, so WMong. *qaǯaγar* is most probably a result of contamination. The isolated form with -l, Dag. *xadāl(a)*, may in fact be a Tungus loanword.

PJpn. ***kútúwá** bridle (уздечка): MJpn. *kútúwá*; Tok. *kùtsuwa*; Kyo. *kútsúwá*; Kag. *kutsuwá*.

◊ JLTT 468. The accent in Kagoshima is secondary.

PKor. ***kùr'ói** bridle (уздечка): MKor. *kùr'ái*; Mod. *kulle*.

◊ Nam 62, KED 217.

‖ EAS 97, KW 174. Despite Doerfer MT 57 the TM forms are very hard to explain as borrowed from Mong. In Jpn. the word is usually analysed as "mouth ring", which seems to be a folk etymology (in view of external parallels: together with Kor. *kùr'ái* it presupposes a suffixed form like **kádu-bV-*). It seems that we in fact are dealing here with an archaic term of horse harness.

***kadV** rock, mountain: Tung. ***kada-**; Mong. ***kada**; Turk. ***K(i)aja (?)**.

PTung. ***kada(r)** rock (скала): Evk. *kadar, kadaγa*; Evn. *qadār, qadaqu*; Neg. *kadā*; Man. *χada*; SMan. *hadə* 'mountain peak' (2069); Ul. *qadali*; Ork. *qada*; Nan. *qadar* 'granite, marble' (On.); Orch. *kada*; Ud. *kada*; Sol. *xadār*.

◊ TMC 1, 360 (part of the forms may be < Mong., see Doerfer MT 18, but as a whole the root is undoubtedly genuine).

PMong. ***kada** rock (скала): MMong. *qada* (SH); WMong. *qada(n)* (L 902); Kh. *xad*; Bur. *xada*; Kalm. *xadə*; Ord. *xada(n)*; Dag. *xada, xad* (Тод. Дar. 172), *hade* (MD 154); Dong. *Gada*; S.-Yugh. *Gada*; Mongr. *Gadā* (SM 114).

◊ KW 158, TMN 1, 393, MGCD 314.

PTurk. ***K(i)aja** 1 rock 2 mountain 3 slope (1 скала 2 гора 3 склон): OTurk. *qaja* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qaja* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *kaja* 1; Gag. *qaja* 1, 2; Az. *Gaja* 1, 2; Turkm. dial. *Gāja, Gaja* 1; MTurk. *qaja* (Houts., AH, Ettuhf., Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *qɔjɛ* 1; Uygh. dial. *qija* 1; Tat. *qija* 1; Bashk. *qaja* 1; Kirgh. *qaja* 1, *qija* 3 ('oblique slope' - through contamination with **kij-* 'oblique'); KBalk. *qaja* 1; KKalp. *qija* 1; Nogh. *qaja* 1; Khak. *xaja* 1; Shr. *qaja* 1; Oyr. *qaja* 1; Tv. *xaja* 1; Tof. *xaja* 1; Yak. *xaja* 2; Dolg. *kaja* 2.

◊ VEWT 221, TMN 3, 565, EDT 674-5, ЭСТЯ 5, 198-199, Лексика 96, Stachowski 133.

‖ EAS 46, 97, KW 158, Poppe 95, VEWT 221, АПиПЯЯ 288, Лексика 96-97. A Western isogloss. PT -j- instead of the expected -d- is baffling (cf. TMN 1, 394, 3, 566); perhaps OT *qaja* is a borrowing from some archaic "j-dialect"? Helimski 1995 proposed a Sam. etymology for the Turkic word (PS **koəjə* 'mountain'), which cannot be excluded. But obviously Mong. is not < Turk. (despite Щербак 1997, 132). Cf. also a toponym: OT *Ezgenti qadaz* = Mong. *Ergenetü qada*].

***kagVlV (~ k'-)** willow, elm: Mong. ***kajila(r)-**; Turk. ***K(i)agɨl**.

PMong. ***kajila-** elm (вяз): MMong. *qajilasun* (HY 7); WMong. *qajilasu(n)* (L 912); Kh. *xajlas*; Bur. *xajlāha(n)*; Ord. *xālasu*; Dag. *xailās* (Тод. Дат. 172).

◊ Mong. > Jurch. *xailar*, Man. *xailan* id. (Rozycki 98).

PTurk. ***K(i)agɨl** rod (прут): OTurk. *qaɣɨl* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qaɣɨl* (MK, KB) 'fresh willow shoots'; Kirgh. *kōla-* 'буйно расти (о раст.) в ущерб плоду, семени'; Khak. *xāl* 'rod'.

◊ VEWT 220, EDT 610.

‖ A Turko-Mong. isogloss.

***kajamV** crayfish, tick: Tung. ***kiamk-**; Turk. ***Kạm-**; Kor. ***kàjàmí**.

PTung. ***kiamk-** 1 crayfish 2 a k. of water insect 3 worm (1 рак 2 вид водяного насекомого 3 червь): Evk. *kẽ̄mkān* 1; Evn. *qā̄mqṵr* 2; Neg. *kịmkaj* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 388.

PTurk. ***Kạm-** 1 bed-bug 2 beetle (1 клоп 2 жук): Tur. *kandalaj* 1 (dial.); Turkm. *Gandala* 1; MTurk. *qandala* (Houts., Буд.) 1, *qandala* (Qum.) 1; Uzb. *qɛndɛlɔ* 1; Tat. *qandala* 1; Bashk. *qandala* 1; Kirgh. *qantala* 1; Kaz. *qandala* 1; KBalk. *qandaɣaj* 1, *qamažaq* 2; KKalp. *qandala* 1; Kum. *qandala* 1; Nogh. *qandalaj*; Khak. *xandala* 1; Oyr. *qandrijaq* 'cochlea' (Верб.); Chuv. *хъʷmtla, хъʷmdъʷla, хъʷmgъʷla ~ хъʷngъʷla* 1.

◊ VEWT 229, ЭСТЯ 5, 253-254, Лексика 183.

PKor. ***kàjàmí** ant (муравей): MKor. *kàjàmí, kàjàmíi, kàjàmǎi*; Mod. *kā̄mi*.

◊ Liu 22, KED 70.

‖ Лексика 183. Cf. **kɨuma*, **kumi*. In Mong. cf. perhaps Mongor *xāmənʒə* (153) 'taon'.

***kaje (~ k'-)** to love, covet: Mong. ***kaji-**; Turk. ***Kɨj-**.

PMong. ***kaji-** 1 to seek, investigate 2 love, compassion (1 искать, исследовать 2 любовь, сострадание): MMong. *qairala-*, *qaijirala-* 'to love, treat kindly' (HYt), *qajirala-* 'сострадать' (MA); WMong. *qaji-* 1 (L 911), *qajira* 2 (L 913); Kh. *xaj-* 1, *xajr* 2; Bur. *xaj-* 1, *xajra* 2; Kalm. *xārn̥* 2; Ord. *xā̆ra*, *xā̆ram* 2; Dag. *xairan* 2 (Тод. Даг. 172); S.-Yugh. *χair* 2; Mongr. *xāran* 2; *xārla-* 'cher, chéri; aimer, gratifier' (SM 167), *xairGan* 2.

◊ KW 180, MGCD 317. Mong. > Man. *xaira-* etc., see Rozycki 98.

PTurk. ***Kɨj-** 1 greedy, miserly 2 wise, clever 3 to offer, sacrifice 4 to dare (1 жадный, скупой 2 мудрый, умный 3 жертвовать, приносить в жертву, посвящать себя 4 сметь, решаться, покушаться): Tur. *kɨj-* 3; Gag. *qɨj-* 4; Az. *Gɨj-* 3, 4; MTurk. *qɨj-* 4 (AH); Krm. *qɨj-* 3; Tat. *qɨj-* 4; Bashk. *qɨj-* 4; Kirgh. *qɨj-* 3, 4; Kaz. *qɨj-* 3; KKalp. *qɨj-* 3; Khak. *xɨjγa* 2, *xɨjtɨx* 1; Oyr. *qɨjγa* 1; Chuv. *хъj-* 4.

◊ VEWT 262, ЭСТЯ 6, 197-198 (confused with **Kij-* 'to cut aslant' which should be probably kept apart).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

***kaji** animal: Tung. ***kaji-**; Turk. ***gejik**.

PTung. ***kaji-** 1 a big seal 2 wild goat 3 a variegated dog breed (1 нерпа (крупная) 2 коза (дикая) 3 пестрая порода собаки): Evn. *kajir* 2; Ork. *qaiɣarɨ* 1; Nan. *kiaktān* 3 (Он.).

◊ TMC 1, 361, 362.

PTurk. ***gejik** 1 wild animal 2 bird 3 roe (1 дикое животное 2 птица 3 лань): OTurk. *kejik* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kejik* 1; Tur. *gejik* 3; Turkm. *kejik* 1; Sal. *kijyx* 'wild goat' (ССЯ); MTurk. *kejik* 1 (Бор. Бад.), *kijik* (MA, Abush.); Uygh. *kijik* 1; Tat. *qijiq* 1; Bashk. *qijiq* 1; Kirgh. *kijik* 1; Khak. *kīk* 1; Chuv. *kaĭък* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 247, EDT 755, ЭСТЯ 5, 21-23, Лексика 151-152.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; but cf. also Mong. *kik laγusa* 'mule'; OJ *ke-mono* 'animal' (usually explained as 'hairy being').

***kàji (~ k'-, g-)** clear, clean: Jpn. ***kìjùa-**; Kor. ***kāi-**.

PJpn. ***kìjùa-** clear, clean (чистый): OJpn. *kjijwo-*; MJpn. *kìjò-*; Tok. *kiyó-*; Kyo. *kìyò-*; Kag. *kiyó-*.

◊ JLTT 832.

PKor. ***kāi-** to clear up (of weather) (проясняться (о погоде)): MKor. *kāi-*; Mod. *kā̆-*.

◊ Nam 28, KED 68.

‖ Martin 247. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**kắjta** nail, bar; to stick into: Tung. ***kiata-kun**; Mong. ***kada-**; Turk. ***Kāta-**; Jpn. ***kiátá (~ *káitá)**; Kor. ***kìt**.

PTung. ***kiata-kun*** 1 finger-nail 2 bar, billet (1 ноготь 2 брусок): Man. *xitaxun* 1; SMan. *ḱatəhun* 1 (76); Nan. *qataxị* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 384, 466.

PMong. ***kada-*** 1 to nail 2 nail (1 прибивать гвоздями 2 гвоздь): MMong. *qada'asun* 2 (SH); WMong. *qada-* 1, *qadaɣasu(n)*, *qadasu(n)*, *qadaɣa* 2 (L 902, 903); Kh. *xada-* 1, *xadās*, *gadas* 2; Bur. *xada-* 1, *xadāha(n)* 2; Kalm. *xadə-* 1, *xadāsn̥* 2; Ord. *xada-* 1, *xadāsu* 2; Dag. *xada-* 'to sew a button' (Тод. Даг. 172), (MGCD) *xadə-* 1, *gatās* (Тод. Даг. 131) 2, (MGCD) *gat* 2; *hade-* 'to sew on' (MD 154); Dong. *Gada-* 1, *Gadasun* 2; Bao. *Gadə-* 1, *Gadasoŋ* 2 (MGCD *Gasoŋ* 2); S.-Yugh. *Gadə-* 1, *Gadəsən* 2 (MGCD *Gadasən*, *GadaG*); Mongr. *Gada-* (SM 114) 1, *Gadasə* (SM 115) 2.

◊ KW 158, MGCD 277, 315. Cf. also **kadku-* 'to stick into' (MMong. (SH) *qatqu-*, KW 172, 158, Dag. *karku-*, *xarxu-*, *xatukulā*, Тод. Даг. 148, 174, 175). Mong. > Evk. *kada-*, Man. *χada-* etc. (see TMC 1, 359; Doerfer MT 91, Rozycki 97); Mong. *gada-sun*, *gata-sun* > Evk. *gatahun* (see Poppe 1966, 197, Doerfer MT 126).

PTurk. ***Kāta-*** 1 to stick into 2 nail (1 вонзать(ся) 2 гвоздь): Tur. *kada-* 1, *kadak* 2 (dial.); Az. *GadaG* 2; Turkm. *Gadaq* 2; MTurk. *qada-* (Abush., Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qada-* 1, *qadɔq* 2; Uygh. *qada-* 1, *qadaq* 2; Tat. *qada-* 1, *qadaq* 2; Kirgh. *qada-* 1, *qadō* 2; Kaz. *qada-* 1, *qadaq* 2; KKalp. *qada-* 1, *qadaq* 2; Kum. *qada-* 1; Nogh. *qada-* 1, *qadaq* 2; SUygh. *qataɣ* 2; Oyr. *qada-* 1; Tv. *qada-* 1, *qadaɣ* 2; Chuv. *xudav* 2 (Anatri); Yak. *xatā-* 1; Dolg. *katā-* 1.

◊ VEWT 217-8, ЭСТЯ 5, 180-182, TMN 3, 420-422, Ашм. XIV, 257, Stachowski 141. Because of the lack of ancient attestation one cannot exclude a borrowing < Mong. (although the variant *qadaɣa* is very poorly represented there, and may itself be borrowed < Turk.).

PJpn. ***kiátá (~ *káitá)*** beam, cross-beam (балка, поперечный брус): OJpn. *k(j)eta*; MJpn. *keta*; Tok. *kèta*; Kyo. *kétá*; Kag. *ketá*.

◊ JLTT 448. The Kagoshima accent is irregular (*kéta* would be expected).

PKor. ***kìt*** pole, pillar (столб, колонна): MKor. *kìtòŋ*, kit; Mod. *kiduŋ*, (arch.) kit [kit, *kis*].

◊ Nam 78, 80, KED 263, 278, 282.

‖ KW 158, Владимирцов 325, АПиПЯЯ 290. Mong. has also variants *gada-sun*, *gata-sun* (either < Turk. or interdialectal).

✱**kaku (~ -kʻ-)** tanned skin, leather: Tung. ***kaK-**; Turk. ***KAkma**.

PTung. ***kaK-*** 1 to rumple (skin) 2 instrument for rumpling skin (1 мять кожу 2 кожемялка): Orch. *kaku* 2; Ud. *kaʻi-* 1 (Корм. 244).

◊ TMC 1, 364.

PTurk. ***KAkma*** a k. of sheepskin (вид овчины): MTurk. *qaqma* (CCum., ShS).

◊ VEWT 224.

‖ Дыбо 15. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; very poorly attested and thus not very reliable.

✱**kák'á** bright, shine: Tung. ***kakta-**; Mong. ***kaka-rkaj (~ -g-)**; Jpn. ***kánká-**.

PTung. ***kakta-*** yellow, pale (желтый, бледный): Evk. *kaktalama, kaktarin*.

◊ TMC 1, 363.

PMong. ***kaka-rkaj (~ -g-)*** bright, clear (светлый, ясный): MMong. *qaqarxai* (HY 55) 'evident, clear'; WMong. *qaqarqai, qaγarqai* (L 907); Kh. *xagarxai*.

PJpn. ***kánká-*** to glitter, shine (блестеть, светить): OJpn. *kakajak-, kagajwop-*; MJpn. *kákájak-, kagajof-*; Tok. *kàgayak-, kagayák-*; Kyo. *kágáyák-*; Kag. *kagayák-*.

◊ JLTT 701.

‖ Ozawa 69-74.

✱**kák'i** angry: Tung. ***kaKi***; Mong. ***kek-***; Turk. ***Kēk-**.

PTung. ***kaKi*** 1 angry 2 hasty (1 сердитый 2 торопливый): Evk. *kaki* 1; Man. *χaxi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 363.

PMong. ***kek-* / *kika-*** 1 arrogance 2 to irritate, be angry 3 anger (1 надменность, быть надменным 2 быть сердитым, раздраженным 3 гнев): WMong. *kegseji-* (L 443), *keke-ji-* (L 446: *kekülǰe-*) 1, *kika-* 2; Kh. *xegsij-* 1; Kalm. *kekī-, kixə-* 2, *kixū* 3; Ord. *gegsī-* 1.

◊ KW 223, 231. Cf. also *kikana-* 'to oppress, avenge'.

PTurk. ***Kēk-*** anger, malice (гнев, злоба): OTurk. *kek* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kek* (MK); Turkm. *kāje-* 'to hate'; Uzb. *kek*; Tat. dial. *kik*; Kirgh. *kek*; Kaz. *kek*; KKalp. *kek*; Chuv. *kagъr* 'chaos, hell', *kagъrza virt-* 'to die (out)', *viźъ kagъrьl* 'starve'; Yak. *kegedi* 'spiteful'.

◊ EDT 707, VEWT 247-248, ЭСТЯ 5, 24-25.

‖ KW 223. A Western isogloss. Cf. **gə́ka*.

✱**kák'i** to belch, choke: Tung. ***kaxa-***; Mong. ***kekere- / *kakira- / *kaka-***; Turk. ***gēkir-***; Kor. ***kài'ò-**.

PTung. ***kaxa-*** to choke (давиться, душить): Evk. *kaka-*; Man. *χaGa-*; Ul. *qaχambuwusi-*; Ork. *qaGumi-*; Nan. *qawali-*.

◊ TMC 1, 356. Cf. also Evk. *kaklari-* 'хоркать (об олене)' (TMC 1, 363).

PMong. ***kekere- / *kakira- / *kaka-*** 1 to belch 2 to choke (1 рыгать 2 давиться): MMong. *qaqa-* 2 (SH); WMong. *kekere-* (L 446), *qakira-* (L 915: *qakir-, qakiru-*) 1; *qaqa-* 2 (L 946); Kh. *xexr-* 1; Bur. *xexer-* 1; Kalm. *kekr-* 1; Ord. *geχire-* 1; Dag. *kekre-* (Тод. Даг. 149) 1; *xagə-* 2; S.-Yugh. *kəgerle-* 1; *qaGa-* 2; Mongr. *kəgərē-; xaǯirā-* (SM 149) 1, 2.

◊ KW 223, MGCD 336, 347. Mong. > Manchu *kekere-* id. etc. (see Rozycki 136).

PTurk. ***gēkir-*** to belch (рыгать): Karakh. *kekir-* (MK); Tur. *gejir-*; Gag. *gïr-*; Az. *gäjir-*; Turkm. *gägir-*; Khal. *gägür-*; MTurk. *gegir-* (Pav. C.), *kekir-* (MA); Uzb. *kekir-*; Uygh. *keki(r)-*; Krm. *kekir-*; Tat. *kiker-*; Bashk. *kiker-*; Kirgh. *kekir-*; Kaz. *kekir-*; KBalk. *kekir-*; KKalp. *kekir-*; Kum. *kekir-*; Nogh. *kekir-*; SUygh. *kekirt-* (ЯЖУ); Khak. *kigər-*; Oyr. *kegir-*; Tv. *keɣir-*; Tof. *keɣir-*; Chuv. *kagъr-*; Yak. *kegert-*.

◊ VEWT 248, EDT 712, ЭСТЯ 3, 37, Лексика 232.

PKor. ***kài'ò-*** to vomit (блевать): MKor. *kài'ò-*; Mod. *keu-*.

◊ Nam 29, KED 109.

‖ KW 223. An onomatopoeic root; the correspondences, however, are quite regular (except for the sporadic assimilative weakening **kahi-* > *kai-* in Kor.), and it may well be common Altaic. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 126.

✱**kakʿo** to smell (of burning): Tung. ***kakti-***; Mong. ***kaku-***; Turk. ***Kok-***.

PTung. ***kakti-*** to give out a smell of burning (пахнуть горелым, пригорать): Neg. *kaktị-*; Man. *χaqsa-*; Ul. *qaqta-*; Ork. *qaqtụ-*; Nan. *qaqtarị* (adj.); Ud. *kakčisi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 364.

PMong. ***kaku-*** to turn sour; acrid, bitter, sour (прокисать; горький, едкий): WMong. *qaqu-ra-*, *qaqu-n* (L 947); Kh. *xaxra-*, *xaxūn*; Ord. *Gaxur-*, *Gawxur-*.

PTurk. ***Kok-*** to smell badly, to give out a smell of burning (плохо пахнуть, пахнуть горелым): Karakh. *qoq-* (MK); Tur. *kok-*; Gag. *qoq-*; Az. *Goxu* (n.), *Goxu-*; Turkm. *qoq* (n.), *qoqa-*; Krm. *qoqu*, *qoqï* (n.); Nogh. *qoqi-* 'to be fragrant'.

◊ EDT 609, ЭСТЯ 6, 34.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kắkʿò** a k. of building, fence: Tung. ***kaK(u)***; Turk. ***Kōk-uĺ***; Jpn. ***kákì***.

PTung. ***kaK(u)*** dam (плотина): Man. *qaqu*; Jurch. *xe-ki* (68).

◊ TMC 1,356.

PTurk. ***Kōk-uĺ (~ -g-)*** big pole, beam; hall (большой шест, столб; зал): OTurk. *qoɣ* 'shaft, thill' (OUygh.) (?) (ДТС 452); Tur. *koɣuš*.

◊ VEWT 275. The OT attestation is not quite reliable.

PJpn. ***kákì*** fence (забор): OJpn. *kakji*; MJpn. *kákjì*; Tok. *kakí*; Kyo. *kákì*; Kag. *káki*.

◊ JLTT 434.

‖ The root is not widely spread and somewhat dubious semantically.

✱**kala** family, gathering: Tung. ***kal-***; Jpn. ***kara***.

PTung. ***kal-*** 1 clan, family 2 to gather (deer) 3 together (1 род, семья 2 собирать (оленей) 3 вместе): Evk. *kalbuldī-* 2, Il. *kālbe* 3; Man. *χala* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 365, 459-460. The Manchu form was widely borrowed (Sol. *xala*, Neg. *xala*, Oroch *xala*, Ud. *xa*, Ul., Orok, Nan. *χala*).

PJpn. ***kara*** clan, family (род, семья): OJpn. *kara*.

◊ JLTT 438.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; see also notes to **kiə̑̆du*.

kǻla (~ k', -e-)** heap, to pile up: Mong. ***kali-; Turk. ****Kāla-***; Kor. ****kari-***.

PMong. ***kali-*** to overflow (переливаться через край): WMong. *qali-* (L 919); Kh. *xali-*; Bur. *xali-*; Kalm. *xälə̈-*.

◊ KW 176.

PTurk. ****Kāla-*** to heap up, pile up (накладывать, нагромождать): Karakh. *qala-* (MK); Tur. dial. *kala-*, *gala-*; Az. *Gala-*; Turkm. dial. *Gāla-*; MTurk. *qala-* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *qɛla-*; Uygh. *qala-*; Kirgh. *qala-*; Kaz. *qala-*; KBalk. *qala-*; KKalp. *qala-*; Nogh. *qala-*; Oyr. *qala-*; Yak. *xāla-*.

◊ VEWT 224, EDT 617, ЭСТЯ 5, 228-229.

PKor. ***kari-*** 1 heap, stack 2 to pile up (1 куча, стог 2 накладывать): MKor. *kari* 1; Mod. *kari* 1, *kari-* 2.

◊ Liu 19, KED 13, 14.

‖ The meaning 'overflow' in Mong. is probably secondary (< 'pour too much, pile up very high').

kàla (~ *k'-, -e-)** a k. of hat: Mong. ****kalbaŋ; Turk. ****Kalpak***; Kor. ****kár***.

PMong. ***kalbaŋ*** (woman's) hat ((женская) шапка): WMong. *qalbaŋ*; Kalm. *χalwŋ*.

◊ KW 164. Mong. > Tuva *xalbaŋ* 'ears (of a winter hat)', see ЭСТЯ 5, 235.

PTurk. ****Kalpak*** hat (шапка, шляпа): Tur. *kalpak*; Gag. *qalpaq*; Turkm. *Galpaq*; MTurk. *qalpaq* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *qalpɔq*; Uygh. *qalpaq*; Krm. *qalpaq*; Tat. *qalpaq*; Bashk. *qalpaq*; Kirgh. *qalpaq*; Kaz. *qalpaq*; KBalk. *qalfaq*; KKalp. *qalpaq*; Kum. *qalpaq*; Nogh. *qalpaq*; SUygh. *qalmaq*; Khak. *xalbax*, *xalpax*; Yak. *xalpāq*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 234-235. The word is not attested in OT; cf. however the common Slavic loanword **klobukъ*, attested in Russian sources already in the 12th century (in *чьрнии клобуци* 'black hats' = the Karakalpaks, but with characteristically Bulgarian phonology).

PKor. ****kár*** 1 peaked hat 2 rain-cover for a hat (1 конусообразная шапка 2 покрытие для шапки (для защиты от дождя)): MKor. *kòs-kár* 1; Mod. *kok:al* 1, *kal-mo* 2.

◊ Liu 73, KED 45, 134. For the component *kòs-* cf. **kás* 'hat' (although vowel variation is not clear).

‖ Basically a Turk.-Kor. isogloss; the Mongolian form is poorly attested and may be borrowed < Turkic. In TM cf. perhaps Evk. *kelpeke* 'children's winter clothes', *kelkē* 'children's winter footwear' (TMC 1, 446).

✱**kǎle** knife, to cut: Tung. ***kaliki***; Turk. ***Kɨlɨč***; Jpn. ***kàr-***.

PTung. ***kali-ki(n)*** scar, cicatrice (шрам, рубец): Ul. *qalχi(n)*; Ork. *qaliχi*; Nan. *qalχĩ*; Orch. *kalixi*; Ud. *kalehä*.

◊ TMC 1, 366. Cf. also Evn. *qâli-* 'to whet' (TMC 1, 388).

PTurk. ***Kɨlɨč*** sword (меч): OTurk. *qilič* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qilič* (MK); Tur. *kılıç*, *kılıʒ*; Gag. *qiliç*; Az. *Gılıʒ*; Turkm. *Gılıç*; Khal. *Gılıč*; MTurk. *qilič* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qilič*; Uygh. *qilič*; Krm. *qilič*; Tat. *qilič*; Bashk. *qilıs*; Kirgh. *qilič*; Kaz. *qiliš*; KBalk. *qilič*; KKalp. *qiliš*; Kum. *qilič*; Nogh. *qiliš*; SUygh. *qiliš*; Khak. *xilis*; Shr. *qiliš*; Oyr. *qilič*; Tv. *xiliš*; Chuv. *xəś*; Yak. *kɨlɨs*, *kɨlɨs*.

◊ EDT 618, VEWT 263, Лексика 570, ЭСТЯ 6, 212-214. Cf. also **Kɨla-gu* 'blade' (VEWT 263, ЭСТЯ 6, 207-208).

PJpn. ***kàr-*** to cut off, chop, hack (отрезать, отрубать): OJpn. *kor-*; MJpn. *kòr-*; Tok. *kor-*.

◊ JLTT 713.

‖ One of the many "verbs of cutting" in PA, with only nominal derivatives preserved in PT and PTM.

✱**kălo** to change, borrow: Tung. ***kalma-gda***; Mong. ***kala-***; Turk. ***Kalım***; Jpn. ***kár-***; Kor. ***kǎr-***.

PTung. ***kalma-gda*** rich bride (богатая невеста (за которую брали большой калым)): Neg. *kalmagda*; Ul. *qalmaǯa*; Orch. *kamaǯa*.

◊ TMC 1, 367.

PMong. ***kala-*** to change, alternate (менять, чередовать): WMong. *qala-* (L 916); Kh. *xala-*; Bur. *xala-*; Kalm. *xalə-*; Ord. *xala-*; Dag. *xala-*; *kālā-* 'to change, make better' (Тод. Дат. 148, MD 181), *xāla-* (Тод. Дат. 173).

◊ KW 162, MGCD 319. (> Evk. *kala-*, Man. *χala-* etc., TMC 1, 364, Doerfer MT 81). Cf. also *qalamši* 'care, attention'.

PTurk. ***Kalım*** 1 ransom for bride 2 fee (1 выкуп за невесту 2 штраф, подать): OTurk. *qalan* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *qalıŋ* (MK) 1; Tur. *kalın* 1; Turkm. *Galıŋ* 2; MTurk. *qalın* (Houts., Pav. C., Буд.) 1; Uzb. *qalin*; Tat. *qalım* 1; Bashk. *qalım* 1; Kirgh. *qalıŋ* 1; Kaz. *qalıŋ* 1; KBalk. *qalın* 1; KKalp. *qalıŋ* 1; Kum. *qalım* 1; Nogh. *qalım* 1; Khak. *xalım* 1; Oyr. *qalım*, *qalıŋ* 1; Tv. *xilıŋ* 1 (dial. Todzh.); Tof. *xilim* 1; Chuv. *xolъm* 1; Yak. *xalım*, *xalīm* 1.

◊ VEWT 226, TMN 3, 399, 488, ЭСТЯ 5, 239-240, Федотов 2, 354. Turk. > Mong. *qalan* 'fee, tax' (Щербак 1997, 197).

PJpn. ***kár-*** to borrow (брать в долг): OJpn. *kar-*; MJpn. *kár-*; Tok. *kàri-*; Kyo. *kárí-*; Kag. *karí-*.

◊ JLTT 704. The transitive match ('to lend') is PJ **kár-s-* > OJ *kás-*.

PKor. ***kǎr-*** to change (менять): MKor. *kǎr-*; Mod. *kal-*.

◊ Nam 20, KED 43.

‖ EAS 46, 154, АПиПЯЯ 75, Martin 228. The tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular, so the accent reconstruction here is

difficult; note that the Kor. high tone here must be archaic, because it resists the general Korean tendency to introduce low tone into all verbal forms.

✱**kalt'o** to split, divide: Tung. ***kalta**; Mong. ***kalta-s, *kelte-**; Turk. ***Kolak**; Kor. ***kǎrǎ-**.

PTung. ***kalta** 1 to split in halves, be splitted in halves 2 half 3 one of a pair (1 расщеплять, раскалывать (напополам) 2 половина 3 один из пары): Evk. *kalta-* 1, *kaltaka* 2, 3; Evn. *qaltъq-*, *qaltъl-* 1, *qaltъq* 2; Neg. *kalta-* 1, *kaltaxa* 3; Ul. *qaltali-* 1, *qalta* 2; Ork. *qaltā-* 1, *qalta* 2; Nan. *qaltā-* 1, *qaltā* 2; Orch. *kākta-* 1, *kakta* 2; Ud. *kakta'* 2 (Корм. 244); Sol. *xaltaxa* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 367-368.

PMong. ***kalta-s, *kelte-** 1 half 2 to split off, break off (1 половина 2 отщеплять, отламывать): WMong. *qaltas* 1 (L 921), *kelte-, keltere-* (L 450) 2; Kh. *xaltas* 1, *xeltre-* 2; Bur. *xaltagaj*; *xeltel-, xelter-*; Kalm. *keltəl-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *Galtas*; Dag. *koltorkē* 'splinter' (Тод. Дar. 150), *xaltag, kaltag* 1 (Тод. Дar. 173), *koletuei* 'a part', *koletuhe* 1 (MD 183); Mongr. *kideli-; kidərē-* 1 'ébrécher; s'ébrécher, mourir (petits enfants) 1' (SM 201, 200).

◊ Mong. *kelte-* > Evk. *kelte-* etc., see Dörfer MT 134.

PTurk. ***Kolak** one-handed (однорукий): Karakh. *qolaq* (MK); Tur. *kolak* (dial.); Turkm. *Golaq*; Tat. *qulaq* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 277, ЭСТЯ 6, 42.

PKor. ***kǎrǎ-** 1 to divide, split 2 to distinguish (1 разделять, расщеплять 2 различать): MKor. *kărǎ-* 1, *kǎr-hǎi-* 1, 2; Mod. *kari-* 1, *karä-* 2.

◊ Nam 10, 22, KED 11, 13.

‖ SKE 98, Poppe 17, 75; Doerfer MT 47 (Turk. > Mong.). On a possible reflex in Jpn. see under **gǎgta*.

✱**kalu** a k. of fish: Tung. ***kali**; Mong. ***kul-**.

PTung. ***kali** 1 crucian 2 white-fish (1 карась 2 сиг): Evk. *kali* 1; Ud. *kali* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 366. Cf. also Evk. *kulala* 'sheat-fish' (which, however, may be < Samod. or Chuk.-Kamch.).

PMong. ***kul-** salmon (лосось): Kh. *xuld, xuĺt* (PMC).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; cf. **k'ula, *k'ile*, with possible mergers.

✱**kalV (~ -ĺ-)** near, to come near: Tung. ***kal-**; Mong. ***kalu-**.

PTung. ***kal-** 1 near 2 to come near (1 близкий, близко 2 приблизиться): Man. *xančі* 1; *xalbu-* 'to let into the house'; SMan. *hančі* 1 (2611); Ul. *qāl-* 2; Ork. *qal-* 2; Nan. *qaĺčį* 1; Orch. *kalikun-* 'to let near'.

◊ TMC 1, 366, 369, 372 (Man. *xančі* should be kept distinct from *qani* 'similarly, in accordance with others').

PMong. ***kalu-** to approach, come near (приближаться): MMong. *qalit-* (SH); WMong. *qalu-, qal-* (L 916); Kh. *xala-*; Bur. *xalaj-* (in compounds); Kalm. *xalə-*; Dag. *halede-* (MD 155).

◊ KW 162.

‖ KW 162 (but Turk. *Kāl- 'to stay behind' hardly belongs here), TMC 1, 369, АПиПЯЯ 292. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, but, despite Doerfer MT 144, hardly borrowed in TM < Mong.

✱**kaĺbo** girdle, waist: Tung. ***kalbu**; Turk. ***Koĺa- (*Kuĺa-)**; Kor. ***kurəi**.

PTung. ***kalbu** 1 girdle 2 band (1 пояс 2 тесьма, лента): Evk. *kalbu* 1; Evn. *qālbṵ* 1; Neg. *kalbu* 1; Sol. *xalbaŋxa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 365.

PTurk. ***Koĺa- (*Kuĺa-)** 1 подпоясывать 2 пояс, кушак (1 to girdle 2 girdle): Tur. *kuša-* 1, *kušak* 2; Gag. *qušaq* 2; Turkm. *Gušaq* 2; MTurk. *qušaq* 2 (Pav. C.); Tat. *qušaq* 2 (arch.); Bashk. *qušaq* 2.

◊ The stem should be probably distinguished historically from **Koĺ-* 'to couple, bind', although contaminations were possible. Turk. > Russ. *кушак* (Дмитриев 1958, 28, Шипова 216).

PKor. ***kurəi** waist (поясница): Mod. *kure, hə-guri*.

◊ KED 199. The word seems to be different from the attest MKor. *kùrài* 'inner part of body' (v. sub **k'úrgo*).

‖ The root is well attested in TM, but other parallels are somewhat questionable: the Turkic word is attested late and may be derived from **Koĺ-* 'join, unite'; on the Korean word see above.

✱**k[ā]ĺe** a k. of water plant: Tung. ***kalčukta**; Mong. ***kolim**; Turk. ***Kīĺ-gun**.

PTung. ***kalču-kta** 1 water lily 2 sea weed (1 водяная лилия, кувшинка 2 водоросль): Evn. *qajqị* 2; Neg. *kalčụkta* 1; Ul. *qalǯuqta* 1, 2; Nan. *qalǯoqta* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 362, 369.

PMong. ***kolim** a k. of rice (вид риса): WMong. *qolima* (MXTTT) 'a k. of cereal similar to corn'; Kh. *xolim*; Dag. *xualimpe* 'oat'.

◊ Mong. > Man. *xolimpa*, Sol. *xolimpa, xolimpo* (Тод. Дар. 178).

PTurk. ***Kīĺ-gun** eatable grass (кормовая трава): Karakh. *qišγun* (MK) 'fresh reeds which are eaten by cattle; sorrel'; Oyr. *qišqın* 'пырей'; Chuv. *xəlγen* 'кипрей'; Yak. *kīs ot* 'конский щавель'.

◊ EDT 672.

‖ A Western isogloss; the Mong. reflex has an irregular vowel and is somewhat dubious.

✱**kaĺpa** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***kala-n**; Mong. ***kalbuga**; Turk. ***KAĺuk / *KAlgak**; Jpn. ***kasipa**.

PTung. ***kala-n** 1 kettle 2 bag (1 котел 2 сума): Evk. *kalan* 1; Evn. *qalā-was* 2; Ul. *qala(n)* 1; Nan. *qalā* 1; Ud. *kala(n)* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 364-365. Cf. also **kalbi-* 'flat, broad' (TMC 1, 365; hardly < Mong., despite Doerfer MT 51, 69 - although some forms, notably Evk. *kalbaγa* 'spoon', Man. *χalbaχa* 'crooked part of a flat spoon', are probably borrowed, see Rozycki 100).

PMong. ***kalbuga** spoon, ladle, oar (*ложка, весло*): MMong. *xalbuxua* (HY 19), *qalbuqa* (SH), *γalbuγa* (MA 139); WMong. *qalbuγa, qalbaγa(n)* (L 917, 918); Kh. *xalbaga(n)*; Bur. *xalbaga* '*ложка, весло, поплавок (удочки), плавники (рыбы)*'; Ord. *xalbaGa*; Mongr. *xŭrGa* (SM 185).

◊ Cf. also **kalba-* 'flat, broad' (KW 83).

PTurk. ***KAĺuk / *KAlgak** 1 spoon 2 oar, shovel (1 *ложка* 2 *весло, лопатка*): OTurk. *qašuq* 1; Karakh. *qašuq, qašıq* (MK); Tur. *kašık* 1, dial. *kalak* 2; Az. *GašıG* 1; Turkm. *qašıq* 1; MTurk. *qašıq* (IM), *qašuq* (Houts., AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɔšiq* 1, *qɔlɔq* 2; Uygh. *qošuq*, dial. *qašuq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Tat. *qašıq* 1, *qalaq* 2 > Chuv.; Bashk. *qašıq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Kirgh. *qašıq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Kaz. *qasıq* 1, *qalaq* 2; KBalk. *qašıq* 1, *qalaq* 2; KKalp. *qasıq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Kum. *qašıq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Nogh. *qasıq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Khak. *xazıx* 1, *xalγax* 1,2; Shr. *qalaq* 2; Oyr. *qažıq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Tof. *qaĥik* 1, *qalγaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 225, 241, ЭСТЯ 5, 231-232, 353-354. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *kašík*, see Аникин 277.

PJpn. ***kasipa** vessel (*вид сосуда*): OJpn. *kasipa*.

◊ In the earliest texts the word unambiguously denotes some kind of vessel (esp. a wine vessel); its reinterpretation as 'oak leaf' and 'food-wrapping oak-leaf' is certainly a later folk-etymological development.

‖ EAS 123, KW 83, Владимирцов 366, Poppe 78 (Turk.-Mong.), Цинциус 1984, 83, Miller 1970, 130, JOAL 121, Street 1980, 286-287, АПиПЯЯ 75. Despite TMN 3, 391, Щербак 1997, 135. borrowing in Mong. from Turk. is excluded. One cannot exclude a possibility that we are dealing with two different roots here: cf. the distinction in Turkic, strange loss of *-b- in Tungus **kala-n*, and another Kor.-Jpn. root for 'vessel, container': MKor. *kari* 'fish pot, basket for catching fish', OJ ke (PJ **ka-i*) 'vessel, container' (see Whitman 1985, 160).

***kàma** to unite, together: Tung. ***kamur-**; Mong. ***kam-**; Turk. ***KAmug**; Jpn. ***kàmà-p-**.

PTung. ***kamur-** together, gather (*вместе, собирать*): Ul. *qamụr*; Ork. *qamụr*; Nan. *qamor*.

◊ TMC 1, 371. Modern forms like Evk. *kamu-* 'to gather' may be considered borrowed < Mong. (see Doerfer MT 111), but it is hardly possible for all forms, especially for those with an -r-suffix.

PMong. ***kam-** 1 together 2 to gather together (1 *вместе* 2 *собирать*): MMong. *qamtu* 1, *qamux* 'all' (SH, HYt); WMong. *qamtu* 1 (L 925), *qamu-* 2 (L 926); Kh. *xamt* 1; Bur. *xamta* 1, *xamag* 'all', *xama-* 2; Kalm. *xamtə* 1, *xamə-* 2; Ord. *xamtu* 1; Mog. *qamtu* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *hamete* 1 (MD 156); Dong. *hantu* 1; Bao. *hamdə* 1; S.-Yugh. *χamtə* 1, *χambə-* 2; Mongr. *xamdi* (SM 153), *xamdə* 1.

◊ KW 164, 165, 177, MGCD 322, 323, 324. Cf. also WMong. *qamija* 'relation, concern'. Mong. > Yak. *xomuj-*, Dolg. *komuj-*, see Kał. JW 184, Stachowski 152.

PTurk. ***KAmug** all, together (все, вместе): OTurk. *qamuγ* (OUygh.), *qamaγ* (Orkh., OUygh.), *qamɨγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qamuγ* (MK, KB); Tur. *kamu*; MTurk. *qamuγ* (Qutb., Буд.), *qamuq* (Abush.); Khak. *xamix*; Shr. *qamiq*; Oyr. *qamiq*; Tv. *xamiq*.

◊ EDT 627, ЭСТЯ 5, 243-244. Modern forms like Kirgh., Kaz. *qama-* 'to surround, besiege', *qamala-* id., 'to gather in a crowd' etc. (see ЭСТЯ 5, 159) should be rather regarded as mongolisms.

PJpn. ***kàmà-pa-** to arrange, set up (устраивать): OJpn. *kamapa-*; MJpn. *kàmàfa-*; Tok. *kamaé-*; Kyo. *kámáé-*; Kag. *kàmàè-*.

◊ JLTT 703.

‖ KW 164, Владимирцов 391, Poppe 67-68, Цинциус 1984, 88. Mong. can hardly be explained as borrowed < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 132, 165.

***kāma** a k. of fish: Tung. ***kām-**; Jpn. ***kamasu**; Kor. ***kàmór-thi**.

PTung. ***kām-** dried fish (юкола): Evn. *qām*; Orch. *kambuti* 'name of a small fish'.

◊ TMC 1, 369, 370. Cf. also Oroch *kemmui* 'herring' (TMC 1, 448).

PJpn. ***kamasu** sea pike (морская щука): Tok. *kàmasu, kamasú*; Kyo. *kámású*; Kag. *kamasú*.

◊ Kagoshima and Tokyo favour the reconstruction **kàmású* or **kàmàsù*; the Kyoto accent, however, is quite irregular.

PKor. ***kàmór-thì** eel; (KED) snake fish (Channa argus), snakehead, mullet (угорь): MKor. *kàmóthì, kamorthi*; Mod. *kamulčhi*.

◊ Nam 4, KED 17.

‖ An Eastern isogloss, with somewhat unclear tone / length correspondences; cf. perhaps also Chuv. *kъʷmъʷs* 'young fish' (< PT **kem-* ~ **köm-*); Khak. *xamnax* 'roach, copora'.

***kami** a k. of cloth: Tung. ***kam-**; Mong. ***kemerlig**; Turk. ***KEmek**.

PTung. ***kam-** 1 to hem a garment with a white fur stripe 2 head kerchief 3 broad women's belt (1 подбивать одежду белой меховой полосой 2 головной платок 3 широкий женский пояс): Evk. *kamrā-* 1; Man. *qamtun* 2; Ul. *qambụča* 3; Ork. *qāmị* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 370, 371.

PMong. ***kemerlig** a k. of silk (вид шелка): WMong. *kemerlig* (L 451); Kh. *kemerleg*.

PTurk. ***KEmek** a k. of striped cloth for making upper clothes (вид полосатой ткани для изготовления верхней одежды): Karakh. *kemek* (MK).

◊ EDT 722. The isolated OT word may be borrowed from Eastern Iranian: cf. Pers. *kamxa* < Chin. *gimhua* (see VEWT 229 on further loans: Pers. > Turkic *qamqa* > Russ. *камка* 'striped silk cloth'). Cf. other similar cases (like Sak. *kamaiška* > MK *kemišge* etc.).

‖ A Western isogloss (although the Turkic reflex is somewhat dubious). MKor. *kamtho* 'a horsehair cap worn by officials' (compared with TM in SKE 92, Lee 1958, 113) is rather < Manchu.

✱**kàmo** boiled substance, alcohol: Tung. ***kamnu- / *kamdu-**; Mong. ***kimur**; Turk. ***Kumiŕ**; Jpn. ***kàm-**.

PTung. ***kamnu- / *kamdu-** fish glue (рыбий клей): Evk. *kamnun*; Evn. *kanmo*; Neg. *kamnun*; Man. *amdun*; Ul. *qamdu(n)*; Ork. *qamdụ(n)*; Nan. *qamdō*; Orch. *kamnu*; Ud. *kamnu*.

◊ TMC 1, 370.

PMong. ***kimur** fermented milk with water (молочный спиртной напиток с водой): WMong. *kimur, kimurayan; kiram, kirma* (L 470) 'boiled milk with water'; Kh. *x́aram* 'boiled water with milk'; Kalm. *kimr, kimrān*; Ord. *kirma*.

◊ KW 231. Mong. > Kirgh. *qimran*, Uzb. *kumran*, Tuva *ximirān*.

PTurk. ***Kumiŕ** fermented milk (молочный спиртной напиток): Karakh. *qimiz* (MK, KB); Tur. *kimiz*; Az. *Gimiz*; Turkm. *Gimiz*; MTurk. *qimiz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qimiz*; Uygh. *qimiz*; Tat. *qimiz*; Bashk. *qomoδ, qimiδ*; Kirgh. *qimiz*; Kaz. *qimiz*; KKalp. *qimiz*; Nogh. *qimiz*; Khak. *ximis*, Sag., Koib. *xumis*; Oyr. *qimis*; Tv. *ximis*; Chuv. *kъʷmъʷs* < Qypch.; Yak. *kimis*.

◊ VEWT 264, EDT 629, Лексика 450-451, ЭСТЯ 6, 219.

PJpn. ***kàm-** to brew sake (from rice) (варить сакэ (из риса)): OJpn. *kam-*; MJpn. *kàm-*; Tok. *kamós-*; Kyo. *kámós-*; Kag. *kamós-*.

◊ JLTT 703. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular (probably under literary influence).

‖ Poppe 68, Лексика 450-451. Despite Doerfer's doubts (TMN 3, 515-516) the Turk.-Mong. parallel cannot be a coincidence.

✱**kamp'o** to fold, close: Tung. ***kamp-**; Mong. ***kamki-**; Kor. ***kăm-**.

PTung. ***kamp-** 1 to fold, bend 2 to press (1 складывать, сгибать 2 сжимать): Evk. *kamnī-* 2; Neg. *kampị-* 1, 2; Man. *qamni-* 2; Ul. *qamp̣u-* 1; Nan. *qampị-* 1; Ud. *qampi-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 370, 371. The variant **kamnī-* has probably arisen from **kamp(i)-nī-* and has secondarily merged with TM **kamnī* 'ravine' (the latter should be perhaps compared with Mong. *kaŋgil* 'bald hills').

PMong. ***kamki-** to close, shut (закрывать): WMong. *qamki-* (L 924); Kh. *xamxi-*; Kalm. *xamxī-* (СЯОС).

PKor. ***kăm-** to close (eyes) (закрывать (глаза)): MKor. *kăm-*; Mod. *kām-*.

◊ Nam 23, KED 50.

‖ -p- in TM is not easily explained as a suffix, so we prefer rather to reconstruct an original consonant cluster here.

***kámsa (~ k'-)** wind, whirlwind: Mong. ***kabsara-**; Turk. ***Kasɨrku**; Jpn. ***kánsá-i**.

PMong. ***kabsara-** 1 to blow (of a cold wind) 2 cold wind, snowstorm (1 дуть (о холодном ветре) 2 холодный ветер, пурга): WMong. *qabsara-* 1 (L 898: *qabsura-*), *qabsaraγa* (L 899: *qabsurγa*) 2; Kh. *xawsra-* 1, *xawsraga* 2; Bur. *xabsaraγā* 2; Kalm. *xawsərgə* 2 (KPC).

PTurk. ***Kasɨrku** whirlwind (вихрь): Karakh. *qasɨrqu* (MK); Tur. *kasɨrγa*; Az. *Gasɨrγa*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *qasɨrqa* (Houts.), *qasurγa* (AH); Tv. *qazɨrγɨ*; Tof. *qa'sirγɨ*; Chuv. *kozъrga*.

◊ VEWT 240, ЭСТЯ 5, 332, Лексика 43, Ашм. VII, 20. Chuvash has an irregular form with initial k- (*x- would be expected). But it can hardly be a borrowing from Volga-Kypchak languages.

PJpn. ***kánsá-i** wind (ветер): OJpn. *kaze*; MJpn. *kázé*; Tok. *kàze*; Kyo. *kázé*; Kag. *káze*.

◊ JLTT 447. OJ *kaza-* in compounds, which allows to reconstruct **kánsá-i*.

‖ ЭСТЯ 5, 332, Лексика 43 (Turk.-Mong.)

***kǎm[u]ča** a k. of vessel, ladle: Tung. ***kamiču**; Mong. ***kumǰija**; Turk. ***Kamɨč**; Jpn. ***kámású**.

PTung. ***kamiču** box, bag (made of birch-bark) (чуман, берестяной короб): Evk. *kamit*; Ul. *qamčụ*; Orch. *kamiči*; Ud. *kamisi*.

◊ TMC 1, 370.

PMong. ***kumǰija** a measure for gunpowder (мерка для пороха): WMong. *qumǰija* (MXTTT); Kh. *xumǰā*; Bur. *xumžā*.

PTurk. ***Kamɨč** scoop, ladle (черпак): OTurk. *qamɨč* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qamɨč* (MK); MTurk. *qamɨč* (IM); Uygh. *qemič*; Khak. *xamɨs*; Tv. *ximiš*; Chuv. (Bulg.) *xumǰa* (< **kamča(h)*); Yak. *xamɨas*, *xomuos*; Dolg. *komuos*.

◊ EDT 626, VEWT 229, ЭСТЯ 5, 248-249, Stachowski 152.

PJpn. ***kámású** a k. of bag (соломенный мешок): Tok. *kàmasu*; Kyo. *kámású*; Kag. *kamásu*.

‖ SKE 94, TMC 1, 370, Мудрак Дисс. 184. Despite Doerfer MT 240 ("semantisch unsicher"), the Turk.-Tung. match seems quite plausible.

***kāmV** be weak, oppress: Tung. ***kama-**; Mong. ***kama-**; Turk. ***KĀma-**; Jpn. ***kə̀mà-r- (~ kuàmà-r-)**; Kor. ***kam-**.

PTung. ***kama-** 1 to oppress 2 to prohibit, be unable to help 3 (being at a) loss (1 притеснять 2 отказывать в помощи, делать назло 3 затруднение, беда): Evk. *kama-* 1, *kama-lit-* 2; Evn. *kamaγ* 3; Neg. *kama-li-* 1; Ul. *qama-lụ-* 1; Ork. *qama-lị-* 1; Nan. *qama-li-* 1, *qama* 3; Ud. *kama-*, *kamasi-* 'мешать удаче, насылать несчастье (о шаманах)' (Корм. 244), *kamali-* 'прищемить, придавить' (Корм. 245).

◊ TMC 1, 369. Despite Poppe 1966, 191, Evk. *kamaγa* is not a borrowing < Mong. *qamija* 'relation, concern' (a quite different root, see PA **kàma*).

PMong. ***kama-** 1 scab, herpes 2 infection, epidemics (1 чесотка, парша 2 зараза, эпидемия): MMong. *qamāwu* (IM); WMong. *qamaγu* 1, *qama-* 'to be mangy' (L 923); Kh. *хатӣ*; Bur. *хатӣ* 1, *хамšаg* 2; Kalm. *хатӣ*; Ord. *хатӣ*; Dag. *хатӣ* (Тод. Дат. 173), (MGCD) *хangu* 1; S.-Yugh. *χатӣ* 1.

◊ KW 165, MGCD 324.

PTurk. ***KĀma-** 1 become blinded, dumb 2 (set) teeth on edge 3 to be tired, pine, droop (1 слепнуть, глохнуть 2 набивать оскомину 3 уставать, изнемогать): OTurk. *qamaš-* (Orkh.) 3; Karakh. *qama-* (MK, KB) 1, 2; Tur. *kamaš-* 1; Az. *Gamaš-* 1; Turkm. *Gāmaš-* 2; MTurk. *qamaš-* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад., MA) 1, 2; Uzb. *qɛmɛš-* 1; Uygh. *qamaš-* 2; Tat. *qamaš-* 3; Bashk. *qamaš-* 2; Kirgh. *qama-* 2; Kaz. *qama-* 2; KKalp. *qamas-* 2; Kum. *qama-* 2; Nogh. *qama-* 2.

◊ VEWT 228, ЭСТЯ 5, 242-243, 246-247. Cf. also Kirgh., Kaz. *qam* 'sorrow', Turkm. *Gam GajGı* 'mischief, sorrow'. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *qama-* id. (see Щербак 1997, 197).

PJpn. ***kə̀mà-r- (~ kuàmà-r-)** be in a difficult position (быть в затруднительном положении): Tok. *komár-*; Kyo. *kómár-*; Kag. *kòmàr-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

PKor. ***kam-** to be unable to, to be insufficient for (быть неспособным, недостаточным для ч.-л.): Mod. *kam-gi-*.

◊ SKE 91-92.

‖ KW 165, EAS 47, SKE 91-2. The Kor. parallel is found only there; as for the Japanese word, it is not attested in any OJ or MJ sources, so the PJ reconstruction is uncertain. One should also note irregular PJ vocalism and tone (*-a- with high tone would be expected). This all makes the Kor.-Jpn. aspect of the etymology dubious.

✱**kắna** to be satisfied: Tung. ***kan-dari-**; Mong. ***kanu-**; Turk. ***Kān-**; Jpn. ***kánáransu**.

PTung. ***kan-dari-** to be fed up, tired of (надоесть, наскучить): Evk. *kandari-*.

◊ TMC 1, 372.

PMong. ***kanu-** be satisfied, thankful (быть удовлетворенным, благодарным): MMong. *qan-* 'утолить (жажду)' (MA); WMong. *qanu-*, *qan-* (L 930); Kh. *хана-*; Bur. *хана-*; Kalm. *хан-*; Ord. *хан-*; Mongr. *хani-* (SM 156), *ханə-*.

◊ KW 166, MGCD 325.

PTurk. ***Kān-** to be satisfied (быть удовлетворенным): OTurk. *qan-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qan-* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *kan-*; Az. *Gan-*; Turkm. *Gān-*; MTurk. (OKypch.) *qan-* (AH); Uzb. *qɔn-*; Uygh. *qan-*; Tat. *qan-*; Bashk. *qan-*; Kirgh. *qan-*; Kaz. *qan-*; KBalk. *qan-*; KKalp. *qan-*; Kum. *qan-*; Nogh. *qan-*; Khak. *хan-*; Shr. *qan-*; Oyr. *qan-*; Tv. *хan-*; Yak. *хan-*; Dolg. *kan-*.

◊ EDT 632, VEWT 230, ЭСТЯ 5, 251-252, Stachowski 136.

PJpn. ***kánáransu** necessarily, certainly (обязательно): OJpn. *kanarazu*; MJpn. *kánárazu*; Tok. *kanarazu*.

◊ Formally *kanarazu* is a negation of *kanari* 'enough' ('not enough' > 'necessarily'). The latter is not attested in RJ, and the modern dialects speak rather in favour of **kànárì*.

‖ EAS 114, KW 166, Poppe 70 (but despite Ozawa 192-193 and АПиПЯЯ 72, PJ **kànàp-* should be attributed to **k'ə̂no*). The root is very similar to **k'ānо*, both phonetically and semantically, but the opposition of **Kān-* and **Kon-* in Turkic does not allow to unite them. The hypothesis of Mong. **kanu-* being borrowed from Turkic (see Щербак 1997, 133) is possible, but not very probable.

✱**kanti** dewlap, peritoneum: Tung. ***kanda**; Mong. ***kančir**; Turk. ***Kandɨr (*Kantɨr)**; Jpn. ***kinta**.

PTung. ***kanda** dewlap (подгрудок): Man. *qanda*; Nan. *qando*.

◊ TMC 1, 372.

PMong. ***kančir** peritoneum (подгрудок): WMong. *qančir* (L 927); Kh. *xančir*; Bur. *xanšar* 'belly muscles'; Kalm. *xančər* 'belly muscles' (KPC); Ord. *xančir maxa* 'stomach of a meagre, skinny animal', *xančir kün* 'thin person'.

PTurk. ***Kandɨr (*Kantɨr)** membrane (мездра, пленка на мясе, остающаяся после снятия шкуры): Karakh. *qandɨr* (MK); Chuv. *xundъ*, e.g. in *tə^{w}plə^{w} piržъ xund-i* 'appendix (anat.)' (dial.).

◊ EDT 635.

PJpn. ***kinta** gills (жабры): OJpn. *kjida*.

‖ PT and PM reflect a suffixed form **kanti-rV*.

✱**kə̀nt'V** to reach, attain: Tung. ***kānta-**; Mong. ***kan[t]u-**.

PTung. ***kānta-** to attain, reach (by hand) (доставать, дотягиваться): Ul. *qanta-*; Nan. *qāndačị-*, (On.) *qāntačị-*

◊ TMC 1, 373.

PMong. ***kan[t]u-** to head towards, to address (направляться к, обращаться к): MMong. *qantuqala-* 'show (?)' (SH); WMong. *qandu-* (MXTTT); Kh. *xanda-*; Bur. *xanda-*; Kalm. *xandə-* (KPC); Ord. *xandu-*; Dag. *xanda-*.

◊ MGCD 325.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. perhaps Chuv. *xondъ* 'protect', 'influence' etc. (if not < Mong.). Cf. also OJ *katug-* 'to carry' (although this may be a variant of *kataga-*, a compound of *kata* 'shoulder' + *aga-* 'lift, raise').

✱**kə̀nu** swan: Tung. ***kāŋgu**; Mong. ***kuna**; Kor. ***kón**.

PTung. ***kāŋgu** a k. of duck (вид утки): Evk. *kan-dirā*, dial. *koŋor*; Evn. *qōŋāl*; Neg. *kaŋgu*, *kōŋalān*, *koŋodō*; Man. *χoŋGo(lo)n*; Ul. *qaŋGụlị*; Ork. *qoŋGolo*; Nan. *qāŋGọ*; Ud. *kaŋgu* (Корм. 245).

◊ TMC 1, 373-374, 410. Because of recurring long vowel in Evn., Neg. and Nan. shortness in dialectal Evk. forms should be probably regarded as secondary (misrecorded length?).

PMong. ***kuna** swan (лебедь): MMong. *qun* (HY 14, SH); WMong. *quna, qun, quŋ* (L 986); Kh. *xun*; Bur. *xun(g)*; Kalm. *xunə*; Ord. *xun*.

◊ KW 197.

PKor. ***kón** swan (лебедь): MKor. *kón*; Mod. *koni*.

◊ Nam 50, KED 136.

‖ SKE 123.

***kaŋne** helminth: Tung. ***kaŋa(r)**; Turk. ***Kɨna**.

PTung. ***kaŋa(r)** helminth (глист): Evk. *kaŋir*; Evn. *qaŋᵽr*; Neg. *kaŋaj*; Nan. *kāŋa* (On.); Ork. *qaŋaị* 'a k. of fish (навага)'; Orch. *kaŋa* 'salmon'.

◊ TMC 1, 374.

PTurk. ***Kɨna** helminth (глист): Kirgh. *qɨna* 'вредитель хлебных злаков'; Khak. *xɨna*; Oyr. *qɨna*.

◊ VEWT 264.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

***káŋV** dog: Tung. ***kači-kān**; Turk. ***KAŋ-čɨk**; Kor. ***kàŋ-**.

PTung. ***kači-kān** puppy (щенок): Evk. *kačikān*; Evn. *qačịqan*; Neg. *kačịxān*; Ork. *kēčike*; Nan. *kejče(kē)*; Ud. *kasʿanʒiga*; Sol. *xasxā̃*.

◊ TMC 1, 385.

PTurk. ***KAŋ-čɨk** 1 bitch 2 female (1 сука 2 самка): OTurk. *qančiq* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qančɨq* (MK) 1; Tur. *kanʒɨk* 2; Az. *GanʒɨG* 1; Turkm. *Ganʒɨq* 1; MTurk. *qančɨq* (Pav. C., Houts., Qutb.), *qančuq* (AH) 1; Uzb. *qɛnʒiq* 1; Uygh. *qančuq, qanʒiq* (dial.) 1; Bashk. *qansɨq, qansaj* 1; Kirgh. *qančɨq* 1; Kaz. *qanšɨq, qaŋši* 1; KKalp. *qanšiq* 1; Kum. *qančɨq* 1; Nogh. *qanʒɨq* 1.

◊ VEWT 230, ЭСТЯ 5, 255-256, Лексика 190. The original *-ŋ- is probably preserved in Kaz. *qaŋši*.

PKor. ***kàŋ-** 1 dog 2 puppy (1 собака 2 щенок): MKor. *kàhí* 1, *kàŋʼàčí* 2; Mod. *kā̃* 1, *kaŋaʒi* 2.

◊ Nam 8, 28, KED 65, 61. The form *kàhí* points to a suffixed **kàŋ-h-* (< **kaŋV-k-*). With *-ń- cf. also MKor. *kàńʼuàńí* 'a k. of dog' (Liu 50).

‖ The TM form may belong here if it goes back to **kaŋ-čikān* (= PT **Kaŋčɨk*, MKor. *kàŋʼàčí*). See SKE 84-85, TMC 1,385, Menges 1984, 270-271, АПиПЯЯ 296, Дыбо 9; TMN 3, 520 ("alles sehr unsicher").

***kăpi** to break, fragile: Tung. ***kab-**; Mong. ***kebere-**; Turk. ***gebre-**.

PTung. ***kab-** 1 to break, destroy, press 2 to squeeze, knead (1 ломать, разрушать, давить 2 мять): Evn. *qawṭq-, qawṭl-* 1; Neg. *kawjụ-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 357, 358. The root is expressive and has several variants: **kab-* (see above); **kapu-* reflected in Man. *qafur* 'crackling', Nan. *qapo-qapo* id., Ul. *qapụ(r)* id., Orok *qapụli-* 'to break', Evn. *qabᵽr-*, Evk. *kapu-* id. (see TMC 1, 377-378); **kupu-* in Manchu *kufujen* 'fragile'.

PMong. ***kebere-** 1 fragile 2 to break down (1 хрупкий 2 ломаться): MMong. *keberek* (HY 54) 1, *kebge-, kebke-* 'zu Staub zertreten' (SH); WMong. *kebereg, keberig* 1, *kebere-, kebire-* 2 (L 439); Kh. *xevreg* 1, *xevre-* 2; Bur. *xebreg* 1; Kalm. *kewreg, kŭrəg* 1; Ord. *kewerek* 1; Bao. *kurəg*; S.-Yugh. *kebrɛg*; Mongr. *kērig* (SM 198), *kēreG*.

◊ KW 229-230, MGCD 338.

PTurk. ***geb-re-** 1 to become weak, fragile 2 fragile (1 слабеть, становиться хрупким 2 хрупкий): Karakh. *kevre-* 1, *kevrek* 2 (MK); Tur. *gevre-* 1, *gevrek* 2; Gag. *gevrek* 1; Az. *kövräk* 2; Uzb. *kuwrak* 2; Tat. *köjrök* 2 (KCTT); Bashk. *käwert* 'a tree rotten inside'; Kirgh. *küjrö-* 1; Kaz. *küjrek* 2; Khak. *kibrek* 2; Chuv. *kavraj-* 1; Yak. *kebirē-* 1 (possibly < Mong.).

◊ VEWT 244, 245, EDT 691, ЭСТЯ 3, 7-9. Turk. > Hung. *kőrő* 'fragile' Gombocz 1912.

‖ EAS 145, Владимирцов 153-154, 258, Poppe 45. One cannot exclude Mong. < Turk. in this case. An expressive Western isogloss. Cf. also **kʹĕpʹe* (and Ozawa 201).

***k[ā]pʹá** to cover, sack: Tung. ***kup-**; Mong. ***kab-t-**; Turk. ***Kāp**; Jpn. ***kàmpú-**.

PTung. ***kup-** 1 to cover 2 cloth 3 sheath, boxing 4 sack 5 knee covers 6 hat 7 cover (n.) 8 wadded coat (1 покрывать 2 одежда 3 футляр 4 мешок 5 наколенники 6 шапка 7 покрышка 8 ватный кафтан): Evk. *kuptu-, kupu-* 1, *kupu* 7, *kupō* 5, *kupe* 2; Evn. *kupke* 4, *kubi* 5, *quptu* 6, *köbže* 2; Neg. *kuptin-* 1, *koptin* 7; Man. *xubtu* 8; Ul. *kup* 1 (expr. adv.); Ork. *quptu-* 1, *qōpomi* 2; Nan. *koptō̄* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 434, 476. Evk. *kupe* > Dolg. *kopō*, see Stachowski 153. Manchu *xubtu* has variants *xukdu, xuktu* (> Nan. *xuktu*, Neg. *xuktu* etc.) - which is probably a secondary merger with a Mong. loanword (Mong. *kügdü*, v. sub **kugi)*.

PMong. ***kabt-** sack (мешок): WMong. *qabta-ɣa(n)* (L 899); Kh. *xavtga*; Kalm. *xaptəxə, xaptrɣə*; Ord. *GabtarGa*; Dag. *xartag* (Тод. Даг. 174); Mongr. *sdarGa* 'petite bourse, blague, poche' (SM 333).

◊ KW 167, 180. Mong. *qabtaɣa, qabturɣa* > Evk. *kapturga* etc. (see Poppe 1966, 195, TMN 1, 384-385, Doerfer MT 39); > Kirgh. *qaptirɣa* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 271-272).

PTurk. ***Kāp** 1 sack 2 to surround (1 мешок 2 окружать): Karakh. *qap* 1 (MK); Tur. *kap* 1; Gag. *qap* 1; Az. *Gab*; Turkm. *Gāp* 1, *Gāba-* 2; MTurk. *qap* 1 (MA, IM), *qaba-* 'to besiege' (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qɔp* 1; Uygh. *qap* 1, dial. *qaba-* 2; Krm. *qap* 1; Tat. *qap* 1; Bashk. *qap* 1; Kirgh. *qap* 1; Kaz. *qap* 1; KBalk. *qap* 1; KKalp. *qap* 1; Kum. *qap* 1; Nogh. *qap* 1; SUygh. *qap* 1; Khak. *xap* 1; Shr. *qap* 1; Oyr. *qap* 1; Tv. *xap* 1; Tof. *qap/b-* 1; Yak. *xappar* 1 (?).

◊ VEWT 233, TMN 3, 366-367, EDT 578 (should be separated from **kab*!) ЭСТЯ 5, 159, 266-267 (with a partial confusion with another root, probably of Mongolian origin, see under **KAmug*), 266-267. Despite Doerfer (ibid.) the resemblance with **Kāpuk* 'bark' is only superficial. See also notes to **K(i)amak* / **K(i)apak* 'forehead, eyebrow/eyelid'.

PJpn. ***kàmpú-*** helmet (шлем): OJpn. *kabut(w)o*; MJpn. *kàbúto*; Tok. *kábuto*; Kyo. *kàbútò*; Kag. *kabutó*.

◊ JLTT 431.

‖ KW 167, 180, Poppe 17, 18, 43, Цинциус 1984, 76-77. Mergers with phonetically close roots (e. g. **k'ap'a* 'barrier', **k'op'e* 'film, covering', **kobe* 'clothing', **k'ăp'V* 'bladder') were possible - which may explain some vocalic and prosodic irregularities.

✱**kăp'è** to squeeze, press together: Tung. ***kap-***; Mong. ***kajiči***; Turk. ****Kɨp-***.

PTung. ****kap-*** 1 together 2 to press, squeeze together 3 couple 4 gripe 5 trap (1 вместе 2 давить, прижимать 3 пара 4 тиски, зажим 5 капкан): Evk. *kapkal-* 2; Neg. *kap* 1, *kapel* 5; Man. *qab(a)* 3, *χafira-* 2, *χafiraqu* 4; SMan. *havirəhun*, *ĥavirəhun* (2619) 'narrow, tight'; Ul. *qap* 1, *qapura-* 2, *qapuraqu* 4, *qapali* 5; Ork. *qap* 1, *qapira* 4; Nan. *qap* 1, *qapira-* 2, *qapiraqo* 4, *qapali* 5; Orch. *kapali* 1; Ud. *käfi-* 2 (Корм. 247), *kab'au* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 376, 378-379.

PMong. ***kajiči*** scissors (ножницы): MMong. *xajiči* (HY 21), *qaiči* (MA); WMong. *qajiči(n)* (L 912); Kh. *xajč*; Bur. *xajša*; Kalm. *xāčə*; Ord. *xāči*; Dag. *kaič* (Тод. Дат. 148: *kaiči*, *xaiči*), *kajči* (MD 181); Dong. *qaiči*; Bao. *χiči*; S.-Yugh. *χaiči*; Mongr. *xāǰi*, *xāći* (SM 166), *xaiči*.

◊ KW 180, TMN 1, 448, MGCD 318. Mong. > Oyr. *qajči* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 209-211); Evk. *kajič* etc., see Poppe 1966, 193, TMN 1, 449, Doerfer MT 64-65.

PTurk. ****Kɨp-*** 1 to press together 2 scissors 3 tongs 4 to cut (with scissors) (1 сжимать 2 ножницы 3 клещи): Karakh. *qiftu* (MK) 2; Tur. *kɨpti* (dial.) 2, *ki(r)p-* 4; Az. *Girp-* 4; Turkm. *Gip-* 1; MTurk. *qipti* 2 (Houts., Ettuhf.); Krm. *qipti* 2; KBalk. *qipti* 2; Khak. *xipti* 2, *xipla-* 4; Shr. *qipti* 2, *qipla-* 4; Oyr. *qipta* 2, *qipčin-* 1; Chuv. *xipčьk* 3; Yak. *kiptij* 2, *kibit-*, *kibij-* 1; Dolg. *kiptij-* 2.

◊ VEWT 234, EDT 582, ЭСТЯ 6, 221-222, 224, Stachowski 168.

‖ KW 180, Владимирцов 270, Poppe 48. A Western isogloss. Despite Doerfer's doubts (TMN 1, 450), the Turk. and Mong. forms cannot be separated from each other. It is interesting also to mention the forms meaning 'to wink' (< *'press eyelids together') among the reflexes of PT **Kɨp-* (usually confused with **Kɨp-* 'spark') and the TM derivative **kapta-* (usually confused with **kapta-* 'flat'). Cf. also **k'ap'V*.

✱**kàra (~ k'-)** opposite, enemy: Mong. ***kar-***; Turk. ****Kar-***; Jpn. ****kàtà-***.

PMong. ****kar-*** 1 foreign, alien 2 to be related to, connected with (1 чужой, иностранный 2 иметь отношение к, быть связанным с): WMong. *qari* 1, *qari-lča-* 2 (L 937, 939); Kh. *xaŕ* 1, *xarilca-* 2; Bur. *xari* 1, *xarilsa-* 2; Kalm. *xäŕə* 1; Ord. *xari* 1, *xarilčin*, *xarilčan* 'mutually'.

◊ KW 171. Cf. also MMong. *qaryu-*, *qarγa-*, Kalm. *χarγə-* 'to meet' (KW 169).

PTurk. ***Kar-** 1 opposite 2 be opposite, meet 3 bandit (1 противоположный 2 встречаться 3 разбойник): OTurk. *qarši* (OUygh.) 1; *qaraqči* (OUygh.) 3; Karakh. *qaršu* (MK, KB), *qarši* (KB) 1, *qaraqči* (KB) 3, *qaraqla-* (MK) 'to rob'; Turkm. *Garši-* 2; *Garaq* 3; MTurk. *qaraq* (Pav. C., Abush.) 3; Uzb. *qɛrɛqči* 3; Tat. *qaraq* 3; Bashk. *qaraq* 3; Kirgh. *qaraqči* 3; KKalp. *qaraqši* 3; Kum. *qaraq* 3; Nogh. *qaraq* 3; Chuv. *xiräś-* 2; *xorax* 3; Yak. *xar, xār* 1 (Пек.); *xar-da* 'retaliation'; *xariś-* 'to fight (with each other)'; Dolg. *kar-da* 'retaliation', *kariś-* 'to fight'.

◊ VEWT 235, ЭСТЯ 5, 294-295, 326-327, Ашм. XVI, 219-220, Федотов 2, 365-366, Stachowski 139, 140. Chuv. *xiräś-* may actually reflect a different root (see **gerül-*), or a contamination. Turk. *qarši* > Mong. *qarsi* (Clark 1980, 41). Cf. also **Karma* 'robbery'.

PJpn. ***kàtà-** enemy, opposite (враг, противник): MJpn. *kàtàkjì*; Tok. *katakí*; Kyo. *kátàkì*; Kag. *katakí*.

◊ JLTT 443.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 276, Мудрак Дисс. 89. Cf. **kéro*. In PTM cf. perhaps **(x)arča-* 'to meet, oppose (an animal during hunting)' (TMC 1, 53) - a root that should be kept distinct from **ača-* 'to meet'. In this case the reconstruction **k'àra* should be preferred for PA.

***kara (~ -u)** to look, observe: Tung. ***kara-**; Mong. ***kara-**; Turk. ***Karak**; Kor. ***kàrm-**.

PTung. ***kara-** 1 to guard, protect 2 to watch (1 беречь, защищать 2 наблюдать): Evk. *karama-, karma-* 1, *kara-m-na-* 'to envy'; Evn. *qarɣuṣ-* 1 (Arm.), *qarqi-* 'to wait'; Man. *qarma-* 1 (perhaps also *χarša-*, TMC 1, 380); SMan. *qarmə-* (797) 1; Ul. *qarGa-čų-* 2; Ork. *qarGa-* 2; Nan. *qarGa-čį-* 2;

◊ TMC 1, 381-382. The Evk. form *kar(a)ma-* is cited from Lee 1958 (quoting Shirokogoroff 1944 which was unavailable to us).

PMong. ***kara-** 1 to look 2 patrol, watch (1 смотреть 2 патруль, караул): MMong. *qara-* 1, *qara'ul* (SH) 2, *qara-* (MA, HYt) 1; WMong. *qara-* 1, *qaraɣul* 2 (L 932, 933); Kh. *xara-* 1, *xarūl* 2; Bur. *xara-* 1; Kalm. *xarə-* 1; Ord. *xara-* 1; Mog. *qara-* 1 (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *xarāla-* 1 (Тод. Дар. 174), *xarōl* 2; S.-Yugh. *χarūl* 2, *χarəmul* 'sight'; Mongr. *xarų̄la-* (SM 164), *xarə-* 1; *xarəmul* 'sight'.

◊ KW 169, MGCD 329, 331, 334. Mong. > Chag. etc. *qara-, qarawul* (see TMN 1, 401, Щербак 1997, 208; a backloan from Turkic is probably ZM *qarawol* (8-6a) 'vanguard'), ЭСТЯ 5, 288-289, 290-291.

PTurk. ***Karak** 1 eye-ball 2 eye 3 a gentle address ("my dear") (1 зрачок 2 глаз 3 ласковое обращение): OTurk. *qaraq* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qaraq* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *köz karasi* 1, Osm. (XV) *qaraq* 2; Az. *göz Garasi* 1; Turkm. *Garaq* 1; MTurk. *qaraq* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад., Sangl.) 1, (Abush.) 2; Uzb. *qɔrɛčiq* 1; Uygh. *qar(i)čuq* 1; Kirgh. *qaraq* 3, dial. *qareq* 1, 2; Kaz. *qaraq* 3, *qarašiq* 1; KKalp. *qaraq* 3, *qarašiq* 1; Nogh. *qarašiq* 1; Khak.

xarax 2, dial. *xarači* 1; Shr. *qaraq* 2; Oyr. *qaraq* 1, 2; Tv. *qaraq* 2; Tof. *qaraq* 2; Chuv. *koś xori* 1; Yak. *xarax* 2; Dolg. *karak* 2.

◊ VEWT 235-236, TMN 3, 434-436, EDT 652, Ашм. VII, 36, ЭСТЯ 5, 295-296, Лексика 210, Stachowski 138. Deriving **Karak* from **Kara* 'black' (see also TMN 1, 401) is highly dubious both for semantic and morphological reasons; forms like Tur. *göz karası* result from secondary reanalysis. Cf. also the forms **Kara-la-* 'to stare' (Az. *qarala-*, Uygh. *qarala-*, see ЭСТЯ 5, 289), **Karaj-* 'to watch, preserve' (Yak. *xaraj-*, Dolg. *karaj-*; Yak. *xarıs* 'care, wariness', Dolg. *karistā-* 'to care, beware', see Stachowski 138, 140) - which, in contrast to *qara-* 'look' (< Mong.) are unlikely to be borrowed.

PKor. ***kàrm-*** 1 to keep, preserve 2 to wash the dead, bury (1 хранить 2 обмывать покойника, хоронить): MKor. *kàrm-* 1, 2; Mod. *kam-čhu-* 'to hide'.

◊ Nam 22, KED 50.

‖ KW 169, VEWT 235 (the TM forms in TMC 1,380 - Man. *qara-*, *qarun* etc. - are obviously borrowed from Mongolian, see Doerfer MT 51, 138, Rozycki 135), Lee 1958, 114, АПиГЯЯ 287.

✱**kàra(ma)** thin stick, rod: Tung. ***kar-***; Turk. ***Karmak***; Jpn. ***kàrimə̀***; Kor. ***kármó***.

PTung. ***kar-*** rod, thin branch (прут, лоза): Evk. *kar, kari, karê*.

◊ TMC 1, 379. Cf. perhaps also Orok *qarumalima* 'children's sledge' (?).

PTurk. ***Karmak*** 1 fishing rod 2 hook (1 удочка 2 крюк): Karakh. *qarmaq* (KB) 1,2; Tur. *karmuk* 2, dial. *garmaɣ* 1; Az. *GarmaG* 1,2; Turkm. *Garmaq* 1,2; MTurk. *qarmaq* (IM, MA) 1, 2; Uzb. *qɛrmɔq* 2; Uygh. *qa(r)maq* 1,2; Tat. *qarmaq* 1,2; Bashk. *qarmaq* 1,2; Kirgh. *qarmaq* 1,2; Kaz. *qarmaq* 1,2; KKalp. *qarmaq* 1,2; Nogh. *qarmaq* 1,2; Khak. *xarmax* 1,2; Shr. *qarbaq* 1,2; Oyr. *qarmaq* 1,2; Tv. dial. *qarmaq* 1,2.

◊ VEWT 238, ЭСТЯ 5, 309-310 (usually considered to be derived from **Karba-*, but this is phonetically dubious).

PJpn. ***kàrimə̀*** axle, metal tube for axle (ось, втулка): OJpn. *karimo*; MJpn. *kàmò*.

◊ JLTT 436.

PKor. ***kármó*** axle, metal tube for axle (ось, втулка): MKor. *kármó*.

◊ Nam 19.

‖ The root is not widely represented, but seems reliable; the meaning 'axle' in Kor.-Jpn. has developed < 'thin stick'.

✱**kare** bow, to shoot from a bow: Tung. ***kar-***; Mong. ***karbu-***; Turk. ***Kiriĺ / *kiriĺ***.

PTung. ***kar-*** 1 to kill 2 to fight (1 убивать 2 драться): Evk. *kare-* 1; Ork. *karamači-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 380, 381.

PMong. ***karbu-*** to shoot from a bow (стрелять из лука): MMong. *qarbu* (HY 39, SH), *qarbu-* (MA); WMong. *qarbu-* (L 936); Kh. *xarva-*; Bur. *xarba-*; Kalm. *xarwə-*; Ord. *xarwa-, xarwu-*; Mog. *qarbuxči* 'gun' (Weiers);

Dag. *xarba-, xarma-* (Тод. Даг. 174); *harebe-* (MD 157); Bao. *χurə-*; S.-Yugh. *χarwu-*; Mongr. *xarmu-* (SM 164).

◊ KW 177, MGCD 331. Mong. *qarbu-* > Evk. *garpa-, garpū-* etc. (TMC 1, 142).

PTurk. ***Kɨrɨĺ / *kirĺ*** bow string (тетива): OTurk. *kiriš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kiriš* (MK); Tur. *kiriš*; Az. *kiriš*; Turkm. *kiriš*; MTurk. *kiriš* (Pav. C., IM, AH, Qutb.); Krm. *kiriš*; Tat. *kereš*; Bashk. *kereš*; Kirgh. *kirič*; Kum. *kiriš*; Nogh. *kiris*; Khak. *kərəs, xɨrɨs*; Shr. *kiriš*; Oyr. *kiriš*; Tv. *kiriš*; Chuv. *xirlü*; Yak. *kiris, kɨrɨs*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 71-72, Лексика 578.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **kàra*.

karmo** a k. of aquatic bird: Tung. ***karmu- / *karbu-; Turk. ***Kordaj (< *Korm-daj ?)***; Jpn. ***kàmámái (~-ia)***; Kor. ***kǎrmjə́kí***.

PTung. ***karmu- / *karbu-*** 1 a k. of swallow 2 a k. of duck (1 ласточка береговая 2 утка-чернеть): Evk. *karbukī* 2; Nan. *qarmor* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 379. Cf. also **komparī* 'heron' (< **karmorī*?), see TMC 1, 413.

PTurk. ***Kordaj (< *Korm-daj ?)*** pelican; swan (пеликан; лебедь): Karakh. *qordaj* (MK); Uygh. *qodaj* 'swan'; Khak. *xordɨ* 'heron'; Oyr. *qordoj* 'heron'.

◊ VEWT 282, EDT 649, Лексика 173, ЭСТЯ 6, 79. Cf. also Shor *qoromčuq* 'полунощник' (птица). Turk. > Mong. *qorda* (KW 187).

PJpn. ***kàmámái (~-ia)*** gull (чайка): OJpn. *kamame*; MJpn. *kàmómé*; Tok. *kàmome*; Kyo. *kàmòmé*; Kag. *kamomé*.

◊ JLTT 436.

PKor. ***kǎrmjə́kí*** gull (чайка): MKor. *kǎrmjə́kí, kǎrmjəkii*; Mod. *kalmägi*.

◊ Nam 20, KED 45.

‖ Martin 232-233, Лексика 173. Cf. perhaps MMong. *qara'una* (HY 15) 'a k. of bird'. The tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular. Like many bird names, an expressive and rather unreliable root.

kàrò(mV) (~ k'-)** a k. of weed, cockle: Tung. ***kara (~ *x-); Mong. ***karaɣu, *karbaɣur***; Turk. ***KAramuk***; Jpn. ***kàràmùsì***; Kor. ***kǎ́ràč***.

PTung. ***kara (~ *x-)*** a k. of weed (негодная трава, плевел): Man. *χara*.

◊ TMC 1, 379.

PMong. ***karaɣu, *karbaɣur*** 1 darnel grass, smut 2 privet, a k. of shrub or weed (волоснец даурский, Elymus) (1 плевел, головня 2 вид кустарника или сорного растения (волоснец даурский, Elymus)): WMong. *qaraw*, (L 933) *qaraɣu* 1, *qarbaɣur* 2; Kh. *xarū* 1, *xarvor* 2; Bur. *xarbūl, xarbūr* 2.

PTurk. ***KAramuk*** cockle (куколь): Karakh. *qaramuq* (MK); Tur. dial. *karamuk*; MTurk. *qaramuq* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qɔrɛmuɣ*; Uygh.

qarimuq; Tat. *qaramiq* (Sib.); Kirgh. *qaramiq*; Kaz. *qaramiq*; KKalp. *qaramiq*; Kum. *qaramčiq*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 296-297.

PJpn. ***kàràmùsì** Boehmeria frutescens, a k. of hemp (вид конопли, Boehmeria frutescens): MJpn. *kàràmùsì*; Tok. *karamushi*.

◊ JLTT 439. Analysed within Jpn. as *kara* 'China' + *musi* 'ramie', which may be a folk etymology.

PKor. ***kǎràč** Setaria viridis; Lolium temulentum (Setaria viridis; Lolium temulentum): MKor. *kǎràs*; Mod. *karaǯi*.

◊ Nam 11, KED 10.

‖ Lee 1958, 112 (Tung.-Kor.). Turkic has **KAra-* (not **Kora-*), obviously influenced by **Kara-* 'black'. Cf. similar weed names: Turk. **Küreŋ* 'sedge' (ЭСТЯ 5, 147-148), Mong. *küresün, kürmenli, kürümeli* id.

✱**kărsi** fox, marten: Tung. ***karsi**; Mong. ***kirsa**; Turk. ***KArsak**.

PTung. ***karsi** marten (куница): Man. *χarsa*; Nan. *qarsa*; Ud. *kahä* (Корм. 246).

◊ TMC 1, 361.

PMong. ***kirsa** steppe fox (степная лиса): MMong. *kirsa* (HY 10); WMong. *kirsa* (L 472); Kh. *χars*; Kalm. *kirsə*; Ord. *girsa*.

◊ KW 232. Mong. > Kirgh. *qirsa*, Yak. *kirsa* (VEWT 267), Evk., Evn., Man. *kirsa* 'steppe fox' (TMC 1, 399, Rozycki 140); but the TM names for 'marten' are genuine, despite Doerfer MT 142.

PTurk. ***KArsak** steppe fox (степная лиса): OTurk. *qarsaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qarsaq* (MK); Turkm. *Garsaq*; MTurk. *qarsaq* (IM, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *qɛrsɔq*; Tat. *qarsaq*; Bashk. *qarhaq*; Kirgh. *qarsaq*; Kaz. *qarsaq*; KKalp. *qarsaq*; Nogh. *qarsaq*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 313, Лексика 161, TMN 3, 442.

‖ Новикова 1972, 129-130, Лексика 161. A Western isogloss.

✱**kàru (~ k′-)** black: Mong. ***kara**; Turk. ***Kara**; Jpn. ***kùruà-**.

PMong. ***kara** black (черный): MMong. *qara* (HY 41, SH), *qara* (IM), *qāra* (MA); WMong. *qara* (L 931); Kh. *xar*; Bur. *xara*; Kalm. *xarъ*; Ord. *xara*; Mog. *qarō*; ZM *qarā* (13-8); Dag. *xara, xar* (Тод. Даг. 174), *hare* (MD 157); Dong. *qara*; Bao. *xera*; S.-Yugh. *xara*; Mongr. *xara* (SM 158).

◊ KW 168, MGCD 328. Mong. > Evk. *karā*, Man. *qara* etc. 'black (of horse)' (TMC 1, 379, Doerfer MT 99, Rozycki 101, 133); > MKor. *kara* (*măr*), see Lee 1958, 119).

PTurk. ***Kara** black (черный): OTurk. *qara* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qara* (MK, KB); Tur. *kara*; Gag. *qara*; Az. *Gara*; Turkm. *Gara*; Sal. *Gara*; Khal. *qara*; MTurk. *qara* (MA, IM, Pav. C., AH, Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qɔrɛ*; Uygh. *qara*, dial. *qare*; Krm. *qara*; Tat. *qara*; Bashk. *qara*; Kirgh. *qara*; Kaz. *qara*; KBalk. *qara*; KKalp. *qara*; Kum. *qara*; Nogh. *qara*; SUygh. *Gara*; Khak. *xara*; Shr. *qara*; Oyr. *qara*; Tv. *qara*; Tof. *qara*; Chuv. *xora*; Yak. *xara*; Dolg. *kara*.

◊ VEWT 235, TMN 3, 426-432, EDT 643-4, ЭСТЯ 5, 286-289, 299-100, Лексика 592-593, Stachowski 138, Федотов 2, 362.

PJpn. ***kùruà-*** black (черный): OJpn. *kurwo-*; MJpn. *kùrò-*; Tok. *kuró-*; Kyo. *kúrò-*; Kag. *kuró-*.

◊ JLTT 833.

‖ EAS 107, Владимирцов 324, ОСНЯ 1, 338, АПиПЯЯ 54-55, 73, 103-104, 274. Despite TMN 3, 427, Щербак 1997, 134, there is no need to regard the Mong. word as borrowed from Turkic (although it is not excluded).

✱**kărV** a k. of bird: Tung. ***kara-***; Mong. ***kar-***; Turk. ***K(i)ar-***.

PTung. ***kara-*** 1 woodcock 2 hazel grouse 3 wild birds (ducks, geese) 4 jackdaw 5 a k. of bird 6 rook 7 black heron 8 cormorant (1 вальдшнеп 2 рябчик 3 дикие птицы (утки, гуси) 4 галка 5 вид птицы 6 грач 7 черная цапля 8 баклан): Evk. *kara* 1, *karakī* 2; Neg. *karaxị* 3; Man. *qaraki* 6, *qaralǯa* 7, *qarasu* 8; Ork. *qarị* 4; Nan. *qarqaj* 5.

◊ TMC 1, 379.

PMong. ***kar-*** 1 grey crane 2 swallow (1 серый журавль 2 ласточка): MMong. *xarijača* (HY 14) 2; WMong. *qarkira* 1 (L 940), *qarijačai* 2 (L 938); Kh. *xarācaj* 2; Bur. *xarāsgaj* 2; *xarxali* 'чекан (птица из семейства дроздовых)'; Kalm. *xarādā* 2 (KPC); Ord. *xarāčā̄* 2; Dong. *qaranča* 2; Mongr. *xara(n)ćiGā* (SM 159), *xarabǯaGē* 2, *xarančiGē* 2.

PTurk. ***K(i)ar-*** 1 heron, crane 2 swallow, swift (1 цапля, журавль 2 ласточка): OTurk. *qarlɨγač* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *qarlɨγač*, *qarɣɨlač* (MK) 2; Tur. *karkara* 1, *kırlanγıč*, *kırlık* 2; Az. *GaranGuš*, *Garaγloš* 2; Turkm. *Garqara* (dial.) 1, *Garlavāč* 2; MTurk. *qarluwač*, *qarluγač* (Sangl., Pav. C., MA), *qarlaγač* (Houts.), *qarlawuč* (AH); Uzb. *qɛrqɛrɛ* 1, *qɛldiryɔč* 2; Uygh. *qaqira* 1, *qalγač* (dial.) 2; Tat. *qarlɨγač* 2; Bashk. *qarlɨγas* (dial.) 2; Kirgh. *qarqıra* 1, *qardɨγač* 2; Kaz. *qarqıra* 1, *qarlɨγaš* 2; KBalk. *qarılγač* 2; KKalp. *qarlɨγaš* 2; Kum. *qarlaγač*, *qarlɨγač* 2; Nogh. *qarlɨγaš* 2; Khak. *xarlayas*, *xarlɨγas* (dial.) 2; Shr. *qarlāš* 2; Oyr. *qarlaγaš*, *qarılγaš* 2; Yak. *xaraŋaccɨ* 2.

◊ EDT 657, ЭСТЯ 5, 306-309; Лексика 175-176.

‖ A Western isogloss. See Лексика 175, Pelliot HMP 573 (Doerfer TMN 3, 499: "unsicher"). Like many bird names, the root is expressive and probably onomatopoetic in origin.

✱**kasa** to prohibit, be in one's way: Tung. ***kas-***; Mong. ***kasi-***; Jpn. ***kasi-m-***; Kor. ***kə̀sɨ́r-***.

PTung. ***kas-*** 1 to reproach 2 to look down on (1 упрекать 2 пренебрежительно глядеть): Evn. *qas-* 1; Man. *qasana-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 382.

PMong. ***kasi-*** to have a bitter experience, become frustrated (не удаваться, разочаровываться): WMong. *qasira-* (L 942); Kh. *xašir*,

xašra-; Bur. *xašar* 'хлопоты, беспокойство'; *xašar-* 'испытывать отвращение'; Ord. *Gašara-*; S.-Yugh. *Gašar-*.

◊ MGCD 334.

PJpn. ***kasi-m-*** annoying, noisy (надоедливый, шумный): OJpn. *kasi-ma-si*; MJpn. *kasi-ma-si, kasi-ga-ma-si*; Tok. *kashimashi-*.

◊ JLTT 831.

PKor. ***kàsɨr-*** to oppose, defy (противостоять, пренебрегать): MKor. *kàsɨr-*; Mod. *kəsiri-*.

◊ Liu 42, KED 85.

‖ Cf. **kesa, *giaso.*

✱**kaserV (~ k'-)** young cow, heifer: Mong. ***kasirag***; Turk. ***Kɨsɨr***.

PMong. ***kasirag*** a 3-year-old cow, heifer (трехлетняя корова, телка): WMong. *qasiraγ* (L 942); Bur. *xašarag* 'двухгодовалый телок, двухлетний бычок', *xašarag bāxaldaj* 'двухлетний медведь'.

◊ Mong. > Khak. *xazira* etc.; cf. also (from *xašrag*?) Kaz. *qašar*, Chag. *qačarža*, see ЭСТЯ 5, 343; Russ. dial. *kačarák* and similar forms, see Аникин 275, 276.

PTurk. ***Kɨsɨr*** 1 barren (cow) 2 barren mare (1 яловая (корова) 2 яловая кобыла): Karakh. *qɨsɨr* 1, *qɨsraq* 2 (MK); Tur. *kɨsɨr* 1, *kɨsrak* 2; Gag. *qɨsɨr* 1, *qɨsɨraq* 2; Az. *Gɨsɨr* 1, *GɨsraG* 2; Turkm. *Gɨsɨr* 1, *Gɨsraq* 2; Khal. *qɨsɨr* 1; MTurk. *qɨsɨr* (Pav. C.) 1, *qɨsɨraq* 2 (Houts., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *qɨsɨr* 1; Uygh. *qɨsɨr* 1; Krm. *qɨsɨr* 1, *qɨsɨraq* 2; Tat. *qɨsɨr* 1; Bashk. *qɨθɨr* 1, *qɨθɨraq* (dial.) 2; Kirgh. *qɨsɨr* 1, *qɨsɨraq* 2; Kaz. *qɨsɨr* 1, *qɨsɨraq* 2; KBalk. *qɨsɨr* 1; KKalp. *qɨsɨr* 1, *qɨsɨraq* 2; Kum. *qɨsɨr* 1; Nogh. *qɨsɨr* 1; SUygh. *qɨsɨraq* 2; Khak. *xɨzɨr* 1, *xɨzɨrax* 2; Shr. *qɨzɨr* 1; Oyr. *qɨzɨr* 1; Tv. *qɨzɨr* 1, *qɨzɨraq* 2; Chuv. *xəzər* 1, *kəsre* 2; Yak. *kɨtarā-* 'стать стародойною, яловеть'; Dolg. *kɨtarak* 'barren'.

◊ EDT 668-669, VEWT 267, 268, ЭСТЯ 6, 249-251, Stachowski 170. Turk. > Kalm. *kīsr*, KW 234 (but Doerfer TMN 3, 476 objects, saying that Kalm. is a "dialektische Variante von kŭsr < ke'ü-ser"); > Mong. *qusuraŋ / kisuraŋ* 'barren (cow)' > Man. *kisari*.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss., with many later interlingual loans.

✱**kāšu(kV)** to tickle: Tung. ***kašaka-***; Mong. ***giǯige***; Turk. ***Kīčɨk, *gīči-***; Jpn. ***kúsú(n)kúr-***.

PTung. ***kašaka-*** 1 to tickle 2 to become scabby 3 scabs (1 щекотать 2 паршиветь 3 парша, струпья): Evk. *kačaka-* 1; Neg. *kačaxa-* 1; Man. *qasana-, qasqana-* 2, *qasqa(n)* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 382, 385.

PMong. ***giǯige*** tickle (щекотка, щекотать): WMong. *giǯige, geǯige; geǯigele-, geǯigene-, giǯigene-* (L 381); Kh. *giǯig*; Bur. *gežegendehe(n)*; Kalm. *giǯŋne-*.

◊ KW 135.

PTurk. ***Kīčɨk, *gīči-*** 1 itching, tickling 2 to tickle (1 зуд, щекотка 2 щекотать): Karakh. *kiči-, qɨči-la-* (v.) (MK); Tur. *giǯik-* 2, *giǯik, giǯɨk* 1;

Turkm. *gïžï* 1, *Gïžïq* 1, *gïže-* 2; MTurk. *gižik* 1 (Pav. C.); Krm. *kiči-* 2; Tat. *keče-* (dial.) 2; KBalk. *kičüw* 1; Tv. *kiži-* 2; Tof. *kiži-* 2; Chuv. *kəźə* 1.

◊ VEWT 260, 269, ЭСТЯ 3, 42-43, 6, 186-187, TMN 3, 567, EDT 591, 695. The back row variant is interacting with PT *Kič- 'to scrape, itch' q. v. sub *k'ïùčù.

PJpn. ***kúsú(n)kúr-** to tickle (щекотать): Tok. *kùsugur-*; Kyo. *kúsúgúr-*; Kag. *kusugúr-*.

◊ JLTT 717.

‖ ЭСТЯ 3, 43. Some irregularities are due to expressivity.

***kat'[a] (~ -t-)** to mix, join: Tung. ***kata-**; Mong. ***kudku-**; Turk. ***Kat-**; Jpn. ***kata-**.

PTung. ***kata-** 1 to tie hard 2 band 3 friend (1 крепко привязывать 2 лента, тесьма 3 друг): Evn. *qataq* 3; Neg. *kataγa-* 1, *katiχa* 3; Man. *χata* 2; Ul. *qatara-* 1; Ork. *qatara-* 1; Nan. *qatara-* 'to grasp one's hair'.

◊ TMC 1, 384.

PMong. ***kudku-** to mix (смешивать): WMong. *qudqu-* (L 981); Kh. *xutga-*; Bur. *xudxa-*; Kalm. *xutxə-* (KPC); Ord. *Gudxu-*; Dag. *korku-*; Dong. *quduγu-*; Bao. *doGə-*; S.-Yugh. *qudGə-*; Mongr. *GusGu-* (SM 128).

◊ MGCD 394. Mong. > Evk. *kutku-* etc., see Doerfer MT 111.

PTurk. ***Kat-** to mix, add, tie to (смешивать, добавлять): OTurk. *qat-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qat-* (MK, KB); Tur. *kat-*; Az. *Gat-*; Turkm. *Gat-*; MTurk. *qat-* (Sangl., MA, Pav. C., Qutb.); Uygh. *qat-*; Tat. *qat-*; Bashk. *qat-*; Kirgh. *qat-*; Kaz. *qat-*; KBalk. *qat-*; KKalp. *qat-*; Kum. *qat-*; Nogh. *qat-*; Khak. *xat-*; Shr. *qat-*; Oyr. *qat-*; Tv. *qa't-*; Tof. *qa't-*; Chuv. *xodъš* 'mixture'; Yak. *xat-* (but *kïtar-* 'to mix'); Dolg. *kat-*.

◊ EDT 594-595, VEWT 241, ЭСТЯ 5, 336, 337-338, Stachowski 141, Федотов 2, 373-374.

PJpn. ***kata-** to mix, join, unite (смешивать, соединять): OJpn. *kata-*; MJpn. *kata-*.

◊ JLTT 706.

‖ The Mong. vocalism is not quite clear.

***kắt'e** to knock (of hooves), trot: Tung. ***kata- / *kete-**; Mong. ***katari-**; Turk. ***Kïtïr-**; Kor. ***kàthí-**.

PTung. ***kata- / *kete-** to knock (with hooves), sound of knocking (стучать (копытами), подражание стуку): Neg. *keter-keter*; Man. *kete-qata*; Ul. *ketes*; Ork. *qatam, qatar, qatari*; Nan. *keter-keter*.

◊ TMC 1, 384, 456. Other expressive variants are: Man. *kitir* seme 'quick (of horse trot)' (TMC 1, 400), **kute-* (TMC 1, 440).

PMong. ***katari-** to trot (скакать, бежать рысью): WMong. *qatari-* (L 945); Kh. *xatira-*; Bur. *xatar* 'рысь'; Kalm. *xatərə-* (KPC); Ord. *Gatari-*, *Gatira-*; Dag. *katrə-* (Тод. Дат. 148: *katara-*), *katere* (MD 182).

◊ MGCD 336. Mong. > Manchu *katara-* 'to trot' (see Rozycki 135).

PTurk. ***Kītɨr-*** to walk, go round (ходить, обходить вокруг): Tur. *kıdır-* (dial.); Turkm. *gıdır-* (dial.); Uzb. *qidir-*; Krm. *qidir-*; Tat. *qidır-* (dial.); Bashk. *qiδır-*; Kirgh. *qidir-*; *qidiŋ* 'семенящий при беге (о жив.)'; Kaz. *qidır-*; KBalk. *qidır-*; KKalp. *qidır-*; Kum. *qidır-*; Nogh. *qidır-*; Yak. *kitigiras* 'проворный, быстрый, резвый (о звере), скороход'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 185.

PKor. ***kàthí-*** to stumble (спо́тыкаться): MKor. *kàthi-*.

◊ Nam 36.

‖ An expressive root, but seems to be common Altaic.

✱**kébà(rV)** field, steppe: Tung. ***keber-***; Mong. ***keɣere***; Jpn. ***kápí***.

PTung. ***keber-*** plain, steppe, meadow (равнина, степь, луг): Evk. *kewer*, *kewe-kte*; Evn. *kēr-ke*; Sol. *xeber*.

◊ TMC 1, 443.

PMong. ***keɣere*** steppe, desert (степь, пустыня): ᴹMong. *ke'er* (SH, HY 4), *keher* 'desert' (IM); WMong. *ḳeɣere* (L 443); Kh. *xēr*; Bur. *xēre* 'steppe; taiga'; Kalm. *kērə* (KPC); Ord. *kēre*; Dag. *xēr*, *kēr* (Тод. Даг. 149); *hēre* (MD 159); S.-Yugh. *kēre*.

◊ TMN 1, 484, MGCD 337.

PJpn. ***kápí*** valley between mountains (долина между гор): OJpn. *kapji*; MJpn. *káfi*.

◊ JLTT 433.

‖ EAS 89, Poppe 48, АПиПЯЯ 14, 68. Despite Poppe 1972, 97, TMN 1, 485, Doerfer MT 94, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

✱**kéči** night, evening: Mong. ***keči-***; Turk. ***gēč (-e)***; Jpn. ***kisə***.

PMong. ***keči-*** day before yesterday (позавчера): Dag. *kečig udur* (Тод. Даг. 150), *kečihe* (MD 182).

PTurk. ***gēč (-e)*** 1 long time 2 late 3 be late 4 night 5 evening 6 yesterday (1 долго 2 поздний 3 опаздывать 4 ночь 5 вечер 6 вчера): OTurk. *keč* 1, 2, *keč-* 3, *keče* 4, 5 (OUygh.); Karakh. *keč* 1, 2 (KB, MK), *kеč-* 3 (MK), *kečä* 4, 5 (KB, MK); Tur. *geč* 2, *geǰe* 4; Gag. *geǰä* 4; Az. *geǰä* 4; Turkm. *gīč* 2, *gīǰe* 4; Sal. *gäǰi* 4; Khal. *kīečä* 4; MTurk. *geče* 4 (Pav.C.); Uzb. *keča* 4, 6; Uygh. *käčä* 5; Krm. *geǰe* 4; Tat. *kič* 5, *kičɛ* 5, 6; Bashk. *kis* 5, *kisä* 5, 6; Kirgh. *keč* 2, *kečē* 4, 5; Kaz. *keš* 2, 5, *kešä* 5, 6; KBalk. *keč* 5, *keče*; KKalp. *keš* 2, 5; Kum. *geče* 4; Nogh. *keš* 2, 5; SUygh. *kiče* 4 (Mal.); Khak. *kiǰē* 6; Shr. *kečik* 5 (Верб.); Oyr. *keč* 2, 5, *keče* 6; Tv. *kežē* 5; Tof. *keǰe* 5; Chuv. *kaś* 5; Yak. *kiehe* 5; Dolg. *kiehe* 5.

◊ VEWT 245, EDT 692-3, 694-5, ЭСТЯ 3, 40-41, 50-51, Лексика 82, Stachowski 147.

PJpn. ***ki(n)sə*** last night (прошлой ночью): OJpn. *kjiso*; MJpn. *kiso*.

◊ JLTT 452. OJ also has *kjinopu* 'yesterday' (modern *kinō*), which may be a contraction < **kisə-nə-pu* (with a not quite clear -pu: is it = *pi 'day'?).

‖ See Лексика 82: rather dubious, because of very scanty attestation in Mongolian.

***kĕč'á** slanting, oblique: Tung. ***kečeri-**; Mong. ***keče**; Turk. ***Kač-**; Jpn. ***kàntúa**; Kor. ***kjáčh**.

PTung. ***kečeri-** to turn, change sides (поворачивать(ся)): Ul. *kečeri-mbuči-*; Nan. *kečeri-*.

◊ TMC 1, 456.

PMong. ***keče** 1 slope 2 to be slanting, oblique, steep (1 склон, откос 2 косой, пологий, крутой): WMong. *kеč* 1 (L 440: *keče* 2); Kh. *xec* 1; Bur. *xesi-* 2; Kalm. *kecə* 1 (KPC); Dag. *keči* 'edge, bank, shore' (MD 182); Dong. *qeča* 'shore' (Тод. Дн.).

PTurk. ***Kač-** slanting (косой): Tur. *kačık*; Tat. *qazaj-* (Sib.); Khak. *xažı-*, *xasxax* 'bent backward'; Shr. *qazır-* 'to bend'; Tv. *xažıj-tır*; Chuv. *xoś-* 'to bend'.

◊ VEWT 217, Ашм. XVI 242-246.

PJpn. ***kàntúa** angle, corner (угол): MJpn. *kàdó*; Tok. *kádo*; Kyo. *kàdó*; Kag. *kadó*.

◊ JLTT 432.

PKor. ***kjáčh** side (сторона): MKor. *kjáčh*; Mod. *kjət* [*kjəth*].

◊ Nam 44, KED 128.

‖ Cf. **k'i̯ŏ̆ša*, **kéč'a* (the three roots are sometimes difficult to distinguish). The medial -j- in Kor. is not quite clear.

***kéč'à** side: Jpn. ***kátà**; Kor. ***kàčh**.

PJpn. ***kátà** side, direction; form, shape (сторона, направление; форма, вид): OJpn. *kata*; MJpn. *kátà*; Tok. *katá*; Kyo. *kátà*; Kag. *káta*.

◊ JLTT 442.

PKor. ***kàčh** outer appearance, exterior (внешний вид, внешность): MKor. *kəčh*; Mod. *kəžuk*, *kət* [*kəth*].

◊ Nam 40, KED 87, 104.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss. See Martin 241, АПиПЯЯ 297 (with some confusion of Kor. **kàčh* 'exterior' and **kă̆č-* 'near; end, limit', see under **kèč'a*, **k'i̯oža*). The root seems very similar to both **kèč'a* and **k'i̯ŏ̆ša*, but in fact cannot be reduced to either of them. It is not even excluded that the root does not exist at all: Kor. *kàčh* 'exterior side' may be just a variant of *kàčh* 'skin' (see under **káč'u*), while Jpn. *kátà* may go back to PA **k'ada* 'side, to turn' (q.v.).

***kejbe** to lie: Tung. ***kebi-**; Mong. ***keb-**; Jpn. ***kəjə-**; Kor. ***kìbúr-**.

PTung. ***kebi-** to bow down, lie low (пригнуться, лечь ничком): Man. *keb*, *keo* (seme); Ul. *kebile-*.

◊ TMC 1, 442.

PMong. ***keb-** 1 to lie 2 to bow down (1 лежать 2 склоняться, нагибаться): MMong. *kibtä-*, *kă̆btä-* (MA), *kebte-*, *kebde-*, *gebte-* (SH) 1; WMong. *kebte-* 1 (L 439), *kebiji-* 2; Kh. *xevt-* 2, *xevij-* 2; Bur. *xebte-*; Kalm. *keptə-*; Ord. *gebte-*; Mog. *teftä-*; KT *tebtä* (11-1a); Dag. *kert-*, *kerte-* 1 (Тод.

Дar. 150), *kerete-* 1 (MD 183); Dong. *kiǯie-*; Mongr. *kidē-* (SM 200) 'to lie (of animals)'.

◊ KW 226, MGCD 339.

PJpn. ***kəjə-** to lie (лежать): OJpn. *koju-*.

◊ JLTT 711.

PKor. ***kìbúr-** to bow down, be sloping, decline (наклоняться): MKor. *kì'úr-*; Mod. *kiul-*.

◊ Nam 79, KED 272.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 294, Ozawa 203-204, SKE 114.

***kéjna (~ g-)** crab; tick: Turk. ***gĒne**; Jpn. ***káni**; Kor. ***kāi**.

PTurk. ***gĒne** tick, name of different parasites (клещ, назв. различных паразитов): Tur. *gene, kene*; Az. *gänä*; Turkm. *gāna*; Uzb. *kana*; Kaz. *kenä*; KKalp. *kene*.

◊ VEWT 251, TMN 3, 615-616, ЭСТЯ 5, 63-64, Лексика 183. Voiced *g- and front row vocalism speaks against the theory of Turk. being < Pers. *kana* (although some forms like Khalaj *kana* and Turkm. dial. *kāna* may have been influenced by the Persian word - which itself has so far no Iranian etymology and must be regarded as a Turkic loanword).

PJpn. ***káni** crab (краб): OJpn. *kani*; MJpn. *káni*; Tok. *kàni*; Kyo. *káni*; Kag. *káni*.

◊ JLTT 437.

PKor. ***kāi** crab (краб): MKor. *kāi*; Mod. *kē*.

◊ Liu 51, KED 106.

‖ Martin 229, Miller 1980, 161-162, 1985a, 81, 1986, 48, Лексика 183. Medial *-j- has to be reconstructed to account for loss of resonant in Korean.

***keju (~ k'-)** to boil: Mong. ***kajira-**; Turk. ***Kąjɨn-**; Kor. ***kò'ɨ-**.

PMong. ***kajira-** to burn, roast (жарить): WMong. *qajira-, qaγari-* (L 907); Kh. *xajr-*; Bur. *xajra-*; Kalm. *xār-*; Dag. *xaira-* (Тод. Дar. 172), *xāri-* (Тод. Дar. 174); S.-Yugh. *q'ajru-* 'to boil'.

◊ KW 180. Mong. > Man. *χari-* etc. (TMC 1, 463, Doerfer MT 142).

PTurk. ***Kąjɨn-** to boil (Intr.) (вариться): OTurk. *qajɨn-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qajna-* (MK, KB); Tur. *kajna-*; Gag. *qajna-*; Az. *Gajna-*; Turkm. *Gajna-*; MTurk. *qajna-* (Qutb., IM); Uzb. *qɛjnɛ-*; Uygh. *qajna-*; Tat. *qajna-*; Bashk. *qajna-*; Kirgh. *qajna-*; Kaz. *qajna-*; KKalp. *qajna-*; Nogh. *qajna-*; Khak. *xajna-*; Oyr. *qajna-*; Tv. *xajɨn-*; Yak. *kɨj-* (*kɨńńi-*); Dolg. *kɨjnar-, kɨjnar-* (trans.).

◊ VEWT 222, ЭСТЯ 5, 203-205, Stachowski 168, 171.

PKor. ***kò'ɨ-** to boil (варить): MKor. *kò'ɨ-*; Mod. *kō-*.

◊ Nam 48, KED 137.

‖ A possible derivative is PA **keju-ŕ(ga)* 'kettle': PT **Kāŕgan* (ЭСТЯ 5, 186-188 - a contraction < **Kaj-rgan* ?); Mong. *kaji-sun* (< **kajir-sun*); PTM **kejren* (TMC 1, 444); see KW 169; ЭСТЯ 5, 188. In that case PA **k-* should be reconstructed.

***kèju** to pass beyond: Tung. ***kēj-**; Turk. ***Kej-**; Jpn. ***kúaja-**.

PTung. ***kēj-** 1 to go astray 2 to become wild (of a reindeer) (1 заблудиться, уйти в сторону 2 одичать (о домашнем олене)): Evk. *kēj-* 1; Evn. *kējun-* 1; Neg. *kej-* 2.

◊ TMC 1,444.

PTurk. ***Kej-** to go away (уходить): Chuv. *kaj-*.

◊ Attested only in Chuvash; PT antiquity is dubious.

PJpn. ***kúaja-** to pass over, transgress (переходить, миновать): OJpn. *kwoja-*; MJpn. *kója-*; Tok. *kòe-*; Kyo. *kóé-*; Kag. *koé-*.

◊ JLTT 710.

‖ The Jpn. form goes back to **keju-(ga)-*. The Turkic parallel raises doubts: the isolated Chuv. form may stem from Mari *kaj-* 'to go' (< FU **käwe*, UEW 654), as suggested in VEWT 221.

***kekŋV** breast, chest, ribs: Tung. ***keŋ-tire**; Mong. ***keŋgir-**; Turk. ***gEgrek**.

PTung. ***keŋ-tire** 1 breast, chest 2 side (of body) (1 грудь 2 бок): Evk. *keŋtire* 1; Evn. *kēntɔre* 1; Nan. *keŋtere* 1; Ud. *keŋte* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 451.

PMong. ***keŋgir-** chest (грудь): WMong. *keŋgirdeg*; Kh. *xenxerceg, xenxreg*; Kalm. *keŋgrtəg, keŋkrdəg*; Dag. *kenger* (Тод. Даг. 149).

◊ KW 226. Mong. > Man. *keŋgeri*, Sol. *xeŋer* (see Doerfer MT 138); Kirgh. *keŋirdek*.

PTurk. ***gEgrek** lower soft ribs (нижние мягкие ребра): Tur. *geγrek*; Turkm. *gejrek*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 14, Дыбо 307, Лексика 276.

‖ Дыбо 307, Лексика 232, 276. A Western isogloss.

***kek´V** palate, throat: Tung. ***kexere**; Mong. ***kekü-**; Turk. ***gekir-dek**.

PTung. ***kexere** hard palate (твердое нёбо): Ul. *kekere, kexere, xexere*; Nan. *xexere*; Orch. *kexe*; Ud. *ke* (Корм. 253).

◊ TMC 1, 445.

PMong. ***kekü-** 1 throat cavity 2 upper part of body, thorax (1 глоточная полость 2 верхняя часть туловища): WMong. *kekü̈deg* 2 (L 446: *kekü̈deg, kekü̈reg*), *kükege* 1; Kh. *xexdeg* 2, *xüxē* 1; Ord. *geχüdek* 2.

PTurk. ***gekir-dek** throat, trachea, cartilage (глотка, трахея, хрящ): Tur. *gegirtlek* (dial.); Turkm. *kekirdek*; MTurk. *kekirtek* (MA); Uzb. *kekirdak*; Uygh. *keki(r)däk*; Tat. *kikertäk* (KCTT); Bashk. *kigerläk* (dial.); Kirgh. *kekirtek*; KKalp. *kegirdek*; Nogh. *kekirdevik*; Chuv. *kaɣər*.

◊ VEWT 248, ЭСТЯ 5, 26, Лексика 232. In many languages the word was influenced by the verb **gēkir-* 'to belch'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***kela (~ k´-, -o)** to rise, jump up, soar: Mong. ***kali-**; Turk. ***Kạl(i̯)-**.

PMong. ***kali-** to fly, soar (парить): WMong. *qali-* (L 919); Kh. *xali-*; Bur. *xali-*; Kalm. *xälə-*; Ord. *xali-*.

◊ KW 176.

PTurk. ***Kạl(i̯)-*** 1 to rise 2 jump up (1 подниматься 2 подпрыгивать): OTurk. *qalı-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qalı-* (MK, KB) 2; Tur. *kalk(ı)-* 2, *kal-dır-* (caus.); Az. *Galx-* 1, *Gal-dır-* (caus.); Turkm. *Galk-* 1, *Gal-dır-* (caus.); MTurk. *qalq-* (Pav. C., Бул.) 1, (Houts., IM) 2, *qal-dur-* (caus.) (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qalq-* 1, *qalqi-* 1, 2; Tat. *qalq-* 1,2; Bashk. *qalq-* 1; Kirgh. *qalqı-* 1; Kaz. *qalqı-* 1; KKalp. *qalqı-* 1; Kum. *qalq-* 1; Nogh. *qalq-* 1; Khak. *xalı-* 1,2 (dial. Sag.); Oyr. *qalı-* 1,2; Tv. *xalı-* 1,2; Yak. *kilij-* 1,2.

◊ VEWT 226, ЭСТЯ 5, 224-226.

‖ KW 163, 176, 177, ОСНЯ 1, 335. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; but a suffixed form **kel-k'a-* may be discoverable in OJ *kaker-* 'to fly, soar' (see Miller-Street 1975, 73-75, Street 1985, 641).

kele (~ -i, -o)** daughter-in-law, bride: Tung. ***keli; Turk. ***gẹlin***.

PTung. ***keli*** 1 relative-in-law 2 girl, sister (1 свойственник, -ца 2 девушка, сестра): Evk. *keli(n)* 1, *kiliwlī* 2; Evn. *keli* 1; Neg. *keli* 1, *kelewlị* 2; Man. *keli* 1; Ul. *keli(n)* 1; Ork. *keli(n)* 1; Nan. *keli* 1; Orch. *keli* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 393, 446.

PTurk. ***gẹlin*** bride, daughter-in-law (невеста, невестка): OTurk. *kelin-ün* (Orkh., Coll.), *kelin* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kelin* (MK, KB); Tur. *gelin*; Gag. *gelin*; Az. *gälin*; Turkm. *gelin*; Sal. *kein, kiin* (ССЯ); Khal. *kälin* (*gälin* < Az.); MTurk. *kelin* (Sangl., Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *kelin*; Uygh. *kelin*; Krm. *kelin*; Tat. *kilen*; Bashk. *kilen*; Kirgh. *kelin*; Kaz. *kelin*; KBalk. *kelin*; KKalp. *kelin*; Kum. *gelin*; Nogh. *kelin*; SUygh. *kelin* (Malov); Khak. *kilən*; Shr. *kelin*; Oyr. *kelin*; Tv. *kelin*; Tof. *helin, henni-*; Chuv. *kin, kilən-*; Yak. *kijīt* (*plur.).

◊ VEWT 248, EDT 719, ЭСТЯ 3, 16-18, Лексика 302.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 296, Räsänen 1955, 18:3, 9. A well known Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Despite Doerfer TMN 3, 667 (Tung.-Turk.: "...der Vergleich zweifelhaft bleibt"; Turk. **gelin* < *gel- 'come' - "ethnologisch sehr überzeugende Etymologie"...), the relation between PT **gẹl-* 'to come' and **gẹlin* 'daughter-in-law' is purely folk-etymological.

kelta(rV)** variegated, spotted: Tung. ***kelder; Mong. ***kaltar***; Turk. ***Kartal***.

PTung. ***kelder*** 1 variegated, spotted 2 mole (1 пестрый, пятнистый 2 родимое пятно): Evn. *keldъr* 2; Neg. *keldejin* 1; Ul. *kelderu(n)* 1; Ork. *kelderu* 1; Orch. *kegdi* 1; Ud. *kedei* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 446.

PMong. ***kaltar*** variegated, dirty, brown (of horse) (пестрый, грязный, гнедой (о лошади)): WMong. *qaltar* (MXTTT); Kh. *xaltar*; Bur. *xaltar*; Kalm. *xaltər* (KPC); Ord. *Galtar*; Mog. ? *kala* 'spotted' (Weiers); Dag. *kaltār* (Тод. Дар. 148).

◊ Mong. > Manchu. *qaltara* 'a brown horse with white around the mouth and eyes' (see Rozycki 131).

PTurk. ***Kartal** variegated (sheep) (пестрый (баран)): Karakh. *qartal qoj* (MK).

◊ EDT 648-649.

‖ A Western isogloss; cf. perhaps OJ *kata-na-* 'dirty' (if not = *kitana-* id.). Turkic reflects a metathesized form (**Kartal* < **Kaltar*).

***kèĺčo** to scrape, rub: Tung. ***keli-**; Mong. ***kalča-**; Turk. ***Kạĺčï-**; Jpn. ***kàsù-r-**; Kor. ***kǎr-**.

PTung. ***keli-** 1 knife, blade 2 to cut, cut out (1 нож, лезвие 2 резать, вырезать): Evk. *keli* 1; Evn. *kēlre* 1; Ork. *keli-* 2; Nan. *keli-* 2; Ud. *keli-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 446.

PMong. ***kalča-** 1 to flay, tear off 2 to be flayed (1 сдирать, отдирать 2 облезать (о коже)): MMong. *qalčaruqsan nuqai* 'облезлая собака' (MA 289); WMong. *qalčala-* 1, *qalcara-* 2 (L 918: *qalčar-*); Kh. *xalcla-* 1, *xalcra-* 2; Bur. *xalsar-* 2; Kalm. *xalcṛ-* 2.

◊ KW 163.

PTurk. ***Kạĺčï-** to scrape (скрести, царапать): Karakh. *qaši-* (MK); Tur. *kaši-*; Az. *Gaši-*; Turkm. *Gaša-*; MTurk. *qaši-* (Abush., MA); Uzb. *qaši-*; Tat. *qaši-*; Bashk. *qaši-*; Kirgh. *qaši-*; Kaz. *qasï-*; KKalp. *qasï-*; Nogh. *qasï-*; Chuv. *xiś-*; Yak. *kihij-*.

◊ VEWT 240, ЭСТЯ 5, 348, Мудрак 98. Turkic is a probable source of MMong *qaši'ur* 'scraper' (cf. Chag. *qašaɣu* etc., see Щербак 1997, 135).

PJpn. ***kàsù-r-** to scrape (скрести, царапать): MJpn. *kàsù-r-*; Tok. *kasúr-u*; Kyo. *kásúr-*; Kag. *kasúr-*.

◊ JLTT 705.

PKor. ***kǎr-** to rub, polish (тереть, полировать): MKor. *kǎr-*; Mod. *kāl-*.

◊ Nam 20, KED 43-44.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 81-82, АПиПЯЯ 75, Мудрак Дисс. 89-90.

***kèĺžo** bald, bald spot: Mong. ***kalža-**; Turk. ***KAĺ(č)ga**; Jpn. ***kàsìrà**; Kor. ***kór(čhí)**.

PMong. ***kalža-** bald, having a white blaze (лысый (о человеке), со звездочкой (о лошади)): MMong. *qalžan, qalčaɣai* (MA); WMong. *qalža(n), qalži(n), qalčaɣai* (L 918, 922-923); Kh. *xalzan, xalcgaj*; Bur. *xalzan, xalsagai*; Kalm. *xalcъɣã* 'haarlos, grasslos'; Ord. *xalžan*; Dag. *xalžin*; S.-Yugh. *GalžaŋGar*.

◊ KW 163, MGCD 319. The forms with -lč- are a result of contamination with **kalča-* 'to rub, flay, tear off' (v. sub **kèĺčo*); but neither can be borrowed from Turkic, despite Щербак 1997, 135. Mong. > Chag. *qalčiɣaj*; Manchu *qalža* etc. (see TMC 1, 366, Rozycki 130) > MKor. *kančjá măr* (Lee 1964, 190).

PTurk. ***KAÍ(č)ga*** white spot, white blaze (белое пятно, лысина): Karakh. *qašγa* (MK); Tur. *kaška*; Az. *GašGa*; Turkm. dial. *GašGa*; MTurk. *qašqa* (AH, MA); Uzb. *qɛšqɛ*; Uygh. *qašqa*; Tat. *qašqa*; Bashk. *qašqa*; Kirgh. *qašqa, qačqa*; Kaz. *qasqa*; KBalk. *qašxa*; KKalp. *qasqa*; Nogh. *qasqa*; Khak. *xasxa*; Shr. *qašqa*.

◊ VEWT 241, ЭСТЯ 5, 350-351. Cf. also the probable deriving stem in Tuva *xaš* 'worked thin leather', Tof. *xaš* 'naked, napless (skin)' (Рас. *Фил* 186).

PJpn. ***kàsìrà*** head (голова): OJpn. *kasira*; MJpn. *kàsirá, kàsìrà*; Tok. *kashirá*; Kyo. *káshìrà*; Kag. *kashirá*.

◊ JLTT 441 ('head; chief'). The word means 'head' (also 'head part', 'chief part') in most modern and Middle Japanese sources (explicitly so in Wamyōshō); KKJ (p. 232) also lists the meaning 'hair of head' (attested in Tosa Nikki), obviously secondary, with a rather natural semantic transition. IKJ (p. 297) glosses the word as "denoting the whole head including the hair and face", as opposed to *kaube* (= *kami-be*) denoting only the top of the head and to *atama* "fontanelle". The only clear OJ (Man'yōshū 4346) example (kasira kakinade...) may be well translated (and usually is translated) as 'stroking the head'. Therefore the idea (see Vovin 2000) that the original meaning of *kasira* was 'hair of head' (the meaning that was always expressed in Japanese as *kami*) is most certainly wrong - just as his attempt to link it with the rather obscure Old Korean 麻帝核試 (MC *mą-tiej-xăik-śi*) 'hair of head'. The latter should be probably read as [*məri-γak-si*], where *məri-* is 'head', while -γak-si may stand for *kark-[si]* - with *kark-* being identical to MKor. *kārki* 'mane', modern *məri-kharak* 'hair of head'. Despite the uncertainty of Old Korean readings in general and of -si in Old Korean -γak-si, it seems much more reasonable to link the Old Korean and later Korean sources than to invent a new Old Korean word **kasi* 'hair' and compare it with a wrongly interpreted Old Japanese word.

PKor. ***kór(čhí)*** brain, marrow (мозг): MKor. *kor, kór-čhí*; Mod. *kol*.

◊ Nam 51, KED 156. The meaning 'head' in modern dialects proves that the original meaning was 'brain, head' (in literary Korean the word usually means 'marrow' while 'brain' is expressed as *məri-kɔl*, lit. "head brain"). The meaning 'marrow' may have been additionally induced by the analogy with *kol-su* (MKor. *kor-sju*) 'bone marrow', borrowed from MC 骨髓 *kot-sjwé*; but Kor. **kor* itself has of course nothing to do with MC *kot* 'bone'.

‖ KW 163, Poppe 17 (Doerfer TMN 3, 479: "aus phonetischen Gründen unsicher"). The meaning 'head' in Kor.-Jpn. (whence 'brain' in Kor.) is secondary, with a universally usual semantic shift (< 'bald spot'; cf. Slavic **golъ* 'bare, naked' and **golva* 'head' etc.; see Фасмер 1, 429). -čhí in MKor. may either reflect the variation of the reflexes of *-Íʒ- (it is interesting to note also MKor. *kărčhjəŋ* 'young skin of a plant', which may actually reflect the same root), or a compound with -čhi 'stuff, thing'. Cf. also **kelčo* 'to scrape, rub': the two roots tend to be confused with each other.

✱***kéma*** **(~ k'-, g-)** stove, cauldron: Turk. ***Kemeke***; Jpn. ***kámá***; Kor. ***kàmá***.

PTurk. ***Kemeke*** stove, stove hole (печь, углубление в печи): Kirgh. *kemege*; Khak. *kimege*; Shr. *kebege*; Oyr. *kemege*; Chuv. *kъʷmaga*.

◊ VEWT 250, ЭСТЯ 5, 35-36, Мудрак 94, *Лексика* 359.

PJpn. ***kámá*** stove (печь, очаг): OJpn. *kama, kama-dwo*; MJpn. *kámá*; Tok. *kàma, kamado*; Kyo. *kámá*; Kag. *káma*.

◊ JLTT 435.

PKor. ***kàmá*** cauldron (котел): MKor. *kàmá*; Mod. *kama*.

◊ Nam 4, KED 14.

‖ SKE 90.

✱**kĕma (~ -o)** to gnaw, bite: Tung. ***kem-ki-***; Mong. ***kemeli-***; Turk. ****gEmür-***; Jpn. ****kàm-***.

PTung. ***kem-ki-*** to bite (of a dog, goose) (кусать, хватать за ноги): Man. *kemki-*.

◊ TMC 1, 448. Attested only in Manchu, but probably archaic (cf. the external evidence).

PMong. ***kemeli-, kemi-*** 1 to gnaw 2 to bite (1 грызть 2 кусать): MMong. *kemile-* 1 (MA); WMong. *kemeli-, kemele-* (L 451), *kemile-* 1; *kemki-* 2 (DO 413); Kh. *ximle-, xemle-* 1; Bur. *ximel-* 1; Kalm. *kemḷ-* 1; Ord. *kemele-* 1, *kemχel-* 2; Dag. *keme-* (Тод. Даг. 149) 1 (MGCD *keḿ-, kemi-*); Bao. *kamel-* 2; S.-Yugh. *kemle-* 1 (MGCD *kelme-*); Mongr. *xamla-* 1.

◊ KW 225, MGCD 348, 350. Cf. also *kemki-* 'to grind, to bite'.

PTurk. ****gEmür-*** to gnaw (грызть, глодать): Karakh. *kemür-* (MK); Tur. *gemir-, kemir-*; Gag. *kemir-*; Az. *gämir-*; Turkm. *gemir-*; MTurk. *kömür-* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *kemir-*; Uygh. *kemi(r)-*; Krm. *kemir-*; Tat. *kimer-*; Bashk. *kimer-*; Kirgh. *kemir-*; Kaz. *kemir-*; KBalk. *kemir-*; KKalp. *kemir-*; Kum. *gemir-*; Nogh. *kemir-*; Khak. *kimər-*; Oyr. *kemir-*; Tv. *xemir-*; Tof. *xemir-*; Yak. *kömürüö* 'spongy bone'.

◊ VEWT 251, EDT 723, ЭСТЯ 3, 18-19, Лексика 262.

PJpn. ****kàm-*** to bite (кусать): OJpn. *kam-*; MJpn. *kàm-*; Tok. *kám-*; Kyo. *kàm-*; Kag. *kám-*.

◊ JLTT 703.

‖ KW 225, АПиПЯЯ 112, 274, Лексика 262. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. is impossible (despite Щербак 1997, 126); the Manchu form, however, may be < Mong. (see Rozycki 137).

✱**kemŕa** shoulderblade: Tung. ***kende***; Mong. ****kemde-***; Turk. ****[k]Ebŕe***.

PTung. ***kende*** shoulderblade (лопатка): Evk. *kendekē*; Evn. *kēndъt*; Neg. *kendexe*; Ork. *kende*.

◊ TMC 1, 448.

PMong. ****kemde-*** bone in horse's foot (кость в ноге лошади): Kalm. *kemdəgṇ*.

◊ KW 224.

PTurk. ****[k]Ebŕe*** shoulderblade (лопатка): Tur. *kebze* 'shoulderblade, augury'; Gag. *kebze*; Az. *gäbzä* 'handle'; Turkm. *kebze*; MTurk. *kebze* 'shoulder' (Sangl.); Tat. *kɛwsɛ* 'tree stem'; Bashk. *kɛwδɛ* 'body'; Kaz. *kebze, köwzö* (R); KKalp. *kebze* 'breast'.

◊ VEWT 245, EDT 905, Лексика 242-243. The quality of the initial velar is not quite clear: the Az. form perhaps preserves an archaism, while other Oghuz forms may be kypchakisms; otherwise its Altaic connections become more dubious. KKalp. *kepše* 'shoulderblade' quoted in VEWT means in reality 'a small shovel' (Russ. лопатка), from Pers. *kapča* = Osm. *kepče* 'ein grosser Löffel' (VEWT 254)

‖ Дыбо 306, Лексика 243. A Western isogloss.

✱**kemV** a k. of fruit with seeds inside: Tung. ***kemu-kte**; Mong. ***kemeke**; Kor. ***kām**.

PTung. ***kemu-kte** 1 rowan (berry) 2 a k. of berry, shamrock (1 рябина (ягода) 2 кислица, костяника): Evk. *kempi* 1 (Sakh.); Orch. *kēmukte* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 448.

PMong. ***kemeke** small pumpkin, cucumber, gourd (маленькая тыква, огурец, арбуз): WMong. *kemeke* (L 451); Kh. *хемх*.

PKor. ***kām** persimmon (хурма): MKor. *kām*; Mod. *kām*.

◊ Liu 29, KED 49.

‖ One is also tempted to compare PJ **kákí* 'persimmon' (< **kem-k'a*), but the word can be alternatively compared with TM **gaka-kta* 'cranberry' (TMC 1, 136). Cf. also other similar plant names: **kiomga*, **giaŋu*, **k'éma*.

✱**kènda** a k. of ungulate animal: Tung. ***kēnde**; Mong. ***kandagaj**; Turk. ***KAt**.

PTung. ***kēnde** harnessed deer (упряжной олень): Evn. *kēnde*; Man. *xančí-la-* 'to gather in herds (of deer in summer)'.

◊ TMC 1, 448, 461.

PMong. ***kandagaj** elk (лось): MMong. *qandaqai* (SH); WMong. *qandaγai* (L 927); Kh. *xandgai*; Bur. *xandagai*; Kalm. *xandəγā* (KPC); Dag. *xandag* (Тод. Даг. 173); S.-Yugh. *χandaχan*.

◊ MGCD 325. Mong. > Evk. *kandaγā* etc., see TMC 1, 372, TMN 1, 420, Rozycki 132; > Russ. Siber. *kandagáj*, see Аникин 255.

PTurk. ***KAt (?)** a fabulous animal, unicorn (сказочное животное, единорог): OTurk. *qat* (OUygh.: Chin.-Uygh. Dict.); MTurk. (Xwar.) *qat* (Oghuz-nama).

◊ VEWT 241, TMN 4, 393, EDT 593. Somewhat dubious: the word may represent a rendering of Sanskr. *khaḍga* 'rhinoceros' (through Tokharian?); cf. OUygh. *ktki* 'id.'.

‖ A Western isogloss; not quite reliable because of poor attestation (and possible borrowed nature?) in Turkic and TM. Cf. OJ. *kédá-mono* 'animal' (?).

✱**ke(n)da (~ -o)** a k. of coniferous tree: Tung. ***kende-**; Turk. ***Kạdɨ**.

PTung. ***kende-** a k. of tree (вид дерева): Nan. *kendele(n)*, *kendelē(n)* (Он.) 'thuja'; Orch. *kēndēlē* 'name of a tree'; Ud. *kendele* 'red tree' (Корм. 254).

◊ TMC 1, 449.

PTurk. ***Kạdɨ*** pine tree (сосна): Khak. *xara-xazɨ*; Tv. *xadɨ*; Tof. *xadɨ*; Chuv. *xĭrъ*; Yak. *kɨtɨan* 'juniper'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 291-292, Мудрак Дисс. 179. Most languages reflect the compound **Kara-kạdɨ* (borrowed in Mong. as *qaraǰai* 'larch').

‖ A not quite certain Turk.-Tung. isogloss; Helimski 1995 supposed a loan in Turk. < Sam. **kaəṭi̯a*.

✱**kenta** threshold, gate: Tung. ***kende-***; Jpn. ***kántuà***.

PTung. ***kende-*** 1 threshold 2 to hinder, obstruct (1 порог 2 загораживать, отгораживать): Neg. *kende* 1; Ul. *kenderxi(n)* 1, *kenǯi-* 2; Nan. *kenderxĭ* 1, *kēnǯi-* 2; Orch. *kenderku, kenderxi* 1, *kēndi-* 2; Ud. *kondopti* 1 (Корм. 250).

◊ TMC 1, 448.

PJpn. ***kántuà*** gate (ворота): OJpn. *kadwo*; MJpn. *kádò*; Tok. *kádo*; Kyo. *kádò*; Kag. *kadó*.

◊ JLTT 431. The Kyoto and Kagoshima accent is quite irregular - obviously, due to a merger with **kàntúa* 'corner'.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**kènǯé** late: Mong. ***kenǯe***; Turk. ***gEnč***; Jpn. ***kànsə́***.

PMong. ***kenǯe*** late, aftermath; late-grown crop, late-born child (поздний урожай, поздний ребенок): WMong. *kenǯe* (L 454); Kh. *xenǯ*; Bur. *xenze*; Kalm. *kenzə* (KPC); Ord. *kenǯi* 'late-born (about the second lamb or yeanling of the same year)', *kenǯile-* 'agneler deux fois par an'; Mongr. *kinǯ́ēle-* 'agneler deux fois par an' (SM 204).

◊ Mong. > Chag. *kenǯe* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 3, 20-21); Evk. *kenǯe* etc., see TMN 1, 488, Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 138.

PTurk. ***gEnč*** young, child (молодой, ребенок): OTurk. *kenč* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kenč* (MK, KB); Tur. *genč/ǯ-*; Gag. *genč/ǯ-*; Az. *gänǯ*; Krm. *genč*.

◊ EDT 727, ЭСТЯ 3, 20-21, VEWT 252 (not < Pers., despite Räsänen; see TMN 1, 488).

PJpn. ***kànsə́*** last year; last night (прошлый год; прошлая ночь): OJpn. *kozo*; MJpn. *kòzó*.

◊ JLTT 460.

‖ Ramstedt 1951, 66. Despite TMN 1, 488, Clark 1980, 43 hardly borrowed in Mong. from Turk. (the semantics is too different for a borrowing).

✱**kēńa** front leg, armpit, angle: Tung. ***keńe-*** / ***kuńe-***; Mong. ***ka(i)***; Turk. ***Kājnat***; Jpn. ***kanai***.

PTung. ***keńe-*** / ***kuńe-*** 1 shin 2 stockings (1 голень, колено 2 унты): Evk. *keńete, kuńetu* 2; Evn. *kēńeče* 2, *kōnčen* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 420, 449.

PMong. ***ka(i)** front legs (передние ноги): MMong. *qa, qaji(n)* (SH); WMong. *qa, qaγa* (L 895: *qa* 'the part of the foreleg of an animal between the shoulder and the knee'); Kh. *xaa*; Bur. *xa*; Kalm. *xā*.

◊ KW 166.

PTurk. ***Kājnat** 1 wing 2 fin (1 крыло 2 плавник): OTurk. *qanat* (OUygh.- YB) 1; Karakh. *qanat* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *kanat* 1, 2; Gag. *qanat* 1; Az. *Ganad, gänäd* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *Gānat* 1; Sal. *qanat* (Kakuk,ССЯ); MTurk. *qanat* (Abush., MA) 1; Uzb. *qanɔt* 1; Uygh. *qanat* 1; Krm. *qanat* 1, 2; Tat. *qanat* 1; Bashk. *qanat* 1; Kirgh. *qanat* 1; Kaz. *qanat* 1; KBalk. *qanat* 1, 2; KKalp. *qanat* 1; Kum. *qanat* 1; Nogh. *qanat* 1; SUygh. *qejnat* 1; Khak. *xanat* 1, 2; Shr. *qanat* 1; Oyr. *qanat* 1, 2, *qanar* 2; Chuv. *śonat* 1, 2; Yak. *kɨnat, kɨ̄ŋat* 1; Dolg. *kɨnat* 1.

◊ VEWT 230, TMN 3, 518, EDT 635, ЭСТЯ 5, 252-253, Федотов 2, 137, Лексика 149-150, Stachowski 168. Initial *ś-* in Chuv. is unclear (effect of **-j-*?).

PJpn. ***kanai** rule, gusset (наугольник, ластовица): MJpn. *kane*; Tok. *kane*.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 304; Дыбо 312-313; VEWT 230, Лексика 149-150. Cf. also Kalm. *xanə* 'маховые перья' (KW 165, АПиПЯЯ 289); but due to restricted distribution in Mong. this form should be rather considered a Turkism (see Щербак 1997, 133).

***kə̀ńu** distress, envy: Tung. ***kēńe-**; Mong. ***ken- / *kin-**; Turk. ***köń- (~ -j-)**; Jpn. ***kuna-**.

PTung. ***kēńe-** 1 be superstitious 2 to praise, flatter 3 to speak, tell 4 to curse, rebuke 5 to doubt, suspect (1 быть суеверным 2 хвалить 3 говорить, объяснять 4 ругать 5 сомневаться, подозревать): Evk. *kēńe-* 2; Evn. *kēńew-* 1; Neg. *kēńe-* 2; Man. *xendu-* 3, *kenexunže-* 5; Jurch. *xen-du-ru* (467) 3; Ork. *ken-* 3, *kene-* 2; Ud. *keni-* 4; Sol. *xēnī-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 448, 449-450.

PMong. ***ken- / *kin-** 1 psychosis, distress 2 to grudge, envy (1 психоз, расстройство 2 завидовать): MMong. *kinetu* 'злопамятный' (MA); WMong. *kenege* 1 (L 453), *kinu-* 2 (L 470); Kh. *xenē* 1, *xana-* 2; Bur. *xenē* 'болезненность'; Ord. *kenē* 'maladie chronique'; Mongr. *ćinźi, ćinći* 'colère' (SM 451).

◊ Mong. *kinu-* > Man. *kinu-* id. (see Rozycki 140).

PTurk. ***köń- (~ -j-)** 1 to suffer, grieve 2 to regret 3 to envy 4 to be angry 5 to offend 6 grief, sorrow (1 страдать, горевать 2 жалеть 3 завидовать 4 гневаться 5 обижать 6 печаль): Karakh. *küj- ~ köj-*: *köŋli küjüp* 'with pain in one's heart' (MK), *küj-* 4 (KB); Az. *göjnä-* 2; Turkm. *köj-* 1; Khal. (*jirek*) *kiẹn-* 1; Uzb. *kuj-, kujin-* 1; Uygh. *köj-, köjün-* 1; Tat. *köjü-, köjen-* 1; Bashk. *köj-* 1, *köjönös* 6; Kirgh. *küj-, küjün-* 1; Kaz. *küj-, küjin-* 1; KBalk. *küj-, küjün-* 1, *küjük* 'envious'; KKalp. *küj-, küjin-* 1; Kum.

güj- 1; Nogh. *küj-*, *küjün-* 1; Khak. *köj-* 3; Oyr. *küj-dür-* 5, *küjün-* 3; Chuv. *kᵃʷvəś-* 3.

◊ EDT 726. In all languages the root is completely homonymous with the reflexes of **kön-* 'to burn' (v. sub **kʹüńe*), which throws doubts on its etymological independence.

PJpn. ***kuna-** madness, psychosis (сумасшествие, психоз): OJpn. *kuna-tabure*; *kata-kuna* 'stupid, obstinate'.

◊ JLTT 443.

‖ In Turkic one would expect **geń-*; the root, however, has since the oldest texts almost completely merged with PT **köń-* 'to burn', so as to become almost indistinguishable from the latter. See also notes to **gün̄o*.

✱**kə̑ŋi** hollow, empty: Tung. ***keŋ-**; Mong. ***keŋ-, *köŋ-**; Turk. ***geŋiŕ**; Kor. ***kíń-**.

PTung. ***keŋ-** 1 emptiness 2 to empty 3 hole, ice-hole 4 emptied (1 пустота 2 опорожнять 3 впадина, прорубь 4 опустевший): Evk. *keŋku-tēk* 1, *keŋre* 3, *keŋgur* 4; Evn. *kōŋkī-* 2, *kēŋgule* 3; Ud. *keŋku* 1 (Корм. 254).

◊ TMC 1, 450-451.

PMong. ***keŋ-, *köŋ-** 1 to be empty, hollow, sunken 2 hole, hollow (1 быть пустым, полым, впалым 2 дыра, полость): WMong. *keŋkeji-* (L 454), *köŋkeji-* (L 489) 1, *köndei* (L 487) 2; Kh. *xenxij-*, *xönxij-* 1, *xöndöj* 2; Bur. *xünxi* 'hollow under ice'; Kalm. *köndä* 2 (KPC); Ord. *köŋχī-* , *xoŋxō-*; Dag. *kuēndī* 2 (Тод. Дар. 150); Mongr. *keŋgī* (SM 196), *koŋ* 1.

◊ MGCD 374. Mong. > Kirgh. *köŋdöj* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 5, 106-107); > Dolg. *keŋkej-*; Yak., Dolg. *köŋdöj* (see Stachowski 145, 156).

PTurk. ***geŋiŕ** nasal cavity (полость носа): Tur. *geniz*; Az. *gäniz*, *gänzik*; Turkm. *geŋz-ew* 'nasal'; Kirgh. *keŋilžer*; Yak. *keŋerī* 'bridge of nose'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 27, Лексика 216.

PKor. ***kíń-** nest (гнездо): MKor. *kís* 'nest', *kíń-* 'to nest'; Mod. *kit* (*kis*).

◊ Nam 83, KED 282.

‖ ЭСТЯ 5, 107 (Mong.-Tung.). In Mong. the root has several expressive variants (cf. also PA **kʹeŋa*). In Kor. an early palatalization occurred (*-ŋi- > -ń-). See also notes to PA **kʹə̄mŋV* 'wide'.

✱**keŋV** to bite, gnaw: Tung. ***keŋi-**; Turk. ***KEŋdi-**.

PTung. ***keŋi-** to bite, gnaw (кусать, глодать): Evk. *keŋi-*; Neg. *kēŋi-*; Nan. *keŋne-*.

◊ TMC 1, 450.

PTurk. ***KEŋdi-** to gnaw (глодать): Karakh. *keŋdi-* (KB); Khak. *keŋne-* (R. Sag.); Shr. *keŋdi-*.

◊ VEWT 253 (all forms found only in Radlov's dictionary: R 2, 1071, 1072).

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kēpu** to chew: Tung. ***keb-***; Mong. ***kebi-***; Turk. ***gēb-***; Jpn. ***kùp-***.

PTung. ***keb-*** 1 to gnaw, bite (with front teeth) 2 to pierce through 3 a big arrow (1 грызть, кусать (передними зубами) 2 продырявить 3 большая стрела, пробивающая насквозь): Evk. *kewde-* 2; Evn. *kēwri-* 1; Man. *kejfule-* 2, *kejfu* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 442.

PMong. ***kebi-*** to chew (жевать): MMong. *kebi-* (MA); WMong. *kebi-* (L 439); Kh. *xeve-* (Gomb.); Bur. *xibe-* 'жевать (только о жвачных животных)'; Kalm. *kew-*; Ord. *kəwe-*; S.-Yugh. *kewə-*; Mongr. *kēji-* (SM 199), (MGCD *kē-*).

◊ KW 229, MGCD 348.

PTurk. ***gēb-*** to chew (жевать): Karakh. *kev-* (MK); Tur. *gev-*; Gag. *gevše-*; Az. *göjüš* 'cud'; Turkm. *găvü-š* 'cud'; Sal. *küšä-*; Khal. *kăviš* 'cud'; MTurk. *keviš* 'cud' (MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *kawša-*; Uygh. *köjši-*; Krm. *kövše-n-*; Tat. *küšä-*; Bashk. *köjöš* 'cud'; Kirgh. *küj-š-ö-*; Kaz. *küjis* 'cud'; KKalp. *güjse-*; Kum. *güjše-*; Nogh. *küjze-*; Khak. *kipse-n-*; Shr. *kepže-n-*; Oyr. *kepše-*; Tv. *kegže-n-*; Tof. *kegže-*; Chuv. *kavle-*; Yak. *kebī-*.

◊ VEWT 244, EDT 687, ЭСТЯ 3, 5-7.

PJpn. ***kùp-*** to eat (есть): OJpn. *kup-*; MJpn. *kùf-*; Tok. *kú-*; Kyo. *kù-*; Kag. *kù-*.

◊ JLTT 718.

‖ KW 229, Poppe 20, 46, ОСНЯ 1, 293, АПиПЯЯ 15, 69, 109, 279, Ozawa 208-209, Дыбо 14, Лексика 227. Correspondences are regular except for low tone in Jpn. (high tone would be expected).

✱**kĕpV** upper part of body (trunk): Tung. ***keb-te***; Mong. ***keberdeg***; Turk. ***gebde***.

PTung. ***keb-te*** 1 belt 2 to bulge (of belly) (1 пояс, набрюшник 2 выпятить живот): Evk. *kebder-* 2; Man. *xebtexe* 1; Jurch. *xebu-de* (227) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 387-8, 442.

PMong. ***keberdeg*** body (rump, breast and belly) (тело, туша (крестец, грудь и живот)): WMong. *keberdeg*; Kalm. *kewrdg*; Ord. *kemerdek* 'thorax, chest'.

◊ KW 229.

PTurk. ***gebde*** upper part of body (верхняя часть тела): OTurk. *kövdöŋ* (OUygh.); Tur. *gövde*; Az. *gövdä*; Turkm. *gövde, gövre*; Uzb. *gavda*; Krm. *gövde*; Tat. *gɛwdɛ* (dial.); Kirgh. *kŏdö, kŏdön*; Kaz. *kewde*; KKalp. *gewde, kewde*; Nogh. *kewde*; Chuv. *xevte, xəvtü* 'power'.

◊ EDT 688, VEWT 259, ЭСТЯ 3, 52-53, Егоров 297, Федотов 2, 339-340, Дыбо 5, Лексика 267.

‖ Дыбо 5, Лексика 267. A Western isogloss. The root is sometimes difficult to distinguish from ***kĕp'V*** 'belly' and ***k'eba*** 'corpse', due to natural contaminations.

***kĕp'à** face, shape: Tung. ***kepe**; Mong. ***keɣe**; Turk. ***gĕp**; Jpn. ***kápúa**.

PTung. ***kepe** 1 jaw 2 gills 3 boards (on boat's front) (1 челюсть 2 жабры 3 передние доски (на лодке)): Evk. *kewe* 1; Evn. *kewē* 1; Ul. *kepi(n)* 2, 3; Ork. *kepi* 3; Nan. *kepī* 2, 3.

◊ TMC 1, 442-443, 451. Despite Poppe 1974, 132, Evk. *kewe* has nothing to do with Mong. *köbege* 'edge'.

PMong. ***keɣe** ornament, form, example (украшение, форма, пример): WMong. *kege(n)* (L 442); Kh. *xē*; Bur. *xē*; Kalm. *kē*.

◊ KW 230. Mong. > Tat. *kiiä*, Turk. *kiia* etc. (VEWT 247).

PTurk. ***gĕp** form, example, image (форма, пример, изображение): OTurk. *kɐp* (~ -i-) (OUygh.); Karakh. *keb* (~ -i-) (MK); Turkm. *gă̈p*; MTurk. *kä̈p* (AH); Kirgh. *kep*; KKalp. *kep*; Kum. *kep*; Nogh. *kep*; SUygh. *kep*; Khak. kip; Shr. *kä̈p*; Oyr. *kep*; Tv. *xep*; Chuv. *kap*; Yak. *kiep*.

◊ EDT 686, VEWT 253, ЭСТЯ 5, 44-45 (> Mong. *keb*, see Щербак 1997, 127). Bulg. > Old Slav. *kapъ*. Turk. > Hung. *kép* 'image', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kápúa** face (лицо): OJpn. *kap(w)o*; MJpn. *káfó*; Tok. *kào*; Kyo. *káó*; Kag. *káo*.

◊ JLTT 438.

‖ A good common Altaic root; the original meaning is 'face' or 'jaws', with a more abstract meaning 'shape' developed in the Western area (a very usual semantic development).

***kĕp'V** belly: Tung. ***kepel-**; Mong. ***keweli**; Turk. ***gĕp-**.

PTung. ***kepel-** belly, stomach (живот, желудок): Evn. *kъbъl*, *kēbъl*; Man. *xefeli*, *xefali*; SMan. *kevələ*, *xevələ* 'stomach, belly; bosom' (87); Jurch. *xefuli* (508).

◊ TMC 1, 387-388.

PMong. ***keweli** belly; pregnancy (живот; беременность): MMong. *ke'eli* (HY 47, SH), *kähäl* (IM), *kili* (MA); WMong. *kegel*, *kebel* (L 438, 442: *kegeli*, *kebeli*); Kh. *xēl*, arch. *xevel*; Bur. *xēli*; Kalm. *kēlə*, *kewl*; Ord. *kēl* 'foetus'; Dag. *kēli* (Тод. Дат. 149, MD 182); Dong. *kieli*; Bao. *kele*; Mongr. *kēle* (SM 198).

◊ KW 230, MGCD 337.

PTurk. ***gĕp-** 1 to swell, swollen (of belly) 2 to become pregnant, pregnant 3 to be arrogant, inflated (1 пухнуть (о животе) 2 беременеть, беременная 3 чваниться, важничать): Tur. *gebe* 2; Gag. *gebe* 2; Az. *gäbiz* 'constipation'; Turkm. *gă̈be* 1; MTurk. *gebe* 2 (Pav. C.); Tat. *kɑpɑr-*, *kɑprɑj-* 3; Bashk. *kɑpɑj-* 1, *kɑprɑj-* 3; Kirgh. *kebeže*, *keber* 1; Kaz. *kebeže* 1; KKalp. *kep-*, *gebeže* 1; Tv. *xever-* 1; Chuv. *kabar* 'insatiable, gluttonous'; Yak. *kiebir-* 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 36. The root is partially confused (and contaminated) with **gebre-* 'to die, corpse' (v. sub **kāpi*).

‖ Владимирцов 205. Despite Doerfer MT 93, Rozycki 104 the TM forms cannot easily be explained as mongolisms (except Sol. *kêli*). The root is homonymous (except for the final vowel which is in this case unknown) with **kēp'a* 'shape', and one wonders if it is in fact not the same root, but semantically influenced by another similar one, PA **kepV* 'upper part of body'.

✱**kéra** belly; body, ribs: Tung. ***kerimuk**; Turk. ***Kạrïn**; Jpn. ***kárá-(n)tá**; Kor. ***kari**.

PTung. ***keri-muk** intestine, part of stomach (кишка, внутренность желудка): Evk. *kerimek*; Evn. *korịmkị*.

◊ TMC 1, 453.

PTurk. ***Kạrïn** belly (живот): OTurk. *qarïn* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qarïn* (MK, KB); Tur. *karın*; Gag. *qarın*; Az. *Garın*; Turkm. *Garın*; Sal. *qarın-taš* 'a relative' (ССЯ); Khal. *qārïn*; MTurk. *qarın* (Sangl., Houts., AH, MA, IM); Uzb. *qɔrin*; Uygh. *qerin*; Krm. *qarın*; Tat. *qarın*; Bashk. *qarın*; Kirgh. *qarïn*; Kaz. *qarın*; KBalk. *qarın*; KKalp. *qarın*; Kum. *qarın*; Nogh. *qarın*; SUygh. *qarïn*; Khak. *xarın*; Shr. *qarnï*; Oyr. *qarïn*; Tv. *xïrïn*; Tof. *xïrïn*; Chuv. *хĕрăм*; Yak. *xarïn* 'rumen; belly'.

◊ VEWT 238, EDT 661, ЭСТЯ 5, 321-322, Лексика 277.

PJpn. ***kárá(n)tá** body (тело): Tok. *kàrada*; Kyo. *kárádá*; Kag. *karáda*.

◊ JLTT 438. The meaning 'body' is attested late, but there are some attestations of *kara* 'stem, stalk' (= 'body') already in Man'yōshū, apparently different from *kara* 'shell'.

PKor. ***kari** rib(s) (ребро, ребра): MKor. *kari-spjə*; Mod. *kalbi*.

◊ Nam 3, KED 46.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281, Дыбо 5, Лексика 277. Ramstedt (SKE 89) compares the Kor. form with Mong. *qarbiŋ* etc. (see **k'ịárme*), but this seems improper (the modern form *kalbi* goes back to MKor. *kari-spjə*). The Japanese form is somewhat insecure due to its late attestation and unclear suffix. In Mong cf. perhaps *kerseŋ* 'brisket'.

✱**kèra (~ -ŕ-)** to bind, wind around: Tung. ***kerge- (*kergi-)**; Mong. ***kere-**; Jpn. ***kàràm-**.

PTung. ***kerge- (*kergi-)** 1 circle, ring 2 to bind into bunches 3 to reel 4 bunch (1 круг, кольцо 2 связывать (в пучки) 3 наматывать 4 связка, пучок): Neg. *kejgeli* 1; Man. *xergi-*, *xerči-* 3; Ul. *kergi* 4, *kergin-* 2; Ork. *kejgeli* 1; Nan. *kergi* 4; Orch. *kežə-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 444. The Manchu form obviously belongs here and has nothing to do with Evk. *herke-* and MMong. *hergi-* (q. v. sub **p'erkV*), despite Rozycki 105.

PMong. ***kere-** to bind, join, unite (привязывать, соединять): WMong. *kere-*; Kh. *xere-*; Bur. *xere-*; Kalm. *ker-*; Ord. *kere-*, *kerü*.

◊ KW 227.

PJpn. ***kàràm-*** to wind around, to cling to (обвиваться, цепляться): OJpn. *karamar-*; MJpn. *kàràm-*; Tok. *karám-*; Kyo. *kárám-*; Kag. *karám-*.

◊ JLTT 704. The accent in Kagoshima is irregular (possibly under literary influence).

‖ EAS 107, KW 227, SKE 104, Poppe 79-80.

✱**kə́rdu (~ k′-)** a k. of bird of prey: Mong. ***kaǯir***; Turk. ***Kạ̄rt-***; Jpn. ***kútí***.

PMong. ***kaǯir*** vulture (гриф, стервятник): MMong. *qaǯir* 'mythical bird' (MA 406); WMong. *qaǯir* (L 949); Kh. *xaǯir*.

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *qaǯir* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 183-184.

PTurk. ***Kạ̄rt-*** falcon, hawk (сокол, ястреб): Tur. *kartal*; Turkm. dial. Gartal; MTurk. *qartal* (Houts., AH, Sangl.); Kirgh. *qartiya*; Kum. *qartaq*; Khak. *xartiγa*; Shr. *qartaγa*; Tv. *xartiya*; Yak. *kīrt, kīrdaj*; Dolg. *kīrt*.

◊ VEWT 234, ЭСТЯ 5, 316-318, Лексика 169, Stachowski 172. Turk. **Kartigaj* > MMong. *qarčiγaj* (SH *qarčiqai*), WMong. *qarčiγai* (see TMN 1, 404), whence again late MTurk. *qarčiγaj* (see TMN 1, 404-405, Щербак 1997, 208). Loans from Mong. are Man. *qarčin* 'kite' and MKor. *karčikai* 'yellow falcon' (see Lee 1958, 119, 1964, 191).

PJpn. ***kútí*** falcon (сокол): OJpn. *kuti*; MJpn. *kútí*.

◊ JLTT 467, Miller 1979.

‖ KW 170, Лексика 169.

✱**kergV (~ *k′-)** paunch: Mong. ***kerken-***; Turk. ***Kergük***.

PMong. ***kerken-*** paunch (of ruminating animals) (сетка желудка (жвачных животных)): WMong. *kerkeneg* (MXTTT); Kh. *xerxneg*; Bur. *xerxinseg*.

PTurk. ***Kergük*** paunch (сетка желудка): Karakh. *kergük* (MK); Tv. *kergijek*.

◊ EDT 742, Рас. Фил 203.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss (with assimilation in Mong. **kerken-* < **kergen-*, cf. similarly in **k′úrgo*); cf. perhaps also Evk. (Tokk.) *ker* 'membrane' (TMC 1, 452).

✱**kèro** back, to return: Mong. ***kari-***; Turk. ***gErü***; Jpn. ***kətàpa-***.

PMong. ***kari-*** 1 to come back, return; to answer 2 answer; return (1 возвращаться; отвечать 2 ответ; возвращение): MMong. *qāri-* (IM), *qari-* (HY 34, 40, SH) 1, *γari'ūn* 2; WMong. *qari-* (L 937) 1; Kh. *xaŕ-* 1; Bur. *xari-* 1, *xaŕū* 2; Kalm. *xäŕ-* (KPC) 1; Ord. *xari-* 'retourner, mourir'; Mog. *qari-* (Ramstedt 1906) 1; Dag. *hari-* (MD 157), *xari-* 1; *xarō* (Тод. Дар. 174) 2; Dong. *qari-* 1; Bao. *χārə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *χarə-* 1; *χaru* 2; Mongr. *xari* 'réponse, vengeance' (SM 162), *xari-* (SM 162), *xarə-* 1; *xarū* 2.

◊ TMN 1, 380, MGCD 332, 333. Mong. > Manchu *qaru* 'reward, revenge, recompence, retribution' etc. (see Rozycki 134).

PTurk. ***gErü*** back (назад, сзади): OTurk. *kerü* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kerü* (MK); Tur. *geri*; Gag. *gēri*; Az. *geri*; MTurk. *kerü* (MA); Tat. *kire*; Kirgh. *keri*; Kaz. *keri*; KBalk. *kire*; KKalp. *keri*; Kum. *geri*; Nogh. *keri*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 27. Turk. > MMong. *geru* (SH) 'back side'.

PJpn. ***kòtàpa-*** to answer (отвечать): OJpn. *kotapa-*; MJpn. *kòtàfa-*; Tok. *kotáe-*, *kotaé-*; Kyo. *kòtàè-*; Kag. *kòtàè-*.

◊ JLTT 713 (treating the verb as a historical compound of *kətə* + *apa-*, which is hardly plausible). The forms reveal some variation between **kòtàpa-* and **kòtápa-*.

‖ Cf. perhaps Nan. *kerxe* 'hump' (< 'back').

✱**kéro** to fight, kill: Tung. ***kere-***, ***kerbe-***; Mong. ***kere-***; Turk. ***gEröĺ-***; Jpn. ***kár-***; Kor. ***kūr-***.

PTung. ***kere-***, ***kerbe-*** 1 kill 2 to fine 3 to slander 4 to revenge (1 убивать 2 штрафовать 3 клеветать 4 мстить): Evk. *kerbe-* 1, *keremī-* 3, *keremǯu* bi- 4; Man. *keru-le-* 2, *keru-n* 'fine'.

◊ TMC 1, 381, 452, 453, 454.

PMong. ***kere-*** 1 to quarrel, to fight 2 to be angry (1 ссориться, драться 2 сердиться): MMong. *kere-* (SH), *kiräldu-* (MA), *keurde-* (IM) 1; WMong. *kere-*, *kereldü-* (L 457) 1, *kereče-* 2; Kh. *xerelde-* 1; Bur. *xerelde-* 1; Kalm. *kerldə-* 1; Ord. *kerelde-*; Mog. *kerälda-*; ZM *keräldu-* (17-3b); Dag. *xeraldə-*; S.-Yugh. *kerēlde-* 1; Mongr. *kərēdi-* 1 (SM 198), (MGCD *kəreldə-*), *kərū* 'quarrel' (SM 199).

◊ KW 227, MGCD 344, 345.

PTurk. ***gEröĺ-*** to quarrel, fight, wrestle (ссориться, драться, бороться): OTurk. *keriš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *keriš-* (MK), *küreš-* (MK, KB); Tur. *güreš-*; Gag. *güreš-*; Az. *güläš-*; Turkm. *göreš-*; MTurk. *küreš-* (MA), *güreš-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *kuraš-*; Uygh. *küräš-*; Krm. *küreš-*; Tat. *köräš-*; Bashk. *köräš-*; Kirgh. *keriš-*, *küröš-*; Kaz. *keris-*, *küres-*; KBalk. *küreš-*; KKalp. *keris-*, *güres-*; Kum. *küreš-* (dial.); Nogh. *küres-*; Khak. *küres-*; Shr. *küreš-*; Oyr. *keriš-*, *küreš-*; Tv. *xüres-*; Tof. *xireš-*, *xüreš-* ; *xire-* 'to start a fight'; Chuv. *kəreš-*; Yak. *küres* 'wrestling'.

◊ EDT 747-748, ЭСТЯ 3, 79-81, 5, 50-51, Федотов 1, 280. The peculiar variation of *keriš-* and *küreš-* in old sources allows perhaps to reconstruct the original shape **geröl-*.

PJpn. ***kár-*** 1 to kill 2 to curse (1 убивать 2 ругать): OJpn. *koros-* 1, *kor-* 2; MJpn. *kórós-* 1; Tok. *kòros-* 1; Kyo. *kórós-* 1; Kag. *korós-* 1.

◊ JLTT 713.

PKor. ***kūr-*** to curse, deprecate (ругать, порицать): MKor. *kūr-*; Mod. *kul-* (arch.).

◊ Nam 62, KED 217. Cf. also MKor. *kòr'ər-* 'to be rude, coarse' (Nam 51), modern *kol* 'anger' (KED 156).

‖ EAS 146, KW 227, Poppe 18, 79, Murayama 1962, 110. Cf. **kàra*.

✱**kĕru (~ *k'-)** old, worn out: Mong. ***kari-***, ***kar-si-***; Turk. ***Kạrı***; Jpn. ***kùtà-***.

PMong. ***kari-***, ***kar-si-*** to weaken, become old (слабеть, стареть): WMong. *qari-* (MXTTT); Kh. *xari-*, *xarši-*; Bur. *xaraši-*; Kalm. *xäŕ-* (KPC).

PTurk. ***Kạrı*** 1 old 2 old woman or man 3 to become old (1 старый 2 старуха, старик 3 стареть): OTurk. *qarı* 1, *qarı-* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh.

qari (MK, KB) 1, *qarï-* (MK, KB) 3; Tur. *karı, kart* 1; Gag. *qarı* 1,2 (also 'woman'); Az. *Garı, Gart* 2,1; Turkm. *Garrı* 1, *Garra-* 3; MTurk. *qarı* (MA, Abush.) 1, *qarï-* (MA, Abush.) 3; Uzb. *qari* 1, *qari-* 3; Uygh. *qeri* 1,2, *qeri-* 3; Tat. *qarı, qart* 1; Bashk. *qarı, qart* 1; Kirgh. *qarı, qart* 1, *qarï-* 3, *qart* 3; Kaz. *qarı ~ qɛri, qart* 1; KKalp. *qarı, γarrı* 1; Kum. *qart* 1; Nogh. *qart* 1; Khak. *kirə* 1, *kirə-* 3; Shr. *qarı* 1, *qarï-* 3; Oyr. *qarı* 1, *qarï-* 3; Tv. *qïrï-* 3; Tof. *qïrï-* 3; Yak. *kïrij-* 3; Dolg. *kïrij-* 3.

◊ EDT 644, TMN 3, 440, ЭСТЯ 5, 311-312, 314-316, Лексика 84-85, Stachowski 169, 170.

PJpn. ***kùtà-** to be tired, worn out (уставать, изнашиваться): Tok. *kutabiré-*; Kyo. *kútábiré-*; Kag. *kùtàbìrè-*.

◊ JLTT 717. Cf. also redupl. *kuta-kuta* (ni) 'tired, worn out (adv.)'; with a different (emphatic?) accent: MJ *kutabari* 'a person who is too old (sl.)', mod. Tokyo *kutabàr-* 'to live too long (sl.)', Kyoto *kútábár-*, Kagoshima *kutabár-* id.

‖ Cf. also Turk. **Kurt-ga* 'old woman' (see ЭСТЯ 6, 168-169).

***keru(ÍV)** a k. of predator: Tung. ***kelte- (< *kerelte-?)**; Mong. ***kereldüg**; Turk. ***KArıĺ-**; Jpn. ***kunturi**; Kor. ***kar-**.

PTung. ***kelte- (< *kerelte-?)** wolverine (росомаха): Evk. *keltefkī*; Evn. *költekken*; Neg. *keltelkēn*.

◊ TMC 1, 447.

PMong. ***kereldüg** animal resembling the bear but smaller (животное, похожее на медведя, но меньше): WMong. *kereldüg* (MXTTT); Kh. *xereldeg* (Gomb.).

PTurk. ***KArıĺ-** wolf (волк): Tur. *kaškır*, dial. *kašγır* 'a bear'; Uzb. dial. *qešqir*, dial. *qɛršiqul*; Krm. *qašqır*; Kirgh. *qarïšqır*; Kaz. *qasqır*; KKalp. *qasqir*; Nogh. *qarïsqır, qasqır*; Chuv. *kaškъr* < Qypch..

◊ Лексика 160., ЭСТЯ 5, 352.

PJpn. ***kunturi** wolverine (росомаха): Tok. *kuzuri* (orth. *kuduri*).

PKor. ***kàr-** tiger (тигр): MKor. *kar-wəm, kar-pəm*; Mod. *kalbəm*.

◊ HMCH 185, Nam 19, KED 46. A compound with **pəm* 'tiger, leopard' (v. sub **p'uma*).

‖ The root must have denoted some big predator, probably the wolverine. Cf. also MMong. (HY 10) *qarxulax* 'small tiger'.

***késa** to suffer: Tung. ***kesē-**; Mong. ***keseγe-**; Turk. ***kes-**; Jpn. ***kásíká-**; Kor. ***kjəs-**.

PTung. ***kesē-** 1 to suffer 2 to punish 3 scoundrel, rogue 4 to torture, lacerate 5 sad (1 страдать 2 наказывать 3 мерзавец, негодяй 4 мучить 5 печальный): Evk. *kesē-* 1; Neg. *keseγī-* 2; Man. *kesemburu* 3; Jurch. *ke-si-ge-bulu* (368) 5; Ul. *keseučи-* 4; Nan. *kesū-li-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 454-455.

PMong. ***keseɣe-** to punish, correct (наказывать, исправлять): MMong. *kese'e-* (SH); WMong. *keseɣe-* (L 459); Kh. *xesē-*; Bur. *xehē-*; Kalm. *kes-* 'be punished'.

◊ KW 228.

PTurk. ***kes-** 1 ban, prohibition 2 to punish, accuse, fine 3 tired, smashed 4 to scoff 5 guilt, flaw 6 to appoint 7 obstinate 8 to speak roughly, be in one's way, hinder 9 to be hungry, in distress (1 запрет 2 назначать наказание, обвинять, штрафовать 3 усталый, разбитый 4 издеваться 5 вина, недостаток 6 устанавливать, назначать 7 упрямый 8 говорить грубо, мешать, подводить 9 голодать, испытывать нужду): OTurk. *kesetkü* 1 (QUygh., Chin.-Uygh. Voc. - R); Tur. *kes-* 2, *kesik* 3, *kesin-* 4; Az. *käsir* 5; Turkm. *kesgitle-* 6, *kesir* 7, *kes-* 2; Uygh. *kɛs-* 2, *kesir* 5; Tat. *kisɛt-* 2; Bashk. *kiðɛt-* 'to warn'; Kirgh. *kes-* 2, *kesir* 5; Kaz. *kes-* 2, *keser* 'contemptuous', 5; Tv. *ke'ze-* 'to be punished, scared'; Chuv. *kas-* 8, *kazъl-* 9; Yak. *kes* 'forbidden', *kesɵt-* 'to punish, give a lesson'.

◊ VEWT 258.

PJpn. ***kásíká-** to be exhausted, wasted (истощаться, чахнуть): OJpn. *kasika-*; MJpn. *kásíká-*; Tok. *kajike-*.

◊ JLTT 707.

PKor. ***kjəs-** to suffer, undergo, experience (подвергаться, страдать): MKor. *kjəs-*; Mod. *kjək:-*.

◊ Nam 44, KED 114.

‖ KW 228, Poppe 18, 65. Cf. **kasa*. The Turkic form points rather to *kʻ-; if the TM forms are borrowed from Mong. (see Doerfer MT 69), we should rather reconstruct PA **kʻésa*.

***késu** thing, sort, order: Tung. ***kese**; Mong. ***küsü-nüg**; Jpn. ***kúsá**; Kor. ***kàs / *kàs**.

PTung. ***kese** word, order (слово, указ): Man. *xese*; SMan. *xesə* 'edict' (1351); Ork. *kese*; Ud. *kehie*.

◊ TMC 1, 483 (Man. > Sol., Neg., Oroch, Nan. *xese*; Dag. *xes*, Тод. Дар. 175).

PMong. ***küsü-nüg** list, chart, column (of a register) (список, таблица, графа): WMong. *küsünüg* (L 508); Kh. *xüsneg*; Bur. *xüsneg* 'line, column'; S.-Yugh. *kösnüg*.

◊ MGCD 403.

PJpn. ***kúsà** sort, kind (вид, род): OJpn. *kusa*; MJpn. *kúsà*.

◊ JLTT 465.

PKor. ***kàs / *kàs** thing (вещь): MKor. *kàs / kàs*; Mod. *kət* [*kəs*].

◊ Nam 24, 39, KED 103.

‖ Mong. **küsünüg* < **kesü-* (with secondary vowel assimilation).

***kesV (~ kʻ-, -i-)** luck, joy: Mong. ***kesig**; Kor. ***kìs-**.

PMong. ***kesig** 1 luck, prosperity, grace 2part of the sacrificed meat (1 счастье, удача, благополучие 2 часть мяса жертвенных живот-

ных, которую раздают людям): MMong. *kešig* (SH) 2; WMong. *kesig* (L 460); Kh. *xišig*; Bur. *xešeg*; Kalm. *kišəg*; Dag. *keši* (Тод. Дат. 150); Mongr. *kəšəg* 1, 2 (SM 199).

◊ KW 233, MGCD 346. Doerfer (TMN 1, 469) gives the meaning as 'Teil, Anteil, Glück, Schicksalslos' and regards the word as borrowed < Turk. **kesik* (should be rather **kesek*) 'piece'. The sources available to us, however, only give the meaning 'luck, grace' (see L 460, KW 233 etc.) which is absent in Turkic. Therefore the word is hardly borrowed < Turkic.

PKor. ***kìs-*** to rejoice (радоваться): MKor. *kìs-*; Mod. *kip'i-*.

◊ Nam 83, KED 267.

‖ SKE 113, Poppe 65. A Mong.-Kor. isogloss; the TM forms (see TMC 1, 455) probably < Mong., see Doerfer MT 116, Rozycki 139.

✱**kěta (~ -t'-, -o, -u)** mule, barren: Tung. ***ketem***; Mong. ***kači-***; Turk. ***KAtïr***.

PTung. ***ketem*** barren (of a female deer) (бесплодная (о важенке оленя)): Evk. *ketem*; Evn. *ketъm*; Neg. *ketem*.

◊ TMC 1, 456.

PMong. ***kači-*** a k. of mule (вид мула): MMong. *qači-dut* (pl. < **qačit*) (SH), *qačir* (LH).

PTurk. ***KAtïr*** mule (мул): Karakh. *qatïr* (MK, KB); Tur. *katïr*; Az. *Gatïr*; Turkm. *Gatïr*; MTurk. *qatïr* (AH, Houts., IM); KBalk. *qadïr*; Nogh. *qatïr*.

◊ VEWT 242, ЭСТЯ 5, 339-340, TMN 3, N° 1395. The Turkic form may well be borrowed < Iran., cf. Saka *khaḍara-* 'mule'. Here -ḍ- points to *rd, cf. Sogd. *ɣrtr'k* < **xarataraka* 'mule' (for a quite similar compound cf. Pers. *astar* 'mule' < **assa-tara* 'horse from one side'(Bailey 70). Doerfer is concerned about lack of length in Turkic, but length is likewise lacking in Saka and other Iranian forms. The only phonetic difficulty is the Turkic reflex -t-, because Saka ḍ in the Saka-Uygh. glossary (14th c.) renders Turkic -r-. In one obvious Saka loan the Saka -ḍ- is indeed rendered as -r-: cūḍām 'stadium' (Av. *čarətu-*) > OT (Hap. by MK) *čurām* 'a shot with a light far-flying arrow. However, if 'mule' is borrowed, it is hardly a Xinjiang loanword but rather a Common Turkic, and perhaps from another Iranian language (Sogdian?).

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. > Chag. *kačir* 'mule' etc. (see VEWT 217). The Mong. form itself may have been borrowed from Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 137), but may as well be genuine. The Tung. parallel makes the theory of Turk. < Iran. (Sogd. *ɣrtr'k*, see TMN 3, 393 with literature) rather improbable.

✱**két'ò** much, many, excessively: Tung. ***kete, *kēter***; Mong. ***ketü***; Jpn. ***kátù***; Kor. ***kə̀tə̆k-***.

PTung. ***kete, *kēter*** 1 big 2 many 3 elder 4 almost (1 большой 2 много 3 старший 4 почти): Evk. *kēter* 1, *kete* 2; Evn. *kēter* 1; Neg. *kētej* 1; Ul. *ketele* 4; Ork. *ketette* 4; Nan. *kēte* 3, *ketēle* 4; Orch. *kēte* 1, *kete* 4; Ud. *kete* 'more' (Корм. 213), *ketige* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 455-456. The form *kēte(re)* (with a long vowel) observed in some languages may have been influenced by **kādara* 'big' (cf. e. g. Orok *kādara*); the relationship between **kete* and **kāda(ra)* is somewhat obscure.

PMong. ***ketü** too much, excessively (слишком много, чрезмерно): WMong. *ketü* (L 460); Kh. *xet*; Bur. *xete*; Kalm. *ketərkā*; Ord. *getü, getürχī*.

◊ KW 228.

PJpn. ***kátù** moreover, additionally (кроме того, более того, дополнительно): OJpn. *katu*; MJpn. *katu*; Tok. *kátsu*; Kyo. *kátsŭ*; Kag. *kátsu*.

◊ JLTT 444. Probably **kátù* (Kyoto 2, Kagoshima A), but the Tokyo accent is irregular.

PKor. ***kǎtǎk-** full (полный): MKor. *kǎtǎk* / *kǎtǎik-*; Mod. *kadik-, kat:ik-*.

◊ Nam 9, KED 9.

‖ EAS 47, KW 228, SKE 84, Poppe 18, 50, Miller 1985a, 81. Despite Doerfer MT 64, the TM form is hardly borrowed from Mong.

***két'ò (~k'-, g-, -o-)** similar: Jpn. ***kətə́**; Kor. ***kǎth-**.

PJpn. ***kətə́** resemblance, similarly (сходство, (суфф.) похоже на, как): OJpn. *koto*; MJpn. *-gótóku*; Tok. *-gotoku*.

PKor. ***kǎth-** to be similar, resemble (быть похожим): MKor. *kǎth-, kǎt-*; Mod. *kat-* [*kath-*].

◊ Nam 20, 28, KED 64.

‖ SKE 99, Martin 241. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

***ki (~ *k'i)** to do, to make: Mong. ***ki-**; Turk. ***Kił-**; Jpn. ***kì-túk-**.

PMong. ***ki-** to do, to make (делать): MMong. *ki-* (SH, HYt), *ke-* (LH), *ki-* (MA); WMong. *ki-* (L 462); Kh. *xij-*; Bur. *xe-*; Kalm. *ke-* (KPC); Ord. *kī-*; Mog. *ki-* (Weiers); Dag. *xī-, kī-* (Тод. Даг. 150), *kī-, šī-* (MD 183, 216); Dong. *kie-*; Bao. *ke-* (Тод. Бн.), *giə-*; S.-Yugh. *gə-*; Mongr. *gi-* (SM 135), *gə-*.

◊ MGCD 348. Mong. > Evk. *kɛ-* id.

PTurk. ***Kił-** to do, to make (делать): OTurk. *qił-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qił-* (MK); Tur. *kił-*; Az. *Gił-*; Turkm. *qił-*; MTurk. *qił-* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qil-*; Uygh. *qil-*; Krm. *qil-*; Tat. *qił-*; Bashk. *qil-*; Kirgh. *qił-*; Kaz. *qil-*; KBalk. *qil-*; KKalp. *qił-*; Kum. *qił-*; Nogh. *qił-*; Khak. *xił-*; Shr. *qił-*; Oyr. *qił-*; Tv. *qił-*; Chuv. *əś-xəl* 'дела́'; Yak. *kin-*; Dolg. *gin-*.

◊ EDT 616, VEWT 263, ЭСТЯ 6, 205-206, Stachowski 88. Turk. **Kił-inč* 'deed' > Mong. *kilinče* 'sin' (see Clark 1980, 43).

PJpn. ***kì-túk-** to build (строить): OJpn. *kjiduk-*; MJpn. *kìtúk-*; Tok. *kizúk-*; Kyo. *kízúk-*; Kag. *kízúk-*.

◊ JLTT 710. The accent in Kyoto and Kagoshima is somewhat aberrant, but old sources and Tokyo point to **kì-*.

‖ KW 223, Владимирцов 260, Poppe 19, ОСНЯ 1, 309. One of the common Altaic monosyllabic verbal stems. In view of the external evidence, -l- in PT is to be regarded as a historical suffix.

✱**kĭ̀ba (~ -p-)** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***kibē***; Turk. ***Kɨbak / *Kabak***; Jpn. ***kàpài (~ -ia)***.

PTung. ***kibē*** birch bark (береста): Evk. *kiwe, kiwē, kīwe*; Evn. *kīwe*.

◊ TMC 1, 390. Cf. also Nan. dial. *koerē* 'ash tree' (TMC 1, 420).

PTurk. ***Kɨbak / *Kabak*** white poplar, willow (белый тополь, ива): Tur. *kavak*; Gag. *qavaq*; Az. *GovaG*; MTurk. *qawaq* (Houts.); Uygh. *qapaq* (Jarr.); Tat. *quvaq*; Bashk. *qɨwaq*; Oyr. *qāq*, dial. *qabaq*; Tv. *xāk*; Tof. *xā̄k*; Chuv. *хъʷva*.

◊ VEWT 215, ЭСТЯ 5, 170-171, TMN 3, 534-535. The variant **Kabak* is probably secondary, due to vowel assimilation; *qapaq* in Uygh. is also secondary - a contamination with **Kap-* 'cover'.

PJpn. ***kàpài (~ -ia)*** a k. of cypress or Thuja (вид кипариса или туи): OJpn. *kap(j)e*; MJpn. *kàfê*.

◊ JLTT 432.

‖ The reflexes point to a tree with distinct bright bark, probably birch (cf. also PU **kojwV* 'birch' compared in МССНЯ 330, ОСНЯ 1, 300).

✱**kìjá** a k. of grass: Tung. ***kijo-kta***; Mong. ***kija-***; Turk. ***Kɨj(g)ak***; Jpn. ***kàjá***; Kor. ***kójōm***.

PTung. ***kijo-kta*** brier (шиповник (плоды и кусты)): Evn. *kēkto* 'unripe berry'; Man. *ḱōḱōn* 'name of an edible plant'; Ul. *qojoqto*; Ork. *qɨjoqto*; Nan. *qɨoqto*; Orch. *kijokto*; Ud. *kökto, kiokto* (Корм. 251).

◊ TMC 1, 387.

PMong. ***kija-*** young fresh grass on river banks (молодая свежая трава на берегу реки): WMong. *kijaža*; Kalm. *kāzə*; Dag. *ḱān* 'вострец' (Тод. Даг. 148).

◊ KW 222.

PTurk. ***Kɨj(g)ak*** sedge (осока): Tur. *kɨjak* (dial.) 'marsh'; Az. *gijax* (dial.) 'grass name'; Turkm. *Gɨjaq* 'пырей волосатый'; Khal. *qijāq* 'soft plants as animal food'; MTurk. *qijaɣ* (Pav. C.) 'cut dried grass'; Uzb. *qijɔq*; Uygh. *qijaq* 'grass'; Krm. *qɨjaq* 'bulb'; Tat. *qɨjaq* 'leaves of cereals'; Bashk. *qɨjaq* 'leaves of cereals'; dial. *qɨjɣaq* id., 'пырей'; Kirgh. *qɨjaq* 'острец', *qɨjɣaq* 'sedge'; Kaz. *qɨjaq* 'grass name'; KKalp. *qɨjaq* 'reed leaves'; Kum. *qɨjaq*; Nogh. *qɨjaq*; Khak. *xɨjɣanax*; Oyr. *qɨjɣaq*; Chuv. *хъja* (ЭСТЯ: *хъjax*).

◊ VEWT 262, ЭСТЯ 6, 201-202. Turk. > Mong. *kijag* id. (Kalm. *kāg*, KW 222, Khalkha *xiag*, Bur. *xāg*, Ord. *kāg*, cf. TMN 3, 566). Cf. also Karakh. (MK) *qajačuq* 'a fragrant mountain grass'.

PJpn. ***kàjá*** Miscanthus sinensis (мискант): OJpn. *kaja*; MJpn. *kàjá*; Tok. *káya*; Kyo. *káyá*; Kag. *kayá*.

◊ JLTT 446. All forms point to **kàjá* except Kyoto which is aberrant.

PKor. ***kójōm*** a k. of jujube, lotus persimmon (вид ююбы, лотосовая хурма): MKor. *kójōm*; Mod. *kojom*.

◊ HMCH 173, Liu 66, KED 147.

‖ The root denotes some wild-growing grass with sharp edges or thorns. In Kor. there probably occurred a secondary vowel assimilation (**káj-* would be expected). Some interaction with **kúja* 'nut' was possible, especially in the Kor.-Jap. area.

✱**kijmV** vapour, steam; anger: Tung. ***kīmu-***; Mong. ***kimura-***; Turk. ***Kɨjm-***; Kor. ***kīm***.

PTung. ***kīmu-*** 1 to be inimical 2 enmity (1 враждовать 2 враг, вражда): Man. *kimu-le-* 1, *kimun* 2; Nan. *kīmu-lē-* 1, *kīmur* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 394. Man. > Dag. *kimun* (Тод. Даг. 150).

PMong. ***kimura-*** to be in disorder, conflict (быть в беспорядке, в конфликте): WMong. *kimura-* (L 468); Kh. *x̌amra-*; Bur. *ximar-*; Kalm. *kimṛ-*; Ord. *kimara-*; S.-Yugh. *xemral* 'chaos'.

◊ KW 231, MGCD 353.

PTurk. ***Kɨjm-*** to move (двигаться): Karakh. *qimɨt-* (MK); Tur. *kɨmɨlda-*; Az. *Gimildan-*; Turkm. *Gīmɨlda-*; Uzb. *qim-*; Uygh. *qimil* 'movement'; Bashk. *qɨjmɨlda-* 'шевелиться'; Kirgh. *qijmil* 'movement'; Kaz. *qɨjmɨl* 'movement'; KBalk. *qimɨlda-*; Khak. *xijmɨra-*; Oyr. *qijmɨqta-*.

◊ VEWT 262.

PKor. ***kīm*** steam, vapour, breath, smell (пар, дыхание, запах): MKor. *kīm*; Mod. *kīm*.

◊ Liu 118, KED 281.

‖ KW 231, SKE 112, TMC 1, 394. Cf. similar semantic development in **ábo* q.v.

✱**kìkú** to bite; rub, scrape: Tung. ***kik-***; Mong. ***kegǯe-***; Turk. ***Kik-***; Jpn. ***kùkúm-***.

PTung. ***kik-*** 1 to bite 2 to cut oneself (by rubbing at a rope) 3 to become torn (of a rope, chain) (1 кусать 2 порезаться (о веревку) 3 порваться (о веревке, цепи)): Evk. *kik-* 1; Evn. *qiq-* 1 (Новикова 1980, 183); Neg. *kik-* 1; Nan. *kikia-* 2 (Он.), *kikpē-* 3 (Он.).

◊ TMC 1,391-392. The dialectal Evk. variant *kêk-* is expressive, but by no means < Mong. *kiqa-* 'irritate, intimidate', as suggested in Poppe 1972, 103.

PMong. ***kegǯe-*** to scrape off, to incise (соскребать, надрезать): WMong. *kegǯe-*, (L 444:) *kegǯe-le-*; Kh. *xegǯi-*, *xegǯle-*; Ord. *kegǯil-*.

PTurk. ***Kik-*** to rub, grind (at each other) (тереть, скрести (друг о друга)): Karakh. *kik-* 'to sharpen and whet a knife', *kikčür-* 'whet a knife' (MK); Yak. *kikirī-* 'to rub with a noise'.

◊ VEWT 270, EDT 710, 714.

PJpn. ***kùkúm-*** to take into mouth (брать в рот, держать во рту): MJpn. *kùkúm-*; Tok. *kukum-*.

◊ JLTT 715.

‖ A derivative **kìkú-čV* is probably observable in Karakh. *kikčür-* = PM **kegǯe-*.

✱**kímo** to arrange, intend: Tung. ***kim-***; Mong. ***kima-***; Turk. ***Kɨm-***; Jpn. ****kímá-***.

PTung. ***kim-*** 1 to prepare, arrange 2 to check, investigate, to concentrate on (1 готовиться, собираться 2 исследовать, проверять): Evn. *qim-* 1; Man. *kimči-* 2; SMan. *kimǝči-* (1852) 2.

◊ TMC 1, 394.

PMong. ***kima-*** 1 to arrange 2 intention, effort, care (1 заботиться о, устраивать 2 намерение, усилие, забота): WMong. *kimaγa* 2, *kimaγada-* 1 (L 467); Kh. *xamga-* 1; Bur. *xamga-* 1; Kalm. *kimɛ:* 2; Dag. *kimči-* 'to control, check' (< Man.).

◊ KW 231, MGCD 353.

PTurk. ***Kɨm-*** 1 to wish, intend 2 to persuade (1 желать, намереваться 2 убеждать): MTurk. *qimsa-n-* 1; Tat. *qimin-* (Sib.) 1; KBalk. *qimtim* 'желание'; Oyr. *qim-* 2, *qimzin-* 1; Chuv. *xǝmlen-* 'вдохновляться, воодушевляться'; Yak. *kimārdā-*, *kumārdā-* 'заботиться, беспокоиться', *kumsugur-* 'завидовать'.

◊ VEWT 263.

PJpn. ****kímá-*** to decide, arrange (решать, постановлять): MJpn. *kimar-*; Tok. *kìmar-*, *kìme-*; Kyo. *kímár-*, *kímé-*; Kag. *kimár-*, *kimé-*.

◊ JLTT 708.

‖ KW 231.

✱**kìpʹé** bran, millet: Tung. ***kipe***; Mong. ***kibag***; Turk. ***kẹpek***; Jpn. ****kìmpí***.

PTung. ***kipe*** a k. of wild millet (просо (боровое)): Man. *xife*.

◊ TMC 1, 467.

PMong. ***kibag*** small pieces of food, rot (кусочки пищи, труха): Bur. *xibag*; Mongr. *kajaG* 'son des céréales, robe ou écorce des fèves, pois' (SM 197).

PTurk. ***kẹpek*** bran (отруби): Karakh. *kepek* (MK); Tur. *kepek*; Gag. *kepek*; Az. *käpäk*; Turkm. *kepek*; MTurk. *kebek* (IM); Uzb. *kepɛk*; Uygh. *kepɛk*; Tat. *kibɛk*; Bashk. *kɛbɛk*; Kirgh. *kebek*; Kaz. *kebek*; KKalp. *kepek*, *kebek*; Kum. *gebek*; Nogh. *kebek*; Khak. *kibǝk*; Tv. *xevek*; Chuv. *kibek*, *kimǝk* (dial.).

◊ EDT 688; ЭСТЯ 5, 47.

PJpn. ****kìmpí*** millet (просо): OJpn. *kjimji*; MJpn. *kìbí*; Tok. *kíbi*; Kyo. *kìbí*; Kag. *kibí*.

◊ JLTT 450.

‖ One of several similar PA roots (see **kʿắpʿa*, **kʿepa*, **kʿi̯ābu*, **gébo*).

✱**kìpʿí (~ -e, -o)** attentive, strict: Tung. ***kib-ča-***; Mong. ***kib(i)-si-***; Jpn. ***kìmpì-si-***.

PTung. ***kib-ča-*** prudence, moderation (бережливость, умеренность): Man. *xibča-n*.

◊ TMC 1, 465. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***kib(i)-*** / ***kebi-*** 1 to be attentive, cautious 2 council, deliberation (1 быть внимательным, осторожным 2 совещание): WMong. *kibsi-*, *kibisi-* 1, *kebei* (L 438) 2; Kh. *xevej* 2; Kalm. *kiwšə-* 1, *kewī-* 2.

◊ KW 233.

PJpn. ***kìmpì-si-*** strict, solemn (суровый, торжественный, строгий): MJpn. *kibì-si*; Tok. *kibishí-*; Kyo. *kíbíshì-*; Kag. *kibíshi-*.

◊ JLTT 831. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ A common derivative **kìpʿí-čV* is reflected in all branches.

✱**kìro** to cut, mince: Tung. ***kire-***; Mong. ***kira-***; Turk. ***Kir-***; Jpn. ***kìr-***.

PTung. ***kire-*** 1 to mince 2 to be broken off, break off 3 to gnaw (1 крошить, резать на куски 2 отламываться, отламывать 3 грызть): Evk. *kirge-* 3; Evn. *qirGə̣-* 3; Ul. *kirki-ču-* 3, *kiri* 'front tooth'; Ork. *keren-* 1, *kirī-* 'скалить зубы'; Nan. *qi̯arqi̯ali̯-*, *kerkieli-* 3, *kermē-* 2;

◊ TMC 1, 398, 453, 454. Cf. also Evk. *kiramkī*, *kirke* 'fish-fork', *kirur* 'scraper' possibly derived from the same root.

PMong. ***kiru-*** to mince, cut small (размельчать, мелко резать): MMong. *keru* 'in small pieces' (SH); WMong. *kira-*, *kiru-* (L 473); Kh. *xar-*; Bur. *kirma-*; Kalm. *kur-*; Dag. *kereči-* (MD 182); Mongr. Cf. *ćiri-* 'avoir la taille affaissée, se pelotonner' (SM 457).

◊ KW 244. Cf. also WMong. *kirbe-*, Kalm. *kirwə-* 'to cut off' (KW 233).

PTurk. ***Kir-*** 1 to break, demolish 2 small 3 to scrape, shave (1 ломать, разрушать 2 маленький 3 скрести, брить): Karakh. *qir-* 3 'to scrape; to tear out'; Tur. *kır-* 1; Gag. *qır-* 1; Az. *Gır-* 1; Turkm. *Gır-* 1, 3; Sal. *qır-* 3; Khal. *qır-* 1; MTurk. *qır-* 1, 3 (Pav. C.), 1, 'to cut off' (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qir-* 3; Uygh. *qi(r)-* 3; Krm. *qır-* 1, 3; Tat. *qır-* 3; Bashk. *qır-* 1, 3; Kirgh. *qır-* 3; Kaz. *qır-* 3; KBalk. *qır-*; KKalp. *qır-* 3; Kum. *qır-* 1, 3; Nogh. *qır-* 3; SUygh. *qır-* 3; Khak. *xır-* 3, 'to cut'; Shr. *qır-*; Oyr. *qır-* 3; Tv. *qır-* 3; Tof. *qır-* 3; Chuv. *xər-* 1; Yak. *kirij-* 'to shear, cut'; *kıra* 2; Dolg. *kirij-* 'to shear, cut'; *kıra* 2.

◊ VEWT 265; EDT 643; TMN 3, 567, Лексика 382, ЭСТЯ 6, 227-229, Stachowski 168, 170. The Yak. form *kıra* 'small' is a rather transparent semantical derivative, although it is not usually listed among the reflexes of PT **Kır-*.

PJpn. ***kìr-*** to cut (резать): OJpn. *kjir-*; MJpn. *kìr-*; Tok. *kír-*; Kyo. *kìr-*; Kag. *kìr-*.

◊ JLTT 709.

‖ KW 244, Menges 1982.

✱**kirsi (~ k˙-)** a k. of big wild animal: Mong. ***kirs***; Jpn. ***kisa***.

PMong. ***kirs*** rhinoceros (носорог): MMong. *kers* (HY 9); WMong. *kiris, kers* (L 472); Kh. *xirs*.

◊ Clark 1980, 39 considers to be < Turkic, but what is the source?

PJpn. ***kisa*** elephant (слон): OJpn. *k(j)isa*; MJpn. *kísà, kìzá*.

◊ JLTT 451.

‖ An interesting Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**kĺ̀rsu** a k. of vessel, receptacle: Turk. ***gīŕ***; Kor. ***kìŕs***.

PTurk. ***gīŕ*** 1 a k. of box 2 to hide 3 mystery (1 вид ящика 2 прятать 3 тайна): Karakh. *kiz* 1, *kizle-* 2 (MK); Tur. *gizle-* 2, *giz* 3; Az. *gizlä-* 2; Turkm. *gīzle-* 2; Yak. *kistē-* 2; Dolg. *kistē-* 2.

◊ EDT 756, 760, VEWT 273, ЭСТЯ 3, 43, Stachowski 149.

PKor. ***kìŕs*** vessel (сосуд): MKor. *kìŕs*; Mod. *kirit* [*kiris*].

◊ Liu 98, KED 236.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss. Cf. also Nan. *kiriske* 'рюмка' (?) (TMC 1, 398).

✱**kì̀ŕa** a k. of bird of prey: Tung. ***kīran***; Turk. ***Kiŕ-, *Kirguj***.

PTung. ***kīran*** a k. of eagle, falcon (вид орла, сокола): Evk. *kīran*; Ud. *käi* 'орлан-белохвост' (Корм. 246).

◊ TMC 1, 397.

PTurk. ***Kiŕ-, *Kirguj, *Kiragan*** 1 hawk, falcon 2 faultless (of a bird of prey) (1 ястреб, сокол 2 ловкий, бьющий без промаха (о ловчей птице)): Karakh. *qirγuj* 1 (MK); Tur. *kirγaj, kirγi* 1, *kuran* (dial.) 'hawk', *kirkaw* (dial., R.) 'a k. of hawk'; Az. *Girγi* 1; Turkm. *Girγi* 1; MTurk. *qirγu* (Pav. C.), *qirγi* (Ettuhf.) 1; Uzb. *qirγij* 1, *qirɔnqara* 'орел-могильник'; Uygh. *γurγuj, qarγaj* 1 (dial.); Krm. *qirγij, qirqin, qirxin* 1; Tat. *qirγij* 1 (dial.); Bashk. *qijγir* (dial.) 1; Kirgh. *qirān, qiran* 1, 2, *qirγij, qijγir* 1, *qirγijek* 'young hawk'; Kaz. *qiran* 2, *qirγij* 1; KKalp. *qiran* 2, *qirγij* 1; Kum. *qirγij* 1; Khak. *xiza* 1, *xirγijax* 'young hawk'; Chuv. *xərxi* 1, *xərɛn* 'kite'; Yak. *kirbij* 'серый сокол, сокол-чеглок, ястреб' (?).

◊ VEWT 266, 269, EDT 654-655, ЭСТЯ 6, 231, 232-235. Turk. **Kirguj* 'falcon' > Mong. *kirγui*, see Щербак 1997, 139.

‖ EAS 113, ЭСТЯ 6, 231. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kíso** to press, squeeze, rub: Tung. ***kis-k-***; Mong. ***kisa-***; Turk. ***Kis-***; Jpn. ***kəsənkə-***; Kor. ***kìs-***.

PTung. ***kis-k-*** 1 to touch, stroke, sharpen (a knife) 2 tongs, vice (1 касаться, тереться, точить (нож) 2 клещи, тиски): Evk. *kiski* 2, Man. *xisχa-* 1 ; Nan. *kiskie*, (On.) *kiskiẽ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 399, 466. The Evk. and Nan. forms are considered to be borrowed < Russ. *тиски*, but the Man. form is no doubt genuine.

PMong. ***kisa-*** to contract, shorten; to hamper, impede (сокращать, мешать, задерживать): WMong. *kis(a)-* (L 473: *kisa-*); Kh. *xas-*; Bur. *xaha-* 'to be greedy'; Kalm. *kis-*.

◊ KW 233.

PTurk. ***Kɨs-*** 1 short 2 narrow 3 to squeeze (1 короткий 2 узкий 3 сдавливать): OTurk. *qɨsɣa* (Orkh.) 1; Karakh. *qɨs-* 3 (MK, KB), *qɨsɨɣ* 2 (MK), *qɨsqa* 1 (KB), *qɨsɣa* 1 (MK); Tur. *kɨsa* 1, *kɨs-* 3; Gag. *qɨsa* 1; Az. *Gɨsa* 1; Turkm. *GɨsGa* 1, *Gɨs-* 3; Sal. *qɨsGa* 1; MTurk. *qɨsqa* 1 (Abush.), *qɨs-* (MA); Uzb. *qisqa* 1; Uygh. *qisqa* 1; Krm. *qsɨqa* 1; Tat. *qɨsqa* 1, *qɨs-* 3; Bashk. *qɨsqa* 1; Kirgh. *qɨsqa* 1; Kaz. *qɨsqa* 1; KBalk. *qɨsxa* 1; KKalp. *qɨsqa* 1; Nogh. *qɨsqa* 1; SUygh. *GɨsGa, qɨsGa* 1; Khak. *xɨsxa* 1, *xɨs-* 3; Oyr. *qɨsqa* 1; Tv. *qɨsqa* 1, *qɨ's-* 4, *qɨzī* 2; Tof. *qɨ'sqa* 1, *qɨ's-* 4; Chuv. *xəzək* 2, *xəs-* 4; Yak. *kɨhaj-* 3; Dolg. *kɨhalga* 'straits, sorrow' (= Yak. *kɨhalga*).

◊ PT **Kɨs-ga* 'short' is derived from PT **Kɨs-* 'to press, squeeze'. See VEWT 267, EDT 665-7, ЭСТЯ 6, 251-253, Stachowski 167.

PJpn. ***kə́sə́nká-*** to scrape, plane (скрести, строгать): MJpn. *kosoga-*; Tok. *kòsoge-*; Kyo. *kósógé-*; Kag. *kosogé-*.

PKor. ***kɨ̀s-*** 1 to press 2 with force, strongly 3 to stop, put an end to smth. (1 давить, угнетать 2 с силой, сильно 3 прекращать): MKor. *kɨ̀s-nùrí-* 1, *kɨ̀s-* 3, *kís* 2; Mod. *kɨčhi-*, *kːičhi-* 3 (< **kɨ̀s-čhi-*).

◊ Nam 75, KED 241. High tone recorded in the adverb is not quite clear (perhaps expressive; one cannot exclude, however, that it is original, being replaced in the verbal stem by the productive low tone).

‖ Poppe 19, 65, 116, VEWT 267, KW 233 (without the Korean parallel), АПиПЯЯ 285. The original meaning may be reconstructed as 'press, scrape off by pressing' (whence 'sharpen' and other meanings). Tone correspondences seem to be regular, but cf. notes on the Korean tone above.

kiso (~ *kose, kʿ-, g-)** certainly, verily: Jpn. ***kəsə; Kor. ***kís***.

PJpn. ***kəsə*** indeed, verily (emph. particle) (действительно, именно (усил. частица)): OJpn. *koso*; MJpn. *koso*; Tok. *koso*.

PKor. ***kís*** certainly, without fail (точно, определенно): MKor. *kís*.

◊ Nam 74.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

kítʿu (~ kʿ-)** to wait, take time: Mong. ***kičiɣe-; Jpn. ***kútúrə(n)k- (~ -ua-)***; Kor. ***kɨ̀tír'ó-***.

PMong. ***kičiɣe-*** to try, be diligent, polite (прилагать усилия, заботиться, остерегаться): MMong. *kiče'e-* (HY), *kiči'e-*, *kičije-* (SH); WMong. *kičige-* (L 463: *kičije-*); Kh. *xičē-*; Bur. *xešē-*; Ord. *gečē-*; Dag. *kičē-* (MD 183, Тод. Даг. 150: *kiče̊-*); *kičēl* 'careful, prudent'; S.-Yugh. *kəčī-*; *kəčīl* 'careful, prudent'.

◊ MGCD 345, 351. Mong. > Evk. *kiče-* etc.; Oyr. *kiče-*, Yak., Dolg. *kičej-* etc., see TMN 1, 487, Doerfer MT 80, Rozycki 139, Kał. MEJ 38, Stachowski 147.

PJpn. ***kútúrə(n)k- (~ -ua-)** to relax, feel at ease (расслабляться): MJpn. *kútúróg-*; Tok. *kutsuróg-*; Kyo. *kútsúróg-*; Kag. *kùtsùròg-*.

◊ JLTT 718. Tokyo and Kagoshima have irregular accent pointing to a variant **kùtùrə(n)k-*.

PKor. ***kìtír'ó-** to wait (ждать): MKor. *kìtír'ó-*; Mod. *kidari-*.

◊ Nam 78, KED 262. Cf. also *kith-* 'to remain'.

‖ Cf. **kɨ̯ə́udi*, **gode* (with possible contaminations).

***kíʒV (?)** to lose, disappear: Tung. ***kiʒ-**; Jpn. ***kíjá-**.

PTung. ***kiʒ-** to lose (терять): Nan. *kɨ̯ʒo-*.

◊ TMC 1, 391.

PJpn. ***kíjá-** to disappear, be extinguished (пропадать, гаснуть): OJpn. *kjija-, ka-*; MJpn. *kíjá-*; Tok. *kìe-*; Kyo. *kíé-*; Kag. *kié-*.

◊ JLTT 708.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; rather dubious because of scarce attestation in TM.

***kɨ̯ə́č'ù** hole; mouth: Tung. ***kuči-n**; Mong. ***kačir**; Turk. ***KĒčir**; Jpn. ***kútí**.

PTung. ***kuči-n** 1 well 2 dimples (1 колодец 2 ямочки (на щеках)): Man. *χučin* 1; SMan. *qočin* 1 (547); Jurch. *xuĉi* 1(56); Nan. *qočɨ̯* 2; *χočī* 1 (< Man.).

◊ TMC 1, 419, 475.

PMong. ***kačir** cheek (щека): MMong. *qačar* (HY 45, SH), *qačər* (IM), *qačar* (LH) Г; WMong. *qačir, qačar* (L 901); Kh. *xacr, xacar*; Bur. *xasar*; Kalm. *xačr*; Ord. *Gačar*; Dag. *xačir* (Тод. Даг. 175), (MGCD, Тод. Даг. 148) *kačir; kɑ̯čire* (MD 181); Dong. *qiʒa, qiča*; Mongr. *xaʒar* (SM 148), *xaʒar*.

◊ KW 173, MGCD 336.

PTurk. ***KĒčir** 1 trachea 2 cartilage (1 трахея 2 хрящ): Tat. *käčerkä* 'a small hair on the back of a baby' (?); Kirgh. *kečir* 'cartilage of the shoulderblade bone'; Khak. *kiʒər* 2; Shr. *kečirtke* 2; Oyr. *ked'ir* 1; Tof. *keʒir* 2, *keʒir bōs* 1.

◊ VEWT 246. Length is indicated by voicing in Tof. and lack of pharyngealization.

PJpn. ***kútí** mouth (рот): OJpn. *kuti*; MJpn. *kútí*; Tok. *kùchi*; Kyo. *kúchí*; Kag. *kúchi* (= *kúT*).

◊ JLTT 467.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 111. For Jpn. cf. also Koguryo */xuče/* 'mouth'. The root must have basically meant 'mouth or throat cavity' (whence 'mouth', 'cheek' (originally probably 'inner side of cheek') and 'trachea'), with a secondary development > 'cavity in general' > 'well' in TM.

✱**kiadi** to put on, wear: Mong. ***kedü- / *keǯi-***; Turk. ***ged-***; Jpn. ***kí-***.

PMong. ***kedü- / *kedi-*** 1 to wear a garment 2 saddle cloth (1 надевать одежду 2 попона): WMong. *kedür-* 1 (L 442), *kežim* 2 (L 462); Kh. *xežim* 2; Bur. *xeder-* 1; Kalm. *ködr-* 1, *kežəm* 2; Ord. *kedür-* 1.

◊ KW 236. Mong. > Chag. *kežim* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 18-19; see Щербак 1997, 205, Лексика 546). Mong. *kežim* itself may be an old Turkic loanword, see TMN 1, 462.

PTurk. ***ged-*** to put on (надевать): OTurk. *ked-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *keδ-* (MK); Tur. *gij-*; Gag. *gī-*; Az. *gej-*; Turkm. *gej-*; Sal. *kij-*; Khal. *käd-*; MTurk. *kej-* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *kij-*; Uygh. *kej-, kij-*; Krm. *kij-*; Tat. *kij-*; Bashk. *kĭj-*; Kirgh. *kij-*; Kaz. *kĭj-*; KKalp. *kij-*; Kum. *gij-*; Nogh. *kij-*; SUygh. *kez-*; Khak. *kis-*; Shr. *kes-*; Oyr. *kij-*; Tv. *ket-*; Yak. *ket-*; Dolg. *ket-*.

◊ EDT 700, VEWT 246, ЭСТЯ 3, 12-13, Лексика 472-473, Stachowski 146.

PJpn. ***kí-*** to put on, wear (надевать, носить (одежду)): OJpn. *ki-*; MJpn. *kjí-*; Tok. *kì-*; Kyo. *kí-*; Kag. *kí-*.

◊ JLTT 709.

‖ KW 236, Poppe 19, Ozawa 197-199, JOAL 72, 73, 136, АПиПЯЯ 72. A possible TM match is Man. *adu* = Jurch. *ha-du* 'clothes' < **xadu* (TMC 1, 6); this would make us reconstruct **k'ajdi* and suppose a secondary (assimilatory) voicing in Turk. **ged-* < **ked-*.

✱**kiàdi** seam, to sew, lace: Tung. ***kiade-le-***; Mong. ***kaǯi***; Turk. ***K(i)adi-***; Kor. ***kjəd-***.

PTung. ***kiade-le-*** to lace, befringe (обшивать, окаймлять): Evk. *kêdelē-*.

◊ TMC 1, 443. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***kaǯi*** seam, facing; to face (шов, кант; обшивать): WMong. *qaǯi, qaǯi-* (L 948); Kh. *xaǯ*; Bur. *xaža* 'серебряная оправа'.

◊ Cf. also WMong. *qadaγ*, Khalkha *xadag* 'folded silk cloth'.

PTurk. ***K(i)adi-*** 1 to sew, sew together 2 leather belt (1 шить, сшивать 2 кожаный пояс): Karakh. *qaδu-* 1, *qaδiš* 2 (MK); Tur. *kajiš* 2; Gag. *qajiš* 2; Az. *Gajiš* 2; Turkm. *Gaja-* 1, *Gajiš* 2; Sal. *qajiš* 2; MTurk. *qajiš* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qajiš* 2 (dial.); Krm. *qajiš* 2; Tat. *qaji-* 1, *qajiš* 2; Bashk. *qaj-* > Chuv. *xaj-* 1, *qajiš* 2; Kirgh. *qaji-* 1, *qajiš* 2; Kaz. *qaji-* 1, *qajis* 2; KBalk. *qajiš* 2; KKalp. *qaji-* 1, *qajis* 2; Kum. *qaji-* 1, *qajiš* 2; Nogh. *qaji-* 1, *qajis* 2; Khak. *xās* 2; Oyr. *qajiš* 2; Yak. *xatis* 2.

◊ VEWT 219, TMN 3, 408, EDT 596, 607, ЭСТЯ 5, 199, 218, Лексика 386.

PKor. ***kjəd-*** to weave, plait (ткать, заплетать): MKor. *kjət-* (-r-); Mod. *kjāt-* (-r-).

◊ Liu 56, KED 115.

‖ TMC 1, 443.

✱**kiădu (~ k'-)** relative: Mong. ***kadum***; Turk. ***Kādin***; Kor. ***kjərăi***.

PMong. ***kadum*** relative by marriage (свойственник): MMong. *qadum* (MA), *qadom* (IM), *qadəm* (LH); WMong. *qadum* (L 903); Kh.

xadam; Bur. *xadam*; Kalm. *xadm*; Ord. *xadam*; Dag. *xadam* (Тод. Дат. 172); Dong. *Gadun*; S.-Yugh. *Gadəm*; Mongr. *Gadim* (SM 116).

◊ KW 158, MGCD 314. Mong. > Evk. *kadum*, see Poppe 1966, 195, Doerfer MT 125.

PTurk. ***Kādɨn*** relative-in-law (свойственник): OTurk. *qadɨn* (Yenis., OUygh.); Karakh. *qaδɨn* (MK, KB), *qadɨn* (KB), *qajɨn* (IM); Tur. *kajɨn*; Az. *Gajɨn*; Turkm. *Gājɨn*; MTurk. *qajɨn* (Pav. C., MA, Houts.); Uzb. *qɛjɨn*; Uygh. *qejin*; Tat. *qajɨn*; Bashk. *qajnɨ*; Kirgh. *qajɨn*; Kaz. *qajɨn*; Kum. *qajɨn*; Nogh. *qajɨn*; Khak. *xazɨn*/ *xastɨ*; Shr. *qazɨn*; Oyr. *qajɨn*; Tv. *qatɨ*; Tof. *xattɨ*; Chuv. *xoń*.

◊ VEWT 218, ЭСТЯ 5, 215-216, Лексика 309, Федотов 2, 358.

PKor. ***kjərăi*** relatives (родственники): MKor. *kjərăi*; Mod. *kjəre*.

◊ Nam 41, KED 111.

‖ KW 158, Poppe 52. Despite TMN 3, 579, Щербак 1997, 132 Mong. is hardly < Turk. Cf. also Evn. *kēde* 'friend' (TMC 1, 443). The Kor. word is compared alternatively (JLTT 438) with OJ *kara* 'clan, family', but the latter seems to have a better match in TM **kal-*, see **kala*.

✱**kiə̯̆gru** to bake, boil: Tung. ***kurgi-***; Mong. ***kaɣur-***; Turk. ****KAgur-***; Jpn. ****kùrì-dà***; Kor. ****kɨ̀rh-***.

PTung. ***kurgi-*** to burn, catch fire (гореть, вспыхивать): Evk. *kurgi-*; Neg. *kurgi-sin-*; Man. *χur-še-*; Ul. *kurǯi-*; Sol. *xudǯi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 435.

PMong. ***kaɣur-*** to roast, bake, fry (жарить, печь): MMong. *qawur-* (MA) 1; WMong. *qa(γ)uru-*, (L 910:) *qaɣur-*, *qaɣuur-*, *quɣur-*; Kh. *xūr-*; Bur. *xūra-*; Kalm. *xūr-*; Ord. *xūr-*; Mog. ZM *qouro* (14-6b) 'to boil, roast'; Dong. *kuru-*; Mongr. *kurgu-* (SM 216).

◊ KW 201, 204. Southern forms seem to reflect front vocalism.

PTurk. ****KAgur-*** to roast, fry (жарить): Karakh. *qaɣur-*, *qoɣur-*, *qovur-* (MK); Tur. *kavur-*; Gag. *qa'ur-*; Az. *Govur-*; Turkm. *Govur-*, *Gavɨr-* (А-Б); MTurk. *qavur-* (Houts., Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qɔwur-*, dial. *qɔɣur-*; Uygh. *qoru-*; Krm. *qavur-*; Tat. *quwɨr-*; Bashk. *quwɨr-*, dial. *qɨwɨr-*; Kirgh. *kūr(u)-*; Kaz. *quwɨr-*; KKalp. *quwɨr-*; Nogh. *quwɨr-*; Khak. *xōr-*; Shr. *qōr-*; Oyr. *kūr-*; Tv. *xōr-*.

◊ VEWT 220, ЭСТЯ 5, 175-177.

PJpn. ****kùrì-dà*** kitchen (кухня): OJpn. *kurija*; MJpn. *kùrìjà*; Tok. *kùrija*; Kyo. *kúrijá*; Kag. *kurijá*.

◊ JLTT 464. The accent in Tokyo and Kyoto is irregular (pointing to **kúrí-dá*), but Kagoshima together with RJ point to original low tone.

PKor. ****kɨ̀rh-*** to boil (варить(ся)): MKor. *kɨ̀rh-*; Mod. *k:ɨr(h)-*.

◊ Nam 74, KED 250.

‖ Mong. may be < Turk. (see TMN 3, 542, Щербак 1997, 132), but may well be genuine, see KW 202, Владимирцов 206, Poppe 48. Ko-

rean has the typical "verbal" low tone. The specific medial cluster explains somewhat irregular vowel behaviour in Kor.

✱**kə̀jó** strong odour, smoke: Tung. ***koja**; Mong. ***kej**; Turk. ***KAjɨr**; Jpn. ***káiN-púri**.

PTung. ***koja*** secretion of a musk deer (струя кабарги): Ul. *qoja*; Nan. *qoja*.

◊ TMC 1, 404.

PMong. ***kej*** 1 air, atmosphere 2 wind (1 воздух, атмосфера 2 ветер): MMong. *ke* (=*kəi* HY 1), *kei* (SH), *kī* (IM), *kǐji* (MA) 1; WMong. *kei* (L 444) 1; Kh. *xij* 1; Bur. *xī* 1; Kalm. *kī* 1; Ord. *kī*; Mog. *kei* 1,2; ZM *kei* 1,2 (19-4a); Dag. *xein*, *kein*, *kīn* 2 (Тод. Дат. 149), *hejn* 2, *hejse-* 'to blow' (MD 159), *hij* 1 (MD 162); Dong. *kei* 1, 2; Bao. *ki* 2; S.-Yugh. *kī* 1; Mongr. *kī* (SM 199) 1, 2.

◊ KW 233-234, MGCD 347. Mong. > Evk. *kei* etc., see Doerfer MT 102.

PTurk. ***KAjɨr*** castoreum, the odorous secretion of the beaver (мускус, пахучие выделения бобра): OTurk. *qajɨr* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qunduz qajɨri* (MK); MTurk. *qajɨr* (Sangl.); Tat. Sib. *qajɨr*; Khak. *xajɨr*; Shr. *qajɨr*.

◊ VEWT 222, EDT 678-679.

PJpn. ***káiN-púri (~ *kiá-)*** smoke (дым): OJpn. *k(j)eburi*; MJpn. *kébúri*; Tok. *kèmuri*; Kyo. *kémúri*; Kag. *kemúi*.

◊ JLTT 448. Historically a compound with **pur-* 'to wave' (or **pur-* 'to snow, rain'); the Ryukyu variant **kaiNpusi* may reflect a different suffixation (or the influence of **mus-* 'to boil, steam'). Simple **kai* is also attested in OJ as *ke* 'vapour, breath'; the word is traditionally regarded as borrowed < MChin. *khìj* id., but the vocalism is somewhat strange (one would rather expect OJ *ki* - which, as a matter of fact, is also attested and is the normal Goon / Kanon reading of the character 氣).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 109, 277, Мудрак Дисс. 103 (see also **gə̀ūbe*, **kə̀jaju*, with a possibility of contaminations). Note that both in MMong. and OJ the root is sometimes treated as borrowed from MChin. *khìj* (see, e.g., Rozycki 139) - which is not totally excluded, but somewhat dubious (very early attestation both in Mongolian and Japanese texts, and unexplained vocalism).

✱**kə̀jájú** wind, air: Tung. ***kuje**; Mong. ***kuj**; Turk. ***KAj**; Jpn. ***kùjù-r-**; Kor. ***kùrì-**.

PTung. ***kuje*** whirlwind, snow storm (метель, пурга): Neg. *kuje*; Orch. *kue*, *kuwe*; Ud. *kue* (Корм. 253).

◊ TMC 1, 425.

PMong. ***kuj*** whirlwind (вихрь): WMong. *qui* (L 982); Kh. *xuj*; Bur. *xuj*; Kalm. *xŭ* (KPC); Ord. *xuj*; S.-Yugh. *χui*.

◊ MGCD 386. Mong. > Chag. *qujun*, Oyr. *qujun* etc. (see Лексика 43-44, ЭСТЯ 6, 117-118).

PTurk. ***KAj*** 1 shaman spirit 2 throat singing (1 шаманский дух 2 горловое пение): SUygh. *qaj* 1; Khak. *xaj* 2; Shr. *qajla-* 2; Oyr. *qajla-* 2; Chuv. > Mari *xoj* 'Gespräch'.

◊ VEWT 221. If the original meaning is 'air movement' (cf. the external evidence), cf. also Chuv. *kü* 'strong odour'.

PJpn. ***kùjù-r-*** to smoke, fume (дымить(ся)): MJpn. *kùjù-r-*; Tok. *kuyúr-*; Kyo. *kúyúr-*; Kag. *kùyùr-*.

PKor. ***kùrì-*** be smelly, stinking (вонять, пахнуть): MKor. *kùrì-*; Mod. *kori-*, *kuri-*.

◊ Liu 83, KED 200.

‖ Cf. **kiá̯jo:* the two roots seem to be distinct, but certainly contaminations were possible. Kor. **kuri-* < **kuju-ri-*, cf. the Jpn. form.

kia̯ka (~ -kʻ-)** shell: Tung. ***kiaK-ta / -ikta; Jpn. ***kàkî***.

PTung. ***kiaK-ta / -ikta*** 1 skin 2 shell (1 кожа 2 раковина): Evk. *kêkikta* 1; Man. *qaiqari* 2; Ul. *qia̯qta* 2; Nan. *qa̋χta* 2; Orch. *kiakta* 2; Ud. *käkta* (*/käxta*) (Корм. 246).

◊ TMC 1, 386-387.

PJpn. ***kàkî*** shell, oyster (раковина, устрица): OJpn. *kakji*; MJpn. *kàkì*; Tok. *káki*; Kyo. *kàkî*; Kag. *kakí*.

◊ JLTT 434.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 293. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; seems quite reliable (linking the Jpn. form with Kor. *kur* by Martin 238 should be rejected).

k[ia̯]ma** a k. of aquatic bird: Tung. ***k[ia]m-; Mong. ***kemerleg***; Jpn. ***kàmuâ***; Kor. ***kàmà'ótí***.

PTung. ***k[ia]m-*** diver (гагара): Evn. *kāmilŋa / kiamilŋa*; Ork. *qojomo* 'a k. of duck'.

◊ TMC 1, 388, 404. Cf. also Man. *xumudu / xumtu* 'bustard' (TMC 1, 447). The vocalic reconstruction is not quite clear.

PMong. ***kemerleg*** a k. of pheasant-like bird (вид птицы, похожей на фазана): WMong. *kemerlig* (MXTTT); Kh. *xemerleg*.

PJpn. ***kàmuâ*** duck (утка): OJpn. *kamwo*; MJpn. *kàmò*; Tok. *kámo*; Kyo. *kàmô*; Kag. *kamó*.

◊ JLTT 436.

PKor. ***kàmà'ótí*** cormorant (баклан): MKor. *kàmà'ótí*; Mod. *kamauži*.

◊ Nam 4 (HMCH 184), KED 15.

‖ Despite some problems with vocalism, the root seems reliable.

kiă̯mò** ghost, spirit: Tung. ***kum-; Mong. ***keme-***; Turk. ***Kiam***; Jpn. ***kàmù-i***.

PTung. ***kum-*** evil spirit (злой дух): Nan. *kumtu* (Bik.); *qōmio* (On.) 'helping spirit, human-shaped figurine of a god'.

◊ TMC 1, 431. Attested only in Nanai (with a not quite clear vowel variation in dialects, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***keme-** 1 to divine on bones 2 to speak, explain (arch.) (1 гадать по костям 2 говорить, объяснять): WMong. *keme-* 1,2 (L 450); Kh. *xemē-* 2; Kalm. *kemɛ:-* 1.

◊ KW 224.

PTurk. ***Kiam** 1 shaman 2 to shamanize, come into movement (1 шаман 2 камлать, приходить в движение): OTurk. *qam* 1, *qamla-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qam* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *kam* 1; MTurk. *qam* 1 (AH, IM, Pav. C.), *qamla-* 2 (Sangl.); Krm. *qamʒɨ* 1; Tat. *qam* 1 (Sib.); Khak. *xam* 1, *xamna-* 2; Shr. *qam* 1; Oyr. *qam* 1, *qamda-* 2; Tv. *xam* 1; Tof. *xam* 1; Chuv. *jomъ́ś, jumъ́ʑə* 1; Yak. *xam-nā-* (*xam-sā-*) 2; Dolg. *kamnā-* 2.

◊ VEWT 228, TMN 3, 402-406, ЭСТЯ 5, 240-241, Егоров 348-349, Федотов 1, 486, Stachowski 136.

PJpn. ***kàmù-i** god, spirit (бог, дух): OJpn. *kami*; MJpn. *kàmì*; Tok. *kamí*; Kyo. *kámi*; Kag. *kàmí*.

◊ JLTT 435. OJ *kamu-* in compounds (*kamu-nusi* etc.).

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 192 (Turk.-Mong.). Cf. perhaps also MKor. -kím in *nīm-kím* 'master, Lord' (if -kím is not borrowed < Jpn. *kimi*, see under **kiŋo*).

***kʲamp'a** top, top of head: Tung. ***kiama / *kiapa**; Turk. ***k(i)amak / *k(i)apak**; Jpn. ***kàm(p)-**; Kor. ***kàmá**.

PTung. ***kiama / *kiapa** 1 temple 2 face (1 висок 2 лицо): Evk. *kêwa* 2; Ork. *qêmi* 1; Nan. *qāf* (Bik.) 1; Ud. *keämikta* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 386.

PTurk. ***K(i)amak / *K(i)apak** 1 forehead 2 front part 3 eyelid 4 eyebrow (1 лоб 2 передняя часть 3 веко 4 бровь): Karakh. *qapaq* 3 (MK); Tur. *kabak* 'bald', dial. *kabag* 1, 2, 'face', 'skull'; Az. *GabaG* 2, (poet.) 'face'; Turkm. *GābaG* 3; MTurk. *qabaq* 1, 2 (Sangl., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qɔvɔq* 3; Uygh. dial. *qawaq* 3; Tat. *küz qabaɣɨ* 3, dial. taw *qabaɣɨ* 'mountain slope'; Bashk. *qabaq* 3, 'precipice'; Kirgh. *qabaq* 3, 'pitfall'; Kaz. *qabaq* 3, 'place under the forehead; edge of shore'; KKalp. *qabaq* 3, 'cleft'; Kum. *göz qabaɣɨ* 3; Nogh. *qabaq* 3; SUygh. *qavaq* 'nose bridge' (ЯЖУ); Khak. *xamax* 1; Shr. *qamaq, qabaq* 1; Oyr. *qamaq, qabaq* 4, dial. 1; Tv. *xavaq* 1; Tof. *qabaq* 4.

◊ VEWT 228, ЭСТЯ 5, 161, Лексика 199-200. An extremely complicated case: forms meaning 'eyelid' are traditionally analysed as derived from **Kap-* 'to cover' - but the Turkm., Uzb. and Uygh. forms clearly contradict such a derivation by displaying unmistakable vowel length. A trace of the original meaning 'forehead, eyebrow' (later shifted to 'eyelid') in the Kypchak languages (not distinguishing vowel length) may be found in expressions meaning 'to frown (one's forehead, eyebrows)': Kirgh. *qabaq tüj-, bürkö-*, Kaz., KKalp. *qabaq tüj-*. The form **Kāpak* may have been additionally influenced by PT **Kāp* 'sack; to surround' (v. sub **k[ā]p'á*), **Kāp(ak)* 'caul, hymen' (v. sub **k'āp'a*). The variation of *-m- and -p- (cf. the archaic Siberian reflexes with -m-) is parallelled by a similar variation in TM and Japanese and may reflect an original cluster, but may have been an innovation due to the contaminations with **Kap-* and **Kāp*.

PJpn. ***kàm(p)-*** 1 top 2 head (1 верх, верхушка 2 голова): OJpn. *kamji* 1; MJpn. *kàmí* 1, *kabu(ri)* 2; Tok. *kámi* 1, *káburi*, *kàburi* 2; Kyo. *kàmí* 1, *kábúrí* 2; Kag. *kamí* 1, *kaburí* 2.

◊ JLTT 431, 435.

PKor. ***kàmá*** crown of head (верхушка головы): MKor. *kàmá*; Mod. *kama*.

◊ Liu 20, HMCH 51, KED 14.

‖ PKE 68 (Kor.-Turk., without Japanese parallels), АПиПЯЯ 279, Лексика 200. Tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular. The variation between *-m- and *-p- in most subgroups reflects the PA cluster *-mpʿ-, possibly with later interdialectal loans.

✱**kə̀ə̆mù** beaver; bear: Tung. ***kuma***; Turk. ***Kạma***; Jpn. ***kùmà***; Kor. ***kōm***.

PTung. ***kuma*** seal (нерпа, тюлень): Evk. *kuma*; Evn. *qụma*; Neg. *koma*.

◊ TMC 1, 430.

PTurk. ***Kạma*** 1 beaver 2 otter (1 бобер 2 выдра): Uygh. *qama* 2; Tat. *qama* 2; Bashk. *qama* 2; KKalp. *qama* 2; Khak. *xam-nos*, *xam čat* (Верб.) 1; Shr. *qamna(γi)* 2; Oyr. *qamdu* 2; Chuv. *хъʷma* 'beaver, marten'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 242, Лексика 162, Мудрак Дисс. 145. Also PT **Kam-tuŕ* 'beaver, otter' (VEWT 228, Лексика 162) (**Kam-tuŕ* may be a compound < **Kama+*utiŕ* 'otter' q.v. sub **óŋdu*; Leksika ibid., however, suggests rather **Kam-luč*, with a diminutive *-luč. There is also a variant **Kun-tuŕ* (with **Kunu* 'wolverine'? - see, however, TMN 3, 524, with a suggestion of Turk. < Pers.).

PJpn. ***kùmà*** bear (медведь): OJpn. *kuma*; Tok. *kumá*; Kyo. *kúmà*; Kag. *kumá*.

◊ JLTT 463.

PKor. ***kōm*** bear (медведь): MKor. *kōm*; Mod. *kōm*.

◊ Nam 51, KED 161.

‖ EAS 155, SKE 122-123, Дыбо 9, Martin 225, Лексика 162.

✱**kə̀antú** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***kondi***; Mong. ***kundaga***; Turk. ***Kendük (*Kentük)***; Jpn. ***kùntá***.

PTung. ***kondi*** scoop, box (ковш, черпак, ящик): Neg. *konǯaxan*; Ul. *konǯoko*; Ork. *χondoqqo* 'кисет'; Nan. *kunǯi*, *kunǯučē*; Orch. *kōndi*; Ud. *konǯi*.

◊ TMC 1, 409, 412, 470.

PMong. ***kundaga*** a small vessel (небольшой сосуд): WMong. *qundaγa(n)* (L 986); Kh. *xundaga*; Bur. *xundaga*; Ord. *xundaGa*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *xuntaxa* (see Rozycki 112).

PTurk. ***Kendük (*Kentük)*** 1 large earthenware jar for storing flour 2 bin, crib for flour, grain (1 большой глиняный сосуд для муки 2 ларь, закром для муки, зерна): Karakh. *kendük* (MK - Ganch.) 1; Az. *kändi* 2; Khal. *kändi* 'basket'; MTurk. *kündük* 'jug' (Sangl.); Uzb. *kandik* 2;

Kirgh. *kendik* 'room for grain, fuel' (may be < Pers.); Chuv. *kandi* 'round wooden bowl'.

◊ EDT 729. Clauson regards the word as an unequivocal iranism. The Iranian forms are: Pekhl. *kndwg* (> Armen. *k'andouk*), Pers. *kandū*, *kandūk* 'big earthenware vessel for storing grain', Osset. *xaendyg* 'pail for pickled cheese'. Persian is the source of Syr. *kndwk-*, Arab. *kandūǰ* 'big vessel for grain'. Also related is Sak. *khadīrakya* (**xandīra-*) 'a vessel' (possibly, some basket-work, see Bailey 71, Аб. 4, 173). Abayev derives the above forms from Iran. **kan-* 'to dig' - which is not quite plausible (in a participle we would expect the zero grade vocalism; unclear is the labial vowel in the suffix; semantics raises doubts). On the other hand, all the above Iranian forms can be well explained as Turkisms, including the Saka form - with the suffix -rak (a wellknown suffix for receptacles, see Bang 1918). External parallels provide the final support for such a decision. Middle Greek *kóndü* 'potārion' may be < Bulg., cf. the Chuv. semantics (see Фасмер sub *кандия*; cf. also other European words possibly having the same source).

PJpn. ***kùntá*** pipe (трубка): OJpn. *kuda*; MJpn. *kùdá*; Tok. *kúda*; Kyo. *kùdá*; Kag. *kudá*.

◊ JLTT 461.

‖ The root appears well reconstructable for PA, with a common derivative **ki̯àntú-kV* (PT **Kendük* = PM **kundaga* = PTM **kondi-kā-n*.

✱**k[i̯a]ŋe** a k. of board: Tung. ***küŋile***; Mong. ***kaŋga***; Turk. ***K(i)aŋ***.

PTung. ***küŋile*** skis (лыжи-голицы): Evk. *kiŋlē*; Evn. *ki̯ŋna*; Neg. *kiŋne*; Ul. *kuŋgilte*; Ork. *kuŋgilte*; Nan. *kuŋgilte*; Orch. *kiŋile*; Ud. *kiŋgile*.

◊ TMC 1, 396. Evk. > Dolg. *kiŋle* (see Stachowski 148).

PMong. ***kaŋga*** a k. of board, cross-bar (вид доски, распорки): WMong. *qaŋɣa*; Kh. *xaŋga*; Kalm. *xaŋgə*.

◊ KW 166. Mong > Kaz. *qaŋa* 'доска' etc., VEWT 232.

PTurk. ***K(i)aŋ*** 1 vehicle, cart 2 skis, sleigh (1 повозка 2 лыжи, сани): OTurk. *qaŋlï* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qaŋlï* (MK) 1; Tur. *kaɣnï*, dial. *kannï*, *kangillï* 1; Sal. *ɣaŋlï* 1; MTurk. *qaŋlï* (Sangl., Houts., AH) 1; Khak. *xaŋā* 1; Shr. *qaŋna* 2; Tv. *xãk* 2; Tof. *qaŋha* 2 (ФиЛ 91).

◊ TMN 3, 531, EDT 638, ЭСТЯ 5, 259-260, Лексика 533.

‖ A Western isogloss. Despite vocalic irregularity, the TM forms are hard to separate from Turko-Mongolian.

✱**ki̯àpì** depth; edge: Tung. ***kiabu-***; Mong. ***köb-***; Jpn. ***kìpà***; Kor. ***kìphí-***.

PTung. ***kiabu-*** bottom of boat (дно лодки): Ul. *kêwu(n)*; Nan. *kiõ*; Orch. *kãu*.

◊ TMC 1, 390.

PMong. ***köb-*** 1 depth 2 edge, side (1 глубина 2 край, бок): WMong. *köb* 1 (L 475), *köbege(n)*, *köbüge* (L 476) 2; Kh. *xöv* 1, *xövge*, *xövõ* 2; Bur. *xübõ* 2; Kalm. *köwɛ* 2; Ord. *köwõ* 2; Dag. *kuwē*, *kugē* 2 (Тод. Дат. 150); Mongr. *koG* (SM 212) 1.

◊ KW 242. Mong. > Evk. *kuwē*, Man. *kubu-*, *kubuxen* (TMC 1, 423, Poppe 1966, 192, Doerfer MT 132), Turk. *köbe* etc. (VEWT 285, ЭСТЯ 5, 80-81).

PJpn. ***kìpà*** edge, side (край, бок): OJpn. *kjipa*; MJpn. *kìfà*; Tok. *kiwá*; Kyo. *kíwà*; Kag. *kiwá*.

◊ JLTT 452.

PKor. ***kìphí-*** deep (глубокий): MKor. *kìphí-*; Mod. *kip-* [*kiph-*].

◊ Nam 80, KED 283.

‖ Martin 230. Korean has a 'verbal' low tone and a secondary monophthongization (*-jə- > -i-). In Mong. one has to assume labial assimilation **köb-* < **keb-*.

✱**kiapʿa** turtle, crayfish: Tung. ***kiakp-*** / ***kiapk-***; Mong. ***kab-***; Jpn. ***kap-*** / ***kam-***; Kor. ***kàpúp***.

PTung. ***kiakp-*** / ***kiapk-*** 1 crayfish 2 tick (1 рак 2 клещ): Ork. *qêqparị* 1; Orch. *kāpi* 2; Ud. *käfi* 2 (Корм. 247), *keäfi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 388.

PMong. ***kab-*** 1 crayfish 2 turtle (1 рак 2 черепаха): WMong. *qabči* 1 (L 896); Kh. *xavč* 1; Bur. *xabšāxaj* 1; Kalm. *xawxəntə* 2 (KPC); Dag. *xabil* 2 (Тод. Даг. 172).

◊ Dag. > Sol. *xabil* id.

PJpn. ***kap-*** / ***kam-*** 1 turtle 2 frog (1 черепаха 2 лягушка): OJpn. *kame* 1, *kapjeru*, *kapadu* 2; MJpn. *kàmè* 1, *kaferu*, *kafadu* 2; Tok. *káme* 1, *kàeru*, *kàwazu* 2; Kyo. *kàmê* 1, *kàèrú*, *kàwàzú* 2; Kag. *kamé* 1, *kaerú*, *kawázu* 2.

◊ JLTT 432, 435, 446. Original accent is not quite clear.

PKor. ***kàpúp*** turtle (черепаха): MKor. *kàpúp*; Mod. *kəbuk*.

◊ Nam 32, KED 85.

‖ Martin 244 (Kor.-Jpn.). PJ **kama-* presupposes a nasal suffix (**kiapʿa-nV*). A very similar fish name is found in TM (Oroch *kiampai* 'чилимс', Nan. *qāfu* 'гольян (озерный)', see TMC 1, 397); cf. also a quite isolated Turkm. *kepir* 'carp' (if not from Pers. *kopur*, see ЭСТЯ 5, 47). Whether these forms reflect the same root is yet to be determined.

✱**kiàpʿù (~ kʿ-, -e-u, -a-u)** hoof, heel: Mong. ***kajir-***; Jpn. ***kupi-(mpi)su***; Kor. ***kúp***.

PMong. ***kajir-*** to hit with a hoof (бить копытом): MMong. *qaji-* (SH) 'to tread'; WMong. *qajir-* (L 913: *qaira-*); Kh. *xajr-*; Bur. *xajra-*; Kalm. *xār-*; Ord. *xār-*.

◊ KW 180.

PJpn. ***kupi-(mpi)su*** heel (пятка): OJpn. *kupjipjisu*; MJpn. *kúbísù*, *kúfísù*; Tok. *kùbisu*, *kibisu*; Kyo. *kúbìsù*; Kag. *kubísu*.

◊ JLTT 461. Original accent is not quite clear: Kyoto points rather to LLL, Tokyo and Kagoshima - to HHH, while RJ has an exceptional type HHL: this is all probably due to the elision of a medial syllable.

PKor. ***kúp*** hoof (копыто): MKor. *kúp*; Mod. *kup*.

◊ Liu 90, KED 220.

‖ Whitman 1985, 182, 226 (Kor.-Jpn.). Cf. Chag. (VEWT 281) *kopuk* 'eine vorteilhafte (stehende) Stellung des Knöchels beim Spiel'. In TM cf. **kōkčān* 'hoof' (TMC 1, 405-406) - perhaps < **kōpčān*, cf. Evk. Tott. *kopčan*.

✱**kịăro** crow, raven: Tung. ***kori**; Mong. ***kerije**; Turk. ***KArga**; Jpn. ***kara-su**; Kor. ***kằr-**.

PTung. ***kori** a mythical bird (mediator) (мифическая птица (медиатор)): Ork. *qorị*; Nan. *qorị*; Orch. *kōri*.

◊ TMC 1,415.

PMong. ***kerije** crow, raven (ворон(а)): MMong. *kiriä* (MA), *kere'e* (SH); WMong. *kerije(n)* (L 458); Kh. *xerē(n)*; Bur. *xirē*, *xerē*; Kalm. *kerē*; Ord. *kerē*; Dag. *xerē* (Тод. Даг. 175); S.-Yugh. *kərī*; Mongr. *kərē* (SM 198).

◊ KW 226, MGCD 343. Mong. > Evk. *kerê* etc., see TMN 1, 464, Doerfer MT 96, Rozycki 138.

PTurk. ***KArga** crow (ворона): OTurk. *qarγa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qarγa* (MK, KB); Tur. *karγa*; Az. *Garγa*; Turkm. *GarGa*; MTurk. *qarγa* (Houts., AH, IM, Qutb., Pav. C.), *qarqa* (MA); Uzb. *qɛrγɛ*; Uygh. *qa(r)γa*; Tat. *qarγa*; Bashk. *qarγa*; Kirgh. *qarγa*; Kaz. *qarγa*; KBalk. *qarγa*; KKalp. *qarγa*, *γarγa*; Kum. *qarγa*; Nogh. *qarγa*; Khak. *xarγa*; Shr. *qarγa*; Oyr. *qarγa*; Tv. *qārγan*; Tof. *qarγan*.

◊ VEWT 237, TMN 3, 384, ЭСТЯ 5, 303-304, *Лексика* 171. Turk. > Mong. *qarγa* (Щербак 1997, 134).

PJpn. ***kara-su** crow (ворона): OJpn. *karasu*; MJpn. *kàrásu*; Tok. *kàrasu*; Kyo. *kàràsù*; Kag. *karásu*.

◊ JLTT 439. Accent relations are quite unclear.

PKor. ***kằr-** crow, jackdaw (ворона, галка): MKor. *kằr-kàmàkói*; Mod. *kalgamagwi*.

◊ Nam 20, KED 42.

‖ Дыбо 8, *Лексика* 171. In Turk. cf. also **Kuŕgun* 'raven' (see TMN 3, 468-469, ЭСТЯ 6, 107-108).

✱**kịăru** need, necessity: Tung. ***kor-pi-**; Mong. ***kara**; Turk. ***gẹrge-**; Kor. ***kari- (?)**.

PTung. ***kor-pi-** to be, make in time (успеть, сделать к сроку): Neg. *kotpị-*; Ul. *qorpị-*; Ork. *qulpị-*; Nan. *qorpị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 419.

PMong. ***kara** 1 envy 2 in need, jobless 3 miserly (1 зависть 2 нуждающийся, безработный 3 скупой): WMong. *qara* 1, *qarayu*, *qaram* 3 (L 934, 935); Kh. *xar* 1, *xarū*, *xaram* 3; Bur. *xara* 1; Kalm. *xarā* 2, *xarəm* 'compassion; miserliness', *xarū* 'jealous; miserly; careful' (KPC); Ord. *xaramči* 3; Dag. *xarmači(n)* 3 (Тод. Даг. 174), *hareme* 3 (MD 157).

PTurk. ***gẹrge-** 1 to need 2 necessity, necessary 3 to stay away, dare not (1 нуждаться 2 необходимость, необходимый 3 не осмеливать-

ся): OTurk. *kerge-* 1 (OUygh.), *kergek* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kerge-* 1, *kerek* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *gerek* 2; Az. *gäräk* 2; Turkm. *gerek* 2; Khal. *kerek* 2; MTurk. *kerek* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *kerak* 2; Uygh. *keräk* 2; Krm. *kerek* 2; Tat. *kiräk* 2; Bashk. *käräk* 2; Kirgh. *kerek* 2; Kaz. *kerek* 2; KBalk. *kerek* 2; KKalp. *kerek* 2; Kum. *gerek* 2; Nogh. *kerek* 2; SUygh. *kerek* 2; Khak. *kirek* 2; Shr. *kerek* 2; Oyr. *kerek* 2; Tv. *xerek* 2; Tof. *xerek* 2; Chuv. *kir-lə* 2; Yak. *kerej-* 3, *kerex* 2; Dolg. *kerek* 2.

◊ VEWT 256, EDT 742, 743, ЭСТЯ 3, 25-26, Stachowski 145. Turk. > Mong. *kereg* (see Щербак 1997, 127).

PKor. ***kari-*** miserly (скупой): MKor. *karin-čuməni* (a comp. with *čuməni* 'pocket'); Mod. *karin-sirəp-*, *karin-čuməni*.

◊ Liu 20, KED 14 (Martin's derivation < *kanrin* < Chin. seems dubious).

‖ Cf. also **k'i̯ùru* 'heavy, difficult'.

✱**ki̯áta** salmon, a k. of fish: Tung. ***kiata***; Mong. ***kadaraŋ***; Turk. ***K(i)atir- (~-d-)***; Jpn. ***kátú-***.

PTung. ***kiata*** 1 salmon 2 dead fish (after releasing roe) 3 to weaken (1 лосось 2 мертвая рыба (после икрометания) 3 слабеть): Evk. *kêta* 1; Evn. *qāta* 1; Neg. *kêta* 1; Man. *ḱata* 1, *ḱatu-* 3; Ul. *kêta* 2; Ork. *qêta* 2; Nan. *qāta-* 3; Orch. *kiata* 2, *kiata-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 389. TM > WMong. *kete*, Kalm. *ketə* (KW 228); Russ. *кета*.

PMong. ***kadaraŋ*** 1 grayling 2 ruff (1 хариус 2 ерш): MMong. *qadara* 'k. of fish' (SH); WMong. *qadaraŋ* 2, (L 903) *qadara* 1; Kh. *xadar* 1, *xadraŋ* 2; Bur. *xadaran* 1; Kalm. *xadərn̦* 'тарань' (KPC).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *kadara* etc. (not vice versa, despite Doerfer MT 103).

PTurk. ***K(i)atir- (~-d-)*** 1 grayling 2 sturgeon (1 хариус 2 осетр): Tv. *qadirγɨ* 1; Yak. *xatīs* 2.

◊ VEWT 219.

PJpn. ***kátú-*** 1 tuna fish 2 to become hungry (1 тунец 2 голодать): MJpn. *kátúwó* 1, *katuwa-* 2; Tok. *kàtsuo* 1, *katsué-* 2; Kyo. *kátsúó* 1, *kátsúé-* 2; Kag. *katsúo* 1, *kàtsùè-*.

◊ JLTT 444. Historically a compound with **(d)ibua* 'fish'. Despite the difference in accent, the verbal stem seems to belong here etymologically: cf. the verbal meaning 'to weaken, die (after releasing roe)' in most TM languages.

‖ An interesting root, demonstrating the acquaintance of the speakers with the way of life of the salmon (weakening and dying after releasing roe). Note a common derivative **ki̯áta-rV* in the Turko-Mongolian area.

✱**ki̯átu** sharp tool; notch: Tung. ***kota***; Mong. ***godoli***; Turk. ***gēt-***.

PTung. ***kota*** 1 knife 2 knife on a shaft (1 нож 2 рогатина (тесак на древке)): Evk. *koto* 2; Evn. *qotqān* 1; Neg. *koto* 1; Nan. *qoto* 1; Sol. *koto* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 418. Doerfer (TMN 1, 486) tries to derive TM **kota* from Mong. **kituga* (v. sub **k'i̯ət'e*), but this is probably a different root.

PMong. ***godoli** a k. of arrow (вид стрелы): MMong. *qodoli* (SH); WMong. *ɣodoli* (L 358: *ɣoduli* 'horn-tipped arrow'); Kh. *godil*; Bur. *godli* 'стрела с роговым или деревянным наконечником'; Kalm. *ɣodəli*; Ord. *Godoli*.

◊ KW 149, TMN 1, 425. Mong. > MKor. *kotorí* (see Lee 1964, 192).

PTurk. ***gēt-** to indent, notch, crack (делать зарубку, надрез): Karakh. *ked-* (OKypch., AH); Tur. *get-*; Turkm. *gät-*; Khal. *kätük* 'indent'; MTurk. *ket-* (MA); Uzb. *ketük* (n.); Tat. *kit-*; Bashk. *kit-*; Kirgh. *ket-*; Kaz. *ketik* (n.); KKalp. *ketik* (n.); Nogh. *ketik* (n.); Chuv. *kat-*.

◊ VEWT 259, ЭСТЯ 3, 30-31, 5, 65-66, EDT 700-701.

‖ A Western isogloss. In Mong. one has to suppose assimilation: *godoli* < **kodoli*. Cf. **kʲə̯ōtʲe*.

***kə̯á[tʲ]ó** stern, steering oar: Tung. ***kude**; Mong. ***kitüge**; Turk. ***KAdik**; Jpn. ***kántí**.

PTung. ***kude** 1 stern 2 steering oar (1 задняя часть судна, корма 2 рулевое весло): Man. *xude* 1, 2; Nan. *kude* 2; Ud. *kude* 'носовая переборка бата (большой долбленой лодки)' (Корм. 252).

◊ TMC 1, 424.

PMong. ***kitüge** stern, steering oar (корма, рулевое весло): WMong. *kiteg* (L 474 *kitüge*); Kh. *xiteg*.

PTurk. ***KAdik** wooden trough (выдолбленная из дерева колода): Karakh. *qaδıq* (MK: Argu).

◊ EDT 597. The form, although isolated, is clearly different from **K(i)aj-guk* (v. sub **gə̆jə́*), attested both in Old Turkic and modern languages.

PJpn. ***kántì** steering wheel, steering oar (руль, рулевое весло): OJpn. kadi; MJpn. *kádì*; Tok. *káji*; Kyo. *kájì*; Kag. *káji*.

◊ JLTT 447. Regular except for the Tokyo accent (**kaji* would be expected).

‖ Reasons for voicing in TM and Turkic are not clear (assimilative development in a suffixed form **kə̯átʲó-gV*?; note that in PTM we can also reconstruct **kudege* - the -ge would have been lost in all languages where the root is attested).

***kə̯aʒurV** sand, steppe, earth: Tung. ***kuʒur-**; Mong. ***kuʒir**; Turk. ***Kaji̇r**.

PTung. ***kuʒur-** to cover, bury (with soil) (заваливать (землей)): Neg. *kuʒuj-*.

◊ TMC 1,424 (an isolated Negidal form, but with probable external parallels).

PMong. ***kuʒir** salty earth (солончак): MMong. *qəʒər* (IM); WMong. *quʒir* (L 994); Kh. *xuʒir*; Bur. *xužar*; Kalm. *xuʒr*; Ord. *xužir*, Guʒir; Dag. *xoďir* (Тод. Даг. 176; MGCD *xoʒir*); S.-Yugh. *χuʒir*; Mongr. *xoʒir* 'soude' (SM 170).

◊ KW 195, MGCD 385. Mong. > Man. *xužiri* (see Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 112 - but not Evk. *kudu*).

PTurk. ***Kajɨr*** 1 salt steppe 2 sandbank 3 gravel 4 sand (1 солончак 2 песчаный берег 3 гравий 4 песок): Karakh. *qajɨr* 1, 4 (MK Oghuz); Tur. *kajɨr* 2; Turkm. dial. Gajɨr 3, 4; MTurk. (OKypch.) *qajɨr* (Houts. 94, AH 74); Uzb. dial. *qɛjir* 3; Kaz. *qajɨr* 2; KKalp. *qajɨr* 2; Kum. *qajɨr* 3; Nogh. *qajɨr* 4; Tv. *xajɨr* 1; Chuv. *хъjър* 4; Yak. *xajɨr tās* 3.

◊ VEWT 221-222, EDT 678, ЭСТЯ 5, 206, 217, Лексика 97. Turk. > WMong. *qajir*, Kalm. *xār* (KW 180).

‖ VEWT 222 (Turk.-Mong.), АПиПЯЯ 287, Лексика 97. A Western isogloss.

kị̆oči (~ -e, *kị̆ačo)** nasty: Tung. ***kus-; Mong. ***kečeɣü***; Turk. ****KAč-***; Kor. ****kùč-***.

PTung. ***kus-*** hate, uneasiness (неловкость, тоска, отвращение): Man. *kušu-n*.

◊ TMC 1, 441. Cf. perhaps Nan. *kusi-* 'to drive away, frighten off (cattle)'.

PMong. ****kečeɣü*** difficult, unpleasant (трудный, неприятный): MMong. *kɛču* 'stupid' (IM), *keče'u(n)*, *keča'u* 'hard; stupid' (SH), *kecəo'u* 'verstockt' (HYt); WMong. *kečegü*, (L 440:) *kečegüü*; Kh. *xecü̆*; Bur. *xesü̆*; Kalm. *kecü̆*; Ord. *gečü̆*; Dag. *kečū* (Тод. Даг. 150).

◊ KW 229, TMN 1, 462. Mong. > Manchu *keču* 'fierce, cruel' etc. (see Rozycki 135).

PTurk. ****KAč-*** 1 panic and disorder 2 crazy 3 (to act) inimically, cattily 4 annoyance 5 joke 6 to mock (1 паника и беспорядок 2 безумный 3 (поступать) назло, злобствовать 4 досада 5 шутка 6 насмехаться): Karakh. *qačiš* 1 (MK); Tur. *kačɨk* 2; Khak. *xača-* 3, *xačaɣ* 4; Shr. *qažaŋ* 5; Oyr. *qačaš* 3 (adj.); Tv. *qïžïrt-* 6.

◊ VEWT 217, EDT 593. MK's gloss is analysed as a reciprocal derivative < **KAč-* 'to flee', but this is obviously a folk etymology.

PKor. ****kùč-*** nasty (противный, плохой): MKor. *kùč-*; Mod. *kut-* [*kuč-*].

◊ Nam 64, KED 223.

‖ Mong. *keče-ɣü* and some Turkic forms (e.g. Khak. *xača-ɣ*) reflect a common derivative **kị̆oči-gV*.

kị̆ód[o]** to go, walk: Tung. ****kiad-; Mong. ****ködel-***; Jpn. ****kájuáp-***; Kor. ****kəd-***.

PTung. ****kiad-*** mountain pass (горный перевал): Evk. *kêdris*.

◊ TMC 1, 386. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ****ködel-*** 1 to move 2 to work (1 двигаться 2 работать): MMong. *kotɛlči* 'servant' (IM), *kudäl-* (MA), *kodol-*, *godol-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *ködel-* 1, 2; Kh. *xödl-* 1, 2; Bur. *xüdel-* 1, 2; Kalm. *ködl-* 1, 2; Ord. *ködöl-* 1, 2; Mog. *kütäl* 'work'; Dag. *xudele-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 179), *hudele-*, *hudule-* (MD 165); Dong. *gožielu-* 1, 2; Bao. *gudel~gudal-* 1; S.-Yugh. *gödöl-*; Mongr. *gudoli-* (SM 139) 1.

◊ KW 235, MGCD 404.

PJpn. ***kájuáp-** to walk, go back and forth (ходить): OJpn. *kajwop-*; MJpn. *kájóf-*; Tok. *kàyo-*; Kyo. *káyó-*; Kag. *kayó-*.

◊ JLTT 707.

PKor. ***kəd-** walk (ходить): MKor. *kət-* (*kər-*); Mod. *kət-* (*kər-*).

◊ Nam 32, 37, KED 95.

‖ Martin 245, АПиПЯЯ 15, 16, 71, 103, 279 (but the Turkic parallel has to be attributed to a different root, see **gāt'i*). In TM one would rather expect *kid- - but the PTM reconstruction is dubious anyway (based only on one dialectal Evk. form).

***kị́ójbu** pale: Tung. ***kiaba-**; Mong. ***kubakaj**; Turk. ***Kuba / *Koba**; Jpn. ***kú-i**.

PTung. ***kiaba-** pale (бледный): Evk. *kêwama*; Evn. *kêmakụ*; Neg. *kêm-dị, kêr*; Ul. *qêm-ǯị*; Ork. *qêmo-tto-*; Nan. *qịa-gža, qịa-m*; Orch. *kăm*; Ud. *keäl-keäl*.

◊ TMC 1, 386.

PMong. ***kubakaj** pale, withered (бледный, засохший): MMong. *qubi* 'yellow (horse)' (SH); WMong. *qubaqai* (L 976); Kh. *xuvxai*; Bur. *xubxaj*; Kalm. *xōxŋ*; Ord. *xuwaxă̈*.

◊ KW 192. Mong. > Oyr. *qubaγai*.

PTurk. ***Kuba / *Koba** pale yellow, pale grey (желтоватый, сероватый): Karakh. *quba* (MK); Uzb. *quw*; Tat. *quwa, qịw* (dial.); Kirgh. *qū*; Kaz. *quw*; KKalp. *quw*; Kum. *quw*; Nogh. *quw*; SUygh. *qo*; Khak. *xū*; Oyr. *qō, qū*; Tv. *xuwa*.

◊ VEWT 295, EDT 581, ЭСТЯ 6, 94-96, 98-99. Turk. > Mong. *quba, quwa* (KW 191, Щербак 1997, 142; Mong. *quba*, however, also means 'amber' and may be borrowed also from Chin. *hu-p'o*, see L 976, Rozycki 111) > Man. *quwa*.

PJpn. ***kú-i** yellow (желтый): OJpn. *ki*; MJpn. *kí*; Tok. *kì-iro-*; Kyo. *kîíro-*; Kag. *kīre*.

◊ JLTT 449. The root **kú-* is proved by compounds like OJ *ku-gane* 'yellow metal, gold'.

‖ Владимирцов 210. *-jb- is reconstructed to account for Mong. -b- rather than *-γ-. Note, however, that modern Turkic and Mongolian forms interact actively: some Turkic forms may be backloans from Mong. *quwa* (which itself is probably a Turkism, see above).

***kị̀olo (~ k'-, -Í-, -ị̀u-)** long; far: Mong. ***kolo**; Kor. ***kìr-**.

PMong. ***kolo** far (далекий): MMong. *kolo* (HY 52), *qolo* (SH), *qula* (IM), *qulă* (MA); WMong. *qolo*, (L 956) *qola*; Kh. *xol*; Bur. *xolo*; Kalm. *xolə*; Ord. *xolo*; Mog. *qolō*; ZM *qolā* (6-8a); Dag. *xolo, xol* (Тод. Даг. 177), *hole* (MD 163); Dong. *Golo*; Bao. *xolo*, (MGCD) *Golo*; S.-Yugh. *xolo*; Mongr. *xolo, Golo* 'tres, fort' (SM 170), *xulo* (SM 180).

◊ KW 182, MGCD 361.

PKor. ***kìr-*** 1 long 2 to prolong (1 длинный 2 удлинять): MKor. *kìr'ú-* 2; Mod. *kīl-* 1, *kiri-* 2.

◊ Nam 81, KED 264, 279

‖ АПиПЯЯ 295. A Mong.-Kor. isogloss. The Mong. form cannot be compared with TM **gora* 'far' (despite Poppe 18).

✱**kɨo̯ĺa** to steal, deceive: Tung. ***kola***; Mong. ***kula-gai***; Turk. ***K(i)aĺ-***; Jpn. ***kasu-m-***.

PTung. ***kola*** 1 cunning 2 deceit 3 to deceive 4 catching thieves (1 хитрый 2 ложь 3 обмануть 4 поимщик воров и разбойников): Evk. *kolo* 1; Man. *χolo* 2, *χolto-* 3, *χuža-či* 4; SMan. *holə* 'lie, falsehood' (1308).

◊ TMC 1, 407, 476.

PMong. ***kula-gai*** 1 robber, thief 2 to steal (1 вор, грабитель 2 красть): MMong. *qulasun* (HY 32), *qulaqai* (SH, HYt) 1, *qoγla-* (IM) 2, *qulaq-* (MA) 2; WMong. *qulaγai* 1 (L 983); Kh. *xulgai* 1; Bur. *xulgaj* 1; Kalm. *xulxā, xulxā* 1; Ord. *xulaGā̆*; Mog. *qulaγɛi*; ZM *qolaγaj* (11-1b); Dag. *xualag* 1; *hualehe* 1 (MD 165); Dong. *GuGi* 1 (MGCD: *Gulaγəi, Guγəi), Gula-* 2; Bao. *Golai* 1; S.-Yugh. *χulaGai* 1; Mongr. *xorGwə̄* 1 (SM 172), *xulaGa-* 'voler' (SM 180), (MGCD *xulGai*).

◊ MGCD 388. Cf. also WMong. *qulduŋ*, Kalm. *xuldəŋ* 'cunning' (KW 196); on some other derivatives and probable loanwords in Turkic see ЭСТЯ 6, 131. Mong. > Man. *xulxa* etc., see Doerfer MT 82, Rozycki 112.

PTurk. ***K(i)aĺ-*** 1 lazy, vile (in addressing a slave) 2 lazy, stubborn (1 ленивый, негодный (обращение к рабу) 2 ленивый, упрямый): Karakh. *qašaŋ* (MK) 1; MTurk. *qašaŋ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qaššaŋ* 'poor, beggar'; Uygh. *qaššaq* 1, 2, *qašaŋ* 2; Bashk. dial. *qaššaq* 1, 2, dial. *qašan* 2; Kirgh. *qašaŋ* 2; KKalp. *qasaŋ* 2; Oyr. *qažaŋ* 2; Chuv. *χъli* 'невзрачный, плохонький', *χъlin* 'хитрец, упрямец, лодырь, лентяй'.

◊ EDT 673, ЭСТЯ 5, 348-350. Turk. > WMong. *qašaŋ* 'slow, lazy' (Clark 1980, 42); some of the modern Turkic forms may be borrowed back from Mong. (as certainly is Chuv. *xažan).*

PJpn. ***kasu-m-*** to steal, rob (красть, грабить): OJpn. *kasum-, kasume-*; MJpn. *kású-ma-, kàzò-f-*.

◊ JLTT 705. Accentuation is not quite clear (variants *kàzòf-* and *kású-ma-* in RJ).

‖ Illich-Svitych ОСНЯ 1, 329 lists MKor. *kul-* 'to lie', but this is probably = MKor. *kūr-* 'to blow', due to a character misidentification by Lee Kee-mun (1958, 112).

✱**kɨŏĺe** quiver, ornaments for quiver: Tung. ***kulmaki***; Mong. ***kul-da-***; Turk. ***Keĺ***; Jpn. ***kànsìrì***.

PTung. ***kulmaki*** vessel for spoons, knives etc. made of birch bark (берестяной сосуд для ложек, ножей и т.п.): Neg. *kulumux*; Ul. *kolomo, kulumu*; Ork. *xulmew, xulmeu*; Nan. *kurmī, xurmu*; Orch. *kolomon, kulumun.*

◊ TMC 1, 429. Contaminated with **kormaki*, see sub **kúra(mV)*.

PMong. ***kul-da-** 1 to glue (strips of birch bark on a bow) 2 thin strips of bone, horn or wood with which furniture, etc. is decorated (1 приклеивать (полоски бересты к луку) 2 тонкие полоски кости, рога или дерева для украшения мебели и т.п.): WMong. *qulda-* 1, *qulda-sun* 2 (L 984); Kh. *xulda-* 1, *xuldās* 2; Bur. *xuldāha(n)* 'coffin made of birch-bark or felt' (?).

PTurk. ***Keĺ** quiver (колчан): OTurk. *keš* (OUygh., Yenis.); Karakh. *keš* (MK); MTurk. *keš* (Qutb., MA, IM); Krm. *keš, kes*; Kirgh. *keš* (R); Tv. *xeš* (Todzh., Pac. Фил 188); Tof. *xeš* 1; Yak. *kesex* (Пек.).

◊ VEWT 258, EDT 752, MNT 1697, ЭСТЯ 5, 60-61 (see ibid. the literature on the history of arms).

PJpn. ***kə̀nsìrì** chape, stripes and ornaments for quivers, furniture etc. (оковка ножен, полосы и украшения для колчанов, мебели и т.п.): MJpn. *kòzìrì*; Tok. *kojiri*.

◊ JLTT 460.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term (although Mong. -u- here is not quite regular; one would expect -i-/-e- or -ö-).

***kị̊omga** a k. of grass: Tung. ***kumga**; Mong. ***kamkag, *kamgaɣul**; Turk. ***KAmgak**.

PTung. ***kumga** a k. of grass (вид травы): Evn. *qomātmta* 'name of a plant with edible root'; Ork. *qụmɣa* 'a k. of grass plant'.

◊ TMC 1, 408, 430.

PMong. ***kamkag, *kamgaɣul** a k. of grass, Salsula (вид травы, Salsula): MMong. *qamqa'ulsun* 'ein Kraut, Unkraut' (SH), *kamqa'ul* 'tumble-weed' (HY 7); WMong. *qamqaɣ* (L 926), *qamqaɣul*; Kh. *xamxag* 'солянка холмовая, желтая полынь', *xamxūl* 'tumble-weed'; Bur. *xamxūl* 'tumble-weed'; Kalm. *xamxəg, xamxūl*; Ord. *xamxaq, xamxūli*; Dong. *xanxou*; Mongr. *xaŋGu* (SM 157), *xānGul*.

◊ KW 164, MGCD 324.

PTurk. ***KAmgak** saltwort, Salsula (солянка, поташник, Salsula): OTurk. *qamɣaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qamɣaq* (MK); Turkm. *Gamaq*; MTurk. *qamɣaq* (Qutb., Pav.C), *qamqaq* (Houts.); Uzb. *qɔmɣɔq*; Uygh. *qamɣaq*; Bashk. *qamɣaq*; Kirgh. *qamɣaq*; Kaz. *qaŋbaq*; KKalp. *qaŋbaq*; Kum. *qammaq*; Nogh. *qambaq*.

◊ EDT 627, VEWT 229, ЭСТЯ 5, 244-245.

‖ A Western isogloss. The root tends to contaminate with **k'ema* q.v. (and cf. also **kemV, *gi̯aŋu, *gokV*). The Mong. form may be < Turk. (cf. Щербак 1997, 198), but may as well be genuine.

***kị̊onŋu (~ k'-)** dandruff, mould: Mong. ***k̃ine**; Turk. ***Koŋak**.

PMong. ***kine** mould (плесень): WMong. *kine* (MXTTT); Kh. *xine*.

PTurk. ***Koŋak** dandruff (перхоть): Tur. *konak*; Turkm. *Goŋaq*.

◊ VEWT 280.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**kị̂oṅo** (~ k′-) a k. of weed: Mong. ***köɣene***; Turk. ***Konak***; Jpn. ***kàmài***; Kor. ***kìńɨm***.

PMong. ***köɣene*** a creeping weed (стебель ползучий): WMong. *kögene* (MXTTT); Kh. *xŏnö*.

PTurk. ***Konak*** 1 millet 2 Timothy grass (1 просо 2 тимофеевка, щетинник зеленоколосый): OTurk. *qonaq* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qonaq* 1 (MK); Sal. *qonax*; MTurk. *qonaq* 1 (AH, MA), *qonaɣ* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qụnɔq* 1; Uygh. *qonaq* 1; KKalp. *qonaq*; Nogh. *qonaqaj* 1; Tv. *xonaq* 2.

◊ EDT 637, Лексика 458-459, ЭСТЯ 6, 57. OT *qojaq* is a ghost-word. Turk. > WMong. *qonaɣ*, *qonuɣ* 'millet'.

PJpn. ***kàmài*** rice (рис): OJpn. *kome*; MJpn. *kome*; Tok. *komé*; Kyo. *kómè*; Kag. *komé*.

◊ JLTT 455.

PKor. ***kìń-*** 1 weed 2 to be overrun with weeds (1 сорняк 2 зарасти сорняками): MKor. *kìńɨm* 1, *kìń-* 2; Mod. *kiɨm* 1, kit- [*kis-*] 2.

◊ Nam 79, 83, KED 273, 283.

‖ The tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular. Note, however, that the reconstruction of low tone in PJ in this case is based only on the Kagoshima form (MJ accentuation is unattested, while Kyoto and Tokyo may point both to *LL and to *HL). Therefore a reconstruction **kámài* for PJ is not completely excluded. Medial -n- in Turkic is not quite clear (-ń- would be expected); still the relation of the Turkic form remains probable. See also Robbeets 2000, 109.

✱**kị̂opu** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***kiaba-***; Mong. ***kob-***; Turk. ***Kobga***.

PTung. ***kiaba-*** 1 bladder of *kaluga* fish used for storing oil 2 bobber (1 пузырь калуги, употребляемый для хранения масла 2 поплавок): Evk. *kewilde* 2; Evn. *qoŭldŭ* 2; Ul. *qêụrị* 1; Ork. *qêwrị* 1; Nan. *qịawarịa* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 390, 442.

PMong. ***kob-*** 1 groove 2 pit, channel 3 ventricle of the heart 4 gutter, trough (1 желоб 2 яма, канава 3 желудочек сердца 4 корыто): WMong. *qobil* 1, *qobudal* 2,3, *qobul* 4 (L 949, 950); Kh. *xovil* 1, *xovdol* 2, 3, *xovol* 4; Bur. *xobō* 1, 4, *xobol* 1, 2, 4 *xobdol* 3; Kalm. *xowdəl* 3 (KPC).

PTurk. ***Kobga*** pail, bucket (ведро): OTurk. *qovɣa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qova* (MK Oghuz); Tur. *kova*, *koɣa*; Az. *Gova*; Turkm. *Gova*; MTurk. *qova* (AH), *qopqa* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад., Abush.); Uzb. *qawɣa* (dial.); Krm. *qova*, *qopqa*; Kaz. *qawɣa*; KKalp. *qawɣa*, *ɣawɣa*; Nogh. *qawɣa*; Tv. *xuva*.

◊ EDT 583-584, ЭСТЯ 6, 12-13. Turk. > Mong. *qobuɣa* 'bucket, trough'.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. also **kobu*, **gupu* (with possible contaminations).

✱**kị̀ọ̀pù** a k. of aquatic bird: Tung. ***kiab-***; Jpn. ***kùpìnà***.

PTung. ***kiab-*** sea gull (морская чайка): Ul. *qêwara*; Ork. *qêwu*.

◊ TMC 1, 386.

PJpn. ***kùpìnà*** a k. of water bird (болотный пастушок, Rallus aquaticus indicus): OJpn. *kupjina*; MJpn. *kùfinà*; Tok. *kuina*.

◊ JLTT 462.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. It is worth noting Yak. *kuba* 'swan' - usually derived from PT **Kugu*, but with a quite inexplicable -b-; it is, in fact, possible that some other Turkic forms - cf. Turkm. Guv, Nogh. *quv* etc. also go back to PT **Kub(a)* - naturally confused in most modern languages with the reflexed of **Kugu* (see under **kūgu*).

✱**kị̀ọ̄r[i]** to roll, churn: Tung. ***kur-***; Mong. ***kor- / *kör-***; Turk. ****Kiār-***; Jpn. ****kurum-***.

PTung. ***kur-*** 1 churn-staff 2 to wrinkle, shrink 3 to roll, rotate 4 to wrap round, tie round (1 мутовка 2 мяться, комкаться 3 вращаться, вертеться 4 обвернуть, спутать): Evk. *kurā-* 4; Evn. *koroldāwna* 1, *qorị-* 2; Man. *χorgi-*, *χurgi-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 416, 417, 435, 471. Man. *χurgiku* 'whirlpool' > Dag. *xurgi* id. (Тод. Даг. 180).

PMong. ***kor- / *kör-*** 1 to roll, rotate 2 to bend, become twisted 3 to wrinkle, become curved 4 to whirl (of water, wind) (1 крутить, вращать 2 гнуть, изгибаться 3 морщиться, искривляться 4 вертеться, кружиться (о воде, ветре)): MMong. *korbe-* (SH) 1, *kurbe-* 'to wallow' (MA); WMong. *körböl-*, *körbüge-* 1 (L 490: *körbe-*, *körbü-*, *körbi-*), *qorbaji-*, *qorbuji-* 2 (L 988: *qorbuji-*, *qurbuji-*), *qorčaji-* 3 (L 965), *qorulža-* 4; Kh. *xorvoj-* 3, *xörvö-* 'to turn over, to upset'; *xorlo* 'circle-shaped object'; Bur. *xoršogor* 'wrinkled, creasy', *xüril-* 4; Kalm. *xorwā* 'crooked' (KPC); Dag. *kurbi-*, *xurbi-*, *xurbu-* (Тод. Даг. 180); S.-Yugh. *körwö-*; *korlo* 'wheel'; Mongr. *xurbā-*; *korlo*, *gulōr* 'wheel'.

◊ MGCD 375, 399. Mong. > Evk. *kurbu-* etc., see Doerfer MT 61, Rozycki 146.

PTurk. ****Kiār-*** to mix (смешивать): Karakh. *qar-* (MK Oghuz); Tur. *kar-*; Turkm. *Gār-*; MTurk. *qar-* (Abush.); Uzb. *qɔr-*; KKalp. *qarı-*; Chuv. *jor-*, *jur-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 285, EDT 642-643, Ашм. IV, 351-352, Федотов 2, 490-491.

PJpn. ****kurum-*** to wrap (заворачивать): MJpn. *kurume-*; Tok. *kurúm-*; Kyo. *kúrúm-*; Kag. *kurúm-*.

◊ JLTT 717. Accent unclear.

‖ EAS 147, Poppe 107, Ozawa 204. An expressive root with not quite secure vocalic correspondences. Cf. also notes to **k'úlo*.

✱**kị̀ọ̀rtème** pear, fruit: Mong. ****kedemen***; Turk. ****gErtme***; Jpn. ****kù(n)tàmànà***.

PMong. ****kedemen*** pear (груша): WMong. *kedemen*; Kh. *xedmen*; Kalm. *kedmn*.

◊ KW 222.

PTurk. ***gErtme** pear (груша): Tur. *germešik* 'cornus sanguinea'; MTurk. *kertme* 'яблоко, груша' (OKypch.: AH, Houts., CCum.), *kirni* 'quince'; Krm. *gertme*; KBalk. *kertme*; Kum. *gertme*; Nogh. *kertpe*.

◊ VEWT 257. Perhaps < **gürt-me*, cf. the attested OT (MK-Osm., see EDT 738) *kürt* 'mountain tree for making bows, Pyrus'; (AH) *kürt* 'quince'.

PJpn. ***kù(n)tàmənò** fruit (плод, фрукт): OJpn. *kudam(w)ono*; MJpn. *kùdàmònò*; Tok. *kudámono*; Kyo. *kúdámònò*; Kag. *kudamonó*.

◊ JLTT 461.

‖ KW 222. Cf. Nan. *kutumiekte* 'currant, gooseberry'.

***kị́oru** rank, position, measure: Tung. ***kiaru**; Mong. ***kiri**; Turk. ***Kur**; Jpn. ***kúrá**; Kor. ***kòrə̆-**.

PTung. ***kiaru** gauge, mould (for net meshes) (шаблон (для ячей сети)): Ul. *qiṛul*; Nan. *qiṛol*; Orch. *kə̄ro*.

◊ TMC 1, 389.

PMong. ***kiri** measure, degree (мера, степень): WMong. *kiri, kire* (L 472); Kh. *xir*; Bur. *xire*; Kalm. *kirə* (KPC); Ord. *kere, keri*.

◊ Mong. > Oyr. *kīrä*, Evk. *kire* etc. (KW 232).

PTurk. ***Kur** 1 rank, stage, row 2 similar, equal 3 one of a pair, odd 4 time (1 ранг, степень, ряд 2 сходный, равный 3 один из двух, нечетный 4 время, раз): OTurk. *qur* 1, 4 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qur* 1, 4 (MK); Tur. *kor* 1, *kur* 1, 4 (dial.); Turkm. *Gor* 'layer'; MTurk. *qur* 4 (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qur* 4 (dial.); Uygh. *qur* 'line' (dial.); Tat. *qor* 4; Bashk. *qor* 4, (dial.) 'row of coins'; Kirgh. *qur* 4; SUygh. *qor* 4; Chuv. *хърах* 2,3; Yak. *kurduk* 2.

◊ EDT 642, ЭСТЯ 6, 73, 151-152, VEWT 301-302 (to be distinguished from **Kur* 'belt'). ЭСТЯ (ibid.) distinguishes between **Kor* 'layer, row' and **Kur* 'time' - but the roots, even if distinguished originally, became quite confused already in Old Turkic. Turk. > Hung. *kor* 'age', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kúrá** 1 place, position 2 to compare (1 место, положение 2 сравнивать): OJpn. *kura, kura-wi* 1, *kuraba-* 2; MJpn. *kura, kúrá-wí* 1, *kúrába-* 2; Tok. *kùrai* 1, *kùrabe-* 2; Kyo. *kúráí* 1, *kúrábé-* 2; Kag. *kuráí* 1, *kurabé-* 2.

◊ JLTT 464, 716.

PKor. ***kòrə̆-** to be equal, similar (быть равным, похожим): MKor. *kòrə̆-*; Mod. *kori-*.

◊ Nam 46, KED 140.

‖ Martin 228.

***kị̄osa** to enclose, enclosure: Tung. ***kosi-**; Mong. ***kasi-**; Turk. ***Kasi**.

PTung. ***kosi-** 1 to enclose 2 enclosure 3 to graze (1 огораживать 2 заграждение 3 пасти): Evn. *kös-* 1, *köstiŋ* 2, *kösči-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 420. Attested only in Evn., but having plausible Turkic and Mongolian parallels.

PMong. ***kasi-*** 1 to enclose 2 fence, enclosure (1 ограживать 2 забор, ограждение): WMong. *qasi-* 1 (L 941), *qasiγa* (L 942: *qasiγa, qasija(n)*) 2; Kh. *xaši-* 1, *xašā* 2; Bur. *xašā* 2; Kalm. *xašā* 2 (KPC); Ord. *Gaši-* 1, *Gašā* 2; Dag. *xaši-* 1, *xaši* 2 (Тод. Даг. 175), *kuši-* 1, *kušē* 2 (Тод. Даг. 152); S.-Yugh. *gušā* 2.

◊ MGCD 334. Mong. > Kirgh. *qašā* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 346; > Man. *χasχan* 'fence' (Rozycki 103).

PTurk. ***Kasɨ*** enclosure (загон, огороженное место): Karakh. *qasɨ* (MK); Tur. *qasu* (dial.); Tv. *qazanaq* 'shed, kennel'; Chuv. *хожъ* 'space, surroundings'

◊ EDT 666, ЭСТЯ 5, 346-347.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kɪ̯òtʿè** to singe, heat: Tung. ***koto-ran-***; Mong. ***kete***; Turk. ***Kat-***; Jpn. ***kə̀tài (~ -ua-)***.

PTung. ***koto-ran-*** to singe, burn (опалять, обжигать): Evk. *koto-ron-mī* (Bac.).

PMong. ***kete*** (fire) steel (огниво): MMong. *kete* (SH), *kete* (MA); WMong. *kete* (L 460); Kh. *xet*; Bur. *xete*; Kalm. *ketə*; Ord. *gete*; S.-Yugh. *kede*; Mongr. *kide* (SM 200), *kəde*.

◊ KW 228, MGCD 346.

PTurk. ***Kat-*** 1 to heat (oven) 2 (fire) steel 3 to bake (1 топить печь 2 огниво 3 печь): Kirgh. *qatɨr-* 3; Chuv. *xot-* 1; Yak. *xatat* 2.

◊ Ашм. XVI, 256, ЭСТЯ 5, 335 (connected with **kat-* 'dry', but in fact a different root because of the Chuvash form). However, if Mari *oltaš* 'heat' is from Bulg., the original form could be **Kal-t-* and should be removed from the etymology (cf. Федотов 2, 372).

PJpn. ***kə̀tài (~ -ua-)*** an instrument (iron, soldering-iron) (утюг, паяльник): MJpn. *kòtè*; Tok. *kòte*; Kyo. *kóté*; Kag. *koté*.

◊ Accent in Tokyo and Kyoto points rather to **kótái*, but RJ and Kagoshima reflect low tone.

‖ A common derivative **kɪ̯òtʿè-rV* is reflected in Kirgh. *qatɨ-r-* = Evk. *koto-ro-n-*.

✱**kɪ̯uču** to cry, cough: Tung. ***kusi-***; Mong. ***kuča-***; Turk. ***Kič-gɨr-***; Jpn. ****kusam-***; Kor. ****kìčhí-m***.

PTung. ***kusi-*** noise (шум): Evk. *kusīlīn*; Evn. *qusʏlʏn*; Man. *quwas* (?); Nan. *χosor-χosor*; ; (On.) *kusi-* 'to drive away by shouting'.

◊ TMC 1, 439.

PMong. ***kuča-*** to bark (лаять): MMong. *xučam* (HY 16), *quča-* (SH), *quča-* (MA); WMong. *quča-*, *quči-* (L 979); Kh. *xuc-*; Bur. *xusa-*; Kalm. *xucə-*; Ord. *Guča-*; Mog. *quǐča-*; Dag. *koči-* (Тод. Даг. 150, MD 183); Dong. *quǯa-*; Bao. *xeča-* (MGCD *χəǯa-*); S.-Yugh. *quǯa-*; Mongr. *xuǯa-* (SM 174), *xuǯa-*.

◊ KW 200, MGCD 394.

PTurk. ***Kič-gir-*** to shout, cry (кричать): Az. *GišGir-*; Uygh. *qičqir-*; Tat. *qičqir-*; Bashk. *qisqir-*; Kirgh. *qičqir-*; KBalk. *qičir-*; Kum. *qičir-*; Khak. *xisxir-*; Shr. *qišir-*; Oyr. *qičir-*; Tv. *qišqir-*; Yak. *kiskij-* 'to whistle'.

◊ VEWT 261. Turk. > WMong. *qaskira-*, Kalm. *xäškr-* (KW 178).

PJpn. ***kusam-*** sneeze (чихание): MJpn. *kusame*; Tok. *kushámi*; Kyo. *kúshàmì*; Kag. *kushámi*.

◊ Accent reconstruction is unclear. Cf. also OJ *kutut-* 'to snore'.

PKor. ***kìčhí-*** 1 cough 2 to sneeze (1 кашель 2 чихать): MKor. *kìčhí-m* 1; Mod. *kičhim* 1, *kičhi-* 2.

◊ Nam 79, KED 275.

‖ An onomatopoeic root, but seems to be well reconstructable for PA.

✱***kᵢ̯ūčʿú*** to slander, swear: Tung. ***kočі-***; Mong. ***kočі***; Turk. ***Kīč-***; Jpn. ***kùntə̀-k-***; Kor. ***kùčíčh-***.

PTung. ***kočі-*** 1 to chant, praise 2 to deceive, lie 3 to harm (of an evil ghost), to interrupt (1 петь песни, восхвалять 2 лгать, обманывать 3 вредить (о злом духе), препятствовать): Evk. *kočі-nža-* 1, *kočut-* 2; Man. *χoššo-* 2; Nan. *qoča-lį-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 419, 420.

PMong. ***kočі-*** nickname, slander (издевательство, клевета, кличка): WMong. *qočі* (L 951); Kh. *xoč*; Kalm. *xoč-l-* 'to slander'; Ord. *Goči* 'detractor; reprimand, chicane'.

◊ KW 191.

PTurk. ***Kīč-*** to criticize, malice (критиковать, злобствовать): Karakh. *qičur-* (MK); Turkm. *Gïžït* 'reproach'; Tat. *qïžï-* (R.); Kirgh. *qïžïn-*; Khak. *xisxar-* 'to reproach, blame', *xïžïr-* 'to tease smb.'; Tv. *qïžïrï-* 'to tease, ridicule'; Yak. *kīhir-*.

◊ EDT 59.

PJpn. ***kùntə̀-k-*** to lure, convince; to complain (убеждать, уговаривать; жаловаться): MJpn. *kudok-*; Tok. *kudók-*; Kyo. *kúdók-*; Kag. *kùdòk-*.

◊ JLTT 715.

PKor. ***kùčíčh-*** to swear (ругать): MKor. *kùčíč-*; Mod. *k:užit-* [-č-].

◊ Nam 61, KED 207.

‖ The tone in Jpn. is irregular; the form should be perhaps separated and compared with Mong. *qaži-* 'to hate, blame, tease' (L 948), allowing to reconstruct a separate PA root **kadu* (~ kʿ-, -e-).

✱***kᵢ̯ŭ̄di*** to attend, be respectful: Tung. ***kidu-***; Turk. ***gŭ̄d-***; Kor. ***kìrí-***.

PTung. ***kidu-*** 1 to respect 2 to think, remember (1 уважать, почитать 2 думать, вспоминать): Man. *kidu-* 2; SMan. *kidu-* 'to have affection for' (1870); Nan. *kidu-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 391. Cf. also Man. *kedere-* 'to guard' (1, 443) > Dag. *kedereg* 'police' (Тод. Дар. 148).

PTurk. ***gŭd-*** 1 to wait 2 to attend 3 to respect 4 to graze (1 ждать 2 прислуживать 3 почитать 4 пасти): OTurk. *küd-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *küδ-* 1, 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *güt/d-* 4; Gag. *güt-* 4; Az. *güt/d-*; MTurk. *küt-* 'to lead cattle away from pasture' (Pav. C., Sangl.); Uzb. *kut-* 1, 2; Uygh. *küt-* 1; Krm. *küt-* 4; Tat. *köt-* 1, 4; Bashk. *köt-* 1, 4; Kirgh. *küj-* 1, *küt-* 1, 2; Kaz. *küt-* 2; KBalk. *küt-* 4; KKalp. *küj-*, *küt-* 1, 2; Kum. *küt-* 'выполнять'; Khak. *küzet-* 4; Oyr. *küj-* 1, *küt-* 2, 4; Yak. *kŭt-* 1; Dolg. *kŭt-* 1.

◊ EDT 701, VEWT 306, 312, ЭСТЯ 3, 107-108 (the variant **güt-* is morphologically secondary, actually = **güdü-t-*). The proposed derivation (see ЭСТЯ 108) from **gü-* (**kü-*), attested only in the OUygh. doublet *kü- közeδ-* 'protect and keep' (see EDT 686) is far from certain (the meaning of *kü-* here is not quite clear; *közeδ-* is probably < **göŕ-* 'see, eye' = Yak., Dolg. *köhüt-* 'wait'; Khak. *küzet-* above can reflect both **-ŕ-* and **-d-*).

PKor. ***kìrí-*** to praise (восхвалять): MKor. *kìrí-*; Mod. *kiri-*.

◊ Nam 78, KED 265.

‖ Cf. **kit'u*, **gode* (with possible contaminations).

✱**kụudu** shore, border: Tung. ***kudē***; Mong. ***kiǯaɣar (< *kiǯi-ɣar)***; Turk. ***Kidiɡ***; Jpn. ***kui (~ -ə-)***.

PTung. ***kudē*** 1 shore, land 2 to land (1 суша, берег 2 причаливать): Evk. *kudē* 1; Man. *kude-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 424.

PMong. ***kiǯaɣar*** border (граница): MMong. *kiǯa'ar* (HY 50), *kiǯi'ar* (SH), *qiǯāt* pl. (MA 221); WMong. *kiǯaɣar* (L 474); Kh. *xaʒgār* (< WMong.); Bur. *xizār*; Kalm. *kizār*, *kizēr*; Ord. *kiǯagār* (< Kh. or WMong.); Mog. *qɨʒi* 'край' (Weiers); Dag. *kiǯār* (Тод. Даг. 150); Dong. *Gɨǯa*; Mongr. *giʒār* (SM 136), *gəǯār*.

◊ KW 233, MGCD 351.

PTurk. ***Kid-*** 1 edge, border, seashore, frontier 2 margin, edging (1 край, граница, берег 2 опушка, кайма): OTurk. *qidiɣ* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qiδiɣ* (MK) 1; Tur. *kiji*, *kij* 1; Kirgh. *qijū* 2; Kaz. *qijiw* 2; KKalp. *qijiw* 2; Kum. *qijiw* 2; Nogh. *qijuw* 2; SUygh. *qizɨɣ* 1; Shr. *qijɨɣ* 2; Oyr. *quju* 1; Tv. *qidiɣ* 1, 2; Chuv. *xərə* 1; Yak. *kitī* 1, 2.

◊ EDT 598, VEWT 261, Лексика 94, ЭСТЯ 6, 196-197, 203. The root is also attested in verbal function (**Kidi-* 'to border, hem'), see ЭСТЯ 6, 196.

PJpn. ***kui (~ -ə-)*** fortress (укрепление, крепость): OJpn. *ki*.

◊ JLTT 449.

‖ EAS 46, KW 233, Владимирцов 171, 318, Poppe 19, Лексика 94. Cf. perhaps MKor. *kìth* 'edge'. The Jpn. form must have originally meant 'border fortification, fortress'; there is hardly any reason to regard it as borrowed from Old Paekche, despite Miller 1979).

✱**kᵢujilV** a k. of bird: Tung. ***kilu-**; Mong. ***kojil-**; Jpn. ***kiari (~ *kairi)**; Kor. ***kɨirjəkí (~ *kɨrjəkí)**.

PTung. ***kilu-*** 1 grey goose 2 heron 3 gull 4 swan (1 серый гусь (казарка) 2 цапля 3 чайка 4 лебедь): Evk. *kuluk* 3; Evn. *kiĺarqa* 'name of a bird', *kᵢular* 3; Man. *kilaχun* 2; Ul. *qīlala* 1; Nan. *kulikte* 4; Ud. *kilai* 3 (Корм. 248).

◊ TMC 1, 392-393, 429.

PMong. ***kojil-*** wild turkey (улар (горная индейка)): WMong. *qojiluɣ* (MXTTT); Kh. *xojlog*.

PJpn. ***kiari (~ *kairi)*** a k. of marsh bird (plover) (вид болотной птицы, сероголовый чибис (Microsarcops cinereus Blyth.)): OJpn. *k(j)eri*; MJpn. *keri*; Tok. *keri*.

◊ Attested already in Man'yōshū (Eastern songs), but absent from JB.

PKor. ***kɨirjəkí (~ *kɨrjəkí)*** goose (гусь): MKor. *kɨirjəkí, kɨrjəkí, kɨrəki, kìrəkí*; Mod. *kirəgi*.

◊ Nam 66, 67, 76, Liu 96, 97, 109, 113, KED 264. The variant *kɨirjəkí* is attested later than *kɨrjəki*, but accounts well for the modern form with -i- (regularly < -ii-). The most plausible PK reconstruction appears to be **kɨirəkí* (although **kɨrjəkí* is also not excluded).

‖ Poppe 1950, 575, Lee 1958, 114. In the Kor.-Jpn. area some confusion of this root with PA **gə̀jrV* 'wild goose' was possible.

✱**kᵢúli** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***kilde**; Jpn. ***kírí**; Kor. ***koro-**.

PTung. ***kilde-*** lime tree (липа): Evk. *kilden*; Ul. *kilde(n)*; Nan. *kildẽ*; Orch. *kigde*.

◊ TMC 1, 393.

PJpn. ***kírí*** Paulownia tomenfosa (павлония войлочная): OJpn. *k(j)iri*; MJpn. *kírí*; Tok. *kìri*; Kyo. *kírí*; Kag. *kíri*.

◊ JLTT 451.

PKor. ***koro-*** a k. of maple (вид клена): Mod. *koroswe-namu*.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**kᵢuma (~ -i̯o-, -o)** a blood-sucking insect: Tung. ***küme (~ -i-)**; Turk. ***Kumĺuj**; Kor. ***kəmərí**.

PTung. ***küme (~ -i-)*** 1 flea 2 gnat, mosquito (1 блоха 2 мошка, комар): Evk. *kimāje* 2; Evn. *kime* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 394.

PTurk. ***Kumĺuj*** a louse or tick full of blood (вошь или клещ, напившийся крови): Karakh. *qumšuj* (MK).

◊ EDT 629. An expressive variant may be represented in OT (MK) *kömiče* 'gnat' (EDT 722).

PKor. ***kəmərí*** leech (пиявка): MKor. *kəmərí*; Mod. *kəməri*.

◊ Liu 41, KED 84.

‖ Cf. **kumi, *kajamV*.

✱**kᵢumo** sand, dust: Tung. ***kime (~ -ü-)***; Mong. ***kumaki***; Turk. ***Kum***.

PTung. ***küme*** 1 shore, sand beach 2 hill, elevation 3 wild pig's lair (1 морской берег, пляж 2 холм, возвышенность 3 лежбище кабана): Evn. *kimewun* 1; Nan. *kumčien* 2 (Он.), (Bik.) *kum'i* 3 (Сем); Orch. *kīma* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 394-395.

PMong. ***kumaki*** earth; sand grains (земля, пыль, тонкий песок): MMong. *qumaqi* (Hp), *qumaki* (HY 3), *qomaq* (Lig. VMI), *qomaqi* (MA); WMong. *qumaγ, qumaki* (L 985); Kh. *xumag, xumxi*; Bur. *xumxi*; Kalm. *xumәg* (KPC); Ord. *xumuχi(n), xumiχi(n)*; Mongr. *xumoG* 'poussière, pierres etc. mêlées aux grains qu'on vient de battre' (SM 182).

◊ Mong. > Nan. *gumuxī* 'dust'.

PTurk. ***Kum*** sand (песок): OTurk. *qum* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qum* (MK); Tur. *kum*; Gag. *qum*; Az. *Gum*; Turkm. *Gum*; Sal. *Gum*; MTurk. *qum* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qum*; Uygh. *qum*; Krm. *qum*; Tat. *qom*; Bashk. *qom*; Kirgh. *qum*; Kaz. *qᵢum*; KBalk. *qum*; KKalp. *qum*; Nogh. *qum*; SUygh. *qum, qom*; Khak. *xum*; Shr. *qum*; Oyr. *qum*; Tv. *qum*; Tof. *xum*; Chuv. *хъʷm*; Yak. *kumax*; Dolg. *kumak*.

◊ VEWT 299, EDT 625, Лексика 102, ЭСТЯ 6, 133-134, Stachowski 160. Turk. > WMong. *qum*, Kalm. *xum* 'sand' (KW 196; TMN 3, 508), Hung. *homok* (Gombocz 1912).

‖ Poppe 68. A Western isogloss. Mong. cannot be explained as a Turk. loanword, despite TMN 3, 508-509, Щербак 1997, 143 (conversely, late Turkic forms like Oyr., Kaz. *qumaq* etc. are evidently < Mong.).

✱**kᵢúne** person; people, country: Tung. ***kün-***; Mong. ***küγün, *-m-***; Turk. ***Kün***; Jpn. ***kúní***.

PTung. ***kün-*** 1 relative, kinsman 2 name of a Manchu clan 3 name of the Evens in Yakutia (1 родственник, член рода 2 название маньчжурского клана 3 название якутских эвенов): Evn. *qiŋgalaq* 3; Man. *χunčixin* 1, *xunčun* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 395, 477.

PMong. ***küγün, *-m-*** person (человек): MMong. *gu'un* (HY 27, SH), *komon, kumnɛt* (IM), *kuw(u)n* (MA); WMong. *kümün* (L 501); Kh. *xün* (pl. *xümūs*), *xömūn* (< WMong.); Bur. *xün*; Kalm. *kŭn, kümn̥*; Ord. *kün, kümūn* (<lit.); Mog. ZM *ku* (10-7a), *kut* ibid.; Dag. *xuar* (Тод. Дат. 178), *huare* (MD 165); Dong. *kun*; Bao. *kuŋ*; S.-Yugh. *kün*; Mongr. *kun* (SM 211).

◊ KW 246, 249, MGCD 398.

PTurk. ***Kün*** people (народ): OTurk. *elgün* (OUygh.); Karakh. *el kün* (KB); Tur. *elgün* (Osm. XIV c.); MTurk. *el wa kün* (Sangl.), *elgün* (Pav. C.), *elgün* (Oghuz-nama), *elgün* 'goverment, realm' (Ettuhf.).

◊ VEWT 309, TMN 3,656-7, Лексика 317, EDT 121-122, 725-726 (with doubts).

PJpn. ***kúní*** country (страна): OJpn. *kuni*; MJpn. *kúní*; Tok. *kùni*; Kyo. *kúní*; Kag. *kúni*.

◊ JLTT 463.

‖ KW 249, VEWT 309 (Turk.-Mong.), АПиПЯЯ 294, TMN 3, 656-657 (with criticism). The Mong. form is somewhat difficult: one has to suppose original **künün* with velar (> **küŋün* > **küγün*) and labial (> **kümün*) assimilations.

✱**kɨ̀ùpʻu** silk, mulberry: Tung. ***kupen***; Mong. ***kib***; Turk. ***Kɨp***; Jpn. ***kùpá***; Kor. ***kīp***.

PTung. ***kupe(n)*** threads (нитки): Neg. *xupen*; Ul. *xupe(n)*; Ork. *kupe(n)*; Nan. *kupẽ*; Orch. *xupe*.

◊ TMC 1, 478.

PMong. ***kib*** silk (шелк): MMong. *kip* (HY 'boiled silk cloth' 23, SH), *kib* (IM) 'lining'; WMong. *kib, kijib* (L 465); Kh. *xiv*; Bur. *xib*; Kalm. *kib, kiwŋ*; Ord. *keb* 'bad quality silk'.

◊ KW 233.

PTurk. ***Kɨp*** fabric (ткань): Bashk. *qɨptɨr* 'перешитая в подборку (о шубе)'; Kirgh. *qɨpɨq* 'kerchief, sash'; KBalk. *qɨppa* 'skein, clew'; Khak. *xɨp* 'lining, covering'; Yak. *kɨbɨas* 'шерсть оленя ранним летом'.

◊ VEWT 265.

PJpn. ***kùpá*** mulberry tree (тут, тутовое дерево): OJpn. *kupa*; MJpn. *kufa*; Tok. *kúwa*; Kyo. *kùwá*; Kag. *kuwá*.

◊ JLTT 468.

PKor. ***kīp*** silk (шелк): MKor. *kīp*; Mod. *kīp*.

◊ Nam 82, KED 282.

‖ SKE 113. Cf. also Mong. *köbüŋ* 'cotton' (> Oyr. *köböŋ*, Tuva *xöveŋ*, Khak. *köböŋ* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 108-109 (with some confusion of this root and Turk. **köpe* 'cloth' < **kʻopʻe* q.v. and Turk. **köp-* 'swell, foam' < **kʻopʻi* q.v.); > Man. *kubun* id., see Doerfer MT 102). In fact, it would be tempting to consider Mong. **kib* as a Turkic loanword (despite the fact that the Turk. **Kɨp* is not widely spread and late attested, it cannot be < Mong.), because Mong. -i- is not quite regular here, while *köbüŋ* is a perfect phonetic match.

✱**kɨ̀ùpʻù** thought, attention: Tung. ***kob-ta***; Mong. ***kuji-***; Turk. ***Kɨpi-***; Jpn. ***kùpà-***.

PTung. ***kob-ta*** esteem (уважение, почтение): Man. *qobto*.

◊ TMC 1, 402. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels; cf. also Man. *χofan* 'skilled, dexterous' (TMC 1, 472).

PMong. ***kuji-*** crafty, artful (ловкий, хитрый): WMong. *quji-γur, quji-qur* (L 982); Kh. *xujgūr*.

PTurk. ***Kɨpi-*** 1 sense, invention, cleverness 2 to invent, think of (1 смысл, изобретательность, ум 2 выдумывать): Kirgh. *qɨbačɨ* 'experi-

enced person'; Khak. *xibi-*; Oyr. *qibi-*; Chuv. *xъʷbъʷl* 'dexterous'; Yak. *kip* 'dexterously'.

◊ VEWT 260.

PJpn. ***kùpà-tata-*** to plan, project (планировать, предполагать): MJpn. *kùfà-tata-*; Tok. *kuwa-date-*; Kyo. *kùwà-dàtè-*; Kag. *kùwà-dàtè-*.

◊ JLTT 718. Hardly unitable with OJ *kupatata-* 'to stand on tiptoe'.

‖ KW 233.

✱**kụure** woodcock, woodpecker: Tung. ***kürekte***; Mong. ***kur***; Turk. ***Körtük***.

PTung. ***kürekte*** woodpecker (дятел): Evk. *kirekte*; Neg. *kijekte*; Man. *kurexu*; Ul. *kurekte*; Ork. *kurekte*; Nan. *kurekte*; Orch. *kijoki*; Ud. *kēxi* (Корм. 248), *kiexi*.

◊ TMC 1, 399.

PMong. ***kur*** woodcock, black grouse (глухарь, тетерев): WMong. *qur, qoru* (L 968, 987); Kh. *xur*; Bur. *xura*; Kalm. *xorə* 'глухарь', *xurə* 'тетерев' (KPC).

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *qur* etc., see ЭСТЯ 6, 155-156.

PTurk. ***Körtük*** 1 woodcock 2 turkey 3 black-cock (1 вальдшнеп 2 индюк 3 тетерев): Tat. *kürkä* 2; Bashk. *kürkä* 2; Kirgh. *kürp* 2; Kaz. *kürke-tawiq* 2; Khak. *kürkü*, dial. *kürtkü* 'black-cock', *kürles* (Sag.) 'grouse'; Shr. *kürtük* 3; Oyr. *kürtük* 3, *kürte* 1; Tv. *kürtü* 3; Tof. *hü'rtü* 3; Chuv. *kъʷrka* 2; Yak. *körčöx* 'young spring duck, already able to fly'.

◊ VEWT 311, Федотов 1, 258.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kụurumV** to wink: Tung. ***korim- / *kirim-***; Turk. ***kirm- / *Kirm-***.

PTung. ***korim- / *kirim-*** 1 to wink 2 eyelash 3 inner side of eyelid (1 мигать 2 ресница 3 внутренняя сторона века): Evk. *korimi-* 1, *kirimkīn* 2; Evn. *qorъm-* 1, *kirimki* 2; Neg. *kīmkī* 2; Ork. *qolpiqta* 3; Sol. *xurmult(e)* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 398, 415, 2, 352.

PTurk. ***kirpik*** eyelash (ресница): OTurk. *kirpik* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kirpik* (MK); Tur. *kirpik*; Gag. *kirpik*; Az. *kirpik*; Turkm. *kirpik*; Khal. *kirpik*; MTurk. *kirpik* (Sangl., Pav. C.), *kirpük* (MA); Uzb. *kiprik*; Uygh. *ki(r)pik*; Krm. *kirpik*; Tat. *kerfek*; Bashk. *kerpek*; Kirgh. *kirpik*; Kaz. *kərpək*; KKalp. *kirpik*; Kum. *kirpik*; Nogh. *kirpik*; SUygh. *kirmik*; Khak. *kərbək*; Oyr. *kirbik*; Tv. *kirbik*; Chuv. *xъrbъx, xъrbъk*, (dial.) *xъrbu*; Yak. *kirbäj, kirbī* 'edge'.

◊ VEWT 272, EDT 737-738, ЭСТЯ 5, 74-75, Федотов 2, 333-334, Лексика 213. Cf. also the verb **Kirm- / *Kirp-* 'to wink' (ЭСТЯ 6, 221). The front row variant here is probably secondary.

‖ A Turk.-TM isogloss; cf. **kumi*. Doerfer (MT 240) tries to refute the comparison (by deriving the Turk. forms from *kirpi* "hedgehog" and the TM forms from kiri- "to glitter") - quite unconvincingly.

✱**kɻúŕu** a k. of vehicle: Tung. ***kur-**; Mong. ***kür-dün**; Turk. ***Kiŕak, *Kiŕagu**; Jpn. ***kúrúmá**.

PTung. ***kur-** 1 humming-top 2 screw 3 spool (1 юла, волчок 2 винт 3 катушка (для ниток)): Evk. *kur, kuriwuk* 2; Evn. *kūruken* 1; Nan. *kurke* (On.) 3.

◊ TMC 1, 438; 2, 352.

PMong. ***kür-dün** wheel (колесо): MMong. *gurdun* (HY 17), *gurdu(n)* (SH); WMong. *kürdü(n)* (L 504); Kh. *xürd(en)* 'prayer wheel'; Bur. *xürde* 'prayer wheel', *xürŭg* 'шарниры, на которые навешивается наружная дверь'; Kalm. *kürdə* 'цилиндр с молитвенным текстом' (KPC); Ord. *kürdü*; Dag. *kurde* (Тод. Дат. 151), *kuredu, kurese* (MD 185).

◊ Mong. > Manchu *kurdun* 'a Buddhist cycle, samsara' (see Rozycki 147).

PTurk. ***Kiŕak, *Kiŕagu** sledge (сани): Tur. *kïzak*; Az. *xizäk*; MTurk. *qïzaq* (AH); Uygh. *quzuq* 'bed'; Tat. *qïzaw* 'кузов'; Bashk. *quδï* 'лукошко'.

◊ VEWT 269.

PJpn. ***kúrúmá** vehicle, carriage (повозка): OJpn. *kuruma*; MJpn. *kúrúmà*; Tok. *kùruma*; Kyo. *kúrúmá*; Kag. *kurúma*.

◊ JLTT 465.

‖ Judging from the Turkic evidence, the vehicle in question could have been not a wheeled one, but some kind of sleigh or sledge; however, this may be also a secondary development in Turkic (all other languages point rather to some wheeled carriage or just wheel). Among common derivatives one can mention PT **Kiŕak* = Evn. *kūruke-n*.

✱**kɻù̇ta (~ -t'-)** insufficiency, debt: Tung. ***kōta**; Turk. ***Kɨt**; Jpn. ***kàta-**.

PTung. ***kōta** 1 debt 2 miserly, greedy (1 долг 2 скупой, жадный): Evk. *kōta* 1; Evn. *qōt* 1; Ul. *qota* 2; Ork. *qụta* 2; Nan. *qota* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 417, 439.

PTurk. ***Kɨt** not enough, insufficient (недостаточный, скудный): Tur. *kït*; *kïtlïk* 'Ungenügendheit, Hungersnot'; Az. *Gït*; Turkm. *Gït*; MTurk. *qït* (AH, IM); Uygh. *qitiɣir* 'miserly'; Krm. *qït*; Bashk. *qïtlïq* 'hunger' (dial.); Kirgh. *qïdïq* 'dwarf', *qïtïj-* 'secretive', *qïtïraj-* 'lean and small'; Kaz. *qïtïqtan-* 'to be offended'; KBalk. *qït*; KKalp. *qït*; Kum. *qït*; Nogh. *qït*; Shr. *qïtïj* 'miserly'; Tv. *qïdïɣ* 'oppressed'; Chuv. *xədəx* 'compulsion'.

◊ VEWT 268, ЭСТЯ 6, 252.

PJpn. ***kàta-** beggar, beggary (нищий, нищенство): OJpn. *kata-no-wi*; MJpn. *kata-wi, kata-no-wi* (RJ *kàtáfi, kàtafi*).

◊ JLTT 443.

‖ The basic meaning of the root may be formulated as 'having not enough, insufficience' - whence 'debt', 'miser', 'beggar' etc. A Mongolian match is perhaps **kudal* 'lie, liar' (< 'beggar'?).

***kịùtí** a k. of fox: Tung. ***kitiri**; Mong. ***küderi**; Jpn. ***kìtúnái**.

PTung. ***kitiri** a k. of fox (лиса-крестовка): Neg. *kịtijị*; Ork. *kitčiri*; Nan. *kičiri* (On.); Orch. *kiti*.

◊ TMC 1, 400.

PMong. ***küderi** musk-deer, a k. of rat (кабарга, вид крысы): WMong. *küderi* (L 497); Kh. *xüder*; Bur. *xüderi*; Kalm. *küdṛ*; Ord. *küder* 'porte-musc'.

◊ KW 244. Mong. > Kirgh. *küdörö*.

PJpn. ***kìtúnái** fox (лиса): OJpn. *kjitune*; MJpn. *kìtúné*; Tok. *kìtsune*; Kyo. *kìtsùné*; Kag. *kitsuné*.

◊ JLTT 452.

‖ The Mong. form could be alternatively compared with Turk. **Kodan* 'hare' (ЭСТЯ 6, 29-30).

***ko (~ *k' -)** this: Mong. ***kü**; Turk. ***Kö**; Jpn. ***ká-**; Kor. ***kɨ**.

PMong. ***kü** deictic particle (указательная частица): MMong. *-gu* (SH); WMong. *ene kü* 'exactly this', *tere kü* 'exactly that'; Kh. *xü̆*; Ord. *kü̆* 'a particle'; Dag. *ke, kē* (Тод. Даг. 148).

PTurk. ***Kö** this (этот): Sal. *ku*; SUygh. *gu, go*; Chuv. *ko, kъv*.

◊ Федотов 1, 300-302, Левитская 32-34. Cf. the OT (Orkh., OUygh., MK) emphatic nominal suffix -oq.

PJpn. ***ká-** 1 this 2 that (1 этот 2 тот): OJpn. *ko-* 1; MJpn. *kó-* 1; *ka-* 2; Tok. *kòre* 1; *ká-re* 'he'; Kyo. *kóré* 1; *ká-rè* 'he'; Kag. *kói* 1.

◊ JLTT 430, 452. High tone in Tokyo *ká-re* is not clear (the stem **ka-* appears to be a merger of **ká-* and **á-*).

PKor. ***kɨ** this, that (этот, тот): MKor. *kɨ* (*kɨ-i*); Mod. *kɨ*.

◊ Nam 76, KED 231.

‖ EAS 46, Martin 244, АПиПЯЯ 56, 49, 277. The root behaves like **kó'e* (with a second front vowel).

***kobe (~ -i)** cloth, clothing: Tung. ***kuberi**; Mong. ***kubča-**; Turk. ***Köbüŕ / *Kebiŕ**.

PTung. ***kuberi** fur hood; collar (капор (меховой); воротник): Man. *χuberi*.

◊ TMC 1, 473.

PMong. ***kubča-** clothing, dress (одежда): MMong. *qubčasu* (HYt), *qubča* (IM), *qubčasun* (SH); WMong. *qubčasu(n)* (L 976); Kh. *xuvcas*; Bur. *xubsaha(n)*; Kalm. *хорсə, хурсə*; Ord. *Gubčasu, Gubčas*; Dag. *kuačilahe* 'a cloth wrapper, a furoshiki' (MD 184); S.-Yugh. *χabčis*.

◊ KW 186, 197, MGCD 384, TMN 1, 385-386.

PTurk. ***Köbüŕ / *Kebiŕ*** carpet, rug (ковер): Karakh. *keviz* (MK); Tur. *köjüz* (dial.); MTurk. *kebiz* (MA), *köwüz* (Xwar.), *köwüz* (CCum.), *kevüz* (AH); Uzb. *kigiz*; Uygh. *kebɛz, kɛvɛz*; Bashk. *köjöδ*; Kirgh. *kebez*; KBalk. *küjüz* OL; Kum. *gujuz* (dial.); Nogh. *küjiz*; Khak. *kibəs*; Shr. *kemis*; Oyr. *kebis*; Tv. *xevis*; Chuv. (Bulg.) > ORuss. *ковьрѣ* 'carpet'.

◊ EDT 692, ЭСТЯ 5, 83. Turk. > Mong. *kebis* (> Man. *kebisu* etc., see TMC 1, 444), see Clark 1980, 39., Cf. Khalkha *xiv* 'gauze, crêpe', *xövöŋ* 'cotton'. ЭСТЯ 5, 13.

‖ A Western isogloss; see under **k[ā]p'á* about possible mergers.

✱**kóbe (~ k'-, -p-, -p'-)** to freeze: Mong. ***köbsi-***; Jpn. ***kə́pə́r-***.

PMong. ***köbsi-*** to freeze (замерзать): MMong. *köbši-* (SH).

PJpn. ***kə́pə́r-*** to freeze (замерзать): OJpn. *kop(w)or-*; MJpn. *kófór-*; Tok. *kŏ̀r-*; Kyo. *kŏ́r-*; Kag. *kŏ́r-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

‖ Ozawa 84. A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. It is interesting to note Evk. dial. *kiwšim* 'fine snow' (< Mong.?).

✱**kŏ́bú** hollow, cavity: Tung. ***kobi / kebi(ŋe)***; Mong. ***koɣu-su***; Turk. ***Kobuk***; Jpn. ***kúmpuá***; Kor. ***kōr- (?)***.

PTung. ***kobi / kebi(ŋe)*** 1 hole, hollow 2 cavity (1 углубление, дупло 2 впадина, углубление): Evn. *qobmiĺa* 1, *kēwŋe, kewuŋe* 2; Man. *qobi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 402, 442. The Manchu form is regarded by Rozycki 141 as borrowed < Mong. *qobil* 'groove' (q.v. sub **kiopu*), which is hardly the case.

PMong. ***koɣu-su*** empty, hollow (пустой, полый): MMong. *qo'o-sun* (SH, HYt); WMong. *qoɣusun* (L 953); Kh. *xōson*; Bur. *xŏ̄ho(n)*; Kalm. *xōsn*; Ord. *xōson*; Mog. *qosun*; Dag. *xōson* (Тод. Дar. 178), *hōson* (MD 164); Dong. *qosun*; Bao. *xosoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *χūsən*; Mongr. *xōʒən* (SM 169), (MGCD *xōsən*).

◊ KW 191, 192-193, MGCD 355. Mong. > Evk. *kōhon*, see Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ***Kobu-k*** empty, hollow (пустой, полый): OTurk. *qovi* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qovi, qovuq* (MK); Tur. *kovuk, gavi̇k* (dial.); Turkm. *Govaq, Govuq, Govalč, Govuz*; MTurk. *qovuq* (AH); Uygh. *quaq* (dial.); Khak. *xax*.

◊ VEWT 273, TMN 3, 415, ЭСТЯ 6, 5-6.

PJpn. ***kúmpuá*** 1 cavity 2 to be concave, hollow (1 впадина, углубление 3 быть вогнутым, полым): OJpn. *kub(w)o* 1, *kub(w)o-m-* 2; MJpn. *kúbó* 1, *kúbóm-* 2; Tok. *kubo* 1, *kùbo-m-* 2; Kyo. *kúbóm-* 2; Kag. *kubóm-* 2.

◊ JLTT 461, 714.

PKor. ***kōr- (?)*** to become hollow (становиться полым, пустым): Mod. *kōl-*.

◊ SKE 122.

‖ SKE 122. Cf. **gupu*. The Kor. form **kər-* presupposes **kobVr-*; however, it is only found in SKE and may be in fact = **kòrh-* 'be hungry, empty' (see **gǒŕa*).

✱**kóčè** to nomadize, transport: Tung. ***kuči- (~ -š-)**; Mong. ***köske**; Turk. ***göč-**; Jpn. ***kə́sì**.

PTung. ***kuči- (~ -š-)** 1 to come 2 to wander (1 приходить 2 бродить): Evk. *kuči-* 1, *kičur-* (< **kučir-* ?) 2.

◊ TMC 1, 401, 441. Attested only in Evk.; see below on a possibility of borrowing < Yakut.

PMong. ***köske** transportation, mount, cart (транспортировка, повозка, экипаж): WMong. *köske, kösge* (L 493); Kh. *xösög*.

PTurk. ***göč-** 1 to migrate, nomadize 2 nomadizing (1 мигрировать, кочевать 2 кочевка): Karakh. *köč-* 1 (MK, KB), *köč* 2 (KB); Tur. *göč-* 1, *göč* 2; Gag. *göč-* 1, *göč* 'luggage'; Az. *köč-* 1, *köč* 2; Turkm. *göč-* 1, *göč* 2; Khal. *keč-* 1; MTurk. *köǰ-* 1, *köč* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *kọč-* 1, *kọč* 2; Uygh. *köč-* 1, *köč* 2; Krm. *köč-* 1; Tat. *küč-* 1, *küč* 2; Bashk. *küs* 'рой', *küs-* 1; Kirgh. *köč-* 1, *köč* 2; Kaz. *köš-* 1, *köš* 2; KBalk. *köč-* 1; KKalp. *köš-* 1, *köš* 2; Kum. *göč-* 1; Nogh. *köš-* 1, *köš* 2; SUygh. *köš-* 1; Khak. *kös-* 1; Shr. *köš-* 1, *köš* 2; Oyr. *köč-* 1; Tv. *kö'š-* 1, *kö'š* 2; Tof. *kö'š-* 1, *kö'š* 2; Chuv. *koś-* 1; Yak. *kös-* 1, *kös* 2; Dolg. *kös-* 1, *kös* 2.

◊ EDT 693, 694, Лексика 489, ЭСТЯ 3, 88-90, TMN 3, 622, Stachowski 158, Федотов 1, 315.

PJpn. ***kə́sì** palanquin (паланкин): OJpn. *kosi*; MJpn. *kósì*; Tok. *kóshi*; Kyo. *kóshí*; Kag. *kóshi*.

◊ JLTT 458. Accent in Tokyo and Kyoto is quite irregular.

‖ Poppe 63, KW 241, Владимирцов 377; Лексика 490; TMN 3, 633 ("...nicht hinreichend gesichert"). Despite Щербак 1997, 127, not borrowed in Mong. < Turk. (see also Clark 1980, 56); -s- instead of the expected -č- in Mong. is due to a position within the cluster (*köske = köčke*). -č- (or *-š-) in Evk. is, however, more difficult to account for (*-s- would be expected normally), which means that the Evk. words may actually be borrowed < Yakut.

✱**koč'V (~ k'-, -č-)** ram: Mong. ***kuča**; Turk. ***Koč**.

PMong. ***kuča** ram (баран): MMong. *xuča* (HY 12), *qəča* 'lamb' (IM), *quča* (MA); WMong. *quča* (MXTTT); Kh. *xuc*; Bur. *xusa*; Kalm. *xucə* (KPC); Ord. *Guča*; Dag. *koč*; Dong. *quǯa*; S.-Yugh. *quǯa*; Mongr. *xuǯa* (SM 174), *xuǯa*.

◊ MGCD 394. Mong. > Evk. *kuča* etc., see Doerfer MT 100; Bur. > Russ. Siber. *xucán*, see Аникин 338-339.

PTurk. ***Koč** ram (баран): OTurk. *qočqar, qočuŋar* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qočŋar* (MK); Tur. *koč, kočkar*; Gag. *qoč*; Az. *Goč*; Turkm. *Goč, GočGar*; Sal. *qošqor, qošqur*; Khal. Goč; MTurk. *qoč, qočqar* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɣɔč*

(dial.), *qǫčqar*; Uygh. *qočqa(r)*, *qošqa(r)*; Krm. *qoč*, *qočqar*, *qočxar*; Tat. *quč-qar* (dial.); Bashk. *qušqar*; Kirgh. *qočqor*; Kaz. *qošqar*; KBalk. *qocxar*; KKalp. *γoš*, *qošqar*; Kum. *qočqar*; Nogh. *qošqar*; SUygh. *qužγar*; Oyr. *qoč-qor*; Tv. *qošqar*.

◊ Лексика 432, TMN 3, 539, 540-541, EDT 592, ЭСТЯ 6, 87-88. Turk. > Hung. *kos*, see Gombocz 1912; Russ. dial. *kočkór*, *kočkár*, see Аникин 308, 309.

‖ Poppe 62. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss, but hardly borrowed, despite TMN 3, 540, Щербак 1997, 139.

✱**kogĺu (~ -o, -a)** pipe, chimney: Tung. ***kula-n***; Mong. ***koγul-aj***; Turk. ***Koguĺ***.

PTung. ***kula-n*** pipe, chimney (труба, дымоход): Neg. *kolan*; Man. *χulan*; SMan. *hulan* (475); Ul. *qula(n)*; Nan. *qolã*; Orch. *kula(n)*; Ud. *kula(n)*; Sol. *kulan*.

◊ TMC 1, 428. Cf. also Nan. dial. *kulekte*, *keulekte* 'throat', Man. *χolin* 'inner side of cheek'. TM > Dag. *xolil* (Тод. Дar. 177), *xuala* (Тод. Дar. 178).

PMong. ***koγul-aj*** throat; pipe (горло; трубка): MMong. *qo'olai* (HY 46, SH), *qūl* (IM), *qulaj* (MA), *qūla* (LH); WMong. *qoγulaj* (L 952); Kh. *xōloj*; Bur. *xōloj*; Kalm. *xōl*, *xōlā̃*; Ord. *xōlō̃*; Mog. *qōlɛi* (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *qolei* (2-5b); Dag. *xōĺē* (Тод. Дar. 177; MGCD *xōĺ*), *hōle* (MD 163); Dong. *Golei*; S.-Yugh. *χolo*; Mongr. *xōlo* (SM 170).

◊ KW 192, MGCD 355. Mong. > Evk. *kōlai* etc., see Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 142.

PTurk. ***Koguĺ*** gutter, cavity, hollow (желоб, впадина, полость): Karakh. *qoγuš* (MK); Tur. *kovuš*; Az. *Goγuš*; MTurk. *qoγuš* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qavuš*, *qɔvaš*, *quwuš* (dial.); Krm. *qowuš*, *quwuš*; Tat. *quwïš*; Bashk. *qïwïš*; Kaz. *quwıs*; KKalp. *quwıs*; Kum. *quwuš*; Nogh. *quwıs*; Khak. *xōs*; Chuv. *xъʷvъʷl*; Yak. *kuohāx*.

◊ The Chuv. form may rather belong to PTurk. **Kob-*. See VEWT 275, EDT 613, ЭСТЯ 6, 18-20, Stachowski 161 (the two roots interact actively).

‖ Владимирцов 365, Poppe 77 (Turk.-Mong.), Дыбо 46. A Western isogloss.

✱**kǒḱ'à** to be deficient, damaged: Tung. ***kuKe-***; Mong. ***koki-***; Turk. ***Kōk-***; Jpn. ***káká-***.

PTung. ***kuKe-*** 1 to perish 2 dying (1 погибать 2 умирающий): Evk. *kukelčē* 2; Evn. *köke-* 1; Man. *guku-* 1; SMan. *guku-* 'to fall, to be destroyed' (1063).

◊ TMC 1, 169, 427.

PMong. ***koki-*** 1 to be damaged 2 damage (1 повреждаться 2 вред): WMong. *qoki-* 1 (L 956: *qoki* 2); Kh. *xoḱ* 2; Bur. *xoxi* 2; Kalm. *xoḱə-* 1; Ord. *Goχiro-* 'to be absolutely destroyed'; Dag. *kokire-* (MD 183) *kokirə-*; S.-Yugh. *χəkər-*.

◊ KW 182, MGCD 369. Mong. > Man. *kokira-*, see Doerfer MT 138.

PTurk. ***Kōk-** 1 to decrease, diminish 2 deficient, empty (1 уменьшаться 2 недостаточный, пустой): OTurk. *qoq-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qoq-* 1, *qoquz* 2 (MK); Tur. *kokuz* 2; Turkm. *Govuz* 2; Tat. *quγïz* 2 (dial.); Khak. *xox-* 1; Oyr. *qoq-* 1.

◊ EDT 609, 614, ЭСТЯ 6, 35-36.

PJpn. ***káká-** to be deficient (быть недостаточным): OJpn. *kaka-* 'to be deficient; to be damaged'; MJpn. *káká-*; Tok. *kàke-*; Kyo. *káké-*; Kag. *kaké-*.

◊ JLTT 702.

‖ KW 182.

***kŏkʿè** breast, to suck; heart: Tung. ***xuku-n / *kuku-n**; Mong. ***kökön**; Turk. ***gökǘŕ**; Jpn. ***kə̀kə̀rə**; Kor. ***kokăi-**.

PTung. ***xuku-n / *kuku-n** breast (fem.) (грудь (жен.)): Evk. *ukun*; Evn. *ökъn*; Neg. *öxön / ökön*; Man. *oxo, oGo* 'armpit'; SMan. *ohə* 'armpit'(67); Ul. *kue(n), kuku(n)*; Ork. *qū(n), qō(n)*; Nan. *kū(n)*; Orch. *oko(n)*; Ud. *kosoʿ* (Корм. 251); Sol. *uxũ* 'milk'.

◊ Formally derived from TM **xuku-* 'to suck (breast)', see TMC 2, 254-255.

PMong. ***kökön** breast (fem.), nipple (грудь (женская), сосок): MMong. *kokan* (SH), *keuke* (IM), *kukän* (MA); WMong. *kökü(n), köke(n)* (L 482, 483); Kh. *xöx*; Bur. *xüxe(n)*; Kalm. *kökŋ*; Ord. *göχö*; Mog. *kökä*; ZM *kukä* (2-8a); Dong. *gogo*; Bao. *kugo*; S.-Yugh. *hgön*; Mongr. *kugo* (SM 208).

◊ KW 237, MGCD 403. Mong. > Manchu (sp.) *xuxuŋ* (see TMN 1, 481), probably also Jurch. *xuxun* (541).

PTurk. ***gökǘŕ (/*gögǘŕ), *Kökrek** 1 breast 2 middle of the back 3 reason, sense, emotion 4 female breast (1 грудь 2 поясница, середина спины 3 женская грудь): OTurk. *kögüz* 1, 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *kögüz* 1 (MK); Tur. *göγüs* 1, *kökrek* 1 (dial.); Gag. *gűs* 1; Az. *köks, köküs* 1; Turkm. *gövüs* 1, *kükrek* 1; Sal. *göfrix* 4?; MTurk. *kögs, kögüs* (Sangl.), *köküs* (MA) 1, *kökrek* (Abush., Бор. Бад.) 1; Uzb. *kuks* 1, 3, *kəkrăk* 1, 4; Uygh. *köküs* 1, *kökrăk* 1; Krm. *kökis* 1, *kökrăk* 1; Tat. *kögüs* 1 (dial., KCTT), *kükrɛk* 1, 4; Bashk. *kükrăk* 1; Kirgh. *kökürök* 1; Kaz. *kökirek* 1; KBalk. *kökürek* 1; KKalp. *kökirek* 1; Kum. *kökürek* 1; Nogh. *kökirek* 1; SUygh. *köküs, gős* 1; Khak. *kögis* 1; Shr. *kögüs* 1; Oyr. *kögüs* 1, 3; Chuv. *kъʷgъʷr* 1; Yak. *köγüs* 2; Dolg. *köksü* 'back'.

◊ EDT 714, VEWT 288, ЭСТЯ 3, 54-55, 5, 136-137, Лексика 272-274, Stachowski 155. The Oghuz forms with k- (Turkm. *kükrek*, Tur. dial. *kökrek*) may be < Kypchak, cf. -ü- instead of -ö- in Turkm.

PJpn. ***kə̀kə̀rə** heart (сердце): OJpn. *kokoro*; MJpn. *kòkòró*; Tok. *kokóro*; Kyo. *kókòrò*; Kag. *kokoró*.

◊ JLTT 454. Accent is not quite clear: all dialects and RJ point probably to a low tone on first syllable (except Tokyo: the origin of type 2 in trisyllables is obscure); Kagoshima can reflect any structure with this characteristics; Kyoto points rather to **kə̀kə̀rə̀*, as opposed to the attested *kə̀kə̀rə́*.

PKor. ***kokăi-*** heart of wood, pith, core (сердцевина): MKor. *kokăijaŋ*; Mod. *kogäŋi*.

◊ Nam 45, KED 134.

‖ Poppe 108, Колесникова 1972a, 78-84, Цинциус 1984, 106-107, Martin 248, Murayama 1962, 111, АПиПЯЯ 15, 32, 280, JOAL 147, Дыбо 13, Лексика 272-273, TMN 1, 482 ("Elementarverwandtschaft?"), Doerfer MT 142. Mongolian and TM have a parallel verbal stem 'to suck (breast)', thus the probable semantic development here is 'to suck (breast)' > '(female) breast' > 'breast (in general)' > 'heart'.

✱**kŏkʿe (~ -i)** blue, green: Tung. ***kuKu***; Mong. ***köke***; Turk. ***gŏk***.

PTung. ***kuKu*** blue (синий, голубой): Evk. *kuku, kuku-šin*; Man. *kuku*; Orch. *kuagža*.

◊ TMC 1, 421, 426.

PMong. ***köke*** blue, green (синий, зеленый): MMong. *koko* (HY 41, SH), *keuke* (IM), *kukă* (MA); WMong. *köke* (L 482); Kh. *xöx*; Bur. *xüxe*; Kalm. *kökə*; Ord. *göχö*; Mog. *kükä*; ZM *kukä* (13-7); Dag. *kuke* (Тод. Даг. 151, MD 185); Dong. *kugie*; Bao. *koge*, (MGCD) *kugo*; S.-Yugh. *hgö*; Mongr. *kugo* (SM 209).

◊ KW 236, MGCD 378.

PTurk. ***gŏk*** 1 blue 2 green ("macro-blue" according to Wierzbicka) (1 синий 2 зеленый): OTurk. *kök* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kök* 1 (MK, KB), 2 (KB); Tur. *gök* 1; Gag. *gök* 1; Az. *göj* 1; Turkm. *gŏk* 1, 2; Sal. *Gux* 1; Khal. *kïek* 2; MTurk. *kök* 1 (MA); Uzb. *koq* 1, 2; Uygh. *kök* 1, 2; Krm. *kök* 1; Tat. *kük* 1; Bashk. *kük* 1; Kirgh. *kök* 1; Kaz. *kök* 1; KBalk. *kök* 1; KKalp. *kök* 1; Kum. *gök* 1; Nogh. *kök* 1; SUygh. *kük* 1, 2; Khak. *kök* 1; Shr. *kök* 1, 2; Oyr. *kök* 1, 2; Tv. *kök* 1; Tof. *kök* 1; Chuv. *kъʷvak* 1; Yak. *küöx* 1, 2; Dolg. *küök* 1.

◊ VEWT 287, TMN 3, 640-642, EDT 708-9, ЭСТЯ 3, 66-68, Лексика 60, 604, Stachowski 165. In most languages the root also means 'sky'. Turk. > Hung. *kék* 'blue', see Gombocz 1912.

‖ EAS 154, VEWT 287, KW 236, Владимирцов 168, 324, Poppe 56, АПиПЯЯ 288. A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 128, Doerfer TMN 3, 641-642, MT 99 and Rozycki 145 there is no need to assume Mong. < Turk. or TM < Mong. (although it cannot be excluded). Derived are probably bird names: Turk. **gŏkerčin* 'dove', **gŏkel* 'he-duck', TM **kukēkī* 'jay', Mong. **kögüržegene* 'dove' (see Лексика 175; Mong. is hardly borrowed < Turk., despite Clark 1980, 44).

✱**kŏkʿò** rubbish, dirt: Tung. ***kuk-pun***; Mong. ***kokir***; Turk. ***Kok***; Jpn. ***kə̀k- (~ -ua-)***.

PTung. ***kuk-pun*** rubbish, dirt (мусор, грязь): Man. *xukun*; Ul. *kukpu(n)*; Nan. *kukpū*.

◊ TMC 1, 426.

PMong. ***kokir*** filth, rubbish; dry dung (грязь; сухой навоз, кизяк): MMong. *qokir* (SH, Козин); WMong. *qokir* (L 956); Kh. *xoxir*; Bur. *xoxir*.

PTurk. ***Kok*** dust, ashes (пыль, пепел): OTurk. *qoɣ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qoɣ* (MK); MTurk. *qoɣ* (AH, Pav. C.); Krm. *qoq*; Kirgh. *qoq*; Nogh. *qoq*; Khak. *xox*; Oyr. *qoq*; Tv. *xoq*; Yak. *xoɣoso*.

◊ EDT 609, VEWT 275, 276, Лексика 368. Turk. > Mong. *qoɣ*, Kalm. *xog* 'dregs, dirt' (KW 181, Щербак 1997, 165).

PJpn. ***kə̀k- (~ -ua-)*** to urinate, excrete; to stink (мочиться, испражняться; вонять): MJpn. *kòk-*; Tok. *kok-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

‖ An expressive root. Cf. also Turk. **Kiɣ* 'dung' (VEWT 261), **Kakač* id. (EDT 610).

kŏ̀lé** to be afraid, distressed: Tung. ***kul-; Mong. ***kulči-***; Turk. ***Köl-***; Jpn. ***kə̀rə́-***.

PTung. ***kul-*** 1 to be frightened 2 stupid 3 stiff, silent, sullen (1 цепенеть (от страха) 2 глупый, несмышленый 3 вялый, угрюмый, оцепеневший): Evk. *kululi* 3; Evn. *qu̯ldam-* 2, *qu̯lu̯ńa* 3; Neg. *kolo-kolo* 3; Man. *quli-* 1; Ul. *qol-qol* 3; Nan. *qol-qol* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 428, 429.

PMong. ***kulči-*** to be shy, timid (трусить, робеть): WMong. *qulčij-* (MXTTT); Kh. *xulčij-*.

PTurk. ***Köl-*** 1 to be shy, afraid, sullen 2 to be jealous 3 jealousy (1 робеть, пугаться, расстраиваться 2 ревновать 3 ревность): Shr. *külün* 3; Oyr. *köler-*, Tel. *külüneš-* 2; Tv. *xöl-ze-* 1; Chuv. *küle-*, *küleš-* 2.

◊ VEWT 289. Егоров 122-123 confuses the root with **güni* (q. v. sub **kune*); so does Федотов 1, 321.

PJpn. ***kə̀rə́- (~ -u)*** to be disappointed, distressed (разочаро-вываться, получать урок): OJpn. *koru-*; MJpn. *kòràs-* (caus.); Tok. *korí-*; Kyo. *kòrì-*; Kag. *kòrì-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

‖ One of the many common Altaic verbs of emotion.

kólè (~ kʻ-)** time: Mong. ***küli-; Turk. ***Kolu***; Jpn. ***kə́rə̀***.

PMong. ***küli-*** to wait (ждать): MMong. *guliže* (HY 34, SH), *k[u]ličimu-* 'waiting' (IM); WMong. *küliɣe-*, *küli-če-* (L 499, 500); Kh. *xülē-*, *xülce-*; Bur. *xüĺē-*; Kalm. *külə-* (KPC); Ord. *külē-*; Dag. *kulčē-* (Тод. Даг. 151: *kuĺčē-*), *kulečē-* (MD 185).

◊ MGCD 398.

PTurk. ***Kolu*** 1 period of time 2 originally (1 период времени 2 первоначально): OTurk. *qolu* 1 (OUygh.); Kirgh. *qolu* 2.

◊ EDT 617, Лексика 69-70, Clark 1977, 148-149.

PJpn. ***kə́rə̀*** time, period of time (время, период): OJpn. *koro*; MJpn. *koro*; Tok. *koró*, *kóro*; Kyo. *kóro*; Kag. *kóro*.

◊ JLTT 458. The Tokyo variant *kóro* is unclear.

‖ Лексика 69-70.

✱**kōli (~ -e)** to harness: Mong. ***köl-***; Turk. ***gȫl-***.

PMong. ***köl-*** to harness (запрягать): MMong. *kol-, kolde-* (SH); WMong. *köl-le-* (L 485); Kh. *xöllö-*; Kalm. *köll-*; Ord. *kölö-*.

◊ KW 288.

PTurk. ***gȫl-*** 1 to harness 2 harnessed animal (1 запрягать 2 упряжное животное): OTurk. *köl-* 1 (OUygh. - YB), *kölük 2(Orkh.*, OUygh.), 'a vehicle' (OUygh.); Karakh. *kölük* 2 (MK); Tur. *gölük* 2; Turkm. *gȫlük* (dial.) 'vehicle'; *göle* 2; MTurk. *kölük* 2 (Sangl.); Kirgh. *kölük* 2; Kaz. *kölik* 2; KKalp. *kölik* 2; Nogh. *kölik* 2; Khak. *köl-* 1, *kölag* Nom. Act.; Oyr. *kölkö* 2 (possibly < Mong.); Tv. *xöl, xölge* 2 (the latter is rather < Mong.); Tof. *hölle-* 1; Chuv. *kül-* 1; Yak. *köl-üj-* 1, *kölö, kölgö* 2 (the latter may be < Mong.).; Dolg. *kölüj-* 1.

◊ VEWT 288, EDT 715, 717, ЭСТЯ 3, 69-70, Федотов 1, 320-321, Stachowski 155 (following Kał. MEJ 18 and deriving Yak., Dolg. < Mong.).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Contaminations with several other roots were possible: cf. **gűldi, *kʻi̯uli, *kʻiĺa.* Cf. Щербак 1997, 128 (Turk. > Mong.).

✱**kòĺbèkʻV (~ -o-)** hub, wheel hub: Tung. ***kulbuka***; Mong. ***kolkibči***; Turk. ***Koĺ-luk***; Jpn. ***kàsìki***.

PTung. ***kulbuka*** hub (втулка): Evk. *kulbukā* (dial.).

◊ TMC 1, 428.

PMong. ***kolkibči*** 1 hub, bearing 2 cross-bow (1 втулка 2 самострел): WMong. *qolkibči* (L 960: *qolqubči, qolqubči numu*); Kh. *xolxiwč, xolxowč* 1; *xolxovč-num* 2.

PTurk. ***Koĺ-luk*** 1 iron arrow-head 2 arrow with iron head (1 железный наконечник стрелы 2 стрела с железным наконечником): Khak. *xosta* 1, 2; Yak. *kustuk* 2.

◊ VEWT 283. Turk. > Mansi *kuəšlɔx*. A Siberian word; but deriving it from **Kuĺ* 'bird' is hardly possible, despite Stachowski 162.

PJpn. ***kàsìki*** hub (ступица колеса): OJpn. *kosikji*; MJpn. *kòsìki*; Tok. *kóshiki*.

◊ JLTT 458.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term.

✱**koĺi (~ kʻ-, -i̯-, -e)** to freeze: Mong. ***köl-de-***; Turk. ***Köĺ-***.

PMong. ***köl-de-*** to freeze (замерзать): WMong. *kölde-, köldü-* (L 485); Kh. *xöldö-*; Bur. *xülde-*; Kalm. *köld-*; Ord. *köldö-*; Dag. *kuĺde-* (Тод. Даг. 151: *kulde-*, 179: *xulde-*), *hulede-* (MD 166), *xuĺde-, xuldu-*; Dong. *guanʒie-*; Bao. *gondə-*; S.-Yugh. *köldü-*.

◊ KW 288, MGCD 373.

PTurk. ***Köĺ-*** to freeze (замерзать): Tat. *küšek-*; Bashk. *küšek-*; Kaz. *köšü-*; Tv. *közü-*; Tof. *köšü-*; Yak. *köhüj-*.

◊ VEWT 294, ЭСТЯ 5, 127.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 305. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. The root should be distinguished from **k'oli-* 'shadow, cloud' (although contaminations are possible).

kǒĺi(kV) (~ g-, -e)** young of animals: Mong. ***gölige; Turk. ***kōĺek***.

PMong. ***gölige*** pup, young dog or cat (щенок, детеныш собаки или кошки): WMong. *gölüge, gölige* (L 386); Kh. *gölög*; Bur. *gülge(n)*; Kalm. *gölgə*; Ord. *gölögö*; Dag. *gulug, gulgū* (Тод. Дar. 133); S.-Yugh. *gələg*; Mongr. *gorgo* (SM 143), *gulgo*.

◊ KW 137, MGCD 300.

PTurk. ***kōĺek*** young of camel (верблюжонок): Tur. *kösek, gösek* (dial.), *gölük* 'cub'; Az. *köšäk*; Turkm. *kösek*; MTurk. *kösek* (AH); Uzb. *küšek* (dial.); Bashk. *kölökɛj* 'calf'; KKalp. *kösek* (dial.); Kum. *kilɛj* (dial.) 'cub'; Chuv. > Hung. *kölyök*, see Gombocz 1912.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 126-127.

‖ KW 137, Poppe 25, 78. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. PT has a quite irregular *k-, probably due to contamination with **kičük* 'small, young of animals' q. v.

kǒme (~-o)** mat, carpet: Tung. ***kuma-lān; Mong. ***köm***; Turk. ***Kōm***; Jpn. ****kəmə***.

PTung. ***kuma-lān*** a small carpet (made of skins) (коврик (из шкур)): Evk. *kumalān*; Evn. *qūmnan*; Neg. *komalan*; Ork. *qumala(n)*; Orch. *kumala*.

◊ TMC 1, 430. Evk. > Dolg. *kumalān* (Stachowski 160).

PMong. ***köm*** rawhide, depilated skin (сыромятная шкура): WMong. *köm*; Kh. *xöm*; Bur. *xüm*; Kalm. *köm*; Ord. *köm*.

◊ KW 239.

PTurk. ***Kōm*** camel's pack-saddle (верблюжье вьючное седло): Karakh. *qom* (MK); Turkm. *Gōm*; MTurk. *qom* (MA); Uzb. *qum*; Bashk. *qum*; Kirgh. *qom*; Kaz. *qom*; KKalp. *qom*; Oyr. *qom*; Tv. *qom*; Tof. *xom*.

◊ VEWT 278, Лексика 541, ЭСТЯ 6, 55, Clark 1977, 149. Turk. > WMong. *qom* (KW 184, Щербак 1997, 139), whence Evk. *kōm*, Man. *qomo* (see TMC 1, 408, Doerfer MT 61).

PJpn. ****kəmə*** straw matting (соломенная циновка, рогожа): OJpn. *komo*; MJpn. *kómó*; Tok. *kòmo*; Kyo. *kómò*; Kag. *kómo*.

◊ JLTT 456.

‖ In the Western area the root denotes basically a carpet or covering (>saddle) made of skins; since in Japanese it is a straw matting, it is not quite clear what sort of mat was denoted by it in PA.

✱**kòmpo** fist, wrist: Tung. ***komba-***; Mong. ***kombo-***; Turk. ***Kop-***; Jpn. ***kàmpusi***.

PTung. ***komba-*** wrist, hand, spoke-bone (запястье, кисть, плюсна): Neg. *komboxī*; Ork. *qomū*; Nan. *qombio*; Ud. *komugu* (Корм. 249).

◊ TMC 1, 408.

PMong. ***kombo-*** round (esp. of hooves) (быть круглым (особ. о копытах)): WMong. *qombuji-* (MXTTT); Kh. *xomboj-*; Bur. *xombi-*, *xomi-* 'flat (of hooves); Ord. *xombō-* 'avoir une grosse panse et un petite ouverture (vase)'.

◊ L 960 regards WMong. *qombuyur* as a variant of *qomuyur* 'curled, shrivelled', but the Khalkha dictionary strictly distinguishes them.

PTurk. ***Kop-*** 1 fist 2 wrist (1 кулак 2 запястье): Kirgh. *qobuq* 'arthritis of metacarpus'; Oyr. *qoboq* 2; Tv. *qowades* 1, Krg. *qofadeš* (< **Kop-adïl*).

◊ Дыбо 194 (though hardly a loanword).

PJpn. ***kàmpusi*** fist (кулак): MJpn. *kòbùsì*; Tok. *kòbushi*, *kóbushi*; Kyo. *kóbùshì*; Kag. *kobúshi*.

◊ JLTT 453. RJ, Tokyo and Kyoto point to a low tone on the first syllable (although the rest of the word reveals accent variation); only Kagoshima is quite aberrant.

‖ A common derivative **kòmpo-kʻV* is reflected in PT **Kopa-k* = PTM **komba-kī*.

✱**kómpʻi** neck, part of breast: Tung. ***kumpe(ke)***; Mong. ***kömürge***; Turk. ***gömül-dürük***; Jpn. ***kúmpí***.

PTung. ***kumpe(ke)*** breast ornaments (нагрудные украшения): Neg. *kumpken*; Ul. *kumpe(n)*; Orch. *kumpe*.

◊ TMC 1, 431.

PMong. ***kömürge*** breast ornament of horse (нагрудное украшение): Kalm. *kömṛg*.

◊ KW 239.

PTurk. ***gömül-dürük*** breast strap (грудной ремень): Karakh. *kömüldürük* (MK); Tur. *gömüldürük*; Turkm. *gömüldürük*; MTurk. *kömüldürük* (Pav. C.); Tat. *kümältək* (KCTT); Bashk. *kümäldərək*; Kirgh. *kömöldürük*; Tof. *hömündürük*.

◊ VEWT 289, EDT 723, ЭСТЯ 3, 71-72, *Лексика* 552-553. Turk. > Mong. *kömüldürge* (Щербак 1977, 128). Forms like Uygh. *ömüldürük*, Bashk. *ümelderek* (see ЭСТЯ 1, 530, *Лексика* 553) may be derived from the same stem, under an influence of **ömgen* 'upper part of breast' q.v. sub **emo*; a separate etymology see, however, under **pʻòme*.

PJpn. ***kúmpí*** neck (шея): OJpn. *kubji*; MJpn. *kúbí*; Tok. *kùbi*; Kyo. *kúbí*; Kag. *kúbi* (= *kúT*).

◊ JLTT 461.

‖ Cf. also Mong. **köγemej* which can go back to **köme-γej*, cf. potential Turkic loanwords like Chag. *kömekej*, Yak. *kömögöj* etc., see VEWT 289. Such a metathesis, however, is rather uncommon (as well as the rendering of Mong. -ɣ- by Turkic -k-), and there are obvious loanwords

from the same Mongolian source: Yak., Dolg. *küömej* 'throat' (see Kał. MEJ 88, Stachowski 165). It may well be that the above Turkic words are genuine after all, going back to **gömü-kej* (derived from the same root as **gömül-dürük*), while Mong. *köγemej* has a quite different origin (e.g. PA **kúŋe* 'middle, heart' q.v.).

✱**kómtV** box, frame: Tung. ***komta-n**; Turk. ***Komta**; Jpn. ***kámátí**.

PTung. ***komta-n** cover, box (крышка, коробка): Neg. *komtaxan*; Ul. *qōmta(n)*; Nan. *qomtã*; Orch. *kumta(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 409.

PTurk. ***Komta** box (ящик): Tat. *qumta*; Bashk. *qumta*; Khak. *xomdi*; Oyr. *qomda*; Tv. *xomdu*.

◊ VEWT 279, ЭСТЯ 6, 6. Relation to Mong. *qobdu* is hardly possible.

PJpn. ***kámátí** door frame (дверная рама): Tok. *kàmachi*; Kyo. *kámáchí*; Kag. *kamáchi*.

◊ JLTT 431. In OJ *kamati* is attested only in the meaning 'cheek-bone(s)', while RJ has *kàfûti* id. This is possibly a specialization of the meaning 'frame, door-frame', additionally (in MJ) influenced by *káfó* 'face'.

‖ A reconstruction **kómVtV* (~ -t'-) is also not excluded (and perhaps would account better for the PJ form).

✱**kòna(-kV)** clothes: Tung. ***kuŋge**; Mong. ***kunar**; Jpn. ***kànkà-**.

PTung. ***kuŋge** clothes (одежда): Evk. *kuŋgu*; Evn. *köŋgeke*; Neg. *keŋge*; Nan. *kuŋgu*.

◊ TMC 1, 433.

PMong. ***kunar** clothes (одежда): MMong. *qunar* (SH); WMong. *qunar, qunir* (L 986); Kh. *xunar*; Bur. *xunar*; Kalm. *xunər* (KPC); Ord. *xunar*; Dag. *xonor* (Тод. Дar. 177).

PJpn. ***kànkà-** 1 crown 2 to put on (upper clothes) 3 to incur, sustain (1 венец, корона 2 надевать (верхнюю одежду) 3 подвергаться): OJpn. *kage* 1, *kagapur-* 2, 3; MJpn. *kabur-, kaubur-* 2, 3; Tok. *kabúr-* 2, *kōmúr-* 3; Kyo. *kábúr-* 2, *kṓmúr-* 3; Kag. *kàbùr-* 2, *kò̀mùr-* 3.

◊ JLTT 700, 712. Modern *kōmur-* < *kaum(b)ur-* < *kankapur-* (= OJ *kagapur-* with reduction of the middle syllable); the variant *kabur-* is a result of contamination with **kàm(p)-* 'head' (v. sub **kɨamp'a*).

‖ PTM and Japanese reflect a common derivative **kòna-kV*.

✱**kṓńi (~ -e)** leather, cloth: Mong. ***kön-ǯile**; Turk. ***gn̄**; Kor. ***kǎ́ńǎm**.

PMong. ***kön-ǯile** blanket (одеяло): MMong. *konǯile* (HY 23), *koanǯile* (SH), *kənǯəle* (LH); WMong. *könǯile* (MXTTT); Kh. *xönǯil*; Bur. *xünžel*; Kalm. *könǯl* (KPC); Ord. *könǯil* (Тод. ЯМВМ); Mog. *könǯilä* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *guanǯulie* (Тод. Дн.); Mongr. *gwənǯilen* (SM 138).

PTurk. ***gn̄** tanned skin, leather (дубленая шкура, кожа): OTurk. *kön* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kön* (MK); Tur. *gön*; Az. *gön*; Turkm. *gn̄*; MTurk.

gön (Sangl.), *kön* (Nahc., Pav. C.); Uzb. *kọn*; Uygh. *kön*; Krm. *gön*; Tat. *kün*; Bashk. *kün*; Kirgh. *kön*; KBalk. *gön*; KKalp. *kön*; Kum. *gön*; Nogh. *kön*; Oyr. *kön*.

◊ VEWT 290-291, EDT 724, ЭСТЯ 3, 72-73, Лексика 384, 476-477. Cf. also **gönčük* 'an ornament on shirt' (ЭСТЯ 5, 106).

PKor. ***kǎ́nǎ̀m** material, cloth (материал, ткань): MKor. *kǎ́nǎ̀m*; Mod. *kām*.

◊ Nam 13, KED 49.

‖ -ǎ- in MKor. is probably a result of assimilation (< **kòńǎ̀m*). Vovin 1993 compares MKor. *kǎ́nǎ̀m* 'material, cloth' with Jpn. **kìnú*, on which see rather **kʲèjní*; see also Robbeets 2000, 109.

***kòŋa** brown, black: Tung. ***koŋna-**; Mong. ***koŋ-**; Turk. ***Koŋur**; Jpn. ***kànkâ-i**; Kor. ***kǎ́nǎ́rh**.

PTung. ***koŋna-** black (черный): Evk. *koŋno-mo,-rin*; Evn. *qōŋъ-*; Neg. *koŋnojīn*; Sol. *xoŋnorī*.

◊ TMC 1, 413. Evk. > Dolg. *koŋnomo* (see Stachowski 152).

PMong. ***koŋ-** light brown (светлокоричневый): MMong. *qoŋqor* (SH); WMong. *qoŋɣur* (L 962); Kh. *xongor*; Bur. *xongor*; Kalm. *xoŋgər*; Ord. *xoŋGor*; Dag. *xongŏr*, *kongor* (Тод. Даг. 150), *kongore* (MD 183); S.-Yugh. *χoŋGor*; Mongr. *xoŋxo* (SM 172) 'de couleur rose', (MGCD GoŋGor).

◊ KW 185, MGCD 364. Mong. > Evk. *koŋgōr*, Man. *qoŋGoro* (*morin*) > Kor. *koŋgol* (mal) (see Lee 1958, 119, Rozycki 143).

PTurk. ***Koŋur** red-brown, dark brown (рыжевато-бурый, темно-коричневый): Karakh. *qoŋur* (MK); Tur. *koŋgur* , *goɣur* (dial.); Gag. *qomur*; Az. *Gonur*; Turkm. *Goŋur*; MTurk. *qoŋur* (IM), *qoŋɣur* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qụŋɣir*; Tat. *qoŋɣ́ir*; Bashk. *quŋ́ir*; Kirgh. *qoŋur*; Kaz. *qoŋ́ir*; KBalk. *qoŋur*; KKalp. *qoŋ́ir*; Kum. *qoŋur*; Nogh. *qoŋ́ir*; SUygh. *qoŋ́ir*; Khak. *xōr*; Oyr. *qoŋ́ir*; Tv. *xōr*; Chuv. *xъʷmъʷr*; Yak. *qoŋor*.

◊ VEWT 280-1, TMN 3, 525, EDT 639, ЭСТЯ 6, 62-65.

PJpn. ***kànkâ-i** shadow; reflection (тень; отражение): OJpn. *kage*; MJpn. *kàgé*; Tok. *káge*; Kyo. *kàgê*; Kag. *kagé*.

◊ JLTT 432.

PKor. ***kǎ́nǎ́rh** shadow (тень): MKor. *kǎ́nǎ́r* (*kǎ́nǎ́rh-*); Mod. *kinil*.

◊ Nam 9, KED 232.

‖ Poppe 72, KW 185, VEWT 281, Whitman 1985, 183, 199, 222, АПиПЯЯ 290, Дыбо 12, Robbeets 2000, 109. The Mongolian form *qoŋɣur* might as well be a Turkism, cf. TMN 3, 525-526, Щербак 1997, 139-140 (note that *qon-dun*, *qoŋ-du* < Chinese). The TM forms, despite Doerfer MT 37, cannot be regarded as mongolisms. In Kor. cf. also *kà'úró* 'mirror' (probably a derivative from the same root; semantically cf. Jpn. *kaga-mi* id. - 'mirror' < 'shadow'). Note that **kǎ́nǎ́rh* reflects a suffixed

form **koŋ(a)-rV* with assimilation > **konrV*, while **kànkâ-i* reflects another suffixed form **koŋ(V)-kV* (= Mong. **koŋgu-r*).

✱**kōŋa** bell: Tung. ***kōŋā-**; Mong. ***koŋku**; Turk. ***Koŋra-**; Jpn. ***káná-i**.

PTung. ***kōŋā-** 1 ringing sound (expr.) 2 bell (1 звук колокольчика (экспр.) 2 колокольчик): Evk. *kōŋākte* 2; Evn. *qōŋat* 2; Neg. *koŋir, koŋur* 1; Man. *qoŋgir* 1; Ul. *qoŋGoqto* 2; Ork. *qoŋGoqto* 2; Nan. *qoŋGōqto* 2; Orch. *koŋokto* 2; Sol. *xoŋāttū* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 410.

PMong. ***koŋku** bell (колокольчик): WMong. *qoŋqu* (L 963); Kh. *xonx*; Bur. *xonxo*; Kalm. *xoŋxə* (KPC); Ord. *xoŋxo*; Dag. *kuāngarta*, (Тод. Дат. 178), *kuangarete* (MD 184), *xuangarta*; Dong. *GoŋGon*; Bao. *GoŋGa*; S.-Yugh. *χoŋGo*; Mongr. *xoŋGor*.

◊ MGCD 365.

PTurk. ***Koŋra-** 1 to ring, toll 2 bell (1 звенеть, звонить 2 колокол(ьчик)): Karakh. *qoŋraq, qoŋrayu* 2; Tur. *koŋrak* (dial.) 2; Az. *Gimrow* 2; Sal. *koŋor* 2; MTurk. *qumrawu* 2 (AH); Uzb. *qɔŋiraw* 2; Uygh. *qoŋɣraq, qoŋɣiraq* (dial.) 2; Tat. *qiŋɣiraw* 2; Bashk. *quŋiraw* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *qoŋɣurɔ* 2; Kaz. *qoŋiraw* 2; KKalp. *qoŋraw* 2; Kum. *qoŋuraw* 2; Nogh. *qoŋiraw* 2; Khak. *xoŋra-* 1, *xoŋro* 2; Shr. *qoŋra-* 1, *qoŋrā* 2; Oyr. *qoŋro-* 1, *qoŋrü* 2; Tv. *qoŋɣura-* 1.

◊ VEWT 280, TMN 3, 526, EDT 640, ЭСТЯ 6, 60-61.

PJpn. ***káná-i** bell (колокол): OJpn. *kane*; MJpn. *káné*; Tok. *kàne*; Kyo. *káné*; Kag. *káne*.

◊ JLTT 437.

‖ KW 186, TMC 1, 410. In Jpn. the word is homonymous with **káná-i* 'metal', which is probably secondary (but may explain the irregular tone).

✱**kŏŋe** to tear out, uproot: Tung. ***koŋ-**; Turk. ***Koŋur-**; Jpn. ***kənsu-**; Kor. ***kɨ̀ń-**.

PTung. ***koŋ-** to tear out, uproot (выдирать, вырывать): Evk. *koŋdot-*; Evn. *qoŋŋaq-, qoŋŋal-*.

◊ TMC 1, 410, 412 (the root should be distinguished from **koŋda-* 'break, crosswise' q. v. sub **kòŋti)*.

PTurk. ***Koŋur-** to tear out, uproot (выдирать, вырывать): Karakh. *qoŋur-* (MK); MTurk. *qoŋar-* (Abush., Бор. Бад.); Tv. *xuna-*; Yak. *xoŋun-, xoŋnor-*; Dolg. *koŋor-*.

◊ VEWT 281, EDT 640, ЭСТЯ 6, 65, Stachowski 152.

PJpn. ***kənsu-** to uproot (вырывать (с корнем)): OJpn. *kozu-*.

◊ JLTT 714.

PKor. ***kɨ̀ń-** 1 to pull, drag 2 to draw 3 stroke, drawn line (1 тащить, тянуть 2 чертить 3 черта, проведенная линия): MKor. *kɨ̀ń-* 2, *kɨ̀ń-*,

kíńì-, skìń- 1 (with *sk-* representing expressive gemination), *kìs* (= **kíń*) 3; Mod. *k:īl-* 1, *kīt-* [*kis-*] 2.

◊ Nam 69, 75, KED 247, 257.

‖ Whitman 1985, Robbeets 2000, 102. The Jpn. form is historically a compound with **s(u)-* 'to make, do'. In Kor. a palatalization **kŏŋe* > **kŏńe* occurred.

***koŋgV** deaf: Tung. ***koŋga**; Mong. ***koŋgor**.

PTung. ***koŋga** deaf (глухой): Neg. *koŋgo*; Ul. *qoŋGo*; Ork. *qoŋGo*; Nan. *qoŋGo*; Orch. *koŋgo*; Sol. *xoŋgō*.

◊ TMC 1, 471. TM > Dag. *xoŋgō, koŋgō* (Тод. Дат. 177).

PMong. ***koŋgor** naive, guileless (простодушный): WMong. *qoŋɣor* (L 962: *qoŋɣur*); Kh. *xoŋgor*; Bur. *xongor*; Ord. *xoŋGor*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***kòŋti (~ -e, *kị̀uŋtu)** to break, break in halves: Tung. ***koŋda-**; Mong. ***könde-le**; Jpn. ***kùntàk-**.

PTung. ***koŋda-** 1 crosswise 2 to break, snap, be broken 3 half (of an object) (1 поперек 2 ломать(ся) 3 половина (предмета)): Evk. *koŋdor* 1, *koŋdorgo-* 2; Evn. *qoŋdᵭs* 1, *qoŋdᵭq-* 2; Orch. *kondo* 3; Ud. *kandugu* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 412.

PMong. ***könde-le** crosswise (поперек): MMong. *kondolen* (HY 53); WMong. *köndelen, köndülen* (L 488); Kh. *xöndöl*; Bur. *xündelen*; Kalm. *köndəlŋ*; Ord. *köndölön*; Dag. *hundulen* (MD 166), *xundul*; Bao. *guandəlaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *köndölön*; Mongr. *kwəndilen* (SM 206), *kundəlen*.

◊ KW 289, MGCD 374. Mong. > Chag. *köndälän* etc., see TMN 1, 483, Щербак 1997, 205.

PJpn. ***kùntàk-** to break (ломать): OJpn. *kudak-*; MJpn. *kùdàk-*; Tok. *kudák-*; Kyo. *kúdák-*; Kag. *kùdàk-*.

◊ JLTT 715.

‖ Poppe 84 (Tung.-Mong.; Doerfer TMN 1, 483 criticizes Poppe's TM reconstruction **köndes* - which is justified, but does not abolish the parallel).

***kopV** to plane, whet: Tung. ***kuba-**; Mong. ***kobiki**; Turk. ***KobuĺÍ, *Kobuĺa-**.

PTung. ***kuba-** to plane, scrape (строгать, скоблить): Evk. *kuwa-*; Evn. *qụwụn* 'scraper, drawing-knife'; Neg. *koa-, kowa-*; Man. *quwa-fiχa-*; Ork. *qụwaị, qụwaqụ* 'plough'; Nan. *qoatamsa* 'chip, splinter'; Orch. *koa-, kua-, kuwa-*; Ud. *kua-*.

◊ TMC 1, 421.

PMong. ***kobiki** a k. of chisel with a grooved blade (вид долота с закругленным краем): WMong. *qobki* (L 949: *qobiki*); Kh. *xovxi*; Bur. *xobxol-* 'to plane, scrape off'.

◊ WMong. *qobqul-* 'to tear away' (> Evk. *kopko-*, Man. *qobqolo-* etc., see TMC 1, 414, Doerfer MT 91, Rozycki 141).

PTurk. ***Kobuĺ, *Kobuĺa-*** 1 sharpened (arrow) 2 to sharpen, plane (1 заостренная (стрела) 2 точить, строгать): OTurk. *qovuša-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *qovša-* (MK) 2; Tur. (Osmanli) *qovuš, qoɣuš* (XVI c.) 1.

◊ EDT 613-614.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kŏpʿé** to bend; elevation, convexity: Tung. ***kupe-***; Mong. ***köb- / *küb-***; Turk. ***göpe(ne)***; Jpn. ***kəmpu***; Kor. ***kòp-, *kùp-***.

PTung. ***kupe-*** 1 to swell up 2 hill, mound 3 convex (1 вздуваться, распухать 2 холм, бугор 3 выпуклый): Evk. *kepe-* 1, *kupike, kuwudek* 2; Neg. *kupe-* 1; Ul. *kubdu* 2; Nan. *kubdū* 2, *kupul-kupul* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 422, 434, 452. The root actively contaminates with **kepu-* 'to drift, float on the surface' (v. sub **kupʿe*).

PMong. ***köb- / *küb-*** 1 to bend, incline 2 arch, convex, convexity 3 to swell 4 mountain ridge 5 bow-string (1 наклонять, склоняться 2 дуга, выпуклый, выпуклость 3 раздуваться 4 горный хребет 5 тетива): MMong. *k[o]bči* 5 (IM), *kubči, kubčin* (MA 219); WMong. *köbüre-, küber-* 1, *köbügür, kübügür* 2, *köbkeji-* 3, *köbči* 4 (L 475, 476, 477); Kh. *xüvre-* 1, *xövxij-* 3, *xövč* 4, 5; Bur. *xübše* 4, 5; Kalm. *köwkə-* 3, *köwčə* 4, 5 (KPC); Dag. *kubeči* 5 (MD 184).

PTurk. ***göpe(ne)*** haystack (стог сена): Tur. *geben*; Tat. *kübe*; Bashk. *kübɛ*; Kum. *keben*; Tv. *xöpēn*; Chuv. *koba*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 15, 80, Федотов 1, 308-309. Turk. > Hung. *kepe* 'sheaf', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kəmpu*** lump, hump (шишка, горб): Tok. *kobú*; Kyo. *kòbû*; Kag. *kóbu*.

◊ JLTT 453. PJpn. accent is unclear.

PKor. ***kòp-, *kup-*** to be bent (быть изогнутым): MKor. *kòp-, kup-*; Mod. *kop-, kup-*.

◊ Nam 52, 63, KED 163, 220.

‖ Cf. **gi̯ŏpʿe, *kʿàpe* (in Mong. and TM also a partial contamination with **kupʿe* 'light, float'). See also notes to **kʿepʿorV* 'curved bone'.

✱**kŏpʿi (~ -e)** navel: Mong. ***köj***; Turk. ***gŏpek***; Kor. ***kop***.

PMong. ***köj*** navel (пупок): MMong. *kī* (IM), *qui* (SH); WMong. *köi*, (L 498:) *küi*; Kh. *xüj* 'umbilical cord'; Bur. *xüj*; Kalm. *kī*; Ord. *kǖ* 'umbilical cord'.

◊ KW 234. Cf. also Bur. *xübšerge* 'umbilical cord'.

PTurk. ***gŏpek*** navel (пупок): Karakh. *köbek* (IM); Tur. *göbek*; Gag. *göbek*; Az. *göbäk*; Turkm. *gŏbek*; MTurk. *köbek* (Sangl.); Krm. *köbek*; Tat. *kübäk* (dial.); Chuv. *kъʷvaba*.

◊ VEWT 285, EDT 688, ЭСТЯ 3, 52, Федотов 1, 247. Cf. also probably from the same root: Chuv. *kəʷpśa* 'vagina', Tat. *köpšä* 'pipe-like stalk'.

PKor. ***kop*** navel (пупок): MKor. *păi-s-kop*; Mod. *päk:op*.

◊ Nam 253, KED 743.

‖ MKor. *păi-s-kop* has also a variant *păi-s-pok* - which must be secondary in the light of external evidence.

✱***kŏp´V*** all: Tung. ***kupukte***; Mong. ***kow***; Turk. ***Kop***.

PTung. ***kupu-*** 1 all 2 whole (1 весь 2 целый): Evk. *kūkte* 1; Neg. *kepukte* 1; Ul. *kupte* 2; Ork. *kupukte* 2; Nan. *kupukte* 2; Ud. *kufula, kufule* 2; Sol. *xokkoži* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 426 (some forms listed should be qualified as mongolisms).

PMong. ***kow*** all (весь): WMong. *qou*; Kh. *xū*; Bur. *xū*; Kalm. *xō*; Dag. *xō, xua* (Тод. Даг. 176); Mongr. *xu̯-la, xu̯-lo* (SM 180).

◊ KW 191. Mong. > Sal. *k'ö* 'all, various'.

PTurk. ***Kop*** all (весь): OTurk. *qop* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qop* (MK).

◊ VEWT 281, EDT 579.

‖ KW 191, Владимирцов 255, АПиПЯЯ 15, 27, 289, Дыбо 12. A Western isogloss (possible Kor.-Jpn. reflexes see under **k'óp'i*).

✱***kóre*** to freeze: Tung. ***kuri-***; Mong. ***kör***; Turk. ***Kört***; Jpn. ***kár-***.

PTung. ***kuri-*** 1 to freeze (of ice on window) 2 snow drift (1 намерзнуть (о льде на окне) 2 сугроб, намет снега): Evk. *kurêr-* 1; Evn. *kurilke* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 436-437.

PMong. ***kör*** 1 dense, thick snow 2 to freeze (1 толстый сугроб 2 замерзать, остывать): MMong. *kor-be* 'iced, cold' (HY 6); WMong. *kör* 1, *körü-* 2 (L 490); Kh. *xör* 1, *xörö-* 2; Bur. *xür* 1, *xüre-* 2; Kalm. *kör* 1, *kör-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *kör-* 2; S.-Yugh. *kör* 1, *kör-, körgö-* 2; Mongr. *kori-* 'se geler' (SM 215), *korə* 1.

◊ MGCD 375, 376.

PTurk. ***Kört*** snow drift, deep snow (сугроб, глубокий снег): OTurk. *kürtük* (OUygh.); Tur. *kürt* (dial.), *gürtük*; Uygh. *kürt*; Tat. *kört*; Bashk. *kört*; Kirgh. *kürtük*; Kaz. *kürt, kürtək*; KBalk. *kürt*; Kum. *kürt*; Nogh. *kürtək*; Khak. *körtək*; Shr. *kürt*; Oyr. *körtük, kürt*; Tv. *xörtük*; Chuv. *kərt* (Anatri); Yak. *küržük*.

◊ EDT 739, ЭСТЯ 5, 149-150.

PJpn. ***kár-*** to freeze (замерзать, застывать): OJpn. *kor-*; MJpn. *kór-*; Tok. *kór-*; Kyo. *kòr-*; Kag. *kór-*.

◊ JLTT 713. Accent in Tokyo and Kyoto is irregular (pointing to a variant **kàr-*).

‖ VEWT 311, KW 240.

✱**kòrke** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***kurke***; Mong. ***korgu***; Turk. ***Körke***; Kor. ***kúkì***.

PTung. ***kurke*** vessel made of birch bark (сосуд из бересты): Evk. *kurken* 'биток для сбора ягод'; Ul. *kurke*; Ork. *kurke*; Nan. *kurke*; Orch. *kukke*; Ud. *kuku* (Корм. 252).

◊ TMC 1, 426, 437.

PMong. ***korgu*** a k. of vessel (вид сосуда): WMong. *qorɣu* (L 965); Kh. *xorgo*; Dag. *xorgo* (Тод. Даг. 177).

PTurk. ***Körke*** wooden dish, bowl (деревянное блюдо, чаша): Karakh. *körge* (MK); MTurk. *körge* (Abush.), *körege* (Sangl.); Krm. *körege*; Oyr. *kürgü* 'ein grosses Birkenrindengefäss'; Chuv. *korga* 'scoop'.

◊ EDT 742, VEWT 311, Федотов 1, 372.

PKor. ***kúkì*** vessel, dipper, a measure of weight (сосуд, черпак, мера веса): MKor. *kúkì*; Mod. *kugi*.

◊ Liu 82, HMCH 243, KED 196.

‖ A good common Altaic root, denoting some kind of big vessel (used as a measure of weight in the Eastern area).

✱**koru** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***koru***; Mong. ***korbu***; Turk. ***Kor(t)-***; Jpn. ***kùntírà***; Kor. ***kòràì***.

PTung. ***koru*** pike (щука): Evn. *kŏ̄rike*, *kurike* 'a k. of fish (род мальмы)'; Neg. *kojčān*; Man. *xoro*; Ul. *qorụ*.

◊ TMC 1, 404, 420. Manchu has also a front-row variant *kure* 'tench' (also *kurče*, *kurčin* 'a k. of sea fish'), see TMC 1, 438 (cf. also Ul., Nan. *kuere* 'амур белый', TMC 1, 445); the Manchu word was borrowed > WMong. *küre*, Kalm. *kür* 'tench' (see Doerfer MT 144).

PMong. ***korbu*** beluga, white fish (белуга, белая рыба): WMong. *qorbu* (L 965); Kh. *xorov*; Kalm. *xorwə* (KPC).

◊ Cf. also WMong. *qarba* 'a k. of fresh-water fish' (or is it < 'carp'?).

PTurk. ***Kor(t)-*** 1 burbot 2 pike 3 huso, beluga (1 налим 2 щука 3 белуга): Tat. (KCTT) *qurtɨ* 1, *qurtan* 2; Kaz. *qortpa* 3; Nogh. *qortpa* 3; Khak. *xortɨ* 1 (Sag.); Shr. *qortu* 1; Oyr. *qortu* 1; Chuv. ? *kъrtъš*, *kъrъš* 'ruff' (= Mari *kiriš*, *kərkke* 'trout').

◊ Федотов 1, 260. For Chuv. *kъrtъš* cf. also Tat. *qirtiš* (the direction of borrowing is unclear).

PJpn. ***kùntírà*** whale (кит): OJpn. *kudira*; MJpn. *kùdírà*; Tok. *kùjira*; Kyo. *kùjírà*; Kag. *kujirá*.

◊ JLTT 468. The Kyoto accent is aberrant.

PKor. ***kòràì*** whale (кит): MKor. *kòràì*; Mod. *korä*.

◊ Liu 63, KED 138.

‖ Accent correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular.

✱**kŏ̀ru (~ -ŕ-)** nut: Tung. ***kuri***; Jpn. ***kùrù-i***; Kor. ***kǎrái***.

PTung. ***kuri*** cone, nut (шишка, орех): Man. *χuri* 'fir cone'; Jurch. *xuri* (127) 'fir cone'; Nan. *kori-či* 'water nut', *kore-kta* 'pine cone'.

◊ TMC 1, 416, 417, 478.

PJpn. ***kùrù-i** chestnut (каштан): OJpn. *kuri*; MJpn. *kùrì*; Tok. *kurí*; Kyo. *kúrì*; Kag. *kurí*.

◊ JLTT 464. For *-u cf. OJ *kuru-su* 'chestnut grove'.

PKor. ***kǎrái** wild walnut (дикий грецкий орех): MKor. *kǎrái*; Mod. *karä*.

◊ Nam 11, KED 11.

‖ Дыбо 11, Whitman 1985, 193, 231, Menges 1984, 274-275. Basically an Eastern isogloss: the Turkic forms of the type *koz* are most probably borrowed from Iranian. There are also forms reflecting **koŕak* (VEWT 285), but they may also reflect a contamination of the root **Koŕ* (or the borrowed *koz*) with the genuine root **kusik* (e.g. Tuva ku"suk), see **kušu*.

✱**kósV (~ -u-)** chain, ring: Tung. ***kosa**; Jpn. ***kúsárì**; Kor. ***kùsír**.

PTung. ***kosa** 1 stone ring 2 ring, pectoral (1 каменное кольцо 2 кольцо, обруч): Ul. *qoso(n)* 2; Ork. *qoso* 1; Orch. *koso* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 417.

PJpn. ***kúsárì** chain (цепь): OJpn. *kusari*; *kusar-* 'to be linked, chained together'; MJpn. *kúsárì*; Tok. *kùsari*; Kyo. *kúsárí*; Kag. *kusári*.

◊ JLTT 466. Modern dialects point rather to **kúsárí*.

PKor. ***kùsír** pearl(s) (жемчуг): MKor. *kùsír*; Mod. *kusul*.

◊ Liu 84, KED 204.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. Old Koguryo **kos* 'gem, jewel' (see Miller 1979, 10).

✱**kŏše** edge, protrusion: Tung. ***koša**; Mong. ***kosiɣu**; Turk. ***Kösri**; Jpn. ***kùisì (~ -ài-)**; Kor. ***kìsírk**.

PTung. ***koša** river bend, cape, angle (излучина реки, мыс, угол): Evk. *kočo*; Evn. *qoč*; Neg. *kočo*; Man. *χošo*; Ul. *χočų*; Orch. *kočīmdi* 'curved'; Ud. *koso(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 419. A complicated case: Manchu has also *qočo* (borrowed from some Amur language?).

PMong. ***kosiɣu** protrusion, beak (выступ, клюв): MMong. *xoši'un* (HY 15), *qoši'un* (SH); WMong. *qosiɣu(n)*, *qusiɣu(n)* (L 970); Kh. *xošū*; Bur. *xušūn*; Kalm. *xošūn*, *xušūn*; Ord. *Gušū*; Mog. ZM *qošun* (8-5b); Dong. *qušun*; Mongr. *Gošə* (SM 126).

◊ KW 190, TMN 1, 406-407.

PTurk. ***Kösri** 1 sides of the chest 2 wind-screen, bill (1 боковые части груди 2 козырек): Karakh. *küsri* 1 (MK); Chuv. *kъʷzъʷr-uk* 2.

◊ Chuv. > Russ. *козырек* (on the possible Turkic origin of the Russian word see Фасмер 2). See EDT 751.

PJpn. ***kùisì (~ -ài-)** bank, shore (берег, край): OJpn. *kisi*; MJpn. *kìsì*; Tok. *kishí*; Kyo. *kíshí*; Kag. *kishí*.

◊ JLTT 451. Kyoto has an irregular accent (**kíshì* would be expected).

PKor. ***kìsɨ́rk*** protrusion, edge of roof (выступ, край крыши): MKor. *kìsɨ́rk*; Mod. *kisɨk* [*kisɨlk*].

◊ Nam 79, KED 269.

‖ SKE 113-114, EAS 102. The Kor.-Jpn. forms are not quite regular: in Kor. one would rather expect **kísìrk* (so probably we are dealing with a metathesis); the diphthong -ui- in Japanese (as in the few other similar cases) has a not quite clear origin. It may well be that the Jpn. form is related to **kui* 'fortress' < *'border', see **kịudu* - although the suffixation is peculiar.

✱**kóši** lever: Tung. ***kuši-pun (~ -č-)***; Mong. ***kösi-***; Turk. ***köse-***; Jpn. ****kúsàpì***; Kor. ****kosak***.

PTung. ***kuši-pun (~ -č-)*** pole, lever (жердь, вага): Ul. *kuspu(n)*; Nan. *kučipũ*.

◊ TMC 1, 439.

PMong. ***kösi-*** 1 to prop, move with a lever 2 lever (1 подпирать, двигать рычагом 2 рычаг): WMong. *kösi-* 1, *kösiγür* 2 (L 492); Kh. *xöši-* 1, *xöšűr* 2; Bur. *xüše-* 1, *xüšűrge* 2; Kalm. *köšűrγə* 2 (KPC); Ord. *göšö-* 1, *göšűrge* 2.

PTurk. ***köse-*** 1 to stir with a poker 2 poker (1 помешивать кочергой 2 кочерга): Az. *kösöv* 2; Turkm. *köse-* 1, *kesevi* 2; MTurk. *köse-* (AH) 1, *küsegü* (IM) 2; Uygh. *kösɛj* 2; Tat. *kisɛw* (dial.) 2; Bashk. *keϑɛw, küδɛw, küϑɛk* 2; Kirgh. *kösö-* 1, *köső* 2; Kaz. *köse-* 1, *kösew* 2; KBalk. *kösew* 2; KKalp. *köse-* 1, *kösew* 2; Kum. *kösew* 2; Nogh. *köse-* 1; Khak. *közes* 2; Oyr. *közűš* 2; Tv. *köze-* 1; Chuv. *küsek* 'lever, stick'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 119-121. The regular reflex would be expected as **göse-*; the shape *köse-* is probably due to the influence of **kŏŕ* 'glowing coals' (cf. in MK: *köze-* 'to stir with a poker').

PJpn. ****kúsàpì*** wedge, brace, clinch (клин, скоба, шпонка): MJpn. *kúsàfi, kúsàbi*; Tok. *kùsabi*; Kyo. *kúsábi*; Kag. *kusabi*.

◊ JLTT 465. The word has a rare accent structure HLL.

PKor. ****kosak*** a piece of wood reinforcing a dovetail joint (деревянная распорка): Mod. *kosak*.

◊ KED 144.

‖ The root (as a verb) meant basically 'to use a prop or lever', whence an instrumental noun **kóši-pʻV* (TM **kuši-pu-n*, PJ **kúsà-pì*, possibly also Mong. *kösi-γü-r*).

✱**kòtʻe** hole: Tung. ***kota-***; Mong. ****kota-gar***; Turk. ****göt***; Kor. ****kút***.

PTung. ***kota-*** 1 concave, cavity 2 to bend upwards (1 впалый, впадина, углубление 2 выгибаться): Evk. *koto-kon* 1; Evn. *qotaṅa* 1; Man. *χotoro-* 2; Ul. *qotom-* 2; Nan. *qotajgã* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 418.

PMong. ***kota-gar*** hollow (n.) (впадина, впалый): WMong. *qota-γar* (L 972: *qotuγur*); Kh. *xotgor*; Bur. *xotogor*; Kalm. *xotəgər, xotxər*; Ord. *GotoGor*.

◊ KW 190.

PTurk. ***göt*** anus, buttocks (задница, ягодицы): Karakh. *köt* (MK); Tur. *göt*; Gag. *göt*; MTurk. *köt* (MA, Pav. C.), MKypch. *köt* (CCum., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ket*; Krm. *köt*; Kirgh. *köt*; Chuv. *kot*.

◊ VEWT 294, EDT 700, ЭСТЯ 3, 84-85, TMN 3, 618, Мудрак 50, Лексика 281, Федотов 1, 316. Cf. also **gütük* 'tailless'.

PKor. ***kút*** hole, pit (дыра, яма): MKor. *kút*; Mod. *kut, kudəŋi*.

◊ Nam 62, KED 197, 216.

‖ Лексика 281. Derived are Turk. **göten(e)* 'stomach' (ЭСТЯ 3, 85), Mong. **kotuγa-* id. (> Evk. *koto* etc., see Doerfer MT 103-104); cf. also TM **kuta* id. (TMC 1, 418, 439), see Doerfer ibid.

kŏtʿi** to lift, raise: Tung. ***kutu-; Mong. ***kötü-***; Turk. ***göt-***; Jpn. ***kutu-***.

PTung. ***kutu-*** 1 to drag 2 mountaineering 3 to raise, lift (1 тащить, волочить 2 подъем (в гору) 3 поднимать): Evn. *kötъγ, kötъŋe* 2; Man. *xete-* 3; Nan. *kutu-* 1; Orch. *kotolo* 'sleigh'.

◊ TMC 1, 418, 421, 483. Man. > Ul., Nan. *xete-* 'raise, lift'.

PMong. ***kötü-*** 1 to lead 2 hill 3 to be high, lift the breast (1 вести 2 холм 3 возвышаться, поднимать грудь): MMong. *kotol-* 1 (HY 39, SH); WMong. *kötüle-* (L 493: *kötül-, kötel-*) 1, *kötül* 2 (L 493: *kötül, kötel*), *köteji-* 3; Kh. *xötlö-* 1, *xötöl* 2; Bur. *xütel-* 1, *xütel* 2; Kalm. *kötl-* 1, *kötl* 2, *kötī-* 3; Ord. *götöl-* 1, *götöl* 2; Dag. *kutlē-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 152: *kutule-*), *kutelē-* (MD 185); Bao. *kutel-* 1 (Тод. Бн.); S.-Yugh. *kütēl-* 1; Mongr. *kudor* (SM 206), 2 (MGCD *kudol*), *kudoli-* (SM 206), *kudolə-* 1.

◊ KW 242, MGCD 378. TMN 1, 323. Kalm. *kötr-* 'to lift' may be borrowed < Turk. Mong. > Man. *kutule-* (see Doerfer MT 118, Rozycki 147; but Nan. *kutu-* can hardly be explained as a loan).

PTurk. ***göt-*** to rise, raise (подниматься(ся)): OTurk. *kötür-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kötür-* (MK, KB); Tur. *götür-*; Gag. *götür-*; Az. *göt-*; Turkm. *göter-*; Khal. *ketür-, ketir-*; MTurk. *köter-* (Abush., MA); Uzb. *kọtar-*; Uygh. *kötär-*; Krm. *köter-*; Tat. *kütɛr-*; Bashk. *kütär-*; Kirgh. *kötör-*; Kaz. *köter-*; KBalk. *kötür-*; Kum. *göter-*; Nogh. *köter-*; SUygh. *küter-* (ЯЖУ); Khak. *ködər-*; Shr. *ködür-*; Oyr. *ködür-*; Tv. *ködür-*; Tof. *kö'tür-*; Yak. *köt-*; *kötör* 'bird'; Dolg. *köt-* 'to fly; run'.

◊ VEWT 294, EDT 706, ЭСТЯ 3, 86-88, Stachowski 158. Cf. also Karakh. *kötki* 'hill', *kötü* 'the roof of a house' (MK, EDT 701).

PJpn. ***kutu-*** to turn upside down (переворачиваться (вверх дном)): OJpn. *kutu-kapjer-*; MJpn. *kútú-kafer-*; Tok. *kutsugáe-*; Kyo. *kútsúgáé-*; Kag. *kùtsùgàè-*.

◊ JLTT 718. The PJ accent is not clear. Cf. also OJ *katug-* 'to carry on the shoulders' (perhaps < *kutug-* under the influence of *kata* 'shoulder', *kataga-* 'carry on the shoulder').

‖ EAS 147, KW 242, TMN 1, 459.

✱**kòtʿV (~ kʿ-, -u-)** village, locality: Mong. ***koto**; Turk. ***Kutu**; Kor. ***kót**.

PMong. ***koto** 1 town, group of huts 2 family, home (1 город, деревня 2 семья, дом): MMong. *qutan* 'hurdle' (MA), *qoton* (SH, HYt); WMong. *qota(n)*, *qotu(n)* (L 972) 1; Kh. *xot* 1; Bur. *xoto(n)* 1; Kalm. *xotn*, *xotə* 1; Ord. *Goto* 1, 'cote'; Dag. *xoton*, *koton* 1 (Тод. Даг. 178); Dong. ? *kide* 2; Bao. *kute*, *kete* 2; S.-Yugh. *χoto* 1; Mongr. kudu (SM 206) 2.

◊ KW 190, MGCD 368. Mong. > Kirgh., Chag. *qotan*; Evk. *koton* etc. (Doerfer MT 81, Rozycki 109).

PTurk. ***Kutu** group of people (группа людей): Karakh. *qutu* (KB).

◊ EDT 596.

PKor. ***kót** place, locality (место, местность): MKor. *kót*; Mod. *kot* [*kos*].

◊ Nam 50, KED 164.

‖ EAS 154, SKE 127.

✱**kúbé** to wish, hope, like: Tung. ***kub- / *keb-**; Mong. ***köw-, *küw-, *köɣe-r**; Turk. ***güb-**; Jpn. ***kuámpə́- (~ -ú-)**.

PTung. ***kub- / *keb-** 1 friendly, lovingly 2 bride (1 милый, любящий 2 невеста): Evk. *kuwer* 2; Man. *keb*, *keo* 1; Nan. *kewēli* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 423, 443.

PMong. ***köw-, *küw-, *köɣe-r** 1 joy, happiness 2 wish 3 proud 4 percent, profit 5 to become excited, boast (1 радость, счастье 2 желание 3 гордый 4 процент, прибыль 5 возбуждаться, хвастаться): WMong. *köwr*, *köger* 1, *köger(e)-*, *kögeri-* 5 (L 479); Kh. *xōr* 1, *xū* 4, *xörö-* 5; Bur. *xōrū* 'babbler, gabby; merry', *xōrxū* 'boastful'; Kalm. *kū* 2, *kōr* 3; Ord. *körö-* 'sʿexalter'.

◊ KW 243, 249.

PTurk. ***güb-** 1 to be proud, arrogant, enjoy self-respect 2 to hope 3 proud (1 быть гордым, надменным 2 надеяться 3 гордый): OTurk. *küvez* 3, *küven-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *küvez* 3, *küven-* 1 (MK); Tur. *güven-* 1, 2; Az. *güvän-* 1,2; Turkm. *gövne-* 'to approve'; MTurk. *küven-* 1 (Sangl.); Bashk. *köjäδ* 3; Nogh. *küjez* 3.

◊ VEWT 306, EDT 690, ЭСТЯ 3, 91-92.

PJpn. ***kuámpə́- (~ -ú-)** to flatter (льстить): OJpn. *kwobu-*; MJpn. *kóbú-*; Tok. *kòbi-*; Kyo. *kóbí-*; Kag. *kobí-*.

◊ JLTT 710.

‖ KW 243, Владимирцов 212, EAS 113, Poppe 48, 82. Despite TMN 1, 486, Mong. is not < Turk.

✱**kubirgV (~ k'-)** drum: Mong. ***keɣürge / *köɣürge**; Turk. ***Kübrüg**.

PMong. ***keɣürge / *köɣürge** drum (барабан): MMong. *ke'urge, ko'urge* (SH), *korge* (HY 19); WMong. *kögerge, kögürge* (L 480); Kh. *xörög*.

◊ Mong. > Chag. *kewürge*, see TMN 1, 473-475.

PTurk. ***Kübrüg** drum (барабан): OTurk. *kübrüg* (OUygh.); Karakh. *küvrüg* (MK); Tur. *kewrüg* (Osm.); MTurk. (Xwar.) *küwrü* (Qutb), *küvrüg* (IM).

◊ EDT 690-691.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss - but despite TMN 1, 473-475, hardly borrowed in Turk. from Mongolian.

✱**kúbù (~ -o-, -p-)** pole, shaft: Tung. ***kobil**; Turk. ***Kubak (~ -p-)**; Jpn. ***kúpì**.

PTung. ***kobil** mast (мачта): Ul. *qowụl*; Nan. *qojol*; Orch. *kōwi*.

◊ TMC 1, 403.

PTurk. ***Kubak (~ -p-)** arrow shaft (древко стрелы): Tat. *qubaq* (Sib.); Shr. *qubu* 'pole'.

◊ VEWT 295.

PJpn. ***kúpì** pole, post (шест, столб): OJpn. *kupji*; MJpn. *kúfi*; Tok. *kúi*; Kyo. *kúì*; Kag. *kuí*.

◊ JLTT 462. Some accent irregularities are due to contraction.

‖ The root is not widely spread, but seems to be reliable.

✱**kūči** power: Tung. ***kusṵ̄-**; Mong. ***küči-n**; Turk. ***gṵ̄č**; Kor. ***kóčǎk**.

PTung. ***kusṵ̄-** 1 to fight 2 fight 3 strength, power (1 драться, биться 2 драка, бой 3 сила): Evk. *kusī-* 1, *kusīn* 2; Evn. *kusi-* 1, *kusin* 2; Neg. *kusī-* 1, *kusun* 3; Man. *xusun* 3; SMan. *husun* 3 (171); Jurch. *xiu-sun* (513) 3; Ul. *kusu(n)* 3; Ork. *kusu(n)* 3; Nan. *kusṵ̄* 3; Ud. *kuhi* 3; Sol. *xususi* 'strong, powerful'.

◊ TMC 1, 438-439.

PMong. ***küči-n** power, strength (сила): MMong. *kočer-* (IM), *kučin* 'old age' (MA), *guču(n)* 'strength' (SH, HYt); WMong. *küči*, (L 496:) *küčü(n)*; Kh. *xüč*; Bur. *xüše(n)*; Kalm. *küčn̥*; Ord. *güči(n)*; Dag. *kuči* (Тод. Даг. 152, MD 184); Dong. *kučie*; S.-Yugh. *kužən*; Mongr. *kuši* (SM 207).

◊ KW 249, MGCD 403.

PTurk. ***gṵ̄č** power (сила): OTurk. *küč* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *küč* (MK, KB); Tur. *güj*; Gag. *güč*; Az. *güj*; Turkm. *gṵ̄č*; Khal. *kīič*; MTurk. *küč* (Sangl., Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *kuč*; Uygh. *küč*; Krm. *küč*; Tat. *köč*; Bashk. *kös*; Kirgh. *küč*; Kaz. *küš*; KBalk. *küč*; KKalp. *küš*; Kum. *güč*; Nogh. *küš*; SUygh. *kuš*; Khak. *küs*; Shr. *küš*; Oyr. *küč*; Tv. *küš*; Tof. *küš*; Yak. *kṵ̄s*; Dolg. *kṵ̄s*.

◊ VEWT 306, EDT 693, ЭСТЯ 3, 96-98, Stachowski 166.

PKor. ***kóčǎk** 1 extreme, very powerful 2 at most (1 чрезвычайный, очень сильный 2 самое большее): MKor. *kóčǎk-hă-* 1; Mod. *kožak* 2.

◊ Nam 48, KED 148.

‖ EAS 96, KW 249, Владимирцов 165, Poppe 63, 112, АПиПЯЯ 16. High tone in Kor. is not clear. Despite TMN 3, 627, Щербак 1997, 128, Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turkic; TM cannot be borrowed from Mong., despite Rozycki 113. In АПиПЯЯ (p. 77) the root was compared with PJ **kìsV-* 'to contest'. The latter, however, has better Tungus parallels: TM **gali-* 'to contest' (TMC 1, 138), see **galí*.

✱**kúči (~ k'-, g-, -č'-, -o, -u)** to hold in arms: Turk. ***Kūč-**; Kor. ***kòč-**.

PTurk. ***Kūč-** to embrace (обнимать): OTurk. *quč-* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *quč-* (MK); Tur. *kuǯ-, koč-*; Az. *Guǯ-*; Turkm. *Guč-*; MTurk. *quč-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *quč-*; Krm. *quč-*; Tat. *qoč-*; Kirgh. *quč-*; Kaz. *quš-*; KKalp. *quš-*; Yak. *kūs-*; Dolg. *kūs-*.

◊ EDT 590, VEWT 295-296, ЭСТЯ 6, 105-106, Stachowski 163. Shortening in Turkm. is unclear (length in Yak. and voicing -č- > -ǯ- in Tur., Az. point to **-ū-*).

PKor. ***kòč-** to hold in two arms (держать двумя руками): MKor. *kòč-*.

◊ HMCH 342, Nam 54.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**kùdá** to be submerged; to pour out: Tung. ***kodori-**; Turk. ***Kud-**; Jpn. ***kàntùk-**.

PTung. ***kodori-** 1 to scoop 2 scoop (made of birch bark) (1 черпать 2 ковш (берестяной)): Ul. *qodụrpụ(n)* 2; Nan. *qodori-* 1 (On.), *qodorịqo, qodorpō* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 403.

PTurk. ***Kud-** 1 to pour out (water) 2 to pour 3 well (1 лить 2 сыпать 3 колодец): OTurk. *qud-* 1 (OUigh.), *quduɣ* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *quj-* 1 (MK), *quδuɣ* 3 (MK, QB); Tur. *kuju* 3, *kujı* 3 (dial.); Gag. *quju* 3; Az. Guju 3; Turkm. Guj- 1, 2, Gujı 3; MTurk. *quj-* 1 (Sangl.), *qujı* 3 (Pav.C.); Uzb. *quj-* 1; Uygh. *quj-* 1; Krm. *quj-* 1, *quju* 3; Tat. *qoj-* 1, 2, *qojı* 3; Bashk. *qoj-* 1, 2, *qojı* 3 (dial.); Kirgh. *quj-* 1, 2; Kaz. *quj-* 1, 2, *qujı* 3 (dial.); KBalk. *quj-* 1, 2, *quju* 3; KKalp. *quj-* 1, 2, *qujı* 3; Kum. *quj-* 1 *quju* 3; Nogh. *quj-* 1, 2, *qujı* 3; SUygh. *quz-* 1; Khak. *xus-* 1, 2 (dial.); Shr. *quspaq* 'большой туес' (?); Tv. *qut-* 1; Tof. *qut-/d-* 1; Chuv. *xĭv-* 1, 2; Yak. *kut-* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 296, EDT 596, 598, ЭСТЯ 2000, 109-111, 119-120, Мудрак Дисс. 102, Федотов 2, 379. The root contained undoubtedly **-d-*, but variants with **-j-* are attested unusually early. Turk. > MMong. *yuduh* (SH), WMong. *quduɣ* (whence backwards > Turkm. Guduk, Uygh. *quduq*, Khak. *xutux* etc.), see EDT ibid., KW 194, Щербак 1997, 143, TMN 1, 395-396, Stachowski 162.

PJpn. ***kàntùk-** to dive (нырять, погружаться): OJpn. *kaduk-*; MJpn. *kàdùk-*; Tok. *kazúk-*; Kyo. *kázúk-*.

◊ JLTT 707.

‖ Evk. *kudu, kuduk* 'saline; spring with salted water; well, spring' is semantically distant from the other TM forms and very probably bor-

rowed from Mong. (however not from Mong. *quǰir*, despite Doerfer MT 104, but rather from *quduγ* 'well' - itself borrowed from Turkic, see above). One can mention Mong. *küdese-* 'to swim (of a snake)', but both the vocalism and the meaning seem to be somewhat aberrant.

✱**kude** relative-in-law: Mong. ***kuda**; Turk. ***güde-**.

PMong. ***kuda** relative-in-law (сват, свойственник): MMong. *guda* 'match-maker, parent-in-law' (HY 32), *quda* (SH); WMong. *quda* (L 979); Kh. *xud*; Bur. *xuda* 'сват', *xudagi* 'сватья'; Kalm. *xudə*; Ord. *xuda*; Dag. *xodugu*, (Тод. Даг. 176) *xodog*, (Тод. Даг. 178) *xuada*; Dong. *Gudayi*; S.-Yugh. *Gudā*; Mongr. *Guda* (SM 123), *Gudā*.

◊ MGCD 384. Mong. > Chag. *quda* etc. (see TMN 1, 424, Лексика 310, ЭСТЯ 6, 102-103), Chuv. *хъда* (Róna-Tas 1973-1974), Man. *xuda* etc., see KW 194, Щербак 1997, 208, Doerfer MT 81-82.

PTurk. ***güde-** 1 son-in-law 2 guest (1 зять 2 гость): OTurk. *küdegü* 1, *küden* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *küdegü* 1, *küden* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *güveji* 1; Gag. *güvā* 1; Az. *gijev* 1; Turkm. *gijev* 1; Sal. *kui* 1 (ССЯ); Khal. *kideji* 1; MTurk. *küjew* 1 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *kujɔw* 1; Uygh. *küjoγul* 1 (**küjö-oγul*); Krm. *gijav* 1; Tat. *kijäw* 1; Bashk. *kejäw* 1; Kirgh. *küjõ* 1; Kaz. *küjew* 1; KBalk. *kijew* 1; KKalp. *küjew* 1; Kum. *gijev* 1; Nogh. *kijew* 1; SUygh. *kuzeyi* 1; Khak. *kəzö* 1; Shr. *küze* 1; Oyr. *küjü* 1; Tv. *küdē* 1; Tof. *hüdā* 1; Chuv. *kərü* 1; Yak. *kütüö* 1; Dolg. *kütüö* 1.

◊ EDT 703, 704-705, ЭСТЯ 3, 43-45, Лексика 297-298, Stachowski 166. Turk. > Mong. *kütegü*; Yak. > Evk. *kutē*.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**kugi (~ -k-, -e)** quilted clothes, trousers: Tung. ***kukču**; Mong. ***küg-dü**; Kor. ***kă'oi (~ *ko'ăi)**.

PTung. ***kukču** 1 sleeping-bag 2 clothes with quilted sleeves (1 спальный мешок 2 одежда с зашитыми рукавами): Evk. *kukču* 1, 2; Evn. *qučų* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 1, 427.

PMong. ***küg-dü** thick quilted trousers, wadded trousers (толстые ватные штаны): WMong. *kügdü* (L 497); Kh. *xügd*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *xukdu*, *xuktu* 'quilted coat', Nan. *xuktu* id. etc. (see TMC 1, 476).

PKor. ***kă'oi (~ *ko'ăi)** dressing for the lower part of body (одежда для нижней части тела): MKor. *kă'oi*, *ko'oi*; Mod. *koi*.

◊ Nam 15, 48, KED 148. Martin treats the word as a loanword < MC *khò* 'trousers' + *ʔij* 'clothes'; however, the word means both 'trousers' and 'skirt' in MKor.; the compound is not found in Chinese proper; and the MKor phonology cannot be explained < Chinese. Modern *koi* (orth. *ko'ii*) may be a secondary modification under Chinese influence.

‖ Although not very widely represented, the root appears to be Common Altaic.

✱**kǔgù** swan: Tung. ***kūku**; Turk. ***Kugu**; Jpn. ***kùkùpí**; Kor. ***kòhài**.

PTung. ***kūku (/*xūku)*** swan (лебедь): Evk. *ūk-si*; Evn. *ū̯-si̯*; Neg. *xūk-si*; Ul. *kuku*; Ork. *kuku / kukku*; Nan. *kuku*; Orch. *kūku*; Ud. *kūxi*.

◊ TMC 1, 426-427; 2, 336.

PTurk. ***Kugu*** swan (лебедь): OTurk. *quγu* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *quγu* (MK); Tur. *koγu, kuγu*; Az. *Gu, Guγu*; Turkm. *Guv*; MTurk. *quγu* (Ettuhf.), *qu* (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *quw*; Uygh. *quw*; Krm. *quγu, qoγu, quw*; Tat. *qū, qu* (Буд.); Sib. *quγï* 'polar duck'; Kirgh. *qū*; Kaz. *quw*; KBalk. *quw*; KKalp. *quw*; Kum. *quw, qū*; Nogh. *quw*; Khak. *xū*; Shr. *qū*; Oyr. *qū*; Tv. *qú*; Yak. *kuba*; Dolg. *kuba*.

◊ VEWT 275, EDT 609, TMN 3, 533-534, Лексика 171, ЭСТЯ 6, 101, Stachowski 159. Turk. > Kalm. *γoγä, γoγä* '(Heer)schnepfe', see KW 149. On Yak. *kuba* see a special note under PA **kị̀ọ̀pu*.

PJpn. ***kùkùpí*** swan (лебедь): OJpn. *kukupji*; MJpn. *kùkùfí*; Tok. *kugui* (arch.).

◊ JLTT 462.

PKor. ***kòhài*** heron (цапля): MKor. *kòhài*.

◊ Nam 49.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 172, Whitman 1985, 183, 222. Kor. has an irregular low tone. The root is onomatopeic and the medial consonant behaves irregularly in TM (various assimilations are attested). In Turkic the root could additionally contaminate with **kị̀ọ̀pu* q.v. The Altaic antiquity is, however, beyond doubt.

✱**kúja** a k. of aquatic bird: Tung. ***kuju-***; Mong. ***kajil-***; Kor. ***kàjú, kàijú***.

PTung. ***kuju-*** 1 goose 2 young of birds 3 duck (1 гусь 2 птенец 3 утка): Evk. *kujukī* 1; Evn. *kujuken* 2; Neg. *kujuxēn* 3; Man. *χojχo* 2; Jurch. *xojxolo* 'горлица' (184); Ork. *kujumu* 'турпан'; Orch. *kuja* 'баклан'; Sol. *xujūxẽ̄* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 424, 425.

PMong. ***kajil-*** 1 sea gull 2 lark (1 морская чайка 2 жаворонок): MMong. *qajiruqana* (SH) 'Weissfedervogel (e. Drosselart)'.; WMong. *qajilaγan* 1 (MXTTT); Kh. *xajlgana* 1; Bur. *xajlgana* 1, *xajrgana* 1,2.

◊ Cf. also WMong. *qui* (L 982) 'a k. of duck with variegated spots; a grey bird with a long tail resembling a magpie'.

PKor. ***kàjú, kàijú*** domestic goose (домашний гусь): MKor. *kàjú, kàijú*; Mod. *kəwi*.

◊ Nam 35, KED 87.

‖ Turk. **Kïjgï-* 'a k. of bird' (VEWT 261) may be possibly related, but merged with **Kïj-* 'to cry' (ibid.).

✱**kúja** a k. of nut: Tung. ***kuju-kta***; Jpn. ***kaja***; Kor. ***kài'òm***.

PTung. ***kuju-kta*** 1 nut 2 blue-berry (1 орех 2 голубика): Evn. *kujkit* 2; Nan. *qojaqta* 1; Orch. *kuikta* 1; Ud. *kuikta* 1 (Корм. 252).

◊ TMC 1, 425.

PJpn. ***kaja*** Torreya nucifera (японский мускатный орех): OJpn. *kaja*; MJpn. *kaja*; Tok. *kaya*.

◊ JLTT 446. PJ accent is unclear.

PKor. ***kài'òm*** prickly grass; nutwood (колючая трава; орешник): MKor. *kài'òm, kai'am*; Mod. *käam*.

◊ Nam 28, 29, KED 72.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; see also notes to **kìjá*.

✱**kujV (~ kʻ-, g-)** thick, saturated: Turk. ***Koju-g***; Jpn. ***kuá-***; Kor. ***kā-r-***.

PTurk. ***Koju-g*** thick, saturated (толстый, густой): OTurk. *qojuɣ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qojuɣ* (MK); Tur. *koju*; Gag. *qoju*; Turkm. *Gojï*; Uzb. *qujuq*; Uygh. *qojuq*; Krm. *qoju, quju*; Tat. *qujï*; Bashk. *qujï*; Kirgh. *qujū*; Kaz. *qoju*; Nogh. *qojï*; Khak. *xojïɣ*; Shr. *qojïɣ*; Oyr. *qoju*; Tv. *xojuɣ*; Tof. *xoj̃uɣ*; Yak. *xojū*; Dolg. *kojũ*.

◊ EDT 676, TMN 3, 562, ЭСТЯ 6, 32-33, Stachowski 150. The deriving stem **Koj(u)-* 'to become viscous, thick' is attested in Oyr. *qoj-*, KKalp. *qojï-*, Khak. *xojï-*, Tuva *xoju-* (see ibid.). The reconstruction **Koй-* is proposed in VEWT 276, but is based only on the not quite reliable Tofalar nasalization; the Yakut and OT evidence does not support it.

PJpn. ***kuá-*** thick, saturated (густой): OJpn. *kwo-*; MJpn. *kó-*; Tok. *kó-*; Kyo. *kó-*; Kag. *kò-*.

◊ JLTT 832.

PKor. ***kā-r-*** to be thick, fertile, rich (быть густым, плодородным): MKor. *kār-*; Mod. *kāl-*.

◊ Liu 47, KED 97.

‖ The second vowel and tone are hard to establish because of contraction in Jpn. and Kor.

✱**kukata (~ -kʻ-)** carpal joint: Tung. ***koKalta***; Mong. ***kagda***; Jpn. ***kakatə***.

PTung. ***koKalta*** mittens (рукавицы): Evk. *kokollo*; Evn. *qɯqᵽtᵽn*; Neg. *koxolo*; Ul. *qōlto*; Nan. *qōlto*; Orch. *kōkto*; Ud. *koʻlo* (Корм. 250).

◊ TMC 1, 405.

PMong. ***kagda*** carpal joint (of animals) (кистевой сустав (животных)): WMong. *qaɣda* (L 908); Kh. *xagd*; Bur. *xagdū*.

PJpn. ***kakatə*** heel (пятка): Tok. *kàkato*; Kyo. *kákátó*; Kag. *kakató*.

◊ JLTT 433. Original accent is not quite clear.

‖ The meaning in Mongolian is probably original here; in Japanese one has to suppose a shift 'carpal joint of feet' > 'heel'; in TM - > 'covering for the carpal joint (wrist)' = 'mittens'.

✱**kúkʻè** meat: Tung. ***kuKu-***; Jpn. ***kuaku-mi***; Kor. ***kòkí***.

PTung. ***kuKu-*** 1 to mince (meat) 2 minced meat 3 fat, inner fat (1 строгать (мясо) 2 строганое мясо 3 жир, нутряное сало): Evk. *kukurē-* 1, *kukurē* 2; Evn. *kuk-* 1; Orch. *kukene* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 427.

PJpn. ***kuaku-mi** meat (with bumps, warts) (мясо (с шишками, бородавками)): OJpn. *kwokumji*.

PKor. ***kòkí** fish, meat (рыба, мясо): MKor. *kòkí*; Mod. *kogi*.

◊ Nam 45, KED 135.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 296. An Eastern isogloss; but cf. perhaps Mongor *xuGo* 'ventre, entrailles'.

***kúlme** a k. of ungulate: Tung. ***ku(l)ma-**; Mong. ***kulan**; Turk. ***Kulum**; Jpn. ***kuáma**.

PTung. ***ku(l)ma-** maral, Siberian stag (изюбр): Evk. *kumaka, kumaran*; Neg. *komaxa*; Nan. *qomaqa*; Orch. *kumaka*; Sol. *xumxā*.

◊ TMC 1, 430. Medial -l- is not reflected (it is best preserved in Manchu which has lost the root); but cf. also Evk. *kulkuńa, kulčen* 'a k. of deer' (perhaps < **kulm-čen*, -kuńa with loss of -m-, but preservation of -l-).

PMong. ***kulan** ass (осел): MMong. *qulan* (SH), *qulan* (MA); WMong. *qulan, külen* (L 984); Kh. *xulan*; Bur. *xulan*; Kalm. *xulŋ, xulŋ*; Ord. *xulan*.

◊ Mong. > Turk. *qulan* (see ЭСТЯ 6, 127-128, Doerfer TMN 3, 557); > Manchu *qulan* (see Rozycki 148).

PTurk. ***Kulum** foal (жеребенок): OTurk. *qulun* (Yen.); Karakh. *qulun* (MK); Tur. *kulun*; Az. *Gulun*; Turkm. *Gulun*; MTurk. *qulun, qulum* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qulun* (dial.); Uygh. *qulun* (dial.); Tat. *qolin*; Bashk. *qolon*; Kirgh. *qulun*; Kaz. *qulin*; KKalp. *qulin*; Nogh. *qulin*; SUygh. *qulun, qulum, qulim, qolun*; Khak. *xulun*; Oyr. *qulun*; Tv. *qulun*; Chuv. *xъʷm*; Yak. *kulun*.

◊ EDT 622, TMN 3, 506-507, ЭСТЯ 6, 132-133.

PJpn. ***kuáma** foal, colt (жеребенок, жеребец): OJpn. *kwoma*; MJpn. *kóma*; Tok. *kóma, komá*; Kyo. *kòmá*; Kag. *kóma*.

◊ JLTT 455. The accent is somewhat unclear (Kyoto is quite aberrant, but Tokyo and Kagoshima may still point to a high tone on the first syllable). The word is usually treated as *kwo* 'child' + *uma* 'horse', but the order of the components is quite unusual.

‖ Turkic and TM reflect a common derivative **kúmle-ŕV*.

***kŭlV** servant, slave: Tung. ***kēlu-me (< *kūle-me ?)**; Turk. ***Kul**.

PTung. ***kēlu-me** servant (слуга): Evk. *kēlūme*; Evn. *kēlme*; Ork. *kele*.

◊ TMC 1, 447.

PTurk. ***Kul** slave, servant (слуга, раб): OTurk. *qul* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qul* (MK); Tur. *kul*; Az. *Gul*; Turkm. *Gul*; MTurk. *qul* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qul*; Uygh. *qul*; Krm. *qul*; Tat. *qol*; Bashk. *qol*; Kirgh. *qul*; Kaz. *qul*; KBalk. *qul*; KKalp. *qul*; Kum. *qul*; Nogh. *qul*; SUygh. *qul*; Khak. *xul*; Shr. *qul*; Oyr. *qul*; Tv. *qul*; Yak. *kulut*; Dolg. *kulut*.

◊ VEWT 297, TMN 3, 503-505, EDT 615, Лексика 318, ЭСТЯ 6, 120-121, Stachowski 160.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. also Kalm. *keln*, WMong. *kele* 'slave' (if not == "tongue").

✱**kulV (~ -o-, -Í-)** snake, worm: Tung. ***kulī-n***; Kor. ***kùrjə̀ŋí***.

PTung. ***kulī-n*** 1 worm 2 snake (1 червь 2 змея): Evk. *kulikān* 1, *kulīn* 2; Evn. *qụlịn* 'mosquito'; Neg. *kolixān* 1; Ul. *qụla(n)* 1; Ork. *qola* 1; Nan. *qolã* 1; Orch. *kulã* 1, 2; Ud. *kuliga* 1, 2; Sol. *xoĺexã̄* 1, *xoĺẽ̄* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 428. Evk. > Dolg. *kulikan* (Stachowski 160).

PKor. ***kùrjə̀ŋí*** adder, viper (гадюка): MKor. *kùrjə̀ŋ'í*; Mod. *kurəŋi*.

◊ Nam 58, KED 199.

‖ SKE 132, АПиПЯЯ 293. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss; further Nostratic parallels see in ОСНЯ 1, 308.

✱**kúĺap'V** oak, oak-tree: Tung. ***kolopo-kta***; Jpn. ***kásípà***; Kor. ***kàràp***.

PTung. ***kolopo-kta*** a k. of tree (вид дерева): Orch. *kolobokto, kopolokto* 'ritual fir-tree'; Ud. *kofolokto* 'a k. of tree'.

◊ TMC 1, 407-408.

PJpn. ***kásípà*** oak-tree (Quercus dentata thunb.) (вид дуба): OJpn. *kasipa*; MJpn. *kásípà*; Tok. *kàshiwa*; Kyo. *kàshíwà*; Kag. *kashíwa*.

◊ JLTT 441. The word has a rare accent type HHL.

PKor. ***kàràp*** oak-tree (дуб): MKor. *kàràp*; Mod. *karam-namu*.

◊ Nam 3, Liu 19.

‖ Martin 237. An Eastern isogloss. Cf. **k'olV*.

✱**kuĺV (~ -o-)** enclosure: Tung. ***kuli-, *kuli-ti-***; Turk. ***Koĺ***.

PTung. ***kuli-, *kuli-ti-*** 1 to fence, shut off 2 threshold 3 partition, screen 4 lobby (1 загораживать, отгораживать 2 порог 3 перегородка, загородка 4 прихожая): Evk. *kultir* 2; Evn. *qụ̄lị-* 1; Neg. *kultik* 3; Jurch. *xu-li* 4 (205); Orch. *kukti-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 428-9.

PTurk. ***Koĺ*** hut, hovel, camp(ing) (хижина, лачуга, лагерь): Karakh. *qoš* 'family' (Tfs.); Turkm. *Goš*; MTurk. *qoš* 'camp, camping' (Pav. C.), 'house, dwelling' (Sngl.); Tat. *quš*; Bashk. *qɨwɨš*; Kaz. *qos*; KKalp. *qos*; Nogh. *qos*; Balk. *qoš*; Kum. *qoš*; Tv. *qoš* 'caravan'; Chuv. *xüžə, xužə, xužъ*; Yak. *xos* 'room'.

◊ VEWT 283, EDT 670, Лексика 491-492, ЭСТЯ 6, 90-94, Федотов 2, 375-376. Turk. > WMong. *qos*, Kalm. *xoš* (KW 189), WMong. *qosi-liγ* (Clark 1980, 42). The root is confused with **Koĺ* 'pair', but should be probably distinguished. Tat. and Bashk. obviously reflect a contamination with **Koguĺ* 'empty space, hollow'. A loanword from Tokh. *koṣkīye* 'hut' (which itself is < Iranian, see Adams) had been suggested - which, however, cannot explain the absence of -k- in the Turkic form.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kúma** a musical instrument: Tung. ***kumu-n**; Turk. ***Komuŕ**; Kor. ***kə̀mínkó**.

PTung. ***kumu-n*** music (музыка): Man. *kumun*; SMan. *kumun* (1382).

◊ TMC 1, 431. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable parallels in Turk. and Kor.

PTurk. ***Komuŕ*** musical instrument (музыкальный инструмент): Kirgh. *qomuz*; Kum. *qomuz*; SUygh. *qoŋus, qoŋis*; Khak. *xomis*; Oyr. *qomus*; Tv. *xomus*; Yak. *qomus, qamis*.

◊ VEWT 281, ЭСТЯ 6, 69-71.

PKor. ***kə̀míngó*** a Korean harp of seven strings (корейский семиструнный музыкальный инструмент): MKor. *kə̀míngó*; Mod. *kəmungo*.

◊ Nam 32, KED 84.

‖ SKE 106. Cf. **kupro* - the two roots are to be distinguished.

✱**kumba(ka)** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***kōmba***; Mong. ***kombuga***; Turk. ***Kumgan***; Jpn. ***kámá***.

PTung. ***kōmba*** scoop, ladle (ковш, черпак): Evk. *kōmba*; Evn. *kɔ̄meŋe*; Neg. *kombo*; Ul. *qombo*; Ork. *qombo*; Nan. *qombo*.

◊ TMC 1, 408, 420.

PMong. ***kombuga*** sack (мешок): WMong. *qombuγa* (MXTTT); Kh. *xombogo*; Bur. *xombogo*.

PTurk. ***Kumgan*** kettle, jug (котел, кувшин): Karakh. *qumγan* (MK); Tur. *kumγan* (dial.); Az. *Gumγan*; Turkm. *Gumγān* (dial.); MTurk. *qumγan* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qumγɔn*; Uygh. *qumγan*; Krm. *qumγan, quman*; Tat. *qomγan*; Bashk. *qomγan*; Kirgh. *qumγan*; Kaz. *quman*; KBalk. *qumγan*; KKalp. *quman*; Kum. *qumman*; Nogh. *qumγan*.

◊ EDT 627, VEWT 300, ЭСТЯ 6, 136-137 (> Mong. *qumayan*, see Щербак 1997, 143).

PJpn. ***kámá*** kettle (котелок): MJpn. *kama*; Tok. *kàma*; Kyo. *kámá*; Kag. *káma*.

◊ JLTT 435.

‖ Either length in TM or tone in Jpn. is irregular.

✱**kúmi (~ -o-)** hollow, cavity, inner angle: Tung. ***kum-***; Mong. ***kömüg***; Jpn. ***kúma***; Kor. ***kùm-k***.

PTung. ***kum-*** 1 edge 2 hollow, cavity 3 precipice (1 край, бок 2 дупло, впадина 3 яр): Evk. *kumdika* 1, *kumŋa* 2; Evn. *kumtutti* 3; Man. *kumdu* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 430, 431, 450. Despite Rozycki 146, Man. *kumdu* cannot be explained as a loan < Mong. *kŏŋdei* (q. v. sub **kə̀ŋi*).

PMong. ***kömüg*** edge, overhang (of a mountain), shelter (край, навес): WMong. *kömüg* (L 487); Bur. *xümeg* 'canyon, ravine; hollow'; Kalm. *kömәg*.

PJpn. ***kúma** inner angle, cavity (внутренний угол, впадина): OJpn. *kuma*; MJpn. *kúmá*; Tok. *kumá*; Kyo. *kúma*.

◊ JLTT 463. Kagoshima has irregular accent: *kùmá* (which would point to **kùmà*) - but the other dialects, together with the RJ form *kúmá* / *kúmà* point uniformly to a high tone in the first syllable.

PKor. ***kùm-** cavity, hole (впадина, дыра): MKor. *kùmk*, *kùmú* (*kùmúk-*); Mod. *kumə̀ŋ*.

◊ Nam 59, 63, KED 201.

‖ Lee 1958, 114, Martin 233.

***kumi (~ -o-, -e)** eyebrows, hair on temples: Tung. ***kum-**; Mong. ***kömü-**; Kor. ***kùmìt**.

PTung. ***kum-** eyelid (веко): Evn. *kŏmdemke*; Neg. *kembukte*; Ul. *kumte*, *kumbikte*; Nan. *kumukte*; Ud. *kempukte*, *kemukte* (Корм. 254).

◊ TMC 1, 430, 447.

PMong. ***kömü-** eyebrow (бровь): MMong. *kumuskä* (MA 250); WMong. *kömüske* (L 487: *kömüsge*); Kh. *xömsög*; Bur. *xümedxe*; Kalm. *kömskə*; Ord. *kömösχö*; Mongr. *komosgo* (SM 213), *kumosgo*.

◊ KW 239, MGCD 374. Mong. > Yak. *kömüske* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 5, 103).

PKor. ***kùmìt** hair on temples (волосы на висках): MKor. *kùmìt*, kumis; Mod. *kwimit* [*kuimith*].

◊ Nam 59, 65, KED 228. Both variants with -t and -s are early attested and it is hard to decide which one is original (because of the early confusion of -t and -s). The MKor. variant *kui-mit(h)*, whence modern *kwimit*, is obviously a result of reinterpreting the word as **kui-mith* 'roots of the ears'.

‖ Poppe 19, 68, Дыбо 5, Лексика 214 (but the Turkic parallels should probably be separated: cf. **kiuru(mV)*). Despite Doerfer MT 80, TM forms cannot be < Mong.

***kumi (~ -o-,-iu-)** a k. of insect: Tung. ***kumke**; Mong. ***kömörege**; Turk. ***Kumɨr-**; Jpn. ***kùmuâ**; Kor. ***kəmíi**.

PTung. ***kumke** louse (вошь): Evk. *kumke*; *kumikēn* 'insect'; Evn. *kumke*; *kumnilen* 'name of a beetle'; Neg. *kumke*; Man. *xelmeku*, *xelmexen* 'spider'; Nan. *kuŋke* (dial.); Orch. *kume*; Ud. *kumuge*; Sol. *xuŋkē*; *xumīxe* 'ant'.

◊ TMC 1, 430, 431, 481. -l- in Manchu is probably secondary (tabooistic contamination with *xelme* 'shadow').

PMong. ***kömörege** a k. of insect (вид круглого червя (желто-розового цвета, величиной с ноготь человеческого пальца, живущего в печеночной области)): WMong. *kömörege* (MXTTT); Kh. *xömrög*.

PTurk. ***Kumɨr-** ant (муравей): OTurk. *qumursγa* (OUygh.); Tur. *komursγa* (dial.); Turkm. *Gumursγa*; Sal. *qumusqa*, *qomusqən*; Khal. Gumuryāč; MTurk. *qumursxa* (Pav. C.), *qumursuγa* (AH); Uzb. *qumursqa*; Krm. *qumurstqa*, *qumurstqu*; Tat. *qɨrmɨsqa*; Bashk. *qɨmɨrsqa*; Kirgh. *qumursqa*; Kaz. *qumɨrsqa*; KBalk. *qumursxa*, *qumursqa*, *qumurčxa*; Kum.

xomursya; Nogh. *qumirsqa*; Khak. *xumusxa, ximisxa*; Shr. *qimirtaš, qumistaš*; Oyr. *qomursqa*; Tv. *qimisqajaq*; Yak. *kimirdayas*.

◊ EDT 628, VEWT 300, Лексика 183-184, ЭСТЯ 6, 140-141.

PJpn. ***kùmuâ*** spider (паук): OJpn. *kum(w)o*; MJpn. *kùmó*; Tok. *kúmo*; Kyo. *kùmô*; Kag. *kumó*.

◊ JLTT 463.

PKor. ***kàmíi*** spider (паук): MKor. *kàmíi*; Mod. *kəmi*.

◊ Nam 32, KED 84.

‖ SKE 105, Lee 1958, 119, Martin 242, ОСНЯ 1, 309, АПиПЯЯ 290, Дыбо 9, Лексика 184. An expressive root: cf. **kiuma, *kajamV*.

✱**kŭmu** to wrap up, cover: Tung. ***kum-***; Mong. ***kumi-***; Turk. ***Kum- / Kim-***; Jpn. ***kùm-***; Kor. ***kàm-***.

PTung. ***kum-*** 1 to cover oneself, cover up 2 to embrace (1 закутывать, покрывать(ся) 2 обнимать): Evk. *kumu-* 1, *kumlē-* 2; Evn. *kumle-* 1, *kemnu-* 2; Neg. *kumul-* 1, *komnō-* 2; Ul. *kumul-* 1; Ork. *kumele-* 1; Nan. *kumuligu-* 1; Orch. *kumul-* 1; Sol. *xumelī-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 430, 431.

PMong. ***kumi-*** to wrap up, roll up, collect (складывать, заворачивать): WMong. *qumi-* (L 985), *qumbi-*; Kh. *xumi-*; Bur. *xumi-*; Kalm. *xümə-, xömə-, xuńə-*; Ord. *xumi-*; Dag. *komo-* (Тод. Дат. 150); Mongr. *xumbu-* 'envelopper, couvrir' (SM 182).

◊ KW 193, 197, 202, MGCD 389, TMN 1, 416.

PTurk. ***Kum- / Kim-*** to wrap, tuck (подворачивать, подтыкать): Uzb. *qimti-*; Tat. *qimti-*; Bashk. *qimti-*; Kirgh. *qimti-*; Kaz. *qimti-, qimta-*; KKalp. *qimti-, qimta-*; Nogh. *qimti-*; Oyr. *qim-*; Tv. *qumza* 'package'; Yak. *kumuj-*.

◊ VEWT 301, ЭСТЯ 6, 221-223.

PJpn. ***kùm-*** to plait, intertwine, combine (плести, сплетать): OJpn. *kum-*; MJpn. *kùm-*; Tok. *kúm-*; Kyo. *kùm-*; Kag. *kùm-*.

◊ JLTT 716.

PKor. ***kàm-*** to wind around (обвивать, наматывать): MKor. *kàm-*; Mod. *kām-*.

◊ Liu 29, KED 50.

‖ Martin 246 (Kor.-Jpn.). Korean has a usual low 'verbal' tone, but the -a-vowel is quite irregular . Perhaps one should think of an early merger in Kor. with the root **kàma* 'to connect' (q.v.).

✱**kune (~ g-)** one of several wives: Turk. ***güni***; Jpn. ***kuanami***.

PTurk. ***güni*** 1 co-wife 2 envy, jealousy 3 jealous, envious person 4 to be jealous, envy (1 одна из нескольких жен 2 зависть, ревность 3 ревнивец, завистник 4 ревновать, завидовать): OTurk. *küni* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *küni* (MK) 1; Tur. *gönü, günü* 1, 2; Az. *günü* 1; Turkm. *güni* 1; MTurk. *küni* (MA, Pav. C.) 1, 2; Uzb. *kundaš* 1, *kunči* 3; Uygh. *kündäš* 1,

kün-lü- 4, *kün-či* 3; Krm. *kündeš* 1, *kün-le-, künü-le-, könü-le-* 4; Tat. *köndäš* 1, *kön-če* 3, *kene* (dial.) 2; Bashk. *köndäš* 1, *kön-lä-* 4, *kön-sö* 3; Kirgh. *künü, kündöš* 1, *künü-lö-* 'to be jealous (of women)'; Kaz. *kündes* 1, *kün-de-* 4; KKalp. *kündes* 1, *kün-le-* 4; Kum. *gün-čü* 3; Nogh. *kündes* 1, *kün-le-* 4; SUygh. *kun bol-* 4 (ЯЖУ); Khak. *kün-ne-* 4, *künǯi* 3; Oyr. *künü* 2; Tv. *xün-ne-* 4; Yak. *künǖ* 2.

◊ VEWT 307, 309, EDT 727, ЭСТЯ 3, 104-105, Мудрак 76, Федотов 1, 269. Cf. perhaps also Yak. *kijīt*, Dolg. *kinīt* 'sister-in-law' (?).

PJpn. ***kuanami** first wife (in polygamy) (первая жена (при многоженстве)): OJpn. *kwonamji*; MJpn. *kónámí*.

◊ JLTT 456.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps Evn. *qōŋań* 'witch' (TMC 1, 411).

***kunu (~ *kʻ-)** to fold, twist: Mong. ***kuni-**; Turk. ***Kun-da-**; Jpn. ***kùniàr-**.

PMong. ***kuni-** to fold, plait (складывать, заплетать): WMong. *quni-, qunija-* (L 986); Kh. *xuni-*; Bur. *xuni-*; Mongr. *xunāzə* 'pli, ride, sillon' (SM 182).

PTurk. ***Kun-da-** 1 to swaddle 2 swaddlingclothes (1 пеленать 2 пеленки): Tur. *kundak* 2; Gag. *qundaq* 2; Az. *GundaG* 2; Turkm. *Gunda-* 1, *Gundaq* 2; MTurk. *qondaq* 2 (R.); Uzb. *qu̯ndɔq* 2; Uygh. *qondaq* 2; Krm. *qindaq* 2; Tat. *qontiq* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *qundaq* 2; Kaz. *qundaq* 2; KKalp. *qundaq* 2; Kum. *qunnaq* 2; Nogh. *qundaq* 2; Oyr. *qindaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 301, ЭСТЯ 6, 144-146.

PJpn. ***kùniàr-** to twist (крутить, изгибать): MJpn. *kuner-*; Tok. *kunér-*; Kyo. *kúnér-*; Kag. *kùnèr-*.

◊ JLTT 716.

‖ A good Turk.-Mong.-Jpn. parallel.

***kúńà (~ kʻ-)** skin, leather: Mong. ***kujag**; Turk. ***Kuńak**; Jpn. ***kámì**.

PMong. ***kujag** armour (панцирь): MMong. *qujax* (HY 19, SH), *qəjəq* (IM), *qojāq* (LH); WMong. *qujaγ* (L 983); Kh. *xujag*; Bur. *xujag*; Kalm. *xujəg*; Ord. *xujaG*; S.-Yugh. *χujaG*; Mongr. *xojaG* (SM 173), *xujaG*.

◊ KW 195, MGCD 387.

PTurk. ***Kuńak** 1 armour 2 skin (1 панцирь 2 шкура): Karakh. *qujaq* 1, *qujqa* 2 (MK); MTurk. *qujaq* 1 (Pav. C.); Tat. *qojqa* 2; Bashk. *qojqa* 2; Kirgh. *qijaq* 1, *qujqa* 2; Kaz. *qujqa* 2; KKalp. *qujqa* 2; Nogh. *qujqa* 2; Khak. *xujax* 1, *xujγa* 2; Oyr. *qujaq* 1, *qujqa* 2; Tv. *qujaq* 1, *qujγa* 2; Tof. *qujaq* 1; Yak. *kujax* 1, *kujaxa* 2.

◊ EDT 676, VEWT 301, Лексика 576, ЭСТЯ 6, 111, 113, Stachowski 161. Turk. > Mong. *qujiqa* 'skin from the head' (whence Evk. *kuika* etc., see Doerfer MT 132; Dolg. *kujka* 'head skin', see Stachowski 160).

PJpn. ***kámì** paper (бумага): OJpn. *kam(j)i*; MJpn. *kámì*; Tok. *kamí*; Kyo. *kámì*; Kag. *kámi*.

◊ JLTT 435.

‖ Mong. may be < Turk., but may as well be genuine.

✱**kúńe** moth, worm: Tung. ***kuńī-kta***; Turk. ***güńe / *guńa***; Jpn. ***ká***; Kor. ***kàńúi***.

PTung. ***kuńī-kta*** 1 larva of a gad-fly 2 butterfly (1 личинка овода 2 бабочка): Evk. *kujīkta*, dial. *kuńukta* 1; Evn. *köjit* 1; Neg. *kujikte* 1; Ul. *koači* 2; Ork. *kūńikte* 1; Orch. *kōńi(ka(n))* 2; Ud. *koańa'* 2 (Корм. 249).

◊ TMC 1, 410, 424. Evk. > Dolg. *künükte, künükte* (Stachowski 165).

PTurk. ***güńe / *guńa*** moth (моль): Karakh. *küjä* (MK); Tur. *güve*; Az. *güvä*; Turkm. *güje*; Uzb. *kuja*; Tat. *köjɛ*; Bashk. *köjä*; Kaz. *küje*; KBalk. *küje*; KKalp. *küje*; Nogh. *küje*; Khak. *kǖ*; Shr. *quja* 'Kellerwurm'; Oyr. *küje, quja*; Chuv. *kəʷve*; Yak. *kõjür, küjür*.

◊ VEWT 297, ЭСТЯ 3, 94, Лексика 186. Kirgh. *kübö* is rather < Mong. *kibe* id.

PJpn. ***ká*** mosquito (комар): OJpn. *ka*; MJpn. ka; Tok. *kà*; Kyo. *ǩá*; Kag. *ká*.

◊ JLTT 430.

PKor. ***kàńúi*** 1 earth-worm 2 intestinal worm, ascarid (1 земляной червь 2 глист): MKor. *kàńúi* 1; Mod. *kəwi* 2.

◊ Nam 34, KED 87.

‖ Räsänen 1955, 18:3, 19 (Turk.-Tung.), ОСНЯ 1, 298-299, Лексика 186, Robbeets 2000, 108; TMN 3, 660 ("...der ev. Vergleich zweifelhaft..."). The Japanese form goes back to a suffixed **kuńe-gV* (cf. the TM and Kor. forms); the vowel, however, is quite irregular - which may be due to contraction (cf. a very similar case in PJ *ka 'day' < PA **gi̯ò̯ńu*).

✱**kúŋe (*kújŋe)** heart, middle: Tung. ***kuŋ-***; Turk. ***göjŋ-il***; Kor. ***kà'ón-tǎi***.

PTung. ***kuŋ-*** 1 to beat (of heart) 2 heart 3 aorta, vein (1 биться (о сердце) 2 сердце 3 кровеносный сосуд): Evn. *kuŋ-* 1, *kuŋkis* 2, *kewuŋe* (Ol.) 3; Man. *kuxen* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 427, 433, 442.

PTurk. ***göjŋ-il*** heart, mood (сердце, дух): OTurk. *köŋül* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *köŋül* (MK, KB); Tur. *gön-ül; göjün, göjn* (dial.); Gag. *gön*; Az. *könül*; Turkm. *gövün, köŋ-ül* (arch. - borrowed from Türki); Sal. *göjŋy*; Khal. *kīül*; MTurk. *köŋül* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *koŋil*; Uygh. *köŋül*; Krm. *könül, kölün*; Tat. *küŋəl*; Bashk. *küŋəl*; Kirgh. *köŋül*; Kaz. *köŋil*; KBalk. *köl*; KKalp. *köŋil, kewil*; Kum. *göŋül*; Nogh. *köŋil*; SUygh. *köŋül*; Khak. *kǒl, köŋn-ə*; Shr. *köŋn-ü*; Oyr. *kǔn*; Tof. *xõl*; Chuv. *kəʷməʷl*; Yak. *köŋül* 'will, freedom'; Dolg. *köŋül* 'permission'.

◊ VEWT 291, EDT 731, ЭСТЯ 3, 75-77, Лексика 274, Stachowski 156. Almost all languages reflect a suffixed form (a substantivized adjective in -il, see Gabain AG 75). Khak., Shor reflect a nominalized attributive form of *köŋül*.

PKor. ***kà'ón-tǎi*** middle (середина): MKor. *kà'ón-tǎi*; Mod. *kaun-de*.

◊ Nam 7, KED 22.

‖ On a possible Mongolian reflex see under **kómpʻi*.

✱**kŭŋi** child: Tung. ***kuŋā**; Mong. ***köw, *köw-ɣün, *kewken**; Turk. ***güŋ**; Jpn. ***kúa**.

PTung. ***kuŋā** 1 childhood 2 child 3 new-born child (1 детство 2 ребенок 3 новорожденный): Evk. *kuŋā, kuŋa* 1, *kuŋākān* 2; Evn. *quŋa* 2; Neg. *koŋaxān* 2; Nan. *qoŋar* bī 3; Sol. *kuaxań* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 433.

PMong. ***köw, *köw-ɣün, *kewken** child, son (ребенок, сын): MMong. *koʻun* (HY 29, SH), *kəušəŋ* (HY 30), *koʻu* (SH), *keun* (IM), *kuwn* (MA); WMong. *köü, köbekün, keüken* (L 461: *keüken, kegüken*); Kh. *xŭ, xüvgŭn* 'son', *xŭ-xen* 'daughter, girl'; Bur. *xübŭn* 'son', *xŭge(n)* 'child; daughter',; Kalm. *köwŭn* 'son', *kŭkn̥* 'girl'; Ord. *kŭ* 'son', *kŭχen*; Mog. *köün*; ZM *koun* (9-8b) 'son', *koukläq* (10-5b) 'youth'; Dag. *keuku* 'son' (MGCD, Тод. Дат. 149 *keku*), *keku* (MD 182); Dong. *kəvan, kəwon* 'son'; Bao. *kū* (MGCD *kuŋ*); S.-Yugh. *kŭken*; Mongr. *kū, kō* 'son' (SM 205), *kugen* (SM 208) 'child'.

◊ KW 242, MGCD 395, TMN 1, 455. Cf. also WMong. *küi*, Kalm. *kī* 'tribe, kin' (> Turk. *köj*, see KW 234, VEWT 286).

PTurk. ***güŋ** female slave (рабыня): OTurk. *küŋ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *küŋ* (MK, Tefs., IM); Turkm. *güŋ* 'a Turkmani born from a Persian woman' (Буд.); MTurk. *küŋ* (MA), (MKypch.) *küŋ* (CCum.); Uzb. *guŋ* 'voiceless female slave'; Kirgh. *küŋ*; Kaz. *küŋ*; KKalp. *küŋ*; SUygh. *küŋ* (ЯЖУ); Chuv. *хър-ɣъm*.

◊ VEWT 309, EDT 726, ЭСТЯ 5, 142, Лексика 317. The Uzb. meaning was influenced by Persian *gung* 'deaf-and-dumb'.

PJpn. ***kúa** child (ребенок): OJpn. *kwo*; MJpn. *kó*; Tok. *kò*; Kyo. *kó*; Kag. *kó*.

◊ JLTT 452.

‖ KW 242, АПиПЯЯ 82, Дыбо 7. The Jpn. form goes back to **kuŋ(i)-gV*.

✱**kuŋtʻV (~ -o-)** rump, anus: Tung. ***kuŋdu-**; Mong. ***koŋdu-, *koŋǰi-**; Turk. ***Koŋ**; Kor. ***kuŋtuŋ-**.

PTung. ***kuŋdu-** 1 rump 2 cunnus (1 круп, крестец 2 cunnus): Evk. *kunŋukī, kuŋduki* 1; Evn. *qońńa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 410, 432.

PMong. ***koŋdu-, *koŋǰi-** 1 rump, buttocks 2 anus 3 posterior (1 крестец, ягодицы 2 anus 3 зад): MMong. *qonǰijasun* [P]; WMong. *qoŋdulai* 1 (L 962: *qondulai*), *qonǰijasu* 3 (L 963: *qoŋǰusu* 'junction of two thighs, crotch'); Kh. *xondloi* 1; Bur. *xondoloj* 1, *xonzōhon* 2, 3; Kalm. *xondəsn* 'the joint between the legs'; Ord. *xondolō* 1; Mongr. *Gonǰosə, Gwənǰasə* 'le derrière (homme, animaux)' (SM 123).

◊ KW 185. Mong. > Man. *χonsun, χoŋšisun.*

PTurk. ***Koŋ*** 1 thick part of the thigh; muscles 2 behind, buttocks (1 толстая часть бедра; мышцы, мускулы 2 зад): Karakh. *qoŋ* (MK) 1; Uygh. *qoŋ* 2; Kirgh. *qoŋ* 1, 2; Kaz. *qoŋ* 1, 2; KKalp. *qoŋ* 1; SUygh. *qoŋɨr, qoŋqɨr* 2; Tv. *qoŋ* 'animal body'; Yak. *kuŋ* 1.

◊ VEWT 280, Clark 1977, 149, ЭСТЯ 6, 58-59. Turk. > Mong. Khalkha *xongo*, Kalm. *xoŋ* (although -o in the Khalkha form is suspicious and perhaps reflects a genuinely cognate PM **koŋgo).*

PKor. ***kuŋtuŋ-*** rump, buttocks (круп, ягодицы): MKor. *kuŋtuŋ'i*; Mod. *kuŋduŋi.*

◊ Nam 91, KED 222.

‖ EAS 141, Poppe 18.

✱**kup'e** light (of weight), floating on the surface: Tung. ***kepu- ~ *kopu-***; Mong. ***köbü-***; Kor. ***kàpắi-***.

PTung. ***kepu- ~ *kopu-*** to float on the surface (плавать на поверхности): Evk. *kepke-met-*; Evn. *kewu-met-*; *kebduŋči-* 'to swim (of sea animals)'; Neg. *kopon- ~ kepen-*; *kebgexit-* 'to produce bubbles (of fish)'; Ul. *kopto-*; Ork. *kuptu-du-*; Nan. *qopto-l, kepte* (adv.); Orch. *kopčo* 'fish-hook'; Ud. *kopčol-*.

◊ TMC 1, 442, 451-452. Cf. also Evk. *keptulī, kepeme* 'soft, fluffy'; TM **kebkV* (**kepkV*?) 'free, empty' (TMC 1, 386).

PMong. ***köbü-*** to drift on the surface (плавать на поверхности): WMong. *köb-, köbbü-* (L 475); Kh. *xövö-*; Bur. *xübe-, xübxelze-*; Kalm. *köw-*; Ord. *köwö-*.

◊ KW 242.

PKor. ***kàpắi-*** light (of weight) (легкий (о весе)): MKor. *kàpắi-jáp-*; Mod. *kabjəp-*.

◊ Nam 5, KED 17.

‖ In Kor. cf. also MKor. *kàpór'o-* 'to winnow'. The root tends to contaminate with **k'op'i* 'foam' and **gebo* 'empty, light' q.v. See SKE 82, Poppe 43.

✱**kùp'ŕó (~ k'-)** a musical instrument: Mong. ***kuɣur***; Turk. ***Kopuŕ***; Jpn. ***kətó***.

PMong. ***kuɣur*** a musical (string) instrument (музыкальный (струнный) инструмент): MMong. *qu'ur* (SH); WMong. *quɣur* (L 982); Kh. *xūr*; Bur. *xūr*; Kalm. *xūr*; Ord. *xūr*; Dag. *kōr*; S.-Yugh. *χūr*.

◊ KW 201, MGCD 380, TMN 1, 443. Mong. > Evk. *kūr* etc., see TMN 1, 444-445, Doerfer MT 61.

PTurk. ***Kopuŕ*** a k. of musical (string) instrument (вид музыкального (струнного) инструмента): OTurk. *qopuz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qopuz* (MK); Tur. *kopuz*; Turkm. *Gopuz*; MTurk. *qopuz* (Бор. Бад.), *qobuz* (AH); Uzb. *qubiz*; Uygh. *qowuz*; Krm. *qobuz*; Tat. *qubɨz*; Bashk. *qubɨð*;

Kirgh. *qobuz*; Kaz. *qobiz*; KBalk. *qobuz*; KKalp. *qobiz*; Nogh. *qobiz*; Shr. *qobus*; Tof. *xobus*.

◊ VEWT 281, EDT 588, TMN 3, 535-537, Лексика 614, ЭСТЯ 69-71.

PJpn. ***kàtə́*** a k. of musical (string) instrument (вид музыкального (струнного) инструмента): OJpn. *koto*; MJpn. *kòtó*; Tok. *kóto*; Kyo. *kótó*; Kag. *kotó*.

◊ JLTT 459. Accent in Kyoto is irregular.

‖ Владимирцов 211, Poppe 18, 48, 82. The root cannot be united with **kúma* for phonetical reasons, although in modern languages their reflexes tend to merge. Despite Doerfer's doubts (TMN 1, 445: "Urverwandtschaft ist sehr unwahrscheinlich"), it is probably archaic; loan from Turk. into Mong. (TMN ibid., Щербак 1997, 139) is quite improbable. Jpn. has -t- (instead of the expected -r-) probably because of a special cluster development.

***kùpʻV́ (~ kʻ-, -o-)** part: Mong. ***kubi**; Jpn. ***kùmpà-r-**.

PMong. ***kubi** 1 part, deal 2 to divide (1 часть, порция 2 делить, распределять): MMong. *qubi* (SH,MA) 1, *qubijaxda-* 2 (HYt), *qūbi* (IM); WMong. *qubi* 1 (L 976), *qubija-* 2 (L 977); Kh. *хуй* 1; Bur. *xubi* 1; Kalm. *xuwə-* 2, *хӱvə* 1 (KPC); Ord. *xuwi* 1; Dag. *xoь* 1, (Тод. Даг. 176) *xobi* 1; Dong. *Guɣa-* 2; Bao. *χua-* (Тод. Бн.), *Gua-* 2; S.-Yugh. *χuwə* 1; Mongr. *xuGwā-* (SM 176), *xuGua-* 2.

◊ MGCD 382. Mong. > Evk. *kuwi, kowi*; Tuva xū (see TMN 1, 422).

PJpn. ***kùmpà-r-** to distribute (распределять): OJpn. *kubar-*; MJpn. *kùfàr-*; Tok. *kubár-*; Kyo. *kúbár-*; Kag. *kùbàr-*.

◊ JLTT 714.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. also OT (ДТС) *qobi* (USp.) 'belongings, inheritance', which Doerfer (TMN 1, 423) considers to be the source of the Mong. word, but which in fact hardly exists (the attestation is rather scarce and dubious, see EDT 581).

***kúra(mV)** sheath, basket: Tung. ***kor-, *kormaki**; Mong. ***kor, *korum-**; Turk. ***Kurman, *Kurug-luk**; Jpn. ***kátáma**.

PTung. ***kor-, *kormaki** 1 sheath 2 dish made of birch bark (1 ножны 2 берестяная посуда): Evk. *kor* 2; Man. *χotχon* 1; Ul. *qōtaị* 1; Ork. *qolmoj* 1; Nan. *qormị̄* 1; Orch. *kommoi* 1; Ud. *komigi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 409, 414. Despite Doerfer MT 239, Evk. *kor* is hardly < Mong. (because of a significant semantic difference).

PMong. ***kor, *korum-** quiver (колчан): MMong. *qor* (SH), *qor* (MA), *qur, qərəmṣā* (IM); WMong. *qor* (L 965), *qorumsaya* (L 969); Kh. *хor, хoromsogo*; Bur. *xormogo* 'quiver', *xormongo* 'налучник'; Kalm. *xormsxə; xor* 'small bag'; Ord. *xur*.

◊ KW 186, 188, TMN 1, 427-428. Mong. > Kirgh. *qoramsa* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 6, 78).

PTurk. ***Kurman, *Kurug-luk** bow-case, quiver (футляр для лука, колчан): Karakh. *qurman, quruɣluq* (MK); Tur. *koruluk*; MTurk. *qurman* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *qurma* 'wooden vessel'; Khak. *xurlux*; Oyr. *qurluq*.

◊ EDT 657, 660 (hardly from Pers. *qurbān*, but rather vice versa), ЭСТЯ 6, 163, 164.

PJpn. ***kátáma** bamboo basket (бамбуковая корзина): OJpn. *katama*; MJpn. *kátámí, kátámì*; Tok. *katami*.

◊ JLTT 443.

‖ KW 186. Cf. MKor. *kàrm-* (Whitman *kălm-*, SKE *kạm-*) 'to hide, put away'? Cf. also **k'ure* 'basket' - with a possibility of contaminations in Mong.

***kure** to run, quick: Tung. ***kora-**; Mong. ***kur(u)-**; Turk. ***Küre-**; Kor. ***kɨrk-**.

PTung. ***kora-** to drive away (прогонять): Evn. *koro-*.

◊ TMC 1, 416. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***kur(u)-** 1 rapid, quick 2 moment, short time 3 to hurry (1 быстрый 2 момент, мгновение 3 спешить): MMong. *qurdi* 'haste' (IM), *kordun* 'Läufer' (LH); WMong. *qurdun* 1 (L 989), *qurum* 2 (L 991), *quruji-* 3; Kh. *xurdan* 1, *xuram* 2; Bur. *xurda(n)* 1; Kalm. *xurdn̥*; Ord. *xurdun* 1; Mog. *qurdun* 1 (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *xordun* 1, (Тод. Дат. 177), *horedun* 1 (MD 164), *xordon* 1; Dong. *Gužin, Gudun* 1; Bao. *Gordoŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *Gurduŋ* 1; Mongr. *Gurdun* (SM 127), *Gurdən* 1.

◊ KW 198, MGCD 390. Mong. > Man. *xurdun* etc., see Doerfer MT 145, Rozycki 112.

PTurk. ***Küre-** to run away (убегать): OTurk. *küre-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *küre-* (MK, KB); Kirgh. *kürgüčtö-* 'загонять скот', *kürgüj* 'возглас, которым гонят ягнят'; Yak. *kürē-*; Dolg. *kürē-*.

◊ EDT 737, VEWT 310, ЭСТЯ 5, 146, Stachowski 166.

PKor. ***kɨrk-** to run away, to escape (убегать, спасаться бегством): Mod. *kɨk-* [*kɨlk-*].

◊ SKE 115.

‖ SKE 115. The Korean root is attested only there, thus not very reliable (and the vocalic reflex is dubious).

***kuri** wattle, fence, enclosure, building: Tung. ***kori**; Mong. ***kürijen**; Turk. ***Kur-**; Jpn. ***kuru-wa**.

PTung. ***kori** 1 frame, blockhouse 2 cage 3 shed (1 сруб 2 клетка 3 хлев): Neg. *koj* 1; Man. *χorin* 2,3; Ul. *qorị* 1,2; Ork. *qorị* 1; Nan. *qorị* 1; Orch. *koi* 1; Ud. *koai-* (Корм. 249), *kua-* 'to make a blockhouse'.

◊ TMC 1, 415. The listed forms cannot be regarded as mongolisms, despite Doerfer MT 77 (although forms like Evk. *korigan* are certainly < Mong., see Poppe 1966, 191).

PMong. ***kürijen** enclosure (огороженное место, двор, забор): MMong. *gurijen* (HY 4) 'fenced well', *gure'en* (SH); WMong. *kūrijen* (L 506); Kh. *xürēn*; Bur. *xüŕē* 'glass rim', *xüŕēl-* 'to fence, enclose', *xüŕēn*

'monastery'; Kalm. *kürā̆* (KPC); Ord. *kürē*; Dag. *xorē*; Dong. *Goron*; S.-Yugh. *kürēleg*; Mongr. *kuraŋ*.

◊ MGCD 400. Mong. can hardly be the source of MTurk. *quriqan*, despite Щербак 1997, 206; Mong. > Evk. *kurē̆* etc.; Chag. *küren*, see TMN 1, 479, Doerfer MT 24, Rozycki 147; Yak., Dolg. *kürüö*, see Kał. MEJ 33, Stachowski 166). On Mong. > Russ. *kuréй* see Аникин 328.

PTurk. ***Kur-** to erect (a building), to establish (строить, устанавливать): OTurk. *qur-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qur-* (MK); Tur. *kur-*; Gag. *qur-*; Az. *Gur-*; Turkm. *Gur-*; MTurk. *qur-* (AH, Houts.); Uzb. *qur-*; Uygh. *qu(r)-*; Krm. *qur-*; Tat. *qor-*; Bashk. *qor-*; Kirgh. *qur-*; Kaz. *qur-*; KBalk. *qur-*; KKalp. *qur-*; Kum. *qur-*; Nogh. *qur-*.

◊ VEWT 302, EDT 643, ЭСТЯ 6, 156-157. There is also a derivative **Kur-gan* (see e.g. TMN 3, 542-543), which is sometimes hard to distinguish from **Kōri-kan* (see **Kōri-*).

PJpn. ***kuru-wa** fortress embankment; quarter (крепостной вал; квартал): MJpn. *kuru-wa*; Tok. *kùruwa*; Kyo. *kúrúwá*; Kag. *kuruwá*.

◊ The accent is unclear: either **kúrúwá* or **kùrúwá*.

‖ KW 187, SKE 125, Poppe 88, TMN 1, 434. The root is actively contaminating with **k'ōra* q.v.

***kúro(mV)** a k. of clothes: Tung. ***kurumV**; Mong. ***kormaj**; Turk. ***Kur**; Jpn. ***kə́rəmə́**; Kor. ***korim**.

PTung. ***kurumV** a k. of upper clothes (вид верхней одежды): Evk. *kurmu*, dial. *kumma* 'fur stockings; women's upper garment'; Evn. *kummēs* 'hat, cap'; Man. *kurume*; Nan. *kurme*.

◊ See TMC 1, 174, 431, 437. The Evk. form *gurumī* reflects a secondary merger with **gurē-* 'to unfasten'; Mong. *kürme* 'upper coat' is most probably borrowed from Manchu (despite Doerfer MT 144, proposing an opposite direction), just like Kor. *khurimä* id. (see Lee 1958, 119).

PMong. ***kormaj** lap, skirt (подол, юбка): MMong. *qormai* (HY 22, SH), *qormāə* (IM), *qurmi* (MA 303); WMong. *qormai*, *qormui* (L 967); Kh. *xormoj*; Bur. *xormoj*; Kalm. *xormă̆*, *xormā̆*; Ord. *xormŏ̄*; Dag. *xuarm(ā̆)*, *xuaram* (Тод. Дар. 178), *huareme* (MD 165); S.-Yugh. *χormī*; Mongr. *xormə̄* (SM 173), (MGCD *xurmī*).

◊ KW 188, MGCD 366. Mong. > Evk. *kormē̆*, see Doerfer MT 94.

PTurk. ***Kur** belt (пояс): OTurk. *qur* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qur* (MK); Tur. *kur*; MTurk. *qur* (Pav. C., Abush.), *qor* (AH); Uygh. *qor* (dial.); Tat. *qur*; Kirgh. *qur*; Kaz. *qur*; KKalp. *qur*; SUygh. *qur*, *qor*; Khak. *xur*; Oyr. *qur*; Tv. *qur*; Yak. *kur*; Dolg. *kur*.

◊ VEWT 301-302, EDT 642, ЭСТЯ 6, 150-152, Stachowski 162. Cf. also **kürm-* 'to bind' (Sib.-Tat. *kürmö*, Oyr. *kürmä-k*, Bashk. *kürim* 'завязка для борти', see VEWT 311, Лексика 499 - if not < Mong. *gürmel*, see under **guŕi*).

PJpn. ***kə́rəmə́** clothes (одежда): OJpn. *koromo*; MJpn. *kórómó*; Tok. *kòromo*; Kyo. *kórómó*; Kag. *korómo*.

◊ JLTT 458.

PKor. ***korom** clothes string, lace (тесемка): MKor. *korom*; Mod. *korim*.

◊ Liu 63, KED 140.

‖ Poppe 1950, 576. A common Altaic cultural term.

***kŭrV** to cut out, sharp: Tung. ***kōri-**; Mong. ***kurča**; Turk. ***Kurč**.

PTung. ***kōri-** 1 to delve, carve out, pick out 2 to wound accidentally (1 вырезать, выдалбливать, выковыривать 2 порезать(ся), случайно ранить): Man. *qori-* 1; Nan. *kōrxi-* 2 (On.).

◊ TMC 1, 415.

PMong. ***kurča** sharp (острый): MMong. *qurča* (HY 54, SH), *qurča-* 'to sharpen' (IM); WMong. *qurča* (L 988); Kh. *xurc*; Bur. *xursa*; Kalm. *xurcə* (KPC); Ord. *Gurča*; Dag. *xorčin* (Тод. Даг. 178), *korečin* (MD 184); S.-Yugh. *qurča*; Mongr. *xuʒa* (SM 174), *xuʒadə*.

◊ MGCD 391.

PTurk. ***Kurč** sharp, hard (of steel) (острый, твердый (о стали)): Karakh. *qurč* (MK); MTurk. *qurč* (Houts.); Uzb. *qurč*; Uygh. *qujuč*; Krm. *qurč*; Tat. *qorič*; Bashk. *qoros*; Kirgh. *qurč*; Kaz. *quriš*; KBalk. *qurč*; Kum. *qurč*; Nogh. *quriš*; Oyr. *qurč*; Chuv. *xorźъ* 'steel'.

◊ VEWT 303, EDT 647, ЭСТЯ 6, 170-171, Федотов 2, 367.

‖ KW 199. A Western isogloss. Doerfer (TMN 3, 441) (and Clark 1980, 43) regard Mong. as borrowed from Turk. (saying that the original meaning in Turkic is 'steel' - which is not the case, see EDT 647). On a possible Jpn. reflex see under **k'[u]ri*.

***kŭŕe (~ -i)** autumn; rain, storm: Tung. ***kure-**; Mong. ***kura**; Turk. ***gŭŕ**.

PTung. ***kure-** storm, whirlwind (буря, сильный ветер): Evk. *kur-ge-kūn*; Evn. *qurgi, kur*; Ul. *kūre(n)*; Nan. *kūre* (On.).

◊ TMC 1, 435, 436. Length in Ul. and Nan. is compensatory (the forms are contracted < *kure-ge-).

PMong. ***kura** rain (дождь): MMong. *qura* (HY 2, SH), *qora* (IM), *qura* (MA), *qora* (LH); WMong. *qura* (L 987); Kh. *xur*; Bur. *xura*; Kalm. *xur*; Ord. *xura*; Dag. *xuar* (Тод. Даг. 178); Dong. *Gura*; Bao. *Gura, Gora*; S.-Yugh. *xura*; Mongr. *xurā* (SM 184).

◊ KW 197, MGCD 390. Also means 'last year'. [Ramstedt compares Kirgh. *quralai* 'Regenzeit'].

PTurk. ***gŭŕ** autumn (осень): OTurk. *küz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *küz* (MK); Tur. *güz*; Gag. *güz*; Az. *güz-äm* 'autumn wool'; Turkm. *gŭz*; MTurk. *güz* (Sangl.); Uzb. *kuz*; Uygh. *küz*; Krm. *küz*; Tat. *köz*; Bashk. *köδ*; Kirgh. *küz*; Kaz. *küz*; KBalk. *küz*; KKalp. *küz*; Kum. *güz*; Nogh. *küz*; SUygh. *kuz*; Khak. *küs*; Shr. *küs*; Oyr. *küs*; Tv. *küs*; Tof. *küs*; Chuv. *kəʷr*; Yak. *kühün*; Dolg. *kühün*.

◊ VEWT 312, EDT 757, TMN 4,10, ЭСТЯ 3, 94-95, Лексика 75, Stachowski 164.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 294 (although Jpn. **kəti* is probably to be separated, see **kʲĕdo*), Лексика 75. A Western isogloss. The comparison seems quite plausible, although it seems not to have been proposed earlier. The Korean form, compared in SKE 118 with Turk. **gŭŕ* (*kiru* '2-d harvest in one year') is late attested and probably = *kiru*, MKor. *kirih* 'stubble'.

✱**kusu (~ kʲ-, -o-)** a k. of grass: Mong. ***kosi-**; Jpn. ***kùsà**; Kor. ***kòsàrí**.

PMong. ***kosi-** clover (клевер): WMong. *qosijaŋɣur* (MXTTT); Kh. *gerijn xošingor* (MPC), *xošõngor* (MXTT, БАМРС).

PJpn. ***kùsà** grass (трава): OJpn. *kusa*; MJpn. *kùsà*; Tok. *kusá*; Kyo. *kúsà*; Kag. *kusá*.

◊ JLTT 465.

PKor. ***kòsàrí** fern, bracken (папоротник): MKor. *kòsàrí*; Mod. *kosari*.

◊ Liu 65, KED 144.

‖ Accent correspondence is irregular. Cf. also OJ *kùsúri* 'medicine'. Cf. perhaps also Chuv. *ku(r)žanak* (< **kösinek*) 'agrimony, bur'.

✱**kùši (~ -o-)** to rot: Tung. ***kušu**; Jpn. ***kùsà-**; Kor. ***kùsì-**.

PTung. ***kušu** 1 touchwood 2 dandruff, soot (1 гнилушка, труха 2 перхоть, ушная сера, сажа): Evk. *kuču* 1; Evn. *kuč* 1; Neg. *kutin* 1 [= *kučin*]; Man. *χosori, χusuri* 2; Nan. *kuči* (On.) 'uneven surface of birch-bark'.

◊ TMC 1, 441, 479.

PJpn. ***kùsà-** foul, stinking (дурно пахнущий, вонючий): OJpn. *kusa-*; MJpn. *kùsà-*; Tok. *kusá-*; Kyo. *kùsà-*; Kag. *kusá-*.

◊ JLTT 833. Cf. also, as a noun, PJ **kùsà* 'eczema' (JLTT 465).

PKor. ***kùsì-** odorous (пахучий): MKor. *kùsì-*; Mod. *kusu-ha-*.

◊ Nam 60, KED 204.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; but cf. also WMong. *kösür-sün* (Kalm. *kösrsn*) 'dung' = OJ *kùswò* id.; WMong. *kusam* 'sediment in a pot after boiling milk' (MGCD 392); Yak. *kuha-γan*, Dolg. *kuha-gan* 'bad' (Stachowski 159). Kor. has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**kušu** nut: Tung. ***košikta**; Mong. ***kusiga**; Turk. ***Kusɨk**; Jpn. ***kusi**.

PTung. ***koši-kta** 1 nut 2 peach (1 орех 2 персик): Evk. *kočikta*; Man. *χusiχa* 1; Jurch. *xu-ĉu* 1 (129), *xu-ĉur* 2 (106); Ul. *qačịaqta* 1; Nan. *qočoa* 1; Orch. *kočokto* 'a k. of bush'.

◊ TMC 1, 419; 2, 291. Manchu *χusiχa* may be < Mong.; but cf. also *χusiri* mõ 'a k. of chestnut-like tree', *χasuran* 'tree bark, bark of wild peach tree' (Захаров 385, TMC 1, 464).

PMong. ***kusiga** walnut (грецкий орех): WMong. *qusiγa(n)* (L 991); Kh. *xušga*; Ord. *GušiGa*.

◊ Cf. also Kh. *xošid* 'a k. of nut' (MXTTT).

PTurk. ***Kusɨk** nut (opex): Karakh. *qusɨq* 'pine kernel' (ML); Khak. *xuzux*; Oyr. *qusuq*; Tv. *qu'suq*; Tof. *quzuq*.

◊ EDT 667, TMN 3, 475, ЭСТЯ 6, 23-24.

PJpn. ***kusi** a k. of nut (вид ореха): OJpn. *kusi*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 17, Дыбо 14, ЭСТЯ 6, 23-24 (with some confusion of this root and **kʻusa* q.v.

✱**kušV** intestine: Tung. ***kuči (~ -š-)**; Mong. ***kos, *koskinag**.

PTung. ***kuči (~ -š-)** 1 sausage (made of bear's intestine fat) 2 large intestine (1 колбаса (из околокишечного жира медведя) 2 толстая кишка): Evk. *kuči* 1; Nan. *qočị* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 441.

PMong. ***kos, *koskinag** rectum, large intestine, colon, anus (двенадцатиперстная кишка, прямая кишка, толстая кишка, anus): WMong. *qos, qosginaγ* (L 971: *qoškinaγ*); Kh. *xos, xošnogo, xošginog*; Bur. *xošxonog*; Kalm. *xošnəg* (KPC); Ord. *Goši, GošχinoG*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kùtʻá** fortune: Tung. ***kutu-ri**; Mong. ***kutug**; Turk. ***Kut**; Jpn. ***kàntuá**.

PTung. ***kutu-ri** luck, fortune (счастье, удача): Man. *χuturi*; Jurch. *xu-tur*.

◊ TMC 1, 440. The Manchu-Jurchen word cannot easily be explained as a mongolism, despite Doerfer MT 136. Man. > Dag. *xotor* (Тод. Даг. 178).

PMong. ***kutug** good fortune, majesty (счастье, святость, величие): MMong. *qutux* (SH, HY), *qudux* (SH); WMong. *qutuγ* (L 992); Kh. *xutag*; Bur. *xutagta* 'a Buddhist rank'; Kalm. *xutəg*; Ord. *GutuG*.

◊ KW 200. Mong. > Evk. *kutu* (TMC 1, 440, Doerfer MT 136).

PTurk. ***Kut** luck, good fortune (счастье, хорошая судьба): OTurk. *qut* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qut* (MK); Tur. *kut*; **Turkm.** *Gut*; MTurk. *qut* (AH); Uzb. *qut*; Krm. *qut*; Tat. *qot*; Bashk. *qot*; **Kirgh.** *qut*; Kaz. *qut*; KKalp. *qut*; Nogh. *qut*; Khak. *xut*; Oyr. *qut*; Tv. *qut*; **Chuv.** *xъʷt*; **Yak.** *kut*; Dolg. *kut*.

◊ VEWT 305, EDT 594, ЭСТЯ 6, 175-177, Stachowski 162.

PJpn. ***kàntuá** ability, talent (способность, талант): OJpn. *kad(w)o*; MJpn. *kàdó*.

◊ JLTT 432 (treated together with 'corner').

‖ EAS 142, Poppe 18, 50. Mong. is not < Turk., despite TMN 3, 553, Щербак 1997, 143.

✱**kutʻi (~ -t-)** bog, marsh: Tung. ***kuta**; Turk. ***Küte(re)**; Jpn. ***kutai**.

PTung. ***kuta** bog, marsh (болото): Evk. *kuta*; **Evn.** *kuta*; **Neg.** *kota*; Jurch. *xoto-o-n* 'pond' (34).

◊ TMC 1, 439.

PTurk. ***Küte(re)** bog, marsh (болото): Tat. *küter, kötɛ* (dial.); Bashk. *küter* (dial.); Khak. *ködre*; Oyr. *küdre*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 154-155.

PJpn. ***kutai** bog, marsh (болото): MJpn. *kute*.

‖ The root is not very widely spread, but seems both phonetically and semantically plausible.

✱**kùʒi (~ *kòže)** neck, collar: Tung. ***kuʒu- / *kuʒi-***; Mong. ***küʒüɣün***; Kor. ***kíč***.

PTung. ***kuʒu- / *kuʒi-*** 1 neck 2 to bow one's head (1 шея 2 наклонять голову, склоняться, стоять на коленях): Neg. *kužit-/č-* 2; Man. *xužu-* 2; Ork. *qožį* 1; Nan. *kužu-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 403, 424.

PMong. ***küʒüɣün*** neck (шея): MMong. *kužu'un* (HY 46), *gužu'un* (SH), *kožeon* (IM), *kužun* (MA); WMong. *küžügün, küžügüü* (L 510); Kh. *xüzʉ̄*; Bur. *xüzʉ̄(n)*; Kalm. *küzʉ̄n*; Ord. *küžʉ̄(n)*; Mog. *küžʉ̄n*; ZM *kožun* (2-7a); Dag. *kužū, xužū* (Тод. Даг. 151, 179), *hužū* (MD 166); Dong. *Gužun*; Bao. *gužuŋ*; S.-Yugh. *gužʉ̄n*; Mongr. *guźi* (SM 140).

◊ KW 249, MGCD 397.

PKor. ***kíč*** 1 collar 2 feather, feathers, plumes 3 diaper(s), swaddling clothes (1 воротник 2 перо, оперение 3 пеленки): MKor. *kís* 3, *kič* 1; Mod. *kit* [*kis*] 1, 2, *kižəgwi* 3.

◊ Nam 82, 83, KED 274, 282.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 294. In Kor. one has to assume a secondary fronting *kič* < ***kɨ̈č***; otherwise the correspondences are regular.

K‘

✱**k‘ăbo** to deceive: Tung. ***xab-**; Mong. ***kaɣur-**; Turk. ***Kob-**; Kor. ***kə̄-**.

PTung. ***xab-*** 1 to go mad 2 evil spirit 3 endearment 4 to grizzle (1 сходить с ума 2 злой дух 3 ласка, приветливость 4 привередничать, кокетничать, капризничать): Man. *χabčiχan* 3; Ul. *χaụn, χabdarị* 2, *χaụn-* 1; Ork. *χaụ-s* ‘замертво’; Nan. *χaõ* ‘dizziness’, *χoan-* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 457, 467.

PMong. ***kaɣur-*** to deceive (обманывать): WMong. *qaɣur-* (L 910); Kh. *xūra-*; Bur. *xūra-*; Kalm. *xūr-*; Ord. *xūr-*.

◊ KW 201. Mong. *qaɣurmaɣči* ‘deceiver, liar’ > Manchu *qarmaši* ‘dishonest’ (see Rozycki 134).

PTurk. ***Kob-*** 1 to slander 2 conjuration, exorcism (1 клеветать 2 заклинание): OTurk. *qovla-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qovuz, qovuč* 2 (MK); Tur. *kovu, kovı* (dial.) ‘slander’; MTurk. *qov* ‘slander’ (AH); Yak. *xobulā-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 17-18, EDT 584, Clark 1977, 147. Turk. > WMong. *qob* ‘gossip’ (KW 181), whence again Oyr. *qop* etc. (VEWT 281). Despite EDT 584, hardly connected with **Kob-* ‘to chase’ (v. sub **gŏbè*).

PKor. ***kə̄-*** lie, deceit (ложь, обман): MKor. *kə̄-čʻís* (*čʻís* = *čʻi̋ń* ‘shape, appearance’); Mod. *kə̄žit, kāžit* [-s].

◊ Nam 36, KED 88.

‖ The vowel *-ə̄- in Kor. must be due to contraction.

✱**k‘ăču** to run, drive: Tung. ***xasa-**; Mong. ***kočur-**; Turk. ***KAč-**.

PTung. ***xasa-*** to pursue, drive (гнаться, гнать): Evk. *asa-*; Evn. *asị-saw-*; Neg. *asa-*; Man. *asaχa fasaχa* ‘in a hurry’; Ul. *χasa-*; Ork. *χasa-*; Nan. *χasa-sị-*; Orch. *asa-*; Ud. *aha-*; Sol. *asa-*.

◊ TMC 1, 54.

PMong. ***kočur-*** to stay behind (отставать, оставаться позади): MMong. *qočor-, qočoda-* (SH), *qūčar-* (Lig.VMI), *qučar-* (MA); WMong. *qočur-* (L 951); Kh. *xocro-*; Bur. *xosor-* ‘to disappear, vanish; die’; Kalm. *xocr-*; Ord. *Gočiro-*; Mog. *qočaru-* (Ramstedt 1906).

◊ KW 190-191.

PTurk. ***KAč-*** to run away, flee (убегать): OTurk. *qač-* (Orkh., Yen.); Karakh. *qač-* (MK, KB); Tur. *kač-*; Gag. *qač-*; Az. *Gač-*; Turkm. *Gač-*; MTurk. *qač-* (Houts., AH, IM, MA); Uzb. *qɔč-*; Uygh. *qač-*; Krm. *qač-*; Tat.

qač-; Bashk. *qas-*; Kirgh. *qač-*; Kaz. *qaš-*; KBalk. *qač-*; KKalp. *qaš-*; Kum. *qač-*; Nogh. *qaš-*; Khak. *xas-*; Shr. *qaš-*; Oyr. *qač-*; Tv. *qaš-*.

◊ VEWT 217, ЭСТЯ 5, 340-342.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 16; Цинциус 1984, 88-89. A Western isogloss.

***kʻačʻe** kind, sort: Tung. ***xačin**; Jpn. ***kətə**; Kor. ***kəčʻi**.

PTung. ***xačin** 1 kind, sort, variety 2 various (1 вид, разновидность 2 разнообразный): Man. *χačin* 1; SMan. *hačin* 1 (2558); Jurch. *ha-če-jin* 'thing'; Ul. *χačị(n)* 1; Ork. *χatčị(n)* 2; Nan. *χačị̄* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 465. The word is borrowed (from Manchu or Nanai) > Sol. *xaši̇̄*, Neg. *xačịn*, Oroch *xači*, Ud. *xasi*.

PJpn. ***kətə** thing, affair (дело): OJpn. *koto*; MJpn. *kòtò*; Tok. *kotó*; Kyo. *kótò*; Kag. *kotó*.

◊ JLTT 459.

PKor. ***kəčʻi** kind, sort, variety (вид, разновидность): MKor. *kəčʻi*; Mod. *kaji*.

◊ Nam 8, KED 26.

‖ SKE 101, Lee 1958, 112. An Eastern isogloss. The Jpn. **kətə* seems a good match, but within Japanese it is rather hard to separate from the homonymous **kətə* 'word, speech' (see **gə̀re(pV)*). This is probably a secondary merger, but responsible for the irregular accent correspondence between Kor. and Jpn.

***kʻa̋čʻV** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***xaču-kan**; Turk. ***Kāča**.

PTung. ***xaču-kan** kettle (котел): Man. *χačuχan*, *χančuχan*; Ul. *χačoa(n)*; Ork. *χačụγa(n)*; Nan. *χačoχã*; Orch. *xačua(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 464-465.

PTurk. ***Kāča** earthenware vessel, cup (глиняный сосуд, чаша): Karakh. *qača* (MK); Tur. *kap-kaǰak*; Az. *Gab-GaǰaG*; Turkm. *Gāp-GāǰaG*; Uygh. *qača*; Yak. *xāhax* 'big leather-bag, big leather-sack'.

◊ VEWT 217 (hardly < Pers.), EDT 590, ЭСТЯ 5, 342-343.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

***kʻada** side, to turn: Tung. ***xadaga-**; Mong. ***kadawra-**; Turk. ***KAdɨr-**.

PTung. ***xadaga-** to turn back, move back (поворачивать, двигать-ся назад): Evk. *adaγā-*; Evn. *adaγ-*; Neg. *adaγān-*; Ul. *χadan-*; Nan. *χadān-*.

◊ TMC 1, 13-14. TM > Dag. *adgā-* (Тод. Даг. 118).

PMong. ***kadawra-** to deviate, move to the side (отклоняться, двигаться в сторону): WMong. *qadaura-* (MXTTT); Kh. *xadūra-*; Bur. *xadūra-*.

PTurk. ***KAdɨr-** to twist, turn, bend (поворачивать, гнуть, крутить): OTurk. *qadar-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qaδɨr-* (MK), *qadɨr-* (MK, KB); Tur. dial. *gajɨr-*; Gag. *qajɨr-*; Az. *Gajɨr-*; Turkm. *Gajɨr-*; MTurk. *qajɨr-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɛjir-*; Uygh. *qari-*, *qajrɛ-*; Krm. *qajɨr-*; Tat. *qajɨr-*; Bashk. *qajɨr-*;

Kirgh. *qajɨr-*; Kaz. *qajɨr-*; KKalp. *qajɨr-*; Nogh. *qajɨr-*; Khak. *xazɨr-*; Oyr. *qajɨr-*; Chuv. *xajъr-* < Tat..

◊ EDT 604, ЭСТЯ 5, 195-197.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 80-81. A Western isogloss. On a possible Jpn. reflex see under **kéčˊa*.

***kˊádí(-rV)** to scrape off, scraper, tool for processing skins: Tung. ***xargan**; Mong. ***kederge**; Turk. ***KEdir-**; Jpn. ***káintúr-**.

PTung. ***xargan** chock (for processing fish skins) (колодка (для обработки шкур или рыбьей кожи)): Nan. *χaǯGā* (Kur-Urm.); Orch. *xaiga(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 458.

PMong. ***kederge** 1 scraper 2 device for processing skins (1 скребок 2 инструмент для обработки шкур): WMong. *kederge(n)* (L 441); Kh. *xedreg* 1; Bur. *xederge* 2; Kalm. *kederγn̥* 2 (KPC).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *kederē* etc. (TMC 1, 443), see Doerfer MT 24, Rozycki 104, whence Yak. *kederen*, Dolg. *gedere, kedere* (see Kał. TJ 265, Stachowski 85).

PTurk. ***KEdir-** 1 to skin (a sheep) 2 to scrape on a washboard (while washing) (1 обдирать (овцу) 2 шаркать при стирке белья о бельевую доску): Karakh. *kеδir-* 1, *kеδr-il-* (pass.), *kеδr-iš-* (coop.), *kеδr-im* 'skinned meat' (MK); Tv. *kidire-* 2.

◊ EDT 705. Yak. *kederēn* 'scraper' is rather < Mong., see Лексика 380.

PJpn. ***káintúr-** to scrape off (соскребать): OJpn. *kedur-*; MJpn. *kédúr-*; Tok. *kezur-*.

◊ JLTT 708.

‖ PTM **xargan* < **xadVrgan* with a regular loss of -d- before -r-. Diphthong in Jpn. is not clear (**kíntúr-* would be normally expected).

***kˊàd[ú]** to be worn out, destroyed: Tung. ***xadü-**; Mong. ***kidu-**; Turk. ***KAdu-**; Jpn. ***kùntù-ra-**.

PTung. ***xadü-** to be worn out, become thin, fragile (изнашиваться, истончаться, становиться хрупким): Evk. *adīŋ-* 'to diminish'; Evn. *ad-*; Ork. *xadu̯-*.

◊ TMC 1, 16.

PMong. ***kidu-** to slaughter, destroy (убивать, разрушать): MMong. *kidu-* (SH); WMong. *kidu-* (L 464); Kh. *x́ada-*; Ord. *xudu-*.

PTurk. ***KAdu-** 1 to stick in 2 sting 3 to sew (1 втыкать 2 жало 3 сшивать строчкой, оторачивать, вышивать): Karakh. *qаδu-* (MK) 3; Turkm. *Gaja-* 3; Tat. *qajɨ-* 3, Sib. *qajal-* 'to be piqued'; Bashk. *qaj-* 3, *qajaw* 2; Kirgh. *qajɨ-* 1; Kaz. *qajɨ-* 3; KKalp. *qajɨ-* 3; Kum. *qajɨ-* 3; Nogh. *qajɨ-* 3; Khak. *xaza-* 1.

◊ EDT 596, ЭСТЯ 5, 180-181. The root should be distinguished from **Kāta-* 'to stick in, nail' (v. sub **kájta*).

PJpn. ***kùntù-ra-** to be destroyed, break down (разрушаться, ломаться): OJpn. *kudu-ra-*; MJpn. *kùdù-ra-*; Tok. *kuzuré-*; Kyo. *kúzúré-*; Kag. *kùzùrè-*.

◊ JLTT 718.

‖ The root is rather difficult to distinguish from **k'et[o]* q.v.; contaminations may explain partial vocalic irregularities. Mong. **kidu-* is usually compared with Turk. **Kid-* 'to destroy' (thus KW 244, VEWT 261, TMN 1, 487-488), but this form probably does not exist: in OT (8th c.) there is a dubious Hap. leg. *qidmaz* 'did not spare (?)', but all other sources (starting with MK) have only **Kij-* and its reflexes (see EDT 595) - which is quite a different root, see **gijo*.

***k'a(j)** who, interrogative pronoun: Tung. ***xia (*xai)**; Mong. ***ken, *ka-**; Turk. ***kem, *Ka-**; Jpn. ***ka**; Kor. ***ka**.

PTung. ***xia (*xai)** 1 what 2 who (1 что 2 кто): Evk. *ê̄kūn* 1, *ê̄* 2; Evn. *ā̄q* 1; Neg. *ê̄xun, ê̄kun* 1, 2; *ê̄wa* 1; Man. *ai / ja* 1, 2; SMan. *ai* 1 (2896); Ul. *χaj* 1; Ork. *xai* 1; Nan. *χaị* 1; Sol. *ī* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 4-5, 286-288.

PMong. ***ken, *ka-** who (кто): MMong. *ken* (SH), *kɛn* (IM), *kin* (MA); *qa'a* (SH) 'where'; WMong. *ken* (L 453); Kh. *xen*; Bur. *xen*; Kalm. *ken*; Ord. *ken*; Mog. *ken*; ZM *kijän* (27-5a); Dag. *ken, xen* (Тод. Даг. 149); *xā-* (Тод. Даг. 173), *hā-* 'where', *hen* (MD 153, 154, 160); Dong. *kien; qa-*; Bao. *kaŋ; ha-*; S.-Yugh. *ken; xā-, xa-*; Mongr. *ken* (SM 195).

◊ KW 225, MGCD 310, 342.

PTurk. ***kem, *Ka-** 1 who 2 which (1 кто 2 какой): OTurk. *kem* (OT, OUygh.) 1, *qaju* (OT, OUygh.), *qanu* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *kem~kim* (MK, KB) *qaju* (MK, KB) 2; Tur. *kim* 1; Gag. *kim* 1; Az. *kim* 1; Turkm. *kim* 1, *qaj* 2; Sal. *käm* 1; MTurk. *kim* (Abush., IM) 1; Uzb. *kim* 1, *qaj* 2; Uygh. *kim, kem* (dial.) 1, *qaj* 2; Krm. *kim* 1; Tat. *kem* 1, *qaj* 2; Bashk. *kem* 1, *qaj* (dial.) 2; Kirgh. *kim* 1, *qaj* 2; Kaz. *kim* 1, *qaj* 2; KBalk. *kim* 1; KKalp. *kim* 1; Nogh. *kim* 1; SUygh. *kim* 1; Khak. *kem* 1; Oyr. *kem* 1, *qaj* 2; Tv. *qim* 1, *qajı* 2; Tof. *qum* 1, *qai* 2; Chuv. *kam* 1; Yak. *kim* 1, *xaja* 2; Dolg. *kim* 1, *kaja* 2.

◊ VEWT 271, EDT 720-721, ЭСТЯ 5, 67-68, 191-192, Stachowski 134, 147.

PJpn. ***ka** interrogative particle (вопросительная частица): OJpn. *-ka*; MJpn. *-ka*; Tok. *-ka*.

PKor. ***ka, *ko** interrogative particle (вопросительная частица): MKor. *-ka, -kó*; Mod. *-ka, -ga, -ko, -go*.

◊ Nam 45, KED 2, 133.

‖ EAS 46, 47, 140, KW 225, Цинциус 1984, 75-76, АПиПЯЯ 41-42, 285. The TM form, despite Doerfer MT 27, Rozycki 222 has nothing to do with Mong. **ja-* q.v.

✱**kʻăka** to break, tear off: Tung. ***xak-**; Mong. ***kaka- / *kaga-**; Turk. ***KAk-**; Jpn. ***kák-**.

PTung. ***xaK-*** 1 to cut off 2 to tear off, separate (1 подрезать, перерезать 2 отделять, отрывать): Neg. *akị- / kakị-* 1; Ul. *χaqpa-lụ-* 2; Ork. *χaqpa-* 2; Nan. *χāGa-* 1, *χaqpā-* 2; Ud. *akpinda-* 1, *kakpaligi-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 25, 363.

PMong. ***kaka- / *kaga-*** to break, tear off (ломать, расщеплять, отдирать): MMong. *qaqal-* (SH), *qaqača-* 'to divide' (HY 34), *qaγal-* (IM); WMong. *qaqa-* (L 906: *qaγal-, qaγala-*); Kh. *xaga-*; Bur. *xaxa-*; Kalm. *xaγəl-* (KPC); Ord. *xaGal-*; Mog. *qakara-* (Weiers); Dag. *xagalā-* (Тод. Дar. 172), *hagere-, hagare-, hagelā-* (MD 155); Dong. *GaGača-* 'to part' (Тод. Дн.); Mongr. *xaGali-; xaGarā-* 1 'fendre, briser, casser, morceler; se fendre, se fêler 1' (SM 150).

PTurk. ***KAk-*** to hit, knock, tear (бить, стучать, рвать): Karakh. *qaq-* (MK); Tur. *kak-*; Gag. *qaq-*; Az. *Gax-*; Turkm. *qaq-, qaqıl-*; MTurk. *qaq-* (Houts., AH, Qutb, MA); Uzb. *qɔq-*; Uygh. *qaq-*; Krm. *qaq-*; Tat. *qaq-*; Bashk. *qaq-*; Kirgh. *qaq-*; Kaz. *qaq-*; KBalk. *qaq-*; KKalp. *qaq-*; Kum. *qaq-*; Nogh. *qaq-*; Khak. *xax-*; Oyr. *qaq-*; Tv. *qaq-*; Tof. *qa'q-*; Dolg. *kakrij-* 'break into small pieces'.

◊ VEWT 223, ЭСТЯ 5, 221-222, Stachowski 135.

PJpn. ***kák-*** to break off (отламывать): OJpn. *kak(a)-*; MJpn. *kák-*; Tok. *kàk-*; Kyo. *kàk-*; Kag. *kák-*.

◊ JLTT 702. The Kyoto accent is irregular.

‖ A possible derivative is PA **kʻaktʻo* 'castrated animal' q.v.

✱**kʻaktʻo** a large domestic animal: Tung. ***xakta-***; Turk. ***Kotuŕ***; Jpn. ***kətəpì***.

PTung. ***xakta-*** 1 to castrate (a deer) 2 castrated deer (1 кастрировать (оленя) 2 кастрированный олень): Evk. *akta-* 1, *aktakī* 2; Evn. *āt-* 1, *ata* 2; Neg. *aktawčā* 2; Ork. *χaqta* 2; Nan. *χaqta-* 1, *χaqtaqto* 2; Sol. *attamal* 'testiculi'.

◊ TMC 1, 26. Initial x- in Southern TM proves firmly (despite Doerfer MT 17) that the root is not borrowed < Mong. *aγta* 'castrated horse' (although some forms - namely, Sol. *akta*, Nan., Man. *aqta morin* 'castrated horse' - certainly are, and should be kept apart from the reflexes of PTM **xakta-*).

PTurk. ***Kotuŕ*** yak (як): Karakh. *qotuz* (MK); Tur. *xotoz*; Az. *Gotaz*; Turkm. *Gotaz*; MTurk. *qotas* (Pav. C.), *qutuz* (AH); Uzb. *qọtas*; Uygh. *qotaz*; Krm. *qutas*; Tat. *qutaz* (dial.); Kirgh. *qotos*.

◊ EDT 608, ЭСТЯ 6, 81-82.

PJpn. ***kətəpì*** large and sturdy ox (большой вол): OJpn. *kotopji*; MJpn. *kòtòpì*.

◊ JLTT 459.

‖ If the original meaning is 'a castrated animal' (as in TM), the stem may be a derivative of PA **kʻə́ka* 'to break, tear off' q.v.

✱**kʻə̀kú** doll: Tung. ***xaku-kan (/*k-)**; Turk. ***KAgur**; Jpn. ***kùnkù-tú**; Kor. ***koāŋ**.

PTung. ***xaku-kan (/*k-)** doll (кукла): Ul. *χaqụa(n)*; Ork. *χoqo(n)*; Nan. *aqoā*; Orch. *xakuā*.

◊ TMC 1, 459. Cf. also **kakura-kta* 'decorative bells' (TMC 1, 375).

PTurk. ***KAgur** doll (кукла): Karakh. *qoδurčuq* (MK); Tur. dial. *kurčak*; Turkm. *Guršaq*; MTurk. *qawurčaq* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.), *qavur* (R); Uzb. *quɣirčɔq*; Uygh. *qo(r)čaq*, dial. *qoɣurčaq*; Tat. *qurčaq*; Bashk. *qursaq*; Kirgh. *qūrčaq*; Kaz. *quwïršaq*; KKalp. *quwïršaq*; Kum. *qurčaq*; Nogh. *quwïršaq*.

◊ VEWT 220, EDT 587, 606, ЭСТЯ 6, 161-163. Modern reflexes point quite clearly to *-g- (less probably - *-b-), so the attested form with -δ- must be a phonetic aberration. Interference with OT *qoduz* 'femme sole' (suggested in Tekin 1969 and ЭСТЯ ibid.) is not excluded, but cf. also the notes below.

PJpn. ***kùnkù-tú** a k. of doll (вид куклы): MJpn. *kùgùtú*; Tok. *kugutsu*.

◊ JLTT 462. In OJ *kugutu* is attested with the meaning 'satchel worn at the belt'; JB derives it from *kugu* 'a k. of grass' and suggests that dolls were carried in such satchels. Even if it they were, it is highly probable that the name of the satchel is derived from 'doll', and not vice versa; the connection with "kugu-grass" is highly dubious.

PKor. ***koāŋ** doll, mask, comedian (кукла, маска, актер): MKor. *koāŋtái*; Mod. *kwāŋdä*.

◊ Liu 79, KED 184.

‖ Дыбо 15. Cf. Khalkha *xűxeldej* 'doll' (a contamination with *xűxe-n* 'child, girl'). One should also mention WMong. *qoduɣu-čin* 'clown; mask': this may be a metathesis < **kogu-du-* (= PJ **kùnkùtú*) and the form may actually shed light on the mysterious Karakh. *qoδurčuk* (quite probably < **kog-du-rču-k* = WMong. *qoduɣu-čin*).

✱**kʻala (~ -u)** wait, be late: Tung. ***xalā-**; Mong. ***kala**; Turk. ***Kal-**.

PTung. ***xalā-** to wait (ждать): Evk. *alā-č-*; Evn. *alač-*; Neg. *alāč-*; Man. *ala-*; SMan. *iali-* (1439, 3034); Ul. *xala-čị-*; Ork. *xalā-čị-*; Nan. *xala-či-*; Orch. *alā-či-*; Ud. *ala-si-*; Sol. *alāš-*.

◊ TMC 1, 29-30.

PMong. ***kala** 1 bitter life experience 2 to decease (rev.) (1 трудность, горький опыт 2 скончаться (почт.)): WMong. *qala* 1, *qali-* 2 (L 916, 917); Kh. *xal* 1, *xali-* 2; Bur. *xala*; Kalm. *xal* (KPC); Ord. *xala* 'rude or cruel treatment'.

PTurk. ***Kal-** 1 old man 2 to be tired 3 to be ~ years old (1 старик 2 уставать 3 иметь возраст): OTurk. *qal-* (Orkh., YB) 3; Karakh. *qal* (MK)

1; MTurk. *qal-* 'to come to an end' (CCum.); Oyr. *qala-* 2; Chuv. *xoll-en* 'slowly'.

◊ VEWT 224. EDT 615-616. Chuv. *xullen* is derived (by Tekin 1975, 281) from PT **K(i)ala̮ŋ* (v. sub **kio̮la*), but it rather belongs here.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***kʻale** snow, snow-flakes: Tung. ***xalu-**; Mong. ***kilaɣa**; Turk. ***Kila-gu**.

PTung. ***xalu-** snow (falling in flakes) (снег (падающий хлопьями)): Evk. *alunti*; Neg. *altami*; Ork. *χalu̮qta*.

◊ TMC 1, 34.

PMong. ***kilaɣa** fine snow falling in the sunlight (мелкий снег, падающий при свете солнца): WMong. *kilaɣa* (MXTTT); Kh. *xalā*.

PTurk. ***Kila-gu** 1 snow-flakes in windless weather 2 hoar-frost 3 first snow (1 снежинки, падающие при тихой погоде 2 иней, изморозь 3 первая пороша): Bashk. *qilaw* 2; Kirgh. *qilamiq* 3; Kaz. *qilaw* 1; Kum. *qilaw* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 207.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***kʻalo** girth, tug: Tung. ***xala-**; Turk. ***Kolaŋ**; Kor. ***koraŋ**.

PTung. ***xala-** tug, belt (лямка, ремень): Evk. *alaɣ*; Evn. *al*; Neg. *ala, alan*; Ul. *χala*; Ork. *χali*; Nan. *χala*; Orch. *ala*; Ud. *ala*.

◊ TMC 1, 28-29. Аникин 80 proposes: Evk. > Khant. *ălak* > Russ. dial. *alák, álak* > Yak. *ālik*, Ket *alək*, Yukagh. *alik*; cf. also Nivkh *halik* id. This would make the etymology of Ket *alək* presented in Старостин 1995, 181 (= PNC **hwə̄lkwē* 'chariot') obsolete.

PTurk. ***Kolaŋ** saddlegirth (подпруга): Karakh. *qolan* (MK); Tur. *kolan*; Gag. *qolan*; Turkm. *Golaŋ*; MTurk. *qolan, qolaɣ* (Pav. C.), *qulan* (AH); Khak. *xolaɣ*; Shr. *qolaɣ*; Oyr. *qoloŋ*; Tv. *xolaq*; Yak. *xolun*.

◊ VEWT 277, Лексика 549-550, EDT 622, ЭСТЯ 6, 47-49.

PKor. ***koraŋ** fetters, handcuffs (путы, оковы, наручники): Mod. *koraŋ*.

◊ KED 138.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term. PT and Korean reflect the common derivative **kʻalo-ŋV*.

***kʻalVbV** wild garlic, leek: Mong. ***kalijar**; Turk. ***KAlba**.

PMong. ***kalijar** wild garlic, leek (черемша): MMong. *qalijarsun* (SH); WMong. *qalijar* (L 920); Kh. *xaliar*; Bur. *xalā̀r*; Mongr. *xarir* (SM 163).

PTurk. ***KAlba** wild garlic, leek (черемша): OTurk. ? *qalma* 'a k. of food' (Rach.); Khak. *xalba*; Shr. *qalba*; Oyr. *qalma*; Tv. *xılba*.

◊ VEWT 227. Cf. an OT (MK) Hapax *keleb* 'a tender plant which grows in the Turks' summer pastures and fattens livestock quickly' (EDT 716), *keleb-le-* 'to be covered by this plant (of a mountain)', for which cf. also Sak. *kalarbä* 'a k. of plant, whose root is used in medicine' (Bailey 35). See also Стеблин-Каменский 1982, 77, comparing the Sak. form with Pers., Tadzh. *kalam* 'cabbage' (> Turkm. *kelem*) - these all may be variously trans-

formed substratum loanwords, cf. also Greek *krambē* 'cabbage, radish, rutabaga' - according to Frisk possibly < Pelasg.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Cf. perhaps some other plant names: Oyr., Tuva *kilbiš* 'бадан широколистный'; perhaps TM **xul-* > Evk. *uli* 'толокнянка', *xuletũ* 'назв. растения с целебным корнем'.

***kʻăĺi** napless skin, membrane: Tung. ***xalukta**; Mong. ***kali-sun**; Turk. ***keĺ**.

PTung. ***xalu-kta** 1 membrane, dandruff 2 birch bark (1 мездра, перхоть 2 береста): Evk. *alukta* 1; Evn. *altъ* 1; Neg. *alta* 1; Man. *alχuwa* 1, *alan* 2; Ork. *χaluqta* 1; Nan. *χaloqta* 1; Orch. *alukta* 1; Ud. *alu, alukta* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 33-34.

PMong. ***kali-sun** 1 skin, shell 2 thin skin on penis (1 шкура, скорлупа 2 кожица на половом члене): MMong. *qalisu* 1 (SH); WMong. *qalisu(n)* 1 (L 920), *qaldaγan* 2 (L 919: *qaldaγa* 'penis'); Kh. *xaĺs* 1; Bur. *xaĺha(n)* 1; Kalm. *xälsn̥* 1, *xaldəγən* 2; Ord. *xalisu* 1; Dag. *xalis* 1, (Тод. Даг. 173) *xalise*; *halise* 'thin skin, dandruff', *hajlese, hajse* (MD 155, 156); S.-Yugh. *χaləsən* 1; Mongr. *xaliʒə* (SM 151), *xalsə* 1.

◊ KW 162, MGCD 320. Cf. also **kalim*, Kalm. *xälm̥* 'bark, skin' (KW 176).

PTurk. ***keĺ** 1 skin 2 gall between camel's front legs (1 шкура 2 потертость между передними ногами верблюда): Turkm. *kešik* 2; Tv. *keʼš* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 60-61 (joining this root with *keš* 'quiver' is hardly possible).

‖ Цинциус 1984, 82. A Western isogloss.

***kʻăĺo** reed, a k. of grass: Tung. ***xalī-**; Mong. ***kal-**; Turk. ***KAĺak**; Kor. ***kắr**.

PTung. ***xalī-** bog, swamp (болото, болотная растительность): Evk. *alīkta* 'тальник (на гольцах)', 'поросль (на гари)'; Man. *χali*; Ork. *χālčį*; Nan. *χalõ*.

◊ TMC 1, 32, 461.

PMong. ***kal-** reed; feather-grass (тростник; ковыль): WMong. *qaltalǯi* (MXTTT); Kh. *xaltalǯ* 1, 'лапчатка шелковая'; Bur. *xalaxan*.

PTurk. ***KAĺak** bulrush, reedmace (камыш, рогоз): Karakh. *qašaq* (MK); Kirgh. *qašaq* (VEWT), *qašeq* 'aftergrass'.

◊ VEWT 240.

PKor. ***kắr** reed (тростник): MKor. *kắr*; Mod. *kal*.

◊ Nam 20, KED 42.

‖ EAS 110.

***kʻàmo** to help, easy: Mong. ***kim-da**; Turk. ***kömek**; Jpn. ***kàmàp-**; Kor. ***kòmá-b-**.

PMong. ***kim-da** easy, simple, cheap (легкий, простой, дешевый): WMong. *kimda* (L 468); Kh. *ǵamd*; Bur. *ximda*; Kalm. *kimdə* (KPC); Dag. *kiand* (Тод. Даг. 148: *ǵanda*), *kainde, kiande* (MD 181); S.-Yugh. *kəmdo*.

◊ MGCD 352.

PTurk. ***kömek** help (помощь): Tur. *kömek*; Az. *kömäk*; Turkm. *kömek*; Khal. *kömɛk, kemɛk*; MTurk. *kömek* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *kụmɛk*; Uygh. *kömɛk*; Tat. *kümɛk* 'collective, many people'; Bashk. *kümɛk* 'collective, many people'; Kirgh. *kömök*; Kum. *kömek*; Nogh. *kömek*; Yak. *kömö*; Dolg. *kömö*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 98-99, Stachowski 156.

PJpn. ***kàmàp-** to take care of, be concerned with (заботиться о): OJpn. *kamap-*; MJpn. *kàmàf-*; Tok. *kamá-*; Kyo. *kámá-*; Kag. *kàmà-*.

◊ JLTT 703.

PKor. ***kòmá-b-** to be thankful, appreciate (быть благодарным, ценить): MKor. *kómáp-* (*kómáw-*); Mod. *komap-* (*komaw-*).

◊ Nam 47, KED 141.

‖ Turk. **kömek* instead of the expected **komak* under the influence of the borrowed *ömük* 'help' (see **i̯umu*).

***kʻamo** dung, faeces: Tung. ***[x]amū-**; Mong. ***komu-**; Turk. ***Kom-**.

PTung. ***[x]amū-** 1 faeces, dung 2 to defecate 3 snuff, thief (in a pipe) (1 испражнения, кал, помет 2 испражняться 3 нагар (в трубке)): Evk. *amū-n* 1, *amū-n-* 2; Evn. *amụ* 3; Neg. *amụn* 1, *amụt-* 2; Man. *χamu* 1, *χamu-ta-* 2; SMan. *hamə* (100) 1, *hamətə-* (101) 2; Ul. *amụ* 1, *amčị-* 2; Ork. *amụ(n)* 1, *amụ-* 2; Nan. *amõ* 1, *am-čị-* 2; Orch. *amụ* 1; Ud. *amu-* 1, *amukta-* 2; Sol. *amữ* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 40. No doubt a common TM root, although phonology is extremely peculiar. Initial *x- is indicated here by Manchu *χ-* (which is a facultative reflex of PTM *x-, more often disappearing in Manchu) and supported by external evidence. If this is the case, the Southern forms (Nanai, Orok and Ulcha) are to be explained as Northern (but not Manchu!) loanwords.

PMong. ***komu-** horse dung (конский помет): MMong. *qomaul* (SH, Козин); WMong. *qomuɣul, qomul* (L 961); Kh. *xomōl*; Kalm. *xomāl*.

◊ KW 184.

PTurk. ***Kom-** 1 horse dung 2 sheep dung balls 3 round, spheroid (1 конский помет 2 катышки овечьего помета 3 круглый, шарообразный): Karakh. *qomuq* 1 (MK); MTurk. *qumal* 3, *qumalaɣ* 2; Kaz. *qumalaq* 2.

◊ EDT 627, VEWT 299. Cf. also Chag. *qombul* 'round knob' (VEWT 279; the isolated Kalm. *qumbaji-, qumbiji-* 'sich zusammenballen', see KW 196) may have a Turkic origin).

‖ A Western isogloss. PM **komu-gal* < **kamu-gal*, with a frequent rounding before -u- in a polysyllabic form.

***kʻàno** match, other side: Tung. ***xān-gi-**; Mong. ***kani**; Turk. ***Kon-**; Jpn. ***kànàp-**.

PTung. ***xān-gi-** other, other side (другой, другая сторона): Evn. *āŋị̄lị̄*; Neg. *aŋị̄-lị̄*; Ul. *χaŋGị̄-la*; Ork. *χaŋnē*; Nan. *χaŋGị̄a*.

◊ TMC 1, 46.

PMong. ***kani** friend, mate (друг, товарищ, муж): MMong. *qanilqa-* 'to compare' (SH); WMong. *qani* (L 930); Kh. *хań*; Bur. *xani*; Kalm. *xaṅi, xäń*; Ord. *xani*; Dag. *хań, xani* (Тод. Даг. 173); Mongr. *xaniŋ* 'famille de la femme' (SM 157).

◊ KW 165, 177, MGCD 327. Mong. > Evk. *kani* etc. (TMC 1, 372, Doerfer MT 132, Rozycki 133), Shor *qanai* etc. (VEWT 230).

PTurk. ***Kon-** 1 neighbour 2 friend, guest (1 сосед 2 друг, гость): OTurk. *qonšı* 1, *qonaq* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qošnı, qonšı* 'neighbour', *qonuq* 'guest' (MK); Tur. *komšu* 1; Gag. *qomšu* 1; Az. *Gonšu* 1; Turkm. *Goŋšı* 1, *Gonaq* 2; MTurk. *qonšı* (AH), *qošnı* (MA) 1; Uzb. *qųšni, qɔšni* 1; Uygh. *qošna, xošna* 1; Krm. *qonšı* 1; Kirgh. *qoŋšu* 1; KBalk. *qonšu* 1; KKalp. *qoŋsı* 1; Kum. *xonšu* 1; Nogh. *qoŋsı* 1; Khak. *xoŋžix* 1; Chuv. *xъʷna*.

◊ VEWT 279, EDT 637, 640, ЭСТЯ 6, 56, 66-68. The word is considered to be derived from **Kon-* 'to spend a night' (> Mong. *qonu-* id., KW 185; see Щербак 1997, 139, TMN 1, 420, 3, 530, ЭСТЯ 6, 55-56, EDT 632, Stachowski 152). However, further derivation of **Kon-* from **Ko-* 'to put' (see TMN ibid.) seems highly improbable. External evidence speaks rather in favour of the original meaning "guest, to visit (as a guest)' (< **'friend, match'), whence "to spend a night, visit, stay" (= Russ. гостить).

PJpn. ***kànàp-** to match (соответствовать, подходить): OJpn. *kanap-*; MJpn. *kànàf-*; Tok. *kaná-*; Kyo. *káná-*; Kag. *kaná-*.

◊ JLTT 703. All forms point to **kànà-p-* except Kagoshima (< **káná-p-).*

‖ Cf. **kǎna.*

***kʻaŋa** hair, long hair: Tung. ***(x)aŋulī**; Mong. ***koŋgurčag**; Jpn. ***kàmì**; Kor. ***kə'úč.**

PTung. ***(x)aŋulī** deer skin (with fading hair) (шкура оленя (с линяющей шерстью)): Evk. *aŋulī.*

◊ TMC 1, 46. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***koŋgurčag** cluster, bunch (гроздь, кисть): WMong. *qoŋɣurčaɣ* (L 962); Kh. *xongorcog*; Kalm. *xoŋɣərcaɣ* (KPC); Mongr. *xoŋGoʒoG* 'gousse, silique, alveole (d'abeille)' (SM 171).

◊ Cf. *qoŋɣurčaɣ üsü* 'long hair, mane'.

PJpn. ***kàmì** hair (волосы): OJpn. *kamji*; MJpn. *kàmì*; Tok. *kamí*; Kyo. *kámì*; Kag. *kamí.*

◊ JLTT 435.

PKor. ***kə'úč** moustache, beard (усы, борода): MKor. *kə'uč, kə'ús.*

◊ HMCH 205, Nam 35.

‖ Irregular low tone in MKor. (possibly due to contraction). Mong. **koŋgurčag* is a result of frequent labial attraction (< **kaŋgurčag*).

***kʻápa** to buy, pay back: Tung. ***xab-**; Jpn. ***káp-**; Kor. ***kàphí-.**

PTung. ***xab-** 1 to buy 2 to complain, start a lawsuit (1 покупать 2 жаловаться, начинать судебное разбирательство): Man. *χabša-* 2; Ul. *χapsị-* 2; Ork. *χaw-* 1, *χapsị-* 2; Nan. *χapsị-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 457, 459, 467.

PJpn. ***káp-*** buy, (ex)change (покупать): OJpn. *kap-*; MJpn. *káf-*; Tok. *kà-*; Kyo. *ká-*; Kag. *ká-*.

◊ JLTT 706. Cf. also **kápá-*, **kápár-* 'change'.

PKor. ***kàphí-*** to compensate, pay back (компенсировать, отплачивать): MKor. *kàphí-*.

◊ HMCH 333.

‖ Martin 227. An Eastern isogloss. Cf. **kʻèpu*.

kʻàpe** strong, power; to swell: Tung. ****xabu-l-; Mong. ****kab-***; Jpn. ****kàpà-***.

PTung. ****xabu-l-*** to swell (распухать): Evk. *awul-*; Evn. *awụl-*; Neg. *awụl-*; Man. *ajbi-*; Ul. *χaụlị-*; Ork. *χawlị-*; Nan. *χaolo-*; Ud. *auli-*.

◊ TMC 1,9. Cf. also Evk. *kawirgačā* 'водянка (у оленя)' (TMC 1, 358).

PMong. ****kab-*** 1 swelling 2 to swell 3 power (1 опухоль 2 распухать, пухнуть 3 сила): MMong. *qabu* 3 (SH), *qabar-* 2 (MA); WMong. *qabuŋ* 1 (L 895:) *qabaŋ*, *qabaŋγa*, *qabaŋγu*), *qabad-* 2 (L 900: *qabud*), *qaba* 3 (L 900: *qabu*, *qaba*); Kh. *xavan* 1, *xavda-* 2, *xav* 3; Bur. *xabaŋ* 1, *xabda-* 2; Kalm. *xawəŋ* 1 *xawdə-* 2; Ord. *xawaŋna-* 2; Mog. ZM *qābāt* (5-6b) 1; Dag. *habede-* (MD 154), *xawda-* (Тод. Даг. 172), *xaū-* 2, *xaudal* 1; Dong. *qajatu-* 2; Bao. *χitə-* 2; S.-Yugh. *χabdar* 1, *χauda-* 2; Mongr. *xədi-*, *xawudi-* 1 (SM 165, 166), (MGCD *xaidə-*).

◊ KW 158, TMN 1, 379-380, MGCD 312, 313.

PJpn. ****kàpà-*** hard, strong (твердый, сильный): OJpn. *kopa-*; MJpn. *kòfâ-*; Tok. *kowá-*; Kyo. *kówà-*; Kag. *kowá-*.

◊ JLTT 833.

‖ KW 158, Цинциус 1984, 79-80. The meaning "swell" is probably secondary, under the influence of **gi̯ŏpʻe* q.v. (in Mong. possibly also under the influence of Turk. **Kāp-* < **gi̯ŏpʻe*); cf. also **kopʻe*.

kʻăpra** to scrape, rasp, plane: Tung. ****xarpu- / *xarpi-; Mong. ****kawra-***; Turk. ****K(i)arba-***.

PTung. ****xarpu- / *xarpi-*** 1 to rasp, plane 2 plane, knife (1 строгать 2 нож (*для* строгания)): Neg. *atpụgda* 2; Ork. *χalpịn-* 1; Nan. *χarpịčị-* 1; Orch. *appili* 2; Ud. *afili* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 59.

PMong. ****kawra-*** file (напильник): MMong. *qūra* (IM), *qurai* (MA 313); WMong. *qaurai* (L 946), *qaγurai* (DO 371); Kh. *xūraj*; Bur. *xūraj*; Kalm. *xŭrā*; Ord. *xūrā*; Dag. *xaur-dāgu*, (Тод. Даг. 175) *xaura*; S.-Yugh. *χūrī*; Mongr. *xŭrā-* 'se peler, s'écorcher' (SM 184).

◊ KW 204, MGCD 380. Mong. > Man. *χuwara* (Rozycki 114).

PTurk. ****K(i)arba-*** 1 to grope (for smth.) 2 to grasp (with hands or teeth) 3 to swim (grope through water with hands and feet) 4 to rake up (1 нащупывать 2 хватать (руками или зубами) 3 плавать (хвататься за воду руками и ногами) 4 сгребать): OTurk. *qarva-* (OUygh.)

1; Karakh. *qarva-* (MK) 1; Tur. *kavra-* 2; Turkm. *Gabra-* 2; MTurk. *qarba-* (Qutb); Khak. *xarba-* 2; Shr. *qarba-* 2; Oyr. *qarba-* 2; Tv. *qarban-* 3; Yak. *xarbā-* 2,3,4; Dolg. *karbā-* 'to row, swim'.

◊ EDT 646, VEWT 243, ЭСТЯ 5, 302-303, Мудрак 103 (with a wrong attribution of Tuva *xir-*). Despite Kał. MEJ 42, Stachowski 139, forms like Yak. *xarbā-* are hardly borrowed < Mong. *qarma-* (on which see under **kʻarə)*.

‖ Poppe 17, 82. A Western isogloss.

✱**kʻa̋pri** fan, bellows: Tung. ***xarpu-**; Mong. ***keɣürge**; Turk. ***kȭrü-**; Kor. ***kūr-**.

PTung. ***xarpu-** 1 to sweep 2 fan 3 broom (1 махать, подметать 2 веер, опахало 3 метла): Evk. *arpul-* 1, *arpukī* 2; Evn. *arpakị* 2; Neg. *atpụ-* 1, *atpụxī* 2; Man. *arfuqu* 2; Ul. *χarpụ-* 1, *χarpụ* 3; Ork. *χarpụrị-* 1, *χarpụ* 3; Nan. *χapolị-* 1, *χapol* 3; Orch. *appu-* 1, *appu(i)* 3; Ud. *akpu-* 1, *akpuŋku* 2, 3; Sol. *arpuku* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 52.

PMong. ***keɣürge** bellows (меха): MMong. *ku'urge*, *gürege* (SH), *keokeor* 'мех для вина', *keurge* 'мех для раздувания' (IM); WMong. *kegürge*, *kögerge* (L 480); Kh. *xȭrög*; Bur. *xȭrge*; Kalm. *kȭrəg*; Dag. *huruhe* (MD 167), *xūrug*.

◊ KW 243, MGCD 369. Mong. > Evk. *kurge* etc. (TMC 1, 435-436), see Doerfer MT 18, Rozycki 110.

PTurk. ***kȭrü-** 1 to use bellows 2 bellows (1 использовать меха 2 меха): Karakh. *körük* (MK) 2; Tur. *körü-* 1, *körük* 2; Gag. *körük* 2; Az. *körük* 2; Turkm. *kȭrik* 2; MTurk. *görük* (IM), *körük* (MA, Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *kölik* (dial.) 2; Tat. *kürek* 2; Bashk. *kürek* 2; Kirgh. *kȭrük* 2; Kaz. *körək* 2; KKalp. *körək* 2; Kum. *körük* 2; Nogh. *körək* 2; Khak. *körək* 2; Oyr. *körük* 2; Tv. *xörük* 2; Yak. *küört* 2.

◊ VEWT 293, ЭСТЯ 5, 118, Лексика 414-415.

PKor. ***kūr-** to blow (дуть): MKor. *kūr-*.

◊ Nam 62.

‖ EAS 147, KW 243, Poppe 110 (but Kor. *kurək* 'small sack' is derived < *kur-* 'roll, wrap' and does not belong here). Despite Щербак 1977, 128, the Mong. form is hard to explain as a Turkic loanword. Irregular labialization in Turk. is probably caused by the simplification of the cluster with labial -b-.

✱**kʻapV** to bring close, rub against: Tung. ***xab-**; Mong. ***kabi**; Turk. ***Kab-**.

PTung. ***xab-** to rub, wipe off (вытирать): Evk. *aw-*; Evn. *aw-*; Neg. *aw-*; Ul. *χāwụ-*; Ork. *χaw-*; Nan. *χao-*; Orch. *au-*; Ud. *au-*.

◊ TMC 1, 7.

PMong. ***kabi*** 1 close to, near 2 to touch, whet (1 близко 2 трогать, точить): WMong. *qabi* 1, *qabira-* 2 (L 897, 898); Kh. *xaʋ́* 1, *xaʋira-* 2; Bur. *xabār, xabada* 1; Kalm. *xäwə* 1, *xäwr-* 2; Ord. *xawə́ā, xawā*.

◊ KW 178, 179.

PTurk. ***Kab-*** 1 to unite, bring together 2 be brought together (1 объединять, собирать 2 собираться): OTurk. *qavïr-* 1 (OUygh.), *qavïš-* 2 (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qavur-* 1 (MK, KB), *qavïš-* 2 (MK); Tur. *kavuš-* 2; Gag. *qauš-* 2; Az. *Govuš-* 2; Turkm. *Govur-* 1, *Govuš-* 2; MTurk. *qavuš-* 2 (Qutb, Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qɔwuš-* 2; Uygh. dial. *qavuš-* 2; Krm. *qavuš-* 2; Tat. *qawïš-* 2; Bashk. *qawïš-* 2; Kirgh. *qōš-* 2; Kaz. *qawïs-* 2; KKalp. *qawïs-* 2; Nogh. *qawïš-* 2; SUygh. *qawïs-* 2; Oyr. *qabïr-* 1; Tv. *xavïr-* 1; Tof. *xabïr-* 1; Chuv. > Danube Bulg. *koubraton* 'collector, unifier (of lands)'.

◊ VEWT 216, EDT 585, 588, ЭСТЯ 6, 14-16. OT also has *quvra-* 'come together, assemble', with a rather strange vocalism (see EDT 586 - but modern forms like *qura-* are not related, being borrowed from Mong. *qura-, qurija-*).

‖ KW 178, 179, Цинциус 1984, 77-78. A Western isogloss.

k'àp'à** a k. of vessel, box: Tung. ***xapsa; Mong. ***kaɣurčag, *kajirčag***; Turk. ***Kapïrčak, *Kapsak***; Jpn. ***kàpì***.

PTung. ***xapsa*** 1 box 2 bag 3 delved boat (1 ящик, коробка 2 сумка 3 лодка-долбленка): Evk. *awsa* 1, 2; Evn. *awsъ* 2; Neg. *awfsak* 1; Man. *absa* 1, 3; Nan. *xapsio* (On.) 1; Ork. *χapsaw* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 9. Man. > Nan. *apsā*, Oroch *absa*. The Orok form quite clearly shows PTM *x-, so it is hardly probable that Mong. *absa* 'coffin' is borrowed from < Manchu) - despite the widespread idea of TM < Mong. and Mong. < Turk. (see, e.g., Clark 1977, 148, Sinor 1995).

PMong. ***kaɣurčag, *kajirčag*** small box, chest (маленький ящик): WMong. *qaɣurčaɣ, qajirčaɣ* (L 914); Kh. *xūrcag, xaircag*; Bur. *xūrcag* 'coffin'; Kalm. *xūrcəɣ* 'grosser Kasten'; Ord. *xārčaG*; Dong. *xaʒi*; S.-Yugh. *χairžaG*; Mongr. *xāžə*.

◊ MGCD 317. Mong. > Oyr. *qajirčaq* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 277-278.

PTurk. ***Kapïrčak, *Kapsak*** 1 box, coffin 2 basket (1 ящик, гроб 2 корзина): Karakh. *qapïrčaq* 1,2 (MK); Tur. *koburčuk*, dial. *kapurǯak* 1, dial. *kabzak, kabsak* 2; Turkm. *Gapïržaq* 1; MTurk. *qabïrčaq* (IM), *qaburčuq* (AH); Chuv. > Hung. *koporsó* 1 (see Gombocz 1912).

◊ EDT 587, ЭСТЯ 5, 276-278. Tekin (1979, 127) cites Uygh. *qapïz* 'coffin', but we were unable to find the word either in Old or Mod. Uyghur. Perhaps he meant Karakh. *xafsï* 'small box' (MK, see EDT 587). Brockelmann derived the word from Lat. *capsa* through Syr. *qafsā*, but a loan in Turkic < Syr. is not quite probable, and the word might well be genuine. But modern forms: Tur. dial. *kapsa* 'box, chest', (CCum.) *qapsa* 'box, coffin' may well be < Syr. (cf. ЭСТЯ 5, 277).

PJpn. ***kàpì*** scoop, ladle, spoon (черпак, ложка): OJpn. *kapji*; MJpn. *kàfi*.

◊ JLTT 433 (unjustly united with *kapji* 'egg, shell').

‖ Владимирцов 206, Tekin 1979, 127. Despite a widespread point of view (see e.g. ЭСТЯ 5, 277), Mong. can hardly be < Turk. The root (especially in the Turk.-Mong. area) is liable to mergers with **kʻi̯ubu* 'coffin' and **kʻápʻa* 'barrier' q.v.

***kʻắpʻà** bark, skin: Tung. ***xabda(-nsa)**; Mong. ***kawda-**; Turk. ***Kāpuk**; Jpn. ***kapa**; Kor. ***kàph- / *kə̀ph-**.

PTung. ***xabda(-nsa)** leaf (лист): Evk. *abdanna*; Evn. *ebdъпгъ*; Neg. *abdana*; Man. *abdaxa / afaxa*; SMan. *afəhə* (2137); Jurch. *ha-[bxa]* (119); Ul. *χabdata*; Ork. *xamdata*; Nan. *χabdata* (Nkh.), *χaftaca* (Bik.); Orch. *abdasa*; Ud. *abdehä*.

◊ TMC 1, 5. Man. > Dag. *abug, abuk* 'sheet (of paper)' (Тод. Даг. 118).

PMong. ***kawda-** 1 bark 2 page (1 кора 2 страница): WMong. *qaudasu, qaɣudasu(n)* 2 (L 909); Kh. *xūdas* 2; Bur. *xūdaha(n)* 2; Kalm. *xūdъsn̥* 1; Ord. *xūdasu* 2.

◊ KW 201. Although later contaminations were possible, Mong. **kawda-* can not be explained as borrowed from Turk. *qaɣad* 'paper' (< Arab.), despite Щербак 1997, 126. Mong. > Man. *xoušan* etc., see Doerfer MT 142.

PTurk. ***Kāpuk** 1 bark (n.) 2 shell (1 кора 2 скорлупа): Karakh. *qabiq* (Tefs.) 1, 2; Tur. *kabuk* 1, 2; Gag. *qap, qabɨ* 1, 2 'external cover, covering'; Az. *GabɨG* 1, 2; Turkm. *GābɨG* 1, 2; MTurk. *qapuq* 1 (MA, AH); Uzb. *qɔbiq* 1, 2; Uygh. *qobuq* (R, *o-t*) 1, 2; Krm. *qabux* 1, 2; Tat. *qabiq* 1, 2; Bashk. *qabiq* 1, 2; Kirgh. *qabiq* 1, 2; Kaz. *qabiq* 1, 2; KBalk. *qabuq* 1, 2; KKalp. *qabiq* 1, 2; Kum. *qabuq* 1, 2; Nogh. *qabiq* 1, 2; Khak. *xabɨx* (Kach.) 1, 2; Shr. *qabiq* 2; Oyr. *qabiq* 1, 2; Tv. *xaviq* 2; Chuv. *xobъ* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 234, TMN 3, 368-9, ЭСТЯ 5, 168, Лексика 107, Федотов 2, 358.

PJpn. ***kapa** skin, leather; bark (кожа; кора): OJpn. *kapa*; MJpn. *kàfa*; Tok. *kawá*; Kyo. *káwá* 'skin', *kàwá* 'leather'; Kag. *kawá*.

◊ JLTT 445. The tone opposition in Kyoto points to PJ **kápá* 'skin' vs. **kàpà* or **kàpá* 'leather' (the RJ and Tokyo accentuation pointing to **kàpà*, but Kyoto - to **kàpá*).

PKor. ***kàph- / *kə̀ph-** 1 bark 2 skin (1 кора 2 кожа): MKor. *kàphɨ́r, kàphɨ̌r, kəpčir* 1, 2; Mod. *kːəpčil* 1, *kːaphɨl, kːəphɨl, kːəptegi* 2.

◊ Nam 8, 38, KED 29, 89, 103.

‖ Martin 225, KW 201, Владимирцов 255, АПиПЯЯ 15, 38-39, 67, 92, 274, Лексика 107. Regular except for tone variation in Japanese, possibly due to interaction of several similar PA roots (see **gébo, *kʻepa, *kʻi̯ə̀bu, *kèpʻi*).

***kʻāpʻa (~ -i, -u)** bladder, film: Tung. ***xap-**; Mong. ***kabičak**; Turk. ***Kāp**; Kor. ***kapo**.

PTung. ***xap-** fish bladder (рыбий пузырь): Evk. *kapata*; Neg. *āpi*; Ul. *χāpa*.

◊ TMC 1, 11, 376. K- in Evk. is probably due to a contamination with **kepu-* (v. sub **kupʻe*).

PMong. ***kabičak*** groin (пах): WMong. *qabičaγ* (L 897); Kh. *xaʻvcag*.

PTurk. ***Kāp*** 1 caul 2 virgin's hymen 3 scrotum 4 bladder 5 afterbirth (1 оболочка плода 2 девственная плева 3 мошонка 4 пузырь 5 послед): Karakh. *qap* (MK) 1, *qapaq* (MK) 2; Tat. *qapčıq* 3, 4; Shr. *qabićaq* 1; Oyr. *qapčıq* 3; Tv. *xapčıq* 3; Chuv. *kӧpček* 5.

◊ EDT 578, 583; ЭСТЯ 5, 266-267 (the root should be probably distinguished from the homonymous **Kāp* 'sack, cover' q. v. sub **k[ā]pʻá)*.

PKor. ***kapo*** fish bladder, (KED) sausage stuffed in a fish bladder (рыбий пузырь): Mod. *kabo*.

◊ KED 18.

‖ One of several similar roots, actively interacting with each other - see notes to **kʻ[ā]pʻa* 'to cover'. Mong. **kabi-čak* 'groin' is a result of secondary semantic development, probably < *'scrotum' or 'hymen' (cf. the meanings in Turkic).

kʻăpʻù** barrier: Tung. ****xapki-; Mong. ****kaγa-***; Turk. ****Kap-***; Jpn. ****kupai***.

PTung. ****xapki-*** to block, partition (отгораживать, перегораживать, перегородка): Neg. *apkī*; Ul. *χaqpali*; Ork. *χaqpē ~ χapqē*; Nan. *χaqpị-*; Ud. *afikta*.

◊ TMC 1, 47.

PMong. ****kaγa-*** to hinder, close (закрывать): MMong. *qaʻa-* (HY 17, SH); WMong. *qaγa-* (L 905); Kh. *xā-*; Bur. *xā-*; Kalm. *xā-* (KPC); Ord. *xā-*; Dag. *xā-* (Тод. Дар. 172), *hā-* (MD 153); Dong. *qa-*; Bao. *xā-*; Mongr. *xā-* (SM 145).

◊ MGCD 310, 311. Mong. > Evk. *kā-* etc. ; Mong. *qaγalγa* 'door' (MMong. ***xaʻalqa***, HY 16) > Tuva *xālγa* etc., see TMN 1, 442, Doerfer MT 60-61; Rozycki 131.

PTurk. ****Kap-*** 1 cover (n.) 2 gate, door 3 to close (1 крышка 2 ворота, дверь 3 закрывать): OTurk. *qapaγ*, *qapıγ* (Orkh., OUygh.) 2, *qapγı* (Orkh.) 2, *qapaq* (OUygh.) 1, *qap-* 3; Karakh. *qapuγ* (MK, KB), *qapγaq* (MK) 1, *qapuγ* (MK) 2; Tur. ***kapak*** 1, *kapı* 2, *kapa-* 3, *kap-* 3; Az. *GapaG* 1, *Gapı* 2, *Gapa-* 3; Turkm. *Gapaq* 1, *Gapı* 2, dial. *Gap-* 3; Sal. *qāvu* 2 (ССЯ); MTurk. *qabaγ* (Qutb.) 1, *qapu* (Houts., Pav. C.) 2, *qabuγ* (Qutb.) 2; Uzb. *qɔpɛqɔq* 1, *qɔpqɛ* 2, *qɔplɛ-* 3; Uygh. *qap(q)aq* 1, dial. *qobuγ* 2, *qapla-* 3; Krm. *qabaq* 2; Tat. dial. *qapqaq* 1, *qapqa* 2, *qapla-* 3; Bashk. *qapqa* 2, *qapla-* 3; Kirgh. *qapqaq* 1, *qapqa* 2; Kaz. *qaqpaq* 1, *qapı* 2, *qaqpa* 2; KKalp. *qaqpaq* 1, *qapı* 2, *qaqpa* 2; Kum. *qapu* 2, *qabaq* 2; Nogh. *qapaq* 1, *qapı* 2, *qap(l)a-* 3; Khak. *xaxpax* 1; Shr. *qabaq* 1; Oyr. *qaqpaq* 1; Tv. *qaqpaq* 1; Chuv. *xobъ* 1, *xop(la)-* 3; Yak. *xappax* 1; Dolg. *kappaktā-* 'to cover'.

◊ VEWT 203, TMN 3, 369, ЭСТЯ 5, 160, 263-264, 274-275, Лексика 510, Федотов 2, 358-359, Stachowski 138 (there is also a variant **Kāp-* - due to merger with another root **Kāp-*, v. sub **k[ā]pʻá*; the meaning 'cover' here is probably secondary). Turk. > Mong. *qabqaγ* 'cover' (whence Evk. *kapkak*, see Doerfer MT 125), *qabqa* 'gate', see TMN 3, 371, 415, Hung. *kapu* 'gate', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kupai** fence to keep away animals (забор, предохра-няющий от животных): OJpn. *kupe*.

‖ EAS 89-90, Владимирцов 208, ОСНЯ 1, 337, Цинциус 1984, 85. Mong. *qaɣa-* is not < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 133. See also notes to PA **kábo*.

***kʻapʻu** a stinging insect: Tung. ***xapina(bu)**; Mong. ***kubilǯagana**; Turk. ***KApuŋ (?)**.

PTung. ***xapina(bu)** wasp, bee (оса, пчела): Ul. *χapuna*; Ork. *χapi̯nawu̯(n)*; Orch. *xapinu*; Ud. *afunaʻu* (Корм. 209).

◊ TMC 1, 462. Cf. also Evk. *awawa* 'butterfly' (TMC 1, 8).

PMong. ***kubilǯagana** female tick (самка клеща): WMong. *qubilǯaɣana* (L 978: cattle tick); Kh. *xuvalʒ*, *xuvalʒgana*, *xuvilʒgana*; Bur. *xubalza* 'tick'; Ord. *xuwilǯaGana*.

PTurk. ***KApuŋ (?)** bumble-bee (шмель): OTurk. *qabuŋ* (OUygh. - Suv.).

◊ ДТС 399.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 85, Дыбо 9. A Western isogloss.

***kʻapʻV** to press, grasp: Tung. ***xap-ki-**; Mong. ***kab-**; Turk. ***Kap-**.

PTung. ***xap-ki-** to strangle, throttle (удушить, удавить): Evk. *apki-*; Evn. *apqъ-*; Neg. *apku̯-*; Ork. *χaqpi̯-*.

◊ TMC 1, 47.

PMong. ***kab-** 1 to pinch, squeeze, grasp; hold 2 to join, press together 3 flat (1 сжимать, хватать, держать 2 соединять, сдавливать 3 плоский): MMong. *qabči-* 1, *qabataxai* (HY 53), *qabtaqai* 3 (SH), *qabči-* 1, *qəbtaɣai* 3 (MA 284, 285); WMong. *qabči-* (L 896); *qabla-* 1; *qabsara-* 2 (L 898: *qabsu-*, *qabsur-*, *qabsura-*); *qabta-* 3 (L 899); Kh. *xavči-*; *xavsr-* 2; *xavt-* 3; *xavtgaj* 3; Bur. *xabša-*; Kalm. *xapčə-*, *xawšə-*; *xawl-* 1; Ord. *Gabči-* 1, *gābtägā* 3, *Gabtä-* 'be flat'; Dag. *karči-* 1 (Тод. Дar. 148), *xawči-* 1 (Тод. Дar. 172); *kabtaǵē* 3 (Тод. Дar. 148), *kabečiē-* 1, *kabeteǵaj* 3 (MD 181); Mongr. *xamā-* 's'agacer (dents)' (SM 153).

◊ KW 167, 174. *qabči-* may be a merger of **kab-* and **kajiči* (v. sub **kăp'ə̀*). Mong. *qabta-* > Evk. *kapta-* etc., see Doerfer MT 25-26; Mong. *qabči-* > Evk. *kapči-*, see ibid. 125; Mong. *qabčiɣur* 'tongs' (despite Щербак 1997, 165, not < Turk.) > Evk. *kapčur*, Man. *qabčixun*, see ibid. 127, Poppe 1966, 193, Rozycki 129; Mong. > Kirgh. *qapčiɣaj*, *qapčal* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 273-274.

PTurk. ***Kap-** 1 to snatch, take 2 to bite (1 брать, хватать 2 кусать): OTurk. *qap-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qap-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *kap-* 1,2; Gag. *qap-* 1,2; Az. *Gap-* 1,2; Turkm. *Gap-* 1,2; MTurk. *qap-* (AH, IM, Pav. C., Qutb) 1; Uzb. *qɔp-* 1,2; Uygh. *qap-* 1,2; Tat. *qap-* 1,2; Bashk. *qap-* 1,2; Kirgh. *qap-* 1,2; Kaz. *qap-* 1,2; KBalk. *qab-* 1,2; KKalp. *qap-* 1,2; Nogh. *qap-* 1,2; Khak. *xap-* 1,2; Oyr. *qap-* 1,2; Tof. *qa'p-* 'to grab with one's mouth; bite (of fish)'; Chuv. *xĭp-* 1,2; Yak. *xap-* 1,2.

◊ VEWT 233, EDT 580, ЭСТЯ 5, 264-265, TMN 3, 373-374.

‖ KW 167, Poppe 43, ОСНЯ 1, 315, АПиПЯЯ 289 (but the Jpn. form should be kept separate, see **kʻapa*). A Western isogloss. The root is expressive and tends to contaminate with **kapʻe* 'to squeeze, pinch' (q. v.), as well as with **kʻépà* 'side' (in Mong.: 'to grasp' > 'press' > 'flatten, flat'), but nevertheless reconstructable for PA (despite Doerfer's doubts in TMN 3, 374); borrowing in Mong. < Turk. is quite improbable, despite Щербак 1997, 133.

✱**kʻăra** tide, ebb-tide, flood: Tung. ***xarba**; Mong. ***kargi-**; Turk. ***KAr-**; Jpn. ***kátà**.

PTung. ***xarba** 1 shallow place, shoal 2 shallow 3 ebb, ebb-tide 4 to become shallow (1 мель 2 мелкий 3 отлив, отмель 4 мелеть): Evk. *arba* 1,2; Evn. *arbatị* 1; Neg. *ajba-* 4; Ul. *χalba* 2; Nan. *χarba* 1,2.

◊ TMC 1, 49.

PMong. ***kargi-** overfall, waterfall (быстрина, перекат реки): MMong. *qarki* 'Strom, Lauf des Flusses' (SH); WMong. *qargi* 'rapids', *qargil* 'shoal in a river' (L 936); Kh. *xargil*; Bur. *xarja*; Kalm. *xärgə*.

◊ KW 177. Mong. > Evk. *kargi*, Man. *χargi* etc. (TMC 1, 381, Doerfer MT 103, Rozycki 102); > Yak. *xargɨ* 'show place', Dolg. *kargī* 'show' (Stachowski 139).

PTurk. ***KAr-** 1 to overflow 2 moat, ditch (1 переливаться через край 2 канава): OTurk. *qarɨm* ~ *qaram* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *qar-* (MK) 1, *qarɨm* (KB) 2; Tur. *kar-* (of water) 'to pile up behind an obstacle', dial. *karɨm* 2; Az. *Garɨm* 2; Turkm. *Garɨm* 2; MTurk. *qar-* (IM) 1; Uzb. *qārɨm* (dial.) 2; Uygh. *qerim* 2; KKalp. *qarɨm* 2; Shr. *xaral*; Oyr. *qarantɨ* 'thawed spot'; Tv. *xarālča* 'ice-hole'.

◊ EDT 643, ЭСТЯ 5, 320.

PJpn. ***kátà** 1 tide, ebb-tide 2 beach, bay (1 отлив 2 залив, лагуна): OJpn. *kata* 1; MJpn. *kátà* 1; Tok. *kata* 2.

◊ JLTT 442.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 86.

✱**kʻàre** edge: Tung. ***xāri-**; Mong. ***kira**; Turk. ***Kɨr**.

PTung. ***xāri-** border, hem (кайма, обшивка): Ul. *χāriča*; Nan. *χāri-*, *χāriča*.

◊ TMC 1, 371.

PMong. ***kira** edge, ridge (край, горный хребет): WMong. *kira* (L 470); Kh. *xar*; Bur. *xara* 'гребень горы'; Kalm. *kirə*; Ord. *kirā*; Dag. *χarGaG*, (Тод. Дат. 150) *kira* 'mound'; Mongr. *ćirē* 'bord, limite' (SM 458).

◊ KW 232, MGCD 354. Mong. > Evk. *kira* etc. (TMC 1, 397), see Doerfer MT 46.

PTurk. ***Kɨr** 1 isolated mountain 2 mountain top, mountain ridge 3 steppe, desert, level ground 4 edge (1 отдельно стоящая гора 2 вершина горы, гребень горы, возвышенность 3 степь, пустыня, равни-

на 4 край): Karakh. *qir* 1 (MK, KB), 'rising ground' (IM,14 c.); Tur. *kir* 3; Gag. *qir* 3; Turkm. *Gïr* 3; MTurk. *qir* (Sangl.), *qïr* (Pav. C.) 2, 3; Uzb. *qir* 2, 3, 4; Uygh. *qir* 3, 4; Krm. *qïr* 3; Tat. *qir* 3, 4; Bashk. *qïr* 3, 4; Kirgh. *qïr* 2, 3; Kaz. *qïr* 2, 4; KBalk. *qïr* 3; KKalp. *qïr* 2, 4; Kum. *qïr* 3; Nogh. *qïr* 3; Khak. *xïr* 2, 'roof'; Shr. *qïr*; Oyr. *qïr* 2, 3, 4; Chuv. *xir* 3; Yak. *kïrtas* 2; *kïrdal* 'hill'; Dolg. *kïrdal* 'hill'.

◊ EDT 641, VEWT 265, Лексика 95-96, ЭСТЯ 6, 225, Stachowski 169. Derived is PT **Kïran* 'edge, ridge' (ЭСТЯ 6, 226); but note that modern forms like Turkm. *Gïra*, Tuva *qïra* etc. are borrowed < Mong. *kira*.

‖ EAS 144, KW 232, Poppe 114, Дыбо 12, Лексика 96, TMN 3, 568, ЭСТЯ 6, 226. A Western isogloss; in Turkic contaminating with the reflex of **giru* q.v.

***kʻáru** a k. of cloth: Tung. ***xara-musa**; Mong. ***kormu-sun**; Turk. ***KArs**; Kor. ***kòró**.

PTung. ***xara-musa** thigh covers, stockings (наголенники, чулки): Evk. *aramus*; Evn. *arъmrъ*; Neg. *ajmos*; Ork. *χamụsa*; Orch. *am(u)su*; Ud. *amuhi*; Sol. *aramuš*.

◊ TMC 1, 48. Evk. > Russ. Siber. *aramúsi, aramúzi* (pl.) (Аникин 92).

PMong. ***kormu-sun** thin silk kerchief (тонкий шелковый платок): WMong. *qormusun*; Kalm. *xormәsn̥*.

◊ KW 188.

PTurk. ***KArs** a k. of upper clothes (вид верхней одежды): Karakh. *qars* (MK); MTurk. *qars* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *bel-qɛrs, qol-qɛrs*; Kirgh. *qars*; Oyr. *qaris* 'a k. of textile' (dial.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 312.

PKor. ***kòró** satin, ornamented silk (сатин, узорный шелк): MKor. *kòró*.

◊ Nam 46.

‖ In Mong. cf. also *qorgaj* 'brocade' (> Chag. *qurgaj* id.), which, however, may be alternatively compared with PT **kürk* 'fur, fur coat' (ЭСТЯ 5, 148-149).

***kʻaŕa (~ -u, -i)** to scrape, grind, bite: Tung. ***xar-kü-**; Mong. ***karu-**; Turk. ***Kaŕ-**; Kor. ***kār-**.

PTung. ***xar-kü-** 1 to bite 2 to sting (1 кусать 2 колоть, жалить): Evk. *arki-* 2; Evn. *arqъ-* 2; Neg. *ajkị-* 2; Ul. *χačo-* 1, 2; Ork. *χātụ-la-* 2; Nan. *χajqo-* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 1, 51-52.

PMong. ***karu-, *kar-ma-** to rasp, plane; to rake up (скрести, строгать; сгребать): WMong. *qaru-, qar-ma-* (L 940); Kh. *xara-*; Bur. *xarxa* 'mole'; Kalm. *xar-*; Ord. *xaru-, xarūl* 'plane'.

◊ KW 169.

PTurk. ***Kaŕ-*** 1 to dig 2 to scrape, scratch 3 plane (1 копать 2 скрести, царапать 3 рубанок): OTurk. *qaz-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qaz-* (KB), *qazi-* (MK) 1; Tur. *kaz-* 1,2, *kazi-* 2, *kazaγi* 3; Gag. *qaz-* 1; Az. *Gaz-* 1,2, *Gazi-* 1,2; Turkm. *Gaz-* 1, *Gaza-* 2; MTurk. *qaz-* (AH, Houts., MA, IM, Pav. C.) 1, (Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *qaz-* 1, *qazi-* 1; Uygh. *qaz-* 1; Tat. *qazi-* 1; Bashk. *qaδi-* 1; Kirgh. *qaz-* 1; Kaz. *qaz-* 1; KKalp. *qaz-* 1; Kum. *qaz-* 1; Nogh. *qazi-* 1; Khak. dial. *xas-* 1; Shr. *qas-* 1; Oyr. *qas-* 1; Tv. *qas-* 1; Chuv. *xir-* 2; Yak. *xas-* 1,2; Dolg. *kas-* 1.

◊ VEWT 243, ЭСТЯ 5, 185-186, Мудрак 103, Stachowski 140. Chuv. -i- is not quite clear here.

PKor. ***kār-*** to plough; to grind, plane (пахать; скрести, растирать): MKor. *kār-*; Mod. *kal-*.

◊ Liu 28, KED 43, 44.

‖ EAS 46, 111, KW 169, Цинциус 1984, 87. Cf. Old Koguryo **kaš* 'plough' (thus in Miller 1979, 13; Lee has **kal*; the isolated Manchu *χalχan* 'ploughshare' may be < Kor.).

kʻa̋sa** place between limbs: Tung. ***xasa-kī; Mong. ***kasa***; Turk. ***Kąsik***; Kor. ***kàsa̋m***.

PTung. ***xasa-kī*** wing (крыло): Evk. *asakī*; Evn. *asiqi*; Neg. *asaxī*; Man. *asχa*; SMan. *asəhə* 'wing, fin' (2293); Ul. *χasali*; Ork. *χasa*; Nan. *χasar*; Orch. *asi*.

◊ TMC 1, 54. TM > Dag. *ačikī, ašikī* (Тод. Дат. 122).

PMong. ***kasa*** crotch (внутренняя сторона бедра): WMong. *qasa* (MXTTT); Kh. *xas*; Bur. *xahä* (Barg.-Bur., DO 296); Ord. *Gasa*.

PTurk. ***Kąsik*** groin (пах): OTurk. *qasiγ* (OUygh.); Tur. *kasik*; Az. *GasiG*; Turkm. *Gāsiq*; MTurk. *qasiq* (IM, R - Vam.); Tat. *qasiq*; Bashk. *qaθiq* (dial.); Chuv. *xiza*.

◊ VEWT 239, EDT 666, ЭСТЯ 5, 331-332, Мудрак Дисс. 179.

PKor. ***kàsa̋m*** breast (грудь): MKor. *kàsa̋m*; Mod. *kasim*.

◊ Nam 5, KED 20.

‖ Closed **ą̄* in Turkic is not clear.

kʻa̋si** to cut; piece: Tung. *(x)asu-***; Mong. ****kasu-***; Turk. ****kes-***; Jpn. ****kínsú***; Kor. ****kàsk- / kəsk-***.

PTung. ****(x)asu-*** 1 to chop, cut off 2 to bite (1 обрубать, отсекать 2 кусать): Evk. *asu-* 2; Man. *asiχa-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 56.

PMong. ****kasu-*** to cut off pieces, to adze, to diminish (срезать, уменьшать, укорачивать): WMong. *qasu-* (L 942); Kh. *xas-*; Bur. *xaha-*; Kalm. *xas-*; Ord. *Gasu-*.

◊ KW 171. Mong. > Evk. *kasi-* (TMC 1, 382-383).

PTurk. ****kes-*** to cut (резать): OTurk. *kes-* (Yenis.); Karakh. *kes-* (MK, KB); Tur. *kes-*; Az. *käs-*; Turkm. *kes-*; Khal. *käs-*; MTurk. *kes-* (Abush.);

Uzb. *kes-*; Uygh. *kes-*; Tat. *kis-*; Bashk. *kiθ-*; Kirgh. *kes-*; Kaz. *kes-*; KBalk. *kes-*; Kum. *kes-*; Khak. *kis-*; Shr. *kes-*; Oyr. *kes-*; Tv. *ke's-*; Chuv. *kas-*; Yak. *kehē-*.

◊ VEWT 257, ЭСТЯ 5, 55-57, 58. Turk. **kesek* > WMong. *keseg* 'piece, part' (TMN 3, 596, Clark 1980, 39, Щербак 1997, 127).

PJpn. ***kínsú** scar (шрам, рана): OJpn. *kjizu*; MJpn. *kízú*; Tok. *kìzu*; Kyo. *kízú*; Kag. *kízù*.

◊ JLTT 452.

PKor. ***kàsk- / kàsk-** 1 to cut, trim 2 to break off (1 резать, подрубать 2 отламывать): MKor. *kàsk-* 1, *kàsk-* 2; Mod. *k:ak:-* 1, *k:ək:-* 2.

◊ Nam 26, 27, 39, KED 35, 91.

‖ SKE 103 (Turk.-Kor.; despite TMN 3, 596, Kor. *kəsk-* is not a "teleologische Sternchenform"). Cf. also Nan. (Bik.) *kesi-* 'to cut out' - with quite inexplicable k- (a borrowing?). Reasons for prenasalization in Jpn. are unclear (perhaps a suffixed form like **kʻăsi-gu-n* is reflected).

***kʻăsi** leash, trap, net: Tung. ***xasu-**; Turk. ***kes-**.

PTung. ***xasu-** 1 net, trap 2 to fish (1 сеть, ловушка 2 ловить рыбу): Man. *asu* 1; SMan. *asə* 1 (664); Ul. *χasčų-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 464.

PTurk. ***kes-** 1 a k. of leash for domestic animals 2 chain, leash, noose 3 sea knot (1 вид привязи для домашних животных 2 цепь, привязь, петля 3 морской узел): Karakh. *kesgük* (MK) 'collar'; Turkm. *kesmik* 1; Kaz. *keskek* 1; Chuv. *kasmъk* 2, *kazak* 3.

◊ EDT 750, ЭСТЯ 5, 59. Deriving the root from *kes-* 'cut' is dubious semantically.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

***kʻásV** thorn, thorny tree: Tung. ***xasī-kta**; Kor. ***kàsǎi**.

PTung. ***xasī-kta** fir-tree (ель): Evk. *asīkta*; Evn. *asta*; Ul. *χasta*; Ork. *χasīqta*; Nan. *χasịkta*; Orch. *asikta*; Ud. *ahikta*.

◊ TMC 1, 56.

PKor. ***kàsǎi** thorn (колючка): MKor. *kàsǎi*; Mod. *kasi*.

◊ Nam 5, KED 21.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss; cf. also Bur. *xasuuri*, *xasuurgana*, *xasuurha(n)* 'fir-tree' (< TM?).

***kʻébá** corpse: Tung. ***(x)eburen**; Mong. ***keɣür**; Turk. ***gEbre**; Jpn. ***kámpánái**.

PTung. ***(x)eburen** corpse (труп): Man. *ūren, oren, eoren*.

◊ TMC 2, 289-290. Attested only in Manchu, but with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***keɣür** corpse, dead body; cemetery (труп; кладбище): WMong. *keɣür* (L 443); Kh. *xűr*; Bur. *xűr*; Kalm. *kűr*, (KPC) *kür*; Ord. *kűr*; S.-Yugh. *kűr*.

◊ KW 250, MGCD 395.

PTurk. ***gEbre*** 1 corpse 2 to die (of animals) (1 труп 2 дохнуть (о животных)): Karakh. *kövre* 'carrion' (MK); Tur. *geber-*, (dial.) *gevre-* 2; Gag. *geber-* 2; Az. *gäbär-* 2; Turkm. *gövre* 1; Krm. *geber-* 2; Oyr. *qavraj-* 'истлевать, тлеть' (Ашм. 6, 19) (?).

◊ VEWT 244, EDT 690, ЭСТЯ 3, 36. The root is confused here with **gēp-* 'to swell (of belly), become pregnant' (with which it indeed contaminates in Oghuz languages).

PJpn. ***kámpánái*** corpse (труп): OJpn. *kabane*; MJpn. *kábáné*; Tok. *kabane*.

◊ JLTT 431.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 124. In Turkic the root is preserved basically in Oghuz languages; it obviously obtained initial *g- (*k- would be normally expected) under the double influence of **gēp-* 'to swell (of belly)' and **gebre-* 'fragile'.

✱**kʻébà** river, bay: Tung. ***xebe***; Jpn. ***kápà***; Kor. ***kái (< *kabi)***.

PTung. ***xebe-*** 1 bay 2 lake (1 залив 2 озеро): Evk. *ewerēn* 1; Neg. *ewejen* 2; Ul. *xewe(n)* 2; Ork. *xewere(n)* 1; Nan. *xewẽ* 1, 2; Orch. *ewe* 1; Ud. *ewe* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 436. Cf. also Ul. *χawa(n)* 'bay' (TMC 1, 457).

PJpn. ***kápà*** river (река): OJpn. *kapa*; MJpn. *káfà*; Tok. *kawá*; Kyo. *káwà*; Kag. *káwa*.

◊ JLTT 445.

PKor. ***kái (< *kabi)*** inlet, estuary (бухта, устье реки): MKor. *kái*; Mod. *kä*.

◊ Liu 33, KED 65.

‖ Martin 250 (Kor.-Jpn.). An Eastern isogloss. The irregular high tone in MKor. may be due to contraction after the loss of *-b-. Cf. OT (MK Ganǯaki) *kevli* 'the mouth of a canal' (EDT 689).

✱**kʻědò** wind, fog: Tung. ***xedün***; Mong. ***küdeŋ***; Turk. ****Kad***; Jpn. ****kəti (~ -ua-)***.

PTung. ***xedü-n*** wind (ветер): Evk. *edin*; Evn. *edъn*; Neg. *edin*; Man. *edun*; SMan. *udun* (2052); Jurch. *hedu-un* (5); Ul. *xedu(n)*; Ork. *xedu(n)*; Nan. *xedu(n)*; Orch. *edi(n)*; Ud. *edi(n)*; Sol. *edī*.

◊ TMC 2, 438-439.

PMong. ***küdeŋ*** fog, mist (туман): WMong. *küdeŋ* (L 497); Kh. *xüden*; Kalm. *küdŋ*; Ord. *küde, küdük*.

◊ KW 244.

PTurk. ****Kad*** wind, whirlwind (ветер, вихрь): Karakh. *qaδ* (MK); Tur. *kaj* 'rainy weather'; Turkm. *Gaj*; MTurk. *qaj* (AH, Pav. C., Abush.); Kirgh. *qaji-* 'to be frozen'; Khak. *xas*; Tv. *xat, xadi-* 'to be frozen'; Tof. *qat*; Yak. *xatā-* 'to be cold in spring'.

◊ EDT 593, ЭСТЯ 5, 193-194, Лексика 46. Borrowing < Sam. **kacu* 'whirlwind' is hardly credible, despite Helimski 1995.

PJpn. ***kəti (~ -ua-)*** East wind (восточный ветер): OJpn. *k(w)oti*; MJpn. *koti*; Tok. *kochi* (arch.).

◊ JLTT 458.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 289, Дыбо 11.

kʻegVnV** nine: Tung. ****xegün; Jpn. ****kəkənə-***.

PTung. ****xegün*** nine (девять): Evk. *jeɣin*; Evn. *ujun*; Neg. *ijeɣin*; Man. *ujun*; SMan. *uin, ujun* (2743); Ul. *xuju(n)*; Ork. *xuju(n)*; Nan. *xujũ*; Orch. *xuju(n)*; Ud. *jeji*; Sol. *jegĩ*.

◊ TMC 1, 352-353.

PJpn. ****kəkənə-*** nine (девять): OJpn. *kokono-*; MJpn. *kokono-*; Tok. *kokóno-*; Kyo. *kókònò-*; Kag. *kòkònó-*.

◊ JLTT 454. Accent is unclear, just as in all other numerals.

‖ Miller 1985, 143. An exact Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

kʻéja (~ -o)** to slide, swim: Tung. ****xeje-; Mong. ****kajiba-***; Turk. ****Kāj-***.

PTung. ****xeje-*** 1 to sink 2 to float, flow (1 погружаться 2 плыть (по течению)): Evk. *eje-* 1; Evn. *ejēn-* 2; Neg. *ejē-n-* 2; Man. *eje-* 2; SMan. *ei-* 'to flow, to overflow' (1807); Ul. *xeje-n-* 2; Ork. *xeje-n-* 2; Nan. *xeje-* 2; Orch. *eje-* 2; Ud. *eje-* 2; Sol. *eji-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 440-442.

PMong. ****kajiba-*** to swim (of birds, animals) (плавать (о птицах, животных)): WMong. *qajiba-* (L 911); Kh. *xajva-*; Bur. *xajba* 2; *xajbalza-* 'идти мерно покачиваясь, ритмично колыхаться'; Kalm. *xăwə* 'oar' (KPC).

PTurk. ****Kāj-*** 1 to slide 2 to swim 3 skis (1 скользить 2 плавать 3 лыжи): Tur. *kaj-*, dial. *kajp-* 1; Turkm. *Gāj-* 1, 2; Kirgh. *qajpï-* 1; SUygh. *qaj-* 2; Oyr. *qaj-* 1; Tv. *xaj-* 1; Yak. *xajıhar* 3; Dolg. *kańıhar, kāńıhar, xāhar* 3.

◊ VEWT 233, ЭСТЯ 5, 197-198, Stachowski 137 (nasalization in Dolg. is unclear).

‖ A rather complicated Western isogloss. The TM form is compared (in SKE 61-62, АПиПЯЯ 297) with Kor. *hài-* 'swim'; this seems now dubious because of the apparent lack of development PA **kʻ- > Kor. **h-*. The Korean word should rather be considered as having lost the initial vowel (**hài-* < **uhài-*) and be derived < PA **uku* q.v. On the other hand, Evk. *kajama*, Orok *qajama* 'bare (not fur-lined) skis' are most probably borrowed < Mong. *qaiba* 'a k. of oar' (or perhaps from some unattested Yakut form, cf. the meaning 'skis' in Yak.?).

kʻela (~ -o, -u)** a k. of small animal: Tung. ****xel-; Mong. ****kaliɣun***; Turk. ****Keleŋü***.

PTung. ****xel-*** 1 bat 2 flying squirrel 3 swallow (1 летучая мышь 2 белка-летяга 3 ласточка): Evk. *eldukī* 1; Evn. *elduki* 2, 3; Ul. *xele* 1; Ork. *xelei* 3; Nan. *xelegdexĩ, xeregdepĩ* 1; Orch. *xelegduki* 1; Ud. *elugduge* 1; Sol. *eligdẽ* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 446.

PMong. ***kaliɣun** 1 otter, beaver 2 brown, yellowish-brown (1 выдра, бобер 2 коричневый, игрений): MMong. *qali'un* (HY 11), *qali'un* (MA) 1, *qali'un* (SH) 2, *kalbūn* 2 (Lig.VMI); WMong. *qaliɣun* (L 919) 1; Kh. *xalíūn* 1, 2; Bur. *xalíūn* 1, 2; Kalm. *xälíūn* 1, 2; Ord. *xalíū* 1, *xalíū(n)* 2; Dag. *xalō*, (Тод. Дar. 173) *xalū* 1; *kalūr* 2 (Тод. Дar. 148), *halō* (MD 156); Mongr. *xaliu*.

◊ KW 177, MGCD 320. Mong. (also with the derived meaning 'brown, yellowish-brown') > Man. *kailun* 'brown (horse)', *χailun* 'otter' etc., see TMN 1, 383, Doerfer MT 132, Rozycki 98, 130; > Kor. *kariun* (*măr*), see Lee 1958, 119.

PTurk. ***Keleŋü** field mouse (мышь-полевка): Karakh. *kelegü* 'al-yarbū' (MK); Tur. *kelen(g)i*, *geleni*, dial. *gelenki*; Uygh. *keleŋü* (IM); Kirgh. *kelemiš*, *keler*, *keles*.

◊ VEWT 249, EDT 718, ЭСТЯ 5, 31, Лексика 181. The root is not widely attested (although mentioned by MK), and may become confused with the root for 'lizard'; in Turkic dialects folk-etymologically influenced by *gelin* 'bride' (cf. also *gelincek* 'weasel', see Цивьян 1979), which would explain voiced g- (irregular in the Altaic perspective).

‖ A Western isogloss.

***kʿèlńí** mortar: Tung. ***xelńi**; Turk. ***kẹli**; Jpn. ***kìnái**.

PTung. ***xelńi** mortar (ступка): Man. *xelen*; Ul. *xeńi*; Nan. *xeńi* (> Neg. *xeńi*).

◊ TMC 1, 481.

PTurk. ***kẹli** mortar (ступка): Tur. *keli* (dial.); MTurk. *keli*; Uzb. *keli* (dial.); Krm. *keli*; Tat. *kile*; Bashk. *kile*; KBalk. *keli*; Kum. *keli*; Chuv. *kilə*; Yak. *kelī*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 33. Cf. also such forms as Chuv. *kiźep* 'tamper, pestle' and Bashk. *ki(l)sap*, *kilθap* id. Turk. > Hung. *kölyű*, see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kìnái** pestle (пестик): OJpn. *kjine*; MJpn. kine; Tok. *kíne*; Kyo. *kìné*; Kag. *kiné*.

◊ JLTT 450. The OJ variant *kji* probably reflects an early contraction < **k'èlńí-gV*.

‖ A common Altaic cultural term; despite the rare cluster *-lń- the reconstruction appears reliable.

***kʿéĺe** belt, waist: Tung. ***xelgeńe**; Turk. ***keĺč**; Jpn. ***kási**.

PTung. ***xelgeńe** 1 waist 2 interval (1 поясница, талия 2 промежуток): Evk. *eŋeńē* 1; Evn. *eŋъń* 1, *ēlgъ* 2; Neg. *eŋeńē* 1; Ul. *xeŋgi* 1; Ork. *χeŋgeje* 'armpit'.

◊ TMC 2, 446, 458.

PTurk. ***keĺč** 1 belt 2 back, spine (1 пояс, ремень 2 спина, хребет): OTurk. *keš* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *keš* ~ *kiš* (MK) 1; Kirgh. *kešene* 'girdle'; Chuv. *kaźan* 2.

◊ VEWT 258, EDT 752, MNT 1697, ЭСТЯ 5, 60-61. Sak. *käša-* 'belt' may be < Turkic (Bailey 56 expresses doubts as to the phonetic regularity of its derivation from Proto-Iran.

**kaša* 'armpit'). The vowel may have been long - to judge from Turkm. *kīšen* 'chain' (which reflects a hybrid form between **kile-n* 'fetters', q. v. sub **kʻila*, and **kelč* 'belt').

PJpn. ***kásí** waist (поясница): OJpn. *kosi*; MJpn. *kósí*; Tok. *kòshi*; Kyo. *kóshí*; Kag. *kóshi*.

◊ JLTT 458.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 76, 289. Cf. also comments to **si̯oga*.

✱**kʻĕĺú** a small wild animal: Tung. ***xeldegde (-gǯe)**; Mong. ***kerelǯegene**; Turk. ***KüĺÜl**; Jpn. ***kùsá(m)pú**.

PTung. ***xelde-gde (-gǯe)** a k. of fox (лиса-крестовка): Neg. *xeldegde* (< South. Tung.); Ul. *xeldegǯie(n)*; Ork. *xeldegde, xeldekte*; Nan. *xeldegǯē*.

◊ TMC 1, 481.

PMong. ***kerelǯegene** field mouse (полевая мышь): WMong. *kerelǯegene* (L 457); Kh. *xerelʒgene*.

PTurk. ***KüĺÜl** 1 rat 2 mole (1 крыса 2 крот): Tat. *kösöl* (dial.) 1; Bashk. *kösöl* 1, 2; Khak. *küzəl* 2; Oyr. *küžül* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 155. Turk. > Kalm. *küšl* (KW 248).

PJpn. ***kùsá(m)pu** hedgehog (еж): MJpn. *kùsábú*.

◊ JLTT 465.

‖ In Turkic one has to suppose vowel assimilation (**KüĺÜl* < **KeĺÜl*), and in Mong. - a regular r/l metathesis (< **keler-ǯegene*). Cf. a number of similar roots, with a possibility of contaminations: see **keru*, **kʻi̯ūĺa*, **ki̯ùti*, **kʻela*.

✱**kʻéma** a k. of reed or leek: Tung. ***xeŋgukte**; Mong. ***kamgar**; Turk. ***KamıĺÍ**; Jpn. ***kámá**.

PTung. ***xeŋgu-kte** wild onion (дикий лук): Evk. *uŋukte, eŋukte*; Evn. *eŋut*; Neg. *eŋukte*; Man. *uŋge, eŋgule*; Ul. *xeǯikte*; Nan. *xeǯukte*.

◊ TMC 2, 280, 458.

PMong. ***kamgar** wild leek (дикий лук-порей): WMong. *qamaγar* (MXTTT); Kh. *xamgar*.

PTurk. ***KamıĺÍ** reed (тростник): OTurk. *qamuš, qamiš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qamiš* (MK, IM); Tur. *kamış*; Az. *Gamış*; Turkm. *Gamış*; MTurk. *qamiš* (Qutb, MA); Uzb. *qɛmiš*; Uygh. *qomuš*; Tat. *qamış*; Bashk. *qamış*; Kirgh. *qamiš*; Kaz. *qamıs*; KBalk. *qamiš*; KKalp. *qamıs*; Kum. *qamuš*; Nogh. *qamıs*; Khak. *xamıs*; Oyr. *qamış*; Chuv. *хъʷmъʷl* 'stalk of cereals'; Yak. *xamıs, xomus*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 249-250, TMN 3, 517.

PJpn. ***kámá** reed (тростник): OJpn. *kama*; MJpn. *kámá*; Tok. *kama*.

◊ JLTT 431, 435 (there is also a variant **kámpá*, probably secondary).

‖ Cf. **ki̯omga, *gi̯aŋu, *kemV*.

✱**kʻèmá** sharp, sharp tool: Tung. ***xemer***; Jpn. ***kàmá***.

PTung. ***xemer*** 1 sharp 2 easy going (1 острый 2 легкий, легко идущий): Evk. *emer*; Evn. *emъr*; Neg. *emejigdi*; Ul. *xomburu(n)* 2; Ork. *xemberu* 1,2; Nan. *xemberũ* 2; Orch. *xemberu* 2; Ud. *emei* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 453.

PJpn. ***kàmá*** sickle (серп): OJpn. *kama*; MJpn. *kàmá*; Tok. *káma*; Kyo. *kàmá*; Kag. *kamá*.

◊ JLTT 435.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**kʻèmì** intestines; liver: Tung. ***xemu-gde***; Mong. ***kim***; Jpn. ***kìmuà***.

PTung. ***xemu-gde*** 1 belly 2 intestines (1 живот 2 внутренности): Evk. *emugde* 2; Evn. *emdъ* 2; Neg. *emugde* 1; Ul. *xemde* 1; Ork. *xemugde* 2; Nan. *xemde* 1; Ud. *emugde* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 451.

PMong. ***kim*** sausage, offal (колбаса, требуха): WMong. *kima* (MXTTT); Kh. *xim*; Bur. *xemneg* 'womb'.

PJpn. ***kìmuà*** liver (печень): OJpn. *kjimwo*; MJpn. *kìmò*; Tok. *kimó*; Kyo. *kímò*; Kag. *kímò*.

◊ JLTT 450. The Kagoshima tone is irregular.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 111, 276.

✱**kʻémŋV** wide: Tung. ***xemŋe***; Mong. ***kem***; Turk. ***gēŋ***.

PTung. ***xemŋe*** wide (широкий): Evk. *emŋe*; Evn. *emŋъ*; Neg. *emŋe*; Ul. *xem*, *xum* 'all'; Ork. *xemge*; Orch. *emme*; Ud. *eŋme*; Sol. *emme*.

◊ TMC 2, 450-1.

PMong. ***kem*** limits, measure (мера, пределы): MMong. *kem* (SH); WMong. *kem* (L 450); Kh. *xem*; Bur. *xem*; Kalm. *kem*; Ord. *kem*; Dag. *kem* (Тод. Дar. 149), *hemežē* (MD 160).

◊ KW 224. Mong. > Oyr., Yak., Dolg. *kem* etc. (VEWT 250, Kał. VI 42, Stachowski 144), Man. *kemu(n)* etc. (Doerfer MT 102, Rozycki 137).

PTurk. ***gēŋ*** wide (широкий): OTurk. *kiŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *keŋ* (MK); Tur. *gen*; Az. *gen*; Turkm. *gīŋ*; Khal. *kīeŋg*; MTurk. *kẹŋ* (Sangl., Abush., Бор. Бад.), *gẹŋ* (Sangl.); Uzb. *keŋ*; Uygh. *käŋ*; Krm. *keŋ*, ken; Tat. *kiŋ*; Bashk. *kiŋ*; Kirgh. *keŋ*; Kaz. *keŋ*; KBalk. *keŋ*; KKalp. *keŋ*; Kum. *geŋ*; Nogh. *keŋ*; SUygh. *keŋ*; Shr. *keŋ*; Oyr. *keŋ*; Yak. *kieŋ*; Dolg. *kieŋ*.

◊ EDT 724-725, VEWT 253, EDT 724-725, ЭСТЯ 3, 46-47, Stachowski 147.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 125-126, Дыбо 12. A Western isogloss. In PT *k- would be expected; initial voicing is probably due to the influence of another Altaic root, **kẽŋi* 'empty' (PT **geŋiŕ* 'nasal cavity'), cf. its reflexes in Mong. (*keŋkeji-* 'be wide and empty'; Щербак 1997, 127 actually regards the latter as borrowed from Turkic - which is quite dubious; see TMN 3, 612-613).

✱**kʻə́nVtʻa** wall, wall mat: Tung. ***xondari***; Mong. ***kana(n)***; Turk. ***K(i)ā(j)nat***.

PTung. ***xondari*** wall mat (циновка для стены): Neg. *xondoj* (< South.), , *onara-wu* 'полка вдоль нар'; Ul. *χondori*; Ork. *χondori*; Nan. *χondori*.

◊ TMC 1, 470, 2, 18.

PMong. ***kana(n)*** section of yurt lattice wall, wall (секция решетчатой стены юрты, стена): WMong. *qana(n)* (L 927); Kh. *xana(n)*; Bur. *xana*; Kalm. *xanə*; Ord. *xana*.

◊ KW 165. Mong. > Evk. *kana* etc., see Doerfer MT 77, Rozycki 101; > Khak. *xana* etc., see TMN 1, 416.

PTurk. ***K(i)ā(j)nat*** flap (of door), wall (of yurt) (створка (двери), стена (юрты)): Tur. *kanat*; Az. *Ganat*; Turkm. *Gānat* (dial.); MTurk. *qanat* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɛnɔt*; Kirgh. *qanat*; Kaz. *qanat*; KKalp. *qanat*; Khak. *xanat*; Oyr. *qanat*; Chuv. *śonat* 'карниз, застреха'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 252-253, Лексика 504, Ашм. XII, 246. The root should be kept distinct from **Kājnat* 'wing'.

‖ A Western isogloss. In Turkic the root has merged with **Kājnat* 'wing' (see under **kēńa*); this homonymy may have influenced Mong., where the stem *qana(n)* occasionally means 'wing, маховые перья'; but Mong. hardly < Turk., despite TMN 1, 416. In Mong. one has to suppose a reanalysis of *-t as a plural suffix.

✱**kʻeńo** edge: Mong. ***kajaɣa***; Turk. ***Kaṇ***; Kor. ***kǎń***.

PMong. ***kajaɣa*** edge (край): WMong. *qajaγa* (L 915); Kh. *xajā*; Bur. *xajā*; Kalm. *xajā*; Ord. *xajā* 'lower part'.

◊ KW 161, TMN 1, 446.

PTurk. ***Kaṇ*** edge, hem (край, кайма): OTurk. *qaj* (OUygh.) 'cross-road'; Karakh. *qajɨγ* (MK) 'a place at an angle from the main road'; Bashk. *qajma*; Khak. *xaj*; Oyr. *qajɨr* 'steep, precipitous'; Tv. *xajɨ* 'located sideways'; Chuv. *xъju*; Yak. *kɨ̄jɨ̄a* (Пек.) 'road on the edge of a precipice'.

◊ VEWT 221, Федотов 2, 338. Doubts about the OT word see in EDT 674, 676, Clark 1977, 146.

PKor. ***kǎń*** edge (край): MKor. *kǎń*; Mod. *kā*.

◊ Nam 28, KED 1.

‖ A derivative of the same root may be Mong. *kiŋgan* 'mountain ridge'.

✱**kʻə̌ńó** light, thin: Tung. ***xeńü-***; Mong. ***köŋgen***; Turk. ***Keŋe-***; Jpn. ***kàmá-***; Kor. ***kǎnǎr-***.

PTung. ***xeńü-*** light (not heavy) (легкий (о весе)): Evk. *eńī-mkūn, eńum*; Evn. *ejim*; Neg. *eńimkun*; Man. *eni-xun*; Ul. *xeńu*; Ork. *xeńu-mi*; Nan. *xeńu*; Orch. *xeńimi*; Ud. *enimeseʻ* (Корм. 314); Sol. *enikkū̄*.

◊ TMC 2, 455-456.

PMong. ***köŋgen*** light (not heavy) (легкий (о весе)): MMong. *küaŋgan* (HY 52), *koŋgen* (HYT), *konkɛn* (IM), *kunkän* (MA), *koŋgele-* 'to lighten' (SH); WMong. *köŋgen* (L 489); Kh. *xöŋgen*; Bur. *xüngen*; Kalm. *küŋgŋ, göŋgŋ*; Ord. *köŋgön*; Dag. *xungen* (Тод. Даг. 179), *hungen* (MD 166), *xungēn*; Dong. *kongen, gongen*; Bao. *kuŋkaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *köŋgön*; Mongr. *koŋgwən* (SM 214), *kuŋgon*.

◊ KW 138, 246, MGCD 375.

PTurk. ***Keŋe-*** easy, convenient; shallow (легкий, удобный; мелкий (о воде)): Karakh. *keŋes* (MK); MTurk. *keŋes, keŋez* (*ʿAli*), *keŋez* (Houts.); Chuv. *kanas* 'спокойный, бесхлопотный'; Yak. *kenen* 'простой, доверчивый, наивный'.

◊ EDT 734.

PJpn. ***kàmá-*** small, thin (мелкий, тонкий): MJpn. *kòmáka-*; Tok. *komaká-i*; Kyo. *kómákà-*; Kag. *komaká-*.

◊ JLTT 455.

PKor. ***kǎnǎr-*** thin, fine (тонкий, изящный): MKor. *kǎnǎr-*; Mod. *kanil-*.

◊ Nam 9, KED 5.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 350, Цинциус 1984, 103. Mong. has secondary labialization (**köŋgen* < **keńö-gen*); depalatalization in Kor. is not quite clear. Otherwise correspondences are regular.

kʻéńo** a k. of blade: Tung. ****xeńe; Mong. ****kaji-***; Jpn. ****káná-i***; Kor. ****kàńǎi***.

PTung. ****xeńe*** dull side of blade (тупая сторона лезвия): Ul. *xeńe*.

◊ TMC 1, 481.

PMong. ****kaji-*** 1 to cut, hack 2 a k. of arrow 3 adze (1 резать, тесать 2 вид длинной стрелы 3 кайло): WMong. *qaji-* 1 (L 911), *qaji-mur* 2 (L 913); Bur. *xaj-* 1, *xajlā* 3.

PJpn. ****káná-i*** metal (металл): OJpn. *kane*; MJpn. *káné*; Tok. *kàne*; Kyo. *káné*; Kag. *káne*.

◊ JLTT 437. Final -a- can be seen in compounds like OJ *kana-jumji, kana-ja* etc.

PKor. ****kàńǎi*** scissors (ножницы): MKor. *kàńǎi*; Mod. *kawi*.

◊ Nam 14, KED 23.

‖ One should also note Mong. *qajiči* 'scissors' - possibly a contamination of this root with **kapʻe* q.v.

kʻeŋa** spacious, free: Tung. ****xeŋ-; Mong. ****kaŋka-***.

PTung. ****xeŋ-*** 1 free 2 to walk out into open space (1 свободный 2 выходить на открытое пространство): Evk. *eŋī-* 2; Ul. *xeŋgel(i)* 1; Nan. *xeŋgel* 1; Ud. *eŋeži* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 457, 458.

PMong. ***kaŋka-*** spacious, empty (обширный, пустой): WMong. *qaŋqai* (L 930); Kh. *xaŋxaj*; Bur. *xaŋxaj-* 'зиять'; Kalm. *xaŋγā* 'big, giant' (KPC); Ord. *xaŋxä-* 'to be tall, big'.

◊ Mong. > Man. *xaŋga* etc., see Doerfer MT 144)

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, perhaps an expressive variant of **kĕŋi* q. v.

kʻeŋV** to be burnt: Tung. ****xeŋ(-gu-); Mong. ****keŋsi-***.

PTung. ****xeŋ(-gu-)*** to be burnt (подгореть, подгорелый): Evk. *eŋgurē-*; Nan. *xēŋgi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 457.

PMong. ****keŋsi-*** 1 to have a burnt taste or smell 2 smell of burning (1 иметь запах, вкус подгорелого 2 запах подгорелого): WMong. *keŋsi-* 1, *keŋsigün* 2; Kh. *xenši-* 1, *xenšŭ* 2; Bur. *xünšŭ* 2; Kalm. *küŋšŭn* 2; Dag. *kunšun* 2 (Тод. Дат. 151).

◊ KW 246. Mong. > Man. *kuŋšun*.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 110-111, АПиПЯЯ 11, 286. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

kʻèpà** husk, shell: Mong. ****kebe; Turk. ****kebü-***; Jpn. ****kàpì***.

PMong. ****kebe*** husks, chaff (шелуха, мякина): WMong. *kebe*; Bur. *xebe*; Kalm. *kewə*; S.-Yugh. *kəwə* 'bran'.

◊ KW 229.

PTurk. ****kebü-*** 1 straw 2 brushwood 3 rot, dandruff 4 to hull (1 солома 2 хворост 3 гниль, перхоть 4 шелушить): OTurk. *kevük, kövük* 1; Karakh. *küviž* 'rotten heartwood' (MK); Tur. *kevik* 1 (dial.) 1; Turkm. *kövze-* 4; MTurk. *kevük* (AH) 1; Uzb. *kõzɛ-* (dial.) 4; Tat. *küzɛ-* (dial.) 4; Bashk. *kewek* 3, *kü(j)δɛ-* 4; Chuv. *kъʷvajt* 2.

◊ EDT 688 (but not < Sogd.), 689. Cf. also **köbŕe-* (**kebŕe-*?) 'to hull, pound in a mortar' (ЭСТЯ 5, 81, 82).

PJpn. ****kàpì*** 1 egg 2 shell (1 яйцо 2 скорлупа): OJpn. *kapjigwo* 1, *kapji* 1, 2; MJpn. *kàfigò* 1, *kàfi* 1, 2; Tok. *kái* 2; Kyo. *kâi* 2; Kag. *kaí* 2.

◊ JLTT 433. The Tokyo accent points to a variant **kàpí*.

‖ Turk. > WMong. *kebeg*, whence Mongor *kawaG* (TMN 3, 580, Щербак 1997, 127). One of several similar PA roots (see **kʻắpʻa*, **kʻi̯ābu*, **kèpʻi*, **gébo*).

kʻépà (~ -b-)** side: Tung. ****xebu-, ****xebte***; Mong. ****kabta-su***; Turk. ****Kaptal***; Jpn. ****kápá***.

PTung. ****xebu-*** 1 side 2 across, traverse, to the side (1 сторона 2 поперек, набок): Evk. *ewunkī* 2; Evn. *ewunki* 2, *ewutle* 1; Neg. *ewunki* 2; Jurch. *xe-bew* 2 (603); Ul. *xeundi* 2; Ork. *xeundei* 2; Nan. *xeunži* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 435, 436.

PMong. ****kabta-su*** side boards on saddle (> folder) (боковые доски на седле; папка): MMong. *qabtasu* 'k. of board' (MA 218, 295); WMong.

qabtasu (L 899); Kh. *xavtas*; Bur. *xabtahan*, *xabtagaj*; Kalm. *xaptəsn̥*; Ord. *Gabtasu*; Dag. *xartas*, *kartas* (Тод. Дar. 174) *karetese* (MD 181).

◊ KW 167. Mong. > Orch. *kaptasi*, Man. *χabta* etc. (see Rozycki 96).

PTurk. ***Kaptal*** side (бок): Turkm. *Gapdal*; MTurk. *qaptal* (R - ShS, Vam.); Uzb. *qɔptɔl*; Uygh. *qaptal*; Bashk. *qaptal*; Kirgh. *qaptal*; Kaz. *qaptal*; KKalp. *qaptal*; Oyr. *qaptal*; Yak. *xaptal*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 267-268.

PJpn. ***kápá*** side (сторона): Tok. *kàwa*; Kyo. *káwá*; Kag. *káwa*.

◊ JLTT 445.

‖ KW 167. In Mong., due to secondary contaminations, the root is somewhat hard to distinguish from **kʻapʻV* ʻpress, grasp' q.v.

kʻèpù** to change, price: Mong. ***kubil-; Turk. ***Kẹbi-Íč-***; Jpn. ***kupua-***; Kor. ***káps***.

PMong. ***kubil-*** to change (изменяться): WMong. *qubil-* (L 977); Kh. *xuvila-*; Bur. *xubil-*; Kalm. *xüwl̥-* (KPC); Ord. *xuwil-*; Dag. *xobili-* (Тод. Дar. 176), *hobili-* (MD 162).

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *qubul-* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 6, 96-98); Yak., Dolg. *kubuluj-* (Kał. MEJ 104, Stachowski 159); > Manchu *kūbuli-* id. (see Rozycki 148).

PTurk. ***Kẹbi-Íč-*** 1 a gift of food to someone who comes to stack the crop after the fields are clear 2 harvest tax in favour of the poor or the clergy 3 debt (1 пищевой подарок тому, кто приходит складывать хлеб в скирды после того, как поля убраны 2 отчисление с урожая в пользу бедных или духовенства 3 долг): Karakh. *kevšeŋ* (MK; spelled kfsŋ) 1; Uzb. *kapsan* 2; Uygh. *käpsän* 2; Kirgh. *kepsen*, *kesmen* 1; Kaz. *kewsen* 1; Chuv. *kivźen* 3;

◊ Мудрак Дисс.. 89, EDT 585, 691, Федотов 1, 290-291. Turk. > Pers. *kafsan* 'harvest tax for the clergy and administration'; most modern forms may in fact have been borrowed back < Pers., but the Chuv. form can hardly be separated from the one attested in MK. The theory of its being borrowed from Mong. *kölüsün* (see Rona-Tas 1988) can be hardly justified. However, Hung. *kölcsön*, indeed, has most probably a Mong. source and is not related to the words above.

PJpn. ***kupua-*** profit (выгода, прибыль): OJpn. *kup(w)o-sa*.

PKor. ***káps*** price (цена): MKor. *káps*; Mod. *kap* [*kaps*].

◊ Nam 24, KED 57.

‖ Cf. **kʻápa* (with a possibility of mergers).

kʻĕpʻè** to dry out, become fragile; to break: Tung. ***xep-; Mong. ***kewü-***; Turk. ***kep(i)-***; Jpn. ***kəpə-***.

PTung. ***xepe/u-*** to break, destroy (ломать, разбивать): Evk. *ew-*; Man. *efule-*, *efele-*; SMan. *efelə* (1660); Nan. *xepu-li-*.

◊ TMC 2, 434.

PMong. ***kewü-*** to break, be fragile (ломаться, разрываться, быть хрупким): WMong. *keüre-* (L 462), *keül-*; Kh. *xüre-*; Bur. *xürxej* 'хрупкий, ломкий'; Kalm. *kül-*; Ord. *küregši-* 'to become fragile'.

◊ KW 249.

PTurk. ***kep(i)-** 1 to dry out 2 to extinguish, disappear (1 высыхать 2 исчезать, пропадать): Karakh. *kepi-* (~ *kebi-*) (MK) 1; Turkm. *kep-* 1; Uzb. *kɛp-* 1, *kɛbi-* (dial.) 2; Tat. *kip-* 1; Bashk. *kip-* 1; Kirgh. *kep-* 1; Kaz. *kep-* 1; KKalp. *kep-* 1; Kum. *kep-* 1, *kebi-* 2; Nogh. *kep-* 1; Tv. *kep-* 1; Yak. *kep-* 'to pound, demolish'; Dolg. *kep-* 'to push'.

◊ EDT 687, ЭСТЯ 5, 45-46, Stachowski 145 (but the Yak. and Dolg. forms hardly to **gĕb-* 'chew').

PJpn. ***kàpà-** to break (ломать(ся)): OJpn. *k(w)op(w)or-*, *k(w)op(w)ot-*; MJpn. *kòfòr-*, *kòfòt-*; Tok. *kobot-*, *kowaré-*, *kowás-*; Kyo. *kówáré-*, *kówás-*; Kag. *kòwàrè-*, *kòwàs-*.

◊ JLTT 710, 714.

‖ Cf. **kăpi* (with possible contaminations).

***kʻĕpʻó** to become wet, sprinkle, overflow: Tung. ***xep-**; Mong. ***kajila-**; Jpn. ***kàmpàra-**.

PTung. ***xep-** 1 to sprinkle 2 to get wet (1 брызгать 2 намокать): Evk. *epe-*, *epti-* 1; Evn. *eb-* 1,2, *ēpte-* 1; Neg. *epti-* 1; Man. *ebe-* 2; Ork. *xepiččі-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 459-460.

PMong. ***kajila-** to melt (таять; плавиться): WMong. *kajil-*; Kh. *xajl-*; Bur. *xajla-*; Kalm. *xāl-*; Ord. *xāl-*; Dag. *hajle-* MD 155.

◊ KW 179.

PJpn. ***kàmpàra-** to overflow (проливаться, расплескиваться): MJpn. *kòbòra-*; Tok. *koboréru*; Kyo. *kóbóré-*; Kag. *kòbòrè-*.

◊ JLTT 711.

‖ In Mong. secondary contaminations with **kajira-* 'burn, roast' were possible.

***kʻepʻorV** curved bone: Tung. ***xebti-**; Mong. ***kabir-**; Turk. ***KApur-**; Jpn. ***kàm(p)ùrá (~-ua-)**; Kor. ***kùpɨrəŋ**.

PTung. ***xebti-** rib (ребро): Evk. *ewtilē*; Evn. *ewutle*; Neg. *ewtile*; Man. *ebči*; SMan. *efəči* (84); Ul. *xeuntile*, *xeuptile*; Ork. *xewčile*; Nan. *xeučile*; Orch. *eutile*, *eutule*; Ud. *euntile*; Sol. *ōtelē*.

◊ TMC 2, 435. Should be distinguished from **xebte* 'lung'.

PMong. ***kabir-** rib (ребро): MMong. *qabusun* 'chest' (HY 47), *gerün xabusun* 'veranda, porch' (HY 16), *qabirxa* (HY 47), *qabirqa* (SH), *qabirγă* (MA); WMong. *qabirγa(n)*, *qabisu(n)* (L 898); Kh. *xavirga*, *xavis*; Bur. *xabirga*, *xabha(n)*; Kalm. *xäwrγə*, *xawsn̥*; Ord. *xawirGa* 'edge, bank, flank'; Mog. *qoburγa*; ZM *qaborγa* (3-2b) 'side, flank'; Dag. *xabirga* (Тод. Даг. 172), *haberihe* (MD 154), *xabirəg*; Dong. *qaruGa* (MGCD *qaruγa*); Bao. *χalGə*; S.-Yugh. *χarʁuo*; Mongr. *xawuzə* (SM 166), (MGCD *xairzə*).

◊ MGCD 313, KW 178-179, TMN 1, 392.

PTurk. ***KApur-** rib (ребро): OTurk. *qabar* (Et-Tuhf); Tur. *kabur* (dial.) 'a piece of tin or leather for fixing cracks'; Turkm. *GapırGa*; Uzb. *qɛbɨz* (dial.) 'armpit'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 275-276. Щербак (1997, 207) regards the word as a Mong. loanword, which is hardly the case (although numerous forms like Chag. *qaburɣa* etc. may indeed have a Mong. origin, see TMN 1, 392).

PJpn. ***kə̀m(p)ùrá (~-ua-)** calf (of leg) (икра (ноги)): MJpn. *kòmùrá, kobura*; Tok. *kòmura, kómura*; Kyo. *kómùrà*; Kag. *komúra*.

◊ JLTT 456. Tonal correspondences are not quite clear.

PKor. ***kùpɨràŋ** elbow (локоть): MKor. *phǎr-kùpɨràŋ*; Mod. *phal-k:up*.

◊ Nam 462, KED 1736.

‖ Turk. forms may be < Mong. Note that the TM forms have nothing to do with Mong. *ebčeɣün* 'breast bone', despite Doerfer MT 20, Rozycki 65. The word probably had the original meaning 'rib', preserved in Western languages; the Korean and Japanese forms cannot be kept apart, but they deserve special comment: in both languages the root was naturally influenced by the reflexes of **kŏp'é* 'bend' (q.v.); the Japanese form is also aberrant accentologically, shows rather *-m- than *-p- and may in fact be a merger of the present root with PA **k'i̯ome* 'marrow'.

***kʻer[o]** frog, toad: Tung. ***xerekī**; Turk. ***Kɨr-bāka / *Kur-**; Kor. ***kòr'oàŋ'í**.

PTung. ***xerekī** frog (лягушка): Evk. *erekī*; Evn. *eriki*; Neg. *ejexī*; Man. *erxe*; Ul. *xere, xereke*; Ork. *xere*; Nan. *xere*; Orch. *ēki*; Ud. *ēxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 466-467.

PTurk. ***Kɨr-bāka / *Kur-** 1 toad 2 frog (1 жаба 2 лягушка): Karakh. *qur-baqa* (MK) 1; Turkm. *Gur-bāGa* 2; MTurk. *qur-baɣa* 1; Tat. *qɨr-baqa* 1; Kirgh. *qur-baqa* 1; Kaz. *qur-baqa* 2.

◊ Лексика 180.

PKor. ***kòr'oàŋ'í** snail (улитка): MKor. *kòr'oàŋ'í*.

◊ Nam 51.

‖ An expressive root with not quite regular correspondences.

***kʻēro** to shout, speak: Tung. ***xērī-**; Mong. ***kara/ija-**; Turk. ***Kaṛga-**; Jpn. ***kátár-**.

PTung. ***xērī-** to shout, call (кричать, звать): Evk. *ērī-*; Evn. *ēri-*; Neg. *ējī-*; Jurch. *xeRse-be* 'language' (762); Ul. *xēr-si-*; Nan. *xēr-si-*; Sol. *ērī-*.

◊ TMC 2, 464.

PMong. ***kara/ija-** to curse (ругать): WMong. *qarija-* (L 938), *qaraɣa-*; Kh. *xarā-*; Bur. *xarā-*; Kalm. *xarā-* (KPC); Ord. *xarā-*; Dag. *xarā-, karā-* (Тод. Дат. 174); *harā-* (MD 156); Dong. *qara-*; Bao. *χəra-*; Mongr. *xarā-* (SM 159).

◊ MGCD 330.

PTurk. ***Kạrga-** to swear, curse (ругать, проклинать): OTurk. *qarɣan-* (*recipr.*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *qarɣa-*, *qirɣa-* (MK, KB); Turkm. *GarGa-*; MTurk. *qarɣa-* (Qutb, Abush.); Uzb. *qɛrɣɛ-*; Uygh. *qa(r)ɣa-*; Tat. *qarɣa-*; Bashk. *qarɣa-*; Kirgh. *qarɣa-*; Kaz. *qarɣa-*; KKalp. *qarɣa-*; Kum. *qarɣa-*; Nogh. *qarɣa-*; Khak. *xarɣa-*; Oyr. *qarɣa-*; Tv. *qarɣa-*; Tof. *qarɣ'a-*; Chuv. *хърръn* (Adv.) 'angrily'; Yak. *kɨrā-*; Dolg. *kɨrā-*.

◊ EDT 655, VEWT 237, ЭСТЯ 5, 304-305, Stachowski 169.

PJpn. ***kátár-** to speak, tell (говорить, рассказывать): OJpn. *katar-*; MJpn. *kátár-*; Tok. *kàtar-*; Kyo. *kátár-*; Kag. *katár-*.

◊ JLTT 705.

‖ Владимирцов 201. Despite Щербак 1997, 134, the Mong. form is hardly borrowed from Turkic. Jpn. has an irregular high tone. On a possible Korean parallel see under **kʹi̯ăli*.

***kʹerV (~ -ŕ-)** to go round, walk round: Tung. ***xerē-**; Mong. ***kere-, *kerü-**.

PTung. ***xerē-** 1 around 2 to walk around, turn around (1 вокруг 2 ходить вокруг, поворачиваться): Evk. *erēlī* 1; Evn. *erъl-* 2; Neg. *ejēl-* 2; Ul. *xereli-* 2; Ork. *xereli-* 2, *xere-li* 1; Nan. *xeri-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 467.

PMong. ***kere-, *kerü-** to roam, wander (бродить): WMong. *kere-, kerü-* (L 458); Kh. *xere-*; Ord. *kere-, kerü-*.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 127-128. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***kʹéŕà** bark: Tung. ***xerekte**; Mong. ***kajir(a)-**; Turk. ***Kaŕ, *Kaŕ-diŕ**; Jpn. ***kárà**.

PTung. ***xerekte** skin (кожа): Evk. *erekte* 'skin, bark'; Evn. *ertъ*; Neg. *ejekte*; Ul. *xerekte*; Ork. *xerekte*; Nan. *xerekte*; Orch. *ēkte*.

◊ Formally - a derivative from PTM **xere-* 'to skin' (reflected in Ul. *xere-*); see TMC 2, 467.

PMong. ***kajir(a)-** scales, hard bark (чешуя, твердая кора): MMong. *kairsun* (HY 15); WMong. *qajir(a)-su(n)* (L 914); Kh. *xajrs*; Kalm. *xa̋rsn̨*; Ord. *xa̋rsu, xa̋rsa*.

◊ KW 180.

PTurk. ***Kaŕ, *Kaŕ-diŕ** 1 bark 2 scales 3 dandruff 4 to peel bark 5 to husk nuts (1 кора 2 чешуя 3 перхоть 4 сдирать кору 5 лущить орехи): OTurk. *qadɨz* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qaz, qaδɨz* 1 (MK); Uzb. *qazɣɔq* 3; Tat. *qajrɨ* 1, dial. *qajɨz* 1; *qajɨzla-* 4; Bashk. *qajrɨ*, dial. *qajɨδ*; Kaz. *qajɨzɣaq* 3; KKalp. *qajɨzɣaq* 3; Nogh. *qajɨzɣaq* 3; SUygh. *qazdɨq* 1; Khak. *xastɨrɨx* 1; Tv. *qazɨrɨq* 2, *qazɨ-* 4; Tof. *qa's-* 5; Chuv. *xujъr* 1; Yak. *qatɨrɨk* 1; *xastā-* 'to skin'; Dolg. *kastā-* 'to skin'.

◊ VEWT 218, 243, EDT 608, 665, ЭСТЯ 5, 211-212, 328, Федотов 2, 352, *Лексика* 107. The original form here is **Kaŕ*; a suffixed form was **Kaŕdi(ŕ)*, later simplified to **Kadiŕ*.

This can be clearly seen from forms like SUygh. and Khak. Another possible explanation could be an early dissimilation (**Kaŕ-iŕ* > **Kadiŕ* = **Kaðiŕ*, or already after the zetacism, **Kaziz* > **Kaðiz*). There is some confusion between **Kaŕ* and **Kas*, **Kasuk* in Old Turkic, but MK definitely spells the word as *qaz*.

PJpn. ***kárà** shell (скорлупа): MJpn. *kárà*; Tok. *kará*; Kyo. *kàrá*; Kag. *kára*.

◊ JLTT 438. The Kyoto accent is aberrant (**kárà* would be expected).

‖ Miller 1975, 157-72, 1985, 151, АПиПЯЯ 38, 80, 285, Лексика 107. The Mong. word belongs here with high probability, although medial -j- is not quite clear: the form is perhaps a dissimilation < **kari-ra-* (a similar process *-lVl- > -jVl- is widely spread).

***kʿĕŕo** to remunerate, repay: Tung. ***xeri-**; Mong. ***kerig**; Turk. ***Kaŕgan-**; Jpn. ***kàtə̀-pə̀k-**.

PTung. ***xeri-** 1 price 2 wake, ritual celebration (after death) 3 payment to a judge (1 цена, стоимость 2 период выполнения церемониального обряда (после смерти) 3 плата судье): Evn. *ēri* 1; Nan. *xergē* 2, *xerū* (On.) 3.

◊ TMC 1, 482, 2, 464.

PMong. ***kerig** miserly (скупой): WMong. *kerig, kireg, kirig* (L 471); Kh. *xereg*.

PTurk. ***Kaŕgan-** to earn wages by labour, to gain profits by trade, to strive for success (приобретать, хранить, выигрывать): OTurk. *qazγan-* (Orkh., Yeniss., OUygh.); Karakh. *qazγan-* (MK, KB); Tur. *kazan-*; Gag. *qazan-*; Az. *Gazan-*; Turkm. *Gazan-*; MTurk. *qazan-* (Sangl., Houts., Ettuhf., IM, Pav. C., MA), Kypch. *qazan-* (CCum.); Uygh. *qazan-*; Tat. *qazan-*; Bashk. *qazan-*; Kum. *qazan-*; Nogh. *qazan-*; Chuv. *хъгъп* 'скупец, скряга, скаред'; Yak. *xahān-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 188-189.

PJpn. ***kàtə̀-pə̀k-** to celebrate (поздравлять, праздновать): OJpn. *kotop(w)ok-*; MJpn. *kotofog-*; Tok. *kotohóg-*, *kotobuk-*; Kyo. *kótóhóg-*; Kag. *kòtòhòg-*.

◊ JLTT 713.

‖ Note a rare case of Jpn. -t- < *-ŕ- before -ə-; this should be probably explained by an early vowel assimilation: **kàtə̀pə̀k-* < **kàtùpə̀k-* (cf. also another attested variant, **kàtə̀pùk-*).

***kʿĕsa (~ -o)** spool, spool string: Tung. ***xesi-**; Turk. ***K(i)as-**; Jpn. ***kasai**.

PTung. ***xesi-n** string in net edge (веревка, стягивающая сеть): Man. *xešen* 'edge (of net etc.)'; SMan. *xešən, xesən* 'brim; strap' (2606); Ul. *xesi(n)*; Nan. *xesī*; Orch. *xesi(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 483.

PTurk. ***K(i)as-** 1 to constrict, tighten 2 brace joining the wheel hoop and its wooden part 3 block, tambour 4 iron hoop on a cask (1 затяги-

вать, стягивать 2 скоба, соединяюща
ную часть 3 шкив, пяльцы 4 железн
Az. *GasnaG, GasaG* 3; Turkm. *Gas-* 1,
Uygh. *qasa-* 1, *qasqan* 'hoop of a tambo
KKalp. *qasnaq* 2; Nogh. *qasnaq* 2; Khak
halter on the saddle bow'; Oyr. *qasta-* 1;
◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 329-330.

PJpn. ***kasai** spool, tool for spinnin
румент для наматывания, нить из
MJpn. *kase*; Tok. *kase*.
◊ JLTT 441.

‖ Martin (JLTT 441) unites Jpn. *kase*
les'; the two words, however, are clea
have quite different Altaic origin (on *k
PJ **kasai* 'spool' surely cannot be sep
hoop brace'; the attribution of PTM *x
here if we suppose a semantic develo
'string in net'.

***kʻĕta** to overcome, contend: Tung. ***x**
***Katar-**; Jpn. ***kàt-**.

PTung. ***xete-** 1 to overcome, win 2 t
fil, accomplish (1 преодолевать, побе
заться 3 выполнять, совершать): Evk.
ete- 3; Man. *ete-* 1; SMan. *etə-* 'to win'
xete- 1; Ork. *xete-* 1; Nan. *xete-* 1; Orch. *et*
◊ TMC 2, 470. TM > Dag. *ete-* (Тод. Даг. 141).

PMong. ***kadagala-** to preserve, kee
хранять, держать в заключении): W
xadgala-; Bur. *xadagal-*; Kalm. *xadəγl-*;
S.-Yugh. *GadaGla-*.
◊ KW 158, MGCD 315.

PTurk. ***Katar-** 1 to turn (a horse) ba
turn (the enemy) back 2 to drive, pursu
to wait (1 поворачивать (лошадь) вспя
гнать, преследовать 3 пасти 4 набл
(MK) 1; Tur. *katarla-*, *katala-* (dial.) 2; Kh
Oyr. *qadar-* 3,4,5; Tv. *qadar-* 3,4,5.
◊ EDT 604, ЭСТЯ 5, 337.

PJpn. ***kàt-** to win, overcome (побе
Tok. *kát-*; Kyo. *kàt-*; Kag. *kàt-*.
◊ JLTT 706.
‖ Martin 1996, 75 (Jpn.-TM).

Khak. Another possible explanation
Kadïŕ, or already after the zetacism,
Kaŕ and **Kas*, **Kasuk* in Old Turkic,
rà; Tok. *kará*; Kyo. *kàrá*; Kag.
ould be expected).
[ЯЯ 38, 80, 285, Лексика 107.
probability, although medial
a dissimilation < **kari-ra-* (a
ad).
long. ***kerig**; Turk. ***Kaŕgan-**;
lebration (after death) 3 pay-
период выполнения церемони-
судье): Evn. *ēri* 1; Nan. *xergē*
ong. *kerig, kireg, kirig* (L 471);
our, to gain profits by trade,
нить, выигрывать): OTurk.
qazγan- (MK, KB); Tur. *kazan-*;
ΛTurk. *qazan-* (Sangl., Houts.,
(CCum.); Uygh. *qazan-*; Tat.
qazan-; Chuv. *хъгън* 'скупец,
авлять, праздновать): OJpn.
kotobuk-; Kyo. *kótóhóg-*; Kag.
re -ə-; this should be probably
: **kàtəpək-* < **kàtùpək-* (cf. also
-; Turk. ***K(i)as-**; Jpn. ***kasai**.
еревка, стягивающая сеть):
ian, xesən 'brim; strap' (2606);
brace joining the wheel hoop
ron hoop on a cask (1 затяги-

✱**kʻet[o]** to tear apart, rip: Tung. ***xetü-**; Mong. ***kadu-**; Turk. ***Kotar-**.

PTung. ***xetü-*** to tear apart (разрывать): Evk. *eti-*; Evn. *eted-*; Ul. *xetu-li-*; Ork. *xetū-*; Nan. *xetu-li-*.

◊ TMC 2, 469.

PMong. ***kadu-*** 1 to sever ribs from the spine 2 to mow 3 to rip with fangs (of a wild swine) 4 sickle, scythe 5 to cut (1 отделять ребра от позвоночника 2 косить 3 раздирать клыками (о кабане) 4 серп, коса 5 отсекать, рубить): MMong. *qatu'ur* (HY 19) 4, *qataxasam* (~ *mixan*) (HY 24) 'the meat of the best taste'; WMong. *qadu-* (L 903), *qada-* 2, *qadura-* (L 903) 3; Kh. *xada-* 1,2, *xadra-* 3, *xadūr* 4; Bur. *xada-* 2, *xadar-* 3, *xadūr* 4; Kalm. *xad-* 2, *xadūr* 4 (KPC); Ord. *xadu-* 2, *xadūr* 4; Dag. *xadə-* 2 (Тод. Дат. 172 *xada-*), *xadūr* 4 (Тод. Дат. 172), *hade-* 2, *hadure* 4 (MD 154); Dong. *Gadu-* 2, *Gadu* 4; Bao. *Gadə-* 2, *Gadər* 4; S.-Yugh. *Gadə-* 2, *Gadūr* 4; Mongr. *Gadi-* (SM 116), *Gadə-* 2, *Gadir* (SM 116), *Gadər* 4, (?) *xadiri-* 'trancher, couper la gorge' (SM 147) (= *qadura-*).

◊ MGCD 315. Mong. > Evk. *kadu-* etc., see TMC 1, 360-361, Poppe 1966, 193, 194, Doerfer MT 81, Rozycki 97.

PTurk. ***Kotar-*** 1 to tear out, uproot 2 to break 3 to move (1 выдирать (с корнем) 2 ломать 3 сдвигать, перемещать): Tat. *qutar-* (dial.) 3; Bashk. *qutar-* 2; Kirgh. *qotor-* 3; Khak. *xodır-* 1, 2; Oyr. *qodor-* 1.

◊ VEWT 284, ЭСТЯ 6, 85-86.

‖ An expressive Western isogloss; cf. **kʻad[u]*, with a possibility of contaminations.

✱**kʻétʻò** hard: Tung. ***(x)etu-**; Mong. ***kata-**; Turk. ***Kạt**; Jpn. ***kátá-**; Kor. ***kùt-**.

PTung. ***(x)etu-*** strong, hard (сильный, тугой): Man. *etu-xun*; SMan. *etəxun* (2501).

◊ TMC 2, 470 (the Manchu word is to be separated from **xete-* 'to win, overcome'). Attested only in Manchu, but having reliable external parallels. Man. > Dag. *etgun, etxun* (Тод. Дат. 140).

PMong. ***kata-*** 1 hard 2 to become hard, dry up (1 твердый 2 черстветь, высыхать): MMong. *qatau'u* (HY 54), *qataŋgin* (SH), *qata'u* (MA) 1, *qətəmər* 'dried (meat)' (IM); WMong. *qata-* (L 943) 2, *qataɣu* 1; Kh. *xat-* 2, *xatū* 1; Bur. *xatū* 1; Kalm. *xatū* 1, *xatə-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *Gatū* 1; Mog. *xata* 1 (Weiers); Dag. *katən* (Тод. Дат. 148: *katō, katū*, 174: *xata-*); *katen, katū* (MD 182) 1; Dong. *qidun, qitun* 1; Bao. *χotoŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *Gadū* 1; Mongr. *xadoŋ* (SM 147) 1, *xadā-* (SM 146) 2.

◊ TMN 1, 410, MGCD 336.

PTurk. ***Kạt*** hard (твердый): OTurk. *qatıɣ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qatıɣ* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *kat* (dial.); Az. *Gatı*; Turkm. *Gat, Gatı*; MTurk. *qatıɣ* (MA); Uzb. *qɔtiq*; Uygh. *qetiq*; Tat. *qatı*; Bashk. *qatı*; Kirgh. *qatū*;

Kaz. *qatti*; KKalp. *qatti*; Kum. *qati*; Nogh. *qat*; Khak. *xatiŋ*; Shr. *qadiŋ*; Oyr. *qatū*; Tv. *qaʻdiŋ*; Chuv. *xĭdъ*; Yak. *kitānax*; Dolg. *kitānak*.

◊ EDT 597-598, VEWT 241, ЭСТЯ 5, 334-335, Stachowski 170. Yak. *xat-*, Dolg. *kat-* 'to dry up' (Stachowski 140) < Mong. *qata-* id. Khak. *xatiŋ* also probably has -t- under Mong. influence.

PJpn. ***kátá-*** hard (твердый): OJpn. *kata-*; MJpn. *kátá-*; Tok. *kàta-*; Kyo. *kátà-*; Kag. *káta-*.

◊ JLTT 831.

PKor. ***kùt-*** hard (твердый): MKor. *kùt-*; Mod. *kut-*.

◊ Liu 88, KED 216.

‖ KW 172, Владимирцов 195, 318, SKE 132-133, Martin 233, TMN 1, 410, Lee 1958, 114, АПиПЯЯ 70. Mong. is hardly < Turk. (despite Щербак 1997, 137); Mong. > Man. *qata-* etc., see Doerfer MT 19, Rozycki 103.

kʻĕǯa (~ -o)** to rip, tear apart: Tung. ***xeǯe-; Mong. ***kaǯa-***; Turk. ***Kajɨra-***.

PTung. ***xeǯe-*** to rip, unrip (пороть, распарывать): Evk. *eǯe-*; Evn. *eǯ-*; Neg. *eǯe-*; Ul. *xeǯe-li-*, *xeǯe-če-*; Ork. *xede-či-*; Nan. *xeǯē-* (intr.) Orch. *eǯe-ti-*; Ud. *eǯe-si-*.

◊ TMC 2, 439.

PMong. ***kaǯa-*** to bite (кусать): MMong. *qaǯa-* (SH); WMong. *qaǯa-* (L 947); Kh. *xaǯa-*; Bur. *xaza-*; Kalm. *xaz-* (KPC); Ord. *xaǯa-*; Dag. *xaǯi-*; Dong. *qaǯa-* (MGCD *Gaǯa-*); S.-Yugh. *Gaǯa-*; Mongr. *Gaźa-* (SM 117).

◊ MGCD 316, 350. Mong. > Kirgh. *qaǯa-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 183); > Manchu *qaǯa-* 'to break with the teeth' (Rozycki 130). Mong. *qaǯaɣur* 'tongs' > Man. *xaǯun* 'weapon', see Doerfer MT 144.

PTurk. ***Kajɨra-*** 1 to whet, sharpen 2 to rub teeth (1 точить, заострять 2 тереть зубами): Tur. *kajra-* (dial.); Turkm. *Gajra-* 1; Uzb. *qajra-* 2; Uygh. *qɛjrɛ-* 2; Tat. *qajra-* 2; Bashk. *qajra-* 2; Kirgh. *qajra-* 2; Kaz. *qajra-* 2; KKalp. *qajra-* 2; Nogh. *qajra-* 2; Khak. *xajɨra-* 1; Oyr. *qaira-* 2; Chuv. *xъjra-* 2 (Anatri).

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 205. The Turk. derivative **kajɨrak* 'whetstone' > Mong. *qajiraɣ*, see TMN 3, 568-569. Cf. also Kaz., Tat. *qajau* 'notch', Tur. *qajaɣan* 'whetstone' (R 2, 90) and Yak. *xajgɨa*, *xojguo* 'notch'; Yak. *xaja*, Dolg. *kaja* '(to tear) apart', Yak. *xajɨt-* 'to break, tear apart', Dolg. *kajit-* id., *kajin-* (*itr.*) (see Stachowski 133, 134, 135).

‖ A Western isogloss.

kʻíbà** ash tree: Tung. ***xiba-gda; Mong. ***küjir-***; Turk. ***Kebrüč***; Jpn. ****kápiàru(n)tai***.

PTung. ***xiba-gda*** ash tree (ясень): Neg. *ịwagda*; Man. *ibadan*; Ul. *sịwaGda*; Nan. *sịwaGda*; Orch. *iwagda*; Ud. *joɣda*.

◊ TMC 1, 295.

PMong. ***küjir-*** ash-tree (ясень): Kh. *xüjrs* (PMC).

PTurk. ***Kebrüč*** ash tree (ясень): Karakh. *kevrik* 'hornbeam' (Vitex agnus castus) (MK); Tur. *kürüč*, *küvrüč* (dial.); Az. *göjrüš*; Tat. *qorɨč-aɣač*;

Bashk. *qoros-ayas*; KBalk. *kürüč*, Balk. *küjrüč*; Kum. *güjrüč*; Nogh. *küjriš*; Chuv. *kavъrъś, kavrъś* > Hung. *kŏris*.

◊ EDT 690, VEWT 245, ЭСТЯ 5, 152, Лексика 136, Bläsing 2002. Volga-Turkic languages have a secondary vowel assimilation due to the compound with *ayač*. Cf. also Osset. *kärz(ä)* < Turk., see Abayev 1, 587-588; on Hung. *kŏris* < Turk. see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. **kápiàru(n)tai** a k. of maple tree (вид клена): OJpn. *kapjerude*; MJpn. *káfedé*; Tok. *kàede*; Kyo. *kàèdé*; Kag. *kaéde*.

◊ JLTT 432. Etymologized as 'frog hand', which is most probably a folk-etymology.

‖ Дыбо 11. Vowels in Mong. and Turk. are not quite clear: probably Mong. **küjir-* < **kijür-* and Turk. **Kebrüč* < **Kibrüč* (?).

***k'ibù** handle: Tung. ***xīb-**; Mong. ***kiɣi-**; Turk. ***Kiben-te**; Jpn. ***kúpá**.

PTung. ***xīb-** handle (of axe), shaft (of arrow) (рукоятка (топора, лопаты), древко (стрелы, копья)): Evn. *iw-den*; Ul. *sī*; Ork. *sī*; Nan. *sī*; Orch. *ī*; Ud. *ī* (*i̯ī*) (Корм. 236).

◊ TMC 1, 295.

PMong. ***kiɣi-** 1 handle of a bucket 2 violin (1 ручка ведра 2 скрипка): WMong. *kikili* (= *kigili*) 2 (L 465); Kh. *xijl* 2; Bur. *xiila* 1.

PTurk. ***Kiben-te** shoulder yoke (коромысло): Tat. *köjєntє*; Bashk. *köjєntє*; Kaz. *küjeŋte*; Nogh. *küjen*; Chuv. *kəʷvende*.

◊ VEWT 306 (the word should be distinguished from **Küb-* 'to pound' q. v. sub **gi̯ube)*.

PJpn. ***kúpá** hoe, mattock (мотыга): MJpn. *kúfá*; Tok. *kùwa*; Kyo. *kùwá*; Kag. *kúwa*.

◊ JLTT 468. Most dialects reflect **kúpá*, but Kyoto points to a variant **kùpá*.

‖ Standard Jpn. accent does not correspond to PTM length; however, length here may be compensatory (cf. loss of **-b* in most TM languages).

***k'ič'V (~ -č-)** small; young of animals: Mong. ***kičig**; Turk. ***kičük /-g**.

PMong. ***kičig** puppy, young of dog (щенок): MMong. *güčük* (HY); WMong. *kičig*; Kalm. *kičəg*; Dong. *kižəu*; S.-Yugh. *gəčig*.

◊ KW 233, MGCD 300. Evn. *köčükēn, kučukēn* 'sm, little child' (TMC 1, 421) should be regarded as a loan < Mong.

PTurk. ***kičük /-g** small, little (маленький): OTurk. *kičig* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kičüg* (MK); Tur. *küčük, kiči* (dial.); Gag. *küčük, küžük*; Az. *kičik*; Turkm. *kiči*; Sal. *kiži*; MTurk. *kičik* (IM, AH, Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *kičik*; Uygh. *kičik*; Krm. *kičkenä*; Tat. *keče*; Bashk. *kese*; Kirgh. *kičū*; Kaz. *kəši*; KBalk. *giččе*; KKalp. *kəši*; Nogh. *kiškej*; SUygh. *kičɣ*; Khak. *kəčəg*; Oyr. *kičü*; Chuv. *kəźən*; Yak. *kuччuguj*; Dolg. *kuччuguj, küччügüj*.

◊ VEWT 269, EDT 696, ЭСТЯ 5, 75-77, Stachowski 159, 163. On Turk. > Hung. *kis* 'small' see Gombocz 1912.

‖ KW 233, VEWT 269, АПиПЯЯ 284. A Turkic-Mongolian isogloss; loan is not excluded (see Clark 1980, 43, Щербак 1997, 164), thus the PA antiquity is dubious (cf. also TMN 3, 628-631). The Turkic form may

actually be the same root as the somewhat later attested **giičük* 'puppy' (see ЭСТЯ 3, 92-93) - which may also be the source of MMong. *giičüg*; in this case one should rather consider a possibility of comparing Mong. *gičige*, Khalkha *gičij* 'bitch' and Evk. *guske* 'wolf', *gusketkēn* 'wolf's cub' (TMC 1, 175).

***kʻɨ̀jĺu** to deviate, slant: Tung. ***xī(l)-**; Mong. ***kelbe-**, ***kilu-**; Turk. ***Kɨjĺ-**; Jpn. ***kùsù-**.

PTung. ***xī(l)-** to pass (миновать, проходить мимо): Evk. *ilte(n)-*; Evn. *ie-, iel-*; Neg. *ilten-*; Ul. *sī-*; Ork. *sī-*; Nan. *sī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 310-311; 2, 73.

PMong. ***kelbe-, *kilu-** 1 to deviate 2 to be oblique, slanting (1 отклоняться 2 скашиваться, быть косым): MMong. *kelberi-* 2 (SH), *kelberin* 'slanting' (HYt), *qilǯir* 'squint' (MA); WMong. *kelbere-* (L 446: *kelberi-*) 1, *kelbiji-* (L 446: *kelbeji-*), *kiluji-* 2 (L 467: *kiluji-*, *kilaji-* 'to look ascance'); Kh. *xelbere-* 1, *xelbij-* 2, *ɣalaj-* 'to look ascance'; Bur. *xelbi-* 1 *xilar* 'кривой'; Kalm. *kelwr-* 2, *kulī-* 2; Ord. *kelbeger* 'inclined'; Dag. *kelbei-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 149).

◊ KW 224, 244, TMN 1, 472. Mong. > Man. *kelfi-* etc., see Doerfer MT 123, Rozycki 136-137. Mong. has also other derived forms-: *kelteger, kelтegei* 'crooked', *kelteji-* 'to bow, bend' (> Evk. *kelteke, kelter* etc., see Doerfer ibid.; > Yak., Dolg. *keltegej*, see Kał. MEJ 77, Stachowski 144); *kilar, kilaɣar* 'squint-eyed' (> Evk. *kilar*, see Doerfer ibid. 127).

PTurk. ***Kɨjĺ-** to bow, bend (гнуться, кривиться): Karakh. *qiš-* (MK) 'to deviate'; Tur. *kiš-*; Turkm. *Gīšar-*; Uygh. *qijšaj-*; Bashk. *qijšanda-*; Kirgh. *qijšaj-*; Kaz. *qijsaqta-*; KBalk. *qijsaj-* < Nogh.; Nogh. *qijsaj-*.

◊ EDT 670, VEWT 268, TMN 3, 571-573.

PJpn. ***kùsù-** strange (< 'deviating'?) (странный (< 'отклоняющийся'?)): OJpn. *kusu-, kusi*; MJpn. *kùsù-*.

◊ JLTT 833.

‖ KW 244, EAS 108, TMN 1, 472. The Jpn. form is phonetically a good match; as for the meaning, one has to suppose a development 'slanting, deviating' > 'strange'.

***kʻíla** hair: Tung. ***xiń-ŋa- (< *xil-ŋa-)**; Mong. ***kilga-su**; Turk. ***Kɨl(k)**; Jpn. ***kái**; Kor. ***kār(h)-**.

PTung. ***xiń-ŋa-** hair, fur (волос, пух, шерсть): Evk. *iŋakta*; Evn. *iŋŋʊt*; Neg. *êńakta*; Man. *iŋGaχa*; Ul. *sińakta*; Ork. *sinaqta*; Nan. *siŋaqta*; Orch. *iŋaqta*; Ud. *iŋakta*; Sol. *iŋakta*.

◊ TMC 1, 317.

PMong. ***kilga-su** horse's hair, tail hair (лошадиный волос, волос хвоста): MMong. *qilɣasu* (MA), *kilqasun* (SH); WMong. *kilɣasu(n)* (L 466); Kh. *ɣalgas*; Bur. *xilgāha(n)*; Kalm. *kilɣəsn̥, kiləɣsn̥*; Ord. *kilGasu(n)*; Mog. *qilɣasun*; Dag. *kilgās, kirgās* (Тод. Даг. 150); Mongr. *ćirGāʒə*.

◊ KW 231, MGCD 352. Mong. > Evk. *kilgāsun*, see Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***Kił(k)*** hair (волос): OTurk. *qił* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qił* (MK, KB); Tur. *kıl*; Gag. *qıl*; Az. *Gıl*; Turkm. *Gıl*; Khal. *qıl*; MTurk. *qıl* (IM); Uzb. *qil*; Uygh. *qil*; Krm. *qıl*; Tat. *qıl*; Bashk. *qıl*; Kirgh. *qıl*; Kaz. *qıl*; KBalk. *qıl*; KKalp. *qıl*; Kum. *qıl*; Nogh. *qıl*; SUygh. *qıl*; Khak. *xıl*; Shr. *qıl* (R.); Oyr. *qıl*; Tv. *xıl*; Tof. *xıl*; Chuv. *xələx*; Yak. *kıl*; Dolg. *kıl* 'sealine'.

◊ VEWT 262, TMN 3, 574-5, EDT 614, Лексика 196, ЭСТЯ 6, 204-205, Stachowski 168.

PJpn. ***kái*** hair (волос): OJpn. ke; MJpn. *ké*; Tok. *kè*; Kyo. kê; Kag. *ké*.

◊ JLTT 447.

PKor. ***kār(h)-*** 1 hair 2 horse's mane (1 волос 2 лошадиная грива): MKor. *kārki* 2; Mod. *məri-kharak, məri-khal* 1, *kālgi* 2.

◊ Liu 28, HMCH 308, KED 43, 608.

‖ KW 231, Владимирцов 172, Poppe 19, ОСНЯ 1, 352, JOAL 71, 72, Street 1985, 640, АПиПЯЯ 29, 75, 87, 276, Дыбо 4, Мудрак Дисс. 69, Лексика 197. Borrowing in Mong. < Turk. is quite improbable, despite Щербак 1997, 137. Doerfer (TMN 3, 575) expresses doubts ("...wohl nicht angeht"). Jpn. **ká-* reflects **kʻil(a)-gV* (cf. the Turkic and Mong. forms).

kʻile** a k. of fish or lizard: Tung. ****xilkun; Mong. ****kilim***; Turk. ****keler / *keleŕ / *kelte***.

PTung. ****xilkun*** summer salmon (кета (летняя)): Evk. *ilkun*; Neg. *ilkṵn*; Ul. *sılčĭn*; Nan. *sılkĭ̄*.

◊ TMC 1, 309.

PMong. ****kilim*** 1 sturgeon 2 salmon (1 осетр 2 лосось): WMong. *kilim* (L 466: *kilime*); Kh. *xilem*; Bur. *xilme*.

PTurk. ****keler / *keleŕ / *kelte*** lizard (ящерица): Karakh. *keler* (MK); Tur. *keler* (dial.), *kelez* (dial.), *kelte-keler* (dial.); Az. *kelez, kələz*; MTurk. *keles* (MA); Uzb. *kälti-kälas, kälɔs* (dial.), *kältä* (dial.); Uygh. *kilɛr* (dial.); SUygh. *kesilkə*; Khak. *kileskə*; Shr. *kelesken*; Oyr. *keleski*; Tv. *xeleske*; Chuv. *kalda*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 30-32, 34, Лексика 180-181; **keleŕ* > Mong. *keles*, see Щербак 1997, 126. Despite ЭСТЯ the Chuv. form cannot be borrowed from Tat; rather, vice versa, some Volga-Qypchaq languages have borrowed the Bulg. word.

‖ A Western isogloss. In Turkic we are dealing perhaps with a merger of this root with a different one, reflected in Mong. *gölbürge* 'lizard' (KW 138), Khalkha *gürbel* (whence Yak. *külgeri, kürgeli*). Cf. also **kalu, *kʻula*.

kʻílo** stalk, stem: Tung. ****xila-; Mong. ****kil-gana***; Turk. ****Kıl-ga-***; Kor. ****kìrĭh***.

PTung. ****xila-*** to blossom, flower (цвести, цветок): Evk. *ila-, ilaγa*; Neg. *ilaγa-, ilaγa*; Man. *ila-, ilχa*; SMan. *iləhā* (2139); Jurch. *hil-γa* (118); Ul. *sıla-, sıla*; Ork. *sıla-, sılla*; Nan. *sıla-, sılaqta*; Orch. *ilakta*; Ud. *ila-*.

◊ TMC 1, 304. TM > Dag. *ilgā* (Тод. Дат. 146). Cf. also **xila-*, **xilē-* 'bast, to peel off bast'.

PMong. ***kil-gana** meadowgrass (Stipa consanguinea) (ковыль, луговая трава): WMong. *kilγana, kilaγana* (L 465); Kh. *χalgana*; Bur. *xilgana*; Kalm. *kilγənə*; Ord. *kilaGana*.

◊ KW 231. Mong. > Manchu *kilhana* 'bramble-bush (Bidens bipinnata)' (see Rozycki 139).

PTurk. ***Kił-ga-** beard (of grain), awn (ость (колоса)): Az. *Gilγa* (dial.) 'third harvest on virgin soil'; Bashk. *qilγan* (dial.); Kirgh. *qilqan*; Kaz. *qilqan*; KKalp. *qilqan*; Khak. *xilγa*; Oyr. *qilγan, qilγa*; Tof. *xilγan*; Chuv. *xiĺъx*; Yak. *kilān*.

◊ VEWT 263, Лексика 127, ЭСТЯ 6, 208-209. The Kypchak names of "meadowgrass" (Kirgh. qilqan etc., see Лексика ibid., ЭСТЯ 6, 208) are most probably borrowed from Mongolian.

PKor. ***kìrìh** stubble; stump (стерня; пень): MKor. *kìrì* (*kìrìh*); Mod. *kiru*.

◊ Nam 67, KED 235.

‖ Дыбо 10. Cf. PJ **kəi*, OJ ki 'tree' (if not < Austronesian), compared with Kor. by Whitman 1985, 138-139, 226.

***kʻìĺa** fetters: Tung. ***xil-**; Mong. ***kelbeγür**; Turk. ***kiĺe-**; Jpn. ***kàsi**; Kor. ***kár**.

PTung. ***xil-** 1 loop for a billet on deer's neck (to keep him from straying) 2 fur collar 3 halter, headstall (1 петля (для подвешивания на шею оленя плашки) 2 оплечье, ошейник (обшитый соболями); меховой воротник 3 недоуздок): Evk. *inman, inmar* 3, *iltē* 1; Evn. *ɨnmъr* 3; Man. *ilten* 2; Ul. *sini* 2; Ork. *sinni* 2, *sɨlma* 3; Orch. *sili* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 310, 316, 2, 84.

PMong. ***kelbeγür** chock, boot-tree (колодка): WMong. *kelbegür* (MXTT); Kh. *xelbŭr*; Bur. *xelberi*; Dag. *kelbej-*.

◊ Mong. > Orok *qalumuri* 'board'. The word is formally derived from *kelbe-* 'to shape', whence also *kelberi* (L 446) 'shape': external evidence, however, strongly suggests that 'boot-tree' must have been the original meaning, and 'shape' is a secondary developed abstract meaning.

PTurk. ***kiĺe-** 1 to hobble, bound 2 fetters (1 стреножить 2 путы): OTurk. *kiše-* (OUygh.) 1, *kišen* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *kiše-* (MK, KB) 1, *kišen* (MK) 2; Tur. *kešan* 'headstall, fetters'; Turkm. *kĭšen* 'chains'; MTurk. *kišen* 'chain' (Sangl., Houts.), Kypch. *kišen* (CCum.) 2; Uygh. *kišɛn* 2; Tat. *kištɛ* 3; Kirgh. *kišen* 2; KBalk. *kišen* 2.

◊ VEWT 258, EDT 753. Some forms point to **kəĺ-*, possibly under the influence of **kəĺč* 'belt' (v. sub **kʻéle)*.

PJpn. ***kàsi** fetters, shackles (оковы, кандалы): OJpn. *kasi*; MJpn. *kasi, kase*; Tok. *káse*; Kyo. *kásé*; Kag. *kasé*.

◊ JLTT 441. Tokyo and Kagoshima point to **kàs(a)í* or **kàs(a)î*, but Kyoto points to **kás(a)í* (the word is not attested in RJ).

PKor. ***kár*** fetters, cangue (оковы, колодки): MKor. *kár, kār*; Mod. *khal*.

◊ Nam 19, HMCH 249, KED 1669. Modern initial *kh-* is not quite clear.

‖ Cf. **koli, *gŭldi, *kʲi̯uli* ; on the Jpn. form see also under **kʲĕsa*. The Turkic vocalism is completely irregular: perhaps due to a cluster simplification or assimilation? In Mong. cf. also *kelke-* 'to bead, string, join' (> Yak., Dolg. *kelgij-*, see Kał. MEJ 51, Stachowski 143).

✱**kʲìrégV** cutting tool: Tung. ***xirege***; Mong. ***kirö̈ɣe***; Turk. ***kerki***; Jpn. ***kìrí***.

PTung. ***xirege*** file (напильник): Evk. *ireɣē*; Evn. *irge*; Neg. *īɣē ~ ijeɣē*; Ul. *siru*; Ork. *sīro*; Nan. *siru*; Orch. jo; Ud. *jue*.

◊ TMC 1, 328-329.

PMong. ***kirö̈ɣe*** 1 file, saw 2 awl (1 напильник, пила 2 шило): MMong. *kirū* 1, *kirä* 2 (IM), *kiru* (MA) 1, *kire* 2, *kiru'e* (SH); WMong. *kirüge* 1 (L 473); Kh. *xörō* 1; Bur. *x́ürō* 1; Kalm. *körē* 1; Ord. *körō* 1; Dag. *kirē* 1 (Тод. Дar. 150, MD 183); Dong. *čireu* 1; S.-Yugh. *kürē* 1; Mongr. *ćirū* (SM 458) 1.

◊ KW 240, MGCD 376. Mong. > Oyr. *kärä* etc. (VEWT 255).

PTurk. ***kerki*** 1 adze, mattock 2 razor (1 кирка, мотыга 2 бритва): Karakh. *kerki* (MK) 1, *kerej* (MK) 2; Tur. *kerki* 1; Az. *kärki, kerki* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *kerki* 1; MTurk. *kerki* (IM, AH) 1; Uygh. *kɛkɛ, kɛrke* (dial.) 1; Kirgh. *kerki* 1; Oyr. *kerki* 1; Tv. *keržek* 'adze'; Chuv. *karъ* 'chisel'.

◊ EDT 741, ЭСТЯ 5, 51-52 (> Russ. *кирка*).

PJpn. ***kìrí*** drill, awl (сверло, шило): OJpn. *kjiri*; MJpn. *kìrì*; Tok. *kíri*; Kyo. *kìrí*; Kag. *kíri*.

◊ JLTT 451. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 92, Ozawa 80-81. The stem may be connected to PT **kert-* (ЭСТЯ 5, 54, Stachowski 145), Mong. **kerči-* 'to cut' (> Evk. *kerči-* etc., TMC 1, 453, see Doerfer MT 110; the two words were compared in KW 228, Poppe 19, 51, 83, Menges 1982, and despite Щербак 1997, 127, Mong. *kerči-* is hardly borrowed < Turk.): we may be dealing with two derivatives (**kʲire-gV* vs. **kʲire-tʲV*). However, direct derivation PT **kerki* < **kert-ki* is hardly plausible, despite Menges 1944; it rather goes back to **kirge-ki*.

✱**kʲìri** dirt, dirty: Tung. ****(x)ir-***; Mong. ****kir***; Turk. ****kir***; Jpn. ****kìtà-nà-***.

PTung. ****(x)ir-*** dandruff (перхоть): Evn. *irit*.

◊ TMC 1, 327. Attested only in Evn., but with possible external parallels.

PMong. ****kir*** dirt (грязь): MMong. *kīr* (IM), *kir* (MA); WMong. *kir* (L 385), *kkir* (DO 415); Kh. *xir*; Bur. *xir(e)*; Kalm. *kir*; Dag. *hire* (MD 162).

◊ KW 232. Mong. > Evk. *kiri* etc., see Doerfer MT 73.

PTurk. ****kir*** dirt (грязь): OTurk. *kir* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kir* (MK, KB); Tur. *kir*; Gag. *kir*; Az. *kir*; Turkm. *kir*; MTurk. *kir* (Houts., Pav. C, AH);

Uzb. *kir*; Uygh. *kir*; Krm. *kir*; Tat. *ker*; Bashk. *ker*; Kirgh. *kir*; Kaz. *kir*; KKalp. *kir*; Kum. *kir*; Nogh. *kir*; Khak. *kər*; Oyr. *kir*; Tv. *xir*; Chuv. *kirək* 'dirt on body, dandruff'; Yak. *kir*; Dolg. *kir*.

◊ EDT 735, VEWT 271, ЭСТЯ 5, 69-70, Stachowski 148.

PJpn. ***kìtà-nà-*** dirty (грязный): OJpn. *kjita-na-*; MJpn. *kita-na-*; Tok. *kitaná-*; Kyo. *kítánà-*; Kag. *kitaná-*.

◊ JLTT 832.

‖ KW 232, АПиПЯЯ 73, Martin 230. Mong. may be < Turk. (cf. Щербак 1997, 127). Cf. also Turk. **Keŕ* 'bottom thief' (ЭСТЯ 5, 20), which Tekin (1979, 126) links with Mong. *kerčire* 'mud, silt': both may actually belong to the same Altaic root.

✱**kʿɜ̀ĭrka** to scrape, file: Tung. ***xigdi-***; Mong. ***kirga-***; Turk. ***Kɨrk-***; Jpn. ***kàk-***; Kor. ***kɨrk- / *kǎrk-***.

PTung. ***xigdi-*** to comb (чесать, причесывать): Evk. *igdi-*; Evn. *id-*; Neg. *igdi-*; Man. *iši-*; Jurch. *hir-di-xun* 'comb' (549); Ul. *sigdu-*; Ork. *sigdi-*; Nan. *sigǯi-*; Orch. *igdi-*; Sol. *idda-*.

◊ TMC 1, 296-297.

PMong. ***kirga-*** to shear, shave (стричь, брить): MMong. *kirqa-* (SH), *korɣa-* (IM), *qirɣa-* (MA); WMong. *kirɣa-* (L 471); Kh. *x́arga-*; Bur. *xirga-*; Kalm. *kirɣə-*; Ord. *kirGa-*; Mog. *qirɣa-* 'shave, scrape'; KT *qərɣa-* (23-5b); Dong. *Gəɣa-*; S.-Yugh. *χurGa-*; Mongr. *ćirGā-* (SM 457).

◊ KW 232, MGCD 354. Mong. > Evk. *kirga-* etc., see Poppe 1972, 103, Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 106, 134.

PTurk. ***Kɨrk-*** to shear, scrape (стричь, скрести): OTurk. *qɨrq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨrq-* (MK); Tur. *kɨrk-*; Gag. *qɨrq-*; Az. *Gɨrx-*; Turkm. *Gɨrq-*; Khal. *qɨrq-*; MTurk. *qɨrq-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɨrq-*; Uygh. *qi(r)q-*; Krm. *qɨrq-*; Tat. *qɨrq-*; Bashk. *qɨrq-*; Kirgh. *qɨrq-*; Kaz. *qɨrq-*; KKalp. *qɨrq-*; Kum. *qɨrq-*; Nogh. *qɨrq-*; SUygh. *qɨrq-*; Khak. *xɨrɨx-*; Oyr. *qɨrq-*, *qɨrqɨ-*; Tv. *qɨrɣɨ-*; Yak. *kɨrt-*.

◊ EDT 651, VEWT 266, ЭСТЯ 6, 236-237.

PJpn. ***kàk-*** to scratch, scrape (скрести, царапать): OJpn. *kak-*; MJpn. *kàk-*; Tok. *kák-*; Kyo. *kàk-*; Kag. *kàk-*.

◊ JLTT 702.

PKor. ***kɨrk- / *kǎrk-*** to shear, scrape (стричь, скрести): MKor. *kɨrk-*, *kǎrk-*; Mod. *kɨk-* [*kɨlk-*], *kak-* [*kalk-*].

◊ Nam 22, 74, KED 48, 249.

‖ KW 232, Poppe 20, 115, Martin 240, ОСНЯ 1, 354. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 139. The root tends to contaminate with **gi̯óro* q.v. The vowel reflex in Korean is somewhat unclear (**kark-* or **kərk-* would be expected), otherwise all evidence points to **kʿɜ̀ĭrga*. The relation of Manchu *xergen* 'line, scratch, notch' is not quite clear: the word is certainly borrowed (because of -rg-), but the

source is unknown; equally unclear is the isolated Manchu *qarqa-* 'scratch with chopsticks, scrape on the fiyoo instrument' (compared with Kor. by Lee 1958, 113); perhaps in both cases we are dealing with loanwords Manchu < Kor.(?)

✱**kʻĭrma (~ -u, -o)** snow, hoar-frost: Tung. ***xima-ŋsa***; Mong. ***kirmag***; Turk. ***Kɨr-***.

PTung. ***xima-ŋsa*** snow (снег): Evk. *imana*; Evn. *ɨmɪъnrъ*; Neg. *ɨmana*; Man. *nimaŋgi*; SMan. *nimaŋə* (2025); Jurch. *hima-ŋi* (17); Ul. *sɨmana, sɨmata*; Ork. *sɨmana, sɨmata*; Nan. *sɨmana, sɨmata*; Orch. *imasa*; Ud. *imaha*; Sol. *imanda*.

◊ See TMC 1, 312-313 (all languages reflect also various verbs derived from the root **xima-*). Cf. also Evn. *irpi* (< **xirpi*) 'snow' (folkl.) (TMC 1, 328).

PMong. ***kirmag*** first snow (первый снег): WMong. *kirmaγ* (L 470: *kirmaγ, kiramaγ*); Kh. *ɤarmag*; Bur. *ɤarmag, xirmag*; Kalm. *kirmъg*; Ord. *kirmaG* 'petite neige qui parvient à peine à couvrir le sol'; Dag. *kiarəmsən*.

◊ KW 232, MGCD 354. Turk. **kɨrpak* is probably a different root, see under **kʻare*.

PTurk. ***Kɨr-*** 1 hoar-frost 2 thin snow (1 иней 2 тонкий снег): OTurk. *qɨraγu* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨraɣu* 1 (MK); Tur. *kɨrayu* 1; Gag. *qrā* 1; Az. *Gɨrow* 1; Turkm. *Gɨraw* 1, *Gɨrpaq* 2; Khal. *qɨraw* 1; MTurk. *qɨraw* (Бор. Бад., Abush.), *qirau, qiraγu* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *qirɔw* 1; Uygh. *qija, qira, qiro* 1; Krm. *qɨraw, qoruw* 1; Tat. *qɨraw* 1, *qɨrpaq* 2; Bashk. *qɨraw* 1, *qɨrpaq* 2; Kirgh. *qɨrō* 1; Kaz. *qɨraw* 1, *qɨrpaq* 2; KBalk. *qrau* 1, *qɨrpaq* 2; KKalp. *qɨraw* 1; Kum. *qɨraw* 1, *qɨrpaq* 2; Nogh. *qɨraw* 1, *qɨrpaq* 2; Khak. *xro* 1, *xɨrbɨx* 2; Shr. *qɨrā* 1; Oyr. *quru* 1; Tv. *xɨrā* 1; Chuv. *xərbəx* 2; Yak. *kɨrɨa* 1, *kɨrpax, kɨrpaj* 2; Dolg. *kɨrɨa* 1.

◊ VEWT 265-266, 267, EDT 656, ЭСТЯ 6, 230-231, 241, Stachowski 169. Turk. > MMong. (HY) *kira'u*, WMong. *kiraγu*, Khalkha *ɤarū* 'hoar-frost' etc. (see Doerfer TMN 3, 569, Щербак 1997, 138, Clark 1977, 147, although the latter's derivation of **kiragu* < **kɨr* 'grey' is hardly acceptable). Cf. also PT **Kɨr-lač* 'the coldest time of winter' (see ЭСТЯ 6, 237-238).

‖ A Western isogloss. The etymology belongs to R. A. Miller (Miller 1985b) and O. Mudrak (Мудрак Дисс. 193) and presupposes a cluster simplification in PTM: **xima-* < **xirma*(= Mong. *kirma-G*).

✱**kʻírù** saddle: Mong. ***kira***; Turk. ***kürtün***; Jpn. ***kúrà***; Kor. ***kìrɨ́má***.

PMong. ***kira*** rim of saddle bow (край седельной луки): WMong. *kira* (L 470); Kh. *ɤar*.

◊ Cf. IM *korže* (=*kürže*) 'saddle bow'; the word is also glossed as 'shovel' which is a reflex of the Turkic loanword *kürže*; but the meaning 'saddle bow' is quite peculiar and may represent a different *lexeme*.

PTurk. ***kür-tün*** pack saddle (вьючное седло): Tur. *kürtün*; MTurk. *kürtün* (AH); Tat. *kürčen* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 311, Лексика 540.

PJpn. ***kúrà*** saddle (седло): OJpn. *kura*; MJpn. *kúrà*; Tok. *kurá*; Kyo. *kúrà*; Kag. *kurá*.

◊ JLTT 464. The accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ***kìrɨ́má*** saddle (седло): MKor. *kìrɨ́má*; Mod. *kilma*.

◊ Nam 78, Liu 113, KED 280.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term. In Turkic one has to suppose secondary labialization (**kürtün* < **kirtün*); otherwise correspondences are quite regular.

✱**kʻi̯ə̀bu** to peel, skin: Tung. ***xū(be)***; Mong. ***kaɣul-***; Turk. ***K(i)ab***; Kor. ***kjə[b]- / *kib-***.

PTung. ***xū(be)*** membrane scraper (скребок (*для* соскабливания мездры)): Evk. *ū*; Evn. *ǭ*; Neg. *ū*; Ul. *xūe*; Nan. *xue*; Ud. *ū*.

◊ TMC 2, 242.

PMong. ***kaɣul-*** to peel off, skin (сдирать шкуру, свежевать): MMong. *qaʻul-* (SH); WMong. *qaɣul-* (L 909); Kh. *xūla-*; Bur. *xūla-*; Kalm. *xūl-* (KPC); Ord. *xūl-*; Dag. *haule-* (MD 158); Mongr. *xu̯li-* 'peler, écorcher, écorcer' (SM 180).

◊ Mong. > Man. *qola-*, *qōla-* (Rozycki 142).

PTurk. ***K(i)ab*** 1 peeled skin 2 to peel 3 dandruff (1 содранная кожа 2 сдирать (кожу) 3 перхоть): Tur. *kav* 1, *kovak* 1, *kavla-* 2; Az. *GovaG* 3; Turkm. *Gov* 1; MTurk. *qav* 1 (AH) , *qavaq* 3 (CCum.); Uygh. *qavaq* 'shell' (dial.); Tat. *qawɨq* 3; Bashk. *qaw* 1, *qawaq* 3; Khak. *xāx* 3; Oyr. *qoq* (Верб.), *qāq* (dial.) 3.

◊ VEWT 214, EDT 578, ЭСТЯ 5, 160-161, 6, 7-8. This root should be distinguished from **Kāpuk* 'bark' (v. sub **kʻăpʻà*), although they are partially confused in VEWT 234-5. See also EDT 583.

PKor. ***kjə[b]- / *kib-*** 1 rice husks 2 bran (1 рисовая шелуха 2 отруби): MKor. *kjə́* 1, *kìʻúr* 2; Mod. *kjə* 1, *kiul* 2.

◊ Liu 53, 114, KED 111, 272.

‖ Владимирцов 209. One of several similar PA roots (see **kʻăpʻa*, **kʻepa*, **kèpʻi*, **gébo*).

✱**kʻi̯áčo** ends of bow, brace: Tung. ***xusu- / *xuse-***; Mong. ***kičir***; Turk. ***KAča-, *KAča-gu (?)***; Jpn. ***kasunkapi***; Kor. ***kòčái***.

PTung. ***xusu- / *xuse-*** 1 cross-bow 2 weapon (for throwing) 3 snare (1 самострел 2 оружие (*для* бросания: стрела, снаряд) 3 силки): Evk. *usē* 2; Evn. *us* 2; Neg. *use* 2; Man. *wesen* 3; Ul. *χosoli̯* 2; Nan. *χosoli̯* 1; Orch. *usuli* 2; Ud. *wuhende-* 'to throw (weapon)'.

◊ TMC 2, 292.

PMong. ***kičir*** ends of bow (концы лука): WMong. *kičir* (MXTTT); Kh. *xičir*; Ord. *gečir*.

PTurk. ***KAča-, *KAča-gu*** to chisel, chisel (долото, зубило, работать зубилом): Tat. *qazau* (Sib.); Bashk. *qasau*; Kaz. *qaša-*, *qašau*.

◊ VEWT 217.

PJpn. ***kasunkapi** brace, latch (скоба): OJpn. *kasugapji*; MJpn. *kasugafi*; Tok. *kasugai*.

◊ JLTT 442.

PKor. ***kòčái** ends of bow (концы лука): MKor. *kòčái*; Mod. *koǯa*.

◊ Nam 48, KED 148.

‖ The Turkic match is dubious (scantily represented and semantically difficult); all other languages match each other rather well.

***kʻi̯ə̆da** itching, pungent: Tung. ***xidar**; Jpn. ***kàjù-**; Kor. ***kə̌ráb-**.

PTung. ***xidar** bitter, acid, biting (горький, едкий): Evk. *idari-pču*; Evn. *i̯dъrsi̯*; Neg. *i̯dasi*; Man. *idarša-* 'to feel chest pain'; Ul. *si̯darsi̯*; Ork. *si̯dāru̯li̯*; Nan. *si̯darsi̯*.

◊ TMC 1, 297.

PJpn. ***kàjù-** itching (зудеть, зудящий): OJpn. *kaju-*; MJpn. *kàjù-*; Tok. *kayú-*; Kyo. *káyù-*; Kag. *kayú-*.

◊ JLTT 831.

PKor. ***kə̌ráb-** to itch (зудеть, чесаться): MKor. *kə̌ráp-*, *kərjap-*, *kərjəp-* (-w-); Mod. *karjəp-* (-w-).

◊ Liu 3, 4, KED 11

‖ Martin 234 (Kor.-Jpn.). An Eastern isogloss; cf. perhaps Khalkha *xad(an)* 'кислица, смородина высочайшая', 'цимбария даурская' (if not < Turk. **Kat-* 'berry').

***kʻi̯ə̆kʻe (~ -k-, -a)** dry: Tung. ***(x)igə̆a-**; Mong. ***kagda-**; Turk. ***KAk**.

PTung. ***(x)igə̆a-** 1 yellow 2 grey (1 желтый 2 серый): Evk. *igə̆a-ma*, -rin 1; Evn. *i̯ɣə̆aqa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 297.

PMong. ***kag-** 1 to become hard, dry 2 last year's grass (1 засыхать, затвердевать 2 прошлогодняя трава): WMong. *qayda* 2 (L 908); Kh. *xagd* 2, *xagsa-* 1; Bur. *xagda(n)* 2, *xagsa* 1; Kalm. *xaγsə-* 1, *xaγdə* 2 (KPC); Mongr. *xadarā-* 'être en lambeaux, être usé' (SM 147), *xaʒā-* 'être ou devenir sec, se dessécher' (SM 148).

◊ Mong. > Man. *xakda, xaksa-* etc., see Doerfer MT 116, Rozycki 99; > Yak. *xagdarɨj-*, Dolg. *kagdarɨj-* 'to become yellow (of leaves)' (Stachowski 132).

PTurk. ***KAk** dry (сухой): Karakh. *qaq* (MK); Tur. dial. *kak, kah*; Az. *Gax*; Turkm. *qaq*; MTurk. *qaq* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *qɔq*; Uygh. *qaq*; Tat. *qaq*; Bashk. *qaq*; Kirgh. *qaq*; Kaz. *qaq*; KKalp. *qaq*; Kum. *qaq*; Nogh. *qaq*; Oyr. *qaq*.

◊ VEWT 223, ЭСТЯ 5, 218-220, EDT 608.

‖ A Western isogloss. See KW 160, 176, Poppe 17, 58; TMN 3, 394 ("weder beweisbar noch widerlegbar"). Mong. is not from Turkic, despite Щербак 1997, 134.

***kʻi̯āla (~ -Í-)** hot, ashes: Tung. ***xial-**; Mong. ***kala-**.

PTung. ***xial-** 1 coal 2 black (1 уголь 2 черный): Evk. *êlla* 1; Evn. *ālrъ* 1; Neg. *ĉ̂la* 1; Man. *jačin* 2, *jaχa* 1; SMan. *jačiŋ* 2 (2427); Jurch. *hia-xa* (66) 1; Ul. *sêlta* 1; Ork. *sêlta* 1; Nan. *si̯alta* 1; Orch. *(i)jakta* 1; Ud. *jalaha* 1; Sol. *ilgẽ, ilči* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 289-290. Man. > Dag. *jāga* 'coal' (Тод. Дar. 146).

PMong. ***kala-** to heat (нагревать(ся)): MMong. *qala'un* 'hot, warm' (HY 6, SH), *qalaūn* id. (IM), *qalun* (LH); WMong. *qala-* (L 916); Kh. *xala-*; Bur. *xalā-* 1 (*xala-* 'обжигаться') *xalū(n)* 2; Kalm. *xalə-*; Ord. *xala-*; Mog. *qalɔn* 'warm' (Weiers); Dag. *xale-* 1 (MD 155) *xolō-*; *xalla-* 1, (Тод. Дar. 173) *xala-* 1, *xalōn* 2; Dong. *qalun* 'warm'; Bao. *χalGə-*, *χalə-*; *χoloŋ* 'warm'; S.-Yugh. *χalū-dGa-*, *χalū-ra-*; Mongr. *xala-* (SM 151); *xaloŋ* (SM 152) 'warm', *xarmaʒa-* < WMong. *qalamača-* 'ressentir une forte chaleur, avoir la fièvre' (SM 164).

◊ KW 162, MGCD 237, 318, 319. Mong. > Chag. *qala-*, Tel. *qala-* 'to make fire, kindle' (VEWT 224, ЭСТЯ 5, 228, Лексика 364); > Man. *xala-* etc. (Poppe 1966, 192, Doerfer MT 144).

‖ SKE 162, ОСНЯ 1, 333. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***kʻi̯ăli** tongue: Tung. ***xilŋü**; Mong. ***kele-**; Turk. ***kele-**; Kor. ***kǎró-**.

PTung. ***xilŋü** tongue (язык): Evk. *inńi*; Evn. *ienŋъ*; Neg. *ińŋi*; Man. *ileŋgu*; SMan. *ileŋə, ilŋi*; Jurch. *hileŋ-ŋu* (499); Ul. *sińu*; Ork. *sinu*; Nan. *śirmu, siŋmu*; Orch. *iŋi*; Ud. *iŋi*; Sol. *iŋi*.

◊ TMC 1, 316-317.

PMong. ***kele-** 1 to say 2 tongue, language (1 сказать, говорить 2 язык): MMong. *kele(n)*, (SH), *kelen* (HY 45) 2, *kele-* 1 (SH, HYt), *kele-* (IM), *kălă-*, *kilăn* 1 (MA); WMong. *kele-* 1, *kele* 2 (L 447); Kh. *xele-* 1, *xel* 2; Bur. *xele-* 1, *xele(n)* 2; Kalm. *kelə-* 1, *kelŋ* 2; Ord. *kele-* 1, *kele* 2; Mog. *kelä-* 1, (Weiers), *kelän* 2; ZM *kelä* (2-4b) 2; Dag. *xele-* 1, *xeli, xeĺ* 2 (Тод. Дar. 175), *hele-* 1, *heli* 2 (MD 159); Dong. *kielie-* 1, *kielien* 2; Bao. *kele-* 1, *kelaŋ* (MGCD *kalaŋ*) 2; S.-Yugh. *kelen* 2; Mongr. *kile-* 1, *kile* 2 (SM 203).

◊ KW 223, 224, MGCD 340. Mong. > Evk. *kele* etc., see Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 104.

PTurk. ***kele-** 1 to speak 2 talk, conversation (1 говорить 2 речь, слово): OTurk. *kele-čü* 2; Tur. dial. *keleži* 2; MTurk. *keleči* 2 (Houts.), *keleče* 2 (MA); Kirgh. *keleč-söz* 2; Chuv. *kala-* 1.

◊ VEWT 248, ЭСТЯ 5, 32-33, EDT 716 (Clauson considers the word to be a foreign loan which is dubious, see Clark 1977, 136-138). It is also worth mentioning Tur. *kelime*, Az. *kälmä* 'word', Turkm. *keleme* 'sacred words of Qur'an pronounced for protection' - usually regarded as Arabisms, but with some peculiarities (front vocalism, final -e) that could actually indicate Turkic origin, with a secondary merger with the Arabic loan.

PKor. ***kǎró-** to say (a defective verb) (говорить (глагол, вводящий прямую речь)): MKor. *kǎrótǎi*; Mod. *kalodwe*.

◊ Nam 11, KED 12.

‖ EAS 47, KW 223, ОСНЯ 1, 346, TMN 1, 471-472 ("altes indoeur. Lw." - ?), АПиПЯЯ 57-58, 292. Despite the latter source, Kor. *hjə́* 'tongue' is to be separated - see a discussion in Miller 1998, who has (following Shiratori), instead compared Kor. *kăro-* (but, quite unjustly, separated PTM **xilŋü*). The Korean reflex remains, however, questionable, since the word can also - following Martin 1996, 75 - be compared with Jpn. **kátár-* 'tell', and thus derived from **kʻĕro* q.v.

✱**kʻi̯aĺu (~ *kʻi̯oĺa)** dirt, unpleasant odour: Tung. ***xola-**; Mong. ***kuluŋ-**; Turk. ***KAĺan**.

PTung. ***xola-** 1 dirt 2 to sully (1 грязь 2 пачкать): Man. *χojla-* 2; Ul. *xolo-* 2; Ork. *χoloqto* 1; Nan. *χolo-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 470.

PMong. ***kuluŋ-** unpleasant odour from the armpits (неприятный запах под мышками): MMong. *qulanqsa* (MA 301); WMong. *quluŋ-su* (L 985); Kh. *xulans*; Kalm. *xoləŋsə*; Ord. *xuluŋsu, xuluŋsa*.

◊ KW 183. Mong. > Oyr. *qoloŋzo*, Chag. *qolansa*, Yak. *xoloŋso*, Man. *qolaŋsu* (see ibid. and TMC 1, 408, ЭСТЯ 6, 49-50, Rozycki 142).

PTurk. ***KAĺan** 1 urine 2 to urinate (of a horse) (1 моча 2 мочиться (о лошади)): Karakh. *qašan-* 2; Tur. *kašan* 1, *kašan-* 2; Az. *Gašan-* 2; MTurk. *qašın-* (Houts.); Nogh. *qasan-* 2.

◊ EDT 674, ЭСТЯ 5, 348.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kʻi̯ā́no** blood; blood vessel: Tung. ***xuŋī-kta**; Turk. ***Kiān**.

PTung. ***xuŋī-kta** blood vessel (кровеносный сосуд): Evk. *uŋīkta*; Evn. *u̯ŋtъ*; Neg. *oŋtā, oŋikta*; Ul. *χoŋGi̯qta*; Ork. *χu̯mu̯qta*; Nan. *χoŋgi̯qta*; Ud. *umakta, umukta*.

◊ The original stem is preserved in Evk. dial. *uŋi-* 'to bleed, flow (of blood)'. See TMC 2, 278.

PTurk. ***Kiān** blood (кровь): OTurk. *qan* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qan* (MK); Tur. *kan*; Gag. *qan*; Az. *Gan*; Turkm. *Gān*; Sal. *Ga(:)n*; Khal. *qān*; MTurk. *qan* (MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɔn*; Uygh. *qan*; Krm. *qan*; Tat. *qan*; Bashk. *qan*; Kirgh. *qan*; Kaz. *qan*; KBalk. *qan*; KKalp. *qan*; Kum. *qan*; Nogh. *qan*; SUygh. *qan*; Khak. *xan*; Shr. *qan*; Oyr. *qan*; Tv. *xan*; Tof. *xan*; Chuv. *jon*; Yak. *xān*; Dolg. *kān*.

◊ VEWT 230, TMN 3, 360-361, EDT 629-630, ЭСТЯ 5, 251, Егоров 349, Федотов 2, 486, Stachowski 142. Turk. > WMong. *qana-* 'to let bleed' (KW 166, TMN 3, 361, Щербак 1997, 133).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. The comparison seems quite likely, although the nature of the medial nasal is not quite clear (in TM one has perhaps to suppose a secondary assimilation to two neighbouring velars, or else an original velar suffix **kʻi̯ōn(i)-gV*).

***kʻi̯ă̂pʻa** a k. of young ungulate: Tung. ***xiap-**; Mong. ***kab- / *kobu-**; Turk. ***KĀpan**.

PTung. ***xiap-** 1 deer calf 2 deer herd (1 теленок (олень 1-2 лет) 2 стадо оленей): Evk. *ə̂vkān* 1; Evn. *ăvqan* 1, *ăvta* 2; Neg. *ə̂vkān* 1; Ork. *sə̂po, sə̂pu̯a* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 288 (Orok *javata* < Evn.).

PMong. ***kab- / *kobu-** 1 wild camel 2 2-year-old boar 3 young animals born after the regular season (1 дикий верблюд 2 двухлетний кабан 3 поздние детеныши животных): WMong. *qobu-su(n)* 2 (L 950), *qabčig* 3 (L 896); Kh. *xavtgaj* 1, *xovs* 2, *xavčig* 3; Bur. *xobho(n)* dial. 'young of wild swine'; Kalm. *xawtəxa* 1 (KPC).

PTurk. ***KĀpan** boar (кабан): Tur. dial. *kaban*; Az. *Gaban*; Turkm. *Gaban*; MTurk. *qaban* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *qɔbɔn*; Uygh. *qavan*; Tat. *qaban*; Bashk. *qaban*; Kirgh. *qaman*; Kaz. *qaban*; KBalk. *qaban*; KKalp. *qaban*; Kum. *qaban*; Nogh. *qaban*; Oyr. *qaman*; Tv. *xavan*.

◊ VEWT 216, ЭСТЯ 5, 164, Лексика 156.

‖ Лексика 156. A Western isogloss.

***kʻi̯àpʻe** a k. of insect, butterfly: Mong. ***kibe**; Turk. ***kepelek**; Jpn. ***kə̀pə̀rə́nkí (~-ua-)**.

PMong. ***kibe** moth (моль): Kh. *xiv*; Bur. *kiben*.

PTurk. ***kepelek** butterfly (бабочка): Karakh. *kepeli* (MK), *kebelek* (Tefs.), *kelebek* (IM); Tur. *kelebek*; *köpelek, kepenek* (dial.); Gag. *kelebek*; Az. *käpänäk*; Turkm. *kebelek, kepelek* (dial.); MTurk. *köpelek* (Abush.); Uzb. *kapalak*; Uygh. *kepilɛk*; Krm. *ḱebelak*; Tat. *kübɛlɛk*; Bashk. *kübäläk*; Kirgh. *köpölök*; KBalk. *göbelekke*; KKalp. *göbelek*; Kum. *gümelek*; Nogh. *küpelek*; Khak. *xobanax, xubanax*; Shr. *xopax*; Oyr. *köbölök*; Tv. *xovaγan*.

◊ VEWT 291, EDT 689, ЭСТЯ 5, 13-15, Лексика 187.

PJpn. ***kə̀pə̀rə́nkí (~-ua-)** cricket (сверчок): OJpn. *k(w)op(w)or(w)og(j)i*; MJpn. *kòfórógí*; Tok. *kő́rogi*; Kyo. *kốròɡì*; Kag. *kōrogí*.

◊ JLTT 457.

‖ Лексика 187. Cf. also names of 'bat': OJ *kapapori*, Evn. *kə̂wə̂č* (TMC 1, 386). An expressive and not quite regular root.

***kʻi̯ắrà** elbow, shoulder bone, cubit: Tung. ***(x)iarū-n**; Mong. ***kari**; Turk. ***K(i)arɨ́**; Jpn. ***kárà**.

PTung. ***(x)iarū-n** 1 shoulder bone 2 cubit, measure of length 3 ridge of deer's shoulder bone (1 кость предплечья 2 локоть, мера длины 3 гребень лопатки оленя): Evk. *ə̂rūn* 1, 2; Evn. *ărn̥* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 291.

PMong. ***kari** 1 shoulder or hip bone 2 arm 3 cubit (1 плечевая или бедренная кость 2 рука 3 локоть (мера длины)): MMong. *qari* (IM) 2, (Lig. VMI) 3; WMong. *qaritu* 1 (MXTTT); Kh. *xaŕt* 1; Bur. *xari, xarti, xaŕta* 1; Mog. *qar*, ZM *qāri* 2.

◊ The word is usually considered to be borrowed < Turk. **Kari* (see e.g. ЭСТЯ 5, 283, Дыбо 164), and the form attested in IM may probably be so; but the other forms may well be genuine. Cf. also MMong. (MA) *qars delet-* 'to clap hands' (> Chag. *qars).*

PTurk. ***K(i)arɨ́** span (пядь): Karakh. *qariš* (MK); Tur. *kariš*; Gag. *qariš*; Az. *Gariš*; Turkm. *Gariš*; MTurk. *qariš* (Pav. C., Houts., AH, IM), Uzb. *qɛriš*; Uygh. *ɣerič*, dial. *ɣeriš*; Tat. *qariš*; Bashk. *qariš*; Kirgh. *qariš*; Kaz. *qarıs*; KBalk. *qariš*; KKalp. *qarıs*; Kum. *qariš*; Nogh. *qarıs*; Khak. *xarıs*; Oyr. *qarɨš*; Tv. *qarɨš*; Tof. *xarɨš*; Yak. *xarıs*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 324-326, EDT 663. External evidence suggests that the original meaning was 'elbow, cubit' [in fact attested for *qariš* in Chag. (Abushka), but some argue that this is just a script error], with the opposition **K(i)arɨ* 'large measure (cubit) : **K(i)arɨ́* 'small measure (span)'. But the former completely merged later with the reflexes of **Kari* 'arm' (v. sub **gàrá).*

PJpn. ***kárà** handle, counter for handles and long thin objects (рукоять, счетное слово для рукояток и длинных тонких предметов): OJpn. *kara*; MJpn. *kárà*.

◊ JLTT 438.

‖ In Turkic the root is rather hard to distinguish from **Kari* < **gara* 'arm', but the distinction still seems to be necessary. In **K(i)arɨ́* the expected long vowel (reconstructed because of *-ia- in TM after a fricative and high tone in Jpn.) was shortened probably under the influence of **Kari*.

***kʻi̯ā̆ra (~ -i̯ō-)** thin snow, hoar-frost: Mong. ***karig**; Turk. ***Kiār-**.

PMong. ***karig** strong cold (сильный мороз): WMong. *qariɣ*; Kalm. *xäŕəg*.

◊ KW 177. Cf. perhaps also WMong. *qaraža, qaražɨ*, Khalkha *xarʒ* 'полынья, unfrozen patch of water in a frozen river' (> Khak. *xaralʒɨ* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 298).

PTurk. ***Kiār** snow (снег): OTurk. *qar* (Orkh., Yenis., OUygh.); Karakh. *qar* (MK, KB); Tur. *kar*; Gag. *qār*; Az. *Gar*; Turkm. *Gār*; MTurk. *qar* (Sangl., Qutb., Houts.); Uzb. *qɔr*; Uygh. *qar, qaa*; Tat. *qar*; Bashk. *qar*; Kirgh. *qar*; Kaz. *qar*; KBalk. *qar*; KKalp. *qar*; Kum. *qar*; Nogh. *qar*; Khak. *xar*; Shr. *qar*; Oyr. *qar*; Tv. *xar*; Tof. *xar*; Chuv. *jor*; Yak. *xār*; Dolg. *kār*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 284-285, EDT 641, VEWT 235, Егоров 350, Федотов 2, 490, Лексика 27, Stachowski 142.

‖ The root is not widely represented (a Turk.-Mong. isogloss), but it seems reasonable to distinguish it from **kʻĭrma* q.v.

***kʻi̯ā̆re** a k. of insect: Tung. ***xīrükte**; Mong. ***kürid**; Turk. ***K(i)arɨnč-ɣa**; Jpn. ***kìrì(n)kíri-su**; Kor. ***kə̀r-kə̀mɨ́i**.

PTung. ***xīrü-kte** ant (муравей): Evk. *īrikte*; Evn. *hīrit*; Neg. *īkte*; Man. *jerxuwe*; SMan. *jurə imahə* (2268); Ul. *sinono*; Ork. *sirukte*; Nan. *silukte* (contaminated with **silV-* 'ant'); Orch. *īkte*; Ud. *ikte*.

◊ TMC 1, 327. Evk. > Dolg. *hirikte* (see Stachowski 105).

PMong. ***kürid*** moth larva (личинка моли): WMong. *kürid* (L 505); Kh. *xürd*; Ord. *kürit*; S.-Yugh. *kureg*.

◊ MGCD 302.

PTurk. ***K(i)arɨnč-ɣa*** 1 ant 2 tick (1 муравей 2 клещ): Karakh. *qarɨnčaq* (MK: Oghuz) 1; Tur. *karɨnža* 1; Gag. *qarɨmžɛ* 1; Az. *Garɨšɣa* 1; Turkm. *Garɨnža* 2; MTurk. *qarɨnčɣa* (Sangl., Qutb.), *qarɨnča* (Houts.) 1; Khak. *xarčɨx* 2.

◊ EDT 662, VEWT 238, ЭСТЯ 5, 323, Лексика 184. Turk. > Kalm. *xačig* (KW 173) 'irgendeine Made in der Nase des Kamels' (or is it rather < Turk. *qatqič?)*.

PJpn. ***kìrì(n)kíri-su*** grasshopper (кузнечик): MJpn. *kirigirisu*; Tok. *kirigírisu*; Kyo. *kìrìgírìsu*; Kag. *kirigirisú*.

◊ JLTT 451.

PKor. ***kə̀r-kə̀mɨ́i*** a k. of spider (вид паука): MKor. *kə̀r-kə̀mɨ́i*; Mod. *kalgəmi*.

◊ Nam 20, KED 43.

‖ An expressive root, often reduplicated and with not quite regular correspondences, esp. in the Kor.-Jpn. area. Cf. also **kʻi̯ó́ro* (with possible contaminations).

kʻi̯ə́ŕme** fat: Tung. ***ximū-ŋkse; Mong. ***karbin***; Turk. ***Kiaŕi***; Jpn. ***kuama***; Kor. ***kìrɨ́m***.

PTung. ***ximū-ŋkse*** fat (жир, сало, масло): Evk. *imūkse*; Evn. *imrъn, imdъn*; Neg. *imukse*; Man. *imeŋgi*; Jurch. *ji-miuŋ-ŋu* (526); Ul. *simse*; Ork. *simure*; Nan. *śimukse*; Orch. *imukse*; Ud. *imoho*; Sol. *imukče, imučče*.

◊ TMC 1, 313-314. Formally - derived from PTM **ximū-* 'to smear (with fat); to melt'.

PMong. ***karbin*** 1 inner fat 2 placenta (1 брюшной жир 2 плацента): MMong. *qarbi-su* 2 (SH); WMong. *qarbin* 1; *qarbi-su(n)* 2 (L 935); Kh. *xarvin* 1; Bur. dial. *arβъŋ* 1; Kalm. *xärwn, ärwn*. 1; Ord. *xarwiŋ* 'inner fat; groin'.

◊ KW 178. Mong. > Yak. *xarbɨhɨn*, Dolg. *karbuhun*, see Kał. MEJ 82, Stachowski 139. Bur. > Russ. Siber. *arbin* (Аникин 94).

PTurk. ***Kiaŕi*** inner fat (брюшной жир): Karakh. *qazɨ* (MK); Uzb. *qɛzi*; Uygh. *qezi*; Tat. dial. *qazɨ*; Bashk. *qaδɨ*; Kirgh. *qazɨ*; Kaz. *qazɨ*; KKalp. *qazɨ*; Nogh. *qazɨ*; Khak. *xazɨ*; Oyr. *qazɨ*; Tv. *qazɨ*; Tof. *qazɨ*; Chuv. *jor-var* 'скоромная пища'; Yak. *qaha*.

◊ VEWT 243, ЭСТЯ 5, 189-190, Мудрак Дисс. 193-194, TMN 3, 359, EDT 681, Федотов 2, 491.

PJpn. ***kuama*** fat, greasy (жирный): OJpn. *kwoma*.

PKor. ***kìrɨ́m*** fat (жир): MKor. *kìrɨ́m*; Mod. *kirɨm*.

◊ Nam 78, KED 265.

‖ KW 178, Poppe 17, 96 (Turk.-Mong.; but it should be noted that the TM forms (Evk. *kalbiŋ* etc., see TMC 1, 365) < Mong. (cf. Doerfer MT 100), while the Kor. *kalbi* 'rib' does not belong here at all (see under **kera*), АПиПЯЯ 296, Дыбо 6, Мудрак Дисс. 193. In OJ *koma* (< **kəma*)

would be expected; the diphthong (OJ *kwoma*) is perhaps due to the influence of the medial cluster.

***k'i̯ŏba(kV) (~*k'i̯ăbu(kV))** bladder, scrotum: Tung. ***xubgu**; Mong. ***kuwkan**; Turk. ***KAbuk**.

PTung. ***xubgu** vein, artery (кровеносный сосуд, артерия): Evk. *uɣ*; Evn. *uɣ*; Neg. *ubgu*; Ork. *χobGoli̯*; Sol. *ōg* 'heart'.

◊ TMC 2, 243. The same word may be reflected in Ul. *χoal(i̯)*, Nan. *χoal* 'bobber' = Orok *χobGoli̯* (see TMC 1, 442); semantically the word was probably influenced by a merger with **kiaba-* (v. sub **ki̯opu*).

PMong. ***kuwka** scrotum (мошонка): WMong. *quwqa*, -naɣ, *qaɣunaɣ* (L 910); Kh. *xūx*, *xūxnag*; Bur. *xūxanag*; Kalm. ? *xūx* 'thick skin' (KPC).

PTurk. ***KAbuk** bladder (мочевой пузырь): OTurk. *qavuq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qavuq* (MK); Tur. *kavuk*; Gag. *qawuq*; Az. *GovuG*; Turkm. *Govuq*; MTurk. *qavuq* (AH, MA); Tat. *quwi̯q*; Bashk. *qi̯wi̯q*; Kaz. *quwi̯q*; KBalk. *quwuq*; Nogh. *quwi̯q*; Khak. *xōx*; Shr. *qōq*; Oyr. *kūk*; Yak. *xabax*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 174, EDT 583.

‖ Poppe 1974, 132 (Turk.-Mong.). A Western isogloss.

***k'i̯óbarV (~ -i̯u-)** dry: Tung. ***(x)ur-**; Mong. ***kawra-**; Turk. ***Kūri-k,-gak**; Jpn. ***káwá(ra)-k-**; Kor. ***kobār-**.

PTung. ***(x)ur-** to dry (meat) (вялить (мясо)): Evk. *urgan-* 1; Man. *učа-laχa jali* 'dried meat'.

◊ TMC 2, 283. Man. *učа-* < **xurga-* (but may also reflect another root: cf. Nan. *učikte* 'dried meat'?).

PMong. ***kawra-** dry (сухой): WMong. *qaɣurai*, *quɣurai* (L 910), *qawraj* (MXTT); Kh. *xūraj*; Bur. *xūraj*; Kalm. *xūrā*; Ord. *xūrā*; Dag. *xuārī* (MGCD *xuare*); S.-Yugh. *xūrā-* (MGCD *χūʁa-*); Mongr. *xō-* 'devenir sec, tarir' (SM 168).

◊ Cf. also **ku(w)ar-* > **ku(w)a-* in MMong. *qoṣon* 'dryness' (ИМ); *qusun*, *quasun* (MA); Dag. *xua-*, S.-Yugh. *χū-*, Dong. *Go-*, *qosu-*, Bao. *χo-*. KW 204, 317, MGCD 335. Mong. > Tat. *qawrai* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 171-172).

PTurk. ***Kūri-k,-gak** 1 dry 2 dry (crumbs, bread) (1 сухой 2 черствый): OTurk. *quri-* 'to dry' (OUygh.); Karakh. *quruɣ*, *qur* 1 (MK); Tur. *kuru* 1; Gag. *quru* 1; Az. *Guru* 1; Turkm. *Gūri* 1; Sal. *Guru*, *Guri* 1; Khal. *qurru-* 'to dry'; MTurk. *quri-* 'to dry' (MA); Uzb. *quruq* 1; Uygh. *quruq*, *quryaq* 1; Krm. *quru* 1; Tat. *qori* 1; Bashk. *qoro* 1; Kirgh. *quryaq* 1; Kaz. *qurɣaq* 1; KBalk. *quru* 1; KKalp. *quryaq* 1; Kum. *quru-* 'to dry'; Nogh. *quri*, *qurlaj* 1; SUygh. *quruɣ*, *quruq* 2; Khak. *xuruɣ* 1; Shr. *quru-* 'to dry' (R.); Oyr. *quru-* 'to dry'; Tv. *quryaɣ* 1; Tof. *quryaɣ* 1; Chuv. *хъʷrъʷk* 2; Yak. *kurānaq* 1; Dolg. *kurānak* 1.

◊ Derived from PT **Kūr(i̯)-* 'to dry up'. See VEWT 302, 303; EDT 652-3, 646, 658, ЭСТЯ 6, 154-155, Stachowski 162, 163. Turk. *qūrut* 'dry cheese' > Mong. *qurud* > Manchu *kuru* etc., see Doerfer MT 131; Turk. > Hung. *kóró* 'dry stalk', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kàwà(ra)-k-*** dry, to dry up (сохнуть): OJpn. *kawak-*; MJpn. *kawak-* (RJ *kàfàk-*); Tok. *kawák-*; Kyo. *káwák-*; Kag. *kòrak-*.

◊ JLTT 706.

PKor. ***kobār-*** be high, strong (of fire) (быть сильным, горячим (об огне)): Mod. *kwāl-*.

◊ KED 183.

‖ Ozawa 197, KW 204; АПиПЯЯ 19, 50-51, 70, 102, 274; SKE 133, Цинциус 1984. Here, as in some other cases, Turkic length apparently goes back to a contraction.

✱**kʻi̯ŏbe** touchwood, tree fungus: Tung. ***xub(u)te***; Mong. ***köbdü***; Turk. ***Kiab***; Jpn. ***kua***.

PTung. ***xub(u)te*** 1 touchwood 2 rotten, to rot (1 гнилушка, труха 2 гнить, гнилой): Evk. *upte* 2; Evn. *ut-* 2; Neg. *ukte* 1, *ukte-*; Man. *ibte*, *ibete* 1; Ul. *xute* 1; Ork. *xūte* 1; Nan. *xūte* 1; Orch. *ūte* 1; Ud. *ute* 1; Sol. *ūtelde* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 281.

PMong. ***köb-*** moss (мох): WMong. *köbdü*; (L 476) *köbke*; Kh. *xövd*; Bur. *xübxe(n)*.

◊ Mong. > Yak. *köppöx*, Dolg. *köppök* 'moss' (Stachowski 156).

PTurk. ***Kiab*** tree fungus; dry grass (древесный гриб; сухая трава): OTurk. *qavaγu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qav* (MK); Tur. *kav*; Az. *Gow*; Turkm. *Gov*; MTurk. *qov* (Ettuhf.), *qav* (AH, Houts.); Uzb. *qɔw*; Tat. *qaw*, dial. *qu*; Bashk. *qiw*; Kirgh. *qū*; Kaz. *quw*; Kum. *quw*; Nogh. *quw*; Khak. *xabo*; Shr. *qabā*; Oyr. *qū*; Tv. *xaγ*; Chuv. Cf. *jülege* 'ряска', *jüźə* 'болото (т.е. нечто с ряской')'; Yak. *kɨa*.

◊ EDT 579, 584, TMN 3, 532-533, ЭСТЯ 5, 169-170, 6, 8-9.

PJpn. ***kua*** mushroom (гриб): Tok. *kino-ko*.

◊ JLTT 450. The word is usually analysed as "tree child"; this is obviously a folk etymology, in view of the external evidence.

‖ PTM and PM reflect a common derivative **kʻi̯ŏbe-tV*.

✱**kʻi̯oča (~ *kʻi̯ačo)** milt, roe: Tung. ***xusakta***; Jpn. ***ka(n)su***; Kor. ***koči***.

PTung. ***xusa-kta*** milt, roe (молоки): Evk. *uhakta* (dial.); Neg. *ōsakta*; Man. *usata*; Ul. *χosaqta*; Nan. *χosaqta*; Ud. *wahakta* (Корм. 218), *wajakta*.

◊ TMC 2, 295.

PJpn. ***ka(n)su*** dried herring roe (сушеные молоки сельди): Tok. *kazu-no-ko*.

PKor. ***koči*** milt, roe (молоки минтая): Mod. *kǒji*.

‖ An Eastern isogloss (with a somewhat unexpected voicing in Jpn. *kazu-*).

✱**kʻi̯oge** poles in a frame: Tung. ***xuge***; Mong. ***keɣe-sün***; Turk. ***kegej***.

PTung. ***xuge*** 1 frame, poles round the hearth 2 board on edge of bed 3 first lower log in house, threshold (1 жерди, рама очага 2 доска на краю нар 3 бревно (в срубе, первое снизу), порог): Evk. *uγe* 3;

Evn. *ū* 1; Neg. *uγe* 2; Ul. *xue* 2; Ork. *xue, xuwe* 1; Nan. *xue* 2; Ud. *wė, ue* (Корм. 219), *we, ue* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 247.

PMong. ***keγe-sün*** wheel spoke (спица колеса): MMong. *kekesun* (SH, HY 18); WMong. *kegesü(n)* (L 443); Kh. *xēs, xegēs, xigēs*; Bur. *xīgaha(n), xīgadaha(n)*; Kalm. *kīγəs* (KPC); Dag. *hejgese* (MD 159).

◊ Mong. > Uygh. *kügüsün, gögüsün.*

PTurk. ***kegej*** spoke (спица колеса): Turkm. *kegej, keje, kije* (dial.); MTurk. *kegäj* (Vam.); Uzb. *kegäj*; Uygh. *gügä*; Tat. *kigi*; Kirgh. *kegej* (dial.); Kaz. *kegej*; KBalk. *kegej*; KKalp. *kegej*; Kum. *gegej*; Nogh. *kegej*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 17.

‖ A Western isogloss. Despite Clauson 1965, 165, the Turkic word is not easily explained as a borrowing < Mong.

kʻi̯ójŋo** cold: Tung. ***xiŋŭ-; Mong. ***köji-ten***; Turk. ***Kujaŋ***; Jpn. ***kəju-***; Kor. ***kjə̀ńɨr***.

PTung. ***xiŋŭ-*** 1 cold 2 to freeze (1 холодный 2 замерзать): Evk. *iŋinipču* 1; Evn. *iŋuńsi* 1; Neg. *iŋinigdi* 1; Ul. *siŋgun-* 2; Ork. *siŋgū-* 2; Nan. *sīŋgu-* 2; Orch. *iŋeńi* 1; Ud. *iŋinihi* 1; Sol. *inigigdi*.

◊ TMC 1, 321.

PMong. ***köji-ten*** cold (холодный): MMong. *kojiten* (HY 5), *kojiten* (SH), *kuitän* (MA); WMong. *köiten* (L 498: *küiten, küitün*); Kh. *xüjten*; Bur. *xüjten*; Kalm. *kītn̦*; Ord. ***kŭ***, *kŭtö*, *kŭton*, *küjten*; Dag. *kuiten* (Тод. Дar.151, MD 185), *xuiten* (Тод. Дar. 151), *kuitun*; Dong. *kuičien*; Bao. *kitaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *kŭten*; Mongr. *kwīden* (SM 210), *kuiden*.

◊ KW 234, MGCD 397.

PTurk. ***Kujaŋ*** rheumatism (ревматизм): MTurk. *qujaŋ* (Babur); Uzb. *qujǫnčiq* 'epilepsy'; Uygh. *qujaŋ* (R); Kirgh. *qujaŋ* 'sciatica'; KKalp. *qujaŋ*; Khak. *xujaŋ* 'scary (of a horse)'; Tv. *qujaŋ*.

◊ TMN 3, 562. Turk. > Mong. *qujaŋ*, Khalkha *xujaŋ*, Kalm. *xujn̦*, Bur. *xujaŋ* 'rheumatism' > Man. *xujan* (TMC 1, 475).

PJpn. ***kəju-*** to freeze (замерзать): OJpn. *k(w)oju-*.

◊ JLTT 711.

PKor. ***kjə̀ńɨr*** winter (зима): MKor. *kjə̀ńɨr, kjə̀ńə̆r, kjə'ər*; Mod. *kjəul*.

◊ Nam 42, KED 112.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 53-54, 290; Ozawa 82-84. The cluster *-jŋ- explains the somewhat irregular behaviour of -ŋ-. The meaning 'rheumatism' in Turkic is a usual development < *'cold'.

kʻi̯ôkʻò** spine, skeleton: Tung. ***xīKeri; Mong. ***kokima-***; Jpn. ***kakurai***.

PTung. ***xīKeri*** 1 spine, spine marrow 2 bone (1 позвоночник, спинной мозг 2 кость): Evk. *ikēri* 1; Evn. *ikъri* 2; Neg. *īxej* 2; Man. *ikursun* 1; Ul. *sieri* 1; Ork. *sēri* 1; Orch. *ikei* 1; Ud. *ixe* 'кожа, пленка (темно-

го цвета вдоль хребта рыбы); боковина рыбьей тушки с хребтом и хвостом' (Корм. 240).

◊ TMC 1, 302.

PMong. ***kokima-** 1 skeleton 2 skull (1 скелет 2 череп): MMong. *qokimai* 'an epithet to teri'un 'head'' (SH); WMong. *qokima-* (L 956: *qokimai* 'masks and costumes representing skeletons used in the cam dance'); Kh. *xoximoj tolgoj* 2, *xoximoj jas* 1; Bur. *xoximoj* 2 (Khorin), 1 (Tunk.); Kalm. *xokəman* 2; Ord. *Goχimõ* 2.

◊ KW 182.

PJpn. ***kakurai** соссух, buttocks (копчик, зад): OJpn. *kakure*.

‖ Cf. also Tuva *xokpa* 'соссух'.

***kʻi̯ome** marrow: Tung. ***xumā-n,-kin, *xum-nu**; Mong. ***kemi**; Turk. ***kEmük**.

PTung. ***xumā-n,-kin, *xum-nu** 1 marrow 2 metatarsus (1 костный мозг 2 стопа, плюсна): Evk. *umān, umākin* 1; Evn. *u̯mъn* 1, *ũ̯ntъ* 2; Neg. *oman* 1, *ontu̯* 2; Man. *umGan, umχan* 1, *umuxun* 2; SMan. *umaŋan* (332) 1; Ul. *xoma(n)* / *xu̯ma(n)* 1; Ork. *xu̯ma(n)* 1, *xūmnū* 2; Nan. *xomā* 1; Orch. *uma(n)* 1, *umnu* 2; Ud. *uma(n)* 1; Sol. *ũ̯mā* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 266-7, 274.

PMong. ***kemi** marrow, bone with marrow (костный мозг, мозговая кость): WMong. *kemi* (L 451); Kh. *xim*; Kalm. *kemə*; Ord. *keme*.

◊ KW 224. Cf. also WMong. *kemtege* 'bones near the hoofs of a horse' (L 452).

PTurk. ***kEmük** 1 bone 2 spongy bone 3 cartilage (1 кость 2 губчатая кость 3 хрящ): Tur. *kemik* 1; Gag. *kemik* 1; MTurk. *kemük* (MA) 3, *kömük* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *kɔmik, gɛmik* (dial.) 2; Krm. *kemik* 1; Tat. *kimek* 2; Bashk. *kimek* 2; Kirgh. *kemik* 2; Kaz. *kemik* 2; KBalk. *gemik* 2; KKalp. *kemik* 2; Kum. *gemik* 3; Nogh. *kemik* 2; Oyr. *kēmik* 3.

◊ VEWT 251, EDT 722, ЭСТЯ 5, 36-38, *Лексика* 261-262. Turk. > Mong. *kemik* 'cartilage' (see Щербак 1997, 126; but the derivation of the Turk. form from **gemür-* 'to gnaw' (v. sub **kèma*) is a folk etymology, although some contaminations were possible: Yak. *kömürüö* 'spongy bone' semantically continues **kemük*, but formally is derived from **gemür-*. MK has *kemdi-* 'to cut meat from the bones' and *kemdük* 'bone with meat cut off' - forms that may be related both to **kemük* and **gemür-*.

‖ The Turk.-Mong. comparison see in VEWT 251 (but Manchu *kemin* is undoubtedly < Mong., see Rozycki 137). АПиПЯЯ 281, *Дыбо* 315, 262, *Лексика* 262. On a possible Jpn. reflex see under **kʻèpʻoŕV*.

***kʻi̯ǿme** to throw (upside down): Tung. ***xumu-**; Mong. ***kömeri-**; Turk. ***Kām-**.

PTung. ***xumu-** upside down (ничком, вверх дном): Evk. *umuskī*; Evn. *umuskī*; Neg. *umne-pkī*; Man. *umusixun*; Ul. *xumesi*; Ork. *xumusei*; Nan. *xumesi*; Orch. *umse-*.

◊ TMC 2, 272. Tungus forms with **k-* (see TMC 1, 431) may be borrowed from Mongolian (cf. Kalm. *kömtr-*) or influenced by Mongolian forms, see Doerfer MT 74.

PMong. ***kömeri-** to fall, turn upside down (переворачивать(ся) вверх дном): WMong. *kömeri-, kömüri-* (L 487); Kh. *xömrö-*; Bur. *xümeri-*; Kalm. *kömṛ-* (KPC); Ord. *kömör-*; Dag. *kumrē-bəi-*, (Тод. Дат. 151) *kumuri-*; Dong. *komoru-*; S.-Yugh. *kömör-*; Mongr. *komori-* (SM 213), *kumorə-*.

◊ MGCD 373. Mong. > Kirgh. *kömör-* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 5, 101-102).

PTurk. ***Kām-** 1 to throw, strike down 2 to move, walk (1 кидать 2 двигаться, ходить): OTurk. *qam-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qam-* 'to lower' (MK); MTurk. *qam-* 'to lower' (MN); Chuv. *хъʷm-* 'махать, замахиваться'; Yak. *xāmp-* 2; Dolg. *kām-* 2.

◊ VEWT 228, EDT 625; Stachowski 142. The connection of OT *qam-* and Yak. *qāmp-* is rather problematic, but possible (we are not aware of other etymologies). For the Yak. word cf. perhaps Bur. *xambi* 'packtrain, caravan'.

‖ KW 239, Poppe 19, 68; Цинциус 1984, 109. A Western isogloss.

***k'i̯omo(lV)** a k. of fragrant and edible plant: Tung. ***ximŋe-kte**; Mong. ***kömeli**; Turk. ***Kumlak**; Jpn. ***kamira**.

PTung. ***ximŋe-kte** bird-cherry (черемуха): Evk. *inŋēkte*; Neg. *imŋemkēn*; Man. *jeŋge*; Ul. *sińekte*; Ork. *siŋekte*; Nan. *siŋēkte*; Orch. *imepe*; Ud. *iŋofo*; Sol. *iŋekte*.

◊ TMC 1, 318.

PMong. ***kömeli** a k. of wild onion or garlic (вид дикого лука или чеснока): WMong. *kömeli* (L 487); Kh. *xömöl*.

PTurk. ***Kumlak** hop (хмель): Karakh. *qumlaq* (MK); Krm. *qumlaq, qumlax*; Tat. *qolmaq*, dial. *qomlaq, qomalaq*; Kirgh. *qulmaq*; Kaz. *qulmaq*; Nogh. *qilmaq*; Khak. *xumnax*; Shr. *qimnaq*; Oyr. *qumdaq, qumanaq*; Chuv. *хъʷmla*.

◊ VEWT 299, EDT 628, ЭСТЯ 6, 138-139. Turk. > Hung. *komló*, see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kamira** a k. of garlic (вид чеснока): OJpn. *kamjira*.

‖ The Turkic word is frequently regarded as a borrowing, either from a Germanic source (EDT 628), or from an Iranian (Ossetic) source (Аб., ЭСТЯ). The Iranian derivation of Osset. *xumälläg* 'hop', however, raises some phonetic and morphological problems; on the other hand, there are no doubts that the Turkic (Bulgarian) word was borrowed into Mari *umla*, Hung. *komló* and Slav. *хъmelь* (see Егоров 192, ЭСТЯ ibid.). The ultimate Turkic source of other late European names of 'hop' is therefore also not excluded.

***k'i̯ŏnt'[a]** hemp: Tung. ***xonta-kta**; Turk. ***kendir (*kentir)**; Jpn. ***kántí**.

PTung. ***xonta-kta** hemp (конопля): Evk. *onokto*; Man. *χunta*; Ul. *χuntaχa*; Nan. *χontaxa*; Orch. *onokto*.

◊ TMC 1, 471, 2, 19. A culture term with many interdialectal loans: Ul. *onoqto*, Nan. *onoqto* (< Evk.); Neg. *xontaxa*, perhaps also Man. *χunta* < South.-Tung.

PTurk. ***kendir (kentir)** hemp (конопля): OTurk. *kendir* (OUygh.); Tur. *kendir*; Az. *kändir*; Turkm. *kendir*; MTurk. *kendir*; Uzb. *kendir*; Uygh. *kändi(r)*; Tat. kinder; Bashk. kinder; Kirgh. *kendir*; Kaz. *kendir*; KBalk. *kendir*; KKalp. *kendir*; Kum. *kendir*; Nogh. *kendir*; SUygh. *kenžir, kemžer*; Khak. *kindər*; Shr. *kändir*; Oyr. *kendir*; Tv. *xendir*; Chuv. *kandъr*.

◊ EDT 729, VEWT 252, ЭСТЯ 5, 39-40, *Лексика* 127-128. Turk. > WMong. *kendir* (TMN 3, 608, Щербак 1997, 127), WMong. *kenčir*, Kalm. *kenčr* (KW 226); > Hung. *kender* (Gombocz 1912); > Russ. kendýr' (Аникин 282).

PJpn. ***kántí** paper tree, Broussonetia papyrifera (бумажное дерево): OJpn. kadi; MJpn. *kádí*; Tok. *kaji* no ki.

◊ JLTT 447.

‖ Дыбо 11. A cultural term; the vocalism is not quite certain.

***kʹi̯ŏŋa** nose: Tung. ***xoŋa-**; Mong. ***ka[m]ar**; Turk. ***K(i)aŋ-(ir)-**; Jpn. ***kan-k-**; Kor. ***kóh**.

PTung. ***xoŋa-** 1 nose 2 front part (of boat) 3 nose bridge (1 нос 2 нос (лодки) 3 переносица): Evk. *oŋokto* 1; Evn. *oŋo̞t* 1; Neg. *oŋokto* 1; Man. *χoŋqo* 2; SMan. *xoŋqə* 2 (1272); Ul. *χoŋqo* 2; Nan. *qoŋtoro* 1, *χondaχa* 3, *χōŋqo* 2; Orch. *xoŋko* 2 (possibly < Manchu); Sol. *onokto* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 413, 470; 2, 22. There is some variation of *x- and *k- (cf. the Nanai and Manchu reflexes; cf. also Neg. *koŋtopkī*. "nose (of a deer, elk, bear)"; but it is hardly possible to separate these variants.

PMong. ***ka[m]ar** nose (нос): MMong. *qabar* (HY 45, SH), *qabar* (MA), *qabar* (LH); WMong. *qabar, qamar* (L 895); Kh. *xamar*; Bur. *xamar*; Kalm. *xamṛ*; Ord. *xamar*; Mog. *qabar*; ZM *qabar* (2-3b); Dag. *xamar* (Тод. Дar. 173), *hamere, hamare* (MD 156); Dong. *qava*; Bao. *xor*; S.-Yugh. *xawar*; Mongr. *xawar* (SM 165), *xavar*.

◊ KW 164, MGCD 322. Mong. > Oyr. *qamur*. There are numerous indications that the root was **kaŋ-* (**kaŋ-bar* > *qabar / qamar*). Cf. **koŋ-si- / *kaŋ-si* (WMong. *qaŋsiγar, qoŋsijar* 'beak, nose' (KW 167, 186, MGCD 365, Mongr. *xaŋšar* (157); > Uzb. *qaršar* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 256-258); > Man. *qaŋsari / qaŋsiri, haŋšara* (see Rozycki 102, 132)); WMong. *qaŋqul- / qaŋγul-* 'to smell'; MMong. (SH) *qoŋši'ut* 'reek', WMong. *quŋsi-* 'to reek, smell' (> Oyr. *quŋsu-* etc., see KW 197, VEWT 280); WMong. *qauγasun*, Kalm. *xūrγəsn, xuγərsn* 'nose gristle' (KW 195, 201). .

PTurk. ***K(i)aŋ-(ir)-** 1 nose 2 to snuffle 3 beak, snout 4 parched nose (*phras.*) 5 nose bridge (1 нос 2 гнусавить 3 клюв, морда 4 пересохший (о носе) 5 переносица): Karakh. *qaŋraq* 'palate' (МК - ДТС); Turkm. *Gaŋširavuq* 'nasal cavity', *Goŋursa-* 'to reek'; Bashk. *qaŋγiriq* (dial.) 'hard palate'; Kirgh. *qaŋiriq* 4, *qoŋursu-* 'to reek'; SUygh. *qaŋriq, qārq* 1; Oyr. *qaŋiriq* (Tel.) (R II, 82); *qoŋir* 5 (R II 521), Tel. (Верб.); Tv. *xāj* 3, *xā̃š* 'nasal', *qoŋzaŋ* 'crook-nosed'; Tof. *xāj* 1, 3; Yak. *xaŋinaj-* 2; *xoŋurü, xaŋirī* 5 (Пек.).

◊ The root is no doubt archaic, although not widely attested. On its modern reflexes see VEWT 232, *Лексика* 215-216 (some of the listed forms are < Mong., but certainly not all.), ЭСТЯ 6, 66.

PJpn. ***kan-k-*** to smell (нюхать, обонять): OJpn. *kag-*; MJpn. *kág-*; Tok. *kàg-*; Kyo. *kàg-*; Kag. *kág-*.

◊ JLTT 701. Kyoto points to **kàNk-*, but other dialects and RJ - to **kâNk-*.

PKor. ***kóh*** nose (нос): MKor. *kó* (*kóh-*); Mod. *khɔ*.

◊ Nam 45, KED 1673.

‖ KW 186, 190, Владимирцов 251, Martin 242, Poppe 1974, 132, АПиПЯЯ 43-44, 80, 286, Ozawa 191, Цинциус 1984, 84, Дыбо 4, Лексика 216.

✱**kʼi̯ółi** head of clan: Tung. ***(x)uŋ-***; Turk. ***K(i)aŋ***; Jpn. ***kímí***; Kor. ***kù'i̯i***.

PTung. ***(x)uŋ-*** head (of kin, clan), chief (глава (рода, клана), начальник): Man. *uŋgu*, *uŋGa*; SMan. *uŋan* (1012).

◊ TMC 2, 278. Attested only in Manchu, but having rather interesting external parallels.

PTurk. ***K(i)aŋ*** father (отец): OTurk. *qaŋ* (Orkh., Yeniss., OUygh.); Karakh. *qaŋdaš* 'half-brother, son of the same father and a different mother' (MK), *qaŋsiq ata* 'step-father' (MK).

◊ VEWT 232, EDT 630, 635, 640, ЭСТЯ 5, 258.

PJpn. ***kímí*** lord (господин, начальник): OJpn. *kjimji*; MJpn. *kímí*; Tok. *kìmi*; Kyo. *kímí*; Kag. *kími*.

◊ JLTT 450.

PKor. ***kù'i̯i*** office, officer (чиновник, должностное лицо): MKor. *kù'i̯i*.

◊ Nam 60.

‖ An important common Altaic social term.

✱**kʼi̯ópʼé** soot, to catch fire: Tung. ***xupu-ŋksa***; Turk. ***Kap-***; Jpn. ***kúmpá-***.

PTung. ***xupu-ŋksa*** soot (сажа): Evk. *uwuksa*; Ork. *xumesike*; Nan. *xufekse*.

◊ TMC 1, 477, 2, 243.

PTurk. ***Kap-*** to catch fire (загораться): Uzb. *qɔ̀pin-*; Tat. *qap-*, *qabɨn-*; Bashk. *qabɨn-*; Kaz. *qabɨn-*; Kum. *qabun-*; Nogh. *qabɨn-*, dial. *qamɨl-*; Khak. *xabɨl-*; Shr. *qamɨn-*; Oyr. *qamɨn-*; Tv. *qɨ'p-*; Tof. *qɨ'p-*; Chuv. *xɨp-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 262.

PJpn. ***kúmpá-*** to burn, set on fire, feed wood into fire (жечь, поджигать, класть дрова в огонь): MJpn. *kuba-*; Tok. *kùbe-*; Kyo. *kúbé-*; Kag. *kubé-*.

◊ JLTT 714.

✱**kʼi̯óło** worm; gad-fly: Tung. ***xirga-***; Mong. ***koro-kai***; Turk. ***Kūrt***.

PTung. ***xirga-*** gad-fly (овод): Evk. *irgakta*; Evn. *ɨrgɒ̄t*; Neg. *ijgakta*; Man. *iǯa*; SMan. *iǯā* (2262); Ul. *siǯaqta*; Ork. *siǯiqta*; Nan. *siGaqta*; Ud. *iga*.

◊ TMC 1, 324-325. Evk. > Dolg. *irgakta* (Stachowski 261).

PMong. ***koro-kai** worm, insect (червь, насекомое): MMong. *qoroxai* (HY 12), *qorɣi* (IM), *qoraɣaj* (MA); WMong. *qoroqai* (L 970: *qoruqai*); Kh. *xorxoj*; Bur. *xorxoj*; Kalm. *xorxã̆*; Ord. *xoroxŏ̄*; Dag. *xorgō* (Тод. Даг. 177), *xorog, xorugu, horehe* (MD 164); Dong. *Guɣi* ; Bao. *GorGei, GorGi*; S.-Yugh. *xoroxGui*; Mongr. *xorGwī* (SM 173), *xorGui, xurGoi*.

◊ KW 188, MGCD 302, 367. Cf. also Kalm. *xor* 'die Maden der Viehbremse (im Vieh)' (KW 187).

PTurk. ***Kūrt** worm (червь): OTurk. *qurt* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qurt* (MK, KB); Tur. *kurt*; Gag. *qurt*; Az. *Gurd*; Turkm. *Gūrt*; MTurk. *qurt* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qurt*; Uygh. *qurut*; Krm. *qurt*; Tat. *qort*; Kirgh. *qurt*; Kaz. *qurt*; KBalk. *qurt*; KKalp. *qurt*; Khak. *xurt*; Tv. *quʻrt*; Tof. *quʻrt*; Chuv. *xort*; Yak. *kurǯaɣa* 'small parasites'; Dolg. *kurǯaga*.

◊ See VEWT 303-4 (although we prefer to separate **Kūrt* 'worm' and **Kūrt* 'wolf'), EDT 648, Лексика 181, ЭСТЯ 6, 167-168, Федотов 2, 367-368, Stachowski 162.

‖ KW 188, АПиПЯЯ 54, 285, Дыбо 8, Лексика 182. A Western isogloss; but cf. also **kʻi̯ãre*.

***kʻi̯óŕa** a k. of tree with red berries or red bark: Tung. ***(x)or-**; Mong. ***karg-**; Turk. ***Kaŕilgan / *Karligan**; Jpn. ***kátúrá**.

PTung. ***(x)or-** 1 red bilberry 2 black currant (1 брусника 2 черная смородина): Evk. *orāŋĺā* 1; Evn. *ōrbāt* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 23.

PMong. ***karg-** 1 tree with dark reddish bark 2 a k. of shrub, viburnum 3 pine (1 дерево с темно-красной корой 2 вид кустарника, калина 3 сосна): WMong. *qargil* 1 (L 936); Bur. *xargāhan* 2; Kalm. *xarɣā* 3; Ord. *xargil* 'Rhamnus erythroxylon'.

PTurk. ***Kaŕilgan / *Karligan** currant (смородина): Tat. *qarlɨɣan*; Bashk. *qarlɨɣan* (dial.); Nogh. *qarlɨɣan*; Shr. *qazɨrɣan, qazɨr qat* (Верб.); Oyr. *qazɨlɣan*; Tv. *qazɨlɣan*; Tof. *qazɨlɣan*; Chuv. *xorlʊɣan*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 309-310, Федотов 2, 367.

PJpn. ***kátúrá** Cereidiphyllum japonicum (багряник японский): OJpn. *katura*; MJpn. *kátúrá*; Tok. *kàtsura*; Kyo. *kátsúrá*; Kag. *katsúra*.

◊ JLTT 445.

‖ Absence of diphthong in Turkic is strange.

***kʻi̯ŏŕo (~ -u)** lamb, deer: Tung. ***xir-**; Mong. ***kurigan**; Turk. ***Koŕi**.

PTung. ***xir-** 1 wild deer 2 to rub horns 3 **'newborn animal' > 'new' (1 дикий олень 2 тереться рогами 3 **'новорожденное животное' > 'новый'): Evk. *irki, irē* 1, *irkekīn* (dial.) 3; Evn. *irče-, irkъ-* 2; Neg. *ijun* 1, *iskekin* 3; Man. *iren* 1, *iče* 3; SMan. *ičē* 'new' (2544); Jurch. *hi(i̯)če* (85) 3; Ul. *suru(n)* 1, *sičeu(n)* 3; Ork. *sitče-* 2, *sitče-* 3; Nan. *sirū* 1, *śiku(n)* 3; Orch. *iju* 1, *ikken* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 327, 328. Evk. *sirū* and Neg. *xira* (TMC 2, 96) must be loanwords from Southern TM, where *x- > x- and s-; in any case, these forms have nothing to do with Turk. **sigir* 'cow' (see s.v. **si̯ūku*), despite Sinor 1962, 320.

PMong. ***kurigan*** lamb (ягненок): MMong. *quriqa(n)* (SH), *qurixan* (HY 11), *qəriγan* (LH); WMong. *quriγan* (L 987: *quraγa(n)*, *quryа(n)*); Kh. *xurgan*; Bur. *xuŕga(n)*; Kalm. *xurɣn*; Ord. *xurGa*; Mog. *qɔrɣan* (Weiers); Dong. *quγan* (Тод. Дн.); *Guγan*; Bao. *GorGaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *χurGan*; Mongr. *xorGa* (SM 172), *xuroG*.

◊ KW 198, MGCD 391. Mong. > Oyr. *quraγan* etc. (TMN 1, 435), Evk. *kurikan* etc., see ibid., Doerfer MT 131.

PTurk. ***Koŕi*** lamb (ягненок): OTurk. *qozi* (*quzi*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *qozi* (*quzi*) (MK); Tur. *kuzu*; Gag. *quzu*; Az. *Guzu*; Turkm. *Guzi*; Sal. *qōza*; Khal. *quzi*; MTurk. *qozi* (R.), *qozu* (Houts.); Uzb. *qu̯zi*; Uygh. *qoza*; Krm. *qozu*; Tat. *quzi* (dial.); Kirgh. *qozu*; Kaz. *qozi*; KBalk. *qozu*; KKalp. *qozi*; Kum. *qozu* (dial.); Nogh. *qozi*; SUygh. *quzi*, *qozi*, *qoza*.

◊ VEWT 285, EDT 681, Лексика 433, ЭСТЯ 6, 108-109.

‖ EAS 46, 113, KW 198, Владимирцов 361, ОСНЯ 1, 302, Новикова 1972, 118, Лексика 433. A Western isogloss. Despite TMN 1, 435, 3, 546, Щербак 1997, 142, Mong. cannot be borrowed from Turkic.

kʻi̯ŏsú** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***xisi-; Mong. ***kusu-***; Jpn. ***kùsú***.

PTung. ***xisi-*** 1 larch 2 cypress (1 лиственница 2 кипарис): Evk. *ismama* 1; Evn. *i̯sъγ* 'forest'; Neg. *i̯s*, *i̯sma* 1; Man. *isi* 1; Jurch. *hisi* (105) 2; Ul. *sisi* 1; Ork. *si̯si̯* 1; Nan. *si̯si̯* 1; Orch. *isi* 1; Ud. *ihi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 331.

PMong. ***kusu-*** birch tree (береза): WMong. *qusu(n)* (L 991); Kh. *xusan*; Bur. *xuha(n)*; Kalm. *xusm*; S.-Yugh. *χus*.

◊ KW 199, MGCD 392.

PJpn. ***kùsú*** Cinnamonum camphora Sieb. (камфорное дерево): OJpn. *kusu*; MJpn. *kùsú(nò* ki); Tok. *kusú(no* ki); Kyo. *kùsú(nò kì)*; Kag. *kùsù(nò kî)*.

◊ JLTT 466.

‖ Phonetically the Mong., TM and Jpn. form are well compatible; but it is always difficult to deal with Japanese botanical names because of a drastic difference in nature environment between Japan and the continent.

kʻi̯òše** to scrape, shave: Tung. ***xuši / *kuši; Mong. ***kisu-***; Turk. ***Kas***; Jpn. ***kùsà / *kəsà-i***.

PTung. ***xuši / *kuši*** knife (нож): Evk. *učі*; Man. *kuši*; Ul. *kuče(n)*; Ork. *kuče(n)*; Ud. *kusige*; Sol. *usxẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 441, 2, 296.

PMong. ***kisu-** to scrape, shave (скрести, брить): WMong. *kisu-, qusu-* (L 992); Kh. *xusa-*; Bur. *xuha-*; Kalm. *xusə-* (KPC); Mog. *kišla-* (Ramstedt 1906); Bao. *χasə-*; S.-Yugh. *qəsə-*; Mongr. *kiʒə-* (SM 202), *kəsə-*.

◊ MGCD 393. Mong. > Evk. *kisū-* etc., see Doerfer MT 135.

PTurk. ***Kas** skin, shell, peel, bark (кожа, скорлупа, кора): OTurk. *qasuq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qas, qasuq* (MK); Khal. *qâs*.

◊ EDT 665, 666, ЭСТЯ 5 328. The root should be distinguished from **Kaŕ* (v. sub **k'ərà*). Note that in Siberian languages the reflexes of **ŕ* and **s* coincide, so all the forms attributed to **Kaŕ* can also reflect PT **Kas*.

PJpn. ***kùsà / *kəsà-i** eczema (экзема): MJpn. *kùsà, kòsè*.

◊ JLTT 458, 465.

‖ Cf. **k'i̯učų*. For the Turkic word Helimski 1995 proposed a Sam. etymology (< PS **käsa* 'bark'), which cannot be excluded; in that case the Turkic form should be removed from the comparison.

***k'i̯ōt'e** a k. of knife or arrow: Tung. ***(x)utu, -ke**; Mong. ***kituga**; Turk. ***kēt-men**.

PTung. ***(x)utu, -ke** 1 knife on a shaft 2 a k. of arrow (1 тесак (на коротком древке) 2 стрела-однозубец): Evk. *utu, utut* 2, *utkēn* 1; Evn. *ötken* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 294.

PMong. ***kituga** knife (нож): MMong. *kituqai* (SH), *k[i]tγa* (IM), *kīdūγa* (Lig.VMI), *kituγa* (MA); WMong. *kituγa, qutaγa, qutuγa* (L 474); Kh. *xutga*; Bur. *xutaga, (зап.) xotigo*; Mog. *qitqɛi* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *qudoγo*; S.-Yugh. *χudaʁa*; Mongr. *ćidoGo* (SM 445).

◊ MGCD 393. Mong. > Man. *kitukan* 'scissors' (see Rozycki 140).

PTurk. ***kēt-men** hoe, mattock (мотыга): OTurk. *ketmen* (OUigh.); Karakh. *ketmen* (MK); Tur. *gedmen*; Az. *kätmän*; Turkm. *kätmen*; MTurk. *ketmen* (Sangl.); Uzb. *ketmɔn*; Uygh. *kätmän*; Bashk. *kätmän*; Kirgh. *ketmen-*; Chuv. *katmak*.

◊ VEWT 259, ЭСТЯ 3, 30-31, 5, 65-66, EDT 704. Usually derived from **gēt-* 'to notch' - but the semantic shift is not quite satisfactory, and the Oghuz languages (except Turkish with a secondary analogy) systematically distinguish **g-* in 'notch' and **k-* in 'hoe'.

‖ A Western isogloss. In Turkic one would expect a closed **ē*, but in fact Chuv. *katmak* points to an open vowel. This may be due to a natural contamination of this root with the reflex of PA **kɨ̯ātu* 'sharp tool, notch' q.v.

***k'i̯ōt'ekV** a k. of stinging insect: Tung. ***xūkte**; Mong. ***kedgene**; Turk. ***Kątku-č**; Kor. ***kúitəkí**.

PTung. ***xūkte** nit (гнида): Evk. *ūkte*; Evn. *ōt*; Neg. *ūkte*; Ul. *xuktu*; Ork. *xuktu*; Nan. *xuktu*; Ud. *ukte*.

◊ See TMC 2, 254.

PMong. ***kedgene** bumble-bee (шмель): WMong. *kedgene* (L 441: *kedegene*); Kh. *xedgen*; Bur. *xedegenē* 'gad-fly'; Kalm. *kedgənə*; Ord. *getegene*.

◊ KW 222.

PTurk. ***Kạtku-č** a stinging insect (кусающее насекомое): Karakh. *qatquč* (MK - Argu) 'a thing which stings like a scorpion'; Chuv. *xĭt-kajъk* 'жужелица'.

◊ EDT 599, ДТС. Cf. also (MK) *qodγu* 'fly'. The Chuvash word is analysed as 'hard-bird' or 'hard-animal', which is probably a folk-etymological reanalysis of **kạtku-*.

PKor. ***kúitáki** maggot, worm, grub (личинка, червяк): MKor. *kúitáki*; Mod. *kudəgi, kudegi*.

◊ Nam 65, KED 197.

‖ Cf. also Kor. *kaktagwi* 'mosquito'.

***kʻi̯ŏ̯ža** side, direction: Tung. ***xoža-n**; Mong. ***kaǯiwu**; Turk. ***KAj-**; Jpn. ***kajə-r-**; Kor. ***kǎč-**.

PTung. ***xoža-** 1 edge, end 2 slanting, slant (1 конец, край 2 косой, наклонный): Evk. *ožo* 2; Evn. *ožan-* 2; Neg. *ožo-* 2; Man. *užan* 1; SMan. *užan* 1 (2605); Ork. *χodo-* 2; Nan. *χožịa-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 7, 250.

PMong. ***kaǯiwu** side, edge (сторона, край): WMong. *qaǯiγu, qaǯaγu, qaǯau* (L 948); Kh. *xaǯū*; Bur. *xažū*; Kalm. *xaǯū*; Ord. *xaǯū* 'slope'; Dag. *xaǯū* (Тод. Дar. 172).

◊ KW 159. Cf. also **kaǯi-* 'to slant etc.' (with a variant **gaǯi-*) (ibid.).

PTurk. ***KAj-** 1 to turn back 2 to show respect 3 to squint; to move to smb.'s side 4 to run towards 5 to go past, around (1 оборачиваться 2 выказывать уважение 3 косить глазами; переходить на чью-л. сторону 4 бежать к 5 обойти, пройти мимо): OTurk. *qaj-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *qaj-* (MK) 1, 2; Tur. *kaj-* 3; S.-Uygh. *qajla-* 4; Khak. *xaj-* 2; Oyr. *qaj-* (R) 2; Tv. *xaj-* 5.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5 208-209, EDT 674. Stachowski 137 adds Yak. *xaǰïs-*, Dolg. *kańïs-* '(to turn and) look around', which would change the reconstruction to **KAń-*; however, there are no other traces of a nasal in the root, and the comparison looks somewhat dubious.

PJpn. ***kajə-r-** to approach (приближаться): OJpn. *kajor-*; MJpn. *kajor-*.

◊ JLTT 706.

PKor. ***kǎč-** 1 near 2 end, limit (1 близкий 2 конец, край, предел): MKor. *kàskàp-* (-w-) 1, *kǎčái* 2; Mod. *kak:ap-* (-w-) 1, *kaǯaŋ* 2.

◊ Nam 16, 24, KED 3, 24.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 96. Cf. **kèčʻa*.

***k'i̯ube** voice, sound: Tung. ***xū- (*xüb-)**; Mong. ***küw-**; Turk. ***kü(b)**; Jpn. ***kə̀wâi**; Kor. ***kubii-**.

PTung. ***xū- (*xüb-)** to sound (звучать): Evk. *ī-*; Evn. *ī-*; Neg. *ī-*; Ul. *ujsi-*; Ork. *uji-*; Nan. *xuj-si-*.

◊ TMC 1, 293-294.

PMong. ***küw-** 1 to talk, converse 2 conversation (1 разговаривать 2 разговор): WMong. *küü-ne-* 1, *küür* 2 (L 509); Kh. *xūne-* 1, *xūr* 2; Kalm. *kōr-* 1.

◊ KW 243.

PTurk. ***kü(b)** 1 fame 2 wisdom 3 famous (1 слава 2 мудрость): OTurk. *kü* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *kü* (MK, KB); Az. *küj* 'roar'; Turkm. *küj* 2; Kirgh. *kü* 'sound, roar', *külük* 3; Kaz. *külük* 3; Khak. *kü-lük* 2; Shr. *küg* (Radl.); Oyr. *kü* 'roar', *külük* 3.

◊ VEWT 306, ЭСТЯ 5, 128-129, 140-141, TMN 3, 653.

PJpn. ***kə̀wâ-i** voice (голос): OJpn. *kowe*; MJpn. *kòwè, kòwé*; Tok. *kóe*; Kyo. *kòé*; Kag. *koé*.

◊ JLTT 453. In compounds - *kowa-* (e.g. *kowa-daka* etc.).

PKor. ***kubii-hă-** to celebrate, glorify (прославлять, праздновать): MKor. *ku'ii-hă-*.

◊ Liu 85.

‖ The Mong. form may belong here if it is different from **köɣer* 'joy' < PA **kúbe* (q.v.); there probably occurred a secondary merger in some Mong. dialects.

***k'i̯ubu** box, coffin: Tung. ***xobu-r / *xebu-r**; Mong. ***kob-du, *kob-tu**; Jpn. ***k(u)i**; Kor. ***kobVr**.

PTung. ***xobu-r / *xebu-r** coffin (гроб): Man. *χobo*; SMan. *hovə* (752); Ul. *xeuli*; Nan. *xeur, xewur*; Ud. *xau*.

◊ TMC 1, 464, 467. Preservation of *x- in Ud. may be explained as a loan from some South.-Tung. source.

PMong. ***kob-du, *kob-tu** long and narrow box, quiver (длинный и узкий ящик, колчан): MMong. *qubdu* (MA 299); WMong. *qobdu* (L 949), *qobtu*; Kh. *xowd*; Bur. *xobto* 'ящик, сундук'; Kalm. *xowdə* (KPC).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *kobdu* etc., see Doerfer MT 111, Rozycki 141; Nogh. *qobda* etc., see ЭСТЯ 6, 6, Yak. *xoppo*, Dolg. *kopko* (Kał. MEJ 58, Stachowski 153).

PJpn. ***k(u)i** coffin (гроб): OJpn. *k(j)i*; MJpn. *ki*.

◊ JLTT 449.

PKor. ***kobVr** coffin, box (гроб, ящик): MKor. *kōr*.

◊ Nam 51.

‖ Lee 1958, 112 (TM - Kor.). A Turkic root **K(i)abur* 'coffin' may have existed, too: cf. Küär. *qaɣur, qoɣur* 'coffin' (VEWT 274), as well as the Russian loan from an Old Bulgarian source: *ковчег* (presupposing **Kabu(r)-čak*). But then in most languages it has merged either with **Kapırčak* (< PA **k'ə̀p'a* 'vessel' q.v.), or with a recent Arabic loanword

(*qabr* 'grave', see VEWT 216 > Turk. *qabr*, Kum. *qabir* etc.), or with a later Mong. loanword *qobuyur* 'tube' (about which see TMN 1, 628, ЭСТЯ 6, 71-72).

***k'i̯ŭča (~ -u)** animal's paw, skin from animal's paw: Tung. ***xōsa**; Turk. ***Kič**.

PTung. ***xōsa** 1 skin from deer's feet 2 animal's paw (1 шкура с ног оленя 2 лапа животного): Evk. *ōsa* 1; Evn. *ōsъl* 1; Neg. *ōsa* 1; Man. *ošoxo* 2; SMan. *vašəqə, vasəqə, vašəqu, vasəqu* 2 (2287); Ul. *χosolị* 1; Ork. *χoso* 2; Nan. *χōsō* 2, *χōsol* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 26.

PTurk. ***Kič** foot, shin (нога, голень): Tur. *kič* 'foot, shin; соссух, behind'; Gag. *qič*; Az. *Gič*; Turkm. *Gič* (dial.); MTurk. *qič* (AH); Shr. *qis* 'камус'; Chuv. *xiś* 'back, behind'; Yak. *kīs berbēkej* 'щиколотка, лодыжка' (?).

◊ Лексика 281, ЭСТЯ 6, 252-253.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss, but cf. the discussion under ***k'V̀sá**; cf. perhaps also Bur. *xašāhan* 'front and back parts of footwear'; Dag. *gočōr, kočoro, kučur* 'boots' (Тод. Даг. 132) (?).

***k'i̯ùčù** to scrape; claw, sharp stick: Tung. ***xosī-kta**; Mong. ***kučil-**; Turk. ***Kič-**; Jpn. ***kùsì**; Kor. ***koč**.

PTung. ***xosī-kta** 1 to scrape 2 claw, finger-nail (1 царапать, скрести 2 ноготь, коготь): Evk. *osī-* 1, *osīkta* 2; Evn. *osị-* 1, *ostъ* 2; Neg. *osī-* 1, *ōtta* 2; Man. *wasixa* 2; SMan. *wasəqələm, wasəqulu-* 'to scratch, to claw' (1574); Ul. *χosị-* 1, *χosta* 2; Ork. *χosị-* 1, *χosiqta* 2; Nan. *χosaqala-* 1, *χosaqta* 2; Orch. *xosi-* 1; Ud. *wahi-* (Корм. 218) 1, *wai-li-* 1, *waikta, wahikta* 2; Sol. *oš̄ī-* 1, *uš̄īkta* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 26-27.

PMong. ***kučil-** to scrape with fingers (царапать пальцами): WMong. *qučil-*; Kalm. *xučl-*.

◊ KW 200.

PTurk. ***Kič-** to scratch, scrape; to itch (скрести, царапать; чесаться): MTurk. *qič-*; Uzb. *qiči-*; Uygh. *qičï-*; Tat. *qičï-*; Bashk. *qisï-*; Kirgh. *qičïš-*; Kaz. *qiši-*; KKalp. *qiši-*; Nogh. *qiši-*; Khak. *xiči-*; Oyr. *qiči-*; Tv. *kiži-*; Chuv. *kəźə* 'чесотка'; Yak. *kihij-*; *kihiax* 'scraper'; Dolg. *kihiak* 'scraper'.

◊ VEWT 260, ЭСТЯ 6, 186-187, Stachowski 167.

PJpn. ***kùsì** spit, skewer; comb (вертел): OJpn. *kusi*; MJpn. *kùsì*; Tok. *kushí*; Kyo. *kúshì*; Kag. *kushí*.

◊ JLTT 466.

PKor. ***koč** 1 spit, skewer; awl, gimlet 2 to stick in (1 вертел; шило 2 втыкать): MKor. *koč* 1, *kòč-* 2; Mod. *kot* [*kos*], *k:oži* 1, *k:ot-* [*k:oč-*] 2.

◊ Nam 54, KED 164, 174. The accent of the noun is unknown; the verbal stem has a usual low tone.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 99, Martin 241, Whit 1985, 135, 165, 223, АПиПЯЯ 16, 77, 290.

***kʹi̯účʹi (~ -č-)** a k. of cereal: Mong. ***küč-**; Turk. ***kȍče**; Kor. ***kìčàŋ**.

PMong. ***küč-** a leguminous plant (бобовое растение): WMong. *küčiŋgi* (MXTTT); Kh. *xüčiŋgi*; Bur. *xüsi* 'вид лапчатки', *xüsūg* 'мышиный горошек'.

◊ Cf. also Bur. *xüsergenej* 'моховка (ягода)'.

PTurk. ***kȍče** gruel (крупа, каша): Tur. *göže*, *güže*; Turkm. *kȍže*; Sal. *koža* ССЯ; MTurk. *küže* (Pav. C.), OKypch. (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *go̧ža*; Uygh. *koča*; *küčɛ* (dial.); Krm. *goža*; Tat. *küzä*; Kirgh. *köžö*, *köčö*; KKalp. *göže*; Khak. *köče*; Oyr. *köčö*; Tv. *köže*.

◊ VEWT 286, ЭСТЯ 5, 84-85. Cf. also Shor *köžerget* 'костяника', Khak. Sag. *küzerget* id.

PKor. ***kìčàŋ** millet (просо обыкновенное): MKor. *kìčàŋ*; Mod. *kižaŋ*.

◊ Liu 115, KED 274.

‖ Cf. also various plant names in Turkic: Oyr. *köžüne* 'дягиль', Turkm. *göžele* 'ирис', Kirgh. (South.) *göžümöl* 'травянистое растение с широкими листьями'; Kirgh. *köčet*, Uygh. *köčɛt* 'seedling'; WMong. *güžegeležegene*, Khalkha *güʒēlʒgene*, Bur. *gulzōrgene* 'земляника' (whence Evk. *gučalǯigina* etc., see TMC 1, 176).

***kʹi̯údo(rgV)** tail: Tung. ***xürgü**; Mong. ***kudurga**; Turk. ***Kudruk**; Kor. ***s-kòrí**.

PTung. ***xürgü** tail (хвост): Evk. *irgi*; Evn. *irgъ*; Neg. *ĭɣi* / *idgi*; Man. *unčexen*; SMan. *unčixən*, *unčuxun*, *iunčuxun* (2291, 2607); Ul. *xuǯu*; Ork. *xudu*; Nan. *xuigu*; Orch. *iggi*; Ud. *igi*; Sol. *iggi*, *irgi*.

◊ TMC 1, 325.

PMong. ***kudurga** tail strap (подхвостник): MMong. *qudurqa* (SH), *qudorɣa* (IM), *qodorɣa* (LH); WMong. *qudurɣa(n)* (L 980); Kh. *xudraga*; Bur. *xudarga*; Kalm. *xudrɣə*; Ord. *xudurGa*; Dag. *xodurugu* (Тод. Даг. 179: *xudurga*); S.-Yugh. *GudurGa*; Mongr. *GudarGa*.

◊ KW 195, MGCD 385. Mong. > Evk. *kudurga*, Man. *qudarGan*, see Doerfer MT 100, Rozycki 148; > MKor. *kotărkái* (Lee 1964, 191).

PTurk. ***Kudruk** tail (хвост): OTurk. *qudruq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *quδruq* (MK); Tur. *kujruk*; Gag. *qujruq*; Az. *GujruG*; Turkm. *Gujruq*; Sal. *Guruχ*; Khal. *qurduq*; MTurk. *qujruq*, *qujruɣ* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qujruq*; Uygh. *qujruq*; Krm. *qurjux*; Tat. *qojrıq*; Bashk. *qojroq*; Kirgh. *qujruq*; Kaz. *qujrıq*; KBalk. *qujruq*; KKalp. *qujrıq*; Kum. *qujruq*; Nogh. *qujrıq*; SUygh. *Guzuruq*; Khak. *xuzurux*; Shr. *quzuruq*; Oyr. *qujruq*; Tv. *quduruq*; Tof. *quduruq*; Chuv. *xüre*; Yak. *kuturuk*; Dolg. *kuturuk*.

◊ VEWT 296b, EDT 604, Лексика 145, ЭСТЯ 6, 114-117, Stachowski 163. Cf. also MK *quδuryun* 'tail strap' (Лексика 553).

PKor. ***s-kòrí*** tail (хвост): MKor. *skòrí*; Mod. *kːori*.

◊ Nam 50, KED 140.

‖ Владимирцов 322, Poppe 18, 52, Цинциус 1984a, 113, ОСНЯ 1, 327-328, АПиПЯЯ 53, 284, Дыбо 9, Лексика 145. Mong. is hardly < Turk. (although it is possible, see Щербак 1997, 142). In Korean we have a case of *s-prefixation in body parts (see also under **i̯ɔp'erV*, **p'ejńe*); note that MKor. *kòtȁrkái* 'tail strap' < Mong. Cf. also Turk. **Kuduskan* 'tail strap' (ЭСТЯ 6, 182-183) = WMong. *qudusqa* (VEWT 297, KW 195, Лексика 554); **Kudu-muč* / *-mčak* 'tail bone' (ЭСТЯ 6, 215-216).

kʻi̯ŭge** palate, jaw: Tung. ****xŭkte; Mong. ****köɣemej***; Turk. ****Kögme***; Jpn. ****k(ù)i***; Kor. ****kə̀húm***.

PTung. ****xŭkte*** tooth (зуб): Evk. *īkte*; Evn. *īt*; Neg. *īkte*; Man. *weixe*; SMan. *vīxə* (32); Jurch. *juj-xe* (495); Nan. *xukte(le)*; Ud. *ikte*; Oroch. *ikte*; Sol. *ītte*.

◊ TMC 1, 300. Cf. also Evk. *īken* 'jaw, chin' (TMC 1, 302). North. > Ul., Orok *ikə̄e*.

PMong. ****köɣemej*** 1 throat, pharynx 2 chest part of animal skin (1 глотка, фаринкс 2 грудная часть шкуры животного): WMong. *kögeme* (L 479: *kögemei*, *kömei*) 1; Kh. *xōmij* 1; Bur. *xōmej* 2; Kalm. *kōmā* 1 (KPC); Ord. *kōmī* 2.

◊ Cf. also Khalkha *xöjō* 'crop, craw'. Mong. > Kaz. *kömekej* etc.), see ЭСТЯ 5, 99-100.

PTurk. ****Kögme*** gum (of tooth) (десна): Khak. *köŋme*; Shr. *kögbe* (Mat.), *köge* (Kond.).

◊ VEWT 290.

PJpn. ****k(ù)i*** fang (клык): OJpn. *k(j)i*; MJpn. *kì*; Tok. *kí-ba*; Kyo. *kí-bà*; Kag. *kí-ba*.

◊ JLTT 449. The accent in Kyoto and Kagoshima is irregular; Tokyo and RJ point unambiguously to original low tone.

PKor. ****kə̀húm*** jaw (челюсть): MKor. *kə̀húm*.

◊ Nam 36.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 290 (with a somewhat different grouping of etyma). Korean has an irregular low tone.

kʻi̯ujkʻè** root, stem: Tung. ****xüj(k)e; Turk. ****kök***; Jpn. ****kùkùi***; Kor. ****kòkɨ̀rí, kòkòrí***.

PTung. ****xüj(k)e*** horn (рог): Evk. *ije*; Evn. *īj*; Neg. *īje*; Man. *weixe* / *uixe*; SMan. *vīxə* (32, 2279); Jurch. *huje-xe* (602); Ul. *xuje*; Ork. *xuje*; Nan. *xuje*; Orch. *ije*; Ud. *jē*; Sol. *īje*.

◊ TMC 1, 298-299.

PTurk. ****kök*** root (корень): Karakh. *kök* (MK, KB); Tur. *kök*; Gag. *kök*; Az. *kök*; Turkm. *kök*; MTurk. *kök* (AH, Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Krm. *kök*; Kaz. *kök*; KKalp. *kök*; Tv. *kö'k*; Chuv. *kъʷk* (Anatri).

◊ VEWT 287, EDT 708, TMN 3, 598, ЭСТЯ 5, 91-92, Лексика 109.

PJpn. ***kùkù-i*** stem, stalk (ствол, стебель): OJpn. *kuki*; MJpn. *kuki*; Tok. *kukí*; Kyo. *kúkì*; Kag. *kukí*.

◊ JLTT 462. The stem *kuku-* is found in some OJ compounds.

PKor. ***kòkìrí, kòkòrí*** stalk (стебель): MKor. *kòkìrí, kòkòrí*; Mod. *k:okčí*.

◊ Nam 45, KED 154.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 284, *Лексика* 109, Whitman 1985, 132, 222. Tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular. The TM word belongs here if one reconstructs the rare cluster *-jk- (reflected as -x- in Manchu but as -0- in other languages).

✱**kʻi̯ŭ̯ji̯o** cold wind, fog, North: Mong. ***koji-***; Turk. ***Kuŕ***; Jpn. ***kúi-rí***.

PMong. ***koji-*** North(wards), back(wards) (север, зад, задняя сторона): MMong. *qojina* (SH, HY 50), *qūjna* 'following' (IM); WMong. *qoji-na, qoji-si* (L 954); Kh. *xojno, xojš*; Bur. *xojno, xojšo*; Kalm. *xōnə* (KPC) 'after'; Ord. *xoŏno* 'back, West'; Mog. *qoina* (Weiers); Dag. *xuai-nə* (Тод. Дат. 178 *xuaina*), *huajne* (MD 165); Dong. *qui-na*; Bao. *χui-nə*; S.-Yugh. *χöi-ne*; Mongr. *xwānə* (SM 177), *xwādi* 'qui est derrière' (SM 176), *xui-no*.

◊ MGCD 359.

PTurk. ***Kuŕ*** Northern slope (северный склон): OTurk. *quz* (Yen.); *qurɨ* 'West' (Orkh.),; Karakh. *quz* (MK); Tur. *koz, guz* (dial.), *kuzej*; Az. *Guzej*; Turkm. *Guzaj*; MTurk. *quz* (AH, Pav. C.), *quzaj* (Pav.C.); Uygh. *quz*; SUygh. *qozan* 'sunset' (Mal.); Khak. *xosxar* 'Polar star'; Oyr. *qusqaj* (Tuba).

◊ VEWT 305, EDT 680, ЭСТЯ 6, 106-107.

PJpn. ***kúi-rí (~ -əi-)*** fog (туман): OJpn. *kiri*; MJpn. *kírí*; Tok. *kìri*; Kyo. *kírí*; Kag. *kíri*.

◊ JLTT 451.

‖ Дыбо 45. The root contains a rare cluster *-jŕ-. The Jpn. form can belong here if *-ri is originally suffixed (which is in fact quite probable, given the exceptional structure of the word with medial -ui- ~ -əi-).

✱**kʻi̯ŭ̯le** to exchange, trade, hire: Tung. ***xül-***; Mong. ***kölü-sü***; Turk. ***kōle***.

PTung. ***xül-*** 1 to lend 2 to change, exchange 3 to barter 4 to supply 5 to borrow (1 одалживать 2 меняться, обменивать 3 торговать 4 снабжать 5 брать взаймы): Evk. *ildu-* 1; Neg. *ịldụ-* 1; Man. *χulaša-* 3; SMan. *hulašə-* 2 (1425); Jurch. *xu-la-gi* (833) 2; Nan. *χolasị-* 2, (Bik. *χolsị-*); Orch. *igdu-mači-* 4; Ud. *idu-* 5.

◊ TMC 1, 308, 469.

PMong. ***kölü-sü*** wages for hired work (плата за наемный труд): MMong. *kulesu, kulesun* (MA 222); WMong. *kölüsü(n)* (L 486); Kh. *xöls*; Bur. *xülhe(n)*; Kalm. *kölsn̦* (KPC); Ord. *kölösü(n)*.

PTurk. ***kȫle*** 1 slave, servant 2 bastard 3 co-ruler, minister (1 слуга, раб 2 незаконнорожденный 3 соправитель): OTurk. *köl* (~ *kül*) an Old Turkic title (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *köl* (~ *kül*) 3 (MK); Tur. *köle* 1; Az. *köle* 1; Turkm. *kȫle* 2; MTurk. *köl* 3; Khak. *kölmök* 'people'; Tv. *xöl* 'guests that have arrived'.

◊ VEWT 288.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kʻi̯ŭli** to wind, plait: Tung. ***xil(i)-***; Mong. ***küli-***; Turk. ***kül-, *kült-***.

PTung. ***xil(i)-*** to plait, braid (плести, заплетать): Evk. *ilča-*; Evn. *i̯ilčā-*; Neg. *i̯ilča-*; Ul. *si̯lu̯-*; Ork. *si̯li̯-*; Nan. *si̯li̯-*; Orch. *iliča-*.

◊ TMC 1, 311.

PMong. ***küli-*** to bind (связывать): MMong. *kuli-* (IM); WMong. *küli-* (L 499); Kh. *xüle-*; Bur. *xüli-*; Kalm. *kǘlə-*; Ord. *küli-*; Mog. *küli-* (Ramstedt 1906); S.-Yugh. *kulə-*; Mongr. *koli-* (SM 212).

◊ KW 245, MGCD 404.

PTurk. ***kül-*** spool, skein, sheaf (катушка, моток, вязанка): Tur. *küleš*, dial. *kültem*; Turkm. *kültem*; MTurk. *külte* (AH, At-Tuhf., KW); Krm. *külte*; Tat. *költe*; Bashk. *költe*; Kaz. *külte*; KKalp. *külte*; Kum. *külte*; Nogh. *külte*; Chuv. *kəlde* (possibly < Tat.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 139, Федотов 1, 272-273. Turk. > Kalm. *kültə-* 'to bind, fasten' (KW 245).

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **koli, *gŭ́ldi, *kʻi̯ĺa.*

✱**kʻi̯ŭ́la** sable, squirrel: Tung. ***xulu-kī***; Mong. ***kulgana***; Turk. ***kīĺ***.

PTung. ***xulu-kī*** squirrel (белка): Evk. *ulukī*; Evn. *öliki*; Neg. *o̯lo̯xī*; Man. *ulxu*; Ul. *xolo*; Ork. *xolo / xulu*; Nan. *xulu*; Orch. *oloki*; Ud. *oloxi*; Sol. *uluxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 263-4.

PMong. ***kulgana*** mouse (мышь): MMong. *quluqana* (SH) *xuluqana* (HY 11), *qəlγəna* (IM); WMong. *qulγana* (L 984: *quluγana*); Kh. *xulgana*; Bur. *xulgana, xulganān*; Kalm. *xulγən* (KPC); Ord. *xuluGuna*; S.-Yugh. *χunaGlaG*; Mongr. *xanaGla* (SM 155), *xulGanaG*.

◊ MGCD 388; TMN 1, 440 (Mong. > Evk. *kulugu, kuluguna).*

PTurk. ***kīĺ*** sable (соболь): OTurk. *kiš* (Orkh.); Karakh. *kiš* (MK, KB); MTurk. *kiš* (MA, Pav. C., Sangl.); Uzb. *kiš*; Tat. *keš*; Bashk. *keš*; Kirgh. *kiš*; Kaz. *kis*; Kum. *kiš*; Nogh. *kis, kiš*; Oyr. *kiš*; Tv. *kiš*; Chuv. *kъᵛš*; Yak. *kīs*; Dolg. *kīs*.

◊ VEWT 272, TMN 3, 664-665, EDT 752, Щербак 1961, 143, ЭСТЯ 5, 77-78, Лексика 162-163, Stachowski 149 (one of the Turk.-Samoyed. contact words; because of the Tungus parallel, probably Turk. > Samoyed., despite Helimski 1995). The Chuvash form reveals irregular vocalism and may in fact reflect a merger with PT **Kǘlül* 'rat, mole' (v. sub **kʻə̀lú*). Turk. > Mong. *er-kis* 'male sable', *ebsi-gis* 'female sable' (see Clark 1980, 43).

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 163. A Western isogloss (cf. perhaps OJ *kase* 'sea-urchin'?). In Turkic one has to suppose a secondary fronting **kīĺ* < **kīĺ* (a rather frequent phenomenon).

✱**kʻi̯uĺe** person: Tung. ***(x)ile (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***kulunča**; Turk. ***kiĺi**.

PTung. ***(x)ile (~ -ü-)** person (человек): Evk. *ile*.

◊ TMC 1, 311.

PMong. ***kulunča** ancestor (предок): WMong. *qulunča* (L 985); Kh. *xulanc*; Bur. *xulinsag, gulinsag* - 'потомки в пятом колене'; Kalm. *xulənsəg* (KPC); Ord. *xulumči, xuluŋči* 'trisaïeul paternel'.

PTurk. ***kiĺi** person, people (человек, люди): OTurk. *kiši* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kiši* (MK, KB); Tur. *kiši*; Gag. *kiši*; Az. *kiši*; Turkm. *kiši*; Sal. *kiši*; MTurk. *kiši* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *kiši*; Uygh. *kiši*; Krm. *kiši*; Tat. *keše*; Bashk. *keše*; Kirgh. *kiši*; Kaz. *kisi*; KBalk. *kiši*; KKalp. *kisi*; Kum. *kiši*; Nogh. *kisi*; SUygh. *kisi*; Khak. *kəzə*; Shr. *kiži*; Oyr. *kiži*; Tv. *kiži*; Tof. *kiši*; Yak. *kihi*; Dolg. *kihi*.

◊ VEWT 272, EDT 752-753, ЭСТЯ 5, 78-79, Лексика 325, Stachowski 147.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 283. A Western isogloss. The comparison is quite acceptable, but its reliability is weakened by the isolated nature of the Evenki form within TM. Cf., however, the ethnonym **kile* 'Evenki' (TMC 1, 393) (possibly borrowed in Evk. from a form like **xile* or **xüle*) and Evn. *kịlča* 'Yakut'.

✱**kʻi̯ú́lnu** navel: Tung. ***xulŋu-**; Mong. ***köjil-sü**; Turk. ***kīn, *kīn-dük**.

PTung. ***xulŋu-** navel (пупок): Evk. *uŋurē*; Evn. *inŋö, iŋŋö*; Neg. *uŋńo-n*; Man. *uleŋgu*; SMan. *uluŋu* (94); Ul. *xujmu*; Ork. *xūnu*; Nan. *xujmu*.

◊ TMC 2, 266, 280. In Man. cf. also *xum-sun* 'navel' (TMC 1, 447).

PMong. ***köjil-sü** navel (пупок): MMong. *kojisun* (HY 47, 15), *kuj-sun* (MA); WMong. *köi(l)sü* (L 498: *küisü(n), küilsü(n)*); Kh. *xüjs*; Bur. *xüjhe(n)*; Kalm. *kīsṇ*; Ord. *kűs, kīs, küjs, kős, kűsü*; Mog. ZM *kosun* (3-3b); Dag. *kuise* (Тод. Даг. 151, MD 184); Dong. *kuisun*; Bao. *kisoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *kűsən*; Mongr. *kwāʒə*; *kwāgi-* 1 'nombril, centre; couper le cordon ombicical à l'enfant 1' (SM 208).

◊ KW 239, MGCD 397.

PTurk. ***kīn, *kīn-dük** 1 navel, navelstring, centre 2 navel of a musk-deer, musk (1 пупок, пуповина, центр 2 мускусная железа, мускус): OTurk. *kin* 'утроба, vagina; мускус', *kindik* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *kin* (KB), *kün* (MK) 2; Tur. *kindik, künük* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *kindik* (dial.) 1; Sal. *kinžix, kintix* 1; Khal. *kindik* 1; MTurk. *kindik* (MA, Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *kindik, kindak* 1; Uygh. *kindik* 1; Krm. *kindik* 1, 'belly'; Tat. *kendek* 1; Bashk. *kendek* 1; Kirgh. *kindik* 1; Kaz. *kindik* 1; KBalk. *kindik* 1; KKalp. *kindik* 1; Kum. *gindik* 1; Nogh. *kindik* 1; SUygh. *kendek* 1 (ЯЖУ); Khak.

kən 1, *kəndək* 1; Oyr. *kindik* 1, kin 2; Tv. *xin* 1, 2, *xindik* 1, 2; Tof. *xin* 1, 2; Chuv. *kəndək* (dial.); Yak. *kīn* 1.

◊ VEWT 271, EDT 725, 729, ЭСТЯ 5, 68-69, Лексика 279-280. Turk. > Mong. *kindik* (Щербак 1997, 127).

‖ KW 234, Дыбо 6, Лексика 280. A Western isogloss, with a rather complicated phonology. In Mong. **köjil-sü* (< **kölil-* < **kölin-*) should be distinguished from **köji* < **kōpʻe*, although the reflexes have been significantly confused; PTM **xulŋu-* either < **xulnu-* through assimilation, or else < **xulnu-gV-* or **xulnu-ŋV-* (with a fused velar suffix). Finally, in Turkic one has to suppose a (rather frequent) fronting **kīn* < **kīn*.

✱**kʻi̯uml[e]** nail, needle: Tung. ***xülme**; Mong. ***kimul-su**; Kor. ***kom(h)**.

PTung. ***xülme** needle (игла): Evk. *inme*; Evn. *inmъ*; Neg. *inme*; Man. *ulme*; SMan. *unū* (266); Jurch. *hiul-me* (249); Ul. *xulme(n)*; Ork. *xulme*; Nan. *xurme*; Orch. *imme*; Ud. *iŋme*; Sol. *imme*.

◊ TMC 1, 316.

PMong. ***kimul-su** claw, finger-nail (ноготь, коготь): MMong. *kimusun* (HY 46, SH), *kimul* (SH), *qəmərsən* (IM), *qimusun* (MA); WMong. *kimusu(n)*, *qumusu(n)* (L 469); Kh. *xums(an)*; Bur. *xumha(n)*; Kalm. *xumsn̥*; Ord. *xumusu*; Mog. *qimsun*; ZM *qemsun* (2-9a); Dag. *kimči* (Тод. Дар. 150), *kimeči* (MD 183); Dong. *Gəmusun* (MGCD *Gimusun)*; Bao. *Gomsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *xəməsən*; Mongr. *ćimuzə* (SM 450), (MGCD *ćimusə*).

◊ KW 197, MGCD 389.

PKor. ***kom(h)** finger-nail (ноготь): Mod. *son-khom* (SKE 134).

◊ A dialectal form.

‖ In Mong. one has to suppose **kimul-* < **kumil-* (the form *qumu(l)-* is actually attested in many dialects, and may be archaic).

✱**kʻi̯ŭnčʻo** sleeve, elbow; top of boot: Tung. ***xŭnčē-n**; Mong. ***kančʻu-**; Turk. ***Konč**.

PTung. ***xŭnčē-n** elbow (локоть): Evk. *ičēn*; Evn. *iečen*; Neg. *ičēn*; Ul. *unče(n)*; Ork. *ūite*; Nan. *xujčē*; Orch. *ičo(n)*; Sol. *ičē*.

◊ TMC 1, 336. TM > Dag. *inčēn*, *jinčēn*, *ičēn* (Тод. Дар. 146). Loss of **x-* in Ul. and Orok is not quite clear: perhaps borrowing from some archaic South. Tung. dialect (before the change **ŭ* > ī).

PMong. ***kančʻu-** sleeve (рукав): MMong. *kančun* (HY 22), *qančʻu(n)* (SH), *qančʻu* (IM), *qančīn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *qančʻu-n* (L 927: *qančʻui*, *qančʻu*, *qamčʻui*); Kh. *xancuj*; Bur. *xamsi*; Kalm. *xancə*; Ord. *xančʻu*; Mog. *qamči*, *qamčʻu* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *kančʻi* (Тод. Дар. 148, MD 181), *xančʻi* (Тод. Дар. 148); Dong. *Ganǯun*; Bao. *Ganǯoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *χanǯūn*; Mongr. *xanǯi*, *xanći* (SM 156), *xamǯi*.

◊ KW 175, MGCD 327.

PTurk. ***Konč** top(s) of boots (голенище): Tur. *konč*; Gag. *qonč*; Az. *Gunǯ*; Turkm. *Gonč*; MTurk. *qonč* (AH); Uzb. *qo̯nǯ*; Uygh. *qonǯa*; Krm.

qonč; Tat. *qunič*; Kirgh. *qonč*; Kaz. *qoniš*; KKalp. *qoniš*; Kum. *xonč*; Nogh. *qoniš*; SUygh. *qaŋč*; Shr. *qoš*; Oyr. *qonč*, *qonič*; Tv. *xonču*; Chuv. *konʒa*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 58-59, Федотов 1, 308.

‖ A Western isogloss. Except for Mong. -a- the correspondences are regular; Mong. **kančи-* probably < **kunča-* (with vowel metathesis).

***kʲi̯une** heavy, load: Tung. ***(x)ünī-**; Mong. ***kündü**.

PTung. ***(x)ünī-** to carry on the back (нести на спине): Evk. *inī-*; Evn. *inu-*; Neg. *inīw-* 'навьючить'; Man. *unu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 315-316.

PMong. ***kün-** 1 heavy, difficult 2 respect, authority (1 тяжелый 2 уважение, почтительность): MMong. *kundu* (HY 52, SH), *kundule-* 'to respect' (HYt), *kondu* (IM), *kündu* 1; WMong. *kündü* 1,2 (L 501, 502); Kh. *xünd* 1,2; Bur. *xünde* 1; Kalm. *kündə* 1,2; Ord. *kündü* 1,2; Mog. *kündü* 1; ZM *kondu* (18-3b); Dag. *xundu*, *kundu* (Тод. Даг. 151), *hunde* 1, *hundule-* 'to respect' (MD 166); Dong. *gundu*; Bao. *kuntɛ*, *kuntə*; S.-Yugh. *kundə*; Mongr. *kundun* (SM 212).

◊ KW 246, MGCD 398. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *kündü* (Stachowski 164); > Manchu *kundu* 'respect, honor', Evk. *kundu* (Rozycki 146).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

***kʲi̯ŭnu** to long for, covet (sexually): Tung. ***(x)on-**; Mong. ***kina-**; Turk. ***Kin-**; Jpn. ***kunank-**.

PTung. ***(x)on-** 1 to search (for lost deer) 2 to wait 3 domestic reindeer trained for searching wild deer (1 искать (потерявшихся оленей) 2 ждать 3 олень-манщик): Evk. *onī-* 1, *ondōgdo* 3; Evn. *ōnmъṭ-* 2, *ondā-* 1, *ondad* 3; Neg. *ondogdo* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 19. Cf. perhaps also Manchu *ondo-* 'to caper; to rape' (> Dag. *ondō-*, see Тод. Даг. 159); Nan. *χonoli-* 'to mock' (TMC 1, 470) - which would confirm the reconstruction of *x- and fit the original meaning 'to covet (sexually)'. Evk. *ondogdo* > Dolg. *ondōdo* (see Stachowski 193).

PMong. ***kina-** to investigate, observe, trace (исследовать, наблюдать, следить): WMong. *kina-* (L 469); Kh. *xana-*; Bur. *xina-*; Ord. *kina-*; Dag. *kinima* 'careful, cautious'.

◊ MGCD 353.

PTurk. ***Kin-** 1 to long for, covet, to be obsessed with 2 to long (sexually) 3 coire (1 желать, стремиться 2 желать (сексуально) 3 coire): OTurk. *qin-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qin-* 1 (MK); Tur. *kin-* 1, 2; Kirgh. *qiniq-* 1; Khak. *xin-*, *xinix-* 1, 2; Shr. *qin-* 1; Oyr. *qin-*, *qiniq-* 1; Chuv. *хъпъх-* 1; Yak. *kin-* 3.

◊ VEWT 264, EDT 632, ЭСТЯ 6, 632.

PJpn. ***kunank-** coire, have sexual intercourse (coire, иметь половые сношения): OJpn. *kunagap(j)i* (n.); MJpn. *kunag-*.

‖ KW 231 (Turk.-Mong.). See also notes to **gŭno*.

***k´i̯ŭńa** punishment: Tung. ***xuńi-**; Mong. ***könüɣe-**; Turk. ***Kījn**; Jpn. ***káná-**.

PTung. ***xuńi-** to envy, become sick of envy (завидовать, обижаться, заболевать от зависти): Evk. *uni-*; Evn. *öń-*; Neg. *uńi-*; Ul. *xuńi-*; Nan. *xuńi-*; Ud. *uńi-* 'to become sick'.

◊ TMC 2, 273-274.

PMong. ***könüɣe-** to harm, torture (вредить, мучить): WMong. *könüge-* (L 490); Kh. *xönõ-*; Bur. *xünegõl* 'harm, damage'.

PTurk. ***Kījn** 1 punishment, fine, guilt 2 to punish 3 cruelty, tyranny 4 to condemn 5 hard, difficult 6 to torture 7 insult, offence 8 to offend 9 harm, torture 10 sin 11 to annoy, anger 12 to beat (1 наказание, штраф, вина 2 наказывать 3 жестокость, тирания 4 осуждать, порицать 5 трудный, тяжелый 6 мучить 7 обида 8 обижать 9 беда, мучение 10 грех 11 сердить, раздражать 12 бить): OTurk. *qijnïɣ* (*acc.*) (Orkh.), *qijn, qin* (OUygh.) 1, *qina-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qin, qijin* (KB) 1, *qina-* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *kijin, kijinč* 3, *kina-* 4; Az. *Gina-* 4; Turkm. *qīn* 5, *qīna-* 'to make difficult, torture'; MTurk. *qijin* (Abush., Бор. Бад., MA), *qin* (Pav. C.), *qina-* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *qijin* 5, *qijna-* 6; Uygh. *qijin* 5, *qijna-* 6; Krm. *qijin, qejin* 1, *qijna-* 6; Tat. *qijin* 5, *qijina-* 'to make difficult, hard'; Bashk. *qijin* 1, *qijna-* 12; Kirgh. *qijin* 1, *qijit-* 'to make difficult, troublesome', *qijna-* 6; Kaz. *qijin* 1, *qijna-* 6, *qinž-il-* 'to be distressed'; KBalk. *qijin* 1, *qijna-* 12; KKalp. *qijin* 1, *qijna-* 6; Kum. *qijin* 1, *qijna-* 6; Nogh. *qijin* 1, *qijna-* 6; SUygh. *qin* 1; Khak. *xijix* 7, *xijal* 9; Shr. *qijal* 9, 10, *qijiq-ta-* 8, *qijnaɣ* 9 (**qiń-laɣ*); Oyr. *qijin, qijna-* 6, *qijal* 10, dial. (Tuba) *qij-* 6; Tv. *xijna-* 6; Chuv. *xən* 1; Yak. *kīnńā-, kijaxā-* 11, *kij-* 'to pain, ache'; Dolg. *kijŋa-* 11, *kij-* 'to kill'.

◊ VEWT 264. EDT 631, ЭСТЯ 6, 218-219, Stachowski 168. Turk. **Kījna-* > MMong. *qina-* 'to torture' (Щербак 1997, 165). Nasalless forms (like Yak. *kijaxā-* etc.) may result from a reanalysis of the form **Kījn* as **Kijin*, interpreted as a deverbative noun. Turk. > Hung. *kín* 'torture, suffering' (Gombocz 1912).

PJpn. ***káná-** sad, sorrowful (печальный, грустный): OJpn. *kana-si*; MJpn. *káná-si*; Tok. *kànashi-*; Kyo. *kánáshì-*; Kag. *kanáshi-*.

◊ JLTT 830.

‖ Cf. **guna.* and notes to **gùno*. Mong. **könüɣe-* has a usual regressive labialization (< **kenüɣe-* or **kinüɣe-*).

***k´i̯ùńí** thread, cloth: Mong. ***kejeŋ**; Turk. ***köjŋe-lek**; Jpn. ***kìnú**; Kor. ***kính.**

PMong. ***kejeŋ** edge of cloth (on both sides), selvage (кайма, край одежды (по обеим сторонам)): WMong. *kejeŋ* (L 445); Kh. *xejen*.

PTurk. ***köjŋe-lek** shirt (рубашка): Karakh. *köŋlek* (MK); Tur. *köjnäk*, dial. *göŋlek*; Gag. *gölmäk*; Az. *köjnek*; Turkm. *köjnek*, dial. *gömlek*; MTurk. *köŋlek* (Sangl., MA, Pav. C., Бор. Бад.), *köjnek* (Pav. C.); Uzb.

kọjnak, kọjlak; Uygh. *köŋläk, köŋnek*; Krm. *kölmek*; Tat. *külmäk*; Bashk. *küldäk*; Kirgh. *köjnek*; KBalk. *kölek*; KKalp. *köjlek*; Kum. *gölek*; Nogh. *köjlek*; Khak. *kögenek*; Shr. *künek*; Oyr. *künek*; Tv. *xöjleŋ*; Yak. *könjüǧas* 'старинное название дохи'.

◊ VEWT 290-291, EDT 732, ЭСТЯ 5, 89-90, Лексика 384, 476-477. Turk. > WMong. *küjileg*, Kalm. *kīlag* (KW 234), MMong. *köŋlek* (TMN 3, 615, Щербак 1997, 128).

PJpn. ***kìnú** silk; cloth, robe (шелк; одежда, платье): OJpn. *kjinu*; MJpn. *kìnú*; Tok. *kínu*; Kyo. *kìnú*; Kag. *kinú*.

◊ JLTT 451.

PKor. ***kính** string, tassel (веревка, кисточка, лента): MKor. *kín* (*kính-*); Mod. *k:in*.

◊ Nam 80, KED 243.

‖ In Mong. one would rather expect -ö-; -e- is perhaps a result of assimilation. In Turko-Mongolian -ŋ- is possibly an original suffix (Turk. **köjŋe-* < **köń-ŋe-*); but a reconstruction like **k'i̯úńŋí* can also not be excluded.

***k'i̯ŭńu (~ -a)** sheath, scabbard: Tung. ***xunʒi-**; Mong. ***kuj**; Turk. ***Kīn**.

PTung. ***xunʒi-** 1 wooden quiver 2 a vessel made of birch bark (1 деревянный колчан 2 сосуд из бересты): Evk. *unʒikān* 2; Nan. *xonʒi* (Он.) 1.

◊ TMC 2, 273.

PMong. ***kuj** sheath, scabbard (ножны, чехол): MMong. *quji* (IM), *qūj* (LH), *quj* (MA); WMong. *qui* (L 982); Kh. *xuj*; Bur. *xuj*; Kalm. *xŭ*; Ord. *xuj*; S.-Yugh. *χui*; Mongr. *xwə̄* (SM 176), *xui* (Huzu), (MGCD *xui*).

◊ MGCD 386, KW 204.

PTurk. ***Kīn** sheath, scabbard (ножны, чехол): Karakh. *qın* (MK, KB); Tur. *kın*; Gag. *qın*; Az. *Gın*; Turkm. *Gīn*; MTurk. *qın* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qin*, (Khorazm dial.) *qijn*; Uygh. *qin*; Krm. *qın*; Tat. *qın*; Bashk. *qın*; Kirgh. *qın*; Kaz. *qın*; KBalk. *qın*; KKalp. *qın*; Kum. *qın*; Nogh. *qın*; SUygh. *qın* (ЯЖУ); Khak. *xın*; Shr. *qın*; Oyr. *qın*; Tv. *xın*; Chuv. *jənə*, dial. *ənə*; Yak. *kīn*.

◊ VEWT 264, EDT 630-631, Егоров 79, Лексика 571, ЭСТЯ 6, 217-218.

‖ Владимирцов 174. A Western isogloss. See TMN 3, 577 ("die Aehnlichkeit der beiden Wörter dürfte Zufall sein").

***k'i̯úŋu** to bend, bow: Tung. ***xuŋke- / *kuŋke-**; Mong. ***kiji- / *keje-**; Turk. ***Kiŋ-**; Jpn. ***kúnkúm-**.

PTung. ***xuŋke- / *kuŋke-** to bow (кланяться, наклоняться): Evk. *uŋkē-*; Neg. *keŋket-*; Man. *xeŋgile-*; SMan. *xeŋkilə-*, *xiŋkili-* 'to kowtow' (1446); Jurch. *keŋ-ke-le-mij* (751); Ul. *keŋkele-*; Nan. *keŋkele-*; Ud. *xeŋki-*.

◊ TMC 2, 278-279.

PMong. ***kiji- / *keje-** oblique, slanting (косой, наклонный): WMong. *keje-ge* (L 445), *kiji-ǯaŋ*; Kh. *xejeg*; *xejede-*, *xejele-* (v.); Kalm. *kīzŋ*.

◊ KW 235. There also exists a synonymous WMong. variant *geji-, geje-* (Kh. *geje-de-, geje-le-*, Kalm. *gī*). Voiced *g- here is probably due to the influence of another synonymous root, **gek-* (v. sub **gékʻá*).

PTurk. ***Kiŋ-** bent, oblique (согнутый, косой): OTurk. *qiŋir* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qiŋir* (MK); Turkm. *Giŋir*; MTurk. *qiŋir* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *qiŋγir*; Uygh. *qiŋi(r)*; Krm. *qiŋγir*; Tat. *qiŋγir*; Bashk. *qiŋir* (dial.); Kirgh. *qiŋir*; Kaz. *qiŋir*; KBalk. *qiŋir*; KKalp. *qiŋir*; Kum. *qiŋir*; Yak. *kiŋnar* 'криво, косо'.

◊ VEWT 264-265, EDT 639, ЭСТЯ 6, 220-221. OT *qiŋraq* 'curved dagger' > WMong. *kiγira, kiŋgara* (Kalm. *kīra*, Khalkha *xaŋgar*).

PJpn. ***kúnkúm-** be curved, bent (быть кривым, изогнутым): MJpn. *kugum-, kúgúmar-*.

◊ JLTT 715.

‖ TM and Jpn. forms reflect a velar suffix (or partial reduplication). One of several similar roots which are sometimes difficult to distinguish: cf. **gékʻá, *gŭkʻa, *kʻōki*.

***kʻi̯uŋu** worm, grub: Tung. ***xuŋVl-**; Mong. ***kiγur-**; Jpn. ***kuà**.

PTung. ***xuŋVl-** 1 worm 2 grub (1 червь 2 личинка): Evk. *uŋul* 1; Evn. *uŋъl* 1, 2; Neg. *uŋil* 2; Man. *uḿaxa / iḿaxa* 1; SMan. *imahə, nimahə* 1 (2173); Jurch. *wu-mia-xa* (166) 1; Ork. *xuŋguli* 2; Nan. *xuŋguli* 2; Orch. *umuli* 2; Ud. *uŋulu* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 280. Cf. also PTM **(x)uŋa* 'grub, larva' (TMC 2, 276).

PMong. ***kiγur-** nit (гнида): WMong. *kiγursu, quur(a)su* (L 464: *kiγurasu(n)*, *kiγurusu(n)*); Kh. *xūrs*; Bur. *xúrha(n)*; Kalm. *gŭr(ə)*, *xūrsn̥*, *γūrsn̥*; Ord. *Gūrsu*; Dag. *ḱaur* (Тод. Даг. 148); S.-Yugh. *χairsən*; Mongr. *ćirʒə* (SM 456), (MGCD *ćīrsə*).

◊ KW 140, 202, MGCD 381. Mong. > Khak. *kör* etc. (VEWT 292).

PJpn. ***kuà** silkworm (шелковичный червь): OJpn. *kwo*; MJpn. *kàfí-kò*; Tok. *kái-ko*; Kyo. *kài-kò*; Kag. *kai-kó*.

◊ JLTT 433.

‖ The Jpn. form goes back to **kʻi̯uŋ(u)-gV*.

***kʻi̯upʻe** to sew: Mong. ***köbe-**; Turk. ***köpi-**.

PMong. ***köbe-** to oversew, tack, baste (сметывать, сшивать через край): WMong. *köbe-* (L 476), *köberi-de-*; Kh. *xövördö-*; Kalm. *köw-, köwrd-*.

◊ KW 242. Mong. > Man. *kubu-*, see Rozycki 144.

PTurk. ***köpi-** to oversew, quilt (сшивать через край, простегивать): Karakh. *kübi-* (MK); Tur. *göbü-, göbü* 'толстый шов', *köpü-* (dial.); Turkm. *köpe-*; MTurk. (Kypch.) *kübV-* (AH); Tat. *kübe-* (Sib.); Bashk. *kübe-*; Oyr. *kübür-* (Tel.).

◊ VEWT 306, ЭСТЯ 5, 111, EDT 687.

‖ A Turko-Mong. isogloss. Not quite reliable, because Mong. may be < Turkic (or else connected etymologically with *köbe-ge* 'edge').

***k'i̯ura (~ -u)** twenty: Tung. ***xorin**; Mong. ***kori**; Turk. ***Kirk**.

PTung. ***xorin** twenty (двадцать): Evk. *orin*; Neg. *ojin*; Man. *orin*; SMan. *orin* (2754); Jurch. *horin* (655); Ul. *χori(n)*; Ork. *χori(n)*; Nan. *χorī*; Orch. *oi*; Ud. *waji*; Sol. *orī*.

◊ TMC 2, 24.

PMong. ***kori** twenty (двадцать): MMong. *qorin* (SH, HY 43), *qurin* (IM), *qūrin* (LH); WMong. *qori(n)* (L 966); Kh. *xorin*; Bur. *xori(n)*; Kalm. *xörn*; Ord. *xori*; Dag. *xoŕ*, Тод. Дар. 178 *xori(n)*; *hori* (MD 164); Dong. *qorun*; Bao. *χoroŋ*; S.-Yugh. *χorən*; Mongr. *xorin*, *xorim* (SM 173), *xurən*.

◊ KW 193, MGCD 366.

PTurk. ***Kirk** forty (сорок): OTurk. *qirq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qirq* (MK); Tur. *kirk*; Gag. *qirq*; Az. *Girx*; Turkm. *qirq*; Sal. *qirx*, *qirix*; Khal. *qirq*; MTurk. *qirq* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qirq*; Uygh. *qi(r)q*; Tat. *qiriq*; Bashk. *qirq*; Kirgh. *qirq*; Kaz. *qiriq*; KBalk. *qirq*; KKalp. *qirq*; Kum. *qirq*; Nogh. *qirq*; Khak. *xirix*; Shr. *qiriq*; Oyr. *qirq*, *qiriq*; Chuv. *xərəx*.

◊ EDT 651, VEWT 266, Лексика 573, ЭСТЯ 6, 235-236.

‖ Because of the *x- reflex, hardly borrowed in TM from Mong. (despite Doerfer MT 81, Rozycki 169). A Western isogloss: cf. OJ *patati* '20' < **katati* under the influence of **puta-* '2' (??).

***k'i̯ure** guest, neighbour: Tung. ***(x)üremē- (~ -i-)**; Mong. ***kür-**; Turk. ***Kir-deĺ**.

PTung. ***(x)üremē- (~ -i-)** to visit, come as a guest (приходить в гости, гостить): Evk. *iremē-*; Neg. *ijemē-*.

◊ TMC 1, 329.

PMong. ***kür-** 1 son-in-law, bridegroom 2 brother-in-law (1 зять 2 шурин): MMong. *guregən* (HY 29), *gurigen*, *guregen* (SH) 1, *keurgen* (IM); WMong. *kürgen* 1, *küri degü* 2 (L 505); Kh. *xürge* 1, *xür degű* 2; Bur. *xürge(n)* 1, *xür* dű 'younger brother-in-law'; Kalm. *kür* 'brother-in-law'; *kürgn* 1; Ord. *kürgen* 1 *küri dű* 'frère poîné de la femme'; Dag. *xurgun* 1 (Тод. Дар. 180: *xurgen*, *kurgen*), *huregen* 1 (MD 167); Dong. *kuγan* 1; Bao. *kurkaŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *kurγen* 1, *kure dűn* 2; Mongr. *kurgēn* (SM 216) 1, *kurgēn diu* 2.

◊ KW 246, 247, MGCD 399, 401. Despite Щербак 1997, 128 Mong. *kürgen* cannot be < Turk. **güdegü* (v. sub **kude*). Mong. > Evk. *kurekēn*, *kuriγen* see TMN 1, 477, Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ***Kir-deĺ** a neighbour who lives in the same house (сосед, живущий в том же доме): Karakh. *kirdeš* (MK).

◊ EDT 739. The word is attested only in OT, but modern forms like Oyr. *körüš*, Tat. *kürši* 'neighbour' etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 118-119; > Mong. *körši*, see Clark 1980, 41) may actually belong here, being transformed under the influence of *körüš-* 'to see each other'. Difficult

is Yak. *küre, kürüö* 'wife's younger sister': Poppe 1961, 138 regards it as genetically related to the Mongolian forms, but one cannot exclude a secondary loan < Evk. *kuriγen*.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kʻi̯ŭre** to reach, treat: Tung. ***xür-***; Mong. ***kür-***; Turk. ***gīr-***; Jpn. ***kúrá-***; Kor. ***kūr-***.

PTung. ***xür-*** to ripen (созревать): Evk. *ir-*; Evn. *ir-*; Neg. *ij-*; Man. *ure-*; SMan. *urə-, uru-* (391); Ul. *xuru-*; Ork. *xuri-*; Nan. *xuru-*.

◊ TMC 1, 323.

PMong. ***kür-*** 1 to reach 2 receive a gift or favour, be reached (1 достигать 2 получать подарок, заслужить милость, достичь): MMong. *gur-* 1 (SH, HYt), *kor-* 1 (IM); WMong. *kür-* 1 (L 503), *kürte-* 2 (L 506); Kh. *xüre-, xürte-*; Bur. *xüre-* 1, *xürte-* 2; Kalm. *kürtə-*; Ord. *kür-*; Mog. *kur-* 1 (Weiers); Dag. *kuru-*, (Тод. Даг. 151) *kure-, kur-* 1; *kurte-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 151), *kure-, hure-* 1 (MD 167, 185); Dong. *kuru-*; Bao. *kur-*; S.-Yugh. *kur-*; Mongr. *kuru-* (SM 216), *kurə-*.

◊ KW 248, MGCD 401.

PTurk. ***gīr-*** to enter (входить): OTurk. *kir-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kir-* (MK, KB); Tur. *gir-*; Gag. *gir-*; Az. *gir-*; Turkm. *gīr-*; Sal. *kir-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *kir-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *kir-*; Uygh. *kir-*; Krm. *kir-*; Tat. *ker-*; Bashk. *ker-*; Kirgh. *kir-*; Kaz. *kir-*; KBalk. *kir-*; KKalp. *kir-*; Kum. *gir-*; Nogh. *kir-*; SUygh. *ker-*; Khak. *kər-*; Shr. *kir-*; Oyr. *kir-*; Tv. *kir-*; Tof. *kir-*; Chuv. *kər-*; Yak. *kīr-*; Dolg. *kīr-*.

◊ VEWT 271, EDT 735-736, ЭСТЯ 3, 47-48, Stachowski 149.

PJpn. ***kúrá-*** to give (to the 1st p.) (давать (1му л.)): MJpn. *kúrá-*; Tok. *kùre-*; Kyo. *kúré-*; Kag. *kuré-*.

◊ JLTT 716.

PKor. ***kūr-*** to treat, concern (обращаться, обходиться): Mod. *kūl-*.

◊ KED 217.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 275, Цинциус 1984, 122-123. An alternative (but more dubious) etymology of the Kor. word see in PKE 95. Turkic demonstrates here the same irregular voicing as in **dīŕ* < **tʻi̯ūŕe*.

✱**kʻi̯úrge (~ -o)** to feed, eat: Tung. ***xürgi-***; Mong. ***korgan***; Turk. ***KUr(g)-***; Jpn. ***kúrá-p-***.

PTung. ***xürgi-*** 1 to raise, feed 2 food, food supply (1 растить, кормить 2 пища, продовольствие): Evk. *irgī-* 1, *irgise* 2; Evn. *irgъ-* 1, *issъ* 2; Neg. *iggi-* 1, *isse* 2; Man. *uǯi-* 1; SMan. *uǯi-* 1 (2338); Ul. *xujse* 2; Ork. *xujse* 2; Nan. *xujgie-* 1, *xujgese* 2; Orch. *iggi-* 1, *iggixe* 2; Ud. *igisi-* 1; Sol. *iggi-, irgi-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 325-326.

PMong. ***korgan*** melted fat, oil (топленый жир, масло): Bur. *xorgotoj* (adj.); Kalm. *xorγn* (KPC).

PTurk. ***KUr(g)-*** food (пища, еда): Chuv. *xorъś*.

◊ Аним. XVI, 226-227. Isolated in Chuvash, but having probable external parallels.

PJpn. ***kúrá-p-*** to consume, eat (есть, пожирать): OJpn. *kura-p-*; MJpn. *kúrâ-*; Tok. *kùra-*; Kyo. *kúrá-*; Kag. *kurá-*.

◊ JLTT 716.

‖ The TM and Japanese evidence is rather in favour of the original verbal nature of the root, with the meaning 'fat food, fat' secondarily developed in Mong. (as well as in TM).

✱**kʲi̯ŭrpe** young (animal, fish): Tung. ***xürbe***; Mong. ***körbe***; Turk. ***körpe***.

PTung. ***xürbe*** spawn, to spawn (нерест, метать икру): Evk. *irbe*; Ul. *xulbi-*; Nan. *xurbe-*.

◊ TMC 1, 324. Evk. > Dolg. *irba* (Stachowski 261).

PMong. ***körbe*** new-born lamb (новорожденный ягненок): Bur. *xürbe*; Ord. *körwö* 'young child or animal'; Dag. *kurub* (Тод. Даг. 151).

◊ MGCD 391.

PTurk. ***körpe*** 1 new-born 2 new-born lamb (1 новорожденный 2 новорожденный ягненок): Karakh. *körpe* (MK) 1; Tur. *körpe* 1, 2; Gag. *körpɛ* 1; Az. *körpä* 1; Turkm. *körpe* 1; Khal. *kurpe, kirpɛ*; Uzb. *kurpɛ* 1; Uygh. *kö(r)pɛ* 1, 2; Bashk. *kürpɛ* 1; Kirgh. *körpö* 1, 2; KBalk. *körpe* 2; KKalp. *körpe* 1; Kum. *körpe* 1; Nogh. *körpe* 2.

◊ VEWT 293, TMN 3, 637, ЭСТЯ 5, 116-118, Лексика 391.

‖ A Western isogloss (but Mong. may be < Turkic).

✱**kʲi̯ùru** heavy; hard, difficult: Tung. ***xur-ge***; Turk. ***Kɨr-***; Jpn. ***kùrù-sì-***; Kor. ***korə̆- / *koro-***.

PTung. ***xurge*** heavy (тяжелый): Evk. *urge*; Evn. *urgъ*; Neg. *ujgegdi*; Man. *ušen*; SMan. *ušin* (2848); Jurch. *hu(i̯)še* (395); Ul. *xuʒeuli*; Ork. *xudē*; Nan. *xuige*; Orch. *ugge*; Ud. *ugehi*; Sol. *uggerdi*.

◊ TMC 2, 283-284.

PTurk. ***Kɨr-*** 1 pest, epidemic 2 mischief 3 archenemy (1 чума, эпидемия 2 несчастье 3 заклятый враг): Karakh. *qɨr* (*jayɨ*) 3; Tur. *kɨran* 1; Turkm. *Gɨr* (*dušman*) 3; MTurk. *qiran* 2; Yak. *kɨr* (*östṓx*) 3.

◊ VEWT 265, ЭСТЯ 6, 224. Cf. also PT **Kurul-* 'to have cramps' (VEWT 304).

PJpn. ***kùrù-sì-*** hard, difficult, agonizing (трудный, тяжелый, мучительный): OJpn. *kuru-si-*; MJpn. *kùrù-si-*; Tok. *kurushí-*; Kyo. *kúrúshì-*; Kag. *kurushí-*.

◊ JLTT 833.

PKor. ***korə̆- / *koro-*** 1 suffering 2 to suffer, be troublesome, hard, painful (1 мука, мучение 2 мучиться, быть трудным, тяжелым): MKor. *koro-'om* 1, *korə̆'oi-* 2; Mod. *kwerop-* (*kwerow-*) 2, *kwero-um* 1.

◊ Nam 46, KED 189.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 80, 292.

***k´i̯ŭ́rú** bark, shell: Tung. ***xura-kta**; Mong. ***körü-sü**; Turk. ***Kirtił́**; Jpn. ***kùrí**; Kor. ***kúr**.

PTung. ***xura-kta** 1 bark 2 outer skin (1 кора 2 оболочка, кожица): Evn. *u̯rtъ* 1; Man. *uriχa* 2; Ul. *xu̯raqta* 1; Ork. *χu̯raqta* 1; Nan. *χoraqta* 1; Ud. *wakta* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 282. Cf. also Evn. *u̯ra-* 'to cover with bark', Orok *χu̯rala-* 'to peel bark'.

PMong. ***körü-sü** bark, upper stratum (кора, верхний слой): MMong. *korisu* (SH); WMong. *körüsü(n)*, *körüdesü(n)* (L 491); Kh. *xörs*; Bur. *xürhe(n)*; Kalm. *körsn̥*; Ord. *körösü* (*körös*); Dag. *kurbus* 'fur, leather' (Тод. Даг. 151).

◊ KW 240.

PTurk. ***Kirtił́** 1 surface 2 bark, upper layer (1 поверхность 2 кора, верхний слой): OTurk. *qirtiš* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qirtiš* 1 (MK); Tur. *kirtiš* (dial.) 2; MTurk. *qirtiš* (Houts.) 2; Tat. *qirtiš* 2; Bashk. *qirtiš* 2; Kirgh. *qirtiš* 2; Kaz. *qirtis* 2; KKalp. *qirtis* 2; Kum. *qirtiš* 2; Nogh. *qirtis* 2; Oyr. *qirtiš* 1; Tv. *qirtiš* 2.

◊ VEWT 267, EDT 649, Лексика 391-392, ЭСТЯ 6, 241-242. Cf. also forms reflecting **Kirił́*: Yak. *kiris* 'thin layer under skin', Tur. *kiriš* 'wrinkled', Az. *Giriš* 'wrinkle' (see ЭСТЯ 6, 242), as well as **Kirča(ŋ)* 'scab' (see ibid., 244-245).

PJpn. ***kùrí** a k. of mollusc (and its shell) (вид моллюска (и его раковина)): MJpn. *fàmà-gùrí*; Tok. *hamá-guri*; Kyo. *hámà-gùrì*; Kag. *hama-gurí*.

◊ JLTT 397. A compound with **pama* 'beach'.

PKcr. ***kúr** shell, oyster (устрица): MKor. *kúr*; Mod. *kul*.

◊ Nam 62, KED 216.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 38, 293.

***k´i̯ŭ́ru(mV)** ashes, soot: Tung. ***xurum-sa**; Mong. ***kirbu-su**; Turk. ***Kurum (< *Kirum)**; Kor. ***kur**.

PTung. ***xurum-sa** 1 earwax 2 tobacco ashes (1 ушная сера 2 табачный пепел): Evk. *urumŋā* 1; Evn. *u̯rumrъ* 1; Neg. *ojomŋa* 1; Ul. *χoromsa* 1; Ork. *χoropsa* 1; Nan. *χoromsa* 1, 2; Ud. *uŋä* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 288.

PMong. ***kirbu-su** burned smell (запах паленого): WMong. *kirbu-su(n)* (L 471); Kh. *xarvas*; Bur. *xorboho(n)*; Ord. *xurwus*, *xurwusu*.

PTurk. ***Kurum** soot (сажа, копоть): Karakh. *qurun* (MK); Tur. *kurum*; Gag. *qurum*; Az. *Gurum*; Turkm. *Gurum*; Khal. Gurun; MTurk. *qurum* (AH); Uzb. *qurum*; Uygh. *qurum* (dial.); Krm. *qurum*; Tat. *qorim*; Bashk. *qorom*; Kirgh. *qurum*; Kaz. *qurim*; KBalk. *qurum*; KKalp. *qurim*; Kum. *qurum*; Nogh. *qurim*; SUygh. *qorim*, *qurin*; Khak. *xurun*; Oyr. *qurun*; Chuv. *хъгъm* (Anatri); Yak. *kurunńuk*.

◊ Лексика 206, 371-372, EDT 661, ЭСТЯ 6, 169-170. Turk. > Hung. *korom* 'soot', see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***kur** soot (сажа, копоть): Mod. *kul*.

◊ KED 216.

‖ Note a common derivative **kʻi̯uru-mV(-sV)* in several languages.

✱**kʻi̯uŕa (~ -u)** to covet: Tung. ***xur-**; Mong. ***kuriča-**; Turk. ***Kiŕ**.

PTung. ***xur-** 1 to copulate (of deer) 2 to be jealous (1 спариваться (об оленях) 2 ревновать): Evk. *orgolī-* 2; *urī-n* 'rival (in love)'; Evn. *u̯rlį-* 2; Neg. *ojalį-* 2; Ul. *χoralsį-* 2; Ork. *χu̯ralį-* 2, *χorį-* 1; Nan. *χoralsį-* 2; Orch. *xorä* 'one of two wives'.

◊ TMC 1, 471; 2, 285.

PMong. ***kuriča-** to covet (жаждать, вожделеть): WMong. *quriča-* (L 989); Kh. *xuŕca-*; Bur. *xurisal* 'lust'; Kalm. *xörčə-*; Ord. *xuračilči-* 'coïter'.

◊ KW 193.

PTurk. ***Kiŕ** 1 expensive, miserly 2 to wish, envy, be miserly (1 дорогой, скупой 2 желать, завидовать, скупиться): Karakh. *qiz* 1 (MK); MTurk. *qiz* 1 (Ettuhf., AH); Uzb. *qizɣan-* 2; Uygh. *qizɣan-* 2; Krm. *qizɣan-* 2; Tat. *qizɣan-* 2; Bashk. *qizɣan-* 2; Kirgh. *qizɣan-* 2; Kaz. *qizɣan-* 2; KKalp. *qizɣan-* 2; Kum. *qizɣan-* 2; Nogh. *qizɣan-* 2; Oyr. *qisqan-* 2; Chuv. *xərɣen-* 2; Yak. *kisan-* 'нуждаться, иметь надобность'.

◊ VEWT 269, EDT 680, Лексика 339, ЭСТЯ 6, 248-249. The root is also attested as *kirs* in Tur. dialects, and as *qirzan-* in Tuva The verbal form **Kiŕ-gan-* is sometimes attested as *qisɣan-* due to a contamination with **Kis-ga-* 'short, narrow' (v. sub **kíso)*.

‖ ОСНЯ 3, 131-134 (Mong.-Tung.). A Western isogloss.

✱**kʻi̯ŭŕu** red, reddish; brown, dark: Tung. ***xuri-**; Mong. ***küre- (*küri-)**; Turk. ***Kiŕ-**; Jpn. ***kúrá-**; Kor. ***kùrí**.

PTung. ***xuri-** grey (серый): Evk. *uri-m*; Neg. *ōjiŋ*; Ul. *χoj-pu̯(n)*; Nan. *χō-gžō*, (On.) *xōrbor*.

◊ TMC 2, 285 (this root should be kept distinct from the form *kuri*, attested in some languages and borrowed from Mong.).

PMong. ***küre- (*küri)** (dark) brown (коричневый, бурый): WMong. *küreŋ*, *kürin*, *küren* (L 505); Kh. *xüren*; Bur. *xüri(n)*; Kalm. *kürŋ*; Ord. *küriŋ*, *küreŋ*; Dag. *kurel* (Тод. Дар. 151), (MGCD) *xūrin*; S.-Yugh. *kureŋ*; Mongr. *kurē* 'tacheté à peau rayée' (SM 216).

◊ KW 248, MGCD 401, TMN 1, 463. Mong. > Evk. *kurin*, Man. *kuri* etc. (see Doerfer MT 80, Rozycki 147) > Kor. *kurəŋ* (*mal*), see Lee 1958, 119; > Oyr. *küreŋ* etc. (VEWT 310, ЭСТЯ 5, 146-147).

PTurk. ***Kiŕ-** red (красный): OTurk. *qizıl* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qizıl* (MK, KB); Tur. *kızıl*; Gag. *qızıl*; Az. *Gızıl*; Turkm. *Gızıl*; Sal. *Gızıl*; Khal. *qızıl*; MTurk. *qızıl* (MA); Uzb. *qizil*; Uygh. *qizil*; Krm. *qızıl*; Tat. *qızıl*; Bashk. *qıðıl*; Kirgh. *qızıl*; Kaz. *qızıl*; KBalk. *qızıl*; KKalp. *qızıl*; Kum. *qızıl*; Nogh. *qızıl*; SUygh. *qizil*; Khak. *xızıl*; Shr. *qızıl*; Oyr. *qızıl*; Tv. *qızıl*; Tof. *qızıl*; Chuv. *xərlə*; Yak. *kıhıl*; Dolg. *kıhıl*.

◊ PT **Kiŕ-il* 'red' is derived from **Kiŕ-* 'to redden; glow' (Turkm. *Gız-*, Tur. *kız-* etc.), where length is witnessed by Yak. *kīs-*. One has to assume shortening in polysyllabic

derivatives (besides *Kiŕil* also **Kiŕ-ik-*, **Kiŕl-ar-*), with secondary analogical shortening in Turkm. Giz-; see VEWT 269, EDT 681, 683-4, TMN 3, 469, Лексика 602-603, ЭСТЯ 6, 187-189, 194-196, Stachowski 167. Cf. also **Kīr* 'grey' (VEWT 265, TMN 3, 567, ЭСТЯ 6, 229-230).

PJpn. ***kúrá-** dark (темный): OJpn. *kura-*; MJpn. *kúrá-*; Tok. *kùra-*; Kyo. *kúrà-*; Kag. *kúra-*.

◊ JLTT 833.

PKor. ***kùrí** copper (медь): MKor. *kùrí*; Mod. *kuri*.

◊ Liu 83, KED 200.

‖ See a detailed account in Miller-Street 1975, 116ff (with literature), АПиПЯЯ 283, Дыбо 12. Unlike Miller-Street, we leave aside the name of the "ferret" (linking instead Turk. **kiŕ-il* 'red' and TM **xuri-*), as well as PJ **kùruá* 'black' (having a different accent). It is interesting to note metal names derived from this root: Turk. **Kiŕil* 'gold' (see Лексика 403-404) = Mong. *kürel* 'bronze' = Kor. *kùrí* 'copper'. PT **Kīr* 'grey' could be perhaps compared separately with PM **kiraγa* 'dusk before dawn', cf. Владимирцов 338.

***kʹi̯úsè** bad behaviour: Mong. ***kosiŋ**; Turk. ***küs-**; Jpn. ***kúsài**.

PMong. ***kosiŋ** mockery, joke (насмешка, шутка): WMong. *qosiŋ*, *qošuŋ* (L 971, 972); Kh. *xošin*; Bur. *xošon*; Ord. *Gošoŋ*.

PTurk. ***küs-** to be angry, offended (сердиться, обижаться): Karakh. *küs-* (MK); Tur. *küs-*; Gag. *küs-*; Az. *küs-*; MTurk. *küs-* (IM, AH, Pav. C.); Kum. *küs-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 152-153.

PJpn. ***kúsài** bad habit (дурная привычка): MJpn. *kuse*; Tok. *kusé*; Kyo. *kúsè*; Kag. *kúse*.

◊ JLTT 466.

‖ A nice Turk.-Mong.-Jpn. semantic and phonetic match.

***kʹi̯ŭse** to wish: Tung. ***xüse**; Mong. ***küse-**; Turk. ***kŭse-**; Jpn. ***kəs-**.

PTung. ***xüse** 1 hunter 2 man 3 male 4 to be anxious, worry about smth. (1 охотник 2 человек, мужчина 3 самец 4 волноваться, беспокоиться): Evk. *isegdin* 1, *išiganil-* (V-L) 4; Evn. *iseγde* 2; Neg. *isegdin* 1; Ul. *xuse(gdi)* 2; Ork. *xusenne* 2; Nan. *xuse* 3; Sol. *išigē-* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 332, 336.

PMong. ***küse-** to wish (желать): MMong. *guse-* (SH), *kuse-* (MA); WMong. *küse-* (L 508); Kh. *xüs-*; Bur. *xühe-*; Kalm. *küs-*; Ord. *güse-*; Dag. *kuse-*, *kese-* (Тод. Даг. 151); Bao. *kuse-*.

◊ KW 248.

PTurk. ***kŭse-** to wish, want, will (желать, хотеть): Karakh. *küse-* (MK, KB); Turkm. *kŭse-*; MTurk. *küse-* (AH, Qutb.); Uygh. *kusɛ-*; Tat. *kösɛ-*; Bashk. *kühɛ-*; Kirgh. *küsö-*; KKalp. *küse-*; Nogh. *küse-*; Tv. *kü'ze-*.

◊ VEWT 311-312, ЭСТЯ 5, 135. Tuva forms reflect a short **-ŭ-*.

PJpn. ***kəs-*** to wish (volitive verb form) (желать (глагольная волитивная форма)): OJpn. *-kos-*.

‖ Владимирцов 362 (Turk.-Mong.); Ozawa 207-208 (Mong.-Jpn.). Mong. may be < Turkic.

✱**kˊi̯ŭso** to vomit: Tung. ***xüse-***; Turk. ***Kus-***.

PTung. ***xüse-*** to vomit (тошнить, рвать): Evk. *ise-*; Evn. *is-*; Neg. *ise-*; Ul. *xuse-*; Ork. *xuse-*; Nan. *xuse-*; Orch. *ise-*; Sol. *iširī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 332.

PTurk. ***Kus-*** to vomit (тошнить, рвать): OTurk. *qus-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qus-* (MK); Tur. *kus-*; Gag. *qus-*; Az. *Gus-*; Turkm. *Gus-*; Khal. *qus-*; MTurk. *qus-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qus-*; Uygh. *qus-*; Krm. *qus-*; Tat. *qos-*; Bashk. *qoɘ-*; Kirgh. *qus-*; Kaz. *qus-*; KKalp. *qus-*; Kum. *qus-*; Nogh. *qus-*; SUygh. *qus-*; Khak. *xus-*; Oyr. *qus-*; Tv. *qus-*; Chuv. *xъs-*; Yak. *xotuo* (n.).

◊ VEWT 304, EDT 666, ЭСТЯ 6, 174-175.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 124. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Turk. > Kalm. *xus-* 'to belch, retch' (KW 199).

✱**kˊòbàni** armpit: Tung. ***xobanī***; Mong. ***koŋ-***; Turk. ***Kōjn***; Jpn. ***kàpìná***.

PTung. ***xobanī*** armpit (подмышка): Evk. *oɣonī, owońī*; Evn. *oɣni, ownī*; Neg. *oɣoni*; Man. *obiǩa jali* 'meat from the region of shoulder-blades'; Ul. *χawa(n)*; Ork. *χawani*; Nan. *χawani*; Sol. *owonī*.

◊ TMC 2, 4, 6.

PMong. ***koŋ-*** hollow, cavity (полость, яма): WMong. *qoŋɣur, qoŋɣil* (L 962), *qoŋgil*; Kh. *xonxor, xongil*; Bur. *xoŋǵō* 'дупло'; Kalm. *xöŋgl* (KPC); Ord. *xoŋxor*; Mongr. *GoŋGuloG* 'petit vase rond, gobelet' (SM 122).

PTurk. ***Kōjn*** armpit, bosom (подмышка, пазуха): OTurk. *qoji̯n* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qoj* (MK); Tur. *koji̯n*; Gag. *qojnu*; Az. *Gojun*; Turkm. *Gojun*; Khal. *qōn*; MTurk. *qoji̯n* (AH); Uzb. *qo̯ji̯n*; Uygh. *qoji̯n*; Krm. *qojun, qoji̯n*; Tat. *quji̯n*; Bashk. *quji̯n*; Kirgh. *qoji̯n*; Kaz. *qoji̯n*; KBalk. *qoji̯n*; KKalp. *qoji̯n*; Kum. *qoji̯n*; Nogh. *qoji̯n*; SUygh. *qoin*; Khak. *xoji̯n*; Shr. *qoji̯n*; Oyr. *qoji̯n*; Tv. *xoj*; Chuv. *xəʷv*, хӳ, dial. *xüm*; Yak. *xōj* (*xońń-*); Dolg. *konnok*.

◊ VEWT 280, EDT 631, Лексика 243-244, ЭСТЯ 6, 26-27, Stachowski 152.

PJpn. ***kàpìná*** arm (рука (верхняя часть)): OJpn. *kapjina*; MJpn. *kàfiná*; Tok. *káina, kàina*; Kyo. *káiná*; Kag. *kainá*.

◊ JLTT 433. The Kyoto accent is irregular.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 345, Дыбо 316, Лексика 244. Mong. < **kowŋ-* < **koban-gV*; a secondary contamination with **kön-* (s.v. **kẽŋi*).

✱**kʻŏda (~ -u)** to finish, abandon: Tung. ***xod-**; Turk. ***Kod-**.

PTung. ***xod-** to end, finish (кончать): Evk. *od-*; Evn. *od-*; Man. *waǯi-*; SMan. *vaǯə-, vaǯi-* (1759); Ul. *χodi-*; Ork. *χoǯi-*; Nan. *χoǯi-*; Orch. *odi-*; Ud. *wadi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 6.

PTurk. ***Kod-** to put, leave, abandon (класть, оставлять, покидать): OTurk. *qod-* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qoδ-* (MK); Tur. *koj-*; Gag. *qoj-*; Az. *Goj-*; Turkm. *Goj-*; MTurk. *qoj-* (AH, Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *qoj-*; Uygh. *qoj-*; Krm. *qoj-*; Tat. *quj-*; Bashk. *quj-*; Kirgh. *qoj-*; Kaz. *qoj-*; KBalk. *qoj-*; KKalp. *qoj-*; Kum. *qoj-*; Nogh. *qoj-*; SUygh. *quz-*; Oyr. *qoj-*; Chuv. *xor-*.

◊ VEWT 274, EDT 595-596, ЭСТЯ 6, 27-28, Федотов 2, 361. The original meaning (observable in most ancient occurrences, see EDT 595) must have been 'to put aside, leave, abandon'; the meaning 'put' appears somewhat later and is probably due to a merger with **Ko-* 'to put' (v. sub **ga)*, not attested before the XIVth century.

‖ TMC 2, 6. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kʻŏjli** limb, extremity: Tung. ***xolda-n**; Mong. ***köl**; Turk. ***Kol**; Jpn. ***kuru-(n)-pusi**; Kor. ***kūi-màrí**.

PTung. ***xolda-n** 1 side 2 thigh (1 бок, сторона 2 бедро): Evk. *oldōn* 1, 2; Evn. *oldān* 1; Neg. *oldon* 1; Ul. *χoldo(n)* 1; Ork. *χoldo(n)* 1; Nan. *χoldō* 1; Orch. *ogdo(n)* 1; Ud. *ogdo(n)* 1; Sol. *oldō* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 13. TM > Dag. *oldōn* (Тод. Даг. 159).

PMong. ***köl** foot (нога): MMong. *kol* (HY 47, SH, IM, LH), *kul* (MA); WMong. *köl* (L 483-484); Kh. *xöl*; Bur. *xül*; Kalm. *köl*; Ord. *köl*; Mog. *köl*; ZM *kol* (4-3a); Dag. *kuli* (Тод. Даг. 150, MD 185); Dong. *kuan* (MGCD *kon*); Bao. *kul* (MGCD *kuol*); S.-Yugh. *köl*; Mongr. *kor* (SM 214), (MGCD *kol*).

◊ KW 237, MGCD 372.

PTurk. ***Kol** 1 arm 2 hand (1 рука (от локтя до плеча) 2 рука (кисть)): OTurk. *qol* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qol* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *kol* 1; Gag. *qol* 1; Az. *Gol* 1; Turkm. *Gol* 1; Sal. *qol* 1; Khal. *qol* 1; MTurk. *qol* 1, 2 (Abush., Sangl., MA, Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qul* 1, 2; Uygh. *qol* 1, 2; Krm. *qol* 1, 2; Tat. *qul* 1, 2; Bashk. *qul* 1, 2; Kirgh. *qol* 1, 2; Kaz. *qol* 1; KBalk. *qol* 1, 2; KKalp. *qol* 1, 2; Kum. *qol* 1, 2; Nogh. *qol* 1, 2; SUygh. *qol* 1; Khak. *xol* 1, 2; Shr. *qol* 1, 2; Oyr. *qol* 1, 2; Tv. *xol* 1, 2; Tof. *qol* 1; Chuv. *xol* 'shoulder'; Yak. *xol* 1; Dolg. *kol* 'shoulder'.

◊ VEWT 276, EDT 614-5, TMN 3, 556, Дыбо 146-153, Федотов 2, 353, Лексика 244-245, ЭСТЯ 6, 37-43, Stachowski 150.

PJpn. ***kuru-(n)-pusi** ankle (лодыжка): Tok. *kurúbushi*; Kyo. *kúrúbúshí*; Kag. *kurubushí*.

◊ JLTT 465. The PJ accent is not clear.

PKor. ***kūi-màrí** ankle (*leg-head) (лодыжка): MKor. *kūi-màrí*.

◊ Nam 65.

‖ See АПиПЯЯ 286, Цинциус 1984, 96-97, Дыбо 316, Лексика 243, 245. The comparison is quite reliable phonetically; *-jl- has to be assumed to account for the development in Kor. (> -i-). The semantic side ('arm'/'leg'/'thigh') can be explained if we suppose that the word originally designated a part of the animal body (front or hind leg together with the thigh). Cf. also TM **xūl-kse* 'sleeve' (probably an original derivation, although the length is not clear), **xul-ŋsi* 'shank, shin', PT **Koltuk* 'armpit' (Лексика 243, TMN 3, 557-558, ЭСТЯ 6, 52-54). It is interesting to speculate on the subject of the identity Kor. **kūi-màrí* = Jpn. *kuru-(n)pusi*. In Kor. -màrí is certainly to be analysed as "head" (*'leg-head'); the Jpn. form in this case may reflect a dissimilation < **kuru-n-musi*, where **musi* could be the remnant of PA **mə̌ĺžu* 'head' (q.v.). The same element in fact may be also present in Jpn. **tu(m)pu-(n)pusi* 'ankle, knee' and **kəmpusi* (if, with haplology < **kəmpu-(n)pusi*) 'fist'. One has, of course, to reckon with the possibility of having here rather PJ **pusi* 'joint' (< PA **bŭĺi* q.v.), which would explain the constant emergence of a stop in Jpn.; but the Jpn.-Kor. match (**kūi-màrí = kuru(n)pusi*) seems to be not accidental.

✱**kʻòké** plenty: Tung. ***xugdi**; Mong. ***kog-si-**; Turk. ***kök**; Jpn. ***kàkə́-ta-**; Kor. ***kɨh-**.

PTung. ***xugdi** 1 wide 2 capacious (1 широкий 2 емкий, вместительный): Ul. *xugdi* 1; Ork. *xugǯi* 1; Nan. *xugǯi* 1,2.

◊ TMC 1, 474-475.

PMong. ***kog-si-** to become rich, wealthy (богатеть): WMong. *qoγsi-* (L 952); Kh. *xogši-*; Bur. *xogšol* 'property', *xogšol-* 'to become rich'; Ord. *xoGši-*, GoGši-.

PTurk. ***kök** healthy, big, thick (здоровый, большой, толстый): Tur. *kök* (dial.); Az. *kök*; Khal. *kök*; MTurk. *kök*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 93. Turkic > Khalkha *xöx* 'massive (of muscles, flesh etc.)'

PJpn. ***kàkə́-ta-** plenty, much (много, множество): OJpn. *kokoda*; MJpn. *kòkóta*.

PKor. ***kɨh-** big (большой): MKor. *khɨ-*; Mod. *khɨ-*.

◊ Nam 455, KED 1679. The Kirim transcription 黑根 MC [*хʌk-кʌn*] may represent either **hɨki-* (as believed by Lee 1991, Ramsey 1993 and Vovin 2000) or **hki-* = **khi-* < **kɨh-*, keeping in mind the general uncertainty of Kirim transcriptions.

‖ The meaning 'big' in Korean certainly derives from *'plentiful'. The match between Kor. *khɨ-* and Jpn. **kàkə́-* appears quite satisfactory, despite the attempt of Vovin (2000) to link Kor. **hɨkɨ-* with PJ **sùkùnà-* 'few': it is hardly possible to analyse the Jpn. word as *'big'-does-not-exist, since all the existing compounds of this type are "noun+-na", not "adjective+-na", and anyway it is hardly possible to

separate PJ *sùkùnà- 'few' (adj.) and *sùkùa-(si) 'few' (noun, adverb), see *siǒkʻù.

***kʻókì** to bind, wrap: Tung. ***xuku-**; Mong. ***kugu-s-**; Turk. ***kök**; Jpn. ***kúkúr-**.

PTung. ***xuku-** to wrap (заворачивать): Evk. *ukulī-*; Evn. *uk-*; Neg. *uxil-*; Man. *uxu-*; Jurch. *hu-xun-mij am-si-da-lar* 'to contain' (764); Ul. *xuku-*; Ork. *xukulitči-*; Nan. *xuku-*; Sol. *uxulī-*.

◊ TMC 2, 256.

PMong. ***kugu-s-** to fold (складывать): WMong. *quɣuski-*, *quɣusla-* (L 982); Kh. *xugasla-*; Kalm. *xuɣəsl-* (KPC); Ord. *xuGusla-*.

PTurk. ***kök** 1 seam 2 thin straps for sewing 3 to sew, lace 4 to tack 5 tack, basting 6 needlework 7 to fasten (1 шов 2 тонкие ремешки для шитья 3 прошивать, стегать, подшивать 4 обметывать, приметать 5 наметка 6 шитье 7 присоединять, привязывать): OTurk. *kök* (OUygh.) 1; Tur. *kökle-* 3; Az. *kök* 1; Turkm. *kök* 5, 2; MTurk. *kök* (Sangl., Abush.) 1; Uzb. *kụk* 5; Uygh. *kök* 5, *köklɛ-* 4; Tat. *küklɛ-* 4; Kirgh. *kök* 2, *köktö-* 3; KBalk. *kökle-* 4; KKalp. *kök* 2, *kökle-* 4; Kum. *kökle-* 4; Nogh. *kökle-* 4; Khak. *kökte-* 4; Oyr. *kök* 6, *köktö-* 4; Tv. *kö'k* (Todzh.) 1, *kökte-* 3; Chuv. *kъgъr-* 7.

◊ VEWT 287, EDT 708, ЭСТЯ 91. Following EDT (and despite VEWT and ЭСТЯ) we prefer to separate this root from *kök 'hinge, peg, tether' (v. sub *kʻōkí).

PJpn. ***kúkúr-** to bind, tie (привязывать, связывать): OJpn. *kukur-*; MJpn. *kúkúr-*; Tok. *kùkur-*; Kyo. *kúkúr-*; Kag. *kukúr-*.

◊ JLTT 715.

‖ The original meaning should be reconstructed as 'bind', 'wrap' or 'fasten', with the meaning 'lace, sew' secondarily developed within Turkic. Note the morphological match between PTM *xuku-lī- and PJ *kúkú-r- < *kʻókì-lV.

***kʻōkí** hinge, hook: Tung. ***kūkta**; Mong. ***kögene**; Turk. ***kök, *kōken**; Jpn. ***kunki**.

PTung. ***kūkta** rowlock (уключина): Evk. *kūkta*; Evn. *kukte*.

◊ TMC 1, 426.

PMong. ***kögene** a string with a loop for binding animals (веревка с петлей для привязывания животных): WMong. *kögene*, *kögūne* (L 479); Kh. *xögnö*; Ord. *kögönö*.

PTurk. ***kök, *köken** 1 hinge, nail, peg, clasp 2 tether (1 застежка, петля, запор 2 привязь для животных): Karakh. *kök* 'belt for fixing the saddle', *kögen* 'rope for tethering calves, foals during milking' (MK); Tur. *kök* 'peg of a musical instrument', (dial.) *köken* 2; Turkm. *kōken* 2; MTurk. *kök* 'nail' (R, Bud. - Babur.); Uzb. *kukan* 2; Tat. *kügɛn* 1; Bashk. *kügɛn* 1; Kirgh. *kögön* 2; Kaz. *kögen* 2; KKalp. *güwen* 2; SUygh. *kūken* 2

(ЯЖУ); Chuv. *kъʷgan* 'loop', (*alъk*) *kъkə* 'prop of the door hinge'; Yak. *kögön* 2 (Пек.).

◊ VEWT 287, EDT 712, ЭСТЯ 5, 91, 93-94.

PJpn. ***kunki** nail, peg, hook (гвоздь, колышек, крюк): OJpn. *kug(j)i*; MJpn. *kùgì, kúgí*; Tok. *kùgi*; Kyo. *kúgí*; Kag. *kúgi*.

◊ JLTT 462. Accent not quite clear: RJ lists both variants with high and low tone.

‖ Initial *k- in PTM is probably due to assimilation (**kūkta* < **kʻūkta*). Mong. may be < Kypch. One of several similar roots: cf. **gǔkʻa, *kʻúŋu, *gékʻa*.

***kʻóla (~ -u-, -i̯o-)** to dry, get stale: Tung. ***xolga**; Jpn. ***kárá-**; Kor. ***korh-**.

PTung. ***xolga** 1 to dry 2 dry (1 сохнуть 2 сухой): Evk. *olgo-* 1, *olgokin* 2; Evn. *olgъ-* 1, *olgъqъn* 2; Neg. *olgo-* 1, *olgokin* 2; Man. *olGo-* 1, *olχon* 2; SMan. *oləhə-, oləhu*-1 (1814), *oləhə* 2 (1815); Ul. *xolǯo(n)* 2; Ork. *xoldoxo* 2; Nan. *χolGo-* 1, *χolGoqto* /ụ 2; Orch. *oggipta* 1; Ud. *ogo-* 1, *ogoʻu* 2 (Корм. 274); Sol. *olgo-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 12-13.

PJpn. ***kárá-** to dry out; to become ripe (высыхать; созревать): OJpn. *kara-*; MJpn. *kárá-*; Tok. *kàre-*; Kyo. *káré-*; Kag. *karé-*.

◊ JLTT 704.

PKor. ***korh-** to get stale, rot (черстветь, сгнивать, протухать): Mod. *kol-* [*kolh-*].

◊ KED 160.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 290, SKE 121-122. An Eastern isogloss.

***kʻőli** lake, basin: Tung. ***xule-**; Mong. ***küjil-sü**; Turk. ***[k]ől**; Kor. ***kərăm**.

PTung. ***xule-** 1 canal, ditch, duct 2 whirlpool 3 pool (1 канал, канава, протока 2 водоворот): Evn. *ūl, ulgin* 3; Man. *ule-n* 1; Ork. *xulu-pti* 2; Nan. *xuler* 'pit in river bottom' (On.); Orch. *ūle* 1; Ud. *ūle* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 477; 2, 257, 264.

PMong. ***küjil-sü** island in a river, shallow place in a river (островок в реке, отмель в реке): WMong. *küjil-sü* (L 498: not distinguished from *küji(l)-sü* 'navel'); Kh. *xüjls*.

PTurk. ***[k]ől** lake (озеро): OTurk. *köl* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *köl* (MK, KB); Tur. *göl*; Gag. *göl*; Az. *köl*; Turkm. *kől*; MTurk. *köl* (IM, Pav. C.); Uzb. *kụl*; Uygh. *köl*; Tat. *kül*; Bashk. *kül*; Kirgh. *köl*; Kaz. *köl*; KBalk. *köl*; KKalp. *köl*; Kum. *köl*; Nogh. *köl*; Khak. *köl*; Oyr. *köl*; Tv. *xöl*; Chuv. *kölə* (NW), *külə*; Yak. *küöl*; Dolg. *küöl*.

◊ See VEWT 288, ЭСТЯ 3, 69, 5, 95-96, Лексика 91, Stachowski 165.

PKor. ***kərăm** lake, big river (озеро, большая река): MKor. *kərăm*.

◊ Nam 11.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 306. The Turk. root may also be of a Persian origin (see TMN 3, 645-646). Mong. **küjil-* < **küli-l-* (with regular dissimilation).

Kor. **kə̀rə̆́m* < **kòrə̆́m* (with vowel assimilation); cf. also Old Koguryo **kŭə̆l* 'river' (see Miller 1979, 8).

✱**kʻòlke** to row, boat: Tung. ***xulki-**; Mong. ***kölge**; Jpn. ***kànk-**.

PTung. ***xulki-** 1 to mix, stir 2 support for feet in a boat (1 размешивать 2 упор (для ног гребца в лодке)): Evk. *ulkī-* 1, *ulki* 2; Evn. *ụlqụ-* 1; Neg. *ulki* 2; Man. *urki* 2; Ork. *xulči* 2; Orch. *ukki* 2; Ud. *uki* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 261. The original meaning is easily reconstructable as 'to row (> to stir); rowing device'.

PMong. ***kölge-** ship, means of transportation (корабль, экипаж): MMong. *kolge* 'vehicle' (SH), *kolgen* (HYt); WMong. *kölge(n)* (L 485); Kh. *xölög*; Bur. *xülgen ongoso* 'ferry-boat'; *xüleg* 'courser, trotter, horse'; Kalm. *kölgn̦* (KPC); Ord. *kölgö(n)*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *kuluk* 'enduring horse' (see Rozycki 145).

PJpn. ***kànk-** to row (грести): OJpn. *kog-*; MJpn. *kòg-*; Tok. *kóg-*; Kyo. *kòg-*; Kag. *kòg-*.

◊ JLTT 711.

‖ The root is possibly derived: without the suffix cf. Mong. *qoli-* 'to stir'. It is interesting to note Nivkh *halq* 'boat' (possibly borrowed in TM as **xaliku*, see TMC 1, 460, 461).

✱**kʻòlmV** shadow, cloud: Tung. ***KVlm-**; Turk. ***köl-**; Jpn. ***kùmua-N**; Kor. ***kúrùm**.

PTung. ***KVlm-** shadow (тень): Man. *xelme*; SMan. *xeləmən* (2047).

◊ TMC 1, 481. Attested only in Manchu (thus the reconstruction is not quite secure), but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***köl-** 1 shadow 2 to shadow (1 тень 2 давать тень, затенять): OTurk. *kölü-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *kölik* (MK) 1; Tur. *gölge, kölge* (dial.); Gag. *gölge* 1; Az. *kölgä* 1; Turkm. *kölge* 1; MTurk. *kölege* (Abush.); Uzb. *kụlkɛ, kụlɛkɛ* 1; Uygh. *kölɛŋgɛ, köligɛ* 1; Tat. *külɛgɛ* 1; Bashk. *külɛgɛ* 1; Kirgh. *kölökö* 1; KKalp. *köleŋke* 1; Nogh. *köletke* 1; Khak. *köle-* 2, *kölek* 1; Oyr. *kölö-* 2, *kölöŋö* 2; Tv. *xölege* 1; Tof. *xölege* 1; Yak. *külük* 1; Dolg. *külük* 1.

◊ VEWT 288-289, 294, EDT 716-718, ЭСТЯ 5, 96-97, 128, Stachowski 164. Should be distinguished from **Köl-* 'to screen' (v. sub **gə̀la*).

PJpn. ***kùmua** cloud (облако): OJpn. *kumwo*; MJpn. *kùmò*; Tok. *kúmo*; Kyo. *kúmò*; Kag. *kumó*.

◊ JLTT 463. Tokyo points to a variant **kùmuá-N*, Kyoto and RJ - to **kùmuà-N*.

PKor. ***kúrùm** cloud (облако): MKor. *kúrùm*; Mod. *kurim*.

◊ Nam 59, KED 199.

‖ Martin 228, АПиПЯЯ 98, 274. One should also note MKor. *kímí-* 'to become dim, hide (of moon etc.)', possibly < **kúrmí-* = OJ *kumor-* id. Cf. also notes to **gə̀la*.

✱**kʻolV (~ -u-, -ĺ-)** oak-tree: Tung. ***xola-***; Kor. ***kur***.

PTung. ***xola-*** oak (дуб): Nan. *xoroŋkola*; Orch. *oloŋkī*; Ud. *oloŋkö*.

◊ TMC. 2, 16.

PKor. ***kur*** oak-tree, acorn (дуб, желудь): MKor. *kur-pam* 'acorn'; Mod. *kul* (*kul-pām* 'acorn').

◊ Liu 89, KED 216.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. Cf. **kúĺapʻV*.

✱**kʻőĺba** couple, to couple, combine: Tung. ***xulbü-***; Mong. ***kolbu-***; Turk. ***Koĺ***; Jpn. ***kásá***; Kor. ***kărb-***.

PTung. ***xulbü-*** to bind, to arrange (связывать, нанизывать, двигаться друг за другом): Evk. *ulbu-*; Evn. *ulbъ-*; Neg. *ulbul-* 'to move in a tandem'; Ork. *ulbumǯi* 'in a tandem'; Nan. *xuelbi-*; Orch. *ubbuna-*.

◊ TMC 2, 258.

PMong. ***kolbu-*** to couple, bind together (объединять, сочетать): MMong. *qulba-* (MA), *qolbaʻara-* (SH); WMong. *qolbu-* (L 957); Kh. *xolbo-*; Bur. *xolbo-*; Kalm. *xolwə-*; Ord. *xolbo-*; Dag. *xolbo-* (Тод. Дар. 177), *xolbu-*; *holebe-* (MD 163); S.-Yugh. *xolbo-*; Mongr. *xulō-* (SM 181).

◊ KW 184, MGCD 361. Mong. > Evk. *kolbo-* etc., see Doerfer MT 61, Rozycki 107; > Yak. *xolbō-*, Dolg. *kolbō-* (Kał. MEJ 17, Stachowski 150).

PTurk. ***Koĺ*** 1 pair, couple, one of a couple 2 to join, unite (1 пара, один из пары 2 соединять(ся)): OTurk. *qoš-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qoš* 1, *qoš-* 2 (MK); Tur. *koš-* 2; Gag. *qoš-* 2; Az. *Goš-* 2; Turkm. *Goš* 'a couple of oxen', *Goš-* 'to add'; Sal. *qoš* 1, *qoš-* 2; MTurk. *qoš* 1, *qoš-* 2 (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qọš* 1, *qọš-* 2; Uygh. *qoš* 1, *qoš-* 2; Krm. *qoš* 1, *qoš-* 2; Tat. *quš* 1, *quš-* 2; Bashk. *qɨwɨš* 1, *quš-* 2; Kirgh. *qoš* 1, *qoš-* 2; Kaz. *qos* 1, *qos-* 2; KBalk. *qoš-* 2; KKalp. *qos* 1, *qos-* 2; Kum. *qoš-* 2; Nogh. *qos* 1, *qos-* 2; SUygh. *qos* 1; Khak. *xos* 1, *xos-* 2; Oyr. *qoš-* 2; Tv. *qoš-* 2; Tof. *qoʻš-* 2; Chuv. *xoš-* 2; Yak. *xos* 'double; again', *xohuj-* 2, *xohōn* 'poem'; Dolg. *kohōn* 'poem'.

◊ VEWT 283; EDT 670, Лексика 611, ЭСТЯ 6, 90-94, Федотов 2, 375, Stachowski 150. Turk. > MMong. (HY) *qoši*, WMong. *qos*, Kalm. *xoš* 'pair' (KW 189, TMN 3, 364, Clark 1980, 41, 42, Щербак 1997, 142).

PJpn. ***kásá*** 1 size, layer 2 to heap up, pile up (1 размер, слой 2 накладывать, наслаивать): OJpn. *kasana-* 2; MJpn. *kásá* 1, *kásána-* 2; Tok. *kàsane-* 2; Kyo. *kásáné-* 2; Kag. *kasané-* 2.

◊ JLTT 441, 704.

PKor. ***kărb-*** 1 twins 2 to compete, match, compare, line together 3 to form a couple (1 близнецы 2 соревноваться, сравнивать, выстраивать вместе 3 образовывать пару): MKor. *kăr'ó-ki* 1, *kăr'ó-* 3, *kărp-* [*kărw-*] 2; Mod. *karogi* (arch.) 1, *kap-* [*kalp-*] (arch.), *karu-* 2.

◊ Nam 21, 23, KED 12, 48.

‖ EAS 109, KW 184, Street 1980, 287. Mong. is not < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 142, but the Turk. and Mong. forms are certainly related, despite TMN 3, 364.

✱**k'ŏmi** to dig: Tung. ***xumu-**; Turk. ***göm-**.

PTung. ***xumu-*** to dig, bury (копать, хоронить): Neg. *umu-*; Man. *umbu-*; SMan. *umu-* 'to burry, to fill' (1747); Ul. *xumu-*; Ork. *xumu-*; Nan. *xumu-*; Orch. *umu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 268-269.

PTurk. ***göm-*** to bury (закапывать, хоронить): OTurk. *köm-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *köm-* (MK, KB); Tur. *göm-*; Gag. *göm-*; Turkm. *göm-*; Sal. *köm-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *köm-* (MA), *göm-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *kọm-*; Uygh. *köm-*; Krm. *köm-*; Tat. *küm-*; Bashk. *küm-*; Kirgh. *köm-*; Kaz. *köm-*; KBalk. *köm-*; KKalp. *köm-*; Kum. *göm-*; Nogh. *köm-*; SUygh. *köm-*; Khak. *köm-*; Shr. *köm-*; Oyr. *köm-*; Tv. *xöm-*; Tof. *xöm-*; Yak. *köm-*; Dolg. *köm-*.

◊ VEWT 289, EDT 721, ЭСТЯ 3, 70-71, Stachowski 155.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 108-109. A Turko-TM isogloss. The TM form points quite explicitly to *k'-; reasons for voicing in PT are not clear: perhaps a merger with PA **gèmo* 'to fill in' (q.v.), which otherwise has no Turkic reflex.

✱**k'[ō]mo** to soak: Tung. ***xum-**; Turk. ***Kōm**; Jpn. ***kuam-**; Kor. ***kăm- / *kắm-**.

PTung. ***xum-*** 1 to soak 2 to besmear (face) (1 мочить 2 пачкать (лицо)): Evk. *umī-* 1; Evn. *umi-* 1; Man. *χumara-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 267.

PTurk. ***Kōm*** wave (волна): Karakh. *qom* (MK); Turkm. *Gōm*; MTurk. *qum* (Houts., AH); Oyr. *qom*; Chuv. *xom*.

◊ EDT 625, ЭСТЯ 6, 54, Федотов 2, 356-357.

PJpn. ***kuam-*** to soak (промокать, быть залитым): OJpn. *kwom-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

PKor. ***kăm- / *kắm-*** to bathe, wash (купать, мыть): MKor. *kắm-*; Mod. *kām-*.

◊ Nam 23, KED 50.

‖ The root seems reliable, despite some irregularities in vocalism.

✱**k'ómp'[e]** fungus: Tung. ***xum(p)-**; Turk. ***kömbe, *kömbe-lek**; Jpn. ***kámp(u)í**; Kor. ***kōmphúi-**.

PTung. ***xum(p)-*** 1 to soften 2 smth. rotten 3 softened birch bark 4 rotten birch (1 размягчать (кожу, кору) 2 гнилой, гниль 3 береста (размягченная) 4 береза (гнилая)): Evk. *umdu-* 1, *ubgučē* 4; Neg. *umdus-umdus* 2; Nan. *χomdo* (Naikh.) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 267.

PTurk. ***kömbe, -lek*** mushroom (гриб): Tur. *gömelek* (dial.); Az. *göbäläk*; Turkm. *kömelek*; Tat. *gömbɛ*; Bashk. *gömbɛ*; Chuv. *kъʷmba*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 101 (Chuv. is hardly < Old Russian, which already had *guba*, not *gǫba*).

PJpn. ***kámp(u)í*** mould (плесень): Tok. *kàbi*; Kyo. *kábí*; Kag. *kábi*.

◊ JLTT 431.

PKor. ***kōmph-*** 1 mould 2 to become mouldy (1 плесень 2 плесневеть): MKor. *kōmphúi-* 2; Mod. *kōm*, *kōmphaŋ* 1.

◊ Nam 52, KED 161, 162.

‖ Martin 236, Дыбо 11. Vocalism is not quite certain.

k'ȍmu** offering, respect: Turk. ***Kom-; Jpn. ***kuma***; Kor. ***kōmá***.

PTurk. ***Kom-*** 1 to long for 2 inheritance, legacy (1 жаждать, стремиться к 2 наследство): OTurk. *qumaru* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qomi-* 1 (MK), *xumaru* 2 (MK), *qumaru* 2 (KB); Khal. *qumarqi* 2; MTurk. *qumar* 2 (AH); Bashk. *qomartqi* 2; Kum. *qumartqi* 2; Khak. *xumartxa* 2; Shr. *qumarqi* 2; Oyr. *qumartqa* 2.

◊ EDT 626, 628, Лексика 347, Clark 1977, 149.

PJpn. ***kuma*** offering to gods (жертвоприношение богам): OJpn. *kuma*.

PKor. ***kōmá*** 1 respect 2 to respect, pay respect (1 почести, почитание 2 почитать): MKor. *kōmá* 1, *kōmáp-* (-w-) 2; Mod. *komap-* (-w-) 2.

◊ Liu 64, KED 141.

‖ Whitman 1985, 191, 223.

k'ȍmu (~ -o, -a)** drought, hunger: Tung. ***xomī-; Mong. ***komu-kai***; Turk. ***Komɨĺ-***; Kor. ***kǎmǎr***.

PTung. ***xomī-*** 1 hunger, hungry 2 drought 3 to be hungry (1 голод, голодный 2 засуха, неурожай 3 голодать): Evk. *omī-kin* 1; Evn. *omъt-* 3; Neg. *omɨxīn* 1; Man. *omi-n* 1, 2; Ul. *χomčɨ-* 3; Nan. *χomɨ* 1, 2; Ud. *omisi-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 17.

PMong. ***komu-kai*** gluttonous, greedy, hungry (жадный, голодный): MMong. *qomuγai qurun* 'index finger' (MA); WMong. *qomuqai* (L 961); Kh. *xomxoj*; Bur. *xomoxoj*; Kalm. *xomxā*, *xumxā* 'eklig, vermodert, verfault' (KW 184, 197).

◊ Mong. > Tat., Bashk. *qomaγaj* id. Cf. also *qomsa* 'insufficient' > Man. *qomso* (see Rozycki 142). For the meaning in MMong. see Dybo 1995.

PTurk. ***Komɨĺ-*** 1 become drowsy, dry 2 become lean 3 greedy (1 вянуть, засыхать, становиться вялым 2 худеть, осунуться 3 жадный): Tat. *qomsɨz*, dial. *qomsɨq* 3; Bashk. *qomxod* 3; Chuv. *xъʷmšъʷl-* 1; Yak. *xotńuj-* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 147-148.

PKor. ***kǎmǎr*** drought (засуха): MKor. *kǎmǎr*; Mod. *kamul*.

◊ Nam 13, KED 17.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 97; ЭСТЯ 6, 147-148.

k'ōńi** ladle: Tung. ***xuńa-; Mong. ***kunija***; Turk. ***kōjnek***; Jpn. ***kúm-***; Kor. ***kùńí***.

PTung. ***xuńa-*** 1 ladle 2 thimble 3 finger 4 wooden bucket (1 ложка 2 наперсток 3 палец 4 деревянное ведро): Evk. *uńaptun* 2, *uńakāptun*

3; Evn. *ц́ńan* 2, *ц́ńiqъn* 3; Neg. *onkān* 1, *ońaxān* 3; Man. *xuńo* 4; SMan. *xuni* 'wooden pail' (580); Ul. *χońa(n)* 1; Ork. *χц́ńa* 1; Nan. *χońā* 1; Orch. *uńa* 1, *uńaka(n)* 3; Ud. *uńaʻ* 3, *uńaʻptin* 2 (Корм. 302); Sol. *ц́naxā* 1, 3.

◊ TMC 1, 478, 2, 276-277.

PMong. ***kunija** dish made of birch (берестяная посуда): WMong. *qunija(n)* (L 986); Kh. *xuńā*.

PTurk. ***kŏ̄jnek** bucket, vessel (ведро, сосуд): Karakh. *könek* (MK, KB); Tur. *könek*, Osm. *köjnük*; Turkm. *kŏ̄nek*; Uygh. *kц́nɛk*; Tat. *künɛk* (dial.); Bashk. *künɛk*; Kirgh. *könök*; Kaz. *könek*; Nogh. *könek*; Khak. *könek*; Shr. *könek*; Oyr. *könök*; Tv. *xönek*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 104-105, VEWT 290 (> Mong. *könüg*, further > TM: Sol. *xoŋǵē*, Evk. *kōŋī*, see TMC 1, 412, 478). Turk. > Russ. Siber. *kunúk*, see Аникин 324

PJpn. ***kúm-** to scoop (черпать): OJpn. *kum-*; MJpn. *kúm-*; Tok. *kùm-*; Kyo. *kúm-*; Kag. *kúm-*.

◊ JLTT 716.

PKor. ***kùńí** manger, trough (корыто): MKor. *kùńí*, *kùńjú*; Mod. *kuju*.

◊ Nam 60, KED 206.

‖ Vovin 1993, 257, Robbeets 2000, 109-110, 122. Cf. also Mong. *konak* 'gutter', Kor. *konägi* 'tall jar'.

***kʻoŋi (~ -e)** dirt: Tung. ***xońi-**; Turk. ***köŋ**.

PTung. ***xońi-** sand, dirt (песок, грязь): Evn. *ońiŋ*; Ork. *xoŋoqto*; Orch. *ońokto*; Ud. *ońokto*.

◊ TMC 2, 20.

PTurk. ***köŋ** 1 excrements, faeces 2 hard soil, swamp (1 навоз, помет 2 твердая почва, болото): Karakh. *köŋüz* (MK) 1; Tur. *kön*, *kün* (dial.) 1; Uzb. *gцŋ* 1; Bashk. *küŋ* 1; Kirgh. *köŋ* 1; Kaz. *köŋ* 1; KKalp. *köŋ* 1; Oyr. *köŋ* 2.

◊ EDT 735, ЭСТЯ 5, 103.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. TM **xońi-* perhaps with secondary palatalization < **xoŋi-* (cf. the Orok form *xoŋo-kto*). Cf. perhaps Jpn. *kunuga* 'land' (?if different from **kuni* 'country').

***kʻŏpʻe (~ -i)** film, covering: Tung. ***xup-**; Mong. ***köɣe**; Turk. ***köpe**; Kor. ***kóp**.

PTung. ***xup-** film on fish eggs (пленка на рыбьей икре): Nan. *xuperemse*.

◊ TMC 1, 478. Attested only in Nan., but having rather probable external parallels.

PMong. ***köɣe** coat of mail, armour (кольчуга, панцирь): MMong. *köhe* (MA); WMong. *köɣe* (L 478); Kh. *xŏ̄*; Kalm. kŏ̄.

◊ KW 243. Despite TMN 1, 483-484, Mong. is hardly borrowed < Turk.

PTurk. ***köpe** 1 coat of mail 2 ring of mail 3 *earring* 4 overcoat 5 saddle-pad for a camel 6 film of egg, exuviae 7 a k. of cloth or carpet (1

кольчуга 2 кольцо кольчуги 3 серьга 4 плащ, пальто 5 верблюжье седло 6 пленка яйца, сброшенная кожа 7 вид ткани или ковра): Karakh. *küpe* 1, 2, 3, *küpik* (MK) 4, *köpčük* (MK) 5, *köpsün* 'mattress' (MK); Tur. *küpe* 3, *kepeneg*, *köpenek* 4, *köpen* 7; MTurk. *köpen* (*küpen*) 5; Tat. *kürtɛ* 'mattress'; Bashk. *kürtɛ* 'mattress'; Kirgh. *kürü* 'шуба из меха медвежонка'; Kaz. *köpšik* 'pillow'; Khak. *köbön* 'mattress'; Chuv. *kəʷbe* 6.

◊ EDT 687, 688, 689, ЭСТЯ 5, 48-49, 108 (Tur. *köpen* being attributed here to a quite different root, see under **köp-* 'to swell, foam'), 114-115, 129-130, TMN 3, 581-583. The above forms are hard to separate, and Doerfer's point of view that *köpenek* is secondarily < *kepenek* is probably faulty (even though *köpenek* is attested later: *köpen* is certainly attested earlier, and an assimilative delabialization **köpenek* > *kepenek* seems quite plausible). The Chuvash form shows that the original meaning of the root must have been 'transparent covering, film', whence 'coat of mail' etc. Turk. > Mong. *kebeneg* 'saddle-cloth, shirt', Hung. *köpönyeg* 'raincoat' (Gombocz 1912).

PKor. ***kóp** fat, slime (жир, слизь): MKor. *kóp*; Mod. *kop* 'a mucous discharge'.

◊ Liu 72, KED 162.

‖ Владимирцов 212.

***k´óp´ì** be complete, all: Tung. ***xup-**; Mong. ***köb-čin**; Turk. ***köp**; Jpn. ***kúpá-pa-**; Kor. ***kòp-**.

PTung. ***xup-** 1 all 2 to gather (1 весь, все 2 собирать(ся)): Evk. *upkat* 1, *upūrē-* 2; Neg. *opkal* 1; Ul. *χụpala-* 2; Ork. *χupala-* 2; Nan. *χopala-* 2; Orch. *χupala-* 2; Ud. *ufal*, *ufalahi* 1.

◊ See TMC 2, 281; 1, 478. Cf. also Nan. *χopā*, Ul. *χopa(n)*, Orok *χụpa(n)* 'group, company' - which may be a merger of the original root with a Manchu loan (cf. Manchu *χufan* 'company, companionship' < Chin. *huǒbàn*).

PMong. ***köb-čin** whole, all (целый, все, весь): MMong. *gubčin* (SH); WMong. *köbči(n)* (L 475); Kh. *xövčin*; Ord. *gübčin*.

PTurk. ***köp** many (много): OTurk. *köp* (OUygh.); Karakh. *köp* (MK, KB); Tur. *köp*; Turkm. *köp*; Sal. *köp*; MTurk. *köp* (Pav. C., MA, Abush.); Uzb. *kụp*; Uygh. *köp*; Tat. *küp*; Bashk. *küp*; Kirgh. *köp*; Kaz. *köp*; KBalk. *köp*; KKalp. *köp*; Kum. *köp*; Nogh. *köp*; Khak. *köp*; Shr. *köp*; Oyr. *köp*; Tv. *kö´p*, *xöj* (< **köpej*); Tof. *kö´p*.

◊ VEWT 291, EDT 686-687, ЭСТЯ 5, 107-108.

PJpn. ***kúpá-pa-** add (добавлять): OJpn. *kupapa-*; MJpn. *kùfâfá-*; Tok. *kùwae-*, *kuwaé-*; Kyo. *kúwáé-*; Kag. *kuwaé-*.

◊ JLTT 718. Tone reconstruction is controversial: RJ and the Tokyo variant *kuwae-rú* point to **kùpà-*, but all other evidence is in favour of **kúpá-*.

PKor. ***kòp-** to double, increase twofold (удваивать, увеличивать(ся) вдвое): MKor. *kòp-*; Mod. *kop-ha-*.

◊ Nam 52, KED 164.

‖ Владимирцов 323, АПиПЯЯ 285, Whitman 223. Cf. **kopV*: the Kor.-Jpn. reflexes may in fact reflect both roots.

***kʻópʻi (~ -e)** foam: Tung. ***xapu- ~ *xopu-**; Mong. ***köɣe-**; Turk. ***köp-**; Kor. ***kàphúm**.

PTung. ***xapu- ~ *xopu-** foam (пена): Man. *χofon ~ χafun*; Ud. *afuti*.
◊ TMC 1, 59.

PMong. ***köɣe-** to foam, swell up (пениться, вздуваться): MMong. *kɛhɛ-* (IM), *ku-* (MA); WMong. *kögege-, köge-, kögere-* (L 478); Kh. *xō-*; Bur. *xō-*; Kalm. *kō-*; Ord. *kō-* 'to swell (for example about horseʻs nostrils)'; Dag. *xuē-* (Тод. Даг. 179), *xuēre-; xuēs* 'foam' (Тод. Даг. 179: *xuēs, kuēs*), *huē-* (MD 166); Dong. *kue-* (MGCD *ko-*); S.-Yugh. *χorʁə-, kūre-; köwög* 'foam'; Mongr. *kō-* (SM 204); *kōrʒə* (SM 205), *kōrsə* 'foam'.
◊ KW 243, MGCD 369, 370. Cf. also WMong. *köbkeji-*, Kalm. *köpkē-* 'to swell' (KW 240). Mong. > Man. *ku-* 'to swell' (TMC 1, 422, Rozycki 145), Evk. *kōsun* 'foam' (TMC 1, 417, Doerfer MT 94).

PTurk. ***köp-** 1 to swell 2 foam (1 набухать 2 пена): OTurk. *köpik, köpük* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *köpür-* (MK) 1, *köpük* (MK) 2; Tur. *köpük* 2; Az. *köp-* 1; Turkm. *köpik* 2; MTurk. *köp-* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *kụp-* (dial.) 1; Uygh. *köp-* 1; Tat. *küp-* 1; Bashk. *küp-* 1; Kirgh. *köp-* 1; Kaz. *köbək* 2; KBalk. *köp-* 1; Kum. *göp-* 1; Nogh. *köp-* 1; Khak. *köp-* 1; Oyr. *köp-* 1; Tv. *köʻvük* 2; Tof. *köʻpük* 2; Chuv. *kъʷbъʷk* 2; Yak. *köp-* 1; Dolg. *köbüj-* 'pop up, float on the surface'.
◊ EDT 689, 691, VEWT 291, ЭСТЯ 5, 108-111, Stachowski 154.

PKor. ***kàphúm** foam (пена): MKor. *kàphúm*; Mod. *kəphum*.
◊ Liu 45, НМСН 161, KED 90.

‖ EAS 90, Владимирцов 213, AKE 10, KW 243, Poppe 19, 47, Lee 1958, 112, ОСНЯ 1, 364, Ozawa 199-200. Mong. cannot be explained as borrowed < Turk., despite TMN 3, 617, Щербак 1997, 128. The root tends to contaminate with **kupʻe* 'light' q.v.

***kʻópʻìra** rift (in a river), bridge: Tung. ***xupuru**; Mong. ***köɣürge**; Turk. ***köpür, -üg**; Jpn. ***kápárá**.

PTung. ***xupuru** 1 rift (in river) 2 bridge (1 порог (на реке) 2 мост): Evk. *ōran* 1; Jurch. *hufuru* 2 (Doerfer MT 136); Nan. *xurfu* 1.
◊ TMC 1, 479, 2, 23.

PMong. ***köɣürge** bridge (мост): MMong. *keʻurge* (HY 17), *keūlge, keurge* (IM); WMong. *kögürge, kegürge, kögürge* (L 480); Kh. *xōrög*; Bur. *xūrge*; Ord. *kōrgö*; Dag. *huruhe* (MD 167); Mongr. *kōrgo* (SM 205).
◊ Cf. also a suffixless form, but with irregular (assimilatory?) initial voicing: WMong. *güwr* (< **köɣür*?), Khalkha *gūr* 'bridge'. Mong. > Sol. *xōrgö* (see Doerfer MT 136).

PTurk. ***köpür, -üg** bridge (мост): OTurk. *köprüg*; Karakh. *köprüg* (MK); Tur. *körpü, köprü*; Gag. *köprü*; Az. *körpü*; Turkm. *köpri*; MTurk. *köpri* (IM, AH), *köprük* (Abush., MA); Uzb. *kụprik*; Uygh. *köprük, kövrük*; Tat. *küper, küpre*; Kirgh. *köpürö*; Kaz. *köpür, köpre* (dial.); Tv. *köʻvürüg*; Tof. *köʻprig*; Yak. *kürbe, kürge*.
◊ VEWT 292, ЭСТЯ 5, 112-114.

PJpn. ***kápárá*** shallow, sandy place in a river or on its bank (отмель, песчаное место на реке или на берегу): OJpn. *kapara*; MJpn. *kafara*; Tok. *kàwara*; Kyo. *káwárá*; Kag. *kawára*.

◊ JLTT 446. The word is usually treated as **kápà* 'river' + **pàrà* 'plain', but the elision is strange and the accent does not fit. This is most probably a folk-etymology due to secondary phonetic coincidence.

‖ Владимирцов 213, Poppe 127. Despite TMN 3, 586, Щербак 1997, 128, Mong. cannot be borrowed from Turk. Also, despite MT 136, Jurch. *hufuru* cannot be a Mong. loanword. In Jpn. we would rather expect **kupara*; the -a- vocalism is either a result of later assimilation (in a long word), or an influence of **kápá* 'river' (different etymologically, see **kʻéba*).

kʻŏra (~ -o, -u)** to protect, guard: Tung. ***xurā-; Mong. ***kori-***; Turk. ****Kōri-***; Kor. ****kə̀rí-***.

PTung. ***xurā-*** to save, be saved, recover (спасать(ся), выздоравливать): Evk. *urā-*; Evn. *ur-*; Neg. *ojajị-*; Ul. *χora-*; Ork. *χura-*; Nan. *χora-*; Orch. *uwa-*, *uja-*; Ud. *wajagi-* (Корм. 217), *uja-*; Sol. *urgī-*.

◊ TMC 2, 282.

PMong. ***kori-*** 1 to forbid 2 to fence, shield 3 block, fort, shelf 4 enclosure, fence, yard (1 запрещать 2 загораживать 3 укрепление, преграда 4 огороженное место, забор, двор): MMong. *quri-* (MA) 2, *qorijan* (HY 17) 'bailey, court', *qorqa*, *qorija'an*, *quru'a* (SH) 3, *qorγān* (IM), *qŭrγan* (MA); WMong. *qori-* 1 (L 966), *qorija*, *qoruγa*, *qoriγa* 3, 4 (L 967); Kh. *xori-* 1, *xorō* 3; Bur. *xori-* 1, *xoŕō(n)* 3; Kalm. *xöŕ-* 1, *xorā* 4; Ord. *xori-* 2, *xorō*, *xorGo* 4; Dag. *xori-* 1,2, *xoŕē* 4 (Тод. Даг. 177), *hoŕē* 4, *hori-* 2 (MD 164); Dong. *qoroŋ* 4 (MGCD Goruan); S.-Yugh. *χorγūl-* 1, 2; Mongr. *xori-* (SM 183) 1.

◊ KW 187, 193, MGCD 366. Mong. > Chag. *qorija* etc. (see Лексика 525, ЭСТЯ 6, 75); > Man. *xori-* (see Rozycki 109).

PTurk. ****Kōri-*** to fence, protect (защищать, загораживать): OTurk. *qorï-* (Yen.); Karakh. *qori-* (MK); Tur. *koru-*; Gag. *qoru-*; Az. *Goru-*; Turkm. *Gōri-*, *Gōra-*; MTurk. *qoru-* (Ettuhf., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qụri-*; Uygh. *qoru-*; Krm. *qoru-*, *qori-*; Kirgh. *qoru-*; KBalk. *qoru-*; KKalp. *qori-*; Kum. *qoru-*; Nogh. *qori-*; Tv. *xoru-*.

◊ VEWT 282, EDT 645-646, Лексика 486-487, 575, ЭСТЯ 6, 76-78. Cf. also the derivative **Kōri-kan*, sometimes confused with **Kur-gan* (see under **Kur-*). One should also note PT **Kurtgar-* 'to rescue', **Kurtul-* 'be rescued' (see EDT 649, 650, ЭСТЯ 6, 177-179), which may be a contraction < **Kōru-t-gar-*, **Kōru-t-ul-*.

PKor. ****kə̀rí-*** to cover, to shield (покрывать, загораживать): MKor. *kə̀rí-*; Mod. *kari-*.

◊ Nam 12, KED 13.

‖ EAS 47, 107, 141, KW 193, SKE 98, Лексика 575. Doerfer (TMN 3, 450) and Щербак (1997, 141) consider Mong. to be borrowed from Turkic, which cannot be excluded.

✱**kʻori** hill; embankment, boundary: Tung. ***xurē**; Mong. ***küri**; Turk. ***Korum**; Jpn. ***kùrùa (~ -ruâ)**; Kor. ***kòráŋ**.

PTung. ***xurē** mountain (ropa): Evk. *ure*; Evn. *urekčen*; Neg. *ujē*; Man. *wexe* 'stone'; SMan. *vexē* 'stone, rock'(2110); Jurch. *h(i)ur-xe* (52) 'stone'; Ul. *xure(n)*; Ork. *xure*; Nan. *xure(n)*; Orch. *uwe, ue*; Ud. *wē* (Корм. 219), *we, ue*; Sol. *ure*.

◊ TMC 2, 289.

PMong. ***küri** 1 precipice 2 rock, stone (1 обрыв 2 камень): MMong. *kuri* (IM, MA, Lig. VMI) 2; WMong. *küri* 1 (MXTTT); Kh. *xür* 1; Mog. ZM, KT *kuri* 2.

PTurk. ***Korum** rock, cliff, heap of stones (скала, куча камней): Karakh. *qorum* (MK, KB); Uygh. *qoram*; Kirgh. *qorum*; Khak. *xorɨm*; Shr. *qorum*; Oyr. *qorum*; Tv. *xorum*.

◊ EDT 660, VEWT 283, Лексика 99.

PJpn. ***kùrùa (~ -ruâ)** dike, boundary (насыпь, межа): OJpn. *kur(w)o* (in *kur(w)o-tuka* "embankment on boundary"); MJpn. *kùró*; Tok. *kúro*; Kyo. *kúró*.

◊ The Kyoto accent is irregular: all other evidence points either to **kùrúa* or to **kùruâ*.

PKor. ***kòráŋ** embankment, boundary, furrow (насыпь, межа, борозда): MKor. *kòráŋ*; Mod. *kŏl, koraŋ*.

◊ Liu 63, HMCH 163, KED 138, 156.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 291. The comparison seems satisfactory (the Jpn.-Kor. link see in Kanezawa 47); an alternative Austronesian etymology of the Jpn. word, however, can be found in Kawamoto 1977, 33. Cf. also Mong. *kürmen* 'basalt'.

✱**kʻoru** short; diminish, grow less: Tung. ***xurumü-**; Mong. ***koru-**; Turk. ***Kor(a)-**; Kor. ***korh-**.

PTung. ***xurumü-** short (короткий): Evk. *urumkūn*; Evn. *urumkun*; Neg. *ujumkūn*; Ul. *xurmi*; Ork. *xurdumi*; Nan. *xurm'i*; Orch. *ūmi*; Ud. *umasaʻ* (Корм. 302); Sol. *urūŋkū*.

◊ TMC 2, 287-288.

PMong. ***koru-** to diminish (уменьшаться, убавлять): MMong. *qoro-, qoru'a-* (SH); WMong. *qoru-* (L 968); Kh. *xoro-*; Bur. *xoro-*; Kalm. *xor-*; Ord. *xoro-*.

◊ KW 188.

PTurk. ***Kor(a)-** 1 to diminish , decrease 2 harm, loss (1 уменьшаться, убывать 2 вред, убыток): OTurk. *qora-* 1, *qor* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qora-* 1, *qor* 2 (MK); Kirgh. *qoro-* 1; KBalk. *qora-* 1; Khak. *xora-* 1; Oyr. *qor* 2, *qoro-* 1; Tv. *xor* 2; Chuv. *xor* 'insult, offence, grief'; Yak. *qor* 2, *qoron-* 1.

◊ EDT 641-642, 645-646, ЭСТЯ 6, 73-74, Федотов 2, 369. On a possible Mong. loanword (*qowr* 'loss, damage') see under **kàbro*; modern Siberian nouns may be actually backloans from Mong.

PKor. ***korh-** to suffer loss (потерпеть утрату): Mod. *kol-* [*kolh-*].

◊ KED 160. The root should be probably distinguished from *kol(h)-* 'to get stale, rot' (although they tend to contaminate).

‖ SKE 122, KW 188, ОСНЯ 1, 367, АПиПЯЯ 292, Дыбо 13; further Nostratic parallels see in ОСНЯ 1, 367-368. The Korean reflex is somewhat dubious here, because the root may be the same as *korh-* < **gōŕa* q.v. (possibly a secondary merger). Cf. also Kalm. *xor-* 'to be afraid, shy', PT **Kor-(u)k-* 'to be afraid' (ЭСТЯ 6, 79-80), possibly derived from **k'oru* 'grow less, be damaged' - but also possibly a different root.

***k'ŏrV (~ -ŕ-)** dung, excrements: Tung. ***xōri-kta**; Mong. ***korgul**; Kor. ***kərɨm**.

PTung. ***xōri-kta** excrements (of deer) (помет (оленей)): Evk. *ōrikta*; Evn. *ōrịt*; Ork. *xorịqta*.

◊ TMC 2, 23-24.

PMong. ***korgul** excrements (of sheep, camels) (помет (овец, верблюдов)): MMong. *qorɣul, qorɣal, qorɣusun* (L 965); Kh. *xorgol*; Bur. *xorgōl, xorgōho(n), xorgōdoho(n)*; Kalm. *xorɣəsn̩* (KPC); Ord. *xorGol*; Bao. *gugušï*; S.-Yugh. *χorgol*; Mongr. *xorGōʒə* (SM 172), *xurGōsə*.

◊ MGCD 365.

PKor. ***kərɨm** dung (навоз, удобрения): Mod. *kərɨm*.

◊ KED 82 (derivation from *kāl-* 'fertile' is irregular and probably folk-etymological).

‖ TMC 2, 24.

***k'ŏši (~ -e)** to entangle, fetter: Tung. ***xušī- (~ -č-)**; Mong. ***kösi-**; Turk. ***kös-**.

PTung. ***xušī- (~ -č-)** to twist, roll, entangle (мотать, запутывать): Evk. *učī-*; Evn. *ụč-*; Neg. *oč-*; Ul. *χočịa-*; Ork. *χụtčị-*; Nan. *χočị-*; Ud. *usi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 296.

PMong. ***kösi-** to overcast (in sewing) (шить на живую нитку, наметывать): MMong. *kušige* 'curtain' (Lig.VMI), *kūšege* 'фата' (MA); WMong. *kösi-* (L 492); Kh. *xöši-*; Bur. *xüši-*; Kalm. *köš-* (KPC); Ord. *göšö-*; Dag. *kušulue-*.

◊ MGCD 377.

PTurk. ***kös-** 1 to hobble, fetter 2 fetters (1 треножить, путать 2 путы): Karakh. *kösür-* 1, *kösrük* 2 (MK); Tur. *köste-* (dial.) 1, *köstek* 2; Gag. *köstek* 2; Turkm. *kössek* 2; Tv. *köste-* 1, *kösteg* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 121-122.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***kʻubà (~ -p-)** joy, joke: Tung. ***xebī- / *kupī- / *xupī-**; Turk. ***Kib (*Kub)**; Jpn. ***kapaju-**.

PTung. ***xebī- / *kupī- / *xupī-** 1 to play 2 jolly, merry 3 to pity 4 to humiliate (1 играть 2 игривый, веселый 3 жалеть 4 унижать): Evk. *ewī-* 1, *ewlēn-* 3; Evn. *ewi-* 1, *ewe* 2; Neg. *ewī-* 1; Man. *efi-*, *efe-* 1; SMan. *ifi-* 1 (1357); Ul. *xupi- / kupi-* 1; Ork. *xupi-* 1; Nan. *xupi- / kupi-* 1, *xeulēn-* 4; Orch. *ewī-*; Sol. *ugī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 483, 2, 434-435, 436. Cf. also Evn. *ibgo* 'good, nice' (TMC 1, 294).

PTurk. ***Kib** 1 luck, happiness 2 to be happy, enjoy (1 счастье 2 быть счастливым, радоваться, предаваться удовольствиям): OTurk. *qiv* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qiv* 1 (MK); Tur. *kiwan-* 2, *kiv* 1 (dial.); Turkm. *Guwan-* 2; MTurk. *quvan-* 2 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *quvɔn-* 2; Krm. *quvan-* 2; Tat. *quan-* 2; Bashk. *qiwan-* 2; Kirgh. *quban-* 2; Kaz. *quvan-* 2; KBalk. *quvan-* 2; KKalp. *quvan-* 2; Kum. *quvan-* 2; Nogh. *quvan-* 2; SUygh. qo 1; Chuv. *xъʷvan-* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 268, EDT 579, ЭСТЯ 6, 99-101, Clark 1977, 146.

PJpn. ***kapaju-** lovely (милый): MJpn. *kafaju-*; Tok. *kawaí-*; Kyo. *káwâi-*; Kag. *kawái-*.

◊ JLTT 831. Original accent unclear.

‖ The TM form has a rather peculiar variation of laryngeal features here; the original form must have been **xubī-*.

***kʻube (~ -p-)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***xuja (< *xubi-ja?)**; Mong. ***kobku**; Jpn. ***kuàp(u)î**.

PTung. ***xuja** a k. of fish (вид рыбы): Ork. *χojodo* 'кунджа', *χojo* 'таймень'; Nan. *χojža* 'sheat-fish'; Orch. *ojo* 'кунджа'; Ud. *ojo* 'кунджа'.

◊ TMC 1, 445, 2, 251 (here also confused with PTM **uja* 'carp'; the Manchu form in fact can reflect both **xoja* and **uja*). TM > Nivkh *xoj*, whence possibly Russ. Siber. *goj* 'сахалинский таймень', see Аникин 167.

PMong. ***kobku** loach (fish) (голец, вьюн): WMong. *qobqu* (L 950); Kh. *xovx*.

PJpn. ***kuàp(u)î** black carp (черный карп): OJpn. *kwop(j)i*; MJpn. *kòfí*; Tok. *kói*; Kyo. *kòî*; Kag. *koí*.

◊ JLTT 454.

‖ One of many common Altaic fish names; the precise sort of the fish denoted by the root is not quite clear.

***kʻŭčV** a k. of star: Tung. ***xōsi-kta**; Turk. ***Kučik**.

PTung. ***xōsi-kta** star (звезда): Evk. *ōsīkta*; Evn. *ōsiqat*; Neg. *ōsikta*; Man. *usixa*; SMan. *ušihā* (2037); Jurch. *hosi-xa* (12); Ul. *xosta*; Ork. *wasiqta*; Nan. *xosaqta* (диал.); Orch. *xosakta*; Ud. *waikta, wahikta*; Sol. *ōšikta*.

◊ TMC 2, 27.

PTurk. ***Kučik** constellation of Cancer (созвездие Рака): Karakh. *qučiq* (KB).

◊ EDT 591.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. For Nostratic parallels (Ural. **kVnśV*, PIE **g'hweisdh-* 'star') see Sinor 1973, 392-393 (but Mong. *hodun* should of course be kept apart), Долгопольский 1965, 263.

***kʻude** affair, trade: Tung. ***xuda**; Mong. ***kuda-ldu-**; Turk. ***küdü-**.

PTung. ***xuda** 1 to buy, hire 2 to lend 3 trade 4 to trade, barter (1 покупать, нанимать 2 одалживать 3 торговля 4 торговать): Evk. *udi-* 2; Man. *uda-* 1; SMan. *uda-* (1409); Jurch. *xu-da-sia-maj* (418) 4; Ul. *χuda* 3; Nan. *χuda* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 248, 1, 467-468 (with many interdialectal borrowings). Man. > Dag. *xudā, xuda-* (Тод. Дар. 179).

PMong. ***kuda-ldu-** to barter, trade (торговать): MMong. *xudalidu* (HY 40), *xudulči* 'merchant' (HY 30), *qaṭal-* (IM), *qadaldə-* (LH); WMong. *qudaldu-* (L 980); Kh. *xudalda-*; Bur. *xudalda-*; Kalm. *xuldə-*; Ord. *xudaldu-*; Dong. *Gudandu-*; Bao. *dandə-*; S.-Yugh. *Gudāldə-*; Mongr. *dārdi-* (SM 44), *dāldə-*.

◊ KW 196, MGCD 385.

PTurk. ***küdü-** affair (дело): OTurk. *iš küdük* (OUygh.); Karakh. *iš küδük* (KB); Chuv. *kərəš-* 'to hire, be hired'.

◊ EDT 702.

‖ A Western isogloss; the Turkic reflex is very scantily attested.

***kʻùdì** a k. of skin working instrument; worked skin: Tung. ***xudekī**; Mong. ***ködü-sü**; Turk. ***kidiŕ**; Jpn. ***kùtùpìkì**.

PTung. ***xude-kī** board for cutting skins; a stick for sewing (доска для резки шкур; палочка для придерживания шитья): Evk. *udekī*; Evn. *udeki*; Neg. *udexi*; Ul. *xude*; Ork. *xude(n)*; Nan. *xudẽ*; Orch. *udeki*; Ud. *udexi* (Корм. 300).

◊ TMC 2, 249.

PMong. ***ködü-sü** worked sheep skin (обработанная овчина): WMong. *ködüsü(n)* (L 478); Kh. *xödös*; Bur. *xüdehe(n)* 'sheepskin, unworked leather'; Ord. *ködösü*.

PTurk. ***kidiŕ** felt (войлок): OTurk. *kidiz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kiδiz* (MK, KB); Tur. *kijiz, kejiz* (dial.); Turkm. *kīz*; MTurk. *kijiz* (IM, Abush., Qutb., Houts.); Uzb. *kigiz*; Uygh. *kigiz*; Tat. *kijez*; Bashk. *kejeδ*; Kirgh. *kijiz*; Kaz. *kijiz*; KBalk. *kijiz*; KKalp. *kijiz, kijgiz* (dial.); Kum. *kijiz*; Nogh. *kijiz*; Khak. *kīs*; Oyr. *kijis*; Tv. *kidis*.

◊ VEWT 270, TMN 3, 661-662, ЭСТЯ 5, 66-67, Лексика 392. Turk. > MMong. *kijiz* (Щербак 1997, 127).

PJpn. ***kùtùpìkì** a k. of loom (вид ткацкого станка): OJpn. *kutupjikji*; MJpn. *kùtùfikì*.

◊ JLTT 468 (but the connection with *kutu* 'shoe' is probably folk-etymological).

‖ In Turkic **kidiŕ* < **küdiŕ* (with secondary vowel assimilation); otherwise correspondences are regular.

***kˊǔjlu (~ -o)** ear; to hear: Tung. ***xūl-**; Mong. ***kul-ki**; Turk. ***Kul-kak**; Jpn. ***kí-k-**; Kor. ***kúi**.

PTung. ***xūl-** to sound, resound (раздаваться (о звуке, эхо)): Evk. *ūl-ta-*; Evn. *ụ̄l-dṵ-*; Neg. *ol-bụn-*; Ul. *xol-dị-*; Ork. *xụl-bụn-*; Nan. *xōl-ǯi-*.

◊ TMC 2,263.

PMong. ***kulki** ear-wax; middle ear (ушная сера; среднее ухо): WMong. *qulki* (L 984), *quluɣu*; Kh. *xulxi*, *xulga*; Bur. *xulxa*, *xolxi*; Kalm. *xulxə*, *xuĺxə*; Ord. *xuluGu(n)*; Dag. *xoĺgi* (Тод. Дат. 177; MGCD *kolig*); Mongr. *xoŋGo* (SM 171).

◊ KW 196, MGCD 389.

PTurk. ***Kul-kak** ear (ухо): OTurk. *qulqaq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qulaq*, *qulqaq*, *qulxaq* (MK), *qulaq*, *qulɣaq* (KB); Tur. kulak; Gag. *qulaq*; Az. *GulaG*; Turkm. *Gulaq*; Sal. *Gulaχ*; Khal. *qulaq*; MTurk. *qulaq* (MA), *qulaɣ* (Sangl.); Uzb. *qulɔq*; Uygh. *qulaq*; Krm. *qulax*; Tat. *qolaq*; Bashk. *qolaq*; Kirgh. *qulaq*; Kaz. *qulaq*; KBalk. *qulaq*; KKalp. *qulaq*; Kum. *qulaq*; Nogh. *qulaq*; SUygh. *qulaq*; Khak. *xulax*; Shr. *qulaq*; Oyr. *qulaq*; Tv. *qulaq*; Tof. *qulaq*; Chuv. *xъʷlɣa*; Yak. *kulgāk*; Dolg. *kulgāk*.

◊ VEWT 298, EDT 620, Лексика 204-205, ЭСТЯ 6, 124-127, Stachowski 160.

PJpn. ***kí-k-** hear (слышать): OJpn. *kjik-*; MJpn. *kík-*; Tok. *kik-*; Kyo. *kík-*; Kag. *kík-*.

◊ JLTT 708.

PKor. ***kúi** ear (ухо): MKor. *kúi*; Mod. *kwi*.

◊ Nam 64, KED 226.

‖ AKE 11, EAS 142, KW 196, Poppe 18, 75, АПиПЯЯ 52-53, 276, Дыбо 14, Лексика 205. The Mong. form can hardly be explained as a Turk. loanword (despite Щербак 1997, 143; Doerfer in TMN 4, 296 writes: "...unsicher"). Cf. Ordos *xulugu* 'the ear of animal', Khalkha *xulgavč* 'eared cap'. The Jpn. form has an irregular high tone (Turk., Tung. and Kor. pointing unanimously to *ˋ); this, as well as the vowel -i- is probably due to a contraction. Medial *-jl- has to be reconstructed to account for -i- in Korean.

***kˊùkè** to peel: Tung. ***xuK-**; Turk. ***Koguĺ (?-k-)**; Jpn. ***kuàk-**.

PTung. ***xuK-** 1 to peel (bark, rind) 2 peels, rind (1 сдирать (кору) 2 корка, кожура): Evk. *uk-* 1; Evn. *ụq-* 1; Neg. *oklī-* 1; Ul. *χoGdịqta* 2; Orch. *uki-* 1; Ud. *ukki-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 253.

PTurk. ***Koguĺ** leather, hide (кожа, шкура): OTurk. *qoɣuš*; Karakh. *qoɣuš* (MK).

◊ EDT 613.

PJpn. ***kuàk-** to flail, flay (сдирать кору, обмолачивать): OJpn. *kwok-*; MJpn. *kòk-*; Tok. *kók-*, *kóg-*; Kyo. *kòk-*, *kòg-*; Kag. *kòk-*, *kòg-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

‖ The Tung.-Jpn. match seems to be satisfactory, but the Turkic parallel is not quite certain: in PT one would rather expect **Kokuĺ* with voiceless -k-, but available attestations seem to point rather to *-g-.

***kʻùla** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***xol-sa**; Mong. ***kalimu**; Jpn. ***kàra-**.

PTung. ***xol-sa** 1 fish 2 boiled fish (1 рыба 2 вареная рыба): Evk. *ollo* 1; Evn. *olrə̣* 1; Neg. *olo* 1; Ul. *xolto(n)* 2; Ork. *xolto* 2; Nan. *xolto* 2; Orch. *okto* 2; Ud. *oloho* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 14.

PMong. ***kalimu** whale (кит): WMong. *qalimu* (L 920); Kh. *xalim*; Bur. *xalim*; Kalm. *xalim* (СЯОС).

PJpn. ***kàra-** plaice (камбала): MJpn. *kàrèfí*; Tok. *kárei*; Kyo. *kárèi*; Kag. *kareí*.

◊ JLTT 440. The PJ accent is not quite clear (but the first syllable should undoubtedly be reconstructed with low tone).

‖ Doerfer MT 91 and Rozycki 130 consider Mong. to be borrowed < TM (Evk. *kalim* etc., see TMC 1, 366-367); however, the direction of borrowing was probably reverse. This is one of several similar fish names, sometimes difficult to distinguish - see **kalu*, **kʻile*.

***kʻul(g)o** reed, rush: Tung. ***xulgu-**; Mong. ***kulu-su**; Turk. ***Kulga**; Kor. ***kōr**.

PTung. ***xulgu-** reed (тростник): Evk. *ulgukta*; Neg. *ojgokto*; Man. *ulχu*; SMan. *oləhə* (2157); Ul. *χolGaqta*; Ork. *xu̯ldu̯qta*; Nan. *χolGoqta*; Orch. *ugukta*.

◊ TMC 2, 258-259.

PMong. ***kulu-su** reed, rush (тростник, камыш): MMong. *gulusun* (HY 6), *qalsun* (IM), *qulusun* (MA); WMong. *qulusu(n)* (L 985); Kh. *xuls*; Bur. *xulha(n)*; Kalm. *xulsn̥*; Ord. *xulus*, *xulusu(n)*; Dag. *kolso*, *xolso* (Тод. Даг. 177), *kolese* (MD 183); Dong. *Gulusun*; Bao. *Golsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *χulusən*; Mongr. *xuluʒə* (SM 182), (MGCD *xuləsə*).

◊ KW 196, MGCD 388. Mong. > Oyr. *quluzun*.

PTurk. ***Kulga** 1 sprout 2 long branch, shoot (1 росток 2 длинная ветка, побег): Tat. *qolɣa* 2; Khak. *xulɣa* 1; Oyr. *qulɣa* 1; Chuv. *xolʲ* 2.

◊ VEWT 298, Ашм. XVI, 149.

PKor. ***kōr** reed, rush (тростник, камыш): MKor. *kōr*; Mod. *kol-phul*.

◊ Nam 51, KED 160.

‖ KW 196, SKE 121, Цинциус 1984, 114-115, Дыбо 10, Rozycki 217. Cf. also Old Silla **koš* 'reed', see Miller 1979, 23.

✱**kʻŭli** yellow, brown, grey: Mong. ***küjilen***; Turk. ***Kula***.

PMong. ***küjilen*** grey, bluish (серый, голубоватый): WMong. *küilen* (L 498); Bur. *xüjlen*.

◊ Cf. also Khalkha *xülegčin* 'white horse with black spots'.

PTurk. ***Kula*** light yellow, brown (желтый, саврасый): OTurk. *qula* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qula* (MK); Tur. *kula*; Gag. *qula*; Turkm. *qula*; MTurk. *qula* (AH, Houts.); Uzb. *qula*; Uygh. *qula*; Tat. *qola*; Bashk. *qola*; Kirgh. *qula*; Kaz. *qula*; KKalp. *qula*; Kum. *qula*; Nogh. *qula*; SUygh. *qula*; Khak. *xula*; Oyr. *qula*; Tv. *qula*; Chuv. *xъʷla*.

◊ EDT 617, VEWT 298, ЭСТЯ 6, 121-122.

‖ A Turko-Mong. isogloss. Mong. **küjile-* regularly < **küli-le-* with *l-dissimilation*. Turk. > Mong. *qula* (see TMN 3, 507, KW 195); Mong. > Evk. *kula*, Man. *qulan*, see Doerfer MT 100 > Kor. *kora* (*mal*) (see Lee 1958, 119).

✱**kʻuli (~ -e)** to heat, burn: Tung. ***xuldü***; Mong. ***kölči-***; Turk. ***kül-***.

PTung. ***xuldü*** 1 warm 2 to heat 3 flame (1 теплый 2 нагревать 3 пламя): Evk. *uldi* 3; Man. *wenže-* 2; SMan. *venžexun*, *venžaxun* 'agreeably warm' (2058); Ul. *xuldu* 1, *xuldū-* 2; Ork. *xuldu* 1; Nan. *xul'd'i* 1; Ud. *ugdi-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 260; 1, 132 (where the Manchu word is erroneously regarded as < Chin.).

PMong. ***kölči-*** to heat, warm (греть, нагревать): MMong. *kulči-* (MA 222); WMong. *kölči-*, *kölčü-* (L 484); Kh. *xölč-*; Bur. *xülše-*; Kalm. *kölčə-* (KPC); Ord. *gölčö-*; Dag. *kulčē-* (Тод. Даг. 151); Mongr. *kurgu-* 'rôtir, griller, étuver' (SM 216).

◊ Cf. also Bur. *xülere* 'place of fire'; WMong. *kölü-re-* 'to sweat', *kölü(r)-sü(n)*, Mongr. *konorʒə* 'sweat, perspiration' (> Dolg. *kölöhün*, see Stachowski 155).

PTurk. ***kül*** ashes (пепел, зола): OTurk. *kül* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kül* (MK); Tur. *kül*; Gag. *kül*; Az. *kül*; Turkm. *kül*; Sal. *kül*; Khal. *kīl*; MTurk. *kül*; Uzb. *kul*; Uygh. *kül*; Krm. *kul*; Tat. *köl*; Bashk. *köl*; Kirgh. *kül*; Kaz. *kül*; KBalk. *kül*; KKalp. *kül*; Kum. *kül*; Nogh. *kül*; SUygh. *kül*; Khak. *kül*; Shr. *kül*; Oyr. *kül*; Tv. *xül*; Tof. *xül*; Chuv. *kəʷl*; Yak. *kül*; Dolg. *kül*.

◊ VEWT 307, EDT 715, ЭСТЯ 5, 137-138, Лексика 367-368, Stachowski 164.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281. A Western isogloss: we prefer now to separate MKor. *kírím* = TM **xurum-* etc., see **kʻōŕe*.

✱**kʻúli (~ -o-, -Í-)** to dig, cave: Tung. ***xulē-***; Mong. ***küle-mžgi***; Kor. ****kùrhəŋ***.

PTung. ***xulē-*** to dig (копать): Evk. *ulē-*; Evn. *ul-*; Neg. *ulē-*; Man. *uldefun* 'wooden shovel'; Ul. *xule-*; Ork. *xule-*; Nan. *xule-*; Ud. *ule-*.

◊ TMC 2, 265.

PMong. ***küle-mžgi*** cave, basement (погреб, подземное помещение): WMong. *külemžgi* (L 499); Kh. *xülemž*.

PKor. ***kùrhə̀ŋ*** tunnel, cave, hole (туннель, пещера, дыра): MKor. *kùrhə́ŋ*; Mod. *kurəŋ*.

◊ Nam 63, KED 199.

‖ On a possible Jpn. reflex see under **kˊ[ù]ri*.

✱**kˊúlo** to roll, turn: Tung. ***xol- / *xul-***; Mong. ***kol-ki-***; Turk. ***Kul-***; Jpn. ***kə́rə́-mp-***; Kor. ***kùbɨ̀r-***.

PTung. ***xol- / *xul-*** 1 dance, move in dancing 2 climb down, out (from a vehicle, boat) 3 bend (of a river) 4 to walk around, turn round (1 танцевать, двигаться в пляске 2 высаживаться (из лодки), слезать (с телеги) 3 излучина (реки) 4 обходить, объезжать): Evk. *olo-ntū-* 1, *uli-sin* 3; Evn. *ulina* 3; Neg. *oli-sin-* 4; Ul. *χolon-* 2, *χōli-* 4; Ork. *χulon-* 2, *χōli-* 4; Nan. *xuˈlun-* 2, *xōli-* 4; Orch. *xolon-o-* 2 (< Orok.), *uli-* 4; Ud. *xoli-* 4 (< Nan.).

◊ TMC 1, 470; 2, 16, 261.

PMong. ***kol-ki-*** to be restless, go round and round (вертеться, не сидеть на месте): WMong. *qolkida-* (L 959); Kh. *xolxi-*; Bur. *xolxi* 'shaky, wobbly'; Kalm. *xolgədə-*; Ord. *Golχido-*.

◊ KW 182.

PTurk. ***Kul-*** 1 to roll (down), fall 2 round (1 скатываться, падать 2 круглый): Sal. *gulülüx* 2; MTurk. *qula-* 1 (Буд.); Uzb. *qulä-* 1; Uygh. *qula-, γula-* 1; Bashk. *qola-* 1; Kirgh. *qula-* 1; Kaz. *qula-* 1; KKalp. *qula-* 1; SUygh. *qula-*, Gol- 1; Oyr. *qula-* 1.

◊ VEWT 298, ЭСТЯ 6, 122.

PJpn. ***kə́rə́-mp-*** roll (катиться): MJpn. *korob-*; Tok. *kòrob-*; Kyo. *kórób-*; Kag. *korób-*.

◊ JLTT 713.

PKor. ***kubɨr-*** roll (катиться): MKor. *kùˈɨr-, kùˈur-*; Mod. *kūl-, kuri-*.

◊ Nam 60, KED 199, 217.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 288, ОСНЯ 1, 327 (with literature; Illich-Svitych also compares Mong. *qoli-* 'to mix', but does not list the Turkic and Japanese forms). Cf. also Mong. *kölbe-* 'to lie on one side' (KW 238), *qolbir-* 'to slip sidewards'. The attribution of some forms is problematic: Turk. **Kul-* may reflect a partial contamination with PA **gi̯ŭldo* 'to stretch' (q.v.).; the Jpn. and Kor. forms, due to the merger of *r and *l, can actually also reflect PA **ki̯ŏ́r[i]* q.v.; in Jpn. cf. also *koro* 'round log', *korog-* 'to roll, rotate'. Note that the MKor. form with -w-, -ˈ- makes the affiliation of the Korean root questionable - unless it is a dissimilative development < ****kurb-ɨr-***, in which case it would be a morphological structure **kˊúlo-bV-* = PJ **kárámp-*, Mong. *kölbe-, qolbir-*.

***k'úĺa** bark, scales; scab: Tung. ***xolda-ksa**; Mong. ***kolta-su, *koli-**; Turk. ***Kuĺ**; Jpn. ***kásá**.

PTung. ***xolda-ksa** 1 bark 2 board 3 coffin (1 кора 2 доска 3 гроб): Evk. *oldaksa, uldaksa* 1, 2; Evn. *oldụs* 3; Neg. *oldokso* 3; Ul. *χoldoqso* 2; Ork. *χoldoqso* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 13, 244 (with a confusion of **xolda-ksā* 'bark; board' and *ugda-'boat').

PMong. ***kolta-su, *koli-** 1 tree bark 2 scales (1 древесная кора 2 чешуя): WMong. *qoltusu(n), qoltasu(n)* 1 (L 960), *qolisu(n)* 2 (L 959); Kh. *xoltos* 1, *xolis* 2; Bur. *xoltohon* 1; Kalm. *xoltxəsn* 1; Dag. *koldon* 'cedar' (Тод. Даг. 150) (?).

◊ KW 182, 183. Cf. also *qol-tul-* 'to skin, separate skin, split' (whence Evk. *kolto-* etc., see Doerfer MT 69), *qolu-, qolγu-, qoluγa-* 'to erase (skin), make a sore', *qoluγanaγ* 'rubbed off spot on skin' (KW 182, 183, L 958). The name of 'cedar' is borrowed in TM (Man. *xoldon* etc.).

PTurk. ***Kuĺ** a hairless spot (on horse's skin) (проплешина (на шкуре лошади)): Tur. *kuš*.

◊ VEWT 305.

PJpn. ***kásá** scab (струп, язва): OJpn. *kasa;* MJpn. *kásá;* Tok. *kàsa;* Kyo. *kásá;* Kag. *kása*.

◊ JLTT 441.

‖ KW 182, Miller 1970, 129, АПиПЯЯ 293. Illich-Svitych (ОСНЯ 1,301, with Uralic parallels) compares Man. *qola-*, Evk. *kūlū-* 'to skin', but these are mongolisms (see TMC 1,407); TM **xolda-ksa* is a better match for the Mong. form.

***k'ùĺa (~-o,-u)** a k. of big bird: Tung. ***xōlī**; Mong. ***kuladu**; Turk. ***Kuĺ**.

PTung. ***xōlī** raven, crow (ворон, ворона): Evk. *ōlī;* Evn. *oliŋža;* Neg. *ōlī.*; Nan. *χolī.*; Orch. *oli;* Ud. *wali;* Sol. *oĺē, olī*.

◊ TMC 2, 13. TM > Dag. *oĺē* (Тод. Даг. 159). Shortness in Nan. is irregular (probably dissimilative, before the next long vowel).

PMong. ***kuladu** duck-hawk (вид ястреба, лунь): MMong. *quladu* (SH); WMong. *quladu* (L 984: *qulatu*); Kh. *xult;* Bur. *xulda;* Kalm. *xuldə;* Ord. *xuladu*.

◊ KW 195-196. Mong. > Shor *quladi* etc. (see VEWT 298, ЭСТЯ 6, 128-129).

PTurk. ***Kuĺ** 1 bird 2 duck (1 птица 2 утка): OTurk. *quš* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *quš* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *kuš* 1; Gag. *quš* 1; Az. *Guš* 1; Turkm. *Guš* 1; Sal. *Guš* 1; Khal. *quš*, Guš (< Az.) 'sparrow'; MTurk. *quš* 1 (Sangl.); 'moth' (Abush.); Uzb. *quš* 1; Uygh. *quš* 1; Krm. *quš* 1; Tat. *qoš* 1; Bashk. *qoš* 1; Kirgh. *quš* 1; Kaz. *qus* 1; KBalk. *quš* 1; KKalp. *qus* 1; Kum. *quš* 1; Nogh. *qus* 1; SUygh. *Gus* 1; Khak. *xus* 1; Shr. *quš* 1; 'hen'; Oyr. *quš* 1; Tv. *qu'š* 1; Tof. *qu'š* 1; Yak. *kus* 2; Dolg. *kus* 2.

◊ VEWT 305, TMN 3, 547-548; EDT 670; ЭСТЯ 6, 180-182, Лексика 168, Stachowski 162. Chuv. *xъlat* 'hawk' < Mong.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281, Дыбо 9, Лексика 168. A Western isogloss. The Turk. form can also be compared with PTM *kilə- "a k. of aquatic bird" or *kulV- id.

***kʻume (~ -i̯u-)** black; coal: Turk. ***kömür**; Kor. ***kəm-**.

PTurk. ***kömür** coal (уголь): OTurk. *kömür* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kömür* (MK, KB); Tur. *kömür*; Gag. *kömür*; Az. *kömür*; Turkm. *kömür*; MTurk. *kömür* (MA, IM, Pav. C., AH), *kimür* (Abush.); Uzb. *kumir*; Uygh. *kömü(r)*; Tat. *kümer*; Bashk. *kümer*; Kirgh. *kömür*; Kaz. *kömər*; KBalk. *kömür*; KKalp. *kömər*; Kum. *kömür*; Nogh. *kömər*; Khak. *kömər*; Oyr. *kömür*; Tv. *xömür*; Chuv. *kъʷmrъʷk*; Yak. *kömör*; Dolg. *kömör*.

◊ VEWT 289 (relating the stem to *köm-* 'to bury, dig' seems rather dubious), ЭСТЯ 5, 102-103, Лексика 365, Stachowski 156.

PKor. ***kəm-** black (черный): MKor. *kəm-*, *kə̀m-*; Mod. *kəm-*, *kːəm-*, *kām-*, *kːām-*.

◊ Liu 48, HMCH 278, KED 101. Modern length and gemination are obviously late and expressive.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 295. A Turk.-Kor. isogloss (cf. also Old Koguryo **kămul* 'black', see Miller 1979, 8; perhaps also Manchu *χumara-* 'to sully', TMC 1, 477). The comparison seems quite possible, although the scarcity of reflexes prevents a secure reconstruction of vocalism.

***kʻumi (~ -e)** tent, temporary dwelling: Tung. ***xoma-**; Mong. ***kömürge**; Turk. ***küme**.

PTung. ***xoma-** tent, summer-house (шалаш, летнее жилище): Neg. *omōxān*; Ul. *χomi̯ra(n)*; Nan. *χomarã*.

◊ TMC 2, 17.

PMong. ***kömürge** storehouse (хранилище): MMong. *kumurki* 'box' (MA 141); WMong. *kömürge* (L 487); Kh. *xömrög*; Kalm. *kömṛg* (KPC); Mongr. *komorgo* (SM 213), *komurgo*.

◊ Should be historically distinguished from *gömürge* (although the two forms have almost merged in Mong.).

PTurk. ***küme** dug-out, hut (землянка, хижина): Tur. *kümüldü*.

◊ VEWT 308. An exclusively Osman word; Cf. perhaps Karakh. (MK) *kümi* 'name of a town on the Uyghur border' (?).

‖ A Western isogloss.

***kʻumV (~-o-)** weak, lean: Tung. ***xum-**; Mong. ***komur, *komsa**.

PTung. ***xum-** lean, weak (тощий, слабый): Evk. *umdān*; Evn. *u̯mnaku̯*; Ul. *χomdo(n)*, *χu̯mdu̯(n)*; Ork. *χu̯mana*; Nan. *xumdu*; Orch. *umana*; Sol. *u̯minā-*.

◊ TMC 2, 267.

PMong. ***komur, *komsa** scarce, rare, weak (редкий, слабый): MMong. *qor qomsa* (SH); WMong. *qomur, qobur, qomsa* (L 950, 960); Kh. *xomor, xowor, xoms*; Bur. *xomor*; Ord. *xomso, xowor*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *komso*, see Doerfer MT 118.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kʻùńe** to burn, get burnt: Mong. ***köɣe***; Turk. ***köń-***; Jpn. ***kuànkàra-***; Kor. ***kìńìr-***.

PMong. ***köɣe*** soot (сажа): MMong. *küje* (MA); WMong. *köɣe*; Kh. *xə̄*; Bur. *xə̄*; Kalm. *kə̄*; Ord. *kə̄*; Dag. *xuē* (Тод. Даг. 179), *huē* (MD 165); Dong. *guə-məi*; S.-Yugh. *kə̄*; Mongr. *kə̄* (SM 204).

◊ KW 243, MGCD 369. Cf. also WMong. *köjüre-*, Kalm. *köjr-* 'to sweat'. Hardly < Turkic, despite Щербак 1997, 196. Mong. > Man. ku id. (see Rozycki 144).

PTurk. ***köń-*** 1 to burn (*itr.*) 2 to burn (tr.) 3 to kindle 4 to get burnt 5 soot 6 strong smell of burnt 7 unpleasant smell (1 гореть 2 жечь 3 зажигать 4 обгорать 5 сажа 6 сильный запах горелого 7 неприятный запах): OTurk. *köj-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *kön-* (Argu MK), *köj-* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. (dial.) *köj-*, *küj-* 1; *küje* 5; Turkm. *köj-* 1, *küjö* (dial.) 5; Khal. *kiẹn-* 1; MTurk. *köj-* 1 (Abush., MA, Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *kuj-* 1, *kuja* 5; Uygh. *köj-*, *küj-* 1, *köjdür-* 2; Tat. *köj-* 1; Bashk. *küj-* 1; Kirgh. *küj-* 1, *kə̄* 5; Kaz. *küj-* 1, *küje* 5; KBalk. *küj-* 1; KKalp. *küj-* 1, *küje* 5; Kum. *güj-* 1; Nogh. *küj-* 1, *küje* 5; Khak. *köj-* 1, *köje* 5; Shr. *köj-* 1; Oyr. *küj-* 1, *kə̄* 5; Tv. *xə̄* 5; Tof. *xə̄̄* 5; Chuv. *kü*, *kəʷv* 6 (Ашм.), *kəʷśek* 7; *kъʷvajt* 5.

◊ VEWT 309, EDT 726, 730, ЭСТЯ 5, 88-89, 133, Лексика 362, Мудрак Дисс. 75. The Az. form is somewhat dubious, both semantically ("itch") and phonetically (irregular voiced g-). See also **köń-* 'to grieve, suffer'.

PJpn. ***kuànkàra-*** to be burnt (быть опаленным, подгорать, загорать): OJpn. *kwogara-*; MJpn. *kògàra-*; Tok. *kogaré-*; Kyo. *kógáré-*; Kag. *kogaré-*.

◊ JLTT 711. Kagoshima points to high tone, but other dialects rather to a low one.

PKor. ***kìńìr-*** 1 soot 2 to be covered with soot (1 сажа 2 покрываться сажей): MKor. *kìńìrìm* 1; Mod. *kiirim* 1, *kiil-* 2.

◊ Nam 69, KED 240.

‖ The Jpn. form reflects a suffixed **kʻùńe-KV-*.

✱**kʻùńi (~ -e)** knot, to tie knots: Tung. ***xūńē-***; Mong. ***küjir***.

PTung. ***xūńē-*** 1 to bind (a pack, to a pack) 2 long wool (for binding, felting) 3 silk string (for binding) 4 knot (on a thread) (1 привязывать (вьюк, к вьюку) 2 длинная шерсть (для привязывания, изготовления шнурков etc.) 3 шнурок (из сырцового шелка) 4 узел (на нити)): Evk. *ūńē-* 1; Evn. *ŏńe-* 1; Man. *uńe-le* 2, *uńe-ri* 3; Ork. *xunikte* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 477, 2, 277.

PMong. ***küjir*** knots of a bow-string (узлы на тетиве): MMong. *ko* 'bow-string' (HY 18); WMong. *küir* (L 498); Kh. *xüjde-* 'to release the bow-string'; Mongr. *kwāri* 'boutonnière (en cordonnet)' (SM 208).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. In other languages cf. perhaps: OT *köndegü* 'necklace' (EDT 730).

✱**kʻuŋgo (~-o-)** to freeze, snow: Tung. ***xuŋ-da-***; Mong. ***kuŋgar- / *küŋger-***; Jpn. ***kənkə(r)-***.

PTung. ***xuŋ-da-*** ice crust on snow (наст): Evk. *uŋnan*; Evn. *ӯпъ.л*; Neg. *ōŋnan*; Man. *undan*; Nan. *χoŋdā*; Ud. *uŋna*; *oŋo-* 'to freeze'.

◊ TMC 2, 279. Cf. also Evn. *ōйir* 'снег (плотный), сугроб'.

PMong. ***kuŋgar- / *küŋger-*** snow-drift (сугроб): WMong. *quŋ'ar* (МХТТТ); Kh. *xuŋgar*; Bur. *xüŋgereg*.

PJpn. ***kənkə(r)-*** 1 to freeze 2 freezing (1 замерзать 2 замерзающий, холодный): OJpn. *kogor-* 1; MJpn. *kogor-* 1, *kogo-* 2; Tok. *kogor-*, *kògoe-*, *kogoé-* 1; Kyo. *kógóé-* 1; Kag. *kògòè-* 1.

◊ JLTT 711. Tone reconstruction is not quite clear.

‖ The Jpn. form may be alternatively compared with PTM **gekti-* 'to freeze' (TMC 1, 178).

✱**kʻùre** basket: Tung. ***xurid-***; Turk. ***Küri-***; Jpn. ***kuà***; Kor. ***kórí***.

PTung. ***xurid-*** a vessel for berries (посудина для ягод): Evk. *uridīk*; Nan. *χordaχī*.

◊ TMC 1, 471, 2, 285.

PTurk. ***Küri-*** 1 a measure of capacity 2 a k. of basket for vegetables (1 мера объема 2 вид корзины для овощей): OTurk. *küri* 1 (OUygh.) 'peck (2 and 1/2 bushels)'; Karakh. *kürin* 2 (MK); Uygh. *kürɛ* 1; SUygh. *kʻǫr* (10,35 l) 1.

◊ EDT 737, 746.

PJpn. ***kuà*** basket (корзина): OJpn. *kwo*; MJpn. *kò*.

◊ JLTT 453.

PKor. ***kórí*** basket (корзина): MKor. *kórí*; Mod. *kori*.

◊ Liu 64, KED 140.

‖ Whitman 1985, 148. The Jpn. form is derived from a suffixed **kʻùr(e)-gV*. Cf. **kúra(mV)*.

✱**kʻúrgo (~ -u)** intestine, belly: Tung. ***xurke-***; Mong. ***kurkag***; Turk. ***Kurg-sak***; Kor. ***kùrəi***.

PTung. ***xurke-*** belly (of fish) (брюшко (рыбы)): Evn. *ökenre*; Neg. *ujkene*; Ul. *xuče(n)*; Nan. *xujke*; Orch. *ukkese*; Ud. *ukihe*.

◊ TMC 2, 29-30.

PMong. ***kurkag*** belly (of cattle) (желудок (скота)): WMong. *qurqaγ*; Kh. *xurxag*; Kalm. *xurxəg*, *xorxəg*.

◊ KW 188, 198.

PTurk. ***Kurg-sak*** belly, stomach (живот, желудок): Karakh. *quruγsaq* (MK); Tur. *kursak*; Gag. *qursaq*; Az. *GursaG*; Turkm. *GursaG* 'breast'; Sal. *χusaχ*; MTurk. *qursaq* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qursɔq*; Uygh. *qosaq*; Krm. *qorsaq*; Tat. *qorsaq*; Bashk. *qorhaq*; Kirgh. *qursaq*; Kaz. *qursaq*; KKalp. *qursaq*; Kum. *qursaq*; Nogh. *qursaq*; SUygh. *qursqaq*; Khak. *xursax*; Shr. *qursaq*; Oyr. *qursaq*; Yak. *kurtax*.

◊ EDT 657, VEWT 303, Лексика 277, ЭСТЯ 6, 164-166. Cf. also Yak., Dolg. *kurgum* 'lower part of belly' (Stachowski 162 gives a rather improbable etymology).

PKor. ***kùrə̀i*** inner part of body, inner part of chest (внутренность, грудная полость): MKor. *kùrə̀i*.

◊ Nam 58. It is not quite clear whether the word is the same as modern *kure, hə-guri* 'waist' (KED 199) - which seems to have a different origin, see under **kalbo*.

‖ KW 188, Лексика 278. The medial cluster behaves not quite regularly because of assimilation (in Mong., where **kurkag* < **kurgag*, and in TM, where **xurke* < **xurge*).

k'[ŭ]ri** to rake up: Tung. ***xeri- / *xeru-; Mong. ***kura-, *kurija-***; Turk. ***küre-***; Jpn. ***kur-***.

PTung. ***xeri- / *xeru-*** 1 to rake up 2 to sweep (1 сгребать 2 подметать): Evk. *eru-* 1; Evn. *er-* 1; Neg. *ej-* 1; Man. *eri-* 2; Ul. *xeru-* 1; Ork. *xeri-* 1; Nan. *xeti-* 1 (**xer-či-*); Orch. *ei-* 1; Ud. *eju, ejeu* 'shovel'; Sol. *erũ* 'shovel'.

◊ TMC 2, 462. Despite Doerfer MT 21 the word has nothing to do with Mong. *erü-* 'to dig' (see under **p'i̯oŕe*).

PMong. ***kura-, *kurija-*** to gather, collect (собирать): MMong. *xurija-* (HY 40); WMong. *qura-, qurija-* (L 987, 989); Kh. *xura-, xurā-*; Bur. *xuŕā-*; Kalm. *xurə-, xurā-* (KPC); Ord. *xura-*; Dag. *xori-* (Тод. Даг. 178), *xorē-* (Тод. Даг. 177: *xoŕē-*), *hore-, hurā* (MD 164, 167); Dong. *Gura-*; Bao. *Gorudə-*; S.-Yugh. *χurā-*; Mongr. *xurā-* (SM 183).

◊ KW 197, 198, MGCD 390. Mong. > Kirgh. *qura-* etc., see ЭСТЯ 6, 157-158.

PTurk. ***küre-*** 1 to rake 2 spade, shovel (1 сгребать 2 лопата): Karakh. *küri-* (MK) 1, *kürgäk* (MK) 2; Tur. *kürü-* 1, *kürek* 2; Gag. *kürü-* 1, *kürek* 2; Az. *kürü-, kürä-* 1, *küräk* 2; Turkm. *kürek* 2; Khal. *kürgɛk* 2; MTurk. *küre-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *kurɛ-* 1; Uygh. *kürɛ-* 1, *kurɛk* 2; Tat. *körɛ-* 1, *körɛk* 2; Bashk. *körɛ-* 1, *körɛk* 2; Kirgh. *kürö-* 1, *kürök* 2; Kaz. *küre-* 1, *kürek* 2; KBalk. *küre-* 1; KKalp. *gürek* 2; Kum. *küre-* 1, *kürek* 2; Nogh. *küre-* 1, *kürek* 2; Khak. *küre-* 1; Oyr. *küre-* 1, *kürek* 2; Tv. *kűrek, kürüjek* (Todzh.); Tof. *xürüjek*; Chuv. *kəʷreźe* 2; Yak. *kürt-* 1; Dolg. *kürt-* 1.

◊ VEWT 310, ЭСТЯ 5, 150-152, Stachowski 166. Turk. **küre-ček* > MMong. *kürǰek*, WMong. *kürǰe*, see Щербак 1997, 129 (borrowed back > Yak. *kürǰex*, Dolg. *kürǰek*, see Stachowski ibid.).

PJpn. ***kur-*** to delve (долбить): MJpn. *kur-*; Tok. *kur-*.

‖ EAS 97, KW 248, Poppe 79, Цинциус 1984, 121-122. The etymology seems quite probable, although the TM vocalism is not clear (a result of some contamination?). For Jpn., however, cf. alternatively PA **kùrV* 'to cut out' or PA **k'uli* 'dig' q.v.

***k'[ú]ŕa** pole; finger, toe: Tung. ***xurū**; Mong. ***kuruɣu, *-gu**; Turk. ***K[a]ŕguk**; Kor. ***kàràk**.

PTung. ***xurū** 1 hoof 2 handful (1 копыто 2 пригоршня, горсть): Evk. *urūn* 1, *urū* 2; Ul. *χuŗu* 2; Ork. *χūrų* 1, *χuŗų* 2; Nan. *χōrō* 1, *χoro* 2; Orch. *ū-ŋki* 1; Ud. *ū* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 287, 288.

PMong. ***kuruɣu, *-gu** finger, toe (палец): MMong. *quru'un* (HY 46, SH), *qorɣan* (IM), *qurun* (MA); WMong. *quruɣu(n)* (L 991); Kh. *xurū*; Bur. *xurga(n)*; Kalm. *xurɣn̥*; Ord. *xurū*; Mog. *qurūn*; ZM *qorun* (2-9b); Dag. *xorō* (Тод. Дат. 178), *horō* (MD 164); Dong. *Gurun*; Bao. *xur* (MGCD Gor); S.-Yugh. *χurūn*; Mongr. *xuri* (SM 185).

◊ KW 198, MGCD 392.

PTurk. ***K[a]ŕguk** pole, peg (палка, колышек): OTurk. *qazɣuq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qazŋuq* (MK); Tur. *kazık*; Gag. *qazıq*; Az. *gazıx* (dial.); Turkm. *GazıG*; MTurk. *qazuq* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *qoziq*; Uygh. *qozuq*; Krm. *qazıq*; Tat. *qazıq*; Bashk. *qaδa-* 'to stick into', *qaδaq, qaδıq* 'nail'; Kaz. *qazıq*; KBalk. *qazıq*; KKalp. *qazıq*; Kum. *qazıq*; Nogh. *qazıq*; SUygh. *quzuq*; Oyr. *qazıq*; Chuv. **karuH* > Hung. *karó* (see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 2, 387)..

◊ EDT 682 (derivation from **Kaŕ-* 'dig' is highly dubious, although the vocalism could have been influenced by the verbal root), VEWT 243, ЭСТЯ 5, 190-191. Because of its consonant the Bashk. form belongs rather here than to PT **Kāta-* (v. sub **kâjta)*.

PKor. ***kàràk** finger; pole (палец; палка): MKor. *soṅs-kàràk* 'finger', *kàràk* 'pole'; Mod. *son-karak, karak*.

◊ Liu 19, KED 10.

‖ EAS 88, 113, Цинциус 1984, 118, Дыбо 316-317. The Turkic vowel is not quite clear: cf. the variant **Kuŕguk;* perhaps the forms reveal a variation **Kuŕgak* / **Kaŕguk* in early Turkic.

***k'uŕe (~ -i)** a k. of fur animal: Tung. ***xur-**; Mong. ***kürene**; Turk. ***Küŕen**.

PTung. ***xur-** 1 bear 2 gopher 3 bear's flesh (as food) 4 young tarbagan (1 медведь 2 суслик 3 медвежье мясо (как пища) 4 тарбаган (до 5 месяцев)): Evk. *urike* 2, *urka-* 3; Evn. *u̯rka-* 3, *urgeɣe* 4; Neg. *ujguli* 1; Ul. *xužuli* 1; Nan. *xujguluẽ* 1; Orch. *ugguli* 1, *urike* 'fox-seal'.

◊ TMC 2, 251, 284, 285, 286. For the forms meaning 'gopher, seal' cf., however, some Turkic Siberian forms: Khak. *örke*, Yak. *örgö*, Tuva *örge* (VEWT 374-375) - which may be borrowed from Tungus, but may also constitute a separate root (note that Turk. > Hung. *ürge* 'gopher', see Gombocz 1912, Russ. Siber. *jerkeška*, see Аникин 202).

PMong. ***kürene** ferret, weasel (хорек, ласка): WMong. *kürene* (L 504); Kh. *xürne*; Bur. *xüneri* (with a metathesis); Kalm. *kürn̥*; Ord. *kürene* 'Mustela putorius'.

◊ KW 248. Mong. > Man. *kurene* etc., see Doerfer MT 99, Rozycki 147.

PTurk. ***Küŕen*** ferret, weasel (хорек, ласка): Karakh. *küzen* (MK) 'an animal of the rat family used to hunt sparrows and jerboas'; Turkm. *alažgözen*, dial. *küzen*; MTurk. *küzen* (Qutb), Kypch. *küzen* (CCum.); Uzb. *kuzɛn*; Uygh. *küzɛn*; Tat. *közɛn*; Bashk. *köδɛn*; Kirgh. *küzön*; Kaz. *küzen*; KKalp. *güzen*; Kum. *sasıq-gözen*; Nogh. *küzen*; Khak. *küzen*; Oyr. *küzen*; Tv. *küzen*.

◊ VEWT 312, ЭСТЯ 5, 86, Лексика 163, EDT 761. Turk. > Hung. *görény*, see MNyTESz 1, 1089.

‖ Лексика 163. A Western isogloss. Note also similar names for 'squirrel' in Mong. (*keremü*; borrowed in Evk. *keremun* etc., see Doerfer MT 123) and Siberian Turkic languages (Khak. *körək*, Yak. *kürǯügäs* etc., borrowed in Kalm. *kŏrəg*, see KW 243, VEWT 293).

✱**kʻűŕkV** glowing coals: Tung. ***xurk-***; Turk. ***kŏ̄ŕ***.

PTung. ***xurk-*** 1 soot 2 sulphur (1 сажа 2 сера): Man. *xurku* 2; Ul. *χorχi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 471, 478.

PTurk. ***kŏ̄ŕ*** glowing coals (раскаленные угольа): Karakh. *köz* (MK); Tur. *köz*, *küz*; Az. *köz*; Turkm. *kŏ̄z*; MTurk. *köz* (AH, Qutb., Pav. C.); Khak. *kös*; Tv. *kös*; Chuv. *kъʷvar*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 85-86, Лексика 365-366. There are also variants **Kŏ̄ŕ* / **Kŏ̄r* (VEWT 285) and the verb **kŏ̄re-* 'to glow'.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. A Turk.-Mong. derivative of this root may be the name of 'lead', PT **Korguĺ(č)in* (see Лексика 407-408, ЭСТЯ 6, 172-174), Mong. *qorγalži*, *qorγolči*. If this is the case, there is no need to assume a borrowing either in Turk. < Mong. (despite Лексика ibid.), or in Mong. < Turk. (despite TMN 3, 453, Щербак 1997, 141).

✱**kʻusa** a k. of tree (cedar, oak): Tung. ***xusikta***; Mong. ***kusi***; Jpn. ***kasi***.

PTung. ***xusi-kta*** 1 acorn 2 oak-tree 3 big nut (1 желудь 2 дуб 3 большой орех): Evk. *usikta* 2; Man. *usiχa* 3; Nan. *χosaqta* 1; Ud. *uhikta* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 291.

PMong. ***kusi*** cedar, thuja (кедр, туя): WMong. *qusi* (L 991), *qosi*; Kh. *xuš*; Bur. *xuša*; Kalm. *xoš*; Ord. *Guši*.

◊ KW 189.

PJpn. ***kasi*** Quercus acuta Thunb. (вид дуба): OJpn. *kasi*; MJpn. *kàsi*; Tok. *káshi*; Kyo. *kàshî*; Kag. *kashí*.

◊ JLTT 441. The accent is not quite clear: either **kàsi* (cf. RJ) or **kàsî* (suggested by the Kyoto form).

‖ Цинциус 1984, 118. Cf. **kušu*. Cf. also Kor. *kasi* 'acorn' (if not < Jpn.).

***kˊutˊV (~ -o-, -t-)** to itch, scab: Tung. ***xutu-**; Turk. ***Kotur**.

PTung. ***xutu-** to itch (чесаться, зудеть): Evk. *utuni-*; Evn. *ụtụ́n-*; Neg. *otoxon-*; Ul. *χoṭụrsị-*; Nan. *χotorsị-*; Orch. *xutunsi-*; Ud. *utunihi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 294-295.

PTurk. ***Kotur** scab, mange (парша): OTurk. *qotur* (OUygh.); Tur. *kotur* (dial.); Az. *Gotur*; Turkm. *Gotur*; MTurk. *qotur* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qọtir*; Uygh. *qotu(r)*; Krm. *qotur, qotir*; Tat. *qutir*; Bashk. *qutir*; Kirgh. *qotur*; Kaz. *qotır*; KKalp. *qɔtır*; Kum. *qotur*; Nogh. *qotir*; SUygh. *qodur*; Khak. *xodir*; Oyr. *qodur*; Tv. *qodur*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 86-87, EDT 604.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. See Цинциус 1984, 99-100.

***kˊuǯV** trace, to follow: Tung. ***xuǯa**; Mong. ***koǯi-**.

PTung. ***xuǯa** 1 trace, track 2 to trace, follow tracks (1 след 2 выслеживать, идти по следу): Evk. *uǯa* 1, *uǯa-* 2; Evn. *ụǯ* 1, *ụǯ-* 2; Neg. *oǯa* 1; Ul. *xoǯa-* 2; Nan. *xoǯa-* 2; Orch. *uǯa-* 2; Ud. *uǯa-* 2; Sol. *ụǯi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 249. TM > Dag. *wāǯi* (Тод. Даг. 128).

PMong. ***koǯi-** 1 to stay behind, be late 2 late, afterwards (1 опаздывать, задерживаться 2 позднее, после): MMong. *qoǯida-* 1, *qoǯit* 2 (SH); WMong. *qoǯi-, qoǯida-* 1, *qoǯid, qoǯim* 2 (L 975); Kh. *xoǯi-, xoǯdo-* 1, *xoǯid, xoǯim* 2; Bur. *xožomdo-* 1, *xoǯom* 2; Kalm. *xoǯəm* (KPC); Ord. *xoǯim, xoǯit* 2, *xoǯimdo-* 1.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***kˊuǯV** part of stomach, bladder: Tung. ***xuǯük**; Mong. ***kuǯirkaj**.

PTung. ***xuǯük** 1 urinary bladder 2 anus (1 мочевой пузырь 2 anus): Evk. *uǯik* 1; Evn. *uǯik* 1; Neg. *uǯix* 1; Ul. *xuǯu* 1; Ork. *xudu(ɣū)* 1; Nan. *xuǯū* 1; Sol. *uǯixi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 250.

PMong. ***kuǯirkaj** thick part of stomach (утолщенная часть стенки рубца): WMong. *quǯirqai* (MXTTT); Kh. *xuǯirxaj*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***kˊV̀sá (~ k-, g-, -č-)** hat, umbrella: Jpn. ***kàsá**; Kor. ***kás**.

PJpn. ***kàsá** umbrella (зонтик): OJpn. *kasa*; MJpn. *kàsá*; Tok. *kása*; Kyo. *kàsá*; Kag. *kasá*.

◊ JLTT 441.

PKor. ***kás** hat (шляпа): MKor. *kát*; Mod. *kat* [*kas*].

◊ Nam 18, KED 57.

‖ EAS 155. Cf. also MKor. *kòs-kár* 'hat'. Formally this Kor.-Jpn. isogloss may be derived from PA **kˊi̯ùča* 'skin from animal's paw' (if the original meaning is postulated as 'skin covering'?); however, until some additional information is available, we prefer to keep these two etyma apart.