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ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE ALTAIC LANGUAGES

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BY

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L

✱**la-** on this side, near: Tung. ***la-kV, *la-ŋ**; Mong. ***naɣa-**; Kor. ***njək**.

PTung. ***la-kV, *la-ŋ*** near (близко, близкий): Ul. *laŋ*; Ork. *laqqa, laŋ*; Nan. *laŋ*; Orch. *laki, laŋ*; Ud. *ĺaŋ*.

◊ TMC 1, 488, 492.

PMong. ***naɣa-*** on this side (по эту сторону): MMong. *inaqši-* (MA); WMong. *naɣa-ɣur, naɣa-si* (L 557); Kh. *nāš, janāš*; Bur. *nāša, nāna*; Kalm. *nā*; Ord. *nāsi*; Dag. *nāši* 'toward here, hither' (MD 194); S.-Yugh. *nāna, naGšə*; Mongr. *naGšə* (SM 255).

◊ KW 272, MGCD 496.

PKor. ***njək*** side (сторона): MKor. *njək*; Mod. *jək* [*njəkh*].

◊ Nam 108, KED 338.

‖ TMC 1, 488, АПиПЯЯ 293. Originally a monosyllabic deictic root with directive affixes.

✱**làblè** moss, lichen: Tung. ***lālbi-kta / *lelu-kte**; Mong. ***lujilV**; Jpn. ***nə̀rì**.

PTung. ***lālbi-kta / *lelu-kte*** moss, lichen (мох, лишайник): Evk. *lālbikta, lelukte, ńalbakta*; Neg. *lēlixe*; Ul. *lelikte*; Orch. *nāpka, nabuxa*.

◊ TMC 1, 489, 516.

PMong. ***lujilV*** Siberian orach (лебеда сибирская): WMong. *lujil* (MXTTT); Kh. *lujl*; Ord. *lūli* 'Kochia scoparia Schrad'.

PJpn. ***nə̀rì*** sea moss, sea weed (морской мох, морские водоросли): OJpn. *nori*; MJpn. *nori*; Tok. *norí*; Kyo. *nórì*; Kag. *norí*.

◊ JLTT 500.

‖ The vocalism is somewhat shaky, like in many names of plants (in this case, secondary labialization in Mong. may be due to the medial cluster).

✱**làbò** more, better: Tung. ***lab-du**; Mong. ***lab / *naj**; Turk. ***jaba**; Jpn. ***nàpə́**; Kor. ***năboi**.

PTung. ***lab-du*** many, plenty (много, обильно): Man. *labdu*; SMan. *lavədu, lavədə* (2852); Nan. *labdo*.

◊ TMC 1, 485.

PMong. ***lab / naj*** very, extreme; better, stronger; exactly (очень, чрезвычайно; лучше, сильнее; верно, точно): MMong. *nai* (SH);

WMong. *lab* (L 513); *nai*; Kh. *lav*; dial. *naj*; Bur. *lab*; Kalm. *law* (KPC); Ord. *lab*; Dag. *lab* (Тод. Дar. 152); S.-Yugh. *lab*.

◊ MGCD 470.

PTurk. ***jaba*** very (очень): Khak. *jaba*; Tv. *čā, čab-čā*.

PJpn. ***nàpə́*** better, more (лучше, больше): OJpn. *nap(w)o*; MJpn. *nàfó*; Tok. *náo*; Kyo. *nàó*; Kag. *náo*.

◊ JLTT 493. All evidence points to **nàpá*, except for Kagoshima (possibly under literary influence).

PKor. ***nǎboi*** again; better (снова; лучше): MKor. *nă'oi*.

◊ Nam 93.

‖ SKE 162, Martin 226, АПиПЯЯ 68, Doerfer MT 144 (Mo < TM).

labV̀ / *lebV̀** rope, long hair, rags: Tung. ***lab- / *leb-; Mong. ***lab- / *lob-***; Turk. ***job-lač (*jabu-lač)***; Jpn. ***nàp-***; Kor. ***nòh (< *nVbVh)***.

PTung. ***lab- / *leb-*** 1 antler 2 rags 3 to wear out, be worn (1 отросток оленьего рога 2 лохмотья 3 изнашиваться): Evk. *lawā* 1, *lewgī-* 3; Evn. *nēwun* 1, *nebdъ-* 'to tear out, wear out'; Ul. *lebeke, lebeli* 'old cotton cloth'; Nan. *leber* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 485, 518, 615. TM > Dag. *lawā* 'branch' (Тод. Дar. 152).

PMong. ***lab- / *lob-*** 1 rags 2 be ragged, worn out (1 лохмотья 2 быть поношенным, в лохмотьях): MMong. *nabtasu, nabtasun* 1 (MA 244, 313); WMong. *nabtasu* 1 (L 556), *labtara-* 2, *lobsi, nobsi* 1 (L 517, 587); Kh. *navtas, novš, lovš* 1, *navtra-, lavtra-* 2; Bur. *nobšo* 1, *nabtar-* 2; Kalm. *nowšə* 1, *lawtrə-* 'изнашиваться, полностью стираться' (KPC); Ord. *?labši-* 'неумело шить'.

PTurk. ***job-lač (*jabu-lač)*** fine goat's hair (тонкая козья шерсть): Karakh. *jovlač* (MK).

◊ EDT 870.

PJpn. ***nàp-*** 1 to wind (a string) 2 string, rope (1 вить (веревку) 2 веревка): OJpn. *napa* 2; MJpn. *nàf-* 1, *nàfâ* 2; Tok. *ná-* 1, *nawá* 2; Kyo. *nà-* 1, *náwà* 2; Kag. *nà-* 1, *nawá* 2.

◊ JLTT 494, 733.

PKor. ***nòh*** string (тесемка, веревка): MKor. *nò* (*nòh-*); Mod. *no*.

◊ Nam 110, KED 338.

‖ Martin 240 (Jpn.-Kor.). An expressive root with some variation of reflexes, but no doubt archaic. In Jpn. the root may have merged with **l̀ăp'o* q.v.: this could be one of the reasons of the the accent discrepancy between Kor. and Jpn. (otherwise explainable as a result of contraction in Korean after the loss of *-b-).

✱**láčà** (~ ***Í-**) a k. of plant with drooping branches: Tung. ***lasa-**; Jpn. ***nási**; Kor. ***nə̀čhúr**.

PTung. ***lasa-** 1 drooping branches 2 young larch, birch (1 нависшие ветви 2 молодая лиственница, береза): Evk. *ńahamna*, dial. *ńašamda* 2; Man. *lasari* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 494, 636.

PJpn. ***nási** pear (груша): OJpn. *nasi*; MJpn. *nási*; Tok. *nashí*; Kyo. *náshi*; Kag. *náshi*.

◊ JLTT 494.

PKor. ***nə̀čhúr** drooping branches (свисающие ветви, лоза): MKor. *nə̀čhúr*; Mod. *nənčhul*.

◊ Nam 104, KED 332.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; cf. perhaps Chuv. *śüźe* 'willow' (which can go back to PT **jača-*).

✱**làjpʻV** to glue, stick to: Tung. ***labgān-**, ***lipa-**; Mong. ***niɣa-**; Turk. ***jạp-ɨĺč-**; Jpn. ***nàimpà-r- (~-ia-)**.

PTung. ***labgān-**, ***lipa-** 1 to glue, stick 2 to smear, poach in mud (1 прилипать 2 мазать, вязнуть в грязи): Evk. *labgān-*, *lamba-* 1, *lipa-* 2; Evn. *labgan-*, *nabgan-* 1; Neg. *labgān-* 1; Man. *lifa-* 2; Ul. *lịpa-* 2; Ork. *lamba-* 1; Nan. *lịpa-* 2; Ud. *lagbamu-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 484-485, 490, 498-499. PTM **labgān-* is probably a contraction < **lipagān-*.

PMong. ***niɣa-** to glue, stick to (приклеивать): MMong. *ni'a-* (SH); WMong. *niɣa-*, *naɣa-* (L 556); Kh. *nā-*; Bur. *ńā-*; Kalm. *nā-* (KPC); Ord. *nā-*; Mog. *niōldu-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *niā-*; Dong. *niaɣa-*; Mongr. *niā-* (SM 269), *nā-*.

◊ MGCD 497.

PTurk. ***jạp-ɨĺč-** to glue, stick to (приклеиваться, прилипать): OTurk. *japɨš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *japuš-*, *japɨš-* (MK); Tur. *japɨš-*; Gag. *japɨš-*; Az. *japɨš-*; Turkm. *japɨš-*; Khal. *japuš-*; MTurk. *japɨš-* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jɔpɨš-*; Uygh. *jepɨš-*, *jopuš-*; Krm. *japɨš-*, *japuš-*, *jabuš-*; Tat. *jabɨš-*; Bashk. *jäbeš-*; Kirgh. *žabɨš-*; Kaz. *žabɨs-*; KBalk. *žabɨš-*; KKalp. *žabɨs-*; Kum. *jabuš-*, *jabɨš-*; Nogh. *jabɨs-*; Tv. *čɨ'pšɨn-*; Chuv. *śɨbъś-*; Yak. *sɨsɨn- šɨbā* - 'to plaster, smear'.

◊ VEWT 187, ЭСТЯ 4, 132-133, EDT 880-881. The deriving stem **jạp-* is probably preserved in Karakh. (MK) *jap-* 'stick to', Az. *jap-* 'to model dung for drying' and **jap-ma* 'modelled dung' (see ЭСТЯ 4, 130, 133); thus the analysis of **jạp-ɨĺč-* as reciprocal from **jap-* 'make, create' or 'cover' (EDT ibid.) is certainly incorrect.

PJpn. ***nàimpà-r- (~-ia-)** to glue, stick to (приклеиваться, прилипать): MJpn. *nemar-*; Tok. *nebár-*; Kyo. *nébár-*; Kag. *nèbàr-*.

◊ JLTT 734.

‖ Владимирцов 209, 369, Poppe 39, 47, 74, ОСНЯ 2, 19, Miller 1986, 203, АПиПЯЯ 75, Мудрак Дисс. 91. Cf. also OJpn. *nìbè* 'fish glue'; diphthong in Jpn. and vowel variation in Jpn. and TM probably indi-

cates PA *-j-. Doerfer (TMN 4, 49) denies the Turk.-Mong. parallel - in a hardly plausible way.

✱**lako** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***laKa-***; Mong. ***nüger- (~ nigür-)***; Turk. ***jöke***.

PTung. ***laKa-*** 1 elm 2 a k. of oak (1 вяз 2 вид низкорослого дуба): Evk. *lakamawun* 1; Man. *laχari* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 488.

PMong. ***nüger- (~ nigür-)*** a k. of alder (ольха кустарниковая): WMong. *nügürsü* (L 597); Kh. *nügers*; Bur. *nűrgedehe(n)*, *nűrhe(n)*; Mongr. *nuguзə* 'espèce d'herbe caprifoliacée' (SM 289).

PTurk. ***jöke*** lime-tree (*липа*): Tur. *ǰöge* (DS); Az. *ǰökä*; Uzb. *ǰo̧kə*; Tat. *jükɛ*, dial. *ǰükɛ*; Bashk. *jüke*; Kaz. *žöke*; KKalp. *žöke*; Kum. *jöge*; Nogh. *jöke*; Chuv. *śъʷga*.

◊ VEWT 207, ЭСТЯ 4, 32, Мудрак 51, *Лексика* 128-129.

‖ A Western isogloss. Turkic vocalism is not quite clear (**jaka* would be normally expected).

✱**làku (~ -kʻ-)** dirt, dregs: Tung. ***lakti- / *legdi-***; Mong. ***lag***; Jpn. ***núká-r-***.

PTung. ***lakti- / *legdi-*** 1 to be burnt (of food) 2 soot (1 пригореть (о пище) 2 сажа, нагар): Evk. *nakti-mu-*, *negdi-* 1; Neg. *naktị* 2; Ud. *lakti-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 576.

PMong. ***lag*** 1 mud, dirt, clay, sweepings 2 to become sticky, dirty (1 грязь, ил, осадок 2 становиться липким, грязным): MMong. *nag menegei* 'turtle' (HY); WMong. *laγ* 1, *laγda-* 2 (L 514); Kh. *lag* 1, *lagda-*, *lagalda-* 2; Bur. *lag* 1; Ord. *laG melekei* 'turtle' ("dirt frog"); S.-Yugh. *lag širū* 1.

◊ MGCD 471. Mong. > Nan. *laGǰi-*, Oroch *lagdi-*, Ud. *lagǰi-* 'to become sticky' (TMC 1, 486).

PJpn. ***núká-r-*** to get muddy (пачкаться, быть топким): Tok. *nùkar-*; Kyo. *núkár-*; Kag. *nukár-*.

◊ JLTT 738.

‖ Cf. perhaps also Turk. **jak-* 'to smear' - usually confused with **jāg* 'fat' (see e.g. ЭСТЯ 4, 58), but having a different vowel and consonant.

✱**lakʻ[a]** a k. of bird: Tung. ***lakun***; Mong. ***lag***; Turk. ***jakıl-***; Kor. ***nokočiri***.

PTung. ***lakun*** 1 hen 2 wild duck (1 курица 2 чирок (дикая утка)): Neg. *naxụn* 1; Man. *luxu* 2; Ul. *nakụ(n)* 1; Ork. *naqqụ(n)* 1; Orch. *naku* 1; Ud. *naʻu* (Корм. 266) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 509, 579.

PMong. ***lag-(turaɣu)** hazel-hen, grouse (куропатка, рябчик): MMong. *lax* (HY 15); WMong. *nuɣturuu* (L 594); Kh. *nogtrū*; Mongr. *loGtor* (SM 225).

◊ Modern languages reflect a compound **lag-turaɣu* (with **turaɣu* 'raven, crow'). Mong. > Manchu *nuturu* 'sand grouse (Syrrhaptes paradoxus)' (see Rozycki 165).

PTurk. ***jakɨl-** a k. of small hawk (вид небольшого ястреба): MTurk. *jaɣlabaj* (Ettuhf.); Tat. *jaɣɨlbaj*; Bashk. *jaɣɨlbaj*; Kirgh. *ǯaɣalmaj*; Kaz. *žaɣaltaj*; Khak. *čaɣɨlbaj*; Oyr. *jaŋalbaj* 'siskin'.

◊ VEWT 186, ЭСТЯ 4, 10-11.

PKor. ***nokočiri** field lark (полевой жаворонок): MKor. *nokočiri*; Mod. *nogožiri* (arch.).

◊ Nam 110, KED 338.

‖ The root probably denoted a small field bird (grouse or hazel-hen); the meaning 'hawk' in the Turkic derivative is obviously < 'the one hunting grouses'. The reconstruction of Auslaut presents some problems: the Kor. form presupposes something like **lakʻu*, in which case we would expect *-x- in TM. One wonders if Kor. *nokočiri* is not in fact one of Mongolian loanwords (since a hazel-hen, grouse or lark are good prey for a falcon, it may have been borrowed together with other falcon-hunt words); a form like **nugtirū* (cf. WMong. *nuɣturuu*) could have been easily borrowed like **nugutiru* > *nokočiri*. If this is the case, the word will be a Western isogloss, with a most plausible reconstruction **laku*.

***lakʻa (~ -k-)** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***laka**; Mong. ***laka**; Jpn. ***nakatai**.

PTung. ***laka** name of a fish, goby (назв. рыбы, бычок): Evk. *laka*; Neg. *laxana*; Man. *laqačan nisiχa, laqča nimaχa*; Ul. *laqa*; Ork. *lāqqa* 'herring'; Nan. *lāqa*; Orch. *laka*; Ud. *laʻsā* (Корм. 256).

◊ TMC 1, 487, 488.

PMong. ***laka** sheat-fish (сом): WMong. *laqa* (L 515); Kh. *lax*.

PJpn. ***nakatai** a k. of fish, eel (вид рыбы, угорь): OJpn. *nakate*.

‖ See Doerfer MT 91 (regarding Mong. as borrowed < Tung.). Cf. also a variant with *-o-: TM **lokija* > Neg. *loxon* 'верхогляд', Ud. *Ĺöxö* 'терпуг', Man. *Ĺoxo* 'a k. of salmon', Orok *loqqo* 'камбала', see TMC 1, 501, 502; Mong. *lioqo* 'ein weißgestreifter Seefisch' - see Doerfer MT 144 (suggesting Mong. < TM). It may well be that the original shape should be reconstructed as **luk(ʻ)a* > Mong. **laka*, TM **lok(ij)a*, Jpn. **nakatai* - with TM **laka* being secondarily borrowed from Mong. Note that the Mong. form is also borrowed in Turkic: Turkm. *laGGa baliq*, Uzb. *laqqa baliq* 'sheat-fish'.

✱**lə̀kʻa (~ *Í-)** a k. of plant with edible root: Tung. ***lāk-***; Jpn. ***nànkui***; Kor. ***nək-***.

PTung. ***lāk-*** a k. of plant (with flowers and edible root) (вид растения (с цветами и съедобным корнем)): Ork. *lāqa* 'рогоз широколистый'; Nan. *lāqa* 'рогоз широколистый'; Orch. *nakki* 'назв. растения (травянистого, с длинными узкими листьями и синими цветами, со съедобным корнем)'; Ud. *nakki* 'назв. растения (прибрежной морской полосы, со съедобным корнем, напоминающим по вкусу брюкву)'.

◊ TMC 1, 487, 579.

PJpn. ***nànkui*** 1 a k. of grass (pickerelweed, water mallow?) 2 a k. of onion (1 вид травы (водяная мальва?) 2 вид лука): OJpn. *nagi* 1; MJpn. *nàgì* 1; Tok. *négi* 2; Kyo. *nègî* 2; Kag. *negí* 2.

◊ JLTT 491, 495. Modern forms (attested since 18th c.) probably reflect a reinterpretation of the stem as a compound "root + onion" (**kui*), which explains also some accent irregularities.

PKor. ***nək-*** roots and stalks (of water plants) (корни и стебли (водных растений)): MKor. *nəks*; Mod. *nəgəp*.

◊ Nam 104, KED 329.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. perhaps also WMong. *naŋgi* 'water caltrop, water chestnut' (L 564), although the medial cluster is unclear.

✱**lə̀kʻù** to bend, hang, hanger: Tung. ***laxu-***; Mong. ***naki-***; Jpn. ***nuki***; Kor. ***náks***.

PTung. ***laxu-*** 1 to hang 2 hanger, cross-beam (for hanging) 3 harpoon rudder 4 harpoon point (1 вешать, подвешивать 2 вешалка, козлы (для вешания) 3 руль плавающего гарпуна 4 наконечник гарпуна): Evk. *laku-ča* 'loop'; Man. *laǩa-* 1, *laǩaqu* 2; SMan. *ǰaki-* 'to hang, to dangle' (1646); Ul. *laχu* 3; Ork. *lāχu* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 488, 501-502. The root should be distinguished from **loka-* (v. sub **luke)*.

PMong. ***naki-*** to bend (сгибать, наклонять): WMong. *naki-* (L 561); Kh. *naxij-*; Bur. *naxī-*; Kalm. *nakī-*.

◊ KW 270.

PJpn. ***nuki*** cross-beam (балка, поперечная рейка): MJpn. *nuki*; Tok. *nuki*.

◊ Usually analysed as a deverbative from **núk-* 'to pass through' - but external evidence shows that this is rather a folk etymology.

PKor. ***náks*** hook (крюк): MKor. *náks*; Mod. *nak:si*.

◊ Nam 94, KED 298.

‖ The original meaning was probably 'hook or (bent) stick for hanging smth.', which can well explain all the available reflexes. It is also possible to reconstruct a derivative **lə̀kʻù-čV* 'smth. bent, curved' reflected in MKor. *náks* (< **nák-č*) and Evk. *laku-ča*.

✱**làlè** sticky substance: Tung. ***lala***; Mong. ***nila-***; Turk. ***jilik***; Jpn. ***nàrì***.

PTung. ***lala*** 1 gruel 2 (fish) slime (1 каша 2 слизь (на рыбе)): Evk. *nilli, ńalliɣ, ńallikta* 2; Neg. *lala* 1; Man. *lala* 1; SMan. *lala* 1 (357); Ul. *lala* 1; Ork. *lala* 1; Nan. *lala* 1; Orch. *lala* 1; Ud. *lala* 1.

◊ Cf. also Nan. *lala-* 'to be smeared in blood'. TMC 1, 489, 593.

PMong. ***nila-*** clingy, sticky substance; to smear, glue (липкое, клейкое вещество; мазать, прилипать): MMong. *nila-* 'to plaster' (MA); WMong. *nila-, nilča-* (L 583); Kh. *ńala-, ńalc-*; Bur. *nildaj-* 'be clingy, sticky'; Kalm. *nilə̄-*.

◊ KW 276.

PTurk. ***jilik*** marrow (костный мозг): OTurk. *jilik* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jilik* (MK); Tur. *ilik*; Az. *ilik*; Turkm. *jilik*; Sal. *ileh* (ССЯ); MTurk. *jilik* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ilik*; Uygh. *jilik*; Krm. *ilik*; Tat. *jelek, ǯelek*; Bashk. *jelek*; Kirgh. *ǯilik*; KBalk. *ǯilik*; KKalp. *žilik*; Kum. *jilik*; Nogh. *jilik*; Oyr. *ďilik*; Tv. *čilig*; Yak. *silī*.

◊ EDT 927, 928, VEWT 203, TMN 2, 214, ЭСТЯ 4, 265, Лексика 263. Turkm. and Uzb. dialectal *jülük* 'marrow' may reflect a contamination with **jülük* / **juluk* 'juice' q.v. sub **dilu*.

PJpn. ***nàrì*** rice starch; coagulated blood (рисовый крахмал; свернувшаяся кровь): OJpn. *nori*; MJpn. *norí*; Tok. *norí*; Kyo. *nórì*; Kag. *norí*.

◊ JLTT 500.

‖ Лексика 264. A rather usual fronting in Turk.: **jilik* < **jɨlɨk*.

✱**lalV** weak, exasperated: Tung. ***lali-***; Mong. ***nal-, nalk-***; Turk. ***jalk-***.

PTung. ***lali-*** be hungry, weak, exasperated (быть голодным, слабым, изнемочь): Neg. *lal-*; Man. *lala-*; Ork. *lallu-*; Nan. *lalị-*; Orch. *lali-*; Ud. *lali-*.

◊ TMC 1, 489.

PMong. ***nal-, nalk-*** be faint, drowsy, weak (быть слабым, терять сознание): WMong. *nalqaji-*; (L 561:) *nalaji-* 'be slow, sluggish'; Kh. *nalxaj-, nalmi-gar*; Bur. *nalaj-* 2.

PTurk. ***jal-k-*** to suffer pain, be nauseated, hate (чувствовать боль, тошноту, отвращение): Karakh. *jalq-* (MK); MTurk. *jalqɨ-* (Pav. C.); Yak. *sal-t-*.

◊ EDT 924, VEWT 183, ЭСТЯ 4, 14-15. Note that modern Kypch. and Sib.-Tat. forms meaning 'lazy, be lazy' (*jalqɨ-, ǯalqɨ-*) do not belong here but are rather borrowed < Mong. *ǯalka-* having a quite different origin (see under **ǯeĺo*). On the other hand, cf. the common Turkic derivative **jal-ta-*, perhaps reflected in the above Yak. form, as well as in Turkm. *jalta*, Shor *čaltak*, Khak. *čaltɨ* 'lazy', Tur. *jaltak* 'bootlicker' etc. (see ЭСТЯ 4, 101-102).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**lami** convenient, helpful: Tung. ***nam***; Mong. ***limbaj***; Turk. ***jAmak***.

PTung. ***nam*** convenient, skilled (удобный, удобно): Neg. *nam*; Ul. *nam*; Ork. *nam-nam*; Nan. *nam*; Orch. *nam*.

◊ TMC 1, 580.

PMong. ***limbaj*** accurate, strict (аккуратный, точный): WMong. *nimbai* (L 584); Kh. *ńambaj*; Mongr. *lemben* 'agile, facile à manier' (SM 223).

PTurk. ***jAmak*** helper (помощник): Tur. *jamak*; MTurk. *jamaɣ* (R).

◊ VEWT 184.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**lā́mo** a k. of bag: Tung. ***lam(b)a***; Mong. ***nambuga***; Turk. ***jĀmčik***; Kor. ***nằmằčh***.

PTung. ***lam(b)a*** 1 saddlebag 2 bag 3 to saddle 4 saddle (1 вьюк 2 мешок, куль 3 седлать 4 седло): Evk. *lamba* 1 (dial. *nama*), *lamba-* 3, *nēme*, *nama* 4; Evn. *nam-* 3; Neg. *nama-* 3, *nāme* 4; Ork. *nama-*, *namba-* 3, *nēme* 4; Ud. *lamba* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 490, 580-581. Words meaning 'saddle' are somewhat divergent phonetically and may be actually borrowed from Mong. (cf. Mong. *nemne-* 'to cover with a horse-cloth', see under PA **nema*). Evk. *nama* > Dolg. *nama* (see Stachowski 184).

PMong. ***nambuga*** a big leather bucket or sack (большой кожаный бурдюк): MMong. *nambuqa* (SH); WMong. *nambaɣa*, *nambuqu* (БАМРС); Kh. *nambaga*, *nambux* (БАМРС).

PTurk. ***jĀmčik > jānčik*** pocket, sash, bag (карман, мешочек, сумка): Karakh. *jančuq* (MK); Tur. *janǯik*; Turkm. *jānǯiq*; Sal. *jenǯux*; MTurk. *jančuq* (Houts., AH); Uzb. *jɔnčiq*; Uygh. *jančuq*; Krm. *jančiq*, *jančix*; Tat. *jančiq*; Bashk. *jansiq*; Kum. *jančiq*; Khak. *nančiɣ*, *nandix*; Oyr. *jančiq*, *ɗančiq*; Tv. *čančiq*.

◊ VEWT 185, EDT 945, ЭСТЯ 4, 118 (related to **jān* 'side' by folk-etymology). The old form is preserved in Osm. *jamči* 'raincoat' etc. (VEWT 184, ЭСТЯ 4, 110; Turk. > Mong. *ǯamči*, *ǯaŋči*).

PKor. ***nằmằčh*** small bag, pocket (мешочек, карман): MKor. *nằmằčh*, *nằmằs*.

◊ Nam 92.

‖ A derivative **lā́mo-čV* (or even **lā́mo-čV-kV*) can be reconstructed on the basis of PT **jĀm-čik* and PK **nằmằčh*. There seems to have existed a similar root with a medial cluster *-mb- and meaning a k. of vessel, reflected in Evk. *lamban* 'scoop, ladle' and PJ **nampai*, OJ *nabe* 'vessel, pan' (probably borrowed into Kor. *nampi* id.); a merger with this root may explain occasional -b- in TM and -b- in Mongolian.

✱**là̀mò (~ -a)** sea, wave: Tung. ***lāmu***; Mong. ***namug***; Jpn. ***nàmì***.

PTung. ***lāmu*** 1 sea 2 wave (1 море 2 волна): Evk. *lāmu* 1; Evn. *nām*, *lām* 1; Neg. *lām* 1; Man. *namu* 1; Ul. *namụ* 1; Ork. *namụ* 1, *lamu* 2; Nan. *namụ*, *lamụ* 1; Orch. *nāmu* 1; Ud. *namu* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 490-491. Shortening in Nanai is not quite clear (for historical length cf. also Yak., Dolg. *lāmi* < TM, see Stachowski 173).

PMong. ***namug** marsh, swamp (болото): MMong. *namurqan* 'pool' (SH); WMong. *namuɣ, namaɣ* (L 563); Kh. *namag*; Bur. *namag, namarga*; Kalm. *namәg* (KPC).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *namargan* (TMC 1, 581).

PJpn. ***nàmì** wave (волна): OJpn. *namji*; MJpn. *nàmì*; Tok. *namí*; Kyo. *námì*; Kag. *namí*.

◊ JLTT 492.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 30, Murayama 1962, 109 (Jpn.-TM). Cf. also Koguryo **nuami* 'pond, sea', see Lee 38, Menges 1984, 280-281.

***lə̀ŋi** dirt, slime: Tung. ***laŋga**; Mong. ***laj**; Jpn. ***nìnkə̀r-**.

PTung. ***laŋga** cloggy, slimy substance; clammy (жижа, вязкая масса; вязкий, клейкий): Evn. *naŋga*; Neg. *laŋgas*; Ork. *laŋGaq*; Nan. *laŋaq*; Orch. *laŋga-*; Ud. *laŋga-laŋga*.

◊ TMC 1, 584.

PMong. ***laj** mud, dirt, silt (in a well or pond) (грязь, ил (в колодце или пруду)): WMong. *lai* (L 515); Kh. *laj*; Bur. *laj*.

◊ Sukhebaatar suggests borrowing from Chin. *lài* (meaning probably 濑 'shallow place') which seems not quite plausible semantically.

PJpn. ***nìnkə̀r-** be dreggy, muddy (быть грязным, с осадком): OJpn. *nigor-*; MJpn. *nìgòr-*; Tok. *nigór-*; Kyo. *nígór-*; Kag. *nìgòr-*.

◊ JLTT 735.

‖ PTM and PJ reflect a suffixed form **lə̀ŋi-kV*.

***láp'ì** flat, broad: Tung. ***lapta-**; Mong. ***labta-**; Turk. ***jap-**; Jpn. ***nípá**; Kor. ***nàp- / *nə̀p-**.

PTung. ***lapta-** 1 flat, level 2 fish fins (1 плоский, ровный, низкий 2 рыбьи плавники): Evk. *napta- / lapta-* 1; *lāpčā* 2; Evn. *napča, ńapča* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 494, 584.

PMong. ***labta-** to be flat, level, down (быть плоским, ровным, низким): WMong. *nabta-* (L 555); Kh. *navtgar*; Bur. *nabtar*; Dag. *lartagar* (Тод. Даг. 152).

PTurk. ***jap-** 1 to smooth, level 2 flat (1 выравнивать, сглаживать 2 плоский): Karakh. *japur-* (MK) 1; Az. *japıG* 2; MTurk. *japalaq* 2 (R.); Uygh. *japilaq* 2; Krm. *japalaq* 2; Kirgh. *ǰapalaq* 2; Kum. *japalaq* 2; Tv. *čï'pıt* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 16-17, 130, EDT 879.

PJpn. ***nípá** yard (двор): OJpn. *nipa*; MJpn. *nífá*; Tok. *nìwa*; Kyo. *níwá*; Kag. *níwa*.

◊ JLTT 498.

PKor. ***nàp- / *nə̀p-** level, wide (ровный, широкий): MKor. *nàp- / nə̀p-*; Mod. *nap-čak*.

◊ Nam 99, 105, KED 311.

‖ SKE 160, Poppe 37, Цинциус 1984, 8. Despite Doerfer MT 97, hardly borrowed in TM < Mong. The root should be distinguished from **liap'e* 'leaf'.

✱**lā́ŕgu** sloppy job: Tung. ***largī***; Mong. ***nargi-***; Turk. ***jāŕ-***; Jpn. ***núká-r-***; Kor. ***nòrā́s***.

PTung. ***largī*** 1 diligent, pleasant 2 disorder, commotion (1 усердный, старательный 2 беспорядок, суматоха): Evk. *largī* 2; Man. *largin* 2; SMan. *ĺarixin* 'troublesome, complicated' (2003); Ul. *larGị* 1, 2; Nan. *largiā* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 494. Man. > Dag. *largin* 'disorder' (Тод. Даг. 152).

PMong. ***nargi-*** to carouse (кутить, веселиться): WMong. *nargi-* (L 565); Kh. *nargi-*; Bur. *naŕja-* 'rattle, din, make noise'; *nerjē(n)* 'noisy discussion, thunder'; Ord. *nargil-* 'chirp, chirrup (of birds)'.

PTurk. ***jāŕ-*** to miss, sin (промахиваться, грешить): OTurk. *jaz-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaz-* (MK); Tur. *jazık* (n.); Gag. *jazıq* (n.); Az. *jazıG* (n.); Turkm. *jāz-*, *jāzıq* (n.); MTurk. *jaz-* (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *jɔz-*; Tat. *jaz-*; Bashk. *jaδ-*; Kirgh. *ǯaz-*; Kaz. *žaz-*; KBalk. *ǯaz-*; KKalp. *žaz-*; Kum. *jazıq* (n.); Nogh. *jazıq* (n.); Khak. *čas-*; Oyr. *jas-*, *ďas-*; Tv. *čas-*; Yak. *sīs-*; Dolg. *hīs-*.

◊ VEWT 193 (should be distinguished from **ār-*), ЭСТЯ 4, 72-73, TMN 4, 162, EDT 983-984, Stachowski 121.

PJpn. ***núká-r-*** to miss, misbehave, make a faux pas (допускать оплошность, промах): MJpn. *núká-r-*; Tok. *nùkar-*; Kyo. *núkár-*; Kag. *nukár-*.

◊ JLTT 738.

PKor. ***nòrā́s*** 1 fun 2 work (1 забава 2 работа): MKor. *nòrā́s* 1; Mod. *norıt* [*norıs*] 2.

◊ Nam 111, KED 341.

‖ Cf. also Mong. *nerme* 'to make worse'. Reason for closed **-ą̄-* in Turkic is not quite clear.

✱**lāt'á (~ Í-)** wave, storm: Tung. ***lāta***; Jpn. ***nàntá***.

PTung. ***lāta*** 1 storm 2 wave (1 шторм 2 волна): Ork. *lāta* 1; Nan. *lāta* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 495.

PJpn. ***nàntá*** open sea (открытое море): OJpn. *nada*; MJpn. *nada*; Tok. *náda*; Kyo. *nádà*; Kag. *náda*.

◊ JLTT 490. Accent is not quite clear: most probably **nà(n)tá* (> Tok. *náda*, with a further accent borrowing in Kyoto and Kagoshima).

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**laǯV** heavy, clumsy: Tung. ***laǯu***; Mong. ***noǯo-***.

PTung. ***laǯu*** heavy, clumsy (тяжелый, неуклюжий): Man. *laǯu*.

◊ TMC 1, 486-487.

PMong. ***noʒo-*** to be heavy, clumsy (быть тяжелым, неуклюжим): WMong. *noʒoγora-* (БАМРС); Kh. *noʒō-ro-*; Bur. *nozoɡ-*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Attested only in Manchu, and could be a loanword from some Mong. dialect preserving *l-, thus rather uncertain.

✱**lebV** (~ **-p-**) to eat greedily: Tung. ***lebge-***; Mong. ***labsi-***.

PTung. ***lebge-*** to eat greedily (жадно есть): Neg. *lebge-*; Ul. *legbe-*; Nan. *legbeči-*; Ud. *legbe-*.

◊ TMC 1, 514.

PMong. ***labsi-*** to eat greedily (жадно есть): WMong. *labsi-* (L 513); Kh. *lawši-*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. expressive isogloss. In PTM cf. also **labada-* 'to grasp with teeth', **lupku-* 'to suck'.

✱**lèja** to go out, break forth: Tung. ***lēj- (*lī-)***; Mong. ***niɣe-***; Jpn. ****nà-r- / *nà-s-***; Kor. ****ná-***.

PTung. ***lēj- (*lī-)*** to open (открывать): Evk. *nī-*; Neg. *nī-*; Man. *nej-*; SMan. *li-* (557, 1687); Ul. *ńī-*; Ork. *ńī-*; Nan. *ńi-xeli-*; Orch. *ńī-*; Ud. *ŋīgi-*, *nə̂-ntile-*.

◊ TMC 1, 588.

PMong. ***niɣe-*** to open (открывать): MMong. *ni'e-* (HY 17), *ne'e-* (SH), *ni-* (MA); WMong. *nege-*, *negege-* (L 568); Kh. *nē-*; Bur. *nē-*; Kalm. *nē-*; Ord. *nē-*; Dag. *nē-* (Тод. Даг. 157, MD 196); Dong. *nie-*; Bao. *nē-*; S.-Yugh. *nī-*; Mongr. *nē-* (SM 272).

◊ KW 275-276, MGCD 502.

PJpn. ****nà-r- / *nà-s-*** 1 to be born, become 2 to bear, bring forth (1 рождаться, становиться 2 рождать, создавать): OJpn. *nar-* 1, *nas-* 2; MJpn. *nàr-* 1, *nàs-* 2; Tok. *nár-* 1, *nás-* 2; Kyo. *nàr-* 1, *nàs-* 2; Kag. *nàr-* 1, *nàs-* 2.

◊ JLTT 733.

PKor. ****ná-*** to go out, break forth (выходить, вырываться): MKor. *ná-*; Mod. *na-*.

◊ Nam 86, KED 286.

‖ EAS 76, KW 276, Владимирцов 212, Poppe 39, Rozycki 162 (Mong.-Tung.), Martin 225-226. In MKor. cf. also *nath-* 'to become, appear' - a derivative?

✱**lèjkʻá** to intend, demand: Tung. ***leKe-***; Mong. ***neke-***; Jpn. ****niànkà-p-***; Kor. ****njàkí- / *nàikí-***.

PTung. ***leKe-*** 1 to be busy with smth. 2 to intend 3 to demand (1 заниматься чем-л. 2 намереваться 3 требовать): Evk. *ńeke-* 1, 2; Evn. *ńek-* 1, 2; Neg. *ńexe-* 1, 2; Man. *lexe-* 3; Nan. *leksir-* 'to come true (of a premonition)' (?); Orch. *ńē-* 1; Ud. *ńexe-* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 1, 515, 651-652. In Manchu cf. also the derivatives: *lexe-me xexe* 'prostitute, whore', *lexe-le* (*šuj*) 'illegitimate, born of a whore', whence WMong. *nekelei*, Kh. *nexlij*, Kalm. *nekəlč* id. (see Rozycki 150).

PMong. ***neke-*** 1 to pursue, follow 2 to demand (1 преследовать, гнаться, следовать 2 требовать): MMong. *neke-* 1 (SH, HYt); WMong. *neke-* (L 572); Kh. *nexe-* 1,2; Bur. *nexe-* 1,2; Kalm. *nekə-* 1,2; Ord. *neχe-* 2; Dag. *negĕ-* (Тод. Даг. 157), *nehe* 1 (MD 196).

◊ KW 274.

PJpn. ***niànkà-p-*** to wish, demand (желать, требовать): OJpn. *negap-*; MJpn. *nègàf-*, *nègáf-*; Tok. *negá-*; Kyo. *négá-*; Kag. *nègà-*.

◊ JLTT 734.

PKor. ***njàkí- / *nàikí-*** to consider, regard (считать, рассматривать, предполагать): MKor. *nàkí-*, *njəki-*, *nəiki-*; Mod. *jəgi-*.

◊ Nam 103, 106, KED 1161. Cf. also *nákí-hă-*, mod. *nägi-ha-* (Nam 86, KED 316) 'to bet, gamble'.

‖ KW 274, EAS 76, Poppe 39, 56, АПиПЯЯ 78. Korean has a "verbal" low tone. The medial cluster with *-j- is in this case responsible for some peculiar reflexes: diphthongs both in Jpn. and Kor. and the palatalized initial reflexes (*Í-?) in TM languages. Despite Doerfer MT 51, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong, and - despite Rozycki 150 - Mong. cannot be borrowed from TM. Doerfer (TMN 1, 531) argues fervently against the Mong.-Kor. comparison ("Ramstedt verstößt hier gegen seine eigenen Prinzipien. Man kann das kor. Wort [nəgi-, njəgi- in Ramstedt's transcription] natürlich nicht mit dem mo. vergleichen, wenn man (cf. RAM 85!) ursprachlich -k- = mo. -k- = kor. -k-,-kh- ansetzt."), evidently unaware that modern Kor. -g- is a phonetic variant of -k- in intervocalic position.

lélugV** kerchief, pendant: Tung. ***lelu(ke); Mong. ***nolga***; Turk. ***jaglik***; Kor. ***nòríkái***.

PTung. ***lelu(ke)*** 1 apron, corsage 2 gore, gusset (1 нагрудник, передник 2 ширинка (подмышечная часть у панциря)): Evk. *nel* 1; Evn. *nel* 1; Neg. *leleke* 1; Man. *leli* 2; Ul. *lelue* 1; Ork. *nolu ~ nelu* 1; Nan. *lelū* 1; Orch. *leli* 1; Ud. *leli* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 619.

PMong. ***nolga*** shaman's adornment (украшение шамана): WMong. *nolγa* (L 595: *nulqa*); Kh. *nolgo*.

PTurk. ***jaglik*** kerchief (платок): Tur. *jaγlik*; Gag. *jālïq*; Az. *jajlïG*; Turkm. *jaγlïq*, dial. *jālïq*; Uygh. *jaγliq*; Krm. *jaγlïq*; Tat. *jawlïq*; Bashk. *jawlïq*; Kirgh. *ǰōluq*; Kaz. *žawlïq*; KKalp. *žawlïq*; Kum. *jawluq*; Nogh. *jawlïq*; Chuv. *śulъk*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 61 (with Turkm. *jāGlïq*), Мудрак 27, Ашм. XII, 224, Федотов 2, 132-133. Derivation from **jag* 'fat' (TMN 4, 179) seems quite improbable.

PKor. ***nòríkái** smth. worn on the belt (предмет, подвешиваемый к поясу): MKor. *nòríkái*; Mod. *norigä*.

◊ Liu 156, KED 341.

‖ In Kor. the word also means 'plaything', and is usually derived < *nōr-* 'to play'; external evidence shows that the derivation is rather opposite ('to play' < 'to fondle with a pendant').

***lēmo** fresh, raw; vegetables: Mong. ***lamaɣa**; Turk. ***jḗmiĺč**; Jpn. ***nàmâ**; Kor. ***nǎmǎrh**.

PMong. ***lamaɣa** leaf (of some plants) (лист (некоторых растений)): MMong. *laba* (IM) 'leaf'; WMong. *namaya* (L 562), *namči*; Kh. *namā*; Bur. *namā*; Kalm. *namčə* (KPC); Ord. *namā*; Mog. *nōm* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *lavā* 'petal'.

◊ The root should be distinguished from **labči* (v. sub **l̥ìàp'[à]*). Mong. > Yak. *labā* 'branch' (possibly through Evk. *lawā* id., see Poppe 1961, 130, TMC 1, 485), although Kalm. *namčə* may be a contamination of two roots.

PTurk. ***jḗmiĺč** vegetable, fruit (овощи, фрукты): OTurk. *jemiš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jemiš* (MK); Tur. *jemiš*; Az. *jemiš*; Turkm. *ijmiš*; MTurk. *jemiš* (Sangl.); Uygh. *jemiš*; Tat. *jimeš*; Bashk. *jemeš*; Kirgh. *ǰimeš*; Kaz. *žemïs*; KBalk. *ǰemiš*; KKalp. *žemis*; Khak. *nimïs*; Tv. *čemiš* 'nut kernel'; Chuv. *śimaś*.

◊ EDT 938, VEWT 197. Turk. > MMong. (HY) *ǰemiši* (see Clark 1980, 42), Hung. *gyümölcs* (Gombocz 1912).

PJpn. ***nàmâ** fresh, raw (свежий, сырой): OJpn. *nama*; MJpn. *nama*; Tok. *náma*; Kyo. *nàmâ*; Kag. *namá*.

◊ JLTT 491.

PKor. ***nǎmǎrh** vegetables, greens (овощи, зелень): MKor. *nǎmǎr* (*nǎmǎrh-*); Mod. *namul*.

◊ Nam 92, KED 289.

‖ Martin 232 (Kor.-Jpn.). The Turkic word is traditionally analysed as 'food' (< **jē-* 'eat' < PA **ǯē* q.v.), but this may well be a reinterpretation.

***lemV** meat, fat (of animals): Tung. ***lemuk**; Mong. ***lami-**; Turk. ***jạm-**.

PTung. ***lemuk** fat (under the skin of animals) (сало (под кожей у животных)): Evk. *lemuk*; Evn. *nemъk*; Neg. *lemux*; Ul. *nemu*; Ork. *nemu*; Ud. *leme* 'in pieces (of fat)' (Корм. 257).

◊ TMC 1, 516-517.

PMong. ***lami-** meat on sheep's rump (мясо на крестце у барана): WMong. *namilqai* (MXTTT); Kh. *namilxaj*; Mongr. *lanǯin* 'cuisse' (SM 220).

PTurk. ***jạm-** 1 groin 2 pubic hair (1 пах 2 волосы в паху): OTurk. *jamïz* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *jamïz* (MK) 1, *jamdu* (MK) 2 (EDT: *jemdü*);

Tur. *jamïz* (dial.) 1; Az. *janbïz* 'side, hip'; Turkm. *jamïz* 1; MTurk. *jambuz* 1 (R.); Tat. *jamïs* (dial.) 1; KBalk. *ǯamïz* 1; Nogh. *jamïz* 1; Yak. *simïs* 1.

◊ VEWT 184, EDT 935, 940, ЭСТЯ 4, 110-111. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *ǯamïz* (Щербак 1997, 122).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**leńa** to incline, sway, shake: Tung. ***leŋgī-***; Mong. ***naji-(gu)-***; Turk. ***jAń-ka-***.

PTung. ***leŋgī-*** to bow, incline (наклоняться, склоняться): Evk. *neŋī-*, *neŋe-*; Evn. *neŋ-*; Neg. *neŋiŋ-*; Ork. *leŋge-*; Nan. *leŋge-* 'to pray'; Ud. *neŋi* 'a bent tree'.

◊ TMC 1, 623.

PMong. ***naji-*** to shake, sway, hang over (качаться, раскачиваться, свешиваться): WMong. *najiɣu-*, *najilǯa-* (L 558, 559); Kh. *najga-*; Bur. *najga-*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *najχu-* id. (see Rozycki 161).

PTurk. ***jAńka-*** to shake, bring into motion (качать(ся), приводить в движение): OTurk. *jajqa-n-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jajqa-l-* (MK); Tur. *jajka-*; Turkm. *jajqa-*; MTurk. *jajqa-l-* (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uygh. (dial.) *jajqa-*; Krm. *jajqa-*; Kirgh. *ǯajqa-*; Kaz. *žajqal-*; Nogh. *jajqa-l-*; Khak. *čajxa-*, dial. *najxal-*; Oyr. *ɗajqa-*, dial. *ɗajɣa-*; Tv. *ča'jɣa-*; Tof. *ča'jha-* (Рас. ФиЛ 77).

◊ ОСНЯ 3, 58-59, ЭСТЯ 4, 77-78, EDT 981. PT **jańka-* is usually treated as derived from **jāj-* 'to shake, rinse' (see e.g. ЭСТЯ 4, 75-76, EDT ibid.), but the latter does not seem to show any traces of nasal and may be separately compared with Mong. *ǯaji-lu-* 'to rinse', *ǯaji-mu-* 'to shake, stir', see KW 471.

‖ EAS 75, Владимирцов 369, ОСНЯ 3, 58-60. A Western isogloss. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. is quite improbable, despite Щербак 1997, 121.

✱**lépù(-nV)** **(~ -b-)** swamp: Tung. ***lebē(n)-***; Mong. ***labku, *lobku***; Jpn. ***númà***; Kor. ***nɨp(h)***.

PTung. ***lebē(n)-*** 1 swamp, marsh 2 to poach (in a swamp) (1 болото, топь 2 вязнуть (в болоте)): Evk. *lewē* 1, *lewē-* 2; Evn. *liwin* 1; Neg. *lewē* 1, *lewē-* 2; Man. *lebeŋgi* 1; Ul. *liwe-* 2; Ork. *lemu(ne)* 1, *lemu-*, *liwe-* 2; Nan. *liwe-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 514.

PMong. ***labku, *lobku*** marshy ground (влажная, болотистая почва): WMong. *labqu*, *labqan* (L 514), *lobqu* (L 517); Kh. *lavx*, *lovx*; Kalm. *lowxə* (KPC).

PJpn. ***númà*** swamp, marsh (болото): OJpn. *numa*; MJpn. *númà*; Tok. *numá*; Kyo. *númà*; Kag. *núma*.

◊ JLTT 502.

PKor. ***nɨp(h)*** swamp, marsh (болото): Mod. *nɨp* [*nɨph*].

◊ KED 376.

‖ Martin 236, Whitman 1985, 25, TMC 1, 514. Jpn. **númà* < **núbà-n*, with normal regressive dissimilation.

✱**lép'ó (~ *Í-)** to rise, high: Tung. ***lep- / *lupu-**; Jpn. ***nə́mpə́r-**; Kor. ***nòph-**.

PTung. ***lep- / *lupu-** 1 to raise hands 2 to jump out 3 to move out 4 to pull out (1 поднимать руки 2 выскочить, вылететь 3 выходить, проникать 4 вытащить): Evk. *lupū-* 3, *luptu-* 4; Neg. *lepujiken-* 2; Man. *lebkide-* 1; Ul. *lupurum* 4; Nan. *lopto-* 4; Ud. *lopto-* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 511-512, 514.

PJpn. ***nə́mpə́r-** to rise (подниматься): OJpn. *nobor-*; MJpn. *nóbór-*; Tok. *nòbor-*; Kyo. *nóbór-*; Kag. *nobór-*.

◊ JLTT 736.

PKor. ***nòph-** to be high, elevated (быть высоким, приподнятым): MKor. *nòph-*; Mod. *nop-* [*noph-*].

◊ Nam 113, KED 352.

‖ Martin 1996, 98. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**lígà (~ *Í-)** to weep, cry: Tung. ***ligi-**; Turk. ***jīg-(la-)**; Jpn. ***nák-**.

PTung. ***ligi-** to snore (храпеть): Evk. *liɣirī-*; Evn. *nīɣrị-*; Neg. *liɣī-*; Ork. *lī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 497.

PTurk. ***jīg-(la-)** to weep, cry (плакать): OTurk. *ɨɣ-la-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ɨɣla-*, *jɨɣla-* (MK), *jɨɣla-* (KB); Turkm. *āɣ-la-*; MTurk. *jɨɣla-* (Sangl.); Uygh. *ɑɣla-*; Tat. *jɨla-*; Kaz. *žɨla-*; KBalk. *zɨla-*; KKalp. *žɨla-*; Kum. *jila-*; SUygh. *jiɣla-*; Khak. *ɨ̄*; Shr. *ɨlɣa-*; Oyr. *ɨjla-*.

◊ VEWT 8, ЭСТЯ 1, 79-81.

PJpn. ***nák-** to weep, cry (плакать): OJpn. *nak-*; MJpn. *nák-*; Tok. *nàk-*; Kyo. *nák-*; Kag. *nák-*.

◊ JLTT 731.

‖ Cf. Kor. *nɨk:i-da* 'to weep' (with unclear vowel and gemination; see Martin 242).

✱**l̥já̰ja** sound, to sound: Tung. ***leje- / *ńiaja- (< *liaja-)**; Mong. ***najita-**; Jpn. ***nái**.

PTung. ***leje- / *ńiaja- (< *liaja-)** 1 to shamanize 2 to sing (without rules and rhythm) (1 шаманить, петь во время камлания 2 шаманская песня 3 петь (без соблюдения правил музыки и меры)): Evk. *jaja-* 1; Evn. *ńāja-* 1; Neg. *jaja-* 1; Man. *leje-* 2; Ul. *jaja-* 1; Ork. *jāja-* 1; Nan. *jaja-* 1; Orch. *jaja-* 1; Ud. *jeä-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 338, 515.

PMong. ***najita-** to sneeze (чихать): MMong. *nəjta-* (LH); WMong. *najita-* (L 561); Kh. *najta-*; Bur. *najtā-*; Kalm. *nə̃tɔx-* (KPC); Ord. *nə̃ta-*; Dag. *naitə-* (Тод. Дар. 156: *naitā-*); Dong. *naita-*; Bao. *nitə-*; S.-Yugh. *naitā-*; Mongr. *nāta-* (SM 269), *naitā-*.

◊ MGCD 498.

PJpn. ***nái*** sound (звук): OJpn. *ne*; MJpn. *ne*; Tok. *nè*; Kyo. *nȅ*; Kag. *né*.

◊ JLTT 495. OJ *na-r-* 'to sound' is probably derived from this root (and not related to **nia̱uru*, despite Martin 241).

‖ An onomatopoeic root; seems, however, be well enough reconstructable for PA.

✱**lia̱mba (~ *Í-, -o)** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***liamba-***; Jpn. ****nàmà(n)tù***.

PTung. ***liamba-*** 1 salmon 2 fish (1 лосось 2 рыба): Evk. *lêmba* 1; Man. *nimaxa* 2; SMan. *niməhā* 2 (331, 2174); Jurch. *limwa-xa* (163) 2; Ul. *ńi̯mu̯* 1; Ork. *loi̯ma* 'trout'; Nan. *i̯maχa* 2, *ńi̯mo* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 496, 501.

PJpn. ****nàmà(n)tù*** sheat-fish (сом): MJpn. *nàmàdù*; Tok. *nàmazu*; Kyo. *námàzù*; Kag. *namazú*.

◊ JLTT 492. The Tokyo accent is aberrant (pointing rather to LHH).

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; but cf. perhaps also Khak. *nomza* 'dace' (< **jom-*); Tat. *jumba, ǯumba* 'burbot' (VEWT 210).

✱**lia̱p'[à]** leaf: Mong. ***labči***; Turk. ****japur-gak***; Jpn. ****nàpài***; Kor. ****níph***.

PMong. ***labči*** leaf (лист): MMong. *nabučin* (HY 7), *nabčin* (MA), *nabčĭn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *nabči(n)* (L 555); Kh. *navč*; Bur. *nabša*; Kalm. *napča*; Ord. *nabči*; Dag. *larči* (Тод. Дar. 152), *lariči* (MD 185) 1; Dong. *lačən*; Bao. *labčoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *łabǯəg*; Mongr. *la(b)śźi* (SM 218), (MGCD *labǯi*).

◊ KW 272, MGCD 497. Mong. > Evk. *napči*, see Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ****japur-gak*** leaf (лист): OTurk. *japɨrɣaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *japurɣaq* (MK); Tur. *japrak*; Gag. *japraq*; Az. *jarpaG*; Turkm. *japraq*; Sal. *järfɨχ*; MTurk. *japɨrɣan* (Abush.), *j[a]praq* (MA); Uzb. *japrɔq*; Uygh. *jopurmaq*; Krm. *japrax*; Tat. *jafraq*; Bashk. *japraq*; Kirgh. *ǯalbɨraq*; Kaz. *žapɨraq*; KBalk. *čapraq*; KKalp. *žapɨraq*; Kum. *japraq*; Nogh. *japɨraq*; Oyr. *ɗalbɨraq*; Tv. *čövüree* 'bark'; Tof. *čö'prää* 'bark'; Yak. *sebirdex*; Dolg. *hebirdek*.

◊ VEWT 188, EDT 879-80, ЭСТЯ 4, 130-132, Лексика 111-112, Stachowski 100. Clauson derives **japur-gak* from **japur-* 'to smoothe, level', which is an obvious contamination - just as the contamination with **jalpi-* 'flat' (v. sub **dèlp'à*) in some languages.

PJpn. ****nàpài*** sprout (росток): OJpn. *nape*; MJpn. *nàfè*; Tok. *náe*; Kyo. *nàé*; Kag. *naé*.

◊ JLTT 490. Both Tokyo and Kyoto point to a variant **nàpái* (Kagoshima is ambiguous).

PKor. ****níph*** leaf (лист): MKor. *níp* (*níph-*); Mod. *ip* [*iph*].

◊ Nam 126, KED 1370.

‖ EAS 75, KW 272, Владимирцов 369, Poppe 37, 44, АПиПЯЯ 19, 42, 282, Лексика 112. The Kor. vowel is probably secondary (pointing to a variant **lia̱p'e*).

✱**li̯a̯p'V** spleen: Tung. ***lipče***; Mong. ***niɣalta***; Turk. ***japal***.

PTung. ***lip-če*** spleen (селезенка): Ork. *lipče*.

◊ TMC 1, 499.

PMong. ***niɣalta*** spleen (of animals) (селезенка (животных)): WMong. *niɣalta* (L 557: *naɣalta*); Kh. *nālt*; Bur. *ńālta*; Ord. *nālta*.

PTurk. ***japal*** spleen (селезенка): Tv. *čavana*, Todzh. (Рас. Фил, 194) *čɨ'val*; Tof. *ča'p'al*.

◊ An isolated Sayan root.

‖ A Western isogloss. Very scantily represented in Turkic and TM, but probably archaic.

✱**li̯ŏga** green, dark: Tung. ***Ílog-***; Mong. ***nogoɣan***; Turk. ***jągɨ́r***; Jpn. ***nà***; Kor. ***nò-nắ-***.

PTung. ***Ílog-*** 1 green 2 dark (1 зеленый 2 темный): Evk. *lugdume* 2; Evn. *nuɣde, ńeɣčeńe, ńevčeńe* 2; Man. *ńowaŋgan* 1; SMan. *ńuńan, niŋəńan* 1 (2421); Jurch. *nioŋ-gian* (616) 1; Ul. *ńogžo(n)* 1; Ork. *ńōgdo* 1; Nan. *noŋǵā(n)* 1.

◊ See TMC 1, 506, 650, 601-603 (some of the forms there are obviously < Mong., but the ones listed above are hardly borrowed).

PMong. ***nogoɣan*** green; vegetables (зеленый): MMong. *noxo'an* (HY 41), *noqo'an* (SH), *nuɣan* (MA); WMong. *noguɣan* (L 588); Kh. *nogōn*; Bur. *nogōn*; Kalm. *noɣān*; Ord. *noGōn*; Dag. *nugā* (Тод. Дат. 158), *nuguo*; *nuā(n)* (MD 200); Dong. *noGon, noɣon*; Bao. *noGoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *noɣōn*; Mongr. *noGōn* (SM 281), *nuGōn*.

◊ KW 278, MGCD 511.

PTurk. ***jągɨ́r*** brown (бурый): OTurk. *jaɣɨz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaɣɨz* (MK); Tur. *jaɣɨz, jaɨz*; Gag. *jāz*; Turkm. *jaɣɨz*; MTurk. *jaɣɨz* (AH), *jowuz* (Ettuhf.); Kum. *jawuz*; Chuv. *śɨr(ъ)*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 64-65, EDT 909. Despite Poppe 61, Владимирцов 267 and Clauson (EDT 909) Mong. *dajir* 'brown' - with which they would like to compare the Turkic form - does not exist.

PJpn. ***nà*** greens, vegetables (овощи, зелень): OJpn. *na*; Tok. *ná*.

◊ JLTT 490.

PKor. ***nò-nắ-*** light yellow (светло-желтый): MKor. *nònắ-*.

◊ Nam 110.

‖ KW 278, АПиПЯЯ 293, Poppe 38, Doerfer MT 56-57 (Tung.-Mong.). Kor. reflects a form with an -n-suffix and has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**li̯òmù** bow: Tung. ***liam-***; Mong. ***lumu***; Turk. ***jüm-***; Jpn. ***dùmì***.

PTung. ***liam-*** 1 bow 2 to shoot (1 лук 2 стрелять): Evk. *nēmkī* 1, (Sym. arch.) *lêman* 'loop of a bow string'; Evn. *nām* 'bow-string', *nemkъn* 'shooting'; Neg. *nemku-* 1; Ork. *lajmatčį* 'strap for tying together parts of harpoon'.

◊ TMC 1, 496, 620-621.

PMong. ***lumu** bow (лук): MMong. *numun* (HY 18), *numu* (SH), *nomu* (IM), *nŭmu* (MA); WMong. *numu(n)* (L 595); Kh. *nom, num;* Bur. *nomo;* Kalm. *numn̦, nomn̦;* Ord. *numu;* Dag. *nem* (Тод. Дат. 157); S.-Yugh. *nəmən;* Mongr. *lumu* (SM 227) (MGCD *numu*).

◊ KW 279, 281, MGCD 518.

PTurk. ***jüm-** bow, arrow (лук, стрела): Chuv. *śəʷmren, śəʷməʷrlen.*

◊ Федотов 2, 108-109.

PJpn. ***dùmì** bow (лук): OJpn. *jumji;* MJpn. *jùmì;* Tok. *yumí;* Kyo. *yúmì;* Kag. *yùmí.*

◊ JLTT 579.

‖ The Jpn. word is hard to separate; initial d- is probably due to influence of **da* 'arrow'. If this is the case, one would be also tempted to compare PTM **lukī* 'arrow' and PJ **duki* 'quiver' - with exactly the same Anlaut correlation.

***lị̀ǫ̀ŋè** a k. of insect: Tung. ***loŋ-**; Mong. ***newne, *neɣüne**; Jpn. ***nàmì (~ -ua-, -ui)**.

PTung. ***loŋ-** butterfly (бабочка): Ud. *loŋto.*

◊ TMC 1, 504. Attested only in Ud., with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***newne, *neɣüne** lady bug (божья коровка): WMong. *neüne* (MXTTT); Kh. *nŭ̄ne.*

PJpn. ***nàmì (~ -ua-, -ui)** flea (блоха): Tok. *nomí;* Kyo. *nómì;* Kag. *nomí.*

◊ JLTT 500.

‖ The root is not well attested and somewhat insecure, denoting some small insect (bug or butterfly). But the correspondences are regular and the match seems possible.

***lị̀ùbu (~ -i̯a-)** resin, clay, dirt: Tung. ***lū**; Mong. ***luw-**; Jpn. ***nì (~ *nù-i)**.

PTung. ***lū** 1 resin, gum 2 to fill holes, crevices with resin (1 смола, вар 2 просмаливать): Evk. *lū* 1, *lū-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 506.

PMong. ***luw-** eye pus (глазной гной): WMong. *luuqa* (L 518), *nuuqa;* Kh. *lūx, nūx;* Bur. *nūtaj-* 'быть заплывшим (о глазах)'; Kalm. *lox* (KPC), *nūx;* Ord. *lūxa, nūxa;* Dag. *laug,* (Тод. Дат. 152: *lōgo*); Mongr. *nauxa, log.*

◊ KW 282, MGCD 473.

PJpn. ***nì (~ *nù-i)** earth, dirt; red clay (земля, грязь; красная глина): OJpn. *ni;* MJpn. *nì;* Tok. *ni.*

◊ JLTT 496.

‖ JOAL 102, 1981, 853 (attracting also OJ *núr-* 'to paint', which seems less plausible because of tone incongruence with **nì*; on its etymology see **nị̀úŕe*).

***liu[k]u** thick, dense: Tung. ***lōgdi, *luku(tu)**; Mong. ***nigta / *lüg / *lug**; Turk. ***jigi / *jɨgɨ**.

PTung. ***lōgdi, *luku(tu)** thick, dense (густой, плотный): Evk. *lōgdi, luku*; Evn. *nōɣ, nuqtị*; Neg. *logdị, loxo*; Man. *loqdi, luqdu, luku*; SMan. *lukə* (2078); Ul. *loGdo, lugdi, loko*; Ork. *lugžị, lukku*; Nan. *loGdị, lugžị*; Orch. *loko, luku*; Ud. *logbo-logbo, luktu*.

◊ TMC 1, 501, 508, 509, 609.

PMong. ***nigta / *lüg / *lug** thick, dense (густой, плотный): WMong. *niɣta* (L 578), *lüg* (L 518), *luɣ*; Kh. *ńagt, lüg*; Bur. *nigta*; Kalm. *niktə*; Ord. *nigta*.

◊ KW 276. Mong. > Tat. *niq*, Chuv. *nъɣъ* (Róna-Tas 1973-1974).

PTurk. ***jigi / *jɨgɨ** thick, dense (густой, плотный): OTurk. *jigi* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jigi* (MK); Tur. *jiɣɨ*; Turkm. *jiɣɨ*; Kaz. *žiji*; KKalp. *žiji*; Nogh. *jiji*; Oyr. *jik*; Tv. *čï'q*.

◊ EDT 911, VEWT 202, ЭСТЯ 4, 272.

‖ A Western isogloss. An expressive form with somewhat irregular correspondences; however, despite Doerfer MT 51, TM cannot be explained as borrowed from Mong.

***liŭkʿa (~ -u)** seam, to stitch: Tung. ***luK-**; Mong. ***log-si-**; Turk. ***jīk**.

PTung. ***luK-** 1 to sew in (ornaments) 2 to prick (1 вшивать (полоски меха для украшения) 2 вкалывать, вонзать): Evk. *luktu-* 1; Man. *nuqa-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 508, 608.

PMong. ***log-si-** to stitch, sew (стегать, прошивать): WMong. *loɣsi-* (L 517); Kh. *logši-*; Bur. *logši-*.

PTurk. ***jīk** seam (шов): Tat. *žek*, dial. *jek*; Bashk. *jek* (dial.); Kirgh. *žik*; Kaz. *žik*; KBalk. *žik*; KKalp. *žik*; Kum. *jik*; Khak. *čək*; Oyr. *jik, ǰik*; Yak. *sīk*.

◊ VEWT 195, 202, ЭСТЯ 4, 197-198, 257-258. The root should be distinguished from *jib q.v. sub *ziupi.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***liŭmo (~ Í, -e)** to swallow, drink: Tung. ***lümŋe-**; Jpn. ***nə̀m-**; Kor. ***nəm-ku-**.

PTung. ***lümŋe-** to swallow (глотать): Evk. *nimŋe-*; Evn. *ńimŋъ-*; Neg. *nimŋe-*; Man. *nuŋgi-, nuŋge-*; SMan. *nuŋəmə, nuŋumə* (402); Ul. *luŋbe-*; Ork. *numGe-*; Nan. *luŋbe-,lumge-*; Orch. *ńimme-*; Ud. *niŋme-, ńiŋme-*; Sol. *niŋe-*.

◊ TMC 1, 595.

PJpn. ***nə̀m-** drink (пить): OJpn. *nom-*; MJpn. *nòm-*; Tok. *nóm-*; Kyo. *nòm-*; Kag. *nóm-*.

◊ JLTT 737.

PKor. ***nəm-ku-** to swallow (глотать): Mod. *nəmgu-*.

◊ SKE 164.

‖ SKE 164, Poppe 74, Murayama 1962, 110, АПиПЯЯ 19, 69, 105-106, 274. An Eastern isogloss.

***lokʹo (~ -u-)** a cutting instrument: Tung. ***loxa**; Jpn. ***nàkə̂**.

PTung. ***loxa** sword, sabre (меч, сабля): Evk. *likučiūn, lukučiur*; Neg. *loxon*; Man. *loχo*; SMan. *lohə* (607, 812); Jurch. *lo-xo*; Ul. *loχo(n)*; Nan. *loχō*; Orch. *loxo(n)*; Ud. *lō*.

◊ TMC 1, 509.

PJpn. ***nàkə̂** saw (пила): OJpn. *nop(w)ogjiri*; MJpn. *nòfògìrì*; Tok. *nóko, nokogíri*; Kyo. *nòkô, nòkògírì*; Kag. *nokó, nokogirí*.

◊ JLTT 500. The OJ form with -p- is quite strange, perhaps a dialectal dissimilation (< *nokogjiri*); all modern forms quite uniformly have -k-.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

***lòŋé (~ -u-)** chisel, drill: Tung. ***luŋu**; Jpn. ***nàmuí (~ -əi)**.

PTung. ***luŋu** drill (сверло): Neg. *loŋo*; Ul. *lūŋu*; Nan. *luŋu*; Orch. *loŋo, luŋu*; Ud. *loŋo*.

◊ TMC 1, 504.

PJpn. ***nàmuí (~ -əi)** chisel, adze (долото): OJpn. *nomi*; MJpn. *nòmí*; Tok. *nómi*; Kyo. *nòmí*; Kag. *nomí*.

◊ JLTT 500.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps Mong. **düji-le-* 'to shave' (WMong. *düil-*, L 279), which would make us reconstruct **ĺoŋe*.

***lopʹV** nest (of rodents): Tung. ***lopi(gi)**; Mong. ***nowkai**.

PTung. ***lopi(gi)** squirrel nest (беличье гнездо): Evk. *lopi* (dial. *lokī*); Neg. *lōbị*; Ul. *logbụ*; Nan. *lōbị*; Ud. *loi*.

◊ TMC 1, 505. Length in Nan. is compensatory.

PMong. ***nowkai** rodent nest (гнездо грызунов): WMong. *nouqai* (MXTTT); Kh. *nōxoj*; Bur. *nōxoj*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***lŭge (~ -i)** bridle: Tung. ***luksi**; Turk. ***jügen**.

PTung. ***luksi** traces, central belt in a yoke-team (постромка, потяг (центральный ремень в оленьей упряжке)): Evk. *lukšipka*; Neg. *nusku, nuksi*; Ul. *nusku*; Ork. *nusku*; Nan. *luksur*; Orch. *nuksu*; Ud. *nuki*.

◊ TMC 1, 509.

PTurk. ***jügen** bridle (уздечка): Karakh. *jügön* (MK, IM); Tur. *ojan*; Az. *jüjän*; Turkm. *üjen, ujan*; MTurk. *ujan* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jugan*; Uygh. *jügän*; Krm. *ijgen, jügen*; Tat. *jögän*; Bashk. *jügän*; Kirgh. *ǯügön*; Kaz. *ǯügen*; KBalk. *ǯügen*; KKalp. *ǯüwen*; Kum. *jügen*; Nogh. *jüwen*; SUygh. *juɣɨn* (ЯЖУ); Khak. *čügen*; Shr. *čügen*; Oyr. *üjgen*; Tv. *čüɣen*; Chuv. *jəʷven*; Yak. *ǖn*.

◊ VEWT 212, EDT 913, ЭСТЯ 1, 577, Егоров 77, *Лексика* 556.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**lúke** to bow, bend: Tung. ***loka-***; Mong. ***nugu-***; Turk. ***jükün-***; Jpn. ***nə́kí (~ -ua-)***.

PTung. ***loka-*** 1 to hang 2 hanger, cross-beam (for hanging) (1 вешать 2 вешалка, вешала): Evk. *loko-* 1, *loko-ptin* 2; *lokso, lekse* 'knee'; Evn. *noq-* 1, *noqъm* 2; Neg. *loxo-* 1, *loxo-wun* 2; Ul. *lō-, lōqo-* 1, *lōpụ* 2; Ork. *lō-, loqqo-* 1, *lōno* 2; Nan. *lō-* 1, *lōčaqo* 2; Orch. *lō-* 1, *lōkońi, lōńi* 2; Ud. *lo'-* 1 (Корм. 256); Sol. *loko-, loxo-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 501-502, 515.

PMong. ***nugu-*** to bend (гнуться): WMong. *nuɣu-ra-* (L 595); Kh. *nugara-, nugal-*; Bur. *nugar-, nugal-* (caus.); Kalm. *nuɣar-, nuɣəl-* 'to bend, to separate bones at the joints' (KPC); Ord. *nuGul-*; Mongr. *nugurā-, noGlā-*.

◊ MGCD 517.

PTurk. ***jükün-*** to bow (кланяться, склоняться): OTurk. *jükün-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jükün-* (MK); Tur. *jüken-, jügün-* (dial.); MTurk. *jükün-* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jukun-*; Uygh. *jükün-*; Krm. *jügün-, jugun-*; Tat. *jögen-, jegen-* (dial.); Bashk. *jögön-*; Kirgh. *žügün-*; Kaz. *žügin-*; KKalp. *žügin-*; Kum. *jügün-*; Yak. *sügün-* 'to go to the bridegroom's home'.

◊ EDT 913, ЭСТЯ 4, 264.

PJpn. ***nə́kí (~ -ua-)*** hanging edge of roof, eaves (стреха, свисающий край крыши): OJpn. *n(w)ok(j)i*; MJpn. *nókí*; Tok. *nòki*; Kyo. *nókí*; Kag. *nókì*.

◊ JLTT 500.

‖ ОСНЯ 3, 64-65 (Turc-Mong). Cf. **lak'u*.

✱**luko** wild pig: Tung. ***luke- / *lukte (*lekte)***; Mong. ***nogtu-***; Kor. ****niktai (?)***.

PTung. ***luke- / *lukte (*lekte)*** 1 wild boar 2 1-year-old boar (1 дикий кабан 2 годовалый кабан): Man. *nuxen* 2; Ul. *nekte* 1; Ork. *ńekte* 1; Nan. *nekte* (dial. *likete*) 1; Orch. *nekte* 1; Ud. *nakta, nekte* 1, *nugese* 2; Sol. *nuksẽ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 609, 617.

PMong. ***nogtu-*** wild male boar (дикий кабан): WMong. *noɣtumal* (L 588); Kh. *nogtmol*; Kalm. *noktəmər*.

◊ KW 278.

PKor. ****niktai*** wild boar, pig (дикий кабан): Mod. *niktä*.

◊ SKE 169.

‖ The Kor. match is glossed as "wild boar" by Ramstedt (in SKE), but as "jackal" or "Korean wolf" in modern dictionaries - thus it may be actually the same word as *niktä* < **l[ù]kV* 'lynx'; but the Mong.-TM parallel is still valid.

✱**lùku (~ *Í-, -o-, -kʲ-)** to take off (clothes): Tung. ***luK-***; Jpn. ***nùk-***.

PTung. ***luK-*** to take off (clothes) (снимать (одежду)): Evk. *luk-, lukti-*; Evn. *nuq-*; Neg. *lok-*; Ud. *lukta-*; Sol. *loko-*.

◊ TMC 1, 507.

PJpn. ***nùk-*** to take off clothes (снимать одежду): OJpn. *nuk-, nuk-jit-*; MJpn. *nùg-*; Tok. *núg-*; Kyo. *nùg-*; Kag. *nùg-*.

◊ JLTT 738.

‖ Miller 1985b, 194. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**lúkʲì (~ -o-)** to break through: Tung. ***lokta-***; Mong. ***nüke-***; Jpn. ***núk-***.

PTung. ***lokta-*** to pass through, break through (проходить насквозь, протыкать насквозь): Neg. *loktol-*; Ul. *luktu-lu-*; Ork. *lokto-*; Nan. *luktu-*; Orch. *lokto(n)-*; Ud. *lotogo-*.

◊ TMC 1, 502-503.

PMong. ***nüke-*** 1 hole, 2 to make a hole in (1 дыра, 2 проделывать отверстие): MMong. *nukele-* 2 (SH), *nukän* 'tomb' (IM), *noket* 'holes' (LH), *nūken* 1 (Lig.VMI); WMong. *nüke(n)* 1, *nükele-* 2 (L 597); Kh. *nüx(en)* 1; Bur. *nüxe(n)* 1; Kalm. *nükŋ*; Ord. *nüχü(n)*, *nüχe(n)* 1; Dag. *nugu* 1 (Тод. Дар. 158); Dong. *nokien* 1; Bao. *nəkuŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *nögön, nukö* 1; Mongr. *nuko* 1 (SM 282).

◊ KW 282, MGCD 521, 615.

PJpn. ***núk-*** to break through, pass through (проходить через, насквозь): OJpn. *nuk-*; MJpn. *núk-*; Tok. *nùk-*; Kyo. *núk-*; Kag. *nùk-*.

◊ JLTT 738. Kagoshima has an irregular accent.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 28-29, АПиПЯЯ 75.

✱**l[ù]kʲV̀ (~ -k-)** lynx, wild cat: Tung. ***luKV***; Mong. ***nogu-ɣal***; Jpn. ***niàkua (~ *nàikua)***; Kor. ***nɨk-***.

PTung. ***luKV*** 1 lynx 2 blue fox 3 young lynx (1 рысь 2 голубой песец 3 рысенок): Evk. *luku* 1 (диал.); Man. *luka* 2; Orch. *loke* 1.

◊ See ОСНЯ 2,35.

PMong. ***nogu-ɣal*** young of lynx (детеныш рыси): WMong. *noɣuɣal* (L 595: *nuɣuul*); Kh. *nogōl*; Bur. *nogōl*; Kalm. *noɣālā, noɣālā̆* 'зайчонок весеннего приплода'.

◊ KW 278.

PJpn. ***niàkua (~ *nàikua)*** cat (кошка): OJpn. *nekwo*; Tok. *néko*; Kyo. *nékò*; Kag. *nekó*.

◊ JLTT 495. Accent is not quite clear: probably a variation of **nàikuà* (> Kyoto *nékò*) and **nàikuá* (Tokyo *néko*); Kagoshima supports low tone on the first syllable, but is irrelevant for the second one.

PKor. ***nɨk-*** jackal, (KED) wolf (шакал; волк): Mod. *nɨktä*.

◊ KED 367.

‖ The Jpn. vocalism is aberrant; the diphthong may require a reconstruction like **lòjkʲV*. Cf. also notes to **luko*.

***lumV** a k. of small wild animal: Tung. ***nenme- (~ *l-)**; Mong. ***lomun**; Turk. ***jumra-**.

PTung. ***nenme- (~ l-)** tarbagan (тарбаган): Evk. *nenmekčin*.

◊ TMC 1, 622.

PMong. ***lomun** mole (крот): MMong. *noman* (HY 11); WMong. *nomun* (L 591); Kh. *nomon, nomin*; Kalm. *soxər numŋ* (KPC); Ord. *nomoŋ, numuŋ, numūn*; Dong. *manan* (Тод. Дн.) ?; Mongr. *lumōn* 'taupe' (SM 227).

PTurk. ***jumra-** 1 gopher 2 ground-squirrel (1 суслик 2 евражка): Turkm. *jumran* 1 (dial.); MTurk. *jumran* 'mole' (AH); Uzb. *jumrɔn* 1; Uygh. *jumran* 1; Tat. *jomran* 1; Bashk. *jomran* 1; KBalk. *ǯuburan* 1; Oyr. *jɨmran, jɨbɨran* 2.

◊ VEWT 210, ЭСТЯ 4, 247-248, *Лексика* 165-166. Turk. > Mong. *ǯurum, ǯurama*, Khalkha *ʒuram, ʒurma*, Dag. *ǯombor*, (Tod. 145) *ǯumbrā* (see MGCD 464, KW 481, TMN 4, 220), whence Man. *ǯumara* etc., see Doerfer MT 102, Rozycki 127. Cf. also **jamlan / *jalman* (VEWT 183, ЭСТЯ 4, 97; > Mong. *jalman*). Turk. > Russ. dial. *jevrán* and similar forms, see Аникин 195, 199, 205.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***lúŋa** a k. of fur animal: Tung. ***loŋ-sa**; Mong. ***nagaj**; Jpn. ***ná-i**; Kor. ***nàŋ'úrí**.

PTung. ***loŋ-sa** 1 lynx 2 male sable 3 sable (1 рысь 2 самец соболя 3 соболь): Evk. *nonno* 1; Evn. *nuŋučan* (dimin.) 'small mouse'; Man. *luŋgu, luŋga* 2 (Захаров 858); Orch. *noso* 3; Ud. *nühǫ* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 510, 605, 612.

PMong. ***nagaj** female tarbagan (самка тарбагана): WMong. *naɣai* (L 557: "female marmot"); Kh. *nagaj*.

PJpn. ***ná-i** rat (as a cyclic sign) (крыса (как циклический знак)): OJpn. *ne*; MJpn. *ne*; Tok. *nè*; Kyo. *nê*; Kag. *né*.

◊ JLTT 495. Derived is perhaps OJ *nezumji* 'rat' (although folk-etymologically analysed as 'living in root(s)'.

PKor. ***nàŋ'úrí** otter (выдра): MKor. *nàŋ'úrí*.

◊ Nam 105.

‖ See *Лексика* 165. Cf. **ĺeŋgV* (in Kor. a partial contamination is possible).

***lúŋu (~ *Í-, -o-, -i)** morning or evening dawn: Tung. ***luŋur**; Jpn. ***núN- / *núiN- / *núaN-**; Kor. ***nò'ɨr**.

PTung. ***luŋur** evening, dusk (вечер, сумерки): Evk. *luŋur*.

◊ TMC 1, 511. Attested only in Evk., with possible parallels in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ***núN- / *núiN- / *núaN-** rainbow (радуга): OJpn. *nizi, nuzi*, dial. *n(w)ozi*; MJpn. *nízì*; Tok. *nijí*; Kyo. *níjì*; Kag. *níji*.

◊ JLTT 498-499. The word raises many problems, due to irregular reshapings. Most forms reflect **nVn-si*, but there are some going back to **nVn-ki*, like Akita *nogi*, Shuri *nūži*

etc. (see ibid.), so we conclude that the original stem must have been *nuN-, with varying suffixation.

PKor. ***nò'ĭr*** morning or evening dawn, red glow in the sky (утренняя или вечерняя заря): MKor. *nò'ĭr*; Mod. *nŏl*.

◊ Nam 111, KED 347.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**lŭrkV (~ *Í-, -i̯u-,-i̯o-,-o-)** to burn; warm: Tung. ***lurgi-***; Jpn. ***nùkù-***; Kor. ***nòk- / *nuk-***.

PTung. ***lurgi-*** to burn (гореть, пылать): Evk. *lurgi-*; Neg. *lujgī-*; Man. *lur lur (descr.)*.

◊ TMC 1, 512. TM > Dag. *lurgi-* (MGCD 121).

PJpn. ***nùkù-*** warm (теплый): MJpn. *nukuto-*, *nuku-* (Edo); Tok. *nukú-*; Kyo. *núku-*; Kag. *nukí*.

◊ JLTT 854.

PKor. ***nòk-*** 1 to melt, dissolve 2 to get warm (1 таять, растворяться 2 теплеть): MKor. *nòk-*; Mod. *nok-* 1, *nuk-* 2.

◊ Nam 112, KED 344, 359.

‖ Martin 245, АПиПЯЯ 278. An Eastern isogloss. Korean has a secondary verbal low tone.

Ĺ

✱**Íábó** a k. of plant: Tung. ***labikta / *lebukte**; Mong. ***debeɣe**; Turk. ***jaba**; Jpn. ***náimpú**.

PTung. ***labi-kta / *lebu-kte** 1 a k. of moss (cudbear) 2 lichen, moss 3 root of edible plant (1 ягель 2 лишайник 3 корень съедобного растения): Evk. *lawikta* 1, *lewukte* 2; Evn. *nāwtъ* 1; Neg. *lawụkta* 1; Ul. *lepču(n)* 3; Ork. *lawịqta* 1, *lewikte* 2; Orch. *laukta* 1; Ud. *labuga* 1, *leukte* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 485, 514, 518. Evk. > Dolg. *labikta, labukta* (see Stachowski 172).

PMong. ***debeɣe** meadow, pasture (луг, пастбище): WMong. *debege* (L 237); Kh. *devē, deveg*; Kalm. *dewē(n)*.

◊ KW 90. Mong. > Man. *debejen* 'sedge'.

PTurk. ***jaba** 2 wild onion 3 onion-like edible plant (1 вид грибка 2 съедобное растение, похожее на лук): OTurk. *java* 2(?) (OUygh.); Karakh. *java* (MK) 'al-ṭurṯūṯ' [Bib.-Kaz.: 'a reddish edible plant', Belot: 'a medicinal grass', Lane: 'cynomorium']; 'a plant the juice of which is used to colour noodles'.; Tur. *juwa* 2; Turkm. *juva* 2; MTurk. *jawa* OKypch (Houts.) 2, 'leek'; Tat. *juwa*, Sib. *juwa* 2; Bashk. *jɨwa* 2; Kirgh. *žua* 2; Kaz. *žuwa* 2; KKalp. *žuwa* 2; Nogh. *juwa* 2; Khak. *čama* 'mountain garlic'; Tv. *čāt* 'cudbear, lichen'; Tof. *čāt* 'horse-tail'.

◊ EDT 871-872, ЭСТЯ 4, 240. The OUygh. word is attested in a Buddhist text describing blossoming spring plants: *özlerdeki özeklerdeki java čigidem* "the java and the crocuses in valleys and ravines"; so, despite Clauson 414, this is certainly not a mushroom; probably some onion-like plant (гусиный лук?).

PJpn. ***náimpú** silken acacia, Albizzia Julibrissin Durazz. (шелковистая акация): OJpn. *nebu*; MJpn. *nébúrí-ki*; Tok. *nemu-no-ki*.

◊ JLTT 495.

‖ Jpn. has one of the rare cases of the Inlaut -ai- (-ia-) diphthong. Otherwise correspondences are regular, although the precise botanical nature of the plant is not quite clear.

✱**Íàkʿè** bad, evil: Tung. ***lāK-**; Mong. ***ǯeke-j (< *ǯike-j)**; Turk. ***jek**; Jpn. ***nəkə**; Kor. ***nək-**.

PTung. ***lāK-** 1 difficulty, distress 2 unsuccessful (in hunting) 3 disorder (1 затруднение 2 неудачливый (на охоте) 3 суета, беспорядок): Evk. *lākeptin* 1; Man. *laqu, laxu* 2, *laxin* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 488.

PMong. ***ǯeke-j*** mediocre, ordinary, worse (посредственный, хуже): WMong. *ǯekei* (L 1044); Kh. *ʒexij*; Kalm. *zekə̄*.

◊ KW 472.

PTurk. ***jek*** 1 demon, evil spirit 2 bad, evil 3 to hate, despise 4 to scold (1 демон, злой дух 2 плохой, отвратительный 3 ненавидеть, презирать 4 бранить): OTurk. *jek* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jek* 1 (MK); Turkm. *jekir-* 3, *jek* (dial.) 2; MTurk. *jek* 1 (AH), 2 (Pav. C.), *jigir-* 3 (R.); Uzb. *ǯekir-* 4; Uygh. *jäklä-* 3, *ǯekir-* 4; Krm. *jek* 1, 2; Tat. *ǯik* 2, *ǯiker-* 4; Bashk. *jek* 2, *jeker-* 3; Kirgh. *ǯek* 2, *ǯekte-* 3, *ǯekir-* 4; Kaz. *žek* 2, *žekir-* 4; KKalp. *žek* 2, *žekir-* 4; Kum. *jekir-* 3; Nogh. *jekir-* 3; Shr. *ček* 1; Oyr. *jek*, *ďek* 1, 2, *jikir-* 3.

◊ EDT 910, VEWT 194, ЭСТЯ 4, 170-171, 173-174. Loan from Prakr. *yakkha* (through some unattested Sogdian intermediary) cannot be excluded, but also cannot be ascertained. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *ǯikir-* 'hate, abhor'.

PJpn. ***nəkə*** brazenly (бесстыдно, без стеснения): Tok. *noko-noko*.

PKor. ***nək-*** brazen, shameless (бесстыдный): Mod. *nək-sal*.

◊ KED 332.

‖ Martin 227 (Kor.-Jpn.). Turk. -e- instead of expected -i- is probably due to contamination with **Ĺə̀gi* q.v.

Ĺakʻ V (~ -e-)** fur clothes: Tung. ***leKu (/ *laKu); Mong. ***daku***; Turk. ***jaku***.

PTung. ***leKu (/ *laKu)*** 1 warm cotton trousers 2 deerskin footwear 3 slippers (1 теплые ватные штаны 2 обувь из оленьей шкуры 3 тапочки): Evk. *leke-mī*, *loko-mī* 2; Neg. *loxomi̯* 2; Man. *laqu* 1; Ul. *lēmi* 3; Ork. *lemi-le-* 'to wear shoes'; Nan. *lēmi* 3; Ud. *lexeme* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 488, 516.

PMong. ***daku*** coat (меховая накидка, шуба): MMong. *daqu* (SH); WMong. *daqu*; Kh. *dax*; Bur. *daxa*; Kalm. *daxə*; Ord. *daxu*; Dag. *dagu*; Mongr. *daxu*, *dāxu* 'habit court et sans manches porté jadis par les femmes monguor' (SM 41).

◊ KW 72, MGCD 205. Mong. > Evk. *daku* etc., see Poppe 1966, 195, TMN 4, 283-284, Doerfer MT 37, Rozycki 53, Аникин 179).

PTurk. ***jaku*** coat (плащ, шуба): Karakh. *jaqu* (MK); Bashk. *jaqı*; Kirgh. *ǯaqı* (dial.); Kaz. *žaqı* (dial.); Oyr. *jaqqı*, *ďaqqı*, *jaqa*, *ďaqa*; Tv. *čaγı*; Yak. *saγınńax*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 60-61, *Лексика* 476. The form *jaγqu* is not really attested: it is a folk etymology related by MK. Turk. > Russ. *jegá*, see Аникин 195, 721.

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. cannot be < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 121.

✱**lə̀p'o (~ -i)** string, strap: Tung. ***lāpV-ki***; Mong. ***deɣe-sü***.

PTung. ***lāpV-ki*** tiers, straps (for skis) (крепление, ремень (у лыж)): Ul. *lāxị*; Ork. *lāpụ*; Nan. *lāpị*; Orch. *lappi*.

◊ TMC 1, 494.

PMong. ***deɣe-sü*** rope (веревка): MMong. *de'esun* 'thread' (HY 19), *disun* (MA), *dēsūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *degesü(n)* (L 244); Kh. *dēs(en)*; Bur. *dēhe(n)*; Kalm. *dēsṇ*; Ord. *dēsü*; Mog. *deisün*; Dag. *dēs* (Тод. Дат. 136); Dong. *ǰiesun*; Bao. *desoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *dīsən*; Mongr. *dēsə* (SM 53), *dērge* 'grosse corde faite de poils pour lier les animaux' (SM 52).

◊ KW 92, MGCD 208. Mong. > Evk. *desun* etc. (see Poppe 1966, 197, TMC 1, 238).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. **labV*. Cf. perhaps Karakh. (MK) *jabtač* 'cloth, handkerchief' (merged with *jap- 'to cover').

✱**lə́p'V** bifurcated pole: Tung. ***lap-***; Mong. ***daɣaga(n)***; Turk. ***jāpa(k)***.

PTung. ***lap-*** 1 to insert, press between branches 2 poles with bifurcation 3 vertical, sticking out 4 branch inserted between two branches (a road sign) (1 вставлять, впихивать между ветками 2 раздвоенные жерди 3 вертикальный, торчащий 4 ветка, вставленная между двумя другими (дорожный знак)): Evk. *lapki-*, *lapku-* 1, *lapki*, *lapku* 4; Evn. *nāpqъ-* 1; Ul. *lapam* 'зацепившись'; Ork. *lapa(n)* 2; Nan. *lapa* 3; Orch. *lapam* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 493.

PMong. ***daɣaga(n)*** horizontal bar in a yurt (горизонтальная балка в юрте): WMong. *daɣaɣa* (L 216); Kh. *dāga*; Bur. *dāgan* bū 'carbine'; Ord. *dāGa*.

PTurk. ***jāpa(k)*** 1 wooden fork 2 shovel (1 деревянные вилы 2 лопата): Tur. *jaba* 1, dial. 2; Gag. *jaba* 1; Az. *jaba* 1; Turkm. *jābaq*, *jāba* 1; Sal. *jōwa*, *jowa* 1; MTurk. *japa* (Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *jāwa* (dial.) 1; Krm. *ǰaba* 2; Tat. *jaba*; Kaz. *žaba* (dial.) 1; KKalp. *žaba* 1.

◊ VEWT 187, ЭСТЯ 4, 45. Not quite clear are fronted cognates: Yak. *seb*, Kumd. *jep*, Tat., Bashk. *jəp* 'fork, bifurcation'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**lə̀gì** to hate, abhor: Tung. ***lēgī-***; Mong. ***ǰig-***; Turk. ***jigren- (~ -e-)***; Jpn. ****nìkù-***.

PTung. ***lēgī-*** 1 to scold 2 to pacify, persuade (1 ругать, бранить 2 унимать, уговаривать): Evk. *lēɣī-* 1; Evn. *nēji-* 1; Neg. *lēɣī-* 1; Nan. *lēi-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 514-515.

PMong. ***ǰig-*** to hate, abhor, be disgusted (ненавидеть, испытывать отвращение): WMong. *ǰigsi-*, *ǰigegür-* (L 1052); Kh. *ǰigš-*; Bur. *žegše-*; Kalm. *ǰigšə-* (KPC); Ord. *ǰigši-*.

◊ Mong. > Tat. *ǰiksin-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 4, 171).

PTurk. ***jigren- (~ -e-)*** to hate, abhor (испытывать отвращение): Karakh. *jigren-* (MK); Tur. *ijren-*; Gag. *īren-*; Az. *ijrän-*; Turkm. *jigren-*;

MTurk. *jigren-* (Ettuhf., AH); Uzb. *jirgän-, ǯirgen-*; Krm. *iren-*; Tat. *ǯirɛn-*; Bashk. *jerän-*; Kirgh. *ǯerin-, ǯiren-, ǯijirken-*; Kaz. *žijren-*; KKalp. *žijren-, žijirken-*; Kum. *ǯirgen-*; Nogh. *jijren-*; Yak. *sirgen-*.

◊ EDT 914-915, ЭСТЯ 4, 200-201.

PJpn. ***nìkù-*** hateful, hate (противный, ненавидеть): OJpn. *niku-, niku-m-*; MJpn. *niku-, nìkù-m-*; Tok. *nikú-, nikú-m-*; Kyo. *níkù-, níkú-m-*; Kag. *nikú-, nìkùm-*.

◊ JLTT 837.

‖ Ozawa 270-272, ЭСТЯ 4, 200-201. Cf. **ĺàk'e*.

ĺekleKV** a k. of aquatic bird: Tung. ***leg(l)ek-; Mong. ***deglej***; Turk. ***[j]leglek***.

PTung. ***leg(l)ek-*** a k. of duck (вид утки (утка-казарка)): Evk. *leɣegdi, liglakī, ilagli*; Evn. *ilъɣliqa*, dial. *niglij* 'goose'.

◊ TMC 1, 304, 498, 515, 589. Evk. > Dolg. *lagli*, see Stachowski 172.

PMong. ***deglej*** heron (цапля): WMong. *deglei* (L 213: *degelei*); Kh. *deglij*; Bur. *xüxe degli*; Kalm. *deglē*; Ord. *göχö degelī*.

◊ KW 85.

PTurk. ***[j]leglek*** stork (аист): Tur. *leglek*; Az. *läjläk*.

◊ VEWT 316 (hardly from Arab.)

‖ A Western isogloss; no doubt, onomatopoeic in origin, but interlanguage loans seem to be excluded in this case.

ĺélV** to run, ride, hurry: Tung. ***lelu-; Mong. ****ǯilu-***; Turk. ****jēl-***.

PTung. ***lelu-*** 1 to jump 2 to ride, trot (1 прыгать 2 скакать): Evk. *lulunče-, lelūn-, nelūn-, nelihu-* 1; Evn. *melu-met-, meluŋči-* 1 (with a peculiar dissimilation); Man. *ńolxu-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 509, 620, 643.

PMong. ****ǯilu-*** to flee, run away (убегать): WMong. *ǯilu-* (L 1055); Kh. *ʒulba-, ʒulda-*; Kalm. *zul-* (KPC).

PTurk. ****jēl-*** to ride, trot (бежать (рысью), нестись): OTurk. *jel-* (Orkh.); Karakh. *jel-* (MK, KB); Tur. *jel-*; Az. *jel-li* 'quickly'; Turkm. *jel-me* 'trot'; MTurk. *jel-* (Pav. C., MA, Ettuhf.), *jil-* (AH); Uzb. *jel-*; Tat. *ǯil-*; Bashk. *jel-*; Kirgh. *ǯel-*; Kaz. *žel-*; KKalp. *žel-*; Nogh. *jeli-*; Shr. *čel-*; Oyr. *jäl-, ďel-*; Tv. *čel-*; Yak. *siel-*.

◊ EDT 918, VEWT 195, ЭСТЯ 4, 176-177.

‖ A Western isogloss.

ĺèmo** to be lazy, negligent: Tung. ****lemūk-; Mong. ****dömü-***; Jpn. ****nàmàka-***.

PTung. ****lemūk-*** weak-charactered (слабохарактерный, постоянно недовольный): Evk. *lemūk*.

◊ TMC 1, 516. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ****dömü-*** 1 to be barely sufficient, live poorly 2 to be careless, floppy (1 недоставать, едва сводить концы с концами 2 делать не-

брежно, кое-как): WMong. *dömü-* (L 267) 1; Kh. *dömö-* 1, *dömnö-* 2; Bur. *düme-* 1; Kalm. *demir-* 'to become worse than smth.'.

◊ KW 87.

PJpn. ***nàmàka-*** to be lazy (лениться): MJpn. *namaka-*; Tok. *namaké-*; Kyo. *námáké-*; Kag. *namaké-*.

◊ JLTT 731. Tone correspondence is not quite regular (low tone would be expected in Kagoshima).

‖ The TM and Jpn. forms point to a common derivative **ĺèmo-kV* (-kʿV).

✱**ĺeŋgV** a k. of predator: Tung. ***leŋgur***; Mong. ***ǯiŋger***.

PTung. ***leŋgur*** 1 wolf 2 cat (1 волк 2 кошка): Evk. *ńeɣūr* 1; Man. *ninuri* 2; Ul. *jeŋgul* 1; Nan. *jeŋgur* 1; Orch. *ńiŋgu* 1, *liŋgapu* 'wolverine'; Ud. *ńeŋu* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 498, 639, 650, 598.

PMong. ***ǯiŋger*** bitch (сука): WMong. *ǯiŋger* (БАМРС); Kh. *ǯiŋger*

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. also **lúŋa*.

✱**ĺepʿa (~ -o, -u)** feather, down, wool: Tung. ***lepu-***; Mong. ***daɣaki***; Turk. ***jAp***.

PTung. ***lepu-*** 1 feather 2 down 3 bear 4 peltry (1 перо 2 пух 3 медведь 4 пушнина): Evk. *lepurē* 1; Evn. *nebuli* 'fluffy'; Neg. *lupulte* 2; Man. *lefu* 3; SMan. *lefə* 3 (2203); Jurch. *lefu* (145) 3; Ul. *nepulte* 4; Ork. *nepulte* 4; Nan. *ńepulte* 4; Orch. *nepukte* 4; Ud. *lofosʿo* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 518, 625. Cf. also TM **ńepu-* 'warm' (TMC 1, 355) (< 'soft'?).

PMong. ***daɣaki*** exuviation (of animals), tangled hair (сброшенная кожа (животных), спутанные волосы): MMong. *daqi* (MA 139); WMong. *daɣaki* (L 217), *daki*; Kh. *dāx́*; Bur. *dāxi*; Kalm. *dākṛ-*, *dāk̄ṛ-* 'to become tangled (of wool)'; Ord. *dāχi*; Mongr. *dākir* 'touffe de poils enchevêtrés' (SM 41).

◊ KW 81, 83.

PTurk. ***jAp-*** a mass of hair or wool (масса, клубок волос или шерсти): Karakh. *jap, japɣut, japaqu* (MK); Tur. *japaı*; Gag. *japā*; Az. *japaq, japaɣı* (dial.); Turkm. *japaGı*; MTurk. *japaq* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ǰabiqa*; Krm. *japaɣa*; Tat. *jabaya*; Bashk. *jabaɣı*; Kirgh. *ǰabaya*; Kaz. *žabaɣı*; KBalk. *ǰabaɣı, zabaɣı*; KKalp. *žabaɣı*; Kum. *jabaɣı*; Nogh. *jabaɣı*.

◊ EDT 870, 874-875, ЭСТЯ 4, 125-126. Turk. > Hung. *gyapjú* (< **ǰapɣu*), see Gombocz 1912.

‖ Владимирцов 208. A Western isogloss. Possibly derived is the Turk.-Mong. name for "foal" (< "down, hair fading"): Turk. **japak* (ЭСТЯ 4, 159-160), Mong. *daɣagan* (> Evk. *daɣakan* etc., see Doerfer MT 99), see KW 81, Poppe 47.

✱**Ĺip'ú** dark red, violet: Tung. ***lipe-**; Mong. ***ǯibi**; Turk. ***(j)ip-**; Jpn. ***numpa-**.

PTung. ***lipe-** dark red (темно-красный): Evk. *lipereme*.

◊ TMC 1, 500. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ǯibi** rust (ржавчина): WMong. *ǯibi, ǯebi, ǯibe* (L 1048); Kh. *ǯev, ǯiv*; Bur. *ǯeve*; Kalm. *zewə* (KPC); Ord. *ǯiwe, ǯiwi*; Dag. *ǯiɓ* (Тод. Даг. 143), *ǯibi* (MD 178); Mongr. *ǯwē* (SM 95), *ǯē*.

◊ MGCD 439.

PTurk. ***(j)ip-** violet-coloured, purple (фиолетовый, бордовый): OTurk. *jipin, jipgin*; Karakh. *jipkil* (MK); Krm. *ipkin*; Tv. *ökpeŋ*; Chuv. *jəʷpkəʷn* 'deep-coloured'.

◊ EDT 877, 874, Федотов 1, 197.

PJpn. ***numpa-** fruit of the *hiōgi* plant (Belamcanda chinensis; dark red, violet / black in colour) (плод дерева Belamcanda chinensis; темно-красного, фиолетового / черного цвета): OJpn. *nuba-tama*; Tok. *ubatama*.

◊ JLTT 501.

‖ An interesting common Altaic colour term.

✱**Ĺi̯ŏ̯ki** to run away: Tung. ***luktu-**; Mong. ***ǯigutu-**; Jpn. ***nìnká-**.

PTung. ***luktin-** to run some distance (пробежать (некоторое расстояние)): Evk. *luktin-*.

◊ TMC 1, 508.

PMong. ***ǯigutu-** to run away (убегать): WMong. *ǯiɣutu-* (L 1077: *ǯuɣtaɣa-, ǯiɣutaɣa-*); Kh. *ʒugta-*; Bur. *zugada-*.

PJpn. ***nìnká-** to run away, escape (убегать): OJpn. *niga-*; MJpn. *nìgá-*; Tok. *nigé-*; Kyo. *nigé-*; Kag. *nìge-*.

◊ JLTT 735.

‖ Ozawa 269. The voicing in Jpn. contradicts unaspirated *-k- in PA: it may be secondary, under the influence of the synonymous **nuànkà-ra-* (see **nŭk'e*).

✱**Ĺi̯ŏ̯mo(ŋa)** name; spell, divination: Tung. ***nim-ŋā-**; Mong. ***dom, *domag**; Turk. ***jom, *jom(ŋ)ak**; Jpn. ***ná(N)**; Kor. ***ni'jaki**.

PTung. ***nim-ŋā-** 1 to shamanize 2 fairy-tale (1 шаманить 2 сказка): Evk. *nimŋān-* 1, *nimŋākān* 2; Evn. *ńimqan* 2; Neg. *ńamka-* 1; Ul. *ńiŋman-* 1, *ńiŋma(n)* 2; Ork. *niŋman-* 1, *niŋma* 2; Nan. *niŋmã̄* 2; Orch. *ńima* 2; Ud. *nima'ŋku* 2 (Корм. 266).

◊ TMC 1, 594.

PMong. ***dom, *domag** 1 magic 2 legend (1 колдовство 2 легенда, сказка): MMong. *domoxči* 'blabber, chatterer' (SH); WMong. *dom* 1 (L 260), *domaɣ* 2 (L 261: *domuɣ*); Kh. *dom, domog*; Bur. *dom*; Kalm. *dom*; Ord. *dom* 1; Dag. *dom* 1, *domege* 1 (MD 137); S.-Yugh. *dom* 1, *domog* 2.

◊ KW 95, MGCD 224, 225.

PTurk. ***jom, *jom(ŋ)ak** 1 tale, legend 2 luck, omen 3 word 4 riddle (1 рассказ, притча 2 счастье, доброе предзнаменование 3 слово 4 загадка): Tur. *jom* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *jomaq* 'joke'; MTurk. *jumaq* 1 (Ettuhf.), *jom* 2 (AH); Uzb. *ǰumbɔq* 4; Krm. *jomaq* 1; Tat. *ǰomaq* 4; Bashk. *jomaq* 4; Kirgh. *ǰomoq* 1; Kaz. *žumbaq* 4; KBalk. *ǰomaq, zomaq* 4; KKalp. *žŭmbaq* 4; Kum. *jomaq* 1; Nogh. *jumaq* 4; SUygh. *lomaq* 1; Khak. *nimax* 1, *čōx* 3; Shr. *nibaq* 1; Yak. *nomoq* 1 (possibly < Mong.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 220-221, VEWT 206,119 (one root in two different places). Despite late attestation the root is no doubt archaic (it must have originally pertained to a shamanistic ritual).

PJpn. ***ná(N)** name (имя): OJpn. *na*; MJpn. *nà*; Tok. *nà(mae)*; Kyo. *nâ̊*; Kag. *ná, namáe*.

◊ JLTT 490. RJ has *nà*, but all modern dialects point unanimously to **ná(N)*. Final -N is indicated by Hateruma *nàN*.

PKor. ***ni'jaki** tale, story (рассказ): MKor. *ni'jaki*; Mod. *ijagi*.

◊ Nam 123, KED 1333.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 69, 110, 276, EAS 51. The verbal correlate for **naN* 'name' in PJ is **nəm-* 'to pray'. The noun goes back to the suffixed form **Íi̯ŏm(o)-ŋa* (note the recurring *-ŋ-suffix in the reflexes: MKor. *ni'jàkì* also goes back to **nìŋa-ki* < **nimŋa-ki* with early cluster simplification). Despite Щербак 1997, 124-125, Mong. cannot be < Turk.

***Íi̯uga(rV)** to knead: Tung. ***lug-**; Mong. ***ǰiɣura-**; Turk. ***jugur- (~ -i-)**; Jpn. ***niàr- (~ *nàir-)**; Kor. ***nàhír-**.

PTung. ***lug-** 1 to whip up, mix 2 gruel-like, watery (1 взбивать 2 жидкий, кашеобразный): Evk. *lugdu-* 1; Nan. *lujr-lujr* bī 2.

◊ TMC 1, 506, 507.

PMong. ***ǰiɣu-ra-** to cling to, clutch, squeeze, knead (хватать, сжимать, месить): MMong. *ǰura-* (MA 234); WMong. *ǰiɣura-* (L 1051); Kh. *ǰūra-*; Bur. *zūra-*; Kalm. *zūr-*; Ord. *ǰūra-*; Dag. *ǰuāra-*; Dong. *ǰuwa-*; Bao. *ǰira-*; S.-Yugh. *ǰŭ̄ra-*; Mongr. *ǰurā-* 'pétrir, mélanger avec de l'eau et broyer' (SM 96), *ǰurā-*.

◊ KW 482, MGCD 459.

PTurk. ***jugur- (~ -i-)** to knead (месить): OTurk. *joɣur-* (*juɣur-*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *juɣur-* (MK); Tur. *jour-*; Gag. *jur-*; Az. *joɣur-*; Turkm. *juɣīr-*, *juɣur-*; Sal. *juɣur-*; Khal. *joɣūr-*; MTurk. *juɣur-* (MA, Houts.), *joɣur-* (AH); Uygh. *juɣu(r)-*, *žuɣu(r)-*; Kirgh. *ǰūr-*; SUygh. *juɣur-*, *joɣur-*; Khak. *čura-*; Shr. *čūr-*; Oyr. *jura-*, *ǰura-*; Chuv. *śəʷr-*.

◊ VEWT 205, ЭСТЯ 4, 243-244, TMN 4, 173, EDT 906. Turk. > Hung. *gyúr-* (Gombocz 1912, MNyTeSz 1, 1138).

PJpn. ***niàr- (~ *náir-)** to tan, knead (дубить, мять): OJpn. *ner-*; MJpn. *nèr-*; Tok. *nér-*; Kyo. *nèr-*; Kag. *nèr-*.

◊ JLTT 734.

PKor. ***nə̀hír-*** to gnaw, crunch (грызть, глодать): MKor. *nə̀hír-*; Mod. *nāl-*.

◊ Nam 104, KED 332.

‖ KW 482. Despite Щербак 1997, 196, Mong. is not < Turkic.

✱**Íi̯ul[o]** to ransom, ask: Tung. ***l[i]l- (~ -ü-)***; Mong. ***doli-***; Turk. ***jul-***; Jpn. ***nai (~ *nia)***.

PTung. ***l[i]l-*** to ask (просить): Evk. *lelol-* (Тит.).

◊ TMC 1, 516.

PMong. ***doli-*** to barter, ransom, exchange (торговать, выкупать, обмениваться): WMong. *doli-* (L 259); Kh. *doli-*; Bur. *doli-*; Kalm. *doĺ-*.

◊ KW 94. Mong. > Oyr. *toli-n* etc.

PTurk. ***jul-*** 1 to ransom 2 ransom (1 выкупать 2 выкуп): OTurk. *juluɣ* 2; Karakh. *jul-* 1, *juluɣ* 2; KBalk. *ǰuluv* 2; Yak. *sulū* 2.

◊ VEWT 210. Turk. > Mong. *ǰoli-* 'to ransom' (KW 476; Щербак 1997, 164: MMong. *ǰolia*, WMong. *ǰoliɣ* < Turk. *juluɣ*), whence Man. *ǰoliɣan* etc. (see TMC 1, 263).

PJpn. ***nai (~ *nia)*** price (цена): Tok. *nè*; Kyo. *nê*; Kag. *né*.

◊ JLTT 495. Original tone is not quite clear (a rare case of monosyllabic circumflex in Kyoto).

‖ KW 94, Poppe 75, *Лексика* 346 (Turk. **jul-* : Mong. **doli-*). Despite TMN 4, 315: "das scheint lautlich nicht aufzugehen"), the Turk.-Mong. match is quite satisfactory. The TM and Jpn. parallels are, however, somewhat problematic, because of scarce attestation in TM and phonetic contraction in Japanese (the form may go back to **Íi̯ul(o)-gV*, cf. Turk. **julig*).

✱**Íi̯ŭpʻù** to sew, pierce: Tung. ***lup-***; Mong. ****ǰeɣeg (< *ǰiɣeg)***; Turk. ****jip / *jip***; Jpn. ****nùp-***; Kor. ****nupi-***.

PTung. ***lup-*** 1 to prick 2 to pierce, pass through (1 колоть 2 протыкать, проникать, проходить через): Evk. *lupa-* 1, *lupū-* 2; Evn. *nubas* an- 1; Neg. *lepu-* 2; Ul. *loqpa-* 1; Ork. *luqqa-* 1; Nan. *lopqa-*, *loqpa-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 511, 512.

PMong. ****ǰeɣeg (< *ǰiɣeg)*** thin thread; skirting, border thread (тонкая нить, окаймление): WMong. *ǰeɣeg* (L 1043); Kh. *zēg*; Kalm. *zēg*.

◊ KW 474. Mong. > Kaz. *žijek* etc. (see VEWT 195, ЭСТЯ 4, 27).

PTurk. ****jip / *jip*** thread (нитка): OTurk. *jip* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jip* (MK); Tur. *ip*; Gag. *jip*; Az. ip; Turkm. *jüp*; Sal. *jip*; Khal. *jip*; MTurk. *jip* (AH, Ettuhf.), *ip* (Pav. C., AH); Uygh. *jip*; Krm. *jip*; Tat. *ǰep*; Bashk. *jep*; Kirgh. *ǰip*; Kaz. *žip*; KBalk. *ǰib*, *zip*; KKalp. *žip*; Kum. *jip*; SUygh. *jip*, *jep*; Khak. *čəp*; Shr. *čip*; Oyr. *jip*, *ǰip*; Chuv. *śip*; Yak. *sip* 'hook on a fishing rod', *sippe* 'thread'.

◊ EDT 870, VEWT 204, ЭСТЯ 4, 268-269. Cf. also the derivative **jipek* id. (ЭСТЯ 4, 269-270).

PJpn. ***nùp-*** to sew (шить): OJpn. *nup-*; MJpn. *nù-*; Tok. *nú-*; Kyo. *nù-*; Kag. *nù-*.

◊ JLTT 739.

PKor. ***nupi-*** to quilt (стегать): MKor. *nupi-*; Mod. *nubi-*.

◊ Liu 162, KED 358.

‖ Martin 241 (Kor.-Jpn.), KW 474 (Turk.-Mong.).

✱**ĺoŋgV** to accuse, blame: Tung. ***loŋ-si-***; Mong. ***doŋgud-***; Turk. ***joŋ***.

PTung. ***loŋ-si-*** to chatter, nag (болтать, ворчать, быть сварливым): Man. *loŋsi-*, *loqsi-*; Nan. *loŋsi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 504.

PMong. ***doŋgud-*** to blame, rebuke (винить, ругать): MMong. *duŋqodun* (HY 1) 'thunder', *dunγoṭ-* 'to disturb, obstruct' (IM); WMong. *doŋɣud-* (L 261); Kh. *doŋgodo-*, *dongoso-*; Bur. *doŋgodo-*; Kalm. *dongəd-*; Ord. *dongod-*; Mongr. *doŋGordi-* (SM 61) 1.

◊ KW 95.

PTurk. ***joŋ*** 1 accusation 2 to accuse (1 обвинение 2 обвинять): OTurk. *joŋa-* (OUygh.) 2, *joŋšur-* (Orkh.) 'to embroil'; Karakh. *joŋa-* (MK) 2; Turkm. *joŋ* 'indisposition'; Khak. *čoŋ*; Oyr. *joŋ* 1; Yak. *soŋ* 'enforcement'.

◊ EDT 944, VEWT 206, ЭСТЯ 4, 223.

‖ KW 95. A Western isogloss.

✱**ĺóre (?)** a k. of deer: Tung. ***lor- (?)***; Mong. ***ǯüre***; Jpn. ****nərə ~ *nuarua***; Kor. ****nòrə̀***.

PTung. ***lor-*** 1 female musk deer 2 deer (3 y. old) (1 кабарга-самка 2 трехлетний олень): Evk. *ńarōs*, *ńorōs*, *ńerēs* 1; Man. *lor-bodo* 2 (?).

◊ TMC 1, 505, 635-636.

PMong. ***ǯüre*** female roe, wild goat (самка косули, дикая коза): WMong. *ǯüre* (L 1085: *ǯür*); Kh. *ǯür*; Bur. *zür*; Kalm. *zürə* (KPC).

◊ TMN 1, 300.

PJpn. ****nərə ~ *nuarua*** Manchu roe, Capreolus bedfordi Thomas. (маньчжурская косуля): Tok. *noro*, *noro-jika*.

PKor. ****nòrə̀*** a deer, a river-deer (олень, речной олень): MKor. *nòrə̀*; Mod. *noru*.

◊ Nam 111, KED 341.

‖ The root presents several problems: a) Mong. has *ǯ-* instead of an expected d-; b) the TM forms are few and rather controversial (it is not really clear whether the Manchu form is related to Evk.); c) the Jpn. form is attested late. There may also have been some confusion with the reflexes of **negre* '(female) deer' q.v.

✱**ĺù́ńi (~ -e)** snow: Tung. ****lūńe***; Kor. ****nūn***.

PTung. ****lūńe*** wet snow (мокрый снег): Evk. *lūńe*; Neg. *luńe*.

◊ TMC 1,510.

PKor. ***nūn*** snow (снег): MKor. *nūn*; Mod. *nun*.

◊ Nam 115, KED 360.

‖ EAS 77, SKE 173, ОСНЯ 3, 34-35, Menges 1984, 281, АПиПЯЯ 19. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. Depalatalization in Kor. is probably assimilative (**nūń* > **nūn*).

M

✱**ma** a negative particle: Tung. ***-me**; Turk. ***-ma-**; Jpn. ***-ma-**; Kor. ***mō-t**.

PTung. ***-me** a prohibitive particle (запретительная частица): Man. *ume*; SMan. *emə* 'don't' (3005); Jurch. *ume* (472); Nan. *em*; Orch. *em*.

◊ TMC 2, 272. Initial u- is probably an original verbal root (possibly PTM **ō-* 'to make; become').

PTurk. ***-ma-** not (не): OTurk. *-ma-*; Karakh. *-ma-*; Tur. *-ma-*; Gag. *-ma-*; Az. *-ma-*; Turkm. *-ma-*; Sal. *-mi-*; Khal. *-ma-*; MTurk. *-ma-*; Uzb. *-ma-*; Uygh. *-ma-*; Krm. *-ma-*; Tat. *-ma-*; Bashk. *-ma-*; Kirgh. *-ma-*; Kaz. *-ma-*; KBalk. *-ma-*; KKalp. *-ma-*; Kum. *-ma-*; Nogh. *-ma-*; SUygh. *-ma-*; Khak. *-ma-*; Shr. *-ma-*; Oyr. *-ma-*; Tv. *-ma-*; Tof. *-ma-*; Chuv. *-ma-*; Yak. *-ma-*.

PJpn. ***-ma-** dubitative suffix (суффикс дубитатива): OJpn. *-ma-*; MJpn. *-ma-*; Tok. *-ma-i*.

PKor. ***mō-t** impossible (adv.); bad, wicked (невозможно (нар.); плохой): MKor. *mōt* 1, *mōtír-* 2; Mod. *mōt* [*mōs*], *mōšil-*.

◊ Nam 215, 217, KED 635, 647.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 57. A monosyllabic root, but, unlike the 1st p. pron. or the accusative particle, it did not undergo denasalization in PA. This may be explained by the fact that it was in most cases already incorporated into the verbal form as a suffix. It is interesting to note Mong. **büi*, **bu* 'neg. particle' - which may be originally the same morpheme, but functioning as a separate word and thus subject to the rule *mV > *bV.

✱**m[a]bči** worm, insect: Tung. ***ma[b]ši-**; Mong. ***meče**; Jpn. ***músí**.

PTung. ***ma[b]ši-** 1 bread worm 2 scorpion 3 leech (1 хлебный червь 2 скорпион 3 пиявка): Man. *mobsexe* 1; Nan. *mačį* 3; Ud. *masiŋku* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 532, 533, 541.

PMong. ***meče** tapeworm (ленточный червь): WMong. *meče*, *mečegei* (MXTTT); Kh. *mec*, *mecgij*; Kalm. *meckā̆* (KPC).

PJpn. ***músí** worm, insect (червь, насекомое): OJpn. *musi*; MJpn. *músí*; Tok. *mùshi*; Kyo. *múshí*; Kag. *múshi*.

◊ JLTT 489.

‖ In Turkic cf. **bŏnček* 'insect' (Az. *miček*, Turkm. *mŏžek* etc.) - if not, as usually thought, a contraction < **bŏgen-ček* (see under **bŏgi*).

***máč'à** to fast, hunger: Tung. ***maču-**; Mong. ***mačag**; Turk. ***bAča-**; Jpn. ***mátúr-**.

PTung. ***maču-** 1 to lose weight, grow thin 2 fast (1 терять вес, худеть 2 пост): Man. *maču-* 1, *mačixi* 2; SMan. *mačə-* (699, 700).

◊ TMC 1, 533. Attested only in Manchu, but having rather probable external parallels.

PMong. ***mačag** fast (пост): WMong. *mačaɣ* (L 519); Kh. *macag*; Bur. *masag*; Kalm. *macəg* (KPC); Ord. *mačaG*.

PTurk. ***bAča-** 1 to fast 2 fast (1 поститься 2 пост): OTurk. *bača-* 1, *bačaq* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *bačaq* 2 (MK).

◊ EDT 293. Turk. *bača-k* 'fast' > WMong. *bačag*.

PJpn. ***mátúr-** to worship (*relig.*) (поклоняться, обожествлять): OJpn. *matur-*; MJpn. *mátúr-*; Tok. *màtsur-*; Kyo. *mátsúr-*; Kag. *matsúr-*.

◊ JLTT 722.

‖ Mong. *mačag* cannot be < Turk., despite EDT 293, Clark 1980, 43; it is also difficult to suppose Man. *mačixi* (especially the verb *maču-*) < Mong. *mačag*. The root thus seems to be reconstructable for PA, with the meaning approx. "to fast, hunger with religious purposes".

***máč'V̀** target: Jpn. ***mátua**; Kor. ***màč-**.

PJpn. ***mátua** target (цель, мишень): OJpn. *matwo*; MJpn. *máto*; Tok. *màto*; Kyo. *mátó*; Kag. *mátò*.

◊ JLTT 473.

PKor. ***màč-** to meet, correspond, hit the target (встречать, соответствовать, попадать в цель): MKor. *màč-*; Mod. *mat-* [*mač-*].

◊ Nam 206, KED 592-593.

‖ Martin 229; it is not quite clear whether PJ **mat-* 'wait' belongs here as well (or rather to **mude* 'finally' q.v.). A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss; cf. perhaps Mong. **möči* 'edge' (if not = **möči* 'limb').

***maja** to miss, fail, bad luck: Tung. ***maja-**; Mong. ***mayu**; Turk. ***bAńi-**.

PTung. ***maja-** to fail, be unsuccessful, be spoiled (не иметь удачи, не удаваться): Evk. *maja-*; Evn. *maj-*; Neg. *maja-*; Man. *maja-* 'disappear'; Ork. *maja-*; Nan. *maj-* (Он.), *mańa-*; Orch. *maj-maki-* 'to lack, be absent'; Ud. *maja-*, *majasi-* (Корм. 258).

◊ TMC 1, 521.

PMong. ***mayu** bad (плохой): MMong. *mau'un* (HY 55), *ma'u(n)* (SH), *māwu* (IM), *mu, māwu* (MA); WMong. *mayu* (L 520); Kh. *mū*; Bur. *mū*; Kalm. *mū*; Ord. *mū*; Dag. mō (Тод. Даг. 154); Dong. *mau* (MGCD *mou*); Bao. *mu* (MGCD *moŋ*); S.-Yugh. *mū*; Mongr. *mṵ* (SM 243), (MGCD *mau*).

◊ KW 269, MGCD 493, TMN 1, 495-496.

PTurk. ***bAńi-** to fade away, disappear, weaken (исчезать, слабеть): Karakh. *majiš-* (MK); Tur. *baji-l-*; Gag. *bajıl-*; Az. *bajıl-*; Krm. *bajıl-*; Kirgh. *baji-*; Khak. *majıl-*; Tv. *bajla-*.

◊ ОСНЯ 2, 50, EDT 773, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss. ОСНЯ 3, 50-51; Дыбо 13. PT **bAńi-* regularly < **mAji-* (with nasalization not lost completely, but shifted to the *-j-).

***maji** protecting spirit: Tung. ***maji-n**; Turk. ***baj (~ -ń)**; Jpn. ***mi**.

PTung. ***maji-n** protecting spirit (дух-покровитель): Evk. *majin*; Evn. *majıs*; Neg. *majın*; Nan. *majin*.

◊ TMC 1, 521.

PTurk. ***baj (~-ń)** 1 holy 2 God 3 true, reliable, honest (1 святой 2 бог): Karakh. *bajat* 2 (MK - Argu, KB), *bajıq* (MK Oghuz, IM) 3; Tur. *bajat* 2, *bajıq* (dial.) 3; MTurk. *bajat* 2 (Abush., Sangl.); Kirgh. *baj terek* 'protection, advocacy'; Oyr. *baj-lu* 1, *maj-* 'first part in a number of theonyms', *baj terek* 'world tree'; Yak. *bajanaj* 'name of a God'.

◊ EDT 385. See VEWT 56-57 (for derivatives), TMN 2, 379. The root should be probably distinguished from **bāj* 'rich' (v. sub **bēžu*). An unattested Tuva source > Russ. dial. (Tuva) *bajbá* 'spirit of hunting luck', see Аникин 109. Yak. > Russ. (Yak.) *bajanaj*, see Аникин 125-126.

PJpn. ***mi** protecting spirit (дух-покровитель): OJpn. *mji*.

◊ JLTT 476.

‖ ОСНЯ 3, 51. An interesting common Altaic religious term (although within Turkic it is rather hard to distinguish from **bāj* 'rich' < **bēžu* q.v.).

***màjŋì** temple, forehead, ear: Mong. ***maŋlai**; Turk. ***bejŋi**; Jpn. ***mìmì**.

PMong. ***maŋlai** forehead (лоб): MMong. *maŋlai* (HY 45, SH), man; WMong. *maŋlai, maŋnai* (L 527); Kh. *maŋlai, magnaj*; Bur. *manlaj, magnaj*; Kalm. *maŋnā̆*; Ord. *mā̆ŋlā̆, maŋnā̆*; Dag. *mangil* (Тод. Дат. 153); Dong. *manlәu*; S.-Yugh. *maŋlī*; Mongr. *maŋlī* (SM 232), *manlәi*.

◊ KW 257, MGCD 475. Mong. > Chag. *maŋlai* etc. (VEWT 327, TMN 1, 502, Щербак 1997, 206; Yak., Dolg. *maŋnaj*, see Kał. MEJ 15, Stachowski 176).

PTurk. ***bejŋi** brain (мозг; вместилище разума): OTurk. *meji, meŋi* (OUygh.); Karakh. *meŋi* (MK, KB); Tur. *bejin*; Az. *bejin*; Turkm. *bejni, mejni*; Khal. *mein*; MTurk. *miji* (MA), *mejn* (Sangl.); Uzb. *mija*; Uygh. *miŋä*; Krm. *miji*; Tat. *mi*; Bashk. *meje*; Kirgh. *mē*; Kaz. *mij*; KBalk. *mije*; KKalp. *mij*; Kum. *miji*; Nogh. *mij*; Khak. *mī*; Shr. *mī-s*; Oyr. *mē*; Tv. *mē*; Tof. *mā̆*; Chuv. *mimə*; Yak. *mejī*; Dolg. *meńī* 'head'.

◊ VEWT 70, EDT 348-349, ЭСТЯ 2, 106-107, TMN 4, 35, Лексика 195, Stachowski 178. Turk. > MMong. *mije, miji* (Щербак 1997, 105).

PJpn. ***mìmì** ear (ухо): OJpn. *mjimji*; MJpn. *mìmì*; Tok. *mimí*; Kyo. *mímì*; Kag. *mimí* (= *míḾ*).

◊ JLTT 478. Cf. Yon. *mimbùrù* 'head'.

‖ Лексика 195-196.

✱**májŋV** go-between: Tung. ***maŋa***; Jpn. ***mániák-***; Kor. ***mjànírí***.

PTung. ***maŋa*** go-between, matchmaker (посредник, сват): Evk. *maŋa*; Evn. *maŋnaž*; Neg. *maŋga-n*; Ul. *maŋGa*; Ork. *maŋGa*; Orch. *maŋa*; Ud. *maŋa*.

◊ TMC 1, 530.

PJpn. ***mániak-*** to call, invite (приглашать): OJpn. *manek-*; MJpn. *mánèk-*, *mànèk-*; Tok. *manék-*; Kyo. *mánék-*; Kag. *manék-*.

◊ JLTT 720. The accent reveals some variations, but generally points to high tone on the first syllable.

PKor. ***mjànírí*** daughter-in-law (невестка, сноха): MKor. *mjànírí*, *mjənări*; Mod. *mjəniri*.

◊ Nam 213, KED 619.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**majV** fat: Tung. ***majā***; Mong. ***majaɣa***; Turk. ***bań***.

PTung. ***majā*** 1 food rests 2 food store (1 остатки пищи 2 запас продовольствия, припасы): Evk. *majā* 1; Evn. *māja* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 521.

PMong. ***majaɣa*** butter churn (маслобойка): WMong. *majaɣa* (MXTTT); Kh. *majā*.

PTurk. ***bań*** fat (жир): Turkm. *maj*; MTurk. *maj* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *mɔj*; Uygh. *maj*; Krm. *maj*; Tat. *maj*; Bashk. *maj*; Kirgh. *maj*; Kaz. *maj*; KKalp. *maj*; Kum. *maj*; Nogh. *maj*; Khak. *sar-maj* 'butter' (Sag.); Oyr. *maj*; Yak. *as-maǰax* (Пек.).

◊ VEWT 322, *Лексика* 453-454.

‖ A Western isogloss. Turkic has a normal transfer of nasalization to *-j-.

✱**makʹé** to be deceived, perplexed: Tung. ***maka-***; Mong. ***mek(e)-***; Jpn. ***mənka-r-***; Kor. ***màk-***.

PTung. ***maka-*** 1 to become dizzy, muzzy 2 to be afraid 3 to hate (1 одуревать, ошалевать 2 бояться 3 противно): Man. *maqa-* 1; Ork. *maqqa* 3; Nan. *māqā-* 'to gaze at' (Он.); Ud. *maka* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 522, 565.

PMong. ***mek(e)-*** 1 deceit, trickery 2 to be disturbed, perplexed 3 embarrassed (1 обман, надувательство 2 быть растерянным, озадаченным 3 смущенный): MMong. *mekri*, *mekr* 1 (MA 235, 327); WMong. *meke* 1, *megde-* 2, *mekei* 3 (L 533); Kh. *mex* 1, *megd-* 2, *mexij* 3; Bur. *mexe* 1, *megde-* 2; Kalm. *mekə* 1; Ord. *meχe*.

◊ KW 260. Mong. > Evk. *meke*, see Doerfer MT 127; > Yak., Dolg. *meke* (Kał. VII 44, Stachowski 178).

PJpn. ***mənka-r-*** to deceive, lure (обманывать, соблазнять): MJpn. *moga-r-*.

PKor. ***mə̀k-*** to be deaf (глохнуть, быть глухим): MKor. *mə̀k-*; Mod. *mək-*.

◊ Liu 313, KED 610.

‖ Cf. **mékʻa*.

✱**ma[kʻ]o** to wind, twist, bend: Tung. ***makti-***; Mong. ***makiji-***; Kor. ***mə̀i-***.

PTung. ***makti-*** 1 to wind (ropes) 2 to wrap up (cloth) 3 to bend, wrap (1 вить (веревки) 2 закручивать (платье), подбирать края внутрь 3 сгибать, загибать): Neg. *makčị-nda-* 1; Man. *mači-* 2; Ul. *maqtị-la-* 1, *moqpụlị-* 3; Ork. *mụqpụri-* 3; Nan. *maχčị-ra-* 1; Orch. *makči-nda-* 1; Ud. *maktigi* 'a device for winding ropes'.

◊ TMC 1, 523, 544.

PMong. ***makiji-*** to bend, curve (гнуть, искривлять): WMong. *makiji-*; Kh. *maxij-*; Kalm. *mäki-*.

◊ KW 258.

PKor. ***mə̀i-*** to bind, tie up (связывать, завязывать): MKor. *mə̀i-*; Mod. *mā-*.

◊ Nam 206, KED 598.

‖ Cf. **múkʻe*. Loss of *-kʻ- in Kor. is unclear.

✱**mála** far, rare: Tung. ***mali-***; Jpn. ***márá***; Kor. ***mə̄r-***.

PTung. ***mali-*** 1 to be devoid of smth., to hunt without result 2 only, exclusively 3 abstemious, sparing (1 лишаться чего-л., ничего не добыть на охоте 2 только, исключительно 3 бережливый, умеренный): Evk. *malī-* 1; Neg. *maliχan* 2; Man. *malχun* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 524. Evk. > Yak. *malij-*, *melij-* (hardly vice versa, despite TMC ibid.).

PJpn. ***márá*** 1 stranger, guest 2 rare (1 чужак, гость 2 редкий): OJpn. *mara-pjito* 1, mare 2; MJpn. *maraudo*, *mareudo* 1, *máré* 2; Tok. *màre* 2; Kyo. *máré* 2; Kag. *máre* 2.

◊ JLTT 472.

PKor. ***mə̄r-*** far (далекий): MKor. *mə̄r-*; Mod. *məl-*.

◊ Nam 211, KED 613.

‖ Whitman 1985, 128, 192, 238. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**male** honey, plant oil: Tung. ***mala***; Mong. ***milaɣa-***; Turk. ***bạl***.

PTung. ***mala*** sesame oil, plant oil (кунжутное масло, растительное масло): Man. *malaŋGu*; Ul. *mala* (*simseni*); Nan. *malengu* (*imekseni*).

◊ TMC 1, 523-524.

PMong. ***milaɣa-*** to anoint, smear with oil (смазывать маслом): MMong. *malija-* 'to offer', *mali'an* 'service' (SH); WMong. *milaɣa-* (L 538); Kh. *mалā-*; Bur. *mila* 'satiety', *milāŋ* 'birthday'; Kalm. *melē-*, *malī-*, *maĺā-* 'to smear with oil (on occasion of birth etc.)'; Ord. *milā-*.

◊ KW 255, 260, 262. A secondarily developed meaning is 'to treat, entertain (on some occasion)'. Mong. > Oyr. *malki-*, Yak. *malā-sin* (VEWT 324).

PTurk. ***bạl*** honey (мед): Karakh. *bal* (MK Suvar, Kypchak, Oghuz); Tur. *bal*; Gag. *bal*; Az. *bal*; Turkm. *bal*; Sal. *pal*; MTurk. *bal* (Sangl.); Uzb. *bɔl*; Uygh. *bal*; Krm. *bal*; Tat. *bal*; Bashk. *bal*; Kirgh. *bal*; Kaz. *bal*; KBalk. *bal*; KKalp. *bal*, *pal*; Kum. *bal*; Nogh. *bal*; Khak. *pal*; Shr. *pal*; Chuv. *pĭl*.

◊ VEWT 59, EDT 330, ЭСТЯ 2, 47. Turk. > Mong. *bal* (Щербак 1997, 103).

‖ A Western isogloss; but cf. perhaps *moro-* in Jpn. *moro-mi* 'undistilled sake, soy sauce', *moro-haku* 'distilled sake'.

✱**màli** stick, cudgel: Tung. ***mala***; Mong. ***milaɣa***; Turk. ***baltu***; Kor. ***már***.

PTung. ***mala*** club, pestle (колотушка, молот, пест): Man. *mala*; Ud. *mulʹeu*; Sol. *malā*.

◊ See TMC 1, 523.

PMong. ***milaɣa*** whip (кнут): MMong. *mina'a* (HY 18, SH), *mina* (MA); WMong. *milaɣa* (L 538), *minaɣa*, *malija*; Kh. *malia*, *malā*; Bur. *minā*; Kalm. *malʹā*; Ord. *milā* 'a strip for fixing a whip on its handle'; Dag. *minā*, *nimā* (Тод. Даг. 154), *minā* (MD 191); Dong. *mina*; Bao. *mela*; S.-Yugh. *munā*.

◊ KW 254, MGCD 627. Khalkha *malga* is borrowed from WMong.

PTurk. ***baltu*** axe (топор): OTurk. *baltu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *baldu* (MK, KB); Tur. *balta*; Az. *balta*; Turkm. *palta*; MTurk. *baltu* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bɔlta*; Krm. *balta*; Tat. *balta*; Bashk. *balta*; Kirgh. *balta*; Kaz. *balta*; KBalk. *balta*; KKalp. *balta*; Kum. *balta*; Nogh. *balta*; Khak. *palti*; *malta* (Sag.); Shr. *malta*; Oyr. *malta*; Tv. *ba'ldɨ* (Бичелдей 112); Yak. *balta*, *baltɨsax* 'arrow with blunt end'.

◊ VEWT 61, EDT 333, Лексика 397, ЭСТЯ 7. Modern forms with -a may in fact be secondary loans from Mong., see TMN 1, 199-200. Yak. *baltɨsax* can be probably identified with Turkm. *balžak*, Tur. *balčak* '(sword)-hilt'.

PKor. ***már*** post, pole (шест, жердь): MKor. *már*; Mod. *mal-t:uk*.

◊ Nam 200, KED 583.

‖ Cf. also modern Kor. *moru* 'anvil', *moru-čhä* 'hammer' (although the vocalism is not quite clear < **maru*?). Turk. **baltu* 'axe' > Mong. *balta* (whence Evk. *balta* etc.), see Doerfer 1, 199, Щербак 1997, 104. Both Iranian and Akkadian origins of Turk. **baltu* (see Poppe 1953, Menges 1953) seem improbable and its Altaic origin quite possible.

✱**màli** disease, wound: Tung. ***māl-***; Mong. ***milan***; Turk. ***bAlɨg***.

PTung. ***māl-*** 1 to die (of epidemic) 2 to destroy 3 bad omen 4 to catch an epidemic disease (1 вымирать (от эпидемии) 2 уничтожать 3 плохая примета 4 заразиться (во время эпидемии)): Neg. *malga* 3; Man. *majla-* 4; Ul. *mal-* 1, 2; Ork. *mal-* 2; Nan. *māl-* 1; Ud. *magi-* 2, *maga-* 1 (Корм. 258).

◊ TMC 1, 520, 524.

PMong. ***milan*** plague (чума): WMong. *milan* (L 539); Kh. *malan*; Bur. *mila(n)*.

PTurk. ***bAlig*** wounded (раненый): OTurk. *baliγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *baliγ* (MK, KB); Khak. *paliγ*; Shr. *paliγ*; Oyr. *balu*; Tv. *baliγ*; Tof. *baliγ*.

◊ VEWT 53, EDT 335, ЭСТЯ 2, 88-89. Turk. > Bur. *bala* 'bruise, injury'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**màlt'e** to bend, twist: Tung. ***maltu-***; Mong. ***möltür- / *multur-***; Jpn. ***mànti-***.

PTung. ***maltu-*** to bend (сгибать, складывать): Evk. *maltu-*; Evn. *maltъ-*; Neg. *maltị-*; Ork. *māltima* 'folding knife'; Sol. *malta-*.

◊ TMC 1, 524-525.

PMong. ***möltüre- / *multura-*** to twist, contort, disentangle (вывихивать, выкручивать): MMong. *mulitul* (HY 40) 'to take off, move out'; WMong. *möltüre- / multura-* (L 546, 551); Kh. *möltr- / multr-*; *multla-* 'to take off, move out'; Bur. *mülterxej* 'slippy, intangible'; Kalm. *möltərə-* (KPC); Dong. *muturə-*; Mongr. *mutirē-* (SM 252), *mutərē-*; *mutili-* (SM 252), *mutələ-*.

◊ MGCD 489, 494.

PJpn. ***mànti-*** to twist, bend (скручивать, сгибать): OJpn. *m(w)odip-*; MJpn. *mòdìr-*; Tok. *mojír-*; Kyo. *mójír-*; Kag. *mòjìr-*.

◊ JLTT 728. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ A derivative **màlt'e-rV* is reflected in PM **möltü-r- / *multu-r-* and PJ **mànti-r-*.

✱**mált'u** to dig, bury: Tung. ***malta-***; Mong. ***malta-***; Turk. ***baĺtar (?)***; Jpn. ***úntú-m- (< *múntú-m-)***; Kor. ***mùt-***.

PTung. ***malta-*** to dig (soil with a hoof) (рыть (снег, землю копытом)): Evk. *malta-*; Man. *matala-*.

◊ TMC 1, 524. Man. *maltaku* 'a tool used for scraping dirt or mud' may be < Mong. (see Rozycki 154).

PMong. ***malta-*** to dig (копать): MMong. *malta-* (SH); WMong. *malta-* (L 524); Kh. *malta-*; Bur. *malta-*; Kalm. *maltə-*; Ord. *malta-*; Dag. *malta-* (Тод. Даг. 153); Dong. *manta-*; Bao. *mantal-*; S.-Yugh. *malta-*; Mongr. *manta-*, *mənta-* (SM 231).

◊ KW 255, MGCD 478.

PTurk. ***baĺtar*** sickle (серп): Karakh. *baštar* (MK).

◊ EDT 378.

PJpn. ***úntú-m- (< *mú-)*** to dig, bury (копать, хоронить): OJpn. *udu-m-*; MJpn. *údú-m-*; Tok. *ùzume-*; Kyo. *ùzùmè-*; Kag. *uzumé-*.

◊ JLTT 782. Accent in Kyoto is irregular.

PKor. ***mùt-*** to dig, bury (копать, хоронить): MKor. *mùt-*; Mod. *mut-*.

◊ Nam 223, KED 674.

‖ Poppe 1966, 196, Doerfer MT 61, Rozycki 155 regard the TM form as borrowed from Mong., which is not excluded (although dubious).

The Karakh. word may belong here if its original meaning was 'digging instrument' (> 'cutting instrument' > 'sickle'), but on the whole it is rather dubious, because of the unique cluster -št- (violating Helimski's rule). The Jpn. form reflects a frequent confusion between **mV-* and *V- in front of the following nasal.

✱**màlù** room: Tung. ***malu**; Jpn. ***mùruà**; Kor. ***maru**.

PTung. ***malu** honourable space within the house (front corner) (почетное место в жилище (передний угол)): Evk. *malu*; Evn. mal; Neg. *malụ*; Ul. *malụ*; Ork. *malụ*; Nan. *malụ*; Ud. *mali, malu*; Sol. *malūγū*.

◊ TMC 1, 525.

PJpn. ***mùruà** room (комната): OJpn. *murwo*; MJpn. *mùrò*; Tok. *muró*; Kyo. *múró*; Kag. *muró*.

◊ JLTT 488. Accent in Kyoto is irregular.

PKor. ***maru** floor (пол): MKor. *maru, maro*; Mod. *maru*.

◊ Liu 298, KED 561.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. See SKE 139 (Kor.-Tung.), Martin 232 (Jpn.-Kor.).

✱**máĺe** wild cat: Tung. ***mala-**; Mong. ***malur**; Turk. ***bińĺ(ik)**; Jpn. ***músásà(m)pì**.

PTung. ***mala-** wild cat; steppe hare (дикая степная кошка; степной заяц): Man. *malaxi*.

◊ TMC 1, 523. Novikova (Новикова 1972, 122) quotes Mong. *maluqai* (from "Пятиязычный словарь", Пекин 1957, III, 4919) as the source of the Manchu word.

PMong. ***malur** wild cat (дикий кот): WMong. *malur* (L 525); Kh. *malar*.

PTurk. ***bińĺ(ik)** cat (кошка): Karakh. *müš* (MK); Tur. *pišik* (dial.), *pisi*; Az. *pišik*; Turkm. *pišik*; Sal. *mišix*; Khal. *pušuq*; MTurk. *pišik, mušuq* (Pav. C., Abush., MA); Uzb. *mušuk*; Uygh. *möšük*; Tat. *pesi*, dial. *mišiq*; Bashk. *bisäj*; Kirgh. *mišiq*; Kaz. *misiq*; KKalp. *pišiq*; Kum. *mišik, bišew*; Nogh. *misiq*; SUygh. *miš, mišik*; Oyr. *mižiq*.

◊ VEWT 337, EDT 772, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf., however, OUygh. *mišqič* < Sogd. *mwškyšč* id. Tur. *pisi*, Tat. *pesi* are expressive calling forms, which may explain their irregularity (medial -s-).

PJpn. ***músásà(m)pì** flying squirrel (белка-летяга): OJpn. *musasabji*; MJpn. *músásàbjì*; Tok. *mùsasabi, musásabi*; Kyo. *mùsásábì*; Kag. *musasábi*.

◊ JLTT 489.

‖ In Jpn. -u- is irregular (*-ə- would be expected); this is probably a distortion in a long word. Turkic, as in a number of other cases, preserves here some traces of nasalization.

✱**mana** many, big: Tung. ***mani**; Mong. ***mandu- / *mantu-**; Turk. ***bạni- ~ *boni-**; Jpn. ***manai-**; Kor. ***mān(h)-**.

PTung. ***mani** crowd, flock, herd (толпа, стая): Evk. *man*; Neg. *man*; Ul. *mandụ*; Ork. *mandị*; Nan. *mandụ*; Orch. *mańi*; Ud. *mani*.

◊ TMC 1, 526.

PMong. ***mandu- / *mantu-** big, large (большой): MMong. *mandu-* 'to increase, develop' (SH, HYt); WMong. *mandu-* (L 526) / *mantu-*; Kh. *mandgar, mantaj*; Bur. *mandagar, mantan, mantagar*.

◊ Cf. also MMong. *mene* 'very' (> Yak. *mēne* 'very', see Kał. VII 44, Stachowski 178).

PTurk. ***bạni- ~ *boni-** big, large (большой): Chuv. *mъʷnъʷ*.

◊ Федотов 1, 349.

PJpn. ***manai-** many (много, многочисленный): OJpn. *mane-*.

PKor. ***mān(h)-** many (много): MKor. *mān-hă-*; Mod. *mān-* [*mānh-*].

◊ Nam 199, KED 578.

‖ Ozawa 27-28 (Jap-Mong.); МССНЯ 348, Martin 249, АПиПЯЯ 26, 276.

✱**mána (~-o)** to learn, try: Tung. ***man-dū-**; Jpn. ***máná(m)p-**.

PTung. ***man-dū-** to try, strive (стараться, стремиться): Evk. *man-dūw-*; Evn. *manru-*; Ork. *mandụ-*.

◊ TMC 1, 528.

PJpn. ***máná(m)p-** to learn (учиться): OJpn. *manab-*; MJpn. *mánáb-*; Tok. *mànabu*; Kyo. *mánábú*; Kag. *manáb-*.

◊ JLTT 720.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Not quite reliable, since the Jpn. word is usually derived < **mána-* 'imitating, similarity' (v. sub **méŋa*); but a confusion of two originally different root was possible in Japanese.

✱**màn̂č'u (~ -ị̂a-)** swaddling-clothes: Mong. ***mančuj**; Jpn. ***mùtù-kí**.

PMong. ***mančuj** swaddling-clothes (пеленки): WMong. *mančui* (L 525); Kh. *mancuj*; Bur. *mansi*; Kalm. *mancū* (KPC); Ord. *manč^{w}ī*.

PJpn. ***mùtù-kí** swaddling-clothes (пеленки): MJpn. *mùtù-kí*; Tok. *mútsuki*; Kyo. *mútsúkí*; Kag. *mutsukí*.

◊ JLTT 489. Accent in Kyoto is not quite regular (*mútsúkì* would be expected).

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. It is interesting to note PT **beĺčük* 'cradle' - perhaps < **benčük*, under the influence of **bele-* 'to swaddle'.

✱**mǎndo** a k. of elk: Tung. ***manda-ksa**; Mong. ***manǯi**; Turk. ***botu**.

PTung. ***manda-ksa** elk (лось): Evk. *mandaksa*; Neg. *mandaksa*.

◊ TMC 1, 527.

PMong. ***manǯi** male elk (самец лося): WMong. *manǯi* (MXTTT); Kh. *manǯ*.

PTurk. ***botu** young of camel (верблюжонок): Karakh. *botu* (MK); Tur. *potak* (dial.); Az. *pota* 'young of buffalo, bear'; MTurk. *bota* 'child;

young of animal' (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bọta*; Uygh. *bota*; Krm. *bota*; Tat. *buta*; Bashk. *buta*; Kirgh. *boto*; Kaz. *bota*; KKalp. *bota*; Nogh. *bota*.

◊ EDT 299, ЭСТЯ 2, 198-200, Лексика 448 (with an error: the Az. form is listed as Turkm.) (> MMong. *botoγan*, KW 53, TMN 2, 328-329, Щербак 1997, 109; Oyr. *botōn* and Tuva *bo'daγan* are probably backloans from Mong.).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**mắn[u]** useless, insufficient: Tung. ***mana-***; Turk. ***būn***; Jpn. ***múná-si-***.

PTung. ***mana-*** to be spent, exhausted, worn out (израсходовать(ся), истощить(ся), износить(ся)): Evk. *mana-*; Evn. *man-*; Neg. *mana-*; Man. *mana-*; SMan. *manə-* (276); Jurch. *man-na-lar* (839); Ul. *mana-*; Ork. *mana-*; Nan. *mana-*; Orch. *mana-*.

◊ TMC 1, 526-527. Cf. also a variant **mene* 'few; in vain' (TMC 1, 569).

PTurk. ***būn*** defect (недостаток, дефект): Karakh. *mun* (KB), *muna-* 'be defective'; *mun, mun-luγ* (IM); Kirgh. *munžu* 'cripple'; Oyr. dial. *miŋ-da-* 'become insufficient'; Yak. *mīn-* 'be insufficient'.

◊ ОСНЯ 3, 55, VEWT 344, ЭСТЯ 7. EDT 347 does not see back vowel forms in old texts and relates all the forms to **bün* 'defect' q. v. sub **mùne*.

PJpn. ***múná-si-*** empty, useless (пустой, напрасный, бесполезный): OJpn. *muna-si-*; MJpn. *múná-si-*; Tok. *mùnashi-*; Kyo. *múnáshì-*; Kag. *munashí-*.

◊ JLTT 835.

‖ Cf. **mùne*, **múnu*. Turkic *-ū- is irregular here (**bān* would be expected).

✱**mắńa** paw, hand: Tung. ***mańa***; Turk. ***bĀń-***.

PTung. ***mańa*** paw (of an animal) (лапа): Evk. *mana, mańa*; Evn. *māna*; Neg. *mańa*; Ul. *mańa, maį̄*; Nan. *māja*; Orch. *māńaka*; Ud. *mana*.

◊ TMC 1, 526. Length in Nan. is not quite clear (perhaps compensatory < **majā* < **mańaka)*.

PTurk. ***bĀń-*** 1 sole (of foot) 2 footwear (1 подошва (ноги) 2 обувь (войлочные чулки, валенки)): Tur. *maja* 'fleshy part of the palm' (Vidin, Németh 1965), SDD); Az. dial. *maja* 'подошва копыта' (Nakhich.); Turkm. dial. *māja* (Tek.) 'aja' (ТДГДС 124), *pajpaq* (144) 2; Uzb. *pajpəq* 2, 'camel's foot', dial. *mъjələk* 'mitten' (Фармонов 19); Tat. *majmaq* 'stable, steadfast' (of an animal's paw, hoof), dial. *pajpaq* (КСТТ) 2; Kirgh. *bajmaq* 'lower part of shank', *bajpaq* 2, *majpiq* 'flat' (of a horse's hoof, bear's paw); Kaz. *bajpaq* 2; KKalp. *bajpaq* 2; Khak. *majmax* 2; Tv. *majiq* 1.

◊ VEWT 323. Cf. also Oyr. *majrik* 'спотыкаться' etc. Forms with the meaning 'footwear' are explained by Budagov as compounds with an iranism (*paj - baγ* "foot bandage"), which does not seem convincing; we are dealing rather with a dialectal diffusion of the derivative **bāń-mak*. Cf. TMN 4, 275, Шипова 49, Аникин 110, 382, 458.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; cf. perhaps also Kh. (*dalnï*) *majā* 'шейка лопатки'.

***mańu(kʻV)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***māńgu / *mańma**; Mong. ***munig**; Turk. ***bańak-**; Jpn. ***mùná(n)kí**; Kor. ***mòijùkí**.

PTung. ***māńgu / *mańma** 1 Salmo Lenoc 2 trout 3 crucian 4 whitebaits (1 ленок 2 форель 3 карась 4 снетки): Evk. *mājgu* 1, *majma / manma* 2; Evn. *mönke* 2; Neg. *manma* 2; Man. *marma nisiχa* 2; *moŋgošun* 3; *muŋku* 4; Nan. *menekse* 'назв. рыбы'; Ud. *mojoʻu, mejeu* 1 (Корм. 261).

◊ TMC 1, 521-522, 545, 548. TM > Mong. *marma* (see Doerfer MT 91); > Russ. *maĺma* (see Аникин 371).

PMong. ***munig** bleak, ablet (уклейка): WMong. *muniɣ*; Kh. *munig*; Kalm. *mūńəg*.

◊ KW 269.

PTurk. ***bańak-** white-fish (сиг): Yak. *mañaɣas* (Пек.).

PJpn. ***mùná(n)kí** eel (угорь): OJpn. *munagji*; MJpn. *mùnágí*; Tok. *ùnagi*; Kyo. *ùnàgí*; Kag. *unagí*.

◊ JLTT 562.

PKor. ***mòijùkí** trout; (KED) catfish, wels, horned-pout (форель): MKor. *mòijùkí*; Mod. *megi*.

◊ Nam 213, KED 616.

‖ Cf. also Kalm. *manžə(g) zaɣəsn* 'Plötze; Kaulbarsch' (KW 255, 256); WMong. *montuwqai*, Khalkha *montōxoi* 'a k. of fish', *maj* 'herring'. Like in many other fish names, there are phonetic problems, probably due to interdialectal borrowing.

***maŋga (~-o)** big, strong: Tung. ***maŋga**; Jpn. ***manki-**.

PTung. ***maŋga** strong, hard (сильный, крепкий, твердый): Evk. *maŋa*; Evn. *maŋ*; Neg. *maŋga*; Man. *maŋGa, meŋge*; Jurch. *maŋ-ga* (702); Ul. *maŋGa*; Ork. *maŋGa*; Nan. *maŋGa*; Orch. *maŋga, maŋasi*; Ud. *maŋga, maŋahi*; Sol. *mandê, mandī* 'very, heavily'.

◊ See TMC 1, 529. TM > Dag. *manga* (Тод. Даг. 153).

PJpn. ***manki-** big (большой):

◊ A Ryukyu root: Shuri *mágí-*, Yonaguni *máí-* etc.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 113, 280. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss (within Jpn. preserved only in the Ryukyu dialects, where it is the basic word for 'big'). Cf. perhaps Khak., Oyr. *maŋ* 'success, luck' (if not < OUygh. (Suv.) *maŋal* < Sanskr. *maŋgala*). In TM a possible derivative is **maŋ(g)ī* 'giant; evil spirit' (TMC 1, 530) - which brings us to Mong. *maŋgus* id. (which, despite Doerfer MT 39, can hardly be the source of Tungus words).

***m[a]ŋi** cicada, a k. of insect: Tung. ***mana-**; Turk. ***bAŋıŕ (~-s)**; Jpn. ***mìmìnsúkù**; Kor. ***mǎijàmí**.

PTung. ***mana-** louse (вошь): Evn. *manačān*; Ork. *maŋuluṭče-* 'to bite (of fleas, bedbugs)'.

◊ TMC 1, 527, 531.

PTurk. ***bAŋiŕ (~-s)*** gad-fly (овод): Khak. *mās*; Shr. *mās*; Oyr. *paas* 'gad-fly' (Leb.), *maŋɣ́s* 'locust' (Oyr.); Tv. *māas*; Tof. *mās*.

◊ VEWT 329, 327.

PJpn. ***mìmìnsúkù*** Ledra auditura Walker (кобылочка японская (цикадка)): Tok. *mímizuku, mimízuku*; Kyo. *mìmìzúkù*; Kag. *mimizukú*.

PKor. ***mă̄ijàmí*** cicada (цикада): MKor. *mă̄ijàmí*; Mod. *mā̄mi*.

◊ Nam 207, KED 599.

‖ Some irregularities are due to the root semantics.

maŋi (~ *meŋa)** joy: Mong. ****maɣa-; Turk. ****beŋi***.

PMong. ****maɣa-*** 1 conceited 2 to smile, enjoy, feel joy (1 самодовольный 2 улыбаться, наслаждаться, радоваться): WMong. *maɣad-, maɣas-* (БАМРС); Kh. *mādgar* 1, *mās-* 2; Bur. *mādagar* 1; Kalm. *māsxəlzə-* 2 (КРС); ? *mādəɣər* 'хмурый, насупившийся'.

PTurk. ****beŋi*** joy, pleasure (радость, удовольствие): OTurk. *beŋi, meŋi*; Karakh. *meŋi* (MK).

◊ EDT 348, Лексика 195 (sub 'brain').

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

màra (~-ŕ-)** to refuse, quarrel: Tung. ****mari-; Mong. ****margu-***; Jpn. ****màtuàp-***; Kor. ****mār-***.

PTung. ****mari-*** 1 to quarrel 2 to refuse, resist 3 be stubborn (1 спорить 2 отказываться, сопротивляться 3 быть упрямым): Man. *mara-* 2; Ul. *moriḳu* 3; Nan. *mariạ-* 1,3; Orch. *mari-* 1; Ud. *malea-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 532.

PMong. ****margu-*** to quarrel, resist, contest (ссориться, сопротивляться, оспаривать): WMong. *marɣu-* (L 529); Kh. *marga-*; Bur. *marga-*; Kalm. *marɣə-*; Ord. *marGuči-*; S.-Yugh. *marGāda* 'quarrel'; Mongr. *mar-Gāndo* 'quarrel'.

◊ KW 257, MGCD 481.

PJpn. ****màtuàp-*** to hesitate (сомневаться): OJpn. *matwop-*; MJpn. *màtòf-*; Tok. *madó-*; Kyo. *mádó-*; Kag. *madó-*.

◊ JLTT 719. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular (probably under literary influence).

PKor. ****mār-*** to refrain, shun, avoid (отказываться (от ч.-л.), воздерживаться, не сметь): MKor. *mār-*; Mod. *māl-*.

◊ Nam 200, KED 582.

‖ SKE 138-139, PKE 103, Menges 1984, 277. Despite Doerfer MT 144, hardly borrowed in TM < Mong. In Turk. the root has probably merged with **boŕ-* / **buŕ-* 'damage, oppress' (cf. also **burul-* ~ **borul-* 'to be angry', ЭСТЯ 2, 269). The Korean form may be alternatively compared with Mong. *melže-* 'to refuse, refrain'.

mā́ro** sand, stony earth, marsh: Tung. ****mar-; Mong. ****mara-***; Turk. ****bōr***; Jpn. ****mana-n-kua***; Kor. ****mòr'ái***.

PTung. ****mar-*** moor, marsh (марник, болото): Evk. *mar, mari-kta*.

◊ TMC 1, 531. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***mara-** salty earth (солончак): WMong. *mara, maraɣan*; Kh. *marā*; Bur. *marā*; Kalm. *marā*.

◊ KW 257.

PTurk. ***bōr** 1 chalk 2 earth 3 clay (1 мел 2 земля 3 глина): Tur. *bor* 2; Turkm. dial. *bōr* 1; MTurk. *bor* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *boṛ* 1; Uygh. *bo(r)* 1; Krm. *bor* 1; Tat. *bur* 1; Bashk. *bur* 1; Kirgh. *bor* 1; Kaz. *bor* 1; KKalp. *bor, por* 1; Kum. *bor* 1; Nogh. *bor* 1; Khak. *por* 1; Tv. *por* 3; Tof. *bor* 'солонцы'; Chuv. *porъ* 1; Yak. *buor* 2; Dolg. *buor* 2, 3.

◊ VEWT 80, ЭСТЯ 2, 192-193, Лексика 100, 376, Федотов 1, 444, Stachowski 66-67. Turk. > Kalm. *borə*, Bur. *bor*.

PJpn. ***mana-n-kua** sand (песок): OJpn. *mana-gwo*.

◊ The world is attested already in Manyōshū, and its derivation < **ma-suna-gwo* (JLTT 473) seems hardly possible.

PKor. ***mòr'ái** sand (песок): MKor. *mòr'ái*; Mod. *morä*.

◊ Nam 218, KED 629.

‖ SKE 151 (Turk.-Kor.), АПиПЯЯ 288. In MKor. cf. also a reduplicated form: *màmǎrǎ-* 'rough, stony (ground)'. The Jpn. form must be explained as a result of nasal assimilation (**mana-* < **mara-n-*); but cf. for Jpn. **mana-n-kua* alternatively Mong. **maŋka* 'long sandy hill' (MGCD 481).

***máro (~-ŕ-)** to roll, bend: Tung. ***mari-**; Mong. ***marija-, mirija-**; Jpn. ***mát(u)áp-**; Kor. ***mǎr-**.

PTung. ***mari-** 1 to bend, curl 2 to turn, return (1 гнуться, виться 2 оборачиваться, возвращаться): Evk. *mariw-* 1; Evn. *marlụ-* 1; Man. *mari-* 2; SMan. *mari-* (1178) 2.

◊ TMC 1, 532.

PMong. ***marija-, mirija-** to creep (up), crawl, be in ambush (подползать, быть в засаде): WMong. *marija-, miraɣa-, mirija-* (L 529); Kh. *ṁarā-*; Bur. *maŕā-*; Kalm. *merā-*; Mongr. *mara* (SM 233).

◊ KW 261.

PJpn. ***mát(u)áp-** to roll up, wrap (свертывать, заворачивать): OJpn. *matup-*; MJpn. *mátóf-*; Tok. *mató-*; Kyo. *mátó-*; Kag. *mató-*.

◊ JLTT 721. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

PKor. ***mǎr-** to roll up, curl up (свертывать, скручивать): MKor. *mǎr-*; Mod. *mal-*.

◊ Nam 202, KED 582.

‖ The Mong. form is somewhat dubious semantically ('creep up' < 'coil up'?); otherwise the root seems quite reliable.

✱**maru** (~ -ŕ-) heap, crowd, many: Tung. ***mar(b)u**; Jpn. ***márə́**, ***múrà**; Kor. ***muri**, ***múr**.

PTung. ***mar(b)u** 1 heap 2 flock, herd (1 куча 2 стая, стадо): Evk. *murbu* 1; Man. *maru* 2; Ul. *maru(n)* 2; Nan. *mārō* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 532, 558.

PJpn. ***márə́**, ***múrà** 1 all, every 2 crowd 3 mountain (все, каждый): OJpn. *m(w)oro, m(w)orom(w)oro* 1, *mura* 2, mure 3; MJpn. *mórómóró* 1, *múrà* 2; Tok. *mòromoro* 1, *mùre* 2; Kyo. *mórómóró* 1, *múré* 2; Kag. *moromóro* 1, *múre* 2.

◊ JLTT 485, 488.

PKor. ***muri**, ***múr** 1 crowd, many 2 every (1 толпа, множество 2 каждый): MKor. *múr* 2; Mod. *muri* 1.

◊ Nam 223, KED 657.

‖ Martin 229, Whitman 1985, 127, 194, 239, SKE 153, АПиПЯЯ 279. An Eastern isogloss. In MKor. cf. also *miris* 'all, in general'. In Jpn. low tone would be expected; high tone here was probably induced by the similar **már-* 'to heap up' (see under **mi̯alo*), which also influenced the vowel in **márə́*.

✱**másа** more, stronger: Tung. ***masi**; Mong. ***masi**; Turk. ***bAsa**; Jpn. ***más-**.

PTung. ***masi** hard, strong, strongly (крепкий, сильный, сильно): Neg. *masi̯*; Man. *masi-la-* 'become stronger'; Ul. *masi̯*; Ork. *masi̯*; Nan. *masi̯*; Orch. *masi̯*; Ud. *mahi*.

◊ TMC 1, 528.

PMong. ***masi** very, extremely (очень, чрезвычайно): MMong. *maši* (SH, HYt); WMong. *masi* (L 530); Kh. *maš*; Bur. *maša*; Kalm. *mašə*; Ord. *maši*.

◊ KW 257.

PTurk. ***bAsa** also, as well (также, кроме того): OTurk. *basa* 'right after' (OUygh.); Karakh. *basa* 'afterwards' (MK); Turkm. *basa*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *basa* (AH, Ad-Durr.); Uzb. *base* 'frequently, often'; Kirgh. *basa*; Kaz. *basa* (R); Khak. *paza*; Shr. *paza*; Oyr. *baza*; Tv. *baza*; Yak. *biha* 'in the course of' (?).

◊ EDT 371 (but not from **bas-* 'press'!). Turk. > Mong. *basa* (Clark 1980, 39, Щербак 1997, 104).

PJpn. ***más-** 1 to become bigger 2 more, again (1 увеличиваться 2 больше, снова): OJpn. *mas-* 1, *masu(masu)* 2; MJpn. *más-* 1; Tok. *màs-* 1, *masúmasu* 2; Kyo. *màs-* 1, *màsúmásù* 2; Kag. *más-* 1, *masumásu* 2.

◊ JLTT 473, 721. Kyoto *màs-* is irregular.

‖ EAS 79, KW 257. TM may be borrowed from Mong. (see Doerfer MT 144).

✱**mébo** (~ **-p-**) to shamanize, dance: Tung. ***mebu-**; Jpn. ***máp-**.

PTung. ***mebu-*** to shamanize, dance (камлать, танцевать): Ul. *mewu-*; Ork. *mewu-*; Nan. *meu-*; Orch. *mewu-*; Ud. *meu-* (Корм. 264).

◊ TMC 1, 562.

PJpn. ***máp-*** to dance (танцевать): OJpn. map-; MJpn. *máf-*; Tok. *mà-*; Kyo. *má-*; Kag. *má-*.

◊ JLTT 722.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**méča** monkey: Mong. ***mečin**; Turk. ***bĒčin**; Jpn. ***masi**.

PMong. ***mečin*** monkey (обезьяна): MMong. *sor-məči* (IM); WMong. *meči(n)* (L 531); Kh. *meč*; Bur. *meše(n)*; Kalm. *sar-möčn̦* (KPC); Ord. *meči(n)* 'a cyclic sign'; Mongr. *mećin* (SM 237).

◊ TMN 2, 383. Mong. > Nogh., Kaz., KKalp. *mešin*, Kirgh., Oyr. *mečin*. The Kalm. and IM forms are a contamination with *sarmagčin* (q. v. sub **sara)*.

PTurk. ***bĒčin*** monkey (обезьяна): OTurk. *bečin* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bečin* (MK); Turkm. *bīžin*; MTurk. *bečin* (MA, Sangl.); SUygh. *pičin*; Chuv. (Bulg.) *bexti* '(year of the) monkey'.

◊ VEWT 66, EDT 295-296, ЭСТЯ 2, 128-129, TMN 2, 382, Лексика 168. All IE sources (EDT 295, TMN 2. 382-383), like Pers. *būzīna*, proposed for this word are quite unclear etymologically and probably borrowed themselves.

PJpn. ***masi*** monkey (обезьяна): OJpn. *masi*; MJpn. *masi*, *masira*.

◊ JLTT 473.

‖ Ozawa 98-99, Лексика 168. The Jpn. parallel shows that, despite Clark 1980, 43, there is no need for assuming Mong. < Turk. (which is difficult because of *m-, but still possible; the Mong. variant *bečin* is certainly < Turkic).

✱**meju** to shake, sway: Tung. ***mej-**; Mong. ***maji-**; Turk. ***bań-**; Kor. ***mŭi- / *mùi'ú-**.

PTung. ***mej-*** to shake, sway (качаться): Evk. *mej-*; Evn. *mēji-*; Ud. *mejmeli-* 'to descend on skis, sleigh' (Корм. 264).

◊ TMC 1, 564.

PMong. ***maji-*** to sway, walk swayingly (качаться, шататься): WMong. *mai-mur-* (L 523: *maimari*), *mei-mere-*; Kh. *majmar-*; Bur. *majzagajr-*; Kalm. *mā̆mr-*, *mīmr-*; Ord. *mā̆mar*.

◊ KW 259, 263.

PTurk. ***bań-*** 1 to wave 2 to sway 3 club-footed 4 curved 5 to bend 6 to be bent, curved (1 махать 2 качаться 3 косолапый, кривоногий 4 кривой 5 гнуть 6 гнуться, быть согнутым): Karakh. *maj-ɣuq* 3 (MK); Turkm. *majır-* 5, *majrıq* 'overstrained', *maj-tıq* 3, *majmıq* 4; MTurk. *majruq* 3, 4 (Abush., Pav.C); Uzb. *majriq* 3, dial. *bajmaq* 3 (Radl.); Uygh. *majmaq* 3; Krm. *majiš-* 6; Kirgh. *majrij-*, *majiš-* 6, *maj-tar-* 5, *majrıq* 3, *majmaq* 3; Kaz. *majıs-* 6, *majır-* 5, *majrıq* 3, *majmaq* 3; KKalp. *majıs-* 6, *majmaq*

3; Kum. *majir-* 'to wrench', *majšaj-* 'to mis-step', *majmaq* 3; Nogh. *majis-* 6, *majir-* 5; Shr. *majriq* 3, *majril-* 6; Oyr. *majriq* 4, 3; Tv. *majiš-qaq* 4, *majiriq, maj-ta-q* 3; Yak. *bajātiŋ-* 2, *bajāttaŋnā-* 1 (Пек. - without nasalization), dial. *majγax* 'convolution'.

◊ See ОСНЯ 3, 45-46. Turk. **bańi-guk* > WMong. *majiγaγ*, Kalm. *mãγəγ* (KW 259) 'club-footed'.

PKor. ***mūi-** / ***mùi'ú-** to shake, sway (качать(ся)): MKor. *mūi-* / *mùi'ú-*; Mod. *mwi-* (arch.).

◊ Nam 224, KED 685.

‖ See SKE 144, TMC 1, 564, ОСНЯ 3, 45-47, Дыбо 12. Turkic has a normal transfer of nasalization (**bań-* < **maj-*).

***mĕko** to pull out: Tung. ***meK(u)-**; Jpn. ***màk-**; Kor. ***mắi-**.

PTung. ***meK(u)-** 1 to pull out (meat from kettle) 2 to borrow 3 to put aside 4 wooden dish (1 вытаскивать (мясо из котла) 2 брать в долг 3 отложить в сторону 4 деревянная миска): Evk. *meku-* 3, *mukči-kāt-* 2; Evn. *mēk-* 1, *mēkehek* 4; Ul. *mukse* 4; Nan. *muksu* 4; Orch. *moko* 4; Ud. *moxo* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 553, 565.

PJpn. ***màk-** to pull out (вырывать, отрывать): MJpn. *màk-*; Tok. *móg-*; Kyo. *móg-*; Kag. *móg-*.

◊ JLTT 726. RJ and Tokyo point unambiguosly to low tone; accent in Kyoto and Kagoshima is most probably influenced by the Tokyo form.

PKor. ***mắi-** to pull out, to weed (выдергивать, пропалывать): MKor. *mắi-*; Mod. *mä-*.

◊ Nam 207, KED 598.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

***mékʻà** to be in a bad position: Tung. ***meK-**; Mong. ***mak-**; Jpn. ***máká-**; Kor. ***màk-**.

PTung. ***meK-** to be beaten (быть избитым, поколоченным): Man. *mekere-*.

◊ TMC 1, 566.

PMong. ***mak-** 1 to walk with difficulty 2 to strive, be diligent (1 ходить с трудом 2 стараться, быть прилежным): WMong. *maqara-* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *maxra-* 2; Bur. *maxa-* 1.

PJpn. ***máká-** to lose (a game etc.) (проигрывать): OJpn. *maka-*; MJpn. *máká-*; Tok. *màke-*; Kyo. *máké-*; Kag. *maké-*.

◊ JLTT 719.

PKor. ***màk-** to stop up, block, prevent (препятствовать): MKor. *màk-*; Mod. *mak-*.

◊ Nam 198, KED 569.

‖ Martin 226. Cf. **makʻe*.

✱**mék'ù** meat; part of body: Tung. ***meKile**; Mong. ***mikan**; Jpn. ***múkúrua**.

PTung. ***meKile** fat under bird's skin (жир (птичий подкожный)): Neg. *mexile*.

◊ TMC 1, 565. Attested only in Neg., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***mikan** meat (мясо): MMong. *mixan* (HY 24, 48), *miqan* (SH), *mixa* (IM), *miqan* (MA); WMong. *miqa(n)* (L 540); Kh. *max(an)*; Bur. *ṁaxa(n)*; Kalm. *maxən*; Ord. *maxa(n)*; Mog. *miqōn*; ZM *miqān* (4-1a); Dag. *ṁaga, miag* (Тод. Дар. 153), *miahe, niahe* (MD 191, 198); Dong. *miGa, miγa*; Bao. *meGa*; S.-Yugh. *maxGan*; Mongr. *maxa* (SM 230).

◊ KW 254, MGCD 483.

PJpn. ***múkúrua** body, dead body (тело, труп): OJpn. *mukur(w)o*; MJpn. *múkúro*; Tok. *mùkuro, mukuró*; Kyo. *múkúró*; Kag. *mukuró*.

◊ JLTT 488. The Tokyo variant *mukuró* and Kagoshima *mukuró* point to an accent variant **mùkùruà*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 294.

✱**melo** a k. of fish: Tung. ***melu**; Turk. ***bẹ̀l**.

PTung. ***melu** plaice (камбала): Orch. *mēlu*; Ud. *melu*.

◊ TMC 1, 567.

PTurk. ***bẹ̀l** a k. of salmon (Salmo taimen) (вид лосося): Tat. *bil*; Oyr. *bel*; Tv. *bel*; Yak. *bil*.

◊ Лексика 179.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**mělu** a k. of berry: Tung. ***m[e]likte**; Mong. ***mojil-**; Turk. ***bẹ̀leĺ**.

PTung. ***m[e]li-kte** rowan (рябина): Evk. *molikta*; Ul. *milekte*; Ork. *milekte*.

◊ TMC 1, 536.

PMong. ***mojil** bird-cherry (черемуха): MMong. *mojil-sun* 'a k. of fruit' (SH); WMong. *mojil, moji(l)-su* (L 542); Kh. *mojl*; Bur. *mojhon*; Dag. *mojle* (MD 191).

◊ Mong. > Kypch. *mojil* (see Лексика 136).

PTurk. ***bẹ̀leĺ** rowan (рябина): Turkm. *meleš*; Tat. *mileš*; Bashk. *miläš*; Oyr. *pälä*; Chuv. *pileš*.

◊ VEWT 338.

‖ Дыбо 11. A Western isogloss. Note traces of nasalization preserved in PT (one could reconstruct **benleĺ* or **belenĺ*). Mong **mojil-* regularly < **molil-* (= **beleĺ*).

✱**mèl[ú]** to become stale, overripe, wither: Tung. ***mel-me-** ?; Jpn. ***mùrá-**; Kor. ***mǎrǎ̀-**.

PTung. ***mel-me-** to congeal (of blood) (сгущаться, запекаться (о крови)): Man. *melme-*.

◊ TMC 1, 567.

PJpn. ***mùrá-*** to become stale; to be overboiled (становиться затхлым; развариваться): Tok. *muré-*; Kyo. *mùrè-*; Kag. *mùrè-*.

◊ JLTT 729.

PKor. ***mằrằ-*** dry (сухой): MKor. *mằrằ-*; Mod. *mari-*.

◊ Nam 195, KED 561.

‖ Korean has a "verbal" low tone. Basically a Kor.-Jpn. isogloss; the TM parallel is much more problematic (poorly attested and semantically distant).

✱**mĕ́lba (~ -p-)** to stir up: Tung. ***melbi-***; Jpn. ***màmsì-(p)-***.

PTung. ***melbi-*** 1 to row 2 oar (1 грести 2 весло): Evk. *melbike* 2; Neg. *melbixen* 2; Man. *melbi-* 1, *melbiku* 2; Ul. *melbi-* 1, *melbike(n)* 2; Ork. *melbi* 2; Nan. *melbi-* 1, *melbiẽ* 2; Orch. *mebbu(ku)* 2; Ud. *megbu, mebu* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 566.

PJpn. ***màmsì-(p)-*** to mix (смешивать): OJpn. *mazipa-, maza-*; MJpn. *màzìfa-, maza-*; Tok. *majié-, mazé-*; Kyo. *májié-, màzè-*; Kag. *majié-, màzè-*.

◊ JLTT 722.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Phonetically the match is precise; as for the meaning, one has to suppose a rather frequent development *'row' > 'stir up' > 'mix'.

✱**mĕ́ĺʒu (~ -a)** head: Tung. ***meli-mu***; Mong. ***malʒa-, *melʒe-***; Turk. ***baĺč***; Kor. ***màrí***.

PTung. ***meli-*** 1 neck joint 2 back part of neck 3 sinciput 4 fish skeleton 5 skeleton (1 шейный позвонок 2 задняя часть шеи 3 темя 4 рыбий костяк 5 скелет): Evn. *melimki* 1; Neg. *īxej-melin* 5; Ul. *mugʒe* 3; Ork. *melimu* 2; Nan. *mulgikte* 4; Orch. *muggikta* 5.

◊ TMC 1, 302, 549, 550, 567.

PMong. ***mal-ʒa-, *melʒe-, *malaji-*** bald (лысый): WMong. *malʒan* (L 525), *melʒen* (L 535), *malaji-*; Kh. *malʒan, melʒen*; Bur. *malzan, melzen, malān, malaj-* 'be bald'; Kalm. *malzn, malā-*; Ord. *malʒan*; Dag. *malʒin* (Тод. Даг. 153).

◊ KW 254. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *malān* (Kał. VII 43, Stachowski 175).

PTurk. ***baĺč*** head (голова): OTurk. *baš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *baš* (MK, KB); Tur. *baš*; Gag. *baš*; Az. *baš*; Turkm. *baš*; Sal. *baš*; Khal. *baš*; MTurk. *baš* (Abush., MA); Uzb. *bɔš*; Uygh. *baš*; Krm. *baš*; Tat. *baš*; Bashk. *baš*; Kirgh. *baš*; Kaz. *baš*; KBalk. *baš*; KKalp. *bas*; Kum. *baš*; Nogh. *bas*; SUygh. *baš*; Khak. pas; Shr. *paš*; Oyr. *baš*; Tv. *ba'š*; Tof. *ba'š*; Chuv. *poś*; Yak. *bas*; *battaq* 'hair of head'; Dolg. *bas*; *battak* 'head of reindeer; reindeer skin'.

◊ VEWT 64, ЭСТЯ 2, 85-88, TMN 2, 250-253, EDT 375-6, Федотов 1, 452, Ашм. X, 15, Лексика 194, Stachowski 54, 55.

PKor. ***màrí*** head (голова): MKor. *màrí*; Mod. *məri*.

◊ Nam 210, KED 608.

‖ EAS 109, SKE 146, АПиПЯЯ 31-32, 282, Мудрак Дисс. 90, Лексика 194. Doerfer's (TMN 2, 253) criticism is short ("unklar"). On possible traces in Jpn. see under **kʻŏjli*. An unsuccessful attempt of refuting the etymology was undertaken by Vovin 2000, who argues that the attested Old Korean form is 麻帝 MC *mạ-tìej* [ma-te]. However, it is most probable that MC -t- was used here just to transcribe Korean -r- (since Middle Chinese, as well known, lacked r-). Anyway, it is hardly possible to make any decisions on the basis of very inadequate and scanty Kirim transcriptions.

✱**mə̌mV** female breast; foster-mother: Tung. ***meme**; Mong. ***mömü**; Turk. ***mēme (*bēme)**.

PTung. ***meme** 1 breast (female), udder 2 foster-mother (1 грудь (ж.), вымя 2 кормилица): Man. *meme* 2; Nan. *meme* (dial.) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 567. An onomatopoetic root.

PMong. ***mömü** female breast (женская грудь): WMong. *mömü* (БАМРС); Kh. *mō̲m, mō̲mō̲, mēm*.

PTurk. ***mēme (*bēme)** 1 breast (fem.) 2 nipple 3(poet.) breast (1 грудь (ж.) 2 сосок 3 грудь (поэт.) 4 соска): Tur. *meme* 1, Old Osm. *memek* (17th c.); Gag. *mämä* 1; Az. *mämä* 2; Turkm. *mäme* 3; Khal. *mämäk*; Uygh. *mämä* 1; Krm. *mämä* 2; Tat. *mɛmi, mɛmɛj* 1; Bashk. *mämäj* 1; KKalp. *mämmä* 1; Nogh. *mämäj* 1; Yak. *mēmē* 4.

◊ An onomatopoetic root. See VEWT 333, ЭСТЯ VII.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281. An obvious "nursery" Western isogloss, thus the PA antiquity is dubious.

✱**ménčʻo (~ *mi̯ónčʻa, -nč-)** first of all: Jpn. ***mántù**; Kor. ***mònčjə́(i)**.

PJpn. ***mántù** first of all, soonest (прежде всего, скорее всего): OJpn. *madu*; MJpn. *mádù*; Tok. *mázu*; Kyo. *mázù*; Kag. *mázu*.

◊ JLTT 474. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

PKor. ***mònčjə́(i)** first of all (сначала, прежде всего): MKor. *mònčjə́(i)*; Mod. *mənʒə*.

◊ Nam 217, KED 612.

‖ Martin 248. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**mə̀nò** self, body: Tung. ***mēn**; Mong. ***mön**; Turk. ***bu(-n) (?)**; Jpn. ***mə̀nə̀**; Kor. ***móm**.

PTung. ***mēn** self, oneself (сам, свой): Evk. *mēn*; Evn. *mēn*; Neg. *mēn*; Man. *meni meni*; SMan. *meimeni* 'every one, each one, individual' (2880); Ul. *men, mene*; Ork. *mēn*; Nan. *mene*; Orch. *mēn*; Ud. *mene*; Sol. *mẽ̄*.

◊ TMC 1, 568.

PMong. ***mö-n*** he, same (он, тот же): MMong. *mun* (SH, HYt); WMong. *mön* (L 547); Kh. *mön*; Bur. *mün*; Kalm. *mön* (KPC); Ord. *mön*; Mog. *mɔna* (Weiers).

PTurk. ***bu(-n)*** this (этот): OTurk. *bu, bun-* (Orkh.), *bu, mun-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bu, mun-* (MK); Tur. *bu*; Gag. *bu*; Az. *bu*; Turkm. *bu*; Sal. *bu, vu*; Khal. *bo*; MTurk. *bu, mun-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bu*; Uygh. *bu*; Krm. *bu, mu*; Tat. *bu*; Bashk. *bi-l*; Kirgh. *bu(l)*; Kaz. *bu-l*; KBalk. *bu*; KKalp. *bu-l*; Kum. *bu*; Nogh. *bu*; SUygh. *bu*; Khak. *pu*; Shr. *pu*; Oyr. *bu*; Tv. *bo*; Tof. *bo*; Yak. *bu*; Dolg. *bu* (*mun-*).

◊ VEWT 85, EDT 291-292, ЭСТЯ 2, 225-228, Stachowski 63.

PJpn. ***mònò*** thing, method, being (вещь, сущность, способ): OJpn. *m(w)ono*; MJpn. *mònò*; Tok. *monó*; Kyo. *mónò*; Kag. *monó*.

◊ JLTT 485.

PKor. ***móm*** body (тело): MKor. *móm*; Mod. *mom*.

◊ Nam 218, KED 645.

‖ The Turkic form may belong here if it represents a secondary development **bu(-n)* 'this' < **bun* 'self'; the vocalism, however, speaks against the comparison (**bạ(-n)* would be expected). The root reveals contaminations with **méŋu* 'whole' q.v. Illich-Svitych (ОСНЯ 2, 70) compares the Turk.-Mong. stem with PKartv. **m(a)-*, PU **mū* / **mō* etc.

ménrV** garlic, onion: Tung. ***meŋgu-; Mong. ***maŋgir, maŋgina***; Jpn. ****mìrà***; Kor. ****mànăr***.

PTung. ***meŋgu-*** a k. of plant (вид травянистого растения, употребляемого в пищу): Orch. *meŋgulike* ((Аврорин-Лебедева 206).

◊ TMC 1, 569. Attested only in Oroch, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***maŋgir, maŋgina*** wild onion, ramson (дикий лук, черемша): MMong. *maŋgir* (HY 8), *maŋgirsu(n)* (SH); WMong. *maŋgir* (L 527), *maŋgina*; Kh. *mangir*; Bur. *mangir*; Kalm. *maŋgṛsn̥, mäŋgṛsn̥*; Dag. *maŋgīrs, mangēs*; S.-Yugh. *maŋGarsən*.

◊ KW 256, 258, MGCD 480. Mong. > Oyr. *paγir*.

PJpn. ****mìrà*** Allium (лук): OJpn. *mjira*; Tok. *nirá, nìra*; Kyo. *nírà*; Kag. *nirá*.

◊ JLTT 498. The reason of **m-* > n- in modern Japanese is not quite clear.

PKor. ****mànăr*** garlic (чеснок): MKor. *mànăr*; Mod. *manil*.

◊ Nam 192, KED 559.

‖ SKE 140, Poppe 35, Lee 24, 26, 28. Low tone in Jpn. is probably due to contraction. Cf. also Old Koguryo **maiš* 'garlic' (thus in Miller 1979, 15; Lee reads **mail*).

***meń[o]** dwelling place, village: Tung. ***mēne-**; Mong. ***maji-kan**; Jpn. ***múrà**; Kor. ***mǎ́ňǎrh**.

PTung. ***mēne-** 1 to settle down 2 settled down 3 to stay (1 жить оседло 2 оседлый 3 оставаться): Evk. *mēnē-* 1, *mēnē* 2; Evn. *mene* 2; Neg. *meneže-* 3; Ork. *meneži-* 3; Ud. *menže-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 569.

PMong. ***maji-kan** tent (шатер): WMong. *majiqan* (L 523); Kh. *majxan*; Bur. *majxan*; Kalm. *mäxan*; Ord. *mäxun*; Dag. *maikan* (Тод. Даг. 153, MD 188).

◊ KW 259, MGCD 477. Mong. > Man. *majqan* etc. (see TMC 1, 520, Rozycki 153; despite Doerfer MT 80, hardly Mong. < Tung.).

PJpn. ***múrà** village (деревня): OJpn. *mura*; MJpn. *múrà*; Tok. *murá*; Kyo. *múrà*; Kag. *múra*.

◊ JLTT 488.

PKor. ***mǎ́ňǎrh** village, vicinity (деревня, окрестности): MKor. *mǎ́ňǎr* (*mǎ́ňǎrh-*); Mod. *mail*.

◊ Nam 196, KED 564.

‖ The Kor.-Jpn. form is a derivative in *-rV (*-lV). The Tungus form fits very well semantically, but raises some phonetic doubts: vowel length and the quality of -n- (instead *-ń-) do not correspond to other languages. Cf. perhaps Turk. (Oyr.) *man* 'fence' (VEWT 325). See Vovin 1993, 257.

***méŋa** shape, face: Mong. ***maji-kaj**; Turk. ***bEŋiŕ**; Jpn. ***mána-i**.

PMong. ***maji-kaj** skin covering the head of animals (шкура с головы животных): WMong. *majiqai* (L 523); Kh. *majxaj* (БАМРС); Bur. *mäxaj*.

◊ Mong. > Neg. *makī*, Nan. *maqi* etc. (TMC 1, 522). One can also mention WMong. *majay*, *maiy* 'appearance, shape' (Khalkha, Kalm. *majag*, Mongr. *majaG* (234), Dag. *maigal*, *majge-tej* (MD 188, MGCD 477) - although the word is sometimes regarded (see Sukhebator) as borrowed < Tib. *mayig*, *mayiga* 'original'.

PTurk. ***bEŋiŕ** 1 face 2 be similar 3 open forestless place on a mountain slope (1 внешность, вид, лицо 2 быть похожим 3 открытое безлесное место на склоне горы): OTurk. *beŋiz* (Orkh.), *meŋiz* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *meŋiz* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *beniz* 1, *benze-* 2; Gag. *beniz* 1, *benze-* 2; Az. *bäniz* 1, *bänzä-* 2; Turkm. *meŋiz* 1, *meŋze-* 2; MTurk. *beŋiz*, *meŋiz* 1 (Sangl.); Uzb. *mäŋiz* 'cheek'; Krm. *beŋz* 1, *beŋze-* 2; Kaz. *meŋze-* 'to consider useful'; KKalp. *megze-* 2; Khak. *mīs* 1 (Верб. - Abak.); Oyr. *mēs* 3; Tv. *mēs* 3; Tof. *mēs* 3.

◊ VEWT 70, EDT 352, Лексика 208, ЭСТЯ 7, ФиЛ 207. In Chuv. cf. either *min* 'face colour' (if not = *min* 'red spot on face', see Лексика 208) or **paŋ* > Proto-Perm.*baŋ (Лыткин-Гуляев 37). Turk. > MMong. *meŋiz* 'comparison, metaphor' (Щербак 1997, 129).

PJpn. ***mána-i** imitating, similarity (подражание, сходство): OJpn. *mane*; MJpn. *mane*; Tok. *màne*; Kyo. *mánè*; Kag. *máne*.

◊ JLTT 471.

‖ For the same semantic relationship cf. PA **miat'i*.

***měŋa** to run, trot: Tung. ***meŋ-**; Mong. ***meŋde-**; Turk. ***baŋ**.

PTung. ***meŋ-** 1 to hurry 2 to run around (of a dog) 3 to run (of cattle) (1 торопиться, спешить 2 бегать (о бродячей собаке) 3 резвиться (о скоте)): Evk. *meniw-, meŋiw-* 1; Evn. *men-, menu-* 1, *minŋъn-* 2; Man. *muŋre-, muŋgire-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 556-557, 569. Cf. also Evn. All. *maŋdi-* 'to trot'.

PMong. ***meŋde-** to hurry; to scurry (спешить; суетиться): WMong. *meŋde-, megde-* (L 536); Kh. *meŋde-, megde-*; Bur. *megde-*; Kalm. *meŋdə-*; Ord. *meŋde-, megde-*.

◊ KW 261. Mong. *meŋde-* > Evk. *mendē-lē-* etc., see Doerfer MT 103.

PTurk. ***baŋ** 1 to trot, ride 2 trot (1 идти рысью, скакать 2 бег): OTurk. *maŋ* 'a step' (OUygh.); Karakh. *maŋ-* (KB) 1; Tur. *man-* (dial.) 1; MTurk. *maŋ-* (Sangl.) 1; Uygh. *maŋ-* 1; Kirgh. *maŋ* 2, *maŋ-* 1; Kaz. *maŋ* 2; Nogh. *maŋ* 2; SUygh. *maŋ* 2, *maŋ-* 1; Khak. *maŋ* 2; Shr. *maŋ* 2; Oyr. *maŋ* 2; Tv. *maŋ-* 1; Tof. *maŋ-* 1; Yak. *maŋɨj-* 1.

◊ EDT 766, 767, VEWT 326.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***meŋe (~ -i, -a)** mole, scar: Mong. ***meŋge**; Turk. ***beŋ**; Kor. ***məŋ**.

PMong. ***meŋge** birth-mark, mole (родинка): MMong. *məŋge* (HY 48); *menge* (MA 239); WMong. *meŋge* (L 536); Kh. *meŋge*; Bur. *menge*; Kalm. *meŋgə*.

◊ KW 261.

PTurk. ***beŋ** mole on the face (родинка на лице): OTurk. *meŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *meŋ* (MK); Tur. *ben, benek*; Gag. *ben, benek*; Az. *bänäk*; Turkm. *meŋ, menek*; Sal. *meŋ*; MTurk. *meŋ* (Sangl.); Tat. *biŋ*; Bashk. *miŋ*; Kirgh. *meŋ*; Kaz. *meŋ*; KKalp. *meŋ*; Kum. *miŋ*; Nogh. *meŋ*; Khak. *miŋ*; Oyr. *meŋ*; Tv. *meŋ*; Chuv. *miŋ* (may be < Tat.); Yak. *meŋ*; Dolg. *meŋ*.

◊ VEWT 70, 334, EDT 346, Лексика 208, Stachowski 178.

PKor. ***məŋ** scar, bruise (шрам, синяк): Mod. *məŋ*.

◊ KED 615.

‖ KW 261. Despite TMN 1, 512, Щербак 1997, 129 Mong. is hardly < Turkic (final vowel is unexplained).

***méŋu** whole: Tung. ***meŋde-**; Mong. ***men-dü**; Jpn. ***mú-i**.

PTung. ***meŋde-** whole (целый): Neg. *meŋden*; Man. *meŋde* 'глухое окно'; Ul. *meŋde(n)*; Ork. *meŋde(n)*; Nan. *mendē*; Orch. *meŋde*.

◊ TMC 1, 570.

PMong. ***mendü** sane, healthy (здоровый, целый): MMong. *mendü* 'normal' (HYt); WMong. *mendü* (L 535); Kh. *mend*; Bur. *mende*; Kalm. *mendə*; Ord. *möndü*; S.-Yugh. *mǭndə*.

◊ KW 261, MGCD 484. Mong. > Evk. *mendu*, see Poppe 1966, 197, Doerfer MT 127.

PJpn. ***mú-i** 1 body 2 self 3 fruit (1 тело 2 сам 3 плод): OJpn. *mi* 1, 2, 3; MJpn. *mí* 1, 2, 3; Tok. *mì* 1, 3, *mí-zukara* 2; Kyo. *mí* 1, 3; Kag. *mí* 1, 3.

◊ JLTT 476, 483.

‖ KW 261, SKE 151, Martin 226, АПиПЯЯ 69, 280. The Japanese meaning was partially influenced by the root **mēno* q.v.

✱**méra** a k. of berry: Tung. ***m[e]rVŋV**; Mong. ***maril**; Turk. ***bürü-lgen**; Kor. ***mə̀r'úi**.

PTung. ***m[e]rVŋV** 1 rowan 2 cloudberry (1 рябина 2 морошка): Evk. *moroŋo* 2; Nan. *mīrēŋkule* (Он. 263) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 547.

PMong. ***maril** a k. of red round berry or fruit (вид красной круглой ягоды или плода): WMong. *maril* (MXTTT); Kh. *maril*.

PTurk. ***bürü-lgen** a k. of berry (вид ягоды): Uygh. *bölžü(r)gän*; Tat. *börlegen*; Bashk. *börðögɛn*; Kirgh. *büldürkön*; Kaz. *büldirgen*; Nogh. *böl/üldirgen*; Chuv. *pe^{w}rle^{w}xen*.

◊ VEWT 93, Лексика 139-140 (forms like Kaz. *büldirgen* may reflect the same stem: **bürül-degen*). Cf. also Mong. forms: *bürelgene* 'калина', *bőrölgönö* 'костяника' which may be of Turkic origin.

PKor. ***mə̀r'úi** grapes (виноград): MKor. *mə̀r'úi*; Mod. *mərɯ*.

◊ Nam 212, KED 608.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 44, Дыбо 11. Turk. **bürü-lgen* < **berü-lgen* with labial attraction.

✱**méru (~-ŕ-)** spot: Tung. ***merī-**; Mong. ***merije- / *marija-**; Jpn. ***múrá**.

PTung. ***merī-** variegated (пестрый): Evk. *merī-kte*, *merī-me*; Evn. *märgi-ta*; Man. *mersen* 'spot'.

◊ TMC 1, 571-572.

PMong. ***merije- / *marija-** spotted, variegated (пятнистый, пестрый): Kh. *erēn ḿarān*; Bur. *eŕēn maŕān*; Ord. *erēn merēn*.

PJpn. ***múrá** spot, spotted (пятно, пятнистый): MJpn. *mura*; Tok. *mùra*; Kyo. *múrá*; Kag. *múra*.

◊ JLTT 488.

‖ Poppe 35, АПиПЯЯ 74. Turk. **beŕe* 'to ornament' (ЭСТЯ 2, 105-106) would be a good match; but it may be in fact a crasis < **bedŕe* (see **peda*).

✱**mésV** wild apple, grape: Tung. ***mes(k)u-**; Kor. ***mə̀s**.

PTung. ***mes(k)u-** grape (виноград): Man. *muču*; Jurch. *me-ču* (130); Ork. *muskeri* 'name of a tree'; Nan. *muksulte*; Ud. *mesukte*.

◊ TMC 1, 572.

PKor. ***mə̀s** wild apple; cherry (дикое яблоко; вишня): MKor. *mə̀s*.

◊ Nam 212.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

***mèto** to ask: Tung. ***mete-**; Mong. ***möči-**; Jpn. ***màtà-ma-**; Kor. ***mūd-**.

PTung. ***mete-** to warn, let know (предупреждать, сообщать): Evk. *metew-*; Evn. *metu-*; Neg. *metew-*; Ork. *metteu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 572.

PMong. ***möči-, *mötü-** to examine, investigate (испытывать, экзаменовать): MMong. *močgi-* (SH); WMong. *möče-* (L 544); Kh. *möči-, möcö-*; Bur. *müšxe-*; Kalm. *möčə-*; Mongr. *mutoG* 'soupçon, doute' (SM 253).

◊ KW 267, TMN 1, 502.

PJpn. ***màtà-ma-** to ask, demand (спрашивать, требовать): OJpn. *m(w)otoma-*; MJpn. *mòtòma-*; Tok. *motomé-*; Kyo. *mótómé-*; Kag. *mòtòmè-*.

◊ JLTT 727.

PKor. ***mūd-** to ask (спрашивать): MKor. *mūt-* (-r-); Mod. *mut-* (-r-).

◊ Nam 223, KED 675.

‖ Should be kept distinct from **mi̯uti* 'to know, believe' (although contaminations were possible).

***mét'i(-rkV)** bird's crop or navel; pudenda: Tung. ***motoka**; Turk. ***böteke**; Jpn. ***mitua**; Kor. ***màrtàkən**.

PTung. ***motoka** vulva (vulva): Evk. *motoko*; SMan. *motəqun* 'genitalia of a nubile girl' (122), *motərə* 'child's vulva' (123).

◊ TMC 1, 547. ?? Cf. Evn. *mereldiwke* 'cerebellum'.

PTurk. ***böteke** 1 bird's crop, craw 2 kidneys of animals 3 vulva 4 bird's stomach (1 зоб птицы 2 почки животных 3 vulva 4 желудок у птиц): Karakh. *bütege* 1 (OKypch., At-Tuhfat); Az. *pätänäk* 4; Turkm. *peteke* 1 (perhaps a back-borrowing < Mong.?); Tat. *bütäkä* 1, *böteg* 3; Bashk. *bütägä* 1; Kirgh. *bötög/kö* 4; Kaz. *bötäkä* 2; KKalp. *böteke* 1, 2; Kum. *böteke* 1; Nogh. *böteke, bötege* 1; Chuv. *pudege* 1,2; Yak. *bötögö* 4.

◊ EDT 304 (sub 'egg-plant'), VEWT 84, Ашм. X, 44. Turk. > Mong. *betege* 'bird's crop'.

PJpn. ***mitua** pudenda (гениталии): OJpn. *mjitwo*.

PKor. ***màrtàkən** bird's navel; (KED) the craw (crop) of a bird or insect (птичий пупок): MKor. *màrtàkən*; Mod. *məlt:əguni*.

◊ Nam 212, KED 613.

‖ The initial vowel correspondence is not quite clear (probably secondary labialization in PT).

***mét'ò** most: Mong. ***-med**; Jpn. ***mátà-mə**; Kor. ***mǎt**.

PMong. ***-med** the most, the eldest (самый, старший): MMong. *döji-med* (SH) 'the eldest of younger sisters'; WMong. *-mad, -med* (MXTTT); Kh. *-mad, -med*.

◊ Occurs in some compounds: *aqa-mad* 'the eldest (brother)', *egeči-med* 'elder (woman)', *jeke-med* 'the elder ones' etc.

PJpn. ***mətə̀-mə̀*** the most (самый): OJpn. *m(w)ot(w)om(w)o*; MJpn. *mótòmò*; Tok. *móttomo*; Kyo. *móttómó*; Kag. *mottómo*.

◊ Accent correspondences are rather uncertain; but the evidence is for the most part in favour of high tone on the first syllable.

PKor. ***mə̀t*** the eldest (старший): MKor. *mə̀t*; Mod. *mat*.

◊ Nam 199, KED 578.

‖ SKE 142, EAS 79, Martin 247. Cf. also similar forms (maybe specialized usages of the same root): MKor. *mātə̀i / mátə̀i* 'top', Jpn. *maT-* 'emphatic prefix'; Evk. *mātālīkān* 'up to the top', *moton* 'even'.

mìlt'e (~ -i)** full, fill: Tung. ***milte-; Mong. ***melteji-***; Jpn. ***mìt-***.

PTung. ***milte-*** full, whole (полный, целый): Evn. *miltъrъ*; Ork. *milte-milte*.

◊ TMC 1, 536-537.

PMong. ***melteji-*** to fill, overflow (наполнять, переполнять): WMong. *melteji-* (L 535); Kh. *meltij-*; Bur. *melti-*; Kalm. *meltə̄-* (KPC).

PJpn. ***mìt-*** full, be filled (полный, наполняться): OJpn. *mjit-*; MJpn. *mìt-*; Tok. *michí-*; Kyo. *mìchì-*; Kag. *mìchì-*.

◊ JLTT 725.

‖ KW 260, АПиПЯЯ 111, 278. The root is very similar to **mi̯ólo* 'full, fill' and may indeed be derived: **mi̯ol-t'i*. Such an explanation, however, would involve a metatony in Japanese and borrowing in TM (*milte-* < Mong. *melte-*), so we prefer to separate the two roots for the time being.

mińa (~ -o, -u)** a k. of grass: Turk. ***bińan; Kor. ***mìnàrí***.

PTurk. ***bińan*** a k. of grass (солодка, лебеда): Tur. *bojan, mejan*; Az. *bijan*; Turkm. *bujan*; MTurk. *bijan*, CCum. *bujan*; Uzb. *mija*; Uygh. *buja*; Tat. dial. *mija*; Kirgh. *mija*; Kaz. *mija*; KKalp. *bojan*; Kum. *mija*; Nogh. *mija*; Chuv. *mъjan*.

◊ Егоров 131. Turk. > Kalm. *bujā* 'лебеда', Russ. Siber. *bojalič* 'солянка древовидная' Аникин 125.

PKor. ***mìnàrí*** celery, parsley (сельдерей, петрушка): MKor. *mìnàrí*; Mod. *minari*.

◊ Liu 345, KED 687.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss.

míŋa (~ -o, -u)** large number, thousand: Mong. ***miŋgan; Turk. ***biŋ***.

PMong. ***miŋgan*** thousand (тысяча): MMong. *mingan* (HY 43), *minqa(n)* (SH), *miŋγān* (IM); WMong. *miŋγa(n)* (L 539); Kh. *ḿangan*; Bur. *ḿanga(n)*; Kalm. *miŋγŋ* (KPC); Ord. *miŋGa(n)*; Dag. *miange(n)* (MD 191); Mongr. *miŋxən* (SM 238).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *miŋgan* etc., see Doerfer MT 77, Rozycki 158.

PTurk. ***biŋ*** thousand (тысяча): OTurk. *biŋ, biŋ* (Orkh., OUygh.), *miŋ(OUygh.)*; Karakh. *miŋ* (MK, KB); Tur. *bin*; Gag. *bin*; Az. *min*; Turkm.

müŋ; Sal. *miŋ*; Khal. *miŋ*; MTurk. *miŋ* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *miŋ*; Uygh. *miŋ*; Krm. *min*; Tat. *meŋ*; Bashk. *meŋ*; Kirgh. *miŋ*; Kaz. *miŋ*; KBalk. *miŋ*; KKalp. *miŋ*; Kum. *miŋ*; Nogh. *miŋ*, *miŋ*; SUygh. *meŋ*; Khak. *muŋ*; Shr. *muŋ*; Oyr. *muŋ*; Tv. *muŋ*; Chuv. *pin*; Yak. *muŋ*.

◊ VEWT 76, MNT 4, 1742, EDT 347-347, Лексика 574. Cannot be < Chin. (see Clauson 1964, 24-25).

‖ EAS 78, Владимирцов 324, Poppe 72. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss, but the Mong. form can hardly be explained as borrowed from Turkic, despite TMN 4, 33, Щербак 1997, 107. Cf. perhaps MKor. *màńăn* 'forty' < 'big number'?

✱**m[ĭ]ro** arrow: Tung. ***m[i]rV**; Mong. ***merge-n**; Turk. ***bŭri**.

PTung. ***m[i]rV** 1 arrow 2 cross-bow (1 стрела 2 самострел): Evn. *mīr* 1; Nan. *moralị* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 537.

PMong. ***merge-n** sharp-shooter (хороший стрелок): MMong. *mergan* (HY 37, SH); WMong. *mergen* (L 537); Kh. *mergen*; Bur. *merge(n)*; Kalm. *mergŋ*; Ord. *mergen*; Dag. *mergen* (Тод. Даг. 154), *meregen* (MD 190); Dong. *meryen* (Тод. Дн.); Mongr. *mergen* (SM 236), *murgen*.

◊ KW 261-262, MGCD 485. A later semantic development is 'sharp-shooter' > 'skilled, wise', although Doerfer (TMN 1, 498) suggests rather 'skilled' > 'skilled in shooting'. If he is correct, the Mong. word should be removed from the Altaic etymology. In any case, Mong. > Manchu *mergen* 'a very good hunter or fisherman; outstanding, wise, worthy, skilled', Evk. *mergen* 'mind, reason' etc. (see TMC 1, 571, Doerfer MT 80, Rozycki 158),

PTurk. ***bŭri** head of an arrow (наконечник стрелы): Karakh. *büri* 'end of shaft inserted into arrow head' (MK); Yak. *bür-ges* (dimin.) 'awl, arrow with awl-like head'; Dolg. *bŭrges* 'ein Kampfpfeil mit pfriemförmiger Spitze'.

◊ EDT 356, VEWT 71, Stachowski 69.

‖ A Western isogloss. Vocalism is somewhat uncertain.

✱**mi̯ač'e** to move, climb: Tung. ***miči-**; Mong. ***mača-**; Kor. ***mìčhí-**.

PTung. ***miči-** to move, move back (подвигаться, придвигаться; отодвигаться): Evk. *miči-*; Evn. *mịt-/č-*; Nan. *mịčị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 539.

PMong. ***mača-** to climb up, hurry (карабкаться; спешить): WMong. *mača-* (L 519: *maču-*); Kh. *maca-*; Kalm. *macə-* (KPC); Ord. *maču-*.

PKor. ***mìčhí-** to reach, come to (достигать): MKor. *mìčhí-*, *mič-*; Mod. *mičhi-*.

◊ Liu 346, 348, KED 693.

‖ One of common Altaic motion verbs.

✱**mi̯àga** glory, praise: Tung. ***m[ia]g-**; Mong. ***magta-**; Turk. ***bAgatur**; Jpn. ***màwə̀-s-**; Kor. ***mār**.

PTung. ***m[ia]g-** 1 to shamanize 2 to be noisy, produce noise (1 камлать 2 шуметь): Evk. *migdi-* 2; Orch. *magui-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 520, 535.

PMong. ***magta-*** to praise, glorify (хвалить, прославлять): MMong. *maxta-* 'to laud, carol' (HY 32), *maqta-* (MA); WMong. *mayta-* (L 520); Kh. *magta-*; Bur. *magta-*; Kalm. *maktə-*; Ord. *maGta-*; Dag. *maktāl* 'praise'; S.-Yugh. *maχda-*; Mongr. *mašdaG* 'discours prononcé à la louange du gendre le jour du mariage' (SM 233), *maxda-*.

◊ KW 254, MGCD 475, 476. Mong. > Manchu *makta-* etc. (see Rozycki 153).

PTurk. ***bAgatur*** hero (герой): OTurk. *bayatur* (Orkh., n. pr.); Turkm. *bātir*; MTurk. (Xwar.) *bahatur*, CCum. *bayatur*; Kirgh. *bātir*; Oyr. *bātir*; Tv. *mādir*; Yak. *bātir*.

◊ EDT 313, VEWT 55. Cf. the name of the Xiongnu shanyu, MC *mâw-ton* (**mayu-tur*). This Turkic word was borrowed into numerous surrounding languages (Iranian, Mongolian etc., see the literature in ЭСТЯ). Modern forms like *batir*, *batur* are back-borrowings from Mong.; forms of the type *baxatir* - back-borrowings from Persian.

PJpn. ***màwə̀-s-*** to speak (polite) (говорить (вежл.)): OJpn. *mawos-*; MJpn. *maus-*; Tok. *mo̍s-*; Kyo. *mo̍s-*; Kag. *mo̍̀s-*.

◊ JLTT 726.

PKor. ***mār*** speech (речь): MKor. *mār*; Mod. *māl*.

◊ Nam 200, KED 579.

‖ Kor. **mār* < **maga-r*.

✱**mi̯ăkʻó** illness, stomach sickness: Tung. ***muxa-**; Mong. ***mekeji-**; Turk. ***b(i)ăk**; Jpn. ***manka**.

PTung. ***muxa-*** 1 stomach disease 2 to be ill, sick (1 желудочное заболевание 2 болеть): Evk. *mukān* 1; Ul. *mōko* 'идол от желудочной болезни' (< **muka-ka*); Ork. *muxule-* 2; Nan. *muxu* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 552.

PMong. ***mekeji-*** to suffer from hunger or stomach pains (страдать от голода или болей в желудке): WMong. *mekeji-*; Kh. *mekij-* 'втягивать живот' (БАМРС); Kalm. *mekē-* 'иметь подтянутый, тощий живот'; Ord. *meχī-*.

◊ KW 260.

PTurk. ***b(i)ăk*** bad, evil (плохой, дурной, негодный): Oyr. *bayaj*; Tv. *ba'q*; Tof. *ba'q*; Yak. *bayajɨ* 'fool, monster'.

◊ VEWT 57.

PJpn. ***manka*** evil, bad luck (зло, несчастье): OJpn. *maga*.

◊ JLTT 470.

‖ The TM-Mong. match suggests that the original meaning was 'stomach sickness', with a later development into a more general 'sickness, disease' and 'misfortune, bad (circumstabces)' elsewhere.

***mi̯ák'o** frog: Tung. ***moKo(lV)-**; Mong. ***mekelej**, ***melekej**; Turk. ***b(i)āka**; Kor. ***màkùrí**.

PTung. ***moKo(lV)-** 1 bat 2 chipmunk (1 летучая мышь 2 бурундук): Evk. *mokoločī* 1; Evn. *mokotoj* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 544.

PMong. ***mekelej**, ***melekej** frog (лягушка): MMong. *menekai* (HY 12), *minäkäj* (MA), *menēkī* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *melekei* (L 534), *menekei* (DO 461); Kh. *melxij*; Bur. *melxej*; Kalm. *meklē*; Ord. *meleχī*; Dag. *meleg*, *melek* (Тод. Дar. 154), *melehe* (MD 190).

◊ KW 260, MGCD 484.

PTurk. ***b(i)āka** frog (лягушка): OTurk. *baqa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *baqa* (MK); Tur. *bā*; Gag. *qurbā*; Az. *bayа*; Turkm. *Gurbāyа*; Sal. *payа*; Khal. *bāqa* 'turtle'; MTurk. *baqa* (AH, Ettuhf.), *baqqa* (MA); Uzb. *baqa*; Uygh. *baqa*, *paqa*; Krm. *baqa*; Tat. *baqa*; Kirgh. *baqa*; Kaz. *baqa*; KBalk. *maqa*; KKalp. *baqa*; Kum. *baqa*; Nogh. *baqa*; Khak. *payа*; Shr. *payа*; Oyr. *baqa*; Tv. *payа*; Tof. *bayа*; Yak. *bayа*.

◊ VEWT 58, EDT 311-312, 646-647, ЭСТЯ 2, 40-41, 6, 160-161 (see ibid. on the onomatopoeic nature of the component **Kur-*) , Лексика 179-180. A more precise reconstruction would be perhaps **b(i)ākka*, with expressive gemination (suggested by non-voicing in Kypchak). Turk. > Hung. *béka*, see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***màkùrí** frog, toad (лягушка, жаба): MKor. *màkùrí*.

◊ Nam 209.

‖ SKE 144, Лексика 180. An unmistakable match is PT **b(i)āka* : MKor. *màkùrí*. The Mong. forms may belong here if we assume the archaic nature of the Kalm. form (*meklē*), with innovations elsewhere. In TM one has to suppose a secondary shift of meaning: 'toad' > 'small creature' (bat, chipmunk).

***mi̯ák'ù** neck: Tung. ***muKa**; Turk. ***bAkan**; Jpn. ***múk-**; Kor. ***mòk**.

PTung. ***muKa** skin from deer's neck (шкура с шеи оленя): Evk. *muka*.

◊ TMC 1, 551. Attested only in Evk., but having possible Kor. and Jpn. parallels.

PTurk. ***bAkan** necklace, torque (ожерелье): Karakh. *baqan* (MK).

◊ EDT 316.

PJpn. ***múk-** to turn (one's head) towards, to face (поворачивать (голову) к чему-л.): OJpn. *muk-*, *mukap-*; MJpn. *muk-*, *múkáf-*; Tok. *mùk-*, *mùka-*; Kyo. *múk-*, *múká-*; Kag. *múk-*, *muká-*.

◊ JLTT 728.

PKor. ***mòk** neck (шея): MKor. *mòk*, *mòkài*; Mod. *mok*.

◊ HMCH 199, Nam 214, KED 636.

‖ SKE 150, Martin 233.

✱**mi̯ak'u** fur: Tung. ***muKa***; Mong. ***makalaj***; Jpn. ***muku***.

PTung. ***muKa*** fur clothes (меховая одежда): Evk. *mukā, mukčukē*; Evn. *mu̯qa*; Ud. *moksuhö* 'shirt'.

◊ TMC 1, 551, 553. Evk. > Dolg. *mükčükē* (Stachowski 183); *deriv. mukā-lkan* > Dolg. *mukālkan* (Stachowski 181).

PMong. ***makalaj*** fur hat (меховая шапка): MMong. *maqalai, malaqaj* (SH), *maɣala* (IM), *maqalaj* (MA); WMong. *malaɣaj* (MXTTT); Kh. *malgaj*; Bur. *malgaj*; Kalm. *maxlə̄*; Mog. *malGɛi* (Weiers); Dag. *malgaj* (MD); Dong. *maGala* (Tod. Dong.); Mongr. *marGa*.

◊ KW 254. Mong. > Man. *maxala*, see Doerfer MT 138, Rozycki 152-153.

PJpn. ***muku*** thick, shaggy hair (густая шерсть): Tok. *muku, mùkuge*; Kyo. *mùkúgè*; Kag. *mukugé*.

◊ JLTT 488. Tonal reconstruction is not quite clear.

✱**mi̯ali(-k'V)** bright, to shine: Tung. ***mia(l)-***; Mong. ***mel-***; Turk. ***bAlk-***; Kor. ***mǎrk-***.

PTung. ***mia(l)-*** 1 to glitter (of eyes) 2 to blind (eyes) 3 glittering, bright 4 blinded, blind (1 сверкать (о глазах) 2 слепить (глаза) 3 яркий, ослепительный 4 ослепленный, слепой): Evk. *millūn-* (Bac. 252) 1, *mêlkēsē* 4; Nan. *mi̯ari̯* 3; Orch. *mia-n-* 2; Ud. *mili-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 534, 535.

PMong. ***mel-*** bright, polished, shiny (светлый, блестящий, блестеть): WMong. *meli-ji-*, (L 534) *melmeji-*; Kh. *melij-*; Bur. *melmen, melgen, meliger, melij-*; Ord. *melmeŋ, melmeger*.

PTurk. ***bAlk-*** to shine, glitter (сверкать, сиять): Tur. *balk-* (dial.); Turkm. *balqılda-*; MTurk. (MKypch., Xwar.) *balqı-(CCum.*, AH, Qutb); Krm. *balqı-*; Tat. *balqı-*; Bashk. *balqı-*; Kaz. *balqı-*; KKalp. *balqı-*; Kum. *balqı-*; Oyr. *malqıl, malkıl* 'bright, shining'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 56-57.

PKor. ***mǎrk-*** clear, transparent (ясный, прозрачный): MKor. *mǎrk-*; Mod. *mak-* [*malk-*].

◊ Nam 203, KED 587.

‖ SKE 139.

✱**mi̯alu** a k. of evergreen tree: Tung. ***molari***; Mong. ***majila-su***; Turk. ***bAla- (?)***; Jpn. ***murua***.

PTung. ***molari*** cypress (кипарис): Man. *molori*.

◊ TMC 1, 545. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***majila-su*** cypress (кипарис): WMong. *majila-su* (L 522); Kh. *majls*.

◊ Mong. > Manchu *mailasun* 'arbor vitae, cypress' (see Rozycki 153).

PTurk. ***bAla- (?)*** fir tree (ель): Bashk. *balaštı* (VEWT); Kirgh. *balatı* 'young fir tree'; KBalk. *balas* (VEWT).

◊ VEWT 60 (the Bashk. and KBalk. forms are only found there, so the root is somewhat dubious).

PJpn. ***murua*** juniper (можжевельник): OJpn. *murwo*.

‖ Mong. *majila-* < **mali-la*.

mi̯àĺà to measure, measure: Tung. ***miali-***; Mong. ***malu***; Jpn. ***màsù***; Kor. ***már***.

PTung. ***miali-*** 1 to measure 2 a measure of weight 3 a measure for powder (1 мерить 2 мера веса 3 мерка для пороха): Man. *ńali-* 1, *ńalin* 2; Jurch. *mia-liaŋ-ha* 2 (524); Nan. (On.) *mialaqo* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 524.

PMong. ***malu*** vessel, basket (for grain) (сосуд, корзина (для зерна)): WMong. *malu* (L 524); Kalm. *mal*.

◊ KW 254.

PJpn. ***màsù*** a measure (for grain) (мера (зерна)): OJpn. *masu*; MJpn. *màsù*; Tok. *masú*; Kyo. *másù*; Kag. *masú*.

◊ JLTT 473.

PKor. ***már*** a measure (18 kg) (мера веса): MKor. *már*; Mod. *mal*.

◊ Nam 200, KED 578.

‖ SKE 138, Martin 236, Miller 1976, 350-351, АПиПЯЯ 69. A completely regular match. It is interesting to note Karakh. (EDT 379) *bašγan* 'a large fish weighing between 100 and 50 raṭls' (MK), used as a simile for the head-man of a tribe - although the word may, of course, be derived from *baš* 'head' (as suggested in EDT) - and thus unrelated to the present root.

mi̯áni to be confused, hesitate: Tung. ***mian-***; Mong. ***men-***; Turk. ***bŏn***; Kor. ***mìńíi-***.

PTung. ***mian-*** to be confused, wonder (тревожиться, растеряться, удивляться): Evk. *mēmbe-*; Evn. *mā̆n-*; Ul. *mē̆n-*; Nan. *mi̯an-*; Orch. *mā̆n-*.

◊ TMC 1, 567.

PMong. ***men-*** to become dull, numb, stupid (глупеть, терять сознание, цепенеть): WMong. *mene-re-* (L 536); Kh. *menere-*; Bur. *mener-*; Kalm. *menr-*; Ord. *menen* 'stupid'; Dag. *mener-* (Тод. Даг. 154).

◊ KW 261. Mong. *meneg* > Yak., Dolg. *menik* (Stachowski 178); Mong. *meneŋ* 'stupid' > Manchu *menen* 'paralysed, stupid' (Rozycki 157).

PTurk. ***bŏn*** 1 stupid, foolish 2 to go mad (1 глупый 2 сходить с ума): Karakh. *mün-* 2 (IM); Tur. *bön* 1, 2; Turkm. *mŏn* 1 (cf. also *mŭn* 'timidity').

◊ ОСНЯ 3, 53, 55. In ЭСТЯ 7 and VEWT 343-344 confused with other similar roots: **bün* 'defect', *bun- 'madness' (q. v. sub **mùne*, **múnu*) .

PKor. ***mìńíi-*** to be afraid, scared (бояться): MKor. *mìńíi-*, *mìńíijə́p-* (-w-); Mod. *musəp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 228, KED 660.

‖ Vocalism is not quite certain: in Turk. one has to suppose a secondary labialization: **bȭn* < **bēn*; in Kor. - vowel assimilation in a long wordform (**mìńíi-* < **mǎńi-*), as well as secondary palatalization *-n- > *-ń-.

✱**mi̯àrà (~ -ŕ-)** male, mature: Tung. ***miare-**; Jpn. ***màrà**.

PTung. ***miare-** to marry (жениться, выходить замуж): Evk. *mirē-*; Evn. *mierъn-*; Neg. *mijēn-*; Ul. *miren-*; Ork. *mīren-*; Nan. *marin-* (dial.).

◊ TMC 1, 538-539.

PJpn. ***màrà** penis (penis): OJpn. *mara*; MJpn. *màrà*.

◊ JLTT 472.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Note also several possible matches in Bur.: *morgo* 'male bear', *murā* 'male, mature', *mergeser* '3 y.-old pig'.

✱**mi̯àsò** a cutting or grinding tool: Tung. ***mōsa**; Mong. ***mese**; Jpn. ***màsà-**.

PTung. ***mōsa** 1 grinder, grinding stone 2 to grind 3 to thresh 4 thresher (1 жернов 2 молоть 3 молотить 4 молотилка): Man. *mose-la-* 2, *mose-la-qu* 1; Ul. *moso-lo-qu* 1; Nan. *mōso* (Bik., Он.) 1; *mōso-la-* 3, *mōso-laqo* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 547.

PMong. ***mese** sword, blade, axe (меч, лезвие, топор): MMong. *mese* (SH); WMong. *mese* (L 537); Kh. *mes*; Bur. *mese* < Khalkha ?; Kalm. *mesə*; Ord. *mese*.

◊ KW 262, TMN 1, 499.

PJpn. ***màsà-** 1 sword 2 timber axe (1 меч 2 топор): OJpn. *masakari* 2; MJpn. *màsàfi* 1, *màsàkàrì* 2; Tok. *masakari* 2.

◊ JLTT 472.

‖ Cf. also Orok *masāri* 'axe' (probably < Jpn.).

✱**mi̯at'è** to bend: Tung. ***mita-**; Mong. ***mata-**; Jpn. ***mətər-**.

PTung. ***mita-** 1 to bend over 2 to go back (1 перегибаться, разгибаться 2 отскакивать обратно): Man. *mita-* 1; Jurch. *mi-ta-buje-* 2 (539).

◊ TMC 1, 539.

PMong. ***mata- (/ *mita-)** to bend, bow (сгибать, склонять(ся)): WMong. *mata-* (L 530), *matari-*, *mitara-* 'se courber' (SM); Kh. *mata-*; Bur. *mata-*; Kalm. *matə-*; Ord. *matā-*; Dag. *mata-* (Тод. Даг. 154: *matĺēn* 'bent, curved'); Mongr. *mātari* 'petit pain enroulé et cuit au bain-marie' (SM 234).

◊ KW 258, MGCD 482. Mong. > Evk., Man. *mata-* (TMC 1, 533), see Doerfer MT 61.

PJpn. ***mətər-** 1 to bend 2 to deviate (1 изгибаться 2 отступать, расходиться): OJpn. *motor-* 1; Tok. *motór-* 2; Kyo. *mótór-* 2; Kag. *motór-* 2.

◊ JLTT 727. Accent is not quite clear.

‖ Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite reliable.

***mi̯at'i** head skin, face: Tung. ***miata**; Mong. ***metü**; Turk. ***bĕt**.

PTung. ***miata** skin from animal's head (шкура с головы животного): Evk. *mêta*; Evn. *mät*; Neg. *mêta*; Ul. *mêta*; Ork. *mêta*; Nan. *mi̯ata*; Orch. *miata*; Ud. *mäta* (Корм. 260); Sol. *mêta* 'face'.

◊ TMC 1, 535.

PMong. ***metü** like, as, similar (похожий, подобно): MMong. *metu* (SH, HYt); WMong. *metü* (L 538); Kh. *met*; Bur. *mete*; Kalm. *metə*, *mötə*; Ord. *mötü*; Mog. *metu* (Weiers); Dong. *mutu*; Bao. *mətgo*; Mongr. *madu* (SM 229).

◊ KW 262, MGCD 485.

PTurk. ***bĕt** 1 face 2 side, near (1 лицо 2 сторона, близко): OTurk. *bet* 1 (OUygh.); Tur. *bet-beniz* 'face colour'; Az. *bät-bäniz* 'face colour'; MTurk. *bet* 1 (Sangl.); Uzb. *bet* 1, 2; Uygh. *bät* 1, 2; Krm. *bet* 1; Tat. bit 1, 2; Bashk. *bit* 1, 2; Kirgh. *bet* 1, 2; Kaz. *bet* 1, 2; KBalk. *bet* 1, 2; KKalp. *bet* 1, 2; Kum. *bet* 1, 2; Nogh. *bet* 1, 2; Oyr. *bet* 1; Tv. *beti* 2; Tof. *be't* 2; Chuv. *pat-* 2 (*pit* 1 < Tat.); Yak. *bet-* 2.

◊ VEWT 72, EDT 296, ЭСТЯ 2, 121-122, Лексика 207.

‖ EAS 79, KW 262, Лексика 207-208. A Western isogloss. The Jpn. cognates present problems. Ozawa 292-293 compares OJ *mod(w)ok(j)i* 'resembling, similar', which is quite irregular vocalically. It is interesting to note Modern Jpn. *mitai* id. (used exactly in the same suffixed position and being phonetically quite a good match for Mong. *metü* etc., but attested late and usually analysed (folk-etymologically?) as a desiderative form of *mi-* 'to see'.

***mi̯oje** to hate, dislike: Tung. ***mujē-**; Mong. ***mejeɣe-**; Kor. ***mùi-**.

PTung. ***mujē-** to treat badly, oppress (обижать, притеснять): Evk. *mujē-*; Evn. *mŏje-*.

◊ TMC 1, 551.

PMong. ***mejeɣe-** envious, conceited (завистливый, тщеславный): Bur. *mejēn*; Kalm. *mejērkəg* (KPC), *mejŭr-* (KW 260).

PKor. ***mùi-** to dislike, hate (не любить, ненавидеть): MKor. *mui-*, *mŭi-p-* (-w-); Mod. *mip-* (-w-), *miwə-ha-*.

◊ Nam 224, 233, KED 699.

‖ SKE 153, TMC 1, 551.

***mi̯ójńi (~ -n-)** to become overripe, rot: Tung. ***munī-**; Turk. ***bAńĭl**; Jpn. ***mínə́-r-**; Kor. ***mə̀i-b-**.

PTung. ***munī-** 1 to rot (trans.), spoil 2 to rot (1 гноить, портить 2 гнить): Evk. *munī-* 1, *munu-* 2; Evn. *mun-* 2; Sol. *mune-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 557.

PTurk. ***bAńĭl** overripe (перезрелый): Karakh. *majïl*, *majïl-* 'to become overripe' (MK).

◊ EDT 772. Cf. also Oyr. *minčik* 'musty'.

PJpn. ***mínə́-r-*** to ripen, become ripe (созревать): OJpn. *m(j)in(w)or-*; Tok. *mìnor-*, *minór-*; Kyo. *mínór-*; Kag. *minór-*.

◊ JLTT 724.

PKor. ***mə̀i-b-*** bitter, acid, to make acid (горький, кислый, квасить): MKor. *mə̀ip-* (-w-); Mod. *mäp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 208, KED 605.

‖ Medial *-j- has to be reconstructed to account for the secondary palatalization in Turkic and for the -i-reflex in Korean.

✱**mi̯ŏjo** to be mislead, mad: Tung. ***mija-***; Turk. ***boj-***; Jpn. ***maju(a)-***; Kor. ***mì-čhi-***.

PTung. ***mija-*** to go astray, be mislead (заблудиться, сбиться с пути): Evk. *mija-*; Evn. *mie-*; Neg. *mī(j)-*; Ul. *mi-*; Ork. *mī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 536.

PTurk. ***boj-*** 1 to be dilatory and careless 2 to rage, rough-house 3 rampant 4 to rot, spoil (1 быть неосторожным, рассеянным 2 буянить 3 буйный, ретивый 4 протухать, портиться, хиреть): Karakh. *bojba-* (MK) 1; Turkm. *bojna-* 2, *bojnaq* 3; Uzb. *bo̯j-la-* 4; Krm. *boj-ɣ̇ın* 'fainted'; Bashk. *buj-la-* 2; Kirgh. *buj-da-* 'to be confused'; Tv. *boj-la-* 4.

◊ EDT 385.

PJpn. ***maju(a)-*** to go astray (сбиваться с пути): OJpn. *maju-p-* / *majwo-p-*; MJpn. *majof-*; Tok. *mayó-*; Kyo. *máyó-*; Kag. *mayó-*.

◊ JLTT 722. Accent reconstruction is not clear: either **májúa-* (Kyoto-Kagoshima, with deviation in Tokyo) or **màjùa-* (Tokyo-Kyoto, with deviation in Kagoshima); the word is unfortunately absent in RJ.

PKor. ***mì-čhí-*** to be mad (сходить с ума): MKor. *mì-čhí-*; Mod. *mi-čhi-*.

◊ Liu 346, KED 693.

‖ SKE 149.

✱**mi̯ók'[ú]** to bow: Tung. ***miaxu-***; Mong. ***meküji-***; Turk. ***bok-***; Jpn. ***mánká-***.

PTung. ***miaxu-*** to bow, kneel (кланяться, становиться на колени): Neg. *mixeret-*; Man. *ńaqura-*; SMan. *jaqurə-*, *jaquru-* (1447); Jurch. *mia-ku-ru-* (466); Ul. *mêxoron-*; Ork. *mêχoran-*; Nan. *mi̯χoran-*, *mi̯aqora-*; Orch. *mäxurava-*; Ud. *mäula-*.

◊ TMC 1, 536. Cf. also **mekč-* 'hump' (TMC 1, 565-566).

PMong. ***meküji-*** to bow (кланяться, нагибаться): WMong. *meküji-* (L 574); Kh. *mexij-*, *möxij-*.

PTurk. ***bok-*** to bend knees, bow, cross the legs (сгибать колени, нагибаться, скрещивать ноги): Karakh. *boq-* (MK); Kaz. *buq-*; KKalp. *buq-*; Oyr. *bi̯ɣ̇i-*; Yak. *bokuj-*.

◊ EDT 311, VEWT 79.

PJpn. ***mánká-*** to bow, bend (сгибать(ся)): OJpn. *maga-(r-)*; MJpn. *mágá-(r-)*; Tok. *màgar-*, *màge-*; Kyo. *mágár-*, *mágé-*; Kag. *magár-*, *magé-*.

◊ JLTT 719.

‖ TMC 1, 536. The parallel seems plausible, although in Jpn. one would rather expect -u-.

✱**mi̯óle** to present, gift: Tung. ***mula-***; Mong. ***melǯe-***; Turk. ***bẹlek***; Jpn. ***mə́ráp-***, ***mər-***; Kor. ***mūr-***.

PTung. ***mula-*** to pity (жалеть): Evk. *mulān-*; Evn. *mu̯lān-*; Neg. *molān-*; Ul. *munalsi̯-*; Ork. *mu̯nāli̯-*; Nan. *moni̯alsi̯-*; Orch. *muńalisi-*; Ud. *muńali-*; Sol. *mu̯lān-*.

◊ TMC 1, 554.

PMong. ***melǯe-*** 1 a bet, wager 2 to bet (1 ставка, пари 2 делать ставку): MMong. *milǯeldu-* 'ссориться (из-за вещи)' (MA); WMong. *melǯige* 1, *melǯi-* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *melʒē* 1, *melʒe-* 2; Bur. *melze-* 'refuse'; Kalm. *melzə* 1 (KPC); Ord. *melǯĕčŭl-* 'faire concourir pour un prix'.

◊ Mong. > Manchu *melǯe-* etc. (see Rozycki 156).

PTurk. ***bẹlek*** gift (подарок): OTurk. *belek* (OUygh.); Karakh. *belek* (MK); Tur. *belek* (dial.); Khal. *pelek*; MTurk. *belek* (Sangl.); Uygh. *bäläk* (dial.); Krm. *belek* 'приплод'; Tat. *büläk*; Bashk. *büläk*; Kirgh. *belek*; SUygh. *pelek* (ЯЖУ); Oyr. *belek*; Tv. *belek*; Chuv. *pil* 'blessing'; Yak. *belex*; Dolg. *belek*.

◊ VEWT 69, TMN 2, 413, EDT 338, ЭСТЯ 2, 112-113, Дыбо 1997, 78-79, Лексика 348-349, Stachowski 57. In Егоров 160, Федотов 1, 431 the Chuv. form is regarded as a variant of *pexil* 'blessing' (< Pers.), which is insecure phonetically. Derivation from bele'swaddle' (Clark 1977, 132) is highly dubious. The labialized vowel in Bashk., Tat. is a result of contamination with **bölek* 'part'. Turk. > WMong. *beleg*, Kalm. *belag* (KW 41; TMN ibid., Щербак 1997, 104), whence Evk. *belek* etc., see Doerfer MT 141 (but Аникин 127 regards Evk. *belek* as borrowed < Yak.).

PJpn. ***mə́ráp-***, ***mər-*** 1 to obtain, receive gifts 2 to guard, protect (1 получать, принимать подношения 2 защищать): OJpn. *m(w)orap-* 'to expect, await', *m(w)or-* 2; MJpn. *móráf-* 1, *mor-* 2; Tok. *mòra-* 1; Kyo. *mórá-* 1; Kag. *morá-* 1.

◊ JLTT 727.

PKor. ***mūr-*** to pay, compensate (платить, возмещать): MKor. *mūr-*, *mùr'í-*; Mod. *mul-*, *mulli-*.

◊ Liu 334, Nam 224, KED 677, 679.

‖ The basic meaning of the root is "to present (or obtain) a gift"; a metaphorical change "present a gift > condescend > pity" must have occurred in TM.

✱**mi̯olkʻo** to creep, slide: Tung. ***milkü- / *mirkü-***; Mong. ***mölki-***; Jpn. ***məkə-jəp- (~-ua-)***.

PTung. ***milkü- / *mirkü-*** to creep (ползти): Evk. *mirki-*, dial. *milki-*; Evn. *mirkъ-*; Neg. *mīxi-*; Man. *miču-*, *miǯi-*; SMan. *muči-*, *mući-* (1236,

2302); Ul. *mičʉ-*; Ork. *mitu-*; Nan. *miku-*; Orch. *mikki-*; Ud. *miki-*; Sol. *milki-*.

◊ TMC 1, 537-538.

PMong. ***mölki-*** to creep (ползти): WMong. *mölkü-* (L 546); Kh. *mölxö-*; Bur. *mülxi-*; Kalm. *mölkə-*; Ord. *mölχö-*; Mog. ZM *molku-* (10-4b); Dag. *milku-*, *mulku-* (Тод. Дar. 154); S.-Yugh. *məlgə-*.

◊ KW 265, MGCD 489.

PJpn. ***məkə-jəp- (~-ua-)*** to creep (as snake) (ползти (о змее)): OJpn. *m(w)ok(w)oj(w)op-* (~ -g-); MJpn. *mokojof-*.

‖ Poppe 36.

✱**mi̯ólo** full, to fill, thick: Tung. ***mila-***; Mong. ***mel- / *möl-***; Turk. ***bol***; Jpn. ***mə́r-***; Kor. ***mīr-***.

PTung. ***mila-*** wide open, broad (широко раскрытый): Man. *mila, mila-χun*.

◊ TMC 1, 536. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***mel- / *möl-*** 1 to be full, become full 2 quite, full (1 быть полным, наполняться 2 вполне, полный): WMong. *melmeji-* (L 534), *melmelǯe- / mölmülǯe-* (L 535, 546) 1; Kh. *melmij-*, *melmelǯe-* 1; Bur. *melmelǯe-* 1; Kalm. *melmɛ:-* 1, *mel* 2; Ord. *melčirme-* 1, *melʉ̈*, *melē*.

◊ KW 260.

PTurk. ***bol*** abundant, full (обильный, полный): Tur. *bol*; Turkm. *bol*; Uzb. *bɔl* (Chag.), *mɔl* (Uzb.); Tat. *mul*; Kirgh. *mol*; Chuv. *püle-mes*; *pül-lə* 'stalwart'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 184-185.

PJpn. ***mə́r-*** to fill, heap up (наполнять, нагромождать): OJpn. *m(w)or-*; MJpn. *mór-*; Tok. *mòr-*; Kyo. *mór-*; Kag. *mór-*.

◊ JLTT 727.

PKor. ***mīr-*** tide (разлив, прилив): MKor. *mīr-mír* (*mír* 'water'); Mod. *mīlmul*.

◊ Nam 234, KED 697.

‖ Note traces of nasalization in Turkic (should one reconstruct **bonl*?). Cf. also **mìlťe*.

✱**mi̯ónde** hare: Tung. ***mundu-kān***; Mong. ***möndele***; Turk. ***bAńi-***; Jpn. ***mə́m-***.

PTung. ***mundu-kān*** hare (заяц): Evk. *mundukān*; Evn. *mu̯nru̯qan*; Neg. *monoxān*.

◊ TMC 1, 556.

PMong. ***möndele*** young of a tarbagan (детеныш тарбагана): WMong. *möndele* (L 547: *möndül*); Kh. *möndöl*.

◊ Cf. also WMong. *moltuγčin* (L 542) 'rabbit'.

PTurk. ***bAńi-*** 1 hare 2 marmot (1 заяц 2 сурок): Tat. *bajbaq* 2; Bashk. *bajbaq* 2; Oyr. *majčɨq* 1; Chuv. *molgaś/č*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7, under **majmak* 'club-footed', Сетаров 1970. The traditional etymology of Chuv. (Федотов 1, 362, Егоров 134-135) from an unattested Udm. **mu* 'earth' + *lud kеč* 'field hare' is quite incredible: the Chuv. form is well explained < **bańi-l-kač* (a diminutive).

PJpn. ***məm-** flying squirrel (белка-летяга): MJpn. *mómí*; Tok. *momonga*.

◊ JLTT 484.

‖ The root (containing a rare cluster *-ńd-) must have denoted a small wild animal, most probably a hare. It occurs with various suffixes; a common formation may be Chuv. *mulgaś* < **bańi-l-(kač)* = PM **mönde-le* < **mi̯ónde-lV*.

***mi̯ónù** heart; breast: Tung. ***miańam**; Jpn. ***múnà-i**; Kor. ***mǎ́ńǎ́m**.

PTung. ***miańam** heart (сердце): Evk. *mêwan*; Neg. *mêwan*; Man. *ńaman*; SMan. *ńaməŋ* (86); Ul. *mêwa(n)*; Ork. *mêwa(n)*; Nan. *m'ā̃wa(n)*; Orch. *mā̃wa(n)*; Ud. *meäwa(n-)*; Sol. *ḿēɣā, mīɣā*.

◊ TMC 1, 533-534. All languages except Manchu underwent an assimilative change **miańam* > **miawan*; however, Manchu *ńaman* speaks strongly in favour of the original palatal **ń*, corresponding well to the external data.

PJpn. ***múnà-i** breast (грудь): OJpn. *mune*; MJpn. *múnè*; Tok. *muné*; Kyo. *múnè*; Kag. *múne*.

◊ JLTT 488. *muna-* in OJ compounds (*muna-saka* etc.).

PKor. ***mǎ́ńǎ́m** heart (сердце): MKor. *mǎ́ńǎ́m*; Mod. *maim*.

◊ Nam 196, KED 564.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. See SKE 136, EAS 79, Whitman 1985, 202, 237, АПиПЯЯ 48, 290, Robbeets 2000, 103. The MKor. variant *njəm-* in *njə̀m-thòŋ* 'heart' (which Lee 1958, 115 attempts to compare separately with Manchu *ńaman*), is most probably just a contraction in a compound < **mǎ́ńǎ́m-thòŋ*.

***mi̯oŋe** red, blood-red: Tung. ***muŋsi**; Mong. ***min-či- / *men-te- (?)**; Jpn. ***məmi (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***muŋsi** 1 red (as blood) 2 clot of blood (1 красный (как кровь) 2 сгусток крови): Evk. *munŋi* 1; Evn. *munsъ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 556.

PMong. ***min-či- / *men-te-** to become red (краснеть): WMong. *minči-*; Kh. *minčij-*; Bur. *menti-*; Kalm. *minč-*.

◊ In KW 263: *mintə ulān urltē* 'mit hellroten Lippen'. Ramstedt says **minta* < Tib. *mendi* < Sanskr. *mendhī* 'Lawsonia alba; wird zum Rotfärben der Nägel verwendet'; *minči-* is glossed (ibid.) as 'prahlerisch gekleidet sein'.

PJpn. ***məmi (~ -ua-)** red cloth, red colour (красная ткань, красный цвет): MJpn. *momi*; Tok. *mómi*; Kyo. *mómí*; Kag. *mómi*.

◊ JLTT 484. Tone reconstruction is not quite clear.

‖ Since the Mong. reflex is somewhat dubious, basically a Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**mi̯ore** to hurt, damage, wound: Tung. ***mur-dul-***; Mong. ***mer***; Turk. ***bert-***; Jpn. ***miar- (~ *mair-)***.

PTung. ***mur-dul-*** 1 to slaughter (a deer) 2 to peel (bark) (1 заколоть (оленя) 2 ободрать (кору)): Evk. *murdul-* 1, *murdune-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 558. Attested only in Evk., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***mer*** 1 wound 2 (expr. for) a painful sensation 3 to gnaw at smth. (1 рана 2 (изобр.) чувство боли 3 глодать что-л.): MMong. *mer* (MNT, SH) 1; WMong. *mer* 2, mere- 3 (L 536); Kh. *mer* 2, *mere-* 3; Bur. *mere-* 3; Kalm. *mer* 2, *mer-* 3.

◊ KW 261, 262.

PTurk. ***bert-*** to break, damage, wound (ломать, вредить, ранить): OTurk. *bert-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bert-* (MK); Tur. *bert-*; Gag. *bert-*; Az. *pärt-*; Turkm. *berti-*; Khal. *pärt-lä-* 'to throw'; MTurk. *bertik* 'bone' (in the context: bone fracture) (Pav. C.); Tat. *birt-*; Bashk. *birt-*; Kirgh. *bertik* 'contortion', *bertin-* = *mertin-* (refl.); Kaz. *mertik* 'contortion'; KKalp. *mert-*; Nogh. *mertik* 'contortion'; Khak. *pirtək* 'mutilation'; Shr. *peret-*; Oyr. *bert-in-* (refl.); Tv. *bertik* 'mutilation'; Chuv. *part* '(imit.) crackling'.

◊ VEWT 71, EDT 358, 359, ЭСТЯ 2, 70-72. Turk. > Mong. *berte-*.

PJpn. ***miar- (~ *mair-)*** to decrease, diminish, drain away (уменьшаться, ухудшаться): MJpn. *mer-*; Tok. *meri* (n.).

◊ JLTT 475, 723.

‖ The Jpn. parallel is not quite certain, both semantically and phonetically; if it really belongs here it might demand a reconstruction **mi̯ojre*.

✱**mi̯óre (~ -ŕ-)** to long, show affection: Tung. ***mur-***; Mong. ***mereji-***; Jpn. ****mútú-m-***.

PTung. ***mur-*** 1 spiritual power, luck 2 thought, mind, determination, resolution 3 love, affection 4 to think (1 душевная сила, удача, счастье 2 мысль, ум, решимость 3 любовь, влечение 4 думать): Evk. *murač* 1; Man. *mužin* 2, *mužilen* 2, 3; *muru* 'shape, form'; SMan. *mužin* 2 (1998); *muru* 'pattern, outline' (2343); Jurch. *miuʒil[e]n-be* (506) 'heart'; Ul. *muru(n)* 2, *muruči-* 4; Ork. *muru(n)* 2, *murutči-* 4; Nan. *murũ* 2, *muruči-* 4; Orch. *muiči-* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 551, 558, 559.

PMong. ***mereji-*** to strive, make an effort (стремиться): WMong. *mereji-* (L 536); Kh. *merij-*.

PJpn. ****mútú-m-*** to be friendly, show affection (быть дружественным, приветливым): OJpn. *mutub-*; MJpn. *mútúm-*, *mútúb-*; Tok. *mùtsum-*; Kyo. *mútsúm-*.

◊ JLTT 729.

‖ One of the common Altaic verbs of emotion.

***mi̯óri** road, track; to follow: Mong. ***mör**; Turk. ***bar-**; Jpn. ***mítí**; Kor. ***mōr-**.

PMong. ***mör** road, track (дорога, след): MMong. *mor* (HY 4, SH), *mor* (IM), *mur* (MA); WMong. *mör* (L 548); Kh. *mör*; Bur. *mür*; Kalm. *mör*; Ord. *mör*; Mog. *mür*; KT *mor* (11-2b); Dag. *mure* (MD 192); Dong. *mo*; Bao. *mor*; S.-Yugh. *mör*; Mongr. *mōr* (SM 240), (MGCD *mur*).

◊ KW 266, MGCD 491.

PTurk. ***bar-** 1 to walk, go (away) 2 to come, reach (1 ходить, идти 2 приходить, достигать): OTurk. *bar-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bar-* 1 (MK); Tur. *var-* 2; Gag. *var-* 1, 2; Az. *var-* 2; Turkm. *bar-* 1; Sal. *var-*, *bār-*, *pār-* 1 (ССЯ); Khal. *var-* 1; MTurk. *bar-* 1 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bɔr-* 1, 2; Uygh. *ba(r)-* 1; Krm. *bar-* 1; Tat. *bar-* 1; Bashk. *bar-* 1; Kirgh. *bar-* 1; Kaz. *bar-* 1; KBalk. *bar-* 1; KKalp. *bar-* 1; Kum. *bar-* 1, 2; Nogh. *bar-* 1; SUygh. *par-* 1; Khak. *par-* 1; Shr. *par-* 1; Oyr. *bar-* 1, 2; Tv. *bar-* 1; Tof. *bar-* 1; Chuv. *pĭr-* 1; Yak. *bar-* 1; Dolg. *bar-* 1.

◊ VEWT 62, ЭСТЯ 2, 64-65, EDT 354, Stachowski 52. Chuv. *-ĭ-* is unclear.

PJpn. ***mítí** road (дорога): OJpn. *mjiti*; MJpn. *mítí*; Tok. *mìchi*; Kyo. *míchí*; Kag. *míti* (= *míT*).

◊ JLTT 481.

PKor. ***mōr-** to pursue, drive (преследовать, гнать): MKor. *mōr-*; Mod. *mol-*.

◊ Liu 325, HMCH 307, KED 641.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 89, 277.

***mi̯ót'i** joint: Mong. ***möči**; Kor. ***mǎ̀tǎ̀i**.

PMong. ***möči** body part, extremity (часть тела, конечность): MMong. *muče* (MA 405); WMong. *möči* (L 544: *möče, möči*); Kh. *möč*; Bur. *müse*; Kalm. *möča*; Ord. *möčö*; Dag. *mužɨ* (Тод. Дат. 155), (MGCD) *moiǯi*; Mongr. *mučir*.

◊ KW 267, MGCD 492. Mong. > Kirgh. *mučö*, Kaz. *muše*, Yak. *müsä* etc. (see TMN 1, 505, Щербак 1997, 206).

PKor. ***mǎ̀tǎ̀i** joint (of bamboo; of body) (коленце (бамбука); сустав): MKor. *mǎ̀tǎ̀i*; Mod. *madi*.

◊ Nam 195, KED 561.

‖ A Mong.-Kor. isogloss.

***mi̯ot'ì (~ -u-)** land: Jpn. ***mita (~ -u-)**; Kor. ***mut**.

PJpn. ***mita (~ -u-)** earth (земля):

◊ JLTT 481. A Ryukyu isolate: cf. Nase *mìčá*, Hateruma *ǹtá* etc.

PKor. ***mut** dry land (суша): MKor. *mut*; Mod. *mut* [*muth*].

◊ Nam 223, KED 685.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

***mi̯údu** dragon: Tung. ***muduri**; Jpn. ***múi (~ *mái)**; Kor. ***mìrí**.

PTung. ***muduri** dragon (дракон): Man. *muduri*; SMan. *muduri* (2276); Jurch. *mudu-ur* (135); Ul. *muduli*; Nan. *muduri*; Orch. *muduri*; Ud. *mudile* (Корм. 262); Sol. *mudur*.

◊ TMC 1, 550. TM > Dag. *mudur* (Тод. Дат. 155).

PJpn. ***múi (~ *mái)** snake (6th Zodiac sign) (змей (6 знак зодиака)): OJpn. *mi*; MJpn. *mi*; Tok. *mì*; Kyo. *mé*; Kag. *mí*.

◊ JLTT 476.

PKor. ***mìrí** dragon (дракон): MKor. *mìrí*.

◊ Nam 233.

‖ Whitman 1985, 61, 239 (Kor.-Jpn.); see also the discussion in Miller 2000. An interesting Eastern isogloss.

***mi̯ùjre** shoulder: Tung. ***mũ̯re**; Mong. ***mörü**; Jpn. ***mət-**; Kor. ***mə̄i-**.

PTung. ***mũ̯re** shoulder (плечо): Evk. *mīre*; Evn. *mīr*; Neg. *mīje*; Man. *meiren*; SMan. *mirin* (65); Ul. *ŋujre*; Ork. *mujre*; Nan. *mejre*; Orch. *mije*; Sol. *mīri, mīre*.

◊ TMC 1, 538.

PMong. ***mörü** shoulder (плечо): MMong. *muru* (SH), *muro* (HY 46), *murun* (MA); WMong. *mörü(n)* (L 549); Kh. *mör*; Bur. *mür(e)*; Kalm. *mörn̥* (KPC); Ord. *mörö*; Dag. *muru, mur* (Тод. Дат. 155), mure (MD 192); S.-Yugh. *murə, mərə*.

◊ MGCD 491.

PJpn. ***mət-** to carry, hold (нести, держать): OJpn. mot-; MJpn. *mòt-*; Tok. *mót-*; Kyo. *mòt-*; Kag. *mòt-*.

◊ JLTT 728.

PKor. ***mə̄i-** to carry on the shoulder (нести на плече): MKor. *mə̄i-*; Mod. *mē-*.

◊ Nam 212, KED 616.

‖ Poppe 35, TMC 1, 538, SKE 145, Колесникова 1972a, 91-92, АПиПЯЯ 291, Дыбо 308, Rozycki 156. The cluster *-jr- accounts for Kor. -i- (but note that in TM it may be perhaps reconstructed directly: a reconstruction **mūjre* is also possible).

***mi̯úkčˊ[à]** a k. of hammer: Tung. ***mukča**; Jpn. ***mútì**; Kor. ***màčhí**.

PTung. ***mukča** mallet (палица, дубина): Neg. *mu̯kočan*; Man. *muqšan*; SMan. *muqəšan, muqəsan* 'club, stave' (679); Ul. *mu̯kča*; Nan. *moksa-* 'to hit with a mallet'; Orch. *mučaŋki*; Ud. *mūsi-* 'to hit with a fist, mallet' (Корм. 263); Sol. *mu̯xs̃ã*.

◊ TMC 1, 553, 561.

PJpn. ***mútì** whip (кнут, бич): OJpn. *muti*; MJpn. *muti*; Tok. *múchi*; Kyo. *múchì*; Kag. *múchi*.

◊ JLTT 489. Kyoto and Kagoshima point to **mútì*, but the Tokyo accent is irregular.

PKor. ***màčhí*** wooden hammer, mallet (деревянный молоток, колотушка): MKor. *màčhí*; Mod. *mačhi*.

◊ Liu 301, KED 567.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. perhaps also Turk. **bičkak* 'knife' (if re-analysed semantically on analogy with **bič-* 'cut'). The vowel reflex in Jpn. points to a variant **mi̯ukčʻo* (or *mi̯ukčʻu*).

mi̯ūko** snake: Tung. ***mŭkŭ; Mong. ***mogaji***; Turk. ***böke***; Jpn. ***múkátai (~ -tia)***; Kor. ***mək-***.

PTung. ***mŭkŭ*** snake (змея): Neg. *mīxi*; Man. *meixe*; SMan. *meixə* (2271); Jurch. *muj-xe* (165); Ul. *mui*; Ork. *mui / mujɣi*; Nan. *mujki*; Orch. *mīki*; Ud. *miki*.

◊ TMC 1, 537-538.

PMong. ***mogaj*** snake (змея): MMong. *moxai* (HY 12), *moqai* (SH), *məɣa* (IM), *muɣaj* (MA); WMong. *moɣai* (L 541); Kh. *mogoj*; Bur. *mogoj*; Kalm. *moɣā*, *moɣā*; Ord. *moGō*; Mog. *maɣōī*; ZM *māyāj* (21-7a); Dag. *mogo*, *mogu*, *mog* (Тод. Дar. 154); Dong. *moGi*, *moɣəi*; Bao. *moGui*; S.-Yugh. *moɣui*, *moGoi*; Mongr. *muGwə* (SM 244), *moGui* (Huzu).

◊ KW 263, MGCD 487, TMN 1, 508-509.

PTurk. ***böke*** a big snake (большая змея): Karakh. *böke* (MK).

◊ Лексика 180, EDT 324. Clauson doubts MK's derivation of *böke* 'warrior' from 'big snake' (MK quotes a folk-tale about the snake with seven heads called *böke*, and says that the warriors are called by it); but external evidence rather supports Kashgari's point of view. If this is the case, MMong. *bökö* 'warrior, wrestler' (whence Evk. *buku* etc., see Doerfer MT 235) must be a Turkic loanword (see EDT ibid.).

PJpn. ***múkátai (~-tia)*** centipede (многоножка): MJpn. *múkádè*; Tok. *mùkade*; Kyo. *mùkádè*; Kag. *mukáde*.

◊ JLTT 487. Accent is not quite clear: most dialects (including RJ) point to high tone on the first two syllables, but Kyoto suggests rather **mùkátài*.

PKor. ***mək-*** a big black snake (большая черная змея): Mod. *mək-kuri*, *mək-kurəɲi*.

◊ KED 609.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 36, 293, Лексика 180. The Mong.-Tung. match is precise; other reflexes present bigger or lesser problems, possibly of tabooistic nature. PJ has irregular tone (but cf. the accentuation in Kyoto, pointing to **mùká-*); in PT one would rather expect a back vowel; the Kor. word is analysed as "ink-snake" (which is probably a folk-etymology).

mi̯uktu (~ -i)** stump, horn foundation: Tung. ***mugde-ke; Mong. ***mugǰi-***; Kor. ***mìth***.

PTung. ***mugde-ke*** stump (пень): Evk. *mugdekēn*; Evn. *muɣdъkъn*; Neg. *mugdixēn*; Man. *mukdexen*; Ul. *mugdu(n)*; Ork. *mūgde(n)*; Nan. *mugdu*, *mugdekẽ*; Orch. *mugde(n)*; Ud. *mugdaʻa* (Корм. 262); Sol. *mugdexẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 549-550.

PMong. ***mugǯi-** 1 short-necked and plump 2 hornless, hairless (1 короткошеий и толстоватый 2 безрогий, безволосый): WMong. *mu̯ǯi̯ar* (MXTTT) 1; Kh. *mugǯgar* 2; Ord. *muGdū* 2.

PKor. ***mìth** bottom, foundation (дно, основание): MKor. *mìt, mìth*; Mod. *mit* [*mith*].

◊ Nam 234, 235, KED 699.

‖ The old deriving stem is perhaps preserved in Mong. *muqur, mo̯u̯tur* 'blunt, hornless', MMong. *mu̯u̯lar* id., Khalkha *moxo-*, Kalm. *muxə-* 'to make blunt' etc. (whence numerous TM forms, see TMC 1, 552-553). Some of them (especially suffixless forms or forms with -l-, like Evk. *muku-* 'to become blunt', Sol. *moxō* 'blunt', Evn. *muk-* 'to chop off') may actually be genuine, see Poppe 55. In Mong. cf. also the fronted variant *mökü* 'blunt' (KW 265).

***mi̯uĺi** ignorant: Tung. ***mul-(di-)**; Mong. ***mulgu-**; Jpn. ***misu-**; Kor. ***mòrǎ-**.

PTung. ***mul-(di-)** to be unable (не уметь): Evk. *mulli-*; Evn. *mu̯lrъ-* 'to doubt'; Neg. *molị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 555.

PMong. ***mulgu-** to act foolishly (поступать глупо): WMong. *mu̯lu̯u-* (MXTTT); Kh. *mulga-*.

PJpn. ***misu-** annoying, bothersome (надоедливый, привередливый): OJpn. *mjisu-*.

PKor. ***mòrǎ-** to be unable, ignorant (не уметь, не знать): MKor. *mòrǎ-*; Mod. *mori-*.

◊ Nam 215, KED 630.

‖ Jpn. -s- (even in the absence of Turkic forms) points to PA *-Í- here.

***mi̯ŭĺi** ice, hail: Mong. ***möl-sü, *möl-dür**; Turk. ***bū(n)ŕ**; Jpn. ***mínsá-rá-**; Kor. ***múrúi.**

PMong. ***möl-sü, *möl-dür** 1 ice 2 hail (1 лед 2 град): MMong. *mol-sun* (HY 1, SH), *mulsun* (MA), *mundur* (HY 2), *mūlsūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *mösü(n)*, *mölsü(n)* (L 546, 550) 1, *möndür* 2; Kh. *mös* 1, *möndör* 2; Bur. *müĺhe(n)*; Kalm. *mösn*; Ord. *mösü*; Dag. *meise, meis* (Тод. Даг. 154) 1; *murtul* 2 (Тод. Даг. 155), *mejse* 1 (MD 190), *muretule* 2 (MD 192); Dong. *mensun* (MGCD *mandəu* 2); Bao. *menšu* (MGCD *minśəu*); S.-Yugh. *mösən*; Mongr. *morʒə* (SM 240), (MGCD *molsə*).

◊ KW 266, 267, MGCD 489, 492. Mong. **möl-dür* is proved by the Dagur form, as well as by Turkic loans: Chag. *möldür*, Uygh. *möldür*. See VEWT 341, Лексика 32.

PTurk. ***bū(n)ŕ** ice (лед): Karakh. *buz* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *buz*; Gag. *buz*; Az. *buz*; Turkm. *būz*; Sal. *muz*; Khal. *buzäk*; MTurk. *buz, muz* (Abush., MA, Sangl.); Uzb. *muz*; Uygh. *muz*; Krm. *buz*; Tat. *boz*; Bashk. *boδ*; Kirgh. *muz*; Kaz. *muz*; KBalk. *buz*; KKalp. *muz*; Kum. *buz*; Nogh.

buz; SUygh. *piz*; Khak. *pus*; Shr. *mus*; Chuv. *pъʷr*; Yak. *mūs, būs*; Dolg. *būs*.

◊ VEWT 91, EDT 389, ЭСТЯ 2, 238-239, Лексика 17-18, TMN 2, 336, Stachowski 67.

PJpn. ***mínsə́-rá-** 1 to fall (of rain with snow) 2 wet snow, rain with snow (1 идти (о дожде со снегом) 2 мокрый снег, дождь со снегом): MJpn. *mizora-* 1; Tok. *mìzore* 2; Kyo. *mízóré* 2; Kag. *mizóre* 2.

◊ JLTT 482.

PKor. ***múrúi** hail (град): MKor. *múrùi*; Mod. *muri* (dial.).

◊ Nam 221, KED 658.

‖ EAS 79, SKE 155, Poppe 35, 138. The Turkic form presents biggest problems: it must be explained as a result of dissimilation and contraction - **bū(n)ŕ* (cf. obvious traces of nasalization in reflexes) < **bū́(V)ŕ* < **mi̯ú́li-ŕV* or even **mi̯ú́li-dVŕV* (cf. Mong. **möldür*, Evk. *melder-*); early loss of **-i-* would then also account for the back vowel reflex. All other forms are more or less plausibly united under the protoform **mi̯ú́li*.

***mi̯ùní (~ -o-)** a k. of skin or cloth: Tung. ***mune-**; Jpn. ***mìnə́**.

PTung. ***mune-** 1 skin, fur (from deer's feet) 2 to pad skis with skin, fur 3 fur clothes (1 шкурка, мех (с ног оленя) 2 подбивать лыжи шкуркой, мехом 3 меховая одежда): Evk. *munekse* 1; Evn. *munъs* 1, *muni-* 2, *munek* 3; Ul. *munekse* 1; Ork. *muneske* 1, *munesi-* 2; Nan. *munekse* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 557.

PJpn. ***mìnə́** straw coat (соломенный плащ, накидка): OJpn. *mjino*; MJpn. *mìnó*; Tok. *míno*; Kyo. *mìnó*; Kag. *míno*.

◊ JLTT 480. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps MMong. (HY) *minda-sun*, WMong. *mindasu(n)*, Khalkha *mandas* 'floss-silk, silk thread'.

***mi̯ùnʒù** a k. of of badger: Tung. ***mō[nʒ]ika**; Mong. ***minʒi**; Jpn. ***mùnsìnà**.

PTung. ***mō[nʒ]ika** bear eating ants (медведь-муравьед): Evk. *mōdikā*; Neg. *monoqo*; Man. *moʒixan, močinʒi*; Ul. *monoko(n)*; Nan. *monoqo* 'Tibetan bear' (On.).

◊ TMC 1, 542.

PMong. ***minʒi** beaver (бобер): WMong. *minʒi*, (L 539) *miŋʒi(n)*; Kh. *minʒ*.

PJpn. ***mùnsìnà** a k. of badger ("badger-bear", anakuma badger) (вид барсука): OJpn. *muzina*; MJpn. *mùzìnà*; Tok. *mujiná, mùjina*; Kyo. *mújìnà*; Kag. *mujína*.

◊ JLTT 489. Accentuation in Kagoshima and the Tokyo variant *mùzina* are aberrant.

‖ The root contains a rare cluster -nʒ- (with not quite clear reflexes in TM); nevertheless, the etymology seems probable.

✱**mi̯uŋo** suffering: Tung. ***miŋnī- (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***muŋ**; Turk. ***buŋ**; Jpn. ***munkua-**.

PTung. ***miŋnī- (~ -ü-)** to nag (of joints, heart) (ныть (о суставах, сердце)): Evk. *miŋnī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 537. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***muŋ** difficulty (трудность): MMong. *muŋ* (SH); WMong. *muŋ* (L 551: *muŋla-* 'to be in need'); Kh. *munla-* 'to be in need, to be exhausted' (БАМРС).

PTurk. ***buŋ** suffering (мучение, страдание): OTurk. *buŋ* (Orkh.), *muŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *muŋ* (MK); Tur. *bun*; Gag. *bun*; Turkm. *muŋ-lı* 'sorrowful' (dial.); MTurk. *muŋ* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *muŋ*; Uygh. *muŋ*; Tat. *moŋ*; Bashk. *moŋ*; Kirgh. *muŋ*; KKalp. *muŋ*; Kum. *muŋ*; Nogh. *muŋ*; Oyr. *muŋ*; Tv. *muŋ*; Yak. *muŋ*; Dolg. *muŋ*.

◊ VEWT 344, EDT 347, ОСНЯ 2, 73, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 182.

PJpn. ***munkua-** horrible (ужасный): Tok. *mugó-*; Kyo. *múgò-*; Kag. *múgo-*.

◊ JLTT 853. The PJ accent is unclear.

‖ Владимирцов 350, Poppe 71. Mong. may be < Turk. The root seems to be different from **mùne* q. v.

✱**mi̯urgu** wheat: Tung. ***murgi**; Jpn. ***mùnkí**; Kor. ***mírh**.

PTung. ***murgi** barley (ячмень): Man. *muǯi*; Jurch. *mir-γe-i* 'product of agriculture' (825); Ul. *muǯi*; Nan. *muǯi*; Sol. *mu̯rgil* 'ярица, яровое поле'.

◊ TMC 1, 551, 558. TM > Dag. *murgil* 'wheat' (Тод. Дар. 155).

PJpn. ***mùnkí** wheat, barley (пшеница, ячмень): OJpn. *mugji*; MJpn. *mùgjí*; Tok. *múgi*; Kyo. *mùgí*; Kag. *mugí*.

◊ JLTT 487.

PKor. ***mírh** wheat (пшеница): MKor. *mír* (*mírh-*); Mod. *mil*.

◊ Nam 234, KED 696.

‖ Martin 251, АПиПЯЯ 69. An Eastern isogloss; but cf. also Turk. **bogu-* (< **borgu-* ?) in **bogu-daj* > **bugdaj* (ЭСТЯ 2, 232-234, Лексика 461, Chuv. *ръʷri* 'полба'; borrowed in Mong. *buγudaj*, see Щербак 1997, 110, Hung. *búza* 'wheat', see MNTESz 398; not < Chin., despite Joki 1963, 106, Menges 1984, 285), **bogúŕ* 'хлеб в зерне', **bogur-sak* > Mong. Kh. *bōrcog* 'вид печенья'. Cf. also Bur. *murā* 'flour'.

✱**mi̯ŭri** water: Tung. ***mū**; Mong. ***mören**; Jpn. ***mí(-n-tú)**; Kor. ***mír**.

PTung. ***mū** water (вода): Evk. *mū*; Evn. *mṍ*; Neg. *mū*; Man. *muke*; SMan. *mukē*, *mukū* (347); Jurch. *mo* (51); Ul. *mū*; Ork. *mū*; Nan. *muke*; Orch. *mū*; Ud. *mu-de* 'inundation'; Sol. *mū*.

◊ TMC 1, 548-549.

PMong. ***mören** river (река): MMong. *muren* (HY 2, SH), *murän* (MA); WMong. *mören* (L 548); Kh. *mörön*; Bur. *müre(n)*; Kalm. *mörn̥*;

Ord. *mörön*; Dag. *mure* (Тод. Дат. 155, MD 192), *mur* (Тод. Дат. 155); Dong. *moren, moran*; Bao. *moroŋ*; S.-Yugh. *merēn, merēm*; Mongr. *murōn* (SM 250).

◊ KW 267, MGCD 298, 492. Mong. > MTurk. *mürän* 'river' (TMN 1, 506, Щербак 1997, 206). The MMong. form in LHa - *merän* - is certainly not enough to reconstruct PM **meren*, as attempted by Doerfer (TMN 1, 507) (cf. -ö- or -ü- in other sources). This is obviously done in order to attack the traditional etymology of the word, which nevertheless still holds.

PJpn. ***mí(-n-tú)** water (вода): OJpn. *mjidu*; MJpn. *mídú*; Tok. *mìzu*; Kyo. *mízú*; Kag. *mízu* (= *míT*).

◊ JLTT 483.

PKor. ***mír** water (вода): MKor. *mír*; Mod. *mul*.

◊ Nam 229, KED 675.

‖ EAS 79, 147, KW 267, Poppe 35, Lee 1958, 115, Martin 246, ОСНЯ 2, 61, Murayama 1962, 109, Menges 1984, 277-278, АПиПЯЯ 28-29, 69, 86, 278, Rozycki 160. Turkic has preserved the root only within the archaic compound **jag-mur* 'rain'. Tone in Jpn. is irregular (probably because of reduction and the position within a compound; suffixless *mi is also attested in OJ, but its accent is unknown); loss of resonant presupposes a suffixed form: **mí* < **mi̯ŭr(i)-gV* (cf. Manchu *mū-ke*).

***mi̯uŕu** to press, damage: Tung. ***muru-**; Turk. ***buŕ- / *boŕ-**; Kor. ***mīr-**.

PTung. ***muru-** 1 to press 2 to oppress 3 to touch (1 давить 2 притеснять 3 задеть, зацепить): Evn. *murke-* 2, *mu̯rlā-* 3; Man. *muri(nǯa)-* 'be stubborn'; Ul. *murū-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 559, 532.

PTurk. ***buŕ- / *boŕ-** to damage, destroy (причинять вред, разрушать): OTurk. *buz-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *buz-* (MK, KB); Tur. *boz-*; Gag. *boz-*; Az. *poz-*; Turkm. *boz-*; Khal. *puz-* (< Ogh.?); MTurk. *buz-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *buz-*; Uygh. *buz-*; Krm. *buz-* (T,H,K); Tat. *boz-*; Bashk. *boð-*; Kirgh. *buz-*; Kaz. *buz-*; KBalk. *buz-*; KKalp. *buz-*; Kum. *buz-*; Nogh. *buz-*; SUygh. *puz-*; Khak. *pus-*; Shr. *puza-*; Oyr. *bus-*; Tv. *bus-*; Chuv. *pъʷs-*.

◊ EDT 389, VEWT 91, TMN 2, 337, Федотов 1 404, Егоров 150, ЭСТЯ 7. -s- in Chuv. may be explained either as a loan from Kypch. or as a reflex of the old cluster -ŕs- (Мудрак Дисс. 98).

PKor. ***mīr-** to push, press (толкать, давить): MKor. *mīr'oat-, mī-či-*; Mod. *mīl-, mīl-čhi-*.

◊ Nam 233, 234, KED 696, 698.

‖ See also notes to **bùro*.

***mi̯usi** a k. of flour: Tung. ***musi**; Mong. ***musi**; Jpn. ***mìsə́**; Kor. ***mìsí**.

PTung. ***musi** 1 roasted flour 2 drink made of roasted flour 3 jelly (made of fish skin) (1 поджаренная мука 2 питье, смешанное с поджаренной мукой 3 студень (из рыбьей кожи)): Neg. *mosi̯n* 3; Man.

musi 1, 2; Jurch. *mu-ĉin* (538) 1; Nan. *musũ* 'frozen (of meat, fish)' (On.); Ul. *mosi̯(n)* 3; Orch. *mosi̯(n)* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 547, 560.

PMong. ***musi*** pap made of flour thinned with water or bouillon (каша из муки, разбавленной водой или бульоном): WMong. *musi* (L 552); Kh. *moši* 'напиток из поджаренной муки' (БАМРС).

PJpn. ***mìsə́*** miso (a k. of thick bean gruel) (вид густой бобовой каши): MJpn. *mìsó*; Tok. *míso*; Kyo. *mìsó*; Kag. *misó*.

◊ JLTT 481.

PKor. ***mìsí*** a k. of gruel, mixed water and rice flour (вид каши, вода, смешанная с рисовой мукой): MKor. *mìsí*; Mod. *misi*.

◊ Nam 233, KED 690.

‖ Kor. and Jpn. have a tone mismatch, so borrowing is not excluded; a borrowing in Mong. < Man. or vice versa is also possible (see Rozycki 160, proposing Mong. > Manchu).

✱**mi̯úsu** to bind, strand: Mong. ***musgi-***; Jpn. ***músú(m)p-***; Kor. ***mɨsk-***.

PMong. ***musgi-*** to twist, strand (rope) (скручивать (веревку)): WMong. *musgi-* (L 552: *muski-*, *muški-*); Kh. *mušgi-*; Bur. *mušxa-*; Kalm. *moškl-*, *mušk-*; Ord. *mušχi-* 'крутить (о желудке), выкручивать, извиваться (о змее)'; Dag. *morki-*; Dong. *mušɨɣəi-*; Bao. *məśGə-*; Mongr. *mušgi-* (SM 252), *muśgə-*.

◊ KW 265, 269, MGCD 495. Mong. > Evk. *motki-*, see Doerfer MT 127. Cf. also WMong. *mösün* 'strand of rope' (L 550).

PJpn. ***músú(m)p-*** to bind (связывать): OJpn. *musub-*; MJpn. *músúb-*; Tok. *mùsub-*; Kyo. *músúb-*; Kag. *mùsùb-*.

◊ JLTT 729.

PKor. ***mɨsk-*** to bind (связывать): MKor. *mɨsk-*, *mɨs-*; Mod. *muk-* [*muk*:-].

◊ Nam 232, KED 670.

‖ Martin 227. ? Cf. Man. *maselaqu* 'loops, trap' (TMC 1, 533).

✱**mi̯usu (~ -a, *mi̯osi)** to smile: Tung. ***musim-***; Mong. ***misije-***.

PTung. ***musim-*** to smile, sneer (улыбаться, усмехаться): Evn. *musъm-*; Neg. *musi-musi*; Man. *ḿosiri-la-*; Ork. *musimu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 561.

PMong. ***misije-*** to smile, laugh (смеяться, улыбаться): WMong. *misije-* (L 540); Kh. *mišē-*; Bur. *miher-*.

‖ TMC 1, 561. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**m[i̯u]ti** to know, believe: Tung. ***mute-***; Mong. ***mede-***; Turk. ***büt-***; Kor. ***mɨt-***.

PTung. ***mute-*** can, be able (мочь, уметь): Man. *mute-*; SMan. *mutə-*, *mutu-* 'to be capable' (3020); Ul. *mute-*; Ork. *mute-*; Nan. *mute-* (On.).

◊ TMC 1, 561 (reflexes coincide with **mute-* 'to fulfil': in PTM a merger occurred of the Altaic roots **mŭt'i* 'to complete' and **m[i̯u]ti* 'to know, believe').

PMong. ***mede-** to know (знать): MMong. *mede-* (HY 33, SH), *mēdɛ-*, *mīdɛ-* (IM), *midă̆-* (MA); WMong. *mede-* (L 531); Kh. *mede-*; Bur. *mede-*; Kalm. *medə-*; Ord. *mede-*; Mog. *mede-* (Weiers); Dag. *mede-* (Тод. Даг. 154, MD 189); Dong. *meǯie-*, *meiǯie-*; Bao. *made-*, *mede-*; S.-Yugh. *mede-*; Mongr. *mude-* (SM 244).

◊ KW 259, MGCD 483. Mong. > Evk. *mede-*, Nan. *mede-* etc. (TMC 1, 563-564), see TMN 1, 512-513, Poppe 1966, 191, Doerfer MT 24, Rozycki 155.

PTurk. ***büt-** 1 to believe 2 sign, token (1 верить 2 знак): Karakh. *büt-* 1 (MK, KB); MTurk. *büt-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *püt-* 1 (dial.); Shr. *püt-* 1; Oyr. *büt-* 1; Yak. *bit* 2.

◊ VEWT 93, EDT 298-299 (together with *büt-* 'finish'), ЭСТЯ 2, 279-280.

PKor. ***mìt-** to believe (верить): MKor. *mìt-*; Mod. *mit-*.

◊ Nam 234, KED 695.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 15, 294. See SKE 149, EAS 149. Mong. **mede-* is perhaps < **möde-* with secondary delabialization.

***mŏčʿa (~ -u, -o)** edge, end: Tung. ***muč-**; Turk. ***būč-gak, -mak**; Kor. ***mằčh-**.

PTung. ***muč-** 1 edge, limit, end 2 to turn back, return (1 край, предел, конец 2 поворачивать назад, возвращаться): Evk. *mučū-* 2; Evn. *mučų-* 2; Neg. *močo-* 2; Jurch. *muta-bun* (378) 2; Ul. *mųča* 1, *mųčų-ǯi-* 2; Ork. *mųčča* 1, *mųttų-* 2; Nan. *moča* 1, *močogo-* 2; Sol. *mosō-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 561, 562.

PTurk. ***būč-gak, -mak** (outer) corner, angle (внешний угол): Karakh. *bučγaq* (MK) 'region of the world, corner'; Tur. *buǯak*; Gag. *buǯaq*; Az. *buǯaγ*; Turkm. *būǯaq* 'lower ends of a winebag'; MTurk. *buǯaq* (Sangl.); Tat. *počmaq*; Krm. *bučaq*, *bučqaq*; Chuv. *paʷśmex*.

◊ VEWT 85, ЭСТЯ 2, 282-283. Despite EDT 294 and Clark 1980, 38, not derived < **bič-* 'cut' (because of semantic and phonetic - vowel length and vowel quality - differences).

PKor. ***mằčh-** 1 to finish 2 finish, end (1 заканчивать 2 конец): MKor. *mằs-*, *măčh-*, *măčhă̆-* 1, *măčhă̆m* 2; Mod. *mačhi-* 1.

◊ Nam 198, 205, 206, KED 568.

‖ EAS 79, АПиПЯЯ 76, Дыбо 13.

***módè (~ -u-, -o)** bend, circle: Tung. ***moda-**; Jpn. ***mə́tə́-pər-**; Kor. ***mùd-Vph > *mùrVph**.

PTung. ***moda-** 1 bend 2 rim, hoop (1 извилина, излучина 2 обод, обруч): Evk. *mōdan*, *mōdar* 1; Man. *mudan* 1; Ul. *modo-čo(n)* 2; Nan. *modā* 1; Orch. *muda(n)* 'turn', *muda(ŋ)gi-* 'to return'; Ud. *mudaŋa* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 542. The Evk. length is not parallelled elsewhere and is probably secondary (misrecorded?).

PJpn. ***mə́tə́-pər-** to turn round (вращаться): OJpn. *motop(w)or-*; MJpn. *mótófór-*.

◊ JLTT 727.

PKor. ***mùd-Vph** > ***mùrVph** knee (колено): MKor. *mùrùp(h)*, *mùrə̀p*; Mod. *murip*.

◊ Nam 221, KED 657.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 296. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**mə́jńo** neck: Tung. ***moń-ga-n, *moń-pen**; Mong. ***mundaɣa**; Turk. ***bōjn**; Jpn. ***nəmpV**; Kor. ***mjə-k**.

PTung. ***moń-ga-n, *moń-pen** neck (шея): Evk. *moŋon, meŋun; meŋer* 'counter, scruff'; Neg. *moŋon*; Man. *moŋgon, meifen*; SMan. *muŋan* 'throat' (63), *mifin* (60); Jurch. *mei-fen* (509) 'neck, throat'; Ul. *moŋgo(n)*; Ork. *moŋo(n)*; Nan. *moŋo(n)*; Orch. *moŋo(n)*; Ud. *müö* (< **moń-gi*?); *moŋoli* 'necklace; collar'.

◊ TMC 1, 538, 546, 570, Дыбо 1996, 254-255.

PMong. ***mundaɣa** crest, withers (of a horse) (холка (лошади)): WMong. *mundaɣa* (L 551); Kh. *mundā*; Bur. *mundā*; Kalm. *mundā*; Ord. *mundā*.

◊ KW 268.

PTurk. ***bōjn** neck (шея): OTurk. *bojin* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bojun, bojin* (MK), *bojun* (KB); Tur. *bojun*; Gag. *bojnu*; Az. *bojun*; Turkm. *bojun*; Sal. *bojnï*; Khal. *būun*; MTurk. *bojn, bojun* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *bujin*; Uygh. *bojun*; Krm. *bojun*; Tat. *mujin*; Bashk. *mujin*; Kirgh. *mojun*; Kaz. *mojin*; KBalk. *bojun*; KKalp. *mojin*; Kum. *bojun*; Nogh. *mojin*; SUygh. *mojin*; Khak. *mojin*; Shr. *mojun*; Oyr. *mojun*; Tv. *mojun*; Tof. *möän* (*mojnu*); Chuv. *mъj*; Yak. *mōj*; Dolg. *muoj*.

◊ VEWT 80, EDT 386, ЭСТЯ 2, 180-182, Лексика 233-234, Stachowski 183. Turk. forms like Kirgh. *mojnoq* > Mong. Kh. *moinog* 'Wamme' (see Щербак 1997, 108).

PJpn. ***nəmpV** neck (шея):

◊ A local Ryukyu word: Hateruma *nùbùsíN̂*, Yonaguni *nùbí*.

PKor. ***mjə-k** neck, throat (шея, горло): MKor. *mjək*; Mod. *mjək*.

◊ Nam 213, KED 619.

‖ EAS 98, Poppe 34, 67 (Turk.-Tung.), АПиПЯЯ 53, 280, Дыбо 5, Лексика 234. In Japanese, unfortunately, only Ryukyu forms are attested, which probably underwent an influence of the PJ root **nəmp-* 'to stretch, lengthen'; still, the origin of the Ryukyu stem from this PA root seems probable. The Kor. form is morphologically = PT **bojnak* < **mojńo-kV*; cf. also MKor. *mə̀ŋ-'ə́i* 'yoke, harness' with preservation of nasal. The TM form also reflects velar suffixation (**mojn-ga-*).

✱**móju** all, whole: Tung. ***muja-**; Jpn. ***múina**; Kor. ***măin**.

PTung. ***muja-** whole (целый, весь): Man. *mujaχun*; Nan. *moī*; Ud. *muje'i* (Корм. 262).

◊ TMC 1, 551.

PJpn. ***múina** all (весь): OJpn. *mina* (Old Kyushu dial. *mone*); MJpn. *mína*; Tok. *miná*; Kyo. *mìnná*; Kag. *miína*.

◊ JLTT 479.

PKor. ***măin** most, extremely, very (весь, самый, очень): MKor. *măin*; Mod. *mān*.

◊ Nam 208, KED 603.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

***mŏkʻa (~ -u-, -k-)** to sow, scatter: Tung. ***moK-**; Jpn. ***màk-**.

PTung. ***moK-** to scatter, throw out, sow (рассеивать, разбрасывать, сеять): Neg. *moklakunda-*; Man. *maqta-*; SMan. *maqətə-*, *mahətə-* (1549); Nan. *moGlola-*.

◊ TMC 1, 543.

PJpn. ***màk-** to sow (сеять): OJpn. *mak-*; MJpn. *màk-*; Tok. *mák-*; Kyo. *mák-*; Kag. *màk-*.

◊ JLTT 720.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

***mókʻì** old, aged: Tung. ***muxu-**; Mong. ***mökü-**; Turk. ***bük-tel- (~ö) (?)**; Jpn. ***múkási**; Kor. ***muk-**.

PTung. ***muxu-** 1 to lose powers, be exhausted 2 to die 3 distress, loss (1 изнемогать, истощаться 2 умирать 3 нужда, лишения): Evk. *mekčerē-*, *mukčerē-* 2; Evn. *mụqъj* 3; Man. *moχo-* 1; Ul. *moχo-* 1; Nan. *moχo-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 543, 552, 566 (cf. also Oroch *māk-* 'to die').

PMong. ***mökü-** to perish, fade away (погибать, вымирать): WMong. *mökü-* (L 545); Kh. *möxö-*; Bur. *müxe-*; Kalm. *mökr-* 'be unable'; Ord. *möχö-* 'subir des malheurs'; Dag. *muku-* (Тод. Даг. 155); Bao. *mɛgə-*.

◊ KW 265, MGCD 493, 609.

PTurk. ***bük-tel-** mature (зрелый): Karakh. *büktel* (MK).

◊ EDT 325.

PJpn. ***múkási** once upon a time, in old times (когда-то, давным-давно): OJpn. *mukasi*; MJpn. *múkási*; Tok. *mùkashi*; Kyo. *mùkàshí*; Kag. *mukáshi*.

◊ JLTT 487. The Kyoto accent is irregular.

PKor. ***mùk-** to become old, stale; to stay, remain (стариться; оставаться): MKor. *mùk-*; Mod. *muk-*.

◊ Liu 332, KED 668.

‖ Martin 247, Дыбо 13, TMC 1, 566.

***mŏkʻV** dirt: Tung. ***muK-**; Mong. ***moki-**; Turk. ***bok**; Kor. ***muk**.

PTung. ***mux-** 1 to fart 2 bad smell (1 портить воздух 2 вонь): Evk. *mukē-* 1, *mukēn* 2; Evn. *mukē-* 2; Neg. *muke-* 1; Nan. *moxan mońi* 'elder'

(Bik.) ("stinking tree", cf. Mong. *ömgij xovol*) (Сем 143); Orch. *moki* 2; Ud. *muakta-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 552.

PMong. ***moki-*** gum, clay, sulphur (смола, глина, сера): WMong. *mokin* (L 542: *moki*); Bur. *moxi(n)*; Kalm. *mokn̥*.

◊ KW 264. Despite Аникин 111, 388, not connected with **boki* 'нагар в курительной трубке'.

PTurk. ***bok*** dirt, dung (грязь, навоз): OTurk. *boq* 'ярь' (OUygh.); Karakh. *boq* 'mildew on bread' (MK), 'dung' (IM); Tur. *bok*; Gag. *boq*; Az. *poχ*; Turkm. *boq*; MTurk. (OKypch.) *boq* (AH, Houts.); Krm. *boq*; Kirgh. *boq*; KBalk. *boq*; KKalp. *boq*; Nogh. *boq*; Khak. *pox*; Oyr. *boq*; Tv. *boq*; Tof. *moq*; Chuv. *pъʷx*.

◊ VEWT 79, EDT 311, ЭСТЯ 2, 183. Turk. > WMong. *boγ*, Kalm. *bog* (KW 48–49; see TMN 2, 349, Щербак 1997, 108).

PKor. ***muk*** 1 jelly 2 coarse flour (left in the sieve) (1 желе 2 грубая мука (остающаяся в сите)): Mod. *muk* 1, *mugəri* 2.

◊ KED 652, 668.

‖ Дыбо 10.

mola (~ -u-)** blunt, short: Tung. ***melu- ~ *mulu-; Mong. ***moli-***; Jpn. ***marV- (?)***.

PTung. ***melu- ~ *mulu-*** 1 (to become) blunt 2 teethless (1 тупиться 2 беззубый): Evn. *mele-* 2; Neg. *melu-melu* 1, *melmetu* 2; Man. *mentexe* 2; Ul. *muluptu-* 1; Ork. *melli-melli* 1; Nan. *mulup-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 567.

PMong. ***moli-*** 1 to be blunt 2 blunt (1 быть тупым 2 тупой): WMong. *moli-ji-* 1, *moluγur* (L 542) 2; Kh. *molgor* 2; Bur. *molxi* 2; Kalm. *mölī-* 1; Dag. ? *mūle-* 'loose one's sharpness' (MD 192).

◊ Mong. *moliγar* 'blunt' (Kalm. *möl̆əgər*) > Kirgh. *molaq* 'animal with a broken horn' (KW 265).

PJpn. ***marV-*** short (короткий):

◊ The root is attested only in Ryukyu: Hateruma *márù-*, Yonaguni *màrá-*.

‖ The Jpn. parallel is somewhat dubious (a local Ryukyu word, and the semantic match is not quite convincing).

mòle** sick, weak: Tung. ***mul-; Turk. ***bül-***; Jpn. ****mòrò-***; Kor. ****miră-***.

PTung. ***mul-*** 1 to fall ill 2 weak, tired (1 заболевать 2 слабый, усталый): Evk. *mul-* (Bac.), *multe* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 555 (Evk. > Yak. *möltö-*, not vice versa). Attested only in Evk., but having possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***bül-*** 1 to be destroyed, ruined 2 to destroy (1 разрушаться, разоряться 2 разрушать): MTurk. OKypch. *bül-* 'to remove, fire' (AH); Krm. *bül-* 1; Tat. *böl-* 1; Bashk. *böl-* 1; Kirgh. *bülün-* 'to be alarmed'; Kaz. *bülin-* 1, *büldir-* 2.

◊ VEWT 92, EDT 332.

PJpn. ***màrà-*** fragile (хрупкий): OJpn. *m(w)oro-*; MJpn. *màrò-*; Tok. *moró-*; Kyo. *móro-*; Kag. *móro-*.

◊ JLTT 835. The Kagoshima accent is aberrant.

PKor. ***mìrə̀-*** soft, weak (мягкий, слабый): MKor. *mirə̆-*, *mìrì-*; Mod. *muri-*.

◊ Nam 226, KED 656.

‖ Martin 242 (Jpn.-Kor.)

✱**mǒli** to cut into pieces: Tung. ***m[o]l-***; Mong. ***möli-***; Turk. ***bǒl-***; Kor. ***mə̀rə̀-***.

PTung. ***m[o]l-*** 1 to cut (into pieces etc.) 2 into small pieces (adv.) 3 wood cuttings 4 to break into pieces (1 разрезать на куски 2 на мелкие части 3 обрезки дерева 4 надламывать, переламывать): Evk. *meleŋe-*, *mēlepte-*, *molopto-* 1; Evn. *melles* 2; Ul. *molǯi* 3; Nan. *molǯi-* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 544, 567.

PMong. ***möli-*** to cut (boughs etc.) (обрезать (сучки и т.п.)): WMong. *möli-* (L 546); Kh. *mölö-*; Bur. *müli-*; Kalm. *möl-*.

◊ KW 265.

PTurk. ***bǒl-*** to divide, separate (делить, отделять): OTurk. *böl-* (Orkh.); Tur. *böl-*; Gag. *böl-*; Az. *böl-*; Turkm. *bǒl-*; Khal. *bïel-*; MTurk. *böl-* (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *bọl-*; Uygh. *bö(l)-*; Krm. *böl-*; Tat. *bül-*; Bashk. *bül-*; Kirgh. *böl-*; Kaz. *böl-*; KBalk. *böl-*; KKalp. *böl-*; Kum. *böl-*; Nogh. *böl-*; Khak. *pöl-*; Shr. *pöl-*; Oyr. *böl-*; Tof. *böl-*; Chuv. *pöl-*.

◊ VEWT 84, EDT 332, TMN 2, 323, ЭСТЯ 2, 214-217. Turk. > Mong. *bölög*, *böleg* 'group, division' (see TMN 2, 325, Щербак 1997, 109).

PKor. ***mə̀rə̀-*** to cut, trim (резать, подрубать): MKor. *mə̀rə̆-*; Mod. *mari-*.

◊ Nam 195, KED 562.

‖ PKE 108. In Kor. one has to suppose vocalic assimilation **mə̀rə̆-* < **mòrə̀-* (cf. similarly **kʻóli*).

✱**mólu** ridge, corner: Tung. ***mulu***; Turk. ***bul-***; Jpn. ***múná-i***; Kor. ***mə̀rə̀***.

PTung. ***mulu*** 1 ridge of roof 2 bench (1 матица, конек (крыши) 2 скамья): Neg. *mulu* 1; Man. *mulu* 1, *mulan* 2; SMan. *mulə*, *mulu* 'ridge, ridgepole' (462); Jurch. *mul-an* (239) 2; Nan. *mulu* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 554, 555.

PTurk. ***bul-*** 1 corner, angle 2 direction (1 угол 2 направление, сторона света): OTurk. *buluŋ* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *buluŋ* 1 (MK); MTurk. OKypch. *buluŋ* 1 (CCum.); Uygh. *buluŋ* 1; Tat. *bolïn* 'meadow'; Bashk. *bolon* 1; Kirgh. *buluŋ* 1; Kaz. *bulïq* 'edge'; Khak. *puluŋ* 1; Tv. *buluŋ* 1; Tof. *buluŋ* 1; Yak. *buluŋ* 1.

◊ VEWT 88, EDT 343, ЭСТЯ 2, 261-262. Turk. > Mong. *buluŋ* (see Clark 1977, 133, Щербак 1997, 110), whence Evk. *bolon* (Doerfer MT 125).

PJpn. ***múná-i** ridge (of roof) (конек (крыши)): OJpn. *mune*; MJpn. *múné*; Tok. *muné*; Kyo. *múné*; Kag. *múne*.

◊ JLTT 488. The Tokyo accent is irregular (*mùne* would be expected).

PKor. ***mǎrǎ̀** ridge (of roof) (конек (крыши)): MKor. *mǎrǎ̀*, *mǎr*; Mod. *maru*.

◊ Nam 195, Liu 285, 289, KED 561.

‖ Lee 1958, 115 (Kor.-TM), Whitman 1985, 183, 237 (Kor.-Jpn.). Despite SKE 139, hardly a loan in Manchu from Kor. In Jpn. we have to assume **múná* < **mura-n* (cf. Turk. *buluŋ*); in Turkic - a secondary narrowing (**buluŋ* < **boluŋ*).

***móĺe** to bite, gnaw: Tung. ***mul-**; Mong. ***mölǯi-**; Jpn. ***músír-**; Kor. ***mìr-**.

PTung. ***mul-** 1 to swallow 2 jaw (1 глотать 2 челюсть): Man. *muĺa-* 1, *muĺan* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 554.

PMong. ***mölǯi-** to gnaw (глодать): WMong. *mölǯi-* (L 546); Kh. *mölǯi-*; Bur. *mülže-*; Kalm. *mölǯə-*; Ord. *mölǯi-*; Mog. ZM *molǯi-* (16-6a); Mongr. *murǯē-* (SM 248), *morǯi-* (Huzu).

◊ KW 265.

PJpn. ***músír-** to pluck out, pick out (выдергивать, срывать): MJpn. *músír-*; Tok. *mùshiru*; Kyo. *múshír-*; Kag. *mushír-*.

◊ JLTT 729.

PKor. ***mìr-** to bite (кусать): MKor. *mìr-*; Mod. *mul-*.

◊ Nam 229, KED 677.

‖ SKE 154, ОСНЯ 2, 70; Ozawa 296-297; АПиПЯЯ 295.

***mónŋo** to knead, press, stroke: Tung. ***monŋi-**; Mong. ***mun-**; Turk. ***boŋ**; Jpn. ***mə́m- (~-uá-)**; Kor. ***mǎ̀n-čí-**.

PTung. ***monŋi-** 1 to squeeze, rumple 2 mallet (1 мять, комкать, растирать 2 колотушка): Evk. *moni-*, *moŋi-* 1; Evn. *moпŋə-* 1; Neg. *moŋnį-* / *monŋį-* 1, *moŋį* 2; Man. *monǯi-* 1; SMan. *ṁonǯi-* 'to massage, to rub' (1571); Ul. *monǯičį-* 1; Ork. *monǯį-* 1, *mōničų(n)* 2; Nan. *moŋgičį-* 1, *meŋki* 'spoon, ladle'; Orch. *moŋiči-* 1; Ud. *muŋgi* 2 (Корм. 263).

◊ TMC 1, 545.

PMong. ***mun-** mallet (колотушка): WMong. *muna* (L 551), *monča* (L 542); Kh. *muna*; Bur. *munsa*; Kalm. *munə* (KPC).

PTurk. ***boŋ** mallet (молоток, колотушка): Tv. *moŋ*; Tof. *moŋ*.

◊ Лексика 383.

PJpn. ***mə́m- (~-uá-)** to knead, rumple (мять, жать, комкать): OJpn. *m(w)om-*; MJpn. *móm-*; Tok. *mòm-*; Kyo. *móm-*; Kag. *móm-*.

◊ JLTT 726.

PKor. ***mǎ̀n-čí-** to stroke, rub (гладить, тереть): MKor. *mǎ̀n-čí-*; Mod. *manǯi-*.

◊ Nam 199, KED 576.

‖ SKE 144, Lee 1958, 114, Лексика 383.

***mṓńe (~ -o)** a k. of fruit: Tung. ***moja- (-ń-?)**; Mong. ***mono-su**; Turk. ***bōń-**; Jpn. ***mə́mə́ (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***moja- (-ń-?)** name of a tree similar to quince (назв. дерева, похожего на айву): Man. *mojoro, mujari*.

◊ TMC 1, 550. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***mono-su** bird-cherry (черемуха): WMong. *mono-su(n)* (MXTTT); Kh. *monos*.

PTurk. ***bōń-** 1 black currants 2 hazel-nut (1 черная смородина 2 орех): Chuv. *mъjъr* 2; Yak. *mōńńoγon* 1.

◊ Федотов 1, 346. Cf. also Yak. dial. *majiara* 'raspberry'. Chuv. > Hung. *mogyóro* 'hazelnut'.

PJpn. ***mə́mə́ (~ -ua-)** peach (персик): OJpn. *m(w)om(w)o*; MJpn. *mómó*; Tok. *mòmo*; Kyo. *mómó*; Kag. *mómo*.

◊ JLTT 484.

‖ EAS 123-124, Poppe 36, Мудрак Дисс. 75.

***mṓŋi (~ -e)** round: Tung. ***muŋu-, *muŋbu-**; Mong. ***möγer**; Turk. ***bōn-čok**; Kor. ***mūŋ-**.

PTung. ***muŋu-, *muŋbu-** 1 oval, round 2 blunt, rounded (1 овальный, круглый 2 тупой, закругленный): Evk. *mumō* 2, *mumbu-me* 1, *mombo-* 'roll'; Evn. *muŋuti* 1; Man. *mumuri* 2; Nan. *muŋgel-muŋgel* bī 1.

◊ Tung. > Yak. *mumur / muŋur* 'blunt'. See TMC 1, 544, 556, 558. Evk. *munčukē* 'beads' may be derived or else may be a later Turkism.

PMong. ***möγer** wheel, hoop (колесо, обруч): MMong. *mo'er* 'felloe, rim' (HY 18); WMong. *möger* (L 545); Kh. *mōr*; Bur. *mōr(e)*; Kalm. *mōr*; Dag. *mēr* (Тод. Даг. 154).

◊ KW 268.

PTurk. ***bōnčok** beads, small balls as ornaments (бусы, маленькие шарики в качестве украшений): OTurk. *monču* (Orkh., OUIgh.); Karakh. *monču* (MK); Tur. *bonžuk*; Gag. *bonžuq*; Az. *munžuγ*; Turkm. *mōnžuq*; Khal. *munžuq*; MTurk. *mińčaγ* (Sangl.), *bunžuq* (Pav. C.), *munčaq* (MA); Uzb. *munčɔq*; Uygh. *mončaq* (dial.); Krm. *munžax*; Tat. *muncaq* (KCTT); Bashk. *munsaq* (dial.); Kirgh. *mončoq*; Kaz. *monšaq*; KBalk. *minčaq*; KKalp. *monšaq*; Kum. *minčaq*; Khak. *mončix, monńix* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 340, EDT 349, ЭСТЯ 7. One can argue that this form is derived from **bōjn* 'neck' (in old sources the word is usually reserved for neck ornaments). Forms like *mojin-ča-k*, attested in Tat., Bashk., Nogh., Kirgh., as well as Chag. *minčaγ*, KBalk., Kum. *minčaq* should be probably explained that way; but the form **bōn-čok* itself may rather reflect earlier **mōŋi-čV(kV)* 'round ornament', with secondary contaminations. Turk. > Russ. *munčakъ*, see Аникин 395.

PKor. ***mūŋ-*** round, small round stone (круглый, маленький круглый камешек): MKor. *mūŋ'íri-tōr*; Mod. *muŋi* 'round thing, lump', *muŋuri* 'round stone'.

◊ Nam 224, KED 685.

‖ OJ *mapa-r-* 'turn round' may belong here if it goes back to < **moŋ-bV* (cf. Tungus forms), although the vocalism is not quite right; cf. also Mong. (dissimilation?) *bömbüger* 'round', see EAS 116.

mȍro** a k. of weed: Tung. ***mōr-; Jpn. ***mə̀ (~*muà)***; Kor. ****mǎr***.

PTung. ***mōr-*** 1 sedge 2 horse-tail (weed) (1 осока 2 хвощ): Evk. *mōrda* 1, *moriŋā* 2; Nan. *mōri* 'ивняк' (Он.).

◊ TMC 1, 546.

PJpn. ***mə̀ (~*muà)*** edible seaweed (водоросли (съедобные)): OJpn. *m(w)o*; MJpn. *mò*; Tok. *mò*; Kyo. *mṓ*; Kag. *mó*.

◊ JLTT 484. Modern accentuation points rather to high tone, but RJ explicitly has a low tone.

PKor. ****mǎr*** edible seaweed (водоросли (съедобные)): MKor. *mǎr*; Mod. *marim*.

◊ Nam 201, KED 562.

‖ Whitman 1985, 144, 155, 237. An Eastern isogloss. In Turk. cf. perhaps Oyr., Shor *parga* 'weed' (which would require a modification of the PA form to **mi̯àro*). The loss of resonant in Jpn. presupposes a suffixed form like **mòr(o)-gV* (cf. the Turkic parallels) or **mòr(o)-ŋV* (cf. Evk. *moriŋa*).

mórV** horse: Tung. ****murin; Mong. ****mori***; Turk. ****bura (?)***; Kor. ****mǎ̀r***.

PTung. ****murin*** horse (лошадь): Evk. *murin*; Evn. *mu̯rə̯n*; Neg. *moji̯n*; Man. *morin*; SMan. *morin* (2182); Jurch. *mu-rin*; Ul. *mu̯ri̯(n)*; Ork. *mu̯ri̯(n)*; Nan. *morī̯*; Orch. *muri(n)*; Ud. *mui*; Sol. *morī*.

◊ TMC 1, 558-559.

PMong. ****mori*** horse (лошадь): MMong. *morin* (HY 9, SH), *mori* (IM), *murin* (MA); WMong. *mori(n)* (L 543); Kh. *moŕ*; Bur. *mori(n)*; Kalm. *mörn̥*; Ord. *mori(n)*; Mog. *morin*; ZM *morin* (20-6), KT *muren* (19-2b); Dag. *mori, moŕ* (Тод. Даг. 155, MD 192); Dong. *mori*; Bao. *more*; S.-Yugh. *mōrə*; Mongr. *mori* (SM 241).

◊ KW 267, MGCD 487, TMN 1, 507. Oirat (Kalm.) > Russ. *мерин*; Bur. > Russ. dial. *mórin*, see Аникин 391.

PTurk. ****bura (?)*** soul of a sacrificial animal (horse) (душа жертвенного животного (коня)): Khak. *pura* 'picture of a male maral on a shaman drum'; Oyr. *pura* (dial.) 'sacrificial animal'.

◊ The Oyr. word is usually identified with *bura* 'camel' < PT **bugra*; the absence of vowel length (**būra* would be normally expected) is, however, baffling and could indicate a different origin of the Oyr. and Khak. words. Cf. perhaps also Yak. *burgunas* 'young cow, cow without calves'.

PKor. ****mǎ̀r*** horse (лошадь): MKor. *mǎ̀r*; Mod. *mal*.

◊ Nam 201, KED 578.

‖ EAS 79, 141, Новикова 1984. Somewhat dubious as a PA etymon: the Turkic reflex is questionable, the Tungus forms may be borrowed from Mong., see TMN 1, 507-508, Doerfer MT 25, Rozycki 159 (although the vocalism is not quite satisfactory for a loan); however, the Kor. word is hard to explain as a Mong. borrowing.

✱**múbè** blunt, hornless, hairless: Tung. ***mub-(up)-***; Mong. ***müjide***; Jpn. ***mápí-rə(n)ka-***; Kor. ***məbi- / mɨbi-***.

PTung. ***mub-(up)-*** to become blunt (тупиться): Evn. *mu̯b-/p-*; Neg. *mōp-*; Man. *mufujen*.

◊ TMC 1, 549.

PMong. ***müjide*** hornless (безрогий): Bur. *müjde*.

◊ Attested only in Buriat, but having probable external parallels.

PJpn. ***mápí-rə(n)ka-*** to disrobe, make naked (снимать одежду, оголять): MJpn. *máfírógá-*.

◊ JLTT 718 (Martin transcribes *mabiroke-*).

PKor. ***məbi- / mɨbi-*** 1 to be naked 2 to be bald (1 быть голым 2 быть лысым): MKor. *mài-* 2, *məi-wàs-* 1 (*pàs-* 'to take off clothes'); Mod. *mui-* 2, *mä-n*, *mi-n* 'pure, bare'.

◊ Nam 212, 232, KED 603, 664, 693.

‖ The Jpn. word is traditionally analysed as 'totally spread' - most probably a folk-etymological reanalysis; note the obvious semantic parallel between MJ *mafiroge-* and MKor *məi-was-*.

✱**mùč'e** branch (of a pine, conifer): Tung. ***muči-kta***; Mong. ***möčir***; Jpn. ***màtú***.

PTung. ***muči-kta*** 1 needles (branches) of a conifer 2 bamboo bast (1 хвоя 2 бамбуковое лыко): Evk. *mučukte* 1, *muču-* 'to be green (of a larch)'; Evn. *mu̯čit* 1 (also 'young green sprouts'); Man. *mučiχa* 2.

◊ TMC 1,562. Evk. > Yak. *mučukta*, Dolg. *möčükte* (see Kał. TJ 266, Stachowski 180).

PMong. ***möčir*** branch, twig (ветка): WMong. *möčir* (L 545); Kh. *möčir*; Bur. *müšer*; Kalm. *möčr*; Ord. *möčŭr*; Dag. cf. *mučurtu* (Тод. Дат. 155), *mučurete* (MD 192) 'grapes'; Mongr. *mučir*.

◊ KW 267, MGCD 493.

PJpn. ***màtú*** pine tree (сосна): OJpn. *matu*; MJpn. *màtú*; Tok. *mátsu*; Kyo. *màtsú*; Kag. *matsú*.

◊ JLTT 474.

‖ Колесникова 1972a, 94; АПиПЯЯ 76.

✱**mude** soon, finally: Tung. ***mudan***; Mong. ***mödü***.

PTung. ***muda-n*** end, limit, finish (конец, предел): Evk. *mudan*; Evn. *mu̯dъn*; Neg. *modan*; Ul. *mu̯da(n)*; Nan. *modã*; Ud. *muda(n)*; Sol. *mudã*.

◊ TMC 1, 550. TM > Dag. *madan* (Тод. Дат. 153).

PMong. ***mödü** soon, shortly, later (скоро, вскоре, позже): WMong. *mödü* (L 545); Kh. *möd*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; cf. perhaps also PJ **mat-* 'to wait', **mata* 'again'. Ramstedt (SKE 142) compares the Tung. form with Kor. *mačhida* 'to end, finish' (Ramstedt: *mătčhida*), but MKor. has always -č- or -s- in this verb (*mǎč-tá, mǎs-tá*), see **mŏčʿa*.

***mūga** bonfire: Tung. ***mōgdi**; Mong. ***maj**; Jpn. ***mákí**.

PTung. ***mōgdi** instrument for obtaining fire (огниво): Evk. *mōgdi*; Evn. *mōdgi*; Neg. *mōgdi*; Nan. *moduli*; Orch. *mōdi*.

◊ TMC 1, 541-542.

PMong. ***maj** bonfire (костер): WMong. *mai* (L 522); Kh. *maj*.

PJpn. ***mákí (~ -ui)** firewood (дрова): Tok. *màki*; Kyo. *mákí*; Kag. *máki*.

◊ JLTT 470. The word is not attested in OJ and may be actually = *ma-ki* 'true wood' (see ibid.).

‖ Somewhat dubious because of a possible alternative etymology of the Japanese word and because of tonal discrepancy between TM and Japanese.

***múgdà** bank, earth: Tung. ***megdī / *mugdī**; Mong. ***muǰi**; Turk. ***bodun**; Jpn. ***mátì**; Kor. ***màt(h)**.

PTung. ***megdī / *mugdī** steep bank (берег (террасовый, крутой)): Evk. *megdīn*; Evn. *meɣdin*; Neg. *megdin*; Man. *mudun*; Ul. *megdi(n)*; Ork. *megǯi(n)*; Nan. *megǯī* (dial. *mudū* 'meadow', possibly < Manchu); Orch. *megdi(n)*; Ud. *mogзoʻ* (Корм. 260).

◊ TMC 1, 550, 563.

PMong. ***muǰi** territory, province (территория, провинция): WMong. *muǰi* (L 554); Kh. *muǯ*; Bur. *možo*; Kalm. *muǯə*; Ord. *muǯi*; Dag. *moǯi* (Тод. Дар. 155, MD 191).

◊ KW 268.

PTurk. ***bodun** people (народ): OTurk. *bodun* (OUygh., Orkh,); Karakh. *boδun* (MK).

◊ EDT 306, TMN 2, 812, Лексика 316.

PJpn. ***mátì** street, quarter (улица, квартал): OJpn. *mati*; MJpn. *mátì*; Tok. *machí*; Kyo. *mátì*; Kag. *máti*.

◊ JLTT 473.

PKor. ***màt(h)** place, enclosure, yard (место, огороженное место, двор): MKor. *màt, màth*; Mod. *madaŋ*, (arch.) *mat [mat, math]*.

◊ Nam 199, 206, KED 560, 578, 596.

‖ EAS 78-79, Whitman 1985, 171, 237, АПиПЯЯ 279. The hypothesis of borrowing in Korean from Tibetan (SKE 137) is untenable. The Turkic form may be alternatively derived from **bod* 'body', in which case it may be unrelated to other forms above.

✱**mùgdó** (~ *mògdé) to coil, turn round: Tung. ***mugdi-***; Mong. ***muǯi-***, ***moǯi-***; Jpn. ***mèntàr-***; Kor. ***mìrì-***.

PTung. ***mugdi-*** to coil, make turns (извиваться, делать повороты): Evk. *mugdi-*; Neg. *mugdeli* 'round and round'; Nan. *megǯen-*; Ud. *mugǯili-*.

◊ TMC 1, 549.

PMong. ***muǯi-***, ***moǯi-*** slanting, to be awry (косой, кривой): WMong. *muǯiji-*, *moǯiji-* (v.), *muǯiyar*, *moǯiyar* (adj.) (L 554); Kh. *muǯī-*, *muǯgar*; Bur. *muža-*; Kalm. *muǯi-* 'to disjoint'; Ord. *muǯugur* 'halting, lame'.

◊ KW 268.

PJpn. ***mè(n)tàr-*** to come back, return (возвращаться): MJpn. *mòdòr-*; Tok. *modór-*; Kyo. *módór-*; Kag. *mòdòr-*.

◊ JLTT 725.

PKor. ***mìrì-*** to return, turn around, retreat (возвращать(ся), поворачиваться, отступать): MKor. *mìrì-*; Mod. *muri-*.

◊ Nam 226, KED 657.

‖ Kor. has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**mújŋi** horn; cartilage, tendon: Tung. ***muŋi***; Mong. ***möɣer-sü (-ŋ-)***; Turk. ***bujŋuŕ (*büjŋüŕ)***; Kor. ***mìi'ìm***.

PTung. ***muŋi*** tendon (сухожилие (на конце мышцы)): Evk. *muŋi*.

◊ TMC 1, 557. Attested only in Evk., but having plausible external parallels.

PMong. ***möɣer-sü (-ŋ-)*** cartilage, gristle (хрящ): MMong. *muqursun* 'marrow, pith' (MA); WMong. *möge(r)sü*, *möŋgürsü* (L 545: *mögeresü(n)*); Kh. *mögō(r)s*, *mōrs*; Bur. *meŋgērhe(n)*; Kalm. *mōrsn̥*; Ord. *mōrösü*, *mōrös*; Dag. *muemči*; Mongr. *muŋgirʒə* (SM 248), (MGCD *munɡərsə*).

◊ KW 268, MGCD 489.

PTurk. ***bujŋuŕ (*büjŋüŕ)*** horn (рог): OTurk. *müjüz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *müŋüz* (MK); Tur. *bojnuz*; Gag. *bujnus*; Az. *bujnuz*; Turkm. *bujnuz*; Sal. *moŋuz*; MTurk. *müŋüz*, *müguz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *muguz*; Uygh. *müŋgüz*; Krm. *muŋguz*; Tat. *mögez*; Bashk. *mögöδ*; Kirgh. *müjüz*; Kaz. *müjiz*; KBalk. *müjüz*; KKalp. *mujiz*; Kum. *müjüz*; Nogh. *müjiz*; SUygh. *moŋus*; Khak. *mūs*; Shr. *mūs*; Oyr. *mūs*; Tv. *mijis*; Tof. *miis*; Chuv. *mъjraga*; Yak. *muos*; Dolg. *muos*.

◊ VEWT 347, EDT 352, ЭСТЯ 2, 243, Лексика 148, Stachowski 183.

PKor. ***mìi'ìm*** gums (десны): MKor. *nì-s-mìi'ìm*, *ní-s-mì'jòm*, *ni-s-mi'im*, *ni-s-mii'jom* (*ni-* 'tooth'.

◊ Nam 127. The modern form *it-mom* is a result of reinterpreting the compound as 'tooth's flesh' (*mom*).

‖ EAS 120, Poppe 73, KW 268, VEWT 347b (but PTM **mŭre* 'shoulder' is not related); TMC 1, 557 (Tung.-Mong.); АПиПЯЯ 282, Лексика 148.

✱**mujre** a bird of prey: Tung. ***muri**; Turk. ***bürküt**; Kor. ***māi**.

PTung. ***muri** eagle (орел): Evk. *muri*; Neg. *mūju*; Ud. *mui, muji*.

◊ TMC 1, 558.

PTurk. ***bürküt** 1 aquila fulva 2 eagle (1 беркут 2 орел): Turkm. *bürgüt* 1, 2; MTurk. *bürküt* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *burgut* 1, 2; Uygh. *bürküt* 1, 2; Tat. *bŭrkĭt* 1, 2; Bashk. *bŭrkŭt* 2; Kirgh. *bürküt* 1; Kaz. *bürkĭt* 1; KKalp. *bürkit* 1; Oyr. *bürküt, mürküt* 1; Tv. *bürgüt* 1; Chuv. *pərgət* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 300, Лексика 169, TMN 2, 331-333. Turk. > Mong. *bürgüd* 'eagle', Russ. *беркут*. As suggested in ЭСТЯ the original stem may have been **bür-* (preserved in Kaz., KKalp. *bür-* 'to grasp prey (of an eagle)').

PKor. ***māi** falcon (сокол): MKor. *māi*; Mod. *mā̆*.

◊ Nam 206, KED 596.

‖ The cluster *-jr- is reconstructed to account for the loss of *-r- in Korean.

✱**mŭ̄jV** to cut, tear: Tung. ***mŭ̄- (*mūj-)**; Kor. ***mɨ́i-**.

PTung. ***mŭ̄- (*mūj-)** to cut (резать): Evk. *mī-*; Evn. *mī-ne-*; Neg. *mī-*; Man. *mej-le-, mej-te-*; SMan. *miti-* 'to lop off' (1731); Ul. *ŋui-*; Ork. *mī-*; Nan. *mui-*; Orch. *mi-*; Ud. *mine-*.

◊ TMC 1, 535.

PKor. ***mɨ́i-** 1 to tear a hole 2 to get torn (1 прорывать дыру 2 разрываться): MKor. *mɨ́i-* 2; Mod. *mī-* 1, 2, *mii-* 2.

◊ Liu 344, KED 687.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**múkʻè** to wrap, tie up: Tung. ***muK-**; Mong. ***muku-**; Jpn. ***mák-**; Kor. ***moka-**.

PTung. ***muK-** 1 cover, case 2 covered tent 3 ring, neck ring of sable tails 4 globular (1 покрышка, чехол 2 крытый шалаш 3 кольцо, опушка из собольих хвостов вокруг шеи 4 шаровидный): Evk. *mukāk* 2, *muku* 1, *mukče* 4; Man. *muxi* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 550, 552, 554. Some other forms (Sol. *mụxali* 'globular', Man. *muχalan* 'pellet', Nan. *muxergiĕ* 'ring' etc.) may be borrowed < Mong., see Doerfer MT 118, 144, Rozycki 159; but for the forms listed above it is highly unlikely.

PMong. ***muku-, *mökü-** 1 to wrap, tie up 2 to make round 3 rounded, spherical (1 заворачивать, завязывать 2 округлять 3 округленный, сферический): WMong. *muqulaji-da-* 1 (L 553: *muqulajid-* 2, *muqulaγ, muquliγ* 3); *mökülig, mökürig* 3 (L 545, 546); Kh. *muxlaj-da-* 1, *muxlag, möxlög* 3; Bur. *müxerēn* 3; Mongr. *moŋGuloG, muŋGuloG* (SM

239, 248) 3, *muGu* 'petites pierres rondes avec lesquelles les enfants jouent' (SM 244).

PJpn. ***mák-** to wrap, wind around, tie into (заворачивать, обматывать): OJpn. *mak-*; MJpn. *mák-*; Tok. *màk-*; Kyo. *mák-*; Kag. *mák-*.

◊ JLTT 720.

PKor. ***moka-** 1 bundle 2 numerative for bundles (1 связка 2 счетное слово для связок): Mod. *mogami* 1, *mogä* 2.

◊ The forms are quoted from SKE 150 (where they are incorrectly compared with Mong. *boγ-ča* etc.); KED 627 lists only *mogä* "all together, in the lump".

‖ Cf. **ma[kʻ]o*.

***m[ù]kʻè** to suck: Tung. ***muKu-**; Mong. ***meke**; Turk. ***bök-**; Jpn. ***màkà-nàp-**; Kor. ***màk-**.

PTung. ***muKu-** to fill mouth with liquid (набрать в рот жидкости): Evk. *muku-*; Evn. *mụq-*; Neg. *moxon- ~ mokun-*; Man. *muku-*; Ud. *mukun-*; Sol. *moxo-*.

◊ TMC 1, 552.

PMong. ***meke** 1 female breast, to suck 2 to move jaws (1 грудь (ж.), сосать 2 двигать челюстями): WMong. *meke-re-* 2; Kh. *mexre-* 2; Bur. *mexer-* 2; Dag. *mek* 1, *mekē-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 154: *mekē-* 'to suck'), *meke* 1 (MD 190).

PTurk. ***bök-** to be satiated, full (насыщаться, наедаться): Karakh. *bök-* (MK); Tur. *bık-*; Gag. *bıq-*; Krm. *bıq-*; Bashk. *bük-*; Kirgh. *bök-*; Kaz. *bök-*; Nogh. *bök-*; SUygh. *pek-*; Tv. *pök-*; Tof. *pök-* (note the absence of pharyngealization - pointing to PT length?); Yak. *böγöx* 'satiated'; Dolg. *bögök* 'satiated'.

◊ VEWT 83 (together with *bük-* 'to lock'), EDT 324, ЭСТЯ 2, 211, Stachowski 63.

PJpn. ***màkà-nàp-** to feed, provide meals (кормить, предоставлять пищу): MJpn. *makanaf-*; Tok. *makaná-*; Kyo. *mákáná-*; Kag. *màkànà-*.

◊ JLTT 719.

PKor. ***mək-** 1 to eat 2 to drink (1 есть 2 пить): MKor. *mək-* 1; Mod. *mək-* 1, 2.

◊ Nam 211, KED 609.

‖ PKE 109, Lee 1958, 115, АПиПЯЯ 295, Дыбо 14. Korean has a verbal low tone; delabialization in Mong. (**möke* or **müke* would be expected) is not quite clear (cf. the same process in **mede-* < **mụ̂uti*).

***mǔkʻé** a k. of fish: Tung. ***mōk-**; Mong. ***mök-**; Jpn. ***mànkúrúa**.

PTung. ***mōk-** 1 a k. of white-fish 2 a k. of small fish 3 crucian (1 вид сига 2 вид мелкой рыбы 3 карась): Evk. *mōkčakā* 1, *mekē* 3; Ork. *mokkiri* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 544, 566.

PMong. ***mök-** 1 young of river fish 2 female carp (1 малькu речной рыбы 2 самка карпа): WMong. *möküče* 1, *mökürü* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *möxöc* 1, *möxrŭ* 2 (Gomb.).

◊ Cf. Manchu *muxuru* 'female čime fish': Mong. *mökürü* may be < Manchu (see Sukhebaatar; but a reverse borrowing is also possible).

PJpn. ***mànkúrúa** tuna-fish (тунец): Tok. *màguro*; Kyo. *màgùró*; Kag. *maguró*.

◊ JLTT 470.

‖ Cf. also Kor. *mik:uri* 'амурский вьюн'.

***mūkʻo (~ -u)** male: Tung. ***muxa- / *muxe-**; Mong. ***mok-**; Turk. ***būka**.

PTung. ***muxa- / *muxe-** 1 man 2 male (1 мужчина 2 самец): Neg. *muxeti* 2; Man. *muχan* 2; Nan. *moχa(n)* 1, 2; Orch. *mueti* 2; Ud. *mugeti, mueti* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 543, 554.

PMong. ***mok-** 1 2-years old male deer 2 penis (1 двухлетний самец оленя 2 penis): Bur. *moxotor* 1; Kalm. *moxr* 2 (KPC).

PTurk. ***būka** bull (бык): OTurk. *buqa* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *buqa* (MK, KB); Tur. *boa*; Gag. *buγa, bua*; Az. *buGa*; Turkm. *buGa*; MTurk. *buγa* (Sangl.); Uzb. *buqa*; Uygh. *buγa, buqa*; Krm. *buγa*; Tat. *buγa* (dial.); Bashk. *buγa*; Kirgh. *buqa*; Kaz. *buqa*; KBalk. *buγa*; KKalp. *buγa*; Kum. *buγa*; Nogh. *buγa*; SUygh. *puqa*; Khak. *puγa*; Shr. *puγa*; Oyr. *buqa*; Tv. *buγa*; Tof. *buxa*; Yak. *buga*.

◊ VEWT 87, EDT 312, ЭСТЯ 2, 230-232, Sinor 1962, 320-321, Лексика 437. Turk. > Mong. *buqa* (see TMN 2, 299, Щербак 1997, 110), whence Evk. *buka* etc. (see TMN ibid., Poppe 1966, 194, Doerfer MT 99). Turk. > Hung. *bika*, see Gombocz 1912.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***mŭkʻV́ (~ -o-)** mole: Tung. ***muktu-**; Jpn. ***mənkura / *munkura**.

PTung. ***muktu-** 1 short-tailed mouse 2 mole (1 короткохвостая мышь 2 крот): Neg. *muktuj* 1; Man. *muqdun, muqtun* 1, 2; Ork. *muktuli* 1, 2; Nan. *muktur* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 552.

PJpn. ***mùnkura** mole (крот): MJpn. *ùgùrò-mòtì* (also *ugura-*); Tok. *mògura, mùgura*; Kyo. *mùgúrà, mùgùrá*; Kag. *mugurá*.

◊ JLTT 484, 560. Accent is varying greatly, but low tone on the first syllable may be more or less reliably reconstructed.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

***mula** a k. of deer: Tung. ***mul-**; Mong. ***maral**; Turk. ***bulan**.

PTung. ***mul-** 1 deer 2 young of elk, small deer 3 deer herd (1 олень 2 детеныш лося, маленький олень 3 стадо оленей): Evk. *mulkān* 1; dial. *mêlêlê*, Nep. *mêlan* 2; *multa* 3; Evn. *mụlqan* 1; Neg. *molkān* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 534, 555.

PMong. ***maral** mountain deer (горный олень): MMong. *maral* (SH), *mārāl* (LH), *maral* (MA); WMong. *maral* (L 529); Kh. *maral*; Bur. *maral*; Kalm. *marl*.

◊ KW 257. Mong. > Kaz. *maral* etc. (VEWT 327, TMN 1, 495, Щербак 1997, 206).

PTurk. ***bulan** elk (лось): Karakh. *bulan* 'unicorn from the Kyfchak country' (MK); MTurk. *bulan* (Ettuhf.), *bulnaq* (AH) 'onager'; Uzb. *bulɔn*; Tat. *bolan*; Bashk. *bolan*; Kirgh. *bulan*; Kaz. *bulan*; Nogh. *bulan*; Khak. *pulan*; Shr. *pulan*; Oyr. *bulan*; Tv. *bulan*; Chuv. *pъʷlan*.

◊ VEWT 88, TMN 2, 356, EDT 343, ЭСТЯ 2, 260, Лексика 154. Chinese origin (Щербак 1961, 141-142) is hardly possible; it is curious to note MK's meaning: 'unicorn with its horn collecting snow and rain'. Turk. > Russ. *буланый* (horse color name)'; > Hung. *bölény* 'aurochs', see Gombocz 1912.

‖ Дыбо 8, Лексика 154. A Western isogloss. Mong. **maral* regularly < **mala-r*.

***muma (~ *mema)** a k. of small wild animal: Tung. ***mume- / *meme-**; Mong. ***mamu-wna**; Jpn. ***mami**.

PTung. ***mume- / *meme-** 1 bear 2 white hare (1 медведь 2 заяц (белый)): Evk. *mombokī* 2; Evn. *mötö, mēmeke, mēmeče* 1; Man. *mamuke, mamutun* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 526, 544, 568. The Even form is considered to be < Yukagh. *meme*, but the direction of loan may as well be reverse.

PMong. ***mamu-wna** rabbit (кролик): WMong. *mamuuna* (MXTTT); Kh. *mamūna* (MXTTT).

◊ Hardly < TM, despite Sukhebaatar.

PJpn. ***mami** a k. of badger, bear-badger (вид барсука, барсук-медведь): Tok. *mami*.

‖ An expressive root; one of many common Altaic words for small animals.

***mùne** defect, lack: Mong. ***mun-du-**; Turk. ***bün**; Jpn. ***màntù-**.

PMong. ***mun-du-** to become insufficient (становиться недостаточным): WMong. *mundu-* (L 551: *muŋda-*); Kh. *munda-*; Kalm. *mundə-*.

◊ KW 268.

PTurk. ***bün** defect, sin (недостаток, грех): OTurk. *mün* (OUygh.); Karakh. *mün* (MK); Tat. *min* (KCTT); Kirgh. *mün, min*; Kaz. *min*; KKalp. *min*; Kum. *min-siz* 'flawless'; Nogh. *min*.

◊ VEWT 347, EDT 347, 767 (confused with other roots), ОСНЯ 3, 55-56, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***màntù-** poor (бедный): OJpn. *madu-si*; MJpn. *màdù-si*; Tok. *mazu-shí-*; Kyo. *mázúshì-*; Kag. *mazushí-*.

◊ JLTT 834.

‖ Cf. **mắn[u]*, **múnu* - the roots are sometimes difficult to distinguish. Cf. also Evk. *modu* 'greedy, miserly' (TMC 1, 542).

✱**múnu** wrong, mad, uneasy: Tung. ***moŋ-nV- (*mon-ŋV-)**; Mong. ***mun-**; Turk. ***bun-**; Jpn. ***múntú-ká-**.

PTung. ***moŋ-nV- (*mon-ŋV-)** 1 stupid 2 inconvenient (1 глупый 2 неудобный): Evk. *moŋnon* 1; Ul. *moni* 2; Nan. *moniã* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 544, 545.

PMong. ***mun-** 1 to become mad 2 ignorance 3 shame (1 сходить с ума 2 невежество 3 стыд): MMong. *mənγəq* (IM); *moŋqax* 'stupid' (HY 38), *muŋqax* 'silly' (SH); WMong. *muna-* 1, *muŋgaq* 2 (L 551: *muŋγani-*, *muŋkina-* 'to become stupid, be confused', *munaid* 'outrageous'); Kh. *muna-* 1, *munxag* 2, *mundur* 3; Bur. *munga-* 1; Kalm. *munə-* 1, *muŋxəg*, *moŋxū* 2, *mundr* 3; Ord. *munu-* 1, *muŋχaG* 2, *munãda-* 'to behave stupidly'.

◊ KW 264, 268, 269. Cf. also WMong. *muŋdani-* 'lose one's mind' (L 551: 'be in a difficult position, in need or distress') (Kalm. *mondń-*, KW 264) (-ŋ- probably under influence of **muŋ* q. v. sub **mi̯uŋo)*.

PTurk. ***bun-** 1 to become mad, foolish 2 mad, crazy 3 to become old, senile (1 сходить с ума, глупеть 2 сумасшедший, слабоумный 3 дряхлеть): OTurk. *mun-* 1, *muŋqul* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *mun-* 1, *munduz* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *buna-* 1; Gag. *bun-* 'to be tired, dissatisfied', *bunaq* 'senile person'; Turkm. *mun-* 3; Sal. *munax* 'irrational' (ССЯ); Krm. *buna-* 1, 3; Khak. *munu-* 3; Tv. *muŋγaq* 'resentful', *mińi-* 3 (Todž.), *muŋ* dial. 2 (< **mun-k*?); Yak. *mun-* 'to go astray'; Dolg. *mun-* 'go astray, lose one's way'.

◊ VEWT 514, EDT 348, 768, 769, ОСНЯ 3, 53, Stachowski 181.

PJpn. ***múntú-ká-** difficult (трудный): MJpn. *mútuká-si*; Tok. *mùzukashi-*, *muzukashí-*; Kyo. *múzúkáshì-*; Kag. *muzukashí-*.

◊ JLTT 835.

‖ KW 268, Poppe 35, ОСНЯ 3, 53. Lee 1958, 114 cites also a MKor. *məŋthəŋ'i* 'stupid', which we were unable to locate (but Manchu *mentu-χun* with which he compares it, is probably < Mong. *meŋde-γe-*, see **měŋa*).

✱**mùńa** to guard, graze: Tung. ***mun-di-**; Mong. ***mana-**; Jpn. ***màmuà-r-**; Kor. ***mòńí-**.

PTung. ***mun-di-** to look, observe (смотреть, наблюдать): Evk. *munni-li-*, *mundi-*; *mundē-* 'to comprehend'; Evn. *menri-*; Sol. *mundi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 556.

PMong. ***mana-** to graze, guard (пасти, охранять): WMong. *mana-* (L 525); Kh. *mana-*; Bur. *mana-*; Kalm. *manə-*; Ord. *mana-*; Dag. *mana-* (Тод. Дат. 153); S.-Yugh. *mana-*; Mongr. *manā-*.

◊ KW 256, MGCD 479.

PJpn. ***màmuà-r-** to guard, protect (защищать, охранять): OJpn. *mamwor-*; MJpn. *màmòr-*; Tok. *mamór-*; Kyo. *mámór-*; Kag. *mamór-*.

◊ JLTT 720. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ***mòńí-*** to graze (пасти): MKor. *mòńí-*.

◊ Nam 216.

‖ Korean has a verbal low tone; an old derivative is probably MKor. *màńăr* 'office' (> Man. *mejren* etc.).

✱**mūńa(kV)** a k. of deer: Tung. ***mōń(i)ka-***; Turk. ***buńgak***; Jpn. ***manaka***.

PTung. ***mōń(i)ka-*** 1 deer (1 year old) 2 young boar 3 young pig (1 олень (дикий, годовалый) 2 кабан (молодой) 3 поросенок): Evk. *mōjka, mōjkačān, mōjikān* 1; Man. *mixan, mixačan* 3; SMan. *mihan* 3 (2197); Nan. *mojxa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 543. Evk. > Dolg. *muojka* (Stachowski 183).

PTurk. ***buńgak*** female maral (самка марала): OTurk. *mujγaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *mujγaq* (MK), *muŋγaq* (KB); Khak. *mịjγax*; Oyr. *mịjγaq*; Tv. *mịjγaq*; Tof. *mịjγaq*.

◊ VEWT 344, EDT 772, Лексика 153.

PJpn. ***manaka*** a respectful name for a deer (почтительное название оленя): OJpn. *manaka*.

‖ Лексика 153. The Jpn. form is traditionally analysed as resp. prefix *mana-* + *ka* 'deer', which may be a folk etymology in the light of external evidence; otherwise the root is a Turk.-TM isogloss. Cf. Mong. (Khalkha) dial. *mundu* 'female deer', Tuva *mịndị*, Tof. *mundučaq* id. - see Аникин, 142. According to Helimski and Anikin, the Turkic forms are borrowed from Southern Samoyedic, and Mongolian < Turkic; but the S.-Sam. word has no Uralic etymology, while Mong. *mundu* - if not for its poor attestation - could be a regular reflex of PA **mūńa*, and a possible source both for the Turkic (Tuva-Tof.) and the Samoyedic forms.

✱**muŋĺe** angle: Tung. ***moŋla***; Turk. ***büŋüĺ***; Jpn. ***masu-***.

PTung. ***moŋla*** 1 measure of length (distance between the thumb and the index finger) 2 finger (1 мера длины (расстояние между большим и указательным пальцем) 2 палец): Ul. *mowgolo* 2; Ork. *momgụ, moŋbo* 1,2; Orch. *moŋlo* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 545. The Orok and Ul. form are probably dissimilative developments of **moŋglo* < **moŋla*.

PTurk. ***büŋüĺ*** angle (угол): Karakh. *müŋüš* (Rabg.); MTurk. *müŋüš* (Sangl.); Uzb. *mujuš, mujiš*; Krm. *müjüš, müvüš*; Tat. *müješ*; Bashk. *mügeš* (dial.); Kaz. *müjis*; KBalk. *müjüš*; KKalp. *müješ*; Kum. *mujuš, müjüš*; Nogh. *müjis*; Yak. *muŋ, muŋnuk*; Dolg. *muŋ, munnuk*.

◊ VEWT 344, EDT 771, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 182 (on a different etymology of Yak. *muŋnuq* see Clark 1977, 133).

PJpn. ***masu-*** square shape, shape with angles (квадратная форма): MJpn. *masu-gata*; Tok. *masugata*.

‖ An interesting Turk.-TM-Jpn. match; the meaning in TM probably reflects an intermediate stage "angle between the index finger and thumb".

✱**múŋna** mist, rain: Tung. ***meŋ- / *muŋ-**; Mong. ***maŋ-**; Turk. ***bunar**; Kor. ***mah**.

PTung. ***meŋ- / *muŋ-** 1 mist, darkness 2 cool, sombre (1 мгла, сумерки 2 прохладный, пасмурный): Ul. *meŋ-meŋ* 1, *muŋti* 2; Nan. *meŋtẽ* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 557, 570.

PMong. ***maŋ-** 1 fog 2 dark 3 to dawn (1 туман 2 темный 3 рассветать): MMong. *manan* 1 (MA 233); WMong. *manan* 1 (L 525: *manaŋ, manan*), *maŋsar* 2, *maŋka-* 3; Kh. *manan* 1, *manda-* 3; Bur. *mana(n)*, *manaŋ* 1; Kalm. *manār* 1, *maŋsər* 2, *maŋxā-* 3; Ord. *mana, manāri* 1; Dag. *manən* 1 (Тод. Даг. 153: *manan*), *manen* 1 (MD 189); S.-Yugh. *manaŋ* 1; Mongr. *namān* (SM 256), *manān*.

◊ KW 255-257, MGCD 479.

PTurk. ***bunar** mist (туман): Tat. *monar*; Bashk. *munar, monar*; Kirgh. *munar*; Kaz. *munar*; KKalp. *munar*; Nogh. *munar*.

◊ Лексика 35-36. A Kypchak root, but hardly borrowed from Mong. (because of the -u-vocalism); perhaps it is rather a modification of indigenous **buŋar* (*-ŋ- would be expected in Turkic) under Mong. influence.

PKor. ***mah** 1 rain, rainy season 2 southern wind (1 дождь, дождливый сезон 2 южный ветер): MKor. *ma* (*mah-*) 1, 2; Mod. *čaŋ-ma* 1, *ma, ma-pharam* 2.

◊ Nam 191, KED 558, 568, 1404.

‖ Kor. *mah* < **maŋh* (just like **kahi* < **kaŋhi* etc.).

✱**múra** round; turn, return: Tung. ***murV-**; Mong. ***murui**; Turk. ***bur(a)-**; Jpn. ***márə́**; Kor. ***muri**.

PTung. ***murV-** 1 to walk round, return 2 round (1 обходить вокруг 2 круглый): Evk. *muru-* 1, *murume* 2; Evn. *merъk-* 1, *merēti* 2; Neg. *mejel* 2; Man. *murǵen* 2; Ul. *muru-muru* 2; Ork. *morolime* 2; Nan. *murǵi* 2; Ud. *mogol'uö* 'around'.

◊ TMC 1, 559-560. TM (cf. Man. *murixan* 'bend, turn', Evk. *morokō* 'river bend') > Dag. *morikal* 'river bend' (Тод. Даг. 155), *moronku, murunku* 'screw-thread' (ibid.).

PMong. ***murui** awry, curve (кривой): MMong. *muru*, ***muri*** (IM), *muri* (MA); WMong. *murui* (L 552); Kh. *muruj*; Bur. *muŕū*; Kalm. ***muŕū***; Ord. *mur^{ui}ī*; Dag. *morčigui* (Тод. Даг. 155: *morčigoi*); Mongr. ***murī*** (SM 249).

◊ KW 269. Cf. also **molir* (Kalm. ***mōlr***, Khalkha *mölgör*) < **moril* 'round'.

PTurk. ***bur(a)-** to twist, wind round (крутить, вертеть, поворачивать): Tur. *bur-*; Gag. *bur-*; Az. ***bur-***; Turkm. *bur-*; Khal. *burq-* 'вывернуть руку'; MTurk. *bur-* (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *bur-, bura-*; Uygh. *bur-*; Krm.

bur-; Tat. *bor-*; Bashk. *bor-*; Kirgh. *bur-, bura-*; Kaz. *bur-, bura-*; KBalk. *bur-*; KKalp. *bur-, bura-*; Kum. *bur-*; Nogh. *bur-, bura-*; Khak. *pur-*; Shr. *pur-*; Oyr. *buru-*; Chuv. *pъʷr-*.

◊ VEWT 89, EDT 355, ЭСТЯ 2, 264-267. Turk. **bur(g)agu* > Kalm. *burɣū*, see KW 62.

PJpn. ***márə́*** round (круглый): OJpn. *maro*; MJpn. *máró*; Tok. *màru-*; Kyo. *máru-*; Kag. *mári*.

◊ JLTT 834.

PKor. ***muri*** halo, ring (round the sun or moon) (ореол, кольцо (вокруг солнца или луны)): Mod. *muri*.

◊ KED 658.

‖ Poppe 36, ОСНЯ 2, 74-75, АПиПЯЯ 93, 278 (however, Kor. *miri-* - rather to **mugdo* q.v.).

✱**mŭ́ro** tree, forest: Tung. ***mō***; Mong. ***mo-du (< *mor-du)***; Jpn. ****márí***; Kor. ****mōi(h), *mòró***.

PTung. ***mō*** tree (дерево): Evk. *mō*; Evn. *mō*; Neg. *mō*; Man. moo; SMan. *mō* (2129); Jurch. *mo* (117); Ul. *mō*; Ork. *mō*; Nan. *mō*; Orch. *mō*; Ud. *mō*; Sol. *mō*.

◊ TMC 1, 540-541.

PMong. ***modu*** tree (дерево): MMong. *modun* (HY 9, SH), *mu-du-ni* (SH), *mudon* (IM), *mudun* (MA); WMong. *modu(n)* (L 541); Kh. *mod(on)*; Bur. *modo(n)*; Kalm. *modn̥*; Ord. *mudu(n)*; Mog. *modun*; ZM *mādun* (19-2a); Dag. *mōd* (Тод. Дат. 155), *mōde* (MD 192); Dong. *mutun*; Bao. *mutoŋ, mortoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *mūdən*; Mongr. *mōdi* (SM 238).

◊ KW 263, MGCD 486.

PJpn. ****márí*** forest (лес): OJpn. *m(w)ori*; MJpn. *mórí*; Tok. *mòri*; Kyo. *mórí*; Kag. *móri*.

◊ JLTT 485.

PKor. ****mōi(h), *mòró*** 1 mountain 2 wood, forest (1 гора 2 лес): MKor. *mōi* [*mōih-*] 1, *mòró* 1, 2; Mod. *mwē, me* (arch.) 1.

◊ Nam 215, 219, KED 616, 651.

‖ EAS 79, KW 263, Poppe 35, Martin 237, АПиПЯЯ 33-34, 69, 292; SKE 150, Doerfer MT 24. The parallel form **mōi* in Kor. presupposes a suffixed form **mōr-jV(-gV)* (?).

✱**mùsi** steam, spirit: Tung. ***musun***; Mong. ***mösü(n)***; Turk. ***bus***; Jpn. ****mùs-***.

PTung. ***musun*** spirit, ghost (дух, сила природы): Evk. *musun*; Evn. *mu̯san*.

◊ TMC 1, 561.

PMong. ***mösü(n)*** personality, relationship with others; recurrent occasion (качество, отношения с другими; повторяющийся случай): WMong. *mösü(n)* (L 550); Kh. *mös*; Bur. *nege mühen* 'сразу'; Mongr. *musu* (: *nige-musu*) 'entièrement, tout à fait, en entier' (SM 275).

◊ The root is also grammaticalized and can be appended to numerals (*negemösen* 'simultaneously' etc.).

PTurk. ***bus** steam, fog (пар, туман): Karakh. *bus* (MK); Tur. *pus*; MTurk. *bus* (Ettuhf., CCum.); Uygh. *bus* (dial.); Bashk. *boϑ*; Kum. *pus*; Nogh. *pus*; Shr. *pus*; Tv. *bus*; Tof. *bus*; Chuv. *pъʷs*.

◊ VEWT 90, EDT 370, ЭСТЯ 2, 277, Лексика 34. Turk. > Russ. dial. bus 'drizzle, flour dust', see Аникин 146

PJpn. ***mùs-** 1 to steam 2 spirit (1 варить на пару 2 дух): OJpn. *mus-* 1, *musupji* 2; MJpn. *mùs-* 1; Tok. *mús-* 1; Kyo. *mùs-* 1; Kag. *mùs-* 1.

◊ JLTT 729.

‖ For PT **bus* cf. alternatively PTM **bušu-* 'drizzle' (TMC 1, 117).

***mùsV (~ -ō-, -i̯ō-)** swamp, pond: Tung. ***mūsa**; Kor. ***mós**.

PTung. ***mūsa** pools in a swamp (лужи на болоте, болото травяное): Evk. *mūsu / mūsa*.

◊ TMC 1, 548. Attested only in Evk., with a possible Korean parallel.

PKor. ***mós** pond, lake, swamp (пруд, озеро, болото): MKor. *mós*; Mod. *mot* [*mos*].

◊ Nam 218, KED 647.

‖ See SKE 152. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss; cf. perhaps also Chuv. *pozъ* 'well' (< **bos-*).

***mŭt'ì** to complete, gather together: Tung. ***mute-**; Mong. ***möči-**; Turk. ***büt-**; Jpn. ***muta**; Kor. ***mòt-**.

PTung. ***mute-** 1 to fulfil 2 to overpower (1 исполнить 2 одолеть, смочь): Man. *mute-* 2; Jurch. *mu-te-bulu* (740) 1; Ul. *mute-* 2; Ork. *mute-* 2; Nan. *mute-* 2; Orch. *mute-* 2; Ud. *mute-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 561.

PMong. ***möči-** 1 just enough 2 to be just enough (1 в обрез, еле-еле 2 хватать только-только): WMong. *möčis* 1; Kh. *möčis, möčŭ* 1; Kalm. *möčəg* 1, *möča-* 2.

◊ KW 267.

PTurk. ***büt-** 1 to end, accomplish 2 to be ended 3 to create, build 4 to heal 5 to grow, ripen (1 кончать, завершать 2 кончаться 3 создавать, строить 4 заживать 5 вырастать, вызревать): OTurk. *büt-* 2, 4, 5 (OUygh.); Karakh. *büt-* 2, 4, 5 (MK); Tur. *bit-* 2, 5; Gag. *bit-* 2; Az. *bit-* 2; Turkm. *bit-* 2, 4, 5; Khal. *bit-* 2; MTurk. *büt-* 2, 4, 5 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bit-* 2, 4, 5; Uygh. *büt-* 2; Krm. *bit-* 2, 5; Tat. *bet-* 2, *bet-ɛš-* 4; Bashk. *böt-* 2, *böt-öš-* 4; Kirgh. *büt-* 1,2, 4, 5; Kaz. *bit-* 2, 4; KBalk. *bit-* 2, 5; 'to close'; KKalp. *pit-* 2, 4, 5; Kum. *bit-* 2, 5; Nogh. *bit-* 2, 4, 5; SUygh. *pit-*, *put-* 1,2; Khak. *püt-* 3, 4; Shr. *püd-ür-* 3; Oyr. *büt-* 1, 4, 5; Tv. *bii't-* 2, 4; Tof. *bü't-* 2; Chuv. *pəʷt-* 2; Yak. *büt-* 1,2, 4; Dolg. *büt-* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 93, TMN 2, 267, EDT 298-9, 306, ЭСТЯ 2, 152-154, 302-303, Stachowski 68. Cf. also PT **bütün* 'all, whole' - a derivative from **büt-*. Turk. > Mong. **büte-*, **bütü-* (KW 69-70, TMN 2, 268-269, Щербак 1997, 111).

PJpn. ***muta*** together with (вместе с): OJpn. *muta*.

PKor. ***mòt-*** all (весь): MKor. *mòtă-*; Mod. *modu*.

◊ Nam 214, 217, KED 641. Derived from the verbal root *mòt-* 'to gather, flock together'.

‖ EAS 58, АПиПЯЯ 27, 70, 86, 274, Дыбо 13. Doerfer (TMN 2, 208) is hardly right in criticizing the Turk.-Tung. match : it is quite satisfactory both phonetically and semantically.

mV́** an interrogative root: Mong. *-mu, -mi***; Turk. ****-mi***; Jpn. ****mə́-si***; Kor. ****mɨ̀***.

PMong. ****-mu, -mi*** final interrogative particle (конечная вопросительная частица): MMong. *-mu, -mi* (SH).

PTurk. ****-mi*** interrogative particle (вопросительная частица): OTurk. *-mu*; Karakh. *-mu*; Tur. *-mi*; Gag. *-mi*; Az. *-mi*; Turkm. *-mi*; Sal. *-mi*; Khal. *-mi*; MTurk. *-mu*; Uzb. *-mi*; Uygh. *-mu*; Krm. *-mo*; Tat. *-mi*; Bashk. *-mi*; Kirgh. *-bi*; Kaz. *-ma/me*; KBalk. *-mu/mi*; KKalp. *-ma/me*; Kum. *-mi*; Nogh. *-ma/me*; Khak. *-ma/-me*; Shr. *-ma/me*; Oyr. *-ba/be*; Tv. *-be*; Chuv. *-im*.

◊ Морфология 2.

PJpn. ****mə́-si*** an interrogative / dubitative particle (частица вопроса / сомнения): OJpn. *mosi*; MJpn. *mósi*; Tok. *móshi*; Kyo. *móshì*; Kag. *móshi*.

◊ JLTT 485.

PKor. ****mɨ̀*** what (что): MKor. *mɨ̀-*; Mod. *muət*.

◊ Nam 225, KED 663.

‖ SKE 147, АПиПЯЯ 297. Cf. perhaps also Evk. *mu* 'or' (in interrogative sentences) (Титов 1926, 94). Further Nostratic parallels of this grammaticalized interrogative stem see in ОСНЯ 2, 66-8.

N

✱**ná** thou: Turk. ***-ŋ**; Jpn. ***ná**; Kor. ***nə̀**.

PTurk. ***-ŋ** an ending of the 2d person (окончание 2-го *л.*): OTurk. *-ŋ* (Orkh., OUygh.), *-γ* (Orkh.); Karakh. *-ŋ* (MK, KB); Tur. *-n*; Gag. *-n*; Az. *-n*; Turkm. *-ŋ*; Sal. *-ŋ*; Khal. *-ŋ*; MTurk. *-ŋ*; Uzb. *-ŋ*; Uygh. *-ŋ*; Krm. *-n*, *-j*; Tat. *-ŋ*; Bashk. *-ŋ*; Kirgh. *-ŋ*; Kaz. *-ŋ*; KBalk. *-ŋ*; KKalp. *-ŋ*; Kum. *-ŋ*; Nogh. *-ŋ*; SUygh. *-ŋ*; Khak. *-ŋ*; Shr. *-ŋ*; Oyr. *-ŋ*; Tv. *-ŋ*; Chuv. *-n*; Yak. *-ŋ*; Dolg. *-ŋ*.

◊ Морфология 23-26, 28, 32.

PJpn. ***ná** thou (ты): OJpn. *na*; MJpn. *ná-mùdí*, *ná-múdí*.

◊ JLTT 490.

PKor. ***nə̀** thou (ты): MKor. *nə̀*; Mod. *nə*.

◊ Nam 103, KED 329.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 102, 280. Velarization in Turkic is not quite clear and probably secondary (perhaps a fusion with the attributive *-kʻi). The root is widely used only in the Kor.-Jpn. area, and its original function (to judge from the OJ opposition of si and na) was probably limited to the oblique stem of the suppletive 2d p. paradigm.

✱**nable** net, fish-trap: Tung. ***nalba**; Turk. ***jɨlɨm**.

PTung. ***nalba** fish trap (верша, ловушка для рыбы): Evk. *nalba*; Ul. *nalbiχa(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 580.

PTurk. ***jɨlɨm** net (сеть): Turkm. *jilim*; MTurk. *ilim* (CCum.); Uzb. *jilim* (dial.); Tat. *žilim*; Bashk. *jilim*; Kirgh. *žilim*; Kaz. *žilim*; KKalp. *žilim*; Kum. *jilim*; Nogh. *jilim*; Chuv. *śiləm*; Yak. *ilim*; Dolg. *ilim*.

◊ VEWT 200, ЭСТЯ 4, 282-283, Stachowski 125. Turk. > Hung. *gyalom*, see Gombocz 1912.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nad[i]** seven: Tung. ***nada-n**; Turk. ***jęt(t)i**; Jpn. ***nana-**; Kor. ***nìr-kúp**.

PTung. ***nada-n** seven (семь): Evk. *nadan*; Evn. *nadъn*; Neg. *nadan*; Man. *nadan*; SMan. *nadən* (2741); Jurch. *nadan* (642); Ul. *nada(n)*; Ork. *nada(n)*; Nan. *nadã*; Orch. *nada(n)*; Ud. *nada(n)*; Sol. *nadã*.

◊ TMC 1, 576-577.

PTurk. ***jẹt(t)i*** seven (семь): OTurk. *jeti* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *jeti* (MK); Tur. *jedi*; Gag. *jedi*; Az. *jeddi*; Turkm. *jedi*; Sal. *jitti*; Khal. *jieti, jätti* (< Az.?); MTurk. *jeddī* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jetti*; Uygh. *jätti*; Krm. *jedi*; Tat. *ǰide*; Bashk. *jete*; Kirgh. *ǰeti*; Kaz. *žeti*; KBalk. *jeti, ǰeti, žeti*; KKalp. *žeti*; Kum. *jetti*; Nogh. *jeti*; SUygh. *jeti, jiti, ǰetä*; Khak. *čittə*; Shr. *četti*; Oyr. *jeti*; Tv. *čedi*; Chuv. *śiǯə*; Yak. *sette*; Dolg. *hette*.

◊ EDT 886, VEWT 199, ЭСТЯ 4, 167-168, TMN 4, 139, Stachowski 102.

PJpn. ***nana-*** seven (семь): OJpn. *nana-*; MJpn. *nànà-*; Tok. *naná-*; Kyo. *nánà-*; Kag. *nànà-*.

◊ JLTT 493. As with most other numerals, the accent reconstruction is not quite clear.

PKor. ***nìr-kúp*** seven (семь): MKor. *nìr-kúp*; Mod. *ilgop*.

◊ Nam 124, KED 1350.

‖ Mong. **dal-* '7' may suggest PA **ĺad[i]-* (with a development > Mong. **ĺal-* (through assimilation) > *dal-*). The medial consonant in general behaves rather irregularly: one may suggest an original cluster like *-dd- to explain the Turkic reflex. Jpn. **nana-* regularly < **nada-n* (= TM **nada-n*); in Kor. one has to assume vowel elision already after *-d- > -r- (i.e. **nìr-kup* < **nìrV-kup*). Despite all these difficulties, the numeral 'seven' seems to be safely reconstructable for PA. Cf. also Koguryo **nanən* 'seven', see Lee 28, 39, Menges 1984, 278.

naja** to envy, wish: Tung. ****nadi-; Mong. ****najida-***; Jpn. ****nàità-m- (~ -ia-)***.

PTung. ****nadi-*** 1 to suspect, doubt, deny 2 to consider (1 подозревать, сомневаться, отрицать 2 полагать, считать): Evk. *nadi-* 1, 2; Evn. *nadät-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 577-578.

PMong. ****najida-*** 1 to hope, trust 2 envy (1 надеяться, доверять 2 зависть): WMong. *najida-* 1, *najidaŋγui* 2 (L 558); Kh. *najda-* 1, *najdangui* 2; Bur. *najda-* 1; Kalm. *nä, nāt̆əg* 'hope' (KPC); Dong. *naita-* 1 (Тод. Дн.).

PJpn. ****nàità-m- (~ -ia-)*** to envy, be jealous of (завидовать, ревновать): OJpn. *netam-*; MJpn. *nètàm-*; Tok. *netam-*.

◊ JLTT 734.

‖ Poppe 37, 140, 158, JOAL 70. All forms reflect a dental suffix.

nàje** pole, shaft: Tung. ****najü; Jpn. ****nə̀***.

PTung. ****najü*** pole, shaft of fish-fork (шест, древко остроги): Evk. *naj, naji*; Evn. *naj*; Ul. *naj*; Ork. *nau̯, nawi̯*; Nan. *nai̯*; Orch. *nai*.

◊ TMC 1, 578.

PJpn. ****nə̀*** bamboo for arrows (бамбук для стрел): OJpn. no; MJpn. *nò*.

◊ JLTT 499.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**nàjĺV (~ -e-)** age: Mong. ***na-su***; Turk. ***jāĺ***; Kor. ***náh***.

PMong. ***na-su(n)*** age, year of life (возраст, год жизни): MMong. *nāṣun* (IM), *nasun* 'life' (MA), *nasu-tu* '...years old' (SH); WMong. *nasu(n)* (L 566); Kh. *nas*; Bur. *naha(n)*; Kalm. *nasṇ*; Ord. *nasu(n)*; Dag. *nase* (MD 195,Тод. Дат. 156), *nas* (Тод. Дат. 156); Dong. *nasun*; Bao. *nasoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *nasən*, *nas*; Mongr. *nasə* (SM 260).

◊ KW 272, MGCD 501. Mong. > Evk. *nasun*, see Poppe 1966, 196, Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ***jāĺ*** age; year (возраст; год): OTurk. *jaš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jaš* (MK); Tur. *jaš*; Gag. *jaš*; Az. *jaš*; Turkm. *jāš*; Sal. *jaš*; Khal. *jāš*; MTurk. *jaš* (Ettuhf., AH); Uzb. *još*; Uygh. *jaš*; Krm. *jaš*; Tat. *jaš*; Bashk. *jäš*; Kirgh. *žaš*; Kaz. *žas*; KKalp. *žas*; Kum. *jaš*; Nogh. *jas*; SUygh. *jas*; Khak. *čas*; Shr. *čaš*; Oyr. *jaš*, *ɗaš*; Chuv. *śol*; Yak. *sās*.

◊ EDT 975-6, ЭСТЯ 4, 161-163, Федотов 2, 130, TMN 4, 97, Лексика 84.

PKor. ***náh*** age (возраст): MKor. *ná* (*náh*-); Mod. *na*, *nä*.

◊ Nam 85, KED 284.

‖ EAS 75, SKE 157, KW 272, АПиПЯЯ 288, Лексика 84. Mong. *nasun* regularly < **nal-sun* and the assumption of its being borrowed from Turk. (Щербак 1997, 123) is absolutely improbable (Doerfer in TMN 4, 97 refutes the comparison without further discussion). The cluster *-jĺ- has to be reconstructed to account for the loss of resonant in Korean (*-h is a trace of a velar suffix: **najĺV-gV*). It could be also interesting to mention a verb attested in MJpn.: *neba-* (< **nai-(m)pa-*) 'to grow old; to become grown up' - perhaps with an irregular loss of -s- (that would be an expected reflex of *-ĺ-) in a cluster. The root should be distinguished from **ńāĺ(b)a* 'young' q.v. (which, however, certainly influenced the Turkic reflex - whence an irregular long vowel).

✱**najV(rV)** lake, river: Tung. ***niāru***; Mong. ***naɣur***; Kor. ***nāih***.

PTung. ***niāru*** 1 lake 2 swamp (1 озеро 2 болото): Evk. *ńārut* 1; Evn. *ńaruqaɣ* 2; Man. *ńari* 2; Nan. *ṇiarō* 2; Ud. *ńau* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 636.

PMong. ***naɣur*** lake (озеро): MMong. *na'ur* (HY 2, SH), *nāwor* 'sea' (IM), *nāwur* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *naɣur* (L 558); Kh. *nūr*; Bur. *nūr*; Kalm. *nūr*; Ord. *nūr*; Dag. *naur* (Тод. Дат. 156), *naure* (MD 195); Mongr. *nūr* (SM 290), (MGCD *nōr*).

◊ KW 282, MGCD 516, TMN 1, 515. Mong. > Evk. *nor* etc., see Doerfer MT 103.

PKor. ***nāih*** river (река): MKor. *nāi* (*nāih*-); Mod. *nā̆*.

◊ Nam 101, KED 315.

‖ Should be kept apart from **ṇiúŕe*, despite ОССНЯ 2, 89.

✱**nakʻi (~ -o)** a k. of skin: Tung. ***naKita***; Mong. ***nekej***.

PTung. ***naKita*** bear skin (медвежья шкура): Evk. *nakita*; Evn. *naqṭ*; Neg. *naxata*; Ork. *natta*; Ud. *naʻta* (Корм. 265).

◊ TMC 1, 579.

PMong. ***nekej*** sheepskin (овчина): MMong. *nəkē* (IM); WMong. *nekei* (L 572); Kh. *nexij*; Bur. *nexɨ* 'меховой'; Kalm. *nekē* (KPC); Ord. *neχī*; S.-Yugh. *nəkī*; Mongr. *nikī* (SM 276), *nekī*.

◊ MGCD 506.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nālV** earth, land: Tung. ***nā**; Mong. ***nala-**; Turk. ***jalaŋ**; Kor. ***nàráh**.

PTung. ***nā*** earth (земля): Neg. *nā*; Man. *na*; SMan. *nā* (2066); Jurch. *na* (37); Ul. *nā*; Ork. *nā*; Nan. *nā*; Orch. *nā*; Ud. *nā*.

◊ TMC 1, 572-573.

PMong. ***nala-*** extensive, wide (широкий, обширный): WMong. *nalai* (L 561); Kh. *nalaj*; Kalm. *nalã*.

◊ KW 270. Cf. also WMong. *nelei-* id. (L 573). Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *nalaj-*, *nelej-* (Кал. JW 187, VII 48, Stachowski 184, 185).

PTurk. ***jalaŋ*** field, steppe (поле, степь): Khal. *čalaŋ*; Uzb. *jalaŋ*; Tat. *jalan*, dial. *jalaŋ*; Bashk. *jalan*; Kirgh. *ǰalaŋ* (dial.); Khak. *jalaŋ*; Shr. *čalaŋ*; Oyr. *ɗalaŋ*.

◊ VEWT 181, ЭСТЯ 4, 91. Turk. > Russ. *jelán'*, see Аникин 197.

PKor. ***nàráh*** country (страна): MKor. *nàráh*; Mod. *nara*.

◊ Nam 87, KED 287.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 290, EAS 75, SKE 161 (the Japanese parallel cited by Ramstedt is dubious), Menges 1984, 278-279. The PTM form points to original length, so the low tone in Korean is irregular.

✱**nà̄mo** testicle: Tung. ***nāma / *māna (*māŋa)**; Mong. ***(n)im**; Turk. ***jum-**.

PTung. ***nāma / *māna (*māŋa)*** testicle (testiculi): Evk. *nāma*; Evn. *maŋa*.

◊ TMC 1, 530, 581.

PMong. ***(n)im*** testicles (testiculi): WMong. *im, nim* (L 409: confused with *im* 'mark, sign'); Kh. *im*; Bur. *em-nī-* 'to castrate'; Kalm. *im*; Ord. *im, em*.

◊ KW 207.

PTurk. ***jumur*** bowels, intestines (кишки, внутренности): Karakh. *jumur* (MK); Tv. *čumur* 'maw'; Tof. *ńumur* 'maw'.

◊ EDT 937-8. Historically the root should be probably kept distinct from **jum-* 'round' and **jumurtka* 'egg' - although internal contaminations were of course inevitable.

‖ A Western isogloss; somewhat dubious because of tabooistic irregularities and rather scarce attestation.

✱**nā́ne** skin: Tung. ***nansa**; Turk. ***jīn**.

PTung. ***nansa*** 1 skin (of man) 2 skin (of animals) (1 кожа 2 шкура): Evk. *nanna* 2; Evn. *nanrъ* 2; Neg. *nana* 1; Man. *notχo, nontoχo* 'shell'; Ul. *nanta* 1; Ork. *nata* 2; Nan. *nanta* 2; Orch. *nasa* 2; Ud. *nehä* 1, 2; Sol. *nanda* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 1, 583-584, 606.

PTurk. ***jīn*** skin, body (кожа, тело): OTurk. *jin* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jin* (MK); Yak. *sīn*.

◊ VEWT 203, EDT 941, *Лексика* 266-267.

‖ *Лексика* 267. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nàsà** grief, pity: Tung. ***nasa-***; Jpn. ***nàsàkài***.

PTung. ***nasa-*** to regret, grieve (скорбеть, горевать): Man. *nasa-*.

◊ TMC 1, 586. Attested only in Manchu, with a possible parallel in Jpn.

PJpn. ***nàsàkài*** pity, sympathy (сострадание, жалость): MJpn. *nàsàkè*; Tok. *nasaké, násake*; Kyo. *násàkè*; Kag. *nasaké*.

◊ JLTT 494.

‖ A TM-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**nátʿa (~ l-, -t-)** a k. of plant, cereal: Turk. ***jAt-***; Jpn. ***nátúmái***; Kor. ***nāt***.

PTurk. ***jAt-*** winter rye (озимая рожь): Khak. *čadiɣ* 'bush' (Sag.); Shr. *jadiɣan* (Верб.); Oyr. *ɗadaɣan*; Tv. *čadaɣ* 'low plant'.

◊ VEWT 177.

PJpn. ***nátúmái*** jujube (ююба, плод ююбы): OJpn. *natum(j)e*; MJpn. *nátúmé*; Tok. *nàtsume*; Kyo. *natsumé*; Kag. *natsúme*.

◊ JLTT 494. Accent in Kyoto is aberrant.

PKor. ***nāt*** cereal (злак): MKor. *nāt*; Mod. *nāt*.

◊ Nam 94, KED 302.

‖ Cf. perhaps Evk. *latarā* 'усыпанный ягодами (о ветке, кусте)' (TMC 1, 495).

✱**nāʒV** summer, midday: Mong. ***naʒir***; Turk. ***jāj***; Kor. ***náč***.

PMong. ***naʒir*** summer (лето): WMong. *naʒir* (БАМРС); Kh. *naʒir* (БАМРС); Bur. *nažar*; Dag. *naʒir* (Тод. Даг. 156), *naʒire* (MD 194).

◊ MGCD 463.

PTurk. ***jāj*** 1 summer 2 summer pasture 3 spring (1 лето 2 летнее пастбище 3 весна): OTurk. *jaj* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1, 3; Karakh. *jaj* (MK) 1, 3; Tur. *jaj-la* 2; Az. *jaj* 1, *jajla* 2; Turkm. *jāj-la* 2; Sal. *jij* 1; MTurk. *jaj* 1 (AH, Ettuhf.); Bashk. *jej* 1; Kirgh. *ǯaj* 1; KBalk. *ǯaj, žaj, zaj* 1; Kum. *jaj* 1; Nogh. *jaj* 3 (dial.); SUygh. *jaj* 1; Khak. *čaj* 1; Shr. *čaj* 1; Oyr. *jaj, ɗaj* 1; Tv. *čaj* 1; Chuv. *śu, śъv* 1; Yak. *saj* 1; Dolg. *hajɨn* 1.

◊ VEWT 179, ЭСТЯ 4, 74, 78-79, EDT 980, *Лексика* 74, Федотов 2, 128, Stachowski 93.

PKor. ***náč*** day, day-time (день, дневное время): MKor. *náč*; Mod. *nat* [*nač*].

◊ Nam 101, KED 312.

‖ SKE 162, EAS 75, *Лексика* 74 (Turk.-Mong.). Unsubstantial criticism in TMN 4, 253 (for Kor.: "aus semantischen Gründen nicht hierher" (?), "lautlich unsicher" (?)"; for Mong.: "...müßte der bur. und dag.

Wortschatz erst noch gründlicher untersucht worden" (?). Let us note, however, a tonal discrepancy between Turkic and Korean.

✱**nḗ** to lie, put: Tung. ***nē-***; Mong. ***niɣu-***; Jpn. ***ná-***; Kor. ***nū-b-***.

PTung. ***nē-*** to put (класть): Evk. *nē-*; Evn. *nē-*; Neg. *nē-*; Ul. *nē-*; Nan. *nē-*; Orch. *nē-*; Ud. *ne-de-*; Sol. *nē-*.

◊ TMC 1, 614-615. An old derivative may be **na-kan* 'bed' (TMC 1, 576).

PMong. ***niɣu-*** to hide, conceal (прятать): MMong. *ni'u-* (SH), *niu-* (MA); WMong. *niɣu-* (L 579); Kh. *nū-*; Bur. *ńū-*; Kalm. *nū-*; Ord. *nū-*; Dong. *niu-*; S.-Yugh. *nū-*; Mongr. *nṻ-* (SM 279), *niu-*.

◊ KW 281-282, MGCD 516.

PJpn. ***ná-*** 1 to lie 2 to sleep (1 лежать 2 спать): OJpn. *na-* 1, *wi-na-* 2; MJpn. *na-* 1, *i-na-*, *né-búr-* 2; Tok. *nè-* 1, *nè-mur-* 2; Kyo. *nê-* 1, 2; Kag. *né-* 1, *némur-* 2.

◊ JLTT 734.

PKor. ***nūb-*** to lie (лежать): MKor. *nūp-* (*nūw-*); Mod. *nup-* (*nu-*).

◊ Nam 116, KED 365.

‖ Martin 235, АПиПЯЯ 72, 94, 276. One of common Altaic monosyllabic verbs. Mong. reflects a suffixed form (= Kor. *nūb-*); length in TM is exceptionally preserved in a monosyllabic root.

✱**nébì** new: Tung. ***nebi***; Mong. ***niɣu-n***; Turk. ***jub-ga***; Jpn. ***nípí-***; Kor. ***nə̄-***.

PTung. ***nebi*** 1 new, fresh 2 younger (brother, sister) 3 wife's brother's wife (1 новый, свежий 2 младший (брат, сестра) 3 невестка (жена брата жены)): Evn. *neji* 1, *nə̄* 2; Man. *neje* 3, *neče* 3; Ul. *neu* 2; Ork. *new*, *neu* 2; Nan. *neil* 2 (plur.).

◊ TMC 1, 616, 617-618, 626. Cf. also **nē* 'now' (TMC 1, 614).

PMong. ***niɣu-n*** child, boy (ребенок, мальчик): MMong. *no'un* (HY 29), *nu'u(n)* (SH); WMong. *niɣun*, *nuɣun* (L 580); Kh. *nugan*, *nugūn* (< WMong.); Dag. *nōn* (Тод. Даг. 158), *non* (MD 200).

PTurk. ***jub-ga*** bastard, adopted son (внебрачный, приемный сын): Karakh. *juvɣa* (MK, KB).

◊ EDT 874, VEWT 209 (erroneously united with *juvqa* 'soft, weak').

PJpn. ***nípí-*** new (новый): OJpn. *nipji-*; MJpn. *nífi-*; Tok. *nìi-*; Kyo. *níi-*; Kag. *ní-ke*.

◊ JLTT 497.

PKor. ***nə̄-*** younger relative (in compounds) (младший родственник (в сложениях)): MKor. *nə-s-harmi* 'wife of grandfather's younger brother'; Mod. *nə̄-* [*nə̄-s-*] 'younger brother' (in compounds).

◊ Nam 105, KED 336.

‖ SKE 172, АПиПЯЯ 110, 279. Turkic has a vowel metathesis: **jub-ga* < **jab-gu*.

***nĕč´á** to scrape, scrape off (skin); to fade: Tung. ***neču-**; Mong. ***ničügen**; Jpn. ***nàntá-**.

PTung. ***ńeču-** 1 to scrape off, to tan (skin) 2 to fade, exuviate (1 соскабливать (шкуру), дубить 2 линять): Evk. *ńečū-* 1, *ńečelle-* 2; Evn. *ńičuh, ńečuh* 'scraped skin, suede', *ńečēlre-* 2; Ork. *netu-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 655. *ń-* in Evk. and Evn. is assimilative.

PMong. ***ničügen** naked, bare (голый): MMong. *ničugun, ničuxun* (SH), *nəčegen* (IM), *ničkūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ničügen* (L 577: *ničügün*); Kh. *nücgen*; Bur. *ńüsege(n)*; Kalm. *nücəgn̥*; Ord. *nüčügün*; Dag. *nušikē* (Тод. Дат. 159: *ńuškēn, ńiškōn*); Dong. *mučuyun* (Тод. Дн.); *nučugun*; Bao. *niśkoŋ*; Mongr. *nićigōr, nućigōr* (SM 279, 291), *nəčigōr*.

◊ KW 282, MGCD 521. Mong. > Evk. *ńučakin*, Man. *ńošuxun / ńoxušun* id.

PJpn. ***nàntá-** to stroke, pat (гладить): OJpn. *nada-*; MJpn. *nàda-*; Tok. *nadé-*; Kyo. *nàdè-*; Kag. *nàdè-*.

◊ JLTT 730.

‖ Дыбо 1995b. (Mong.-Tung.).

***neč´è (~ l-)** late: Turk. ***jEče**; Jpn. ***nàtì**; Kor. ***nɨč-**.

PTurk. ***jEče** as before, previously (как и раньше, прежде): OTurk. *ječe* (Orkh.).

◊ EDT 882.

PJpn. ***nàtì** after, afterwards (потом, впоследствии): OJpn. *noti*; MJpn. *nòtì*; Tok. *nochí, nòchi*; Kyo. *nóchí*; Kag. *nochí*.

◊ JLTT 501. The Kyoto reflex and the Tokyo variant *nòchi* are irregular and may point to a variant **nátí* in PJ.

PKor. ***nɨč-** late (поздний): MKor. *nɨč-* (cf. also *nàčòi* 'evening'); Mod. *nɨt-* [*nɨč-*].

◊ Nam 90, 118, KED 375.

‖ Martin 234-235. The low tone in Kor. may be explained as "verbal"; but cf. an alternative variant **nátí* in PJ.

***negle (~-a)** snag, root: Tung. ***nelge**; Mong. ***newle**; Jpn. ***nài (~ nìa)**; Kor. ***nər**.

PTung. ***nelge** 1 snag 2 block 3 saddle (1 коряга 2 колода 3 седло): Evk. *nelge* 1; Evn. *nelgъ* 1, 2; Ork. *nēlge* 3; Orch. *negge* 1, 2; Ud. *nege* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 619.

PMong. ***newle** brushwood; block (валежник; колода): WMong. *neüle* (MXTTT); Kh. *nūl*; Bur. *nūle*.

PJpn. ***nài (~ nìa)** root (корень): OJpn. ne; MJpn. *nè*; Tok. *nè*; Kyo. *nè*; Kag. *né*.

◊ JLTT 495.

PKor. ***nər** board (доска): MKor. *nār*; Mod. *nāl*.

◊ Nam 105, KED 332.

‖ TMC 1, 619.

✱**negre (~ -i)** a k. of deer: Tung. ***ne(r)gdi***; Turk. ***jẹgre-n***; Kor. ***nɨrə-***.

PTung. ***negdi*** a female deer (важенка): Evk. *negdi*.

◊ TMC 1, 615.

PTurk. ***jẹgre-n*** 1 yellow (of a horse) 2 deer, antelope (1 рыжий (о масти лошади) 2 олень, джейран, антилопа): OTurk. *jegren* 1 (Orkh.); Tur. *ǰeran, ǰeren* (DS) 1, 2; Turkm. *jegren, jergen* 1, dial. *ǰeren* 1, 2; MTurk. *ǰejren* (Буд.) 1, *ǰeren* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ǰijrən* 1; Uygh. *ǰirən* 1, dial. *ǰeren, ǰərrən, ǰegren* 2; Tat. *ǰiren* 1, *jɛrdɛ* (Tar.) 1; Bashk. *jeren* 1; Kirgh. *ǰejren* 1, 2, *ǰērde* 1; Kaz. *žijren* 1; KKalp. *žijren* 1; Nogh. *jijren* 1; SUygh. *ǰiger, jiger, ǰiɣir, jiɣir* 2; Khak. *čigren*, dial. *čigər* 1; Shr. *čeren, čegren, čergen* (R) 1; Oyr. *jeren, jēren, ďēren* 1, 2; Tv. *čēren* 2; Chuv. *śüren* 1; Yak. *sier* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 22-24, 36. Turk. > Mong. *ǰeɣir-, ǰeɣerde* (TMN 1, 289, 4, 184) > Sol. *ǰegerē* 'antelope', Man. *ǰerde* (see Doerfer MT 136) > MKor. *čjərta* (*măr*) (see Lee 1958, 119). Pers. *ǰejran* (< Turk. or Mong.) is widely borrowed back into Turkic (Tur., Az. *ǰejran* etc.).

PKor. ***nɨrə-*** female deer, doe (косуля, важенка): Mod. *nɨrəŋi*.

◊ KED 366.

‖ The Evk. form most probably reflects a suffixed **ner-gdi*; less probable is a specific development of the cluster *-gr-. Cf. **ĺóre*.

✱**neji** louse, nit: Tung. ***nej(l)e-***; Mong. ***ni-sa-***; Kor. ***ní***.

PTung. ***nej(l)V-*** small louse, nit (мелкая вошь, гнида): Evk. *nej-ke*; Ul. *ńile-kte*; Ork. *neli-ɣe*; Nan. *ńile-ke*.

◊ TMC 1, 616.

PMong. ***ni-sa-*** to crumble (e. g. lice), to crush with the finger-nails (щелкать пальцами, придавить ногтями): WMong. *nise-le-* (L 586: *nisal-, nisla-, nisel-, nisači-*); Kh. *ńasla-, ńasči-*; Bur. *ńaha* 'finger flip', *ńahal-*; Kalm. *nisəl-*; Ord. *nisal-* 'to kill by pressing between fingernails'; Mongr. *nesələ-*.

◊ KW 277, MGCD 509.

PKor. ***ní*** louse (вошь): MKor. *ní*; Mod. *i*.

◊ Nam 119, KED 1316.

‖ SKE 165, EAS 76, АПиПЯЯ 296. The Mong. form presupposes an earlier **ni-(su)* 'louse'.

✱**néji** even, equal: Tung. ***neje-***; Mong. ***nej***; Jpn. ***ní-***.

PTung. ***neje-*** 1 even 2 similar (1 ровный 2 похожий): Evk. *ńe-rke* 2 (dial.); Ul. *neje(n)* 1; Nan. *nejē* 1; Orch. *neige, neiŋe* 1; Ud. *neige* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 616, 654 (but Manchu *nejgen* 'equal' is obviously < Mong., see Rozycki 161).

PMong. ***nej*** 1 all together, in accord 2 to unite, join, connect 3 equal, alike (1 вместе, согласно 2 объединять(ся) 3 равный, похожий): WMong. *nei* 1, *neji-če-, neji-le-* 2, *neji-gen* 3 (L 569, 570); Kh. *nij* 1, *nijce-, nijle-* 2, *nijgen* 3; Bur. *nī-te* 1, *nī-le-* 2; Kalm. *nī* 1, *nīdə-* 2; Ord. *nī* 1, *nīči-* 2, *nīgün, nīte, nīgüŋ* 1.

◊ KW 277, 278.

PJpn. ***ní-*** to resemble (быть похожим): OJpn. *ni-* ; MJpn. *ní-*; Tok. *nì-*; Kyo. *ní-*; Kag. *ní-*.

◊ JLTT 736.

‖ A good Mong.-TM-Jpn. parallel.

✱**nə̀ko** to leave, put aside: Tung. ***neku-***; Mong. ***nögü-ɣe***; Jpn. ***nàk-***; Kor. ***nòh-***.

PTung. ***neku-*** 1 to bring 2 gift (1 нести, приносить, относить 2 подарок): Evn. *nēkъr* 2; Nan. *nuku-* 1; Ud. *нехи-*, *неи-γi-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 619, 667.

PMong. ***nögü-ɣe*** other (другой): MMong. *noko'e* (SH); WMong. *nögüge* (L 592); Kh. *nögō̆*; Bur. *nügō̆*; Kalm. *nögē* (KPC); Ord. *nögō̆*; Bao. *noge* 'he' (Тод. Бн.).

◊ Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *nöŋüö* 'next' (see Kał. MEJ 35, Stachowski 186).

PJpn. ***nàk-*** to leave, put aside (оставлять, откладывать): OJpn. *nok-*, *nokos-*; MJpn. *nòkos-*; Tok. *nokós-*; Kyo. *nókós-*; Kag. *nokós-*.

◊ JLTT 737. The Kagoshima accent is rather strange (influenced by Tokyo?), cf. the intransitive match *nòkòr-* 'to remain, be left' which is quite regular.

PKor. ***nòh-*** to put, let go (класть, пускать): MKor. *nòh-*; Mod. *no-* [*noh-*].

◊ Nam 114, KED 353.

‖ Martin 239. Korean has the verbal low tone. The Mong. form is somewhat questionable: it can belong here if 'other' < 'the one left'; on the other hand, it may be a historical derivative < **nige-γü* where **nige-* = **nige-* 'one' (see **nə̀ŋe*).

✱**neku** lowland, water meadow: Tung. ***nekte***; Mong. ***nigu***.

PTung. ***nekte*** 1 tilth, tillage 2 lowland 3 low (1 пашня 2 низина 3 низкий): Evk. *nekte* 1, 2, 3; Evn. *ńätkun* 3; Neg. *nekte* 2, 3; Ul. *nekte* 2; Ork. *nēktē-gi* 2, *nēkte* 3; Nan. *nekte* 2, 3; Orch. *nekte* 3; Ud. *nektele* 2; Sol. *nekte* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 616, 617.

PMong. ***nigu*** water-meadow (заливной луг): WMong. *niγu* (L 579); Kh. *nug*; Bur. *nuga*; Kalm. *nuγə*.

◊ KW 280. Mong. > Kaz. *nuw* etc.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nek'u** to weave: Mong. ***neke-***; Jpn. ***nuki***.

PMong. ***neke-*** to weave, knit (ткать, вязать): MMong. *neke-* (SH), *nik-* (IM); WMong. *neke-* (L 572); Kh. *nexe-*; Bur. *nexe-*; Kalm. *nekə-*; Ord. *neχe-*; Mog. *neka-* (Weiers); Dag. *nege-*; Dong. *nokie-*; S.-Yugh. *neke-*; Mongr. *niki-* (SM 276), *neke-*.

◊ KW 274, MGCD 507.

PJpn. ***nuki*** weft thread (уточная нить, уточная пряжа): OJpn. *nuk(j)i*; Tok. *nuki-íto*.

◊ JLTT 502.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**nekʻV** friend, relative: Tung. ***neku-***; Mong. ***nökör***.

PTung. ***neku-*** younger relative (sister / brother) (младший родственник (сестра / брат)): Evk. *nekū*; Neg. *нехи(n)*; Man. *неχи* 'slave girl'; Ul. *neku(n)*; Ork. *noko(nō)*; Nan. *neku*; Orch. *neku*; Ud. *nêä-diga*; Sol. *нехū*.

◊ TMC 1, 617-618. The Manchu word could be derived from MMong. *nekun* 'servant' (see Rozycki 161), on which see **nǐkʻe*, but may as well be derived from **neku*, with its meaning being a result of confusing the two roots. In Manchu we also have *neku* 'a woman's female friend', and in Jurch. - *nekur* 'friend', both of which can be borrowed < Mong. (see Rozycki 162). See also notes to **неŋu-* (sub **nĕŋu*).

PMong. ***nökör*** friend (друг): MMong. *nokor* (HY 31, SH), *nūkər* (IM); WMong. *nökör* (L 593: *nökür*); Kh. *nöхör*; Bur. *nüxer*; Kalm. *nökŗ*; Ord. *nöχör*; Dag. *nugur* (Тод. Даг. 158); Dong. *nokiə*; Bao. *noker* (Тод. Бн.); S.-Yugh. *nökör*; Mongr. *nokor* (SM 283), *nukor* (Huzu) 3.

◊ KW 279, MGCD 515. Despite Doerfer TMN 1, 521ff the attested MMong. *noko'e* (SH; = *nököγe*) 'other, second' does not prove that the original meaning was 'other': cf. Russ. другой 'other', transparently derived < друг 'friend'). Mong. > Chuv. *kər-nüker* 'дружка' (see Róna-Tas 1973-1974).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. The root seems to be different from **nǐkʻe* and **ńi̯ə̀ge*, although there may have been some natural confusion. It is interesting to note Jpn. *naka(ma)* 'friend' - perhaps a secondary contamination with *naka* 'middle'?

✱**nelkʻV** new-born; spring: Tung. ***nelki***; Mong. ***nilka***.

PTung. ***nelki*** spring (весна): Evk. *nelki*; Evn. *nelkъ*; Neg. *nelkī*; Ork. *nelčiri*; Orch. *nekki*; Ud. *neki*; Sol. *nelxi*.

◊ TMC 1, 620.

PMong. ***nilka*** new-born (новорожденный): MMong. *nilqa* (SH, MA 124); WMong. *nilqa* (L 584); Kh. *ńalx*; Bur. *ńalxa*, *nilxa*; Kalm. *nilxa*; Ord. *nilxa*; Dag. *ńalka* (Тод. Даг. 156), *ńaleke* (MD 199); Mongr. *narGə̄* (SM 258).

◊ KW 276. Cf. also *nilžaraj* id.

‖ Владимирцов 369. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nèǏbù (~ -p-)** fringe: Tung. ***nelbi***; Jpn. ***nùsà***.

PTung. ***nelbi*** fringe (бахрома): Evk. *nelbi*; Evn. *nebъlen*.

◊ TMC 1, 619.

PJpn. ***nùsà*** paper offerings, paper pieces on a stick (бумажные приношения, бумажки на палочке или веточке): OJpn. *nusa*; MJpn. *nùsà*; Tok. *nusa*.

◊ JLTT 502.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; cf. perhaps also Karakh. (MK) *jišıγ* 'thread, string, cord' (although the vocalism is not clear).

✱**nelmu** a k. of cloth, coat: Tung. ***nelme-***; Mong. ***nolom***; Turk. ***jAlma***.

PTung. ***nelme-*** upper garment, coat (кафтан, верхняя одежда): Evk. *nelmekēn*.

◊ TMC 1, 620, 635. Isolated in Ewk., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***nolom*** brocade (парча): WMong. *nolom* (L 590: *nolum*); Kh. *nolom*.

PTurk. ***jAlma*** a thick quilted coat (толстая стеганая куртка): OTurk. *jalma* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jalma* (MK).

◊ EDT 929, TMN 4, 190-192.

‖ Дыбо 15, TMC 1, 635. A Western isogloss. Note also MJpn. (late attested) *nume* 'a k. of silk' (if not < *numa-* 'to be slippery, smooth')?

✱**nema** to add, exceed: Mong. ***neme-***; Turk. ***jem-***; Kor. ***nə̄m-***.

PMong. ***neme-*** to add (добавлять): MMong. *neme-* (HY 33, SH); WMong. *neme-* (L 573); Kh. *neme-*; Bur. *neme-*; Kalm. *nem-*; Ord. *neme-*; Dag. *neme-* (Тод. Даг. 157, MD 197); Dong. *nime-*; S.-Yugh. *nemē-*; Mongr. *nimē-* (SM 276), *nəmē-*.

◊ KW 274, MGCD 504.

PTurk. ***jem-*** 1 moreover, and 2 addition (1 более того, к тому же 2 добавление): OTurk. *jeme* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jeme* 1 (MK); Yak. *semse* 2.

◊ EDT 934.

PKor. ***nə̄m-*** to exceed, to overflow (превосходить, переходить, переливаться через край): MKor. *nə̄m-*; Mod. *nə̄m-*.

◊ Nam 105, KED 335.

‖ EAS 76, Владимирцов 369, SKE 163, Poppe 38, 68. Manchu forms (*nem-sele-* 'to add, increase' etc.) may be borrowed < Mong. (see TMC 1, 622, TMN 1, 519, Doerfer MT 103, Rozycki 162). MKor. has also a synonymous *nàm-*. Despite TMN 1, 520 borrowing in Kor. < Mong. is quite improbable.

✱**nə́mè** to patch: Tung. ***neme- / *nama-***; Mong. ***nem-***; Turk. ***jama-***; Jpn. ***nə́mì***.

PTung. ***neme- / *nama-*** to patch (латать, штопать): Evk. *neme-*, *nama-*; Evn. *nemēt-*; Neg. *nemes-*; Man. *nemki-*; Ul. *namui* (n.); Ork. *nembesse-*, *nambotčị-*; Nan. *namu* (n.); Orch. *namasi-*; Ud. *neme-*.

◊ TMC 1, 622 (cf. also **nama-* 'to stick to, etc.', TMC 1, 581).

PMong. ***nem-*** 1 to cover 2 to cover (by a horse-cloth) (1 покрывать 2 покрывать (попоной)): MMong. *nemur-* 1 (SH), *nembe-* 1 (HYt), *nəmilä, nimlä* 'horse-cloth' (MA 238, 239); WMong. *nemür-* 1, *nemne-* 2 (L 574); Kh. *nömr-* 1, *nemn-* 2; Bur. *nemeri-* 1,2 *nemne* 2; Kalm. *nemṛ-* 1,

nemnə- 2; Ord. *nemne-* 2, *nömör* 'protection contre le vent'; Dag. *nembu-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 157), *nemur* 'cover'; Bao. *nambəǯo-* 2; S.-Yugh. *nemle-* 2, *nemnēl* 'horse-cloth'; Mongr. *nembe-* (SM 270), *nəmba-* 1, *nemberge* (SM 270) *nemnoŋ* 'horse-cloth' 2.

◊ KW 275, MGCD 505, 515. Mong. > Evk. *neme-* 'to cover' etc. (TMC 1, 622), see Doerfer MT 51, Rozycki 162.

PTurk. ***jama-** to patch (латать, штопать): Karakh. *jama-* (MK); Tur. *jama-*; Gag. *jama-*; Az. *jama-*; Turkm. *jama-*; Sal. *jama-*; MTurk. *jama-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jama-*; Uygh. *jama-*; Krm. *jama-*; Tat. *jama-*; Bashk. *jama-*; Kirgh. *ǯama-*; Kaz. *žama-*; KBalk. *zama-*; KKalp. *žama-*; Kum. *jama-*; Nogh. *jama-*; SUygh. *jama-*; Khak. *nama-*; Shr. *naba-*; Oyr. *jama-*, *ɗama-*; Tv. *čama-*; Yak. *samā-*; Dolg. *hamā-*.

◊ VEWT 184, EDT 934-935, ЭСТЯ 4, 108, Stachowski 94. Turk. > WMong. *ǯama-*, Kalm. *zamə-* (KW 466).

PJpn. ***nómì** cypress bark used for preventing boat leaking, boat caulking (кипарисовая кора, используемая для предотвращения течи в лодке): MJpn. *nómì*.

◊ JLTT 500 (also giving variants *noma, nome).*

‖ Poppe 68. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 4, 194) criticism the Turk.-Tung. match appears quite satisfactory.

***nĕŋu** female relative (sister or brother's wife): Tung. ***neŋu-**; Mong. ***nagačи**; Turk. ***jeŋe**; Kor. ***nù'ìi**.

PTung. ***neŋu-** 1 sweetheart 2 younger (brother, sister) (1 возлюбленная 2 младший (сестра, брат)): Evn. *neŋńe* 1; Neg. *neŋuj* (L.-Amg.) 2; Man. *non* 2; SMan. *nun* 'younger sister; husband's younger sister; younger woman' (904,914); Jurch. *nexun* (*nexun-un*) 'younger sister' (291); Orch. *neŋu* 2; Ud. *neŋu* 2.

◊ TMC 1 618, 622. The Jurch. word may reflect a contamination with PTM **neku-* 'younger relative' (v. sub **nek'o).*

PMong. ***nagačи** maternal relative (родственник со стороны матери): MMong. *naxačй(i)* 'uncle (mother's brother)' (HY 28); WMong. *nayačи* (L 556); Kh. *nagac*; Bur. *nagsa, nagasxaj*; Kalm. *nayəc* (KPC); Ord. *naGa, naGan, naGā, naGači*; Dag. *naučō, nagčи* (Тод. Даг. 155), *naučі, naučō* (MD 195); S.-Yugh. *naGačə*; Mongr. *naGā* (SM 254), *naGai*.

◊ MGCD 497. Mong. > Manchu *nakču* (see Rozycki 161).

PTurk. ***jeŋe** elder brother's wife (жена старшего брата): OTurk. *jeŋge* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jeŋge* (MK); Tur. *jeŋge*; Az. *jeŋgä*; Turkm. *jeŋŋe*; Sal. *jeŋGo, jeŋko, jaŋgu*; Khal. *neŋe*; MTurk. *jeŋge* (Pav. C.), *jinge* (AH); Uygh. *jeŋge*; Tat. *ǰiŋgɛ*; Bashk. *jeŋge*; Kirgh. *ǯeŋe*; Kaz. *ženge*; KKalp. *ženge*; Nogh. *jeŋge*; SUygh. *jeŋge, jiŋge, iŋge*; Khak. *nige*; Shr. *neŋe*; Oyr. *jeŋe, ɗeŋe*; Tv. *čeŋge*; Yak. *saŋas*; Dolg. *haŋas*.

◊ EDT 950, VEWT 197-8, ЭСТЯ 4, 189-190, Лексика 313, Stachowski 96.

PKor. ***nù´ɨi*** (boy's) sister (сестра (мальчика)): MKor. *nù´ii*; Mod. *nui*.

◊ Nam 115, KED 358.

‖ EAS 76; TMN 4, 207 ("kaum annehmbar...Lallwort").

✱**nĕp´é** to spread, cover: Tung. ***nep-te-***; Mong. ***nebseji-***; Turk. ***jap-***; Jpn. ***nə̀mpú- (~-ua-)***; Kor. ***nìp-***.

PTung. ***nep-te-*** 1 to spread out, make even 2 even, flat (1 расстилать, разглаживать 2 ровный, гладкий): Evk. *nepte-* 1, *nepteme* 2; Neg. *nepte-nepte* 2; Ul. *nepte-nepte* 2; Ork. *nette-* 1; Nan. *nepte-nepte* 2; Orch. *nepteŋge* 2; Ud. *neptele* 2

◊ TMC 1, 623-624.

PMong. ***nebseji-*** to be broad and long (e.g. of cloth) (быть широким и длинным (напр., о ткани)): WMong. *nebseji-* (L 567); Kh. *nevsij-*; Bur. *nebši-*.

PTurk. ***jap-*** to cover; to close, shut (the door) (покрывать; закрывать (дверь)): Karakh. *jap-* (MK); Az. *jap-* (dial.); Turkm. *jap-*; MTurk. *jap-* (AH, Ettuhf., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jɔp-*; Uygh. *jap-*; Krm. *jap-*; Tat. *jap-*; Bashk. *jap-*; Kirgh. *ǰap-*; Kaz. *žap-*; KBalk. *ǰap-*, *žap-*, *zap-*; KKalp. *žap-*; Kum. *jap-*; Nogh. *jap-*; Khak. *čap-*; Shr. *čap-*; Oyr. *jap-*, *ďap-*; Tv. *šɨp-*; Yak. *sap-*; Dolg. *hap-*.

◊ VEWT 187, EDT 870-871; ЭСТЯ 4, 127-128 (with a careful distinction of **jap-* 'create, make' and **jap-* 'cover'), Stachowski 96-97. Derivates mean 'cloth, covering' (see Лексика 545).

PJpn. ***nə̀mpú- (~-ua-)*** to spread (расстилать): OJpn. *n(w)obu-*; MJpn. *nòbu-*; Tok. *nobé-*; Kyo. *nòbè-*; Kag. *nòbè-*.

◊ JLTT 736.

PKor. ***nìp-*** to put on (clothes) (надевать (одежду)): MKor. *nìp-*; Mod. *ip-*.

◊ Nam 126, KED 1364.

‖ TMC 1, 624. Verbal low tone in Korean.

✱**nep´V(ĺV)** a k. of insect, butterfly: Tung. ***nelbige (?)***; Mong. ***naɣalinkaj***; Turk. ***japɨĺgak***; Kor. ***nàpǎi***.

PTung. ***nelbige*** bat (летучая мышь): Evk. *nelbiyē*.

◊ TMC 1, 619. Attested only in Evk., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***naɣalinkaj*** dung fly, gad-fly (навозная муха): WMong. *naɣalinqai* (L 557); Kh. *nālinxaj*; Ord. *nāliŋxə̄*.

PTurk. ***japɨĺgak*** 1 small louse 2 nit 3 a k. of gad-fly 4 leech (1 маленькая вошь 2 гнида 3 вид овода 4 пиявка): Gag. *japïšqan* 4; Turkm. *japïšaq* 1; Tat. *jabïšqaq* 2, 3; Bashk. *jäbeškɛk* 1, 2; Oyr. *japšïq*, *ďapšïq* 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 134.

PKor. ***nàpǎi*** butterfly (бабочка): MKor. *nàpǎi*; Mod. *nabi*.

◊ Nam 88, KED 291.

‖ A common derivative **nepʻV-ĺV* is reflected in PT **japɨĺ-(gak)*, PM **naɣali-(nkaj)* and probably Evk. *nelbiye* < **nepli-ge*. The root must have denoted a small flying insect, with a further development > 'small biting insect' in Turkic. It may well be that the initial consonant was *l- (since the only TM reflex is the isolated Evk. dialectal form *nelbiye*); cf. perhaps also a wider spread Evk. name of the caterpillar - *lepurēgdi, lepčerēgdi* (TMC 518), although it is usually derived from PTM **lepu-* 'fluffy'.

✱**nèra** thin, flat: Tung. ***ner- / *nar-**; Mong. ***nari-n**; Turk. ***jAr-**; Jpn. ***nàràs-**; Kor. ***jərp- (< *njər-p- ?)**.

PTung. ***ner- / *nar-** 1 lean 2 thin 3 weak (1 худой 2 тонкий 3 слабый): Evk. *ńurkūn* 1, 2; Man. *ńere* 2, 3, *nar-χun* 2; SMan. *narəhun* 'fine, thin, exact'(2408); Jurch. *nar-gi* 'narrow' (670).

◊ TMC 1, 585-586, 649, 654-655. Doerfer TMN 1, 515, MT 138, Rozycki 161 regard Man. *narxun* as borrowed < Mong. (cf. Mong. *nari-qan* 'rather fine, thin, slender'), which is somewhat dubious, but not entirely excluded.

PMong. ***nari-n** thin (тонкий): MMong. *narin* (SH, MA), *narən* (IM), *nārīn* (LH); WMong. *narin* (L 566); Kh. *narīn*; Bur. *narin*; Kalm. *närn̦*; Ord. *narīn*; Mog. *nōrin* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *narin* (Тод. Дат. 156), *narien* (MD 195); Dong. *narunni*; Bao. *naroŋ*; S.-Yugh. *narən*; Mongr. *narin* (SM 258), *narəŋ*.

◊ KW 273, MGCD 501, TMN 1, 513. Mong. > Chag. *narin* (see TMN 1, 515).

PTurk. ***jAr-** 1 thin, lean 2 poor 3 flat (1 тонкий, тощий 2 бедный 3 плоский): OTurk. *jarlɨɣ* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jarlɨɣ* 2 (MK); Turkm. *jarlɨ* 2 (dial.); MTurk. *jarlɨɣ* 2 (R., Bud.); Krm. *jarlɨ* 2; Tat. *jarlɨ* 2; Bashk. *jarlɨ* 2; Kirgh. *žarō* 1, *žardɨ, žarlɨ, žarɨlɨ* 2; Kaz. *žara-* 1, *žar(ɨ)lɨ* 2; KBalk. *žarlɨ, zarlɨ* 2; KKalp. *žarlɨ* 2; Kum. *jarlɨ* 2; Nogh. *jarlɨ-* 2; Oyr. *jartɨčaq* 3; Tv. *čarɨɣ-da-* 1.

◊ EDT 967, VEWT 189, 190, ЭСТЯ 4, 143, Лексика 334-335. The most widely spread form, attested since Old Uyghur, is **jAr-lɨ(g)* 'poor'; the evidence of Oyr., Tuva, Kirgh. and Kaz., however, suggests the existence of a primary stem **jAr(ɨ)-* 'thin, lean'. Turk. > Hung. *gyarló* 'sinful' (< **jarlɨɣ*), see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***nàràs-** to make even, flat (выравнивать, сглаживать): OJpn. *naras-*; MJpn. *nàràs-*; Tok. *narás-*; Kyo. *nàràs-*; Kag. *nàràs-*.

◊ JLTT 732. Kyoto points to **nàrás-*, but RJ and Kagoshima rather to **nàràs-*.

PKor. ***jərp-** thin (тонкий): MKor. *jərp-*; Mod. *jəlp-, jālp-*.

◊ Nam 376, KED 1182.

‖ If the Korean form is related here, it must be one of the irregular cases of *n- lost in front of -j-, -i- already in Middle Korean; however, since the -jə- diphthong is also not quite regular, the Korean match is rather questionable.

✱**nèra (~ -ŕ-)** a k. of big tree: Tung. ***ner- (~ ń-)***; Mong. ***nara-su***; Jpn. ***nàrà***.

PTung. ***ner- (~ ń-)*** larch (лиственница): Evn. *ńermi*.

◊ TMC 1, 654. Attested only in Evn., with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***nara-su*** pine tree (сосна): MMong. *narasun* (HY 6); WMong. *nara-su(n)* (L 565); Kh. *nars*; Bur. *narha(n)*; Kalm. *narsan* (СЯОС); Ord. *narasu*; Dag. *nars*, *narsu* (Тод. Даг. 156), *narese* 'cypress, cedar' (MD 195).

◊ MGCD 501. Mong. *nara-t* (pl.) > Chuv. *narat*, see Róna-Tas 1973-1974.

PJpn. ***nàrà*** a k. of oak (вид дуба): OJpn. *nara*; MJpn. *nàrà*; Tok. *nára*; Kyo. *nárà*; Kag. *nára*.

◊ JLTT 493. Accent in Tokyo and Kagoshima is aberrant.

‖ The Mong.-Jpn. match appears certain; the Even parallel is isolated and less reliable.

✱**nə́re** name; announcement, order: Mong. ***nere***; Turk. ***jạr-***; Jpn. ***nár-***; Kor. ***(n)ìr(h)-***.

PMong. ***nere*** name (имя): MMong. *nere* (SH, HYt), *nirin* (IM), *nirǎ* (MA); WMong. *nere* (L 575); Kh. *ner*; Bur. *nere*; Kalm. *nerə*; Ord. *nere*; Mog. *nerä*; *nirä* (15-3a); Dag. *ner* (Тод. Даг. 157), *nere* (MD 198); Dong. *niere*; Bao. *nere* (Тод. Бн.), *nare*; S.-Yugh. *nere*; Mongr. *nere* (SM 273).

◊ KW 275, MGCD 506.

PTurk. ***jạr-*** 1 order 2 announcement, call 3 judge 4 law, justice (1 приказ 2 объявление, клич 3 судья 4 закон, правосудие): OTurk. *jar-lïγ* 1,2 (OUygh.), *jarγan* 3; Karakh. *jar-lïγ* 1,2 (MK); Tur. *jar*, *ǰar* 2 (dial.); Az. *ǰar* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *jarlïq* 1, dial. *ǰar* 2; MTurk. *jar* 2 (Abush.), *jar-lïγ* 1,2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *jarγu* 4, dial. *ǰar* 2; Uygh. *ǰar* 2; Tat. *jar* 2, *jarlïq* 1; Kirgh. *ǰar* 2; Kaz. *žar* 2; KKalp. *žar* 2; Oyr. *ǰar* 2; Tv. *čar* 2; Chuv. *śirlъx* 1.

◊ VEWT 188-9, EDT 966-7, ЭСТЯ 4, 18-20 (one can hardly agree with Clauson that *jarlïγ* is a loan from an unknown source). Mong. loans from Turk. are widely spread: Mong. *ǰar* 'announcement', *ǰarqu*, *ǰarγu* 'judgement, court', *ǰarliq* 'order', *ǰarγuči* 'judge' (see TMN 1, 278, 4, 58-66, 157, Щербак 1997, 123).

PJpn. ***nár-*** to announce, order (возвещать, приказывать): OJpn. *nor-*; MJpn. *nór-*.

◊ JLTT 737.

PKor. ***(n)ìr(h)-*** 1 name 2 say, tell (1 имя 2 сказать): MKor. *ìrhúm* 1, *nìrǎ-*, *nìr'ó-* 2; Mod. *irim* 1, *iri-* 2.

◊ Nam 406, 120, 124, KED 1326, 1327. The noun seems to be clearly *deverbal*, but is attested only without the initial *n-.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 37, 72, 294. Closed -ạ- in Turk. is not quite clear.

✱**néro** to fly; to rise: Tung. ***nere-**; Mong. ***narba-**; Turk. ***jAr-man-**; Jpn. ***nə́r-**; Kor. ***nǎr-**.

PTung. ***nere-*** to flap (wings) (порхать, махать крыльями): Evk. *nere-nŋe-*; Evn. *nerъk-*.

◊ TMC 1, 625.

PMong. ***narba-*** to flap, flutter, sway (махать, развеваться): Bur. *narba-*; Kalm. *narməlžə-* (KPC).

PTurk. ***jAr-man-*** to climb up (залезать): OTurk. *jarma-*, *jarman-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jarman-* (MK); Turkm. *jarmaš-*; Khal. *jarmalaq* 'seesaw for children'; MTurk. *jarman-* (Sangl.); Tat. *jarpa-* 'to put on airs'; Kirgh. *jarmaš-*; Kaz. *žarmas-* 'to cling to'; KKalp. *žarmas-* 'to cling to'; Khak. *čarban-*; Shr. *čarban-*; Oyr. *jarman-* (Верб.).

◊ VEWT 190, EDT 969.

PJpn. ***nə́r-*** 1 to rise 2 to ride (1 подниматься 2 ехать верхом): OJpn. *nor-* 1, 2; MJpn. *nór-* 1, 2; Tok. *nòr-* 1; Kyo. *nór-* 1; Kag. *nór-* 1.

◊ JLTT 737.

PKor. ***nǎr-*** to fly (лететь): MKor. *nǎr-*; Mod. *nal-*.

◊ Nam 96, KED 302.

‖ SKE 159, TMC 1,625 (Tung.-Kor.), Martin 240, АПиПЯЯ 296. In Kor. cf. also *nǎr-kái* 'wing' (with change of tone?), mod. *nari-da* 'to transport'. The Turk. and Jpn. forms can be alternatively compared with MKor. *nīr-* 'to stand up, rise'.

✱**nèse (~ -o)** flat, to flatten: Tung. ***nese-**; Jpn. ***nə̀s-**.

PTung. ***nese-*** to straighten, make level, flat (выравнивать, выпрямлять): Evn. *nesēn-*, *nehēn-*; Neg. *neskī-*; Ul. *nese-*; Ork. *nese* 'ground surface'; Nan. *nesi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 625-626.

PJpn. ***nə̀s-*** 1 a k. of small flat-iron 2 to stretch, flatten (1 вид маленького утюга 2 растягивать, разглаживать, утюжить): OJpn. *n(w)osi* 1; MJpn. *nòsì* 1; Tok. *nós-* 2, *noshí* 1; Kyo. *nós-* 2, *nóshì* 1; Kag. *nós-*, *nòs-* 2, *noshí* 1.

◊ JLTT 501, 737. Verbal accent (*nós-* in Kyoto and the variant *nós-* in Kagoshima) is not quite clear.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; on a possible Turk. reflex see under **dasi*.

✱**nìbi (~ -e)** to smoke, to smell: Tung. ***nibu(p)-**; Mong. ***neɣü-**; Jpn. ***nìpə̀-p-**; Kor. ***nə́i**.

PTung. ***nibu(p)-*** to smoke (дымить(ся), коптить(ся)): Evk. *nuw-*; Neg. *nūp-*; Ul. *ńiup-ti-*; Ork. *nū-či-*; Nan. *ńup-či-*; Orch. *ńu-či-*; Ud. *ńusesi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 607-608.

PMong. ***neɣü-*** 1 to curl (of smoke) 2 charcoal (1 виться (о дыме) 2 уголь): MMong. *ne'uresun* 2 (HY 22), *nūrson* (IM); WMong. *negür-sü* 2

(L 569: *neγüresü(n)*); Kh. *nū̆-gelte-* 1, *nū̆rs* 2; Bur. *nū̆rhe(n)* 2; Kalm. *nū̆rsen* 2 (KPC); Ord. *nū̆resü, nū̆res* 2; Dag. *neurese* 2 (MD 198).

◊ The Mong. word for 'coal' (MMong. *ne'üre-sün*) is compared by Poppe 38 with Man. *nemu* 'ore', *nemuri* 'coal mine' (TMC 1, 621) < **nebu-* (?).

PJpn. ***nìpə̀-p-** to smell (пахнуть): OJpn. *nipop-*; MJpn. *nìfə̂f-*; Tok. *nió-*; Kyo. *nío-*; Kag. *nìò-*.

◊ JLTT 736.

PKor. ***nă̆i** smoke (дым): MKor. *nă̆i*; Mod. *nä*.

◊ Nam 102, KED 315.

‖ EAS 77, SKE 158 (Tung.-Kor.), АПиПЯЯ 297. Kor. -ă- is most probably a result of vowel contraction after the loss of *-b-.

***nibĺa** clay, to smear: Tung. ***ńiblü-**; Turk. ***joĺa**; Jpn. ***nasur-**.

PTung. ***ńiblü-** to paint, smear (красить, мазать): Neg. *ńija-, ńīlį-*; Man. *ju-*; Ul. *ńili-*; Ork. *ńilitči-*; Nan. *ńiule-*; Ud. *jeule-*.

◊ TMC 1, 638.

PTurk. ***joĺa** red clay (красная глина): Tur. *joša* (SDD); MTurk. *juša* (MA); Kirgh. *ǰošo*; Oyr. *jožo*; Yak. *soho*.

◊ VEWT 128, ЭСТЯ 4, 31. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *ǰuša*, WMong. *ǰosa* 'red clay, red earth' (rather than vice versa, despite VEWT 128 - although forms with -s- like Kaz., KKalp. *žosa* are reborrowed from Mong.).

PJpn. ***nasur-** to smear, rub (мазать, тереть): Tok. *nasúr-*; Kyo. *násúr-*; Kag. *nasúr-*.

◊ JLTT 733. PJ accent is unclear.

‖ The vowel *-o- in Turkic is probably due to the medial cluster (**joĺa* < **jibĺa*).

***nĭbŕo** face, resemblance: Mong. ***niγur**; Turk. ***jū̆ŕ**; Jpn. ***nər-**.

PMong. ***niγur** face (лицо): MMong. *ni'ur* (HY 45, SH), *nojur* (IM), *niur* (MA); WMong. *niγur* (L 580); Kh. *nū̆r*; Bur. *ńūr, nū̆r*; Kalm. *nū̆r*; Ord. *nū̆r*; Mog. *nū̆r*; Dong. *niu* (MGCD nu); Bao. *nōr* (MGCD nor, *nur*); S.-Yugh. *nū̆r, nō̆r*; Mongr. *nū̆r* (SM 280) (MGCD *niur*).

◊ KW 283, MGCD 520, 563.

PTurk. ***jū̆ŕ** face (лицо): OTurk. *jüz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jüz* (MK); Tur. *jüz*; Gag. *jüz, üz*; Az. *üz*; Turkm. *jüz*; Sal. *jüz, jïz*; Khal. *jīz*; MTurk. *jüz* (MA, AH, Ettuhf.); Uygh. *jüz*; Krm. *jüz, juź, jiz*, iz; Tat. *jöz*; Bashk. *jöð*; Kirgh. *ǰüz*; Kaz. *žüz*; KKalp. *žüz*; Kum. *jüz*; Nogh. *jüz*; SUygh. *jüz*; Khak. *čüs*; Oyr. *jüs, ďüs*; Chuv. *śъʷvar* 'mouth'; Yak. *sū̆s* 'forehead'; Dolg. *hū̆s* 'forehead'.

◊ VEWT 213-4, ЭСТЯ 4, 259-260, Лексика 206, Мудрак Дисс. 154, Stachowski 117. Khalaj *jīz* = Yak. *sū̆s* prove that Turkm. *jüz* is secondary. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *jüz* 'surface' (Щербак 1997, 196).

PJpn. ***nər-** to resemble (быть похожим): OJpn. *n(w)or-*.

‖ VEWT 214. *-ū̆- in Turk. is due to contraction.

✱**nɪ̀kV (~ -i̯ā-)** duck: Tung. ***nīKŭ***; Mong. ***nigu-sun***.

PTung. ***nīKŭ*** 1 duck 2 bird (1 утка 2 птица): Evk. *nīkī*, -čēn 1; Evn. *ńieki*, *nīki*; Man. *ńexe* 1; SMan. *īxə* 1 (2201); Jurch. *mie-xe* (591) 1; Ork. *nēčē* / *ńēče* 2; Nan. *ńice(n)* 2; Ud. *ńuɣežiɣe* 'duckling'; Sol. *nīxī* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 590-591.

PMong. ***nigu-su*** duck (утка): MMong. *noqosun* (HY 14), *noqosu* (SH), *nuɣasun* (MA 261b), *nūqāsūn* (LH), *nūqāsūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *niɣusu*, *niɣul* (L 595: *nuɣusu(n)*); Kh. *nugas*; Bur. *nugaha(n)*; Kalm. *nuɣəsn̥*; Ord. *nuGus*, *nuGusu*; Dag. *nogese*, *nause*, *nuagese* (MD 195, 200).

◊ KW 281.

‖ KW 281, Poppe 1974, 121, АПиПЯЯ 293. A Tung.-Mong. isogloss. The TM form can hardly be regarded as a mongolism, therefore (despite Poppe 1966, 31) this root should be carefully distinguished from TM **ńuŋńakī* 'goose' (= Karakh. *juɣaq* id.). Mong. has parallel forms *niɣusun* and *noɣusun* - possibly resulting from contamination.

✱**nɪ̀kʻé** to become sour, ripen: Tung. ***ńeK- ~ *niK-***; Mong. ***negsi-***; Jpn. ****nìnkà-***; Kor. ****nɪ̀k-***.

PTung. ****ńeK- ~ *niK-*** to rot, become sour (of food) (прокисать (о пище), делаться противным на вкус): Man. *ńekde-*.

◊ TMC 1, 651. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***negsi-*** to rot, become sour (of food) (гнить, скисать (о пище)): WMong. *nigsi-* (MXTTT); Kh. *negše-*.

PJpn. ****nìnkà-*** bitter, sour (горький, кислый): MJpn. *nìgà-*; Tok. *nigá-*; Kyo. *nígà-*; Kag. *nigá-*.

◊ JLTT 837.

PKor. ****nɪ̀k-*** to be boiled, ripen (свариваться, созревать): MKor. *nɪ̀k-*; Mod. *ik-*.

◊ Nam 124, KED 1339.

‖ TMC 1, 651 (Mong.-Tung.). Verbal low tone in Kor.

✱**nɪ̀kʻe (~ -i̯ā-)** servant: Tung. ****nīka-***; Mong. ****nek-***.

PTung. ****nīka-*** 1 relative 2 servant, slave 3 Chinese 4 ordinary man, people (1 родственник 2 слуга, раб 3 китаец 4 мужик, деревенщина): Evk. *ńīkī* (Nerch.) 1; Neg. *ńi̯kan* 3, (arch.) 2; Man. *niqan* 3, 4; Ul. *ńiqa(n)* 2, 3 (arch.); Ork. *ńaqqa(n)* 2; Nan. *ńi̯qã* 3; Orch. *ńiŋka* 3, (arch.) 2; Ud. *niŋka* 3, (arch.) 2; Sol. *nixã* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 590, 637.

PMong. ****nek-*** servant(s) (слуга, слуги): MMong. *nekun* (HY 31, SH).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. **ńi̯ȍge*, **nekʻV*.

✱**nǐk´ú** to grind, crunch; knead: Tung. ***ń[i]Ki-***; Mong. ***niku-***; Turk. ***jɨk-***; Jpn. ***nə̀nkə̀-p- / *nùnkù-p-***; Kor. ***nìkì-***.

PTung. ***ń[i]Ki-*** 1 to gnaw, crunch 2 to swallow 3 to destroy, demolish (1 грызть, разгрызать 2 проглотить 3 разрушать(ся)): Evk. *ńeki-* 1; Man. *niqča-* 3; Nan. *ńikike-* 2 (Kur.-Urm.).

◊ TMC 1, 591, 637, 651.

PMong. ***niku-*** to grind, rub, knead (размалывать, растирать, месить): MMong. *nuqu-* (MA 316); WMong. *niqu-*, *nuqu-* (L 586); Kh. *nuxa-*; Bur. *ńuxa-*; Kalm. *nuxə-*; Ord. *nuxu-*; Mog. *nuqu-*; ZM *noqu* (8-2a); Dag. *nogu-*; Bao. *noGə-*; Mongr. *nuGu-* (SM 288).

◊ KW 281, MGCD 519. Mong. > Man. *ńoxu-* etc., see Doerfer MT 80, Rozycki 163.

PTurk. ***jɨk-*** to crush, grind; overthrow (разрушать, размалывать; свалить): OTurk. *jɨq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨq-* (MK); Tur. *jik-*; Gag. *jɨq-*; Az. *jix-*; Turkm. *jɨq-*; Khal. *juq-*; MTurk. *jɨq-* (MA, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jɨq-*; Uygh. *jɨq-*; Krm. *jɨq-*, *jɨx-*; Tat. *jɨq-*; Bashk. *jɨq-*; Kirgh. *žɨq-*; Kaz. *žɨq-*; KKalp. *žɨq-*; Kum. *jɨq-*, *jɨx-*; Nogh. *jɨq-*; Khak. *juq-*; Oyr. *jɨq-*, *ǰɨq-*; Chuv. *śъx-* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 200, EDT 897, ЭСТЯ 4, 273-274.

PJpn. ***nə̀nkə̀-p- / *nùnkù-p-*** to rub, wipe (off) (стирать, смахивать): OJpn. *nogop-*; MJpn. *nòɡòf-*; Tok. *nugú-*; Kyo. *núgú-*; Kag. *nùgù-*.

◊ JLTT 738.

PKor. ***nìkì-*** to knead, mix (месить, смешивать): MKor. *nìkì-*; Mod. *igi-*.

◊ Nam 119, KED 1319.

‖ Poppe 39, Дыбо 1995b.

✱**nilko (~ -u)** old, grown-up: Turk. ***jɨlkɨ***; Kor. ***nɨrk-***.

PTurk. ***jɨlkɨ*** age; aged (grown-up) animal (возраст; взрослое животное): OTurk. *jɨlqɨ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨlqɨ* (MK); Az. *ilxɨ*, *ɨlxɨ* (dial.); Turkm. *jɨlqɨ*; MTurk. *jɨlqɨ* (AH, Ettuhf.), *ɨlqɨ* (Бор. Бад., Abush.); Uzb. *jilqi*; Uygh. *ǰi(l)qa*, *žilqi*; Krm. *jɨlqɨ*; Tat. *jɨlqɨ*; Bashk. *jɨlqɨ*; Kirgh. *ǰɨlqɨ*; Kaz. *žɨlqɨ*; KBalk. *ǰɨlqɨ*, *zɨlqɨ*; KKalp. *žɨlqɨ*; Kum. *jɨlqɨ*, *jɨlqɨ*; Nogh. *jɨlqɨ*; Khak. *čɨlγɨ*; Shr. *čɨlγɨ*; Oyr. *ǰɨlqɨ*; Tv. *čɨlγɨ*; Yak. *sɨlγɨ*.

◊ EDT 925-926, ЭСТЯ 4, 281-282, Лексика 444.

PKor. ***nɨrk-*** old (старый): MKor. *nɨrk-*; Mod. *nɨk-* [*nɨrk*].

◊ Nam 118, KED 373.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss; cf. also Kor. *nɨ(l)ktari* 'old beast' (see SKE 171). The parallel is striking, but one should keep in mind that the stem may be actually derived from **nàjÍV* 'age', with additional influence of **jɨl* 'year' in Turkic.

✱**nĭmči(-kʻV)** fat in the intestines, fat food, roe: Tung. ***nim(u)kse***; Mong. ***nimʒi-ge***, ***nümʒi-ge***; Turk. ***(j)inčgek***.

PTung. ***nim(u)kse*** 1 stomach (of animals) 2 intestine fat (1 желудок животного, содержимое желудка 2 кишечный жир, животное сало): Evk. *nimne* 1; Evn. *nimne* 2; Neg. *nimtumu* 'smell of fat'; Man. *nimeŋgi* 2; SMan. *nimaŋa* 'grease, fat; vegetable oil' (340); Ork. *numiše* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 314, 594, 595.

PMong. ***nimʒi-ge***, ***nümʒi-ge*** sheep fat (бараний жир): WMong. *nümʒige* (L 597); Kh. *nünʒig*, *nümʒig*; Bur. *nemžege(n)*, *ünžege(n)*.

PTurk. ***(j)inčgek*** milt, roe (икра): Tat. *inči*, *jincɛ* (Sib.); Yak. *iskex*; Dolg. *istek*.

◊ VEWT 172, 203, Лексика 151, Stachowski 129.

‖ Лексика 151. A Western isogloss.

✱**nīme** top of head: Tung. ***nīme-kte***; Turk. ***jem-kek***; Jpn. ***mínái***; Kor. ***nìmáh***.

PTung. ***nīme-kte*** skin on young horns (кожица на молодых рогах): Evk. *nīmekte*; Evn. *ńiemът*; Neg. *mīmekte*; Ud. *ńimakta*.

◊ TMC 1, 596.

PTurk. ***jem-kek*** 1 sinciput 2 fontanelle (1 темя 2 родничок): Karakh. *ümgük* 2 (MK); Tur. *imik* 1; Gag. *imik* 'brain'; Az. *ämgäk* 2; MTurk. (MKypch.) *jimük* (AH) 1; Tat. *jümök* (Bar.) 1; Kirgh. *emgek* 2; Kaz. *eŋbek* 2; KKalp. *eŋbek* 2; Khak. *ēmek* (dial.) 1; Shr. *näbäk* (R) 1; Oyr. *emgek* (R - Tel.), *jömök* (R - Oyr.) 2, (Tuba) *nömek* 1; Tv. *čövek* 1; Chuv. *śamga* 'forehead'.

◊ VEWT 42, 208, 171, 521, ЭСТЯ 1, 352, Егоров 202, Лексика 201-202. Chuv. > Bashk. *suŋqa* 'hump of the occipital bone'.

PJpn. ***mínái*** mountain top (вершина горы): OJpn. *mjine*; MJpn. *míné*; Tok. *mìne*; Kyo. *míné*; Kag. *míne*.

◊ JLTT 480.

PKor. ***nìmáh*** forehead (лоб): MKor. *nìmá* (*nìmáh-*); Mod. *ima*.

◊ Nam 121, KED 1328.

‖ Лексика 202, Дыбо 1995b. Tone in Kor.-Jpn. is irregular. In Jpn. one has to assume metathesis (**míná-* < **nímá-*), quite probable in a root with two nasals.

✱**nìŋi** burden, load: Tung. ***niŋu-***; Jpn. ***nì***; Kor. ***ni(ŋ)-***.

PTung. ***niŋu-*** 1 to prop, support 2 support, prop (1 подпирать, опираться 2 опора): Evn. *nīnut-*, *nīnen-* 1, *nīnun* 2; Man. *neŋge-bu-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 597-598.

PJpn. ***nì*** burden, load (ноша, груз): OJpn. *ni*; MJpn. *nì*; Tok. *ní*; Kyo. *nì*; Kag. *nì*.

◊ JLTT 496. A reconstruction **nə-i* is also not excluded - if the same root may be recovered in OJ *no-sakji* 'first crop of the year, sent as tribute to the court'; the derivation is, however, not entirely convincing.

PKor. ***ni-** to carry on the head (нести на голове): MKor. *ni-*; Mod. *i-*.

◊ Liu 169, KED 1321.

‖ Martin 227. An Eastern isogloss.

***nǐ̀ra** spine: Tung. ***niri-**; Mong. ***niruɣu**; Turk. ***jɨr-**; Jpn. ***nà(n)tùki**.

PTung. ***niri-** spine, spine vertebra (позвоночник, хребет, позвонки): Evk. *niri*; Evn. *ńiṛi*; Neg. *nijikta*; Ul. *ńiṛiqta*; Ork. *ńiṛikta*; Nan. *ńiṛiqta*; Orch. *ńikta*; Ud. *ńikta*; Sol. *nērde*.

◊ TMC 1, 639-640.

PMong. ***niruɣu** spine, vertebra, marrow (позвоночник, позвонки, костный мозг): MMong. *niru'u(n)*, *niri'un* (SH), *nirisun* 'spine' (HY 47), *nīrγon* (IM), *nīrγūn* (Lig.VMI), *nirun* (MA); WMong. *niruɣu(n)* (L 585); Kh. *nurū*; Bur. *ńurga(n)*, *ńurū*; Kalm. *nurγən*; Ord. *nurū* 'back, spine'; Dag. *nirō* (Тод. Даг. 158); Dong. *nurun*; S.-Yugh. *nurūn*; Mongr. *nuru* (SM 291), *nurə*.

◊ KW 281, MGCD 519, TMN 1, 530.

PTurk. ***jɨr-** left, North (левый, Север): OTurk. *jïr-γaru* (Orkh.), *ir-*, *jir-* (OUygh.).

◊ VEWT 201, EDT 954, 959, 973. The comparison is possible if we suppose a usual development 'North' < 'back'.

PJpn. ***nà(n)tùki** brain, marrow (мозг, костный мозг): OJpn. *nadukji*; MJpn. *nàdùki*.

◊ JLTT 494.

‖ EAS 76-77, KW 281, Poppe 39, 116, Колесникова 1972a, 88-89, Дыбо 306. Despite Doerfer MT 114, evidently not a loan in TM from Mong.

***níre (~ -ŕ-, -o)** a k. of foliage tree, elm: Tung. ***nir-**; Jpn. ***nírai**; Kor. ***nìɾíp**.

PTung. ***nir- (~ ń-)** 1 a k. of poplar 2 brushwood (1 тополь-черноталь 2 хворост): Evn. *ńirāwi* 1, *ńiṛguqi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 639. Attested only in Evn., with probable parallels in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ***nírai** elm (вяз): OJpn. *nire*; MJpn. *níre*; Tok. *nìre*; Kyo. *níre*; Kag. *níre*.

◊ JLTT 498. All sources point to a high tone on the 1st syllable.

PKor. ***nìɾíp** elm (вяз): MKor. *nìɾíp*; Mod. *niɾip*.

◊ Nam 118, KED 366.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**nìtʹá** weak, quiet: Tung. ***nita-**; Mong. ***nete-**; Turk. ***jit-**; Jpn. ***nàntà-** / ***nəntá-**; Kor. ***njəth-**.

PTung. ***nita-*** 1 weak, faded 2 to weaken, diminish (1 слабый, бледный 2 уменьшаться, ослабевать): Man. *nitan* 1, *nitara-* 2; Jurch. *ni-ta-ba* (463) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 601.

PMong. ***nete-*** to become still worse, deteriorate (ухудшаться): WMong. *nete-re-* (MXTTT); Kh. *netre-*; Bur. *neter-* 'become thin, attenuate; to be in arrears of work'.

PTurk. ***jit-*** to be lost (теряться, пропадать): OTurk. *jit-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jit-* (MK); Tur. *jit-*; Az. *it-*; Turkm. *jit-*; MTurk. *jit-* (Pav. C., AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jit-*; Uygh. *jit-*, *jüt-*; Krm. *jit-*; Kirgh. *ǯit-*; Kaz. *žit-*; KKalp. *žit-*; Khak. *čat-*; Tv. *čit-*; Chuv. *śət-*; Yak. *süt-*; Dolg. *hüt-*.

◊ EDT 885, VEWT 204, ЭСТЯ 4, 204-205, Stachowski 116.

PJpn. ***nàntà-** / ***nəntá-*** 1 to quieten, keep quiet 2 quiet, peaceful (1 успокаивать 2 тихий, спокойный): OJpn. *nadama-* 1, *nodo* 2; MJpn. *nàdàma-*, *nodoma-* 1, *nodoka* 2; Tok. *nadamé-* 1, *nadáraka*, *nódoka* 2; Kyo. *nádámé-* 1, *nádárákà*, *nòdókà* 2; Kag. *nàdàmè-* 1, *nadaraká*, *nodoká* 2.

◊ JLTT 730.

PKor. ***njəth-*** shallow, superficial, light (мелкий, поверхностный, легкий): MKor. *njəth-*; Mod. *jət-* [*jəth-*], *jat-* [*jath-*].

◊ Nam 109, KED 1120, 1189.

‖ A common derivative **nìtʹá-rV-* is reflected in PM **nete-re-* = Man. *nita-ra-* = PJ **nàntà-ra-(ka)*.

✱**nìtʹà** sharp weapon, a k. of knife: Mong. ***nitula-**; Turk. ***jiti**; Jpn. ***nátá**; Kor. ***nát**.

PMong. ***nitula-*** to slaughter (cattle) (резать (скот)): MMong. *nitul-* 'to cut off' (SH); WMong. *nitula-* (L 586); Kh. *ńadla-*, *ńatla-*; Ord. *nutul-*.

◊ Cf. also *nitu-* 'to perish' (L 586).

PTurk. ***jiti*** sharp (острый): OTurk. *jiti* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jitig* (MK, KB); Tur. *iti-* (v.); Az. *iti*; Turkm. *jiti*; Khal. *jitti*; MTurk. *iti* (AH, Ettuhf.), *itik* (Pav. C.), *iti-* v. (Pav. C.); Uygh. *ištik*; Krm. *jiti*, *iti*; Tat. *ǯete*; Kaz. *žiti*; KBalk. *žütü*; Kum. *itti*; Khak. *čətəg*; Shr. *čidig*; Tv. *čidig*, *čidi-* (v.); Chuv. *śivžə* (?); Yak. *sitī*; Dolg. *hitī*.

◊ EDT 889, ЭСТЯ 4, 205-206, Stachowski 121. Cf. also Tur. *jat* 'weapon', *jataγan* 'a k. of sword' (VEWT 192, TMN 4, 52).

PJpn. ***nátá*** hatchet (топорик): Tok. *nàta*, *natá*; Kyo. *nátá*; Kag. *nátà*.

◊ JLTT 494.

PKor. ***nát*** sickle (серп): MKor. *nát*; Mod. *nat* [*nas*].

◊ Nam 94, KED 311.

‖ See SKE 162 (Kor-Jpn.). The Jpn. word is not attested in OJ and MJ texts and may well be borrowed from Korean - which would also explain the irregular high tone.

✱**nị̀ā** eye: Tung. ***ńia-sa***; Mong. ***nidü***; Turk. ***jāĺ 'tear'***; Jpn. ***mài(N)***, ***mì-***; Kor. ***nún***.

PTung. ***ńia-sa*** eye (глаз): Evk. *ês̄a*; Evn. *ās̄ɒl*; Neg. *ês̄a*; Man. *jasa*; SMan. *jasə* (10); Jurch. *ŋia-ĉi* (496); Ul. *ịsal(ị)*; Ork. *isal*; Nan. *nasal*, dial. *ńisal(a)*, *ịsal*, *ŋasar*; Orch. *isa*; Ud. *jehä*; Sol. *īsal*.

◊ TMC 1, 291-292. The Nan. and Jurch. forms unmistakeably point to an initial nasal, lost in other languages in the exceptional position before the diphthong *iā. Other traces of initial nasal can be seen in: Man. *ńońo* 'pupil of the eye', Neg. *ńuińaki* 'eyebrow', Evn. *ńōŋeti* 'one-eyed' (pointing perhaps to a derivative **ńiā-ŋu-* with later assimilations > **ńūŋu- ~ *ńūńu-*).

PMong. ***nidü*** eye (глаз): MMong. *nidun* (HY 45, SH), *neidun* (IM), *nidun* (MA); WMong. *nidü(n)* (L 578); Kh. *nüd*; Bur. *ńüde(n)*; Kalm. *nüdn̥*; Ord. *nüdü(n)*; Mog. *nüdün*; ZM *nodun* (2-3a); Dag. *nide* (MD 199, Тод. Дат. 157), *nid* (Тод. Дат. 157); Dong. *nuduŋ*, -n; Bao. *nedoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *nudun*; Mongr. *nudu* (SM 287).

◊ KW 282, MGCD 520.

PTurk. ***jāĺ*** tear (слеза): OTurk. *jaš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaš* (MK); Tur. *jaš*; Az. *jaš*; Turkm. *jāš*; Sal. *jaš*; Khal. *jāš*; MTurk. *jaš* (АН, Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jɔš*; Uygh. *jaš*; Krm. *jaš*; Tat. *jɛš*; Bashk. *jāš*; Kirgh. *ǰaš*; Kaz. *žas*; KKalp. *žas*; Kum. *jaš*; Nogh. *jas*; SUygh. *jas*; Khak. *čas*; Oyr. *ďaš*; Tv. *čaš*; Chuv. *koś-śol*.

◊ VEWT 192, EDT 975-976, Ашм. VII, 32, ЭСТЯ 4, 161-163 (because of external evidence should be distinguished both from **jāl'* 'age' and **jāl'* 'fresh, green').

PJpn. ***mài(N)***, ***mì-*** 1 eye 2 to see (1 глаз 2 видеть): OJpn. me 1, *mji-* 2; MJpn. *mè* 1, *mì-* 2; Tok. *mé* 1, *mí-* 2; Kyo. *mèe* 1, *mì-* 2; Kag. *mé* 1, *mí-* 2.

◊ JLTT 474, 724. Nasal -N can be reconstructed on the basis of Hateruma (Ryukyu) *mìŃ* - although one cannot exclude that this is a later addition.

PKor. ***nún*** eye (глаз): MKor. *nún*; Mod. *nun*.

◊ Nam 115, KED 359.

‖ EAS 77, Poppe 39, Menges 1984, 281, Street 1980, 300-301, АПиПЯЯ 30-31, 78, 87, 275. For the Turkic form cf. Mong. **ni-l-mu-sun* (KW 281; Владимирцов 146), TM **(i)ńa-mū-*, MKor. *nún-mír*, PJ **na-mi(n)tV* 'tear' < PAlt. **ńị̀ā(Ĺ)-mị̀ūri* 'water of the eye'. PT irregularly preserves length here: it is probably due to the influence of other homophonic and synonymic roots. Jpn. **m-* here deserves special comment. It is a usual reflex of **ń-* or **ŋ̀-*, but none can be safely reconstructed here (not **ń-* because of Mong. *ni-dün*, not **ŋ̀-* because of TM **ńia-sa*). One may note, however, that Jpn. has n- in **na-mi(n)tV* 'tear', and perhaps also in the old deverbative OJ *niram-* (also **nia-m-* > *nem-*) 'to glare at, keep an eye on' = Kor. *nori-* 'to have an eye upon' = TM **ńia-ru-* 'to stare' (TMC

1, 291) = Karakh. *jeze-* (EDT 985, TMN 4, 163) 'to patrol, keep an eye on' < PA **niā̯-ŕV*. One can also pay attention to the nasal suffix present in Kor. *nu-n* and Jpn. **mai(N)*; it may suggest that we are actually dealing with reflexes of an archaic suffixed form **nia̯-ŋ(V)*, the velar in which also can account for some unexpected TM forms: Jurch. *ŋia-či* and Nan. dial. *ŋasar* (< **ŋia-sa* < **ńiaŋ-sa*). Japanese may have had a similar assimilation (**ma-iN* < **ŋia-ŋ* < **nia-ŋ*), while the suffixless form is preserved in a compound (**na-mi(n)ta* < **nia*) and a derived verb (*niram-*). Cf. also KBalk. *žalamuq* 'tear' (probably < Bulg., reflecting a trace of the original compound in PTurk.). Traces of **-Í-* in some forms (Turk. **jāĺ*, Mong. **nil-mu-sun*) may reflect a distinct root, preserved in Mong. **naliqa* 'wing-like membrane, corner of the eye', as well as *nilma / milma* 'pupil of the eye'.

***nià̯bo (~ -o-)** storm, natural disaster: Tung. ***ńō[be]-kte**; Mong. ***nöɣe-le-**; Turk. ***jubug (~ *jabug)**; Jpn. ***nàw(u)í**.

PTung. ***ńō[be]-kte** 1 storm cloud 2 heavy rain 3 spindrift cloud 4 hail (1 грозовая туча 2 ливень 3 перистое облако 4 град): Evk. *ńōkta* 1, 2, dial. *ńēkte, ńokta* 3; Evn. *ńonto* 2; Neg. *ńekte* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 643, 651.

PMong. ***nöɣe-le-** to come in gusts (дуть сильными порывами (о ветре)): WMong. *nöɣele-* (L 592); Kh. *nȫlö-*.

PTurk. ***jubug (~ *jabug)** boulders which a torrent carries down; boulders displaced and falling to the bottom of the valley (камни, несомые потоком; оползень): Karakh. *juvuɣ* (~ *javuɣ*) (MK).

◊ EDT 873.

PJpn. ***nàw(u)í** earthquake (землетрясение): OJpn. *nawi*; MJpn. *nàwí*.

◊ JLTT 491.

‖ The vocalism is not quite secure due to assimilations; nevertheless the root seems well reconstructable.

***niǎ̯ʹi** to forget, refuse: Tung. ***ńaču-**; Mong. ***niča-**; Kor. ***nìč-**.

PTung. ***ńaču-** 1 to faint 2 to go back the same way (1 потерять сознание, упасть в обморок 2 вернуться (по той же тропе)): Evn. *ńatlan-* 2; Neg. *ńačula-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 636.

PMong. ***niča-** to refuse; turn back (отказываться, сдаваться, отходить назад): WMong. *niča-* (L 577: *niču-*); Kh. *ńaca-*; Bur. *nisa-, niza-*.

PKor. ***nìč-** to forget (забывать): MKor. *nìč-*; Mod. *it-* [*ič-*].

◊ Nam 127, KED 1370.

‖ PTM **ńaču-* is a secondary contraction < **niǎ̯ču*; PA **n-* (not **ń-*) is indicated by Mong. **n-*.

✱**nị̀ada (~ -i̯o-)** to suffer, pine, tarry: Tung. ***ńāda**; Mong. ***naʒa- (< *naʒi-)**; Turk. ***jAdna-**; Jpn. ***nàjàm-**.

PTung. ***ńāda** 1 late 2 to tarry (1 поздний 2 медлить): Evk. *ńāda* 1, *ńādụ-* 2; Man. *ńada* 1; Nan. *ńādoala-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 627.

PMong. ***naʒa- (< *naʒi-)** to be slow, hesitant, careless (медлить, сомневаться, быть неосторожным): WMong. *naʒaɣai* (adj.), *naʒaɣaida-* (L 567); Kh. *naʒgaj, naʒgajda-*; Bur. *nazgaj, nazgajr-*.

PTurk. ***jAdna- (~ -j-)** to long for (желать, стремиться): Turkm. *jajna-* dial. 'to suffer, worry'; Shr. *čajna-*; Oyr. *jajna-, ďajna-* 'to pine'.

◊ VEWT 179, ЭСТЯ 4, 80. The stem seems to be distinct from the homonymous **jadna* (**jajna-*) 'to be spread; be wide open (eyes)' which may be derived from **jĀd-* 'spread' q. v. sub **šādV* (see ЭСТЯ 4, 79); let us note, however, that many of the reflexes of the latter may actually reflect our **jadna-* 'to long for, miss' (cf. especially Kirgh. *ǯajna-* 'to stare with envy and hope', Tur. *jajna-* 'to live in prosperity' etc.).

PJpn. ***nàjàm-** to suffer, be troubled (страдать, мучиться): OJpn. *najam-*; MJpn. *nàjàm-*; Tok. *nayám-*; Kyo. *náyám-*; Kag. *nàyàm-*.

◊ JLTT 733.

‖ One of common Altaic verbs of emotion. The original meaning was probably something like 'languish', which would explain all the individual semantic developments.

✱**nị̀ǰi** pus, snot: Tung. ***ńā-**; Mong. ***nij-**.

PTung. ***ńā-** 1 to rot 2 pus (1 гнить 2 гной): Evk. *ńa-* 1, *ńākse* 2; Evn. *ńāw-* 1, *ńās* 2; Neg. *ńā-* 1, *ńāksa* 2; Man. *ńa-* 1, *ńaki* 2; Ul. *ńā-* 1, *ńāqsa* 2; Ork. *ńā-* 1; Nan. *ńā-* 1, *ńāqsa* 2; Orch. *ńā-* 1, *ńāksa* 2; Ud. *ńā-* 1, *ńaŋä* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 628.

PMong. ***nij-** 1 snot 2 to blow nose (1 сопли 2 сморкаться): MMong. *nisun* 1 (HY 48), *nisūn* 1 (LH); WMong. *nisu* 1, *ni(g)i-* 2 (L 582, 586); Kh. *nus(an)* 1, *nij-* 2; Bur. *ńuha(n)* 1, *nī-* 2; Kalm. *nusn̥* 1, *nī-* 2; Ord. *nusu* 1, *nī-* 2; Dag. *nī-, ńō-* 2, *ńōse* 1 (MD 199) ; *nī-* 2, *nios* 1; Mongr. *nūsoŋ* (SM 291) 1.

◊ KW 281, MGCD 519. There is some confusion in Mong. between this root and MMong. (SH) *ni-sun* 'tear', Dong. *nigusun* id., which is most probably derived from **ni-* 'eye' (and TM **ńā-kse* 'pus', despite Doerfer MT 25, has of course nothing to do with the latter).

‖ Poppe 38. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nị̀ake** neck, vertebra: Tung. ***nikimna**; Mong. ***nigur-su**; Turk. ***jaka**.

PTung. ***nikimna** 1 neck 2 nape of neck (1 шея 2 задняя часть шеи): Evk. *nikimna* 1; Evn. *ńiqъn* 2; Neg. *nixma* 1, 2; Ul. *ńiqi(n)* 1, 2; Ork. *niqimńa* 'neck of deer'; Sol. *nixama, nixima* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 591. Cf. also Dag. (Тод. Дар. 158) *ńokol* 'nape of neck', probably < TM.

PMong. ***nigur-su** spinal marrow, vertebral gristles (спинной мозг, позвоночные хрящи): WMong. *niɣursu(n), nuɣu(r)su(n)* (L 580); Kh.

nuga(r)s; Bur. *nugarha(n)*; Kalm. *nuɣərsn̥*; Ord. *nuGusu*; Dag. *nokč*; S.-Yugh. *nuryusən*.

◊ KW 281.

PTurk. ***jaka*** collar; edge (воротник; край): OTurk. *jaqa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaqa* (MK); Tur. *jaka*; Az. *jaxa*; Turkm. *jaqa*; Sal. *jaxa*; Khal. *jaqa*; MTurk. *jaqa* (Pav. C., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jɔqa*; Uygh. *jaqa*; Tat. *jaqa*; Bashk. *jaɣa*; Kirgh. *ǰaqa*; KBalk. *ǰaɣa, žaɣa*; Kum. *jaɣa*; Nogh. *jaɣa*; Khak. *čaɣa*; Shr. *čaɣa*; Oyr. *ɗaqa*; Tof. *čaɣa* (Pac. ФиЛ); Chuv. *śoɣa*; Yak. *saɣa*.

◊ VEWT 180, 82-83, EDT 898, ЭСТЯ 4, 82-84, Федотов 2, 146-147. Turk. > WMong. *ǰaqa, ǰiqa*, Kalm. *zaxə* (KW 463-464; TMN 4, 103-104, Щербак 1997, 122), whence Evk. *ǰaka* (Doerfer MT 125).

‖ A Western isogloss. See VEWT 180 (Turk.-Tung.; but Kor. *mjək* 'neck' cannot belong here), ОСНЯ 2, 92, АПиПЯЯ 293. Doerfer (TMN 4, 104) tries (in vain) to destroy the Turk.-Tung. *paralle* l ("aus lautlichen ... als auch semantischen Gründen inkorrekt" - ?). The comparison of the Mong. form with Man. *ikursun* in KW 281, Rozycki 115 should be regarded as erroneous (Man. *ikursun* < TM **xīkerī* q.v.). For further Nostratic parallels see ОССНЯ 2, 92.

✱**nịák'ì** mild, soft: Tung. ***ńaKa***; Jpn. ***níkuá- / *níkí-***; Kor. ****nə̀k***.

PTung. ****ńaKa*** 1 well, feeling well 2 peace, quietude (1 хорошо, полегчать (о больном) 2 мир, спокойствие): Evk. *ńaka* 1; Evn. *ńaq* 1; Man. *neku(la)*- 'to be glad'; *niqton* 'peace, quietude'; Orch. *ńaka* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 591, 617, 628.

PJpn. ****níkuá- / *níkí-*** mild, soft (in part. of heart, soul) (мягкий, добрый (в частн. о сердцё, душе)): OJpn. *nikwo-, nikji-* (*nikji-tama*); MJpn. *níkó-, níkí-*.

◊ JLTT 497.

PKor. ****nə̀k*** soul (душа): MKor. *nə̀k*; Mod. *nək* [*nəks*].

◊ Nam 104, KED 332.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. The original meaning must have been 'mild', particularly (but not necessarily) applied to feelings, whence the more general meaning 'soul' in Kor. Turk. **jakɨĺ-* 'good' (see ЭСТЯ 4, 63-64) may be a merger of this root with **jakɨĺ-* 'to approach' (q.v.).

✱**nịála** shallow, shallow place: Tung. ****niala-***; Mong. ****naliɣur***; Turk. ****jAl-ki-,-pak***; Kor. ****nằrằ***.

PTung. ****niala-*** 1 overflowed place 2 shallow (1 место, затопляемое в половодье 2 мелкий): Evn. *ńalakụ* 2; Nan. *nịala / ńala* 1.

◊ See TMC 1, 629.

PMong. ****naliɣur*** declivity; pool; overflowed plain (пологий, покатый, отлогий; лужа; наводненная плоскость): WMong. *naluɣu* (L 562), *nalaɣar*; Kh. *nalū*; Bur. *naĺūr, nalūr, nalagar*; Kalm. *nalū* (СЯОС).

◊ The verb *nalu-* 'to bend; lean' may present a secondary semantic development < 'to form a declivity'.

PTurk. ***jAl-kɨ-*** 1 shallow 2 wave (1 мелкий 2 волна): Turkm. *jalpaq* 1; Tv. *čalγɨγ* 1, *čalγɨjaq* 2.

◊ (?) Cf. also Chag. *jalγɨn* 'Salzsteppe' etc. (< 'shallow place'?), see VEWT 183.

PKor. ***nǎrǎ*** ford; ferry point (брод; паромная переправа): MKor. *nǎrǎ*; Mod. *naru*.

◊ Nam 232, KED 288.

‖ TMC 1, 629 (Tung.-Mong.).

✱**nià̯lo** blade, sharp: Tung. ***ńūl(u)-***; Mong. ***nüjile-***; Jpn. ***na***; Kor. ***nǎrh***.

PTung. ***ńūl(ü)-*** to shave (skin) (скоблить (шкуру, мездру)): Evk. *ńūl-*, *ńūli-*; Evn. *ńūl-*; Neg. *ńul-*; Orch. *ńulu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 645.

PMong. ***nüjile-*** to sharpen, whet (точить): WMong. *nüile-* (L 597), *nüilü-* DO 505; Kh. *nijle-*; Kalm. *nīl-* (KPC); Ord. *nūl-*, *nīl-*.

PJpn. ***na*** blade (лезвие): OJpn. *na*.

◊ JLTT 490.

PKor. ***nǎrh*** blade (лезвие): MKor. *nǎr* (*nǎrh-*); Mod. *nal*.

◊ Nam 95, KED 302.

‖ Jpn. **na* goes back to a suffixed form **niā̯l(o)-gV* (= Kor. **nǎrh*); Mong. reflects a regular dissimilation **nüjile-* < **nüli-le* (< **nilü-le* or **nelü-le*).

✱**nià̯lpá** tin, lead: Tung. ***ńālban***; Jpn. ***nàmári***.

PTung. ***ńālban*** tin (жесть): Evk. *ńālbān*; Evn. *ńālbān*; Neg. *ńalban*.

◊ TMC 1, 629.

PJpn. ***nàmári*** lead, tin (свинец, жесть): OJpn. *namari*; MJpn. *nàmári*; Tok. *nàmari*; Kyo. *nàmárì*; Kag. *namarí*.

◊ JLTT 492. Except for Tokyo, all accent reflexes point to **nàmárì*.

‖ An interesting TM-Jpn. isogloss; cf. also Old Koguryo **naimul* (see Miller 1979, 8). Jpn. **nàmá-ri* < **nàpan-(r)i*, with usual regressive nasalization.

✱**niá̯ĺi** raw, fresh: Tung. ***ń(i)ali-***; Mong. ***nilaγu***; Turk. ***jāĺ***; Kor. ***nǎr***.

PTung. ***ń(i)ali-*** 1 raw 2 meat (1 сырой 2 мясо): Evk. *ńalikin* 1; Evn. *ńalъqča* 1; Neg. *ńaliˌ-xiˌn* 1; Man. *jali* 2; SMan. *jali* 2 (302); Jurch. *ja-li* (511) 2; Ul. *ńālu(n)* 1; Ork. *nālu/ńālu* 1; Nan. *ńalkī* 1; Ud. *ńaliγi* 1; Sol. *jali* (< Man.).

◊ TMC 1,340,630. Length in Ul. and Orok may be secondary (due to the loss of -k-).

PMong. ***nilaγu*** raw (сырой; приторный): WMong. *nilaγun* (L 584: *niluγun*); Kh. *ńalūn*; Bur. *ńalū(n)*; Kalm. *nilūn* 'widrig; übelriechend (wie Fisch)'; Ord. *nulūn*; Dag. *nilčun*.

◊ KW 276, MGCD 509.

PTurk. ***jāĺ*** fresh, raw (свежий, сырой): OTurk. *jaš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaš* (MK); Tur. *jaš*; Gag. *jaš*; Az. *jaš*; Turkm. *jāš*; MTurk. *jaš* (AH, Ettuhf.); Krm. *jaš*; Bashk. *jäš*; Kirgh. *ǰaš*; Kaz. *žas*; KBalk. *ǰaš, žaš, zaš*; Nogh. *jas*; Khak. *čas*; Oyr. *jaš, ďaš*; Tv. *čaš*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 161-163, EDT 975-976, VEWT 192 (one of several **jāĺ* roots). Within Turkic interacts actively (in fact almost completely merges with **jāĺ* 'green' and **jāĺ* 'young' - but all three roots, and, additionally, **jāĺ* 'tear' and **jāĺ* 'age' - seem to have different Altaic origins.

PKor. ***nằr*** smth. raw, fresh (нечто сырое, свежее): MKor. *nằr*; Mod. *nal*.

◊ Nam 96, KED 302.

‖ EAS 110, Poppe 39, SKE 159, АПиПЯЯ 280-281, Дыбо 12, Doerfer MT 114. Preservation of n- in Mong. suggests a reconstruction **ŋ̇āĺi*, with PTM **ńali-* secondarily < **niali-*.

✱**ŋ̇áme** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***nim(b)a***; Mong. ***namaɣa***; Turk. ***jAm***; Kor. ***nìmằr***.

PTung. ***nim(b)a*** 1 light boat 2 board for tanning skins (1 легкий челн 2 доска для обработки шкур 3 ящичек): Evn. *ŋ̇imba* 2; Man. *nimašaqu* 1; Sol. *nêmo* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 587, 594.

PMong. ***namaɣa*** vessel, trough (сосуд, корыто): WMong. *namaɣa* (L 562); Kh. *namā*; Kalm. *namā*.

◊ KW 271.

PTurk. ***jAm*** large earthenware vessel (большой глиняный сосуд): MTurk. *jam* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔm*; Kirgh. *ǰam*.

◊ VEWT 183. Räsänen compares also Küär. *jam-iɣ* 'zubereitetes Leder' (R 3, 308) - which is possible if the original meaning was "a large vessel for tanning skins". One can also mention Yak. *sima* 'large leather bag' (Пек. 2, 2455 suggests borrowing < Russ. сума, but in that case **simā* would be expected).

PKor. ***nìmằr*** prow, stern (нос, перед (лодки); корма): MKor. *nìmằr*; Mod. *imul*.

◊ Nam 122, HMCH 271, KED 1320.

‖ There are some indications in Turkic and TM that the root in question denoted a big vessel for tanning skins; in the Eastern area, however, it is also used for a boat or part of a boat (with a natural transition 'vessel' > 'boat').

✱**ŋ̇amńa** to ride, mount: Tung. ***ńamńa-***; Mong. ***namna-***.

PTung. ***ńamńa-*** to ride (ехать верхом): Evk. *ńamńa-*; Evn. *ńamńi-*; Neg. *ńamńa-*; Man. *ńamńa-*; Ul. *ńamńa-*; Ork. *ńamńa-*; Nan. *ńamńa-*; Sol. *nanna-*.

◊ TMC 1, 632.

PMong. ***namna-*** to follow; to shoot from a horse (преследовать; стрелять с коня): WMong. *namna-* (L 563); Kh. *namna-*; Bur. *namna-*; Kalm. *namnə-* (KPC); Ord. *namna-*.

‖ A Tung.-Mong. isogloss. See TMC 1, 632, Doerfer MT 56 (suggesting TM > Mo, with doubt).

✱**ɲi̯aŋa** to arrange, steer: Tung. ***ńiani-***; Turk. ***jaŋ-***; Jpn. ***nama-***.

PTung. ***ńiani-*** to make straight; to steer (a boat) (выпрямлять; править (лодкой)): Evk. *ênі-*; Evn. *ān-*; Neg. *ênɨ-*; Ul. *ńewča-*; Ork. *êqụta-*; Nan. *ī̆ŋqoča-*; Orch. *iŋkiča-*.

◊ TMC 1, 290-291.

PTurk. ***jaŋ-*** 1 to rout 2 to lead smth. aside 3 to take smb. along (1 выгонять, обращать в бегство 2 отводить в сторону 3 брать кого-л. с собой): OTurk. *jaj-* (Ongin) 1, *jaŋ-*; Tv. *čaj-* 2; Yak. *sājɨs-* 3.

◊ EDT 942. Cf. also **jaj-ra-* 'to fall apart' (VEWT 179, ЭСТЯ 4, 80); the root is somewhat hard to distinguish from **jāj-* 'to shake' - but seems to be distinct.

PJpn. ***nam-*** to arrange (be arranged) in a row (расставлять(ся) в ряд, упорядочивать(ся)): OJpn. *nam-* (intr.), *nama-* (trans.).

◊ JLTT 731, 732.

‖ The original meaning is well reconstructable as 'to arrange, take or lead (smb. or smth.) in a row'.

✱**ɲi̯áŋa** calm, quiet: Tung. ***ńaŋa***; Jpn. ***nánkì***.

PTung. ***ńaŋa*** quiet, slow, easy (тихий, неторопливый, спокойный): Evn. *ńāŋa*; Neg. *ńāŋakkān*; Ul. *ńan-ža*; Ork. *nandị*; Sol. *nandaxānž*.

◊ TMC 1, 583. TM > Dag. *nandākan* 'quietly' (Тод. Даг. 156).

PJpn. ***nánkì*** calm water, windless weather (штиль, безветренная погода): OJpn. *nagji*; Tok. *nagí*; Kyo. *nágì*; Kag. *nági*.

◊ JLTT 491.

‖ A Tung-Jpn. isogloss; on a possible Turkic reflex see under **zìŋke*.

✱**ɲi̯ă̆ŋe** to curse, swear: Tung. ***niŋī-***; Mong. ***niɣül-, -g-***; Turk. ***jAŋɨl***; Jpn. ****nánəsír-***.

PTung. ***niŋī-*** to curse, damn (проклинать): Evk. *niŋī-*; Evn. *ńiŋi-*; Neg. *niŋi-*; Ork. *niŋiči-*; Sol. *niŋīl* (n.).

◊ TMC 1, 598.

PMong. ***niɣül-, -g-*** 1 sin, evil 2 to be compassionate (1 грех 2 сострадать): MMong. *niwol* (IM) 1; WMong. *nigül* 1, *nigüles-* 2 (L 582); Kh. *nügel* 1, *nigūl-se-* 2; Bur. *nügel* 1; Kalm. *nűl* 1; Ord. *nűl*, *nigűl* 1; Dag. *nugul* (Тод. Даг. 158) 1.

◊ KW 283.

PTurk. ***jAŋɨl*** 1 mistake, fault 2 to err, make a mistake (1 ошибка, вина 2 ошибаться): OTurk. *jaŋɨl-* 2, *jaŋluq* 1(*Orkh.*, OUygh.); Karakh. *jaŋɨl-* 2, *jaŋluq* 1(MK); Tur. *janlɨš* 1, *janɨl-* 2; Gag. *janniš* 1; Az. *janlɨš* 1; Turkm. *jalŋɨš* 1, *jalŋɨš-* 2; MTurk. *jaɣɨl-* (Бор. Бад., Ettuhf., Pav. C.) 2;

Uzb. *jaŋliš-* 2; Uygh. *jeŋil-, jaŋliš-* 2; Krm. *jaŋil-, jaŋɣil-* 2; Tat. *jalɣiš-* 2; Bashk. *jaŋiliš-* 2; Kirgh. *ǯaŋil-* 2; Kaz. *žaŋil-* 2; Kum. *jaŋil-, jaŋliš-* 2; SUygh. *jaŋil* 1; Shr. *nāl-* 2; Oyr. *jaŋıl-, ďaŋıl-* 2.

◊ VEWT 186, EDT 950, 951, ЭСТЯ 4, 120-121. Suffixless **jaŋ* is poorly attested and probably does not exist.

PJpn. ***nónósír-** to curse, swear (ругать, порицать): MJpn. *nónósír-*; Tok. *nonoshír-*; Kyo. *nónóshír-*; Kag. *nonoshír-*.

◊ JLTT 737. The Tokyo accent is aberrant; otherwise all forms point to high tone.

‖ A common derivative **nị̀ǻŋe-lV* is reflected in PT **jaŋı-l* = PM **nigü-l* = Sol. *niŋī-l*.

***nị̀aŋu / *ŋị̀aŋu** field, grazing place, hunting place: Tung. ***ŋuŋi / *ŋoŋi(-ka)** ; Mong. ***nuntug / *nintug**; Turk. ***(i)aŋıŕ**; Jpn. ***nùa**; Kor. ***nón**.

PTung. ***ŋuŋi / *ŋoŋi(-ka)** 1 place of hunting wild deer 2 place of good fishing or hunting (1 место охоты (на дикого оленя) 2 место удачного лова, добычи (рыбы, пушнины)): Evk. *ŋuŋi* 1; Nan. *wāŋqo* 2 (On.)

◊ TMC 1, 666.

PMong. ***nuntug / *nintug** grazing place, native place (пастбище; территория, страна, родина): MMong. *nuntux* (SH, HYt), *nutux* (SH); WMong. *nutuɣ* (L 596), *nituɣ*; Kh. *nutag*; Bur. *ńutag*; Kalm. *nutəɣ*; Ord. *nutuG*; Mog. *nuntuq*; Dag. *notog* (Тод. Дат. 158), *noteke* (MD 200); S.-Yugh. *nutuG*; Mongr. *nontoG* (SM 283).

◊ KW 281. MGCD 519.

PTurk. ***(i)aŋıŕ** stubble-field (жнивье, сжатое поле): Karakh. *aŋız* (MK); MTurk. *aŋız* (San.).

◊ EDT 191-192.

PJpn. ***nùa** field (поле): OJpn. *nwo*; MJpn. no; Tok. *nó*; Kyo. *nò*; Kag. *nò*.

◊ JLTT 499.

PKor. ***nón** rice field (рисовое поле): MKor. *nón*; Mod. *non*.

◊ Liu 157, KED 346.

‖ Martin 247-248. A good common Altaic root, but demonstrating some assimilative effects. Jpn. **nùa* reflects a suffixed form **nị̀aŋ(u)-gV*.

***nị́ǻ[à]** young; spring, summer: Tung. ***ńar-gu-**; Mong. ***nirai**; Turk. ***jāŕ**; Jpn. ***nátù**; Kor. ***njərí-m**.

PTung. ***ńar-gu-** 1 new, fresh 2 young willow (1 новый, свежий 2 молодая ива): Man. *ńarxu-n* 1; Nan. *ńargị* 2; Orch. *ńargi* 2.

◊ See TMC 635, 639.

PMong. ***nirai** new-born (новорожденный): WMong. *nirai* (L 585); Kh. *ńaraj*; Bur. *naraj-nilsagaj*; Kalm. *nirā, nirã̄*; Ord. *nirā*.

◊ KW 277. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *ńıraj*, see Kał. MEJ 22, Stachowski 187.

PTurk. ***jāŕ*** 1 spring 2 summer (1 весна 2 лето): OTurk. *jaz* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jaz* 2 (MK); Tur. *jaz* 2; Gag. *jāz* 2; Az. *jaz* 1; Turkm. *jāz* 1; Sal. *jaz* 1; Khal. *jāz* 2; MTurk. *jaz* (AH 1, Ettuhf. 2); Uzb. *jɔz* 2; Uygh. *jaz* 2; Krm. *jaz* 1; Tat. *jaz* 1; Bashk. *jaδ* 1; Kirgh. *šaz* 1; Kaz. *žaz* 2; KBalk. *zaz* 2; KKalp. *žaz* 2; Kum. *jaz* 1; Nogh. *jaz* 2; SUygh. *jaz* 1; Khak. *čas* 1; Oyr. *jas, ďas* 1; Tv. *čas* 1; Chuv. *śor* 1; Yak. *sās* 1; Dolg. *hās* 1.

◊ VEWT 193, ЭСТЯ 4, 71, EDT 982, Лексика 73, Stachowski 100, Федотов 2, 138-139.

PJpn. ***nátù*** summer (лето): OJpn. *natu*; MJpn. *natu*; Tok. *natsú*; Kyo. *nátsù*; Kag. *nátsu*.

◊ JLTT 494.

PKor. ***njàrí-m*** summer (лето): MKor. *njàŕím*; Mod. *jərim*.

◊ Nam 107, KED 1163.

‖ EAS 111, KW 277, Владимирцов 145-146, Poppe 38, 81, Martin 243, ОСНЯ 2, 84, АПиПЯЯ 74, Лексика 73-74. The Mong. form certainly cannot have a Turkic origin (despite Щербак 1997, 123). Doerfer (TMN 4, 67) attacks the etymology desperately ("Kor. njərim... ist lautlich ausgeschlossen"; "mo. nirai 'frisch' ist semantisch unklar"; "bei ma. ńarxun fragt es sich, ob es nicht ein Lw. < Mo. ist" (but isn't Mo. "semantisch unklar"?), etc. The root has indeed some problems: Mong. and Kor. reflect rather an assimilative variant **nị̊āŕi* than **nị̊āŕa*; but the comparison still remains quite reliable.

✱**nị̊ombu** thin: Tung. ***nem(i)- / *niambu-***; Mong. ***nimgen***.

PTung. ***nem(i)-*** thin (тонкий): Evk. *nemkūn*; Evn. *nemkun*; Neg. *nemkūn*; Man. *nekel'en*; SMan. *niŋkən, niŋkin* (2414); Jurch. *nen-ke-xun* (623); Ul. *nemi*; Ork. *nemdūke*; Nan. *nemi*; Orch. *nemi, nemne*; Ud. *nemnese'* (Корм. 268); Sol. *nemekũ, neппekũ*.

◊ TMC 1, 621. The original root must have been **niambu-* (**ńiambu-*), and it has left numerous traces: cf. Evk. *jembu, jume-kin, ńumē-kūn* 'thin, lean', Evn. *ńubuke, ńebuke, ńŏmeŋi* id., Nan. *jembuk* 'loose'. However, the root was heavily influenced by **ńem-* 'soft' (v. sub **nị̊ùmà*) and perhaps also by Mong. *nimgen* 'thin' (although direct borrowing of the words meaning 'thin' from Mongolian is hardly probable), which gave rise to the variant **nem(i)-* 'thin'.

PMong. ***nimgen*** thin (тонкий): MMong. *ningen* (HY 53), *nɛmgɛn* (IM), *nimkän* (MA); WMong. *nimgen, nimegen* (L 584); Kh. *nimgen*; Bur. *nimgen*; Kalm. *nimgŋ*; Ord. *nemgen, nimgen, nemgün*; Dag. *ningen* (Тод. Дar. 158, MD 199); Dong. *ninkien* (MGCD *ninkian*); Bao. *niŋgaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *nemgen* (MGCD *neŋgen*); Mongr. *neŋgen* (SM 271), (MGCD *nemgen*).

◊ KW 276, MGCD 508. Cf. also *nimna-gan* 'thin, lean'.

‖ Poppe 38, АПиПЯЯ 51, 286, KW 276. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. A probable reflex in Jpn. is OJ *num(j)er-* 'be slippery' - with the meaning influenced by **nàmià* 'slippery' (see **nị̊uma*). The roots **nị̊ombu* and **nị̊uma* generally tend to influence each other.

✱**nɪ̯ŏŋe** one, single: Tung. ***noŋ- ~ *non-**; Mong. ***nige(n)**; Turk. ***jaŋɪ́ŕ**; Jpn. ***nəmi**; Kor. ***njə̀nì(k)**.

PTung. ***noŋ- ~ *non-** 1 to begin 2 to be the first 3 at first (1 начинать 2 быть первым, опережать 3 сперва, сначала): Evk. *nono-* 1; Evn. *non-* 2; Neg. *nonon* 3; Man. *nene-* 2; Orch. *noŋon* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 605.

PMong. ***nige** one (один): MMong. *nikan* (HY 42, SH), *nigɛn* (IM), *nigän* (MA); WMong. *nige(n)* (L 580); Kh. *neg*; Bur. *nege(n)*; Kalm. *negn̦*; Ord. *nege*; Mog. *nikän*; *nikä* (25-1a); Dag. *neg*, nek (Тод. Дат. 157), *neke* (MD 196); Dong. *nie(kie)*; Bao. *nege*; S.-Yugh. *niɣe*; Mongr. *nige*, *nigen-* (SM 274).

◊ KW 274, MGCD 503.

PTurk. ***jaŋɪ́ŕ** lonely, single (одинокий, единственный): OTurk. *jaŋus* (Yen.); Turkm. *jaŋɣɨz* (dial.); Bashk. *jaŋɣɨz*; Kirgh. *ǯaŋɣɨz*; KBalk. *ǯaŋɣɨz*; SUygh. *jaŋɣɨs*; Khak. *čaɣɨs*, *naɣɨs*; Oyr. *d'aŋɨs*; Tv. *čaŋɨs*; *jaŋɣɨs* (Todzh.); Tof. *ńü~s*; Yak. *soɣotox*.

◊ VEWT 187, ДТС 235, ЭСТЯ 4, 98. Usually regarded as a contraction < *jalaŋɣuz*, which is probably wrong in the face of external evidence.

PJpn. ***nəmi** only (только): OJpn. *nomji*; MJpn. *nomi*; Tok. *nomi*.

PKor. ***njə̀nì(k)** other, different (другой): MKor. *njə̀nɨ* (*njə̀nk-*); Mod. *jəni*.

◊ Nam 106, KED 1161.

‖ A good common Altaic root.

✱**nɪ̯òri** to heat: Tung. ***ńūre-**; Mong. ***nurma**; Jpn. ***nìrà(n)k-**.

PTung. ***ńūre-** to become hot (of metal) (накаляться (о металле)): Evk. *ńūre-*; Evn. *ńō̄r-*; Neg. *ńuje-*.

◊ TMC 1, 649.

PMong. ***nurma** hot ashes, coals, bonfire (горячие уголья, костер): WMong. *nurma* (L 596); Kh. *nurma*; Bur. *nurma*; Kalm. *nurm̦* (KPC).

PJpn. ***nìrà(n)k-** to put heated metal into water (закалять металл): MJpn. *nìràg-*.

◊ JLTT 736.

‖ EAS 77. Mong. **nurma* is probably a contraction < **niru-ma*.

✱**nɪ̯òru (~ -ŕ-)** to untie, unwrap: Tung. ***ner- (?*niar-)**; Jpn. ***nura-**; Kor. ***nắrí-**.

PTung. ***ner- (?*niar-)** to unwrap, untie (разворачивать, распускать): Man. *nerki-*.

◊ TMC 1, 625. Attested only in Manchu, with possible cognates in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ***nura-** to untie (развязывать(ся)): OJpn. *nura-*.

◊ JLTT 738.

PKor. ***nắrí-** to tie round (обвязывать): MKor. *nắrí-*; Mod. *niri-*.

◊ Nam 92.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. It would be tempting to add also PT **jŏr-* 'to untie' (see under **dòru*) and perhaps also **jŏrge-* 'to wrap, twist' (see ЭСТЯ 4, 234-237), but vocalism raises problems.

✱**nɪ̯oso** (~ ***nɪ̯usi**) heavy, clumsy: Tung. ***nis-**; Mong. ***nüser**.

PTung. ***nis-*** 1 heavy, dense 2 clumsy, unwieldy (1 тяжелый, плотный 2 неуклюжий): Evn. *nɪ̯sqa, nɪ̯sɪ̯ŋa* 2; Man. *niša* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 601, 613.

PMong. ***nüser*** clumsy, unwieldy (громоздкий, тяжелый): WMong. *nüser* (L 597); Kh. *nüser*.

‖ TMC 1, 613. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nɪ̯údi** to burn, boil: Mong. ***nidu-**; Jpn. ***ní-**; Kor. ***nùd-**.

PMong. ***nidu-*** nitre, salt-petre (селитра): WMong. *nidu-qan* (L 578).

PJpn. ***ní-*** to boil (варить): OJpn. *ni-*; MJpn. *ní-*; Tok. *nì-*; Kyo. *ní-*; Kag. *ní-*.

◊ JLTT 736.

PKor. ***nùd-*** to burn, singe (жечь, палить): MKor. *nùt-* (*nùr-*); Mod. *nūt-* (*nūr-*).

◊ Liu 165, KED 364.

‖ Martin 240 (Kor.-Jpn.).

✱**nɪ̯údurgi** fist: Tung. ***nurga**; Mong. ***nidurga**; Turk. ***jɨdruk** / ***judruk**; Jpn. ***nínkír-**.

PTung. ***nurga*** fist (кулак): Evk. dial. *nɪ̯urka*; Neg. *nojga, nelga*; Man. *nuǯan*; SMan. *nuǯan* (79); Ul. *ńɪ̯uGǯa*; Orch. *nugga*; Sol. *norɣa, nuruga*.

◊ TMC 1, 590.

PMong. ***nidurga*** fist (кулак): MMong. *nudurxa* (HY 46), *nudurqa* (SH), *nūdor-* 'to hit with the fist' (LH), *nudurqa* (MA); WMong. *nidurga*; Kh. *nudargan*; Bur. *ńudarga*; Kalm. *nudrɣə*; Ord. *nudurGa*; Bao. *nədərGa*; S.-Yugh. *nudurGa*; Mongr. *nudurGa* (SM 288), *nudərGa*.

◊ KW 280, MGCD 517.

PTurk. ***jɨdruk** / ***judruk*** fist (кулак): OTurk. *jɨdruq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *juδruq* (MK); Turkm. *judruq* (dial.); Krm. *juduruq, judurux*; Tat. *jodrɨq*; Bashk. *joδroq*; Kirgh. *ǯuduruq*; Kaz. *žudɨrɨq*; KKalp. *žudɨrɨq*; SUygh. *uzruq*; Khak. *nuzurux*; Shr. *nuzruq*; Oyr. *ḍudruq*; Tv. *čuduruq*; Yak. *s̀uturuq*.

◊ EDT 892, Дыбо 182-183, ЭСТЯ 4, 248-249, Лексика 253. Turk. > Kalm. *ǯudr-xə* 'mit der Faust die Haut abziehen, die Haut und das Fleisch zwängen und so abhäuten' (KW 115). Many modern languages reflect (such as Turkm. *jumruq* etc.) reflect secondary forms **jumruk* or **jumduruk* - an obvious result of contamination with **jum-* 'round'.

PJpn. ***nínkír-*** to hold in the hand (хватать, держать в руке): OJpn. *nigjir-*; MJpn. *nígír-*; Tok. *nìgir-*; Kyo. *nígír-*; Kag. *nìgìr-*.

◊ JLTT 735.

‖ EAS 77, KW 280, Владимирцов 187, 369, Poppe 39, Дыбо 317, Лексика 253. Despite Щербак 1997, 125 and Doerfer MT 77, Rozycki 164 borrowing in Mong. from Turk. and TM from Mong. is excluded. TM has a regular loss of *-d- before -r-, with subsequent vowel contraction; Jpn. also reflects a contraction: **nu̯údurgi* > **nuj(u)ki-* > **ni(n)ki-*. It is interesting to note that all subgroups reflex the form with *-rgi; this means that Mong. *nidur(a)-, nidu-či-* 'to strike with the fist' may be analogical back-formations (or else the most archaic forms reflecting suffixless **nu̯údu*).

✱**nu̯ugu (~ l-)** to put in: Mong. ***nöɣe-**; Turk. ***jɨg-**; Kor. ***njə̀h-**.

PMong. ***nöɣe-** to keep, preserve (сохранять, откладывать): WMong. *nöɣe-* (L 592); Kh. *nө̄-*; Bur. *nө̄-*; Kalm. *nө̄-* (KPC); Ord. *nө̄-*.

PTurk. ***jɨg-** to collect (собирать): OTurk. *jɨɣ-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨɣ-* (MK); Tur. *jɨɣ-*; Gag. *jɨv-*; Az. *jɨɣ-*; Turkm. *jɨɣ-*; Sal. *jɨɣ-*; MTurk. *jɨɣ-* (Pav. C., MA, AH); Uzb. *jɨɣ-*; Uygh. *jɨɣ-*; Krm. *ǰɨj-*; Tat. *ǰɨj-*; Bashk. *jɨj-*; Kirgh. *ǰɨj-*; Kaz. *žɨj-*; KBalk. *žɨj-*; KKalp. *žɨj-*; Kum. *ǰɨj-*; Nogh. *jɨj-*; SUygh. *jɨɣ-, jɨɣ-, jɨq-*; Khak. *čɨɣ-*; Shr. *čɨɣ-*; Oyr. *jū-, ǰu-*; Tv. *čɨɣ-*.

◊ EDT 897, VEWT 200, ЭСТЯ 4, 271-272, 272-273, TMN 4, 183.

PKor. ***njə̀h-** to put in (класть, вкладывать): MKor. *njə̀h-*; Mod. *jə-* [*jəh-*] (dial.), *nə-* [*nəh-*].

◊ Nam 108, 109, KED 336, 1189.

‖ A perfect phonetic match would be PTM **lugu-* 'to put out, take out' (TMC 1, 506-507), but the semantics is baffling.

✱**nu̯ùmà** warm; soft, mild: Tung. ***ńume-/ *ńama / *ńem-**; Mong. ***nomu-/*neme- / *nima-**; Turk. ***jɨm-ĺčak**; Jpn. ***nàmià**.

PTung. ***ńume-/ *ńama /*ńem-** 1 warm 2 soft 3 quiet 4 weak, loose (1 теплый 2 мягкий 3 спокойный 4 слабый, расслабленный): Evk. *ńama, -pču* 1, *ńemu-me* 2, *ńumu-* 3; Evn. *ńam* 1, *ńumъn* 3; Neg. *nam, ńamagdi* 1, *ńamu, nemu* 2; Man. *neme-ri* 2; Ul. *ńama* 1; Ork. *namauli* 1; Nan. *ńā̆ma, ńama* 1, *nemu* 2, *nimeku* 'weakness'; Orch. *ńama* 1; Ud. *ńamahi* 1; Sol. *namagdi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 630-631, 652-653.

PMong. ***nomu- /*neme- / *nima-** gentle, meek, quiet, mild (спокойный, кроткий, мягкий, нежный): MMong. *nomuqan* (HYt), *nomuɣan* (MA); WMong. *nomuqan, nomuj* (L 591), *nemegün* (L 574), *nimaɣun*; Kh. *nomxon*; Bur. *nomoj, nomxon*; Kalm. *nomɣən, nemū̆n*; Ord. *nomoxon*; Dag. *nomūkuŋ*, -n (Тод. Дат. 158: *nomxon, nomukan*); *nomehon* (MD 200); S.-Yugh. *nomxon, nomukan* (MGCD *nomoGon*); Mongr. *nomu*.

◊ KW 275-277, 279, MGCD 513. The deriving stem is WMong. *nom*, Kalm. *nom* 'mildness, friendliness' (KW 279). Mong. > Evk. *nomokōn*, Man. *nomoxon* etc., see Doerfer MT 57, Rozycki 164.

PTurk. ***ju̯im-ĺča-k*** soft, mild (мягкий): OTurk. *jimšaq* (Orkh.), *jumšaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jumšaq* (MK); Tur. *jumšak*; Gag. *jimšaq*; Az. *jumšaG*; Turkm. *jumšaq*; MTurk. *jumšaq* (AH, Ettuhf., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jumšɔq*; Uygh. *jumšaq*; Krm. *jimšaq, jimšax*; Tat. *jomšaq*; Bashk. *jomšaq*; Kirgh. *ǯumšaq*; Kaz. *žumsaq*; KBalk. *ǯumšaq, žumušaq*; Kum. *jimišaq*; SUygh. *jumsaq*; Khak. *čimǯax, nimzax*; Shr. *čimža-*; Oyr. *jimžaq, ďimžaq*; Tv. *čimčaq*; Chuv. *śemźe*; Yak. *simna-ɣas*; Dolg. *himna-gas*.

◊ EDT 938, VEWT 201, ЭСТЯ 4, 252-253, Stachowski 118. The deriving stem **jim-ĺča-* 'to be soft' is also present in most of the above languages.

PJpn. ***nàmià*** slippery, smooth (скользкий, гладкий): OJpn. *namje*; MJpn. *nàmè*; Tok. *naméraka*; Kyo. *náméráká*; Kag. *nameraká*.

◊ JLTT 492.

‖ EAS 76, KW 275, Martin 232 (Jpn.-Kor.), ОСНЯ 2, 86-87, АПиПЯЯ 69, 292, Дыбо 12, Мудрак Дисс. 91. The original meaning must have been 'soft, tender' (generally, or particularly - of weather, fruits etc.). An expressive root with phonetic variation, tending to contaminate with **nu̯ombu* 'thin' q.v. (hence vocalic variation in Mongolian and Tungus; but despite Doerfer MT 69 it is hardly appropriate to regard the TM forms as mongolisms). In Mong. cf. also *nalmi-gar* (< **namli-gar*?) 'excessively soft, weak'.

✱**nu̯ura(-k'V) (~ -ŕ-)** hair: Tung. ****ńūrikte***; Mong. ****norakai***; Kor. ****narot***.

PTung. ****ńūri-kte*** hair (волос): Evk. *ńūrikte*; Evn. *ńūrit*; Neg. *ńijukte*; Ul. *nukte*; Ork. *nūrikte, ńīrukte*; Nan. *nukte*; Orch. *ńūkte*; Ud. *ńūkte*; Sol. *nūrikte, nūrte*.

◊ TMC 1, 648.

PMong. ****norakai*** short (of hair) (короткий (о волосах)): WMong. *noraqai* (L 591); Kh. *norxoi*.

PKor. ****narot*** whiskers, beard (бакенбарды, борода): MKor. *narot, naros*; Mod. *narut* [*narus*].

◊ Liu 132, KED 288.

‖ SKE 162.

✱**nu̯uru** song and dance: Tung. ****ńur(g)a-***; Mong. ****nürgi-***; Turk. ****ju̯ir***; Kor. ****nòr-***.

PTung. ****ńur(g)a-*** 1 cheerful, vigorous 2 to dance (and sing) (1 бодрый, удалой (в песнях) 2 плясать (с пением)): Evk. *ńurarīkān* 1; Evn. *nörgъ-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 606-607, 648.

PMong. ****nürgi-*** noisy discussion (шум, оживленное обсуждение): WMong. *nürgegen* (MXTTT); Kh. *nürgēn*; Bur. *nürxir-, nerxir-*.

PTurk. ****ju̯ir*** song (песня): Karakh. *jir* (MK); Tur. *jir*; Az. *jir* (dial.); Turkm. *jir* (dial.); Sal. *jür*; MTurk. *jir* (R.); Uzb. *ǯir*; Krm. *jir*, ir; Tat. *ǯir*;

Bashk. *jïr*; Kirgh. *ǰïr*; Kaz. *žir*; KBalk. *zïr*, *ǰïr*, *žïr*; KKalp. *žïr*; Kum. *jïr*; Nogh. *jïr*; SUygh. *jïr*, *jer*.

◊ EDT 192, VEWT 201, ЭСТЯ 4, 285, TMN 4, 233. The root should be distinguished from **ïr* (v. sub **ïru*), although actively contaminating.

PKor. ***nòr-** 1 song 2 to take leisure, amuse oneself (1 песня 2 развлекаться, отдыхать): MKor. *nòr'ái* 1, *nōr-* 2; Mod. *norä* 1, *nōl-* 2.

◊ Nam 113, KED 340, 347.

‖ A derivative **nu̯uru-gV* is reflected in PM **nür-gi-*, Evn. *nör-gъ-*, MKor. *nòr'ái*.

***nu̯úŕe** to become wet, soak: Tung. ***ń[ü]r-**; Mong. ***nor-**; Turk. ***jüŕ-**; Jpn. ***núrá-**.

PTung. ***ń[ü]r-** 1 to swim (of animals) 2 shallow place (1 плавать (о животных) 2 мель): Evn. *ńïrgï* 2; Man. *ńere-* 1; Ud. *ńu-xana-* (< **ńur-*) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 639, 645, 655.

PMong. ***nor-** to soak, be wet (мокнуть, быть мокрым): MMong. *nur-* (IM); WMong. *nor-* (L 591); Kh. *nor-*; Bur. *noro-*; Kalm. *nor-*; Ord. *nor-*; Dag. *noir-*, (Тод. Даг. 158) *noirgā-*; Dong. *noro-*; Mongr. *nōri-* (SM 284).

◊ KW 279, MGCD 513.

PTurk. ***jüŕ-** to swim, float (плавать): OTurk. *jüz-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jüz-* (MK); Tur. *jüz-*; Gag. *jüz-*; Az. *üz-*; Turkm. *jüz-*; MTurk. *jüz-* (AH, Ettuhf.), *üz-* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *juz-*; Uygh. *üz-*; Krm. *jüz-*, *üz-*; Tat. *jöz-*; Bashk. *jöδ-*; Kirgh. *ǰüz-*; Kaz. *žuz-*; KBalk. *ǰüz-*, *žüz-*; KKalp. *žüz-*; Kum. *juz-*; Nogh. *jüz-*; Khak. *čüs-*; Shr. *čüs-*; Oyr. *jüs-*, *ɖüs-*; Yak. *sötüö* 'bathing', *sötüölē-* 'to bathe'; Dolg. *hötüölē-*, *hütöl-* 'to bathe'.

◊ VEWT 214, EDT 984, ЭСТЯ 4, 261.

PJpn. ***núrá-** to get wet (мокнуть): OJpn. *nura-*; MJpn. *núra-*; Tok. *nùre-*; Kyo. *núré-*; Kag. *nuré-*.

◊ JLTT 738. Cf. also **núr-* 'to paint, smear'.

‖ The vocalism in TM is not quite certain, but initial **ń-* (corresponding to Mong. n- and Jpn. **n-*) points to PA **n-* followed by a diphthong.

***nu̯utu (~ -a)** to pound, pestle: Tung. ***nutiku**; Mong. ***nidü-**.

PTung. ***nutiku** pestle (пест): Ul. *nutiku*; Nan. *nūčiku*, *nutku*.

◊ TMC 1, 613.

PMong. ***nidü-** 1 to pound, crush 2 pestle (1 молотить, толочь, размельчать 2 пест): WMong. *nidü-* 1, *nidügür* 2 (L 578); Kh. *nüde-* 1, *nüdŭr* 2; Bur. *ńüde-* 1; Kalm. *nüd-* 1, *nüdŭr* 2 (KPC); Ord. *nüdü-* 1, *nüdŭr* 2; Dag. *nide-* 1 (MD 199, Тод. Даг. 158: nude-, *nide-*), *nidunku* 2; Dong. *nudu-* 1, *nudn* 2; Bao. *nədə-*; S.-Yugh. *nudu-*; Mongr. *nidi-* (SM 271), *nudə-*, *nədə-* (Huzu) 1, *nidir* (SM 272), *nədər* 2.

◊ MGCD 521.

‖ TMC 1, 613, АПиПЯЯ 16. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nòču** to seize, steal: Mong. ***noču-***; Jpn. ***nùsùm-***.

PMong. ***noču-*** to seize; attack (хватать; набрасываться, атаковать): WMong. *noču-* (L 587); Kh. *noco-*; Bur. *noso-*; Ord. *nočo-*.

PJpn. ***nùsùm-*** to steal (красть): OJpn. *nusum-*; MJpn. *nùsùm-*; Tok. *nusúm-*; Kyo. *núsúm-*; Kag. *nùsùm-*.

◊ JLTT 739.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**nòdà (~ -ū-)** lovely: Tung. ***nōdi***; Jpn. ***nàtùkà-***.

PTung. ***nōdi*** beautiful, handsome (красивый): Evk. *nōdi*; Evn. *nod*; Neg. *noditi*; Ul. *ńōdụ-*; Ork. *nōdị*.

◊ TMC 1, 603.

PJpn. ***nàtùkà-*** lovely, dear (милый, дорогой): OJpn. *natuka-si*; MJpn. *nàtùkà-si*; Tok. *natsukashí-*; Kyo. *natsukáshi-*; Kag. *natsukáshi-*.

◊ JLTT 836. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular (probably under lit. influence).

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**nóle** to burn, flame: Tung. ***nul-***; Mong. ***nöl-***; Turk. ***jula***; Jpn. ***nárá-sí***; Kor. ***nuri-***.

PTung. ***nul-*** to kindle (зажигать): Evk. *nul-*; Evn. *nụlụ-*; Neg. *nụl-*; Ul. *ńulčuku* 'poker'; Nan. *ńulku-* 'to stir coals'.

◊ TMC 1, 609. Initial *ń-* in Ul. and Nan. is not quite clear.

PMong. ***nöl-*** flame (пламя): WMong. *nöle* (L 593), *nölüye, nüle*; Kh. *nöl*; Kalm. *nülə*; Dag. *nulē* 'spark' (MD 200); Mongr. *nolī* (SM 283).

◊ KW 282. Cf. also Kalm. *nõlag* (KW 280) 'bonfire' < **nöγe-leg*, perhaps < **nöle-leg*.

PTurk. ***jula*** light, torch (свет, факел): OTurk. *jula* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jula* (MK, KB, IM); KBalk. *ǯula* 'дренажный фитиль'; Kum. *jula* 'gun barrel; wick'; Khak. *čula* (R); Oyr. *jula* (R); Tv. *čula* 'lamp' (Tuva, if not < Mo).

◊ VEWT 210, EDT 919. Turk. > Mong. *ǯula* (KW 479, Щербак 1997, 125), whence Evk. *ǯula* (Doerfer MT 125).

PJpn. ***nárá-sí*** bonfire, flame (костер, пламя): MJpn. *norosi*; Tok. *nòroshi*; Kyo. *nóróshí*; Kag. *noróshi*.

PKor. ***nùrí-*** to have a burnt, rank smell (пахнуть горелым): MKor. *nùrí-*; Mod. *nuri-, nori-*.

◊ Liu 162, KED 342, 357 ('to be rank, foul-smelling').

‖ PKE 132, Poppe 38, АПиПЯЯ 72. Turkic *-u- is not quite regular here (but on the basis of the attested forms a reconstruction **jola* is also not excluded). The Korean form may belong here only if the meaning "burnt smell" (not "rank" or "foul smell") is original.

✱**nŭkʹé** to pass: Tung. ***nuK-**; Mong. ***nögči-**; Jpn. ***nuànkà-**.

PTung. ***nuK-*** 1 to loose way (of deer) 2 a lonely deer 3 to move to another location 4 to lead the way 5 to stumble, make a wrong move (1 заблудиться (об олене) 2 олень, который пасется один 3 переходить на другое место 4 идти впереди (ведя за собой остальных) 5 оступиться, ошибиться в шаге): Evk. *nuken* 2, *nukiw-* 4, 5; Evn. *nök-* 1; Nan. *nukte-* 3 (Он.).

◊ TMC 1, 609.

PMong. ***nögči-*** to pass (проходить, миновать): MMong. *nokči-* (SH, HY 38); WMong. *nögči-* (L 592); Kh. *nögči-*, *nöxcö-*; Bur. *nügše-* 'to pass away'; Kalm. *nökcē-*; Ord. *nögči-*; Dag. *nurši-* (Тод. Даг. 159); Mongr. *noGsǯi-* (SM 282).

◊ KW 280, MGCD 514.

PJpn. ***nuànkà-*** 1 to pass 2 to escape (1 проходить мимо 2 убегать): OJpn. *nwoga-nap-* / *nuga-nap-* 1, *n(w)ogara-* 2; MJpn. *nogara-* 2; Tok. *nogaré-* 2; Kyo. *nógáré-* 2; Kag. *nògàrè-* 2.

◊ JLTT 736.

‖ One of the many common Altaic verbs of motion.

✱**nuli** to rob, oppress: Mong. ***nölüɣe***; Turk. ***juli-***; Kor. ***nùrí-***.

PMong. ***nölüɣe*** influence (влияние): MMong. *nüles-kui* 'humanity' (HY 49); WMong. *nölüge* (L 594); Kh. *nölõ*; Bur. *nülõ(n)*; Kalm. *nölõn* (СЯОС); Dag. *nulē* (MD 200).

PTurk. ***juli-*** 1 to pillage, attack 2 thief, scoundrel (1 грабить, нападать 2 вор, бродяга, голодранец): OTurk. *juli-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *juli-* (MK) 1; Tat. *jolqiš* 2; Bashk. *jolqoš* 2; Kirgh. *ǯulu-š-* 'to fight (of women)'; Khak. *čulɣus* (Sag.), *čulɣas* (Koib., Kach.) 2; Shr. *čulɣuš* 2; Tv. *čul-* 1.

◊ EDT 919. Should be separated from **jol-* 'pick out' (v. sub **ńòlo)*.

PKor. ***nùrí-*** to press, repress (давить, подавлять): MKor. *nùrí-*; Mod. *nūri-*.

◊ Liu 162, KED 357.

‖ SKE 173.

✱**numu (~ l-, -i)** task, important affair: Tung. ***nume***; Turk. ***jumuĺ***; Jpn. ***numa***.

PTung. ***nume*** habit (привычка): Evn. *nume*.

◊ TMC 1, 610. Attested only in Evn., but having interesting external parallels.

PTurk. ***jumuĺ*** work, service, necessity (работа, служба, необходимость): OTurk. *jumuš* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *jumuš* (MK) 1; Tur. *jumuš*; Turkm. *jumuš*; Uzb. *jumuš* 1; Krm. *jumuš*; Tat. *jomiš*; Bashk. *jomiš*; Kirgh. *ǯumuš*; Kaz. *žumıs*; KBalk. *zumuš*; KKalp. *žumıs*; Khak. *nimis*; Oyr. *jumuš*, *ńumuš*; Tv. *čimiš*; Chuv. *śъʷmъʷl*.

◊ VEWT 211, ЭСТЯ 4, 251, EDT 938 (with a highly dubious derivation from **jum-* 'round').

PJpn. ***numa** important place, thing, affair (важное место, дело): OJpn. *numa, num(j)i.*

‖ It is interesting to note WMong. *nom* (with a variant *lom*) '(religious) law, religious book'. It is, of course, a borrowing < OT *nom* < Sogd. *nwm* < Gr. *nomos*, but the variant *lom* could indicate that there had been an original **lom* that merged with the borrowed *nom*. In that case a reconstruction of *l- for PA would be justified.

***n[u]ńa** a k. of grass: Tung. ***ńuńV**; Mong. ***nimniɣa**; Turk. ***jon-irčka**; Jpn. ***nàntúna**; Kor. ***nàńí**.

PTung. ***ńuńV** a k. of plant (вид растения): Evk. *ńuńaldiwūn* 'назв. растения ("льняное волокно")'; Man. *nono* "ситник, водяной лук".

◊ TMC 1, 605, 646.

PMong. ***nimniɣa** dandelion (одуванчик): Bur. *ńamńā*; Kalm. *nemnē ceceg* (PKC).

PTurk. ***jon-irčka** clover (клевер): OTurk. *jorunčɣa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jorïnčɣa* (MK); Tur. *jonža*; Gag. *jonža*; Az. *jonža*; Turkm. *jorunža*; Khal. *jovunžä*; MTurk. *jonža* (AH), *jönča* (Houts.), *joŋïčqa, jorunčqa* (R.); Uzb. *žumrušqa*; Tat. *jonča*; Bashk. *jonsa*; Kirgh. *žoŋɣučqa*; Kaz. *žoŋï(rï)šqa*; KKalp. *joŋïšqa*; Kum. *joŋɣurčqa*.

◊ VEWT 207, TMN 4, 228-229, EDT 971, ЭСТЯ 4, 227-228, Лексика 126-127.

PJpn. ***nàntúna** shepherd's purse (пастушья сумка): MJpn. *nàdúna*; Tok. *nàzuna*; Kyo. *názúná*; Kag. *nazuná*.

◊ JLTT 494. The Kyoto accent is irregular.

PKor. ***nàńí** shepherd's purse (пастушья сумка): MKor. *nàńí*; Mod. *näŋi*.

◊ Nam 89, KED 328.

‖ Martin 240, Дыбо 10, Robbeets 2000, 104. The root denotes some sort of wild-growing flower (clover, dandelion, shepherd's purse), but - as most plant names - raises some problems. Mong. *nimniɣa* must represent a transformation of **nin-miɣa*, with not quite clear suffixation. The tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular. If the original Turk. form is **jor-ïnčka* (cf. (QB) *jor* "porridge" - a semantic derivation like Russ. кашка 'clover'?), it does not belong here. On the other hand, cf. PT **jandak* 'name of a thorny plant, camel-thorn, thistle' (EDT 947, VEWT 185). It appears semantically distant from the other forms, but may represent a secondary development due to association with *jan-* 'burn' ('burning plant'). The reconstruction in this case would have to be changed to **n̥uńa* - better explaining consonant reflexes and Mong. vocalism, but also suggesting a secondary restructuring in Turkic (**jïn-dak* > **jan-dak*).

✱**nŭ̊ŋu** wool, down: Tung. ***nuŋari***; Mong. ***nowur-***; Turk. ***juŋ***; Jpn. ***núnuá***.

PTung. ***nuŋari*** wool, down (шерсть, пух): Man. *nuŋGari*; SMan. *nuŋan* (144, 2283).

◊ TMC 1, 611 (cf. also Man. *nuŋGasun* 'thin woollen cloth' - possibly < Mong.).

PMong. ***nowur-*** 1 wool 2 down (1 шерсть 2 пух): MMong. *nuŋqasu* (SH) 1, *unqasun* 1 (MA); WMong. *noɣasu, noŋɣasu, nousu* 1 (L 589: *noɣusu(n)*); *noɣulur* 2 (L 588: *noɣulur, noulur, noluur*); Kh. *nōs* 1; *nōrs, nōlūr* 2; Bur. *nōho(n)* 1; *nōlūr* 2; Kalm. *nōsn̥* 1; *nōlūr* 2; Ord. *nōs* 1, *nōlūr, nūlūr* 2; Dong. *noGosun* 1; Bao. *noGosuŋ, noχsoŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *ŋGuasən, Guasən* 1; Mongr. *nGuasə* 1.

◊ KW 279, 280, MGCD 509. Mong. *noɣulur* > Evk. *lolur* (see TMC 1, 503).

PTurk. ***juŋ*** 1 wool 2 small feathers, down 3 feather 4 faded fur (1 шерсть 2 пух 3 перо 4 линька): OTurk. *juŋ* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *juŋ* 1 (KB), 2, 3 (MK); Tur. *jün* 1; Gag. *jün* 1; Az. *jun* 1; Turkm. *jüŋ* 1; Sal. *juŋ* 1; Khal. *juŋ* 1; MTurk. *juŋ* 1 (Бор. Бад.), *jüŋ* 1 (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *juŋ* 1; Uygh. *juŋ, ǰuŋ* 1; Krm. *jün, jun* 1; Tat. *jon* 3; Bashk. *jön* 3; Kirgh. *ǰün* 1,2,3; Kaz. *žün* 1; KKalp. *žün* 1; Kum. *jün* 1; Nogh. *jün* 1; SUygh. *juŋ, jüŋ, jun* 3; Khak. *nüŋ* 2; Shr. *čum* 2; Oyr. *jüŋ, jum, jɨm, ďuŋ* 1; Tv. *čüŋ* 1; Chuv. *śъʷm* 1; Yak. *suŋ* 4.

◊ VEWT 211, EDT 941, ЭСТЯ 4, 267-268, Лексика 146. This root should not be confused with **jüg* 'feather' (v. sub **d[é]gi*).

PJpn. ***núnuá*** fabric, cloth (ткань, полотно): OJpn. *nun(w)o*, (East. dial.) *ninwo*; MJpn. *núnó*; Tok. *nùno*; Kyo. *nùnó*; Kag. *núno*.

◊ JLTT 502. The Kyoto accent is irregular.

‖ EAS 119-120, KW 279, Poppe 73, TMC 1, 611, АПиПЯЯ 285, Дыбо 9, Лексика 146. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. is impossible, despite Щербак 1997, 125. The Turk.-Mong. match is quite regular, despite TMN 4, 228.

✱**nuŋu** chief, master: Tung. ***nuŋ-***; Turk. ***jɨŋak***; Jpn. ***nùsí (?)***.

PTung. ***nuŋ-*** 1 main part, stem, stalk 2 main riverbed (1 главная часть, ствол, стебель 2 главное русло реки): Evk. *nuŋīn, nuŋnī* 1, 2; Evn. *nūn* 2; Ud. *nuŋni* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 611.

PTurk. ***jɨŋak*** side, direction (сторона, направление): OTurk. *jɨŋaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨŋaq* (MK).

◊ VEWT 201, EDT 949. As suggested by Clauson, merged with *jaŋak* in later Turkic.

PJpn. ***nùsí*** master (хозяин): OJpn. *nusi*; MJpn. *nusi*; Tok. *núshi*; Kyo. *nùshí*; Kag. *nùshí*.

◊ JLTT 502.

‖ A problematic case. The original meaning may be reconstructed as "main direction" (whence "direction, point of the compass" in Old

Turkic and "main riverbed, stem" in TM), with a development > "chief, master" in Jpn. However, Jpn. *nusi* may belong here only if -si is an original attributive suffix (**nu-si* < **nuŋ-si*). There is also a very similar root **ńi̯unŋe* meaning 'direction, sign', with ample opportunity for contaminations - which in fact almost certainly occurred in TM.

✱**núra** to pile, stack: Tung. ***nora-**; Mong. ***norum**; Jpn. ***nárá(m)p-**; Kor. ***nar- (~ -ă-)**.

PTung. ***nora-** to pile, stack (складывать (в кучу, в костер, в копну)): Man. *nora-*; Nan. *norxon* 'соединительные поперечные валики, расположенные на концах нарт' (Он.).

◊ TMC 1, 606.

PMong. ***norum** stack, pile (штабель, стог): WMong. *norum* (L 591); Kh. *norom*.

PJpn. ***nárá(m)p-** to be placed in a row (выстраиваться в ряд): OJpn. *narab-*; MJpn. *náráb-*; Tok. *nàrab-*; Kyo. *náráb-*; Kag. *naráb-*.

◊ JLTT 732.

PKor. ***nar- (~ -ă-)** be in a row, side by side (быть друг рядом с другом): Mod. *naran-ha-*.

◊ KED 287.

‖ TMC 1, 606 (TM-Mong.). Cf. also MKor. *núrí* 'paddy pile', *núrí-* 'pile up paddies or grasses' (see Lee 1958, 116) - because of quite exceptional tone and vocalism probably borrowed from Manchu. The Manchu form, despite Rozycki 163, can be hardly explained as borrowed < Mong. In Turkic cf. perhaps Khak. (Верб.) *jurlas* 'crosswise supports for the firewood (for better burning)'.

✱**nure (~ -ŕ-)** slow: Tung. ***nur-**; Mong. ***nör-**; Jpn. ***nərə- (~-ua-)**; Kor. ***nàrhó-**.

PTung. ***nur-** to do smth. ceaselessly, constantly (не прерывать, делать что-л. постоянно): Evk. *nur-nur* 'slightly'; Man. *nur-χu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 613.

PMong. ***nöri** lengthy, lingering (длительный, продолжительный): MMong. *norus-* 'to doze, be dormant' (HY 34); WMong. *nöri(n)* (L 594); Kh. *nör; nörö-* 'to be annoying, boring'.

PJpn. ***nərə- (~-ua-)** slow (медленный): MJpn. *noro-*; Tok. *noró-*; Kyo. *nóro̍-*; Kag. *nóro-*.

◊ JLTT 837. Accent unclear: Kagoshima A points to **nuáruá-*, but Tokyo *norói* - to **nuàruà-*.

PKor. ***nàrhó-** slow, late (медленный, поздний): MKor. *nàrhó-, nirii-*; Mod. *niri-*.

◊ Nam 95, Liu 166, KED 366.

‖ Martin 241.

✱**nűru (~ -o)** dwelling place: Tung. ***nora-***; Mong. ***niruɣu***; Turk. ***jūrt***; Kor. ***nùrí***.

PTung. ***nora-*** dwelling place (местопребывание, убежище, гнездо): Man. *noro(-n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 606. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***niruɣu*** 1 general state 2 foundation, surface (1 общее состояние чего-л. 2 основа, поверхность): WMong. *niruɣu(n)* (L 585) 1; Kh. *nurū(n)* 1, 2; Bur. *ńurū* 2; Kalm. *nurɣən* 2; Mog. *nira-* 'placer', *nere-* 'remplir une vase'; Mongr. *nire-* 'ajuster, adapter' (SM 278).

◊ KW 281. The word has coincided phonetically with *niruɣu* 'back, spine' - with which it originally has nothing in common. Cf. also MMong. (HY 16) *niri'un* 'house-top' (differing from *niri-sun* 'spine') and perhaps reflecting the archaic meaning.

PTurk. ***jūrt*** dwelling place, camping-site (жилище, стоянка): OTurk. *jurt* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jurt* (MK); Tur. *jurt* (dial.); Az. *jurt*; Turkm. *jūrt*; Khal. *jūrt*; MTurk. *jurt* (Pav. C., Houts., AH); Uzb. *jurt*; Uygh. *ju(r)t*; Krm. *jurt*; Tat. *jort*; Bashk. *jort*; Kirgh. *ǰurt*; Kaz. *žurt*; KBalk. *žurt*; KKalp. *žurt*; Kum. *jurt*; Nogh. *jurt*; SUygh. *jurt*; Khak. *čurt*; Shr. *čurt*; Oyr. *jurt, ďurt*; Tv. *čuʹrt*; Chuv. *śort*; Yak. *surt*; Dolg. *hurt*.

◊ EDT 958, VEWT 211, TMN 4, 212-213, ЭСТЯ 4, 254-255, Лексика 490-491, 494, Федотов 2, 144-145, Stachowski 113.

PKor. ***nùrí*** world, living place (мир, обиталище): MKor. *nùrí*; Mod. *nuri* (arch.).

◊ Nam 114, KED 357.

‖ Mong. **niruɣu* probably < **nuriɣu* (under the influence of **niruɣu* 'back, spine'?). It would be also possible to regard the Manchu form as borrowed < Mong. (but preserving the earlier meaning), in which case the PA reconstruction would be **nị̆̂ŏru*.

✱**núŕi (~ -e)** a k. of berry, grape: Tung. ***nure***; Mong. ***nüre***; Turk. ***jüŕüm***; Kor. ***nùrúk***.

PTung. ***nure*** wine (вино): Man. *nure*; Jurch. *niu-re* (520); Sol. *nurē*.

◊ TMC 1, 625. Other forms: Evk. *nere-*, Nan. *niru*, Man. *ńara-n* 'wine' are probably borrowed < Mong. *nere-* 'to distil wine'.

PMong. ***nüre*** bilberry (черника): WMong. *nüre*; Kh. *nür, ners*; Bur. *nerhe(n)*; Kalm. *nersn*.

◊ KW 275. Cf. also Mong. *nere-* 'to press, ferment (wine)'.

PTurk. ***jüŕüm*** grape (виноград): OTurk. *üzüm* (OUygh. - med.); Karakh. *üzüm* (MK), *jüzüm* (IM); Tur. *üzüm*; Gag. *jüzüm*; Az. *üzüm*; Turkm. *üzüm*; MTurk. *üzüm* (Pav. C.), *jüzüm* (Houts.); Uzb. *uzum*; Uygh. *üzüm*; Krm. *izim, jüzüm*; Tat. *jözem*; Bashk. *jöðöm*; Kirgh. *ǰüzim*; Kaz. *žüzüm*; KBalk. *ǰüzüm*; KKalp. *žüzim*; Kum. *jüzüm*; Nogh. *jüzim*; SUygh. *üčüm* (< Mong.?); Chuv. *iźəm*.

◊ EDT 288, VEWT 214, ЭСТЯ 1, 625, Федотов 1, 173. Turk. > Mong. *üǰüm* 'grapes', see TMN 2, 54, Clark 1980, 40.

PKor. ***nùrúk** yeast (закваска, дрожжи): MKor. *nùrúk, nùrík*; Mod. *nuruk*.

◊ Nam 114, KED 357.

‖ Lee 1958, 116 (Kor.-TM), Дыбо 10. The distinction between **nüre* and **nere-* in Mong. is somewhat peculiar and may suggest the existence of two original roots.

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✱**ńabĺu(-ǯV)** young, child: Tung. ***ńab[l]ǯa-**; Mong. ***ǯulǯa-gan**; Jpn. ***mus-**.

PTung. ***ńab[l]ǯa-** young, boy, child (молодой, мальчик, ребенок): Ul. *ńawǯa(n)*; Ork. *naoǯoqqa(n)*; Nan. *naonǯoã*; Ud. *ńa'ula* (Корм. 269).

◊ TMC 1, 636.

PMong. ***ǯulǯa-gan** young of plants, animals (молодое растение или животное): MMong. *ǯolǯiqan* (LH), *ǯulǯaγan* (MA); WMong. *ǯulǯaγa(n)* (L 1079); Kh. *ǯulʒgan, ǯulʒaga*; Bur. *zulzaga*; Kalm. *zulǯiγən*; Ord. *ǯulǯaGa*; Dag. *ǯilǯig*, (Тод. Дат. 143) *ǯilǯag*; Dong. *ǯunǯuγa*; Bao. *ǯinǯiGə*; S.-Yugh. *ǯilǯaGan*; Mongr. *ǯiǯiGa* 'petits de certains animaux, bourgeon' (SM 86).

◊ KW 479, MGCD 462.

PJpn. ***mus-** 1 to be born 2 girl 3 boy (1 рождаться 2 девочка 3 мальчик): OJpn. *mus-* 1, *musu-me* 2; MJpn. *mus-* 1, *mùsú-mè* 2; Tok. *musumé* 2, *mùsuko* 3; Kyo. *músùmè* 2, *músúkó* 3; Kag. *musúme* 2, *musúko* 3.

◊ JLTT 489, 729. Accent in *musuko* and *musume* is surprisingly different: **músú-kua*, but **mùsù-mia* (or **mùsú-mia*).

‖ The etymology seems probable, although the medial cluster demonstrates a complicated behaviour. It is not quite clear whether -ǯa- in Mong. and Tung. should be treated as a suffix or as a part of the root here.

✱**ńǎjla (~ -o)** shoot, sprout; teeth, gills: Tung. ***ńal-**; Mong. ***ǯal-magaj**; Jpn. ***màì**; Kor. ***ní**.

PTung. ***ńal-** 1 groove on upper lip 2 gums of teeth (1 желобок на верхней губе 2 десны): Man. *ńalma* 1, *ńa-si, ńa-ša* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 630, 636. With the original meaning 'sprout' one could also compare Evk. *ńalba-kta* 'young grass', and perhaps Ud. *ńalasa* 'white strip of fur close to animals' neck' (TMC 1, 629).

PMong. ***ǯal-magaj** gills (жабры): WMong. *ǯalmaγai* (L 1032), *ǯaŋγalai*; Kh. *ʒalmagaj*; Bur. *ǯaŋgār*.

PJpn. ***màì** shoot, sprout (росток, побег): OJpn. *me*; MJpn. me; Tok. *mé*; Kyo. *mè*; Kag. *mé*.

◊ JLTT 474.

PKor. ***ní*** tooth (зуб): MKor. *ní*; Mod. *i*.

◊ Nam 119, KED 1316.

‖ Дыбо 1995b (Mong.-Tung.). The semantic interchange between 'teeth' and 'sprouts' is quite common, so in this respect the etymology seems plausible. In Jpn. one has to suppose a suffixed form **ma(i)* < **ńǎjl(a)-gV*; medial *-j- is reconstructed to account for the loss of resonant in Kor. The root seems to be unattested in Turkic, but cf. Tur. dial. *jalama* 'white spot on horse's head from forehead down to the lower lip' (ЭСТЯ 4, 91) - cf. the semantic development in TM.

ńǎĺba** young: Tung. ****ńalba-; Mong. ****ǯalaɣu***; Turk. ****jāĺ***; Jpn. ****masa-***.

PTung. ****ńalba-*** 1 young grass 2 meat of a young animal 3 spawning 4 young of birds (1 молодая травка 2 мясо молодого животного 3 нерест 4 птенец): Evk. *ńalbakta* 1, *nilben* 2; Evn. *ńalaq* 3; Neg. *ńalamŋi* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 592, 629, 630.

PMong. ****ǯalaɣu*** young (молодой): MMong. *ǯalaw*, *ǯalu* (IM), *ǯălăwă*, *ǯălu* (MA), *ǯala'ui* (SH); WMong. *ǯalaɣu* (L 1029); Kh. *ʒalū*; Bur. *zalū*; Kalm. *zalū*; Ord. *ǯalū*; Mog. *ǯalau* (Weiers); ZM *ǯalāwu* (10-3a); Dag. *ǯalō* (Тод. Дат. 142, MD 175); Dong. *ǯalau*, *ǯalao*; S.-Yugh. *ǯalū*; Mongr. *ǯalų̄* (SM 79), (MGCD *ǯalau*).

◊ KW 465, MGCD 427. Mong. > Evk. *ǯalaw*, see Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ****jāĺ*** young (молодой): Tur. *jaš*; Turkm. *jāš*; Sal. *jaš*; MTurk. *jaš* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jɔš*; Uygh. *jaš*; Krm. *jaš*, *ješ*; Tat. *jɛš*; Kirgh. *ǯaš*; Kaz. *žas*; KBalk. *ǯaš*, *žaš*, *zaš*; KKalp. *žas*; Kum. *jaš*; Nogh. *jas*; SUygh. *jas*; Khak. *čas*; Oyr. *jaš*, *ďaš*; Tv. *čaš*; Tof. *češ*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 162, VEWT 192 (one of several **jāĺ* roots; within Turkic hardly distinguishable from **jāĺ* 'green vegetables; green', but historically different).

PJpn. ****masa-*** to be prematurely developed (быть преждевременно развитым): Tok. *masé-*; Kyo. *màsè-*; Kag. *masé-*.

◊ Accent is not quite clear: Kagoshima points to **másá-*, but Kyoto and Tokyo rather to **màsá-*.

‖ KW 465, Street 1980, 298.

ńàme** goat, deer: Tung. ****ńamī-; Turk. ****jɨmga***; Kor. ****jə́m-sjó***.

PTung. ****ńamī-*** female deer (важенка, самка оленя): Evk. *ńamī*; Evn. *ńamį*; Neg. *ńamī*; Ork. *namį*.

◊ TMC 1, 631.

PTurk. ****jɨmga*** wild mountain she-goat (дикая горная коза): OTurk. *ɨmɣa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ɨmɣa*, *jɨmɣa* (KB), *ɨmɣa* (IM); Tur. Old Osm. *ime*, *ima* 'goat', dial. 'deer with straight horns'; Turkm. *umGa*; MTurk. *ɨmɣa* (Sangl.); Oyr. *ďumɣa*; Tv. *čuŋma*.

◊ VEWT 165, EDT 158, Лексика 154-155. Yak. *ɨmaga* (because of medial -g-) is most probably < Evk.

PKor. ***jə́m-sjó*** goat (коза): MKor. *jə́m-sjó*; Mod. *jəmso*.

◊ Nam 377, KED 1183.

‖ EAS 78, 116, KW 214, Poppe 32, АПиПЯЯ 20. Loss of *n- in Kor. is not quite clear: perhaps **jə́m-* < **njə́m-* through dissimilation. Mong. *jimaɣan* 'goat' (MGCD 734) may be borrowed from Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 124; but cf. the WMong. variant *nimaɣan* and Bur. *ńamā* (Владимирцов) which may be genuine); Mong. > Tung. (TMC 1, 312), see Poppe 1966, 190, Doerfer MT 37.

ńam(ń)ekt´V** a k. of tree: Tung. ****ńamńikta; Mong. ****ǯimuɣu-su***; Turk. ****jɨmurt***; Jpn. ****mə̀mìti***; Kor. ****nàmòk***.

PTung. ****ńamńi-kta*** 1 a k. of willow 2 mulberry tree (1 тальник, верба, краснотал 2 тутовое дерево): Evk. *ńamńīkta* 1; Evn. *imukeɣ, imŋekēw, inmēkte* 1; Neg. *ńamŋikta* 1; Man. *nimadan* 'a k. of tree'; *nimala(n)* 2; SMan. *nimalən* 2 (2163); Jurch. *hin-ma-lar* (108) 2; Ud. *ńauta* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 314, 632, 593.

PMong. ****ǯimuɣu-su*** buckthorn, bird-cherry (крушина, черемуха): WMong. *ǯimuɣu-su*; Kalm. *ǯimūsn*.

◊ KW 111.

PTurk. ****jɨmurt*** bird-cherry (черемуха): Karakh. *jumušɣa* 'medlar' (MK); Tur. *jumurt* (dial.); Az. *ǯumurt* 'крушина'; Uzb. *šumurt*; Khak. *nimɨrt*; Shr. *nibɨrt*; Oyr. *jimɨrt, ǰimɨrɨt*; Chuv. *śəʷməʷrt*.

◊ EDT 881, VEWT 211, ЭСТЯ 4, 283, Егоров 211, Лексика 136. Not quite clear is the relation of OT *jemšen* 'a k. of wild fruit, berry' (EDT 939).

PJpn. ****mə̀mìtì*** maple (клен): OJpn. *m(w)omjiti*; MJpn. *mòmìdì*; Tok. *mómiji*; Kyo. *mómìjì*; Kag. *momijí*.

◊ JLTT 484. The Tokyo accent points to a variant **mə̀mìtí*.

PKor. ****nàmòk*** tree (дерево): MKor. *nàmò* (*nàmk-*); Mod. *namu*.

◊ Nam 87, KED 288.

‖ KW 111, АПиПЯЯ 297, Дыбо 10. Correspondences are regular except for the tonal discrepancy between Kor. and Jpn.

ńə̀mò** hundred: Tung. ****ńamā; Mong. ****ǯaɣu-n***; Turk. ****jom-***; Jpn. ****muàmuà***.

PTung. ****ńamā*** hundred (сто): Evk. *ńamā*; Evn. *ńama*; Neg. *ńama*; Sol. *namāǯi*.

◊ TMC 1, 631.

PMong. ****ǯaɣu-n*** hundred (сто): MMong. *ǯa'un* (HY 43), *ǯa'u(n)* (SH), *ǯa'ūn* (IM); WMong. *ǯaɣu(n)* (L 1024); Kh. *ǯūn*; Bur. *zūn(n)*; Kalm. *zūn*; Ord. *ǯū(n)*; Dag. *ǯau(n)* (Тод. Дат. 143, MD 176); Bao. *ǯoŋ* (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *ǯoŋ* (SM 90).

◊ KW 482.

PTurk. ****jom-*** 1 big number, quantity, all 2 to come together, assemble (1 большое число, количество, все 2 собирать(ся)): OTurk. *jomɣ-*

(OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *jomγi* (MK) 1, *jomit-* (MK) 2; Tur. *jumuš-* 2 (dial.); MTurk. *jomut-* 2 (Houts.); Krm. *jom-, jomul-, jumul-* 2; SUygh. *jumit-, jumut-* 2.

◊ EDT 935, ЭСТЯ 4, 219-220.

PJpn. ***muàmuà** hundred (сто): OJpn. *mwomwo*; MJpn. *mòmò*.

◊ JLTT 485.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 78. Mong. **ǯaγu-* < **ńaŋu-* < **ńamŋu-* (or -ɣ- as a result of contamination with **čị̈obe* 'ten' q.v.). In Jpn. **muàmuà* < **màmuà* as a result of late vowel assimilation.

***ńamo** turf, moss: Tung. ***ńamulsa**; Mong. ***ǯim**; Turk. ***jom (?/*joŋ)**.

PTung. ***ńamulsa** swamp moss (болотный мох): Evk. *ńamulla*; Evn. *ńamъlrъ*; Neg. *ńamula*; Man. *ńamala*; Ul. *ńamụlta*; Ork. *namụĺta*; Nan. *ńamolta*.

◊ TMC 1, 632-633.

PMong. ***ǯim** turf (торф): WMong. *ǯim* (L 1056); Kh. *ǯim*.

PTurk. ***jom (?/*joŋ)** 1 turf 2 weed (1 торф 2 сорняк): Oyr. *joŋ* 1; Chuv. *śom* 2.

◊ VEWT 206, Федотов 2, 135. Cf. also **jom-suk, *jom-sul* 'weed, moss' (ЭСТЯ 4, 231, with a variety of dialectal reflexes: Tur. *josun, jomsuk*, Chag. *josun*, Kum. *jansaw* etc.). Turk. > Hung. *gyom* 'weed', see MNyTESz 1, 1132.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***ńàna** to turn back; again: Tung. ***ńān**; Turk. ***jAn-**; Jpn. ***mani-ma**.

PTung. ***ńān** again, once more (снова, еще раз): Evk. *ńān*; Evn. *ńān*; Neg. *ńān*; Nan. *ńā*; Orch. *ńa*; Ud. *ńa*; Sol. *ńã*.

◊ TMC 1, 633.

PTurk. ***jAn-** 1 to turn back 2 again (1 поворачивать назад 2 снова): OTurk. *jan-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.), *jana* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jan-* 1 (MK), *jana* 2 (MK); Tur. *jine, jene* 2; Az. *jenä* 2; Turkm. *jene* 2; MTurk. *jan-* 1, *jana* 2 (Бор. Бад., Abush.); Uzb. *jɔn-* 1, *jana* 2; Uygh. *jan-* 1, *jana* 2; Krm. *jana, jani*, jane 2; Tat. *jan-* 1, *jɛnɛ* 2; Bashk. *jänä* 2; Kirgh. *ǯan-* 1, *ǯana* 2; Kaz. *žäne* 2; KKalp. *žäne* 2; Nogh. *jana* 2; SUygh. *jan-* 1; Khak. *nan-* 1; Shr. *nan-* 1; Oyr. *jan-, ďan-* 1; Tv. *čan-* 1.

◊ EDT 941-942, 943, ЭСТЯ 4, 111-112, 114-115.

PJpn. ***mani-ma** in the same state (в прежнем, том же самом состоянии): OJpn. *manima*; MJpn. *mámá*; Tok. *mamá*; Kyo. *mámá*; Kag. *máma*.

◊ JLTT 471 (not mentioning OJ *mani-ma*). Original accent is not quite clear due to a secondary contraction in all modern dialects.

‖ The Turkic root is verbal, but it is worth noting adverbial usage of the root in all branches where it is attested.

***ńanŋa** a k. of small bird: Tung. ***ńa(n)ŋa-**; Mong. ***ǯana**; Jpn. ***mami-**.

PTung. ***ńa(n)ŋa-** bullfinch (снегирь): Evn. *ńaŋarki*.

◊ TMC 1, 633. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ǯana** bullfinch (снегирь): WMong. *ǯana* (MXTTT); Kh. *ʒana*; Bur. *zana*.

PJpn. ***mami-** a k. of blackbird (вид дрозда): Tok. *mami-jiro, mami-chajinai*.

‖ TMC 1, 633, Дыбо 1995b.

✱**ńáŋa** dirt, to smear: Tung. ***ńaŋ-**; Jpn. ***mámíra-**.

PTung. ***ńaŋ-** dirt, be smeared with dirt (грязь, пачкаться грязью): Evk. *ńaŋńa*; Evn. *ńaŋsъ*; Neg. *ńaksalkān, ńaŋsalkān*; Man. *nantuχun*; SMan. *nantuhun* 'foul-minded, evil-smelling' (2552); Ul. *jaŋsa*; Ork. *naŋisa*; Nan. *jaŋsa, ńaŋsa*; Orch. *ńaŋsa*.

◊ TMC 1, 633-634.

PJpn. ***mámíra-** to be smeared (быть вымазанным): MJpn. *mámíra-*; Tok. *mamiré-*; Kyo. *mámíre-*; Kag. *mamiré-*.

◊ JLTT 720. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**ńaŋo** nut: Tung. ***ńaŋu-**; Mong. ***ǯiɣag**; Turk. ***jAŋgak**; Jpn. ***mamai**.

PTung. ***ńaŋu-** cone, nut, fruit stone (шишка, орех, косточка плода): Evk. *ńaŋta*; Evn. *ńaŋtъ*; Man. *ńańun* 'palm nut'; Ork. *naŋu-* 'to crack nuts'; Orch. *ńańikta*; Ud. *ńaŋta*.

◊ TMC 1, 634-635.

PMong. ***ǯiɣag** walnut (грецкий орех): MMong. *ǯi'ax* (HY 7); Ord. *ǯaG*; Mongr. *ʒaG* (SM 77), *ʒaŋgiraG* (SM 81).

◊ Bao. *ǯanGəg*, Kalm. *ǯaŋɣəg* < Turk.

PTurk. ***jAŋgak** walnut (грецкий орех): OTurk. *jaɣaq* (Orkh.); Karakh. *jaɣaq* (MK); Turkm. *jaŋaq, jaŋɣaq* (dial.); Khal. *jaɣāq*; MTurk. *jaŋɣaq* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *joŋɣoq*; Uygh. *jaŋaq, jaŋɣaq*; Tat. *jaŋaq, ǯaŋɣaq* (dial.); Kirgh. *ǯaŋaq, ǯaŋɣaq*; Kaz. *ǯaŋɣaq*; KKalp. *ǯaŋɣaq*.

◊ VEWT 186, ЭСТЯ 4, 59-60, Лексика 112. Turkic > Hung. *dió* (see MNyTESz 1, 641).

PJpn. ***mamai** bean (боб): OJpn. *mame*; MJpn. *màmè, màmé*; Tok. *mamé*; Kyo. *màmê*; Kag. *mamé*.

◊ JLTT 471. The root reveals a variation of accent reflexes between **màmài* and **màmâi*.

‖ EAS 75, АПиПЯЯ 78, Дыбо 10.

✱**ńargu** a young male deer (elk): Tung. ***ńargu-**; Mong. ***ǯorgul**; Turk. ***jargun**.

PTung. ***ńargu-** young elk (молодой лось): Evk. *ńargučān*; Evn. *ńarčān*; Neg. *ńatčān*; Man. *ńarχuča*; Orch. *naguča*.

◊ TMC 1, 635.

PMong. ***ǯorgul** young elk or deer (молодой олень или лось): WMong. *ǯoryul* (L 1071); Kh. *ʒorgol*; Bur. *zorgol* 'годовалый изюбр'.

PTurk. ***jargun*** some kind of wild quadruped (вид дикого четвероногого): OTurk. *jarγun* (Orkh., OUygh.-YB); Kirgh. *jarγɨn* 'a mongrel of a yak and cow'; Khak. *čarγɨn* '2-year-old bear-cub' (Борг.); Tv. *čarɨ* 'a producent reindeer'.

◊ EDT 963.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ńéć ù** to be annoyed: Tung. ***ńeču-***; Turk. ***jačan-***; Jpn. ***mútúkár-***.

PTung. ***ńeču-*** 1 to tease, annoy 2 to hit (1 дразнить, раздражать 2 бить): Evk. *ńeču-* 2; Man. *neči-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 655.

PTurk. ***jačan-*** be ashamed, embarrassed (стыдиться, смущаться): Karakh. *jačan-* (MK); Tur. (Osm.) *jačan-*; MTurk. *jačan-* (CCum.); Chuv. *śüźen-* 'to be shocked'.

◊ EDT 882, VEWT 176, (incorrectly) Федотов 2, 151.

PJpn. ***mútúkár-*** to be annoyed, cranky (раздражаться): OJpn. *mutukar-*; MJpn. *mutukar-*; Tok. *mùtsukar-*; Kyo. *múzúkár-*.

◊ JLTT 729.

‖ One of the many common Altaic verbs of emotion.

✱**ńěka (~ -o, -u)** place on the back of an animal: Tung. ***ńegde***; Mong. ***ǯagal***; Turk. ***jAgɨr***.

PTung. ***ńegde*** 1 breast vertebra 2 curve on horse's back in the region of the neck and shoulder blades (1 грудные или междулопаточные позвонки 2 выгиб в спине лошади (у оконечности гривы и передних лопаток)): Evk. *ńegde, ńagda* 1; Evn. *ńit, ńet* 1; Neg. *ńagda* 1; Man. *nikde* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 650, 591.

PMong. ***ǯagal*** dark spots on neck and shoulders (темные пятна на шее и плечах): WMong. *ǯaγal* (L 1022); Kh. *ʒagal* 'grey'; Bur. *ʒagal*; Kalm. *zaγəl*; Ord. *ǯaGal*.

◊ KW 463. Mong. > Kaz. *žaγal*, Turkm. *jaqal* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 4, 10-11); > Manchu *ǯaxala* (see Rozycki 118).

PTurk. ***jAgɨr*** 1 chap, saddle-gall on back of an animal 2 wound, chafe on human body (1 ссадина на спине животного 2 рана, ссадина на человеческом теле): Karakh. *jaγɨr* 1 (MK); Tur. *jaγɨr* 1; Az. *jaɣɨr* 1; Turkm. *jaγɨr* 1; MTurk. *jaγɨr* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jaγɨr* 2; Uygh. *jeɣɨr(ɣ)* 1; Kirgh. *ǯōr* 1; Kaz. *žawɨr* 1; KKalp. *žawɨr* 1; Nogh. *jawɨr* 1; Oyr. *ǰūr* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 65, TMN 4, 183. External evidence suggests that this root should be kept distinct from **jagɨr*, **jagrɨn* 'back, shoulderblade' (v. sub **dagV*).

‖ A Western isogloss.

***ńéŋńi** East or South (wind), warm season: Tung. ***ńeŋńe**; Mong. ***ǯeɣü-n**; Jpn. ***mínámí**.

PTung. ***ńeŋńe** spring (весна): Evk. *ńeŋńe*; Evn. *neɣńi*; Neg. *ńeŋńe*; Man. *ńeŋńeri*; SMan. *ńaŋańari* (2726); Jurch. *nie(ŋ)nen* (73); Ul. *ńeŋńe*; Ork. *ńeŋńē / neŋne*; Nan. *ńeŋńe*; Orch. *ńeŋńe*.

◊ TMC 1, 653-4.

PMong. ***ǯeɣün** East; left (восток; левый): MMong. *ǯe'un* (HY 50), *ǯeu'un* (SH) 'left wing troups'; *ǯō'ēn* 'left' (MA), *ǯūn* 'left' (IM); WMong. *ǯegün* (L 1044); Kh. *ǯūn*; Bur. *zūn(n)*; Kalm. *zūn*; Ord. *ǯūn* 'North, left'; Dag. *ǯun* (Тод. Дар. 145); S.-Yugh. *ǯūn*.

◊ KW 485, MGCD 465. Mong. > Evk. *ǯeɣin* etc., see Poppe 1966, 190, Doerfer MT 23, Rozycki 127.

PJpn. ***mínámí** South; South wind (юг; южный ветер): OJpn. *mji-namji*; MJpn. *mínámí*; Tok. *mìnami*; Kyo. *mínàmì*; Kag. *minámi*.

◊ JLTT 479. The Kyoto accent is quite irregular; but RJ and other dialects point unanimously to high tone.

‖ Дыбо 1995b. In Jpn. cf. perhaps also **minki* 'right' (< *'East' as opposed to **pìntárí* 'left' < 'West', see **p'i̯ò̀rí*).

***ńĕra** earth, floor: Tung. ***ńerke**; Mong. ***ǯir-**; Turk. ***jẹr**.

PTung. ***ńerke** 1 earth 2 hearth (1 земля 2 очаг): Evk. *jerke*, dial. *ńerke* 1; Evn. *ńerke* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 355.

PMong. ***ǯir-** 1 litter of grass or leaves spread under an animal being flayed 2 doormat (1 подстилка из травы 2 циновка): WMong. *ǯirig* 1 (L 1060), *ǯirum* 2; Kh. *ǯuram* 2.

PTurk. ***jẹr** earth, land (земля): OTurk. *jer* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *jẹr* (MK), *jer* (KB); Tur. *jer*; Gag. *jeŕ*; Az. *jer*; Turkm. *jer*; Sal. *jer*; Khal. *jer*; MTurk. *jẹr* (MA); Uzb. *jer*; Uygh. *jär*; Krm. *jer*; Tat. *ǯir*; Bashk. *jer*; Kirgh. *ǯer*; Kaz. *žer*; KBalk. *žer*; KKalp. *žer*; Kum. *jer*; Nogh. *jer*; SUygh. *jer*; Khak. *čir*; Shr. *čer* (R.); Oyr. *ďer*; Tv. *čer*; Tof. *čer*; Chuv. *śər*; Yak. *sir*; Dolg. *hir*.

◊ VEWT 198, EDT 954, ЭСТЯ 4, 191-192, Лексика 53, Stachowski 104-105. Bulg. > Hung. *szer* 'place' (in toponyms), see Sinor 1990.

‖ TMC 1, 355. A Western isogloss.

***ńésа** luck, fortune: Tung. ***ńes-**; Jpn. ***mású-rá-**.

PTung. ***ńes-** 1 luck 2 lucky (shooter) (1 счастье 2 удачливый (стрелок)): Evn. *ńes* 1; Man. *nosiki* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 655.

PJpn. ***mású-rá-** brave man (храбрец, герой): OJpn. *masura-(wo)*; MJpn. *másúrá-wò*; Tok. *màsurao, masuráo*; Kyo. *másúráó*; Kag. *masuráo*.

◊ JLTT 473.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

***ńíkrV** a k. of thorny tree: Tung. ***ńikri-kta**; Mong. ***ǯeɣergene**; Jpn. ***míkúri**.

PTung. ***ńikri-kta** 1 thicket 2 a k. of larch (1 заросли 2 вид лиственницы): Evk. *nikrikāɣ* 1; Evn. *naqrịt* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 591.

PMong. ***ǯeɣergene** a k. of plant (Ephedra vulgaris) (эфедра): WMong. *ǯeɣergene* (L 1043); Kh. *ǯērgene*; Bur. *zērgene*; Kalm. *zērgəna* 'ежевика; малина (лесная)' (KPC); Ord. *ǯērgenek*, *ǯērgünek*; S.-Yugh. *ǯ̄uregene*.

◊ MGCD 139.

PJpn. ***míkúri** bur reed (колючий тростник): MJpn. *míkúri*.

◊ JLTT 478.

‖ For the phonetic development in Mong. cf. **bŭkrV*, **č'ik'o* (**č'ik'rV*).

***ńĭ̀lu (~ -o)** to polish, scrape: Tung. ***nili-**; Mong. ***ǯilgü-**; Turk. ***jɨĺ-**; Kor. ***(n)īr-**.

PTung. ***nili-** to scrape off, polish (соскребать, полировать): Evk. *nili-*; Man. *nila- / nile-*; Ul. *ńīli-*; Nan. *ńīla-*; Ud. *nila-* (Корм. 266).

◊ TMC 1, 592.

PMong. ***ǯilgü-** to shave, scrape, wipe (брить, соскребать, стирать): WMong. *ǯülgü-*, *ǯilgü-* (L 1085); Kh. *ǯülge-*; Bur. *zülge-*; Kalm. *zülgə-*; Ord. *ǯülgü-*.

◊ KW 483.

PTurk. ***jɨĺ-** to rub, polish (тереть, полировать): Tat. *jɨš-* (Sib.); Khak. *čɨs-*; Oyr. *jɨš-*.

◊ VEWT 202, ЭСТЯ 1, 667.

PKor. ***(n)īr-** to clear out, rinse (вычищать, промывать): MKor. *īr-*; Mod. *īl-* (NKor. *nil-*).

◊ Nam 405, KED 1351.

‖ SKE 69, Дыбо 15.

***ńĭ̀mi (~-e)** host, guest: Tung. ***ńime-**; Jpn. ***mìmà-p-**; Kor. ***nīm**.

PTung. ***ńime-** to visit, be a guest (посещать, приходить в гости): Evk. *ńime-*; Evn. *ńimeɣ-*; Neg. *ńimej-*; Ul. *ńime-ri-*; Ork. *ńimē-ri-*; Nan. *nime-ri-*; Orch. *ńime-ri-*; Ud. *ńime-li-*; Sol. *nimau-*.

◊ TMC 1, 595-596.

PJpn. ***mìmà-p-** to visit (a sick person etc.) (посещать, навещать (больного и т.п.)): MJpn. *mima-f-*; Tok. *mìma-*, *mimá-*; Kyo. *mímá-*; Kag. *mìmà-*.

PKor. ***nīm** host (хозяин): MKor. *nīm*; Mod. *im-gim*.

◊ Nam 125, KED 1361.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

***ńĭŋči** thin, narrow; short: Tung. ***nisi-**; Mong. ***ǯiǯig**; Turk. ***jiŋč-ge**; Jpn. ***mìnsìkà-**.

PTung. ***nisi-** small (маленький): Evk. *nisimkūn*; Evn. *ŋiṣa* 'small beads'; Neg. *ŋiṣiṃkṵ̄n*; Man. *nisiχa* 'small fish'.

◊ TMC 1, 600.

PMong. ***ǯiǯig** small (маленький): WMong. *ǯiǯig* (L 1065); Kh. *ǯiǯig*; Bur. *žežeg*; Kalm. *ǯiǯəg*.

◊ KW 109.

PTurk. ***jiŋč-ge** thin (тонкий): OTurk. *jinčge* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jinčke* (MK); Tur. *ince*; Gag. *inžä*; Az. *inžä*; Turkm. *ïnče* (< *jinče*); Sal. *läšgi*; MTurk. *ičke* (Pav. C.), *inčge* (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *ingička*; Uygh. *inčikä*; Krm. *inžä*; Tat. *nečkɛ*; Kirgh. *ičke*; KBalk. *inčge*; KKalp. *žiŋiške*; Nogh. *jiŋiške*; SUygh. *šige*; Khak. *niske*; Tv. *čiŋge*; Tof. *ńiŋge*; Chuv. *śinźe*; Yak. *sińniges*; Dolg. *hinńiges*.

◊ VEWT 203, EDT 944-5, ЭСТЯ 1, 364-365, Stachowski 104.

PJpn. ***mìnsìkà-** short (короткий): OJpn. *mjizika-*; MJpn. *mìzìkà-*; Tok. *mijiká-*; Kyo. *míjíká-*; Kag. *mijiká-* [= *mišiké*].

◊ JLTT 835.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 110, 278, Дыбо 12, Дыбо 1995b.

***ńipV** a k. of weed, bush: Tung. ***nibēkte**; Mong. ***ǯiba**.

PTung. ***ńibē-kte** 1 bush growing near the water 2 dwarf birch tree 3 horse-tail 4 fern (1 заросли кустарника, мелкий тальник 2 карликовая береза 3 хвощ 4 папоротник): Evk. *niwēkte* 1, 2, dial. *niwekte* 3; Evn. *ńīwekēw* 2; Neg. *ńīwekte* 2; Ork. *ńīwekte* 2; Ud. *niekte* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 589, 601.

PMong. ***ǯiba** sulphurweed, a k. of plant growing near the water (Peucedanum L.) (горичник байкальский): WMong. *ǯau* (МХТТ), *ǯab* (БАМРС); Kh. *ǯav*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***ńiro (~ -ŕ-)** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***ńiru- / *ńeri-**; Mong. ***ǯirga**; Jpn. ***mərəkə (~ -ua)**.

PTung. ***ńiru- / *ńeri-** grayling (fish) (хариус): Evk. *niru*, *neriɣē*; Evn. *nêrgat*, *nöriɣe*; Neg. *ńeju*; Orch. *ńū-ča*; Ud. *ńuu-sa*.

◊ TMC 1, 640, 654.

PMong. ***ǯirga** a k. of salmon (вид лосося): WMong. *ǯirγa* (L 1059); Kh. *ǯarga*; Kalm. *ǯirγə*.

◊ KW 112. Mong. > Yak. *ǯarγā*, Kum. *čarγa* 'grayling' etc. (VEWT 100).

PJpn. ***mərəkə (~ -ua)** gudgeon (пескарь): Tok. *moroko*.

‖ TMC 1, 640. Cf. Chuv. *śarlan* 'herring'. Cf. also Kalm. *jarγə* 'salmon' < unattested Turk.??

✱**ńi̯ama** low, level; side of the mountain: Tung. ***niama**; Mong. ***nam**; Turk. ***jAmač**; Jpn. ***mama**.

PTung. ***niama** 1 lowland 2 low 3 overfall 4 shallow place, isthmus (1 равнина 2 низкий 3 быстрина 4 отмель, перешеек): Evk. *namŋa* 1, *nemkēn* 2, *ńami* 3; Man. *ńamašan* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 582, 621, 631.

PMong. ***nam** low, level (низкий, ровный): WMong. *nam, namaγu* (L 562); Kh. *nam, namū*; Bur. *nam*; Kalm. *nam*.

◊ KW 270.

PTurk. ***jAmač** side of a mountain (склон горы): Tur. *jamač*; Gag. *jamač*; Az. *jamaǰ*; Turkm. *jamač* (dial.); MTurk. *jamač, jamaǰ* (R, Pav. C.).

◊ VEWT 184, ЭСТЯ 4, 111.

PJpn. ***mama** precipice (обрыв): OJpn. *mama*.

‖ Phonetics in the Mong.-Tung. area presents some problems, probably because of an early dissimilation **ńi̯ama* > **ni̯ama* in part of the dialects, and some dialectal mixture afterwards (cf. several different reflexes in Evk.).

✱**ńi̯áme** to curse, harm: Tung. ***ńim- / *ńum-**; Mong. ***ǯime**; Turk. ***jem-ür-**; Jpn. ***mə́má-**; Kor. ***namira-**.

PTung. ***ńim- / *ńum-** 1 shame 2 shameless 3 awkward 4 weakness, sickness 5 to weaken, be exhausted, sick 6 to be sorry, sad (1 стыд 2 бесстыжий 3 неловко, неудобно 4 слабость, болезнь 5 ослабевать, истощаться 6 печалиться, грустить): Evk. *ńumu* 4; Evn. *ńu̯mъr* 1, *ńu̯m-* 5; Neg. *ńomu̯-* 5; Man. *nime-* 5; SMan. *nimə-* 5 (713); Ul. *ńimeremdi, ńumeremǯi* 2, *ńumursi-* 6; Nan. *ńi̯morǐǯi̯, ńomorǐ* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 596, 645, 646.

PMong. ***ǯime** 1 guilt 2 defect, defective (1 вина 2 изъян, недостаток): MMong. *ǯemdeg* 2 (SH); WMong. *ǯime* 1 (L 1056), *ǯemdeg* 2 (L 1045); Kh. *зет* 1, *зemdeg* 2; Bur. *zeme* 1; Kalm. *zem* 1 (KPC); Ord. *ǯime*; Dag. *ǯemden* 2; S.-Yugh. *ǯemteg* 2.

◊ MGCD 440.

PTurk. ***jem-ür-** 1 to crush, destroy 2 to curse, reproach (1 ломать, разрушать 2 порицать, упрекать): OTurk. *jemir-* (OUygh.) 1, 2; Karakh. *jemür-* (MK) 1; Az. *jümür-* 1; Turkm. *jemir-* 1; MTurk. *jimir-, jümür-* (R., Буд.) 1; Uygh. *jimir-* 1; Krm. *jemir-* 1; Tat. *ǯimer-* 1; Bashk. *jemer-* 1; Kirgh. *ǯemir-* 2, 1; KKalp. *žemir-* 1; Kum. *jemir-* 1; Nogh. *jemir-* 1; Shr. *nebir-* 1; Oyr. *jemir-, ǯemir-* 1; Tv. *čemir-* 1; Chuv. *śəʷməʷr-* 2, 1.

◊ EDT 937, VEWT 197, ЭСТЯ 4, 183-184, Егоров 210. The meaning 'crush, destroy, widespread in modern languages, must be a secondary development from the original more abstract 'harm' (whence also 'curse, reproach').

PJpn. ***mə́má-** to argue, conflict (ссориться, спорить): Tok. *mòme-*; Kyo. *mómé-*; Kag. *momé-*.

PKor. ***namɨra-** to curse, swear (ругать): MKor. *namɨra-*; Mod. *namura-*.

◊ Nam 88, KED 289.

‖ Turkic forms like Kirgh. *ǯeme*, Tuva *čeme*, Oyr. *ɗeme*, Yak. *seme-* are most probably < Mong.; Chuv. *śamlan-* 'to perish' is not quite clear.

***ńi̯àmi** trace: Tung. ***ńiam-**; Mong. ***ǯim**; Turk. ***jam**.

PTung. ***ńiam-** 1 old trace 2 to trace (an animal) (1 след (старый) 2 распутывать следы (зверя)): Evk. *ńêmirī* 1; Ud. *ńāma-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 631, 637.

PMong. ***ǯim** path, trace (тропинка, след): WMong. *ǯim* (L 1056); Kh. *ǯim*; Bur. *žem*; Kalm. *ǯim* (KPC); Ord. *ǯim*.

PTurk. ***jam** post station (почтовая станция): OTurk. *jam* (late OUygh.); Tur. *jam* (Red.); MTurk. *jam* (Abush., Sangl.); Tat. *jam* (possibly from Russian).

◊ VEWT 183, EDT 933. Turk. > MMong. *ǯam* 'post station', WMong. *ǯam* 'way, street, road' (hardly vice versa; see the discussion in Щербак 1997, 195). Mong. > Man. *ǵamun*, Nan. *jamō*, Ul. *jamu(n)*, see Doerfer MT 142 (with a strange initial reflex, suggesting rather an unattested Mong. variant **jam*; Chinese origin suggested by Doerfer TMN 4, 110-118 is improbable - for purely phonetical reasons: the actual Middle Chinese form was not "*ǵam oder ähnlich", as suggested ibid., but 站 *ʈɛ́m*; even the later fricativized shape *čam* (Zhongyuan yinyun) can hardly have yielded Mong. *ǯam*, to say nothing of the TM variants with j-).

‖ A Western isogloss.

***ńi̯ə̀rke** to pinch (hair): Tung. ***nirku-**; Mong. ***ǯirge-**; Turk. ***jarkak**; Jpn. ***mə̀(n)k-**.

PTung. ***nirku-** short hair (of deer) (короткая, редкая шерсть (оленя)): Evk. *nirku*; Man. *nirGa*, *nirχan*.

◊ TMC 1, 600.

PMong. ***ǯirge-** to pinch (hair, etc.) (щипать (волосы и т.п.)): Kh. *ǯirge-*; Bur. *žarxi-*.

◊ The meaning 'pinch (hair)' is hardly related to the other meaning of *ǯirge-*, 'cut, split' (on which see under **ǯíre*); it is most probably an accidental homonymy.

PTurk. ***jarkak** skin (tanned, without hair) (шкура (дубленая, без волос)): Turkm. *jarɣaq*; MTurk. *jarɣaq* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *ǯɔrɣaq* (dial.); Uygh. *ja(r)ɣaq*; Tat. *jarɣaq*; Bashk. *jarɣaq*; Kirgh. *ǯarɣaq*; Kaz. *žarɣaq*; KKalp. *žarɣaq*; Kum. *jarɣaq* (dial.); Nogh. *jarɣaq*; Oyr. *jarɣaq*, *ɗarɣaq*; Tv. *čarɣaš* 'hairless (skin); placenta'; Chuv. *śorɣax* 'film, membrane'.

◊ VEWT 190, ЭСТЯ 4, 141-142, Лексика 385, Ашм. XII, 277-278, Федотов 2, 145-146. Turk. > WMong. *ǯarɣaɣ*, Kalm. *zarɣəg* (KW 467).

PJpn. ***mə̀(n)k-** to pinch (hair, feathers, etc.) (выщипывать (волосы, перья и т.п.)): MJpn. *mòg-*; Tok. *móg-*; Kyo. *móg-*; Kag. *móg-*.

◊ JLTT 726. Accent in Kyoto and Kagoshima is irregular (under Tokyo influence?).

‖ Дыбо 1995b. The root is quite reliable both phonetically and semantically.

✱**ńi̯ắre (?*Í-)** to draw: Tung. ***ńiru-**; Mong. ***ǯiru-**; Turk. ***ja̯ń-**; Kor. ***nìrk-**.

PTung. ***ńiru-** to draw, write (рисовать, писать): Neg. *niju-*; Man. *niru-*; SMan. *juru-* (1391); Ul. *ńuru-*; Ork. *ńiru-*; Nan. *ńiru-*; Orch. *ńiru-*; Sol. *niruγan* 'drawing'.

◊ TMC 1, 600. TM > Dag. *niru-, nuru-* (Тод. Даг. 158).

PMong. ***ǯiru-** 1 scratch, draw, write 2 line, row (1 царапать, рисовать, писать 2 линия, ряд): MMong. *ǯiru-* (MA); WMong. *ǯiru-* 1 (L 1060), *ǯirum* 2 (L 1061); Kh. *ʒura-* 1, *ǯuram* 2; Bur. *zura-*; Kalm. *zur-*; Ord. *ǯuru-* 1, *ǯurā* 2; Dag. *ǯurī-* (Тод. Даг. 145), *ǯori-* 'point to; draw (a picture)' (MD 180); Mongr. *ʒūri-* (SM 95).

◊ KW 481, MGCD 464. Cf. Mongr. *ʒarGə* 'ligne de démarcation entre deux champs' (83) and WMong. *ǯiruqai*. Mong. > Yak. *suruj*, Dolg. *huruj-* 'write' (see Kał. MEJ 23, Stachowski 113). Mong. *ǯiru-γa* 'line' > Man. *ǯurgan* id. (see Rozycki 128).

PTurk. ***ja̯ń-** to write (писать): Karakh. *jaz-* (MK Oghuz.); Tur. *jaz-*; Gag. *jaz-*; Az. *jaz-*; Turkm. *jaz-*; Khal. *jaz-*; MTurk. *jaz-* (Pav. C., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *joz-*; Uygh. *jaz-*; Krm. *jaz-*; Tat. *jaz-*; Bashk. *jaδ-*; Kirgh. *ǯaz-*; Kaz. *žaz-*; KBalk. *ǯaz-, zaz-*; KKalp. *žaz-*; Kum. *jaz-*; Nogh. *jaz-*; Chuv. *śir-*.

◊ VEWT 193, ЭСТЯ 4, 70-71, EDT 984. Turk. > Hung. *ír-* (MNyTESz 2, 227-228).

PKor. ***nìrk-** to read (читать): MKor. *nìrk-*; Mod. *ik-* [ilk-].

◊ Nam 125, KED 361.

‖ Владимирцов 188, Poppe 28, Дыбо 14. Initial *l- is possible if we relate here Jurch. *lar-ru-* 'to write' (809) - the PTM form in this case must be reconstructed as **liru-*. Despite Doerfer's criticism (TMN 4, 69-70), the etymology seems quite plausible (and the TM forms can certainly not be explained as borrowed < Mong.).

✱**ńi̯à́rì** man, young man: Tung. ***ń(i)ari**; Mong. ***ǯer-me-**; Turk. ***jeńe**; Jpn. ***mì(n)tù**; Kor. ***nắr-ná-**.

PTung. ***ń(i)ari** 1 man 2 person 3 young man (1 мужчина 2 человек 3 юноша): Evk. *nirawī* 3; Evn. *ńarị* 1, 3; Neg. *ńêjawị̄* 3; Man. *ńalma* 1, 2; SMan. *nanə* 'person, human being' (827); Jurch. *neRma* (295) 1, 2; Ul. *ńī* 1; Ork. *nari* 1; Nan. *naị* 1, 2, dial. *nị́a* 1; Orch. *ńā, ńī* 1; Ud. *nī* 1; Sol. *nirō* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 598-599.

PMong. ***ǯer-me-** young man (юноша): Kh. (Bayat) *ǯermegei*; Bur. *žerbeger* 'shapely, handsome (of a man)'.

PTurk. ***jeńe** son-in-law, sister's husband (зять, муж сестры): Karakh. *jezne* (MK); Az. *jeznä*; Turkm. *jezne* (dial.); MTurk. *jeznä* (Houts.); Uzb. *ǯeznä, ǯezdä*; Tat. *ǯiznɛ, ǯizni*; Kirgh. *ǯezde*; Kaz. *žezde*; KKalp. *žezde*; Nogh. *jezde*; SUygh. *jezde*; Khak. *čiste*; Shr. *česte*; Oyr. *jeste, ǰeste*; Tv. *česte*.

◊ EDT 988, VEWT 199, TMN 4, 165, ЭСТЯ 4, 169-170, Лексика 298. Cf. also Chuv. *śarmъk* 'young, young man' (> Hung. *gyermek*).

PJpn. ***mì(n)tù-** young, healthy and fresh-looking (молодой, пышущий здоровьем): OJpn. *mjidu, mjitu-mjitu-*; Tok. *mizumizushí-*; Kyo. *mízúmízúshì-*; Kag. *mizumizúshi-*.

◊ JLTT 483.

PKor. ***nǎr-ná-** brave, nimble (храбрый, проворный): MKor. *nǎr-ná-*; Mod. *nallä-*.

◊ Nam 96, KED 303.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 291.

***ń[i̯ō]ba** to walk, to go out: Tung. ***ńē(b)- ~ *ńū(b)-**; Jpn. ***màwə- (~ -u)**; Kor. ***ní-**.

PTung. ***ńē(b)- ~ *ńū(b)-** to go out (выходить): Evk. *jū-*; Evn. *ńō̄-*; Neg. *jū- / ńū-*; Ul. *ńie- / ńē-*; Ork. *nē-*; Nan. *ńie- / ńē-*; Orch. *ńū-*; Ud. *ńū-*; Sol. *jū-*.

◊ TMC 1, 348-349.

PJpn. ***màwə- (~ -u)** to walk, come (идти, ходить, приходить): OJpn. *mawi-r-, mawu-*; MJpn. *màwí-r-*; Tok. *máir-*; Kyo. *màìr-*; Kag. *màìr-*.

◊ JLTT 719. Tok. *máir-* < *maír-* with an accent shift in a diphthong.

PKor. ***ní-** to go (идти): MKor. *ní-* (*njə-*).

◊ Nam 119. Cf. also *nìrǎ-, nìrì-* 'to reach'.

‖ EAS 77. An Eastern isogloss. The vocalic structure of the TM forms is not quite clear (because of contractions), thus the PA reconstruction is not secure. Cf. perhaps Mong. *ǯow* 'пошла вон! (о собаке)'. See SKE 165.

***ńi̯ò̄gè** son-in-law, nephew: Tung. ***ńōg-**; Mong. ***ǯeɣe**; Turk. ***jEgin**; Jpn. ***mùkuâ**.

PTung. ***ńōg-** relative, sister's son (родственник, ребенок младшей сестры): Evn. *ńō̄ɣe*.

◊ TMC 1, 644. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ǯeɣe** grandson, nephew (внук, племянник): MMong. *ǯeje* (HY 28); WMong. *ǯege* (L 1051: *ǯige*); Kh. *ǯē*; Bur. *zē*; Kalm. *zē*; Ord. *ǯē*; Dag. *ǯē* (Тод. Дar. 143); Dong. *ǯə*; S.-Yugh. *ǯī*; Mongr. *ǯē* (SM 86).

◊ KW 474, MGCD 438. ? Mong. > TM *ǯā*.

PTurk. ***jEgin** nephew (племянник): OTurk. *jegen, jegin* (OUygh.); Tur. *jēn, jegen, jejen*; Turkm. *jegen*; MTurk. *jeken, jegen* (R.); Uzb. *ǯijän*; Tat. *ǯijɛn*; Bashk. *jejän*; Kirgh. *ǯēn*; Kaz. *žijen*; KKalp. *žijen*; Nogh. *jijen*; SUygh. *jegen*; Khak. *čēn*; Shr. *čēn*; Oyr. *jēn, ǰēn*; Tv. *čēn*; Yak. *sien*.

◊ EDT 912-913, VEWT 194, ЭСТЯ 4, 166-167, Лексика 293.

PJpn. ***mùkuâ** son-in-law, bridegroom (зять, жених): OJpn. *muk(w)o*; MJpn. *mùkó*; Tok. *múko*; Kyo. *mùkô*; Kag. *mukó*.

◊ JLTT 487.

‖ Владимирцов 198. The Jpn. word is to be analysed as **mu-* (< **ńi̯ṑge*) + **kua* 'son, child'.

***ńi̯ṓĺe (~ -i)** green, vegetable: Tung. ***ńoli-**; Mong. ***ǯöl(ü)ge**; Turk. ***jāĺ-il**.

PTung. ***ńoli-** 1 green moss, green mould 2 bluish 3 bruise 4 greenish (1 зеленый мох, зеленая плесень 2 синеватый 3 синяк 4 зеленоватый): Man. *ńolmon* 1; Ul. *ńolǯokto* 3; Ork. *nōlto* / *ńōlto* 3; Nan. *ńolā* 2; Orch. *noligi* 4; Ud. *ńoliɣi, ńolo* 2, 4.

◊ TMC 1, 601-603 (to be distinguished from **ńog-!*).

PMong. ***ǯöl(ü)ge** green meadow (зеленый луг): MMong. *ǯolge* (SH, see TMN 1, 295); WMong. *ǯölge* (L 1085: *ǯülge*); Kh. *züleg*; Bur. *zülge*; Kalm. *zölgə*; Mongr. *čorgō* 'vallée avec une rivière au milieu' (SM 440).

◊ KW 477. Mong. > Kirgh. *ǯülgö* etc., see ЭСТЯ 4, 37-38, TMN 1, 295.

PTurk. ***jāĺ-il** 1 green 2 yellow (1 зеленый 2 желтый): OTurk. *jašıl* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *jašıl* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *ješil* 1; Gag. *ješil* 1; Az. *jašıl* 1; Turkm. *jāšıl* 1; Sal. *jāšil* 1; Khal. *ja:šil* 1; MTurk. *jašıl* (MA) 1; Uzb. *jašil* 1; Uygh. *ješil* 1; Krm. *ješli* 1; Tat. *jɛšel* 1; Bashk. *jäšel* 1; Kirgh. *ǯašıl* 1; Kaz. *žasıl* 1; KBalk. *žašil* 1; KKalp. *žasıl* 1; Kum. *jašıl* 1; Nogh. *jasıl* 1; SUygh. *jahsil* 1; Khak. *čazıl* 1; Shr. *čažıl* (R.) 1; Oyr. *ďažıl* 1; Chuv. *śulźa, śulǯa, śъvъlś* 'leaf' (= Bashk. *jäšelsä* 'greens, vegetables'); Yak. *saha-r-* 2; Dolg. *haha-r-* 2.

◊ Derived from PT **jāĺ* 'young, green vegetables' (OUygh. *jaš*, MK *jaš*, Turkm. *jāš*, see ЭСТЯ 4, 162, EDT 975, 976, Федотов 2, 134, Stachowski 93). This root is often mixed with homophonous **jāĺ* 'tear' and **jāĺ* 'age, year', see ЭСТЯ 4, 161-164 (all three roots have different Altaic etymologies). Turk. > Mong. *jasil* 'buckthorn' (Clark 1980, 41).

‖ A Western isogloss.

***ńi̯oŋe** cold: Tung. ***ńeŋde- / *ńuŋde-**; Mong. ***ǯiŋ-de-**; Turk. ***jEŋ**.

PTung. ***ńeŋde- / *ńuŋde-** 1 cold 2 clear, frosty (weather) (1 холодный 2 ясный, морозный): Evk. *ńeŋdelē* 2; Ul. *nuŋduli* 1; Ork. *nuŋduli* 1; Nan. *noŋǯi-si* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 653.

PMong. ***ǯiŋ-de-** to suffer from cold (страдать от холода): WMong. *ǯiŋ-de-* 3 (L 1057: *ǯiŋgine-*); Kh. *ǯindi-, ǯiŋgene-* 3; Kalm. *ǯiŋdə-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯiŋ* 'frost'; S.-Yugh. *ǯiŋgene-*.

◊ MGCD 445.

PTurk. ***jEŋ** frazil (шуга, наледь): Khak. *neŋ*; Oyr. *ńeŋ* (dial.); Tv. *čeŋ*.

◊ VEWT 197 (if not < unattested South.-Sam.?)

‖ A Western isogloss.

***ńi̯ò̀po** front, in front, front side: Tung. ***ńōb- (/ *ńāb-)**; Mong. ***ǯöb**; Jpn. ***màpiâ**; Kor. ***njàp**.

PTung. ***ńōb- (/ *ńāb-)** 1 before, in front 2 to go forward 3 the one in front, leading (1 вперед, впереди 2 идти вперед, опережать 3 пере-

довой, ведущий): Evk. *ńō-* 2, *ńōɣū*, *ńōw* 3, *ńāw-de* 1; Evn. *ńōɣ*, *ńōw* 3; Neg. *ńōɣū*, *ńōwu̯* 3; Ul. *jo-ro-*, *ńo-ro-* 2; Ork. *nawra-* 2, *ńowu̯* 3; Nan. *mi̯o-ri̯a-* 2; Orch. *ńau-kä* 1, *ńō-ki* 3; Ud. *ńōɣ-* 2, *ńau-xe*, *ńou-xe* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 627, 641-642.

PMong. ***ǯöb*** straight, right (прямой, правый): MMong. *ǯuep* (HY 51), *ǯob* (SH); WMong. *ǯöb* (L 1072); Kh. *ǯöv*; Bur. *züb*; Kalm. *zöb*, *zöwl-* 'make straight'; Ord. *ǯöb*; Dag. *ǯugi-*, *ǯewul* (Тод. Дат. 143, 145); *ǯuhi* 'correct' (MD 180), *ǯubšē-* 'to approve' (= Khalkha *ǯövšō-*); Dong. *ǯo*; Mongr. *ǯo*, *ǯwo* 'vrai, véritable' (SM 74), *ǯuw* 'délibération' (SM 95), *ǯob*.

◊ KW 477, 478, MGCD 456, 457. Mong. > Man. *ǯebe-le*, Jurch. *ǯe-wen* 'right'.

PJpn. ***màpiâ*** front, before (перед, впереди): OJpn. *mapje*; MJpn. *màfê*; Tok. *máe*; Kyo. *màê*; Kag. *maé*.

◊ JLTT 469.

PKor. ***njàp*** side (сторона): MKor. *njàp*; Mod. *jap(h)*.

◊ Nam 109, KED 1189.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 297. TM reflects a form with early dissimilation: **ńi̯ŏpo* > **ńōbo*; other forms point to a diphthong in PA.

ńi̯oru** strap, rag: Tung. ****ń(i)ara-, ****ńiarma-***; Mong. ****ǯur-***; Turk. ****jur-***.

PTung. ****ń(i)ara-***, ****ńiarma-*** 1 skin (not smoked) 2 a k. of cloth 3 upper layer of meat (1 шкура (непродымленная) 2 вид одежды 3 верхний тонкий слой мяса (над ребрами медведя)): Evk. *ńarahin* 1, *ńarmakān* 2; Neg. *ńanmakan* 3; Ork. *nalma(n)* 2; Nan. *ni̯arma*, *ńarma* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 635.

PMong. ****ǯur-*** strip, strap, torn piece (полоса, оторванный кусок): WMong. *ǯurma*, *ǯurim*, *ǯurbus* (L 1080); Kh. *ǯurvas*; Ord. *ǯurwus* 'qui a la forme d'une ligne', *ǯurus*.

PTurk. ****jur-*** patch of cloth, rag (лоскуты, лохмотья): OTurk. *jurun* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jurun* (MK); MTurk. *jurun* (Abush., Sangl.); Krm. *jurq-* 'to pinch (hair)'; Tat. *joron* (dial.); Bashk. *jorqaq*, *joron*; Kaz. *žurɨn* (dial.); KBalk. *ǯurun*; KKalp. *žurɨndɨ*; Khak. *čurux*; Oyr. *d'urun*; Tv. *čuruq*; Tof. *čuruq*; Chuv. *śorъm* 'bundle of flax or hemp'.

◊ VEWT 211, EDT 970, ЭСТЯ 4, 255-256, Ашм. XII, 270.

‖ A Western isogloss.

ńi̯ŭmi** to close (eyes, mouth): Tung. ****ńim-; Mong. ****ǯimüji-***; Turk. ****jüm- / *jum-***.

PTung. ****ńim-*** to close (eyes) (закрывать (глаза)): Evk. *nimŋi-*; Evn. *ńimru-*; Neg. *ńimni-*; Ul. *ńi̯marGu̯-*; Ork. *ńimmi-*; Orch. *ńimsi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 594-595.

PMong. ****ǯimüji-*** to close (eyes, mouth) (закрывать (глаза, рот)): WMong. *ǯimüi-* (L 1056: *ǯimiji-*); Kh. *ǯimij-*; Bur. *žemi-*; Kalm. *ǯimī-*; Ord. *ǯimī-*; Mongr. *ǯimu-* (SM 88).

◊ KW 111.

PTurk. ***jüm- / *jum-** to close (eyes, mouth) (закрывать (глаза, рот)): Karakh. *jüm-* (MK); Tur. *jum-*; Gag. *jum-*; Az. *jum-*; Turkm. *jum-*; Sal. *jum-*; Khal. *jim-*; MTurk. *jum-* (Pav. C., MA, AH); Uzb. *jum-*; Uygh. *jum-, žum-*; Krm. *jum-*; Tat. *jom-*; Bashk. *jom-*; Kirgh. *ǯum-*; Kaz. *žum-*; KBalk. *ǯum-, žum-*; KKalp. *žum-*; Kum. *jum-*; Nogh. *jum-*; SUygh. *jum-*; Oyr. *ḑum-*; Yak. *sim-*.

◊ EDT 934, VEWT 210, ЭСТЯ 4, 245-246.

‖ KW 111, EAS 65, Дыбо 13. A Western isogloss. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 125.

***ńi̯ūno** to adze, scrape off: Tung. ***ńüŋ-**; Mong. ***ǯoma-gul**; Turk. ***jōn-**.

PTung. ***ńüŋ-** 1 to make notches 2 to scrape off, adze (with an axe) (1 делать зарубки 2 соскребать, стесывать (топором)): Evn. *ńiŋ-* 1; Man. *ńoŋGaža-, ńoŋGala-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 638, 644.

PMong. ***ǯoma-gul** wooden chips, shavings (щепка, стружка): WMong. *ǯomuγul* (L 1070); Kh. *ǯomgol*; Bur. *zomgōl, zomgōhon*; Kalm. *zomγəl*.

◊ KW 476.

PTurk. ***jōn-** to adze, plane (обтесывать, строгать): OTurk. *jon-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jon-* (MK); Tur. *jon-*; Gag. *jon-*; Az. *jon-*; Turkm. *jōn-*; MTurk. *jon-* (AH, Ettuhf., Бор. Бад.), *jön-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jo̯n-*; Uygh. *jonu-*; Krm. *jon-*; Tat. *jun-*; Bashk. *jun-*; Kirgh. *ǯon-*; Kaz. *žon-*; KBalk. *ǯon-*; KKalp. *žon-*; Kum. *jon-*; Nogh. *jon-*; Shr. *non-*; Oyr. *jon-, ḑon-*; Tv. *čon-*; Chuv. *śon-*; Yak. *suor-*; Dolg. *huor-*.

◊ EDT 942; VEWT 206, ЭСТЯ 4, 221-222, Федотов 2, 136, Stachowski 112. Final -r- in Yak. is somewhat strange - perhaps an early contamination with **jür-* q.v. sub **ǯi̯uŕi* (?)

‖ KW 476. A Western isogloss. Medial -m- in Mong. is probably secondary (assimilatory here). Note that all languages reflect a derivative **ńi̯ūno-gV* (in Turk. cf. **jōn-ga* 'chips, wooden shavings' = Mong. **ǯomu-gu-l* = TM **ńüŋ(g)-*).

***ńi̯ūŋne** direction, sign: Tung. ***ńuŋ-**; Mong. ***ǯöŋ**; Turk. ***jōn**; Jpn. ***muna-i**.

PTung. ***ńuŋ-** 1 to direct, give directions 2 direction, instruction 3 instructor, director, master 4 council, advice (1 указывать, направлять 2 указание, направление 3 начальник, хозяин 4 совет): Evk. *nuŋnī-, ńuŋnī-* 1, *nuŋnīγē, ńuŋnīγē* 2, *ńuŋe* 3; Evn. *ńūn-* 1, *ńūnъn* 2, *ńuŋun* 3, *ńuŋse-γъn* 4; Neg. *nuŋni-* 1, *ńuŋu* 4; Ork. *nuŋe, ńuŋe* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 612. Depalatalized **n-* in some of the forms may be due to contamination with PTM **nuŋ-* < PA **nuŋu* q.v.

PMong. ***ǯöŋ** omen, sign; natural course of things (знамение, знак; естественный ход вещей): WMong. *ǯöŋ* (L 1075); Kh. *ǯön*; Kalm. *zöŋ*; Ord. *ǯöŋ* 'manière d'être propre; manière d'être constante'.

◊ KW 478.

PTurk. ***jön** 1 side, direction 2 to be directed towards, head towards 3 reason, method, cause 4 regular, easy 5 cheap 6 origin (1 сторона, направление 2 направляться, поворачиваться 3 причина, способ, отношение 4 простой, правильный 5 дешевый 6 происхождение): OTurk. *jon* 3 (OUygh.); Tur. *jön* 1, 3, *jünel-* 2; Az. *jön* 1; Turkm. *jönel-* 2; MTurk. *jön* 1 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *joṇal-* 2, *ǯoṇ* 4 (< Kypch. or Mong.); Uygh. *jönɛl-* 2; Krm. *jöne-* 2; Tat. *jün* 3, 5, *jünäl-* 2; Bashk. *jün* 3, 4, *jünɛlɛ-* 2; Kirgh. *ǯön* 1, 4, 6, *ǯönö-* 2; Kaz. *žön* 1; KBalk. *ǯöne-* 2; KKalp. *žön* 1; Nogh. *jöne-* 2.

◊ VEWT 208, EDT 941, ЭСТЯ 4, 232-234. Tat. > Chuv. *jünə* 'cheap' (Федотов 1, 204-205).

PJpn. ***muna-i** centre, essence (сущность, суть): OJpn. *mune*; MJpn. *múné, mùnè*; Tok. *muné*; Kyo. *múnè*; Kag. *múne*.

◊ JLTT 488. The oblique stem is *muna-* (e.g. in *muna-ti, muna-wake* etc.) Original accent is not quite clear: modern dialects reflect **múnà-i* (homophonous with **múnà-i* "breast"), but MJ fixes a variation between múné and mùnè.

‖ An interesting common Altaic root, with quite plausible phonetic and semantic correspondences; however, some contaminations with **nuŋu* 'chief, master' were possible.

***ńi̯ŭŋńù** liquid faeces: Tung. ***ńōŋńa**; Mong. ***ǯuŋgag**; Turk. ***jin (/*jɨn)**; Jpn. ***ùmì**; Kor. ***nú(ŋ)-**.

PTung. ***ńōŋńa** 1 faeces, contents of intestines 2 liquid glue (1 помет, содержимое кишок 2 жидкий клей): Evk. *ńōńa* 1; Evn. *ńōńa, ńōŋńa* 1; Ud. *ńoŋo* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 643-644.

PMong. ***ǯuŋgag** faeces of young animals, dirt, mucus (помет молодых животных, жидкая грязь): MMong. *ǯunda'ul* (SH); WMong. *ǯuŋγaγ* (L 1079); Kh. *ʒungag*; Bur. *zungag*; Kalm. *zunγəG*; Ord. *ǯuŋGaG*; S.-Yugh. *duŋGag*.

◊ KW 480, MGCD 463.

PTurk. ***jin (/*jɨn)** faecal masses (content of intestines) (фекальные массы (содержимое кишок)): OTurk. *jin* (*jiŋ*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *jin* (MK); Tat. *ǯen* dial.; Bashk. *jen*; Kirgh. *ǯin*; Kaz. *žɨn*; KKalp. *žin*; SUygh. *jin, jiŋ*; Khak. *nən*; Oyr. *jin, ǰin*; Tv. *čin*.

◊ EDT 941, VEWT 203, ЭСТЯ 4, 27-28, Лексика 148-149.

PJpn. ***ùmì** pus (гной): OJpn. *umji*; MJpn. *ùmì*; Tok. *umí*; Kyo. *úmì*; Kag. *umí*.

◊ JLTT 562.

PKor. ***nú(ŋ)-** to defecate, urinate (испражняться, мочиться): MKor. *nú-*; Mod. *nu-*.

◊ Liu 161, KED 356.

‖ SKE 172, Дыбо 10, Лексика 149. In Jpn. one has to suppose either a secondary dissimilation (*ùmì < *mùmì), or a preliminary assimilation *ńi̯ŭŋńu > *ŋi̯ŭŋńu (> *ùmì).

***ńi̯uŕge** a k. of weed: Tung. ***nirge- (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***ǯürgij**; Turk. ***jiŕ**; Jpn. ***mərəkəsi**.

PTung. ***nirge- (~ -ü-)** 1 buckwheat 2 selfheal 3 young grass 4 a k. of swamp plant 5 burdock (1 гречиха 2 черноголовка 3 молодая трава 4 вид болотного растения 5 лопух): Evk. *nirgēkte* 2, 3; Evn. *ńiergēt* 4; Neg. *nidgēkte* 5; Sol. *nirgē* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 599-600. TM > Dag. *nirgēs* 'grain' (Тод. Даг. 158).

PMong. ***ǯürgij** knotweed, climbing buckwheat (Polygonum L.) (ломонос сибирский, хмель белый): WMong. *ǯürgij*, (L 1085: *ǯürgüj* 'Atragene sibirica'); Kh. *ʒürgij*.

PTurk. ***jiŕ** Artemisia abrotonon (вид полыни): OTurk. *jiz* (~ -e-) (OUygh.); Karakh. *jiz* (~ -e-) (MK).

◊ EDT 982, VEWT 204.

PJpn. ***mərəkəsi** sorghum (copro): Tok. *mòrokoshi*; Kyo. *mórókóshí*; Kag. *morokoshí*.

◊ The word is not attested in OJ and MJ; it is not quite clear whether it can be equated with OJ *morokosi* 'China'.

‖ Phonetically a good match, but botanical details remain to be clarified.

***ńŏlo (~ -u-)** to pluck, pick out: Tung. ***ń[u]l-**; Mong. ***ǯul-**; Turk. ***jol-**; Jpn. ***mər-**.

PTung. ***ń[u]l-** 1 to exuviate, fade 2 naked (1 линять, вылезать (о шерсти, перьях) 2 голый): Evk. *nil- / ńil-, ńīlarga-* 1; Evn. *nīl-* 1; Neg. *ńolaxīn, ńelakin* 2; Man. *niltu-* 1, *ńolmoŋge* 2; Ul. *ńuli-* 1, *ńelao* 2; Ork. *nūlli-* 1, *ńilawu̯* 2; Nan. *ńi̯laqō* 2; Orch. *ńulaki* 2; Ud. *ńuli-, ńulu-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 592, 643.

PMong. ***ǯul-** 1 to pick, pluck 2 to lose hair, be plucked (1 срывать, вырывать 2 терять волосы, быть выщипанным): WMong. *ǯulga-* 1, *ǯulbu-* 2 (L 1078), *ǯulmu-* 1, 2 (L 1079); Kh. *ʒulga-* 1, *ʒulba-, ʒulma-* 1, 2; Bur. *zulgā-* 1, *zulbagar, zulmar* (adj.) 2; Kalm. *ǯulɣə-*; Ord. *ǯulGā-* 1, *ǯulbʷī-* 'avoir peu ou point de poils (peau d'animal né avant terme'; *ǯulbura-* 2; S.-Yugh. *ǯulGu-* 1.

◊ KW 115, MGCD 462. Mong. > Evk. *ǯulgā-*, see Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ***jol-** to tear out, pick out, pluck (срывать, вырывать, выщипывать): OTurk. *jol- ~ jul-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jol- ~ jul-* (MK); Tur. *jol-, juli-*; Gag. *jol-*; Az. *jol-*; Turkm. *jol-*; Khal. *jilu-*; MTurk. *jul-* (R.), *juli-* (Houts.); Uzb. *jul-*; Uygh. *jul-, žul-*; Krm. *jul-, julu-*; Bashk. *jolo-*; Kirgh. *ǯul-*; Kaz. *žul-*; KBalk. *žul-*; KKalp. *žul-*; SUygh. *jul-*; Khak. *čul-*; Shr. *čul-*; Oyr. *jul-, ɗul-*; Tv. *čul-*; Chuv. *śъʷl-*; Yak. *suluj-*.

◊ EDT 918, ЭСТЯ 4, 216; often confused with **jül-* 'shave' (v. sub **zŭli*). Turk. forms like **julk-* (VEWT 210) may be borrowed from Mong.

PJpn. ***mə̀r-*** to pluck, tear off (вырывать, срывать, выщипывать): OJpn. *m(w)or-*; MJpn. *mor-*.

◊ JLTT 727. Low tone is indicated by attested Ryukyu forms.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 91-92.

✱**ńóro (~ -u-, -e)** arrow, harpoon: Tung. ***ńuru (~-i)***; Mong. ****ǯoruɣa***; Jpn. ****mə́rí (~-ua-)***.

PTung. ****ńuru (~-i)*** arrow (стрела): Evk. *ńur*; Evn. *ńụr*; Neg. *ńoj*; Man. *niru*; SMan. *ńurə, jurə* (820); Jurch. *niru* (237); Sol. *niru, nụr(ụ)*.

◊ TMC 1, 648. Manchu *jōro* 'arrow with bone tip' may be a variant of the same root (hardly a loan from Mong. *ǯoruɣa*, because ǯ- > j- is not possible).

PMong. ****ǯoruɣa*** arrow with bone head (стрела с костяным наконечником): WMong. *ǯoruɣa* (L 1072); Bur. *žorxo* 'bone arrow (for dice play)'.

◊ Mong. > Man. *ǯoro* id.

PJpn. ****mə́rí (~-ua-)*** fish-fork, harpoon (гарпун, острога): Tok. *mòri, mórі*; Kyo. *mórí*; Kag. *mórі*.

◊ JLTT 485.

‖ A good match denoting a hunting weapon.

✱**ńu-** six: Tung. ****ńu-ŋu-***; Mong. ****ǯirgu-ɣa-***; Jpn. ****mu-***.

PTung. ****ńu-ŋu-n*** six (шесть): Evk. *ńuŋun*; Evn. *ńuŋъn*; Neg. *ńuŋun*; Man. *niŋgun*; SMan. *niŋun, ńuŋun* (2740); Jurch. *niuŋ-ǯu* (641); Ul. *ńuŋgu(n)*; Ork. *nuŋgu(n)*; Nan. *ńuŋgũ*; Orch. *ńuŋu(n)*; Ud. *ńuŋu(n)*; Sol. *ńuŋũ*.

◊ TMC 1, 647-648.

PMong. ****ǯirgu-ɣa-*** 1 six 2 sixty (1 шесть 2 шестьдесят): MMong. *ǯir'ua'an* (HY 43), *ǯirqo'an* (SH) 1, *ǯiran* (HY 43) 2, *ǯ[i]rɣān* 1, *ǯɛirān* 2 (IM); WMong. *ǯirguɣan* 1 (L 1059), *ǯira(n)* (L 1058); Kh. *ɜurgān* 1, *ǯar* 2; Bur. *zurgā(n)* 1, *žaran* 2; Kalm. *zurɣān*; Ord. *ǯurGā(n)* 1, *ǯira* 2; Dag. *dirgō(n)*, *ǯirgō(n)* 1 (Тод. Дат. 137, 144), *ǯar* 2 (Тод. Дат. 142 *ǯara(n)*), *ǯireuō* 1 (MD 179); S.-Yugh. *ǯiran* 2; Mongr. *ǯirGōn* (SM 93), *ǯiran* (SM 92), *ǯiran* 2.

◊ KW 481, MGCD 432.

PJpn. ****mu-*** six (шесть): OJpn. *mu-*; MJpn. *mú-*; Tok. *mù-*; Kyo. *mú-*; Kag. *mù-*.

◊ JLTT 489. As with other numerals, the accent reconstruction is not clear.

‖ Poppe 28, АПиПЯЯ 78.

✱**ńùbV** entertainment: Tung. ****nōba***; Mong. ****ǯuɣa***; Turk. ****juba-***.

PTung. ****nōba*** 1 joke, entertainment 2 to joke (1 шутка, забава 2 подшучивать): Man. *jōbo* 1, *ńobo-, ńobu-* 2; SMan. *jovə* 'joke, jest' (1299).

◊ TMC 1, 345.

PMong. ***ǯuɣa*** amusement, entertainment (забава, развлечение): WMong. *ǯuɣa, ǯuɣaɣa* (L 1077); Kh. *зugā*; Bur. *zugā*; Kalm. *zuɣāca-* 'to walk' (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***juba-*** 1 to be comforted, consoled, entertained 2 to comfort, entertain (1 утешаться, забавляться 2 утешать, развлекать): Tur. *juwat-* (dial.) 2; MTurk. *ǯuwat-* 2 (R); Uzb. *juwan-* (dial.) 1; Krm. *juwan-, juwun-* 1, *juwut-* 2; Tat. *juwan-* 1; Bashk. *jiwan-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 240. Some forms, like Kum. *jiban-*, Uzb. *jupan-* reflect rather **jupa-*; the variation of *-b- and *-p- is not quite clear in this root.

‖ Владимирцов 210. A Western isogloss.

✱**ńugńa** water bird, goose: Tung. ***ńuŋńakī***; Turk. ***jugak***; Kor. ***nāńí***.

PTung. ***ńuŋńakī*** goose (гусь): Evk. *ńuŋńakī*; Evn. *nūŋqi* 'баклан', *nēŋen*; Neg. *ńoŋnixīn, ńoŋńaxī*; Man. *ńoŋńaχa*; SMan. *ńuŋəńaha* (2248); Jurch. *niuŋ-nia-xa* (646); Ul. *ńuŋńa*; Ork. *nuŋna*; Nan. *ńoŋńa*; Orch. *ńuŋńa*; Ud. *ńuŋńa'i*; Sol. *nuŋnaxi*.

◊ TMC 1, 611, 623, 646-7.

PTurk. ***jugak*** a k. of water bird (diver, goose) (вид водной птицы (гагара, гусь)): Karakh. *juɣaq* (MK,KB).

◊ VEWT 243, EDT 901, Лексика 171.

PKor. ***nāńí*** bustard (дрофа): MKor. *nāńí*; Mod. *nāsä*.

◊ Nam 104.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 171.

✱**ńūje** warm, to burn: Tung. ***ńē-***; Mong. ***ǯöɣe-***; Jpn. ***muája-***.

PTung. ***ńē-*** 1 to sweat 2 sweat (1 потеть 2 пот): Evk. *ńē-* 1, *ńēkse* 2; Evn. *ńēs* 2; Neg. *ńēseŋ* 2; Man. *nej* 2; Ul. *jeseŋgi* 2; Ork. *nēseŋgi* 2; Nan. *ńeseŋgi* 2; Orch. *ńeseŋi* 2; Ud. *niheŋe-* 1, *ńēŋi* 2; Sol. *nēšī* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 650.

PMong. ***ǯöɣe-*** warm, warmish, cooled (теплый, тепловатый, прохладный): MMong. *ǯu'en* (SH), *ǯue'en* (HY 6) 'cool'; WMong. *ǯögen, ǯögeg* (L 1074); Kh. *зөөn, зөөg*; Kalm. *zōg*.

◊ KW 479. The meaning 'cool' may be secondarily induced by **ǯiŋ-de-* (q. v. sub **ńiɵŋe)*.

PJpn. ***muája-*** to burn (гореть): OJpn. *mwoja-*; MJpn. *mǒja-*; Tok. *mòe-*; Kyo. *móé-*; Kag. *moé-*.

◊ JLTT 726.

‖ A rare case of preservation of *-ua- after a labial in PJ; in fact we may be dealing here with a contraction of a more complex underlying form like **majU-ja-* (with an original passive suffix).

✱**ńuk´V (~ -k-)** gum, juice: Tung. ***ńuK-***; Turk. ***juk / *jok***.

PTung. ***ńuK-*** 1 birch juice 2 larch gum (1 березовый сок 2 смола лиственницы): Evk. *ńuksen* 1, *ńukse* 2; Ud. *ńuktu-* 'to wet, soak'.

◊ TMC 1, 645.

PTurk. ***juk / *jok** 1 resin, gum 2 residues of food on dishes, sticky substance 3 to stick to (1 смола 2 остатки пищи на посуде; то, что прилипло 3 прилипать): Karakh. *juq* 2 (MK); Tur. *jok* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *joq* 2, *joq-* 3; MTurk. *juq-* 3 (R.); Uzb. *juq* 2, *juq-* 3; Uygh. *juq-* 3; Krm. *juq-*, *jux-* 3; Tat. *joq-* 3; Bashk. *joq-* 3; Kirgh. *ǰuq* 2, *ǰuq-* 3; Kaz. *žuq-* 3; KKalp. *žuq* 2, *žŭq-* 3; Kum. *juq* 2, *juq-* 3; Nogh. *juq-* 3; Khak. *čux* 1, *čux-* 3; Oyr. *juq-*, *ɗuq-* 3; Tv. *čuq* 1; Tof. *čuq* 1; Chuv. *śъʷɣъʷr* 'liquid mire, sludge' (dial.)

◊ EDT 895, VEWT 119, ЭСТЯ 4, 211, Лексика 117, Ашм. XIII, 52.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Related may be some plant names (as 'juicy'?): cf. Yak. *sugun* 'blue-berry'; Evk. *ńukekte* 'mayflower'; OJ *mukagwo*, *nukagwo* 'bulb sprout' (for the latter cf., however, alternatively: WMong. *nakija* 'shoot of grass, leaf bud'; Man. *ńaχara*, *ńaχari* id., see TMC 1, 628).

***ńuŋe** thigh: Tung. ***ńuŋī**; Mong. ***ǯoɣa**; Jpn. ***muàmuâ**.

PTung. ***ńuŋī** 1 thigh 2 muscles (of arms and legs), calf (of leg) (1 голень, бедро 2 мышцы (рук и ног), икра (ноги)): Evk. *ńuŋī* 1; Orch. *ńuŋńa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 646.

PMong. ***ǯoɣa** waist part of the back (поясничная часть спины): WMong. *ǯo* (MXTTT); Kh. *ǯō*; Bur. *zō*; Kalm. *zō, zōn*.

◊ KW 477.

PJpn. ***muàmuâ** thigh, hip (бедро): OJpn. *mwomwo*; MJpn. *mòmó*; Tok. *mómo*, *momó*; Kyo. *mòmô*; Kag. *mómo*.

◊ JLTT 485. Accent in Kagoshima and the Tok. variant *momó* are not quite clear.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 78.

***ńût'V̀** plant glue: Tung. ***ńūte**; Mong. ***ǯutaŋ**; Jpn. ***màti (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***ńūte** resin, pitch, gum (смола, сера (древесная)): Evk. *ńūte*; Evn. *ńūt*; Neg. *nūte*; Ul. *nūte*; Ork. *ńūte*; Nan. *nūte*; Orch. *ńute*; Ud. *ńute*.

◊ TMC 1, 649.

PMong. ***ǯutaŋ** gruel, broth (каша, кашица): WMong. *ǯutaŋ* (L 1081); Kh. *ɜutaŋ*; Bur. *zutan*; Kalm. *zutŋ* (KPC); Ord. *ǰutaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *čətaŋ*.

◊ MGCD 464.

PJpn. ***màti (~ -ua-)** birdlime made from holly bark (клей для ловли птиц): OJpn. *m(w)oti*; MJpn. *mótí*; Tok. *móchi*; Kyo. *móchí*; Kag. *mochí*.

◊ JLTT 486. The accent in Tokyo must be original, because it differentiates the word from *mòchi* 'rice cake' (< **mótí*); elsewhere the two accent patterns have merged.

‖ The root must have denoted some kind of sticky plant substance.

***ńVjVrV (~ -g-, -ŕ-)** gland: Tung. ***ńeru / *ńiru**; Mong. ***nojir**; Jpn. ***múrá-ťua**.

PTung. ***ńeru / *ńiru** 1 gland 2 spleen (1 железа 2 селезенка): Evk. *ńerun* (dial. *ńaru, ńiru*) 1, 2; Evn. *ńiruń* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 654.

PMong. ***nojir** pancreas (поджелудочная железа): WMong. *nojir* (L 589: "fat adhering to the intestines"); Kh. *nojr*; Bur. *nojr*; Kalm. *nör* (KPC).

PJpn. ***múrá-túa** kidney (почка): OJpn. *muratwo*; MJpn. *múrádó*.

◊ JLTT 488.

‖ TMC 1, 654. Mong. reflects a dissimilation **ńVjVrV* > **nVjrV*. The vocalism is not quite certain because of the variation in TM reflexes.

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✱**ŋa** 1st person pronoun (oblique stem?): Mong. ***na-m-***; Jpn. ***a-***; Kor. ***nà***.

PMong. ***na-m-*** 1st Sg. ps. pronoun (obl. cases) (мест. 1-го лица (в косв. пад.)): MMong. *nad-, namaj* (IM), *nid-, nad-, namaj* (MA); WMong. *nad-, namaji* (Poppe, 1955); Kh. *nad-, namaj(g)*; Bur. *nam-, namā(ji)*; Kalm. *nan-, namā̆(g)*; Ord. *nada, namā̆*; Mog. *nan-, namɛi* (Acc.).; Dag. *nam-* (MD 194); Dong. *(na)ma-, nami*; Bao. *nād-*; Mongr. *nd-*.

PJpn. ***a-*** 1st p. pron. (местоим. 1 лица): OJpn. *a-*.

◊ This pronoun (as shown, e.g. in Itabashi 1998) could have been used parallelly with *wa-*, but differed in that it could participate in compounds (like *a-se* 'my spouse', *a-duma* 'my wife' etc.), which was impossible for wa. This may indicate that the original function of *a was 'oblique stem of the 1st p. pr.'.

PKor. ***nà*** I (я): MKor. *nà*; Mod. *na*.

◊ Nam 85, KED 284.

‖ SKE 156, АПиПЯЯ 296. The root serves as oblique stem in Mong., which may have been its original function; traces of it may be also discovered in OJ, see above.

✱**ŋàli** hand: Tung. ***ŋāla***; Turk. ***el, -ig***.

PTung. ***ŋāla*** hand (рука): Evk. *ŋāle*; Evn. *ŋāl*; Neg. *ŋāla, ŋala*; Man. *gala*; SMan. Galə (68); Jurch. *ŋa-la* (504); Ul. *ŋāla*; Ork. *ŋāla*; Nan. *ŋāla, ŋala, nala*; Orch. *ŋāla, ŋala*; Ud. *ŋala*; Sol. *nāla, nāli*.

◊ TMC 1, 656-657.

PTurk. ***el, -ig*** hand (рука): OTurk. *elig* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *elig* (MK); Tur. *el*; Gag. *jeĺ*; Az. *äl*; Turkm. *el*; Sal. *el*; Khal. *āl*; MTurk. *el, elig* (Abush., MA, Бор. Бад., Sangl.); Uzb. *ilik* (arch.); Uygh. *ilik* (dial.); SUygh. *ilɨγ*; Shr. *ilik* (Верб.), *ilgilik* 'mitten'; Tof. *eldik* 'mitten'; Chuv. *alъ*; Yak. *ilī, elī*; Dolg. *ilī*.

◊ VEWT 39, EDT 140-1, ЭСТЯ 1, 260-261, Лексика 251, Егоров 24, Stachowski 125-126.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 17, 47, 282; Дыбо 316, Лексика 251-252. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ŋalma** a biting insect: Tung. ***ŋalma-***; Jpn. ***àmû***.

PTung. ***ŋalma-*** mosquito (комар): Evk. *ŋanmakta*; Neg. *ŋanmakta*; Man. *Galman*; SMan. *Galəmən* (2259); Ul. *Galmaqta, Garmaqta*; Ork. *nal-*

maqta, ŋalmaqta; Nan. *Garmaqta*; Orch. *gamakta*; Ud. *ŋamakta*; Sol. *namakta*.

◊ TMC 1, 657.

PJpn. ***àmû*** gad-fly (овод, слепень): OJpn. *amu*; MJpn. *àbú*; Tok. *ábu*; Kyo. *àbû*; Kag. *abú*.

◊ JLTT 376.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 81. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**ŋə̀nsa** debt: Tung. ***nāŋsa***; Turk. ***asiɣ***; Jpn. ***nàs-***.

PTung. ***nāŋsa*** debt (долг): Evn. *nān*; Neg. *nāŋna*; Man. *nasχun* 'favourable occasion'; SMan. *nasəhun* 'opportunity, chance' (2652); Ul. *naŋda*; Ork. *naŋda*; Nan. ***naŋda***; Orch. *naŋna*; Ud. *naŋda*.

◊ TMC 1, 582-583, 586. Man. > Dag. *nasgun* (Тод. Даг. 156).

PTurk. ***asiɣ*** profit (прибыль, выгода): OTurk. *asiɣ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *asiɣ* (MK, KB); Tur. *asi*; MTurk. *asi* (IM), *assiɣ* (Houts.); Uzb. dial. *as gör-* 'to help'; Uygh. dial. *assi*; Chuv. *ozъ*; Yak. *as*.

◊ VEWT 29, ЭСТЯ 1, 196-197, Егоров 277, Федотов 2, 290-291, Лексика 344. Turk. > Mong. *asiɣ* > Man. *ajsi* (TMN 2, 58-59, Щербак 1997, 102).

PJpn. ***nàs-*** to pay back a debt (возвращать долг): MJpn. *nas-*; Tok. *nás-*; Kyo. *nàs-*; Kag. *nàs-*.

‖ The TM and Jpn. forms underwent a metathesis (frequent for roots with two nasals): **nāŋsa* < **ŋānsa*.

✱**ŋə̌ńa** clear sky: Tung. ***ńaŋńa***; Turk. ***ańaŕ***; Jpn. ***àmâi***.

PTung. ***ńaŋńa*** clear sky (ясное небо): Evk. *ńaŋńa*; Evn. *ńaniːn*; Neg. *ńaŋńa*; Man. *ńaŋńa*; Ork. *nāŋna*; Orch. *ńaŋńa*; Ud. *ńaŋńa*.

◊ TMC 1, 634. Cf. also **ńaŋ-ma-* (> **ńamŋa-*) 'to become clear (of sky); to appear (of hoar-frost)' (TMC 1, 632, 633).

PTurk. ***ańaŕ*** clear sky; frost (ясное небо; мороз): OTurk. *ajaz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ajas* (MK); Tur. *ajaz*; Gag. *ajaz*; Az. *ajaz*; Turkm. *ajaz*; Khal. *hajāz*; MTurk. *ajaz* (Sangl.), *ajaz, ajas* (CCum.); Uzb. *ajɔz*; Uygh. *ajaz*; Krm. *ajaz/s*; Tat. *ajaz*; Bashk. *ajaδ*; Kirgh. *ajaz*; Kaz. *ajaz*; KBalk. *ajaz*; Kum. *ajaz*; Nogh. *ajaz*; SUygh. *ajas*; Khak. *ajas*; Shr. *ajas*; Oyr. *ajas*; *ajɨz* (dial.); Tv. *ajas*; Chuv. *ojar*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 102-3, VEWT 11, TMN 2, 170, Лексика 13, Федотов 2, 298. A different suffixation is seen in Tur. (dial.) *ajam*, Kaz., Kirgh. *ajɨq* 'clear (weather)'. A derivative **ań-giŕ-* (pointing to original **-ń-*) is found in Kaz. *aŋɨzaq*, Turkm. *aŋzaq* 'cold with dry wind' (see ЭСТЯ ibid.).

PJpn. ***àmâi*** sky; rain (небо; дождь): OJpn. *ame*; MJpn. *àmè*; Tok. *áme*; Kyo. *àmê*; Kag. *amé*.

◊ JLTT 381.

‖ Дыбо 11. In TM one has to suppose a metathesis (typical for roots with two nasals): **ńaŋńa* < **ŋań-ŋa*.

***ŋǎńì** to take smb. with (oneself): Tung. ***ŋāni-**; Mong. ***naji-**; Jpn. ***ìmuà**; Kor. ***nīń-**.

PTung. ***ŋāni-** to fetch, go to take smth. or smb. (пойти, чтобы принести что-л.): Ul. *ŋan-ǯu-*; Nan. *ŋāni-*.

◊ TMC 1, 657.

PMong. ***naji-** 1 friendship 2 accord; feast 3 to be combined, unite (1 дружба 2 согласие; праздник, пир 3 объединяться): MMong. *naira-qui* 'debt, justice, right' (HY 49); WMong. *nai* 1 (L 558), *najir* 2, *najira-* 3 (L 559); Kh. *naj* 1, *najr* 2, *najra-* 3; Bur. *najr* 2, *najral* 'harmony'; Kalm. *nā* 1, *nār* 2, *nār-* 3; Ord. nā 'marque d'amitié', *nār* 2, *nāra-* 'be friends'; Dag. *ńara-* 'to love, be attached' (Тод. Даг. 156).

◊ KW 273, 274. Mong. > Man. *nara-* 'to be attached'.

PJpn. ***ìmuà** beloved, friend (любимая, подруга): OJpn. *imwo*; MJpn. *ìmò*; Tok. *imōtó* "younger sister", *imo-se* "consorts"; Kyo. *imṓtó*; Kag. *imōtó*.

◊ JLTT 423.

PKor. ***nīń-** to combine, continue (соединять, продолжать): MKor. *nīń-*; Mod. *īt- [is-]*.

◊ Nam 127, KED 1369.

‖ See also Robbeets 2000, 110.

***ŋèlu** fright, be afraid: Tung. ***ŋēle-**; Turk. ***jAl-**; Jpn. ***ùrà-m-**; Kor. ***nōr-ra-**.

PTung. ***ŋēle-** to be scared, frightened (бояться, пугаться): Evk. *ŋēle-*; Evn. *ŋēl-*; Neg. *ŋēle-*; Man. *gele-*; SMan. *gelə-* (1886); Ul. *ŋele-*; Ork. *ŋēle-*; Nan. *ŋele-*; Orch. *ŋēle-*; Ud. *ŋele-*; Sol. *nēle-*.

◊ TMC 1, 667-669.

PTurk. ***jAl-** 1 to be afraid 2 to suspect, slander 3 slander (1 бояться 2 подозревать, клеветать 3 клевета): OTurk. *jala* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jala-* 2, *jala* 3 (MK); Tur. *jıl-* 1, Osm. *jal-*; MTurk. *jala* 3 (MKypch. - CCum.); Tat. *jala* 3; Bashk. *jala* 3; Kirgh. *ǯala* 3, *ǯala-* 2; Kaz. *žala* 3; KKalp. *žala* 3; Nogh. *jala* 3; Oyr. *d'ala* 'fine, charge'; Yak. *jula* 3.

◊ VEWT 200, EDT 918-919, ЭСТЯ 4, 87, Федотов 2, 483.

PJpn. ***ùrà-m-** to resent, regret (обижаться, сожалеть): OJpn. *uramu-*; MJpn. *ùràm-*; Tok. *urám-*; Kyo. *úrám-*; Kag. *ùràm-*.

◊ JLTT 779. Cf. also **ùriàp-*, OJ *urep-* 'to grieve'.

PKor. ***nōr-ra-** be startled, frightened, terrified (пугаться): MKor. *nōrrá-*; Mod. *nolla-*.

◊ Liu 158, KED 348.

‖ Menges 1984, 279-280 (Kor.-TM). Despite Doerfer MT 21, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. *gelme-* (which, despite Poppe 25 and АПиПЯЯ 18, is probably unrelated at all).

***ŋə́ni** to go (down, away): Tung. ***ŋene-**; Mong. ***neɣü-**; Turk. ***ēn-**; Jpn. ***ín-**; Kor. ***nàń(ǎ-)**.

PTung. ***ŋene-** to go, walk (идти, ходить): Evk. *ŋene-*; Evn. *ŋen-*; Neg. *ŋene-* / gene-; Man. *genu-* 'to go together'; SMan. *genə-* (1171); Jurch. *ŋe-ne-xie* (713); Ul. *ŋene-*; Ork. *ŋene-*; Nan. *ene-*; Orch. *ŋene-*; Ud. *ŋene-*; Sol. *nene-*.

◊ TMC 1, 669-671.

PMong. ***neɣü-** to roam, migrate, nomadize (странствовать, кочевать): MMong. *ne'utke* 'to change a place' (HY 40), *ne'u-*, *nou'u-* (SH), *nū-* (IM); WMong. *negü-* (L 569); Kh. *nӯ-*; Bur. *nӯ-*; Kalm. *nӯ-*; Ord. *nӯ-*; Mog. *nэu-* (Weiers); Dag. *neu-* (Тод. Дар. 157, MD 198); S.-Yugh. *nӯ-*.

◊ KW 282, MGCD 520. Mong. *neɣü-* > Man. *neo-*, see Poppe 1966, 192, Rozycki 162; Mong. *neɣü-lge* 'migration' > Evk. *nulgī* etc. (see TMC 1, 609-610).

PTurk. ***ēn-** to go down (спускаться, идти вниз): OTurk. *en-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *en-* (MK); Tur. *in-*, dial. *en-*; Gag. *jin-*; Az. *en-*; Turkm. *īn-*; Khal. *ə̑n-*; MTurk. *en-* (MA, IM, Pav. C.); Krm. *en-*; Tat. *in-*, *iŋ-*; Bashk. *in-*; Kaz. *en-*, dial. *eŋ-*; KKalp. *en-*; Kum. *in-*; Nogh. *en-*; Khak. *in-*; Shr. *en-*; Oyr. *en-*; Chuv. *an-*; Yak. *enie*.

◊ VEWT 43, ЭСТЯ 1, 353-354, Егоров 26.

PJpn. ***ín-** to go, leave (уходить): OJpn. *in-*; MJpn. *ín-*.

◊ JLTT 697.

PKor. ***nàń(ǎ)-** to go, move forward (идти, двигаться вперед): MKor. *nās-* (*nań-*), *nań-*, *nàńǎ-*; Mod. *nāt-* [*nas-*], *naa-ka-*.

◊ Nam 89, 99, 101, KED 292, 311.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 72, 292, Дыбо 13. Mong. **neɣü-* < **ŋeŋü-* < **ŋenü-*.

***ŋénu** to attack, tease: Tung. ***ŋen-**; Mong. ***naŋ-si-**; Turk. ***jān(u)-**; Jpn. ***una-kas-**.

PTung. ***ŋen-** to attack, fight (нападать, драться, убивать): Evk. *ŋen-či-*, *ńeŋ-*; Evn. *ńen-*; Man. *ne-či-*; Ud. *ŋeneusi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 653, 671.

PMong. ***naŋ-si-** to grumble; to act imprudently, foolishly (ворчать, жаловаться; действовать глупо, опрометчиво): WMong. *naŋsi-* (L 564); Kh. *nanši-*; Kalm. *naŋši-* 'to talk nonsense, twaddle'; Ord. *naŋši-* 'gronder'.

◊ KW 272.

PTurk. ***jān(u)-** to threaten (угрожать): OTurk. *jan-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jan-* (MK); Gag. *jān-*; Az. *jani-* (dial.); Turkm. *jān-ǯa-* 'to reproach'; Uzb. *jan-*; Uygh. *ǯonu-*; Tat. *jana-*, dial. *janu-*; Bashk. *jana-*; KBalk. *žan-*, *žaŋ-*, *ǯani-*, *zani-*; Yak. *sān-*.

◊ VEWT 184, EDT 942, ЭСТЯ 4, 114, Лексика 564. Turk. > WMong. *ǯanu-*, Kalm. *zan-* (KW 466). The Turkm. form is related to **jenč-* 'crush' in ЭСТЯ 185; the latter has also a variant **janč-*, and the Turkm. form may in fact reflect a contamination of these two roots.

PJpn. ***una-kas-*** to urge, force (заставлять, принуждать): MJpn. *ùnàgás-, únákas-*; Tok. *unagás-, ùnagas-*; Kyo. *únágás-*; Kag. *ùnàgàs-*.

◊ JLTT 779 (Martin gives also the meaning 'bend the neck', obviously deriving the form from *unag-* 'hang around the neck' - but, as far as we know, this meaning is not attested anywhere, and the relationship is not evident at all). Accent reconstruction is not clear (both high and low tone variants are attested).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 81 (with a different Jpn. form, see under **ánta*), Дыбо 15.

ŋə̀rá** day, sun, light: Tung. ***ŋēr(i)-; Mong. ***naran***; Turk. ***jạr-ın***; Jpn. ***àrí-***; Kor. ***nár***.

PTung. ***ŋēr(i)-*** light (свет): Evk. *ŋērī*; Evn. *ŋēri*; Neg. *ŋējin*; Man. *gexun*; SMan. *gūxun* 'bright' (2050); Jurch. *ŋe-xun* (736); Ul. *ŋegžə(n)*; Ork. *ŋegde-*; Nan. *ŋegžə̃*; Orch. *ŋegže*; Ud. *ŋegže, ŋei*.

◊ TMC 1, 671-672.

PMong. ***naran*** sun (солнце): MMong. *naran* (HY 1, SH), *narăn* (IM), *naran* (MA); WMong. *nara(n)* (L 565); Kh. *nar(an)*; Bur. *nara(n)*; Kalm. *narṇ*; Ord. *nara(n)*; Mog. *naran*; ZM *nārān* (19-5a); Dag. *nar* (Тод. Дат. 156), *nare* (MD 194); Dong. *naran*; Bao. *naraŋ*; S.-Yugh. *naran*; Mongr. *nara* (SM 257).

◊ KW 272, MGCD 500.

PTurk. ***jạr-ın*** 1 morning 2 tomorrow 3 next year (1 утро 2 завтра 3 следующий год): OTurk. *jarın* 1 (Orkh.); Karakh. *jarın* 2 (MK); Tur. *jarın* 2; Gag. *jārın* 1, 2; MTurk. *jarın* 1, 2 (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jarın* 3 (dial.); Bashk. *jarın* 3 (dial.); KKalp. *žarın* 3; SUygh. *jarın* 3; Chuv. *ıran* 2; Yak. *sarsın* 1; Dolg. *harsın* 1.

◊ EDT 970, VEWT 190, ЭСТЯ 4, 147-148, Егоров 343, Лексика 80, Stachowski 97. Räsänen derives the stem from *jar- 'to shine, glitter', but this is dubious both for phonetic reasons (OT has *jaru-* 'to shine', but *jarın* 'morning') and because of external evidence.

PJpn. ***àrí-*** dawn (рассвет, заря): OJpn. *ari-ake*; MJpn. *àrí-ake*; Tok. *àriake*; Kyo. *áríáké*; Kag. *ariaké*.

◊ JLTT 384. Kyoto accent is irregular, but all other dialects seem to point to **àrí-*.

PKor. ***nár*** sun, day, weather (солнце, день, погода): MKor. *nár*; Mod. *nal*.

◊ Nam 95, KED 302.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 86, АПиПЯЯ 295. See SKE 159, EAS 75 (Mong.-Kor.); one frequently links Turk. **jāŕ* 'spring' (see SKE ibid., KW 272, VEWT 193), but the latter should be separated (see **n̥jāŕ[a]*); instead it seems plausible to compare Turk. **jarı-n* 'tomorrow, morning' - see Лексика 80-81. TM **ŋēr(i)-* 'light' is a perfect phonetic and semantic match and should be separated from Mong. *gere-l* 'light' (especially because the rule **ŋ-* > Mong. g- is most probably false) - despite KW 134, Poppe 25, ОСНЯ 1, 228-229, АПиПЯЯ 18, Дыбо 11; on the etymology of the latter

see under **gari* (despite Poppe 1972, 101, Doerfer MT 21, the TM form of course cannot be borrowed from Mong. *gerel*).

***ŋ̀ndó** dog: Tung. ***ŋinda-**; Turk. ***it / *it**; Jpn. ***ìnú**.

PTung. ***ŋinda-** dog (собака): Evk. *ŋinakin, ginakin*; Evn. *ŋin*; Neg. *ŋinaxin/ninaxin*; Man. *indaxun*; SMan. *jonəhuŋ, inəhuŋ* (2177); Jurch. *ŋinda-xiun* (147); Ul. *i̯ŋda*; Ork. *ŋinda*; Nan. *i̯nda*; Orch. *inaki*; Ud. *ina'i* (Корм. 238); Sol. *ninaxī*.

◊ TMC 1, 661-662.

PTurk. ***it / *it** dog (собака): OTurk. *it* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *it* (MK, KB); Tur. *it* (arch.); Az. *it*; Turkm. *it*; Sal. *išt*; Khal. *it* ; MTurk. *it* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *it*; Uygh. *it*; Tat. *et*; Bashk. et; Kirgh. *it*; Kaz. *i̯t*; KBalk. *it*; KKalp. *ijt*; Nogh. *ijt*; SUygh. *išt*; Tv. *i't*; Tof. *i't*; Chuv. *jĭdъ*; Yak. *it*; Dolg. *it*.

◊ VEWT 174, TMN 2, 173-4, EDT 34, ЭСТЯ 1, 385, Егоров 83, *Лексика* 188, Stachowski 262.

PJpn. ***ìnù** dog (собака): OJpn. *inu*; MJpn. *ìnù*; Tok. *inú*; Kyo. *ínù*; Kag. *ínu* (= *íǸ*).

◊ JLTT 425.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 49, 72, 101, 274, *Дыбо* 9, *Лексика* 189.

***ŋi̯àbi** deceased, funeral: Tung. ***ŋiabi**; Turk. ***jębe-**; Jpn. ***mə̀ (~ *muà)**.

PTung. ***ŋiabi** 1 deceased person 2 invisible person 3 to bury (1 покойник 2 невидимка (о шамане) 3 хоронить): Evk. *ŋêwi* 1; Evn. *ŋebi* 2; Ul. *ńewu-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 658.

PTurk. ***jębe-** 1 cemetery, grave 2 soul of the deceased 3 ghost 4 funeral (1 кладбище, могила 2 душа умершего 3 дух, привидение 4 похороны): SUygh. *ever* 2; Khak. *nebeg* 1, *ibərəg* 4; Tv. *čeveg* 1; Chuv. *śъʷva* 1; Yak. *sibien* 3.

◊ VEWT 197.

PJpn. ***mə̀ (~ *muà)** funeral, mourning (похороны, траур): OJpn. *m(w)o*; MJpn. *mò*; Tok. *mò*; Kyo. *mó*; Kag. *mó*.

◊ JLTT 484. Modern dialects point rather to **má*.

‖ *Дыбо* 15.

***ŋi̯aji (~-e)** lower side: Tung. ***ŋia-**; Turk. ***ej-**; Kor. ***nə̀rí-**.

PTung. ***ŋia-** lower, closer to the shore (нижний, близкий к берегу): Evk. *ŋê-gū*; Evn. *ŋê-la*; Neg. *nêwu* / *ŋêwu*; Man. *wa-la*; Ul. *waji*; Ork. *ŋoi*; Nan. *waj-la, ŋoj-la*; Orch. *ŋāa-la*; Ud. *ŋeä-la*; Sol. *nēx* 'shore'.

◊ TMC 1, 658-660. Man. > Dag. ***wala*** (Тод. *Дар.* 129).

PTurk. ***ej-** lower side (нижняя сторона): Chuv. *aj*.

◊ A Chuvash isolate (see VEWT 38, Федотов 1, 28), but having probable external parallels.

PKor. ***nə̀rí-** to go down (опускаться): MKor. *nə̀rí-*; Mod. *näri-*.

◊ Nam 92, KED 320.

‖ See SKE 161 (Kor. *nǎrí-* = TM **ŋia-la-*). Vocalism is not quite certain because of contractions.

***ŋi̯àkča** nose, part of nose: Tung. ***ŋiaksa, *ŋiaksi-n**; Mong. ***nagčar-kaji**; Kor. ***nǎč**.

PTung. ***ŋiaksa, *ŋiaksi-n** nose (нос): Evn. *ńês, ŋês*; Neg. *ńasin* 'bear's nose'; Ul. *waqsa*; Ork. *naqsa*; Nan. *ŋoqso* (dial.); Orch. *ŋikso*; Ud. *ŋühö*; Sol. *nênča*.

◊ TMC 1, 587, 636. Cf. also Evn. *ńiqᵾlčan*, Neg. *ńexilče* 'nose bridge'. TMC 1, 637.

PMong. ***nagčar-kai** back of nose (спинка носа): WMong. *nayčarqai*; Kh. *nagčirxaj*; Bur. *nagsagar* 'flat-nosed'; Kalm. *nakcɤxā*.

◊ KW 270.

PKor. ***nǎč** face (лицо): MKor. *nǎč, nǎs*; Mod. *nat* [*nač*].

◊ Nam 100, 101, KED 313.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 293.

***ŋi̯àkʻu** dog, wolf: Tung. ***ŋōKe**; Mong. ***nokaj**; Turk. ***eker**; Kor. ***nəkori**.

PTung. ***ŋōKe** 1 sable 2 male (of dog, wolf, fox) 3 wolf 4 racoon (1 соболь 2 самец (собаки, волка, лисы) 3 волк 4 енот): Evk. *ńēkē* 1; Evn. *ŋō̃ke* 2; Man. *ńoxe* 3, *nuxere* 'puppy'; SMan. *juxə, juxu* 3 (2204); Nan. *naoto* 4 (< **ŋoke-tu*); Orch. *ŋöksjö* 3; Ud. *nautu* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 587, 651, 665, 606.

PMong. ***nokaj** dog (собака): MMong. *noxai* (HY 11), *noqai* (SH), *noɣaj* (IM), *nuqaj* (MA); WMong. *noqai* (L 592); Kh. *noxoj*; Bur. *noxoj*; Kalm. *noxā̃, noxā*; Ord. *noxõ*; Mog. *noqɛi*; ZM *noqei* (21-5); Dag. *nogo, nogu*, nog (Тод. Дar. 158) *nohe* (MD 200); Dong. *noGi, noɣəi*; Bao. *noGui*; S.-Yugh. *noxGui*; Mongr. *noxwə* (SM 282), *noxui* (Huzu).

◊ KW 278, MGCD 513, TMN 1, 520.

PTurk. ***eker** hunting dog (охотничья собака): Khal. *eger*; MTurk. *iger* (Буд.); Tat. *igɛr* (Sib.); Bashk. *igɛr* 'a bastard of a wolf and a dog'; Nogh. *eger* (Kum.); Shr. *eger*; Oyr. *eger*; Chuv. *agar jĭtti* (> Hung. *agár*, see Gombocz 1912).

◊ VEWT 38, 23.

PKor. ***nəkori** badger (барсук): MKor. *nəkori*; Mod. *nəguri*.

◊ Nam 103, KED 329.

‖ Lee 1958, 115, АПиПЯЯ 18; a different analysis see in ОСНЯ 2,35.

***ŋi̯ǎŋe** fir-tree: Tung. ***ŋiāŋ-ta**; Jpn. ***màmì (~-ua-)**.

PTung. ***ŋiāŋ-ta** fir-tree (пихта): Evk. *ŋāŋte*; Evn. *ŋāŋtᵾ*; Neg. *ŋāŋta*; Man. *wantaχa*; Ul. *waŋta*; Ork. *waŋta / waŋita*; Nan. *waŋta*, dial. *ŋaŋta*; Ud. *ŋaŋta*.

◊ TMC 1, 657-658. Southern languages show here a *w-reflex*, typical for **ŋ-* before diphthongs and back vowels, so *-ā-* in the Northern subgroup must be secondary (a trace

of it is perhaps preserved in the Tompon dialect of Even, where the recorded form is *ńaŋta)*.

PJpn. ***màmì (~-ua-)*** fir-tree (пихта): MJpn. *màmì*; Tok. *mómi*; Kyo. *mómí*; Kag. *momí*.

◊ JLTT 484. The accent reconstruction is not quite certain: Kyoto and Kagoshima point aberrantly to a high tone, and both accents (*màmì* and *mómì* are attested in RJ).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 81. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

ŋi̯ŏbu** to pour: Tung. ***ńiabe-; Mong. ***jeɣü-le-***; Turk. ***ju(b)-***; Kor. ****nūb-***.

PTung. ****ńiabe-*** to strew, pour (рассыпать): Evn. *ńū-*; Ul. *jeweri-*; Ork. *jeweri-*; Nan. *jeweri-*.

◊ TMC 1, 352, 644.

PMong. ****jeɣü-*** to pour over, strew over (наливать, переливать): WMong. *jegüle-* (L 431); Kh. *jűle-*; Bur. *jűle-*; Kalm. *jű-*, *jűl-*; Ord. *jű-*.

◊ KW 221.

PTurk. ****ju(b)-*** to wash; to bathe, to swim (мыть; купаться, плавать): Karakh. *ju-* (MK); Tur. *ju-*; Az. *ju(w)-*; Turkm. *juw-*; Sal. *ju-*; Khal. *jū-*; MTurk. *ju-* (Pav. C., AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *juw-*; Uygh. *juw-*, *juj-*; Krm. *juw-*; Tat. *ju-*; Bashk. *jɨw-*; Kirgh. *ǰū-*; Kaz. *žuw-*; KBalk. *ǰuw-*, *žuw-*, *zuw-*; *žūn-*; KKalp. *žuw-*; Kum. *ǰuw-*; Nogh. *juw-*; SUygh. *juw-*, *ju-*; Khak. *čuɣ-*; Tv. *čū-*; Tof. *ču-*; Chuv. *śu-*; Yak. *sū-j-*; Dolg. *hū-j-*.

◊ EDT 870, VEWT 209, ЭСТЯ 4, 238, Stachowski 114.

PKor. ****nūb-*** to wash in limewater, bleach (мыть в известковой воде): Mod. *nūp-* (*nuw-*).

◊ KED 365.

‖ TMC 1, 352. It is tempting to compare also Evk. *ńewte*, Evn. *ńewte* 'spring, well' (*'washing or pouring place') and perhaps also OJ *mjiwo* 'water-way, seaway' (if *mji-* is to be analysed as 'water', the -wo part stays completely obscure).

ŋi̯ŏk'è (~ -k-)** to rise, elevation: Tung. ****ŋōKe ~ *ŋēKu; Turk. ****jok-***; Jpn. ****ə̀kə̀-***.

PTung. ****ŋōKe ~ *ŋēKu*** hill, high shore (гора, высокий берег): Evk. *ŋēke*, *ŋōke*, *ŋēku*.

◊ TMC 1, 667. Isolated in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ****jok-*** 1 up, above 2 hill, elevation (1 вверх, наверх 2 возвышенность, подъем): OTurk. *joqaru* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *joqaru* 1, *joq* 2 (MK); Tur. *jukarɨ* 1, *jokuš* 2; Gag. *juqar(ɨ)* 1; Az. *juxarɨ*, dial. *uxarɨ* 1, *joxuš* 2; Turkm. *joqarɨ* 1; Khal. *juqqar* 1; MTurk. *joqaru* (AH), *juqar* (Pav. C.) 1, *joquš* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *juqɔri* 1; Uygh. *juqari* 1; Krm. *joɣarɨ* 1, *joquš*, *joqiš* 2; Tat. *juɣarɨ* 1; Bashk. *juɣarɨ* 1; Kirgh. *ǰoɣor(u)* 1; Kaz. *žoɣarɨ* 1; KBalk. *oɣarɨ* 1; KKalp. *žoqarɨ* 1; Khak. *čoɣar* 1; Yak. *soɣoru*, *soɣurū* 'South; centre'; Dolg. *sogurū* 'South'.

◊ EDT 896, 906, ЭСТЯ 4, 213-214, 215, Stachowski 211.

PJpn. ***ə̀kə̀-** to rise (подниматься): OJpn. *oku-*; MJpn. *òkù-*; Tok. *okí-*; Kyo. *òkì-*; Kag. *òkì-*.

◊ JLTT 740. Modern dialects point rather to **ə̀ká-*; *-ə- is reconstructed on the basis of the caus. OJ *oko-s-*.

‖ The reconstruction of the diphthong in this root is based on PT *j-: one should suppose an early development **ŋi̯ō-* > **jo-* in Turkic (which explains the vocalic reflex). Cf. **i̯úgu* 'up, above' (which could also influence the Turkic form due to mutual influence of synonymous **jüg-* and **jok-*).

***ŋi̯ōle** red, pink; yellow: Tung. ***ŋule-**; Mong. ***öle**; Turk. ***Āl**; Jpn. ***mùrà-sákì**; Kor. ***nùrí-**.

PTung. ***ŋule-** red, reddish, pink (алый, румяный, розовый): Evn. *ŋule-ńe*.

◊ TMC 1, 666. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***öle** having grey spots, variegated (пестрый, с серыми пятнами): MMong. *ole* (SH); WMong. *öle, öle-gčin*; Kh. *öl*; Bur. *üle* 'сивый, сизый'; Kalm. *ölə, öləkčn*; Ord. *ölö* 'grey'.

◊ KW 294, 295, TMN 1, 174-175. Mong. > Oyr. *ölö* 'variegated' etc. (KW ibid., VEWT 371), Man. *ulu*.

PTurk. ***Āl** red, scarlet (красный, алый): OTurk. *al* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *al* (MK, KB); Tur. *al*; Gag. *al*; Az. *al*; Turkm. *āl*; MTurk. *al* (Pav. C., Houts.), *al* 'bright red' (CCum.); Uygh. *al*; Krm. *al*; Tat. *al*; Bashk. *al*; Kum. *al*; Nogh. *al*.

◊ EDT 120-121, TMN 2, 94-95, ЭСТЯ 1, 125-126. A loanword in Russ. *алый*.

PJpn. ***mùrà-sákì** purple; gromwell, purple flower (фиолетовый; Lithospermum erythrorhizon, фиолетовый цветок): OJpn. *murasakji*; MJpn. *mùràsákì*; Tok. *murásaki*; Kyo. *mùràsákì*; Kag. *murasakí*.

◊ JLTT 488. A compound of **mura* '*purple' + *saki* 'blooming'.

PKor. ***nùrí-** yellow (желтый): MKor. *nùrí-*; Mod. *nuri-, nori-*.

◊ Nam 114, KED 357.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 297. Turk. > Mong. *al* (KW 6, Щербак 1997, 97). The Jpn. parallel is quite convincing, despite a mismatch in tone (probably distorted in a long compound).

***ŋ[i̯u]** three, thirty: Mong. ***gu-**; Turk. ***otuŕ**; Jpn. ***mi-**.

PMong. ***gu-** 1 three 2 thirty (1 три 2 тридцать): MMong. *xurban* (HY 42), *qurban* (SH), *qorbān* (IM), *γŭrban* (MA) 1, *qučin* (HY 43), *qučin* (IM), *γučin* (MA) 2; WMong. *γurban* 1, *γuči(n)* 2 (L 364, 369); Kh. *gurav, gurvan* 1, *guč(in)* 2; Bur. *gurba(n)* 1, *guša(n)* 2; Kalm. *γurwn̥* 1, *γučn̥* 2; Ord. *Gurwa* 1, *Guči* 2; Mog. *γurbōn* 1; ZM *γorbōn* (25-1a) 1; Dag. *guarba(n)* (Тод. Дат. 133), *guarəb* 1, *goči* (Тод. Дат. 132, MD 151) 2, *guarebe* (MD 152) 1; Dong. *Guron, Guran* 1; Bao. *Goraŋ* 1, *Gob-araŋ* 2;

S.-Yugh. *Gurwan* 1, *quǯin* 2; Mongr. *Gurān* (SM 126) 1, *xoǯin* (SM 169), *xuǯin* 2.

◊ KW 156, MGCD 305. Mong. *γučin* > Evk. *gutin, gučin* etc. (TMC 1, 175, Doerfer MT 79).

PTurk. ***otuŕ*** thirty (тридцать): OTurk. *otuz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ottuz* (MK); Tur. *otuz*; Gag. *otuz*; Az. *otuz*; Turkm. *otuz*; Khal. *ḫo̧ttuz, hottuz*; MTurk. *otuz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̧ttiz*; Uygh. *ottuz*; Krm. *otuz*; Tat. *utïz*; Bashk. *utɨð*; Kirgh. *otuz*; Kaz. *otïz*; KBalk. *otuz*; KKalp. *otïz*; Nogh. *otïz*; SUygh. *otus*; Khak. *otɨs*; Oyr. *oduz, odus*; Yak. *otut*; Dolg. *otut*.

◊ EDT 74, ЭСТЯ 1, 489, Stachowski 197.

PJpn. ***mi-*** three (три): OJpn. *mji-*; MJpn. mi-; Tok. *mí-*; Kyo. *mí-*; Kag. *mì-*.

◊ JLTT 482. As usual in numerals, the accent reconstruction is insecure.

‖ ? Cf. also Turk. **üč* (**öč*) 'three' (ЭСТЯ 1, 641-642, Stachowski 254). The match is somewhat problematic, basically because of the absence of the TM cognate, shortness of the root and unclear suffixation. The basic phonological correspondence pointing to PA **ŋ-* is, however, observed, and the parallel seems to be worth noting.

✱**ŋi̯ūja** smell: Tung. ***ŋō-***; Turk. ***jɨd (?)***; Kor. ****nái***.

PTung. ****ŋō-*** 1 to smell 2 smell (1 пахнуть 2 запах): Evk. *ŋō-* 1, *ŋō* 2; Evn. *ŋō-* 1, *ŋō* 2; Neg. *ŋō-* 1; Man. *wa* 2; SMan. *wā* 'smell, odor, scent'(2456); Ul. *wāqoli* 'ferret'; Ork. *ŋōkki-* 1; Nan. *waŋqoli* 'ferret'; Orch. *ŋōkki-* 1, *ŋōkulā* 'ferret'; Ud. *ŋoisi-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 663-664.

PTurk. ***jɨd*** smell (запах): OTurk. *jɨd* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨð* (MK); Tur. *ij*; Az. *ij*; Krm. *ij*; Khak. *jɨs*; Tv. *čɨt*; Yak. *sɨt*; Dolg. *hɨt*.

◊ EDT 883, ЭСТЯ 1, 380-382 (confused with **ijs*), Stachowski 120.

PKor. ****nái*** smell (запах): MKor. *nái*; Mod. nä.

◊ Nam 101, KED 315.

‖ The Turkic form may belong here if **-d* is a result of dissimilation (**jɨd* < **jɨj*) or a suffix.

✱**ŋi̯ŭŋtʻè** root: Tung. ****ŋūŋte***; Mong. ****ündü-sü***; Jpn. ****mətə***.

PTung. ****ŋūŋte*** root (корень): Evk. *ŋīŋte, nīŋte*; Evn. *ŋēŋtъ*; Neg. *ŋiŋte*; Ul. *ŋuiqte*; Ork. *muikte*; Nan. *muikte*; Orch. *ŋiŋte*; Ud. *ŋiŋte*.

◊ TMC 1, 662. PTM also has **ŋūŋti* 'heel' (see ibid.), which may be a historical derivative.

PMong. ****ündü-sü*** root (корень): MMong. *undus* ('original') (HY 53), *həndusun* (MA); WMong. *ündüsü(n)* (L 1007); Kh. *ündes*; Bur. *ündehe(n)*; Kalm. *ündəsŋ*; Ord. *öndös, ündüsü*; Dag. *undus* (Тод. Дат. 171), *unduse* (MD 232); Dong. *undusun*.

◊ KW 458, MGCD 693. Mong. > Evk. *undehun*, see Doerfer MT 128.

PJpn. ***mə̀tə̀*** root, foundation (корень, основание): OJpn. *moto*; MJpn. *mòtò*; Tok. *motó*; Kyo. *mótò*; Kag. *motó*.

◊ JLTT 486.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 39, 92, 291.

ŋ[i̯V]** what, who (interrog. pronoun): Tung. ****ŋ̃ŭ; Mong. ****jaɣu-n-, *jaɣuma***; Turk. ****nē***; Jpn. ****nV̀***; Kor. ****nú-***.

PTung. ****ŋ̃ŭ*** who (кто): Evk. *ŋī, nī*; Evn. *ńī, ŋī*; Neg. *nī, ŋī*; Man. *we*; SMan. *wē* (2895); Ul. *ŋui, ui*; Ork. *ŋui*; Nan. *ui*; Orch. *ńī*; Ud. *nī*; Sol. *nīxẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 660-661.

PMong. ****jaɣu-n-, *jaɣuma*** 1 what 2 thing (1 что 2 вещь): MMong. *ja'un* (HY 803), *ja'u(n)* (SH), *jān* (IM) 1, *jan* 1, *jamă* 2 (MA); WMong. *jaɣu* 1, *jaɣuma* 2 (L 424, 425); Kh. *jū* 1, *jŭm* 2; Bur. *jū, jūn-* 1, *jŭmen* 2; Kalm. *jun, jūn-* 1, *jŭmŋ* 2; Ord. *jū* 1, *jumu* 2; Mog. *jem(ă)* 1; ZM *īmă* (16-3a) 2; Dag. *jō* 1, *jŭm* 2 (Тод. Даг. 147, MD 172); Dong. *jan* 1; Bao. *jaŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *ima* 2, *jān* 1; Mongr. *jān* 1, *jama* 2, *(j)amar* 'comment' (SM 5, 487).

◊ KW 221, MGCD 742.

PTurk. ****nē-*** what (что): OTurk. *ne* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ne* (MK, KB); Tur. *ne, neme*; Gag. *ne*; Az. *nă*; Turkm. *nā̃, nā̃mă*; Sal. *ne*; Khal. *ne*; MTurk. *ne* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *ne*; Uygh. *nä*; Krm. *ne*; Tat. *ni, nɛrsɛ*; Bashk. *ni, nämä*; Kirgh. *ne, neme*; Kaz. *ne*; KBalk. *ne*; KKalp. *ne, neme*; Kum. *ne, neme*; Nogh. *ne*; SUygh. *ni*; Khak. *nime, ni*; *nō* 'which' (**ne-gu*); Shr. *nebe* 'thing', *nō* 'what' (**ne-gu*); Oyr. *ne, neme*; Tv. *čŭ* (**če-gü*), *čüve* (**čegü-me*); Tof. *čŭ, čüme*; Chuv. *məʷn* (metathesis < **ne-me*); Yak. *tuox* (**suox* < **če-gu+ok*?); Dolg. *tuok*.

◊ The earliest PT form must have contained a unique initial nasal (generally nasals were not allowed word-initially), having yielded specific reflexes in modern languages. See VEWT 352, EDT 774-5, Stachowski 230-231, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 1, 356.

PJpn. ****nV̀*** what (что): OJpn. *nani*; MJpn. *nàní*; Tok. *náni*; Kyo. *nàni*; Kag. *náí*.

◊ JLTT 493.

PKor. ****nú-*** who (кто): MKor. *nú-*; Mod. *nu-gu*.

◊ Nam 114, KED 356.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 55, 81, 104, 278 (with literature). Initial *n- in Jpn. is probably due to assimilation to the following nasal (the most usual form is **na-ni*); there also exists an interrogative *i- (in **i-ka* 'how', **i-n-ture* 'which' etc., reflecting nasalless **ŋi-*. Vocalism in this archaic monosyllabic pronoun is not quite clear, evidently because of different suffixation.

***ŋǒjču** thin, small: Tung. ***ŋüši- (*ŋujši-)**; Mong. ***öčü-**; Turk. ***ōču-**; Jpn. ***úsú-**; Kor. ***nǎč-**.

PTung. ***ŋüši- (*ŋujši-)** small (маленький): Evk. *nitkūn* (dial.); Neg. *ńitkūn*; Man. *isuxun* 'tiny'; Jurch. *osu-wan* (669); Ul. *ńūči*; Ork. *nūči*; Nan. *nūči*; Orch. *ŋīči*; Ud. *ŋič'a*; Sol. *nisxū, nisūxū̃*.

◊ TMC 1, 589-590.

PMong. ***öčü-** small, little (маленький): MMong. *uču(e)gan* (HY 52), *učugan, učuge(n)* (SH), *učkēn, očkeon* (IM), *učun, učukan, hučuken* (MA); WMong. *öčüken, üčüken* (L 629); Kh. *öčűxen, öcűxen*; Bur. *üsō(n)* 'few'; Kalm. *ücű(kn̥)*; Ord. *ečűken, öčō̃χön*; Dag. *učēk(en), učīken* (Тод. Дar. 171) *učēke(n), učiken, ušiken* (MD 230, 233); Bao. *žigaŋ*; Mongr. *čōgön*.

◊ KW 432, 460, MGCD 154.

PTurk. ***ōču-** 1 thin, light, easy, worthless 2 youngest 3 to diminish (1 тонкий, легкий, простой, дешевый 2 младший 3 уменьшаться): OTurk. *učuz* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *učuz* 1 (MK); Tur. *užuz* 1; Gag. *užüs* 1; Az. *užuz* 1; Turkm. *užīz* 1; MTurk. *užuz* 1 (Pav. C.); Krm. *užiz, užuz* 1; Tat. *ŭčiz* 1 (dial.); KBalk. *učuz* 1; Kum. *učuz* 1; Khak. *očі* (dial.) 2; Shr. *očі* (Верб.) 2; Yak. *uohun-* 3.

◊ EDT 32, VEWT 509, 356, ЭСТЯ 1, 567-568, Лексика 339-340. Some Kypch. forms (Tat. *ŭčsiz*, Bashk. *ŭshŭδ* 'cheap') are probably a result of reinterpreting *učuz* as *uč-siz* "edgeless" - as a result of late folk etymology.

PJpn. ***úsú-** thin (тонкий): OJpn. *usu-*; MJpn. *úsú-*; Tok. *ùsu-*; Kyo. *úsu-*; Kag. *úsu-* [= *úši-*].

◊ JLTT 843.

PKor. ***nǎč-** low, inferior (низкий, худший): MKor. *nǎs-kāp-, nǎč-*; Mod. *nat-* [*nač-*].

◊ Nam 100, 101, KED 312.

‖ EAS 148, АПиПЯЯ 18, 43, 292; SKE 162-163. Medial *-j- has to be reconstructed to account for the peculiar vowel behaviour in Mong. and TM.

***ŋòla** long; extend: Tung. ***ŋōli-**; Mong. ***nolig**; Turk. ***ula-**; Jpn. ***nàn-kà-**; Kor. ***nǎr-**.

PTung. ***ŋōli-** long (длинный): Evk. *ŋōnim, ŋōnigdi*; Evn. *ŋonъm*; Neg. *ŋonom*; Man. *golmin*; SMan. Goləmin (2409, 2602, 2844); Jurch. *ŋolmi-gi* (690); Ul. *walmi*; Ork. *ŋonimi*; Nan. *ŋoṇimi, woṇimi, oṇimi*; Orch. *ŋońimi, ŋońmi*; Ud. *wanimi, wańimi*; Sol. *ninomi, gonóm*.

◊ TMC 1, 664-665.

PMong. ***nolig** long, boring (долгий, скучный): WMong. *noliγ* (MXTTT); Kh. *nolig*.

PTurk. ***ula-** 1 to extend, prolong 2 to attach, join (ends) (1 удлинять, надставлять, продлевать 2 присоединять): OTurk. *ula-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ula-* 2 (MK); Tur. *ula-* 2; Turkm. *ula-* 1, 2; MTurk. *ula-*

(Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *ulä-* 1, 2; Uygh. *uli-* 2; Tat. *ŭla-* (dial.); Kirgh. *ula-* 2; Khak. *ula-* 1; Shr. *ula-* 1; Oyr. *ula-* 1, 2; Tv. *ula-* 1, 2.

◊ EDT 126-127, ЭСТЯ 1, 587-588. The original meaning was certainly 'to extend, prolong' - as seen also from the derivatives **ula-m* 'still more, continuously' (ЭСТЯ 1, 591) (whence Mong. **ulam* id., see TMN 2, 107), **ula-ju* 'still more, as much as', **ulaɣ* 'order, relay, relay station' (ЭСТЯ 1, 588-590) (whence Mong. **ulaɣa* id., see TMN 2, 106, Щербак 1997, 161; with the meaning 'relay horse' penetrated into some Ugric languages, despite Sinor 1965, 312-315 who proposed an opposite direction of borrowing);

PJpn. ***nànkà-** long (длинный): OJpn. *naga-*; MJpn. *nàgà-*; Tok. *nagá-*; Kyo. *nága-*; Kag. *náge*.

◊ JLTT 836. The Kagoshima tone is irregular.

PKor. ***nă̋r-** be extended, extend (растягивать(ся), увеличиваться): MKor. *nă̋rí-*; Mod. *nɨl-*.

◊ Nam 92, KED 372.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 109, 276. The PTM form should be reconstructed with **-l-* (despite АПиПЯЯ); therefore it belongs here rather than to PT **ön-*, Mong. **ön-*.

***ŋòn̩i** straight: Tung. ***ŋunŋe**; Mong. ***üne-**; Turk. ***öŋ-ed-**; Jpn. ***ùmà-**.

PTung. ***ŋunŋe** straight (прямой): Evk. *ŋuŋne*; Evn. *ŋūn*; Neg. *ŋuńŋe*; Jurch. *ŋun-du* (661).

◊ TMC 1, 666-667.

PMong. ***üne-** right, correct (правильный, верный): MMong. *unen* (SH, HYt); WMong. *ünen* (L 1009); Kh. *ünen*; Bur. *ünen*; Kalm. *ünŋ*; Ord. *ünen*; Dag. *unen* (Тод. Даг. 171, MD 232); Mongr. *nem* 'prix, valeur, bon prix' (SM 269).

◊ KW 458, MGCD 695. Mong. > Evk. *unērē* etc., see Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 218.

PTurk. ***öŋ-ed-** 1 to tune (an instrument) 2 to recuperate 3 to remedy (1 настраивать (инструмент) 2 выздоравливать 3 лечить): OTurk. *öŋed-* 2, *öŋedtür-* (caus.) 3 (OUygh.); Kirgh. *öŋde-* 2; Kaz. *öŋde-* 2; KKalp. *öŋde-* 2; Chuv. (Anatri) *əner-* 1.

◊ EDT 179, 182, Егоров 64, Мудрак 135. Федотов 1, 153 compares the Chuv. form with OT *oŋar-* 'to correct', which is phonetically worse.

PJpn. ***ùmà-** proficient, worthy; delicious (достойный, удачный; вкусный): OJpn. *uma-*; MJpn. *ùmà-*; Tok. *umá-*; Kyo. *úmà-*; Kag. *umá-*.

◊ JLTT 843.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, Дыбо 12.

***ŋȍ́ŕa** to surpass, win, contest: Tung. ***ŋōr-ča-**; Turk. ***oŕ-**; Jpn. ***àràsuap-**.

PTung. ***ŋōr-ča-** to contest, to wrestle (соревноваться, бороться): Evk. *ŋōrča-*; Neg. *mōjčan-*; Ul. *wāča-*; Ork. *wōto-* / *ŋōto-*; *ŋu(r)-* 'to overcome'; Nan. *wāča-*.

◊ TMC 1, 665.

PTurk. ***oŕ-** to surpass, win (превосходить, побеждать): OTurk. *oz-*; Karakh. *oz-* (MK); Tur. dial. *oz-*; Turkm. *oz-*; MTurk. *oz-* (Pav. C., Houts.,

AH, IM; Uzb. *ɥz-*; Uygh. *oz-*; Krm. *oz-*; Tat. *uz-*; Bashk. *uδ-*; Kirgh. *oz-*; Kaz. *oz-*; KBalk. *oz-*; KKalp. *oz-*; Kum. *oz-*; Nogh. *oz-*; SUygh. *joz-*; Khak. *os-*.

◊ See VEWT 367, ЭСТЯ 1, 425.

PJpn. ***àràsuap-*** to contest (состязаться, сражаться): OJpn. *arasɯop-*; MJpn. *àràsof-*; Tok. *arasó-*; Kyo. *árásó-*; Kag. *arasó-*.

◊ JLTT 676. Kagoshima has irregular tone (*àràsò-* would be expected).

‖ Дыбо 15. Ozawa 170 compares the Jpn. form with Mong. *arča-* 'to quarrel, fight', but the latter is rather a reflex of **ēŕa* q.v. We should note that the Jpn. form may also belong to a different root, PA **erV* 'seek, contest' (a possible Mong.-Turk. isogloss, on which see under **īre* 'reach').

***ŋūja** to be able: Tung. ***ŋū-**; Turk. ***u(j)-**; Jpn. ***a-**.

PTung. ***ŋū-** 1 to win, overcome 2 to be able (1 победить, перегнать 2 уметь): Ork. *ŋū-* 1; Ud. *ńoni-* 2 (?).

◊ TMC 1, 563, 643, 665.

PTurk. ***u(j)-** to be able, capable (мочь): OTurk. *u-* (OUygh., Orkh.); Karakh. *u-* (MK); Chuv. *-i-/-j-*; Yak. *uj-*.

◊ VEWT 510, EDT 5.

PJpn. ***a-** to be able, capable (мочь): OJpn. *a-*; MJpn. *a-*; Tok. *e-*.

‖ Cf. also potential forms in Mongolian languages: Ord. *-ūn* 'if it is possible to', Bur. *-ūtaj* 'going to'.

***ŋǔje** long hair: Tung. ***ŋūjelse**; Mong. ***öjekeji**; Turk. ***öjek**; Jpn. ***bə̀ (*buà)**.

PTung. ***ŋūjelse** 1 hair under the neck 2 tie, scarf (1 волосы под шеей 2 шарф, шейный платок): Evk. *mujālle, mūjēlle* 1; Evn. *ŋöjelrъ ~ möjelrъ* 1, *ŋō̈jeke* 2; Ork. *ŋīwelte* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 551, 665.

PMong. ***öjekej** lower part of animal's belly (нижняя часть живота животного): WMong. *öjekei*, (L 633 *öjüke*); Kh. *öjöxij*.

PTurk. ***öjek** part of animal's skin under the neck or between legs (подгрудок): Tur. *öjek* (dial.); Turkm. *öjek* (dial.); MTurk. *öjek* (Pav. C.); Tat. *üjäk* (R); Bashk. *üjsek*; Kirgh. *ōk*; Khak. *ōk*; Oyr. *öjök*; Tv. *öjek*; Chuv. *vaja, važa*.

◊ VEWT 369-370, ЭСТЯ 1, 515, Лексика 146, 423.

PJpn. ***bə̀ (*buà)** tail (хвост): OJpn. wo; MJpn. *wò*; Tok. *ó*; Kyo. *ò̋*; Kag. *ó*.

◊ JLTT 503.

‖ Дыбо 10, Лексика 146, 423. In Jpn. **ua* would be expected - which would yield OJ *wo* (therefore undistinguishable from **bua* or **bə*).

***ŋű́ju** to sleep: Tung. ***ŋu(j)a**; Mong. ***nojir**; Turk. ***ū-di-**, ***ū-di-k-la-**; Jpn. ***úi-**.

PTung. ***ŋu(j)a-** to sleep (спать): Evk. *ńa-sō-*, *niń́a-*; Man. *nu-nǯi-bu-* 'to make sleepy'; Orch. *ŋua-*; Ud. *ŋuha-*.

◊ TMC 1, 597, 611, 636, 666 (for phonology see АПиПЯЯ 50).

PMong. ***nojir** sleep (сон): MMong. *nuir* (MA), *nojir* (SH); WMong. *nojir* (L 589); Kh. *nojr*; Bur. *nojr*; Kalm. *nȫr*; Ord. *noȫr*; Mog. *noir*, *nɛir*; ZM *nāʔir* (6-5a); Dag. *noir* (Тод. Даг. 158), *noire* (MD 200); Dong. no; Bao. nor; S.-Yugh. *nūr*; Mongr. *nōr* (SM 284).

◊ KW 280, MGCD 511.

PTurk. ***ū-di-**, ***ū-di-k-la-** to sleep (спать): OTurk. *udi-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uδi-* (MK); Tur. *uju-*; Gag. *uju-*; Turkm. *ūqla-*; Sal. *uχla-*; Khal. *ū̱*, *ū̱* 'sleep' (n.); MTurk. *uju-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *uxla-*; Uygh. *uxla-*; Krm. *juxla-*; Tat. *joqla-*; Bashk. *joqla-*; Kirgh. *uqta-*; *ujqu* (n.); Kaz. *ujiqta-*; KBalk. *ǯuqla-*; KKalp. *ujqila-*; Kum. *uju-* 'to stiffen'; Nogh. *ujkla-*; SUygh. *uzu-*; Khak. *uzu-*; Tv. *udu-*; Tof. *udu-*; Chuv. *ĭjӳ* 'sleep' (n.); Yak. *utuj-*; Dolg. *utuj-*.

◊ The form **ūdikla-* is derived from **ūdik* 'sleepy', derived from **ūdi-* 'to sleep', which in its turn is derived from **ū* 'sleep' (preserved in Yak., Dolg. *ū*, Khal. *ū̱*). See VEWT 508, EDT 2, 42-3, 46-7, 49, ЭСТЯ 1, 579-581, 586-587, Егоров 342, Stachowski 247.

PJpn. ***úi-** sleep, to sleep (сон, спать): OJpn. *wi-na-* 'to sleep', *i* 'sleep, dream';; MJpn. *i-na-* 'to sleep', *wí-nébúri* 'sleep'; Tok. (**i-*)*ne-*; *inebúri*, *ineburí* 'drowsiness'; Kyo. *ìnébúrì* 'drowsiness'; Kag. *ineburí* 'drowsiness'.

◊ JLTT 697 (ignoring the variant *wi-*). OJ i and *wi-* obviously reflect variants of development of PJ **úi*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 50, 101, 280, Мудрак Дисс. 102.

***ŋúpu (~ -o-)** a k. of clamp: Tung. ***ŋubi**; Mong. ***gub-**; Jpn. ***úpái**.

PTung. ***ŋubi** 1 saddlegirth 2 rowlock (as a two-pronged fork) (1 подпруга 2 уключина (в виде двурогой вилки)): Evk. *ŋuwi* 1; Ork. *ŋojo* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 664, 666.

PMong. ***gub-** 1 wooden clamp put on the nose of a young camel; stick attached to the neck of a dog 2 to put a saddlecloth on the back of an animal 3 to catch fish with a net (1 деревянный зажим на носу молодого верблюда; палка, прикрепленная к шее собаки 2 класть попону на спину животного 3 ловить рыбу сетью): MMong. *xubuči'ur* 'big net' (HY 21); WMong. *γubaǯi* 1, *γubči-* 2, 3 (L 363); Kh. *guvǯ* 1, *guvči-* 2, 3; Bur. *gubša-* 3, *gubšūr* 'net'; Kalm. *γuvǯə* 1 (KPC).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *gupči-* (Poppe 1972, 97, TMC 1, 153).

PJpn. ***úpái** fish-trap (ловушка для рыбы): OJpn. *upe*; MJpn. *úfé*; Tok. *ue*.

◊ JLTT 560.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term: as seen from the reflexes, it could denote a device that could snap around some object (a fish-trap, a clamp, a two-pronged rowlock etc.).

***ŋurV** young male: Tung. ***ŋur**; Mong. ***gura**; Turk. ***uri**.

PTung. ***ŋur** male (of small carnivores) (самец (мелких хищников)): Evk. *ŋur*; Nan. *mur*.

◊ TMC 1, 667.

PMong. ***gura** roebuck (самец косули): MMong. *quraltuq* 'Damhirsch' (SH); WMong. *ɣura* (L 368); Kh. *gur*; Bur. *guran*; Kalm. *ɣurə*.

◊ KW 155. Mong. > Oyr. *quran* etc. (ЭСТЯ 6, 159-160), Evk. *guran* etc., see Doerfer MT 79, Rozycki 95.

PTurk. ***uri** male child, son (мальчик, сын): OTurk. *uri* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uri* (MK, KB); Kirgh. *urum* 'descendants (us. male)'; Yak. *urtūs* 'boy' (Пек.).

◊ EDT 197, Лексика 315.

‖ SKE 177, EAS 107. A Western isogloss. See also **gúri*.

***ŋŭsí (~ -o-)** heel: Tung. ***ŋusē-**; Mong. ***ösügeji**; Jpn. ***ùsírə**.

PTung. ***ŋusē-** ski straps (ремни, завязки (у лыж)): Evk. *ŋusāmne*; Evn. *ŋusemne*; Neg. *musemne*; Ork. *wēsêpse*; Nan. *muesemse*; Orch. *ŋusemse*.

◊ TMC 1, 667.

PMong. ***ösügej** heel (пятка): MMong. *osogo* (HY 47), *osügei* (SH), *usegei* (MA); WMong. *ösügei*; Kh. *ösgij*; Bur. *hüjei*; Kalm. *öskē*; Ord. *ösögī*.

◊ KW 301. Clark 1980, 58 proposes (with doubt) borrowing < Turk. *ökče* (see s.v. **p'ök'ī*), which is hardly acceptable.

PJpn. ***ùsírə** after, behind (задняя сторона, после, позади): OJpn. *usiro*; MJpn. *usiro*; Tok. *ùshiro*; Kyo. *ùshírò*; Kag. *ushiró*.

◊ JLTT 564. Kyoto and Kagoshima point to **ùsírà*, Tokyo - rather to **ùsíró*.

‖ The original meaning is probably preserved in Mongolian, with a specialization ('heel' > 'heel strap, ski strap') in TM, and a generalization ('heel' > 'back') in Japanese.

O

✱**ó** this, that (deictic particle): Tung. ***u-**; Mong. ***on-**; Turk. ***o(-l)**; Jpn. ***ə́-**.

PTung. ***u-** 1 this 2 that (1 этот 2 тот): Man. *u-ba* 1; SMan. *evā* (2620, 2884) 1; Ud. *u-ti* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 293-294.

PMong. ***on-** other, different (другой): WMong. *ondu, ončuγui* (L 612, 613); Kh. *ondō*; Bur. *ondō*; Ord. *ondōn*; Dag. *enčū* (Тод. Дат. 140) 'other', *ondolō-* 'to change' (Тод. Дат. 159); Dong. *doniə*; S.-Yugh. *ondōn*.

◊ MGCD 529.

PTurk. ***o(-l)** that (тот): OTurk. *o-l* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *o-l* (MK); Tur. *o*; Gag. *o*; Az. *o*; Turkm. *ol*; Sal. *u*; Khal. *o̧, o̧, u̧o̧-ra*; MTurk. *o-l* (AH); Uzb. *u̧*; Uygh. *u*; Krm. *o*; Tat. *u-l*; Bashk. *o-šo, u*; Kirgh. *o-šo*; Kaz. *o-l*; KBalk. *o-l*; KKalp. *o-l, u-sɨ* 'this'; Kum. *o-l*; Nogh. *o-l*; SUygh. *o-l, o*; Khak. *ol*; Oyr. *o-l*; Tv. *ol*; Tof. *ol*; Chuv. *vъʷ-l*; Yak. *ol*; Dolg. *ol*.

◊ VEWT 360, ЭСТЯ 1, 444-445, 456, 492-494, TMN 2, 93, EDT 123-4, Stachowski 191. The form *o* is attested later than *ol*, but it certainly does not mean that it was absent in PT (despite Clauson).

PJpn. ***ə́-** a deictic root (this) (дейктическая основа (этот)):

◊ A Ryukyu root: Nase *ú-N*, Shuri *ú-nù*, Hateruma *ù-nù*, Yonaguni *ù-nú* etc. The form *o-re* is attested in OJ as 'thou' with a pejorative meaning, whence some modern dialectal forms (Kagoshima *wái*, Shuri *ú-nǯú, ʔjā*, Nase *ʔjá*, Hateruma *Dà*, Yonakuni *ùdà*). It is not quite clear whether it is the same root as Ryukyu **o-* 'this'.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 280. A Korean match (dubious) see in SKE 176.

✱**obri (~ -e)** dawn: Tung. ***(x)oru-**; Mong. ***öwr**; Turk. ***ürüŋ (*örüŋ)**.

PTung. ***(x)oru-** to flame up (вспыхнуть): Evk. *orumna-*.

◊ TMC 2, 25. Attested only in Evk., with possible parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***öwr** dawn (рассвет): MMong. *ur* (MA 382); WMong. *ör* (L 1010: *ür*, 1014: *üür*); Kh. *ūr*; Bur. *ūr*; Kalm. *ör*; Ord. *örö, ör*; Dag. *ur*; Bao. *or*; S.-Yugh. *ojir*; Mongr. *ōr* (SM 298).

◊ KW 298, MGCD 686.

PTurk. ***ürüŋ (*örüŋ)** 1 white 2 dawn (1 белый 2 рассвет): OTurk. *ürüŋ* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ürüŋ* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *ürün* 'milk, yoghurt'; Khal. *hirin, hürün* 1; MTurk. *ürüŋ* (Sangl.) 1; Kirgh. *ürüŋ baraŋ* 2; Yak. *ürüŋ* 1, *örüös, ürüös* 'белая кайма на морде'; Dolg. *ürüŋ* 1.

◊ EDT 233-4, Лексика 601, Stachowski 253.

‖ KW 298, VEWT 375, АПиПЯЯ 288. A Western isogloss.

✱**óče** late, evening: Mong. ***öčüge**; Jpn. ***ásá-**; Kor. ***àčái**.

PMong. ***öčüge** yesterday (вчера): MMong. *ečgen* (IM), *učugă* (MA), *očigan, očigen* 'recent, shortly' (SH), *očigen* 'recent' (HYt), *hečegen* (LH), *hūčken odur* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *öčigen, öčüg-edür* (L 629); Kh. *öčigdör, öcögdör*; Bur. *üsegder*; Kalm. *öcgldŗ, ücgldŗ*; Ord. *üčügüdür, čügüdür, čügdür*; Mog. *čikaudur, uškudur* (Weiers), *üčkōn* (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *očkädur* (19-10b); Dong. *učuGudu* (MGCD *fučuɣudu*); S.-Yugh. *čugdur*; Mongr. *ćigu* (SM 449).

◊ MGCD 551, KW 302, 460. Some (late) MMong. forms, as well as one of Dong. variants reflect *h- which must be secondary (influence of **hečü-s* 'end'?).

PJpn. ***ásá-** late (поздний): OJpn. *oso-*; MJpn. *ósó-*; Tok. *òso-*; Kyo. *ósò-*; Kag. *óso-*.

◊ JLTT 839.

PKor. ***àčái** yesterday (вчера): MKor. *àčái*; Mod. *ǝže*.

◊ Nam 365, KED 1135.

‖ Martin 234-235. Cf. TM: Nan. *wasoana* 'not long ago' (see TMC 2, 295). Kor. *ǝ-* is probably a result of secondary assimilation (< **ìčái* or **ùčái*).

✱**ő̄č´é** bad, anger: Tung. ***(x)uč- (~ -š-)**; Mong. ***öče-**; Turk. ***ő̄č**; Jpn. ***ántá-**.

PTung. ***(x)uč- (~ -š-)** 1 to take revenge 2 to miss, yearn (1 мстить 2 скучать, тосковать): Evk. *učin-* 2; Evn. *ụčaŋkat-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 296, 297.

PMong. ***öče-** to take revenge, be inimical (мстить, быть враждебным): MMong. *öčeldü-* (MA).

◊ MMong. *öčeldü-* = Turk. **öčeĺ(č)-* (OT *öčeš-*), but can hardly be a loan, despite Щербак 1997, 197.

PTurk. ***ő̄č** revenge, anger (месть, гнев): OTurk. *öč* (OUygh.); Karakh. *öč* (MK); Tur. *öč*; Az. *öȳ*; Turkm. *ő̄č*; Khal. *hę̆ȳäš-*; MTurk. *öč* (AH), *öȳ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọč*; Uygh. *öč*; Krm. *öč*; Tat. *üč*; Bashk. *üs*; Kirgh. *öč*; Kaz. *öš*; KBalk. *öč*; KKalp. *öš*; Kum. *öč*; Nogh. *öš*; Khak. *üs*; Oyr. *öč*; Tv. *öš*; Chuv. *vəʷžəʷ*; Yak. *ös*; Dolg. *östő̄k* 'enemy'.

◊ EDT 18, ЭСТЯ 1, 558-559, Мудрак 54, EDT 18, TMN 2, 134, Stachowski 201. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *öč* (see Clark 1980, 52; but not > *ös*, see s.v. **ùse!*).

PJpn. ***ántá-** 1 to fear 2 to intimidate (1 бояться 2 запугивать): OJpn. *odu-* 1; MJpn. *ódú-* 1, *ódó-s-* 2; Tok. *oji-* 1, *odos-* 2.

◊ JLTT 740, 744.

‖ Mong., Turk. and Jpn. reflect a common reciprocal derivative **ő̄č´é-ÍV-* 'to be inimical (towards each other)', on which see above.

✱**odi (~ -e)** day, time: Mong. ***üd-**; Turk. ***öd**.

PMong. ***üd-** 1 afternoon 2 day 3 evening (1 полдень 2 день 3 вечер): MMong. *ude* 1 (HY 5), *udur* (SH, HY 5) 2, *udeši* (HY 5) 3, *ädär*, od, *ädor* (IM), *udēši* 'night', *uder* 2 (LH), *hudeši* (MA); WMong. *üde* 1 (L 995), *edür* (L 295) 2; Kh. *üd* 1, *ödör* 2, *üdeš* 3; Bur. *üde* 1, *üder* 2, *üdeše* 3; Kalm. *üdə* 1, *ödṛ* 2 (KPC); Ord. *üde* 1, *üdür* 2, *üdeši* 3; Mog. *ədur, udur* 2 (Weiers); Dag. *udur* 1, 2 (Тод. Даг. 170), *üdeši* 'yesterday', *udure* 2; Dong. *dur* 1, *udu* 2; Bao. *udu* 1, *udər* 2; S.-Yugh. *ude* 1, *udur* 2; Mongr. *udur, dur* (SM 464) 1, 2.

◊ MGCD 540, 687. Mong. > Manchu *uden* 'rest at midday' (see Rozycki 215).

PTurk. ***öd** time (время): OTurk. *öd* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *öδ(leg)* (MK), *öδleg* (KB); Tur. *öjle* 'midday'; Az. *öjlä* 'midday'; Turkm. *öjle* 'midday'; MTurk. *öj* (IM), *öjle* 'midday'; Krm. *üjlɛ* 'midday'; Tat. *öjlɛ* 'midday'; Nogh. *üjlɛ* 'midday'; Oyr. *öj*; Chuv. *vara* 'later'.

◊ EDT 35-36, 56, ЭСТЯ 1, 516-517, VEWT 368, Лексика 68-69. Turk. > Hung. *idő* (< **öd-eg*), see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 1, 189.

‖ KW 455, Владимирцов 153, Лексика 68-69. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Cf. also Mong. *udaɣa*, Mongor *udā* 'time' (MGCD 666). Nan. *udur* 'heat' may be borrowed < Mong.

✱**odi (~ -e)** sexual passion: Tung. ***uda-**; Mong. ***(h)uǯid**; Turk. ***öd-**.

PTung. ***uda-** 1 pregnant 2 to bear calves 3 first-born child 4 birth pains 5 placenta (1 беременная 2 телиться 3 первенец 4 родовые муки 5 плацента, послед): Evk. *udaja* 4, *udačān* 5; Evn. *odandrä-* 2; Neg. *odịn* 1; Ork. *ụdịma* 3; Orch. *udama* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 6, 248.

PMong. ***(h)uǯid** sexual passion, lust (сексуальное влечение, вожделение): WMong. *uǯid* (L 893); Kh. *uǯid*.

PTurk. ***öd-** 1 lust, sexual passion 2 to feel lust 3 passion 4 oestrum (1 половое влечение 2 чувствовать влечение 3 страсть, тоска 4 течка): OTurk. *ödlen-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *öδig* (MK, KB) 1, *öδlen-* 2 (MK); Turkm. *öjer-* 'to espouse' (caus.); MTurk. *öδüg* (Qutb) 1, *öjge* (Pav. C.) 4; Kirgh. (*ǯürögün*) *öjü-* 'to be worried, frustrated'; Khak. *özeləs* 3; Chuv. *vəʷrge* 3.

◊ EDT 50, 58, VEWT 518.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ŏ̀ge** lonely, orphan: Tung. ***ugī**; Mong. ***ügej**; Turk. ***ög-**; Kor. ***ói**.

PTung. ***ugī** few (мало): Evk. *uɣī-kun*; Neg. *oɣī*; Ul. *oi*; Ork. *oji*; Nan. *oi*; Orch. *uji*.

◊ TMC 2, 246.

PMong. ***ügej** not, without (не, без, не имеющий чего-л.): MMong. *ugai* (HY 51, SH), *uge'u* 'to be destitute, suffer' (HY 37), *ugej* (IM), *ugäj* (MA); WMong. *ügei* (L 997); Kh. *ügij, ügüj*, -güj; Bur. *ügɨ*, dial. *übej*;

Kalm. *ugā, ugē*; Ord. *ügʷī, ugʷ̈ī, ügʷē, ugʷ̈ē*; Mog. *ügɛi*; ZM *gei* (27-5a); Dag. *uwei* (Тод. Дар. 170), *uej* (MD 231); Dong. ui; Bao. *gi*; S.-Yugh. *uɣui*; Mongr. *ugwī, gwī* (SM 468).

◊ KW 446, MGCD 689. Mong. > Evk. *ugei*, see Doerfer MT 128. The same root (but with different suffixation) is probably reflected in **öɣe-* (MMong. *o'er, o'e-sun* 'self', *o'ere* 'other, different' (SH), WMong. *öber, öbesü-ben, öbere, ögere*, Khalkha *ör, ösö, ör*, Mongr. *gōro* (175)).

PTurk. ***ög-** 1 unrelated; step-relative 2 other, different (1 неродной; приемный родственник (пасынок, мачеха) 2 другой, отличный): OTurk. *ögej* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ögej* 1 (MK), *ögün* 2 (KB); Tur. *üvej* 1; Gag. *jüvä* 1; Az. *ögäj* 1; Turkm. *ögej, övej* 1; MTurk. *ögej* 1 (Pav. C.), *ögün* 2 (Abush.); Uzb. *ǫgej* 1; Krm. *ögej* 1; Tat. *ügi* 1; Bashk. *ügäj* 1; Kirgh. *ögej* 1; Kaz. *ögej* 1; KBalk. *ögej* 1; KKalp. *ögej* 1; Kum. *ögej* 1; Nogh. *ögej* 1; Khak. *ōj* 1; Shr. *ōj* 1; Oyr. *öj* 1; Yak. *egian* 2; Dolg. *egin-egin* 2.

◊ EDT 109, 119, VEWT 369, 306, ЭСТЯ 1, 495-496, TMN 2, 159, Stachowski 43 (with some confusion of the Yakut variants *egin, egian* and *eŋin*; on the latter see **eŋ*). In Az. one would rather expect **öjäj*; -g- is probably preserved due to dissimilation.

PKor. ***ói** lonely, orphan (одинокий, сирота): MKor. *ói, ói-rə̆p-* (-w-); Mod. *we, werop-* (-w-).

◊ Liu 586, KED 1220, 1222.

‖ Рясянен 1955, 106, TMN 2, 159-160.

***òje** to swim: Tung. ***ujV-**; Mong. ***üji- / *oji-mu-**; Jpn. ***ə̀jə̀nk- (*ə̀juə̀nk-)**.

PTung. ***ujV** to swim (of birds) (плавать (в осн. о птице)): Evk. *uju-,uju-kta-*; Neg. *oji-jan-*; Ork. *onnō-*; Nan. *oṅoan-, ojana-*; Ud. *wujan-, ujan-*.

◊ TMC 2, 252.

PMong. ***üji- / *oji-mu-** 1 to sink, to put in in a pot for boiling 2 to swim (1 погружаться, класть в котел для варки 2 плавать): MMong. *ojna-* 2 (IM); WMong. *üi-, üjü-* 1 (L 999), *ojimu-, ojima-* 2 (L 604); Kh. *üj-* 1, *ojmo-* 2; Bur. *üj-* 1; Kalm. *ǒm-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *oǫ̈mo-* 'to pass the ford'; Mongr. *(w)ī-* (SM 484) 1.

◊ Mong. *ojimu-* > Yak., Dolg. *ojmō-*, see Kał. MEJ 36, Stachowski 190.

PJpn. ***ə̀jə̀nk- (*ə̀juə̀nk-)** to swim (плавать, плыть): MJpn. *ò̀jò̀g-*; Tok. *oyóg-*; Kyo. *ójóg-*; Kag. *ò̀jò̀g-*.

◊ JLTT 744.

‖ EAS 98, АПиПЯЯ 79, 99, 277.

***ǒje** life, age: Tung. ***uju-**; Mong. ***üje**; Turk. ***öj (?)**; Jpn. ***ə̀jə̀-**.

PTung. ***uju-** alive (живой): Man. *wei-xun*; SMan. *veixun* (695); Ul. *uju(n)*; Ork. *uju(n)*; Nan. *ujũ*.

◊ TMC 2, 252.

PMong. ***üje** generation, age (поколение, возраст): MMong. *uje* (SH, HYt); WMong. *üje* (L 1001); Kh. *üje*; Bur. *üje*; Kalm. *üj* (KPC); Ord. *üje*; Dag. *uje* (Тод. Дар. 170, MD 231); Mongr. *uje* (SM 479).

◊ MGCD 691. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *üje* (Stachowski 249). The connection with *üje* 'joint' should be regarded as folk-etymological.

PTurk. ***öj (?)** time, age (время, возраст): Tv. *öj*; Yak. *öjün* (dial.).

◊ ОСНЯ 1, 242. The form is poorly attested and rather dubious (the Tuva form may be < Oyr. *öj* < PT **öd* q. v. sub **odi)*.

PJpn. ***ə̀jə̀-** to grow old (стареть): OJpn. *oju-*; MJpn. *òjù-*; Tok. *oí-*; Kyo. *òì-*; Kag. *oí-*.

◊ JLTT 740. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular. Final *-ə can be observed in OJ *ojo-si* 'old'.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 242, Ozawa 65-66 (Mong.-Jpn.).

***ójle (~ -i)** small fruit: Tung. ***ulīn-kta**; Mong. ***ölir**; Kor. ***òijə́s.**

PTung. ***ulīn-(kta)** wild apple (дикое яблоко): Evk. *ulīkta* 'wild apple', *ulukta* 'bird-cherry'; Man. *uli* 'pear; rowan'; Ul. *unikte*; Nan. *uńikte*; Ud. *uliŋkie*; Sol. *ulītte.*

◊ TMC 2, 261, 264.

PMong. ***ölir** wild apple (дикое яблоко): MMong. *olirsun* (SH) 'wild pear'; WMong. *ölir* 'small apples' (L 633); Kh. *ülir* (БАМРС); Bur. *ülir.*

◊ KW 300. Cf. **üril* (with occasional mixture).

PKor. ***òijə́s** plum (слива): MKor. *òi'jə́s, oi'jač, oi'jas*; Mod. *ojat* [*ojas*].

◊ Nam 387, KED 1202.

‖ Дыбо 10. Cf. Turkm. *ülže* 'cherry'; Kum., KBalk. *ülkü* 'bush, shrub', Bashk. *ölköm* id.? Despite Doerfer MT 81, Rozycki 217, TM cannot be < Mong. or vice versa. Cf. also **èri, *ùjrV.*

***ő̀jV** to sew, pierce: Tung. ***uji-**; Mong. ***oja-**; Turk. ***ōj-**.

PTung. ***uji-** to bind, knot together (привязывать, связывать): Evk. *uj-*; Evn. *uj-*; Neg. *uj-*; Ul. *ui-*; Ork. *uj-*; Nan. *ui-*; Orch. *uji-, uju-*; Ud. *uji-pti* 'a k. of rope'; Sol. *uji-.*

◊ TMC 2, 250-251.

PMong. ***oja-** to sew, stitch (шить): MMong. *oja-* (MA, LH); WMong. *oja-* (L 606 *oju-*); Kh. *ojo-*; Bur. *ojo-*; Kalm. *ujə-*; Ord. *ojo-*; Mog. *wɔja-* (Weiers), *oī-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *oji-, ojo-* (Тод. Дар. 159), *oj-* (MD 201); Mongr. *jō-* (SM 493).

◊ KW 447, MGCD 526.

PTurk. ***ōj-** 1 to pick, peck 2 embroidery 3 thimble (долбить, делать дыру, ковырять): OTurk. *oj-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *oj-* (MK) 1; Tur. *oj-* 1, *oja* 2; Gag. *oj-* 1; Az. *oj-* 1; Turkm. *ōj-* 1, *ōjmaq* 3; MTurk. *oj-* (Sangl.) 1, *ojmaq* 3; Uzb. *oj-* 1; Uygh. *oj-* 1; Krm. *oj-* 1; Tat. *uj-* 1; Bashk. *uj-* 1; Kirgh. *oj-* 1, *ojmoq* 3; Kaz. *oj-* 1; KBalk. *oj-* 1; KKalp. *oj-* 1; Kum. *oj-* 1; Nogh. *oj-*

1; SUygh. *oj-* 1; Khak. *oj-* 1; Shr. *oj-* 1; Oyr. *oj-* 1; Tv. *oj-* 1; Chuv. *ӳĭ, ĭĭə* (NW) 'chisel'; Yak. *ojuo-t-* ; *ojun-* 'to be split off'; *ojü* 'picture'; Dolg. *ojū* 'picture'.

◊ VEWT 358, 359, EDT 265, 266, ЭСТЯ 1, 425-428, 434, Лексика 98, Stachowski 190; also a noun: **ōj* 'pit, lowland' (Tof. (Рассадин 1995) *oj* 'brook bed' etc.; **ōj-ik* 'wound; pit'.

‖ EAS 143, KW 447. A Western isogloss. The Turkic and Mongolian forms clearly point to the original meaning 'pierce, sew', so the attribution of the TM form ("to tie, bind") is not quite reliable. One has to deal with a possibility that the TM forms, despite their wide distribution, are actually borrowed from Mong. *uja-* 'to tie, bind' (which cannot be genetically related to Mong., since the latter goes back to PM **huja-* - so far without Altaic etymology -, with h- well preserved in Southern Mongolian languages).

✱**oki** to sing, recite: Tung. ***(x)og- ~ *(x)ok-**; Mong. ***üge**; Turk. ***oki-**; Jpn. ***uka-ip-**; Kor. ***o'ăi-**.

PTung. ***(x)og- ~ *(x)ok-** to sing (петь): Evn. *oɣ̣t-*.

◊ TMC 2, 5. Attested only in Evn. (Evk. *uɣun* 'tale' is probably < Mong.), but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***üge** word (слово): MMong. *uge* (HY 34, SH), *ugule-* 'say, speak' (SH, HYt), *eule-* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *üge(n)* (L 996); Kh. *üg;* Bur. *üge;* Kalm. *ügə* (KPC); Ord. *üge;* Mongr. *uge* (SM 467), *ugo* (Huzu), *gule-* 'parler' (SM 141).

◊ MGCD 689.

PTurk. ***oki-** to call, read, recite (звать, читать, декламировать): OTurk. *oqi-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *oqi-* (MK); Tur. *oku-*; Gag. *oqu-*; Az. *oxu-*; Turkm. *oqa-*; Khal. *ḥoqu-*; MTurk. *oqi-* (AH), *oqu-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̧qi-*; Uygh. *oqu-*; Krm. *oxi-, oqu-, oxu-*; Tat. *uqi-*; Bashk. *uqi-*; Kirgh. *oqu-*; Kaz. *oqi-*; KBalk. *oqu-*; KKalp. *oqi-*; Kum. *oxu-*; Nogh. *oqi-*; Yak. *oguj-, uguj-*.

◊ EDT 79, VEWT 359, ЭСТЯ 1, 439-441.

PJpn. ***uka-ip-** to pray to gods (молиться богам): OJpn. *ukep-*; MJpn. *ukef-*.

◊ JLTT 778.

PKor. ***o'ăi-** to recite (декламировать): MKor. *o'ăi-* 'sailors' song'; Mod. *wē-, weu-*.

◊ Liu 577, KED 1221, 1223.

‖ Despite poor representation in TM, the root is well preserved elsewhere and appears to be well reconstructable for PA.

✱**ǒki (~ -e)** to belch, nauseate: Tung. ***oKor-**; Mong. ***ogi-, *ogsi-**; Turk. ***ök-**.

PTung. ***oKor-** to nauseate (тошнить): Man. *oχorša-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 10. Attested only in Manchu, but with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ogi-, *ogsi-** 1 to nauseate 2 to belch (1 чувствовать тошноту 2 рыгать): WMong. *ogi-* 1 (L 603), *oγsi-* 2 (L 601); Kh. *ogi-, ogši-* 'to vomit'; Bur. *oxi-* 2; Kalm. *ogl-* 1; Ord. *ogši-* 'faire les efforts et produire les bruits qui précèdent le vomissement'; S.-Yugh. *ogiši-*.

◊ MGCD 523. Mong. > Tel., Chag. *oqï-*; Uzb. *oqči-*, Tat. *ukši-* etc.

PTurk. ***ŏ̄k-** 1 to belch 2 to nauseate (1 рыгать 2 чувствовать тошноту): Tur. *öjür-* 1,2; Turkm. *ŏ̄ge-* 2; MTurk. *öki-* (AH) 2; Uzb. *öjï-* (dial.); Yak. *ögüj-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 503.

‖ ЭСТЯ 1, 503. An expressive Western isogloss.

***ǒ̀kʻà** sharp point, notch: Tung. ***ok-**; Mong. ***oki**; Turk. ***ok**; Jpn. ***àkuàjaì**.

PTung. ***ok-** 1 arrow with wooden head 2 fish fin 3 fishing hook (1 стрела с деревянной головкой 2 плавник (рыбы) 3 рыболовный крючок): Evk. *oki-kta* 2; Man. *oki jōro* 1; Ork. *ōqo* 3; Ud. *oʻ* 'fish gear' (Корм. 273).

◊ TMC 2, 9, 10.

PMong. ***oki** top, tip, edge (верхушка, кончик): WMong. *oki* (L 607); Kh. *oǵ*.

PTurk. ***ok** arrow (стрела): OTurk. *oq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *oq* (MK, KB); Tur. *ok*; Gag. *oq*; Az. *oχ*; Turkm. *oq*; MTurk. *oq*; Uzb. *ụq*; Uygh. *oq*; Krm. *oq*; Tat. *uq*; Bashk. *uq*; Kirgh. *oq*; Kaz. *oq*; KBalk. *oq*; KKalp. *oq*; Kum. *oq*; Nogh. *oq*; SUygh. *oq*; Khak. *ux*; Shr. *oq*; Oyr. *oq*; Tv. *oʻq*; Chuv. *oγъ*; Yak. *ox*.

◊ VEWT 389, ЭСТЯ 1, 437-438, TMN 2, 153, Лексика 577, Федотов 2, 296. Cf. also Turk. **oklagu* 'rolling pin' (ЭСТЯ 1, 441-442), Khal. *hǫqlaγǫ* (derived from *ok-la-* 'to roll' (R 1 1000, Chag.), a denominative from *ok* 'wheel axle' in the Oghuz and Qarluq groups).

PJpn. ***àkuàjaì** pheasant's spur (шпора фазана): OJpn. *akwoje*; MJpn. *àkòjè*.

◊ JLTT 377.

‖ Poppe 98, 134, KW 284. The morphological structure of Jpn. is not quite clear (perhaps some old compound is reflected); this, together with rather scarce representation in TM, makes the reconstruction not quite reliable. Note that the Jpn. form may also continue PA **ăgV* q.v.

***òkʻè** to grieve, be angry: Tung. ***(x)ukt-**; Mong. ***uki-la-**; Turk. ***ökün-**; Jpn. ***ə̀kə̀-r-**.

PTung. ***(x)ukt-** 1 weeping, grief 2 angry 3 to insult (1 рыдание, горе 2 сердитый 3 оскорблять): Man. *uqtu* 1, *uqtun* 2; Orch. *ukta-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 254.

PMong. ***uki-la-** to weep, sob (плакать, рыдать): MMong. *ukila-* (MA); WMong. *ukila-* (L 868); Kh. *uxila-*.

PTurk. ***ökün-*** to repent, regret (раскаиваться, сожалеть): OTurk. *ökün-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ökün-* (MK); Tur. *ökün-*; Turkm. *ökün-*; MTurk. *ökün-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̧kin-*; Krm. *ökün-*; Tat. *ükĭn-*; Bashk. *ükĭn-*; Kirgh. *ökün-*; Kaz. *ökĭn-*; KKalp. *ökin-*; Nogh. *ökin-*.

◊ EDT 111, VEWT 370, ЭСТЯ 1, 523-524, TMN 2, 154 (with a quite artificial inner etymology: medium in -n from **ök-* 'think'? - which in fact is a noun **ög*, derived from **ō(j)-*).

PJpn. ***ə̀kə̀-r-*** to be angry (сердиться): MJpn. *òkòr-*; Tok. *okór-*; Kyo. *ókór-*; Kag. *okór-*.

◊ JLTT 740. The word may belong here if it is not a secondary development < **əkər-* 'to rise'.

‖ Cf. **ukʹe* (with possible contaminations).

✱**ò[kʹ]è** wife, female: Tung. ***uKu-***; Mong. ***oki-n / *öki-n***; Turk. ***ög (*ök)***; Jpn. ***ə̀ku***.

PTung. ***uKu-*** 1 female 2 daughter-in-law (1 самка 2 невестка): Evk. *uku-čēn* 1; Evn. *uki* 1; Neg. *uxi* 1; Man. *uki* 1, *uxen* 2; Ul. *we-če(n)* 1; Ork. *uwe-če(n)* 1; Nan. *we-če* 1; Orch. *wēčke* 1; Ud. *guasaʹ* 1 (Корм. 223).

◊ TMC 2, 256, 257.

PMong. ***oki-n / *öki-n*** girl, daughter (девушка, дочь): MMong. *okin* (HY 29), *oki(n)* (SH), *ugen* (IM), *ūkin/ukin* (LH); WMong. *okin*, *ökin* (L 633); Kh. *oxin*; Bur. *üxin*; Kalm. *okn̦* (KPC); Ord. *oχin*; Mog. *ukin* (Weiers); Dag. *ugin*, *ujin* (Тод. Дат. 170), *ujn* (MD 231); Dong. *očin* (Тод. Дн.); Bao. *oken* (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *fuʒun*, *śʒun* (SM 103).

◊ TMN 1, 167.

PTurk. ***ög (*ök)*** 1 mother 2 sister (1 мать 2 сестра): OTurk. *ög* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Tur. *öke*, *öge* (dial.) 2; MTurk. *öke* (R.) 2; Uygh. *uka*, *hükä* 2.

◊ EDT 99, ЭСТЯ 1, 519-520, Лексика 300.

PJpn. ***ə̀ku*** wife, spouse (жена, супруга): MJpn. *oku*; Tok. *óku-sama*, *óku-san*; Kyo. *ókù-sàmà*; Kag. *oku-samá*.

‖ Цинциус 1972a, 31-32, Дыбо 7. Voiced -g in OT is not quite clear; otherwise correspondences are regular.

✱**ǒkʹè** to put, heap; to give: Tung. ***oK-***; Mong. ***ök-, *ög-***; Turk. ***ǒk-***; Jpn. ***ə̌k-***; Kor. ***ukɨr***.

PTung. ***oK-*** 1 to heap up (firewood) 2 to economize, spare (1 складывать (дрова) 2 сохранять, экономить): Ork. *okroo̧tčį-* 1; Nan. *okči-* 2 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 10.

PMong. ***ök-, *ög-*** to give (давать): MMong. *ok-* (HY 39, SH), *ok-su* (IM), *ug(i)-* (MA); WMong. *ög-* (L 630); Kh. *ög-*; Bur. *üge-*; Kalm. *ög-*; Ord. *ög-*; Mog. *ögü-*; ZM *ug-* (40-12); Dag. *ug-*, *uk-*, (Тод. Дат. 170), *uke*

(MD 232), *uke-*, *uku-*; Dong. *ogi-*; Bao. *oke-*; S.-Yugh. *og-*; Mongr. *uGo-* (SM 466).

◊ KW 294, MGCD 541.

PTurk. ***ǒ̄k-*** 1 to heap up 2 many (**ǒ̄küĺ*) (1 накладывать, нагромождать 2 много (**ǒ̄küĺ*)): OTurk. *ük-* 1, *ükü̈š* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ük-* 1, *ükü̈š* 2 (MK); Tur. *ögüš* 2; MTurk. *ök-* 1 (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *uj-* 1; Tat. *ŭj-* 1; Bashk. *ŭj-* 1; Kirgh. *üj-* 1; Kaz. *üj-* 1; KKalp. *üj-* 1; Nogh. *üj-* 1; Khak. *üg-* 1; Shr. *uγa* 'heap'; Oyr. *ŭ-* 1; Yak. *ügüs* 2; Dolg. *ügüs* 2.

◊ EDT 100, 118, ЭСТЯ 1, 620-621, Stachowski 249. Modern forms point rather to **-g-*; reasons for this voicing are not quite clear.

PJpn. ***ǒ̄k-*** to put (класть): OJpn. *ok-*; MJpn. *ók-*; Tok. *òk-*; Kyo. *ók-*; Kag. *ók-*.

◊ JLTT 741.

PKor. ***ukɨr*** to congregate, be numerous (собираться толпой, кишеть, быть в большом количестве): Mod. *ugil-ugil ha-*, *ugil kəri-*, *ogil kəri-*.

◊ KED 1236.

‖ SKE 285 (Turk. : Kor.), АПиПЯЯ 288.

ōkʹe (~ -k-)** deep place, place far from the shore: Tung. ***(x)uK-; Turk. ***ǒ̄kü***; Jpn. ****əki***.

PTung. ***(x)uK-*** 1 ice-hole, glade 2 river rift 3 river (1 полынья 2 порог на реке 3 река): Evk. *uktel* 1, *uksi* 2; Evn. *oqāt* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 9, 253, 254.

PTurk. ***ǒ̄kü*** hole in ice (полынья): Tur. *öγü*; Turkm. *öjü*; MTurk. *ökü*; Kaz. *üki*; KKalp. *üki*; Chuv. *vagъ*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 517, VEWT 370.

PJpn. ****əki*** open sea (открытое море): OJpn. *okji*; Tok. *òki*; Kyo. *ókí*; Kag. *okí*.

◊ JLTT 505. Original accent not clear.

‖ The parallel seems plausible; the common meaning here may be formulated as "a place (in the sea or river) distant from the shore".

okʹV** coire: Tung. ****oxa-; Mong. ****(h)ok-***.

PTung. ****oxa-*** 1 coire 2 testicles 3 women's genitals (1 coire 2 testiculi 3 половые органы (женские)): Evk. *oko-* 1; Man. *uχala* 2; SMan. *uhalə* 2 (117); Nan. *uxara* (dial.) 2; Ud. ua 3.

◊ TMC 2, 10, 242, 253. Cf. also Ud. *'oso* penis (which can, however, be a borrowing < Mong. *ošoγai)*.

PMong. ****(h)ok-*** coire (coire): MMong. *uqa-* (MA, IM), *həka-* (Leid.); Kh. *oxo-* (БАМРС).

◊ Initial h- in the Leiden manuscript must be secondary.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***ŏli (~ -e)** to die; to be hungry, exhausted: Tung. ***(x)olbu-**; Mong. ***öl-**; Turk. ***öl-**.

PTung. ***(x)olbu-** soul of the dead; shadow (душа умершего; тень): Evk. *elbu, olbu-n.*

◊ TMC 2, 445. Attested only in Evk., with probable parallels in Turkic and Mongolian.

PMong. ***öl-** 1 to be hungry 2 hungry (1 быть голодным 2 голодный): MMong. *oles-* (HY 25, SH), *əleso-* (IM), *ulăs-* (MA) 1, *uləs-* (LH), *ulūs-* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ölüs-* 1, *ölüŋ* 2 (L 634); Kh. *öls-* 1, *ölön* 2; Bur. *üld-* 1, *ülen* 2; Kalm. *öls-* 1; Ord. *ölödö-* 1, *öl* 'hunger'; Mog. *üläsu-*; ZM *olaṣ* (6-2a); Dag. *(x)unsu-* (Тод. Даг. 171 *unsu-*, 180 *xunsu-*), *ulese-* 1 (MD 232), *ulsu-* 1; Dong. *oliesu-* 1; Bao. *olos-*, *oləs-* 1; S.-Yugh. *öl* 'hunger'; Mongr. *losə-* (SM 226) 1.

◊ KW 295, MGCD 541, 542.

PTurk. ***öl-** 1 to die 2 (**öl-tür-*) to kill (1 умирать 2 (**öl-tür-*) убивать): OTurk. *öl-* 1 (Yen., OUygh.), *ölür-* 2 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *öl-* 1 (MK, KB), *öldür-* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *öl-* 1, *öldür-* 2; Gag. *jöl-* 1, *öldür-* 2; Az. *öl-* 1, *öldür-* 2; Turkm. *öl-* 1, *öldür-* 2; Sal. *ül-* 1, *üldyr-* 2; Khal. *hil-/he.l-*, *öl-* 'to die (of animals)' (< Az.); MTurk. *öl-* 1 (Sangl.), *ölür-* 2 (Abush.), *öltür-* 2 (Abush.); Uzb. *ụl-*, *ụldir-* 2; Uygh. *öl-* 1, *öltür-* 2; Krm. *oĺ-* 1, *oĺder-* 2; Tat. *ül-* 1, *üter-* 2; Bashk. *ül-* 1, *ülter-* 2; Kirgh. *öl-* 1, *öltür-* 2; Kaz. *öl-* 1, *öltịr-* 2; KBalk. *öl-* 1, *öltür-* 2; KKalp. *öl-* 1, *öltir-* 2; Kum. *öl-* 1, *öltür-* 2; Nogh. *öl-* 1, *öltir-* 2; SUygh. *jül-* 1, *jülɨr-* 2; Khak. *öl-* 1, *öder-* 2; Shr. *öl-* 1, *ödür-* 2; Oyr. *öl-* 1, *öltür-* 2; Tv. *öl-* 1, *ölür-* 2; Tof. *öl-* 1, *ölür-* 2; Chuv. *vil-* 1, *vəʷler-* 2; Yak. *öl-* 1, *ölör-* 2; Dolg. *öl-* 1, *ölör-* 2.

◊ VEWT 371; ЭСТЯ 1, 525-527, TMN 2, 112, 162-3; EDT 125-126, 133-134, 151, Stachowski 199.

‖ A Western isogloss. See EAS 146, KW 295, Poppe 108 (but the Evk. form that he lists is probably < Mong.), TMN 2, 112, АПиПЯЯ 281, Дыбо 13; see further Nostratic parallels (Ural. **welV* et al.) in МССНЯ, 367.

***óligV (~ u-)** female (of animals), pig: Tung. ***uligan**; Mong. ***ölögčin**; Turk. ***Vlagŕin**.

PTung. ***uligan** pig (свинья): Neg. *olgịn*; Man. *ulǵan*; SMan. *vələ́gan* (2195); Jurch. *ulhian* (162); Ul. *orgị(n)*; Ork. *orgị(n)*; Nan. *olgịã̄*; Ud. wagê; Sol. *ulgẽ.*

◊ TMC 2, 259.

PMong. ***ölögčin** female (of animals), bitch (самка (животных), сука): WMong. *ölögčin* (L 634: *ölügčin*); Kh. *ölögčin*; Bur. *ülegšen*; Kalm. *öləgčṇ* (KPC); Ord. *ölögčin*; S.-Yugh. *lögčin.*

◊ MGCD 543.

PTurk. ***Vlagŕin** pig, swine (свинья): OTurk. *(i)laγzɨn* (Orkh. - a cyclical sign), *laγzɨn* (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 764.

‖ A Western isogloss. Somewhat dubious because of the possibly borrowed nature of the OT word.

✱**olu** to be startled, annoyed: Tung. ***ola-**; Mong. ***(h)ul-**, ***(h)ül-**; Turk. ***ol-**; Jpn. ***uru-sa-**.

PTung. ***ola-*** to be afraid, startled (бояться, пугаться): Evk. *olo-*; *olbon-* 'to be bored'; Evn. *ol-*; *olbān-* 'to be bored'; Neg. *olo-ldo-*; Man. *oli-χa-*; Jurch. *ol-γu-hun* (673) 'weak'; Ul. *olo-*; Ork. *olo-*; Nan. *olo-*, *olγamsaq* 'fainted'; Orch. *olo-*; Sol. *olo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 12, 15.

PMong. ***(h)ul-**, ***(h)ül-*** to be weak, dizzy (слабеть, теряться, терять сознание): WMong. *ulbuji-*, *ulbaji-* (L 872), *ülbüi-*, *ülbeji-* (L 1004); Kh. *ulbaj-*, *ülbij-*; Bur. *ulū*; Kalm. *ulwi-*.

◊ KW 449.

PTurk. ***ol-*** 1 skilless, talentless, careless 2 simple (1 неумелый, небрежный 2 простой): Karakh. *ulɨn-* 'to be bewildered' (MK); Az. *olmaja* 'an expression of warning, bewilderment'; Kirgh. *oldoqson* 1, *oloq*, *oloγoj* 'one-eyed'; Kaz. *olaq* 1; Khak. *olaŋaj* 2; Tv. *olutpaj* 'lazy'; Chuv. *vъʷli-žali* 1; Yak. *oloj-* 'to make a stupid face'.

◊ VEWT 360, ДТС 609 (EDT 149 only quotes OT *ulɨn-* 'to be twisted' which is probably a different root).

PJpn. ***uru-sa-*** boring, annoying (скучный): MJpn. *urusa-*; Tok. *urusá-*; Kyo. *úrúsà-*; Kag. *urúsa-*.

◊ JLTT 843. Accent is not clear: Tokyo points to low tone, Kagoshima - to high.

‖ A common derivative **olu-bV* is reflected in Mong. **ul-ba-ji-* and TM **ol-ba-n-*.

✱**ȍlu** to be, become; to come: Tung. ***ō-**; Mong. ***ol-**; Turk. ***ol-ur-**, ***ol(u)-tur-**; Kor. ***ó-**.

PTung. ***ō-*** 1 to make; become 2 new (1 делать; стать 2 новый): Evk. *ōmakta* 2, *ō-* 1; Evn. *ō-* 1; Neg. *ō-* 1; Man. *o-* 1; SMan. *o-* 1 (3018); Jurch. *o-fia* (829) 1; Ul. *o-* 1; Ork. *o-* 1; Nan. *o-* 1; Ud. *o-*, *ō-* 1; Sol. *ō-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 3-4.

PMong. ***ol-*** to find, obtain (находить, получать): MMong. *ol-* (SH, HYt), *ula-* (IM), *ul-* (MA); WMong. *ol-* (L 607); Kh. *ol-*; Bur. *olo-*; Kalm. *ol-*; Ord. *ol-*; Mog. *wɔl-*, *ɔl-*, *ul-* (Weiers); ZM *āl* (24-9a); Dag. *wal-*, *ol-*, *olo-* (Тод. Дар. 159), *ole-* (MD 201); Dong. *olu-*; Bao. *ol-*, *olə-*; S.-Yugh. *ōl-*; Mongr. *ōli-* (SM 296), (MGCD *ulə-*).

◊ KW 284, MGCD 526, 527.

PTurk. ***ol-ur-**, **ol(u)-tur-*** to sit (сидеть): OTurk. *oltur-* (OUygh.), *olur-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *oltur-* (MK), *ol-* 'to be' (At., IM), 'to become ripe' (MK, IM, Bulgat); Tur. *otur-*; Gag. *otur-*; Az. *otur-*; Turkm. *otur-*; Sal. *oht(ɨr)-*; MTurk. *oltur-* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.), (?) *ol-* 'to

be' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *utir-*; Uygh. *oltur-*; Krm. *otur-*; Tat. *utir-*; Bashk. *ultir-*; Kirgh. *otur-*; Kaz. *otir-*; KBalk. *oltur-*; KKalp. *otir-*; Nogh. *oltir-*; Khak. *odir-*; Oyr. *otur-*; Tv. *olur-*; Tof. *olur-*; Chuv. *lar-*; Yak. *olor-*; Dolg. *olor-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 489-492. EDT 125, 331-332, VEWT 79, TMN 2, 358, Stachowski 192. See also the comments on **bōl-* ' to be, become'. From the forms phonetically looking like *ol-* 'to be, become' the only actual reflexes of PT **ol-* may be Middle Uygh. (At., Tefs., IM - opposed to bar, *bir-*) and Middle Kypchak (Bulgat, Ettuhf.), cf. ЭСТЯ 2, 186; Chag. *ol-* may as well be < Oghuz.

PKor. ***ó-** to come (приходить): MKor. *ó-*; Mod. *o-*.

◊ Nam 379, KED 1196.

‖ SKE 174, Menges 1984, 281-282, АПиПЯЯ 284. Note the loss of **-l-* in Kor. and some Turkic forms, which may indicate the original monosyllabic nature of the verb (**ȍl*).

✱**oĺa** a k. of grass: Mong. ***(h)ulalǯi**; Turk. ***oĺ-**; Jpn. ***asi**.

PMong. ***(h)ulalǯi** sedge (осока): WMong. *ulalǯi* (L 871); Kh. *ulalǯ*; Bur. *ulalž*.

PTurk. ***oĺ-** a k. of plant (вид растения): Khak. *oziį* 'волчье лыко'; Shr. *oziį* 'волчье лыко' (Kond.), *izi* 'чернотал' (Mras.); Chuv. *vəʷldəʷren* 'nettle'.

PJpn. ***asi** reed, rush (тростник): OJpn. *asi*; MJpn. *ási*; Tok. *áshi*; Kyo. *àshí*; Kag. *ashí*.

◊ JLTT 385. Original accent is not quite clear: modern dialects point to **àsí*, but RJ has *ási*.

‖ A possible comparison, but the Turkic reflexes are rather sparse and somewhat dubious.

✱**óĺa (~ u-, i̯-)** ford, shallow place: Tung. ***ola-**; Mong. ***(h)olam**; Jpn. ***ásá-**.

PTung. ***ola-** to ford, wade (переходить вброд): Evk. *olo-*; Evn. *olā-*; Neg. *olō-*; Man. *olo-*; Ul. *oni̯-*; Ork. *onno-*; Nan. *ono-*; Orch. *olo-*; Ud. *olo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 15-16. Forms like Evk. *olom* may be < Mong. (see Poppe 1966, 196).

PMong. ***(h)olam** ford (брод): WMong. *olam* (L 609: *olum, oluŋ*); Kh. *olom*; Bur. *olom*; Kalm. *olm*.

◊ KW 285. Mong. > Turk., see ЭСТЯ 1, 452).

PJpn. ***ásá-** shallow (мелкий): OJpn. *asa-*; MJpn. *ásá-*; Tok. *àsa-*; Kyo. *ásà-*; Kag. *ása-*.

◊ JLTT 826.

‖ Poppe 98. TMN 1, 178, Doerfer MT 25, Rozycki 167 consider Mo < TM, which is dubious.

✱**oĺi (~ -e)** chest bone, collar bone: Tung. ***(x)uli-n**; Turk. ***öĺün**.

PTung. ***(x)uli-n** chest, chest bone, collar bone (грудь, грудная кость, ключица): Evk. *ulin*; Evn. *ölken*; Man. *ulxun, ulku*.

◊ TMC 2, 261.

PTurk. ***öĺün** 1 shoulder joint 2 shoulder bone 3 chest 4 collar bone 5 shoulder (1 плечевой сгиб 2 плечевая кость 3 грудь 4 ключица 5 плечо): OTurk. *öšün* (OUygh.) 'some body part (shoulder joint?)'; Karakh. *öšün* (MK) 1; Uygh. (dial.) *öšni*, *öšne* 5; Tat. (dial.) *üžün* 2; KBalk. *öšün* 3; Shr. *öštü* 5; Oyr. *öžün* 4; Tv. *öžün* 'upper arm'; Tof. *ö'ẋün* 5.

◊ EDT 263, Дыбо 160, Лексика 241-242. Stachowski 201 compares also Yak., Dolg. *öttük* 'hip' (< **öĺün-ik*).

‖ Лексика 241-242. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ŏmu** hip; back part, buttocks: Tung. ***omga**; Mong. ***(h)omu-**; Turk. ***omV-**; Kor. ***òmìnòi**.

PTung. ***omga** upper part of hip; behind (бедро, ляжка; круп): Ul. *ombo / oŋbo*; Ork. *omGo*; Nan. *oŋbo*; Orch. *ombo*.

◊ TMC 2, 5. Cf. also Evk. *omoŋ* 'сало'.

PMong. ***omu-** 1 large intestines 2 North, back side (1 толстые кишки 2 север, задняя сторона): MMong. *umere* (HY 50), *umer-* (SH) 2, *umken* 'stomach' (MA 276); WMong. *umusu* 1, *umara* (L 874) 2; Kh. *ums* 1, *umar* 2; Bur. *omho(n)* 1; *umara* 2; Kalm. *umsn*, *omsn* 1.

◊ KW 286, 449.

PTurk. ***omV-** 1 bone head 2 head of hip bone 3 hip bone, thigh bone 4 clavicle (1 головка кости 2 головка бедренной кости 3 бедренная кость 4 ключица): Tur. *omaža*, *umača*, *uma* 1; Az. *omba* 2; Turkm. *omača* 3; MTurk. *oma*, *omaža* (Pav. C.), (MKypch.) 2, *omaža kemiγi* (At-Tuhf.) 4; Khak. *omıx* 'knee-cap' (dial.).

◊ TMN 2, 132, ЭСТЯ 1, 453.

PKor. ***òmìnòi** buttocks, behind (ягодицы, задница): MKor. *òmìnòi*.

◊ Nam 380.

‖ PTM and PT probably reflect a common derivative **ŏmu-kV*. The meaning 'buttocks' in Mong. gave rise to two widely separated semantic reflexes: a) > 'large intestine'; b) > 'back' > 'North'.

✱**omuŕV** shoulder, collar bone: Mong. ***omur-**; Turk. ***omuŕ**.

PMong. ***omur-** collar bone, clavicle (ключица): MMong. *omori'ut* (SH); WMong. *omuruγu(n)*, *omuruu* (L 611); Kh. *omrū*; Bur. *omoŕū(n)* 'грудина (лошади)'; Kalm. *omrūn* (KPC); Ord. *omorū*, *umurū*; Mongr. *muršdaG* 'pomme d'Adam' (SM 251).

◊ Mong. > Kaz. *omıraw*, Khak. *omirıγ* etc., see ЭСТЯ 1, 453.

PTurk. ***omuŕ** shoulder (плечо): Tur. *omuz*; Turkm. *omuz*; MTurk. *omuz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọmiz*; Krm. *omuz*; KBalk. *omuz*; Kum. *omuz*; Chuv. *ъʷmъʷr*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 453-455, Лексика 240.

‖ Poppe 68, Колесникова 1972a, 93-94, Дыбо 308; Лексика 241. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss, but, despite Щербак 1997, 129, not a loanword in Mong. < Turk.

✱**ǒni** high: Mong. ***öndü-**; Turk. ***ǒn-**; Jpn. ***untu**; Kor. ***un-tu**.

PMong. ***öndü-** 1 high 2 to rise (1 высокий 2 подниматься): MMong. *undur* (HY 52, SH) *undus* 'to stay vertically' (HY 53), *undur* (MA); WMong. *öndür* 1 (L 637), *öndeji-* 2 (L 636: *öndüji-*, *öndeji-*); Kh. *öndör* 1, *öndij-* 2; Bur. *ünder* 1, *ündi-* 2; Kalm. *öndṛ* 1, *öndē-* 2; Ord. *ündür* 1, *öndī-*; Dag. *xundur* 1 (Тод. Дат. 179), *undī-* 2 (Тод. Дат. 171), *hundere* 1 (MD 166); Dong. *undu* 1; Bao. *onder*, under 1; S.-Yugh. *uŋdur*, *oŋdur* 1, *oŋdö-* 2; Mongr. *ndur*, *undur* (SM 264, 472) 1.

◊ KW 296, MGCD 545, TMN 1, 178-179. Initial x- in Dagur is quite enigmatic. Cf. also *önör* 'numerous, populous' (Poppe 69; L 639: *önür*). Also *ondui-*, *onduγar* (KW 286, L 613); *öŋgei-*, *öŋgüi-* 'to overhang, jut or project over' (L 637) (> Man. *eŋgele-* id., see Rozycki 70?). Mong. > Man. *enduri* 'God' etc., see Doerfer MT 81.

PTurk. ***ǒn-** to grow, rise (расти, подниматься): OTurk. *ön-* (*ün-*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *ön-* (*ün-*) (MK); Turkm. *ǒn-*; Khal. *hin-*; MTurk. *ön-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *un-*; Uygh. *ün-*; Kirgh. *ön-*; Kaz. *ön-*; KKalp. *ön-*; SUygh. *ün-*; Tv. *ün-*; Chuv. *ə*^{w}*n-*; Yak. *ǖn-*; Dolg. *ǖn-*.

◊ EDT 169, VEWT 372, ЭСТЯ 1, 530-532, Мудрак Дисс. 77, 137, Егоров 40-41, Clark 1977, 161, Stachowski 255.

PJpn. ***untu** high and respected, precious (высокий, уважаемый, драгоценный): OJpn. *udu*.

◊ JLTT 566.

PKor. ***un-tu** height (of the side of shoes or bowls) (высота): Mod. *undu*.

◊ KED 1244.

‖ Владимирцов 164; Ozawa 57-59; АПиПЯЯ 18, 290. Comparison with Tung. (see АПиПЯЯ) should be abandoned. Ramstedt (SKE 55) compares Kor. *ənč-* (MKor. *jə̀nč-*) 'to put on the top, place above' (?), considering Kor. *undu* to be a mongolism.

✱**ò̀ni (~ -e)** angle: Tung. ***ōn-**; Mong. ***önčüg**.

PTung. ***ōn-** 1 angle, corner 2 to bend 3 bay 4 cross-roads (1 угол 2 гнуть 3 залив 4 развилок, распутье): Evk. *ōnŋān* 1; Evn. *oṇit-* 2; Neg. *onŋi-* 2; Man. *oŋGolo* 4; Ul. *oŋǯo* 3; Ork. *oṇi* 1, *ondo* 3; Nan. *ondo* 3; Orch. *ōŋo* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 19, 21-22.

PMong. ***önčüg** 1 angle 2 back (of axe) (1 угол 2 обух (топора)): WMong. *önčüg* 1 (L 636); Kh. *öncög* 1; Bur. *ünseg* 2; Kalm. *öncəg* 1; Ord. *önčök* 1; Dag. *nōčoko* 1.

◊ KW 296, MGCD 546.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ɔ̀nV (~ ū-)** to fall, lie: Tung. ***ōn-***; Mong. ***una-***.

PTung. ***ōn-*** (to fall) on one's back (падать навзничь, на спину): Evk. *ōŋkān-*; Evn. *ōŋqi̯*; Neg. *ōŋka-pkī*; Man. *ončoχon*; SMan. *ončəhən, ončuhun* (525); Ul. *ōndi̯*; Ork. *ōnɗon*; Nan. *ōnǯi̯*.

◊ TMC 2, 21.

PMong. ***una-*** to fall (падать): MMong. *una-* (MA, SH, LH), on- (IM); WMong. *una-* (L 875); Kh. *una-*; Bur. *una-*; Kalm. *un-*; Ord. *una-*; Mog. *unō-*; Dag. *wana-* (Тод. Даг. 129), *uane-* (MD 229), *uanə-*; Dong. *una-*; Bao. *nā-, na-*; S.-Yugh. *nā-* 'to lie'; Mongr. *unā-* (SM 471).

◊ KW 450, MGCD 674.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Some of the TM forms could have been influenced by reflexes of **i̯òmke* 'to crawl, move' (q.v.). In Mong. cf. also (with a velar suffix) WMong. *oŋqu*, Kalm. *oŋxə* 'head over heels' (KW 287), Khalkha *onxoldo-* 'to fall head over heels'.

✱**ɔ̀ńè (~ *ū-, -o)** shaman, spirit: Tung. ***ūńi-***; Mong. ***oŋgo-n***; Jpn. ***ànì***.

PTung. ***ūńi-*** to shamanize (шаманить): Neg. *ūńi-*; Ork. *ūnǯin-*; Nan. *un-*; Orch. *uńi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 277.

PMong. ***oŋgo-n*** spirit, ancestor spirit (дух, дух предков): MMong. *oŋɣun* (HY 31); WMong. *oŋɣon* (L 614: *oŋɣun*); Kh. *oŋgon*; Bur. *oŋgo(n)*; Kalm. *oŋɣən*; Ord. *oŋGon, uŋGun*; Dag. *oŋgore* (MD 202); S.-Yugh. *oŋgo*.

◊ KW 287, MGCD 528, TMN 1, 179-181.

PJpn. ***ànì*** devil (черт): OJpn. *oni*; MJpn. *ònì*; Tok. *oní*; Kyo. *ónì*; Kag. *oní*.

◊ JLTT 506.

‖ ? Cf. OT *oŋužin* 'a k. of devil'; TM **ogiaŋä* 'evil spirit' (+ Orok *oŋdo* id.; < Mong.?).

✱**óŋdu** a k. of small wild animal: Tung. ***oŋda***; Turk. ***utɨ́ŕ***; Jpn. ***uni***; Kor. ***ɔ̀ńǎŕí***.

PTung. ***oŋda*** 1 wolverine 2 seal (1 росомаха 2 нерпа): Man. *oŋniqa* 1; Ul. *oŋdo* 1; Ork. *onnori̯* 2; Nan. *oŋdo* 1; Ud. *oŋdo* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 20, 21.

PTurk. ***utɨ́ŕ*** otter (выдра): Chuv. *ъʷdъʷr*; Yak. *ɨtɨ́ɨ*.

◊ Мудрак Дисс. 145. See under **Kạma* a discussion of other possible traces of this root.

PJpn. ***uni*** sea urchin (морской еж): Tok. *úni*; Kyo. *únì*; Kag. *uní*.

◊ JLTT 563 (original accent unclear).

PKor. ***ɔ̀ńǎŕí*** badger (барсук): MKor. *ɔ̀ńǎŕí*; Mod. *osori*.

◊ Nam 381, KED 1201.

‖ An alternative match for PT could be Evk. *hatala* 'beaver' (TMC 1, 384).

✱**òŋè** exterior, front: Mong. ***öŋge***; Turk. ***öŋ / *oŋ***; Jpn. ***àmà***.

PMong. ***öŋge*** exterior, colour (внешняя сторона, цвет): MMong. *uaŋgo* (= *oŋgo*) (HY 42), *əngin* (IM), *unke* (MA); WMong. *öŋge(n)* (L 637); Kh. *öŋgö*; Bur. *üŋge*; Kalm. *öŋgə*; Ord. *öngö*; Dag. *unguи* (Тод. Даг. 171); Dong. *ungie*; S.-Yugh. *öŋgö*; Mongr. *ngo* (SM 293).

◊ KW 297, MGCD 469, 545.

PTurk. ***öŋ / *oŋ*** 1 front, East 2 exterior, color, face (1 перед, восток 2 внешняя сторона, цвет, лицо): OTurk. *öŋ* 1, 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *öŋ* 1, 2 (MK); Tur. *öŋ* 1; Gag. *jön* 1; Az. *öŋ* 1; Turkm. *öŋ* 1; Khal. *eŋ*; MTurk. *öŋ* (Abush.) 1, (Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *ọŋ* 1; Uygh. *öŋ* 1, 2; Krm. *öŋ* 1; Tat. *иŋ* 1; Bashk. *иŋ* 1; Kirgh. *öŋ* 2; Kaz. *оŋ* 1, *öŋ* 2; KKalp. *öŋ* 1, 2; Kum. *оŋ* 1; Nogh. *öŋ* 1; Khak. *öŋ* 1, 2; Oyr. *öŋ* 1, 2; Tv. *оŋ* 'shape', *öŋ* 2; Chuv. *um* 'breast' (if different from *om* 'front', q.v. sub *āl*); Yak. *öŋ* 'inside of clothes', 2.

◊ EDT 167-168, VEWT 362, 372, ЭСТЯ 1, 532-535, Stachowski 199-200, Ашм. III, 232. The words for 'front' and 'colour, face' are usually treated as different roots (e.g. in EDT, ЭСТЯ), but it is hardly possible to separate them phonetically (the variants **oŋ* and **öŋ* do not seem to be semantically distributed); the semantic shifts (*'front' > 'face' > 'colour') are quite natural.

PJpn. ***àmà*** exterior, surface, face (внешняя сторона, поверхность, лицо): OJpn. *om(w)o*; MJpn. *òmò-tè*; Tok. *omoté*; Kyo. *ómòtè*; Kag. *omoté*.

◊ JLTT 506.

‖ EAS 154, Poppe 107 (Turk.-Mong.). Щербак 1997, 131 treats the Mong. word as borrowed from Turk., which is hardly the case. In the Turk.-Mong. area the root could have interacted with **ànọ* 'right' (sometimes also acquiring the meaning 'front') q.v.; note also the common Mong. derivative *eŋge-sge* 'rouge, red paint' (< 'face skin').

✱**òŋi(čV)** windpipe, part of neck: Tung. ***uŋ-se, *uŋnu-***; Mong. ***öŋgül-***; Turk. ***öŋüč***; Jpn. ***ùnà(-nsi)***.

PTung. ***uŋ-se, *uŋnu-*** 1 palate 2 sinew in deer's neck 3 aorta, breast bone 4 Adam's apple, craw 5 region under the shoulderblade (1 небо 2 жила в шее оленя 3 аорта, выемка у грудной кости 4 кадык, зоб 5 место под лопаткой): Evk. *uŋrēn* 2, *unŋun* 1; Evn. *önŋъlъk*, *uŋne* 3; Neg. *ūŋele* 4; Ork. *uŋele* 5.

◊ TMC 2, 275, 30, 279, 280, Дыбо 138-139.

PMong. ***(h)öŋgül-*** hollow under Adam's apple (ямка под кадыком): WMong. *öŋgölegür* (L 638: *öŋgelegür*); Kh. *öŋgölūr*, *öŋgölʒūr*; Kalm. *öŋgəlūr*, *öŋgllūr*, *üŋgəlūr*.

◊ KW 297.

PTurk. ***öŋüč*** larynx, windpipe (гортань, дыхательное горло): OTurk. *öŋüč* (OUygh.); MTurk. *öŋü-lük* 'нагрудное украшение' (R); Uzb. *ɔŋgač*; Uygh. *öŋgäč*; Tat. *üŋäč*; Bashk. *üŋäs*; Kirgh. *öŋöč*; Kaz. *öŋeš*;

KKalp. *öŋeš*; Khak. *ögös*; Shr. *ŏs* 'грудная клетка'; Oyr. *öč*, *diL.* *ŏč* (Leb.); Tv. *ŏš*; Yak. *öŋüs*, *üŋüs*.

◊ VEWT 373, EDT 172, ЭСТЯ 1, 536, *Лексика* 233.

PJpn. ***ùnà(-nsi)*** back of head, nape (затылок, задняя часть головы): OJpn. *una*, *unazi*; MJpn. *ùnàzì*; Tok. *ùnaji*; Kyo. *únájí*; Kag. *unají*.

◊ JLTT 563.

‖ KW 297, *Лексика* 233.

✱**ŏŋke** (abundant) food, pasture: Tung. ***oŋka***; Mong. ***(h)öŋ***; Jpn. ***ə́nkə́-r-***.

PTung. ***oŋka*** pasture, grass food (пастбище, подножный корм): Evk. *oŋko*; Evn. *oŋqo*; Neg. *oŋko*; Man. *oŋqo*; Ul. *oŋqo*; Ork. *oqqo*; Nan. *oŋqo-*; Orch. *oŋko-* 'to graze'; Ud. *oŋkosi-* 'to graze'.

◊ TMC 2, 21. Evk. > Dolg. *oŋko* (see Stachowski 194).

PMong. ***(h)öŋ*** abundant, plentiful (season, place) (обильный, богатый (сезон, место)): WMong. *öŋ* (L 637); Kh. *ön(g)*; Kalm. *öŋ*.

◊ KW 297. Yak. *öŋ*, Kirgh. *üŋgü*, Kaz. *öŋköj* are rather borrowed < Mong. than related, despite VEWT 373.

PJpn. ***ənkə́-r-*** to live abundantly (жить в роскоши, изобилии): OJpn. *ogor-*; MJpn. *ógór-*; Tok. *ògor-*; Kyo. *ógór-*; Kag. *ogór-*.

◊ JLTT 740.

‖ Jpn. *ógór-* 'be arrogant' = Mong. *oŋgira-* (a variant of the same root?).

✱**oŋne** same, self; lonely: Mong. ***önü-***; Turk. ***öŋ***; Jpn. ***ənə***.

PMong. ***önü-*** 1 that (very), the same 2 orphan (1 тот самый 2 сирота): MMong. *onočit*, *onečit* 'Waisen(kinder)' (SH 124, 125), *önečin* 2 (MA 215); WMong. *önüki* 1, *önüčin* 2 (L 639); Kh. *önŏx* 1, *önčin* 2; Bur. *ünŏxi* 1, *ünšen* 2; Kalm. *önčŋ* 2 (KPC); Ord. *önöčin* 2; Dag. *unčun* 2 (Тод. Дат. 171 *unčin*); Dong. *oniečin* 2 (Тод. Дн.); S.-Yugh. *önčin* 2; Mongr. *noćin* (SM 284), *unčin* (Huzu) 2.

◊ MGCD 546. Mong. > Man. *unučun*, see Doerfer MT 138, Rozycki 219.

PTurk. ***öŋ*** desolate, uninhabited (пустынный, необитаемый): OTurk. *öŋ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Uygh. *oŋčɛ* 'одинокий, уединенный'.

◊ EDT 168.

PJpn. ***ənə*** 1 self 2 the same (1 сам 2 одинаковый, такой же): OJpn. *ono*, *ono-re* 1, *onazi* 2; MJpn. *ónó-rè* 1, *ònàzí* 2; Tok. *ònore* 1, *ònaji* 2; Kyo. *ónóré* 1, *ònàjí* 2; Kag. *onoré* 1, *onají* 2.

◊ JLTT 506, 507. The original accentuation is not quite clear; it may point to a confusion of different original roots (cf. OJ *ojazi* 'the same', for which the accent is unfortunately not attested).

‖ Ozawa 62-63. The original meaning should be probably reconstructed as "self", with a further development > "lonely" (Mong. "or-

phan"), typologically a frequent case (cf. Polish sam - samotny etc.), whence Old Turkic "desolate, deserted".

✱**ŏp'à** to drink, inhale: Mong. ***uw(u)-**; Turk. ***ōp-**; Jpn. ***apa-ik-**.

PMong. ***uw(u)-** to drink (пить): MMong. *u-* (IM, MA), *ū-*, *u'u-* (SH), *au-* (LH); WMong. *u-*, *uu-* (L 864: *uu-*, *aɣ'u-*, *uuɣu-*); Kh. *ū-*; Bur. *ū-*; Kalm. *ū-*; Ord. *ū-* 'to drink, to smoke'; Dag. *ō-* (Тод. Даг. 159, MD 201); Dong. *o-*; Bao. *ū-*, *ō-*, *u-*; S.-Yugh. *ū-*; Mongr. *ụ̄-* (SM 462), *u-*, *ōći-* 'boire, prendre (repas du midi)' (SM 299).

◊ KW 454, MGCD 664, 665.

PTurk. ***ōp-** to suck, swallow (сосать, глотать): OTurk. *op-* (Orkh.); Karakh. *op-* (MK); Krm. *op-*; Tat. *up-*; Bashk. *up-*; Kaz. *op-*; Nogh. *op-*; Oyr. *op-*; Yak. *uop-*; Dolg. *uobu* 'Bissen, Happen'.

◊ EDT 4, VEWT 363, ЭСТЯ 1, 464-465, Stachowski 243.

PJpn. ***apa-ik-** to breathe heavily, gasp, pant (тяжело дышать, задыхаться): OJpn. *apek-*; MJpn. *áfék-*; Tok. *aég-*; Kyo. *áég-*; Kag. *àèg-*.

◊ JLTT 674. A compound with *-ik-* 'breathe'. Accent is difficult to reconstruct: RJ has high tone, but modern dialects point rather to low.

‖ EAS 78, Владимирцов 211. An expressive root. Cf. also Turk. **öp-* 'to kiss' (ЭСТЯ 1, 539); Mong. **aɣa-ki-la-* (L 25 *akila-*, Khalkha *āxila-*) 'to gasp for breath, pant'; Evn. *ābu-* 'to kiss' (TMC 1, 6).

✱**op'á(rV)** to wear out, be wasted, have a bad appearance: Tung. ***(x)upara-**; Mong. ***(h)obur**; Turk. ***op-ra-**; Jpn. ***ampu-**.

PTung. ***(x)upara-** to neglect, mistake (ошибаться, упускать из виду): Man. *ufara-*; SMan. *ufarə-* (1761).

◊ TMC 2, 295. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***(h)obur** (bad) appearance, arrogance ((плохой) внешний вид): WMong. *obur*; *oburda-* 'to be arrogant' (L 599); Kh. *ovor* 'appearance', *ovorži-* 'to look as an old man'; Bur. *obor* 'bad, uncomely'; Kalm. *owr* 'appearance'; Ord. *owor*.

◊ KW 292.

PTurk. ***op-ra-** to wear out (intr.), decay (изнашиваться, стареть): OTurk. *apra-* 1 (OUygh. ?); Karakh. *opra-* 1 (MK, KB); MTurk. *opra-/opran-*, *ofra-/ofran* 1 (Sangl.).

◊ VEWT 515, EDT 14.

PJpn. ***ampu-** 1 to waste, discard, throw away 2 to suffer a loss, roam in a wasted state (1 выкидывать, выбрасывать 2 терпеть неудачу, потерянно бродить): OJpn. *abu-s-* 1; MJpn. *abura-* 2; Tok. *aburé-* 2; Kyo. *ábúré-* 2; Kag. *aburé-* 2.

◊ The accent is difficult to reconstruct. The attestations of *abu-ra-* in OJ and MJ (RJ *ábúra-*) appear to mean 'to overflow' and probably represent a different root.

‖ Cf. **apo*, **ebi*.

✱**ŏp´ìkV** lung(s): Tung. ***upVkte**; Mong. ***owuski ~ *awuski**; Turk. ***öpke**; Jpn. ***pùkùpùkùsi**; Kor. ***púhóa**.

PTung. ***upVkte** 1 lung(s) 2 down, light feather(s) 3 spleen (1 легкие 2 пух, легкие перья 3 селезенка): Evn. *öbdъ* 3; Man. *ufuxu* 1; SMan. *ufuxu* 1 (85); Ul. *upte* 2; Ork. *upukte* 2; Nan. *upulte* 2, *upke* 3 (Kur-Urm.); Orch. *upukte* 2; Ud. *ofokto* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 29, 281.

PMong. ***owuski ~ *awuski** lungs (легкие): MMong. *a'ušigi* (SH); WMong. *ouski, aγuski* (L 18: *aγušgi(n)*); Kh. *ūšgi(n), ūšig*; Kalm. *ōškə*; Dag. *aurḱ*; Bao. *ośgi*; S.-Yugh. *ūšigən*; Mongr. *ōsgu*.

◊ KW 292, MGCD 664.

PTurk. ***öpke** lung; anger (легкое; гнев): OTurk. *öpke* (OUygh.); Karakh. *öpke* (MK, IM), *öfke* (KB); Tur. *öfke* 'anger', *öjken* 'lung' (*inter-dial.*? Türki?); Gag. *üfke*; Az. *öxbä* (dial. Nuxa); Turkm. *öjken*; Sal. *öhhen* (ССЯ); Khal. *hikkä*; MTurk. *öpke, öfke* (Sangl.); Uzb. *ọpka*; Uygh. *öpkä*; Krm. *öpke*; Tat. *üpkä*; Bashk. *üpkä*; Kirgh. *öpkö*; Kaz. *ökpä*; KBalk. *öpke*; KKalp. *ökpä*; Kum. *öpke*; Nogh. *öpke*; SUygh. *ökpe*; Khak. *ökpe*; Shr. *ökpe*; Oyr. *ökpö*; Tv. *ökpe* (*ö'kpe* - Бичелдей 2001); Tof. *ö'kpe*; Chuv. *öpke* (NW), *üpke*.

◊ VEWT 373, EDT 9, ЭСТЯ 1, 540-541, Лексика 276-277.

PJpn. ***pùkùpùkùsi** lung(s) (легкие): OJpn. *pukupukusi*; MJpn. *fùkùfùkùsi*.

PKor. ***púhóa** lung (легкое): MKor. *púhóa*; Mod. *pua*.

◊ Nam 266, KED 817.

‖ Дыбо 5, Лексика 277.

✱**op´V** powder: Tung. ***upa**; Mong. ***(h)ow**; Turk. ***opa**.

PTung. ***upa** flour (мука): Neg. *opa*; Man. *ufa*; SMan. *ufā* (294); Jurch. *wu-fa* (531); Ul. *upa*; Ork. *upa*; Nan. *opa*; Orch. *upa*; Ud. *ufa*; Sol. *ųγõ, uon* 'bread'.

◊ TMC 2, 247.

PMong. ***(h)ow** white lead, powder (белый свинец, порошок): WMong. *ou* (L 625); Kh. *ō*; Kalm. *ō*; Ord. *ō*.

◊ KW 292, TMN 1, 182.

PTurk. ***opa** white powder, white lead (белый порошок, свинцовые белила): OTurk. *opo* (OUygh.); Karakh. *opo* (MK); MTurk. *opa* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *upa*; Uygh. *upa*; Kirgh. *upa*; Kaz. *opa*; KKalp. *opa*; Shr. *oba*; Oyr. *obo*.

◊ VEWT 363, EDT 6, ЭСТЯ 1, 465-466.

‖ EAS 90, Владимирцов 210. A Western isogloss. Despite TMN 1, 182, Doerfer MT 142, Rozycki 215-216 not borrowed in Mong. from Turk. or in TM from Mong.

✱**ǒp´V** hill, heap of stones: Mong. ***obuɣa***; Turk. ***ōpuŕ***.

PMong. ***obuɣa*** heap, heap of stones, grave hill (куча, куча камней, могильный холм): MMong. *obo'o* (SH, HY 4); WMong. *obuɣa(n)* (L 598); Kh. *ovō*; Bur. *obō*; Kalm. *owā*; Ord. *owō*; Dag. *obō* (Тод. Даг. 159, MD 201); S.-Yugh. *owō*; Mongr. *ōbō* (SM 296).

◊ KW 291, MGCD 523, TMN 1, 153-155. Mong. > Koman *oba*, Oyr. *obō* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 398-400), TMN 1, 154-155, 2, 132, Щербак 1997, 207; Evk. *oba* etc., TMN 1, 156, Doerfer MT 103, Rozycki 165.

PTurk. ***ōpuŕ*** rough, uneven ground (возвышение, неровность почвы): Karakh. *opuz* (MK); Tur. *obuz*; Turkm. *ōbur* 'precipice'.

◊ EDT 17. Cf. also Chuv. *juba* 'pillar' (in particular, 'grave pillar') - unlike other forms like Khak. *obā*, hardly borrowed from Mong. *obuɣa*.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 199; Лексика 323. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**ǒp´V** clan, family: Mong. ***obug***; Turk. ***ōpa***.

PMong. ***obug*** clan, family (род, семья): MMong. *obox* (SH); WMong. *obuɣ* (L 598); Kh. *ovog*; Bur. *obog*; Kalm. *obug* (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***ōpa*** village, clan (деревня, род): Karakh. *oba* (MK Oghuz); Turkm. *ōba*; MTurk. *oba*.

◊ EDT 5, ЭСТЯ 1, 400-401.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss - but hardly borrowed in Mong. < Turk., despite TMN 2, 133.

✱**ǒre** to plait, weave: Mong. ***ör-***; Turk. ***ǒ̄r-***; Jpn. ***ǒ́r-***; Kor. ***ōr***.

PMong. ***ör-*** 1 soft woollen cloth 2 to plait (1 мягкая шерстяная ткань 2 плести): MMong. *ormege* (SH) 1, *öre-* 2 (MA); WMong. *örmöge, ermüge* 1 (L 331); Kh. *örmög*; Bur. *ürmege* 'mat'; Kalm. *örməG* 1; *örmēčі* 'weaver'; Ord. *örmögö*; Mongr. *merge* 'espèce de tissu grossier fait de poils ou de laine' (SM 236).

◊ KW 300.

PTurk. ***ǒ̄r-*** to plait (плести): Karakh. *ör-* (MK); Tur. *ör-*; Gag. *jör-*; Az. *hör-*; Turkm. *ǒ̄r-*; Khal. *hiri-*; MTurk. *ör-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọr-*; Uygh. *ö(r)-*; Krm. *ör-*; Tat. *ür-*; Bashk. *ür-*; Kirgh. *ör-*; Kaz. *ör-*; KKalp. *ör-*; Nogh. *ör-*; Khak. *ür-*; Oyr. *ör-*; Chuv. *var* 'best sort of flax'; Yak. *ör-*; *örǖ* 'plaiting'; Dolg. *örǖ* 'plait'.

◊ EDT 195, VEWT 374, 375, ЭСТЯ 1, 544-546, Лексика 394, Stachowski 200. Cf. also **örken* 'smth. plaited', **ör-mek* 'Stoff aus Kamelhaar, Spinngewebe' (cf. also Yak. *örböx* 'тряпка'). Turk. **ör-čüg* > Hung. *orsó* 'spindle', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***ǒ́r-*** to weave (ткать): OJpn. or-; MJpn. *ór-*; Tok. *ór-*; Kyo. *òr-*; Kag. *òr-*.

◊ JLTT 742. For accent cf. RJ *ór-* (modern dialects have merged phonetically *ór-ù* 'to weave' and *wòr-ù* 'to bend', which are well distinguished in early sources).

PKor. ***ōr*** strands of rope (пряди веревки): MKor. *ōr*; Mod. *ōl*.

◊ Liu 579, KED 1207.

‖ Poppe 110 (Turk.-Mong.). Mong. **ör-mege* may be < Turk. (cf. TMN 2, 47, Щербак 1997, 197), but may also reflect a common Turk.-Mong. derivative. The Turk. form can be alternatively compared with TM **poro-*, **pori-* 'turn round, spin', Mong. *hor-či-* id. (see **p'i̯áru*), but the Turk.-Mong.-Jpn. comparison seems closer semantically.

✱**ȍr(e)kV** to be frightened, startled: Tung. ***(x)ūrkan-**; Mong. ***ürgü-**; Turk. ***ürk-**; Jpn. ***ə̀ntə̀rə̀k-**.

PTung. ***(x)ūrkan-** to lose consciousness, be knocked out (терять сознание, быть оглушенным): Evk. *ūrkan-*; Evn. *ụ̄rqъn-*; Neg. *ojkan-*; Ud. *ukana-*.

◊ TMC 2, 286.

PMong. ***ürgü-** to be afraid, frightened (бояться, пугаться): MMong. *urgu-* (SH), *orgo-* (IM), *urgu-* (MA); WMong. *ürgü-*; Kh. *ürgü-*, *ürge-*; Bur. *ürge-*; Kalm. *ürgə-*; Ord. *ürgü-*; Dag. *xurgi-*; Bao. *hergə*; Mongr. *furgudi-*, *xargudi-* (SM 110, 162).

◊ KW 459, MGCD 696. Mong. > Man. *urxu-* (TMC 2, 286). Initial x- in Dagur is not quite clear and may reflect a merger with a different root; MMong. forms clearly have 0- (Poppe 1983, 115 cites *hürgü-*, but the source is unknown),

PTurk. ***ürk-** to be afraid (бояться): OTurk. *ürk-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ürk-* (MK); Tur. *ürk-*; Gag. *jürük-*; Az. *ürk-*; Turkm. *ürk-*; Khal. *hirk-*; MTurk. *ürk-* (Pav. C.), *ürük-* (AH); Uzb. *hürk-*; Uygh. *ürkü-*; Krm. *ürk-*; Tat. *ŭrk-*; Bashk. *ŭrk-*; Kirgh. *ürk-*; Kaz. *ürkĭ-*; KBalk. *ürk-*; KKalp. *ürk-*; Kum. *ürk-*; Nogh. *ürk-*; SUygh. *örk-*; Khak. *ürük-*; Oyr. *ürkü-*; Yak. *ürg-üt-* 'to frighten'; Dolg. *ürg-üt-* 'to frighten'.

◊ EDT 221, VEWT 522, ЭСТЯ 1, 635-637, Stachowski 253.

PJpn. ***ə̀ntə̀rə̀k-** to be startled, horror-struck (пугаться): OJpn. *od(w)or(w)ok-*; MJpn. *ò̀dò̀rò̀k-*; Tok. *odorók-*; Kyo. *ódórók-*; Kag. *odorók-*.

◊ JLTT 740. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ EAS 122, Poppe 80, 83, 111. Mong. may be < Turk., see Щербак 1997, 162. There is also a possibility of confusion of this root with **p'i̯uri* q.v. - in Turkic their reflexes could have merged, and in Mong. some dialects (cf. the Dagur form) may reflect **hürgü-*.

✱**ő̀ri (~ -e)** to cover: Tung. ***ura- / *ur-ke**; Mong. ***örü-**; Turk. ***ört-**; Kor. ***ò̀rái**.

PTung. ***ura- / *ur-ke** 1 become covered by top (of milk) 2 (milk) top, cream 3 door (1 подергиваться пенкой (о молоке) 2 пенки, сливки 3 дверь): Evk. *urke* 3; Evn. *urkъ* 3; Neg. *ujke* 3; Man. *oro-* 1, *oroqu* 2, *učе* 3; SMan. *učī* 3 (451); Ul. *učе* 3; Ork. *ute* 3; Nan. *ujke* 3; Orch. *ukke* 3; Ud. *uke* 3; Sol. *ukke*, *urke* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 286, 288.

PMong. ***örü-** 1 top of milk 2 cover of roof-window (1 сливки 2 покрышка дымохода в юрте): MMong. *eruge*, *oruge* 2 (SH), *uremä* 1, *uruke*

2 (MA 329, 278); WMong. *örüme* 1 (L 644), *erüke, örke* 2 (L 332); Kh. *öröm* 1, *örx(ön)* 2; Bur. *ürme(n)* 1, *ürxe* 2; Kalm. *örṃ* 1, *örkə* 2; Ord. *örmö* 1, *öröχö* 2; Dag. *urum* 1 (Тод. Дат. 171), *urume* ' a k. of cheese' (MD 233); S.-Yugh. *öröm* 1; Mongr. *jermen* (SM 492), *rmēn* 1.

◊ KW 299, 300, MGCD 549. Mong. *örüme* > Man. *oromo*, Evk. *urumu* (Doerfer MT 103), Yak. *örümä; örüke* > Oyr. *örökö* etc. (see Лексика 517); > Sol. *örxő* (TMC 2, 286), see Doerfer MT 21 (but hardly > PTM **urke* 'door' which seems rather to be a genuine cognate).

PTurk. ***ört-** to cover (покрывать): OTurk. *ört-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ört-* (MK); Tur. *ört-*; Gag. *jört-*; Az. *ört-*; Turkm. *ört-*; Sal. *öxt-*; MTurk. *ört-* (AH), *örüt-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ört-* (dial.); Krm. *ört-*; Chuv. *vit-*.

◊ EDT 202, VEWT 375, ЭСТЯ 1, 551-552, Егоров 55, Федотов 127. The suffixless root **ör-* may be found (see ЭСТЯ ibid.) in Chag. *ör-* 'be covered' (Abush.); cf. also Tur. dial. *örek* 'blanket, covering'.

PKor. ***òrái** door, gate (дверь, ворота): MKor. *òrái*; Mod. *orä* (arch.).

◊ Nam 380, KED 1198.

‖ Lee 1958, 118 (TM-Kor.), Константинова 1972, 240-241, TMC 2, 288, Rozycki 215.

***ŏri (~ -e)** to dig: Tung. ***urī-**; Mong. ***örüm**; Turk. ***or-**.

PTung. ***urī-** to scoop, dig out (черпать, вытаскивать): Evk. *urī-*; Evn. *uri-*; Neg. *ojị-*; Man. *wara-*; Ork. *uri-*; Nan. *oriči-; orị* 'scoop'; Ud. *ui-*; Sol. *orū-*.

◊ TMC 2, 23, 284.

PMong. ***örüm** drill, gimlet (сверло, бурав): MMong. *jorəm* (IM); WMong. *örüm* (L 644); Kh. *öröm*; Bur. *ürem*; Kalm. *örṃ*; Ord. *ürüm, öröm*; S.-Yugh. *urəm*; Mongr. *urəm*.

◊ KW 300, MGCD 549. Mong. probably > Man. *eruwen* 'drill, auger' (Rozycki 72).

PTurk. ***or-** 1 to dig 2 hole, pit 3 to tear out, drag out (1 копать 2 дыра, яма 3 вырывать, вытаскивать): Karakh. *oru* 2 (MK); Turkm. *or-* 1, *or* 2; Chuv. *var* 2; Yak. *orō-* 3; Dolg. *orō-* 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 466-468, TMN 2, 144, Stachowski 196. Turk. > Kalm. *ur* 'hole, pit'. The Chuv. form may point to a variant **ŏr* (?).

‖ A Western isogloss.

***óru** to cry, shout: Tung. ***or-**; Mong. ***ori- / *uri-**; Turk. ***ori**; Jpn. ***úru-tápa-**.

PTung. ***or-** 1 roaring (of a tiger) 2 echo 3 to sound, resound 4 to rave 5 to shout 6 to roar (of a bear) 7 shout (of an aurochs) 8 to call (1 рев (тигра) 2 эхо 3 звучать, отдаваться (об эхе) 4 бредить 5 кричать 6 реветь (о медведе) 7 крик (изюбра) 8 звать): Evk. *orê-* 5, 6, 7; Man. *or* 1, *ori-* 4, *ura-* 3; Nan. *oral* 2, *oriqo* 7; Sol. *oŕê-*.

◊ TMC 2, 23.

PMong. ***ori- / *uri-** to shout, call (кричать, звать): MMong. *uri* 'to call' (HY 34), *uri-* 'to invite' (MA); WMong. *orila-, uri-* (L 619, 881); Kh. *orilo-; uri-* 'to invite'; Bur. *oril-* 'to weep', *oriloldō(n)* 'shouting, howling';

Ord. *uri-* 'to invite'; Dag. *ori-* (Тод. Дат. 160, MD 203); Bao. *ure-* 'to invite, call' (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *uri-* (SM 476).

PTurk. ***ori*** 1 shout, outcry 2 to make a noise, shout 3 to shout together (1 крик, выкрик 2 шуметь, кричать 3 кричать вместе): OTurk. *orla-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *orï* 1, *orlaš-* 3 (MK); MTurk. *orï* (IM); Khak. *orlas-* 3; Oyr. *orla-* 'to moo', *orlas-* 3.

◊ EDT 197, 230.

PJpn. ***úru-tápa-*** to complain, sue (жаловаться): OJpn. *urutapa-*; MJpn. *uttáf-*; Tok. *ùttae-*, *uttaé-*; Kyo. *úttáe-*; Kag. *ùttàè-*.

◊ JLTT 781. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ МССНЯ 345 (Mong.-Tung.). An expressive root. Mong. may be < Turk. Cf. also notes to **úlo*.

✱**ŏrù** inner side: Tung. ***(x)urī-**; Mong. ***oro-**; Turk. ***or-**; Jpn. ***ùrà**.

PTung. ***(x)urī-*** station, dwelling place (стойбище, жилище): Evk. *urī-kīt*; Evn. *örikit*; Sol. *urīlẽ*.

◊ TMC 2, 285. Cf. perhaps also TM **ura* 'behind, buttocks' (< 'back part'), see TMC 2, 282.

PMong. ***oro-*** to enter (входить): MMong. *oro-* (HY 36, SH), *ur-* (IM), *wora-* (Lig.VMI), *ur-* (MA); WMong. *oro-* (L 620: *oru-*); Kh. *oro-*; Bur. *oro-*; Kalm. or-; Ord. *oro-*; Mog. *эru-* (Weiers); Dag. *war(a)-* (Тод. Дат. 129), *ore-*, *uare-* (MD 202, 230) *warə-*; Dong. *oro-*; Bao. *orə-*; S.-Yugh. *orō-*; Mongr. *uro-* (SM 477).

◊ KW 288-289, MGCD 532. Cf. also Mong. *urača* 'hut' (> Turk. *orača*, Yak. *uraha*, see Лексика 501).

PTurk. ***or-*** 1 place 2 palace 3 lair, den 4 middle 5 place of staying (of the army, ruler etc.) 6 army (1 место 2 дворец 3 берлога, логово 4 середина 5 место стоянки (армии, правителя) 6 армия): OTurk. *orun* 1 (OUygh.), *ordu* 2, 5, *ortu* 4 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *orun* 1, *ordu* 2, 3, *otra* ~ *ortu* (MK) 5; Tur. *orun* 1, *ordu* 6, *orta* 4; Gag. *orta* 4; Az. *ordu* 6, *orta* 4; Turkm. *orun* 1, *orta* 4, *orda* 6; MTurk. *orun* 1, *ordu*, *orda* 5, *orta* 4 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̧rin* 1, *o̧rda* 5, *o̧rta* 4; Uygh. *orun* 1, *o(r)da* 5, *orta* 4; Krm. *orun* 1, *ordu* 6, *orta* 4; Tat. *urïn* 1, *urda* 5, *urta* 4; Bashk. *urïn* 1, *urda* 5, *urta* 4; Kirgh. *orun* 1, *ordo* 5, *orto* 4; Kaz. *orïn* 1, *orda* 4, 5, *orta* 4; KBalk. *orun* 1, *orta* 4; KKalp. *orïn* 1, *orda* 5, *orta* 4; Kum. *orun* 1, *orda* 5, 6, *orta* 4; Nogh. *orïn* 1, *orda* 5, *orta* 4; SUygh. *orïn* 1, *orta*, *orto*, *otra* 4; Khak. *orïn* 1, *orda* 5, *ortï* 4; Oyr. *orïn* 1, *ordo* 5, *orto* 4; Tv. *orun* 1, *ortu* 4; Chuv. *vĭrăn* 1, *văda* 4; Yak. *ordū* 1, 3, 5, *oron* 1, *orto* 4; Dolg. *onnu* 1.

◊ EDT 203-204, 233, VEWT 364, 365, TMN 2, 141, ЭСТЯ 1, 470-472, 474-479, Лексика 495, 563, 569, Stachowski 193, 196. Turkic is the source of Mong. *oron* 'place', *ordo(n)* 'palace' (cf. TMN 1, 164-165, 2, 38-39, Щербак 1997, 130), whence Man. *oron* etc., see Doerfer MT 116. The PT **ordu* 'place of staying' may need to be separated from other forms here: it contains a very untypical *-rd- cluster (as opposed to **or-tu* 'middle') and may reflect

an ancient borrowing from some unknown source. Cf. in that respect WMong. *örte-* 'to change post horses', *örtegen* 'postal relay station', also somewhat obscure in origin.

PJpn. ***ùrà*** inside; back side (внутренняя сторона; задняя сторона, изнанка): OJpn. *ura*; MJpn. *ùrà*; Tok. *urá*; Kyo. *úrà*; Kag. *urá*.

◊ JLTT 563.

‖ Murayama 1962, 110 (Jpn.-TM). Cf. **ōŕi* (the two roots are liable to mergers).

✱**orusi** river, to flow: Mong. ***urus-**; Turk. ***örs, *örsen**.

PMong. ***urus-*** to flow (течь): MMong. *oros-* (LH); WMong. *urus-* (L 886); Kh. *ursə-*; Bur. *urda-*; Kalm. *ursə-* (KPC); Ord. *urus-*; Dag. *orsu-*, (Тод. Дат. 160), *orese-* (MD 203), *orso-*; Dong. *usuru-*, *urusu-*; S.-Yugh. *urus-*, *urusu-*, *usuru-*; Mongr. *urosə-* (SM 478).

◊ MGCD 296, 681.

PTurk. ***örs, *örsen*** 1 river, river bed 2 to flow (1 река, русло реки 2 течь): Karakh. *özen* (AH) 1; Az. *öz-* 2; Turkm. *özen* 1; Chuv. *vazan* 1; Yak. *örüs* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 510-511.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Phonetically a good match would be Jpn. **úrúsí* 'lacquer' (< *'liquid'?), but semantics raises doubts. Poppe 102 compares **urus-* with Evk. *urigden* 'backwater' - the same comparison see in ОСНЯ 1, 240-241. Cf. also Yak. *ürex*, Dolg. *ürek* 'river' (Stachowski 253) - suggesting that *-si might be an original suffix.

✱**orV** deer, antelope: Tung. ***oran**; Mong. ***(h)oroŋgo**; Turk. ***orga**.

PTung. ***oran*** reindeer (олень): Evk. *oron*; Evn. *orṵn*; Neg. *ojon*; Man. *oron*; Ul. *oro(n)*; Nan. *orõ*; Orch. *oro*; Ud. *oro*.

◊ TMC 2, 24-25.

PMong. ***(h)oroŋgo*** a k. of antelope (вид антилопы): WMong. *oroŋɣu* (L 623: *oruŋɣu*); Kh. *oroŋgo*; Bur. *oroŋgo*; Kalm. *orŋgə* 'rhinoceros' (KPC 403); Ord. *oroŋgo*.

PTurk. ***orga*** female or young maral (самка или детеныш марала): Tat. *oryacaq* (Sib.); Khak. *oryа*, *oryača* (Kyz.); Shr. *oryа*.

◊ Борг. 629.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ŏrV** to mow, hay: Tung. ***orā-kta**; Turk. ***or-**.

PTung. ***orā-kta*** grass (dry), hay (сухая трава, сено): Evk. *orokto*, *orōkto*; Evn. *orāt*; Neg. *ojokto*; Man. *orχo*; SMan. *orəhə* 'grass' (2130); Jurch. *or-ɣo* (116); Ul. *orχoqta*; Ork. *oroqto*; Nan. *oroqta*; Orch. *ōkto*; Ud. *ōkto*; Sol. *orōkto*.

◊ TMC 2, 24.

PTurk. ***or-*** to mow (косить): Karakh. *or-* (MK); Tur. *ora-*; Turkm. *or-*; Chuv. *vĭr-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 468, Лексика 469.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ŏŕe (~ -i)** other, one of two: Tung. ***urē-**; Mong. ***öre-**; Turk. ***öŕ-ge**.

PTung. ***urē-** 1 to be similar, resemble 2 similar (1 быть похожим, напоминать 2 похожий): Evk. *urē-* 1; Evn. *urēč* 2; Ork. *urexe* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 289.

PMong. ***öre-** 1 to set in order, put in line, arrange in a row 2 half of a carcass; hobble for legs on one side of a horse 3 one of two (objects) (1 приводить в порядок, располагать в ряд 2 половина туши; односторонние путы 3 один из двух (предметов)): MMong. *ore'elesun* (HY 44) 2, *ore'ele* 3 (SH), *urele* 2 (MA); WMong. *örü-* (L 643), *öre-* 1, *örügel* 2 (L 643); Kh. *örö-* 1, *örṑl* 2; Bur. *ürṑhe(n)*, *ürṑle* 3; Kalm. *ör-* 1 *örēsn̥* 3; Ord. *örṑl* 2; Dag. *ergūlen* 2 (Тод. Дар. 140); Bao. *rɛji* 3; S.-Yugh. *örlölöd* 2, *örlṑ* 3.

◊ KW 298, 299 MGCD 548, 549. Mong. > Chag. *örük* etc. 'foot hobbles' (VEWT 375).

PTurk. ***öŕ-ge** other (другой): OTurk. *özge* (OUygh.); Karakh. *özge* (MK - Tefs.); Tur. *özge*; Az. *özgä*; Turkm. *özge*; MTurk. *özge* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̦zgä*; Uygh. *özgä*; Krm. *özge*; Tat. *üzgä*; Kirgh. *özgö*; Kaz. *özge*; KBalk. *özge*; KKalp. *özge*; Kum. *özge*; Nogh. *özge*; SUygh. *üzge*; Shr. *öske*; Oyr. *öskö*; Tv. *öske*.

◊ EDT 285, VEWT 377, ЭСТЯ 1, 508.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ŏ́ŕì** middle, inside: Tung. ***uri**; Mong. ***örü**; Turk. ***ŏ̄ŕ**; Jpn. ***útì**.

PTung. ***uri** 1 stomach, belly 2 breast collar 3 inner fat 4 maw 5 upper layer of yukola (1 живот, желудок 2 нагрудник 3 внутренний жир 4 сычуг 5 верхний слой юколы): Evk. *ur, uri-gde* 1; *uri-ptun* 2; *orik* 4; Evn. *ur* 1, *orъqъn* 3; Neg. *uji-pun* 2; Ul. *uru-ptu(n)* 2; Ork. *uritte* 'fish belly'; Nan. *oriχta* 5; Sol. *orxī* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 23, 24, 30, 281. Evk. > Dolg. *örögö(tö)* 'fish belly' (Stachowski 200).

PMong. ***örü** inside, breast (внутренность, грудь): MMong. *oro* (HY 46), ore (SH); WMong. *örü* (L 643); Kh. *ör*; Bur. *üre*; Kalm. *örə*; Ord. *örö*, *ör*; Mog. ZM *ourä* 'heart, mind' (4-4a); Dag. *erecū* 'chest, bosom, breast' (MD 145).

◊ KW 298.

PTurk. ***ŏ̄ŕ** inside, the essential part (середина, внутренность, сущность): OTurk. *öz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *öz* (MK); Tur. *öz*; Gag. *jöz*; Az. *öz*; Turkm. *ŏ̄z* 'self'; Khal. *e̊̄z*; MTurk. *öz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̦z*; Uygh. *öz*; Krm. *öz*; Tat. *üz*; Bashk. *üδ*; Kirgh. *öz*; Kaz. *öz*; KKalp. *öz*; Kum. *öz*; Nogh. *öz*; SUygh. *üz*; Oyr. *üs*; Chuv. var; Yak. *üös*; Dolg. *üös*.

◊ EDT 278, VEWT 376-7, ЭСТЯ 1, 506-512, Лексика 90, 117, Stachowski 252. The word and its derivatives have a wide scope of meanings: 'middle' > 'heartwood, central crossbeam, pole' (**ŏ̄ŕek*).

PJpn. ***útì*** middle, inside (середина, внутренность): OJpn. *uti*; MJpn. *útì*; Tok. *ùchi*; Kyo. *úchí*; Kag. *úchi*.

◊ JLTT 565. The Kyoto and Tokyo forms point to a variant **úti*.

‖ EAS 112, KW 298, Poppe 81, АПиПЯЯ 74, Лексика 90. Despite TMN 2, 146, not borrowed in Mong. < Turk. Cf. **òru*.

✱**ǒŕi** to rise, up: Mong. ***ergü- (*örgü-)***; Turk. ****ǖŕ (/*ǒŕ)***; Jpn. ****ura(i)***; Kor. ****òrǎ-***.

PMong. ****ergü- (*örgü-)*** to lift, raise (поднимать): MMong. *ergu-* (HY 33, SH), *wärgo-* (IM), *urg(i)-* (MA); WMong. *ergü-*, *örgü-* (L 325); Kh. *örgö-*; Bur. *ürge-*; Kalm. *örgə-*; Ord. *ürgü-*; Dag. *erewē-* (MD 146), *ergue-*; Dong. *uGu-*; S.-Yugh. *orgomǯilī*; Mongr. *urgu-* (SM 475).

◊ MGCD 548. Cf. also WMong. *örni-* 'to grow, increase'. Derived is WMong. *örgüge, ergüge*, Khalkha *örgǒ* 'tent, palace' > Khak. *örge* etc., see KW 299. Note that the root should be kept distinct from **öre-* 'to arrange, put in a row' (v. sub **ǒŕe*).

PTurk. ****ǖŕ (/*ǒŕ)*** on top, high above (наверху, высоко над): OTurk. *üze / öze* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *üze* (MK); Tur. *üzer* 'upper part'; Az. *üzäri*; MTurk. *üze* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); SUygh. *üze, üzi*; Oyr. *üzeri*; Chuv. *vir* (<**ǒŕ*); Yak. *ǖhe, üöhe*; Dolg. *ühe, üöhe*.

◊ A common Turkic derivative is **üŕ-t* (with secondary vowel shortening): OT *üst*, Turkm. *üst*, Tat. *ös*, Khal. *ist* etc. 'upper part'. See EDT 280-281, VEWT 523, 524, ЭСТЯ 1, 622-623, 638-639, Stachowski 249, 251, 255.

PJpn. ****ura(i)*** end of a branch, top of a tree (конец ветки, верхушка дерева): OJpn. *ura, ure*; Tok. *ura*.

◊ JLTT 563. PJ accent is unclear.

PKor. ****òrǎ-*** to rise (подниматься): MKor. *òrǎ-, òr-*; Mod. *ori-*.

◊ Nam 380, KED 1199.

‖ SKE 178, EAS 107, ОСНЯ 1, 254. Despite Щербак 1997, 131 the Mong. stem cannot be regarded as a Turkic loanword. The root is sometimes difficult to distinguish from **p'ōre* q.v. See also notes to **p'i̯ōlge*.

✱**ȍse** to be bad, guilty: Tung. ****us(a)***; Mong. ****ös***; Turk. ****osa-***; Jpn. ****əsər-***.

PTung. ****us(a)*** 1 bad 2 to become sad 3 hate 4 guilt, crime 5 to be sick 6 to be unable, not want (1 плохой 2 огорчаться 3 ненависть 4 вина, преступление 5 болеть, чувствовать недомогание 6 не мочь, не хотеть): Evk. *usa* 1, *usē-* 5, *usē-če-* 6; Evn. *u̯s* 1,4, *öse-* 5, 6; Neg. *osa* 1; Man. *osχa* 1, *usa-* 2; SMan. *usa-* 'to be sad, to grieve' (1933); Jurch. *usu-ɣa-buren* (384) 3; Ul. *osisi-* 6; Nan. *osisi-* 6.

◊ TMC 2, 290-293.

PMong. ****ös*** revenge, hate (месть, ненависть): MMong. *osül, oš(i)* (SH); WMong. *ös, ösige* (L 645: *ös, ösije*); Kh. *ös*; Bur. *ühō(n), üšōrxe-*; Kalm. *ös, öšē*; Ord. *ös, öšō*.

◊ KW 301.

PTurk. ***osa-*** 1 careless, dilatory 2 bad, evil 3 to be careless, negligent 4 negligence, harm (1 небрежный, медлительный 2 плохой, злой 3 быть небрежным, беспечным 4 небрежность, беспечность, увечье): OTurk. *osal* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *osal* 1, *osan-* 3 (MK); Tur. *osal* 2 (dial.), *usan-* 3; Az. *osal* 1 (dial.), *usan-* 3; Turkm. *osal* 1; MTurk. *osal* 1 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̧sal* 2; Uygh. *osal* 2; Krm. *osal* 1, 2, *usan-* 3; Tat. *usal* 2; Bashk. *usal* 2; Kirgh. *osol* 2; Kaz. *osal* 2; KBalk. *osal* 2; KKalp. *osal* 2; Kum. *osal* 2; Nogh. *osal* 2; Chuv. *osal* 2; Yak. *ohol* 4.

◊ VEWT 365-366, EDT 247, 248, ЭСТЯ 1, 479-481, 608 (distinguishes *osal* and *usan-* - but the narrowing *osan-* > *usan-* is a local Oghuz phenomenon and probably secondary, due to interdialectal loans), Ероров 277, Федотов 2, 290. Turk. > Mong. *osal* (MMong. (SH) *osolda-*), see TMN 2, 149, Clark 1980, 39, not vice versa - despite Щербак 1997, 207.

PJpn. ***ə̀sə̀r-*** to be scared, afraid (бояться): OJpn. *os(w)or-*; MJpn. *ò̀sò̀r-*; Tok. *osoré-*; Kyo. *ósóré-*; Kag. *ò̀sò̀rè-*.

◊ JLTT 743.

‖ EAS 102, Poppe 65, Finch 1987, 58. Despite TMN 2, 135, Щербак 1997, 131, Clark 1980, 51, Mong. *ös* cannot be borrowed from Turk. **ŏ̃č* (see **ŏ̃č'e*). Attempts to disprove the Turk.-Tung. match in TMN 2, 149-150 are unsuccessful.

ŏ̀ti (~ -t'-)** to move, change place: Tung. ***(x)utur-; Mong. ***oči-***; Turk. ***öt-***; Jpn. ***ù̀tù̀-r-***; Kor. ***ti-***.

PTung. ***(x)utur-*** to reel, turn round (вертеться): Evk. *utur-*.

◊ TMC 2, 295. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***oči-*** to walk, move, go (идти, двигаться): MMong. *očira* 'before, along' (SH); WMong. *oči-* (L 599); Kh. *oči-*; Bur. *ošo-*; Dag. *važire-* 'to come in', *vāži* 'track'; Dong. *ečï-* (Тод. Дн.); Bao. *šže-*, *hže-* (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *śźi-* (SM 387).

◊ WMong. has also a not quite clear variant *ečï-* id. (possibly also reflected in some South Mong. languages). Without palatalization cf. MMong. (SH, HY) *ot-*, (MA) *udu-*, WMong. *od(u)-*, Kalm. *od-* 'be on one's way' (KW 283).

PTurk. ***öt-*** to pass by, pass through (проходить мимо, проходить через): OTurk. *öt-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *öt-* (MK); Az. *öt-*; Turkm. *öt-*; Sal. *öt-*; MTurk. *öt-* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *o̧t-*; Uygh. *öt-*; Krm. *öt-*; Tat. *üt-*; Bashk. *üt-*; Kirgh. *öt-*; Kaz. *öt-*; KBalk. *öt-*; KKalp. *öt-*; Kum. *öt-*; Nogh. *öt-*; SUygh. *jüt-*; Khak. *öt-*; Oyr. *öt-*; Tv. *öt-*; Chuv. *vit-*; Yak. *öt-*.

◊ EDT 39, VEWT 376, ЭСТЯ 1, 554-555.

PJpn. ***ù̀tù̀-r-*** to move, change place (двигаться, менять место): OJpn. *utu-r-*; MJpn. *ùtù-r-*; Tok. *utsúr-*; Kyo. *útsúr-*; Kag. *ùtsù̀r-*.

◊ JLTT 781.

PKor. ***ti-*** to move, change one's place (двигаться, менять место): Mod. *ti-*.

◊ SKE 264 (NKor.).

‖ The Kor. form (attested only in SKE) has a frequent loss of initial vowel.

✱**ōtʹa (~ -t-)** fire; hot, warm: Tung. ***(x)utinŋe**; Mong. ***(h)očki-n**; Turk. ***ōt**; Jpn. ***àtà- / *àtù-**; Kor. ***tằ-**.

PTung. ***(x)utinŋe** wood fire (лесной пожар): Evk. *utinŋe*; Evn. *utöŋŋö*.

◊ TMC 2, 294.

PMong. ***(h)očki-n** spark (искра): WMong. *očï(n)* (L 599); Kh. *oč*; Bur. *ošo(n)*; Kalm. *očŋ*; Ord. *očï*; Mog. *ukin*; ZM *očkä* (18-3b); Dong. *očin*; Bao. *oken*; Mongr. *śźun, fuźun*.

◊ KW 291. Mong. > Turk. *učqun* 'spark' (see Лексика 368-369; not attested in OTurkic).

PTurk. ***ōt** fire (огонь): OTurk. *ot* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ot* (MK); Tur. *ot* 'flame, fire' (arch.); Az. *od*; Turkm. *ōt*; Sal. *oht*; Khal. *hūt*; MTurk. *ot* (Pav. C., Abush., MA); Uzb. *ut*; Uygh. *ot*; Tat. *ut*; Bashk. *ut*; Kirgh. *ot*; Kaz. *ot*; KBalk. *ot*; KKalp. *ot*; Nogh. *ot*; SUygh. *ot*; Khak. *ot*; Oyr. *ot*; Tv. *ot*; Tof. *ot*; Chuv. *vot*; Yak. *uot*; Dolg. *uot*.

◊ VEWT 366, EDT 34, ЭСТЯ 1, 483-484, Лексика 356, 361, Федотов 1, 133, Stachowski 245. OT *ot-čuq* was borrowed in MMong. as *očaq* 'hearth' (see Щербак 1997, 196).

PJpn. ***àtà- / *àtù-** 1 warm 2 hot (1 теплый 2 горячий): OJpn. *atatake-* 1, *atu-* 2; MJpn. *àtàtáka* 1, *atu-* 2; Tok. *atataká-* 1, *atsú-* 2; Kyo. *átátáka-* 1, *átsù-* 2; Kag. *atataká-* 1, *atsú-* 2.

◊ JLTT 387, 826.

PKor. ***tằ-** warm, hot (теплый, горячий): MKor. *tằ-sà̀-*; Mod. *t:at:it-ha-* [*t:at:is*].

◊ Nam 136, KED 381.

‖ KW 291, ОСНЯ 2, 104, АПиПЯЯ 70, 97, 102, 278, Martin 234, Лексика 356. The Mong. form may belong here if **očkin* < **očikin* < **oti-kin*; however, it may also reflect PA **pʹōči* 'spark' q.v. Korean has a frequent loss of initial vowel. Tone in Jpn. is irregular.

✱**ŏ́tʹè** old: Tung. ***(x)ut-**; Mong. ***öte-**; Turk. ***ŏ̄tü-**; Jpn. ***ə́tə́-nà**.

PTung. ***(x)ut-** 1 old 2 earlier, before 3 old age (1 старый 2 раньше, прежде 3 старость): Evk. *utakān* 3; *utu* 1, *utēle* 2; Evn. *ute* 1, *ōtel* 2; Neg. *utēle* 2; Ud. *uteli* 2; Sol. *utaci* 'grandfather'.

◊ Cf. also Evn. *ųta-qan* 'old woman'. See TMC 2, 293, 294, 295.

PMong. ***öte-** 1 to be old, old 2 old man (1 быть старым, старый 2 старик): MMong. *otogu* (HY 27, SH), *utɛgu* (IM), *utägu* (MA) 2; WMong. *ötel-* 1, *ötegü* 2 (L 646); Kh. *ötöl* 1, *ötgös* 2; Bur. *ütelhe(n)* 1, *ütŏ* 2; Kalm. *ötl* 1, *ötəgə* 2; Ord. *ötöl-* 'to get old'; Mog. *ütägŭ* 2; ZM *otäl* (10-3a) 2; Dag. *utel* 'constantly, traditionally'; *utule-* 1, *utāči* 2 (Тод. Дат. 171); Dong. *očien* 2, *očielu-* 1; Mongr. *sdōli-* (SM 337) 1, *sdōgu* 2.

◊ KW 302, MGCD 551, TMN 1, 160.

PTurk. ***ŏ̈tü-** 1 old 2 old, abandoned house 3 everything old 4 name of the homeland of the Turks ("old country") (1 старый 2 старое, заброшенное жилище 3 старье 4 назв. местности): OTurk. *ötüken* 4 (Orkh.); Karakh. *ötüken* 4 (MK); Tv. *ötükän* 'name of a mountain ridge in Tuva' (ФиЛ 215); Tof. *ötükän* 'ровное широкое место на белках, удобное для пастьбы оленей' (ФиЛ 215); Chuv. *vadъ* 1; Yak. *ötöx* 2; Dolg. *ötök* 3.

◊ Лексика 85; ДТС 393; Stachowski 201. Chuv. *va-* points only to PT **ŏ-*. Turk. > Bur. *ütügen* 'shaman word for earth' > Yak. *ütügen* 'неизвестная даль; преисподняя' (Пек. III 3195).

PJpn. ***ǝ́tə́-nà** grown-up man, aged person (взрослый): MJpn. *otona*; Tok. *òtona*; Kyo. *òtónà*; Kag. *òtónà*.

◊ JLTT 513.

‖ EAS 146, KW 302, Poppe 51, 107 (Mong.-Chuv.-Tung.), Дыбо 11, Лексика 85. Despite Doerfer MT 46, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

***ŏ́t'è (~-t-)** sound: Tung. ***(x)ot-**; Mong. ***öči-**; Turk. ***öt-**; Jpn. ***ǝ́tə̀**.

PTung. ***(x)ot-** to shout, cry (кричать): Evk. *otutka-*.

◊ TMC 2, 29. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***öči-** 1 to report; to pray 2 to sing a song (1 докладывать, сообщать; молиться 2 петь песню): MMong. *očі-* (SH, HYt) 1; WMong. *öčі-* 1; Kh. *öč-* 1; Kalm. *öčə-* 1; Ord. *öčö-* 'réciter à haute voix (prière)'; Dag. *učule-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 172).

◊ KW 302. Mong. (cf. the Dag. form) > Man. *učule-* 'sing', Man., Sol. *učun* 'song' (see TMC 2, 297).

PTurk. ***öt-** 1 to sing (of birds) 2 to say 3 to ask, request (1 петь (о птицах) 2 сказать, говорить 3 просить): OTurk. *öt-* 1 (OUygh.), *ötün-* 3 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *öt-* 1, *ötün-* 3 (MK); Tur. *öt-* 1; Turkm. *ötün-* 3; Sal. *edi-* 2; MTurk. *öt-* 2 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *ötün-* 3; Tat. *üten-* 3; Tv. *e't-* 1; Tof. *e't-* 1; Chuv. *avъt-* 1; Yak. *et-* 2; Dolg. *et-* 2.

◊ VEWT 52, ЭСТЯ 1, 556, 557-558, EDT 39, 62, Егоров 21, Stachowski 48. The Chuv. form is somewhat aberrant phonetically: it is possible that the actual Chuv. reflex of this root is *vitən-* 'to ask' - while Chuv. *avъt-* (together with *avtan, atan* 'cock', Tat. *ätäč* 'cock') goes back to a separate PT root **ebt-*, possibly going back to PA **ip'i (~-p-,-e)* 'to say, speak' q.v.

PJpn. ***ǝ́tə̀** sound (звук): OJpn. *oto*; MJpn. *ótò*; Tok. *otó*; Kyo. *ótò*; Kag. *óto*.

◊ JLTT 513.

‖ KW 302, Владимирцов 323, Poppe 51, АПиПЯЯ 286. Despite TMN 2, 134, not borrowed in Mong. < Turk.

✱**ŏtʹkʹV** grass: Tung. ***okta**; Mong. ***(h)otul**; Turk. ***ot**.

PTung. ***okta** medicine, powder (лекарство, порошок): Neg. *okto*; Man. *oqto*; SMan. *oqətə* 'medicine, drug' (723); Ul. *oqto*; Ork. *oqto*; Nan. *oqto*; Orch. *okto*; Ud. *okto*.

◊ TMC 2, 11.

PMong. ***(h)otul** reed down; reed used for making mats (тростниковый пух; тростник для циновок): WMong. *otul* (L 625); Kh. *otol*.

PTurk. ***ot** grass (трава): OTurk. *ot* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ot* (MK); Tur. *ot*; Gag. *ot*; Az. *ot*; Turkm. *ot*; MTurk. *ot* (AH, Pav. C.); Uygh. *ot*; Krm. *ot*; Tat. *ut*; Kirgh. *ot*; Kaz. *ot*; KBalk. *ot*; KKalp. *ot*; Kum. *ot*; Nogh. *ot*; SUygh. *ot, ut*; Khak. *ot*; Oyr. *ot*; Tv. *oʹt*; Chuv. *udъ, vudъ* (dial.) 'hay'; Yak. *ot*; Dolg. *ot*.

◊ EDT 34-35, ЭСТЯ 1, 481-483, Лексика 119-120, Федотов 2, 294-295, Stachowski 197.

‖ KW 191, Poppe 98, Дыбо 10. A Western isogloss.

✱**ótʹó(rV)** bushes, low trees: Tung. ***utu-n / -r**; Turk. ***otrug**; Jpn. ***ə́ntárə́**.

PTung. ***utu-n / -r** 1 swamp 2 tundra 3 low bushes (1 болото 2 тундра 3 стланик): Evk. *utun* 1, 2; Ork. *uterikte* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 294, 295.

PTurk. ***otrug** island (остров): OTurk. *otruγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *otruγ* (MK); MTurk. (MKypch.) *otrač* (dim.) (AH, CCum.); Krm. *otrac, otrač, oturaš*; Tat. *utraw*; Bashk. *utraw*; Oyr. *ortoliq*.

◊ VEWT 367, EDT 65. In some languages the original form was folk-etymologically reinterpreted as **orta-lik* 'located in the middle'. The latter form was borrowed in Mong., with regular liquid metathesis, as WMong. *olturiγ*, Khalkha *oltrig* 'small island, archipelago' (whence again Khak. *oltirix*, Kum. *ottiraγ* (VEWT) 'island').

PJpn. ***ə́ntárə́** thickly growing bushes (заросли, кусты): OJpn. *od(w)or(w)o*; MJpn. *ódóró*; Tok. *odoro*.

◊ JLTT 504.

‖ The meanings 'island' and 'forest, bushes' are frequently associated in Altaic, so the etymology on the whole seems quite plausible. Note the common derivative **ótʹó-rV* reflected in PT **ot-ru-g*, Orok *ute-ri-kte* and PJ **ə́ntárə́*.

✱**ŏtʹù (~ -t-, -i)** tent, house: Tung. ***utē-n**; Turk. ***otag**; Jpn. ***ùtàina (~ -ia-)**.

PTung. ***utē-n** house, dwelling (чум, жилище): Evk. *uten*; Evn. *ūtēn*; Neg. *ūtēn*; Ork. *utemi*; Orch. *ūtečeken*; Ud. *utuli, utulu*.

◊ TMC 2, 295.

PTurk. ***otag** 1 tent 2 room (1шалаш 2 комната): Karakh. *otaγ* (MK) 1; Tur. *otak* 1, *oda* 2; Gag. *oda* 1; Az. *otaG* 2; Turkm. *otaG* 2; MTurk. *oda* (Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *ọtɔw* 1; Uygh. *otaq* 1; Krm. *oda* 2; Kirgh. *otō* 1; Kaz. *otaw* 1; KBalk. *otow* 2; KKalp. *otaw* 1; Kum. *otaw* 2; Nogh. *otaw* 1; SUygh. *otaγ, otax* 1; Khak. *otax* 1; Shr. *odaγ* 1; Oyr. *odū* 1; Tv. *odaγ* 1; Yak. *otū* 1.

◊ EDT 46, VEWT 366, ЭСТЯ 1, 484-487, TMN 2, 66-67, Лексика 496. Turk. > Mong. *otaq* (see TMN 2, 67, Щербак 1997, 130). Some forms (like Tur. *oda*) suggest **ōtag* - a secondary form, probably originally meaning "hearth" and derived from **ōt* 'fire' and easily confused with **otag* 'tent, dwelling place'. The latter, however, is very well attested (often in the shape **otagu*) and certainly containing a short vowel.

PJpn. ***ùtàina (~ -ia-)*** a high building (высокое здание, чертог): OJpn. *utena*; MJpn. *ùtènà*; Tok. *utena*.

◊ JLTT 565 (with an incorrect translation as 'earthen mound/platform').

‖ It is not quite clear whether PTM **utē-n* and PJ **ùtàina* point to a common derivative **ǒtʻù-nV*; because of the diphthong in the second syllable Jpn. may rather reflect a compound with some obscure second element.

✱**òʒa** to play: Tung. ***(x)oʒu***; Mong. ***oʒu-***; Turk. ***oj-***; Jpn. ***àjà-***.

PTung. ***(x)oʒu*** oestrum (течка): Evn. *oǯu*.

◊ TMC 2, 7. Cf. perhaps also Oroch *uǯaǯina-* 'to play on a wooden instrument' (if the original meaning was 'play' ('playfulness (of animals)' > 'oestrum').

PMong. ***oʒu-*** 1 to kiss 2 penis (1 целовать 2 penis): MMong. *oǯu-* 1, *aǯoγa* 2 (IM), *uǯa-* 1, *uǯaγaj* 2 (MA), *uǯa-* 1, *uǯoqa, uǯaqai* 2 (LH); WMong. *oǯu-, oǯi-* 1, *oǯuγui, oǯuγu* 2 (L 626); Kh. *oʒo-* 1; Bur. *ozogoj* 2; Kalm. *ozā, ozəγā̆* 2; Ord. *oǯoGo, oǯoGō* 2; Dag. *oǯi-* (Тод. Даг. 159, MD 201) 1; Mongr. *oǯoGwā, ǯoGwā, ǯiGwā* (SM 72) 2.

◊ KW 292. Mong. > Man. *oǯo-* etc., see Doerfer MT 142, Rozycki 166.

PTurk. ***oj-*** 1 play 2 to play 3 to jump (1 игра 2 играть 3 прыгать): OTurk. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2 (MK); Tur. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Gag. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Az. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Turkm. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Uzb. *o̧jin* 1, *o̧jna-* 2; Uygh. *ojun, ojan* 1, *ojni-* 2; Krm. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Tat. *ujin* 1, *ujna-* 2; Bashk. *ujin* 1, *ujna-* 2; Kirgh. *ojun* 1, *ojno-* 2; Kaz. *ojin* 1, *ojna-* 2; KBalk. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; KKalp. *ojin* 1, *ojna-* 2; Kum. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Nogh. *ojin* 1; SUygh. *oin, ujin* 1; Khak. *ojin* 1, *ojna-* 2; Shr. *oin* 1; Oyr. *ojin* 1, *ojno-* 2; Tv. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Chuv. *vъʷjъʷ* 1; Yak. *ōńńū* 1, *ōńńō-* 2, *oj-* 3; Dolg. *oj-* 3, *ōńńō-* 2.

◊ EDT 274, 275, ЭСТЯ 1, 435-436, Stachowski 190, 198. The verb also has sexual connotations, preserved in Kirgh., Oyr., Bashk. and Yak. (where it also means 'to flirt, be in love') and in the common Turkic derivative **ojnaĺ* 'lover' (see ЭСТЯ ibid.) - important for establishing external connections.

PJpn. ***àjà-*** 1 to manipulate by strings (dolls etc.) 2 to nurse (1 манипулировать при помощи веревок (куклами и т.п.) 2 нянчить): MJpn. *àjà-túr-* 1; Tok. *ayatsúr-* 1, *ayas-* 2; Kyo. *áyátsúr-* 1; Kag. *ayatsúr-* 1.

◊ JLTT 679. The Tokyo accent is aberrant; otherwise all sources point to low tone.

‖ Poppe 64, TMN 2, 225 ("semantisch möglich, nicht mehr").

P

✱**pábVrV (~ p'-, -p-, -ŕ-)** to swim, flow: Tung. ***pabri-**; Jpn. ***pápúr-**.

PTung. ***pabri-*** 1 to swim 2 to bathe (1 плыть, плавать 2 купаться): Neg. *xajwi-* 1; Ul. *pawrụwụ* 1; Ork. *paụrị-* 2; Nan. *faọr'i-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 458.

PJpn. ***pápúr-*** to overflow (переливаться): OJpn. *papur-*; MJpn. *áfúr-*; Tok. *afuré-*; Kyo. *áfúré-*; Kag. *afuré-*.

◊ JLTT 675, 683. The word is rather peculiar phonetically (with both irregular preservation of -p- > -f- and loss of p- > 0-), but there is hardly reason to separate the OJ and the modern Jpn. forms.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**pǎ́dà** to spread; flag, standard: Tung. ***pad-**; Mong. ***bad-**; Turk. ***bAd-rak / *bAd-ruk**; Jpn. ***pátà**.

PTung. ***pad-*** 1 to spread out (animal's skin) 2 name of a game (spreading a rope between fingers) 3 to arrange (in a row) (1 растягивать, распяливать (шкуру животного) 2 натягивание шнура между пальцами (назв. игры) 3 расставлять, раскладывать): Evk. *hadarga* 2; Man. *fajda-* 3, *fajdan* 'row'; SMan. *faidən* 'row' (1624); Ork. *pādda-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 297, 308.

PMong. ***bad-*** 1 to spread, expand, develop 2 flag, standard (1 распростирать, распространяться 2 флаг, знамя): WMong. *badara-* 1, *badaŋ* 2 (L 66); Kh. *badra-* 1, *badan* 2; Bur. *badar-* 1; Kalm. *badṛ-* 1; Ord. *badara-* 1; Dag. *badara-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 123), *badare-* (MD 117); Dong. *patara-* 1.

◊ KW 27, MGCD 130. Mong. > Evk. *badara-*, Man. *badara-* etc., see Doerfer MT 69. Sukhebaatar suggests a loan Mong. *badaŋ* < Tib. *badan* 'flag', but the case is not quite clear: the Tibetan word itself is clearly borrowed, but the source is not really known (it is hardly Sanskr. *patākā* id.), and may be actually Mongolian.

PTurk. ***bAd-rak / *bAd-ruk*** banner, flag (знамя, флаг): OTurk. *badruq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *batraq* (MK: 'a lance with piece of silk at its head'); Tur. *bajrak*; Gag. *bajraq*; Az. *bajraG*; Turkm. *bajdaq*; MTurk. *bajraq* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bajrɔq*, (dial.) *bajdaq*; Uygh. *bajraq*, *vajraq*, (dial.) *bajaq*; Krm. *bajraq*; Tat. *bajraq*; Bashk. *bajraq*; Kaz. (dial.) *bajraq*; KBalk. *bajraq*; KKalp. *bajraq*; Kum. *bajraq*; Nogh. *bajraq*.

◊ EDT 307, VEWT 55, TMN 2, 385-387, ЭСТЯ 33-34, 36, Лексика 565. Turk. (Chag.) > Pers., Arab. Clauson's hypothesis about borrowing from Sanskr. is unfounded because Sanskrit lacks anything similar.

PJpn. ***pátà*** flag, banner (флаг, знамя): OJpn. *pata*; MJpn. *fátà*; Tok. *hatá*; Kyo. *hátà*; Kag. *háta*.

◊ JLTT 401.

‖ Cf. **bằdi*.

pằgdì (~ pʻ-)** to moisten, dip: Tung. ***pagda-; Jpn. ****pìtà-***; Kor. ****ptí-***.

PTung. ***pagda-*** to smear (мазать): Evk. *hagda-*; Evn. *hāda-*; Ul. *paGda-*; Nan. *pāGda-*.

◊ TMC 2, 308.

PJpn. ****pìtà-*** 1 to be dipped, become wet 2 to dip, soak (1 окунаться, увлажняться 2 окунать, мочить): OJpn. *p(j)itas-* 2; MJpn. *fìtàr-* 1; Tok. *hitár-* 1, *hitás-* 2; Kyo. *hítár-* 1, *hítás-* 2; Kag. *hìtàr-* 1, *hìtàs-* 2.

◊ JLTT 690. Tokyo has also irregular accent variants: *hìtar-*, *hìtas-*.

PKor. ****ptí-*** to float (плавать): MKor. *ptí-*; Mod. *t:i-*.

◊ Nam 172, KED 523.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Turk. **bat-* may be a contamination of this root with **patʻa* q.v. The Korean match is somewhat dubious semantically, unless one presumes a semantic development 'float' < 'be wet, flow'; this may be corroborated by apparently related (dialectal?) variants MKor. *pàthằ-* 'to strain, filter' and MKor. *phjátì-* 'to overflow'. Ramstedt (SKE 191) compares the TM forms with MKor. *pằrə̀-* 'to plaster, smear', which is dubious (see **píla*).

pàjá (~ pʻ-)** to shine, glitter: Tung. ****paja-; Jpn. ****pàjá-***.

PTung. ****paja-*** 1 to glitter (of snow) 2 blinded by bright light (1 блестеть (о снеге) 2 ослепленный (ярким светом)): Evk. *hajakat-* 1; Ud. *pajaktu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 308. Ud. p- points to a borrowing from some unattested Nan. or Ul. form.

PJpn. ****pàjá-*** 1 to be bright, glitter, shine 2 to eclipse (1 блестеть, сверкать 2 наступать (о солнечном или лунном затмении)): OJpn. *paja-* 1, 2; MJpn. *faja-* 1, 2; Tok. *haé-* 1; Kyo. *hàè-* 1; Kag. *hàè-* 1.

◊ JLTT 682.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

pằjbu (~ pʻ-)** to add, increase: Tung. ****pāb-; Jpn. ****pùjà- (~-w-)***; Kor. ****phó***.

PTung. ****pāb-*** to add (добавлять): Evk. *hāw-*; Evn. *hāw-*; Neg. *xāw-*; Ul. *pajį-*; Ork. *poį-*; Nan. *poaį-*; Sol. *āwi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 306-307.

PJpn. ****pùjà- (~-w-)*** to increase, grow (увеличиваться, возрастать): Tok. *fué-* (caus. *fujá-s-*); Kyo. *fùè-*; Kag. *fùè-*.

◊ JLTT 693, 696.

PKor. ***phó*** 1 many, several, quantity 2 to pile up (1 много, несколько, количество 2 нагромождать): MKor. *phó* (adv.) 1, *phǎ-* 'do smth. repeatedly', *pho-kai-* 2; Mod. *pho* 1, *pho-gä-da* 2.

◊ Liu 720, 725, KED 1753.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Aspiration in Korean may be due to secondary affixation (**phó* < **po-h-* < **pVbV-g-*); however, a reconstruction **pāgu-* is not excluded for PTM, and therefore the PA form may be as well reconstructed as **pājgu* (*-j- is needed anyway to explain fricativization in Japanese).

pàje (~ pʻ-)** a k. of grass: Tung. ****pajī-kta; Jpn. ****pè (~ *puà)***.

PTung. ****pajī-kta*** grass (dry) (трава (сухая)): Evk. *hajīkta*; Evn. *hajtẹ*; Neg. *xajta*; Man. *fojō*; Ul. *pajqta*; Ork. *paiqta*; Nan. *pajaqta*; Ud. *xaikta*.

◊ TMC 2, 309.

PJpn. ****pè (~ *puà)*** spike, ear (of grain) (колос): OJpn. *p(w)o*; MJpn. *fo*; Tok. *hó*; Kyo. *hó*; Kag. *hó*.

◊ JLTT 413. RJ and Tokyo point to low tone, but Kyoto and Kagoshima are aberrant.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

pàjkù** owl: Tung. ****pige (~ *piage); Mong. ****beg-***; Turk. ****bĀjk-***; Jpn. ****pùkù-***; Kor. ****púhuàŋ***.

PTung. ****pige (~ *piage)*** kite (коршун): Evk. *hiγen*; Evn. *huhen, hösen*; Neg. *xiγē-čēn*; Ul. *pičᴜ(n)*; Ork. *pêčandi*; Nan. *pīčuẽ*; Orch. *xiwočo*; Sol. *igēsẽ*.

◊ TMC 2, 322-323.

PMong. ****beg-*** barred owl (сыч): WMong. *beg-*; Kh. *beg-batār, beg-bātar*; Bur. *begserge*; Kalm. *böksə šowūn* 'eagle-owl'.

◊ KW 55.

PTurk. ****bĀjk-*** owl (сова): Tur. *bajkuš*; *bajkara* 'hawk'; Turkm. *bājGuš*; MTurk. *bajquš, bajqiz*; Kaz. *bajγiz*; Shr. *pajoq* 'a k. of bird'.

◊ VEWT 57, ЭСТЯ 2, 32-33. Turk. > MMong. (ZM) *beiquš*.

PJpn. ****pùkù-*** owl (сова): MJpn. *fùkùròfù, fùkùrókù*; Tok. *fukurō*.

◊ JLTT 417.

PKor. ****púhàŋ*** owl; kite (сова; коршун): MKor. *púhəŋ, púhuəŋ, púhuəŋ'í*; Mod. *puəŋi*.

◊ Nam 266, KED 817.

‖ An expressive root with somewhat violated correspondences. Cf. some similar bird names: Khak. *pegem* 'wood-hen', Bur. *bug-bātar* 'owl' (if the analysis 'demon-hero' is a folk etymology); Oroch *bajakuli* 'name of a bird', Man. *bajbula* 'magpie'.

pàjò (~ pʻ-)** spring or autumn wind: Tung. ****pajī-; Jpn. ****pàjàtì***.

PTung. ****pajī-*** 1 freezing weather (in spring or autumn) 2 Northern or Eastern wind 3 to blow (of spring wind) 4 frost (1 заморозки (весной или осенью) 2 северный или восточный ветер 3 дуть (о весен-

нем ветре) 4 иней): Evk. *hajī* 1, 2, *hajī-* 3; Nan. *χatqa* (Kur-Urm.) 1; Orch. *xaika* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 309.

PJpn. ***pàjàtì*** wind storm (сильный ветер): OJpn. *pajati, pajate*; MJpn. *fàjàtì, fajate*; Tok. *hàyate, hayáte*; Kyo. *háyàtè*; Kag. *hayaté*.

◊ JLTT 402. The Tokyo accent is unclear.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. In Turkic cf. perhaps either Karakh. (MK) *ojuq* 'mirage' or **bej* > Chuv. *paj* 'frost'.

pə̀ko (~ p'-, -k'-, -e)** rock, cliff: Tung. ***pākta; Jpn. ***pəki***.

PTung. ***pākta*** 1 hill, mound 2 precipice 3 sand bank (1 бугор, возвышенность 2 обрыв 3 берег (песчаный)): Neg. *pakta* 1 (< South.); Ul. *pāqta* 2; Ork. *paqtaị* 3; Nan. *pāqta* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 32.

PJpn. ***pəki*** steep rock (крутая скала): MJpn. *foki*.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; MKor. *pàhói* could also be related (if separated from **bi̯úge* q.v.).

pák'à (~ *p'-)** to insert, shut in, sew in: Tung. ***paKū-; Jpn. ***pák-***; Kor. ***pàk-***.

PTung. ***paKū-*** to close in, buckle, shut up (закрывать, замыкать, запирать): Evk. *hakū-*; Evn. *haq-*; Neg. *xaxu̯-*; Sol. *axu̯-*.

◊ TMC 2, 311. TM > Dag. *xaku* 'closed' (Тод. Даг. 172); Evk. *hakuma* 'closed circle' > Dag. *xakimā* 'circle dance' (ibid).

PJpn. ***pák-*** to put on (shirts, trousers) (надевать (рубашку, штаны)): OJpn. *pak-*; MJpn. *fák-*; Tok. *hàk-*; Kyo. *hák-*; Kag. *hàk-*.

◊ JLTT 684. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular (under lit. influence?).

PKor. ***pàk-*** to insert; to sew with a double stitch (вставлять; сшивать двойным швом): MKor. *pàk-*; Mod. *pak-*.

◊ Liu 364, KED 710.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

pák'[ò]** a k. of fish or sea animal: Tung. ***paxan; Turk. ***buka (= *boka)***; Jpn. ***púká***; Kor. ***pòk***.

PTung. ***paxan*** bream (лещ): Ul. *paχa(n)*; Nan. *paχã*.

◊ TMC 2, 32.

PTurk. ***buka*** perch (окунь): Tat. *ala-boγa*; Kaz. *ala-buγa*; Khak. *ala-buγa*.

◊ VEWT 15, Лексика 178 (traditionally regarded as a compound **āla* 'variegated' + **buka* 'bull', which is dubious because of the parallelism in Tat.: *ala-balıq* 'crucian' : *ala-boγa* 'perch' - suggesting that the second part of both compounds is originally a fish name).

PJpn. ***púká*** shark (акула): MJpn. *fúká*; Tok. *fùka, fuká*; Kyo. *fúká*; Kag. *fúka*.

◊ JLTT 417.

PKor. ***pòk*** porpoise, (KED) globefish, swellfish, puffer (дельфин): MKor. *pòk*; Mod. *pog-ə, pok-čăŋi*.

◊ Liu 388, KED 798.

‖ Лексика 178. The vocalism reflects a variation between **pak'o* (in most languages) and **pak'u* (> Jpn. **púká*), perhaps under the influence of a similar fish name **bek'u* q.v.

pala (~ *p'-)** tooth: Tung. ***palV; Jpn. ***pa***; Kor. ***par***.

PTung. ***palV*** molar (коренной зуб): Ul. *palị*; Nan. *paloa*.

◊ TMC 2, 313.

PJpn. ***pa*** tooth (зуб): OJpn. *pa*; MJpn. fa; Tok. *há*; Kyo. hâ; Kag. *há*.

◊ JLTT 394. The PJ accent is not quite clear: Tokyo and Kagoshima point to **pà*, but Kyoto has hâ (pointing rather to **pá*), and RJ has a special tone mark (*fá*, but with the upper dot to the right).

PKor. ***par*** tooth (in comp. with **ni-*) (зуб (в слож. с **ni-*)): MKor. *ni-s-par*; Mod. *ip:al*.

◊ Nam 127, KED 1369.

‖ EAS 55-56, AKE 14, ОСНЯ 3, 95, АПиПЯЯ 109, 278. An Eastern isogloss. Jpn. reflects a suffixed form **pal(a)-gV* (cf. Nan. *paloa*).

pə̀lčà** to be ashamed: Tung. ****pālǯe-; Mong. ****balči-***; Jpn. ****pàntù-i***.

PTung. ****pālǯe-*** to be ashamed (стыдиться): Evk. *hālǯe-*; Evn. *halǯu-*; Neg. *xalǯa-*; Man. *fańči-xaša-*; Ork. *xalǯē-*; Nan. *χalǯa-*; Orch. *xagǯa-*; Ud. *xagǯa-*.

◊ TMC 2, 313.

PMong. ****balči-*** to be ashamed (стыдиться): WMong. *balači-* (L 78); Kh. *balči-*; Bur. *balšisa bari-*.

PJpn. ****pàntù-i*** shame (стыд): OJpn. *padi*; MJpn. *fàdì*; Tok. *hají*; Kyo. *hájì*; Kag. *hàjí*.

◊ JLTT 403. For -u- cf. *padukasi* 'shameful'.

‖ PA length is responsible for the preservation of b- in Mong. (otherwise **halči-* would be expected).

pə̀lgà** foot: Tung. ****palga-n; Turk. ****bAlak***; Jpn. ****pànkì***; Kor. ****pár***.

PTung. ****palga-n*** 1 foot 2 sole (1 нога 2 подошва): Evk. *halgan* 1; Evn. *halgṵn* 1; Neg. *xalgan* 1; Ul. *palǯa(n)* 1; Ork. *palǯa(n)* 1; Nan. *palgã* 2; Orch. *xaga* 'paw'; Ud. *xaga* 'paw; bear's trace'; Sol. *alγã* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 312.

PTurk. ****bAlak*** 1 ankle 2 trouser leg 3 foot sole (1 щиколотка 2 штанина 3 стопа): Tur. *balaq* 2 (dial.); Az. *balaG* 2; Turkm. *balaq* 2; MTurk. *balaq* 2 (Pav. C.); Krm. *balaq* 2; Tat. *balaq* 1, 2; Bashk. *balaq* 2; Kaz. *balaq* 2; 'bird's foot'; KBalk. *balaq* 2, 3; KKalp. *balaq* 2; Kum. *balaq* 2; Nogh. *balaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 59, TMN 2, 312, ЭСТЯ 2, 51, Лексика 478. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *baláki* (pl.) (Аникин 114). [The latter contains a mistake: *balaq* 'пахи' is not attested in Kirgh. - it is

found in Radloff marked as Kirgh., which means Kazakh. Modern Kazakh dictionaries do not note this meaning; according to the KTTC (1, 86) it means 'a trouser leg from the knee downwards; horse's ankle; part of bird's leg from the knee down to the ankle'. In Kirgh. a related stem may be *balak-ta-* 'to hang loose (of clothes, particularly of wide trouser legs)'.]

PJpn. ***pànkì*** shin (голень): OJpn. *pagji*; MJpn. *fâgì*; Tok. *hagí*; Kyo. *hágì*; Kag. *hagí*.

◊ JLTT 395. In Ryukyu dialects the word means 'foot, leg': cf. Nase *hágì*, Hateruma *páN*, Yonaguni *háN* 'foot, leg' etc.

PKor. ***pár*** foot (нога): MKor. *pár*; Mod. *pal*.

◊ Nam 245, KED 722.

‖ EAS 52, Цинциус 1984, 29-30, ОСНЯ 3, 67-70, Menges 1984, 284, АПиПЯЯ 13, 43, 68, 96, 279.

✱**pǎ́li** a k. of fish: Tung. ***palu***; Mong. ***bilaɣu***; Turk. ***bālɨk***; Jpn. ***pírámái (~-miá)***; Kor. ***par-***.

PTung. ***palu*** a k. of fish (similar to bream) (вид рыбы (похожей на леща)): Man. *falu*.

◊ TMC 2, 298. Cf. also Evk. *pulwāne, palwāne* 'язь' (borrowed from some South.-Tung. form); *huldi* 'pike'.

PMong. ***bilaɣu*** 1 carp 2 a k. of salmon (1 карп 2 таймень, язь, сорога): WMong. *bilaɣu*; *buluu, buluɣu* 1 (БАМРС); Kh. *bulū cagān* 1; Bur. *bulūsxai* 2.

◊ Cf. also Bur. Okin. *baĺuɣan* < **baliɣugan*, Darkh. *baĺus* 'гольян, мелкий хариус' (see Аникин 115, but hardly borrowed < Turkic), with a usual vowel variation of the type *milaɣa / maliɣa*.

PTurk. ***bālɨk*** fish (рыба): OTurk. *balɨq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *balɨq* (MK); Tur. *balɨk*; Gag. *balıq*; Az. *balıG*; Turkm. *bālıq*; Sal. *baluχ*; MTurk. *balɨq, baliɣ* (MA, Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *baliq*; Uygh. *beliq*; Krm. *balɨx*; Tat. *balɨq*; Bashk. *balɨq*; Kirgh. *balɨq*; Kaz. *balɨq*; KBalk. *balɨq*; KKalp. *balɨq*; Kum. *balɨq*; Nogh. *balɨq*; Khak. *palɨx*; Shr. *palɨq* (R.); Oyr. *balɨq*; Tv. *balɨq*; Tof. *balɨq*; Chuv. *polъ*; Yak. *balɨk*; Dolg. *balɨk*.

◊ EDT 335, ЭСТЯ 2, 59-60, Лексика 177, Федотов 1, 443, Stachowski 52.

PJpn. ***pírámái (~-miá)*** fluke, plaice (камбала): OJpn. *p(j)iram(j)e*; Tok. *hìrame*; Kyo. *hìràmé*; Kag. *hiráme*.

◊ Tokyo and Kagoshima point unambiguosly to high tone, while Kyoto accent is irregular.

PKor. ***par-*** carp (карп): MKor. *parkaŋ'i*; Mod. *palgaŋi*.

◊ Liu 368, KED 724 (the word is attested in MKor. with -a-, not -ă-, thus Martin's derivation: "a red one" cannot be correct).

‖ VEWT 61, KW 31 (but Kalm. *balɣă zaɣăsn̆* 'a k. of fish', also compared by Ramstedt, is a Turkism), SKE 185, АПиПЯЯ 282, Дыбо 8, Лексика 177.

✱**pa̋li** to be separated, divided: Tung. ***pālan***; Mong. ***belčir***; Turk. ***bẹldir***; Jpn. ***pìràk-***; Kor. ***pər-***.

PTung. ***pālan*** bifurcation, fork (развилина): Evk. *hālān*; Neg. *xalan*; Ul. *xala(n)*; Nan. *pālā*; Orch. *xāla(n)*; Ud. *xala(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 312.

PMong. ***belčir*** cross-road; joint of two rivers (перекресток; соединение двух рек): MMong. *belćir* (SH); WMong. *belčir* (L 97); Kh. *belčir*; Bur. *belšer*; Kalm. *belčṛ*.

◊ KW 42.

PTurk. ***bẹldir*** cross-roads, separation of two roads or rivers (перекресток, развилка двух дорог или рек): OTurk. *beltir* (OUygh.); Karakh. *beltir* (MK); Tat. *pilter* 'вода, скапливающаяся около болота' (KCTT); Khak. *piltər*; Shr. *peltir*; Oyr. *beltir*; Tv. *beldir*; Yak. *bilir*.

◊ VEWT 69, EDT 334, *Лексика* 98.

PJpn. ***pìràk-*** to open (открывать): OJpn. *pjirak-*; MJpn. *fìràk-*; Tok. *hirák-*; Kyo. *hírák-*; Kag. *hìràk-*.

◊ JLTT 689.

PKor. ***pər-*** to be opened, separated (быть широко открытым, разделенным): MKor. *pər-*; Mod. *pəl-*, *pəlli-*, *pali-* (trans.).

◊ Nam 256, KED 706, 765, 766.

‖ KW 42, SKE 150, *Лексика* 98. Mong. may be borrowed from Turk. (see TMN 1, 238, Щербак 1997, 104).

✱**pa̋luk´V** hammer: Tung. ***paluka***; Mong. ***haluka***; Turk. ***bAlka***.

PTung. ***paluka*** hammer (молоток): Evk. *halka*; Evn. *halqъ*; Neg. *xalka*; Man. *folχo*; Ul. *palawụ(n)*; Ork. *palo*; Nan. *paloa*; Orch. *xalua*, *xaluwa*; Ud. *xaluga*; Sol. *alxa*.

◊ TMC 2, 313.

PMong. ***haluka*** hammer (молоток): MMong. *hol[o]ɣa* (IM); WMong. *aluqa(n)* (L 34); Kh. *alx(an)*; Bur. *alxa*; Kalm. *alxə*; Ord. *aluxu*; Mog. *aluqa* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *xallogu* (MGCD 106), *xaldugu* (Тод. *Дар.* 173).

◊ KW 7.

PTurk. ***bAlka*** hammer (молоток): Uzb. *balɣa* (Chag.); Tat. *balɣa* (Sib.); Kirgh. *balɣa*.

◊ VEWT 61, ЭСТЯ 2, 57-58. Turk. > Mong. *balɣu*, *balig* (KW 31).

‖ KW 7, Poppe 11, Цинциус 1984, 30-31, Doerfer MT 22, Rozycki 78 (although, despite the two latter authors, in this case one can hardly think of a loanword). A Western isogloss. May be an old "Wanderwort" (cf. PIE **pelek'u-*). Low tone and shortness reconstructed because of Mong. *h-.

✱**pàńé (~ pʿ-)** shadow: Tung. ***pańa-***; Jpn. ***pànə́ (~ -ua-)***; Kor. ***pám***.

PTung. ***pańa-n*** shadow (тень): Evk. *hańan;* Evn. *hịńān;* Neg. *xańan;* Man. *fajaŋGa* 'soul, spirit'; SMan. *faiŋə* 'soul' (771); Ul. *pańa(n);* Ork. *pana(n);* Nan. *pańã;* Orch. *xańa(n);* Ud. *xańa(n).*

◊ TMC 2, 315.

PJpn. ***pànə́ (~ -ua-)*** dim (тусклый): OJpn. *p(w)on(w)o(-ka);* MJpn. *fònó(-ka);* Tok. *hónoka;* Kyo. *hònókà;* Kag. *honoká.*

◊ JLTT 414.

PKor. ***pám*** night (ночь): MKor. *pám;* Mod. *pam.*

◊ Nam 248, KED 733.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 31. An Eastern isogloss. The Korean etymology in SKE 187 - to TM **pak-* 'dark' - is hardly plausible). Cf. perhaps also TM **pāŋ-sa-* (< **pań-ŋsa*?) 'black'.

✱**pańi (~ pʿ-)** ornament, attire: Tung. ***pani-***; Jpn. ***pìnâ***; Kor. ***pìń-***.

PTung. ***pani-*** 1 to attire 2 attire (1 наряжаться 2 наряд): Evk. *hani-sin* 2; Evn. *hānị* 2, *hānị-* 2; Neg. *xānị-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 314.

PJpn. ***pìnâ*** ornamental doll (кукла (как украшение)): MJpn. *finá (fìnà), fifina, fiina;* Tok. *hína;* Kyo. *hìnâ;* Kag. *hiná.*

◊ JLTT 407.

PKor. ***pìń-*** to attire; to blossom (наряжать(ся); цвести): MKor. *pìs-(pìńí-).*

◊ Nam 280.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**papʿó (~ pʿ-, -b-)** work, order: Tung. ***paba (~ -p-)***; Mong. ****(h)eb***; Jpn. ****pampi-***.

PTung. ***paba (~ -p-)*** 1 work 2 skilful, diligent 3 to work (1 работа 2 работящий, умелый, усердный 3 работать): Evk. *hawā* 1, *hawal-* 3; Evn. *hawa* 1, *hawad-* 3; Neg. *xawadijin* 2, *xawādakta-* 1; Man. *fafuri* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 307.

PMong. ****(h)eb*** system, order, co-operation (система, порядок, сотрудничество): WMong. *eb* (L 284); Kh. *ev;* Bur. *eb;* Kalm. *eb;* Ord. *eb.*

◊ KW 116. Mong. > Chag. *ep* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 286-287, see VEWT 46). Cf. perhaps also (with back vocalism) WMong. *aburi* 'conduct, behaviour' (L 7), *aɣali, aɣasi* id. (L 12).

PJpn. ****pampi-*** to serve, to be (*pol.*) (служить, быть (вежл.)): MJpn. *faberi* (MJ); Tok. *haber-.*

◊ JLTT 682.

‖ A rather abstract common Altaic root. Note WMong. *abu-ri* which can probably be identified with Man. *fafu-ri* < **papʿó-rV* (but MJ *faberi* is rather < **pampi ari,* with a Jpn. auxiliary verb.

✱**parki** mighty, brave: Tung. ***parga**; Mong. ***berke**; Turk. ***berk**.

PTung. ***parga** 1 brave 2 silly 3 scoundrel (1 храбрый 2 глупый 3 негодяй): Man. *fada* 3; Ul. *parGa(n)* 1; Ork. *parGa* 'miserly; harmful'; Nan. *farGa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 34.

PMong. ***berke** difficult; competent, skilled (трудный, тяжелый; сведущий в чем-л., компетентный): MMong. *berke* (HY 51, SH, IM), *berket-* 'to become firm' (MA); WMong. *berke* (L 99); Kh. *berx*; Bur. *berxe*; Kalm. *berkə* (KPC 95); Ord. *berχe*.

◊ Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *berke* (but hardly > Chuv. *parga*, despite Róna-Tas 1971-1972).

PTurk. ***berk** mighty (мощный, крепкий): OTurk. *berk* (OUygh.); Karakh. *berk* (MK); Tur. *berk*; Az. *bärk*; Turkm. *berk*; MTurk. *berk* (Pav. C.); Bashk. *birĭk*; Kaz. *berĭk*; SUygh. *perik*; Chuv. *parga*; Yak. *bert*; Dolg. *bert*.

◊ EDT 361-362, ЭСТЯ 2, 116-120, Stachowski 58.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**pằró (~ p'-, -ŕ-)** to buy, sell: Tung. ***pār-**; Jpn. ***pàrá-p-**; Kor. ***pắrh-**.

PTung. ***pār-** to buy, sell (покупать, продавать): Evn. *hārat-*.

◊ TMC 2, 317. Attested only in Evn., with probable parallels in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ***pàrá-p-** to pay (платить): OJpn. *parap-*; MJpn. *fàráf-*; Tok. *hará-*; Kyo. *hárá-*; Kag. *hàrà-*.

◊ JLTT 684. Kyoto reflects a variant **pàràp-*.

PKor. ***pắrh-** to sell (продавать): MKor. *phắr-*; Mod. *phal-*.

◊ Nam 462, KED 1736.

‖ EAS 56. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**pằsi** to press, pinch: Tung. ***pasu-**; Turk. ***bas-**; Jpn. ***pìsà- / *pèsè-**; Kor. ***ps-kí-**.

PTung. ***pasu-** to press, pinch (давить (пальцами, рукой)): Evk. *hasu-*; Evn. *as asъqlan* (Ol.) 'handful'; Neg. *xas-*; Ul. *pasala-*; Nan. *pasoala-*; Sol. *asu̯-xu̯* 'handful'.

◊ TMC 2, 318.

PTurk. ***bas-** to press (давить): OTurk. *bas-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bas-* (MK); Tur. *bas-*; Gag. *bas-*; Az. *bas-*; Turkm. *bas-*; Sal. *pas-*; MTurk. *bas-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bɔs-*; Uygh. *bas-*; Krm. *bas-*; Tat. *bas-*; Bashk. *baθ-*; Kirgh. *bas-*; Kaz. *bas-*; KBalk. *bas-*; KKalp. *bas-*; Kum. *bas-*; Nogh. *bas-*; SUygh. *pas-*; Khak. *pas-*; Oyr. *bas-*, *pas-*; Tv. *bas-*; Tof. *ba's-*; Chuv. *pos-*; Yak. *battā-*; Dolg. *battā-*.

◊ EDT 370-371, VEWT 64, TMN 2, 245-6, ЭСТЯ 2, 74-77, Лексика 393, 571, Федотов 1, 448, Stachowski 55. Turk. > Mong. *basu-* > Man. *basu-*, see TMN 2, 246, Doerfer MT 135.

PJpn. ***pìsà- / *pèsè-** thin (тонкий): OJpn. *p(w)oso-*; MJpn. *fòsò-*; Tok. *hosói*; Kyo. *hósò-*; Kag. *hosó-*.

◊ JLTT 828. Ryukyu dialects reflect a variant **pìsà-*, cf. Shuri *Pís-*, Hateruma *pìšà-*, Yonaguni *xìtè-*.

PKor. ***ps-kí-*** to press, hold tight, compress (давить, сжимать): MKor. *pskí-*; Mod. *k:ī-*.

◊ Nam 80, KED 262.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 68, 280, Дыбо 13. In Jpn. 'thin' < 'pressed, compressed'. The root is actively interacting with **pìsa* and **p'i̯úsa* q. v. The vowel variation in Japanese dialects may point to a variant **pə̀se*.

pasi (~ p'-)** to run, hurry: Tung. ***pasi-; Mong. ***hesüre-***; Kor. ***pàs- / *pàč-***.

PTung. ***pasi-*** 1 to hurry, scurry 2 commotion, hurry (n.) (1 торопиться, суетиться 2 торопливость, смятение): Evn. *hasu̯l-* 1; Man. *fači-xin, faču-xun* 2, *fačixaša-* 1; SMan. *fačuhun* 'disordered' (1065); *faču-huru-* 'to fall into disorder' (1066); Sol. *pašigū* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 36. The root has some peculiarities: p- in Sol. probably means that the word is borrowed < Manchu. Manchu -č- : Evn. -s- is quite strange: it may point to a derivation *fači-* < **pasi-či-* in Manchu. TM > Dag. *pačgurā-* 'to become confused' (Тод. Даг. 160).

PMong. ***hesüre-*** to jump, leap (прыгать, скакать): WMong. *üsür-* (L 1014); Kh. *üsre-*; Bur. *hür-*; Kalm. *ösr-* (KPC); Ord. *üsür-*; Mog. *üsürü-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *xesre-* (Тод. Даг. 176), *xesure-*; *hesere-* (MD 161); S.-Yugh. *sur-*.

◊ MGCD 697.

PKor. ***pàs- / *pàč-*** 1 to be hurried, urgent 2 to make hurry (1 быть срочным, поспешным 2 торопить, спешить): MKor. *pàspə̀-* 1, *pàčh-* 2; Mod. *pap:i-* 1, *pap:i-ha-* 2.

◊ Liu 371, 373, KED 707.

‖ The root should be distinguished from **bàšo* q.v. (cf. the distinction in Manchu), although some contaminations were possible. Note a peculiar alternation *-s-/*-č- both in TM and Kor., possibly indicating an old suffixed variant **p'asi-čV*. PJ **pasir-* 'run', because of its vocalism, is rather to be attributed to PA **p'elo* q.v.

pàt'á** to get, get into: Turk. ***bat-; Jpn. ***pàtàr-***; Kor. ***pàt-***.

PTurk. ***bat-*** 1 to sink 2 to fit into, get into (1 погружаться 2 попадать): OTurk. *bat-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *bat-* 1 (MK); Tur. *bat-* 1; Gag. *bat-* 1; Az. *bat-* 1; Turkm. *bat-* 1; Sal. *pat-* 1; MTurk. *bat-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bɔt-* 1; Uygh. *bat-, pat-* 1; Krm. *bat-* 1; Tat. *bat-* 1; Bashk. *bat-* 1; Kirgh. *bat-* 1, 2; Kaz. *bat-* 1; KBalk. *bat-* 1; KKalp. *bat-* 1; Kum. *bat-* 1; Nogh. *bat-* 1; SUygh. *pat-* 1; Khak. *pat-* 1; Shr. *pat-* 1; Oyr. *pat-* 1, 2; Tv. *ba't-* 1; Tof. *ba't-* 1; Chuv. *pot-* 1; Yak. *bat-* 2, *batarɨ* 'into, deep into'; Dolg. *batarɨ* 'into, deep into'.

◊ EDT 298, VEWT 65, ЭСТЯ 2, 78-80, TMN 2, 230-231, Stachowski 55, Федотов 1, 455.

PJpn. ***pàtàr-*** to collect (taxes etc.) (собирать (налоги), взимать): OJpn. *patar-*; MJpn. *fatàr-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

PKor. ***pàt-*** to get, obtain (получать): MKor. *pàt-*; Mod. *pat-*.

◊ Nam 244, KED 721.

‖ Poppe 89. Korean has a usual "verbal" low tone. See also *pagdi, *p´etV.

✱**pàt´e** louse, biting insect: Tung. ***pānta- / *pēnte-***; Mong. ***batagana***; Turk. ***bit***; Kor. ***pátǎrí***.

PTung. ***pānta- / *pēnte-*** 1 rainworm 2 flea (1 дождевой червь 2 блоха): Evk. *hānteku* 2; Nan. *pēnte* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 47, 315.

PMong. ***batagana*** fly (муха): WMong. *bataɣana* (L 91); Kh. *batgana*; Bur. *bataganā(n)*; Kalm. *batxənə*; Ord. *bataGana*.

◊ KW 36.

PTurk. ***bit*** louse (вошь): OTurk. *bit* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bit* (MK); Tur. *bit*; Gag. *bit́* ; Az. *bit*; Turkm. *bit*; Sal. *bišt*; Khal. *bit*; MTurk. *bit* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bit*; Uygh. *pit*; Krm. *bit*; Tat. *bet*; Bashk. *bet*; Kirgh. *bit*; Kaz. *bit*; KBalk. *bit*; KKalp. *bijt*; Kum. *bit*; Nogh. *bijt*; SUygh. *bišt*; Khak. *pət*; Shr. *pit*; Oyr. *bijt*; Tv. *bi't*; Tof. *bi't*; Chuv. *pĭjdъ*; Yak. *bit*.

◊ VEWT 76, EDT 296, ЭСТЯ 2, 151-152, Лексика 182.

PKor. ***pátǎrí*** a k. of bee (вид пчелы): MKor. *pátǎrí*; Mod. *pādəri*.

◊ Nam 237, KED 704.

‖ Лексика 182. Mergers with **p´unte* were possible (which may explain the non-etymological -n- in TM). Cf. also Kor. *pindă* 'bedbug'?

✱**pát´ò (~ *p´-)** loom, detail of a loom: Tung. ***pata-n***; Jpn. ***pátà***; Kor. ***pǎtǎi***.

PTung. ***pata-n*** part of a weaving machine (ткацкое бердо): Man. *fatan*.

◊ TMC 2, 318.

PJpn. ***pátà*** loom (ткацкий станок): OJpn. *pata*; MJpn. *fátà*; Tok. *hatá*; Kyo. *hátà*; Kag. *háta*.

◊ JLTT 401.

PKor. ***pǎtǎi*** comb of a loom (гребень ткацкого станка): MKor. *pǎtǎi*; Mod. *padi*.

◊ Nam 240.

‖ Lee 1958, 109. An interesting Eastern isogloss.

✱**peč´i (~ p´-)** to be ashamed: Tung. ***pečke-***; Mong. ***hiče-***; Kor. ***pìskírì-***.

PTung. ***pečke-*** 1 to be surprised 2 strange, wonderful; base, vile (1 удивляться 2 странный, причудливый; подлый, низкий): Man. *fečexun, fečuxun* 2, *fečki* (n.); Ul. *peksi-, peske-* 1; Ork. *peske-* 1; Nan. *pekse-* 1; Orch. *peksi-, pekse-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 48, 305.

PMong. ***hiče-** to be ashamed (стыдиться): MMong. *xiǯe-* (HY 36), *xiče-* (SH), *hič[e]-* (IM), *(h)ičі-* (MA); WMong. *ičе-, ičі-* (L 397-8); Kh. *iče-*; Bur. *eše-*; Kalm. *ič-* (KPC); Ord. *ičа-, ečі-*; Dag. *xiči-* (Тод. Дат. 184), *šičі-* (Тод. Дат. 184, MD 215); Dong. *šiǯə-, šəǯe-*; Bao. *ǯe-, šiče-*; S.-Yugh. *hǯe-*; Mongr. *śǯē-* (SM 389), *śiǯē-*.

◊ MGCD 415.

PKor. ***pìskírì-** to be ashamed (стыдиться): MKor. *pìskírì-*; Mod. *puk:iri-*.

◊ Nam 274, KED 810.

‖ SKE 203. MKor. *pìskírì-* = *pìčkírì-* (-s- and -č- are usually neutralized in this position).

***pédá** spot, ornament: Tung. ***pede-**; Mong. ***beder**; Turk. ***bEdiŕ**; Jpn. ***pantara**.

PTung. ***pede-** 1 to ruddle, mark (deer, by cutting its ear) 2 dirty (1 метить (оленя, надрезая ухо) 2 грязный): Evk. *pedenē-* 1 (Kamn.); Evn. *hedenin* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 45, 360. The dialectal Evk. form must be a borrowing from some unattested Southern Tungus form (as suggested by initial p-).

PMong. ***beder** stripe, spot (полоса, пятно): WMong. *beder, bider* (L 103); Kh. *bider, beder*; Bur. *büder*; Kalm. *bedr̥*; Ord. *beder* 'ornaments on metal or stone'.

◊ KW 41. Mong. > Manchu *bederi* id. (see Rozycki 27).

PTurk. ***bEdiŕ** painted ornamentation (рисованное украшение): OTurk. *bediz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *beδiz* (MK).

◊ EDT 310, VEWT 67.

PJpn. ***pantara** in spots, scattered about (пятнистый, лежащий пятнами): OJpn. *padare*; MJpn. *fadara*.

◊ JLTT 395.

‖ EAS 112, KW 41, Poppe 53 (Turk.-Mong.). Despite Щербак 1997, 163, Mong. cannot be borrowed < Turk. High tone reconstructed because of Mong. *b-. See also notes to **méru*.

***pegò (~ pʿ-, -e)** wart: Tung. ***pegu(-ŋkte) (~ -b-)**; Mong. ***heɣü**; Jpn. ***pəkurə (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***pegu(-ŋkte) (~ -b-)** 1 wart 2 callosity (1 бородавка 2 мозоль): Evk. *hewum* 2, *heŋte* 1; Evn. *heŋtъ* 1; Neg. *xewu-kte* 2, *xeŋte* 1; Man. *fuxu* 1; SMan. *fuxə, fuxu* 'wart, knot' (150, 2136); Ul. *pukte* 1; Ork. *peukte* 1; Nan. *pūkte* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 359, 367. Evk. > Dolg. *heŋte* (see Stachowski 101).

PMong. ***heɣü** wart (бородавка): WMong. *egüü* (L 303); Kh. *ü̆(n)*; Bur. *ü̆(n)*; Kalm. *ü̆n*; Ord. *ü̆*; Dag. *xueči*; Dong. *xeuʒi*; Bao. *xəuʒi*; Mongr. *xūrʒə*.

◊ KW 461, MGCD 685.

PJpn. ***pəkurə (~ -ua-)*** mole (родинка): Tok. *hokuro*.

‖ Poppe 61, Цинциус 1984, 45; Miller 1985, 147-148.

✱**pek´a** to be embarrassed: Tung. ***peku-***; Mong. ***bakar-da-***.

PTung. ***peku-*** to be embarrassed, troubled (смущаться, досадовать, стесняться): Evk. *hekir-*; Evn. *hekuruŋči-*; Man. *foχodo-, foχoto-, fexere-; fuqšiša-*; Jurch. *fe-xi-lar* (373); Ul. *peken-*.

◊ TMC 2, 302, 362-363.

PMong. ***bakar-da-*** to be embarrassed (беспокоиться, смущаться): WMong. *baqarda-*; Kh. *baxarda-*; Bur. *baxarda-*; Ord. *baxarda-*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**pḗk´i** big, solid, firm: Tung. ***pegdi***; Mong. ***hike***; Turk. ***bek***; Kor. ***phək (< *pəkh) / *pak***.

PTung. ***pegdi*** 1 big, large 2 important (1 большой 2 важный): Evk. *hegdi* 1; Man. *fuǯun* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 302, 359.

PMong. ***hike*** big (большой): MMong. *jeke* (HY 52, SH), *ike, ikä* (IM), *jikä̆* (MA); WMong. *jeke* (L 431); Kh. *ix*; Bur. *jexe*; Kalm. *ikə*; Ord. *iχe*; Mog. *ikä, (j)ẹkä*, ZM *īkä* (6-2b); Dag. *xige, xig* (Тод. Даг. 176), *šige* (Тод. Даг. 183), *šihe* (MD 215); Dong. *fugie*; Bao. *hgo, fgo*, (MGCD) *fguo*; S.-Yugh. *šge*, (MGCD) *šige*; Mongr. *šge* (SM 378).

◊ KW 205-206, MGCD 415, TMN 1, 553. Initial *h- here is quite certain, but is rendered as j- in MMong. because of early palatalization (*hike > **hjeke* > *jeke*). Mong. > Manchu *jekeŋge* 'noble, grand' (see Rozycki 224).

PTurk. ***bek*** firm, solid, stable (крепкий, прочный): OTurk. *bek* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bek* (MK); Tur. *pek*; Gag. *pek*; Turkm. *bek*; MTurk. *bek, pek* (Pav. C.); Krm. *bek*; Tat. *bik*; Bashk. *bik*; Kirgh. *bek*; Kaz. *bek*; KBalk. *bek*; KKalp. *bek*; Kum. *bek*; Nogh. *bek*; SUygh. *poq, piq*; Khak. *pik*; Shr. *pek*; Oyr. *bek, pek*; Tv. *be'k*; Chuv. *pak* 'suddenly, abruptly'; Yak. *bige*; Dolg. *bige*.

◊ EDT 323, VEWT 68, ЭСТЯ 2, 117-120, Stachowski 60. Closed -i- in Yak. is probably secondary.

PKor. ***pəkh / *pak*** 1 very 2 vigorously (1 очень 2 сильно, крепко): MKor. *phək*; Mod. *phək* 1, *pak* 2.

◊ Liu 723, KED 710, 1743.

‖ SKE 62 (Mong.-Tung., incorrectly criticized in TMN 1, 554), 213. Turk. > WMong. *beki, bekü* > Evk. *beki* (see Doerfer TMN 1, 238, MT 101). Low tone and shortness reconstructed because of Mong. *h-. Cf. also **p'i̯àka* 'mighty' (the two roots could interfere because of similarity).

✱**pḗk´ò (~ b-)** to wish, plan: Mong. ***baka-***; Turk. ***bẹ̄ken-***; Jpn. ***pàkàr-***.

PMong. ***baka-*** to covet, wish (желать, желание, стремление): WMong. *baqa-, baqa* (n.) (L 92); Kh. *bax* (n.); Bur. *baxa-*; Kalm. *baxə* (n.);

Ord. *baxa* 'satisfaction'; Mongr. *baGa-, paGa-* 'atteindre, combattre' (SM 18, 301).

◊ KW 28.

PTurk. ***bḗken-*** 1 to feel joy, appreciate 2 to strive, hope (1 радоваться, быть благодарным 2 стремиться, надеяться): Karakh. *biken-* 1; Tur. *beγen-* 1; Az. *bäjän-* 1; Turkm. *begen-* 1; Kirgh. *bekǖ* 'big joy, feast'; Chuv. *pigen-* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 101.

PJpn. ***pàkàr-*** to plan, decide, measure (планировать, решать, измерять): OJpn. *pakar-*; MJpn. *fâkàr-*; Tok. *hakár-*; Kyo. *hákár-*; Kag. *hàkàr-*.

◊ JLTT 683.

‖ Cf. **bàka* which could have influenced some of the reflexes (in particular, the accentological irregularity of Jpn. **pàkàr-* may be explained by a secondary analogy with **bàkàr-*).

pekʻV (~ pʻ-)** hot, warm: Tung. ***peku-; Kor. ***pukh (~ -i-)***.

PTung. ***peku-*** hot (горячий): Evk. *heku*; Evn. *hök*; Neg. *xeku-gdi*; Man. *fáka-n* 'heat', *faqu-* 'to warm, dry'; Ul. *pukeuli* 'hot', *pêkki-* 'to bake' (> Ud. *piki-le-* id.); Ork. *xekkuli, xekusi* (< Oroch.); Nan. *peku* 'hot', *pi̯i̯-* 'to warm, heat'; Orch. *xeku, xekusi*; Ud. *xekuhi*; Sol. *exūgdi*.

◊ TMC 2, 362, 322. The root should be distinguished from **pigi-* (v. sub **pʻi̯agV*).

PKor. ***pukh (~ -i-)*** warm (of weather) (теплый (о погоде)): Mod. *phuk-ha-*.

◊ KED 1762.

‖ EAS 53. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

pélaba(nV)** a figure made of stone or clay: Tung. ***pelbu; Mong. ***barimal***; Turk. ***bAlbal***; Jpn. ***páníwá, *panipai, *panima***.

PTung. ***pelbu*** antropomorphic pendant for women's hair (подвеска (женское украшение в виде изображения человека)): Evk. *helbu*.

◊ TMC 2, 363. Attested only in Evk., but having interesting external parallels.

PMong. ***barimal*** sculpture (скульптура): WMong. *barimal* (L 88); Kh. *baŕmal*.

PTurk. ***bAlbal*** a stone pillar erected on a grave (каменная колонна на могиле, истукан): OTurk. *balbal* (Orkh., Yen.).

◊ EDT 333. Borrowed (possibly from an unattested Bulgar source) in Old Russ. *bolvanъ*, Hung. *bálvány* 'stone idol' (suggestion of Melioranski, evidently preferable to the hypothesis of Korsch-Dmitriev < Pers. *pahlavān*, see Шипова 84-85, Аникин 114).

PJpn. ***páníwá, *panipai, *panima*** figures of men and animals made of clay (фигурки людей и животных из глины): OJpn. *paniwa, panipe, panima*; MJpn. *fáníwá*; Tok. *hàniwa*; Kyo. *háníwá*; Kag. *haníwa*.

◊ JLTT 398.

‖ The comparison is very tempting, although one has to suppose secondary folk-etymological reanalysis in Mong. (where *barimal* /a

regular development < **balima-r/*) is associated with *bari-* 'to build', and in Jpn., where all the variants are associated with *pani* 'red clay'.

✱**pə̀ma (~ p'-)** lip; to munch, eat: Tung. ***pemu-**; Jpn. ***pàm-**.

PTung. ***pemu-n** lip (губа): Evk. *hemun*; Evn. *hemъn*; Neg. *xemun*; Man. *femen*; SMan. *femən* 'lips' (28); Ul. *pemu(n)*; Ork. *pemu(n)*; Nan. *pemũ*; Orch. *xemu(n)*; Ud. *xemu(n)*; Sol. *emme*.

◊ TMC 2, 365.

PJpn. ***pàm-** eat (есть): OJpn. *pam-*; MJpn. *fàm-*.

◊ JLTT 684.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; cf. perhaps Khalkha *omgono-* 'to chew with a toothless mouth'. On another possibility of finding Turkic and Mongolian matches see under **emV*.

✱**peńo (~ *b-, *p'-, -o-)** flame, light: Jpn. ***pənə**; Kor. ***pə̀ńə́-**.

PJpn. ***pənə** 1 flame 2 dawn (1 пламя 2 рассвет): OJpn. *p(w)ono-p(w)o* 1, *ake-b(w)ono* 2; MJpn. *fónó-fó, fònò-fò* 1, *áké-bónó* 2; Tok. *hónoo, honóo* 1, *àkebono* 2; Kyo. *hònóò* 1, *ákébónó* 2; Kag. *honoó* 1, *akebóno* 2.

◊ JLTT 379, 414. Original accent is not quite clear, because the root is attested only in compounds.

PKor. ***pə̀ńə́-** to shine brightly, glare (сверкать, сиять): MKor. *pə̀ńə́-*; Mod. *nun-pusi-*.

◊ Nam 242, KED 362.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**pép'à** dust, ashes: Tung. ***pepke-**; Mong. ***baɣa-su**; Jpn. ***páp(u)í**; Kor. ***pap**.

PTung. ***pepke-** grey (серый): Evk. *hepkeme*; Evn. *hēwkēn*.

◊ TMC 2, 368.

PMong. ***baɣa-** 1 dirt, excrements 2 to defecate (1 грязь, навоз 2 испражняться): MMong. *bāsun* (IM), *bāṣun* (IM), *basun* (MA); WMong. *baɣasu(n)* 1, *baɣa-* 2 (L 67, 68); Kh. *bās(an)* 1, *bā-* 2; Bur. *bāha(n)* 1, *bā-* 2; Kalm. *bāsṇ* 1, *bā-* 2; Ord. *bās(u)* 1; Dag. *bāse* 1, *bā-* 2 (MD 116), *bās* 1; Dong. *basun* 1, *ba-* 2; Bao. *basoŋ* 1, *ba-* 2; S.-Yugh. *pāsən* 1, *pā-* 2; Mongr. *bāsə* (SM 23) 1, *bā-* 2 (SM 18).

◊ KW 37, MGCD 128, 129. Cf. also **baɣa-la-* 'to suppurate' (KW 37).

PJpn. ***páp(u)í** ashes (зола): OJpn. *pap(j)i*; MJpn. *fáfí*; Tok. *hài*; Kyo. *háí*; Kag. *hé*.

◊ JLTT 396.

PKor. ***pap** refuse, scraps, dust (мусор, пыль): Mod. *pap*.

◊ KED 734.

‖ SKE 189.

✱**pə́rV** gland, callus: Tung. ***peri**; Mong. ***ber-seɣü**; Turk. ***ber**.

PTung. ***peri** abrasion, chafe (on horse's back) (ссадина, стертая кожа на спине лошади): Man. *feri*.

◊ TMC 2, 305. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***ber-seɣü*** callus, hard growth (мозоль, твердый нарост): WMong. *bersegüü* (L 100); Kh. *bersü̜*; Bur. *ber* 'bump'; Kalm. *bersü̜*; Ord. *bersü̜*.

◊ KW 43.

PTurk. ***ber*** swelling, gland (железа, желвак): Turkm. *berč*; Kaz. *berišek* 'thick pus' (R); Khak. *mir*; Chuv. *par*; Yak. *bert / berge*.

‖ KW 43. A Western isogloss. For Turkic cf. alternatively Mong. *marma-* 'be covered with scars' (cf. traces of nasalization in Turkic languages).

pə́ŕe (~ -i)** to feel discomfort, trouble: Tung. ***peru-; Mong. ***berbeji-***; Turk. ***bə́ŕ-***.

PTung. ***peru-*** to despair, be troubled (отчаиваться, тревожиться): Evk. *herū-*; Evn. *heri-*; Man. *furu* 'angry'; Nan. *peurekpen-*.

◊ TMC 2, 303, 370.

PMong. ***berbeji-*** to chill, grow numb from cold; to be frightened, shy (затекать (от холода), зябнуть; пугаться, стесняться): WMong. *berbeji-* (L 99); Kh. *bervij-*; Bur. *birba-* 'to feel aversion'; Kalm. *berwē-*; Ord. *berwī-*.

◊ KW 43. Cf. **berele-*, with a possibility of contamination.

PTurk. ***bə́ŕ-*** to shiver, tremble; to hate, be bored, feel aversion (дрожать; ненавидеть, скучать, чувствовать отвращение): OTurk. *bez-* (Orkh.); Karakh. *bez-* (MK); Tur. *bez-*; Az. *bez-*, *bezik-*; Turkm. *bezik-*; MTurk. *bez-* (Qutb, CCum.); Uzb. *bez-*; Uygh. *bäz-*; Krm. *bez-*; Tat. *biz-*; Bashk. *biδ-*; Kirgh. *bez-*; Kaz. *bez-*; KBalk. *bez-*; KKalp. *bez-*; Kum. *bez-*; Nogh. *bez-*; Yak. *biskī-*.

◊ EDT 389, ЭСТЯ 2, 103-105, TMN 2, 387, Мудрак Дисс. 172 (*~-ə́-*, *-ə́-*).

‖ A Western isogloss. High tone reconstructed because of Mong. *b-.

pə̀sá (~ -o)** handle: Tung. ***pesin; Mong. ***hesi***; Turk. ***basu-***; Jpn. ***pàsú-i***.

PTung. ***pesin*** handle (рукоятка, ручка): Evk. *hesin*; Evn. *hesъn*; Neg. *xesin*; Man. *fesin*; SMan. *fešən*, *fesən* (594); Ul. *pesi(n)*; Ork. *pesi(n)*; Nan. *pesī*; Orch. *xesi(n)*; Ud. *xehi*.

◊ TMC 2, 371.

PMong. ***hesi*** handle, stem (ручка, стебель): MMong. *hɛ̈ši* (IM), *niši* [with a secondary n- and a usual loss of *h- before s] (MA 299); WMong. *esi* (L 334); Kh. *iš*; Bur. *eše*; Kalm. *išə*; Ord. *eši*, *iši*; Dag. *xeši* (Тод. Дар. 176), *heši* (MD 161); Bao. *jɛśi*; S.-Yugh. *šə*.

◊ KW 210, MGCD 413.

PTurk. ***basu-*** sledge-hammer, mallet (молот, колотушка): Karakh. *basu* (MK); Uzb. *baska*; Khak. *pasxa*; Oyr. *masqa*.

◊ VEWT 64.

PJpn. ***pàsú-i*** chopsticks (палочки для еды): OJpn. *pasi*; MJpn. *fàsí*; Tok. *háshi*; Kyo. *hàshí*; Kag. *hashi*.

◊ JLTT 400. The reconstruction **pàsú-i* is based on the old Ainu loanword *pasuy* id.

‖ EAS 54, 102, Poppe 11, 65, , ОСНЯ 3, 77-78, Цинциус 1984, 71-72, АПиПЯЯ 79. Despite Doerfer MT 22, Rozycki 76, TM is not < Mong.

pĕsu** hoar-frost, cold: Mong. ***(h)osu-; Turk. ***bes***; Kor. ****psă-***.

PMong. ***(h)osu-*** to freeze, to suffer from cold weather (мерзнуть, страдать от холода): WMong. *osu-* (L 624); Kh. *oso-*, *osgo-*.

PTurk. ***bes*** hoar-frost (иней): Tur. dial. *besim*, *peseγü*, *pesen*; Tat. *bɛs*; Bashk. *bäθ*; Chuv. *pas*.

◊ Лексика 37-38.

PKor. ****psă-*** hail (град): MKor. *psă-nūn*.

◊ Nam 289. Connection with *psăr* 'rice' ("rice-snow") cannot be excluded, cf. also the modern form *s:aragi-nūn*.

‖ Shortness and low tone reconstructed because of Mong. *(h)-. The etymology is somewhat questionable because of late attestation in Turkic and a possibility of an alternative analysis of the Korean form (see above).

pètá (~ *pʻ-, -tʻ-)** to drop, fall: Tung. ****pet-ke-; Jpn. ****pàtá-***; Kor. ****ptərə́-***.

PTung. ****pet-ke-*** to fall, drop (падать, валиться): Evn. *hetkъŋči-*.

◊ TMC 2, 371. Attested only in Evn., with possible parallels in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ****pàtá-*** to finish; anchor (кончаться; ставить на якорь): OJpn. *pata-*; MJpn. *fata-*; Tok. *haté-*; Kyo. *hàtè-*; Kag. *hàtè-*.

◊ JLTT 686.

PKor. ****ptərə́-*** to drop, fall; finish (падать, валиться; кончаться): MKor. *ptərá-tí-*; Mod. *t:ərə-ǯi-*.

◊ Nam 151, KED 449.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. also Kor. *ptār-* 'shake'.

pĕǯo** to dance: Tung. ****pēǯe-; Mong. ****böǯi-***; Jpn. ****pàjà-s-***.

PTung. ****pēǯe-*** to dance, roundelay (танцевать, водить хоровод): Evk. *hēǯe-*; Evn. *hēǯe-*; Neg. *xēǯen-*; Ork. *xede* (n.).

◊ TMC 2, 361.

PMong. ****böǯi-*** to dance (танцевать): MMong. *boǯi* (HY 35), *buǯo-* (IM), *buǯi-* (MA); WMong. *böǯi-* (L 153: *büǯi-*); Kh. *böǯi-*, *büǯi-*; Bur. *büžeg*; Kalm. *böǯi-*, *büǯi-*; Ord. *böǯök* 'elégant, joli', *böǯöglö-*.

◊ KW 54.

PJpn. ****pàjà-s-*** to accompany, sing and dance in unison (аккомпанировать, танцевать и петь в унисон): MJpn. *fajas-*; Tok. *hayás-*; Kyo. *háyás-*; Kag. *hàyàs-*.

◊ JLTT 686.

‖ PA length is responsible for the preservation of b- in Mong. (otherwise **höʒi-* would be expected).

✱**píla** to rub, plaster: Tung. ***pilki-**; Mong. ***bila-**; Jpn. ***pár-**; Kor. ***pă̆ră̆-**.

PTung. ***pilki-** to rub, smear (натирать, гладить): Evk. *hilki-*; Ork. *pikki-*; Nan. *pi̯lqi̯-*.

◊ TMC 2, 324.

PMong. ***bila-** to smear, plaster (мазать, лепить): WMong. *bila-* (L 103); Kh. *bala-*; Bur. *bila-*; Ord. *bila-*.

PJpn. ***pár-** to plaster (лепить, наклеивать): OJpn. par-; MJpn. *fár-*; Tok. *hàr-*; Kyo. *hár-*; Kag. *hár-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

PKor. ***pă̆ră̆-** to plaster, stick on (штукатурить, намазывать): MKor. *pă̆ră̆-*; Mod. *pari-*.

◊ Nam 241, KED 706.

‖ Martin 238 (Kor.-Jpn.). Irregular vowel in Korean (**parV-* would be expected) can be probably explained by vowel assimilation, as well as by secondary adjustment of this root to *părăm* 'wall' q.v.

✱**pĭ̆le** a k. of hawk: Tung. ***pilakta**; Mong. ***heliɣe**; Turk. ***bElin**.

PTung. ***pilakta** 1 a k. of hawk 2 a k. of woodpecker (1 вид ястреба 2 вид дятла): Evk. *hilakta* 1, 2; Ul. *pi̯laqta*, *pêlaqta* 2; Nan. *pi̯laqta* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 323.

PMong. ***heliɣe** hawk, kite (ястреб, коршун): MMong. *xele'e* (HY 13), *iläs* (MA), *həlē-* (LH); WMong. *elije* (L 310); Kh. *elē*; Bur. *ele̋*; Kalm. *elē*; Ord. *elē*, *ilē*; Dong. *helie*; Bao. *heloŋ*.

◊ KW 119, MGCD 257. Mong. > Yak. *elia*, ? > Bulg. **ileg* > Hung. *ölyú*, *ölyuv* (see Gombocz 1912, VEWT 40).

PTurk. ***bElin** hawk (ястреб): Az. *beli-baGlı̆*; Uzb. *belin* (Chag.); Krm. *beliŋ*.

◊ VEWT 69.

‖ Shortness and low tone reconstructed because of Mong. **h-*. A Western isogloss; cf. perhaps OJ *p(j)e-* in *p(j)è-wò* 'foot-cord for a falcon' (wo 'cord, rope'), although the word pe is not attested separately. PJ **pìa* < **pĭ̆l(e)-gV* would be a very good match for Mong. **heliɣe*.

✱**pĭ̆ĺʒi** to become overripe, pickled: Tung. ***pil(b)-**; Mong. ***(h)ilʒi-**; Turk. ***bilč-**; Jpn. ***pìsì-kuá**; Kor. ***pìrí-**.

PTung. ***pil(b)-** 1 slime 2 to eat raw fish, meat 3 ear pus (1 слизь 2 есть сырое (мясо, рыбу) 3 ушной гной): Evk. *hilbi* 1, *hilbikā-* 2, dial. *pila* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 38, 324. A rather rich group of derivatives - attested, however, only in Evk.

PMong. ***(h)ilʒi-** to become rotten, overboiled (перевариться, сгнивать): WMong. *ilʒira-*, *ilʒire-* (L 408: *ilʒara-*, *ilʒira-*, *ilʒire-*); Kh. *jalʒra-*; Bur. *ilzar-*; Kalm. *ilʒr-*.

◊ KW 206. Mong. > Dolg. *ilʒi, ilʒirij-* (see Stachowski 125).

PTurk. ***biĺč-*** to become boiled, ripe (свариваться, созревать): OTurk. *biš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *biš-* (MK, KB); Tur. *piš-*; Gag. *piš-*; Az. *biš-*; Turkm. *biš-*; Khal. *biš-*; MTurk. *biš-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *piš-*; Uygh. *piš-*; Krm. *biš-*, *piš-*; Tat. *beš-*, *peš-*; Bashk. *beš-*; Kirgh. *biš-*; Kaz. *pis-*; KBalk. *biš-*; KKalp. *pis-*; Kum. *biš-*; SUygh. *pis-*; Khak. *pis-*; Shr. *piš-*; Oyr. *biš-*; Tv. *biš-*; Tof. *biš-*; Chuv. *piś-*; Yak. *bus-*.

◊ VEWT 76, EDT 376-377, ЭСТЯ 2, 161-164. Mong. *bišlaq, basilaγ* 'a k. of home cheese' < Turk. **biĺ-lak* (Clark 1980, 42, Щербак 1997, 107).

PJpn. ***pìsì-kuá*** anchovy (анчоусы): MJpn. *fisìkó*.

◊ JLTT 409.

PKor. ***pìrí-*** to smell (of raw fish, blood) (пахнуть (сырой рыбой, кровью)): MKor. *pìrí-*; Mod. *piri-*.

◊ Liu 412, KED 852.

‖ JOAL 119.

píńŋe** scar, pimple: Tung. ***pinŋa; Mong. ***beɣere***; Turk. ***bęńŕ***; Kor. ***pìńìrìm***.

PTung. ***pinŋa*** scar (шрам): Evk. *hinŋa*; Evn. *hiɲŋɒn*; Neg. *xiɲŋan*; Man. *fiχa* 'ulcer'; Ork. *piɲa*.

◊ TMC 2, 299, 325.

PMong. ***beɣere*** pus (гной): WMong. *begere* (MXTTT); Kh. *bēr*.

◊ Man. *berxe* 'eye pus' (TMC 1, 127) < Mong.

PTurk. ***bęńŕ*** 1 swelling 2 scar, ulcer (1 железа 2 шрам, язва): Karakh. *bez* (MK, IM) 2; Tur. *bez* 2; Az. *bäz*, *väz*; Turkm. *māz* 2; MTurk. *bez* (Sangl.), *mez* (Sangl.) 1, 2; Uzb. *bez* 2; Uygh. *bäz*; Tat. *biz* 1, 2; Bashk. *biδ*; Kirgh. *bez* 1, 2; Kaz. *bez* 1, 2; KBalk. *bez* 1, 2; KKalp. *bez* 1, 2; Kum. *bez* 1, 2; Nogh. *bez*; Tv. *bes* 1; Tof. *bes* 1; Chuv. *pür* 'pus'.

◊ VEWT 72, EDT 388, Егоров 142, Федотов 1, 384, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***pìńìrìm*** pimple, blotch (прыщ): MKor. *pìńìrìm*; Mod. *pusirəm*, *pūrəm*.

◊ Nam 271, KED 813, 816.

‖ Егоров 171 (Chuv.-Mong.), Лексика 209 (with a different Turkic parallel), Robbeets 2000, 111.

píńŕa** needle: Tung. ***pi[ńr]a; Mong. ***birim***; Turk. ***bińŕ (*biŋŕ)***; Jpn. ****pàrí***; Kor. ****pànǎr (/-r-)***.

PTung. ***pi[ńr]a*** 1 thick needle 2 fish-hook (1 толстая игла 2 удочка, рыболовный крючок): Evk. *hinna* (dial. *hinda*, *hindra*) 2; Nan. *biɲǯā*.

◊ TMC 1, 83, 2, 325. Phonology is somewhat irregular (perhaps due to a rare medial cluster): in Nan. **piɲǯā* would be expected.

PMong. ***birim*** awl (шило): WMong. *birim*; Kalm. *birm̥*.

◊ KW 46.

PTurk. ***bińŕ (*biŋŕ)*** awl (шило): Tur. *biz*; Az. *biz*; Turkm. *bijz/bīz*; MTurk. *biz* (MA), *bigiz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bigiz*; Uygh. *biz*; Krm. *biz*; Tat. *bez*;

Bashk. *beδ*; Kirgh. *miz*; Kaz. *biz*, dial. *bigiz*; KBalk. *miz*; KKalp. *biz*; Kum. *biz*; Nogh. *biz*; SUygh. *piz-*, *puz-*; Khak. *pəs*; Shr. *pis*; Oyr. *mis*; Tv. *bis*; Tof. *bis*.

◊ VEWT 75, ЭСТЯ 2, 130-131, TMN 2, 311. The Chag. form *bigiz* is quite strange: perhaps it is a result of denasalization of **biŋiz* < **biŋ́* (this would then suggest a velar nasal in the root).

PJpn. ***pàrí*** needle (игла): OJpn. *pari*; MJpn. *fàrí*; Tok. *hári*; Kyo. *hàrí*; Kag. *harí*.

◊ JLTT 399.

PKor. ***pànǎr (/-r-)*** needle (игла): MKor. *pànǎr, parǎr*; Mod. *panil*.

◊ Nam 236, 238, KED 703.

‖ KW 46, Martin 237. Despite Doerfer's skepticism (TMN 2, 311), Ramstedt's comparison still holds. Low tone in Jpn. is perhaps due to contraction (it does not match either Kor. or *b- in Mong.).

pǐŋa (~ *p'-)** to separate, emit: Tung. ***piŋta-; Jpn. ***pànà-***.

PTung. ***piŋta-*** to separate (from the herd, flock) (отделять(ся) (от стада)): Evk. *hiŋtal-*; Evn. *hīntъl-*.

◊ TMC 2, 326.

PJpn. ***pànà-*** to emit, separate (испускать, отделять(ся)): OJpn. *pana-t-, panara-*; MJpn. *fànà-t-, fana-s-, fànàra-*; Tok. *hanát-, hanás-, hanaré-*; Kyo. *hánát-, hánás-, hánáré-*; Kag. *hànàt-, hànàs-, hànàrè-*.

◊ JLTT 684.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

pǐrò (~ b-)** beak, nose: Turk. ***burun (*burin); Jpn. ****kútí-(n)-pírù***; Kor. ****pūrì***.

PTurk. ****burun (*burin)*** 1 nose 2 front part 3 before (1 нос 2 передняя часть 3 перед, впереди): OTurk. *burun* 1, 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *burun* 1, 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *burun* 1; Gag. *burnu* 1; Az. *burun* 1; Turkm. *burun* 1; Sal. *purni* 1; Khal. *burin* 1; MTurk. *burun* 1, 3 (Sangl.); Uzb. *burun* 1; Uygh. *burun* 1; Krm. *burun* 1; Tat. *borin* 1; Bashk. *moron* 1, *boron* 3; Kirgh. *murun* 1; Kaz. *murin* 1; KBalk. *burun* 1; KKalp. *murin* 1; Kum. *burun* 1; Nogh. *burin* 1; SUygh. *p'urin* 3; Khak. *purun* 1, 3; Shr. *purnu*, (Верб.) *purun* 1, 3; Oyr. *burun* 3; Tv. *murnu* 2; Tof. *murnu* 2; Yak. *murun* 1; Dolg. *munnu* 1.

◊ VEWT 90, EDT 366-367, ЭСТЯ 2, 269-273, Лексика 214-215, Stachowski 182. Cf. **bur-* 'to smell' (VEWT 89).

PJpn. ****kútí-(n)-pírù*** lips, beak (губы, клюв): OJpn. *kuti-pjiru*; MJpn. *kútí-bírù*; Tok. *kùchibiru*; Kyo. *kùchìbírù*; Kag. *kuchibíru*.

◊ JLTT 467. A compound with **kútí* 'mouth'.

PKor. ****pūrì*** beak (клюв): MKor. *pūrì*; Mod. *pūri*.

◊ Nam 265, KED 814.

‖ Whitman 1985, 191, АПиПЯЯ 283, Лексика 215. Turk. **bur-* must be a secondary assimilation < **bir-*.

***pĭsa (~ p'-)** to insert, press between: Tung. ***pisa-**; Jpn. ***pàsàm-**; Kor. ***ps-kì'ú-**.

PTung. ***pisa-** to insert a wedge, to patch (вставлять клин, латать): Evk. *hisā-*; Neg. *xi̯sa-*; Ul. *pi̯sa-*; Nan. *pi̯sa-*.

◊ TMC 2, 328.

PJpn. ***pàsàm-** to press between, to wedge into (зажимать между, вклинивать): OJpn. *pasam-*; MJpn. *fàsàm-*; Tok. *hasám-*; Kyo. *hásám-*; Kag. *hàsàm-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

PKor. ***ps-kì'ú-** 1 to insert into a rim 2 to butt, stick in (1 вставлять в оправу 2 вставлять, вкалывать): MKor. *ps-kì'ú-* 1, *ps-tìrì-* 2; Mod. *k:iu-* 1, *č:iri-* 2.

◊ Nam 80, 181, KED 271, 1530.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Mergers of this root with **pă̆si* and **p'i̯úsa* q.v. were possible.

***pisV (~ p'-, -i̯a-)** seed, grain: Tung. ***pise-**; Kor. ***psí**.

PTung. ***pise-** 1 seed, offspring; kin 2 millet (1 семя, приплод; племя 2 просо): Evn. *hese-n* 1 (Okh.); Man. *fise-n* 1, *fisi-ke* 2; Ul. *pikse* 2; Nan. *pikse*, Kur-Urm. *fisxe* 2.

◊ See TMC 2, 38 (where the Nan. and Ul. forms are qualified as borrowed from Manchu, which is hardly justified; Oroch *pikse* is < Ul.), 300, 371. One should probably unite the Manchu stems 'breed, offspring' and 'millet' (*'seed'). The -e-vowel in Even is not quite clear.

PKor. ***psí** seed (семя): MKor. *psí*; Mod. s:i.

◊ Nam 326, KED 1032.

‖ EAS 54, 82, SKE 231, Цинциус 1984, 40, Lee 1958, 110, АПиПЯЯ 296. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. Since the TM forms meaning "millet" go back to the same root, the second of Ramstedt's etymologies (SKE 214, comparison with Kor. *phi* 'millet') should be rejected. In Kor. cf. also *psă̆r* '(fine) rice' (see Lee 1958, 109).

***pi̯áge (~ p'-)** a k. of weed, panicum: Tung. ***pig-**; Jpn. ***píjái**; Kor. ***phí**.

PTung. ***pig-** 1 nettle, hemp 2 to peel fibre (from nettle) 3 to spin threads (1 крапива, конопля 2 снимать волокно с крапивы (для изготовления ниток) 3 сучить нитки): Evk. *hiγa-* 3; Neg. *xīkte* 1; Man. *fe* 1; Ul. *pīkte* 1; Ork. *pīkte* 1; Nan. *pīkte* 1; Orch. *xīkte* 1, *xig-du-* 2; Ud. *sikte* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 322.

PJpn. ***píjái** panicum Crus-Galli (куриное просо): OJpn. *pjije*; MJpn. *fijé*; Tok. *hìe*; Kyo. *hié*; Kag. *hie*.

◊ JLTT 405.

PKor. ***phí** millet (просо): MKor. *phí*; Mod. *phi*.

◊ Nam 465, KED 1771.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Kor. *phí* < **pìhí* (with vowel reduction).

✱**pi̯ə̀ki** liver: Tung. ***pākin**; Turk. ***biagɨr**.

PTung. ***pākin** liver (печень): Evk. *hākin, hakin*; Evn. *hāqъn*; Neg. *xākị̄n*; Man. *faxun*; SMan. *fahun* (91); Ul. *pā*; Ork. *pāγa* / *pāqa*; Nan. *pā*; Orch. *pāγa, pāqa*; Ud. *xa'i* (Корм. 304); Sol. *āxī*.

◊ TMC 2, 310.

PTurk. ***biagɨr** liver (печень): OTurk. *bayɨr* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bayɨr* (MK); Tur. *bayır* 'breast, bosom'; Az. *bayɨr*; Turkm. *baGɨr*; Sal. *bayɨr*; MTurk. *bayɨr* (Бор. Бад., MA); Uygh. *beyir*; Krm. *bayɨr*; Tat. *bawɨr*; Bashk. *bawɨr*; Kirgh. *bōr*; Kaz. *bawɨr*; KBalk. *bawur*; KKalp. *bawɨr*; Nogh. *bawɨr*; SUygh. *bayɨr*; Khak. *pār*; Tv. *bār*; Tof. *bār*; Chuv. *pa^{w}ver*; Yak. *bɨar*; Dolg. *bɨar* 'belly; liver'.

◊ VEWT 55, EDT 317, ЭСТЯ 2, 17-19, 22-23, Лексика 278, Stachowski 69.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 45, 286, Мудрак Дисс. 196-197, Лексика 278. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss, demonstrating again the rule of monophthongization in PTM after *p- (see **pi̯alagV*, **pi̯ari*).

✱**pi̯ə́lagV** fortress, group of houses: Tung. ***palVga**; Mong. ***balaga-sun**; Turk. ***bialɨk**; Jpn. ***pái**.

PTung. ***palVga** a group of houses (группа домов): Man. *falGa*.

◊ TMC 2, 298. Attested only in Manchu, but probably archaic.

PMong. ***balaga-sun** city, fortress (город, крепость): MMong. *balaxasun* (HY 4), *balaqasun* (SH), *bal(a)γaṣun* (IM), *balγasun* (MA); WMong. *balaγasun* (L 80: *balγasu(n)*); Kh. *balgas*; Bur. *balgāha(n), balgān* 'hovel'; Kalm. *balγəsn̥*; Ord. *balGasu, balGus*; Dag. *balga, balag* 'house, dwelling place' (Тод. Дат. 124); Mongr. *ba(r)Gāsə, warGāsə* (SM 21, 481).

◊ KW 31. Mong. > Evk. *balaγan, balgahun* etc., see Poppe 1966, 197, Doerfer MT 73; Аникин 113-114 proposes rather Mong. > Russ. *balagán* ; Russ. > Yak., Evn. *balaγan*.

PTurk. ***bialɨk** city, fortress (город, крепость): OTurk. *balɨq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *balɨq* (MK); Khal. *baluq* 'деревня'; MTurk. *balɨq* (Pav. C.); SUygh. *balɨq, paluq*; Chuv. *püler*.

◊ TMN 2, 257, EDT 335-336, ЭСТЯ 2, 59, ОСНЯ 3, 91, Лексика 485, Мудрак Дисс. 194.

PJpn. ***pái** hearth; household (очаг; домашнее хозяйство): OJpn. pe; MJpn. *fé*.

◊ JLTT 403.

‖ EAS 56, KW 31, Владимирцов 147-148, ОСНЯ 3, 91-92, Sinor 1981 (listing all forms but considering the Turkic word to be borrowed from Ugric), Дыбо 15, Мудрак Дисс. 194. Despite TMN 1, 216, 2, 258, Щербак 1997, 104 the Mong. form is hardly borrowed from Turk. Jpn. **pá-i* presupposes a form **pi̯ə́l(a)-gV* = TM **palVga* etc. Note that this is a case of monophthongization after *p- in TM (cf. similarly **pi̯ari*, **pi̯ə̀ki*).

***pi̯ànà** (~ *p'-) face (colour), colour: Tung. ***pian-**; Kor. ***s-pám**.

PTung. ***pian-** 1 appearance, face, colour 2 face side (1 внешность, лицо, цвет 2 лицевая сторона): Man. *fán* 1; Ud. *pä́ńia* (Bik.) 2 (< South.).

◊ TMC 2, 36-37.

PKor. ***s-pám** cheek (щека): MKor. *spám*; Mod. *p:jam*.

◊ Nam 248, KED 758.

‖ A TM-Kor. isogloss. One of the cases of prefixed *s- in body parts in Korean (cf. **s-pjá* 'bone', **s-pír* 'horn', **s-kòrí* 'tail').

***pi̯api** (~ *p'-) a k. of small bird: Tung. ***piabi**; Jpn. ***pipa**; Kor. ***pjə̄p-sāi**.

PTung. ***piabi** a k. of sparrow (вид воробья): Evk. *hiwi*, Yerb. *hêwi* 'клест, снегирь, дрозд ореховый'; Man. *fábqu*, *fafiqu* 'воробей-конопляник'.

◊ TMC 2, 321.

PJpn. ***pipa** siskin (чиж): Tok. *hiwa*.

◊ JLTT 412.

PKor. ***pjə̄p-sāi** jenny wren, Korean crow-tit (крапивник): MKor. *pjə̄p-sāi* (-sāi 'bird'); Mod. *pə̄psä*.

◊ Nam 258, KED 756.

‖ An onomatopoeic Eastern isogloss.

***pi̯àri** finger, finger width (measure): Tung. ***pargan**; Turk. ***biarŋak**; Jpn. ***pia**; Kor. ***pə́r**.

PTung. ***pargan** 1 ski bedding for the foot 2 a measure of length (one centimeter) (1 подстилка на лыже для ступни 2 мера длины (один сантиметр)): Evk. *hargan* 1, 2; Nan. *pajGa* 1; Ud. *xaga* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 317.

PTurk. ***biarŋak** finger, thumb (палец, большой палец): Karakh. *barmaq* (Tefs., IM); Tur. *parmak*, dial. *barnak*; Gag. *parmaq*; Az. *barmaG*; Turkm. *barmaq*; Sal. *parmax*; Khal. *barmaq*; MTurk. *barmaq* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *barmɔq*; Uygh. *barmaq*; Krm. *barmaq*; Tat. *barmaq*, dial. *barnaq*; Bashk. *barmaq*, (Pallas) *parnaq*; Kirgh. *barmaq*; Kaz. *barmaq*; KBalk. *barmaq*; KKalp. *barmaq*; Kum. *barmaq*; Nogh. *barmaq*; Chuv. *pürne*.

◊ VEWT 63, ЭСТЯ 2, 66-68, Дыбо 319-320, Лексика 253-255.

PJpn. ***pia** layer (слой): OJpn. *pje*; MJpn. *fe*.

◊ JLTT 403.

PKor. ***pə́r** 1 layer 2 set (1 слой 2 набор): MKor. *pə́r* 1, 2; Mod. *pəl* 2.

◊ Liu 353, KED 764.

‖ Whitman 1985, 153-154, 210 (Kor.-Jpn.). Jpn. **pia* < **pi̯àr(i)-ga* (cf. TM **par-ga-*) or < **pi̯àr(i)-ŋa* (cf. PT **biar-ŋa-k*). For the reflex *-a- in TM see notes to **pi̯alagV*. The original meaning is 'finger, finger width', whence 'bedding, layer ("one finger thick")'. Such a combination of

meanings is still clearly seen in TM (without which the Turkic and Jpn.-Kor. forms would be hardly comparable).

✱**pi̯ə̏t'è** to suffer: Tung. ***pita-***; Mong. ***hataɣa-***; Turk. ***b(i)at***; Jpn. ***pə̀tə̀p- / *pùtùk-***.

PTung. ***pita-*** 1 to worry 2 to suffer (1 беспокоиться 2 страдать): Evk. *hitačil-* 1; Evn. *hīt-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 328.

PMong. ***hataɣa-*** to envy, jealousy (завидовать, ревность): WMong. *ataɣa(n)* (L 58); Kh. *atā(n)*; Bur. *atā(n)*; Kalm. *atān;* Dag. *xatarkā-* (Тод. Дар. 175).

◊ KW 17.

PTurk. ***b(i)at*** bad, unworthy (плохой, негодный): OTurk. *bat* (Orkh., OUygh.); Tv. *pat*.

◊ EDT 296, VEWT 65.

PJpn. ***pə̀tə̀p- / *pùtùk-*** to be angry, disturbed (сердиться, тревожиться): OJpn. *putukum-*; MJpn. *futuk-, fòtòfòr-, fùtùkùm-*.

◊ JLTT 693, 695. OJ *potopor-* and *putuk-* are hard to separate; the vocalism in *putuk-* may have been influenced by *putukurwo / put(w)ok(w)orwo* 'breast' (or else the vocalism in *potopor-* may have been influenced by a homonymous *potopor-* 'to emit heat').

‖ OJ *pətə-pə-r-* and PM **hata-ɣa-* may reflect a common derivative **pi̯ə̏t'ə̀-p'V*.

✱**pi̯ə́t'e** tough; swift: Tung. ***pit(a)***; Mong. ***bat-***; Turk. ***biāt***; Kor. ***patik / *potik***.

PTung. ***pit(a)*** hard, tough (крепко, плотно): Evk. *pit* (< South.); Man. *fita*; Ul. *pi̯tam* 'near, close'; Ork. *pi̯tamǯi; pit* 'just, soon'.

◊ TMC 2, 39.

PMong. ***bat-*** 1 hard, tough 2 urgent (1 прочный, надежный 2 срочный, поспешный): MMong. *batu* (SH, HYt), *bāṭu* (IM), *batu* (MA) 1; WMong. *batu* 1 (L 91), *bačim* 2 (L 65); Kh. *bat* 1, *bačim* 2; Bur. *bata* 1, *bašam* 2; Kalm. *batə* 1, *bačm̦* 2; Ord. *batu* 1 *bačimda-* 'to hurry'; Dag. bate 1 (MD 120), *batu* 1; Dong. *putu* 1; Bao. *batə*; S.-Yugh. *batə* 1; Mongr. *padu* (SM 300), *padə* 1.

◊ KW 36, MGCD 146.

PTurk. ***biāt*** swift, quick (быстрый): OTurk. *bat* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bat* (MK); Tur. *pat* 'suddenly'; Turkm. *bāda* 'at once'; MTurk. *bat* (Sangl.); Uzb. *bɔt*; Uygh. *pat*; Kirgh. *bat*; Tv. *pat* 'extremely'; Chuv. *pidə* (< **püdə*?) 'most, very'.

◊ VEWT 65, EDT 296, Егоров 162, Федотов 1, 437.

PKor. ***patik / *potik*** persistently, obstinately (упрямо, настойчиво): Mod. *padik-padik, podik-podik*.

◊ KED 704.

‖ Poppe 51, KW 36, PKE 146-147. The Kor. form is expressive and not quite regular.

✱**pi̯ŏka** a k. of weed: Tung. ***puka**; Mong. ***(h)agi**; Turk. ***bakɨr**; Jpn. ***pàkuá-**; Kor. ***phá (~ *páh)**.

PTung. ***puka** 1 henbane 2 fern 3 dry grass for fire (1 белена 2 папоротник 3 сухая трава для растопки): Man. *fuqtala* 2, *fuxen* 3; Ul. *poqo* 1; Nan. *poqaqā* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 40, 301, 302.

PMong. ***(h)agi** wormwood (полынь): WMong. *agi* (L 19); Kh. *aġ*; Bur. *aja*; Ord. *agi* 'artemisia maritima Bess.'.

◊ S.-Yugh. *ajī* id. (MGCD 96) may be a literary loan.

PTurk. ***bakɨr** cockle (куколь): Tat. *baqra*; Chuv. *poxra*.

◊ Федотов 1, 441-442. Cf. Oyr. *pagɨr* 'allium nutans', 'слизун'.

PJpn. ***pàkuá-** a k. of weed (Stellaria media Cyr.) (мокричник): Tok. *hàkobe*; Kyo. *hàkóbè*; Kag. *hakobé*.

PKor. ***phá (~ *páh)** onion (лук): MKor. *phá*; Mod. *pha*.

◊ Nam 461, KED 1728.

‖ Дыбо 11. Kor. **phá* < **puhá* ~ **păhá* with usual vowel reduction. The Turkic forms are very scantily attested and somewhat dubious (one would rather expect **bagɨr*).

✱**pi̯óko** buttock: Tung. ***pika**; Mong. ***bögse**.

PTung. ***pika** 1 rear, buttocks 2 naked, with naked buttocks (1 зад, ягодицы 2 голый, без штанов): Evk. *hikańa* 1; Neg. *xi̯xańa* 1; Man. *faqu* 2; SMan. *faku* 2 (207); Ul. *pi̯qa* 2 (Суник 1985, 225); Nan. *piqa* 2 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 323, 299.

PMong. ***bögse** rump, buttock (зад, ягодицы): MMong. *bokse* (SH), *bukse* (MA 123); WMong. *bögse(n)* (L 126); Kh. *bögs*; Bur. *bügse*; Kalm. *böksə*; Ord. *bögsö* 'buttock, vulva'; Dag. *bursu*, *burse* (Тод. Дар. 128), *burs*; Dong. *bursu*, burse, *bugsu* (Poppe); S.-Yugh. *bəgse*.

◊ KW 55, MGCD 161. Usually considered to be borrowed < Turk. *bögsek* (see Щербак 1997, 109, Лексика 278, EDT 329), but the Turkic word means "upper part of chest" which makes the loan theory extremely dubious. Mong. > Kirgh., Kaz. *böksö* 'buttocks' (see EDT 329), Evk. *buksu* etc., see Doerfer MT 130, Rozycki 37.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. High tone can be reconstructed because of Mong. *b-.

✱**pi̯ŏltorV (/-ld-)** a k. of small bird: Tung. ***pilti-**; Mong. ***bolǯir- / *boldur-**; Turk. ***bildur- (*buldɨr-)**; Jpn. ***pàtuâ**; Kor. ***pìtùrí**.

PTung. ***pilti-** a k. of wild duck (утка-свиязь): Evk. *hiltiwir*, *hiltiyir*.

◊ TMC 2, 324. Attested only in Evk., with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***bolǯir- / *boldur-** lark (жаворонок): MMong. *bildu'ur*, *bilǯi'ur* 'lark' (SH); WMong. *buldura*ɣ*un*, (L 119) *bolǯimar*, *bolǯimur*; Kh.

bolǯmor, boǯrogo; Bur. *bulžamar, bulžamūr; bolžūxaj, bulžūxaj* 'young of a bird'; Kalm. *bolǯūxə̄* 'young of a bird', *buldərūn*; Ord. *bilǯūxə̄* 'little bird'.

◊ KW 50, 59. Mong. > Manchu *baldargan* 'a k. of bird'.

PTurk. ***bɨldur- (*buldɨr-)*** a bird smaller than a grey partridge, quail (рыжая куропатка, степной рябчик): Tur. *bıldırǯın*; Az. *bıldırčın* (dial.); MTurk. *bıldırčın* (Sangl., Houts., Bulgat); Uzb. *bulduriq* 'Steppenhuhn'; Kirgh. *bulduruq*; Kaz. *buldɨrɨq*; KKalp. *buldɨrɨq*; Chuv. *pъʷldъʷrǯan* (dial.); Yak. *bɨlǯɨrɨt, billirit* 'snipe'.

◊ EDT 309, TMN 2, 312, VEWT 73-74, ЭСТЯ 2, 305-306, *Лексика* 173. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *buld'ur'uk* (Аникин 140).

PJpn. ***pàtuâ*** pigeon (голубь): OJpn. *patwo*; MJpn. *fato*; Tok. *háto*; Kyo. *hàtô*; Kag. *ható*.

◊ JLTT 402.

PKor. ***pìtùrí*** pigeon (голубь): MKor. *pìtùrí, pitărki, pitori, pituroki*; Mod. *pidulgi*.

◊ Nam 276, KED 851.

‖ Martin 228, *Лексика* 174. An expressive root with not quite precise correspondences (like in many bird names). Vocalism is rather hard to reconstruct: in PT we have to assume a secondary delabialization (**buldɨr- > *bɨldur-*). Note velar suffixation in several Turkic and Mongolian forms; the PJ form also may go back to **pi̯oltor-ga > *pi̯oltoγa > *patua*.

pi̯ŏro** a k. of plant: Tung. ***piregde; Mong. ***burga-***; Turk. ***bōr-***.

PTung. ***piregden*** a k. of plant (вид кустарника): Ul. *piragda* 'чубушник'; Nan. *piregdēn* сирень крупная (Сем Ю.А.-Сем *Л.*И. 1988, 14).

◊ TMC 2, 39.

PMong. ***burga-, *buraγa*** 1 willow 2 (willow) bushes (1 ива 2 кусты, заросли (ивы)): WMong. *buryasu(n)* 1, *buraγa, buryа* 2 (L 137); Kh. *burgas(an), burgās(an)* 1, *burgana* 'a k. of maple', *burā* 2; Bur. *burgāha(n)* 1, 2; Kalm. *buryəsn̥* 1, *burā* 2; Ord. *burGasu* 1; Dag. *bargās* (Тод. *Д*ar. 124), *baregase* (MD 119); Mongr. *burGāsə*.

◊ KW 61,62, MGCD 170. Cf. also *borolǯi* 'кедровник на болотах'. TMN 1, 225. Mong > MTurk. *buryasun*, see Щербак 1997, 201 (whence Russ. Siber. *burgás*, see Аникин 143-144); > Evk. *burgan* etc. (TMC 1, 111, Rozycki 39).

PTurk. ***bōr-*** a k. of plant or tree (вид дерева или растения): Turkm. *bōrǯaq* 'эфедра'; Kirgh. *boruq* 'small reed'; Oyr. *borsuq* 'yew'; Yak. *borū* 'хвощ'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***pi̯óro(-k´V) (~ -i̯u-)** wrinkle, callosity: Tung. ***pirki- (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***boruɣa**; Turk. ***burkɨ**.

PTung. ***pirki- (~ -ü-)** to obtain a callosity (натирать мозоль): Evk. *hirki-*; Evn. *i̯rqъ-*.

◊ TMC 2, 327. Cf. perhaps also Man. *furu* 'pustule (in mouth); knag (on a tree)', TMC 2, 303.

PMong. ***boruɣa** bone callosity (мозоль на кости): WMong. *boruu*; Kh. *borō*; Bur. *bordigor* 'с наростами (о коре дерева'; *bordij-* 'быть шероховатым'; Kalm. *borā(n)* 'Fehler in der Haarbekleidung des Pferdefusses'.

◊ KW 51.

PTurk. ***burkɨ** wrinkled (сморщенный): OTurk. *burqɨ*; Karakh. *burqɨ, burqɨɣ* 'wrinkle'.

◊ EDT 360.

‖ A Western isogloss. High tone may be reconstructed because of Mong. *b-. Reflected are forms with different suffixes (**pi̯oro-kV* and **pi̯oro-gV*).

***pi̯ósò** stairway, step (of stairs): Tung. ***pise-**; Mong. ***bosuga**; Turk. ***bAs-kič**; Jpn. ***pásì**.

PTung. ***pise-** 1 to make a penthouse 2 penthouse 3 opposite walls from roof to ceiling (1 делать навес 2 навес 3 стены напротив друг друга от крыши до потолка): Man. *fise-* 1, *fiseku, fiseŋge* 2; Nan. *pisoa* 3 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 300.

PMong. ***bosuga** threshold (порог): MMong. *bosoxa* (HY 16), *bosoqa* (SH) 'threshold', *bosaqa, bosaɣa* 'door-post' (MA 141, 143); WMong. *bosuɣa* (L 122); Kh. *bosgo*; Bur. *bohogo, bogoho*; Kalm. *bosəɣə, bosxə*; Ord. *bošoGo*; Dag. *basarga, basarag* (Тод. Даг. 125) (MGCD *basrag*); Mongr. *bosGo* (SM 29), (MGCD *pusGo*).

◊ KW 52, MGCD 158. Mong. > Chag. *bosaɣa* etc. (VEWT 85, TMN 1, 227, Щербак 1997, 201, ЭСТЯ 2, 197-198, Лексика 512), Chuv. *pusaxa* 'stirrup, threshold, ladder' (Róna-Tas 1971-1972). A variant form must have been **basu(r)ga*, cf. Dag. *basrag* and TM loanwords: Evk. *basurga* etc. (TMC 1, 76, Doerfer MT 101).

PTurk. ***bAs-kič** stairway (лестница): Uzb. *basqiš* (Chag.); Khak. *pasxɨs*; Tv. *basqɨš*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 77 (usually derived < **bas-* 'to press, trample').

PJpn. ***pasi** bridge, ladder (мост, лестница): OJpn. *pasi*; MJpn. *fásì*; Tok. *hashí*; Kyo. *háshì*; Kag. *háshi*.

◊ JLTT 400.

‖ In PT **bos-* would be expected; the root had changed to **bas-* probably because of the folk-etymological resemblance to **bas-* 'press'. Cf. **bi̯ási* 'penthouse'.

✱**pi̯oǯi (~ p'-, -i̯u-)** root: Tung. ***puǯuri***; Mong. ***hiǯaɣur***.

PTung. ***puǯuri*** root, beginning (корень, основание): Man. *fuǯuri*.

◊ TMC 2, 302. Attested only in Manchu - but cf. perhaps PTM **puǯurga-* 'to contort, twist (an arm, leg)' (< 'uproot'?) (TMC 2, 337).

PMong. ***hiǯaɣur*** 1 root, stalk, stem 2 origin 3 back (1 корень, стебель, ствол 2 происхождение 3 задняя сторона): MMong. *uǯu'ur* 'stalk, stem' (HY 50), *xuǯa'ur* ('root' HY 7, SH), *uǯawur*, *hiǯauri* (MA) 1, *xuǯa'ur* 2 (HYt), *hūǯāwur* (LH), *hūǯaūr* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *uǯuɣur*, *iǯaɣur* 1 (L 418); Kh. *joǯōr* 1, *uǯūr* 3; Bur. *uzūr* 1, 2; Kalm. *jozūr* 1; Ord. *iǯūr* 1, 2; Dag. *xoǯōr* (Тод. Даг. 176) 1, 2; *hoǯore* 1 (MD 163); Mongr. *sǯūr*, *śǯūr* (SM 340, 392), (MGCD *śiǯūr*).

◊ KW 220, MGCD 732, TMN 1, 535. Mong. > Evk. (Kamn.) *iǯagur*, Sol. *oǯōr*, see Doerfer MT 102, Rozycki 80 (but not Man. *fuǯuri!*).

‖ Владимирцов 187, Poppe 12, Цинциус 1984, 53. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**pi̯ŭbi** to mince, saw: Tung. ***pubu-***; Mong. ****(h)üji-***; Turk. ****bij-***; Jpn. ****piwa-***; Kor. ****pjàpǎi-***.

PTung. ***pubu-*** 1 to saw 2 saw (1 пилить 2 пила): Evk. *huwu-* 1, *hūwun* 2; Evn. *hū-na-*; Neg. *xo-*; Man. *fufu-* 1, *fufun* 2; Ul. *pū-* 1, *pu̯pu̯(n)* 2; Ork. *pu̯pu̯-la-*, *pū̯pu̯(n)* 2; Nan. *pō-* 1, *popō* 2; Orch. *xū* 2; Ud. *xu* 2; Sol. *ōgī*, *ū̯gī* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 336. The existing form reflect the verbal stem **pubu-* and the derived noun **pubu-pu(n)* (with some later confusion because of the loss of **-b-*).

PMong. ****(h)üji-*** to crush, pulverize (ломать на мелкие куски, крошить): WMong. *üi-le-*, *üi-re-* (L 1001); Kh. *üjre-*; Bur. *üjre-*.

PTurk. ****bij-*** sharp edge, knife (острый край, нож): OTurk. *bi* (OUygh.); Khak. *pi-ze-* 'to whet, sharpen'; Yak. *bī*; Dolg. *bī*.

◊ EDT 291, VEWT 75, Лексика 398, 399-400, Stachowski 61.

PJpn. ****piwa-*** to mince, cut into small slices (размельчать, резать на мелкие куски): OJpn. *pjiwa-*.

◊ JLTT 688.

PKor. ****pjàpǎi-*** to mince, rub (in hands) (крошить, растирать (в руках)): MKor. *pjàpǎi-*; Mod. *pibi-*.

◊ Liu 374, KED 854.

‖ Correspondences are basically regular, with the following comments: in Turkic one has to suppose secondary delabialization **bij-* < **büj-* (< **büb-*); the Kor. form *pjàpǎi-* must be denominative, derived from a noun **pjàpǎ-* < **pibV-pu-* < **pi̯ubi-p'u-* (= PTM **pubu-pu-*). Cf. **p'i̯ōpo* : the two roots are sometimes hard to distinguish.

✱**pi̯ŭč'à** to tear, split, cut: Tung. ***puče- (~ -š-)**; Mong. ***bičі-**; Turk. ***bič-**; Jpn. ***pàtùr-**; Kor. ***pčíč-**.

PTung. ***puče- (~ -š-)** 1 to split, burst 2 to pierce through (1 лопать-ся, рваться, раскалываться 2 протыкать, продирать): Evk. *huče-rge-* 1; Ud. *pusege-* 1 (< unattested Nan. or Ulch.).

◊ TMC 2, 358 (the Manchu and Orok forms are included incorrectly).

PMong. ***bičі-** 1 small 2 to demolish, crush (1 маленький 2 уничто-жать, разламывать): WMong. *biči-qan* 1 (L 102), *bič-al-* 2 (L 101); Kh. *ɓacxan* 1, *ɓacla-* 2; Bur. *bišixan* 1, *bisal-* 2; Kalm. *bičkn̥* 1; Ord. *bičaxan* 1; Dag. *piči* 'into small pieces'; Bao. *beǯiGən* 1 (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *paǯilə* 'into small pieces'.

◊ KW 47, MGCD 154. Mong. > Yak. *bičik* etc. (VEWT 75).

PTurk. ***bič-** / ***bič-** to cut (резать): OTurk. *bič-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bič-* (MK); Tur. *bič-*; Gag. *bič-*; Az. *bič-*; Turkm. *bič-*; MTurk. *bič-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bič-*; Uygh. *pič-*; Krm. *bič-*; Tat. *pič-*; Bashk. *bĭs-, bis-*; Kirgh. *bič-*; Kaz. *pĭš-*; KBalk. *bič-*; KKalp. *piš-*; Kum. *bič-*; SUygh. *piš-*; Khak. *pis-*; Oyr. *bič-*; Tv. *biš-*; Tof. *bi'š-*; Chuv. *pəʷś-*; Yak. *bis-*; Dolg. *bis-*.

◊ EDT 292-293, VEWT 73, ЭСТЯ 2, 158-160, Stachowski 71. Turk. > Hung. *biczak* 'knife' (Gombocz 1912).

PJpn. ***pàtùr-** to pare, whittle, remove the skin (подрезать, срезать, сдирать): OJpn. *patur-*; MJpn. *fàtùr-*.

◊ JLTT 686.

PKor. ***pčíč-** to tear (раздирать): MKor. *pčíč-*; Mod. *č:it-* (-č-).

◊ Nam 441, KED 1559.

‖ EAS 144, KW 47, ОСНЯ 1, 178. In Turk. also OT *biče* 'small', Tuva *biče* id. Cf. also MKor. *pčă-* 'to wring out, squeeze' (SKE 18); MKor. *pči-* 'to cut' (SKE 32); mod. *pit-ta* (*piǯ-*) 'cut, slice'. Doerfer's (TMN 2, 427) doubts are hardly justified - the semantic development in Mong. is perfectly well explainable. One should note, however, that low tone in Jpn. does not correspond to Mong. *b- here (one would rather expect *h-); either this is an incorrect tone notation (the Jpn. word is attested in RJ, but not accented in Hirayama's dictionary), or an irregularity in an expressive etymon.

✱**pi̯ŭk'í** a k. of insect: Tung. ***peKe (< *puKe ?)**; Mong. ***böküne**; Turk. ***bökelek**; Jpn. ***pínkúrási**.

PTung. ***peKe (< *puKe ?)** nit (гнида): Evk. *heke*.

◊ TMC 2, 362. Attested only in Evk., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***böküne** 1 gad-fly 2 mosquito (1 овод 2 комар): MMong. *boko'una* (HY 12); WMong. *böküne* (L 127), *bökügene* 1; Kh. *böxnö* 1; Kalm. *bökŭnə* 2; Ord. *böχöŋ* 2; Mongr. *pugunoG* (SM 307).

◊ KW 55.

PTurk. ***bökelek** gad-fly (овод): Az. *böjäläk*; Turkm. *bökelek*; Yak. *bügülex, bügüje.*

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 212-213, Лексика 185.

PJpn. ***pínkúrásí** a k. of cicada (вид цикады): OJpn. *pjigurasi*; MJpn. *fígúrásí*; Tok. *hìgurashi*; Kyo. *hígúráshí*; Kag. *higuráshi.*

◊ JLTT 406.

‖ Лексика 185.

***pi̯ŭkʹì (~ pʹ-)** short: Tung. ***poKa-**; Mong. ***hokar**; Jpn. ***pìkù-**.

PTung. ***poKa-** 1 short 2 sacrum (*anat.*) (1 короткий 2 крестец): Evk. *hokopčo* 2; Man. *foxolon* 'short', *faqari* 'short-legged', *faqača* 'short one'; SMan. *fóhələn, fóhulun* 1 (2412); Jurch. *fo-xo-lo* (691) 1.

◊ TMC 2, 331.

PMong. ***hokar** short (короткий): MMong. *okor* (HY 52), *oqor* (SH), *hoqar* (IM), *aqar* (MA); WMong. *oqor, aqar*; Kh. *oxor, axar*; Bur. *oxor*; Kalm. *oxər*; Ord. *axur, uxur*; Mog. *uqar*; ZM *waqar* (11-6a); Dag. *uakar* (Тод. Дат. 178), *huakare* (MD 165); Dong. *oqo*; Bao. *Gor*; S.-Yugh. *xoGor*; Mongr. *xuGor* (SM 179), *xoGor*.

◊ KW 4, 284, MGCD 524. Some variants with 0- are probably secondary (although it is somewhat strange to find them in MMong.). Mong. > Russ. Siber. *oxar, oxára, axara* 'шерсть, наросшая после первой стрижки овцы', see Аникин 103.

PJpn. ***pìkù-** low (низкий): OJpn. *p(j)ik(j)i* 'low, short'; Tok. *hikú-*; Kyo. *híkù-*; Kag. *hikú-*.

◊ JLTT 828.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 292 (without the Jpn. parallel). See Poppe 11, 55, Цинциус 1984, 42. Despite Poppe 1966, 198, 1972, 99, Doerfer MT 132, Rozycki 78 the TM forms are hardly borrowed from Mong.

***pi̯únri (~ pʹ-)** fish scales, fin: Tung. ***ponda**; Jpn. ***pírái**; Kor. ***pìnír**.

PTung. ***ponda** footwear made of fish skin (обувь из рыбьей кожи): Ul. *pondo*; Ork. *pondo*; Nan. *pondoqto*.

◊ TMC 2, 41.

PJpn. ***pírái** fin (плавник): MJpn. *fíré*; Tok. *hìre*; Kyo. *híré*; Kag. *híre.*

◊ JLTT 408.

PKor. ***pìnír** (fish) scales ((рыбья) чешуя): MKor. *pìnír*; Mod. *pinil.*

◊ Nam 276, KED 850.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

***pi̯úŋu** a k. of fish: Tung. ***poŋdV**; Mong. ***boŋčiliki**; Turk. ***biŋit (~-ń-,-d)**; Jpn. ***pùnâ**; Kor. ***pi'út.**

PTung. ***poŋdV** 1 gudgeon 2 grayling (1 пескарь 2 хариус): Ul. *puŋgu* 1; Nan. *pendē* 2 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 43, 47 (Evk. *punnu, pundu*, Oroch *pende* and Ud. *poŋehä* are borrowed).

PMong. ***boŋčiliki** plaice (камбала): WMong. *boŋčilgi* (Kow.); Kh. *bončilgo*.

◊ Mong. > Manchu *poŋčilki* id. (despite Sukhebaatar, not vice versa).

PTurk. ***biŋit (~-ń-,-d)*** Salmo lenoc (ленок): Khak. *mind-ər* 'burbot'; Tv. *mijit*; Tof. *miit*; Yak. *bijit*.

◊ VEWT 336, Лексика 177.

PJpn. ***pùnâ*** crucian (карась): OJpn. *puna*; MJpn. *fùná*; Tok. *fúna*; Kyo. *fùnâ*; Kag. *funá*.

◊ JLTT 418.

PKor. ***pì'út*** mackerel, (KED) herring (скумбрия, макрель): MKor. *pì'út*; Mod. *piut* [*pius*].

◊ Nam 278, KED 856.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 177-178.

✱**pŏ̄ga** to tie up, strangle: Tung. ***poga-***; Mong. ***boɣo-***; Turk. ***bog-***.

PTung. ***poga-*** to choke, pant (задыхаться): Evk. *hoɣo-*; Neg. *xoɣo-*; Man. *fo-do-*; Ud. *xō-*.

◊ TMC 2, 330.

PMong. ***boɣo-*** to tie up, wrap; to hinder (завязывать, заворачивать; препятствовать): MMong. *bo'o-* (SH), *bo'am* (HY 4) 'dam, barrage'; WMong. *boɣu-*; Kh. *bō-*; Bur. *bō-*; Kalm. *bō-*; Ord. *bō-*; Bao. *boGəldə-*; Mongr. *bō-* (SM 26).

◊ KW 53. Mong. > Evk. *boɣo!i*, Neg. *bōla-* (Poppe 1966, 190, TMC 1, 87).

PTurk. ***bog-*** 1 to tie up 2 to strangle 3 to hinder 4 bundle (1 завязывать 2 душить 3 препятствовать): OTurk. *boɣ-* 2, *boɣ* 4 (MK); Karakh. *boɣ-* 2, *boɣ* 4 (MK); Tur. *bō-* 2, dial. *boɣ* 4, *boɣa-* 1; Gag. *bū-* 2; Az. *boɣ-* 1, 2; Turkm. *boɣ-* 1, 2; MTurk. *boɣ-* 2, *boɣ* 4 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *boɣ-* 1, 2; Uygh. *boɣ-* 2; Krm. *boɣ-* 2; Tat. *bu-* 2; Bashk. *bŭw-* 2; Kirgh. *bū-* 1, 2; Kaz. *bu-* 2; KBalk. *buw-* 1, 2; KKalp. *buw-* 1, 2; Kum. *buw-* 2; Nogh. *buw-* 2; SUygh. *poɣ-* 1, 2; Khak. *poɣ-* 1, 2; Oyr. *pō-*, *po-*, *bū-*, *pu-* 1, 2; Tv. *boɣ-* 1, 2; Chuv. *pъv-* 2; Yak. *buoj-* 3; Dolg. *buoj-* 3 ('to pacify, appease').

◊ EDT 311, VEWT 78, ЭСТЯ 2, 164-167, Stachowski 66.

‖ EAS 58, KW 53, Владимирцов 277, Poppe 21 (although words for 'slave' should be kept apart, see **bŏ̄ga*); Дыбо 15 (compares TM **bṑki-*, see **bṑki*). A Western isogloss. Shortness and high tone are reconstructed because of Mong. *b-; note, however, that Mong. can be borrowed from Turk. (see TMN 2, 346, Щербак 1997, 108). If this is the case, the real Mong. reflex could be **bög-si-* 'choke', **böɣe-lǯi-* 'vomit', suggesting a reconstruction **pŏ̄ge* or **pŏ̄gi*.

✱**pŏ̄gí(-rV)** kidneys, testicles: Tung. ***pugi- / *puki-***; Mong. ***böɣere***; Turk. ***bögür, *bögrek***; Jpn. ***púnkúri***; Kor. ***pir / *pur***.

PTung. ***pugi- / *puki-*** intestines, stomach (внутренности, желудок): Evk. *huɣi-te / huki-te*; Evn. *huktъ*; Neg. *xuxi-n*; Ul. *puku(n)*; Ork. *puxi(n)*; Nan. *puxī*; Orch. *xūki*; Ud. *xuɣi*.

◊ TMC 2, 339.

PMong. ***böɣere*** kidney(s); testicle(s) (почки; testiculi): MMong. *bo'ere* (HY 47, SH); WMong. *bögere* (L 124); Kh. *bŏ̄r*; Bur. *bŏ̄re*; Kalm. *bŏ̄rə*; Ord. *bŏ̄rö*; Mog. *böärä*; ZM *bürä* (4-4b); Dag. *būr*; Dong. *bore, boro*; Mongr. *bōro* (SM 28).

◊ KW 56-57.

PTurk. ***bögür, *bögrek*** kidney(s) (почки): OTurk. *bögür* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bögür* (MK); Tur. *böjrek, böbrek*; Gag. *bŭ̄r, bŏ̄rek, bŭ̄rek*; Az. *böjür, böjräk*; Turkm. *bevrek, bövrek*; MTurk. *bögrek* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bujrak*; Uygh. *böräk*; Krm. *bögrek, bivrek*; Tat. *büjer, bŭ̆jĭräk*; Bashk. *bŭ̆jŭr*; Kirgh. *böjrök*; Kaz. *büjĭr, büjrek*; KBalk. *börek*; KKalp. *büjir, büjrek*; Kum. *büjrek*; Nogh. *büjrek*; Khak. *pügürek, pürek*; Shr. *pŭ̄rek*; Oyr. *börök*; Tv. *bŭ̄rek*; Tof. *bŏ̄rek*; Chuv. *püre*; Yak. *büör*.

◊ EDT 328, VEWT 83, TMN 2, 353, ЭСТЯ 2, 205-207, Лексика 278, Stachowski 68.

PJpn. ***púnkúri*** testicles (testiculi): MJpn. *fúgúri*; Tok. *fuguri* (dial.).

◊ JLTT 416.

PKor. ***pir / *pur*** kidney; testicle (почка; testiculus): MKor. *pir / pur*; Mod. *pul*.

◊ Liu 399, 407, KED 832.

‖ KW 57, Владимирцов 195, Martin 250, АПиПЯЯ 68, Дыбо 6, Лексика 278. Despite TMN 2, 353, Щербак 1997, 108, there is no need at all to suppose Mong. < Turkic. The variant **puki-* in TM is assimilative (< **pugi-*). Cf. also MKor. *pùrəi* 'fish bladder'.

pŏ̄gV (~ -u-)** deer (male): Tung. ***pegu(le)-; Mong. ***bojir***; Turk. ***bugu, -ra***.

PTung. ***pegu(le)- (/ *po-)*** young of elk, elk (лосенок, лось): Evk. *hoglokān, heglen, hewlen*.

◊ TMC 2, 360. An Evk. word with probable external parallels; its relationship to a homophonous TM name of a constellation (Ursa Major or Minor) is not quite clear.

PMong. ***bojir*** male (of animals: elk, otter etc.) (самец животных (лося, выдры и др.)): WMong. *bojir* (L 113); Kh. *bojr*; Kalm. *bŏ̄lcən* 'otter' (KPC 114).

PTurk. ***bugu, -ra*** 1 deer (male) 2 camel stallion (1 олень 2 самец верблюда): OTurk. *buɣu* 1 (13th c.), *buɣura* 2 (Orkh.); Karakh. *buɣra* 2 (MK); Tur. *buɣur* 2, dial. *buɣu* 1; Az. *buɣur* 2; Turkm. *buɣra* 2; MTurk. *buɣu* 1, *buɣra, buɣur* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *buɣu* 1; Uygh. *buɣu* 1, (dial.) *buɣra, boɣra* 2; Kirgh. *būra* 2; Kaz. *bura* 2; KBalk. *bū* 1; KKalp. *buwra* 2; Nogh. bora 2; SUygh. *pirɣa* 2; Oyr. *bura* 2; Tv. *būra* 2, *būr* 'male elk'; Yak. *būr* 'male reindeer, male'; Dolg. *būr* 'male reindeer'.

◊ EDT 317-318, ЭСТЯ 2, 235-238, Лексика 152, Лексика 446-447, Stachowski 67. Turk. *buɣura* > Mong. *buɣura* (see TMN 2, 296, Щербак 1997, 110). Щербак 1997, 201 considers Turkic **bugu* to be borrowed from Mongolian *buɣu* 'male deer' (which may be true for some Kypchak forms: Kirgh. *buɣu*, Kaz. *bŭ̄ɣi*, Nogh., KKalp. *buɣi*), but in fact one can also think of a loan in the opposite direction: Turk. > Mong. *buɣu* (KW 58, MGCD

166), further > Evk. *buγu* etc., see Doerfer MT 78. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *burá* 'female camel'; Mong. (Bur.) *búra* > Russ. Siber. *búra* id., see Аникин 142.

‖ KW 58, *Лексика* 152. A Western isogloss. High tone reconstructed because of Mong. *b-.

***pòjńV́ (~ pʻ-)** vessel; boat: Mong. ***haji-ǯagan**; Jpn. ***pùná-i**; Kor. ***pǎi**.

PMong. ***haji-ǯagan** ship (корабль): MMong. *haiǯaγa* (IM).

PJpn. ***pùná-i** boat, vessel (лодка, сосуд): OJpn. *pune*; MJpn. *fùné*; Tok. *fúne*; Kyo. *fùné*; Kag. *funé*.

◊ JLTT 418. *puna-* in OJ compounds (*puna-pjito* etc.).

PKor. ***pǎi** boat (лодка): MKor. *pǎi*; Mod. *pä*.

◊ Nam 251, KED 743.

‖ Martin 226, Menges 1984, 284, АПиПЯЯ 67, 288 (with a different Turk. parallel, see **eńa*). Basically a Kor.-Jpn. isogloss (the Mong. form is poorly attested and has a somewhat obscure suffixation; besides, one would rather expect **huji-* or **heji-*). Jpn. > MKor. *pòńǎ*, mod. *posigi* 'basin, bowl' (on the other hand, Kor. *pǎi* may be the source of OJ *pé* 'bow, front of boat', see JLTT 403).

***póju (~ *pʻ-)** child, young (of animals): Tung. ***puj(u)-, *puj-kte**; Jpn. ***pítə̀**; Kor. ***pùthjə̀**.

PTung. ***puj(u)-, *puj-kte** 1 small 2 child 3 junior (1 маленький 2 ребенок 3 младший): Evk. *hujukūn* 1, *hute* 2, *huju-digi* 3; Evn. *hut* 2; Neg. *xute* 2; Man. *ǰaŋGu, fijaŋu* 3; Ul. *pikte* 2, *puǰaŋGu* 3; Ork. *putte* 2; Nan. *pikte* 2, *poja(ŋGo)* 3; Orch. *xītke, xiteke* 2; Ud. *site* 2; Sol. *ute* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 37, 338, 357-358. TM > Dag. *xutām* 'child' (Тод. Дар. 180).

PJpn. ***pítə̀** person (человек): OJpn. *pjito*; MJpn. *fitò*; Tok. *hitó*; Kyo. *hítò*; Kag. *híto*.

◊ JLTT 410. The root **pí-* may be also observed in OJ *pji-kwo* 'great-grandson; prince', *pjí-mje* 'princess'.

PKor. ***pùthjə̀** pupil of the eye (зрачок глаза): MKor. *núns-pùthjə̀*; Mod. *nun-pučhə*.

◊ Nam 116, KED 363. -pùthjə̀, originally "child" (with a widely spread metaphor "pupil of the eye" = "child of the eye") is folk-etymologically perceived as = *puthjə* "Buddha".

‖ Murayama 1962, 110, АПиПЯЯ 80, 107, 277. An Eastern isogloss. Jpn. has a contraction (like in **kík-* < **kʻūjlu-kʻ-*).

***póki (~ -kʻ-, -e)** to run, run away: Tung. ***pukti-**; Mong. ***bög-si-**.

PTung. ***pukti-** to run, gallop (бежать, мчаться): Evk. *hukti-*; Evn. *hȭtu-*; Neg. *xukti-*; Man. *feksi- / fekče-*; SMan. *fekəši-* (1232); Ul. *pukti-*; Ork. *pukči-*; Nan. *pukči-*; Orch. *xukti-*; Ud. *xukti-*; Sol. *uktelī-*.

◊ TMC 2, 340-341. Cf. also Evk. *hukulwa-* 'to ride (along a path)'.

PMong. ***bög-si-** to run (slowly), trot; run (as a hare) (бежать, трусить, скакать): WMong. *bögsi-*; Kalm. *bökšə-*.

◊ KW 55. Cf. also Ord. *bögö-* id.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; high tone can be reconstructed because of Mong. *b-. Cf. perhaps also Jpn. coll. *fuke-* 'to run away, flee' (dubious because of very late fixation).

***pōki (~ p'-) (?)** deep: Mong. ***(hü)gün**; Jpn. ***pùkà-**.

PMong. ***(hü)gün** deep (глубокий): MMong. *gun* (HY 52, SH); WMong. *gün* (L 391); Kh. *gün*, dial. *gűn*; Bur. *gün*; Kalm. *gün*; Ord. *gün*; Dag. *guen* (MD 153); Dong. *gun*; Bao. *guŋ* (Тод. Бн.); S.-Yugh. *guŋ*; Mongr. *fugwən* (SM 104).

◊ KW 139, MGCD 308.

PJpn. ***pùkà-** deep (глубокий): OJpn. *puka-*; MJpn. *fùkà-*; Tok. *fuká-*; Kyo. *fúkà-*; Kag. *fuká-*.

◊ JLTT 828.

‖ Cf. perhaps *-pók* in MKor. *pǎi-s-pók* 'navel' (*'belly cavity'?); TM **pokV-n* (TMC 1, 469) 'corner of the eye'. In Turkic cf. perhaps OUygh. *boγaj* (*boγań*?) 'low', borrowed in Mong. as WMong. *boγoni* (see EDT 322). This all seems rather uncertain; but for Mong. the reconstruction **hügün* (based on the archaic Mongor form *fugun*) seems probable, and the Mong.-Jpn. parallel at least seems satisfactory.

***pŏ̀k'è (~ -k-)** to dig, cut off; a cutting instrument: Tung. ***poK-**; Mong. ***hoktal-**, ***(h)okčira-**; Turk. ***bügde (~ -ö-)**; Jpn. ***pə̀kə̀**.

PTung. ***poK-** 1 to pound, crush, mince 2 to break (1 толочь, размельчать 2 ломать): Evk. *hoko-* 2; Evn. *hokak-* 2; Ork. *poqpụ-* 1; Nan. *poqpị-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 40, 330-331.

PMong. ***hoktal-** 1 to chop, cut off 2 to be broken off (1 отрубать, отрезать 2 отламываться): MMong. *xoxtol-* (SH), *uqtal-* (MA), *hotqal-* (LH) 1; WMong. *oγtal-*, *oγtul-* (L 602) 1, *oγčira-* (L 601: *oγčura-*) 2; Kh. *ogtlo-* 1, *ogcro-* 2; Bur. *otol-* 1; Ord. *ogtol-* 1; Dag. *ogtolo-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 159) (< lit.); Dong. *otolu-*; Bao. *hdolə-*; Mongr. *sdoli-* (SM 338).

◊ Mong. > Manchu *oktala-* 'to cut off the nose (an ancient punishment)' (see Rozycki 167).

PTurk. ***bügde (~ -ö-)** dagger (кинжал): OTurk. *bü/ögde* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bü/ögde* (MK, KB).

◊ EDT 325, TMN 2, 294-295, Лексика 566. Turk. > Pers. *bogda* 'big knife'.

PJpn. ***pə̀kə̀** pole-axe, battle-axe, halberd (алебарда): OJpn. *p(w)oko*; MJpn. *fôkò*; Tok. *hóko*; Kyo. *hókò*; Kag. *hóko*.

◊ JLTT 413. Accent in both Tokyo and Kagoshima is irregular, suggesting a loan from the Kyoto area.

‖ Cf. other similar roots: **p'i̯ùjge*, **bə̀k'ù*, **p'ùge*, **p'ago*.

✱**póńe (~ p′-)** smoke: Tung. ***puń-***; Mong. ***huni-***; Kor. ***pìńək***.

PTung. ***puń-*** to smoke (дымить(ся)): Ul. *punžiči-*, *puńambu-*; Ork. *pun-*; Nan. *poŋqi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 43-44. Ul. or Nan. > Oroch *puńa* 'smoky', Ud. *puŋkisi-* 'to smoke out'.

PMong. ***huni-*** 1 smoke 2 mist (1 дым 2 мгла, дымка): MMong. *xunin* (HY 1, SH) 1, *honi* (IM) 1, *hunin* (MA) 1; WMong. *unijar*, *ünijer* 2 (L 877, 1010); Kh. *uniar* 2; Bur. *uńār* 2; Kalm. *uńār*, *ünār* 2; Ord. *unār(i)* 2; Mog. ZM *honaɣ* (3-8b) 'smell, odour'; Dag. *xoni* (Тод. Дат. 177), *xoń*, *xonētu* 1; *onir* (Тод. Дат. 159) 2 (< lit.), *honi* 1 (MD 163); Dong. *funie* 1; Bao. *fənə* 1; Mongr. *funi* (SM 107), *xuni* (Minghe) 1, 2.

◊ KW 449, 458, MGCD 676, 682.

PKor. ***pìńək*** kitchen (кухня): MKor. *pìńək*, *pińəp*; Mod. *puək* [*puəkh*].

◊ Nam 271, KED 817.

‖ TMC 2,43-44, Цинциус 1984, 54-55, АПиПЯЯ 295. In Korean one has to presume a semantic shift "smoking place" > "kitchen".

✱**pòŋa (~ *p′-)** bud: Tung. ***poŋga***; Jpn. ***pànà***; Kor. ***poŋ'ori***.

PTung. ***poŋga*** bud, cone (бутон, головка цветка, шишка): Man. *boŋGu*, *boŋqo*; Ul. *poŋGorpi*; Nan. *poŋgo* 'bush' (On.).

◊ TMC 2, 41. Manchu has an assimilative (expressive) voicing *p- > b-.

PJpn. ***pànà*** flower (цветок): OJpn. *pana*; MJpn. *fànà*; Tok. *haná*; Kyo. *hánà*; Kag. *haná*.

◊ JLTT 398.

PKor. ***poŋ'ori*** bud (бутон, головка цветка): MKor. *poŋ'ori*; Mod. *poŋori*.

◊ Liu 391, KED 807.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**pŏru** to snow, rain: Tung. ***pur-***; Mong. ***boruɣa***; Turk. ***bora-***; Jpn. ***pùr-***; Kor. ***pora***.

PTung. ***pur-*** 1 to drizzle 2 slush 3 to fall (of first snow) 4 wind (changing its direction) (1 моросить (о дожде) 2 шуга, слякоть 3 выпадать (о первом снеге) 4 ветер (меняющий направление)): Evn. *horu-* 3, *hūrqa* 4; Man. *furana-* 'запылиться'; Ork. *purē-* 1; Nan. *puruekme* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 44, 334, 349, 353.

PMong. ***boruɣa*** 1 heavy rain 2 to snow, sleet (1 ливень 2 идти (о снеге, дожде со снегом)): MMong. *boro'an* (SH); WMong. *boruɣa(n)* 1 (L 121), *buryana-* 2 (L 137: *buryani-*); Kh. *borō(n)* 1, *burgana-* 2; Bur. *borō* 1, *burga-* 2; Kalm. *borān* 1; Ord. *borōn* 1; Mog. *bɔrɔn* (Weiers) 1; S.-Yugh. *boroŋ*; Mongr. *burōn* (SM 36) 'little rain'.

◊ KW 51, MGCD 158. Mong. > Chag. *borayan* etc. (TMN 1, 219-220); Evk. *būrga* etc. (TMC 1, 111).

PTurk. ***bora-*** 1 North wind 2 to snow heavily (1 северный ветер 2 обильно падать (о снеге)): Tur. *bora(k)* 1; Turkm. *bora-* 2; Kaz. *bora-* 2.

◊ VEWT 80, ЭСТЯ 2, 189-192, Лексика 45.

PJpn. ***pùr-*** to rain, snow (идти (о дожде, снеге)): OJpn. *pur-*; MJpn. *fùr-*; Tok. *fúr-*; Kyo. *fùr-*; Kag. *fùr-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

PKor. ***pora*** snow-storm (снежная буря): Mod. *nun-pora, nun-pore*.

◊ KED 362.

‖ Poppe 21, Ozawa 288-289, ОСНЯ 1, 188-189, АПиПЯЯ 69. Cf. **boru*, a contamination with which should explain Mong. *b- (one would expect *h- with low tone and shortness).

pótirkV** breast, breast bone: Tung. ***putukā; Mong. ***büdürkei***; Jpn. ****pútúkərə***.

PTung. ***puturkā*** 1 heartwood 2 spine (1 сердцевина 2 спинной хребет, спинной мозг): Evk. *hutukā*, dial. *hurka* 1, 2; Evn. *hutqa* 2; Neg. *xojkān* 1, 2; Ud. *xutiga* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 353, 356-357. Evk. > Dolg. *hutuka, hutukā* (Stachowski 114).

PMong. ***büdürkei*** breast bone, breast handle (грудная кость): WMong. *büdürkei* (L 144); Kh. *büderxij*; Kalm. *büderkə* (KPC 125); Ord. *büdürχī*.

PJpn. ****pútúkərə*** breast, bosom (грудь, пазуха): OJpn. *putukuro*; MJpn. *fútókóró*; Tok. *fùtokoro*; Kyo. *fútókóró*; Kag. *futokóro*.

◊ JLTT 419.

‖ Cf. also Yak. *bötüön* 'грудная кость'; Az. *pötänä* 'потроха'.

pōto (~ -ū-, -i̯ū-)** to think, intend: Tung. ****pōt[e]-; Mong. ****bodu-***; Jpn. ****pətua***; Kor. ****ptí-t***.

PTung. ****pōti-*** 1 sense 2 to pay attention (1 смысл 2 обращать внимание): Evk. *hōtiwūn* 1; Evn. *hotiči̯w-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 335.

PMong. ****bodu-*** to think (думать): WMong. *bodu-* (L 109); Kh. *bodo-*; Bur. *bodo-*; Kalm. *bodə-*; Ord. *bodo-*; Dag. *bodo-* (Тод. Дат. 127), bode- (MD 124), *bodu-*; Dong. *bodo-*; S.-Yugh. *bodo-*.

◊ KW 48, MGCD 156.

PJpn. ****pətua*** measure, degree (мера, степень): OJpn. *p(w)otwo*; MJpn. *fodo*; Tok. *hodó, hòdo*; Kyo. *hódó*; Kag. *hódo*.

◊ JLTT 413. Original accent is not quite clear. Modern dialects point to **pətuá* or **pətuà* (? **pàtuà*), and MJ accentuation is not attested.

PKor. ****ptí-t*** will, intention (воля, намерение): MKor. *ptít*; Mod. *t:it* [*t:is*].

◊ Nam 174, KED 544.

‖ Lee 1958, 119 (Kor.-Mong.). Cf. also MKor. *pthāk* 'reason'; without vowel reduction perhaps also MKor. *pùrá*, mod. *purə* 'intentionally, on

purpose'. Mong. > Evk. *bodo-* etc. (see TMC 1, 88, Doerfer MT 78). The Jpn. reflex is not quite certain, being somewhat distant semantically and aberrant accentologically (TM length should correspond to low tone in Jpn.). The voicing in modern dialects (Tok. *hodo* etc.) also contradicts *-t- in **pōto*. One should consider a possibility of relating Kor. *pthāk* and PJ **patua* (**pə(n)tua*) to PA **p'ēt[e]* 'name, to call' ('name' as the essence or reason of the called object?) which would be phonologically more plausible (assuming Gruntov's rule about **C'VCV* > **CVC'V* in early PJ).

***puč́ù (~ b-,-i̯u-o,-i̯a-u)** two, pair; half: Turk. ***buč-uk**; Jpn. ***puta-**; Kor. ***pča-k**.

PTurk. ***buč-uk** half (половина): Karakh. *bičuq* (MK, IM); Tur. *bučuk*; MTurk. *bučuq* (Sangl., MKypch. - AH).

◊ VEWT 85, EDT 294, ЭСТЯ 2, 283-284. Usually regarded as derived from **bič-* 'to cut', which is dubious in the light of external evidence.

PJpn. ***puta-** two (два): OJpn. *puta-*; MJpn. *fútà-, fútá-*; Tok. *fùta-*; Kyo. *hùtá-*; Kag. *fúta-*.

◊ JLTT 419. Original accentuation, as with other numerals, is hard to reconstruct.

PKor. ***pča-k** 1 pair 2 one of a pair (1 пара 2 один из пары): MKor. *pčàk* 1, 2; Mod. *č:ak* 2.

◊ Nam 415, KED 1386.

‖ EAS 96, Martin 249-250, АПиПЯЯ 109, 278. Korean has a frequent vowel reduction between a stop and an affricate, which makes the precise vowel reconstruction difficult.

***pǔgò** distressed, restive: Tung. ***pūg-**; Mong. ***bug**; Jpn. ***pàk(a)-**.

PTung. ***pūg-** 1 mad, crazy 2 to have a troubled, disquiet sleep 3 angry bear (not sleeping during hibernation) (1 сумасшедший 2 переворачиваться с боку на бок, плохо спать 3 медведь-шатун): Evk. *hūγī* 1, *hūγ* 3; Evn. *hökъčen* 3; Neg. *xūγēčēn* 3; Man. *fuχa-ša-* 2; *foqšiχan* 'hot-tempered'; Nan. *pue-se-* 2; Orch. *xui-si-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 301, 337.

PMong. ***bug** demon (черт, демон): WMong. *buγ* (L 131); Kh. *bug*; Bur. *bug*; Kalm. *bug* 'demon of mist'; Ord. *buGu*.

◊ KW 58. Also WMong. *buγ-sa-* 'to be angry, irritated' (> Chag. *buxsa-* etc.).

PJpn. ***pàk(a)-** to be distressed, restive (волноваться, быть в смятении): MJpn. *fòk(a)-*; Tok. *boké-*; Kyo. *bòkè-*; Kag. *boké-*.

◊ JLTT 680. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular. One of the few cases of secondary expressive initial voicing in modern Japanese.

‖ See SKE 207. An expressive root; cf. **bukV*.

✱**pŭkʻa** craw, crop: Tung. ***pukēn***; Mong. ***bakawu, *bakalaɣur***; Turk. ***bokak***.

PTung. ***pukēn*** crop, craw (зоб): Evk. *hukēn*; Neg. *xŭxēn*; Man. *fuqa* 'navel of animals, musk bag'; Ul. *poko*; Nan. *poqō* 'tear follicle' (On.); Ud. *xuguńä*.

◊ TMC 2, 342.

PMong. ***bakawu, *bakalaɣur*** 1 crop, craw, goiter 2 throat (1 зоб 2 горло): WMong. *baqaɣu, baqau, baquu* (L 92, 93) 1, *baqalaɣur* 2; Kh. *baxū* 1, *baxlūr* 2; Bur. *baxalūr, baxalzūr* 2; Kalm. *baxəlūr, baxəlzūr* 2; Ord. *baxu, baxū* 1.

◊ KW 28. Mong. > Oyr. *paqilūr*. The forms meaning 'throat' have undergone a partial contamination with **bagalžaɣur* (v. sub **bŏku*).

PTurk. ***bokak*** crop, craw (зоб): Karakh. *boqaq* (MK); Tur. *boɣak*; Az. *buxaG*; Turkm. *buqaw*; MTurk. *boqaɣu* (AH); Uzb. *buqɔq*; Uygh. *poqaq*; Bashk. *boɣaq*; Kirgh. *boɣoq*; Kaz. *buɣaq*; KBalk. *boɣaq*; KKalp. *buɣaq*; Kum. *buɣaq*; Khak. *poɣo*; Oyr. *boɣoq*; Yak. *moɣox*.

◊ VEWT 79, TMN 2, 349, ЭСТЯ 2, 202, Лексика 150.

‖ Дыбо 10, Лексика 150. A Western isogloss. High tone is reconstructed because of Mong. *b-. The root is actively contaminating with **bŏku* 'throat' q.v.

✱**púkʻV** all, complete: Tung. ***puK-***; Mong. ***bük-***; Kor. ***pukh***.

PTung. ***puK-*** completely, all (все, совсем, вполне): Man. *fuχali*.

◊ TMC 2, 302. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***bük-*** all, everything (все, целиком): MMong. *bugude* (HYt), *bügde* (IM), *bogde* (LH); WMong. *bükü, büküli, bügüde* (L 145); Kh. *büx, büxel, bügd*; Bur. *büxi*; Kalm. *bügdə* (KPC); Ord. *bügüde, büxül, büxüli*; Dag. *bugede* (MD); Mongr. *pugilī* (SM 306).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *bukuli*, Sol. *buxuli* (see TMC 1, 105).

PKor. ***pukh*** completely, exhaustively (полностью, целиком): Mod. *phuk, phok*.

◊ KED 1762.

‖ TMC 2, 302. The root is not preserved in Turkic - but cf. perhaps the isolated Yak. *buka barı* 'all together', *buka* 'perhaps', *buka-tın* 'completely' (Dolg. *buka* 'exactly', *bukatın* 'completely', see Stachowski 64).

✱**púla (~ -o-)** to swell: Tung. ***pul-***; Mong. ***bul-***; Jpn. ***pára-***.

PTung. ***pul-*** 1 hump 2 swelling, convexity (1 горб 2 опухоль, выпуклость): Evk. *hulin* 1, *hulka* 2; Evn. *hulъn* 1; Ork. *pulu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 345.

PMong. ***bul-*** swelling, lump (опухоль, выпуклость): MMong. *bulu* 'hob' (HY 18); WMong. *buluw, bulduruw* (L 134, 136: *bulu, bulduru*); Kh. *bulū, buldrū*; Bur. *bula, bulū*; *bulxaj-* 'be convex'; Kalm. *bulə*; Dag. *bol, bolo* 'bolster' (Тод. Даг. 127).

◊ KW 59. An expressive root with numerous derivatives (*bul-t-, bul-č-, bül-t-* etc.); there also exist variants with -a- (*bal-t-, bal-č-* etc.). Most of these forms can also be found borrowed in modern Turkic and Tungus languages (see, e.g., Doerfer MT 73). Bur. > Russ. Siber. *buldurun* 'кочка' (Аникин 140).

PJpn. ***pára-*** to swell (пухнуть, опухать): OJpn. *para-*; Tok. *hàre-*; Kyo. *háré-*; Kag. *haré-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

‖ An expressive root, but seems to be a good match between Mong., TM and Japanese.

puli (~ p´-,-Í-, -o-e)** red: Tung. ***pula-; Mong. ***hulaɣan***; Kor. ****pìrk-***.

PTung. ***pula-*** red (красный): Evk. *xula-ma,-rin*; Evn. *hulaṅā*; Neg. *xolajin*; Man. *fulġan*; SMan. *fəlaġan, fulġan* (2419); Jurch. *fula-gian* (617); Nan. *folǵā(n)*; Ud. *xulaligi*; Sol. *ulā*.

◊ TMC 2, 343-344.

PMong. ***hulaɣan*** red (красный): MMong. *xula'an* (HY 41, SH), *holām* (IM), *hula'an, hulan* (MA); WMong. *ulaɣan* (L 869); Kh. *ulān*; Bur. *ulān*; Kalm. *ulān*; Ord. *ulān*; Mog. *ulōn*; ZM *ulɔn* (13-8); Dag. *xulān* (Тод. Даг. 179), *hulān* (MD 166); Dong. *xulan*; Bao. *felaŋ, fulaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *łān*; Mongr. *fulān* (SM 105).

◊ KW 448, MGCD 671, TMN 1, 540.

PKor. ****pìrk-*** red (красный): MKor. *pìrk-*; Mod. *puk-* [*pulk*].

◊ Nam 274, KED 844.

‖ AKE 14, Lee 1958, 110, EAS 53, 143, KW 448, Poppe 12, 74, Цинциус 1984, 54, Menges 1984, 287, АПиПЯЯ 40, 291, Rozycki 80-81. Despite Poppe 1972, 100, Doerfer MT 23, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong (and vice versa, as suggested in TMN 1, 540); borrowing in Kor. from TM is also highly improbable.

pŭlo** last year; to become old, wear out: Tung. ***polo-kta; Mong. ***boli-***; Turk. ****bɨldur (/*buldɨr)***; Jpn. ****pórə́-(m)pə-***.

PTung. ***polo-kta*** 1 old, worn out 2 last year's (1 старый, изношенный 2 прошлогодний): Evk. *holokto* 1; Neg. *xolokto* 2; Nan. *polōqto* 2 (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 332.

PMong. ***boli-*** to become old, weak, cease (стареть, слабеть, прекращать(ся)): MMong. *b[o]li-* (IM), *buli-* (MA); WMong. *boli-* (L 117); Kh. *boli-*; Bur. *boli-*.

PTurk. ****bɨldur (/*buldɨr)*** past time, last year (прошлое, прошлый год): Karakh. *bildir* (MK); Gag. *bildir*; Az. *bildir*; Turkm. *bildir*; MTurk. *bɨltɨr* (AH), *bilir* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bultur*; Uygh. *bultu(r)*; Krm. *bɨltɨr*; Tat. *bɨltɨr*; Bashk. *bɨltɨr*; Kirgh. *bɨltɨr*; Kaz. *bɨltɨr*; KBalk. *bɨltɨr*; KKalp. *bɨltɨr*; Kum. *bɨltɨr*; SUygh. *pɨtɨr*; Khak. *pɨltɨr*; Yak. *bɨlɨr*; Dolg. *bɨlɨr*.

◊ EDT 334, VEWT 74, ЭСТЯ 2, 139-140, Лексика 71, Stachowski 70.

PJpn. ***pə́rə́-(m)pə-** to perish (погибать): OJpn. *p(w)orobu-*; MJpn. *fóróbu-*; Tok. *hòrobi-*; Kyo. *hóróbí-*; Kag. *horobí-*.

◊ JLTT 692. Final *-ə- is reconstructed on the basis of the caus. OJ *p(w)orob(w)os-*.

‖ The suffixless form is preserved only in Mong. *boli-*; PT and PTM may reflect a common derivative **pŭlo-ktV*.

***pŭne** to ride: Tung. ***punŋe-**; Mong. ***hunu- (/ *unu-)**; Turk. ***bŭn-(/*bīn-)**; Jpn. ***pana-**; Kor. ***pòm-nór-**.

PTung. ***punŋe-** 1 to drive (deer) 2 running deer (1 гнать (оленей) 2 олень-бегун): Evn. *hunik* 2; Ul. *puŋne-* 1; Ork. *puŋne-* 1; Nan. *puŋne-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 44, 348.

PMong. ***hunu- / *unu-** to ride, mount (ехать верхом, сидеть верхом): MMong. *uno-* (SH), *unu-* (MA), *unu-* (LH); WMong. *unu-* (L 877); Kh. *una-*; Bur. *una-*; Kalm. *un-*; Ord. *unu-*; Mog. *uni-*; ZM *onu-*; Dag. *ono-*, *on-* (Тод. Дат. 160), *one-* (MD 201); Dong. *huntra-*, *unu-*; Bao. *fune-*, *honə-*; S.-Yugh. *funa-*; Mongr. *funi-*, *xuni-*, *xoni-* (SM 107, 171, 183).

◊ KW 450, MGCD 674. The variation of *h- and *0- within Mong. is unclear: a contamination with the root reflected in PM **unagan* 'foal' (v. sub **ènŋù*) is not excluded.

PTurk. ***bŭn- (/*bīn-)** to ride on, to mount, to *rize* (ехать верхом): OTurk. *bin-* (Orkh.), *mün-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *mün-* (MK, KB); Tur. *bin-*; Gag. *pin-*; Az. *min-*; Turkm. *mün-*; *mīn-* (dial.); Sal. *min-*, *mim-*, *miŋ-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *min-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *min-*; Uygh. *min-*; Krm. *min-*; Tat. *men-*; Bashk. *men-*; Kirgh. *min-*; Kaz. *min-*; KBalk. *min-*; KKalp. *min-*; Kum. *min-*; Nogh. *min-*; SUygh. *min-*; Khak. *mün-*; Shr. *mün-*; Oyr. *min-*; Tv. *mun-*; Tof. *mun-*; Chuv. *minder* 'pillow'; Yak. *mīn-*; Dolg. *mīn-*.

◊ VEWT 338, TMN 4, 34, EDT 348, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 180. Shortness in Turkm. is not clear. On the derivative **bin-ig-* > **binge-ĺ-* 'to ride behind someone else on the same horse' see EDT 771, Stachowski 178. Chuv. *minder* may be < Kypch., cf. Turk., Gag., Turkm., Nogh. *minder*, Kum. *minnir*, Tat., Bashk. *mendär* - see Федотов 1, 359.

PJpn. ***pana-** to run, trot, jump (бежать, скакать, прыгать): MJpn. *fana-*; Tok. *hané-*; Kyo. *hànè-*; Kag. *hané-*.

◊ JLTT 684. Tone unclear: Kyoto and Tokyo point to **pàná-*, Kagoshima - to **páná-*.

PKor. ***pòm-nór-** to ride swiftly (быстро ехать, мчаться): MKor. *pòm-nór-*.

◊ Nam 263.

‖ The Mong. form has a strange variation of *h- and *0-, so far unexplained.

***pùnV (~ p'-, -o-)** year, spring / summer: Tung. ***pune-**; Mong. ***hon**; Kor. ***póm**.

PTung. ***pune** 1 time, period 2 South (1 время, период 2 юг): Man. *fon* 1; SMan. *fon* 'occasion' (2649); Jurch. *fowan* (*fom-wan*) do (81) 1, *fAn-ti* (592) 2; Ul. *punele* 2; Nan. *fõ* (Kur-Urm.) 1 (< Man.).

◊ TMC 2, 43, 300. Ul. or Nan. > Oroch *punele*, Ud. *puńalanǯini* 'South'. The original meaning may be reconstructed as *'summer' (> a) 'South'; b) season, time).

PMong. ***hon** year (год): MMong. *xon* (HY 5, SH), *hun* (IM), *hun* (MA); WMong. *on* (L 611); Kh. *on*; Bur. *on*; Kalm. *on*; Ord. *on*; Dag. *xōn* (Тод. Дar. 177), *hōn* (MD 164); Dong. *xon*; Bao. *xoŋ*, *hoŋ* (Tunren); S.-Yugh. *hon*, *χon*; Mongr. *fən*, *xwən* (SM 98), *fen*, *fon* (Huzu), *xön*, *xon* (Minghe).

◊ KW 286, MGCD 444, 528.

PKor. ***póm** spring (весна): MKor. *póm*; Mod. *pom*.

◊ Nam 263, KED 804.

‖ EAS 53, 141, SKE 205, KW 286, 295, Poppe 11, 69, Цинциус 1984, 43. Despite Doerfer MT 143, Rozycki 78-79, the TM forms meaning 'time' are hardly < Mong. Cf. perhaps also Jpn. **pàrû* 'spring' (if -ru is regarded as a suffix < **pUn-ra*); see Whitman 1985, 188, 202, 211.

***puŋga (~ pʻ-, -i̯u-)** musk smell, bad smell: Tung. ***poŋga**; Mong. ***huŋga-su**; Kor. ***pāŋkui**.

PTung. ***poŋga** 1 musk deer 2 musk (1 кабарга, мускусный олень 2 кабарговая струя, мускус): Evk. *hoŋgo* 2; Evn. *hoŋgačan* 1; Man. *fońo* 1; Ul. *poŋGol* 2; Nan. *poŋGol* 2; Orch. *xoŋgolo* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 333.

PMong. ***huŋga-su** fart (кишечный газ): MMong. *xuŋši'ut* (pl.) (SH), *hun[u]s* (IM), *honɣū-* 'to fart' (LH), *ənqu-* 'to fart' (MA 98); WMong. *uŋɣasu(n)*, *uŋɣusu(n)* (L 876); Kh. *uŋgas(an)*; Bur. *ungaha(n)*; Kalm. *oŋgъ-*, *uŋgъ-*; Ord. *uŋgusu*; Mog. *uŋɣu-* 'to fart' (Weiers); ZM *onɣu* 'flatus' (3-8b); Dag. *xongə-*, *xongos*; Dong. *hunGu-*, -sun; Bao. *hoŋGə-*, *-soŋ*; S.-Yugh. *hoŋgo-*, -sən; Mongr. *uŋGwāsə*, *ŋGwāsə* (SM 292, 472), *uŋGusə* (SM 472), *ŋGosə* (Huzu).

◊ KW 450, MGCD 675.

PKor. ***pāŋkui** flatulence, wind in the bowels (кишечные газы): MKor. *pāŋkui*; Mod. *paŋgwi*.

◊ Nam 250, KED 736.

‖ Poppe 72 (Mong.-Kor.). The stem may be derived from **pʻúńe* 'smell' q.v.

***púre** leaf, bud: Mong. ***bor-**; Turk. ***bür**; Jpn. ***pá**.

PMong. ***bor-** cone (шишка): WMong. *boɣučuj*, *boɣučuɣ* (L 121); Kh. *borgocoj*; Bur. *borbōsgoj*.

◊ Cf. also *bordo-* 'to feed (with grain)' (S.-Yugh. *bordo-*, MGCD 157), possibly derived from the same root.

PTurk. ***bür** 1 bud 2 leaf 3 grain (1 почка 2 лист 3 зерно): OTurk. *bür* 1 (OUygh.); Tur. *bürčük* 1, *bürtük* 3 (dial.); Krm. *bürtük* 3; Tat. *börö* 1; Bashk. *börö* 1; Kirgh. *bür* 1; KBalk. *bürtük* 3; KKalp. *bürtik* 3; Kum. *bürtük* 3; Nogh. *bürtik* 3; Khak. *pür* 2; Tv. *bürü* 2; Tof. *bür* 2; Chuv. *pəʷrӡe* 'grain, particle'; Yak. *burduk* 'flour'; Dolg. *burduk* 'flour'.

◊ VEWT 92, EDT 354, Лексика 114-115, Stachowski 67. Turk. > WMong. *bür*, Kalm. *bür* (KW 67).

PJpn. ***pá** leaf (лист): OJpn. pa; MJpn. *fá*; Tok. *hà*; Kyo. *hǎ*; Kag. *há*.

◊ JLTT 394.

‖ Jpn. **pá* presupposes a suffixed form **púr(e)-gV* (= Mong. **bor-gu-*).

***pure** pipe: Mong. ***bürije-n**; Turk. ***burgu**; Jpn. ***patiku**.

PMong. ***bürije-n** trumpet, trumpet horn (труба): WMong. *bürije(n)* (L 149), *bürege*; Kh. *bürē(n)*; Bur. *büŕē*; Kalm. *bürē*; Ord. *bürē*; Dag. *burē* (Тод. Дар. 128); Mongr. *būraG* (MGCD 177).

◊ KW 67. Mong. > Man. *buren*.

PTurk. ***burgu** 1 trumpet 2 pipe (of a plant) (1 труба 2 трубка (растения)): OTurk. *buɣu* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *boɣuj* (MK) 1; Tur. *boru* 1; Gag. *boru* 1; Az. *boru* 1; MTurk. *buɣu* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *buɣu* 1; Krm. *borı* 1; Tat. *bïɣı* (Tob.) 1; Bashk. *boɣo* 1; KBalk. *bïɣı* 1; Kum. *bïɣı* 1; SUygh. *pıra* 1; Khak. *pïɣı* 1, 2, *mïɣı* 1; Shr. *pïɣı* 1; Tv. *muŋu* 1, 2; Tof. *muɣu* 1, 2; Chuv. *ръгъх* 1.

◊ EDT 361, TMN 2, 286, ЭСТЯ 2, 194-195. Turk. > Mong. : Khalkha *burguj* 'wire for pipe cleaning', Bur. *burgı* 'drill'. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *borga* (Аникин 134-135).

PJpn. ***patiku** bamboo (used for making trumpets) (бамбук (используемый для изготовления труб)): MJpn. *fatiku*; Tok. *hachiku*.

◊ Accent unknown.

‖ Laufer 1919, 575 (Doerfer: "lautlich unmöglich"). Cf. perhaps Nan. *furgẽ* 'loud, bass' (TMC 2, 303). The final velar element is suffixed, and the suffixes are different here (Jpn. -k- pointing to *-k'- or -k-, but Turcic and Mongolian - to *-g-).

***pŭŕi (~ -e)** to wink, wrinkle: Tung. ***puri-**; Mong. ***hür-**; Turk. ***büŕ- / *bür-**.

PTung. ***puri-** to wink (мигать, моргать): Evk. *hurim-*; Evn. *hurṭm-*; Neg. *xojim-*; Nan. *porịa* 'scowling'.

◊ TMC 2, 352.

PMong. ***hür-** to wrinkle (морщиться): MMong. *hurni-* (MA 187); WMong. *ürčiji-*, *ürči-* (L 1011); Kh. *ürčij-*; Bur. *ürzı-*; Ord. *ürčī-*, *örčī-*.

PTurk. ***büŕ- / *bür-** to wrinkle (морщиться): Karakh. *bür-* (MK, KB), *büz-* (IM); Tur. *bür-* (dial.), *büz-*; Az. *büz-*, *bürüš-*; Turkm. *bür-*, *büz-*; MTurk. *bür-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *buriš-*; Uygh. *pü(r)-*; Krm. *bürüš-*; Tat. *bör-*; Bashk. *bör-*; Kirgh. *bür-*; Kaz. *bür-*; KKalp. *bür-*; Kum. *bürüš-*; Nogh. *bür-*; Khak. *pür-*; Chuv. *pəʷr-*.

◊ VEWT 92, EDT 355, ЭСТЯ 2, 294-296 (contaminates with **bür-* 'to cover'). Егоров 157, Федотов 1, 421.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 56. A Western isogloss. Low tone is reconstructed because of Mong. *h-.

✱**pūsa** outside, exterior: Tung. ***pūski-**; Mong. ***busu-**; Jpn. ***pási**; Kor. ***pàsk**.

PTung. ***pūski-** counter, opposite (напротив): Evk. *hūskī*; Evn. *huwuski*; Neg. *hoskī*.

◊ TMC 2, 355.

PMong. ***busu-** other (другой): MMong. *busi* 'foreigner' (IM), *busu* (SH, HYt), *būši* 'foreigner' (Lig.VMI); WMong. *busu* (L 140); Kh. bus; Bur. *busa*; Kalm. *busə*; Ord. *busu*; Mog. *biši* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *bišin* (Тод. Даг. 126), *biši(n)*; Dong. *puse*; Mongr. *buśi*.

◊ KW 46, 63.

PJpn. ***pási** outer edge (внешний край): OJpn. *pasi*; MJpn. *fási*; Tok. *hàshi*; Kyo. *háshí*; Kag. *hashí*.

◊ JLTT 400. The Kagoshima accent is unexpected (a regular reflex would be *háshi*).

PKor. ***pàsk** outside, exterior; other (внешний; другой): MKor. *pàs, pàsk*; Mod. *pak* [*pak*:].

◊ Nam 248, 250, KED 713.

‖ Turk. **baĺ(č)ka* 'other' is very similar, but phonetically unclear. Another irregularity is the tonal discrepancy between TM and Kor.-Jpn. (note that the TM reconstruction is not quite certain: one should perhaps reconstruct **pubuski* because of the Even form, and either separate the TM form from the rest or suppose a form with a cluster like **pubsa*). On the whole, a tempting but not quite secure etymology.

✱**púsa (~ -i̯o-)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***puse-**; Mong. ***basiŋga**; Jpn. ***pansai**.

PTung. ***puse-** 1 trout 2 black *amur* (fish) 3 a k. of fish (1 форель 2 черный амур 3 вид рыбы): Evn. *hēsъmki* 1; Man. *fuseli* 3; Nan. *fusuli* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 304, 371.

PMong. ***basiŋga** a k. of roach (вид рыбы (плотва, вобла)): WMong. *basiŋγa* (L 90); Kh. *bašinga*; Kalm. *bašŋgə* 'вобла (мелкая)'.

◊ KW 36.

PJpn. ***pansai** goby (бычок): Tok. *háze*; Kyo. *házè*; Kag. *háze*.

◊ JLTT 403. Original accent unclear (high-low, to judge from Kyoto and Kagoshima, but low-high - from Tokyo).

‖ High tone is reconstructed because of Mong. *b-; voicing in Jpn. is unclear.

✱**puse** to break through, break out: Tung. ***pos-**; Turk. ***bös-**; Jpn. ***pansa-**.

PTung. ***pos-** 1 to burst, break out 2 through (1 лопаться, раскалываться 2 насквозь): Man. *fusxu-* 1; Ul. *pos* 2; Ork. *pos* 2; Nan. *pos, fos* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 42, 358.

PTurk. ***bös-** 1 to break through 2 rupture, hernia (1 прорываться 2 прободение, грыжа): Uygh. *bös-* 1; Tat. *büs-* 1, *büser* 2.

◊ VEWT 84.

PJpn. ***pansa-*** to burst open, split (лопаться, раскалываться): Tok. *hazé-*; Kyo. *hàzè-*; Kag. *hazé-*.

◊ JLTT 686. The PJ accent is not quite clear.

‖ Reason for voicing (prenasalization) in Jpn. is not quite clear.

✱**pŭti (~ -i̯u-, -e)** to quilt, weave: Mong. ***hüde-***; Turk. ***büt-***.

PMong. ***hüde-*** to quilt, tuft (простегивать): MMong. *hüdesü* (SH) 'lanière servant à fixer un objet en le perçant d'outre en outre'; WMong. *üde-* (L 995); Kh. *üde-*; Bur. *üde-*; Kalm. *üd-* (KPC); Ord. *üdēri* 'little strap'; Dong. *xudu-*; Mongr. *sdē-* 'rapiécer' (SM 334), *šdē-* (Huzu).

◊ MGCD 688.

PTurk. ***büt-*** 1 to join, intertwine, adhere 2 to wind, weave (1 присоединяться, переплетаться, примыкать 2 плести, ткать): Karakh. *bütüš-* (MK) 1; Tur. *bitiš-* 1; Az. *bitiš-* 1; Turkm. *bitiš-* 1; Uzb. *bitiš-* 1; Tat. *böter-* 'крутить, свертывать'; Bashk. *bötörgös* 'деталь ткацкого станка'; Kaz. *bitis-* 'мириться'; Chuv. *pəʷdəʷr-* 2.

◊ EDT 309-310. Федотов 1, 427

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Low tone and shortness may be reconstructed because of Mong. *h-. The root is similar to **pʻútʻa* and **bòtʻe* q.v., but still should be probably reconstructed as a separate etymon.

✱**putʻi[m]ukʻV** a k. of berry: Tung. ***putumukte***; Kor. ***ptárkì***.

PTung. ***putumukte*** 1 honeysuckle, woodbind 2 strawberry (1 жимолость 2 земляника): Evk. *hutumukte* 1, 2; Evn. *hutъmtъ* 1; Neg. *hutumte* 1; Ud. *xutumukte* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 357. Oroch *utumukte* and Nan. *kutumiekte* are quite irregular (a possible different etymology of the Nan. word see under **kị̀orteme)*.

PKor. ***ptárkì*** raspberry, strawberry (малина, земляника): MKor. *ptárkì*; Mod. *tːalgi*.

◊ Nam 140, KED 402.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**pŭtʻò** poplar, branch, stick: Tung. ***pota***; Mong. ***buta***; Turk. ***būta-***; Jpn. ***pəta***; Kor. ***pàtɨr***.

PTung. ***pota*** willow (тальник, верба): Ork. *potoqto*; Nan. *fotoχa*.

◊ TMC 2, 45. The TM forms are certainly not borrowed from Mong., despite Rozycki 77 (who additionally follows TMC in confusing the root with **pude-* q. v. sub **pʻude*, and **pučі-* q.v. sub **pʻúčʻi)*.

PMong. ***buta*** bushes (кусты): MMong. *buta* (SH); WMong. *buta, butu* (L 141); Kh. *but*; Bur. *buta*; Kalm. *buta*; Ord. *buta*; Dag. *boto* (Тод. Дат. 128); Dong. *puda*; S.-Yugh. *but*; Mongr. *budā* 'herbes ou plantes croissant en touffes, touffe (herbes)' (SM 31), *butā* (Huzu).

◊ KW 63, MGCD 171.

PTurk. ***būta-*** 1 to cut branches 2 branch 3 nail (1 срезать ветви 2 ветвь 3 гвоздь): OTurk. *butiq* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *butiq, butaq* 2 (MK);

Tur. *buda-* 1, *budak* 2; Gag. *buda-* 1, *budaq* 2; Az. *buda-* 1, *budaG* 2; Turkm. *pūda-* 1, *pūdaq* 2; Sal. *pu/ūtax* 2 (ССЯ); Khal. (*buta* 'bush' - a backloan from Pers.?); MTurk. *buda-* 1 (Pav. C.), (MKypch.) *buda-* 1 (AH); Uzb. *buta-* 1, *butɔq* 2; Uygh. *puta-* 1, *putaq*; Krm. *buta-* 1, *butaq* 2; Tat. *bota-* 1, *botaq* 2; Bashk. *bota-* 1, *botaq* 2; Kirgh. *buta-* 1, *butaq* 2; Kaz. *buta-* 1, *butanaq* 2 (*buta* 'bush' < Iran.); KBalk. *buta-* 1, *butaq* 2; KKalp. *puta-* 1, *putaq* 2; Kum. *buta-* 1, *butaq* 2; Nogh. *bita-* 1, *butaq* 2; Khak. *pidira-* 1; Oyr. *buda-* 1, *budaq* 2; Tv. *bu'duq* 2; Chuv. *pъʷda* 3; Yak. *bitā-* 1, *butuk* 2 (Пек.); *mutā-* 1, *mutuk* 2; Dolg. *mutuk* 2.

◊ EDT 301, 302, VEWT 90, TMN 2, 330, Лексика 103, Stachowski 183. Turk. > WMong. *butaq* 'branch' (see Щербак 1997, 111) (but Mong. *buta* can be hardly explained as a loan).

PJpn. ***pəta*** log (полено): MJpn. *fota*; Tok. *hota*.

◊ Accent unknown.

PKor. ***pàtír*** poplar, willow (тополь, ива): MKor. *pàtír*; Mod. *pədil*.

◊ Liu 375, KED 759.

‖ KW 446, Poppe 12, 52, Цинциус 1984, 52-53, Дыбо 10, Лексика 104. Despite some confusion between **pōtʻo* and **pʻude*, the two roots are clearly distinguishable. Kor. **pàtír* must be delabialized < **pòtír*.

pV̀tʻokʻV (~ pʻ-, b-)** cuckoo: Jpn. ***pàtàtàkí-su; Kor. ****pákúk-***.

PJpn. ***pàtàtákí-sù*** cuckoo (кукушка): OJpn. *p(w)ototogjisu*; MJpn. *fòtòtógísù*; Tok. *hototógisu*; Kyo. *hótótógìsù*; Kag. *hototogísu*.

◊ JLTT 416.

PKor. ****pákúk-*** cuckoo (кукушка): MKor. *pákúk-sāi*; Mod. *p:ək:ugi*.

◊ Nam 254, KED 758.

‖ An onomatopoeic Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

Pʿ

✱pʿačʿV to open, split up: Tung. ***pač-***; Mong. ****(h)ača***; Turk. ****ač-***.

PTung. ****pač-*** crack, split, interval (щель, промежуток): Evn. *hačiq*.

◊ TMC 2, 319. Attested only in Evn., but having probable Turkic and Mongolian parallels.

PMong. ****(h)ača*** bifurcation (развилка, разветвление): MMong. *āčiba* 'развилина' (MA); WMong. *ača(n)* (L 7); Kh. ac; Bur. *asa*; Kalm. *acə*; Ord. *ača*.

◊ KW 18. Mong. > Man. *ačan*, Kirgh. *ača* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 210).

PTurk. ****ač-*** to open (открывать): OTurk. *ač-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ač-* (MK); Tur. *ač-*; Gag. *ač-*; Az. *ač-*; Turkm. *ač-*; MTurk. *ač-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔč-*; Uygh. *ač-*; Krm. *ač-*; Tat. *ač-*; Bashk. *as-*; Kirgh. *ač-*; Kaz. *aš-*; KBalk. *ač-*; KKalp. *aš-*; Kum. *ač-*; Nogh. *aš-*; SUygh. *ač-*; Khak. *as-*; Shr. *aš-*; Oyr. *ač-*; Tv. *a'š-*; Tof. *a'š-*; Chuv. *uś-*; Yak. *as-*.

◊ EDT 18-19, VEWT 3, ЭСТЯ 1, 209-210, Федотов 2, 292.

‖ A Western isogloss. KW 18, Poppe 63, Цинциус 1984, 36-37 (with somewhat different TM data), TMN 2, 14 (: "semantisch unwahrscheinlich").

✱pʿačʿV **(~ -č-)** blessing, favour: Mong. ****hači***; Turk. ****ači-***.

PMong. ****hači*** favour, service (милость, услуга): MMong. *xači* 'favour, rewards' (HYt), *xači qari'un* 'thanks' (HY 40), *xači* (SH); WMong. *ači* (L 7); Kh. *ač*; Bur. *aša*; Kalm. *ača*; Ord. *ači*; Dag. *ači* (< lit.) (Тод. Дат. 122, MD 111); S.-Yugh. *hažig* (MGCD).

◊ KW 18, MGCD 125. WMong. *ačiguri* (Kalm. *ačūr*, KW 19) > Nan. *ačeuri*.

PTurk. ****ači-*** 1 precious gift; wellbeing 2 to tend, make comfortable, be favourable 3 to pity, have compassion (1 драгоценный дар; благосостояние 2 быть благоприятным, благосклонным, ухаживать 3 жалеть, иметь сострадание): OTurk. *ačıγ* 1, *ačın-* 2; Tur. *ažı-* 3; Az. *ažı-* 3; KBalk. *ačı-* 3; Yak. *ahın-* 3; Dolg. *ahın-* 3.

◊ EDT 22, 29, ЭСТЯ 1, 92 (together with **iāčï-* 'bitter'), Stachowski 29. Turk. > WMong. *ačuγ* 'wages, rent' (L 8). In modern languages the root tends to be confused with **iāčï-* 'bitter, bitterness' (v. sub **pʿi̯āčʿo*), thus the Oghuz voicing may be a result of secondary contamination and not due to original vowel length; but the two roots are rather well distinguished in Old Turkic, see EDT ibid.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; cf. perhaps Nan. *pāčila-* 'жечь багульник во время камлания'.

***pʻāda** to separate, some, other: Tung. ***pādi**; Turk. ***adi-**; Jpn. ***pá(n)tú-**; Kor. ***ptǎ-n**.

PTung. ***pādi** separate(ly) (отдельный, отдельно): Evk. *hādi* 'some, part of'; Evn. *hādi-n* 'some, other'; Man. *faǯu* 'space between'; Ul. *pāǯi*; Ork. *padi*; Nan. *pāǯi*; Sol. *adī* 'some'.

◊ TMC 2, 305-306. TM **pā* 'part' (ibid.) is probably a different root (there is no -di-suffix in TM), so Doerfer's (MT 239) doubts about TM **pādi-* = Turk. **adi-* have no ground.

PTurk. ***adi-r-** to separate (отделять): OTurk. *adır-* (Orkh., OUygh.); *adın* (OUygh.) 'other'; Karakh. *aδır-* (MK); *aδın* (MK) 'other'; Tur. *ajır-*; Gag. *ajır-*; Az. *ajır-*; Turkm. *ajır-*; Khal. *hadru-, hadur-*; MTurk. *ajır-* (Abush.); Uzb. *ajir-*; Uygh. *ajra-, ajri-* (dial.); Krm. *ajır-*; Tat. *ajır-*; Bashk. *ajır-*; Kirgh. *ajır-*; Kaz. *ajır-*; KBalk. *ajır-*; KKalp. *ajır-*; Kum. *ajır-*; Nogh. *ajır-*; SUygh. *azır-*; Khak. *azır-*; Shr. *azır-*; Oyr. *ajrı-*; Tv. *adır-*; Chuv. *ojъr-*; Yak. *atır-; atın* 'other'; Dolg. *atın* 'other'.

◊ VEWT 6, EDT 60, 66-67, ЭСТЯ 1, 93, 114-116, Федотов 2, 270, Stachowski 39. Turk. > MMo, WMong. *aǯira-* (see Щербак 1997, 94), whence again Uzb. *aǯra-* etc. (see ЭСТЯ ibid.).

PJpn. ***pá(n)tú-** 1 to separate 2 some, only (1 отделять 2 некоторый, только): OJpn. *patu-ka* 2; MJpn. *fádú-s-* 1; Tok. *hàzus-* 1; Kyo. *házús-* 1; Kag. *hazús-* 1.

◊ JLTT 686.

PKor. ***ptǎ-n** other (другой): MKor. *ptǎ-n*; Mod. *t:a-n*.

◊ Nam 138, KED 393.

‖ Korean has a frequent vowel loss between two stops (which occurred before *-d- > -r- and thus explains medial -t-). Correspondences are regular except for the aberrant high tone in Jpn.

***pʻǎdì** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***padu**; Turk. ***ẹ̄diĺ**; Jpn. ***pítú, *pítú-ki**.

PTung. ***padu** bag, pouch (сумка): Man. *fadu*; SMan. *fadə* (248); Ul. *padụ(n)*; Ork. *padụ*; Nan. *pado*.

◊ TMC 2, 31.

PTurk. ***ẹ̄diĺ** vessel (сосуд): OTurk. *ediš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ed/δiš* (MK), *ijiš* (IM); Turkm. *īdiš* (dial.); Khal. *hidīš*; MTurk. *ediš* (Abush., Sangl.), *iδiš* (Qutb); Kirgh. *idiš*; Kaz. *ıdıs*; KKalp. *ıdıs*; Khak. dial. *edis*; Tv. *idiš*; Yak. *ihit*.

◊ VEWT 36, EDT 72, ЭСТЯ 1, 328-329. Turk. > Mong. *idiš* (see Щербак 1997, 119). Yak. *ihit* < *isit* < *itis*; most of the other modern forms are probably backloans < Mong.

PJpn. ***pítú, *pítú-ki** 1 box 2 coffin (1 ящик 2 гроб): OJpn. *pjitu* 1, *p(j)ituk(j)i* 2; MJpn. *fitú* 1, *fitúki* 2; Tok. *hìtsu, hìtsugi*; Kyo. *hítsú, hítsúgí*; Kag. *hitsú, hitsúgi*.

◊ JLTT 411. Accent in Kag. *hitsú* is aberrant.

‖ PTM **padu* and PJ **pitú* may reflect a common derivative like **padi-bV* (otherwise final -u is hard to explain).

***p'ádo** wall: Tung. ***padira-**; Mong. ***(h)adar**; Kor. ***pằrằm**.

PTung. ***padira-n** wall (стена): Man. *fažiran*; SMan. *fažərəhan* (463); Jurch. *fa-dar-an* (64); Ul. *padi̯ra(n)*; Nan. *pažirā*.

◊ TMC 2, 31.

PMong. ***(h)adar** 1 ceiling 2 shelves (1 потолок 2 полки): WMong. *adajir, adar* 1, 2 (L 9); Kh. *adar* 1; Bur. *adajir, ad̆ār* 2.

PKor. ***pằrằ-m** wall (стена): MKor. *pằrằ-m*; Mod. *param*.

◊ Nam 241, KED 705.

‖ Cf. perhaps also Chuv. *pora* 'сруб'. See Redei 4,347. The Kor. form can be formally analysed as derived from *pằrằ-* 'to plaster', but this is probably a result of secondary reinterpretation (see under **pila*).

***p'ádV** sober, attentive: Mong. ***hada- / *haǯi-**; Turk. ***ād-**.

PMong. ***hada- / *haǯi-** 1 to beware, be careful 2 worth attention, attention (1 быть осторожным, внимательным 2 заслуживающий внимания, внимание): MMong. *xada'u-* 1 (SH); WMong. *ažɨ-* 1, *ažɨg* 2 (L 61); Kh. *ažɨg* 2; Bur. *ažɨg, adag* 2; Kalm. *ažɨg* 2; Ord. *ažɨgla-* 'observer avec attention'.

◊ KW 2.

PTurk. ***ād-** 1 to sober up 2 sober, conscious (1 трезветь 2 трезвый, сознательный): OTurk. *adɨn-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *aδɨl-* (MK,KB), *aδɨn-* (MK, KB) 1, *aδɨγ* (MK) 2; Tur. *ajɨl-*, dial. *aj(ɨh)-*, Osm. *ajɨn-* 1, *ajɨk* 2; Az. *ajɨl-* 1, *ajɨG* 2; Turkm. *ājɨl-* 1, dial. *ajɨq* 2; MTurk. *ajɨl-* (Sangl.) 1, *ajɨq* (Houts., Pav. C., IM) 2, *ajɨγ* (IM, Qutb) 2; Uzb. dial. *ajɨq* 2; Tat. dial. *ajɨl-* 1, *ajɨq* 2; Bashk. *ajɨq-* 1, *ajɨq* 2; Kirgh. *ajɨq-* 1; Kaz. *ajɨq-* 1, *ajɨq* 2; KKalp. *ajɨq-* 1, *ajɨq* 2; Nogh. *ajɨq-* 1; Khak. *ajɨγ* 2; Chuv. *orъl-* 1, *orъ* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 113-114, EDT 46, 61, Федотов 2, 285.

‖ KW 2. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

***p'ágdi** foot, foot sole: Tung. ***pagdi(-kī)**; Mong. ***(h)adag**; Turk. ***adak**; Jpn. ***pí(n)túmai (~ -ia)**.

PTung. ***pagdi(-kī)** sole, foot sole (ступня, подошва): Evk. *hagdikī*; Neg. *xakkị*; Ork. *paGǯe*; Nan. *χaGdi̯kị* (dial.); Orch. *xagdi*; Ud. *xagdi̯ɣi*.

◊ TMC 2, 308.

PMong. ***(h)adag** end, lower part of stream (конец, устье, низ течения): WMong. *adaγ* (L 9); Kh. *adag*; Bur. *adag*; Kalm. *adəg*; Ord. *adaq*.

◊ KW 1.

PTurk. ***adak** foot (нога): OTurk. *adaq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *aδaq* (MK); Tur. *ajak*; Gag. *ajaq*; Az. *ajaG*; Turkm. *ajaG*; Sal. *aja(:)χ*; Khal. *hada:q, hadaq*; MTurk. *ajaq* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *ɔjɔq*; Uygh. *ajaq*; Krm. *ajax*; Tat. *ajaq*; Bashk. *ajaq*; Kirgh. *ajaq*; Kaz. *ajaq*; KBalk. *ajaq*; KKalp. *ajaq*;

Kum. *ajaq*; Nogh. *ajaq*; SUygh. *azaq*; Khak. *azax*; Shr. *azaq*; Oyr. *ad̂aq*; Tv. *adaq* 'bottom part'; Tof. *adaq* 'сошки; нижняя часть'; Chuv. *ora*; Yak. *ataq*; Dolg. *atak*.

◊ VEWT 5, EDT 45, ЭСТЯ 1, 103-105, Лексика 288, Федотов 2 283, Stachowski 38.

PJpn. ***pí(n)túmai (~ -ia)*** hoof (копыто): MJpn. *fítúme*; Tok. *hìzume, hízume*; Kyo. *hízúmé*; Kag. *hizumé*.

◊ JLTT 413. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ KW 1, Poppe 52, VEWT 5 (Turk.-Mong.; but the Kor. parallel listed there - *patak* 'bottom, foundation' - should be rather compared with TM **pata* 'id.', see **pʻátʻa(-kV)*), АПиПЯЯ 282, Лексика 288. Despite TMN 4, 266 Mong. cannot be < Turk. Further Nostr. parallels (PIE **ped-* 'foot' etc.) see in МССНЯ, 368.

pʻàgò (~ -e-, -a, *pʻùgà)** to dig, cave: Mong. ****haɣur; Jpn. ****pàkà***; Kor. ****phǎ̀-***.

PMong. ****haɣur*** cave, mine (яма, пещера): MMong. *haur, huur* 'grave' (MA); WMong. *aɣurqai, uɣurqai* (L 18), *urqai*; Kh. *ūrxaj*; Bur. *ūrxaj*; Kalm. *ūrxā̆*; Ord. *ūrgā̆*.

◊ KW 454.

PJpn. ****pàkà*** grave, tomb (могила): OJpn. *paka*; MJpn. *fàkà*; Tok. *haká*; Kyo. *hákà*; Kag. *haká*.

◊ JLTT 396.

PKor. ****phǎ̀-*** to dig (копать): MKor. *phǎ̀-*; Mod. *pha-*.

◊ Nam 461, KED 1729.

‖ SKE 212, EAS 56. Kor. *phǎ̀-* is a result of usual reduction < **pVhǎ̀-*.

pʻágò (~ p-)** box, vessel: Tung. ****paga, -ča, -kī; Jpn. ****pákúa***; Kor. ****phǎ́kái***.

PTung. ****paga, -ča, -kī*** 1 box, birch vessel, scoop 2 window, window frame (1 короб, чуман (берестяной) 2 окно, оконная рама): Evk. *haɣa, haɣakī, haɣačan*; Neg. *xa-čaw, xa-vụn* 1; Man. *fa* 2; SMan. *fā* 2 (466); Jurch. *fah-ha* (209) 2; Ul. *pača(n)* 1, *pawa* 2; Ork. *pawa* 2; Nan. *pāčā* 1, *pāwa* 2; Ud. *xasaʻa* 1 (Корм. 305).

◊ TMC 2, 31, 308.

PJpn. ****pákúa*** box (ящик): OJpn. *pakwo*; MJpn. *fákó*; Tok. *hàko*; Kyo. *hákó*; Kag. *háko*.

◊ JLTT 397.

PKor. ****phǎ́kái*** scoop, dipper (черпак): MKor. *phǎ́kái, phǎ́kà*; Mod. *phagä*.

◊ Nam 461, KED 1728 (derivation from *phǎ́-* 'to dig' is implausible both phonetically and semantically).

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. **bi̯ukʻ[e]*. Kor. **phǎ́kái* < **pago-kai* (= PTM **pagakī*), which explains seemingly irregular tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn.

✱**pʻāji** part: Tung. ***pā**; Mong. ***hejil-**; Jpn. ***pia**.

PTung. ***pā*** part (часть): Evk. *hā, hā-n*; Evn. *hānị*; Neg. *xā*; Man. *fa-li*; Jurch. *far far* (*far-ar far-ar*) 'separately' (781); Ul. *pa-sị*; *pānị* 'some, others'; Ork. *pō*; Nan. *pa-sị*; *poani* 'some, others'; Orch. *xa*; Ud. *xa(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 305-306.

PMong. ***hejil-*** to separate (отделять): MMong. *xejil-* (SH); Bur. *īle-* 'to churn butter' (? *'separate'); Dag. *xeile-* (Тод. Дар. 175).

PJpn. ***pia*** part (часть, доля): OJpn. *-bje* (in compounds); MJpn. *-be*.

◊ JLTT 390. Cf. also OJ *pje-datar-* 'to become separated'.

‖ Mong. *h- before a long vowel indicates PA *pʻ-.

✱**pʻajo** to rub off, wipe off, cut off: Tung. ***pajū-**; Mong. ***haɣu-**; Turk. ***ajɨt-**; Jpn. ***pajas-**; Kor. ***pūi-**.

PTung. ***pajū-*** to break, tear (ломать, разрушать, рвать): Evk. *hajūp-*; Evn. *hājụ-*; Neg. *xajị-*, *xajụ-*; Orch. *xāju-*; Ud. *xai-*.

◊ TMC 2, 309.

PMong. ***haɣu-*** to scoop out, drain (вычерпывать, осушать): MMong. *xa'u-*, *xa'ut-* (SH); WMong. *aɣu-* (L 15).

PTurk. ***ajɨt-*** to rub off, peel off (стирать, сдирать шкуру): Tur. *ajɨt-la-*, *ajɨk-la-*; Uygh. *ajt-*.

◊ VEWT 12, Radloff 1, 48, 222. Cf. also Khak. *ajɣɨ* 'smooth, polished' (VEWT 11).

PJpn. ***pajas-*** to cut in small pieces (резать на мелкие куски): MJpn. *fajas-* 'to cut'; Tok. *hayas-* (dial.).

PKor. ***pūi-*** to rub (тереть): MKor. *pūi-*.

◊ Nam 269.

‖ One of the common Altaic "Verba des Schlagens", with a rather uncertain semantics. The basic meaning seems to be "rub off, peel off", whence "break, tear into small pieces" etc. MMong. *xa'ut-* may reflect the same derivative as PT **ajɨt-*, PA **pʻajo-tʻV*.

✱**pʻə̀là** field, level ground: Tung. ***pāla-n**; Turk. ***ala-n / *ala-ŋ**; Jpn. ***pàrà**; Kor. ***pə́r(h)-**.

PTung. ***pāla-n*** 1 meadow, open ground 2 floor (1 поляна, ровное место 2 пол): Evn. *hālinrọ* 1; Neg. *palan* 2 (< South.); Man. *fala(n)* 2; SMan. *falən* 2 (454); Ul. *pala(n)* 2; Ork. *pālla(n)* 2; Nan. *palā* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 32, 313. Shortness in Nan. *palā* is probably secondary (or a misrecording).

PTurk. ***ala-n / *ala-ŋ*** level ground, plain (равнина): Karakh. *alaŋ* (MK); Tur. *alan*, dial. *ala*; Turkm. *alaŋ, āla*; MTurk. *alaŋ* (Pav. C.); Krm. *alaŋ*; Tat. *alan*; Kaz. *alaŋ*; KKalp. *alaŋ*; Nogh. *alaŋ*; Tv. *alāq*, *alandɨ*; Chuv. *olъx*; Yak. *alās, alī*; Dolg. *alɨn, alī*.

◊ EDT 147, ЭСТЯ 1, 134-135, Федотов 2, 277, Stachowski 32, 33. Length in the Turkm. variant *āla* is not clear. Yak. *alās* > Russ. Siber. *alás* (Аникин 80-81).

PJpn. ***pàrà*** level ground, plain (равнина): OJpn. *para*; MJpn. *fàrà*; Tok. *hára*; Kyo. *hára*; Kag. *hàrá*.

◊ JLTT 399. Tokyo reflects rather **pàrá*.

PKor. ***pə́rh-*** fields, meadows (поля, луга): MKor. *phə́rí*; Mod. *pəl, phəl*.

◊ Nam 463, KED 764, 1744.

‖ Martin 238, АПиПЯЯ 67.

pʻaĺi** relationship, friendship: Tung. ***pal- (~ -ā-); Turk. ****ę̄ĺ***.

PTung. ***pal- (~ -ā-)*** 1 to have relations with 2 relationship, friendship 3 quarrel, contest 4 to quarrel (1 заводить связи, сближаться 2 связь, дружба 3 ссора, спор 4 ссориться): Man. *fali-* 1, *falin* 2; Ul. *pālị* 3; Ork. *pālị* 3; Orch. *palimači-* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 33.

PTurk. ****ę̄ĺ*** friend, companion, mate (друг, товарищ): OTurk. *eš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *eš* (MK); Tur. *eš*; MTurk. eš (Sangl.); Tv. *eš*; Tof. *eš*; Chuv. *jiš* 'family'.

◊ EDT 253-254, ЭСТЯ 1, 313-314, Егоров 83, Лексика 314.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Original vowel length is not quite clear: in Turkic the reconstruction is based only on the absence of pharyngealization in Tuva-Tof., while in TM critical evidence is lacking from Evk. and Nan.

pʻáĺŋa (~ -e)** palm (of hand): Tung. ****palŋa; Mong. ****haliga(n)***; Turk. ****āja (~ -ń-)***; Kor. ****pār***.

PTung. ****palŋa*** palm (of hand) (ладонь): Evk. *hanŋa*; Evn. *hanŋъ*; Neg. *xańŋa*; Man. *falaŋGu*; SMan. *faləŋə* (71); Ul. *pańa*; Ork. *xaŋŋa / xaŋa*; Nan. *pajŋa*; Orch. *xaŋa, xaŋŋa*; Ud. *xaǹa*.

◊ TMC 2, 312, 314. All languages, except Manchu, reflect **pańŋa*; Manchu probably reflects a more archaic variant **pal(i)ŋa*, simplified to **pańŋa* elsewhere.

PMong. ****haliga(n)*** palm (of hand) (ладонь): MMong. *xalaqan* (HY 46, SH), *alaqan* (MA); WMong. *alaɣa(n)* (L 26); Kh. *alga*; Bur. *aĺga(n)*; Kalm. *aĺxən*; Ord. *alaga*; Mog. *olaqɛi* (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *alaqa* (2-9b); Dag. *xaləg*, (Тод. Даг. 173) *xalaga, halehe* (MD 156); Dong. *hanGa*; Bao. *halgə*; S.-Yugh. *halaʁan*; Mongr. *(x)arGa* (SM 13), *xalGa* (MGCD).

◊ KW 7, Дыбо 231. Mong. > Kirgh. *alaqan*, Uygh. *aliqan* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 133), Evk. *aliga*, Sol. *aĺga* (TMC 1, 312).

PTurk. ****āja (< *āńa)*** palm (of hand) (ладонь): OTurk. *aja* (OUygh.); Karakh. *aja* (MK, KB); Tur. *aja*; Turkm. *āja*; MTurk. *aja* (Sangl.; MKypch.- Houts., AH); Bashk. *aja* 'мера длины - пальма; гребень для чесания пуха'; Kaz. *aja* 'center of a palm'; KBalk. *ajaz* (< формы 3 л.); Kum. *aja*; Nogh. *aja*; SUygh. *χaja, χajan*; Khak. *aja*.

◊ VEWT 10, ЭСТЯ 1, 100-101, Дыбо 179-181, Лексика 252.

PKor. ****pār*** armful (охапка): MKor. *pār*; Mod. *pāl*.

◊ Nam 245, KED 723.

‖ EAS 107, KW 7, Poppe 95, Цинциус 1984, 27-28, ОСНЯ 3, 94-95, Дыбо 317, Лексика 252, Doerfer MT 22, Rozycki 73 (but note that TM forms meaning 'foot, sole' should be certainly kept apart, see **pâlka*). The Mong.-Tung. match here seems impeccable, and (despite MT and Rozycki) borrowing is excluded. The Turkic form presents problems with a unique cluster development *-lŋ- > *-lń- > -ń-, but still is probably the reflex of the same root. The Korean form may belong here if we suppose a secondary semantic development 'palm' > 'handful' > 'arm-ful'.

✱**pʻánŋi** to trace, investigate: Tung. ***panŋū-**; Mong. ***hana-**; Turk. ***ēŋe-**; Jpn. ***pima-**.

PTung. ***panŋū-*** 1 to ask 2 to investigate 3 to follow smb. (1 спрашивать 2 исследовать 3 следовать за кем-л.): Evk. *hanŋū-* 1, *hanŋi- / hāŋī-* 3; Man. *fonǰi-* 1, 2; SMan. *fonǰi-* 'to ask, to question, to ferret out' (1288); Jurch. *fanǰu-mij* (775) 2; Ul. *pan-sị-* 1; Ork. *panụ-*; Ud. *xauntasi-* 1; Sol. *aŋū-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 314-315.

PMong. ***hana-*** to trace, follow, be in wait for (следить, следовать, поджидать): WMong. *ana-* (L 42); Kh. *ana-*; Mongr. *xana-* 'se guérir' (SM 8).

◊ The Mongor variant ana- is < lit. Mong.

PTurk. ***ēŋe-*** to look after smb. (смотреть за кем-л.): Turkm. *āŋet-*; Kirgh. *ene-* 'обращать внимание, замечать (при отр.)'; Yak. *eŋej-*.

PJpn. ***pima-*** to keep smth. in secret (держать что-л. в тайне): MJpn. *fima-*; Tok. *hime-*.

◊ JLTT 689. Original accent is not clear: in RJ the form is not attested, Tokyo and Kyoto point to **pìmá-*, but Kagoshima - to **pímá-*.

‖ The original meaning, still well traceable in Mong. and Jpn., must have been 'to follow (smb.) secretly, investigate stealthily'.

✱**pʻápʻa** shaman, sorcery: Tung. ***pap-**; Mong. ***hab**; Turk. ***apači, *apaki**; Jpn. ***papur-**.

PTung. ***pap-*** 1 to yell (of a shaman) 2 to divine 3 shaman, sorcerer (1 кричать (о шамане во время камлания) 2 гадать 3 шаман, колдун): Evk. *haptaj* 3; Neg. *xaptụ-* 1; Man. *fada-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 297, 316. Evk. has both *aptaj* and *haptaj*, of which the former may be < Yak. or Bur., but the latter preserves the old root (= Neg., Manchu); an example of Wortmischung.

PMong. ***hab*** sorcery (колдовство): MMong. *xab* (SH), *hab* (IM); WMong. *ab* (L 1); Bur. *ab*; Kalm. *ab* KW 1, *avə* KPC 20; S.-Yugh. *fawa* 'shaman' (MGCD 160).

◊ Mong. > Oyr., Yak. *ap* (see KW 1, VEWT 21); Mong. **habtaj* (Bur. *abtaj*) > Evk. *aptaj*, Yak. *aptā-*, Dolg. *aptā-k* (Kał. MEJ 129, Stachowski 35); Mong. *ab-galdai* 'shaman mask' > Evk. *awagaldai*, see Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***apači, *apakɨ** 1 bogy 2 figure set up to avert the evil eye 3 idol (1 бука 2 фигурка для отвода сглаза 3 идол): Karakh. *abačɨ* 1, *abaqɨ* 2 (MK); Tur. *apaq*, *abaq* 'jinn, ghoul' (dial.), 'fool'; MTurk. (MKypch.) *abaq* 'doll' (Houts., At-Tuhf.); Uzb. *эра-lar* 'female evil ghosts' (lit. "elder sisters"); Krm. *abaq*, *abax* 3; KBalk. *abačɨ* 1; Yak. *abāhɨ* 'evil ghost'.

◊ VEWT 1, 2, EDT 6, 8. Quite dubious is the hypothesis (see Аникин 71, TMN 4, 307-310, Clark 1977, 127) of the Turkic forms being borrowed from Mong. *abuγači* 'receiver' (all the more so because the Bur. form is not *abāša*, but *abagša*, i. e. reflecting -g-, not -γ-). See a detailed discussion in Stachowski 2001.

PJpn. ***pápúri** priest (жрец, священник): OJpn. *papuri*; MJpn. *fáfúri*.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 31-32. See also Miller-Naumann 1991, Miller 1998 (connecting it with Old Chinese **pap* 'law'), and recently Stachowski 2001 (although Yak. *aba* 'gift' should be rather kept apart).

✱**pʻapʻo** to attack: Mong. ***hawl-**; Turk. ***op-**.

PMong. ***hawl-** surprise attack (внезапное нападение): MMong. *xa'ul-*, *xau'ul-* (SH 75) 'to attack, capture'; WMong. *uulγa* (L 889); Kh. *ūlga*; Bur. *ūla-gar* 'hot-tempered'; Kalm. *ūlγa* 'vanguard', *ūlγa-la-* 'to belong to the vanguard, rob'; Mongr. *xūli-* 'courir' (SM 180).

◊ KW 454.

PTurk. ***op-** 1 to attack 2 to rob (1 нападать 2 грабить): OTurk. *op-la-* 1 (Orkh.); MTurk. *op-* 2 (R - ShS); Krm. *op-* 2; Kirgh. *ob-dul-* 1; Kaz. *op-* 2 (R); Tv. *opla-* 1.

◊ EDT 11, ЭСТЯ 1, 464 (together with **ōp-* 'suck'), R I 1155.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. In TM cf. perhaps Evn. *hapkon-* 'to sit in ambush' (TMC 2, 316).

✱**pʻárà** cross-beam, constructing piece: Tung. ***para(n)**; Mong. ***(h)aran-ga**; Turk. ***ara-n**; Jpn. ***párì**.

PTung. ***para(n)** 1 place for the hut, floor 2 perch 3 lattice(d) (1 площадка для чума, пол 2 насест 3 решетчатый): Evk. *haran* 1; Evn. *harān* 1; Neg. *hajān* 1; Man. *fargi ~ farki* 2, *faraŋga* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 299, 317. Evk. > Dolg. *haran* (see Stachowski 97).

PMong. ***(h)aran-ga** balcony, verandah, platform, shed (балкон, веранда, платформа, сарай): WMong. *araŋγa* (L 49); Kh. *araŋga*; Bur. *araŋga*; Kalm. *arŋga*.

◊ KW 14. Bur. > Russ. Siber. *aranga* (Аникин 93).

PTurk. ***ara-n** 1 shed 2 stable 3 fold 4 store-room (1 хлев 2 скотный двор 3 загон 4 кладовая, лабаз): Karakh. *aran* 1 (MK); Turkm. *aram* (dial.) 3; MTurk. *aran* 1 (Sangl.); Krm. *aran* 3; Tat. *aran* 1; Bashk. *aran* 1;

Kaz. *aran* 3; Kum. *aran* 1; Nogh. *aran* 3; Yak. *araŋas* (< **aran-gač*, Dimin.) 4, dial. *arān* 'место, на котором стоит чум, палатка'; Dolg. *araŋas* 4.

◊ VEWT 23, 66, EDT 232, *Лексика* 523-524. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *arán* (Аникин 92). Yak. > Evk. *araŋas* > Russ. Siber. *arangas* (Аникин 93). Despite Stachowski 36, the Yak. and Dolg. word is not borrowed < Mong. *araŋga* - which could not explain the derivation suffix - but is rather a productive derivative from the common Turkic root, with a meaning variant "auxiliary building".

PJpn. ***párì** cross-beam (балка): MJpn. *fárì*; Tok. *harí*; Kyo. *hárì*; Kag. *harí*.

◊ JLTT 399. The Kagoshima accent is irregular (**hári* would be expected).

‖ Lee 1958, 109 compares the TM forms also with Kor. dial. *paradi, paraži* 'a window in the wall'.

***pʻa̋ra** to be tired: Tung. ***paru-**; Mong. ***(h)ari-**; Turk. ***ā̤r-**; Jpn. ***pátá-**; Kor. ***parh-**.

PTung. ***paru-** to faint, feel giddy (кружиться (о голове), терять сознание): Evk. *harū-*; Evn. *hāru̯-*; Man. *fara-*; Nan. *fari̯nda-*; Ud. *хau-пе-*.

◊ TMC 2, 317-318. Despite Poppe 1972, 98 not a loan < Mong.

PMong. ***(h)ari-** to be tired, exhausted (уставать, истощаться): WMong. *ari-*, *ar-γu-* (L 52: *argi-* 'to grow old, to become senile'); Kh. *argi-*; Kalm. *ar-γə-*; Ord. *argi-* 'говорить ошибочно, выжить из ума (от старости)'.

◊ KW 13. For **h-* Poppe (1972, 98) cites (MA) *harun* 'stubborn (horse)' - but this is translated by Chag. *harun* id. and may well be a loan < Chag.

PTurk. ***ā̤r-** 1 to be tired, exhausted 2 to become lean (1 уставать 2 худеть): OTurk. *ar-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *ar-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *ar-* 1; Az. *arıG* (Adj.) 1; Turkm. *ār-* 1; Khal. *harqān, harqan* (Ger.) 1; MTurk. *ar-* (Sangl., Abush., Pav. C., AH, Qutb, IM) 1; Uzb. *hɔri-* 1, (Khor.) *hār-* 1; Uygh. *ar-* 1; Tat. *ar-* 1; Bashk. *ari-* 1; Kirgh. *ari-* 1; Kaz. *ari-* 1; KBalk. *ari-* 1; KKalp. *hari-* 1; Kum. *ari-* 1; Nogh. *ari-* 1; Khak. *ar-* 2; Shr. *ar-* 2; Oyr. *ari-* 1; Tv. *ar-* 2; Chuv. *ĭr-* 1; Yak. *ĭr-* 2.

◊ VEWT 22, ЭСТЯ 1, 160-162, EDT 193, Егоров 343.

PJpn. ***pátá-ra-k-** to work (работать): MJpn. *fatarak-*; Tok. *hàtárak-*; Kyo. *hátárák-*; Kag. *hataráḱ-*.

◊ JLTT 685. Cf. also **pátá-* / **pàtá-* 'to end, be exhausted' (with accent variation, see АПиПЯЯ 139; but this form may be alternatively compared with MMong. *hečüs* 'end' (HY), WMong. *ečüs*, Khalkha *eces*, Bur. *eses*, Kalm. *ecəs* (KPC), Dag. *hečï-* 'get thin, waste away' etc.).

PKor. ***parh-** to be lean, emaciated (быть тощим, истощенным): Mod. *phari-ha-*.

◊ KED 1730.

‖ AKE 15, EAS 139, KW 13, Poppe 96, АПиПЯЯ 73, Цинциус 1984, 34, Мудрак Дисс. 182.

***pʻare (~ -e-)** man, people: Mong. ***haran**; Turk. ***Eren**.

PMong. ***haran** people (народ): MMong. *haran* (SH, HYt), *harān* (IM), *harən* (Lig.VMI), *harān* (MA); WMong. *aran* (L 49); Kh. *aran*, pl. *arad*; Bur. *arad*; Kalm. *ardə* (KPC); Ord. *arat*.

PTurk. ***Eren** man, mankind (человек, человеческий род): OTurk. *eren* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *eren* (MK); MTurk. *eren* (Pav.C.); Uygh. *ejen* (Lob.); S.-Uygh. *eren*; Krm. *eren*; Tat. *irɛn* (dial.); Kirgh. *eren*; Kaz. *eren*; Khak. *iren*. ◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 290-291.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

***pʻarkV** excrement: Tung. ***parga- (~ -rk-)**; Mong. ***hargal**; Turk. ***ark**.

PTung. ***parga- (~ -rk-)** excrement, to defecate (помет, испражняться): Man. *fažan, faža-*; SMan. *fažən* (104, 497, 2327).

◊ TMC 1, 50. Attested only in Manchu (with -ǯ- regularly < *-rg- or -rk-), with probable parallels in Turkic and Mongolian; despite Rozycki 72-73 borrowing from Mong. is extremely unlikely.

PMong. ***hargal** dung, excrement (навоз, кизяк): MMong. *horγ[a]l* (IM), *hărγal* (MA); WMong. *arγal, arγasu(n)* (L 52); Kh. *argal*; Bur. *argal*; Kalm. *arγəsn̥*; Ord. *argal*; Dag. *xargal* (Тод. Дар. 174); S.-Yugh. *harʁal*; Mongr. *xarGar* (SM 161), (MGCD: *xarGal*).

◊ KW 14, MGCD 118. Mong. > Chag. *aryasun*, see Щербак 1997, 203; > Evk. *argahun* (see Doerfer MT 130 - but not Man. *fažan*!), Russ. dial. *argál, argasún* (Аникин 94, 95).

PTurk. ***ark** excrement (навоз, экскременты): Karakh. *arq* (MK); Turkm. *arq* (А-Б); Khal. *harq*; MTurk. Kypch. *arq* (Houts.); Khak. *arix*.

◊ EDT 213, VEWT 26.

‖ EAS 53, 125, Poppe 11, Цинциус 1984, 33. A Western isogloss.

***pʻărV** thill: Tung. ***para**; Mong. ***(h)aral**; Turk. ***arıĺ**; Kor. ***parko**.

PTung. ***para** 1 saddle arc 2 sleigh 3 thill (1 лука седла, клин (посреди лука) 2 сани 3 оглобля): Evk. *hara*, dial. *hāren* 1; Man. *fara* 2, 3; SMan. *farə* 'shaft' (1252); Ul. *para* 2; Ork. *paŋra* 'полозья'; Nan. *para* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 316-317. TM > Dag. *pār* 'sleigh' (Тод. Дар. 160).

PMong. ***(h)aral** thill (оглобля): MMong. *aral* 'axle, pivot' (HY 18); WMong. *aral* (L 48); Kh. *aral*; Bur. *aral* 'carriage; thills'; Ord. *aral*; Dag. *aral* (MGCD 116); S.-Yugh. *aral* (MGCD 116); Mongr. *rāl* (MGCD 116).

◊ TMN 2, 40. Note that both HY and Southern Mong. forms point to *0- (if we are not dealing with later loans). Mong. > Sol., Oroch *aral* id.

PTurk. ***arıĺ** thill (оглобля): Tur. dial. *arış*; Turkm. *arış*; MTurk. *arış* (Pav. C.); Uzb. dial. *arış*; Krm. *arış*; Tat. *arış*; Bashk. *arış*; Kaz. *arıs*; KBalk. *arış*; KKalp. *arıs*; Kum. *arış*; Nogh. *arıs*.

◊ VEWT 26, TMN 2, 40-41, ЭСТЯ 1, 189-191, Лексика 555. Turk. > Kalm. *arš* 'thill' (KW 15). The word is attested late, and Clauson 1965, 166 proposes a loan < Arab. *ʕariṣ*.

PKor. ***parko** a k. of horse-drawn sleigh (вид саней, запрягаемых лошадьми): MKor. *parko*; Mod. *palgu*.

◊ Nam 245, KED 724.

‖ Poppe 11, 77, 78-79, Цинциус 1984, 32-33, Ramstedt 1916, 3, Lee 1958, 108, Лексика 555, Rozycki 74. The root is frequently quoted, but indeed rather problematic (cf. TMN 2, 40-41). If the Mong. form is **aral* (accounting for the HY and South Mong. evidence), and the Turkic form is borrowed from a different source, all we are left with are the Tungus and Korean forms - which, however, are difficult to explain as loans.

***pʻǎsi** to hang: Tung. ***pasi-**; Mong. ***(h)asa-**; Turk. ***as-**; Jpn. ***písà(n)k-**.

PTung. ***pasi-** to hang (повисать, повесить): Man. *fasi-*; Ork. *pasị-*; Nan. *pasị-*; Orch. *xasi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 464.

PMong. ***(h)asa-** to climb up; to stick, cling to (ползти вверх; цепляться к чему-л.): WMong. *asa-* (L 55); Kh. *asa-*; Bur. *aha*; Kalm. *as-*.

◊ KW 16.

PTurk. ***as-** to hang (висеть): OTurk. *as-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *as-* (MK); Tur. *as-*; Gag. *as-*; Az. *as-*; Turkm. *as-*; Khal. *has-*; MTurk. *as-* (Sangl., Houts.); Uzb. *ɔs-*; Uygh. *as-*; Krm. *as-*; Tat. *as-*; Bashk. *aϑ-*; Kirgh. *as-*; Kaz. *as-*; KBalk. *as-*; KKalp. *as-*; Kum. *as-*; SUygh. *as-*; Tv. a's-; Chuv. *us-*, *os-*.

◊ VEWT 28, EDT 240, ЭСТЯ 1, 192-193, Егоров 277, Федотов 2, 289.

PJpn. ***písà(n)ka-** to hold in hands (держать в руках): OJpn. *p(j)isaga-*; MJpn. *fisàga-*; Tok. *hisage-*.

◊ JLTT 690 (but the derivation < **piki-sanka-*, based on the modern expressive variant *hissage-*, is wrong; the word is attested as *p(j)isaga-* in OJ).

‖ KW 5, 16, Poppe 65, Цинциус 1984, 34-35. The Mong. parallel is somewhat dubious semantically.

***pʻátà(kV) (~ -tʻ-)** fish fin; gills: Tung. ***pati(ke)**; Turk. ***atkak**; Jpn. ***pátá**.

PTung. ***pati(ke)** 1 tail fin 2 fish tail (1 хвостовой плавник 2 хвост рыбы): Neg. *xepkī* 2; Man. *fetxe* 1, *fetxeku* 2; Ul. *patị* 2; Ork. *pačị*, *pačịkke* 1,2; Nan. *pačī* 1, *pačqị* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 482; 2, 35.

PTurk. ***atkak** gills (жабры): Khak. *atpax*; Shr. *attaq*; Oyr. *atqaq*.

◊ VEWT 31. A local Siberian word; should be kept distinct from **ạt(ki)-* 'pinch, pinchful, handful' (q.v. sub **pʻǎtʻà(-kV)*).

PJpn. ***pátá** fish fin (рыбий плавник): OJpn. *pata*; MJpn. *fátá*.

◊ JLTT 401.

‖ The root is very similar phonetically to **pʻǎtʻà(-kV)* 'bottom, lower side' and the two roots could in fact have influenced each other in Turkic and Japanese. The TM languages, however, clearly oppose them. The TM evidence may indeed point to a different second vowel in 'fish fin' - perhaps a reconstruction like **pʻátì(kV)* would be more

plausible; in the latter case the -a-vocalism in Jpn. would be secondary, under the influence of **pʻə́tʻà(-kV)* 'bottom'.

✱**pʻátʻà** uncultivated land, field: Mong. ***(h)atar**; Turk. ***Atıŕ**; Jpn. ***pátà / *pàtá**; Kor. ***pàt(h)**.

PMong. ***(h)atar** uncultivated land (необработанная земля): WMong. *atar* (L 58); Kh. *atar*; Bur. *atar*; Mongr. *atər* (MGCD 124) < lit..

PTurk. ***Atıŕ** watered field, boundary (орошаемое поле, межа): Karakh. *atïz* 'any strip of land between two dikes' (MK); Turkm. *atïz*; Uygh. *etiz*; Kirgh. *adïr* 'холмистая местность, увалы'; Kaz. *atïz*; Shr. *adïs* 'загон 1/18 десятины'.

◊ VEWT 31, EDT 73. Turk. > Mong. *atiz* (Щербак 1997, 102). Cf. also **ātag* 'island'.

PJpn. ***pátà / *pàtá** field (поле): OJpn. *pata*; MJpn. *fâtá*; Tok. *hatá*, *háta*; Kyo. *hátà*; Kag. *hátà*.

◊ JLTT 401. Reflexes reveal a variation between **pátà* (Tokyo *hatá*, Kagoshima *hátà*) and **pàtá* (RJ *fàtá*, Tokyo *háta*, Kyoto *hàtá*).

PKor. ***pàt(h)** field (поле): MKor. *pàt*, *pàth*; Mod. *pat [path]*.

◊ Nam 244, 250, KED 741.

‖ EAS 53, SKE 192-193, Poppe 51, 82, Menges 1984, 284, АПиПЯЯ 16, 67, Martin 231.

✱**pʻə̀tʻà** to strike, hit: Tung. ***pāt(i)-**; Mong. ***(h)atalga**; Turk. ***ạt-**; Jpn. ***pàtà-k-**; Kor. ***pat-**.

PTung. ***pāt(i)-** 1 to strike, hit 2 clapper, beetle 3 to hew off (1 бить, ударять 2 колотушка 3 отделять, разделывать тушу): Evk. *hatal-* 3 (Sakh.); Neg. *pāti* 2 (< South.); Ul. *pāti-či-*, *pāti-la-* 1, *pāti* 2; Ork. *pāt-čʉ-* 1; Nan. *pāči-či-* 1, *pačị* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 57, 2, 35. Shortness in the Evk. form (attested only in the innovative Sakh. dialect) is evidently secondary.

PMong. ***(h)atalga** adze (долото): WMong. *atalγa*; Kh. *atlaga*; Bur. *atalga*; Kalm. *atḷγə*.

◊ KW 18. Mong. > Yak. *adalγa*, Kirgh. *atalγï* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 201-202).

PTurk. ***ạt-** to throw, shoot (бросать, стрелять): OTurk. *at-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *at-* (MK); Tur. *at-*; Gag. *at-*; Az. *at-*; Turkm. *at-*; Khal. *hat-*; MTurk. *at-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔt-*; Uygh. *at-*; Krm. *at-*; Tat. *at-*; Bashk. *at-*; Kirgh. *at-*; Kaz. *at-*; KBalk. *at-*; KKalp. *at-*; Kum. *at-*; Nogh. *at-*; SUygh. *at-*; Khak. *at-*; Shr. *at-*; Oyr. *at-*; Tv. *at-*; Chuv. *ĭvăt-*, dial. *ut-*; Yak. *it-*; Dolg. *it-*.

◊ EDT 36, VEWT 31, ЭСТЯ 1, 199-200, 203, 204, Егоров 342, Федотов 2, 469, Stachowski 262.

PJpn. ***pàtà-k-** to flap, clap, slap (хлопать, выбивать): MJpn. *fatak-*; Tok. *haták-*; Kyo. *háták-*; Kag. *hàtàk-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

PKor. ***pat-*** to strike against, push, gore with the horns (ударять, толкать, бодать): Mod. *pat-* (-d-).

◊ KED 721.

‖ SKE 194, 247, PKE 147, Цинциус 1984, 36.

✱**pʻătʻà(-kV)** bottom, lower side: Tung. ***pata, *pataka***; Mong. ***hatku***; Turk. ***ạt(ki-)***; Jpn. ***pátá***; Kor. ***pàtók***.

PTung. ***pata, *pataka*** 1 feet pads 2 fetlock 3 sole 4 bottom 5 paw, hoof 6 sledge runner 7 butt (of tree) (1 подушечки на лапе 2 щетка под копытом 3 подошва 4 дно, низ 5 лапа, копыто 6 полоз нарты 7 комель, дерево, погруженное в воду): Evk. *hata* 1,2; Evn. *hat* 3,4, *hatiqa* 2; Neg. *xata* 1,2; Man. *fatan* 3,4, *fatχa* 5; SMan. *fatəhə, fatəqə* 'hoof' (2289); Ul. *pata* 6; Ork. *patta* 7; Nan. *pata* 5; Ud. *xedi* 6.

◊ TMC 2, 318. Some languages reflect a variant **piakta* (**piatka*) - see TMC 2, 320.

PMong. ***hatku*** handful; to clutch (горсть; сжимать в руке): MMong. *xatqu* (SH); WMong. *adqu, adqu-* (L 12); Kh. *atga*; Bur. *adxa*; Kalm. *atxə, adəg*; Ord. *adxu, adxu-*; Dag. *xatku* (Тод. Даг. 175; MGCD: *xataku*); S.-Yugh. *atGə-, atGəm* (< lit.).

◊ KW 1, 17, MGCD 124.

PTurk. ***ạt(ki-)*** 1 handful 2 pinch(ful) 3 barb of the fish-fork hook (1 горсть, пригоршня 2 щепотка 3 бородка, зазубрина крючка остроги): Tur. *atım* 2, *atkı* 'weft; wooden fork; strap on footwear, scarf'; Az. *atGı* 'cross-bar', *atım* 2; Turkm. *atym* 2; Uzb. *ɔtim* 2; Tat. *atqırı* (dial.) 'cross-beam'; Kirgh. *atım* 2; Oyr. *atqaq* 3; Tv. *adım* 1, *atqaq* 3, *atpaq* 'hanger for horse harness', *atpaq-ta-l-* 'to hitch on to smth.', *atpaŋna-* 'grasp (of a child)'; Chuv. *ıdam* 'armful'.

◊ Егоров 344, Мудрак Дисс. 85, VEWT 31. If we exclude obvious loans from Mong. *adqu-*, all the other forms clearly fall into two types. 1) PT **ạtim* 'handful, pinchful' 2) PT **Atkı-* 'smth. hitched, clutching, clinging'. The latter (Tuva *atkak*) is linked in EDT 47 with OUygh. *atqaq* 'vikalpa'. There is a number of OUygh. Buddhist terms that can be derived from a stem meaning 'grasp, hitch': *atqaq* '1) vikalpa, attachment to the material world (whence borrowed in Mong. atqaɣ 'illusion, prejudice'), 2) *viṣaya*, 'idea, notion, subject', *atqaq-lıɣ* 'appertaining to smth.', *atqa-n-* 'be connected, clinging to (the material world)', *atqa-nč-siz* 'devoid of sense perceptions', *atqanɣu* 'viṣaya', *atqanɣu-luɣ* 'correlated' (cf. (*alquqa*) *atqanɣuluɣ tutžaqlıɣ* 'correlated (with everything) (and) grasping (everything)'), see ДТС 68, EDT 47. This all seems to indicate a primary root **ạt-* meaning both 'to cling, hitch on to smth., grasp' and 'a grasp, handful' (also 'armful' if we take into account the Chuv. meaning). Note that in Siberian languages this root (**ạt-ka-k*) is additionally confused with the local word for 'gills' - which has a quite separate Altaic origin (see under **pʻátà(kV)* 'fish fin').

PJpn. ***pátá*** side (край, сторона): OJpn. *pata*; MJpn. *fátá*; Tok. *hàta*; Kyo. *hátá*; Kag. *hatá*.

◊ JLTT 401. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ***pàtók*** bottom, lower part (дно, нижняя часть): MKor. *pàtók, pàtáŋ*; Mod. *padak*.

◊ Nam 237, KED 703.

‖ EAS 52, KW 1, Poppe 11, 50, Цинциус 1984, 35, 36, Lee 1958, 109, АПиПЯЯ 70, Дыбо 317, Лексика 252-253, Rozycki 75. In Kor. cf. perhaps also MKor. *pàthán* 'step (of stairs)', *ptír* 'staircase', 'yard'. The original meaning was no doubt 'bottom', 'bottom side', with a subsequent development > 'bottom of hand or foot' > 'sole, palm' in the Western Altaic region. In Turkic and Mongolian such a semantic change was probably favoured by a contamination with yet another PA root, **pʻetʻV* 'to pinch' (q.v.), so that the final meaning resulted in 'take a handful, clutch'.

✱**pʻə́tʻi** trousers, boots: Tung. ***pati**; Turk. ***ētük**; Kor. ***pàtì**.

PTung. ***pati** winter boots (унты): Evk. *hati*.

◊ TMC 2, 318-319.

PTurk. ***ētük** boot (ботинок, сапог): OTurk. *etük* (OUygh.); Karakh. *etük* (MK); Tur. *edik*; Turkm. *ăđik*; Sal. *ītix, itix*; MTurk. *etük* (Pav. C.), *ötük* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. (dial.) *ädik, ötik, ötük*; Uygh. *ötük*; Tat. *itīk*; Kirgh. *ötük*; Kaz. *etik*; KKalp. *etik*; Kum. *etik*; Nogh. *etik*; Khak. *ödək*; Oyr. *ödük*; Tv. *idik*; Chuv. *adъ*; Yak. *eterbes*; Dolg. *eterbes*.

◊ EDT 50, VEWT 52, ЭСТЯ 1, 319-321, Егоров 36, Лексика 479, Stachowski 48.

PKor. ***pàtì** trousers (брюки): MKor. *pàtì*; Mod. *paži*.

◊ Nam 237, Liu 360, KED 709.

‖ The Evk. word, albeit isolated in TM, builds a good bridge between the Turkic and the Korean forms.

✱**pʻē** to be unable: Tung. ***pē-**; Mong. ***jada-**; Jpn. ***piá-r- (~ -ai-)**.

PTung. ***pē-** to be unable, not dare (не мочь, не решаться): Evk. *hē-*; Evn. *hē-*.

◊ TMC 2, 358.

PMong. ***jada-** to be unable, have no power (не мочь): MMong. *jada-* (SH, HY 54, IM); WMong. *jada-* (L 422); Kh. *jada-*; Bur. *jada-*; Kalm. *jadə-* (KPC); Ord. *jada-*; Mongr. *jadā-, idā-* 'se fatiguer, être épuisé' (SM 188).

◊ Mong. > Oyr. *jada-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 4, 67-68), Dolg. *ǯadaŋi* (Stachowski 88); > Manchu and South Tung. *jada-* 'to be poor, weak' (Rozycki 222).

PJpn. ***piá-r- (~ -ai-)** to humble oneself; become less (унижаться; уменьшаться): OJpn. *p(j)er-*; MJpn. *fér-*; Tok. *hèr-*; Kyo. *hér-*; Kag. *hér-*.

◊ JLTT 687.

‖ One of the common Altaic monosyllabic verbal roots; Mong. and Jpn. reflect suffixed forms.

✱**pʻə́čʻV** to be tired, defeated: Tung. ***peče-**; Mong. ***heče-**; Turk. ***ēč- (~ī-)**.

PTung. ***peče-** to be tired (уставать): Evk. *heče-*; Evn. *heč-*.

◊ TMC 2, 372-3.

PMong. ***heče-*** to be exhausted, tired (уставать): MMong. *xiǯe-* 'to be confused' (HY 36), *hiči-* (MA), *həče-* (LH); WMong. *eče-* (L 291); Kh. *ece-*; Bur. *ese-*; Kalm. *ecə-*; Ord. *eči-* 'to become lean'; Mog. *ečä-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *xeče-* (Тод. Даг. 176: *xeče-*), *xeči-*; Dong. *heče-*; S.-Yugh. *χǯē-*.

◊ KW 129, MGCD 273.

PTurk. ***ēč- (~ī-)*** to submit (подчинять): OTurk. *ičik-* (Orkh., OUygh.), *ečik-* (Yen.); Karakh. *ečik-* (MK); Turkm. *eǯīz* 'weak, fenceless'; Uygh. *ečin-* 'to repent, regret'; Khak. *is-* 'to obey'.

◊ EDT 25.

‖ EAS 96, PKE 32, Цинциус 1984, 72. A Western isogloss. Despite Poppe 1966, 198, 1972, 99, Doerfer MT 98, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. A Western isogloss: the Korean parallel mentioned in PKE 32 (*č:i-* 'be inferior to, weakened') is unreliable - probably a misreading of *či-* id.

pʻedí** energetic: Tung. ***pede; Mong. ***(h)ide***; Turk. ***ide (/*ede)***; Jpn. ****pintua-***.

PTung. ***pede*** swift, energetic (быстрый, энергичный): Neg. *xeden*; Nan. *pede*; Orch. *xidus* (adv.).

◊ TMC 1, 480.

PMong. ***(h)ide*** 1 energy, force, craft 2 energetic, young (1 энергия, сила 2 энергичный, юный): WMong. *ide* 1 (L 398), *ider* 2 (L 400); Kh. *id* 1, *ider* 2; Bur. *edi* 1, *edebxi* 'activity'; Kalm. *idə* 1 (KPC); Ord. *ẹde* 1; S.-Yugh. *idir* 2 (< lit. *ider*).

◊ MGCD 406. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *eder* (Kał. VIII, Stachowski 43).

PTurk. ***ide (/*ede)*** very, of course, emphatic adverb (очень, усилительное наречие): OTurk. *idi* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *iδi* (KB); *iδrig* 'anything hard' (MK - Argu); Tat. *eje*; Bashk. *eje*; Kirgh. *iji*; Kaz. *ije*; Khak. *əze*; Shr. *eze*; Tv. *ide*; Chuv. *ara*; Yak. *iti*.

◊ EDT 41, 65, ЭСТЯ 1, 335. Tat., Chuv. *ije* 'yes', erroneously related here in ЭСТЯ, have different connections, cf. Khak. *ja* 'yes', Tof. *ijen, ijne*, MTurk. Xwar., Kypch., Osm. *ineŋ, inen* (EDT 42); the Kypchak forms above, because of the merger of *-d- and *-j-, can have either origin.

PJpn. ****pintua-*** horrible; extreme (ужасный, чрезвычайный): MJpn. *hido-*; Tok. *hidó-*; Kyo. *hídò-*; Kag. *hído-*.

◊ The word is attested late (since Edo) and the accent reconstruction is not clear; however, its Chinese origin (suggested in JLTT 848) is dubious.

‖ The meaning 'horrible' in Japanese must be secondary, going back to < 'extreme' < 'powerful, energetic', reflected elsewhere.

pʻèjkʻV** brain, head: Tung. ****pējKe; Mong. ****heki***; Kor. ****pákì***.

PTung. ****pējKe*** 1 brain 2 forehead 3 top of the head (1 мозг 2 лоб 3 темя, макушка): Evk. *hējē, heje* 2; Evn. *hēje* 3; Neg. *xējē* 2; Man. *fexi* 1; SMan. *fixe* (5) 1; Ul. *pēje* 2; Ork. *pēje* 2; Nan. *pēje* 2.

◊ TMC 2,304, 361.

PMong. ***heki*** 1 head 2 front (1 голова 2 начало, перед): MMong. *xeki* (SH, HYt), *hikin* (MA) 1; WMong. *eki(n)* 2 (L 305); Kh. *ex* 2; Bur. *exi(n)* 1; Kalm. *ekn̥* 2; Ord. *eχe* 1, 2; Mog. *ekin* 1; ZM *ekin* (2-1a); Dag. *xeki* (Тод. Даг. 175), *heki* 1 (MD 159); S.-Yugh. *šəgən* 1; Mongr. *xəgi* 'source, commencement' 2 (SM 166).

◊ KW 118, MGCD 274.

PKor. ***pákì*** top of the head (темя, верхушка головы): MKor. *tjáŋ-pákì* (*tjáŋ-* < Chin.).

◊ Nam 155.

‖ KW 118, АПиПЯЯ 294, Poppe 56, Lee 1958, 109. Despite Doerfer MT 236, TM is not borrowed from Mong. Mong. *h- (not b-) before a long vowel indicates PA *pʻ.

pʻèjló** belly, liver: Tung. ***pēlbu-; Mong. ***helige***; Jpn. ***pàrà***; Kor. ***pǎi***.

PTung. ***pēlbu-*** to be pregnant (быть беременной): Evk. *hēlbu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 363. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***helige*** liver (печень): MMong. *xeligan* (HY 47), *xelige(n)* (SH), *hilgä* (IM), *iligän* (MA); WMong. *elige* (L 309); Kh. *eleg, elgen*; Bur. *eĺge(n)*; Kalm. *elkn̥, elgn̥*; Ord. *elege*; Mog. *ilkan* 'Herz' (Weiers), *elkän*; ZM *elkan* (4-2a); Dag. *xeleg* (Тод. Даг. 175), *helehe* (MD 159); Bao. *helgə, xelge*; S.-Yugh. *heleɣe*; Mongr. *xalege* (SM 152), *xelige, xalige* (Huzu), *xelge* (MGCD).

◊ KW 119, MGCD 257.

PJpn. ***pàrà*** belly (живот): OJpn. *para*; MJpn. *fárà*; Tok. *hará*; Kyo. *hárà*; Kag. *hará*.

◊ JLTT 399. Modern dialects (especially Kagoshima) point to **pàrà*, but the attested RJ form is *fárà*.

PKor. ***pǎi*** belly (живот): MKor. *pǎi*; Mod. *pä*.

◊ Nam 251, KED 743.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 68, 90 (with literature), 274, Martin 243. See also notes on **boga*. Medial *-j- is reconstructed to account for the loss of -l- in Korean; Mong. *h- before a long vowel indicates PA *pʻ-.

pʻèjńé** bone: Tung. ***peń-ŋen; Mong. ***ja-su***; Turk. ***(j)ẹ̄n-čik***; Jpn. ***pànià***; Kor. ***s-pjə́***.

PTung. ***peń-ŋen*** knee (колено): Evk. *henŋen*; Evn. *henŋen*; Neg. *heńŋen*; Ul. *peńe(n-)*; Ork. *pene, peŋe(n-)*; Nan. *peiŋẽ*; Orch. *heŋŋe, heŋen*; Ud. *heŋe*; Sol. *eŋẽ*.

◊ TMC 2, 366.

PMong. ***ja-su*** bone (кость): MMong. *jasun* (HY 15, 48, SH), *jāṣon* (IM), *jasun* (MA); WMong. *jasu(n)* (L 430); Kh. *jas(an)*; Bur. *jaha(n)*; *jangarxaj* 'shin-bone'; Kalm. *jasn̥*; Ord. *jasu*; Mog. *jōsun*; KT *jɔ̄sun* (6-4b);

Dag. *jas* (Тод. Даг. 147), *jase* (MD 169); Dong. *jasun*; Bao. *jasoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *jasən*; Mongr. *jasə* (SM 490).

◊ KW 217, MGCD 737, TMN 1, 553. Cf. also Kalm. *jan-dəγər* 'bony', Bur. *jandagar* 'bony'.

PTurk. ***(j)ẹ̄n-čik*** 1 shin, shank 2 shin bone 3 boot-top strap 4 heel (1 голень 2 кость голени 3 ремешки для подтягивания голенищ 4 пятка): Karakh. *jinžik* 2 (IM); Tur. *inžik* 1; Turkm. *īnžik* 1, 2; Sal. *inžix* голень (ССЯ); MTurk. *inžik* 'cou de pied' (Pav. C.); Krm. *inčik*, *inžik* 1; Tat. *jinžik* 1 (КСТТ); Bashk. *jensek* 1; KBalk. *inčik* 2; Shr. *enžik* 4; Oyr. *enčik* 4 (Leb.); Tv. *inčik* 3; Yak. *inńiäx* 1 (Пек. 1941).

◊ VEWT 172, 203, Лексика 286.

PJpn. ***pànià*** bone (кость): OJpn. *p(w)one*; MJpn. *fònè*; Tok. *honé*; Kyo. *hóne*; Kag. *honé*.

◊ JLTT 414.

PKor. ***s-pjə́*** bone (кость): MKor. *spjə́*; Mod. *p:jə*.

◊ Nam 258, KED 774.

‖ Martin 226, АПиПЯЯ 12, 13, 39-40, 67, 92, 274, Лексика 286. The irregular tone correspondence between Turk. and Kor.-Jpn. here should be probably explained by a secondary contraction *-ej- > *-ē̩- in PT. The medial *-j- is also responsible for the loss of *-ń- in Kor. and for the emergence of *j- in Mong. (**ja-su* < **jan-su* < **pʻejńe-sV*). Kor. has here the *s-prefix (cf. also **s-kòrí* 'tail', **s-pír* 'horn').

✱**pʻèkʻà** to emit, throw: Tung. ***peK-***; Mong. ***haka-la-***; Turk. ***ek-***; Jpn. ***pàk-***; Kor. ***phí-***.

PTung. ***peK-*** 1 to throw 2 to scatter, strew (1 бросать, кидать 2 сыпать): Man. *faχa-* 1; Ork. *pektikke-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 46, 297.

PMong. ***haka-la-*** to throw, abandon (бросать, выкидывать, покидать): Mongr. *χaGala-*, *šGala-* (SM 149).

PTurk. ***ek-*** 1 to sow 2 to scatter (1 сеять 2 разбрасывать): OTurk. *ek-* (Late OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *ek-* (MK, KB) 1, 2; Tur. *ek-* 1; Gag. *ek-* 1; Az. *äk-* 1, 2; Turkm. *ek-* 1; Sal. *ex-* 1; Khal. *häk-* 1; MTurk. *ek-* (Abush., Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *ek-* 1; Uygh. *ek-* 1; Krm. *ek-* 1; Tat. *ik-* 1; Bashk. *ik-* 1; Kirgh. *ek-* 1; Kaz. *ek-* 1; KKalp. *ek-* 1; Nogh. *ek-* 1; Chuv. *ak-* 1.

◊ EDT 100, ЭСТЯ 1, 251-252. Turk. > Hung. eke 'plough' (< **äkäγ*), see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***pàk-*** to spit out; to emit (выплевывать; испускать): OJpn. *pak-*; MJpn. *fàk-*; Tok. *hák-*; Kyo. *hák-*; Kag. *hàk-*.

◊ JLTT 684.

PKor. ***phí-*** to emit, spread (испускать, распространять): MKor. *phí-*; Mod. phi-.

◊ Nam 464, KED 1772.

‖ SKE 184. See also notes to **bi̯ura* 'abandon'.

***pʻěkʻV** acid, astringent: Tung. ***pekču-**; Mong. ***(h)ekeɣü**; Turk. ***ek-ĺči-**.

PTung. ***pekču-** acid, astringent (терпкий, вяжущий, острый (на вкус)): Man. *fekčuxun*.

◊ TMC 2, 304. Cf. perhaps Evk. *hepkeripču* 'bitter' (TMC 2, 368) < **pek-pe-ripču* ?

PMong. ***(h)ekeɣü** acid, bitter (кислый, горький): WMong. *ekegün* (L 305); Kh. *exū*; Bur. *exūn*; Kalm. *egūn, ekūn*; Ord. *ekūn*.

◊ KW 117, 118.

PTurk. ***ek-ĺči-** 1 sour, acid, bitter 2 to be sour, bitter (1 кислый, горький 2 быть кислым, горьким): Karakh. *ekšig* (MK) 1; Tur. *ekši* 1, *ekši-* 2; Gag. *išı* 1, *išı-* 2; Az. *äkši* 1; Turkm. *egšit-* 2; MTurk. *ekši* 1, *ekši-* 2 (Pav. C.); Krm. *ekši* 1, *ekši-* 2; Chuv. *jəksü* (< **jəkśü*) 1.

◊ EDT 118, ЭСТЯ 1, 259-260, Мудрак Дисс. 199.

‖ TMC 2, 304. A Western isogloss.

***pʻéle (~ -o)** to mock; to feel mocked at, be shy, distracted: Tung. ***pel-**; Mong. ***hel-**; Turk. ***elük**; Jpn. ***pə́rá-**.

PTung. ***pel-** 1 to insult, mock 2 not dare (1 оскорблять, издеваться 2 не сметь): Evk. *hel-* 2; Man. *fele-* 1; SMan. *felə-* 'to murder a superior person' (741).

◊ TMC 2, 304.

PMong. ***hel-** 1 to be sad, anguish 2 to decline (of mental facilities), be dumbfounded 3 wild, ignorant (1 быть печальным, тосковать 2 отупеть, остолбенеть 3 дикий, невежественный): MMong. *xelumu-* 1 (HY); WMong. *elemeg* 3 (MXTTT); Kh. *elmere-* 2 (Gomb.), *elmeg* 3.

PTurk. ***elük** mockery, ridicule (насмешка, издевательство): Karakh. *elük* (MK); Turkm. *ilgezik* 'glib, jaunty' (?); Krm. *elik*; Khak. *elək*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 264-265, EDT 142. Turk. > WMong. *eleg, ileg*, Khalkha *eleg* (KW 119).

PJpn. ***pə́rá-** 1 to be distracted 2 to fall in love, lose one's head (1 смущаться, быть сбитым с толку 2 влюбляться, терять голову): OJpn. *p(w)ora-* 1, 2; MJpn. *fóra-* 1, 2; Tok. *hòre-* 2; Kyo. *hóré-* 2; Kag. *horé-* 2.

◊ JLTT 692.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 68.

***pʻèĺo** to walk, to run: Tung. ***peli- (/*puli-)**; Mong. ***hülde-**; Turk. ***ẹĺ-**; Jpn. ***pàsìr-**; Kor. ***pắrb-**.

PTung. ***peli- (/*puli-)** 1 to walk 2 to hurry (1 ходить 2 спешить, торопиться): Evk. *helde-* (dial.) 1, *helin-(če)-* 2; Evn. *höl-* 1, *helīŋ-(či)-* 2; Neg. *xul-* 1, *xenindu-* 'in a hurry'; Man. *feĺe-* 1; Jurch. *ful-ĉwi* (421) 1; Ul. *pulikte-* 1; Ork. *puli-* 1, *pelin-* 2; Nan. *pul-si-* 1, *penin-* 2; Orch. *xuli-* 1; Ud. *xuli(hi)-* 1, *xelin-e-* 2; Sol. *ul-*.

◊ TMC 2, 363-364. A probable derivative is **pelbu-* 'to lead, take with oneself' (TMC 2, 363).

PMong. ***hülde-*** to chase (гнать): MMong. *xulde-* (SH); WMong. *ülde-* (БАМРС); Kh. *ülde- / öldö-*; Bur. *ülde-*.

PTurk. ***ęĺ-*** to walk, trot, amble (ходить, брести, ехать иноходью): OTurk. *eš-* (Orkh.); Karakh. *eš-* (MK); Tur. *eš-*; Gag. *ieš-*; Tat. *äšt-* (dial.); Oyr. *eš-* (dial.); Chuv. *iš-*; Yak. *is-*; Dolg. *is-*.

◊ EDT 255, ЭСТЯ 1, 316, Stachowski 129.

PJpn. ***pàsìr-*** to run (бежать): OJpn. *pasir-*; MJpn. *fàsìr-*; Tok. *hashír-*; Kyo. *háshír-*; Kag. *hàshìr-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

PKor. ***pằrb-*** to tread, trample (ступать, топтать): MKor. *pằrp-* (-w-); Mod. *pāp-* [*pālp-*].

◊ Nam 247, KED 732.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 46-47, JOAL 119, Street 1985, 646.

✱**pʻémi** thread, twist a thread: Tung. ***pem- / *pim-***; Mong. ***himer-***; Jpn. ***pímə́***.

PTung. ***pem- / *pim-*** 1 to wind, be twisted 2 loop on a thread, rope (1 скручиваться 2 петля (на конце аркана или веревки), кольцо (для аркана)): Evn. *hemъr-* 1, *hįmqan* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 325, 366.

PMong. ***himer-*** to spin, twist (a thread) (сучить, вить (нить)): WMong. *imer-* (L 409); Kh. *imre-*; Bur. *emir-*; Kalm. *imṛ-*; Ord. *ẹmere-, emere-, imere-*; S.-Yugh. *xemeri-*.

◊ KW 208, MGCD 410.

PJpn. ***pímə́*** lace, thread, rope (шнурок, нить, веревка): OJpn. *pjim(w)o*; MJpn. *fímó*; Tok. *hìmo*; Kyo. *hímó*; Kag. *hímo*.

◊ JLTT 407.

‖ Cf. notes to **pʻujme* for possible reflexes in Manchu, Jurchen and Korean.

✱**pʻeńu** a k. of edible root: Tung. ***peńe-kte***; Mong. ***(h)ojimu***; Turk. ***Ań***.

PTung. ***peńe-kte*** name of an edible root (вид съедобного корня): Evk. *heńekte*; Evn. *hīntъ* 'лилия даурская, сарана'.

◊ TMC 2, 325, 367.

PMong. ***(h)ojimu*** fern (папоротник): WMong. *ojimu*, (L 604) *ojima*; Kh. *ojim*; Kalm. *ojm* (KPC 393).

PTurk. ***Ań*** onion, edible root (сарана): Kaz. *āj, aj* (Katanov); Khak. *aj* (Koib.); Tv. *aj̃*; Tof. *aj̃*.

◊ VEWT 10.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**pʻéŋi** to gape, hole: Tung. ***peŋ-***; Turk. ***eŋ-***; Jpn. ***pímá***; Kor. ***pə̀ŋ-***.

PTung. ***peŋ-*** 1 hole in ice or snow 2 to laugh, chuckle (1 полынья, проталина 2 смеяться, хохотать): Evk. *heŋke* 1, *heŋne-* 2; Evn. *heŋke* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 367. On the possibility of uniting the meanings 'hole' and 'laugh' see below.

PTurk. **eŋ-** 1 to be perplexed 2 stupid 3 bashful, gauche 4 to torture, pester (1 быть в недоумении 2 глупый 3 застенчивый, робкий 4 измучить, привести в состояние растерянности): Karakh. *eŋ-* 1; (caus.) *eŋit-, eŋtür-* (MK); *endik* 2 (MK); Tur. (dial.) *endik* 3; MTurk. (Xwar.) *entik* 2 (Qutb); Uzb. *enka-tenkasini čiqar-* 4; Kirgh. *enő* 'ротозей', *ente-* 'to become confused', *eŋke* 'stupid person'; Khak. *iŋde-t-* 'to flounder (of thoughts)'; Chuv. *ankъ-minkə* 'stupidity, madness' (but may be < Tat., see **aŋ-*); Yak. ? *eŋej-* 'to look greedily on food, wait for a sop'.

◊ EDT 168, 179, 181, ЭСТЯ 1, 155, 156-157 (sub **aŋ-* 'perplexed, silly').

PJpn. ***pímá** gap (промежуток, щель): OJpn. *p(j)ima;* MJpn. *fimá;* Tok. *hìma;* Kyo. *himá;* Kag. *hima.*

◊ JLTT 406.

PKor. ***pə̀ŋ-** 1 to open up, spread open (slightly) 2 to smile, grin, chuckle (1 раскрываться, приоткрываться 2 улыбаться, смеяться, хохотать): MKor. *pə̀ŋ'i-, pə̀ŋkír-* 1; Mod. *paŋgi-, pəŋgi-, paŋgit* [*paŋkis*] *ha-, pəŋgit* [*pəŋkis*] *ha-* 1, 2.

◊ Liu 381, KED 736, 772.

‖ SKE 197-198. Most languages reveal a variation of meanings 'gap' > 'to gape' (> 'laugh, smile, be perplexed'). On a possible trace of this root in Mong. see **àŋa.*

***pʻépʻa** a k. of insect: Tung. ***pep-;** Mong. ***haba-kai;** Turk. ***apa-;** Jpn. ***pápái.**

PTung. ***pep-** 1 locust 2 earth-worm (1 саранча 2 земляной червь): Man. *febsexe* 1, *febǵe* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 304. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***haba-kai** spider (паук): WMong. *abaqai,* (L 3) *abaγaqai* (Bur. and Kalm.); Kh. *avgaldaj;* Bur. *abāxaj;* Mongr. *xāxə̄* (SM 151), *xāxai.*

◊ See also notes to **araγalžin* (sub **ara).*

PTurk. ***apa-** grasshopper (кузнечик): Shr. *abačaq;* Oyr. *abačijaq;* Chuv. *oba ləʷbəʷžəʷ* 'бабочка совка', *oba nъrri* 'медведка (насекомое)'.

◊ VEWT 1. Contaminations with *abači* 'чучело', *aba* 'father > bear'.

PJpn. ***pápái** fly (муха): OJpn. *pape;* MJpn. *fáfé;* Tok. *hàe;* Kyo. *háé;* Kag. *háe.*

◊ JLTT 395.

‖ An expressive root (possibly denoting originally some kind of locust or grasshopper), with some tabooistic changes in Turkic and Mongolian.

***pʻéra** bee: Tung. ***perē-;** Mong. ***herbekei;** Turk. ***āri;** Jpn. ***pátí;** Kor. ***pār-.**

PTung. ***perē-** bumble-bee (шмель): Evk. *herēptin* (Bac.).

◊ Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***herbekei** butterfly (бабочка): MMong. *xerbegai* (HY 12), *hirbäkäi* (MA); WMong. *erbekei, erbeɣekei* (L 319); Kh. *ervēxij*; Bur. *erbēxej*; Kalm. *erwēkē*; Ord. *erwēkī*; Dong. *həbəɣəi*; Mongr. *xalege* (SM 152), *xelige, xalige* (Huzu), *xerbuge* (MGCD).

◊ KW 127, MGCD 264.

PTurk. ***āri** wasp, bee (пчела, оса): Karakh. *arı* (MK); Tur. *arı*; Gag. *ārı*; Az. *arı*; Turkm. *arı, ārı* (ЭСТЯ); Khal. *hārı*; MTurk. *arı* (Sangl., Pav. C., Qutb), *aru* (AH); Uzb. *ari, tukli ari* 'humble-bee'; Uygh. *hɛrɛ*; Kirgh. *ārı*; Kaz. *ara, tükti ara* 'humble-bee'; KKalp. *hɛrre*; Khak. *ār, tüktig ār* 'hornet'; Oyr. *arū*; Tv. *arı*, Todzh. *harı*; Chuv. *təgəld-ora* 'humble-bee' ? (*təgəl* 'shaggy'); Yak. *ıŋırıa*.

◊ VEWT 25, EDT 196-197, TMN 2, 47, ЭСТЯ 1, 186-187, Лексика 186, Ашм. XV, 23, Федотов 2, 213-214. Turk. > Mong. *ari* (not vice versa, despite Щербак 1997, 100).

PJpn. ***pátí** bee (пчела): OJpn. *pati*; MJpn. *fátí*; Tok. *hàchi*; Kyo. *háchí*; Kag. *háchì*.

◊ JLTT 401.

PKor. ***pər-** bee (пчела): MKor. *pər, pəri*; Mod. *pəl*.

◊ Liu 375, 379, HMCH 50, Nam 254, KED 764.

‖ Martin 226, АПИПЯЯ 67, Лексика 186.

***pʻèrì** edge: Tung. ***pere**; Mong. ***hir-**; Turk. ***Erneg**; Jpn. ***piàrì**.

PTung. ***pere** bottom, floor (дно, пол): Evk. *here*; Evn. *her*; Neg. *xeje*; Man. *fere*; SMan. *ferə* (2594); Ul. *pere(g)*; Ork. *pereɣ, perel*; Nan. *pereg, perel*; Orch. *xē*; Ud. *xē*; Sol. *eri*.

◊ TMC 2, 368-371 (PTM **per-gī* 'bottom' and **pere-mŭ* 'sole' are derived from the same root).

PMong. ***hir-** 1 floor, ground 2 bottom 3 blade, edge (of knife) 4 edge, border, shore (1 пол, почва 2 дно 3 лезвие, острие (ножа) 4 острый край, берег): MMong. *xiru'ar* (HY 51), *xira'ur* (SH), *hiruar, hirur* (MA) 1; WMong. *iruɣar, iruɣal* 1 (L 415), *ir* 3 (L 412), *irmeg* 4 (L 415); Kh. *jorōl* 2, *ir* 3, *irmeg* 4; Bur. *ojōr* 2, *eŕ* 3, *erimeg* 4; Kalm. *jorāl* 2; Ord. *irōl* 2, *īrmek*; Dag. *xigōr* 1, *xir* 3 (Тод. Даг. 146: *ir* < lit.), *šowōre, šigōre* 2, *šire* 3 (MD 215); Dong. *širo* 1; Bao. *holər* 1; S.-Yugh. *horūl* 1, *hir* 3, *ermeg* 4 (< lit.); Mongr. *ir* 3 (< lit.).

◊ KW 219, MGCD 411, 412, 740.

PTurk. ***Erneg** edge (of a dish) (край, кромка (посуды)): Tur. *ernek* (dial.); Turkm. *erŋek*; MTurk. *ernek* (Pav. C.); Tat. *irnäw*; Bashk. *irne-* 'to border'; Kirgh. *erdō*; Kaz. *ernew*; KKalp. *ernek*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 301. The root is attested late and may be theoretically derived from **Erin* 'lip' (v. sub **i̯ə̀ré*); however, the latter can also mean 'edge (of a dish)' in some languages and one can suspect that PT actually merged **Erin* 'lip' and **Erin* 'edge', while the form **Erneg* was derived only from the latter.

PJpn. ***piàrì*** edge, brink (край): MJpn. *fèrì*; Tok. *herí*; Kyo. *hèrì*; Kag. *herí*.

◊ JLTT 404.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 69-70, АПиПЯЯ 12, 281, ЭСТЯ 1, 301. Jpn. **piari* instead of **piri* probably under the influence of **pia* 'edge, border' q.v. (or else it may indicate a reconstruction **p'èjrì*). Cf. **p'ire*.

✱**p'erkV** to tie round, surround: Tung. ***perke-***; Mong. ***hergi-***.

PTung. ***perke-*** to bind, tie round (связывать, перевязывать, обвязывать): Evk. *herke-*; Evn. *herkъ-*; Neg. *xejke-*; Ork. *pitu-* 'man's girdle'; Sol. *ekke-*.

◊ TMC 2, 369-370. Note that Ud. *xeke-*, Ul. *xerke-* and Nan. *xerke-* are rather borrowed < Man. *xergi-* < PTM **kerge-* (v. sub **kèra)*.

PMong. ***hergi-*** to go round (кружиться, вертеться): MMong. *xergi-* (SH), *hirgi-* (MA); WMong. *erge-*, *ergi-* (L 323); Kh. *ergi-*; Bur. *erje-*; Kalm. *ergi-*; Ord. *erge-*; Mog. irga- 'to spin a spindle' (Weiers); Dag. *ergi-* (< lit.), *xergi-*, *xorgi-* (Тод. Дат. 140, 177); S.-Yugh. *heregdī-*; Mongr. *xərgi-* (SM 167), *xargi-* (Huzu).

◊ KW 124, MGCD 267. Mong. > Man. *erguwe-* etc., see Doerfer MT 72; > Yak. *ergij-*, Dolg. *ergij-* (see Kał. MEJ 67, Stachowski 47).

‖ Poppe 103, Цинциус 1984, 70. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**p'ĕro** to wish, desire: Tung. ***per-***; Mong. ****(h)eɣe-re-*** ***(< *here-re-?)***; Turk. ****er-***; Jpn. ****pər-***; Kor. ****pǎrá-***.

PTung. ***per-*** 1 to esteem 2 to wait (1 уважать 2 ждать): Evk. *heriče-* 1, *herū-* 2; Evn. *her-* 1, *herut-/-č-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 369-370. Cf. also **perge-* 'to try; to wonder' (TMC 2, 45-46; not reflected in Evn. and Evk.).

PMong. ****(h)eɣe-re-*** ***(< *here-re-?)*** to seek, wish, hope (стремиться, желать, надеяться): WMong. *eɣere-* (L 298); Kh. *ēre-*.

◊ Mong. > Yak. *eren-* 'to hope', *erel* 'hope' (Kał. MEJ 16, Stachowski 46).

PTurk. ****er-*** 1 coquetry 2 cockering, endearment 3 cockered, beloved 4 entertainment , joke (1 кокетство 2 баловство, ласка 3 избалованный, любимый 4 забава, шутка): Tur. *erke* (dial.) 3; Az. *ärkä* (dial.) 2, 3; Turkm. *ermek* 4 (dial.); MTurk. *erke* 1, 2, 3 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *erkä* 1, 3, *ermak* 4; Uygh. *ärkä* 3, *ermäk* 4; Tat. *irkä* 3, (dial.) *irmäk* 4; Bashk. *irkä* 3, *irmäk* 4; Kirgh. *erke* 3, *ermek* 4; Kaz. *erke* 3, *ermek* 4; KBalk. *erke* 3; KKalp. *erke* 3, *ermek* 4; Kum. *erke* 3; Nogh. *erke* 3; Khak. *irkä* 3; Shr. *erke* 3, *erbek* 4; Oyr. *erke* 3, *ermek*, *erbek* 4; Tv. *eryе* 2; Chuv. *jərgən* 'wriggler, trickster' (Ashm.); Yak. *erke* 2.

◊ VEWT 48, ЭСТЯ 1, 296-297, 300-301, TMN 2, 181-182. The root is widely spread, although unattested in older sources; its relationship to **eriĺ-* 'contest' (suggested in ЭСТЯ 297) is dubious.

PJpn. ****pər-*** to wish, hope (желать, надеяться): OJpn. *p(w)or-*.

◊ JLTT 693.

PKor. ***pǎrá-*** to desire (желать, надеяться): MKor. *pǎrá-*; Mod. *para-*.
◊ Nam 240, KED 704.

‖ Martin 230, Дыбо 14. Cf. also MKor. *pjàrǎ-* 'to purpose, intend' (cf. SKE 198).

pʹerV** thumb: Tung. ***peru-; Mong. ***herekei***; Turk. ***erŋek***.

PTung. ***peru-*** thumb (большой палец): Evk. *huruŋʹučēn*; Evn. *hörʊɣʊn*; Neg. *xöjeŋen*; Man. *ferxe*; Ul. *poro(n)*; Ork. *poro(n)*, *pero(n)*; Nan. *perxe*; Orch. *xōŋo(n)*; Ud. *xue*; Sol. *orogun*, *uryun*.

◊ TMC 2, 354. Doerfer MT 68-69 regards Manchu *ferxe* and Nan. *perxe* as borrowed from Mong., separating them from the rest of TM forms (derived ibid. from **puru-* 'to crush' - ?). This all is clearly unacceptable, because in fact we are dealing with a very clear case of e/u alternation after a labial.

PMong. ***herekei*** thumb (большой палец): MMong. *xeregai* (SH), *hərəkejin* (gen.) (LH); WMong. *erekei* (L 322); Kh. *erxij*; Bur. *erxí*; Kalm. *erkē* (Dörbet); Ord. *ereχī*; Dag. *xereg*, (Тод. Даг. 175) *xergī*; *herehe* (MD 161); S.-Yugh. *hermegči*.

◊ KW 125, MGCD 271.

PTurk. ***erŋek*** finger, thumb (палец, большой палец): OTurk. *erŋek* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *erŋek*, dial. *ernek* (MK); MTurk. *ernek* (Pav. C.); Khak. *irgek*; Oyr. *ergek*; Tv. *ergek*; Yak. *erbex*; Dolg. *erbek* 'peg'.

◊ EDT 234, ЭСТЯ 1, 299, Лексика 253-255, Stachowski 47.

‖ EAS 54, KW 125, Владимирцов 285, Poppe 11, 79, ОСНЯ 3, 73-76, Цинциус 1984, 71, ЭСТЯ 1, 299, Дыбо 318-321, Мудрак Дисс. 194, Лексика 253-255, Rozycki 76. A Western isogloss. Assumption of Mong. < Turk. (Щербак 1997, 116) is impossible. Cf. also Mong. **(h)arba-* 'to spread (of fingers)'. It is also interesting to note the equation (see Lee 1958, 109) of Manchu *ferexe siŋguri* (lit. 'fingered mouse') 'bat' = MKor. *pǎrk-čúi* id. (*čui* 'mouse'). This may be a trace of the root in Korean; however, also possible is a local merger (in Korean and Manchu) of this root with PA **pʹore* 'feather, wing' - in that case the compounds would mean rather 'winged mouse'.

pʹèsì (~ -a-)** old, former: Mong. *(h)esi***; Turk. ****es-(kü)***; Jpn. ****pìsà-si***; Kor. ****ps-kɨi***, ****ps-tái***.

PMong. ****(h)esi*** origin, beginning (происхождение, основание, начало): WMong. *esi* (L 334); Kh. *iš*; Bur. *ešе*; Kalm. *ešn*; Ord. *iši*.

◊ KW 128.

PTurk. ****es-(kü)*** old, ancient (старый): OTurk. *eski* (OUygh.); Karakh. *eski* (MK, KB); Tur. *eski*, dial. *esgi*; Gag. *ieski*; Az. *äski*, *äsilli* 'grown up'; Turkm. *esgi*; MTurk. *eski* (Sangl., Pav. C., AH, IM); Uzb. *eski*; Uygh. *eski*, *öski*; Krm. *eski*; Tat. *iske*; Bashk. *iθke*; Kirgh. *eski*; Kaz. *eski*; KBalk. *eski*; KKalp. *eski*; Kum. *esgi*, *eski*; Nogh. *eski*; Oyr. *eski*; Chuv.

as-lъ 'great', *az- (-atte, -anne)* 'grandfather, grandmother'; Yak. *ösük* 'ancient times'.

◊ VEWT 50, ЭСТЯ 1, 306-308, Лексика 86, EDT 246, Федотов 1, 63-64. Cf. also Turk. **asi-* 'old, last year's' (VEWT 29).

PJpn. ***pìsà-si*** ancient, long ago (древний, давно): OJpn. *pjisasi*; MJpn. *fisàsi*; Tok. *hisashí-*; Kyo. *hísáshì-*; Kag. *hisashí-*.

◊ JLTT 828.

PKor. ***ps-kɨi, *ps-tái*** 1 time 2 mealtime (1 время 2 время еды): MKor. *pskɨi, pstái* 1; Mod. t:ä 1, k:i 2.

◊ Nam 77, 147, KED 260, 418-419.

‖ See KW 128 (Turk.-Mong.), Лексика 86. Korean has a frequent vowel reduction between a stop and a fricative.

p'ə́ta** to step, walk: Tung. ***pete-; Mong. ***(h)ada-***; Turk. ***āt-***.

PTung. ***pete-*** 1 to run quickly, hurry 2 to jump (away, off) (1 бежать, мчаться 2 прыгать, отпрыгивать): Evk. *hetekēn-* 2; Evn. *hetekeŋ-* 1; Neg. *xetexeŋ-* 2; Man. *finte-* 2; Ul. *peteŋ-* 2; Ork. *potčo-* 2; Nan. *petēn-* 2; Orch. *xete-* 2; Ud. *xetigeŋ-e-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 372.

PMong. ***(h)ada-*** 1 to hurry 2 hurried walking (1 спешить 2 быстрый шаг): WMong. *adaɣa-* 1 (L 9), *adam* 2 (L 10); Kh. *adga-* 1; Kalm. *adyə-*1, *adm* 2.

◊ KW 1.

PTurk. ***āt-*** 1 to step 2 to walk 3 step (n.) (1 шагать 2 ходить 3 шаг): Tur. *adım* 3, *adım* at-, Osm. *ad-* 1; Az. *adım* at- 1, *adım* 3; Turkm. dial. *āt-, ât-, ât-le-* 1, *âdım*, dial. *ādım* 3; Sal. *a'tla-* 2; MTurk. *adım* (Pav. C.) 3; Uzb. *ɔdim*, dial. *adım* 3; Uygh. *atli-* 1; Krm. *adım* 3; Tat. *atla-* 1, *adım* 3, *atı* 'step'; Bashk. *atla-* 1, *aδım* 3; Kirgh. *atta-* 1, *adım* 3; Kaz. *atla-* 1, *adım* 3; KBalk. *atla-* 1; KKalp. *atla-* 1, *adım* 3; Nogh. *atla-* 1, *adım* 3; Khak. *alta-* 1, *atıx-* 'to jump'; Oyr. *alta-* 1 (< *atla-*); Chuv. *oďъm* 3, *ot-* 2; Yak. *atıllā-* 1; Dolg. *atıllā-* 'to jump, hop'.

◊ VEWT 31, ЭСТЯ 1, 88-89, 322, Федотов 2, 293-294, Stachowski 39.

‖ KW 1, АПиПЯЯ 15, 71, 280 (with an erroneous Jpn. match, see **àja*). A Western isogloss.

p'ə̀tá** meat; skin: Tung. ***pētē; Mong. ***(h)adaska***; Turk. ***et***; Jpn. ***pàntá***.

PTung. ***pētē*** 1 seal fat 2 seal skin 3 seal (1 сало нерпы 2 шкура нерпы 3 нерпа): Evk. *hētē* 1; Evn. *hēte* 1, *hētes* 2; Neg. *xētē* 1, 3; Man. *fetxi* 3; Ork. *pĕte* 3, *pĕteske* 2; Orch. *xēte* 3, *xētekse* 2; Ud. *xete* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 372.

PMong. ***(h)adaska*** unworked leather (необработанная кожа): MMong. *adasqa* 'old skin' (MA 402); WMong. *adasqa* (L 11); Kh. *adsaga*; Kalm. *adsxə* (KPC 28).

◊ One should mention MMong. (SH) *hudesu* 'leather' < **hede-sü* (?).

PTurk. ***et** meat (мясо): OTurk. *et* (OUygh.); Karakh. *et* (MK); Tur. *et*; Gag. jet'; Az. *ät*; Turkm. *et*; Sal. *äht*; Khal. *ät* (< Az.?); MTurk. *et* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *et*; Uygh. *ät*; Krm. *et*; Tat. *it*; Bashk. *it*; Kirgh. *et*; Kaz. *et*; KBalk. *et*; KKalp. *et*; Kum. *et*; Nogh. *et*; SUygh. *jeht*; Khak. *it*; Shr. *et*; Oyr. *et*; Tv. *e't*; Tof. *e't*; Chuv. *üt*; Yak. *et*; Dolg. *et*.

◊ VEWT 52, EDT 33, ЭСТЯ 1, 311-312, *Лексика* 455, Stachowski 48.

PJpn. ***pàntá** skin, flesh (кожа, плоть): OJpn. *pada*; MJpn. *fada*; Tok. *háda*; Kyo. *hàdá*; Kag. *hadá*.

◊ JLTT 395.

‖ For semantics cf. MKor. *sǎr* 'flesh, muscle', 'skin'. АПиПЯЯ 283, *Дыбо* 14, *Лексика* 455.

***pʻə́t[e]** name, to call: Tung. ***pete-**; Turk. ***āt**; Jpn. ***pəta-ja-**; Kor. ***pìrì- / *pírí-**.

PTung. ***pete-n** fate (судьба): Man. *feten*.

◊ TMC 2, 305. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***āt** name (имя): OTurk. *at* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *at* (MK); Tur. *ad*; Gag. *ät*; Az. *ad*; Turkm. *ät*; Sal. *ät*; Khal. *ät*; MTurk. *at* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔt*, dial. (Namangan) *ät*; Uygh. *at*; Krm. *ad*; Tat. *at*; Bashk. *at*; Kirgh. *at*; Kaz. *at*; KBalk. *at*; KKalp. *at*; Kum. *at*; Nogh. *at*; SUygh. *at*; Khak. *at*; Shr. *at*; Oyr. *at*; Tv. *at*; Tof. *at*, (*adï*); Chuv. *jat*; Yak. *āt*; Dolg. *āt*.

◊ VEWT 30-1, EDT 32-3, ЭСТЯ 1, 198-199, Егоров 355, Stachowski 41-42.

PJpn. ***pəta-** 1 to put on airs; to joke, call names 2 arrogant speech (1 кокетничать, зазнаваться; шутить, издеваться 2 надменная речь): OJpn. *p(w)otaki koto* 2; MJpn. *fotaja-* 1.

PKor. ***pìrì- / *pírí-** to call (звать): MKor. *pìrì- / pírí-*; Mod. *puri-*.

◊ Nam 270, KED 813.

‖ The parallel seems interesting (with a semantic development 'call' < > 'name' > 'omen', 'fate'), but back *ā in Turkic is not quite clear (one should rather expect **ēt*); perhaps we should reconstruct dialectal variants **pʻə́te* / **pʻə́ta*. See also notes to **pōto*.

***pʻetʻV (~ p-, -t-)** to pinch: Tung. ***pet-**; Kor. ***ptí-t-, *ptǎ-**.

PTung. ***pet-** 1 to pinch 2 to grab 3 to dig, pick 4 to pluck, collect (1 захватить щепотку, отщипнуть 2 хватать 3 копать, рыть 4 срывать, собирать): Evk. *hetu-kēt-* 1; Evn. *hetъkle-* 1; Man. *fata-* 1, *fete-* 3; SMan. *fatə-* 1, 4 (1165, 1575); Ul. *patarači-* 2; Nan. *pata-* (Он.) 4, *fete-* (Bik., Kur-Urm.) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 305, 371-372. Forms with -a- reflect a partial contamination with **pāt(i)-* q. v. sub **pʻàtʻà*. Rozycki 76 supposes Man. *fete-* < Mong. *ete-*, which is impossible due to the absence of *h- in Mongolian (v. sub **itʻù*).

PKor. ***ptí-t-, *ptǎ-** to pinch, pick, pluck (срывать, выщипывать): MKor. *ptí-t-, ptǎ-*; Mod. *t:it-, t:a-*.

◊ Nam 137, 174, KED 380, 532.

‖ Lee 1958, 109. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss, with usual vowel loss between two stops in Kor. Cf. **patʻa*. On possible reflexes in Turkic and Mongolian (a result of contamination) see under **pʻătʻà(-kV)*.

✱**pʻĭčʻi** to drink, pour: Tung. ***piče-**; Mong. ***(h)ečüg-le-**; Turk. ***ič-**.

PTung. ***piče-** to sprinkle, gush forth (брызгать, плескать): Evn. *hečēpkin-*; Nan. *pičkē-* (Он. 331).

◊ TMC 2, 373.

PMong. ***(h)ečüg-le-** to give drinks to spirits (делать возлияния духам): WMong. *ečügelkül-* (МХТТ); Kh. *ecegle-*.

PTurk. ***ič-** to drink (пить): OTurk. *ič-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ič-* (MK); Tur. *ič-*; Gag. *ič-*; Az. *ič-*; Turkm. *ič-*; Sal. *īč-*; Khal. *ič-*; MTurk. *ič-* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ič-*; Uygh. *ič-*; Krm. *ič-*; Tat. *eč-*; Bashk. *es-*; Kirgh. *ič-*; Kaz. *iš-*; KBalk. *ič-*; KKalp. *iš-*; Kum. *ič-*; Nogh. *iš-*; SUygh. *iš-*; Khak. *əs-*; Shr. *iš-*, *eš-* (R., Верб.); Oyr. *ič-*; Tv. *iš-*; Tof. *iš-*; Chuv. *əś-*; Yak. *is-*; Dolg. *is-*.

◊ VEWT 168, EDT 19, ЭСТЯ 1, 391, Егоров 66, Stachowski 129.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**pʻĭjkʻe** rib, breast bone: Tung. ***piKen**; Turk. ***ejekü**.

PTung. ***piKen** breast bone (грудная кость): Evk. *hiken*; Evn. *hiken*.

◊ TMC 2, 323.

PTurk. ***ejekü** side, upper rib (бок, верхнее ребро): OTurk. *ejegü* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ejegü* (MK, KB); Tur. *eje*; (Osm.) *ejegi*; MTurk. *ejegü*, *üjegi* (Sangl.); Tv. *ēgi*; Tof. *ē~gi*; Chuv. *ajăk*; Yak. *ojoɣos* (< **ajaku-č*?); Dolg. *ojogos*.

◊ VEWT 38, EDT 272, Егоров 38, Мудрак Дисс. 64, Лексика 275, Stachowski 190.

‖ Лексика 275. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**pʻíjo** spindle, part of loom or cross-bow: Tung. ***pia-la-**; Turk. ***ijik**; Jpn. ***pí**; Kor. ***pu-**.

PTung. ***pia-la-** 1 part of a cross-bow 2 name of a tree (used for bows) (1 лучок (для самострела) 2 назв. дерева (употребляемого на луки)): Neg. *pêlaxa* 1; Man. *filan* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 36. The Neg. word is borrowed from some unattested Southern Tungus form.

PTurk. ***ijik** spindle (веретено): Karakh. *ik*, *jik*, *ijik* (MK); Tur. *iɣ*, *ij*, *iji*; Gag. *ī*; Az. *ij*; Turkm. *īk*; MTurk. ik (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ik*, *jik*, *žik*; Kirgh. *ijik*; KKalp. *ijik*; SUygh. *žik*; Shr. *īk*; Oyr. *īk*, *ijik*; Chuv. *jəge*.

◊ VEWT 170, EDT 99, ЭСТЯ 1, 336-337, Егоров 77. Az., Turk., Gag. have a secondary voicing due to early contraction *-iji- > *-ī-. Turk. > Mong. *ig* 'spindle' (Щербак 1997, 123); the derivative **ijik-lig* (Chag. *ikliɣ* 'violin', cf. Khak. *īk* id. (see VEWT 179) > Kalm. *ikəĺə* (KW 206).

PJpn. ***pí** shuttle (of a loom) (челнок (ткацкого станка)): OJpn. *pji*; MJpn. *fi*; Tok. *hi*.

◊ JLTT 405.

PKor. ***pu-*** 1 to spin 2 to twist (1 сучить, прясть 2 выкручивать): MKor. *pūi-thír-*; Mod. *pi-* (dial., SKE 203); *pi-thil-*.

◊ Nam 269, KED 859. The simple verb is cited from Ramstedt's SKE; in other sources it is only attested as part of a compound with *thir-* 'twist' (v. sub **tokʻV)*.

‖ SKE 203. An interesting common Altaic cultural term.

pʻíkʻè (~ -k-)** to file, polish, rub: Tung. ***piKi-; Turk. ***ḗke-***; Jpn. ***pík-***.

PTung. ***piKi-*** to rub (тереть): Evk. *hiki-*; Evn. *hiḳ-*; Neg. *xixi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 323.

PTurk. ***ḗke-*** 1 to file 2 file (n.) (1 пилить, обтачивать 2 напильник): Karakh. *ike-* (~ *ege-*) 1 (MK); Tur. *eje* 2; Gag. *ija* 2; Az. *äjä* 2; Turkm. *īge* 2; MTurk. *ekäk* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *egэw* 2; Uygh. *ekäk, igäk* 2; Krm. *ege, egew* 2; Tat. *igä-* 1, *igäw* 2; Bashk. *igä-* 1, *igäw* 2; Kirgh. *ege-, ögö-* 1, *egő, ögő* 2; Kaz. *ege-* 1, *egew* 2; KBalk. *egew* 2; KKalp. *ege-* 1, *egew* 2; Kum. *egew* 2; Nogh. *ege-* 1, *egew* 2; Khak. *ige-* 1; Oyr. *ege-* 1, *egü* 2; Tv. *eɣe-, öɣe-* 1, *eɣē* 2; Chuv. *jəgev* 'whetstone'; Yak. *igī* 2; Dolg. *igī* 2.

◊ EDT 101, VEWT 38, ЭСТЯ 1, 326-328, TMN 2, 93, Егоров 77, Лексика 399, Stachowski 123.

PJpn. ***pík-*** to file, to saw (пилить): OJpn. *pjik-*; MJpn. *fík-*; Tok. *hìk-*; Kyo. *hík-*; Kag. *hík-*.

◊ JLTT 689. The basic meaning of the verb attested in OJ is 'pull'; modern Jpn. has, however, also the meaning 'to file, saw', and in OJ there is a derived noun *pjikji, pjikji-ri* 'rubbing wood for producing fire' (where *pji-* is definitely attested and cannot be = *pi* 'fire'). The meaning 'pull' therefore is either unrelated or secondarily derived < 'file, rub'.

‖ Дыбо 15, Мудрак Дисс. 198, Лексика 399. Mong. *egeɣü* is probably borrowed from Turkic. Closed **ḗ* in Turk. is not quite clear: it is either the result of narrowing in a polysyllabic stem, or a reflex of the lost **pʻ-* (cf. the diphthongization in Chuv. *jəgev*).

pʻìle (~ -i)** to fly, soar, flap: Tung. ***pīlu-; Mong. ***hele-***; Jpn. ***pìrù(n)kap-***.

PTung. ***pīlu-*** to soar; to drop (of leaves) (лететь, парить; облетать (о листьях)): Man. *féle-*; Nan. *pīluen-*.

◊ TMC 2, 38.

PMong. ***hele-*** to soar (парить): MMong. *hilkān* 'smth. drooping' (IM); WMong. *ele-* (MXTTT); Kh. *ele-*; Bur. *eli-*; Kalm. *el-* (KPC); Ord. *ele-*; Dong. *helie-*.

PJpn. ***pìrù(n)kap-*** to flap, flutter (развеваться): OJpn. *p(j)irugapjer-*; MJpn. *firùgafer-*; Tok. *hirugáer-*; Kyo. *hírúgáér-*; Kag. *hirugaér-*.

◊ JLTT 690. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ ОСНЯ 3, 105-106.

✱**pʿìlo** to dry, heat: Tung. ***pile-***; Mong. ***hil-***; Jpn. ***pà-***.

PTung. ***pile-*** to dry under the sun (греться на солнце): Evn. *hilъt-*; Neg. *xilet-*.

◊ TMC 2, 324.

PMong. ***hil-*** heat, warmth (тепло): WMong. *ilči(n)* (L 403); Kh. *ilč*; Bur. *elše* 'ray(s), warmth of the sun'; Kalm. *ilča*; Ord. *ilči, ẹlči, nilči*; Dag. *hilči*; *šilči* (Тод. Дат. 183), *šiliči* (MD 216); S.-Yugh. *hilbər*.

◊ KW 207, 276, MGCD 409.

PJpn. ***pà-*** to dry up (сохнуть): OJpn. *pu-* (*po-*); MJpn. *fi-*, fu; Tok. *hí-*; Kyo. *hí-*; Kag. *hì-*.

◊ JLTT 690. Final *-ə- can be determined on the basis of the caus. **pà-s-*, OJ *p(w)os-*.

‖ One of the few verbs losing *-lV in Jpn. (cf. **gèle* , **sḭóle*), thus possibly a monosyllabic root (**pʿìl*).

✱**pʿǐmà** a k. of nut or berry: Tung. ***pimi-kte***; Jpn. ***pàmì***; Kor. ***pām***.

PTung. ***pimi-kte*** red bilberry (брусника): Evk. *himikte*; Evn. *hiēmtъ*.

◊ TMC 2, 324-325. Evk. > Dolg. *himikte* (Stachowski 104).

PTurk. ***imen*** oak tree (дуб): Turkm. *imen*; Uzb. *eman*; Tat. *imɛn*; Oyr. *ermen*; Chuv. *joman*, NW *öman*.

◊ VEWT 42, Егоров 348, Лексика 124, Федотов 2, 485. Cf. Mong. iman bor 'a k. of reddish tree (with black bark and round leaves)' (may be a Turkism).

PJpn. ***pàmì*** Phlomis umbrosa; chestnut, acorn, filbert, oxalis (Phlomis umbrosa; каштан, лещина): OJpn. *pamji*; MJpn. *fâmi*; Tok. *-bami*.

◊ The root is present in compounds: *pasi-bamji, turu-bamji, kata-bamji* - see JLTT 397.

PKor. ***pām*** chestnut (каштан): MKor. *pām*; Mod. *pam*.

◊ Nam 248, KED 733.

‖ Martin 248, JLTT 397 (Kor.-Jpn.). An Eastern isogloss.

✱**pʿǐmù** sign: Tung. ***pim-***; Mong. ***(h)im***; Turk. ***im***; Jpn. ***púmì***.

PTung. ***pim-*** sign (знак, метка): Evk. *him*.

◊ TMC 2, 324. Attested only in Evk., but hardly borrowed from Mongolian (because of h-) and having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***(h)im*** sign (знак, метка на ушах скота): WMong. *im, ime* (L 409); Kh. *im*; Bur. *emni-* 'to mark cattle'; Kalm. *im*; Ord. *ẹm, im*.

◊ KW 208. Mong. > Evk. *im* (but not *him*, despite Poppe 1966, 198, 1972, 99).

PTurk. ***im*** sign (знак): Karakh. *im* (*~im*) (MK); Tur. *im*; Turkm. *üm*; MTurk. *im* (Pav. C.); Tat. *im*; Bashk. *im*; Kirgh. *im*; Kaz. *im*; KKalp. *im*; Kum. *jum*; Nogh. *im*; Oyr. *um*; Tv. *im*; Yak. *im*; Dolg. *imnēk* 'signed'.

◊ EDT 155, VEWT 171, ЭСТЯ 1, 278, 632-633, Stachowski 126.

PJpn. ***púmì*** text, letter (текст, буква): OJpn. *pum(j)i*; MJpn. *fúmi*; Tok. *fumí, fúmi*; Kyo. *fúmi*; Kag. *fúmi*.

◊ JLTT 417.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 38-39, Poppe 1972, 99, АПиПЯЯ 12.

***pʻìrá** far: Mong. ***hiri-če-**; Turk. ***ɨra-**; Jpn. ***pàrú-kà-**.

PMong. ***hiri-če-** to separate, sunder (отделять, разъединять): MMong. *xiriče-*, *xirižе-* (SH).

PTurk. ***ɨra-k** far, distant (далекий): OTurk. *ɨraq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨraq* (MK, KB); Tur. *ɨrak* adv.; Gag. *jɨraq*; Az. *ɨraG* adv.; Turkm. *ɨrāq* (arch.); Sal. *jɨrax*; Khal. *hɨrāq*; MTurk. *jɨraq* (Pav. C., MA), *ɨraq* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɨrɔq*, *ɨrɔq*; Uygh. *jiraq*; Krm. *jɨraq*; Tat. *jɨraq*; Bashk. *jɨraq*; Kirgh. *ɨraaq*; Kaz. *žɨraq*; KKalp. *ɨraq*, *žɨraq*; Kum. *jɨraq*; SUygh. *jiraq*, *jüriq*; Khak. *ɨrax*; Oyr. *ɨraq*, *raq*; Tv. *ɨraq*; Tof. *ɨraq*; Yak. *ɨrāx*; Dolg. *ɨrāk*.

◊ PT*ɨra-k- is derived from **ɨra-* 'to be far'. See EDT 198, 214, ЭСТЯ 4, 286-287, Stachowski 261.

PJpn. ***pàrú-kà-** far (далекий): OJpn. *paru-ka-*; MJpn. *fàrú-kà-*; Tok. *háruka*; Kyo. *hàrúkà*; Kag. *haruká*.

◊ JLTT 399.

‖ PT **ɨra-k* = PJ **pàrú-kà* < PA **pʻìrá-kʻV*.

***pʻire (~ -ŕ-)** bank, steep bank: Tung. ***piri**; Mong. ***her-gi**; Jpn. ***pi(n)tipa**.

PTung. ***piri** steep (slope, bank) (крутой (склон, берег)): Evk. *hir-ki*; Evn. *hiri-le* 'rock, cliff'.

◊ See TMC 2, 327.

PMong. ***her-gi (?)** steep bank (крутой берег): MMong. (*hergi*), *ergi* (SH, HY 4); WMong. *ergi* (L 323); Kh. *ereg*; Bur. *erje*; Kalm. *ergə*; Ord. *erge*; Dag. *əriġ*, *ergi* (Тод. Дат. 140); S.-Yugh. *eryə*; Mongr. *xargi*, *jergi* (SM 162), *xerge*, *xargi*.

◊ KW 124, MGCD 266. Mong. > Man. *ergi*, see Doerfer MT 137. Loss of **h-* in Dag. and S.-Yugh. is not quite clear.

PJpn. ***pi(n)tipa** bank (берег): OJpn. *pjidipa* (dial.).

◊ Cf. MJ *fidà*, mod. *hida* 'pleat' (on cloth, but also on mountain); see JLTT 405.

‖ The comparison of PTM **piri* with PT **jąr* (АПиПЯЯ 13) should be abandoned, since it does not explain PT closed **ą* (on the etymology of the Turkic word see rather **ǯĕ́ro*). For a possible Korean parallel see under **pʻi̯ŏ́lo*. Cf. **pʻeri*.

***pʻĭru** to pray, bless: Tung. ***pirugē-**; Mong. ***hiruɣe-**; Turk. ***ɨr-**; Kor. ***pīr-**.

PTung. ***pirugē-** to pray (молиться, заклинать): Evk. *hiruɣē-*; Evn. *hirge-*; Neg. *xīɣē-*; Man. *firu-*; Sol. *irugē-*.

◊ TMC 2, 327-328.

PMong. ***hirüɣe-** 1 to bless 2 benediction (1 благословлять, молиться 2 благословение): MMong. *xiru'e-* (SH) 1, *hirē-* (MA 185) 1; WMong. *irüge-* 1, *irügel* 2 (L 415); Kh. *jörō-* 1, *jörōl* 2; Bur. *jürō-* 1, *ürōr* 2 (Alar.); Kalm. *jörēl* 2; Ord. *örō-* 1, *örōl* 2; Dag. *hirbe-* (Тод. Дат. 176: *xirbe-*), *šurēl* 1 (Тод. Дат. 184); Mongr. *śurō-* (SM 402) 1.

◊ KW 220.

PTurk. ***ir-*** 1 prediction, luck 2 omen 3 premonition (1 предсказание, счастье 2 знамение 3 предчувствие): OTurk. *irk* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *irk* 1 (MK); Tur. *irk* 1; Krm. *irɨz* 'dignity'; Bashk. *iriχ* 1 (dial.); Kirgh. *irk* 'welfare', *iris* 1; Kaz. *iriq* 1; KBalk. *iris* 1; KKalp. *iris* 1; Kum. *iris* 1; Nogh. *irk* 3, *iris* 1; SUygh. *irq* 1; Khak. *irix* 1, *iris* 1; Shr. *iris* 1; Oyr. *iris* 1; Chuv. *ərex* 'soul; expedience'; Yak. *irā* 3.

◊ VEWT 166, 167, EDT 213, ОСНЯ 3, 119-120, ЭСТЯ 1, 665.

PKor. ***pīr-*** to beg, pray (просить, умолять): MKor. *pīr-*; Mod. *pīl-*.

◊ Nam 279, KED 862.

‖ EAS 53, 150, Владимирцов 181-182, Poppe 12, 60, ОСНЯ 3, 119-124, Цинциус 1984, 39, Дыбо 14. Despite Poppe 1966, 197, 1972, 100, Doerfer MT 23, TM is hardly < Mong.

✱**p'ís[a]** oblique: Mong. ***(h)isü***; Jpn. ***pású***; Kor. ***pìsk-***.

PMong. ***(h)isü*** across, obliquely (наискось): WMong. *isü*; Kalm. *is*; Ord. *iš maš uguī* 'in every direction'.

◊ KW 210.

PJpn. ***pású*** slanted, oblique (косой, наклонный): Tok. *hàsu*; Kyo. *hású*; Kag. *hásu*.

◊ JLTT 400.

PKor. ***pìsk-*** slanted, oblique (косой, наклонный): MKor. *pìs-*, *pìs-kí-*; Mod. *pik:i-*, *pit:ul-*.

◊ Nam 279, 280, KED 850, 851.

‖ SKE 202, Martin 228. Preservation of -i- in Kor. presents a problem, as well as very scarce representation in Mong. (only Kalm.). PA *p'- (not *p-) is reconstructed because of *(h) in Mong., together with high pitch in Jpn.

✱**p'ísi(KV)** to break, cleave, peck: Tung. ***pis(k)-***; Mong. ***heske-***; Jpn. ***písí***, ***pisi(n)k-***; Kor. ***pskír***.

PTung. ***pis(k)-*** 1 crack 2 to prick (with a fish-fork) 3 to split 4 to prick, incise 5 to tear 6 to be torn (1 трещина 2 колоть (острогой) 3 трескаться 4 прокалывать 5 рвать 6 (быть) разодранным): Evk. *hismat-* 4; Evn. *hịsqān-* 3; Neg. *xịskan* 1, *xịsmịkịt-* 2; Man. *pes* seme 6 (borrowed < South. Tung. or with expressive p-?); Ork. *pesitči-* 5.

◊ TMC 2, 48, 328.

PMong. ***heske-*** to cut, shape, slice (вырезать): MMong. *iskă̆-*, *hečke-* (MA), *hačkə-* (LH); WMong. *eske-* (L 334); Kh. *esge-*, *esxe-*; Bur. *esxe-*; Kalm. *ičkə-*, *ičək-*; Ord. *esχe-*; Dag. *xerkī-* (Тод. Даг. 175), *xerke-*; Bao. *segə-*; S.-Yugh. *hədge-*.

◊ KW 211, MGCD 272. The S.-Yugh. form is a contamination of **heske* and **etke-* (see **ete-*).

PJpn. ***písí, *pisi(n)k-*** 1 fish-fork 2 to break up (1 двузубые вилы, острога 2 разбивать, раздавливать): MJpn. *físí* 1, *fisíg-* 2; Tok. *hishi* 1, *hishíg-* 2; Kyo. *híshíg-* 2; Kag. *hìshìg-* 2.

◊ JLTT 690. In **pisi(n)k-* RJ has high tone, but all modern dialects point rather to **pìsi(n)k-*.

PKor. ***pskɨ́r*** chisel (долото): MKor. *pskɨ́r*; Mod. *k:ɨl*.

◊ Nam 74, KED 247.

‖ In Kor. cf. also *psús-tŏl* 'whetstone', *psí-* 'to rub', *psùs-* / *psùč-* 'to rub, to whet', *psó-* 'to sting; to shoot', *pís* 'comb'.

pʻi̯ă̆čʻo** acid, salty: Tung. ****pŭč-; Turk. ****iāči-g***; Kor. ****pčắ-***.

PTung. ****pŭč-*** to spoil (of food) (испортиться (о пище)): Evk. *hŭčilke-*, *hučilku-*.

◊ TMC 2, 358.

PTurk. ****iāči-g*** bitter, acid (горький, кислый): OTurk. *ačɨγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ačɨγ* (MK); Tur. *ažɨ*; Gag. *ažɨ*; Az. *ažɨ*; Turkm. *āžɨ*, *āžɨγ*; Sal. *āžɨ*; Khal. *hāčuγ*, *hāčuq*; MTurk. *ačɨ* (Abush.); Uzb. *ačči*, *ɔčči* (dial.); Krm. *ažɨ*, *ačɨ*; Tat. *ačɨ*; Bashk. *asɨ*; Kaz. *ašší*; KBalk. *ačɨ*; KKalp. *ašší*; Kum. *ačči*; Nogh. *ašɨ*; Oyr. *ačɨ*; Tv. *ažɨγ*; Tof. *ažɨγ*; Chuv. *jüźə*; Yak. *ahɨ*; Dolg. *ahɨ*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 89-93, Егоров 82, Мудрак 115, Stachowski 30. In most languages also attested as a verbal stem **iāči-* 'to become bitter, sour'.

PKor. ****pčắ-*** salty, briny (соленый): MKor. *pčắ-*; Mod. *č:ə-*.

◊ Nam 415, KED 1375.

‖ PKE 22. Vowel length in Tung. is not clear (the root is attested only in some Evk. dialects, thus the phonology is not quite reliable here). Kor. has a usual vowel reduction between a stop and affricate.

pʻi̯ă̆ge** rain: Tung. ****pigi-n; Mong. ****(h)aɣa-***; Turk. ****jag-***; Kor. ****pí***.

PTung. ****pigi-n*** 1 storm 2 wind (1 буря 2 ветер): Evk. *xigin* 2; Neg. *xiγin* / *xijin* 1; Ul. *piwsu(n)* 1; Ork. *sii* 1; Nan. *piugi-* 1 (v.); Ud. *sī* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 322.

PMong. ****(h)aɣa-*** heavy rain (ливень): WMong. *aγadar* (L 12); Kh. *ādar*; Bur. *ādar*.

PTurk. ****jag-*** 1 to rain 2 rain (1 идти (о дожде) 2 дождь): OTurk. *jaγ-* 1 (Orkh.), *jaγmur* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaγ-* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *jā-* 1, *jāmur* 2; Gag. *jā-* 1, *jāmur* 2; Az. *jaγ-* 1, *jaγmur*, *jaγɨš*, *jaγɨn* 2; Turkm. *jaγ-* 1, *jaγmɨr*, *jaγɨš*, *jaγɨn* 2; Sal. *jaγ-* 1, *jaγmur* 2; Khal. *jaγ-* 1; MTurk. *jaγ-* 1, *jaγmur* / *jamγur* 2 (Pav. C., AH, Ettuhf., MA), *jaγɨn* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔγ-* 1, *jɔmγɨr*, *jɔγɨn* 2; Uygh. *jaγ-* 1, *jamγu(r)*, *jaŋmur*, *jeγɨn* 2; Krm. *jaγmur* 2; Tat. *jaw-* 1, *jaŋγɨr*, *jawɨn* 2; Bashk. *jaw-* 1, *jamγɨr*, *jawun* 2; Kirgh. *žā-*, *žau-* 1, *žamγɨr*, *žān* 2; Kaz. *žaw-* 1, *žaŋbɨr*, *žawɨn* 2; KBalk. *žawun*, *žanγur*; KKalp. *žaw-* 1, *žawɨn*, *žamγɨr* 2; Kum. *jaw-* 1, *jaŋγur*, *jaŋur*, *jawɨn* / *jawun* 2; Nogh. *jaw-* 1, *jamγɨr*; SUygh. *jaγ-* 1, *jaγmir*; Khak. *čaγ-* 1, *naŋmɨr* 2; Shr.

čaɣ-, čā- 1, *naɣbɨr, namɨr* 2; Oyr. *jā-, ɗa-* 1, *ɗaŋmɨr, ɗāš* 2; Tv. *čaɣ-* 1, *ča's* 2; Tof. *čaɣ-* 1; Chuv. *śu-* 1, *śomъr* 2; Yak. *samɨ̄r* 2; Dolg. *hamɨ̄r* 2.

◊ VEWT 177, EDT 896, 903-4, 908, ЭСТЯ 4, 57, Лексика 25, Федотов 2, 135, Stachowski 95.

PKor. ***pí*** rain (дождь): MKor. *pí*; Mod. *pi*.

◊ Nam 275, KED 848.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 13, 34, 283, Vovin 2000 (with a strange assertion that PT *jag- means 'fall').

✱**pʻi̯agu** stripes, rope ornaments: Tung. ***p[u]g-***; Mong. ***hoɣu-sur***; Jpn. ***pu***; Kor. ***poh***.

PTung. ***p[u]g-*** 1 ornament 2 drawing (1 орнамент (витой) 2 рисунок): Evk. *huɣak* 2, *hiɣerente* 1; Ork. *pūripteŋi, pueripteŋgi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 323, 337.

PMong. ***hoɣu-sur*** rope (веревка): MMong. *xoošin* (SH, Козин); WMong. *oɣusur* (L 603); Kh. *ōsor*; Bur. *ōhor*; Kalm. *ōsər* (KPC); Ord. *ōsor*; Mongr. *fujāsar*.

◊ MGCD 522. Mongr. *fujā-sar* reflects a contamination with *fujā-* (PM **huja-*) 'to tie, bind'.

PJpn. ***pu*** stripes, (woven) stitch, mesh ((вышитые) полосы, швы): OJpn. *pu*.

◊ JLTT 416.

PKor. ***poh*** diaper, wrapping cloth (пеленки): MKor. *po* (*poh-*); Mod. *po*.

◊ Nam 259, KED 786. Usually treated as a loan < Chin. 褓 id., but final -h in MKor. cannot be explained.

‖ The Kor. match is somewhat dubious (even if it is not a loan, its meaning was certainly influenced by the similar Chinese word), but Mong., TM and Japanese still form a plausible match.

✱**pʻi̯agV** hot; sun, day: Tung. ***pigi-***; Mong. ***heɣe-***; Jpn. ***pí***; Kor. ***pài***.

PTung. ***pigi-*** 1 to warm, be warmed 2 to be sun-tanned (of skin) (1 греть, греться 2 загорать (о коже)): Evk. *hiɣit-* 1; Evn. *hiɣъt-* 1; Neg. *xō-* 'пригорать'; Man. *fo-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 467, 2, 322, 331. Neg. and Man. reflect **pigi-b-*.

PMong. ***heɣe-*** to heat, be heated (греть, палить; греться): MMong. *xe'u-* (SH); WMong. *ege-, egege-, egsi-* (L 296, 297, 300); Kh. *ē-*; Bur. *igā-* 'греть (о солнце), греться (на солнце)'; Kalm. *ē-*; Ord. *ē-*; Dag. *ɛ̄ē-* (Тод. Дат. 183); Dong. *šie-*; Bao. *hē-*; S.-Yugh. *hī-*; Mongr. *xē-* (SM 166), *śē-*.

◊ KW 130, MGCD 248. Cf. also **heg-či-*, WMong. *egči-*, Kalm. *ekčə-* id. (KW 118).

PJpn. ***pí*** sun, day (солнце, день): OJpn. *pji*; MJpn. *fí*; Tok. *hì*; Kyo. *hé*; Kag. *hí*.

◊ JLTT 404. RJ has also a variant *fi* (besides the normal *fi*), but high tone is supported by the accent of the derived **pí-rù* 'day, daytime' (RJ *firù*, Tokyo *hirú*, Kyoto *hírù*, Kagoshima *híru*).

PKor. ***pài*** dawn (рассвет): MKor. *sài-pài* (*sāi-* 'to dawn').

◊ HMCH 152, Nam 295 (gives *sài-pái*, although HMCH has explicitly *sài-pāi*). Modern *sâ-bjʌk* (KED 922) 'dawn' is probably related, with a secondary suffixation.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 108, 277. Final vowel uncertain, due to contractions in Kor.-Jpn. originated by the loss of *-g-.

✱**pʻi̯àká** mighty, heavy: Tung. ***piaKa***; Turk. ***iagïr***; Jpn. ***pànkiá-***.

PTung. ***piaKa*** 1 diligent, smart 2 disobedient, brave 3 to arouse (1 ловкий, старательный 2 озорной, непослушный, смелый 3 возбуждать): Evk. *hêka* 1; Evn. *hiqār* 2; Nan. *pikpu-* 3 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 319.

PTurk. ***iagïr*** heavy (тяжелый): OTurk. *aγïr* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *aγïr* (MK, KB); Tur. *aγïr*; Az. *aγïr*; Turkm. *aGïr*; Sal. *aγïr*; Khal. *aγïr*; MTurk. *aγïr* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *эγir*; Uygh. *eγir*; Tat. *awïr*; Bashk. *awïr*; Kirgh. *ōr*; Kaz. *awïr*; KBalk. *awur*; KKalp. *awïr*; Khak. *ār*; Tv. *ār*; Tof. *ār*; Chuv. *jivъr*; Yak. *iar*; Dolg. *iara-kan*.

◊ VEWT 8, EDT 88-9, ЭСТЯ 1, 85-87, Егоров 82-83, Лексика 338-339, Stachowski 258.

PJpn. ***pànkiá-*** mighty, passionate, severe (мощный, страстный, суровый): OJpn. *pag(j)e-si*; MJpn. *fâgé-si*; Tok. *hageshí-*; Kyo. *hágéshì-*; Kag. *hageshí-*.

◊ JLTT 827.

‖ In Turkic one has to suppose the semantic development 'mighty, severe' > 'heavy' (cf. similarly 'important, authoritative' > 'heavy' in Mong., see under **kuńi*). Cf. also **pek'i*.

✱**pʻi̯àlbí** a k. of small bird: Tung. ***pialakī***; Turk. ***jelbe***; Jpn. ***pìmpárí***.

PTung. ***pialakī*** partridge (куропатка): Evk. *hêlakī*; Evn. *hālikī*; Neg. *xêlaxī*; Man. *félenku*; Ul. *pêla*.

◊ TMC 2, 320.

PTurk. ***jelbe*** a k. of small bird (вид маленькой птички): Tur. *jelve*; MTurk. *jälvä* (AH); Khak. *jelbegej* 'a k. of bird' (Верб.); Oyr. *ǰeleči* 'tit-mouse'.

◊ VEWT 196, TMN 4, 192.

PJpn. ***pìmpárí*** skylark (жаворонок): OJpn. *pjibari*; MJpn. *fibárí*; Tok. *hìbari*; Kyo. *hìbàrí*; Kag. *hibarí*.

◊ JLTT 405.

‖ Дыбо 9.

✱**pʻi̯àle** strap: Tung. ***pīl(a)-***; Mong. ***hila-su***; Turk. ***jelö***; Jpn. ***pírái (~-ia)***; Kor. ***pjárí***.

PTung. ***pīl(a)-*** 1 strap(s) 2 to tug 3 belt 4 bridle (1 лямка, завязки 2 надеть лямку (на плечо) 3 ремень 4 узда): Evn. *hilъrъn* 1; Neg. *xīla-* 2; Man. *feleku* 4; Ork. *pitu* (< **pil-tu*) 3; Ud. *silipti* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 323-324, 304.

PMong. ***hila-su** thread (нить): Dag. *šilās, xilās* (Тод. Дат. 183), *šilāse* (MD 216).

◊ MGCD 685.

PTurk. ***jelö** tether, rope for calves (веревка для привязывания жеребят, телят): Karakh. *jelü* (MK) (~ *jalu*); Tur. *ǯele* (DS); Az. *ǯälä*; MTurk. *ǯele* (Pav. C.) 'string, bow-string'; Uzb. *ǯelə*; Uygh. *ǯili* (dial.); Tat. *jele* (dial.); Bashk. *jele* (dial.); Kirgh. *ǯele*; Kaz. *ǯeli*; KKalp. *ǯelle*; Oyr. *jele, ǰele*; Tv. *čele*; Yak. *sele*.

◊ EDT 919, ЭСТЯ 4, 21-22. Turk. > WMong. *ǯele* (rather than vice versa, despite VEWT 125).

PJpn. ***pírái (~-ia)** women's kerchief worn as ornament (шарф, женский платок-украшение): OJpn. *pjire*; MJpn. *fíré*.

◊ JLTT 408 (confused with 'fish fin').

PKor. ***pjə́rí** guiding net rope (ведущая веревка у сети): MKor. *pjə́rí*; Mod. *pjəri*.

◊ Liu 382, KED 775.

‖ OJ has irregular tone and vowel (one would rather expect -ə-), thus a loan from Korean cannot be excluded (although the Kor. and Jpn. meanings are rather distant).

***pʹi̯àlkʹi** lightning, thunder: Tung. ***pialki-**; Turk. ***jAlki-**; Jpn. ***pìkàr-**; Kor. ***pə́nkái**.

PTung. ***pialki- (/-rk-)** 1 to flash (of lightning) 2 lightning 3 to thunder (1 сверкать (о молнии) 2 молния 3 греметь (о громе)): Evk. *hêlki-* 1, *hêlkin* 2 (/-rk-); Ul. *pi̯čʉ-* 1; Nan. *pojqana-* 1; Orch. *xākki-* 3.

◊ See TMC 2, 320.

PTurk. ***jAlki-** 1 to glitter 2 flame, ray (1 блестеть, сиять 2 пламя, блеск, луч): Tur. *jalkın* 2; Turkm. *jalqım* 2; MTurk. *jalqun* 2 (R); Uzb. *jɔlqin* 2; Uygh. *jalqun* 2; Tat. *jalqı-* 1 (dial.), *jalqın* 2; Bashk. *jalqın* 2; Kaz. *žalqın* 2; Oyr. *ǰalqın* 2.

◊ VEWT 181, ЭСТЯ 4, 106-107, Лексика 357. Usually united with **jal-* (v. sub **ǯi̯ale*), but seems to have a distinct Altaic origin.

PJpn. ***pìkàr-** to flash, glitter, shine (сверкать, блестеть, светить): OJpn. *pjikar-*; MJpn. *fikár-*; Tok. *hikár-*; Kyo. *híkár-*; Kag. *hìkàr-*.

◊ JLTT 688.

PKor. ***pə́nkái** lightning (молния): MKor. *pə́nkái*; Mod. *pəngä*.

◊ Nam 256, KED 762.

‖ Street 1985, 641, АПиПЯЯ 13.

***pʹi̯ǎnčʹi** to crush: Tung. ***pianči-**; Mong. ***niča- / *niǯa-**; Turk. ***jaṇč- / *jenč-**; Jpn. ***pínták-**.

PTung. ***pianči-** to crush (разрушать, раскалывать): Evn. *hênčik-*; Neg. *xiŋčel-*.

◊ TMC 2, 321.

PMong. ***niča- / *niǯa-** to crush (ломать): WMong. *niča-či-, niča-la-, niǯa-la-, niča-ra-, niǯa-ra-* (L 577, 587); Kh. *ńacla-, ńacra-*; Bur. *ńas* 'звукоподражание, изображающее треск'; Mongr. *śǯarGə̄* 'cassé, brisé, fêlé, tesson' (SM 389).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *ńičā-* etc., see TMC 1, 640.

PTurk. ***jạnč- / *jenč-** to crush (ломать): OTurk. *janč-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *janč-, jenč-* (MK); Tur. *jenč-*; Turkm. *jenč-*; MTurk. *jenč-* (R.); Uzb. *jänč-*; Uygh. *jänč-*; Krm. *janč-, jenč-, janc-*; Tat. *jɛnče-*; Kirgh. *ǯanč-*; Kaz. *žanši-*; KKalp. *ženš-*; Kum. *janč-*; Nogh. *janši-*; Shr. *naš-*; Yak. *sis- / siń-*.

◊ EDT 944, ЭСТЯ 4, 184-185. Turk. > WMong. *ǯančі-, jančі-*, KW 466, Щербак 1997, 122. See also notes to **jān(u)-* 'threaten'.

PJpn. ***pintak-** to crush (ломать, разрушать): OJpn. *p(j)idak-*; MJpn. *fidák-*.

◊ JLTT 688.

‖ Дыбо 1995b (Tung.-Mong.). In Mong. one has to suppose a contraction **niča-* < **hin(i)ča-* (cf. similarly **hunis-* > *nis-* 'to fly'). An expressive root, but seems well reconstructable for PA.

***pʻi̯ani** hen, chicken, hazel-hen: Tung. ***pinukī**; Mong. ***jaŋgali**; Jpn. ***pina**; Kor. ***pjəŋ-**.

PTung. ***pinu-kī** hazel-hen (рябчик): Evk. *hinukī*; Evn. *hiniki*; Neg. *xīnkī*; Man. *foxa* 'chicken'; Ul. *pinu*; Ork. *pinu*; Nan. *pimu*; Orch. *ximmui, ximui*; Ud. *sumugi*.

◊ TMC 2, 300, 325.

PMong. ***jaŋgali** a k. of small variegated bird (вид маленькой пестрой птицы): WMong. *jaŋɣali* (MXTTT); Kh. *jaŋgaĺ*.

PJpn. ***pina** chicken (цыпленок): MJpn. *finá, fínà*; Tok. *hína*; Kyo. *hìnâ*; Kag. *hiná*.

◊ JLTT 407. Original accent is not quite clear: while modern dialects point to **pìnâ*, RJ has variants HL and HH.

PKor. ***pjəŋ-** chicken (цыпленок): MKor. *pjəŋ'ari, píjùk*; Mod. *pjəŋari*.

◊ Liu 384, 413, KED 785.

‖ Lee 1958, 109 (Kor.-TM). Modern Jpn. *hiyoko* (JLTT 412) < Kor.

***pʻi̯àŋkʻi** door post, detail of a house: Tung. ***piaŋkV**; Mong. ***(h)enike**; Turk. ***jAŋak**; Jpn. ***pìnkùrái**.

PTung. ***piaŋkV** 1 shelf 2 lower tent cover (1 полка 2 нижняя покрышка чума): Evn. *hiêŋku* 2; Ul. *pêŋGa* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 36, 321.

PMong. ***(h)enike** door-post, lintel of a door (дверной косяк): WMong. *enike* (L 319); Kh. *enex*; Ord. *eneχe*.

PTurk. ***jAŋak** door post (дверной косяк): Karakh. (*qapuj-*) *jaŋaqï* (MK); Tat. *jaŋaq*; Bashk. *jaŋaq*; Oyr. *jāq*; Tv. *čāq*.

◊ DT 948, ЭСТЯ 4, 123-124. The root is traditionally considered merely a variant of **jaj̯ŋak* 'cheek, jaw' (v. sub **zi̯ăni*), but it may be possible to separate them etymologically. Tat. > Chuv. *janax* > Mari, Udm. *janak* (Федотов 2, 500).

PJpn. ***pìnkùrái** a cypress plank or stave (доска или перекладина из кипариса): MJpn. *figùré*.

◊ JLTT 406. The first syllable is usually treated as *pi 'cypress', but the second part is not clear, and the word may well be not a compound.

‖ The Turkic form raises some questions because it has actively merged with **jaj̯ŋak* 'cheek, jaw' < **zi̯ăni* q.v.

***pʻi̯ári** a k. of worm: Tung. ***piaru**; Mong. ***(h)irukai**; Jpn. ***pìrû**; Kor. ***pàr-**.

PTung. ***piaru** 1 worm (in meat) 2 moth 3 beetle (1 червь (в мясе) 2 моль 3 жук): Man. *faru* 1; Ul. *piru(n)* 2; Ork. *paraụ* 3; Nan. *pi̯ro*, *fi̯aro* 2; Ud. *pău* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 37.

PMong. ***(h)irukai** caterpillar (гусеница): WMong. *iruqai* (MXTTT); Kh. *jarxai*.

PJpn. ***pìrû** water leech (пиявка): OJpn. *p(j)iru*; MJpn. *firú*; Tok. *híru*; Kyo. *hìrû*; Kag. *hirú*.

◊ JLTT 408.

PKor. ***pàr-** worm, insect (червь, насекомое): MKor. *pàr'ai*; Mod. *pəlle*.

◊ Nam 256, KED 766.

‖ SKE 198, АПиПЯЯ 297.

***pʻi̯áru** to spin, plait, wrap: Tung. ***por-**; Mong. ***horiɣa-**, ***horči-**; Turk. ***ar-**; Kor. ***pòròkí**.

PTung. ***por-** 1 to spin, turn round 2 to weave (nets) (1 кружить(ся), вращать(ся) 2 плести (сети)): Evk. *horol-* 1; Evn. *herelkin-* 'to turn into'; Neg. *xoji̯l-* 1; Man. *foro-* 1; SMan. *forə-*, *foru-* 1 (270, 1776); Ul. *pori-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 47, 334.

PMong. ***horiɣa-**, ***horči-** 1 to wrap 2 to roll, rotate (1 заворачивать, закручивать 2 вращаться): MMong. *xorči-* 2 (SH), *orčul-* 2 (IM), *hura-* 1, *horči-/orči-* 2 (MA 238, 186, 270), *horči-* 2 (LH); WMong. *orija-*, *oruɣa-* 1 (L 618, 621) *orči-* 2 (L 616); Kh. *orō-* 1, *orči-* 2; Bur. *oŕō-* 1, *oršo-* 2; Kalm. *orā-* 1, *orča-* 2; Ord. *orō-* 1, *orčin* 'around'; Dag. *oŕē-* (Тод. Даг. 160) (< lit.); Dong. *xoro-* 1; Bao. *horə-*; S.-Yugh. *horō-*; Mongr. *furō-*, *xurō-* (SM 111, 185), *xuro-* (Minghe) 1.

◊ KW 288, 290, MGCD 531. Mong. > Kaz. *ora-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 469).

PTurk. ***ar-** 1 weft, woof 2 warp (1 утóк 2 основа ткани): OTurk. *arušï arqaɣï* (Ough.) 1; Karakh. *arqaɣ* (MK, IM) 1, *arïš* 2; Tur. *arɣač* (-ǯï) 1,

eriš, Osm. *ariš* 2; Az. *arɣaž* 1, *äriš* 2; Turkm. *arGač* 1, *arGa-* 'шить кое-как', *eriš* 2; MTurk. *arɣač* (Sangl.) 1, *ariš* (Sangl.) 2; Uzb. dial. *arɣa* 1; Uygh. *arqaq* 1; Khak. *arɣa-* 'вышивать гладью'; Oyr. *arkū* 1; Tv. *eriš* 2; Chuv. *ura* 1.

◊ VEWT 25, 26 (confused with **arka-*), EDT 216, 239, ЭСТЯ 1, 170, Федотов 2, 284, Лексика 396. Turk. > WMong. *arqaɣ*, Kalm. *arxəɣ* (KW 14, Щербак 1997, 101). The front row variant **eriĺ* is peculiar: it may reflect a merger with a different root, reflected in Chuv. *arla-* 'to spin', with possible parallels in Mong. *ere-* 'to wind, tie round', Nan. (Kur-Urm.) *erin* 'band, necking' (TMC 2, 463).

PKor. ***pòròkí** swaddlingclothes (пеленки): MKor. *pòròkí*.

◊ Nam 260.

‖ EAS 53, 126, Poppe 11, 98, Цинциус 1984, 44-45, Rozycki 79. Despite Doerfer MT 23, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. Kor. **pòròkí* can be alternatively compared with PT **bele-* 'to swaddle' (ЭСТЯ 2, 111-112).

***p'i̯ā̆rV** to split, crack: Tung. ***p[ia]ri-**; Mong. ***jara-**; Turk. ***jār-**.

PTung. ***p[ia]ri-** 1 to split 2 split, crack (1 расщеплять 2 щель, трещина): Evk. *hir-ke-* 1, *hiri-kte* 2; Evn. *hir* 2; Man. *ǰere-* 1, *ǰere-n*, *ǰi-qtu* 2; Ork. *pīri-kte* 2; Nan. *pi̯ari̯*, Bik. *ǰiri̯gda mōni̯* 'name of a tree for making bows' ("трескун-дерево").

◊ TMC 2, 327.

PMong. ***jara-** to split open, open wide (раскрываться, расщепляться): MMong. *jāra-* (IM), *jarā-* (MA); WMong. *jara-*, *ira-* (L 412, 428); Kh. *jara-*; Bur. *jara-*; Kalm. *ir-* (KPC) 'надрезать (кожу)'; Ord. *ir-*; Dong. *jara-*; Mongr. *jāra-* (SM 489).

PTurk. ***jār-** 1 to split 2 split, crack (1 рассекать, раскалывать 2 щель, трещина): OTurk. *jar-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jar-* 1 (MK); Tur. *jar-* 1; Gag. *jar-* 1; Az. *jar-* 1, *jar-ıG* 2; Turkm. *jār-* 1; Sal. *jar-* 1; MTurk. *jar-* 1 (AH); Uzb. *jɔr-* 1; Uygh. *ja(r)-* 1; Krm. *jar-* 1; Tat. *jar-* 1; Bashk. *jar-* 1; Kirgh. *ǰar-* 1; Kaz. *žar-* 1; KBalk. *ǰar-* 1; KKalp. *žar-* 1; Kum. *jar-* 1; Nogh. *jar-* 1; SUygh. *jar-* 1; Khak. *čar-* 1; Shr. *čar-* 1; Oyr. *jar-*, *ǰar-* 1; Tv. *čar-* 1; Chuv. *śor-* 1; Yak. *sar-kāx* (adj.) 'split'; Dolg. *sar-kāk* (adj.) 'split'.

◊ EDT 954-955, VEWT 188-189, ЭСТЯ 4, 135-137, Федотов 2, 139,Stachowski 209. Very widespread are the derivatives **jārik*, **jārma* 'crack, split' (see ЭСТЯ ibid.); Turk. **jārim* 'half' (ЭСТЯ 4, 147) > Mong. *ǰarim*, *ǰarimduq* (KW 470, Щербак 1997, 123).

‖ A Western isogloss.

***p'[i̯o]bu** nest: Tung. ***pubi / *pebi**; Mong. ***heɣür**; Turk. ***uja**.

PTung. ***pubi / *pebi** nest (гнездо): Evk. *huɣi*; *hewe* 'шалаш'; Evn. *hewi*; Neg. *xūɣī*; Man. *feje*; SMan. *fei* (2299); Ud. *xui*; Sol. *ubī*, *ūwī*.

◊ TMC 2, 337.

PMong. ***heɣür** nest (гнездо): MMong. *xe'ud* (SH), *he'ut* (HYt), *ă̆wur* (MA 168); WMong. *egür* (L 301); Kh. *ŭr*; Bur. *ŭr*; Kalm. *ŭr*; Ord. *ŭr*; Dag.

xeur (Тод. Даг. 176), *heure* (MD 161); Dong. *xo*; Bao. *xor, hor*; Mongr. *fər* (SM 100).

◊ KW 461, MGCD 685.

PTurk. ***uja*** nest (гнездо): OTurk. *uja* (OUygh.); Karakh. *uja* (MK); Tur. *juwa*; Gag. *juwa*; Az. *juwa*; MTurk. *juwa, uja* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *uja*; Uygh. *uwa, uga*; Krm. *juwa, uja*; Tat. *oja*; Bashk. *oja*; Kirgh. *uja*; Kaz. *uja*; KKalp. *uja*; Kum. *uja*; Nogh. *uja*; SUygh. *uja, oja* 'egg'; Khak. *uja*; Oyr. *uja*; Tv. *uja*; Tof. *uja*; Chuv. *jъʷva*; Yak. *uja*; Dolg. *uja*.

◊ VEWT 511, EDT 267, ЭСТЯ 4, 239, Егоров 73, Stachowski 242.

‖ VEWT 511 (with a dubious Mong. parallel), АПиПЯЯ 286. A Western isogloss. The TM vocalism is not quite clear (we would expect a diphthong *ia). Kor. *pogim(čari)* 'nest', compared with TM in SKE 204, cannot be related for phonetic reasons.

✱**pʻi̯ǒkʻe** pair, couple: Mong. ***(h)ekire***; Turk. ***ẹk(k)i***; Jpn. ***pə̀ká***; Kor. ***pə̀kɨ́-***.

PMong. ***(h)ekire*** twins (близнецы): WMong. *ikere, ikire* (L 401); Kh. *ixer*; Bur. *exir*; Kalm. *ikr*; Ord. *eker, ekir*.

◊ KW 206. Mong. *ikire* 'twins' > Evk. *ikirē* etc., see Doerfer MT 99, Rozycki 115.

PTurk. ***ẹk(k)i*** two (два): OTurk. *eki* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ẹki* (MK); Tur. *iki*; Gag. *iki*; Az. *iki*; Turkm. *iki*; Sal. *išky*; Khal. *äkki, äkkị*; MTurk. *iki* (AH, IM); Uzb. *ikki*; Uygh. *ikki*; Krm. *eki*; Tat. *ike*; Bashk. *ike*; Kirgh. *eki*; Kaz. *eki*; KBalk. *eki*; KKalp. *eki*; Kum. *eki*; Nogh. *eki*; SUygh. *šigi*; Khak. *eke*; Shr. *igi*; Oyr. *eki*; Tv. *ĩji*; Tof. *i'xi*; Chuv. *ikkə*; Yak. *ikki*; Dolg. *ikki*.

◊ VEWT 39, EDT 100-1, ЭСТЯ 1, 337-339, Егоров 67-68, Stachowski 124.

PJpn. ***pə̀ká*** other (другой): OJpn. *p(w)oka*; MJpn. *fòká*; Tok. *hòka*; Kyo. *hòká*; Kag. *hoká*.

◊ JLTT 413. Most dialects (and RJ) point to **pə̀ká*, but Tokyo indicates a variant **pə́ká*.

PKor. ***pə̀kɨ́-*** next, following (следующий): MKor. *pə̀kɨ́-*; Mod. *pəgim*.

◊ Nam 254, KED 758.

‖ EAS 93, Владимирцов 321, АПиПЯЯ 284. Mong. **(h)ekire* 'twins' = PT **ẹkiŕ* (ЭСТЯ 1, 252-254) (although it is frequently regarded as borrowed from Turk., see TMN 2, 190-191, Щербак 1997, 119-120, Rozycki 115, this is hardly the case; borrowed is Mong. *ikes* 'placenta', see Clark 1980, 39). A different etymology of the Japanese word (: MKor. *pask*) see Martin 238. Kor. has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**pʻi̯ole** blanket, skin (as covering): Tung. ***pul-sa***; Mong. ***hel-de-***; Turk. ***Eltiri***; Jpn. ***pərə***.

PTung. ***pul-sa*** blanket, sleeping bag (одеяло, спальный мешок): Evk. *hulla*; Evn. *hụlrъ*; Neg. *xola*; Ul. *pụlta*; Ork. *pụlta*; Nan. *polta*; Orch. *xukta*; Ud. *xulaha*; Sol. *ula*.

◊ TMC 2, 345.

PMong. ***hel-de-** to dress, soften, tan (of leather) (дубить, разминать (кожу)): WMong. *elde-* (L 307); Kh. *elde-*; Bur. *elde-*; Kalm. *eld-*; Ord. *elde-*; Bao. *fələ-*; S.-Yugh. *elde-* (< lit.).

◊ KW 119, MGCD 256.

PTurk. ***Eltiri** skin of kid or lamb (шкура козленка или ягненка, каракуль): Karakh. *elri, eldiri* (MK); Tur. *elteri* (dial.); Turkm. *elteri, elter* (dial.); MTurk. *eltirik* (IM); Uygh. *ältərä*; Tat. *iltĭr*; Bashk. *iltĭr*; Kaz. *eltĭrĭ*; KBalk. *eltĭrĭ, eltir*; KKalp. *eltiri*; Kum. *eltir*; Nogh. *eltiri*.

◊ EDT 135, ЭСТЯ 1, 269-270.

PJpn. ***pərə** cloak on armour (накидка на доспехах): MJpn. *foro*; Tok. *hóro*; Kyo. *hóro*; Kag. *hóro*.

◊ Accent is not quite clear (both Kyoto and Kagoshima may reflect literary influence).

‖ KW 119.

***p´i̯ŏlge** to pray, sacrifice: Tung. ***pulga-**; Mong. ***(h)ergül**; Turk. ***ạlki-**; Jpn. ***pə(n)k- (~-ua-)**.

PTung. ***pulga-** 1 to sacrifice 2 alms, charity 3 sacrifice (1 приносить жертву 2 дары, милостыня 3 жертва): Evk. *hulga-* 1; Man. *fulexu* 2; Ud. *xula* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 344.

PMong. ***(h)ergül** sacrifice, donation (жертвоприношение, пожертвование): WMong. *ergül* (L 326); Kh. *örgöl*; Bur. *ürgel*.

◊ The word appears to be quite transparently derived from *ergü-, örgü-* 'to raise, lift up' (also 'to offer, present') q. v. sub **ŏ́ri*. We suspect, however, that this may be a case of secondary reanalysis: **(h)ergül* would be a quite regular reflex of **(h)elgü-r* or **(h)elgü-l* = Turk. **ạlkĭl* 'blessing'. Note that in Lessing's dictionary we find separate entries: *ergül* 'donation, sacrifice' vs. *örgül* 'elevation' (L 641).

PTurk. ***ạlki-** 1 to bless, praise 2 blessing, praise 3 curse (1 благословлять, восхвалять 2 благословение, хвала 3 проклятие, проклинать): OTurk. *alqa-* (OUygh.) 1, *alqiš* (OUygh., Yen.) 2; Karakh. *alqiš* 2 (MK); Tur. *alkiš* 2; Az. *alGiš* 2; Turkm. *alqiš* 2; MTurk. *alqa-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔlqiš* 2; Uygh. *alqiš* 2; Krm. *alγiš* 2; Tat. *alqiš* 2; Bashk. *alqiš* 2; Kirgh. *alqa-* 1, *alqiš* 2; Kaz. *alγıs* 2; *alqa-* 1 (dial.); KBalk. *alγiš* 2; KKalp. *alγıs* 2; Kum. *alγiš* 2; SUygh. *alqıs* 2; Oyr. *alqa-* 1; Tv. *a'lγiš* 3; Chuv. *ĭlyan* 3; Yak. *alγā-* 1, *alγī* 2 (< Tuva); Dolg. *algā-* 'to shamanize' (< Tuva).

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 137-138, EDT 137-138, Егоров 343, Stachowski 31, Мудрак Дисс. 181 (regarding the Yak. form as borrowed < Tuva because of its vocalism).

PJpn. ***pə(n)k- (~-ua-)** to pray (молиться): OJpn. *p(w)ok-*; Tok. *koto-hog-*.

◊ JLTT 691.

‖ An interesting common Altaic religious term.

***pʹi̯oli (~ -Í-)** fly, midge: Tung. ***pulmi-kte**; Mong. ***hilaɣa-n**; Kor. ***pắrh**.

PTung. ***pulmi-kte** midge (мошка): Evk. *hunmīkte*; Evn. *humtъčen*; Neg. *xunmuɣekte*; Ul. *pulte, pumikte*; Ork. *pulikte, pumikte*; Nan. *purmikte*; Orch. *pumikte*; Ud. *xumukte*.

◊ TMC 2, 348. Evk. > Dolg. *hünmükte* (Stachowski 115).

PMong. ***hilaɣa-n** fly (муха): WMong. *ilaɣa* (МХТТТ); Kh. *jalān*; Bur. *ilāhan*; Kalm. *iləsn̥* 'midge(s)' (РКС); Dag. *xilā* (Тод. Дат.).

PKor. ***pắrh** fly (муха): MKor. *phắr, phắrì*; Mod. *phāri*.

◊ Nam 462, KED 1730.

‖ Mong. and Kor. reflect a common derivative **pʹi̯oli-gV*.

***pʹi̯ŏĺo** way, path; patch, precipice: Tung. ***pile-**; Turk. ***jōl**; Kor. ***pjər-**.

PTung. ***pile-** 1 thawed patch 2 open (ground) (1 проталина 2 открытое место): Evk. *hile, hilekē* 1, -kēn 2; Evn. *hileŋe* 1; Neg. *xilexe* 1; Man. *fili-ta-χun* 2; Ud. *sileŋe-gisi-* 'to form (of thawed ground patches)'.

◊ TMC 2, 324.

PTurk. ***jōl** road (дорога): OTurk. *jol* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jol* (MK, KB); Tur. *jol*; Gag. *jol*; Az. *jol*; Turkm. *jōl*; Sal. *jol*; Khal. *juōl*; MTurk. *jol* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *jo̯l*; Uygh. *jol*; Krm. *jol*; Tat. *jul*; Bashk. *jul*; Kirgh. *žol*; Kaz. *žol*; KBalk. *žol*; KKalp. *žol*; Kum. *jol*; Nogh. *jol*; SUygh. *jol*; Khak. *čol*; Shr. *čol*; Oyr. *ǰol*; Tv. *čol* 'fate'; Tof. *čol* 'fate'; Chuv. *śol*; Yak. *suol*; Dolg. *huol*.

◊ VEWT 205-6, EDT 917, ЭСТЯ 4, 29, 217-218, Федотов 2, 131, Лексика 531, Stachowski 112.

PKor. ***pjər-** precipice; road above precipice (обрыв; дорога над обрывом): MKor. *pjəro, pjər*; Mod. *pjəraŋ, pjəre, pjəru*.

◊ Nam 258, KED 775.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 283. Mong. *žol* 'luck', usually compared with PT **jōl* (see VEWT 206 etc.), should be rather regarded as a loanword (because of the specific meaning), see TMN 4, 226-227, Щербак 1997, 124. The TM form is compared to Kor. *pəl* 'meadow, plain' (SKE 196), for which another etymology is given in АПиПЯЯ (see **pʹi̯āla*). Note, however, that Kor. *pjər-* may be also derived from PA **pʹi̯āre* 'split, precipice' (q.v.).

***pʹi̯ŏĺo** star: Mong. ***hodu**; Turk. ***jul-duɣ (*-diɣ)**; Jpn. ***pósí**; Kor. ***pjər**.

PMong. ***hodu** star (звезда): MMong. *xodun* (HY 1, SH), *hudun* (IM), *hudun* (MA); WMong. *odu(n)* (L 600); Kh. *od*; Bur. *odon*; Kalm. *odn̥*; Ord. *udu*; Dag. *xodo, xod* (Тод. Дат. 176), *hode* (MD 162); Dong. *xodun*; Bao. *xodoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *hodən*; Mongr. *fōdi* (SM 99).

◊ KW 283. Mong. > Manchu *odontu* 'starred, having stars' (see Rozycki 166).

PTurk. ***jul-duɣ (*-diɣ)** star (звезда): OTurk. *jultuz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *julduz* (MK); Tur. *yıldız*; Gag. *yıldıs*; Az. *ulduz*; Turkm. *yıldız*; Sal. *jyldus*; Khal. *julduz*; MTurk. *julduz* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *julduz*; Uygh.

jultuz; Krm. *jildiz*; Tat. *joldiz*; Bashk. *jondoð*; Kirgh. *ǰildiz*; Kaz. *ǰu̯ldïz*; KBalk. *žulduz*; KKalp. *žuldïz*; Kum. *julduz*; Nogh. *juldïz*; SUygh. *juldïs*; Khak. *čiltïs*; Shr. *čiltïs*; Oyr. *ɗildïs*; Tv. *sïldïs*; Tof. *sïltïs*; Chuv. *śъʷldъʷr*; Yak. *sulus*; Dolg. *hulus*.

◊ VEWT 210, TMN 3, 260-1, EDT 922-3, ЭСТЯ 4, 279-280, Лексика 53, Stachowski 111.

PJpn. ***pə́sí*** star (звезда): OJpn. *p(w)osi*; MJpn. *fósí*; Tok. *hòshi*; Kyo. *hóshí*; Kag. *hóshi*.

◊ JLTT 415.

PKor. ***pjə̄r*** star (звезда): MKor. *pjə̄r*; Mod. *pjəl*.

◊ Liu 383, HMCH 151, KED 780.

‖ PKE 150, Martin 243, АПиПЯЯ 13, 36, 90, 277. In TM cf. perhaps Evn. *hildenre-* 'to dawn' (TMC 2, 324). In Turkic one would rather expect **juĺ-*, but the root is only used with the suffix *-du-ŕ, and in preconsonantal position *-Ĺ- and *-l- were neutralized ("Helimski's rule"). Note Turk. **jul-du-* = Mong. **ho-du-* (< **hol-du-*) (= Evk. *hil-de-*), with the same affixation throughout the Western Altaic area.

pʹi̯o̯po (*pʹò̯jpo)** to cut through, grind: Tung. ***pībē-; Mong. ***(h)öb-***; Turk. ***ob-***; Jpn. ***pə̀pur-***; Kor. ***pìpɨ́i-***.

PTung. ***pībē-*** to whet, sharpen (точить): Evk. *hīwē-*; Evn. *hīw-*; Neg. *xīwu-*; Man. *fojfo-*; Ul. *pīwe-*; Ork. *pīwē-*; Nan. *pi̯a-*; Orch. *xīwe* 'whetstone'; Ud. *sue* 'whetstone'; Sol. *īwe* 'whetstone'.

◊ TMC 2, 321-322.

PMong. ***(h)öb-*** 1 to flay, skin 2 small pieces, fragments (1 сдирать кожу, свежевать 2 кусочки, мелкие части): WMong. *öbči-* 1, *öbdel* 2 (L 627); Kh. *övči-* 1, *övdöl* 2; Bur. *übše-* 1, *übdel* 2; Kalm. *övče-* 1 (KPC 411); Ord. *öbči-* 1; Mog. *übči-* 'to cut in pieces' (Weiers).

PTurk. ***ob-*** to crush, mince, grind (давить, крошить, молоть, измельчать): Karakh. *uv-* (*ov-*) (MK, KB); Tur. *ov-*, *oɣ-*; Gag. *ū-*; Az. *ov-*; Turkm. *ov-*; Khal. *hu̯v-* 'rub'; Uygh. *uva-*; Krm. *uw-*; Tat. *u(w)-*; Bashk. *ɨw-*; KBalk. *uw-*; Kum. *uw-*; SUygh. *uɣ-*; Khak. *uɣ-*; Tv. *ū-*; Chuv. *ъʷv-* 'grind'; Yak. *ub-ax*.

◊ VEWT 510, ЭСТЯ 1, 401-403, 560-561, EDT 4-5.

PJpn. ***pə̀pur-*** to cut through (разрезать, зарезать): OJpn. *p(w)opur-*; MJpn. *fòbúr-*.

◊ JLTT 691.

PKor. ***pìpɨ́i-*** to bore through; to rub (сверлить; тереть): MKor. *pìpɨ́i-*; Mod. *pibi-*.

◊ Nam 277, KED 854.

‖ In TM cf. also derived forms: Orok *pīpu*, Ul. *pīpu*, Ud. *siɣi* 'drill' (TMC 2, 39) - possibly reflecting a contamination with **pi̯ubi* q.v. In

Turkic one would rather expect *job-, so perhaps we should rather reconstruct *p'ŏ̀jpo.

***p'i̯ŏp'[á]** to walk, go away: Tung. ***pupē-**; Mong. ***jabu-**; Turk. ***(j)ēp-**; Jpn. ***pápúr-**.

PTung. ***pupē-** to go away, become separated (отлучаться): Evn. *hupēn-*.

◊ TMC 2, 351. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***jabu-** to walk (ходить): MMong. *jabu-* (HY 34, SH), *jābu-, jabu-* (IM), *jabu-* (MA); WMong. *jabu-* (L 420); Kh. *java-*; Bur. *jaba-*; Kalm. *jow-*; Ord. *jawu-*; Mog. *jobu-*; Dag. *jaw(a)-, jau-* (Тод. Дат. 147), *jau-* (MD 169); Dong. *javu-*; Bao. *ju-*; S.-Yugh. *jawə-*; Mongr. *jū-* (SM 494), (MGCD, Minghe *jau-*).

◊ KW 220, MGCD 731, TMN 1, 546. Mong. > Man. *jō-* etc., see Poppe 1966, 196, Doerfer MT 82, Rozycki 222.

PTurk. ***(j)ēp-** 1 be on one's way 2 send (1 быть в пути 2 посылать): Turkm. *īber-* 2; Uzb. *ibɛr-, jubɔr-* 2; Uygh. *ebɛr-* 2; Krm. *jeber-*; Tat. *žibɛr-* 2; Bashk. *jebɛr-* 2; Kirgh. *ǯiber-* 2; Kaz. *žiber-* 2; KKalp. *žiber-*; Nogh. *jiber-* 2; Chuv. *jabal-* 1; Yak. *īp-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 322-324, Мудрак Дисс. 198. The explanation < *id-bar- 'lead and take' is clearly unsatisfactory.

PJpn. ***pápúr-** 1 to roam, wander 2 to throw away (1 бродить 2 выбрасывать, оставлять): OJpn. *papur-* 2; MJpn. *fáfúra-* 1, *fafur-* 2; Tok. *hȍr-*; Kyo. *hŏr-*; Kag. *hŏr-*.

◊ JLTT 692. MJ *fafi-iri* 'entrance', mod. *hairu* 'to enter' may represent the same root (influenced by *pap- 'to crawl' q. v. sub *p'ŏba).

‖ Дыбо 13. The etymology seems convincing, despite some vocalic problems (we would either expect *jāp- in Turkic or *pəp- ~ *pup- in Jpn.).

***p'i̯ȍrí** back, West: Tung. ***perki-n / *purki-n**; Mong. ***hörö-ne**; Turk. ***ār-t**; Jpn. ***pìntárí**.

PTung. ***perki-n / *purki-n** West (запад): Jurch. *fu-ri-si* (591); Ul. *perxi(n)*; Nan. *perxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 48.

PMong. ***hörö-ne** West (запад): MMong. *xorone* (HY 50), *xorene, xorone* (SH); WMong. *öröne,* (L 644) *örüne*; Kh. *örnö*; Bur. *ürne*.

PTurk. ***ār-t** 1 back 2 mountain pass (1 спина, задняя сторона; 2 перевал): OTurk. *art* 1, 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *art* 1, 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *art* (-dı) 1; Gag. *ārd* 1; Az. *ard* 1; Turkm. *ārt* 1; Sal. *ardi* 1; Khal. *hārt* 1; MTurk. *art* 1 (Pav.C), 2 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *ɔrt* 1; Uygh. *art* 1; Krm. *art* 1; Tat. *art* 1; Bashk. *art* 1; Kirgh. *art* 1, 2; Kaz. *art* 1; KBalk. *art* 1; KKalp. *art* 1; Kum. *art* 1; Nogh. *art* 1; SUygh. *ard; art* 1; Shr. *artıy* 'shoal'; Oyr. *art* 1; Tv. *a'rt* 1; Tof. *a'rt* 1; Yak. *ārtık* 2.

◊ EDT 200-201, VEWT 26-27, ЭСТЯ 1, 179-180.

PJpn. ***pìntárí*** left (левый): OJpn. *p(j)idari*; MJpn. *fidári*; Tok. *hìdari*; Kyo. *hìdàrí*; Kag. *hidarí*.

◊ JLTT 405.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 12. The Jpn. match is somewhat dubious semantically (possible if one assumes 'left' < 'West') and has an irregular low tone.

pʹi̯ŏŕe (~ *pʹĕŕo)** to screw, carve, scratch: Tung. ***pur- / *per-; Mong. ***(h)erü-***; Turk. ****ẹŕ-***; Jpn. ****pər-***.

PTung. ***pur- / *per-*** 1 screw 2 to engrail 3 bore, drill 4 to gnaw (of mice, rats) 5 notch, scar (1 винт, винтовая нарезка 2 делать винтовую нарезку 3 сверлить 4 грызть (о мышах, крысах) 5 зазубрина): Evk. *huriwūk* 1, *huril-* 2, *herewul* 3; *purul-* 3 (< **Nan.*); Man. *furdan* 5; Nan. *furgi-* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 44, 303, 352.

PMong. ***(h)erü-*** to dig, hack (копать, рубить, долбить): WMong. *erü-* (L 332).

PTurk. ****ẹŕ-*** 1 to scratch, scrape 2 to knead, press 3 to grind, crush 4 to soak, dilute 5 to rub, smear (1 скрести, царапать 2 разминать, давить 3 толочь, растирать 4 мочить, разжижать 5 растирать, обмазывать): Karakh. *ez-* (MK) 1; Tur. *ez-* 2, 3, 4; Gag. *ez-* 2, 3; Az. *äz-* 2; Turkm. *ez-* 4; Khal. *äz-* 2; MTurk. *ez-* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.) 5; Uzb. *ez-* 2, 5; Uygh. *äz-* 2, 3; Krm. *ez-* 2, 3; Tat. *iz-* 2; Bashk. *iδ-* 2; Kirgh. *ez-* 2; Kaz. *ez-* 2, 4; KBalk. *ez-* 2, 3; KKalp. *ez-* 2; Kum. *ez-* 3; Nogh. *ez-* 2; Chuv. *ir-* 2, 4.

◊ EDT 279, ЭСТЯ 1, 235-236, Егоров 71, Федотов 1, 170.

PJpn. ****pər-*** to dig, carve, engrave (копать, вырезать, гравировать): OJpn. *p(w)or-*; MJpn. *fôr-*; Tok. *hór-*; Kyo. *hór-*; Kag. *hòr-*.

◊ JLTT 693.

‖ Poppe 103. The Jpn. form may reflect a merger with another root > Mong. **bula-* 'to dig, bury'.

pʹi̯ŏtʹe (~ -t-, *pʹi̯ătʹu)** light: Tung. ****puta-; Turk. ****ạt-***; Kor. ****pjə̀t***.

PTung. ****puta-*** 1 to blaze 2 light of fireflies 3 firefly 4 dark red (1 загораться, сверкать, блестеть 2 свет (от светляков) 3 светляк 4 темно-красный): Evk. *huta-l-* 1; Evn. *hutā-l-* 1; Neg. *xotol-xotol* 1; Man. *fataqu* 4; Ul. *pụta-lụ-* 1, *pụta-ǯa(n)* 2; Ork. *pụtamụ* 3; Nan. *potal* 1; Orch. *xuta-rā-* 1; Ud. *xuta-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 356. There is also a variant **pude-*, see TMC 1, 475.

PTurk. ****ạt-*** to dawn (рассветать): Karakh. *at-* (MK, Tefs.); Tur. *at-*; Gag. *at-*; Turkm. *at-*; MTurk. *at-* (Abush.); Uygh. *at-*; Tat. *at-*; Bashk. *at-*; Kirgh. *at-*; Kaz. *at-*; KBalk. *at-*; KKalp. *at-*; Kum. *at-*; Nogh. *at-*; Khak. *at-*; Shr. *at-*; Oyr. *at-*; Tv. *a't-*; Tof. *a't-*; Yak. *ɨt-*.

◊ Usually confused with **at-* 'to shoot, throw', but certainly distinct.

PKor. ****pjə̀t*** light (свет): MKor. *pjàt*; Mod. *pjat* [*pjəth*].

◊ Nam 258, KED 786.

‖ SKE 199.

✱**pʻi̯udo (~ pʻi̯odo)** to wake, cause: Tung. ***pidu- (~ -ü-)***; Mong. ***(h)uda-***; Turk. ***od-***.

PTung. ***pidu- (~ -ü-)*** to instigate, cause (заставлять, обязывать): Evn. *hidu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 323. Attested only in Evn., with possible parallels in Turkic and Mongolian.

PMong. ***(h)uda-*** to conceive, design, instigate (затеять, задумать): WMong. *uda-* (L 861: *udu-*); Kh. *uda-*; Ord. *udu-*.

PTurk. ***od-*** 1 awake 2 to wake up (intr.) 3 to wake up (trans.) (1 бодрствующий 2 просыпаться 3 будить): OTurk. *oduɣ* 1, *odun-* 2, *odɣur-* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *одуɣ* 1, *одун-* 2, *одɣур-* 3 (MK); Tur. *ujan-* 2, (dial.) *ujar-* 3; Gag. *ujan-* 2; Az. *ojan-* 2; Turkm. *ojan-* 2, *ojar-* 3; MTurk. *ujan-* 2, *ujat-* 3 (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ujɣɔn-* 2; Uygh. *o(j)ɣan-* 2; Krm. *ojan-*, *ujan-* 2, *ojat-* 3; Tat. *ujan-* 2; Bashk. *ujan-* 2; Kirgh. *ojɣon-* 2; Kaz. *ojan-* 2, *ojat-* 3; KBalk. *ujan-* 2, *ujat-* 3; KKalp. *ojan-* 2, *ojat-* 3; Kum. *ujan-* 2, *ujat-* 3; Nogh. *ujan-* 2, *ujat-* 3; SUygh. *ozɣan-* 2; Khak. *usxun-* 2, *usxur-* 3; Oyr. *ojɣon-*, *ujɣun-* 2, *ujɣus* 3; Tv. *odun-* 2; Chuv. *vъʷran-* 2, *vъʷrat-* 3.

◊ EDT 47, 48, 62, VEWT 357, ЭСТЯ 1, 430-432.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**pʻi̯ùgV** to flay, cut: Tung. ***püg-***; Mong. ***(h)öɣe-le-***; Turk. ***eg-dü***; Jpn. ***pà***; Kor. ***púi-***, ***pó***.

PTung. ***püg-*** to flay (свежевать): Evk. *hiɣ-*; Evn. *hiɣ-*; Neg. *xiɣ-*; Ul. *puju-*; Ork. *puji-*; Nan. *puji-*; Orch. *sī-* (Khad.); Ud. *sī-*.

◊ TMC 2, 322.

PMong. ***(h)öɣe-le-*** to trim, hack (подрубать, обрубать, долбить, соскребать): WMong. *öɣele-* (L 631); Kh. *ө̄le-*; Bur. *ө̄le-*; Kalm. *ө̄l-*; Ord. *ө̄lö-*.

◊ KW 304.

PTurk. ***eg-dü*** a curved knife (кривой нож): OTurk. *egdü* (OUygh.); Karakh. *egdü* (MK); Tur. *egdi* (dial.); Turkm. *egdi*; Kirgh. *ijdi*; Chuv. *avdъ*; Yak. *iät*.

◊ EDT 102, VEWT 37. The semantics must have been secondarily influenced by **eg-* 'to bend, curve'.

PJpn. ***pà*** blade (лезвие): OJpn. *pa*; MJpn. fa; Tok. *há*; Kyo. *hà*; Kag. *hà*.

◊ JLTT 395.

PKor. ***púi-***, ***pó*** 1 to reap, mow 2 plough (1 косить, жать 2 плуг): MKor. *púi-* 1, *pó* 2; Mod. *pī-* (dial.); *posip* 'plough, ploughshare'.

◊ Nam 259, 269, KED 792, 850.

‖ Poppe 11 compares the Mong. form with TM **pule-* which is less likely. Jpn. *pà* and MKor. *pó* reflect a contraction < **pi̯ugV-ga*. An ex-

pressive root with not quite clear vocalic correspondences, rather difficult to distinguish from several similar: cf. **pokʻe, *pʻŭge, *pʻago.*

***pʻ[i̯ŭ]ju** a k. of tree: Tung. ***pōj-, *pōj-ki- (> *piā-kī-)**; Mong. ***hoj**; Turk. ***i, *i-(ń)gač**; Jpn. ***pí**; Kor. ***pə-**.

PTung. ***pōj-, *pōj-ki- (> *piā-kī-)** 1 birch 2 larch 3 swamp, low forest (1 береза 2 лиственница 3 болото, тундра): Evk. *hōj*, dial. *hēj* 3, *hê-kī* 2; Evn. *hā̄-ki̯ta* 2; Neg. *xê-xi-ta, xê-nakta* 2; Man. *fa* 1; Ul. *pê* 1; Ork. *pê* 1; Nan. *pêa* 1; Sol. *oi* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 36, 319-320, 330. Despite Poppe 1972, 99, **pōj* is hardly borrowed < Mong.

PMong. ***hoj** 1 wood, forest 2 mountain (1 лес 2 гора): MMong. *xoi* (HY 2, SH) 1; WMong. *oi* 1; Kh. *oj* 1; Bur. *oj*; Kalm. *ō̃* 1; Ord. *öi* 1; Dag. *oi* (Тод. Дар. 159, MD 200) (< lit.); Dong. *xoj* 1; Bao. *xi* 2; Mongr. *fə̄* (SM 99), *xoj* (Minghe) 1.

◊ KW 303, TMN 1, 541-542.

PTurk. ***i, *i-(ń)gač** tree (1 дерево 2 лес): OTurk. *i̯yač* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *ji̯yač* (MK) 1; Tur. *ayač* 1; Gag. *āč* 1; Az. *ayač* 1; Turkm. *aGač* 1; Sal. *ayač*, -š 1 (ССЯ); Khal. *hayač* 1; MTurk. *ayaǯ* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *jɔɣɔč* 1; Uygh. *jayač* 1; Krm. *ayač*, -c 1; Tat. *ayač* 1; Bashk. *ayas* 1; Kirgh. *ǯi̯yač* 1; Kaz. *ayaš* 1, 2; KBalk. *ayač* 1, 2; KKalp. *ayaš* 1; Kum. *ayač* 1, 2; Nogh. *ayas* 1, 2; SUygh. *ji̯yaš* 1; Khak. *ayas* 1, 2; Shr. *ayaš* 1, 2; Oyr. *ayaš* 1, 2; Tv. *i̯ǰaš* 1, 2; Tof. *ńeš* 1; Chuv. *ĭ̯ĭvъ́ś* 1; Yak. *mas* 1; Dolg. *mas* 1.

◊ VEWT 7, ЭСТЯ 1, 71-73, TMN 2, 73f, EDT 79-80, Егоров 83, Лексика 104, Stachowski 176. The form contains perhaps PT **i* 'bush, tree' as the first component (for OT *i* see EDT 1), cf. the OT combination *i i̯yač*; but the second element is yet unclear.

PJpn. ***pí** Japanese cypress (кипарисовик японский): OJpn. *pji*; MJpn. *fi*; Tok. *hìnoki, hínoki*.

◊ JLTT 407.

PKor. ***pə-** birch (береза): Mod. *pə-n-namu*.

◊ SKE 199. Cf. also MKor. *phí-nàmò*, mod. *phi-namu* (Nam 465, KED 1772) 'linden tree'.

‖ SKE 199 (Turk.-Tung.-Kor.), Цинциус 1984, 37-38, АПиПЯЯ 284, Дыбо 11, Лексика 104. A rather complicated case, because of contractions and compounds. For the second part of the PT compound cf. perhaps Mong. *gesi-γü(n)* 'branch'. The old compound **pʻi̯ŭju-*gVša*, beside Turk. **i̯gač*, may be reflected in OJ *pàjàsi* 'forest', TM **pā(j)k[š]a* 'wood' (TMC 2, 311)).

***pʻi̯ukò** a k. of rope, embroidery: Tung. ***püKV-**; Mong. ***(h)ugulǯa**; Turk. ***oka**; Jpn. ***puki**.

PTung. ***püKV-** sealine, rope (of horse hair) (леска, бечевка (из конского волоса)): Evn. *hikъr*; Ork. *pūla*; Nan. *pōr*; Orch. *xū*.

◊ TMC 2, 323.

PMong. ***(h)ugulǯa*** spiral embroidery (спиральная вышивка, орнамент): WMong. *uɣulǯa, uɣalǯa* (L 864); Kh. *ugalʒ*; Bur. *ugalzatūl-* 'вышивать узоры'; Ord. *ugʷälǯi, ugulǯi*.

PTurk. ***oka*** gimp (позумент): Tat. *uqa*; Bashk. *uqa*; Kirgh. *oqo*; Kaz. *oqa*; KBalk. *oqa*; KKalp. *oqa*; Nogh. *oqa*.

◊ VEWT 460. A local Kypchak word.

PJpn. ***puki*** lapel of lining (отворот подкладки): Tok. *fuki*.

‖ The Mong. form is homonymous with **ugulǯa* 'mountain deer' and may be unrelated ("deer embroidery"?).

***pʹi̯ula** ash tree: Tung. ***pula**; Mong. **hulija-sun**; Jpn. **pari**.

PTung. ***pula*** ash tree, asp tree, poplar (ясень, осина, тополь): Evk. *hula*; Evn. *hul*; Neg. *xol*; Man. *fulχa*; Jurch. *fulto* 'каштан' (121); Ul. *pul*; Ork. *pulu*; Nan. polo; Orch. *xulu*; Ud. *xulu*; Sol. *ulu*.

◊ TMC 2, 342-343. Evk. *hula, hologdan* > Dag. *xolordan* (Тод. Даг. 177).

PMong. ***hulija-sun*** ash tree, poplar, aspen (ясень, тополь, осина): WMong. *ulijasu(n)* (L 873); Kh. *ulijas(an)*; Bur. *ulʹāha(n)*; Kalm. *ulāsn*; Ord. *ulāsu*; Dag. *olēs* (< lit.), *xolordan mōd*; Dong. *xulasun*.

◊ KW 448, MGCD 673.

PJpn. ***pari*** black alder (японская ольха): OJpn. *pari*; Tok. *han-no-ki*.

◊ JLTT 399.

‖ EAS 55, KW 448, Цинциус 1984, 54, Rozycki 81. Despite Doerfer MT 23, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. In Turkic cf. Bashk. *jɨla* 'ash-tree' - although attested only in Bashkir, a perfect semantic and phonetic match for this root.

***pʹi̯un[e]** a small wild animal: Tung. ***püń-**; Mong. **hünegen**; Turk. **enük (~ *ünek)**.

PTung. ***püń-*** 1 jerboa, flying squirrel, mole 2 weasel 3 hedgehog (1 пищуха 2 ласка 3 еж): Evk. *hiń̓ekī* 1; Neg. *xiń̓exī* 2; Ul. *puntulče* 3; Nan. *punčilkē* 3 (> Neg. *punčulkēn* id.).

◊ TMC 2, 43, 326.

PMong. ***hünegen*** fox (лиса): MMong. *xunegan* (HY 10), *h[o]nägän* (IM), *hunägän* (MA), *hongen* (LH); WMong. *ünege(n)* (L 1008); Kh. *üneg(en)*; Bur. *ünege(n)*; Kalm. *üngn̥* 'female of a wild animal or bird'; Ord. *ünege*; Dag. *xunug(u)* (Тод. Даг. 180), *hunehe* (MD 166); Dong. *funieɣe*; S.-Yugh. *heneɣen, henegen*; Mongr. *funige, xunige* (SM 108, 183), *funəgə*.

◊ KW 458, MGCD 694.

PTurk. ***enük (~ *ünek)*** young of a wild animal, puppy (детеныш дикого животного, щенок): OTurk. *enük* (OUygh.); Karakh. *enük* (MK); Tur. *enik, enǯek*; Gag. *jenik*; Az. *änix* (dial.); MTurk. *enük* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *enük* (Chag.); Shr. *ünegeš*; Oyr. *ünegeš*; Tv. *enik*; Chuv. *anʒ̆ăk*; Yak. *ünüges*; Dolg. *ünüges*.

◊ EDT 183, VEWT 44, ЭСТЯ 1, 281-283, Егоров 29, Stachowski 251.

‖ A Western isogloss, with not quite secure correspondences: in TM one would rather expect **pun-*. Thus it is not excluded that the Evk. and Evn. forms reflect a vowel metathesis < **puni-ki*.

***pʹi̯ŭŋi** other: Tung. ***puŋtu**; Turk. ***öŋi**; Jpn. ***pina**.

PTung. ***puŋte** other, someone else's (другой, чужой): Evk. *huŋtu*; Evn. *hõntъ*; Neg. *xöŋtö*; Orch. *xonto, xoŋto*; Ud. *xoŋto*; Sol. *entū*.

◊ TMC 2, 349-350.

PTurk. ***öŋi** other (другой): OTurk. *öŋi* (OUygh.); Karakh. *öŋi* (MK); Turkm. *öŋŋe* 'the rest'; Krm. *öŋge, oŋga*; Tat. *üŋgä* (dial.); Kirgh. *öŋgö*; Kaz. *öŋge*; KKalp. *öŋge*; Kum. *oŋge* (dial.); Nogh. *öŋge*.

◊ EDT 170-171, ЭСТЯ 1, 537-538, VEWT 372 (> Kalm. *öŋgẽn*, KW 297).

PJpn. ***pina** province, barbarians (провинция, варвары): OJpn. *pjina*; MJpn. *fina*; Tok. *hina*.

◊ JLTT 407.

‖ TMC 2, 350.

***pʹi̯ùŋi** to twist, twirl: Tung. ***puŋ-**; Turk. ***eŋir-**; Jpn. ***pìniàr-**.

PTung. ***puŋ-** 1 to graze, brush against 2 to shake (1 задевать, зацеплять, трогать 2 шевелить, качать): Evk. *huŋna-* 1; Evn. *huŋri-* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 349.

PTurk. ***eŋir-** 1 to spin 2 to surround (1 крутить 2 окружать): OTurk. *eŋir-* (OUygh.) 1; MTurk. *eŋir-* (Буд.) 2; Tv. *ẽr-* 1.

◊ EDT 113, VEWT 37.

PJpn. ***pìniàr-** to twist, twirl (крутить, вертеть): MJpn. *finèr-*; Tok. *hinér-*; Kyo. *hínér-*; Kag. *hìnèr-*.

◊ JLTT 689.

‖ Delabialization in PT (**öŋir-* would be expected) must be explained by the influence of **egir-* q.v.

***pʹi̯ŭ̀ri** to be afraid, angry: Tung. ***purkē-**; Mong. ***hurin**; Jpn. ***pìrù-m-**.

PTung. ***purkē-** 1 to be bored 2 to be angry (1 скучать, тосковать 2 сердиться): Evk. *hurkē-* 1; Evn. *hörken-* 1; Man. *fuḱe-, fuče-* 2; Orch. *xokkosi-*; Ud. *xokoho* (adv.).

◊ TMC 2, 45, 353.

PMong. ***hurin** anger (гнев): WMong. *urin* (L 884); Kh. *urin*; Bur. *uri gari bološohon* 'to be in bad spirits'; Kalm. *uŕŋ*; Dong. *xō*; Bao. *hor*.

◊ KW 451.

PJpn. ***pìrù-m-** to retreat frightened, to run away (в страхе отступать перед ч.-л., бежать от ч.-л.): MJpn. *firù-m-*; Tok. *hirúm-*; Kyo. *hírúm-*; Kag. *hìrùm-*.

◊ JLTT 690.

‖ Because of the loss of initial **pʹ-* in Turk. the root may interfere with **ȍr(e)ke* q.v.

✱**pʻi̯úsa** to take off, scrape off: Tung. ***pusi-**; Mong. ***hisuge**; Jpn. ***pásám-**; Kor. ***pàs-**.

PTung. ***pusi-** to shave, scrape off (состригать, соскабливать): Evk. *hus-*; Evn. *hụs-*; Neg. *xos-*; Man. *fusi-*; Ul. *pụsị-*; Ork. *pụsị-*; Nan. *posị-*; Orch. *xusi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 355.

PMong. ***hisuge** tongs (щипцы): Dag. *šisug, xisug* (Тод. Даг. 184), *isū* 'tweezers' (MD 174).

PJpn. ***pásám-** to shear (стричь, состригать): MJpn. *fásám-*; Tok. *hasám-*; Kyo. *hásám-*; Kag. *hàsàm-*.

◊ This tone variant seems to have been originally different from **pàsàm-* < **pìsa* q.v., but modern dialects have merged the two forms completely.

PKor. ***pàs-** to strip off, take off (clothes); naked (сдирать, снимать (одежду); голый): MKor. *pàs-*; Mod. *pət-* / pat- [-s-].

◊ Nam 249, KED 735, 771.

‖ In Kor. cf. also also *pskə́-tì-* 'to perish, disappear', *pskə̌-* 'to strip off skin, peel', modern *pasjə-ǯida* 'crumble, go to pieces'; see SKE 192, 199, EAS 101-102; Цинциус 1984, 56. The isolated Daghur form could be a borrowing from Tungus (derivatives from this root can also mean 'scissors', 'razor', 'tweezers' - cf. Evk. *husiwun*, Evn. *hụhoŋko*, Orok *pụsīqqụ* etc.) - but the immediate source is unclear. On a possible Turkic reflex see under **isV*.

✱**pʻi̯ŭsi** to sprinkle: Tung. ***pisu- / *pusu-**; Mong. ***hösür-**; Turk. ***üskür-**; Kor. ***pòsòi- / *pusii-**.

PTung. ***pisu- / *pusu-** to sprinkle (брызгать): Evk. *husu-*; Evn. *hus-*; Neg. *xusi-*; Man. *fisi-, fise-, fusu-*; SMan. *fusu-* (1658); Ul. *pisuri-*; Ork. *pisitči-, possolị-*; Nan. *pisi-, fisi-, fuksu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 39, 42, 355.

PMong. ***hösür-** 1 to sprinkle 2 to pour (1 брызгать 2 лить): WMong. *ösür-* 1 (L 1014: *üsür-*); Kh. *üsre-* 1; Kalm. *ösr-* 1; Dag. *xesurə-* (Тод. Даг. 176: *xesre-*); Mongr. *fiʒuru-, fuʒuru-* (SM 103) 2.

◊ KW 301.

PTurk. ***üskür-** to cough, sprinkle (from mouth) (кашлять, брызгать (ртом)): Tur. *öksür-*; Gag. *üsür-*; Az. *öskür-*; Turkm. *üsgür-*; Khal. *ệsür-*; MTurk. *öksür-* (Houts., Pav. C.); Krm. *öksür-, öksir-*; Khak. *üskür-*; Chuv. *üzər-*.

◊ VEWT 376, ЭСТЯ 1, 637-638.

PKor. ***pòsòi- / *pusii-** to wash, sprinkle (мыть, брызгать): MKor. *pòsòi- / pusoi-*; Mod. *pusi-*.

◊ Nam 261, 265, KED 816.

‖ EAS 54, 149, KW 301, Poppe 11, 65, ОСНЯ 2, 102, Цинциус 1984, 50. Cf. also an expressive OJ form: *bjisi-bjisi* 'sound of wiping one's nose'.

✱**pʻi̯ù̯so** carving, sign: Tung. ***pŭ̄si-ke-***; Kor. ***psí-***.

PTung. ***pŭ̄si-ke-*** 1 tablet for writing 2 tablet for cutting tobacco (1 дощечка для письма 2 доска для резки табака): Evn. *hīsъ̄q* 2; Man. *fusixen* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 477, 2, 328.

PKor. ***psí-*** to write (писать): MKor. *psi-*, *ssí-*, *sí-*; Mod. *s:i-*.

◊ Liu 484, KED 1023.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**pʻŏ̀ba** to crawl, squat: Tung. ***pebi-***; Mong. ***(h)oji-či-***; Jpn. ***pàp-***.

PTung. ***pebi-*** to squat (сидеть на корточках, поджав ноги): Evk. *hewič-*, *hewē-*; Evn. *hewdē-*.

◊ TMC 2, 358.

PMong. ***(h)oji-či-*** to fall, tumble (падать, спотыкаться): WMong. *ojiči-* (L 604); Kh. *ojči-*.

PJpn. ***pàp-*** to crawl (ползти): OJpn. *pap-*; MJpn. *fâf-*; Tok. *há-*; Kyo. *há-*; Kag. *hà-*.

◊ JLTT 686.

‖ In TM we must suppose **pebi-* < **pobi-* (with a frequent confusion of e and o after labials).

✱**pʻŏ̀či (~ -e)** spark; to extinguish: Tung. ***pōsi-***; Turk. ***öč-***.

PTung. ***pōsi-*** 1 spark 2 glowing or extinguished coal 3 ray (1 искра 2 горящий или потухший уголек 3 луч): Evk. *hōsin* 1; Evn. *hosъ̄n* 1; Neg. *xosi̯nčā* 2; Man. *foson* 3; Ul. *posi̯* 1; Ork. *posi̯(n)* 1; Nan. *posī̯* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 334-335.

PTurk. ***öč-*** to extinguish, go out (of fire) (гаснуть): OTurk. *öč-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *öč-* (MK, KB); Tur. dial. *öč-*; Turkm. *öč-*; Khal. *hič-*; MTurk. *öč-* (Sangl., Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *u̯č-*; Uygh. *öč-*; Tat. *üč-*; Kirgh. *öč-*; Kaz. *öš-*; KBalk. *öčül-*; KKalp. *öš-*; Khak. Sag., Koib. *ös-*; Shr. *öč-*; Oyr. *öč-*; Tv. *öš-*; Yak. *ös-*.

◊ VEWT 368, EDT 19-20, ЭСТЯ 1, 559-560.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; cf. **pʻučV* (on a possible Mong. reflex see under **ōtʻa*).

✱**pʻŏ̄gè** to be proud, rejoice: Mong. ***(h)öɣegsi-***; Turk. ***ög-***; Jpn. ***pákár-***.

PMong. ***öɣegsi-*** to develop a taste or liking for; to be importunate (входить во вкус чего-л.; быть настойчивым): WMong. *ögegsi-* (MXTTT); Kh. *ŏ̄gši-*; Bur. *ŏ̄gšŏ̄-* 'to encourage'.

PTurk. ***ög-*** 1 to praise 2 to rejoice (1 хвалить 2 радоваться): OTurk. *ög-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.), *ögir-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ög-* 1 (MK); Tur. *öŋ-*, *öv-* 1; Turkm. *öw-* 1; Krm. *öv-* 1; Tv. *ōrü-* 2; Yak. *üör-* 2; Dolg. *üör-* 2.

◊ EDT 100, 113, VEWT 369, ЭСТЯ 1, 494-495, Stachowski 251.

PJpn. ***pə́kə́r-*** to be proud (гордиться): OJpn. *p(w)okor-*; MJpn. *fókór-*; Tok. *hokór-*; Kyo. *hókór-*; Kag. *hokór-*.

◊ JLTT 692. The tone in Tokyo is irregular (*hòkor-* would be expected).

‖ Cf. also Evk. *heɣe-* 'to sing and dance'.

✱**p'[ò]jamV** snake: Tung. ***püjmur***; Mong. ***jamu***; Turk. ***uman***; Jpn. ***pàim(p)V***; Kor. ***pǎjàm***.

PTung. ***püjmur*** dragon, monster (resembling a constrictor, crocodile or sheat-fish) (дракон, чудовище (напоминающее удава, крокодила или сома)): Neg. *ximu*; Ul. *pujmu(l)*; Ork. *pomoį*; Nan. *pujmur*; Orch. *ximu*, *sīmu*.

◊ TMC 1, 466.

PMong. ***jamu*** 1 worm (causing e. g. toothache) 2 farcy, glanders (1 червь (вызывающий, напр., зубную боль) 2 сап): WMong. *jamu*, (L 426) jama; Kh. *jam* 2; Kalm. *jam* 1; Ord. *jamu*, jama 'chancre, cancer'; S.-Yugh. *jam* 2.

◊ KW 214, MGCD 734.

PTurk. ***uman*** worm (червь): Chuv. *ъʷman*.

◊ Isolated in Chuvash, but probably archaic.

PJpn. ***pàim(p)V*** snake (змея): OJpn. *pemji*; MJpn. *fèmí*; Tok. *hébi*; Kyo. *hèbí*; Kag. *héT*.

◊ JLTT 404.

PKor. ***pǎjàm*** snake (змея): MKor. *pǎjàm*; Mod. *pām*.

◊ Nam 242, KED 756.

‖ Martin 251, АПиПЯЯ 91, 278. Due to contractions of the sequence *-VjV-, the vowels are somewhat difficult to reconstruct.

✱**p'oje (~ -i̯u-,-i̯o-, -i)** pain, sore: Tung. ***puje***; Mong. ***höɣe***.

PTung. ***puje*** wound, sore (рана, болячка): Evk. *huje*; Evn. *huj*; Neg. *xuje*; Man. *feje*; SMan. *fei* (708); Ul. *puje*; Ork. *puje*; Nan. *puje*; Orch. *xije*, *sije*; Ud. *sie*.

◊ TMC 2, 338.

PMong. ***höɣe*** 1 pus, abscess 2 to rot (1 гной, нарыв 2 гнить): MMong. *hu'ugai* (SH) 'es möge stinken, verdorben sein (ondegen)', *hesün* (or *hoesun*) 1 (LH); WMong. *öɣe-ri* 1 (L 632); Kh. *ōrs* 1; Kalm. *ōŕ* 1 (KPC); Dag. *xū-* 2; Dong. *fu-* 2; Bao. *hu-* 2; S.-Yugh. *hŭ-* 2; Mongr. *fū-* 2.

◊ MGCD 408.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 46. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***pʻojme (~ -o)** trousers, stockings: Tung. ***pe(j)m-**; Mong. ***hojimu-su**; Turk. ***ojma**; Jpn. ***pəmuta**.

PTung. ***pe(j)m-** boots (сапоги, унты): Evk. *hemčurē*; Neg. *xemčira*; Man. *foǯi, fomo(či)*; Jurch. *fom-či* (556); Ork. *pêmo-nị* 'top of boots'; Orch. *xebbire*; Sol. *xočoro*.

◊ TMC 2, 36, 365-366. Cf. also Evk. *hêma* 'щетка под копытом оленя; меховая кайма'. Evk. > Dolg., Yak. *ömčürä*, Russ. Siber. *amčurí* (pl.) (Аникин 86).

PMong. ***hojimu-su** stockings (чулки): MMong. *kojimusun* (HY 23) (*khuo-* instead of *xuo-*), *h[o]imāsun* (IM), *imasūn* (LH); WMong. *ojimusu(n)*, *ojimasu(n)* (L 605); Kh. *ojms(on)*; Bur. *ojmho(n)*; Kalm. *ǒmsn̥*; Ord. *öimos(u)*.

◊ KW 304. Mong. > Evk. *oimahun, oimusu* (see Doerfer MT 130, Rozycki 78 - but not Man. *fomon!)*.

PTurk. ***ojma** 1 felt out of which boots are made 2 leather or skin bag (1 войлок для сапог 2 кожаный мешок): Karakh. *ojma* (MK); MTurk. *ojma* (Sangl.).

◊ EDT 273 (but derivation from Uj- 'squeeze', supported also by Clark 1977, 159, is highly dubious because of external parallels).

PJpn. ***pəmuta** leather armlet (for bow-shooting) (кожаный нарукавник (для стрельбы из лука)): OJpn. *pomuta*.

‖ KW 304, Владимирцов 268, Poppe 11, 67, Цинциус 1984, 41-42. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. is quite dubious, despite Щербак 1997, 161. The stem may be derived from **pʻojV* 'to bind' - reflected in PM **huja-* (HY 39 *xuja-*, WMong. *uja-*, Khalkha *uja-*, Mongor *fujā-*) id.

***pʻójV** a k. of fruit: Tung. ***puju-**; Kor. ***pǎi**.

PTung. ***puju-** 1 plum 2 a k. of bush (1 слива 2 вид кустарника): Neg. *xujumke* 2; Man. *fojōro* 1; Jurch. *fojow* (107) 1; Nan. *puju* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 475-476, 2, 300.

PKor. ***pǎi** pear (груша): MKor. *pǎi*; Mod. *pä*.

◊ Nam 251, KED 743.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

***pʻoktʻo(-rV)** environs: Tung. ***pokta**; Mong. ***hogtorgui**; Turk. ***otar**; Jpn. ***pətəri (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***pàthàŋ**.

PTung. ***pokta** road (дорога): Evk. *xokto*; Evn. *hōt*; Neg. *xokto*; Ul. *poqto*; Ork. *pokto*; Nan. *foqto*; Orch. *xokto*; Ud. *xokto*.

◊ TMC 2, 331. Evk. > Dolg. *hoktokit* (Stachowski 107).

PMong. ***hogtorgui** empty space, heaven (пустое пространство, небо): MMong. *xoxtorxu* (HY 51), *xoxtorqu* 'empty', *xoxtoru* 'throughout' (SH); WMong. *oγturγui*, *oγtarγui* (L 602); Kh. *ogtorgui* 'universe'; Bur. *ogtorgoj*; Kalm. *oktṛγū*; Ord. *uGturG^{w}ī*.

◊ KW 284.

PTurk. ***otar** 1 pasture 2 far environs 3 (summer) camp, dwelling place, village 4 herd (1 пастбище 2 дальние страны 3 хутор, деревня 4 отара, стадо баранов): Turkm. *otar* 1; Uzb. *o̡tɔr* 4; Krm. *otar* 1; Tat. *utar* 3; Bashk. *utar* 3; Kirgh. *otor* 1, 2; Kaz. *otar* 1; KKalp. *otar* 1; Kum. *otar* 3; Nogh. *otar* 1; Oyr. *odor* 1; Tv. *odar* 1; Yak. *otor* 3.

◊ VEWT 367, ЭСТЯ 1, 487-488. Usually derived from **ot* 'grass' but the morphological pattern is unclear; the word might well be archaic despite lack of ancient attestation. Cf. also Balkan words like Hung. *határ* etc., most probably of Turkic origin. Turk. > WMong. *otar*, Kalm. *otr* (KW 291).

PJpn. ***pətəri (~ -ua-)** environs (окрестности): OJpn. *p(w)ot(w)ori*; MJpn. *fòtóri*; Tok. *hotorí / hòtori*; Kyo. *hótóri*; Kag. *hotorí*.

◊ JLTT 416. Accent is not quite clear: most forms point to a low tone on the first syllable (except the Kyoto form which is quite irregular).

PKor. ***pàthàŋ** 1 place 2 background, ground, texture (1 место 2 фон, основа): MKor. *pàthàŋ* 1; Mod. *pathaŋ* 2.

◊ Nam 239, KED 710.

‖ Kor. *pathaŋ* is probably < **păthaŋ* through assimilation.

***pʻó[k]u** to swell: Tung. ***puk- / *pok-**; Turk. ***okra**; Jpn. ***púkúrà-**; Kor. ***pak- (~ -ă-)**.

PTung. ***puk- / *pok-** 1 to swell, swollen 2 bubble, blister 3 cracks in skin 4 rough (of skin) (1 пухнуть, вспухший 2 пузырь, волдырь 3 трещины (на коже) 4 грубый, загрубевший (о коже)): Evk. *hokoripču* 4; Man. *fuqa* 2; Ul. *pukte-* 1, *poqo* 2; Ork. *puɣju* 1, *puqa* 2; Nan. *pukče-* 1, *poqa* 2, *fo-rini* (Bik.) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 42-43, 331, 335.

PTurk. ***okra** 1 pimple, pustule 2 disease of cattle (1 прыщ 2 болезнь скота): MTurk. *oqra* (Буд.) 1; Tat. *uqra* 2; Bashk. *uqra* 'овод бычачий'; Kaz. *oqra* 1.

◊ VEWT 360.

PJpn. ***púkúrà-** to swell (пухнуть): OJpn. *pukura-*; MJpn. *fúkúrà-*; Tok. *fùkure-*; Kyo. *fúkúré-*; Kag. *fukuré-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

PKor. ***pak- (~ -ă-)** boiling, bubbling (пузырящийся, кипящий): Mod. *pagɨl- / pəgɨl- / pogɨl-*.

◊ KED 703.

‖ Дыбо 14. An expressive and not quite regular root: in Turkic and Korean we probably have to presuppose an assimilative variant **pʻókʻu*, whereas the TM form points rather to **pʻóku*. See also notes to **bŭgà*.

***pʻòkʻà (~ -u-, -k-)** a k. of clothing: Tung. ***pokta**; Turk. ***uk**; Jpn. ***pàkàmà**.

PTung. ***pokta** cloth, gown (ткань, халат): Evk. *hokto*; Neg. *xokto*; Man. *foqto*; Ul. *poqto*; Ork. *χoqto, poqto*; Nan. *poqto*; Orch. *pokto*.

◊ TMC 2, 331. Cf. also Man. *fakuri* 'trousers' (> Dag. *xakur*, Тод. Дар. 173).

PTurk. ***uk** felt stocking (войлочный чулок): Karakh. *иуиq* (MK); MTurk. *uq* (Pav. C.); Khak. *ux*; Oyr. *uq*; Tv. *uq*.

◊ EDT 83, ЭСТЯ 1, 581, *Лексика* 481. The form in MK is probably = **uk-ug* (derived from the simple **uk* reflected elsewhere). The root should be distinguished from **ujuk* (v. sub **ujV(kʹV)*).

PJpn. ***pàkàmà** trousers (штаны, мужская юбка): OJpn. *pakama*; MJpn. *fàkàmà*; Tok. *hakamá*; Kyo. *hákàmà*; Kag. *hakamá*.

◊ JLTT 396.

‖ A common Altaic term, denoting probably some sort of trousers or stockings.

***pʹokʹe** to fall, lie: Tung. ***pukelē-**; Mong. ***(h)öke-**; Turk. ***ök-**.

PTung. ***pukelē-** 1 lie 2 roll down 3 fall (1 *лежать* 2 катиться 3 падать): Evk. *huklē-* 1, *hukēl-* 2; Evn. *huklē-* 1, *hukъl-* 2; Neg. *xuγle-* 1; Man. *fuxese-* 2; Ul. *pulu-* 2, 3; Nan. *fukulgi-* (dial.) 1, *puelin-* 2; Orch. *xukeli-* 3; Sol. *ugĺa-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 340, 342.

PMong. ***(h)öke-** to bow forwards (нагибаться вперед): WMong. *öke-ji-*; Kalm. *ökē-*.

◊ KW 293.

PTurk. ***ök-** to fall down, bow down (падать, склоняться): Oyr. *üküs-* 'to nod, fall asleep sitting'; Chuv. *ük-*; Yak. *ököj-* 'to bow (forwards)'; Dolg. *ököj-* 'to bow (forwards)'.

◊ Stachowski 199.

‖ KW 294, *Дыбо* 13. A Western isogloss. Very scantily represented in Turkic and Mongolian, thus rather dubious.

***pʹökʹi (~ -k-, -e)** to trample, kick: Tung. ***peK- / *poK-**; Turk. ***ökče**.

PTung. ***peK- / *poK-** 1 to trample, tread 2 to kick (1 топтать(ся) 2 пинать (ногами)): Evk. *hek-* 1, *hokči-*, *hekī-*, *hekči-* 2; Evn. *hek-* 1, *hēki-* 2; Neg. *xeγi-*, *xek-* 1, *xekilē-* 2; Man. *fexu-* 1, *fōqočo-*, *fōqožo-* 2; SMan. *fuxu-* (1610); Orch. *xeki-* 1; Ud. *xeŋde-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 331-332, 361-362.

PTurk. ***ökče** heel (пятка, каблук): Tur. *ökče*; Gag. *jökčä*; Turkm. *ökže*; MTurk. *ökče* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̧kčä*; Uygh. *ökčä*; Krm. *ökče*; Tat. *ükčä*; Bashk. *üksä*; Kirgh. *ökčö*; Kaz. *ökše*; KKalp. *ökše*; Nogh. *ökše*; Tv. *ēžek*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 520-521.

‖ ЭСТЯ 1, 520-521, *Лексика* 289. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. **pʹuske*.

***pʹökʹi (-ŕV) (~-e)** ox, cow: Tung. ***puKur / *puKun**; Mong. ***hüker**; Turk. ***öküŕ**.

PTung. ***puKur / *puKun** cow (корова): Evk. *hukur*; Evn. *höken*, *hökön*; Sol. *uxur* 'ox' (possibly < Mong.).

◊ TMC 2, 341.

PMong. ***hüker*** ox (бык): MMong. *xuker* (SH), *xuger* (HY 10), *ukär* (MA); WMong. *üker* (L 1003); Kh. *üxer*; Bur. *üxer*; Kalm. *ükr̥* 'cow' (KPC); Ord. *üker*; Mog. *ükär* (Weiers), ZM *okär* (20-4); Dag. *xukur* (Тод. Даг. 179), *hukure* (MD 166); Dong. *fugie(r)*; Mongr. *fugor* (SM 104), *xukur* (Minghe).

PTurk. ***ökǘr*** ox (бык, вол): OTurk. *öküz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *öküz* (MK); Tur. *öküz*; Gag. *jöküz*; Az. *öküz*; Turkm. *ökiz*, *öküz*; MTurk. *öküz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ḫokiz*; Uygh. *öküz*, *höküz*; Krm. *oküz*, *ögüz*; Tat. *ugïz*; Bashk. *ugïδ*; Kirgh. *ögüz*; Kaz. *ögïz*; KBalk. *ögüz*; KKalp. *ögiz*; Kum. *ögüz*; Nogh. *ögiz*; SUygh. *kus*; Chuv. *vъʷgъʷr*; Yak. *oγus*; Dolg. *ogus*.

◊ EDT 120, VEWT 370, ЭСТЯ 1, 521-523, Лексика 439, Stachowski 190. Clauson 1959 derives the form from Tokh. B *okso* (corrected to Tokh. A in EDT); justly refuted by Doerfer TMN 1, 539 because of original *p-. Turk. (Bulg.) > Hung. *ökör*, see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 23.

‖ Владимирцов 322, Poppe 12, 56, ОСНЯ 3, 126-128, Цинциус 1984, 46. Щербак 1997, 131, TMN 1, 539. A Western isogloss. Doerfer MT 67 (following Sinor 1962, Poppe 1966, 198, 1972, 99) would wish Mong. to be borrowed < Turk. and TM < Mong.; phonology, however, speaks plainly against it.

✱**p'ǒle** wet, succulent; grass, plant: Tung. ***pul-***; Turk. ***ǒl***; Kor. ***pìrh-***.

PTung. ***pul-*** 1 to grow, blossom 2 shoot, offspring 3 horse-tail (*bot.*) 4 panicle 5 wild grape (1 произрастать, пускать ростки 2 побег, росток 3 хвощ 4 метелка 5 дикий виноград): Evn. *hul* 3; Man. *fulxu-* 1, *fulxun* 2; Nan. *polaŋqa* 4; Orch. *xolomuktA* 5.

◊ TMC 2, 302, 342, Он. 334, Аврорин-Лебедева 246.

PTurk. ***ǒl*** 1 moist, wet 2 marsh (1 влажный 2 болото): OTurk. *öl* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *öl* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *öl* 1, Osm. *öl* 'pool'; Turkm. *ǒl*, dial. *hǒl* 1; Khal. *hę̂l*, *hę̄l*; MTurk. *öl* (Pav. C.) 2, (Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *hụl* 1; Uygh. *höl* 'damp, moist'; Kirgh. *öl* 1; KKalp. *höl* 1; Khak. *öl* 1; Shr. *ūl* 1; Oyr. *ül* 1; Tv. *öl* 1; Chuv. *vilə* 1; Yak. *üöl* 1.

◊ VEWT 371, Егоров 54, ЭСТЯ 1, 524-525, TMN 2, 161-2. The common Turk. derivative **ölen* (ЭСТЯ 1, 527-528, Лексика 119) means 'rich grass' (hence Chuv. *valem*; > MMong. *olaŋ*, *oleŋ* (SH), WMong. *ölüŋ*, Kalm. *öln̥*, see KW 295, TMN 2, 161, Щербак 1997, 165, 197).

PKor. ***pìrh-*** 1 green 2 grass (1 зеленый 2 трава): MKor. *phìrí-* 1, *phír* 2; Mod. *phuri-* 1, *phul* 2.

◊ Nam 464, 465, KED 1761, 1763. Rising tone in *phír* is probably secondary (due to contraction < **pìrVh*).

‖ EAS 56, SKE 215, Poppe 110, KW 295, VEWT 371, Цинциус 1984, 47-48. АПиПЯЯ 296. Cf. also Old Koguryo **pä(l)lŏk-* 'green', see Miller 1979, 9. The etymology seems quite satisfactory, despite Doerfer's (TMN 2, 161-162) critical attempts ("semantisch nicht ganz befriedigende Vergleich").

✱**pʻolńe** ashes; grey: Tung. ***pulńe-***; Mong. ***hüne-sü***; Turk. ***oń (~ -j)***.

PTung. ***pulńe-*** ashes (зола): Evk. *huleptēn*; Evn. *hultēn*; Neg. *xulēptēn*; Man. *fuleŋgi*; SMan. *filiŋi* (493); Jurch. *fule-ŋi* (65); Ul. *puneqte*; Ork. *punekte*; Nan. *puńektē*, (dial.) ***xulefte***; Orch. *xulepte*; Ud. *xulepte(n)*; Sol. *uluktẽ*.

◊ TMC 2, 347.

PMong. ***hüne-sü*** ashes (пепел): MMong. *xunesu* (SH), *honäsun* (IM), *hunäsun* (MA); WMong. *ünesü(n)* (L 1009); Kh. *üns(en)*; Bur. *ünehe(n)*; Kalm. *ümsn̥*; Ord. ***ünisü***, *ünes*; Mog. *ɛnasun*, *unasun* (Weiers), ZM *unäsun* (18-1b); Dag. *xunse* (Тод. Даг. 179), *hunse* (MD 166), *xuns*; Dong. *funiesun*; Bao. *homsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *henesən*, *nesən*; Mongr. *funēzə* (SM 107), (MGCD *funēsə*).

◊ KW 458, MGCD 695.

PTurk. ***oń (~ -j)*** grey, dun, ash-coloured (of a horse) (серовато-коричневый): Karakh. *oj* (MK); MTurk. Kypch. *oj* (Houts.); Khak. *oj*; Tv. *oj*.

◊ EDT 266, VEWT 358.

‖ Poppe 12, Цинциус 1984, 60. АПиПЯЯ 37, 289, Rozycki 81. A Western isogloss.

✱**pʻòme** breast, part of breast: Tung. ***pum-te***; Mong. ***(h)ün-Külčig***; Turk. ***ömül-dürük***; Kor. ***púmh***.

PTung. ***pum-te*** part of body around the heart (околосердечная сумка): Evk. *humte*.

◊ TMC 2, 347. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***(h)ün-Külčig*** part of body around the heart, pericardium (часть тела вокруг сердца): WMong. *öŋgülčei*, *üŋgülčig*, (L 1010) *üŋgülčeg*; Kh. *ünxelceg*; Kalm. *üŋglcag*; Ord. *üŋgelčik*.

◊ KW 459.

PTurk. ***ömül-dürük*** breastplate (нагрудник): Uzb. *o̧mildiriq*; Uygh. *ömüldürük*; Bashk. *ümelderek*; Kirgh. *ömüldürük*; Kaz. *ömildirik*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 530, Лексика 553.

PKor. ***púmh*** 1 breast, bosom 2 to carry in one's bosom (1 грудь, пазуха 2 нести за пазухой): MKor. *phum* 1, *phúm-*, *phɨm-* 2; Mod. *phum* 1, *phum-* 2.

◊ Liu 726, 728, KED 1766.

‖ SKE 216, EAS 56.

✱**pʻǒmu** to walk (in a substance): Tung. ***pom-***; Mong. ***homba-***; Turk. ***omač-***; Jpn. ***púm-***.

PTung. ***pom-*** 1 to leave a fresh trace 2 to crawl near 3 to wander 4 scoop (1 оставить свежий след 2 подкрадываться 3 бродить 4 черпак): Evk. *homolon-* 2; Evn. *hōm-* 1, *homi̯n-* 3, *homъ̯qa* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 332.

PMong. ***humba-** to walk submerging into water (snow, grass); to swim, bathe (ходить в воде (снегу, траве); плавать, купаться): MMong. *unba-* 'to swim' (MA); WMong. *umba-*, *ombu-* (L 874); Kh. *umba-*; Bur. *umba-*; Mog. *umbɔm* 'sich waschend' (Weiers); Dag. *хотрā-*, (Тод. Даг. 171), *unpā-* (MD 233), *umpa-*, *хитра-*; Dong. *unba-*, *umba-*; Bao. *mba-*; S.-Yugh. *umba-*, *mbā-*; Mongr. *xumbā-* (SM 182).

◊ MGCD 673.

PTurk. ***omač-** 1 to dive 2 scoop (1 погружаться 2 черпак): Khak. *omač* 2; Shr. *omaš* 2; Tv. *omāš* 2; Yak. *umus-* 1.

◊ VEWT 361, 514.

PJpn. ***púm-** to tread, trample (ступать, топтать): OJpn. *pum-*; MJpn. *fúm-*; Tok. *fùm-*; Kyo. *fúm-*; Kag. *fúm-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

‖ The common meaning may be postulated as 'to move with some difficulty, through some substance (water, grass, snow etc.)'.

***pʻońa (~ -e-)** wrinkle, to wrinkle: Tung. ***pońi- / *peńi-**; Mong. ***hani-**.

PTung. ***pońi- / *peńi-** wrinkle, to wrinkle (морщина, морщиться): Evk. *hońi-*, *huńi-*; Ork. *peni-*; Ud. *хеŋiem*; Sol. *хоńēsū̆*.

◊ TMC 2, 332.

PMong. ***hani-** 1 to close eyes 2 eyelids (1 закрывать глаза 2 веки): MMong. *xanisqa* (HY 45), *hanisqa* (MA) 2, *hanasqa* 'eyebrows' (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ani-* 1, *anisqa* 2; Kh. *ani-* 1, *anisga* 2; Bur. *ani-* 1; Kalm. *ani-* 1; Ord. *ani-* 1; Dong. *xani-* 1; Bao. *hani-* (MGCD 113); Mongr. *(x)ana-* (SM 8), *xani-* (SM 156), *xanə-* (MGCD 113), *xanasGa* (SM 155).

◊ KW 11.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***pʻõńŋa** to crush, break, tear off: Tung. ***pōnŋa- / *pēnŋa-**; Turk. ***oŋur-, *oŋ-**; Jpn. ***pànà-**; Kor. ***pă̆ńă̆-**.

PTung. ***pōnŋa- / *pēnŋa-** 1 to crush, crushed 2 to chop (1 расколоть, разбить 2 рубить): Evk. *hōŋna-*, *hōŋnī-*, *hoŋ-* 2; Evn. *hōn-*, *ōnŋa-* 2; Neg. *хоŋnį-* 2; Ul. *peŋ* 1; Ork. *peŋ*, *pem* 1; Nan. *peŋ*, *pēŋ* (adv.) 1; Orch. *хōŋi-* 2; Ud. *хиаŋni-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 47, 329.

PTurk. ***oŋur-, *oŋ-** to crush, break off (ломать, отламывать): Karakh. *oɣur-* (MK); Turkm. *oŋur-*, *omur-*; Tat. *umır-*; Bashk. *umır-*; Kirgh. *omur-*; Kaz. *omır-*; KKalp. *omır-*; Nogh. *omır-*; Khak. *or-*; Tv. *ōr-*; Yak. *oŋ-* 'to pick out'; Dolg. *oŋ-* 'to pick out'.

◊ EDT 91, ЭСТЯ 1, 461; Stachowski 194. Derived is PT **oŋur-tka* 'spine, backbone' (see ЭСТЯ 1, 463-464).

PJpn. ***pànà-** to chop off (отрубать): OJpn. *pana-*; MJpn. *fanà-*; Tok. *hané-*; Kyo. *háné-*; Kag. *hané-*.

◊ JLTT 684. The accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ***pǎńǎ-*** to crush, break (ломать, разламывать): MKor. *pǎńǎ-*; Mod. *pasu-*.

◊ Nam 242.

‖ One of the common Altaic "Verba des Schlagens". Korean has a usual low verbal tone.

✱**pʻŏŋe (~ -i)** mildew, slime: Tung. ***puŋ-***; Mong. ***(h)öŋgür***; Turk. ***öŋeŕ***.

PTung. ***puŋ-*** mildew (плесень): Evk. *huŋna*; Neg. *xoŋnan-*; Man. *funtan*; SMan. *fəntan* (440); Ul. *puŋda*; Ork. *puŋda*; Nan. *poŋdã*; Orch. *xuŋna*.

◊ TMC 2, 349.

PMong. ***(h)öŋgür*** scurf, slime (налет, слизь): WMong. *öŋgür, öŋger* (L 638); Kh. *öŋgör*; Bur. *üŋger*; Kalm. *öŋgŗ* 'gall, gastric juice'; Ord. *öŋgör*.

◊ KW 297. Mong. > Kirgh., Oyr. *öŋör*, Yak. *öŋür* (VEWT 373, Rona-Tas 1970, 216).

PTurk. ***öŋeŕ*** 1 slime (on dishes) 2 mildew (1 налет, слизь (на стенках посуды) 2 плесень): Bashk. *üŋäδ* 2; Kaz. *öŋez* 1; Yak. *öŋüs* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 538.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**pʻŏre** fire; to burn: Tung. ***puri- / *piri-***; Mong. ***(h)örde-***; Turk. ***ört***; Jpn. ****pə̀-i***; Kor. ****pír***.

PTung. ****puri- / *piri-*** to dry (over fire) (сушить (над огнем)): Evk. *hiriw-, huri-*; Neg. *xī-wun* 'woven basket for drying fish or meat over fire'; Man. *fariŋga-*; Orch. *xi* 'shelf over fire for drying fish'.

◊ TMC 2, 327.

PMong. ***(h)örde-*** to burn, flame up (пылать): WMong. *örde-*; Kh. *ördö-*; Kalm. *ördə-*; Ord. *ördö-*.

◊ KW 298.

PTurk. ***ört*** 1 flame 2 to burn (tr.) 3 steppe fire 4 to get burnt (1 пламя 2 жечь 3 степной пожар 4 обгорать): OTurk. *ört* 1, 3 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ört* 1, 3 (MK); Turkm. *örte-* 4; MTurk. *ört* 1, 3 (Pav. C.); Tat. *ürt* 1; Kirgh. *ört* 1; Khak. *ört* 3, *örte-* 2; Tv. *örtet-* 2; Tof. *ö'rt* 3; Chuv. *virt* 3; Yak. *ört* 3.

◊ VEWT 375, EDT 201, 208-9, ЭСТЯ 1, 550-551, Лексика 357-358.

PJpn. ****pə̀-i*** fire (огонь): OJpn. pi; MJpn. *fi*; Tok. *hí*; Kyo. *hìi*.

◊ JLTT 405.

PKor. ****pír*** fire (огонь): MKor. *pír*; Mod. *pul*.

◊ Nam 273, KED 832.

‖ EAS 54, 147, KW 300, Martin 232, Menges 1984, 286-287, АПиПЯЯ 73, 93-94, 98, 275, Лексика 358. Mong. *örde-* may be < Turk.; but cf. also Khalkha *ürevse-* 'to flame up'. Jpn. **pə̀-* presupposes a suffixed form **pʻŏr(e)-gV*.

***pʻő̄re** top: Tung. ***pora-n**; Mong. ***horaj, *horgil**; Turk. ***ör̈-**; Jpn. ***pərə**.

PTung. ***pora-n** 1 top (of head), top 2 tuft, forelock (1 макушка, вершина 2 вихор): Evk. *xoron* 1; Neg. *xojo(n)* 1; Man. *foron* 2; SMan. *forən, forun* (2068); Ul. *poro(n)* 1; Ork. *poro(n)* 1; Nan. *porõ* 1; Orch. *xō(n)* 'space above'; Ud. *xō(n)* 'above' (postp.); Sol. *orõ* 'mountain pass'.

◊ TMC 2, 334.

PMong. ***horaj, *horgil** top, top of head (вершина, макушка): MMong. *xorai* (SH), *xorgil* (SH), *hurai* (MA); WMong. *orai* (L 621: *orui*), *orgil* (L 618); Kh. *oroj, orgil*; Bur. *oroj*; Kalm. *orā*; Ord. *orõ*; Mog. ZM *orei* (1-8a); Dag. *oŕē* (MD 203), *xor*; Bao. *xoro*.

◊ KW 287-288, MGCD 531. Mong. > Kirgh., Kaz. *oraj* etc. (VEWT 364, ЭСТЯ 1, 473).

PTurk. ***ör̈-** 1 to rise 2 up, above (1 подниматься 2 верх, наверху): OTurk. *ör-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ör-* 1 (MK); Tur. *ör* 2, (dial.) *ör-* 1; Turkm. *ő̈r-*; Khal. *här-äk-* 1; MTurk. *ör* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̧r* 2; Uygh. *ör* 2; Tat. *ür* 2, *ür-* 1; Bashk. *ür* 2, *ür-* 1; Kirgh. *ör* 2; Kaz. *ör* 2, *ör-* 1; KBalk. *ör* 2; KKalp. *ör* 2; Kum. *ör* 2; Nogh. *ör* 2; SUygh. *ür* 2; Yak. *ürüt* 'upper part'; Dolg. *örüt, öttü* 'side', *örüte* 'above'.

◊ EDT 195, VEWT 373, ЭСТЯ 1, 542-544, Stachowsi 200, 253. Cf. also OT *örgin* 'throne' (EDT 225), Chag. *örük* 'tent' (ЭСТЯ 1, 546) - which should be kept distinct from the later borrowed (from Mong., see under **ő̄ŕi*) *örge* 'tent', see Clark 1977, 142.

PJpn. ***pərə** top of carriage (верх (экипажа)): Tok. *hóro*; Kyo. *hórò*; Kag. *hórò*.

◊ The Jpn. form can be compared with other Altaic forms if it is historically distinct from **pərə* 'cloak on armour' (< PA **pʻi̯ole* q.v.). Accentologically both words are identical and equally irregular.

‖ Cf. also WMong. *orbaji-* 'in die Höhe stehen, emporragen', MTurk. *orpat-, örpet-* id. (KW 290). Despite Doerfer MT 39, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. Cf. **ő̄ŕi*.

***pʻore (~ -i̯-, -ŕ-)** feather, wing: Tung. ***purakī**; Mong. ***(h)örbelge**; Jpn. ***pərə**.

PTung. ***purakī** 1 wing 2 wing bone 3 feather arista (1 крыло 2 кость крыла 3 ость (пера)): Evk. *hurakī* 1, 2, 3; Evn. *hu̯ri̯qi̯* 2; Neg. *xo̧jaxī* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 352.

PMong. ***(h)örbelge** feather (перо): WMong. *örbelge, örbülge* (L 640); Kh. *örvölgö*; Kalm. *örwl̥gə, örwəlag*; Ord. *örwölgö*.

◊ KW 301.

PJpn. ***pərə** falcon's wings; underwing feathers of a bird (крылья сокола; перья под крыльями): MJpn. *foro, foro-fa*.

◊ JLTT 415.

‖ The root is not very widely attested, but seems quite reliable.

***pʻòrV** trace: Tung. ***pōr-da-**; Mong. ***horum /-im**; Turk. ***oruk**; Kor. ***pórám**.

PTung. ***pōr-da-** to make an imprinted drawing on birch bark (делать тисненый рисунок на бересте): Evk. *hōrda-*.

◊ TMC 2, 333. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***horum /-im** trace (след): MMong. *xorim, xorum* (SH) 'path'; WMong. *oru, orum* (L 620, 623); Kh. *or, orom*; Bur. *orom*; Kalm. *orṃ*; Ord. *orom*; Mog. *oram* (Ramstedt 1906) 'Platz'.

◊ KW 289. Mong. > Kaz. *oram* etc. (VEWT 364).

PTurk. ***oruk** 1 road 2 path (1 дорога 2 тропа): OTurk. *oruq* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *oruq* 1 (MK, Tefs.); Khak. *orɣax* 2; Tv. *oruq* 1; Tof. *oruq* 1; Yak. *orox* 2; Dolg. *orok* 2.

◊ EDT 215, Stachowski 196. Räsänen (VEWT 364; similarly in Лексика 531-532, ЭСТЯ 4, 218) derives this word from **or-* 'to dig', which is rather dubious semantically.

PKor. ***pórám** sign (знак): MKor. *pórám*; Mod. *poram*.

◊ Liu 386, KED 789.

‖ SKE 206, Лексика 532, TMC 2, 333.

***pʻòťè** to burn, singe: Tung. ***put-**; Mong. ***hutuɣa**; Turk. ***üt-**; Kor. ***pìth-, *ptí-, *ptí-**.

PTung. ***put-** to roast, grill (жарить, обжигать, опаливать): Man. *fuči-xala-*; SMan. *fičixalə-* 'to singe' (379).

◊ TMC 2, 304. In Manchu cf. also *fotor* 'curling (of smoke)', *foto* 'stink, stench'. Cf. also Evk. (Kamn.) *petere-* 'to smoke, fume' - because of p-, probably a loan from some South.-Tung. language.

PMong. ***hutuɣa** 1 smoke 2 to smoke, fumigate (1 дым 2 дымить): WMong. *utuɣa(n), utaɣa(n)* (L 889); Kh. *utā(n)* 1, *uta-* 2; Bur. *utā(n)*; Kalm. *utān*; Ord. *utā*; Dag. *xutā* 1 (Тод. Дог. 180), *xoto-* 2; Dong. *fudu-* 2; S.-Yugh. *hdā, χdā* 1, *χdu-* 2.

◊ KW 452, MGCD 676, 682, 683.

PTurk. ***üt-** to singe (палить, опаливать): Karakh. *üt-* (MK); Tur. *üt-* (dial.); Az. *üt-*; Turkm. *üt-*; MTurk. *üt-* (IM); Tat. *ŭt-*; Bashk. *ŭt-*; Kaz. *üjt-*; KKalp. *üjt-*; Chuv. *vət-*; Yak. *üt-*.

◊ EDT 40, VEWT 524, ЭСТЯ 1, 640, TMN 2, 9-10.

PKor. ***pìth-, *ptí-, *ptí-** 1 to burn, catch fire 2 to cauterize 3 to boil, steam (1 гореть, загораться 2 прижигать 3 варить, тушить): MKor. *pìth-* 1, *ptí-* 2, *ptí-* 3; Mod. *put(h)-* 1, *t:i-* 2, *č:i-* 3.

◊ Nam 173, 180, 275, KED 523, 846, 1528.

‖ SKE 265 (criticized with no reason at all in TMN 2, 10: "unannehmbar").

***pʻóťè** hole: Tung. ***putē**; Mong. ***hütü-**; Turk. ***ŭt**; Jpn. ***pətə**; Kor. ***pot**.

PTung. ***putē** 1 hole 2 to break through 3 nostril (1 дыра 2 пробивать 3 ноздря): Man. *feteri* 3; Ork. *putē* 1, *putē-* 2; Nan. *putē-* 2 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 43, 305.

PMong. ***hütü-** vulva (vulva): MMong. *[o]tkeon* (IM), *hutukun* (MA), *hotugūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ütügü(ü)* (L 1014); Kh. *ütrē*; Kalm. *ütgn̥*; Ord. *ütügü*; Mog. *utkun* (Weiers); ZM *odkun* (3-5a), KT *idkun* (Lig.VMI 35); Mongr. *sdogu* (SM 337).

◊ KW 460.

PTurk. ***ūt** hole (дыра): OTurk. *üt* (OUygh.); Karakh. *üt* (MK); Khal. *hīṭ*; Kirgh. *üt*; Khak. *üt*; Oyr. *üt*; Tv. *üt*; Yak. *ūt*; Dolg. *ūt*.

◊ EDT 36, VEWT 524, ЭСТЯ 1, 639-640, Stachowski 255.

PJpn. ***pətə** vulva (vulva): OJpn. *p(w)oto*.

◊ JLTT 415.

PKor. ***pot-** vulva (vulva): Mod. *pōžǐ*, dial. *podäŋi*.

◊ KED 794.

‖ KW 460, Poppe 112, Poppe 1950, Lee 1958, 109, Ozawa 140-141, Цинциус 1984, 66.

***pʹùb(a)gV** broom, stick: Tung. ***pebgure (/*pu-)**; Turk. ***ubig**; Jpn. ***pàpákí**; Kor. ***púi**.

PTung. ***pebgure (/*pu-)** ski stick, circle on ski stick (лыжная палка, кружок на лыжной палке): Evk. *hewgurē*; Neg. *xebguje*; Ul. *pegbere(n)*; Ork. *pebgire*; Nan. *fubguru* (Bik.); Orch. *xebbiru* 'hook on walking stick'.

◊ TMC 2, 358.

PTurk. ***ubig** sticks supporting the upper rim of a yurt (жерди, поддерживающие верхний край юрты): OTurk. *uɣ* (MK); *ujuɣluɣ* (= *uvuɣluɣ*) 'tent pole' (MK); Tur. *huɣ* 'hut'; Turkm. *ūq*; MTurk. *uɣ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ūɣ* (dial.); Alt. *ū* 'das Stangenrippe der Jurte, über welches die Filzdecken ausgebreitet werden' (R - Teleut); Shr. *uɣ*, *ū* 'house, yurt' (R); Uygh. *oq* (dial.); Kirgh. *ūq*; Kaz. *ŭwiq*; KKalp. *uwiq*.

◊ EDT 76, 271, VEWT 510, TMN 2, 150-151, ЭСТЯ 1, 583, Лексика 517-518.

PJpn. ***pàpákí** broom (метла): OJpn. *papakji*; MJpn. *fâfákí*; Tok. *hȍki*, *hṓki*; Kyo. *hôkì*; Kag. *hōkí*.

◊ JLTT 414. Dialects show some tonal variation, but all point to a low tone in the first syllable.

PKor. ***púi** broom (метла): MKor. *púi*; Mod. *pi*.

◊ Nam 269, KED 848.

‖ Vocalic reconstruction is not quite certain in a trisyllabic stem. TM **pebgure* probably < **pobgure* (due to frequent variation of *o and *e close to labials).

***pʹubá-ktV** sack, bellows: Tung. ***putakān**; Mong. ***huwta**; Jpn. ***pampuki**.

PTung. ***putakān** sack, bag (мешок, сумка): Evk. *hutakān*; Evn. *hutqan*; Neg. *xotakān*; Man. *fintaχa*; Ul. *puta(n)*; Ork. *puta*; Nan. *pōtačā*; Orch. *xuta(ka)*; Ud. *xutaʹa* (Корм. 307); Sol. *utxā*.

◊ TMC 2, 356. Evk. > Dolg. *utaka, hutaka* (see Stachowski 247).

PMong. ***huwta** sack (мешок): MMong. *хuхuta* (HY 20, SH), *hutana* (IM), *ută* (MA); WMong. *uɣuta, uuta* (L 865); Kh. *ūt*; Bur. *ūta*; Kalm. *ūtə*; Ord. *ūta*; Dong. *fuda*; Bao. *fda, fuda*; S.-Yugh. *ūta* (< lit.); Mongr. *fūda* (SM 101).

◊ MGCD 395, 665.

PJpn. ***pampuki** bellows (мехи): OJpn. *pabuk(j)i*.

‖ Poppe 12, Цинциус 1984, 52. Despite Doerfer MT 47, Rozycki 76-77, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.; but to be related, it has to go back to an earlier form like **pubta-kān*.

***pʻuču** wart, pimple, excrescence: Tung. ***pusi(-kV)**; Turk. ***uč-**; Jpn. ***pùsù-mpái**; Kor. ***pə̀čím**.

PTung. ***pusi(-kV)** 1 excrescence (on a tree) 2 to swell (1 нарост (на дереве) 2 вздуваться, вспухать): Evn. *hŏskъn-* 2; Man. *fuqsuxu, fusku, fusxu* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 45, 335.

PTurk. ***uč-** 1 rash, inflammation, pustules on lips (during cold, fever) 2 catarrh, cold, fever 3 to appear (of rash), catch cold (1 сыпь, воспаление, прыщи на губах (во время простуды, лихорадки) 2 простуда, лихорадка 3 появляться (о прыщах, сыпи), простужаться): Karakh. *učγuq* (MK) 2; Tur. *učuk* 1; Gag. *učuq* 1; Az. *učuG* 1; Turkm. *učuq* 1; MTurk. *učuq* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.) 1, 2; Uzb. *učuq* 1, *učun-* 3; Uygh. *učuq* 1; Krm. *učun-* 'to become epileptic'; Bashk. *ŭsŭn-* 3; Kirgh. *učuq* 1; Kaz. *ŭšıq* 1, *ŭšın-* 3; KKalp. *ušıq* 1, *ušın-* 3; Nogh. *ušıq* 1, *ušın-* 3.

◊ EDT 22, 23, ЭСТЯ 1, 616, TMN 2, 139. Turk. > Kalm. *učəg* 'простуда', see TMN ibid.

PJpn. ***pùsù-mpái** wart, excrescence (бородавка, нарост): OJpn. *pusube*; MJpn. *fùsùbé*.

◊ JLTT 419.

PKor. ***pə̀čím** scab, herpes, ringworm (струп, лишай): MKor. *pə̀čím*; Mod. *pəžim*.

◊ Nam 255, KED 761.

‖ Irregular accent correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. (besides, the Kor. vowel is aberrant: we would rather expect -u- or -o-, or a vowel reduction).

***pʻùčV** (~ ***p-, -o-**) to blow: Tung. ***pus-**; Jpn. ***pùsù-(m)pur-**; Kor. ***pùčhói**.

PTung. ***pus-** 1 to blow, blow out (fire) 2 to fan 3 fan (1 дуть, задувать (огонь) 2 обмахиваться (веером) 2 веер): Evk. *hus-* 1; Man. *fusxe-, fisi(xi)-* 2, *fusxe-ku* 3; Jurch. *fu-sxe-ŋu* 3 (221); Nan. *fexse-* 'to shake', *fexseŋku* 'bellows'.

◊ TMC 2, 36, 304, 336.

PJpn. ***pùsù-(m)pur-*** to smoke (дымить(ся)): MJpn. *fùsùbór-*; Tok. *fusubur-*.

◊ JLTT 695.

PKor. ***pùčhói*** fan (веер): MKor. *pùčhói*; Mod. *pučhä*.

◊ Nam 266, KED 821.

‖ SKE 211-212, Lee 1958, 111. An Eastern isogloss; may be actually a variant of **pʻŏ̀či* - if the original meaning was 'to blow out (fire)'. Kor. low tone reflects the stem's original verbal nature.

pʻúčʻí (~ -o-)** a k. of willow, blossoming bush: Tung. ***puči-; Mong. ***hüčije-***; Jpn. ***púntí***.

PTung. ***puči-*** red willow (красный тальник): Ul. *pučekte*; Nan. *fučile* (Bik.).

◊ TMC 2, 45.

PMong. ***hüčije-*** willow (ива): MMong. *xiǰesun* (HY 7), *ičesūn* (Lig.VMI), *ičēsun* (MA); Bur. *üšõhe(n)*, *išēhen* (Lig.); Mongr. *śǰōǯə* 'arbre' (SM 390).

◊ There is no difference between the syllables 'če' and 'ǯe' in Sino-Mongolian.

PJpn. ***púntí*** Wistaria floribunda DC (Wistaria floribunda DC): OJpn. *pudi*; MJpn. *fúdí*; Tok. *fùji*; Kyo. *fújí*; Kag. *fúji*.

◊ JLTT 420.

‖ Poppe 11, 51; Цинциус 1984, 51.

pʻude (~ -i̯u-)** willow, maple: Tung. ***pode-; Mong. ***huda***; Turk. ***öd(r)eŋi***; Kor. ***ptə́rkí***.

PTung. ***pode-*** 1 willow 2 elm (1 ива, верба 2 вяз): Evk. *hedepte* 2; Man. *fodo* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 45, 360.

PMong. ***huda*** willow (ива): MMong. *xutan* (SH); WMong. *uda* (L 860); Kh. *ud*; Kalm. *udən*; Ord. *uda*; Dag. *xudikān* (Тод. Дат. 179); Mongr. *sdoxo* (SM 337).

◊ KW 446.

PTurk. ***öd(r)eŋi*** maple (клен): Uygh. *üräŋgi*; Tat. *öjɛŋke*, *örɛŋge*; Bashk. *öjäŋkä*; Kaz. *ujeŋki*; KBalk. *ürge*; Kum. *ürge*; Chuv. *vaʷrene*.

◊ VEWT 522, Дмитриева 1972, 191, Егоров 52, Федотов 1, 118, Bläsing 2002.

PKor. ***ptə́rkí*** bush(es) (куст(ы)): MKor. *ptárkí*; Mod. *tːəlgi*.

◊ Nam 152, KED 447.

‖ Cf. **pŏ́tʻo*.

pʻŭdi** to follow: Tung. ***pude-; Mong. ***hüde-***; Turk. ***ud-***; Kor. ***pti-***.

PTung. ***pude-*** 1 to follow along 2 expel an evil spirit (1 провожать, сопровождать 2 прогонять злого духа): Man. *fude-* 1; SMan. *fedə-* (1456); Jurch. *fude-mij* (410) 1; Ul. *pude-či-* 2; Nan. *pude-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 249.

PMong. ***hüde-*** follow, see off (провожать): MMong. *xüde-* (HY 36), *xude-* (SH), *hude-* (MA); WMong. *üde-* (L 995); Kh. *üde-*; Bur. *üde-*; Kalm. *üdə-*; Ord. *üde-*; Mongr. *rǯē* 'track'.

◊ KW 455. Mong. > Tuva *üde-*, Yak. *ütäi-* etc. (VEWT 519).

PTurk. ***ud-*** to follow, conform (следовать, соответствовать, повиноваться): OTurk. *ud-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uδ-* (MK); Tur. *uj-*; Gag. *uj-*; Az. *uj-*; Turkm. *uj-*; MTurk. *uj-* (Abush.); Uzb. *ujuš-*; Uygh. *ujuš-*; Krm. *uj-*; Tat. *ŭjïš-*; Bashk. *ŭjŭš-*; Kirgh. *ujuš-*; Kaz. *ŭjïs-*; KKalp. *ujïs-*; Nogh. *ujïs-*; Yak. *utā* 'next'.

◊ EDT 38, ЭСТЯ 1, 573-574.

PKor. ***pti-*** to follow a pattern, make like (следовать образцу, имитировать): MKor. *ptɨ-*; Mod. *tːɨ-*.

◊ Liu 247, KED 523.

‖ EAS 55, KW 455, Poppe 52, 111 (Tung.-Mong.), Цинциус 1984, 58. Despite TMN 1, 537, Doerfer MT 80, TM forms (except Evk. *ude-*) cannot be borrowed from Mong.

pʻŭgé** to tear off, sever: Tung. ***pōg- / *peg-de-; Mong. ***(h)ug- / *(h)üg-***; Jpn. ***pànk-***; Kor. ***pàhí-***.

PTung. ***pōg- / *peg-de-*** 1 to cut off 2 to tear off 3 to prick with an awl 4 awl (1 отрезать, обрезать 2 отдирать 3 колоть шилом 4 шило): Evk. *hōγ-* 1, *hegde-lī-* 2; Evn. *heγdъk-* 2; Neg. *xegde-l-* 2; Ork. *pū-* 3; Nan. *xoi̯-* 1 (Kur-Urm.); Orch. *xoi̯-* 1, *xū-gu* 4, *xegde-* 2; Ud. *xegdeli-* 2 (Корм. 307), *xuai-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 43, 329, 360. Evk. > Dag. *xōglō-* (Тод. Дат. 176).

PMong. ***(h)ug- / *(h)üg-*** to tear, tear out (драть, выдирать): WMong. *uɣ̌ira-*, *ügtege-* (L 998); Kh. *ugɜra-*, *ügtē-*; Bur. *ugzar-*; Kalm. *ugɮər-* KPC 527; Mongr. *sdē-* 'arracher, déraciner' (SM 334).

PJpn. ***pànk-*** to tear off (сдирать): OJpn. *pag-*; MJpn. *fâg-*; Tok. *hág-*; Kyo. *hág-*; Kag. *hàg-*.

◊ JLTT 683.

PKor. ***pàhí-*** to cut, reap, sever (отрезать, отделять, сжинать): MKor. *pàhí-*; Mod. *pē-*.

◊ Nam 255, KED 773.

‖ EAS 55, Martin 229. An expressive root (cf. also **pokʻe*, **pʻi̯ùgV*, **pʻago*).

pʻugu (~ -o)** tinder; excrescence: Tung. ***pug(i)ju-; Mong. ***huɣula***; Turk. ***ugu-***.

PTung. ***pug(i)ju-*** 1 tinder, tree excrescence 2 convex (1 нарост (древесный) 2 выпуклый): Evk. *hujulgen* 1; Evn. *poguɹa* 2 (< S.-Tung.); Neg. *poγjụ* 1 (< S.-Tung.); Man. *forǯin* 1; Ork. *pugju* 1; Nan. *porǯi̯* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 40, 338.

PMong. ***huɣula*** tinder (трут): WMong. *uɣula* (L 866: *ujil* 'excrescence on a tree'; ?L 14: *aɣli* id.); Kh. *ūl*; Bur. *ūla* 'пробка'; Dag. *xuāl*; S.-Yugh. *χū*; Mongr. *fula* 'amadou' (SM 105).

◊ MGCD 663.

PTurk. ***ugu-*** tinder (трут): Chuv. *ъʷvъʷ*.

◊ Мудрак *Дисс.* 147.

‖ VEWT 508, Мудрак *Дисс.* 147. A Western isogloss. MMong. *hula*, (IM) *holā*, WMong. *ula*, Mongor *fula* may be a different root, corresponding directly to TM **pula* (TMC 2, 343) id. (see EAS 55, Poppe 12, Цинциус 1984, 53, Doerfer MT 132) - however, in TM **pug(u)la* is also reconstructable, and MMong. *hula* may well be a variant of **huhula*.

pʻŭgV (~ -k-)** to attack, rob: Tung. ***pukču-; Turk. ***ogri***.

PTung. ***pukču-*** to attack (нападать): Evk. *hukču-*; Evn. *hŏč-*; Neg. *xokčo-*; Ul. *xokčo-*; Ork. *pokče-*; Nan. *xukču-*, *fukču-*; Orch. *xokčo-*; Ud. *xokčo-*; Sol. *ekči-*.

◊ TMC 2, 341-342.

PTurk. ***ogri*** thief (вор): OTurk. *oɣrï* (OUygh.); Karakh. *oɣrï* (MK); Tur. *uuru*; Az. *oɣru*; Turkm. *oɣrï*; Sal. *oɣrï*; MTurk. *oɣrï* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̧ɣri*; Uygh. *oɣri*, *oɣur*; Krm. *oɣrï*; Kirgh. *ūru*; Kaz. *ŭrï*; KKalp. *urï*; Kum. *oru*, *uru*; SUygh. *oɣur*; Khak. *oɣïr*; Shr. *oɣrï*; Oyr. *ūr*; Tv. *ōr*; Chuv. *vъʷrъʷ*; Yak. *uor-* 'to steal'; Dolg. *uor-* 'to steal'.

◊ EDT 90, ЭСТЯ 1, 412-414, TMN 2, 77-78, Stachowski 244. Turk. > Mong. **oɣurčak*, see Щербак 1997, 164; Hung. or, *orv* 'mischievous', see Gombocz 1912.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

pʻuje** to whirl, boil: Tung. ***puju-; Mong. ***hujil-***; Turk. ***üjük***.

PTung. ***puju-*** to boil (кипеть): Evk. *huju-*; Evn. *huj-*; Neg. *xuj-*; Man. *fuje-*; SMan. *fei-* (348); Ul. *puju-*; Ork. *puj-*; Nan. *puju-*; Orch. *xuju-si-*; Ud. *xui-hi-*; Sol. *uji-*.

◊ TMC 2, 337-338.

PMong. ***hujil*** whirlpool (водоворот): MMong. *xujil* (SH); WMong. *ujil*, (L 604) *ojil*; Kh. *ujl*; Ord. *uil*.

PTurk. ***üjük*** 1 quicksand 2 to sink (1 зыбучий песок 2 тонуть, погружаться): Karakh. *üjük* (MK, KB) 1, *üjük-* (MK) 2; Turkm. *üjk* 'slush'; MTurk. (Xwar.) *üjük* 'dregs in wine' (Qutb).

◊ EDT 271, 272.

‖ Poppe 67, Цинциус 1984, 59. A Western isogloss.

pʻūji** to stiffen: Tung. ***pū-; Mong. ***(h)öje-***; Turk. ***uji-***.

PTung. ***pū-*** 1 to stiffen 2 to fade (1 онеметь, затечь (о руках, ногах) 2 выцвести (о ткани)): Evk. *huwun-* 2; Evn. *hū-* 1, *hū̧b-* 2; Man. *fu-* 1; Ud. *xuwe-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 335-336.

PMong. ***(h)öje-** 1 weak, clumsy 2 (to be) unable to get up (1 слабый, неуклюжий 2 быть истощенным, не в состоянии встать): WMong. *öjügede-* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *öjō-dö-* 2; Bur. *üjē* 1, *üjede-* 2; Kalm. *öjē* 1, *öjɛd-* 2 (KPC 413).

PTurk. ***uji-** to stiffen (неметь, цепенеть): OTurk. *ujırqan- joqurqan-* (OUygh.); Tur. *ujuš-*; Gag. *ujvaš-*; Az. *ujuš-*; MTurk. *ujuš-* (AH); Uzb. *ujuš-*; Tat. *ŭji-, ŭjiš-*; Bashk. *ŭjŭ-, ŭjŭš-*; KKalp. *uji-*; Nogh. *uji-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 582, ДТС 608.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***pʹujme** to mix: Tung. ***pume- (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***hüjime-**; Kor. ***pàmír-**.

PTung. ***pume- (~ -ü-)** to mix up (смешивать, перемешивать): Man. *fumere-*; Jurch. *fume* 'to bundle' (856).

◊ TMC 2, 302.

PMong. ***hüjime-** to hustle, be mixed up (толкаться, мешаться): WMong. *üime-* (L 1001); Kh. *üjme-*; Bur. *üjme-*; Kalm. *ũm-* (KPC); Ord. *üjme-*; Dag. *xuimu-*.

◊ MGCD 691.

PKor. ***pàmír-** 1 to bind, tie up 2 to mix (1 связывать 2 смешивать): MKor. *pàmír-* 1; Mod. *pamul-* 2.

◊ Nam 254, KED 760.

‖ Poppe 12, Lee 1958, 110, Цинциус 1984, 59. The root is somewhat dubious: the older meaning attested in Kor. is 'to bind, tie up', and the root may actually reflect PA **pʹémi* 'twist a thread' (q.v.); the same is true of the TM forms that may in fact (especially because for Jurch. the meaning 'bind' is attested) go back to the same PTM root **pem-*.

***pʹujV** to nauseate: Tung. ***puji-**; Mong. ***hoji-**; Jpn. ***pə- (~ -u-)**.

PTung. ***puji-** to nauseate (тошнить): Evn. *huji̯rqit-*; Man. *fuja-*.

◊ TMC 2, 337.

PMong. ***hoji-** 1 to nauseate 2 nausea (1 тошнить 2 тошнота): WMong. *oi* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *oj* 2; Bur. *oj-* 1; Dag. *xoi-* 1.

◊ MGCD 524.

PJpn. ***pə- (~ -u-)** to sneeze (чихать): OJpn. *pu-, pana-pu-* (*pana* 'nose'); MJpn. *fáná-fi-*.

◊ JLTT 690.

‖ An expressive root; correspondences, however, seem to be regular.

***pʹukʒi** thigh, rump: Tung. ***pogʒV**; Mong. ***(h)ögʒeg**.

PTung. ***pogʒV** 1 lower part of the back 2 tail (1 нижняя часть спины 2 хвост): Evk. *hogʒō* 1, 2; Evn. *hogʒi̯* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 329.

PMong. ***(h)ögǯeg*** buttock, hind side of thigh (задница, задняя сторона бедра): WMong. *ögeǯeg* (L 632), *öǯigeneg*; Kh. *ögǯög*; Kalm. *ögzəg, öǯəgnnəg*.

◊ KW 293. Mong. > Man. *učа* etc., see TMN 2, 138, Doerfer MT 116.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**pʻŭ̄kʻŋi** to rub, wipe off: Tung. ***puŋku***; Mong. ***hüŋgü-***; Turk. ****ŭ̄k-***; Jpn. ****púk-***.

PTung. ***puŋku*** kerchief (for wiping off) (платок (для стирания)): Man. *fuŋku, fu-* 'to wipe off'; SMan. *fuŋku* 'handkerchief' (246); Ul. *poŋqo*; Ork. *pukku*; Nan. *puŋku*; Sol. *xunku, umku, uŋku*.

◊ TMC 1, 477.

PMong. ***hüŋgü-*** to rub, knead, crumple (тереть, мять пальцами): MMong. *hunku-, unku-* (MA 191, 277, 382); WMong. *üŋgü-* (L 1010 *üŋge-*); Kh. *ünge-*; Bur. *ünge-*; Ord. *üŋgü-*; Dong. *fungu-*; Mongr. *fuŋgu-* (SM 109).

◊ MGCD 695, SM 109, Most. DO 759.

PTurk. ****ŭ̄k-*** to grind, crush, rub (молоть, крошить, растирать): OTurk. *ögi-* (~ *ü-*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *ögi-* (~ *ü-*) (MK); Tur. ***öjüt-, övüt-***; Gag. *ŭ̄t-*; Az. *üjüt-* 2; Turkm. *üvi-, üvüt-* 2; MTurk. *ügüt-* (AH); Uy̧gh. *ük-* (dial.); Tat. *ük-* (dial.); Kirgh. *ük-*; Kaz. *ük-*; KKalp. *ük-, ügi-*.

◊ EDT 101-102, ЭСТЯ 1, 618-619. The root clearly has a *-k-, with a development > *-g- > *-ɣ- in Oghuz pointing to an original long vowel. It should be therefore distinguished from PT **ög-* 'to knead, press' which shows only reflexes of *-g-.

PJpn. ****púk-*** to wipe off (стирать, смахивать): Tok. *fùk-*; Kyo. *fúk-*; Kag. *fúk-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

‖ The root means 'to wipe off' in the Eastern area, but rather 'to rub off, crush' in Turkic and Mongolian.

✱**pʻŭle (~ -i)** to be left, surplus: Tung. ****pule-***; Mong. ****hüle-***; Turk. ****üle-***.

PTung. ****pule-*** to be left, surplus (оставаться, излишек): **Evk.** *hele-, hule-*; Evn. *hul-*; Neg. *xule-*; Man. *fulu*; Ul. *pule-*; Ork. *pule-*; **Nan.** *pule-*; Orch. *xule-*; Ud. *xule-*; Sol. *ule-*.

◊ TMC 2, 364-365.

PMong. ****hüle-*** 1 surplus, to leave 2 more than 3 remain, **get left** (1 излишек, оставлять 2 больше чем 3 оставаться (на месте), отставать): MMong. *xule-* (SH) 1, *xüle'u* (SH, HYt), *holu* (IM), *hul(a)u* **(MA)** 2; WMong. *üle-* 1 (L 1004), *ilegü, ilegüü, ülegüü* 2 (L 405), *ülde-, ülede-* 3; Kh. *üle-* 1, *ilū̆* 2, *ülde-* 3; Bur. *üle-* 1, *ülū̆* 2, *ülde-* 3; Kalm. *ülū̆, ilū̆* 2, *ülde* 3; Ord. *üli-, üle-* 1, *ilū̆* 2; Mog. ZM *ulou* (16-1a); Dag. *xulu-* 1, *xulū* 2 (Тод. Даг. 179), *hulū* 2, *huledē* 3 (MD 166), *ilū* 'many' <lit.? (MD 171); Dong. *ɸəiliə-* 1, *śiliu, šiliu* 2; Bao. *śilu, šilu, xelu* (Tungren) 2; S.-Yugh. *helē-* 1, *hölū̆, χölū̆* 2; Mongr. *fulē-* (SM 106) 1, *fulū̆* (SM 106), *xoliu, šilū̆, xilū̆* (Huzu).

◊ KW 456, 457 MGCD 287, 409, 692.

PTurk. ***üle-** 1 to divide, distribute, endow 2 lot, endowment (1 разделять, распределять, наделять 2 доля, надел): OTurk. *üle-, üleš-* 1, *ülüg, ülüš* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *üle-, üleš-* 1, *ülüg, ülüš* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *üleš-* 1, *üleš* 2; Turkm. *üle, ülüš* 2, *üle-, üleš-* 1; MTurk. *ülü* 2, *üle-* 1 (AH), *üleš-* 1, *üleš* 2 (Pav. C.), *ülüš* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ulāš-* 1, *ulʹuš* 2; Uygh. *ülāš-* 1, *ülüš* 2; Krm. *üleš-, ülüš-* 1, *ülüš* 2; Tat. *ŭlāš-* 1, *ŭlïš* 2; Bashk. *ŭlāš-* 1, *ŭlŭš* 2; Kirgh. *ülöš, ülüš* 2; Kaz. *üles-* 1, *üles* 2; KBalk. *üleš-* 1, *üleš, ülüš* 2; KKalp. *üles-* 1, *üles* 2; Kum. *üleš-* 1; Nogh. *üles-* 1, *ülis* 2; SUygh. *ülis-* 2; Khak. *üle-* 1, *ülüs* 2; Shr. *üle-, üleš-* 1, *üleš, ülüš* 2; Oyr. *ülü, ülöš* 2, *üle-, üleš-, ülöš-* 1; Tv. *üle-* 1, *üleš* 2; Chuv. *valeś-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 627-629, EDT 127, 142, 153, 154, Егоров 46, Федотов 1, 98-99, VEWT 520, TMN 2, 120-121.

‖ EAS 55, Владимирцов 187, Poppe 12, 111, Цинциус 1984, 60, Rozycki 82. A Western isogloss. Despite Doerfer MT 23, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

✱**pʻŭlgi (~ -o-)** to blow: Tung. ***pul(i)gi-**; Mong. ***hüliɣe-**; Jpn. ***pùk-**; Kor. ***pūr-**.

PTung. ***pul(i)gi-*** to blow (дуть): Man. *fulǵe-*; SMan. *filixi-* (2126); Nan. *fulgi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 336.

PMong. ***hüliɣe-*** to blow (дуть): MMong. *xüliʹə* (SH), *hulä-, huile-* (MA); WMong. *ülije-* (L 1006); Kh. *ülē-*; Bur. *üĺē-*; Kalm. *ülē-*; Ord. *ülē-*; Dag. *xūl-*; Dong. *fulie-, fəiliə-*; Bao. *file-, hilə-*; S.-Yugh. *pīle-*; Mongr. *pīle-* (SM 302), *pūle-*.

◊ KW 457, MGCD 692.

PJpn. ***pùk-*** to blow (дуть): OJpn. *puk-*; MJpn. *fùk-*; Tok. *fúk-*; Kyo. *fúk-*; Kag. *fùk-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

PKor. ***pūr-*** to blow (дуть): MKor. *pūr-*; Mod. *pūl-*.

◊ Nam 267, KED 835.

‖ EAS 55, KW 457, SKE 209, Lee 1958, 110, Poppe 12, 112, Цинциус 1984, 57, Martin 226. Not borrowed in TM < Mong., despite Rozycki 81. In Turk. the root has probably merged with **ulʹV* 'to freeze' q.v. (cf. the meaning 'to blow (of a cold wind)' in Chuv.).

✱**pʻŭli** root, foundation: Tung. ***pule-**; Mong. ***(h)ölmej**; Jpn. ***pú-**; Kor. ***pìrhǎi**.

PTung. ***pule-*** root (корень): Man. *fulexe*; SMan. *fuləxə, fuluxu* (2145).

◊ TMC 2, 302.

PMong. ***(h)ölmej*** sole of foot (подошва, ступня): MMong. *o[li]mi* 'upper part of a foot, metatarsus' (HY 47); WMong. *ölmei* (L 633); Kh.

ölmij; Bur. *üĺme, üĺmi* 'плюсна, ступня; подъем (у обуви)'; Kalm. *ölmɛ* 'front part of the foot (folklore)' (KPC 414); Ord. *ölmī*.

◊ Mong. > Ul. *elmi* etc. (see TMC 2, 454).

PJpn. ***pú-*** foot (of a mountain), foundation (подножие (горы), основание): OJpn. *pu-m(w)oto*; MJpn. *fú-mótó, fú-mótò*; Tok. *fumotó*; Kyo. *fúmótó*; Kag. *fumotó*.

◊ JLTT 418. A compound with **mətə* 'root, foundation'.

PKor. ***pìrhǎi*** root (корень): MKor. *pirhăi, pirhii, pùrhói, pùrhüi*; Mod. *p:uri*.

◊ Nam 268, 274, KED 814.

‖ SKE 1949, 209, Lee 1958, 109, Цинциус 1984, 61, АПиПЯЯ 291. The Mong. form can belong here only if the attested HY form *o[li]mi* is aberrant, reflecting the stage of language (or dialect) with h- already lost. Otherwise Mong. reflexes are to be separated from this root. On possible Turkic reflexes see under **ula*.

pʻŭlo** cheek: Tung. ****pul-; Mong. ****hurul***; Jpn. ****pə̀-pə́ (~-ua-)***; Kor. ****pór-***.

PTung. ****pul-*** 1 corner (of mouth) 2 cheek 3 inner side of cheek 4 gum 5 cheekbone 6 nose (of animal) (1 уголок (рта) 2 щека 3 внутренняя сторона щеки 4 десна 5 скула 6 нос (зверя)): Evk. *hullir* 6; Evn. *hulrn̥* 3; Neg. *xoli̯n* 1; Man. *fulǯin* 2; Ul. *pūli̯* (Sch.) 5, *pu̯ltu̯(n)* 3; Ork. *pu̯lčі̯* 3; Nan. *polpī* 3 , (Bik.) *felče* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 346.

PMong. ****hurul*** lip (губа): MMong. *xurül* (HY 46), *horol* (IM), *hurul* (MA), *horūl* (LH); WMong. *urul, ulur, uruɣul* (L 886); Kh. *ural, urūl*; Bur. *ural*; Kalm. *url̥, ūrl̥*; Ord. *urūl*; Mog. *urul* (Weiers), *ulur* (Ramstedt 1906); KT *orol* (2-1a); Dag. *xorōl, xorol, xollo* (Тод. Даг. 178), *horele* (MD 164); Dong. *furuŋ, furun, furəu*; Mongr. *urōl* (with unclear loss of h-).

◊ KW 451, MGCD 682.

PJpn. ****pə̀-pə́ (~-ua-)*** cheek (щека): OJpn. *p(w)op(w)o*; MJpn. *fòfó*; Tok. *hóo, hóho*; Kyo. *hóò*; Kag. *hóo*.

◊ JLTT 414. The Kyoto and Kagoshima accent contradicts the old records and the Tokyo evidence: this is probably due to contraction.

PKor. ****pór-*** cheek (щека): MKor. *pó-čjókái*; Mod. *pol*.

◊ Nam 261, KED 803.

‖ EAS 55, Цинциус 1984, 53, Lee 1958, 110, АПиПЯЯ 75, Martin 228. Mong. **hurul* regularly < **hulu-r*. As for the Jpn. form, it may be a reduplication (as thought traditionally; in this case **pə-* < **pʻu̯l(o)-gV*), or reflect an already suffixed form, cf. e. g. Nan. *polpi̯* (< **pʻu̯lo-pV*).

pʻulu (~-o) (?)** possessions, estate: Turk. ****ulu-Í; Kor. ****pùrìr***.

PTurk. ****ulu-Í*** country, city (страна, город): OTurk. *uluš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uluš* (MK); Krm. *uluš*.

◊ EDT 152-153, Лексика 317, 494. Turk. > Mong. *ulus* (see TMN 1, 177, Clark 1980, 41, Щербак 1997, 161), whence again modern Turkm., Oyr. etc. *ulus* (ЭСТЯ 1, 592).

PKor. ***pùrìr*** possessions, estate (владения, состояние): MKor. *pùrìr*.

◊ HMCH 352.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss; dubious because the Kor. word is very sparsely attested.

✱**pʻŭ̀lí** to open up: Tung. ***pule-***; Turk. ***üĺ-***; Kor. ***pírh-***.

PTung. ***pule-*** 1 to open up 2 to burst, break through (1 открывать, раскрывать 2 прокалывать, проламывать): Evk. *hulen-* 1, *hulte-* 2; Evn. *hultъl-* 2; Neg. *xulexet-* 'рыться (в вещах)', *xultejkin-* 2; Man. *fonto-*, *funto-* 2; Nan. *poldolị-* 2; Ud. *xulegde-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 346, 347.

PTurk. ***üĺ-*** 1 to perforate, cut a hole in 2 drill, borer (1 прокалывать, буравить 2 бурав): Karakh. *üš-* (MK) 1; Tur. *üš-* 1; Az. *üškü*, *üšgü* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *üšgi* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *üšü-* 1, *üškü* 2; Kaz. *üskĭ* 2.

◊ EDT 256, ЭСТЯ 1, 643-644, VEWT 523.

PKor. ***pírh-*** to loosen, undo, explain (развязывать, распаковывать, расслаблять): MKor. *phír-*; Mod. *phul-*.

◊ Nam 465, KED 1763.

‖ SKE 210, 215-216. Cf. also MKor. *părk-* 'to get away or free from'; Bur. *ülxe-* 'to bead, string' (> Evk. *ulge-* etc.). Despite Poppe 1972, 99, the TM forms cannot be borrowed < Mong. *ülte-* (see s.v. **uĺí*).

✱**pʻuma (~ p-, -i̯u-, -e)** a k. of big predator: Tung. ***pomā- / *pume-***; Kor. ***pəm**.

PTung. ***pomā- / *pume-*** bear (медведь): Evk. *homōtī*, *humej*.

◊ TMC 2, 332, 347.

PKor. ***pəm** tiger (тигр): MKor. *pām*; Mod. *pām*.

◊ Nam 256, KED 767.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss; within TM attested only in Evk., thus somewhat dubious.

✱**pʻŭ̀nte** a k. of insect: Tung. ***pundimi***; Mong. ***hötün***; Jpn. ***pə̀taru (~ -ua-)***; Kor. ***pántó***.

PTung. ***pundimi*** midge (мошка): Man. *funǯima*; Nan. *ponǯimị*.

◊ TMC 2, 41.

PMong. ***hötün*** worm, larva (червь, личинка): WMong. *ötü(n)* (L 646); Kh. *öt*; Bur. *üt*; Kalm. *ötn̥*; Ord. *ütü*; Dag. *xudu* (Тод. Даг. 179); Dong. *xodəu*; Bao. *hodəg*; S.-Yugh. *öt* (< lit.).

◊ KW 302, MGCD 550.

PJpn. ***pə̀taru (~ -ua-)*** firefly (светляк): OJpn. *p(w)otaru*; MJpn. *fotaru*; Tok. *hótaru*; Kyo. *hótàrù*; Kag. *hotarú*.

◊ JLTT 415. Accent correspondences are not quite clear, but in any case point to a low tone in the first syllable.

PKor. ***pántó*** firefly (светляк): MKor. *pántó, pántòi*; Mod. *pandi*.

◊ Nam 243, KED 716.

‖ Mergers with **pātʻe* were possible (esp. in Jpn., where otherwise -a- would be expected). Reasons of the loss of -n- in Mong. are not clear.

✱**pʻŭnV** to hit the target: Tung. ***penū-*** / ***punū-***; Mong. ***honu-***; Turk. ***una-***.

PTung. ***penū-*** / ***punū-*** to notice, guess (замечать, догадываться): Evk. *henū-*; Evn. *hēn-*; Neg. *xenu-*; Ul. *punu-*; Ork. *xenun-*; Ud. *xōno-, xuene-* 'to be surprised'.

◊ TMC 2, 366.

PMong. ***honu-*** 1 to hit (target), guess 2 to compete in bow-shooting 3 to shoot over the target 4 gist, essence (1 попадать (в цель), угадывать 2 соревноваться в стрельбе из лука 3 стрелять выше цели 4 сущность): MMong. *xontuča-* 2, 3 (SH), *nu-* (IM); WMong. *onu-* 1, *ontus-* 3, *oni-su(n)* 4 (L 615); Kh. *ono-*, no- 1, *oṅs* 4; Bur. *ono-* 1; Kalm. *on-* 1; Ord. *ono-*; Dag. *nō-* 1 (MD 200); Mongr. *nū-* 'regarder; atteindre, le but, toucher' (SM 287)?.

◊ KW 286.

PTurk. ***una-*** to agree, be satisfied (соглашаться, быть удовлетворенным): OTurk. *una-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *una-* (MK); Tur. *una-* (dial.); Az. *una-* (dial.); Turkm. *una-*; MTurk. *una-* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *una-*; Uygh. *una-*; Kirgh. *una-*; Kaz. *una-*; KBalk. *una-*; KKalp. *una-*; Nogh. *una-*; Khak. *una-*.

◊ EDT 171, VEWT 514, ЭСТЯ 1, 596-597.

‖ A Western isogloss. ? Cf. Jpn. *pono-mek-* 'to show vaguely, guess' etc. (if not the same as *pono-ka*).

✱**pʻúńe** nose; smell, to smell: Tung. ***puń-***; Mong. ***hünir***; Jpn. ***páná***.

PTung. ***puń-*** smell, to smell (запах, нюхать): Evk. *huńŋukte-*; Evn. *hīnemsi*; Neg. *xun*; Man. *fun, fuŋsan, fuŋšun*; SMan. *fuŋəsən, fuŋəsun* 'smelling of an animal, smelling of urine' (435, 2326); Ul. *pū(n)*; Ork. *pū(n), pūniɣe*; Nan. *pū*, dial. *fū*; Orch. *xū(n), xūń*; Ud. *xu(n)*; Sol. *ᷤū*.

◊ TMC 2, 349. Length in some languages is compensatory.

PMong. ***hünir*** 1 smell 2 to smell (1 запах 2 пахнуть): MMong. *xunir, xunor, xuŋši'ut* (pl.) (SH), *xunir* (HYt), *hujir* (IM), *hunir* (MA) 1, *hunir* 1, *hunis-* 2 (MA); WMong. *ünür* (L 1010), *ünir* 1; Kh. *üner* 1; Bur. *üner* 1; Kalm. *ünṛ* 1; Ord. *ünir* 1; Dag. *xūnu-* 1 (Тод. Дар. 179); Dong. *funi* 1; Bao. *hun-de-* 2; S.-Yugh. *honər, honor* 1; Mongr. *funir* 1, *funis-* 2 (SM 108).

◊ KW 458, MGCD 695.

PJpn. ***páná*** nose (нос): OJpn. *pana*; MJpn. *fáná*; Tok. *hàna*; Kyo. *háná*; Kag. *hána*.

◊ JLTT 397.

‖ EAS 55, Цинциус 1984, 61, АПиПЯЯ 78, 277, Rozycki 82. Despite Doerfer MT 80, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. Initial *pʻ- (not *p-) is reconstructed because of *h- in Mong. and high pitch in Jpn. Cf. **póńe*.

pʻúńe** hair; feather: Tung. ***puńe-; Mong. ****hü-sü***; Jpn. ****pánái***.

PTung. ****puńe-*** hair (волос(ы)): Evk. *heńekte* 'пыжик (мех молочного олененка)'; Man. *fuńexe*; SMan. *fenixə* 'hair, fur'(2, 143, 2282), *funiye*; Jurch. *fun-ir-xie* (497).

◊ TMC 2, 303, 367. A possible derivative is **punu-ktV* 'young horns of deer' reflected in Man. *funtu*, Nan. *puntu*, dial. *funku* (TMC 2, 47); cf. also Man. *funGala* 'feather', *fen* 'arrow feathers'.

PMong. ****hü-sü*** hair (волос): MMong. *xüsun* (HY 45, SH), *häson* (IM), *usun* (MA); WMong. *üsü(n)* (L 1013); Kh. *üs(en)*; Bur. *ühen*; Kalm. *üsŋ*; Ord. *üsü*; Mog. *üsün*; ZM *oṣu*; Dag. *xusu* (Тод. Даг. 180), *huse* (MD 167), *xus*; Dong. *usuŋ*, *usun*; Bao. *suŋ*; S.-Yugh. *həsun*; Mongr. *fuzə* (SM 102), (Huzu) *szə* (MGCD *šzu*).

◊ KW 460, MGCD 697.

PJpn. ****pánái*** feather (перо): OJpn. pane; MJpn. *fáné*; Tok. *hàne*; Kyo. *hánè*; Kag. *háne*.

◊ JLTT 398.

‖ ОСНЯ 3, 83-84, Цинциус 1984, 61-62, АПиПЯЯ 29-30, 112, 275, KW 460 (Mong. ~ TM); an alternative etymology of Poppe (Poppe 70: linking the TM form with Mong. *ünegen* 'fox' and Yak. *ünügäs* 'puppy') is obviously untenable. Cf. also Mong. **hö-dün* 'feather' (< **hön-dün* ?).

pʻùŋké** fade, exuviate: Tung. ***puŋk- / *peŋk-; Mong. ****(h)oŋgu-***; Turk. ****oŋ- / *öŋ-***; Jpn. ****pànká-***; Kor. ****pàŋkír-***.

PTung. ****puŋk- / *peŋk-*** 1 to fade, exuviate 2 to fall off 3 pale, faded, dark (1 линять 2 осыпаться, падать 3 бледный, неясный, темный): Evn. *heŋkʉl-* 1,2; Man. *fundexun* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 319, 367.

PMong. ****(h)oŋgu-*** to fade, exuviate (линять): WMong. *oŋgu-* (L 613); Kh. *ongo-*; Bur. *ongo-*.

PTurk. ****oŋ- / *öŋ-*** to fade, become pale (линять, блекнуть): OTurk. *öŋ-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *oŋ-* (MK); Uzb. *ọŋ-*; Uygh. *oŋ-*, *öŋ-*; Tat. *uŋ-*; Bashk. *uŋ-*; Kirgh. *oŋ-*; Kaz. *oŋ-*; KBalk. *oŋ-*; KKalp. *oŋ-*, *öŋ-*; Kum. *oŋ-*; Nogh. *oŋ-*; Khak. *oŋ-*; Oyr. *oŋ-*; Tv. *oŋ-*; Chuv. *ъʷn-* 'ohne Flamme brennen'.

◊ EDT 169, VEWT 362, 372, ЭСТЯ 1, 460-461.

PJpn. ***pànká-*** to fade, become bald (сходить (о краске); лысеть): Tok. *hagé-*; Kyo. *hàgè-*; Kag. *hàgè-*.

◊ JLTT 683. The word is attested late, but seems to be different from **pànk-* 'to tear (off)'.

PKor. ***pàŋkír-*** to take off clothes; to fade, exuviate (снимать одежду; линять): MKor. *pàŋkír-*.

◊ Nam 257.

‖ In Turk. **üŋ* would be expected; the vocalism was probably influenced by the homonymous **oŋ* / **öŋ* 'colour, exterior'. Kor. has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**p'ŭri** seed: Tung. ***pur-***; Mong. ***hüre***; Turk. ***urug (~ *or-)***; Jpn. ***pú***; Kor. ***pòrì***.

PTung. ***pur-*** 1 young (boy, child) 2 children 3 family 4 breed (1 молодой 2 дети 3 семья 4 приплод, выводок): Evk. *hur-kēn* 1, *hurū* 3, *huril* 2; Evn. *hur-ken* 1, *hurъl* 2; Neg. *xujil* 2; Man. *fur-sun* 4; Ul. *purul* 2; Ork. *puriɣe* 1, *puril* 2; Nan. *puri* 3, *puril* 2; Orch. *xī* 2; Sol. *ukkēxẽ, urkēxẽ* 1, *uril* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 353-354, 357-358, АПиПЯЯ 45.

PMong. ***hüre*** seed, child, descendant (семя): MMong. *xüre* (HY 7), *huran, hurun* (MA); WMong. *üre* (L 1011); Kh. *ür*; Bur. *üri*; Kalm. *ürn̥*; Ord. *ür, üre*; Dag. *xur* (Тод. Даг. 180), *hure* (MD 167); Dong. *fure*; Bao. *fure, fərɛ*; S.-Yugh. *hure*; Mongr. *furē* (SM 110), *xurē* (Minghe).

◊ KW 459, MGCD 696. Mong. > Sol. *ur* (see Doerfer MT 137; but not Man. *fur-sun*, despite Doerfer ibid. and Rozycki 83).

PTurk. ***urug (~ *or-)*** 1 seed 2 child, girl 3 kin, kind 4 relatives (1 семя 2 ребенок, девочка 3 род, племя 4 родственники): OTurk. *uruɣ* (OUygh.) 1, 3; Karakh. *uruɣ* (MK, KB) 1, 3; Turkm. *uruG* 3; MTurk. *uruɣ* (Sangl.) 4; Uzb. *uruɣ* 1; Uygh. *uruq* 1; Tat. *orlıq* 1; Bashk. *orloq* 1; Kirgh. *uruq* 3; Kaz. *ұrıq* 1; KBalk. *urluq* 1; KKalp. *urıq* 1; Nogh. *urlıq* 1; Tv. *uruɣ* 2; Tof. *uruɣ* 2; Chuv. *vъʷrъʷ* 1; Yak. *urū* 4; Dolg. *urū* 4.

◊ VEWT 516, TMN 2, 47, EDT 214-5, ЭСТЯ 1, 604-606, Лексика 115-116, 307, 323-324, Stachowski 246. Deriving the word from **ur-* 'beat, hit' (VEWT) is of course incorrect. Some forms reflect a variant form **uru-lik*. Turk. > Mong. *uruɣ* (see TMN 2, 51, Щербак 1997, 162).

PJpn. ***pú*** growth (поросль): OJpn. *pu*; Tok. *fù*; Kyo. *fǔ*; Kag. *fú*.

◊ JLTT 416.

PKor. ***pòrì*** barley (ячмень): MKor. *pòrì*; Mod. *pori*.

◊ Nam 260, KED 790.

‖ KW 459, Poppe 111, Цинциус 1972a, 52-59, 1984a, 62-63, АПиПЯЯ 47-48, 286, Лексика 116, Doerfer MT 137. Jpn. **pú* < **p'úr(i)-gV* (= Turk. **urug* etc.)

***p'ŭ̀ri** to shake: Tung. ***por-**; Mong. ***(h)üre-**; Turk. ***ur-**; Jpn. ***púrú-p-**.

PTung. ***por-** to hit, strike (бить, ударять): Man. *fori-*; SMan. *fori-* 'to pound, to beat' (1582).

◊ TMC 2, 301. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***(h)üre-** to strew, scatter (рассыпать; устранять, разрушать): WMong. *üre-* (L 1011); Kh. *üre-*; Bur. *üri-*; Kalm. *ürē-* 'demolish'; Ord. *ürē-* 'faire subir une perte'.

◊ KW 459.

PTurk. ***ur-** 1 to beat, hit 2 to pour, strew (1 бить, ударять 2 сыпать): OTurk. *ur-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *ur-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *vur-* 1; Gag. *ur-* 1; Az. *vur-* 1; Turkm. *ur-* 1; Khal. *hur-* 1; MTurk. *ur-* (Abush., Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *ur-* 1; Uygh. *ur-* 1; Krm. *ur-* 1; Tat. *ŭr-* 1; Bashk. *ŭr-* 1; Kirgh. *ur-* 1; Kaz. *ŭr-* 1; KBalk. *ur-* 1; KKalp. *ur-* 1; Kum. *ur-* 1; Nogh. *ur-* 1; Khak. *ur-* 2; Shr. *ur-* 2; Oyr. *ur-* 2; Tv. *ur-* 2; Chuv. *vъʷr-* 1.

◊ EDT 194-195, VEWT 515, ЭСТЯ 1, 599-600.

PJpn. ***púrú-p-** to shake; to sieve (трясти; просеивать): OJpn. *puru-p-*; MJpn. *fúrú-f-*; Tok. *fùru-*; Kyo. *fúrú-*; Kag. *furú-*.

◊ JLTT 695.

‖ Mong. also has a back variant **(h)uri-*, reflected in **(h)uri-ldu-* 'to contest, fight' (WMong. *urildu-*, *uraldu-*, Khalkha *uralda-*) = PT **uru-ĺč-* id.

***p'ŭ̀ri (~ -e)** to blow: Tung. ***pū-**; Mong. ***(h)uri-**; Turk. ***ür-**.

PTung. ***pū-** to blow (дуть): Evk. *huw-*; Evn. *hū-*; Neg. *xūw-*; Ul. *pū-*; Ork. *pū-*; Nan. *pū-*; Orch. *xū-*; Sol. *ū-gū-*.

◊ TMC 2, 336.

PMong. ***(h)uri-** to blow (in one's face) (дуть (в лицо)): WMong. *uri-* (MXTTT); Kh. *uri-*; Bur. *uŕā-* 'to eddy (of dust)'; Ord. *uri-*.

PTurk. ***ür-** to blow (дуть): OTurk. *ür-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ür-* (MK); Tur. *ür-* (dial.); MTurk. *ür-* (Pav. C., AH, Houts.), *hür-* (R.); Krm. *ür-*; Tat. *ör-*; Bashk. *ör-*; Kaz. *ür-*; KKalp. *ür-*; Nogh. *ür-*; Khak. *ür-*; Oyr. *ür-*; Tv. *ür-*; Chuv. *vəʷr-*; Yak. *ür-*; Dolg. *ür-*.

◊ EDT 195-196, ЭСТЯ 1, 635-636, Stachowski 253.

‖ EAS 55, 149. A Western isogloss.

***p'ŭrV** forest: Tung. ***pure**; Turk. ***orman**.

PTung. ***pure** thicket, forest (тайга, лес): Evk. *hur, hure*; Neg. *xujēn*; Ul. *pure(n)*; Ork. *pure(n)*; Nan. *purē*; Orch. *xue(n)*; Ud. *xuenče-* 'to go hunting'.

◊ TMC 2, 351-352. TM > Dag. *xurežē* (Тод. Дат. 180).

PTurk. ***orman** forest (лес): OTurk. *orman* (OUygh. late); Tur. *orman*; Turkm. *ormon* (dial.); Sal. *ormän*; MTurk. *orman* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̧rman*; Krm. *orman*; Tat. *urman*; Bashk. *urman*; Kirgh. *ormon*; Kaz. *orman*; KBalk. *orman*; KKalp. *orman*; Kum. *orman*; Nogh. *orman*; Chuv. *vъʷrman*.

◊ ДТС 371, ЭСТЯ 1, 472-473.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**pʻŭrVkʻV** rope, lasso: Tung. ***purka**; Mong. ***huraka**; Turk. ***uruk**.

PTung. ***purka*** lasso (петля, силок, аркан): Evk. *hurka*; Evn. *hurqъ*; Neg. *xojka*; Ul. *puča*; Ork. *puta*; Nan. *pojqa*; Orch. *xukka*; Ud. *xuka*.

◊ TMC 2, 352-353.

PMong. ***huraka*** lasso, bird net (аркан, сеть для ловли птиц): MMong. *xuraqa* (SH), *uruqa* (MA 367); WMong. *uriqa*, *uraqa(n)* (L 880); Kh. *urxi(n)*; Bur. *uŕxa*; Kalm. *urxə*; Ord. *uraxa*; Dag. *xuarkə* (*urga* Тод. Дар. 171 < lit.), *uarehe* (MD 230).

◊ KW 451, MGCD 681. Mong. > Manchu *urgan* 'lasso' (see Rozycki 219).

PTurk. ***uruk*** 1 rope 2 lasso (1 веревка, бечева, канат 2 аркан): OTurk. *uruq* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *uruq* (MK) 1; Tur. *urγan*, *urgan* 1; Gag. *urγan* 2; Turkm. *urGan* 1; Sal. *urχan*, *orχan* 1; MTurk. *orγan* (AH) 1; KKalp. *urqan* 1; SUygh. *uruq* 2; Khak. *urux* 2; Shr. *uruq* 2; Oyr. *uruq* 2; Tv. *uruq* 2.

◊ EDT 215, VEWT 516, ЭСТЯ 1, 585 (confused with **ukruk*), 602-603. Some modern forms reflect a secondary derivative **urkan*.

‖ EAS 53, 125, Poppe 101, Цинциус 1984, 55. A Western isogloss. Despite TMN 2, 87, Щербак 1997, 162, Mong. cannot be borrowed < Turkic; again, despite Doerfer MT 18, TM cannot be < Mong. (all because of archaic *p- preservation both in Mong. and TM). Quite enigmatic is the relationship of this root to synonymous **ukʻurkV* q.v.

✱**pʻŭŕi (~ -e)** to crush: Tung. ***puru-**, ***purgu-**; Mong. ***hürü-**; Turk. ***üŕ-**; Kor. ***pɨr-**.

PTung. ***puru-**, ***purgu-*** to crush (толочь, дробить): Evk. *huru-*, *hurgu-*, *horo-*; Evn. *huruŋ-*, *hor-ča-*; Man. *furu-*; SMan. *furu-* 'to chop, to cleave' (1730); Ul. *pori-*; Nan. *purtu* 'crumbs'.

◊ TMC 2, 333, 352, 354. Cf. also Man. *furdexe* 'fur', Nan. *furde*, *ferde* id. (TMC 2, 303; see Doerfer MT 143: Mong. *hürte-sün* = Man. *furdexe)*.

PMong. ***hürü-*** to rub, grate, file (тереть): MMong. *xuru-* (SH); WMong. *ürü-* (L 1013); Kh. *üre-*; Bur. *üre-*; Kalm. *ür-* 'to brake, comb (wool)' (KPC); Ord. *ürē-*, *ürü-*.

◊ Cf. also **(h)ürte-sün* 'лоскутья, обрезки'; WMong. *uru-* 'to tear, rip'.

PTurk. ***üŕ-*** to break, tear, demolish (ломать, рвать, уничтожать): OTurk. *üz-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *üz-* (MK); Tur. *üz-* (dial.); Az. *üz-*; Turkm. *üz-*; Khal. *hüs-gün-*, *hiz-* (*üzgün-* < Az.); MTurk. *üz-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *uz-*; Uygh. *üz-*; Krm. *uź-*, *iz-*; Tat. *ŭz-*; Bashk. *ŭδ-*; Kirgh. *üz-*; Kaz. *üz-*; KBalk. *üz-*; KKalp. *üz-*; Kum. *üz-*; Nogh. *üz-*; SUygh. *jüz-*, *juz-*; Khak. *üs-*; Oyr. *üs-*; Tv. *üs-*.

◊ EDT 279-280, VEWT 524, ЭСТЯ 1, 621-622.

PKor. ***pɨr-*** in pieces, in crumbs (на куски, в крошку): MKor. *pɨrə-*; Mod. *purə* 1.

◊ Liu 404, KED 812.

‖ EAS 54, 56, 149, Poppe 12, 111, SKE 210, ОСНЯ 2, 101, Цинциус 1984, 63-64. Despite Rozycki 83, TM cannot be borrowed < Mong.

✱**pʻŭsa** plan, reason: Tung. ***puse***; Mong. ***hasaɣu-***; Turk. ***us***; Jpn. ***pánsú***; Kor. ***psɨ́-***.

PTung. ***puse*** reason (причина, повод): Evk. *hohut-*, *hošut-* (dial.) 'to be smb.'s equal'; Evn. *huse*.

◊ TMC 2, 335, 355.

PMong. ***hasaɣu-*** to ask (спрашивать): MMong. *asax* (HY 34), *xasax-*, *asax-* (SH), *hasox-*, *haṣoɣ-* (IM), *asaɣ-*, *asaq-* (MA), *hasaq* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *asaɣu-* (L 55); Kh. *asū-*; Bur. *asū-*; Ord. *asū-*; Mog. *asuɣu-*; ZM *asaɣ* (23-3b); Dag. *xasō-* (Тод. Даг. 174), *asō* (MD 115), *hasō* (MD 157); Dong. *asa-* (< lit.); Bao. *asGə-*, *asxə-* (< lit.); Mongr. *saGa-* (SM 318).

◊ MGCD 122.

PTurk. ***us*** 1 mind, reason 2 way of using smth. (1 ум, рассудок 2 способ использования чего-л.): OTurk. *usuɣ* (~ o-) 2; Karakh. *usuɣ* (~ o-) 2 (MK), *us* 1 (MK - Oghuz); Tur. *us* 1; Turkm. *os* 1, *os-* 'to think'; MTurk. *us* 1 (Pav. C.); Krm. *us* 1; Chuv. *ъʷs* 1.

◊ EDT 240, 245, ЭСТЯ 1, 606-607.

PJpn. ***pánsú*** plan, intention (план, намерение): MJpn. *fázú*; Tok. *hàzu*; Kyo. *házú*; Kag. *házu*.

◊ JLTT 403.

PKor. ***psɨ́-*** to use (употреблять, использовать): MKor. *psɨ́-*; Mod. *sːɨ-*.

◊ Nam 319, KED 1023.

‖ An interesting common Altaic abstract term (although voicing in Jpn. is not quite clear).

✱**pʻŭske** to kick, knock: Tung. ***poske-***; Mong. ****(h)öskil-***; Jpn. ****pànsìk-***.

PTung. ***poske-*** to kick (пинать, лягать): Man. *fesxule-*; Ork. *poskolo-*; Nan. *puskule-*.

◊ TMC 2, 990. TM > Dag. *peškule-* (Тод. Даг. 160).

PMong. ****(h)öskil-*** to kick (пинать): WMong. *öskül-*, *öskil-* (L 417: *iskül-*, *öskele-*, *ösküle-*); Kh. *öšgil-*; Bur. *üšxel-*; Kalm. *öškḷ-*; Ord. *ösköl-*; Mongr. *sgor* 'coup de pied', *sgorda-* (SM 349).

◊ KW 302.

PJpn. ****pànsìk-*** to knock away (with a finger) (отталкивать щелчком пальца): OJpn. *pazik-*; MJpn. *fàzìk-*; Tok. *hajík-*; Kyo. *hájík-*; Kag. *hàjìk-*.

◊ JLTT 686.

‖ Poppe 11, 65, 90, Цинциус 1984, 50-51; TM cannot be borrowed < Mong., despite Rozycki 76. Cf. **pʻŏkʻi*.

***pʻútʻà (~ -o-)** rope; woof, yarn: Tung. ***put-**; Mong. ***huta**; Turk. ***otgun**; Jpn. ***pátà**; Kor. ***patak (~ -ă-)**.

PTung. ***put-** 1 lap 2 thread, rope (1 подол 2 нить, веревка): Man. *futa* 2 (Захаров 1079); SMan. *fətā* 2 (661); Ul. *putu(n)* 1; Nan. *putū* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 45. The Manchu form is certainly not < Mong., despite Rozycki 83.

PMong. ***huta** thread (нить): MMong. *xudasun* (HY 23), *heiṭosun* (IM), *utasun* (MA), *hūtāsūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *utasu(n)* (L 888); Kh. *utas, utsan*; Bur. *utaha(n)*; Kalm. *utsṇ*; Ord. *utasu*; Dong. *udasun*; Bao. *ndasoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *šdāsən*; Mongr. *sdāʒə* (SM 332), (MGCD *šdāsə*).

◊ KW 453, MGCD 685. Mong. > Evk. *utasun* (but not Man. *futa*!), see Doerfer MT 132.

PTurk. ***otgun** a broad strap on the left side of the saddle to which the buckle of the girth is fastened and secured with its tongue (широкий ремень, к которому прикрепляется подпруга): Karakh. *otγun* (*utγun*) (MK).

◊ EDT 47.

PJpn. ***pátà** loom; cloth (ткацкий станок; ткань): OJpn. *pata*; MJpn. *fátà*; Tok. *hatá*; Kyo. *hátà*; Kag. *háta*.

◊ JLTT 401.

PKor. ***patak (~ -ă-)** cloth, weave, texture (ткань): Mod. *padak*.

◊ KED 703.

‖ Poppe 12, 51; Цинциус 1984, 56-57; UAJ 1995, 88 (Kor.-Jpn.).

***pʻVbV** many, ten / hundred (an auxiliary stem): Tung. ***poba**; Mong. ***ha-**; Turk. ***ōn**; Jpn. ***-pə ~ *-pua**.

PTung. ***poba** 1 ten (a bundle of ten squirrels) 2 collection, gathering (1 десяток (связка белок) 2 собрание): Ork. *pōwo* 1; Nan. *poā* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 40.

PMong. ***ha-** 1 ten 2 all (1 десять 2 весь, все): MMong. *xarban* (HY 43, SH), *ḥarbān* (IM), *hărban* (MA) 1; WMong. *arban* 1; Kh. *arav, arvan* 1; Bur. *arba(n)* 1; Kalm. *arwṇ* 1; Ord. *arwa* 1; Mog. *arbōn*; ZM *arbɔ̄n* (25-3a); Dag. *xarab* (MGCD), *xarba(n)* (Тод. Даг. 174), *harebe* (MD 157) 1; Dong. *haran, haruan* 1; Bao. *harwaŋ* (MGCD), *habran* (Tungren) 1, *hane* 2; S.-Yugh. *harwan* 1; Mongr. *xar(w)an* (SM 165), *xarwan* 1 (MGCD), *xana* 2.

◊ KW 15, MGCD 114.

PTurk. ***ōn** ten (десять): OTurk. *on* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *on* (MK); Tur. *on*; Gag. *uon, on*; Az. *on*; Turkm. *ōn*; Khal. *o̧n*; MTurk. *on* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̧n*; Uygh. *on*; Krm. *on*; Tat. *un*; Bashk. *un*; Kirgh. *on*; Kaz. *on*; KBalk. *on*; KKalp. *on*; Kum. *on*; Nogh. *on*; SUygh. *on, un*; Khak. *on*; Oyr. *on*; Tv. *on*; Chuv. *vonъ*; Yak. *uon*; Dolg. *uon*.

◊ EDT 166, VEWT 362, TMN 2, 163, ЭСТЯ 1, 455-456, Лексика 573, Федотов 1, 130-131, Stachowski 244.

PJpn. ***-pə ~ *-pua** hundred (in names of hundreds) (сто (в назв. сотен)): OJpn. *-p(w)o*.

‖ The original root structure is not quite clear: perhaps one has to suppose a monosyllabic root **pʻō-*, with suffixed *-ba(n) or *-n.

S

✱**sa** to buy, sell: Turk. ***sat-**; Jpn. ***sirə**; Kor. ***sà-**.

PTurk. ***sat-*** to sell (продавать): OTurk. *sat-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sat-* (MK); Tur. *sat-*; Gag. *sat-*; Az. *sat-*; Turkm. *sat-*; Sal. *sat-*; Khal. *sat-*; MTurk. *sat-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔt-*; Uygh. *sat-*; Krm. *sat-*; Tat. *sat-*; Bashk. *hat-*; Kirgh. *sat-*; Kaz. *sat-*; KBalk. *sat-*; KKalp. *sat-*; Kum. *sat-*; Nogh. *sat-*; SUygh. *sat-*; Khak. *sat-*; Shr. *sat-*; Oyr. *sat-*; Tv. *sat-*; Chuv. *sot-*; Yak. *at-*; Dolg. *at-* (in *atī-*, *atastas-*).

◊ EDT 798-799, VEWT 405, Лексика 335, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 67, Stachowski 38, 39. Turk. > Hung. *szatócz* 'salesman' (< **satɨγ-či*), see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***sirə*** price; material (цена; товар, вещь): OJpn. *siro*.

◊ JLTT 526.

PKor. ***sà-*** to buy (покупать, торговать): MKor. *sà-*; Mod. *sa-*.

◊ Nam 282, KED 869.

‖ Лексика 335. The match is acceptable (as one of the Common Altaic monosyllabic verbal roots) if -rə in Jpn. is a historical suffix. Cf. perhaps also TM **sali-* 'esteem; price' - which may reflect a merger of this root with **sáĺo* 'love' q.v.

✱**sábà** to hinder, obstruct: Mong. ***saɣa-**; Turk. ***sab-**; Jpn. ***sápár-**.

PMong. ***saɣa-*** to be detained, stopped, linger (задерживаться, останавливаться, медлить): MMong. *sa'ara-* (SH); WMong. *saɣara-*, *saɣata-* (L 657, 658); Kh. *sār-*, *sāt-*; Bur. *hār-* 'ослабевать', *hāt-*; Kalm. *sātə-*; Ord. *sāta-*; Dag. *sāta-* (Тод. Дат. 162), *sāte-* (MD 204); Bao. *sāGe-* 'to wait' (Тод. Бн.); S.-Yugh. *sād* 'obstacle', *sādūl-*.

◊ Mong. > Oyr. *sāt-*, *sara-* etc., KW 318, MGCD 583, 584, VEWT 405; > Yak. *sārat*, Dolg. *hārat-* (Kał. MEJ 28, Stachowski 100) > Evk. *sāta-*, Man. *sarta-*, TMC 2, 67).

PTurk. ***sab-*** 1 to be stopped, hindered, discontinued 2 to stop, finish 3 to turn off (the road) 4 to get rid of 5 to turn downwards, decline 6 to pass, pass away (1 кончаться, останавливаться 2 переставать, прекращаться 3 сворачивать (с пути) 4 избавляться 5 склоняться книзу, удаляться, устраняться 6 проходить, исчезать): Karakh. *savra-* 1, *savɨl-* 5 (MK); Tur. *sav-* 4, *savuš-* 6; Gag. *sauš-* 6; Az. *sovul-* 2, *sovuš-* 6; Turkm. *sow-* 3, *sowul-* 2, 3; MTurk. *sav-* 3, 4 (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔw-*, *sū-*, *sɔwul-*, *suwul-* (dial.) 2; Krm. *savuš-* 6.

◊ EDT 788-789, 791, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sápár-** to hinder, obstruct (препятствовать, задерживать): OJpn. *sapar-*; Tok. *sàwar-*; Kyo. *sáwár-*; Kag. *sawár-*.

◊ JLTT 748.

‖ Ozawa 215-216.

✱**sāba** sign: Tung. ***sab(i)-**; Mong. ***saɣam**; Turk. ***sāb-**; Jpn. ***sàmpàk-**.

PTung. ***sab(i)-** 1 sign, omen 2 to plan 3 to mark, make notches (1 знак, предзнаменование 2 планировать 3 помечать, делать зарубки): Man. *sabi* 1; Jurch. *sabi-biar* (861) 2; Ork. *sawị-* 3; Nan. *sowŏča* 'веха'; Orch. *sawi-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 51, 54.

PMong. ***saɣam** ruse, dodge, pretext (предлог, уловка): WMong. *saɣam* (MXTTT); Kh. *sām* (Gomb. 429); Kalm. *sām*.

◊ KW 317. The word is not listed in Lessing's dictionary, which includes, however, a WMong. *sobin* 'omen, sign' (< Manchu?).

PTurk. ***sāb** word, speech (слово, речь): OTurk. *sab* (Orkh.), *sav* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sav* (MK); Tur. *sav*; Turkm. *sāv-čɨ* 'matchmaker', dial. *sāw*; Sal. *sōǰi* 'matchmaker' (ССЯ); MTurk. *sav* (AH); Oyr. *sabɨr* (*bičig*) 'богатырское письмо'; Chuv. *sъʷvъʷ* 'verse, poem'.

◊ VEWT 391, EDT 782-783, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 20.

PJpn. ***sàmpàk-** to discern, judge (разрешать, судить): MJpn. *sabak-*; Tok. *sabák-*; Kyo. *sábák-*; Kag. *sàbàk-*.

◊ JLTT 744.

‖ Japanese has an irregular low tone.

✱**sắbí** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***sabu-**; Turk. ***sEbrük**; Jpn. ***símpí**.

PTung. ***sabu-** white-fish (сиг): Evk. *sawčān*; Neg. *sawčān*; Ul. *sawụ*; Nan. *sao*; Orch. *saū*.

◊ TMC 2, 52.

PTurk. ***sEbrük** sturgeon (севрюга): Turkm. *süjrik*; Tat. *söjrök*; Kum. *süjrük*; Nogh. *sujrik*.

◊ VEWT 438, TMN 3, 291, Лексика 178, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. also Chuv. *šavər sъmsa* lit. 'sharp nose' (a contamination). Turk. > Hung. *sőreg*, see MNyTESz 3, 581.

PJpn. ***símpí** tuna fish (тунец): OJpn. *sibji*; MJpn. *síbí*; Tok. *shibi*.

◊ JLTT 522.

‖ Лексика 179.

✱**sábó** service: Tung. ***sab-**; Mong. ***sibe-gčin**; Turk. ***sab-**; Jpn. ***sámpúrap-**.

PTung. ***sab-** 1 to present gifts 2 to get accustomed (1 предлагать дары, угощать 2 привыкать): Evk. *sawka-* 2; Evn. *hawqъ-* 2; Neg. *sawlị-* 1; Man. *soli-* 'to call guests; to propose a position'; SMan. *šioli-*, *sioli-* (1438) 'to invite'; Ul. *saụlị-* 1; Nan. *saolị-* 1; Orch. *sawli-*, *sauli-* 1; Ud. *sauli-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 51-52. TM > Dag. *soli-* (Тод. Даг. 163).

PMong. ***sibe-** female servant (служанка): MMong. *šibekčin* (MA), *səbəkčin* (LH); WMong. *sibegčin* (L 694); Kh. *šivegč*; Kalm. *šiwəkčn*; Ord. *šiwegčin*.

◊ KW 362. Mong. > Evk. *čiwekčin* (see Poppe 1972, 102). It is interesting to note Evk. *čiwek, čawak* 'male servant' (TMC 2, 375) which may witness an unattested Mong. **sibeg* id.

PTurk. ***sab-** 1 gift 2 booty 3 regale 4 wedding gifts 5 part of booty (1 подарок 2 добыча 3 угощение 4 свадебные гостинцы 5 часть добычи): Tur. *savɣa* 3 (dial.), (Osm.) *savɣat* 1; Az. *savɣat* 1; Turkm. *sovɣat* 1; Khal. *sav-* 'bewirten'; MTurk. *sauɣat* (R.) 1, (CCum.) *sajɣat* 2; Uzb. *sɔwɣa* 1; Uygh. *soɣa* 1; Krm. *sawɣa* 1; Tat. *sawım, sawın* (dial.) 4; Kirgh. *sōɣa* 1, *sōrun* 5; Kaz. *sawɣa* 1; KBalk. *sawɣa* 1; Kum. *savɣat* 1; Nogh. *sawɣa* 1; SUygh. *savra* 'пирожок, который едят при богослужении'.

◊ Turk. > WMong. *sauqa, sauɣa, sauɣad* (L 677) (VEWT 406, Лексика 349-350; Щербак 1997, 165; Doerfer TMN 1, 345-346, ЭСТЯ 7). An attempt of a Turkic etymology for Mong. **saw-ga,* hardly satisfactory (< **sab-* 'hit' or 'obstruct') see in Eren 1972; the Late Avestan origin of the Mong. word (suggested by Doerfer in TMN and supported by Menrec 1979, 135-136) is quite dubious.

PJpn. ***sámpúrap-** to be hired, serve as samurai (быть на службе): OJpn. *saburap-*; MJpn. *sábúraf-*; Tok. *samurai* (n.).

◊ JLTT 747 (but the assertion that the form with -b- is Heian and later, is wrong; it is certainly attested earlier and precedes the later attested variant *samuraf- / sauraf-*).

‖ Дыбо 15 compares Tung. with Turk. **sep-* 'to equip, fit out; dowry', but this is phonetically less plausible because of voiceless **-p-* in Turkic; see on this root under **sə̀apʿu*.

***sə̀čʿi** wise, careful: Tung. ***sāče-**; Mong. ***seče-n**; Turk. ***sEč-**; Jpn. ***sita-ta-**.

PTung. ***sāče-** to be careful (остерегаться, быть осторожным): Evk. *sāče-*.

◊ TMC 2, 68.

PMong. ***seče-n** wise, clever (мудрый, умный): MMong. *sečen* (SH, HYt), *čečen* (IM); WMong. *sečen, čečen* (L 680); Kh. *secen, cecen*; Bur. *sesen*; Kalm. *cecn̦* (KPC); Ord. *sečin, ǯičin*; Dag. *sečin* (Тод. Даг. 163, MD 204).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *sečen* etc., see TMN 1, 333, Doerfer MT 51.

PTurk. ***sEč-** to choose, select (выбирать): OTurk. *seč-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *seč-* (MK); Tur. *seč-*; Gag. *seč-*; Az. *seč-*; Turkm. *seč-*; MTurk. *seč-* (IM, Pav. C.); Krm. *seč-*; Yak. *es-* 'to drag out the net'.

◊ EDT 794-795, VEWT 407, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sita-ta-** 1 certainly, definitely 2 to acknowledge, admit, recognize, determine (1 точно, надежно 2 признавать, распознавать): OJpn. *sitata* 1; MJpn. *sitatam-* 2.

◊ Cf. also OJ *sita* 'heart, mind' - if etymologically different from *sita* 'below' (which seems rather probable).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 76 (with a wrong inclusion of Jpn. **sátə-*, see **sə́ra*)

✱**sagè** to cry, shout: Tung. ***sag-**; Mong. ***siɣu-g-**; Turk. ***sigɨt-**; Jpn. ***sakai(m)p-**.

PTung. ***sag-** 1 to shout, cry 2 to sigh 3 to pity 4 noise, sound (1 кричать 2 вздыхать 3 жалеть 4 шум, звук): Evk. *saɣisō-* 1, *saɣinā-* 2; Evn. *sag-* 2 (Arm.), *hagor* 4 (Sakk.); Ork. *saGdan-* 3; Orch. *saɣiki* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 52, 54.

PMong. ***siɣu-** to be noisy (шуметь): WMong. *siɣu-*, (L 758) *šuugi-*, *siɣugi-*, *šougina-*; Kh. *šūgi-*; Bur. *šūjā-*; Kalm. *šūǵə-*; Ord. *šūgi-*; Mongr. *šoGǯinā-* (SM 381).

◊ KW 369.

PTurk. ***sigɨt-** 1 to cry, weep 2 weeping (1 плакать, рыдать 2 плач): OTurk. *siɣɨt* (Orkh.) 2; Karakh. *siɣɨt* (MK) 2; MTurk. *siɣɨt* 2 (IM); Krm. *siɣɨt* 2; Nogh. *sijt* 2; Khak. *sɨt* 2; Oyr. *siɣɨt* 2; Yak. *ɨtā-* 1; Dolg. *ɨtā-* 1.

◊ EDT 806, VEWT 415, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 262.

PJpn. ***sakai(m)p-** to cry, shout (кричать): OJpn. *sakeb-*; MJpn. *sákéb-*; Tok. *sakéb-*; Kyo. *sákéb-*; Kag. *sàkèb-*.

◊ JLTT 746. Accent not quite clear: modern dialects point rather to **sàkài(m)p-*.

‖ An expressive root; in Jpn. we must assume a vowel assimilation (**-ə-* would be expected).

✱**sago (~ z-)** old, age: Tung. ***sag-d-**; Mong. ***seɣü-der**; Kor. ***sǎ̆-n**.

PTung. ***sag-da-** 1 senior 2 old 3 old man (1 старший 2 старый 3 старик): Evk. *sagda-γī* 1; Evn. *haγdъγ* 1; Neg. *sagdį̄* 2; Man. *saqda* 3; SMan. *sahədə* 2, 3 (848); Ul. *saGdi.* 2; Ork. *saGda* 2; Nan. *saGšį̄* 3; Orch. *sagdi* 1, 2; Ud. *sagdi* 'big'; Sol. *sagdī*, *saddī* 1, 3.

◊ TMC 2, 53. TM > Dag. *sagdī*, *sardī* (Тод. Даг. 161).

PMong. ***seɣü-der** age (возраст): WMong. *seɣü-der* (L 683); Kh. *sǖder*; Kalm. *sǖdr*.

◊ KW 341.

PKor. ***sǎ́-n** grown-up (взрослый): MKor. *sǎ̆n*.

◊ Nam 289.

‖ Mong. and TM reflect the common derivative **sago-dV*.

✱**ságú** a k. of coniferous tree: Tung. ***sak-si-**; Turk. ***sagɨr, *sagrɨ**; Jpn. ***súnkúi**.

PTung. ***sak-si-** juniper (можжевельник): Man. *saqsin*.

◊ TMC 2, 57. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***sagɨr, *sagrɨ** thuja (туя): OTurk. *sayrɨ* 'a k. of plant' (OUygh. - Suv.); Uzb. *sawir*; Tat. *sawɨr*; Bashk. *sawɨr*.

◊ ДТС 481, Дмитриева 208.

PJpn. ***súnkúi*** cryptomeria (криптомерия): OJpn. *sugi*; MJpn. *súgí*; Tok. *sùgi*; Kyo. *súgí*; Kag. *súgi*.

◊ JLTT 532.

‖ The root is poorly attested in TM, but the Turkic and Japanese words appear to form a good match.

✱**sagu** a k. of vessel: Mong. ***sag-su***; Turk. ***sAgut***; Kor. ***sòth***.

PMong. ***sag-su*** a k. of basket made from bamboo (вид корзины): WMong. *saysu* (L 658); Kh. *sags*.

◊ Mong. > Neg. *saksa* 'coffin', Man. *saqsu* 'basket' (see Rozycki 173).

PTurk. ***sAgut*** dishes, vessel; instrument (посуда, сосуд; орудие, инструмент, утварь, сбруя): Tur. *savut* 'weapon'; Turkm. *sowut* (arch., dial.); MTurk. *sawut*, *saut* (R.), *saqıt* (MA); Uzb. *sɔwut*; Uygh. *sawut*; Krm. *sawut*, *sayıt*; Tat. *sawıt*; Bashk. *hawıt*; Kirgh. *sōt*; Kaz. *sawıt*; KBalk. *sawut*; KKalp. *sawit*; Kum. *sawut*; Nogh. *sawıt*.

◊ VEWT 393-394. It may be possible to follow Räsänen and to derive the form **sagu-t* from **sugu* 'corn measure; pail' (see VEWT ibid., ЭСТЯ ibid., EDT 805), which would speak in favour of PT *-g-. On the other hand, cf. Karakh. *savdič* 'a basket plaited from twigs' (EDT 785). The specific synonymy 'vessel, dishes' : 'instrument, gear' and even 'weapon' (cf. KBalk. *sawut* 'weapon', MTurk. (Zenker) *sawut* 'arrow with long sharp end', Bashk. dial. *ɜawıt* 'hunting knife') may in fact reflect a contamination with a quite different root, see **sAg[u]n* 'arrow, arrow head'.

PKor. ***sòth*** kettle (котел): MKor. *sòt*, *sòth*; Mod. *sot* [*soth*].

◊ Nam 310, KED 994.

‖ Cf. also PT **sagır* 'kettle' (VEWT 393).

✱**sa̰ja (~ z-)** clear, dawn: Tung. ***saj-***; Jpn. ***sàjà-***; Kor. ***sāi-***.

PTung. ***saj-*** 1 dawn 2 to dawn 3 light 4 clear, bright (1 рассвет, заря 2 рассветать 3 свет 4 светлый, светловатый): Evk. *sajirūl-* 2, *sajirūlǯarī* 1, (dial.) *šajama* 3, *hājeme* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 55, 309, 423. Attested only in Evk., with probable parallels in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ***sàjà-*** clear, light (светлый, ясный): OJpn. *saja*, *saja-ke-*; MJpn. *sàjà*, *sàjà-ke-*; Tok. *sáyaka*; Kyo. *sàyáká*; Kag. *sayaká*.

◊ JLTT 520.

PKor. ***sāi-*** to dawn (рассветать): MKor. *sāi-*; Mod. *sā̆-*.

◊ Nam 295, KED 921.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Dag. *sajarin* 'dawn' is probably < Tung.

✱**sàjbo** sound: Tung. ***sabu-da-***; Turk. ***seb-***; Jpn. ***sàwàk-***.

PTung. ***sabu-*** 1 to rustle, sound 2 noise, splash (1 шуршать, звучать 2 шум, плеск): Evk. *sawuda-* 1; Nan. *saoGī* 2; Ud. *safuta-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 52, 65.

PTurk. ***seb-*** to speak (говорить): Tur. *söjle-*, dial. *sövle-*; Gag. *sȫle-*; Az. *söjlä-*; Turkm. *söjle-*; MTurk. *söjle-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *sǫjla-*, dial. *sävlä-*; Tat. *süjlä-*, dial. *sövle-*, *sevle-*; Bashk. *hüjlä-*; Kirgh. *söjlö-*, *süle-*; Kaz. *söjle-*;

KBalk. *söle-*; KKalp. *söjle-*; Kum. *söjle-*; Khak. *söle-*; Oyr. *sūle-*; Tv. *sögle-*; Chuv. *sujlaś-*, *sol'a-*; Yak. *ülä-*.

◊ VEWT 429, Федотов 2, 54-55, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sàwàk-*** to sound, make a noise (звучать, шуметь): OJpn. *sawak-*; MJpn. *sàwàk-*; Tok. *sawág-*; Kyo. *sáwág-*; Kag. *sawág-*.

◊ JLTT 748. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ An expressive and rather insecure root: the Turkic form are late attested and irregular.

✱**săjgo** to filter, ooze: Tung. ***saji-ǯa (~-g-)***; Mong. ***saɣa-***; Turk. ***sag-***; Jpn. ***sú***; Kor. ***sǎi-***.

PTung. ***saji-ǯa (~-g-)*** sieve (сито): Ul. *sajǯa*; Nan. *sajǯa*.

◊ TMC 2, 55.

PMong. ***saɣa-*** to milk (доить): MMong. *sa'a-* (SH), *sa-* (MA 319); WMong. *saɣa-* (L 656); Kh. *sā-*; Bur. *hā-*; Kalm. *sā-*; Ord. *sā-*; Mog. *sɔ-* (Weiers); ZM *sā-* (23-5b); Dag. *sā-* (Тод. Даг. 161, MD 204); Dong. *sa-*; Bao. *sā-*; S.-Yugh. *sā-*; Mongr. *s(w)ā-* (SM 356), *sāli* 'animal qu'on trait, femelle (brebis, chèvre)' (SM 321).

◊ KW 317, MGCD 585. Mong. > Sol. *saga-* 'to milk', see Poppe 1961, 191.

PTurk. ***sag-*** to milk (доить): OTurk. *saɣ-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *saɣ-* (MK); Tur. *sā-*, dial. *saɣ-*; Gag. *sā-*; Az. *saɣ-*; Turkm. *saG-*; Sal. *sax-*; Khal. *sa:ɣ-*; MTurk. *saɣ-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔɣ-*; Uygh. *saɣ-*; Krm. *sav-*; Tat. *saw-*; Kirgh. *sā-*; Kaz. *saw-*; KKalp. *saw-*; Kum. *sav-*; Nogh. *saw-*; SUygh. *saɣ-*; Khak. *saɣ-*; Oyr. *sā-*; Tv. *saɣ-*; Chuv. *sъʷv-*; Yak. *ıa-*.

◊ VEWT 393, EDT 804, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sú*** bamboo sieve, mat (бамбуковое сито, циновка): MJpn. *sú*; Tok. *su*.

◊ JLTT 531.

PKor. ***sǎi-*** to leak, ooze (сочиться, протекать): MKor. *sǎi-*; Mod. *sā̆-*.

◊ Nam 296, KED 921.

‖ EAS 85, KW 317, Владимирцов 194. Poppe 29, 59 (Turk.-Mong.), АПиПЯЯ 15. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 144. *-jg- is probable because of the TM reflex and loss of *-g- in Jpn.; Korean high tone (rather untypical for a verb) is also possibly due to contraction (see also **sǎ̆jV* 'shallow place' - a possible source of contamination).

✱**saji** to notch, pierce: Tung. ***saji-***; Mong. ***seji-***; Turk. ***sAj-***.

PTung. ***saji-*** to make notches (делать зарубку): Neg. *saj-*; Ul. *saị-*; Nan. *saị-*; Ud. *sai-*.

◊ TMC 2, 54.

PMong. ***seji-** to carve, engrave, make a notch (вырезать, делать зарубку): WMong. *sejile-*, *sejiči-le-* (L 684); Kh. *sijle-*; Bur. *hīle-*; Kalm. *sīl-*, *sīčə-*; Ord. *sīl-*, *sīle-*; Dag. *seile-* (MD 207), *seile-*; S.-Yugh. *sīl-*.

◊ KW 328, 329, MGCD 603. Mong. > Man. *seči-*.

PTurk. ***sAj-** to pierce (прокалывать, вонзать): OTurk. *saj-* (OUygh.); Uygh. *saj-*; Kirgh. *saj-*; Shr. *saj-*; Oyr. *saj-*.

◊ VEWT 400, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***sajkʻV** knucklebone: Tung. ***sajKa**; Turk. ***siaka**.

PTung. ***sajKa** shin-bone (голень, берцовая кость): Man. *sajχa*.

◊ TMC 2, 56. The word is hardly borrowed from Mong. *siγai*, Khalkha *šagai*, despite Doerfer MT 138 (however, Sol. *sāxa* 'knucklebone' is quite possibly < Mong.).

PTurk. ***siaka** knucklebone (бабка, косточка): Tur. *saka* (dial.); Turkm. *saqa* (dial.); Uzb. *sɔqa*; Uygh. *saqa*; Tat. *saγa*; Bashk. *haqa*, *haγa*; Kirgh. *saqa*; Kaz. *saqa*; KKalp. *saqa*; Kum. *saqa*; Nogh. *saqa*; Khak. *soγa* (dial.); Tv. *saGa*; Chuv. *šok* 'жох'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7, TMN 3, 254, Ашм. XVII, 214, Дыбо 1993. Turk. > WMong. *saqa*, Kalm. *saxə* (KW 308).

‖ Дыбо 1993. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Not quite reliable because of poor attestation in TM. Note, however, that PM **sigaji* 'knucklebone' would be a good match - if it were not derived (or secondarily contaminated?) from **siγa*, see under PA **siŋu*.

***sajo** interval, space between: Tung. ***saja**; Mong. ***söγem**; Turk. ***saja-**; Jpn. ***sai (~ sia)**.

PTung. ***saja** interval (between fingers) (промежуток (между пальцами)): Evk. *saja*; Evn. *hajāldo* 'fingers'; Ul. *saja(n)*; Ork. *saja(n)*; Nan. *sajã*.

◊ TMC 2, 55.

PMong. ***söγem** small span (малая пядь): WMong. *sögem*, *sögüm* (L 731); Kh. *sõm*; Bur. *hõm* 'span'; Kalm. *sõm*; Ord. *sõm*; S.-Yugh. *sõm*.

◊ KW 335, MGCD 608. Mong. > Evk. *sūm* etc., see Doerfer MT 109.

PTurk. ***saja-** to be rare, thinned out (быть редким, прореженным): Tat. *sajɨq-* (dial.) 'to become rare', *sajaq* 'rare'; Bashk. *hajaq* 'rare' (dial.); Khak. *saja-*; Oyr. *saja-*; Chuv. *sojak* 'bastard'.

◊ VEWT 395, TMN 3, 306, ЭСТЯ 7. The root is not widely attested, but its likely derivative is **saja-k* 'young male horses separated from the herd; lonely man, wanderer', spread much wider (see ЭСТЯ 7). Chuv. *sojak* definitely reflects the same form and is not borrowed from Mar. *sajak*, but rather vice versa, despite Федотов 2, 53.

PJpn. ***sai (~ sia)** a measure of land (99 m²) (мера земли (99 m²)): MJpn. *se*; Tok. *se*.

‖ EAS 153. The Jpn. word may be related if one assumes an original meaning 'interval (in general)'. Mong. **söγem* < **seγöm* (with a frequent labialization transfer).

✱**sajri** to stick out, protrude, stand: Tung. ***sara-**; Mong. ***sar(b)aji-**; Turk. ***ser-**; Kor. ***sjə́-**.

PTung. ***sara-** to spread out (расстилать, раскрывать): Man. *sara-*.

◊ TMC 2, 64. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***sar(b)aji-** to spread out (распространяться, быть вытянутым): WMong. *sarbaji-* (L 675); Kh. *sarvaj-*; Bur. *harbaj-*, *haraj-*; Kalm. *sarwə̄-*; Ord. *sarwə̄-* 'to have a great number of ramifications (of a tree branch)'.

◊ KW 314. Mong. *sarbaji-* > Oyr. *sarbai-*, Yak. *sarbaj-*, Dolg. *harbaj-* (Stachowski 97); > Manchu *sarbaxun* 'lying spread-eagled on the back' (see Rozycki 174).

PTurk. ***ser-** 1 to endure, be patient; to stay immobile, linger 2 to spread (1 быть терпеливым; задерживаться, оставаться в одном положении 2 растягивать): OTurk. *ser-*, *seril-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ser-* 1, *seril-* 'to sway and almost fall down' (MK); Tur. *ser-* 2; Gag. *ser-* 2; Az. *sär-* 2; Turkm. *ser-* 2; Sal. *ser-* 2; MTurk. *ser-* 2 (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *sär-* 2 (dial.); Krm. *ser-* 2; SUygh. *sär-* 2; Chuv. *sar-* 2.

◊ VEWT 411, EDT 843, 851, ЭСТЯ 7. Some authors express doubt as to the compatibility of OT and modern Turkic forms; it seems, however, that the meanings are unitable within a trans.-intrans. opposition ("spread" - "to be spread > remain".

PKor. ***sjə́-** stand (стоять): MKor. *sjə́-*; Mod. *si-*, *sə-*.

◊ Nam 303, KED 1023.

‖ KW 314, SKE 225, PKE 173, Дыбо 12, АПиПЯЯ 297. The unexpected -b- in Mong. may be due to a mixture with **serbe-* 'bristle, stand on end', see under **sirpʻa*. Medial *-j- is to be reconstructed to account for the loss of *-r- in Kor.

✱**sə̆́jV** shallow, stony place: Tung. ***saj-**; Mong. ***sajir**; Turk. ***saj**; Jpn. ***sái ~ *siá**; Kor. ***sə̆i-m**.

PTung. ***saj-** sandbank (песчаная насыпь): Evk. *sajaŋ* 'забереги' (water above ice along the bank); Neg. *saị-čaụ*; Ul. *sịja(n)* 'sand'; Nan. *sịjã* 'sand'.

◊ TMC 2, 54, 55.

PMong. ***sajir** stony riverbed, pebbles (каменистое русло реки, галька): WMong. *sajir* (L 660); Kh. *sajr*; Bur. *hajir*; Kalm. *sə̄rə*; Ord. *sə̄r*.

◊ KW 319, 320. Mong. > Tuva *sajɨr*.

PTurk. ***saj** 1 area covered with stones, stony desert, stony riverbed 2 shallow place, shallow (1 каменистое место, каменистая пустыня, каменистое русло реки 2 мелкое место, мелкий): OTurk. *saj* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *saj* 1 (MK); Tur. *saj* 1 (dial.); Az. *saj* 1; Turkm. *saj* 1; MTurk. *saj* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔj* 1, *sajɔz* 2; Uygh. *saj* 1; Krm. *saj* 1; Tat. *saj* 1, *saj-iq-* 'be shallow'; Bashk. *haj* 1; Kirgh. *saj* 1; Kaz. *saj* 1, *sajɨz*, *sajaz* 2; KBalk. *saj* 1; KKalp. *saj* 1, *sajɨz* 2; Kum. *saj* 1; Nogh. *saj* 1; Khak. *saj* 1, 2;

Shr. *saj* 1; Oyr. *saj* 1; Tv. *saariy*; Chuv. *sujvr čulə* (Anatri) 'pebble, rubble'; Yak. *ajăn* 'старица'.

◊ VEWT 394, Лексика 93, EDT 858, ЭСТЯ 7, Ашм. XI, 162. Yak. > Evk., Evn. *ajăn* TMS 1, 21; > Russ. Siber. *ajăn* (Аникин 104).

PJpn. ***sái ~ *siá** shallow place (отмель): OJpn. se; MJpn. *sé*; Tok. *sè*; Kyo. *sé*; Kag. *sé*.

◊ JLTT 520.

PKor. ***sə̆i-m** spring, shallow well (источник, мелкий колодец): MKor. *sə̆im, sə̆i'om*; Mod. *sə̆m*.

◊ Nam 296, 297, KED 926.

‖ KW 320, Владимирцов 284, Poppe 29, 67, TMN 3, 236 ("möglich"). In Korean the original root may have interacted with **sə̆i-* 'leak, ooze' < **sə̆jgo* (q.v.).

***sə̀kà** heap, pile, hill: Tung. ***saK-**; Turk. ***saka**; Jpn. ***sàkà**; Kor. ***sàh-**.

PTung. ***saK-** 1 icedrift 2 pile, stack 3 foot of a mountain, base of a pillar (1 торос (ледяной) 2 штабель 3 основание (горы, столбов в жилище)): Neg. *saksī* 1; Man. *saqsaχun* 2, *saqsan* 1, 2; *saχa-* 'to pile, accumulate' (Lee 1958, 116); Ul. *saqsị* 1; Nan. *saqsị*, dial. (with unclear vocalism) *sōqsị* 1; Orch. *saksi* 1; Ud. *sakta(n)* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 57.

PTurk. ***saka** foot of the mountain (подножье горы): Karakh. *saqa* (MK); Kaz. *saγa*.

◊ VEWT 396, EDT 805, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sàkà** slope, hill (склон, холм): OJpn. *saka*; MJpn. *sàkà*; Tok. *saká*; Kyo. *sákà*; Kag. *saká*.

◊ JLTT 516.

PKor. ***sàh-** to pile up, to prop (накладывать, подпирать): MKor. *sàh-*; Mod. *s:a-* [*s:ah-*].

◊ Nam 285, 294, KED 919.

‖ Lee 1958, 116 (Kor.-TM). Korean has a verbal low tone.

***sə́ki** to jump, shake: Tung. ***saka-**; Mong. ***sege-**; Turk. ***sēk-**.

PTung. ***saka-** to shake (of ground) (дрожать (о земле)): Nan. *saqa-*.

◊ TMC 2, 56. Attested only in Nan., with possible Turkic and Mong. parallels.

PMong. ***sege-** 1 to trot 2 to shake from side to side (1 бежать рысью 2 раскачиваться из стороны в сторону при ходьбе): WMong. *sege-* 1 (L 681); Kh. *sege-* 'скакать' (БАМРС); Kalm. *segelǯ-* 2; Ord. *sege-* 1.

◊ KW 321.

PTurk. ***sēk-** to jump (прыгать, скакать): Karakh. *sekri-* (MK); Tur. *sek-, sejir-*; Az. *säk-, säjri-*; Turkm. *segre-* (arch.), *säkdir-* 'to gallop'; MTurk. *sek-, segri-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *säkrä-*; Uygh. *säkrä-*; Krm. *säkir-*; Tat. *siker-*; Bashk. *hiker-*; Kirgh. *sekir-*; Kaz. *sekir-*; KBalk. *sekir-*; KKalp. *sekir-*;

Khak. *segir-*; Shr. *segri-*; Oyr. *sekir-, segir-*; Chuv. *sik-*; Yak. *ekkirie-*; Dolg. *ekkirē-*.

◊ VEWT 408, EDT 822, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 48-49, Stachowski 44. Closed reflex in Chuv. is unclear.

‖ KW 321. A Western isogloss.

***sakosako** magpie: Tung. ***saksa(ki)**; Mong. ***siɣaǯigaj**; Turk. ***sagɨsgan**; Jpn. ***kàsàsákì**.

PTung. ***saksa(ki)** magpie (сорока): Evk. *saksa* 'утка-саксан; кулик'; Neg. *saksa* 'утка-саксан'; Man. *saqsaχa, čaqsaχa*; Ul. *saqsi*; Ork. *saqsan*; Nan. *saqsī*; Orch. *saqsan*.

◊ TMC 2, 56.

PMong. ***siɣaǯigaj** magpie (сорока): MMong. *sažixai* (HY 14), *sažiqaj* (MA), *sāžiɣaj* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *siɣažigai, siɣažayai, šaɣažayai* (L 748); Kh. *šāʒgaj*; Bur. *šāzgaj*; Kalm. *šāzəɣā, šāzəɣā̆*; Ord. *šāǯaGā̆*; Dag. *sāžig* (Тод. Дar. 161), *sāžihe* (MD 204); Dong. *saǯəGi, saǯɨɣəi*; Bao. *saǯiGi*; S.-Yugh. *saǯiGai*; Mongr. *saǯaGā* (SM 317), (MGCD *šaǯiGai*).

◊ KW 354, MGCD 699.

PTurk. ***sagɨsgan** magpie (сорока): Karakh. *sayɨzyan* (MK); Tur. *saksaγan*; Gag. *saqsan, saqsān*; Az. *saγsaγan*; Turkm. *saqasGan*; Sal. *sixsɨyan*; MTurk. *saqɨzyan* (Abush., Pav. C.), *saqsaγan* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *zaγɨzγɔn*; Uygh. *seγɨzγan*; Krm. *sawusqan*; Tat. *sawɨsqan, sajɨsqan*; Bashk. *hajɨ9qan*; Kirgh. *saγɨzγan*; Kaz. *sawɨsqan*; KKalp. *sawɨsqan*; Kum. *sawusγan*; Nogh. *sawɨsqan*; SUygh. *saqɨsqan*; Khak. *sāsxan*; Shr. *saγɨsqan*; Oyr. *saŋɨsqan*; Tv. *sāsqan*.

◊ VEWT 396, Лексика 175, EDT 818, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***kàsàsákì** magpie (сорока): OJpn. *kasasak(j)i*; MJpn. *kasasaki*; Tok. *kàsasagi, kasásagi*; Kyo. *kàsàságì*; Kag. *kasasagí*.

◊ JLTT 441.

‖ KW 354, Дыбо 8, Лексика 175. An onomatopoeic reduplicated root. Cf. other similar bird names: MKor. *kāčhí* id. (Martin 236), *koskori* 'oriole'; OJ *sazaki* (mod. *miso-sazai*) "японский крапивник"; Karakh. *čekik* 'lark', TM **čukčeŋē* 'кулик'. Ozawa (99-101) compares Mong. (Altan Tobči) *čaγčayai*, Khalkha *cagcxaj* 'a k. of small bird' ('чекан, каменка').

***sák´a (~ -k-)** edge, end (of a stick, pole): Tung. ***saku-**; Turk. ***sakanak**; Jpn. ***sákí**.

PTung. ***saku-** a prop (for a kettle) (подставка, тренога (для подвешивания котла над огнем)): Man. *saqura*; Nan. *saqora*.

◊ TMC 2, 54.

PTurk. ***sakanak** ends of sticks in tent framework (концы палочек, составляющих решетку юрты): Kirgh. *saqanaq*; Kaz. *sayanaq*; KKalp. *sayanaq*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7, Лексика 505 (Turk. > Kalm. *sayəəG* id.). Cf. also Tuva *saq* 'end of bow', Old Turk. *saq* id. (ЭСТЯ 7).

PJpn. ***sáki*** edge (конец, край): OJpn. *sakji*; MJpn. *sáki*; Tok. *sàki*; Kyo. *sáki*; Kag. *sáki*.

◊ JLTT 517.

‖ The meaning in Japanese ('edge') must be a generalization of the more concrete earlier 'end (of a stick, pole)'.

✱**sák'a (~ -k-, -o)** luck in hunting: Tung. ***saKa***; Jpn. ***sáki***.

PTung. ***saKa*** hunt, hunting (охота): Man. *saχa*; Jurch. *saxa-da-mij* (481).

◊ TMC 2, 56.

PJpn. ***sáki*** fortune, luck (счастье, удача): OJpn. *sakji*.

◊ JLTT 517. Cf. also **saki-pap-*, **sákár-* 'flourish', **sakaja-* 'prosper': these all may be derived from the same root **sak-*, but mergers with the root **sák-* 'to blossom' were also possible.

‖ A not quite secure Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Since words for 'hunt' often go back to names of hunted animals, one can think of comparing PT **sajkak* (~ **sajgak*) 'antelope' (attested since Chag., see VEWT 395, ЭСТЯ 7), with the resulting correction of the PA reconstruction to **sajk'a*. Cf. also **sǐgò* and **sŭku*.

✱**sàk'a (~ z-)** sharp instrument, to cut, split: Tung. ***sak-pi***; Jpn. ***sàk-***; Kor. ***sàkí-***.

PTung. ***sak-pi*** axe (топор): Ul. *saqpị*.

◊ TMC 2, 56. Attested only in Ul., with parallels in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ***sàk-*** to rip, split (расщеплять, раздирать): OJpn. *sak-*; MJpn. *sàk-*; Tok. *sák-*; Kyo. *sàk-*.

◊ JLTT 746.

PKor. ***sàkí-*** to carve, engrave (вырезать, гравировать): MKor. *sàkí-*; Mod. *sägi-*.

◊ Nam 282, KED 920.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**sàk'ò (~ z-)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***sakan-***; Jpn. ***sàkâi (~-ia)***; Kor. ***sòkóarí***.

PTung. ***sakan-*** 1 pike 2 taimen (1 щука 2 таймень): Evk. *sakanan* 1; Neg. *saxanan* 2; Ul. *sakanu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 56.

PJpn. ***sàkâi (~-ia)*** salmon, white-fish (кета, сиг): MJpn. *sàkè*; Tok. *sáke*; Kyo. *sàkê*; Kag. *sáke*.

◊ JLTT 517. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ***sòkóarí*** perch, (KED) a mandarin fish (Siniperca scherzeri) (окунь): MKor. *sòkóarí*; Mod. *s:ogari*.

◊ Nam 307, KED 969.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; cf. perhaps also Oyr. *sagalak* 'рыбка-урюп', Mong. (L 657) *sayamqa* 'salt water fish, perch(?)'. Like in many fish names, details are not clear: note that the TM forms may be actually borrowed from Jpn. *sakana* 'fish' (originally 'wine-side dish'). Cf. also **suku*.

✱**sakʻo (~ z-, -u)** salt: Tung. ***saKV**; Kor. ***sòkòm**.

PTung. ***saKV** 1 dried (of meat, fish) 2 salt (1 вяленый (о мясе, рыбе) 2 соль): Man. *saqa* 1; Ud. *saʻi* 2 (Корм. 280).

◊ TMC 2, 54, 55.

PKor. ***sòkòm** salt (соль): MKor. *sòkòm*; Mod. *sogim*.

◊ Nam 306, KED 970.

‖ A rather dubious Tung.-Kor. isogloss; perhaps a variant of the root **sakʻV* 'to ferment' q.v.

✱**sakʻu(rV)** a k. of stinging insect: Mong. ***sag**; Turk. ***sakɨrtka**; Jpn. ***su(n)karu**.

PMong. ***sag** insect eggs, nits (яйца насекомых, гниды): WMong. *say* (L 656); Kh. *sag*; Bur. *haga-* 'to swarm (of insects)'.

PTurk. ***sakɨrtka** tick (клещ): Karakh. *saqɨrqu* (MK); Tur. *sakɨrya*, dial. *sayra*; Gag. *saqɨrya*; Turkm. *saqɨrtGa*; MTurk. *saqurya* (AH); Kum. *qasartqɨ*; Nogh. *qasartqɨ*; SUygh. *saqɨrtqɨ*, *saqartqɨ*, *saqatqɨ*; Khak. *sayartxɨ*; Shr. *sartqa*; Oyr. *sartqa*; Tv. *saryɨ*; Yak. *saχsɨrya* 'fly'.

◊ VEWT 396, Лексика 183, EDT 816.

PJpn. ***su(n)karu** digger wasp, Ammophila infesta Smith. (оса-пескорой, Ammophila infesta Smith.): OJpn. *sugaru*; MJpn. *sugaru*.

◊ JLTT 594.

‖ Лексика 183.

✱**sǎkʻV** to ferment: Tung. ***saku**; Mong. ***saga- / *saka-**; Turk. ***sakɨŕ / *sagɨŕ**; Kor. ***sàk- / sòk-**.

PTung. ***saku** 1 stale water, muddy water 2 to become turbid, make turbid (of water) (1 застоявшаяся, ржавая вода 2 мутнеть, мутить (воду)): Evk. *šaka-* (Kamn.) 2; Evn. *saq* 1, *saqab-* 2 (Arm.); Nan. *saqo / saqu* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 56, 80-81.

PMong. ***saga- / *saka-** to ferment, to trickle (бродить, сочиться): WMong. *saya-*; Kh. *saga-*; Bur. *haxaj-* 'to become covered with mud' (?); Kalm. *saxə-*.

◊ KW 308.

PTurk. ***sakɨŕ / *sagɨŕ** gum, resin (смола, мастика): Karakh. *sayɨz*, *saqɨz* (MK); Tur. *sakɨz*; Gag. *saqɨz*; Az. *sayɣɨz*; Turkm. *saqɨz*; MTurk. *saqɨz* (IM, Pav. C.); Uzb. *sayɨz*; Uygh. *seyɨz*; Krm. *saqɨz*; Tat. *sayɨz*; Bashk. *hayɨz*;

Kirgh. *sayïz*; Kaz. *sayïz*; KKalp. *sayïz*; Kum. *sayïz*; Nogh. *sayïz*; Khak. *sās*; Oyr. *sanjïs*; Tv. *sāt*; Chuv. *soγъr*; Yak. *ıas*; Dolg. *ıas*.

◊ EDT 817-818, VEWT 396, Лексика 117-118, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 70, Stachowski 258. Cf. also **sakïŕ* 'clay' (Лексика 375, ЭСТЯ 7 ibid.). MK glosses *sayïz* as 'gum, resin', and *saqïz* as 'any viscous substance', so a merger of two original roots is not excluded.

PKor. ***sàk- / *sàk-** 1 to exude, effervesce, ferment 2 to rot, become spoiled 3 ferment, yeast (1 киснуть, бродить, выделяться (о поте, пузырьках из воды etc.) 2 гнить, портиться 3 фермент, закваска): MKor. *sàk-* 1, *sàk-* 2, *sàkím* 3; Mod. *sak-* 1, *s:ək-* 2, *səgim* 3.

◊ Liu 435, 448, 450, KED 888, 940.

‖ EAS 91, KW 308, SKE 220 (Doerfer's skepticism in TMN 3, 255 is hardly justified). The variation of *-g- and *-k- in Turkic and Mongolian is suspicious (cf. also the Nanai form pointing rather to *-k-), perhaps indicating that we are dealing with a merger of two different roots - cf. also the variety of reflexes in Korean; cf. also **sak'o* and **zi̯úko*.

✱**sali** to dislike, neglect: Tung. ***sali- / *sel-**; Turk. ***sal-**; Jpn. ***sira-**; Kor. ***sirh-**.

PTung. ***sali- / *sel-** 1 to slight, disregard, neglect 2 to be angry (1 пренебрегать 2 сердиться): Evk. *sel-* 1; Evn. *hel-* 1; Neg. *sel-* 1; Ork. *sali-* 2; Nan. *sali-* 1 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 58, 139-140. The vowel -e- in North. Tung. is unclear.

PTurk. ***sal-** 1 to quarrel, dislike, swear 2 bad influence, bad consequence (1 ссориться, ругаться 2 дурное влияние, плохие последствия): Karakh. *salγa* 'a restive horse' (MK); Kirgh. *saldar* 2; Kaz. *sal* 'a quarrelsome person', *salïs-* 1, *saldar* 2; KKalp. *saldar* 2; Khak. *salčï-* 1; Tv. *saldar* 2; Chuv. *sol-* 'to damn'.

◊ EDT 826, Федотов 2, 57, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sira-** to go mad, become foolish (сходить с ума, быть идиотом): MJpn. *sira-*; Tok. *shire-*.

◊ JLTT 752 (united with 'get known', probably by mistake).

PKor. ***sirh-** to dislike, feel repugnance for; be unpleasant (не любить; быть неприятным): Mod. *sil-* [*silh-*].

◊ KED 1060.

‖ SKE 234.

✱**salkV** a k. of board, frame: Tung. ***salk-**; Mong. ***salga**; Turk. ***sāl**.

PTung. ***salk-** 1 pole, post 2 frame of a loom 3 paddle on a ski stick (1 столб, жерди 2 рамка (у ткацкого берда) 3 лопатка (нп лыжной палке)): Evk. *salkamča* 1; Evn. *halqъmča* 1; Man. *salχu* 2; Ork. *saltïnqo* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 58, 59.

PMong. ***salga** stretcher, litter (носилки): WMong. *salγa* (L 665); Kh. *salga*.

PTurk. ***sāl*** rafter (плот): Karakh. *sal* (MK); Tur. *sal*; Az. *sal*; Turkm. *sāl*; Sal. *sal*; MTurk. *sal* (AH, Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *sɔl*; Uygh. *sal*; Krm. *sal*; Tat. *sal*; Bashk. *hal*; Kirgh. *sal*; Kaz. *sal*; KKalp. *sal*; Kum. *sal*; Nogh. *sal*; Khak. *sal*; Shr. *sal*; Oyr. *sal*; Tv. *sal*; Chuv. *solъ*; Yak. *āl*.

◊ EDT 824, VEWT 397, Лексика 537, Федотов 2, 59, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > MMong. (SH) *sal*, WMong. *sal*, Kalm. *sal* (KW 309; TMN 3, 231, Щербак 1997, 144).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**sálo (~ *z-)** to be separated: Tung. ***salga-**; Mong. ***sal(u)-**; Jpn. ***sár-**; Kor. ***sa̍r-**.

PTung. ***salga-*** 1 interval between legs 2 cross-road 3 to distribute (1 промежность 2 разветвление дорог 3 раздавать, распределять): Evk. *salgan* 1; Evn. *hālgъ* 1; Neg. *salga* 1; Man. *salǯa* 2, *sarǵa* 1, *sala-* 3; SMan. *śarixi*, *šarixi* 'crotch' (134); Ork. *salda(n)* 1; Nan. *salGā* 1; Orch. *sāga* 1; Ud. *saga* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 58. Manchu cannot be < Mong., despite Rozycki 173.

PMong. ***sal(u)-*** to become separated; to branch off (отделяться; ответвляться): MMong. *salqaxda-* 'zugeteilt werden' (HYt); WMong. *sal(u)-* (L 663); Kh. *sala-*; Bur. *hala-*; Kalm. *sal-*; Ord. *sal-*; Dag. *sala-*; *salā* 'branch' (Тод. Дar. 161); *sale* (MD 205); Dong. *sala* 'branch'; S.-Yugh. *sal-*, *sala* 'branch'; Mongr. *sal-*, *sala* 'branch'.

◊ KW 309-310, MGCD 590, TMN 1, 334. Mong. > Kirgh. *salā* etc.; Evk. *salu-* etc., see Doerfer MT 26, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sár-*** to go away (уходить): OJpn. *sar-*; MJpn. *sár-*; Tok. *sár-*; Kyo. *sár-*; Kag. *sár-*.

◊ JLTT 747. The accent in Tokyo is irregular.

PKor. ***sa̍r-*** to disappear, vanish (пропадать, исчезать): MKor. *sa̍r-*; Mod. *sara-ǯi-*.

◊ Nam 291, KED 871.

‖ KW 309, Martin 245, Martin 1996, 76, Street 1985, 640.

✱**saĺ(b)i** loose: Tung. ***sala-**; Mong. ***sel(b)-**, ***salb-**; Turk. ***seĺ-**; Kor. ***sər-**.

PTung. ***sala-*** to become loose (становиться свободным, расшатываться): Orch. *sala-*.

◊ TMC 2, 57; perhaps also Man. *sala-* 'to give away, distribute'.

PMong. ***sel(b)-***, ***salb-*** to be untied; untied, free (развязываться, расслабляться; развязанный, свободный): WMong. *selbeji-*, *salbaji-* (L 664); Kh. *selūn*; Bur. *helen xatarxa* 'бить баклуши'; Kalm. *selwə̄-*, *salwā̆-*.

◊ KW 323. Also WMong. *solbaji-*, Kalm. *solwā̆-* (KW 330); WMong. *salaji-*, Kalm. *salā̆-*; *saldai-* (L 665), Kalm. *saldā̆-* (KW 309). Mong. *salbaji-* > Oyr. *salbai-*, Kirgh. *salpī-* (see ЭСТЯ 7).

PTurk. ***seĺ-*** to untie (развязывать): OTurk. *säš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *säš-* (MK); MTurk. *jäš-* (Sangl.), *säš-* (MKypch. - Houts.); Tat. *čiš-*; Bashk.

sis-; Kirgh. *čeč-*; Kaz. *šeš-*; KKalp. *šeš-*; Kum. *čeč-*; Nogh. *šeś-*; Khak. *sis-*; Shr. *šeš-*; Oyr. *čeč-*; Tv. *češ-*; Tof. *če'š-*; Chuv. *sal-t-*; Yak. *es-*.

◊ VEWT 413, EDT 857, Егоров 177, Федотов 2, 10.

PKor. ***sər-*** to fit loosely, to treat lightly, handle carelessly (плохо подходить, небрежно выполнять): Mod. *səl-dari-*.

◊ KED 951.

‖ KW 323, SKE 227, EAS 72, Street 1980, 296. Cf. also Mong. *salaŋ* 'negligent, careless' (> Kirgh. *salaq* etc., see ЭСТЯ 7, VEWT 397).

✱**sáĺo (~ z-)** to love: Tung. ***sali-***; Jpn. ***sású-p-***; Kor. ***sə̀ràŋ***.

PTung. ***sali-*** to esteem, appreciate (уважать, ценить): Man. *sali-*; *sali-n* 'price'; Ul. *salụ-*; Ork. *salị-*; Nan. *salị-*; Orch. *sāli-*.

◊ TMC 2, 58. Cf. also Orok *salda-* 'be merry, joke' (ibid.).

PJpn. ***sású-p-*** to lure, seduce, entice (соблазнять): OJpn. *sasup-*; MJpn. *sásóf-*; Tok. *sàso-*; Kyo. *sásó-*; Kag. *sasó-*.

◊ JLTT 748.

PKor. ***sə̀ràŋ*** love (любовь): MKor. *sə̀ràŋ*; Mod. *saraŋ*.

◊ Nam 286, KED 871.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; but cf. perhaps also Turk.: Chuv. *šъldъr* 'beautiful' (Ашм. XVII 289), Yak. *ɨllar-* 'сильно увлекаться'. Cf. also notes to **sa*.

✱**sāmo** shape, appearance: Tung. ***sāma***; Turk. ***som***; Jpn. ***sámà***.

PTung. ***sāma*** sign (знак, метка): Evk. *sāme*; Evn. *hām*; Man. *samχa*; Ork. *sama-lkị*; Nan. *sāmogdã* 'a talisman placed on the breast of the deceased so that the shaman can recognize him when taking his soul to the other world' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 60-61.

PTurk. ***som*** 1 number; honour 2 shape, silhouette (1 число, счет; почет 2 форма, вид): Khal. *soma* 2; Khak. *som* 2; Oyr. *som* 2; Tv. *soma* 2; Chuv. *som* 1; Yak. *omoon* 2.

◊ VEWT 427, Федотов 2, 61-62, ЭСТЯ 7. The relationship to **sōm* 'whole (piece)' (see ibid.) is not quite clear.

PJpn. ***sámà*** form, shape (форма, вид): OJpn. *sama*; MJpn. *sama*; Tok. *samá*; Kyo. *sámà*; Kag. *sáma*.

◊ JLTT 517.

‖ The comparison seems probable, despite tonal incongruence between TM and Jpn. Ramstedt (SKE 222) compares Manchu forms with Kor. *sam* 'a speck or mote in the eye' (that may rather belong to **sémi* q.v.).

✱**sə̀mpi** quick, short time: Tung. ***sampa-***; Mong. ***samba-ga(n)***; Turk. ***sAp (~ -b)***; Jpn. ***sìmpà-raku***; Kor. ***spə̀rə̀-***.

PTung. ***sampa-*** quick (быстрый): Ul. *sap, sapa-lị*; Nan. *sampar*; Orch. *sapa*; Ud. *saŋmu*; Sol. *sampal*.

◊ TMC 2, 60.

PMong. ***samba-ga(n)*** readiness, resourcefulness; convenient time (готовность, находчивость; удобный момент): WMong. *sambaγa* (L 667); Kh. *sambān*; Bur. *hambān*; Kalm. *sambān* (KW: < Tib.?).

◊ Various loan theories had been put forward: Ramstedt (KW) - from an unknown Tibetan source; Sukhebaatar < Sanskr. **sambhaga* (very dubious semantically); however, the word may well be genuine.

PTurk. ***sAp (~ -b)*** a turn (to do smth.) (очередь (что-нибудь делать)): OTurk. *sab* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sab* (MK).

◊ EDT 782, VEWT 401 (erroneously united with *sap* 'handle').

PJpn. ***sìmpa-raku*** for a short time (на (короткое) время): MJpn. *sìbà-raku, sìbá-raku*; Tok. *shibáraku*; Kyo. *shìbáràkù*; Kag. *shibarakú*.

◊ JLTT 522.

PKor. ***spə̆rə̆-*** quick, swift (быстрый): MKor. *spə̆rə̆-*; Mod. *p:ari-*.

◊ Nam 242, KED 706.

‖ Kor. has a usual vowel reduction between a fricative and a stop.

✱**sə̀mù** tar, soot, fumigation: Tung. ***samŋī-n***; Turk. ***samala ?***; Jpn. ***sùmì***.

PTung. ***samŋī-*** fumigation, to fumigate (дымокур, окуривать (дымокуром)): Evk. *samŋī-*; Evn. *hamŋi-*; Neg. *samŋī-*; Ork. *samŋi*; Nan. *samŋǐčị-*.

◊ TMC 2, 60. Evk. > Dolg. *hamńit, hamŋit* 'Rauchabzug' (see Stachowski 95).

PTurk. ***samala ?*** tar (деготь): MTurk. *samla, samala* (MA, AH, CCum.); Chuv. *sъʷmala*.

◊ VEWT 399. It is also worth noting Bashk. *humalaq* 'lump of clay' and Tat. *sumala* 'tar' (possibly < Chuv.). Федотов 2, 23-24. The word is attested quite late and is usually regarded as borrowed < Russ. смола. This might be true, but let us note that no other Russian words were hitherto discovered in Chagatai.

PJpn. ***sùmì*** charcoal; ink (уголь; чернила): OJpn. *sumji*; MJpn. *sùmì*; Tok. *sumí*; Kyo. *súmì*; Kag. *sumí*.

◊ JLTT 533.

‖ Phonetically a good match, but otherwise not quite reliable: if the Turkic parallel is to be removed as a late loanword, the semantic match between 'fumigation' in TM and 'charcoal' in Japanese becomes less convincing.

✱**sám[u]** shaman: Tung. ***samā-n***; Mong. ***süme***; Jpn. ***súmiá-***.

PTung. ***samā-n*** shaman (шаман): Evk. *samān*; Evn. *hamān*; Neg. *samān*; Man. *sama(n)*; SMan. *samən* (1090); Ul. *samā(n)*; Ork. *sama(n)*; Nan. *samã*; Orch. *sama(n)*; Ud. *sama(n)*; Sol. *samã*.

◊ TMC 2, 59. TM > Dag. *samān* (Тод. Даг. 161).

PMong. ***süme*** temple, joss-house (храм, кумирня): MMong. *sume ger* (HY 17), *sume* (SH); WMong. *süme* (L 743); Kh. *süm*; Bur. *hüme*; Kalm. *sümə* (KPC); Ord. *süme*; Dag. *sum* (Тод. Даг. 164), *sume* (MD. 213); Mongr. *səmēn* (SM 343), *smēn*.

◊ MGCD 617.

PJpn. ***súmiá-*** emperor (император): OJpn. *sumjera-, sumje*; MJpn. *súméra-*; Tok. *sumera-gi*.

◊ JLTT 533.

‖ Ozawa 117-118, JOAL 68. The parallel seems interesting, but front vocalism in Mong. demands some special explanation.

sámV** a k. of fish: Jpn. ****sámpá; Kor. ****sam-***.

PJpn. ****sámpá*** mackerel (макрель): OJpn. *saba*; MJpn. *sábá*; Tok. *sàba*; Kyo. *sábá*; Kag. *sába*.

◊ JLTT 515.

PKor. ****sam-*** mackerel (макрель): Mod. *sam-čhi*.

◊ KED 905.

‖ Martin 236. Basically a Kor.-Jpn. isogloss, and the precise reconstruction is not quite clear (if *-mp- is to be reconstructed, cf. Man. *sampa* 'crayfish, crab'?). From other languages one could link a quite isolated Turkish form *semek* 'fish' (used as a synonym for *balïq*).

sanʒV (~ z-)** to hang down, lower: Tung. ****sanʒika; Mong. ****sanʒi-***.

PTung. ****sanʒika*** nose ring (серьга, кольцо, кляп (в носу)): Man. *sančiχa*; Ul. *sanžaχa*; Nan. *sanžaχa*; Orch. *sanžaχa, sanžiχa*; Ud. *sanžehä*.

◊ TMC 2, 61.

PMong. ****sanʒi-*** to hang down (свисать): WMong. *sanži-* (L 673); Kh. *sanži-*; Bur. *hanža-*; Kalm. *sanžə-*; Ord. *sanžik sanžik ge-*.

◊ KW 312. Mong. > Yak. *sanžij-* 'hang down, dangle'.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Note also Tar. *saŋgila-* 'herabhängen (von den Ohren)' (KW 312, VEWT 400) - hardly a loanword from Mong, but phonetically strange (why -g-?).

sáńo (~ z-)** hole, interval: Tung. ****saŋa-; Kor. ****sǎńí***.

PTung. ****saŋa-*** hole, crack (дыра, отверстие): Evk. *saŋār*; Evn. *haŋār*; Neg. *saŋā*; Man. *saŋGa*; SMan. *saŋə* 'cave' (2361); Ul. *saŋGali*; Ork. *saŋGa*; Nan. *saŋGar*; Orch. *saŋa*; Ud. *saŋa*; Sol. *saŋār*.

◊ TMC 2, 62.

PKor. ****sǎńí*** space between, interval (промежуток): MKor. *sǎńí*; Mod. *sai*.

◊ Nam 288, KED 881.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss; valid if TM **saŋa-* < **sań-ga-*.

sańV(-k´V)** bird dung: Tung. ****sańa; Mong. ****saŋga-***; Turk. ****saŋk***.

PTung. ****sańa*** bird dung (птичий помет): Neg. *sańan*; Ud. *sańa*.

◊ TMC 2, 61.

PMong. ****saŋga-*** bird dung (птичий помет): MMong. *saŋqa-* 'to defecate (of birds and insects)' (MA); WMong. *saŋga-su(n)* (L 672); Kh. *saŋgas*; Kalm. *saŋɣəsn*.

◊ KW 313.

PTurk. ***saŋk*** bird dung (птичий помет): Karakh. *saŋ* (MK); Tur. sank; MTurk. *saŋq* (B); Kirgh. *zaŋ*; *saŋɣ-it-* 'to defecate'; Kaz. *saŋɣ-i-* 'to defecate'.

◊ EDT 831, VEWT 401, Лексика 150-151, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ KW 313, Лексика 151, ЭСТЯ 7. A Western isogloss.

✱**saŋe (~ z-)** to envy: Tung. ***saŋgu-***; Jpn. ***sənia-m-***; Kor. ***sài'ó-***.

PTung. ***saŋgu-*** to enjoy other people's grief (радоваться (чужой беде)): Man. *saŋgu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 62. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PJpn. ***sənia-m-*** to grudge, envy (испытывать недоброе чувство, завидовать): OJpn. *sonem-*; MJpn. *sóném-*; Tok. *soném-*; Kyo. *sóném-*; Kag. *sònèm-*.

◊ JLTT 755. Original accent is not quite clear: modern dialects reflect rather **sàniàm-*.

PKor. ***sài'ó-*** to be jealous (ревновать): MKor. *sài'ó-*; Mod. *säu-*.

◊ Nam 296, KED 924.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; Mong. **sinu-* 'to covet' would fit semantically, but phonetically rather continues PA **si̯ə́ńi* q.v.; cf. also **sĭni*.

✱**sə̌ŋo (~ *z-)** cold, cool: Tung. ***saŋu-n***, ***saŋu-ksa***; Mong. ***seɣü-***; Jpn. ***sàmù-***.

PTung. ***saŋu-n,saŋu-ksa*** 1 cool 2 hoar-frost (1 прохладный, прохлада 2 иней): Evk. *saŋun* 1, *saŋuksa* 2; Evn. *haŋut-* 'be covered with hoar-frost'; Neg. *saŋun* 1, *saksa* 2; Ul. *saqsa, saŋaqsa* 2; Ork. *saŋnu̯* 1, *saŋe* 2; Nan. *sāqsa* 2; Ud. *saŋuhä* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 62-63.

PMong. ***seɣü-*** 1 shadow 2 shaded, dark (1 тень 2 затененный, темный): MMong. *seu'uder* (HY 42), *se'uder* 1 (SH), *seuder* (IM, MA 267, Lig.VMI); WMong. *seɣü-der* 1 (L 683), *seɣü-müg* 2; Kh. *sʉ̄der* 1, *sʉ̄melʒe-* 'shimmer'; Bur. *hʉ̄der* 1 *hʉ̄meger* 'shimmer'; Kalm. *sʉ̄dr* 1, *sʉ̄mə̄*, *sʉ̄məɣ* 2; Ord. *sʉ̄der* 1; Dag. *seuder, suidur* (Тод. Дат. 164) 1; S.-Yugh. *sūder* 1; Mongr. *sūdər* 1.

◊ KW 341-342, MGCD 615. Mong. > Neg. *sewdele-*, Man. *sebderi* etc. (TMC 2, 134).

PJpn. ***sàmù-*** cold (холодный): OJpn. *samu-*; MJpn. *sàmù-*; Tok. *samú-*; Kyo. *sábù-*; Kag. *samí*.

◊ JLTT 839.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 112, 274.

✱**saŋu(ńV) (~ z-)** smoke: Tung. ***saŋńan***; Mong. ***suwnag***.

PTung. ***saŋńan*** smoke (дым): Evk. *saŋńan*; Evn. *hāń*; Neg. *saŋńan*; Man. *šaŋǵan*; SMan. *šiaŋən* (491); Jurch. *ĉaŋ-gian* (619); Ul. *saŋńa(n)*; Ork. *saŋna(n)*; Nan. *saŋńa(n)*; Orch. *saŋńa(n)*; Ud. *saŋńa(n)*; Sol. *saŋa*.

◊ TMC 2, 63.

PMong. ***suwnag*** column of smoke (столб дыма): WMong. *suɣunaɣ, suunaɣ* (L 735); Kh. *sūnag*; Bur. *hūnagta-* 'to stretch, extend (of smoke)'.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**sápa** brace, vice: Tung. ***sabga***; Mong. ***sabsalga***; Turk. ***sabak***; Kor. ***sàpók**.

PTung. ***sabga*** 1 bough, stick (for drying fish) 2 a k. of vice (1 сучок (на котором сушат рыбу) 2 зажим (палка с расщепом для укрепления бересты при лучении рыбы)): Nan. *sabGa* 1; Orch. *sabba* 2; Ud. *sagba* 2 (Корм. 280).

◊ TMC 2, 51.

PMong. ***sabsalga*** vice (тиски, зажим): WMong. *sabsalɣa* (L 654); Kh. *savsalga*; Ord. *sabsalGa*.

PTurk. ***sabak ?*** vice (тиски): Tur. ? *savak* 'water chute'; Tv. *sāk*.

◊ Phonetically a good match pointing to PT **sabak* - but very poorly represented and dubious semantically (the meaning 'water chute' in Turkic - because of the shape of the object?).

PKor. ***sàpók*** brace, pivot pin (скоба, шкворень): MKor. *sàpók*; Mod. *sabuk*.

◊ Liu 433, KED 876.

‖ A common derivative **sápa-kV* is reflected in Turkic, TM and Korean.

✱**sapV (~ -e-)** to hit, throw: Mong. ***saba-***; Turk. ***saba-***.

PMong. ***saba-*** to throw, hit against smth. (бросать, ударять о что-л.): MMong. *saba-* (MA); WMong. *saba-* (L 653); Kh. *sava-*; Bur. *haba-*; Kalm. saw- (KPC); Ord. *sawa-*; Mog. *saba-* (Ramstedt 1906).

PTurk. ***saba-*** to beat, hit, fight (бить, драться): Karakh. *savaš-* 'to fight' (MK); Tur. *savaš-*; Gag. *savaš-*; Turkm. dial. *savaš*; MTurk. *savaš-* (Houts., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *savaš-*; Krm. *savaš-*.

◊ VEWT 391, EDT 793, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; may be just a specialization of **sěpo* q.v.

✱**sǎ́p'í** stick, pole: Tung. ***sap-kun***; Mong. ***sibeɣe***; Jpn. ***sìmpá ~ *símpá***; Kor. ***sàp**.

PTung. ***sap-kun*** root (корень): Evn. *hopkon*; Neg. *sapkun*.

◊ TMC 2, 64, 333.

PMong. ***sibeɣe*** stick, pole, rod; fence (палка, шест; забор): MMong. *šibe'e* (HY 3); WMong. *sibeɣe(n), sibei* (L 694); Kh. *šivē*; Bur. *šebē*; Kalm. *šiwē* 'fortress, citadel' (KPC); Ord. *šiwē*.

PJpn. ***sìmpá ~ *símpá*** firewood (дрова, хворост): OJpn. *siba*; MJpn. *sìbà, sìbá*; Tok. *shìba, shíba*; Kyo. *shìbá*; Kag. *shibá*.

◊ JLTT 522. Most forms point to **sì(m)pá*, although a variant **sí(m)pá* may be also postulated on the basis of Tokyo *shìba*.

PKor. ***sàp*** firewood (дрова, хворост): MKor. *sàp*; Mod. *səp* [*səph*].

◊ Nam 301, KED 961.

‖ PKE 177, Martin 227 (Kor.-Jpn.). The accent variants in Jpn. are due to a confusion of PA **sápʹi* 'stick' and **sìpe* 'swamp vegetation' q. v. As opposed to **sèpʹu* 'long twig, rod' (q. v.) this root must have denoted twigs and branches used as firewood and also suitable for making fences (cf. Mong. *sibeɣe* 'fence' and OJ *siba-gakji* 'twig fence').

✱**sə̀pʹí** long hair: Tung. ***sap-**; Mong. ***sabaga**; Turk. ***sapak**; Jpn. ***sìmpái**; Kor. ***sap-**.

PTung. ***sap-** 1 beard, moustache 2 pubic hair (1 борода, усы 2 волосы на лобке): Man. *sabula* 2; Nan. *sapsoqta* 1 (Kur-Urm.), *safala* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 64.

PMong. ***sabaga** yak wool (шерсть яка): WMong. *sabaɣa*; Kh. *savga*; Bur. *habagša* 'thick thread made of sinew', *habiga* 'bride's small braid'; Kalm. *sawəg* 'long and thick hair'.

◊ KW 315 (but Kalm. may be < Turk.)

PTurk. ***sapak** branch, bunch (ветвь, кисть): Turkm. *sapaq*; Kaz. *sabaq*; Oyr. *sabaq*.

◊ VEWT 391. The stem is usually regarded as derived from **sap* 'handle' (see e.g. ЭСТЯ 7); the latter indeed also means 'stalk' and has a derivative **sapak* 'handle, stalk'.

PJpn. ***sìmpái** pistils, stamens (пестики, тычинки): MJpn. *sìbé*; Tok. *shíbe*; Kyo. *shíbè*; Kag. *shibé*.

◊ JLTT 522. The Kyoto accent is aberrant.

PKor. ***sap-** long-haired dog (лохматая собака): MKor. *sapsări*, *sàpsár-kàhí*; Mod. *sapsari*, *sapsal* kā.

◊ Liu 439, KED 906.

‖ TMC 2, 64.

✱**səpʹí** to sprinkle, scatter: Tung. ***sabda-**; Mong. ***sabir- / *sibere-**; Turk. ***sep-**; Jpn. ***simpuki**; Kor. ***sp-**.

PTung. ***sabda-** to trickle, ooze (капать, сочиться, стекать): Evk. *sawda-*; Evn. *habdъ-*; Neg. *sabda-*; Man. *sabda-*; SMan. *savədə* (2022, 2021); Jurch. *sada-ra*; Ul. *sabda-*; Ork. *sabda-*; Nan. *sabda-*; Ud. *sabda-*.

◊ TMC 2, 51.

PMong. ***sabir- / *sibere-** to sprinkle, trickle (моросить, брызгать, цедить(ся)): WMong. *sabira-*, *sibere-*, *sibsi-* (L 695); Kh. *savira-*, *šivre-*, *šavši-*; Kalm. *säwr-* 'to sprinkle, scatter'.

◊ KW 319. The Mong. form seems to be borrowed in a number of TM expressive forms: Orok *sêpēr* 'морося', *sepitči-* / *seputči-* 'брызгать, выплескивать', Man. *šufur se-* 'рассыпаться', *sabara-* 'разливать, разбрасывать'.

PTurk. ***sep-** to scatter, sprinkle (рассыпать, брызгать): Tur. *sep-*; Az. *säp-*; Turkm. *sep-*; Khal. *säp-*; MTurk. *sep-* (IM, AH); Uzb. *sep-*; Uygh. *säp-*; Krm. *sep-*; Tat. *sip-*; Bashk. *hip-*; Kirgh. *sep-*; Kaz. *sep-*; KKalp. *sep-*; Kum. *sep-*; Nogh. *sep-*; Oyr. *sep-*; Chuv. *sap-*.

◊ VEWT 410, Лексика 26, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***simpuki*** splash, spray (брызги): Tok. *shibuki*.

PKor. ***sp-*** 1 to wet, soak 2 to wash 3 to scatter, sow (1 мокнуть 2 мыть 3 разбрасывать, сеять): MKor. *spìrí-* 1, *spăr-* 2, *spìh-* 3; Mod. *p:uri-* 1,3, *p:al-* 2.

◊ HMCH 312, Nam 247, 272, 279, 280, KED 725, 814.

‖ An expressive root, but nevertheless with satisfactory correspondences. Korean has a usual vowel reduction in two of the root's derivatives. Mong. **sabir-* may be a result of partial contamination with **sĕpo* 'throw, scatter' q.v.

✱**sàp'ì** shore: Tung. ***sapsV***; Turk. ***sEp***; Jpn. ***sìpə̀***.

PTung. ***sapsV*** bank, shore (берег, берег у самой воды): Ul. *sapsị*; Nan. *sapsị*; Orch. *sapsa*.

◊ TMC 2, 64.

PTurk. ***sEp*** duct, river branch, bay (приток, залив, боковой рукав реки): Khak. *sip*; Oyr. *sep*; Tv. *sep*.

◊ VEWT 410, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sìpə̀*** tide (прилив): OJpn. *sip(w)o*; MJpn. *sìfô*; Tok. *shió*; Kyo. *shíô*; Kag. *shió*.

◊ JLTT 525.

‖ A good common Altaic root, although not very widely represented.

✱**sara (~ *sero, *sura, *sịora, *z-)** monkey: Mong. ***sar-magčin***, ****sar-bačin***; Jpn. ****sàrû***.

PMong. ***sar-magčin***, ****sar-bačin*** monkey (обезьяна): MMong. *sor-məči* (IM); WMong. *sarmaγčin*, *sarbačin* (L 675, 676); Kh. *sarmagčin*; Bur. *harmagšan*; Kalm. *sar-möčn̦* (KPC); Ord. *sarmaGčin*.

◊ A somewhat distorted compound with **mečin* (v. sub **měča*) in the second part. The restructuring occurred under the influence of other animal names with a frequent female suffix -gčin.

PJpn. ****sàrû*** monkey (обезьяна): OJpn. *saru*; MJpn. *sàrú*; Tok. *sáru*; Kyo. *sàrû*; Kag. *sarú*.

◊ JLTT 518.

‖ Ozawa 96-99. A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. ?Cf. perhaps Turk. **sarsal* 'weasel' (EDT 854 etc.)

✱**sarču (~ *š-)** locust, dragon-fly: Tung. ****čačaraku***; Mong. ****čarča-***; Turk. ****sarinčga***; Jpn. ****sunsu-musi***; Kor. ****čǎnčárí***.

PTung. ****čačaraku*** a k. of locust (вид саранчи): Man. *čačaraqu*.

◊ TMC 2, 386. An isolated Manchu form, and borrowing < Mong. (see Rozycki 42) cannot be entirely excluded.

PMong. ****čarča-*** locust, grasshopper (саранча, кузнечик): WMong. *čarča*, *čarčaγa(i)*, *čarčaxai* (L 165); Kh. *carcā(n)*, *carcāxaj*; Bur. *sarsā*; Kalm.

carcə, carcā, carcāxā̃; Ord. *ǯarčā*; Dag. *čārčān* (Тод. Дат. 180); Bao. *ǯaGǯaG*; S.-Yugh. *čarčaGī*; Mongr. *ćārǯaG* (SM 443), *čārǯaG*.

◊ KW 422, MGCD 563.

PTurk. ***sarïnčga*** locust (саранча): Karakh. *sarïčγa* (MK); MTurk. *sarïnčqan* (AH); Khak. *sarïsxa*, *sarïnčqa* 'a k. of dragonfly'; Oyr. *sarïšqa*, *sarïsqa*.

◊ EDT 845, VEWT 404, ЭСТЯ 7, Лексика 187 (confused with **siarïγ* 'yellow').

PJpn. ***sunsu-musi*** a k. of cricket (вид сверчка): MJpn. *suzumusi*; Tok. *suzúmushi*; Kyo. *súzúmùshì*; Kag. *suzumúshi*.

◊ Original accent unclear.

PKor. ****čǎ̆nčárí*** dragon-fly (стрекоза): MKor. *čǎ̆nčárí*; Mod. *čamčari*.

◊ Nam 416, KED 1396.

‖ KW 422, Лексика 187. An onomatopoeic insect name, with usual in such a case assimilations.

✱**sark'V** to drip, splatter: Tung. ***sargi-***; Mong. ***sark-***; Turk. ***sark-***.

PTung. ***sargi-*** to splatter (of water, rain) (журчать, шуметь (о ручье, дожде)): Evk. *sargi-*; Evn. *hargъ-* 'to snort, pant'; Nan. *sarGi-* (Naikh.).

◊ TMC 2, 65.

PMong. ***sark-*** to sprinkle, drip (брызгать, капать): WMong. *sarkira-*, *sarqaji-*; Kh. *sarxij-* 'звукоподражание плеску, журчанию, шороху'; Kalm. *sarkr-*, *sarkl-*; Ord. *sarχira-* 'to murmur'.

◊ KW 313.

PTurk. ***sark-*** to drip, ooze (капать, стекать по капле, сочиться): Karakh. *sarq-* (MK); Turkm. *sar(i)q-*; MTurk. *sarq-* (AH); Uzb. *sa(r)qi-*; Krm. *sarq-*, *sarx-*; Tat. *sarqï-*; Bashk. *harqï-*; Kirgh. *sarïq-*; Kaz. *sarïq-*, *sarqï-*; KKalp. *sarïq-*; Kum. *sarq-*; Nogh. *sarq-*; Khak. *sarïx-*; Tv. *sarïq-*; Chuv. *sərγən-*.

◊ VEWT 404, EDT 847-848, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss. Note some of the Turkic derivatives (Kum. *sarqïm* 'thin flow', Tat. dial. *sarqïm* 'thick whey left after pressing curds' etc., see ЭСТЯ 7) which may speak in favour of the original meaning 'to ooze, be filtered'. In this case the root may actually be derived from **sa̋rV* 'to be rare, thinned out' (q.v.) (assuming that length in TM was secondarily shortened); cf. especially the common Western derivative **sār-k'V* 'maw used for filtering / fermenting'.

✱**sáro** a k. of blossoming plant: Tung. ***sara-ča***; Mong. ***sere-*** / ***serke-***; Turk. ***sarga-***; Jpn. ***sátúkí***.

PTung. ***sara-ča*** a k. of plant (mountain barberry?) (назв. растения (горный барбарис?)): Man. *sarača*.

◊ TMC 2, 65. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***sere- / *serke-** a k. of blossoming plant (вид цветущего растения: 1 багульник болотный, 2 патриния сибирская, 3 люцерна, 4 мимоза): WMong. *ser(k)eɣeg*, (L 691) *serkelig* 2; Kh. *sereleg* 1, *serkeleg* 2; Bur. *herxēneg* 3, *herhen* 4; Kalm. *serkənəg* 3 (KPC).

◊ Cf. also Khalkha *sarnaj* 'rose'.

PTurk. ***sarga-** 1 a plant which grows in damp places 1 a plant growing in saline grounds (1 растение, живущее во влажных местах 2 растение, живущее на солончаках): OTurk. *sarɣan* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *sarɣan, sarɣan qamïš* 2 (MK); Az. *saraGan* 'скумпия (кустарник)'; Chuv. ? *surъx səlli* 'овсяника овечья' (? Дмитриева 1988, 42; lit. 'sheep oats').

◊ EDT 849, VEWT 403. Cf. also **siaŕ* 'reed' (in Oghuz languages, see under **siaŕ* 'marsh' - perhaps a contamination), as well as some forms dealt with under **sarimsak* (v. sub *sera).

PJpn. ***sátúkí** a k. of rhododendron (вид рододендрона): MJpn. *satuki*; Tok. *sàtsuki*; Kyo. *sátsúki*; Kag. *satsúki*.

‖ Cf. **s[é]rko*, with a possibility of contaminations.

***sàrpa (~ -pʿ-)** weak, exhausted: Mong. ***sarba-ɣa**; Turk. ***sarp**; Jpn. ***sàmpù-**.

PMong. ***sarba-ɣa** 1 to be exhausted, weak 2 fever (1 быть истощенным, слабым 2 лихорадка): WMong. *sarbaɣa-da-* 1 (БАМРС); Kh. *sarvāda-* 1; Bur. *harig, harmaj* 1; Mongr. *sarbā* 2.

◊ For Bur. *harig* 'weak, exhausted' cf. WMong. (L 675) *sariɣ* 'impatient; light-minded'.

PTurk. ***sarp** difficult (трудный): OTurk. *sarp* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sarp* (KB); Tur. *sarp*; Az. *sarp*; Turkm. *sarp*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *sarp* (CCum., Houts.).

◊ VEWT 404, EDT 845.

PJpn. ***sàmpù-** grieved, cheerless, lonesome (унылый, грустный, одинокий): OJpn. *sabu-si*; MJpn. *sabu-si*; Tok. *sabishí-*; Kyo. *sábíshì-*; Kag. *sabishí-*.

◊ JLTT 839.

‖ Some evidence from Mong. (Bur. *harig*) seems to indicate that the root may be just **sara*, with the old derivative **sar(a)-pʿV* reflected in most languages.

***sàrpʿa** a k. of tool: Tung. ***sarpukī**; Mong. ***sorbi**; Turk. ***sa(r)pan**; Jpn. ***sàpí**; Kor. ***sárp**.

PTung. ***sarpukī** chopsticks (палочки, щипцы (для еды)): Neg. *sapkī*; Man. *sabka*; SMan. *safəqə* (570); Jurch. *sabu(n)xa* (257); Ul. *salbu*; Ork. *sabū*; Nan. *sarbī*; Orch. *sappui*; Ud. *safugu*; Sol. *sarpa, sarpo*.

◊ TMC 2, 66-67. TM > Dag. *sarpa* (Тод. Даг. 162); WMong. *sabqa(n)* (L 654), Khalkha *savx*, Kalm. *sawxə* (KW 315), Dag. *sabehe, sabeke* (MD 204).

PMong. ***sorbi*** staff, stick (палка, посох): MMong. *sorbi* (HY 20); WMong. *sorbi* (БАМРС); Kh. *sorvi* 'shaman's staff' (БАМРС); Bur. *horbo*.

PTurk. ***sa(r)pan*** plough (плуг): Karakh. *saban* (MK); Tur. *saban*; Gag. *saban*; Az. *sapan*; Sal. *sovan* 'соха' (ССЯ); MTurk. *saban* (IM, AH), *sapan* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *sapan*; Krm. *saban*; Tat. *saban*; Bashk. *haban*; Kaz. *saban*; KBalk. *saban*; Kum. *saban*, *sarapan* 'plough breast'; Nogh. *saban*; Chuv. *sorban* 'plough breast'.

◊ VEWT 402, Лексика 468, Ашм. XI, 205, ЭСТЯ 7, Molnár 2001. Turkm. dial. *sāvan* 'ploughfield' may point to length, but is not quite clear because of -v-. The root may have been influenced by PT **saṗ* 'handle' (v. sub **sèpʹù*).

PJpn. ****sàpí*** a k. of hoe (вид мотыги): OJpn. *sapji*; MJpn. *sàfi*.

◊ JLTT 516 (but the hypothesis of Jpn. < Kor. < Chin. is groundless).

PKor. ****sárp*** spade, shovel (лопата): MKor. *sárp*; Mod. *sap*.

◊ Nam 292, KED 906.

‖ Martin 242, АПиПЯЯ 73, Doerfer MT 82. The root must have denoted a k. of stick used in agriculture, most probably digging stick or hoe, with a later transition to "plough", and in TM, exotically, to "eating stick" or "chopsticks". Mong. *sabqa*, because of the absent -r-, is most probably < Manchu, whereas the original root is preserved as *sorbi 'stick, staff' (although the -o-vowel here is a bit strange - **sarb-* would be expected; perhaps we are actually dealing with a suffixed form like **sorbuji*, with a secondary labialization < **sarbuji*).

sarpʹe** colt, foal: Mong. ****sarbaɣa; Turk. ****sɨp***.

PMong. ****sarbaɣa*** 2-year-old colt (двухлетний жеребенок): WMong. *sarbaɣa*; Kh. *sarwā*; Kalm. *sarwā*.

◊ KW 314 (> Oyr. *sarbaɣa* etc., see ЭСТЯ 7).

PTurk. ****sɨp*** 2-year-old colt; donkey colt (двухгодовалый жеребенок; осленок): Karakh. *sɨp* (MK); Tur. *sɨpa*; Az. *sɨpa*; Khal. *supa*; MTurk. *sɨpa* (Houts.); SUygh. *sɨp*.

◊ EDT 783, ЭСТЯ 7. Note also Osm. (R.) *sɨrpa* id.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

sarpʹi (~-e)** a k. of needle: Tung. ****sarpu-; Turk. ****sạp-***.

PTung. ****sarpu-*** needle for weaving nets (игла (для вязания сетей)): Neg. *sapkī*; Man. *sarba*, *sarfu*, *surafu*; Ul. *sarpụ(n)*; Ork. *salpị ~ sarpị*; Nan. *sarpol*; Orch. *saptu*; *sapsaŋki* 'a k. of needle'.

◊ TMC 2, 64, 129.

PTurk. ****sạp-*** 1 to thread a needle 2 needle (вдевать нитку, протыкать): OTurk. *sap-* (OUygh.) 'to graft'; Karakh. *sap-* (MK) 1; Az. *sap* 2; Turkm. *sap-* 1, *sap* 2; Khal. *sap* 2; MTurk. *sap-* (R) 1, *sap* (Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *sap-* (dial.); Uygh. *sap-*; Krm. *sap-*; Tat. *sap-*; Bashk. *hap-*; Kaz. *sap-*; Chuv. *sɨp-*.

◊ EDT 784, VEWT 401-402. Turk. > Bur. *hab* 'sinew thread' (unattested Mong. *sab* > Yak. *sap* 'thread').

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**saru** to be worn out, torn: Mong. ***sar-ni-**; Turk. ***saran**; Jpn. ***sutar-**.

PMong. ***sar-ni-** 1 to stray, disperse 2 lose powers (1 расходиться, рассеиваться, разламываться 2 терять силы): WMong. *sarni-* 1,2 (L 676); Kh. *sarni-* 1; Bur. *harni-* 2; Kalm. *sarni-* 1; Ord. *sarni-* 1.

◊ KW 314.

PTurk. ***saran** miser, miserly (скупой, скряга): OTurk. *saran* (OUygh.); Karakh. *saran* (MK); Uzb. *saraŋ*; Uygh. *saraŋ*; Krm. *saran, saraŋ*; Tat. *saran*; Bashk. *haran*; Kaz. *saraŋ*; KKalp. *saraŋ*; SUygh. *saran*; Oyr. *saran, saram*; Yak. *araŋ*.

◊ VEWT 403, EDT 853-854, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. Chuv. *soran* 'wound, loss, damage'.

PJpn. ***sutar-** to become unfashionable, deteriorate (выйти из употребления, быть в упадке): OJpn. *sutar-*; MJpn. *sútár-*; Tok. *sùtare-*; Kyo. *sútáré-*; Kag. *sùtàrè-*.

◊ JLTT 759. The verb is usually regarded as a passive (intransitive) of **sútá-* 'throw out, discard', and it was certainly influenced by the latter accentologically. But the accent in Kagoshima (*suté-* vs. *sùtàrè-*) as well as the external parallels show that it is originally a distinct root, probably with low tone (**sùtàr-*).

‖ ЭСТЯ 7.

✱**sàru (~ -e-)** a bird of prey: Mong. ***sar**; Turk. ***sar(i)**; Kor. ***súrí**.

PMong. ***sar** 1 bird of prey 2 snipe (1 хищная птица 2 бекас): MMong. *sar* (HY 14) 'duck-hawk, harrier'; WMong. *sar* (L 674); Kh. *sar* 1, *sarālžin* 2; Bur. *harālža(n)* 2; Kalm. *sar* 'big kite'; Mongr. *sār* (SM 326).

◊ KW 313. Mong. > Oyr. *sirāldin* etc. (ЭСТЯ 7).

PTurk. ***sar(i)** 1 bird of prey, kite 2 a k. of falcon 3 starling 4 siskin (1 хищная птица, коршун 2 сарыч 3 скворец 4 чиж): Tur. *sarı-ǰa* 4; Az. *sar* 2; Turkm. *sar* 3; MTurk. *sar, sariča* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔr* 2; Uygh. *sa(r)* 1; Tat. *sarič* 2; Bashk. *har* 2; Kirgh. *sarı* 1; SUygh. *sar* 1; Tv. *sarı* 2.

◊ VEWT 402b, Лексика 170, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***súrí** eagle, hawk (орел, ястреб): MKor. *súrí*; Mod. *suri*.

◊ HMCH 180, Liu 474, KED 1002.

‖ KW 313, VEWT 402, TMC 2,64 (Evk. *sar* < Mong.), KW 313. Cf. also Jurch. *siel* (< **siar-*) 'hawk'.

✱**sarumV (~ z-, -ŕ-)** eyelash, eyebrow: Tung. ***sarimi-**; Mong. ***sormu-**; Kor. ***sə̀m**.

PTung. ***sarimī-** 1 to wink 2 eyelash, eyebrow (1 моргать 2 ресница, бровь): Evk. *sarimī-* 1, *sarimikta* 2; Evn. *harъm-* 1, *harъmtъ* 2; Neg. *sajimta* 2; Man. *solmin* 2; SMan. *śulimin* 2 (17); Ul. *sarumta* 2; Ork. *sir(u)muqta* 2; Nan. *sarmaqta* 2; Orch. *sāmikta* 2; Ud. *sāmikta* 2; Sol. *sammikta, sarmilta, sarmitta* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 66. TM > Dag. *sarmilta* 'eyebrow' (Тод. Дар. 162).

PMong. ***sormu-*** eyelash (ресница): MMong. *sormue* (HY 45), *surimusun* ('body hair') (SH), *ṣormoṣu* 'eyelid' (IM), *surbisun* (MA), *sarmasūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *sormu(u)su(n)* (L 729); Kh. *sormos(on)*, *sormūs(an)*; Bur. *hoŕmoho(n)*; Kalm. *sorṃsṇ*; Ord. *sormūs*, *sormūsu*; Dong. *somosun*.

◊ KW 332, MGCD 607.

PKor. ***sə̀m*** eyebrow (бровь): MKor. *nún-sə̀m*.

◊ Nam 115.

‖ KW 332, Rozycki 186.

✱**sarV** song, feast: Tung. ***sari***; Turk. ***sarɨn***.

PTung. ***sari-n*** feast (пир, праздник): Man. *sarin*; SMan. *sarin*, *s̀arin*, *śarin* (960); Nan. *sarī*.

◊ TMC 2, 66. TM > Dag. *sarše-* 'to have a feast'.

PTurk. ***sarɨn*** song, sad song (песня, заунывная песня): MTurk. *sarna-* (R) 'to sing'; Kaz. *sarɨn*; Kum. *sarɨn*; Khak. *sarɨn*; Shr. *sarɨn*; Oyr. *sarɨn*; Tv. *sɨrɨn*.

◊ VEWT 404, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**sə̀rV** to be rare, thinned out: Tung. ***sār-***; Mong. ***sar-***; Turk. ***sAr-***.

PTung. ***sār-*** 1 crumbly 2 small, split 3 to rarefy, to weed (1 рыхлый 2 мелкий, раздробленный 3 разрежать, полоть): Evn. *sarkama* 1; Neg. *saj* 2; Man. *sarḱa-* 3; Ul. *sar* (bi) 2; Ork. *sār* (bī) 2; Nan. *sār* (bī) 2; Orch. *sar* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 66.

PMong. ***sar-*** to be rare, net-like (быть редким, прореженным): WMong. *sarčiyar* 'thin and crispy' (L 675); Kh. *sarʒaj-*; Bur. *harsaj-*.

PTurk. ***sAr-*** 1 to filter, separate 2 to be filtered, separated 3 sieve for filtering liquids (1 процеживать, отделять 2 процеживаться, отстаиваться 3 сито для процеживания жидкостей): Karakh. *sarma-* 2, *sarɨm* 3 (MK; EDT 852-853: *serme-*, *serim*); Turkm. *sarGan* 'milk product made of boiled milk together with the contents of the stomach of a newborn lamb'; MTurk. *sar-* 1 (Diz.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss. It is interesting to note the Turkm. form *sarGan*, which may reflect an old derivative **sār-kV* 'maw, paunch and its products' (reflecting the role played by the maw, ventriculus in the filtering and fermenting process) : cf. PT **sarkɨńuk* 'maw, paunch' (EDT 849-850, ЭСТЯ 7), WMong. *sarkinaɣ* 'ventriculus, second stomach' (L 676; possibly < Turkic); Evk. *sargākte* 'upper coverage of the stomach'. See also notes to **sarḱV*.

✱**saŕi** to get cold, freeze: Mong. ***ser-**; Turk. ***sAŕak / *sArk-**.

PMong. ***ser-** cool, fresh (прохладный, свежий): MMong. *seri'un* (HY 5), *seri'ut-* (SH); WMong. *serigün* (L 691); Kh. *serūn*; Bur. *heŕūn*; Kalm. *serŭn*; Ord. *serŭn*; Dag. *serūn* (Тод. Дат. 163, MD 211); S.-Yugh. *sörŭn*; Mongr. *sarin* (SM 328), *sarəŋ*.

◊ KW 326, MGCD 601. Mong. **seriyün* 'fresh, cool' > Evk. *serun*, Man. *sergiuwen* etc. (see Doerfer MT 119, Rozycki 178); > Turk. *serin*, MTurk. *serörün* etc., see Лексика 16, ЭСТЯ 17; Yak. *serīn*, *sörŭn*, Dolg. *herŭn*, *hörŭn* (Kał. MEJ 17, Stachowski 102).

PTurk. ***sAŕak / *sArk-** 1 to become numb 2 hoar-frost 3 cold wind (1 неметь, цепенеть 2 иней 3 холодный ветер): Karakh. *sarq-* 1, *sarqïm* 2 (MK); Tur. (dial.) *sazaq*, *sazaɣan* 3; Az. *sazaG* 3; MTurk. (Xwar., MKypch.) *sarq-* 1 (Qutb, AH); Kaz. *sazar-* 1; Nogh. *sazar-* 'to be bored'; Khak. *sarnax* 3 (Kach.); Tv. *sarɣï-* 'to nag, feel pain'.

◊ EDT 848, 849. Лексика 42, 43. Despite EDT 847, the basic meaning is not "weak downward movement with no force behind it": in fact we have here a confusion of several originally different roots (see **sark-* 'overflow, drip'; **sal-* 'put down, lower', with the derivative **salk-* which has influenced the meaning of **sark-* in some languages).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. In Kor. and Jpn. the reflex of this root may have merged with **sílgu* q.v. (cf. PKE 175).

✱**sə̆ŕi** to know; beware, feel: Tung. ***sā-**; Mong. ***seri-**; Turk. ***sEŕ- (~-ē-)**; Jpn. ***sír-**; Kor. ***sari-**.

PTung. ***sā-** to know (знать): Evk. *sā-*; Evn. *hā-*; Neg. *sā-*; Man. *sa-*; SMan. *sa-* (1856); Jurch. *ĉaŋ-xi* (353); Ul. *sāwụ*; Ork. *sā-*; Nan. *sā-*; Orch. *sā-*; Ud. *sā-*; Sol. *sā-*.

◊ TMC 2, 49-51.

PMong. ***seri-** to wake; notice (просыпаться; замечать): MMong. *seri-* (HY 35, SH), *sere-ba* 'to feel, sense' (HY 33), *sere-* (SH), *siri-*, *sə̆ri-* (MA), *sīr-* (IM); WMong. *sere-*, *seri-* (L 689); Kh. *sere-*; Bur. *heri-*; Kalm. *ser-*; Ord. *sere-*; Mog. *serä-*; Dag. *sere-* (Тод. Дат. 163, MD 211); Dong. *šieri-*; Bao. *sere-*; S.-Yugh. *ser-*; Mongr. sari- (SM 327), (MGCD *serə-*).

◊ KW 325, MGCD 600. Mong. > Evk. *seri-* etc. (see Doerfer MT 38, Rozycki 178).

PTurk. ***sEŕ- (~-ē-)** 1 to feel, understand 2 doubt (1 чувствовать, понимать, воспринимать 2 сомнение): Karakh. *sez-* (MK) 1; Tur. *sez-* 1; Az. *sez-* 1; Turkm. *seza(wār)*; MTurk. *sez-* 1 (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *sez-* 1; Uygh. *säz-* 1; Krm. *sez-* 1; Tat. *siz-* 1; Bashk. *hiδ-* 1; Kirgh. *sez-* 1, *sez* 'feeling'; Kaz. *sez-* 1; KBalk. *sez-* 1; KKalp. *sez-* 1; Kum. *sez-* 1; Nogh. *sez-* 1; Khak. *sis-* 1; Oyr. *ses-* 1, *ses* 'understanding'; Tv. *sezik* 2; Tof. *sezīk* 2.

◊ VEWT 413, EDT 860-861, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. *sezik* > WMong. *sesig* (but *seǰig* is probably genuine, see under **sàǰV)*.

PJpn. ***sír-** to know (знать): OJpn. sir-; MJpn. *sír-*; Tok. *shìr-*; Kyo. *shír-*; Kag. *shír-*.

◊ JLTT 752.

PKor. ***sari-*** 1 to beware, be careful, spare oneself 2 wisdom (1 быть осторожным, беречься 2 мудрость): MKor. *sirkii* 2; Mod. *sari-* 1, *silgi* 2.

◊ Nam 321, KED 873, 1027. The *-i-*vowel in *sirkii* is probably a secondary result of assimilation.

‖ EAS 71, KW 325, Poppe 29, 82 (Turc-Mong.), Murayama 1962, 111, 1978, 277-278, Miller 1981, 852, ОСНЯ 2, 107-108, Ozawa 228-229, АПиПЯЯ 74, 91, 276, Дыбо 14, Martin 234. TM preserves length in a monosyllabic root after loss of the resonant. Mong. cannot be explained as a loanword, despite Щербак 1997, 144.

✱**sáŕo** fence, village: Tung. ***saru***; Mong. ***siröge***; Turk. ***soŕak***; Jpn. ***sátuá***.

PTung. ***saru-*** 1 a sit in boat made like a tent 2 fence (1 сиденье (в лодке, в виде беседки) 2 забор, изгородь): Ul. *sārụ(n)* 1; Ork. *sarị(n)* 1, *sarụqa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 67.

PMong. ***siröge*** fence, barrier made of pointed sticks (забор): WMong. *sirüge*, (L 757) *sörge*; Kh. *šörög*; Bur. *šürge*; Kalm. *šörgə*.

◊ KW 366.

PTurk. ***soŕak*** village (деревня): OTurk. *sozaq* (~ -u-) (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 861, VEWT 429.

PJpn. ***sátuá*** village (деревня): OJpn. *satwo*; MJpn. *sátó*; Tok. *sàto*; Kyo. *sátó*; Kag. *sáto*.

◊ JLTT 519.

‖ A common derivative **sáŕo-kV* is reflected in OT *sozaq*, PM **sirö-ge* and Orok *sarụqa*.

✱**sáŕo(-gV)** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***sarga-***; Mong. ***siröge***; Turk. ***sāŕV-gan***.

PTung. ***sarga-*** 1 perch 2 grayling 3 white-fish 4 herring (1 окунь 2 хариус 3 сиг 4 сельдь): Evk. *sargaka* 1; Neg. *sajgatị* 2; Man. *sarGa nimaχa* 3; Ul. *sarGadị* 2; Ork. *sarụkki* 4; Orch. *sagati* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 65, 67.

PMong. ***siröge*** ruff (fish) (ерш): WMong. *sirüge*; Kalm. *šörgə zaγəsn*.

◊ KW 366. Cf. also Shor *šarayan* < Mong. **sirayan*. See Mudrak D 195-196.

PTurk. ***sāŕV-gan*** 1 carp 2 snake, dragon (1 сазан 2 змей, дракон): Tur. *sazan* 1; Gag. *sazan* 1; Az. *sazan* 1; Turkm. *sāzan* (VEWT); MTurk. *sazγan* 2 (> Tur. *sazγan*); Uzb. *sazan* 1 (dial.); Bashk. *hazan, saδan* 1 (dial.); Kirgh. *sazan* 1; Kaz. *sazan* 1; Kum. *sazan* 1; Khak. *sazan* 1; Tv. *sazan* 1.

◊ VEWT 406, Лексика 179, ЭСТЯ 7. Bulg. > Hung. *sárkány* 'dragon', see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 493-494.

‖ Лексика 179, Miller 2000, 61-62. A Western isogloss. Cf. also Kor. *salgi* 'Amur grayling', perhaps borrowed from TM.

✱**sàʒV** to slander, condemn: Tung. ***saʒī-***; Mong. ***seʒig***; Turk. ***saj-***; Jpn. ***sài-r- (~ *sià-r-)***.

PTung. ***saʒī-*** to condemn (осуждать, порицать): Evk. *saʒī-ča-*; Sol. *sāʒilā-*.

◊ TMC 2, 54.

PMong. ***seʒig*** doubt (сомнение, недоверие): WMong. *seʒig* (L 692); Kh. *seʒig*; Bur. *heʒeg*; Kalm. *seʒag* (KPC); Ord. *seʒik*.

PTurk. ***saj-*** 1 to slander, lie 2 slander, lie (1 клеветать, лгать 2 клевета, ложь): Uzb. *sajɣ* 'delirium'; KKalp. *saj-* 1; Khak. *sajɣa-* 1, *sajɣax* 2; Oyr. *sajɣaq* 2; Chuv. *soj-* 1, *soj* 2.

◊ VEWT 395, ЭСТЯ 7, Ашм. XI, 160.

PJpn. ***sài-r- (~ *sià-r-)*** to urge; to contest (побуждать; соперничать): MJpn. *ser-*; Tok. *sér-*; Kyo. *sér-*; Kag. *sèr-*.

◊ JLTT 749.

‖ Mong. is usually regarded as < Turk. **seŕik*, see **sáŕi* (see VEWT 413, Clark 1980, 40; cf. also WMong. *sesig* id.).

✱**sebe** to love, have fun: Tung. ***sebʒe-***; Mong. ***sebki-***; Turk. ***seb-***; Jpn. ****sua(m)pa-p-***; Kor. ****sipi-***.

PTung. ***sebʒe-*** fun, to have fun (веселье, веселиться): Evk. *sebʒen*; Evn. *hebʒēk-*; Neg. *sebʒen-*; Man. *sebʒen*, *sebʒele-*; SMan. *sevəʒən* 'pleasure, enjoyment' (1941), *sevəʒəŋə* 'enjoyable' (1942), *sevəʒələ* 'to enjoy' (1943); Ul. *sebʒeni*; Ork. *sebʒen*; Nan. *sebʒeni*; Orch. *sebʒen-*; Ud. *sebʒeŋke*, *sebu* 'interesting'.

◊ TMC 2, 133-134. Man. > Dag. *sebʒile-* (Тод. Даг. 162).

PMong. ***sebki-*** to rest, refresh oneself, relax (отдыхать, освежаться, расслабляться): WMong. *seb* (*ge-*), *sebki-*, *sebkire-* (L 678, 679); Kh. *sevxij-*; Bur. *heb ge-*; Kalm. *sew ge-*.

◊ KW 327. Mong. > Man. *sebi-*, *sebki-*.

PTurk. ***seb-*** to love, like (любить): OTurk. *sev-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sev-* (MK); Tur. *sev-*; Gag. *sev-*; Az. *sev-*; Turkm. *söj-*; Khal. *säv-*; MTurk. *sev-* (IM, Pav. C.); Uzb. *sev-*, *sɔj-*; Uygh. *söj-*; Krm. *sev-*, *süj-*; Tat. *sü̆j-*; Bashk. *hü̆j-*; Kirgh. *süj-*; Kaz. *süj-*; KBalk. *süj-*; KKalp. *süj-*; Kum. *süj-*; Nogh. *süj-*; Oyr. *sü̆-*; Chuv. *sav-*; Yak. *iäj-*.

◊ EDT 784, VEWT 406-407, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ****sua(m)pa-p-*** to recreate, have fun (развлекаться, веселиться): OJpn. *swobap-*.

◊ JLTT 754.

PKor. ****sipi-*** to wish, want (желать, хотеть): MKor. *sipi-*; Mod. *sip-* [*siph-*], *siphi-*.

◊ Nam 325, KED 1043, 1066.

‖ EAS 71, Doerfer MT 240, Дыбо 14. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 3, 316) doubts, the root is common Altaic. The Jpn. vowel is quite irregular:

perhaps in Jpn. and Kor. we should presuppose a suffixed form **sebV-p-* (> Kor. *sipi-*, PJ **sua-p-*, with further suffixation **sua-p-ap-*). Cf. also WMong. (L 653) *sabla-ldu-* 'to show favour, be gracious'.

***sebV(nV) (~ z-)** strange, supernatural: Tung. ***seben**; Mong. ***sebe-ɣün**; Kor. ***sòn (< *sVbVn)**.

PTung. ***sebe-** 1 ghost (shaman's aid) 2 idol 3 God (1 дух (помощник шамана) 2 идол 3 бог): Evk. *sewũ* 1; Evn. *hewki* 3; Neg. *sewen*; Ul. *sewo(n)* ~ *sewe(n)*; Ork. *sewe*; Nan. *sewẽ*; Orch. *sewē(n)*, *seweru* 1, *seweki* 2; Ud. *sewe(n)* 1, *sewexi* 2; Sol. *sewũ* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 135 (also **sebe-ki)*.

PMong. ***sebe-ɣün** strange (странный, необычный): WMong. *sebegün* (L 678); Kh. *sevün*.

PKor. ***sòn** guest (гость): MKor. *sòn*; Mod. *son*.

◊ Nam 308, KED 985.

‖ Лексика 266.

***sèdá (~ z-)** to think, determine: Mong. ***sede-, *sed-ki-**; Jpn. ***sàntàmà-**.

PMong. ***sede-, *sed-ki-** to think of, to intend (думать, намереваться): MMong. *setki-* (HY 33, SH), *sītki-* (IM), *sitkăl* 'angry' (MA); WMong. *sede-, sedki-* (L 680); Kh. *setge-*; Bur. *hede-*; Kalm. *sed-, setkə-*; Ord. *sedχil* 'conscience, thought, feeling'; Dag. *serkin* (Тод. Даг. 163); Bao. *səgtə-*; S.-Yugh. *sedgel* 'thought'; Mongr. *sgir* (SM 347), (MGCD *sgəl* 'thought').

◊ KW 327, MGCD 593, 601.

PJpn. ***sàntàmà-** to determine (решать, определять): OJpn. *sadama-*; MJpn. *sàdàmà-*; Tok. *sadamé-*; Kyo. *sádámé-*; Kag. *sàdàmè-*.

◊ JLTT 745.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

***sedurk'V (~ z-)** nose bone: Tung. ***serge-**; Mong. ***sadurkaj**.

PTung. ***serge-** 1 gills 2 nose bone (1 жабры 2 кость (носовая)): Evk. *sergekte* 1; Nan. *seǯurẽ* 2 (Kur-Urm.).

◊ TMC 2, 143, 145.

PMong. ***sadurkaj** nose bones (кости, хрящи носа): WMong. *sadurqai*, (L 656) *sadarqai*; Kalm. *sadrxă*; Ord. *sadarxă*.

◊ KW 307.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, with a typical loss of *-d- before *-r- in TM.

***ségì (~ z-)** to litter, mat: Tung. ***seg-**; Mong. ***seg-l-**; Jpn. ***sík-**; Kor. ***skăr-**.

PTung. ***seg-** 1 to litter 2 litter, mat (1 подстилать 2 подстилка, циновка): Evk. *seɣī-* 1, *sekte* 2; Evn. *heɣ-* 1, *heɣtъ* 2; Neg. *sek-* 1, *sekte* 2; Man. *sekte-* 1, *sekǯi* 2; Ul. *segdi-* 1, *segdi* 2; Ork. *seji-* 1, *segǯi(n)* 2; Nan. *segǯi* 2; Orch. *segdi* 2; Ud. *soktou(n)* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 136-137. Evk. > Dolg. *hekte* (see Stachowski 101).

PMong. ***seg-l-*** mat (циновка): MMong. *segu'ul-* 'to roll up (as a mat)' (SH); WMong. *segel, seglei* (L 682: *segli*); Kh. *segel, seglij*.

PJpn. ***sík-*** to litter, strew (расстилать): OJpn. *sik-*; MJpn. *sík-*; Tok. *shìk-*; Kyo. *shík-*; Kag. *shík-*.

◊ JLTT 751.

PKor. ***skǎr-*** to spread out (as mat) (расстилать (напр. циновку)): MKor. *skǎr-*; Mod. *k:al-*.

◊ Nam 22, KED 44.

‖ Cf. **sík'e*.

✱**segsV** nape, back of head: Tung. ***sekse-***; Mong. ***segseji- / *sogsoji-***; Turk. ***sügsün***.

PTung. ***sekse-*** back of head (затылок): Man. *seksexe*.

◊ TMC 2, 139. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable Turk. and Mong. parallels.

PMong. ***segseji- / *sogsoji-*** to bristle, stick out (торчать (о волосах)): WMong. *segsüi-, segseji-, soγsuji-* (L 682, 723); Kh. *segsij-, sogsoj-*; Bur. *hagsagar/hegseger* 'легкий, воздушный, пушистый (о хорошем мехе)' *hegselze-* 'пушиться о мехе'; Kalm. *seksi-*; Ord. *segsī-*.

◊ KW 322.

PTurk. ***sügsün*** nape (затылок): OTurk. *süsgün* (OUygh.) 'backside, rump'; Tur. *sügsün, süjsün* (dial.); Az. *süjsün*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *süksün* (AH); Oyr. *süskenek*.

◊ EDT 856, Лексика 234-235, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ Лексика 235. A Western isogloss. Turk. **sügsün* < **segsün* through vowel assimilation.

✱**segu** a k. of small fur animal: Tung. ***segep(ke)***; Mong. ***sowsar***; Turk. ***sogur (~ -a-)***.

PTung. ***segep(ke)*** sable (соболь): Evk. *seγep*; Evn. *heγᴗp*; Neg. *seγep*; Man. *seke*; Jurch. *sep-ke* (191); Ul. *sēpe*; Ork. *seppe*; Nan. *sēpe*; Sol. *segeŋi*.

◊ TMC 2, 137.

PMong. ***sowsar*** marten (куница): WMong. *sowsar*, (L 741, DO 595) *suusar*; Kh. *sūsar*; Kalm. *suwsṛ* (KPC); Ord. *sūsar*.

◊ Mong. > Turk. *sawsar* etc. (not vice versa, despite TMN 3, 297-298, Clark 1980, 39, ЭСТЯ 7; Khalkha > Bur. (Okin., Tunk.) *sūsari* 'помесь куницы и соболя'.

PTurk. ***sogur (~ -a-)*** a small fur animal (marmot) (вид грызуна (сурок)): Karakh. *soγur* (MK); Tat. *suwïr*; Bashk. *hïwïr*; Oyr. *sɨγɨrγan* 'a small rodent'; Chuv. *sъʷᴗъʷr*.

◊ EDT 815, VEWT 416, 425, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. **sowsar* < **saγu-sar*, with labial attraction.

✱**sə̀gù** healthy; blood: Tung. ***sēgV-**; Mong. ***saji(n)**; Turk. ***saŋ**; Jpn. ***sùkù-jaka**; Kor. ***sà'ó-náb-**.

PTung. ***sēgV-** 1 blood 2 red (1 кровь 2 красный (**sēgǯe-*)): Evk. *sēkse* 1, (dial.) *segǯen* 2; Evn. *hēs* 1; Neg. *sēkse* 1; Man. *seŋgi* 1; SMan. *šiŋə* 1 (165); Jurch. *seiŋ-ŋi* (512) 1; Ul. *sēkse* 1, *segǯe(n)* 2; Ork. *sekse* 1, *sēgde(n)* 2; Nan. *sēkse* 1, *sēgǯē* 2; Orch. *sēkse* 1, *segǯe* 2; Ud. *sakeä* 1; Sol. *sēkče* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 136, 138-139. The pure root is preserved in Evk. *sēŋ-*, Neg. *sē-* 'to bleed, flow (of blood)'.

PMong. ***saji(n)** 1 good 2 beautiful (1 хороший 2 красивый): MMong. *sajin* (HY 55, SH), *ṣājn* 'healthy' (IM), *sajn* (MA); WMong. *sajin* 1 (L 660), *sajiqan* 2 (L 661); Kh. *sajn* 1, *sajxan* 2; Bur. *hajn* 1 *hajxa(n)* 2; Kalm. *sa̅n* 1; Ord. *sa̅n*; Mog. *sōīn*; Dag. *sain* 1, *saixan* (*saikan*) 2 (Тод. Даг. 161, (MD 204, 205); Dong. *sain* 1, *saiGan* 2; Bao. *saŋ* 1, *sexaŋ* 2; S.-Yugh. *sain* 1, *saiχGan* 2; Mongr. *sān* (SM 343), (MGCD: *sain*) 1; *sāGan* (SM 341) (MGCD *saixan*) 2.

◊ KW 319, MGCD 588, 589, TMN 1, 371. Mong. > Manchu, Jurchen *sain* (see Rozycki 173); > Chuv. *sajъ* (Róna-Tas 1973-1974).

PTurk. ***saŋ** healthy (здоровый): OTurk. *saγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *saγ* (MK); Tur. *saγ*, *sā*; Gag. *sā*; Az. *saγ*; Turkm. *saG*; Sal. *sax* 'right' (ССЯ); Khal. *sāγ*; MTurk. *saγ* (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *sɔγ*; Uygh. *saγ*; Krm. *saw*; Tat. *saw*; Bashk. *haw*; Kirgh. *sō*; Kaz. *saw*; KBalk. *sav, sau*; KKalp. *saw*; Kum. *saw*; Nogh. *saw; sawlaj* 'whole, all'; SUygh. *saγ*; Shr. *saγ*; Oyr. *sū, su*; Chuv. *sĭvъ*.

◊ TMN 3, 334-5, EDT 803, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sùkù-jaka** healthy (здоровый): MJpn. *sukujaka, sùkùjókà*; Tok. *sukóyaka*; Kyo. *sùkóyákà*; Kag. *sukoyaká*.

◊ JLTT 533.

PKor. ***sà'ó-náb-** strong, tough (сильный, крепкий): MKor. *sà'ó-náp-* (-b-); Mod. *sānap-* (-w-) 'rough, fierce, violent'.

◊ Nam 284, KED 869.

‖ EAS 85, KW 319, Владимирцов 266-267, Poppe 29 (Turk.-Mong.; Doerfer TMN 1, 372 refutes the match for absolutely unclear reasons), АПиПЯЯ 289, Мудрак Дисс. 182. The semantic correlation 'blood': 'health, healthy' is rather usual, thus the TM form belongs here with great probability. Kor. has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**sejŋi** relative by marriage: Tung. ***seŋgi**; Turk. ***siŋil**; Jpn. ***sai (~ sia)**; Kor. ***sjā'òŋ**.

PTung. ***seŋgi** relative by marriage (свойственник): Neg. *seŋgi*; Jurch. *seiŋ-ŋi-ŋ* (328); Ul. *seŋgi*; Ork. *śeŋgi*; Nan. *seŋgi* (On.).

◊ TMC 2, 138-9 (to be distinguished from 'blood'!).

PTurk. ***siŋil** 1 younger sister 2 younger brother (1 младшая сестра 2 младший брат): OTurk. *siŋil* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *siŋil* 1 (MK);

Turkm. *siŋli* 1 (dial.); Sal. *siŋil, siŋni, siŋne* 1; MTurk. *siŋil* 1 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *siŋil* 1; Uygh. *siŋil* 1; Krm. *siŋli* 1; Tat. *sīŋĭl* 1; Bashk. *hīŋlĭ* 1; Kirgh. *siŋdi* 1; Kaz. *siŋli* 1; KKalp. *siŋli* 1; Nogh. *siŋli* 1; SUygh. *siŋnі* 1; Shr. *siŋnim* (Chul.) 2; Chuv. *šъll-ъm* 2.

◊ EDT 839, Лексика 311, ЭСТЯ 7. The original meaning was probably "younger sister of husband" (still observable in Old Turkic); note also the meaning "younger brother" in Chuv. and in Chul. *siŋnim*.

PJpn. ***sai (~ sia)*** beloved one (возлюбленный): OJpn. *se*.

◊ JLTT 521.

PKor. ***sjā'òŋ*** husband (муж): MKor. *sjā'òŋ*.

◊ Nam 297.

‖ KW 328. MKo also has *sjā'ár* 'bastard' which may be related to the same root. The Jpn. form presupposes a suffixed **sejŋ(i)-gV* (= TM **seŋgi*).

✱**séjra (~ z-)** three, a three-part object: Mong. ***sereɣe***; Jpn. ***sárápí***; Kor. ***sāih***.

PMong. ***sereɣe*** trident, pitchfork (трезубец, вилы): WMong. *serege, serige, serije* (L 689); Kh. *serē*; Bur. *herē*; Kalm. *serē*; Ord. *serē* 'tête de flèche à plusieurs pointes'; Dag. *serē* (Тод. Дar. 163, MD 211).

◊ KW 325, MGCD 599. Mong. > Oyr. *sārä*.

PJpn. ***sárápí*** rake, pitchfork (грабли, вилы): MJpn. *sáráfí*.

◊ JLTT 518.

PKor. ***sāih*** three (три): MKor. *sāi* (*sāih-*); Mod. *sēt* [*sēs*].

◊ Nam 302, KED 968.

‖ SKE 225, PKE 171. Medial *-j- is reconstructed to account for loss of *-r- in Kor. Cf. perhaps also Man. *sertej* 'three-lipped, having a hare-lip'; MKor. *sàhìràì*, mod. *s:əre* 'rake, harrow' (= Mong. **sereɣe*).

✱**sèjV** thin, rare: Tung. ***sēr***; Mong. ***seji-***; Turk. ***sedre- (< *sej-re-)***; Jpn. ***sài- (~ *sià-)***; Kor. ***sári***.

PTung. ***sēr*** thin, rare (тонкий, редкий): Man. *seri*; Ul. *ser* bi; Nan. *sēr*.

◊ TMC 2, 144.

PMong. ***seji-, sejire-*** to be rare, thinned (быть редким, прореженным): WMong. *seji-, sejire-* (L 684); Kh. *sij-, sijre-*; Bur. *hijre-*; Kalm. *sīr-*; Ord. *sīre-*.

◊ KW 328.

PTurk. ***sedre-*** 1 to be rare, have wide intervals 2 gappy, rare, perforated (1 быть редким, с широкими промежутками 2 редкий, дырявый): OTurk. *sedrek* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *seδre-* 1, *seδrek* 2 (MK); Tur. *sejrek* 2; Gag. *sīrek* 2; Az. *sejrăk* 2; Turkm. *sejrek* 2; Sal. *serex* 2; MTurk. *sejrek* 2 (AH); Uzb. *sijrăk* 2; Uygh. *sirăk* 2; Krm. *serek* 2; Tat. *sirä-* 1 (dial.),

siräk 2; Bashk. *hiräk* 2; Kirgh. *sejrek* 2; Kaz. *sïre-* 1, *sïjrek* 2; KKalp. *sïjrek* 2; Kum. *sijrek* 2; Nogh. *sïjrek* 2; Chuv. *sajra* 2.

◊ EDT 802, VEWT 407.

PJpn. ***sài- (~ *sià-)*** narrow (узкий): OJpn. *se-, seba-*; MJpn. *sèbà-*; Tok. *semá-*; Kyo. *sémà-*; Kag. *semá-*.

◊ JLTT 839, 840.

PKor. ***sə́ri*** interval, space (интервал, промежуток): MKor. *sárì*; Mod. *səri* (arch.).

◊ Nam 299, KED 936.

‖ Владимирцов 282, Мудрак Дисс. 101, ЭСТЯ 7, TMN 3, 308-309. Despite Щербак 1997, 144 not borrowed in Mong. < Turk.

✱**sèkʻu** to preserve, be aware: Tung. ***sexu-***; Mong. ***saki-***; Turk. ***saḳ(i)-***; Jpn. ***sùk-***; Kor. ***sàkí-***.

PTung. ***sexu-*** sensitive, responsive (чуткий): Ul. *sexuli*; Nan. *sexur*.

◊ TMC 2, 139.

PMong. ***saki-*** to protect, guard (охранять, наблюдать, следить за): MMong. *saqi-* (MA), *saki-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *saki-* (L 662); Kh. *saxi-*; Bur. *haxi-*; Kalm. *säkə-, sakə-*; Ord. *saχi-*; Dag. *sagi-* (Тод. Дат. 161), *sahi-* (MD 204) ; *sagī-*; Dong. *saGi-, saɣəi-*; Bao. *sa̍Ge-*; S.-Yugh. *sāɣə-*; Mongr. *sagi-* (SM 319), (MGCD *sgə-*).

◊ KW 308, 318, MGCD 596.

PTurk. ***saḳ(i)-*** 1 aware 2 be aware, protect (1 осторожный, бдительный 2 быть осторожным, беречь(ся)): Karakh. *saq* 1, *saqïn-* 2 (MK); Tur. *sak*, sax 1 (dial.), *sakïn-* 2; Gag. *saq* 1, *saqïn-* 2; Turkm. *saq* 1,2; MTurk. *saqïn-* 2 (Houts.) , *saqin-* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔɣ* 1 (dial.); Krm. *saqïn-* 2; Tat. *saq* 1; Bashk. *haq* 1; Kirgh. *saq* 1; KBalk. *saq* 1; KKalp. *saq* 1; Kum. *saq* 1; Nogh. *saq* 1; SUygh. *saqa* 1, *saq-, saqï-* 2; Khak. *sax* 1, *saɣï-* 'to wait'; Oyr. *saqï-* 2; Tv. *sa'ɣï-* 2; Chuv. *siɣъ* 'guard'.

◊ VEWT 395-6. Turk. > WMong. *saɣ*, Kalm. *sag* (KW 307).

PJpn. ***sùk-*** to like (любить, нравиться): MJpn. *suk-*; Tok. *súk-* 'to like', *sùk-as-* 'to quieten'; Kyo. *sùk-, súkás-*; Kag. *sùk-, sukás-*.

◊ JLTT 758. The causative differs in tone from **sùk-* and may actually reflect a different original root.

PKor. ***sàkí-*** 1 to read characters, interpret 2 to know each other (1 читать знаки, переводить 2 знать друг друга, знакомиться): MKor. *sàkí-* 1, *sàkói-* 2; Mod. *sägi-* 1, *sagwi-* 2.

◊ Nam 282, KED 868, 920.

‖ KW 318. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite TMN 3, 218-219, Щербак 1997, 144. Korean has a usual "verbal" low tone. Cf. **si̯ə̆kʻa*.

✱**sela (~ -o)** bolt, hinge: Tung. ***selu-(mi)-***; Mong. ***silbi-***; Turk. ***salma / *salŋu***; Jpn. ***saru***.

PTung. ***selu-(mi)-*** 1 cross-bow 2 arrow (1 самострел 2 стрела): Evk. *selu, sele* 2; Evn. *helike* 2; Neg. *senmu* 1, 2; Man. *selmin, selḿen* (also "cock in bird-trap"); Nan. *sermi* 1, 2; Orch. *semmi* 1, 2; Ud. *seŋmi* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 143.

PMong. ***silbi-*** button loop (пуговичная петля): WMong. *silbi* (L 705); Kh. *šilbe*; Bur. *šelbe*; Kalm. *šilwə*; Ord. *šilbe* (*šilbi*).

◊ KW 357. Mong. > Oyr. *šilbi*.

PTurk. ***salma / *salŋu*** 1 sling 2 horse noose 3 snare 4 button hole (1 праща 2 аркан 3 силок 4 петля для пуговицы): Karakh. *salŋu* (MK) 1; Khal. *salγọ* 1; MTurk. *salma* 3 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *salma* 4; Bashk. *halmawɨr* 1; Kirgh. *salmōr* 1; Kaz. *salma* 'ornamental bands in a yurt'; Khak. *salba* 1 (Sag.); Chuv. *solъ* 'bracelet'.

◊ VEWT 399, EDT 827, Ашм. XI, 174. Usually derived from **sal-* 'put' or **sal-in-* 'hang, droop' - all very dubious semantically. With other suffixes cf. perhaps Uzb. *sɔldɔw* 'tug', Tuva *saldɨrɨk* 'belt shaped as a loop'

PJpn. ***saru*** door lock, bolt (дверной засов, болт): MJpn. *saru*; Tok. *saru*.

‖ A common Altaic derivative **sela-mV* is reflected in PTM **selu-mi-*, PT **sal-ma* and possibly (with denasalization) in Mong. **sil-bi-*.

✱**séle (~ z-)** mutually: Mong. ***selü-***; Jpn. ***sárá-p-***; Kor. ***sàrɨ***.

PMong. ***selü-*** to alternate (чередоваться, меняться): MMong. *silgi-* 'to billow, welter' (MA) (?); WMong. *selü-*, (L 686) *selgü-*; Kh. *sele-*; Bur. *helge-*; Kalm. *sel-*.

◊ KW 322. Mong. (with a secondary semantic development: "to repair") > Khak. *seli-* 'to repair' etc. (VEWT 409).

PJpn. ***sárá-p-*** to fit each other, be adjusted (подходить друг к другу, быть прилаженным): OJpn. *s(w)or(w)opa-* 'to fit, adjust' (tr.); MJpn. *sorof-, sórób-*; Tok. *soró-*; Kyo. *sóró-*; Kag. *sòrò-*.

◊ JLTT 756. Accent in Tokyo and Kagoshima is aberrant.

PKor. ***sàrɨ*** each other, mutually (друг друга, взаимно): MKor. *sàrɨ, sàrù, sàrɨ̀*; Mod. *sərə*.

◊ Nam 299, KED 935.

‖ KW 322.

✱**sèĺbò (~ z-)** oar, spoon: Mong. ***selbi-γür***; Jpn. ***sànsì***; Kor. ***súr***.

PMong. ***selbi-*** 1 oar 2 to row (1 весло 2 грести): WMong. *selbigür* 1, *selbi-* 2 (L 686); Kh. *selbŭr* 1, *selbe-* 2; Bur. *heĺŭr, heĺbŭr, helbe* 1; Dag. *seliб* (Тод. Даг. 162: *selbe*), *selebe-* 2 (MD 207).

◊ MGCD 598. Mong. > Man. *selbi* 'oar; to row' (see Rozycki 177).

PJpn. ***sànsì*** spoon (ложка): MJpn. *sazi*; Tok. *saji, sáji*; Kyo. *sájì*; Kag. *sají*.

◊ JLTT 520 (but the theory of borrowing from Chinese *ḍạ-ʒe* 'teaspoon' is quite improbable: *chaji* would be expected in Jpn.).

PKor. ***súr*** spoon (ложка): MKor. *súr*; Mod. *sul* (dial.).

◊ Nam 315, KED 1018.

‖ A Chinese origin of Kor. *súr*, suggested in Martin 1996, 92, is quite improbable.

✱**sēma** to get lost, deviate: Tung. ***sēm-***; Mong. ***samur-***; Turk. ***sAm-***; Jpn. ***sámá-***.

PTung. ***sēm-*** to be lost (теряться): Evk. *sēm-*.

◊ TMC 2, 141.

PMong. ***samur-*** 1 to stir, mix smth., make a disorder 2 disorder (1 помешивать, приводить в беспорядок 2 беспорядок): MMong. *sama'ura-* 1, *sama'u(i)* 2 (SH), *samao'u* 'rebellion' (HYt); WMong. *samura-* 1 (L 668), *samayun* 2 (L 667); Kh. *samra-* 1, *samūn* 2; Bur. *hamar-* 1; Kalm. *samūr-*, *samr-* 1; Ord. *samur-* 'to stir tea'; Dag. *samra-* (Тод. Даг. 161), *samarə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *samər-* 1, *samūn* 2; Mongr. *samurā-* 'être en désordre, se révolter' (SM 322), *samuri-* 'mêler en remuant, remuer avec une cuiller' (SM 323); *samurō* 2.

◊ KW 311, MGCD 592. Mong. > Man. samara- etc., see Doerfer MT 122, Rozycki 174.

PTurk. ***sAm-*** 1 a complicated affair with no obvious way out 2 to be sad, tired 3 to rave 4 fool (1 затруднительное дело, положение 2 быть печальным, усталым 3 бредить 4 глупец): Karakh. *samurtuɣ* 1 (MK); Turkm. *samra-* 3, *samsɨq* 4; Oyr. *samzɨl-* 2.

◊ EDT 830.

PJpn. ***sámá-*** to wander, falter (бродить, шататься): OJpn. *sama-jwop-*; MJpn. *sámá-joʃ-*; Tok. *samaɣó-*; Kyo. *sámáyó-*; Kag. *samaɣó-*.

◊ JLTT 747.

‖ High tone in Jpn. is irregular.

✱**sĕme (-a)** fat: Tung. ***semesik***; Mong. ***semʒi***; Turk. ***semiŕ***; Kor. ***sam***.

PTung. ***semesik*** inner fat (нутряной жир, сальник): Evk. *semesik*; Evn. *hemehъk*; Neg. *semesix*; Man. *semsu*.

◊ TMC 2, 142.

PMong. ***semʒi*** inner fat, fat on liver (внутренний жир, жир на печени): MMong. *simeʒi* (MA 320); WMong. *semʒi* (L 687: *semeʒe*, *semeʒi(n)*); Kh. *semʒ*; Bur. *hemže*; Kalm. *semʒn̥*; Ord. *semeʒi(n)*.

◊ KW 323. Mong. > Man. *semeʒen*, see Rozycki 178 (but not > *semsu*, TM **semesik*).

PTurk. ***semiŕ*** 1 fat (adj.) 2 fat (n.) 3 fatten (1 жирный 2 жир 3 жирнеть, тучнеть): OTurk. *semiz* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *semiz* (MK) 1; Tur. *semiz* 1; Az. *sämiz-* 3; Turkm. *semiz* 1; Sal. *semüs* 2; MTurk. *semiz* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *semiz* 1; Uygh. *semiz* 1; Krm. *semiz* 1; Tat. *simiz* 1; Bashk. *himiz* 1; Kirgh. *semiz* 1; Kaz. *semiz*; KBalk. *semiz* 1, 2; KKalp. *semiz* 1;

Kum. *semiz* 1, 2; Nogh. *semiz* 1; SUygh. *semiz* 1; Khak. *simis* 1; Oyr. *semis* 1; Tv. *semis* 1; Tof. *semis* 1; Chuv. *samъr* 1; Yak. *emis* 1; Dolg. *emis* 1.

◊ EDT 830, VEWT 409, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 45. A common Turkic derivative is **semri-* / **semir-* 'to become fat', see EDT ibid., ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***sam** placenta, caul (плацента, оболочка плода): Mod. *sam*.

◊ KED 901.

‖ EAS 71, KW 323, Poppe 29, Дыбо 14. It is interesting to note OJ *same-nuri* 'a way of applying varnish' (if same- here is not = *sama-* 'to fade'). Despite Poppe 1974, 120, *-ǯi in Mong. is a quite common suffix (see Poppe 1973, 234) and the Mong. form can hardly be regarded as borrowed < Turkic (Clark 1980, 39 says that the case "defies explanation" (as a borrowing); likewise, the TM forms are difficult to explain as borrowed < Mong.

✱**sə́mi** scar, pock-mark, stain: Tung. ***semke**; Mong. ***seme-**; Turk. ***sēm (~-ī-)**; Jpn. ***símí**; Kor. ***sām**.

PTung. ***semke** 1 callus 2 to get a callus, wear out 3 rough, rare (of cloth) 4 holey 5 skimmer (1 мозоль 2 натереть мозоль, износиться 3 грубый, редкий (о ткани) 4 дырявый 5 шумовка): Evk. *semke* 1, *semke-* 2; Neg. *semeriŋgu* 5; Man. *semejen, semexun* 3; Ul. *semm bi* 4; Ork. *sempeke* 4; Nan. *semm bī* 4; Orch. *semteke* 4; Ud. *sempe-* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 141, 142.

PMong. ***seme-** 1 to become worn out, torn (of cloth) 2 caus. 3 pocked, holey (1 снашиваться, раздираться 2 снашивать, раздирать 3 дырявый, щербатый): WMong. *semere-* 1, *semele-* 2 (L 687), *semeger* 3; Kh. *semre-* 1, *semle-* 2, *semger* 3; Bur. *heberi-*; Kalm. *semṛ-* 1, *semḷ-* 2; Ord. *semere-* 1; Dag. *seme-* 2 (Тод. Дат. 162).

◊ KW 323.

PTurk. ***sēm (~-ī-)** 1 inflammation 2 pimple (on face) (1 воспаление 2 прыщ (на лице)): Az. *sim* 'blood-poisoning'; Turkm. *sīm* 1; KKalp. *semik* 'mark, mole on body'; Khak. *simiske* 2.

◊ The Oghuz form may reflect a contamination with the borrowed Arab. word for 'poison' (Tur. *sem*).

PJpn. ***símí** pock-mark; stain (оспина, веснушка; пятно): OJpn. *simji*; Tok. *shìmi*; Kyo. *shímí*; Kag. *shímí*.

◊ JLTT 524.

PKor. ***sām** 1 spot (in the eye) 2 wart, mole (1 пятно (в глазу) 2 бородавка, родинка): MKor. *sāmákói* 2; Mod. *sam* 1, *sāmagwi* 2.

◊ Liu 433, KED 873, 901.

‖ See also notes under **sāmo*.

✱**sə̀mi (~ z-)** caution, attention: Tung. ***sēme-***; Jpn. ***símìas-***; Kor. ***sàm-***.

PTung. ***sēme-*** 1 to get used 2 to accustom, habituate 3 to guess, be suspicious (1 привыкать 2 приучать 3 догадываться, подозревать): Evk. *sēme-* 1; Evn. *hēmgi-* 2; Man. *semki-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 141, 142.

PJpn. ***símìas-*** to show (показывать): OJpn. *simjes-*; MJpn. *símès-*; Tok. *shimés-*, *shìmes-*; Kyo. *shímés-*; Kag. *shimés-*.

◊ JLTT 751. The accent in RJ and PJ is exceptional, showing that the word is treated as a compound **sí-* 'make' + **mi-as-* 'show, cause to see'. One may suppose that original **sìmà-s-* (causative from the attested **sìmà-*, OJ *sìmà-*, Tokyo *shimé-* "mark, mark out as one's territory") was restructured under the influence of **mì-as-* 'show'.

PKor. ***sàm-*** to take care, use caution (быть осторожным): MKor. *sàm-ká-*; Mod. *samga-*.

◊ Nam 293, KED 901.

‖ SKE 222-223. An Eastern isogloss; on Jpn. tone see note above.

✱**sə̀mpa (~ z-, -o)** rust: Tung. ***septu / * semtu***; Jpn. ***sàmp(u)ì***.

PTung. ***septu / * semtu*** rust (ржавчина): Evk. *semtu*; Neg. *semti*; Man. *sebden*; Ul. *septu-če*; Ork. *septu*; Nan. *septu-če*; Orch. *semtu*; Ud. *semtu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 141-142.

PJpn. ***sàmp(u)ì*** rust, mould (ржавчина, плесень): OJpn. *sab(j)i*; MJpn. *sàbì*; Tok. *sabí*; Kyo. *sábì*; Kag. *sabí*.

◊ JLTT 515.

‖ Miller 1985, 151. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**sə̀ni** heel, ankle: Tung. ***seńu-***; Turk. ***sinčök (~ -e-)***; Kor. ***sín***.

PTung. ***seńu-*** 1 front (of footwear) 2 footwear 3 heel (1 носок (обуви) 2 обувь 3 пятка): Evk. *senteme* 2, *suńukī* 1; Evn. *hönki* 1; Neg. *seńočhi* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 127, 143.

PTurk. ***sinčök (~ -e-)*** 1 ankle-bone 2 shin-bone (1 лодыжка 2 голень): Tur. *sinǰik* 1 (dial.); Bashk. *sensek* (dial.) 2; Tv. *šünčük* 'hip joint'; Tof. *šüŋǰük* 'hip joint'; Yak. *sünjüöx* 2.

◊ Дыбо 1989 (but not < Perm.).

PKor. ***sín*** footwear (обувь): MKor. *sín*; Mod. *sin*.

◊ Liu 498, KED 1047.

‖ In Mong. cf. *siγaqai* 'slippers' (if not < *siγa* 'knuckle bone').

✱**sə̀nV** hole: Tung. ***sēn***; Mong. ***sen-***.

PTung. ***sēn*** needle hole (игольчное ушко): Evk. *sēn*; Evn. *hē(n)*; Neg. *sēn*; Man. *sen*; Ul. *se(n)*; Ork. *se*; Nan. *sẽ*; Ud. *sie*.

◊ TMC 2, 142.

PMong. ***sen-** hole, handle with hole (дырка, ручка с дыркой): WMong. *senǰi*; Kh. *senǰ*; Bur. *henže*; Kalm. *senǰi*; Ord. *senǰi*; Dag. *senǰi*; S.-Yugh. *senǰi*.

◊ KW 324, MGCD 599.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***seŋa (~ -o, -u)** fringe, hair lock: Tung. ***seŋne**; Mong. ***saŋ-**; Turk. ***sAŋak / -at**.

PTung. ***seŋne** 1 gill 2 fringe 3 cock's comb (1 жабры 2 бахрома 3 петушиный гребень): Evk. *senŋen* 1; Evn. *heŋne* 1, *heŋnen* 2; Neg. *sēńŋe* 1; Man. *seŋgele* 3,2; SMan. *səŋələ* 'mane; comb, crest' (2280); Ul. *sene / seńe* 1, *senem* bi 'bearded'; Ork. *sene* 1; Nan. *sejŋe* 1; Orch. *sene* 1; Ud. *seŋe* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 143.

PMong. ***saŋ-** 1 hair on temples 2 forelock of a horse 3 bang, fringe (1 волосы на висках 2 конский чуб 3 челка): WMong. *saŋmai* 1; (L 672) *saŋna* 2; Kh. *saŋgas* 'bushy or tousled hair'; Bur. *hanšag* 1; Kalm. *saŋmā, sāməg* 2; Ord. *saŋmā, saŋnā* 2,3.

◊ KW 313, 317. Mong. > Shor *sanmī*, Kirgh. *sāmaj* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 7).

PTurk. ***sAŋak / -at** 1 gills 2 place on neck where the jaw ends 3 beard, barb (of axe) (1 жабры 2 место на шее, где заканчивается челюсть 3 бородка (топора)): Tat. *saŋaq* 1, (dial.) 3; Bashk. *haŋaq* (dial.) 3; Nogh. *saŋɣaq* 1; Oyr. *saŋat, saŋɨt* 2; Tv. *sāt* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7, Лексика 222. There is some confusion between this root and ***sakak** q. v. sub ***šek'a**.

‖ Лексика 222. A Western isogloss.

***sĕpo** to throw, scatter: Tung. ***sebu-**; Mong. ***sib-**; Turk. ***sabur-**; Kor. ***supuk-**.

PTung. ***sebu-** to scatter (e. g. hay for drying) (разбрасывать (напр. сено для просушки)): Man. *so-, sō-* 'to scatter, sprinkle'; Ul. *seuseli-*; Nan. *seuseli-*.

◊ TMC 2, 102, 147. With *-p- cf. also Orok *sepitči-* 'to spill', *sepkedu-* 'to scatter (of deer)' (TMC 2, 144) – but cf. also ***săp'í**.

PMong. ***sib-** 1 to hit, beat 2 to throw (1 бить 2 бросать): WMong. *sibqa(či)-* 1 (L 696), *sib(e)-* 2; Kh. *šavxra-* 1; Kalm. *šiwə-* 2.

◊ KW 362.

PTurk. ***sabur-** to winnow, scatter (веять, рассеивать, разбрасывать): Karakh. *savur-* (MK); Tur. *savur-*; Az. *sowur-*; Turkm. *sowur-*; Khal. *savur-*; MTurk. *savur-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sawur-*; Uygh. *sowu(r)-*; Krm. *savur-*; Tat. *suwɨr-, siwɨr-* (dial.); Kaz. *suwɨr-*; KBalk. *suwur-*; KKalp. *suwɨr-*; Kum. *suwur-*; Nogh. *suwɨr-*; Khak. *sobɨr-*; Shr. *sabɨr-*; Oyr. *sobɨr-*; Tv. *sār-*; Chuv. *sъʷvъʷr-*.

◊ VEWT 391, EDT 791, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***supuk-*** to heap up, heaping up (нагромождать, накладывать с верхом): MKor. *supuk-*; Mod. *subuk-ha-*, *sobok-ha-*.

◊ Liu 474, KED 1003.

‖ Cf. **sǎp'í*, **sapV* (with a possibility of partial mergers).

sepV** inner fat, entrails: Tung. ****sebe; Mong. ****sebe-sü***.

PTung. ****sebe*** 1 inner fat (of animals) 2 to melt fat (1 внутренний жир (животных) 2 вытапливать жир): Evk. *sewen* 1, *sewe-* 2; Evn. *hewje* 'one of bear's names'; Ork. *seɣine* 1; Orch. *sewe-* 2; Ud. *sewesi-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 135.

PMong. ****sebe-sü*** entrails of animals; cud; spittle of camels (содержимое кишок жвачных животных; жвачка; плевок верблюда): WMong. *sebesü(n)*, *sebüsü(n)* (L 679); Kh. *sevs*; Bur. *hebhe(n)*; Kalm. *sewsn̡*; Ord. *sewesu(n)*; S.-Yugh. *səwēsən*.

◊ KW 327, MGCD 596.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. perhaps mod. Turkic forms like Turk. *suʒuq* 'entrail' etc. - perhaps < PT **sab-čuk*.

sép'à** to grip: Tung. ****sepe-; Mong. ****siɣü(re)-***; Jpn. ****sápár-***.

PTung. ****sepe-*** 1 handful 2 to pinch, take a handful 3 to clutch (1 горсть 2 брать горстью 3 хватать, зажимать): Man. *sefere* 1, *sefere-* 2; SMan. *sefərə-*, *sevərə-* 'to grip, to grasp' (1542); *sevərəkə* 'handful, fistful' (2830); Nan. *sefele-* 3 (Bik.).

◊ TMC 2, 402 (confused with **šopa-*).

PMong. ****siɣü(re)-*** to grip, seize (хватать): WMong. *sigür(e)-* (L 703); Kh. *šüre-*; Bur. *šüre-*; Kalm. *šür-*, *šü-*; Ord. *šür-*; Dag. *šür-*; S.-Yugh. *šür-*; Mongr. *šü-* 'gagner (jeu, procès)', *šüri-* 'insérer' (SM 386), *šür* 'bâtonnets dont on se sert pour manger' (SM 385), *śürda-*.

◊ KW 372, MGCD 727.

PJpn. ****sápár-*** to touch (трогать): MJpn. *sáfár-*; Tok. *sàwar-*; Kyo. *sáwár-*; Kag. *sawár-*.

◊ JLTT 748.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 41. Cf. **šo̯óp'a*.

sep'a (~ -o)** to wave, sway: Tung. ****sep-; Mong. ****sebe-***; Turk. ****sapi-***.

PTung. ****sep-*** to sway, shake (branches) (качать (ветвями)): Evk. *sepine-*.

◊ TMC 2, 144. Attested only in Evk., but having probable Turk. and Mong. parallels.

PMong. ****sebe-*** to wave, sway (махать): WMong. *sebe-*, *sebi-* (L 679); Kh. *seve-*; Bur. *hebi-*; Kalm. *sewə-* (KPC); Ord. *sewe-*.

PTurk. ****sapi-*** to sway, wave, shake up (махать, развеивать, взбалтывать): Karakh. *sabi-* (MK); Kirgh. *sapɨr-*; Kaz. *sapɨr-*; KKalp. *sapɨr-*; Nogh. *sapɨr-*; Shr. *sabɨr-* 'to blow (of wind)'.

◊ EDT 785. A possible derivative is *sapan* 'sling' (see ЭСТЯ 7).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**sèp'ó** side, inner side: Mong. ***saba**; Jpn. ***sə̀mpá**; Kor. ***sōp**.

PMong. ***saba** frontier, limit; any container, internal organs (границы; любое вместилище, внутренние органы): MMong. *saba* 'vessel, dish' (HY 20); WMong. *sab, saba* (L 653); Kh. *sav*; Bur. *haba*; Kalm. *sawə*.

◊ KW 315. Mong. > Kaz. *saba* etc. (ЭСТЯ 7).

PJpn. ***sə̀npá** side (бок, сторона): MJpn. *sòbá*; Tok. *sóba*; Kyo. *sòbá*; Kag. *sobá*.

◊ JLTT 529.

PKor. ***sōp** inner side (внутренняя сторона): MKor. *sōp*.

◊ Nam 310.

‖ The etymology seems to be satisfactory both phonetically and semantically.

✱**sèp'ù (~ š-)** stick, rod: Mong. ***sibsi-rga**; Turk. ***sạp**; Jpn. ***sùpà-dai**.

PMong. ***sibsi-rga, *sib-ka-** 1 stick, rod (used for punishment); cudgel 2 to hit, beat with a switch (1 палка, прут (для наказаний); дубина 2 бить палкой, прутом): WMong. *sibsiɣa* 1, *sibsiɣurda-, sibqači-, sibqaɣurda-* (2) (L 695, 696); Kh. *šavšraga* 1; Kalm. *šiwšrɣə* 1; Ord. *šiwxʷada-* 2.

◊ KW 362. Mong. > Man. *sibsiqa*. Manchu also has *šuwarǵan, šuwarǵan* 'rod, whip', probably also borrowed from Mong. **sibkaɣur(ga)* (cf. also *šuwaršaǵa-* 'to punish with sticks' < *sibsiɣur-*).

PTurk. ***sạp** handle (рукоятка, ручка): Karakh. *sap* (MK); Tur. *sap*; Gag. *sap*; Az. *sap*; Turkm. *sap*; MTurk. *sap* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔp*; Uygh. *sap*; Krm. *sap*; Tat. *sap*; Bashk. *hap*; Kirgh. *sap*; Kaz. *sap*; KBalk. *sap*; KKalp. *sap*; Kum. *sap*; Nogh. *sap*; SUygh. *sap*; Khak. *sap*; Oyr. *sap*; Tv. *sɨ'p*; Chuv. *sĕpъ*; Yak. *up*; Dolg. *up*.

◊ EDT 782, Лексика 119, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 245.

PJpn. ***sùpà-dai** a long straight twig, switch (длинная ветка, прут): OJpn. *supa-je*; MJpn. *sùfâ-jè*.

◊ JLTT 535.

‖ Originally opposed to **sắp'i* (q.v.) as a long twig or stick with a handle (used for punishment etc.).

✱**sera (~ -u, -o)** a k. of garlic: Tung. ***sergu- (~ -ǯ-)**; Mong. ***sar-**; Turk. ***sarɨmsak**.

PTung. ***sergu- (~ -ǯ-)** wild garlic (дикий чеснок): Man. *sežulen*.

◊ TMC 2, 137. Attested only in Manchu, with probable cognates in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***sar-** 1 Lilium tenuifolium 2 turnip (1 сарана 2 репа): WMong. *sarana* 1, *sarmug* 2 (L 675, 676); Kh. *sarāna* 1, *sarmag* 2; Bur. *harāna* 1; Ord. *sarānaG* 1.

◊ Mong. > Russ. *saraná*, see Аникин 484.

PTurk. ***sarɨmsak** 1 garlic 2 rhubarb (1 чеснок 2 ревень): Karakh. *sarmusaq, samursaq* 1 (MK); Tur. *sarmɨsak* 1; Gag. *sarmusaq* 1; Az.

sarimsaG 1; Turkm. *sarimsaq* 1; Sal. *samsax* 1; Khal. *sarimsaq* 1; MTurk. *sarimsaq* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sarimsɔq* 1; Uygh. *samsaq* 1; Krm. *sarimsaq* 1; Tat. *sarimsaq* 1; Bashk. *harimhaq* 1; Kirgh. *sarimsaq* 1; Kaz. *sarimsaq* 1; KBalk. *sarismax* 1; KKalp. *sarimsaq* 1; Kum. *samursaq* 1; Nogh. *sarimsaq* 1; SUygh. *samsaq* 1; Tv. *sarapsa* 2.

◊ VEWT 404, EDT 853, Лексика 144, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Mong. *sarimsaɣ* (see TMN 3, 248, Щербак 1997, 144). Cf. also Khak., Oyr. *saryaj* 'саранка', Kirgh. *sargaldak* 'a k. of plant with yellow flowers', Kaz. *saryaldaq* 'tulip'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**seri** table, prop: Tung. ***seri**; Mong. ***sireɣe**; Turk. ***serü**; Jpn. ***sì(n)tí**; Kor. ***sìr'ə́i**.

PTung. ***seri** decking, covering (настил (из досок)): Man. *sarχu* 'shelf'; Ul. *seri*; Nan. *seri*.

◊ TMC 2, 66, 145.

PMong. ***sireɣe** table (стол): MMong. *širă* (MA); WMong. *sirege(n)* (L 716); Kh. *širē*; Bur. *šerē*; Kalm. *širē*; Ord. *širē(n)*; Dag. *širē* (Тод. Дат. 184); Dong. *šəre, širə / śirə*; Bao. *šele, śilɛ*; S.-Yugh. *šere*; Mongr. *śirē* (SM 399).

◊ KW 359, MGCD 719. Mong. > Chag. *širä* etc. (see TMN 1, 367-368, Щербак 1997, 210); > Evk. *širē* (see Doerfer MT 128).

PTurk. ***serü** shelf in the house (полка в доме): Karakh. *serü* (MK); Tur. *seri* (dial.); Kirgh. *sere* 'shelf, penthouse'; Khak. *sīr* (Kyz.); Oyr. *seri* (Leb.) 'a box for storing nuts'; Tv. *seri* 'shed, penthouse'.

◊ EDT 844 (read as *saru* which is hardly the case), Лексика 520. Turk. > WMong. *sörü* 'support, prop' (L 732).

PJpn. ***sì(n)tí** a k. of table, prop (вид столика, подставки): MJpn. *sìdí*.

◊ JLTT 528.

PKor. ***sìr'ə́i** a prop, canterbury, shelf (подставка, этажерка, полка): MKor. *sìr'ə́i*; Mod. *sirəŋ*.

◊ Nam 327, KED 1036.

‖ Lee 1958, 116 (Kor.-TM), Лексика 520. The Kor.-Jpn. tones are irregular, perhaps because of some interaction between this root and **si̯ə́ru*, **ši̯ə̀ri* q.v.

✱**sēri (~ z-, -ŕ-)** thread, embroidery: Tung. ***serē-**; Kor. ***sīr**.

PTung. ***serē-** 1 to embroider 2 threads (for embroidering) 3 embroidery (1 вышивать 2 нитки (для вышивания) 3 вышивание): Evk. *serē-* 1, *serē* 3; Evn. *herē-* 3; Man. *sereme* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 146.

PKor. ***sīr** thread, silk thread (нить, шелковая нить): MKor. *sīr*; Mod. *sil*.

◊ Liu 499, KED 1055.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. It resembles the 'silk' / 'China' *ser-/sen-* Wanderwort, so it can actually go back to OC 纖 **sen* (MC *sjɛn*) - but rendering MC -n with Kor. -r is extremely strange.

✱**s[é]rko** a k. of blossoming bush: Tung. ***seŋkürē***; Mong. ***surgar***; Jpn. ***sákúra***; Kor. ***sǎrkó***.

PTung. ***seŋkürē*** a k. of bush, багульник (багульник): Evk. *seŋkirē*; Evn. *heŋkʊje*; Neg. *seŋkijē*; Man. *seŋkiri χan* 'назв. растения'; Ul. *seŋkure*; Ork. *sekkure*; Nan. *sēŋkure*; Orch. *seŋki*; Ud. *seŋkie*.

◊ TMC 2, 143.

PMong. ***surgar*** ledum, Labrador tea (ledum; багульник болотный): WMong. *surɣar* (MXTTT 491); Kh. *surgar*.

PJpn. ***sákúra*** sakura (сакура): OJpn. *sakura*; MJpn. *sákúrà*; Tok. *sàkura*; Kyo. *sákúrá*; Kag. *sakúra*.

◊ JLTT 517. Modern dialects point rather to **sákúrá*, but RJ has a low tone on the final syllable. The word can hardly be separated from **sák-* 'to blossom' (OJ *sak-*, Tokyo *sàk-*, Kyoto *sák-*, Kagoshima - with an irregular tone - *sàk-*).

PKor. ***sǎrkó*** peach, apricot (персик, абрикос): MKor. *sǎrkó*; Mod. *salgu*.

◊ Nam 291, KED 896.

‖ The etymology seems plausible, despite some phonetic problems, both explainable as metatheses in an expressive plant name: Mong. *surgar* instead of an expected **sargur*, and TM ***seŋkürē*** instead of an expected **serkü-(ŋē?)*. Cf. **sáro*, with a possibility of contaminations.

✱**sero** to be curved, coiled: Mong. ***sariwu***; Turk. ***sạr-***; Jpn. ***sər- (~ -ua-)***; Kor. ***sàrí- / *sàrí-***.

PMong. ***sariwu*** curved, winding (кривой, изгибающийся): WMong. *sariɣu, sariu* (L 676); Kh. *sariu*; Bur. *haŕū*; Kalm. *sarū, sarǖ*; Mongr. *sarī* (: *murī* ~) 'tortueux' (SM 328).

◊ KW 314.

PTurk. ***sạr-*** to wind around (обматывать, завертывать): Karakh. *saru-* (MK); Tur. *sar-*; Gag. *sar-*; Az. *sari-*; Turkm. *sara-*; MTurk. *sar-* (AH, Pav. C.); Krm. *sar-, sari-*; Tat. *sar-*; Khak. *sarı-*; Chuv. *sĭr-*.

◊ EDT 844, VEWT 402, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. **sarı-k* > WMong. *sariɣ*, Kalm. *särīɣ* 'ring for binding a horse' (cf. Chag. *sar-ča*, Khak. *sar-čin* id.), see KW 318-319, VEWT 403.

PJpn. ***sər- (~ -ua-)*** to be curved, bent (изгибаться): MJpn. *sor-*; Tok. *sór-*; Kyo. *sór-*; Kag. *sór-*.

◊ JLTT 756. Accent is not quite clear: Tokyo points to **sòr-*, Kagoshima - to **sór-*.

PKor. ***sàrí- / *sərí-*** to coil, curl, wind (извиваться, загибаться): MKor. *sàrí-, sərí-*; Mod. sari-, *səri-*.

◊ Liu 432, 449, KED 873, 936.

‖ SKE 224. The vowel in Kor. is aberrant (one would expect *ă); otherwise quite regular.

✱**seru(kʻV)** (~ **z-**) a k. of box or bag: Tung. ***seruk***; Mong. ***sarku***; Jpn. ***sùr(u)ì***; Kor. ***sə̀rk***.

PTung. ***seruk*** 1 bag 2 dish made of birch bark (1 сума 2 берестяная посуда): Evk. *seruk* 1; Evn. *hĕruk* 1,2; Neg. *sējux* 1; Ork. *seruku* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 146.

PMong. ***sarku*** vessel, kitchen dish (сосуд, кухонная посуда): WMong. *sarqu*; Kalm. *sarxə*.

◊ KW 313. Mong. > Man. *sarχu*.

PJpn. ***sùr(u)ì*** a bamboo box for travelling (бамбуковая коробка для путешествий): OJpn. *suri*; MJpn. *sùrì*.

◊ JLTT 534.

PKor. ***sə̀rk*** a k. of box (вид ящика): MKor. *sə̀rk*; Mod. *səlgi*.

◊ Nam 301, KED 950.

‖ Tone correspondences are not quite clear; the Kor. word is alternatively compared (see Lee 1958, 117) with Manchu *šulχu* 'basket'. Cf. **sóra*.

✱**sèrV̀** buttock, to defecate: Tung. ***seri(gi)***; Mong. ***sari-***; Turk. ***siri-*** ~ ***sari-***; Jpn. ***sìrì***.

PTung. ***seri(gi)*** 1 buttocks 2 coccyx, waist vertebra (1 ягодицы, зад 2 копчик, поясничные позвонки): Evk. *sergi* 2, *sirgin* (Uchur) 2; Evn. *heri* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 145.

PMong. ***sari-*** to urinate (of a dog) (мочиться (о собаке)): WMong. *sari-* (L 675: 'to urinate in an irregular manner'); Kh. *sari-* (Gomb.); Bur. *hari-*; Kalm. *säŕ-*; Ord. *sari-*.

◊ KW 319. Mong. > Kirgh. *sari-* id.

PTurk. ***siri-*** ~ ***sari-*** to defecate (of a dog) (испражняться (о собаке)): OTurk. *siri-* ~ *sari-* (MK).

◊ EDT 845.

PJpn. ***sìrì*** buttock (ягодицы): OJpn. *siri*; MJpn. *sìrì*; Tok. *shirí*; Kyo. *shírì*; Kag. *shirí*.

◊ JLTT 526.

‖ Because of the uncertainty of Turkic vowel the vocalic reconstruction is not quite certain.

✱**sése** to order, threaten, incite: Tung. ***sesu-***; Turk. ***ses***; Jpn. ***sə́sə́-***; Kor. ***sìskú-***.

PTung. ***sesu-*** to order, ask to do smth. (заказывать, поручать, просить что-л. сделать): Ul. *sesu-*; Ork. *sesu-*; Nan. *sesu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 144.

PTurk. ***ses*** 1 threat 2 to threaten (1 угроза 2 угрожать): Tur. *seksen-*, *segsen-* (dial.); Az. *säksän-* 2; MTurk. *sesken-* 2 (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *seskän-* 2; Uygh. *säskin-* 2; Krm. *sesken-* 2; Tat. *siskän-* 2; Bashk. *hiθkän-* 2;

Kirgh. *ses* 1; Kaz. *ses* 1, *sesken-* 2; KKalp. *sesken-* 2; Nogh. *sesken-* 2; Oyr. *seste-* 2; Chuv. *sъzъr-lan-dъr-* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sásá-*** to allure, incite (возбуждать, подстрекать): MJpn. *sosor-* 'to be excited, nervous'; *sosonokas-*; Tok. *sosór-* / *sòsor-*, *sosonokás-*; Kyo. *sósór-*, *sósónókás-*; Kag. *sosór-*, *sosonokás-*.

◊ JLTT 756.

PKor. ***sìskú-*** 1 to contest, contend 2 to quarrel, be annoying (1 соревноваться, состязаться 2 ссориться, досаждать): MKor. *sìskú-* 1; Mod. *sik:ɨrəp-* 2.

◊ HMCH 333, Nam 327.

‖ A suffixed form **sése-kV* is reflected in PT **ses-ke-n-* and PK **sìs-kú-*.

✱**sési** deer, wild animal: Tung. ***sesi-n***; Turk. ***sạs-na- (?)***; Jpn. ***sisi***; Kor. ***sàsă̆m***.

PTung. ***sesi-n*** herd (of deer, wild animals) (стадо (оленей, диких животных)): Evk. *sesin*; Evn. *hesъn*; Neg. *sesin*; Man. *sesi-le-ŋge*; Ork. *sesi(n)*; Nan. *sesī*.

◊ TMC 2, 146.

PTurk. ***sạs-na-*** pig (свинья): Chuv. *sɨsna*.

◊Федотов 2, 77.

PJpn. ***sisi*** deer (олень): OJpn. *sisi*.

◊ JLTT 527.

PKor. ***sàsă̆m*** deer (олень): MKor. *sàsă̆m*; Mod. *sasɨm*.

◊ Nam 284, KED 878.

‖ EAS 102, АПиПЯЯ 79. For the Turk. semantics cf. OJ *wi-no-sisi* 'pig, swine'. The Turkic reflex, however, is not quite secure: there is only an isolated Chuvash word and the vowel reflex seems aberrant; also unclear is the phonology of the Hung. (< Bulg.) loanword *disznó* (presupposing **ǯisnaɣ*, see MNyTESz 1, 646-647).

✱**si** thou: Tung. ***si***; Turk. ***sẹ-***; Jpn. ***si***.

PTung. ***si***; ***sū*** 1 thou 2 you (your, yours) (pl.) (1 ты 2 вы (ваш)): Evk. *si* 1, *sū* (*su-n*) 2; Evn. *hī* 1, *hū* (*hu-n*) 2; Neg. *sī* 1, *sū* (*su-n*) 2; Man. *si* 1, *suwe* (*suweni*) 2; SMan. *šī* (2873) 1, *sō*, *soń* (2874) 2; Ul. *si* 1, *sue (sun)* 2; Ork. *si* 1, *sū* (*su-n*) 2; Nan. *śi* 1, *sue (sun)* 2; Orch. *si* 1, *su* (*su-n*) 2; Ud. *si* 1, *sū* (*su-n*) 2; Sol. *ši* 1, *sū* (*su-n*) 2.

◊ TMC 2, 72-73, 115.

PTurk. ***sẹ-*** thou (ты): OTurk. *sen* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *sen* (MK); Tur. *sen*; Gag. *sän*; Az. *sän*; Turkm. *sen*; Sal. *sē(n)*; MTurk. *sen* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sen*; Uygh. *sän*; Krm. *sin*; Tat. *sin*; Bashk. *hin*; Kirgh. *sen*; Kaz. *sen*; KBalk. *sen*; KKalp. *sen*; Kum. *sen*; Nogh. *sen*; SUygh. *sen*; Khak. *sin*; Shr. *sen*; Oyr. *sen*; Tv. *sen*; Tof. *sen*; Chuv. *eҙə*; Yak. *en*; Dolg. *en*.

◊ VEWT 409, EDT 831-832, Stachowski 45, ЭСТЯ 7. See ibid the reflexes of PT **sír* 'you' (pl.).

PJpn. ***si** thou (2d p. pron.) (ты): OJpn. *si*.

◊ OJ *si* is not frequent and is sometimes hard to distinguish from the deictic / emphatic particle *si*; however, there are several text examples firmly identifying its function as a 2d p. pronoun. It is used parallelly with the far more frequent *na*, but never occurs in compounds or with suffixes -re or -no; it is thus probable that it originally functioned as the direct stem as opposed to *na* as the oblique stem in a suppletive paradigm. See more detailed discussion in Murayama 1950, Miller JOAL and Itabashi 1998 (pace the latter author, however, we must say that the coincidence of *si* 'thou' and *si* 'deictic / emphatic pronoun and particle' must be just a coincidence).

‖ EAS 72, АПиПЯЯ 52, 284.

***sìbi** bitter, bitter plant: Tung. ***sipa (~ -b-)**; Mong. ***sibag**; Turk. ***sibüt**; Jpn. ***sìmpù- / *sìpà-**; Kor. ***psí-**.

PTung. ***sipa (~ -b-)** garlic (чеснок): Man. *sifa mača*; SMan. *suandā* (317).

◊ TMC 2, 100. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***sibag** Artemisia (полынь): WMong. *sibaγ* (L 693); Kh. *šawag*; Kalm. *šawəg* 'чабрец, тимьян' (KPC); Ord. *šawaG* 'artemisia campestris'.

◊ Mong. > Chag. *šibag* 'a k. of plant'.

PTurk. ***sibüt** dill, coriander (укроп, кориандр): Karakh. *sibüt* (MK).

◊ EDT 785. (If not < Pers.)

PJpn. ***sìmpù- / *sìpà** 1 astringent, tart 2 salt (1 вяжущий, терпкий 2 соль): OJpn. *sibu-* 1, *sip(w)o* 2; MJpn. *sìbù-* 1, *sìfò* 2; Tok. *shibú-* 1, *shió* 2; Kyo. *shíbù-* 1, *shíjo* 2; Kag. *shibú-* 1, *shió* 2.

◊ JLTT 522, 525, 840. The words seem to be related, but the reason for voicing in *sìbù-* is not quite clear.

PKor. ***psí-** 1 liver (KED: gall-bladder, gall) 2 bitter (1 печень 2 горький): MKor. *psírkái* 1, *psí-* 2; Mod. *s:ɨlgä* 1, *s:ɨ-* 2.

◊ Nam 319, 321, KED 1024, 1027.

‖ For the usage of the root to denote bitter plants cf. also OJ *sibu-kusa* 'sorrel'; perhaps also MKor. *psúk* 'Artemisia' (which is tempting to identify with Mong. *sibag*). In Kor. we have a secondary metathesis < **spi-*, like *psír-* < **spɨr-* < **šɨp'V* 'sweep' q.v.

***sȉbi** to tuck up, tie up: Tung. ***sib-**; Mong. ***siɣu-**; Turk. ***sib- (*süb-)**; Jpn. ***sìmpàr-**.

PTung. ***sib-** 1 to turn up (sleeves) 2 to spin, twist 3 to wrap (1 засучивать (рукава, штанины) 2 сучить, вить 3 оборачивать, подворачивать): Evk. *sipku-* 3; Evn. *hipku-* 3; Man. *sibere-* 2; Ul. *sịbarụ-* 1; Ork. *sipku-* 3; Nan. *sịbịrị-* 1; Orch. *sibari-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 74, 92.

PMong. ***siɣu-*** to tuck up (засучивать): WMong. *siɣu-*, *šuɣu-* (L 700); Kh. *šū-*; Bur. *šū-*; Kalm. *šūrd-* (KPC); Ord. *šū-*; Dag. *sū-*; Bao. *śurə-*; Mongr. *śū-*.

◊ MGCD 725.

PTurk. ***sib- (*süb-)*** 1 to spin (thread) 2 to pull out fibre 3 thread, fibre (1 прясть (нитку) 2 вытягивать волокно 3 нить, волокно): Tur. *süj-*, *süv-* (dial.) 1, 2, *sümek*, *süjüm* 3; Gag. *sümek* 3; Az. *sümäx* (dial.) 3; Turkm. *süj-* 2, *sümek*, *süjüm* 3; Chuv. *səvem* (*sĕvem*) 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sìmpàr-*** to tie, bind (завязывать): OJpn. *sibar-*; MJpn. *sìbàr-*; Tok. *shibár-*; Kyo. *shíbár-*; Kag. *shìbàr-*.

◊ JLTT 749.

‖ The Jpn. form may be actually a combined reflex of PA **sìbi*, **suba* and **ši̯ù̯po*, all distinguished only in the Western Altaic branch.

✱**sibo (~ z-)** wedge, to wedge: Tung. ***siba-***; Mong. ***sibaga***; Kor. ***sobija-ki***.

PTung. ***siba-*** 1 to beat a wedge in 2 wedge (1 вбивать клин 2 клин): Evk. *siwa-* 1, *siwakī* 2; Neg. *si̯waxi̯* 2; Man. *síba* 2; SMan. *šivā* (683) 'wedge, peg, plug'; Ul. *si̯wal* 2; Ork. *su̯wal* 2; Nan. *si̯war* 2; Ud. *soa'i* 2 (Корм. 286).

◊ TMC 2, 75.

PMong. ***sibaga*** wedge; lot (клин; жребий): WMong. *sibaɣa(n)* (L 693); Kh. *šavga* 'lot'; Bur. *šabxa* 'gun's cock'; Kalm. *šawxə*.

◊ KW 352. Mong > Kirgh. *sibaɣa* etc.

PKor. ***sobija-ki*** wedge, sharp stick (клин, острая палочка): MKor. *sòi'jàkí*, *sojaki*; Mod. *s:wā́gi*.

◊ Nam 311, KED 995.

‖ Despite Doerfer MT 69 hardly a loan in TM from Mong.

✱**sìča (~ *š-)** nut, cone: Tung. ***sisi***; Turk. ***s[i̯]ča-kaj***; Kor. ****čə́s / *čās***.

PTung. ***sisi*** nut (opex): Man. *sisi*, *sisiri*; Jurch. *sisi* (128); Nan. *si̯si̯qta*; Sol. *šišikta*.

◊ TMC 2, 426-427. Cf. also Sol. *sučū* 'cedar nut' (TMC 2, 132).

PTurk. ***s[i̯]ča-kaj*** 1 cone 2 nut tree (1 шишка 2 орешник): Oyr. *čočoɣoj* 1; Chuv. *šъʷškъʷ* 2.

◊ VEWT 113, Дмитриева 1972, 174. Cf. perhaps Yak. *sihik*, Dolg. *sisik* 'alder' (Stachowski 210).

PKor. ****čəs*** 1 fir tree, Chamaecyparis obtusa Endl. 2 cone, pine nuts (1 вид пихты 2 шишка, сосновые семена): MKor. *čə́s-namo* 1, *čās* 2; Mod. *čān-namu* 1, *čāt* [*čās*] 2.

◊ Liu 646, 653, KED 1400, 1430.

‖ Because of assimilations the original initial consonant is not quite clear.

***sidí (~ š-)** to suspend: Mong. ***sidur-**; Turk. ***südre-**; Jpn. ***sinta-r-**; Kor. ***sīd-**.

PMong. ***sidur-** 1 to pull the reins by stretching the head forward or downward (of a horse); to straighten 2 straight, honest (1 натягивать вожжи; выпрямлять 2 прямой, честный): MMong. *šidurxu* (HY 54) 2, *šidurγu* 2 (MA); WMong. *sidur-* (L 698) 1; Kh. *šudra-* 1, *šudraga* 2; Kalm. *šudṛγə* 2 (KPC); Ord. *šudurGa* 2.

PTurk. ***südre-** 1 to pull, tug 2 belt for fastening loads (1 тащить, тянуть 2 ремень для привязывания ноши): Tur. *sürü-*; Turkm. *süjre-*; Sal. *sure-*; MTurk. *sűre-* (Bud.), *söjre-* (Ettuhf.), *südrä-* (R.); Uzb. *sudrä-*; Uygh. *sörä-*; Tat. *süjrä-*; Bashk. *hűjrä-*; Kirgh. *süjrö-*; Kaz. *süjre-*; KBalk. *süjre-*; KKalp. *süjre-*; Kum. *süjre-*; Nogh. *süjre-*; Khak. *sözər-*; Tv. *södürt-* 1, *södürge* 2; Chuv. *sədər-*; Yak. *ötű* 2; Dolg. *ötű* 2.

◊ VEWT 435, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 202.

PJpn. ***sintar-** to droop, hang down (свешиваться): OJpn. *sida-r-*, tr. *sida-*; MJpn. *sida-r-*.

◊ JLTT 750.

PKor. ***sīd-** to load (нагружать): MKor. *sīt-* (-r-); Mod. *sīt-* (*sīr-*).

◊ Nam 327, KED 1055.

‖ The Turk. form must go back to **sidüre-* (= Mong. *sidur-*). In TM cf. perhaps Man. *sidara-* 'to stretch, straighten', *siǯi(r)χun* 'straight' (TMC 2, 79), if not < Mong., as suggested by Rozycki 181).

***sido (~ -u, *si̯u̯du, š-)** tassel, string: Mong. ***siǯim, *sidem-**; Turk. ***sid-**; Kor. ***stíi**.

PMong. ***siǯim, *side-** 1 thin string, rope 2 to sew with wide stitches (1 тонкая веревка 2 шить крупными стежками): WMong. *siǯim, sideme-sü(n)* (L 697, 722) 1; Kh. *šiǯim* 1, *šid-* 2; Bur. *šežem* 1; Kalm. *šiǯm, šidmsn* 1, *šidə-* 2; Ord. *šiǯim* 1; Dag. *šiǯi-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 183); Dong. *šiǯie-* 2.

◊ KW 355. Mong. > Turk. *siǯim* etc. (ЭСТЯ 7), Man. *siǯin* (Doerfer MT 138, Rozycki 180); Oyr. *šidä-*; Yak. *sitim*, Dolg. *hitim* (Kał. VIII 82, Stachowski 105).

PTurk. ***sid-** 1 skirt, lap 2 to tuck up (sleeves, skirts) (1 пола, подол 2 подворачивать (рукава, полы)): Karakh. *siδiγ* 1, *sityа-* 2 (MK); Tur. *siγ, sij, siji* (dial.) 1, *sīa-*, dial. *siγa-* 2; Gag. *suva-, sua-* 2; Turkm. *sij* 1; Tat. *sijir-* 2 (dial.); Khak. *sizim* 'band on a shaman's beater'; Chuv. *šъraś* 'tassel (on the end of belt); coating (on skirt edges)'.

◊ EDT 799-800, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***stíi** belt (ремень): MKor. *stíi*; Mod. *t:i*.

◊ Nam 177, KED 550.

‖ SKE 239. Note Khak. *sizim* = PM **siǯim*, but hardly a loan from Mongolian, and pointing to a common derivative **sido-mV*.

✱**sidu (~ -o, -a)** to rub off, peel off: Tung. ***sidu-***; Mong. ***sidur-***; Turk. ***sidɨr-***.

PTung. ***sidu-*** to rub off, peel off (соскабливать): Evk. *sidi-*; Evn. *sīd-*; Neg. *sidu-*; Man. *sidu-*, *šudu-*; Ul. *sịdụ-*; Nan. *sịdo-*; Orch. *sīdi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 79.

PMong. ***sidur-*** to rub off (стирать, скрести, скоблить): WMong. *sidur-*; Kh. *šudar-*; Bur. *šudar-*; Kalm. *šudṛ-*.

◊ KW 367. Mong. > Kirgh. *sidɨr-* etc., see ЭСТЯ 7.

PTurk. ***sidɨr-*** to rub off, peel off (сдирать, стирать): Karakh. *sïδɨr-* (MK); Tur. *sïjɨr-*; Gag. *sijɨr-*; Az. *sijɨr-*; Turkm. *sɨr-*; Khal. *sidur-*, *sizɨr-*; MTurk. *sijɨr-* (AH); Tat. *sijɨr-* (dial.); Kirgh. *sijɨr-*; Kaz. *sijɨr-*; KBalk. *sijɨr-*; Nogh. *sijɨr-*; SUygh. *sizɨr-*; Khak. *sizɨr-*; Shr. *sizɨr-*; Oyr. *sijɨr-*, *sɨr-*; Chuv. *šъjъr-*.

◊ EDT 802, VEWT 414, Лексика 380, ЭСТЯ 7. The Turk. derivative **sidrïm* > (MK) *sïδrïm*, Ogh. *sirim* was probably probably borrowed in Mong. *sirin* 'unworked leather'.

‖ KW 367, Лексика 380-381, Doerfer MT 50-51, Rozycki 180 (but hardly borrowed in TM < Mong.). A Western isogloss.

✱**sidV (~ z-, -i̯a-)** young boy or girl: Tung. ***sida-***; Kor. ***stǎr***.

PTung. ***sida-*** 1 young boy 2 young (of a bear, tiger) (1 подросток 2 медвежонок, тигренок (до года)): Man. *sidan* 1; Ud. *sīǯ́a* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 79.

PKor. ***stǎr*** girl, daughter (девочка, дочь): MKor. *stǎr*; Mod. *t:al*.

◊ Nam 142, KED 401.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**sĭ̀gà** border, interval: Tung. ***sig-***; Turk. ***sɨgra***; Jpn. ***sàkàpì***.

PTung. ***sig-*** interval (промежуток): Evk. *sigdilē*; Evn. *hidla*; Neg. *sigle*; Man. *si*, *sidu*; SMan. *šidən* (2575); Sol. *šigdē*.

◊ TMC 2, 76.

PTurk. ***sɨgra*** 1 valley 2 interval between two fingers (1 долина 2 промежуток между пальцами): Karakh. *sɨγra* 1 (MK - Oghuz), *sɨγraq* (AH) 2.

◊ VEWT 415, EDT 815.

PJpn. ***sàkàpì*** border (граница): OJpn. *sakapji*; MJpn. *sàkàfi*; Tok. *sakái*; Kyo. *sákàì*; Kag. *sakaí*.

◊ JLTT 516.

‖ The root is very sparsely attested in Turkic, but the attestations are archaic and the root seems generally reliable.

✱**sĭ̀gà (~ z-)** sigh, holding breath: Tung. ***sigu-***; Mong. ***seγüre-sü***; Jpn. ***sàkùrì***.

PTung. ***sigu-*** 1 to become silent (stop breathing or talking) 2 to stop crying 3 to breathe loudly (of a dog) (1 замолкать (задерживать дыха-

ние, голос) 2 переставать плакать 3 громко дышать (о собаке)): Evk. *siɣuna-* 1, 3; Evn. *hiɣ-* 2; Nan. *siŋčiɛn-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 78.

PMong. ***seɣüre-sü*** 1 sigh 2 to pant (1 вздох 2 часто дышать, задыхаться): MMong. *se'urel-* 2 (SH); WMong. *sigüresü(n)*, *següresü(n)* 1 (L 703); Kh. *sūrs*, *šūrs* 1; Kalm. *šūkṛ-* (KPC); Dag. *sūrese* 1 (MD 213); Mongr. *surēʒə* (SM 365).

PJpn. ***sàkùrì*** hiccough (икота): MJpn. *sàkùrì*; Tok. *shakkuri*.

◊ JLTT 517.

‖ Cf. **soge*.

sígá (~ z-)** to look, search: Tung. ***sig-; Mong. ***sigiɣa-***; Jpn. ***sánk-***; Kor. ****čhǎč-***.

PTung. ***sig-*** 1 to peep, look out, spy 2 to appear (1 подсматривать, выглядывать 2 появляться): Evk. *siɣin-* 1; Evn. *hiē-* 2; Neg. *siɣin-* 1; Man. *ša-* 1; Ul. *si-len-* 2; Ork. *sigbadda-* 'to frown'; Ud. *sikpesi-*, *sīsi-* 1; Sol. *šigī-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 76, 77-78. The Manchu form, despite Rozycki 192, is hardly borrowed from Mong. *siɣa-* (actually *sigiɣa-* with a stable -g-).

PMong. ***sigiɣa-*** to look, spy (смотреть, подсматривать): MMong. *šixaʒəu'uʒe* 'a spy' (HY 32); WMong. *sigiɣa-* (L 721: *siɣa-*, *siqaɣa-*); Kh. *šagā-*; Bur. *šagā-*; Kalm. *šaɣā-*; Dag. *šigē-* (Тод. Даг. 183); Mongr. *sge-* (SM 346), *sGe-*.

◊ KW 344, TMN 1, 355 (although derivation from *sika-* 'to press' is of course impossible).

PJpn. ***sánk-*** to search (искать): OJpn. *sagur-*; MJpn. *ságúr-*; Tok. *sàgur-*, *sàgas-*; Kyo. *ságúr-*, *ságás-*; Kag. *sagúr-*, *sagás-*.

◊ JLTT 745.

PKor. ****čhǎč-*** to search, look for (искать): MKor. *čhǎč-*; Mod. *čhat-* [*čhač-*].

◊ Nam 449, KED 1576.

‖ TMC 2, 78, Martin 236, Martin 1996, 27. Kor. **čhǎč-* is an assimilation < **sVhǎč-* = PJ **sá(n)kas-*.

sigí (~ z-, -e, -o)** rain, (snow) storm: Tung. ***sig-; Mong. ***siɣurga***; Jpn. ***sinkúrai***.

PTung. ***sig-*** 1 deep fog, mist 2 to cover (of fog, mist) 3 autumn (1 туман (густой) 2 застилать (туманом) 3 осень): Evk. *siglamāt-* 2, *siɣelese(nī)* 3; Man. *siGan* 1; Ud. *siga-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 78, 79.

PMong. ***siɣur-*** 1 to blow (of snow storm) 2 snow storm (1 бушевать (о метели) 2 метель): MMong. *ši'uɣan* 2; WMong. *siɣur-* 1, *siɣuɣa(n)* 2 (L 701); Kh. *šūra-* 1, *šūrga* 2; Bur. *šūrga* 2; Kalm. *šūr-* 1, *šūrɣṇ* 2 (KPC); Ord. *šūrGan* 2; Dag. *šōrgə* 2; S.-Yugh. *šūrGa* 2; Mongr. *śūrGa* 2.

◊ MGCD 724. Mong. is the probable source of Turkm. *sïγïn*, Oyr. *sïγïn*, Tat. *siraw* etc. (see Лексика 49), as well as of Man. *šurga-* (see Rozycki 196).

PJpn. ***sinkúrai*** drizzling rain (in autumn) (моросящий дождь (осенний)): OJpn. *sigure*; MJpn. *sìgúrè*; Tok. *shìgure*; Kyo. *shígúré*; Kag. *shiguré*.

◊ JLTT 523. Accent is not quite clear: RJ and Kagoshima suggest **si(n)kúràì*, but Kyoto and Tokyo - rather **si(n)kúrâi*.

‖ Miller 1976, 378; 1985, 149.

✱**sĭgó** thick growth: Tung. ***sigŭ***; Mong. ***siguj***; Jpn. ***sìnkài-***.

PTung. ***sigŭ*** thick growth (чаща): Evk. *siγī*; Evn. *hiγị*; Neg. *siwū*; Man. *ša, šuwa*; Ul. *sêu*; Ork. *sīγị*; Nan. *sịo*; Orch. *sižai*; Ud. *sižaʻi, sižampaʻi* (Корм. 284).

◊ TMC 2, 77.

PMong. ***siguj*** thick growth (чаща, заросли): MMong. *šikui* (SH); WMong. *siγui* (L 700); Kh. *šuguj*; Bur. *šugi*; Kalm. *šuɣū*; Ord. *šux^{w}ī*; Dag. *šigẽ* (Тод. Дар. 163: *sigī*).

◊ KW 367, MGCD 726. Mong. > Evk. *čiγī*, see Poppe 1972, 102.

PJpn. ***sìnkài-*** thick growth, grow thickly (чаща, заросли, густо расти): OJpn. *sige-r-, sige-* (adj.); MJpn. *sige-r-, sìgè-* (adj.); Tok. *shigér-, shìgemi / shigemí*; Kyo. *shígér-, shígémí*; Kag. *shìgèr-, shigemí*.

◊ JLTT 750, 840. The noun **si(n)kai-mi* reveals unclear accent variation in Kyoto and Tokyo.

‖ KW 367, Poppe 30, 58, АПиПЯЯ 79, Rozycki 197. The TM form is classified as a borrowing from Mong. by Doerfer MT 47, which cannot be excluded.

✱**sĭgò** deer, horned animal: Tung. ***sig- / *seg-***; Mong. ***seγenek (~ -i-)***; Turk. ****sig-***; Jpn. ****sika***.

PTung. ****sig- / seg-*** wild deer (дикий олень): Evk. *segžen*, dial. *sekserge*; Nan. *segži* 'herd of wild swine'; Ud. *sigisa* 'годовалый изюбр'.

◊ TMC 1, 325, 327; 2, 136.

PMong. ****seγenek (~ -i-)*** he-goat (2 years old) (козел (2 лет)): WMong. *segenek* (L 684: *sejinüg*); Kh. *sijneg*; Bur. *hīneg* 'castrated he-goat; ox'; Kalm. *sīnək*.

◊ KW 328.

PTurk. ****sig-*** 1 deer, male maral 2 large bovine (1 олень, марал 2 корова, крупный рогатый скот): OTurk. *siγun* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *siγun* 1, *siγïr* 2 (MK); Tur. *sīn* 1, *sīr* 2; Gag. *sïr* 2; Az. *siγïn* 1, *siγïr* 2; Turkm. *sūγun* 1, *siγïr* 2; Sal. *sixïr* 2; Khal. *siγïr* 2; MTurk. *suγun, sojγun* (Pav. C.), *siγïn* (AH), *sijin* (Ettuhf.) 1, *siγïr* (AH) 2; Uzb. *sujγun* 1 (dial.), *sigir* 2; Uygh. *sigir, sijir* 2; Krm. *suvun* 1, *sijïr* 2; Tat. *sijïr* 2; Bashk. *hijïr* 2; Kirgh. *sijir* 2 (dial.); Kaz. *sijïr* 2; KKalp. *suwin* 1, *sijïr* 2; Kum. *siγïr, sijïr* 2; Nogh.

sɨ̀jɨ̀r 2; SUygh. *suɣun, soɣun* 1; Khak. *sīn* 1; Shr. *sīn* 1; Oyr. *sūn, sɨɣɨn* 1; Tv. *sīn* 1.

◊ EDT 811, 814-815, VEWT 414, 415, Лексика 152-153, 435, ЭСТЯ 7. The forms of the *sɨɣun* type most probably go back to **sɨgɨ-gun* - which may explain both the Turkm. length (*sūɣun*) and forms like Chag. *soǰɣun*.

PJpn. ***sika** deer (олень): OJpn. *sika*; Tok. *shìka, shíka*; Kyo. *shíkà*; Kag. *shiká*.

◊ JLTT 523. Significant accent variation in dialects does not allow to reconstruct a common accent pattern.

‖ KW 329, Лексика 153, Miller 1985, 146, 1986, 49. Cf. **sák'a* and **sŭ́ku*.

***sĭ́gú (~ *š-)** to insert: Mong. ***siɣa-**; Turk. ***sɨg-**; Jpn. ***súnká-**.

PMong. ***siɣa-** to beat in (a nail, peg etc.) (вбивать (гвоздь, кол и т.п.)): WMong. *siɣa-* (L 699); Kh. *šā-*; Bur. *šā-*; Kalm. *šā-*; Ord. *šā-*; Dag. *šā-* (MD 213); Mongr. *šiGā-*.

◊ KW 353, MGCD 701.

PTurk. ***sɨg-** to enter, fit into (вмещаться): OTurk. *sɨɣ-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sɨɣ-* (MK); Tur. *sɨɣ-, sī-*; Gag. *sī-*; Az. *sɨɣ-*; Turkm. *sɨɣ-*; Sal. *sɨx-*; MTurk. *sɨɣ-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɨɣ-*; Uygh. *sɨɣ-*; Krm. *sɨɣ-*; Tat. *sɨj-*; Bashk. *hɨj-*; Kirgh. *sɨj-*; Kaz. *sɨj-*; KKalp. *sɨj-*; Kum. *sɨj-*; SUygh. *sɨɣ-*; Oyr. *sɨj-*.

◊ EDT 804, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***súnká-** to insert, fasten into a hole (вставлять, продевать): MJpn. *súgá-*; Tok. *sùge-*; Kyo. *súgé-*; Kag. *sugé-*.

◊ JLTT 757.

‖ VEWT 418. Cf. **sɨ̨ók'u*. Mong. has also *sige-, siged-* 'to get stuck, become inserted' - which is compared in KW 356 with PT **sik-* 'coire'.

***sĭ̀jŋò** gift, offer: Tung. ***siŋu-**; Mong. ***süj**; Turk. ***sɨjŋ**; Jpn. ***sònàpà-**.

PTung. ***siŋu-** 1 gift 2 to present (1 подарок 2 дарить): Ul. *sɨ̨ŋna(n)-* 2, *sɨ̨ŋnaqu* 1; Nan. *siŋle-, suŋle-* (Bik.) 2, *suŋle-ku* (Naikh.) 1; Ud. *suŋula-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 119, 128.

PMong. ***süj** tax, marriage price (выкуп за невесту): WMong. *süi* (L 741); Kh. *süj*; Bur. *hüjte*: *hüjte xubita* 'intended (bride)'; Kalm. *sű, sī*; Ord. *süj*.

◊ KW 328. Mong. > Tuva *suj*.

PTurk. ***sɨjŋ** gift (from an inferior to a superior) (подарок (от нижестоящего вышестоящему); почет): Karakh. *sɨŋüt* (MK) 'a gift without a return gift'; Tur. *sɨj-lɨ* 'respected' (dial.); Turkm. *sī-la-* 'to respect'; MTurk. *sɨj-la-* 'to pay respect' (CCum.); Uzb. *sɨj* (dial.); Krm. *sɨj*; Tat. *sɨj*; Bashk. *hɨj*; Kirgh. *sɨj*; Kaz. *sɨj*; KBalk. *sɨj*; KKalp. *sɨj*; Kum. *sɨj*; Nogh. *sɨj*; SUygh. *si-la-* 'to treat, entertain' (ЯЖУ), *su-luk*; Khak. *sɨj, sɨjɨx*; *sɨj-la-* 'to treat, entertain'; Shr. *sɨj*; Oyr. *sɨj*; Tv. *sɨ-ɣa-* 'to treat, entertain'; Tof. *sɨ-ɣa-* 'to treat, entertain'; Chuv. (*sʊj* < Tat.).

◊ EDT 836, VEWT 415, Лексика 350, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sənàpà-*** to present, offer (to gods etc.) (предоставлять, приносить жертвоприношения): OJpn. *sonapa-*; MJpn. *sònàfa-*; Tok. *sonaé-, sonáe-*; Kyo. *sónáé-*; Kag. *sònàè-*.

◊ JLTT 755.

‖ Mong. **süj* probably (with a rather usual vowel interaction) < **sijü*.

✱**sìjpʹó** to press, knead: Tung. ****sip-***; Mong. ****sibka(r)-***; Turk. ****sɨjpa-***; Jpn. ****sìmpò-r-***; Kor. ****spù-pɨi-***.

PTung. ****sip-*** 1 to knead, squeeze, press 2 to bend under a heavy load (1 месить, валять (тесто); мять, сжимать 2 согнуться под тяжестью): Evk. *sipčarga-* 2; Man. *sibere-* 1; Ork. *siperu-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 74, 93. In Manchu the root has merged with *sibere-* 'spin, roll' < *sip- (v. sub **si̯ŏpʹu*).

PMong. ****sibka(r)-*** to squeeze out, press (выдавливать, выжимать): WMong. *sibqar-* (L 696); Kh. *šavxra-*; Bur. *šavxa-*; Kalm. *šawxər-, šowxər-*; Ord. *šiwχʷara-*; Bao. *šiχa-*; Mongr. *šGurā-* (SM 378).

◊ KW 352-353, 366, MGCD 702.

PTurk. ****sɨjpa-*** to knead, caress (растирать, гладить, ласкать): Turkm. *sīpa-* (*sijpa-*); MTurk. *sipa-* (R.); Uzb. *sijpa-*; Uygh. *sipa-*; Krm. *sipa-*; Tat. *sijpa-, sipir-*; Bashk. *hijpa-, hipir-*; Kirgh. *sijpa-*; Kaz. *sijpa-*; KBalk. *sijpa-*; KKalp. *sijpa-*; Kum. *sijpa-*; Nogh. *sijpa-*; Khak. *sijba-*; Shr. *sība-, siba-*; Oyr. *sijma-*; Tv. *sujba-*.

◊ VEWT 415, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ****sìmpà-r-*** to press, squeeze (давить, выжимать): MJpn. *sìbòr-*; Tok. *shibór-*; Kyo. *shíbór-*; Kag. *shibòr-*.

◊ JLTT 749.

PKor. ****spù-pɨi-*** to rub, squeeze (тереть, давить): MKor. *spùpɨi-*.

◊ Nam 267.

‖ Ozawa 220-221. Kor. has a usual vowel reduction between a fricative and a stop.

✱**siju** ear-ring: Tung. ****sia-kan***; Mong. ****süji-ken***; Turk. ****sɨrga***.

PTung. ****sia-kan*** pendants on ear-ring (подвески (у серьги)): Neg. *sêxan*; Ork. *sêγa*; Nan. *si̯qa(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 69.

PMong. ****süj-ken*** ear-ring (ушная серьга): MMong. *sūjke* (IM), *sujke* (MA); WMong. *süiken*, (L 742) *süike, süikü*; Kh. *süjx*; Bur. *hīxe*; Kalm. *sīkə*; Ord. *süjχe*; Dag. *sujhe* (MD 212); Mongr. *sūge* (SM 357).

◊ KW 328. Mong. > Man. *suiχun* (see Rozycki 189).

PTurk. ****sɨrga*** ear-ring (серьга): Tur. *sırγa* (dial.); Az. *sırγa*; Turkm. *ısırγa*; Sal. *sırγa*; MTurk. *sırγa* (AH), *ısırγa* (IM, Pav. C.), *asırγa* (Houts.); Uzb. *isirγa*; Krm. *sırγa*; Tat. *sırγa*; Bashk. *hirγa*; Kirgh. *sırγa*; Kaz. *sırγa*;

KBalk. *sirγa*; KKalp. *sirγa*; Kum. *sirγa*; Nogh. *sirγa*; SUygh. *sirqa*; Khak. *izirγa*; Shr. *sirγa*; Oyr. *sirγa*; Tv. *sirγa*; Yak. *itirγa*.

◊ VEWT 419, ЭСТЯ 7. The word is attested late and presents some problems. Most forms point to **sirga* which may reflect an original suffixed form **si(j)-rga* (= Mong. *süji-kc-*); but some forms reflect **isirga* or **asirga* - perhaps under a secondary influence of **as-* 'to hang'. Turk. > Russ. *исерга, серьга* (attested since XIVth c.)

‖ A Western isogloss. It looks as if it were derived from **sĭ́ju* 'bite, break' q.v. - lit. 'an ear-biter' (?).

✱**sĭ́ju (~ -o)** to bite, break: Tung. ***sia-**; Mong. ***süji-**; Turk. ***sī-**.

PTung. ***sia-** 1 to chew 2 to bite (1 жевать 2 кусать): Evk. *sê-* 1; Evn. *hā̂-*; Neg. *sê-* 1; Man. *saj-* 2; SMan. *šia-* 2 (1533); Ul. *sê-* 1; Ork. *sê-* 1; Nan. *śā̂-* 2; Orch. *sā̂-* 1; Ud. *sa-* 1.

◊ TMC 2,69.

PMong. ***süji-** to be destroyed, broken (разрушаться, ломаться): WMong. *süi-d-*, *süi-re-* (L 741, 742); Kh. *süjde-*, *süjre-*; Bur. *hüjd* 'harm, ruin'; Ord. *süjd-*; Dag. *sujte-* (MD 212).

PTurk. ***sī-** 1 to break, damage, harm 2 to be broken (1 ломать, нарушать, портить 2 ломаться): OTurk. *sī-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *sī-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *sī-* 1; Gag. *sın-* 'to be defeated'; Az. *sın-* 2; Turkm. *sī-n-* 2; Sal. *sun-* 2; *sındır-* 1 (ССЯ); Khal. *sī-* 1; MTurk. (MKypch.) *sī-* (AH) 1; Uzb. *sın-* 2; Uygh. *sın-* 2; Krm. *sın-* 2; Tat. *sı-n-dır-* 1; Bashk. *hın-* 2; Kirgh. *sın-* 2; Kaz. *sın-* 2; KBalk. *sın-* 2; KKalp. *sın-* 2; Kum. *sın-* 2; Nogh. *sın-* 2; Khak. *sın-* 2; Shr. *sın-* 2; Oyr. *sın-* 2; Tv. *sın-* 2; Tof. *sın-* 2; Yak. ? *īr-* 'to tear'.

◊ VEWT 413-414, EDT 782.

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. **süji-* is a usual metathesis < **sijü-*. Cf. also **siju* 'ear-ring'.

✱**sík´e (~ -k-)** a detail of the house entrance: Tung. ***siK-**; Mong. ***seg**; Turk. ***sekü**; Jpn. ***síkímí**.

PTung. ***siK-** 1 penthouse 2 a bar (under threshhold, into which the door heel is inserted) (1 навес, терраса 2 брус (под порогом, в котором вращается дверная пятка)): Man. *sixin* 1, *sixaqu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 80-81. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***seg** tent (шатер): WMong. *seg*; Kh. *seg* (БАМРС); Kalm. *seg*.

◊ KW 321.

PTurk. ***sekü** stone bench, pedestal (каменное или глинобитное сиденье, лежанка, помост): Karakh. *sekü* (MK); Tur. *seki*; Az. *säki*; Turkm. *seki*; Tat. *säki*; Bashk. *hikĭ*; Kirgh. *seki*; Chuv. *sagъ*; Yak. *eγe* 'knolls'.

◊ VEWT 408, TMN 3, 262, EDT 819, Лексика 519. Turk. > Pers. *sakū* id. (despite EDT, not vice versa); > Hung. *szék* 'chair' (Gombocz 1912).

PJpn. ***síkímí*** threshold (порог): OJpn. *sikjimji*; MJpn. *síkímí*; Tok. *shìkii*; Kyo. *shíkíí*; Kag. *shikíi*.

◊ JLTT 523. Modern *shikii* is actually a merger of OJ *sikjimii* 'threshhold' and *sikiwi* (attested only in MJ) 'rush plant'.

‖ Cf. **ségi*.

✱**sík'è (~ š-, *sék'ì)** a plant with specific smell or taste: Mong. ***sikür***; Jpn. ****síkími***.

PMong. ***sikür*** names of plants with specific taste (1 лапчатка кустарниковая или курильский чай 2 солодка, лакричник): WMong. *sikür* (MXTTT) 1; Kh. *šüxer* 1; Bur. *šüxer, šexer* 2.

◊ Mong. > Chuv. *śüxre* 'fern', see Дмитриева 2000.

PJpn. ****síkími*** Illicium anisatum (a tree with poisonous fruits) (вид аниса): OJpn. *sikjimji*; MJpn. *síkímí*; Tok. *shikimi*.

◊ JLTT 523.

‖ Cf. Kor. *siktä* 'Pleioblastus Simoni'. The root also means "umbrella" in Mong., and as such may be actually identical to *sík'e 'detail of the house' (perhaps as an old name of some umbellate plant?).

✱**sǐk'ù (~ š-)** to press: Mong. ***sika-***; Turk. ****sɨk-***; Jpn. ****súkú-má-***; Kor. ****skǎ-***.

PMong. ***sika-*** to press (жать, давить): MMong. *šiqa-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *siqa-* (L 721); Kh. *šaxa-*; Bur. *šaxa-*; Kalm. *šaxə-*; Ord. *šaxa-*; Dag. *šaga-* (Тод. Даг. 182); Dong. *šiGa-*; S.-Yugh. *šəGa-*; Mongr. *šGā-* (SM 377), *šiGā-*.

◊ KW 344, MGCD 711. Mong. > Man. *sixa-*, see Doerfer MT 136, Rozycki 180.

PTurk. ****sɨk-*** to press (давить, жать): OTurk. *sɨq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sɨq-* (MK); Tur. *sɨk-*; Gag. *sɨq-*; Az. *sɨx-*; Turkm. *sɨq-*; Khal. *sɨq-*; MTurk. *sɨq-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *siq-*; Uygh. *siq-*; Krm. *siq-*; Tat. *siq-*; Bashk. *hiq-*; Kirgh. *siq-*; Kaz. *siq-*; KBalk. *siq-*; KKalp. *siq-*; Kum. *siq-*; Nogh. *siq-*; SUygh. *siq-*; Khak. *siq-*; Oyr. *siq-*; Tv. *siq-*; Yak. *ik-*; Dolg. *ik-* 'to milk'.

◊ EDT 804-805, VEWT 415-416, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 259.

PJpn. ****súkú-má-*** to press, shrink (сжимать): MJpn. *súkúmá-*; Tok. *sukume-*.

◊ JLTT 758.

PKor. ****skǎ-*** to get thin, diminish (уменьшаться, утончаться): MKor. *skǎ-*; Mod. *k:a-*.

◊ Nam 17, KED 6.

‖ EAS 154, KW 344, Владимирцов 324, Poppe 30, 55. Mong. is hardly a borrowing, despite Щербак 1997, 147. The Jpn. form is a partial contamination with **sǐlgu* q. v.

✱**sikʹV (~ z-, -k-)** evening, dream: Tung. ***sikse***; Kor. ***skú-m***.

PTung. ***sikse*** evening (вечер, вечером): Evk. *sikse*; Evn. *hīsъr*; Neg. *sikse*; Man. *sikse* 'yesterday'; SMan. *čikəsē, čekəsē* (2712); Jurch. *sih-ser* (84); Ul. *sikse*; Ork. *sʲeksʲe*; Nan. *sikse*; Orch. *sikse*; Ud. *sikie*.

◊ TMC 2, 81.

PKor. ***skú-m*** dream (сон): MKor. *skú-m*; Mod. *k:um*.

◊ Nam 63, KED 219.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**sìlá** (almost) completely, additionally: Tung. ***sila***; Mong. ***sila***; Turk. ***sil ?***; Jpn. ***sàrá***.

PTung. ***sila*** scarcely (едва, еле): Neg. *sịla*; Man. *salan*; Ul. *sịla*; Nan. *sịlā*; Orch. *sīla*; Ud. *sīla*.

◊ TMC 2, 82.

PMong. ***sila*** completely, utterly (полностью, целиком): WMong. *sila* (L 748: *šal*); Kh. *šal*; Bur. *šal*; Kalm. *šalə* (KPC); Ord. *šal*; Dag. *šal* (Тод. Дar. 182).

PTurk. ***sil*** horse that eats too little food (слишком мало едящая лошадь): OTurk. *sil* at (MK); *sil kiši* 'abstemious person'.

◊ OT = Mong. *sila buli ideku* 'to eat without appetite'

PJpn. ***sàrá*** additionally, also, newly (еще, к тому же, снова): OJpn. *sara-sara*; MJpn. *sàrá*; Tok. *sára*; Kyo. *sàrá*.

◊ JLTT 518.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 276. Martin (1966, 237) compares the Jpn. form with Kor. *sái* 'new', but this word has probably a different origin (see **zèjńa*). The Turkic form is very poorly attested (only in MK's phrase) and somewhat dubious.

✱**sila** dew, liquid; hoar-frost: Tung. ***sile-***; Mong. ***sil-***; Turk. ***sil-***; Kor. ***sàrí***.

PTung. ***sile-*** dew (роса): Evk. *sile-kse*; Evn. *hīli*; Neg. *sile-kse*; Man. *sile-ŋgi*; Jurch. *sie-le-un* (10), cf. *siel-hi* 'spring' (48) (2-431); Ul. *silemse*; Ork. *śile-śke*; Nan. *sile-mse*; Orch. *sileŋse*; Ud. *silihe*; Sol. *šilikši*.

◊ See TMC 2, 85-86.

PMong. ***sil-*** 1 slime 2 saliva 3 to get wet 4 slobbery (1 слизь 2 слюна 3 мокнуть 4 слюнявый): WMong. *silaj* 1 (L 749: *šalai* 'watery stool, diarrhea'), *silö-sü(n)* 2 (L 708), *sil-boji-* 3, *silükei* 4 (L 708); Kh. *šalaj* 1, *šüls* 2, *šolboj-* 3, *šülxij* 4; Bur. *šülhe(n)* 2; Kalm. *šülsn̩* 2 , *šülkē* 4 (KPC); Ord. *šölösü, šölös* 2; Dag. *šuls* 2 (Тод. Дar. 184: *šulse, šille*), *šulese* (MD 218); Mongr. *śorgo* 'salive, bave' (SM 397).

◊ MGCD 729. Mong. *silükej* > Turk. (Turkm. *sülekej* etc.).

PTurk. ***sil-*** 1 spittle, saliva 2 slime (1 слюна, плевок 2 слизь): Tur. *sel, selik* (dial.) 1; Az. *selik* 1; MTurk. *silik* (Ettuhf.) 1; Uzb. *šilik* 2; Uygh. *šilim, šillik* 2; Kirgh. *silämägäj* (R.) 1; Kaz. *sĭlemej* 1.

◊ See ЭСТЯ 7. Most of the Turkic words for 'saliva' are attested late and look like borrowings < Mong. *silü-kej*; Yak. *sil* must also be borrowed (because of initial s-), perhaps from Mong. *silö-sü* (with secondary loss of suffix?). The above forms, however, can be hardly explained as mongolisms.

PKor. ***sə̀rí*** frost (иней): MKor. *sə̀rí*; Mod. *sərі*.

◊ Nam 299, KED 936.

‖ SKE 230, EAS 71-72, VEWT 435. Cf. also Old Koguryo **salgan* 'frost' (Miller 1979, 8).

✱**sĭ̀la** to rub, clean: Tung. ***silkü-**; Mong. ***silu-**; Turk. ***sīl- / *sīla-**; Jpn. ***sárá-**; Kor. ***sə̀r-**.

PTung. ***silkü-*** to wash, clean (стирать, мыть): Evk. *silki-*; Evn. *hilqъ-*; Neg. *sịlkị-*; Man. *silǧa-*; Ul. *silču-*; Ork. *siltu-*; Nan. *sịlqo-*; Orch. *sikki-*; Ud. *siki-*.

◊ TMC 2, 84.

PMong. ***silu-*** to rub off, peel (соскребать, сдирать): WMong. *silu-*, *šulu-* (L 757); Kh. *šula-*; Bur. *šula-*; Kalm. *šul-*; Ord. *šulu-*; Mongr. *šuli-* (SM 385), (MGCD *śulə-*).

◊ KW 367, MGCD 727. Mong. > Oyr. *šili-* etc.

PTurk. ***sīl- / *sīla-*** 1 to wipe, rub 2 clean (1 тереть, стирать, чистить 2 чистый): OTurk. *sil-* 1, *silig* 2 (OUygh.), *silik* 2 (Orkh.); Karakh. *silig* 2 (MK); Tur. *sil-* 1, *sili* 2; Gag. *sil-* 1; Az. *sil-* 1; Turkm. *sīl-* 1; Khal. *sīl-* 1; MTurk. *sil-* 1 (IM), *sīla-* 1 (Abush.), *silä-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *silä-* 1; Uygh. *sila-* 1; Krm. *sil-*, *sıla-* 1; Tat. *sıla-* 1; Bashk. *hila-* 1; Kirgh. *sıla-* 1; Kaz. *sıla-* 1; KBalk. *sıla-* 1; KKalp. *sıla-* 1; Kum. *sıla-* 1; Nogh. *sıla-* 1; Tv. *sili-* 'to become clean'; Chuv. *šъl-* 1.

◊ EDT 824-825, 826-827, VEWT 416, 421, TMN 3, 265, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Kalm. *śilə-* 'kick or sweep away with one's foot' (KW 357). Turk. **silig* / **sılıg* 'clean, clear' (see ЭСТЯ 7) > Mong. *siluγun* 'plain, simple, pure' (> Evk. *šilun* id.).

PJpn. ***sárá-*** 1 to whiten, bleach 2 to clean (bottom of smth.) (1 отбеливать 2 отчищать): OJpn. *saras-* 1; MJpn. *sárás-* 1; Tok. *sàras-* 1, *sàra-* 2; Kyo. *sárás-* 1, *sárá-* 2; Kag. *sarás-* 1, *sará-* 2.

◊ JLTT 747.

PKor. ***sə̀r-*** to wash, clean (мыть, очищать): MKor. *sə̀r-*; Mod. *səl-gət-* (-č-).

◊ Liu 450, KED 950.

‖ EAS 72, 124, 150, SKE 230, Мудрак *Дисс.* 42.

✱**sĭ̀lgù** to tremble, quiver, be benumbed: Tung. ***silgü-**; Mong. ***silgeɣe-**; Turk. ***silk-**; Jpn. ***súkúm-**; Kor. ***sir-**.

PTung. ***silgü-*** to tremble, shake (from fever, cold etc.) (дрожать (от холода, страха), чувствовать озноб): Evk. *silgin-*; Evn. *hilgъn-*; Neg. *silgin-*; Man. *šurge-*; Ul. *silǯun-*; Ork. *sildun-*; Nan. *sirgun-*; Orch. *siggina-*.

◊ TMC 2, 83, 430.

PMong. ***silgeɣe-*** to shake, tremble (дрожать): MMong. *šilgut-* (SH); WMong. *silgege-, silge-* (L 706); Kh. *šilgē-*; Bur. *šelgē-*; Kalm. *šilgē-*; Ord. *šilgē-*; S.-Yugh. *šögō-*; Mongr. *śirgō-, śurgō-* 'se secouer pour faire tomber lapoussière ou l'eau qui adhère aux poils (animaux), branler violemment (tête)' (SM 398).

◊ KW 357, MGCD 717.

PTurk. ***silk-*** to shake (трясти, встряхивать): OTurk. *silk-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *silk-* (MK); Tur. *silk-*; Gag. *silk-*; Az. *silk-*; Turkm. *silk-*; Khal. *silk-*; MTurk. *silk-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *silki-*; Uygh. *silki-*; Krm. *silk-*; Tat. *sïlk-*; Bashk. *hïlk-*; Kirgh. *silk-*; Kaz. *silki-*; KBalk. *silk-*; KKalp. *silki-*; Kum. *silk-*; Nogh. *silk-*; Khak. *sïlïk-*; Oyr. *silki-*; Tv. *silki-*; Yak. *ilk-*.

◊ EDT 826, VEWT 422, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***súkúm-*** to become numb (цепенеть): MJpn. *súkúm-*; Tok. *sùkum-, sukúm-*; Kyo. *súkúm-*; Kag. *sukúm-*.

◊ JLTT 758.

PKor. ***sir(h)-*** 1 to be cold (of hands, feet etc.) 2 to quiver, shake (1 замерзать (о конечностях) 2 дрожать, трястись): Mod. *siri-* 1, *silluk* ha- 2.

◊ KED 1036, 1056.

‖ EAS 71, 122, KW 357, SKE 233, 235, Poppe 30, 76. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turkic, despite Щербак 1997, 144; Tung. is hardly borrowed from Mong., despite Doerfer MT 46. The meaning in Kor. and Jpn. may reflect the influence of another root, PA **sarí* q.v.; in Jpn. there is an additional contamination with **sǐk'u* 'press' q.v.

silV (~ z-, -Í-)** strap, yoke, dewlap: Tung. ****sil-; Mong. ****silaŋ***.

PTung. ****sil-*** 1 yoke belt 2 breakwater 3 dewlap 4 chock-boot 5 breast ornament (1 ремень ярма 2 волнорез 3 подгрудок 4 шейная колодка 5 нагрудное украшение): Evk. *šiliptin* 'boot straps' (dial.); Neg. *siliptin* 2; Man. *selxe* 3, *selxen* 4; Ul. *selče* 5; Nan. *siliptun* 1 (Он.); Orch. *silipke* 2; *siliktauka* 'interlacement of sledge straps'.

◊ TMC 2, 84, 140, 426.

PMong. ****silaŋ*** hip strap and breeching in harness, harness, yoke, dewlap (шлея; подгрудок): WMong. *šalaŋ* (L 749); Kh. *šalan*; Kalm. *šalŋ*.

◊ KW 347.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

sílV (~ z-, -Í-)** a k. of vessel: Tung. ****silV; Kor. ****sìrɨ***.

PTung. ****silV*** 1 plate 2 k. of basket (1 тарелка 2 вид корзины): Nan. *ṣiḷia* 1, (Bik.) *silfo* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 84.

PKor. ****sìrɨ*** earthenware jug (глиняный кувшин): MKor. *sìrɨ*; Mod. *siru*.

◊ Nam 325, KED 1036.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. The root is poorly attested and rather dubious.

✱**sīĺa** sharp stick; tooth: Tung. ***sila(-bun)***; Mong. ***sidü***; Turk. ***sīĺ / *sīĺ***; Jpn. ***sàs-, *sàsì***; Kor. ***sár***.

PTung. ***sila(-bun)*** spit (вертел): Evk. *silawun*; Evn. *hiḷuṇ*; Neg. *siḷawụn*; Man. *šolon*; Ul. *siḷopụ(n)*; Ork. *siḷopụ(n)*; Nan. *siḷpō*; Orch. *silō(n)*; Ud. *silou(n)*; Sol. *šila-* 'to roast'.

◊ TMC 2, 82. Most languages also reflect the verb **sila-* 'to roast on a spit, to put on a spit'.

PMong. ***sidü*** tooth (зуб): MMong. *šidun* (HY 45), *šidu, sudu* (SH), *sidon* (IM), *šidun, sidun* (MA), *sidūn* (LH); WMong. *sidü(n)* (L 698); Kh. *šüd(en)*; Bur. *šüde(n)*; Kalm. *šüdŋ*; Ord. *šüdü*; Mog. *südün*; Dag. *šide* (Тод. Дат. 183, MD 215), *šid*; Dong. *šədun*; Bao. *(š)doŋ, hdoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *šdən, šədən*; Mongr. *šdi* (SM 371).

◊ KW 370, MGCD 728.

PTurk. ***sīĺ / *sīĺ*** 1 tooth 2 sharp stick (1 зуб 2 вертел, острый колышек): OTurk. *sïš* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *sïš* 2 (MK); Tur. *šiš* 2; Az. *šiš* 2; Turkm. *čīš* 2; MTurk. *sïš* 2 (Sangl.); Uygh. *šiš* 2; Krm. *šiš* 2; Tat. *šeš* 2; Bashk. *šeš* 2; Kirgh. *šiš* 2; Kaz. *is* 2; KBalk. *šiš* 2; KKalp. *is* 2; Kum. *čiš* 2; Khak. *səs* 2; Shr. *šïš* 2; Oyr. *šiš* 2; Tv. *šiš* 2; Tof. *šiš* 2; Chuv. *šъl* 1.

◊ VEWT 424, TMN 3, 324, EDT 856-7. Turk. > Kalm. *čiš, šiš* (KW 442). An interesting common Turkic derivative is **sïĺ-le* > **sīle* 'судак' (fish name), as "fish with teeth" (Turkm. *sīle*, Chuv. *šъla* etc., see ЭСТЯ 7; Turk. > Hung. *süllő*, see MNyTESz 3, 628): such derivation may be postulated on analogy with KKalp. *tïšli*, Uzb. *tišli* (*baliq*) 'судак', lit. 'fish with teeth'.

PJpn. ***sàs-, *sàsì*** to prick, stab; sharp stick (вонзать, колоть; острая палочка): OJpn. *sas-, sasi*; MJpn. *sàs-, sasi*; Tok. *sás-, sashí*; Kyo. *sás-*; Kag. *sàs-*.

◊ JLTT 748.

PKor. ***sár*** arrow; sting (стрела; жало): MKor. *sár*; Mod. *sal*.

◊ Liu 436, НМСН 277, KED 895.

‖ EAS 108, VEWT 424, Doerfer TMN 3, 325-326 (with quite unjustified doubts), MT 240 (Turk.-Tung.), Miller 1970, 129, Street 1980, 300, АПиПЯЯ 288, Дыбо 13, Мудрак Дисс. 41-42, Лексика 228. The comparison with Kor. and Jpn. seems very probable, although here we have a rather rare case of tonal irregularity: one would expect a low tone in Kor. and a high tone in Japanese. In Jpn. the tonal irregularity could be explained by a contamination with some different root - e.g., with the root reflected in PT **sanč-* 'to pierce' (ЭСТЯ 7); but the Kor. high tone is still unexplained. It is interesting to note the common Turkic-Mongolian derivative meaning "2-year-old sheep or camel": Turkic **sïĺek / *dïĺek* (see VEWT 424), MMong. *šilegu*, Khalkha *šilbe*, Bur. .

šülge (certainly not a loan in Mong. < Turk., despite Rona-Tas 1970, 215 with a detailed analysis of the words, see Poppe 1974, 123). The variant **diĺek* (attested in MK *tišek* and in Yak. *tisege*, see EDT 563) is an obvious innovation in a part of Old Turkic dialects, following the replacement of **siĺ* 'tooth' by **diĺ* q.v., just like WMong. *sidüleŋ* "2-year-old sheep" is an innovation following the replacement of original **sil* 'tooth' by the suffixed formation **sil-dü* > *sidü*.

***sìmò** a k. of bird: Tung. ***sim-**; Mong. ***similǯen**; Turk. ***sim**; Jpn. ***sìmài (~ -ià)**.

PTung. ***sim-** 1 kingfisher 2 a k. of woodpecker 3 a k. of titmouse 4 eagle-owl (1 зимородок 2 вид дятла 3 вид синицы 4 филин): Evk. *sennekūn*, dial. *sendekūn* 2; Man. *simari*, *simatun* 3; Ul. *sindi* 1; Ork. *simiktu* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 86, 88, 143.

PMong. ***similǯen** a k. of bird of prey (вид хищной птицы): WMong. *similǯen* (MXTTT); Kh. *šimelǯen* 'a dark bird of prey with a white head'.

◊ Cf. also *somaraŋ* 'titmouse'.

PTurk. ***sim** grouse (рябчик): Karakh. *sinič* (KB) (? = *simnič*) 'a k. of songbird'; Khak. *sim*; Shr. *sinma*; Oyr. *simda*; Chuv. *šъngъrč* 'starling'; Yak. *imī* 'crossbill', *silgī imīta* 'wagtail'.

◊ ДТС 500, VEWT 416.

PJpn. ***sìmài (~ -ià)** a k. of hawfinch, Coccothraustes coccothraustes japonicus (вид дубоноса): MJpn. *sìmè*; Tok. *shimé*; Kyo. *shímè*; Kag. *shimé*.

◊ JLTT 524.

‖ It is hard to determine the original meaning of the root - some kind of middle-sized bird, probably with a big beak.

***simo (~ -u)** to be silent, whisper: Tung. ***sim-**; Turk. ***sim-**.

PTung. ***sim-** to be silent, whisper (молчать, шептать): Evk. *simūlā-*; Evn. *himun-*; Neg. *simu-*; Ul. *sim-*; Ork. *simu-*; Nan. *simu-*; Ud. *sim-sim*; Sol. *sin-gadá* 'silently'.

◊ TMC 2, 88.

PTurk. ***sim-** 1 to talk unintelligibly 2 to whisper (1 говорить невнятно 2 шептать): Karakh. *sumli-* (MK, KB) 1; Turkm. *sim-sim* 2; Khak. *sim* 'silence'; Tv. *simiran-* 2; Tof. *simira-* 2 (ФиЛ); Chuv. *sәmpәltet-* 'лопотать'.

◊ EDT 829.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**símta** to meet an obstacle: Mong. ***simda-**; Turk. ***simta-**; Jpn. ***sámáta-**.

PMong. ***simda-*** 1 to endeavour, make effort 2 to rush, hurry (1 стараться, прилагать усилия 2 торопиться): WMong. *simda-* 1, 2 (L 709); Kh. *šamda-* 1, 2; Bur. *šamda-* 2; Kalm. *šamdə-* 2 (KPC).

PTurk. ***simta-*** to neglect, be careless about (smth.) (пренебрегать, быть неосторожным): OTurk. *simta-* (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 828.

PJpn. ***sámáta-*** to hinder (препятствовать): OJpn. *sama-taga-*; MJpn. *sámá-taga-*; Tok. *sàmatage-, samatagé-*; Kyo. *sámátágé-*; Kag. *samatagé-*.

◊ JLTT 747 (Reasons for accent vacillation in Tokyo are unclear).

‖ Despite EDT 828, the Mong. verb cannot be < Turkic.

✱**sìni (~ -e, -o)** to suffer, endure: Tung. ***sinŋi-**; Mong. ***sinal-**; Jpn. ***sìnà-(m)p-, *sìnuà-(n)k-**.

PTung. ***sinŋi-*** 1 to be sorry 2 to offend, do wrong 3 to be poor, distressed 4 mourning 5 sad (1 жалеть 2 обижать, желать зла 3 быть бедным, мучиться 4 траур 5 печальный): Evk. *siŋni-* 1, *sini-* 3; Neg. *sińŋin-* 1, *sińŋije-* 2; Man. *siŋgira-* 2, *sinaGan* 4; Jurch. *sin-na-lar* 5 (375); Ul. *siŋgere-* 2, *sineǯu-, sinewli-* 3; Ork. *siŋgere-* 2, *sīnedu-* 3; Nan. *siŋgere-* 2, *sineǰi-* 3; Orch. *siŋgere-* 2, *sineǰi-* 3; Ud. *sunǯuge-si-* 2, *sinehä* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 89, 90, 91.

PMong. ***sinal-*** to be sad, bothered (печалиться, расстраиваться): WMong. *sinal(a)-* (L 710); Kh. *šanal-*; Bur. *šanal-*; Kalm. *šanl-*; Ord. *šinalga-* (causative); Mongr. *šənāli-* (SM 374).

◊ KW 348.

PJpn. ***sìnà-(m)p-, *sìnuà-(n)k-*** to endure (терпеть, страдать): OJpn. *sinob-, sinwog-*; MJpn. *sìnòg-*; Tok. *shinóg-*; Kyo. *shínóg-*; Kag. *shìnòg-*.

◊ JLTT 751, 752. On the distinction between **sìnuà-* and **sínuá-* see under **sínuá-p-* (v. sub **sią́ńi*).

‖ The root is rather difficult to distinguish from **sią́ńi* and **saŋe* q.v.

✱**siŋra** double bone (of animals): Tung. ***sire-**; Mong. ***siɣira**; Turk. ***siŋir-**.

PTung. ***sire-*** 1 elbow bone 2 shin bone (1 локтевая кость 2 берцовая кость): Evk. *sirēk, sirēkē* 1; Evn. *hirъmtъ* 1; Neg. *sijimte* 1; Man. *sira* 2; Ork. *simuse* 'calf of leg'; Nan. *sireme* 1; Orch. *simikte* 'shoulder bone'; Ud. *simikta, simukta* 1; Sol. *širmū* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 94, 97.

PMong. ***siɣira*** double bone (of animals) (двойная кость, бедро (животных)): MMong. *šijira* 'hoof' (SH); WMong. *sigira, sigere* (L 702); Kh. *šijr*; Bur. *šīre*; Kalm. *šīrə*; Ord. *šīra*; Dag. *širem*; Dong. *šəGara* 'foot' (Тод. Дн.); S.-Yugh. *šīra*; Mongr. *śirā* (SM 397).

◊ KW 363, MGCD 713.

PTurk. ***siŋir*** 1 double shin bone (1 кости голени 2 парное копыто): Tur. *sirnak* (dial.) 2; Az. *siŋir* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *siŋraq*, *sirnaq* 2; MTurk. *saŋraq* (Pav. C.), *siɣraq* (AH) 2; Krm. *sirča* 'бедро'; Tat. *sijraq* 2, (KCTT) *sirisxan* 1; Bashk. *siraq* 2; Kirgh. *sijra* 'пятка'; Kaz. *sijraq* 2; KKalp. *sijraq* 2; Kum. *sijraq* 2; Nogh. *sijraq* 2; Khak. *sirsax* 1; Tv. *sār* 'верх ступни', *sirɨ* 'копыто', *sīrɣaq* 2; Yak. *īrāx* 2.

◊ EDT 803, ЭСТЯ 7, *Лексика* 147-148, 287. In some languages the reflex may have merged with **sidir-gak* (v. sub **sidu)*.

‖ EAS 120, *Дыбо* 313-314, *Лексика* 287. A Western isogloss, but cf. **siŋu*: the form may be an archaic derivative.

síŋri** sinew: Tung. ***sire-; Mong. ***sinda-su***; Turk. ***siŋir***; Kor. ***sì'úr***.

PTung. ***sire-*** sinew, thread (сухожилие, нить): Evk. *sirekte*; Evn. *siren* (Arm.); Neg. *sijekte*, *sijēn*; Man. *sirge / sirxe*, *siren*; SMan. *širəxē* 'fiber' (269); Ul. *siri*, *sirekte*; Ork. *sirekte*; Nan. *sirikte* (Kur-Urm.), *sīrẽ*; Orch. *sije*, *sijekte*; Ud. *sie*, *siekte*; Sol. *širikte*, *širitte*.

◊ TMC 2, 97. Despite superficial resemblance and Doerfer MT 26, the word has nothing to do with Mong. **sirmö- / *sirbö-* 'sinew' (which is = TM **sumu-*, see under **siorme)*.

PMong. ***sinda-su*** sinew (жила, сухожилие): WMong. *sindasu(n)* (L 710); Kh. *šandas*; Bur. *šandāha*; Kalm. *šandəsn* (KPC); Ord. *šindasu*.

PTurk. ***siŋir*** sinew (сухожилие, жила): OTurk. *siŋir* (OUygh.); Karakh. *siŋir* (MK); Tur. *sinir*; Gag. *sinir*; Turkm. *siŋir*; MTurk. *siŋir* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *siŋir*; Krm. *sinir*; Tat. *seŋer*; Bashk. *hĭŋĭr*; Kaz. *siŋir*; KBalk. *siŋir*; KKalp. *siŋir*; Kum. *siŋir*; Nogh. *siŋir*; Khak. *sīr*; Oyr. *siŋir*; Tv. *sīr*; Chuv. *šъnъr*; Yak. *iŋīr*; Dolg. *iŋīr*.

◊ EDT 841, VEWT 423, *Лексика* 264, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 127.

PKor. ***sì'úr*** string, sinew; bow string (веревка, жила; тетива): MKor. *sì'úr*; Mod. *siwi*.

◊ Nam 326, KED 1040.

‖ EAS 120, Мудрак *Дисс.* 43, *Лексика* 264.

sìŋù** bone; shin bone: Tung. ***siŋa-; Mong. ***siɣa***; Turk. ***siŋök / *siŋok***; Jpn. ****sùnài***; Kor. ****sìin***.

PTung. ***siŋa-*** 1 pelvis, pelvis bone 2 swelling of deer's joints (1 таз, тазовая кость 2 опухоль суставов у оленя): Evk. *šaŋalran* (Sym.) 1, *siŋargažaran* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 90, 424. The forms are attested only in several Evk. dialects, but have rather plausible external parallels.

PMong. ***siɣa*** knucklebone, anklebone (бабка, щиколотка): MMong. *ši'a* (HY 48, SH), *šīɣai* (LH), *šīɣa* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *siɣa(n)*, *šaɣa(n)*, *siɣai* (L 747); Kh. *šā*, *šagai*; Bur. *šagaj*; *šagabša*, *šagajbša* 'stockings, socks'; Kalm. *šā* 'bones for divination', *šaɣā* (KPC); Ord. *šā*; Mongr. *śā* (SM 393) 'cheville du pied, osselets avec lesquels jouent les enfants', *šGā* 'jambe (de l'homme ou des animaux)' (SM 378).

◊ Cf. also WMong. *siγu*, Kalm. *šō* (Mongor *šōr*, MGCD 721) 'ein Knochen im Handgelenk; Würfelknochen' (KW 366). Mong. > Man. *santu* (= Mong. *šagantu*), see Doerfer MT 138.

PTurk. ***siŋök*** bone (кость): OTurk. *süŋök* (Orkh.), *süŋük* (OUygh.); Karakh. *süŋük* (MK, KB); Tur. *süŋük, söŋek, sümük* (dial.); Az. *sümük*; Turkm. *süŋk, süjek*; Sal. *senix*; Khal. *simik*; MTurk. *süŋek* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *sujak*; Uygh. *söŋäk*; Tat. *söjɛk*; Bashk. *höjäk*; Kirgh. *söök*; Kaz. *sujek*; KBalk. *süjek*; KKalp. *süjek*; Kum. *süjek*; Nogh. *süjek*; SUygh. *simik*; Khak. *sök*; Shr. *sök*; Oyr. *sök*; Tv. *sök*; Tof. *sök*; Chuv. *šъʷmъʷ*; Yak. *иŋиоχ*; Dolg. *оŋиок*.

◊ VEWT 437, EDT 838-839, Лексика 260-261, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 195. With different suffixation cf. Uygh. *söŋgäč* 'thigh, hip, thigh bone'; Yak., Dolg. *öŋürges* 'cartilage' (Stachowski 200).

PJpn. ***sùnài*** 1 shin 2 marrow (1 голень 2 костный мозг): OJpn. *sune* 2; MJpn. *sune* 1, 2; Tok. *suné* 1; Kyo. *súnè* 1; Kag. *suné* 1.

◊ JLTT 534.

PKor. ***sɨin*** shin, thigh (голень, бедро): MKor. *sɨin-tàrì*.

◊ Nam 323.

‖ KW 440, АПиПЯЯ 285, Дыбо 314-315, Мудрак Дисс. 42. Cf. **siŋri*.

✱**sípa** clay, to smear: Tung. ***siba-***; Mong. ***siba-***; Turk. ***sɨba-***; Jpn. ***sápá***.

PTung. ***siba-*** 1 to smear (with clay) 2 bog, marsh 3 to poultice (1 мазать (глиной) 2 топь, болото 3 класть припарки): Evk. *siwa-* 1; Evn. *hiwtaγ* 2; Man. *šabarGan gida-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 74. Cf. also Oroch *sibiki-* 'to scrape, plane' (?).

PMong. ***siba-*** 1 to smear (with clay) 2 clay (1 мазать (глиной) 2 глина): MMong. *šibar* (HY 3, SH), *šibar* (IM), *šibar* (MA) 2; WMong. *siba-* 1; *sibar* 2 (L 693, 694); Kh. *šava-* 1, *šavar* 2; Bur. *šaba-* 1, *šabar* 2; Kalm. *šaw-* 1, *šawr* 2; Ord. *šawa-* 1, *šawar* 2; Mog. ZM *šəbə-* (5-1b); Dag. *šawar* (Тод. Дат. 182), *šaure* (MD 214), *šaur* 2; Dong. *šuva-* 1, *šuva* 2; Bao. *šbar, hbar* 2; S.-Yugh. *šəbar* 2; Mongr. *šawar* (SM 369), *šəura* 2.

◊ KW 352, 353, MGCD 701, 722. Mong. > Kirgh. *sabir* 'dirt'.

PTurk. ***sɨba-*** to smear (мазать): OTurk. *suva-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *suva-, suval-, suvaš-* (MK); Tur. *sıva-*; Gag. *suwa-*; Az. *sua-* (dial.); Turkm. *suwa-*; Sal. *suva-, sova-*; Khal. *sɨva-*; MTurk. *suwa-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *suwa-*; Uygh. *suwa-*.

◊ EDT 785, 789, 793, VEWT 414, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. also the toponym Sivaš. The root is somewhat confused with **sɨb-* 'to water, irrigate' (a derivative of **sɨb* 'water' q.v. sub **siuba*), but they should be certainly kept distinct.

PJpn. ***sápa*** 1 bog, marsh 2 to dip; to smear with lacquer (1 болото 2 окунать; мазать лаком): OJpn. *safa* 1; MJpn. *sáfá* 1, *safa-s-* 2; Tok. *sawá* 1, *sawas-* 2; Kyo. *sáwà* 1; Kag. *sáwa* 1.

◊ JLTT 520, 748. Modern dialects point unanimously to **sápà*, but RJ shows high tone in the 2d syllable.

‖ KW 352, Poppe 30, 46. Correspondences are quite regular, and there is hardly any need in assuming (despite Poppe 1966, 198, Doerfer MT 123) Tung. < Mong. However, Mong. may be borrowed from Turkic (see Щербак 1997, 148-150), in which case a reconstruction **síba* is also possible.

***sipa (~ š-, -u, -o)** worm, insect: Mong. ***sibaǯi**; Turk. ***sibuĺgan**.

PMong. ***sibaǯi** insect (насекомое): WMong. *šabaži, sibaži* (L 747); Kh. *šavǯ*; Bur. *šabxaj* 'worm'; Kalm. *šivǯə*.

◊ KW 361.

PTurk. ***sibuĺgan** earth-worm (червь, дождевой червь): Karakh. *sovušγan* (MK); Tur. *soluǯan*; Gag. *soluǯan*; Az. *soxulǯan*; Turkm. *soγulǯan*; Sal. *suγulǯun*; MTurk. *soγulǯan* (AH, Pav. C.), *solunǯan* (AH); Uzb. *čuwalčaŋ*; Uygh. *čuwalčaŋ*; Krm. *suwalčan, swalcan*; Tat. *sualčan*; Bashk. *sïläwsïn*; Kirgh. *sõlǯan, söjülǯan*; KBalk. *suwalčan*; Kum. *suwalčan*; Nogh. *šïlawšan*; Khak. *sõsxan* (dial.), *somïsxan*; Oyr. *čojlošqon*; Tv. *šïjlašqïn*; Chuv. *šъʷvъʷrъʷlǯan, śölźen, śəʷvəʷlźen*.

◊ VEWT 425, EDT 793-794. The PT form can be reconstructed despite numerous expressive irregularities.

‖ A Turko-Mongolian isogloss.

***sìpe** swamped ground, swamp vegetation: Tung. ***sībe**; Mong. ***siber**; Turk. ***seb-**; Jpn. ***símpà / *sìmpá**.

PTung. ***sībe** horse-tail, swamped ground where it grows (хвощ, заболоченная почва, где растет хвощ): Evk. *sīwēγ*; Evn. *hīweγ*; Neg. *siwu-kte*; Man. *siḃa / sibe*; Ul. *siu-kte*; Nan. *siu-kte*.

◊ TMC 2, 76.

PMong. ***siber** swamped forest (заболоченный лес): WMong. *siber, sibir* (L 695); Kh. *šiver*; Bur. *šeber*; Kalm. *šiwŋ*; Ord. *šiwer* 'terrain humide et où il y a du gazon touffu'.

◊ KW 362. Cf. also Khalkha *šivers* 'Lycopodium'.

PTurk. ***seb-** spurge, euphorbia (молочай): Turkm. *söv-dek*.

◊ Attested only in Turkm., but having probable external parallels.

PJpn. ***símpà / *sìmpá** turf (дерн): MJpn. *síbà*; Tok. *shìba / shíbà*; Kyo. *shìbá*; Kag. *shíba*.

◊ JLTT 522. RJ has *síbà*, but modern dialects show variation between **síbà* and **sibá* (> Tok. *shíba*, Kyo. *shìbá)*.

‖ TMC 2, 76, АПиПЯЯ 79. Despite Poppe 1966, 198, Doerfer MT 52, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. The irregular voicing in Jpn. (< PA *-p-) must be due to a confusion with a very similar root, **sìmpá ~ *símpá* 'firewood' < PA **s̆ăp'í*; Jpn. dialects show a great deal of confusion between these two roots.

***sl̀pi (~ z-, -o)** to whisper, cough: Tung. ***sibu-**; Mong. ***sibi-**; Jpn. ***sìpa-**.

PTung. ***sibu-** to whisper (шептать): Evk. *siwutā-*; Evn. *hiwulŋ-*; Neg. *siwutā-*; Man. *šu-sina-*; Ul. *siwčų-*.

◊ TMC 2, 75-76.

PMong. ***sibi-** 1 to whisper 2 whispering (1 шептать 2 шепот): WMong. *sibine-*, *sibene-*, *sibegene-* 1, *sibir*, *siber*, *sibenel* 2 (L 694, 695); Kh. *šivne-* 1, *šiver*, *šivnel* 2; Bur. *šebene-* 1 *šeber* 2; Kalm. *šiwŋ* 2 (KPC); Ord. *šiwene-* 1, *šiwer* 2; Dag. *šabkālči-* 1; S.-Yugh. *šabrā-* 1.

◊ MGCD 714. Mong. > Kirgh. *sibir*.

PJpn. ***sìpa-** to cough (кашлять): OJpn. *sipa-buk-*; MJpn. *sìfa-búk-*; Tok. *shiwabuk-*.

◊ JLTT 753.

‖ Poppe 46. An expressive root, cf. **sl̀ùbi*.

***sìpò (~ *z-)** a k. of tree: Tung. ***sibu-**; Mong. ***sibür**; Jpn. ***sìpì**; Kor. ***súp(h), *sùphír**.

PTung. ***sibu-** 1 nut tree 2 cone (1 орешник 2 шишка): Evk. *suwukičī* 1; Nan. *siučixī* 2; Ud. *seutigi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 117, 147.

PMong. ***sibür** bush-oak, Quercus (вид дуба): WMong. *sibür* (L 697).

PJpn. ***sìpì** a k. of beech-like eternally green tree, Lithocarpus Sieboldii Makino (вид вечнозеленого дерева): OJpn. *sipji*; MJpn. *sìfi*; Tok. *shíi*; Kyo. *shîi*; Kag. *shií*.

◊ JLTT 523. The Tokyo form has an irregular accent (probably due to contraction).

PKor. ***súp(h), *sùphír** wood, forest, thicket (лес, заросли): MKor. *súp(h)*, *sùphír*; Mod. sup [*suph*], *suphul*.

◊ Liu 476, 479, Nam 314, KED 1011, 1022.

‖ Korean reflects a suffixed form like **sipo-kV*. Cf. perhaps Nan. *čịGbora* 'black birch' (which would change the reconstruction to **š-*).

***sipV (~ z-, -b-)** a k. of small bird: Tung. ***sibi**; Mong. ***sibawu**.

PTung. ***sibi** swallow (ласточка): Man. *sibirGan*; Jurch. *sih-biar-xun* (183).

◊ TMC 2, 398 - the root should be distinguished from **čipi-* q. v. sub **čl̀p'[u]* (although with some difficulty).

PMong. ***sibawu** bird (птица): MMong. *šiba'un* (HY 13, SH), *šibān* (IM), *šibawun* (MA); WMong. *sibaγu(n)*, *sibau* (L 693); Kh. *šuvū*; Bur. *šubū(n)*; Kalm. *šowūn*; Ord. *šiwū*, *šuwū*; Dag. *šowō*; S.-Yugh. *šūn*; Mongr. *šū* (SM 383), (MGCD *śau*).

◊ KW 366, MGCD 725. Mong. > Chag. *šibaγun* (Щербак 1997, 209).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; a Turkic parallel could be found in Russ. *сапсан* 'peregrin' (considered to be Turkic [Шипова 278], but the source is actually unknown). Cf. **čl̀p'[u]*.

✱**sĭp'í** a k. of pipe: Mong. ***sib-**; Turk. ***sīpek**; Jpn. ***simpai**.

PMong. ***sib-** 1 to perforate 2 tattooing needle, perforator 3 smoking pipe (1 протыкать 2 игла для татуировки, протыкания 3 курительная трубка): WMong. *sibe-* 1, *sibegür* 2, *sibsiγür* 3 (L 694, 695), *sibsiγa* 'l'extrémité d'une baguette de correction'; Kh. *šive-* 1, *šivūr* 2, *šivšūr* 3; Bur. *šebšūr*; Ord. *šive-* 1; Mongr. *śiśur* 'mèche de fouet' (SM 401).

PTurk. ***sīpek** 1 infant's urinal in a cradle 2 pivot (of a hand-mill etc.) 3 corn-cob (1 мочеотводная трубочка в люльке 2 стержень, шкворень (ручной мельницы и т.п.) 3 початок кукурузы): Karakh. *sibek* 1, 2 (MK); Tur. *sübek* 1, 2, 3; Uzb. *sübäk* 3 (dial.).

◊ EDT 788, ЭСТЯ 7. Modern languages reveal some very irregular reflexes like Kaz., KKalp. *sobiq* 3, Tur. *sümek, sömek* 1, 2, 3 (with -m- also in Kum. *sümek*, Nogh. *simek*, Uzb. *sumak* 1, 2 etc.; some languages have variants with *č-* or *š-* like Kirgh. *čömök* 3, *šimek* 1, 2). These all can be either irregular expressive variants with secondary diffusion or reflect contaminations with some other (not quite clear) roots.

PJpn. ***simpai** heart of rice straw (сердцевина стебля риса): MJpn. *sibe*; Tok. *shibe*.

‖ Cf. also PT **sīpiŕgu* 'flute' (ЭСТЯ 7). In TM one may note Neg. *siwsaxawun* 'wire (for pipe cleaning'), Nan. *siosaqo* 'wire (for burning a hole), siosan- 'to burn (a hole with a wire)', Oroch *siapti* 'mouthpiece (of a tobacco pipe)' (TMC 2, 74, 75). These words are hardly borrowed from Mong. *sibsiγür*, but are rather reflexes of original **sibe-* 'pull out, pick out' (see **ziupi*) influenced by the Mong. word.

✱**sĭp'i (~ z-, -p-)** to spy; slander: Tung. ***sipki-**; Mong. ***sibsi-**; Jpn. ***sìpù-**.

PTung. ***sipki-** 1 to spy, peep 2 to slander (1 подсматривать 2 клеветать, сплетничать, подстрекать): Evk. *sipkit-* 1, *sipku-* 2; Evn. *hipqъ-* 1; Neg. *sipkit-* 1; Man. *sibki-* 1; SMan. *šifəḱa-* 'to study' (1853); Ork. *sipkiči-* 'hide'; Orch. *sippiči-* 1; Sol. *širkišī-* 'listen, hearken'.

◊ TMC 2, 92, 93.

PMong. ***sibsi-** to blemish, defame (позорить, клеветать): WMong. *sibsi-* (L 695); Kh. *šivšig* (Gomb. 808) 'shame, disgrace'; Kalm. *šiwšə-*.

◊ KW 362.

PJpn. ***sìpù-** to slander (клеветать): OJpn. *sipu-*; MJpn. *sìfu-*; Tok. *shii-*; Kyo. *shíi-*; Kag. *shii-*.

◊ JLTT 750. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ A good Mong.-Tung.-Jpn. verbal match.

✱**sira (~ -u)** hill, high mountain: Tung. ***sirk-**; Mong. ***siru- / *siro-**; Turk. ***sirt**.

PTung. ***sirk-** 1 a small hillock 2 cape (1 холмик, кучка 2 мыс): Evk. *sirkun* (Uchur) 2; Nan. *sirge* 1 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 95.

PMong. ***siru- / *siro-** 1 rock, cliff 2 high mountain (1 скала, мыс 2 высокая гора): WMong. *siruɣ* 1, *šoroŋ* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *šurag* 1, *šoron* 2.

PTurk. ***sirt** 1 back, spine (of animal) 2 tableland, mountain ridge (1 спина, позвоночник (животного) 2 горный хребет): Karakh. *sirt-la-* 'to climb up a small valley' (MK); Tur. *sırt* 1, 2; Az. *sırt* (dial.) 2; Turkm. *sırt* 2; MTurk. *sırt* (AH) 2, *sirt* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *sirt* 1, 2; Uygh. *sirt* 1; Krm. *sirt* 1; Tat. *sirt* 1, 2; Bashk. *hirt* 1, 2; Kirgh. *sırt* 2; Kaz. *sırt* 2; KBalk. *sırt* 1; KKalp. *sırt*; Kum. *sırt* 1, 2; Nogh. *sırt* 'back part'; Khak. *sir* 1; Oyr. *sırt* 1; Tv. *sir* 1, 2; Tof. *si'rt* 1, 2; Chuv. *šъrt* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 419, EDT 847, Лексика 268, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Hung. *szirt* (see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 756).

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 45-46. A Western isogloss.

***sĭra (~ -u, -o)** to quilt, sew together: Tung. ***sira-**; Mong. ***siri-**; Turk. ***sıri-**.

PTung. ***sira-** to sew together, piece down (сшивать, надставлять): Evk. *sira-*; Evn. *hirḍq-*; Neg. *sija-*; Man. *sira-*; SMan. *šira-* 'to connect, to tie together, to join' (1699, 1763, 2959); Jurch. *sir(a)-ru* 'inherit' (425); Ul. *ṣira-*; Ork. *ṣira-*; Nan. *ṣira-*; Orch. *sija-*; Ud. *seä-*.

◊ TMC 2, 94.

PMong. ***siri-** to quilt, stitch (простегивать, прошивать): WMong. *siri-* (L 717); Kh. *šire-*; Bur. *šere-*; Kalm. *šir-* (KPC); Ord. *šire-*, *širi-*; Dag. *širi-* (Тод. Дат. 184: *šire-*), *šire* (MD 217); Dong. *širi-*; S.-Yugh. *širə-*; Mongr. *śiri-* 'contre-pointer' (SM 399), *śirə-*.

◊ MGCD 720. Mong. > Kirgh. *širi-* id.

PTurk. ***siri-** to sew tightly, quilt, smock (строчить, простегивать, прошивать): Karakh. *siri-* (MK); Tur. *sıri-* (dial.); Az. *sıri-*; Turkm. *sıra-*; MTurk. *sıri-* (R.); Uygh. *siri-* (dial.); Tat. *sır-*; Bashk. *hir-*; Kaz. *sıri-*; KKalp. *sıri-*; Kum. *sıri-*; Nogh. *sıri-*; Khak. *sıri-*; Oyr. *sır-*; Tv. *sıri-*.

◊ VEWT 418, 419, EDT 845, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ Tekin 1969, 70. A Western isogloss.

***sire** a measure of length or width: Tung. ***siru**; Turk. ***sere**; Jpn. ***sirə**.

PTung. ***siru** span between the big finger and index finger (расстояние между большим и указательным пальцами): Man. *šuru*; Ul. *siru(n)*; Ork. *sirobgi*, *sirogbi*; Nan. *siru*; Orch. *sijo*; Ud. *süö*.

◊ TMC 2, 80.

PTurk. ***sere** span between the big finger and index finger (расстояние между большим и указательным пальцами): Tur. *sere*; Gag. *serä*; Turkm. *sere*; Uzb. *särä* (dial.); Kirgh. *sere*; Kaz. *sere*.

◊ VEWT 411, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sirə** a unit of field width (единица площади поля): OJpn. *siro*.

◊ JLTT 526.

‖ ЭСТЯ 7.

✱**sirpʹa (~-o,-u)** thick hair, bristle: Tung. ***sirpa-kta***; Mong. ***ser- / *sir-***; Turk. ***sɨrt***.

PTung. ***sirpa-kta*** horse's hair, bristle (конский волос, щетина): Neg. *sɨtpakta*; Man. *siqa*; SMan. *šikā* 'tail horse-hair, horsetail' (2292); Ul. *sɨrpaqta*; Nan. *sɨrbaqta ~ sɨrpaqta*; Orch. *sipakta, sippakta*.

◊ TMC 2, 99-100.

PMong. ***ser- / *sir-*** 1 crest 2 long rod, switch 3 bristle 4 to bristle, stand on end 5 spine ramification 6 sticking out, protruding (1 гребень, холка; плавник 2 метла, длинный прут 3 щетина, толстая нить 4 щетиниться, стоять дыбом 5 спинной отросток 6 торчащий, торчать, выступать): MMong. *širun* 'uneven, rugged' (MA 336); WMong. *serbege, serbe* 1 (L 688), *sirbegür, sirbigür, sirbegül* (L 715) 2, *sirke(g)* 3 (L 718), *serbeji-, sirbeji-* 4 (L 689), *serteŋ* 5, (L 691) 6; Kh. *servēn* 1, *širvūl* 2, *širxeg* 3, *servij-* 4, *serten* 5, *sertger, sertij-* (V.) 6; Bur. *herbē* 1, *šerxeg* 3, *herteger* 6; Kalm. *serwē* 1, *širkə, širkəg* 3; *šarwā-* 'in die Höhe ragen (die Haare)', *sertəgər* 6; Ord. *serwī-* 4, *serteger* 'sticking out (about ears)'; Dag. *širgē* 3.

◊ KW 326, 351, 360, MGCD 721. Mong. *sirkeg* > Oyr. *šärkäk*.

PTurk. ***sɨrt*** thick hair, bristle (толстый волос, щетина): Karakh. *sɨrt* (MK); Tat. *sɨrt* (dial.); Bashk. *šɨrt* (< Chuv.?); Chuv. *šъrt*.

◊ EDT 846, VEWT 419-420, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Hung. *serte* 'bristle' (Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 526).

‖ KW 360, Мудрак Дисс. 45, Лексика 268. A Western isogloss. Mong. *sirke-, serte-* may belong here if they go back to **sirp-ke-, *serp-te-* (cf. the TM and Turkic forms). See also notes to **sajri* 'stick out, protrude'.

✱**siŕu (~ -o)** pain: Tung. ***sir***; Mong. ***sir-***; Turk. ***sɨŕ-***; Kor. ***sìrím***.

PTung. ***sir*** sharp pain (in one's joint) (острая боль (в суставе)): Ul. *sir*; Nan. *sir*.

◊ TMC 2, 95.

PMong. ***sir-*** 1 inner pain 2 contagious disease (1 внутренняя боль 2 заразная болезнь): WMong. *sira* 1, *sirig* 2; Kh. *šar* 1; Bur. *šara* 'heartburn'; Kalm. *šarə* 1, *širəg* 2.

◊ KW 349.

PTurk. ***sɨŕ-*** 1 to feel pain 2 pain, suffering (1 ощущать ломоту, чувствовать боль 2 боль, ломота, страдания): Karakh. *sɨzla-* (MK) 1; Tur. *sɨzı-* 1, *sɨzı* 2; Gag. *sɨzı* 2; Turkm. *sɨzla-* 1; MTurk. *sɨzgı* 2 (R.); Tat. *sɨs* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *sɨz* 2; Kaz. *sɨz* 2; Chuv. *sъrъltat-* 'to feel ague' (?).

◊ EDT 863, VEWT 420.

PKor. ***sìrɨ́m*** worry, trouble (заботы, тревоги): MKor. *sìrɨ́m*; Mod. *sirim*.

◊ Liu 495, KED 1036.

‖ KW 349.

✱**sísu (~ z-)** to baste, cloth: Tung. ***sise-***; Mong. ***sisegej***; Jpn. ***súsuá***; Kor. ***sis-***.

PTung. ***sise-*** 1 to baste 2 list (of clothes) (1 приметывать, наметывать 2 оторочка): Man. *sise-* 1, *sisexen* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 99. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***sisegej*** felt (войлок): MMong. *sisgai* (HY 22, SH), *isgai* (SH), *sisəkaj*, *sisukej* (MA), *sīseke* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *isegei*, *esegei* (L 416); Kh. *esgij*, *isgij*; Bur. *hejɨ* / *hegej*; Kalm. *iškē*; Ord. *esegī*; Mog. *siskei* (Weiers); Dag. *šisegī*, *šidegī* (Тод. Дар. 184), *šidehe* (MD 215); S.-Yugh. *skī*; Mongr. *sgə̄* (SM 346), *səgī*.

◊ KW 211, MGCD 413. Mong. > Man. *sisxe* etc., see Doerfer MT 80, Rozycki 185.

PJpn. ***súsuá*** lap, skirt (подол): OJpn. *suswo*; MJpn. *súsó*; Tok. *sùso*; Kyo. *súsó*; Kag. *susó*.

◊ JLTT 535.

PKor. ***sič-*** to baste (приметывать): MKor. *sis-*; Mod. *sičhi-*.

◊ Nam 322, KED 1042.

‖ Lee 1958, 117.

✱**sít'ì (~ z-)** to think, worry, be anxious: Tung. ***sita-***; Mong. ***sitü-***; Jpn. ***sítáp-***; Kor. ***sìtɨ́rəp-***.

PTung. ***sita-*** 1 be embarrassed, perplexed 2 to tarry (1 смущаться 2 мешкать): Evk. *sita-* 1; Man. *šita-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 99.

PMong. ***sitü-*** to trust, believe (доверять, верить): MMong. *šitu* (HY 38); WMong. *sitü-* (L 720); Kh. *šüte-*; Bur. *šüte-*; Kalm. *šüt-*; Ord. *šütü-*; Dag. *šute-* (Тод. Дар. 184, MD 218); S.-Yugh. *šütēn* 'object of worship'; Mongr. *šden* 'pièce d'étoffe rouge ou jaune qu'on met aux idoles pour les vénérer' (SM 371).

◊ KW 372, MGCD 729.

PJpn. ***sítáp-*** to be anxious, to miss, to care (заботиться, скучать, любить): OJpn. *sitap-*; MJpn. *sítáf-*; Tok. *shìta-*; Kyo. *shítá-*; Kag. *shitá-*.

◊ JLTT 753.

PKor. ***sìtɨ́r-*** 1 to tire, be tired 2 to be emaciated, wither 3 to be displeased, disinclined; to be unsatisfactory (1 уставать 2 истощаться, увядать 3 быть недовольным, нерасположенным; быть неудовлетворительным): MKor. *sìtɨ́r-* 2, *sìtɨ́rəp-* 1; Mod. *sidil-* 2, *sidil-ha-* 3.

◊ Nam 324, KED 1035.

‖ In MKor. cf. also *sìtɨ́r-* 'to be emaciated, wither'.

✱**sìt'ò** ladder, framed wall: Tung. ***sitkī***; Mong. ***sita***; Jpn. ***sìtàmi***; Kor. ***satări***.

PTung. ***sitkī*** wall, side (of tent) (стенка (юрты)): Evk. *sitkī*; Evn. *hitki*; Neg. *sitkī*; Sol. *šittũ* 'summer panelling (of tent)'.

◊ TMC 2, 99, 426.

PMong. ***sita*** stairs (лестница): MMong. *šatu* (MA 407); WMong. *šatu(n)* (L 754); Kh. *šat(an)*; Bur. *šata*; Kalm. *šatə*; Ord. *šatu*; S.-Yugh. *šātə*.

◊ KW 351, MGCD 710. Mong. > Chag. *šatu* etc. (despite Doerfer TMN 3, 317, Turk. > Mong. is impossible because of initial *š-*).

PJpn. ***sìtàmi*** blinds, shutter (навес, жалюзи): OJpn. *sit(w)om(j)i*; MJpn. *sìtòmì*; Tok. *shitomi*.

◊ JLTT 528.

PKor. ***satări*** stairs (лестница): MKor. *satări*; Mod. *sadari, sadak-tari*.

◊ Nam 282, KED 870.

‖ KW 351, SKE 217. The etymology seems plausible, despite Doerfer's (TMN 3, 318) doubts ("Zusammenhang der kor. Form mit der tü.-mo. scheint zweifelhaft") - although the Korean vocalism is in fact not quite clear.

✱**sit'V́ (~ z-, š-)** bands tied to sacrifices: Mong. ***seter***; Jpn. ***sintai (~-ia)***.

PMong. ***seter*** bands tied to sacrificial animals (ленты, привязываемые к жертвенным животным): WMong. *seter* (L 692); Kh. *seter*; Bur. *heter*; Kalm. *setṛ* 'heilig, geweiht; geweihtes Opfervieh'; Ord. *seter* 'consecration d'une pièce de betail à une divinité'; Mongr. *sder* (SM 335).

◊ KW 327. Lessing writes: "from Tib. seter", but we were unable to identify such a word. Sukhbataar 1997 derives the word from Tib. *che thar* 'eternity, immortality (?)', which seems rather far-fetched, both phonetically and semantically.

PJpn. ***sintai (~-ia)*** tassels tied to sacrifices (тесемки, привязываемые к приношениям божеству): MJpn. *side*; Tok. *shide*.

◊ Formally derived from **sinta-* 'to let hang down', but etymologically hardly separable from Mong. *seter*.

‖ A rather striking Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps also Evk. *čitarān-* 'натянуть, затянуть (ремнем, поясом)' (TMC 2, 400); Sol. *šittũ* 'летняя обшивка юрты из прутьев' (TMC 2, 426).

✱**si̯ăbi** to sew, perforate, awl: Tung. ***sibi-***; Mong. ***siböge***; Kor. ***hō-***.

PTung. ***sibi-*** to thread (нанизывать): Evk. *šiwikēme, šuwikēme* 'вышитый бисером' (Sym.); Neg. *si̯wla-*; Man. *sujfun* 'awl' (<**sibi-pun*); Ul. *sī-*; Ork. *sīwi-*; Nan. *sī-*; Orch. *siwi-*; Ud. *sūla* 'stick for stringing fish (while drying)'.

◊ TMC 2, 117, 121, 428.

PMong. ***siböge*** awl (шило): MMong. *šibuge* (SH), *sebgä* (IM), *šibugă* 'awl', *sibigă* 'sting' (MA); WMong. *sibüge(n)* (L 696); Kh. *šövög*; Bur.

šübge; Kalm. *šöwgə*; Ord. *šöwögö*; Dag. *šeugu* (Тод. Дат. 183); Dong. *sumɔGe, sumɔɣə*; Bao. *sebgu* (MGCD *səbka*); S.-Yugh. *šəwaɣe*; Mongr. *šubuge, šūge* (SM 383, 384), (MGCD *śūge*).

◊ KW 367, MGCD 723. Mong. > Man. *sibke* etc., see Poppe 1966, 198, Doerfer MT 132.

PKor. ***hō-*** to sew, broad-stitch (шить (широкими стежками)): MKor. *hō-*; Mod. *hō-*.

◊ Nam 490, Liu 755, KED 1840.

‖ The root is actively (esp. in Mongolian) contaminating with **sĭp'i* 'pipe' (as something which may be poked, perforated).

sị̀̆bo** a k. of stick: Tung. ***sōba; Mong. ***seɣül***; Jpn. ***sàwùa***.

PTung. ***sōba*** bough, stick (for hanging kettle over fire) (палка (для подвешивания над огнем котла, чайника)): Neg. *sōwa*; Nan. *sogbin* (Он.).

◊ See TMC 2, 103.

PMong. ***seɣül*** oar (весло, рулевое весло): WMong. *seɣül* (L 683); Kh. *sūl*; Kalm. *sūl*.

◊ KW 342. The root is homonymous with **seɣül* 'tail' (v. sub **sị̀̆bu*), but certainly different historically; although now it is almost obsolete (but noted both in Lessing's and Ramstedt's dictionaries), it is certainly archaic. Mong. > Oroch *sui(l)*, Nan. *soịl*, Neg. *se(w)ul* etc. (see TMC 2, 120).

PJpn. ***sàwùa*** pole (шест, жердь): OJpn. *sawo*; MJpn. *sàwò*; Tok. *saó*; Kyo. *sáò*; Kag. *saó*.

◊ JLTT 518.

‖ Cf. **sa̋p'í* , **sèp'ù* (with possible contaminations in Mongolian).

sị̀̆gi** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***siakta; Mong. ***siɣer***; Turk. ***següt***.

PTung. ***siakta*** willow (ива): Evk. *sêkta*; Evn. *hāt*; Neg. *sêkta*; Man. *sajχuwa*; Orch. *säkta, siakta*; Ud. *sakta*.

◊ TMC 2, 70.

PMong. ***siɣer*** nut tree (ореховое дерево): WMong. *šeger* (L 754); Kh. *šēr*.

PTurk. ***següt*** willow (ива): OTurk. *sögüt* 'tree' (OUygh.); Karakh. *sögüt*; Tur. *söjüt, sõüt*; Gag. *sũt*; Az. *söjüd*; Turkm. *söwüt*; Khal. *säjät*; MTurk. *sügüd* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sögät*; Uygh. *säwät*; SUygh. *sögüt, segɨt*; Khak. *sõt*; Yak. *üöt*; Dolg. *üöt*.

◊ EDT 819, VEWT 429, Лексика 126, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 252.

‖ VEWT 429, Дыбо 11. A Western isogloss. Length is reconstructed to account for *-ia- (after a fricative) in TM.

sị̀̆jrí** nit, louse: Tung. ***sire-; Mong. ***sirke***; Turk. ***sirke***; Jpn. ***sìrám(u)i***; Kor. ***hjə̀***.

PTung. ***sire-*** 1 louse 2 helminth 3 worm (1 вошь 2 глист 3 червь): Evk. *sirikte* 2; Neg. *sekki* 3; Ul. *sịlma* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 85, 95, 138.

PMong. ***sirke*** louse (of animals) (вошь (на животных)): MMong. *sərke* 'nit' (MA 323); WMong. *sirke* (L 718: "a k. of flea"); Kh. *širx*; Bur. *šerxe*; Kalm. *širkə*; Ord. *širχe*.

◊ KW 360.

PTurk. ***sirke*** nit (гнида): OTurk. test; Karakh. *sirke* (MK); Tur. *sirke*; Gag. *sirkä*; Az. *sirkä*; Turkm. *sirke*; Khal. *sirkä*; MTurk. *sirke* (IM); Uzb. *sïrkɛ*; Uygh. *sï(r)kä*; Krm. *sirke*; Tat. *sïrkɛ*; Bashk. *hïrkä*; Kirgh. *sirke*; Kaz. *sïrke*; KBalk. *sirke*; KKalp. *sirke*; Kum. *sirke*; Nogh. *sirke*; Khak. *sïrge*; Oyr. *sirke*; Tv. *sirge*; Tof. *si'rxe*; Chuv. *šърga*.

◊ VEWT 423, EDT 850, Лексика 182, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Hung. *serke*, see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 523-524.

PJpn. ***sìrám(u)í*** louse (вошь): OJpn. *siram(j)i*; MJpn. *sìrámí*; Tok. *shìrami*; Kyo. *sìràmí*; Kag. *sìràmí*.

◊ JLTT 525.

PKor. ***hjə̀*** nit (гнида): MKor. *hjə̀*; Mod. *səkhä*.

◊ Nam 488, KED 939. Modern *səkhä* is a dialectal form < **hjə-kai*.

‖ KW 360, АПиПЯЯ 73, 83, 87, 276 (confused with the reflexes of **si̯uru* q.v.), Лексика 182, Whitman 1985, 168. In Turkic a secondary narrowing (**sirke* < **serke* or **si̯arke*) occurred. Mong. may be < Turkic. In Kor. we have to suppose **si̯ə̀jri* > **hjə̀* (with tone modified because of contraction).

✱***si̯ə̀jri*** white: Tung. ****siarū-***; Mong. ****sira***; Turk. ****siarig***; Jpn. ****sìruà-***; Kor. ****hǎi-***.

PTung. ****siarū-*** 1 lightning, rainbow 2 light (1 молния, радуга 2 свет, светлый): Evk. *sə̄rū-n* 1; Man. *šari* 2; Ork. *sə̄rro*, *si̯ro* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 72, 381.

PMong. ****sira*** yellow (желтый): MMong. *šira* (HY 41, SH), *širā* (IM), *širă* (MA); WMong. *sira* (L 714); Kh. *šar*; Bur. *šara*; Kalm. *šarə*; Ord. *šara*; Mog. *šira*; ZM *sirā* (13-7); Dag. *šara*, *šar* (Тод. Дar. 183), *šari* (MD 214); Dong. *šara*, *šira*; Bao. *šira*; S.-Yugh. *šərə*; Mongr. *śira* (SM 397).

◊ KW 349, MGCD 707. Mong. > Manchu *sira* (see Rozycki 184).

PTurk. ****siarig*** 1 yellow 2 white (1 желтый 2 белый): OTurk. *śarïγ* (Orkh.), *sarïγ* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *sarïγ* (MK); Tur. *sarï* 1; Gag. *sarï* 1; Az. *sarï* 1; Turkm. *sārï* 1; Sal. *sarï* 1; Khal. *sāruγ* 'orange'; MTurk. *sarïγ* 1 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *sariq* 1; Uygh. *seriq* 1; Krm. *sarï* 1; Tat. *sarï* 1; Bashk. *harï* 1; Kirgh. *sarï* 1; Kaz. *sarï* 1; KBalk. *sarï* 1; KKalp. *sarï* 1; Kum. *sarï* 1; Nogh. *sarï* 1; SUygh. *sarïγ* 1; Khak. *sarïγ* 1; Oyr. *sarï* 1; Tv. *sarïγ* 1; Tof. *sarïγ* 1; Chuv. *šоръ* 2; Yak. *araγas* 1; *arï* 'butter'; Dolg. *arï* 'butter'.

◊ VEWT 403-4, EDT 848, Лексика 601, Федотов 2 462-463, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 37. Vowel length in Turkm. and Khal. must be secondary (influenced by forms like Mong. *sāral* 'yellowish'?). Bulg. > Hung. *sár*, *sárga*, dial. *sárog* 'yellow', see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 227.

PJpn. ***sìruà-*** white (белый): OJpn. *sirwo-*; MJpn. *sìrò-*; Tok. *shiró-*; Kyo. *shíro-*; Kag. *shiro-*.

◊ JLTT 840.

PKor. ***hǎi-*** white (белый): MKor. *hǎi-*; Mod. *hi-*.

◊ Nam 482, KED 1898.

‖ KW 349, Владимирцов 146, 318, Lee 1958, 117, АПиПЯЯ 26, 73, 86, 278, Мудрак Дисс. 195. Mong. is not borrowed from Turkic, despite Щербак 1997, 144 (Doerfer TMN 3, 221 says: "aus lautlichen Gründen unwahrscheinlich" (?)); the meaning 'yellow', however, may be secondarily induced by the Turkic forms - since the original meaning of the root, preserved also in Chuvash, was most certainly 'white'. Medial *-j- is reconstructed to account for the loss of *-r- in Kor. Cf. also Old Koguryo *šilap* 'white' (see Miller 1979, 7).

✱**sḭaku (~ z-)** chaff, husks: Tung. ***suK-***; Mong. ***saga-***; Jpn. ***suku-mə***; Kor. ***skór***.

PTung. ***suK-*** pods or buds (of elm tree) (стручки, почки (вяза)): Man. *suqši*.

◊ TMC 2, 122. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***saga-*** different sorts of buckwheat (различные сорта гречихи): WMong. *saɣaɣ, saɣada(i)* (L 656); Kh. *sagag, sagadaj*; Kalm. *saksā, saksā*; Ord. *saGat, saGaG* 'rye, buckwheat'; Mongr. *saGa* (SM 318).

◊ KW 308.

PJpn. ***suku-mə*** turf; rice husks (дерн; рисовая шелуха): MJpn. *suku-mo* "dead parts of water plants or weeds"; Tok. *sukumo*.

◊ JLTT 533.

PKor. ***skór*** forage (фураж, кормовая трава): MKor. *skór*; Mod. *k:ol*.

◊ Nam 51, KED 157.

‖ Korean has a rather frequent loss of vowel between a fricative and a stop (**skór* < **sVkor*).

✱**sḭǎkʻà** to think, worry: Tung. ***siaK-***; Mong. ***sege-, *seke-***; Turk. ***siāk-***; Jpn. ***sákà-***; Kor. ***skǎi-***.

PTung. ***siaK-*** 1 to speak within oneself 2 to respond, call back (1 говорить про себя 2 отзываться): Evk. *sikine-* 1 (Nep.); Orch. *sijau-* 2; Ud. *sieu-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 80, 81.

PMong. ***sege-, *seke-*** 1 to recover (one's senses) 2 intelligence (1 приходить в себя 2 разум, сознание): WMong. *seke(ge)-* 1, *segeɣe* 2 (L 681, 685: *seke, sege, sekege, segege*); Kh. *sexe-* 1, *sexē, segē* 2; Bur. *hegēr-* 1, *hegē(n)* 2; Kalm. *segēn* 2; Ord. *segē* 2; Dag. *sekēn* (Тод. Даг. 162) 2 (MGCD *segē*).

◊ KW 321, MGCD 602.

PTurk. ***siāk-*** 1 to think, contemplate, worry 2 to miss 3 intelligence 4 thought, worry 5 to read 6 to remember 7 mourning, sad remembrance (1 думать, размышлять, грустить 2 скучать 3 разум 4 мысль, волнение 5 читать 6 помнить 7 оплакивание, печальное воспоминание): OTurk. *saq-* 1, *saqiš* 4 (OUygh.); Karakh. *saq-*, *sayin-* 1, *saqiš* 4 (MK); Tur. *sayı* 7; Turkm. *sāGin-* 2; MTurk. *sayın-* (Bud.) 2, *sayı* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *sɔyin-* 2; Uygh. *seyin-* 2; Krm. *sayın-* 1, 2; Tat. *sayı* 4, *sayın-* 2; Bashk. *hayin-* 2; Kirgh. *sayın-* 2; Kaz. *sayın-* 2; KKalp. *sayın-* 1, 2; Kum. *sayın-* 2; Nogh. *sayın-* 2; Khak. *sayın-* 2; Tv. *sayın-* 2, 6, *sayıš* 3; Chuv. *šoγъš* 4; Yak. *āx-* 5, *ayin-* 2, 6; Dolg. *āk-* 5, *agin-* 2, 6.

◊ Мудрак 113-114, VEWT 395, EDT 813, Федотов 2, 464, Stachowski 28, 41 (confused with **sąk-*, from which it is often really hard to distinguish), ЭСТЯ 7. Voicing of medial -k- is regular after a long vowel (but it is somewhat strange in MK's text - note also its absence in *saqiš*).

PJpn. ***sákà-*** clever, intelligent (умный, мудрый): OJpn. *saka-si*; MJpn. *sákà-si*; Tok. *sakashí-*; Kyo. *sákáshì-*; Kag. *sakáshi-*.

◊ JLTT 839. RJ and Kagoshima point to high tone, while Tokyo is aberrant.

PKor. ***skǎi-*** to awake (просыпаться): MKor. *skǎi-*; Mod. *k:ā-*.

◊ Nam 29, KED 68.

‖ Мудрак *Дисс.* 195. Cf. **sèk'u*. The variant with **-g-* in Mong. is obviously assimilative.

sḭalo(-kV)** a k. of small fur animal: Tung. ****solüki; Mong. ****sileɣü-sü***; Turk. ****sialik***; Kor. ****sira-***.

PTung. ****solüki*** 1 kolinsky 2 ferret (1 колонок 2 хорек): Evk. *soliγā* (dial.) 1; Man. *silixi / soloxi* 2; Nan. *solu* 1; Ud. *solüö* 1; Sol. *sōligi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 109 (some forms - but not all - are borrowed from Mong. *soluŋga*).

PMong. ****sileɣü-sü*** lynx (рысь): MMong. *šile'usun* (HYt); WMong. *silegüsü(n)*, *silügüsü(n)* (L 708); Kh. *šilūs*; Bur. *šelūhe(n)*; Kalm. *šilūsn*, *šülūsn*; Ord. *šölūs*; Dag. *šulūs* (Тод. Дар. 184); Mongr. *šēle* (SM 374).

◊ KW 371. Mong. > Kum. *silewsün* etc. (Щербак 1997, 210, ЭСТЯ 7), Man. *silun* (Rozycki 182).

PTurk. ****sialik*** a k. of squirrel, chipmunk (вид белки, бурундук): Tat. *šuliγan* (< **Chuv.*); Shr. *sayıl* 'белка'; Oyr. *saliq* (dial. - Leb.); Chuv. **šolxan* > Mari *šulgan* (TLT 65).

◊ Лексика 165.

PKor. ****sira-*** lynx (рысь): Mod. *sirasoni*.

◊ KED 1024.

‖ Лексика 165. The Kor. form is somewhat unclear morphologically; the -i- vowel may be a distortion of the expected **-ă-* or **-u-* in a long form. Cf. **sólukV*.

✱**sị̄ame (~ -i, -i̯o-)** wound, pain: Mong. ***sim-si-***; Kor. ***hə̀mír***.

PMong. ***sim-si-*** to feel gnawing pain (чувствовать ноющую боль): WMong. *simsire-, simsirid-* (L 710); Kh. *šimšire-*; Bur. *šemšer-*; Kalm. *šimšəг-* (KPC); Ord. *šimšire-*.

PKor. ***hə̀mír*** scar, wound; fault, mistake (шрам, рана; ошибка, вина): MKor. *hə̀mír*; Mod. *həmul*.

◊ Nam 484, KED 1821.

‖ A Mong.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**sị̄ā́ńi** to be distressed, think with sadness: Mong. ***sinu-***; Turk. ***siāń-(~-j-)***; Jpn. ***sínuá-p-***.

PMong. ***sinu-*** to covet, yearn, be greedy (жаждать, быть жадным): WMong. *sinu-* (L 713); Kh. *šuna-*; Bur. *šuna-*; Kalm. *šun-*; Ord. *šinorxo-, šonorxo-, šono-* 'to desire'.

◊ KW 368.

PTurk. ***siāń- (~-j-)*** 1 poor, distressed 2 to be distressed, anxious, fearful 3 to squander 4 to pain, be sore (of a foot) 5 distress 6 beggar (1 бедный, несчастный 2 быть расстроенным, подавленным, испуганным 3 растрачивать (имущество) 4 ныть (о ноге) 5 расстройство 6 странник, нищий): Karakh. *saj-pa-* 3; Turkm. *sājɨl* 1; MTurk. *saj-pa-* 3; Uygh. *saj-* 4; KKalp. *sajɨl* 6; Oyr. *sajlɨɣ* 1 (dial.), *sajaq* 5 (dial., R - Kumd.); Tv. *sajmaara-* 2; Chuv. *šujɣan-* 2.

◊ EDT 859, Ашм. XVII, 111.

PJpn. ***sínuá-p-*** to be sad, think with sadness (вспоминать с тоской): OJpn. *sinwo-p-*; MJpn. *sínób-*; Tok. *shinób-, shìnob-*; Kyo. *shínób-*; Kag. *shìnòb-*.

◊ JLTT 751, 752. OJ has a distinction between *sinwop-* 'think with sadness' and *sinob-* 'endure' which have been hopelessly confused in modern dialects. We also have OJ *sinwog-* 'endure'. RJ has *sìnòg-* (regularly reflected as Tokyo *shinóg-*, Kyoto *shínóg-*, Kagoshima *shìnòg-*), but *sínób-* 'endure' (by Heian *sinwop-* and *sinob-* had already merged), the accent trace of which is the Tokyo variant *shìnob-*. One should probably reconstruct **sínuá-p-* 'think with sadness' opposed to **sìnə̀-(m)p-*, **sìnuə̀-(n)k-* 'endure' with subsequent inevitable confusions.

‖ Cf. **sə̀̄ni* and **saŋe*: the roots are sometimes different to distinguish.

✱**sị̄āŋa** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***siaŋa-***; Jpn. ***sama-i***.

PTung. ***siaŋa-*** 1 burbot 2 eel (1 налим 2 угорь): Evk. *sə̄̂ŋān* 1; Evn. *hāŋъn*; Nan. *sāŋasa*, dial. *siŋa, sānā* 1; Ud. *seä* 1, dial. *saŋasa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 71.

PJpn. ***sama-*** shark (акула): OJpn. same; MJpn. *sámé*; Tok. *sàme, samé*; Kyo. *sámé, sàmê*; Kag. *sáme*.

◊ JLTT 517. Original accent is not quite clear.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**sḭ̆ŋe(rV)** (~ **z-**) yellowish, greyish: Tung. ***siŋa(r)-***; Mong. ***saɣar-***.

PTung. ***siŋa-(ri-)*** yellow, yellowish (желтый, желтоватый): Evk. *siŋama, siŋarīn*; Evn. *hiŋańa*; Neg. *siŋajiŋ*; Sol. *šiŋarī*.

◊ TMC 2, 90.

PMong. ***saɣar-al*** greyish, ash-grey (сероватый): WMong. *saɣaral* (L 657); Kh. *sāral*; Bur. *hāral* 'light-bay'; Kalm. *sāral* 'light-bay' (KPC); Ord. *sāral*; Dag. *sāral, sālal* (Тод. Дar. 162), *sārele* (MD 204); S.-Yugh. *sāral*.

◊ MGCD 584. Mong. > Man. *sarla* (see Rozycki 175).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**sḭ̆ápʹí** (~ **z-**) to wither, rot: Tung. ***siaba-*** (~ ***-p-***); Mong. ***sebesüre-***; Jpn. ***símpə́m-***.

PTung. ***siaba-*** (~ ***-p-***) 1 rotten wood 2 to rot, coagulate (1 гнилушка, трухлявое дерево 2 вянуть, сохнуть): Evk. *sêwaksa* 1; Evn. *hāwus* 1; Man. *šubure-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 69, 428.

PMong. ***sebesüre-*** to rot, decay (of vegetables) (гнить, портиться (об овощах)): WMong. *sebisüre-* (L 679: *sebesüre-*); Kh. *sevsre-*.

PJpn. ***símpə́m-*** to wither (вянуть): OJpn. *sib(w)om-*; MJpn. *síbóm-*; Tok. *shìbom-*; Kyo. *shíbóm-*; Kag. *shìbóm-*.

◊ JLTT 749.

‖ Correspondences are quite regular, and the root seems reliable.

✱**sḭ̆ápʹú** to add, addition: Tung. ***sup-***; Turk. ***sep-***; Jpn. ***súmpa-***.

PTung. ***sup-*** 1 to gather in a crowd 2 completely 3 all (1 собираться в кучу, толпиться 2 сплошь 3 весь): Evk. *sup-* 1, *suwūl* 3; Neg. *sup* 2; Ul. *sup* 2; Ork. *sup* 2; Nan. *sup* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 117, 128.

PTurk. ***sep-*** 1 to equip, fit out, add 2 addition; dowry (1 прибавлять, снаряжать 2 добавка, приданое): OTurk. *sep- 1(OUygh.)*; Karakh. *sep* 2 (MK); Tur. *sep* 2; Turkm. *sep-li* 'with a dowry'; Uzb. *sep* 2; Uygh. *säp* 2; Krm. *sep* 2; Tat. *sip* 2; Kirgh. *sep* 2; Kaz. *sep* 2; Kum. *sep* 2; Nogh. *sep* 2; Oyr. *sep* 2; Chuv. *sap-la-* 'to compensate'; Yak. *ep-* 1, *ebī* 'more, additionally'; Dolg. *ebī* 'more, additionally'.

◊ EDT 783, 784, VEWT 410, Stachowski 43. Turk. > WMong. *seb*, see KW 320.

PJpn. ***súmpa-*** bring many into one, to unify, control (объединять, контролировать): OJpn. *suba-*; MJpn. *súba-*; Tok. *subé-*; Kyo. *súbé-*; Kag. *subé-*.

◊ JLTT 757. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

‖ A probable Jpn.-Turk.-TM match.

✱**sḭarpu** scar, wound: Tung. ***surba-kta***; Mong. ***sorbi***; Kor. ***hār-***.

PTung. ***surba-kta*** pimple, ulcer, scab (прыщ, сыпь, струпья): Evk. *surbakta*; Evn. *hurbṭ*; Man. *surgi*.

◊ TMC 2, 129.

PMong. ***sorbi** scar, wound (шрам, рана): WMong. *sorbi* (L 729); Kh. *sorvi*; Bur. *hoŕbo*; Kalm. *sörwə* (KPC); Ord. *sorwi*.

PKor. ***hər-** to be worn out, sore, develop a boil (быть измученным, израненным, нарывать): MKor. *hər-*; Mod. *hʌl-*.

◊ Nam 485, KED 1826.

‖ Cf. perhaps some Turkic forms: Karakh. (MK) *soriš-*, *sorɨt-* 'to wrinkle', Tuva *sortɨla-* 'to be painful', *sortɨlāš* 'dimple', Khak. *sortɨx* 'hollow cheeks' (although one would rather expect **a-vocalism* and preservation of labial in Turkic).

***sɨ̆ǻ́ri** earth, sand; marsh: Tung. ***siru-**; Mong. ***siraɣu**; Turk. ***siaŕ**; Jpn. ***situ**; Kor. ***hə̀rk**.

PTung. ***siru-** sand (песок): Evk. *sirugī*; Neg. *sijun*; Jurch. *sir-xe* (67); Ul. *siru(n)*; Nan. *siro(n)*; Orch. *sija*; Sol. *širuktā*.

◊ TMC 2, 96.

PMong. ***siro-** earth (земля): MMong. *šira'u* (HY 2), *širo'ai* (SH), *širu* (IM), *širăw*, *šira-* (MA); WMong. *siraɣu*, *siruya(i)*, *siroi* (L 719); Kh. *šorō*, *šoroj*; Bur. *šorōj*; Kalm. *šorā̆*, *šorā*; Ord. *šorō*; Dag. *širō*, *širtal* (Тод. Дат. 184), *širetele* (MD 217); Dong. *šəura*; Bao. *širo*, *śiru*; S.-Yugh. *šərū*; Mongr. *śirū* (SM 400).

◊ KW 365, MGCD 722. Cf. also WMong. *sirke*, *sirki*, Kalm. *širkə* 'hard earth (with sand)' (KW 360).

PTurk. ***siaŕ** marsh, dirt (болото, грязь): MTurk. *saz* (Houts.); Uzb. *sɔz*; Uygh. *saz*; Tat. *saz*; Bashk. *haδ*; Kirgh. *saz*; Nogh. *saz*; Khak. *sas*; Oyr. *sas*; Chuv. *šor(ъ)*.

◊ It is not quite clear whether the Oghuz name for 'reed' (Tur. *saz*, Turkm., Gag. *sāz*, see Лексика 135, ЭСТЯ 7) and 'swamp' as 'reed growth' (Tur. *sazlɨk*, Turkm. *sāzlɨɣ*) belongs here, too, or else reflect a different root. In the former case one should prefer the reconstruction **siāŕ*. See VEWT 406, TMN 3, 222, Лексика 93, Федотов 2, 462, ЭСТЯ 7. Bulg. > Hung. *sár* 'dirt', see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 487-488.

PJpn. ***situ** damp place, dampness (влажность, влажное место): MJpn. *situ*; Tok. *shitsu*.

◊ The word is usually considered to be an on-reading of the Chinese character 濕 MC *śip*. The latter should normally have a reading MJ *sifu*, mod. *shū* (which exists), while *situ/shitsu*, attested in separate usage since Middle Japanese, appears quite irregular phonetically for a Chinese loan. We should rather think of a genuine **situ*, misconceived as a Chinese loanword.

PKor. ***hə̀rk** earth (земля): MKor. *hə̀rk*; Mod. *hɨk* [*hɨlk*].

◊ Nam 480, KED 1894.

‖ KW 365, Poppe 30, 60, 114, VEWT 406 (without the Korean parallel), AKE 8, EAS 155, Miller 1985b, 205, АПиПЯЯ 291, Дыбо 11, Мудрак Дисс. 195, Лексика 93. Despite Poppe 1972, 100, Doerfer MT 65, the TM form is hardly borrowed from Mong. The Turk.-Mong. match is characterized by Doerfer (TMN 3, 222), in his usual style, as "lautlich

und semantisch unsicher". In Kor. cf. perhaps also MKor. *hìrì-* 'dirty' (< **hằri* with vowel assimilation?).

✱**sià̯sa** noise, sound: Tung. ***siasi-n***; Turk. ***ses***; Jpn. ***sàsà-***.

PTung. ***siasi-n*** noise, sound (шум, звук): Ul. *sêsi(n)*; Ork. *sêsi(n)*; Nan. *sia̯sī*.

◊ TMC 2, 72.

PTurk. ***ses*** voice, sound (голос, звук): Tur. *ses*; Gag. *ses*; Az. *säs*; Turkm. *ses*; Khal. *säs, sas*; Uzb. *säs* (dial.); Krm. *ses*; Kaz. *ses*; KKalp. *ses*; Kum. *ses*; Nogh. *ses*; Chuv. *sazъ*.

◊ VEWT 413, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sàsà-*** to whisper (шептать): OJpn. *sasajak-*; MJpn. *sàsàjak-*; Tok. *sasayák-, sàsayak-*; Kyo. *sásáyák-*; Kag. *sasayák-*.

◊ JLTT 748. Kagoshima accent is aberrant (pointing to a variant **sásá-*, also reflected in Tokyo *sàsayak-*). Cf. also OJ *sasa-mek-, saza-mek-*, mod. *sàzamek-* 'to shout, rustle, make an uproar' (with the same accent aberration in Kagoshima).

‖ An expressive root, but probably of common Altaic origin.

✱**sia̯ta** to ill-treat, betray: Mong. ***sadur***; Turk. ***siat-ga-***.

PMong. ***sadur*** treacherous, vile (вероломный, подлый): WMong. *sadur* (L 656); Kh. *sadar* (Gomb.); Bur. *hadan* 'flippant, rakish'; *hadarxaj* 'hasty, reckless (of words)'; Kalm. *sadr̥*.

◊ KW 307.

PTurk. ***siat-ga-*** 1 to oppress, ill-treat 2 to be ill-treated 3 to rave, be confused (1 подавлять кого-л., беспокоить, мешать 2 подвергаться (чему-л.) 3 бредить, сбиваться с толку): OTurk. *satγa-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *satγa-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *sata-š-* 1; Gag. *sataš-* 1; Az. *sata-š-* 1; Turkm. *sata-š-* 2; MTurk. (MKYpch.) *satγa-* (CCum.) 1; Krm. *sataš-* 1; Tat. *sataš-* 3; Bashk. *hataš-* 3; Kum. *sataš-* 1; Nogh. *satas-* 3; Chuv. *šot* 'trouble, anxiety' (but Федотов 2, 463 derives it < Russ. счет); Yak. *ataγasta-*.

◊ VEWT 405, EDT 800.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**sio̯be (~ -p-)** freckles, pimples: Tung. ***subgu***; Mong. ***seb***; Turk. ***seb-***.

PTung. ***subgu*** 1 fish skin 2 skin, bark (1 кожа (рыбья) 2 кожа, кора): Evk. *subgu* 1; Neg. *sobgu̯* 1; Man. *suku* 2; SMan. *soqə* 2 (145, 2132, 2284); Jurch. *su-gu* (514) 2; Ul. *sugbu* 1; Ork. *subgu/sugbu* 1; Nan. *sobGo* 1; Orch. *subbu* 1; Ud. *sugbu* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 115, 116.

PMong. ***seb*** 1 defect, scab 2 freckles (1 дефект, изъян, струп 2 веснушки): WMong. *seb* 1 (L 678), *sebegi* 2 (L 679: *sebke*); Kh. *sev* 1, *sevx* 2; Kalm. *seb* 1, *sewgə* 2; Ord. *seb* 1, *sebχe, sewχʷe*; S.-Yugh. *seb*.

◊ KW 320, 327, MGCD 596. The form *sebke*, as well as MMong. (MA) *sebkil* 'freckles' may be < Turkic.

PTurk. ***seb-*** freckles (веснушки, сыпь): Tur. *sivil*; Az. *säpgi*; Turkm. *sepgil* (dial.); Uzb. *sepkül* (dial.); Uygh. *säpkä, säpkü; säpgün* (dial.); Tat. *sipkĭl*; Bashk. *hipkĭl*; Kirgh. *sepkil*; Kaz. *sekpil*; KBalk. *sepkil*; KKalp. *sepkil*; Kum. *sepkil*; Khak. *sikpe*; Tv. *sekpil*; Yak. *ebir*.

◊ VEWT 411, KW 327, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Hung. *szeplő*, see Gombocz 1912.

‖ A Western isogloss. The Mong. root noun **seb* makes the inner Turkic derivation < **sep-* 'to scatter' (see e.g. ЭСТЯ 7) rather improbable. The TM form presupposes a semantic development 'skin defect' > 'wrinkled skin' > 'fish skin'; cf. for it, however, alternatively WMong. *sabkin* 'dressed leather'.

✱**s[i̯ó]č'i** to flee; to pursue: Tung. ***suča-***; Mong. ***soči-***; Turk. ***suč-***; Jpn. ***sítá-(n)kap-***; Kor. ***čòčh-***.

PTung. ***suča-*** to flee (убегать, ускользать): Evk. *suča-*; Evn. *huč-*; Neg. *soča-*; Man. *sužu-*; SMan. *sužі-* (1231); Nan. *čoča-*; Orch. *čoča-, čuča-*; Ud. *susa-*; Sol. *čača-*.

◊ TMC 2, 132.

PMong. ***soči-*** to fear, be afraid of (пугаться): MMong. *soči-, čoči-* (SH); WMong. *soči-, čoči-* (L 193); Kh. *coči-*; Bur. *sošo-*; Kalm. *coč-, čoč-*; Ord. *ǯoči-*; Dag. *čoči-* (Тод. Дат. 182), *čoči-* 'be amazed, astonished' (MD 130); S.-Yugh. *čoči-*; Mongr. *saǯi-* (SM 317), (MGCD *šaǯi-*).

◊ KW 431, 444, MGCD 577. Mong. > Chag. *čoči-* (see Щербак 1997, 202); Yak. *sohuj-*, Dolg. *hohuj-* (Kał. MEJ 92, Stachowski 107).

PTurk. ***suč-*** to flee, shy away from smth. (убегать): Karakh. *sučі-* (MK); MTurk. *suču-* (Qutb.).

◊ EDT 795. Cf. perhaps also **suč* 'fault, avoiding to do smth.' (VEWT 431, EDT 794, ЭСТЯ 7).

PJpn. ***sítá-(n)kap-*** to follow (следовать): OJpn. *sita-gap-*; MJpn. *sítá-gaf-*; Tok. *shìtaga-*; Kyo. *shítágá-*; Kag. *shitagá-*.

◊ JLTT 753.

PKor. ***čòčh-*** 1 to follow, pursue 2 trace (1 следовать за, преследовать): MKor. *čòčh-* 1, *čàčhói* 2; Mod. *čot-* [*čočh-*] 1, *čačhwi* 2.

◊ Nam 411, 431, KED 1384, 1488.

‖ KW 444, Владимирцов 407, SKE 41; Martin 232, АПиПЯЯ 77. The root seems quite reliable, although not devoid of phonetic peculiarities: the Jpn. form seems to points to a diphthong, while the Turkic and Mong. forms would be better derived from a form like **suč'u* or **suč'o*.

✱**si̯oga** cross-bow, arrow: Tung. ***sug-***; Mong. ***saɣali***; Turk. ***sAg[u]n***; Jpn. ***sa***; Kor. ***hoàr***.

PTung. ***sug-*** 1 spear, arrow 2 fish fork 3 a k. of knife (1 копье, стрела 2 острога 3 вид ножа): Ul. *sugbe* 3; Nan. *sugbe* 2; Orch. *suggudi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 118.

PMong. ***saɣali*** cross-bow (арбалет): WMong. *saɣali* (L 657); Kh. *sāĺ*; Bur. *hāli*; Kalm. *sālə*.

◊ KW 317. Mong. > Neg. *sayla* 'prop for a cross-bow arrow'.

PTurk. ***sAg[u]n*** arrow, arrow head (стрела, наконечник стрелы): MTurk. *saɣ'an* (AH); Khak. *soɣan*; Shr. *soɣan*; Oyr. *soɣon*, *sōn*; Tv. *soɣun*.

◊ VEWT 426, ЭСТЯ 7. Stachowski (193) relates here also Yak. *ono-yos*, Dolg. *ono-gos* 'arrow', which may be right if *onoyos* < **sagun-gač* with secondary vowel shortening (although the root should be kept distinct from **sokim* / **sokan*, derived from **sok-* 'to pierce, hit' - medial *-g- cannot be explained). See also notes to **sAgut* 'vessel'.

PJpn. ***sa*** arrow (стрела): OJpn. *sa*.

◊ JLTT 515 (despite Martin, the word is also attested separately, not just within compounds; its relation to *soja* 'a k. of arrow' is not at all obvious).

PKor. ***hoàr*** bow and arrow (лук и стрела): MKor. *hoàr*; Mod. *hwal*.

◊ Liu 758, KED 1862.

‖ Note an identical derivative in Mong. and Jpn.: Mong. **saɣadag* 'quiver' (WMong. *saɣadaɣ'*, Khalkha *sādag*, L 656, KW 316-317, MGCD 584; Mong. > Chag. *saɣdaq*, Oyr. *sadaq* etc., see TMN 1, 337, Щербак 1997, 209, Лексика 567, ЭСТЯ 7) = PJ **sàjá* 'sheath' (OJ *sàjá*, JLTT 520).

✱***sị́óga*** back, back skin: Tung. ***sogda-nsa***; Mong. ***sajir / *saɣari***; Turk. ***sagrɨ***; Jpn. ***sá- / *sə́-***; Kor. ***hə̀-***.

PTung. ***sogda-nsa*** back (спина): Evk. *sogdonno*; Ud. *sogdühö*; Sol. *čogdonó* (Ивановский).

◊ TMC 2, 103.

PMong. ***sajir / *saɣari*** 1 shagreen, callus 2 back (1 мозоль, слезающая кожа 2 спина): MMong. *sa'ari* 1,2 (SH), *sārī* 'Ein Leder aus der Haut des Hinterteils eines Pferdes oder Esels' (LH); WMong. *sajir*, *saɣari(n)* 1 (L 657, 660); Kh. *sajr* 1; Kalm. *sa̋r* 'verschiedene Hautstücke'; Mog. *sairin* 'thick skin' (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *sār*; Bao. *sirəG*; S.-Yugh. *sār*; Mongr. sari 'peau à poils courts, fourrure' (SM 328).

◊ KW 319, MGCD 588. Mong. > Man. *sarin*, see Doerfer MT 136, Rozycki 175; cf. Аникин 487.

PTurk. ***sagrɨ*** 1 croup skin, shagreen 2 back of horse (1 кожа с крупа, шагрень 2 круп лошади): Karakh. *sayrɨ* 1 (MK); Tur. *sārɨ*, *sayrɨ* 1, 2; Az. *sayrɨ* 2; Turkm. *saGrɨ* 1, 2; MTurk. *saɣrɨ* (AH, IM) 2, *sayrı* (Pav. C.) 1, 2; Uzb. *sayrı* 1, 2; Uygh. *sayra* 1, 2; Tat. *sawrı* 2; Bashk. *hawır*; Kirgh. *sōru* 1, 2; Kaz. *sawır* 2; KKalp. *sawrı* 2, *sawır* 1; Kum. *savru*, *sawurı* 2; Nogh. *sawır* 2; SUygh. *saɣır*; Oyr. *sūru*, *sūrı*; Chuv. *sъran* 'worked leather of bovines'.

◊ EDT 815, VEWT 393, Лексика 385-386, Дыбо 119, Федотов 2, 30 (but with another etymology), ЭСТЯ 7. Bulg. **suran* is the probable source of Tat. *suran* and Mong. *sur(an)* 'leather strap' - whence Manchu *sur* 'strap'.

PJpn. ***sá- / *sə́-*** back (спина): OJpn. *se (so-)*; MJpn. *sé*; Tok. *sé*; Kyo. *sê*; Kag. *sé*.

◊ JLTT 521. High tone in Tokyo is irregular.

PKor. ***hə̀-*** 1 waist 2 shagreen, skin (of snake etc.) (1 поясница 2 сброшенная кожа, кожа (змеи etc.)): MKor. *hə̀rí* 1, *hə̀ŋ'ùr* 2; Mod. *həri*, *hə-guri* 1, *həmul* 2.

◊ Nam 484, 486, KED 1821.

‖ KW 319, Дыбо 306, TMN 3, 225 (doubting the common origin of the Turk. and Mong. forms). Kor. *həri* was originally attributed (see PKE 54, Martin 245, АПиПЯЯ 76, 289) to PA **k'él'*; it seems, however, that the root is just **hə-*, and it is better to derive it from **si̯óga*, both for this reason and because of an apparent lack of development *k'- > h- in Korean.

✱**si̯ŏ̀gdú (~ z-)** vein, sinew: Tung. ***sigde***; Mong. ***sudal***; Jpn. ***sùntí***.

PTung. ***sigde*** 1 spinal vertebra, sinew 2 *filé* 3 mountain ridge (1 спинной позвонок, спинное сухожилие 2 филе 3 горный хребет): Evk. *sigde* 1, 2; Neg. *sigde* 3; Ul. *sigde* 1; Ork. *sigderi* 'yukola'; Nan. *sigde* 1; Orch. *sigde* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 76-77. Evk. > Dolg. ***higde, sigde*** (Stachowski 103).

PMong. ***sudal*** vein, sinew (вена, жила, сухожилие): MMong. *sudasun* (HY 48), *suǯi'asu*, *suǯijasu* (SH); *sudun* 'grass root' (SH), *sədəsun*, *sədason* (LH), *sudasun*, *sudusun* (MA), *sodāsūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *sudal*, *suda-su(n)* (L 734); Kh. *sudal*, *sudas*; Bur. *hudaha(n)* 'vein'; *hudal* 'pulse'; Kalm. *sudəsn̥* (KPC); Ord. *sudal*; Dag. *sodol* (Тод. Даг. 163); Dong. *sudan*, *sidasun*; S.-Yugh. *šdāsən*, *šəldəsən*; Mongr. *sdāʒə* (SM 331), *šdāsə* (Huzu), *sdar* 'racine secondaire, radicelle' (SM 332).

◊ MGCD 612, 723. Mong. > Evk. *sudasun*, Man. *sudala* etc., see Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 188.

PJpn. ***sùntí*** vein, sinew (жила, сухожилие): OJpn. *sudi*; MJpn. *sùdí*; Tok. *súji*; Kyo. *sùjí*; Kag. *sují*.

◊ JLTT 535.

‖ A good common Altaic anatomical term.

✱**si̯ò̀ge** wart; pock-mark: Tung. ***sogi-***; Mong. ***söɣel***; Turk. ***s[e]göl (/ *sögil)***; Kor. ***hók***.

PTung. ***sogi-*** pock-mark (оспина): Man. *soǵa*.

◊ TMC 2, 103. Attested only in Manchu, but having good Turk. and Kor. parallels.

PMong. ***söɣel*** wart (бородавка): WMong. *sögel*; Kalm. *sõl*; Ord. *sõl* 'ugly, unpleasant' (?).

◊ KW 335.

PTurk. ***s[e]göl (/ *sögil)*** wart (бородавка): OTurk. *sögöl* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sigil* (MK); Tur. *sigil*; Az. *zijil*; Turkm. *siŋŋil*; Khal. *sijil*; MTurk. *sigil*, *sükül*, *süjäl* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sugäl*; Uygh. *sögäl*; Krm. *sũvel*; Tat. *söjäl*; Bashk. *hŭjäl*; Kirgh. *sõl*; Kaz. *sŭjel*; KKalp. *šŭjel*; Kum. *süjel*; Nogh. *šŭjel*; Khak. *sõl*; Oyr. *sõl*; Tv. *sõl*; Tof. *sõl*; Chuv. *šъʷklъʷ*, *šəᵊʷgəʷl* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 429, EDT 820, ЭСТЯ 7. Some irregularities are due to the root's expressive nature.

PKor. ***hók** wart (бородавка): MKor. *hók*; Mod. *hok*.

◊ Liu 757, KED 1845.

‖ VEWT 429, KW 335, Владимирцов 213, АПиПЯЯ 285. The Mong. form can be borrowed from Turkic, but the Tungus and Korean forms are evidently genuine. The variation **sigöl* / **sögöl* in Turkic points perhaps to original **segöl* (which would be the expected form).

✱**si̯ŏ̆gu** shallow, shallow place: Tung. ***sigi-***; Mong. ***siɣa-r***; Turk. ***sig***; Jpn. ***sú***.

PTung. ***sigi-*** ice-hole (прорубь): Evk. *sigi-lēn* 'frazil'; Evn. *hiɣlān*; Neg. *siɣin ~ sijin*; Ul. *si(n)*; Ork. *sī(n)*; Nan. *sī*; Orch. *sêla* 'snow crust'; Ud. *sī(n)*.

◊ TMC 2,78.

PMong. ***siɣa-r*** dreg, sediment (осадок, отстой): WMong. *siɣaru(n)*, *siɣaruɣ* (L 699); Kh. *šār*; Bur. *šāra*; Kalm. *šār, šar*; S.-Yugh. *šar*; Mongr. *śārō* (SM 395), *šārō*.

◊ KW 353, MGCD 700.

PTurk. ***sig*** shallow (мелкий): OTurk. *siq* (*siɣ*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *sī, siq* (MK); Tur. *siɣ*; Tv. *sīk*.

◊ VEWT 415, EDT 804, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sú*** shallow place, sandbank (отмель): OJpn. su; MJpn. *sù*; Tok. *sú, sù*; Kyo. *sú*; Kag. *sú*.

◊ JLTT 531. RJ *sù* points to **sù*, supported by the Tokyo variant *sú*; however, Tokyo *sù* and all other dialect forms go back to **sú*. A possibility of being borrowed from Middle Chinese 州 *éü* is not excluded - although not very significant (the word is attested in archaic texts containing very few Chinese loanwords).

‖ Delabialization in Turkic is not quite clear (**sug* would be expected).

✱**si̯ŏ̆gu** sun; sky: Tung. ***sigūn***; Jpn. ***suà-rá***; Kor. ***hǎi***.

PTung. ***sigūn*** sun (солнце): Evk. *siɣūn*; Neg. *siɣun*; Man. *šun*; SMan. *šun, sun* (2033); Ul. *siu(n)*; Ork. su(n); Nan. *siu(n)*; Orch. *seu(n)*; Ud. *sū(n)*; Sol. *šigū*.

◊ TMC 2, 78.

PJpn. ***suà-rá*** sky (небо): OJpn. *swora*; MJpn. *sòrá*; Tok. *sóra*; Kyo. *sòrá*; Kag. *sorá*.

◊ JLTT 530.

PKor. ***hǎi*** sun; year (солнце; год): MKor. *hǎi*; Mod. *hä*.

◊ Nam 482, KED 1808.

‖ Lee 1958, 118, АПиПЯЯ 49, 81, 292. An Eastern isogloss. It is also interesting (cf. Whitman 1985, 148-150) to note MKor. *hànǎr* 'sky', which may, together with PJ **suàrá* id., go back to a complex form **si̯og[u]n-lV*.

***sl̥ōje** to consider, count: Tung. ***sū-**; Mong. ***siɣü-**; Turk. ***sā(j)-**; Kor. ***hjəi-**.

PTung. ***sū-** 1 to mark 2 sign (1 отмечать 2 знак): Evk. *sū-* 1; Evn. *hu-γār* 2; Man. *so* 'omen'; Orch. *sū-* 1; Nan. sū 'talisman' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 101, 115. The isolated Manchu *se-* 'say, speak' may actually reflect the same root (with the vowel reduced in weak syntactic position, or < **su-j* with a frequent development uj > e).

PMong. ***siɣü-** to judge, examine (судить, проверять, экзаменовать): WMong. *siɣü-* (L 702); Kh. *šŭ-*; Bur. *šŭ-*; Kalm. *šŭ-*; Ord. *šŭ-*; S.-Yugh. *šŭ-*.

◊ KW 372, L 702, MGCD 728, TMN 1, 364-365.

PTurk. ***sā(j)-** to count, to consider (считать): Karakh. *sa-* (MK); Tur. *saj-*; Gag. *saj-*; Az. *saj-*; Turkm. *sāj-*; MTurk. *sa-* (AH, IM), *saj-* (Ettuhf.); Krm. *saj-*; Kaz. *saj-*; Chuv. *su-*, *sʊv-*; Yak. *ā-*.

◊ VEWT 390, EDT 781-782, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 53. A common Turkic derivative is **sā-n* 'number, count' (VEWT 390, 400, ЭСТЯ 7), whence **sāna-* 'to count, determine' > Mong. *sana-* 'think' (cf. Щербак 1997, 144). Turk. > Hung. *sám* 'number, figure', *szán* - 'to pity' (Gombocz 1912).

PKor. ***hjəi-** to count (считать): MKor. *hjəi-*; Mod. *hējari-*, dial. *hē-*.

◊ Nam 489, KED 1829, 1830.

‖ Exceptional preservation of length in a monosyllabic stem in TM.

***sl̥ǒjri** to suck, to lick: Mong. ***soru-**; Turk. ***sōr-**; Jpn. ***sìtá**; Kor. ***hjə́, *hàr-hə̌-**.

PMong. ***soru-** to draw in, suck in (всасывать): WMong. *soru-*, *sor-* (L 729); Kh. *soro-*; Bur. *horo-*; Kalm. *sor-*; Ord. *soro-*; S.-Yugh. *soro-*.

◊ KW 332, MGCD 607. Mong. > Sol. *soro-* 'to suck', Evk. *sorūl* 'mouthpiece'.

PTurk. ***sōr-** to suck (сосать): OTurk. *sor-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sor-* (MK); Tur. *soru-*; Az. *sor-*; Turkm. *sōr-*; Khal. *suor-*; MTurk. *sor-* (AH, Houts.); Uygh. *šora-*; Tat. *suır-*; Bashk. *hur-*; Kirgh. *sor-*; Kaz. *sor-*; KKalp. *sor-*; Kum. *sor-*; Nogh. *sorı-*; Khak. *sor-*; Shr. *sor-*; Oyr. *sōr-*, *sor-*, *soru-*; Tv. *sor-*.

◊ EDT 843.

PJpn. ***sìtà** tongue (язык): OJpn. *sita*; MJpn. *sìtà*; Tok. *shitá*; Kyo. *shítà*; Kag. *shitá*.

◊ JLTT 527.

PKor. ***hjə́, *hàr-hə̌-** 1 tongue 2 to lick (1 язык 2 лизать): MKor. *hjə́* 1, *hàr-hə̌-* 2; Mod. *hjə* 1, *hat-* [*halth-*] 2.

◊ Nam 479, 487, KED 1801, 1831.

‖ KW 332, VEWT 429. The Jpn. and Kor. forms (compared in Whitman 1985, 168, 236, and additionally in Vovin 2000 - although his further attempts to link the Kor.-Jap. root to PA **k'i̯ăli* should be rejected) seem to fit here phonetically (although there is a tone discrepancy); as for semantics, one should probably reconstruct the original meaning

'suck', whence 'lick' and 'tongue' in the Eastern area. Medial *-j- has to be reconstructed to account for the loss of resonant in Kor.; it had also probably caused a dissimilation in the Western area (*sị̄ŏjri > *sōjri), which explains the -o-reflex in Turkic.

✱**sị̄ŏjru** pole, tent made of poles: Tung. ***siaraŋ**; Mong. ***surgaɣag**; Turk. ***sīruk / *sūrik**; Kor. ***hjə**.

PTung. ***siaraŋ*** stake (жердь): Evk. *sêraŋ*; Evn. *hārʊŋ*; Neg. *sêjaŋ*.

◊ TMC 2, 72.

PMong. ***surgaɣag*** pole, shed made of poles (шест, жердь, навес из жердей): WMong. *surɣaɣaɣ* (L 739); Kh. *surgāg*; Bur. *hurgāg*.

PTurk. ***sīruk / *sūrik*** stake, pole (шест): OTurk. *siruq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *siruq* (MK); Tur. *sirik*; Gag. *siriq*; Az. *siriɣ* (dial.); Turkm. *sīriq*; Khal. *siriq*; MTurk. *siriq, suruq* (Pav. C.), *siruq* (AH); Krm. *siriq*; Bashk. *hiriq* (dial.); Kaz. *siriq*; KKalp. *siriq*; SUygh. *suruq*; Khak. *sira*; Oyr. *siriq, sira*; Tv. *sira*; Yak. *uraɣas*.

◊ EDT 848, VEWT 420, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Mong. *širug* (KW 369; TMN 3, 311-312), whence again Kirgh. *širiq*.

PKor. ***hjə*** a house rafter (стропило, балка): MKor. *hjə*; Mod. *sək:arä*, dial. *hjək:arä*.

◊ Nam 488, KED 933.

‖ Medial *-jr- is reconstructed because of the Korean reflex. Some confusion was possible between this root and the synonymous **šị̄ŏ̀ri* q.v.

✱**sị̄ŏku (~ z-)** loop, lace: Tung. ***siaKu**; Mong. ***segel-dereg**; Jpn. ***suki**.

PTung. ***siaKu-*** loop, hinge (петля (на окнах, дверях)): Ul. *śaqu(n)*, *sêχu(n)*; Nan. *sioχor*.

◊ TMC 2, 57. The nature of the intervocalic velar is unclear.

PMong. ***segel-dereg / *sagal-*** loop, lace (петля, шнурок): WMong. *segeldereg* (L 657: *saɣaldurɣa* 'string for attaching objects to the saddle or for fastening a hat under the chin'); Kh. *segeldreg, sagaldraga*; Bur. *hagaldarga* 'ременная застежка (под уздой)'; Kalm. *segldr-* 'продевать (через отверстие)'; S.-Yugh. *saldərGa*.

◊ KW 321, MGCD 587.

PJpn. ***suki*** swaddling cloth, belt for fastening a child (пеленки, ремень для привязывания ребенка): OJpn. *sukji*.

‖ The match seems plausible, despite somewhat scanty attestation.

✱**sị̄ŏkʻù** small, few: Tung. ***siKe-**; Jpn. ***sùkù- / *sùkuà-**; Kor. ***hòk-**.

PTung. ***siKe-*** short (короткий, куцый): Man. *sixete*.

◊ TMC 2, 81. Cf. also Man. *saqa* 'few'. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PJpn. ***sùkù-** / ***sùkuà-** few (мало, немного): OJpn. *suku-na-, sukwo-si*; MJpn. *sùkù-na-, sùkó-sì*; Tok. *sukuná-, sukóshi*; Kyo. *súkúnà-, sùkóshì*; Kag. *sukuná-, sukóshi*.

◊ JLTT 533, 841.

PKor. ***hòk-** small, few MKor. *hòk-*.

◊ Nam 492.

‖ Vovin 2000 (comparing **sùkuà-* and **hòk*; but his attempt to separate PJ **sùkù-na-* and **sùkuà-* is hardly successful). An Eastern isogloss.

✱**sḭ̆ǩʿù** to be hollow, crack: Tung. ***six-**; Mong. ***sekeɣe / *segeɣe**; Turk. ***suk-**; Jpn. ***súk-**; Kor. ***skí-m, *skí-**.

PTung. ***six-** 1 hollow vessel, whistle 2 to put into, insert (1 труба, полый сосуд 2 вложить во что-л.): Neg. *sikču-* 2; Man. *siGan / siχan* 1; Nan. *siχa(n)* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 80-81.

PMong. ***sekeɣe / *segeɣe** crack, hole (трещина, отверстие): WMong. *sekeɣe* (L 685); Kh. *sexē*; Bur. *hegē*.

◊ Cf. also *seɣ* 'interval', *sekü-* 'to lift, make an opening by lifting'. It is also interesting to note the derived *sekü̱ɣür* 'brimmed hat' ("hat with liftable brims") = OT (MK) *suqarlač börk* 't hat'.

PTurk. ***suk-** 1 to stick in, insert 2 hollow wood, whistle (1 втыкать, вставлять 2 полая древесина, свисток): OTurk. *suq-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *suq-* 1, *suqïm* 2 (MK); Turkm. *soq-* 1; MTurk. *suq-* (Qutb, Houts.); Kirgh. *suq-* 1; Kaz. *suɣ-* 1; KBalk. *suɣ-* 1; Khak. *sux-* 1; Oyr. *suq-* 1; Tv. *suq-* 1; Yak. *uk-* 1.

◊ VEWT 432, EDT 805, 811.

PJpn. ***súk-** 1 to be hollow 2 crack, hole (1 быть полым 2 щель, отверстие): MJpn. *súk-* 1, *suki* 2; Tok. *sùk-, sùki* 2; Kyo. *súk-, súkí* 2; Kag. *súk-, súki* 2.

◊ JLTT 758.

PKor. ***skí-m, *skí-** 1 crack 2 to insert, to sheath (1 щель 2 вкладывать): MKor. *skí-m* 1, *skí-* 2; Mod. *k:ī-* 2.

◊ Nam 74, 80, KED 262.

‖ Cf. **sḭ̆gu*, with a possibility of mergers.

✱**sḭ́ole** to make, put: Turk. ***sal-**; Jpn. ***sV́-**; Kor. ***hǎ-**.

PTurk. ***sal-** 1 to put, throw 2 to drop, lower 3 tax 4 heavy (1 класть, кидать 2 опускать 3 налог 4 тяжелый): OTurk. *sal-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *sal-* 1,2 (MK, KB); Tur. *sal-* 1, *salgïn* 3; Gag. *sal-* 1; Az. *sal-* 2; Turkm. *sal-* 1; Sal. *sal-* 1; Khal. *sal-* 1; MTurk. *sal-* 1 (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *sɔl-* 1; Uygh. *sa(l)-* 1; Krm. *sal-* 1; Tat. *sal-* 1, *sal-ïm* 3; Bashk. *hal-* 1; Kirgh. *sal-* 1; Kaz. *sal-* 1; KBalk. *sal-* 1; KKalp. *sal-* 1; Kum. *sal-* 1; Nogh. *sal-* 1; SUygh. *sal-* 1, *salïɣ* 4; Khak. *sal-* 1, *salïm* 4; Shr. *sal-* 1; Oyr. *sal-* 1; Tv. *sal-* 1; Tof. *sal-* 1; Chuv. *sol-* 1, *solъm* 'heaviness'.

◊ VEWT 397, EDT 824, Федотов 2, 57, ЭСТЯ 7. Several derivatives with a velar suffix are used in Turk. for denoting downward motion or hanging: cf. OT *saliγ* 'taxes', Kirgh. *saliq* 'taxes; hanging down, limp'; SUygh. *saliγ* 'heavy'; Tur. *salkı* 'weak, lax', Kirgh. *salqı*, Uzb. *sɔlqı-* 'be loose, hang down' (see TMN 3, 265-266, ЭСТЯ 7).

PJpn. ***sV́-*** make, auxiliary verb (делать, служебный глагол): OJpn. *s-u*; MJpn. *s-u*; Tok. *sù-*; Kyo. *sú-*; Kag. *sú-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

PKor. ***hǎ-*** to make, auxiliary verb (делать, служебный глагол): MKor. *hǎ-*; Mod. *ha-*.

◊ Nam 470, KED 1781.

‖ SKE 59 (without the Turk. parallel), Whitman 1985, 168, 235, АПиПЯЯ 286. Mongolian parallels (both in SKE 59 and in KW 309, VEWT 397) are highly dubious. For the Auslaut relations cf. **gèle*: one of the possible PA monosyllabic verbal roots (**sḭ̆́l*).

✱**sḭ̆̄lo** some internal organ: Tung. ***silu-kta***; Mong. ***söl-***; Turk. ***solak***.

PTung. ***silu-kta*** intestine (кишка (тонкая)): Evk. *silu-kta*; Evn. *hiltъ*; Neg. *sḭlta*; Ork. *sḭlu-qta*; Orch. *sulukta*; Ud. *sulukta*; Sol. *šilukta*.

◊ TMC 2, 85. Evk. > Dolg. *hilukta* (Stachowski 118).

PMong. ***söl-*** testicles (testiculi): Kalm. *sölzē*.

◊ KW 333.

PTurk. ***solak*** 1 spleen 2 gills (1 селезенка 2 жабры): Karakh. *solaq* (MK); Khak. *palix sulazı* 'молоки' (Борг., Kach.); Chuv. *sola* 1,2.

◊ VEWT 427, EDT 826, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 57.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **šḭ̆ĺi* (with possible contaminations).

✱**sḭ̆̄lu** easy, quick, smart: Tung. ***siali-***; Mong. ***sila-magai***; Jpn. ***sura-***; Kor. ***húrí-***.

PTung. ***siali-*** diligent, smart, quick (ловкий, проворный, старательный): Man. *silin*; Nan. *sālị*.

◊ TMC 2, 70.

PMong. ***sila-magai*** prompt, quick, smart; bold, reckless (быстрый, ловкий; храбрый, смелый): WMong. *silamaγai, šalamaγai, šalamaγ* (L 749); Kh. *šalamgai*; S.-Yugh. *šalamGa*.

◊ MGCD 703. Derivation (or influence) from **sila* 'completely, utterly' (q. v. sub **sìlá*) is not excluded.

PJpn. ***sura-*** easy, quick (легко, без труда): MJpn. *sura-ri*; Tok. *surári, surarí, súrasura*; Kyo. *súràrì, súràsùrà*; Kag. *surári, surasurá*.

◊ PJ accent is not quite clear (low tone is most probable, but the word is expressive and reveals some irregularities).

PKor. ***húrí-*** to charm, bewitch, seduce (завлекать, очаровывать): MKor. *húrí-*; Mod. *huri-, hori-*.

◊ Nam 494, KED 1877.

‖ TMC 2, 70 (TM-Mong.). In Korean one must suppose a semantic development 'to be quick, smart' > 'to charm, seduce'.

✱**sị́ǒ́le** to mock, slander: Tung. ***sulu**; Mong. ***sila-**; Turk. ***siāĺ-**; Jpn. ***sə́sír- (~ *suásír-)**; Kor. ***hār-**.

PTung. ***sulu** 1 rogue 2 to mock (1 шалун 2 дразнить, обижать): Ul. *sulu* 1, *sulu-de-* 2; Ork. *sụlụ-da-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 125.

PMong. ***sila-** to talk nonsense; to squander (говорить чепуху; проматывать, расточительствовать): WMong. *šali-* (L 750); Kh. *šali-*; Bur. *šali-*; Kalm. *šäĺ-*; Ord. *šaligla-* 'to talk nonsense'.

◊ KW 354.

PTurk. ***siāĺ-** 1 wild 2 to be astonished 3 to slander (1 дикий 2 быть изумленным 3 клеветать): Karakh. *saš* 1 (MK); Tur. *šaš-* 2; Az. *čaš-* 2; Turkm. *čāš-* 2; Khal. *šašqa-* 3; Chuv. *šuldra* 'pert'.

◊ VEWT 405.

PJpn. ***sə́sír- (~ *suásír-)** to slander (клеветать): OJpn. *s(w)osir-*; MJpn. *sósír-*; Tok. *soshír-*; Kyo. *sóshír-*; Kag. *soshír-*.

◊ JLTT 756. The Tokyo accent is aberrant.

PKor. ***hār-** to slander (клеветать, порочить): MKor. *hār-*.

◊ Nam 478.

‖ EAS 109, KW 354.

✱**sị̀ǒmì (~ z-)** wet snow, hoar-frost: Tung. ***sumu**; Mong. ***simarga**; Jpn. ***sìmə̀**.

PTung. ***sumu** wet snow, rain with snow (мокрый снег, дождь со снегом): Evk. *sumu*.

◊ TMC 2, 126. Attested only in Evk., but with good parallels from Mong. and Jap.

PMong. ***simarga** wet snow (мокрый снег): WMong. *simaryа, simergen, šamaraγ* (L 709); Kh. *šamarga*; Bur. *šamarga(n)*; Kalm. *šamrγə*; Ord. *šimarGa, šimarxaG* 'grésil'.

◊ KW 348.

PJpn. ***sìmə̀** frost, cold rain (иней, холодный дождь): OJpn. *sim(w)o*; MJpn. *simo*; Tok. *shimó*; Kyo. *shímò*; Kag. *shimó*.

◊ JLTT 524.

‖ The match with Japanese is both phonetically and semantically precise, so the root seems quite reliable (despite sparse attestation in TM).

✱**sị̀ǒmi (~ z-)** to close, bind tight: Tung. ***sōm-**; Mong. ***sima-**; Jpn. ***sìmà-r-**.

PTung. ***sōm-** 1 to close 2 to hide (1 закрывать 2 прятать(ся)): Evk. *sōm-* 1; Evn. *hōm-* 1; Neg. *sōm-* 1; Man. *somi-* 2; SMan. *šomi-, śomi-* (1556); Jurch. *so-mi-biar* (819) 2; Ul. *somị-* 1; Ork. *somị-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 109.

PMong. ***sima-** to press, bind tight; to wrap up, to tuck (зажимать, туго завязывать; заворачивать, подворачивать): WMong. *sima-la-*,

-ra- (L 709: *simala-, simali-*); Kh. *šamla-, šamra-*; Bur. *šamar-, šama-*; Kalm. *šaml-* (KPC); Ord. *šima-* 'to roll up one's sleeve, to beat someone'; Dag. *šamla-* (Тод. Даг. 182); Mongr. *šəmā; šəmāli-* 'arrière-fax; retrousser, relever' (SM 374).

◊ Mong. > Chag. *šimal-* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 7).

PJpn. ***sìmà-r-*** to be closed, shut (быть закрытым, закрываться): OJpn. *sima-r-*; MJpn. *sima-r-*; Tok. *shimár-*; Kyo. *shímár-*; Kag. *shìmàr-*.

◊ JLTT 751.

‖ Jpn. **sìmà-r-* may reflect both **siò̯mi-lV* (Mong. **sima-la-*) and **siò̯mi-rV* (Mong. **sima-ra-*).

✱**sióna** one, single: Tung. ***soni***; Mong. ***sondu-***; Turk. ***s[i]ŋar (< *s(i)an-gar)***; Jpn. ****sa-, *sane***; Kor. ****hǎ̀nàh***.

PTung. ***soni*** single, odd (одиночный, нечетный): Man. *soni-χon, soń o*.

◊ TMC 2, 111. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***sondu-*** odd (нечетный): WMong. *sonduγai* (L 726); Kh. *sondgoj*.

PTurk. ****s[i]ŋar (< *s(i)an-gar)*** one of a pair, one of two sides (один из пары, одна из двух сторон): OTurk. *siŋar* (Orkh., Ouygh.); Karakh. *siŋar* (MK); Tur. *sinar*; Khal. *sijar*; Uzb. *siŋar*; Tat. *siŋar*; Kirgh. *siŋar*; Kaz. *siŋar*; KKalp. *siŋar*; Kum. *siŋar*; Nogh. *siŋar*; SUygh. *siŋar*; Shr. *sār*; Oyr. *siŋar, saŋar*; Tv. *sār*; Yak. *aŋar*; Dolg. *aŋar*.

◊ EDT 840-841, VEWT 417, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 34.

PJpn. ****sa-, *sania*** 1 a prefix of reciprocal action 2 completely, definitely (1 префикс совместного действия 2 совершенно, совсем): OJpn. *sa-* 1, *sane* 2.

◊ JLTT 515. In some cases the meaning of the prefix is quite uncertain (euphonic?), e. g. *sa-wi* 'wild boar', *sa-jwo* 'night' etc.; but with verbs it usually denotes reciprocal or combined action (e. g. *sa-ne-* 'sleep together', *sa-narabe-* 'put together on one line' etc.).

PKor. ****hǎ̀nàh*** one (один): MKor. *hǎ̀nà* (*hǎ̀nàh-*); Mod. *hana*.

◊ Nam 469, KED 1780.

‖ SKE 60, TMC 2,11, АПиПЯЯ 296.

✱**sio̯no (~ z-)** night: Tung. ****siŋkē***; Mong. ****söni***.

PTung. ****siŋkē*** dark night (темная ночь): Evk. *siŋkē*; Evn. *hiŋku*; Neg. *siŋkelten*; Ork. *sikkew, sikkelte*; Ud. *siŋkeu-* 'to shine (of full moon)' (Корм. 286).

◊ TMC 2, 91.

PMong. ****söni*** night (ночь): MMong. *sueni* (HY 5, SH), *suni* (IM), *suni* (MA); WMong. *söni* (L 732); Kh. *šönö*; Bur. *hüni*; Kalm. *sō, sōn*; Ord. *söni, sönö*; Mog. *süni*; ZM *sāni* (19-7a); Dag. *suni* (Тод. Даг. 164, MD 213); Dong. *šieni*; Bao. *sone*; S.-Yugh. *sōnə*; Mongr. *soni* (SM 353).

◊ KW 335.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**sɨoŋre** vertebra, spine ramification: Tung. ***soro-ptun**; Mong. ***seɣer**; Turk. ***sEŋir**.

PTung. ***soro-ptun** 1 breast bone ramification 2 stomach (1 отросток грудной кости 2 желудок): Evk. *soroptūn* 1; Evn. *horŋrŋn* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 113-114.

PMong. ***seɣer** spine, vertebra, rib ends; mountain ridge (позвоночник, позвонки, концы ребер): WMong. *seger* (L 682); Kh. *sēr(en)* 'breast part of spine'; Bur. *hēr*; Kalm. *sēr*; Ord. *sēr*; Dag. *sēr*; S.-Yugh. *sīra*, *sūr*.

◊ KW 328, MGCD 596. Mong. > Man. *seire*.

PTurk. ***sEŋir** 1 outer angle 2 protruding edge of a mountain or wall (1 внешний угол 2 выступ горы или стены): OTurk. *seŋir* 1, 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *seŋir* 2 (MK); Tur. *senir* (dial.) 'hill between valleys, ridge between mountains'; Kirgh. *seŋir* 2; Kaz. *seŋir* 2; Oyr. *seŋir* 1.

◊ VEWT 410, EDT 840, Лексика 98, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ KW 328, Владимирцов 250-251, Poppe 73, EAS 119. A Western isogloss: on a possible Kor. match see under **sɨoga*.

✱**sɨŏpe (~ -i)** rib: Tung. ***subi-**; Mong. ***sübe-**; Turk. ***sabar**.

PTung. ***subi-** 1 false rib 2 rib gristles (1 ложное ребро 2 реберные хрящи): Evk. *suwin* 1; Evn. *hɨwɨna* 1; Neg. *sɨwɨna* 1; Man. *sibexe* 2; Ud. *suepti* 1; Sol. *suvẽ ŏtelē* 'short rib'.

◊ TMC 2, 117. The Manchu form is qualified as borrowed < Mong. by Rozycki 179, but is more probably genuine.

PMong. ***sübe-** 1 side, flank 2 false rib (1 бок 2 ложное ребро): MMong. *sube'e* 'Lendenhöhlung, die Weichen' (SH); WMong. *sübege* 1 (L 741), *sübergen* 2 (L 741: 'sternum'); Kh. *süvē* 1, *süvreg* 2; Bur. *hübŏ* 1, *hebergedehen* 'rib gristles'; Kalm. *süwē* 'the two lower ribs'; Bao. *səbdə* 1.

◊ KW 341, MGCD 615. Mong. > Kirgh. *sübŏ* etc., see VEWT 436, ЭСТЯ 7.

PTurk. ***sabar** 1 brisket with ribs 2 side (1 грудинка с ребрами 2 бок): Oyr. *sabar* 1; Tv. *saar* 2.

◊ Cf. also Yak. *sabar* 'eagle's breast' (< OTuva?).

‖ KW 341; Doerfer MT 61-62 (Mong.-Tung.: "schwierige Verhältnisse"). A Western isogloss. Phonetically a good match would be Kor. *hapha* 'lung', but the meaning raises some doubts.

✱**sɨŏp´è** sideway, to follow by sideway: Tung. ***supti-**; Turk. ***sap-**; Jpn. ***sǎp-**.

PTung. ***supti-** 1 to leave behind 2 to stay behind (1 оставить позади 2 отстать, остаться позади): Evk. *supti-* 1; Evn. *huptu-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 128-129.

PTurk. ***sap-** 1 to leave the way, go astray, deviate 2 sideway 3 dodge, trick (1 уходить с дороги, отклоняться 2 окольная дорога 3 уловка, трюк): Tur. *sap-* 1; Gag. *sap-* 1; Az. *sap-* 1; Turkm. *sap* 3, *sap-* 'to change'; MTurk. *sap-* 1 (AH, CCum.) , *sapa* 'deviating' (Pav. C.), *sapaq* 2 (Vam.); Tat. *sap-* 1; Kaz. *sap-* 1; Chuv. *sup-* 1.

◊ VEWT 402, EDT 784, ЭСТЯ 7, Ашм. XI, 187, Федотов 2, 64.

PJpn. ***səp-** to follow (следовать): OJpn. *s(w)op-*; MJpn. *sóf-*; Tok. *sò-*; Kyo. *só-*; Kag. *só-*.

◊ JLTT 756.

‖ The original meaning is well reconstructable as 'to follow by sideway', possibly an element of hunting terminology.

✱**sḭ̆ŏpʻì** thorn, thorny bush: Tung. ***sup-**; Mong. ***süje**; Turk. ***siāpan**; Jpn. ***sípína**.

PTung. ***sup-** 1 to prick 2 prickly thorn, bush 3 to stick into (1 заносить 2 заноза; колючий кустарник 3 втыкать, пришпиливать): Evk. *sup-* 1, *supirē* 2; Neg. *sup-* 1, *supukta* 2; Man. *sifi-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 100, 128.

PMong. ***süje / *söγeg** 1 offshoot from root, sprouts 2 bush (1 побег, отросток от корня 2 куст): WMong. *süje(ge)* 1 (L 742), *söγeg* 2; Kh. *süje* 1, *sȫg* 2; Bur. *hȫg* 2; Kalm. *süjə* 1.

◊ KW 340.

PTurk. ***siāpan** 1 straw 2 thorn (1 солома 2 колючка): OTurk. *saman* (OUygh.); Karakh. *saman* (MK Cigil); Tur. *saman*; Gag. *saman*; Az. *saman*; Turkm. *sāman*; Khal. *sabana* 'spike beard'; MTurk. *saman* (Pav. C.,Ettuhf., Houts.); Uzb. *sэmэn*; Uygh. *saman*; Krm. *saman*; Kirgh. *saman*, (R) *samal*; Kaz. *saban*; KKalp. *saban* 'straw', *sabat* 'sedge'; Kum. *saman*; Nogh. *saman*; Khak. *sabal* 'branches of coniferous trees'; Tv. *savaŋ*; Chuv. *šъʷma* 'angelica'.

◊ VEWT 399 (borrowed in Kalm., KW 316), TMN 3, 335-336, EDT 829, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sípína** ear of corn (пустой колос): MJpn. *sífina*; Tok. *shiina*.

‖ A suffixed form **sḭ̆ŏpʻì-nV* is reflected in PT **siāpan* and PJ **sípína*.

✱**sḭ̆ŏpʻu** oval-shaped, conus-shaped: Tung. ***sip-**; Mong. ***sibo-**; Turk. ***supɨ**.

PTung. ***sip-** 1 oval-shaped, conus-shaped 2 narrow (1 продолговатый, суженный к концу 2 узкий): Man. *sibsiχun* 1, 2; Nan. *sikpi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 466.

PMong. ***sibo-** conus-shaped, sharpened (конусообразный, островерхий): WMong. *šoboγar*, *šoboji-* (L 754: *šobuγur*, *šobuji-*); Kh. *šovoj-*; Bur. *šobogor*; Kalm. *šowγ* (KPC); Ord. *šowoGor*.

PTurk. ***supɨ** 1 conus-shaped 2 oval, long (1 конусообразный 2 овальный, продолговатый): Karakh. *subɨ* 1 (MK); MTurk. *subu*, *subɨ*

(AH); Uzb. *sụpɔq* 2; Kirgh. *sopaj* 'long person', *sopaq* 'conus-shaped cylinder'; Kaz. *sopaq* 2; KKalp. *sopaq* 2.

◊ EDT 784-785. Turk. > WMong. *subaγ*, Kalm. *sowaγ*, KW 332). Cf. also Tur. *sopa* 'big stick'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**sị̆orek´V (~ -i-)** female or gelded ungulate animal: Tung. ***surki***; Mong. ***serke***; Turk. ***sarik***.

PTung. ***surki*** pregnant female animal (беременная (о самке животных)): Evk. *surki*; Man. *sučі*; Ork. *sučі*; Nan. *surki*; Ud. *suki* (Корм. 288).

◊ TMC 2, 130.

PMong. ***serke*** gelded goat (кастрированный козел): WMong. *serke* (L 691); Kh. *serx*; Bur. *herxe*; Kalm. *serkə* (KPC); Ord. *serɻe*; Dag. *selek, selke* (Тод. Даг. 162); S.-Yugh. *serke*.

◊ MGCD 601. On Turkic loans < *serke* (Kirgh. *serke* etc.) see TMN 1, 341, Лексика 429, ЭСТЯ 7.

PTurk. ***sarik*** 1 sheep 2 a k. of tailless sheep (1 овца 2 русская овца (без курдюка)): Tat. *sarıq* 1; Bashk. *harıq* 1; Kaz. *sarıq* 2; KKalp. *sarıq* 2; Khak. *sara-dax* 'a 2-year-old maral', *sar-tax* 'young of a roe' (Борг.); Tv. *sara-daq* 'a 2-year-old maral'; Chuv. *sorъx* 1.

◊ Лексика 432, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 66.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 67. A Western isogloss.

✱**sị̆ori** to flow, be soaked: Tung. ***sora-***; Jpn. ***sìtà-t-***; Kor. ***hìrì-***.

PTung. ***sora-*** 1 to be soaked, wet 2 to rinse, wash (1 промокать, намокать 2 промывать): Neg. *soj-* 1; Man. *sura-* 2; Nan. *soro-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 104, 129.

PJpn. ***sìtà-t-*** to drop, leak (капать, протекать): OJpn. *sita-ta-, sita-da-* (tr.); MJpn. *sìtà-ta-*; Tok. *shitatár-*; Kyo. *shítátár-*; Kag. *shìtàtàr-*.

◊ JLTT 753.

PKor. ***hìrì-*** to flow (течь): MKor. *hìrì-*; Mod. *hiri-*.

◊ Nam 496, KED 1890.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; cf. notes to **sị̆ŭŕi, *šị̆ŭŕu*. In Korean we would rather expect *-ă- or *-u-/-o-; -i- may be a result of vowel assimilation.

✱**sị̆ŏrme** sinew: Tung. ***sumu-***; Mong. ***sirmö- / *sirbö-***; Kor. ***hím***.

PTung. ***sumu-*** sinew (жила): Evk. *sumu*; Evn. *hum*; Neg. *sumu*; Man. *sube*; SMan. *suvu* 'tendon' (170); Ul. *sumul*; Ork. *sumu ~ xumu*; Nan. *sumul*; Orch. *sumu(l)*; Ud. *sumul(i)*; Sol. *sumul*.

◊ TMC 2, 126. Note also Evk. *sura* 'vein' (TMC 2, 129).

PMong. ***sirmö- / *sirbö-*** sinew (жила, нерв, сухожилие): MMong. *širmusu* (SH), *širbusun* (HY 48), *sirboṣu, sirboson* (IM), *širbusun* (MA); WMong. *sirbüsü(n), sirmüsü(n)* (L 716); Kh. *šörmös(ön), šürbüs, šörvös(ön)*; Bur. *šürbehe(n), šürmehe(n)*; Kalm. *šürwsn, šir(w)ũsn*; Ord.

*šörwös, *šörwösü; Dag. *širbes, *širbus (Тод. Дат. 184); Mongr. *šbuʒə (SM 370), *šuluʒə (SM 385), (MGCD *śurbusə).

◊ KW 371, MGCD 723. Oyr. *širi* < Mong. (?)

PKor. ***hím*** sinew; strength (жила; сила): MKor. *hím*; Mod. *him*.

◊ Nam 500, KED 1901.

‖ In Turkic cf. perhaps **sürmeč* 'women's plait' (VEWT 438), Chuv. *sərme kobъz* 'violin' ('string instrument'). See SKE 63.

✱**si̯ŏ̆su** to scoop; to wash: Tung. ***sisa-**; Turk. ***sus-**; Jpn. ***súsú-k-**; Kor. ***sìs-**, ***sís-**.

PTung. ***sisa-*** to scrape, grub, rummage, pick out (скоблить, рыться): Man. *siša-*; Ul. *si̯sa-*.

◊ TMC 2, 98.

PTurk. ***sus-*** 1 to scoop 2 bucket 3 scoop (1 черпать 2 ведро 3 черпак): Karakh. *susiq* 2, *susγaq* 3 (MK); Tur. *susak* 'jar, jug'; Gag. *susaq* 3; Turkm. *sus-*; Uygh. *us-*; Krm. *sus-*; Tat. *sŭs-* 1, *sŭsqaq* 3; Bashk. *hŭs-*; Kirgh. *suz-*; Khak. *sus-*; Shr. *sus-*; Oyr. *sus-*; Tv. *us-*; Chuv. *ъʷs-* (*ăs-*); Yak. *usājax* 3.

◊ EDT 856, VEWT 434, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***súsú-k-*** to wash (мыть): OJpn. *susu-k-*; MJpn. *súsú-k-*; Tok. *sùsugu*; Kyo. *súsúgú*; Kag. *susúg-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

PKor. ***sìs-**, ***sís-*** 1 to wash 2 to cleanse, wipe off (1 мыть 2 чистить, стирать): MKor. *sìs-* 1, *sís-* 2; Mod. *s:it- [s:is-]* 1, 2.

◊ Nam 322, 328, KED 1065.

‖ The Kor. reflex is irregular (we should expect *h-), perhaps due to the influence of the second -s-. It is alternatively possible to reconstruct **sisu* with an irregular labialized reflex in PT (instead of **sís-*), on analogy with **sub* < **sib* 'water'. One should also keep in mind that Middle Korean has actually two forms (*sìs-* 'wash' and *sís-* 'cleanse, wipe off') that have merged in modern *s:it-*, so we may in fact be dealing with a confusion of two original roots.

✱**si̯óti (~ *z-)** behind, bottom: Tung. ***soti**; Mong. ***sido**; Jpn. ***sítá**; Kor. ***stá(h)**.

PTung. ***soti*** tail fin (хвостовой плавник): Ul. *soti̯*; Nan. *sočī*.

◊ TMC 2, 114.

PMong. ***sido*** short and thin tail (тонкий, короткий, торчащий (о хвосте)): WMong. *šodu-*, *šoduji-* (L 755); Kh. *šodo-*; Bur. *šodon*, *šodogor*; Kalm. *šodə-*; Ord. *šodoGor* 'short, sticking out (of a tail, branches of a tree, or of a plait)'.

◊ KW 364.

PJpn. ***sítá*** (the place) below (низ, нижняя часть): OJpn. *sita*; MJpn. *sítà*; Tok. *shìta*; Kyo. *shítá*; Kag. *shítà*.

◊ JLTT 527. All dialects point to **sítá*, but RJ has a low tone on the 2d syllable.

PKor. ***stá(h)*** earth (земля): MKor. *stá* (*stáh-*); Mod. *t:aŋ*.

◊ Nam 133, KED 413. The addition of -ŋ in modern Korean is not quite clear.

‖ Martin 248, АПиПЯЯ 296. In Kor. "earth" < "bottom" (cf. the meaning in Jpn.); *stá- reflects a usual reduction < *sV̀tá-(gV).

sị́ót'e (~ *sịat'u)** thigh, hip: Turk. ***satan; Kor. ***hàtúi(h)***.

PTurk. ***satan*** thigh, hip (бедро): Tur. *satan*; Turkm. *satan*; MTurk. *satan* (Pav. C.); KKalp. *satan*; Chuv. *sodanъ* 'buttocks, behind'.

◊ VEWT 405, ЭСТЯ 7, Лексика 281, Ашм. XI, 211.

PKor. ***hàtúi(h)*** foot, leg (нога): MKor. *hàthúi*.

◊ Nam 485.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss.

s[ị̂o]ǯe** sharp stick: Tung. ***suǯa-ku; Mong. ***seǯi-***; Turk. ***söje-***.

PTung. ***suǯa-ku*** 1 stick, prop, support 2 ski stick (1 палка, подпорка, подставка 2 лыжная палка): Evk. *sụ̄ǯax* 2; Neg. *sụ̄ǯaχ* 1; Man. *suǯaqu* 1, *suǯa-* 'to support'; SMan. *suǯa-* 'to support, to hold up' (1642); Ork. *sụ̄ǯaqụ̄* 1; Nan. *soǯa* 'a gun support', *soǯaqo* 'a hanger made of three poles' (On.); Ud. *suǯu-fine-* 'to stand on one's elbows and knees'.

◊ TMC 2, 120.

PMong. ***seǯi-*** 1 to butt with horns, gore 2 margin, hem, slit (1 бодать рогами 2 край, разрез): WMong. *seǯi-* 1, *seǯigür* 2 (L 692, 693); Kh. *seǯi-* 1, *seǯ̄ür* 2; Bur. *heže-* 'to shake (one's head)'; Kalm. *seǯ-* 1; Ord. *seǯi-* 1.

◊ KW 321.

PTurk. ***söje-*** 1 to prop, lean, support 2 support, supporting stick 3 door-post (1 подпирать, опираться 2 опора, подпорка 3 дверной косяк): Tur. *süjen, süyen* (dial.) 2, *söyken-, sövken-* (dial.) 1; Gag. *süvän, sövä, süvä* 2; Az. *söjkän-* 1; Turkm. *söje-* 1, *söje, söjget* 2; MTurk. *söje-* 1, *söje* 2 (Pav. C.), *süjen-* (Ettuhf.) 1; Uzb. *suja-* 1; Uygh. *süjü-* 1; Tat. *sŭjä-* 1; Bashk. *hüjä-* 1; Kirgh. *süjö-, sõn-* 1; Kaz. *süje-* 1; KBalk. *süje-* 1; KKalp. *süje-* 1; Kum. *süje-* 1; Nogh. *süje-* 1; Shr. *söjbe, söjge* 3; Tv. *sögü* 3; Chuv. *sə^{w}ven-* 'to stick to, cling to'; Yak. *öjõ-* 1; Dolg. *öjön-* 1.

◊ VEWT 435, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 198. Many forms reflect derivatives **söj-ke-(n)- / *söj-ge-(n)-*.

‖ A Western isogloss. Preservation of labial vowel in Turk. is exceptional: **seje-* would be normally expected.

sịuba (~ -u)** water: Mong. ***usu; Turk. ***sıb***.

PMong. ***usu*** water (вода): MMong. *usun* (HY 3, SH), *oṣun, uṣun* (IM), *uṣun* (MA); WMong. *usu(n)* (L 887); Kh. *us*; Bur. *uha(n)*; Kalm. *usṇ*; Ord. *usu(n)*; Mog. *usun*; ZM *osun* (15-5b); Dag. *oso, os* (Тод. Дар. 160), *ose* (MD 203); Dong. *usu*; Bao. *se*; S.-Yugh. *qusun*, Gusun; Mongr. *fuзu* (SM 102), *sзu* (MGCD *šзu*).

◊ KW 452, MGCD 682, TMN 1, 167.

PTurk. ***sib*** water (вода): OTurk. *śub* (Orkh.), *sub, suv* (OUygh.); Karakh. *suv* (MK); Tur. *su*; Gag. *su*; Az. *su*; Turkm. *suv*; Sal. *su*; Khal. *suw*; MTurk. *su* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *suv*; Uygh. *su*; Krm. *su*; Tat. *siw*; Bashk. *hiw*; Kirgh. *sū*; Kaz. *su*; KBalk. *sū*; KKalp. *suw*; Kum. *suw*; Nogh. *suw*; SUygh. *su*; Khak. *suɣ*; Shr. *suɣ*; Oyr. *sū*; Tv. *suɣ*; Tof. *suɣ*; Chuv. *šĭv*; Yak. *ū; utax* 'thirst' < **sub-sak*; Dolg. *ū*.

◊ VEWT 431, TMN 3, 281-2, EDT 783-4, Лексика 88, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 247. The reconstruction of **i* is conditioned by the Chuv. palatalization. Cf. also **sib-* 'to become watery', **sibu-k* 'watery, liquid' (ЭСТЯ 7). Other Common Turkic derivatives are **sib-si-* 'to become watery' and **sib-sa-* 'to be(come) thirsty', see the analysis in ЭСТЯ 7 and EDT 792. The derivative **sib-si* 'a watery decoction' (not attested as such, but cf. OT *suvsuš* id. (EDT 792)) was borrowed in Mong. as *sub(a)su* id. (L 733), Khalkha *suvs* 'watery'. Modern Kypchak and Siberian forms like Chag. *susin*, Kirgh. *sūsun* etc. may reflect a secondary loan from Mongolian.

‖ Владимирцов 160, АПиПЯЯ 27, 284. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Mong. **u-su* can be explained as a normal dissimilation < **su-su* (< **sub-su*); cf. similar cases in **sisegeji* > **isegeji* 'felt', **sü(t)-sü* > **ü-sü* 'milk', **sus-* > **us-* 'disappear, perish'. The relationship of the Mong. and Turk. forms is strengthened by the presence in Turkic of archaic derivatives **sib-si-*, **sib-sa-*.

✱**sị̀ubi (~ *z-)** to be hoarse (of voice): Tung. ***sīb-***; Mong. ***söɣe-***; Jpn. ****siwa-(n)kara- (~ -p-)***; Kor. ****sùb-***.

PTung. ***sīb-*** to become hoarse (хрипнуть): Evk. *sīw-*; Evn. *hiw-ken-*; Neg. *sije-*; Ul. *sī-*; Ork. *sī-*; Nan. *sije-*; Ud. *si-*.

◊ TMC 2, 74.

PMong. ***söɣe-*** to become hoarse (хрипнуть): WMong. *söge-* (L 730); Kh. *sө̄-*; Bur. *hө̄lde-*; Kalm. *sө̄-*; Ord. *sө̄-*.

◊ KW 335.

PJpn. ****sipa-(n)kara- (~ -w-)*** to be hoarse (хрипнуть): Tok. *shiwagare-*.

PKor. ****sùb-*** to become hoarse (хрипнуть): MKor. *sùi'ú-*; Mod. *swī-*.

◊ Liu 480, KED 1022.

‖ An expressive root, cf. **sĭ̀pi*.

✱**sị́ubu** end: Tung. ****sube-***; Mong. ****seɣül***; Turk. ****sīb-ri***; Jpn. ****súwá-i***; Kor. ****sìbúr***.

PTung. ****sube-*** 1 end, edge 2 top (1 конец, кончик 2 верхушка): Evk. *suwerē* 1, 2; Evn. *hūre* 1, 2; Neg. *suwejē* 2; Man. *subexe* 1; Ul. *suwe* 2; Ork. *suwe* 2; Nan. *suwe, sue* 2; Orch. *su-ŋe* 1, 2; Ud. *sue* 2; Sol. *sugur* 1, 2.

◊ See TMC 2, 118 (with an alternative comparison - Mong. *sibüge(n)* 'awl', which seems less probable).

PMong. ****seɣül*** tail; end (хвост; конец): MMong. *se'ul* (HY 15, SH), *sūl, sɛbūl* (IM), *sul, siul* (MA); WMong. *segül* (L 683); Kh. *sӯl*; Bur. *hӯl*;

Kalm. *sūl*; Ord. *sūl*; Mog. *söül*; ZM *sul* (20-9); Dag. *seuli, seul* (Тод. Даг. 163); Dong. *šien, šian*; Bao. *šienčix, śančig*; S.-Yugh. *sūl*; Mongr. *sūr* (SM 363), (MGCD *sūl*).

◊ KW 342, MGCD 615. Mong. > Evk. *sūl*, see Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ***sīb-ri*** sharp, sharp-edged (острый, конический): OTurk. *süvri* (OUygh.); Karakh. *süvri* (MK); Tur. *sivri*; Gag. *sivri*; Az. *sivri*; Turkm. *süjri*; Krm. *sivri, süvrü*; Kirgh. *süjrü*; Kaz. *süjir*; KKalp. *süjri, süjir*; Oyr. *sūrü, sūri*; Tv. *sūr*; Chuv. *šəʷvəʷr*; Yak. *üörbe*.

◊ EDT 791, VEWT 438, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***súwá-i*** end, edge (конец, край): OJpn. *suwe*; MJpn. *súwé*; Tok. *sùe*; Kyo. *súé*; Kag. *súe*.

◊ JLTT 532.

PKor. ***sìbúr*** edge (край, конец): MKor. *sì'úr, sì'úrk*; Mod. *siul* (arch.), *sul*.

◊ Liu 497, KED 1018, 1040.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 70, 295, Мудрак Дисс. 46. Turk. **sīb-ri* < **sīb-ri* (with a frequent fronting ī > i).

✱**sị̂uču** diarrhoea: Tung. ***sosa-***; Mong. ***čiča-ga***; Turk. ***sič-***; Kor. ***čìčhíi-***.

PTung. ***sosa-*** 1 diarrhoea 2 to have diarrhoea 3 birds' dung (1 понос 2 страдать поносом 3 птичий помет): Man. *soso-* 2; Ul. *soso* 1; Ork. *soso* 1; Nan. *soso* 3; Orch. *soso* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 114.

PMong. ***čiča-ga*** diarrhoea (понос): MMong. *čiči-* 'to defecate' (MA); WMong. *čičaya* (L 175); Kh. *čacga*; Bur. *šeše-* 'to have diarrhoea', *šešehe(n)*; Ord. *čičaGa* 'верблюжья язва'.

PTurk. ***sič-*** to defecate (испражняться): Karakh. *sič-* (MK); Tur. *sič-*; Gag. *sič-*; Az. *sič-* (dial.); Khal. *sič-*; MTurk. *sič-* (AH, IM); Tat. *čič-, tič-*; Kirgh. *čič-*; Kaz. *tiš-*; KKalp. *tiš-*; Kum. *čič-*; Shr. *šiš-*; Oyr. *čič-*; Chuv. *sis-*.

◊ EDT 795, VEWT 414, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***čìčhíi-*** to have diarrhoea (страдать поносом): MKor. *čìčhíi-*; Mod. *čičhi-*.

◊ Nam 438, KED 1538.

‖ EAS 96, 144, SKE 36-37. Mong. is hardly < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 145. Mong. and Kor. have an assimilation (*s- > *č-), usual for this type of roots. In Jpn. cf. perhaps OJ *susu-pana*, MJ *sùsú-bànà* 'snivel from the nose' (cf. mod. *hana-kuso*, lit. 'nose faeces').

✱**sị̂udu (~ -a)** a hoof deformation: Tung. ***sudu***; Mong. ***södürge***; Turk. ***sidir-gak***; Jpn. ***sia (~ *sai)***.

PTung. ***sudu*** bulging part of the shin (выпуклая часть голени): Man. *sudu*.

◊ TMC 2, 120. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***södürge*** hoof disease (болезнь копыт): WMong. *södürge* (L 730); Kh. *södrög*; Kalm. *südü-gülǯ-* 'to limp slightly'.

◊ KW 339.

PTurk. ***sidir-gak*** 1 a cloven hoof 2 double shin bone (1 раздвоенное копыто 2 двойная голенная кость): Karakh. *siδirγaq* (MK) 1; Uzb. *siγraq* 1; Khak. *sizïro* 'fork'; Yak. *ɨtarča* 'сковородник оленьей кости' (Пек.).

◊ EDT 803. Cf. **sïŋïr-*.

PJpn. ***sia (~ *sai)*** shaggy hoof (мохнатое копыто): MJpn. *se*.

◊ JLTT 521.

‖ An interesting common Altaic body part name. The final vowel is difficult to reconstruct because of contraction in Jpn.

sy̰uga** a k. of bird: Tung. ***sog-; Mong. ***sojir***; Turk. ***sïgïrčïk***; Kor. ***sāi***.

PTung. ***sog-*** bullfinch (снегирь): Ud. *soγduγu*.

◊ TMC 2, 103. Attested only in Ud., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***sojir*** black-cock (тетерев): WMong. *sojir* (L 724); Kh. *sojr*; Bur. *hojr* 'wood cock'.

◊ Mong. > Yak. *suor* 'raven' > Evk. *sōr* id. (?).

PTurk. ***sïgïrčïk*** 1 grouse, hazel-hen 2 starling (1 куропатка, рябчик 2 скворец): Karakh. *siγirčuq* 1 (MK); Tur. *siγirčik* 2; Gag. *sïržïq* 2; Az. *siγirčin* 2; MTurk. *siγirčiq, siγirčuq, siγirčin* (R.); Tat. *siγirčaq, sirčïq, čijirčïq* 2; Bashk. *sijirsïq* 2; Kirgh. *čijirčïq* 2; Kum. *sijirtγïč* 2; Khak. *siγraj* 'bullfinch'; Tv. *siγrγa* 'oriole'; Chuv. *šъŋgъršъ* 2.

◊ VEWT 415, EDT 816, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***sāi*** bird (птица): MKor. *sāi*; Mod. *sā̆*.

◊ Nam 295, KED 919.

‖ Cf. also MKor. *sòiròkí* 'a k. of bird'. The Kor. word (with an unsuccessful etymology in SKE 218) was compared with Turk. **sar* in АПиПЯЯ 295; but the latter should be rather compared with Kor. *súrí*, see **sàru*.

sy̰ű̀jro** yellowish, light: Tung. ***sür-; Mong. ***sirga***; Turk. ***sūr***; Kor. ***sjāi-***.

PTung. ***sür-*** 1 yellowish, greyish 2 reddish 3 white (horse) (1 желтоватый, сероватый 2 рыжеватый, красноватый 3 белый (о лошади)): Evn. *hɨraŋan* 1; Man. *suru morin* 3; Nan. *sūr-* 2 (Он.); Ud. *sī* 'yellow paint'.

◊ TMC 2, 95, 131. Length in the dialectal Nanai form (quoted from Onenko) is unclear, probably a misrecording. The Manchu form is peculiar: one would wish it to be < Mong. *sira morin* 'white horse', but the vocalization is extremely strange. On the other hand, Kor. *sjəra mă̆r* (see Lee 1958, 119) makes it quite probable that such a form did, indeed, exist in Manchu, but probably got mixed up later with the original root **sür-*.

PMong. ***sirga*** yellow (of a horse) (соловый): MMong. *širqa* (SH), *širγa* (MA 336); WMong. *sirγa* (L 716); Kh. *šarga, šargal*; Bur. *šarga, šargal*;

Kalm. *šaryə* (KPC); Ord. *šarGa* 'буланый', *šarGul* 'white horse with black eyes and hooves'; 'light brown'; Dag. *šarga*, *šarag* (Тод. Даг. 183).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *sirga* etc., see Poppe 1966, 198, Doerfer MT 100, Rozycki 184.

PTurk. ***sūr*** grey (серый, бурый): Turkm. *sūr*; Krm. *sur*; Tat. *sori*; Bashk. *hor*, *hörö*; Kirgh. *sur*; Kaz. *sur*; KKalp. *sur*; Kum. *sür*; Oyr. *sur*; Chuv. *sъʷrъʷ*.

◊ VEWT 433, TMN 3, 287, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***sjəi-*** whitish (беловатый): MKor. *sjəi-*; Mod. *sə-*.

◊ Nam 306, KED 963.

‖ Doerfer MT 241. The Mong. vocalism is not quite regular: perhaps -i- instead of *u~o* under the influence of the following *-j- (which has to be reconstructed to account for Kor. -i-).

✱**sɨ̯ŭ[k]i (~ *š-)** a k. of bird: Turk. ***süglin***; Jpn. ***sìnkî***; Kor. ***skuə̀ŋ***.

PTurk. ***süglin*** pheasant (фазан): Karakh. *süglin*, *süvlin* (MK); Tur. *sülün*; Turkm. *sülgün*; MTurk. *sülgün*, *süglün* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sülgün*; KKalp. *süjlin* (dial.); Khak. *sülen* 'heron'; Shr. *šülen* 'heron, stork' (?).

◊ VEWT 435, EDT 820-821, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sìnkî*** woodcock, snipe (вальдшнеп, бекас): OJpn. *sigji*; MJpn. *sìgi*; Tok. *shígi*; Kyo. *shìgî*.

◊ JLTT 523.

PKor. ***skuə̀ŋ*** pheasant (фазан): MKor. *skuə̀ŋ*; Mod. *k:wəŋ*.

◊ Nam 64, KED 225.

‖ Korean has a frequent loss of vowel between a fricative and a stop. The medial consonant is not quite clear: perhaps Turk. **süglin* < **süklin* with a secondary voicing.

✱**sɨ̯ŭku (~ -a)** to copulate, insert: Tung. ***sōKān***; Mong. ***sige-d-***; Turk. ***sik-***.

PTung. ***sōKān*** 1 copulation 2 to copulate (1 случка, спаривание 2 спариваться): Evk. *sōkān* 1; Ud. *soni-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 105.

PMong. ***sige-d-*** to get stuck, be inserted (втыкаться, застревать): WMong. *siged-* (L 701); Kh. *šigde-*; Bur. *šegede-*; Kalm. *šigdə-* (KPC); Ord. *šiged-*.

PTurk. ***sik-*** 1 to copulate 2 penis (1 спариваться, coire (cum *femina*) 2 penis): Karakh. *sik-* 1, *sik* 2 (MK); Tur. *sik-* 1, *sik* 2 (R.).

◊ EDT 818, TMN 3, 312-313.

‖ A Western isogloss. In Turkic one would rather expect -ɨ-, so the vocalism is not quite regular.

✱**sɨ̯ŭli** a k. of worm: Tung. ***silV-***; Turk. ***sül-***.

PTung. ***silV-*** helminth, worm (глист, червь): Neg. *silikte*; Ul. *silimbu*, *silekte*; Ork. *siloqta*; Orch. *silikte*; Ud. *silikte*.

◊ TMC 2, 95.

PTurk. ***sül-*** leech (пиявка): Tur. *sülük*, dial. *sülümen*, *sülen*; Gag. *sülük*; Az. *sülüx* (dial.); Turkm. *sülük*; MTurk. *sülük* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *zuluk*; Uygh. *zülük*; Krm. *sülük*; Tat. *sŭlīk*; Bashk. *hŭlŭk*; Kirgh. *sülük*, *zülük*; Kaz. *sülīk*; KKalp. *sülīk*; Kum. *sülük*; Nogh. *sülīk*; Oyr. *šülük*; Chuv. *sə^{w}lə^{w}k*.

◊ VEWT 436, 425, Лексика 185, ЭСТЯ 7. Initial z- in some forms may be due to the influence of Pers. *zalu* 'leech' (> Az. *zäli*).

‖ Лексика 185. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱***sịūli*** ***(~ z-, -Í-)*** gall: Tung. ****sī, *sīl-se***; Mong. ****söl-sü***.

PTung. ****sī, *sīl-se*** gall (желчь): Evk. *sī*; Neg. *silte*; Man. *silxi*; SMan. *šilixi* 'gall bladder' (93); Jurch. *si-li-xi* (516); Ul. *silte*, *sīlte*; Ork. *sīlte*; Nan. *silte*, *siltē*; Ud. *silihe*; Sol. *šīlde*.

◊ TMC 2, 73.

PMong. ****söl-sü*** gall (желчь): MMong. *šuelüsun* (HY 47), *sülsu* (SH), *səlsən* (IM); WMong. *sösü(n)*, *sölsü(n)* (L 732); Kh. *sös*; Bur. *hülhen*; Kalm. *čösn̥* (KPC) (?); Ord. *ǯüsü* (?); Dag. *čuleči* 'spleen, gall bladder?' (MD 131) (?); Dong. *šiensun*; Bao. *selsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *sōsun*; Mongr. *sūrʒə* (SM 364), *sūlʒə*.

◊ MGCD 618. The Kalm. and Dag. forms may reflect a formation like **söl-čin* with assimilations.

‖ TMC 2, 73, Rozycki 182. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. The root tends to merge with **šị̀ōli* 'juice, fluid' (q.v.).

✱***sịulu*** ***(~ *z-, -Í-)*** conifer, pine tree: Tung. ****sol-***; Mong. ****silmeɣü-sü***; Kor. ****sór***.

PTung. ****sol-*** pine tree (сосна): Evn. *holtịn*.

◊ TMC 2, 332. Attested only in Evn., with possible external parallels.

PMong. ****silmeɣü-sü*** needles of a conifer (хвоя): WMong. *silmegüsü(n)*, *silmügüsü(n)*, *silbegüsü(n)*, *silbüsü(n)*, *silümüsü(n)* (L 707); Kh. *šilmŭs*; Bur. *šelbŭhe(n)*, *šelbehe(n)*; Kalm. *šiləwsn̥* (KPC).

PKor. ****sór*** pine tree (сосна): MKor. *sór*; Mod. *sol*, *so-namu*.

◊ Nam 310, KED 970, 990.

‖ SKE 240.

✱***sịumi*** dark, obscure: Tung. ****sim-***; Mong. ****süme-***; Turk. ****süm***.

PTung. ****sim-*** shadow, dark place (тень, темное место): Evk. *simŋun*; Evn. *himŋъn*; Neg. *simŋun*; Man. *silmen*; Ork. *simgu(n)*; Nan. *siŋmŭ*.

◊ TMC 2, 87.

PMong. ****süme-*** obscure, indistinct, faint, dull (темный, неясный, бледный): WMong. *sümeg*, *sümeger*, (v.) *sümeji-* (L 743, 744); Kh. *sümeg*, *sümger*, *sümij-*; Mongr. *sumoko* 'évaporations des hautes montagnes' (SM 359).

PTurk. ****süm*** darkness, shadow (темнота, тень): Chuv. *sə^{w}m*.

◊ An isolated Chuvash form.

‖ Räsänen 1955. A Western isogloss.

✱**s[i̯ù]mkʿi** cough: Tung. ***simki-***; Turk. ***simük, simki-***; Jpn. ***sàik- ~ siàk-***.

PTung. ***simki-*** to cough, cough (кашлять, кашель): Evk. *simki-*; Evn. *hiēmkъ-*; Neg. *simki-*; Ul. *siŋbi-*; Ork. *sipki-*; Nan. *siŋbi-, simki-*; Orch. *simpi*; Ud. *simpi-*; Sol. *simki-*.

◊ TMC 2, 87.

PTurk. ***simük, simki-*** 1 snot, nose phlegm, mucus 2 to blow one's nose (1 сопли 2 сморкаться): Karakh. *seŋregü* (MK) 'continuously discharging mucus from one's nose'; Tur. *sümük* 1, *sümkür-* 2; Gag. *sümük* 1, *sümkür-* 2; Turkm. *sümük* 1, *sümgür-* 2; MTurk. *sümük* 1, *sümkür-* 2 (AH, Pav. C.); Krm. *siŋir-* 2; Tat. *simgir* 1, *sïŋgïr-* 2; Kirgh. *simbir-* 2; Kaz. *sïŋbïr-* 2; KKalp. *sïŋbïr-* 2; Nogh. *simgir-* 2; Khak. *sïŋïr-* 2; Tv. *sïŋmir-* 2; Chuv. *šəngar-* (*šăngar-*) 2.

◊ VEWT 436, EDT 841, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sàik- ~ siàk-*** to cough (кашлять): MJpn. *sek-*; Tok. *sèk-*; Kyo. *sèk-*; Kag. *sèk-*.

◊ JLTT 749.

‖ An expressive root with some vocalic irregularities.

✱**si̯ùmu** a k. of grass, flower: Tung. ***sum-***; Mong. ***sim-***; Jpn. ***sùm-***.

PTung. ***sum-*** grass or berry names (названия трав или ягод): Evk. *sumuŋi* 'шикша (ягода-водяница'; Man. *somina orxo* 'a grass name'.

◊ TMC 2, 110, 126.

PMong. ***sim-*** various grass names (1 копеечник альпийский 2 гречиха, змееголовник чужестранный): WMong. *simarsu* 1, *sïmeldeg* 2 (L 709: dracocephalum fruticulosum, dracocephalum peregrinum); Kh. *šamars* 1, *šimeldeg* 2; Bur. *šamarha(n)*; Kalm. *šimṇdəG* 'weisse Nieswurz', *šimgəG* 'Lamium album?'.

◊ KW 358.

PJpn. ***sùm-*** 1 violet 2 Prunus sallicina Lindley (a k. of plum) (1 фиалка 2 вид сливы): OJpn. *sumjire* 1, *sum(w)om(w)o* 2; MJpn. *sùmíre* 1, *sùmómo* 2; Tok. *sùmire* 1, *sùmomo, sumómo* 2; Kyo. *sùmírè* 1, *sŭmòmó* 2; Kag. *sumiré* 1, *sumomó* 2.

◊ JLTT 534.

‖ The root must have denoted some blossoming berry or shrub.

✱**si̯ŭ̂na** to hear, observe: Mong. ***sonos-***; Turk. ***sīn***; Kor. ***s(j)ən-***.

PMong. ***sonos-*** hear (слышать): MMong. *sonos-* (HY 32, SH), *ṣonāṣ-* (IM), *sunas-* (MA); WMong. *sonus-*; Kh. *sonso-*; Bur. *honor* 'с чутким слухом'; Kalm. *sonəs-*; Ord. *sonos-*; Mog. *sonusu-*; ZM *sonasā* (7–4b); Dag. *sonso-* (Тод. Дар. 163), *sonse-* (MD 211), *sonsu-*; Dong. *sonosu-*; Mongr. *sunosə-* (SM 362).

◊ KW 331, MGCD 606. Cf. also WMong. *sonin*, Kalm. *soin* 'interesting, peculiar' (KW 331), MMong. (SH) *sonin* 'new', Dag. *sonin* 'fresh, virgin, strange, new' (MD 211) (> Evk. *sonin* etc., see Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 187).

PTurk. ***sīn*** 1 observation, test 2 to test (1 наблюдение, опыт 2 испытывать): OTurk. *sına-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *sına-* 2 (MK); Tur. *sına-* 2; Az. *sına-* 2; Turkm. *sīn* 1, *sīna-* 2; Khal. *sīnä-* 2; MTurk. *sın* 1 (R.), *sına-* 2 (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *sın* 1, *sına-* 2; Uygh. *sını-* 2; Krm. *sınčı* 'explorer'; Tat. *sına-* 2, *sınšı* 'explorer'; Bashk. *hın* 1, *hına-* 2; Kirgh. *sın* 1, *sına-* 2; Kaz. *sın* 1, *sına-* 2; KBalk. *sına-* 2; KKalp. *sın* 1; Kum. *sına-* 2, *sınčı* 'prophet'; Nogh. *sına-* 2; Khak. *sına-* 2; Oyr. *sına-* 2.

◊ EDT 835, VEWT 417, ЭСТЯ 7 (the root should be distinguished from **sịjn* 'body, idol' q. v. sub **sịùnu*, although they tend to contaminate). Turk. > Mong. *sina-*, see Щербак 1997, 145.

PKor. ***sjən-*** to be interesting, startling; boring (быть интересным, поразительным; скучным): Mod. *səngəpta* (orth. *sjən-*).

◊ KED 943.

‖ Basically a Turk.-Mong. isogloss; the Kor. form is late attested and somewhat insecure. Cf. perhaps also Manchu *suŋgen* 'clever, smart' (< *'perceiving'?).

✱***sị̆ŭ̄ni*** fade, extinguish: Tung. ****sī- (~ -ū̃-)***; Mong. ****sönü-***; Turk. ****sõn-***; Jpn. ****sín-***.

PTung. ****sī- (~ -ū̃-)*** extinguish (гасить, гаснуть): Evk. *sī-*; Evn. *hī-w-*; Neg. *sī-w-*; Orch. *sī-wi-*; Sol. *ši̇̄-gū-*.

◊ TMC 2, 73.

PMong. ****sönü-*** fade, extinguish, be ended (пропадать, гаснуть, кончаться): MMong. *sunə-* (MA), *süno'e-* (tr.) (SH); WMong. *sönü-* (L 732); Kh. *sönö-*; Bur. *hüne-*; Kalm. *sön-*; Mongr. *sunō-* (SM 361), (MGCD *sunē-*).

◊ KW 333, MGCD 609.

PTurk. ****sõn-*** to fade, disappear (пропадать, гаснуть): OTurk. *sön-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sön-* (MK); Tur. *sön-*; Az. *sön-*; Turkm. *sõn-*; MTurk. *sön-* (IM, Abush.); Krm. *sön-*; Tat. *sün-*; Bashk. *hün-*; Kaz. *sön-*; KKalp. *sön-*; Kum. *sön-*; Nogh. *sön-*; Chuv. *sün-*.

◊ EDT 834, VEWT 430, ЭСТЯ 7. The Chag. and Old Osm. form *söjün-* id. is not quite clear (and may suggest PT **sõjn-*). Turk. > Hung. *szűn-ik-* 'to weaken', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ****sín-*** die (умирать): OJpn. sin-; MJpn. *sín-*; Tok. *shìn-*; Kyo. *shín-*; Kag. *shín-*.

◊ JLTT 752.

‖ EAS 71, KW 333, Poppe 30, 70, Ozawa 231-232, АПиПЯЯ 72, 274. Mong. is hardly < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 147.

***sɨ́ŋŋi** a k. of knife or lance: Tung. ***siŋńa-**; Mong. ***sumun**; Turk. ***süŋgü**; Kor. ***sòní**.

PTung. ***siŋńa-** big knife (on a shaft) (большой нож (на древке)): Neg. *siŋńa-pun*; Ul. *sɨnasɨ*; Ork. *sɨnasɨ*; Nan. *sɨŋa-so*; Orch. *sina-ki*.

◊ TMC 2, 91.

PMong. ***sumun** arrow (стрела): MMong. *sumun* (HY 19), *sumu(n)* (SH), *sūmūn* (Lig.VMI), *sǝmū* (IM), *sumun* (MA); WMong. *sumu(n)* (L 737); Kh. *sum(an)*; Bur. *homo(n)*; Kalm. *sumŋ*; Ord. *sumu(n)*; Dag. *som* (Тод. Даг. 163), *some* (MD 211), *somo*; Dong. *sumu*; Bao. *sǝmoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *sǝmǝn*; Mongr. *sumu* (SM 359).

◊ KW 337, MGCD 612.

PTurk. ***süŋgü** lance, spear (копье, пика): OTurk. *süŋüg* (Orkh.), *süŋü* (OUygh.); Karakh. *süŋü* (MK); Tur. *süŋgü*; Gag. *süŋgü*; Az. *süŋgü*; Turkm. *süŋgi*; MTurk. *süŋgü* (IM, Pav. C.); Krm. *süŋgü*; Tat. *sŭŋgĭ*; Bashk. *hŭŋgŭ*; Kaz. *süŋgĭ*; KBalk. *süŋü*; Kum. *süŋü*; Nogh. *süŋgī*; Chuv. *sъʷпъʷ*; Yak. *üŋŭ*.

◊ EDT 834-835, VEWT 437, TMN 3, 279, Лексика 569, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***sòní** bow (лук): MKor. *sòní*; Mod. *swenwe*.

◊ Nam 307, KED 995.

‖ Possibly connected etymologically with **sɨ́ŋe* 'fight'.

***sɨ́ŋŋu (~ z-)** island, shallow place: Tung. ***suŋnī-**; Mong. ***sinaɣa-**; Jpn. ***súná**.

PTung. ***suŋnī-** tussock (in a swamp) (кочка (в болоте)): Evk. *suŋnīkēɣ, sumnīkēɣ*; Neg. *semkeɣ*; Ul. *suŋpu(n)*; Ork. *suŋči*; Nan. *suŋpū, sumkū, suŋku(n)*; Orch. *sompo*.

◊ TMC 2, 128. -m- in some forms is probably due to assimilation.

PMong. ***sinaɣa-** 1 island 2 bend of a river; ridge, mountain ridge (1 остров 2 излучина реки; горный хребет): MMong. *sina'a* (SH) 1; WMong. *sinaɣa* (L 710) 2; Kh. *šanā* 2; Ord. *šinā* 'a salient part of the chain of mountains'.

PJpn. ***súná** sand (песок): MJpn. *suna-gwo*; Tok. *sùna*; Kyo. *súná*; Kag. *súna*.

◊ JLTT 534.

‖ The meaning 'shallow place' explains the semantic developments (> 'island', 'sand'; 'tussock in a swamp').

***sɨ̀nu** form, shape: Mong. ***süne-sü**; Turk. ***si(j)n**; Jpn. ***sùn-kata**.

PMong. ***süne-sü** soul (душа): MMong. *sunäsu* 'breast' (MA); WMong. *süne-sü(n)* (L 744); Kh. *süns*; Bur. *hünehe(n)*; Kalm. *sümsŋ, sünsŋ*; Ord. *sünesü, sünes*; Dag. *sumse* (Тод. Даг. 164), *sumese* (MD 213), *sumsu*; S.-Yugh. *sunesǝn*; Mongr. *sunēzǝ* (SM 361), (MGCD *sunēsǝ*).

◊ KW 340, MGCD 617. Mong. > Evk. *sunesun*, see Poppe 1966, 197, Doerfer MT 128.

PTurk. ***si(j)n*** 1 body, stature 2 monument, tomb 3 the exterior 4 idol 5 foreign person (1 тело, стан 2 памятник, могила 3 внешность 4 идол 5 чужеземец): OTurk. *sin* 1,2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *sin* 1,2 (MK), 5 (KB); Tur. *sin* 2, 3; MTurk. *sin* 2 (R.); Uzb. *sin* 1; Tat. *sin* 4; Bashk. *hin* 2, 4; Kirgh. *sin* 1; Kaz. *sin*, *sijaq* 1; KBalk. *sin* 2; KKalp. *sin* 1, 2; Kum. *sin* 2; Nogh. *sin* 1; Khak. *sin* 1; Shr. *sin* 1; Oyr. *sin* 1; Tv. *sin* 1.

◊ EDT 832, VEWT 418, 422, ЭСТЯ 7 (with a great deal of confusion - but probably a single root), Лексика 266.

PJpn. ***sùn-kata*** form, shape (форма, вид): OJpn. *sugata*; MJpn. *sùgàtá*; Tok. *súgata*; Kyo. *súgàtà*; Kag. *sugatá*.

◊ JLTT 532. A compound with **kátà* 'form, shape'.

‖ Originally probably a shamanistic term ('soul', 'shape').

✱***sḭùŋe*** hoar-frost: Tung. ****süŋü-***; Mong. ****söŋ***; Turk. ****seŋ***; Jpn. ****sùnsù-***; Kor. ****sə́ŋ- / *sə́n- / *sán-***.

PTung. ****süŋü-*** 1 frost, hoar-frost, snow grains 2 cold (1 иней, крупинки снега 2 холод): Evk. *siŋi-kse* 1; Evn. *hīŋъ-lgъn* 1; Man. *su(ŋ)-* 'to be covered by frost'; Jurch. *siuŋ-hun* (91) 2; Nan. *suŋgu* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 90-91.

PMong. ****söŋ*** frazil, small floating pieces of ice (шуга): WMong. *söŋ* (L 731); Kh. *sön*; Bur. *hüŋ*; Kalm. *söŋ*; Ord. *söŋ*.

◊ KW 333.

PTurk. ****seŋ*** frazil (шуга, ледяное сало): Turkm. *seŋ* (dial.); MTurk. *seŋ* (B); Uzb. *säŋ* (dial.); Kaz. *seŋ*; KKalp. *seŋ*; Nogh. *seŋ*; Chuv. *san*.

◊ VEWT 410 (without Chuv.; the Kypch. forms may be borrowed from Mong.), ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ****sùnsù-*** cool (прохладный): OJpn. *suzu-si*; MJpn. *sùzù-si*; Tok. *suzushí-*; Kyo. *súzúshì-*; Kag. *suzushí-*.

◊ JLTT 841.

PKor. ****sə́ŋ- / *sə́n-*** to be chilly (быть холодным, прохладным): MKor. *sánăr-hă-*, *sánăr-hă-*; Mod. *siŋgəŋ siŋgəŋ ha-*, *sənir-ha-*, *sanir-ha-*.

◊ Nam 282, 299, KED 869, 935, 1065.

‖ KW 333, SKE 234, АПиПЯЯ 81. The vowel in Turkic is unclear. Cf. also Old Koguryo **ṣäñäli* 'zephyr' (see Miller 1979, 7). The Kor. and Jpn. form reflect a derived form **sḭùŋ(e)lV*.

✱***sḭúŋe*** fight, wrestling: Tung. ****süŋkē-***; Turk. ****söŋü-Í / *süŋü-Í***; Jpn. ****súmárú***.

PTung. ****süŋkē-*** 1 luck (in hunting) 2 hunter's talisman 3 hunters' protecting spirit (1 удача (на охоте) 2 охотничий талисман 3 дух-покровитель охотника): Evk. *siŋkēn* 1; Neg. *siŋkēn* 2,3; Ul. *suŋke(n)*, *su(n) ~ sē(n)* 2; Ork. *sukke(n)* 2; Nan. *sū ~ sũ* 2; Orch. *siŋke(n)* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 91.

PTurk. ***söŋü-Í / *süŋü-Í*** battle (битва): OTurk. *söŋüš / süŋüš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *söŋüš* (MK).

◊ EDT 842, VEWT 437 (hardly derivable from **süŋü* 'spear').

PJpn. ***súmápú*** wrestling (борьба): MJpn. *súmáfú*; Tok. *sùmō*; Kyo. *súmő*; Kag. *sumő*.

◊ JLTT 534. In MJ attested also as a verb *sumaf-* 'to wrestle'.

‖ An element of common Altaic hunting or warrior terminology.

s[i̯ú]ŋu** to sink: Tung. ***suŋta; Mong. ***siŋge-***; Turk. ***siŋ-***; Jpn. ***síntúm-***.

PTung. ***suŋta*** deep (глубокий): Evk. *suŋta*; Evn. *hūntъ*; Neg. *soŋta*; Ul. *sụŋta*; Ork. *sụqta*; Nan. *soŋta*; Orch. *suŋta*; Ud. *suŋta*; Sol. *sūnta*.

◊ TMC 2, 128.

PMong. ***siŋge-*** to soak, dissolve (впитываться, растворяться): WMong. *siŋge-* (L 711); Kh. *šinge-*; Bur. *šenge-*; Kalm. *šiŋgə-*; Ord. *šiŋge-*; Dag. *šingē-* (Тод. Дар. 184: *šiŋge-*, *šiŋgē-*); Bao. *šəŋgə-*; S.-Yugh. *šeŋgē-*; Mongr. *šəŋgē-* (SM 377), *śingē-*.

◊ KW 359, MGCD 718. Mong. > Man. *siŋge-* (Doerfer MT 136, Rozycki 183).

PTurk. ***siŋ-*** to sink, submerge (уходить в землю, погружаться): OTurk. *siŋ-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *siŋ-* (MK); Tur. *sin-*; Gag. *sin-*; Az. *sin-*; Turkm. *siŋ-*; Sal. *siŋ-*; MTurk. *siŋ-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *siŋ-*; Uygh. *siŋ-*; Krm. *sin-*; Tat. *sĭŋ-*; Bashk. *hĭŋ-*; Kirgh. *siŋ-*; Kaz. *siŋ-*; KBalk. *siŋ-*; KKalp. *siŋ-*; Kum. *siŋ-*; Nogh. *siŋ-*; SUygh. *siŋ-*; Khak. *siŋ-* 'to fit into'; Shr. *siŋ-* 'to fit into'; Tv. *siŋ-*; *sɨŋ-* 'to fit into'; Chuv. *šъnъś-*; Yak. *iŋ-*.

◊ EDT 833-834, Мудрак Дисс. 43, ЭСТЯ 7. The Khak., Shor and Tuva forms may have been influenced by **sig-* 'to fit into' (v. sub **sĭgú*).

PJpn. ***síntúm-*** to sink (погружаться): OJpn. *sidum-*; MJpn. *sídúm-*; Tok. *shìzum-*; Kyo. *shízúm-*; Kag. *shìzùm-*.

◊ JLTT 754.

‖ KW 359, Владимирцов 173, Poppe 31, 72, 116 (Turk.-Mong.), Мудрак Дисс. 43. Mong. *siŋge-* may be borrowed from Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 144), but cf. also WMong. *suŋɣu-*, *šuŋɣa-*, Kalm. *suŋgə-*, *šuŋgə-* 'to dive', Dag. *šungu-* (KW 337, 368, MGCD 726; Mong. > Kirgh. *süŋgü-* etc., see ЭСТЯ 7) < **siŋV-kV*. The Jpn. form fits here rather well (**síntú-* = TM **suŋ-ta*), but we would rather expect *-u-.

si̯ùŋu** to whine, weep: Tung. ***soŋa-; Turk. ***siŋ- (~ -i-)***; Jpn. ***sùná-***.

PTung. ***soŋa-*** to weep (плакать): Evk. *soŋo-*; Evn. *hoŋ-*; Neg. *soŋo-*; Man. *soŋGo-*; SMan. *soŋə-* (190); Ul. *soŋGo-*; Ork. *soŋo-*, *soŋGo-*; Nan. *soŋGo-*; Orch. *soŋo-*; Ud. *soŋo-*; Sol. *soŋo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 111-112.

PTurk. ***siŋ- (~ -i-)*** 1 whining or buzzing noise 2 to whine, moan (1 скулеж, визг 2 визжать, хныкать, стонать): Karakh. *siŋ* 1, *siŋile-* 2; Tur. *sinle-*, dial. *senele-* 2; Bashk. *hiŋ-qilda-* 'to sob'; Kaz. *siŋɣır* 1, *siŋ-qilda-* 2;

Khak. *sɨŋ* 1, *sīla-* 2; Tv. *sīla-* 2; Chuv. *šъngъr* 1, *šъngъrdat-* 2; Yak. *iŋersij-* 'to neigh, coo' (Пек.).

◊ EDT 832, 840.

PJpn. ***sùná-*** to pout, frown (дуться, хмуриться): Tok. *suné-*; Kyo. *sùnè-*; Kag. *sùnè-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

‖ An onomatopoeic root, but with quite good correspondences. Cf. also notes to **sɨ̯ăńi*.

sɨ̯ŭŋV(-kV)** a k. of flying insect: Tung. ***süŋke; Mong. ***simaɣul***; Turk. ***siŋek***; Jpn. ***sáimì (~ -ia-)***.

PTung. ***süŋke*** beetle (жук): Nan. *suŋkẽ*; Ud. *siŋke*.

◊ TMC 2, 91.

PMong. ***simaɣul*** 1 mosquito 2 insect (1 комар 2 насекомое): MMong. *šimu'ul* (HY 12), *šimul* 'fly' (MA); WMong. *simaɣul, simuɣul* 1, 2 (L 710); Kh. *šumūl* 1; Bur. *šumūl* 2; Kalm. *šomūl, šumūsn*; Ord. *šimūli*; Dag. *šomōl* (Тод. Дат. 184) *šomōle* (MD. 217) 1.

◊ KW 364.

PTurk. ***siŋek*** 1 mosquito 2 fly (1 комар 2 муха): Karakh. *siŋek* 1,2 (MK); Tur. *sinek* 2; Gag. *sinek* 2; Az. *sinäk* 1; Turkm. *siŋek* 2; MTurk. *siŋak, siŋgek* 2 (Pav. C.); Krm. *sinek* 2; SUygh. *siŋgek* 'gad-fly'; Khak. *sik, sēk* 2; Oyr. *sēk* 1; Tv. *sēk* 2; Chuv. *šъna* 2.

◊ EDT 838, VEWT 422-423, Лексика 185, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. also Yak., Dolg. *iŋiria* 'bee, wasp' (Stachowski 261). Turk. > Hung. *szunyog* 'mosquito', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***sáimì (~ -ia-)*** cicada (цикада): OJpn. *semji*; MJpn. *sémì*; Tok. *sèmi*; Kyo. *sémì*; Kag. *sémi*.

◊ JLTT 521. The tone in Tokyo is irregular (pointing to **sáimí)*.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 42-43, Лексика 186. An insect name, with tabooistic irregular vocalic changes.

sɨ̯ŭra** arrow; fight, battle, success in battle: Tung. ***sori; Mong. ***sur***; Turk. ***sīr-***; Jpn. ***satu-i***; Kor. ***sàră-***.

PTung. ***sori*** 1 fight, battle 2 victim 3 to shoot arrows into each other (1 драка, битва 2 жертва 3 стрелять друг в друга из лука): Man. *sori-* 3, *sori* 2; Jurch. *sori* (455) 1; Ul. *sorị* 1; Ork. *sorị(n)'*; Nan. *sorị̄* 1; Orch. *sōri*.

◊ TMC 2, 113.

PMong. ***sur*** competition in bow-shooting (соревнование в стрельбе): WMong. *surčin* (L 738: *sur* 'archer's target', 739: *surčin* 'archer'); Bur. *hurša* 'arrow'; Kalm. *sur*.

◊ KW 338. Mong. *sur* 'archer's target' is being confused with *sur(an)* 'leather belt, strap' (borrowed from Turkic, see under **sɨ̯óga*) and sometimes glossed as 'archer's target made of leather straps' - most probably a result of folk etymology.

PTurk. ***sīr-*** 1 arrow, tip of an arrow 2 sabre 3 fight (1 стрела, наконечник стрелы 2 сабля 3 битва): Turkm. *sīrma* 2; Khak. *sir* 1; Chuv. *šъrъm* 3; Yak. *irba* 1.

◊ VEWT 418 (Khak.)

PJpn. ***satu-i*** success in hunting (удача на охоте): OJpn. *sati*; MJpn. *sati*; Tok. *sáchi*; Kyo. *sáchì*; Kag. *sáchi*.

◊ JLTT 519. Accent is not quite clear: Kyoto and Kagoshima point to **sátùi*, but Tokyo is aberrant. For *-u- cf. OJ *satu-ja* 'hunting arrow'.

PKor. ***sàră-*** to capture (брать в плен): MKor. *sàră-čăp-* ("to take captive"); Mod. *saro-čap-*.

◊ Nam 283, KED 872.

‖ The Korean reflex is somewhat dubious, being traditionally derived < **sār-* 'to live' (*sară-čap-* = 'to take alive'). This, however, may be a secondary folk etymology, the original meaning of the compound being 'to take booty'.

✱***sị̆uru* (~ *z-*, *-ŕ-*)** ant, insect eggs: Tung. ****sura***; Mong. ****sirgolǯi***; Kor. ****sir-***.

PTung. ****sura (sora)*** 1 flea 2 to lay eggs in deer's nose 3 insect laying eggs in deer's nose 4 bumble-bee 5 eggs of flies, insects 6 pollen (1 блоха 2 откладывать яйца в носовой полости оленя 3 насекомое, откладывающее яйца в носовой полости оленя 4 шмель 5 мушиный помет, яйца насекомых 6 пыльца): Evk. *soro-* 2, *soroŋki / sereŋki* 3, *soroptun / sereptin* 4; Neg. *sōja* 1; Man. *suran* 1, *soroḱa* 4, sere 5; SMan. *suran* 1 (2254); Ul. *sụra* 1, *sora* 6; Ork. *sụra* 1; Nan. *sora* 1, 6; Orch. *sūa* 1; Ud. *sua* 1 (Корм. 288); Sol. *sora* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 112, 113. Man. *soroḱa* > Dag. *soroḱē* (Тод. Даг. 164); TM > Dag. *sura* 'flea' (ibid.).

PMong. ****sirgolǯi*** ant (муравей): MMong. *široxalǯin* (HY 12); WMong. *širγolǯi*, (L 717) *sirγulǯi(n)*; Kh. *šorgōlǯ*; Bur. *šorgōlzo(n)*, *šorgōlžo(n)*; Kalm. *šorγəlžŋ*; Ord. *šurGulǯi*, *šurGūlǯi*, *šorGolǯi*; Dag. *suaigālǯi* (Тод. Даг. 164), *suajhaleǯi* (MD 212); Mongr. *śorGoǯin* (SM 397).

◊ KW 365. Mong. > Evk. *čêrgolǯi* (see Poppe 1972, 101).

PKor. ****sir-*** to lay eggs (of insects, fish) (класть яйца (о насекомых или рыбах)): MKor. *sir-*; Mod. *sil-*.

◊ Liu 487, KED 1027. Cf. also mod. *swi* 'eggs of fly' (with a consonant alternation similar to the one in the reflexes of PA **mŭro* q. v.).

‖ Cf. **sị̆ă̆jrí*.

✱***sị̆ŭŕe*** sound: Tung. ****sür-***; Mong. ****sür-*** / ****sur-***; Turk. ****söŕ***; Kor. ****sòrăi***.

PTung. ****sür-*** 1 to creak, screak 2 to shout, cry (1 трещать (от мороза) 2 кричать, орать): Evk. *sirgi-* 1; Man. *sure-* 2; SMan. *surə-*, *suru-* 2 (192).

◊ TMC 2, 95, 131.

PMong. ***sür- / *sur-** 1 to cry out 2 to sound, make noise (of wind) (1 выкрикивать 2 звучать, шуметь (о ветре)): WMong. *süre-* 2, *sura-* 1, *sürkire-* 2 (L 745); Kh. *sür, sürxre-* 2; Kalm. *sur-* 1, *sür* 2.

◊ KW 338, 340. The root should be distinguished from WMong. *sür* 'majesty, militancy' (despite Doerfer TMN 1, 344, who posits a quite improbable semantic development: "imponierendes Aussehen" > "jemandem durch Schreien imponieren").

PTurk. ***söŕ** word, speech (слово, речь): OTurk. *söz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *söz* (MK); Tur. *söz;* Gag. *söz;* Az. *söz;* Turkm. *söz;* Sal. *söz;* Khal. *sez, söz;* MTurk. *söz* (AH, IM, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *söz;* Uygh. *söz;* Krm. *söz;* Tat. *süz;* Bashk. *hüδ;* Kirgh. *söz;* Kaz. *söz;* KBalk. *söz;* KKalp. *söz;* Kum. *söz;* Nogh. *söz;* SUygh. *söz;* Khak. *sös;* Shr. *sös;* Oyr. *sös;* Tv. *sös;* Yak. *ös;* Dolg. *ös.*

◊ EDT 860, VEWT 430, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 200-201. One should also mention PT **sör-ček* 'tale, story, fairy tale' (see ЭСТЯ 7).

PKor. ***sòrăi** voice, sound (голос, звук): MKor. *sòrăi;* Mod. *sori.*

◊ Nam 307, KED 972.

‖ KW 338, Lee 1958, 119. Despite Doerfer's criticism in TMN 3, 296 the comparison seems reliable.

***sl̆ŭŕi** to flow, drip: Tung. ***sir-**; Mong. ***sür-**; Turk. ***süŕ-**.

PTung. ***sir-** 1 spring, well 2 to strain, press out 3 to milk (1 родник, ключ 2 выжимать 3 доить): Evk. *sir-* 2, 3; Evn. *hir-* 3; Neg. *sij-* 3; Man. *šeri* 1, *siri-* 2; SMan. *šeri, seri* 1 (2085); Ul. *sirį-* 2, 3; Ork. *sirį-* 2, 3; Nan. *sire* (Bik.) 1, *sirį-* 2; Orch. *sī-* 3; Ud. *sie* 'bay with spring water'; *sī-* 2, 3.

◊ TMC 2, 93, 101.

PMong. ***sür-** to rain in small drops, sprinkle (моросить, брызгать): WMong. *sürči-* (L 744); Kh. *šürši-, sürši-, sürči-;* Kalm. *sürči-;* Dag. ? *surē* 'pour (water)' (MD 213).

◊ KW 341.

PTurk. ***süŕ-** 1 to strain, filter 2 to swim, float 3 to walk in water (1 цедить, фильтровать 2 плавать 3 ходить в воде): OTurk. *süz-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *süz-* 1 (MK); Tur. *süz-* 1, *süzül-* 2; Gag. *süz-* 1; Az. *süz-* 1, 2; Turkm. *süz-* 1; Khal. *sīz-* 1; MTurk. *süz-* 1 (AH, Pav. C.), 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *suz-* 2; Uygh. *süz-* 1; Krm. *süz-* 1; Tat. *söz-* 1, (dial.) 2; Bashk. *hŭδ-* 1; Kirgh. *süz-* 1, 2; Kaz. *süz-* 1; KBalk. *süz-* 1; Kum. *süz-* 1; Nogh. *süz-* 1; Tv. *süs-* 3; Chuv. *sər-* 1, "to catch fish by a drag-net".

◊ EDT 861, ЭСТЯ 4, 261; 7; VEWT 420 (the root should be distinguished from **sir-* 'to ooze', q.v. sub **sl̆ŭŕu*), Лексика 411, Ашм. XI, 311-312, 314, Федотов 2, 44-45. The meanings 'to strain, filter' and 'to swim, float' go back to a common meaning '*to flow' (additionally the semantic development > 'swim' could have been influenced by **jür-* 'to swim' q.v. sub **nl̆úŕe*). Bulg. > Hung. *szűr-* 'to ooze', see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 812-813.

‖ A Western isogloss. The root may in fact be the same as **sɨ̀ori* (reflected in the Eastern area) q.v., but modified under the influence of a synonymous **šɨ̆ŭ̯ŕu* q.v.

***sɨu̯ŕo** to drag; sleigh: Tung. ***siru-**; Turk. ***soŕ-**; Jpn. ***sə́rì (~ *-ui, -əi)**; Kor. ***sùr'úi**.

PTung. ***siru-** to rotate, roll, glide (кружиться, катиться, соскальзывать): Evk. *sirun-*; Evn. *hirun-*; Neg. *siwun-*; Man. *šurde-*; Ork. *siso-lo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 96-97, 430. The meaning in Manchu ('roll, rotate') is secondary < 'move quickly'. One is also tempted to relate here Manchu *sežen* 'carriage' that can be treated as an assimilation < **sižen* < **sir-gen*; all other TM forms (Nan. *sežẽ*, Ul. *sežen* etc., see TMC 2, 137) in that case should be considered borrowed < Manchu.

PTurk. ***soŕ-** to drag (тащить): Az. *soz-*; Turkm. *soz-*; Uygh. *soz-*; Tat. *sus-*; Bashk. *huδ-*; Kirgh. *soz-*; Kaz. *soz-*; KBalk. *soz-*; Kum. *soz-*; Yak. *sos-*; Dolg. *hohun-*.

◊ VEWT 429, Stachowski 107.

PJpn. ***sə́rì** sleigh (сани): Tok. *sóri*; Kyo. *sórì*; Kag. *sórì*.

◊ JLTT 531. The Tokyo accent is irregular (*sorí* would be expected) and may be due to borrowing.

PKor. ***sùr'úi** carriage, cart (повозка): MKor. *sùr'úi*; Mod. *sure*.

◊ Nam 315, KED 1001.

‖ Lee 1958, 118 (Kor.-TM).

***sɨ́usa** a k. of bamboo: Tung. ***susē-gde**; Turk. ***sis**; Jpn. ***sásá**; Kor. ***sàsǎr**.

PTung. ***susē-gde** a k. of plant (willow with yellow bark) (вид растения (тальник с желтым лубом)): Orch. *susēgde*.

◊ TMC 2, 131. Attested only in Oroch, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***sis** a k. of grass (мордовник): Oyr. *sis qomuryaj, qomuraj* (*qomuryaj* 'pipe').

◊ Attested only in Oyrot, with possible external parallels.

PJpn. ***sásá** small bamboo (мелкий бамбук): OJpn. *sasa*; MJpn. *sásá*; Tok. *sàsa*; Kyo. *sásá*; Kag. *sása*.

◊ JLTT 518.

PKor. ***sàsǎr** bamboo chip, lot (бамбуковая щепка, ветка): MKor. *sàsǎr*; Mod. *sat* [*sas*].

◊ Nam 284, KED 906 (in modern Korean mixed with **sat* 'thin mat', on which see under **zakt'i*).

‖ The root is very sparsely attested and thus not quite reliable.

***sɨ́útu (~ *z-)** to throw out, push out: Tung. ***sut-**; Mong. ***side-**; Jpn. ***súta-**; Kor. ***sòt-**.

PTung. ***sut-** 1 to scatter, throw about 2 to hit out, push out (1 разбрасывать, рассыпать 2 вышибать, выбивать): Evk. *sutigā-* 2; Man. *sota-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 114, 131.

PMong. ***side-*** to throw, fling (бросать, кидать): WMong. *side-* (L 697); Kh. *šide-*; Bur. *šede-*.

PJpn. ***súta-*** to throw out (выбрасывать): OJpn. *suta-*; MJpn. *súta-*; Tok. *sùte-*; Kyo. *súté-*; Kag. *sutḗ-*.

◊ JLTT 760.

PKor. ***sòt-*** to throw out, pour out, empty (выбрасывать, выливать, опустошать): MKor. *sòt-*; Mod. *s:ot-*.

◊ Nam 310, KED 990.

‖ Lee 1958, 117 (Kor.-TM).

✱**sɨ̯ŭtʻi (~ -t-)** milk, a k. of liquid: Tung. ***site-***; Mong. ***ü-sü-n***; Turk. ***sŭt***; Kor. ***stí-***.

PTung. ***site-*** 1 to soak (intr.) 2 slightly trickling (of woman's milk) (1 промокать 2 скудно, мало (о молоке кормящей женщины)): Neg. *site-* 1; Nan. *sitā* (On.) 2; Ul. *site-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 100.

PMong. ***ü-sü-n*** milk (молоко): MMong. *sün* (SH), *sūn* (IM), *su* (MA), *sūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *sü(n)* (L 744), *üsün*; Kh. *sŭ(n)*; Bur. *hün*, dial. *ühe(n)*; Kalm. *sün*, *üsn*; Ord. *üsü(n)*; Mog. *sün*; ZM *sun* (15-5a); Dag. *sū* (Тод. Даг. 164, MD 213); S.-Yugh. *sun*; Mongr. *sun* (SM 360).

◊ KW 340, 460, MGCD 614. Mong. > Manchu *sun* (see Rozycki 190).

PTurk. ***sŭt*** milk (молоко): OTurk. *süt* (OUygh.); Karakh. *süt* (MK); Tur. *süt*; Gag. *süt*; Az. *süd*; Turkm. *sŭt*; Sal. *süt*; Khal. *sīt*; MTurk. *süt* (AH, Abush.), *süd* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sut*; Uygh. *süt*; Krm. *süt*; Tat. *sŭt*; Bashk. *hŭt*; Kirgh. *süt*; Kaz. *süt*; KBalk. *süt*; KKalp. *süt*; Kum. *süt*; Nogh. *süt*; SUygh. *süt*, *söt*; Khak. *süt*; Shr. *süt*; Oyr. *süt*; Tv. *süt*; Chuv. *sə^{w}t*; Yak. *ŭt*.

◊ EDT 798, VEWT 438, Лексика 448-449, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***stí-m*** 1 sweat 2 water after washing rice (1 пот 2 вода после промывки риса): MKor. *stí-m* 1, *stí-mír* 2; Mod. *t:am* 1, *t:imul* 2.

◊ HMCH 209, Liu 249, KED 409, 526.

‖ Лексика 449. Mong. cannot be a Turkic loanword, despite Щербак 1997, 150. The form must be traced to **süt-sün* > **sü-sün* (with a regular dissimilative development > **üsün*). Kor. has a frequent loss of vowel between a fricative and a stop. The original meaning must have been 'liquid' or 'milk-like liquid' (with drops or bubbles on the surface) - whence, on the one hand, "sweat" and "soak", on the other - "milk" (in the Turk.-Mong. area).

✱**sɨ̯uʒakV** a k. of small animal: Tung. ***suʒakī***; Mong. ****čičaguli***; Turk. ****sičgan***.

PTung. ***suʒakī*** cat (кошка): Evk. *suʒakī* (Urm.).

◊ TMC 2, 120.

PMong. ***čičaguli** mole; gopher, prairie squirrel (крот; суслик): WMong. *čičaɣulin* (L 175); Ord. *ʃara ʒičūli* 'espèce de rat des champs'.

◊ It is interesting to note Krm. (K.) *sičavul* 'rat' - a mongolism?

PTurk. ***sičgan** rat, mouse (крыса, мышь): OTurk. *sičγan* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sičγan* (MK); Tur. *sičan*; Gag. *sičan*; Az. *sičan*; Turkm. *sičan*; Khal. *sičγān*; MTurk. *sičan* (Pav. C.), *sičγan* (AH, IM); Uzb. *sičqɔn*; Uygh. *sačqan, čačqan;* Krm. *sičan*; Tat. *sičqan, tičqan*; Bashk. *sisqan*; Kirgh. *čičqan*; Kaz. *tišqan*; KBalk. *cicxan*; KKalp. *tišqan*; Kum. *čičqan*; Nogh. *šišqan*; SUygh. *šiɣan*; Khak. *sisxan*; Shr. *šišqan*; Oyr. *čičqan*; Chuv. *šъži, šъ(r)ži*; Yak. *čis*.

◊ EDT 796, VEWT 414, Лексика 167, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Hung. *cickány* 'field mouse', see Gombocz 1912.

‖ EAS 96, TMN 3, 308; Лексика 168. A Western isogloss. The root seems plausible, but has some phonetic irregularities. Instead of Evk. *suʒakī* one could perhaps compare Tung. **šolčikī* 'ferret' (TMC 2, 405). Shor *čolasčaya*, Khak. *čolʒanaχ* 'ласка, хорек' (VEWT 115) is probably < TM.

***sōdV (~ z-, -ū-)** to scoop: Tung. ***sōda**; Kor. ***stí-**.

PTung. ***sōda** 1 scoop-net 2 to scoop (1 сачок 2 черпать): Man. *šodo-* 2, *šodoqu* 1; Nan. *sōdō* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 104.

PKor. ***stí-** to scoop, ladle (черпать): MKor. *stí-*; Mod. *t:i-*.

◊ Nam 173, KED 523.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. Korean has a frequent vowel reduction between a fricative and a stop, which explains the -t-reflex.

***sógà (~ -u-)** drunken, alcoholic drink: Mong. ***sogta-**; Turk. ***sUg-**; Jpn. ***sáká-i**; Kor. ***sù'ìr**.

PMong. ***sogta-** to get drunk (пьянеть, напиваться): MMong. *soxta-* (HY 35, SH), *ṣoxta-* (IM), *suqta-* (MA); WMong. *soɣta-, soɣtu-* (L 723); Kh. *sogto-*; Bur. *hogto-*; Kalm. *sokta-*; Ord. *soGtū*; Dag. *sorto-* (Тод. Даг. 164), *sogetō, soretō* 'a drunk' (MD 211) *soretu-*; Dong. *sodo-, sudo-*; Bao. *soxte-*; S.-Yugh. *soGtō-, soGdō-*; Mongr. *soGdō-* (SM 351), *sdō-*.

◊ KW 329-330, MGCD 603.

PTurk. ***sUg-** 1 to procure cheese 2 dried cheese (1 готовить сыр 2 сушеный сыр): Karakh. *suɣ-* 1, *suɣut* 2 (MK).

◊ EDT 805-806. For *suɣut* cf. Hung. *sajt* (rather than to Chuv. *čъgъt* - despite Gombocz 1912, Федотов 2, 400 et al.).

PJpn. ***sáká-i** sake, alcoholic drink (сакэ): OJpn. sake; MJpn. *sáké*; Tok. *sàke*; Kyo. *sáké*.

◊ JLTT 517. Modern *sakana* 'fish' is a late word, going back to MJ *saka-na* 'food (orig. 'vegetables') taken together with sake'; it is not attested in OJ.

PKor. ***sù'ɨr*** wine, alcoholic drink (вино, алкогольный напиток): MKor. *sù'ɨr, sù'ùr*; Mod. *sul*.

◊ Nam 314, KED 1018.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 275. The Jpn.-Kor. comparison see in Martin 235 (with a somewhat fantastic reconstruction). Actually Korean drops -g- quite regularly, while -r is an obvious suffix; the vowel -u-, however, is a problem (*-a- would be expected), and should be probably explained as a result of contraction (thus **sù'ɨr* < **sagV-bVr* or the like). Existing TM forms (see TMC 2,106) are clearly borrowed from Mongolian, see Doerfer MT 39, Rozycki 186. Cf. also Karakh. *suɣdič* 'winter parties, arranged by turns'.

✱**soge** to breathe, breath: Tung. ***sug-***; Mong. ***süji-***; Turk. ***sogli-***; Kor. ***sūi-***.

PTung. ***sug-*** 1 breath 2 vapour 3 soul 4 sacrifice 5 hurricane, wind 6 to breathe (1 дыхание 2 пар 3 дух, душа 4 жертвоприношение 5 вихрь, ураган 6 дышать): Evk. *suɣī* 5, *suɣina-* 6; Evn. *huji* 5; Neg. *sugde* 4, *soɣī* 5; Man. *suqdun* 1,2,3, su 5; SMan. *suvədun, suvudun* 'air, vapor, steam' (351); Ul. *sugdu-* 'to place a sacrifice before an idol', *sūi* 5; Ork. *sugditči-* 'to place food in front of a deceased', *sūi* 5; Nan. *sugdu(n)* 2, *sōi* 5; Orch. *sūi* 5; Ud. *sogdo* 2; Sol. *sōwī* 5.

◊ TMC 2, 118-119.

PMong. ***süji-*** 1 to pant 2 to blow (1 тяжело дышать, задыхаться 2 дуть): WMong. *süile-* 1 (L 742); Kh. *süjle-* 1; Bur. *hüje-* 2; Kalm. *sükn-* 1, *sügə-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *süjle-* 1.

PTurk. ***sogli-*** to breathe heavily, pant (тяжело дышать, задыхаться): Tur. *solu-*; Gag. *solu-*; MTurk. *solu-* (Pav. C., IM); Krm. *solu-*; Tat. *sula-*; KBalk. *solu-* 'to rest'; Kum. *solu-*; Nogh. *soliq-*; Oyr. *sōlu-*; Chuv. *śivla-*; Yak. *uoluj-* 'to be very scared'.

◊ VEWT 426, ЭСТЯ 6.

PKor. ***sūi-*** to breathe; to rest (дышать; отдыхать): MKor. *sūi-*; Mod. *swī-*.

◊ Nam 316, KED 1022.

‖ ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. **sĭ̆ga*.

✱**sogì** a k. of meat dish: Tung. ***sugulē-n***; Mong. ***suɣumaj***; Turk. ***sögül-***; Jpn. ***suki-jaki***.

PTung. ***sugulē-n*** meat prepared for boiling (мясо, приготовленное для варки): Evk. *suɣulēn*.

◊ TMC 2, 119. Attested only in Evk., but having interesting external parallels.

PMong. ***suɣumaj*** a k. of meat dumplings (вид мясных пельменей): WMong. *suumai* (MXTTT); Kh. *sūmaj*.

PTurk. ***sögül-*** 1 to roast meat 2 roasted meat, meat for roasting (1 жарить (мясо) 2 жареное мясо, мясо для жарения): OTurk. *sögül-* 1

(OUygh.); Karakh. *sögül-* 1 (MK), *sögüš* 2 (MK Oghuz); Tur. (dial.) *sögür-, sövür-* 1, *söviš, sögüš* 2; Turkm. *sövüš* 2; MTurk. *sögül-* 1 (AH), *sögüš* 2; Yak. *üöl-* 1; Dolg. *üöl-* 1.

◊ EDT 821, 823, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 251.

PJpn. ***suki-jaki** a k. of meat dish (вид мясного блюда): MJpn. *sugi-jaki*; Tok. *sukiyaki*.

◊ A compound with **jak-* 'burn'.

‖ Note the morphological match between Evk. *suɣulēn* and PT **sögü-l-* (or **sögü-ĺ-*).

***sogŋV** a k. of onion: Tung. ***seŋKule (< *soŋKule?)**; Mong. ***soŋgina (*soɣoŋgina)**; Turk. ***sogan**; Kor. ***sòŋ'ì**.

PTung. ***seŋKule** garlic (чеснок): Man. *seŋgule, seŋkule, semkele*; SMan. *seməkələ* 'scallion' (318).

◊ TMC 2, 143. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***soŋgina** onion (лук): MMong. *so'oŋgina* (HY 8), *sunqină* (MA); WMong. *soŋgina* (L 727); Kh. *songin*; Bur. *hongino*; Kalm. *soŋginə*; Ord. *soŋginoG*; Dong. *sunguna*; Mongr. *suŋGunoG*.

◊ KW 331. Mong. > Man. *soŋgina* (see Rozycki 191).

PTurk. ***sogan** onion (лук): OTurk. *soɣun* (OUygh.); Karakh. *soɣun* (MK); Tur. *soɣan*; Gag. *suvan, suan*; Az. *soɣan*; Turkm. *soɣan*; Sal. *soɣan, soɣän*; Khal. *soɣan*; MTurk. *soɣan* (AH, IM, Pav. C.); Uygh. *soɣan*; Tat. *suɣan*; Bashk. *huɣan*; Kirgh. *soɣan, soɣon*; KBalk. *soxan*; Kum. *soɣan*; Nogh. *soɣan*; SUygh. *soxan*; Chuv. *soɣan*.

◊ EDT 812, VEWT 425, Лексика 141, 465, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 69-70. Forms like Oyr. *soɣono, sōno*, Tuva *soɣuna* may be < Mong.

PKor. ***sòŋ'ì** 1 lotus seed 2 bud, bunch (1 семя лотоса 2 почка, гроздь): MKor. *sòŋ'î* 1; Mod. *soŋi, soŋari* 2.

◊ Nam 310, KED 994.

‖ KW 331, Дыбо 10. Despite Щербак 1997, 166, hardly a borrowing in Mong. < Turk. Hypotheses about the Chinese origin of the word (KW 331, Дмитриева 166-167) are hardly grounded: one has to suppose Chin. > Mong., with a secondary addition of the Mong. plant suffix -gina, with a subsequent borrowing Mong. > Turkic (which is hardly plausible because of old attestation within Turkic); the Manchu parallel also speaks against borrowing from Chinese. See also notes on **sugu* 'weed' (there may have been some confusion of these two roots in Kor.-Jpn. and in Turkic).

***sogú** to search, choose: Tung. ***sugele- (/ *segule-)**; Mong. ***soŋgu- (*soɣoŋgu-)**; Turk. ***sogra- ?**; Jpn. ***sunkur-**.

PTung. ***sugele- (/ *segule-)** to search, search through (искать, обыскивать): Man. *suwele-, seole-*; Ul. *sewlu-*; Nan. *seule-*.

◊ TMC 2, 134.

PMong. ***soɣoŋgu-*** to choose (выбирать): MMong. *so'aŋgu* (HY 34), *soonkuul-* (SH Козин); WMong. *soŋgu-* (L 726); Kh. *soŋgo-*; Bur. *huŋga-*; Kalm. *suŋɣə-* (KPC); Ord. *suŋGu-*; Dag. *soŋgo-* (Тод. Дar. 164); Dong. *sunɣu-* (Тод. Дн.).

PTurk. ***sogra-*** **?** 1 to search (through) 2 to ask (1 обыскивать 2 спрашивать): Karakh. *soɣrut-* 1 (MK); MTurk. *sora-* 1, *soraɣaq* 'search, perquisition' (Pav. C.); Chuv. *šĭra-* 2.

◊ EDT 816. Федотов 2, 466-467 derives the Chuv. form < **sōr(a)-* 'ask' (v. sub **sǒra*), but the initial *š-* remains unclear in both cases. Because of this, and because of the Hapax nature of the OT form the it is actually not quite clear whether the root **sogra-* exists at all. An argument in its favour is the semantic match between OT and Chagatai and the resulting semantic distinction (*'search (through)') from **sōr(a)-* 'ask'.

PJpn. ***sunkur-*** to choose, select (выбирать, отбирать): MJpn. *súgúr-*; Tok. *sugúr-*; Kyo. *súgúr-*; Kag. *sùgùr-*.

◊ JLTT 758. Accent not quite clear: modern dialects point rather to **sù(n)kùr-*.

‖ Ozawa 233-234.

sǒjk'ì** to curse: Tung. ***sujKu-; Mong. ***sögeɣe- / -k-***; Turk. ***sǒ̄k-***; Jpn. ***sikar-***.

PTung. ***sujKu-*** 1 to curse 2 to caper (1 ругать, бранить 2 озорничать): Man. *sujxu-* 2 (> Nan. *sujxu-*, *sojxo-* id.); Nan. *soị-*, (Kur.-Urm.) *soqola-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 104, 121.

PMong. ***sögeɣe- / -k-*** to curse, rebuke (ругать, винить): MMong. *soko-* (HY 35), *suke-* (MA), *suge-* (IM); WMong. *sögege-* (L 730); Kh. *söxǒ̄-*; Bur. *hüge-*; Mog. *suka-* (Weiers); Mongr. *sgō-* 'maudire, injurer, faire des imprécations' (SM 348).

◊ Cf. also WMong. *šoɣ* 'joke', Dag. (?) *čok* id. (Тод. Дar. 181).

PTurk. ***sǒ̄k-*** to curse, swear (ругать, бранить): OTurk. *sök-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sög-* (MK); Tur. *sövw-*; Gag. *sǖ-*; Az. *söj-*; Turkm. *sǒ̄g-*; MTurk. *sög-* (AH, Pav. C.), *sök-* (Houts., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *sọk-*; Uygh. *sök-*; Krm. *sök-*; Tat. *sük-*; Bashk. *hük-*; Kirgh. *sök-*; Kaz. *sök-*; KKalp. *sök-*; Kum. *sök-*; Nogh. *sök-*; Khak. *sök-*; Shr. *sök-*; Oyr. *sök-*; Yak. *üöx-*; Dolg. *üök-*.

◊ EDT 818-819, VEWT 429-430, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 251.

PJpn. ***sikar-*** to curse (ругать): MJpn. *sikar-*; Tok. *shìkar-*, *shikár-*; Kyo. *shíkár-*; Kag. *shìkàr-*.

◊ JLTT 750. Original accent unclear (both **síkár-* and **sìkàr-* are possible).

‖ KW 333, Poppe 109. Hardly borrowed in Mong. < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 147. Medial **-j-*, preserved in Manchu, explains the vowel *-i-* in Jpn. (otherwise **suk-* would be expected).

✱**soke** to kneel, be inclined: Tung. ***suku-***; Mong. ***sögüd-***; Turk. ***sök-***.

PTung. ***suku-*** to abut feet (in boat) (упираться ногами (при гребле)): Ul. *sučepu(n)* (n.); Nan. *sikupũ* (n.); Orch. *sukule-*; Ud. *suku-* 'to kick'.

◊ TMC 2, 123.

PMong. ***sögüd-*** to kneel (стоять на коленях): MMong. *sogat-* (HY 35), *sogot-* (SH)-, *suked-* (MA); WMong. *sögüd-* (L 731); Kh. *söga-*; Bur. *hügde-*; Kalm. *sögd-*, *sökt-*; Ord. *sögöd-*; Dag. *sugdu-*; S.-Yugh. *sögöd-*; Mongr. *sogodi-* (SM 352), (MGCD *sugodə-*).

◊ KW 333, MGCD 608. Cf. also *sög* 'an order for a camel to kneel'.

PTurk. ***sök-*** to kneel (преклонять колени, стоять на коленях): OTurk. *sök-*, *sökit-* (OUygh.), *sökür-* (Orkh.); Karakh. *sök-* (MK, KB), *sökit-* (MK); Tv. *sögej-*, *sögürü-*.

◊ EDT 819, 820, 822, VEWT 430. Turk. **sök-ür-* > WMong. *söküre-*, Kalm. *sökr-* (KW 333).

‖ EAS 71, 148, KW 333, Poppe 30. A Western isogloss. The Mong. forms may be < Turkic (cf. OT *sökit-*); but cf. also Mong. *soγsuji-*, Kalm. *soksī-* (> Oyr. *soqsoj-* etc., VEWT 426) 'to sit without motion' (KW 329).

✱**soke (~ -i̯u-, -kʿ-)** to split: Turk. ***sök-***; Jpn. ***sə̀nk-***.

PTurk. ***sök-*** to split, tear apart (разделять, распарывать, раздирать): OTurk. *sök-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *sök-* (MK); Tur. *sök-*; Gag. *sök-*; Az. *sök-*; Turkm. *sök-*; MTurk. *sök-* (AH, IM, Abush.); Uzb. *sọk-*; Uygh. *sök-*; Krm. *sök-*; Kirgh. *sök-*; Kaz. *sök-*; KBalk. *sök-*; KKalp. *sök-*; Kum. *sök-*; Nogh. *sök-*; Khak. *sök-*; Oyr. *sök-*; Tv. *sö'k-*.

◊ EDT 819, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sə̀nk-*** to chop, split off (отрубать, отщеплять): MJpn. *sòg-*; Tok. *sóg-*; Kyo. *sòg-*.

◊ JLTT 755.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps also Mong. *segre-* 'to be torn to pieces' (although delabialization is unexplainable).

✱**sokV** stuffed guts: Tung. ***sokta***; Mong. ***sugu-***; Turk. ***sogut / *soktu***.

PTung. ***sokta*** 1 yukola (part from fish's back) 2 fat, grease (1 юкола (часть, отрезанная от позвоночника) 2 жир, сало): Neg. *soktou* 2; Orch. *soqto* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 106.

PMong. ***sugu-*** 1 stuffed guts, stuffed stomach 2 fish bladder (1 фаршированные кишки, фаршированный желудок 2 рыбий пузырь): WMong. *suγuči*, *subuži* (L 734) 1; Kh. *suvž* 1; Bur. ***hugabša*** 1; Kalm. *soγəži* 1, *soγāl* 2.

◊ KW 329. Variants *suγuči* / *subuži* point to **sugu-bči* (preserved in Bur. ***hugabša***).

PTurk. ***sogut / *soktu*** stuffed guts, sausage (набитые внутренности, колбаса): Karakh. *soγut, soqtu* (MK); Kirgh. *soqto*; Kaz. *soqta*; Tv. *sūk-xan*.

◊ EDT 806.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**sə̀kʻe** to be harmed, deceived: Tung. ***sōk-***; Mong. ***sögüɣe***; Turk. ***sökel***; Kor. ***sòk-***.

PTung. ***sōk-*** 1 to err, be mistaken 2 to caper, rough-house (1 ошибаться 2 озорничать, буянить): Evk. *sōkto-* 1; Evn. *hōta-* 1; Ork. *soqodo-* 2; Nan. *sōdo-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 105, 106.

PMong. ***sögüɣe*** lack of powers, disability (беспомощность): WMong. *sögüge* (MXTTT); Kh. *sögō*.

PTurk. ***sökel*** ill (больной): Karakh. *sökel* (MK); Tur. *sökel*; Az. *sökäl* (dial.); MTurk. *sökäl* (AH), *sökül* (Pav. C.).

◊ EDT 820, ЭСТЯ 7. The deriving stem is probably preserved in Turkm. *sök-* 'to weaken'.

PKor. ***sòk-*** 1 to err, be deceived 2 to deceive (1 ошибаться, обманываться 2 обманывать): MKor. *sòki-* 2; Mod. *sok-* 1, *sogi-* 2.

◊ Nam 307, KED 980, 984.

‖ Korean has a usual verbal low tone. Cf. **sə̀kʻo*.

sə̀kʻo (~ -k-) to hit, harm: Tung. ***suK-***; Mong. ***sogug***; Turk. ***sok-***; Jpn. ***sə̀kə̀-nap-***.

PTung. ***suK-*** 1 to break, crush 2 to harm, spoil 3 edge of ski stick 4 arrow-head (1 ломать 2 портить 3 наконечник лыжной палки 4 наконечник стрелы): Evk. *suku-* 2, *sukča-* 1; Evn. *hučak-* 1; Ork. *sūkpe, sūpke* 3; Nan. *sokpi-so* 4 (On.).

◊ TMC 2, 123.

PMong. ***sogug*** flaw, defect (недостаток, дефект): WMong. *soγuγ* (MXTTT); Kh. *sogog*.

PTurk. ***sok-*** to hit, beat, crush (бить, ударять, сокрушать): OTurk. *soq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *soq-* (MK); Tur. *sok-*; Turkm. *soq-*; MTurk. *soq-* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *soq-*; Uygh. *soq-*; Krm. *soγ-*; Tat. *suq-*; Bashk. *huq-*; Kirgh. *soq-*; Kaz. *soq-*; KBalk. *soq-*; KKalp. *soq-*; Nogh. *soq-*; SUygh. *soq-*; Khak. *sox-*; Shr. *soq-*; Oyr. *soq-*; Tv. *soq-*; Tof. *so'q-*; Chuv. *sъʷx-*; Yak. *oγus-*; Dolg. *ogus-*.

◊ EDT 805, Лексика 396, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 190. Homonymous **sok-* 'to pierce, stick into' and **sok-* 'to weave, knit' (see ЭСТЯ ibid.) may represent originally different roots.

PJpn. ***sə̀kə̀-nap-*** 1 to harm, damage 2 to deceive (1 вредить 2 обманывать): OJpn. *s(w)ok(w)o-nap-* 1; MJpn. *sòkò-naf-* 1, 2; Tok. *sokoná-* 1; Kyo. *sókóná-* 1; Kag. *sokoná-* 1.

◊ JLTT 755. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular (perhaps influenced by literary Jpn.).

‖ Cf. **sök'e*, **šiŭk'u*, **sák'a*.

✱**sólo** to be lax, loose: Tung. ***sula-**; Mong. ***sula**; Turk. ***sōl**; Jpn. ***səra- (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***sǎr-**.

PTung. ***sula-** to leave (оставлять, оставаться): Evk. *sula- / sulā-*; Evn. *ḥulā-*; Neg. *sola-pča-*; Ul. *solaoǯu-*; Ork. *sulaw-*; Nan. *solō-*; Orch. *sulagi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 124.

PMong. ***sula** loose, lax, vacant (расслабленный, свободный): MMong. *sula* (MA), *sulara-* 'to loosen' (SH); WMong. *sula* (L 736); Kh. *sul*; Bur. *hula* 'weak, lax'; Kalm. *sulə*; Ord. *sula*; Dag. *sual*, sol (Тод. Дar. 163), *suale* (MD 212); Dong. *sula* 'weak'; Bao. *səla*; S.-Yugh. *sula*; Mongr. *səlā* (SM 342), (MGCD *sulā*).

◊ KW 336, MGCD 577, 612. Mong. > Evk., Manchu *sula* id. (see TMC 2, 124, Rozycki 190).

PTurk. ***sōl** left (левый): OTurk. *sol* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sol* (MK); Tur. *sol*; Gag. *sol*; Az. *sol*; Turkm. *sōl*; MTurk. *sol* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *soḷ*; Uygh. *sol*; Krm. *sol*; Tat. *sul*; Bashk. *hul*; Kirgh. *sol*; Kaz. *sol*; KBalk. *sol*; KKalp. *sol*; Kum. *sol*; Nogh. *sol*; SUygh. *sol, söl*; Khak. *sol*; Shr. *sol*; Oyr. *sol*; Tv. *sol*.

◊ EDT 824, VEWT 426, ЭСТЯ 7. Also **sōlak*, whence WMong. *solaγai*, Kalm. *soḷā* (KW 330, Щербак 1997, 166), whence again Kaz. *solaqaj* etc. (VEWT 427).

PJpn. ***səra- (~ -ua-)** to deviate (отклоняться): MJpn. *sora-*; Tok. *soré-*; Kyo. *sòré-*; Kag. *soré-*.

◊ JLTT 755. Accent is not clear: Kagoshima points to **sárá-*, but Kyoto and Tokyo rather to **sə̀rá-*.

PKor. ***sǎr-** to fit loosely, be shaky (свободно вмещаться, быть шатким): Mod. *salgapta* (orth. *sǎl-gǎpta*).

◊ SKE 221.

‖ KW 336, SKE 221 (the Kor. form is found only there and thus questionable). Despite Doerfer MT 26, TM forms are hardly borrowed from Mong.

✱**sólukV (~ z-, -Í-, -ak-, -k'-)** a k. of small fur animal: Tung. ***sulakī**; Mong. ***soluŋga**; Kor. ***sǎrk**.

PTung. ***sulakī** fox (лиса): Evk. *sulakī*; Evn. *ḥulā̃*; Neg. *solaxī*; Ul. *sulį*; Ork. *sulį*; Nan. *solį*; Orch. *sulaki*; Ud. *sula'i* (Корм. 289); Sol. *sulaki, sulaxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 124.

PMong. ***soluŋga** kolinsky (колонок): MMong. *solaŋqa* 'weasel' (SH); WMong. *soluŋγa* (L 726: "Siberian marten, weasel"); Kh. *soloŋgo*; Bur. *holoŋgo*; Kalm. *solŋgə*; Ord. *soloŋGo*; Mongr. *suloŋGo* (SM 358).

◊ KW 330. Mong. > Evk. *soloŋgō* etc., see Doerfer MT 39.

PKor. ***sə̌rk*** badger; wild cat (барсук; дикая кошка): MKor. *sə̌rk*; Mod. *sak* [*salk*].

◊ Nam 292, KED 901.

‖ SKE 221, Lee 1958, 117, Poppe 1950, 579, Miller 2000, 62 . Cf. **si̯alo(-kV)*.

sə̀lV** yellow, bleak: Tung. ***sō-; Turk. ***sol-***.

PTung. ***sō-*** yellow (желтый): Man. *suwajan, soχon*; SMan. *sujan, suajan* (2423); Jurch. *so-gian* (618); Ul. *sōgžo(n), som*; Ork. *sogdo, som*; Nan. *sojā, sōGžō, sōlā, sōm*; Orch. *sogžo*; Ud. *soligi* 'reddish' (of hair).

◊ TMC 2, 103-104.

PTurk. ***sol-*** to wilt, wither (вянуть, чахнуть, блекнуть): Karakh. *soluš-* (MK); Tur. *sol-*; Gag. *sol-, solu-*; Az. *sol-, solux-*; Turkm. *sol-*; Khal. *suōluq-*; Uzb. *sọl-*; Krm. *sol-, solu-*; Tat. *sul-*; Bashk. *hulı̆-*; Kirgh. *solu-*; Kaz. *sol-*; KKalp. *sol-, solı̆-*; Kum. *sol-, solu-*; Nogh. *sol-*.

◊ EDT 828, VEWT 427, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

sòmú (~ z-)** gore, gusset: Tung. ***soma; Mong. ***sumu***; Jpn. ***sùmí***; Kor. ***sə̌mái***.

PTung. ***soma*** tail fin, belly fin (плавник (брюшной, околохвостовой)): Ud. *somo*.

◊ TMC 2, 110. Attested only in Ud., with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***sumu*** lap (in woman's garment) (пола от правой подмышки донизу в женской одежде): WMong. *sumu* (БАМРС); Kh. *sum*.

PJpn. ***sùmí*** inner angle (внутренний угол): OJpn. *sumji*; MJpn. *sùmí*; Tok. *súmi*; Kyo. *sùmí*; Kag. *sumí*.

◊ JLTT 533.

PKor. ***sə̌mái*** sleeve (рукав): MKor. *sə̌mài, sə̌mə̌i*; Mod. *somä*.

◊ Nam 287-288, KED 973/

‖ The original meaning was probably 'inner angle in a robe' (hence 'right lap' in Mong. and 'sleeve' in Kor.), with a generalization (> 'inner angle') in Japanese; the TM match is semantically plausible (a further development 'gusset' > 'fish fin'), but very scantily attested and thus dubious.

sònŋu** trace, back, behind: Tung. ***soŋka (~ *sonŋV-ka); Mong. ***sun-du-***; Turk. ***soŋ***; Jpn. ***sùm-***.

PTung. ***soŋka (~ *sonŋV-ka)*** trace (след): Man. *soŋqo*; SMan. *soŋqə, soŋqu* (2384).

◊ TMC 2, 111. Attested only in Manchu; but cf. perhaps also Sol. *son-či-* 'to ride' (ibid.), perhaps < 'sit behind the rider' (cf. the meanings in Mong. **sun-du-*).

PMong. ***sun-du-*** 1 to ride sitting behind the rider 2 to follow one another (1 сидеть верхом позади наездника 2 идти следом): MMong.

sundu-la- 1, *sundu-r-* 2 (SH), *sundula-* (MA); WMong. *sundula-*, *sundala-* 1 (L 737); Kh. *sundla-* 1; Bur. *hundalda-* 1; Kalm. *sundəl-* 1; Ord. *sundala-* 1.

◊ KW 337, TMN 1, 348. Mong. > Manchu *sundala-* etc. (see Rozycki 190-191).

PTurk. ***soŋ*** back, end, after (задняя часть, конец, позади): OTurk. *soŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *soŋ* (MK); Tur. *son*; Gag. *sonu*; Az. *son*; Turkm. *soŋ*; Sal. *son*; Khal. *soj*; MTurk. *soŋ* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔŋ*; Uygh. *soŋ*; Krm. *soŋ*, *son*; Tat. *sŭŋ*; Bashk. *huŋ*; Kirgh. *soŋ*; Kaz. *soŋ*; KKalp. *soŋ*; Kum. *soŋ*; Nogh. *soŋ*; SUygh. *soŋ*; Khak. *soŋ*; Shr. *sōn*, *sō*; Oyr. *soŋ*; Tv. *soŋ*, *sō*.

◊ EDT 832-833, VEWT 428, TMN 3, 337, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. also Karakh. (MK) *siŋarsuk* 'back side of the horse'.

PJpn. ***sùm-*** to end (кончаться): MJpn. *sùm-*; Tok. *súm-*; Kyo. *súm-*; Kag. *sùm-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

‖ EAS 119, KW 337 (the Turk.-Mong. match seems valid despite criticism in TMN 1, 348).

✱***sŏnu*** dog hunt, dog rope: Tung. ***suna***; Turk. ***sonar***; Jpn. ***sùnà-tər-***; Kor. ***sànhăiŋ***.

PTung. ***suna*** dog rope (сворка (поводок для нескольких собак)): Evk. *suna*; Evn. *hūŋkan*; Man. *suna*; Ul. *sụna*; Ork. *suna*; Nan. *sona*; Orch. *sūna* 'shaman's posterior belt'.

◊ TMC 2, 127. Since the archaic meaning must have been 'hunting with dogs', it seems possible to connect also Manchu *sunte-*, *suntebu-* 'to destroy the enemy' (TMC 127) (whence Dag. *suntu-* id., Тод. Даг. 164). Evk. > Dolg. *hunakān* (see Stachowski 111).

PTurk. ***sonar*** hunting (with dogs) (охота (с собаками)): Tur. (Kurdak) *sumar-la-* 'to hunt' (R.); Tat. *sunar*; Bashk. *hunar*; Kirgh. *sonor*; Kaz. *sonar-la-* 'to trace' (KTTC); Chuv. (Bulgar) *somor* 'dog'; Yak. *sonor*.

◊ VEWT 428, ЭСТЯ 7 (here related to **soni* 'untouched snow or grass' which is rather dubious). Tat. > Chuv. *sunar* 'id.' (Федотов 2, 63).

PJpn. ***sùnà-tər-*** to fish (ловить рыбу): OJpn. *suna-tor-*; MJpn. *sùnà-tòr-*; Tok. *sunador-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

PKor. ***sànhăiŋ*** hunting (охота): MKor. *sànhăiŋ*; Mod. *sanjaŋ*.

◊ Nam 289, KED 869. In KED it is explained as a Chinese borrowing: 山行 'going to the mountains', which is probably a folk etymology: in Middle Korean the word is usually not spelled with Chinese characters (see HMCH 307), means all sorts of hunting, while the Chinese compound does not denote hunting at all (just "mountain trip").

‖ The Kor. form is a secondary derivative from an unattested verb **sàn-hă-*, which explains the "verbal" low tone (although the -a-vowel is not quite expected, possibly - a dissimilation from **sǎn-hă-*). The Jpn. meaning is obviously secondary ("hunting" > "fishing").

✱**sóra** to ask, inform: Tung. ***sure***; Mong. ***sori-***; Turk. ***sōr(a)-***; Jpn. ***sátə́- (~ -ua)***; Kor. ***sǎrb-***.

PTung. ***sure*** wise (мудрый, чуткий): Man. *sure*; SMan. *surə* (1991); Jurch. *su-re* (753).

◊ TMC 2, 117.

PMong. ***sori-*** to try, test, attempt (пытаться, пробовать): MMong. *sori-* (SH); WMong. *sori-* (MXTTT); Kh. *sori-*; Bur. *hori-*; Kalm. *sör-* (KPC); Ord. *sori-*.

PTurk. ***sōr(a)-*** to ask (спрашивать, просить): OTurk. *sor-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sor-* (MK); Tur. *sor-*; Gag. *sor-*; Az. *sor-*; Turkm. *sōra-*; Sal. *sor-, sur-*; MTurk. *sor-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *soṛa-*; Uygh. *sora-*; Krm. *sor-*; Bashk. *hŭra-*; Kirgh. *sura-*; Kaz. *sura-*; KBalk. *sor-, sura-*; KKalp. *sora-*; Kum. *sora-*; Nogh. *sora-*; SUygh. *sura-*; Khak. *sur-*; Oyr. *sura-*; Tv. *sura-*.

◊ EDT 843-844, VEWT 56, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Mong. *sur-* 'to learn', *sura-* 'ask' (see TMN 3, 239-242, Щербак 1997, 145; note that at least part of modern Turkic forms like *sura-* may be borrowed back < Mong.), whence Evk., Man. *sura-*, see Doerfer MT 131.

PJpn. ***sátə́- (~ -ua)*** wise (мудрый): OJpn. *sat(w)o-*; MJpn. *sátó-*; Tok. *sató-*; Kyo. *sátò-*; Kag. *sáto-*.

◊ JLTT 839. The accent in Tokyo is aberrant, but RJ and Kagoshima point to **sátə́-*.

PKor. ***sǎrb-*** to speak, tell (говорить, сообщать): MKor. *sărp-* (-w-); Mod. *sarwe-*.

◊ Nam 292, KED 872.

‖ Martin 234 (Turk.-Mong.-Kor.).

✱**sóra (~ z-, -u-, -ŕ-)** a k. of dish, basket: Tung. ***sora***; Jpn. ***sárá***; Kor. ***sòr-***.

PTung. ***sora*** basket (корзина): Man. *šoro*; SMan. *sorə* (656); Ul. *soro*; Nan. *soro*.

◊ TMC 2, 113.

PJpn. ***sárá*** plate (тарелка): OJpn. *sara*; MJpn. *sárá*; Tok. *sàra*; Kyo. *sárá*; Kag. *sárà*.

◊ JLTT 518. The form is sometimes considered to be borrowed from Sanskr. *çarāva*, which is rather dubious.

PKor. ***sor-*** 1 dish, vessel 2 bamboo basket (1 блюдо, сосуд 2 бамбуковая корзина): MKor. *sòrá ~ sórá* 1, *sor* 2; Mod. *sorä* 'a k. of saucer'.

◊ Nam 307, Liu 462, 467, KED 972.

‖ SKE 242, Martin 250. An Eastern isogloss. Cf. perhaps Khak. *sara* 'a vessel for sifting flour'.

✱**sū** well, very, extremely: Tung. ***sō***; Mong. ***su***; Jpn. ***su***; Kor. ***su***.

PTung. ***sō*** very, verily, significantly (очень, чрезвычайно, значительно): Evk. *sō* 1; Evn. *hō* 1; Neg. *sō* 1; Orch. *so* 'word added after addressing smn.'.

◊ TMC 2, 101.

PMong. ***su*** 1 hail, blessing 2 distinction, genius (1 поздравление, благословение 2 гений, нечто выдающееся): MMong. *su* 1 (HP, SH, HYt), *su-tu* 'blessed, happy' (HYt, SH); WMong. *su* 1, (L 740) *suu* 2; Kh. *sū* 2; Kalm. *sū*; Ord. *sudu*.

◊ KW 339, TMN 1, 342.

PJpn. ***su*** very, quite, straight (pref.) (очень, вполне, прямо (преф.)): OJpn. *su*; MJpn. *su*; Tok. *su*.

◊ JLTT 531.

PKor. ***su*** pure, simple (pref.) (простой, чистый (преф.)): MKor. *su-*; Mod. *su-t-* [*su-s-*].

◊ Liu 473, KED 1020.

‖ A common Altaic monosyllabic root.

suba (~ -bg-)** steam, odour: Tung. ***subgi-; Mong. ***sabsa-***; Turk. ***sogul-***.

PTung. ***subgi-*** steam, smoke (пар, дым): Evk. *subgin*; Evn. *hebgi*; Neg. *subgin*; Ul. *subgi(n)*; Ork. *subgi(n)*; Nan. *subgĩ*.

◊ TMC 2, 115-116.

PMong. ***sabsa-*** to rise (of steam, smoke) (подниматься (о паре, дыме)): WMong. *sabsa-* (L 654); Kh. *savsa-*; Bur. *habha-*; Kalm. *sabsal-* (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***sogul-*** to dry off, peter out (of liquids) (высыхать, испаряться, убывать (о жидкостях)): OTurk. *soɣul-* (*suɣul-*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *soɣul-* (*suɣul-*) (MK); Tur. *soɣul-*; MTurk. *sovul-* (Ettuhf.), *soɣal-*, *suɣal-* (R., Bud.); Tat. *suwal-* (dial.); Bashk. *hɨwal-*; Kirgh. *sōl-*; Kaz. *suwal-*; Nogh. *suwal-*; SUygh. *soɣul-*; Khak. *sōl-*; Shr. *sōl-*; Oyr. *sōl-*; Tv. *sōl-*; Chuv. *sɨval-*; Yak. *uol-*; Dolg. *uol-*.

◊ VEWT 425, EDT 809, Stachowski 244.

‖ A Western isogloss.

suba (~ -o, -u)** to tie, bind: Tung. ***sub-; Mong. ***soji-***; Turk. ***sub-luk (*sɨb-luk)***.

PTung. ***sub-*** 1 to tie, bind 2 string, rope 3 harness strap 4 mouthpiece (1 увязывать 2 лента, тесьма 3 ремешок (у лямки-упряжи) 4 мундштук): Evk. *suptilgi* 2; Evn. *huhtiŋ* 2, (Arm.) *sovar* 3; Neg. *soptịn-* 1; Man. *subexe* 2; Ul. *supsien-* 1, *sụptaŋGị* 2, *soi* 4; Ork. *sū-* 1; Nan. *sopsịn-* 1, *soptaŋGị* 2; Orch. *supti(n)* 2, *soị* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 114, 116-117, 129.

PMong. ***soji-*** to tie up a horse, to keep a horse tied (держать лошадь на привязи): WMong. *soji-* (L 724); Kh. *soj-*; Bur. *hoj-*; Kalm. *sȫ-* (KPC); Ord. *soǫ̈-*; S.-Yugh. *soi-*.

◊ MGCD 603. Mong. > Man. *sojō-* 'to keep a horse tied' (see Rozycki 188). It is also interesting to note Sol. *sowi-* id. See TMC 2, 103.

PTurk. ***sub-luk (*sib-luk)*** horse's bit (удила): Tur. *suluk* (dial.); Turkm. *suwluq* (dial.); MTurk. *suluq* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *suluq, suwliq*; Tat. *siwliq* (dial.); Kirgh. *sūluq, sūlduruq*; Kaz. *suwliq*; KKalp. *suwliq*; Nogh. *suwliq*; SUygh. *suluq*; Khak. *suɣlux*; Shr. *suɣuluq*; Oyr. *suluq, sūluq*; Tv. *suɣluq*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **sĭp'i, *šįŭpo*. The three roots are very difficult to sort out; **suba* seems to be particularly connected with harnessing.

subV (~ z-, -p-)** a 1-year-old animal: Tung. ***sube; Mong. ***subaj***.

PTung. ***sube*** 1 a 1-year-old deer 2 a roe (with thin legs) (1 олененок-однолетка 2 важенка (тонконогая)): Evk. *sujūkēn* 1, dial. *šuwiŋen* 2; Ork. *suwe, sue* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 117, 121, 428.

PMong. ***subaj*** female animal (cow, mare etc.) which has not born a foal (or calf) during the year (яловая (корова, кобыла)): WMong. *subai* (L 733); Kh. *suvaj*; Bur. *hubaj*; Kalm. *suwṛxā, suwā, suwā*; Ord. *suwā*.

◊ KW 338, 339. Mong. > Sol. *suvɛi gēg* (TMC 2, 117).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

súču (~ *sįúčo, *z-)** soot, coal: Mong. ****čučal(i) / *čičula; Jpn. ****sùsû***; Kor. ****sùsk***.

PMong. ****čučali / *čičula*** fire-brand (головня): WMong. *čučali* (L 205), *čičula*; Kh. *cucal*; Bur. *susal*; Kalm. *cucəl*; Ord. *ǯučali* 'remplace le mot "Gal" 'feu' chez les personnes qui observent la coutume du nere Gālaxu'.

◊ KW 434.

PJpn. ****sùsû*** soot (сажа): OJpn. *susu*; MJpn. *sùsú*; Tok. *súsu*; Kyo. *sùsû*; Kag. *susú*.

◊ JLTT 535.

PKor. ****sùsk*** coal (уголь): MKor. *sùs* (*sùsk-*); Mod. *sut* [*suč*ʰ].

◊ Nam 316, KED 1021.

‖ Martin 242. Mong. has an assimilation **čuč-* < **suč-*, usual in roots of this type.

sūč'i** sweet: Mong. ****čöčügej; Turk. ****sŭči-***.

PMong. ****čöčügej*** cream (сливки): WMong. *čöčügei* (MXTTT); Kh. *cögcij*; Bur. *süsegi*.

PTurk. ****sŭči-*** sweet (1 сладкий 2 становиться сладким): OTurk. *sŭčig* 'sweet' (Orkh.), *sŭčüg* 'wine; sweet' (OUygh.); Karakh. *sŭči-* 'to be sweet' (MK, KB), *sücig* (MK, KB, IM) 'wine, sweet'; Tur. *süji* (Osm.), *süjü* 'wine'; Turkm. *süjji* 1, *süjje-* 2; MTurk. *sŭčüg* 'sweet, wine' (Qutb, Houts.); Uzb. *sučuk* ~ *čučuk* 'sweet, insipid', *čuču-* 2; Uygh. *sŭčük* ~ *čŭčük*

1, *čüčü-* 2; Tat. *töče* 'insipid, sweet'; Bashk. *sösö* 'insipid', *sösö-* 2; Kirgh. *čüčü* 1.

◊ EDT 795, 796-797, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Turko-Mongolian isogloss.

✱**suda** to spit out, spurt: Mong. ***sadara-**; Turk. ***sud-**.

PMong. ***sadara-*** to spurt, jet (бить струей): WMong. *sadara-* (L 655: "to leak heavily over a wide surface"); Kh. *sadra-*; Ord. *sadara-*.

PTurk. ***sud-*** to spit out (выплевывать): OTurk. *su/od-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *su/oδ-* (MK); Khak. **suz-* (Koib. > Kam. *suz-*, Joki 1952, 276-277); Chuv. *sor-*.

◊ VEWT 431, EDT 799, Егоров 196, Федотов 2, 65.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**sugá** a k. of water-bird: Tung. ***sugen (~ -b-)***; Jpn. ***sankí***; Kor. ***sói***.

PTung. ***sugen (~ -b-)*** 1 gull 2 heron (1 чайка-рыболов 2 цапля): Man. *suwan / suwen* 1; Jurch. *su-wen* (181) 2.

◊ TMC 2, 117.

PJpn. ***sankí*** heron (цапля): OJpn. *sag(j)i*; MJpn. *sagi*; Tok. *sàgi*, *sági*; Kyo. *ságí*; Kag. *ságì*.

◊ JLTT 515. Variants **sá(n)kí* (reflected in most dialects) and **sà(n)kí* (cf. Tokyo *sági*) can be reconstructed.

PKor. ***sói*** kingfisher (зимородок): MKor. *sói-sāi*.

◊ Nam 311.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. Karakh. *sügič* 'a k. of bird' (?) (EDT 819).

✱**súgò (~ -o-)** inside, deep inside: Tung. ***sug-***; Mong. ***suɣu(wu)***; Turk. ***sogli-***; Jpn. ***sókà***; Kor. ***so'ok***.

PTung. ***sug-*** 1 to place properly 2 to put a child into the cradle (1 разложить по местам 2 положить ребенка в люльку): Evk. *suɣi-* 1; Ork. *sūɣatčį-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 118, 119.

PMong. ***suɣu(wu)*** armpit (подмышка): MMong. *su'u* (HY, SH), *suw* (IM); WMong. *suɣu(n)*, *suu* (L 734); Kh. *suga*; Bur. *huga*; Kalm. *sŭ*, *sū*; Ord. *sū*; Dag. *sō* (Тод. Дат. 163); Dong. *suɣə*, *sunGo*; Bao. *soχo*; S.-Yugh. *sū*; Mongr. *sū* 'aisselle' (SM 355).

◊ KW 339, 341, MGCD 609.

PTurk. ***sogli-*** to thrust the hand (into one's bosom) (засовывать руку (за пазуху)): Karakh. *soɣli-* (MK).

◊ EDT 810.

PJpn. ***sókà*** bottom (дно): OJpn. *soko*; MJpn. *sókó*; Tok. *sòko*; Kyo. *sókó*; Kag. *sóko*.

◊ JLTT 530.

PKor. ***so'ok*** deep inside (глубоко, в глубине): MKor. *so'ok*; Mod. *sŏk*.

◊ Nam 307, KED 979.

‖ Martin 247 (Kor.-Jpn.). It is hard to choose between *-u- and *-o-: Turkic and Korean evidence is not decisive (in Turkic - only MK; in Kor. *so'ok* could well be an assimilation < **să'ok*).

✱**sugú (~ -o-)** a k. of weed: Tung. ***suga-kta***; Mong. ***suji-ka***; Jpn. ***sunkai, *suKaN-***; Kor. ***siŋ'a***.

PTung. ***suga-kta*** wormwood (полынь): Neg. *soγakta*; Man. *suku*; Ul. *soaqta*; Ork. *sụaqta*; Nan. *sōaqta*; Orch. *suakta*.

◊ TMC 2, 105.

PMong. ***suji-ka*** wormwood (полынь): WMong. *sujiqa* (L 735); Kh. *suix*; Ord. *sujGa*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *suixa* (Doerfer MT 145, Rozycki 189); not vice versa despite Sukhebaatar 172.

PJpn. ***sunkai*** 1 sedge 2 sorrel (1 осока 2 щавель): OJpn. *suge* 1; MJpn. *suge* 1; Tok. *sùge* 1, *sukampo, suiba* 2; Kyo. *súgé*; Kag. *sugé*.

◊ JLTT 532. Accent in PJ is not quite clear.

PKor. ***siŋ'a*** sorrel (щавель): MKor. *siŋ'a*; Mod. *siŋa*.

◊ Liu 489, KED 1031.

‖ TMC 2, 105, Doerfer MT 145. Cf. also Kalm. *soγə* 'a k. of big plant; a k. of reed' (KW 329). In the Kor.-Jpn. area there may be some confusion between the reflexes of this root and PA **sogŋV* 'onion': Kor. *siŋ'a* and modern Jpn. forms like *sukampo* and *suiba* may actually go back to the latter.

✱**suji (~ z-, sịuju)** sour: Tung. ***suje-***; Jpn. ***sù-***; Kor. ***sùi-, *sūi-***.

PTung. ***suje-*** 1 lye 2 liquid strained from wine ferment (1 щелок 2 брага (жидкость, сцеженная с винной закваски)): Man. *sujen*.

◊ TMC 2, 121.

PJpn. ***sù-*** sour (кислый): OJpn. *sujur-* 'to pickle, make sour'; MJpn. *sù-*; Tok. *sú-*; Kyo. *sú-*; Kag. *sù-*.

◊ JLTT 840. Cf. also MJ *sì* (< **su-i*) 'sorrel'.

PKor. ***sùi-, *sūi-*** 1 sour 2 to become sour (кислый): MKor. *sùi-, sǎi-* 1, *sūi-* 2; Mod. si- 1, *swī-* 2.

◊ Nam 296, 322, Liu 479, KED 1022, 1035.

‖ Martin 242. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**sùjli** green plants, edible plants: Tung. ***sol-gi***; Mong. ***söl***; Turk. ***suli / *süli***; Kor. ***súi***.

PTung. ***sol-gi*** 1 vegetables 2 sprouts (from a root) (1 зелень, овощи 2 отпрыски (от корня)): Man. *sogi* 1, *solo* 2; SMan. *šogə, śogi* 'greens, leafy vegetables' (303); Jurch. *sol-ŋi* (524) 1; Ul. *solǯị* 1; Nan. *solgị* 1; Orch. *soggixa* 1; Ud. *sogühö* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 103, 108.

PMong. ***söl*** grass having preserved its green colour (трава, сохранившая до осени зеленый цвет): WMong. *söl, sölü* (L 731); Kh. *söl*; Kalm. *söl*.

◊ KW 333.

PTurk. ***suli / *süli*** oats (овес): Turkm. *süle*; MTurk. *suvlu* 'spelt' (CCum.); Uzb. *suli*; Uygh. *sulu*; Krm. *sülü*; Tat. *soli*; Bashk. *holo*; Kirgh. *sulu*; Kaz. *suli, süli*; KKalp. *suli*; Kum. *sulu*; Nogh. *suli*; Khak. *sula, sulu*; Oyr. *sula*; Tv. *sula*; Chuv. *sə^{w}lə^{w}*.

◊ VEWT 432, Лексика 464, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > WMong. *suli*, Kalm. *sulə* (KW 336).

PKor. ***súi*** crops (урожай, хлеб на корню): MKor. *súi*.

◊ Nam 316.

‖ Medial *-j- should be reconstructed to explain loss of *-l- in Kor. The root seems to be a Wanderwort (see Аб. 3, 194-195, Стеблин-Каменский 1972, 31, NCED 965), but may be reconstructable for PA.

✱**sŭ̊ku** to scoop, bucket: Tung. ***soKa-***; Mong. ***sugu-***; Turk. ***sogur-***; Jpn. ***súkúp-***; Kor. ***sok-kori***.

PTung. ***soKa-*** to scoop, ladle (черпать): Evk. *soko-*; Evn. *huqu-*; Neg. *soxo-*; Ul. *sŭ-su-*; Ork. *sō-*; Nan. *sō-lo-*; Orch. *soko-*; Ud. *so'-lo-* (Корм. 287).

◊ TMC 2, 105.

PMong. ***sugu-*** 1 to take out 2 to fall out, slip out (1 вытаскивать 2 ускользать, вырываться, выпадать): WMong. *suɣula-* 1, *suɣura-* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *sugul-* 1, *sugura-* 2; Bur. *hugal-* 1, *hugar* 2; Kalm. *suɣl-* 1 (KPC); Ord. *suGul-* 1; Mongr. *sūli-; sūrā-* 'tirer hors de, retirer, arracher 1; sorti en se détachant 2' (SM 358, 363), *soGor* 'sillon, conduit d'ea 'fossé' (SM 352).

PTurk. ***sogur-*** to take out, pull out (вытаскивать, выдергивать): Karakh. *soɣur-* (*suɣur-*) (MK) 'to gulp down'; Turkm. *soɣur-*; Sal. *soxur-*; MTurk. *soɣur-, suwur-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *suɣur-*; Uygh. *suɣu(r)-*; Krm. *suwur-*; Tat. *suir-*; Bashk. *huir-, hur-*; Kirgh. *sūr-*; Kaz. *suwir-*; KKalp. *suwir-*; Kum. *suwur-*; Nogh. *suwir-*; Khak. *sūr-*; Shr. *sūr-*; Oyr. *sūr-*.

◊ VEWT 432, EDT 816 (confused with *sogur-* 'to drain off, dry off' - probably a different root, see **sog-, *sogul-*), ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***súkúp-*** to scoop (черпать): MJpn. *súkúf-*; Tok. *sùku-*; Kyo. *súkú-*; Kag. *sukú-*.

◊ JLTT 758.

PKor. ***sok-kori*** a k. of basket (вид корзины): MKor. *sok-kori* (*kori* 'basket'); Mod. *sokhuri*.

◊ Liu 464, KED 978.

‖ KW 336, Дыбо 15. Cf. **šiuga(lV)* (with possible contaminations).

✱**sūku** deer, female deer: Tung. ***sog-ǯe-***; Mong. ***sogu(ɣa)***; Turk. ***sūkak***; Jpn. ***su(n)karu***.

PTung. ***sog-ǯe-*** wild deer (дикий олень): Evk. *sogǯon* (Тит.); Ud. *suǯelihe* 'изюбр'.

◊ See TMC 2, 120, 136.

PMong. ***sogu-(ɣa)*** female deer (лань, оленуха): WMong. *soɣu* (L 724); Kh. *sogō*; Bur. *hogō(n)*; Kalm. *soɣə*; Dag. *sugā* (Тод. Дат. 164), *suā* 'a female elk in advanced pregnancy' (MD 212).

◊ KW 329. Despite Sukhebaatar, not a borrowing from Turk. *sīgun* (which denotes a male maral; see **sīgo)*.

PTurk. ***sūkak*** antelope, deer (антилопа, олень): OTurk. *suqaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *suqaq* (MK, KB); Turkm. *sōɣaq* (dial.); MTurk. *soqaq* (AH), *siqaq* (Pav. C.); Krm. *soɣaq*, *soɣax*.

◊ EDT 808, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***su(n)karu*** a k. of deer (вид оленя): MJpn. *sugaru* ~ *sukaru*.

◊ JLTT 594. The word is not attested in modern dialects, and its traditional reading *sugaru* is based on a wrong association with *sugaru* 'digger wasp'.

‖ Cf. **sákʻa* and **sǐgò*.

✱**suku (~ z-, -o-)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***sugǯansa***; Mong. ***sogoču***; Jpn. ****sukai***.

PTung. ***sugǯa-nsa*** 1 salmon 2 fish (1 лосось 2 рыба): Evk. *sugǯanna* 1; Evn. *huǯəŋrə* 1; Neg. *sogǯana* 1; Ul. *sʉgdata* 2; Ork. *sundata* 2; Nan. *soGdata* 2; Orch. *sugǯasa* 2; Ud. *sugǯehä* 2; Sol. *sʉgǯanda* 'burbot'.

◊ TMC 2, 118-119.

PMong. ***sogoču*** sea fish with golden cheeks (морская рыба с золотыми щеками): MMong. *soqosun* 'a k. of fish' (SH); WMong. *soɣoču* (L 724: *soɣuču* 'a k. of salt water fish'); Kh. *sogoc* (MXTTT).

◊ Man. *soxočo* is rather < Mong. than vice versa, despite Sukhebaatar.

PJpn. ****sukai*** a k. of fish, large salmon (чавыча): OJpn. *suke*; Tok. *suke*.

◊ JLTT 532.

‖ The comparison with Jpn. *sakana* 'fish' in JOAL 98 should certainly be rejected (the only meaning of *sakana* attested in OJ is "food (vegetables) eaten with sake", thus the modern meaning 'fish' is obviously secondary). Cf. **sàkʻò*.

✱**sukʻe** branches, tamarisk: Tung. ****suK-***; Mong. ****sukaj***; Turk. ****süksük***; Kor. ****sak-***.

PTung. ****suK-*** 1 dry cedar 2 branch 3 stalk (of lily etc.) (1 кедр (засохший) 2 ветка 3 стебель (лилии и т.п.)): Ul. *suktu* 2; Ork. *suktu* 1, *soqto* 2; Nan. *sūktu* 2, *sūksu* 4 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 122, 123, 137.

PMong. ***sukaj*** 1 tamarisk 2 red willow (1 тамариск 2 краснотал): MMong. *suqai* (MA); WMong. *suqaj* 1 (L 741); Kh. *suxaj* 1; Bur. *huxaj* 2; Kalm. *suxā* 'таволжанка' (KPC); Ord. *suxā* 1; Dag. *suahe* (MD 212).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *sukai* etc., see TMN 1, 347-348, Doerfer MT 132, Rozycki 189.

PTurk. ***süksük*** tamarisk (вид дерева или кустарника, тамариск): OTurk. *süksük* (OUygh.); Karakh. *süksük* (MK); MTurk. *süksük* (Abush., Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *süksük* 'firewood'; Uygh. *süksük*; Oyr. *söskän* 'spiraea'; Tv. *söskän* 'spiraea'.

◊ VEWT 430, 435, EDT 823, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***sak-*** dry branch (сухая ветвь): Mod. *sakčaŋ*.

◊ KED 889 (*sakčaŋi*).

‖ The Turkic and Mongolian forms basically denote 'tamarisk' or 'tamarisk branches', but whether this meaning was original is not quite clear. Perhaps the root just denoted dry branches (used basically as firewood).

✱***suk´ì*** **(~ *š-, *z-, *sik´u)** village: Jpn. ***suki***; Kor. ***sík-***.

PJpn. ***suki*** village (деревня): OJpn. *sukji*.

PKor. ***síkúr*** province, village (провинция, деревня): MKor. *síkúr, síkór, síkǎwǎr, síkǎ'òr*; Mod. *sigol*.

◊ Nam 317, KED 1033.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss. Suffixation in Korean is not quite clear: perhaps a compound with *ko'ǎr* 'district' q.v.

✱***suma*** nose, part of nose: Tung. ***soŋgi-***; Mong. ***samsaɣa***; Turk. ***sum-***.

PTung. ***soŋgi-*** 1 nose 2 tip of nose 3 nose ring (1 нос 2 кончик носа 3 кольцо в носу): Man. *soŋgiχa, soŋgin, suŋgin* 2, 3; Jurch. *soŋgi* (501) 1.

◊ TMC 2, 61. Cf. Nan. (Он.) *sonī* 'bear's nose'.

PMong. ***samsaɣa*** wing of nose (крыло носа): WMong. *samsaɣa* (L 668: *samsa* 'nasal septum'); Kh. *samsā*; Bur. *hamāg* 'gills' (dial.) (?); Kalm. *samsaj* (СЯОС); Ord. *samsā*.

PTurk. ***sum-*** nose (нос): Chuv. *sъʷmza*.

◊ VEWT 399, Егоров 181, Федотов 2, 24 (but not to *tumšuk*!). An isolated Chuvash form with possible external parallels.

‖ A Western isogloss. Rather sparsely represented and not quite reliable.

✱***súme*** a k. of weed, hemp: Tung. ***sum-***; Mong. ***sömü-sü***; Turk. ***süm-*** **?**; Jpn. ***sua***; Kor. ***sàm***.

PTung. ***sum-*** name of a wormwood-like plant (назв. растения, похожего на чернобыльник): Man. *sumpa*.

◊ TMC 2, 126.

PMong. ***sömü-sü*** vegetable brew, decoction (отвар из овощей, трав): WMong. *sömüsü(n), sömesü(n)* (L 731); Kh. *söms*; Ord. *šömösü, šömös*; Dag. *sumus*.

PTurk. ***süm-*** ? 1 a k. of weed 2 a sort of wheat with very light grains (1 костер дантониевидный 2 сорт пшеницы с легкими зернами): Tur. *sümter* 2; Turkm. *sümsüle* 1.

◊ The root is poorly reflected and hardly reliable.

PJpn. ***sua*** hemp (конопля): OJpn. *swo*.

◊ JLTT 529.

PKor. ***sàm*** hemp (конопля): MKor. *sàm*; Mod. *sam*.

◊ Nam 293, KED 901.

‖ Martin 233. Jpn. **sua* presupposes a suffixed form **súm(e)-gV*. The root can be traced in all branches, but everywhere is rather scantily represented and thus not quite reliable; the exact sort of the denoted plant is also not quite clear.

sume (~ z-)** piece of wood: Mong. ***sumun; Jpn. ***suama***.

PMong. ***sumun*** hub or centrepiece of a plow or wagon, cross-beam (поперечная перекладина в колесе телеги): WMong. *sumu* (МХТТ); Kh. *sum*; Bur. *huma* dial. 'рассоха (в сохе)'.

PJpn. ***suama*** timber (древесина, строевой лес): OJpn. *swoma*; MJpn. *soma*; Tok. *soma*.

◊ JLTT 530.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

sùnà** seed, grain: Turk. ***sunu; Jpn. ***sànài***.

PTurk. ***sunu*** caraway seed (тминное зерно): OTurk. *sunu* (OUygh. med.); Karakh. *sunu* (MK).

◊ EDT 834. Clauson considers the Arabic translation *šūnīz* to be a loan from Persian; the Persian form *gašnīz* (> modern East Iranian languages, see Стеблин-Каменский 1982, 75), on the origin of which see Henning 1963, 195-199, of course cannot be the source of Turkic forms.

PJpn. ***sànài*** kernel, seed (ядро, косточка): OJpn. *sane*; MJpn. *sànè*; Tok. *sane*.

◊ JLTT 518.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 280. A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss. The root is rather dubious (because of its scarce attestation and specific meaning in Turkic borrowing from some unknown source is not excluded).

sùna (~ z-, -i̯ō-)** crest, hair lock: Tung. ***sōna; Mong. ***sančig***.

PTung. ***sōna*** plait, crest (гребень (птицы), султан (на головном уборе)): Man. *sončoχo, sonoqdon, sonoqton*; Nan. *sōno, sōnočo*.

◊ TMC 2, 111.

PMong. ***sančig*** hairlock on the temples (локоны на висках): MMong. *sanǯiq* (MA); WMong. *sančiγ* (L 671); Kh. *sančig*; Bur. *hanšag*; Kalm. *sančig* (СЯОС).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. also Mong. *sonubtur* 'султан' (на голове) - either < **sanu-btur* or secondarily borrowed from Manchu.

***sūnu** (~ **-o**) to stretch: Tung. ***sūn-**; Mong. ***sunu-**; Turk. ***sün-**.

PTung. ***sūn-** 1 to stretch out 2 become lean 3 stretched (adv.) 4 to faint, lie without consciousness (1 вытягиваться 2 худеть 3 вытянувшись 4 лежать без чувств): Evk. *sūn-* 1; Evn. *hụn-* 1; Neg. *suŋ-gumǯi* 3; Man. *suŋ-gi-* 2; Ul. *suŋ-guǯa-* 4; Ork. *sun-* 4; Nan. *suŋ-gure* 3; Orch. *suŋguremdi* 3; Ud. *sụ̄ŋī-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 126-127. Nanai has secondary vowel shortening.

PMong. ***sunu-** to stretch out (вытягивать(ся)): MMong. *sunā-* (MA), *sonaγa* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *suna-*, *sunija-* (L 738: *sunu-*, *sunija-*), *suŋga-* (Kow. II, 1382a); Kh. *suna-*; Bur. *huna-*; Kalm. *sun-*; Ord. *sunā-*; Mog. *suntu-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *sonī-* (Тод. Дар. 163), *sonu-*; Dong. *sumu-*; S.-Yugh. *sunā-*; Mongr. *sunā-* (SM 360).

◊ KW 337, MGCD 613.

PTurk. ***sūn-** to stretch, stretch out (протягивать): OTurk. *sun-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *sun-* (MK); Tur. *sun-*; MTurk. *sun-* (Pav. C., AH); Uygh. *sun-*; Krm. *sun-*; Tat. *son-*; Bashk. *hün-*; Kirgh. *sun-*; Kaz. *ŭsın-*; KKalp. *ŭsın-*; SUygh. *sun-*, *sın-*; Khak. *sun-*; Oyr. *sun-*; Tv. *sun-*; Yak. *ūn-*.

◊ EDT 834, VEWT 432, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ KW 337, Poppe 30, 70. A Western isogloss, and a quite exceptional case of a V̄ : V̄ correspondence between PT and PTM (expressive root? or an old loanword, cf. Doerfer MT 46 ?). On the possibility of Mong. < Turk. see Щербак 1997, 147.

***sùre** sour, acid, stinking: Tung. ***sūr-**; Mong. ***sori-**; Turk. ***sirke**; Jpn. ***suarasi**; Kor. ***sər-**.

PTung. ***sūr-** 1 different kinds of grass 2 fragrant 3 stinking (1 различные виды трав 2 пахучий 3 вонючий, дурно пахнущий): Man. *surχo*, *sursen*, *surseri* 1, *sur* 2; Ul. *sōrị* 3; Nan. *sōrị* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 113, 129. Man. > Nan. *sur*.

PMong. ***sori-** different kinds of wild onion (дикий лук): WMong. *sorisun*, (L 729: *sorisu*); Kh. *sors*; Kalm. *sorsṇ*; Ord. *sorisu*; Mongr. *soroǯə* (SM 355).

◊ KW 332. Mong. > Man. *sorson*, Nan. *sorso* (TMC 2, 114, Rozycki 187).

PTurk. ***sirke** vinegar (уксус): OTurk. *sirke* (OUygh. - late); Karakh. *sirke* (MK, IM); Tur. *sirke*; Gag. *sirkä*; Az. *sirkä*; Turkm. *sirke*; MTurk. *sirke* (MKypch. - AH, CCum.); Uzb. *sirka*; Uygh. *sirkä*; Krm. *sirke*; Tat. *serkä*; Bashk. *herkä*; Kaz. *sirke*; KBalk. *sirkesuw*; KKalp. *sirke*; Kum. *sirke*; Nogh. *sirkesuv*; Chuv. *šarak* 'bitter, salted'.

◊ VEWT 423, EDT 850. Turk. > Pers. *sirkä*.

PJpn. ***suarasi** a k. of sorrel (Ligusticum chinensis (зоря); Nothosmyrnium japonicum): OJpn. *sworasi*.

◊ JLTT 531.

PKor. ***sər-*** raw, unripe (сырой, недозрелый, недоваренный): Mod. *sə̄l-*.

◊ KED 950.

‖ Cf. also Evk. *sirahun* 'whey' (possibly reflecting an unattested Mong. **sira-sun*). MMong. *širxe* 'vinegar' (HY) is most probably borrowed < Turk., see Щербак 1997, 145. The vowel in Turkic is not quite clear (**sürke* or **sörke* would be expected); cf. also Karakh. (MK) *sorquč* (perhaps *sarqič* or *sirquč* - vocalization is uncertain) 'a k. of spicy plant (chicory?)', see EDT 848.

✱**sűri** to go away, drive away: Tung. ***suru-***; Turk. ***sűr-***; Kor. ***sír-***.

PTung. ***suru-*** to go away (уходить): Evk. *suru-*; Evn. *hör-*; Neg. *söjiwuk* 'dowry' (= Evk. *surūwuk*, Evn. *höruk*).

◊ TMC 2, 130.

PTurk. ***sűr-*** to drive away (гнать, прогонять): OTurk. *sür-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *sür-* (MK); Tur. *sür-*; Gag. *sür-*; Az. *sür-*; Turkm. *sür-*; Sal. *sür-*; Khal. *sīr-*; MTurk. *sür-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *sur-*; Uygh. *sü(r)-*; Krm. *sür-*; Tat. *sŭr-*; Bashk. *hŭr-*; Kirgh. *sür-*; KBalk. *sür-*; KKalp. *sür-*; Kum. *sür-*; Nogh. *sür-*; Khak. *sür-*; Shr. *sür-*; Oyr. *sür-*; Tv. *sür-*; Chuv. *sir-*; Yak. *ű̄r-*; Dolg. *ű̄r-*.

◊ EDT 844, VEWT 437, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 255. Shortness in Turkm. is not clear; perhaps under the influence of **sür-* 'smear; pull' (?).

PKor. ***sír-*** to vanish, fade (пропадать, исчезать): MKor. *sír-*; Mod. *sil-*.

◊ Nam 320, KED 1027.

‖ SKE 237, EAS 71, Martin 245. Doerfer (TMN 3, 252) protests against comparing Turk. and Tung. because TM *u (Benzing's *ö) does not correspond to PT *ü. This is of course not true; but the root still has a slight irregularity, namely, high tone in Korean (generally not typical for a verbal root, and not corresponding to Turkic length).

✱**surV (~ z-, -ŕ-)** root (of tooth), fang: Tung. ***surka***; Mong. ***surbalǯi***.

PTung. ***surka*** fang (клык): Evk. *surka*; Evn. *hurqъ*; Neg. *sojka*; Man. *sučun wejxe*; Ul. *sụča*; Ork. *sụtta*; Nan. *soiqa*; Orch. *sokka*; Ud. *suka*.

◊ TMC 2, 130.

PMong. ***surbalǯi*** root (of tooth etc.) (корень (в частности зуба)): WMong. *surbalǯi*; Kh. *survalǯ*; Bur. *horbolžo*; Kalm. *šurwlǯn̥*.

◊ KW 338.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**sV́ (~ *š-)** this, that (3d pers. pronoun): Turk. ***-si/-si***; Jpn. ***sə́-***.

PTurk. ***-si*** possess. suffix (3d person) (притяжательный суффикс 3-го лица): OTurk. *-si*; Karakh. *-si*; Tur. *-si*; Gag. *-si*; Az. *-si*; Turkm. *-si*; Sal. *-si*; MTurk. *-si*; Uzb. *-si*; Uygh. *-si*; Krm. *-si*; Tat. *-si*; Bashk. *-hi*;

Kirgh. *-si;* Kaz. *-si;* KBalk. *-si;* KKalp. *-si;* Kum. *-si;* Nogh. *-si;* SUygh. *-si;* Khak. *-si;* Shr. *-si;* Oyr. *-si;* Tv. *-zi;* Tof. *-zi;* Chuv. *-šə;* Yak. *-ta.*

PJpn. ***sə́-*** a deictic root (this) (дейктическая основа (этот)): OJpn. so-; MJpn. *só-;* Tok. *sò-re;* Kyo. *só-ré;* Kag. *sói.*

◊ JLTT 529. Cf. also the widely used OJ deictic / emphatic particle and pronoun si.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 277. The root is rare in Altaic, but has reliable external parallels (see МССНЯ, 1, 7). It may also be represented in Turk. **saji-* 'each, every', Mong. *sajiki* 'the same').

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✱**šàčú** a k. of soup: Tung. ***šasi-kan (~ -i-, -ü-)**; Jpn. ***sùsí**; Kor. ***čə́s**.

PTung. ***šasi-kan (~ -i-, -ü-)** a k. of soup (вид супа): Man. *šasiχa(n), šašan, sase*.

◊ TMC 2, 425. Attested only in Manchu, but having plausible Kor. and Jpn. parallels. Man. > Dag. *sasgan* (Тод. Даг. 162).

PJpn. ***sùsí** a k. of meal (вид блюда (рис с уксусом)): OJpn. *susi*; MJpn. *sùsí*; Tok. *sushí, súshi*; Kyo. *súshì*; Kag. *sushí*.

◊ JLTT 535. Dialectal reflexes point to variants **sùsí* and **sùsì*.

PKor. ***čə́s** pickled food (маринад, соленая или маринованная пища): MKor. *čə́s*; Mod. *čət* [*čəs*].

◊ Liu 653, KED 1449.

‖ An Eastern isogloss (Kor. **čə́s* is = **čə́č*, an assimilation < **sə́č*).

✱**šàke (~ *č'-)** small finger, index finger: Tung. ***čāgdi (~ *š-)**; Mong. ***sige- / *čige-**; Turk. ***čika-ń**.

PTung. ***čāgdi (~ *š-)** index finger (указательный палец): Evk. *čāgdi*.

◊ TMC 2, 376.

PMong. ***sige- / *čige-** 1 small finger 2 to pick (with a finger) (1 мизинец 2 ковырять): MMong. *šiɣi* 1 (SH),šiqči 1 (MA), *čuqči-la-* 2 (MA 137); WMong. *sigeči, sigežei, čigežei* 1 (L 701); Kh. *šigčij, čigčij* 1, *čigči-le-* 2; Bur. *šegši, šegšūdej, šegšegej, šegšegeldej* 1, *šegše-* 2; Kalm. *čikči, šikči, čikčigə̄* 1, *čikčl̥-* 2; Ord. *šigeči* 1.

◊ KW 439, 440, 356.

PTurk. ***čika-ń** small finger (мизинец): Tat. *ciɣanaq parmaq* (Sib.); Bashk. *siɣanaq, siɣansaq* (dial.); KBalk. *čiqanaj*; Chuv. *čaGan* 'cock's spurs, knots on horse's front legs'; Yak. *čikija* (with irregular phonology).

◊ Дыбо 323, Лексика 257.

‖ Дыбо 323, Лексика 257. A Western isogloss.

✱**šàk'a** white: Tung. ***šāk-**; Mong. ***čagaɣan**; Turk. ***čakir**.

PTung. ***šāk-** 1 white 2 wall-eye (1 белый 2 бельмо): Man. *šaχun* 1, 2; Ul. *čāgža(n)* 1, *čaqi* 2; Ork. *tagda(n)*; Nan. *čāGžā* 1, *čāqi* 2; Ud. *cagza* 1 (Корм. 309); Sol. *čiɣá* 1.

◊ See TMC 2, 380-382 (several different roots are united there, among which, e.g., Man. *čaγan* is obviously < Mong., but other forms are genuine - despite Doerfer MT 116). Note that Manchu *šaχun* as well as Nan. *čāGǯā*, Ul. *čāgǯa(n)* and Orok *tagda(n)* may also reflect suffixed forms of **šā(ŋ)-* 'white' (v. sub **šàŋu*).

PMong. ***čagaγan** 1 white 2 to become white (1 белый 2 белеть): MMong. *čaxan* (HY 41), *čaqan*, *čaqa'an* (SH) 1, *čaiji-* (SH) 2, *čaγan* (IM) 1, *čaγan*, *čiγan* (MA) 1; WMong. *čaγan* 1 (L 158), *čaji-* 2 (L 160); Kh. *cagān* 1, *caj-* 2; Bur. *sagān* 1, *saj-* 2; Kalm. *caγān* 1, *cā-* 2; Ord. *čagān* 1, *čā-* 2; Mog. *čaγōn*; ZM *čaγɔ̄* (13-7), KT *čaγɔ̄n* (18-4a); Dag. *čigān* (Тод. Даг. 181, MD 129) 1; *čē-* 2; Dong. *čəGan* 1; Bao. *čixaŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *čaγān* 1; *čei-* 2; Mongr. *ćiGān* (SM 447) 1, *ćī-* (SM 441), *ćē-* (SM 447), *ćai-* (Minghe) 2.

◊ KW 419, 425, MGCD 557, 560, TMN 1, 177. Cf. **čege-γen* 'light, white' (KW 426). Mong. > Man. *čagan* 'white, white paper, books' (see Rozycki 42).

PTurk. ***čakɨr** light grey, greyish blue (светло-серый, серовато-голубой): Karakh. *čaqɨr* (MK, Tefs.) (of eyes); Tur. *čakɨr*; Gag. *čaqɨr*; Turkm. *čaqɨr* 'dried in the sun, bleached'; Khal. *čaqir* 'yellow'; MTurk. *čaqɨr* (Sangl.); Uzb. *čaγir-qanɔt* 'a white-eyed dunbird, нырок белоглазый'; Uygh. *čeqir* (of eyes); Tat. *čaγɨr* (of eyes); Bashk. *šaγɨr* 'whitish'; Kirgh. *čekir* 'grey (of eyes), wall-eye'; Kaz. *šaγɨr* 'grey (of eyes, horses)', *šegir* 'grey (of eyes)'; KBalk. *čaγɨr* 'variegated'; KKalp. *šegir* (of eyes); Nogh. *šaγɨr* 'colourless (of eyes)'.

◊ VEWT 96, TMN 2, 77, EDT 409, Федотов 2 387. Despite Fedotov *čokur* 'variegated' is not related, it is < Mong. *čobkur* (v. sub **šop'ó*). Despite Räsänen borrowed from Mong. can be only Yak. *čakɨr* 'white (of a horse)' (cf. also Dolg. *čakɨr*, see Stachowski 72), and perhaps the front-row forms (Kirgh. *čekir*, Kaz. *šegir*, KKalp. *šegir* - because of their restriction to the Kypch. area); but Mong.. *čakir / čekir* 'whitish' is itself an obvious Turkism (see TMN ibid., Clark 1977, 134 with doubts). The root should be distinguished from nasalized forms: Oyr. *čaŋqɨr*, Chuv. *senker*, Yak. *čeŋgir*, *ǯeŋgir*, Kirgh. *čenkil*, *čaŋɨl* with the same set of meanings ('whitish, blue', often of eyes) = Mong. (Khalkha) *cenxer* id.; those should be compared with Tokh. A, B *tseṃ* 'blue (of eyes)', Pers. *zangār* 'verdigris', whence Tat. *zäŋgär* (from Pers. *zang* 'rust', further derived with **zā'to* leave, remain', Sak. *ysāyä* 'rust', Osset. *zgä*, see Bailey 348-349). This is most probably an Iranian loanword in Turkic, Tokh. and Mong. (although a Chinese origin - cf. MC 青 *chieŋ* 'blue' - is also possible). Cf. VEWT 104 (Turk. < Mong.), 531.

‖ Владимирцов 248, Цинциус 1984, 12-13, АПиПЯЯ 293. A Western isogloss. The Mong. variants **čaji- / *čeji-* reflect most probably a merger with the root **šàŋu* 'clear, light' q.v.

***šálpu** a celestial body: Tung. ***čalbaka (~ š-)**; Mong. ***čolbun**; Jpn. ***súmpárú**.

PTung. ***čalbaka (~ š-)** half moon, crescent (полумесяц): Evk. *čalbaka*.

◊ TMC 2, 380. Cf. perhaps also Man. *šilǵan* 'name of a constellation' (< **šalbikan* ?).

PMong. ***čolbun*** Venus (Венера): WMong. *čolmun, čolman, čolbun* (L 197); Kh. *colmon*; Bur. *solbon(g)*; Kalm. *colwŋ, colwn̥*; Ord. *čolmon, čulmun*; Dag. *čolpon* (Тод. Дар. 182); S.-Yugh. *čolbon*; Mongr. *čolbaŋ*.

◊ KW 429, MGCD 575. Mong. > Tat. *čulpan* etc. (see Лексика 50-51).

PJpn. ***súmpárú*** Pleiades (Плеяды): OJpn. *subaru*; MJpn. *súbáru*; Tok. *sùbaru, súbaru*; Kyo. *súbárú*; Kag. *subáru*.

◊ JLTT 531.

‖ Phonetically OJ *subaru* is a quite satisfactory match for Mong. and TM forms, so Miller's (Miller 1988) attempts to derive it either from Arabic *al-zubra* 'mane' (name for the two stars of the 11th lunar station) or from MKor. *spir* 'horn' are probably not necessary.

✱**šaŋku** a k. of berry: Mong. ***čaŋgis***; Turk. ***čaŋɨĺ***; Jpn. ***sunkuri***.

PMong. ***čaŋgis*** a k. of cranberry (вид клюквы): WMong. *čaŋgis* (L 164); Kh. *caŋgis*.

PTurk. ***čaŋɨĺ*** guelder rose, viburnum (калина): Kaz. *šeŋgel*; Khak. *saŋɨs, sās*; Shr. *šaŋɨš, šaŋaš*; Oyr. *čaŋɨš*.

◊ VEWT 99, 401.

PJpn. ***sunkuri*** currant (смородина): Tok. *suguri*.

‖ Basically a Turk.-Jpn. isogloss; Mongolian may be < Turkic.

✱**šə̀ŋu** clear, light: Tung. ***šā(ŋ)-***; Mong. ***čaŋ***; Turk. ***čAŋ***; Jpn. ***sùm-***.

PTung. ***šā(ŋ)-*** white, become white (белый, белеть): Man. *šaŋǵan, ša-li-bu-*; SMan. *šaŋan* (2426); Jurch. *ĉaŋ-gian* (619); Ul. *ča-m, ča-lɨn-*; Nan. *čā-m, čā-lā* bi; Orch. *čā-m*; Ud. *ča-m bie, ča-li-gi*.

◊ TMC 2, 380-382 (confused with **šāk-* q. v. sub **šə̀k'V*).

PMong. ***čaŋ*** 1 whitish, blond, grey (of hair) 2 white colour (1 беловатый, седой 2 белый цвет): WMong. *čaŋkir , čeŋkir* 1, *čaŋ* 'hoar-frost' (L 164); Kh. *caŋ* 'hoar-frost'; Bur. *sanxir* 1; Kalm. *caŋ* 2; Ord. *čaŋ* 'hoar-frost'.

◊ KW 421. Mong. *čeŋkir* > Yak. *ǯeŋke*, Dolg. *ǯeŋke, ďeŋke* 'clear, transparent' (see Kał. IV 88, Stachowski 78).

PTurk. ***čAŋ*** 1 morning dawn 2 mist (1 утренняя заря 2 туман, мгла): Karakh. *čaŋ* (~ *čäŋ*) (ЛОК) 1; Tur. *čen* 2 (dial.) (?); Az. *čän*, dial. *čaŋ* 2; Uygh. *čaŋ* 2 (dial.); Bashk. *šaŋdaq* 'glow in the sky (from celestial phenomena or from fire)', dial. *saŋγärt* 'марево'; Khak. *saŋmarax* 'марево'; Chuv. *śan-/śavъn-talъk* 'weather, climate' (Федотов 2 84-85; the second part = Tat. *täwlek* 'day, 24 hours').

◊ ДТС 139, Лексика 35, 36. A somewhat dubious root. The words meaning 'mist' may go back to a separate root, PT **čeŋ* 'dust'. Other forms (including the late OT one) can be < Mong., but semantics is rather against assuming such a loan.

PJpn. ***sùm-*** to become clear, limpid (быть чистым, прозрачным): OJpn. sum-; MJpn. *sùm-*; Tok. *súm-*; Kyo. *súm-*; Kag. *sùm-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

‖ Mong. has also *čaji- / *čeji- 'be white, whitish', associated in the modern language rather with *čaga-γan 'white' (see *šākʻa), but phonetically rather going back to *čaŋi- < *šaŋu. Despite Rozycki 193, the TM forms are hardly borrowed < Mong.

✱**šéčo** to scatter, pour out: Tung. ***š[e]še-**; Mong. ***saču- / *čaču-**; Turk. ***sạč-**; Jpn. ***sósó-k- (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***čǎčhǎi-**.

PTung. ***š[e]še-** to scatter, spatter (сыпать, брызгать): Evk. *čičewē-*; Neg. *sesexen-* 'to flow, stream'; Man. *sisa-*; Nan. *čičikēle-*; Bik. *sese-*.

◊ TMC 2, 147, 386-7. Forms with -a-vocalism (Manchu *čaču-, čačure-, čačixa-*, Evk. *čaču-*) are borrowed from Mongolian, see Doerfer MT 100.

PMong. ***saču- / *čaču-** to scatter, sow, spatter (рассыпать, сеять, разбрызгивать): MMong. *saču-* (SH), *čači-* (MA 129); WMong. *saču-, čaču-* (L 655); Kh. *cac-*, sac-; Bur. *sasa-*; Kalm. *cacə-*; Ord. *sačuGla-*; Dag. *čači-* (Тод. Даг. 181); Mongr. *saʒi-* (SM 317), *saʒirā-, śʒirā-* 'sačura-, čačura-' (SM 318).

◊ KW 423. Cf. also MMo, WMong. *sačuli*, Khalkha *cacaĺ* 'libation' > Evk. *čačalī* etc. (Poppe 1966, 195, TMC 2, 386-387).

PTurk. ***sạč-** to scatter, spatter, sow (рассыпать, разбрасывать): OTurk. *sač-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sač-* (MK); Tur. *sač-*; Gag. *sač-*; Az. *sač-*; Turkm. *sač-*; Khal. *sač-*; MTurk. *sač-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔč-*; Uygh. *čač-*; Krm. *sač-, čač-*; Tat. *čäč-*; Bashk. *säs-*; Kirgh. *čač-*; Kaz. *šaš-*; KBalk. *čač-*; KKalp. *šaš-*; Kum. *čač-*; Nogh. *šaš-*; SUygh. *sač-*; Khak. *sas-*; Shr. *šaš-*; Oyr. *čač-*; Tv. *čaʻž-*; Yak. *is-*; Dolg. *is-*.

◊ EDT 794, VEWT 392, Stachowski 262.

PJpn. ***sósó-k- (~ -ua-)** to pour (лить): OJpn. *s(w)os(w)ok-*; MJpn. *sósók-*; Tok. *sòsog-, sosóg-*; Kyo. *sósóg-*; Kag. *sosóg-*.

◊ JLTT 756.

PKor. ***čǎčhǎi-** to sneeze (чихать): MKor. *čǎčhǎi-*; Mod. *čǎčhä-gi* (n.).

◊ Nam 415, KED 1415.

‖ KW 423, Poppe 63 (Turk.-Mong.). Mong. is not < Turk., despite TMN 3, 217, Щербак 1997, 144. There are some phonetic uncertainties: Korean has also a variant *čəčí-* 'to soak' (see PKE 30); in TM one observes a variation between *-i- and *-e-.

✱**šekʻa** upper part of throat: Tung. ***čeKe- (~ š-)**; Mong. ***sakaγu**; Turk. ***sakak**.

PTung. ***čeKe- (~ š-)** upper part of throat (небо, гортань): Evk. *čeken, čekekte*.

◊ TMC 2, 420. Attested only in Evk., but having probable parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***sakaγu** farcy, glanders, diphtheria, craw illness (гланды, дифтерит, болезнь зоба): WMong. *saqaγu* (L 677); Kh. *sagū*; Bur. *hag-*

sar- 'to be ill (of children)'; Kalm. *saxū*; Ord. *saxū* 'a k. of horse's illness'; S.-Yugh. *saGū*.

◊ KW 308, MGCD 595. Mong. > Kirgh. *saqau* etc. (see Лексика 221, ЭСТЯ 7).

PTurk. ***sakak*** 1 place between the neck and the chin 2 gills 3 beard, barb (of axe) (1 место между шеей и подбородком 2 жабры 3 бородка (топора)): Karakh. *saqaq* (MK) 1; Tur. *sakak* 1; Turkm. *saqaq* 1; MTurk. *saqaq* 1 (Abush., Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *saqaq* 1 (dial.); Tat. *sayaq* 3; Bashk. *hayaq* 3; Kirgh. *sayaq* 1; Kaz. *sayaq* 1; KBalk. *sayaq* 2; KKalp. *sayaq* 1, 2; Oyr. *sayanaq* 3; Chuv. *suya*, *saya* (Anatri), *polъ soyalъ* (Viryal) 2.

◊ EDT 807-808, ЭСТЯ 7, Лексика 220-222, Федотов 2, 68, Ашм. IX, 279, XI, 216. There is some confusion between this root and **saŋak* (v. sub **seŋa*). Turk. > WMong. *sayay*, Kalm. *sayəg* (KW 308). PT **sakkal* 'beard' (full list of reflexes see in ЭСТЯ 7) is a probable derivative (> MMong. (SH) *sayal*, WMong. *saqal*, Kalm. *saxəl*, KW 308; > Hung. *szakál*, see Gombocz 1912; Mong. > Evk. *sakal* etc., see Doerfer MT 100).

‖ Лексика 221. A Western isogloss; cf. perhaps MKor. *sjǎk* 'bridle'.

šĕrčú** sparrow: Tung. ****š[i]ču-kān; Turk. ****serče***; Jpn. ****sùnsúmaí***.

PTung. ****š[i]ču-kān*** wagtail, small bird (трясогузка, птичка): Evk. *čičakān*; Evn. *časqun*; Neg. *čičaxin*; Man. *čečike*; SMan. *čičikē* (2239); Jurch. *sihčixie* 'sparrow' (158); Ul. *čičo(n)*; Nan. *čičõ*; Orch. *čičoku*; Ud. *cikcigi* (Корм. 310).

◊ TMC 2, 401, 422. Manchu has *č-* as a result of assimilation, but Jurchen shows that **š-* was the initial consonant. TM > Yak. *čičāx*, Dolg. *čičāk*, Tof. *šišek* 'small bird' (see Stachowski 77), probably also Yug *čičik*, Selk. *čičik* 'small bird' (see Starostin 1995, 217 - although the Ket (*tɔ̄qt*) and Kott. (*čičaba*) forms should be regarded separately, as well as other Uralic and Caucasian forms quoted ibid.).

PTurk. ****serče*** sparrow (воробей): Karakh. *seče* (MK); Tur. *serče*; Az. *särčä*; Turkm. *serče*; Sal. *siča*, *sižä*; MTurk. *serčä* (Pav. C.); Chuv. *śerźi*.

◊ EDT 795, VEWT 412, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ****sùnsúmaí*** sparrow (воробей): OJpn. *suzume*; MJpn. *sùzúmé*; Tok. *sùzume*; Kyo. *sùzùmé*; Kag. *suzumé*.

◊ JLTT 535.

‖ The root is expressive, but well reconstructable for PA.

šero** to bake, boil: Tung. ****čere- (~ *š-); Mong. ****sira-***; Kor. ****sǎr-m-***.

PTung. ****čere- (~ *š-)*** to bake (close to fire) (печься (около огня)): Evk. *čere-*.

◊ TMC 2, 422. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ****sira-*** to roast, broil (жарить, печь): MMong. *širaxasam* 'roasted' (HY 24), *šir-* (IM); WMong. *sira-* (L 714); Kh. *šara-*; Bur. *šara-*; Kalm. *šar-* (KPC); Ord. *šara-*; Dong. *šəra-* (Тод. Дн.); Mongr. *śirā-* (SM 397).

◊ KW 350.

PKor. ****sǎr-m-*** to boil (варить): MKor. *sǎrm-*; Mod. *sām-* [*salm-*].

◊ Nam 292, KED 901.

‖ The etymology appears plausible despite poor attestation in TM.

✱**šèru** lattice, cross-bars: Tung. ***šerin**; Mong. ***sara-**; Turk. ***sar-**; Jpn. ***sùntare**; Kor. ***sár**.

PTung. ***šerin** helmet visor (забрало (у шлема)): Man. *šerin*.

◊ TMC 2, 431. Attested only in Manchu, but having plausible external parallels.

PMong. ***sara-** 1 shed 2 lattice 3 a net to cover hair 4 visor (1 укрытие для скота 2 решетка 3 сетка для покрытия волос 4 козырек на головном уборе): MMong. *ṣarboči* 'visor' (IM), *sarābčimin* 4 (Lig); WMong. *sarabči* 1 (L 674), *sarbači* 3 (L 675), *saraγalǰi* 1, *sarabči(n)* 4 (Kow. II, 1333b); Kh. *saravč* 1, 4, *sarālǯ* 2; Bur. *harabša* 1; Kalm. *sarəpčə*; Ord. *sarabči* 1; Dag. *sarbəči*; Mongr. *sarī* 'toit en saillie, avant-toit, auvent' (SM 328).

◊ KW 314, MGCD 594. Mong. > Oyr. *sarapčin*; Yak. *čarapči*, Dolg. *čarapči*, *harapči* (see Kał. MEJ 49, Stachowski 72); > Manchu *sarbačan* 'visor on a helmet' (see Rozycki 174).

PTurk. ***sar-** a k. of lattice or cross-beam (вид решетки или балки): Tur. *sarak* 'carved frieze, torus'; Kirgh. *sarap* 'stringer beam', *sarɨ* 'wooden frame of a frame-house'; Chuv. *surban* dial. 'window blind'; Yak. *argɨ* 'cross-bar for drying things'.

◊ Cf. also Tuva (Todzh., Вайнштейн) *a'rga* 'lattice for drying wild onions' (perhaps < Yak.).

PJpn. ***sùntarai (~ -ia)** bamboo blinds; striped cloth (бамбуковые шторы; ткань с поперечными полосками): OJpn. *sudare*; MJpn. *sùdàré*; Tok. *sùdare*; Kyo. *súdàrè*; Kag. *sudaré*.

◊ JLTT 532. Usually analysed as **sú* + **tarai* "reed screen hanging", which contradicts accentology and is probably a folk etymology.

PKor. ***sár** reed net; lattice, cross-bars (тростниковая сеть; решетка): MKor. *sár*; Mod. *sal*.

◊ Liu 437, KED 895.

‖ A common derivative **šèru-pV-* is reconstructable for Turko-Mongolian (PT **sara-p*, **sara-pa-n*, PM **sara-b-či*). The root evidently denoted some sort of lattice used in construction.

✱**šík'i / *šík'-di** urine, to urinate: Tung. ***šiKē-n**; Mong. ***siγe-**; Turk. ***sīk**; Jpn. ***sitə (~-ua)**; Kor. ***stòŋ**.

PTung. ***šiKē-n** urine (моча): Evk. *čikēn*; Evn. *čikъn*; Neg. *čixēn*; Man. *sike*; SMan. *šikə* (108); Ul. *čige(n)* / *čē(n)*; Ork. *čie(n)*; Nan. *čiẽ*; Orch. *čā̃-či-* 'urinate'; Ud. *cige* (Корм. 310), *čeä-kta-* 'urinate'; Sol. *šixẽ*.

◊ TMC 2, 392. Despite Poppe 1972, 96, 102, not a borrowing < Mong. Also reflected are derivatives: **šikelte-* / **šikte-* 'to urinate' (Evk. *čikelte-*, Ud. *čeäkta-*, Man. *site-*), **šike-či-* id. (Neg. *čixēt-/-č-*, Oroch *čā̃či-*, Ul. *čieči-*, Nan. *čieči-*).

PMong. ***siγe-** 1 to urinate 2 urine (1 мочиться 2 моча): MMong. *ši'e-* (SH) 1, *siēse* 2 (IM), *šisun* 2 (MA); WMong. *sige-* 1 (L 701), *sigesü(n)* 2 (L 702); Kh. *šē-* 1, *šēs* 2; Bur. *šē-* 1, *šēhe(n)* 2; Kalm. *šē-*, *šēsn̥* 1; Ord. *šē-* 1,

šēsü(n) 2; Mog. *seisün*; ZM *sɔi* (3-6a) 2; Dag. *sē-* (MD 204) ; *sē-*, *sēs* 1; Dong. *še-* 1, *šesun* 2; Bao. *šie-* 1, *šiesoŋ* 2; S.-Yugh. *šī* 1, *šīsən* 2; Mongr. *šē-* 1, *šēʒə* 2 (SM 373), (MGCD *šēsə*) 2.

◊ KW 355, MGCD 711.

PTurk. ***sīk** 1 urine 2 to urinate (1 моча 2 мочиться): OTurk. *sid-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *siδ-* 2 (MK); Tur. *sij-* 2; Az. *sij-* 2; Turkm. *sīdik* 1; Khal. *sīd-* 2; MTurk. *si-* (AH, IM); Uzb. *sij-* 2; Krm. *sij-* 2; Kirgh. *sij-* 2; KBalk. *sij-* 2; Kum. *sij-* 2; Nogh. *sij-* 2; SUygh. *siz-*, *sez-*, *siz-* 2; Khak. *side-* 2; Shr. *si-* 2; Oyr. *sij-* 2; Tv. *sidik* 1; Chuv. *šъk* 1, *šъr-* 2; Yak. *īk* 1; Dolg. *īk* 1.

◊ EDT 799, VEWT 421, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 130. Only Yak. and Chuv. reflect the original **sīk*; all other languages reflect a derivative **sīg-t-* / **sīg-d-* (present also outside Turkic) > **sīd-*. Also widely reflected is the secondary derivative **sīd-dik* 'urine' (> Turkm. *sīdik* etc., see ЭСТЯ 7).

PJpn. ***sitə (~-ua)** urine (моча): MJpn. *sito*.

PKor. ***stòŋ** excrements (испражнения): MKor. *stòŋ*; Mod. *t:oŋ*.

◊ Nam 161, KED 485.

‖ KW 355, Владимирцов 198, Poppe 31, 62, АПиПЯЯ 17, Мудрак Дисс. 40-41, 44. Irregular voicing in Mong. can be explained by the root's expressive nature. Cf. also Mong. *sižiŋ* 'a person urinating in his bed' - probably reflecting the derivative **šĭ́gdi* < **šĭ́kʹdi*, attested also in Turkic, TM, Korean and Japanese.

✱**šĭ́mi** to suck, soak: Tung. ***šime-**; Mong. ***sime**; Turk. ***simü-**; Jpn. ***sím-**; Kor. ***símɨi-**.

PTung. ***šime-** to soak; suck (просачиваться; сосать): Evn. *čimṭ-*; Man. *šime-*; Ul. *čime-*; Nan. *čime-*.

◊ TMC 2, 394.

PMong. ***sime** 1 juice, sap 2 to suck 3 to soak (1 сок 2 сосать 3 впитывать): MMong. *šimi-* 2 (SH), *šimi-* 3 (MA 333); WMong. *sime* 1, *sime-*, *simi-* 2, *simed-* 3 (L 709); Kh. *šim* 1, *šime-* 2, *šimde-* 3; Bur. *šeme* 1, *šeme-* 2; Kalm. *šim*; *šimə-*, *šüm-* 1; Ord. *šime* 1, *šime-* 2; Mog. *šimi-* 2; Dag. *šim*; *šime-* 1 (Тод. Дат. 183), *šimi-* 1, *šime* (MD 216); S.-Yugh. *šəme* 1, *šəme-* 2; Mongr. *śime* (SM 396), (MGCD *śimēn*) 1, *šəme-*, *šəmu-* (SM 374), (MGCD *śimu-*) 2.

◊ KW 357-358, 371, MGCD 717. Cf. also **sim-bu-* 'to dive'. Mong. > Man. *simi-* etc. (TMC 2, 87; Doerfer MT 119; Rozycki 183). Mong. > Yak. *sim-*.

PTurk. ***simü-** / ***sümü-** to suck, swallow (сосать): Karakh. *simür-* (MK); Tur. *süm-*, *sümür-*; Az. *sümür-*; Turkm. *sümür-*; MTurk. *sümür-* (Pav. C., IM); Uzb. *simir-*; Uygh. *sümür-*; Bashk. *hĭmĭr-*; Kaz. *simir-*; KKalp. *simir-*; Nogh. *simir-*; Chuv. *sim*, *səm* 'honey drink'.

◊ VEWT 422, Федотов 2, 50, EDT 829, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sím-** to soak (впитываться, просачиваться): OJpn. *sim-*; MJpn. *sím-*; Tok. *shìmi-*; Kyo. *shímí-*; Kag. *shimí-*.

◊ JLTT 751.

PKor. ***síḿi-*** to soak, permeate (впитываться, просачиваться): MKor. *síḿi-*; Mod. *simi-*.

◊ Nam 318, KED 1025.

‖ Ozawa 223, KW 358, Lee 1958, 117, АПиПЯЯ 17, Martin 242, Whitman 1985, 127, 212, Martin 1996, 82. Korean has a not quite clear high tone; otherwise correspondences are quite regular.

✱**šimuč'V** small finger: Tung. ***šimučken***; Turk. ***čɨmɨč-***.

PTung. ***šimučken*** small finger (мизинец): Evk. *čimčikēn*; Evn. *čimčen*; Neg. *čįmkan*; Man. *simxun, šumxun*; SMan. *šumuxun* 'finger' (73); Ul. *čomočon*; Nan. *čumčuē*; Orch. *čomočko*; Ud. *cimca'a* (Корм. 310); Sol. *cimitkí, čimèrkí*.

◊ TMC 2, 395.

PTurk. ***čɨmɨč-*** small finger (мизинец): OTurk. *čičamuq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *čičamuq* (MK); Uzb. *čimčalɔq*; Uygh. *čimalik*; Kirgh. *čɨmčalaq*; Khak. *sɨmalčɨx, čimalčɨx*; Shr. *šimaliq*; Oyr. *čɨmal* (dial.); Tv. *šumaš*.

◊ Дыбо 322-323, Лексика 256. See ibid. a number of other forms, probably going back to the same stem, but restructured phonetically because of the root's expressive nature.

‖ Дыбо 322, Лексика 257. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. *č- in Turk. is due to assimilation.

✱**šĭp'V** to sweep: Tung. ***čipi- (~š-,-ü-)***; Mong. ***siɣür-***; Turk. ***sipür-***; Kor. ***psɨ́r-***.

PTung. ***čipi- (~š-,-ü-)*** to sweep; to scrape (мести (пол); строгать): Evk. *čipi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 398. Attested only in Evk., but having plausible external parallels.

PMong. ***siɣür-*** broom, besom (метла, веник): MMong. *ši'ur-* 'to sweep', *ši'urge* (HY 38, 20), *šiwur-, šiur* (MA); WMong. *sigür* (L 703); Kh. *šűr*; Ord. *šűrde-* 'to sweep'; Dong. *šu, šiu-*; Bao. *śir, šire-*; S.-Yugh. *šūr*; Mongr. *šū-* (SM 383), (MGCD *śūr*).

◊ MGCD 727.

PTurk. ***sipür-*** to sweep (мести, подметать): OTurk. *sipir-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *süpür-* (MK); Tur. *süpür-*; Gag. *süpür-*; Az. *süpür-*; Turkm. *süpür-*; Khal. *sipir-*; MTurk. *süpür-* (IM, Pav. C.); Uzb. *supur-*; Uygh. *süpär-*; Krm. *sibir-*; Tat. *sipɨr-, sībɨr-*; Bashk. *hepere-*; Kirgh. *sipɨr-*; KBalk. *sibir-*; KKalp. *sipɨr-*; Kum. *sibir-*; Nogh. *sipɨr-*; Khak. *sɨbɨr-*; Oyr. *sibir-, sɨbɨr-*; Tv. *sivir-*; Chuv. *šъʷbъʷr* 'broom'.

◊ EDT 791, VEWT 437, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Hung. *seper* 'sweep' (Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 518-519).

PKor. ***psɨ́r-*** to sweep, wipe (мести): MKor. *psɨ́r-*; Mod. *s:ɨl-*.

◊ Nam 321, KED 1027.

‖ EAS 150, Владимирцов 212, Poppe 30, 47, Мудрак Дисс. 43-44. Mong. cannot be explained as a loanword, despite Щербак 1997, 144, or as "bloßer Zufall", despite TMN 4, 288. In Kor. one has to suppose a secondary development **psír-* < **spír-*.

***šǐrV (~ -ŕ-)** to melt: Tung. ***šīri-**; Mong. ***siri-**.

PTung. ***šīri-** red copper, bronze (красная медь, бронза): Evk. *čīrikte*; Evn. *čīrit*; Neg. *čījikte*; Man. *sirin*; Jurch. [*ĉi*]*ri* (573); Ul. *čīrikte*; Ork. *čirikte*; Nan. *čīrikte*; Orch. *čīkte*; Ud. *cikte* (Корм. 310).

◊ TMC 2, 399. The Manchu and Jurch. forms may be borrowed from Mong. *širin*.

PMong. ***siri-** 1 bronze, copper 2 cast iron 3 to melt (1 бронза, медь 2 чугун 3 плавить): MMong. *širemun* 3 (HY 26, SH); WMong. *sirin* (L 718) 1, *siri-* 3 (L 717), *siremü(n)*, *sirim*, *sireme(n)* 2; Kh. *šire-* 3, *širin* 1, *širem(en)* 2; Bur. *šerem* 2; Kalm. *širemn̥* 2, *šir-* 'to forge, chill metal' (KPC); Ord. *širemel* 'molten'; Dag. *širem* 2 (Тод. Дат. 184); Mongr. *šēril-* (SM 377) 3.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *sirē-* etc. (TMC 2, 97, Doerfer MT 111). On the other hand, Mong. *sirin* 'cast iron' can be borrowed < Manchu (hardly vice versa, despite Rozycki 185).

‖ EAS 72, 112, Мудрак Дисс. 44, Лексика 411. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss (but cf. also OUygh. *serit-* 'to melt (butter)').

***šǐábu** to sit; be seated, implanted: Mong. ***saɣu-**; Jpn. ***súwá-**; Kor. ***sà'ò-rí**.

PMong. ***saɣu-** to sit (сидеть): MMong. *sa'u-* (HY 35, SH), *ṣu-* (IM), *sau-* (MA); WMong. *saɣu-* (L 658); Kh. *sū-*; Bur. *hū-*; Kalm. *sū-*; Ord. *su-*; Mog. *sau-* (Weiers), *söü-*; ZM sou- (40-10); Dag. *sau-* (Тод. Дат.162, MD 204), *sō-* (Тод. Дат. 162); Dong. *sau-*; Bao. *sū-*, *seu-*; S.-Yugh. *suu-*; Mongr. *sū-* (SM 355).

◊ KW 339. Cf. also *saɣu-ri-* 'to set (of sun, moon)'.

PJpn. ***súwá-** 1 to plant, insert 2 to sit (1 сажать, всаживать 2 сидеть): OJpn. *suwa-* 1; MJpn. *suwa-* (RJ *súfù*) 1, *suwar-* 2; Tok. *sùe-* 1, *sùwar-* 2; Kyo. *súé-* 1, *súwár-* 2; Kag. *sué-* 1, *suwár-* 2.

◊ JLTT 757, 760.

PKor. ***sà'ò-rí** chair (стул): MKor. *sà'òrí*.

◊ Nam 285.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 277. Initial **š-* must be reconstructed because of Kor. **s-*. Kor. *sà'òrí* appears to be genuine (cf. the match with Jpn. **súwá-r-*), but a loan from Mong. *saɣuri(n)* 'seat' (whence certainly Manchu *sōrin*) cannot be excluded, see Lee 1964, 192-193.

***šǐábu** small, narrow: Tung. ***šoba- (~ -p-)**; Mong. ***saɣa-**; Turk. ***sEb-re-**; Jpn. ***súmp-**.

PTung. ***šoba- (~ -p-)** narrow (узкий): Man. *šofojōn*.

◊ TMC 2, 427.

PMong. ***saɣa-*** to diminish (уменьшаться, укорачиваться): WMong. *saɣa-* (L 656); Kh. *sā-*; Bur. *hā-*; Kalm. *sā-*; Ord. *sā-*.

◊ KW 317.

PTurk. ***sEb-re-*** to diminish (уменьшаться, убывать): Karakh. *sevre-* (MK).

◊ ДТС 498.

PJpn. ***súmp-*** to get narrow, contract (сужаться, сокращаться): MJpn. *subom-, subor-, subar-, subomar-*; Tok. *sùbomar-* (*itr.*), *sùbome-* (tr.); Kyo. *súbómár-* (*itr.*), *súbómé-* (tr.); Kag. *subomár-* (*itr.*), *subomé-* (tr.).

◊ JLTT 756, 757.

‖ The root is rather sparsely attested in Turk. and TM, and the vocalic reconstruction is not quite secure (note that Jpn. -mp- speaks rather against the reconstruction of diphthong - unless the form is not actually a contraction of **súwu-mp-* with a labial suffix).

✱**ši̯ǎč'í** a k. of rope, fabric: Tung. ***čeče***; Turk. ***sačuk***; Jpn. ***sì(n)tú***; Kor. ***sǎ̌čh***.

PTung. ***čeče*** patch, rag (лоскут, тряпка): Evk. *čeče*; Evn. *čeče*; Neg. *čeče*; Man. *čeče* 'silk fabric'.

◊ TMC 2, 422.

PTurk. ***sačuk*** fringe, handkerchief with a fringe (бахрома, платок с бахромой): Karakh. *saču* (MK); Tur. *sačak*; Az. *sačaG*; Turkm. *sačaq* 'a k. of table-cloth'; MTurk. *sačaq* (Pav. C., Sangl.); Uzb. *sačo̧q*; Krm. *sačaq*; Tat. *čačaq*; Kirgh. *sačaq* 'hand towel'; Kaz. *šašaq*; KBalk. *čačaq*; KKalp. *šašaq*; Kum. *čačaq*; Nogh. *šašaq*; Oyr. *čačaq*.

◊ VEWT 392, EDT 795, 796. Turk. **sačak* > WMong. *sačaɣ, čačaɣ*, Kalm. *cacəg* (KW 423).

PJpn. ***sì(n)tú*** a specific embroidered fabric (вид вышитой ткани): OJpn. *situ*; MJpn. *situ*; Tok. *shítsu, shízu*.

◊ JLTT 528.

PKor. ***sǎ̌čh*** cord (веревка, шнурок): MKor. *sǎ̌čh*; Mod. *säk:i*.

◊ Nam 294, KED 920.

‖ The TM form is somewhat irregular: we would rather expect **šiči*. Note, however that in Manchu we may be dealing with assimilation (*čeče* < **šeče*), while other TM forms may in fact be borrowed from Manchu.

✱**ši̯ǎk'ù** to see badly, have bad eyesight: Tung. ***šoKa-***; Mong. ***sokar***; Turk. ***sĀki-***; Jpn. ***súk-***; Kor. ***sjōkjə̀ŋ***.

PTung. ***šoKa-*** 1 *one-eyed* 2 be purblind, sandblind 3 to shut eyes, blink (1 одноглазый, кривой, косой 2 быть подслеповатым, засоряться (о глазах) 3 жмуриться, щуриться): Evk. *čokotī, čokoro* 1; Evn. *čoqaŋi* 1; Neg. *čoktoxo* 1; Man. *sogi- ~ soxi-* 2; Ul. *čōqto* 1; Ork. *toqto* 1; Nan. *čōmian-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 404, 105. Manchu may be borrowed < Mong. *soqui-* (see Rozycki 186); if this is the case, the reconstruction may be **šoka-* or **čoka-*.

PMong. ***sokar** blind (слепой): MMong. *soxar* (HY 49), *soqor* (SH), *ṣoɣor* (IM), *suqar* (MA); WMong. *soqur* (L 730); Kh. *soxor*; Bur. *hoxor*; Kalm. *soxər*; Ord. *soxor*; Mog. ZM *sox-sox* 'hallucination' (4-6b); Dag. *sogor*, *sogur*, *sokor* (Тод. Даг. 163), *sohore* (MD 211); Dong. *suGo*; Bao. *soxor*; S.-Yugh. *soGor*; Mongr. *soGor* (SM 352), *suGor*.

◊ MGCD 608, KW 329 (cf. also *soqu-i-* (L 730), Kalm. *soxī-* 'be blind or have a bad eyesight'). Mong. > MTurk., Koman *soqur* (see Щербак 1997, 209, ЭСТЯ 7); > Evk. *sokor* (see Doerfer MT 128).

PTurk. ***sĀki-** mirage (мираж): Karakh. *saqiɣ* (MK), *saqi-* 'to appear faintly' (MK); Tur. *sayın*; Bashk. *hayın*; Kirgh. *saqım*; Kaz. *sayım*; KKalp. *sayım*; Kum. *sayın*; Nogh. *sayın*.

◊ EDT 808, Лексика 22, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. perhaps also Khak. *sagil-* 'to emit rays'.

PJpn. ***súk-** to be transparent (быть прозрачным): MJpn. *súk-*; Tok. *sùk-*; Kyo. *súk-*; Kag. *súk-*.

◊ JLTT 758.

PKor. ***sjōkjə́ŋ** blind (слепой): MKor. *sjōkjáŋ*; Mod. *sōgjəŋ*.

◊ Nam 312, KED 969.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 17.

***šǐǎǐ** piece of meat, flesh: Tung. ***čilki (~ š-)**; Mong. ***silbi**; Jpn. ***sìsì**; Kor. ***sǎ́rh**.

PTung. ***čilki (~ š-)** 1 muscle, biceps 2 front leg of a bear (1 мышца, бицепс 2 передняя нога медведя): Evk. *čilkī* 1; Evn. *čɨlqa* 1; Neg. *čɨlkɨ̄* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 394. Evk. > Dolg. *čilki* (see Stachowski 76).

PMong. ***silbi** shin, shin muscles (голень, мускулы у голени): MMong. *šilibi* (HY 48), *šilbi*, *šili* (MA 178, 333); WMong. *silbi* (L 705); Kh. *šilbe*; Bur. *šelbe*; Kalm. *šilwə*; Ord. *šilbi* (*šilbe*); Dag. *šilem* (Тод. Даг. 183).

◊ KW 357.

PJpn. ***sìsì** meat (мясо): OJpn. *sisi*; MJpn. *sìsì*.

◊ JLTT 527.

PKor. ***sǎ́rh** flesh, meat; skin (мясо; кожа): MKor. *sǎr* [*sǎ́rh-*]; Mod. *sal*.

◊ Nam 290, KED 895.

‖ Дыбо 311 (Mong.-Tung.); Martin 232, Miller 1986a, 49, АПиПЯЯ 95, 279 (differently). The root must be kept distinct from **si̯ŏ̀lo* q.v., but contaminations were possible.

***š[i̯à]mì** island; forest: Tung. ***šumi (~ č-)**; Turk. ***simek**; Jpn. ***sìmà**; Kor. ***sjəm**.

PTung. ***šumi (~ č-)** 1 foreland, shallow place 2 tussock (1 коса, отмель 2 кочка): Evk. *čumi* 1, *čumdikēn*, *čummikē* 2 (Bac. 529); Neg. *čʉmi̯xān* 1; Ud. *simbo* 2 (An.).

◊ TMC 2, 86, 414.

PTurk. ***simek*** forest, jungle (лес, чаща): OTurk. *simek* (OUygh.).
◊ EDT 828-829.

PJpn. ***sìmà*** island (остров): OJpn. *sima*; MJpn. *sìmà*; Tok. *shimá*; Kyo. *shímà*; Kag. *shimá*.
◊ JLTT 524.

PKor. ***sjə̀m*** island (остров): MKor. *sjə̀m*; Mod. *səm*.
◊ Nam 305, KED 953.

‖ EAS 155, Martin 234, Miller 1976, 370-371, 1979b, 17-31, Martin 1996, 35. The parallel seems quite plausible (on a similar interchange between "island" and "forest" see, e.g., under **árV*), but vocalism raises some doubts. The reconstruction **ši̯àmi* is possible if one assumes PT **simek* < **semek* (which is quite possible, because the word is only attested in OUygh. and may have actually been *semek*), and PTM **šumi* < **šimu* (cf. the Udehe (An.) form *simbo* - perhaps archaic).

✱**ši̯àmu** sack: Tung. ***šūm-**; Mong. ***sumal**; Turk. ***sAmar**; Kor. ***sjə́m**.

PTung. ***šūm-*** 1 bag 2 sack (1 сумка 2 мешок): Evk. *čēmpu, čemtu, čempuli, čompuli* 2; Man. *šuma, šuman* 1.
◊ TMC 2, 109, 420. Manchu *šuma(n)* should be distinguished from Manchu *sumala(n)* < Mong. Manchu > MKor. *čùmàní* 'pocket, sack' (but note also the variants with *ǯ-*: Man. *ǯumaŋgi*, Bur. *зумńā*, see TMC 1, 274, Lee 1958, 113 - are these backloans from Korean?)

PMong. ***sumal*** long leather sack (длинный кожаный мешок): WMong. *sumal* (L 737); Kh. *sumal*; Kalm. *sumḷ*; Ord. *sumal*; Mongr. *sūma(r)* 'besace, petit sac oblong' (SM 359).
◊ KW 337. Mong. > TM *sumala(n)* 'sack' (TMC 2, 109), see Doerfer MT 145, Rozycki 190.

PTurk. ***sAmar*** 1 sack, saddle pack 2 big wooden vessel (1 вьючный мешок 2 большой деревянный сосуд): MTurk. *samar* 1 (Pav. C.); Bashk. *hamar* 2; Kaz. *samar* 2; KKalp. *samar* 2; Yak. *ampara* 'налуч (колчан)' (Пек.) ?.
◊ VEWT 399.

PKor. ***sjə́m*** straw bag, measure of grain (соломенный мешок, мера зерна): MKor. *sjə́m*; Mod. *səm*.
◊ Nam 305, KED 953.
‖ PKE 176, KW 337.

✱**ši̯àtʻì** to set fire, burn: Tung. ***šāta (~č-)**; Mong. ***sita-**; Jpn. ***sitə-ki**; Kor. ***stāi-**.

PTung. ***šāta (~ č-)*** burned coals, ashes (горящие угли, зола): Evk. *čātā*; Neg. *čāta*.
◊ TMC 2, 386.

PMong. ***sita-*** to catch fire (загораться): MMong. *šita-, sita-* (MA); WMong. *sita-* (L 719); Kh. *šata-*; Bur. *šata-*; Kalm. *šatə-*; Ord. *ištā-* 'allumer, mettre le feu à, préparer au feu'; *šita-*; Dag. *šita-, xita-* (Тод.

Дат. 176), *šitā-*, *xitā-* (Тод. Дат. 184), *šate-*, *šitā-* (MD 214, 217); Dong. *šətara-*, *šidaraɣa-*, *šidəra-*; S.-Yugh. *šədā-*, *šədara-*; Mongr. *sdā-* (SM 331), *šda-*.

◊ KW 351, MGCD 710.

PJpn. ***sitə-ki** rice cakes offered to gods (жертвенные рисовые лепешки): MJpn. *sitoki*, *sitogi*.

◊ JLTT 528.

PKor. ***stāi-, *stə́k** 1 to solder, tinker; to make fire 2 rice cake (1 паять, лудить; разжигать 2 рисовая лепешка): MKor. *stāi-* 1, *stə́k* 2; Mod. *t:äu-* 1, *t:ək* 2.

◊ Nam 147, 152, KED 432, 445.

‖ Mong. s- points to a following front vowel or diphthong, so one should reconstruct **ši̯ā-*; in TM *-ā- and -ia- are frequently neutralized after a palatal. Jpn. **sitəki* = Kor. **stə́k*; both forms reflect a derivative with a velar suffix (**ši̯ātʻi-kʻV* 'smth. burned, baked'); borrowing Jpn. < Kor. or Kor. < Jpn. is not excluded (see Martin 1996, 45).

***ši̯óbi** wrinkle, gills: Tung. ***šoba- (~ -p-)**; Jpn. ***síwá**.

PTung. ***šoba- (~-p-)** 1 wrinkle 2 to wrinkle (1 морщина 2 морщиться): Evk. *čoworō-* 2; Man. *šufa-* 2, *šufan* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 402, 430.

PJpn. ***síwá** wrinkle (морщина): OJpn. *siwa*; MJpn. *síwá*; Tok. *shiwa*.

◊ JLTT 528.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. also Kalm. *söb*, *söwõ* 'wart' quoted in Владимирцов 1912, 213.

***ši̯óča** a k. of metal: Tung. ***šušu**; Mong. ***čas**; Turk. ***siāč**.

PTung. ***šušu** 1 copper 2 dark red (1 медь 2 темно-красный): Evk. *čučin* 2; Evn. *čučurmi* 1; Man. *šušu* 2; SMan. *susə*, *šušə* (*fian*) 'violet, purple' (2425).

◊ TMC 2, 418, 430.

PMong. ***čas** tin (жесть, сплав): WMong. *čas*; Kh. *cas*; Bur. *sad* 'brass'; Kalm. *cas*; Ord. *čas*.

◊ KW 428.

PTurk. ***siāč** 1 white copper, tin 2 pan (1 белая жесть 2 сковорода): Karakh. *sač* 2 (MK); Tur. *sač* 2; Gag. *sažaq* 'tripod'; Az. *saj* 2; Turkm. *sāč* 2; MTurk. *sač* (AH), *saj* (Pav. C.) 2; Chuv. *šъʷvъʷś*, *šuś*, *šoś* 1.

◊ EDT 794, VEWT 391-392, Лексика 406, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 438-439.

‖ Лексика 406. A Western isogloss. Mong. and TM have an assimilation (Mong. **sač* > **čač* > **čas*, TM **šusu* > **šušu*), usual in roots of this type.

✱**ši̯ò̀če** hair (of head), feather: Tung. ***šoša-***; Turk. ***s(i)ač***; Kor. ***číčh***.

PTung. ***šoša-*** 1 to arrange hair in a bunch 2 bunch, knot of hair (1 укладывать волосы в пучок 2 пучок, узел волос): Man. *šošo-* 1, *šošoχon* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 427-428. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***s(i)ač*** 1 hair (of head) 2 hair 3 hair (on back of head) 4 root (1 волос (головы) 2 волос 3 волос (на затылке) 4 корень): OTurk. *sač* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *sač* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *sač* 1; Gag. *sač* 1; Az. *sač* 1; Turkm. *sač* 1; Sal. *sač* 1; *sačɨχ* 3; Khal. *sa:č* 1; MTurk. *saǯ*, *sač* 1 (Pav. C., Sangl.); Uzb. *sɔč* 1; Uygh. *čač* 1; Krm. *sač* 1; Tat. *čɛč* 1; Bashk. *säs* 1; Kirgh. *čač* 1; Kaz. *šaš* 1; KBalk. *čač* 1; KKalp. *šaš* 1; Kum. *čač* 1; Nogh. *šaš* 1; Khak. *sas* 1; Shr. *šaš* 1; Oyr. *čač* 1; Tv. *ča'š* 1; Tof. *čɛ'š* 1; Chuv. *śüś* 2; Yak. *as* 3; Dolg. *as* 2.

◊ VEWT 391, EDT 794, *Лексика* 197, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 38.

PKor. ***číčh*** feather (перо): MKor. *čís*, *číčh*.

◊ Nam 445, 446.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 287, *Лексика* 197. Kor. has an assimilation, usual for roots of this type; Manchu also demonstrates an assimilation (*šoša-* < **šosa-* which would be regularly expected).

✱**ši̯ó̀č'ko** young of domestic animals: Tung. ***šičukta***; Turk. ***čōčka***; Kor. ***sàskí***.

PTung. ***šičukta*** a young domestic animal (детеныш домашних животных): Evk. *čičuha* (Barg.) 'domestic goat'; Man. *sučutu* 'a 2-year-old foal'.

◊ TMC 2, 133, 401.

PTurk. ***čōčka*** 1 young pig 2 child, boy 3 pig (1 поросенок 2 ребенок, мальчик 3 свинья): Karakh. *čočuq* (MK) 1; Tur. *čoǯuk* 2; Gag. *čoǯuq* 2; Az. *čošGa* 1, 3; Turkm. *ǯōǯuq* 1 (cf. *colloq. čōča* 'camel'); MTurk. *čočγa* 1 (Sangl.), (OKypch.) *čočqa* (Houts.) 1; Uzb. *ǯuǯuq* 2; Uygh. *čošqa* 3; Krm. (K) *čočqa* 3, *čočuq jataγɨ* 'afterbirth'; (T) *čočxa* 'young boy (not a Karaim)', (H) *cocka* 2; Tat. *čučqa* 3; Bashk. *sosqa* 3; Kirgh. *čočqo* 1; Kaz. *šošqa* 1; KBalk. *čočxa* 3; KKalp. *šošqa* 3; Kum. *čočqa* 3; Nogh. *šošqa* 3; Khak. *sosxa* 3; Shr. *šošqa* 3; Oyr. *čočqo* 3; Tv. *šošqa* 3.

◊ VEWT 113, ЭСТЯ 4, 28, EDT 400. See Stachowski 1985 with an extensive list of material but with a strange conclusion that the word "onomatopoetischer Herkunft ist und somit durch Autogenese zustande kam".

PKor. ***sàskí*** young of animals (детеныш животных): MKor. *sàskí*; Mod. *säk:i*.

◊ Nam 294, KED 920.

‖ *Дыбо* 9.

✱**ši̯ogo** cold: Tung. ***šig-***; Turk. ***sogi-k***; Jpn. ***səjə***; Kor. ***sik-***.

PTung. ***šig-*** 1 to freeze, get cold 2 cold (1 замерзать 2 холодный): Evk. *čig-* (dial.) 1; Man. *šaxurun* 2; SMan. *šahurun, sahurun* 2 (2061); Jurch. *siuŋhun* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 389,423.

PTurk. ***sogi-k*** cold (холодный): OTurk. *soɣiq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *soɣiq* (KB); Tur. *soɣuk*; Gag. *sūq*; Az. *sojuG*; Turkm. *sovuq*; Sal. *soχ*; Khal. *sovuq*; MTurk. *sawuq/sawuɣ* (Sangl.); Uzb. *sɔvuq*; Uygh. *soɣuq*; Krm. *sūq*; Tat. *siwiq*; Bashk. *hiwiq*; Kirgh. *sūk*; Kaz. *suwiq*; KBalk. *sūq*; KKalp. *suwiq*; Kum. *sowuq*; Nogh. *suwiq*; SUygh. *soq*; Khak. *sōx*; Shr. *sōq*; Oyr. *sōq*; Tv. *sōk*; Tof. *sōq*; Chuv. *sivə*.

◊ Derived from PT **sogi-* 'to cool, get cold', see VEWT 425, EDT 808 (**sogi-k*), 806 (**sogi-*), ЭСТЯ 7, Лексика 15.

PJpn. ***səjə*** gentle, cool (of wind) (прохладный, легкий (о ветре)): OJpn. *sojo*; MJpn. *sojo*; Tok. *soyo*.

PKor. ***sik-*** to cool off (остывать): Mod. *sik-*.

◊ KED 1045.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281, Дыбо 11. Other comparisons of the above roots (Poppe 61, KW 335, VEWT 425a, SKE 233,240) are quite unreliable. The Kor. form *sik-* may go back to **sig-Vk-* (cf. Turk. **sogik*); a similar prototype can explain Manchu *šaxurun* < **šig-ak-urun*. It is also interesting to note WMong. (L 658) *saɣsuɾɣa* 'hoar-frost' (< **sug-sarga* or **suɣa-surga*).

✱**ši̯ŏgV** juice: Tung. ***šūkse***; Mong. ***siɣü-sü***; Kor. ***skúr***.

PTung. ***šūkse*** juice (сок): Evk. *čūkse*; Evn. *čūs*; Neg. *čūxse*; Man. *šugi(n)* ~ *šuxi(n)*; Ork. *sūkse* ~ *tūkse*; Orch. *čūkse*; Ud. *čüöŋki*; Sol. *sūrče*.

◊ Cf. also Evk. *čūkin* 'rare (of meat)'. TMC 2, 411, 428.

PMong. ***siɣü-sü*** juice (сок): MMong. *ši'u-su* 'food, provisions' (HP, SH); WMong. *sigüsü(n)* (L 704); Kh. *šŭs*; Bur. *šŭhe(n)*; Kalm. *šŭsn*; Ord. *šŭsü*, *šüs* 'juice of meat'; Dag. *čūs* (Тод. Дар. 182).

◊ KW 373. Mong. > Man. *šusu*, Chag. *süsün* (see TMN 1, 362, Rozycki 196). Cf. also **siɣü-der* 'dew' > MMong. (SH) *ši'uder*, (HY 2) *ši'uderen* WMong. *šigüder*, Khalkha *šŭder*, Mongr.šūderi (401), (> MTurk. *šigüdärin*, Chag. *šüdürün* etc., see Лексика 39-40).

PKor. ***skúr*** honey (мед): MKor. *skúr, pskúr*; Mod. *k:ul*.

◊ Nam 63, KED 217. The attested variant *pskúr* is probably a result of hypercorrective spelling.

‖ Владимирцов 199, АПиПЯЯ 17. Korean has a usual vowel reduction between a stop and a consonant.

✱**ši̯ŏju** to skin, peel: Tung. ****čī- (~ *šī-) (< *šij-)***; Mong. ****siɣal-***; Turk. ****soj-***.

PTung. ****čī- (~ *šī-)*** to scrape off, skin (скоблить, соскабливать): Evk. *čī-*.

◊ TMC 2, 388. Attested only in Evk., with probable parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***siɣal-*** to skin, peel (сдирать кожу, шкуру): WMong. *šaɣal-* (L 748); Kh. *šāl-*; Kalm. *šāl-* (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***soj-*** to skin, peel (сдирать шкуру, кожу): OTurk. *soj-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *soj-* (MK); Tur. *soj-*; Gag. *soj-*; Az. *soj-*; Turkm. *soj-*; Khal. *suv-*; MTurk. *soj-* (Ettuhf., Pav. C.); Uzb. *soj-*; Uygh. *soj-*; Krm. *soj-*; Tat. *suj-*; Bashk. *huj-*; Kirgh. *soj-*; Kaz. *soj-*; KKalp. *soj-*; Kum. *soj-*; Nogh. *soj-*; SUygh. *soj-*, so-; Khak. *soj-*; Shr. *soj-*; Oyr. *soj-*; Tv. *soj-*; Chuv. *sü-*.

◊ VEWT 425, EDT 858, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ši̯ȍlí** juice, fluid: Tung. ***šōla***; Mong. ***silö***; Turk. ***söl***; Jpn. ***sìrú***.

PTung. ***šōla*** 1 soup 2 juice (1 суп 2 сок): Man. *šula* 2; Ul. *čōlo(n)* 1; Nan. *čōlō* 1; Ud. *čolo* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 405, 429. Man. *čola-* / *čōla-* 'to roast, broil (in a kettle' is most probably a result of interdialectal borrowing. The TM languages reflect also **sile* / **silu* 'soup' (see TMC 2, 85, 138) which is a loanword from Mong., see Poppe 1966, 198, Doerfer MT 26.

PMong. ***silö*** soup (суп): MMong. *šulen* (HY 24, SH), *šīlɛ* (IM), *šilän* (MA); WMong. *silü(n)* (L 708), *šülü*; Kh. *šöl*; Bur. *šülen*; Kalm. *šöln*, *šüln*; Ord. *šölö*; Dag. *šil* 'soup; juice' (Тод. Дат. 183), *šile* (MD 216); Dong. *šulie* 'soup; juice'; Bao. *šile* 'soup; juice'; S.-Yugh. *šəlen*; Mongr. *šulō* (SM 385).

◊ KW 371, MGCD 723, 728. Mong. > Chag. *sölän*, *silän*, Man. *sile* etc. (see TMN 1, 369-370, Rozycki 181).

PTurk. ***söl*** 1 juice in meat, lymph 2 soup, bouillon (1 мясной сок, лимфа 2 суп, бульон): OTurk. *söl* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *söl* (MK) 1; Tur. *söl* (dial.) 1; Tat. *sül*, *sül-gɛn* 1; Bashk. *hül* 1; Kirgh. *söl* 1; Kaz. *söl* 1; KKalp. *söl* 1; Nogh. *söl* 1; SUygh. *söl* 'ram's blood'; Chuv. *šъl* (dial.), *шыл* (XIX c., Bible) 2; Yak. *öl* 2.

◊ VEWT 430, EDT 824, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sìrú*** juice; soup; pus (сок; суп; гной): OJpn. *siru*; MJpn. *sìrú*; Tok. *shíru*; Kyo. *shìrú*; Kag. *shirú*.

◊ JLTT 526.

‖ EAS 155, Ozawa 111, Murayama 1962, 110, Мудрак Дисс. 41. The Turkic vocalism is quite irregular, probably due to contamination with **si̯ūli* 'gall, pus' q.v. (a similar merger occurred in PJ).

✱**ši̯ȍŋe** scoop, vessel: Tung. ***šōŋ-***; Mong. ***sinaga***; Turk. ***seŋek***.

PTung. ***šōŋ-*** 1 scoop, box, dishes 2 place for dishes (1 ковш, коробка, посуда 2 место в чуме для утвари): Evk. *čōŋ* 1, *čōŋāl* 2; Evn. *čōŋāl* 2; Neg. *čōŋal* 2; Man. *šaŋšaχa* 1; Ul. *čuŋne* 1; Ork. *čoŋol* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 406, 425. Evk. > Dolg. *čoŋal*, *čuoŋāl* (see Stachowski 74-75).

PMong. ***sinaga*** ladle, scoop (ковш): MMong. *šinaɣa* (MA 333); WMong. *sinaɣa* (L 710); Kh. *šanaga(n)*; Bur. *šanaga*; Kalm. *šanəɣ* (KPC); Ord. *šinaGa*; Dong. *šinaGa*; Mongr. *šənaGa*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. dial. *činakā* (TMC 2, 395).

PTurk. ***seŋek*** jar, mug (кувшин): Karakh. *seŋek* (MK - Oghuz); Tur. *seŋek*; Az. *senek*.

◊ EDT 838, VEWT 410.

‖ A Western isogloss. One should also mention *seŋgesn* 'drinking vessel' (KW 410), either an old variant or a modified Turkic loanword.

✱**ši̯op'a** claw, to claw: Tung. ***šopa-***; Mong. ***sabur***.

PTung. ***šopa-*** 1 claws 2 to claw (1 когти 2 хватать когтями): Evk. *čowo-mo* 1, *čowīlā-* 2; Neg. *čowo-kī* 1; Man. *šoforo* 1, *šoforo-* 2; SMan. *sovərəqə*, *sovərəqu* 'claw' (2288); *šovərə-*, *sovuru-* 'to grab' (1541); Nan. *cofola-* (Bik.) 'to compress'; Orch. *čopokto* 1, *čopoktolo-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 402.

PMong. ***sabur*** bird's claws; fork (птичьи когти; вилы): WMong. *sabur*, (L 653) *sabar*; Kh. *savar*; Bur. *habar*; Kalm. *sawṛ*; Ord. *sawar*; Dag. *sabər*; S.-Yugh. *sabar*; Mongr. *sawar* (SM 330).

◊ KW 316, MGCD 585. Mong. > Oyr. *sabar* etc.

‖ Мудрак *Дисс.* 41. Cf. **sép'a*.

✱**ši̯ȍri (~ *ši̯ȁro)** stake, pole: Tung. ***šōra***; Mong. ***siro***; Turk. ***s(i)ar-ča***.

PTung. ***šōra*** pole, tent made of poles (жердь, чум из жердей): Evk. *čōrama*; Evn. *čōra*; Neg. *čōramị*; Man. *šuruqu* 'boat pole', *šuru-* 'to swim using poles'; Nan. *čōro*; Ud. *čōlo*.

◊ TMC 2, 408, 430. Man. *čoron tatan* 'pole tent' is probably a recent loan from some TM language (Nanai or Evk.).

PMong. ***siro*** spit, skewer (вертел, шомпол): MMong. *širo* (SH), *širi'e* (HY 21), sire (IM); WMong. *siro*, (L 756) *šoru*, *siru*; Kh. *šor*, *širē*; Bur. *šoro*; Kalm. *šor*; Ord. *šoro*; Dag. *šor* (Тод. *Дат.* 184), *šorti*; S.-Yugh. *šoro*.

◊ KW 365, MGCD 722.

PTurk. ***s(i)ar-ča*** tethering post (коновязь): MTurk. *sarča* (R); Khak. *sarčɨn* (folkl.); Tv. *sarčɨn* (R - Soj.).

◊ R 4, 336-337, VEWT 403 (suggesting a derivation from *sar-*, *saru-* 'to tie round' - which is also not excluded).

‖ EAS 71, SKE 235, Poppe 30 (with some confusion of this root and **si̯ȍru* q. v.). A Western isogloss; but cf. notes to **seri*.

✱**ši̯uga(lV)** bucket: Tung. ***šugle-***; Mong. ***saɣulga***; Turk. ***sugu***.

PTung. ***šugle-*** 1 water bucket made of birch bark 2 woven basket (1 берестяной сосуд для воды 2 плетеная корзина): Evk. *čuɣlen* 1; Man. *šulxu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 410, 429.

PMong. ***saɣulga*** bucket (ведро): MMong. *sa'uluqa* (SH); WMong. *saɣulɣa* (L 659); Kh. *sūlga*; Bur. *hūlga*; Kalm. *sūlɣə* (KPC); Ord. *sūlGa*; Dong. *sauɣa* (Тод. *Дн.*), *soɣo*; Bao. *sulGe* (Тод. Бн.), *solGə*; Mongr. *sūrGa* (SM 364), *saulGa*.

◊ MGCD 609. Mong. > Manchu *solxa* (see Rozycki 186).

PTurk. ***sugu*** water bucket (ведро для воды): MTurk. *suɣur* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *suɣa*; Shr. *sō* (Верб.); Tv. *sō* 'bucket made of birch bark'; Tof. *sō* 'bucket made of birch bark'.

◊ VEWT 431.

‖ A Western isogloss, with some vocalic irregularities (the reconstruction **šuga* would contradict, however, the consonant reflex **s-* in Turkic and Mongolian). Cf. **sŭ́ku*.

ši̯ŭjò** thorn, (pine) needle: Tung. ****šŭje; Mong. ****sojuɣa***; Turk. ****sojagu***; Jpn. ****sòjà***; Kor. ****sāi***.

PTung. ****šŭje*** 1 needle of a coniferous tree 2 a hair fallen out 3 to become intertwined (of hair, fur) 4 branch, firewood 5 a needle made of horn 6 fetlock (1 игла (хвойная) 2 вылезшая шерсть 3 сваляться, скататься (о шерсти) 4 ветка, хворост 5 игла из рога 6 щетка (у копыта лошади)): Evk. *čīje* 1, 2; Evn. *čīja-* 3; Neg. *čija* 2; Man. *suja*, *sujaχa* 4, *sujχon* / *sojχon* 5, *sojlo* 6.

◊ TMC 2, 104, 121, 390.

PMong. ****sojuɣa*** fang, sprout, hook (клык, побег, крюк): WMong. *sojuɣa* (L 724); Kh. *sojō*; Bur. *hojō*; Kalm. *sojā(n)*; Ord. *sojō*; Dag. *sojō* (Тод. Дат. 163); Dong. *soja*; S.-Yugh. *sio*.

◊ KW 329, MGCD 604. Mong. > Yak. *sojuo* 'needle', see Аникин 499-500.

PTurk. ****sojagu*** 1 cock's spur 2 pine needle, toothpick 3 a sharp object (1 петушиная шпора 2 сосновая иголка, зубочистка 3 острый предмет): Karakh. *sojaɣu* 1 (MK); Kirgh. *sojō* 3; Kaz. *sojaw* 2; Kum. *sojaw* 'a metallic pendant on a Caucasian belt'; Oyr. *sojoq* 'mountain top; young horn'; Tof. *sojā* 'wire for pipe-cleaning' (< Mong.?); *sojaq* 'mountain' (ФиЛ 227).

◊ VEWT 425, EDT 859. All Kypchak forms may also be < Mong.

PJpn. ****sòjà*** arrow (стрела): OJpn. *soja*; MJpn. *sòjà*; Tok. *soya*.

◊ JLTT 531. May be a compound with ja 'arrow', but *so* alone is not attested.

PKor. ****sāi*** straw (солома): MKor. *sāi*; Mod. *sä* 'straw thatch'.

◊ Nam 295, KED 919.

‖ EAS 72, KW 329, SKE 219.

ši̯ŭkʻu** sharp instrument: Tung. ****šuK-; Mong. ****süke***; Jpn. ****súkí***.

PTung. ****šuK-*** 1 chisel 2 to carve, engrave 3 to hit (with horns), butt, strike 4 notches on bow ends (1 резец, долото 2 вырезать, гравировать 3 бодать, колоть (рогами) 4 зарезки, выемки (на концах лука)): Man. *šuki-* 3, *šukun* 4; Nan. *čuktuli-* 2 (Он.); Orch. *čūku*, *tūku* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 403, 429.

PMong. ****süke*** axe (топор): MMong. *suke* (HY 18, SH, IM); WMong. *süke* (L 742); Kh. *süx*; Bur. *hüxe*; Kalm. *sükə*; Ord. *süχe*; Dag. *sugu* (Тод. Дат. 164), *suhe* (MD 212), *sugē*; Dong. *sugie*; S.-Yugh. *səge*; Mongr. *sugo* (SM 352).

◊ KW 340, MGCD 618. Mong. > Chag. *sükü* etc. (KW 435), Yak. *süge*, Dolg. *hüge* (see Stachowski 115), Man. *suxe* etc. (TMC 2, 123), see Doerfer MT 40, Rozycki 189.

PJpn. ***súkí*** plough (плуг): OJpn. *sukji*; *suk-* 'to plough'; MJpn. *súkí*; *súk-* 'to plough'; Tok. *sùki*; Kyo. *súkí*; Kag. *súki*.

◊ JLTT 532.

‖ The etymology seems plausible, although the precise meaning of the root in PA is not quite clear (some sharp instrument used for carving, chopping or ploughing).

✱**ši̯ù̯po** to twist, twisted threads: Tung. ***šŭ̄ba***; Mong. ***subu-***; Turk. ***sub-luk (?)***.

PTung. ***šŭ̄ba*** 1 to spin, twist (threads) 2 thread 3 fringe (1 сучить (нитки) 2 нитка 3 бахрома): Evk. *čīwa-* 1, *čīwa* 2; Evn. *sêwa* 2 (Arm.); Neg. *čị̄wa-* 1, *čị̄wa* 2; Man. *šuwase* 3; Orch. *čiwa* 2; Ud. *čua* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 389, 428.

PMong. ***subu-*** to unravel, unstring (развязывать, распутывать): WMong. *subu-*, *suba-*, *subi-* (L 733); Kh. *suva-*; Bur. *huba-*, *hubi-*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *sūw-*, Man. *su-* 'untie' etc. (see TMC 2, 103).

PTurk. ***sub-luk (?)*** turban (тюрбан): Karakh. *suvluq* (MK).

◊ EDT 788.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **suba*, **sĭbi*.

✱**ši̯úp'ù** to suck, hold in mouth: Tung. ***šupa- (~č-)***; Mong. ***siɣü-***; Turk. ***sip-***; Jpn. ***súp-***; Kor. ***sp-ă̄r-***.

PTung. ***šupa- (~č-)*** to suck (сосать): Evk. *čupku-* 'suck out'; Neg. *čopon-* 'kiss', *čụpka-* 'soak'; Orch. *čop(o)ko-* 'kiss'.

◊ TMC 2, 408, 415.

PMong. ***siɣü-*** to filter, strain (процеживать): MMong. *šu-* (MA 337); WMong. *siγü-* (L 702); Kh. *šŭ-*; Bur. *šŭ-*; Kalm. *šŭ-* (KPC); Ord. *šŭ-*.

PTurk. ***sip-*** to swallow greedily (жадно глотать, пить залпом): Tur. *sip-*; Az. *sifyar-* (dial.); MTurk. *sipqar-* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Tat. *sipir-*; Bashk. *hipir-*.

◊ VEWT 418, 423, ЭСТЯ 7. The Chag. form may have been secondary influenced by Mong. *sibqar-* 'to press, squeeze'.

PJpn. ***súp-*** to suck, inhale (сосать, вдыхать): OJpn. *suf-*; MJpn. *súp-*; Tok. *sù-*; Kyo. *sú-*; Kag. *sú-*.

◊ JLTT 760.

PKor. ***sp-ă̄r-*** to suck (сосать): MKor. *sp-ă̄r-*; Mod. *p:al-*.

◊ Nam 247, KED 725.

‖ Whitman 1985, 181, 233 (Kor.-Jpn.). Korean has a usual vowel reduction between a fricative and a stop.

✱**ši̯ŭr[e]** to rub, polish: Tung. ***šürü- (/*šurü-)**; Mong. ***sürči-**; Turk. ***sür(-t)-**; Jpn. ***súr-**; Kor. ***sɨrh-**.

PTung. ***šürü- (/*šurü-)** 1 to rip (with claws) 2 to whet; rip off (skin, flesh) 3 knife for carving ornaments (1 раздирать (когтями) 2 точить; сдирать (кожу, мясо) 3 нож для вырезания орнамента): Evk. *čuri-* 1; Man. *šuru-* 2; Ul. *čūre(n)* 3; Nan. *čūruẽ* 3; Sol. *šiṛuxã̄* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 416, 426, 430.

PMong. ***sürči-** to rub (тереть, втирать): MMong. *surči-* (MA 329, 330); WMong. *sürči-* (L 744); Kh. *sürči-*; Kalm. *sürčə-*; Ord. *sürči-* 'oindre'.

◊ KW 341.

PTurk. ***sür(-t)-** to rub, smear (тереть, мазать): OTurk. *sürt-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sürt-* (MK); Tur. *sür-, sürt-*; Gag. *sürüt-*; Az. *sürt-*; Turkm. *sür-, sürt-*; MTurk. *sür-* (Pav. C.), *sürt-* (IM), *sürüt-* (AH); Uzb. *surt-*; Krm. *sürt-*; Bashk. *hŭr-, hŭrt-*; Kirgh. *sür-, sürt-*; Kaz. *sürt-*; KBalk. *sürt-*; KKalp. *sür-, sürt-*; Kum. *sürt-*; Nogh. *sür-, sürt-*; SUygh. *sürt-*; Khak. *sürt-*; Oyr. *sürt-*; Tv. *sür-*; Chuv. *sə^{w}r-*; Yak. *ür-*.

◊ EDT 846, VEWT 437, Егоров 188, *Лексика* 382, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***súr-** to rub, whet, polish (тереть, точить, полировать): OJpn. *sur-*; MJpn. *súr-*; Tok. *súr-*; Kyo. *sùr-*; Kag. *sùr-*.

◊ JLTT 759. Modern dialects reflect *sùr- - due to a merger of *súr- 'rub' and *sùr- 'print, close up' which are clearly distinguished in RJ.

PKor. ***sɨrh-** to polish, rub off (полировать): MKor. *sirh-*; Mod. *s:il-* [*s:ilh-*].

◊ Nam 322, KED 1028.

‖ SKE 238. Mong. may be < Turk., see Щербак 1997, 198. The genuine reflex may be Mong. **sir-* (Khalkha *šürge-*, Kalm. *šürgə-* 'to rub off', WMong. *sirgü-*, KW 371; Khalkha *širūn*, Kalm. *šürūn*, WMong. *sireγün* 'rough, shaggy'; WMong. *sirbe-* 'to sweep') - although the -i- vowel here is not quite clear. The root generally displays some variation between **ši̯ŭre* and **ši̯ŭru*.

✱**ši̯ŭru** beads: Tung. ***čuri- / *čurē- (~ š-)**; Mong. ***sirü**; Turk. ***sirɨčga**.

PTung. ***čuri- / *čurē- (~ š-)** 1 beads 2 fringe (1 бисер, бусы 2 бахрома): Evk. *čurikta* 1, *čurēkte* 2; Evn. *čuṛiṭ* 1; Neg. *čujēkte* 2; Nan. *čūruktu* (On.) 'metal horns on cap'.

◊ TMC 2, 416-417.

PMong. ***sirü** beads, coral beads (коралл, коралловые украшения): WMong. *sirü, šürü* (L 719); Kh. *šür*; Bur. *šüre*; Kalm. *šür* 'coral'; Ord. *šürü(n)*; Dag. *sur* (Тод. Даг. 184: *šur*); Bao. *śirə*; S.-Yugh. *šurə, śurə*; Mongr. *śuru* (SM 402), *śurə*.

◊ KW 371, MGCD 729.

PTurk. ***siričga*** glass, rock crystal (стекло, горный хрусталь): Karakh. *siričγa* (MK), *sirinčγa* (KB); Tur. *sirča*; Gag. *sirča*; Turkm. *sirča* 'enamel'; MTurk. *sirča* (AH, IM), *sirčä* (Pav. C.); Chuv. *šъrźa* 'bead'.

◊ EDT 846, VEWT 419, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ši̯ŭ́ru** to leak, ooze: Tung. ***čurgī- (~ š-)***; Mong. ***sir-***; Turk. ***sił-***.

PTung. ***čurgī- (~ š-)*** to flow, drip (стекать, струиться): Evk. *čurgī-*; Evn. *čurgu̯-*; Ul. *čoržu̯-*; Nan. *čorgi-* (On.).

◊ TMC 2, 409, 416.

PMong. ***sir-*** 1 to strain, filter 2 to drizzle (1 процеживать, фильтровать 2 моросить): WMong. *sirle-*, *sir-gü-* 1; (L 716) *sirbigine-* 2; Kh. *širvegene-* 2; Bur. *šerbe-* 2; Kalm. *širl-*, *šir-* 1; Mongr. *surGu-* 'enduire' (SM 364).

◊ KW 360, 361.

PTurk. ***sił-*** 1 to ooze 2 to melt (1 сочиться, капать 2 таять, плавиться): Karakh. *siz-* 1, 2; Tur. *siz-* 1; Gag. *siz-* 1, 2; Az. *siz-* 1; Turkm. *siz-* 1; MTurk. *siz-* 1, 2 (AH); Uzb. *siz-* 1; Uygh. *sis-* 2; Tat. *siz-* 1, 2; Kirgh. *siz-* 1; Kaz. *siz-* 1; Oyr. *sis-* 1, *sisqir-* 2; Tv. *sizil-* 1, *sis-qa-* 'to strain'; Chuv. *šъran-* 2, *šъrat-* 'to strain'.

◊ EDT 861, VEWT 420, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 44-45. A Western isogloss; cf. **si̯ŭ́ri*, **si̯ò̵ri*.

✱**šŏ̵mo** to dive, submerge, scoop: Tung. ***šom-***; Mong. ***čomu***; Turk. ***čom- / čöm-***; Jpn. ***sə́má-***; Kor. ***sə̀m-***.

PTung. ***šom-*** 1 deep 2 scoop 3 to pour water over oneself 4 to submerge, fall under ice (1 глубокий 2 чашка, черпак 3 облиться водой 4 увязать, проваливаться под лед): Evk. *čomko* 2; Evn. *čumku-* 3; Man. *šumin* 1; SMan. *šumin, sumin* 1 (2617); Jurch. *ĉu-mi-gi* (695) 1; Ud. *čompo-* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 406, 414, 429. TM > Dag. *somog* (Тод. Дар. 163).

PMong. ***čomu*** scoop (черпак): WMong. *čomu*, *čom* (L 197: *čomu* 'wine cup, goblet'); Kh. *com*; Bur. *sobxon*; Kalm. *cōmə*; Dag. *čomō* (Тод. Дар. 182).

◊ KW 431. Mong. > Evk. *čomo*, Man. *čoman*, *čomo* (see Doerfer MT 61; but note that forms like Evk. *čomko* are genuine).

PTurk. ***čom- / čöm-*** 1 to dive 2 to swim 3 to scoop 4 to immerse, dip 5 scoop (1 погружаться, нырять 2 плавать, купаться 3 черпать 4 окунать 5 черпак, ковш): OTurk. *čom-* = *čöm-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čom-*, *čöm-* 1 (MK), *čömče* 5 (MK Oghuz); Tur. *čömče* 5; Az. *čömčä* 5; Sal. *čum-* (*čöm-*) 1, 2 (ССЯ); MTurk. *čom-* 1 (Abush.); Uzb. *čum-(mɔq)* 1, *čumič* 5; Uygh. *čom-*, *čom-ul-* (pass.) 1, *čömüč* 5; Krm. (K) *čöm-* 1, (T) *čom-* 1, 2, (H) *com-* 1, 'to flow'; (K) *čomič*, (T) *čömüč* 5; Tat. *čum-* 1, *čümeč* 5; Bashk. *sumi-* 1, *sümes* 5; Kirgh. *čomul-/čömül-* 1, 2, *čömü-* 1, *čömö-* 4, *čömüč* 5;

Kaz. *šom-il-* (pass.) 1, 2, *šömiš* 5; KBalk. *čömüč* 5; KKalp. *šom-il-* (pass.) 1, 2, *šömiš* 5; Kum. *čom-* 4, *čomuč* 5; Nogh. *šom-il-* (pass.) 1, 2, *šomaqa* , *šömiš* 5; SUygh. *čomiš* 5 (ЯЖУ); Khak. *som-* 1,2, *somnax* 'spoon'; Shr. *šom-* 2; Oyr. *čöm-* 1, 4, *čomijaq* 'pannier made of birch bark'; Tv. *šim-in-* (refl.) 1; Tof. *šom-* 1, *šomuq* 'a small trough made of birch bark'; Chuv. *čъʷm-* 1 (< Tat.?; *čъm* 'jar' may be < Pers., see Федотов 2, 401); Yak. *som-us-* 3.

◊ VEWT 115, TMN 3, 95-99, EDT 422, Eropов 319. Cf. also **čamčak* / *-i-* 'big spoon' (VEWT 98; < **čom-čak*?). Various forms meaning 'to squat' may belong here as well (cf.: Tur. *čömel-*, Az. *čömäl-*, Gag. *čömel-*, Turkm. *čommal-*, Tat. *čümäš-*, Kaz. *šömej-*, KBalk. *čömel-* ('trip over'; cf. also *čömel-t-* 'to turn over; dip someone into water'), with a secondary semantic development ('dip, dive' > 'fall or sit down, squat'); cf. similar semantic shifts in PT **čök-*.

PJpn. ***sə́má-** to dip, dye (красить, погружать в краску): OJpn. *soma-*; MJpn. *sóma-*; Tok. *sòme-*; Kyo. *sómé-*; Kag. *somé-*.

◊ JLTT 755.

PKor. ***sə̀̆m-** 1 to swallow 2 to penetrate (1 глотать 2 проникать, пронизывать): MKor. *sə̆̀mski-* 1, *sə̆̀mə̀̆s-*, *sə̆̀mə̀̆čh-* 2; Mod. *samkhi-* 1, *samu-čhi-* 2.

◊ Nam 287, 293, KED 874, 905.

‖ SKE 21, EAS 64, 141.

✱**šŏŋe (~ -i)** deep, hollow: Tung. ***šoŋ-**; Mong. ***čoŋg- / *čöŋk-**; Turk. ***čöŋ-**.

PTung. ***šoŋ-** 1 hole, hollow, cave 2 pool, pond (1 яма, впадина, рытвина 2 пруд): Evn. *čōŋin* 2; Neg. *čoŋdoxo* 1; Man. *šonto*, *šuŋku* 1; Ul. *čōŋdō* 1; Ork. *toŋdo* 1; Nan. *čoŋdō* 1; Orch. *čoŋdō*, *čoŋdoko* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 407, 429. Man. *čondoχo* < South. TM.

PMong. ***čoŋg- / *čöŋk-** 1 hole, uneven ground 2 deep (of water) 3 pool 4 hollow, cave 5 bag, pouch 6 small bag (1 ямы в земле, неровная земля 2 глубокий (о воде) 3 лужа, водоем 4 полый, вогнутый 5 мешочек): WMong. *čoŋγur* 1 (L 198), *čoŋkijal* (L 198) / *čoŋgijal* 2, *čüŋgürüg* 4, *čüŋke* 5 (L 209); Kh. *congor* 1, *conxiol* 2, *cünxēl* 3, *cünx* 5; Bur. *sünxereg* 'pool, basin, pond'; Kalm. *coŋγāḷ* 2, *coŋxəg* 'pit' (KPC); Ord. *čöŋχör* 1.

◊ Mong. > Chag. *čüŋül* 'Wassertümpel', Kaz. *čöŋgöl* 'tiefe Stelle im Wasser'; **čuŋkur* 'tief, Vertiefung' (VEWT 120); > Evk. *čuŋurē*, Man. *čuŋguru* 'navel, cavity' etc., see Doerfer MT 38; > Evk., Evn. *čuŋgun* 'hollow, cave'.

PTurk. ***čöŋ-** 1 leather bucket for milking 2 to submerge 3 hollow, deep 4 pool, pond (1 кожаное ведро для дойки 2 погружаться 3 полый, глубокий 4 пруд, водоем): Karakh. *čöŋek* 1; Tur. *čöŋgül* 4; Kirgh. *čöŋke* 'a metal vessel (чугунок)'; Shr. *šüŋür* 3; Oyr. *čöŋ*, *čüŋ* 3, *čöŋ-* 2.

◊ EDT 426.

‖ KW 428, 430. A Western isogloss.

***šop'é** freckles, spots: Mong. ***čob, *čow-kur**; Turk. ***čap-, *čopur**; Jpn. ***səmpa-**.

PMong. ***čob, *čow-kur** 1 small spot, freckle 2 spotted, variegated (1 пятнышко, веснушка 2 пятнистый, пестрый): WMong. *čob* 1, *čouqur* 2 (L 199); Kh. *covd* 1, *cōxor* 2; Bur. *sōxor* 2; Kalm. *cōxər* 2; Ord. *čōxor*; Dag. *čōxor, čōkor* 2 (Тод. Дат. 182), *čōkore* (MD 130).

◊ KW 429, 431. Mong. > MTurk. *čoqur* (see Щербак 1997, 203), Evk. *čōkur* etc. (Doerfer MT 101, Rozycki 49).

PTurk. ***čap-, *čopur** 1 pock-marked, variegated 2 badly bred, sloppy 3 to appear (of rash, furuncles) (1 пестрый, рябой 2 непородистый, неряшливый 3 высыпать (о сыпи, чирьях)): Tur. *čopur* 1; Gag. *čıbar-* 3; Az. *čopur* 1; Turkm. *čopur* 1; MTurk. *čubar* 'cheval gris de fer', *čibar* 'grey, mottled (horse)' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čipɔr* 1; Uygh. *čipa(r)* 1; Krm. *čıbar, cıbar* 1; Bashk. *säbärt-* 'to appear (of rash on lips)', *sıbar* 1; Kirgh. *čobur* 2; Kaz. *šubar* 1; KBalk. *čapır-* 3, *čubar* 1; KKalp. *šubar* 1; Kum. *čapır-* 3, *čopur* 1, *čubar* 'variegated'; Nogh. *šubar* 1; Tof. *šubar* 1.

◊ VEWT 116, 118-119, Егоров 320, Федотов 2, 403. An expressive and late attested root; appears, however, to be reconstructable for PT. The original shape is probably **čap-* (preserved in *čap-ır-* 'to appear (of rash)', with further labial assimilation into **čopur*. The frequently attested variant *čupar* > *čubar* is most probably a result of contamination **čopur* and **čubar* (reflected in Tat. *čuwar*, Kirgh. *čār* that can only reflect **-b-*).

PJpn. ***səmpa** freckles (веснушки): Tok. *sobakasu*.

‖ KW 429, Владимирцов 255. Cf. also Neg. *čaw, čawų* 'rash' (< Mong.?). An expressive root, with a number of contaminations and irregularities.

T

✱**tə̀bà (~ -p-)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***dabā***; Mong. ***dabka***; Jpn. ***tàpì***.

PTung. ***daba*** salmon (кета): Neg. *dawā*; Ul. *dawa*; Ork. *dawa*; Nan. *dawa*; Orch. *dawa*; Ud. *dawa*.

◊ TMC 1, 185. Man. *dafaχa* id. corresponds irregularly and is most probably < Mong. (despite Doerfer MT 143, Rozycki 53, suggesting an opposite direction).

PMong. ***dabka*** a k. of fish (Doerfer: 'quadratschnäuzige Meerbrasse') (вид рыбы): WMong. *dabqa* (L 214: sheatfish, catfish, Silurus), *dabqurul* (L 215: a k. of fish resembling the carp); Kh. *davxā*, *davxral*.

PJpn. ***tàpì*** name of various kinds of perch (назв. различных видов окуня): OJpn. *tapji*; MJpn. *tàfi*; Tok. *tái*; Kyo. *tâi*; Kag. *taí*.

◊ JLTT 538 ("sea-bream").

‖ For Jpn. cf. alternatively TM *tab(u) (TMC 2, 149) or **topV* (TMC 2, 198).

✱**tə̀bi** bad wind, infectious disease: Tung. ***dā(b)-***; Mong. ***düjiren***; Turk. ***dabul***.

PTung. ***dā(b)-*** to be infected (заражаться): Evk. *dā(w)-*; Evn. *dāw-*; Neg. *dā-*; Ul. *dā-*; Ork. *dā-*; Nan. *dā-*; Ud. *dā-*.

◊ TMC 1, 184.

PMong. ***düjireŋ*** typhus (тиф): WMong. *düireŋ* (БАМРС); Kh. *düjren*; Bur. *düjren übšen*.

PTurk. ***dabul*** storm, strong wind (буря, сильный ветер): Tur. (dial.) *dayıl*; Turkm. *dowul*; MTurk. *dawul* (Pav. C.); Krm. *tawul*; Tat. *dawıl*; Bashk. *dawıl*; Kirgh. *dobul*, *dōl*; Kaz. *dawıl*; KKalp. *dawıl*; Nogh. *dawıl*; Oyr. *tōl* (dial.); Chuv. *tъʷvъʷl*; Yak. *tıal*; Dolg. *tıal*.

◊ VEWT 476, Лексика 46-47, Stachowski 236-237.

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. **düji-ren* < **dejü-ren*, with a frequent metathesis of labialization.

✱**tabu** trade, barter: Mong. ***daɣ-***; Turk. ***dab-***; Jpn. ***tùpìjái***; Kor. ***tòbíi***.

PMong. ***daɣ-*** to present, make a gift, distribute (дарить, делать подарок, распределять): MMong. *da'ul-* (SH); WMong. *dajila-* (L 222); Kh. *dajla-*; Kalm. *dāšl-*; Mongr. *dābu̯la-* 'vénérer par des sacrifices, offrir, sacrifier' (SM 38).

◊ KW 82.

PTurk. ***dab-*** 1 wares 2 goods, livestock 3 cattle 4 to sell, trade (1 товар 2 имущество 3 скот 4 продавать, торговать): OTurk. *tabar* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tavar* 1, 2 (MK, KB), 3 (KB), *tav-* 4 (KB); Tur. *davar* 3; Az. *davar* 3; Turkm. *dovar* 3; MTurk. *tavar* (Pav. C.) 1, 3; Uzb. *tɔvar* 1; Uygh. *tavar* 1; Krm. *tuvar* 3; Tat. *tuwar* 1; Bashk. *tawar* 1; Kirgh. *tabar* 1 (< Russ.?); KBalk. *tuwar* 3; KKalp. *tawar* 1 (< Russ.?); Kum. *tuwar* 3.

◊ VEWT 451-452, ЭСТЯ 3, 114-117, *Лексика* 327-328, 336. Turk. > WMong. *tawar*, Kalm. *tawr̥* (KW 385, Щербак 1997, 150), Russ. *товар*.

PJpn. ***tùpìjái*** expense (расходы, траты): MJpn. *tùfijé*.

PKor. ***tòbɨ́i*** barter, trade (торговля): MKor. *tò'ɨ́i*.

◊ Nam 157.

‖ An interesting common Altaic economical term. Let us note, however, that non-standard affixation in Japanese, as well as irregular tone correspondence, may suggest a borrowing from Korean.

✱***tàbú*** to endure, obey: Tung. ***dābu-***; Mong. ***daɣa-***; Jpn. ***tùmpúnai***.

PTung. ***dābu-*** 1 to obey 2 to sacrifice 3 to envy (1 подчиняться 2 приносить жертву 3 завидовать): Evn. *dabdaŋ-* 3; Man. *dobo-* 2 (> Nan. *dōbo-*); SMan. *diovi-* (766) 2; Ul. *dābų-* 1; Ork. *dābų-* 1; Nan. *dābo-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 184, 211. The Nan., Ul. and Orok forms look as if they are borrowed from Manchu (original *-b- should regularly yield -w- here). TM > Dag. *dōbo-* 'to sacrifice' (Тод. Даг. 137).

PMong. ***daɣa-*** to endure, take responsibility (терпеть, подчинять-ся, принимать ответственность): MMong. *da'a-*, *da'us-* (SH); WMong. *daɣa(γa)-* (L 216); Kh. *dā-*; Bur. *dā-*; Kalm. *dā-*; Ord. *dā-*; Dag. *dā-* (Тод. Даг. 134); Dong. *da-*; S.-Yugh. *dā-*; Mongr. *dā-* (SM 37).

◊ KW 81, MGCD 183.

PJpn. ***tùmpúnai*** slave, servant (слуга, раб): MJpn. *tùbúne*.

◊ JLTT 553.

‖ The root reveals quite regular correspondences and is semantically plausible (Jpn. 'servant' = 'one who obeys, endures').

✱***tǻde*** trap, to obstruct: Tung. ***dad-***; Mong. ***čidör***; Turk. ***dīd-***; Kor. ***tət***.

PTung. ***dad-*** ferret trap (западня, ловушка на хорьков): Man. *dadari*.

◊ TMC 1, 190. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***čidör*** hobbles, fetters (путы, оковы): MMong. *čido[r]* (IM), *čidär-* (MA); WMong. *čidür* (L 178); Kh. *čödör*; Bur. *šüder*; Kalm. *čödr*; Ord. *čödör*; Dag. *šider* (Тод. Даг. 183); S.-Yugh. *čödör*; Mongr. *ćudor* (SM 460).

◊ KW 444, MGCD 577. Mong. > Chag. *čidär* etc. (VEWT 110); > Evk. *čidar* etc., see Poppe 1966, 198, Doerfer MT 38, Rozycki 180.

PTurk. ***dīd-*** to hinder, obstruct (препятствовать, задерживать): OTurk. *tɨd-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨδ-* (MK); Turkm. *dɨj-*, *dī-γɨ* 'stop';

MTurk. *tij-* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *tij-*; Krm. *tij-*; Tat. *tij-*; Bashk. *tij-*; Kirgh. *tij-*; Kaz. *tij-*; KBalk. *tij-*; KKalp. *tij-*; Nogh. *tij-*; Khak. *tis-*; Oyr. *tijin-* 'to restrain (oneself)'; Chuv. *čar-*; Yak. *tīt-* 'touch'; Dolg. *tīt-* 'touch'.

◊ VEWT 477, EDT 450, Мудрак Дисс. 36, Федотов 2, 391, Stachowski 239.

PKor. ***tət*** trap (ловушка): Mod. *tət* [*təčh, təs*].

◊ KED 451, 454.

‖ Final -čh in Kor. orthography is probably secondary, as in a number of other cases; for Kor. SKE notes also a variant *tot*. Cf. also Oroch *toti* 'trap' (TMC 2, 201) < Kor.?

✱**tagi** complete: Tung. ***dagu- ~ -b-***; Mong. ***deɣüren***; Turk. ***degül***.

PTung. ***dagu- (~ -b-)*** 1 content 2 to pour (1 содержимое 2 наливать): Man. *dō-la-* 2; SMan. *dolə-*, *dolu-* 2 (598); Ul. *dawụ*, *daụ* 1; Ork. *daw*, *daụ* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 187.

PMong. ***düɣüre-*** 1 to be full, complete 2 full (1 быть полным, совершенным 2 полный): MMong. *du'uren* (HY 53) 2, *du'ur-* (SH) 1, *dorun* (IM), *duran* (MA) 2; WMong. *dügürü-*, *degüre-*, (L 278: *dügür-*, *degür-*) 1, *dügüreŋ*, *degüreŋ*, *degüren* 2 (L 279); Kh. *dūr-* 1; Bur. *dūren* 2; Kalm. *dūr-* 1; Ord. *dūrge-* (caus.); Mog. *dur-* 1 (Weiers); ZM *dorgōn* (24-11a) 2; Dag. *dūre-* 1 (Тод. Дар. 138, MD 139); Dong. *duru-* 1; Bao. *derge-* (caus.); S.-Yugh. *dūre-*, *dūr-* 1; Mongr. *dūri-* (SM 57), (MGCD *diurə-*) 1.

◊ KW 107, MGCD 243.

PTurk. ***degül*** is not (нет, не): Karakh. *tegül* (MK Oghuz); Tur. *degül*, *dejil*; Az. *dejil*; Turkm. *dāl*; MTurk. *degül* (Pav.C.); Krm. *duguĺ*; Tat. *tügil*; Bashk. *tügil*; Kirgh. *tügül*; Kaz. *tügil*; KKalp. *tüwe*; Kum. *tügül*; Nogh. *tuwıl*.

◊ EDT 480, ЭСТЯ 3, 213-214.

‖ KW 107. A Western isogloss. All forms reflect a morphological derivative **tagi-gu(r/l)* (which explains both labialization in the second syllable and front row in Mong.). The Turkic form deserves special comment: Ramstedt 1924 derived it from **tüke-* 'be exhausted' (see under **t'ukì*), i.e. "being exhausted, having come to an end" = "is not". The semantic derivation seems quite probable, but PT **degül* is phonetically not derivable from **tüke-*; it appears rather to be derived from an otherwise unattested PT **degü-* < PA **tagi*, but with the same semantic shift. There is yet another possibility available: regarding -(ü)l in Turkic as a remnant of the negative particle = PM **ülü* 'not', i.e. **degül* = "not filled, incomplete".

✱**tago** sharp, to cut: Tung. ***da(ga)-**; Mong. ***daɣa-**; Turk. ***dogra-**.

PTung. ***da(ga)-*** 1 sharp 2 to cut (1 острый 2 резать): Man. *da-čun* 1; SMan. *dačun* 1 (1735); Jurch. *da-ču-gi* 1 (801); Ul. *dā-qarụ* 1; Nan. *dā-ṛi-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 191.

PMong. ***daɣa-*** 1 to be able to cut 2 cuttability (1 резать (о ноже, пиле) 2 режущая способность): WMong. *daɣa-* 1; Kh. *dā-* 1; Bur. *dā-* 1, *dāsa* 2; Kalm. *dā-*; Dag. *dā-* 1 (MD 131); Bao. *da-*; S.-Yugh. *dā-*; Mongr. *dā-* 'entrer dans' (SM 37).

◊ KW 81, MGCD 183. The root has merged with *daɣa-* 'to be able, endure', but seems to preserve its old meaning.

PTurk. ***dogra-*** to cut into slices, small pieces (резать ломтиками, кусочками): Karakh. *toɣra-* (MK); Tur. *dōra-*; Gag. *dora-*; Az. *doGra-*; Turkm. *doGra-*; Khal. *toɣa-*; MTurk. *toɣra-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *toɣra-*; Uygh. *toɣra-*; Krm. *doGra-, tuvra-*; Tat. *tura-*; Bashk. *tura-*; Kirgh. *tūra-*; Kaz. *tura-*; KBalk. *tuwra-*; KKalp. *tuwra-*; Kum. *tuwra-*; Nogh. *tuwra-*; SUygh. *toɣa-*; Khak. *toɣira-*; Shr. *toɣra-*; Oyr. *tuɣra-*; Tv. *dōra-*; Tof. *dōra-*; Chuv. *tura-*; Yak. *tōrot-*.

◊ EDT 472, ЭСТЯ 3, 248-249, Ашм. XIV, 151, Федотов 2, 251.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tagù** root, grass root: Tung. ***daga***; Mong. ***degne- / *dagna-***; Turk. ***TAgna**; Jpn. ***tuku-nai**.

PTung. ***daga*** root (корень): Evk. *daɣačān*; Neg. *dā*; Man. *da*; SMan. *dā* (2144); Jurch. *da* (120); Ul. *dāča(n), dāni*; Ork. *dāta(n)*; Nan. *dāčā, dā̃*; Orch. *daha*; Ud. *dā, daha*; Sol. *dagasā, dagsā*.

◊ TMC 1, 188-189.

PMong. ***degne- / *dagna-*** turf (дерн): WMong. *degne-gül* (L 252: *deŋnegül*) / *dagna-sun*; Kh. *degnűl*; Bur. *dagnaha(n), degnűl*.

PTurk. ***TAgna*** 1 turf 2 stem, stalk 3 a k. of plant (1 дерн 2 стебель, ствол 3 вид растения): Karakh. *taɣna java* 3 ('al-mahrut') (MK); Oyr. dial. *tunā* 1 (Верб.); Chuv. tona 2.

◊ EDT 471, Федотов 1, 247. The OT word is questionable: an OT Hapax, but the second part (*java*) is also a plant root. Taɣna *java* was added to sour milk in order to colour it. Cf. Sak. *ttumgara*, Tokh. B *tvāṇKārai*, Tib. (Khotan) *don-gra* 'ginger'. Bailey derives from Iran. **tuvam-kara*, i.e. 'made thick', but a Turkic origin (with Sak. suffixation) is also possible. If the Oyr. and Chuv. forms belong here the approximate PT reconstruction could be **Tagna* 'root, stalk'. Turk. > Mong.: Khalkha *tāna* 'лук многокорешковый'.

PJpn. ***tuku-nai*** a k. of yam (вид ямса): Tok. *tsukune* (*imo*).

‖ A designation for some root-crop or grass root. Mong. *deg-ne-*, Karakh. *taɣ-na* (although its PT antiquity is somewhat dubious, see above) may reflect a common derivative **tagù-nV*. The resemblance of Jpn. *tsuku-ne* also may be not accidental (although synchronically *-ne* is, of course, analysable as *ne* 'root').

✱**taja** to lean on: Tung. ***daja-***; Mong. ***daji- (?)***; Turk. ***daja-***; Jpn. ***tajə-r- (~ -ua-)***.

PTung. ***daja-*** to lean (прислоняться, опираться): Man. *daja-*.

◊ TMC 1, 199. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***daji-*** to bend, sway (наклоняться, раскачиваться): WMong. *daji-bal-*, (L 221) *dajiba-*; Kh. *dajba-* 'quake, shake'; Bur. *dajbagar* 'club-footed'; Kalm. *dāwl-*; Ord. *dāwalǯi-*; Mongr. *dēwāl-* (MGCD 190).

◊ KW 83. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *dajbā-* (Kał. JW 182, Stachowski 77).

PTurk. ***daja-*** 1 to prop 2 to lean (1 подпирать, прислонять 2 опираться): Karakh. *taja-* 1 (MK); Tur. *daja-* 1, *dajan-* 2; Gag. *daja-* 1, *dajan-* 2; Az. *daja-*; Turkm. *daja-* 1, *dajan-* 2; MTurk. *taja-* 1 (Sangl.), 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Uygh. *tajan-* 2; Krm. *taja-* 1; Tat. *tajan-* 2; Bashk. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Kirgh. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Kaz. *taja-* 1; KBalk. *tajan-* 2; KKalp. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Kum. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Nogh. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; SUygh. *tajan-* 2; Khak. *tajan-* 2; Shr. *tajan-* 2; Oyr. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Tv. *dajan-* 2; Tof. *dajaq* 'staff' (Pac. ФиЛ); Chuv. *tuja* 'staff' [*tajan-* 2 < Tat.]; Yak. *tajā-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Dolg. *tajan-* 2.

◊ VEWT 455, EDT 567, ЭСТЯ 3, 125-127, Stachowski 215. Turk. **daja-k* 'staff' [perhaps rather **dajna-k* because of Tof. and Yak. forms: Yak. *tajax*, *tajax*, Dolg. *tajax*, *tańak*, see Stachowski 215, 216) > WMong. *tajaɣ*, Kalm. *tajəg* (KW 374-375, TMN 2, 445, Щербак 1997, 152).

PJpn. ***tajə-r- (~ -ua-)*** to lean on, rely on (опираться, полагаться на): MJpn. *tajor-*; Tok. *tayór-*; Kyo. *táyór-*; Kag. *tayór-*.

◊ JLTT 766. Original accent not quite clear.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 71. The Mong. form is somewhat dubious here for semantic reasons. Cf. perhaps also MKor. *tái-* 'mast' (< 'stick, prop').

✱**tə̀jV** big, good: Tung. ***dāji***; Mong. ***daja-***; Turk. ***daja-gu***.

PTung. ***dāji*** 1 big 2 size of (1 большой 2 размером с): Evn. *dī-* 2; Neg. *dī-* 2; Ul. *dāi* 1; Ork. *dāi* 1; Nan. *dāi* 1; Ud. *dī-ŋki* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 190, 202. The antiquity of all listed forms is somewhat dubious: they all may be borrowed < Manchu *daj* < Chinese.

PMong. ***daja-*** 1 all 2 big, great (1 весь 2 большой): MMong. *dajir* 2 (SH); WMong. *dajaɣar*, *dajan* 1 (L 223); Kh. *dajār* 1; Kalm. *dajār* 1; Ord. *dajan* 1; S.-Yugh. *dajār* 1 (MGCD 192).

◊ KW 73. Turkm. *dajav* 'huge' may have a Mong. source.

PTurk. ***daja-gu*** 1 young, elegant, fastidious man 2 good, nice 3 robust, healthy, strong (man) (1 юный, элегантный, утонченный (человек) 2 хороший, приятный 3 крепкий, здоровый, сильный (о человеке)): Karakh. *tajuq* er 1 (MK); Tur. *dajɨ* (dial.) 2; Turkm. *dajav* 3.

◊ EDT 568.

‖ Дыбо 12. A Western isogloss, rather unreliable: the etymology is acceptable if the TM forms are not < Chinese.

✱**tǎjV** elder in-law, elder relative: Tung. ***dā**; Turk. ***dāj-**; Jpn. ***dia (~ *dai)**.

PTung. ***dā** 1 in-law 2 elder in-law 3 elder brother of father; grandfather (1 свойственник 2 старший свойственник 3 старший брат отца; дед): Evk. *dā* 2; Evn. *dā* 2; Neg. *dāŋta* 1; Man. *dančan* 1; Nan. *dā-miṇ* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 183-184, 188-189.

PTurk. ***dāj-** uncle (дядя): OTurk. *taɣaj* 'maternal uncle' (OUygh.); Karakh. *taɣaj* 'maternal uncle' (MK); Tur. *dajı*; Az. *dajı*; Turkm. *dājı*; MTurk. *taɣaji* 'maternal uncle' (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *tɔɣa*; Uygh. *taɣa*; Kirgh. *taj, taɣa*; Kaz. *taɣa* (dial.); KKalp. *dajı*; Kum. *dajı*; SUygh. *taɣıj*; Khak. *taj, tajı, tāj*; Shr. *tajı*; Oyr. *tāj, taj*; Tv. *dāj*; Yak. *tāj*.

◊ VEWT 455-456, TMN 3, 196, EDT 474, ЭСТЯ 3, 127-129, Лексика 296. Some forms go back to a suffixed **dāja-kaj*.

PJpn. ***dia (~ *dai)** elder brother or sister, elder relative (старший брат или сестра, старший родственник): OJpn. *je*.

◊ JLTT 392.

‖ Cf. Bur. Olkh. *dajdaj* 'auntie'.

✱**táke (~ d-)** snake, lizard: Tung. ***dakV (?)**; Jpn. ***tə̀ká-**; Kor. ***tòirjòŋ**.

PTung. ***dakV** sheat-fish (сом): Neg. *dāxi*; Nan. *doaqa*; Sol. *dāxi*.

◊ TMC 1, 192.

PJpn. ***tə̀ká-** lizard (ящерица): MJpn. *tókágè*; Tok. *tòkage*; Kyo. *tòkágè*; Kag. *tokáge*.

◊ JLTT 548. RJ, Tokyo and Kagoshima point to **táká-*, but Kyoto - to **tə̀ká-*. Cf. also Ryukyu: Yonaguni *tùgárà* 'snake'.

PKor. ***tòirjòŋ** lizard (ящерица): MKor. *tòirjòŋ*; Mod. *toroŋ-njoŋ*.

◊ Nam 162, KED 464.

‖ Basically a Kor.-Jpn. isogloss; the Tungus parallel is dubious.

✱**tàkʹu** to attach, touch, reach: Tung. ***dak-sa-**; Mong. ***duku-**; Turk. ***dAk-**; Jpn. ***tùk-**; Kor. ***tàh-**.

PTung. ***dak-sa-** to stick to (прилипать, приставать): Ul. *daqsa-*; Ork. *daqsa-*; Nan. *daqsa-*.

◊ TMC 1, 192.

PMong. ***duku-** to almost reach; to barely pass through (почти достигать; еле пролезать): WMong. *duqu-* (L 278); Kh. *duxa-*; Bur. *duxa-* (dial.) 'to penetrate'.

PTurk. ***dAk-** to bind to, add to (привязывать, прикреплять): OTurk. *taq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *taq-* (MK - Oghuz); Tur. *tak-*; Gag. *daq-*; Az. *tax-*; Turkm. *daq-*; MTurk. *taq-* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *taq-*, dial. Xwar. *daq-*; Krm. *taq-*; Tat. *taq-*; Bashk. *taq-*; Kirgh. *taq-*; Kaz. *taq-*; KBalk. *taq-*; KKalp. *taq-*; Kum. *taq-*; Oyr. *taq-* (dial. - Tuba).

◊ VEWT 456, EDT 464, ЭСТЯ 3, 129-130.

PJpn. ***tùk-*** to touch, to reach; be attached, attach (трогать, достигать; быть прикрепленным, прикреплять): OJpn. *tuk-*; MJpn. *tùk-*; Tok. *tsúk-*; Kyo. *tsúk-*; Kag. *tsùk-*.

◊ JLTT 774.

PKor. ***tàh-*** to touch, reach to (трогать, достигать): MKor. *tàh-*, *tàhi-*; Mod. *tā-* [*tah-*], *tā̃-*.

◊ Liu 197, 204, KED 418, 422.

‖ A secure common Altaic root.

✱**talo** wing, shoulderblade: Mong. ***dalu, *dali**; Jpn. ***tà-i**; Kor. ***tǎr'ái**.

PMong. ***dalu, *dali*** 1 shoulderblade 2 wing (1 лопатка 2 крыло): MMong. *ṭālum* (IM) 1, *dalu* (MA) 1; WMong. *dalu* 1, *dali* 2; Kh. *dal* 1, *daĺ* 2; Bur. *dala* 1, *dali* 2; Kalm. *dalə* 1; Ord. *dalu* 1; Mog. *dōlu*; ZM *dɔ̄lū* (2-7a); Dag. *dal* 1 (Тод. Даг. 134), dale 1 (MD 132); Dong. *daleu*, *taleu*, dale 1; Bao. *dali* 1; S.-Yugh. *dālə* 1; Mongr. *dālī* (SM 42), *dalu* (Minghe) 1.

◊ KW 73, MGCD 193. Mong. > Chag. *dalu* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 3, 131-132); > Evk. *dalu* (Poppe 1966, 195, 1974, 121).

PJpn. ***tà-i*** hand, arm (рука): OJpn. te; MJpn. *tè*; Tok. *té*; Kyo. *tȅ*; Kag. *té*.

◊ JLTT 545.

PKor. ***tǎr'ái*** wing (of a saddle) (крыло (седла)): MKor. *tǎr'ái*; Mod. *tarä*.

◊ Nam 141, KED 382 (deriving the word from *tǎr-* 'hang', which is dubious).

‖ The Japanese word may belong here if it goes back to **tal(V)-gV* (= MKor. *tǎr'ái*, but tone correspondence is irregular).

✱**tál[u]** to be together: Tung. ***dali-***; Mong. ***dali-***; Turk. ***delim**; Jpn. ***túrá-**; Kor. ***tǎrí-, *tăr-m-**.

PTung. ***dali-*** 1 help 2 due to (1 помощь 2 благодаря): Ul. *daliị(n)* 1; Nan. *daliṇdo* 2; Ud. *dalindini* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 194.

PMong. ***dali-m*** 1 suitable occasion 2 all together (1 подходящий случай 2 все вместе): WMong. *dalim* 1 (L 226); Kh. *dalim* 1; Bur. *dalin* 2; Ord. *dalim* 'maniere, mode'.

PTurk. ***delim*** many (много): OTurk. *telim* (OUygh.); Karakh. *telim* (MK); Tur. *delim* (Osm.).

◊ VEWT 472, EDT 499-500.

PJpn. ***túrá-*** to go together with, bring as company (идти вместе с, в сопровождении): MJpn. *túrá-*; Tok. *tsùre-*; Kyo. *tsúré-*; Kag. *tsuré-*.

◊ JLTT 775.

PKor. ***tǎrí-*** 1 to be together with 2 to be similar (1 быть вместе с 2 быть похожим): MKor. *tǎrí-* 1; Mod. *teri-* 1, *tam-* 2 (orth. *tălm-*).

◊ Nam 136, KED 408, 456.

‖ EAS 110, SKE 257, Martin 225. Vocalism is insecure (Kor.-Jpn. point rather to *'tólu*).

✱**tálV** to lick: Tung. ***dala-***; Mong. ***dol[u]ɣa-***; Turk. ***dāla-***.

PTung. ***dala-*** 1 to lap, swill 2 to feed (animals) (1 лакать 2 кормить (животных)): Evk. *dala-* 1; Evn. *dal-* 1; Neg. *dala-* 1; Ul. *dala-n-* 2; Nan. *dalo-* 2; Orch. *dalau-* 2; Ud. *dala-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 193.

PMong. ***dol[u]ɣa-*** to lick (лизать): MMong. *dulom-* (IM), *dula-* (MA); WMong. *doluɣa-*, *dolija-* (L 259); Kh. *dolō-*; Bur. *dolō-*; Kalm. *dolā-*; Ord. *dolō-*; Mog. ZM *dōl* (15-6b, 28-12); Dag. *dolō-* (Тод. Дат. 137, MD 137); Dong. *dolu-*; Bao. *dolə-*; S.-Yugh. *dōl-*; Mongr. *dōli-* (SM 59).

◊ KW 94, MGCD 224.

PTurk. ***dāla-*** to bite (кусать): Tur. *dala-*; Gag. *dala-*; Az. *dala-*; Turkm. *dāla-*; MTurk. *tala-* (MKypch.: AH, Ettuhf.); Tat. *tala-*; Chuv. *tula-*, recipr. *tola-š-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 134-136, Ашм. XIV, 120. This root should be strictly distinguished from PT **tāla-* 'to rob', with which it is confused in VEWT 458 and in EDT 492.

‖ EAS 50-51, Poppe 22, 74, Дыбо 13, Мудрак Дисс. 186; TMN 4, 186 ("lautgesetzlich unwahrscheinlich"). A Western isogloss. The Turk. reflex of the root is usually assumed to be **jālga-* 'to lick' - which, however, also matches very well PA **ǯālu* 'saliva, swallow' and should be rather attributed there. In Pre-Turk. we have to postulate a semantic shift 1) 'lick' > 'bite'; 2) 'saliva(te)' > 'lick'.

✱**tálbà** other side, outer side: Tung. ***dalba***; Turk. ***daĺ***; Jpn. ***dəsə̀***; Kor. ***tàrə̆-***.

PTung. ***dalba*** 1 side 2 near (1 сторона 2 близко): Evn. *dalbъ* 2; Man. *dalba* 1; SMan. *dalәfә*, *dalәvә* (2570); Jurch. *dalba-la* (605) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 193.

PTurk. ***daĺ*** outer side (наружный, снаружи): OTurk. *taš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *taš* (MK, KB); Tur. *dış*; Gag. *dışar*; Az. *dışarı*; Turkm. *daš*; Sal. *daši* (Kakuk); Khal. *taš*; MTurk. *taš* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔš*; Uygh. *taš*; Krm. *tış*; Tat. *tış*; Bashk. *tış*; Kirgh. *tış*; Kaz. *tıs*; KBalk. *tış*; KKalp. *tıs*; Kum. *tış*; Nogh. *tıs*; SUygh. *tas*; Khak. *tas*; Shr. *tašti* 'exterior side'; Oyr. *tış*; Tv. *tış*; Chuv. *tol*; Yak. *tas*; Dolg. *tas*.

◊ VEWT 466, EDT 556-557, TMN 2, 511, ЭСТЯ 3, 164-167, Ашм. XIV, 115, Федотов 2, 243-244, Stachowski 218. *-ı-* in some languages is not quite clear.

PJpn. ***dósə̀*** other side (внешняя сторона, другая сторона): OJpn. *joso*; MJpn. *joso*; Tok. *yosó*; Kyo. *yósò*; Kag. *yóso*.

◊ JLTT 578.

PKor. ***tàrə̆-*** other (другой): MKor. *tàrə̆-*; Mod. *tari-*.

◊ Nam 129, KED 382.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 76. Jpn. has *-ə- instead of *-a- because of bad compatibility of *a and *ə in PJ.

***tàĺbe** harness: Mong. ***delbeg**; Turk. ***duĺa-**; Jpn. ***dàsàp-**.

PMong. ***delbeg** reins (вожжи): MMong. *delbeget* (SH); WMong. *delbeg* (L 247); Kh. *delbeg*.

◊ Mong. > Chuv. *tilpxepe*, see Róna-Tas 1971-1972.

PTurk. ***duĺa-** 1 to hobble 2 hobble (1 стреножить 2 путы): Karakh. *tuš* 'a belt buckle' (MK, KB), *tuša-* 1 (KB), *tušaq* 2 (MK); Tur. *duša-* (dial.); Turkm. *dušaq* 2; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tuša-* 1, *tušaq* 2 (AH); Uzb. *tušɔw* 2; Uygh. *čušä-* 1; Tat. *tišaw* 2; Bashk. *tiša-* 1; Kirgh. *tuša-* 1; Kaz. *tusa-* 1; KKalp. *tusa-* 1; Nogh. *tisaw* 2; Khak. *tuza-* 1; Shr. *tuža-* 1; Oyr. *tuža-* 1; Tv. *du'ža-* 1; Tof. *duša-* 1; Chuv. *tъʷlъʷ* 2; Yak. *tiһita* 'clothing buckle' (?).

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 306, EDT 558 (OT *tuš* 'buckle'), 561, 562. Turk. > MMong. *tušaŋa*, WMong. *tuša-*, *tusi-* 'hobble', see Clark 1980, 42, Щербак 1997, 159, whence Evk. *tusā* etc., see Doerfer MT 131, Аникин 190.

PJpn. ***dàsàp-** 1 to equip 2 equipment (1 облачаться, снаряжаться 2 снаряжение): OJpn. *josop-*, *josop(w)op-* 1, *josopji* 2; MJpn. *jòsòf-*, *jòsòfòf-* 1, *jòsòfi* 2; Tok. *yosó-*, *yosó-* / *yòso-* 1, *yosói* 2; Kyo. *yósó-*, *yósó-* 1, *yósói* 2; Kag. *yosó-*, *yosó-* 1, *yosói* 2.

◊ JLTT 578, 787. Modern dialects reflect also a variant with high tone: it must be secondary, under the influence of **dásà* 'outer side' (interpreted as a compound **dásà* + *àp-* 'put clothes on the outer side').

‖ In Turk. one would expect *-i-; the reflex -u- is probably due to the effect of the original labial in -Íb-. Note that some forms (Tat., Bashk., Yak.) actually reflect *-i-, so perhaps for PT one should rather assume here a form like **diĺo-*.

***tàĺ[o]** mat, mattress: Tung. ***dāli**; Turk. ***döĺe-**.

PTung. ***dāli** mat made of birch-bark (берестяная подстилка): Neg. *dāli*; Ul. *dāli*; Nan. *dāli*; Orch. *dāli*.

◊ TMC 1, 194.

PTurk. ***döĺe-** 1 to spread out (as mat) 2 mat, mattress (1 расстилать (циновку) 2 циновка, подстилка, тюфяк): OTurk. *töše-* 1, *tösek* 2, (?) *tölet* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *töše-* 1, *tösek* 2 (MK); Tur. *döše-* 1, *dösek* 2; Gag. *döše-* 1, *dösek* 2; Az. *döšä-* 1, *döšäk* 2; Turkm. *düše-* 1, *düšek* 2; MTurk. *töše-* 1, *tösek* 2 (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *tọšak* 2; Uygh. *tüšäk*, *čüšäk* 2; Krm. *töše-* 1, *tösek* 2; Tat. *tüšə-* 1, *tüšək* 2; Bashk. *tüšə-* 1, *tüšək* 2; Kirgh. *tösö-* 1, *tösök* 2; Kaz. *tösö-* 1 (R); KBalk. *tösek* 2; KKalp. *töse-* 1, *tösek* 2; Kum. *tösek* 2; Nogh. *töse-* 1, *tösek* 2; SUygh. *tösek* 2; Khak. *töze-* 1, *tözek* 2; Shr. *tože-* 1, *tožek*; Oyr. *tožö-* 1, *tožök* 2; Tv. *döže-* 1, *dožek* 2; Tof. *tö'he-n-* 1, *tö'hek* 2; Chuv. *tüžek* 2.

◊ EDT 494, 561, 563, VEWT 495, TMN 2, 617, ЭСТЯ 3, 333-335.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. The semantic match is perfect, but front row vocalism in Turkic is unclear (**doĺ-* would be expected).

✱**tằnŋù** to bind, rope: Tung. ***daŋ-***; Turk. ***daŋ-***; Jpn. ***tùnà***; Kor. ***tan***.

PTung. ***daŋ-*** tight, bound tight, stuffed tightly (тугой, плотно набитый): Evk. *daŋama*; Man. *dan* 'trap, snare'.

◊ TMC 1, 196. Cf. also Man. *deŋneǩen* 'strips (on footwear)' (TMC 1, 235).

PTurk. ***daŋ-*** to bind together (связывать): Karakh. *taŋ-* (MK); Turkm. *daŋ-*; MTurk. *taŋ-* (Abush., Sangl.); Kirgh. *taŋ-*; Kaz. *taŋ-*; KKalp. *taŋ-*; SUygh. *taŋ-*; Oyr. *taŋ-*; Tv. *doŋ-na-*; Yak. *taŋ-*; Dolg. *taŋ-* 'to put on'.

◊ VEWT 461, EDT 514, ЭСТЯ 3, 145-146, Stachowski 216. Turk. > Kalm. *tan-* 'to plait, knot'.

PJpn. ***tùnà*** rope (веревка): OJpn. tuna; MJpn. *tùnà*; Tok. *tsuná*; Kyo. *tsúnà*; Kag. *tsuná*.

◊ JLTT 556.

PKor. ***tan*** bundle (связка): MKor. *tan*; Mod. *tān*.

◊ Nam 197, KED 393.

‖ SKE 254-255, ЭСТЯ 3, 146. Cf. **t'úŋi*.

✱**tà̀ńo** to love, long for: Tung. ***dańa-la-***; Jpn. ***tànuà-***; Kor. ***tắń-***.

PTung. ***dańa-la-*** to joke, mock (шутить, дразнить): Ul. *dańala-*.

◊ TMC 1, 196. Isolated in Ul., but having possible external parallels.

PJpn. ***tànuà-*** 1 pleasant, glad 2 to ask (1 приятный, радостный 2 просить): OJpn. *tanwo-si-* 1, *tano-m-* 2; MJpn. *tànwò-si-* 1, *tànò-m-* 2; Tok. *tanoshí-* 1, *tanóm-* 2; Kyo. *tánóshì-* 1, *tánóm-* 2; Kag. *tanoshí-* 1, *tànòm-* 2.

◊ JLTT 763, 841.

PKor. ***tắń-*** to love (любить): MKor. *tă̆s-* (*tắńă-*).

◊ Nam 144.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**tāŋa** shelf: Tung. ***dāŋsa***; Jpn. ***táná***.

PTung. ***dāŋsa*** 1 plank 2 saddle shelf 3 leather sole (1 планка 2 полка седла 3 кожаная подметка): Evk. *dānne* 2; Evn. *dāŋrə̣* 1; Man. *daŋnaχan* 3; Ul. *daŋna* 1; Ork. *danda* 2; Nan. *daŋńā* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 196. Shortness in Nanai is unclear.

PJpn. ***táná*** shelf (полка): OJpn. tana; MJpn. *táná*; Tok. *tàna*; Kyo. *táná*; Kag. *tána*.

◊ JLTT 541.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; seems plausible, despite irregular tone correspondence. Cf. Chuv. *tiŋgəl, teŋgəl* 'bench'.

✱**tà̀ŋo** pig: Tung. ***dāŋu-***; Turk. ***doŋuŕ***; Kor. ***to'a-***.

PTung. ***dāŋu-*** a k. of seal (вид тюленя (сивуч)): Neg. *dāŋā*; Ul. *daŋŋGar(i̯)*; Ork. *dōŋo, daŋ̆ŋ̆ari̯*; Orch. *dauŋgai*.

◊ TMC 1, 196.

PTurk. ***doŋuŕ*** pig (свинья): OTurk. *toŋuz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *toŋuz* (MK); Tur. *domuz*; Gag. *domuz*; Az. *donuz*; Turkm. *doŋuz*; Sal. *toŋas*; MTurk. *toŋuz* (Sangl.); Uzb. *toŋɣis*; Uygh. *toŋɣuz*; Krm. *toŋɣuz*, *domuz*; Tat. *duŋɣiz*; Kirgh. *doŋuz*; Kaz. *doŋiz*; KBalk. *toŋɣuz*; KKalp. *doŋiz*; Kum. *doŋɣuz*; Nogh. *doŋiz*; SUygh. *doŋiz*.

◊ VEWT 488, EDT 527, ЭСТЯ 3, 267-268, TMN 2, 585-586.

PKor. ***to'a-*** pig (свинья): Mod. *twā̃ži*.

◊ KED 496. The form is not phonetically deducible from MKor. *tòt* (q.v.) and must represent a different root.

‖ SKE 272, EAS 141, Дыбо 9.

✱**tapV** to hurry, gallop: Tung. ***dab-**; Mong. ***dab-**; Turk. ***dabra-**.

PTung. ***dab-*** mettled (of a horse) (ретивый, рьяный (о коне)): Man. *dabdali*, *dabduri*.

◊ TMC 1, 184. Attested only in Manchu, with parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***dab-*** 1 to spur on a horse 2 to hurry along, gallop 3 to advance 4 to attack (1 пришпоривать коня 2 скакать, спешить 3 продвигаться 4 нападать): MMong. *dobtul-* (MA) 2; WMong. *dabi-* 1, *dabki-* 2 (L 212), *dabsi-* (L 213); Kh. *davi-* 1, *davxi-* 2, *davši-* 3, *dovtlo-* 2, 4; Bur. *dabxi-* 2; Kalm. *dabki-* 2 (СЯОС); Ord. *dabši-* 1; S.-Yugh. *dabšil-* 3, *dabtal-* 2; Mongr. *debši-* 3.

◊ MGCD 186, 188.

PTurk. ***dabra-*** to hasten, be in a hurry (спешить): OTurk. *tavra-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tavra-* (MK); Tur. *davran-*; Khak. *tabıra-*; Shr. *tabıraq* 'quickly'; Tof. *dīra-q* 'quick'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 112-114, EDT 443. Turkm. *dābıra-* is a result of contamination with *dābala-* 'to trample' (v. sub **tăp'V*).

‖ ЭСТЯ 3, 114. A Western isogloss.

✱**tăp'V** to stamp, press: Tung. ***dap-**; Mong. ***dabta-**; Turk. ***dāp-**.

PTung. ***dap-*** to flatten, press (сплющивать, прижимать): Evk. *dapča-*; Ork. *dapāw-*.

◊ TMC 1, 197-198.

PMong. ***dabta-*** to forge, hammer (ковать, молотить): MMong. *dabta-* (SH) ; *dabši-* 'to knock, hit' (SH); WMong. *dabta-* (L 213); Kh. *davta-*; Bur. *dabta-*; Kalm. *dawt-* KPC 175; Ord. *dabta-*; Dag. *dabete-* (MD 131); S.-Yugh. *dapta-* (MGCD 186).

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *tapta-* etc.; Evk. *dapta-* etc., Doerfer MT 101.

PTurk. ***dāp-*** to trample (топтать): Karakh. *tabrı-* 'to jump about (about a camel)' (MK); Turkm. *dābala-* 'to trample' (of a camel), *dābıra-* 'to ride, stamp'; Tat. *tapa-* (dial.); Bashk. *tapa-*; Kaz. *tapa-*; KKalp. *tapılda-*; Oyr. *tabar-* 'to fall upon'; Yak. *tabıj-* 'to hit with front hooves' (of a horse); Dolg. *tabın-* 'to scratch with a hoof'.

◊ EDT 443, ЭСТЯ 3, 111-112, Stachowski 214. The Tat., Kaz., Bashk. and KKalp. reflect a variant **dapa-* (or perhaps expressive **dāppa-*, to account for the lack of voicing -p- > -b- after a long vowel).

‖ Poppe 104, Menges 1982, 105, Дыбо 13. A Western isogloss. There exists also a not quite reliable variant **t'abi* id. (Mong. *tab* 'clinch, rivet'; TM **tabi-* 'to forge' (TMC 2, 149, with yet another variant **tabi-ti-* > **tapti-* / **tipti-* id., see ibid. and TMC 2, 186).

✱**tara** swelling, hardening, tumour: Tung. ***darga**; Mong. ***dar-**; Jpn. ***tari**.

PTung. ***darga** 1 tumour, growth (of neck glands) 2 throat, larynx (1 опухоль (шейных желез) 2 гортань): Evk. *dargā* 1; Evn. *dargъ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 199.

PMong. ***dar-** to become stiff, hard or solid; to become rough, uneven, hard (затвердевать, огрубевать): WMong. *daraji-, darsaji-* (L 232, 233); Kh. *daraj-, darsaj-*.

PJpn. ***tari** tumour (опухоль): OJpn. *tari*.

‖ The root is not widely attested, but seems quite reliable.

✱**tăra** a k. of plant, reed: Tung. ***daragan**; Mong. ***darki**; Turk. ***dạri-g**; Kor. ***tār**.

PTung. ***daragan** 1 quitch 2 reed, cane (1 пырей 2 камыш): Man. *darGan* 2; Nan. *darā* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 198-199.

PMong. ***darki** brushwood (заросли, валежник): WMong. *darki* (L 233); Kh. *darxi*; Bur. *darxi*.

PTurk. ***dạri-g** millet (просо): OTurk. *tarïγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tarïγ* (MK); Tur. *darı*; Gag. *darı*; Az. *darı*; Turkm. *darı*; Sal. *darı*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tarı* (CCum., AH); Uzb. *tariq*; Uygh. *teriq*; Krm. *tarı, darı*; Tat. *tarı*; Kirgh. *tarū*; KBalk. *tarı*; KKalp. *tarı*; Kum. *tari*; SUygh. *tarïγ*; Khak. *tarïγ*; Shr. *tarā* (possibly < Mong.); Oyr. *taral* 'angelica' (?); Tv. *tarā* (possibly < Mong.); Tof. *darā* (possibly < Mong.); Chuv. *tĕrъ* 'corn'.

◊ VEWT 464, EDT 537-538, TMN 2, 480-482, ЭСТЯ 3, 157, Лексика 456-457. Turk. > Hung. *dara* 'grain, groats', see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***tār** reed (тростник): MKor. *tār*; Mod. *tāl*.

◊ Liu 198, KED 401.

‖ Lee 1958, 107 (TM: Kor.), Дыбо 10. PT **dạri-g* is usually regarded as derived < **TAri-* 'to cultivate (ground)' (see sub **t'i̯ə̀ra*) which is not excluded.

✱**tə̀ro** to stretch, spread: Tung. ***dār-**; Mong. ***dar-**; Turk. ***dar-**; Kor. ***tăr-**.

PTung. ***dār-** 1 to stretch 2 fathom (1 растягивать 2 сажень): Evk. *dār* 2; Evn. *dār* 2; Neg. *dā* 2; Man. *da* 2, *dara-* 1; Ul. *dā(l)* 2; Ork. *dā(ra)* 2; Nan. *dā(r)* 2; Orch. *dā* 2; Ud. *dā* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 198.

PMong. ***darba-** 1 to gape, open wide 2 width of the palm of the hand, width of the finger (1 зиять, широко раскрывать 2 ширина ладони, пальца): WMong. *darbaji-* 1 (L 232), *daruma* 2 (L 235); Kh. *darvaj-* 1, *daram* 2; Bur. *darbaj-* 1; Kalm. *darwā-* 1; Ord. *darwā-* 1; Dag. *darbalǯi-* 1 (Тод. Дар. 135), *darbəi-* 1 (MGCD 202).

◊ KW 79.

PTurk. ***dar-** 1 to go apart, scatter, spread 2 to branch, be forked 3 branch 4 claw 5 finger (1 расходиться, рассеиваться, распространяться 2 растопыриваться, разветвляться 3 ветвь 4 лапа 5 палец): Karakh. *tarmaq* 4, *tarmaqla-* 2, *tar-* 1 (MK); Tur. *darga-* 1 (dial.); Az. *darma-dayın* 'scattered'; Turkm. *daryа-* 1; MTurk. *tar-* 'to put an end to smth.' (Qutb); Uzb. *tarvaj-* 2, *tarmaq* 3; Uygh. *tarmaq* 3; Tat. *tar-* 1 (dial.), *tarmaq* 3; Bashk. *tarba-* 2, *tarmaq* 3; Kirgh. *tarba-* 2, *tarmaq* 3; Kaz. *tarmaq* 3; KKalp. *tarba-* 2, *tarmaq* 3; Kum. *tarmaq* 3; Nogh. *tarma-* 2, *tarmaq* 3; SUygh. *tarmaq* 5; Khak. *tarba-* 2; Tv. *darba-* 2; Chuv. *torat* 3; Yak. *tarbax* 5, *tarγā-* 1; Dolg. *targat-* 1 (tr.).

◊ VEWT 463, EDT 529, ЭСТЯ 3, 150-151, Дыбо 312, Лексика 256, Федотов 2, 251, Stachowski 218. Widely spread modern Kypchak forms like Kirgh. *tara-, tarqa-* 'to become scattered' etc. are most probably < Mong. *tara-, tarqa-* (see under **t'ájri*), since the (rather scanty) Oghuz evidence points to *d-, so Clauson (EDT 529) may be right in thinking that there is no etymological connection between PT **dar-* and Mong. *tara-, tarqa-* 'disperse'. It is also probable that the common Turkic derivatives **darma-* 'to scrape, rake up; to scatter, disperse in different directions', as well as **dara-* 'to comb' (ЭСТЯ 3, 147-149, Stachowski 217) can belong here - although both roots tend to contaminate actively with PT **dirŋa-* 'to scrape' (q. v. sub **čïüru*).

PKor. ***tăr-** to pull (тянуть, растягивать): MKor. *tărăi-*; Mod. *tari-* (arch.).

◊ Nam 135, KED 383.

‖ Лексика 256, Lee 1958, 107 (Kor.-TM). Cf. **t'ájri*.

***tárV** follow, follow in a row: Tung. ***dā-, *dara-n**; Mong. ***daraγa**; Turk. ***dāri-**.

PTung. ***dā-, *dara-n** 1 to follow, chase, track 2 row, in a row (1 выслеживать, преследовать 2 ряд, в ряд): Evk. *dā-* 1, *daran* 2; Evn. *dač-* 1, *darān* 2; Neg. *dā-* 1, *dajan* 2; Man. *dara-* 1, *doran* 2; Ul. *dačị-* 1, *darịn* 2; Ork. *dā-* 1, *daram* 2; Nan. *dāčị-* 1, *darị* 2; Ud. *dā̄* 2 (Корм. 226).

◊ TMC 1, 184, 198-199. Cf. also PTM **de(rī)-* 'to arrange in a row' (TMC 1, 230).

PMong. ***daraγa-** after, following, in a row (после, следуя за, в ряд): MMong. *darun* (SH), cf. *daruj-dur* (HY 55) 'now, at this moment'; WMong. *daraγa* (L 231), *daruγa, daru*; Kh. *darā, daram*; Bur. *darā*; Kalm. *darān*; Ord. *darādaχi* 'the one who is after'; Dag. *darā*; S.-Yugh. *darā-lal*; Mongr. *darla-* 'laisser après soi, instituer' (SM 46).

◊ KW 77, MGCD 199.

PTurk. ***dāri-*** to touch, fall upon, attack (дотрагиваться, нападать): Tur. (Osm.) *dari-* (14 c.); Az. *daraš-*; Turkm. *dāra-*; MTurk. *dari-* (Pav. C.); Tat. *tari-*; Bashk. *tari-*; Yak. *tārij-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 149. Despite VEWT 133, hardly a mongolism (but Kaz., Nogh., KKalp. *dari-* are probably < Mong. *dayari-*). One should perhaps link also **dAri-n-*, **dAri-l-* 'to become angry, offended' (ЭСТЯ 3, 161-162 - pass. or medial forms, i.e. *'to be touched, approached').

‖ EAS 51, Poppe 22, 79. A Western isogloss. The Jpn. reflex could have merged with **čị́úŕu* q. v. TM **daran* can be borrowed < Mong. (see Doerfer MT 73), but **dā-* (with preservation of length in a monosyllabic stem after the loss of -r-) is certainly genuine.

✱**tḗ** to say, sound: Tung. ***de(b)-***; Mong. ***dawu-***; Turk. ***dē-***.

PTung. ***de(b)-*** 1 song 2 to shamanize 3 tune (2 песня 2 камлать 3 напев): Evk. *dewej* 1, *dew-ǯeki-* 2; Man. *dejeŋgu* 3; Orch. *dā̄-saŋgo* 'chorus in shamanizing'.

◊ TMC 1, 228, 230.

PMong. ***dawu-*** sound, voice, song (звук, голос, песня): MMong. *dau'un* (HY 42), *dau'u* (SH), *daulaxči* 'singer' (HY 30), *da'ū* (IM); WMong. *daɣu(n)*, *daɣuu*, *duu* (L 219, 278); Kh. *dū(n)*; Bur. *dū(n)*; Kalm. *dūn*; Ord. *dū(n)*; Mog. *daun* (Weiers), *döün*; ZM *doun* (5-6a); Dag. *dau* (Тод. Дат. 135, MD 133); Dong. *don*, *duan* 'voice, song'; Bao. *doŋ*, dun; S.-Yugh. *dūn*; Mongr. *dū* (SM 62), *dau* (Minghe).

◊ KW 104, MGCD 233. Mong. *dayu-la-* > Evk. *dawlā* etc., see Doerfer MT 61.

PTurk. ***dē-*** to say (сказать, говорить): OTurk. *te-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *te-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *de-*; Gag. *de-*; Az. *de-*; Turkm. *dī-*; Sal. *dij-*; MTurk. *di-* (Abush.), *te-* (MA); Uzb. *de-*; Uygh. *dä-*; Krm. *de-*; Tat. *di-*; Bashk. *ti-*; Kirgh. *te-*; Kaz. *de-*; KBalk. *de-*; KKalp. *de-*; Kum. *de-*; Nogh. *de-*; SUygh. *di-*; Khak. *tə-*; Shr. *te-*; Oyr. *de-*; Tv. *de-*; Tof. *de-*; Chuv. *te-*; Yak. *die-*; Dolg. *die-*.

◊ VEWT 467-8, EDT 433-4, ЭСТЯ 3, 221-224, Stachowski 79. Kypchak and some other languages preserve voiced d- due to the word's grammaticalized usage.

‖ A Western isogloss. One of several monosyllabic verbal roots.

✱**tèbú** pelvis, lower part of body: Tung. ***debu(kī)***; Jpn. ***tùmpì***.

PTung. ***debu(kī)*** 1 pelvis 2 lower part of back 3 side (1 таз 2 нижняя часть спины, круп 3 бок): Evk. *duwukī*, *dewukī* 1, 2; Evn. *dewki* 1, 2; Neg. *dōxī*, *dewexī* 1, 2; Man. du, dū 1; Ul. *dewe* 1; Ork. *dewe* 1, 2; Nan. *dewe* 1; Ud. *deuxi* 1; Sol. *debexi*, *dewexi* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 218.

PJpn. ***tùmpì*** 1 vulva 2 arse (зад): MJpn. *tùbì* 1.

◊ JLTT 552. The meaning 'arse' is attested in Ryukyu dialects (Shuri *čibi* etc., see ibid.).

‖ A Tung.-Jap. isogloss.

✱**tēga** high; top, mountain: Tung. ***deg-**; Mong. ***deɣe-**; Turk. ***dāg**; Jpn. ***tàkà-**; Kor. ***tə-**.

PTung. ***deg-*** 1 to fly (v.) 2 bird (1 лететь 2 птица): Evk. *deg-* 1, *degi* 2; Evn. *deɣ-* 1, *deɣi* 2; Neg. *deɣ-* 1, *deɣī* 2; Man. *deje-* 1, *dei* 2; SMan. *dei-*, *dii-* 'to fly' (2300); Ul. *degde-* 1; Nan. *degde-* 1; Orch. *deili-* 1; Ud. *dieli-* 1; Sol. *degelī-* 1, *degī* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 228-229. TM > Dag. *degī* 'bird' (Тод. Даг. 136).

PMong. ***deɣe-*** 1 above, up 2 to fly 3 to jump, leap (1 наверх, наверху 2 лететь 3 прыгать, перепрыгивать): MMong. *de'ere* (HY 50, SH), *dīrä* (IM), *dirǎ* (MA) 1; WMong. *deɣe-* 1 (L 242, 243), *degde-* 2 (L 241), *degüli-* 3 (L 245); Kh. *dē-* 1, *degde-* 2, *dǖlle-* 3; Bur. *dēr(e)* 1, *degde-* 2; Kalm. *dē-* 1, *degdə-* 2; Ord. *dē-* 1, *degde-* 2; Mog. *dērä* 'auf, oben', *dēkši* 'aufwarts, mehr, besser'; ZM *dei-ra* (7-1b), *dei-du* (24-3b) 'above', *dekšə-* (41-2) 'to come up'; Dag. *dēre* 1, *derede-*, *degede-* 2 (MD 135), *dē-* (Тод. Даг. 136), *derd-* 1, (MGCD, Тод. Даг. 136) *dēr*, *derde-*; Dong. *ǰiera*, *ǰiedu*; Bao. *de-Goŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *dīre*, *dīd*; Mongr. *dəre* (SM 49), *dē-di* (SM 50), *te-šə* (SM 418) 1, *diginē-* 'sauter sur un pied' (SM 51), *dǖli-* 'sauter, bondir, danser, battre (coeur)' (SM 56).

◊ MGCD 206, 211, KW 84, 91.

PTurk. ***dāg*** mountain (горa): OTurk. *taɣ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *taɣ* (MK, KB); Tur. *daɣ*; Gag. *dā*; Az. *daɣ*; Turkm. *dāG*; Sal. *dāɣ*; Khal. *tāɣ*; MTurk. *taɣ* (MA), *taɣ*, *ṭaɣ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tɔɣ*; Uygh. *taɣ*; Krm. *daɣ*; Tat. taw; Bashk. *tau*; Kirgh. *tō*; Kaz. *taw*; KBalk. *tau*; KKalp. *taw*; Kum. *taw*; Nogh. *taw*; SUygh. *taɣ*; Khak. *taɣ*; Shr. *taɣ* (Верб.); Oyr. *tū*; Tv. *daɣ*; Tof. *daɣ*, *taɣ*; Chuv. *tu*; Yak. *tıa* 'taiga, wood'; Dolg. *tıa* 'land, tundra'.

◊ VEWT 454, TMN 2, 439-440, EDT 463, ЭСТЯ 3, 117-118, Лексика 94, 111, Stachowski 236.

PJpn. ***tàkà-*** 1 high 2 mountain (1 высокий 2 гора): OJpn. *taka-* 1, take 2; MJpn. *tàkà-* 1; Tok. *taká-* 1, *také* 2; Kyo. *tákà-* 1, *tákè* 2; Kag. *taká-* 1, *také* 2.

◊ JLTT 539, 841.

PKor. ***tə-*** still more, moreover (еще больше, сверх): Mod. *tə*.

◊ KED 439.

‖ Poppe 58, 89 (Mong.-Tung.; on Turk. **jęg-* see under **dị̀oge*), SKE 260, EAS 51, 145, Цинциус 1972, 4 (but TM **dǖ* 'top, above' cannot belong here for phonetic reasons), Miller 1985, 143, АПиПЯЯ 283. TM cannot be borrowed from Mong., despite Doerfer MT 20, Rozycki 58. Korean parallels for Jpn. *taka-*, take in Martin 236 are improbable; but cf. also Kor. *thjə* 'up' in compounds, see SKE 48; another old derivative may be Kor. *tòt-* 'to rise' = Mong. *degde-*]. A different etymology proposed for PT **dāg* is the comparison with WMong. *tajiɣa* 'forest' (see e.g. VEWT 454). The etymology as such cannot be accepted (because of

the wrong correspondence PT *d- : Mong. t-), but Turkic may in fact have merged two originally different roots - which would explain an abnormal correspondence of Turkic long vowel to PJ low tone.

✱**tègà (~ -o)** mushroom: Tung. ***degunŋēkte***; Jpn. ***tàkài***.

PTung. ***degunŋē-kte*** mushroom (гриб): Evk. *deɣinŋēkte*; Evn. *dewunŋit*; Neg. *dewuńŋekte*; Ork. *dewŋekte*; Orch. *deuŋekte*.

◊ TMC 1, 229-230. Evk. > Dolg. *deginmekte* (see Stachowski 78).

PJpn. ***tàkài*** mushroom (гриб): OJpn. *tak(j)e*; MJpn. *tàkè*; Tok. *take*.

◊ JLTT 539.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**tegá (/*tʻegá)** round: Mong. ***tög/körig***; Turk. ****deg- / *dög- / *dog-***; Jpn. ****tánka***; Kor. ****thɨ- / *thə-***.

PMong. ****tögörig*** round (круглый): MMong. *togarik* (HY 53), *togorigai* (SH), *tugärig* (MA); WMong. *tögörig*, (L 832) *tögürig*, *tögerig*, *tügürig*; Kh. *tögrög*, *dugarig*, *dügreg*; Bur. *tüxerig*; Kalm. *tögərəg*, *duɣərɣə*; Ord. *tögörök*; Dag. *tukurin*, (Тод. Даг. 169) *tukuŕen*; S.-Yugh. *tögörög*.

◊ KW 406, MGCD 236. Cf. also *tögüɣe* (Kalm. *tögē*) 'wheel, circle' (KW 405).

PTurk. ****deg- / *dög- / *dog-*** round (круглый): OTurk. *tegirmi* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tegirme* (MK); Tur. *degirmi* 'circle'; Az. *däjirmi*; Turkm. *tegelek*, *toGalaq*; MTurk. *tekirme*, *tekirmi* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tuɣarak*; Uygh. *düglük*; Krm. *togerek*; Tat. *tügɛrɛk*; Bashk. *tüŋärük*; Kirgh. *tegerek*; KBalk. *tögerek*; KKalp. *döŋgelek*; Nogh. *tögerek*; SUygh. *doGir*; Khak. *toɣɨlax*; Shr. *toɣalaq*; Oyr. *toɣoloq*; Tv. *tögerik*; Tof. *tõrej*; Chuv. *təʷgəʷr* 'mirror'; Yak. *tüörem* (poet.) 'round', *tier-* 'to turn round'; Dolg. *tier-* 'to turn round'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 176-179, 281-282, Stachowski 222, 227. One of several expressive common Turkic roots meaning 'round' and displaying phonetic irregularities. Some modern Turkic forms (not listed above) are probably borrowed from Mongolian: cf., in particular, Yak. *tögür*, *tögürük*, Dolg. *tögürük* (> Evk. *tuɣuruk*). Cf. also Лексика 400 (with forms reflecting PT **teker*). Bulg. > Hung. *tükör* 'mirror', see MNyTESz 3, 1010.

PJpn. ****tánka*** hoop, rim (обруч): Tok. *tagá*; Kyo. *tágá*; Kag. *tága*.

◊ JLTT 537.

PKor. ****thɨ- / *thə-*** 1 reel, spool 2 to spin, turn round (1 катушка 2 крутить): MKor. *thəi* 1, *thɨr-* 2; Mod. *the* 1, *thɨl-* 2.

◊ Liu 713, 718, KED 1704, 1724.

‖ Poppe 14, АПиПЯЯ 40-41, 285 (with some confusion of this root and **tʻòŋke* q.v.). An expressive root with some violation of correspondences; but borrowing in Mong. from Turkic is hardly acceptable, despite Щербак 1997, 154. In Mong., a variant **toɣ-* may be present in **toɣuri-* 'go round' (MMong. (SH) *to'ori-*, KW 408, Dag. *tōri-*; > Man. *torgi-*, TMC 2, 204), *tojira-* id.; a variant *dug- in WMong. *duɣuj*, Khalkha *duguj*, Kalm. *duɣu* 'wheel, ring' (L 271, KW 101), whence Tur.

dial. *toγaj*, Kum., KBalk. *toγaj* 'ring, part of wheel hoop'. Cf. also PA **t'ŏk'V* 'curved', also a possible source of contaminations.

✱**teg[u]** to make knots, tie to a hook: Tung. ***deg-**; Mong. ***degeɣe**; Turk. ***düg-**.

PTung. ***deg-** 1 to tie with a rope 2 hanger (for drying fish) 3 ski rope (1 перевязывать веревкой 2 вешала (для сушки рыбы) 3 ремешок (лыжного крепления)): Ork. *dēg-* 1; Nan. *degbimu* 2; Ud. *degumu* 2, *degseɣi* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 230.

PMong. ***degeɣe < (*deɣe-ɣe)** 1 hook 2 to be hooked up, suspended 2 to hang up, suspend (1 крюк 2 быть на крюке, подвешенным 3 подвешивать): WMong. *degege* 1 (L 242), *degüǯi-* 2, *degüǯi-le-* 3 (L 246); Kh. *degē* 1, *dŭžle-* 3; Bur. *degē* 1, *dŭžel-* 3; Kalm. *degē*1, *dŭǯl-* 3; Ord. *degē*; Dag. *degē* (Тод. Даг. 136) 1; S.-Yugh. *degē* 1; Mongr. *dege boGodi* 'clopin-clopant', *dŭǯəle-* 'pendre, suspendre, se pendre' (SM 56).

◊ KW 85, MGCD 212. Mong. > Evk. *degē* etc., see Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 57.

PTurk. ***düg-** 1 to tie in a knot, make a loop 2 button 3 knot (1 завязывать узлом, делать петлю 2 пуговица 3 узел): OTurk. *tüg-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tüg-* (MK) 1; Tur. *düj-*; Gag. *dŭ-m-ük* 3; Az. *düj-*; Turkm. *düv-* 1; Khal. *tüin* 3; MTurk. *tüg-* 1 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tug-* 1; Uygh. *tüg-* 1; Krm. *tüjüm* 3; Tat. *töj-mä* 2; Bashk. *töjön* 3; Kirgh. *tüj-* 1; Kaz. *tüj-* 1; KBalk. *tüj-* 1; KKalp. *tüj-* 1; Kum. *tüj-* 1; Nogh. *tüj-* 1; Khak. *tüŋme* 2; Shr. *tŭn* 3; Oyr. *tüj-* 1; Tv. *düj-* 1; Tof. *düɣ-* 1; Yak. *tü-m-* 1, *timex* 2; Dolg. *tümük* 'knot', *timēk, timek* 2.

◊ EDT 477, ЭСТЯ 3, 307-308, VEWT 503, Stachowski 223. On Mong. loans see SKE 264, TMN 3, 203.

‖ A Western isogloss. Turkic -ü- is quite strange here (< **degü-*?), so the Turkic match is somewhat dubious.

✱**tĕla** to become loose, faint, tire: Tung. ***del(u)-**; Turk. ***dāl-**; Jpn. ***tar(a)-**; Kor. ***tarh-**.

PTung. ***del(u)-** 1 to become faint, dissolve 2 lose consciousness (1 замирать (о звуке), рассеиваться (о дыме) и т.п. 2 терять сознание): Evn. *dēl-* 1; Nan. *delu-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 231.

PTurk. ***dāl-** to lose strength, to faint, lose consciousness (терять силы, сознание): OTurk. *tal-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *talγan* ig 'epilepsy' (MK); Tur. *dal-*; Turkm. *dāl-* (dial.); MTurk. *tal-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔl-*; Uygh. *tal-*; Krm. *tal-*; Tat. *tal-*; Bashk. *tal-*; Kirgh. *tal-, talı-*; Kaz. *tal-*; KBalk. *tal-*; KKalp. *tal-*; Kum. *tal-*; Nogh. *tal-*; Shr. *tal-*; Oyr. *tal-*; Tv. *dal-*; Tof. *dal-*; Yak. *tāl-*.

◊ VEWT 457, EDT 490, ЭСТЯ 3, 133-134.

PJpn. ***tar(a)-*** 1 to tire 2 loose, lax, tired 3 to become loose, lax (1 уставать 2 расслабленный, усталый 3 расслабляться): MJpn. *tara-* 1, 3, *taru-* 2; Tok. *darú-* 2, *tàrum-* 3; Kyo. *dárù-* 2, *tárúm-* 3; Kag. *darú-* 2, *tarúm-* 3.

◊ JLTT 764, 847. An expressive root with irregular voicing and somewhat unclear accent correspondences.

PKor. ***tarh-*** to tire, wear away (уставать, изнашиваться): MKor. *tarh-*; Mod. *tal-* [*talh-*].

◊ Nam 200, KED 408.

‖ A good common Altaic verbal root.

✱**télki** decking, duck-boards: Tung. ***delkē-***; Mong. ***deleg***; Turk. ***Tel***; Jpn. ****(d)íká(n)ta***; Kor. ****tìrkuàr***.

PTung. ***delkē(n)*** wooden platform for storing (помост, полка для хранения продуктов): Evk. *delkēn*; Neg. *delkē-xen*; Ul. *de-su*; Ork. *delke(n)*; Nan. *deke*; Orch. *deke(n)*; Ud. *deke(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 233.

PMong. ***deleg*** cross planks in a boat (дощатый настил в лодке): WMong. *deleg* (L 248); Kh. *deleg*.

PTurk. ***Tel*** decking, covering (настил): Turkm. *telā̆r* 'canopy'; MTurk. *telek* 'a double ceiling for storing goods' (Pav. C.); KKalp. *telek* 'crib, barn'; Yak. *tel* 'a mat, plank covering in a sleigh' (Пек. 3, 2619).

◊ VEWT 471. Yak. *telgē-* 'to lay, put in a row', Tuva *delgeg* 'shop window; exhibition' may be < Mong. *delge-* 'раскладывать, выставлять'

PJpn. ****(d)íká(n)ta*** raft (плот): OJpn. *ikada*; MJpn. *íkáda*; Tok. *ìkada*; Kyo. *íkádá*; Kag. *ikáda*.

◊ JLTT 422.

PKor. ****tìrkuàr*** 1 raft 2 stump (1 плот 2 пень): MKor. *tìrkuàr* 1, 2; Mod. *tiŋgəl* 2.

◊ Nam 174, KED 546.

‖ Jpn. and Kor. may reflect a common derivative **télki-rV* (although the source of -u- in the second syllable in Korean is not quite clear). Most languages point to the original meaning 'board covering', probably 'duck-boards in a boat or raft' (with a secondary development > 'plank covering in a sleigh' in Turkic.

✱**tēlo** wild, mad, dumb: Tung. ***dele-***; Turk. ***dḗl(b)ü-***.

PTung. ***dele-*** 1 wild 2 dumb (1 дикий, одичавший (о животных) 2 тупой, тупеть): Evk. *del(e)mī* 1; Evn. *delmi* 1, (?) *dīl-* 2; Neg. *delemi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 206, 233.

PTurk. ***dḗl(b)ü-*** mad, stupid (сумасшедший, глупый): OTurk. *telve* (OUygh.); Karakh. *telve* (MK, KB); *telü* (MK-Oghuz); Tur. *deli*; Gag. *deli*; Az. *däli*; Turkm. *dā̆li*, *telbe*; MTurk. *telve* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *telba*; Uygh. *tälvä* 'sporty'; Krm. *deli*, *teli*; Tat. *tile*, (KCTT) *tilbā̆*; Bashk. tile,

tilbä 'stagger'; Kirgh. *teli*; *delbe* 'stagger'; Kaz. *delbe* 'stagger'; KBalk. *teli*; KKalp. *delbe* 'stagger'; Kum. *deli*; Nogh. *teli*; *delbe* 'stagger'; Tof. *telemir*, *teleŋ*; Chuv. *tiler-* 'to become mad, enraged'.

◊ EDT 493, VEWT 472, ЭСТЯ 3, 214-216, TMN 3, 660-662. The forms meaning 'stagger' reveal some irregularities (notably, voiced d- in some Kypchak forms), perhaps due to interdialectal borrowing.

‖ Дыбо 12. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**telV** to split, strike: Tung. ***del-***; Mong. ***dele-***; Turk. ***del-***.

PTung. ***del-*** 1 to split, divide 2 be divided (1 раскалывать, разделять 2 разделяться): Evk. *delki-* 1; Evn. *delkъ-* 1, *deldъk-* 1; Man. *dende-* 1, *delxe-* 2; SMan. *dendə-* 1 (2622) 1200 1713; Jurch. *del-xe* (390) 2, *deN-de-* (739) 'to understand'; Nan. *delki-* 1; Ud. *deki-* 1 (Корм. 229), *dekte-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 232, 233.

PMong. ***dele-*** to strike, beat, hit (бить, ударять): MMong. *delet-* (HY 38), *dolät-* (IM), *dilät-* (MA); WMong. *deled-*, *deles-* (L 248, 249); Kh. *dele-*, *delde-*, *delse-*; Bur. *deli-*; Kalm. *del-*.

◊ KW 86.

PTurk. ***del-*** 1 to bore through 2 to cut 3 to open (1 продырявливать 2 резать): OTurk. *tel-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tel-* 1 (MK); Tur. *del-* 2; Gag. *del-* 1; Az. *däl-* 2; MTurk. *tel-* 1 (Sangl., Abush.); Krm. *del-* 1; SUygh. *telik* 'opening'; Tof. *del-* 1; Yak. *tel-* 3.

◊ VEWT 471, EDT 490, ЭСТЯ 3, 185-186, TMN 2, 657.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**telV ?** female: Tung. ***delku-***; Turk. ***dil̀i***.

PTung. ***delku-*** сватать (to arrange marriage): Nan. *delxu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 233.

PTurk. ***dil̀i*** 1 female 2 woman (1 самка 2 женщина): OTurk. *tiši* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tiši* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *diši* 1; Gag. *diši* 1; Az. *diši* 1; Khal. *tiši* 1; MTurk. *tiši* (Abush., Sangl.) 1; Krm. *diši*, *tiši* 1; KBalk. *tiši* 1; Kum. *tiši* 1; SUygh. *tese* 1; Khak. *təzə* 1; Shr. *tiži* 1; Oyr. *tiži* 1; Tv. *diži* 1; Yak. *tihi* 2; Dolg. *tihi* 2.

◊ VEWT 482, EDT 560-561, ЭСТЯ 3, 244-245, Лексика 315, Stachowski 237.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; dubious because of very scarce attestation in TM.

✱**tḗma** in vain, (scarcely) sufficient: Tung. ***dem-***; Mong. ***demej***, ***dömü-***; Turk. ***dēmin***; Jpn. ***támá***; Kor. ***tāmă̆i-n***.

PTung. ***dem-*** trick, roguery (чудачество, шалость): Man. *demun*.

◊ TMC 1, 234. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels ("trick, eccentricity" < "trying in vain").

PMong. ***demej*** in vain (напрасно): WMong. *demei* (L 250); Kh. *demij*; Bur. *demi*; Kalm. *demir-* 'to become worse than smth.'; Ord. *demī*; Dag. *demī* (Тод. Даг. 136).

◊ KW 87, 98. Mong. > Evk. *demej* 'in vain' etc. (TMC 1, 234), see Doerfer MT 96; > Turk. Tel., Bar. *temej* (VEWT 472).

PTurk. ***dēmin*** 1 enough 2 immediately (1 достаточно 2 немедленно, только что): OTurk. *temin* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *temin* (MK) 2; Tur. *demin* 2; Gag. *demin* 2; Khal. *tīemi* 1; Krm. *demin* (K) 2; Tv. *dem* 2, *demin* 2; Tof. *dɛ:min* 2; Chuv. *taman* 1, 2.

◊ EDT 507, ЭСТЯ 3, 187-188.

PJpn. ***támá*** occasional(ly), rare(ly) (случайно, редко): MJpn. *támá*; Tok. *tàma*; Kyo. *támá*; Kag. *tamá*.

◊ JLTT 539. One can also mention Jpn. *dame* 'in vain' (accent correspondences point to **támà-i*) - a late word with an irregular voiced initial, but very probably having the same origin.

PKor. ***tāmǎi-n*** rarely, only (редко, только, всего лишь): MKor. *tāmǎin*; Mod. *taman*.

◊ Nam 130, KED 384.

‖ Martin 240 (Kor.-Jpn.), TMC 1, 234.

✱**tḗmo** to drip, soak: Turk. ***dam***; Jpn. ***támár-***; Kor. ***tǎm-***.

PTurk. ***dam*** 1 drop 2 to drop (1 капля 2 капать): Karakh. *tam-* 2 (MK); Tur. *dam-* 2; Gag. *dam-na* 1; Az. *dam-* 2; Turkm. *dam-* 2; MTurk. *tam* 1 (Abush.), *tam-* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔm-*; Uygh. *tam-* 2; Krm. *tam-* 2; Tat. *tam-* 2; Bashk. *tam-* 2; Kirgh. *tam-* 2; Kaz. *tam-* 2; KBalk. *tam-* 2; KKalp. *tam-* 2; Kum. *tam-* 2; Nogh. *tam-* 2; Oyr. *tam-* 2; Tv. *dam-dı* 1; Tof. *tam-dı* 1; Chuv. *tom-la-* 2; Yak. *tammax* 1.

◊ VEWT 459, EDT 503, ЭСТЯ 3, 139-140, Федотов 2, 245. There is also a variant **dim* 'wetness' (ЭСТЯ 3, 294).

PJpn. ***támár-*** to accumulate (of water) (скапливаться (о воде и пр.)): OJpn. *tamar-*; MJpn. *támár-*; Tok. *tàmar-*; Kyo. *támár-*; Kag. *tamár-*.

◊ JLTT 762.

PKor. ***tǎm-*** to soak, immerse (мочить, окунать): MKor. *tǎm-*; Mod. *tamgi-*.

◊ Nam 142, KED 409.

‖ In Turkic one would rather expect **dạm*: perhaps the variants **dam* and **dim* reflect original **dạm* with later interdialectal borrowings.

✱**tèmò (~ -a)** root; strength, soul: Mong. ***daŋ-gi (< *dam-gi)***; Turk. ***dạmor***; Jpn. ***tàmà***.

PMong. ***daŋgi*** root; origin, generation (корень; происхождение, поколение): WMong. *daŋgi*; Kalm. *däŋgə*.

◊ KW 82.

PTurk. ***dạmor*** 1 vein, artery 2 root (1 жила, сосуд 2 корень): OTurk. *tamar, tamır* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tamur* (MK, KB), *tamar* (MK-Oghuz) 1; Tur. *damar* 1; Gag. *damar* 1; Az. *damar* 1; Turkm. *damar* 1; Sal. *tamır* 1; MTurk. *tamur* 1, 2 (Sangl., Abush., MA); Uzb. *tɔmir* 1; Uygh. *tomur, temir* 1, 2; Krm. *tamur* 1, 2; Tat. *tamır* 2; Bashk. *tamır* 1, 2; Kirgh.

tamir 2; Kaz. *tamir* 1, 2; KBalk. *tamir* 1, 2; KKalp. *tamir* 1, 2; Kum. *tamur* 1, 2; Nogh. *tamir* 1, 2; SUygh. *tamir* 1; Khak. *tamir* 1, 2; Oyr. *tamir* 1, 2; Tv. *damir* 1; Tof. *damir* 1; Chuv. *timar* 1, 2; Yak. *timir* 1; Dolg. *timir* 1.

◊ VEWT 460, EDT 508, ЭСТЯ 3, 143-144, *Лексика* 107-108, 264-265, Stachowski 238. There are also some forms with -o-: Oyr. *tomur-* 'to uproot', Kirgh. *tomor* 'name of a plant, from the root of which dye is produced', Kaz. *tomar* id., KKalp. *tomar* 'root' - possibly contaminations with **Tomar* 'block, log' (v. sub **t'ome*).

PJpn. ***tàmà** soul (душа): OJpn. *tama*; MJpn. *tàmàsìfi*; Tok. *támashii*; Kyo. *támàshìì*; Kag. *tamashíi*.

◊ JLTT 539, 540.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 285, *Лексика* 264-265. Mong. *tamir* 'sinew; strength, force' is borrowed from Turkic (to judge from its phonology; see Щербак 1997, 153); but the comparison with *daŋgi* 'root' may be accepted only if one assumes a secondary assimilation **dam-gi* > *daŋgi*.

***téŋgu** axle, spindle: Turk. ***deŋgil**; Kor. ***thòŋ**.

PTurk. ***deŋgil** axle (ось): Tur. *dingil*; Gag. *dingil*; MTurk. *tiŋgil* (MA); Krm. *teŋgil*; Tat. *teŋel* (KCTT); Chuv. *tə^{w}nə^{w}l*.

◊ VEWT 474, ЭСТЯ 3, 235-236, Федотов 2, 216-217. Turk. > Hung. *tengely* 'axle', see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***thòŋ** axle (ось): MKor. *thòŋ*; Mod. *(sal-)thoŋ*.

◊ Liu 716, KED 900.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss; Mong. *teŋkeleg* 'axle' is probably < Turkic. Kor. **thòŋ* < **tòŋh*.

***tĕp'é** to wave, flap; fly: Tung. ***dep(-si)- / *dapsi-**; Mong. ***debi-**; Turk. ***depre-**; Jpn. ***tə́mp-**.

PTung. ***dep(-si)- / *dapsi-** to flap (wings), wave (махать (крыльями), обмахивать): Evk. *dawsi-*; Evn. *dawsъ-*; Neg. *dawsi-*; Man. *debsi-*, *dèbdere-*; Ul. *depsi-*; Ork. *dapsi-*; Nan. *depsi-*; Orch. *depse-*; Ud. *defi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 186-187, 228. Cf. also **deb-di- / *deb-ke-* 'scatter' (TMC 1, 227).

PMong. ***debi-** 1 to wave, flap, winnow 2 fan (1 махать, веять 2 веер): WMong. *debi-*, *debis-*, *debüs-*, *debül-* 1, *debigür* 2 (L 238, 239, 240); Kh. *deve-* 1, *devŭr* 2; Bur. *deje-* (Alar) 1, *debŭr* 2; Kalm. *dew-* 1, *dewŭr* 2; Dag. *dèuse-* 1 (Тод. Дат. 136); *delbur* (Тод. Дат. 136) 2; Mongr. *d(w)ēsə-*, *d(w)ēli-* (SM 68).

◊ KW 90. Cf. also WMong. *degüli-*, Khalkha *dŭlle-* 'to jump, leap' (L 245).

PTurk. ***depre-** to move, stir, shake (двигать(ся), качать(ся)): OTurk. *tepre-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tepre-* (MK, KB); Tur. *depre-*, *tepre-*; Gag. *depre-*, *tepre-*; Az. *däbär-*, *tärpän-*; Turkm. *depre-*, *terpeп-*; Khal. *tepre-*; MTurk. *tepre-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tebra-*; Uygh. *täwrä-*; Krm. *tebre-*; Tat. *tibrän-*; Bashk. *tirbä-l-*; Kirgh. *terbe-l-*; Kaz. *terbe-l-*; *tebire-n-* 'взволноваться'; KBalk. *tebre-*; KKalp. *terbe-*; Kum. *terbe-n-*; Nogh. *terbe-l-*; SUygh. *terwe-*; Khak. *tibəre-*; Chuv. *tapra-n-*.

◊ VEWT 474, ЭСТЯ 3, 201-202, EDT 443-444, Федотов 2, 173-174.

PJpn. ***tə́mp-*** to fly (летать): OJpn. *tob-*; MJpn. *tób-*; Tok. *tòb-*; Kyo. *tób-*; Kag. *tób-*.

◊ JLTT 768.

‖ KW 90, Poppe 23, 45, Ozawa 247-248, Miller 1985, 150, 1985a, 82, ОСНЯ 1, 217-218, АПиПЯЯ 110, 275. Borrowing in TM from Mong. (Doerfer MT 117) is hardly acceptable.

✱**tĕ́re (~ -o)** phlegm, secretion: Tung. ***derbe-***; Turk. ***dẹr***; Jpn. ***də́ntá-ri, -rai***.

PTung. ***derbe-*** 1 wet, damp 2 to dampen (1 сырой, влажный 2 отсыревать): Evk. *derbe-kin* 1, *derbēw-* 2; Evn. *dörbut-* 2; Neg. *dejbew-* 2; Man. *derbe-xin, derbu-xun* 1, *derbe-* 2; Ul. *delbi-* 2 (tr.); Ork. *delbitči-* 2 (tr.); Nan. *derbi-ktu* 1, *derbe-* 2; Orch. *debbi-* 2 (tr.); Ud. *degbi-* 2 (tr.) (Корм. 229).

◊ TMC 1, 236-237.

PTurk. ***dẹr*** sweat (пот): OTurk. *ter* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ter* (MK, KB); Tur. *ter*; Gag. *ter*; Az. *där* (dial.); Turkm. *der*; Sal. *ter*; Khal. *ter*; MTurk. *ter* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ter*; Uygh. *tär*; Krm. *ter*; Tat. *tir*; Bashk. *tir*; Kirgh. *ter*; Kaz. *ter*; KBalk. *ter*; KKalp. *ter*; Kum. *ter*; Nogh. *ter*; Khak. *tir*; Shr. *ter*; Oyr. *ter*; Tv. *der*; Chuv. *tar, tẹr* (NW); Yak. *tir-it-* 'to sweat'.

◊ VEWT 474, EDT 528, ЭСТЯ 3, 203-204. Chuvash dialects show a variation between *e/ẹ*.

PJpn. ***də́ntá-ri, -rai*** drivel (слюни, слизь): OJpn. *jodari*; MJpn. *jódáré*; Tok. *yòdare*; Kyo. *yódáré*; Kag. *yodáre*.

◊ JLTT 575.

‖ The TM and Jpn. forms may be alternatively compared with PT **jąr* 'saliva' (see ЭСТЯ 4, 134).

✱**tèrì** surface, skin; color: Tung. ***dēre***; Mong. ***čiraj***; Turk. ***dẹri***; Jpn. ***(d)ìrə̀***.

PTung. ***dēre*** 1 surface 2 face (1 поверхность 2 лицо): Evk. *dēr, dere* 1, 2; Evn. *dere* 2; Neg. *deγel* 2; Man. *dere* 2; SMan. *derə* 2 (52); Jurch. *der-hel* (491) 2; Ul. *dere(γ)* 2; Ork. *dere(l)* 2; Nan. *dereγ, derel* 2; Orch. *dē* 2; Ud. *dēgdi* 2; Sol. *derel* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 236 (cf. also Evk. dial. *deri* 'skin from deer's head' - cf. the semantic development in Turk.)

PMong. ***čiraj*** face, outlook (лицо, внешность): MMong. *čirai* (SH, HYt), *čirai* (MA); WMong. *čirai* (L 191); Kh. *caraj*; Bur. *šaraj*; Kalm. *čirē*; Ord. *čarā̃*; Dag. *šar*, (Тод. Даг. 183), *cari, šari* (MD 128, 214) *šarā, šarī*; Mongr. *ćirī* (SM 457), *čirē* (Huzu).

◊ KW 441, MGCD 563. Mong. > Tat. *čiraj* etc. (KW 441, VEWT 109), not vice versa, despite Щербак 1997, 113 (the cited OT *čiraγ* 'face' is actually Kypch. (13th century), and

obviously borrowed from Mong., not from Iranian (?)); > Yak. *sirej*, Dolg. *hiraj* (Stachowski 119); > Man. *čira*, see Doerfer MT 137, Rozycki 48.

PTurk. ***dẹri*** skin (кожа): OTurk. *teri* (OUygh.); Karakh. *teri* (MK); Tur. *deri*; Gag. *deri*; Az. *däri*; Turkm. *deri*; Sal. *cīry*; Khal. *teri*; MTurk. *teri* (MA, Abush.); Uzb. *teri*; Uygh. *terä*; Krm. *teri*; Tat. *tire*; Bashk. *tire*; Kirgh. *teri*; Kaz. *teri*; KBalk. *teri*; KKalp. *teri*; Kum. *teri*; Nogh. *teri*; SUygh. *teri*; Khak. *tēr*; Shr. *tere*; Oyr. *tere*; Tof. *tere* (Рас. ФиЛ); Chuv. *tira*; Yak. *tirī*; Dolg. *tirī*.

◊ VEWT 475, EDT 530, ЭСТЯ 3, 207-208, Лексика 383, Stachowski 223.

PJpn. ***(d)irə̀*** color (цвет): OJpn. *iro*; MJpn. *ìrò*; Tok. *iró*; Kyo. *írò*; Kag. *iró*.

◊ JLTT 426.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 284, Лексика 383.

✱**tert'a** to pull: Tung. ***derde-***; Mong. ***tata-***; Turk. ***dart-***.

PTung. ***derde-*** tag (of boots); rowlock, thole (ушко (у сапог); уключина): Man. *derde-xun*.

◊ TMC 1, 237. Attested only in Manchu, with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***tata-*** to pull (тянуть): MMong. *tata* (HY 38, SH), *ṭoṭa-* (IM), *tata-*, *tătă-* (MA); WMong. *tata-* (L 785); Kh. *tata-*; Bur. *tata-*; Kalm. *tat-*; Ord. *data-*; Mog. *tata-*; ZM *tatā-* (4-4a); Dag. *tata-* (Тод. Дат. 166), *tate* (MD 221); Bao. *də-*; S.-Yugh. *tata-*; Mongr. *ćida-* (SM 444), (MGCD *hdā-*), *tidūr* (SM 416) 'conduit d'eau, fossé'.

◊ KW 383-384, MGCD 627. Mong. > Manchu *tata-* (see Rozycki 204).

PTurk. ***dart-*** to pull; to hang (тянуть; подвешивать, взвешивать): OTurk. *tart-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tart-* (MK, KB); Tur. *tart-*; Gag. *dart-*; Az. *dart-*; Turkm. *dart-*, *tart-*; Sal. *ta't-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *tart-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔrt-*; Uygh. *ta(r)t-*; Krm. *tart-*; Tat. *tart-*; Bashk. *tart-*; Kirgh. *tart-*; Kaz. *tart-*; KBalk. *tart-*; KKalp. *tart-*; Kum. *tart-*; Nogh. *tart-*; SUygh. *tart-*; Khak. *tart-*; Shr. *tart-*; Oyr. *tart-*; Tv. *tï'rt-*; Tof. *tï'rt-*; Chuv. *tort-*; Yak. *tart-*; Dolg. *tart-*.

◊ VEWT 465, EDT 534, ЭСТЯ 3, 154-156, Федотов 2, 254, Stachowski 218.

‖ EAS 123, KW 384. A Western isogloss. Mong. cannot be < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 154, and the Turk.-Mong. match cannot be rejected on phonetic grounds, despite Doerfer TMN 2, 437. However, in this case we must suppose a secondary assimilation in Mong.: *tata-* < **data-*.

✱**tēru (~ č-)** to gather, collect: Mong. ***dar-ta-***; Turk. ***dēr-***; Jpn. ***tùtuàp-***.

PMong. ***dar-ta-*** to accumulate, pile up (собирать, нагромождать): WMong. *darta-* (L 233); Kh. *darta-*; Bur. *darsa-*.

PTurk. ***dēr-*** to collect, gather (собирать): OTurk. *ter-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tẹ̄r-* (MK, KB); Tur. *der-*; Az. *där-*, *der-*; Turkm. *tīr-*; Sal. *tēre-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *tẹr-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *ter-*; Uygh. *tär/j-*; Tat.

tir-, tijr- (KCTT); Bashk. *tir-*; Kirgh. *ter-*; Kaz. *ter-*; KKalp. *ter-*; Nogh. *ter-*; SUygh. *ter-*; Khak. *tir-, tēr-*; Shr. *tēr-*; Oyr. *ter-*; Tv. *deri-* 'снаряжать'; Yak. *terij-*; Dolg. *terij-*.

◊ EDT 529, VEWT 475, ЭСТЯ 3, 204-205, Stachowski 221. Turkm. has an irregular devoicing (old Kypchak influence?).

PJpn. ***tùtuàp-*** 1 to gather (intr.) 2 to gather, collect (tr.) (1 собираться 2 собирать): OJpn. *tudwop-* 1, *tudwopa-* 2; MJpn. *tùtòf-, tùdòf-* 1; Tok. *tsudó-* 1; Kyo. *tsúdó-* 1; Kag. *tsudó-* 1.

◊ JLTT 772. Most sources point to low tone, but Kagoshima reflects rather **tútúap-*.

‖ Low tone in Jpn. is irregular (but see above on dialectal reflexes of **tútúap-*).

✱**tə̀tu** respect, care: Tung. ***dēdu-***; Mong. ***čida-***; Turk. ***det-***; Jpn. ***tùtù-***.

PTung. ***dēdu-*** to care, like, love (любить, оберегать, уважать): Neg. *dēdelu-*; Ul. *dēdu(n)*; Nan. *dēdu*; Orch. *deduli-*.

◊ TMC 1, 230.

PMong. ***čida-*** to be able (быть способным): MMong. *čida-* (HY 37, 54, SH, MA); WMong. *čida-* (L 176); Kh. *čada-*; Bur. *šada-*; Kalm. *čad-* (KPC); Ord. *čida-*; Mog. *čida-* (Weiers); ZM *čidən* 'power, strength' (2-7a); Dag. *šadə-* (Тод. Дар. 182 *šada-*), *šade-* (MD 214); Dong. *šida-*; S.-Yugh. *šəda-, hda-*; Mongr. *sda-* (SM 331), *šda-* (Huzu); *čida-* (Minghe).

◊ MGCD 556. Mong. > Chag. *čida-* etc. (see Doerfer 1, 316, Щербак 1997, 202); Chuv. *čьt-* 'to endure' (see Róna-Tas 1971-1972); Yak. *satā-*, Dolg. *hatā-*, see Kał. MEJ 22, Stachowski 98.

PTurk. ***det-*** 1 to strive, exert 2 bold, hero 3 clever, reasonable 4 cheerful, vigorous (1 стараться, напрягать силы, сопротивляться 2 смелый, герой 3 умный, разумный, ловкий 4 бодрый): OTurk. *tetik* (OUygh.) 3; Karakh. *tet-, tetin-* (MK) 1, *tetik, teti-l-* 'to become clever' (MK); Tur. *didin-* 1, *tetik* 3; Gag. *didin-* 1; Turkm. *tetārik* 'support, help' (?); MTurk. *tetik* (Abush., Sangl.) 3; Uzb. *tetik* 4; Uygh. *tetik* 4; Tat. *täti* 'good' (nursery word); Bashk. *tätäj* 'good thing' (nursery word); Kirgh. *tetik* 3; Kum. *tetek* 'pleasure'; Khak. *tətən-* 1; Oyr. *tidim* 2, *tedü* 'satisfied, sorrowless'; Tv. *didin-* 1, *didim* 2; Tof. *titim* 2; Yak. *tetiänex* 4.

◊ VEWT 476, EDT 450, 455, 456, ЭСТЯ 3, 218. Cf. perhaps also Kaz. etc. *tetik* "device, mechanism", Tat., Bashk. *täte* '(gun's) cock', Gag. *tetik* 'id.; virgin's hymen', KKalp. *tetik* 'mechanism, essence', Az. *tätig* 'trigger'. Some forms reveal secondary assimilatory devoicing.

PJpn. ***tùtù-*** be shy, respectful (быть осторожным, уважительным, скромным): OJpn. *tutu-sim-, tutu-simar-*; MJpn. *tùtù-sim-*; Tok. *tsutsu-shím-*; Kyo. *tsútsúshím-*; Kag. *tsùtsùshìm-*.

◊ JLTT 776.

‖ Tungus-Manchu has -d- as a result of regular assimilation after *d- (cf. **tūti* and **dē-du-* 'lie' < **dē-tV*).

✱**tèt'o (~ -a, -u)** swamp, water pool: Tung. ***detu***; Turk. ***TAdgun***.

PTung. ***detu*** swamp, mossy meadow (болото, мшистая поляна): Evk. *det*; Evn. *det*; Neg. *det*; Man. *detu* 'steppe'; Ul. *detu*; Ork. *detu*; Nan. *detu*; Orch. *detu*; Ud. *deti* (Корм. 230).

◊ TMC 1, 238.

PTurk. ***TAdgun*** a k. of big river (большая, непересыхающая сезонно река): Karakh. *taδγun* (MK).

◊ EDT 453: Clauson suggests a reading *toδγun* (deriving the word from *toδ-* 'fill'), but there is no *waw* in the text.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**tĭbúlka** a k. of blossoming bush: Tung. ***dībekte***; Mong. ***čibaga***; Turk. ***d(i)abɨlku***; Jpn. ***tùmpákì***.

PTung. ***dībe-kte*** 1 dwarf birch tree 2 black birch (1 карликовая береза 2 черная береза): Evk. *dīwekte* 1; Evn. *diwuɣ* 1, *diwukeɣ* 1; Neg. *diwegde* 1; Ul. *diwegde* 2; Ork. *duwete* 2; Nan. *diwegde* 2; Orch. *duokte* 2; Ud. *duekte* 2 (Корм. 229).

◊ TMC 1, 203.

PMong. ***čibaga*** jujube (юююба): MMong. *čibuqan* (HY 7); WMong. *čibaɣa(n)*, *čibuɣa* (L 174); Kh. *čavga*; Bur. *šabga* 'dried fruit'; Kalm. *čiwgə*, *čipkə*; Ord. *čiwaga*; Dong. *čučuGa*; Bao. *čimχaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *šūxGan*; Mongr. *čuGa* (SM 439).

◊ KW 442, MGCD 554. Mong. > late OT *čibiqan* 'jujube' (EDT 396).

PTurk. ***d(i)abɨlku*** 1 Spiraea 2 jujube (1 таволга 2 юююба): OTurk. *tavɨlqu* 1 (OUygh. - YB); Karakh. *tavɨlqu*, *tavɨlγuč* 2 (MK); Tur. *davılga*, *davulgu* (dial.) 1; Az. *tuvulγu* (dial.); MTurk. *tabulγu*, *tubulγu* (Pav. C.) 'дерево с красной корой и гибкими ветками'; Tat. *tubɨlγɨ* 1; Bashk. *tubɨlγɨ* 1; Kirgh. *tabɨlγɨ* 1; Kaz. *tobɨlγɨ* 1; Kum. *toburγu* 1; Khak. *tabɨlγɨ* 1; Oyr. *tabɨlγɨ* 1; Yak. *tobuluoskaj* 1.

◊ EDT 441, Лексика 134. Turk. > Mong. *tabilqa*, *tabilγa* id., whence again most modern Turkic forms (Tat. *tubɨlγɨ*, Turk. *tabulga*, Yak. *tamɨlγan*, Chuv. *tuрɣlха*); see (somewhat differently) Аникин 521.

PJpn. ***tùmpákì*** Camelia (камелия): OJpn. *tubakji*; MJpn. *tùbákì*; Tok. *tsúbaki*; Kyo. *tsùbákì*; Kag. *tsubakí*.

◊ JLTT 552. It is interesting to note MKor. *toŋpăik*, mod. *toŋbăk* 'camelia': it is regarded as Sino-Korean, but written as "winter cypress" (冬柏), a character and meaning combination unattested in Chinese. With a great probability, therefore, MKor. *toŋpăik* is borrowed from Jpn. (not vice versa, as suggested by Martin ibid.).

‖ In Turkic one has to suppose vowel metathesis in a trisyllabic word (**dabɨlku* < **dɨbulka*). An interesting common Altaic plant name.

✱**tĭdu** elevation: Tung. ***dīdü (~ ǯ-)***; Jpn. ***tùtùmí***; Kor. ***tùtən***.

PTung. ***dīdü (~ ǯ-)*** mountain ridge (горный хребет): Evk. *ǯīdi*, dial. *didi*; Evn. *gidan* (Okh.) (? = */didan/*); Man. *ǯidun*; Ul. *ǯiḍu*; Ork. *ǯiḍu(n)*; Orch. *ǯidi*.

◊ TMC 1, 256. TM > Bur. *zudan* id. The Evk. form *ǯidi* (with ǯ- instead of the regular *d-) probably reflects interdialectal borrowing.

PJpn. ***tùtùmí*** dike (насыпь, дамба): OJpn. *tutumji*; MJpn. *tùtùmí*; Tok. *tsutsumi*.

◊ JLTT 558.

PKor. ***tùtə́n*** hill, elevation (холм, возвышенность): MKor. *tùtə́n*; Mod. *tudəŋ*, *tudək*.

◊ Nam 163, KED 503.

‖ Lee 1958, 113 (Tung.-Kor.). An Eastern isogloss. The Korean form is aberrant in several respects (-u- instead of expected -ɨ-, -t- instead of expected -r-, low tone instead of expected high), and one may suspect it in being borrowed < Japanese.

✱**tɨ̀kʻi** to plant vertically: Tung. ***dīKē-***; Mong. ***čike***; Turk. ***dik-***.

PTung. ***dīKē-*** to hide (прятать(ся)): Evk. *dīkē-*; Evn. *dikъn-*; Neg. *dixē-n-*; Ud. *dige-*.

◊ TMC 1, 205.

PMong. ***čike*** straight, vertically (прямой, прямо, вертикально): WMong. *čike*, *čeke* (L 180); Kh. *čix*; Bur. *sexe*; Kalm. *čikə*; Ord. *ǯixe*.

◊ KW 439. Cf. also WMong. *čig*, Kalm. *čig* 'straight' (KW 438). Mong. *čike* > Oyr. *čike* etc.

PTurk. ***dik-*** 1 to plant vertically 2 vertical (1 ставить, сажать вертикально 2 вертикальный): OTurk. *tik-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2 (MK); Tur. *dik-* 1, *dik* 2; Gag. *dik-* 1, *dik* 2; Az. *dik* 2, *dik-ä-l-* (refl.) 1, *tik-* 'to build'; Turkm. *dik-* 1, *dik* 2; Khal. *tik-* 1; MTurk. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; Uygh. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; Krm. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; Tat. *tekä-* 1, *tekä* 2; Bashk. *tekä* 2, *tekä-* 'упирать, устремлять взгляд'; Kirgh. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; Kaz. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; KBalk. *tik* 'крутой'; KKalp. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; Kum. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; Nogh. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; SUygh. *tik-* 1; Khak. *tək-* 'to set up a house'; Chuv. *čik-* 1; Yak. *tik-*, *tɨk-* 'to sting; to sew'; Dolg. *tik-* 'to sew'.

◊ EDT 475-476, ЭСТЯ 3, 224-227, Егоров 325, Федотов 2, 417-418, Stachowski 223.

‖ EAS 50, 150, KW 85, 439, Poppe 16. A Western isogloss. In Mong. we also have Kalm. *dekə-* 'to stick in; coire' (KW 85), which Ramstedt (ibid.) compares with the Turkic and TM word; if this were the true cognate, we would have to think that Mong. **čig*, **čike* is borrowed < Turkic (as suggested in TMN 2, 659). The poor attestation of Mong. *deke-*, however, raises doubts (so does the final -e in Mong. *čike*, hardly to be expected in a Turkic loanword), so the traditional comparison (Turk. **dik* : Mong. **čike*) might be the best solution after all.

✱**tilV** tongue; voice: Tung. ***dilga-***; Turk. ***dil / *dil***.

PTung. ***dilga-n*** voice (голос): Evk. *dilgan*; Evn. *dɨlgъn*; Neg. *dɨlga-n*; Man. *ǯilGan*; SMan. *ǯiləhan* (42); Ul. *dɨlǯa(n)*; Ork. *ǯɨlda(n)*; Nan. *ǯɨlGā*; Orch. *digga(n)*; Ud. *digana-* 'speak'; Sol. *dilgã*.

◊ TMC 1, 206. Without the suffixed *-ga(n) cf. Evk. *dila-mkūn*, Neg. *dịlamkụn* 'high, thin (voice)'.

PTurk. ***dıl / *dil*** tongue; language (язык): OTurk. *tıl* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tıl* (MK, KB); Tur. *dil*; Gag. *diĺ*; Az. *dil*; Turkm. *dil*; Sal. *cil*; Khal. *til*; MTurk. *til* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *til*; Uygh. *til*; Krm. *tıl, til*; Tat. *tel*; Bashk. *tel*; Kirgh. *til*; Kaz. *til*; KBalk. *til*; KKalp. *til*; Kum. *til*; Nogh. *til*; SUygh. *dıl*; Khak. *təl*; Shr. *til*; Oyr. *til*; Tv. *dıl*; Tof. *dıl, tıl*; Chuv. *čəlγe*; *čələx* 'пищик в гармошке'; Yak. *tıl*; Dolg. *tıl*.

◊ VEWT 478, EDT 489-90, ЭСТЯ 3, 228-229, Егоров 323, *Лексика* 227, Stachowski 237.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 284, Мудрак Дисс. 38, 70, *Лексика* 228. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**tire** to sink, enter: Tung. ***diri-***; Turk. ***deriŋ***; Jpn. ****(d)ír-***; Kor. ****tír-***.

PTung. ***diri-*** to sink (тонуть): Ul. *diri-*; Nan. *ǯirie-*.

◊ TMC 1, 208.

PTurk. ***deriŋ*** deep (глубокий): OTurk. *teriŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *teriŋ* (MK); Tur. *derin*; Gag. *derin*; Az. *därin*; Turkm. *derīŋ* (dial.); MTurk. *teriŋ* (Sangl.), *tereŋ* (MA); Uzb. *teran*; Krm. *teren*; Tat. *tirän*; Bashk. *tärän*; Kirgh. *tereŋ*; Kaz. *tereŋ*; KBalk. *teren*; KKalp. *tereŋ*; Kum. *teren*; Nogh. *teren*; Khak. *tireŋ*; Shr. *tereŋ*; Oyr. *tereŋ*; Tv. *tereŋ*; Tof. *dereŋ*; Chuv. *tarъn*; Yak. *diriŋ*.

◊ VEWT 475, EDT 551, ЭСТЯ 3, 208-209, Федотов 2, 179.

PJpn. ****(d)ír-*** to enter (входить): OJpn. *ir-*; MJpn. *ír-*; Tok. *ìr-*; Kyo. *ír-*; Kag. *ír-*.

◊ JLTT 698.

PKor. ****tír-*** to enter (входить): MKor. *tír-*; Mod. *tıl-*.

◊ Nam 174, KED 534.

‖ Martin 231. High tone in Kor. is quite exceptional for a verb root and irregular.

✱**tĭ́ri** thick, plenty: Tung. ***dir-***; Mong. ****čirgaɣu***; Turk. ****dīri-***; Jpn. ****(d)ita-***.

PTung. ***dir-*** 1 thick 2 plentiful (of food) 3 gullet (1 толстый 2 обильный (о пище) 3 пищевод): Evk. *diram* 1, *dirga* 3; Evn. *dịrъm* 1; Neg. *dịjam* 1; Man. *ǯiramin* 1, *ǯiraχun* 'firm, stout'; SMan. *ǯiramə* 1 (2413); Ul. *dịramị* 1, *dịrgan* 2; Ork. *ǯịramị* 1; Nan. *ǯịramị* 1, *ǯịrgā* 2; Orch. *dijami* 1; Ud. *deämi* 1, *diga-* 'to eat, feed'; Sol. *dirami* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 207-208.

PMong. ****čirgaɣu*** taut, hard, stiff (тугой, твердый): WMong. *čirgaɣu* (L 191: *čirγaɣuu*); Kh. *čargū*.

PTurk. ****dīri-*** 1 to live 2 alive 3 to revive (1 жить 2 живой 3 оживать): OTurk. *tirig* 2, *tiri-l-* 3 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tirig* 2, *tiri-l-* 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *diri* 2, *diri-l-* 3; Gag. *diri* 2; Az. *diri* 2, *diri-l-* 3; Turkm. *dīri* 2; MTurk. *tiri* (Abush.), *tirik, tirig* (Sangl.) 2, *tiri-l-* 3 (Sangl.), (MKypch.)

*tiri*1 (AH); Uzb. *tirik* 2; Uygh. *tirik* 2; Krm. *tiri* 2; Tat. *tere, terek* 2; Bashk. *tere* 2; Kirgh. *tiri, tirik, tirū* 2, *tiri-l-* 3; Kaz. *tiri* 2; KBalk. *tiri* 2; KKalp. *tiri* 2; Kum. *tiri* 2; Nogh. *tiri* 2; SUygh. *terik* 2; Khak. *tərəg* 2; Shr. *tirig* 2, *tiri-l-* 3; Oyr. *tirü* 2, *tiri-l-* 3; Tv. *dirig* 2, *diri-l-* 3; Tof. *dirig* 2; Chuv. *čərə* 2; Yak. *tilin-* 'to revive'; Dolg. *tillij-* 'to revive'.

◊ VEWT 481, EDT 529, 543-544, 547-548, ЭСТЯ 3, 240-242, Егоров 324, Федотов 414, Stachowski 223.

PJpn. ***(d)ita-** plentiful, strong (обильный, чрезвычайный): OJpn. *ita-*; MJpn. *ita-*.

◊ JLTT 829.

‖ Дыбо 13.

***tiá̯re** narrow; short: Tung. ***ǯir-**; Turk. ***d(i)ār**; Kor. ***tjə̀r-**.

PTung. ***ǯir-** 1 dense, without intervals 2 close, near (1 сплошной, густой, без промежутка 2 близко, рядом): Man. *ǯira* 1; Ul. *ǯi̯ǯa* 2 (< **ǯir-g-*); Nan. *ǯi̯ǯa* 2 (< **ǯir-g-*).

◊ TMC 1, 256, 259.

PTurk. ***d(i)ār** narrow (узкий): OTurk. *tar* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tar* (MK); Tur. *dar*; Gag. *dar*; Az. *dar*; Turkm. *dār*; Sal. *dar*; Khal. *tår*; MTurk. *tar* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔr*; Uygh. *tar*; Krm. *tar*; Tat. *tar*; Bashk. *tar*; Kirgh. *tar*; Kaz. *tar*; KBalk. *tar*; KKalp. *tar*; Kum. *tar*; Nogh. *tar*; SUygh. *tar*; Khak. *tar*; Shr. *tar*; Oyr. *tar*; Tv. *tar*; Tof. *dar* (Рас. *Фил*), *tar*; Yak. *tār*.

◊ VEWT 463, EDT 528, ЭСТЯ 3, 146-147, 159-160; cf. Федотов 2, 179.

PKor. ***tjə̀r-** short (короткий): MKor. *tjə̀rə̆-, tjə̀rɨ-*; Mod. *č:ap-* [*č:alp-*], *č:əp-* [*č:əlp-*].

◊ Nam 154, KED 1395.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 297.

***tio̯k'e** to touch, reach: Mong. ***dökü-**; Turk. ***deg-**.

PMong. ***dökü-** to approach, move closer (приближаться): WMong. *dökü-* (L 266); Kh. *döxö-*; Bur. *düxe-*; Kalm. *döke-* (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***deg-** to touch, to reach (дотрагиваться, достигать): OTurk. *teg-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *teg-* (MK, KB); Tur. *dej-*; Gag. *di-*; Az. *däj-*; Turkm. *deg-*; Khal. *täj-*; MTurk. *teg-* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *deg-*; Uygh. *täg-*; Krm. *tij-*; Tat. *tij-*; Bashk. *tej-*; Kirgh. *tij-*; Kaz. *tij-*; KBalk. *tij-*; KKalp. *tij-*; Kum. *tij-*; Nogh. *tij-*; Khak. *tig-*; Shr. *teg-*; Oyr. *tij-*; Tv. *deg-*; Tof. *deg-*; Chuv. *tiv-*; Yak. *tī-j-*; Dolg. *tīj-*.

◊ VEWT 468-469, EDT 476, ЭСТЯ 3, 173-175, Stachowski 224. Sal. *deš-*, dial. *teš-, tejiš-* 'to burn' must be derived from the same root ("to reach fire"). A very complicated issue is the relationship of this root to PT **dēk, *dēki-* 'to, up to' (usually acting as a postposition) - see ЭСТЯ 2, 182-185, EDT 477 (added should be also Yak. *dieki* 'in the direction of', Dolg. *diek, diegi* 'side', see Stachowski 79). The phonology here is quite puzzling: one would be tempted to regard the medial -k- as an archaism (see below on the irregularity of *-g- in Turkic), but the open long *-ē- presents great difficulties (since the verbal root itself most definitely has a short closed *-ę-). A possible solution is to correct the recon-

struction *dēk(i) to *dęge-ki and regard the *-k(i) as an original locative suffix; this seems plausible because another attested form of the postposition is *dęgi-n (cf. especially reflexes like Tat. dial. tiŋ, KKalp. dejin, Kaz. dejïn, Nogh. dejim).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; not quite reliable, because in Turkic one has to suppose assimilative voicing (*dęg- < *dęk-). In Korean and Japanese the reflexes of the root could have merged with those of *taku (q.v.)

✱**tị̊ǒle** spleen: Tung. ***ǯō(l)**; Mong. ***deliɣün**; Turk. ***d(i)ālak**; Jpn. ***(d)í (~ *(d)ə́-i)**; Kor. ***tira (~ č-)**.

PTung. ***ǯō** gall (желчь): Evk. *ǯō*; Evn. *ǯō*; Neg. *ǯō*; Ork. *ǯō*; Nan. *ǯōl*; Orch. *ǯō*; Ud. *ǯō* (Корм. 233).

◊ TMC 1, 260.

PMong. ***deliɣün** spleen (селезенка): MMong. *deli'un* (HY 47), *dolän* (IM), *dilun* (MA), *dələkun* (LH); WMong. *deligün* (L 250: *deligüü*); Kh. *delŭn*; Bur. *delūn*; Kalm. *delŭn*; Ord. *delŭ*; Dag. *delu(kin)*, (Тод. Дат. 136) *delkin, delig*; S.-Yugh. *dölön*; Mongr. *dəlŭ, dilŭ* (SM 55).

◊ KW 86, MGCD 215. Mong. > Evk. *delkin* etc., see Poppe 1966, 192, 1972, 96, Doerfer MT 38, Rozycki 58.

PTurk. ***d(i)ālak** spleen (селезенка): OTurk. *tal* (OUygh.); Karakh. *talaq* (MK); Tur. *dalak*; Gag. *dalaq* 1; 'плавательный пузырь'; Az. *dalaG*; Turkm. *dālaq*; MTurk. *talaq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *talɔq*; Krm. *talaq*; Tat. *talaq*; Bashk. *talaq*; Kaz. *talaq*; KBalk. *talaq*; KKalp. *talaq*; Kum. *talaq*; Nogh. *talaq*; Yak. *tāl*.

◊ VEWT 457, EDT 495, ЭСТЯ 3, 137-138, Лексика 279. Tat. > Chuv. *talak*.

PJpn. ***(d)í (~ *(d)ə́-i)** liver (печень): OJpn. *i*; MJpn. *í*.

◊ JLTT 420 (gives the meaning 'gall bladder').

PKor. ***tira (~ č-)** spleen (селезенка): Mod. *čira, čirä*.

◊ KED 1529.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 14, Лексика 279. Jpn. **(d)ə-i* goes back to a suffixed form **tị̊ǒl(e)-gV* (= Mong. *deli-ɣün*).

✱**tị̊ǒĺì** stone: Tung. ***ǯola**; Mong. ***čilaɣu**; Turk. ***diāĺ**; Jpn. ***(d)ísì**; Kor. ***tōrh**.

PTung. ***ǯola** stone (камень): Evk. *ǯolo*; Evn. *ǯol*; Neg. *ǯolo*; Ul. *ǯolo*; Ork. *ǯolo*; Nan. *ǯolo*; Orch. *ǯolo*; Ud. *ǯolo*; Sol. *ǯolo*.

◊ TMC 1, 263. Evk. > Dolg. *ǯolo-ptin* (see Stachowski 90).

PMong. ***čilaɣu** stone (камень): MMong. *čila'un* (HY 4, SH); WMong. *čilaɣu(n)* (L 182); Kh. *čulū*; Bur. *šulū(n)*; Kalm. *čolūn*; Ord. *čilū*; Dag. *čolō* (Тод. Дат. 182, MD 130); S.-Yugh. *čəlū*.

◊ KW 444, MGCD 582.

PTurk. ***diāĺ** stone (камень): OTurk. *taš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *taš* (MK); Tur. *taš*; Gag. *taš*; Az. *daš*; Turkm. *dāš*; Sal. *daš*; Khal. *tâš*; MTurk. *taš* (MA); Uzb. *tɔš*; Uygh. *taš*; Krm. *taš*; Tat. *taš*; Bashk. *taš*;

Kirgh. *taš*; Kaz. *tas*; KBalk. *taš*; KKalp. *tas*; Kum. *taš*; Nogh. *tas*; SUygh. *das*; Khak. *tas*; Shr. *taš*; Oyr. *taš*; Tv. *daš*; Tof. *taš, daš*; Chuv. *čol*; Yak. *tās*; Dolg. *tās*.

◊ VEWT 466, TMN 2, 437-8, EDT 557, ЭСТЯ 3, 167-168, Егоров 326, Федотов 2, 421-422, Stachowski 219.

PJpn. ***(d)ísì*** stone (камень): OJpn. *isi*; MJpn. *ísì*; Tok. *ishí*; Kyo. *íshi*; Kag. *íshi*.

◊ JLTT 426.

PKor. ***tōrh*** stone (камень): MKor. *tōr* (*tōrh-*); Mod. *tol*.

◊ Nam 159, KED 478.

‖ EAS 49, 108, KW 444, Владимирцов 145, Poppe 15, 77, Poppe 1974, 133-134, Martin 243, Miller 1970, 129, Street 1980, 301, 1985, 646, АПиПЯЯ 37-38, 71, 92, 277, Дыбо 11, Мудрак Дисс. 196. Certainly not borrowed in Mong. from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 154. Counter-arguments against the etymology by Doerfer (TMN 2, 437-438) are not convincing.

✱**tiubu** two: Tung. ***ǯube-***; Mong. ***ǯiwrin ~ *ǯuirin***; Turk. ***TVbVr-***; Kor. ***tubu, *tuburh***.

PTung. ***ǯube-*** two (два): Evk. *ǯūr*; Evn. *ǯōr*; Neg. *ǯūl*; Man. *ǯuwe*; SMan. *ǯū* (2736); Jurch. *ǯuwe* (637); Ul. *ǯuel(i)*; Ork. *dū*; Nan. *ǯū, ǯuer*; Orch. *ǯū*; Ud. *ǯū*; Sol. *ǯūr*.

◊ TMC 1, 276-277.

PMong. ***ǯiwrin ~ *ǯuirin*** 1 two 2 pregnant (lit. of two parts) (1 два 2 беременная (букв. двухслойная)): MMong. *ǯi-rin* (SH) 1; WMong. *ǯiren* (L 1060: *ǯirin*) 1; Kh. *ǯirin* (БАМРС) 1, *ǯire-msen* 2; Bur. *žermehe(n)* 2; Kalm. *ǯirəmsn̥* 2 (KPC); Ord. *ǯirmesen* 2; Dag. *ǯūr(ū)* 'pair' (Тод. Дат. 145); Mongr. *ǯuru* (SM 96) 1.

◊ KW 84.

PTurk. ***TVbVr-*** second (второй): OTurk. Bulg. *tvirem*; Chuv. *tebər, tebərew*.

◊ Chuv. -b- is secondary, on analogy with *pə̈rem* 'first'.

PKor. ***tubu, *tuburh*** two (два): MKor. *tūr* (*tūrh-*), *tu'ur, tū-*; Mod. *tūl, tū-*.

◊ Nam 166, KED 501, 509. The variant **tū-* (**tubu-*) is attested as the first member of numerous compounds, both in Middle and Modern Korean.

‖ Poppe 28 (Mong.-Tung.), Lee 1958, 113, АПиПЯЯ 19, 33, 292, Rozycki 128. In Mong. one would rather expect **č-* in front of *-i-* as the result of palatalization of **t-*; preservation of the voiced consonant may be due to the interaction of expected variants **čiwrin ~ *duirin*. The root is no doubt a very archaic one; it is probably attested also in several common Altaic derivatives. Cf. PTM **du-dgu* 'couple, spouses' = OJ *t(w)otug-* 'to marry' (**tub-tu-*); PM **dab-ku-* 'twice, double, layer' (>

Chag. *tapqur*, Evk. *dapkur* etc., see Poppe 1966, 195, TMN 2, 429, Doerfer MT 101), also reflecting a -u̯-less form like **tub-kʹV-*; PTM **ǯūpti* (**ǯub(i)-pti*) id.

✱**tu̯ùke** to pour: Turk. ***dök-***; Jpn. ***tùk-***; Kor. ***tahi-***.

PTurk. ***dök-*** to pour out (*лить, сыпать*): OTurk. *tök-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tök-* (MK, KB); Tur. *dök-*; Gag. *dök-*; Az. *tök-*; Turkm. *dök-*; Sal. *tü'-* (ССЯ); Khal. *tök-*, *tek-*; MTurk. *tök-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *to̯k-*; Uygh. *tök-*; Krm. *tök-*; Tat. *tük-*; Bashk. *tük-*; Kirgh. *tök-*; Kaz. *tök-*; KBalk. *tök-*; KKalp. *tök-*; Kum. *tök-*; Nogh. *tök-*; SUygh. *tök-*; Khak. *tök-*; Shr. *tök-*; Oyr. *tök-*; Tv. *tö'k-*; Tof. *tö'k-*; Chuv. *tъ̆ᵚk-*; Yak. *tox-*; Dolg. *tok-*.

◊ VEWT 492-493, EDT 477, ЭСТЯ 3, 273-274, Stachowski 225.

PJpn. ***tùk-*** to pour (*лить, наливать*): MJpn. *tùk-*; Tok. *tsùg-*; Kyo. *tsúg-*; Kag. *tsúg-*.

◊ JLTT 772. Modern dialects point to **túnk-*, which is probably a result of phonetic merger with **túnk-* 'to continue, inherit'.

PKor. ***tahi-*** to pour, irrigate (*лить, орошать*): MKor. *tahi-*; Mod. *tā-*.

◊ Nam 133, KED 423.

‖ Cf. also Evk. *ǯik-* 'to wash away (shores)', possibly < **ǯük-* (see TMC 1, 256).

✱**tu̯ŭ́lu (~ *č-)** wedge, peg: Tung. ***ǯul-***; Turk. ***dīĺ***.

PTung. ***ǯul-*** wedge (*клин*): Evk. *ǯulamaptin*; Evn. *ǯulъmtiŋ*; Ul. *ǯilemeče*; Ud. *ǯolomopti* (Корм. 234).

◊ TMC 1, 272.

PTurk. ***dīĺ*** tooth (*зуб*): OTurk. *tiš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tiš* (MK), *tiš* (KB); Tur. *diš*; Gag. *diš*; Az. *diš*; Turkm. *dīš*; Sal. *ciš*; Khal. *tīš*; MTurk. *tiš* (MA, Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tiš*; Uygh. *tiš*, *čiš*; Krm. *tiš*; Tat. *teš*; Bashk. *teš*; Kirgh. *tiš*; Kaz. *tis*; KBalk. *tiš*; KKalp. *tis*; Kum. *tiš*; Nogh. *tis*; SUygh. *dis*; Khak. *təs*; Shr. *tiš*; Oyr. *diš*; Tv. *diš*; Tof. *diš*; Yak. *tīs*; Dolg. *tīs*.

◊ VEWT 481, EDT 557, 564-5, ЭСТЯ 3, 242-244, *Лексика* 228, Stachowski 224. Cf. also PT **dīĺ-le-* 'to bite'.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; cf. perhaps also Mong. *duldaj* 'stick, staff'.

tu̯ŭm(k)u silent, calm: Tung. ***duŋk-***; Mong. ***düŋ-***; Turk. ***dim-***.

PTung. ***duŋk-*** 1 dark, sullen 2 to bow the head 3 to knit the brows 4 to bow the head and slumber 5 to become silent, calm 6 quiet, peaceful (1 *темный, мрачный* 2 *опустить голову* 3 *нахмурить брови* 4 *дремать (опустив голову)* 5 *успокаиваться* 6 *тихий, спокойный*): Evk. *duŋkin-* 2; Evn. *duŋkun-* 2, 3; Man. *duŋgi*, *duŋki* 1; Ul. *duŋgu* 6; Ork. *duŋGali-* 4; Nan. *duŋgirien-* 5 (Он.), *duŋgu* 6.

◊ TMC 1, 223, 224.

PMong. ***düŋ-*** to become dull, murky (of sky), sullen, melancholic (*молчать, быть мрачным, тихим, грустным*): WMong. *düŋsüi-* (L 281);

Kh. *dünsī-*; Bur. *dünjē-*; Kalm. *düŋgē-*, *düŋgī-* 'be silent', *düŋsī-*; Ord. *düŋ* 'obscur'.

◊ KW 105.

PTurk. ***dim-*** 1 to be silent 2 silently (1 умолкать 2 молча): Turkm. *dim-* 1; MTurk. *tin-* 1 (Буд. - Кальк. сл., MKypch. - Ettuhf.); Tat. *töŋ-köš* 'silent person' (KCTT); Bashk. *dim-* 1; Kirgh. *tim*, *tim* 2; Kaz. *tim* 2; KKalp. *tim* 2; Khak. *timil-* 1, *tim* 2; Oyr. *tim-* 1, *tim* 2; Chuv. *tamal-* 2 (with aberrant vocalism).

◊ VEWT 478, ЭСТЯ 3, 340-341.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 223. A Western isogloss; cf. perhaps Jpn. *tsumbo* 'deaf'.

✱**todV** to be full (of stomach, belly): Tung. ***tude-***; Turk. ***dod-***.

PTung. ***tude-*** to be constipated (закрепить (о кишечнике)): Evk. *tude-*.

◊ TMC 2, 205. An isolated Evk. form, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***dod-*** become satiated, full (насыщаться, наполняться): OTurk. *tod-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *toδ-* (MK); Tur. *doj-*; Gag. *doj-*; Az. *doj-*; Turkm. *doj-*; Sal. *toj-*; Khal. *tod-*; MTurk. *toj-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *toj-*; Uygh. *toj-*; Krm. *toj-*; Tat. *tuj-*; Bashk. *tuj-*; Kirgh. *toj-*; Kaz. *toj-*; KBalk. *toj-*; KKalp. *toj-*; Kum. *toj-*; Nogh. *toj-*; SUygh. *toz-*; Khak. *tos-*; Shr. *tos-*; Oyr. *toj-*; Tv. *to't-*; Tof. *do't-*; Chuv. *tъʷran-*; Yak. *tot-*; Dolg. *tot-*.

◊ VEWT 483, EDT 451, ЭСТЯ 3, 251-252, Stachowski 227.

‖ Cf. perhaps also Mong. *to-sun* 'melted fat' (< **tod-su-n* ?).

✱**tògà (~ č-, -k-, -u-)** wild, ferocious: Mong. ***dog-si-***; Jpn. ***tàkià-***.

PMong. ***dog-si-*** wild, ferocious (дикий, жестокий): WMong. *doγsin* (L 256); Kh. *dogšin*; Bur. *došxon*; Kalm. *dokšn̥*; Ord. *dogšin*, *došχin*; Dag. *doršin*, *dogšin* (Тод. Дат. 137), *dogešin* (MD 136); Dong. *doγun*; S.-Yugh. *doašūŋ*; Mongr. *doGšən* (SM 58), *doGšin*.

◊ KW 93, MGCD 222. Mong. > Oyr. *toqšin*; Man. *doksin*, see Doerfer MT 137, Rozycki 61.

PJpn. ***tàkià-*** wild, ferocious; brave (дикий, свирепый; храбрый): OJpn. *takje-si-*; MJpn. *tàkè-sí-*; Tok. *takeshi* (arch.).

◊ JLTT 841.

‖ Ozawa 242, JOAL 68. A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. In Turkic cf. perhaps Turkm. *doGum* 'courage'; Kirgh. *tuγulčuγ* 'courageous, skillful'; Oyr. *tūragar* 'wild, mad, ferocious'.

✱**tógà (~ č-, -u-)** falcon: Turk. ***dogan***; Jpn. ***táká***.

PTurk. ***dogan*** falcon (сокол): OTurk. *toγan* (OUygh.); Karakh. *toγan* (MK); Tur. *doγan*; Gag. *duan*; MTurk. *toγan* (Abush., Sangl.); Uygh. *toγan*; Krm. *tuγan*.

◊ VEWT 483, TMN 3, 351-352, ЭСТЯ 3, 247-248, Лексика 169. Cf. also **Togril* 'hunting falcon' (VEWT 484, TMN 3, 346-347).

PJpn. ***táká*** falcon (сокол): OJpn. *taka*; MJpn. *táká*; Tok. *tàka*; Kyo. *táká*; Kag. *táka*.

◊ JLTT 538.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss. The root should be distinguished from **t'úbé* q.v.

✱**tógì (~ -u-, -u)** mound, dam: Tung. ***dug[i]-***; Jpn. ***túkà***; Kor. ***tuk***.

PTung. ***dug[i]-*** 1 channel, island 2 straight road (1 протока, мыс (на реке) 2 прямая тропа): Evk. *duɣin, duɣu* 1; Man. *doqo* 2; Ud. *duala* 'old channel'.

◊ TMC 1, 219.

PJpn. ***túkà*** dam, mound (насыпь): OJpn. *tuka*; MJpn. *túkà*; Tok. *tsukáː*; Kyo. *tsúkà*; Kag. *tsúka*.

◊ JLTT 554.

PKor. ***tuk*** mound, dam (насыпь, дамба): MKor. *tuk*; Mod. *tuk*.

◊ Liu 241, KED 507.

‖ Miller 1986, 54. An Eastern isogloss; cf. perhaps Chag. *tögä-baš* 'Steinplatte auf einem Grab'.

✱**togV** a k. of fish: Tung. ***dukčā***; Mong. ***dogdur***; Turk. ***Tog***.

PTung. ***dukčā*** a k. of fish (вид рыбы (кунжа)): Evk. *dukčā*; Evn. *duqča*.

◊ TMC 1, 221.

PMong. ***dogdur*** pike, perch (L) (судак): WMong. *doɣdur* (L 256); Kh. *dogdor*.

PTurk. ***Tog*** a k. of fish (вид рыбы): Tat. *toɣı* 'sturgeon' (KCTT); Shr. *toɣ* 'perch'; Oyr. *tūlı* 'кускуч'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tə́j-** four: Tung. ***dügin***; Mong. ***dör-ben, *dö-čin***; Turk. ***dȫrt***; Jpn. ***də-***.

PTung. ***dügin*** four (четыре): Evk. *diɣī*; Evn. *diɣi*; Neg. *diɣī*; Man. *dujn*; SMan. *duin* (2738); Jurch. *dujin* (639); Ul. *dui(n)*; Ork. *ǯīn*; Nan. *duī*; Orch. *dī*; Ud. *dī*; Sol. *digī*.

◊ TMC 1,204. Cf. also **deki* 'fourty' (TMC 1, 215; despite Doerfer MT 78-79, cannot be borrowed from Mong. **dö-čin)*.

PMong. ***dör-ben, *dö-čin*** 1 four 2 forty (1 четыре 2 сорок): MMong. *dorben* (HY 42, SH), *dorbə̄n* (IM), *durbän* (MA) 1, *dočin* (HY 43), *dučin* (IM), *dučin* (MA) 2; WMong. *dörbe(n)* (L 268) 1, *döči(n)* (L 266) 2; Kh. *döröv* 1, *döč(in)* 2; Bur. *dürbe(n)* 1 *düše(n)* 2; Kalm. *dörwn̥* 1, *döčn̥* 2; Ord. *dörwö* 1, *döči* 2; Mog. *dürbōn*; ZM *dorbɔ̄n* (25-1b); Dag. *durub, durəb* 1, *dučі(n)*, *duč* 2 (Тод. Даг. 138), *dučі* 2 (MD 138), *durube(n)* 1 (MD 139); Dong. *ǯieruan, ǯieron* 1; Bao. *deroŋ, deraŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *dörwən, dörwen* 1, *döǯin* 2; Mongr. *dēran* (SM 52), *dēren* 1, *tēǯin, teǯin* (SM 417) 2.

◊ KW 100, TMN 1, 329, MGCD 231, 232.

PTurk. ***dȭrt*** four (четыре): OTurk. *tört* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tört* (MK); Tur. *dört*; Gag. *dört*; Az. *dörd*; Turkm. *dȭrt*; MTurk. *tört* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *to̦rt*; Uygh. *tö(r)t*; Krm. *dört*; Tat. *dürt*; Bashk. *dürt*; Kirgh. *tört*; Kaz. *tört*; KBalk. *tört*; KKalp. *tört*; Kum. *dört*; Nogh. *dört*; SUygh. *dürt*, *türt*; Khak. *tört*; Shr. *tört*; Oyr. *tört*; Tv. *dört*; Chuv. *tъʷvadъ*; Yak. *tüört*; Dolg. *tüört*.

◊ EDT 534, VEWT 495, ЭСТЯ 3, 284-286, Stachowski 235.

PJpn. ***də-*** four (четыре): OJpn. *jo-*; MJpn. *jo-*; Tok. *yó-*; Kyo. *yó-*; Kag. *yó-*.

◊ JLTT 578. Accent unclear (as in other numerals).

‖ EAS 146, KW 100, Владимирцов 360, Poppe 110, Ozawa 154-156, Murayama 1962, 108, JOAL 35-36, TMN 1, 329-330), АПиПЯЯ 71. In TMN 2, 608 Doerfer tries to deny the comparison with TM ("es gibt kein Lautgesetz mo. ö = tu. ü"), which is not justified.

✱**tokʿà** base of a horn, callosity: Tung. ***dokta-***; Mong. ***duku***; Turk. ***Tok***; Jpn. ***takua***.

PTung. ***dokta-*** forehead (of an animal) (лоб (животного у верхней части носа), лобные бугры): Evk. *doktonno*; Man. *doqžiχan*.

◊ TMC 1, 213.

PMong. ***duku*** 1 back of the head 2 forehead (1 затылок 2 лоб): WMong. *duqu* (L 278); Kh. *duxa* 1, 2; Bur. *duxa* 2, 1 (Agin.); Kalm. *duxə* 1, 2; Ord. *duxu* 2; Dag. *dox* 1.

◊ Cf. ZM *doqei* 'knob, nodosity' (2-8a). KW 101.

PTurk. ***Tok*** 1 hummel 2 base of a horn 3 with a shaved head (1 комолый 2 основание рога 3 бритоголовый): Karakh. *toq* 3 (MK); Khal. ? *toq* 'Gipfel, Spitze'; MTurk. *toqal* (R) 1; Uzb. *to̦qɔl* 1, 3; Uygh. *toqal* 1; Krm. *toqal* 'с тупым концом'; Bashk. *tuqal* 1; Kirgh. *toqol* 1; Kaz. *toqal* 1, 2; KBalk. *toqal* 1; KKalp. *toqal* 1; Nogh. *toqal*, *toqalaq* 1, 3; Tv. *toqpaq* 'куцый' (хвост), *doqpaq* 'корноухий'; Tof. ? *to'q* 'крупный о шарообразном'.

◊ VEWT 485, 486 (but not < Mong., despite Räsänen); EDT 464.

PJpn. ***takua*** callosity (мозоль): Tok. *tako*.

‖ The meaning 'base of a horn' attested in some Turkic languages is probably original and explains well the semantic development elsewhere (> 'callosity'; 'forehead (of an animal)' etc.).

✱**tokʿV (~ -k-)** to plait, weave: Tung. ***duKu-***; Turk. ***doku-***; Kor. ***tàh-***, ***th-ɨr-***.

PTung. ***duKu-*** to strand, plait (вить (веревку)): Neg. *dukte-*; Ul. *dū-*; Nan. *dū-*.

◊ TMC 1, 220-221.

PTurk. ***doku-*** to weave (ткать): OTurk. *toqu-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *toqu-* (MK); Tur. *doku-*; Gag. *doqu-*; Az. *toxu-*; Turkm. *doqa-*; Khal. *toqu-*;

MTurk. *toqu-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *toqi-*; Uygh. *toqu-*; Krm. *toxi-*; Tat. *tuqi-*; Bashk. *tuqi-*; Kirgh. *toqu-*; Kaz. *toqi-*; KBalk. ? *toγustun* 'назв. дерева, из кот. делают челноки'; KKalp. *toqi-*; Nogh. *toqi-*; SUygh. *toqi-*.

◊ VEWT 484-5, EDT 467, ЭСТЯ 3, 253-254 (to distinguish from **toki-* 'to beat'), Лексика 395. Turk. > WMong. *toki-*, Kalm. *tokə-* 'to plait' (KW 398).

PKor. ***tàh-, *th-ìr-** 1 to plait, weave 2 to twist, wind (1 плести, ткать 2 крутить, вить): MKor. *tàh-* 1, *thìr-* 2; Mod. *t:a-* [*t:ah-*] 1, *thil-* 2.

◊ Nam 145, Liu 718, KED 418, 1724.

‖ Дыбо 15.

***tole** quiet, languid: Tung. ***dulu-**; Mong. ***döli-gen / *dölü-gen**; Turk. ***döle-**.

PTung. ***dulu-** quiet, peaceful, easy (спокойный, смирный): Evk. *dulu-mkūn*; Evn. *dulъm*.

◊ TMC 1, 223.

PMong. ***döli-gen / *dölü-gen** quiet, peaceful (мирный, спокойный): MMong. *dolüejen* (HY 52); WMong. *döligen, dölügen, dölgen* (L 267); Kh. *dölgõn* (< WMong.); Bur. *dülgēn* (< WMong.); Kalm. *dölēn*; Ord. *dölõ(n)*.

◊ KW 98.

PTurk. ***döle-** tranquil, sedate, quiet (спокойный, тихий, мирный): Karakh. *tölek* (MK); Tur. *döle-k, dölen-*; Uzb. *tölek* (Chag.); Chuv. *tülek*.

◊ EDT 498, VEWT 504.

‖ TMC 1, 223 (TM-Mong.), Дыбо 13. A Western isogloss.

***tóle (~ -i̯o-, -i̯a-)** progeny, generation: Turk. ***döl**; Jpn. ***də́**.

PTurk. ***döl** 1 progeny, breed 2 new-born animals (1 потомство 2 приплод): OTurk. *töl* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *töl* (MK Oghuz.) 'season when animals give birth to their young; the newborn young'; Tur. *döl* 1; Az. *döl* 2; Turkm. *döl* 2, 'sperm'; MTurk. *töl* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tọl* 2; Uygh. *töl* 2; Tat. *tül* 'bird ovary'; Bashk. *tül* 'плодовитость; женская половая клетка'; Kirgh. *töl* 2; Kaz. *töl* 2; KBalk. *tölü* 2, 'generation'; KKalp. *töl* 2; Kum. *töl* 2; Nogh. *töl* 2; Khak. *töl* 1; Shr. *töl* 1; Oyr. *töl-dö-* 'to breed'; Tv. *töl* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 274-276; EDT 490. Turk. > Mong. *töl* 'new-born young animals'.

PJpn. ***də́** generation, age (поколение, возраст): OJpn. jo; MJpn. *jó*; Tok. *yó, yò*; Kyo. *yò*; Kag. *yó*.

◊ JLTT 575.

‖ A Turkic-Jpn. isogloss; not quite reliable, because the Jpn. form can have many possible protoforms.

***tòlu (~ ti̯ùlo)** to spin, turn round: Turk. ***dolga-**; Jpn. ***dər-**; Kor. ***tòr- / *tùr-**.

PTurk. ***dolga-** to twist, to wrap round (крутить, заворачивать): Karakh. *tolγa-* (MK); Tur. *dola-*; Az. *dola-*; Turkm. *dola-*; Khal. *tolγa-n-* 'to

walk around'; MTurk. *tolγa-* (Abush., MA); Uzb. *tǫlγa-*; Uygh. *tolγu-*; Krm. *tolγa-*; Tat. *tolγa-n-* (refl.); Bashk. *tula* 'cloth'; Kirgh. *tolγo-*; Kaz. *tolγa-*; Kum. *dola-n-* 'to tinker with smth.'; Shr. *tolγaj* 'turn'; Oyr. *tolγo-*; Tv. *dolγa-*; Tof. *dolγa-*; Chuv. *tъla*, *tъʷlla* 'cloth, petersham'.

◊ VEWT 486, EDT 497, ЭСТЯ 3, 259-260, Федотов 2, 187-188, Ашм. XIV, 254-255, 259.

PJpn. ***dər-*** to twist (крутить, изгибать): OJpn. *jor-*; MJpn. *jòr-*; Tok. *yór-*; Kyo. *yór-*; Kag. *yòr-*.

◊ JLTT 787.

PKor. ***tòr- / *tùr-*** 1 revolve 2 surround (1 вращаться 2 окружать): MKor. *tòrá-ka-* 'return', *tòrá-pò-* 'look back', *tōr-* 1, *tùrì-* 2; Mod. *tol-* 1, *turi-* 2.

◊ Liu 223, 229, 239, KED 479, 504.

‖ Martin 245.

✱**tǒŕu** birch bark, vessel made of birch bark: Tung. ***duri***; Mong. ***duru-sun***; Turk. ***Tōŕ***; Jpn. ***túrú(m)pài***; Kor. ***turəi***.

PTung. ***duri*** cradle made of birch bark (берестяная *люлька*): Evn. *dör*; Neg. *duj*; Man. *duri*; SMan. *ďurī* (516); Ul. *duri*; Nan. *duri*; Orch. *duji*; Ud. *düi*.

◊ TMC 1, 217.

PMong. ***duru-sun*** liber, bast, bark (specif. birch bark) (*лыко, береста*): WMong. *duru-sun* (L 276); Kh. *durs*; Bur. *durhan*; Kalm. *dursn̥*; Ord. *durusu*.

◊ KW 103.

PTurk. ***Tōŕ*** birch bark 2 birch cover (for a bow) 3 vessel made of birch bark (*береста, изделия из бересты*): OTurk. *toz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *toz* 'полоска *для* обертывания *лука*' (MK); Tur. (Osm.) *toz* 'материал *для* обертки *лука*'; MTurk. *toz* 'кора горного миндаля, которой обертывают *луки*' (Sangl.); Uzb. *tǫs* 'березовая кора, идущая на отделку седла'; Tat. *tuz*; Bashk. *tuδ*; Kirgh. *toz* 'чага'; Kaz. *toz*; KKalp. *toz*; Khak. *tos*, dial. *toš*; Shr. *tos*; Oyr. *tos*; Tv. *tos*; Tof. *dos*; Yak. *tuos*; Dolg. *tuos* xā.

◊ VEWT 491-2, EDT 571, *Лексика* 103. Turk. > WMong. *tous*, *toos*, Kalm. *tōs*, see Clark 1980, 39.

PJpn. ***túrú(m)pài*** bucket, pail (ведро, бадья): OJpn. *turub(j)e*; MJpn. *túrúbè*; Tok. *tsùrube*; Kyo. *tsùrúbè*; Kag. *tsurúbe*.

◊ JLTT 557. A rare accent class in MJ: HHL; its modern reflexes are not quite clear.

PKor. ***turəi*** bucket, scoop (ведро, черпак): Mod. *ture*.

◊ KED 503.

‖ KW 103, TMN 2, 612 ("was nicht ganz unmöglich wäre"), *Лексика* 103.

✱**túbù (~ -o-)** end, edge: Tung. ***dubē***; Mong. ***daɣus-***; Jpn. ***túpí***; Kor. ***tūih***.

PTung. ***dubē*** end (конец, край): Evk. *duwē*; Evn. *duwet*; Neg. *duwe*; Man. *dube*; SMan. *duwe, duwu* 'tip, point, end' (2604); Ul. *duwe*; Ork. *duwe*; Nan. *due*; Ud. *due*.

◊ TMC 1, 218. TM > Dag. *duwē* (Тод. Дат. 137).

PMong. ***daɣus-*** to finish (кончать): MMong. *da'us-* (SH), *duson* 'complete' (IM), *dawus-* (MA); WMong. *daɣus-* (L 220); Kh. *dūsa-, dūla-*; Bur. *dūha-, dūda-*; Kalm. *dūs-*; Ord. *dūs-*; Dag. *dausa-* (Тод. Дат. 135); S.-Yugh. *dūs-*.

◊ KW 104, MGCD 233.

PJpn. ***túpí*** finish (конец, в конце): OJpn. *tupji*; MJpn. *túfi*; Tok. *tsúi(-ni)*; Kyo. *tsúi(-ni)*; Kag. *tsuí(-ni)*.

◊ JLTT 554. Modern accentuation is not quite clear (probably due to the adverbial status of the word).

PKor. ***tūih*** behind, back, North (зад, спина, север, конец): MKor. *tūi* (*tūih-*); Mod. *twī*.

◊ Nam 168, KED 512.

‖ SKE 275-276, АПиПЯЯ 71, Дыбо 12. Cf. perhaps Karakh. (MK) *tuvur-* 'to prick (ears)'.

✱**tùdì (~ -o-)** to sound, howl: Tung. ***dudu-***; Mong. ***düdüne-***; Jpn. ***tùtù-***.

PTung. ***dudu-*** to growl, howl (ворчать, бормотать, шуметь): Evk. *duduke-*; Evn. *dudъlči-*; Neg. *dudu-*; Ork. *dudǯi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 219-220.

PMong. ***düdüne-*** to howl, growl (реветь, бормотать): WMong. *düdüne-* (L 278); Kh. *düdne-*; Kalm. *düdṇ-, dadṇ-*; Ord. *düdüne-*.

◊ KW 71, 104.

PJpn. ***tùtù-*** to murmur, whisper (бормотать, шептать): OJpn. *tutum(j)ek-*; MJpn. *tùtùják-, tutumek-*.

◊ JLTT 776.

‖ TMC 1, 220. An onomatopoeic root, but with good correspondences.

✱**tŭgì** to pound: Tung. ***dug-***; Mong. ***tügsi-***; Turk. ***düg-***; Jpn. ***tùk-***; Kor. ***tìh-***.

PTung. ***dug-*** 1 hit, beat 2 batter 3 thresh (1 бить, колотить 2 долбить 3 молотить): Evk. *duɣ-* 1, 2; Evn. *dụɣ-* 2, *duɣ-* 1; Neg. *dụw- ~ dụɣ-* 2, *dukte-* 1; Man. *du- ~ dū-* 1,3; Jurch. *du-ŋu-mij* (464) 1; Ul. *dū-čị-* 2; Ork. *dū-* 1, *dūčị-* 2; Nan. *dū-* 1, *dŏčị-* 2; Orch. *dū-* 1, 2; Ud. *dū-* 2, *dukte-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 218-219.

PMong. ***tügsi-*** to thresh (молотить): WMong. *tügsi-* (L 850: *tügse-*); Kh. *tügši-*; Kalm. *tükšə-*; Ord. *dügši-* 'battre avec violence (coeur)'; Dag. *turši-*.

◊ KW 414, MGCD 657.

PTurk. ***düg-*** to pound (бить, молотить, долбить): Karakh. *tög-* (MK); Tur. *döv-*; Gag. *dü̇-*; Az. *döj-*; Turkm. *döv-*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tüw-* (AH), *tüj-* (At-Tuhf.); Krm. *tüj-*; Tat. *töj-*; Bashk. *töj-*; Kaz. *tüj-*; KBalk. *tüj-*; KKalp. *tüj-*; Kum. *tüj-*; Nogh. *tüj-*; Chuv. *tü-* / *tə^{w}v-*.

◊ EDT 477, ЭСТЯ 3, 270-272, VEWT 492.

PJpn. ***tùk-*** to pound (молотить): OJpn. *tuk-*; MJpn. *tùk-*; Tok. *tsúk-*; Kyo. *tsùk-*; Kag. *tsùk-*.

◊ JLTT 774.

PKor. ***tìh-*** to pound (молотить): MKor. *tìh-*; Mod. *č:i-* [*č:ih-*].

◊ Nam 182, KED 1560.

‖ Mong. has t- due to contamination with *tog-si-* 'to hit, knock' q.v. ; Kor. has *tìh-* with irregular vowel (low tone is usual in verbs) due to contamination with *tìk-* 'to dip down, imprint' q.v.

✱**tű́jkʻú** to make a sign: Tung. ***duKū-***; Mong. ***doki-***; Turk. ***Tūkrag***; Jpn. ***túnká-***; Kor. ***tjək-***.

PTung. ***duKū-*** to write (писать): Evk. *dukū-*; Evn. *dụq-*; Neg. *duki-*.

◊ TMC 1, 221.

PMong. ***doki-*** to make a sign (делать знак): WMong. *doki-* (L 257); Kh. *doxi-*; Bur. *doxi-*; Kalm. *dok-*; Ord. *doχi-*.

◊ KW 93.

PTurk. ***Tūkrag (?)*** royal sign manual (знак царской власти): Karakh. *tuγraγ* (MK - Oghuz), *tuγra* (IM); Tur. *tuγra*; Uzb. *tuγrɔ*.

◊ VEWT 496. EDT 471, TMN 3, 342-343. The word may belong here if it is not derived < *tüg* 'banner' (< Chin.).

PJpn. ***tú(n)ká-*** to let know, inform (сообщать): OJpn. *tuga-*; MJpn. *túga-*; Tok. *tsùge-*; Kyo. *tsúgé-*; Kag. *tsugé-*.

◊ JLTT 772.

PKor. ***tjək-*** to note down, to write (записывать): MKor. *tjək-*; Mod. *čək-*.

◊ Nam 155, KED 1424.

‖ All meanings are well explainable from the original 'make, produce a sign'; the diphthong -jə- in Korean is somewhat unexpected and makes us reconstruct PA **tű́jkʻú* (otherwise **túkʻu* would serve just as well).

✱**túјpè (~ d-)** hill, top: Tung. ***dű- (~ *düb-)***; Mong. ***dobu / *döbe***; Jpn. ***(d)ípà***.

PTung. ***dű- (~ *düb-)*** 1 top 2 mountain top 3 taiga region (1 верх 2 вершина горы 3 лесная, таежная местность): Evk. *dī-* 1; Evn. *dī-* 1; Man. *de-n, de-le* 1; SMan. *den* 'tall, high' (2399, 2615); Ul. *duwu* 3; Ork. *duwwê* 3; Nan. *duje* 3; Orch. *di-xi* 3; Ud. *dī-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 202-203.

PMong. ***dobu / *döbe** 1 hill 2 to be convex, protuberant (1 холм 2 быть выпуклым): WMong. *dobu(n)* (L 256: *dobuŋ*), *döbe(n)*; Kh. *dov* 1, *dovoj-* 2; Bur. *dobo* 1; Kalm. *dowṇ, döwṇ* 1; Ord. *dowoŋ* 1; Mongr. *toboi-* 2 (MGCD 221).

◊ MGCD 221.

PJpn. ***(d)ípà** rock, cliff (скала): OJpn. *ipa*; MJpn. *ífà*; Tok. *iwá*; Kyo. *íwà*; Kag. *íwa*.

◊ JLTT 429.

‖ Medial -j- should be postulated to account for the vowel (*ü) in PTM and for the otherwise irregular fronting *u > i in Jpn. For a possible reflex in Turkic see under **t'ep'a*.

***tuju** to listen, perceive: Tung. ***duja**; Mong. ***duɣul-**; Turk. ***duj-**; Jpn. ***tua-p-**.

PTung. ***duja** noise; to shout, cry (шум; шуметь, кричать): Evn. *dūja, dūja-*.

◊ TMC 1, 220. Attested only in Evn., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***duɣul-** listen (слушать, слышать): MMong. *dūla-* (MA), *du'ulqa-* (SH) 'verkünden, bekanntgeben'; WMong. *duɣul-* (L 271); Kh. *dūla-*; Bur. *dūla-*; Kalm. *dūlγə-* (caus.); Ord. *dūl-*.

◊ KW 104.

PTurk. ***duj-** to perceive (by ears or nose), notice (слышать, чуять, замечать): OTurk. *tuj-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tuj-* (MK); Tur. *duj-*; Gag. *duj-*; Az. *duj-*; Turkm. *duj-*; MTurk. *tuj-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tuj-*; Uygh. *tuj-*; Krm. *duj-, tuj-*; Tat. *toj-*; Bashk. *toj-*; Kirgh. *tuj-*; KKalp. *tuj-*; Nogh. *tuj-*; SUygh. *tuj-*; Chuv. *tuj-*, refl. *tojъn-*.

◊ VEWT 497, EDT 567, ЭСТЯ 3, 290-291, Федотов 2, 241, Ашм. XIV, 92-94. Chuv. may be < Tatar.

PJpn. ***tua-p-** to ask (спрашивать): OJpn. *twop-*; MJpn. *tóf-*; Tok. *tò-, tó-*; Kyo. *tó-*; Kag. *tò-*.

◊ JLTT 771. Accent is not quite clear (Kag. *tò-* and the Tokyo variant *tó-* point to **tuàp-)*.

‖ The isolated Even parallel is somewhat dubious, but the rest of the forms are well explained by the original meaning 'perceive' (whence both 'listen' and 'ask') and correspond well to each other.

***tùlu (~ -o)** barren: Tung. ***dūla-**; Turk. ***dul(k)**; Kor. ***tur-**.

PTung. ***dūla-** barren, farrow (яловая (о важенке оленя)): Evk. *dūlaɣi*; Nan. (?) *dolboan* 'young, unripe' (of fruits, vegetables) (Он.).

◊ TMC 1, 221. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***dul(k)** widow, widower (вдова, вдовец): OTurk. *tul* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tul* (MK); Tur. *dul*; Gag. *dul*; Az. *dul*; Turkm. *dul*; MTurk. *tul* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tul*; Uygh. *tul*; Krm. *tul*; Tat. *tŭl*; Bashk. *tŭl*; Kirgh. *tul*; Kaz. *tŭl*; KKalp. *tul*; Kum. *tul*; Shr. *tul*; Oyr. *tul*; Tv. *dulɣujaq*;

Tof. *tulγuńaq*; Chuv. *tъlъx* 'orphan'; Yak. *tulājax* 'orphan'; Dolg. *tulājak* 'widow; orphan'.

◊ EDT 490, VEWT 497, ЭСТЯ 3, 292-293, Лексика 293, Ашм. XIV, 258-259, Федотов 2, 189, Stachowski 230.

PKor. ***tur-** barren (бесплодная, яловая): Mod. *tul-*, *tol-*.

◊ KED 478.

‖ KW 409, TMN 3, 349.

***tŭĺdi** to hear: Tung. ***dōldī-**; Turk. ***düĺ-ün-**; Kor. ***tɨd-**.

PTung. ***dōldī-** to hear (слышать): Evk. *dōldī-*; Evn. *dōldī-*; Neg. *dōldi-*; Man. *donǯi-*; SMan. *ɗonǯi-* (182); Jurch. *doldi-sun* (351), *doldi-u* (354); Ul. *dōldiwu*; Ork. *dolǯi-*; Nan. *dōld'i-*; Orch. *dōgdī-*; Ud. *dogdi-*; Sol. *dōldi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 214-215.

PTurk. ***düĺ-ün-** to think, understand (думать, понимать): OTurk. *tüšü-t-le-n-il-* (OUygh.), *tüšün-* (OUygh. - USp.); Tur. *düšün-*; Gag. *düšün-*; Az. *düšün-*; Turkm. *düšün-*; MTurk. *düšün-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tušun-*; Uygh. *tüšün-*, *čüšün-*; Krm. *tüšün-*; Tat. *töšen-*; Kirgh. *tüšün-*; Kaz. *tüsin-*; KKalp. *tüsin-*; Kum. *tüšün-*; Nogh. *tüsin-*; Oyr. *tüžü-met* 'intelligent, reasonable'; Yak. *tüs* 'serious, reasonable'.

◊ VEWT 507, EDT 562, ЭСТЯ 335-336.

PKor. ***tɨd-** to hear (слышать): MKor. *tɨt-* (-r-); Mod. *tɨt-* (-r-).

◊ Nam 173, KED 532.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 48, 290. Korean has a "verbal" low tone.

***tŭĺe** clear sky, noon: Tung. ***dōlā**; Mong. ***düli**; Turk. ***düĺ**.

PTung. ***dōlā** clear, open sky (ясный (о небе), открытое небо): Evk. *dōlō*; Evn. *delъd*.

◊ TMC 1, 215.

PMong. ***düli** middle (of day, night) (середина (дня, ночи)): MMong. *duli* (SH, HY 5), *d[ä]li* (IM); WMong. *düli* (L 280); Kh. *dül*; Mongr. *dur* 'midi, milieu du jour' (SM 66).

PTurk. ***düĺ** noon (полдень): Karakh. *tüš* (MK, KB); Tur. *düš* (dial.); Turkm. *düš* (dial.); MTurk. *tüš* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tuš*; Uygh. *čüš*; Krm. *tüš*; Tat. *töš*; Bashk. *töš*; Kirgh. *tüš*; Kaz. *tüs*; KBalk. *tüš*; KKalp. *tüs*; Kum. *tüš*; Nogh. *tüs*; Oyr. *tüš*; Tv. *dü'š*; Tof. *düš*.

◊ VEWT 507, EDT 559, Лексика 78-79. Turk. > Hung. *dél* 'South, noon', see MNyTESz 1, 606-607.

‖ Владимирцов 366, Лексика 79. A Western isogloss.

***tŭĺe (~ -i)** to bend down, fall: Tung. ***dōl-**; Mong. ***döli-**; Turk. ***düĺ-**.

PTung. ***dōl-** 1 to bend 2 to contort (1 выгибать 2 вывихивать): Evk. *dōldī-* 1; Ork. *doltidda-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 215.

PMong. ***döli-*** to bend backwards (наклоняться назад): MMong. *dolusgu-* (SH); WMong. *döli-* (L 267: *dölügü* 'slightly inclined'); Kh. *dölö-*; Bur. *düle-*; Kalm. *döli-*.

◊ KW 98.

PTurk. ***düĺ-*** to fall, move down (падать, двигаться вниз): OTurk. *tüš-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tüš-* (MK); Tur. *düš-*; Gag. *düš-*; Az. *düš-*; Turkm. *düš-*; MTurk. *tüš-* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *tuš-*; Uygh. *tüš-*; Krm. *tüš-*; Tat. *tüš-*; Bashk. *tüš-*; Kirgh. *tüš-*; Kaz. *tüs-*; KBalk. *tüś-*; KKalp. *tüs-*; Kum. *tuš-*; Nogh. *tüs-*; SUygh. *tüs-*; Shr. *tüš-*; Oyr. *tüš-*; Tv. *düš-*; Yak. *tüs-*; Dolg. *tüs-*.

◊ EDT 560, VEWT 507, ЭСТЯ 3, 330-333, Stachowski 235. Turk. (Bulg.) > Hung. *dől* (MNyTESz 1, 668-669).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tumi** drum: Mong. ***düŋgür***; Turk. ***düm-***; Jpn. ***tuntumi***.

PMong. ***düŋgür*** shaman's drum (колотушка шамана): WMong. *düŋgür* (L 281); Kh. *düŋger*.

◊ Mong. > Chag. *tüŋür* etc.

PTurk. ***düm-*** drum (барабан): Karakh. *tümrüg* (MK Oghuz.); Tur. *dümrü* (Osm.), *dümbek*; MTurk. *dümbek*.

◊ EDT 509, VEWT 504-505.

PJpn. ***tuntumi*** drum (барабан): OJpn. *tudumji*; MJpn. *túdúmí*; Tok. *tsuzumí*; Kyo. *tsúzùmì*; Kag. *tsuzumí*.

◊ JLTT 559. Modern dialects point uniformly to **tùntùmì*, but RJ has high tone.

‖ An expressive root, reduplicated in Japanese.

✱**túmu (~ č-, -i, i̯u-o, i̯a-u)** cold, snot: Turk. ***dum***; Jpn. ***túm-***.

PTurk. ***dum*** 1 cold 2 cold, flu (1 холодный 2 простуда): OTurk. *tumlıγ* 1 (OUygh.), *tumaγu* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tum, tumlıγ* 1 (MK), *tumaγu* (MK) 2; Tur. *dumaγ, duma* 2, (Osm.) *tumlu* 1; Turkm. *dümev* 2; MTurk. *tumaq* 2 (MA); Uygh. *tumu* 2; Tat. *tomaw* 2; Khak. *timo* 2; Tv. *dumā* 2; Tof. *tumā* 2; Yak. *timnī* 1, *tumū* 2; Dolg. *timnī* 1.

◊ VEWT 498, EDT 503, 505, 506, ЭСТЯ 3, 326, Лексика 14-15, Stachowski 238. Turk. > WMong. *tomuγu*, Khalkha *tomū* 'influenza'. A probable derivative is Turk. **duman* 'fog' (ЭСТЯ 3, 295-296, Лексика 33, Stachowski 230), see TMN 2, 568.

PJpn. ***túm-*** cold (холодный): MJpn. *tumeta-*; Tok. *tsùmetai*; Kyo. *tsúmétà-*; Kag. *tsuméta-*.

◊ JLTT 842.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**tuŋa** cold, frost: Tung. ***doŋota***; Mong. ***daγara-***; Turk. ***doŋ***.

PTung. ***doŋota*** 1 cold, frost 2 to ice up, freeze (1 мороз 2 обледеневать, замерзать): Evk. *doŋoto* 1; Neg. *doŋoto-* 2; Ul. *doqomdu-* 1; Ork. *doGdo* 'hoard of frozen fish'.

◊ TMC 1, 216.

PMong. ***daɣara-*** to freeze, become cold (замерзать, остывать): MMong. *dara-* (MA); WMong. *daɣara-* (L 218); Kh. *dāra-*; Bur. *dāra-*; Kalm. *dār-*; Ord. *dāra-* 120; Dag. *dāra-* (Тод. Дат. 135), *dāre-* (MD 131); Dong. *daGara-*; Bao. *dār-*; S.-Yugh. *dārā-*; Mongr. *dāra-* (SM 44).

◊ KW 82, MGCD 182.

PTurk. ***doŋ*** 1 cold 2 frost 3 frozen 4 freeze, be frozen (1 холодный 2 мороз 3 замерзший 4 замерзать): OTurk. *toŋ-* 4 (OUygh.); Karakh. *toŋ* 2, 3 (MK); Tur. *don* 2; Az. *don* 2, *don-* 4; Turkm. *doŋ* 3, *doŋ-* 4; MTurk. *toŋ-* 4 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *toŋ-* 4, *toŋ* 2, 3; Tat. *tuŋ* 2; Kirgh. *toŋ* 2, *toŋ-* 4; SUygh. *tot* 1; Khak. *tō-r-* 4; Tv. *doŋ* 3, *doŋ-* 4; Tof. *doŋ* 3, *doŋ-* 4; Chuv. *tъʷm* 2 'frost'; Yak. *toŋ-* 4, *toŋ* 3; Dolg. *toŋ-* 4, *toŋ* 3.

◊ VEWT 488, EDT 513, 515, ЭСТЯ 3, 265-267, Лексика 17, Stachowski 226.

‖ TMC 1, 216, АПиПЯЯ 286, Дыбо 11. A Western isogloss.

túŋì** relative by marriage: Tung. ***duŋ-; Turk. ***düŋür***; Jpn. ***túmà***.

PTung. ***duŋ-*** coeval (сверстник, ровесник): Man. *duŋGami*.

◊ TMC 1, 224. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***düŋür*** a relative by marriage (1 сват, сваха, посредник при сватовстве 2 свойственник): OTurk. *tüŋür* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tüŋür* 2 (MK); Tur. *dünür* 1, dial. *dünüš* 'родители новобрачных'; Gag. *dünür* 'сватовство'; Yak. *tüŋür* 2.

◊ EDT 523, Рясянен 1955, 172. Yak. > Evk., Evn. *tuŋur* 2 (TMC 2, 217).

PJpn. ***túmà*** spouse (супруг, супруга): OJpn. *tuma*; MJpn. *túmà*; Tok. *tsúma*; Kyo. *tsúmà*; Kag. *tsúma*.

◊ JLTT 555. The Tokyo accent is aberrant (**tsumá* would be expected).

‖ The isolated Manchu parallel is somewhat dubious semantically (not a 'relative by marriage', but a coeval), but the Turkic and Jpn. forms correspond well to each other.

tŭpʿe (~ *tị̂ūpʿi, *č-)** bottom: Mong. ***dow-; Turk. ***dŭp***.

PMong. ***dow-*** below (внизу): MMong. *dora* (HY 50), *doro* (SH), *durǎ* (IM), *durǎ* (MA); WMong. *doura, doru* (L 266); Kh. *dor*; Bur. *doro, dōro*; Kalm. *dorə*; Ord. *doro*; Mog. *dora*; ZM *dɔ̄rɔ̄* (6-8b); Dag. *duar, dorōn, dōrōn* (Тод. Дат. 137); *dore* (MD 137); Dong. *dodu, dəura, daura, doura*; Bao. *doGoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *dūra, duGūr*; Mongr. *dōro* (SM 57, 61).

◊ KW 95, MGCD 220, 225.

PTurk. ***dŭp*** bottom; root (дно; основание; корень): OTurk. *tüp* (*tüb*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *tüp* (*tüb*) (MK); Tur. *dip*; Gag. *dip*; Az. *dib*; Turkm. *dŭp*; MTurk. *tüb* (Pav. C.), *tüp* (Abush.); Uzb. *tub*; Uygh. *tüp*; Krm. *tüp*; Tat. *tŭp*; Bashk. *tŭp*; Kirgh. *tüp*; Kaz. *tüp*; KKalp. *tüp*; Kum. *tub*; Nogh. *tüp*; SUygh. *tüp, top*; Khak. *tüp*; Shr. *tüp*; Oyr. *tüp*; Tv. *düp*; Tof. *düp*; Chuv. *təp*; Yak. *tügex* (?); Dolg. *tügek* (?).

◊ EDT 434-435, VEWT 505, ЭСТЯ 3, 317-319, TMN 2, 652-654 (> Mong. *tüb, töb*), Лексика 108-109, Stachowski 234.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. The relationship to TM **dō-* 'to sit down (of birds)', suggested in TMC 1, 211, is unclear; if it exists, we may be dealing here with an archaic case of *-p'-suffixation.

✱**turi** face: Tung. ***duru-n**; Mong. ***düri**; Turk. ***dür**; Jpn. ***tura**.

PTung. ***duru-n*** 1 form, outlook 2 pattern, design 3 picture (1 форма, вид 2 узор 3 рисунок): Evk. *durun* 2; Neg. *dujun / dujin* 1; Man. *durun* 1, *duru-Gan* 3; SMan. *durun* 1 (2341); Ul. *duru(n)* 1; Ork. *duru(n)* 1; Nan. *durũ* 1 (On.); Orch. *dũ(n)* 1; Ud. *dũ(n)* 1; Sol. *durũ* 1.

◊ See TMC 1, 225-6.

PMong. ***düri*** form, outlook (вид, облик): WMong. *düri* (L 282); Kh. *dür*; Bur. *düre*; Kalm. *dürə, dürsn̥*; Ord. *düri*; Mog. ZM *dor* (7-6b) 'affection'; Dag. *dur* (Тод. Даг. 138), *dure* (MD 139).

◊ KW 105, MGCD 245, 246. Mong. > Man. *dursun* (Rozycki 64).

PTurk. ***dür*** 1 sort, kind, shape 2 various (1 вид, форма, порода 2 разнообразный): OTurk. *törlüg* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *törlüg* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *türlü* 1, 2; Gag. *türlü* 1, 2; Az. *dürlü* (dial.) 2; Turkm. *dürli* 2; MTurk. *törlüg* 1 (Sangl.); Uzb. *turli* 2; Krm. *türlü* 2; Tat. *türli* 2; Bashk. *törlö* 2; Kirgh. *tür* 1; Kaz. *türli* 2, *tür* 1; KBalk. *türlü* 2; KKalp. *türli* 2; Kum. *türlü* 2; Nogh. *türli* 2; Chuv. *tə^{w}rlə^{w}* 2.

◊ EDT 546-547, ЭСТЯ 3, 327-328 (loan of forms like Kaz. *tür* < Mong. *düri* is hardly acceptable, despite EDT ibid.).

PJpn. ***tura*** face (лицо): OJpn. *tura*; MJpn. *túrà*; Tok. *tsurá*; Kyo. *tsúrà*; Kag. *tsùra*.

◊ JLTT 556. Modern dialects suggest a reconstruction **tùrà*; however, the form attested in RJ is *túrà*.

‖ KW 105, Владимирцов 165, EAS 51, Poppe 23, 82, Miller 1996, 151, АПиПЯЯ 71, Дыбо 12, Лексика 207 (but PT **jŭŕ* is to be separated, despite all the above sources). The TM forms may be < Mong. (see Doerfer MT 76, Rozycki 65), but not necessarily so.

✱**tūri** to wrap, fold: Mong. ***dörseji-**; Turk. ***dŭr-**; Jpn. ***tùtùm-**.

PMong. ***dörseji-*** to shrink, shrivel; be folded (коробиться, ежиться, морщиться): WMong. *dörsüji-* (MXTTT); Kh. *dörsij-*; Kalm. *dörsē-* KPC 212.

PTurk. ***dŭr-*** to fold, roll together (скручивать, засучивать): OTurk. *tür-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tür-* (MK); Tur. *dür-*; Gag. *dür-*; Az. *dürmäk* 'бутерброд в виде трубочки'; Turkm. *düjr-*; Sal. *tür-*; MTurk. *tür-* (MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *turmak-la-*; Uygh. *tü(r)-*; Tat. *tör-*; Bashk. *tör-*; Kirgh. *tür-*; Kaz. *tür-*; KKalp. *tür-*; Nogh. *tür-*; Khak. *tür-*; Shr. *türgek* 'клубок'; Oyr. *tür-*; Tv. *dür-*; Tof. *dür-*; Yak. *tŭr-*.

◊ VEWT 506, EDT 530-531, ЭСТЯ 3, 319-320. Turk. > Hung. *tűr-* 'to tuck', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***tùtùm-*** to wrap (заворачивать): OJpn. *tutum-*; MJpn. *tùtùm-*; Tok. *tsutsúm-*; Kyo. *tsútsúm-*; Kag. *tsùtsùm-*.

◊ JLTT 776.

‖ A good match, but with irregular tone in Jpn.

✱**tùru (~ *tị̂ùro)** crane: Turk. ***durunja**; Jpn. ***tùrû**; Kor. ***túrúmí**.

PTurk. ***durunja*** crane (журавль): OTurk. *turuńja*; Karakh. *turna* (MK); Tur. *turna*; Az. *durna*; Turkm. *durna*; Tat. *torna*; Kirgh. *turuna*; Kaz. *tirna*; Tv. *durujā*; Tof. *durujā, turuja*; Chuv. *tъʷrna*, (dial. Verkh.) *təʷrne*; Yak. *turǰuja*.

◊ VEWT 501, TMN 3, 199, EDT 551, ЭСТЯ 3, 301-302, Лексика 173.

PJpn. ***tùrû*** crane (журавль): OJpn. *turu*; MJpn. *tùrú*; Tok. *tsúru*; Kyo. *tsùrû*; Kag. *tsurú*.

◊ JLTT 557.

PKor. ***túrúmí*** crane (журавль): MKor. *túrúmí*; Mod. *turumi*.

◊ Liu 238, KED 504.

‖ Martin 229, Murayama 1962, 110, АПиПЯЯ 71, Лексика 173. Cf. also (phonetically unclear) Mong. *toγuriγun* 'crane' (KW 397).

✱**tű́ti** tube, round vessel: Tung. ***doda-ka(n)**; Turk. ***dűtük**; Jpn. ***tútú**.

PTung. ***doda-ka(n)*** a vessel made of birch bark (сосуд из бересты): Neg. *dodoxon*; Ork. *dodo, dụdụ*; Orch. *dodō, dodoko*.

◊ TMC 1, 212.

PTurk. ***dűtük*** pipe (трубка, флейта): Karakh. *tütek* 'a spout of an ewer' (MK), *düdük* 'reed pipe, flute' (IM); Tur. *düdük*; Gag. *düdük*; Az. *düdük*; Turkm. *tüjdük*; Sal. *tütülüx* (ССЯ); MTurk. (OKypch.) *düdük* (AH); Uzb. *tutak*; Kirgh. *tütük*; Kaz. *tütik*; KKalp. *tüte*; Kum. *düdük*; Nogh. *düdik*.

◊ VEWT 507, EDT 455.

PJpn. ***tútú*** tube (трубка): OJpn. *tutu*; MJpn. *tútú*; Tok. *tsùtsu, tsutsú*; Kyo. *tsútsú*; Kag. *tsutsú*.

◊ JLTT 558. RJ *tútú*, Tokyo *tsùtsu* and Kyoto *tsútsú* point directly to **tútú*. However, the Tokyo variant *tsutsú* and Kagoshima *tsùtsú* may indicate a variant **tùtù*.

‖ On TM *-d- see under **tètu*.

Tʿ

***tʿà (*tʿè)** that: Tung. ***ta-**; Mong. ***te-re**; Turk. ***ti-(kü)**; Jpn. ***tə̀-**; Kor. ***tjə́**.

PTung. ***ta-** that (тот): Evk. *tar, tari*; Evn. *tar*; Neg. *taj*; Man. *tere*; SMan. *terə* (2878); Ul. *tāwụ, tị*; Ork. *tari*; Nan. *taja*; Orch. *tī, tei*; Ud. *tei, teji*; Sol. *tajā, tari*.

◊ TMC 2, 164-167.

PMong. ***te-re** that (тот): MMong. *tere* (SH, HY), *tɛrɛ* (IM), *tirā̆* (MA); WMong. *tere* (L 804); Kh. *ter*; Bur. *tere*; Kalm. *terə*; Ord. *tere*; Mog. *tə̄*; ZM ti (26-5); Dag. *tere* (Тод. Даг. 167, MD 224); Dong. *tere*; Bao. *ter*; S.-Yugh. *tere*; Mongr. *te* (SM 416).

◊ KW 393.

PTurk. ***ti-(kü)** that (тот): Gag. *te bu* 'this here', *te o* 'that there'; Turkm. (dial.) *šü-tki,šütüki, bitiki* 'вот этот' (Akhaltek.); Sal. *düɣü, tū̆*; MTurk. (OKypch.) *tigi* (Bulgat), *tik* (Ettuhf.); Tat. *tege*; Bashk. *tege*; Kirgh. *tigi*; Kaz. *tigi* (dial.); Khak. *tege*; *ĭ-di* 'so, thus'; Tv. *dȫ*; Tof. *tē*; Yak. *i-ti* 'this'; Dolg. *i-ti* 'this'.

◊ VEWT 479, Räsänen 1957, 36, Котвич 1962, 142, Stachowski 129.

PJpn. ***tə̀-** that way (так, таким образом): MJpn. *to-ni-kaku-ni, tò-zàmà-káú-zámá*.

◊ Attested since Heian, and only in the above expressions meaning "anyway, all directions" (lit. "that way - this way"). JLTT 550, 551.

PKor. ***tjə́** that (тот): MKor. *tjə́*; Mod. *čə*.

◊ Nam 154, KED 1417.

‖ EAS 126, KW 393, Lee 1958, 118, АПиПЯЯ 52, 289, Rozycki 207, Doerfer MT 26 ("Elementarverwandtschaft"). Cf. Mong. *terteɣe* 'on that side', *terse* 'inimical, adverse' = Turk. *tetrü* 'opposite side', *ters* 'perverse, wrong'.

***tʿábá** foot, footwear: Tung. ***tabu-**; Mong. ***tabag**; Turk. ***dāpan**; Jpn. ***tàmp(u)î**.

PTung. ***tabu-** fur footwear (меховая обувь): Evk. *tawur, taubun*; Evn. *tēwun*; Nan. *toa-ma* ʿa k. of footwear made of fish skin' (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 149, 171. TM > Dolg. *tēbin* 'leichte Hausschuhe' (Stachowski 221).

PMong. ***tabag** foot, paw (ступня, лапа): WMong. *tabaɣ* (L 760); Kh. *tavag, tavxaj*; Bur. *tabgaj*; Kalm. *tawəg* (KPC); Ord. *tawaG*; Mongr. *tawaG* (SM 412).

◊ Mong. > Kaz. *tawa*, VEWT 451, Man. *taba*, TMC 2, 149, Doerfer MT 136.

PTurk. ***dāpan** foot, sole (нога, подошва): Karakh. *taban* (MK); Tur. *taban*; Gag. *taban*; Az. *daban*; Turkm. *dāban*; MTurk. *taban* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔbɔn*; Uygh. *tapan*; Krm. *taban*; Tat. *taban*; Bashk. *taban*; Kirgh. *taman*; Kaz. *taban*; KBalk. *taban*; KKalp. *taban*; Kum. *taban*; Nogh. *taban*; SUygh. *tawan*; Oyr. *taman*; Tv. *davan*; Tof. *daman*; Chuv. *toban* (Anatri).

◊ VEWT 462, EDT 441, ЭСТЯ 3, 110-112, Лексика 289, Федотов 2, 249.

PJpn. ***tàmp(u)î** a k. of socks (вид носков): MJpn. *tàbí*; Tok. *tábi*; Kyo. *tàbî*; Kag. *tabí*.

◊ JLTT 536.

‖ KW 385, Лексика 289. Cf. **tʻopʻu*. The Turkic form is quite irregular - very probably a distortion of the expected **tāban* under the influence of **dāp-* 'to trample' q.v.

***tʻabi (~ -o)** to pick up, collect: Tung. ***tab-**; Mong. ***teɣü-**.

PTung. ***tab-** to pick up, collect (подбирать, собирать): Evk. *taw-*; Evn. *taw-*; Neg. *taw-*; Ul. *tawčʉ-*; Nan. *tao-san-*; Orch. *taw-*; Ud. *tai-*; Sol. *tawiža-*.

◊ TMC 2, 148.

PMong. ***teɣü-** to pick up, collect (подбирать, собирать): MMong. *tu-* (MA 359); WMong. *tegü-* (L 794); Kh. *tʉ̄-*; Bur. *tʉ̄-*; Kalm. *tʉ̄-* (KPC); Ord. *tʉ̄-*; S.-Yugh. *tʉ̄-*.

◊ MGCD 656.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***tʻǎgè** to unfasten, disentangle: Tung. ***taga-**; Mong. ***tajila-**; Jpn. ***tàk-**.

PTung. ***taga-** to hitch, become entangled (зацепиться, запутаться): Evk. *taɣa-*; Neg. *tā-*; Man. *ta-*; SMan. *ta-* (420, 1647); Ul. *tā-*; Ork. *tā-*; Nan. *tā-*; Orch. *tā-*; Ud. *ta-*; Sol. *tā-wʉ̄-*.

◊ TMC 2, 149-150.

PMong. ***tajila-** to untie, unfasten (развязывать): MMong. *ṭajl-* (IM); WMong. *tajila-* (L 768: *tajil-*); Kh. *tajla-*; Bur. *tajla-*; Kalm. *tʉ̄l-* (KPC); Ord. *tʉ̄l-*; Dag. *taila-* (Тод. Дат. 165), *tajle-* (MD 219); Mongr. *tāli-* (SM 414).

PJpn. ***tàk-** to untie, unfasten (развязывать, распутывать): OJpn. *tok-*; MJpn. *tòk-*; Tok. *tók-*; Kyo. *tók-*; Kag. *tòk-*.

◊ JLTT 769.

‖ Cf. also TM **tagdī-* 'to pull out' (TMC 2, 150-151), PT **dāga-* 'to stray, disperse, diverge' (ЭСТЯ 3, 119-120) - either a different root, or a variant of the above.

✱**tʻà̀go** dirt (dust, clay): Tung. ***tāksa***; Turk. ***Tog**.

PTung. ***tāksa*** clay (глина): Evk. *tāksa*; Evn. *tās*; Neg. *tāksa*; Ul. *toaqsa*; Ork. *tōqso*; Nan. *toaqsa*; Ud. *takeä*.

◊ TMC 2, 154.

PTurk. ***Tog*** dust (пыль): OTurk. *toɣ* (OUygh. - late, Lig. VSOu); Karakh. *toɣ* (MK, KB); *toɣ-* 'to rise (of dust)'; MTurk. *toɣ* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uygh. *toɣ* (dial., Malov - Xami); Khak. *tōla-* 'to crumble'; Tv. *toɣ-la-* 'to crumble'.

◊ VEWT 483, EDT 463.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**tʻá̀ja** to float, slide: Tung. ***tia- (*taj-)***; Mong. ***taji-tu-***; Turk. ***tāj-***; Jpn. ***taju-***.

PTung. ***tia- (*taj-)*** to swim, float (плавать): Evk. *tī-* / *čī-* ˊto slip, slide'; Evn. *tā̆-*; Neg. *tĕču-*.

◊ TMC 2, 172-173, 174.

PMong. ***taji-tu-*** to slide, drag one's feet (тащить ноги, шаркать): WMong. *tajituji-*, *tajitulǯa-* (L 769: *tajitalǯa-*, *tajitaɣana-*), *tajitgar* (MXTTT); Kh. *tajitgar* 'стоптанный на одну сторону; косолапый'; Kalm. *tăti-*, *tă̆tḷzə-*; Mongr. *dəbārźa-* 'marcher en chancelant' (cf. WMong. *tajibalǯa-*) (SM 48).

◊ KW 389.

PTurk. ***tāj-*** to slide (скользить): OTurk. *taj-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *taj-* (MK); Tur. *taj-* (dial.); Turkm. *tāj-*; MTurk. *taj-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔj-*; Uygh. *taj-*; Krm. *taj-*; Tat. *taj-*; Bashk. *taj-*, *tajı-*; Kirgh. *taj-*; Kaz. *taj-*; KBalk. *taj-*; KKalp. *taj-*; Kum. *taj-*; Nogh. *taj-*; SUygh. *taj-*; Khak. *taj-* (dial.); Shr. *taj-*; Oyr. *taj-* (dial. Kumd., Leb.); Tv. *taj-*; Tof. *taj-*.

◊ VEWT 455, EDT 567.

PJpn. ***taju-*** to float (плавать (на поверхности)): OJpn. *taju-tap-*.

‖ KW 389. Suffixed forms are perhaps Mong. *tesi-* 'slide', TM **tisa-* 'swim' (TMC 2, 188).

✱**tʻà̀jrá** a k. of vessel: Mong. ***torku***; Turk. ***TAr***; Jpn. ***tàrápì***; Kor. ***tājá***.

PMong. ***torku*** barrel (кадка, бочка): WMong. *torqu* (MXTTT); Kh. *torx*; Bur. *torxo*.

PTurk. ***TAr*** raft made of skins (плот из бурдюков): Karakh. *tar* (MK); Tur. *tar* 'wooden raft' (dial.); MTurk. (OKypch.) *tar* (AH).

◊ VEWT 463, EDT 528, Лексика 537.

PJpn. ***tàrápì*** a k. of vessel, wash-tub (вид сосуда, корыто): MJpn. *tàráfi*; Tok. *tàrai*; Kyo. *tàrâi*; Kag. *taraí*.

◊ JLTT 542. The Tokyo accent is irregular (reflecting a variant **tàrápí*). Cf. also **taru* (not attested in OJ, and with irregular accent correspondences) 'barrel, vat'.

PKor. ***tājá*** wash-tub (корыто): MKor. *tàjá*; Mod. *tăja*.

◊ Nam 132, KED 430.

‖ Martin 246. Medial *-j- accounts for -j- in Kor.; Mong. has a frequent secondary labialization *torku < *tarku.

✱**tʻájri** to scatter, disperse: Mong. ***tara-, *tarka-**; Jpn. ***tír-**; Kor. ***tí-**.

PMong. ***tara-, *tarka-*** to disperse, scatter (рассеивать, разбрасывать): MMong. *tara* 'scattered' (SH), *tarxa-* 'be scattered' (SH); WMong. *tara-, tarqa-* (L 789, 782); Kh. *tara-*; Bur. *tara-*; Kalm. *tarā-*; Ord. *tarā-*; Dag. *tare-* (MD 221), *tarā-*; S.-Yugh. *tarā-*.

◊ KW 380, MGCD 624. Mong. > Chag. *tarqa-* etc. (EDT 529, see also under **tàro*); Evk. *tara-* (Doerfer MT 126).

PJpn. ***tír-*** to fall (of leaves, flowers) (осыпаться, рассеиваться, опадать): OJpn. *tir-*; MJpn. *tír-*; Tok. *chìr-*; Kyo. *chír-*; Kag. *chír-*.

◊ JLTT 768.

PKor. ***tí-*** to fall (of flowers) (опадать (о цветах)): MKor. *tí-*; Mod. *či-*.

◊ Nam 178, KED 1527.

‖ Ozawa 245-246. Despite TMN 1, 253, Щербак 1997, 154, Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turkic (the OT form is tar-, while modern Kypchak forms like *tara-, tarqa-* are most probably borrowed < Mong.); on Turk. **dar-* see under **tàro*. Medial *-j- is reconstructed to account for the loss of *-r- in Kor.

✱**tʻàki** log, rafter: Tung. ***tākan***; Turk. ***TEk-**; Jpn. ***ti(n)kui (~ -əi)**; Kor. ***thír**.

PTung. ***tākan*** log, causeway (бревно, коряга, мостки): Evk. *tāken*; Evn. *tāqъn*; Neg. *tākan*; Man. *tuχan*; Ork. *tō, tōγo*; Nan. *tāqā*; Orch. *tāka*; Ud. *taʻ* (Корм. 292).

◊ TMC 2, 155-156.

PTurk. ***TEk- ?*** 1 yurt poles 2 small yurt (1 купольные шесты юрты и скрепляющий их обод 2 небольшая юрта): Kirgh. *aq tiger* 1, *tegirtmek* 2; Kaz. *aq tiγɨr* 1; Khak. *tek* 'pole, post (for tying horses)' (Abakan, Верб.).

◊ Лексика 502.

PJpn. ***ti(n)kui (~ -əi)*** outstanding rafter edges (выступающие концы стропил): OJpn. *tigi*; MJpn. *tigi*; Tok. *chigi*.

PKor. ***thír*** frame (рама): MKor. *thír*; Mod. *thɨl*.

◊ Liu 718, KED 1724.

‖ Basically an Eastern isogloss: the Turkic parallels are late attested and somewhat dubious. A common Altaic derivative **tʻàki-rV* is reflected in PT **TEkir-* (?), PK **thír* and PJ **ti(n)ki-ri*.

✱**tʻaklu** a k. of (foliage) tree: Tung. ***talgīg***; Mong. ***togli***; Jpn. ***tunkai**.

PTung. ***talgī-g (~ -ŭg)*** brushwood, forest with brushwood (валежник, чаща с валежником): Evk. *talgīγ*; Evn. *tālgiγ*; Neg. *talgix*.

◊ TMC 2, 157.

PMong. ***togli** a k. of willow (вид тальника): WMong. *toɣli* (L 814); Kh. *togil*.

◊ Cf. also Khalkha *tögle* 'grove'.

PJpn. ***tunkai** box tree (самшит): OJpn. *tug(j)e*; MJpn. *tuge*; Tok. *tsùge*; Kyo. *tsúgé*; Kag. *tsugé*.

◊ JLTT 553. Tokyo and Kyoto point to **túnkái*, but Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ Phonetically plausible (although containing a rare cluster *-kl-), but, as in many cases, the original sort of the tree is difficult to establish.

***tʻákta** to be angry, swear: Tung. ***tagda-**; Turk. ***Tata-**; Jpn. ***tátár-**.

PTung. ***tagda-** 1 to be angry 2 to be amazed (1 сердиться 2 восторгаться, кичиться): Neg. *tagda-* 1; Man. *taqda-* 2; Ul. *taGda-* 1; Ork. *taGda-* 1; Nan. *taGda-* 1; Orch. *tagda-* 1; Ud. *tagda-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 150, 153.

PTurk. ***Tata-** 1 to become angry 2 irascible (1 остервенеть 2 вспыльчивый, раздражительный): Kirgh. *tatar-* 1; Tv. *tadɨ-la-* 'to nicker, guffaw'; Yak. *tatɨas* 2.

◊ VEWT 467. Cf. Khalkha *tataj* 'an interjection of hate, loathe', perhaps originally < Turkic; the Mong. form = Khak., Oyr., Yak., Kirgh. *tataj*, Tuva *dadaj*.

PJpn. ***tátár-** to swear, damn (ругать, проклинать): OJpn. tatar-; MJpn. *tátár-*; Tok. *tatár-*; Kyo. *tátár-*; Kag. *tatár-*.

◊ JLTT 765. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

‖ The Jpn. suffixed form may reflect either **tʻăkta-lV* (cf. Tuva *tadɨla-*) or **tʻăkta-rV* (cf. Kirgh. tatar-).

***tʻàkù** to repair: Tung. ***taku-**; Turk. ***Tagra-**; Jpn. ***tùkùr-**.

PTung. ***taku-** to repair (чинить): Evk. *taku-*; Evn. *taq-*; Ul. *taqu-*; Ork. *tāwčį-*; Nan. *taGo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 155.

PTurk. ***Tagra-** to repair (чинить, латать, штопать): Khak. *taɣɨra-*; Shr. *taɣra-*; Tv. *taara-*; Tof. *dāra-* 'шить, сшивать'.

◊ VEWT 454, Расс. Фил 90.

PJpn. ***tùkùr-** 1 to make 2 to repair (1 делать 2 чинить): OJpn. *tukur-* 1, *tukurop-* 2; MJpn. *tùkùr-* 1, *tùkùròf-* 2; Tok. *tsukúr-* 1, *tsukuró-* 2; Kyo. *tsúkúr-* 1, *tsúkúró-* 2; Kag. *tsùkùr-* 1, *tsùkùrò-* 2.

◊ JLTT 774.

‖ Дыбо 15.

***tʻakV** completely: Tung. ***taKa-**; Mong. ***tag**; Kor. ***tàʻă-**.

PTung. ***taKa-** 1 completely 2 until, for a while (1 совсем 2 пока, временно): Man. *taqa* 2; Jurch. *ta-ka* (434) 2; Sol. *taxati* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 153.

PMong. ***tag** completely (полностью, совершенно): WMong. *tag* (L 762); Kh. *tag*; Kalm. *tag*; Ord. *taG*.

◊ KW 374. Mong. > Turk. *taq* (VEWT 456).

PKor. ***tàʻă-*** all, completely, exhaust (весь, полностью, исчерпывающий): MKor. *tàʻă-*, *taʻo-*; Mod. *tā*.

◊ Liu 195, KED 377.

‖ The root is not widely spread, but phonetically and semantically plausible.

✱**tʻăkʻì** ceremony, sacrifice: Tung. ***taKu-***; Mong. ***taki-***; Turk. ***toku***; Jpn. ***tíká-p-***.

PTung. ***taKu-*** to shamanize (шаманить; лечить): Neg. *takoč-*; Nan. *tao-*.

◊ TMC 2, 154.

PMong. ***taki-*** 1 to respect 2 to sacrifice (1 уважать 2 приносить в жертву): MMong. *taki-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *taki-* (L 770); Kh. *taxi-* 1, 2; Bur. *taxi-* 2; Kalm. *takə-*, *täkə-* 2; Ord. *daχi-* 1,2; Dag. *taki-* (Тод. Даг. 165) 1, (MGCD) *tai-* 2; S.-Yugh. *dakə-* 2.

◊ KW 375, 387, MGCD 628.

PTurk. ***toku*** rite, ceremony (обряд (погребальный, свадебный)): OTurk. *toqu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *toqu* (KB); Tur. *toka* 'wedding present' (dial.), 'handshake'; MTurk. *toqa* (Sangl.), *toqal* 'the least respected wife' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ṭoqɔl* 'second wife'; Uygh. *toqal* 'younger wife'; Kirgh. *toqol* 'younger wife'; KBalk. *toqal* 'first wife in respect to others'; KKalp. *toqal* 'younger wife'; Chuv. *tъxlačъ* 'matchmaker'.

◊ EDT 466, Еоров 241 (derives from F.-U. or from *tъxъm* 'progeny' - both quite dubious morphologically), VEWT 485. The semantic development is 'rite, ceremony' > 'wedding' > 'matchmaker' / 'younger wife'.

PJpn. ***tíká-p-*** to swear (клясться): OJpn. *tikap-*; MJpn. *tíkáp-*; Tok. *chìka-*; Kyo. *chíká-*; Kag. *chiká-*.

◊ JLTT 767.

‖ In Turkic one has to suppose **toku* < **taku*, with secondary labialization.

✱**tʻakʻi (~ -u)** knee bow, knee cap: Tung. ***taxi***; Mong. ***takim***; Turk. ***TaK(i)***.

PTung. ***taxi*** knee, knee cap (колено, коленная чашечка): Man. *taka*; Ul. *taχi*.

◊ TMC 2, 153.

PMong. ***takim*** knee bow (коленный сгиб): WMong. *takim* (L 770); Kh. *taxim*; Bur. *taxim*; Kalm. *takm̥*, *täkm̥*.

◊ KW 375, 387. Mong. > Kypch. *taqim* etc.; > Evk. *takim* (see Doerfer MT 111; but not Manchu *taka*, Ul. *taxi*!) There is also a verb *taki-(ji)-* 'to have crooked limbs' (KW ibid., L 770: 'become bent, crippled').

PTurk. ***TaK(i)*** part of horse's leg (часть ноги лошади): OTurk. *tayï-γ* (OUygh.- YB, *acc.*).

◊ ПДП 425, VEWT 457.

‖ KW 387, Poppe 13, 55. A Western isogloss.

***tʻə̀kʻò** a k. of aquatic animal: Tung. ***tāxVr**; Jpn. ***tàkuà**.

PTung. ***tāxVr** 1 shell, shelled animals 2 crab-octopus 3 horned beetle (1 раковина, раковинные животные 2 краб-осьминог 3 жук-рогоносец): Evk. *tākre* 3; Man. *taχura* 1; Ul. *tajra* 1; Ork. *tāχa* 2; Orch. *taira* 1; Sol. *tāxir* 1.

◊ See TMC 2, 154.

PJpn. ***tàkuà** octopus (осьминог): OJpn. *takwo*; MJpn. *tàkò*; Tok. *táko*; Kyo. *tákò*; Kag. *tákó*.

◊ JLTT 539. The Tokyo form reflects a variant **tàkuá*.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps also WMong. *taqu* 'a k. of fish' (> Man. *taqu*, Nan. *taqu* 'толстолобик').

***tʻákʻù** a k. of tree: Tung. ***takti-kān**; Jpn. ***túkúi**; Kor. ***tàk**.

PTung. ***takti-kān** 1 cedar 2 yew 3 fir (1 кедр 2 тис 3 пихта): Evk. *taktikān* 1; Man. *taqta mō* 3; Ud. *taktiγa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 154. Хелимский 1991, 88 proposed a borrowing < Sam. **tiɬəŋ*, which is hardly acceptable.

PJpn. ***túkúi** a k. of tree (Zelkwa) (вид дерева (дзельква)): OJpn. *tuki*; MJpn. *túkí*; Tok. *tsuki*.

◊ JLTT 554.

PKor. ***tàk** a k. of tree (paper mulberry) (шелковица бумажная (Broussonetia)): MKor. *tàk*; Mod. *tak*.

◊ Liu 197, KED 390.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; cf. also Chag. *taq* 'Name eines Baumes, der langsam brennt', see SKE 250 (Kor.-Turk.; but it may be < Pers., see TMN 2, 439 and Bailey 42). Possibly more than one root: cf. also OJ *tuga*, mod. *toga* 'a k. of fir tree'.

***tʻákʻù** to use: Tung. ***taKura-**; Mong. ***toki**; Jpn. ***túkáp-**; Kor. ***thə̌-**.

PTung. ***taKura-** 1 to use 2 to send on service (1 использовать 2 посылать на службу): Man. *taqura-* 2; SMan. *taqurə-*, *taquru-* (1615) 1; Jurch. *tah-xew-ra-xaj* (401) 2; Ud. *tʻaula-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 155. Man. > Nan. *taqora-* etc. (see ibid.).

PMong. ***toki** comfort, order (удобство, порядок): WMong. *toki* (L 820); Kh. *toχ*; Kalm. *toxń-* 'to put in order; to recover' (KPC).

◊ Khak. *togun-* 'work' (VEWT 483) may be borrowed < Mong. (cf. *tokino-*).

PJpn. ***túkáp-** to use (использовать): OJpn. *tukap-*; MJpn. *túkáf-*; Tok. *tsùka-*; Kyo. *tsúká-*; Kag. *tsuká-*.

◊ JLTT 773.

PKor. ***thə̌-** to get (money), be paid for service (получать (деньги, плату за услуги)): MKor. *thə̌-*; Mod. *tha-*.

◊ Nam 456, KED 1685.

‖ The root is rather abstract, but seems quite reliable.

***tʻákʻù (~ -k-) (?)** salt, to pickle: Tung. ***taK(V)**; Jpn. ***túká-**.

PTung. ***taK(V)** salt, bitter substance (соль, горькое вещество): Evn. *taq*; Neg. *daksun*; Man. *taqan* 'mustard'; Orch. *daksu*.

◊ See TMC 1, 186 (where for the most part Mongolian borrowings are presented), 2, 153. In Negidal and Oroch the initial d- should be apparently explained by Mongolian influence (although the forms cannot be actual Mongolisms because of medial -k-).

PJpn. ***túká-** to pickle (солить, мариновать): Tok. *tsùke-* (tr.), *tsùkar-* (*itr.*); Kyo. *tsúké-* (tr.), *tsúkár-* (*itr.*); Kag. *tsuké-* (tr.), *tsukár-* (*itr.*).

◊ The root should be probably distinguished historically from **túká-* 'to soak' (q.v.).

‖ A somewhat dubious Tung.-Jpn. isogloss: the comparison is possible only if Jpn. **túká-* 'pickle' is distinct from **túká-* 'soak' (see **tʻéku*).

***tʻála** to plunder, seduce: Mong. ***tala-**; Turk. ***tāla-**; Jpn. ***tárá-s-**; Kor. ***tàrʻái-**.

PMong. ***tala-** to rob (грабить): MMong. *tala-* (SH); WMong. *tala-* (L 771); Kh. *tal-*; Bur. *talāŋ* 'success'; Kalm. *talə-*; Ord. *tala-*; Dag. *tale-* (MD 220).

◊ KW 376. Mong. > Man. *tala-* 'confiscate', see TMN 2, 543, Rozycki 200.

PTurk. ***tāla-** 1 to rob, plunder 2 to harm, slander (1 грабить 2 вредить, клеветать): OTurk. *tala-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tala-* 1 (KB); Tur. *tala-* 1; Az. *tala-* 1; Turkm. *tāla-* 1; MTurk. *tala-* 1 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tala-* 1; Uygh. *tala-* 1; Krm. *tala-* 1; Tat. *tala-* 1; Bashk. *tala-* 1; Kirgh. *tala-* 1; Kaz. *tala-* 1; KKalp. *tala-* 1; Kum. *tala-* 1; Nogh. *tala-* 1; SUygh. *tala-* 1; Khak. *tala-* 1; Oyr. *tala-* 1; Chuv. *tula-* 2; Yak. *talā-* 1 (Пек. 3, 2533).

◊ VEWT 458, TMN 2, № 923, Ашм. XIV, 119-120, EDT 492 (should be distinguished from **dāla-* 'to bite').

PJpn. ***tárá-s-** to deceive, lure (соблазнять, обманывать): MJpn. *tárá-s-*; Tok. *taras-*.

PKor. ***tàrʻái-** to lure, seduce, coax (соблазнять, заманивать): MKor. *tàrʻái-*; Mod. *tallä-*.

◊ Nam 139, KED 404.

‖ KW 376. Mong. may be < Turk (see TMN 2, 543, Щербак 1997, 152); but Turk. hardly < Samodian, despite Helimski 1995.

***tʻàlV (~ -Í-)** open place, open sea: Tung. ***tālgi-**; Mong. ***tala, *tal-b-**.

PTung. ***tālgi-** 1 far from the shore, open sea 2 bay 3 quiet sea surface 4 to become quiet (of wind, weather) (1 далеко от берега, в открытом море 2 залив 3 гладкая поверхность моря 4 стихать (о ветре)): Evk. *tālgu-* 4; Evn. *talargъn-* 4, *talgin* 2, 3; Man. *talGan* 3; Ul. *talžį* 1; Ork. *talda* 1; Nan. *talgia* 1, *talGa* 2, *talį-talį* 3; Orch. *tagga-la, tagga-si* 1; Ud. *tagä* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 150, 157. Nan. has probably a secondary vowel shortening; but cf. also **tala* 'well', with a possibility of contaminations.

PMong. ***tala, *tal-b-** 1 steppe, open place 2 quiet, peaceful (1 степь, открытое место 2 мирный, спокойный): MMong. *tala* 'face' (SH); WMong. *tala* 1 (L 771), *talbiγun* 2 (L 773); Kh. *tal* 1, *talbiu(n)* 2, *talbaj* 'square'; Bur. *tala* 1, *talʹān* 'meadow; small lake', *talmaj* 'meadow, square'; Kalm. *talə*; Ord. *tala*; Dag. *tal* (Тод. Дар. 165), tale (MD 220) 1; S.-Yugh. *tala*; Mongr. *talā*.

◊ KW 375, MGCD 622. Mong. > MTurk. *tala*, Yak. *tāla* etc. (VEWT 458); > Man. *talfa*, Nan. *talbon* (Doerfer MT 145, Rozycki 200).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***tʻalʹpʻV** thigh, hip: Tung. ***talpi**; Mong. ***talbag**; Turk. ***talʹak**.

PTung. ***talpi** thigh, hip (бедро): Ul. *tarpị*; Ork. *talpị, taliṗụ*; Nan. *talpị*.

◊ TMC 2, 169.

PMong. ***talbag** cushion for sitting (подушка для сидения): WMong. *talbaγ* (L 772); Kh. *talbag*; Kalm. *talwəg*.

◊ KW 376. Mong. > Kirgh. *talpaq* etc. (Лексика 387).

PTurk. ***talʹak** scrotum (мошонка): Karakh. *tašaq* MK, IM; Tur. *tašak*; Gag. *tašaq*; Khal. *taššaq*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tašaq* (CCum., Ettuhf., Tel., Houts., AH); Uygh. (dial.) *tašaq* (УЯ); Krm. *tašaq*; Kirgh. *tašaq*; KBalk. *tašaq*; Khak. (dial.) *tažax* (Kach.), *tazax* (Sag.) (Joki 1952, 318); Oyr. *tažaq*; Yak. *tasaχ*.

◊ VEWT 466 (should be distinguished from **diāl* 'stone'), EDT 562. (D-T 199 think that the Khal. geminate is compensating for vowel length in **diālʹ*, which would be rather unprecedented in Turkic).

‖ Дыбо 46. A Western isogloss. The old meaning of the Turk. form can be reconstructed on the basis of the Mong. loanword *tašaγa* 'hip' (Khalkha *tašā(n)* 'hip, thigh; piece inserted between cloth laps', Bur. *tašān* 'hip, side', Kalm. *tašā* id., Ord. *dašā* id., but Mongor *tašaG* 'scrotum'), see Дыбо 1992. The Turkic form is sometimes derived from **diālʹ* 'stone', with a semantic parallel in Finn. *kivi* 'stone' - *kives* 'testiculi'; let us note, however, both a phonetic discrepancy (**diālʹ* 'stone' has voiced *d- and a long vowel), as well as a semantic inconclusiveness: Finnish *kives* is a diminutive with the first meaning "plummet on a net", whence metaphorically "testicle", whereas no "plummet" or "sinker" meanings are attested anywhere in Turkic.

***tʻàma** to taste, munch: Tung. ***tami-**; Mong. ***tamsija-**; Jpn. ***tàmiàs-**.

PTung. ***tami-** 1 to munch 2 to inhale 3 to swallow (1 чавкать 2 вдыхать 3 глотать (воздух, слюну)): Evk. *tam-* 1; Evn. *tam-* 2; Neg. *tamančị-* 'сжать зубы'; Nan. *tamị-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 158, 159.

PMong. ***tamsija-** to munch; to taste (жевать, пробовать на вкус): WMong. *tamsija-*; Kh. *tamšā-*; Bur. *tamšā-*; Kalm. *tamšā-*; Ord. *tamsuG, taŋsuG* 'tasty'.

◊ KW 377. Mong. > Manchu *tamiša-* (see Rozycki 201).

PJpn. ***tàmìas-** to try (пробовать): OJpn. *tam(j)esi* 'example'; MJpn. tames-; Tok. *tamés-*; Kyo. *támés-*; Kag. *tàmès-*.

◊ JLTT 763.

‖ KW 377, Doerfer MT 55 ("onomatopoetisch-verdächtig"). Cf. Oyr., Khak. *tamɨ* 'taste'. Jpn. **tamias-* may be alternatively derived from **tʻemV* q.v.

***tʻāma** wall, roof: Tung. ***tamV-**; Mong. ***tama**; Turk. ***Tām**; Jpn. ***tàmùruá**; Kor. ***tám**.

PTung. ***tamV-** shed, cover (for a hut) (навес, покрышка для чума): Evn. *tamana*; Nan. *tamiχi*.

◊ See TMC 2, 159.

PMong. ***tama** wall (стена): WMong. *tama*; Kalm. *tamə*.

◊ KW 377.

PTurk. ***Tām** 1 roof 2 wall 3 hut (1 крыша 2 стена 3 хибара): OTurk. *tam* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tam* 2 (MK), 1 (IM); Tur. *dam* 1, 3; Gag. *dam* 'shed, barn'; Az. *dam* 1, 3; Turkm. *tām* 2, 3; Sal. *tam* 2; Khal. *dȧm* 1 (< Ogh.); MTurk. *tam* 1 (Abush.), 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔm* 1, 3; Uygh. *tam* 2; Tat. *tam* 2 (KCTT); Kirgh. *tam* 2, 3; Kaz. *tam* 'dug-out, grave'; KKalp. *tam* 'hut'; Kum. *tam* 2; Nogh. *tam* 2; SUygh. *tam* 2; Khak. *tam* 'layer (of earth)'.

◊ VEWT 459 (the root has an irregular **t-/*d-* variation), Лексика 529. TMN 2, № 834. Turk. > Bao. *dem* 'wall'.

PJpn. ***tàmùruá** plot; camp (участок; лагерь): OJpn. *tamura*; MJpn. *tàmùró*; Tok. *tamuró, támuro*; Kyo. *támùrò*; Kag. *tamuró*.

◊ JLTT 541. Dialects reflect a variation between **tàmùruá* and **tàmùruà*.

PKor. ***tám** wall (стена): MKor. *tám*; Mod. *tam*.

◊ Liu 200, HMCH 230, KED 408.

‖ EAS 116, KW 377. Mong. (Kalm.) *tam* may be < Turkic. Although semantically quite plausible, phonetically there are difficulties: PT has a secondary voicing and Kor.-Jpn. have irregular tone (not corresponding to PT length). See VEWT 459.

***tʻə̀ma (~ -o)** to bestow, pay: Tung. ***tama-**; Jpn. ***tàmàp-**.

PTung. ***tama-** 1 to pay 2 price (1 платить 2 цена): Evk. *tama-* 1; Evn. *tam-* 1; Neg. *tama-* 1; Ul. *tama-* 1; Ork. *tama-* 1; Nan. *tamā* 2; Orch. *tama-* 1; Ud. *tama-* 1; Sol. *tama-* 1.

◊ See TMC 2, 158-159.

PJpn. ***tàmàp-*** 1 to present (*pol.*) 2 to eat (1 преподносить 2 есть): OJpn. *tamap-*, tab-; MJpn. *tàmàf-* 1; Tok. *tabé-* 2; Kyo. *tàbè-*2; Kag. *tabe-* 2.

◊ JLTT 760. The meaning 'eat' is a late specialization < 'present (politely)'.

‖ Miller 1981, 857, АПиПЯЯ 275. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Ramstedt (SKE 254) compares the TM root with different material (Kor. *tam-* 'to fill, put into' etc.), but we prefer this comparison (for Kor. *tam-*, Manchu *tama-*, *tami-* 'to collect' cf. rather Jpn. *tum-* 'to fill, put into', see **tʻamu*).

tʻámu** to put into, gather: Tung. ***tama-; Mong. ***tama- / *tem-***; Jpn. ***túm-***; Kor. ***tām-***.

PTung. ***tama-*** to gather, collect (собирать, подбирать): Man. *tama-*; Nan. *tama-*.

◊ TMC 2, 148.

PMong. ***tama- / *tem-*** to gather, collect (собирать): MMong. *temgu-* (SH); WMong. *tama-* (L 774); Kh. *tama-* 'стягивать цепь облавы, собирать разбросанное; прочесывать' (БАМРС); Mongr. *tuŋgu-* 'ramasser, recueillir' (SM 432).

PJpn. ***túm-*** to put into, onto (вкладывать, накладывать): OJpn. *tum-*; MJpn. *túm-*; Tok. *tsùm-*; Kyo. *tsúm-*; Kag. *tsúm-*.

◊ JLTT 774.

PKor. ***tām-*** to put (into a dish, etc.) (класть, накладывать): MKor. *tām-*; Mod. *tām-*.

◊ Nam 142, KED 409.

‖ EAS 116, SKE 254, Lee 1958, 118, АПиПЯЯ 70, Martin 233. Rozycki 201 considers TM < Mong., which is not excluded.

tʻànŋú** to plunder: Tung. ***tanŋa-; Mong. ***tonu-***; Jpn. ***tùmí***.

PTung. ***tanŋa-*** to capture, plunder (брать в плен, отнимать, грабить): Evn. *tanŋəp-*; Neg. *tanŋan-*; Ork. *tāna-*; Ud. *taŋasi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 161.

PMong. ***tonu-*** to plunder (грабить): MMong. *tono-* (SH); WMong. *tonu-* (L 825); Kh. *tono-*; Bur. *tono-*; Kalm. *ton-*; Ord. *tono-*.

◊ KW 400. Mong. > Chag. *tona-* etc. (VEWT 488, Щербак 1997, 211).

PJpn. ***tùmí*** sin, crime (грех, преступление): OJpn. *tumji*; MJpn. *tùmí*; Tok. *tsúmi*; Kyo. *tsùmí*; Kag. *tsumí*.

◊ JLTT 556.

‖ Cf. Turk. **Tan-* 'deny, disclaim, be treacherous' (EDT 513-514).

tʻănŋV** to count, recite: Tung. ***taŋ-; Mong. ***taŋna-***; Turk. ***tạnu-***.

PTung. ***taŋ-*** to read, count (читать, считать): Evk. *taŋ-*; Evn. *taŋ-*; Neg. *tāŋ-*; Orch. *taŋā-*, *taŋi-*; Ud. *taŋi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 161-162.

PMong. ***taŋna-*** to search, spy (расспрашивать): WMong. *taŋna-* (L 777); Kh. *tagna-*; Bur. *tagna-*; Dag. *tanslə-*; Dong. *tanǯi-*; S.-Yugh. *tangə-*; Mongr. *tangə-*.

◊ MGCD 621.

PTurk. ***tạnu-*** know, get to know (знать, узнавать): Karakh. *tanu-* 'сообщить, приказать' (MK); Tur. *tanı-*; Gag. *tanı-*; Az. *tanı-*; Turkm. *tanı-*, (dial.) *tānı-*; Sal. *tanı-*, *tānı-*; MTurk. *tanı-* (Abush.); Uzb. *tanı-*; Uygh. *tonu-*, *tanı-*; Krm. *tanı-*; Tat. *tanı-*; Bashk. *tanı-*; Kirgh. *tānı-*; Kaz. *tanı-*; KBalk. *tanı-*; KKalp. *tanı-*; Kum. *tanı-*; Nogh. *tanı-*; SUygh. *tanı-*; Khak. *tanı-*; Shr. *tanı-*; Oyr. *tanı-*; Tv. *tanı-*; Tof. *tanı-*; Chuv. *tĕn* 'witness'.

◊ VEWT 461, EDT 516. Turk. > MMo, WMong. *tani-* (see Щербак 1997, 153).

‖ Cf. also Kor. *tă-* 'to tell, indicate, confess' (SKE 249, EAS 120); MMong. *ta'ul-* (HY 40) 'to understand, distinguish' (< *taŋul-).

tʻāno** to stretch, pull: Tung. ***tān-; Mong. ***teneji-***; Jpn. ***tana-pik-***; Kor. ***tǎŋ-kǎi-***.

PTung. ***tān-*** to stretch, pull (тянуть): Evk. *tān-*; Evn. *tān-*; Man. *taŋgiqu* 'device for stretching the bow string'; Ul. *tụan-*; Ork. *tōn-*; Nan. *toan-*; Orch. *tāna-*; Ud. *tana-*; Sol. *tan-*.

◊ TMC 2, 160.

PMong. ***teneji-*** to stretch (oneself), be stretched (вытягивать(ся)): WMong. *teneji-*, *teniji-* (L 804); Kh. *tenī-*; Bur. *tenī-*; Kalm. *tenī-*; Ord. *tenere-*, *tenī-*.

◊ KW 391. Mong. > Yak. *tenij-* 'be stretched', *tenit-*, Dolg. *tenīt-* 'stretch' (Stachowski 220).

PJpn. ***tana-pik-*** to be stretched, spread (растягиваться): OJpn. *tana-pjik-*; MJpn. *táná-fik-*; Tok. *tanabík-*; Kyo. *tánábík-*; Kag. *tanabík-*.

◊ JLTT 763. A compound with **pik-* 'pull'. Accent is not quite clear: RJ and Kagoshima seem to point to high tone, but Tokyo - rather to low.

PKor. ***tǎŋ-kǎi-*** to stretch, pull (тянуть, тащить): MKor. *tǎŋkǎi-*; Mod. *taŋgi-*.

◊ Nam 145, KED 414.

‖ SKE 256. Cf. also Karakh. *teŋüč* 'half cubit' (i.e. 'big hand-span', cf. Slav. *pędĭ* id. < *pē-tī* 'to stretch, pull').

tʻáńV (~ -ē-) (?)** nose, part of face round nose: Mong. ***tanaɣa; Turk. ***T(i)āna***.

PMong. ***tanaɣa*** nose wings, part of face round nose (крылья носа, часть лица вокруг носа): WMong. *tanaɣa*; Bur. *xamaraj tanā*; Kalm. *tanā*.

◊ KW 378.

PTurk. ***T(i)āna-*** nostril (ноздря): Tat. *tanaw*; Bashk. *tanau* 'nose'; Khak. *tanī*; Tv. *tanaq*; Yak. *tanī*.

◊ VEWT 460, Лексика 218. Because of late attestation borrowing from Mong. is not excluded; but it is not quite probable for phonetic reasons.

‖ Poppe 13, 69, АПиПЯЯ 289, KW 378, VEWT 460. A rather complicated case. Both Turkic and Mongolian forms are attested late, and can be borrowed from each other. If Mong. < Turk., then one could perhaps consider instead a possibility of comparing PT *T(i)āna* with Mong. **taŋlaji* 'palate' (whence again Chag. *taŋlaj* etc., see KW 379, VEWT 461-462, and Evk. *taŋilai*, see Doerfer MT 128). However, Mong. **taŋlaji* may be alternatively compared with Turk. **damgak* 'palate' (ЭСТЯ 3, 142; thus in Владимирцов 285, Лексика 230) - if one supposes a secondary assimilative change *t- > *d- in Turkic. PT **damgak* 'palate; gills' may be, in its turn, alternatively compared with Evk. *ǯalgama* 'a piece of skin from deer's chin'. This knot of etymological problems is yet to be untangled.

✱**tʻaŋa** a big number: Tung. ***taŋgu***; Jpn. ***tamura***.

PTung. ***taŋgu*** hundred (сто): Neg. *taŋgu*; Man. *taŋgu*; SMan. *taŋə* (2781); Jurch. *tan-gu* (663); Ul. *taŋGụ*; Ork. *taŋGụ*; Nan. *taŋGo*; Orch. *taŋgu*; Ud. *taŋgu*; Sol. *tangu*.

◊ TMC 2, 163.

PJpn. ***tamura*** group, crowd (группа, толпа): OJpn. *tamura*.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Somewhat dubious, because in Jpn. the root is confused with **tamura* 'plot, camp, encampment' (see **tʻāma*), while in TM the form may be derived < **taŋ-* 'count' (see **tʻănŋu*).

✱**tʻǎŋe** admiration; condolence: Mong. ***taŋ-***; Turk. ***tāŋ***; Jpn. ***támú-ráp-***.

PMong. ***taŋ-*** 1 delicate, tender 2 to wonder, admire (1 тонкий, нежный 2 удивляться, восхищаться): WMong. *taŋki* 1, *taŋna-*, *taŋsi-* 2 (L 777, 778); Kh. *tanx́* 1, *tagna-*, *tanši-* 2; Bur. *tangil* 'effeminate, high-fed'; Kalm. *taŋsəg* 1, *tančḷ-* 'to be tender'; Ord. *taŋχi* 1.

◊ KW 378, 379.

PTurk. ***tāŋ*** 1 wonder, surprise 2 wonderful 3 to be surprised (1 удивление 2 удивительный 3 удивляться): OTurk. *taŋ* 1, *taŋsuq* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *taŋ* 1, *taŋsuq* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *tan-* 3, *tansık* 2; *daŋ* 1 (dial.); Az. *daŋ* 1 (dial.); Turkm. *tāŋ* 2; Khal. *tāŋ* 2; MTurk. *taŋ* 1, *taŋsuq* 2 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔŋ* 1; Uygh. *taŋ* 1; Krm. *taŋsıq* 2; Tat. *taŋ* 1, *tansıq*, (KCTT) *taŋsıq* 2; Bashk. *taŋ* 1, *taŋhıq* 2; Kirgh. *taŋ* 1, *taŋsıq* 2; Kaz. *taŋ* 1, *taŋsıq* 2; KKalp. *taŋ* 1, *taŋsıq* 2; Nogh. *taŋsıq* 2; Khak. *taŋna-* 3; Oyr. *taŋ* 1; Chuv. *tonsax* 2; Yak. *toŋsuk*, *tomsuk* 1.

◊ VEWT 461, 462, TMN 2, 570, EDT 510-511, 525-526, ЭСТЯ 8, Федотов 2, 248. Turk. > WMong. *taŋsuɣ*, *taŋsu* > Man. *taŋsu*.

PJpn. ***támú-ráp-*** to condole, mourn for; to visit (соболезновать, оплакивать; посещать): OJpn. *t(w)oburap-*; MJpn. *tómúráf-*, *tóbúráf-*; Tok. *tòbura-*; Kyo. *tóbúrá-*; Kag. *toburá-*.

◊ JLTT 770.

‖ KW 378 (Turk.-Mong.).

***tʻaŋgiri** oath, God: Tung. ***taŋgura-**; Mong. ***taŋgarag**; Turk. ***teŋri / *taŋri**; Jpn. ***tinkir-**.

PTung. ***taŋgura-** 1 to bow (in front of gods while praying) 2 to tell fairy-tales (1 кланяться (перед кумирами во время молитвы) 2 рассказывать сказки): Evn. *taŋrān-* 2; Man. *tanǯura-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 161, 163.

PMong. ***taŋgarag** oath (клятва): WMong. *taŋɣaraɣ* (L 776: *taŋɣariɣ*); Kh. *taŋgarag*; Bur. *tangarig*; Kalm. *taŋɣərəg* (KPC); Ord. *taŋGarik*; Dag. *taŋgarag* (Тод. Дар. 165).

◊ Mong. > Sol. *taŋarag*, Man. *taŋgarik, taŋkari*, see Doerfer MT 139, Rozycki 202.

PTurk. ***teŋri / *taŋri** 1 god 2 sky, heaven (1 бог 2 небо): OTurk. *teŋri* 2 (Orkh.), 1, 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *teŋri* 1, 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *tanrı* 1; Az. *tanrı* 1; Turkm. *taŋrı* 1; Sal. *tanru* (ССЯ) 1; MTurk. *teŋri* 1 (Sangl., MKypch. - CCum., AH et al.); Uzb. *taŋri* 1; Uygh. *täŋri* 1; Krm. *taŋrı, teŋri* 1; Tat. *täŋre* 1; Bashk. *täŋre* 1; Kirgh. *teŋir* 1, 2; KBalk. *tejri* 1, 2; KKalp. *täŋir* 1; SUygh. *teŋer* 2; Khak. *tigər* 2; Shr. *tegri* 2; Oyr. *teŋeri* 1, 2; Tv. *dēr* 2; Tof. *dēre* 2; Chuv. *tora* 2; Yak. *taŋara* 1; Dolg. *taŋara* 1.

◊ VEWT 474, TMN 2, 577, EDT 523-524, Федотов 2, 252, Stachowski 217. Turk. > Mong. *teŋgeri* > Evk. *tiŋeri*, Sol. *teŋer* (see Doerfer MT 236).

PJpn. ***tinkir-** to swear (клясться): OJpn. *tig(j)ir-*; MJpn. *tígír-*; Tok. *chigír-*; Kyo. *chígír-*; Kag. *chìgìr-*.

◊ JLTT 767. Modern dialects point rather to **tinkìr-*.

‖ An interesting common Altaic religious / juridical term. The proposed etymology presumes that the meaning 'sky' in Turkic is secondary (< 'God'); if it is not the case, one could accept S. Georg's thesis about a loan in Turkic < Yenisseian **tiŋgVr-* 'high' (see Georg 2001) - although we must admit that other loans from Yenisseian are unknown to us.

***tʻaŋnà** shell, pearl: Tung. ***taŋa**; Mong. ***tana**; Jpn. ***tàmà**; Kor. ***tàŋʻàrí**.

PTung. ***taŋa** bone (whitened from time) (кость (побелевшая от времени)): Evk. *taŋa*.

◊ TMC 2, 162. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***tana** mother of pearl (перламутр): MMong. *tana* (HY 26, SH); WMong. *tana* (L 776); Kh. *tana(n)*; Bur. *tana*; Kalm. *tanə*; Ord. *tana*; Dag. *taŋ* (Тод. Дар. 165), (M) *tane*; Mongr. *tanā* (SM 408).

◊ KW 377-378. Mong. > Man. *tana* etc., see Doerfer MT 142; > Kypch. *tana*. Hardly < Pers. *dānā* 'fruit stone', despite VEWT 460. Аникин 532.

PJpn. ***tàmà** pearl, jade (жемчуг, яшма): OJpn. *tama*; MJpn. *tàmà*; Tok. *tamá*; Kyo. *tàmá*; Kag. *tamá*.

◊ JLTT 539. The Kyoto accent is not quite regular (pointing rather to **tàmá*).

PKor. ***tàŋ'àrí*** shell (раковина): MKor. *tàŋ'àrí*.

◊ Nam 145.

‖ In Jpn. the root has partially contaminated with **čèm(b)a* 'round' q.v. (which may explain the accent disagreement with Kor.). In Turkic cf. Dolg. (Stachowski 216) *tana* 'alter, ausgetrockneter Rentierknochen': semantically most close to the Evk. word (see below), but -n- is strange for a loanword < Evk. *taŋa*.

✱**t'ǎ̀ŋu** a k. of black bird: Tung. ***taŋu-***; Mong. ***taɣu***; Jpn. ***tùnkúm(u)í***.

PTung. ***taŋu-*** 1 jackdaw 2 bird (1 галка 2 птица): Man. *taŋGuχa* 1; Nan. *taŋGuχa* 1; Ud. *tuni* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 163, 213.

PMong. ***taɣu*** jackdaw (галка): MMong. *alax ta'un* (HY 13) 'daw, jackdaw'; WMong. *taɣu* (L 766); Kh. *tū*; Bur. *tūn*; Dag. *tāgu* (Тод. Дат. 165).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *tāgu*, Sol. *tāɣu* (see Poppe 1966, 191); Dag. *tāgu* is most probably a backloan < TM.

PJpn. ***tùnkúm(u)í*** blackbird (дрозд): MJpn. *tùgúmí*; Tok. *tsùgumi*; Kyo. *tsùgúmì*; Kag. *tsugumí*.

◊ JLTT 553. The Kyoto accent is aberrant.

‖ One of common Altaic bird names.

✱**t'ápV̀** to trick, caper: Tung. ***tabsa-***; Mong. ***tebede-***; Turk. ****Teb***; Jpn. ****tápá-***.

PTung. ***tabsa-*** to caper (шалить, баловаться; беспокоиться (об оленях)): Evk. *tawha-*, *tapsān-*; Evn. *tawsa-*; Ork. *tapsiči-*; Nan. *tapsani* 'get away from me!' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 149.

PMong. ***tebede-*** to fuss, dither; hurry (суетиться; растеряться): WMong. *tebede-* (L 789); Kh. *tevde-*; Bur. *tebde-*.

◊ Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *tietej-* (see Kał. VIII 88, Stachowski 222).

PTurk. ****Teb*** trick, device (трюк, шутка): OTurk. *teblig* 'tricky' (Orkh., OUygh.), *teb* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tev* (MK), *tevlig* 'tricky' (MK, KB).

◊ VEWT 468, EDT 434.

PJpn. ****tápá-*** to caper, frolic (шалить, баловаться): OJpn. *tapa-k-*, *tapa-r-*, *tapabur-*; MJpn. *táfábúr-*; Tok. *tawaké-*, *tawamuré-*; Kyo. *táwáké-*, *táwámúré-*; Kag. *tawaké-*, *tawamuré-*.

◊ JLTT 766. The Tokyo accent is aberrant (pointing to a variant **tàpà-*).

‖ The final vowel is not clear: Turk. points to *-i, but Jpn. - to *-a or *-o; otherwise quite regular.

✱**t'áp'à** to worship: Tung. ****tap-***; Mong. ****taji-***; Turk. ****tap-***; Jpn. ****tápútuá-***.

PTung. ****tap-*** to encourage, advise (поощрять, советовать): Man. *tafula-*; SMan. *tavələ-* 'to soothe, to console, to comfort' (1506).

◊ TMC 2, 172.

PMong. ***taji-*** to sacrifice (приносить жертву): WMong. *taji-* (L 767); Kh. *taj-*; *tavig* 'sacrifice'; Bur. *taj-*; Kalm. *tā-*; Ord. *tawik* 'sacrifice'.

◊ KW 388, MGCD 620. Mong. *taji-* > Oyr. *tai-* etc.

PTurk. ***tap-*** to serve, worship (поклоняться): OTurk. *tap-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tap-* (MK, KB); Tur. *tap-in-*; Az. *tapın-*; Turkm. *tap-*; MTurk. *tap-* (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *tɔp-in-*; Uygh. *tev-in-*; Krm. *tabın-*; Tat. *tabın-*; Bashk. *tabın-*; Kirgh. *tabın-*; Kaz. *tabın-*; KBalk. *tabın-*; KKalp. *tabın-*; Nogh. *tabın-*; Yak. *tap-tā-* 'to love, like'; Dolg. *tap-tā-* 'to love, like'.

◊ VEWT 462, EDT 435, Stachowski 217.

PJpn. ***tápútuá-*** to honour, revere (почитать, ценить): OJpn. *taput-wob-*; MJpn. *táfútób-*; Tok. *tattób-*, *tōtób-*; Kyo. *táttób-*; Kag. *tattób-*.

◊ JLTT 765.

‖ KW 388, Владимирцов 271, Poppe 13, 42, 47, Дыбо 15 (the root is frequently confused with **tʻébo* q.v.). Mong. is hardly < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 153 and, despite Doerfer's (TMN 2, 433) attempts at criticism.

tʻă̆pʻè** to go through: Tung. ***tap; Mong. ***tawul-***; Turk. ****Top-***; Jpn. ****tàpàr-***.

PTung. ***tap*** through (через, насквозь): Evk. *tapamnak*; Evn. *tabdiˇ*; Neg. *tap*; Ul. *tap*; Ork. *tap*; Nan. *tap*; Sol. *tawakki-* 'to pierce'.

◊ TMC 2, 164.

PMong. ***tawul-*** to go through (проходить мимо, через): WMong. *tuɣul-*, *taɣul-*, *toɣul-* (L 766), *tauli-* (MXTTT); Kh. *tūl-*; Kalm. *tūl-*; Ord. *tūl-*; Mongr. *tu̯-* 'pousser devant soi, emporter (eau, vent)' (SM 427).

◊ KW 413. Cf. also WMong. *taɣura-*, Kalm. *tūr-* 'come through' (KW 413).

PTurk. ****Top-*** to go through (проходить сквозь): OTurk. *topul-* 'to pierce' (OUygh.); Karakh. *topul-* 'to pierce' (MK, KB); KKalp. *topıl-* 'нападать, набрасываться, вторгаться'; Khak. *tobır-*; Yak. *tobul-* 'прорубить, пробить'; Dolg. *tobul-*.

◊ VEWT 489, EDT 440, Stachowski 224.

PJpn. ****tàpàr-*** to go through (проходить через): OJpn. *top(w)or-*; MJpn. *tòfòr-*; Tok. *tòr-*; Kyo. *tōr-*; Kag. *tòr-*.

◊ JLTT 770.

‖ Владимирцов 211, Poppe 47, Miller 1981, 854, Street 1985, 640, АПиПЯЯ 67. In Turk. **-ı-* would be expected; perhaps **topul-* is a result of secondary labialization < **tıpul-* (**tıpol-*).

tʻăpʻo(rV)** earth, dust: Tung. ***tap-; Mong. ***toɣur-***; Turk. ***topra-k***.

PTung. ***tap-*** to become dirty (пачкаться): Evk. *taparā-*; Orch. *tapti* 'clay'.

◊ TMC 2, 164.

PMong. ***toɣur-*** 1 earth, soil 2 dust (1 земля 2 пыль): MMong. *toʻosun* 2 (HY 3, SH), *ṭūsun* 2 (IM); WMong. *toɣusu(n)*; *toɣuraɣ* 2 (L 817, 818); Kh. *tōs* 2; Bur. *tōrog* 2; Kalm. *tōsŋ, tōrŋ* 1; Ord. *tōsu, tōs* 2, ? *tōsxo* 'terre cuite, brique'; Dag. *tuāral* (Тод. Дат. 169), *tuāse* (MD 226), *tuarəl, tuās* 2; Dong. *tura* 1.

◊ KW 405, MGCD 636. Mong. > Evk. *tōraɣ*, see Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 211.

PTurk. ***topra-k*** earth, soil (земля, почва): OTurk. *topraq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *topraq* (MK, KB); Tur. *toprak*; Gag. *topraq*; Az. *torpaG*; Turkm. *topraq*; Sal. *to(:)rɨχ*; Khal. *turpaq*; MTurk. *topraɣ/q, tofraɣ/q* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tuprəq*; Uygh. *tofraq, topraq*; Krm. *topraq, toprax*; Tat. *tufraq*; Bashk. *tupraq*; Kirgh. *topuraq*; Kaz. *topıraq*; KBalk. *topraq*; KKalp. *topıraq*; Kum. *topraq*; Nogh. *topıraq*; SUygh. *durvaq*; Khak. *tobırax*; Shr. *tobraq*; Oyr. *tobraq*; Tv. *dovuraq*; Tof. *to'praq*; Chuv. *tъʷpra*; Yak. *toburax*.

◊ Derived from PT **topra-* 'to turn into dust, dry out'. See VEWT 489, EDT 443, 444, Лексика 99. Turk. > WMong. *tobrag*, Kalm. *towrəg* (KW 404).

‖ Владимирцов 210. A Western isogloss. Mong. has a frequent secondary assimilative labialization (*toɣur-* < *tayur-*). Cf. also OT (Suv.) (*kir*) *tapča* 'грязь'.

tʻărba** a k. of small animal: Tung. ***targa; Mong. ***tarbagan***; Turk. ***Tabırga***; Jpn. ***tàtàkaí***.

PTung. ***targa*** 1 beaver 2 tiger's cub (1 бобер 2 тигренок): Man. *tarGan* 2; Ul. *tarGa* 1; Nan. *tarGa* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 168.

PMong. ***tarbagan*** tarbagan (тарбаган): MMong. *tarbaqan* (SH); WMong. *tarbaɣa(n)* (L 780); Kh. *tarvaga*; Bur. tarbaga(n); Kalm. *tarwəgŋ*; Ord. *tarwaGa*; Dag. *tarbəg*, (Тод. Дат. 165) *tarbag, tarbug*; S.-Yugh. *tarʁuan*; Mongr. *tōrGa* (SM 424), *tarbuGa*.

◊ KW 381, MGCD 625. Mong. > Manchu *tarbaxi, tarbixi* etc. (see Rozycki 203).

PTurk. ***Tabırga*** musk-deer (кабарга): Khak. *tabırɣa* 'tarbagan', *tabırɣan* 'flying squirrel'; Shr. *tabırɣɨ*; Oyr. *tōrɣɨ*; Tv. *tōrɣu*; Tof. *tōrɣu*.

◊ VEWT 452. Turk. > Russ. *кабарга*, see Аникин 230, 519, 600.

PJpn. ***tàtàkaí*** a k. of badger, racoon-dog (вид барсука, енотовидной собаки): OJpn. *tatake*; MJpn. *tàtàké*.

◊ JLTT 542.

‖ The root must have denoted some small wild animal (marmot or racoon-like).

tʻari** a k. of water bird: Tung. ***tarmī; Mong. ***čirökej***; Turk. ***tArakaj***.

PTung. ***tarmī*** a k. of duck (вид утки): Evk. *tarmī*; Neg. *tajmī*; Man. *tarmin ńexe*; Ul. *tarmị*; Nan. *tarmị*; Orch. *taumā̆*; Ud. *taumä*.

◊ TMC 2, 169.

PMong. ***čirökej*** a k. of duck (вид утки): WMong. *čürügü* (L 210); Bur. *šürxɨ* 'teal'; Kalm. *čörkə* 'teal' (KPC).

◊ Mong. > Oyr. *čüräkäj*, Kaz. *šürügüj* etc. (see VEWT 121), whence again Kalm. *šörgə* (KW 366-367).

PTurk. ***tArakaj*** 1 snipe 2 hawk 3 a k. of lark 4 a k. of duck (кречетка) 5 corncrake 6 merganser (1 бекас 2 ястреб 3 вид жаворонка 4 утка-кречетка 5 коростель 6 крохаль): Karakh. *tartar* 'a bird like the turtle dove, a water-fowl' (MK)'; Tur. *taraɣaj* 2; MTurk. *taraɣaj* 3; Uzb. *tɔrɣɔq* 4; Kirgh. *tartar* 5; Kaz. *taryaq* 'steppe bird', *tartar* 5; Khak. *taraɣaj* 1, *tārt* 5; Oyr. *tarqat* 6; Tof. *tarhat* 6 (ФиЛ 233).

◊ VEWT 463, EDT 536. There are two distinctive formations: **tara-kaj* (a k. of steppe bird, but not quite clear - which), and **tartar* (basically corncrake, but attested in MK with the meaning 'a bird like turtle dove, water-fowl'). They may be related, but the latter may also represent a borrowing < Sak. *tatara* 'partridge' (cf. also Armen. *tatrak* 'turtle-dove'), see Bailey 122.

‖ A Western isogloss. Some Turkic forms may have been influenced by **torgaj* 'lark' (q.v.).

tʻaso** wild, wild animal: Tung. ***tasaka; Mong. ***tosi-***; Turk. ***tosun***.

PTung. ***tasaka*** tiger (тигр): Man. *tasχa*; SMan. *tasəhə* (2214); Jurch. *tasxa* (136); Sol. *tasax*.

◊ TMC 2, 169-170. TM > Dag. *tasga*, *tasxa* (Тод. Даг. 166).

PMong. ***tosi-*** to be wild, ferocious (быть свирепым, диким): WMong. *tosi-*; Kh. *tošigro-* 'to scold, disparage' (Gomb.); Kalm. *toš-*.

◊ KW 403.

PTurk. ***tosun*** wild, undisciplined (дикий, необъезженный): OTurk. *tosun* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tosun* (MK); Tur. *tosun* 'bull-calf; young man'; Az. *tōsun* (dial. ДСАз 385); Turkm. *tosun*; MTurk. *tusan* (Буд.); Uygh. *tosun*; Kirgh. *tusap-sa* 'quarrelsome'; Kaz. *tosın* 'unexpectedly', *tosırqa-* 'to stand aloof'; Chuv. *tos-* 'to rave'.

◊ EDT 555-556, VEWT 491, TMN 2, 613-614, Ашм. XIV, 175, 180, Федотов 2, 255-256.

‖ A Western isogloss.

tʻatʻàkʻV** to hit, fight: Tung. ***tatki-; Jpn. ***tatak-***; Kor. ***tằthó-***.

PTung. ***tatki-*** to hit the target (попадать в цель): Nan. *tatkị-*.

◊ TMC 2, 171. Attested only in Nan., with possible Jpn. and Kor. parallels.

PJpn. ***tàtàk-*** 1 to hit 2 to fight (1 ударять, бить 2 сражаться): OJpn. *tatak-* 1, *tatakap-* 2; MJpn. *tàtàk-* 1, *tàtàkáf-* 2; Tok. *taták-* 1, *tatakáː-* 2; Kyo. *táták-* 1, *tátákáː-* 2; Kag. *tàtàk-* 1, *tàtàkàː-* 2.

◊ JLTT 764.

PKor. ***tằthó-*** to fight, struggle (биться, сражаться): MKor. *tằthó-*; Mod. *tathu-*.

◊ Nam 137, KED 389.

‖ Martin 231. An Eastern isogloss.

***tʻə̀tʻe** to reach, arrive at, stay at: Tung. ***tata-**; Jpn. ***tàntùk-**; Kor. ***tàtə̆-d-**.

PTung. ***tata-** to stop, make a camp (останавливаться, располагаться лагерем): Man. *tata-*; Jurch. *tata-* (286).

◊ TMC 2, 171.

PJpn. ***tàntùk-** to reach, attain (достигать): MJpn. *toduk-*; Tok. *todók-*; Kyo. *tódók-*; Kag. *tòdòk-*.

◊ JLTT 768. Cf. also the earlier attested **tántəkə́-pər-* (OJ *todokop(w)or-*, modern *todokōr-*) 'to be delayed, fall behind' (possibly, however, related rather to **tántəmə́-* 'stop' q.v.).

PKor. ***tàtə̆d-** to arrive, reach, attain (достигать): MKor. *tàtə̆t-* (*tàtə̆r-*); Mod. *tatari-*.

◊ Nam 128, KED 380.

‖ Lee 1958, 107. An Eastern isogloss.

***tʻə́tʻu** rash, scabs: Tung. ***tuta-ril-**; Mong. ***tačir**; Turk. ***tāt (/*tōt)**; Jpn. ***tútú-(n)ká**; Kor. ***tətə́i**.

PTung. ***tuta-ril-** to get scabs (заболеть чесоткой): Evk. *tutaril-*.

◊ TMC 2, 223. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***tačir** having scanty hair (с редкой растительностью, волосами): WMong. *tačir* (L 762); Kh. *tačir*; Bur. *tašar*; Kalm. *tačr̥*.

◊ KW 385. Mong. **tatir* > Kirgh. *tatir* 'steppe'.

PTurk. ***tāt (/*tōt)** 1 rust 2 rash (1 ржавчина 2 пятна на лице): Karakh. *tat* 1 (*totiq-* 'to get rusty') (MK); Tur. *tatu* 1 (dial.); MTurk. *tot* (Pav. C.), (MKypch.) *tat* 1 (At-Tuhf.); Krm. *tot, tut* 1; Tat. *tut* 1, 2, *tat* (KCTT) 'spot'; Bashk. *tut* 1, 2, dial. *tat* 'scurf in a bucket'; Kirgh. *dat* 1; Kaz. *tot* 1, 'suntan'; KBalk. *tot* 1; KKalp. *tat* 1; Kum. *tot* 1; Nogh. *tot* 1, 2, *tat* 'spot'; SUygh. *dad* 1; Khak. *tat* 1; Shr. *tat* 1; Oyr. *tot* 'sun-tan', *tat* 1; Tv. *dat* 1; Tof. *tadariq* 1; Chuv. *tut, tudъ* 2, *todъx* 1, 2; Yak. *tatār* 2.

◊ VEWT 466, EDT 449, Егоров 262, Федотов 2, 256, Лексика 411-412. Length may be reconstructed because of the lack of pharyngealization in Tuva-Tof.

PJpn. ***tútú-(n)ká** illness caused by ticks (болезнь, вызываемая клещами): MJpn. *tútúgá*; Tok. *tsutsuga*.

◊ JLTT 558.

PKor. ***tətə́i** rash, scab (сыпь, струп): MKor. *tətái*; Mod. *tədeŋi*.

◊ Nam 148, KED 440.

‖ Лексика 412. An expressive reduplicated root, perhaps with variants **tʻātʻu* and **tʻōtʻu* (cf. Turk. **tōt* and Evk. *tuta-*).

***tʻatʻV** to cut, chop: Tung. ***tagdī-**; Mong. ***tata-**; Kor. ***tàtə̆m-**.

PTung. ***tagdī-** to pull out, tear out, uproot (выдергивать, вырывать): Evk. *tagdī-*; Evn. *tād-*; Neg. *tagdi-*; Man. *tadu-*, *tadura-*; Ul. *taGdi-*; Nan. *tadora-*; Ud. *tagdi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 150-151.

PMong. ***tata-** to chop, grind (рубить, крошить): WMong. *tata-* (L 786); Kh. *tata-*; Bur. *tata-*; Kalm. *tata-* (СЯОС).

PKor. ***tàtắm-*** to trim, prune (подрубать, подрезать): MKor. *tàtắm-*; Mod. *tadɨm-*.

◊ Nam 128, KED 381.

‖ The TM form can be compared with Mong. and Kor. if it is a contraction of a suffixed form **tʻatʻV-gV-*. On a possible Japanese reflex see under **čʻàro*.

tʻéba** time: Mong. ***tew-ke; Turk. ***Teb***; Jpn. ***támpì***.

PMong. ***tew-ke*** history (история): WMong. *teüke, tegüke* (L 808); Kh. *tŭx*; Bur. *tŭxe*; Kalm. *tŭkə* 'story, legend' (KPC); Ord. *tŭχe(n)* 'livre dʻhistoire'.

PTurk. ***Teb*** 1 time 2 day and night (**Teb-lük*) (1 время 2 сутки): MTurk. *tewlük* 2; Uzb. *tävlik* 2; Tat. *täwlək* 2; Bashk. *täw* 'at first', *täwlək* 2; Kaz. *tevlük* 2; KKalp. *tevlik* 2; Shr. *tep* 1; Tv. *teppiže* 'earlier'; Chuv. *talʏk* 2.

◊ VEWT 468, Егоров 229, Лексика 69.

PJpn. ***támpì*** time, turn (раз, время, случай): OJpn. *tabji*; MJpn. *tábì*; Tok. *tabí*; Kyo. *tábì*; Kag. *tábi*.

◊ JLTT 536.

‖ Владимирцов 256, Poppe 44, VEWT 468, Лексика 69.

tʻèbà** to run: Tung. ***tēb-; Mong. ***tawlai***; Turk. ***tabɨĺgan***; Jpn. ***tapasir-***.

PTung. ***tēb-*** 1 to catch up with 2 to walk behind 3 to run in leaps (1 догонять 2 идти позади кого-л. 3 бежать прыжками): Evk. *tēwul-* 1; Evn. *tewut-* 2; Ud. *tau-mäna-* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 172, 226.

PMong. ***tawlai*** hare (заяц): MMong. *taulai* (HY 11, SH), *taulaj, tulaj* (MA), *tāwalai* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *taulai, tulai* (L 788); Kh. *tūlaj*; Bur. *tūlaj*; Kalm. *tūlā, tūlā*; Ord. *tūlā*; Mog. ZM *itoulä* (21-1); Dag. *taulē* (Тод. Даг. 166), *tauĺ*; Dong. *taulei, taoləi*; Bao. *toli*; S.-Yugh. *tūlī*; Mongr. *tu̯lī* (SM 430), *tolī*.

◊ KW 413, MGCD 649, TMN 1, 276. Mong. > Evk. *tōlai*, see Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***tabɨĺgan*** hare (заяц): OTurk. *tabɨšγan* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tavɨšγan* (MK, IM), *tavšan* (IM); Tur. *tawšan*; Gag. *tawšan*; Az. *dowšan*; Turkm. *towšan*; Sal. *tōšen* (ССЯ); Khal. *dovušγan*; MTurk. *tawušqan* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *to̯šqan*; Uygh. *tošqan*; Krm. *tawšan*; KKalp. *tawšan*; Kum. *tawšan*; Nogh. *tawšan*; SUygh. *tōsqan*; Yak. *tabɨsxan*.

◊ VEWT 453, EDT 447, Щербак 1961, 136, Лексика 164.

PJpn. ***tapasir-*** to run (бежать): OJpn. *tapasir-* (*tabasir-*).

◊ The word is traditionally analysed as *ta-* (pref.) + *pasir-* 'run' (v. sub **pʻə̌lo*), but no prefix *ta-* seems to be attested. The original stem **tapas-* (= Turk. **tabɨĺ-*) must have been secondary influenced by **pasir-* 'run'.

‖ EAS 109, KW 413, Владимирцов 255, Poppe 13, 44, 77, Новикова 1972, 123-124, Лексика 164, Miller 1970, 128, JOAL 118. Both in Turk. and Mong. there exist also verbal roots (PT **tabïl-* 'to run', e. g. Chag. *tauš-*, *tawuš-* etc.; WMong. *tauli-*, *tayuli-* 'to chase, pursue', see EAS 109, TMN 1, 276, 2, 616). Despite TMN 1, 277, Щербак 1997, 151, one can hardly speak about borrowing in Mong. from Turkic.

***t'ébo** to help, assist, serve: Tung. ***teb-**; Mong. ***tab**; Jpn. ***tá(m)pa-p-**; Kor. ***tōb-**.

PTung. ***teb-** 1 to graze (of deer) 2 to protect (1 пастись (об оленях) 2 охранять, защищать): Evk. *tewej-* 1; Ud. *tegbese-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 226.

PMong. ***tab** 1 pleasure 2 find pleasure in something 3 to love (1 удовольствие, удобство 2 получать удовольствие, удовлетворение 3 любить): MMong. *tab* 4, *taji-* 2, *ta'ala-* 3 (SH), *tāla-* 3 (Lig.VMI), *ta'alam* 3 (HY 37), *ṭala-* 3 (IM), *tāla-* 3 (MA); WMong. *tab* 1 (L 760), *tayala-* / *tab(a)la-* 2 (L 761, 763), *tabsi-* 'choyer (enfant)'; Kh. *tā, tav* 1; *tāla-* 3; Bur. *tā-taj* 1, *tāla-* 'fondle, strode, kiss'; Kalm. *tab* 1, *tawlə-* 2; Ord. *tātā* 'agreeable'; Mog. *tāla-* 3 (Lig.VMI 67); Dag. *tāla-* 2 (Тод. Дар. 165), *tāle-* 3 (MD 218); Mongr. *tā* 1, *dašə-* 'choyer (enfant)' (SM 47).

◊ KW 373, 386, 388, MGCD 618, 620.

PJpn. ***tá(m)pa-p-** to protect, help in conflict (защищать, спасать): MJpn. *tábàf-*, *táfáf-*.

◊ JLTT 760.

PKor. ***tōb-** to help (помогать): MKor. *tōp-* (-w-); Mod. *tōp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 160, KED 484.

‖ KW 373, 388, Poppe 13, 42, 47, Дыбо 15 (the root is often confused with **t'áp'a* q.v.).

***t'ebV** to put: Tung. ***teb-**; Mong. ***teye-**; Turk. ***debir-**; Kor. ***tú-**.

PTung. ***teb-** to put, place (класть, помещать): Evk. *tew-*; Evn. *tew-*; Neg. *tew(u)-*; Man. *tebu-*; Ul. *tew-či-*; Ork. *tewe-* / *teu-*; Nan. *teu-*; Orch. *tewu-*, *teu-*; Ud. *teu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 224-225.

PMong. ***teye-** to transport, load (on a carriage) (перевозить, нагружать (на повозку)): MMong. *te'e-* (HY 38, SH); WMong. *tegege-* (L 792); Kh. *tē-*; Bur. *tē-*; Kalm. *tē-*; Ord. *tē-*; Dag. *tē-* (Тод. Дар. 166, MD 222); Mongr. *tē-* (SM 416).

◊ KW 395, MGCD 629. The second -ge- in WMong. is purely orthographic.

PTurk. ***debir-** to capsize, subvert (опрокидывать, ниспровергать): OTurk. *tevir-* (OUygh.); Tur. *devir-*; Gag. *devir-*; Az. *devir-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 172-173.

PKor. ***tú-** to put, place (класть, помещать): MKor. *tú-*; Mod. *tu-*.

◊ Nam 163, KED 502.

‖ Poppe 14, Rozycki 205-206. Cf. *t'ep'a , *t'èjbo.

✱**t'édù** to transmit: Tung. ***tedē-**; Mong. ***teǯije-**; Jpn. ***túták-**.

PTung. ***tedē-*** to relate, transmit (сообщать, уведомлять, передавать): Evk. *tedēw-*; Neg. *tedew-*; Man. *todo-lo* 'omen, admonition'; Ork. *tede-* 'to notice'; Orch. *tedu-* 'teach'.

◊ TMC 2, 228.

PMong. ***teǯije-*** to feed, nourish; raise, educate (кормить; воспитывать, взращивать): MMong. *teǯe'emel* (~ *ko'un*) 'educated child' (HY 32), *teǯi'e-*, *teǯije-* (SH); WMong. *teǯije-*, *teǯige-* (L 808); Kh. *teǯē-*; Bur. *teǯē-*; Kalm. *teǯē-* (KPC); Ord. *teǯē-*; Dag. *teǯē-* (Тод. Даг. 166, MD 223); Dong. *čiəǯə-*; Bao. *čiǯɛ-*; Mongr. *ćiǯē-* (SM 446), *təǯē-*.

◊ MGCD 630.

PJpn. ***túták-*** to relate, transmit (передавать, сообщать): OJpn. *tutapa-*; MJpn. *tútáfa-*; Tok. *tsùtae-*; Kyo. *tsútáé-*; Kag. *tsutaé-*.

◊ JLTT 775.

‖ All branches may reflect a common Altaic derivative *t'édù-bV.

✱**t'égè (~ -o)** to sit; bed: Tung. ***tege-***; Jpn. ***tə́kə́***; Kor. ***thǎ-***.

PTung. ***tege-*** to sit (сидеть, садиться): Evk. *tege-*; Evn. *tъγ-*; Neg. *teγet-*; Man. *te-*; SMan. *te-* (505); Jurch. *teh-biar* (423); Ul. *tēwu*; Ork. *tē-*; Nan. *tēsị-*; Orch. *tē-*; Ud. *tē-*; Sol. *tege-*.

◊ TMC 2, 226-228.

PJpn. ***tə́kə́*** bed (постель): OJpn. *toko*; MJpn. *tókó*; Tok. *tòko*; Kyo. *tókó*; Kag. *tóko*.

◊ JLTT 548.

PKor. ***thǎ-*** to ride (ехать верхом): MKor. *thǎ-*.

◊ Nam 456, KED 1684.

‖ Lee 1958, 118, АПиПЯЯ 292. As a noun the PTM root has the meaning "seat, bench", which makes the comparison with Japanese quite plausible. An Eastern isogloss - but cf. notes to *t'égè(-rV) 'edge, border'.

✱**t'égè(-rV)** edge, border: Tung. ***tegē-r (/-n)***; Mong. ***teg***; Turk. ***Tegre***; Jpn. ***tə́kə́rə́***; Kor. ***tə́h***.

PTung. ***tegē-r /-n*** 1 lower edge 2 edge (1 нижний край 2 край): Evk. *teγēr* (dial. *teγēn*) 1; Neg. *teγen* 1; Man. *ten* 2; Ul. *tene* 'beginning'; Ork. *tē(n)* / *teγe(n)* 1,2; Nan. *tē̃* 2; Orch. *tē* 1; Ud. *tē(n)* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 228.

PMong. ***teg*** 1 middle 2 side, direction (1 середина 2 сторона, направление): WMong. *teg* 1, *tege* 2 (L 792); Kh. *teg* 1; Bur. *teg* 1.

PTurk. ***Tegre*** surroundings (окружение, округа): OTurk. *tegre* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tegre* (MK); MTurk. *tegre* 'side' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tegra*; Chuv. *tavra*; Yak. *dieri* 'to, towards'; Dolg. *dieri* 'to, towards'.

◊ EDT 485, VEWT 469, ЭСТЯ 2, 178-179, Stachowski 80.

PJpn. ***tə́kárə́*** place (место): OJpn. *tokoro*; MJpn. *tókóró*; Tok. *tòkoro*; Kyo. *tókóró*; Kag. *tokóro*.

◊ JLTT 548.

PKor. ***tə́h*** edge, border, foundation; yard (край, место, основание; двор): MKor. *thə́* (*thə́h-*); Mod. *thə*.

◊ Nam 457, KED 1699.

‖ Lee 1958, 118, Martin 238. The root seems to be homophonous to **tʻégè* 'sit, bed' and may be in fact derived ('edge, place' < 'sitting place'. The Turkic reflex here seems probable, but rather controversial: the word - if it continues PA **tʻégèrV* - has been heavily influenced both by PT **deg-ir-* 'round' < PA **tega* (hence 'surroundings') and **dẹg-* 'to touch, reach' (< **tịokʻe* q.v.).

tʻěja** calm, quiet: Tung. ***teje-; Mong. ***tajibu-***; Jpn. ***tàjá-, *tàjù-***.

PTung. ***teje-*** 1 to live 2 to be quiet, rest (1 жить 2 быть спокойным, отдыхать): Evk. *tiwān-* 1; Evn. *tiwnъ-* 2; Neg. *tejewan-* 1; Man. *teje-* 2; Nan. *tein-* 2 ; Orch. *tēŋkuči-* (caus.).

◊ TMC 2, 174-175, 236.

PMong. ***tajibu-*** quiet, calm (спокойный, тихий): WMong. *tajibuu, tajibu* (L 767); Kh. *taivū*; Bur. *tajban* 'peace; calm'; Ord. *tāwū*.

◊ Cf. also *taibu-ra-, taibusi-ra-* 'to be quiet', *taibuŋ* 'peace' (borrowing from Chinese is hardly possible).

PJpn. ***tàjá-, *tàjù-*** 1 to interrupt (of breath); stop 2 to be tired, lazy (1 прерываться (о дыхании), останавливаться 2 уставать, лениться): OJpn. *taja-* 1; MJpn. *tàjà-* 1, *tàjù-m-* 2; Tok. *taé-* 1; Kyo. *táè-* 1; Kag. *tàè-* 1.

◊ JLTT 761, 766.

‖ Mong. and TM reflect a common derivative **tʻěja-bV*.

tʻèjbo** to put, set: Tung. ***tēb-; Mong. ***tabi-***; Kor. ****tə̀bi-***.

PTung. ***tēb-*** to set, place (ставить, сажать): Evk. *tēw-*; Evn. *tēw-*; Man. *teben* 'подставка'; Jurch. *tej-bew* 'установленный' (437).

◊ TMC 2, 225.

PMong. ***tabi-*** to put, set (класть, ставить): MMong. *talibi* (HY 39), *talbi-* (SH), *talbi-/tabi-* (MA), *ṭal-* (IM), *talb-* (LH); WMong. *tabi-* (L 760), *talbi-* DO 651; Kh. *tavi-*; Bur. *tabi-*; Kalm. *täw-*; Ord. *tawi-*; Mog. *tali-* (Weiers); Dag. *tawi-, tawə́-* (Тод. Даг. 165); Dong. *tai-*; Mongr. *tə̄-* (SM 413).

◊ KW 387-388. The origin of -l- in MMong. forms is not quite clear (*talbi-* < ***tabi-li-*?** or a different root?).

PKor. ****tə̀bi-*** to become (становиться): MKor. *tə̀wì-, tə̀'òi-*; Mod. *twe-*.

◊ Nam 136, 137, KED 497.

‖ Medial **-jb-* should be reconstructed to account for -b- (not -ɣ-) in Mong. corresponding to **-b-* in Kor. Cf. **tʻebV*.

✱**tʻěkí** piece, tear into pieces: Tung. ***teke-***; Turk. ***tikö***; Jpn. ***tìnkìr-***; Kor. ***tàhí-***.

PTung. ***teke-*** to tear, burst (рвать, лопаться): Evk. *tekē-*; Evn. *tъkъk-*, *tъkъl-*; Ul. *tekē-*; Nan. *tekē-*.

◊ TMC 2, 230.

PTurk. ***tikö*** slice, piece (часть, кусок): Karakh. *tikü* (MK); Tur. *tike*; Az. *tikä*; Turkm. *tike*; Khal. *tike*; MTurk. *tike* (Pav. C.); Kirgh. *bir tike* 'a little bit'.

◊ TMN 2, 918, EDT 478.

PJpn. ***tìnkìr-*** to tear (into pieces) (разрывать, отрывать): MJpn. *tigir-*; Tok. *chigír-*; Kyo. *chígír-*; Kag. *chìgìr-*.

◊ JLTT 767.

PKor. ***tàhì-*** to slaughter animals (резать животных): MKor. *tàhì-*.

◊ Liu 197.

‖ Korean has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**tʻékù** to become thick (of liquids): Tung. ***tekti***; Jpn. ***túka-***; Kor. ***tùthà-b-***, ***tōi-***.

PTung. ***tekti*** thick (of liquids) (густой (о жидкостях)): Neg. *tekti*; Ul. *tekti(n)*; Nan. *tekčī*; Orch. *tekse*; Ud. *tekti*.

◊ TMC 2, 230. Cf. perhaps also **teke-* 'преть, истлевать'.

PJpn. ***túk(á)-*** to soak (мочить, мокнуть, погружать(ся) в жидкость): OJpn. *tuk-*, *tuka-*; Tok. *tsùke-* (tr.), *tsùkar-* (*itr.*); Kyo. *tsúké-* (tr.), *tsúkár-* (*itr.*); Kag. *tsuké-* (tr.), *tsukár-* (*itr.*).

◊ JLTT 773.

PKor. ***tùthà-b-***, ***tōi-*** be thick (of liquids) (быть густым (о жидкостях)): MKor. *tùthāp-*, *túthár-* (-w-), *tōi-*; Mod. *tuthəp-* / *tuk:əp-* (-w-), *twē-*.

◊ Nam 167, Liu 234, KED 498, 501, 507.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; see notes to **tʻákʻu*.

✱**tʻèkʻá (~ -k-)** kind, equal, level: Mong. ***teg-si***; Turk. ***tekiŕ*** ; Jpn. ***tànk-***.

PMong. ***teg-si*** equal, level (равный, ровный): MMong. *tegusi* (HY 54); WMong. *tegsi* (L 794); Kh. *tegš*; Bur. *tegše*; Kalm. *tekša*; Ord. *degši*; Dag. *terš*, (Тод. Дar. 166) *tegši*, *terši*.

◊ KW 390, MGCD 631. Mong. > Man. *teksi* etc., see Doerfer MT 100, Rozycki 206; Yak. *dexsi*, Dolg. *deksi* (Kał. MEJ 43, Stachowski 78).

PTurk. ***tekiŕ*** level (ровный): Turkm. *tekīz*; MTurk. *tekiz* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *tekiz*; Krm. *tegiz*; Tat. *tigez*; Bashk. *tigeð*; Kirgh. *tegiz*; Kaz. *tegis*; KKalp. *tegis*; Nogh. *tegis*; Chuv. *tagъr*.

◊ VEWT 468, 470. Федотов 2, 165-166 connects the Chuv. form with PT **takir* 'level, smooth' (which is possible if Chuv. < Tat.), in which case the Chuvash form should be removed from this etymology.

PJpn. ***tànk-*** 1 kind, class 2 mutually, each other (1 вид, род 2 взаимно, друг друга): OJpn. *tagupji* 1, *tagapji* (ni) 2; MJpn. *tàgùfi* 1, *tàgáfi*

(ni) 2; Tok. *tágui* 1, *tàgai* ni 2; Kyo. *tágúi* 1, *tàgài* ni 2; Kag. *taguí* 1, *tagaí* ni 2.

◊ JLTT 537, 538. Cf. also OJ *tàgàp-* 'to differ from one another' - probably the same root as *tàgápji* ni, but influenced by *tígáp-* 'to differ' (v. sub **t'ék'í*).

‖ KW 390. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 2, 660) criticism, the Turk.-Mong. match seems quite probable.

***t'ék'í (~ -k-)** separate, solitary: Mong. ***čig**; Turk. ***tēk**; Jpn. ***tínkáp-**.

PMong. ***čig** separately (отдельно): WMong. *čiγ, čiγ čiγ* (L 178-179); Kh. *čig*.

PTurk. ***tēk** 1 odd 2 only, solitary 3 understanding nothing 4 zero 5 vain, in vain (1 нечетный 2 единственный, только 3 ничего не понимающий 4 ноль 5 напрасный, напрасно): OTurk. *tek* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tek* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *tek* 1, 2; Gag. *tek* 1, 2; Az. *täk* 1, 2; Turkm. *tāk* 1, 2; MTurk. *tek* 2 (Sangl.); Krm. *tek* 2; Tat. *tik* 2; Bashk. *tik* 2; Kirgh. *tek* 5; Kaz. *tek* 2; KBalk. *tegaran* 2; KKalp. *tegin* 2; Kum. *tek* 2; Nogh. *tek* 2; Khak. *tik* 3; Shr. *tek* 5; Tv. *tik* 3, *tek* 3, 4.

◊ VEWT 470, TMN 2, 660, EDT 475. Turk. > Mong. Khalkha *teg* 'zero', Kalm. *teg* 'kurz, niedrig' (KW 389).

PJpn. ***tínkáp-** to differ (отличаться): MJpn. *tígáf-*; Tok. *chìga-*; Kyo. *chígá-*; Kag. *chigá-*.

◊ JLTT 767.

‖ The etymology appears quite plausible both semantically (in Jpn. 'differ' < 'to be separate from') and phonetically.

***t'ék'o** bottom, foundation: Tung. ***texēn**; Mong. ***taka**; Turk. ***TĒk**.

PTung. ***texēn** root, foundation (корень, основание): Evk. *tekēn, tekēr*; Evn. *teken*; Neg. *teken*; Ul. *texe*; Ork. *tekke(n)*; Nan. *texe*; Orch. *teke(n)*; Ud. *tēge*.

◊ TMC 2, 230-231. The stop -k(k)- in Orok is not clear (old interdialectal loan?).

PMong. ***taka** horseshoe (подкова): WMong. *taqa* (L 788); Kh. *tax*; Bur. *taxa*; Kalm. *taxə* (KPC); Ord. *daxa*; Dag. *tak* (Тод. Дат. 165), *take* (MD 219); S.-Yugh. *daG*.

◊ MGCD 627. Mong. > Evk. *taka* etc. (TMC 2, 153, Rozycki 197), Chag. *taqa* etc.

PTurk. ***TĒk** bottom, lower part (дно, нижняя часть): Turkm. *tej*; Khal. *tā*; MTurk. *teg* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tag*; Uygh. *täg*; Kirgh. *tek*; Kaz. *tek* 'origin'; KKalp. *tek* 'species, origin'.

◊ EDT 475. Voicing *-k > *-γ (-j) in Oghuz points to an original long vowel.

‖ A Western isogloss. Lee 1958, 118 cites MKor. *takar* 'horseshoe' which we were unable to locate.

***t'elbu** dirt: Tung. ***telbe**; Mong. ***tolbu**; Turk. ***TAlagu**; Kor. ***tārəb-**.

PTung. ***telbe** dirt, dirty (грязь, грязный): Neg. *telbe*; Ul. *telbeni*; Ork. *telbenuli*; Ud. *telbeni*.

◊ TMC 2, 180.

PMong. ***tolbu*** spot (пятно): WMong. *tolbu* (L 821); Kh. *tolbo*; Bur. *tolbo*; Kalm. *tolwə* (KPC); Ord. *tolbo*, *tolmo*.

◊ Mong. *tolbutai* 'spotted' > Manchu *tolbotu* 'a grey horse with circular markings on its side' (see Rozycki 210).

PTurk. ***TAlagu*** 1 deadly poison 2 diarrhoea 3 ulcer disease (1 смертельный яд 2 дизентерия 3 болезнь, связанная с язвами): Karakh. *talaγu* 1, 2; MTurk. *dalau* 1 (Pav. C.); Tat. *talaw* 'a k. of horse disease'; Bashk. *talaw* (dial.) 'Siberian plague'; Kirgh. *talō-lo-n-* 'to become covered by red blots'; Kaz. *talau* 'Siberian plague'; KBalk. *talaw* 'anthrax, plague'; Kum. *talaw* 'malignant tumour'; Nogh. *talav* 'pest, plague'.

◊ VEWT 458, EDT 496. Despite Clauson, hardly derived from *tala-* 'to harm, rob'. Modern Oghuz forms (Tur. dial. *dalak* 'Siberian plague', Az. dial. *dalax* 'cattle disease', Turkm. *dālaq* 'camel disease') are restructured on analogy with **d(i)ālak* 'spleen' (v. sub **tiőle*). A similarly reinterpreted form is Chuv. *talak* 'some inner disease of cattle' - borrowed from Tatar *talawu* (see above), but restructured under the influence of the borrowed *talaq* 'spleen'.

PKor. ***tərə̀b-*** to be dirty (быть грязным): MKor. *tərə̀p-* (-w-); Mod. *tərəp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 149, KED 442.

‖ In Kor. the reflex is hard to distinguish from that of **t'ə̀rú* q.v.

t'élù** string, spreader, to spread: Tung. ***tel-; Mong. ***tele-***; Turk. ***tēl***; Jpn. ***túrù***.

PTung. ***tel-*** 1 to cock (a cross-bow) 2 to spread a carcass, to skin 3 spreader (1 насторожить (самострел), натянуть (стрелу) 2 распластывать, свежевать 3 поперечная палка у вертела): Evk. *telbe-* 1, *telge-* 2; Evn. *telgъ-* 2; Neg. *telge-* 2; Ul. *telǯeči-* 2; Ork. *telde-* 2, *telbe* 3; Nan. *telgeči-* 2; Orch. *tegge-* 2; Ud. *tegesi-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 231.

PMong. ***tele-*** to protract, spread (skins, clothes) (растягивать (шкуры, ткани, лук)): WMong. *tele-*, *teli-* (L 797); Kh. *tele-*; Bur. *telűr* 'litter, stretcher'; Kalm. *tel-*; Ord. *tele-*; Mongr. *terge-* (SM 418).

◊ KW 390.

PTurk. ***tēl*** 1 wire, string 2 thong 3 strand (1 волосок, струна, проволока 2 ремешок, которым привязан наконечник стрелы 3 прядь, пучок нитей): Karakh. *tili* 2 (MK); Tur. *tel* 1; Gag. *tel* 1; Az. *tel* 1; Turkm. *til* 1; Kum. *tel* 1; Nogh. *tel* 1; Chuv. *tal* 3.

◊ VEWT 471, EDT 491. Turk. > NPers., Kurd., Osset. *tel* etc. Bailey 129 cites Saka *ttīla* 'thread, wire' and considers it the source of Turkic forms, tracing it back to **tarθrya* - cf. Pers. *tār* < **tarθra*. However there are no direct Iranian parallels for the Saka form (cf. Аб. 3, 288, maintaining that the Osset. and Kurd. form do not go back to Proto-Iranian but are borrowed from neighbouring languages); so the word may well be a Turkism in Saka and other Iranian languages. The Turkic origin is also corroborated by the Chuv. parallel.

PJpn. ***túrù** bow-string (тетива): OJpn. *turu*; MJpn. *túrù*; Tok. *tsurú*; Kyo. *tsúrù*; Kag. *tsurú*.

◊ JLTT 557.

‖ Despite Doerfer MT 52, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

***t'élV** young lamb, calf: Mong. ***tölüge**; Turk. ***Tęl**.

PMong. ***tölüge** last year's lamb (прошлогодний ягненок): WMong. *tölöge*, (L 834) *tölüge(n)*; Kh. *tölög, tölgö*; Bur. *tülge(n)*; Kalm. *töləg* (KPC); Ord. *tölögö*; Dag. *tulgu*; S.-Yugh. *tölöge*.

◊ MGCD 646.

PTurk. ***Tęl** 1 to put the kid or calf to a different milch-ewe or cow 2 a kid or calf sucking two milch-ewes or cows (1 отдать ягненка другой кормящей самке 2 теленок, сосущий двух маток): Karakh. *tel-* (MK) 1; Tat. *tile-* 1; Bashk. *tile-* 1; Kirgh. *teli-* 1, *tel* 2; Kaz. *tel-* 1, *tel* 2; KKalp. *teli-* 1; Oyr. *telkin* 'roe (female)'; Tv. *tel* 2; Yak. *tīl* 2, *tilij-* 1.

◊ EDT 490 (sub 'to pierce'), VEWT 471. Turk. > MMo, WMong. *tel, teleγe* id. (see Щербак 1997, 166).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Mong. has -ö- under the secondary influence of *töl* 'newborn young animals' (< Turk. **döl* q. v.).

***t'élV (~ -Í-)** to sober up: Tung. ***tēl-**; Mong. ***telere-**.

PTung. ***tēl-** to sober up, come to one's senses (протрезвиться, опомниться): Evk. *tēl-*; Evn. *tel-*; Ork. *tēli-*.

◊ TMC 2, 231.

PMong. ***telere-** to sober up, come to one's senses (трезветь, приходить в чувство): WMong. *telere-* (MXTTT); Kh. *telre-*; Bur. *teler-*.

‖ TMC 2, 231. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***t'ĕma (~ -o)** net string, net needle: Tung. ***teme-**; Mong. ***tamasu**; Turk. ***temen**; Jpn. ***tamua**.

PTung. ***teme-** 1 big needle 2 axle 3 sledge stick 4 net 5 to hang the net (1 большая игла 2 ось 3 палка-тормоз, остол 4 сеть 5 вешать сеть): Evk. *temek* 3; Neg. *teme* 1, *temti* 4; Man. *temene ulme* 1, *temun* 2, *tomoo* 1; Ul. *temti* 4; Ork. *temetči* 'черпалка'; Nan. *temčiku* 4, *temnegu-* 5.

◊ TMC 2, 196, 234, 235. Man. *temene* may be < Mong. < Turk. (cf. Doerfer MT 142), but for other forms it is unlikely.

PMong. ***tamasu** coating, hand seam, net string (обшивка, строчка (рукодельная), веревка сети): WMong. *tamasu* (MXTTT); Kh. *tams*; Bur. *tamha*; Mongr. *tamu-* 'filer, tordre du fil, des cordes' (SM 408).

PTurk. ***temen** big needle (большая игла): OTurk. *temen* (OUygh.); Karakh. *temen jigne* (MK, IM); Tur. *tebene* (dial.); Az. *tämänä*; Turkm. *temen*; Khal. *temen*; MTurk. *teben* (Pav. C.), (MKypch.) *temen* (CCum.); Uzb. *temen*; Uygh. *tömünä*; Bashk. *tibän enä*; Kirgh. *temene*; Kaz. *teben*; KKalp. *teben*; Nogh. *teben*; Khak. *tibe əŋe*; Oyr. *temene, tebene*; Tv. *tevene*.

◊ VEWT 472, EDT 507. Turk. > WMong. *tebene, temene* id. (KW 391, TMN 4, 278-279, Щербак 1997, 154).

PJpn. ***tamua** a k. of net (рыболовная сеть на ободе с длинной рукояткой): Tok. *tamo*.

‖ Most sources indicate that the root was used as a fishing term (either a string in the net or a needle for the net). Morphologically cf. the match between PT **temen* and Manchu *temene ~ temun*.

***tʻème (~ -o-)** scarce, rare: Tung. ***temu-**; Jpn. ***tə̀mə̀-**; Kor. ***tɨ́mɨ́r-**.

PTung. ***temu-** 1 in vain 2 barely, scarcely (1 напрасно 2 чуть, едва): Evk. *tomokūn* 1; Ul. *tembu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 196, 233.

PJpn. ***tə̀m(p)ə̀-** scarce, poor (скудный, бедный): OJpn. *tomo-si*; MJpn. *tòmò-si*; Tok. *toboshí-, tòboshi-*; Kyo. *tóbóshì-*; Kag. *tobóshi-*.

◊ JLTT 842. Kagoshima and one of the Tokyo variants point to a variant with high tone in PJ.

PKor. ***tɨ́mɨ́r-** rare (редкий): MKor. *tɨ́mɨ̀r-*; Mod. *timul-*.

◊ Nam 171, KED 526.

‖ Whitman 1985, 126, 218. An Eastern isogloss.

***tʻèmo (~ t-)** to burn, kindle: Turk. ***Tạm-**; Jpn. ***tə̀mə̀-s-**.

PTurk. ***Tạm-** 1 to burn (tr.) 2 to kindle 3 to become excited (1 жечь 2 зажигать 3 возбуждаться 4 загораться): OTurk. *tam-* 4, *tamdur-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tamδur-* 2 (MK); Uygh. *tamet-* 2 (Lobn.); Tat. *tamız-* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *tam-* 4, *tamız-* 2; Kaz. *tamız-* 2; KKalp. *tamız-* 2; Nogh. *tamız-* 2; SUygh. *tam-* 4, *tam-dır-* 1; Khak. *tam-ıl-* 4, *tamıs-* 2; Yak. *tımıt-* 3, *tım-tık* 'лучина'.

◊ VEWT 459b, EDT 504, Лексика 363. Clauson thinks the root is < Chin., but this is highly improbable.

PJpn. ***tə̀mə̀-s-** to burn, light (зажигать): OJpn. *tomos-*; MJpn. *tomos-*; Tok. *tòmos-, tomós-*; Kyo. *tómós-*; Kag. *tòmòs-*.

◊ JLTT 770.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 286. A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps TM: Ud. *tumpali* 'capsule', Evn. *tumtej* 'star' (TMC 2, 213).

***tʻèmu** boat, raft: Tung. ***tēmu**; Mong. ***tamara-**; Jpn. ***tumu**.

PTung. ***tēmu** 1 raft 2 boat (1 плот 2 лодка): Evk. *tēmu* 1; Evn. *tem* 1; Neg. *tem* 1; Man. *temčiku* 2; Ul. *temu(n)* 1; Ork. *temu* 1; Nan. *temu* 1, *temčiẽ* 2; Orch. *temmu* 1, *temtiγe* 2; Ud. *temtige* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 234.

PMong. ***tamara-** to float, to swim (плавать): Bur. *tamara-*.

◊ Attested only in Bur., but having probable external parallels.

PJpn. ***tumu** big boat (большая лодка): OJpn. *tumu*.

‖ Phonetically and semantically plausible, but rather sparsely attested in Mong. and Jpn.

***tʻemV** to grope, search: Tung. ***temi-**; Mong. ***temteri-**.

PTung. ***temi-** to grope (ощупывать): Evk. *temi-*; Evn. *temi-*; Neg. *temikte-*; Ul. *temuru-*; Ork. *temiri-*; Nan. *temiri-*; Ud. *teme-* (Корм. 298).

◊ TMC 2, 233-234.

PMong. ***temteri-** to grope, search by feeling (ощупывать, искать наощупь): WMong. *temteri-* (L 800); Kh. *temtre-*; Bur. *temter-*; *temge* 'наугад'; Kalm. *temtṛ-* (KPC); Ord. *temtere-*; Dag. *temilē-*, (Тод. Даг. 167) *temīlē-*; Dong. *čiančiəlu-*; Mongr. *tendili-* (SM 415), *temdələ-*.

◊ MGCD 631. Cf. also **temüči-* 'to strive' (KW 391) > Man. *temše-* etc.; Tel. *tämdän-*. The Dag. form may be < TM.

‖ SKE 261, TMC 2, 234. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; but for a possible Jpn. parallel see **tʻama*, and for a possible derivative reflected in Turkic and Japanese see **tʻìntʻa*.

***tʻeŋa** to kick, shake: Tung. ***teŋ-**; Mong. ***taŋga-**; Turk. ***TEŋ-**.

PTung. ***teŋ-** to flutter, shake, wave; throw; jump (колыхаться, трястись; бросать; прыгать): Man. *teŋgelše-*, *teŋki-*, *teŋne-*; Jurch. *tiŋ-da-mai* 'to release' (400).

◊ TMC 2, 236.

PMong. ***taŋga-** 1 to kick 2 to be overthrown (1 лягаться 2 опрокидываться): WMong. *taŋγara-* 1 (MXTTT); Kh. *taŋgara-* 1; Bur. *taŋgar-* 1, *taŋgaj-* 2; Ord. *taŋGā̆-* 'être couché sur le dos'; Mongr. *taŋGə̄-* 'être couché sur le dos' (SM 409).

PTurk. ***TEŋ-** to soar, fly (парить): Karakh. *teŋ-* (MK); Tur. (dial.) *tüŋ-*.

◊ EDT 514. See also Татаринцев CT 1984 , 4, p. 78-81.

‖ An expressive Western isogloss.

***tʻèŋà** lowland: Tung. ***tēŋ-**; Turk. ***tEŋ**; Jpn. ***tànì**.

PTung. ***tēŋ-** 1 plain, lowland 2 low bank 3 pool 4 wide lake (1 равнина 2 низкий берег 3 лужа 4 широкое озеро): Evk. *tēn* 1, *teŋkī* 1; Evn. *teŋkъ* 'forest'; Neg. *teŋ* 2; Man. *teŋgin* 4; Ork. *teŋesi* 'mountain pass'; Nan. *tēŋki* 3; Orch. *teŋki* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 235, 236. Evk. > Dolg. *tēn* 'plain' (Stachowski 221).

PTurk. ***tEŋ** 1 pool 2 big river (1 пруд 2 большая река): Karakh. (?) *teŋ* (MK) 1; Tur. (Osm.) *ten* 2; MTurk. *tin* 2 (R.).

◊ VEWT 473, EDT 512. Chag. > Kalm. *teŋ* 'Don'.

PJpn. ***tànì** valley (долина): OJpn. *tani*; MJpn. *tànì*; Tok. *taní*; Kyo. *tánì*; Kag. *taní*.

◊ JLTT 541.

‖ Turk. **deŋgiŕ* 'sea' (ЭСТЯ 3, 194-195; > Mong. *teŋgis*, see Clark 1980, 39) may also belong here (with a secondary voicing). See SKE 280, EAS 145. Cf. **tʻi̯oŋe* 'air or water space'.

✱**tʻèŋo** a k. of flying insect: Tung. ***teŋer-** / ***toŋor-**; Jpn. ***tàm-**; Kor. ***toŋʻăi**.

PTung. ***teŋer-** / ***toŋor-** 1 a k. of butterfly 2 spider (1 назв. бабочки 2 паук): Neg. *toŋorawkī* 1; Ork. *tēneŋži, tegenenži* 2; Orch. *teŋeje* 2; Ud. *teŋe* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 198, 237.

PJpn. ***tàm-** dragon-fly (стрекоза): MJpn. *tombau, tombo*; Tok. *tòmbo*; Kyo. *tòmbó*; Kag. *tombó*.

◊ JLTT 550.

PKor. ***toŋʻăi** gad-fly (овод): MKor. *toŋʻăi*.

◊ Liu 233.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. perhaps Mong. *temeɣel-žirgene* 'dragonfly' (folk-etymologically merging with *temeɣen* 'camel').

✱**tʻèpá** to catch, embrace, armful: Tung. ***tēbe-**; Mong. ***teberi-**; Jpn. ***tàmpá**; Kor. ***tàpír-**.

PTung. ***tēbe-** 1 to catch 2 to embrace (1 ловить 2 обнимать): Evk. *tewe- / tēwē-* 1; Evn. *tew-* 1, *tewel-* 2; Neg. *tewen-* 1; Man. *tebeĺe-* 2; SMan. *tivələ-, tevilə-* (1494).

◊ TMC 2, 226.

PMong. ***teberi-** 1 to embrace, grasp 2 armful (1 обнимать, хватать 2 охапка): MMong. *tɛbɛr-* (IM), *tibäri-* (MA), *teberi-* (SH), *tebəri-* (LH); WMong. *teberi-*; Kh. *tevri-* 1, *tever* 2; Bur. *teber(i)-*; Kalm. *tewr-*; Ord. *tewere-* 1; Dag. *teuŕē-* (Тод. Даг. 167, MD 224) 1, *teur* 2; Dong. *čieru-* (*čiaoru-*); Bao. *tēre-*; S.-Yugh. *tewerde-* 1, *tewer* 2; Mongr. *twēri-, tōri-* (SM 425, 437) 1, (MGCD *tērə-*), *tēr* 2.

◊ KW 395, MGCD 629, 630.

PJpn. ***tàmpá** bundle (связка): MJpn. *taba*; Tok. *tába*; Kyo. *tàbá*; Kag. *tabá*.

◊ JLTT 536.

PKor. ***tàpír-** to lead, take smn. with (вести, брать с собой): MKor. *tàpír-*; Mod. *təbul-*.

◊ Nam 150, KED 443.

‖ Poppe 14, 45. Despite Doerfer MT 52, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. The Kor. verb has a typical low tone. Kor. *tabal* 'bundle, bunch' (see Martin 227), which we have attributed to PA **tʻĕpʻá*, seems to be a better match for Jpn. **tà(n)pá*, but Jpn. also has **ta(m)pua* 'knot of hair', and the two roots actively interacted in the Kor.-Jpn. area.

✱**tʻĕpʻá** tuft (of hair): Tung. ***teb-**; Mong. ***tab, *tebeg**; Turk. ***tepö (-ü)**; Jpn. ***tampua**; Kor. ***tapar**.

PTung. ***teb-** 1 rags 2 tail on shaman's belt (1 лохмотья 2 хвост на поясе шамана): Evk. *tewdukē* 1; Sol. *tabxa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 148, 225.

PMong. ***tab, *tebeg** 1 tuft of hair attached to a metal ring (for play); shuttlecock 2 long hair on back of head (1 пучок волос, прикрепленный к металлическому кольцу (для игры); волан 2 волосы на макушке, хохол): WMong. *tebeg* 1, 2 (L 789), tab 2 (L 760); Kh. *teveg* 1, *tav* 2; Bur. *tebeg* 1; Kalm. *tewəg* 2 (KPC); Ord. *teweg* 1; S.-Yugh. *tebeg*.

◊ MGCD 629. Cf. also *tobi*, Khalkha *toŭ* 'тюбетейка'.

PTurk. ***tepö (-ü)** hill, top; top of head (холм, вершина): OTurk. *töpü*; Karakh. *tepe* (Tefs.), *töpü* (KB); Tur. *tepe*, dial. *depe*; Gag. *tepe*; Az. *täpä*; Turkm. *depe*; MTurk. *tepe*, *töpe* (MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *tepa*; Uygh. *töpä*; Krm. *tebe*; Tat. *tübɛ*; Bashk. *tübɛ*; Kirgh. *töbö*; Kaz. *töbe*; KBalk. *töbe*; KKalp. *töbe*; Kum. *töbe*; Nogh. *töbe*; Oyr. *töbö*; Tv. *tʻej*; Chuv. *tüba*, *töbe* (NW); Yak. *töbö*; Dolg. *töbö*.

◊ VEWT 494, 505, TMN 2, 450-452, EDT 436, ЭСТЯ 3, 197-199, Лексика 201, Stachowski 227. The original meaning was probably 'crest, top of head': cf. Kirgh. *tüpök* 'бунчук', Chuv. *tʷbek* 'crest, top of head'. Forms with d- in Oghuz may be a trace of a different root (see below); but Kirgh. *döbö* and Uygh. *döwä* are most probably < Mong. *döbe*.

PJpn. ***tampua** knot of hair on back of head (узел волос на затылке): MJpn. *tabo*; Tok. *tabo*.

◊ JLTT 537.

PKor. ***tapar** bundle, bunch (связка): Mod. *tabal*.

◊ Nam 385.

‖ Владимирцов 258. The root is rather difficult to distinguish from **tʻēpa* 'to catch, embrace' and from **tʻòpʻu* 'round, clot' : an expressive sound shape, liable to mergers. Note that within Turkic there may have also been a confusion of this root with PA **túјpè* 'hill, top', cf. some Oghuz forms with d- (Doerfer TMN 1, 450-452 attempts to connect Turk. **tepe* with Mong. *deɣe-* 'above', which has a different, quite plausible etymology). The original meaning of **tʻepʻa* could be "top of head" (whence "tuft of hair on top or back of head"): cf. the common Turk.-Mong. derivative **tʻepʻa-lV* 'spot on the forehead of an animal' (WMong. *tögele*, Khalkha *tőĺ*; Turkm. *depel*, Az. *täpel*, Kirgh. *töböl* etc.), see Владимирцов 213, KW 408, ЭСТЯ 3, 200.

***tʻepʻà** to cover, obstruct: Tung. ***tepku**; Jpn. ***tapa-**; Kor. ***tə̀ph- / *tùph-**.

PTung. ***tepku** sheath, sack (чехол, мешок): Evk. *tepku*; Evn. *tъpkun*; Neg. *tepke*; Man. *tebku* 'uterus'; Ork. *tupo*; Orch. *tekpu*, *tepku*; Ud. *tekpu*.

◊ TMC 2, 237. TM > Dag. *tebke* 'sack, sheath' (Тод. Даг. 166).

PJpn. ***tapa-** to obstruct, shut (препятствовать, закрывать): OJpn. *tapa-*; MJpn. *tafa-*.

◊ JLTT 761.

PKor. ***tə̀ph- / *tùph-** to cover (покрывать): MKor. *tə̀ph-*, *tùph-*, *tùp-*; Mod. *təp-* [*təph-*].

◊ Nam 153, 168, KED 454.

‖ SKE 263, PKE 203, EAS 49. An Eastern isogloss. Cf. **t'ebV* and Bur. *tebtēr* 'cover (of pot)' - a word of obscure origin. For Jpn. cf. alternatively: WMong. *čeger*, Khalkha *cēr* 'taboo, prohibition', Turk. *čeper* 'fence, protecting fender', see Владимирцов 211-212; cf. also Oroch *čeppe-* 'to sin'?.

✱**t'ĕp'a** to hit, tip over: Tung. ***tep-**; Mong. ***taɣ- / *tuji-**; Turk. ***Tap-la-**; Jpn. ***tàpú-**.

PTung. ***tep-** 1 to hit (with a heavy object); to kill (a deer) 2 to trample 3 to dance 4 to cut through 5 to shoot (1 ударять (тяжелым предметом); закалывать (оленя) 2 топтать 3 плясать 4 пробивать, прорезать 5 стрелять): Evk. *tepū-* 1, *tepte-* 2, *tepti-* 4; Evn. *tepseŋnī-* 2; Neg. *tepekele-* 5; Nan. *tepete-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 237, 238. Cf. also an expressive variant **tapta-* 'to clap' (TMC 2, 164).

PMong. ***taɣ- / *tuji-** 1 to dump, capsize 2 to cut, sharpen (1 сбрасывать (всадника), опрокидывать 2 обрезать, точить): MMong. *tujla-* 'брыкаться' (MA 354); WMong. *tujila-* (L 840) 1 , *taɣari-* (L 765), *tajiri-* (KW) 2; Kh. *tujla-* 1, *tajra-* 2; Bur. *tajra-* 2; Kalm. *tūĺ-* 1, *tăr-* 2; Ord. *tuila-* 1, *tāri-* 2; Dag. *tāri-* 2; S.-Yugh. *tār-* 2.

◊ KW 388, 413, MGCD 622.

PTurk. ***Tap-la-** 1 to chop off splinters 2 to forge, hammer (1 тесать 2 ковать 3 трамбовать): Az. *tapdala-* 2; MTurk. *tapla-* 'бить, выравнивать' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tɔpta-* 3; Uygh. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Krm. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Tat. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Kirgh. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Kaz. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; KBalk. *tabla-* 'to hammer'; Kum. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Nogh. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Khak. *tapta-* 2, 3; Oyr. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Tv. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Chuv. *tupta-* 2, 3; Yak. *taptaj-* 2, 3.

◊ VEWT 462, ОСНЯ 2, 108-109, Ашм. XIV, 48.

PJpn. ***tàpú-** 1 to tip over, collapse 2 to dump, capsize, topple (1 спотыкаться, опрокидываться 2 опрокидывать): OJpn. *tapura-* 1, *tapus-* 2; MJpn. *tàfúra-* 1, *tafus-* 2; Tok. *taoré-* 1, *taós-* 2; Kyo. *táóré-* 1, *táós-* 2; Kag. *tàòrè-* 1, *tàòs-* 2.

◊ JLTT 763.

‖ The root should be distinguished from **tăp'V* and **t'i̯óp'e* q.v., although they certainly tend to be confused.

✱**t'èp'à** to endure, abstain: Mong. ***tebči-**; Turk. ***TEpiŕ**; Jpn. ***tàpà-**.

PMong. ***tebči-** to abstain from, abandon (воздерживаться от, покидать): MMong. *tebči-* 'hingeben' (HYt); WMong. *tebči-* (L 789); Kh. *tewči-*; Bur. *tebše-*; Kalm. *tewč-* 'to endure' (KPC); Ord. *debči-*.

◊ Mong. > Manchu *tebči-* 'to endure, to suffer' (see Rozycki 204).

PTurk. ***TEpiŕ** envy (зависть): Karakh. *tepiz*, *tepze-* 'to envy' (MK, KB).

◊ EDT 448.

PJpn. ***tàpà-*** to endure (терпеть): OJpn. *tapa-*; MJpn. *tàfá-*; Tok. *taé-*; Kyo. *tàè-*; Kag. *tàè-*.

◊ JLTT 761.

‖ The parallel seems plausible, with the semantic developments *'endure' > 'envy'; *'endure' > 'shun, abstain'.

tʻepʻV** warm, to burn: Tung. ****tepe-; Turk. ****tẹpi-***; Kor. ****tàb-***.

PTung. ****tepe-*** 1 to catch fire, to burn 2 to burn through (1 разгораться, пылать 2 сгорать, прогорать): Man. *tefe-* 2; SMan. *tiavə-* 1; Nan. *tepe-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 238.

PTurk. ****tẹpi-*** 1 to dry, become dry 2 to suffer from heat (1 сохнуть 2 страдать от жары): Az. *täpi-* 1; Turkm. *tebi-* 1; Chuv. *tip-* 1, 2.

◊ Räsänen (VEWT 253) and Федотов (2, 233) think that the Chuv. form reflects PT **kep-*, but this is impossible for phonetic reasons.

PKor. ****tàb-*** be warm (быть теплым): MKor. *tāp-* (*tàw-*); Mod. *tʌp-* (*-w-*).

◊ Nam 153, KED 451.

‖ The parallel seems reliable, although voicing in Korean is not clear (note a similar case in **tʻi̯ópʻa*).

tʻèra** pair, to compare: Tung. ****tērī; Jpn. ****tàtùap-***.

PTung. ****tērī*** 1 couple, pair 2 equal (1 пара 2 одинаковый): Evk. *tērī* 1; Evn. *tēri* 1; Neg. *tējī* 1; Nan. *terini* 2; Orch. *tējī* 1; Ud. *tie* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 239.

PJpn. ****tàtuàp-*** to compare (сравнивать, уподоблять): OJpn. *tat(w)op(a)-*; MJpn. *tàtòf(a)-*; Tok. *tatoé-*; Kyo. *tátóé-*; Kag. *tàtòè-*.

◊ JLTT 765.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

tʻéra (~ -u)** hair, wool, thread: Tung. ****terge-; Turk. ****TAram***; Kor. ****tərh(í)***.

PTung. ****terge-*** 1 deerskin, cloth made of deerskin 2 footwear made of deerskin (1 ровдуга, замша из оленьей шкуры 2 обувь из ровдуги): Evk. *tergekse* 1; Evn. *tergъs* 1; Neg. *tergemi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 238-239.

PTurk. ****TAram*** 1 sinew, sinew thread 2 strand (1 сухожилие, жильная нить 2 прядь, клок (волос)): Uzb. *taram* 2; Uygh. *taram* (R) 1; Tat. *taram* 2; *taramiš* (KCTT) 1; Bashk. *taramiš* 1; Kirgh. *taramiš* 1; Kaz. *taramıs* 1; KKalp. *taramıs* 1; Nogh. *taramıs* 1; Shr. *taram* 1; Oyr. *taram* (R) 1.

◊ VEWT 463. Usually considered to be derived from **tar-* 'to be divided, go apart', which is rather strange semantically.

PKor. ****tərh-*** 1 hair 2 feather (1 волос 2 перо): MKor. *thərí*, *thərək*; Mod. *thʌl* 1.

◊ Nam 458, KED 1702.

‖ SKE 280, АПиПЯЯ 296. This comparison seems better than relating the Korean word to Turk. **tel* 'wire' (SKE 282). Equally unconvincing is Doerfer's (TMN 1, 244) attempt of deriving the Turk. forms from an Iranian source.

✱**tʻĕrbò** a big cutting instrument: Tung. ***terin***; Mong. ***tarbagaj***; Turk. ***törpi-gü***; Jpn. ***tàtì***.

PTung. ***terin*** back of axe (обух (топора)): Evk. *terin*; Evn. *terъn*; Neg. *tejin*; Man. *teru* 'шпенек у мотовила; anus'; Ork. *terkile-* 'hit with back of axe'; Nan. *teri(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 239.

PMong. ***tarbagaj*** carpenter's axe (плотницкий топор): Bur. *tarbagaj hüxe*.

PTurk. ***törpi-gü*** file, rasp (напильник): Karakh. *törpigü* (MK); Tur. *törpü*; Gag. *törpü*; Az. *törpü*; Turkm. *törpi*; MTurk. *dörbi* (Pav. C.); Bashk. *törpö* (dial.); Kirgh. *türpü*; Kaz. *türpi*; KKalp. *türpi*; Nogh. *türpi*; Tv. *dürbǖ*.

◊ VEWT 495, EDT 533.

PJpn. ***tàtì*** big sword (большой меч): OJpn. *tati*; MJpn. *tàtì*; Tok. *táchi*; Kyo. *táchì*; Kag. *tachí*.

◊ JLTT 543.

‖ One should also note Ul. *tarpigda* 'a k. of knife' (TMC 2, 169; from a Mong. form like **tarpagaj*?).

✱**tʻerkʻo (*tʻerVkʻo)** to think: Tung. ***terge-***; Mong. ***tariki***; Turk. ****TęrKe-***.

PTung. ***terge-*** 1 to think 2 to doubt (1 думать 2 сомневаться): Evk. *terge-* 1; Ul. *terge-* 2; Nan. *tergede-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 238.

PMong. ***taraki / *tariki*** 1 brain, mind 2 head (1 мозг, ум 2 голова): WMong. *tariki(n)*, *taraki(n)* 1 (L 781); Kh. *tarx́* 1; Bur. *tarxi* 1,2; Kalm. *tärkə*; Ord. *tariχi*; Mongr. *taraGśźi* (SM 410), *taraGśī* 1.

◊ KW 387, MGCD 626.

PTurk. ****TęrKe-*** to observe, research (исследовать, обдумывать, расследовать): MTurk. *te/irke-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *terga-* 'to interrogate'; Uygh. *tärgäw* 'examination, inquiry'; Krm. *terge-*; Kirgh. *terge-*; Kaz. *terge-*; KBalk. *terge-*; KKalp. *terge-*; Kum. *terge-*; Nogh. *terge-*; Chuv. *tirge-* 'to judge, discriminate'.

◊ VEWT 475, Федотов 2, 236-237 (the meaning 'judge, discriminate' cannot be explained from Arab. *terk* 'leave').

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tʻĕ́ŕa (~ -o)** eagle, vulture: Tung. ***ter-***; Mong. ***tarbalžĭ***; Turk. ***dAŕ***; Jpn. ***tátú***.

PTung. ***ter-*** falcon, hawk (сокол, ястреб): Evn. *tērŋa*, *terŋē*.

◊ TMC 2, 239.

PMong. ***tarbalǯi** a k. of eagle (небольшой орел с черной спиной и пестрыми крыльями): MMong. *tarbaǯi* 'a k. of bird' (MA); WMong. *tarba(l)ǯi* (L 780); Kh. *tarvalǯ* (БАМРС); Bur. *tarba(l)ža*; Kalm. *tarʋəǯi*.

◊ KW 381. Mong. > Oyr. *tarbalǯin*, Man. *tarbalǯi*, *turbelǯi* (see Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 203).

PTurk. ***dAŕ** vulture (стервятник): Turkm. *dazzarkel*; Uygh. *tasqara* (dial., Malov - Xami); Bashk. *taδɣara*; Kirgh. *tazqara*; Kaz. *tasqara*; Khak. *tasxa* 'owl'; Oyr. *tas quš* (Верб.); Tv. *das*.

◊ Turk. > Kalm. *tas* (KW 381-382).

PJpn. ***tátú** dragon (дракон): OJpn. *tatu*; MJpn. *tátú*; Tok. *tàtsu*; Kyo. *tátsú*; Kag. *tátsu*.

◊ JLTT 544.

‖ EAS 111. Cf. also WMong. (L 779) *tarasu* 'sp. of small eagle'. The root is practically homonymous with **tʻeŕo* 'bald' (q.v.) and may be in fact a specialization of the latter, as a 'bald eagle' (note that this is the traditional etymology of the Turkic word).

***tʻeŕo** bald: Mong. ***tar-**; Turk. ***daŕ (~-ā-)**; Kor. ***tăi- / tắrk**.

PMong. ***tar-** 1 bald 2 scab (on head) (1 лысый 2 парша): MMong. *tarasun* 'bald, naked' (HY 48), *ṭərɣa* 1 (IM); WMong. *tar* 1, *taraɣai* 2; Kh. *tar* 'having sparse hair' (БАМРС); Kalm. *tar* 1; Mongr. *tarGə̄* 'chauve, rasé (tête), nu (terre)'.

◊ KW 380. Mong. > Yak. *tarayaj*, Dolg. *tarakaj* 'bald' (Stachowski 217).

PTurk. ***daŕ (~-ā-)** bald (лысый): OTurk. *taz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *taz* (MK); Tur. *daz*; Az. *daz*; Sal. *taz* (ССЯ); MTurk. *taz* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔz*; Uygh. *taz*; Krm. *taz*; Tat. *taz*; Bashk. *taδ*; Kirgh. *taz*; Kaz. *taz*; KKalp. *taz*; Nogh. *taz*; Khak. *tas*; Shr. *tas*; Oyr. *tas*; Tv. *tas*; Tof. *tas*.

◊ VEWT 467, EDT 570, ЭСТЯ 3, 124. Turk. > Hung. tar 'bald', see MNyTESz 3, 847.

PKor. ***tăi- / tắrk** 1 a bald head 2 cracks (on hands and feet, from cold) (1 лысая голова 2 трещины (на руках и ногах, от холода)): MKor. *tắrk* 2; Mod. *tä-məri* 1.

◊ Liu 185, KED 426.

‖ EAS 111, KW 380, SKE 250, Poppe 13. Despite Щербак 1997, 154 we cannot assume borrowing in Mong. from Turkic. Turkic has a secondary voiced d- (one of the cases of voicing in front of -ŕ-); but a contamination of two roots is also not excluded: cf. also Mong. *dar-gar*, *dars-gar* (L 233: *darsa-ɣar*) 'rough, warped (of skin)'. Cf. also notes to **tʻĕŕa* (~ -o) 'eagle, vulture'.

***tʻèŕù** dirt, dung: Tung. ***tērgēn**; Turk. ***tEŕek**; Jpn. ***tùtì**; Kor. ***tār-**.

PTung. ***tērgē-** pool, swamp (лужа, болото): Evk. *tērgēn*.

◊ TMC 2, 239. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***tEŕek*** dung (навоз): OTurk. *tezek* (OUygh. - YB); Karakh. *tezek* (MK); Tur. *tezek*; Gag. *tezek*; Az. *täzäk*; Turkm. *tezek*; Sal. *tesex*, *tözex* (ССЯ); Khal. *täzäk*; MTurk. *tezek* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *tezak*; Uygh. *tezäk*; Krm. *tez'ak*; Tat. *tizäk*, *kizäk*; Bashk. *tiδäk*; Kirgh. *tezek*; Kaz. *tezek*; KBalk. *tezgek*; KKalp. *tezek*; Kum. *tezek*; Nogh. *tezek*; Khak. *tizek*; Shr. *tezek*; Oyr. *tezek*; Tv. *de's* 'clotted blood'; Tof. *de's* 'clotted blood' (Рас. Фил); Chuv. ? *tirəs*.

◊ VEWT 477, TMN 2, 508, EDT 574, Федотов 2, 236. Chuv. > Tat., Bashk. *tires*.

PJpn. ***tùtì*** earth (земля): OJpn. *tuti*; MJpn. *tùtì*; Tok. *tsuchí*; Kyo. *tsúchì*; Kag. *tsuchí* (*tsuT*).

◊ JLTT 557.

PKor. ***tər-*** dirty, become dirty (грязный, пачкаться): MKor. *tər-m-*.

◊ Nam 153.

‖ Contaminations with **tʻŏŕe* (in Kor. also with **tʻelbu*) were possible.

tʻi** thou: Mong. ****či.

PMong. ****či, *ta*** 1 thou 2 you (pl.) (1 ты 2 вы (мн.)): MMong. *či, čino* (gen.) (HY 31, SH), *či, čenäi* (gen.) (IM), *či, činu, čini* (gen.) (MA) 1, *ta, tano* (gen.) 2 (SH); WMong. *či* 1, *činu* (gen.), *ta* 2; Kh. *či, činij* (gen.) 1, *ta* 2; Bur. *ši, šenī* (gen.) 1, *ta, tānar, tānad* 2; Kalm. *či, činə* (gen.) 1, *tadn̥* 2; Ord. *či, čini* (gen.) 1, *ta* 2; Mog. *či-, činɛi* (gen.) 1, *to* 2; ZM *či, činei* (gen.) (26-3, 26-10a); Dag. *šī, šinī* (gen.) 1 (Тод. Дат. 183, MD 215), *tā* 2 (Тод. Дат. 164, MD 218); Dong. *čə* (*čɨ*), *čəni, čəji* (gen.), *ta* 2; Bao. *čə* (*či*), *čənə* (gen.), *čose* ~ *čase* (Abl.) 1, *ta* 2; S.-Yugh. *čə* 1, *ta* 2; Mongr. *ći, ćini* (gen.) (SM 441, 450) 1, *ta* (SM 404) 2.

◊ KW 438, MGCD 619.

‖ Mongolian has alone preserved the Nostratic 2d p. stem **tʻi*; other Altaic languages have retained only the other stem *si (**si̯a*), with the oblique stem *nV.

tʻĭbŋe** camel, elk: Tung. ****tibŋa; Mong. ****teme-ɣen***; Turk. ****debe***.

PTung. ****tibŋa*** male deer, elk (олень-самец, лось): Evk. *tiŋer*; Ul. *ťaŋa*; Orch. *tipaŋa*.

◊ TMC 2, 185.

PMong. ****teme-ɣen*** camel (верблюд): MMong. *teme'en* (SH), *temejen* (HY 11), *temē* (IM), *təmēn* (LH), *təmən, timen* (MA); WMong. *temege(n)* (L 800); Kh. *temēn*; Bur. *temē(n)*; Kalm. *temēn*; Ord. *temē(n)*; Mog. *temɔ* (Weiers); Dag. *temē* (Тод. Дат. 166, MD 223); S.-Yugh. *temen*; Mongr. *timēn* (SM 420), *təmēn*.

◊ KW 390, MGCD 631. Mong. > Evk. *temeɣēn* etc., see Poppe 1966, 191, Doerfer MT 77-78, Rozycki 206.

PTurk. ****debe*** camel (верблюд): OTurk. *tebe* (Orkh.), *teve* (OUygh.); Karakh. *teve* (*tevej*) (MK); Tur. *deve*; Gag. *devä*; Az. *devä*; Turkm. *düje*;

Sal. *töje, töüvä, tüvi*; MTurk. *deve* (Pav. C.), *teve* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *tuja*; Uygh. *tögä*; Krm. *tüje, deve*; Tat. *dĭ̈jä*; Bashk. *dĭ̈jä*; Kirgh. *tṏ*; Kaz. *tüje*; KBalk. *tüje*; KKalp. *tüje*; Kum. *tüje*; Nogh. *tüje*; SUygh. *te, ti*; Khak. *tibe*; Oyr. *tṏ, tebe*; Tv. *teve*; Tof. *tebe* (Pac. ФиЛ); Chuv. *taʷve*; Yak. *taba* 'deer'; Dolg. *taba* 'deer'.

◊ EDT 447-448, VEWT 468, ЭСТЯ 3, 313-315, Лексика 445, Stachowski 214. Turk. > Hung. *teve*, see Gombocz 1912.

‖ EAS 88. A Western isogloss. Initial *d- in Turkic is due to assimilation, but borrowing in Mong. from Turk. cannot be accepted, despite TMN 2, 671, Щербак 1997, 154.

***tʹijV** louse: Tung. ***ti-kte**; Turk. ***Ti-**.

PTung. ***ti-kte** louse (вошь): Man. *čixe*; SMan. *čixē* (2255); Ul. *tiqte*; Ork. *tikte*; Nan. *čikte*.

◊ TMC 2, 179. Derived from a root **ti*(:)-, cf. PTM **tī-le-/*tī-na-* 'to search for lice in one's hair' (see TMC 2, 181 and SKE 165).

PTurk. ***Ti-** a k. of biting insect (вид кусающего насекомого): OTurk. *ti-ler* (OUygh.).

◊ See EDT 501: the word is located in a list of harmful biting insects, between flies and ants.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Very poorly attested in Turkic; but cf. a further Nostratic etymology (Ural. **täjV*, Kartv. **ṭil-*) in МССНЯ 335.

***tʹĭ́[kʹ]ù** to stuff into, press into: Tung. ***tiki-**; Mong. ***čiki-**; Turk. ***tɨki-**; Jpn. ***túk-**; Kor. ***tɨk-**.

PTung. ***tiki-** to fit, be placed into (вмещать, помещаться): Ul. *tiki-*; Nan. *čiqi-*; Orch. *tiki-*; Ud. *tixi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 178.

PMong. ***čiki-** to stuff into, press into (набивать, вдавливать): MMong. *čiqiqsan* 'chock-full' (MA); WMong. *čiki-* (L 181); Kh. *čixe-*; Bur. *šexe-*; Kalm. *čikə-*; Ord. *ǯike-*; Mog. *čikänä* 'packt voll' (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *čike-* (Тод. Дar. 181), *čiki-* (MD 129); Dong. *čəqi-, čiGəi-*; Bao. *čiχə-*; S.-Yugh. *čiGə-*; Mongr. *ćigi-* (SM 448).

◊ KW 439, MGCD 573.

PTurk. ***tɨki-** to stuff in, press in (набивать, вдавливать, втыкать): OTurk. *tɨq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨq-* (MK); Tur. *tɨka-*; Gag. *tɨqa-*; Az. *tɨx-*; Turkm. *dɨq-*; MTurk. *tɨq-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɨq-*; Uygh. *tɨq-*; Krm. *tɨq-*; Tat. *tɨq-*; Bashk. *tɨq-*; Kirgh. *tɨq-*; Kaz. *tɨq-*; KKalp. *tɨq-*; Kum. *tɨq-*; Nogh. *tɨq-*; Khak. *tɨx-*; Shr. *tɨqta-*; Oyr. *tɨq-*; Tv. *dɨγɨ-*; Tof. *tɨγɨ-*; Chuv. *čɨx-*.

◊ VEWT 477-478, EDT 465, ЭСТЯ 3, 337-340, Мудрак 75. The Turkm. form with a voiced d- is quite irregular and probably reflects a merger with **dik-* 'to insert, plant vertically'.

PJpn. ***túk-** to poke, thrust (засовывать, протыкать): OJpn. *tuk-*; MJpn. *túk-*; Tok. *tsùk-*; Kyo. *tsúk-*; Kag. *tsúk-*.

◊ JLTT 773.

PKor. ***tìk-*** to dip down, imprint (вдавливать, погружать): MKor. *tìk-*; Mod. *č:ik-*.

◊ Nam 181, KED 1540.

‖ KW 439, Poppe 15, 16, 55, Мудрак Дисс. 37-38. Cf. also Kor. *tìk-mə̀k-* = MJpn. *túí-pam-* 'to peck' (lit. 'press and eat'). In TM one would rather expect *-x-; this means perhaps that we could reconstruct **tʻík̀u*, with assimilation in Mongolian.

tʻikʻV** to fear, hate: Tung. ***tiKun-, *tiKul-; Mong. ****čikul***; Turk. ****tik-***.

PTung. ****tiKu-n-, *tiKu-l-*** to be angry (сердиться): Evk. *tikul-, tikun-*; Evn. *tiqul-*; Sol. *tegul-*.

◊ TMC 2, 179.

PMong. ****čikul*** rage, irritability, nervousness (гнев, вспыльчивость): MMong. *čiqul* (HY 54); WMong. *čiqul, čuqul* (L 193); Kh. *cuxal*; Bur. *suxal*; Kalm. *cuχl* (KPC); Ord. *ǯuxuldu-* ' to lose countenance, to be troubled'.

PTurk. ****tik-*** to hate, fear (ненавидеть, бояться): Tur. *tiksin-*; Az. *diksin-*; Turkm. *tiksin-*; Kirgh. *tikireŋde-* 'to assault viciously'; Kaz. *tik-baqaj* 'stubborn, violent', *tikireŋde-* id.; KBalk. *tiklik* 'tension (of relations)'.

◊ Somewhat unclear voicing in Az. See Дыбо 1991.

‖ Дыбо 14. A Western isogloss.

tʻĭmá** (low) noise, sound, to make noise: Tung. ****tim-; Mong. ****čimeɣe***; Turk. ****Tiŋ(mi)***; Jpn. ****tàmár-***; Kor. ****tamɨr-***.

PTung. ****tim-*** 1 calm (of weather) 2 calm, silent 3 to speak silently, move lips 4 night silence (in the forest) (1 затишье (о погоде) 2 притихнув, примолкнув 3 шевелить губами, ворчать 4 тишина (ночью в лесу)): Evk. *temelken* 4; Evn. *tiṃъrъn* 1, *timne-* (folkl. *tīnme-*) 3; Nan. *čiṃo-čiṃo* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 182, 235. Cf. also Evk. (Kamn.) *tamurga-* 'to become silent'.

PMong. ****čimeɣe*** sound, noise; noisy (шум, звук; шумный): MMong. *čime'en* (HY); WMong. *čimege(n), čime* (L 185); Kh. *čimē*; Bur. *šemē(n)*; Kalm. *čimēn*; Ord. *čimē*; Mongr. *čimē*.

◊ KW 440, MGCD 570.

PTurk. ****Tiŋ(mi)*** 1 sound 2 to talk 3 to grumble (1 звук 2 говорить 3 ворчать): Karakh. [*tɨnma* 'do not speak' (MK - Oghuz.)]; Tur. *tɨn-* 2, Osm. *tɨn-, dɨn-* 2; Az. *dɨn-* 2; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tɨn-* 2 (Houts.); Tat. *tɨn-sɨz* 'wordless'; Khak. *təmel-* 3; Tv. *diŋmi* 'rumble, thunder'; Chuv. *čən-* 2, *čəm-sər* 'wordless'; Yak. *tiŋij-* 'to produce loud thumping sounds'.

◊ Мудрак Дисс. 86, EDT 514. Clauson regards the Oghuz verb as a metaphor from *tɨn-* 'breathe', which is hardly the case (although some contaminations with this root, as well as with **Tim-* 'silent', were possible).

PJpn. ***tàmár-*** to be silent (молчать): Tok. *damár-*; Kyo. *dàmàr-*; Kag. *dàmàr-*.

◊ JLTT 680. Initial voiced d- is secondary (probably expressive).

PKor. ***tamir-*** to close the mouth, be silent (закрывать рот, молчать): MKor. *tamir-*; Mod. *tamul-*. ◊ Liu 193, KED 385.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 39, 86.

tʻìntʻa** to search: Turk. ***tint-; Jpn. ***tàntùna-***.

PTurk. ***tint-*** to search (искать, обыскивать): Tur (dial.) *dindik-le-* (SDD 1, 440); Turkm. *tinte-*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tint-* (CCum.); Uzb. *tinti-*; Uygh. *tinti-*; Krm. *tint-*; Tat. *tente-*; Bashk. *tente-*; Kirgh. *tint-*; Kaz. *tinti-*; KBalk. *tint-*; KKalp. *tint-*; Kum. *tüntü-*, *tünt-*; Nogh. *tint-*; Oyr. *tinti-*, dial. *tindi-* (Баск. Леб., Кум.). ◊ VEWT 481, ЭСТЯ 8.

PJpn. ***tàntùna-*** to search for, ask (искать, спрашивать): OJpn. *taduna-*; MJpn. *tàdùna-*; Tok. *tazuné-*; Kyo. *tázúné-*; Kag. *tàzùnè-*.

◊ JLTT 766.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss: but a possibility exists that the root is actually a contraction < **tʻemi-tʻa*, derived from PA **tʻemV* q.v. (for the parallel PT *tint- : Mong. *temteri-* see KW 391).

tʻípʻò (~ t-, -e-, -b-,** tʻapʻe, tʻi̯opʻe, tʻi̯apʻe**)** far: Jpn. ***tə́pə́-; Kor. ***ptí-***.

PJpn. ***tə́pə́-*** far (далекий): OJpn. *top(w)o-*; MJpn. *tófó-*; Tok. *tṑ-*; Kyo. *tó̍-*; Kag. *tó̍-*. ◊ JLTT 842.

PKor. ***ptí-*** to be separated, have an interval (быть отделенным, иметь промежуток): MKor. *ptí-*; Mod. *t:i-*.

◊ Nam 173, KED 523.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss; not quite secure because of vowel reduction and metathesis in Korean (for a similar case cf. Kor. **psír-* 'sweep' < PA **šïpʻV*).

tʻi̯opʻo** straw: Turk. ***topon; Kor. ***tìp***.

PTurk. ***topon*** 1 straw 2 chaff, bran (1 солома 2 мякина, полова): Karakh. *topun* 'wheat chaff' (MK; EDT glosses 'a lump of food', probably incorrectly); Turkm. (dial.) *tovān*, *tofān* 1; Uzb. *to̡pɔn* 2; Uygh. *topan* 2; Krm. *toban* 1; Tat. dial. *tuban* 2 (Тумашева 216); Kirgh. *tipin* 2; Kaz. *topan* 2; KKalp. *topan* 2; Shr. *toban* 'хлебная пыль, труха'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 8; despite Tekin 1969, 65 should be kept distinct from **topraq* 'dust'.

PKor. ***tìp*** straw (солома): MKor. *tìp*; Mod. *čip*. ◊ Nam 182, KED 1559.

‖ SKE 35. A Turkic-Korean isogloss; cf. perhaps Evk. *tapčikākti*, *teptekēkti*, *topčikakta* 'name of a weed' (TMC 2, 164).

tʻire (~ -ŕ-, -i)** head: Tung. ***tiru-; Mong. ***teriɣün***.

PTung. ***tiru-*** head pillow (подушка, изголовье): Evk. *tirū*; Evn. *tiru*; Neg. *tijū*; Man. *čirku*; SMan. *čunuku* (520); Ul. *tireptu(n)*; Ork. *tireptu(n)*; Nan. *čireŋku*; Orch. *tireptu(n)*; Ud. *tiu*, *tieu*; Sol. *teru*.

◊ TMC 2, 187.

PMong. ***teriɣün*** 1 head 2 before, first (1 голова 2 первый, впереди): MMong. *teri'un* (HY 45, SH), *tirgɛn* (IM), *tirun / tirūn* (LH) 1; WMong. *terigün* 1, 2 (L 805); Kh. *türū̃*, *tergū̃n* 2; Bur. *türū̃(n)* 2; Kalm. *türū̃n* 2; Ord. *terigū̃n* 2 <lit.; Dag. *turūn* 1, 2 (Тод. Даг. 169), *teregun* (MD 224) <lit.; Dong. *čiaurun*, *čiərun* 1, 2; Bao. *teroŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *turū̃n* 1, 2; Mongr. *turū* (SM 435) 2, *turoŋ* (SM 436) 1.

◊ KW 416, MGCD 634, 639, 660.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**t'ī́ri** to press, make a support: Tung. ***tirē-***; Turk. ***dīre-***; Kor. ***tìrì-***.

PTung. ***tirē-*** to press, insert, make a support (давить, вдавливать, вставлять, подпирать): Evk. *tirē-*; Evn. *tiruke-*; Neg. *tijē-*; Man. *čir-ge-*; Ul. *tire-*; Ork. *čire-*; Nan. *čire*; Orch. *tije-*; Sol. *tir(e)-*.

◊ TMC 2, 187-8.

PTurk. ***dīre-*** 1 to support 2 support (1 подпереть 2 подпорка): OTurk. *tirek* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tire-* 1 (MK), *tirek* 2 (Tefs., IM); Tur. *dire-* 1, *direk* 2; Gag. *direk* 2; Az. *dirä-* 1, *däräk* 2; Turkm. *dīre-* 1, *dīrek* 2; Sal. *tirək* 2 (Kakuk); MTurk. *tire-* 1, *tirek* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tira-* 1, *tirak* 2; Uygh. *tiräk* 2; Krm. *direk* 2; Tat. *terä-* 1, *teräk* 2; Bashk. *terä-* 1, *teräk* 2; Kirgh. *tire-* 1; Kaz. *tire-* 1, *tirek* 2; KKalp. *tire-* 1; Kum. *tire-* 1, *tirew* 2; Nogh. *tire-* 1, *tirew* 2; Khak. *təre-* 1, *təreg* 2; Chuv. *čarak* 2; Yak. *tirā-*, *tirex* 2.

◊ VEWT 481, EDT 533, 543, TMN 2, 655, ЭСТЯ 3, 237-239, Егоров 317, Федотов 2, 392.

PKor. ***tìrì-*** to press, to stick (вдавливать, вставлять): MKor. *tìrì-*; Mod. *čiri-*, *č:iri-*.

◊ Nam 179, KED 1530.

‖ EAS 150, SKE 35, Мудрак Дисс. 36-37. One of the cases of secondary voicing (*t- > *d- before the following *r, *ŕ) in Turkic.

✱**t'ì̀ro** to take, snatch: Tung. ***tī-***; Jpn. ***tər- (~-ua-)***; Kor. ***tìr-***.

PTung. ***tī-*** to deprive, take away (отнимать, отбирать): Evk. *tī-*; Evn. *tɛ̄-*; Neg. *ti-žajama* 'thief'; Ul. *tī-*; Nan. *čī-*; Ud. *tī-*; Sol. *tī-n-*.

◊ TMC 2, 173-174.

PJpn. ***tər- (~ -ua-)*** to take (брать): OJpn. *t(w)or-*; MJpn. *tòr-*; Tok. *tór-*; Kyo. *tòr-*; Kag. *tòr-*.

◊ JLTT 771.

PKor. ***tìr-*** to hold, lift (держать, нести; поднимать): MKor. *tìr-*; Mod. *til-*.

◊ HMCH 336, KED 535.

‖ Martin 233, АПиПЯЯ 279. An Eastern isogloss; Korean has a usual verbal low tone.

***tʻiru (~ -i̯u-)** morning: Tung. ***tirga (~ -ü-)**; Jpn. ***tutə (~ -ua)**.

PTung. ***tirga (~ -ü-)** midday (полдень, днем): Evk. *tirga*; Evn. *tirgu̯n*; Neg. *tidga*; Orch. *tigga*.

◊ TMC 2, 186-187.

PJpn. ***tutə (~ -ua)** in the morning (утром, рано): MJpn. *tùtó*; Tok. *tsúto, tsutó*; Kyo. *tsútò*; Kag. *tsúto*.

◊ JLTT 558. Accent not quite clear: modern dialects point rather to **tútə̀*.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

***tʻíŕge** to run, flee: Tung. ***tirgī-**; Mong. ***terge-**; Turk. ***tēŕ-**.

PTung. ***tirgī-** 1 to walk 2 (to ride) quickly 3 easily gliding (1 идти пешком 2 скоро, рысцой (ехать) 3 easily gliding): Evk. *tirgī-* 1; Man. *čir* (seme) 2; Nan. *čirgiliečigde* (On.) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 187, 400.

PMong. ***tergil-** to run away, flee (убегать): WMong. *tergil-, tergid-* (KW 393); Kh. *teregle-* (БАМРС); Bur. *teŕjel-, tergel-, tergede-*; Kalm. *tergl-*; Mog. ZM *tirä* 'defile' (18-5a); Dag. *tergul-*.

◊ KW 393.

PTurk. ***tēŕ-** 1 to run away, flee 2 swift; scary, shy (1 убегать 2 быстрый; пугливый, робкий): OTurk. *tez-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tez-* 1 (MK); Tur. *tez* 2; Az. *täz-* 1, *täz* 2; Turkm. *tez-* 1, *tīz* 2; Khal. *täz-* 1; MTurk. (MKypch.) *dez-* 1 (AH); Uygh. *täz-* 1; Khak. *tis-* 1; Tv. *des-* 1; Tof. *des-* 1; Chuv. *tar-* 1; Yak. *tehī* 2; Dolg. *tehī* 2.

◊ VEWT 477, EDT 572, Stachowski 220. Turk. > Pers. *tīz* (not vice versa, as sometimes suggested).

‖ KW 393, Poppe 14, 104, АПиПЯЯ 295. A Western isogloss. Cf. also Turk. **Terk* 'quick, hurry' (VEWT 475), WMong. *terkei*, Kalm. *terkē* (KW 393).

***tʻi̯age** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***tige (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***toguɣa(n)**; Turk. ***t(i)agar(a)**.

PTung. ***tige (~ -ü-)** dish(es) (посуда): Evk. *tiɣe*; Neg. *tige*.

◊ TMC 2, 176.

PMong. ***toguɣa(n)** kettle (котел): MMong. *toxo'an* (HY 21), *toqo'an* (SH), *ṭuɣān* (IM), *tuɣan* (MA); WMong. *toɣuɣa(n)* (L 817); Kh. *togō*; Bur. *togō(n)*; Kalm. *toɣāčə* 'cook'; Ord. *toGō(n)*; Dag. *tugā, tuwā* (Тод. Дат. 169), *tuā* (MD 226); Dong. *tuG(u)an*; Bao. *tuGuŋ*; Mongr. *tuGō* (SM 428).

◊ KW 397. Mong. > MTurk. *toɣan* (see Щербак 1997, 210).

PTurk. ***t(i)agar(a)** 1 an earthenware dish 2 trough (1 глиняное блюдо 2 корыто): Karakh. *taɣara* (Tefs.) 1; Tur. *ṭagar* 'dish' (Osm.); Turkm. *taGara* 2; Uzb. *taɣar* 1; Tat. *taɣaraq* 2; Tv. *tāqtɨg* 'barrel'.

◊ EDT 471, VEWT 454, Раддов 3, 796-797. Should be distinguished from **dagar* 'sack' (confused in ЭСТЯ 3, 120-122 and TMN 2, 512-519 - here with an additional confusion with **dabar* 'wares').

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. **toguγan* must be a case of labial attraction < **tagu-γan*. But cf. also **tʻi̯áku*, as well as Kor. *tok* 'earthenware vessel', *togani* 'earthenware dish in which metal or glue is melted' (< Mong.?); cf. also a Wanderwort in Tung. (Ul. *tukuru* etc. 'bottle'), Ainu *tokkuri*, Jpn. *tok(k)uri* 'bottle', Kor. *tuguri* 'round metal dish'.

✱**tʻi̯ákù** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***tuku- ~ *taku-**; Mong. ***tagsi**; Turk. ***tekne**; Jpn. ***túkì**; Kor. ***tói**.

PTung. ***tuku- ~ *taku-** funnel (for pouring liquid) (воронка (*для наливания жидкости*)): Ul. *tuqu(n)*, *taqu(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 155. Attested only in Ul., with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***tagsi** cup (чашка): WMong. *taγsi* (L 766); Kh. *tagš*; Bur. *tagša*.

◊ Mong. > Kaz. *tegäš*, Sib.-Tat. *tigäc* 'vessel' (VEWT 469).

PTurk. ***tekne** trough, pan (корыто, лохань, квашня): Karakh. *tekne* (MK, IM); Tur. *tekne*; Gag. *teknä*; Az. *täknä*; MTurk. *tegene* (MA), *tegene, tekene* (MKypch. - CCum., AH); Uygh. *täŋlä, täŋnä*; Krm. *tekne*; Tat. *tigänä*; Bashk. *tägäs* 'чаша' (dial.); Kirgh. *degene* (Chuj.); Kaz. *tegene, tegeš* (Dim.) 'чаша'; KBalk. *tegene*; Nogh. *tekene*; Chuv. *tagana*.

◊ VEWT 470-471, EDT 484, Егоров 228, Федотов 2, 165. Turk. > Hung. *teknő*, Mari *tagɨna* (Gombocz 1912, 18, 227).

PJpn. ***túkì** cup, vessel (чашка, сосуд): OJpn. *tukɨi*; MJpn. *túkì*; Tok. *(saka-)zuki*.

◊ JLTT 554.

PKor. ***tói** a measure of capacity (1/10 mal); measuring basket (мера емкости): MKor. *tói*; Mod. *twe*.

◊ Nam 161, KED 496.

‖ Except for open *-e- in Turkic (one would expect *-ę-) correspondences seem regular - but the root is very similar to **tʻi̯age* q.v., as well as to some regional Wanderwörter, so there may have been some confusion of different etyma.

✱**tʻi̯ə̀ku** a horned animal: Tung. ***tōKī**; Mong. ***togij**; Turk. ***teke**.

PTung. ***tōKī** elk (лось): Evk. *tōkī*; Evn. *tōkɨ*; Neg. *tōkɨ̄*; Man. *toχo*; Ul. *tō*; Ork. *tō*; Nan. *tō*; Orch. *tōki*; Sol. *tōxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 191-192. Evk. > Dolg. *tōkī* (see Stachowski 227).

PMong. ***togij** grown-up elk (взрослый лось): WMong. *togij* (БАМРС); Kh. *togi*.

PTurk. ***teke** he-goat (козел): OTurk. *teke* (OUygh.); Karakh. *teke* (MK, IM); Tur. *teke*; Gag. *teke*; Az. *täkä*; Turkm. *teke*; Khal. *täkä*; MTurk. *teke* (Sangl.); Uzb. *taka*; Uygh. *tekä*; Krm. *teke, tege*; Tat. *täkä* 'козел, баран'; Bashk. *täkä* 'he-goat, ram'; Kirgh. *teke*; Kaz. *tekä*; KBalk. *teke*; KKalp. *teke*; Kum. *teke*; Nogh. *teke*; SUygh. *teke*; Oyr. *teke*; Tv. *deʻge*, te ([*dhe*]); Tof. *teʻhe*; Chuv. *taga* 'he-goat, ram'.

◊ See VEWT 470, EDT 477, Лексика 154, 428. Turk. > Mong. *teke* 'he-goat' (KW 390; TMN 2, 529, Щербак 1997, 154) (> Man., Sol. *texe* id., see Doerfer MT 100; Oyr. *teke* - instead of the expected **tege* - may be also borrowed back < Mong.). The Tur. dialectal form *deke*, despite Doerfer, can hardly justify a reconstruction of PT *d-.

‖ A Western isogloss. See Дыбо 7, Лексика 154. The parallel seems probable, but PT should rather have a closed *ę. There may have been some confusion between this root and another one, represented by PT **Tagɨ* 'female kulan' (OT *tayɨ*, see EDT 466; Bulg. *toxə* 'horse') and borrowed in (or corresponding to?) Mong. *taki* 'wild horse'.

***t'i̯àk'à** hen; duck: Tung. ***tiaku**; Mong. ***takija**; Turk. ***tiakɨgu (/ -ŋu)**; Jpn. ***tàkà(m)pái**.

PTung. ***tiaku** 1 hen 2 quail (1 курица 2 куропатка): Evn. *tāqčaqa* 2; Man. *čoqo* 1; SMan. *čoqō* 'chicken' (2198); Jurch. *tixo* (161) 1; Nan. *čiqo* 1; Orch. *čoko* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 172, 403.

PMong. ***takija** hen (курица): MMong. *takija* (HY 13, SH), *taqija* (LH), *tayaqū* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *takija(n)* (L 770); Kh. *taɤā*; Bur. *taɤā*; Kalm. *takā(n)*; Ord. *daχā*; Dong. *tɨGa*, (Тод. Дн.) *tɨqa*; Bao. *təχa*, (Тод. Бн.) *texa*; S.-Yugh. *daqa, daχGa*; Mongr. *taGau*.

◊ KW 375, MGCD 628.

PTurk. ***tiakɨgu (/ -ŋu)** hen, fowl (курица): OTurk. *taqɨɣu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *taqayu* (MK); Tur. *tavuk*; Gag. *tauq*; Az. *tojuG*; Turkm. *towuq*; Sal. *tox* (Kakuk); MTurk. *tayuq, tawuq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔwuq*; Uygh. *toxa, toxu*; Krm. *tawuq*; Tat. *tawɨq*; Bashk. *tawɨq*; Kirgh. *tōk*; Kaz. *tawɨq*; KBalk. *tawuq*; KKalp. *tawɨq*; Kum. *tawuq*; Nogh. *tawɨq*; SUygh. *taqayɨ*; Khak. *tayax, tanax*; Oyr. *taqā*; Tv. *da'γā*; Tof. *taqqɨńaq* (perhaps < Mong.); Chuv. *čъxъ*.

◊ VEWT 457, EDT 468, TMN 2, 441-442, Егоров 321. Turk. > Hung. *tyúk*, see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***tàkà(m)pái** teal, duckling (чирок, утенок): OJpn. *takabe*; MJpn. *tàkàbé*.

◊ JLTT 538.

‖ KW 375, Владимирцов 206, Мудрак Дисс. 199-200. Despite Щербак 1997, 152, not borrowed in Mong. < Turk. Doerfer's (TMN 2, 443-444) criticism is also hardly substantial.

***t'i̯ák'ù** shelf: Tung. ***tuK-**; Turk. ***tĀkan**; Jpn. ***túkú-wái**.

PTung. ***tuK-** 1 prop (in a tent) 2 bars, shelves (in a wooden baking device) (1 подпорка (в палатке, чуме) 2 перекладины, полки (в деревянном ставне, в котором готовят хлебы и кушанье на пару)): Evk. *tukta* 1; Evn. *toqъrụqan* 1; Man. *tuqda* 2;

◊ TMC 2, 191, 209.

PTurk. ***tĀkan** 1 trestle, rack 2 tripod 3 kettle (1 подвеска, козлы 2 тренога 3 котел): Karakh. *taqan* 3 (IM); Tur. *dayan* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *tā-Gan* 2; Tat. *tayan* 1; Bashk. *tayan* 1; Kaz. *tayan* 2; Khak. *taxxan* 2 (Kyz. - Joki); Oyr. *tayan* 2 (dial. - Баск. Кум.).

◊ Räsänen (Рясянен 1955, 134) derives the forms from *tak-* 'to adhere', but vowel length clearly contradicts it. Quite dubious, because of geographic distribution, is the derivation of the word from Greek τήγανον 'frying pan' (see Аникин 521-522). The Greek word itself has no satisfactory etymology (see Frisk 2, 845).

PJpn. ***túkú-waí** table (стол): OJpn. *tukuwe*; MJpn. *túkúwé*; Tok. *tsùkue*; Kyo. *tsúkúé*; Kag. *tsukúe*.

◊ JLTT 555 (see there on the possibility of reconstructing **tuku-jai)*.

‖ TMC 2, 153.

***tʻi̯ə̀lo** to hang, strap: Tung. ***tōli**; Mong. ***telej**; Turk. ***TAlk-**; Jpn. ***tàr-**; Kor. ***tə̌r-**.

PTung. ***tōli** belt, strap for trousers (ремень, гашник (у штанов)): Evk. *tōl*; Man. *toli*; Ud. *tolixe*.

◊ TMC 2, 232-233, Bac. 392.

PMong. ***telej** belt for trousers (ремень для брюк): WMong. *telei* (L 798); Kh. *telē*, *telij*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *teleyī* etc., see TMC 2, 232-233 (despite Rozycki 206, who regards the Mong. and TM forms as genuine cognates).

PTurk. ***TAlk-** tension of cords (натяжение веревок): Karakh. *talqïy*; *talyuč* 'poles for fastening burden on animal's back', *talyuq* 'wedge for fastening the axe blade' (MK).

◊ EDT 496.

PJpn. ***tàr-** to hang (висеть): OJpn. tar-; MJpn. *tàra-*; Tok. *taré-*; Kyo. *tàrè-*; Kag. *tàrè-*.

◊ JLTT 764.

PKor. ***tə̌r-** to hang, fasten (вешать, прикреплять): MKor. *tə̌r-*; Mod. *tal-*.

◊ Nam 140, KED 403.

‖ A rare case of high tone in a verbal stem in Korean. The unmistakable identity of PM **telej* = PTM **tōli* suggests that the association of Mong. *teleji* 'belt' with tele- 'to spread' is secondary, due to the merger of the roots **tʻi̯ə̀lo* and **tʻə́lù* (q.v.).

***tʻi̯ə́ĺke** to splash, overflow: Tung. ***tilka-**; Mong. ***čilga-**; Turk. ***d(i)āĺ(i)-**.

PTung. ***tilka-** to splatter, overflow (разливаться, выплескиваться): Evk. *tilka-*; Evn. *tilqъn-*; Ul. *čilčan-*; Nan. *čilqa-*.

◊ TMC 2, 180-181.

PMong. ***čilga-** / ***čalgi-** to splash, splatter, overflow (расплескивать, переливать(ся) через край): WMong. *čilga-*, (L 163) *čalgi-*; Kh. *calgi-*; Bur. *salgi-*, *šalšagana-*, *šald*; Ord. *čalgi-*.

PTurk. ***d(i)āĺ(i)-*** to overflow (переливаться через край, разливаться): OTurk. *taš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *taš-* (MK); Tur. *taš-*; Gag. *taš-*; Az. *daš-*; Turkm. *dāš-*; MTurk. *taš-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔš-*; Uygh. *taš-*; Krm. *taš-*; Tat. *taši-*; Kirgh. *taši-*; Kaz. *tasi-*; KKalp. *tasi-*; Kum. *taši-*; Nogh. *tasi-*; SUygh. *tasi-*; Khak. *tas-*; Oyr. *tašqïn* 'flood'; Tv. *dažï-*; Yak. *talɨj-*.

◊ VEWT 466, EDT 559, ЭСТЯ 3, 169-170.

‖ Дыбо 13. A Western isogloss.

tʹi̯àma** ball, round, curved: Tung. ***tiam-; Jpn. ***tàma***.

PTung. ***tiam-*** sledge bow (дуга (у нарты)): Neg. *tə̂mkān*; Ul. *tə̂mbu*; Ork. *čimbo*; Nan. *čiamboā*; Orch. *tə̂mbua*.

◊ TMC 2, 172.

PJpn. ***tàma*** 1 ball 2 egg (1 шарик 2 яйцо): OJpn. *tama* 1; MJpn. *tàmà* 1; Tok. *tamá* 1, *tamágo* 2; Kyo. *tàmá* 1, *tàmágò* 2; Kag. *tamá* 1, *tamagó* 2.

◊ JLTT 539, 540. RJ has both *tàmà* and *tàmá* (the former reflected in Tokyo, the latter in Kyoto).

‖ An expressive Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; like most words for 'round', not quite reliable.

tʹi̯ame (?)** to crush, pound, knead: Tung. ***timre; Mong. ***čimar***; Turk. ****Tam-***.

PTung. ***timre*** 1 crumbs 2 flour made of dried meat (1 крошки 2 мука из сушеного мяса): Evk. *timre*; Evn. *tīmrъ*; Neg. *timne*.

◊ TMC 2, 182.

PMong. ***čimar*** flour kneaded with butter (мука, замешанная с маслом): WMong. *čimar* (MXTTT); Kh. *čamar*; Bur. *šamarha(n)* 'fried flour'.

PTurk. ****Tam-*** to churn butter (сбивать масло): Karakh. *tamɨn-* (MK).

‖ A Western isogloss. If Sukhebaatar (212) is right in deriving the Mong. form < Tib. *phye-mar* 'flour and butter', the existence of this Altaic root becomes rather dubious.

tʹi̯árko** a k. of carriage: Tung. ***turki; Mong. ***terge***; Kor. ****tə̀rkó***.

PTung. ***turki*** sleigh, *narta* (нарта): Evk. *turku*; Evn. *tuṛqi*; Ul. *tučï*; Ork. *tutčï*; Nan. *tokï*; Orch. *tukki*; Ud. *tuxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 220. Evk. > Dolg. *turku* (Stachowski 232).

PMong. ***terge*** vehicle (повозка): MMong. *tergan* (HY 17, SH), *tirgän* (MA), *terge(n)*; WMong. *terge(n)* (L 805); Kh. *terge*; Bur. *terge(n)*; Kalm. *tergṇ*; Ord. *terge(n)*; Dag. *terge*, *tereg* (Тод. Дар. 167), *terehe* (MD 224); Dong. *čiege*; S.-Yugh. *tergen*; Mongr. *tērge* (SM 417), *tərge*.

◊ KW 393, MGCD 634. Mong. > Uygh. *tergän* etc. (see Лексика 534); Evk. *terge* etc., see Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 176, 207.

PKor. ****tə̀rkó*** light carriage (легкая повозка): MKor. *tə̀rkóčï*; Mod. *talguši*.

◊ Nam 140, KED 402.

‖ SKE 253.

✱**tʻi̯ăru** to curse: Tung. ***turē-***; Mong. ***tarki-***; Turk. ***Tẹrk-***.

PTung. ***turē-*** to curse; to speak (бранить, ругать; говорить): Evk. *turē-*; Evn. *tōre-*; Neg. *tūjē-*; Sol. *tūrē-*.

◊ TMC 2,222.

PMong ***tarki-*** to curse (ругать, браниться): WMong. *tarki-da-* (MXTTT); Kh. *tarxida-*; Dag. *tareke-* 'fight' (MD 221).

PTurk. ***Tẹrk-*** to curse, despise (упрекать, ругать): MTurk. *te/irke-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *terga-*; Uygh. *tärgi-*; Tat. *tirgɛ-*; Bashk. *tirgä-*; Yak. *tirē-* 'to threaten'.

◊ VEWT 481.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tʻi̯árV (~ -ŕ-)** to melt: Tung. ***tiar-***; Jpn. ***tárá-***.

PTung. ***tiar-*** to melt (fat), roast (топить (жир), жарить): Evn. *tā̆r-*; Neg. *tê̆j-*; Man. *čaru-*; SMan. *čarə-* (382); Ork. *čịrụ-*; Nan. *čịro-*; Orch. *tiru-*.

◊ TMC 2, 173.

PJpn. ***tárá-*** to melt (плавиться): MJpn. *toroka-*, *tóromós-*; Tok. *tòroke-*; Kyo. *tóróké-*; Kag. *toroké-*.

◊ JLTT 771.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Not quite secure because of the vocalic correspondence.

✱**tʻi̯àsá** very: Tung. ***tias-***; Mong. ***tasu***; Turk. ***tAs***; Jpn. ***tàsí-***; Kor. ***tàsí***.

PTung. ***tias-*** quite, completely (сплошь, совершенно, полно́): Neg. *tê̆s*; Ul. *tê̆s*; Ork. *tês*; Nan. *tịas*; Orch. *tā̆s*, *tias*; Ud. *teäsi*.

◊ TMC 2, 173.

PMong. ***tasu*** quite, completely (совсем, совершенно): WMong. *tasu* (L 784); Kh. *tas*; Bur. *taha*; Kalm. *tas*; Ord. *tas* 'idée de fermeté, d'obstination, d'intensité; aussi: absolutement, strictement, tout droit'.

◊ KW 381.

PTurk. ***tAs*** 1 bad 2 quite (1 плохой, дурной 2 совсем): Karakh. *tas* 1 (MK - Oghuz, IM); Turkm. *tas* 2; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tas* 1 (Houts., Ettuhf., Bulgat.); KBalk. *tas* 1; Khak. *tas-xara* 'quite dark'; Tv. *tas* 'excellent!'.

◊ VEWT 465, EDT 554.

PJpn. ***tàsí-*** 1 certainly, verily 2 exact (1 точно, совершенно 2 точный): OJpn. *tasi-ni* 1, *tasi-ka* 2; MJpn. *tàsí-ka* 2; Tok. *táshika* 2; Kyo. *tàshíkà* 2; Kag. *tashiká* 2.

◊ JLTT 542.

PKor. ***tàsí*** again (опять, снова): MKor. *tàsí*; Mod. *tasi*.

◊ Liu 195, KED 386.

‖ Irregular tone and vowel in Korean may suggest a possibility of loan (< OJ *tasi*). Cf. also Mong. *tasija* 'lie' (> Man. *tašan, tašara-* etc., see Doerfer MT 119).

✱**tʻi̯olge** a k. of vehicle: Tung. ***tolga**; Mong. ***telegen**; Turk. ***Tilgen (~ -e-)**.

PTung. ***tolga** sleigh (with dogs) (нарта (собачья)): Evk. *tolgokī; tolgodō-* 'to go in a sleigh'; Neg. *tolgoxī*; Nan. *tolkị*.

◊ TMC 2, 194.

PMong. ***telegen** vehicle (повозка, телега): MMong. *telege(n)* (SH).

PTurk. ***Tilgen** wheel (колесо): OTurk. *tilgen, tilken* (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 499.

‖ A Western isogloss. MMong. may be < Turkic (though not necessarily); a Mongolian source is probable for Chag. *tälgän*, Nogh. dial. *telegen*, KKalp. *telegen*, see Лексика 534-535 with literature.

✱**tʻi̯ŏlgu** moon: Mong. ***tergel**; Jpn. ***tùkùi**; Kor. ***tă̆r**.

PMong. ***tergel** full moon (полнолуние): MMong. *tergel* (SH); WMong. *tergel* (L 805); Kh. *tergel*; Bur. *terged hara*; Kalm. *tergel* (СЯОС).

◊ Mong. > Evn. *tärkan-*.

PJpn. ***tùkùi** moon (луна): OJpn. *tuki*; MJpn. *tuki*; Tok. *tsukí*; Kyo. *tsúkì*; Kag. *tsúT*.

◊ JLTT 554.

PKor. ***tă̆r** moon (луна): MKor. *tă̆r*; Mod. *tal*.

◊ Nam 140, KED 401.

‖ Martin 236, АПиПЯЯ 94, 278, Vovin 2000.

✱**tʻi̯ŏlo** to shine, reflect: Tung. ***tī-**; Mong. ***tolui**; Jpn. ***tàir- (~ tiar-)**.

PTung. ***tī-** to become full (of moon) (наступать (о полнолунии)): Evk. *tī-*; Neg. *tị-*.

◊ TMC 2, 173.

PMong. ***tolui** reflecting surface, mirror (отражающая поверхность, зеркало): MMong. *toli* (HY 21), *tūli* (Lig.VMI), *tuluj* (MA); WMong. *tolui, toli(n)* (L 821); Kh. *toĺ*; Bur. *toli*; Kalm. *tolə*; Ord. *toli* 'metal mirror'; Dag. *toli* (Тод. Дар. 168, MD 225: 'a round iron object used by shamans'); S.-Yugh. *tōlə*; Mongr. *tōlə*.

◊ KW 399, MGCD 639, TMN 1, 274. Mong. > Evk. *tōlẽn* etc., see Doerfer MT 82, Rozycki 210; Chag. *toli* (Lig. VMI 69).

PJpn. ***tàir- (~ tiàr-)** to shine (светить): OJpn. *ter-*; MJpn. *tèr-*; Tok. *tér-*; Kyo. *tèr-*; Kag. *tèr-*.

◊ JLTT 767.

‖ The Jpn. diphthong is not quite clear. It is interesting also to mention Turkic data: cf. Karakh. *tolun* in *tolun* aj 'full moon' (MK, see EDT 501), with *tolun* formally being a participle from **dol-* 'to be filled', but in fact used only in this phrase in the sense of "full moon". Modern

Turkish has *dolunaj* 'full moon' with d- (just as in *dol-* 'be filled'), but the verb *tolun-* 'to become full (of moon)' - which would correspond quite regularly to PA **t'i̯ôlo*. One should reckon with a possibility of rather archaic contamination in Turkic (since most languages do not distinguish between the reflexes of *t- and *d-).

✱**t'i̯oŋe** air or water space: Tung. ***tuŋ-**; Mong. ***töŋk-**; Kor. ***taŋh / *təŋh**.

PTung. ***tuŋ-** 1 lake 2 backwater (1 озеро 2 заводь): Evk. *tuŋer* 1, *tuŋuke* 2; Evn. *töŋēr* 1; Neg. *töŋēr* 1; Man. *tuŋgu* 'abyss, deep place'; Ud. *toŋi, tuŋi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 215, 217.

PMong. ***töŋk-** 1 to hollow out 2 hollow, groove 3 deep valley (1 опустошать, выковыривать 2 полость 3 ложбина, впадина): WMong. *töŋki-* 1, *töŋkilge* 2 (L 835); Kh. *tönxö-, töngö-* 1, *tönxlög* 2; Bur. *tünxi-* 1; Kalm. *töŋgə* 3; Ord. *töŋχɔ̃-* 'piquer ou crever à coup de bec'.

◊ KW 407.

PKor. ***taŋh / *təŋh** hollow, empty (полый, пустой): Mod. *thaŋ, thəŋ*.

◊ KED 1694, 1704.

‖ Doerfer (TMN 3, 207) considers the Kalm. form to be the source of TM, which is hardly plausible. Cf. **t'ə̀ŋa* 'lowland'.

✱**t'i̯op'è** to search: Mong. ***taɣa-**; Turk. ***tăp-**; Jpn. ***təp-**; Kor. ***toph-**.

PMong. ***taɣa-** to guess (угадывать): MMong. *ta'a* 'jealousy, doubt' (HY 37); WMong. *taɣa-* (L 763); Kh. *tā-*; Bur. *tā-*; Kalm. *tā-* (KPC); Ord. *tā-*; Dag. *tauli, tauĺ* (Тод. Даг. 166) 'riddle' (= WMong. *taɣaburi*); Dong. *ta-*; Bao. *tā-*; S.-Yugh. *tā-*; Mongr. *tā-* (SM 404).

◊ MGCD 619. Mong. *taɣa-* > Yak., Dolg. *tāj-*; *taɣaburi* > Yak. *tābirin*, Dolg. *tābirīn* (Kał. MEJ 56, Stachowski 218-219) > Evn. *tābirin* (TMC 2, 149).

PTurk. ***tăp-** to find (находить, встречать): OTurk. *tap-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tap-* (MK); Tur. *tap-*, dap- (dial.); Az. *tap-*; Turkm. *tap-*; Sal. *ta'p-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *tap-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔp-*; Uygh. *tap-*; Krm. *tap-*; Tat. *tap-*; Bashk. *tap-*; Kirgh. *tap-*; Kaz. *tap-*; KBalk. *tap-*; KKalp. *tap-*; Kum. *tap-*; Nogh. *tap-*; SUygh. *tap-*; Khak. *tap-*; Shr. *tap-*; Oyr. *tap-*; Tv. *tɨp-*; Tof. *tɨ'p-*; Chuv. *top-*; Yak. *tap-* 'to hit the target'; Dolg. *taptar-* 'sich fangen lassen'.

◊ VEWT 462, EDT 435, Федотов 2, 248, Stachowski 217.

PJpn. ***təp-** to woo (ухаживать, свататься): OJpn. *top-*.

PKor. ***toph-** to search for, to seek everywhere (искать всюду, обыскивать): Mod. *thoph-*.

◊ KED 1715.

‖ Владимирцов 208, Poppe 13, 47, PKE 222, KW 386. Mong. cannot be < Turk., despite TMN 2, 429, Щербак 1997, 153 (although the vowel

correspondence is not quite satisfactory: one would expect -e- in Mong.).

***tʹi̯o̯pʹé** to trample: Tung. ***tubu- (~ -p-)**; Mong. ***teɣe- / *teji- / *tübü-**; Turk. ***tep- / *dēp-**; Jpn. ***túmpú-**; Kor. ***tjap- (?)**.

PTung. ***tubu- (~ -p-)** 1 to step, trample 2 stirrup 3 track (1 ступать, топтать 2 стремя 3 след): Evk. *tū(w)-* 1; Evn. *tō-* 1; Neg. *tuasan* 3; Man. *tufon, tufun* 2; Jurch. *tuw-fu* (231) 2.

◊ TMC 2, 202-203.

PMong. ***teɣe- / *teji- / *tübü-** 1 to kick (with a foot, leg), scratch earth (with a foot) 2 to trample (1 пинать, царапать землю (ногой) 2 топтать, топать): MMong. *te'ure-* 'to crush, trample' (SH); WMong. *teye-, tejir-* 1 (L 797: *tejire-*), *tübür-* 2 (L 848: *tübere-*); Kh. *tijre-*; Bur. *tijre-* 2,1; Kalm. *tē-, tīr-* 1, *tüwr-* 2; Ord. *tüwerē, tewerē* 'bruit de sabots d'animaux frappant le sol en courant'.

◊ KW 395, 417.

PTurk. ***tep- / *dēp-** to stamp, tramp (топтать, пинать): Karakh. *tep-* (MK, KB); Tur. *tep-*, dial. *dep-*; Gag. *tep-*; Az. *täp-, däp-*; Turkm. *dep-, dāb-š-e-*; Khal. *täp-*; MTurk. *tep-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tep-*; Uygh. *täp-*; Krm. *tep-*; Tat. *tip-*; Bashk. *tip-*; Kirgh. *tep-*; Kaz. *tep-*; KBalk. *teber-*; KKalp. *tep-*; Kum. *tep-*; Nogh. *tep-*; SUygh. *tep-*; Khak. *tep-, tip-*; Shr. *tep-*; Oyr. *tep-*; Tv. *te'p-*; Chuv. *tab-*; Yak. *tep-*; Dolg. *tep-*.

◊ VEWT 474, EDT 435, ЭСТЯ 3, 195-197, Stachowski 221.

PJpn. ***túmpú-** 1 to be trampled, destroyed 2 to trample, break, destroy (1 быть растоптанным, разрушаться 2 растаптывать, разламывать, разрушать): MJpn. *túbúra-* 1; Tok. *tsùbure-* 1, *tsùbu-s-* 2; Kyo. *tsúbúré-* 1, *tsúbús-* 2; Kag. *tsuburé-* 1, *tsubús-* 2.

◊ JLTT 772.

PKor. ***tjap- (?)** to kill, slaughter (убивать, резать (животных)): Mod. *čap-* (NKor. *tjap-*).

◊ KED 1398 regards the word as a metaphorical variant of *čap-* 'to hold, catch'; but SKE 23 gives a dialectal form *tjap-* which might suggest a different origin.

‖ Владимирцов 272. Cf. **tăpʹV, *tʹĕpʹa* (with a possibility of mergers). The Turk. variant **dēp-* is secondary, probably under the influence of **dāp-* < **tăpʹV*, but may be rather old: cf. the match PT **dep-se-* : PM **deb-se-* 'to stamp, tramp' (a secondary loan is hardly possible in this case).

***tʹi̯opʹu** limit, completely: Tung. ***tiap**; Mong. ***tujil**; Turk. ***top**.

PTung. ***tiap** extremely, completely (до конца, целиком, напролет): Nan. *tiap*; Orch. *tiap*; Ud. *tofu*.

◊ TMC 2, 174.

PMong. ***tujil** end, limit, extremity (конец, предел): WMong. *tujil* (L 839); Kh. *tujl*; Bur. *tujl*; Kalm. *tūl* (СЯОС); Ord. *tuil*.

PTurk. ***top*** all, completely; complex, collection (весь, целиком; совокупность): OTurk. *top* (OUygh.), *top-la-* 'to collect' (Orkh., OUygh. - YB); Tur. *top*; Gag. *top*; Az. *top*; Turkm. *top*; MTurk. *top* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *to̥p*; Uygh. *top*; Krm. *top*; Tat. *tupliq* 'place where cattle is lying', *tupla-* 'to collect'; Bashk. *tup*; Kirgh. *top*; Kaz. *top*; KKalp. *top*; Kum. *topla-* 'to collect'; Nogh. *top*; Yak. *tobō-* 'to gather'.

◊ VEWT 489, EDT 493. Clauson considers the form *top* (rare in OUygh.) to be contracted < *tolp* < *tolup* < *tol-* 'to be full', which is quite dubious phonetically.

‖ A Western isogloss.

tʿi̯òra** to cultivate (earth): Mong. ***tarija-n; Turk. ***TAri-***; Jpn. ***tà***.

PMong. ***tarija-n*** crops (зерно): MMong. *tarijan* (HY 4), *tarijat* (pl.) (SH), *tariān* (IM); WMong. *tarijan;* Kh. *taria;* Bur. *taŕā(n)*; Kalm. *tarān* (KW), *tärēn* (KPC); Ord. *tarā*; Dag. *tarē*, (Тод. *Дar.* 165) *taŕē*; Dong. *taran* (Тод. *Дн.*); Bao. *taraŋ* (Тод. Бн.); S.-Yugh. *tarālžin*; Mongr. *tarā* (SM 410).

◊ KW 380, MGCD 625. There exists also a verb WMong. *tari-* 'to sow, plant', but this may be borrowed from Turk. (see TMN 1, 244-245, 2, 480-482, Щербак 1997, 153). On the other hand, the isolated Oyr. dial. *tarān* 'millet, crops' is most probably < Mong. *tarijan*. Mong. *tari-* > Evk., Man. *tari-* etc. (see TMC 2, 168, Doerfer MT 77, Rozycki 203).

PTurk. ***TAri-*** to cultivate (ground) (возделывать (землю)): OTurk. *tari-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tari-* (MK, KB); MTurk. *tari-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uygh. *teri-* (dial.); SUygh. *tari-*; Khak. *tari-*; Oyr. *tari-*; Tv. *tari-*; Tof. *tari-*.

◊ EDT 532, ЭСТЯ 3, 157-159 (confused with **dạri-g* 'millet' q. v. sub **tăra*).

PJpn. ***tà*** field (cultivated) (поле (обработанное)): OJpn. ta; MJpn. *tà*; Tok. *tá*; Kyo. *tā̀*; Kag. *tà*.

◊ JLTT 536. Cf. also *tagayas-* 'to cultivate, plough (earth)'.

‖ KW 380, 387, Poppe 62, Мудрак 181. Jpn. reflects a suffixed form **tʿi̯òr(a)-gV* (cf. Mong. *tari-jan*). Cf. **tăra*: if PT **dạri-g* 'millet' is derived from this root, then Mong. **tarija-n* should be considered a Turkism, and the reconstruction should be emended to **tVra*.

tʿi̯òre** hired labour: Tung. ***tōrī-; Mong. ***türije-sü***; Turk. ***ter***; Jpn. ***tùtuà-ma-***.

PTung. ***tōrī-*** 1 wages, dowry 2 to hire (1 плата, калым 2 нанимать): Evk. *tōrī* 1; Evn. *torị* 1; Neg. *tōjī* 1; Man. *turi-* 2, *turigen*, *turixen* 'rent'; SMan. *ťuri-* 2 (968); Ul. *torị(n)*, *turi(n)* 1; Ork. *torị* 1; Nan. *torị* 1; Orch. *toji* 1; Ud. *toi* 1; Sol. *turgundē-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 199-200, 219. Man. > Nan. *turī*, Ul. *turi(n)*; > Dag. *turgun* 'rent' (MGCD 659). The Manchu form cannot be borrowed < Mong., despite Rozycki 213 (the only similar form - Dag. *turgun* - is itself most probably < TM, see above).

PMong. ***türije-sü*** rent (рента, аренда): WMong. *türijesü(n)* (L 855); Kh. *türēs*; Bur. *türse*; Ord. *türēsü*.

PTurk. ***ter*** 1 hired labour 2 wages (1 работа по найму 2 зарплата): Karakh. *ter* 1, 2 (MK, IM); Tur. *ter oγlan* 'hired worker'; MTurk. *ter* 2

(MA); Kirgh. *maŋdaj teri* 2 (contamination: lit. 'forehead sweat'); Tv. *xol deri* 2 (contamination: lit. 'arm sweat'); Chuv. *tar(a)* 1; Yak. *terii-* 'to organize'.

◊ VEWT 474, EDT 528, Лексика 353, Федотов 2, 176 (the root should be kept distinct from **der* 'sweat'.

PJpn. **tùtuà-ma-** to serve, be hired (служить, быть нанятым): OJpn. *tutwoma-*; MJpn. *tùtòma-*; Tok. *tsutomé-*; Kyo. *tsútómé-*; Kag. *tsùtòmè-*.

◊ JLTT 776.

‖ An interesting Common Altaic term indicating some sort of economic relations.

***t'i̯ór(g)e** support, beam: Tung. ***turga-**; Mong. ***terki-**; Turk. ***Terki**; Jpn. ***túrí-(n)kói**; Kor. ***tòrí**.

PTung. ***turga-** prop, support (подпорка, подставка): Evk. *turga*; Evn. *tọr*; Neg. *tojga, tuju*; Ul. *tụžakụ*; Nan. *tojGa*; Orch. *tugia-* 'to prop'; Ud. *tuga*.

◊ TMC 2, 218, 220.

PMong. ***terki-** dais (платформа): Dag. *terkin* (Тод. Даг. 167).

◊ Cf. Man. *terki(n)* < Mong.?

PTurk. ***Terki** table, portable table (столик): Karakh. *tergi* (MK, KB); MTurk. *tirki* (CCum.); Krm. *tirki* 'sacrificial table'.

◊ VEWT 475, EDT 544.

PJpn. ***túrí-(n)kói** ceiling beam (потолочная балка): MJpn. *túrígí*; Tok. *tsurigi*.

PKor. ***tòrí** cross-beam (поперечная балка): MKor. *tòrí*; Mod. *tori*.

◊ Liu 225, KED 465.

‖ On Turk. **dīre-*, **dīre-k* see under **t'íri-* (a contamination). The Mong. (Dagur) and Manchu forms may ultimately have a Turkic origin.

***t'i̯ǒso** help, benefit: Tung. ***tisū-**; Mong. ***tüsi-**; Turk. ***Tus-**; Jpn. ***tàsùka-**; Kor. ***thas**.

PTung. ***tisū-** 1 to clear the way for a caravan; help a child learn to walk 2 to drive deer (1 расчищать путь для каравана; учить ребенка ходить 2 гнать оленей): Evk. *tisū-* 1; Evn. *tịsъsṵn-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 188-189.

PMong. ***tüsi-** to assist, help, rely on (помогать, полагаться на): MMong. *tüši-* 'belehnen' (HYt); WMong. *tüsi-* (L 856); Kh. *tūši-*; Kalm. *tüš-*; Ord. *düši-*.

◊ KW 417, TMN 1, 269.

PTurk. ***Tus-** 1 profit, benefit 2 to be profitable (1 выгода 2 быть выгодным): OTurk. *tusu* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tusu* 1 (MK), *tus-* 2, *tusuɣluɣ*

'good service' (KB); Khak. *tuza*; Oyr. *tuza*; Tv. *duza*; Yak. *tuha*; Dolg. *tuha-lā-* 'be helpful', *tuhan-* 'use'.

◊ VEWT 501, Stachowski 230. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *tusa*, WMong. *tusa* 'help, service' (see Clark 1977, 157, Щербак 1997, 159; not vice versa, despite Sinor 1970), whence Man. *tusa* etc., see Doerfer MT 100, and possibly some modern Turkic forms as backloans.

PJpn. ***tàsùka-*** to help (помогать): OJpn. *tasuka-*; MJpn. *tàsùka-*; Tok. *tasuké-*; Kyo. *tásúké-*; Kag. *tàsùkè-*.

◊ JLTT 764.

PKor. ***thas*** reason; trust (причина; доверие): MKor. *thas*; Mod. *that* [*thas*] 'reason; fault'.

◊ Liu 712, KED 1694.

‖ Within Jpn. the form is analysed as a compound **ta* 'hand' + **suka-* 'help', which is probably a folk etymology in view of the external evidence; cf. especially Kor. *thas* which points to **tasVh-* = Jpn. **tàsùkà-*. Not quite clear is the position of several forms: WMong. *tos-* 'to receive, encounter' (maybe, following Clark 1980, 41 < Turk. **dūĺ-* 'to meet' - although the latter is certainly borrowed as WMong. *tus-* 'to hit upon, fall to one's share', so this would be a somewhat unusual etymological doublet); Manchu *tusu-* 'to marry, celebrate marriage' (could be a Mong. loanword, but the semantics is strikingly different). Finally there is MKor. *tăsk-* 'to love, like'. This evidence suggests a possibility of a separate PA root **tʻoso* (**tʻosu*) 'to present to the guest, to celebrate'; but a possibility of later interdialectal loans of the reflexes of **tʻi̯ŏso* should also be considered.

tʻi̯ùbu** stick, staff: Jpn. ***tùwái; Kor. ***tìp(h)-***.

PJpn. ***tùwái*** staff (посох, палка): OJpn. *tuwe*; MJpn. *tùwé*; Tok. *tsúe*; Kyo. *tsùé*; Kag. *tsué*.

◊ JLTT 553.

PKor. ***tìp(h)-*** 1 to carry a cane, stick 2 walking stick (1 нести палку, шест 2 посох, палка): MKor. *tìp-* 1; Mod. *čip-* (*čiph-*) 1, *čiphäŋi* 2.

◊KED 1538, 1559.

‖ SKE 34. A Kor.-Jap. isogloss, with Kor. -ph- < *-bV-k- and usual verbal low tone. In TM cf. perhaps Ewk. *tūwkē* 'stick in a cross-bow' (cf. the Kor. form), Ulch. *tuj-že-* 'to make ready a cross-bow', possibly pointing to PTM **tub(i)-* 'stick in a cross-bow'.

tʻi̯udu** a period of time: Mong. ***tuǯi; Turk. ****Tıdın***; Jpn. ***tùnâi***.

PMong. ***tuǯi*** always; throughout some time (всегда; в течение какого-л. времени): WMong. *tuǯi* (L 848); Kh. *tuǯ*.

PTurk. ****Tıdın*** time, appointed time (срок): OTurk. *tıdın* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tıδın*; Bashk. *tına* (3 Sg. Dat.) 'промежуток рабочего времени от одной передышки до другой'.

◊ EDT 457.

PJpn. ***tùnâi*** long-lasting, always (всегда, вечно, долго): OJpn. tune; MJpn. *tùné*; Tok. *tsúne*; Kyo. *tsùnê*; Kag. *tsùné*.

◊ JLTT 556.

‖ Jpn. **tuna-* < **tuda-n* with nasal assimilation (= OT *tidin*).

t'i̯ŭge (~ -o)** quay, harbour: Tung. ***tügde-; Mong. ***tuguj***; Jpn. ***tù***.

PTung. ***tügde-lē-*** 1 to cross a bridge 2 bridge, log (1 перейти по бревну, мостику 2 мостик, бревно): Evk. *tigdelē-*, *digde-* 1, *tigdelēn* 2; Evn. *tildraun* 2; Ork. *tugdule* 2, *tugdule-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 204; 2, 175-176.

PMong. ***tuguj*** brow, gangway, causeway (мостки, сходни): WMong. *tuɣui* (MXTTT); Kh. *tuguj* (MXTT), *duguj-ca-* 'cross a bridge'; Bur. *dugi*.

◊ Mong. > Neg. *toɣi* 'quay, harbour, low shore' etc. (TMC 2, 190).

PJpn. ***tù*** ford (переправа; гавань): OJpn. *tu*; MJpn. *tù*; Tok. *tsú*; Kyo. *tsú*; Kag. *tsú*.

◊ JLTT 552. Kyoto and Kagoshima point rather to **tú*, but RJ has a low tone with corresponding high accent in Tokyo.

‖ An interesting Mong.-Tung.-Jpn. match.

t'i̯úgo** cover: Tung. ***tüksa; Mong. ***tuɣurga***; Turk. ****Tugur***; Jpn. ****tu-i***; Kor. ****tù'ə̀i***.

PTung. ***tüksa*** house cover made of birch bark (берестяная покрышка (жилища)): Evk. *tiksa*; Evn. *tịs*; Neg. *tịksa*; Man. *tuqsa*; Ul. *tụịqsa*; Nan. *tịsa* (Kur-Urm.); Orch. *tuksa*; Ud. *tukeä*, *tukä*.

◊ TMC 2, 179.

PMong. ***tuɣurga*** felt walls (covering) of a house (войлочные стенки юрты): MMong. *to'urqa*, *tu'urqa* (SH); WMong. *tuɣurɣa* (L 839); Kh. *tūrga*; Bur. *tūrga*; Kalm. *tūrɣə*; Ord. *tūrGa*.

◊ KW 413. Mong. > Oyr. *tūrɣa*. Cf. also WMong. *tuɣurma*, Kalm. *tūrmə* id.

PTurk. ****Tugur*** 1 a k. of tent 2 tent covering (1 вид шатра 2 покрышка шатра): Tur. *turluk* (dial.) 2; Turkm. *durluq* 2; MTurk. ***tuɣur*** 1, *tuɣurluq* 2 (Pav. C.); Kirgh. *tūrduq* 2; Kaz. *tuwirluq* 2; KKalp. ***tuwirluq*** 2.

◊ Лексика 515. Tur. *turluk*, Turkm. *durluG* show irregular reflexation; we may be dealing with some interlingual loans here; the quality of the initial dental in PT is thus not quite clear.

PJpn. ****tu-i*** grass for roof covering (трава (для крыши)): OJpn. *ti* (*tu-*); Tok. *chi*.

◊ JLTT 545. For -u- cf. *tu-bana* 'flower of the *ti* grass'.

PKor. ****tù'ə̀i*** covering, cover (покрышка, крышка): MKor. *tù'ə́i*; Mod. *t:uk:əŋ*.

◊ Nam 166, KED 501.

‖ KW 413, Лексика 515. In Kor. cf. also *thúkú* 'helmet'.

***tʻi̯ukV** to fall, drop: Tung. ***tüK-**, ***tügde**; Kor. ***tīd-**.

PTung. ***tüK-, *tügde** 1 rain 2 to fall, drop (1 дождь 2 падать, опадать): Evk. *tigde* 1, *tik-* 2; Evn. *tīd* 1, *tik-* 2; Neg. *tigde* 1, *tik-* 2; Man. *tuxe-* 2; Jurch. *tu-ho-* 2; Ul. *tugde* 1, *tū-* 2; Ork. *tugde / tugže* 1, *tū-* 2; Nan. *tugde* 1, *tū-* 2; Orch. *tigde* 1, *tī-* 2; Ud. *tigde*; Sol. *tiki-* 2, *tegde-* 'to rain'.

◊ TMC 2, 175. Derived from **tük-* 'to fall' (see ibid. 177-178).

PKor. ***tīd-** to fall, drop (падать, капать): MKor. *tīt-* (-r-); Mod. *tit-* (-r-).

◊ Nam 173, Liu 251, KED 532.

‖ PKE 211. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss (both TM and Kor. reflect a suffixed form **tʻi̯uk-dV*).

***tʻi̯ŭkʻe (~ -i)** hair (on body): Tung. ***tiKi (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***tokum**; Turk. ***tŭk**.

PTung. ***tiKi (~ -ü-)** hair on skin (шерсть на шкуре): Evk. *tikikta*; Evn. *tīken*; Neg. *tiḳta*; Orch. *tikta*.

◊ TMC 2, 178.

PMong. ***tokum** 1 saddle blanket 2 to saddle (1 попона 2 седлать): MMong. *toxu* (HY 39), *toqu'ul-* 2 (SH), *ṭoɣu-* (IM), *tuɣum* (LH); WMong. *toqum* 1, *toqu-* 2 (L 829, 830); Kh. *toxum, toxom* 1, *toxo-* 2; Bur. *toxom* 1, *toxo-* 2; Kalm. *toxəm* 1, *toxə-* 2; Ord. *doxom* 1, *doxo-* 2; Dag. *toku, toko* 1, *togu-* 2 (Тод. Дат. 168 *toxo-, togo-*), *toke* 1, *tohe-, toke-* 2(MD 225); Dong. *toɣun* 1, *toɣu-* 2; Bao. *toχə-* 2; S.-Yugh. *toGom* 1, *toGo-* 2; Mongr. *tuGun* (SM 429), *tuGum* 1, *tuGu-* (SM 428) 2.

◊ KW 397, MGCD 363, 642, 643. Mong. > Oyr. *toqi-, toqum* etc. (see TMN 1, 272, 274, Лексика 544-545); > Evk. *toku-, tokum* etc. (see Poppe 1966, 196, Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 209).

PTurk. ***tŭk** 1 feather 2 (animal's) hair 3 (body) hair 4 fur 5 hair (1 перо 2 шерсть (животного) 3 волос (на теле) 4 мех 5 волос): OTurk. *tü* 1, 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tü* 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *tüj* 1-5; Gag. *tüj* 1, 2, 3; Az. *tük* 1,2,3,5; Turkm. *tüj* 2,3; Sal. *tüx, ʒüx* 2 (ССЯ); Khal. *tīk* 3; MTurk. *tük, tüj, tüg* 3 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tuk* 3; Uygh. *tük* 2, 3; Krm. *tik, ćuk* 2, 3; Tat. *tök* 1, 2, 3; Bashk. *tök* 2, 3; Kirgh. *tük* 2, 3; Kaz. *tük* 3; KBalk. *tük* 1, 2, 3; KKalp. *tük* 1, 2, 3; Kum. *tük* 3; Nogh. *tük* 1, 2, 3; Khak. *tük* 1, 2, 3; Shr. *tük* 1; Oyr. *tük* 1, 2, 3; Tv. *dük* 3, 5; Tof. *dük* (Рас. ФиЛ), *tük* 2, 3, 5; Chuv. *tə^{w}k* 1, 3; Yak. *tŭ* 1, 2, 3, 4; Dolg. *tŭ* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 503; EDT 433 (: originally only 'body hair', opposed to *sač* 'hair of head', *kïl* 'hair (in general)' and *jüg* 'feather'); Лексика 197-198; Stachowski 236. Loss of **-k* in OT and Yak. is not quite clear (perhaps a rather unique development of the final **-ŭk*).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 282, Дыбо 10, Лексика 198. A Western isogloss.

***tʻi̯ula (~ -u)** to intend, reason: Tung. ***tul-**; Mong. ***tula**; Turk. ***Tɨlda-**.

PTung. ***tul-** 1 to promise 2 to contemplate 3 plan, intention (1 обещать 2 обдумывать, предполагать 3 план, намерение): Evn. *tuleg-* 1, *tulbajal-* 'look at smth. peacefully'; Man. *tulbi-* 2, *tulbin* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 210, 212.

PMong. ***tula** because, for the sake of (потому что, ради): MMong. *tula* (SH, HY); WMong. *tula* (L 840); Kh. *tul, tuld*; Bur. *tula*; Kalm. *tulə*; Ord. *tula*; Dag. *tualda, tualā(n)* (Тод. Даг. 168), *tuale* (MD 227); Dong. *dula*.

◊ KW 409, MGCD 651, 652.

PTurk. ***Tɨlda-** 1 to allow, refer to 2 reason, excuse (1 обосновывать, ссылаться 2 причина, повод): OTurk. *tɨlda-* 1, *tɨldaɣ* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨlda-* 1 (KB), *tɨldaɣ* 2 (MK); MTurk. *dɨldaɣ* 2 (Houts.); Tat. *tɨldaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 478, EDT 494 (but not derived from **dɨl* 'tongue'!).

‖ KW 409. A Western isogloss.

***tʻi̯ule (~ -o)** to weaken, be exhausted: Tung. ***tüla-**; Mong. ***tul-**.

PTung. ***tüla-** 1 to become exhausted 2 to stop growing, weaken 3 to miss time, opportunity (1 истощаться, обессилевать 2 остановиться в росте, захиреть 3 упускать время, просрочивать): Evk. *tila-* 1; Evn. *tɨl-* 2; Man. *tuli-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 180, 210. Man. > Dag. *tuli-* 'to miss' (Тод. Даг. 169).

PMong. ***tul-** 1 weak, powerless 2 to be exhausted 3 lonely 4 awkward, shy (1 слабый, бессильный 2 истощаться 3 одинокий 4 смущенный, робкий): WMong. *tulaki* 1 (L 840), *tulɣui* 3, (L 841) *tulɣur* 4; Kh. *tulxi* 1, *tulgar* 4; Bur. *tuli-* 2; Kalm. *tulɣū* 3.

◊ KW 409.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

***tʻi̯ǜni** night, yesterday, dark: Tung. ***tīnu-**; Mong. ***tüne**; Turk. ***tün**.

PTung. ***tīnu-** yesterday (вчера): Evk. *tīnewe*; Evn. *tīniw*; Neg. *tīnuwej*; Ork. *čine / čińē*; Orch. *tinew*; Ud. *tineneŋi*; Sol. *tīnuɣ, tīnuge*.

◊ See TMC 2, 183-184.

PMong. ***tüne** dark (темный): MMong. *tun* (SH) 'thick black forest'; WMong. *tüne(n)* 'dark', *tün* 'forest' (L 853); Kh. *tüner*; Bur. *tünxij-* 'to become dark'; Kalm. *tünə* 'dark; forest'; Ord. *tüner, tünir*.

◊ KW 415.

PTurk. ***tün** 1 night 2 yesterday (1 ночь 2 вчера): OTurk. *tün* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tün* 1 (MK, KB), *dün, tün* 'night, dark' (IM); Tur. *tün* 1, *dün* 2; Gag. *dün* 2; Az. *dünän* 1; Turkm. *tün* 1, *dün* 2; MTurk. *tün* 1 (Abush.), 'dark' (Sangl.); Uzb. *tun* 1; Uygh. *tün* 1; Krm. *tün* 1; Tat. *tön* 1; Bashk. *tön* 1; Kirgh. *tün* 1; Kaz. *tun* 1; KBalk. *tün* 1; KKalp. *tün* 1;

Kum. *tum, tün* 1; Nogh. *tün* 1; SUygh. *tune, tün* 1; Khak. *tün* 1, 'dark'; Shr. *tün* 1; Oyr. *tün* 1; Tv. *dün* 1; Tof. *dün* 1; Yak. *tün* 1; Dolg. *tün*.

◊ VEWT 505, EDT 513, ЭСТЯ 3, 315-316, Лексика 81, Stachowski 236. Cf. also Yak. *tüŋ* 'dark, darkness' (< **tün-Vk*). The variant **dün*, reflected in some languages, is obviously due to a secondary influence of **dül* 'dream' (v. sub **tʻülke*), as well as the archaic compound **tü-gün* 'yesterday' (*'that day'), preserved in: Tur. dial. *dühün*, SUygh. *tugin*, Tuva, Tof. *dün*.

‖ EAS 148, Владимирцов 165, Poppe 112, Лексика 81. A Western isogloss. Despite TMN 2, 574, not borrowed in Mong. < Turk.

***tʻi̯ŭnŋá** a k. of predator: Tung. ***tuŋ-si-**; Mong. ***činua**; Turk. ***Toŋa (?)**; Jpn. ***tànúkí**.

PTung. ***tuŋ-si-** 1 bear's head 2 bear's forehead 3 name of a mythical predator (fox-like, devouring tigers and dragons) (1 голова медведя 2 лоб медведя 3 назв. мифического хищника (похожего на лису, пожирающего тигров и драконов)): Evk. *tuŋsuku* 1; Neg. *texseke* 2; Man. *tuŋsitun* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 216.

PMong. ***činua** wolf (волк): MMong. *čino* (HY 10, SH), *čana* (IM), *čina* (MA); WMong. *činua* (L 190); Kh. *čono(n)*; Bur. *šono*; Kalm. *čonə*; Ord. *čino*; Mog. *činō*; ZM *čenɔ̄* (21-5); Bao. *čina, čɨna*; Mongr. *čunō, čuna* (Minghe).

◊ KW 444, MGCD 575. Mong. > Evk. *činukaj*, see Poppe 1972, 97 (probably with secondary suffixation).

PTurk. ***Toŋa (?)** tiger (тигр): OTurk. *toŋa* (Orkh.) 'a military title', (OUygh.) 'hero'; Karakh. *toŋa* (MK).

◊ EDT 515 (with some doubts about the original meaning of the word).

PJpn. ***tànúkí** racoon dog (енотовидная собака): MJpn. *tánuki*; Tok. *tánuki*; Kyo. *tànúkì*; Kag. *tanukí*.

◊ JLTT 541.

‖ Mong. -n- points to *-nŋ-; TM **tuŋsi-* perhaps < **tunŋV-si-*.

***tʻi̯ùŋo (~ -e)** staff: Tung. ***tüjŋe(-pun)**; Mong. ***tujiban**; Jpn. ***tùmìpá**.

PTung. ***tüjŋe(-pun)** staff (посох): Evk. *tijewun*; Evn. *tijun*; Neg. *tijewun*; Man. *teifun*; SMan. *teifun* (676) 'walking stick, staff'; Ul. *tinepu(n)*; Ork. *teiŋgeptu(n)*; Nan. *tunepū*; Orch. *tijō, tijeu(n)*; Ud. *tiu, tieu(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 176.

PMong. ***tujiban** stick, cudgel (палка, дубина): WMong. *tujiban* (MXTTT); Kh. *tujvan*.

PJpn. ***tùmìpá** sword-guard (гарда): OJpn. *tum(j)ipa*; MJpn. *tùmìbá*; Tok. *tsúba*; Kyo. *tsùbâ*; Kag. *tsubá*.

◊ JLTT 552.

‖ The *-pʻV is probably an original suffix, but reconstructable already for PA.

***tʻi̯upʻi** dust, smoke; to rise (dust, smoke): Tung. ***tip-**; Turk. ***tüpi**.

PTung. ***tip-** 1 to rise (of dust, smoke) 2 dirt, smear (with dirt, clay) (1 подниматься (о пыли, дыме) 2 грязь, пачкать): Evk. *tipī-* 1, *tipa-* 2; Neg. *tip-* 2; Man. *čifa-* 2; SMan. *čiva-* 2 (2440); Ul. *čiptan* 2; Ork. *čipa* 2; Nan. *čipčā* 2; Orch. *tipa* 2; Ud. *têfakta* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 180, 185.

PTurk. ***tüpi** 1 high wind 2 dust-storm, storm (1 вьюга 2 пылевая буря): Karakh. *tüpi* 1 (MK); Tur. *tipi* 2; Uzb. (dial.) *dübüläj* 2; KKalp. *dübelej* 2; Tv. *düvü* 2; Tof. *töpʻö* 2; Yak. *tibī* 1, *tip-* 'to blow'; Dolg. *tibī* 1, *tip-* 'to blow (of a snowstorm)'.

◊ EDT 436, VEWT 503, Лексика 48, Stachowski 222, 223. The Uzb. and KKalp. forms may reflect a merger with PT **tüge-le(j)* (v. sub **tʻüge)*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 287. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. TM also has variants **tilpa-* / **tilba-* (see TMC 2, 180) meaning both 'dirt, smear' and 'snowstorm' and having arisen due to contamination with **tʻelbu* q. v.

***tʻi̯ŭpʻo** nail; hoof: Tung. ***tüpa, *tüp-ken**; Mong. ***tuwra, *turuɣu**; Turk. ***tubńa-k**; Jpn. ***túmá-i**; Kor. ***tòph**.

PTung. ***tüpa, *tüp-ken** 1 nail, peg 2 *(finger)nail* (1 гвоздь, колышек 2 ноготь): Evk. *tipken* 1; Evn. *tipkir, tipken* 1; Neg. *tipkēn* 1; Ul. *tukpe(n)* 1; Ork. *tupke(n)/-kpen* 1; Nan. *tukpē* 1; Orch. *tipa* 2, *tippe* 1; Ud. *tikpe(n)* 1; Sol. *tikkēsū* 1.

◊ TMC 2,185-186. A suffixless form **tüpa* is reflected in Oroch *tipa* 'fingernail'(vs. tippe 'nail, peg'). TM > Dag. *tibke-* 'to nail', *tibkēs* 'nail' (Тод. Дат. 167).

PMong. ***tuwra, *turuɣu** 1 hoof 2 lower hard part of hoof (1 копыто 2 нижний край копыта): MMong. *turu'un* (HY 15), tar (IM) 1, *turwun* (Lig.VMI), *turu* (MA); WMong. *turuɣu, taura, tuɣurai* 1; *tuɣur(a)* 2 (L 839); Kh. *tūr, tūraj, turū* 1; Bur. *turū(n)* 1; Kalm. *turūn* 1; *tūr* 2; Ord. *tūrā̃* 1; Dag. *torō* (Тод. Дат. 168) 1; S.-Yugh. *turūn* 1.

◊ KW 412, 413, MGCD 649. Cf. also *tujila-* 'to hit with hooves, feet (of a horse)'.

PTurk. ***tubńa-k** hoof (копыто): Karakh. *tujaɣ* (MK), *tujnaq* (IM); Tur. *dujnak*; Turkm. *tojnaq*; Sal. *cʻɨnaɣ* (ССЯ); MTurk. *tuwaq* (Sangl., Abush.), (MKypch.) *tujaq* (AH); Uzb. *tujɔq*; Uygh. *tuwaq*; Krm. *tujaq*; Tat. *tojaq*; Bashk. *tojaq*; Kirgh. *tujaq*; Kaz. *tujaq*; KBalk. *tujaq*; KKalp. *tujaq, dojnaq* (< Turkm.); Kum. *tujaq*; Nogh. *tujaq*; SUygh. *tujaɣ, tijiɣ*; Khak. *tujɣax*; Shr. *tujɣaq*; Oyr. *tujɣaq*; Tv. *dujuɣ*; Tof. *dujuɣ* (Рас. ФиЛ), *tujuɣ*; Yak. *tujax*; Dolg. *tuńak*.

◊ VEWT 499-500, EDT 519, Лексика 147, Федотов 2, 259-260, Stachowski 230. Chag., Uygh. *tuwaq* point to a labial *-b- in the stem, while Yak. -j- and -j- in other languages - to *-ń-: these reflexes can only be reconciled if we accept a cluster like *-bń- in the protoform (perhaps a contraction < **tupi-nak* or *sim.).*

PJpn. ***túmái** finger-nail, claw (ноготь, коготь): OJpn. *tume*; MJpn. *túmé*; Tok. *tsùme*; Kyo. *tsúmé*; Kag. *tsúme*.

◊ JLTT 555. Cf. also OJ *tubu-busi* (~ -p-) 'ankle'.

PKor. ***tòph** finger-nail, toe-nail (ноготь): MKor. *thòp*; Mod. *son-thop*.

◊ Nam 459, KED 1708.

‖ EAS 98, Владимирцов 293, Poppe 66 (Turk.-Mong.), Martin 228, АПиПЯЯ 96-97, 278, Лексика 147. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 2, 647-648) doubts, the Turk. form cannot be separated from the others, although it shows a somewhat peculiar phonetic development. PJ **túmá-* < **túpá-n-*: cf. also OJ *tubunak(j)i* 'ankle' (= PT **tubńak*, Evn. *tuwnuke*).

***tʻi̯ŭ̊re** straps for hanging: Tung. ***türü**; Turk. ***terkü (~ -i-)**; Jpn. ***túr-**; Kor. ***tìrí-**.

PTung. ***türü** straps (ремни, подвязки): Evk. *tirī*; Evn. *ṭirị*; Man. *turu*.

◊ TMC 2, 187.

PTurk. ***terkü (~ -i-)** saddle straps (торока): Karakh. *tergü* (MK); Tur. *terki* 'rear saddlebow'; Az. *tärk* 'place behind the saddle'; Turkm. *tirkiš*; MTurk. *terki* (Pav. C.), (MKypch.) *tergü* (Houts.); Khak. *tirgə*; Shr. *terig*; Oyr. *terki*; Tv. *dergi*; Chuv. *türt* 'back, back side', *türt-lax* 'чресседельник'; Yak. *törgӣ*.

◊ VEWT 475-476, EDT 544, TMN 2, 499-500. The stem is connected - in a somewhat unclear fashion - with **tirke-* 'to hitch' (derived from *tiz-* 'to string' in Хелимский 1986 and Дыбо 1995, 282 - but the latter should be properly reconstructed as **diŕ-*, so this derivation is by no means certain). External evidence suggests that **-i-* is original here; the vowel **-e-* in **terkü* may be due to the influence of **dēr-ke-* 'to gather; equip' (see **dēr-*).

PJpn. ***túr-** to hang (вешать, подвешивать): Tok. *tsùr-*; Kyo. *tsúr-*; Kag. *tsúr-*.

◊ JLTT 775. The root should be distinguished from **túr-* 'to fish, angle' (q.v. sub **tʻŏ̄bru*).

PKor. ***tìrí-** to hang (висеть, вешать): MKor. *tìrí-*; Mod. *tiriu-*.

◊ Nam 171, KED 526.

‖ The root seems reliable, although the vocalism is not quite certain: see above the notes on variation **e/i* in Turkic; Kor. *-i-* is also unexpected.

***tʻi̯uri (~ *tʻi̯oro, -ŕ-)** fish roe: Tung. ***tiru-kse**; Mong. ***türi-sü**.

PTung. ***tiru-kse** fish roe (икра): Evk. *tirukse, tirēkse*; Evn. *tīs*; Neg. *tise*; Man. *čerguwe, čerxuwe*; Ork. *tersu* 'нерестилище'.

◊ TMC 2, 189. Sol., Ul. *turse* < Mong.

PMong. ***türi-sü** fish roe (икра): WMong. *türisü(n)* (L 855); Kh. *türs*; Bur. *türŕhe(n)*; Kalm. *türsn̥*.

◊ KW 416.

‖ KW 416, Poppe 112. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; regarded as a loan in Mong. from Tung. by Doerfer MT 47-48, which is rather dubious.

✱**t′i̯ŭru** to hold, obstruct: Tung. ***tūrī-***; Mong. ***tor-***; Turk. ***tiri-k***; Jpn. ***tùtu-m-***.

PTung. ***tūrī-*** 1 to hold, support 2 support (n.) (1 удерживать, подпирать 2 опора): Evk. *tūrī-n* 1; Evn. *tör-* 1; Neg. *tuju* 2; Ul. *turu-wen-* 1; Ork. *toro-ŋolo-* 1; Nan. *turi-n-, turū-* 1; Orch. *turi-* 1; Sol. *terũ* 2.

◊ TMC 2,220.

PMong. ***tor-*** to get stuck, to be stopped, to become tangled in smth. (натыкаться, задевать, запинаться, удерживаться на ч.-л.): WMong. *tor-* (L 825); Kh. *toro-*; Bur. *toro-*.

PTurk. ***tiri-k*** latch, obstruction (запор, засов): Tur. *tirkaz*; Az. *tiriG*; Tv. *tiriq*; Tof. *tiriq*.

◊ VEWT 479.

PJpn. ***tùtu-m-*** to be hindered, blocked (натыкаться на препятствие, задерживаться): OJpn. *tutum-*; MJpn. *tùtum-*.

◊ JLTT 776.

‖ Cf. **t′i̯ór(g)e* 'support, beam' - a source of possible contaminations.

✱**t′i̯ŭŕe** leg; knee: Tung. ***türē-kse***; Mong. ***türej***; Turk. ***dīŕ***; Kor. ***tàrí***.

PTung. ***türē-(kse)*** boot-top (голенище): Evk. *tirēkse*; Neg. *tijekse*; Man. *ture*; Ul. *turekse*; Ork. *tureske*; Nan. *turekse*; Orch. *tijekse*; Ud. *tiehe*.

◊ TMC 2, 188.

PMong. ***türej*** boot-top (голенище): WMong. *türei, türüi* (L 854); Kh. *türij*; Bur. *türī*; Kalm. *türē*; Ord. *türī*; Dag. *turī* (Тод. Даг. 169), *tur*; S.-Yugh. *turē*; Mongr. *turī* (SM 434), *turē*.

◊ KW 415, MGCD 660.

PTurk. ***dīŕ (*dŭŕ)*** knee (колено): OTurk. *tiz* (Orkh.); Karakh. *tizle-* (MK) 'to press with one's knees'; Tur. *diz*; Gag. *diś*; Az. *diz*; Turkm. *dīz*; Sal. *tüzy, tizy*; Khal. *tīz*; MTurk. *diz* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *tiz*; Uygh. *tiz*; Krm. *tiz*; Tat. *tez*; Bashk. *teδ*; Kirgh. *tize*; Kaz. *tize*; KBalk. *tiz*; KKalp. *dize*; Kum. *tiz*; Nogh. *tiz*; SUygh. *diz*; Khak. *təzek*; Shr. *tize* (R., Верб.); Oyr. *tize*; Tv. *diskek*; Tof. *tiskek*; Chuv. *čər-puśśi*; Yak. *tühex*.

◊ VEWT 482, EDT 570, ЭСТЯ 3, 336-337, Егоров 323, Лексика 284.

PKor. ***tàrí*** leg (нога): MKor. *tàrí*; Mod. *tari*.

◊ Nam 129, KED 383.

‖ EAS 112, KW 415, Владимирцов 361, Poppe 112, Дыбо 6, Мудрак Дисс. 39, Лексика 286, Doerfer MT 69-70. Despite АПиПЯЯ 282, Mongolian and Tungus forms should be still considered as genetically related to PT **dīŕ* (**dīŕ*), and the reconstruction must be changed accordingly. This is one of the few cases of secondary voicing in PT (before **ŕ, *r*): the original voiceless reflex is preserved within the Common Turkic derivative **tir-sgek* 'elbow' (Лексика 247-248) (= TM **türē-kse*; the latter form, despite Rozycki 213, cannot be borrowed < Mong.).

***tʻi̯ūŕi** to suffer, endure: Mong. ***türü-**; Turk. ***döŕ-**.

PMong. ***türü-** 1 to suffer, be in need 2 to torment (2 нуждаться, страдать 2 огорчать): WMong. *türü-* 1, *türege-* 2 (KW); Kalm. *tür-* 1, *türē-* 2.

◊ KW 415-416.

PTurk. ***döŕ-** to suffer, endure (терпеть, переносить, страдать): Karakh. *töz-* (MK); Tur. *döz-* (dial.); Az. *döz-*; Turkm. *döz-*; MTurk. *töz-* (MA, Pav. C.); Krm. *töz-*; Tat. *tüz-*; Bashk. *tüδ-*; Kaz. *töz-*; KBalk. *töz-*; Nogh. *töz-*; SUygh. *tüz-*; Oyr. *tüzünük* ʻpatient'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 272-273, EDT 572. Turk. Bulg. > Hung. *tür-*, see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 1014 (Chuv. *tüs-* < Tat.).

‖ KW 416. A Turko-Mong. isogloss; in TM cf. perhaps Neg. *tojkụ* 'death', *tojkụw-* ʻto become ill (unexpectedly)'.

***tʻi̯uŕ(k)u** quick, swift: Tung. ***tur-ku-**; Mong. ***tür(ge-n)**; Turk. ***diŕ-**.

PTung. ***tur-ku-** 1 to jump 2 to swoop (of a wind gust) (1 прыгать 2 налетать (о порыве ветра)): Evk. *turku-* 1; Ud. *tuku-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 220.

PMong. ***tür(ge-n)** quick, swift (быстрый; кратковременный): MMong. *turgen* (HY 52), *turken* (MA 359); WMong. *tür, türgen* (L 854, 855); Kh. *tür, türgen*; Bur. *türge(n)*; Kalm. *türgn̦*; Ord. *türgen*; Dag. *turegun* (MD 228); S.-Yugh. *turgen*.

◊ KW 416, MGCD 659. Mong. > Evk. *turgen* etc. (TMC 2, 219, Doerfer MT 82, Rozycki 213); Yak., Dolg. *türgen* (Kał. MEJ 20, Stachowski 235).

PTurk. ***diŕ-** 1 to run away 2 to strive 3 to flounce, squib 4 to dash, race 5 tumble-weed (1 убегать 2 стремиться, рваться 3 суетиться, метаться 4 мчаться 5 перекати-поле): Az. *dïzïx-* 1; Turkm. *diza-* 2; Tat. *tïz-bïz kïl-* 3; Bashk. *tïzdap* kit- 1; Kirgh. *tïz qoj-* 4; Kaz. *tïzïlda-* 4; KKalp. *tïzïlda-* 4; Nogh. *tïzban* 5.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***tʻi̯ŭtʻu** a k. of ungulate: Tung. ***tūte-**; Turk. ***Titir (~ -i-)**; Kor. ***tot(h)**.

PTung. ***tūte-** a 4-year-old elk (четырехгодовалый лось): Evk. *tūte-kēn*.

◊ TMC 2, 224. Attested only in Evk., but having probable Turk. and Mong. parallels.

PTurk. ***Titir (~ -i-)** female camel (самка верблюда): OTurk. *titir* (OUygh. - YB); Karakh. *titir* (MK); MTurk. *titir* (Houts.).

◊ VEWT 482, EDT 458-459.

PKor. ***tot(h)** pig (свинья): MKor. *tot, toth*.

◊ Nam 159, 161.

‖ In Turk. one has to accept secondary fronting (**titir* < **tïtïr* - if the attested form is not actually *tïtïr*, just wrongly vocalized). It is also tempting to compare OJ *t(w)od(w)o*, mod. *todo* ʻeared seal, Eumetopias

jubatus' (for a very similar semantic relation cf. PA **tàŋo*), but the vocalism is not quite clear.

✱**tʻőbru** net, network: Tung. ***turku-***; Mong. ***towr***; Turk. ***tor***; Jpn. ***túrí***; Kor. ***tǎràčhí***.

PTung. ***turku-*** to get caught (in a trap, net) (попадать в ловушку, в сеть): Evk. *turku-*; Neg. *tojkị-*; Ul. *tụćụ-*; Ork. *tụtụ-*; Nan. *tojqo-*; Orch. *tokko-*, *tukku-*; Sol. *tụkkụtã* bi.

◊ TMC 2, 220.

PMong. ***towr*** net, cage (сеть, клетка): MMong. *tor* (IM), *tur* (MA); WMong. *tour* (L 829); Kh. *tor*; Bur. *tor*; Kalm. *tor*; Ord. *tor*; Mog. tor; S.-Yugh. *tor*; Mongr. *tōr* (SM 424).

◊ KW 401, MGCD 641.

PTurk. ***tor*** net for catching birds or fish (сеть): OTurk. *tor* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tor* (MK, KB); Tur. *tor*; Az. *tor*; Turkm. *tor*; Khal. *tür*; MTurk. *tor* (Abush., Sangl.) 'net, hair net'; Uzb. *tọr*; Uygh. *tor*; Bashk. *tur*; Kirgh. *tor*; Kaz. *tor*; KKalp. *tor*; Kum. *tor*.

◊ TMN 2, № 954, EDT 528, Лексика 419-420. The relationship to **duřak* 'trap' (ЭСТЯ 3, 289-290, Лексика 420-421) is not quite clear.

PJpn. ***túr-*** fishing (with a rod, angle) (рыбная ловля): OJpn. *tur-* 'to fish'; MJpn. *túrí*; Tok. *tsùri*; Kyo. *tsúrí*; Kag. *tsúri*.

◊ JLTT 556. One has to suppose a rather natural semantic development: 'to fish with a net' > 'to fish (in general)' > 'to fish with a rod, to angle'.

PKor. ***tǎràčhí*** basket (корзина): MKor. *tǎràčhí*; Mod. *tarăk:i*.

◊ Nam 135, KED 382.

‖ KW 401. Mong. is not < Turk., despite TMN 2, 606-607, Щербак 1997, 158, Sukhebaatar.

✱**tʻobú (~ -p-,-i)** fruit, cone: Tung. ***tube-***; Mong. ***toɣur-***; Turk. ***Tobur-***; Jpn. ***tumpu***.

PTung. ***tube-*** 1 fruit 2 berry 3 blue-berry (1 плод, фрукт 2 ягода 3 брусника, черника): Evk. *tewukte* 2; Evn. *tъwtъ* 2; Neg. *tewu-kte* 2; Man. *tubixe* 1; SMan. *ťufəxi*, *ťuvəxī* 1 (323); Jurch. *tuwi-xe* (525) 1; Ul. *tuikte* 3; Nan. *čuikte* 3; Orch. *čikte* 3; Ud. *teukte* 3; Sol. *tuwik* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 203, 225-226. TM > Dag. *tubig* 'fruit' (Тод. Дар. 169).

PMong. ***toɣur-*** bud or calyx of a flower; cone (почка, чашечка (цветка); шишка): WMong. *toɣurčaɣ*, *toɣurčuɣ* (L 817); Kh. *tōrcog*; Bur. *tōrsog*; Kalm. *tōrcəg*.

◊ KW 405.

PTurk. ***Tobur-*** (pine) cone (шишка; бутон): Tur. *tomuržuk*; Gag. *tōmruq*; Az. *tumuržuG*; Krm. *tomruq*; Tat. *tubirčiq*; Bashk. *tubirsiq*; Kirgh. *toburčuq*; Kum. *tompur*; Shr. *torum* 'cedar cone'; Oyr. *tōrčiq*; Tv. *tōruq*; Tof. *tōruq*; Yak. *tuorax*.

◊ VEWT 482, Лексика 115, 121. The Siberian forms clearly point to *-b- (or *-g-); other forms have been influenced by **top* and **dom-* / **tom-* 'round' q. v. sub **tʻòpʻú*, **tʻŏmù*. Turk. > Mong. (Kalm.) *toburčag* 'acorn, cone' (KW 404); see Poppe 47.

PJpn. ***tumpu** grain (зернышко): OJpn. *tubi*; MJpn. *túbù*; Tok. *tsúbu*; Kyo. *tsùbú*; Kag. *tsubú*.

◊ JLTT 553. Modern dialects point rather to **tù(m)pú*.

‖ The root tends to contaminate with **tʻòpʻú* 'round', but still seems to be clearly distinct in all languages.

***tʻògà (~ -u-)** to see, beware: Tung. ***tuga- (~ -b-)**; Mong. ***toɣa-**; Jpn. ***tàkù-**.

PTung. ***tuga- (~ -b-)** 1 to see 2 to check 3 to beware (1 видеть 2 проверять 3 остерегаться): Evn. *tewuŋči-* 3; Man. *tuwa-* 1; SMan. *tā-* 1 (173); Jurch. *tonžu-lar* (804) 2.

◊ TMC 2, 203, 226.

PMong. ***toɣa-** 1 to pay attention, take into account 2 number, count (1 обращать внимание на что-л., считаться с чем-л. 2 число, счет): MMong. *to'an* (HY 44), *to'a* (SH) 2, *to'a-* 'to count' (SH), *tula-* 'to count', *tun* 2 (MA 311, 316); WMong. *toɣa-*, *toɣaɣa-* (L 814) 1, *toɣa(n)* 2 (L 813); Kh. *tō-* 1, *tō* 2; Bur. *tō-* 1, *tō(n)* 2; Kalm. *tō-* 1, *tō* 2; Ord. *tō-* 1, *tō* 2; Mog. *toa* 2 (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *tō* 2 (Тод. Даг. 167, MD 226), *tuāle* 'to count' (MD 226) *tōše-* 1; Dong. *tolu-* 'to count' (Тод. Дн.); S.-Yugh. *tūn* 2; Mongr. *tō* (SM 424) 2.

◊ KW 404, MGCD 636, TMN 1, 261. Mong. > Oyr. *tō*, Man. *ton* (see Doerfer MT 139, Rozycki 211). A probable derivative is WMong. *tuɣurbi-*, Khalkha *tūrvi-*, Kalm. *tūrvə-* 'to compile, consider, plan'.

PJpn. ***tàkù-** to plan, consider (планировать, обдумывать): OJpn. *takum-*; MJpn. *tàkùm-*; Tok. *takurám-*; Kyo. *tákúrám-*; Kag. *tàkùràm-*.

◊ JLTT 762.

‖ The etymology was first proposed in fact by Vullers 1855, but rejected by Doerfer (TMN 1, 263) without due discussion.

***tʻoge (~ -i)** fire: Tung. ***toga**; Mong. ***tüɣi-**; Turk. ***Tögen**.

PTung. ***toga** fire (огонь): Evk. *toɣo*; Evn. *toɣ*; Neg. *toɣo*; Man. *tuwa*; SMan. *tuā* (476); Jurch. *towi* (21); Ul. *tawa*; Ork. *tawa*; Nan. *tao*; Orch. *tō*; Ud. *tō*; Sol. *togo*.

◊ TMC 2, 190.

PMong. ***tüɣi-** 1 big fire 2 bonfire (1 пожар 2 костер): WMong. *tüimür* 1 (L 851); *tügüdeg* 2 (L 850); Kh. *tüjmer* 1, *tűdeg* 2; Bur. *tüjmer* 1, *tűdeg* 2; Kalm. *tűmr* 1; Ord. *tüjmer* 1; Dag. *tujmere* (MD 227), *tuimer*, *tuimur* 1; S.-Yugh. *tűmer* 1.

◊ KW 418, MGCD 657.

PTurk. ***Tögen*** 1 brand 2 tinder (1 головня 2 трут): Karakh. *tögün* (MK) 1; Tur. (Osm.) *dögün* 'tattoo'; MTurk. *tögen* (Abush., Sangl.) 1; Oyr. *töön* 2; Tv. *dön* 'wick'; Yak. *tüön* 2.

◊ EDT 484. Turk. > WMong. *tögene*, Khalkha *tön*, Kalm. *tönə*, Dag. *tuən* 'cauterization' (L 832, KW 408, MGCD 643).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**t'ògì** span: Tung. ***togar***; Mong. ***töɣe***; Jpn. ***tùkà***.

PTung. ***togar*** big span (большая пядь): Evk. *toɣor*; Evn. *toɣɔr*; Neg. *toɣoj*; Man. *tō*; Ul. *tawali*; Nan. *tawar*; Orch. *tō*; Ud. *tō*.

◊ TMC 2, 190-191. Manchu *tō*, because of the absence of -r, may be actually < Mong. (see Rozycki 200), but borrowing is impossible for most other forms.

PMong. ***töɣe*** big span (большая пядь): MMong. *tūhē* (IM); WMong. *töɣe* (L 832); Kh. *tō*; Bur. *tō*; Kalm. *tō*; Ord. *tō*; Dag. *tuē*; Bao. *tɛ*; S.-Yugh. *tū*.

◊ KW 408, MGCD 643.

PJpn. ***tùkà*** width of 4 fingers (ширина в 4 пальца): OJpn. *tuka*; MJpn. *tùká*.

◊ JLTT 554.

‖ KW 408, Poppe 60, Rozycki 200.

✱**t'ǒgsu** to run; hare: Tung. ***tuksa-***; Mong. ***togsi-***; Turk. ***togus- (?)***; Kor. ***thóskí***.

PTung. ***tuksa-*** 1 to run 2 hare (1 бежать 2 заяц): Evk. *tuksa-* 1, *tuksa-kī* 2; Evn. *tụ̄s-* 1; Neg. *toksa-* 1, *toksakī* 2; Man. *toqsaqa* 'bastard'; Ul. *toqsa* 2; Ork. *tụqsa-* 1, *tụqsa* 2; Nan. *toqsa* 2; Orch. *tuksan* 2; Ud. *tukeä-* 1, *tuksa* 2; Sol. *tụ̄kčān-* 'jump, leap', *tụtčaxi*, *tụrčaxi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 208.

PMong. ***togsi-*** to run away jumping (of antelope etc.) (убегать, подпрыгивая (об антилопе и т. п.)): WMong. *togsi-* (L 815); Kh. *togši-*; Ord. *doGši-*.

PTurk. ***togus- (?)*** to jump (скакать): Turkm. *tovus-*; Chuv. (Bulgar) *doxs* '(year of) mouse'.

PKor. ***thóskí*** hare (заяц): MKor. *thóskí*; Mod. *thok:i*.

◊ Nam 459, KED 1705.

‖ In Turkic languages the root may have been partially contaminated with a synonymic **t'èbà* 'run' (q.v.) (PT **tabɨl̓gan* 'hare'); but the traces of PT **togus* are still clearly visible.

✱**t'oje (~ t'i̯ajo, t'i̯ujo)** to sound, noise: Mong. ***tüji-***; Turk. ***tōj-***; Jpn. ***təjə-***.

PMong. ****tüji-*** 1 to be excited, alarmed 2 to sound, make a noise (1 возбуждаться, тревожиться 2 звучать, шуметь): WMong. *tüibe-*, *düibe-* 1, *düibed-* 2 (L 279, 851); Kh. *tüjve-*, *düjve-* 1; Bur. *tujer-* 2; Kalm. *tūwdə-* 1 (KPC).

PTurk. ***tōj-*** to sing (петь): Tur. *tujuq* (Osm.); MTurk. *tujuq* 'a verse metre'; Uygh. *tujuq* 'rhymed verse'; Yak. *tuoj-* 'to sing, chant', *tojuk* 'improvised song'.

◊ EDT 568.

PJpn. ***təjə-*** to sound, hum, howl (звучать, ворчать, выть): OJpn. *tojom-, tojok-*; MJpn. *tojom-*; Tok. *toyom-, doyom-*.

◊ JLTT 681.

‖ Ozawa 253-254. An expressive root.

tʻŏ̀kè** root, edible root: Tung. ***tuKala / -ra; Mong. ***tögüčeg***; Turk. ***Tök***; Jpn. ***tàkərə***.

PTung. ***tuKala / -ra*** wild onion, Lilienzwiebel (дикий лук, сарана): Evk. *tukala*; Evn. *tökъr*; Neg. *toxoj*; Man. *tuḱa(n)* da; Orch. *tokoi*.

◊ TMC 2, 207.

PMong. ***tögüčeg*** root, root of grass (корень, корень травы, пень): WMong. *tögüčeg* (L 832); Kh. *tögcög*; Bur. *tügseg* 'stump'.

PTurk. ***Tök*** tree stump (пень): Khak. *tökpes*; Shr. *tögeš*; Tv. *töš*.

◊ VEWT 493, 495.

PJpn. ***tàkərə*** yam (ямс): OJpn. *tokoro*; MJpn. *tòkòrə / tòkóro*; Tok. *tokoro*.

‖ The TM word is usually considered to be borrowed < Samoyed.; this seems somewhat dubious because the Samoyed. (Selk. *togɨl*, Kam. *tuɣul*, see UEW 451-452) words point not to *-ŋ- (< Ural. **suŋV-lV*), but rather to *-k-, and thus may themselves be borrowed < TM.

tʻŏ́kʻi (~ -k-, -e)** to lie, deceive: Mong. ***togla-; Turk. ****Tökün***.

PMong. ***togla-*** to play, frolic, gambol (играть, забавляться, шутить): WMong. *toɣla-* (L 814); Kh. *toglo-*; Bur. *toglo-*; Kalm. *togĺ-* 'to play jumping' (KPC); Ord. *toGlo-*.

PTurk. ****Tökün*** lie, archness (ложь, лукавство): Karakh. *tögün* (ПДП 433 - KBW, R 3, 1245 - KB); Tat. (KCTT) *tügün, tügen*; Kirgh. *tögün*; Khak. *tügen* 'a voodoo way of curing' (arch.); Shr. *tögün*; Oyr. *tögün*; Chuv. *tuga tu-* 'to conjure', *togatmъš* 'sorcerer'; Yak. *tüökün, tüökej*; Dolg. *tüökün*.

◊ VEWT 493, Stachowski 235, Ашм. XIV, 106, 107.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Cf. also WMong. *toquɣu*, Khalkha *toxū* 'joke, jest', possibly derived from the same root and pointing to PA *-kʻ-. Not quite clear is the relationship to some scattered TM forms: Man. *taqda-* 'to praise, be surprised at', Evk. *takā-* 'to lie'.

tʻŏkʻù** buckle, button: Tung. ***toxan; Turk. ***toku***; Jpn. ***tuku***.

PTung. ***toxan*** button, buckle (пуговица, пряжка): Neg. *toxon*; Man. *toχon*; Ul. *toχo(n)*; Ork. *toqo, toχo(n)*; Nan. *toχõ*; Ud. *toho*.

◊ TMC 2, 192. The variant *toqo* in Orok is unclear (some old interdialectal loan?).

PTurk. ***toku** buckle (пуговица, пряжка): Karakh. *toqu* (MK); Tur. *toka*; Gag. *toqa*; Az. *toGGa*; Turkm. *toqa*; MTurk. *toqqa* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tọqa*; Kaz. *toγa*; KKalp. *doγa, toγa*; Kum. *toγa*; Oyr. *toγo* (dial. Leb.); Chuv. *tъʷγa*.

◊ VEWT 485, EDT 466-467, TMN 2, 525.

PJpn. ***tuku** a device on bow to fix the arrow (приспособление на луке для фиксации стрелы): MJpn. *tuku*.

‖ Дыбо 15. The word may be in fact identical (or derived from) **tʻokʻV* 'curved' q. v. Doerfer (TMN 2, 526) tries to dismiss the Turk.-Tung. match for reasons historical (the Manchu forms means "Chinese button"—but in fact it means "metallic button in general"), semantic — "Knopf!"(?) — and phonetic ("das -n" - but -n is a very frequent TM suffix). The obvious semantic development in TM seems to have been "buckle" > "button".

***tʻókʻù (~ -k-)** to hit, knock, beat: Tung. ***tokta-**; Mong. ***togsi-**; Turk. ***toki-**; Jpn. ***túk-**; Kor. ***thí-**.

PTung. ***tokta-** 1 to hit, knock 2 to chop 3 sound of knocking (1 колотить 2 рубить 3 стук): Evk. *tokto-* 1,2; Evn. *towta-* 1,2; Neg. *tokto-* 2; Man. *toq* seme 3; Ul. *tuqturi-* 1; Nan. *tokto-* 2; Orch. *tokto-* 1; Ud. *tokto-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 193.

PMong. ***togsi-** to strike, beat (бить, ударять): WMong. *toγsi-* (L 814); Kh. *togši-*; Bur. *togšo-*; Kalm. *tokšə-*; Dag. *tokšōr* 'hammer' (Тод. Дар. 167).

◊ KW 398.

PTurk. ***toki-** 1 to hit, knock, strike 2 mallet (1 бить, ударять 2 молот 3 трогать, касаться): OTurk. *toqi-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.), *toqïmaq* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *toqi-* 1 (MK, KB), *toqïmaq* 2 (MK, IM); Tur. *tokuš-* 1, *doku-* 1 (dial.), *dokun-* 3, *tokmak* 2; Gag. *doqun-* 3, *toqmaq* 2; Az. *toGGuš-* 1, *toxun-* 3, *toχmaG* 2; Turkm. *toqmaq* 2; Sal. *toxmax* 2 (ССЯ); Khal. *toqu-* 1, *toqun-* 3, *toqmaq* 2; MTurk. *toqun-* 3 (Pav. C.), *toqmaq* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tọqin-* 3, *tọqmɔq*; Uygh. *toqun-* 3; Krm. *toqïš-* 'to clink (glasses)', *toqïn-* 3, *toqmaq* 2; Tat. *tuqï-* 1, *tuqïn-* 3, *tuqmaq* 2; Bashk. *tuqïlda-* 1, *tuqmaq* 2; Kirgh. *toqmoq* 2; Kaz. *toqïl-da-* 1, *toqpaq* 2; KBalk. *toqmaq* 2; KKalp. *toqïlda-* 1, *toqpaq* 2; Kum. *toqala-* 1, *toqmaq* 2; Nogh. *toqpaq* 2; Khak. *toγas-* 'to hit upon > meet', *toxpax* 2; Shr. *toγaš-* 'to meet'; Oyr. *toqul-da-* 1, *toqpoq* 2; Tv. *toqqu-la-* 1, *tonur-* 3 (< *dhon-ur-*), *doqpaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 484-485, TMN 2, 629, EDT 467, 470, ЭСТЯ 3, 253-254, 256-257. The variants with **d-* may be archaic, see below.

PJpn. ***túk-** to hit, strike, beat (бить, колотить, ударять): OJpn. *tuk-*; MJpn. *túk-*; Tok. *tsùk-*; Kyo. *tsúk-*; Kag. *tsúk-*.

◊ Homonymous with **túk-* 'to poke, thrust', but written differently and probably different etymologically.

PKor. ***thí-*** to hit, strike, beat (бить, ударять): MKor. *thí-*; Mod. *čhi-*.
◊ Nam 460, KED 1654.

‖ KW 398. There may have existed an expressive variant with *t- (cf. some Turkic forms, Mong. *doki-γur* 'drumstick', *doki-* 'to hit, knock down' (KW 93), Evk. (May.) *dokto-* 'to hit, chop'); see Дыбо 13. The root is of course expressive (see TMN 2, 460), but seems reconstructable for PA, and distinguishable from **tùgi* 'to pound'.

✱**tʻŏkʻV** curved: Tung. ***tox-***; Mong. ***tokir***; Turk. ***Tok-***.

PTung. ***tox-*** 1 wheel, hoop 2 to go round, turn round 3 curved, bent (1 колесо, обод 2 кружиться, вертеться 3 кривой, изогнутый): Evk. *tokor-* 2, *tokčika-* 3; Neg. *toxoj-* 2, *tokčoka* 3; Man. *toχoro* 1; Ork. *tōroli-* 'to grind'; Nan. *toxoriqõ* 'pulley' (On.).
◊ TMC 2, 192.

PMong. ***tokir*** curved, bent (кривой, согнутый): WMong. *tokir* (L 820); Kh. *toxir*; Bur. *toxir*; Kalm. *tokr̥* 'искалеченный, вывихнутый'.
◊ KW 398. Also Mong. *takir* id.

PTurk. ***Tokum*** wheel hoop (обод колеса): Uzb. *toγin*; Tat. *tuγɨm* (dial. d-); Bashk. *tuγɨn*, dial. *duγɨn*; Kaz. *toγɨn* 1; KBalk. *toχun* 1; KKalp. *toγɨn* 1; Nogh. *toγɨn* 1; Chuv. *togъn*.
◊ VEWT 483, 485, ЭСТЯ 8, Егоров 2256, Федотов 2, 242.

‖ TMC 2, 192. A Western isogloss. Cf. **tʻokʻu* and **tʻùkʻV* (see also notes under **tegá*). Despite Poppe 1972, 96, 100, Doerfer MT 69, TM is not borrowed from Mong.

✱**tʻòle** deep water, tide: Tung. ***tōlg-***; Mong. ***tülki-***; Turk. ***tolku-***; Jpn. ***tərə***; Kor. ***tór***.

PTung. ***tōlg-*** 1 deep place close to the bank 2 whirlpool 3 backwater (1 улово, глубокое место у берега 2 водоворот 3 заводь): Evk. *tōlgā* 1, dial. *tōlgān* 2; Evn. *tōlgu* 3.
◊ TMC 2, 194.

PMong. ***tülki-*** rising tide (прилив): WMong. *tülkige(n)* (L 852); Kh. *tülxē(n)*.

PTurk. ***tolku-*** 1 to beat (of waves) 2 wave(s) (1 бить (о волнах) 2 волна, волны): Turkm. *tolqɨn* 2; MTurk. *tolqun-* 1; Kaz. *tolqu-* 1; KBalk. *tolqan* 2.
◊ VEWT 487. The root is attested late (unless a somewhat uncertain OT (MK) *tolγaγ* 'snowstorm' (see EDT 496) belongs here), but is difficult to explain as a loan from Mong. *dolgijan* 'wave' - with which it probably has nothing in common.

PJpn. ***tərə*** backwater, deep water (заводь, омут): Tok. *toro*.

PKor. ***tór*** ditch (канава): MKor. *tór*; Mod. *toraŋ*.
◊ Nam 159, KED 463.

‖ The root should be distinguished from **dǎla* 'wave, deep place', **čalu* 'sea, to overflow' - although some contaminations were possible, especially in the Kor.-Jpn. area.

✱**tʻolu** to pierce, skewer: Tung. ***tule-**; Jpn. ***tura-nuk-**; Kor. ***tǎr(b)-**.

PTung. ***tule-** to skewer; to set up (насадить (на что-л.); наладить, насторожить): Evk. *tule-*; Evn. *tul-*; Neg. *tule-*; Ul. *tule-*; Ork. *tule-*; Nan. *tule-*; Orch. *tule-*; Ud. *tule-*; Sol. *tulu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 212.

PJpn. ***tura-nuk-** to pierce (протыкать): OJpn. *tura-nuk-*; MJpn. *túrá-nuk-*; Tok. *tsuranúk-*; Kyo. *tsùrànùk-*; Kag. *tsuranúk-*.

◊ JLTT 775. Original accent is unclear.

PKor. ***tǎr(b)-** to pierce (протыкать): MKor. *tǎr'ó-*, *tǎrp-*, *tīrp-*; Mod. *t:il-* [*t:ilh-*].

◊ Nam 141, 142, Liu 254, KED 510.

‖ Martin 1996, 109. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**tʻòlu** head: Tung. ***tōl-po-**; Mong. ***tolugai**; Turk. ***tul(g)uŋ**; Kor. ***tǎikòr**.

PTung. ***tōl-po-** sinciput, top of head (темя, макушка): Ork. *tolpomụ*; Nan. *tōrpoā*.

◊ TMC 2, 217. This Nan.-Orok root has certainly nothing to do with TM **tumŋu-* (v. sub **tʻŭmu*).

PMong. ***tolugai** head (голова): WMong. *toluɣai* (L 822); Kh. *tolgoj*; Bur. *tolgoj*; Kalm. *tolɣā̆*, *tolɣā*; Ord. *toloGō̆*; S.-Yugh. *toloɣuj*; Mongr. *torGwə̄* (SM 424), (MGCD *tolGui*).

◊ KW 399, MGCD 639.

PTurk. ***tul(g)uŋ** 1 temple 2 plait (1 висок, 2 коса): OTurk. *tuluŋ* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *tuluŋ/n* 1 (MK), *tulun* (IM); Tur. *tulun* 1; Turkm. *duluq* 'cheek' (?); MTurk. *tulɣum* 1 (Vam.), (MKypch.) *tulum* 2 (CCum., Houts.), *tuluŋ* 1 (AḤ; Tat. *tolim* 2; Bashk. *tolom* 2; Kirgh. *tulum* 2; Kaz. *tulim*; KKalp. *tulim*; Kum. *tulum* 1 (dial.); Nogh. *tulim*; SUygh. *tulin* 2 (ЯЖУ); Khak. *tuluŋ* 2; Shr. *tuluŋ* 2; Oyr. *tuluŋ* 2; Chuv. *tьlъm* 'a tuft of wool left after shearing sheep'.

◊ VEWT 498, EDT 501, ДТС 585, Лексика 203-204. The Turkm. form is not quite clear: it has an aberrant (although semantically not very remote) meaning, suffix and voiced d-.

PKor. ***tǎikòr** forehead (лоб): MKor. *tǎikòr*; Mod. *täguri*.

◊ Nam 147, Liu 188.

‖ Лексика 204. The Kor. word may be analysed as "bald"+"brain" (see **tʻeŕo* and **kèĺo*), so it may be necessary to remove it from the etymology (although a folk-etymological reanalysis was certainly possible); if not, the PA reconstruction should rather be corrected to **tʻōjlu*.

***tʻò̱lV** to prop, push: Tung. ***tōlga-**; Mong. ***tula-**; Turk. ***Tol-**.

PTung. ***tōlga-** 1 to stop 2 to collide (1 останавливаться 2 сталкиваться): Evk. *tōlga-* 1; Ork. *toldoqpi̯n-* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 194. TM > Dag. *tōlgā-* (Тод. Даг. 167).

PMong. ***tula-** to prop, lean on (опираться, поддерживать): MMong. *tulxa* (HY 17) 'staff'; WMong. *tula-* (L 840: *tul-*); Kh. *tula-*; Bur. *tula-*; Kalm. *tul-*; Ord. *tul-*; Dag. *tolu-*, (Тод. Даг. 168), *tole-* (MD 225), *tolo-*; Dong. *tulu-*; S.-Yugh. *tulu-*; Mongr. *tuli-* (SM 430), *tulə-*.

◊ KW 409, MGCD 651. The Mong. causative *tulya-* > Evk. *tulgu-*, see Poppe 1972, 97, TMC 2, 210.

PTurk. ***Tol-** to push, collide (сталкиваться, пихать): OTurk. *tul-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tul-* 1, (caus.) *tuldur-* (MK); Sal. *tōla-* 'разгребать ногами'; Uygh. (dial.) *tola-* 'to wave, shake' (УЯ); Bashk. *tula-* 'to kick'; KKalp. *tolarsaq* 2; Yak. *toluɣurā-* 'to dangle freely inside an empty space'.

◊ EDT 491, 495, 501. Derived is probably **Tolarsuk* 'knee or heel joint, sinew' (VEWT 480, 486, ЭСТЯ 8: OT (MK) *tolarsuq*, Yak. *tolunńaŋ* (< **tolu-n-čaŋ-*), Kirgh. *tolorsuk*, Bashk. *tularhıq*, KKalp. *tolarsaq*; Kaz. *tilersek*, influenced by *tirsek* 'knee').

‖ A Western isogloss.

***tʻólV (~ -Í-)** bridge, crossing: Tung. ***tul-**; Kor. ***tằrì**.

PTung. ***tul-** 1 to wade 2 to cross (a mountain ridge) (1 переходить (по дереву поперек ручья) 2 переехать, перевалить (горный хребет)): Evk. *tuldun-* 2; Ork. *tolo-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 195, 210.

PKor. ***tằrì** bridge (мост): MKor. *tằrì*; Mod. *tari*.

◊ Nam 135, KED 383.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

***tʻōĺi (~ -e)** breast: Tung. ***tulu**; Turk. ***dōĺ**.

PTung. ***tulu (~ ü)** horse's breast (грудь (у лошади)): Man. *tulu*.

◊ TMC 2, 211.

PTurk. ***dōĺ** breast (грудь): OTurk. *töš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *töš* (MK, IM); Tur. *döš*; Az. *döš*; Turkm. *dȫš*; MTurk. *töš* (Pav. C., MKypch. - CCum., AH); Uzb. *tọš*; Uygh. *töš*; Krm. *töš*; Tat. *tüš*; Bashk. *tüš*; Kirgh. *töš*; Kaz. *tös*; KBalk. *töš*; KKalp. *tös*; Kum. *töš*; Nogh. *tös*; SUygh. *tös*; Khak. *tös*; Shr. *töš*; Oyr. *töš*; Tv. *töš*, Todzh. *döš*; Tof. *döš*; Chuv. *čül-lək* 'супонь'; Yak. *tüös*; Dolg. *tüös*.

◊ VEWT 495, TMN 2, 615, EDT 558, ЭСТЯ 3, 286-287, Егоров 326, Лексика 271-272, Stachowski 235.

‖ A somewhat dubious Turk.-Tung. isogloss (with a secondary voicing *t- > d-), see Лексика 272.

✱**t'ome** a k. of board: Tung. ***tomka-n**; Turk. ***Tomar**; Jpn. ***tàmà (~-muà)**; Kor. ***tòmá**.

PTung. ***tomka-n*** boat made of planks (дощатая лодка): Evk. *tomkon ;* Evn. *tŏmkin* 'oar'.

◊ TMC 2, 196, 201.

PTurk. ***Tomar*** 1 block, log 2 to hack, hew 3 to break off, chip off (1 кусок дерева, чурбан, бревно 2 рубить, обрубать 3 отламывать, откалывать): Karakh. *tomrum* 1 (MK), *tomur-* 2; Tur. *tomruk* 1; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tumar* (AH) 1; Krm. *tomruq* 1; Tat. *tumar, tumran* 1; Bashk. *tumir-* 2; Kirgh. *tomur-* 3; Kaz. *tomar* 1; KBalk. *tomuraw* 1, *tomur-* 2; KKalp. *tomar* 1; Oyr. *tomur-* 2; Tv. *domur-* 3.

◊ VEWT 499, EDT 509. The root should be distinguished from **dom-* / **tom-* 'round' (v. sub **t'ŏmù*). Turk. > Mong. (KW 400) *tomurayu*, Kalm. *tomrūn* 'rough, loutish'.

PJpn. ***tàmà (~-muà)*** stern (корма): OJpn. *tom(w)o*; MJpn. *tòmò*; Tok. *tomó, tómo*; Kyo. *tómò*; Kag. *tómo*.

◊ JLTT 549. The Tokyo variant *tómo* and Kagoshima *tómo* are quite irregular tonally.

PKor. ***tòmá*** wooden board (for chopping meat), wooden table (деревянная доска (для рубки мяса), деревянный стол): MKor. *tòmá*; Mod. *toma*.

◊ Nam 157, KED 465.

‖ Accent correspondences between Kor. and Jpn. are irregular: cf., however, the irregularity in Jpn. dialects (especially Kagoshima *tómò*, pointing to original high tone in the first syllable).

✱**t'ŏmù** to spin, round: Tung. ***tomka-***; Mong. ***tomu-***; Turk. ***tom-***; Jpn. ***tùmù***.

PTung. ***tomka-*** 1 to spin 2 thread (1 сучить (нитки) 2 нитка): Evk. *tomko-* 1; Evn. *tomko-* 1; Neg. *tomko-* 2; Man. *toŋGo* 1; Jurch. *to-ŋo* (250) 1; Ul. *toŋpi-* 1; Ork. *toqpo-* 1; Nan. *tompo-* 1; Orch. *tompo-* 1; Ud. *tompo-* 1; Sol. *toŋxo-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 196. Cf. also **tumu-* 'to spin' (TMC 2, 212).

PMong. ***tomu-*** 1 to spin 2 spheric, convex (1 прясть, крутить 2 шарообразный, выпуклый): MMong. *tuma-* (MA 340); WMong. *tomu-, tamu-* (L 776) 1, *tombai, tömbei* 2; Kh. *tom-* 1, *tombogor, tömbögör* 2; Bur. *tomo-* 1; Kalm. *tom-*; Dong. *tomu-*; Bao. *tomə̀-*; S.-Yugh. *tumu-*; Mongr. *tomu-*.

◊ KW 399, MGCD 410.

PTurk. ***tom-*** 1 round, convex 2 ball, smth. round 3 somersault 4 thick, bulging 5 to swell (1 круглый, выпуклый 2 шарик, кольцо 3 кувырком 4 толстый, пухлый 5 пухнуть, вздуваться): Tur. *tomak* 2; Gag. *tombarlaq* 1; Az. *tombul* 4, *dombalaG* 3; Turkm. *tommaq* 'knob, round end of stick', *dommar-* / *tommar-* 5; Sal. *tombix* 'blunt' (Тен.ССЯ); Uzb. *tǫmtɔq* 'stump, blunt'; Krm. *tomalaq* 1; Bashk. *tomraj-* (dial.) 5; Kirgh. *tompoq* 1;

Kaz. *tompaq* 1; KBalk. *tomalaq* 1; KKalp. *dumalaq* 1, *tompaq* 4, *tompaj-* 5; Kum. *tompaj-* 5, *tomaq* 'blunt'; Nogh. *tompaq* 1; Khak. *tomir, tombir* 'blunt'; Chuv. *tъʷmat* 'stubby'; Yak. *tomtoryo* 'ring-formed ornament'.

◊ VEWT 487, ЭСТЯ 3, 261-262. Variants with *d- in Oghuz are most probably expressive (or reflect a secondary assimilation **dom-ba-* < **tom-ba-*).

PJpn. ***tùmù*** 1 spindle 2 to spin (1 веретено 2 прясть): OJpn. *tumugji* 'spun cloth'; MJpn. *tumu* 1, *tùmùg-* 2; Tok. *tsumu, tsumúg-*; Kyo. *tsúmúg-*; Kag. *tsùmùg-*.

◊ JLTT 556, 775.

‖ EAS 50, KW 399, Poppe 14, 68, Ozawa 261-262. Despite Doerfer MT 27, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

tʻoŋe (~ -i)** to bow, bend Tung. ***toŋ-; Mong. ***toŋguji-***; Turk. ***töŋ-***; Kor. ***tòŋkái (?)***.

PTung. ***toŋ-*** 1 to bend (a branch) 2 cradle's bow 3 cylindric vessel (1 нагибать (ветку) 2 дуга люльки 3 сосуд цилиндрической формы): Evk. *toŋo-* 1; Man. *tuŋgi* 'a k. of bow'; Nan. *toŋmã* 2; Ud. *tuŋzaʻ* 3 (Корм. 297).

◊ TMC 2, 197, 215.

PMong. ***toŋguji-*** to bend, bow (наклоняться, сгибаться): WMong. *toŋɣuji-* (L 824); Kh. *toŋgoj-*; Bur. *toŋgoj-*; Kalm. *toŋgǟ-*; Ord. *toŋGō̄-*; Dag. *toŋgoi-* (Тод. Дar. 168); S.-Yugh. *toŋGō-*; Mongr. *toŋGoi-*.

◊ KW 400, MGCD 640. Mong. > Kaz. *toŋkaj-* etc. (VEWT 488).

PTurk. ***töŋ-*** to bow (наклонять): OTurk. *töŋit-* (*~-ü-*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *töŋit-* (MK, KB); Turkm. *tüŋŋi* 'bent'; Tat. *tüŋ-* 'to be toppled, turn upside down'; Khak. *töŋnüg* 'convex'; Oyr. *töŋkök* 'convex'; Yak. *töŋköi-*.

◊ VEWT 494, EDT 517, ЭСТЯ 3, 279-281.

PKor. ***tòŋkái*** quiver (колчан): MKor. *tòŋkái*; Mod. *toŋgä*.

◊ Nam 232, KED 486.

‖ Despite Doerfer MT 82, hardly borrowed in TM from Mong. The Kor. reflex is questionable, but cf. some semantic developments in TM.

tʻoŋerV** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***tuŋde (~-r-); Mong. ***towrai***; Turk. ***To(ŋ)gurak***; Jpn. ***təniari-***.

PTung. ***tuŋde (~-r-)*** willow (ива, тальник): Ul. *tuŋde*; Ork. *tuŋde*; Nan. *tuŋde*; Orch. *tuŋde*; Ud. *tuŋde*.

◊ TMC 2, 215.

PMong. ***towrai*** a k. of poplar (тополь разнолистный): WMong. *touraj*; Kh. *tōroj*; Kalm. *tōrā, tōrā*.

◊ KW 405.

PTurk. ***To(ŋ)gurak*** 1 poplar 2 willow (1 тополь 2 ива): OTurk. *toɣraq* (OUygh. - YB) 1; Karakh. *toɣraq* (MK) 1; Tur. *dorani* 2 (dial.); Az. *daraŋɣi* 1 (dial.); Turkm. *toGaraq* 1, *toraŋŋi* 2; MTurk. *turaq* (Pav. C.) 1,

turunqu 2 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *turaŋγi* 1; Uygh. *toγraq* 1; Kirgh. *tōraq* 1; Kaz. *toraŋγi* 2; SUygh. *toryaq* 1.

◊ VEWT 484, EDT 472. Not quite clear is the relationship to the isolated Tur. *toz* 'poplar'.

PJpn. ***təniari-*** ash-tree (ясень): MJpn. *tònèríkɔ*; Tok. *toneriko, toneriko.*

◊ JLTT 550.

‖ KW 405.

✱**tʻòŋké** round: Tung. ***toŋal-***; Mong. ***tüŋke- / *tüŋge-***; Jpn. ***tànkúrə́***; Kor. ***tonkor-***.

PTung. ***toŋal-*** 1 round 2 smth. round (1 круглый 2 круг, нечто круглое): Evk. *toŋollo* 2; Evn. *toŋɣlrꝺ* 2; Neg. *toŋgulikin* 1; Ork. *toŋGolto* 'loop'; Nan. *toŋgokpịã* 1; Orch. *tuŋepke* 'ring'.

◊ TMC 2, 198. Evk. > Dolg. *toŋoldo* (Stachowski 226).

PMong. ***tüŋke- / *tüŋge-*** 1 to be bulgy, bloated or inflated 2 small bag, sack (1 быть надутым, мешковатым 2 мешочек): WMong. *tüŋgürčeg* 2, *tüŋgüi-* 1 (L 853: *tüŋkerčeg, tüŋkeji-*); Kh. *tüŋgerceg* 2; Kalm. *tüŋgrcəg* 2, *tüŋgē-* 1; Ord. *tüŋgerčik* 'potbelly'; *tüŋgī-* 1.

◊ KW 415. Mong. > Khak. *tüŋüržek* etc. (VEWT 505).

PJpn. ***tànkúrə́*** coil (of a rope, snake) (виток, кольцо (веревки, змеи)): MJpn. *toguro*; Tok. *tòguro, toguró*; Kyo. *tògùró*; Kag. *toguró*.

PKor. ***tonkor-*** round (круглый): MKor. *toŋkori-*; Mod. *tuŋgɨl-, toŋgɨl-*.

◊ Nam 161, KED 487, 511.

‖ Cf. **tegá*.

✱**tʻòŋta (~ -u-)** straight: Tung. ***toŋda***; Mong. ***toda-***; Jpn. ***tàntà-***.

PTung. ***toŋda*** straight, honest, true (прямой, справедливый, честный): Evk. *toŋno*; Neg. *toŋno*; Man. *tondo*; SMan. *tondə* (2376, 2484); Jurch. *toŋ-do* (407); Ul. *toŋdo*; Ork. *toŋdo*; Nan. *toŋdo*; Orch. *toŋno(n)*; Ud. *tōŋdo*; Sol. *tondōxō*.

◊ TMC 2, 197-198. Man. > Dag. *tondo* (Тод. Даг. 168).

PMong. ***toda*** clear, distinct (ясный, четкий): WMong. *toda, todu* (L 812); Kh. *tod*; Bur. *todo*; Kalm. *todə*; Ord. *todo*.

◊ KW 396.

PJpn. ***tàntà-*** straight, correct (прямой, правильный): OJpn. *tada-si*; MJpn. *tàdà-si*; Tok. *tadashí-*; Kyo. *tádáshì-*; Kag. *tadashí-*.

◊ JLTT 841.

‖ Ozawa 22-23.

✱**tʻopʻu** knee, knee cap: Tung. ***top(V)g-***; Mong. ***tojig, *tuwkai***; Turk. ***topik***; Jpn. ***tu(m)pu-***.

PTung. ***top(V)g-*** knee (колено): Evk. *tuwnuke, tuɣunuke* 'ankle bone'; Man. *tobǵa*; SMan. *ťoviχa, ťovəǵā* (136).

◊ TMC 2, 189, 204.

PMong. ***tojig, *tuwkai** 1 knee 2 huckle-bone (of animals) (1 колено 2 лодыжка (животных)): WMong. *tojiɣ* 1 (L 819), *tuuqai* 2 (L 847); Kh. *tojg* 1, *tūxaj* 2; Bur. *tojn* 1; Kalm. *tōg* 1; Ord. *toögg* 'patella', *tūxā* 'положение игральной кости, которое называется mori'; Dag. *twalčig*, (Тод. Дат. 168) *tuarečihe* (MD 227), *tolčig, twalčig* (< **tuɣalčig*) 1.

◊ KW 408, MGCD 639. Cf. also (for the Daghur form) WMong. *tobčilaɣur*, Khalkha *tovčlūr* 'clavicle', Kalm. *topčəlūr* 'das Schlüsselbein; das Vorderblatt des Pferdes' (KW 401) - probably a secondary contamination with *tobčila-ɣur* 'buckle, clasp', a derivative of *tobčila-* 'to buckle'. MMong. (HY)-*tobux* 'knee cap' may be a Turkism (see Щербак 1997, 157).

PTurk. ***topik** 1 knee cap 2 knee 3 ankle-bone (1 коленная чашечка 2 колено 3 лодыжка): OTurk. *topiq* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *topiq* 3 (MK), 1 (KB, IM); Tur. *topuk* 3; Gag. *topuq* 3; Az. *topuG* 3; Turkm. *topuq* 3; MTurk. (MKypch.) *topuq* (Houts., AH) 3; Uzb. *tọpiq* 3; Uygh. *topuq* 3; Krm. *tobuq* 3; Tat. *tubiq* 1; Bashk. *tubiq* 1; Kirgh. *topuq, tomuq* 1, 3; Kaz. *tobiq* 1, 3; KBalk. *tobuq* 2; KKalp. *tobiq* 3; Kum. *tobuq* 2; Nogh. *tobiq* 1, 3; SUygh. *tōq* 1; Khak. *tomix* 1, 3; Oyr. *topuq, tomuq* 1, 3; Tv. *dowuq* 1; Tof. *to'puq* 1; Yak. *tobuk* 2; Dolg. *tobuk* 2.

◊ VEWT 489, EDT 437-8, Лексика 286, Stachowski 224. Both Räsänen and Clauson derive this word from PT **top* 'pellet, round thing', but this is not likely because of external evidence.

PJpn. ***tu(m)pu-** knee (колено):

◊ JLTT 553. A Ryukyu root: cf. Nase *čibùší*, Hateruma *sù̀pùšìN* etc.

‖ KW 408, Владимирцов 271, Poppe 14, 49, АПиПЯЯ 110, 279, Дыбо 6, Лексика 286.

***tʻòpʻú** round: Tung. ***tup-**; Mong. ***tob-**; Turk. ***top**; Jpn. ***tùmpú-ra**.

PTung. ***tup-** 1 excrescence on a tree trunk 2 saddle bow (1 нарост на стволе дерева 2 лука седла): Evk. *tupuka* 1; Ork. *tụpqa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 217.

PMong. ***tob-** 1 round, convex 2 hill 3 clot 4 button 5 cone (of conifer) 6 heel-piece (1 выпуклый 2 холм 3 комок 4 пуговица 5 шишка 6 каблук): MMong. *towči* 4 (IM); WMong. *toburuɣu*, (L 812) *toburuu* 1, *tobči* 4 (L 810); Kh. *towx* 3, *towč* 4; Bur. *tobogor, tobxogor* 1, *tobšo* 4, *tobxo* 5,6; Kalm. *towxn* (KW) 2, *towčə* 4 (KPC); Ord. *toworū, tuwurū* 1, *dobči(n), dobxo* 4; Dag. *tuarč, torči* (Тод. Дат. 168) 4 *tobeči* 4 (MD 225); Dong. *tiʒi* 4; Bao. *tobči* 4; S.-Yugh. *tobǯə* 4; Mongr. *deśʒi* (SM 54) 4.

◊ KW 404, MGCD 637. Mong. *tobči* > Evk. *topči*, see Doerfer MT 128.

PTurk. ***top** round thing (шар, мяч): Karakh. *top* (MK, IM), *topiq* (MK, KB); Tur. *top*; Gag. *top*; Az. *top*; Turkm. *top*; Khal. *tuop*; MTurk. *top, tofuq* (Sangl.); (MKypch.) *topurčaq* 'round' (CCum.); Uzb. *tọp*; Uygh. *top, dop*; Krm. *top*; Tat. *tup*; Bashk. *tup*; Kirgh. *top*; Kaz. *top, dop*; KBalk. *top*; KKalp. *top*; Kum. *top*; Nogh. *top*; Chuv. *tubъ*.

◊ VEWT 489, EDT 434, 437, TMN 2, 596-597, Егоров 258, Ашм. XIV, 143-144, Федотов 2, 249. One should also note OT *tevir-* 'to twist, turn' - probably a contamination of *top and *ebür-* (OT *evir-*) id. (see EDT 443). Words meaning 'cone' reflect a partial contamination with PT **Tobur-* 'cone' (v. sub **tʻobú*).

PJpn. ***tùmpú-rá** round (круглый): OJpn. *tubura*; MJpn. *tubura*; Tok. *tsúbura, tsùbura*; Kyo. *tsùbùrá*; Kag. *tsùbùrá*.

◊ JLTT 553.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 284. See TMN 2, 596-601 (with a hopeless confusion of Turk. **top* 'round thing', **toprak* 'earth, dust' and **topik* 'knee cap' - all of which have different etymologies). Cf. also **tʻobú* 'fruit, cone' (a different root, but a source of some contaminations).

***tʻópʻú (~ -i̯u-)** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***tupi (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***tobid**; Turk. ***Topal**; Jpn. ***tú(m)púa**.

PTung. ***tupi (~ -ü-)** woven basket (плетеная корзина): Man. *tubi*.

◊ TMC 2, 203. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***tobid** trough (корыто): WMong. *tobid* (MXTTT); Kh. *tovd*.

PTurk. ***Topal** round vessel made of bark (кузовок, лукошко (корзинка, плетеная из коры)): Tat. *tubal*; Bashk. *tubal*.

◊ VEWT 489.

PJpn. ***tú(m)púa** jar (кувшин): OJpn. *tup(w)o*; MJpn. *túfó*; Tok. *tsùbo*; Kyo. *tsúbó*; Kag. *tsúbo*.

◊ JLTT 552.

‖ The root seems well reconstructable, although not very widely spread.

***tʻőr[e]** post, pole, tower: Tung. ***turu**; Turk. ***tőr**; Kor. ***tàràk**.

PTung. ***turu** pole, mast; sacred pole, place (столб, мачта; шаманский шест, место жертвоприношения): Evk. *turu*; Neg. *tojo*; Man. *tura*; SMan. *turā* 'post' (460); Jurch. *tur-ra* (208); Ul. *tụra*; Ork. *toro*; Nan. *toro, tora*; Orch. *tū*; Sol. *törö* 'door-post'.

◊ TMC 2, 221 (some forms were possibly influenced by Mong. *tura* < Turk. *tura*, but on the whole loan is hardly acceptable, see Doerfer MT 38). Evk. > Dolg. *turū* 'sacred pole' (see Stachowski 233).

PTurk. ***tőr** honorary place in the house (почетное место в юрте): OTurk. *tör* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tör* (KB), *töre* (MK); Tur. *dör* (dial.); Az. *dör* (dial.); Turkm. *tőr*; MTurk. *tör* (Pav. C.), *töre* (Abush.); Uzb. *tọr*; Uygh. *tö(r)*; Krm. *tör*; Tat. *tür*; Bashk. *tür*; Kirgh. *tör*; Kaz. *tör*; KBalk. *tör*; KKalp. *tör*; Kum. *tör*; Nogh. *tör*; SUygh. *tör, türi*; Khak. *tör*; Shr. *tör*; Oyr. *tör*; Tv. *dör*.

◊ VEWT 494, EDT 528-529, TMN 2, 607, Лексика 514.

PKor. ***tàràk** tower, upper story (башня, верхний этаж): MKor. *tàràk*; Mod. *tarak*.

◊ Liu 192, KED 382.

‖ Poppe 14, 79. In Kor. -i- would be expected; -a- is possibly a result of vowel assimilation.

✱**tʻŏ̀ri** to be born, copulate: Tung. ***tur-**; Mong. ***töre-**; Turk. ***töre-**; Jpn. ***tùrù-(m)p-**.

PTung. ***tur-*** 1 to be born, grow 2 to go out 3 herd of deer during coupling 4 bear family (1 рождаться, расти 2 выходить 3 стадо оленей во время спаривания 4 семья медведей): Evk. *turku-* 2, *turī* 3; Evn. *töri* 4; Man. *tučі-* 1, 2; SMan. *tiučі-* 'emerge, appear' (1184); Jurch. *tuj-ti-mij* (714) 2.

◊ TMC 2, 202, 219, 221.

PMong. ***töre-*** to be born (рождаться): MMong. *tore-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *töre-* (L 836: *törü-*); Kh. *törö-*; Bur. *türe-*; Kalm. *tör-*; Ord. *törö-*; Mog. *türä-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *turu-*, (Тод. Даг. 169) *ture-* (MD 228); S.-Yugh. *törō-*; Mongr. *turo-* (SM 435).

◊ KW 407, MGCD 648. Mong. *törel* 'kin' > Evk. *turul*, see Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***töre-*** to be born, originate (рождаться, происходить): OTurk. *törü-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *törü-* (MK, KB); Tur. *türe-*; Az. *törä-*; Turkm. *döre-*; MTurk. *törü-*, *töre-* (Sangl., Abush.); Krm. *töre-*; Tat. *türä-* (dial.); Kirgh. *törö-*; KKalp. *döre-*; Khak. *törə-*; Oyr. *törö-*; Tv. *törü-*; Tof. *dörü-*; Yak. *törō-*; Dolg. *törō-*.

◊ VEWT 495, EDT 533, ЭСТЯ 3, 283-284, Stachowski 228. The Turkm. voicedness is unclear.

PJpn. ***tùrù-(m)p-*** to copulate (спариваться): OJpn. *turub-*; MJpn. *tùrùb-*; Tok. *tsurum-*.

◊ JLTT 775.

‖ KW 407, Владимирцов 322, Дыбо 13. Mong. may be < Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 158).

✱**tʻó̀ro** to be weak, hungry, unable: Tung. ***turku- / *turke-**; Mong. ***tura-**; Turk. ***Tōr-**; Jpn. ***tərə- (~ ua)**.

PTung. ***turku- / *turke-*** be unable (не мочь): Evk. *turku-*; Evn. *turku-*; Neg. *tujku-*; Ul. *teten-*; Ork. *teten-*.

◊ TMC 2, 220.

PMong. ***tura-*** be lean, meagre (быть тощим, худым): MMong. *tura-*, *turu-* (SH); WMong. *tura-* (L 843); Kh. *tura-*; Bur. *tura-*; Kalm. *tur-*; Ord. *turu-*; Dong. *turi-*; Mongr. *turGan* (SM 433).

◊ KW 411, MGCD 653. Mong. > Khak. *tura* par- 'to be tired'.

PTurk. ***Tōr-*** 1 to become lean, hungry 2 lean, hungry (1 отощать, проголодаться 2 тощий, голодный): OTurk. *turuq* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tūr-* (ō?) 1 (MK), *turuq* 1 (MK); MTurk. *turγun* 'fatigué' (Pav. C.); Uygh. *toryγ* 2; Bashk. *torma* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *toruq-* 1; Kaz. *toriq-* 1; SUygh. *tor* 2; Oyr. *torin-* (Верб. - Tel.); Tv. *dor-* 1; Yak. *tuor-* 1, *tuor* 2.

◊ VEWT 489, EDT 530, 539, Clark 1977, 157.

PJpn. ***tərə- (~ ua)*** languid, slack, remiss (вялый, медленный): MJpn. *toro-*; Tok. *toro-*.

◊ JLTT 842.

‖ KW 411. Despite Щербак 1997, 159, hardly a borrowing in Mong. < Turk.

✱**tʻŏro(-kʻV)** a k. of bird: Tung. ***turākī***; Mong. ***turaɣu***; Turk. ***torgaj***; Jpn. ***tárí***; Kor. ***tǎrk***.

PTung. ***turākī*** crow, rook (ворона, грач): Evk. *turākī*; Evn. *tuṛṵqi*; Neg. *torāxī*; Nan. *torāki*; Orch. *tuaxi, tuwaki*; Ud. *tuaʻi*; Sol. *turāki*.

◊ TMC 2,218 (sub *mypa-* 'раскрыть').

PMong. ***turaɣu*** raven, crow (ворон): MMong. *tura'un* (HY 13); WMong. *turaɣu, turulɣa, turalaɣ* (L 843: *turlaɣ* 'rook'); Kh. *xar torū*; *turliax* 'галка'; Bur. *turlāg*; Kalm. *torəg, torləg*; Ord. *xara turū, alaG turū*.

◊ KW 401, 402.

PTurk. ***torgaj*** 1 small bird 2 lark (1 маленькая птица 2 жаворонок): OTurk. *toriɣa* 1; Karakh. *turumtaj* 'a predatory bird used for hawking' (MK); Tur. *turgaj* 2; Az. *toraɣaj*; Turkm. *torGaj* 2; Tat. *turɣaj* 2; Kirgh. *torɣoj* 2; Khak. *pos-tarɣaj* 2; Chuv. *tъʷri* 2; Yak. *tujār* 1.

◊ VEWT 490, EDT 550, TMN 2, 482-3, *Лексика* 176. Turk. > Kalm. *torɣā* (KW 401).

PJpn. ***tárí*** bird (птица): OJpn. tori; MJpn. *tórí*; Tok. *tòri*; Kyo. *tórí*; Kag. *tói*.

◊ JLTT 550.

PKor. ***tǎrk*** fowl (курица, петух): MKor. *tǎrk*; Mod. *tak* [talk].

◊ Nam 142, KED 407.

‖ KW 402, АПиПЯЯ 70, 274, *Дыбо* 8, Martin 228, *Лексика* 176.

✱**tʻoru** a k. of black berry: Tung. ***turi-***; Turk. ***Tor-***; Jpn. ***tuta***; Kor. ***tǎrái***.

PTung. ***turi-*** 1 gooseberry; black currants 2 peas, beans (1 черемуха; крыжовник; черная смородина 2 горох, бобы): Evk. *turikta* 1; Man. *turi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 219. Man. > Neg., Nan. *turi* (etc.), see ibid.

PTurk. ***Tor-*** 1 cranberry, bilberry 2 elder 3 moss (1 клюква, черника 2 бузина 3 мох): Khak. *torslas* 2 (Sag.), *torbas* 3; Shr. *torslaš* 2, *torbas* 3, *torbas čestegi* 1; Oyr. *torbos* 1, 3.

◊ VEWT 490, *Дмитриева* 181, 192. A local Siberian word with somewhat unclear morphological structure.

PJpn. ***tuta*** wild grape (дикий виноград): MJpn. *tuta*; Tok. *tsutá, tsùta*; Kyo. *tsútà*; Kag. *tsúta*.

◊ JLTT 557. Accent is unclear: Tokyo *tsutá* and Kyoto *tsútà* may reflect **tùtá* or **tútà*; the Tokyo variant *tsùta* and Kagoshima *tsúta* point rather to **tútá*.

PKor. ***tǎrái*** currants, (KED) fruit of the Actinidia arguta (смородина): MKor. *tǎrái*; Mod. *tarä*.

◊ Nam 135, KED 382.

‖ The precise berry denoted by the root is of course unknown (notice the meaning 'currants' in TM and Korean).

***tʻŏ́rV** young animal: Tung. ***toro-kī**; Mong. ***toruj**; Turk. ***tōrum**.

PTung. ***tora-kī (~-ǖ)*** boar (кабан): Evk. *torokī*; Neg. *torokī*.

◊ See TMC 2, 200. Yak. *toroku* 'boar' < TM (not vice versa).

PMong. ***toruj*** young pig (поросенок): WMong. *torui* (L 827); Kh. *toroj*; Bur. *toroj*; Kalm. *torā́*; Ord. *torṓ* 'young donkey'.

◊ KW 401. Mong. > Chag., Kirgh. *torai*.

PTurk. ***tōr-um*** 1 young camel 2 a young calf 3 a goat that has yeaned early 4 young 5 a cow that has not calved yet (1 верблюжонок 2 теленок 3 коза, объягнившаяся в возрасте до 1 года 4 молодой (о человеке, дереве) 5 нетель): Karakh. *torum* 1, *torpı* 2 (MK); Tur. *deve torun* 1, *torum* (dial.) 1; *torbuč* (dial.) 3, (?) *toru* (dial.) 4; Gag. (?) *tor* 'unbroken (of a horse), untrodden (of a path)'; Turkm. *tōrum* 1; Sal. *torı* 'foal' (ССЯ); MTurk. *torum* 1 (Sangl., Pav. C.), *torbaq* 2 (MA 126); Uygh. *topaq* 2, *topaq-torum* 'young calves'; Tat. *tōrbaq* (KCTT) 2; Bashk. *tana-turpaq* 2; Kirgh. *torpoq* 2; Kaz. *torpaq* 2; Khak. *torbax* 2; Oyr. *torboq* 2, *torboč* (dial. Kumd.) 5; Tv. *dorum* 1; Yak. *torbos*, *torbužax* 2.

◊ EDT 533, 549, VEWT 491. Turk. > WMong. *torum*, Kalm. *torm* (KW 402, Щербак 1997, 158, Clark 1977, 155-156. The Tur. dial. *doγrum* is a result of contamination with *doγur-* 'to bear'. Forms like *torp-ak* are diminutives in -ak (with almost always regular cluster development). Forms like Tur. *torun* 'grandchild', as well as Tur. dial. tor 'young' may be Iranisms (but not Armenisms, as suggested in Буд. 1, 747 - Armen. *toṙn* 'grandchild' is itself obviously < Iranian) - see Аб. 3, 280.

‖ TMC 2, 200 (TM-Mong.), Дыбо 7. A Western isogloss.

***tʻŏ̀ŕe** law, regulation: Tung. ***turgun**; Mong. ***töre**; Turk. ***töŕ**; Jpn. ***tətə-nəp-**.

PTung. ***turgun*** reason, cause (причина): Evk. *turgun*; Man. *turgun*; SMan. *turuxun* (2915); Jurch. *tu-ru-wen-*; Ul. *turgu(n)*; Nan. *turgũ*.

◊ TMC 2, 218-219. TM > Dag. *turgun* (Тод. Даг. 169).

PMong. ***töre*** order, regulation, matrimony, marriage (правило, закон, сватовство): MMong. *tore* (HY 49, SH); WMong. *töre*, (L 835) *törü*; Kh. *tör*; Bur. *türe*; Kalm. *törə*; Ord. *törö*; S.-Yugh. *turo*; Mongr. *turō* (SM 434).

◊ KW 407, MGCD 647.

PTurk. ***töŕ*** 1 foundation, root 2 origin, ancestors (1 корень 2 происхождение, основание, род, предки): OTurk. *töz* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *töz* (MK, KB) 2; MTurk. *töz* 1 ('root of the ear' - Sangl.), 2 (Pav. C.); Tat. *tüz* 2 (dial.); Bashk. *tüz* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *töz*, *tös* 2; Khak. *tös* 'original spirits', *tös-te-* 'to lay ground'; Shr. *tös* 2, *tös-tük* 'tree trunk'; Oyr. *tös* 2; 'shrub; original spirits'; Tv. *dös* 1, 2, 'shrub'; Tof. *dös*, *tös* 1; Chuv. *türe* 'object of dedication; spirit'; Yak. *törüt* 2; Dolg. *törüt*.

◊ VEWT 495, TMN 2, 612, EDT 571, Лексика 109, Фе

PJpn. ***tàtə̀-nə̀p-*** to be arranged, in order (

порядке): OJpn. *toto-nop-*; MJpn. *tòtò-nòf-*;

Kag. *totonó-*.

◊ JLTT 771. The accent in Kagoshima is aberrant.

‖ Turk. **törü* 'law' is probably an old deri

an early disappearance of *-g-: cf. Hung. *törv*

to *-g-. Mong. **töre* may be < Turk. (see TMN

sarily so.

root is of course unknown (no-

orean).

ng. ***toruj***; Turk. ***tōrum***.

Evk. *torokī*; Neg. *torokī*.

ot vice versa).

ок): WMong. *torui* (L 827); Kh.

ung donkey'.

a young calf 3 a goat that has

not calved yet (1 верблюжонок

возрасте до 1 года 4 молодой (о

✱t'ǒŕe soil, dust: Tung. ****turV***; Mong. ****tor-***; Turk.

PTung. ****turV*** 1 earth 2 lump of earth (1

tur 1(dial.); Evn. *tōr*; Neg. *tūj* 1; Nan. *tur-qa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 217-218.

torum 1, *torpi* 2 (MK); Tur. *deve*

(?) *toru* (dial.) 4; Gag. (?) *tor* 'un-

PMong. ****tor-*** 1 snuff, tar 2 flying dust; bla

path)'; Turkm. *tōrum* 1; Sal. *tori*

копоть, гарь 2 пыль в воздухе; синяк): WMo

av. C.), *torbaq* 2 (MA 126); Uygh.

toru 2 (L 827); Kh. *tortog* 1; Bur. *tortog* 1; Kalm.

Tat. *tōrbaq* (KCTT) 2; Bashk.

PTurk. ****tōŕ*** dust (пыль): OTurk. *toz* (OU

q 2; Khak. *torbax* 2; Oyr. *torboq* 2,

Tur. *toz*; Gag. *tōz*; Az. *toz*; Turkm. *tōz*, *tozan*

torbos, *torbužax* 2.

(Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *tọzɔn*; Uygh. *toz*; Krm

ag. *torum*, Kalm. *torm* (KW 402, Щербак

δan; Kirgh. *toz*; Kaz. *toz*; KKalp. *toz*; Nogh.

oγrum is a result of contamination with

tozɨn; Shr. *tozun*; Oyr. *tozɨn*.

ives in -ak (with almost always regular

◊ VEWT 492, EDT 580-1, Лексика 99-100. Cf. also

ndchild', as well as Tur. dial. tor 'young'

the stem *tozan* is rather not a deverbative in -γan from th

sted in Буд. 1, 747 - Armen. *torn* 'grand-

traces of -γ-), but a denominative (like er - *eren*); this wo

0.

Turkm. This may also be a noun in -n derived from a d

toza- 'to become dusty', also without length).

A Western isogloss.

PKor. ****tɨ̀rɨ́h*** field, steppe (поле, степь): MI

Mong. ****töre***; Turk. ****töŕ***; Jpn.

◊ Nam 171, KED 533.

чина): Evk. *turgun*; Man. *turgun*;

‖ KW 405, АПиПЯЯ 19, 70, 91, 274 (but J

-; Ul. *turgu(n)*; Nan. *turgũ*.

attributed to PA **t'ə̄ŕu*), Дыбо 11. Cf. Jpn. *dō*

ar. 169).

late and initial not clear). Contaminations wit

trimony, marriage (правило, за-

✱t'ȍ̀si (~ -e) face, shape, spot on forehead: Tung

, SH); WMong. *töre*, (L 835) *törü*;

PTung. ****tōsa-*** white spot on animal's fore

; S.-Yugh. *turo*; Mongr. *turō* (SM

животного): Evk. *tōsa-lān*, dial. *tōha-kta*; Man.

◊ TMC 2, 200. Evk. > Yak. *tuosaxta* id.

PMong. ****tösü*** form, shape, appearance (

rigin, ancestors (1 корень 2 про-

tösüge (L 837); Kh. *tös*, *tösō*; Bur. *tühō(n)* 'пдки): OTurk. *töz* (OUygh.) 2;

tösəw 'plan' (KPC); Ord. *dösō*.

('root of the ear' - Sangl.), 2 (Pav.

◊ Mong. > Chag. *tüs*, Turkm. *tüjs* etc. (see VEWT 507)

lial.); Kirgh. *töz*, *tös* 2; Khak. *tös*

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

'; Shr. *tös* 2, *tös-tük* 'tree trunk';

. *dös* 1, 2, 'shrub'; Tof. *dös*, *tös* 1;

; Yak. *törüt* 2; Dolg. *törüt*.

***tʻotá** to run: Tung. ***tut[a]-**; Jpn. ***tanta-juap-**; Kor. ***tằd-**.

PTung. ***tut[a]-** to run (бежать): Evk. *tutu-* 'crawl away'; Evn. *tut-*; Neg. *tutu-* 'crawl'; Ul. *tụtụ-*; Ork. *tụta-*; Nan. *tutu-*; Orch. *tutu-*; Ud. *tutu-*; Sol. *tute-*.

◊ TMC 2, 223-224.

PJpn. ***tanta-juap-** to float, ramble (плавать, бродить): OJpn. *tada-j(w)op-*; MJpn. *tádá-jof-*; Tok. *tadayó-*; Kyo. *tádáyó-*; Kag. *tàdàyò-*.

◊ JLTT 761. Modern dialects point rather to **tàntà-*, so the original accent is not quite clear.

PKor. ***tằd-** to run (бежать): MKor. *tằt-* (-r-); Mod. *tat-* (-r-).

◊ Nam 139, KED 401.

‖ SKE 269. An Eastern isogloss. In Kor. cf. also *tithii'ú-* 'to move away, apart'.

***tʻu** five: Tung. ***tu-ńga**; Mong. ***ta-bu-**; Jpn. ***ì-tù-**; Kor. ***tà-**.

PTung. ***tu-ńga** five (пять): Evk. *tuŋa*; Evn. *tụnŋ̣n*; Neg. *tońŋa / tuŋńa*; Man. *sunža*; SMan. *sunžā* (2739); Jurch. *ĉunža* (640); Ul. *tụńža*; Ork. *tụnda*; Nan. *tojŋga*; Orch. *tuŋa*; Ud. *tuŋa*; Sol. *toŋa*.

◊ TMC 2, 214.

PMong. ***ta-bu-** 1 five 2 fifty (1 пять 2 пятьдесят): MMong. *tabun* (HY 43, SH), *ṭābun* (IM), *tabun* (MA) 1, *tabin* (HY 43), *ṭabin* (IM) 2; WMong. *tabu(n)* 1 (L 761), *tabi(n)* 2 (L 760); Kh. *tav* 1, *taó* 2; Bur. *taba(n)*; Kalm. *tawn*; Ord. *tawu(n)* 1, *tawi* 2; Mog. *tabun, tābun*; ZM *tābun* (25-1b); Dag. *tāw(an)* (Тод. Даг. 164, MD 219), *tābu* 1, *tabi* (MD 219), *tab́* 2; Dong. *tavuan, tawun* 1; Bao. *tavoŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *tāwən* 1, *tawən* 2; Mongr. *tāwən* (SM 412), *tāwun* 1, *tajin* (SM 412) 2.

◊ KW 385, MGCD 619, 620.

PJpn. ***ì-tù-** five (пять): OJpn. *itu-*; MJpn. *ìtù-*; Tok. *itsú-*; Kyo. *ítsù-*; Kag. *itsú-*.

◊ JLTT 428, 429. Initial i- is not quite clear; it is used on its own with the meaning 'fifty', and in *i-po* 'five hundred' (if this is not a contraction < **it(u)-pə*).

PKor. ***tà-** five (пять): MKor. *tà-, tà-sằs*; Mod. *tasət* [*tasəs*].

◊ Nam 131, KED 386.

‖ KW 385, SKE 259, Lee 1958, 117, АПиПЯЯ 70. Cf. perhaps Bulg. (Mudrak) *etə* 'five' (cf. the Jpn. form).

***tʻúbé** a k. of bird of prey: Tung. ***tuba**; Mong. ***tojigun**; Jpn. ***tómpí (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***tàbàkí**.

PTung. ***tuba** jackdaw, rook (галка, грач): Ul. *towa, tụwa*.

◊ TMC 2, 218. Attested only in Ul., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***tojigun** falcon (сокол): WMong. *tuiγun*, (L 819) *tojiγun*; Kh. *tojgon, tojxon*; Kalm. *tūγən, tű̄γən*.

◊ KW 413, TMN 2, 658. Mong. > MKor. *thuikon* (see Lee 1964, 192); > Chag. *tojγan*, Yak. *tojon*, Kaz. *tujγin*, Nogh. *tujγin* (should be distinguished from the common Turkic **dogan*, on which see under **toga!*).

PJpn. ***tàmpí (~ -ua-)*** kite (коршун): OJpn. *t(w)ob(j)i*; MJpn. *tóbí*; Tok. *tóbi*; Kyo. *tòbî*; Kag. *tóbi*.

◊ JLTT 547. The Kyoto and Tokyo accents are irregular, pointing to a variant **tà(m)pí*; RJ and Kagoshima reflect high level tone.

PKor. ***tàbàkí*** a k. of bird of prey (вид хищной птицы): MKor. *tà'wàkí*; Mod. *t:aogi* 'crested ibis'; *tok-suri* 'eagle'.

◊ Nam 132, KED 387, 473 (*tok-suri* is explained as 'bald eagle', but *tok-* may well be a contraction of **tabak-*).

‖ The root evidently denoted some big bird of prey (kite, eagle or falcon); the isolated Ul. form fits in well phonetically, but not so well semantically.

t'uč'Ý (~ -o-)** axe, hammer: Tung. ***tučU-n / *čučU-n; Mong. ***čüče***; Jpn. ***tùtí***; Kor. ***tōčhǎi***.

PTung. ***tučU- / *čučU-*** 1 to scrape (skin) 2 scraper (1 соскаблúвать 2 скребок): Evk. *čučU-lē-* 1, *čučU-n* 2; Evn. *čöt-le-* 1, *čöčU-n* 2; Neg. *čočo-* 1, *čočon* 2; Ork. *tottolo-* 1, *totto-, tuttu-* 2; Nan. *tučU-le-* 1, *tučū* 2; Orch. *čočo-lo-* 1, *čočo(n)* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 418. Evk. > Yak. *tüčün, čüčün* 'scraper'.

PMong. ***čüče*** chisel (долото): WMong. *čüče* (L 209); Kh. *cüc*.

◊ Mong. > Yak. *tüčči, čüčči* 'chisel'.

PJpn. ***tùtí*** mallet (колотушка): OJpn. *tuti*; MJpn. *tùtí*; Tok. *tsuchí*; Kyo. *tsùchí*; Kag. *tsuchí*.

◊ JLTT 557. In Tokyo **tsúchi* would be expected.

PKor. ***tōčhǎi*** axe (топор): MKor. *tōčhǎi, tōčhói*; Mod. *tōk:i*.

◊ Nam 158, KED 461.

‖ Whitman 1985, 141, 217. Mong. and part of TM forms reveal an assimilation; it is not excluded that TM forms like *čučU-n* are secondarily borrowed < Mong.

t'ŭge** storm, dust: Tung. ***tugeU-; Mong. ***tuji-***; Turk. ***tügeU-***.

PTung. ***tugeU-*** 1 cloud 2 winter (1 облако 2 зима): Evk. *tūksu, tūkse* 1, *tuγe* 2; Evn. *töγečin* 1, *tuγe-ni* 2; Neg. *tokso* 1, *tuwe, tuγe* 2; Man. *tugi* 1, *tuweri* 2; SMan. *tukusu* (2009), *ťuxi* (2010); Jurch. *tuje-ŋi* (6), *tu-e-li* 2; Ul. *tewekse* 1, *tue* 2; Ork. *teweske* 1, *tuwe* 2; Nan. *tukse* 1, *tue* 2; Orch. *tokso* 1, *tuwe, tue* 2; Ud. *tokö* 1, *tue* 2; Sol. *tukču* 1, *tugu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 204-205, 208-209.

PMong. ***tuji-*** thin falling snow, dust-snow (снежная крупа): WMong. *tujaγu, tujil-dasu*; Kh. *tujldas*; Kalm. *tujū*.

◊ KW 409.

PTurk. ***tüge-le-*** whirlwind, (snow-)storm (вихрь, (снежная) буря): Az. *tülex* (dial.); Turkm. *tüvelej*; Shr. *tūlek* (Верб.).

◊ Лексика 44-45. The root is local, but for phonetic reasons should be kept distinct from **tüpi* 'wind, storm' q.v. sub **t'iup'i* (with which it is linked in EDT 436).

‖ A Western isogloss.

***tʻŭja** to give, give a feast: Tung. ***tuju-**; Mong. ***taɣu-**; Turk. ***toj**.

PTung. ***tuju-** 1 to give 2 to give a feast (1 давать 2 давать пир, угощать): Evk. *tuju-* 2; Evn. *töj-* 2; Neg. *tojo-* 2; Man. *tuwe-de-, teo-de-* 'to resell, exchange'; Jurch. *tuju-xe* 1 (428); Ul. *tuju-* 2; Ork. *tojo-* 2; Nan. *tuju-* 2; Orch. *tojo-* 2; Ud. *tuju-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 203, 206. Man. > Nan. *taoda-*, Ul. *taŋda-*, Oroch *tauda-* 'to pay, repay' (TMC 2, 171); > Dag. *tauda-* id. (Тод. Даг. 166).

PMong. ***taɣu-** to give, distribute (давать, распределять): MMong. *ta'ul-* (SH).

PTurk. ***toj** feast; community (пир, праздник): OTurk. *toj* (OUygh.); Karakh. *toj* (MK, KB); Tur. *toj*; Gag. *toj*; Az. *toj*; Turkm. *toj*; Sal. *töj* (ССЯ); MTurk. *toj* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *toj*; Uygh. *toj*; Krm. *toj*; Tat. *tuj*; Bashk. *tuj*; Kirgh. *toj*; Kaz. *toj*; KBalk. *toj*; KKalp. *toj*; Kum. *toj*; Nogh. *toj*; SUygh. *toj*; Khak. *toj*; Shr. *toj*; Oyr. *toj*; Tv. *doj*; Tof. *toj*; Chuv. *toj*.

◊ EDT 567, Лексика 309.

‖ SKE 269 (Turk.-Tung.), Дыбо 14. A Western isogloss. The Turk.-Tung. match seems quite probable, despite TMN 3, 355 ("rein zufällig").

***tʻujbu (~ -o-)** to carve, engrave, whet: Tung. ***tujba-**; Mong. ***tobi-**; Jpn. ***tuà**.

PTung. ***tujba-** adze, scraper (тесло, скребок, рубанок): Evn. *ṭibaq*; Man. *tujbalaqu, tujpan*; Ul. *tujba(n)*; Nan. *tojbā*; Orch. *tība*; Ud. *tībo, tuibo*.

◊ TMC 2, 174.

PMong. ***tobi-** to carve, engrave (гравировать): WMong. *tobi-* (L 811); Kh. *tovi-*.

PJpn. ***tuà** whetstone (точильный камень): OJpn. two; MJpn. *tò*; Tok. *to*.

◊ JLTT 547.

‖ The cluster *-jb- (in this case preserved explicitly in TM) accounts for the preservation of *-b- in Mong. and for the development *-b- > -w- (-0-) in Japanese.

***tʻùji** thick: Mong. ***tüɣüd- / *tüjit-**; Turk. ***Tujug**; Jpn. ***tùjə̀-**.

PMong. ***tüɣüd- / *tüjit-** convex, bulging, thick (выпуклый, толстый): WMong. *tügdüi-, tügdüger* (L 849); *tüitü-, tügüdeg*; Kh. *tügdij-, tügdger, tűdeg*; Bur. *tügdeger* 'сутулый'; Kalm. *tűtī-* 'to be thick and swollen'.

◊ KW 418.

PTurk. ***Tujug** whole, complete (полностью): OTurk. *tujɣun* 'high official' (Orkh.); Tat. (KCTT) *tojoq*; Kirgh. *tujuq*; Shr. *tujuq*; Oyr. *tuj* 'compact, solid'; (dial.) *tujaɣ* 1 (R - Leb.); Yak. *tuj(u)gun* 'excellent', *tujulā-* 'to reach a high degree' (Пек.).

◊ VEWT 497, EDT 568.

PJpn. ***tùjə-*** strong (сильный): OJpn. *tujo-*; MJpn. *tùjò-*; Tok. *tsuyó-*; Kyo. *tsúyò-*; Kag. *tsuyó-*.

◊ JLTT 843.

‖ A good Turk.-Mong.-Jpn. match.

tʻúju (~ -o-)** to gleam, shine: Mong. ***tuja-; Jpn. ***túјá***.

PMong. ***tuja-*** ray, gleam (луч, сияние): WMong. *tuja, tujaŋa(n)* (L 840); Kh. *tujā*; Bur. *tujā(n)*; Kalm. *tojā, tujā*; Ord. *tujā*.

◊ KW 398, 409. Mong. > Evk. *tujan*, see TMC 2, 206.

PJpn. ***túјá*** glaze, glitter (блеск): MJpn. *tuja*; Tok. *tsùya*; Kyo. *tsúyá*; Kag. *tsúya*.

◊ JLTT 558.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

tʻukì** to come to an end, be exhausted: Mong. ***tögüs-; Turk. ***tüke-***; Jpn. ***tuku-***.

PMong. ***tögüs-*** to come to an end (заканчиваться): MMong. *tuge-* 'be quite enough', *tegus* 'completely' (SH); WMong. *tögüs-, tegüs-* (L 796); Kh. *tögsö-*; Bur. *tügese-*; Kalm. *tögəs-*; Ord. *tögös-*; Bao. *təgɛsaŋ* 'complete, full'.

◊ KW 406, MGCD 644.

PTurk. ***tüke-*** to come to an end (кончаться, истощаться): OTurk. *tüke-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tüke-* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *tüken-*; Gag. *tüken-*; Az. *tükän-*; Turkm. *tüken-*; Khal. *tiken-*; MTurk. *tüken-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tuga-, tugan-*; Uygh. *tügü-*; Krm. *tügen-, tigen-*; Tat. *tögen-*; Kirgh. *tügön-*; Kaz. *tüges-*; KBalk. *tügen-*; Kum. *tügen-*; SUygh. *tüke-*; Khak. *tügel-*; Shr. *tügen-*; Oyr. *tügen-*; Yak. *tüksü, tügüsü* 'enough, completely'.

◊ VEWT 504, EDT 479, 484.

PJpn. ***tuku-*** 1 to come to an end, be exhausted 2 to exhaust (1 заканчивать(ся), истощать(ся) 2 истощать, исчерпывать): OJpn. *tuku-* 1, *tukus-* 2; MJpn. *túkú-* 1, *túkús-* 2; Tok. *tsukí-, tsùki-* 1; *tsukús-* 2; *tsukare-* 'be tired, exhausted'; Kyo. *tsùkì-* 1, *tsúkús-* 2; Kag. *tsùkì-*1, *tsukús-* 2.

◊ JLTT 773, 774. Accent is very diverse and hardly reconstructable in this root.

‖ KW 406, Владимирцов 154, Poppe 57, Miller 1981, 863 (Turk.-Jpn.). Despite Щербак 1997, 160, not borrowed in Turk. < Mong. It seems worth mentioning Evk. dial. *ṭiko-* 'to die (of exhaustion), starve' - which may, however, be a derivative of *tik-* 'to fall'.

tʻukí (~ -o-)** to transmit, continue: Mong. ***tüge-; Jpn. ***túnk-***.

PMong. ***tüge-*** 1 to be spread, transmitted 2 to transmit, distribute (1 распространять(ся), передавать(ся) 2 передавать, распространять, разделять): MMong. *tuge'e-, tuke'e-* 2 (SH), *tuke-* 2 (MA); WMong. *tüge-* 1, *tügege-* 2 (L 849); Kh. *tüge* 1, *tügē-* 2; Bur. *tüge-* 1; Kalm. *tüg-* 1, *tügē-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *tüwe-* 1, *tüwē-* 2.

PJpn. ***túnk-*** to continue, be transmitted, succeed (продолжать, передаваться): OJpn. tug-; MJpn. *túg-*; Tok. *tsùg-*; Kyo. *tsúg-*; Kag. *tsúg-*.

◊ JLTT 772.

‖ Ozawa 255-256. A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**tʻukV** calf, lamb: Tung. ***tuKu-***; Mong. ***tugul***; Turk. ***toklɨ***.

PTung. ***tuKu-*** 1 calf, young of deer 2 to bear (1 теленок, олененок 2 рожать): Evk. *tuku-čēn* 1; Evn. *tū-* 2; Man. *tuqšan* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 210.

PMong. ***tugul*** calf (теленок): MMong. *tuqul* (HY 10, SH), *ṭoγol* (IM); WMong. *tuγul* (L 838); Kh. *tugal*; Bur. *tugal*; Kalm. *tuγəl*; Ord. *tuGul*; Mog. *tuγul* (Weiers); Dag. *tokuĺ*, (Тод. Даг. 167) *tokoli* (MD 225), *tokoli*, *tokoĺ*; Dong. *tuGun*; Mongr. *tuGur* (SM 429), *tuGul*.

◊ KW 409, MGCD 650.

PTurk. ***toklɨ*** lamb (6m. old) (ягненок до полугода): Karakh. *toqlɨ* (MK, IM); Tur. *toklu*; Gag. *toqlu*; Az. *toGlu*; Turkm. *toqlɨ*; Khal. *toγlɨ*; MTurk. *toγlɨ* (Pav. C.),(MKypch.) *toqlɨ* (Houts.); Uzb. *ṭoqli*; Tat. *tuqtɨ*; *tuγɨš* 'a 1-year-old elk' (KCTT); Bashk. *tuqtɨ*; Kirgh. *toqtu*; Kaz. *toqtɨ*; KBalk. *toqlu*; KKalp. *toqlɨ*; Kum. *toqlu*; Nogh. *toqlɨ*; SUygh. *toqtɨ*; Tv. *toγdu*; *toš* '1-year-old elk'; Tof. *doš* '1-year-old elk' (Рас. Фил); Yak. *tugut* 'calf, foal'; Dolg. *tugut* 'calf, foal'.

◊ VEWT 485, TMN 2, 524, EDT 469, Лексика 434, Stachowski 229. Turk. > Hung. *toklyó* 'lamb', see Gombocz 1912.

‖ KW 409, Дыбо 7, Sinor 1962, 321, Лексика 434. A Western isogloss. Despite Doerfer MT 104, hardly borrowed in TM from Mong. The Turk.-Mong. parallel is dismissed by Doerfer (TMN 2, 525), because "lautgesetzlich ist tü. -q- nicht = mong. -γ-" (?).

✱**tʻukV (~ -kʻ-)** dam, fishing net: Tung. ***tuki-***; Mong. ***togsija-***; Turk. ***Tug***.

PTung. ***tuki-*** to fish (рыбачить): Ul. *tūkiči-* 'рыбачить ночью в узкой протоке ставной сетью'; Nan. *tukieči-*.

◊ TMC 2, 207.

PMong. ***togsija-*** 1 net for catching birds 2 to fish with a net (1 сеть для ловли птиц 2 ловить рыбу сетью): WMong. *toγsija-* 2, *toγša* 1 (L 815); Kh. *togšō-* 2, *togšō* 1.

PTurk. ***Tug*** dam, fish trap (запруда, верша): OTurk. *tuγ* (Orkh.); Karakh. *tuγ* (MK); Uygh. *tuγ*; Bashk. dial. *tɨw*; Kirgh. *tuq*; Khak. *tuγ*; Shr. *tuγ*; Tv. *duγ-da-* 'to make a partition'; Tof. *duγ*; Yak. *tū*.

◊ VEWT 496, EDT 463-464, Рас. Фил 175, Лексика 420.

‖ Дыбо 14. A Western isogloss. The Turk. form may reflect a contamination with **togi* 'mound, dam' q. v.

✱**tʻŭkʻù (~ -o-)** to grasp, seize: Tung. ***tux-***; Jpn. ***tùkàm-***; Kor. ***thă-***.

PTung. ***tux-*** to take into arms (брать в руки, держать в руках): Evk. *tuk-*; Evn. *tọk-*; Ul. *tūwu-le-*; Nan. *tuxi-si-*; Ud. *tugele-*.

◊ TMC 2, 206-207.

PJpn. ***tùkàm-*** to grasp, seize (хватать): OJpn. *tukam-*; MJpn. *tùkàm-*; Tok. *tsukám-*; Kyo. *tsùkàm-*, *tsúkám-*; Kag. *tsùkàm-*.

◊ JLTT 773.

PKor. ***thă-*** to receive (получать): MKor. *thă-*; Mod. *tha-*.

◊ Liu 710, KED 1685.

‖ Martin 225. Korean has a usual vowel reduction in the first syllable. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**tʻŭkʻV** clavicle, elbow: Tung. ***tūkre***; Mong. ***tokaj***.

PTung. ***tūkre*** 1 clavicle 2 upper rib (1 ключица 2 верхнее ребро): Evk. *tūkre* 1; Evn. *tökъr* 1; Neg. *tuxse* 2; Ud. *tuhe* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 208.

PMong. ***tokoj*** elbow (локоть): MMong. *toqai* (HY 46), *twoqai* (Lig.VMI), *tuqai* (MA); WMong. *toqoi* (L 829: *toqui*, *toqai*); Kh. *toxoj*; Bur. *toxoj*; Kalm. *toxā̆*, *toxā*; Ord. *doxŏ*; Mog. *toqai*; ZM *toqai* (Lig.VMI 69); Dong. *toɣəi*; Bao. *toχui*; S.-Yugh. *doGōnoG*; Mongr. *tuGwī* (SM 429).

◊ KW 397, MGCD 642. Mong. > Yak. *тоуонох*, Dolg. *togonok* (Stachowski 225).

‖ Despite Poppe 14, 55 the root should be distinguished from **tʻokV* 'curved' q.v.

✱**tʻule(kV)** fox; wolf: Tung. ***tulge***; Turk. ***tülki / tilkü***; Jpn. ***tuárá***.

PTung. ***tulge*** wolf (волк): Sol. *tūlge*.

◊ TMC 2, 210. The relationship of this word to Evk. *tīle* 'bear' (TMC 2, 181) is not quite clear.

PTurk. ***tülki / tilkü*** fox (лиса): OTurk. *tilkü* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tilkü* (MK, Tefs., IM), *tilki* (KB); Tur. *tilki*; Gag. *tilki*; Az. *tülkü*; Turkm. *tilki*; Sal. *tʻiligu* (Kakuk), *tüligu* (ССЯ); Khal. *tilkü*, *tülkü*; MTurk. *tülkü* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tulki*; Uygh. *tülkä*; Krm. *tülkü*; Tat. *tölke*; Bashk. *tölkö*; Kirgh. *tülkü*; Kaz. *tülki*; KBalk. *tülkü*; KKalp. *tülki*; Kum. *tülkī*; Nogh. *tülki*; SUygh. *tolɣo* (ЯЖУ); Khak. *tülgü*; Shr. *tülgü*; Oyr. *tülkü*; *tīlgü* (dial. - Tuba); Tv. *dilgi*; Tof. *dilgi*; Chuv. *tilə*.

◊ See VEWT 480, EDT 498-499, Щербак 1961, 135, *Лексика* 161.

PJpn. ***tuárá*** tiger (тигр): OJpn. *twora*; MJpn. *twórá*; Tok. *tòra*; Kyo. *tórá*; Kag. *tóra*.

◊ JLTT 550.

‖ See АПиПЯЯ 70, *Лексика* 161. Jpn. high tone does not correspond to PTM length (the latter, however, is reconstructed only on the basis of the Sol. form and thus not reliable).

***tʻulu (~ -o)** torn and scraped skin: Tung. ***tul-**; Mong. ***tulum**; Turk. ***tul- (*tol-)**; Kor. ***turumaki**.

PTung. ***tul-** 1 to tear out, lose (horns) 2 to tear out 3 large torn ram skin (1 выдирать, терять (рога) 2 выдирать 3 крупная мерлушка (с большого барашка)): Evk. *tulduli-* 2; Evn. *tuldъq-* 1; Man. *tulxu* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 210, 211.

PMong. ***tulum** leather bag (кожаный мешок): WMong. *tulum* (L 841); Kh. *tulam*; Bur. *tulam*; Kalm. *tulm̥* (KPC); Ord. *tulum*; Mog. *tulum* (Weiers).

◊ Mong. > Yak., Turk. *tulum*, probably also Karaim *tulup* etc. (see VEWT 498); > Manchu *tulume, tulum* 'a cow- or sheepskin filled with air that is used to aid a person crossing the river' (see Rozycki 212).

PTurk. ***tul- (*tol-)** 1 skin container 2 scraped skin (1 кожаный мешок 2 голая, ободранная шкура): OTurk. *tolquq* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *tolquq* (MK) 1; Az. *tuluG* 1; Oyr. *tulaq* 2.

◊ EDT 496, VEWT 497-498, *Лексика* 387.

PKor. ***turumaki** overcoat (плащ): Mod. *turumaki*.

◊ KED 504 (says "a compound noun" - but the components are unclear).

‖ Lee 1958, 118, Poppe 1950, 580, *Дыбо* 10. Doerfer (TMN 2, 550-553), and similarly *Щербак* 1997, 157, regard the Mong. forms as borrowed < Turkic, where he derives all the above forms from **tul-* 'abgesperrt sein' (a poorly attested reflexive form of the equally poorly attested **tu-* 'absperren'): hardly acceptable. Since only the velar derivatives (in -kuk, -uk) are early attested in Turkic, it seems more plausible to regard forms like *tulum / tulup* as borrowed from Mongolian.

***tʻulV (~ -o-, -ĺ-)** to burn: Tung. ***tola-**; Mong. ***tüle-**.

PTung. ***tola-** to kindle (a torch) (зажигать (факел)): Man. *tolo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 200.

PMong. ***tüle-** to burn (жечь): MMong. *tulɛ-* (IM), *tulä-* (MA), *tulē-* (SH), *tūle-* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *tüle-* (L 852); Kh. *tüle-*; Bur. *tüli-, tüle-*; Kalm. *tül-*; Ord. *tüle-, tüli-*; Mog. *tülēn* 'firewood'; ZM *tulän* (19-2a) id.; Dag. *tule-* (*Тод. Даг.* 169, MD 227), *tulu-*; Dong. *tulie-*; Bao. *tule-*; S.-Yugh. *telee-*; Mongr. *tulē-* (SM 431).

◊ KW 414, MGCD 658. Mong. > Oyr. *tül-* etc. (*Лексика* 364).

‖ Manchu may be borrowed from Mong. (despite vocalic differences), thus the Proto-Altaic antiquity of the root is dubious; see, however, a Nostratic etymology in МССНЯ 341.

***tʻűĺi** external side: Tung. ***tulī-**; Mong. ***tölöb**; Turk. ***dūĺ**.

PTung. ***tulī-** exterior, external side (внешняя сторона, внешнее пространство): Evk. *tulī-n*; Evn. *töl-de-*; Neg. *tulgi-*; Man. *tul-gi-*; SMan. *tiuli-* (2590, 3028); Jurch. *tuli-le* (601); Ul. *tuli*; Ork. *tulie(n)*; Nan. *tulie*; Sol. *tulergi, tul-dēlī*.

◊ TMC 2, 211.

PMong. ***tölöb*** form, shape (форма, вид): WMong. *tölöb* (L 833: *tölüb*); Kh. *tölöv*; Bur. *tüleb*; Ord. *tölöbtī* 'ayant une forme'; *tölbör*. *telber*.

PTurk. ***dūĺ*** 1 companion 2 aim 3 meeting 4 side, direction 5 match, equal 6 opposite side (1 спутник 2 цель 3 встреча 4 сторона, направление 5 соответствующий, равный 6 противоположная сторона): OTurk. *tuš* 1; Karakh. *tuš* 5, 6; Tur. *düš* (dial.) 3; Az. *tuš* 3; Turkm. *dūš* 3; MTurk. *tuš* (Pav. C.) 3; Tat. *tŭš* 4; Bashk. *tŭš* (dial.) 4; Kirgh. *tuš* 4, 6; Kaz. *tŭs* 6; KKalp. *tus* 6; Nogh. *tus* 4; Khak. *tus* 4; Oyr. *tuš* 3, 6; Tv. *duš* 4, 6; Chuv. *tə^{w}l* 2; Yak. *tus* 4; Dolg. *tus* 4.

◊ VEWT 501, EDT 558, ЭСТЯ 3, 303-305, Stachowski 233, Федотов 2, 214. Also a verb **dūĺ-* 'to meet' (> WMong. *tus(u)-*, Kalm. *tus-*, KW 412).

‖ A Western isogloss (with secondary voicing before -Ĺ in Turkic).

tʻuĺi (~ -e)** seed, eggs: Tung. ***tola; Turk. ***Tüĺ***.

PTung. ***tola*** frog eggs (лягушачья икра): Neg. *tolo*; Orch. *tolo*; Ud. *toli*.

◊ TMC 2, 195.

PTurk. ***Tüĺ*** fruit, seed (плод, семя): OTurk. *tüš* (OUygh.); Tat. *töš*; Bashk. *töš*; Chuv. *tə^{w}žə^{w}* > Komi *tuś*, NW *tərža*.

◊ EDT 558-559, VEWT 507, Лексика 114, Федотов 2, 225, Егоров 249.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Mong. *töl* 'newborn animals' may reflect a merger of this root with a borrowing from Turk. **döl* q.v.; but cf. perhaps *tulbaɣa(n)* (Khalkha *tulbān*) 'fry of the Siberian salmon', *tulu* 'Siberian salmon' - which can belong here if the meaning 'salmon fry' was original in Mongolian (with a later development > 'salmon' and consequent formation of the new derivative for 'salmon fry').

tʻūĺke (~ -i)** dream, divination: Tung. ***tolki-n; Mong. ***tölge***; Turk. ***dūĺ (/*dūl)***.

PTung. ***tolki-n*** dream (сон): Evk. *tolkin*; Evn. *tolqъn*; Neg. *tolkịn*; Man. *tolgin / tolxin*; SMan. *ɬolixin* (529); Jurch. *tol-xin* (356); Ul. *tolčị(n)*; Ork. *tolčị(n)*; Nan. *tolkī*; Orch. *tokki*; Ud. *toʻsi-* 'to dream' (Корм. 296); Sol. *tolkišī-* 'to dream'.

◊ TMC 2, 195.

PMong. ***tölge*** prediction, divination (предсказание, гадание): MMong. *tolge* (SH), *tolegeči* 'prophet, priest' (HY 27), *tulke-* 'to augur, divine' (MA 353); WMong. *tölge*; Kh. *tölög*; Bur. *tüleg*; Kalm. *tōlgə*; Ord. *tölgö*.

◊ KW 406. Mong. > Oyr. *tölgö*, Yak. *tölkö* etc. (see Róna-Tas 1972, 234).

PTurk. ***dūĺ (/*dūl)*** dream (сон): OTurk. *tül*; *tüše-* 'to dream' (OUygh.); Karakh. *tüš*; *tüše-* 'to dream' (MK); Tur. *düš*, dial. *tüš*; Gag. *düš*; Az. *tüš* (dial.); Turkm. *dūš*; Sal. *tel*; MTurk. *tüš* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *duš*; Uygh. *tüš*, *čüš*; Krm. *tüš*; Tat. *tŭš*; Bashk. *tŭš*; Kirgh.

tüš; Kaz. *tüs*; KBalk. *tüš*; KKalp. *tüs*; Kum. *tüš*; Nogh. *tüs*; Khak. *tüs*; Shr. *tüš*; Oyr. *tüš*; Tv. *düš*; Tof. *düš*; Chuv. *təʷləʷk*; Yak. *tӯl*; *tühē-* 'to dream'; Dolg. *tӯl*; *tühē-* 'to dream'.

◊ VEWT 507, TMN 3, 211, EDT 559, 561, 490, ЭСТЯ 3, 323-324, Stachowski 234, 236. See also Rona-Tas 1972 on Old Uyghur *tülek* 'supernatural power'.

‖ KW 406, Дыбо 15, Мудрак Дисс. 70; not borrowed in Mong. < Turk., despite Rona-Tas 1972, 232. A Western isogloss. PT has *d- here because of secondary voicing before *Í, as in a number of other cases; despite АПиПЯЯ 97, 276 this (more traditional) comparison seems now preferable for us.

✱**tʻumgi (~ -e)** base of tree trunk or grass stalk: Mong. ***tüŋge***; Turk. ***Tömgek***; Kor. ***tuŋ-***.

PMong. ***tüŋge*** rough and long steppe grass (грубая и длинная степная трава): WMong. *tüŋge*; (L 853: *tüŋke* 'overgrowth of feather grass'); Kh. *tünge*, *tünx* 'заросли чия' (БАМРС); Kalm. *tüŋgə*.

◊ KW 415.

PTurk. ***Tömgek*** stump (пень): Turkm. *töŋŋe*; Uzb. *tọngak*; Krm. *tüngek*; Tat. *tümgɛk*; Bashk. *tүdüŋgäk*, *tümkäk*; Kaz. *diŋgek*; KBalk. *töŋgek*; KKalp. *diŋgek*; Kum. *töngek*; Khak. dial. *tökbeš* (Joki - Kyz.); Oyr. *töŋöš*; Tof. *döhöš*; Chuv. *təm,təmeke*; Yak. *töŋürgäs*, *tögürgäs*; Dolg. *töŋürges*.

◊ VEWT 493, ЭСТЯ 3, 279-281, Федотов 215, Stachowski 228.

PKor. ***tuŋ-*** base of tree trunk (основание ствола): Mod. *tuŋčhi*, (SKE) *tuŋkhəgi*.

◊ KED 511.

‖ KW 415. Cf. OJ *twoma* 'mat made of grass (miscanthus)'?

✱**tʻù̯mi** a k. of edible root: Tung. ***tōma***; Mong. ***tömü-sün***; Turk. ***tum-gu-***.

PTung. ***tōma*** a k. of plant similar to potato (назв. растения со съедобными корнями, похожими на картофель): Orch. *tōma*.

◊ TMC 2, 196. Attested only in Oroch, but having probable parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***tömü-sün*** edible root (съедобный корень): WMong. *tömüsü(n)* (MXTTT); Kh. *tömsön* 'bulbous plants, potatoes' (Gomb. 509); Bur. *tümhe(n)* 'луковица растений'; Ord. *tömösü*, *tömös* 'cereal, grains'.

PTurk. ***tum-gu-*** 1 water nut 2 water-lily (1 водяной орех 2 кувшинка): Karakh. *tumɣujun* (IM) 1; Tur. *tumaɣan* (Osm.) 1; MTurk. (МКурсh.) *tumɣi̯juq* 'лепесток водяной лилии' (Ettuhf.); Tat. *tönböjek*, (КСТТ) *tomąi̯i̯q* 2; Bashk. *tombojoq* 2; Kaz. *tumbujuq* (R) 1; Oyr. *tumɣajaq* 2 (Tel.).

◊ VEWT 499.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. perhaps various OJ plant names (*tumi, tumama*), although they do not refer specifically to plants with edible roots.

✱**tʻŭmu** head, top of head: Tung. ***tumŋu-***; Mong. ***tom-***; Turk. ***tum-***; Jpn. ***tum-***.

PTung. ***tumŋu-*** top of head (темя): Evk. *tuŋulkēn, temulkēn*; Evn. *teŋelek, tuŋelek*; SMan. *tuŋun*; Nan. *tembilku*; Orch. *tumaxa*; Ud. *temuge*.

◊ TMC 2, 217.

PMong. ***tom-*** 1 chief, first 2 to appoint, nominate 3 hat (1 главный, первый 2 назначать (на должность) 3 шляпа): MMong. *tumbula-* (SH) 2; WMong. *tomi* 1 (L 822), *tomila-* 2 (L 823), *tumurliγ* 3, *tumulai* 3; (L 824: *tomurčaγ* 'muzzle for animals'); Kh. *tomil-* 2, *tumlaj* 3; Bur. *tomil-* 2; Kalm. *tumrlǝg* 3; Ord. *tomi* 1, *tumulai* 3 (petit bonnet), *tomilo-* 'to be ahead of'; Mongr. *tumbu, tombu* 'le premier petit qu'un animal met bas' (SM 431).

◊ KW 410.

PTurk. ***tum-*** 1 hat, cap 2 snout 3 beak 4 nose (1 шапка 2 морда 3 клюв 4 нос): OTurk. *tomaγa* 1 (OUygh. - XIV), *tumšuq* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tumšuq* 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *tomšuk* 3; Turkm. *tumšuq* 2; MTurk. *tumaq* 1 (Pav. C.), *tumšuq* (MA, Abush.) 3; Uzb. *tumɔq* 1, *tumšuq* 2, 3, 4; Uygh. *tumaq* 1, *tumšuq* 2, 3, 4; Tat. *tumaq* 1 (KCTT), *tomšiq* 3, (KCTT) 4; Bashk. *tomšoq* 2, 3; Kirgh. *tumaq* 1, *tumšuq* 2, 3; Kaz. *timaq* 1, *tumsiq* 2, 3; KKalp. *tumaq* 1, *tumsiq* 2, 3; Nogh. *tumsiq* 2; SUygh. *timsiq* 3; Khak. *tumzux* 2, 3, 4; Shr. *tunčuq* 2, 3; Oyr. *tubaq* 1 (Leb.), *tumčuq* 2, 3, 4; Tv. *dumčuq* 3, 4; Tof. *tun'čuq* 3; Yak. *tumus* 2, 3; Dolg. *tumus* 'cape'.

◊ VEWT 499, TMN 2, 642, EDT 509-10, *Лексика* 216, 483, Radloff 3, 1518, Stachowski 230.

PJpn. ***tum-*** top; head (верх, вершина; голова): MJpn. *tuburi, tumuri*; Tok. *tsumurí*; Kyo. *tsúmúrí*; Kag. *tsumurí*.

◊ JLTT 556. Accent reconstruction is not quite clear (although most of the forms point to high tone).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 109, 279, Ozawa 130, *Лексика* 483. Turk. **tumak* > Kalm. *tomǝγǝ*, whence again Kirgh. *tomaγa* etc. (a similar source is probable for Manchu *tomorχan*), see TMN 1, 258.

✱**tʻúmu (~ -o-)** clever, to plan, understand: Tung. ***tum-***; Mong. ***tomi-***; Jpn. ***túmár-***.

PTung. ***tum-*** 1 clever 2 to understand (1 умный 2 понимать): Evk. *tumnačī* 1; Neg. *tumku-n* 1; Orch. *tumne-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 213.

PMong. ***tomi-*** 1 notion, expression, term 2 to appoint, commission (1 понятие, термин, формула 2 назначать, отправлять с поручени-

ем): WMong. *tomi-ja(n)* (L 822) 1, *tomi-* 2; Kh. *tomjō-n* 1, *tomila-* 2; Bur. *tomjōr-* 'to calculate'; Ord. *tomō* 'intelligence; sense'; Dag. *tomila-* 2.

◊ MGCD 639. Mong. > Man. *tomila-* (Rozycki 210).

PJpn. ***túmə́r-*** to intend (намереваться): OJpn. *tum(w)or-*; MJpn. *túmór-*; Tok. *tsùmor-*, *tsumór-*; Kyo. *tsúmór-*; Kag. *tsumór-*.

◊ JLTT 774.

‖ ? Cf. Turk. **tolmač* 'translator'.

tʻŭ̆mV (~ -o-)** spittle: Tung. ***tumin; Jpn. ***tù***.

PTung. ***tumin*** spittle (плевок, слюна): Evk. *tumin*; Evn. *tumnin*; Neg. *tomon*; Ud. *tumiŋi-* 'to spit out'; Sol. *tomī*.

◊ TMC 2, 213.

PJpn. ***tù*** spittle, saliva (слюна): MJpn. *tù*.

◊ JLTT 552.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; the Jpn. form reflects a suffixed **tʻŭ̆m(V)-gV*.

tʻŭ̆ŋe** window in roof, funnel, door: Tung. ***tuŋke; Mong. ***toɣuna***; Turk. ***tüŋ-***; Jpn. ***túa***.

PTung. ***tuŋke*** 1 cover of kettle 2 roof (1 крышка чайника 2 крыша): Man. *tuxe* 1; SMan. *tuxē* 'pan lid, kettle lid' (586); *tuɣe* 2; Nan. *tuŋke* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 216.

PMong. ***toɣuna*** funnel, window in roof, cross-beam (дымоход, окно в крыше, поперечная балка): WMong. *toɣuna*, *toɣunu* (L 817); Kh. *tōno*; Bur. *tōno*; Kalm. *tōnə* (KPC); *tōnl̥žŋ* 'cross-shaped' (KW); Ord. *tōno(n)*; Dag. cf. *tuāngal* 'buttonhole'.

◊ KW 405. Mong. > Man. *dono* ~ *tono* 'funnel, window in roof' (TMC 1, 215), Kirgh. *toɣun* id. (see TMN 1, 376, Владимирцов 276). WMong. also has a word *toɣuna* 'horn button on the end of an arrow; a k. of arrow' - which, despite TMN 1, 375, should be rather kept apart.

PTurk. ***tüŋ-*** funnel, window (дымовое отверстие, окно): OTurk. *tügnük* (OUygh. - YB), *tünlük* (late OUygh. - Lig. VSOu); Karakh. *tüŋlük* (MK), *t/dünlük* (IM); Tur. *tüjnük*; Turkm. *tüjnük*; Sal. *tümlüx*; MTurk. *tüjnik* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tujnuk*; Uygh. *tüŋlük*; Tat. *tönläk*; Bashk. *tönlök*; Kirgh. *tündük*; Kaz. *tüŋdik*; KKalp. *tüŋlik*; Kum. *tüŋülük*; Nogh. *tünlik*; SUygh. *tındık*; Khak. *tünük*; Shr. *tündük*; Oyr. *tünük*; Tv. *dündük*; Tof. *düŋnük*; Chuv. *tə^{w}nə^{w}*; Yak. *tünnük*; Dolg. *tünnük*.

◊ VEWT 505, TMN 2, 643-645, EDT 520, Лексика 506-507, 516, Stachowski 234.

PJpn. ***túa*** door (дверь): OJpn. two; MJpn. *tó*; Tok. *tò*; Kyo. *tó*; Kag. *tó*.

◊ JLTT 547.

‖ Jpn. reflects a suffixed **tʻŭ̆ŋ(e)-gV*.

***tʻuŋe** to inform: Tung. ***tuŋ-**; Mong. ***tuŋ-**; Turk. ***Tüŋ-**; Jpn. ***tuanap-**.

PTung. ***tuŋ-** 1 to warn 2 to know 3 to tell (1 предупреждать 2 знать 3 рассказывать): Evk. *tuŋnī-* 1, *tuŋe-* 2; Man. *toŋgi-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 197, 216.

PMong. ***tuŋ-** 1 to call, invoke 2 appeal (1 взывать, призывать 2 воззвание): MMong. *tuŋxa-* (HY) 1, *tuŋqaq* 2 (Козин); WMong. *tuŋγaγ* 2; Kh. *tunxag* 2; Bur. *tunxag* 2; Kalm. *tuŋgəg* 2; Ord. *tuŋGak* 2.

◊ KW 410-411. Mong. > MTurk. *tuŋqūl, tuŋγūl*, see Щербак 1997, 212.

PTurk. ***Tüŋ-** 1 metaphor 2 summary, conclusion 3 interpreter 4 reality (1 притча, иносказание 2 итог, обобщение 3 переводчик 4 явь): Uygh. *tüŋči* 3; KBalk. *tün* 4; Oyr. *tüŋ* 1 (Верб.), *tüŋej* 'одинаковый'; Tv. *tüŋ* 2; Yak. *tüŋet-* 'делить, распределять'; Dolg. *tüŋehe* 'ein Brauch, dem gemäß ein Jäger das Fleisch des von ihm erlegten Rentiers den Nachbarn schenkt und für sich selbst nur den Rentierkopf behält, welcher ihm Glück bringen soll'.

◊ VEWT 505, Stachowski 235.

PJpn. ***tuanap-** to proclaim, narrate (провозглашать, возвещать): OJpn. *twonap-*; MJpn. *tónáf-*; Tok. *tonaé-*; Kyo. *tónáé-*; Kag. *tonaé-*.

◊ JLTT 770. Accent is not quite clear: modern dialects point rather to low tone.

‖ A good common Altaic root.

***tʻúŋi (~ -o-)** rope, to bind: Mong. ***tüŋge**; Jpn. ***túnk-**; Kor. ***toŋ-**.

PMong. ***tüŋge** strap, tether (ремешок, путы): WMong. *tüŋge*; Kh. *tüŋge*; Bur. *tüŋge* 'straps for bootlegs'; Kalm. *tüŋgə*.

◊ KW 415.

PJpn. ***túnk-** to bind together, join (связывать, соединять): OJpn. tug-; MJpn. *túg-*; Tok. *tsùg-*; Kyo. *tsúg-*; Kag. *tsúg-*.

◊ JLTT 772.

PKor. ***toŋ-** 1 bundle 2 to bind (1 связка 2 обвязывать, связывать): MKor. *toŋ* 1; Mod. *toŋ* 1, *toŋʻi-* 2.

◊ Liu 232, KED 484, 493.

‖ Mong. > Evk. *tuŋa, tuŋi*. Cf. **tǎnŋu*.

***tʻŭpʻi** spit, spittle: Tung. ***tupi-**; Turk. ***tüpkür-**; Jpn. ***tù(m)pàk-**.

PTung. ***tupi-** to spit, spittle (плевать, плевок, слюна): Man. *čife-le-*; SMan. *čivələ-* (36, 408); Ul. *tipụ(n)*; Ork. *tụpịn*; Nan. *topịn-*; Orch. *tupin-*.

◊ TMC 2, 213. The variant **tipu-* reflected in Manchu and Ul. is probably secondary.

PTurk. ***tüpkür-** to spit (плевать): Karakh. *tüfkür-* (Tafs.); Tur. *tükür-*; Az. *tüpür-*; Turkm. *tüjkür-*; MTurk. *tükür-* (Pav. C., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *tupur-, tup-la-*; Uygh. *tükür-, tükär-*; Krm. *tükür-*; Tat. *töker-*; Bashk. *tökör-*; Kirgh. *tükür-*; Kaz. *tükir-*; KBalk. *tükür-*; KKalp. *tükir-*; Kum. *tükür-*; Nogh. *tükir-*; Khak. *tükür-*; Shr. *tükkür-*; Oyr. *tükür-*; Tv. *dükpür-*; Tof. *tükkür-*.

◊ VEWT 504.

PJpn. ***tù(m)pàk-*** 1 to spit 2 spittle (1 плевать 2 плевок, слюна): OJpn. *tupak-* 1, *tupak(j)i* 2; MJpn. *tùfakì* 2; Tok. *tsubaki* 2.

◊ JLTT 552.

‖ An onomatopoeic root, but seems well reconstructable for PA (including the morphological derivative **tʻŭpʻi-kʻV* > PT **tübkü-r-*, PJ **tù(m)pà-k-*).

tʻùrmV** a k. of vegetable: Tung. ***terbe (~ *turbe); Mong. ***torum(a)***; Turk. ***turup / *turum.***

PTung. ***terbe (~ *turbe)*** name of an edible plant (назв. растения (травянистого, горького, которое едят олени и собаки)): Evk. *terwe.*

◊ TMC 2, 238. Found only in Evk., with possible parallels in Turkic and Mongolian.

PMong. ***torum(a)*** turnip (репа): MMong. *turma* (HY); WMong. *torom* (MXTTT); Kh. *torom.*

PTurk. ***turup / *turum*** turnip (репа): Karakh. *turma* (MK); Tur. *tur(u)p*; Turkm. *turp.*

◊ VEWT 501, EDT 549 (the Pers. forms are more probably < Turkic).

‖ A Western isogloss: the PA antiquity is rather dubious because of late attestation and possible loans. Mong. may be < Turk., cf. TMN 2, 505, Щербак 1997, 159. The Turk. form itself is somewhat doubtful because of a strange variation -m/-p (see TMN 2, 504-505, with a suggestion of an Iranian origin). A possible source can be Chin. 土卵 *tŭluǎn*, MC *thólwân*, OC *thāʔrhōnʔ* 'yam', lit. 'earth egg', whence also MKor. *thóràn*, Kor. *thoran*, Jpn. *tororo* 'yam'.

tʻ[u]tÝ** to grasp, close, detain: Tung. ***tuta-; Mong. ***todka-, *tödüge-***; Turk. ***tut-***; Jpn. ***tàntə-, *tántá-má-***; Kor. ***tàt-.***

PTung. ***tuta-*** to stay, remain (оставаться): Man. *tuta-*; SMan. *tuta-* 'to stay behind, to remain behind' (1180); Jurch. *duta-xun* (720).

◊ TMC 2, 223.

PMong. ***todka-, *tödüge-*** to detain, fasten (задерживать, прикреплять): MMong. *tode'e-* (SH), *todu'e-, toduge-* (HYt); WMong. *todqa-* (L 813: *todqar* 'obstacle, obstruction'), *tödüge-*; *tüde-* 'to tarry, hesitate' (L 849); Kh. *totgor* 'помеха, препятствие'; *tüde-*; Bur. *todxor* 'помеха, препятствие'; Kalm. *totxə-*; *tödəg* 'Schlinge, Haken zum Anbinden od. Anhaken'.

◊ KW 397, 404, 405.

PTurk. ***tut-*** to grasp (держать, хватать): OTurk. *tut-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tut-* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *tut-*; Gag. *tut-*; Az. *tut-*; Turkm. *tut-*; Sal. *tut-*; Khal. *tut-*; MTurk. *tut-* (Sangl., Abush., MA); Uzb. *tut-*; Uygh. *tut-*; Krm. *tut-*; Tat. *tot-*; Bashk. *tot-*; Kirgh. *tut-*; Kaz. *tut-*; KBalk. *tut-*; KKalp. *tut-*; Kum. *tut-*; Nogh. *tut-*; SUygh. *tut-*; Khak. *tut-*; Shr. *tut-*; Oyr. *tut-*; Tv. *tu't-*; Tof. *tu't-*; Chuv. *tĭt-*; Yak. *tut-*; Dolg. *tut-*.

◊ VEWT 502, EDT 451, Еоров 268-269, Федотов 2, 268-269, Stachowski 233.

PJpn. ***tàntə-*** 1 to close 2 to obstruct, detain (1 закрывать 2 задерживать, препятствовать): OJpn. *t(w)odu-* 1, *todo-ma-* 2; MJpn. *tòdu-* 1, *tódó-ma-* 2; Tok. *tojí-* 1, *todomé-* 2; Kyo. *tòjì-* 1, *tódómé-* 2; Kag. *tòjì-* 1, *todomé-* 2.

◊ JLTT 771, 768. The difference in accents is somewhat strange, perhaps indicating two originally different roots.

PKor. ***tàt-*** to close (закрывать): MKor. *tàt-*; Mod. *tat-*.

◊ Nam 139, KED 401.

‖ KW 397, 404, Martin 228, АПиПЯЯ 15, 71, Ozawa 248-249. Cf. Mong. **togta-* 'to stop, establish' (> late MTurk. *toqta-*, see TMN 1, 273, Щербак 1997, 211; Yak. *toxtō-*, Dolg. *toktō-*, see Stachowski 226; Man. *tokto-* etc., see Poppe 1966, 191, Doerfer MT 119). In Kor. cf. also MKor. *tətăi* 'slowly', *tətăi-* 'to delay, be slow' (compared with TM in Lee 1958, 118). Mongolian, Korean and Japanese accent variants may indicate that we are dealing more than with one root here, but the distinction is difficult to make.

tˈutˈì** to beat, strike: Tung. ***tute-; Turk. ***tüt-***; Jpn. ***tutuk-***; Kor. ***tùtírí-***.

PTung. ***tute-*** sword, spear (меч, копье): Evk. *tutekēn*.

◊ TMC 2, 224. Attested only in Evk., with probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***tüt-*** to quarrel (ссориться): OTurk. *tütüš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tütüš-* (MK, KB); Turkm. *tüte-* 'be angry at smb.'; MTurk. *tütüš-* (MKypch. - Houts.); Chuv. *tətər-* 'to scold'.

◊ VEWT 507, EDT 462 (if not a metaphor for *tüt- 'to fume').

PJpn. ***tutuk-*** to beat, hit (бить, ударять): OJpn. *tutuk-*; Tok. *tsutsúk-*; Kyo. *tsútsúk-*; Kag. *tsutsúk-*.

◊ JLTT 776. Accent reconstruction unclear.

PKor. ***tùtírí-*** to beat, hit (бить, ударять): MKor. *tùtírí-*; Mod. *tudiri-*.

◊ Liu 237, KED 503.

‖ An expressive root, but no doubt common Altaic. The Turkic, Korean and Japanese forms correspond well to each other; the TM (isolated Evk.) reflex is more questionable.

tˈútˈi (~ -t-)** smoke: Turk. ***tüt-ün, *tüt-süg; Kor. ***tùtkùr / *tùthùr***.

PTurk. ***tüt-ün, *tüt-süg*** 1 to smoke 2 smoke (1 дымить 2 дым): OTurk. *tüt(e)-*1, *tütün, tütsüg* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tüt(e)-* 1 (KB), *tüte-t-* caus. (1), *tütün, tütsüg* 2 (MK); Tur. *tüt-* 1, *tütün* 2; Gag. *tüt-* 1, *tütün* 2; Az. *tüstü* 2; Turkm. *tüte-* 1, *tüsse* 2; Sal. *cücyn, tıssi* 2 (ССЯ); Khal. *titi-* 1; MTurk. *tütsi* 2 (Sangl.), *tütün* 2 (MKypch. - Houts.); Uzb. *tutun* 2; Uygh. *tütün* 'tobacco'; Krm. *tüte-* 1, *tutun* 2; Tat. *tötä-* 1, *töten* 2; Bashk. *tötä-* 1, *tötön* 2; Kirgh. *tütö-* 1, *tütün* 2; Kaz. *tüte-* 1, *tutin* 2; KBalk. *tütün* 2; KKalp. *tüte-* 1, *töten* 2; Kum. *tütün* 2; Nogh. *tüte-* 1, *tütin* 2; SUygh. *tüt-* 1, *tutun* 'tobacco'; Khak. *tüde-* 1, *tüdün* 2; Shr. *tüdün* 2; Oyr. *tüdün* 2; Tv.

düdüskek 'haze'; *düdü-* 'to rot, mould'; Tof. *tütü-* (ФиЛ 177 *düdü-*) 'to rot, mould'; Chuv. *tə^{w}də^{w}m* 2.

◊ PT **tüt-ün, *tüt-süg* - derivations from **tüt(e)-* 'to smoke'. See VEWT 507, EDT 452, 457-8, 461, TMN 2, 605, Лексика 364-365. The Tuva-Tof. verb meaning 'to rot' may belong here as well, though the absence of pharyngealization in Tof. is strange.

PKor. ***tɨ̀tkɨ̀r / *tɨ̀thɨ̀r** dust (пыль): MKor. *tɨ̀tkɨ̀r / tɨ̀thɨ̀r*; Mod. *thik:il*.

◊ Nam 172, 173, KED 1726.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss: Mong. **hutuɣa* 'smoke' must be separated - despite АПИПЯЯ 34-35, 285.

***tʻutʻV̀ (~ -o-)** a k. of tree (Aesculus turbinata): Jpn. ***təti (~ *tuati)**; Kor. ***tòthórí**.

PJpn. ***təti (~ *tuati)** Aesculus turbinata Blume. (конский каштан): MJpn. *toti*; Tok. *tochi*.

◊ JLTT 551.

PKor. ***tòthórí** Aesculus turbinata Blume; acorn (конский каштан; желудь): MKor. *tòthórí*; Mod. *tothori*.

◊ Liu 227, KED 470.

‖ Cf. **čǎkte*. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

U

✱**ubčˊV** behind, rump, fish fin: Tung. ***oči(ka)***; Mong. ***(h)uwča***; Turk. ***ūča***.

PTung. ***oči(ka)*** 1 groin 2 fish fin (on the back or on belly) 3 fork, bifurcation (1 пах 2 рыбий плавник (спинной или подбрюшный) 3 развилка): Evn. *očaqa* 1, оč 3; Neg. *očaxa* 2; Man. *učiqa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 29.

PMong. ***(h)uwča*** sacrum, croup, rump (копчик, крестец): MMong. *uča* 'back' (MA); WMong. *uuča*, (L 864) *uγuča* (MXTTT); Kh. *ūc*; Bur. *ūsa*; Kalm. *ūcə* (KPC); Ord. *ūča*; Mog. *uča* 'back' (Weiers).

◊ Mong. > Man. *uča* etc., see TMN 2, 138, Doerfer MT 116, Rozycki 215.

PTurk. ***ūča*** 1 rump 2 back 3 loins, buttocks (1 крестец 2 спина 3 задница, ягодицы): OTurk. *uča* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *uča* (MK) 2; Tur. *uǯa* 'hip'; Turkm. *ūǯa* 1; MTurk. *uǯa* (AH), *uča* (AH, Pav. C.) 2, 3; Uygh. *uča* 2; Tat. *ŭča* 1; Bashk. *ŭsa* 1; Kirgh. *uča* 1; Nogh. *uša* 1; SUygh. *uǯa*, *uča* 1; Khak. *uča* 2; Shr. *uča* 1; Oyr. *uča* 2; Tv. *uža* 1; Chuv. *vəʷǯəʷ* 1; Yak. *uǯuŋax* 3.

◊ EDT 20, ЭСТЯ 1, 566-567. The Yak. form has an irregular -ǯ-.

‖ A Western isogloss. Despite TMN 2, 137, Щербак 1997, 160, Mong. cannot be < Turk. (-uw- is unexplained this way).

✱**ùbre (~ -ŕ-)** truth: Tung. ***uru***; Mong. ***(h)uwr***; Jpn. ***bàtu***; Kor. ***órh-***.

PTung. ***urē-*** 1 truth 2 to justify 3 to agree (1 правда 2 оправдывать 3 соглашаться): Evk. *urē-* 3; Evn. *ōre-* 3; Neg. *ujē-* 3; Man. *uru* 1, *urgin* 'sample, form'; Jurch. *uru-le-be* (831) 2; Sol. *urubu-* 'to learn (of soldiers)'.

◊ TMC 2, 23, 283, 287, 289.

PMong. ***(h)uwr*** really, purely (e.g. "purely Mongolian") (чисто (напр. "чисто монгольский")): WMong. *uur*, our (L 890) (e.g. *uur moŋγul*); Kh. *ūr*, *ōr*.

PJpn. ***bàtu*** reality (истина, реальность): OJpn. *wotu-(tu)*, *utu-tu*; MJpn. *ùtù-(tú)*; Tok. *ùtsutsu*; Kyo. *ùtsùtsú*; Kag. *ùtsùtsú*.

◊ JLTT 566. Modern dialects point rather to a high tone on the second syllable.

PKor. ***órh-*** right, true (правильный, верный): MKor. *órh-*; Mod. *ol-* (*olh-*).

◊ Nam 383, KED 1210.

‖ PKE 137, Lee 1958, 118.

✱**ùč'e** reason: Tung. ***uč-**; Mong. ***učir**; Turk. ***üč-ün**; Kor. ***áčh**.

PTung. ***uč-** 1 case, fate 2 time, season (1 случай, судьба 2 пора, время): Evn. *ụčịq* 1; Man. *učuri* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 296-297. Man. may be < Mong. (see Doerfer MT 139, Rozycki 215).

PMong. ***učir** cause, reason (причина): MMong. *učir* 'Gelegenheit, Zeit' (HYt); WMong. *učir(a)* (L 859: *učir*); Kh. *učir*; Bur. *ušar*; Kalm. *učr*; Ord. *učir*; Mog. ZM *očur* 'time' (19-5b); Dag. *očir* (Тод. Даг. 160).

◊ KW 453.

PTurk. ***üč-ün** because of, for the sake of (потому что, по причине): OTurk. *üčün* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *üčün*; Gag. *ičin*; Az. *üčün*; Turkm. *üčin*; MTurk. *ičün*, *ičin* (Pav. C.), *üčün* (AH); Uzb. *učun*; Uygh. *üčün*; Krm. *ičün*; Tat. *üčin*; Bashk. *üčün*; Kirgh. *üčün*; Kaz. *üšin*; KBalk. *üčün*; Nogh. *üšin*; Khak. *üčün*; Shr. *üžün*; Chuv. *-šъn*; Yak. *ihin*; Dolg. *ihin*.

◊ EDT 28-29, VEWT 169, ЭСТЯ 1, 642-643, Stachowski 123. A variant **uč-* is also attested in **učun* 'because' (VEWT 509), **učra-* 'to meet' (ibid.; the latter, however, may be < Mong. *učira-*, see Щербак 1997, 211; see **ut'a*). The common Turkic form is in fact an instrumental case.

PKor. ***áčh** reason (причина): MKor. *áčh*.

◊ Nam 350.

‖ In Mong. the root reflects a partial contamination with **út'a* q. v.

✱**ǘč'i** end, edge: Mong. ***üžüɣür**; Turk. ***ūč**; Kor. ***učuk**.

PMong. ***üžüɣür** end, edge (конец, край): MMong. *užu'uren* 'bis zum Ende' (HYt); WMong. *üžügür* (L 1017); Kh. *üžūr*; Bur. *üzūr*; Kalm. *üzūr*; Ord. *üžūr*; Dag. *xužūr* (Тод. Даг. 179), *hužure* (MD 166); Dong. *užu*; Bao. *nžor* (Тод. Бн.), *užir*; S.-Yugh. *žūr*; Mongr. *rźū* 'pointe, sommet, cime' (SM 312), *užūr*.

◊ KW 460, MGCD 689. Initial x- in Dag. is not clear: under the influence of *xožōr* 'root' < **hižayur* (?)

PTurk. ***ūč** end, edge (конец, край): OTurk. *uč* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uč* (MK); Tur. *uč*; Gag. *uč*; Az. *už*; Turkm. *ūč*; MTurk. *uč* (AH); Uzb. *uč*; Krm. *uč*; Tat. *üč*; Bashk. *üs*; Kirgh. *uč*; Kaz. *üš*; KKalp. *uš*; Nogh. *uš*; SUygh. *uč*; Khak. *us*; Shr. *uč*; Oyr. *uč*; Tv. *uš*; Chuv. *vəʷś*; Yak. *uhuk*; Dolg. *uhuk*.

◊ EDT 17-18, ЭСТЯ 1, 611-612, Stachowski 241. The derived **ūč-ik* 'end (of thread etc.)' (ЭСТЯ 1, 615-616) > Mong. *učig* 'end of thread') (despite TMN 2, 135).

PKor. ***učuk** top of a tree, upper branches (верхушка дерева): Mod. *užuk*.

◊ KED 1242.

‖ Medial -ž- in Mong. must be due to assimilation.

✱**ùč'ìk'V (~ -k-)** beautiful, ornamented: Tung. ***učik(te)***; Turk. ***üčük- (?)***; Jpn. ***ùtùkù-***; Kor. ***skú-mí-***.

PTung. ***učik(te)*** 1 sheath 2 ornaments on sheath (1 чехол 2 украшения на чехле): Man. *učiqa* 1; Ork. *učikte* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 250, 297.

PTurk. ***üčük- (?)*** beautiful, handsome (красивый, милый): Yak. *üčügej*; Dolg. *üčügej*.

◊ Stachowski 248. Despite VEWT 518, hardly < Mong. *öčüken* 'small' (which has quite a different origin, see **ŋǒǰču*.

PJpn. ***ùtùkù-*** beautiful (красивый): OJpn. *utuku-si*; MJpn. *ùtùkù-si*; Tok. *utsukúshi-*; Kyo. *útsúkúshì-*; Kag. *utsukushí-*.

◊ JLTT 844.

PKor. ***skú-mí-*** to ornament (украшать): MKor. *skú-mí-*; Mod. *k:umi-*.

◊ Nam 62, KED 202.

‖ The Turkic reflex is preserved only in Yak., which may be an important archaism.

✱**ǔč'o** to fly, fall: Tung. ***(x)uča-***; Turk. ***uč-***; Jpn. ***ètə́-***.

PTung. ***(x)uča-*** to stumble (спотыкаться): Evk. *učawan-*; Evn. *ụččoŋčị-*; Neg. *očayan-*.

◊ TMC 2, 296.

PTurk. ***uč-*** fly v. (лететь, летать): OTurk. *uč-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *uč-* (MK,KB); Tur. *uč-*; Gag. *uč-*; Az. *uč-*; Turkm. *uč-*; Sal. *uš-*; Khal. *uč-*, *učγur-*; MTurk. *uč-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *uč-*; Uygh. *uč-*; Krm. *uč-*; Tat. *oč-*; Bashk. *os-*; Kirgh. *uč-*; Kaz. *uš-*; KBalk. *uč-*; KKalp. *uš-*; Kum. *uč-*; Nogh. *uš-*; SUygh. *uč-*; Khak. *učux-*; Shr. *učuq-*; Oyr. *uč-*; Tv. *u'š-*; Tof. *u'š-*; Chuv. *vəʷś-*; Yak. *uhun-* 'float'; Dolg. *uhun-* 'float, swim'.

◊ VEWT 509, EDT 19, ЭСТЯ 1, 612-613, Stachowski 241.

PJpn. ***ètə́-*** fall (падать): OJpn. *otu-*; MJpn. *òtu-*; Tok. *ochí-*; Kyo. *òchì-*; Kag. *ochi-*.

◊ JLTT 743. The root **ètə́-* is recoverable from derivatives like OJ *oto-s-* (**ètə́-s-*) 'to cause to fall'.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 282.

✱**úč'u (~ -o)** spray, urine: Tung. ***uče-***; Turk. ***uč-***; Kor. ***òčóm***.

PTung. ***uče-*** diarrhoea (понос): Evk. *učen*; Neg. *učel-* (v.); Ul. *uče*; Nan. *uce* (Bik.); Ud. *use*.

◊ TMC 2, 297.

PTurk. ***uč-*** 1 waterfall 2 spray (1 водопад 2 брызги): Tur. *učarı* 'ausschweifend'; Tat. *očoq* 2; Kaz. *ụšan-teŋiz* 'broad sea'; Oyr. *učar* 1; Tv. *u'žar* 'river rapid'; Chuv. *vəʷžəʷlt-vəʷžəʷlt* 'gurgle, guggle (onomat.)'; Yak. *usun* 'river rapid' (Пек.).

◊ VEWT 509.

PKor. ***òčóm*** urine, urinary bladder (моча, мочевой пузырь): MKor. *òčóm*; Mod. *oǯum*.

◊ Nam 381, KED 1203.

‖ Phonetically plausible; however, late attestation and expressive reflexes in Turkic reduce the reliability of the etymology.

✱**udu (~ -i, ŋ-)** arm, thigh: Turk. ***ud-luk***; Jpn. ***ùntài***.

PTurk. ***ud-luk*** hip, thigh (бедро): OTurk. *udluq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uδluq* (MK); Tur. *ujluk*; Turkm. *ujluq, uwluq*; MTurk. *ujluq* (Pav. C.); SUygh. *utuq, otuq*; Khak. *ustux* 'knee'; Shr. *ustuq*; Yak. *ulluk*.

◊ EDT 55, VEWT 510, ЭСТЯ 1, 578-579, *Лексика* 282.

PJpn. ***ùntài*** arm (рука): OJpn. *ude*; MJpn. *ùdè*; Tok. *udé*; Kyo. *údè*; Kag. *udé*.

◊ JLTT 560.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**udV (~ i̯u-, i̯o-)** ox, buffalo: Mong. ***odu-s***; Turk. ***ud***.

PMong. ***odu-s*** wild yak, buffalo (дикий як, буйвол): MMong. *odos* (HY 11); WMong. *udus* (L 862); Kh. *odos* (БАМРС).

◊ Hardly < Turk. *qotuz*, despite Clark 1980, 39.

PTurk. ***ud*** ox, bull (вол, бык): OTurk. *ud* (OUygh.); Karakh. *uδ* (MK); MTurk. *uj* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uygh. *uj*; Kirgh. *uj*; SUygh. *ut*; Oyr. *uj*.

◊ EDT 34, ЭСТЯ 1, 572-573, *Лексика* 434-435 (> MMong. *uj*, Щербак 1997, 161).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. EAS 153 (despite criticism in TMN 2, 141 the old etymology may still be valid), *Лексика* 435.

✱**udV (~ o-, i̯u-, i̯o-)** rain: Tung. ***udu-n***; Kor. ***òrán-***.

PTung. ***udu-n*** rain (with wind) (дождь, ливень): Evk. *udun*; Evn. *u̯dъn*; Orch. *udu(n)*; Sol. *u̯dũ*.

◊ TMC 2, 248.

PKor. ***òrán-*** heavy rain (ливень): MKor. *òrán-pí*.

◊ Liu 575.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**úgà** a k. of ferment: Tung. ***ug-***; Mong. ****(h)aɣag***; Turk. ***ugut***; Jpn. ****ákú***.

PTung. ***ug-*** 1 gall 2 to rot 3 rotten (1 желчь 2 портиться, гнить 3 гнилой): Evk. *uɣī* 1, *uɣlē-* 2; Evn. *ugo* 1, *ūl-* 2; Ork. *ūɣledixe* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 246.

PMong. ****(h)aɣag*** strength (of tea, etc.) (крепость (чая и т. п.)): WMong. *aɣag, aɣa* (L 12); Kh. *āg*; Bur. *āgtaj* 'strong (tea)'; Kalm. *āg* (KPC 17); ag (KW 2).

◊ KW 2.

PTurk. ***ugut*** ferment (закваска): Karakh. *uɣut* (MK); Kirgh. *uɣut*; Kaz. *uvit*; Oyr. *ūt*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 575.

PJpn. ***ákú*** lye (щелок): Tok. *àku*; Kyo. *ákú*; Kag. *áku*.

◊ JLTT 379.

‖ A reliable common Altaic root.

✱**uge** owl: Tung. ***oksari***; Mong. ***uɣuli***; Turk. ***ügi***.

PTung. ***oksari*** owl (сова): Neg. *oksaɣi, oksaji*; Ul. *ụqsara(n)*; Ork. *ụqsara*; Nan. *oqsarã*; Orch. *uksara*.

◊ TMC 2, 10-11.

PMong. ***uɣuli*** owl (сова): MMong. *uli* (HY 13), *əɣəli* 'eagle-owl' (IM); WMong. *uuli, uɣuli* (L 864); Kh. *ūĺ*; Bur. *ūli*; Kalm. *ūĺə*; Ord. *ūli*; Mongr. *ŋguloG* (SM 292).

◊ KW 454.

PTurk. ***ügi*** owl (сова): Karakh. *ügi, ühi* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *öjü*; Turkm. *hüvi*; MTurk. *ügü* (Sangl., CCum.); Uygh. *ükä*; Tat. *öke*; Bashk. *ökö*; Kirgh. *ükü*; KKalp. *ükü*; Khak. *ügü*; Shr. *ügü*; Oyr. *ükü*; Tv. *ügü*; Tof. *hügü, hij-quš*; Chuv. *ügə, üxə*.

◊ VEWT 519, TMN 2, 156, EDT 101, Лексика 170-171, Федотов 2, 303. Some irregularities are explained by the root's expressive character.

‖ Лексика 171. An onomatopoetic Western isogloss, which does not exclude its antiquity (despite TMN 2, 156).

✱**ugi (~ o-, -e, ụ-)** birch or larch bark: Tung. ***ug-da-***; Mong. ***üji(l)-su***.

PTung. ***ug-da-*** 1 dry larch 2 building made of dry larch 3 boat (1 сухая лиственница 2 постройка из сухой лиственницы 3 лодка): Evk. *ugdal* 1, *ugdān* 2, *ugda-ksa* 3; Evn. *ụdan* 2; Neg. *ogda* 3, *ogdan* 2; Ul. *ụGda* 3; Ork. *ụGda* 3; Nan. *oGda* 3; Orch. *ugda* 3; Ud. *ugda* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 244.

PMong. ***üji(l)-sü*** birch bark (береста): MMong. *ujilsun* (SH); WMong. *üi(l)-sü* (L 1001: *üisü(n)*); Kh. *üjs*; Bur. *üjhe(n)*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ǔjbà** foam: Tung. ****(x)ōb-***; Mong. ****ibil-***; Jpn. ****àwà***.

PTung. ****(x)ōb-*** 1 to get covered by foam 2 foam (on water) 3 to wash, wash off (1 покрываться пеной 2 пена (на воде) 3 мыть, смывать): Evk. *ōvda-* 1; Man. *obo-* 3, *oboŋgi* 2; SMan. *ovə-, ovu-* (1691) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 4.

PMong. ****ibil-*** to flow (of milk from the udder at the time of sucking) (течь (о молоке из вымени при сосании)): WMong. *ibil-, ibel-* (L 397), *ibile-*; *ibel-* 'couler sans discontinuer (mince filet d'eau)'; Kh. *ivle-*; Bur. *ebel-* 'давать молоко, доиться (о корове после подпускания теленка)'; Kalm. *iwl̥-* (KPC); Ord. *ewel-*; Dag. *ilu-, iwləlgə-*; S.-Yugh. *wəlǯəwai*.

◊ MGCD 405.

PJpn. ****àwà*** foam (пена): OJpn. *awa*; MJpn. *àwà*; Tok. *awá*; Kyo. *áwà*; Kag. *awá*.

◊ JLTT 387.

‖ Medial *-j- accounts both for an unexpected vowel development and preservation of -b- in Mong., and for -w- in Jpn.

***uji (~ *o-)** a k. of small animal: Tung. ***oja**; Mong. ***üjeŋ**; Jpn. ***u**.

PTung. ***oja** badger (барсук): Ul. *ojo*; Nan. *ojõ*; Orch. *ojo*.

◊ TMC 2, 9.

PMong. ***üjeŋ** ermine (горностай): MMong. *unen* (SH); WMong. *üjeŋ* (L 1002); Kh. *üjeŋ*; Bur. *üjeŋ*; Kalm. *üjŋ, üjŋ, ŭŋ*.

◊ KW 456, 461.

PJpn. ***u** hare (as a cyclical sign) (заяц): OJpn. *u*; MJpn. *u*.

◊ JLTT 559.

‖ One of the many common Altaic names for small animals.

***ujkV** a k. of horned animal: Tung. ***ujKam**; Mong. ***ugalǯa**; Turk. ***ograk**.

PTung. ***ujKam** 1 mountain ram 2 a k. of horned animal (1 горный баран 2 вид рогатого животного): Evk. *ujam* 1; Evn. *ụjama* 1; Neg. *ojamka* 2; Man. *wejxen* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 299, 2, 251.

PMong. ***ugalǯa** male mountain goat (самец горного козла): MMong. *uqulǯa* (SH); WMong. *uɣalǯa* (L 864 *uɣulǯa*); Kh. *ugalʒ*; Ord. *ugʷalǯi*.

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *qulǯa*, Uygh. *ɣulǯa*, Kaz. *qulža* id.; Man. *uxulǯa* (see ЭСТЯ 6, 131-132).

PTurk. ***ograk** mountain goat (горный козел): Karakh. *oɣraq* (IM).

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 405. Most Turkic languages reflect PT **oglak* 'kid, goat' - possibly a merger of **ograk* with **ogul* 'son' (v. sub **i̯uga)*.

‖ A Western isogloss.

***ùjò** relation: Tung. ***oji-**; Turk. ***uja**; Jpn. ***ə̀jà**.

PTung. ***oji-** relation, spouse (родственник, супруг): Neg. *oji̯n*; Ork. *oji̯sal* bi; Sol. *ujõ-* 'to marry'.

◊ TMC 2, 252.

PTurk. ***uja** relation, blood relation (родственник, кровный родственник): OTurk. *uja* (Orkh.); Karakh. *uja* 'brother, kinsman'; Turkm. *uja* 'sister'; MTurk. *uja* 'younger sister' (Sangl.), 'brother' (*ʿAli*), 'blood relation' (Qutb); Tat. *oja* 'family, kin'; Kirgh. *ujalaš* 'by one venter'; KKalp. *ujalas* 'by one venter'; Yak. *uja* 'generation'.

◊ VEWT 511, EDT 267.

PJpn. ***ə̀jà** parent(s) (родитель, родители): OJpn. *oja*; MJpn. *oja*; Tok. *oyá*; Kyo. *óyà*; Kag. *oyá*.

◊ JLTT 514.

‖ The root probably denoted 'relative, kin' in a broad sense.

✱**ùjrV́ (~ o-, -jl-, e-u,a-u)** melon: Jpn. ***ùrí***; Kor. ***ōi***.

PJpn. ***ùrí*** melon (дыня): OJpn. *uri*; MJpn. *ùrí*; Tok. *úri*; Kyo. *ùrí*; Kag. *urí*.

◊ JLTT 563.

PKor. ***ōi*** melon, cucumber (дыня, огурец): MKor. *ōi*; Mod. *oi, wē*.

◊ Nam 386, KED 1202, 1220.

‖ Martin 236, Whitman 1985, 187, 194, 245. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss: phonetically very similar to **ójle* 'small fruit' (q.v.), but the semantic difference is baffling.

✱**uju** sad, ashamed: Tung. ***oji-***; Mong. ***uj***; Turk. ***uja-***; Jpn. ***u-***.

PTung. ***oji-*** 1 to become mad, old, forget 2 to be in a poor state (1 выживать из ума, стареть, забывать 2 находиться в стесненном положении): Man. *oj-bo-* 1, *oj-tobu-* 2; SMan. *ojərəqu* 'no good' (3036); Ul. *oj-ba-* 1; Sol. *oi-mar* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 8, 9.

PMong. ***uj*** 1 mourning, sorrow 2 to be bored, lonely (1 траур, печаль 2 скучать, быть одиноким): MMong. *ui'it-* (SH) 2; WMong. *ui* 1, *ujid-* 2 (L 866); Kh. *uj* 1, *ujda-* 2; Bur. *uj* 1, *ujda-* 2; Kalm. *ujd-* 2 'to be sad, sorrowful' (KPC); Ord. *ujd-* 2.

PTurk. ***uja-*** 1 to be ashamed 2 shame (1 стыдиться 2 стыд): OTurk. *ujad-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ujaδ-* (MK, KB), *ujal-* (MK); Tur. *ujat-* 1, *ujat* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; MTurk. *ujal-*, *ujat-* 1, *ujat* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; Uygh. *ujat* 2, *ujal-*, (dial.) *ujat-* 1; Krm. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; Tat. *ŭjal-* 1, *ŭjat* 2; Bashk. *ŭjal-* 1, *ŭjat* 2; Kirgh. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; Kaz. *ŭjal-* 1, *ŭjat* 2; KBalk. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; KKalp. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; Kum. *ujat-* 1 (tr.), *ujat* 2; Nogh. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; Khak. *ujat-* 1, *ujat* 2; Oyr. *ujat* 2, *ujal-* 1; Tv. *ɨjat-* 1, *ɨjat* 2.

◊ VEWT 511, ЭСТЯ 1, 561-563 (confused with **ubut* q. v. sub **i̯upo*), 576, EDT 269, 272-273.

PJpn. ***u-*** sad, sorry (грустный): OJpn. *u-*; MJpn. *u-*; Tok. *u-*.

◊ JLTT 843.

‖ A dental derivative **uju-tV* seems to be reconstructable on the basis of PT **uja-t-*, PM **uji-d-* and Manchu *oj-ta-bu-*. It cannot be excluded, however, that we are dealing with two different derivatives, somewhat mixed up: **uju-tʿV-* (PT **uja-t-*, MMong. *uji-t-*, Manchu *oj-ta-**bu***-) and **uju-dV-* (OT *uja-d-*, PM **uji-d-*).

✱**ujV(kʿV)** stockings, trousers: Tung. ***oji(ki)***; Turk. ***ujuk***.

PTung. ***oji(ki)*** thigh coverings, trousers (наголенники, штаны): Ul. *oji*; Nan. *ojī*, dial. *ojïkị*; Ud. *waʿipti*, *waʿikti* (Корм. 217).

◊ TMC 2, 8.

PTurk. ***ujuk*** (felt) stockings ((войлочные) чулки): OTurk. *ujuq* (OUygh. - late); Tur. *ujuk* (dial.); Turkm. *ujuq* (dial.); Tat. *ǔjıq*; Bashk. *ǔjǔq*; Kaz. *ǔjıq*; KBalk. *ujük*; Nogh. *ujıq*.

◊ ДТС 608, VEWT 511, ЭСТЯ 1, 581-582, Лексика 481. The root should be distinguished from **uk* q. v. sub **p'ȍk'à* (there is no way of uniting them phonetically).

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ùkú** to take, grasp, meet: Tung. ***oKa-**; Mong. ***ugtu-**; Turk. ***ug-ra-**; Jpn. ***ùká-**; Kor. ***ùhíi-**.

PTung. ***oKa-*** 1 armful 2 handful (1 охапка 2 горсть, пригоршня): Neg. *oxodo* 1; Man. *oχoĺō* 2; SMan. *ohələ-* 'to cup both hands' (1554); Nan. *oχoj* 2 (Kur.-Urm.).

◊ TMC 2, 10.

PMong. ***ugtu-*** to meet (встречать): MMong. *uxtu-* (HY 32, SH), *uxdu-* (SH); WMong. *uɣtu-* (L 864); Kh. *ugta-*; Bur. *ugta-*; Kalm. *uktə-*; Ord. *uGtu-*; Dag. *ortu-*, (Тод. Дат. 160), *orete-* 'welcome, meet, greet' (MD 203), *orto-*.

◊ KW 448, MGCD 669. Mong. > Evk. *uktu-* etc., see Doerfer MT 111, Rozycki 166.

PTurk. ***ug-ur-**, ***ug-ra-*** 1 to meet, go to meet; to intend 2 occasion, reason, time (1 встречать, направляться к; намереваться 2 случай, причина, раз): OTurk. *uɣra-* 1, *uɣur* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uɣra-* 1, *uɣur* 2 (MK); Tur. *uɣra-* 1, *ūr* 2; Gag. *ūr* 2, *ūra-* 1; Az. *uɣur* 2; Turkm. *uGra-* 1, *uGur* 2; MTurk. *oɣur* 2 (R), *uɣra-* 1 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *ūr* 2 (dial.); Krm. *oɣur* 2, *oɣra-* 1; KBalk. *oɣur* 2; Kum. *oɣur* 2.

◊ EDT 89, 91, ЭСТЯ 1, 564-565, TMN 2, 604. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *uɣra-* (see Щербак 1997, 198).

PJpn. ***ùká-*** to get, receive (получать): OJpn. *uka-*; MJpn. *úká-*, *ùká-*; Tok. *uké-*; Kyo. *ùkè-*; Kag. *ùkè-*.

◊ JLTT 778. The RJ variant *úkú* is unclear.

PKor. ***ùhíi-*** to take, grasp, pick out (брать, хватать, вытаскивать): MKor. *ùhíi-*.

◊ Nam 391.

‖ Korean has a usual low verbal tone.

✱**úku (~ o-)** wet, wash: Tung. ***uK-**; Mong. ***ug-**; Jpn. ***úk-**; Kor. ***hə̀i- (< *uhəi-)**.

PTung. ***uK-*** 1 to get wet, wet 2 to wash (1 мокнуть, мочить 2 мыть, стирать): Evk. *uksu-* 1; Evn. *oqtị-* 2; Ul. *uksi-* 1; Nan. *uksi-* 1; Orch. *uksi-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 11, 254.

PMong. ***ug-*** to wash (мыть): MMong. *ukija-* (SH); WMong. *ugija-*, *uguɣa-* (L 865: *ugija-*, *ukija-*, *uɣa-*); Kh. *ugā-*; Bur. *ugā-*; Kalm. *uɣā-* (KPC); Ord. *uG^{w}ā-*; Mog. *uɣa*, *ɣa-* (Weiers); Dag. *uā-* (Тод. Даг.170, MD 229),

ugā- (Тод. Даг. 170); Dong. *uaɣa-*; Bao. *Gua-*; S.-Yugh. *Gua-*, *виа-*; Mongr. *(u)ŋGwā-* (SM 292, 472), *ua-*.

◊ MGCD 667.

PJpn. ***úk-*** to float (плавать): OJpn. *uk-*, *ukab-*; MJpn. *úk-*, *úkáf-*, *úkáb-*; Tok. *ùk-*, *ùkab-*; Kyo. *úk-*, *úkáb-*; Kag. *úk-*, *ukáb-*.

◊ JLTT 778.

PKor. ***hài-*** to swim (плавать): MKor. *hài-*, *hài-jòm-*; Mod. *hē-*, *hejəm-čhi-*.

◊ Nam 486, 487, KED 1829, 1830.

‖ For the Kor. form see notes to **k'ə́ja*.

✱**uk'e** a k. of bucket, fish-trap: Tung. ***ukī***; Jpn. ***bə̀kaî***; Kor. ***oku***.

PTung. ***ukī*** crib, fish-pot, fish basket (верша, снасть для ловли рыбы): Evk. *ukī*; Evn. *ūkit*; Neg. *uxī*; Man. *uku*; Nan. *uki*; Orch. *uki*; Ud. *uki*.

◊ TMC 2, 253.

PJpn. ***bə̀kaî*** bucket (ведро): OJpn. woke; MJpn. *wòké*; Tok. *óke*; Kyo. *òkê*; Kag. *oké*.

◊ JLTT 505 (the etymology as "hemp container" is certainly wrong). OJ has also *uke* 'grain container', which may be just a variant of the same root.

PKor. ***oku*** a k. of fish-trap basket (корзина, сачок для ловли рыбы): Mod. *ogu*.

◊ KED 1195.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**úk'è** hill: Tung. ***(x)uKu-***; Mong. ***(h)ukaɣa***; Jpn. ***bə́ká***.

PTung. ***(x)uKu-*** hill (холм): Evk. *ukurī*; Man. *uquda*, *uqada*.

◊ TMC 2, 256.

PMong. ***(h)ukaɣa*** hill (холм): WMong. *uqaγa* (L 891); Kh. *uxā*; Bur. *uxā* (West. dial.).

PJpn. ***bə́ká*** hill (холм): OJpn. *woka*; MJpn. *wóká*; Tok. *òka*; Kyo. *óká*; Kag. *óka*.

◊ JLTT 505.

‖ Cf. **bə̀k'e*.

✱**uk'è** stupid, arrogant: Tung. ***(x)uKu-***; Mong. ***(h)üki***; Turk. ***ökte-***; Jpn. ***bəkə***.

PTung. ***(x)uKu-*** 1 weak 2 stupid (1 слабый 2 слабоумный): Man. *uxu-ken* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 255.

PMong. ***(h)üki*** 1 insincere, crafty 2 stupid (1 неискренний, хитрый 2 глупый): WMong. *üki* 1, *ükenče* 2 (L 1003); Kh. *üx* 1, *üxēnc* 2.

PTurk. ***ökte-*** 1 to infuse pride, courage 2 pride, proud, courageous (1 ободрять, придавать гордость, храбрость 2 гордость, гордый, храбрый): Karakh. *öktem* (KB) 2; Az. *ötkäm*; Turkm. *ökdöm* (dial.) 2;

MTurk. *ökte-* 1, *öktem* 2 (R.); Uzb. *oqtam*; Uygh. *öktäm*; Krm. *öktem* 2; Kirgh. *öktöm* 2; Kaz. *öktem* 2, (dial.) *ökte-* 1; Nogh. *öktem* 2; Khak. *öktem* 2; Yak. *öktöm* 2.

◊ EDT 102-103, ЭСТЯ 1. Turk. > Kalm. *öktm* (KW 294; not vice versa, despite VEWT 370).

PJpn. ***bəkə*** stupid (глупый): OJpn. *woko*, *ukwo*.

◊ JLTT 591.

‖ The basic meaning of the root appears to be 'stupid', whence 'insincere' and 'proud, arrogant'.

✱**uk'i (~ -e)** to die, be hungry: Tung. ***(x)uk-ti-***; Mong. ***ükü-**.

PTung. ***(x)uk-ti-*** to be hungry (голодать): Evk. *ukti-*.

◊ TMC 2, 254.

PMong. ***ükü-*** to die (умирать): MMong. *ugu-* (HYt), *uku-* (SH), *ukɛ-* (IM), *uku-* (MA); WMong. *ügü-* (L 1003: *ükü-*); Kh. *üxe-*; Bur. *üxe-*; Kalm. *ükə-*; Ord. *üχü-*; Mog. *ükü-*; ZM *oku* (5-8a); Dag. *ugu-* (Тод. Дат. 170), *ū-* (MD 233); Dong. *fugu-*; Bao. *hgude-*, *fgu-*; S.-Yugh. *hgu-*; Mongr. *fugu-* (SM 103).

◊ KW 456, MGCD 698.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; very scantily represented in TM, therefore dubious.

✱**úk'u** to understand, look into: Tung. ***oksa-***; Mong. ***uka-***; Turk. ***uk-***; Jpn. ***úká-(n)káp-***.

PTung. ***oksa-*** 1 to submerge in thoughts 2 to change one's mind 3 to resent, be offended (1 задумываться 2 одуматься, передумать 3 обижаться): Evk. *okso-* 1; Evn. *oγsa-* 2; Nan. *oqsa-* (On.) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 11.

PMong. ***uka-*** 1 to understand, think 2 mind (1 понимать, думать 2 ум): MMong. *uxa'an* 2 (HY 49), *uqa-* (HY 33, SH) 1, *uqa* 2 (SH); WMong. *uqa-* 1 (L 890); *uqaγa(n)* 2 (L 891); Kh. *uxa-* 1; *uxā* 2; Bur. *uxa-* 1; *uxā(n)* 2; Kalm. *uxə-* 1; *uxān* 2; Ord. *uxā*, *uxān* 2; Dag. *ogo*, *owo* 'brain' (Тод. Дат. 159), *ukā* 2 (Тод. Дат. 170) *uhān* 2(MD 231); S.-Yugh. *χGua-tu* 2.

◊ KW 447, MGCD 684. Mong. > Evk. *ukān* etc., see Doerfer MT 109.

PTurk. ***uk-*** 1 to understand 2 to hear (1 понимать 2 слышать): OTurk. *uq-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *uq-* (MK, KB) 1; Az. dial. *uγuz* 'knowing much'; MTurk. *uq-* (IM, Qutb); Uzb. *uq-* 1; Uygh. *uq-* 1; Tat. dial. *ux-* 2; Kirgh. *uq-* 2; Kaz. *uγin-* 1; KKalp. *uq-* 1; Khak. *ux-* 1, 2; Shr. *uq-* 1; Oyr. dial. *uq-* 2; Tv. *uγ-* 1.

◊ VEWT 511-12, EDT 77-8, ЭСТЯ 1, 584-585. Turk. > Hung. ok 'reason', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***úká-(n)káp-*** to look into, inquire (всматриваться, осведомляться): OJpn. *ukakap-*; MJpn. *ukagaf-*; Tok. *ùkaga-*; Kyo. *úkágá-*; Kag. *ukagá-*.

◊ JLTT 778

‖ KW 447, ОСНЯ 1, 255-256 (Turk.-Mong.); АПиПЯЯ 289, МССНЯ 333. Despite Щербак 1997, 167, there is hardly a reason to regard Mong. as a loan from Turkic.

✱**úkʿu (~ -k-)** kin, clan: Tung. ***uK-**; Mong. ***(h)ug**; Turk. ***uk**; Jpn. ***úkárà**.

PTung. ***uK-** 1 unity, accord 2 kin; successors (1 единство, согласие 2 род; потомство): Man. *uxe* 1, *uqsun* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 254, 257. The root is attested only in Manchu; *uqsun* may be < Mong. (although suffixation is different), but *uxe* is no doubt genuine.

PMong. ***(h)ug** origin, kin (происхождение, род): WMong. *uɣ*; Kh. *ug*; Bur. *ug*.

PTurk. ***uk** kin, tribe (род, племя): OTurk. *uq ~ oq* 'kin, tribe'; Karakh. *uq ~ oq* (MK) 'share of inheritance'; Kaz. *ŭq* (dial.); Oyr. *uq*; Tv. *uq*; Chuv. *jъʷx*.

◊ VEWT 511, ЭСТЯ 1, 582-583, Егоров 76. The OT words are sometimes erroneously united with **ok* 'arrow' (thus in EDT 76).

PJpn. ***úkárà** clan, family (род, семья): OJpn. *ukara* (*ugara*); MJpn. *úkárà*.

◊ JLTT 560. Analysis as compound **umi-kara* is hardly possible (because of voiceless -k-).

‖ Дыбо 15.

✱**ŭkʿurkV (~ -o-)** rope, lasso: Tung. ***oKurga**; Mong. ***uɣurga**; Turk. ***ukruk**; Kor. ***ork-**.

PTung. ***oKurga** loop, snare (петля, силок): Evk. *okurga*, *ukurga*; Man. *χurGa*, *χurqa*.

◊ TMC 2, 352-353. The Manchu form is obviously = Evk. *okurga*, *ukurga* and thus, despite Rozycki 112, has nothing to do with MMong. *xuraqa* - on which see under **p'ŭrVkV*.

PMong. ***uɣurga** lasso pole (шест с арканом): MMong. *u'urqa* (SH); WMong. *uɣurɣa*, *urɣa(n)* (L 881); Kh. *ūrga*; Bur. *urga*; Kalm. *ūrɣə* (KPC); Ord. *ūrGa*; Dag. *urga* (Тод. Даг. 171).

PTurk. ***ukruk** lasso, lasso pole (аркан, жердь с арканом): Karakh. *uqruq* (MK); Turkm. *uquruq* (dial.); MTurk. *oqruq* (AH); Uzb. *qo̧ruq*; Uygh. *oquruq* (dial.); Tat. *qŭrıq*; Bashk. *qŭrŭq*; Kirgh. *uquruq*; Kaz. *qūrıq*; KKalp. *qurıq*; Kum. *uqruq* (dial.); Nogh. *qurıq*; Yak. *ogūr*, *oguruk*.

◊ VEWT 360, EDT 90, ЭСТЯ 1, 585-586. Turk. > Hung. *hurok* 'loop', see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***ork-** 1 rope 2 to tie, bind (1 веревка 2 привязывать, завязывать): Mod. *ok* [*olk*] 1, *ok-* [*olk-*] 2.

◊ KED 1209.

‖ Владимирцов 247, PKE 136-137. Despite Doerfer MT 96 and Щербак 1997, 120, the word seems to be inherited (loans Turk. > Mong. and Mong. > Tung. are not easily explained phonetically). The stem appears to be an old derivative with the suffix *-rga, but the deriving

root is hard to find. Poppe 1972, 96 cites Evk. *oku-* 'to catch a bird with a snare' which we were unable to locate; there exists, however, Manchu *oχolǯon, oχolǯi* 'snare, loop' (TMC 2, 10) which is likely to contain the same root. The relationship to the synonymous **pʻurVkʻV* 'rope, lasso' q.v. remains unclear; the two stems are clearly distinguished in several subgroups, but (due to the development *pʻ- > h-, 0-) are easily confused. The Mong. form **uɣurga* is interesting: it is exactly parallel to Turkic **ukruk* and shows the same cluster development (*-kr- > -ɣ(V)r-) as **bŭkrV* (> *buɣur-čak*) and **čʻikʻ-rV* (> *čiɣire*) q.v.

✱**ukʻV (~ *o-)** inner part of knee, armpit: Tung. ***(x)oKi-**; Mong. ***(h)ogo-da-su**; Kor. ***òkóm**.

PTung. ***(x)oKi-** place where skin is cut off from deer's shank (камыс (место среза шкуры с ног оленя, лося)): Evk. *okī-kta*.

◊ TMC 2, 9. Attested only in Evk., but having probable parallels in Mong. and Kor.

PMong. ***(h)ogo-da-su** part of cloth in the armpit (клин одежды подмышкой): WMong. *oɣodasu*; Kalm. *oɣədəsn, oGdəsn*.

◊ KW 283. Mong. > Manchu oho da 'armpit area of a jacket' (see Rozycki 166).

PKor. ***òkóm** 1 inner angle of knee 2 knee (1 подколенная ямка 2 колено): MKor. *òkóm* 1; Mod. *ogim* 1, 2.

◊ Nam 378, KED 1195. The deriving stem appears to be *ok- / uk-* 'to bend in, turn in' (KED 1204); the verb is, however, attested very late and may be a back-formation from the noun.

‖ SKE 174 (Mong.-Kor.; but the TM parallel drawn by Ramstedt and repeated in Doerfer MT 25 - Evk. *ogonī* - cannot belong here, being a reflex of PTM **xoba-nī*, see TMC 2,6), АПиПЯЯ 297. -g- in Mong. must be explained by assimilation.

✱**ŭla** sole, footwear: Tung. ***olā-či**; Mong. ***ula**; Turk. ***ul**.

PTung. ***olā-či** short boots (короткие унты): Evk. *olōt, olōčik*; Evn. *olāčiq*; Neg. *olot*; Ul. *olǯuma*; Ork. *ollōči*; Orch. *olōči*; Sol. *alóci, olóci*.

◊ TMC 2, 16.

PMong. ***ula** sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation (подошва ноги или обуви; основа, основание): MMong. *ula* (HY 47); *hula* (MA); WMong. *ula* (L 868); Kh. *ul*; Bur. *ula*; Kalm. *ul*; Mog. *ulō* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *uale* (MD); Bao. *la*.

◊ KW 448. Mong. > Evk. *ula* etc., see Doerfer MT 131.

PTurk. ***ul** 1 foundation 2 sole (1 дно, основание 2 подошва, подметка): OTurk. *ultaŋ* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ul* 1, *uldaŋ* 2 (MK); Tur. *oltan, oltaŋ* (dial.) 2; Turkm. *oltaŋ* 2; MTurk. *ölteŋ* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ultɔn* 2; Uygh. *ultaŋ* 2, (dial.) *ūl, ul* 1; Tat. *ŭltan* 2; Bashk. *ŭltan* 2; Kirgh. *ultaŋ* 2; Kaz. *ŭltan* 2; KBalk. *oltaŋ, oltan* 2; KKalp. *ultan* 2; Kum. *ultan* 2; Nogh. *ultan* 2; Khak. *ultuŋ* 2; Oyr. *ultaŋ, ultan, ıltam* 2; Tv. *ulduŋ* 2; Yak. *ulluŋ* 2.

◊ EDT 124, 131, ЭСТЯ 1, 449-451.

‖ A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 161, Mong. cannot be < Turkic (final -a stays unexplained). The Turkic form, because of a merger of *p′- and *0-, can also reflect PA *p′ű́li q.v.

✱**ulbo** (~ **-í-, -u, -o-, -u̯- -o)** to change: Tung. ***olbi-n-**; Mong. ***(h)olbari-**; Kor. ***ōrm-**.

PTung. ***olbi-n-** 1 to drag, carry 2 to change, turn into (1 тащить, нести 2 меняться, превращаться): Evn. *ōlbu̯n-* 2; Ul. *olbi̯n-* 1; Ork. *olbi̯n-* 1; Nan. *olbi̯n-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 12. Cf. perhaps also **olbi-ku* 'dowry'. The meaning 'carry' perhaps goes back to 'change (place, position)'.

PMong. ***(h)olbari-** to change, turn into (меняться, превращаться): WMong. *olbari-, ulbari-, ulari-* (L 871, 872); Kh. *olbori-, ulira-*; Kalm. *ulwṛ-*.

◊ KW 449. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *ularij-* 'change', see Stachowski 242.

PKor. ***ōrm-** to change place (менять место, передвигаться): MKor. *ōrm-*; Mod. *ōm-* [*olm-*].

◊ Nam 383, KED 1209.

‖ The root may be **ulo* (cf. Mong. *ulari-* without the -b- element).

✱**ule (~ -i)** negative particle: Mong. ***ülü**.

PMong. ***ülü** not (не): MMong. *ulu* (HY 51, SH), *ulɛ* (IM), *ulă* (MA); WMong. *ülü* (L 1006); Kh. *ül*; Bur. *üle*; Kalm. *ülɛ* (СЯОС); Ord. *üle, ülü*; Mog. *la, lü, lɛ*; ZM *ulä* (27-7a); Dag. *ul* (Тод. Даг. 170), *ule* (MD 232); Dong. *ulie*; Bao. *le*; S.-Yugh. *lə*; Mongr. *li* (SM 222), *lĭ*.

◊ MGCD 692.

‖ So far there are no certain Altaic parallels discovered: cf. perhaps -ül in Turk. **degül*, see **tagi*. A Nostratic etymology see in ОСНЯ 1, 17, 263-264.

✱**ű́lo** to cry, howl: Mong. ***uli-**; Turk. ***ūli-**; Jpn. ***ə́rá-mp-**; Kor. ***ūr-**.

PMong. ***uli-** to cry, howl (wolves) (кричать, выть (о волках)): MMong. *uli-* (MA); WMong. *uli-* (L 873); Kh. *uli-*; Bur. *uli-*; Kalm. *uĺ-, ulə-*; Ord. *uli-*; S.-Yugh. *olo-*.

◊ KW 448, MGCD 673.

PTurk. ***ūli-** to cry, howl (кричать, выть): OTurk. *uli-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *uli-* (MK); Tur. *ulu-*; Gag. *ulu-*; Az. *ula-*; Turkm. *ūli-*; MTurk. *ulu-* (AH, IM), *ula-* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *ulu-*; Krm. *ulu-*; Tat. *ula-*; Bashk. *ŭlŭ-*; Kirgh. *ulu-*; Kaz. *ūli-*; KBalk. *ulu-*; KKalp. *uli-*; Kum. *ulu-*; Nogh. *uli-*; Khak. *ulu-*; Oyr. *ulu-*; Tv. *ulu-*; Chuv. *ъʷlax-* 'to neigh'; Yak. *uluj-*; Dolg. *uluj-*.

◊ EDT 127, VEWT 512, ЭСТЯ 1, 595, Stachowski 243. Yak. has secondary shortening in a disyllabic stem.

PJpn. ***ə́rá-mp-** to cry, wail (кричать): OJpn. *orab-*.

◊ JLTT 742. High tone is reconstructed on the basis of dialectal evidence (Ibuki-jima, Nakijin *wurabin* A, see ibid.).

PKor. ***ūr-*** to cry, weep (плакать, рыдать): MKor. *ūr-*; Mod. *ūl-*.

◊ Nam 392, KED 1246.

‖ KW 448, PKE 223, JLTT 742. An expressive root. Because of the merger of *l and *r the Kor.-Jpn. reflexes of this root may also be attributed to **óru* (thus in Lee 1958, 118), and vice versa.

✱**ulu (~ -o)** big, many; good: Tung. ***ule-***; Mong. ***olon***; Turk. ***ulug***; Kor. ***ōr-**.

PTung. ***ule-*** good (хороший): Man. *ulin* 'goods'; Ul. *ule(n)*; Ork. *uliŋga*; Nan. *ulẽ* (On.); Ud. *uligdiga'* 'beautiful' (Корм. 301).

◊ TMC 2, 260-261. Man. > Dag. *ulin* 'goods' (Тод. Дат. 170).

PMong. ***olon*** many (много): MMong. *olon* (HY 44, SH), *ulān* (IM), *ulan* (MA); WMong. *olan* (L 607); Kh. *olon*; Bur. *olon*; Kalm. *olŋ*; Ord. *olon*; Dag. *walan* (Тод. Дат. 129), *ualen* (MD 229); Dong. *olon*; Bao. *oloŋ*; S.-Yugh. *olon*; Mongr. *olon* (SM 298), (MGCD *ulon*).

◊ KW 285, MGCD 116, 527.

PTurk. ***ulug*** 1 big 2 great 3 grown-up, great (1 большой 2 великий 3 взрослый, крупный): OTurk. *uluγ* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uluγ* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *ulu* 2; Az. *ulu* 2; Turkm. *uli* 1; MTurk. *uluγ*, *uluq* 1 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *uluγ* 1; Tat. *ölkɛn* 1; Bashk. *ölkän* 1; Kirgh. *uluu* 2; Kaz. *ulken* 1; KBalk. *ullu* 1; KKalp. *ülken* 1; Nogh. *üjken* 1; Khak. *uluγ* 1; Tv. *uluγ* 1; Tof. *uluγ* 1; Yak. *ulaxan*, *ulū* 1; Dolg. *ulakan*, *ulū* 1.

◊ VEWT 513, 520, TMN 2, 117-118, EDT 136, ЭСТЯ 1, 593-594, 630, Stachowski 242, 243. Turkic languages reveal two variants (**ulug* and **ülken*, the latter being represented only in modern languages), probably interrelated. Despite Bang TB X and TMN 2, 118 it is hard to see any relationship between **ulug* (hardly **ullug*: some modern forms must have secondary gemination here) and **ul* 'foundation'.

PKor. ***ōr-*** completely, wholly (совершенно, полностью): MKor. *ōró*; Mod. *oro-ši*.

◊ Nam 380, KED 1198.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 110, АПиПЯЯ 286, Дыбо 12.

✱**ŭlu (~ *o-)** to soak, wet: Tung. ***ula-***; Mong. ***(h)ulum***; Jpn. ***ùrù-p-***; Kor. ***ùrí-**.

PTung. ***ula-*** 1 to soak, wet 2 river (1 мочить 2 река): Evk. *ula-* 1; Evn. *ụl-* 1; Man. *ulGa-* 1, *ula* 2; SMan. *ulā* 'large river' (2090); Jurch. *ula* (49) 2; Ork. *ụla-* 1; Nan. *ụlariḳō* (dial.) 'wet'; Ud. *ula-* 1; Sol. *ụlakkū*.

◊ TMC 2, 257-8.

PMong. ***(h)ulum*** swamp (болото): WMong. *ulum*; Kh. *ulam* 'зыбкое, топкое место' (БАМРС); Bur. *ulam* 'ford'; Kalm. *ulm*; Ord. *ulum* 'ford'.

◊ KW 448. The Buryat and Ordos meaning has been influenced by *olom* 'ford' (v. sub **olV*).

PJpn. ***ùrù-p-*** to soak, wet (мокнуть): OJpn. *urup(w)op-*; MJpn. *ùrùf-*; Tok. *uruó-*; Kyo. *úrúó-*; Kag. *uruó-*.

◊ JLTT 780. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ***ùrí-*** to steep, soak (вымачивать): MKor. *ùrí-*; Mod. *uri-*.

◊ Liu 592, KED 1238.

‖ KW 448, EAS 110 (Mong.-Tung.), Murayama 1962, 110 (Jpn.-TM). Korean has standard verbal low tone. In Turk. cf. perhaps Yak. *ul-* 'to melt'; Kaz. *ılγal*, Turk. *ıγal* 'dampness' (ЭСТЯ 1, 645-646).

✱**ùlV** a k. of bird (partridge / duck): Tung. ***ulgumV***; Turk. ***ular***; Kor. ***órhì***.

PTung. ***ulgumV (/*ulmugV)*** 1 pheasant 2 gull (1 фазан 2 чайка): Evk. *umŋētī* 2; Evn. *ōmŋēti* 2; Neg. *ömöti* 2; Man. *ulχuma* 1; SMan. *olәhәmә, olәhumә* 1 (2250); Jurch. *ulhu-ma* (188) 1; Ul. *olGoma* 1; Nan. *olGomị* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 268, 283.

PTurk. ***ular*** 1 partridge 2 snow pheasant 3 wild turkey (1 куропатка 2 глухарь 3 горная индейка): OTurk. *ular* 1 (OUygh.- med.); Karakh. *ular* 'male partridge' (MK); Uzb. *ular* (< Russ.?) 3; Uygh. *ular* 3; Kirgh. *ular* 3; Kaz. *ular* 3; Shr. *uları* 1 (Chul.); Oyr. *ular* 'vulture'; Tv. *ular* 3; Yak. *ular* 2.

◊ EDT 150, VEWT 512 (Mong. *ularu* < Turk.), Лексика 173. Turk. > Russ. *улар*.

PKor. ***órhì*** duck (утка): MKor. *órhì*; Mod. *ōri*.

◊ Nam 383, KED 1199.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 173.

✱**úlV (~ o-, i̯o-, -ĺ-)** meat; deer: Tung. ***ul-(k)se***; Mong. ***(h)ulaj***.

PTung. ***ul-(k)se*** meat (мясо): Evk. *ulle*; Evn. *ulъd*; Neg. *ule*; Ul. *ulse*; Ork. *ulise*; Nan. *ulekse*; Orch. *ukte*; Ud. *ulehe*; Sol. *uldi, ulde*.

◊ TMC 2, 262. Cf. also **ula* 'deer' (TMC 2, 262-263), **uluku-* 'elk' (TMC 2, 264).

PMong. ***(h)ulaj*** dead body (of animal) (туша, труп (животного)): WMong. *ulai* (L 870); Kh. *ulaj*; Bur. *ulaj*; Kalm. *ulā*; Ord. *ulā̈* 'падаль; тело убитого человека'.

◊ KW 448.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. perhaps Karakh. (MK) *oš* 'core (of a horn etc.)'.

✱**ŭĺà (~ o-, i̯u-)** hemp: Tung. ***ula***; Mong. ***olo-sun***; Jpn. ***àsà***.

PTung. ***ula*** 1 hemp 2 millet (1 конопля 2 просо): Man. *olo* 1; Nan. *ula* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 15, 257.

PMong. ***olo-sun*** hemp (конопля): MMong. *olosun* (HY 22); WMong. *olosun* (L 610: *olusu(n)*); Kh. *ols*; Bur. *ulha(n)*; Kalm. *olsn̥* (KPC); Ord. *ulusu(n)*; Dag. *olso* (Тод. Даг. 159), *olese* (MD 201) ; *olsu*; S.-Yugh. *losən*; Mongr. *losə* (SM 228).

◊ MGCD 528.

PJpn. ***àsà** hemp (конопля): OJpn. *asa*; MJpn. *àsà*; Tok. *asá*; Kyo. *àsá*; Kag. *asá*.

◊ JLTT 384. The accent in Kyoto is irregular (reflecting **àsá*).

‖ A good Mong.-Tung.-Jpn. match. Borrowing in Man. from Mong. is hardly possible, despite Rozycki 166.

***uĺe (~ -i)** to scrape, row: Tung. ***ulī-**; Turk. ***üĺe-**.

PTung. ***ulī-** 1 to row 2 oar (1 грести 2 весло): Evk. *ulī-* 1, *ulīwun* 2; Evn. *ụlịn-* 1, *ụlịwụn* 2; Neg. *olịn-* 1; Nan. *ulbe(n)* 2; Ud. *ulimagda* 'big delved boat' (Корм. 301).

◊ TMC 2, 258, 260.

PTurk. ***üĺe-** to scrape earth, dig (скрести землю, копать): Karakh. *üše-* (MK); Tv. *üže-*.

◊ EDT 256.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

***uĺi** to crush, mince: Tung. ***ulē-**; Mong. ***(h)ülte-**; Turk. ***uĺa-**; Kor. ***ori-**.

PTung. ***ulē-** to boil (варить): Evk. *ulē-*; Evn. *ölē-*; Neg. *ulē-*; Ul. *ulu-si-*; Ork. *ulē-*; Nan. *ulu-*; Ud. *olokto-*; Sol. *ölŏ-*, *ulŏ-*, *elŏ-*.

◊ TMC 2, 265.

PMong. ***(h)ülte-** 1 to crush, pulverize 2 to boil (meat) 3 asunder, to pieces (1 разбивать, размельчать 2 разваривать (мясо) 3 вдребезги): WMong. *ültü* 3, *ültü-*, *ültül-*, *ültüre-* 1, 2 (L 1006); Kh. *ült* 3, *ültle-* 1, 2; Bur. *ülti* 3, *ültil-*, *ültir-* 1, 2.

PTurk. ***uĺa-** 1 small, minute 2 to become crushed, pulverized, smaller 3 to crush, pulverize (1 мелкий, маленький 2 дробиться, становиться меньше 3 растирать, дробить): Karakh. *uša-l-* 2, *ušaq* 1; Tur. *ušak* 1; Gag. *ušaq* 1; Az. *ušaG* 1; Turkm. *uša-* 2, *ušaq* 1; MTurk. *ušaq* 1, *ušal-* 2 (Бор. Бад.), *ušat-* 3 (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ušal-* 2, *ušɔq* 1; Uygh. *ušaq* (dial.), *uššaq* 1; Kirgh. *ušat-* 3, *ušaq* 1; Kaz. *ŭsaq* 1, *ŭsat-* 3; KKalp. *usaq* 1, *usat-* 3; Khak. *uzax* 1; Oyr. *uža-* 3.

◊ EDT 16, 262 (deriving the forms from *uvša-* which is hardly the case), ЭСТЯ 1, 617-618.

PKor. ***ori-** to mince, cut small (размельчать, мелко резать): MKor. *ori-*; Mod. *ori-*.

◊ Liu 576, KED 1199.

‖ For the meaning in TM cf. the semantics in Mong. (both 'crush into pieces' and 'boil (down to softness)'.

***ŭĺi (~ -e)** to freeze: Tung. ***ula-n**; Turk. ***ŭĺi- / *üli-**.

PTung. ***ula-n** 1 frazil 2 glade, polynia (1 наледь 2 полынья): Evk. *ulān* 1; Neg. *olan* 2; Ul. *ula(n)* 2; Nan. *olā* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 258.

PTurk. ***üĺi- (/*üli-)** 1 to freeze, congeal 2 to blow (of a cold wind) (1 замерзать 2 дуть (о холодном ветре)): OTurk. *üši-* 1; Karakh. *üši-* (MK) 1; Tur. *üšü-* 1; Gag. *üšü-* 1; Az. *üšü-*, dial. *üši-* 1; Turkm. dial. *üšī-* 1; MTurk. Kypch. *üši-* (CCum.); Krm. *üšü-* 1; Tat. *öše-* 1; Bashk. *öšö-* 1; Kirgh. *üšü-* 1; Kaz. *üsi-* 1; KKalp. *üsi-* 1; Kum. *üšü-* 1; Nogh. *üsi-* 1; Khak. *üzü-*, *uču-* 1; Oyr. *üžü-* 1; Tv. *ü'žü-*; Tof. *üši-*; Chuv. *vaš-* 2; Yak. *ülüj-* 1.

◊ VEWT 523, ЭСТЯ 1, 644-645, EDT 256-247, Мудрак Дисс. 154.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ű́lpe** ground game: Tung. ***ulgu-kī**; Mong. ***olbo / olbi**; Turk. ***ű̄ĺ**; Jpn. ***bəsə (~ -ua)**.

PTung. ***ulgu-kī** chipmunk (бурундук): Evk. *ulgukī*; Ul. *ulǯi*; Nan. *ulgi*; Orch. *uggukā*; Ud. *ugžixi*.

◊ TMC 2,258.

PMong. ***(h)olbo / (h)olbi** flying squirrel (белка-летяга): WMong. *olbi, olbo* (L 608: *olbu*), *oliba*; Kh. *olbo, olbi*; Bur. *olbo*.

PTurk. ***ű̄ĺ** lynx (рысь): Karakh. *üšek* (IM); Tur. *üšek*; Khak. *üs* (tab.); Shr. *üs*; Oyr. *ű̄s* (dial. - Leb.); Tv. *üs*; Tof. *üs*; Yak. *ű̄s*; Dolg. *üs-kis* 'sable'.

◊ VEWT 523, Щербак 1961, 141, Рас. Фил 239, Лексика 159, Stachowski 254. The irregular reflex of *ĺ in some Siberian languages presupposes tabooistic interlingual borrowings (Tuva < Yak., Shor < Khak.?).

PJpn. ***bəsə (~ -ua)** otter (выдра): MJpn. *woso*; Tok. *uso*.

◊ JLTT 512.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 159.

✱**uĺu(-kV, -gV)** lie: Tung. ***ulēk**; Mong. ***ulig**; Turk. ***uĺak**; Jpn. ***ùsuâ**.

PTung. ***ulēk** lie (ложь): Evk. *ulēk*; Evn. *ölēk*; Neg. *ölöx*; Man. *uluken*; Orch. *oloki-* (v.); Sol. *ölō̄x, elō̄x*.

◊ TMC 2, 265.

PMong. ***ulig** molestation, derision (надоедливость, издевка): MMong. *ulgi-, ulki-* 'to slander' (SH); WMong. *uliγ*; Kh. *ulig*; Kalm. *uĺg* 'nonsense'.

◊ KW 448.

PTurk. ***uĺak** slander (клевета): Karakh. *ušaq* (MK); MTurk. *ušuluq* 'suspicion' (Pav. C.), *ušaq* (CCum.); Uygh. *uššaq*; Tat. *ušaq* Tob. 'slanderer' (R); Bashk. *ošaq*; Kirgh. *ušaq*; KBalk. *ušaq* 'conversation'; Yak. *usxax* 'rumour'.

◊ VEWT 517, EDT 16 (confused with *uvšak* 'small').

PJpn. ***ùsuâ** lie (ложь): MJpn. *ùsó*; Tok. *úso*; Kyo. *ùsô*; Kag. *usó*.

◊ JLTT 564.

‖ Poppe AU 115 (Turk.-Mong., although Turk. **uĺak* is not separated from **ub-ĺak* 'small' - which is the reason for Doerfer's objections in TMN 2, 63).

✱**úmu** to bear, give birth: Tung. ***omu-** / ***umu-**; Mong. ***(h)umaj**; Turk. ***umaj**; Jpn. ***úm-**; Kor. ***ūm**.

PTung. ***omu-** / ***umu-** 1 to lay eggs 2 offspring, descendant, grandchild (1 нести яйца 2 отпрыск, потомок, внук): Evk. *umū-* 1, *omolgī* 2; Evn. *omolgo* 2; Neg. *omolgī* 2; Man. *omolo* 2; SMan. *omələ* (887) 2; Jurch. *omo-lo* (285) 2; Orch. *omolā* 'daughter-in-law'; Ud. *omolo* 2; Sol. *omolī* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 17-18, 269 (see also **umūkta*). TM > Dag. *omol* 'grandchild' (Тод. Дат. 159).

PMong. ***(h)umaj** womb (утроба, чрево): MMong. *kindik umai* 'navel' (LH) (with *kindik* = Chag. *kindik* 'navel'); WMong. *umaj* (L 874); Kh. *umaj*; Bur. *umaj*; Kalm. *omā* 'woman-ancestor'; Ord. *umā*.

◊ KW 285.

PTurk. ***umaj** 1 placenta, afterbirth 2 goddess of birth (1 плацента, послед 2 богиня рождения): OTurk. *umaj* 2 (Orkh.), 1 (OUygh. - NPr); Karakh. *umaj* 1, 2 (MK); Tur. *umaži* 'bugaboo'; MTurk. (MKypch.) *umaj* 1 (Ettuhf.); Kirgh. *umaj* 2; Khak. *ɨmaj* 2; Shr. *umaj* 2 (R).

◊ EDT 164-165.

PJpn. ***úm-** to bear (рождать): OJpn. *um-*; MJpn. *úm-*; Tok. *ùm-*; Kyo. *úm-*; Kag. *úm-*.

◊ JLTT 779.

PKor. ***ūm** sprout, bud (росток, почка): MKor. *ūm*; Mod. *ūm*.

◊ Nam 392, KED 1248.

‖ The Mong. form may also be borrowed < Turk., see Щербак 1997, 166. Cf., on the other hand, Mong. *omuγ* 'kin, clan' (which, however, may be a modification of the other attested form, Mong. *obuγ* = Turk. **ōpa*, under the influence of the present root; Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *omuk*, see Stachowski 193).

✱**umuŋ(t)o** to forget: Tung. ***omŋa-**; Mong. ***umta-**, ***umarta-**; Turk. ***umni-t- (~ -mŋ-)**.

PTung. ***omŋa-** to forget (забывать): Evk. *omŋo-*; Evn. *omŋə-*; Neg. *omŋo-*; Man. *oŋGo-*; SMan. *oŋə-*, *oŋu-* (1867); Ul. *oŋbo-*; Ork. *omGo-/oŋbo-*; Nan. *oŋbo-*; Orch. *ommo-*; Ud. *oŋmo-*; Sol. *ommo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 17.

PMong. ***umta-**, ***umarta-** 1 to sleep 2 to forget (1 спать 2 забывать): MMong. *umarta-* 2, *umtara-*, *untara-* (SH), *unta-* 1 (HY 34, SH), *unta-* 1, *marta-* 2 (MA), *munṭə-* 1 (IM), *umart-* (LH, Lig.VMI); WMong. *umta-*, *unta-* 1, *umarta-* 2 (L 874); Kh. *unta-* 1, *marta-* 2; Bur. *unta-* 1, *marta* 2; Kalm. *untə-* 1, *martə-* 2; Ord. *unta-* 1, *marta-* 2; Mog. *nunta-* 1 (Ramstedt 1906), *mɔrta-* 2 (Weiers); Dag. *wanta-* (Тод. Дат. 129), *want-* 1, *marta-* (Тод. Дат. 154), *martə-* 2; *uante-* 1, *marete-* 2 (MD 189, 229); Dong. *huntura-* 1, *mata-* 2; Bao. *tera-* 1, *martə-* 2; S.-Yugh. *nda-*, *ntā-* 1, *martā-* 2; Mongr. *ntərā-*, *nćā-* (SM 285) 1, *mu(r)šda-*, *maršda-* (SM 251), *mašdā-* (Huzu) 2.

◊ KW 450, 257, MGCD 462, 676. The Mog. form and IM *munṭə-* are interesting: they may suggest an archaic PM form **um(u)nta-* 'sleep'.

PTurk. ***umni-t- (~ -mŋ-)** to forget (забывать): OTurk. *unit-*, *unut-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *unit-* (MK); Tur. *unut-*; Gag. *unut-*; Az. *unut-*; Turkm. *unut-*; MTurk. *unut-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *unut-*; Uygh. *unut-*; Krm. *unut-*; Tat. *ŭnŭt-*; Bashk. *ŭnŭt-*; Kirgh. *unut-*; Kaz. *ŭmit-*; KBalk. *unut-*; KKalp. *umit-*; Kum. *unut-*; Nogh. *umit-*; SUygh. *unut-*; Khak. *undu-*; Oyr. *undu-*, *uŋdu-*, *uŋtu-*; Tv. *ut-*; Chuv. *man-*; Yak. *umun-*; Dolg. *umun-*.

◊ EDT 179, VEWT 514, ЭСТЯ 1, 597-598, Stachowski 243 (reconstruction of **-ŋ-* is possible because of forms like Oyr. *uŋtu-*, Sag. *uŋdu-*).

‖ EAS 116, Poppe 68-69, KW 450, VEWT 514, АПиПЯЯ 295. A Western isogloss.

***úmu-tki** egg: Tung. ***umūkta**; Mong. ***ömdege, *emdüge**; Turk. ***jumurtka**.

PTung. ***umū-kta** egg (яйцо): Evk. *umūkta*; Evn. *ụmtъ*; Neg. *omụkta*; Man. *umχan, umGan*; SMan. *umәhan* (332); Ul. *omụqta*; Nan. *omaqta*; Orch. *umukta*; Ud. *umukta*; Sol. *ụmatta*.

◊ Formally derived from **umū-* 'to lay eggs'. See TMC 2, 269.

PMong. ***ömdege, *emdüge** egg (яйцо): MMong. *amdegan* (HY 16), *әndogɛ* (IM), *undägä* (MA); WMong. *öndege(n)*, *ömdege(n)*, *öndüge*, *ömdüge* (L 636); Kh. *öndög*; Bur. *ündege(n)*; Kalm. *öndəgə*; Ord. *öndögö*; Mog. *ündäγōn* (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *ondägän* (22-1a); Dag. *enduge* (Тод. Дат. 140, MD 143); Dong. *endeGi*; Bao. *ndegi*; Mongr. *ndige* (SM 263).

◊ KW 296. Mong. > Chuv. (nursery word) *madak* 'egg'.

PTurk. ***jumurtka** egg (яйцо): OTurk. *jumurtγa, jumuγa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jumurtγa* (MK); Tur. *jumurta*; Gag. *jimirta*; Az. *jumurta*; Turkm. *jumurtGa*; Sal. *jymū(r)dda*; Khal. *jumurqa*; MTurk. *jumurtγa* (Sangl.); Uzb. *jumurtqa* (dial.); Krm. *jimirta, imirtxa*; Tat. *jomirqa*; Bashk. *jomortqa*; Kirgh. *ǯumurtqa*; Kaz. *žụmirtqa*; KBalk. *zumurtqa*; KKalp. *žumurtqa*; Kum. *jimirtqa*; Nogh. *jumirtqa*; SUygh. *jomut*; Khak. *nimirxa*; Shr. *nibirtqa, nuburtqa* (Верб.); Oyr. *dimirtqa*; Tv. *čuuγa*; Tof. *ńumurxa*; Chuv. *śъʷmarda*; Yak. *simīt*; Dolg. *himīt*.

◊ VEWT 211, EDT 938, ЭСТЯ 4, 250-251, Лексика 149, Stachowski 118.

‖ A Western isogloss. The stem may be derived from Common Altaic **úmu* 'to bear, give birth' q. v., see АПиПЯЯ 58, 281, Дыбо 10, Лексика 149. The Turkic form, however, must have also been influenced by PA **nāmo* 'testicle' (*and/or* **ǯi̯ŏmu* 'round'), which explains initial **j-*.

***umV (~ *o-)** to drink: Tung. ***um(i)-**; Mong. ***umda**; Kor. ***mà-**.

PTung. ***um(i)-** to drink (пить): Evk. *um-*; Neg. *om-*; Man. *omi-*; SMan. *iomi-* (403); Jurch. *umi-La* (534); Ul. *ụmụwụ*; Ork. *umi-*; Nan. *omi-*; Orch. *imi-*; Ud. *umi-*; Sol. *imê-, imi-, êmu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 266.

PMong. ***um-da*** 1 thirst, to be thirsty 2 a drink (1 жажда, хотеть пить 2 питье, напиток): MMong. *undan* (SH) 1, *ondu-* (IM), *unda'ān* 1 (MA), *umdān* 'Buttermilch' (LH); WMong. *umda* 2, *umdaɣas-* 1 (L 874); Kh. *undās-* 1, *und*, *undā* 2; Bur. *unda(n)*, *umda(n)* 1,2; Kalm. *undān*; *undŋ*, *umdŋ* 1; Ord. *unda* 1; Mog. *undō* 'a drink'; ZM *ondān* 'sour buttermilk' (15-4b); Dong. *undasu-*; Bao. *ndas-*; S.-Yugh. *ndas-*, *ndās-*; Mongr. *ndasə-* (SM 262) 1.

◊ KW 449, MGCD 675.

PKor. ***mà-*** to drink (пить): MKor. *mà-sí-*; Mod. *masi-*.

◊ Nam 193, KED 563.

‖ Poppe 69, KW 457, АПиПЯЯ 45, 285, 290. Korean has a frequent initial vowel loss. Despite Doerfer MT 40, Rozycki 168, the Mong. form (attested already in the Secret History) cannot be a tungusism.

✱**umV ?** fire, to burn: Tung. ***omV-***; Turk. ***uma- ?***; Jpn. ***umati (?)***.

PTung. ***omV-*** hearth (очаг): Nan. *oma*; Orch. *umuxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 16, 269.

PTurk. ***uma- ?*** burn (жечь): Yak. *umat-*, *umaj-*; Dolg. *ubaj-*.

◊ Stachowski 239.

PJpn. ***umati (?)*** fire(?) (огонь(?)):

◊ A Ryukyu word: cf. Nase *ʔmáčï*.

‖ A highly dubious comparison, because of extremely scarce reflexes in Turk. and Japanese.

✱**ŭnŋe** sound, voice: Tung. ***uŋ-***; Mong. ***uŋ-si-***; Turk. ***ün***.

PTung. ***uŋ-*** 1 to cry, weep 2 to sing (1 плакать, рыдать 2 петь): Evk. *uŋa-* 2, *uŋkī-* 1; Evn. *ụńā-ụńā* 1 (onom.); Nan. *uŋgu-* 'to say, tell' (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 278, 279.

PMong. ***uŋ-si-*** to read, recite; to pray (читать, декламировать; молиться): MMong. *oŋši-* (HY 35), *uŋši-* 'to shout' (SH), *homš-* (IM), *ūngši-* 'to read' (LH); WMong. *uŋsi-* (L 877), *omsi-* (SM); Kh. *unši-*; Bur. *unša-*; Kalm. *umšə-* (KPC); Ord. *omši-*; Mog. *ɔmši-*, *umši-* 'to read, to sing' (Weiers); Dag. *onši-*; Dong. *uanšə-*; Bao. *oŋše-* (Тод. Бн.), *məši-*; S.-Yugh. *onši-*; Mongr. *mošə-* (SM 242), *moši-*.

◊ MGCD 676.

PTurk. ***ün*** sound, voice (звук, голос): OTurk. *ün* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ün* (MK); Tur. *ün*; Az. *ün*; Turkm. *ün*; Sal. *un*; MTurk. *ün* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *un*; Uygh. *ün*; Krm. *ün*; Kirgh. *ün*; Kaz. *ün*; KBalk. *ün*; KKalp. *ün*; Nogh. *ün*; Khak. *ün*; Oyr. *ün*; Tv. *ün*.

◊ EDT 167, ЭСТЯ 1, 625-626.

‖ An expressive Western isogloss.

✱**ùntu (~ o-)** whirlpool, tide: Tung. ***onda-**; Mong. ***undu-**; Jpn. ***ùntu**.

PTung. ***onda-** 1 to rise (of water) 2 water (1 прибывать (о воде) 2 вода): Evn. *ōn(ed)-* 1, *ōndi* 2 (dial.); Nan. *onda-ži-* 'плавать около сети, но не попадать в нее (о рыбе, которая часто так ведет себя перед повышением или понижением уровня воды)' (On.).

◊ TMC 2, 18, 30.

PMong. ***(h)undu-** 1 to spurt, gush forth 2 fountain, well (1 бить ключом, струей 2 фонтан, источник): WMong. *undura-* 1 (L 876: *undur-*); Kh. *undra-* 1; Bur. *ondoli* 2; Kalm. *undṛ-* 1.

◊ KW 449.

PJpn. ***ùntu** whirlpool (водоворот): OJpn. *udu*; Tok. *úzu*; Kyo. *úzù*; Kag. *uzú*.

◊ JLTT 567. Tokyo points to **ùntú*, but Kyoto - rather to **ùntù*; Kagoshima *uzú* is ambiguous.

‖ Ozawa 59-60 (Mong.-Jpn.).

✱**uŋe** hollow, pit: Tung. ***uŋ-**; Mong. ***oŋgi-**; Turk. ***üŋ-**; Kor. ***òŋtáŋ- / *ùŋtə́ŋ-**.

PTung. ***uŋ-** 1 pit, hole 2 lair, den (1 яма 2 логовище (в хлеве для свиньи)): Evk. *uŋulu* 1; Neg. *oŋolo* 1; Man. *oŋGola, uŋGala* 1, *un* 2; Ul. *oŋGolo* 1; Nan. *oŋGolo* 1; Orch. *oŋgo* 1; Ud. *oŋgo* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 274, 280.

PMong. ***oŋgi-** 1 hole, nest 2 trough, vessel; ship (1 дыра, нора, гнездо 2 корыто, сосуд; лодка, корабль): MMong. *oŋqača* (HY 19), *unqača* (MA) 2, *ūnkγača* (Lig.VMI) 2, *kužunin unqarqai* 'neck cavity' (MA); WMong. *oŋgi, oŋγarqai, oŋγurqai* (L 614) 1, *oŋγuča* 2; Kh. *ongi, ongorxoi* 1, *ongoc* 2; Bur. *ongi* 1, *ongoso* 2; Kalm. *oŋǵə* 1, *oŋγəsə* 2; Ord. *oŋgi* 1; Dong. *onGočo* 2; S.-Yugh. *oŋGorχi* 1, *oŋGočo* 2; Mongr. *uŋkuʒoG* (SM 473), *ŋgučaG* 2.

◊ KW 287, MGCD 529. Mong. *oŋguča* > Evk. *oŋkočo* etc. (Doerfer MT 123-124 suggests Mong. < TM, which is more dubious).

PTurk. ***üŋ-** 1 to dig, delve 2 hole, cave (1 копать, проковыривать 2 пещера, нора): OTurk. *üŋür* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *üŋ-* 1, *üŋür* 2 (MK); Uzb. *uŋur* 2; Uygh. *üŋgür* 2; Bashk. *ŭŋŭ-* 1; Kirgh. *üŋü-* 1, *üŋkür-* 2; Kaz. *ŭŋgi-* 1, *üŋgĭr* 2; KKalp. *üŋgi-* 1, *üŋgir* 2; Nogh. *üŋgi-* 1; Tv. *üŋγür* 2.

◊ EDT 169, 188-189, ЭСТЯ 1, 634, VEWT 521. Turk. **üŋür* > Mong. *üŋgür* (Щербак 1997, 162).

PKor. ***òŋtáŋ- / *ùŋtə́ŋ-** pool, bog (лужа, яма, заполненная водой): MKor. *uŋtəŋ, ùŋtə́ŋ'í*; Mod. *uŋdəŋi, oŋdaŋi*.

◊ Liu 597, 598, KED 1251.

‖ KW 287, Rozycki 218. Despite Doerfer MT 111, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. Mong. (and some Turkic reflexes) go back to a suffixed form **uŋe-kV(jV)*.

✱**uŋtʻe** back, buttock, behind: Tung. ***(x)unda-**; Mong. ***(h)ona-**; Kor. ***ənənəŋʻi**.

PTung. ***(x)unda-** 1 sinew on the back 2 belt (1 спинное сухожилие 2 пояс): Evk. *unā* 1; Evn. *äinapin* 'украшение на переднике'; Neg. *ōnan* 1, *ońapun* 2; Man. *unda* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 18, 273, 458.

PMong. ***(h)ona-** croup, behind, anus (круп, ягодицы): WMong. *onduji-* 'to raise the backside (as a diving bird)' (L 613); Kh. *ondoj-* 'выдаваться (о крупе)'; Bur. *ondoj-* 'приподниматься задом (напр. о лошади)'; Kalm. *onā̆*; Ord. *onō*.

◊ KW 286.

PKor. ***ənənəŋʻi** ass, behind (задница, зад): MKor. *ənənəŋʻi*; Mod. *ənŋdəŋi*.

◊ Liu 558, KED 1154.

‖ Дыбо 306.

✱**uŋtʻV** pole in the house: Tung. ***unde(ken)**; Mong. ***(h)uni-**.

PTung. ***unde(ken)** 1 board 2 horizontal pole in the house 3 house covering (1 доска 2 горизонтальная жердь в доме 3 покрышка чума): Evk. *une, unekēn* 3; Evn. *unen* 'dwelling place', dial. *unipkin* 2; Man. *undexen* 1; Ork. *une* 3; Nan. *undexẽ*; Orch. *uńi* 3; Ud. *wanehä* 2; Sol. *unexẽ* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 273, 274, 276. Evk. > Dolg. *ünēkēn* (see Stachowski 250).

PMong. ***(h)uni-** pole (supporting the upper yurt circle) (жердь (поддерживающая верхний круг юрты)): WMong. *uni(n)* (L 877); Kh. *uń*; Bur. *uńā̆*; Kalm. *uńŋ* (KPC); Ord. *uni*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *unije* etc., see Doerfer MT 114.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. See TMC 2, 274.

✱**ùpʻí** to grasp: Mong. ***(h)öb**; Turk. ***üp**; Jpn. ***ùmpà-p-**; Kor. ***op- / *up-**.

PMong. ***(h)öb** share, allotted part, inheritance (надел, доля, наследство): WMong. *öb* (L 627); Kh. *öv*.

PTurk. ***üp** 1 to rob, snatch, abduct 2 trophies, treasures (1 похищать, грабить 2 трофеи, сокровища): Karakh. *üple-* 1 (MK); Kirgh. *üp* 2; Shr. *öp* 2; Oyr. *üp* 2; Tv. *üp* 2, *üpte-* 1; Yak. *üp* 2.

◊ EDT 11, ЭСТЯ 1, 634-635, VEWT 521-522.

PJpn. ***ùmpà-p-** to grasp, seize (хватать, захватывать): OJpn. *ubap-*; MJpn. *ubaf-*; Tok. *ubá-*; Kyo. *úbá-*; Kag. *ubá-*.

◊ JLTT 777. The accent in Kagoshima is aberrant.

PKor. ***op- / *up-** to pick out, dig out (вытаскивать, выкапывать): MKor. *upui-, upii-*; Mod. *obi-, ubi-*.

◊ Liu 593, KED 1201, 1239.

‖ Despite VEWT 522, hardly borrowed in Turkic < Mongolian; the reverse direction is possible, but semantics of the Mong. word speaks rather against it.

✱**ŭra** female: Tung. ***oru-n**; Mong. ***(h)argali (?)**; Turk. ***urag-**.

PTung. ***oru-n** daughter-in-law (son's wife) (невестка (жена сына)): Man. *urun*; SMan. *orun* (927); Nan. *orõ*.

◊ TMC 2, 24.

PMong. ***(h)argali** female (of mountain ram) (самка архара): WMong. *aryali* (L 52); Kh. *argaĺ*; Bur. *argali*; Kalm. *argəĺi*; Ord. *argali*.

◊ KW 13, Mong. > Man. *argali*, see TMN 1, 121, Doerfer MT 135, Rozycki 20. The connection with **araγa* 'fang' (see, e.g., Аникин 94), is an obvious folk etymology.

PTurk. ***urag-** female (самка): Karakh. *uraγut* 'woman' (MK); Turkm. *urqačï*; MTurk. *uryačï* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *uryočï*; Krm. *ïryačï*; Tat. *ŭryačï* (dial.); Bashk. *ŭryasï*; Kirgh. *uryāčï*; Kaz. *ŭryašï*; KKalp. *uryašï*; Nogh. *uryašï*.

◊ EDT 218, VEWT 515, ЭСТЯ 1, 603, Лексика 315.

‖ Basically a Turk.-Tung. isogloss. If Mong. *argali* is related, then Turk. **arkar* (see ЭСТЯ 1, 176, Лексика 155) 'mountain ram' must be an old Mong. loanword - which is somewhat dubious.

✱**ura (~ o-)** piebald, brown: Tung. ***(x)ur-**; Mong. ***orug**; Turk. ***or**.

PTung. ***(x)ur-** piebald (horse) (пегий (о лошади)): Man. *urlu*.

◊ TMC 2, 286. Attested only in Manchu, but with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***orug** 1 greyish, grey-brown 2 white horse with black back (1 сероватый 2 белый конь с черной спиной): MMong. *orox* 2 (SH); WMong. *oruγ* 1; Kh. *orog* 1; Kalm. *orəg* 1.

◊ KW 288.

PTurk. ***or** red-brown (of a horse) (каштаново-гнедой (о масти лошади)): Karakh. *or* (MK, IM); Bashk. *ur-γujan* 'заяц-русак'; Kaz. *or*; Oyr. *or* 'grey'; Yak. *or* 'blackish piebald'.

◊ EDT 192-193, VEWT 364.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ūre** formerly, ancient: Tung. ***ūri-**; Mong. ***orai**; Turk. ***ür (~ *ör)**; Jpn. ***bətə-**.

PTung. ***ūri-** recently, formerly (некоторое время тому назад, давеча, недавно): Evk. *ūr, ūri*; Evn. *ɔ̄r*; Neg. *uj*; Ork. *ōra-pči*; Orch. *uja-da*.

◊ TMC 2, 281.

PMong. ***orai** evening, late, yesterday (вечер, поздно, вчера): WMong. *orai* (L 621: *orui*); Kh. *oroj*; Bur. *oroj*; Kalm. *orā* (KPC); Ord. *orɔ̄*; Dag. *orē* (Тод. Дат. 160: *oŕē*), *oŕē* (MD 203); Bao. *χoro* 'late' (Тод. Бн.) (with a quite inexplicable *χ*-); S.-Yugh. *öröi*; Mongr. *urē* (SM 476), *urī*.

◊ MGCD 531. Mong. > Evk. *oroi* etc.

PTurk. ***ür (~ *ör)*** long (of time) (долгий (о времени)): OTurk. *ür* (Orkh., OUygh.); Oyr. *ür*; Tv. *ür*; Yak. *ör*; Dolg. *ör*.

◊ EDT 193, VEWT 522, Лексика 84, Stachowski 200.

PJpn. ***bətə-*** 1 day before yesterday 2 year before last (1 позавчера 2 в позапрошлом году): OJpn. *woto-tu-pji* 1, *woto-tosi* 2; Tok. *ototói* 1; Kyo. *ótótói* 1; Kag. *ototói* 1.

◊ JLTT 513. Original accent not quite clear. The root is also attested as OJ *woti* (< **bətə-i*) 'remote (past); remote (place)'.

‖ Cf. **i̯uŕo* (the two roots are very similar, but clearly distinguishable).

ŭ́ro (~ -u)** to grow: Tung. ***ure-; Mong. ***urgu-***; Turk. ***ur***; Jpn. ***úrá-***; Kor. ***ōr***.

PTung. ***ure-*** 1 to grow 2 sprout 3 bush (1 расти 2 росток 3 куст): Evk. *uruktu* 3; Man. *ursan* 2; Jurch. *uru-xe* 'ripe' (539); Nan. *ure-* 1, *urekte* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 323, 2, 286, 287.

PMong. ***urgu-*** to grow (расти): MMong. *urqu-* (SH), *huryə-/uryu-* (MA); WMong. *uryu-* (L 881); Kh. *urga-*; Bur. *urga-*; Kalm. *uryə-* (KPC); Ord. *urGu*; Mog. *uryu-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *orgu-*, (Тод. Даг. 160), *orege-* (MD 203), *orgo-*.

◊ MGCD 680.

PTurk. ***ur*** growth, excrescence (нарост, опухоль): Tur. *ur*; Az. *ur*; Tat. *ŭri*; Bashk. *ŭrŭ*; Kirgh. *ur*; Kaz. *ŭra*; Nogh. *uri*; Shr. *ur*; Oyr. *ur*; Tv. *uru*; Yak. *ur*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 598-599. Turk. > Mong. *ur* id.

PJpn. ***úrá-*** to ripen (зреть): MJpn. *úrá-*; Tok. *uré-*; Kyo. *ùrè-*; Kag. *uré-*.

◊ JLTT 779. Tokyo and Kyoto point to a variant **ùrá-*.

PKor. ***ōr*** early ripening (рано созревающий): MKor. *ōr*; Mod. *ōl*.

◊ Liu 579, KED 1207.

‖ TMC 2, 286, Miller 1982, 402 (Jpn.-TM).

úŕi** debt: Mong. ***öri; Turk. ****üŕ-***; Jpn. ****úr-***.

PMong. ***öri*** debt (долг): MMong. *uri* (IM); WMong. *öri* (L 641); Kh. *ör*; Bur. *üri*; Kalm. *ör, örn̦*; Ord. *örö(n)*; Dag. *ure* (MD 233), ur; Dong. *ori*; S.-Yugh. *ŏrə*; Mongr. *uri* (SM 475), *urə*.

◊ KW 298, MGCD 546.

PTurk. ****üŕ-*** 1 to pay debts 2 thrifty (1 платить долги 2 бережливый, экономный): OTurk. *üz-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *üz-* (MK) 1; Turkm. *üz-* 1; KBalk. *üz-* 'to gain profit'; Khak. *üzür* 2; Tv. *üz-*.

◊ EDT 280, VEWT 524. Should be distinguished from **üŕ-* 'to break, tear'.

PJpn. ****úr-*** to sell (продавать): OJpn. *ur-*; MJpn. *úr-*; Tok. *ùr-*; Kyo. *úr-*; Kag. *úr-*.

◊ JLTT 779.

‖ See notes to **arV*.

✱**úŕV** craftsman: Mong. ***uran**; Turk. ***ūŕ**.

PMong. ***uran** craftsman, art (мастер, ремесленник, искусство): MMong. *uran* (HY 27), *uran* 'craft' (IM); WMong. *ura(n)* (L 879); Kh. *ur(an)*; Bur. *uran*; Kalm. *urṇ* (KPC); Ord. *uran*; Dag. *waran* (Тод. Дат. 129), *uran* (Тод. Дат. 171); Dong. *uran*; S.-Yugh. *uran*; Mongr. *uran* (SM 473).

◊ MGCD 677.

PTurk. ***ūŕ** master, craftsman (мастер): OTurk. *uz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uz* (MK); Tur. *uz*; Gag. *uz*; Turkm. *ūz*; MTurk. *uz* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *us*; Kirgh. *uz*; Khak. *us*; Shr. *us*; Oyr. *us*; Tv. *us*; Yak. *ūs*; Dolg. *ūs*.

◊ EDT 277, ЭСТЯ 1, 569-570, Stachowski 248.

‖ Poppe 102. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss, but, despite TMN 2, 145, not Turk. > Mong. (*-ŕ* is not a suffix here!).

✱**ùso** a k. of clothing: Tung. ***usī-**; Jpn. ***əsə-**; Kor. ***ós**.

PTung. ***usī-** 1 to bind 2 belt, rope, binding 3 to lace (1 привязывать 2 ремень, веревка, завязка 3 стегать): Evk. *usī* 2, *usī-* 1; Evn. *usi* 2, *us-* 1; Neg. *usī* 2; Man. *uše* 2, *uše-* 3; Ul. *uesemse* 2; Ork. *ussi-* 1; Nan. *use* 2; Orch. *usi* 2; Ud. *uhi* 2; Sol. *uš̄ī* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 290-291.

PJpn. ***əsə-** 1 to put on upper clothes 2 upper clothes (1 надевать верхнюю одежду 2 верхняя одежда): OJpn. *oso-kji*, *osu-pi̯i* 2; MJpn. *osof-* 1, *osofi* 2.

◊ JLTT 512.

PKor. ***ós** clothes (одежда): MKor. *ós*; Mod. *ot [os]*.

◊ Nam 384, KED 1211.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. also Shor *uzan* 'наплечник вроде капюшона из козлиной кожи, надеваемый звероловами в мокрую погоду шерстью наружу'.

✱**úsu (~ o-, -i)** animal; cow: Tung. ***us-**; Jpn. ***úsí**; Kor. ***sjó**.

PTung. ***us-** 1 herd, flock 2 game, wild animal (1 стадо, стая 2 дикое животное): Evk. *usuŋa* 1; Evn. *u̯su̯* 1; Ul. *uselte* 2; Ork. *uselte* 2; Nan. *uselte* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 292.

PJpn. ***úsí** cow, bull (корова, бык): OJpn. *usi*; MJpn. *úsí*; Tok. *ùshi*; Kyo. *úshí*; Kag. *úshi*.

◊ JLTT 564.

PKor. ***sjó** cow (корова): MKor. *sjó*; Mod. *so*.

◊ Nam 311, KED 968.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Korean has a frequent initial vowel reduction.

✱**ŭt'a (~ -t-)** to meet: Mong. ***učira-**; Turk. ***ut-**; Jpn. ***átá-**.

PMong. ***učira-*** to meet (встречать): MMong. *učira-* (SH, ЯYt); WMong. *učira-* (L 859); Kh. *učra-*; Bur. *ušar-*; Kalm. *učr-* (KPC); Ord. *učira-*; Dag. *wačira-* (Тод. Даг. 129), *uačire* (MD 229); Dong. *vočəra-*, *očira-*; Mongr. *śʒurā-* (SM 393).

◊ MGCD 683. Mong. > Manchu *učara-* (see Rozycki 215).

PTurk. ***ut-*** 1 to win 2 opposite (1 выигрывать 2 напротив, навстречу): OTurk. *ut-* 1, *utru* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ut-* 1, *utru* 2 (MK); Tur. *ut-* 1; Az. *ut-* 1; Turkm. *ut-* 1; Khal. *ut-* 1; MTurk. *ut-* 1 (Pav. C.), *utru* 2 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jut-* 1; Uygh. *ut-* 1; Krm. *ut-* 1, *uturu*, *utru* 2; Tat. *ŭt-* 1; Bashk. *ŭt-* 1, *ŭtŭrŭ* 2; Kirgh. *ut-* 1, *uturu* 2; Kaz. *ŭt-* 1; KBalk. *ut-* 1; KKalp. *ut-* 1; Kum. *ut-* 1; Nogh. *ut-* 1; SUygh. *utur* 2; Khak. *ut-* 1, *udur* 2; Oyr. *uduru*, *udura*, *udur* 2; Tv. *ut-* 1, *udur* 2; Chuv. *ъt-* 1; Yak. *utarɨ* 2; Dolg. *utarɨ* 2.

◊ EDT 38-39, 64, VEWT 517, ЭСТЯ 1, 609, 610-611, Stachowski 247.

PJpn. ***átá-*** to attach, make fit; to fit (приделывать, приспосабливать, подходить): OJpn. *ata-*, *ata-r-*; MJpn. *átá-*, *átá-r-*; Tok. *àte-*, *àtar-*; Kyo. *áté-*, *átár-*; Kag. *até-*, *átár-*.

◊ JLTT 678.

‖ Cf. **ùč'e*.

✱**ut'à (~ *o-)** to be able, understand: Tung. ***util-**; Mong. ***(h)udka**; Jpn. ***ata-p-**; Kor. ***ətìr-**.

PTung. ***util-*** to understand (понимать): Evn. *ụtụl-*; Neg. *otịl-*; Man. *utulixequ* 'unattentive'; Ul. *ụtịlị-*; Ork. *uttulị-*; Nan. *otolio-*.

◊ TMC 2, 293.

PMong. ***(h)udka*** sense, reason, meaning (смысл, значение): WMong. *udqa* (L 862); Kh. *utga*; Bur. *udxa*; Kalm. *utxə*; Ord. *udxa*.

◊ KW 452.

PJpn. ***ata-p-*** to be able (мочь, быть в состоянии): OJpn. *atap-*.

◊ JLTT 678.

PKor. ***ətìr-*** to be able, wise (быть способным, мудрым): MKor. *átìr-*; Mod. *əʒil-*.

◊ Nam 359, KED 1136.

‖ A derivative **ut'à-lV-* (probably **ut'à-li-* to account for the fronting of the second vowel) is reflectedin PTM **uti-l-* and Kor. *átìr-*.

Z

✱**zagè** to prevent, obstruct: Tung. ***sagi-**; Mong. ***seg**; Turk. ***jɨg-**; Jpn. ***sək-**.

PTung. ***sagi-** 1 to be shy, timid 2 to worry about smth. (1 стесняться 2 беспокоиться о чем-л.): Evn. *haɣjiŋčį-* 2; Neg. *saɣīǰiŋ-* 1; Sol. *sāgildi-* 1; Nan. *sāgo-* 'спохватываться' (On.).

◊ TMC 2, 53.

PMong. ***seg** interruption; rest (перерыв; отдых): WMong. *seg* (L 681); Kh. *seg*; Kalm. *seg*; Ord. *seg*.

◊ KW 321. Cf. also WMong. *saɣali-* 'to avoid, shun' (L 657).

PTurk. ***jɨg-** to prevent, obstruct, restrain (препятствовать, сдерживать): Karakh. *jɨɣ-* (KB, AT, Tefs); MTurk. *jɨɣ-* (Abush.); Uygh. *jiɣ-*.

◊ VEWT 200, EDT 897.

PJpn. ***sək-** 1 to get distant 2 stay away from (1 отдаляться 2 отступать, держаться поодаль): OJpn. *sok-* 1, *soka-* 2.

◊ JLTT 755.

‖ The parallel appears plausible, with the semantics 'prevent' > 'interrupt' or 'prevent, be prevented from' > 'stay away from'.

✱**zakt'i** cushion, mat: Tung. ***sakta(n)**; Turk. ***jaŕtuk / *jatŕuk**; Jpn. ***sitənia**; Kor. ***sàt**.

PTung. ***sakta-n** mat (циновка): Ul. *saqta(n)*; Nan. *saqtã*; Orch. *sakta(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 57.

PTurk. ***jaŕtuk / *jatŕuk** 1 pillow 2 to prop on a pillow (1 подушка 2 опирать(ся) на подушку): OTurk. *jastuq* 'pillow-shaped ingot of silver' (OUygh.); Karakh. *jastuq* 1, *jasta-* 2; Tur. *jastɨk* 1, *jasta-* 2; Gag. *jastɨq* 1; Az. *jassɨx* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *jassɨq* 1; Sal. *jastux* 1; Khal. *jastuq* 1; MTurk. *jastuq* 1 (AH); Uzb. *jɔstiq* 1; Uygh. *jastuq* 1; Krm. *jastɨq* 1; Tat. *jastɨq* 1; Bashk. *jaðtɨq* 1; Kirgh. *ǰazdɨq, ǰastɨq* 1, *ǰazda-, ǰasta-* 2; Kaz. *žastɨq* 1, *žasta-* 2; KBalk. *ǰastɨq, zastɨq* 1; KKalp. *dastɨq* 1, *žasta-, dasta-* 2; Kum. *jastɨq, jastuq* 1; Nogh. *jastɨq* 1; SUygh. *jastɨq* 1; Khak. *častɨx* 1, *časta-* 2; Shr. *častɨq* 1, *časta-* 2; Oyr. *jastɨq, ďastɨq* 1; Tv. *sɨrtɨq, sɨstɨq* 1; Chuv. *śidъr* 1; Yak. *sɨttɨk* 1, *sɨtta-* 2; Dolg. *hɨttɨk* 1.

◊ PT *ŕ is indicated by the Chuv. form and probably also (with rotacism) Tuva *sirtik*. Other forms for the most part reflect an assimilated **jaz-t-* > **jast-*. See VEWT 191, ЭСТЯ 4, 154-155, EDT 974, Stachowski 121.

PJpn. ***sitənia** cushion (подушка): MJpn. *sìtònè*; Tok. *shìtone*; Kyo. *shítóné*; Kag. *shitoné*.

◊ JLTT 528. The reconstruction of accent here is uncertain: RJ and Kagoshima point to **sìtànià*, while both Kyoto and Tokyo - to **sítániá*.

PKor. ***sàt** thin mat (тонкая циновка): MKor. *sàt*; Mod. *sat* [*sas*], *sat-čari*.

◊ Nam 290, KED 906. In modern Korean mixed with the reflex of **sàs-* 'bamboo chip', see **sụ́sa*.

‖ Closed *ą in Turkic is probably an influence of **jąt-* 'to lie, sleep' (see **dè*).

✱zăli wind: Tung. ***sal-di-**; Mong. ***salki**; Turk. ***jęl**; Kor. ***sar-**.

PTung. ***sal-di-** cool wind (ветер (прохладный)): Evk. *saldin*.

◊ TMC 2, 58. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***salki** wind (ветер): WMong. *salki(n)* (L 665); Kh. *salxi*; Bur. *halxi(n)*; Kalm. *sälkṇ, salḱṇ*; Ord. *salχin*; S.-Yugh. *salGən*; Mongr. *sarki* (SM 329), (MGCD *salkī*).

◊ KW 318, MGCD 591. Mong. > Turk. *salqin* 'cool day', Oyr. *salqin* etc., Kirgh. *salqin* 'wind' etc., see TMN 1, 341, VEWT 398, Щербак 1997, 209, Лексика 16, 41, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 94.

PTurk. ***jęl** wind (ветер): OTurk. *jel* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jęl* (MK, KB); Tur. *jel*; Az. *jel*; Turkm. *jel*; Sal. *jel*; Khal. *jel*; MTurk. *jęl* (MA); Uzb. *jel*; Uygh. *jäl*; Krm. *jel*; Tat. *žil*; Bashk. *jel*; Kirgh. *žel*; Kaz. *žel*; KBalk. *žel*; KKalp. *žel*; Kum. *jel*; SUygh. *jel*; Khak. *čil*; Shr. *čel*; Oyr. *jel, ďel*; Chuv. *śil*; Yak. *sillie* 'storm, whirlwind'.

◊ VEWT 195, EDT 916-917, ЭСТЯ 4, 174-175, Лексика 40. Bulg.> Hung. *szél* 'wind', see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 705-706.

PKor. ***sar-** gentle, cool (of wind) (слабый, прохладный (о ветре)): Mod. *sallaŋ, səllaŋ, salgiraŋ*.

◊ KED 897.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 30, 285. Regular except for a somewhat unexpected closed *-ę- in Turkic.

✱zàrá (~ -o) skin: Tung. ***sarga-**; Mong. ***sari-**; Turk. ***jari**; Jpn. ***sətə (~ ua)**.

PTung. ***sarga-** 1 upper layer of dried fish together with the skin 2 armour (1 верхний слой юколы вместе с кожей 2 панцирь): Nan. *sargali* (Он.) 1; Sol. *sarxi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 66.

PMong. ***sari-** 1 sheep skin without hair 2 leather, pellicle 3 scrotum (1 овчина без шерсти 2 кожа, кожица 3 мошонка): MMong. *sarisu* 'goatskin, saffian' (MA 319); WMong. *sarmai* 1, *sari-su(n)* 2 (L 676),

saraγana-su, saraγanag 3; Kh. *sarmaj* 1, *saŕs* 2, *sarānag* 3; Bur. *harmaj, haŕmaj* 1, *haŕha(n)* 2, *harāna* 3 (scrotum of animals); Kalm. *sarmä* 1, *särsn̥* 2.

◊ KW 313, 319.

PTurk. ***jarɨ*** 1 leather 2 pellicle (1 кожа 2 кожица): Turkm. *jarɨ* 1; MTurk. *jarɨ* (AH) 1; Tat. *jarɨ* 2; Bashk. *jarɨ* 2; Kum. *jarɨ* 2; Shr. *čarɨγ* 1; Oyr. *jarū* 1; Yak. *sarɨ* 1, 2; Dolg. *harɨ* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 146; Лексика 384, Stachowski 98.

PJpn. ***sàtə́ (~ ua)*** external side (внешняя сторона): MJpn. *soto*; Tok. *sóto*; Kyo. *sòtó*; Kag. *sotó*.

◊ JLTT 531.

‖ Jpn. **sàtə́* instead of **sàtə́* as in a number of other cases, because of bad compatibility of *a and *ə in PJ.

zego** young man, brave man: Mong. ***saγaka-; Turk. ***jEgit / *jigit***; Kor. ***súh***.

PMong. ***saγaka-*** 1 nomad neighbour 2 brave man (1 сосед по кочевью 2 храбрец): WMong. *saγaqalta* 1 (MXTTT); Kh. *sāxalt* 1; Bur. *hāxalzūr* 2; Mongr. *saGa* 'sarrasin' (SM 318).

PTurk. ***jEgit / *jigit*** young man, brave man (юноша, храбрец): OTurk. *jigit* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jigit* (MK); Tur. *jijit*; Gag. *īt*; Az. *igit*; Turkm. *jigit*; Sal. *jihit, iχit*; MTurk. *jigit* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jigit*; Uygh. *jigit*; Krm. *igit*; Tat. *jeget*; Bashk. *jeget*; Kirgh. *ǯigit*; Kaz. *žigit*; KBalk. *ǯigit, zigit*; KKalp. *žigit*; Kum. *jigit, igit*; Nogh. *jigit*; SUygh. *jigit, jigɨt, jigɨt*; Khak. *čīt*; Shr. *čiŋet*; Oyr. *ǰīt*; Tof. *ńīt*.

◊ EDT 911, VEWT 203, TMN 4, 185, ЭСТЯ 4, 198-199, Лексика 301. Turk. > WMong. *jigede*, Kalm. *jēdə* (KW 218).

PKor. ***súh*** male (самец): MKor. *sú* (*súh-*); Mod. *su-*.

◊ Nam 313, KED 998.

‖ In Korean one has to presume a rather natural semantic shift 'young man' > 'male'.

zejĺu** metal: Tung. ***sele; Mong. ***seleme***; Turk. ***jElme-***; Jpn. ***sunsu***; Kor. ***sói***.

PTung. ***sele*** iron (железо): Evk. *sele*; Evn. *hel*; Neg. *sele*; Man. *sele*; SMan. *selə* (2116); Jurch. *sele* (574); Ul. *sele*; Ork. *sele*; Nan. *sele*; Orch. *sele*; Ud. *sele*; Sol. *sele*.

◊ TMC 2, 140.

PMong. ***seleme*** sabre (сабля): WMong. *seleme, selme* (L 686); Kh. *selm*; Bur. *helme*; Kalm. *selmə*; Ord. *seleme*; Dag. *selmī* (Тод. Даг. 162), *selemij* (MD 207); S.-Yugh. *selme*; Mongr. *siləm*.

◊ KW 323, MGCD 598. Sukhebaatar and Rozycki 177 derive Mong. < Manchu *seleme* 'sable', but the direction of borrowing was rather reverse.

PTurk. ***jElme-*** blade or upper part of sabre (лезвие или конец сабли): Tur. *jelme, jälman, jalman, jalım*; MTurk. *jalman* (Бор. Бад.); Kaz. *žalman* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 196, ЭСТЯ 4, 103-104, Лексика 412 (but relating here *jalma* 'quilted coat' is dubious).

PJpn. ***sunsu*** tin (жесть, олово): OJpn. *suzu*; MJpn. *suzu*; Tok. *súzu*; Kyo. *súzù*; Kag. *súzu*.

◊ JLTT 535. Accent is not quite clear: Tokyo points to **sù(n)sú*, while Kyoto and Kagoshima - to **sú(n)sù*.

PKor. ***sói*** metal (металл, железо): MKor. *sói*; Mod. *swe*.

◊ Liu 469, KED 995.

‖ KW 323, Poppe 29 (Mong.-Tung.), Лексика 412, Whitman 1985, 188, 234 (Kor.-Jpn.). In Turkic -lm- reflects *-Ĺm- ("Helimski's rule"). *-j- has to be reconstructed to account for the loss of -Ĺ- in Kor. This is the only root pertaining to metal terminology that can be reconstructed for PA, and it is not quite clear what metal was meant (perhaps meteorite iron - it is highly dubious that the speakers of PA possessed any kind of developed metallurgy). Note that in the Turko-Mong. area the metal name as such was lost and preserved only within the name of iron objects (sabre, armour).

zèjńa** new: Tung. ***seńe-; Mong. ****sine***; Turk. ****jaŋɨ / *jeŋi***; Kor. ****sái***.

PTung. ****seńe-*** raw, unripe (сырой, недоспелый): Man. *seni-xun, seńe-xun*.

◊ TMC 2, 141. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ****sine*** new (новый): MMong. *šini* (HY 6, SH), *sīni* (IM), *šinə̆, šini* (MA); WMong. *sine* (L 711); Kh. *šine*; Bur. *šene*; Kalm. *šinə*; Ord. *šine*; Dag. *šinken* (Тод. Дар. 184, MD 217); Dong. *šəni, šini*; Bao. *šine*; S.-Yugh. *šənə*; Mongr. *šəni* (SM 375), *śinə*.

◊ KW 358, MGCD 717. Cf. also WMong. *sene-r*, Kalm. *senr* 'new, fresh' (KW 324).

PTurk. ****jaŋɨ / *jeŋi*** new (новый): OTurk. *jaŋɨ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jaŋɨ* (MK); Tur. *jeni*; Gag. *jeni*; Az. *jeni*; Turkm. *jaŋɨ* 'just, recently'; Sal. *jaŋɨ*; Khal. *jäŋgi*; MTurk. *jaŋɨ* (MA, Abush.); Uzb. *jangụ*; Uygh. *jeŋi*; Krm. *jɨŋgɨ*; Tat. *jaŋa*; Bashk. *jaŋɨ*; Kirgh. *žaŋɨ*; Kaz. *žaŋa*; KBalk. *žanγɨ*; KKalp. *žaŋa*; Kum. *jaŋɨ*; Nogh. *jaŋɨ*; SUygh. *jaŋɨ*; Khak. *nā*; Shr. na (Верб.); Oyr. *ďaŋɨ*; Tv. *čā*; Tof. *ńā̃*; Chuv. *śənə*; Yak. *saŋa*; Dolg. *haŋa; hiŋil* 'young'.

◊ VEWT 185 (Räsänen is deriving this word from **jān* 'side' which is quite improbable), EDT 943-4, ЭСТЯ 4, 124-125, Лексика 85, Stachowski 96, 104. Turk. > MMo, WMong. *žaŋgi*, Kalm. *zäŋǧə* 'news' (KW 470; doubts about this borrowing in TMN 1, 281, based on the early attestation of the meaning "discussion" in Mong., are hardly founded).

PKor. ****sái*** new (новый): MKor. *sái*; Mod. *sä*.

◊ Nam 295, KED 919.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 58-59, 283, Лексика 85. Cf. also WMong. *saja*, Kalm. *sā* 'newly' (KW 316), EAS 72, probably a variant of the same root with different vocalization. Turkic reflects an attributive form (**jeŋi* < **jeń-ki*); medial *-j- has to be reconstructed because of the loss of *-ń- in Kor.

✱**zela** to be awake; to live: Tung. ***sele-**; Mong. ***sülde**; Turk. ***jạlaŋuk**; Kor. ***sār-**.

PTung. ***sele-** 1 to wake up 2 to rejoice (1 просыпаться 2 радоваться): Evk. *sele-* 1; Neg. *sele-* 1; Man. *sela-* 2; Ul. *sene-* 1; Nan. *sene-* 1; Orch. *sene-* 1; Ud. *sele-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 141. Medial -n- in Ul., Nan. and Oroch is not quite clear. Cf. also Evk. *selē-* 'укорять, обвинять, чувствовать', Evn. *hele-* 'жалеть, сострадать' (ibid.).

PMong. ***sülde** energy, vitality (энергия, душа, жизненная сила): MMong. *sulder* (SH); WMong. *sülde* (L 743); Kh. *süld*; Bur. *hülde*; Kalm. *süldr*; Ord. *sülde, süldü*.

◊ KW 340.

PTurk. ***jạlaŋuk** person (человек): OTurk. *jalaŋuq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jalŋuq* (MK, KB); Chuv. *śin(ъ)*.

◊ VEWT 182, EDT 930.

PKor. ***sār-** 1 to live 2 person (1 жить 2 человек): MKor. *sār-* 1, *sārăm* 2; Mod. *sāl-* 1, *sāram* 2.

◊ Nam 290, 293, KED 871, 897.

‖ The Mong. -ü-reflex is not quite clear: since -ld- is not simplified in this case, we may suspect that the original form was **süle-de*, probably with usual labialization metathesis < **selü-dü*, with consequent vowel reduction.

✱**zelo** naked: Mong. ***sildaŋ**; Turk. ***jạliŋ**.

PMong. ***sildaŋ** naked (голый): WMong. *sildaŋ, šaldaŋ* (L 750); Kh. *šaldan*.

PTurk. ***jạliŋ** 1 naked 2 single, lonely (1 голый 2 одинокий, единственный): OTurk. *jaliŋ* 1, *jalŋus* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jaliŋ* 1, *jalŋus* 2 (MK); Tur. *jalın* 1, *jalnız*, dial. *jalaŋız* 2; Gag. *jalın* 1, *jalnız* 2; Az. *jalın* 1, *jalnız* 2; Turkm. *jalaŋ* 1, *jalaŋač* 1, *jalŋīz* 2; Khal. *jalγuz* 2; MTurk. *jaliŋ* 1 (Pav. C.), *jalan, jalinǯaq* 1 (Ettuhf.), *jaliŋiz, jaliqiz* 2 (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jaĺäŋ* 1, *jɔllγiz* 2; Uygh. *jalaŋ* 1, *jalγuz* 2; Krm. *jalın, jalan* 1, *jalγız* 2; Tat. *jalan* 1 (dial.), *jalγız* 2; Bashk. *jaŋγıδ* 2; Kirgh. *ǯalaŋ* 1, *ǯalγız, ǯaŋγız* 2; Kaz. *žalaŋ* 1, *žalγız* 2; KBalk. *žalan, zalan* 1, *žanγız, zanγız* 2; KKalp. *žalaŋ* 1, *žalγız* 2; Kum. *jalan* 1, *jaŋγız, jaŋız* 2; Nogh. *jalaŋ* 1, *jalγız* 2; SUygh. *jaliŋ, jaŋ* 1, *jaŋγıs* 2; Khak. *čalaŋ* 1, *čalγıs* 2; Shr. *čalaŋ* 1, *čaγıs, naŋıs, naŋıs* 2; Oyr. *ďalaŋ* 1, *jaŋıs, ďaŋıs* 2; Tv. *čaŋγıs* 2; Yak. *sīńax, sɨgɨnńax* 1; Dolg. *hɨgɨnńak* 1.

◊ VEWT 182, EDT 929, 930, ЭСТЯ 4, 97-98, 104-106. Turk. > Kalm. *jalŋ* (KW 214). Cf. also **jalki* 'single' (ЭСТЯ 4, 95), Stachowski 106, 118. Yak. *siginńax* < **jalŋin-čak; soyotox* < **jalŋoŕak.*

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; cf. perhaps also Manchu *silχada, silχata* 'lonely, orphan' (= Turk. **jalk-*).

***zep'i** to hold in mouth, gnaw: Tung. ***sepke-**; Turk. ***jap-**; Jpn. ***sipa-pur-**; Kor. ***sìp-**.

PTung. ***sepke-** 1 to grab (with teeth) 2 to grab 3 to nibble (of fish) (1 хватать (зубами) 2 хватать 3 клевать (о рыбе)): Evk. *sepke-* 2; Evn. *hepku-* 2; Neg. *sepkele-* 2; Man. *seke-* 3; Ul. *sekpen-* 1; Nan. *sekpen-* 1; Orch. *seppe-* 3; Ud. *sekpene-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 144.

PTurk. ***jap-** 1 to lap 2 greedy 3 lickerish (1 лакать, жадно пить 2 жадный 3 лакомый): Khak. *jabiłiγ* 2 R 3, 281 (Koib., Kach.); *čapla-t-* 1, *čapsix* 3; Oyr. *japla-t-* 1; Yak. *sabiryā-* 1.

◊ A local Siberian root.

PJpn. ***sipa-pur-** to lick, gnaw (лизать, обсасывать, обгладывать): MJpn. *sifabur-*; Tok. *shabur-*.

PKor. ***sìp-** to hold in mouth, to chew (держать во рту, жевать): MKor. *sìp-*; Mod. *s:ip-*.

◊ Nam 327, KED 1064.

‖ An expressive root, but appears to be well reconstructable for PA.

***zēra** light; moon, moon cycle (year): Tung. ***sē**; Mong. ***sara**; Turk. ***jar-**; Jpn. ***sátúkúi**; Kor. ***sār / *sǎr.**

PTung. ***sē** year, age (год, возраст): Man. *se*; SMan. *sē* (2725); Jurch. *sejŋ-ŋer* (82); Ul. *sē*; Nan. *sē*; Orch. *sē*; Ud. *se*.

◊ TMC 2, 133.

PMong. ***sara** moon (луна): MMong. *sara* (HY 1, SH), *ṣarā, saran* (IM), *sara* (MA); WMong. *sara(n)* (L 674); Kh. *sar*; Bur. *hara*; Kalm. *sarə*; Ord. *sara(n)*; Dag. *sarūl* 'moon', *sar* 'month' (Тод. Дar. 162), *sare* 'month', *sareule* 'moon' (MD 206); Dong. *sara*; Bao. *sare, sera*; S.-Yugh. *sara*; Mongr. *sara* (SM 326).

◊ KW 313, MGCD 593.

PTurk. ***jar-** 1 to shine 2 to dawn 3 light 4 candle (1 светить 2 рассветать 3 свет 4 свеча): OTurk. *jaru-* 1, *jaruq* 3 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jaru-* 1, *jaruq* 3 (MK); Tur. *jarik* 3 (dial.); Turkm. *jariq* 3 (dial.); Sal. *jarux* 3; MTurk. *jari-* (AH), *jaru-* (Abush.) 1, *jaruq* 3 (Бор. Бад., Abush.); Uzb. *jɔri-* 1, *jɔruγ* 3; Uygh. *joru-* 1, *joruq* 3; Krm. *jari-* 1, *jariq, jarix* 3; Tat. *jariq* 3 (dial.); Bashk. *jariq* 3 (dial.); Kirgh. *žar-, žari-* 1, *žariq* 3; Kaz. *žariq* 3; KBalk. *žariq* 3; KKalp. *žariq* 3; Kum. *jariq* 3; Nogh. *jariq* 3; Khak. *čari-* 1, *čarix* 3; Shr. *čar-, čari-* 1; Oyr. *jar-, ďari-* 1, *ďariq* 3; Tv. *čiri-* 1, *čariq* 3; Chuv. *śor-da* 4; Yak. *sarā-* 2 (but also *sirdā-*); Dolg. *hirdā-* 2.

◊ EDT 956, 962, 963, ЭСТЯ 4, 134-135, VEWT 189 (there are hardly reasons to consider the Chuv. word a borrowing), Федотов 2, 145, Stachowski 119. Turk. (Bulg.?) > Hung. *gyertya* 'candle', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***sátúkúi** fifth month of the moon calendar (пятый месяц лунного календаря): OJpn. *satuki*; MJpn. *satuki*; Tok. *sàtsuki*; Kyo. *sátsúkí*; Kag. *satsúki*.

◊ *sa-* is treated as a bound noun 'early (spring)' in JLTT 515.

PKor. ***sər / *sǎr** year, age (год, возраст): MKor. *sər / sǎr*; Mod. *sal*; *səl* 'beginning of the year'.

◊ Nam 290, 300, KED 896, 950.

‖ Lee 1958, 116 (Kor.-TM), АПиПЯЯ 294. Mong. *jara-* 'to shine, glimmer', which is usually compared with the PT form (see KW 216, Владимирцов 317, VEWT 189) is an obvious loanword from Turkic. Illich-Svitych (ОСНЯ 1, XV) regards Mong. *sara* as a prosodic variant of *sira-* 'yellow', which is hardly the case. Jpn. tone seems to contradict TM length, but the root is only attested in compounds and may be itself a contraction (see below), so the tone may well have been displaced. If the Jpn. word is indeed to be analysed as **sa-* 'early spring' (+ **tukui* 'month', 'moon'), then its original meaning must have been '(beginning of a new) moon cycle, season' - cf. the meaning 'season' in Kor. and TM, and especially 'beginning of the year' in Kor. (note that TM **sē biaga* has also the meaning 'first month of the year' > Manchu *se-bija*, Jurch. *sei-bi(a)ha*, see the discussion in Lee 1958). The form **sa* itself has to be explained as reflecting a suffixed **zēr(a)-gV* or **zēr(a)-ŋV* - cf. Jurch. *sejŋe-r* and Mong. **sara-γu-l*.

***zíni** shape, observation: Tung. ***sinma-**; Mong. ***sinǯi**; Turk. ***jint-**; Jpn. ***síná**.

PTung. ***sinma-** 1 to choose 2 to test (1 выбирать 2 испытывать, проверять): Evk. *sinma-* 1; Evn. *hīnmъ-* 1; Man. *simne-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 89. Orok *sịlma-* has -l- probably under Mong. influence (Mong. *sili-* 'to choose'). Man. > Dag. *šimne-* (Тод. Дар. 183).

PMong. ***sinǯi** 1 shape, form 2 to investigate (1 вид, форма 2 наблюдать, исследовать): WMong. *sinǯi* 1, *sinǯile-* 2 (L 713, 714); Kh. *šinǯ* 1, *šinǯle-* 2; Bur. *šenže* 1 *šenžel-* 2; Kalm. *šinǯə* 1 (KPC); Ord. *šinǯi* 1.

PTurk. ***jint-** to search, seek (искать): Karakh. *jind-* (MK); Khak. *nindi-*; Tv. *čindi-*.

◊ EDT 946, VEWT 203.

PJpn. ***síná** kind, sort, quality (вид, род, качество): OJpn. *sina*; MJpn. *síná*; Tok. *shìna*; Kyo. *shíná*; Kag. *shiná*.

◊ JLTT 524.

‖ Poppe 115. Despite TMN 3, 315, hardly a loanword in Mong. < Turk.

✱**zìŋke** light, quiet: Tung. ***siŋkuti-***; Mong. ***siŋgen***; Turk. ***jeŋgül***; Jpn. ***sìntúka***.

PTung. ***siŋkuti-*** quiet, silent (тихий, молчаливый): Evk. *siŋti*; Evn. *hīkụtị*; Nan. *siŋčien-* 'to become quiet, stop talking'.

◊ TMC 2, 91-92.

PMong. ***siŋgen*** liquid, thin, rare, light (жидкий, тонкий, редкий, легкий): WMong. *siŋgen* (L 712); Kh. *šingen*; Bur. *šengen*; Kalm. *šiŋgŋ* (KPC); Ord. *šiŋgen*; Mog. *siŋgōn* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *šeŋgen* (Тод. Даг. 184: *šiŋgen*); Dong. *šəngan*; Bao. *śiŋgaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *šeŋgen*; Mongr. *šəŋgen* (SM 368), *śingen*.

◊ MGCD 718.

PTurk. ***jeŋgü-l, jeŋi-k*** light (легкий): OTurk. *jenik*, *jöŋül* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jüŋül* (Tefs., IM), *jenik* 'light', *jeni-* 'to become light' (MK, KB); Tur. *jeni*, *jünül*, *jejni*; Gag. *jilin*; Az. *jüngül*, *jejin*; Turkm. *jeŋil*; Khal. *jiŋgil*, *jejin*; MTurk. *jeŋgil* (Sangl.), *jüngül* (MKypch. - Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jeŋil*; Uygh. *jenik*, *jeŋil*; Krm. *jeŋil*, *jeŋgil*, *jenil*; Tat. *ǯiŋel*; Bashk. *jeŋel*; Kirgh. *ǯeŋil*; Kaz. *ǯeŋil*; KBalk. *ǯeŋgil*, *ǯengil*, *zengil*; KKalp. *ǯeŋil*; Kum. *jeŋil*; Nogh. *jeŋil*; SUygh. *ǯig* (<**jeŋig*); Khak. *nīk* (< **jeŋik*); Oyr. *ďeŋil*; Tv. *čīk* (< **jeŋik*); Tof. *niŋeš*; Chuv. *śъʷmъʷl*.

◊ EDT 948, 950, VEWT 198, ЭСТЯ 4, 188, 184, Лексика 340. Turk. > Hung. *gyenge* 'weak', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***sìntúka*** quiet, silent (тихий, молчаливый): OJpn. *siduka*; MJpn. *sìdúka*; Tok. *shízuka*; Kyo. *shìzúkà*; Kag. *shizuká*.

◊ JLTT 529.

‖ The Turkic form may also have been influenced by PA **ni̯áŋa* q.v. The Jpn. form is probably metathesized: **sìntúka-* < **sìnkutá-* (= TM **siŋkuti-*).

✱**zīpe** a k. of predator: Tung. ***sibigē***; Mong. ***sibor***; Turk. ***jēbke***.

PTung. ***sibigē*** 1 wolf 2 bear (1 волк 2 медведь): Evk. *siwigē* 1, 2; Evn. *hewjö*, *hewje* 2; Orch. *sīwi* 'a mythical dog'.

◊ TMC 2, 75.

PMong. ***sibor*** panther (барс): Kh. *šovor*.

PTurk. ***jēbke*** wolverine (росомаха): Khak. *jekpe*; Tv. *čekpe*; Yak. *siegen*; Dolg. *hiegen*.

◊ VEWT 195, Stachowski 103.

‖ A Western isogloss. On Mong. *ǯeγeken* see under **čágo*.

✱**zi̯ăbsa** lentil, pea: Tung. ***sibsV***; Mong. ***sisi***; Turk. ***jasi-muk***; Jpn. ***sasa(n)kai***.

PTung. ***sibsV*** lentils (чечевица): Man. *sisa*; Ul. *siusi*; Nan. *siusi*.

◊ TMC 2, 98, 100.

PMong. ***sisi*** 1 maize 2 sorgho 3 bean(s) (1 кукуруза 2 гаолян, сорго 3 боб(ы)): WMong. *sisi* 2 (L 719); Kh. *šiš* 2; Kalm. *šiš* 1, 3.

◊ KW 361.

PTurk. ***jasi-muk*** lentil (чечевица): OTurk. *jasɨmuq* (OUygh.); Tur. *jasmɨk*; Turkm. *jasmɨq* (dial.); Sal. *jasmux*; MTurk. *jasmuq* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔsmɨq*; Uygh. *jesimuq*; Tat. *jasmɨq*; Bashk. *jaθmɨq*; Kirgh. *ǯasimɨq* (dial.); Kaz. *žasɨmɨq* (dial.).

◊ EDT 975, VEWT 191, ЭСТЯ 4, 154, Лексика 464-465.

PJpn. ***sasa(n)kai*** Vigna Catiang Endl. var sinensis King. (вигна, коровий горох): OJpn. *sasage*; MJpn. *sasage*; Tok. *sasage*.

◊ JLTT 518.

‖ In Mong. and Tung. the root may have been confused with a local Wanderwort for 'sorgho', cf. Man. *šušu* 'holcus sorghum', Nan. *si̯so* id. (cf. also Rozycki 196); Kor. *susu* id. The direction of borrowings here is difficult to establish, but note that Mong. **sisi* violates the rule of dissimilation of fricatives - if it were genuine, we would rather expect **sisi* > **isi*. A possible scenario, therefore may presuppose a development of the meaning 'sorgho' (from 'lentils', 'peas') in the TM area, whence it penetrated into Mongolian and Korean. The root for 'lentil', 'pea' itself, preserved in Turkic, TM and Japanese, seems, however, common Altaic.

zi̯à[k´]ó** to hang, droop: Tung. ****suka-; Mong. ****segle-***; Jpn. ****sànka-***; Kor. ****suk-***.

PTung. ****suka-*** 1 to hang, droop 2 aslant (1 свешиваться 2 набок, вкось): Man. *sukʹa-* 1; Ork. *sụqatčị* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 121-122.

PMong. ****segle-*** to hang on (tr.) (вешать на что-л.): WMong. *segle-*; Kalm. *segl-*.

◊ KW 321.

PJpn. ****sànka-*** to lower, move down (опускать(ся)): OJpn. *saga-, saga-r-*; MJpn. *saga-, sàgá-r-*; Tok. *sagé-, sagár-*; Kyo. *sàgè-, ságár-*; Kag. *sàgè-, sàgàr-*.

◊ JLTT 745.

PKor. ****suk-*** to droop (свисать): MKor. *suk-*; Mod. *suk-*.

◊ Liu 476, KED 1013.

‖ Martin 230 (Kor.-Jpn.). Kor. s- (not h-) before **-i̯a-* requires reconstructing PA **z-*. In TM one would rather expect **suxa-*.

zi̯ălVbi** sorcery, witchcraft; to investigate (by magic power): Tung. ****silba-; Mong. ****silbe-, *silmo***; Turk. ****jẹlbi-***; Jpn. ****sìrà(m)p-***; Kor. ****sjərb-***.

PTung. ****silba-*** to promise, warn, report (обещать, предостерегать, указывать): Evk. *silba-*; Evn. *hɨlbə-*; Sol. *šilbā-*.

◊ TMC 2, 83.

PMong. ***silbe-, *silmo** 1 to behave indecently, glance around 2 devil (1 вести себя непристойно 2 демон, черт): MMong. *silmosun* 2 (HY); WMong. *sil(i)belǯi-* 1, *silmusu* 2 (L 707); Kh. *šilbelʒ-* 1, *šulmas* 2; Bur. *šolmos* 2; Kalm. *šilwē-* 1, *šulm* 2.

◊ KW 357, 367. The variant *simnu(s)* 'devil' is borrowed from OUygh. *šmnu*, Sogd. *šmnū*; but the -l- in *silmu-su* is quite unexplainable and must reflect a merger with an original root.

PTurk. ***ȩlbi** sorcery, witchcraft (волшебство, колдовство): OTurk. *jelbi* (Orkh.), *jelvi* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jelvi* (MK); Khak. *čəlbəgen* 'monster'; Shr. *čilbi*; Oyr. *jilbi, ǰilbi* 'sorcery', *jälbägän* 'monster'; Tv. *čilbi*; Yak. *ilbi* 'demoniac, possessed' (borrowed from a *j-language*?).

◊ EDT 919-920, ЭСТЯ 4, 202-203, VEWT 196 (> Mong. *ǯilbi*).

PJpn. ***sìrà(m)p-** 1 to tune, adjust to rhythm, play rhythmical music 2 to investigate (1 настраивать, играть ритмичную музыку 2 исследовать, проверять): MJpn. *sìràba-* 1, 2; Tok. *shirabé-* 2; Kyo. *shírábé-* 2; Kag. *shìràbè-* 2.

◊ JLTT 752.

PKor. ***sjə̄rb-** to be annoyed, vexed, sad (быть раздраженным, расстроенным): MKor. *sjərp-* (-w-); Mod. *sərəp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 305, KED 935.

‖ Superficially the root may be split into two ('investigate, report' and 'magic power, witchcraft, ritual'); they are, however, phonetically identical and probably represent a development of the single common meaning. In Korean one has to presuppose a semantic development 'be in a trance' > 'be vexed, sad'. The root may be related to Mong. *sili-* 'to choose', *silga-* 'to check, verify', Jpn. *sirus-* 'to denote', *sirusi* 'sign'.

***ẓi̯àmo** to hide, conceal: Tung. ***sume-**; Mong. ***sem**; Jpn. ***sàmá-**; Kor. ***súm-**.

PTung. ***sume-** to hide, conceal (прятать, скрывать): Evk. *sumet-*; Evn. *hum-*; Neg. *sumēt-*; Ul. *sumeči-*; Nan. *sumeči-* (On.); Orch. *sumeči-* 'whisper'; Ud. *sumemesi-* 'whisper'.

◊ TMC 2, 126.

PMong. ***sem** secretly (тайно, тихонько, украдкой): MMong. *sem, sim* (SH), *sɛm-* 'to keep silence' (IM), *sem* (MA); WMong. *sem* (L 687); Kh. *sem*; Bur. *hem*; Kalm. *sem*; Ord. *semēr*; Dong. *śiəma*; Bao. *somkənaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *semēr*; Mongr. *səmugēr* (SM 343).

◊ KW 323, MGCD 598.

PJpn. ***sàmá-** to fade, abate (вянуть, блекнуть): MJpn. *sàmà-*; Tok. *samé-*; Kyo. *sàmè-*; Kag. *sàmè-*.

◊ JLTT 747.

PKor. ***súm-** to hide, conceal (прятать(ся)): MKor. *súm-*; Mod. *sūm-*.

◊ Nam 315, KED 1020.

‖ SKE 244-245. Initial *z- is reconstructed because of Kor. *s- (not h-).

✱**zi̯ə̀ni** ear, temple: Tung. ***sian***; Mong. ***sinaɣa***; Turk. ***jąjŋak***.

PTung. ***sian*** ear (ухо): Evk. *sə̄n*; Neg. *sə̄n*; Man. *šan*; SMan. *šan, san* (25); Jurch. *sian-ha* (497); Ul. *sə̄(n)*; Ork. *sə̄(n)*; Nan. *si̯ā*; Orch. *sā*; Sol. *s̄ə̄*.

◊ TMC 2, 70-71.

PMong. ***sinaɣa*** 1 temple 2 cheekbone (1 висок 2 скула): WMong. *sinaɣa, sina* 1 (L 710); Kh. *šanā* 1; Bur. *šanā* 2; Kalm. *šanā* 1; Dag. *šinā* (Тод. Дar. 184) 2; Mongr. *šənā* (SM 374).

◊ KW 348.

PTurk. ***jąjŋak*** 1 cheek 2 jaw (1 щека 2 челюсть): Karakh. *jaŋaq* (MK) 2; Tur. *janak* 1; Gag. *janaq* 1; Az. *janaG* 1; Turkm. *jaŋaq* 1; Sal. *jaŋax* (ССЯ) 2; MTurk. *jaŋaq* (Abush., Sangl.) 1, 2; Uzb. *jɔnɔq* 2, (Kypch. dial.) *ǯaɣ* 1, 2; Uygh. *jaŋaq* 2; Krm. *janax, jajax, jaɣaq* 1, 2; Tat. *jaŋaq* 1; Bashk. *jaŋaq* 1, 2; Kirgh. *ǯāq* 2; Kaz. *žaq* 1, 2; KBalk. *ǯi̯jaq* 1, 2; KKalp. *žaq* 1, 2; Kum. *jajaq* 1, 2; SUygh. *jaŋaq, ji̯ŋaq* 1; Khak. *nāx* 1; Shr. *nāq* 1; Oyr. *dāk* 1, 2; Tv. *čāk* 1, 2; Yak. *si̯ŋāx* 1, 2; Dolg. *hi̯ŋāk* 1, 2.

◊ EDT 948, VEWT 187, ЭСТЯ 4, 123, Лексика 219-220, Stachowski 119.

‖ KW 348. A Western isogloss. The Turkic reflex is difficult: on the one hand, it is usually not distinguished from **jaŋak* 'door post' (which actually can go back to a quite different source, see **p'i̯ə̀ŋk'i*); on the other hand, it may also be a modification of **jag-ŋak* and have a connection with TM **ǯegi* 'chin' (TMC 1, 281).

✱**zi̯ə̀re** to cut, tear, shave: Tung. ***sir-***; Mong. ***sirka***; Turk. ***jara***; Jpn. ***sə̀r-***.

PTung. ***sir-*** to cut, cut out (резать, кроить): Evk. *sir-*; Evn. *hir-*; Neg. *sij-*.

◊ TMC 2, 93-94.

PMong. ***sirka*** wound (рана): MMong. *širqa-* 'to wound' (SH); WMong. *sirqa(n)* (L 719); Kh. *šarx*; Bur. *šarxa*; Kalm. *šarxə*; Ord. *šarxa*; Dag. *šerkire-* 'to feel sharp pain' (= WMong. *šarkira-*) (Тод. Дar. 183); Mongr. *sgirē-* 'causer une douleur lancinante' (SM 348).

◊ KW 350. Mong. > Oyr. *širqa*, Kirgh. *sirqa-* etc.

PTurk. ***jara*** wound (рана): Tur. *jara*; Gag. *jara*; Az. *jara*; Turkm. *jara*; Khal. *jāra*; MTurk. *jara* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jara*; Uygh. *jara*; Tat. *jara*; Kirgh. *ǯara*; Kaz. *žara*; KBalk. *ǯara, žara, zara*; KKalp. *žara*; Kum. *jara*; Nogh. *jara*.

◊ VEWT 189, ЭСТЯ 4, 139-140. Turk. > WMong. *jara*, Kalm. *jarə* (KW 215, Щербак 1997, 123, TMN 4, 54-55). Usually regarded as derived from **jār-* 'split' (q. v. sub **p'i̯ārV*), which may be possible if Khalaj length is original; however, shortness in Turkm. *jara*, as well as the probable connection with Mong. **sirka* 'wound' is contradicting it.

PJpn. ***sə̀r-*** to cut, shave (резать, брить): OJpn. *sor-*; MJpn. *sòr-*; Tok. *sór-*; Kyo. *sòr-*; Kag. *sòr-*.

◊ JLTT 756.

‖ The root has a general meaning 'cut' in the Eastern area (TM and Japanese), and a more specialized meaning - 'wound' - in the Turko-Mongolian area; it is not quite clear which one is more archaic.

✱**zi̯ásu** disorder, devastation: Tung. ***suse / *susu**; Mong. ***(h)us-**; Turk. ***jās**; Jpn. ***súsá-**; Kor. ***sə̀sk-**.

PTung. ***suse / *susu** 1 disorder, mess 2 abandoned village (1 беспорядок, смута 2 покинутая деревня): Neg. *susu* 2; Man. *suse* 1, *susu* 2; Ul. *suse* 1, *susu* 2; Ork. *su* 2; Nan. *suse* 1, *susu* 2; Orch. *susu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 131.

PMong. ***(h)us-** to disappear, perish (пропадать, погибать): WMong. *usta-* 1 (L 887: *usad-*); Kh. *usta-*; Ord. *usad-* 'disparaitre pour de bon, finir d'exister'.

PTurk. ***jās** 1 loss, damage 2 shame (1 потеря, вред 2 стыд): OTurk. *jas* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jas* 1 (MK); Chuv. **śos* (> Mari *sös* "Gedächtnisfeier", Hung. *gyász*, see Gombocz 1912); Yak. *sāt* 2, *sās-tāx* (folkl.) 'enemy'; Dolg. *hātɨnnar-* 'to shame smb.'.

◊ VEWT 191, ЭСТЯ 4, 150, EDT 973 (in modern languages hard to distinguish from the borrowed Arab. *ya's* 'despair, grief' - but in Old Turkic no doubt genuine), Stachowski 100.

PJpn. ***súsá-** to become wild, come into disorder (дичать, приходить в упадок): OJpn. *susa-b-*; MJpn. *súsá-b-*; Tok. *sùsam-*; Kyo. *súsám-*; Kag. *susám-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

PKor. ***sə̀sk-** to mix, mix up (смешивать): MKor. *sə̀sk-*; Mod. *sək:-*.

◊ Nam 302, KED 942.

‖ Man. *sasuqu* 'cards', *sasu-* 'to shuffle' (TMC 2, 67) probably < Kor. Mong. **us-* < **sus-* through regular dissimilation (cf. **šɨ̯uba* etc.).

✱**zi̯ognV** sleeve: Tung. ***sūn**; Turk. ***jegn**; Jpn. ***suán-tài**.

PTung. ***sūn** clothes (одежда (верхняя), шуба): Evk. *sūn*; Neg. *sūn*; Ork. *sō(n)* ~ *sū(n)*; Sol. *sũ*.

◊ TMC 2, 126. Tung. > Yak. *suon*.

PTurk. ***jegn** sleeve (рукав): Karakh. *jeŋ* (MK, KB); Tur. *jen*; Gag. *jen*; Az. *jeng* (dial.); Turkm. *jeŋ*; MTurk. *jeŋ* (Ettuhf., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jeŋ*; Uygh. *jäŋ*; Krm. *jeng*, *jeŋg*, *jiŋ*; Tat. *ǰin*; Bashk. *jeŋ*; Kirgh. *ǰeŋ*; Kaz. *žeŋ*; KBalk. *ǰeŋ*, *zeŋ*; KKalp. *žeŋ*; Kum. *jeŋ*, *jeŋg*; Nogh. *jeŋ*; SUygh. *jiŋ*, *ǰin*; Khak. *nəŋ*; Shr. *neŋ*, *nāš*; Oyr. *jäŋ*, *ďeŋ*; Tv. *čeŋ*; Chuv. *śavnъ*; Yak. *siex*; Dolg. *hiek*, *hien*.

◊ VEWT 197, TMN 4, 203, EDT 940, ЭСТЯ 4, 186, Федотов 2, 84, Stachowski 103.

PJpn. ***suán-tài** sleeve (рукав): OJpn. *swode*; MJpn. *sódè*; Tok. *sòde*; Kyo. *sódé*; Kag. *sóde*.

◊ JLTT 529. Modern dialects point rather to **suántái*, but the RJ form must be more archaic. Note also OJ *so* 'cloth, dress' - which is marked as *so* in JB, but in fact could have also been *suo* (see Martin ibid.).

‖ High tone in Jpn. is probably due to contraction (**suán-tai* < **sugan-tai*, where -tai = **tai* 'hand'). If **zi̯ognV* (with a rare -gn- cluster) < **zi̯onV-gV*, the stem may be a derivation of **zi̯ōnu* 'fist, hand' q.v.

✱**zi̯ŏ́gtu** thigh, shank: Tung. ***sigdi-pu**; Mong. ***seɣüžį**; Turk. ***jo(g)ta**.

PTung. ***sigdi-pu** metatarsus (предплюсна): Ork. *sigšipu*.

◊ TMC 2, 77. Attested only in Orok, but having probable parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***seɣüžį** hip, thigh (бедро): MMong. *sužį* (MA 219); WMong. *següžį(n)* (L 684); Kh. *sūž*; Bur. *hūže*; Kalm. *sūžə*; Ord. *sūžį*; Mog. ZM *souži* 'haunch' (2-6b); Dag. *seužį* (Тод. Дат. 163); Dong. *šiaužie*; S.-Yugh. *sūž*; Mongr. *sūžį* (SM 357).

◊ KW 342, MGCD 615.

PTurk. ***jo(g)ta** 1 thigh, shank 2 body, stature (1 голень 2 туловище, стан): OTurk. *jota* (OUygh.) 1; Uzb. *žɔta* (dial.) 2; Uygh. *jota* 1; Kirgh. *žota* 1; Kaz. *žota* 1; KKalp. *žota* 2; SUygh. *jota, javta, jovta* 1; Khak. *čoda* 1; Shr. *čoda* 1; Oyr. *jodo, ďodo* 1; Tv. *čoda* 1; Yak. *soto* 1.

◊ VEWT 207, ЭСТЯ 4, 29-30, Лексика 282-283.

‖ Лексика 283. A Western isogloss.

✱**zi̯oĺa** to shine, blaze: Tung. ***sulū-n**; Mong. ***soloŋga**; Turk. ***ja̯ĺ(č)-**; Jpn. ***sas-**; Kor. ***sa̍r-**.

PTung. ***sulū-n** flame (пламя): Evk. *sulūn*.

◊ TMC 2, 125. Attested only in Evk., but with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***soloŋga** rainbow (радуга): MMong. *soraŋxa* (HY 2); WMong. *soluŋɣa* (L 726); Kh. *solongo*; Bur. *holongo*; Kalm. *solŋgъ*; Ord. *soloŋGo*; Dag. *sōloŋ* 'dream', *šāringī* 'rainbow'; Mongr. *suloŋGo*.

◊ KW 330.

PTurk. ***ja̯ĺ(č)-** 1 to blaze, flame 2 lightning (1 сверкать, сиять 2 молния): OTurk. *jašu-* 1, *jašın* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jašu-* 1, *jašın* 2 (MK); MTurk. *jašın* 2 (AH), *jašıq* 'sun' (R.); Uzb. *jašin* 2; Tat. *jɛšen* 2; Bashk. *jäšen* 2; Kum. *jašın* 2; Nogh. *jasın* 2; Khak. *čazın* 2; Shr. *čažin* 2; Oyr. *jažin, ďäžin* 2; Chuv. *śiś-* 1, *śiźam* 2.

◊ EDT 977, 979, VEWT 192, ЭСТЯ 4, 149-150, Лексика 22-23. Turk. **jaĺın* > Mong. *jašin* 'lightning' (Щербак 1997, 123).

PJpn. ***sas-** to shine (светить): OJpn. *sas-*; MJpn. *sas-*; Tok. *sas-*.

◊ Usually not distinguished from the homonymous **sas-* 'to prick; to point', but attested with the meaning 'shine' already in Nara OJ.

PKor. ***sa̍r-** to burn, make a fire (зажигать, разводить огонь): MKor. *sa̍r-*; Mod. *sari-*.

◊ Nam 291, KED 873.

‖ The match is quite regular except for the somewhat unexpected closed *-ą- in Turkic.

✱**zi̯ōnu** fist, hand: Tung. ***siantu**; Kor. ***són**.

PTung. ***siantu** fist (кулак): Man. *sinda-xa-* 'to clench fists'; Ul. *sêntu*; Ork. *sêttu*; Nan. *si̯anto, si̯antu*; Orch. *sãantu, säntu*; Ud. *santu*.

◊ TMC 2, 69, 88.

PKor. ***són** hand (рука): MKor. *són*; Mod. *son*.

◊ Nam 308, KED 985.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss (but cf. notes to **zi̯ognV*).

✱**zi̯ṓta (~ *zā́to)** relative by marriage: Mong. ***sadu-n**; Turk. ***jāt**; Jpn. ***sátuá**.

PMong. ***sadu-n** relative by marriage; friend (свойственник; друг): MMong. *sadun* (HY 30), *ṣādəm* (IM); WMong. *sadun* (L 656); Kh. *sadan*; Kalm. *sadṇ*; Ord. *sadun*.

◊ KW 307.

PTurk. ***jāt** foreign(er) (чужой, иностранный): OTurk. *jat* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jat* (MK); Tur. *jat* (dial.); Az. *jad*; Turkm. *jāt*; MTurk. *jat* (Pav. C., AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jɔt*; Uygh. *jat*; Krm. *jat*; Tat. *jat*; Bashk. *jat*; Kirgh. *ǰat*; Kaz. *žat*; KKalp. *žat*; Kum. *jat*; Nogh. *jat*; Khak. *čat*; Oyr. *jat, ɗat*.

◊ EDT 882, VEWT 192, ЭСТЯ 4, 158-159, Лексика 564. Turk. > WMong. *ǰad*, Kalm. *zad* (KW 462, Щербак 1997, 123).

PJpn. ***sátuá** adopted parents, tutors (приемные родители, воспитатели): MJpn. *sátó*; Tok. *sàto*; Kyo. *sátó*; Kag. *sátò*.

‖ Mong. > Man. *sadun* et al. (see Doerfer MT 119, Rozycki 172) > Kor. *sadon* (not < Chin.!).

✱**zi̯úko** to rot, ferment: Tung. ***sükü-**; Mong. ***sogsi-**; Turk. ***jog-urt-**; Jpn. ***súk-**.

PTung. ***sükü-** 1 turbid, muddy 2 swamp (1 мутный, грязный 2 топь, трясина): Evk. *siki* 1; Evn. *hiqu* 1; Neg. *si̯xī* 1; Nan. *suku* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 80-81, 122.

PMong. ***sogsi-** to become sour (of curdled milk) (перекисать (о простокваше)): WMong. *šoɣšu-* (MXTTT 853); Kh. *šogši-*; Bur. *šogšo-*.

PTurk. ***jog-urt** curdled, coagulated milk (кислое, свернувшееся молоко): OTurk. *joɣrot, juɾɣut, juɣrut* (OUygh.); Karakh. *juɣrut, joɣurt* (MK); Tur. *joɣurt, jourt*; Gag. *jūrt*; Az. *joɣurt*; Turkm. *joɣurt*; MTurk. *jaɣurt* (Houts., AH); Uzb. *ǰuɾɣɔt* (dial.); Kirgh. *ǰūrat*; KBalk. *ǰuwurt, žuwurt, zuwurt*; Kum. *juwurt*; Nogh. *juwɨrt*; SUygh. *joɣurt, juɣurt*; Yak. *suorat*.

◊ EDT 905, ЭСТЯ 4, 207-208. For semantic reasons derivation from **jogur-* 'to knead' (TMN 4, 173) seems hardly plausible.

PJpn. ***súk-*** to make paper (out of soaked mash) (делать бумагу (из размоченной пульпы)): OJpn. *suk-*; MJpn. *suk-*; Tok. *sùk-*; Kyo. *súk-*; Kag. *súk-*.

◊ JLTT 758.

‖ The Jpn. form can also reflect **sak'V* 'to ferment' (q.v.).

✱**zi̯ŭldu** root, vein: Tung. ***suldu-***; Mong. ***sülde-sü***; Turk. ***ji̯ldiŕ***.

PTung. ***suldu-*** 1 to uproot 2 to tear (1 выкорчевывать, выдирать с корнем 2 драть, выдирать): Evk. *sullu-* (*suldu-*) 1; Evn. *hu̯lraq-* 1; Neg. *solol-* 1; Nan. *suldē-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 125. Cf. also Evk. Chmk. *sulrus* 'root'.

PMong. ***sülde-sü*** (bamboo) stem, stalk ((бамбуковый) стебель): WMong. *süldesü(n)* (L 743); Kh. *süldes*.

PTurk. ***ji̯ldiŕ*** root (корень): OTurk. *ji̯ltiz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ji̯ldiz* (MK); MTurk. *iltiz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ildiz*; Uygh. *iltiz*; SUygh. *ji̯ldis*; Khak. *čilege* (?); Yak. *silis*.

◊ VEWT 201, EDT 922, ЭСТЯ 1, 350, *Лексика* 109.

‖ *Лексика* 264. A Western isogloss.

✱**zi̯úĺa** spine, nape: Tung. ***suli-***; Mong. ***sili***; Turk. ***ji̯ĺ***; Jpn. ***sasu***.

PTung. ***suli-*** 1 hump 2 back 3 mane 4 nape (1 горб 2 спина 3 грива 4 загривок): Evk. *sulīn* 1, 2; Ul. *suni* 3; Ork. *suli* 4; Nan. *solī*, *solγoŋto*, *soγlīn* 3; Orch. *sūli* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 70, 124.

PMong. ***sili*** back of head, nape; mountain ridge (затылок, загривок; горный хребет): WMong. *sili* (L 706); Kh. *šil*; Bur. *šele*; Kalm. *šiĺə*; Ord. *šili(n)*, *šile(n)*; Dag. *šələ*.

◊ KW 356, MGCD 715. Mong. > Evk., Neg., Man. *sil* 'back of head, knife' (TMC 2, 82; Doerfer MT 124); > Oyr. *šili*.

PTurk. ***ji̯ĺ*** 1 mountain forest, thicket 2 spine (1 горный лес, чаща 2 хребет): OTurk. *ji̯š* 1 (Orkh.); Karakh. *ji̯š* 'high ground' (MK); Tat. *ji̯š* 1; Bashk. *ji̯š* 1; Kirgh. *ǰi̯š* 1; KKalp. *ži̯s* 1; Khak. *či̯s* 1; Oyr. *ɗi̯š* 1; Yak. *si̯s* 1, 2; Dolg. *hi̯s* 1, 2.

◊ EDT 976, VEWT 202, ЭСТЯ 4, 44, *Лексика* 94-95, Stachowski 105.

PJpn. ***sasu*** sticking edges of the roof beams (выступающие края балок крыши): OJpn. *sasu*.

‖ EAS 72.

✱**zi̯upi** a small hole; to pull through a hole: Tung. ***sibe-***; Mong. ***sübe***; Turk. ***jib***; Kor. ***sp-***.

PTung. ***sibe-*** to pull out, pick out, clean a pipe (вытаскивать, выковыривать, прочищать трубку): Neg. *sije-lge-*; Man. *sibi-*; Ul. *sie-sie-*; Ork. *sīwe-*; Nan. *sije-si-*.

◊ TMC 2, 74, 80.

PMong. ***sübe*** hole, ear of needle (дырка, иголочное ушко): MMong. *sube-s* (pl.) (SH), *sube* (MA 205); WMong. *sübe* (L 741); Kh. *süv*; Bur. *hübe*; Kalm. *süwə*; Ord. *süwe*; Mongr. *süle-* 'enfiler' (SM 358).

◊ KW 341.

PTurk. ***jib*** 1 seam 2 to sew (1 шов 2 шить): Karakh. *ji* 1 (MK); Tur. *jiv* 1; Az. *jiv* 1; Tat. *ǯöj* 1, *ǯöj-* 2; Bashk. *jöj* 1, *jöj-* 2; KKalp. *jüj* 1; Chuv. *śəʷvəʷ-* 2, *śəʷv* 1.

◊ EDT 911, ЭСТЯ 4, 197-198, VEWT 202-203. On the derived **jib-sek* (> **jüb-sek*, **jüg-sek*) 'thimble' see ЭСТЯ 4, 257-258, Stachowski 117. Bulg. > Hung. *szű-* in *szűcz* 'furrier, tailor' (**jib-či*), cf. MNyTESz 3, 810.

PKor. ***sp-*** 1 to pick out, pluck out, draw 2 to be pulled out, fall out (1 выщипывать, вырывать, вытягивать 2 выдергиваться, выпадать): MKor. *spă-* 1, *spóp-tĭt-* (-r-) 2; Mod. *p:ā̆-*, p:op- 1, *p:ā-ǯi-* 2.

◊ Nam 242, 263, KED 709, 745, 805.

‖ In Turk. **jib* < **jüb* (secondary dissimilation). Korean has a usual vowel reduction. Cf. also notes to **sĭp'i* 'pipe'.

zodgV** long hair: Tung. ***su(g)da-; Mong. ***suda-***; Turk. ***jogdu***.

PTung. ***su(g)da-*** temple; hair on the temples (висок; волосы на висках): Man. *sudan*.

◊ TMC 2, 119. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable Turkic and Mong. parallels.

PMong. ***suda-*** thick fold of skin hanging from the throat of cattle, dewlap (подгрудок): WMong. *sudai* (L 734); Kh. *sudai* (БАМРС).

◊ Cf. also *sodu(n)*, *sudu* (L 723, 734) 'quill feather's of a bird's wing; long feather, plume'.

PTurk. ***jogdu*** hair in camel's beard (волосы под подбородком у верблюда, льва и т.д.): Karakh. *joɣdu*, *joɣru(j)* (MK), *ǯoɣdu* (Oghuz., Kypch. MK); Kirgh. *ǯoɣdor*; Khak. *čoɣdĭr*; Shr. *joɣdra* 'tassel' (Верб.); Tv. *čoɣdur*.

◊ EDT 899, ДТС 270, Clark 1977, 165. Turk. > WMong. *ǯoɣdur* id.

‖ A Western isogloss.

zŭli** sharp: Tung. ***suli-; Mong. ***sülbe-***; Turk. ***jül-***; Jpn. ***suru-ntə-***.

PTung. ***suli-*** to sharpen, sharp (заострять, острый): Evk. *sul-*; Evn. *höl-*; Neg. *sul-*; Man. *šulixun*; Ul. *suli-*; Ork. *suli-*; Nan. *suli-*; Orch. *sulu-*; Ud. *sulu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 123.

PMong. ***sülbe-*** to prick, stick into (вкалывать, закалывать): WMong. *sülbe-* (MXTTT); Kh. *sülbe-*.

PTurk. ***jül-*** 1 to shave 2 to tear off, scrape off (1 брить 2 срывать, соскребать): Karakh. *jüli-* 1 (MK); Tur. *jülü-* 1, 2; Turkm. *jül-me-* 1; MTurk. *jülü-* 1 (Ettuhf.); Krm. *ül-*, *ülü-*, *ili-* 1; Tat. *jöle-* (dial.) 2; KBalk. *žülü-* 1; Kum. *jülü-* 1; Tv. *čülü-* 1; Yak. *sül-* 2; Dolg. *hül-* 2.

◊ EDT 919, VEWT 213, ЭСТЯ 4, 216 (confused with **jol-* q.v. sub **ńǒlo*), Stachowski 115.

PJpn. ***suru-ntə-** sharp (острый): MJpn. *súrúdó, sùrúdó*; Tok. *surudó-*; Kyo. *súrúdò-*; Kag. *surúdo-*.

◊ JLTT 856. Original accent is not clear.

‖ A good common Altaic root.

✱**zǜnti** a young animal: Tung. ***sōn-ŋa- / *sōn-da-**; Mong. ***sünde-sü**; Turk. ***junt**.

PTung. ***sōn-ŋa- / *sōn-da-** young deer, deer calf (олененок, теленок): Evk. *sōnŋā*; Evn. *hōnŋŋčān*; Neg. *sōnŋa-čān*; Ork. *sōndo(n)*; Orch. *soŋočo(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 110-111.

PMong. ***sünde-sü** female elk (самка лося): WMong. *sündesü, sundasu* (L 737); Kh. *sündes*.

PTurk. ***junt** horse, mare (лошадь, кобыла): OTurk. *junt* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *junt* (MK); Tur. *jont*; MTurk. *junt* (Ettuhf.), *junad* (AH); SUygh. *jut, jot*; Yak. *sono-γos* 'young horse'.

◊ EDT 946, VEWT 211, ЭСТЯ 4, 253-254, TMN 4, 199-200. Despite Sinor 1965, 312, hardly a borrowing from Samoyed.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**zūru** hole, nest: Tung. ***suru**; Turk. ***jūr-tu**; Jpn. ***su**.

PTung. ***suru** cave, lair (пещера, логово): Evk. *suru*; Evn. *hör*.

◊ TMC 2, 130.

PTurk. ***jūrtu** hole, needle hole (ушко инструмента): Tur. *igne jurdusu* 'ушко иглы'; MTurk. *jurdu* 'ушко иглы, стрелы, топора' (Pav. C.); Chuv. *śъrda* 'ушко иглы, медали, промежуток для резинки на трусах'.

◊ VEWT 211, EDT 958 (sub *jurt*), Егоров 208, Федотов 2, 98.

PJpn. ***su** nest (гнездо): OJpn. su; MJpn. *sú*; Tok. *sù, sú*; Kyo. *sú*; Kag. *sù*.

◊ JLTT 531. Original accent is not quite clear.

‖ Jpn. *su reflects a suffixed **zur(u)-gV*. For Turkic cf. alternatively Manchu *ǯurun* 'hole, cave'.

ǯ

✱**ǯa-** eight: Tung. ***ǯa-pkun***; Jpn. ***da-***.

PTung. ***ǯa-pkun*** eight (восемь): Evk. *ǯapkun*; Evn. *ǯapqъn*; Neg. *ǯapkụn*; Man. *ǯaqun*; SMan. *ǯaqun* (2742); Jurch. *ǯa(h)kun* (643); Ul. *ǯaqpu(n)*; Ork. *ǯaqpụ(n)*; Nan. *ǯaqpõ*; Orch. *ǯappu(n)*; Ud. *ǯakpu(n)*; Sol. *ǯakkṵ̄*.

◊ TMC 1, 251.

PJpn. ***da-*** eight (восемь): OJpn. *ja-*; MJpn. *já-*; Tok. *ya-tsú*; Kyo. *yá-tsù*; Kag. *ya-tsú*.

◊ JLTT 574. The accent, like in all numerals, is hard to reconstruct.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps (with dialectal *ǯ- > j-?) MKor. *jə-t-* 'eight'.

✱**ǯabda** a k. of snake: Tung. ***ǯabdar***; Jpn. ***datua***.

PTung. ***ǯabdar*** a big snake (большая змея): Evk. *ǯabdar*; Evn. *ǯabdъ*; Neg. *ǯabdan, ǯabdar*; Man. *ǯabǯan*; SMan. *ǯavəǯi* 'python' (2272); Ul. *ǯabda(n)*; Ork. *dabda*; Nan. *ǯabǯā*; Orch. *ǯabda*; Ud. *ǯabda*; Sol. *ǯagdā*.

◊ TMC 1, 239.

PJpn. ***datua*** snake (змея): OJpn. *jatwo-no-kami*.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. Turkm. *juvdarxā* 'monster, k. of dragon' (contaminated with *aždaxa* < Pers.?)

✱**ǯàdé (~ *ǯèdá)** pond, pool: Mong. ***ǯada-***; Jpn. ***dàntə́***.

PMong. ***ǯada-*** pond, pool (пруд): WMong. *ǯadaγai* (L 1021); Kalm. *zadəγā̆ usn̥, zadəγā usn̥* 'freies Wasser (nicht im Teiche od. Brunnen)'; Ord. *ǯadagā̆*.

◊ KW 463. There is some confusion between this root and *ǯadaγai* 'open, unravelled', probably secondary.

PJpn. ***dàntə́*** backwater (заводь): OJpn. *jodo*; MJpn. *jòdó*; Tok. *yodo*.

◊ JLTT 575.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. There may be, however, some traces in Turkic as well: cf. Karakh. (MK, see EDT 891-892) *jaδiŋ suv* 'water spreading over the surface of the ground', closely paralleling, e.g., Khalkha *ǯadgaj usu* 'pond, pool'. Cf. also the old name of the Ural river, PT **jadik*, which is considered to be pre-Turkish (see EDT 981), but may be genuine. The attributive usage both in Turkic and Mongolian makes

one wonder whether the root in fact is not a specialization of PA *ǯādV 'spread' q.v.

***ǯādV** to spread, unravel: Mong. ***ǯad-**; Turk. ***jĀd-**.

PMong. ***ǯad-** to untie, unleash (развязывать, раскладывать): WMong. *ǯadaji-*, *ǯadula-* (L 1021: *ǯadal-*, *ǯadala-*); Kh. *ɜadla-*, *ɜadra-*; Bur. *zadal-*, *zadar-*; Kalm. *zaḍl-* 'to provoke', *zadər-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯadara-* 'se répandre (secret, nouvelle)'; Dag. *ǯadlā-*.

◊ MGCD 422.

PTurk. ***jĀd-** to spread (расстилать, распростирать): OTurk. *jad-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaδ-* (MK); Tur. *jaj-*; Gag. *jaj-*; Az. *jaj-*; Turkm. *jāj-*; MTurk. *jaj-* (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *jɔj-*; Uygh. *jaj-*; Krm. *jaj-*; Tat. *jaj-*; Bashk. *jäj-*; Kirgh. *ǯaj-*; Kaz. *žaj-*; KKalp. *žaj-*; Kum. *jaj-*; Nogh. *jaj-*; Oyr. *jaj-*, *ɗaj-*; Tv. *čat-*.

◊ VEWT 177, ЭСТЯ 4, 76-77, 80, EDT 883-884.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Cf. perhaps Man. *dadara-* 'to spread; yawn' (TMC 1, 190; assimilation < **ǯadara-*?).

***ǯakʹV (~ č-)** gravel, pebbles: Tung. ***ǯaxar(a)**; Kor. ***čjàkà-**.

PTung. ***ǯaxar(a)** gravel, pebbles (галька): Man. *ǯaχara*, *ǯaχari*; Nan. *ǯaχar*.

◊ TMC 1, 244.

PKor. ***čjàkà-** 1 gravel, pebbles 2 mother of pearl (1 галька 2 перламутр): MKor. *čjàkài* 2, *čjakai-tor* 1; Mod. *čaɡal* 1, *čaɡä* 2.

◊ Nam 419, KED 1372.

‖ Lee 1958, 113. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. Because of the MKor. form a reconstruction **ǯajkʹV* is also possible.

***ǯáli** to ask, invite, lend: Mong. ***ǯala-**; Turk. ***jāl-**; Jpn. ***(d)írá-**.

PMong. ***ǯala-** to ask, invite (просить, приглашать): WMong. *ǯala-* (L 1029); Kh. *ɜala-*; Bur. *zala-*; Kalm. *zala-* (СЯОС); Ord. *ǯala-*.

PTurk. ***jāl-** 1 to ask, require 2 to hire, lease 3 price 4 servant 5 envoy 6 to be satisfied 7 to give satisfaction (1 просить, требовать 2 нанимать 3 цена, плата, наем 4 слуга 5 посол 6 получать удовлетворение, быть счастливым 7 давать удовлетворение): OTurk. *jalvar-*, *jalɨn-* (OUygh.) 1, *jalabač* (Orkh., Yen.), *jalavač* (OUygh.) 5, *jalčɨ-t-* 7 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jalvar-* 1, *jalavač*, *jalavar* 5 (MK); Tur. *jalvar-* 1, *jalavač* 5; Gag. *jalvar-* 1; Az. *jalvar-* 1; Turkm. *jalbar-*, *jalɨn-* 1, *jāllav* 3, *jālčɨ* 4 (dial.); MTurk. *jalbar-* 1 (MA), *jalɨn-* 1 (Abush.), *jal* (Буд.) 3, *jalavač* (AH) 5, *jalčɨ-* 6, 7 (Ettuhf., Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔlwar-*, *jalɨn-* 1, *jɔllä-* 2, *jɔlči-* 6; Uygh. *jalbä(r)-*, *jalvar-*, *jelɨn-* 1, *jalči-* 6; Krm. *jalbar-*, *jalvar-* 1, *jal* 3, *jalčɨ-* 6; Tat. *jalvar-*, *jalɨn-* 1, *jalla-* 2, *jal* (Буд.) 3; Bashk. *jalbar-*, *jalɨn-* 1, *jalsɨ-* 6; Kirgh. *ǯalbar-*, *ǯalɨn-* 1, *ǯal* 3, *ǯalčɨ-* 6; Kaz. *žalbar-*, *žalɨn-* 1, *žal* 3; KBalk. *žalɨn-*, *zalɨn-* 1, *zal* 3; KKalp. *žalbar-* 1, *žal* 3, *žalšɨ-* 6; Kum. *jalbar-*, *jalɨn-* 1; Nogh.

jalbar-, jalin- 1; Khak. *čal* 3; Oyr. *jal, ďal* 3, *jalbar-, ďalbar-, jalin-, ďalin-* 1; Tv. *čala-, čalwar-, čalin-* 1.

◊ VEWT 181-183, EDT 920, 921, 922, 931, ЭСТЯ 4, 84-85, 89, 92-93, 102-103, 107; TMN 4, 108, Щербак 1997, 121 (Turk. *jalbar-* > Mong. *ǯalbari-*). The root is no doubt archaic, but presents some problems: the deriving simple stem **jāl* is attested late, and there seems to be no vowel length in the derivatives **jalin-, *jal-bar-* (although this may be a later secondary shortening). The peculiar suffixation in *jalbar-, jalabač, jalabar* caused some authors (see, e.g., Clauson in EDT) to suspect a loanword, but its source is unclear and the forms may as well be genuine (as are certainly the forms **jāl, *jalin-*).

PJpn. ***(d)irá-** 1 to lend 2 to answer 3 answer (1 одалживать 2 отвечать; брать в долг 3 ответ): OJpn. *iras-* 1, *irap-* 2; MJpn. *irás-* 1, *iraf-* 2; Tok. *irae* 3.

◊ JLTT 698.

‖ The root is not widely represented outside the Turko-Mongolian area (only in Japanese), but the phonetic and semantic match appears to be quite satisfactory.

***ǯa̋lo** to fasten, bind, hang: Tung. ***ǯala-n**; Mong. ***ǯalga-**; Turk. ***jala-**; Jpn. ***dái**; Kor. ***čă̆ră̆-**.

PTung. ***ǯala-n** 1 joint 2 shoe straps 3 generation; world 4 plummet (1 сустав 2 завязки на унтах 3 поколение; мир 4 грузило): Evk. *ǯalan* 1, *ǯalaptun* 2; Evn. *ǯalṵn* 1, *ǯalṵpkir* 2; Neg. *ǯalan* 1, *ǯalaptin* 4; Man. *ǯala(n)* 1, 3; SMan. *ǯalən* 1 (75); Jurch. *ǯa-la-an* (848) 3; Ul. *ǯala(n)* 1, 3; Ork. *dala(n)* 1, 3; Nan. *ǯalã* 1, 3; Orch. *ǯala(n)* 1, 3; Ud. *ǯala(n)* 1, 3.

◊ TMC 1, 245-246. Man. > Nan. (Naikh.) *jalo, jaloṇi* 'world' (TMC 1, 340), Dag. *ǯalan* (Тод. Дат. 142).

PMong. ***ǯalga-** to fasten, join (прикреплять, присоединять): MMong. *ǯalqa-* (SH); WMong. *ǯalγa-* (L 1030); Kh. *ǯalga-*; Bur. *zalga-*; Kalm. *zalγə-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯalGa-*; Dag. *ǯalga-* (Тод. Дат. 142), *ǯalegā-* (MD 175); Dong. *ǯanγa-*; Bao. *ǯalχə-*; S.-Yugh. *ǯalGaǯab-*; Mongr. *ǯirGa-* (SM 92), *ǯalGā-*.

◊ MGCD 427. Mong. > Turk. (late attested) *jalγa-* (ЭСТЯ 4, 12-13).

PTurk. ***jala-** 1 sacred band 2 flag 3 tie, strap (1 священная лента, веревочка, пучок волос (привязываемая к дереву или шаманской колотушке) 2 знамя, флаг 3 завязка, повязка): Turkm. *jalow* (dial.) 2; MTurk. *jalaw* (Бор. Бад.) 2; Uzb. *jalɔw* 2; Uygh. *ǯala* (dial.) 3; Tat. *jalaw* (dial.) 2, *jala* 3; Kirgh. *ǯalau* 2; Kaz. *žalaw* 2; KKalp. *žalaw* 2; SUygh. *ǯala* 3; Khak. *čala(ŋ)ma* 1, *čalā* 3; Shr. *čala* 3, *čalaba* 1; Oyr. *jalaγa, ďalaγa* 3, *jalama, ďalama* 1; Tv. *čalā* 3, *čalama* 1; Yak. *salama* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 99-100, VEWT 181. Turk. **jala-gu, *jala-ga* and **jala-ma* seem to be derived from a common root, thus it is most probable that Mong. *ǯalama* 'sacred strips' and *ǯalaγa* 'tassel, thick silk thread' are borrowed from Turkic and not vice versa.

PJpn. ***dái** handle (ручка, рукоятка): OJpn. *je*; MJpn. é; Tok. *è*; Kyo. *é*; Kag. *é*.

◊ JLTT 392.

PKor. *čǎrǎ- 1 to hang up, strangle 2 handle (1 подвешивать, завязывать, стягивать 2 ручка, рукоятка): MKor. *čǎrǎ-* 1, *čǎrò, čǎrǎ, čǎr* 2; Mod. *čari-* 1, *čaru* 2.

◊ Nam 412, 416, KED 1376.

‖ Despite Doerfer MT 23, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. Jpn. **dá-* presupposes a suffixed **ǯál(o)-gV*, cf. Mong. *ǯal-ga-*.

✱**ǯálV** saliva: Tung. ***ǯali-**; Mong. ***ǯal-gi- / *ǯal-ka-**; Turk. ***jālga-**.

PTung. ***ǯali-** 1 spittle, saliva 2 to wet with spittle, take into mouth (1 слюна 2 смачивать слюной, брать в рот): Evk. *ǯaliksa* 1, *ǯalma-* 2; Evn. *ǯalsə̣* 1; Neg. *ǯalsa* 1, *ǯalma-* 2; Ul. *ǯi̯laụqsa* 1; Ork. *ǯêlusqa* 1; Nan. *ǯi̯loqsa* 1; Orch. *dileske, duluksa* 1; Ud. *ǯalehä* 1; Sol. *ǯalikči* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 246.

PMong. ***ǯal-gi- / *ǯal-ka-** 1 to swallow 2 phlegm (1 глотать 2 мокрота): MMong. *ǯalgi-, ǯalki-* (SH); WMong. *ǯalgi-* 1 (L 1031), *ǯalqaγ* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *ʒalgi-* 1, *ʒalxag* 2; Bur. *zalgi-* 1, *zalxag* 2; Kalm. *zalgə-* 1 (KPC); Ord. *ǯalgi-* 1; Dag. *ǯalgi-* (Тод. Дат. 142), *ǯilehe-* 1 (MD 178); Dong. *ǯanqəi-*; Bao. *ǯalχə-*; S.-Yugh. *ǯalGə-*; Mongr. *ćargi-* (SM 443), *čalga-* (Huzu).

◊ MGCD 427.

PTurk. ***jālga-** to lick (лизать): OTurk. *jalγa-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jalγa-, jalva-* (MK); Tur. *jala-*; Gag. *jala-*; Az. *jala-*; Turkm. *jāla-*; Sal. *jala-*; Khal. *jalγa-*; MTurk. *jala-* (Pav. C., MA, AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jalä-*; Uygh. *jala-*; Krm. *jala-*; Tat. *jala-*; Bashk. *jala-*; Kirgh. *ǯala-*; Kaz. *žala-*; KKalp. *žala-*; Kum. *jala-*; Nogh. *jala-*; SUygh. *jalγa-, jaγla-*; Khak. *čalγa-*; Shr. *čalγa-*; Oyr. *jala-, ďala-*; Tv. *čɨlγa-*; Chuv. *śula- / śъvla*; Yak. *salā-*; Dolg. *halan-*.

◊ VEWT 182, EDT 926-927, ЭСТЯ 4, 87-88 (with Turkm. *jala-*), Федотов 2, 132, Stachowski 94. The deriving stem can perhaps be found in Turkish, Gag., Az. *jal* 'food, mash given to dogs, animals' (see ЭСТЯ 4, 85); cf. also **jalgak* (ЭСТЯ 4, 90) 'dish for feeding animals'; **jalma-* 'to lick' (ЭСТЯ 4, 95).

‖ A Western isogloss (but cf. perhaps also Kor. *čult:i* 'throat'). Cf. also **tálu*.

✱**ǯape** a k. of tool: Tung. ***ǯab-**; Mong. ***ǯebe, *ǯeb-seg**; Turk. ***jib-**.

PTung. ***ǯab-** 1 arrow for a cross-bow, bolt 2 anvil 3 hammer (1 стрела (самострела) 2 наковальня 3 молот): Evn. *ǯābdaw* 3; Ul. *ǯabdụ(n)* 1, *ǯaụdụ* 2; Nan. *ǯabdu* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 239, 240.

PMong. ***ǯebe, *ǯeb-seg*** 1 end of arrow 2 instrument, weapon, tool (1 наконечник стрелы 2 орудие, оружие): MMong. *ǯebele-* 'to fight with ǯebe weapons'; *ǯebsek* 2 (SH), *ǯebe* 2 (HYt), *ǯemṣel* 'axe' (IM), *ǯibsek* 'armour' (MA 204); WMong. *ǯebe* 1, *ǯebseg* 2 (L 1042); Kh. *ʒev* 1, *ʒevseg* 2;

Bur. *zebe* 1, *zebseg* 2; Kalm. *zer-zewə, zewsəg* 2 (KPC); Ord. *ǯiwe* 1, *ǯibseg* 2; S.-Yugh. *ǯemseg* 2.

◊ MGCD 440. Mong. > Chag. *ǯebe*, see TMN 1, 285-286, Щербак 1997, 204.

PTurk. ***jib-*** 1 instrument, equipment 2 to provide, equip (1 инструмент, оборудование 2 оборудовать, снабжать): OTurk. *jivig* 1, *jivit-* 2 (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 872, 875.

‖ Menges 1951, 109. A Western isogloss. In Turkic **jib-* would be normally expected, but a shift ɨ > i after j- is rather common.

ǯapʹù** to hold, connect: Tung. ****ǯapa-; Mong. ****ǯaɣa-***; Turk. ****jAp-***; Jpn. ****dup-***; Kor. ****čàp-***.

PTung. ****ǯapa-*** to catch, take hold (хватать, брать): Evk. *ǯawa-*; Evn. *ǯaw-*; Neg. *ǯawa-*; Man. *ǯafa-*; SMan. *ǯafə-, ǯavə-* (1522, 1539); Jurch. *ǯafa-biar* (364); Ul. *ǯapa-*; Ork. *dapa-*; Nan. *ǯapa-*; Orch. *ǯawa-*; Ud. *ǯawa-*; Sol. *ǯawa-*.

◊ TMC 1, 240-241.

PMong. ****ǯaɣa-*** to be separated at joints; to join at joints (разделять по суставам; соединять по суставам): WMong. *ǯaɣa-* (L 1022); Kh. *ǯā-*; Bur. *zāra-* 'to break, scatter'; Kalm. *zā-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯāra-* 'se disjoindre'.

PTurk. ****jAp-*** to make, create, arrange (делать, создавать, приготовлять): OTurk. *jap-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jap-* (MK); Tur. *jap-*; Gag. *jap-*; MTurk. *jap-* (Ettuhf.); Uygh. *jap-* (dial.); Tat. *jap-* (dial.).

◊ EDT 870-871; ЭСТЯ 4, 126-127, where arguments are given in favour of separating this verb from **jap-* 'to cover'.

PJpn. ****dup-*** to tie, connect (связывать, соединять): OJpn. *jup-*; MJpn. *jùf-, júf-*; Tok. *yù-*; Kyo. *yú-*; Kag. *yú-*.

◊ JLTT 789. Accent reconstruction is not quite certain: modern dialects point rather to **dúp-* (although this may be due to contraction), while RJ has both *jùf-* and *júf-*.

PKor. ****čàp-*** to catch, take hold (хватать, брать): MKor. *čàp-*; Mod. *čap-*.

◊ Liu 645, KED 1397.

‖ Poppe 28, EAS 64, Lee 1958, 113, Menges 1984, 266.

ǯa̋pʹV** crack, interstice: Tung. ****ǯapka; Mong. ****ǯab***; Turk. ****jāp***.

PTung. ****ǯapka*** 1 shore 2 space, interval, crack 3 near (1 берег 2 промежуток, щель 3 близкий): Evk. *ǯapka* 1; Evn. *ǯarqə̄* 2; Neg. *ǯapka* 2; Man. *ǯaqa-* 'to make cracks, intervals'; Ul. *ǯaqpa* 3; Ork. *daqpa / dapqa* 2; Nan. *ǯaqpa* 2, 3; Orch. *ǯappa* 2, 3; Ud. *ǯakpa-* 'to pile up'; Sol. *ǯakka* 1, *ǯikka* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 250-251.

PMong. ****ǯab*** 1 crack 2 gap, interval 3 leisure 4 corner of the mouth (1 щель 2 промежуток, интервал 3 свободное время 4 угол рта): MMong. *ǯabusar* (~ *süeni*) 'midnight' (HY 6), *ǯabsar* (MA) 1,2, *ǯaba*

'Felsspalte', *ǯabaǯi(n)* 4 (SH); WMong. *ǯab* 3, *ǯabaɣ* 1, *ǯabsar* 1, 2 (L 1018, 1019); Kh. *ǯav* 3; *ǯavsar* 1,2,3; *ǯavǯ* 4; Bur. *zab* 3; *zabag* 1, *zabhar* 2; Kalm. *zab; zawsṛ* 1; Ord. *ǯawaG* 1, *ǯabsar* 2, *ǯab* 3; Dag. *ǯabka* 2; *ǯebǯ* 4 (Тод. Дат. 141: *ǯabka, ǯabǯi*), *ǯabeke* 'ajar', *ǯabede-* 'be on time' (MD 174); Dong. *žava* 1, 2; Bao. *ǯabte* 'between'; S.-Yugh. *ǯab; ǯabsar* 2; *ǯawāǯə* 4; Mongr. *ǯabsar, ćabsar* (SM 75, 441) 2.

◊ KW 462, 468, MGCD 419, 420. Mong. > Kirgh. *ǯapsar* etc. Cf. also **ǯaɣa-* 'to separate, make room', **ǯaɣag* 'interval' (KW 469, MGCD 417), MMong. *ǯa'ura* 'between' (SH). Cf. also WMong. *ǯaji, ǯai*, Kalm. *zā* 'space, interval' (KW 470, MGCD 424). A Mong. source is probable for Nan. *ǯaor*, Bik. *ǯawara*, Ul. *ǯawụl* 'cross-road; place where rivers meet' etc. (TMC 1, 241): cf. WMong. *ǯabila-* 'to sit cross-legged' (MGCD 420). Mong. > Man. *ǯabdu-* 'to have leisure for' (see Rozycki 117-118).

PTurk. ***jāp** canal, ditch (канал): Turkm. *jāp*; MTurk. *jap* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔp*; Kirgh. *ǯap*; Kaz. *žap*; KKalp. *žap*.

◊ VEWT 187, ЭСТЯ 4, 129 (with suggestion of an Iranian source: Khwar. *yāb* 'water').

‖ TMC 1, 251, АПиПЯЯ 293. A Western isogloss. For the semantics in Turkic cf. the TM derivatives: **ǯap-ku* 'afflux, influx' (TMC 1, 251), Man. *ǯajfan* 'place where rivers meet' (TMC 1, 241); a foreign source for **jāp* is, however, also not excluded.

***ǯap'V(ĺV)** wormwood: Mong. ***ǯuwl-**; Turk. ***jabĺan (< *japĺan)**; Kor. ***čjəpii-**.

PMong. ***ǯuwl-** wormwood (полынь): WMong. *ǯultaryana* (L 1079 'punk'), *ǯuulaŋ* (KW); Kh. *ǯuldargana*; Kalm. *zulŋ, zūlŋ, zultṛyən*.

◊ KW 480.

PTurk. ***jabĺan** wormwood (полынь): Karakh. *japčan, javčan* (MK); Turkm. *jovšan*; MTurk. *jawšan*; Tv. *čašpan*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 53-55, EDT 872.

PKor. ***čjəpii-** wormwood (полынь): MKor. *čjəpii-skor*; Mod. *čebi-s:ok, čebi-k:ol*.

◊ Liu 655, KED 1464.

‖ KW 480 - doubted by Doerfer in TMN 4, 223.

***ǯǎra** good, favourable: Tung. ***ǯari-n**; Turk. ***jara-**; Jpn. ***dərə-**; Kor. ***čar**.

PTung. ***ǯari-n** for, for the sake of (для, ради): Evk. *ǯarin*; Man. *ǯalin*; Sol. *ǯārī*.

◊ TMC 1, 253. -l- in Manchu is not quite clear.

PTurk. ***jara-** to be beneficial, useful, successful (годиться, быть годным, полезным): OTurk. *jara-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jara-* (MK); Tur. *jara-*; Gag. *jara-*; Az. *jara-*; Turkm. *jara-*; Sal. *jara-*; Khal. *jara-*; MTurk. *jara-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jara-*; Uygh. *jara-*; Krm. *jara-*; Tat. *jara-*; Bashk. *jara-*; Kirgh. *ǯara-*; Kaz. *žara-*; KBalk. *zaras-*; KKalp. *žara-*; Kum. *jara-*; Nogh. *jara-*; SUygh. *jara-*; Khak. *čara-*; Shr. *čara-*; Oyr. *jara-, ďara-*; Chuv. *śoraś-* 'to reconcile'.

◊ EDT 956, VEWT 189, ЭСТЯ 4, 137-139, TMN 4, 56-57, 144, Федотов 2, 141. Turk. caus. **jarat-* > Hung. *gyárt-* 'to produce' (Gombocz 1912).

PJpn. ***dárá-** good, right (хороший, правильный): OJpn. *joro-si-*; MJpn. *jóró-si-*; Tok. *yòroshi-, yoroshí-*; Kyo. *yóròshì-*; Kag. *yoróshi-*.

◊ JLTT 845.

PKor. ***čar** well, favourably (хорошо, благоприятно): MKor. *čar*; Mod. *čal*.

◊ Liu 644, KED 1392.

‖ See PKE 24. Mong. *ǯaru-* 'to use, employ' may represent a merger of this root with **ǯi̯óra* 'send' q. v. MMong. *kerek ǯaraq* 'needs' - probably < Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 164). Jpn. **dárá-* instead of **dárə́-* because of bad compatibility between *a and *ə in OJ.

✱**ǯaǯa** back, buttocks: Tung. ***ǯaǯa-**; Turk. ***jAja**.

PTung. ***ǯaǯa-** to carry on back (нести на спине): Man. *ǯaǯa-*; SMan. *ǯaǯi-* (1606); Nan. *ǯaǯa-*; Sol. *ǯiǯā-*.

◊ TMC 1, 256. Sol. > Dag. *ǯiǯā-* (Тод. Дар. 143).

PTurk. ***jAja** 1 buttocks 2 thigh 3 waist (1 ягодицы 2 ляжка 3 поясница): Karakh. *jaja* (MK) 1; Uzb. *ǯaja* 1; Kirgh. *ǯaja* 1; Kaz. *žaja* 1; Khak. *čaja* 3; Tv. *čajā* 2.

◊ EDT 980, VEWT 179, ЭСТЯ 4, 12, Лексика 281.

‖ Дыбо 5. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ǯāǯV** a k. of fish: Tung. ***ǯaǯiki**; Turk. ***jājɨn**.

PTung. ***ǯaǯiki** a k. of fish (вид рыбы): Neg. *ǯačiṇ* 'big pike'; Man. *ǯaǯigi, ǯaǯixi* 'судак'; Nan. *ǯaǯiχī* 'верхогляд'; Orch. *ǯadigi* 'name of a fish'; Ud. *ǯoǯuγo* 'sea goby'.

◊ TMC 1, 242, 254, 261.

PTurk. ***jājɨn** 1 sheat-fish 2 salmon (1 сом 2 лосось, семга): Tur. *jajɨn* 2; Turkm. *jājɨn* 1; MTurk. *jajɨn* 2 (AH); Tat. *ǯɛjen* 1; Bashk. *jäjen* 1; Kirgh. *ǯajɨn* 1; Kaz. *žajɨn* 1; KKalp. *žajɨn* 1; Nogh. *jajɨn* 1; Chuv. *śojъn, śoin* (dial.) 1.

◊ VEWT 179, ЭСТЯ 4, 80-81, Лексика 178, Федотов 2, 129.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ǯē** to eat: Tung. ***ǯe-p-**; Mong. ***ǯa- / *ǯe-**; Turk. ***jē-**; Jpn. ***da-pa-**; Kor. ***čā-**.

PTung. ***ǯe-p-** to eat (есть): Evk. *ǯep-, ǯeb-*; Evn. *ǯeb-, ǯep-*; Neg. *ǯep-*; Man. *ǯe-*; SMan. *ǯe-* (392); Jurch. *ǯe-fu* (535); Ul. *ǯeрuwu*; Ork. *deptu-*; Nan. *ǯeb-, ǯep-*; Orch. *ǯepte-*; Ud. *ǯo-, ǯe-, ǯepte-*; Sol. *ǯeg-, ǯeb-*.

◊ TMC 1, 279-280.

PMong. ***ǯa- / *ǯe-** 1 meal 2 to be hungry (1 еда, пища 2 быть голодным): WMong. *ǯoγog* 1 (L 1067: *ǯoγuγ, ǯoγ*), *ǯetü-* 2; Kh. *ǯōg* 1; Bur. *ǯōg* 1; Kalm. *zōg* 1, *zöm-* 'to be thirsty' (KPC); Ord. *ǯōG*; S.-Yugh. *ǯūg* 1.

◊ MGCD 448.

PTurk. ***jē-*** to eat (есть): OTurk. *je-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *je-, jẹ-* (MK, KB); Tur. *je-*; Gag. *i-*; Az. *je-*; Turkm. *ij-*; Sal. *ji-*; Khal. *jiē-*; MTurk. *je-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *je-*; Uygh. *jä-*; Krm. *je-*; Tat. *šim* 'food'; Bashk. *je-*; Kirgh. *še-*; Kaz. *že-*; KBalk. *ǯeje-* (arch.); KKalp. *že-*; Kum. *je-*; Nogh. *je-*; SUygh. *ji-*; Khak. *če-*; Shr. *čī-*; Oyr. *ǵe-*; Tv. *či-*; Tof. *či-*; Chuv. *śi-*; Yak. *sie-*; Dolg. *hie-*.

◊ VEWT 194, EDT 869-70, ЭСТЯ 1, 333-335, Stachowski 102.

PJpn. ***dapa-*** hungry (голодный): OJpn. *japa-*.

◊ JLTT 844.

PKor. ***čā-*** to eat (есть): MKor. *čā-sí-*; Mod. *čāsi-, čapsu-*.

◊ Nam 411, KED 1380, 1398.

‖ EAS 65, Poppe 27, Lee 1958, 113, АПиПЯЯ 35, 281, Дыбо 13. Mong. **ǯoɣog* 'meal; pleasure' was alternatively compared (see KW 477) with PT **juba-* 'to enjoy; console' (see ЭСТЯ 4, 240-241) - which is not excluded, but does not weaken the rest of the etymology. The derived form with a labial suffix must have already existed in PA (Kor. *čap-* = TM **ǯe-p-* = PJ **da-pa-*). The root (one of a number of common Altaic monosyllabic roots) is quite valid, despite Doerfer's (TMN 4, 193) critical attempts. .

ǯebò** soft: Mong. ****ǯöɣelen; Turk. ****jabaĺ***; Jpn. ****dapara-***.

PMong. ****ǯöɣelen*** soft, tender, weak (мягкий, нежный, слабый): MMong. *ǯue'elen* (HY 54), *ǯo'elen, ǯo'olen* (SH), *ǯuulen* (MA), *ǯūlen* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ǯögelen* (L 1074); Kh. *ǯōlön*; Bur. *zōle(n)*; Kalm. *ǯōln*; Ord. *ǯōlön*; Dag. *ǯeulen* (Тод. Дат. 143 *ǯeulēn*), *ǯeulen* (MD 176); Dong. *ǯolien*; Bao. *ǯulaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *ǯūlen*; Mongr. *ǯōlon* (SM 90), *ǯōlon*.

◊ KW 115, MGCD 455. Despite objections in Аникин 186, a Mong. loanword is perhaps Evk. *ǯulbe* 'soft, fluffy' etc. (see TMC 1, 272).

PTurk. ****jabaĺ*** soft, mild; slow, quiet (мягкий, нежный; тихий, медленный): OTurk. *jabaš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *javaš* (MK); Tur. *javaš*; Gag. *javaš*; Az. *javaš*; Turkm. *juvaš*; MTurk. *javaš* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jɤwɔš, juwɔš*; Uygh. *javaš, juvaš, jugaš* (dial.); Tat. *juwaš, juaš*; Bashk. *jɨwaš*; Kirgh. *žōš*; Kaz. *žuwas*; KBalk. *žuwaš*; Kum. *javaš, juvaš*; Nogh. *juwas*; Khak. *čabas*; Shr. *čabaš, čobaš*; Oyr. *ǵoboš*; Tv. *čāš*.

◊ See VEWT 175, ЭСТЯ 4, 51-52, TMN 4, 207-208. Cf. also (with different suffixation) Karakh. *jav-il-* 'to become soft', *java* (*jer*) 'warm, cosy place'; Yak. *samaa-n* 'warm, favourable (of summer)'.

PJpn. ****dapara-*** soft (мягкий): OJpn. *japara-ka-*; MJpn. *jáfárá- / jàfàra-*; Tok. *yawaráka-*; Kyo. *yáwárákà-*; Kag. *yawaraká-*.

◊ JLTT 575. Accent is not quite clear: RJ has a variation; the adjective seems to point to low tone (and thus reconstructed in JLTT), but the noun **dapara* (Tokyo *yàwara*, Kyoto *yáwárá*) presupposes rather **dápárá* (but Kagoshima here also has *yawará* < **dà-*).

‖ A common derivative **ǯebò-lV* is reflected in Turkic and Mongolian.

✱**ǯeč'i** enclosure, market-place: Tung. ***ǯeče-n**; Mong. ***ǯüčije** (< ***ǯičü-ge**); Jpn. ***(d)ìtí**; Kor. ***čjàčái**.

PTung. ***ǯeče-n** boundary; border (межа; граница): Man. *ǯečen*; SMan. *ǯečan* (1033); Jurch. *ǯei̯-čen* (44).

◊ TMC 1, 286. Cf. also Jurch. *ǯa-či-li* 'tent' (214).

PMong. ***ǯüčije** stable, cattle-shed (стойло, хлев): WMong. *ǯüčije* (L 1082).

PJpn. ***(d)ìtí** market (рынок): OJpn. *iti*; MJpn. *ìtí*; Tok. *íchi*; Kyo. *ìchí*; Kag. *ichí*.

◊ JLTT 428.

PKor. ***čjàčái** shop, market-place (рынок, лавка): MKor. *čjàčái*; Mod. *čaǯa*.

◊ Nam 425, KED 1421.

‖ Accent correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular.

✱**ǯéja** sharp point, arrow: Tung. ***ǯeje**; Turk. ***jā(j)**; Jpn. ***da**.

PTung. ***ǯeje** 1 sharp point, blade 2 sharp (1 острие, лезвие 2 острый): Evk. *ǯeje* 1; Evn. *ǯej* 1; Neg. *ǯeje* 1; Man. *ǯejen* 1; Jurch. *ǯo-n-be* (801) 2; Ul. *ǯeje* 1; Ork. *deje* 1; Nan. *ǯeje* 1; Orch. *ǯeje* 1; Ud. *ǯē* (Корм. 232), *ǯie* 1.

◊ A derivative **ǯeje-n* is reflected (besides Man. *ǯejen*), in Evn. *ǯejēn*, Neg. *ǯejēn* 'sharp edge, border', Nan. *ǯeiŋ-ge* 'needle'. See TMC 1, 282-3.

PTurk. ***jā(j)** bow (лук): OTurk. *ja* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ja* (MK); Tur. *jaj*; Gag. *jaj*, *jajı*; Az. *jaj*; Turkm. *jāj*; MTurk. *jaj* (Ettuhf.), *ja* (Houts.); Uzb. *joj*; Uygh. *ja*; Krm. *jaj*; Tat. *jɛjɛ*, *ǯɛjɛ*; Bashk. *jäjä*, *jan*; Kirgh. *ǯaj*, *ǯā*; Kaz. *žaj*; KBalk. *ǯaja*; KKalp. *žaj*; Nogh. *jaj*; SUygh. *ja* 'arrow'; Khak. *čā-ǯax*; Shr. *nan* 'bow', *jan-čak* 'small bow'; Oyr. *ɗā* 'arrow'; Tv. *ča*; Chuv. *śu* (in *ok-śu*); Yak. *sā*; Dolg. *hā*, *sā*.

◊ VEWT 186, EDT 869, TMN 4, 121-122, ЭСТЯ 4, 75, Лексика 570, Федотов 2, 274, Stachowski 99, 209.

PJpn. ***da** arrow (стрела): OJpn. *ja*; MJpn. *ja*; Tok. *já*; Kyo. jâ; Kag. *já*.

◊ JLTT 569. The root reveals some accent variations: RJ has both *já* and *jà*; Kyoto and Kagoshima point to **dá* (or **dâ*), while Tokyo - to **dà*.

‖ Poppe 27, JOAL 86, 153, АПиПЯЯ 77. A derivative **ǯāj-nV-* may be also reflected in PT **jānu-* (*~-a-*) 'to whet, sharpen', Mong. *ǯanu-* id. (if not < Turk.).

✱**ǯela** to deceive: Tung. ***ǯele- / *ǯelu-**; Mong. ***ǯali-**; Turk. ***jAla**.

PTung. ***ǯele- / *ǯelu-** 1 lie, deceit 2 secret (1 ложь, обман 2 тайна): Evk. *ǯelum* 2; Evn. *ǯelъm* 2; Neg. *ǯelum* 2; Man. *ǯele* 1, *ǯendu* 2; Ul. *ǯele(n)* 1; Ork. *ǯele(n)* 1, *ǯelum-*; Nan. *ǯelē* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 284.

PMong. ***ǯali-*** to deceive (обманывать): WMong. *ǯali-* (L 1031: *ǯali* 'trick, cunning'); Kh. *ʒali-*; Bur. *zaĺxaj* 'lewd'; Kalm. *zälə* 'cunningness', *zaĺxā* 'cunning'; Dag. *ǯelleg* 'cunning'.

◊ KW 465, 470, MGCD 427. Mong. > Man. *ǯali* (see Doerfer MT 138, Rozycki 120), Oyr. *jalaqqai*. There exists also a variant **ǯeli-* in *ǯelmeji-*, *ǯilmeji-* 'be cunning' etc. (see KW 472).

PTurk. ***jAla*** 1 suspicion, false accusation 2 lie (1 подозрение, клевета 2 ложь): OTurk. *jala* 1 (OUygh.), *jalγan* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jala* 1 (MK), *jalγan* 2 (MK); Tur. *jalan* 2; Gag. *jalan* 2; Az. *jalan* 2; Turkm. *jalan* 1,2; Sal. *jalγan* 2; MTurk. *jalγan* 2 (AH), *jalqan* 2 (MA); Uzb. *jɔlγɔn* 2; Uygh. *jalγan* 2; Krm. *jalan*, *jalγan* 2; Tat. *jala* 1, *jalγan* 2; Bashk. *jala* 1, *jalγan* 2; Kirgh. *ǯala* 1, *ǯalγan* 2; Kaz. *žala* 1, *žalγan* 2; KBalk. *ǯalγan*, *žalγan* 2; KKalp. *žala* 1, *žalγan* 2; Kum. *jalγan* 2; Nogh. *jala* 1, *jalγan* 2; Oyr. *jala*, *ďala* 1.

◊ VEWT 181, 183, EDT 918-919, 926, ЭСТЯ 4, 87, 91-92. Turk. > Mong. *jala* (KW 214).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱***ǯélu*** a k. of fragrant grass: Tung. ****ǯel-***; Turk. ****jal-***; Jpn. ****dúrí***.

PTung. ****ǯel-*** 1 name of a plant 2 juniper (1 назв. растения (из семян которого добывается масло) 2 можжевельник): Evk. *ǯulkirē*, *ǯulke* (< **ǯelu-ke*?) 2; Man. *ǯelmin* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 273, 284.

PTurk. ****jal-*** different grass names (различные названия трав): Uzb. *jalpiz* 'mint'; Kirgh. *ǯalbɨz* 'mint'; Oyr. *jalɨ* 'солодка'.

◊ VEWT 183, TMN 4, 55.

PJpn. ****dúrí*** lily (*лилия*): OJpn. *juri*; MJpn. *juri*; Tok. *yùri*; Kyo. *yúrí*; Kag. *yúri*.

◊ JLTT 580.

‖ The Turkic form can be alternatively compared with Evk. *ńalikta* 'багульник'.

✱***ǯĕĺo*** weak, quiet: Tung. ****ǯel-***; Mong. ****ǯalka-***; Turk. ****jaĺi-***; Jpn. ****dàs-***.

PTung. ****ǯel-*** 1 to become quiet (of a sound), hidden 2 to miss (1 стихать, замирать (о звуке), скрываться 2 не заметить, не обратить внимания): Evk. *ǯeliw-* 2; Evn. *ǯēl-* 1; Neg. *ǯeliw-* 2; Nan. *ǯelu-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 283, 284.

PMong. ****ǯalka-*** 1 to be lazy 2 lazy (1 лениться 2 ленивый): MMong. *ǯalixai* (HY 37); WMong. *ǯalqa-* 1 (L 1032); Kh. *ʒalxa-* 1, *ʒalxū* 2; Bur. *zalxū* 2; Kalm. *zalxū* 2; Ord. *ǯalxū*; Dag. *ǯalkō* 2 (Тод. Даг. 142), *ǯalekō* 2 (MD 175).

◊ KW 465, MGCD 429. Mong. > Bashk., Oyr. *jalqi-* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 4, 14-15). Mong. has also *ǯalira-* 'to be lazy, rest', **ǯali* > Bur. *zali* 'interval, pause' (whence Tat., Kum. *jal* 'rest', see ЭСТЯ 4, 85).

PTurk. ***jaĺi-*** be lazy, emaciated, weak, quiet (быть ленивым, измученным; слабым, вялым, робким): MTurk. *jašiq* (adj.) (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jəšiq* (adj.); Uygh. *ješiq* (adj.); Bashk. *jəšiq* (adj.); Kirgh. *žaši-*; Kaz. *žasi-*; KKalp. *žasi-*; Khak. *čaziɣ* (adj.); Oyr. *jaźi-* (R), *ďažiq* (adj.); Tv. *čaži-*; Yak. *siɨij-*.

◊ VEWT 192, ЭСТЯ 4, 20-21, TMN 4, 173.

PJpn. ***dàs-*** quiet, easy (спокойный, легкий): OJpn. *jasu-*; MJpn. *jàsu-*; Tok. *yasú-*; Kyo. *yásù-*; Kag. *yasú-*.

◊ JLTT 844. Related are probably **jásá-si-* 'gentle, easy' and **jásá-* 'to be emaciated', although the accent variation is not clear.

‖ Correspondences are regular, and the etymology appears quite plausible.

ǯèmá** a k. of weed or swamp plant: Tung. ****ǯemku; Mong. ****ǯamug***; Turk. ****jam***; Jpn. ****dàmá(n)kúi***.

PTung. ****ǯemku*** swamp, a k. of swamp plant (болото, вид болотного растения): Evk. *ǯemku*; Neg. *ǯeŋku*; Ork. *ǯempu*; Nan. *ǯeŋku*; Ud. *ǯempu* (Корм. 236).

◊ TMC 1, 284-285.

PMong. ****ǯamug*** water weeds, sludge (зеленые водоросли): WMong. *ǯamuɣ*, *ǯamaɣ* (L 1033); Kh. *ǯamag*; Bur. *zamag*; Kalm. *zamag*; Ord. *ǯamaG*; Mongr. *ǯamburaG* 'ail sauvage' (SM 79).

◊ KW 466.

PTurk. ****jam*** 1 piece of dust 2 litter floating on the surface of water (1 соринка 2 мусор, плавающий по воде): Karakh. *jam* (MK) 1; Tv. *čam* 2.

◊ VEWT 205.

PJpn. ****dàmá(n)kúi*** Artemisia, mugwort (вид полыни): OJpn. *jom(w)ogi*; MJpn. *jòmógi*; Tok. *yòmogi*; Kyo. *yòmògi*; Kag. *yomogí*.

◊ JLTT 576.

‖ Jpn. **dàmá-* < **dàmá-* because of the incompatibility of *a and *ə in PJ.

ǯére (~ *ǯáro, -a)** armour, weapon: Mong. ****ǯer; Turk. ****jar-***; Jpn. ****dárəpí***.

PMong. ****ǯer*** weapon (оружие): MMong. *ǯer* (SH, HYt); WMong. *ǯer* (L 1045); Kh. *ǯer*; Bur. *zer*; Kalm. *zer*; Ord. *ǯir*.

◊ KW 473.

PTurk. ****jar-*** armour (панцирь, доспехи): OTurk. *jariq* (Orkh.); Karakh. *jariq* (MK); MTurk. *jariq* (AH).

◊ EDT 962, VEWT 190, ЭСТЯ 4, 147. Modern languages widely reflect **jarak* 'weapon, armour' (Kirgh. *žaraq*, Uygh. *jaraq* etc., see ЭСТЯ 4, 139). This seems to be a contamination of the earlier attested **jarag* 'readiness, opportunity' (derived from **jara-* 'to be fit, suitable' q. v. sub **ǯára*; see EDT ibid.) and **jarik* 'armour'.

PJpn. ****dárəpí*** armour, weapons (оружие, панцирь): OJpn. *joropji*; MJpn. *jórófi*; Tok. *yòroi*; Kyo. *yóróí*; Kag. *yorói*.

◊ JLTT 577.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term.

***ǯə̀ri** to be annoyed, disgusted: Tung. ***ǯēri-**; Mong. ***ǯirke-**; Turk. ***jęr-**; Jpn. ***(d)ira-**.

PTung. ***ǯēri-** to boast (хвастаться): Ul. *ǯeru-*; Ork. *dērī-*; Nan. *ǯēri-*; Orch. *ǯeri-*.

◊ TMC 1, 285.

PMong. ***ǯirke-** to hate, be disgusted (ненавидеть, испытывать отвращение): Bur. *žerxe-*.

◊ Attested only in Buryat, but having quite probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***jęr-** to hate (ненавидеть, питать отвращение): OTurk. *jer-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jer-* (MK); Tur. *jer-*; Az. *jer-*; Turkm. *īr-*; MTurk. *jer-* (AH); Kirgh. *ǯeri-*; Kaz. *žer-*; KKalp. *žeri-*; Oyr. *jeri-*; Yak. *sir-*.

◊ EDT 955, ЭСТЯ 4, 193, VEWT 198. Yakut shows that the Turkm. length is secondary (*īr- = jir-*).

PJpn. ***(d)ira-** to be nervous, angry (нервничать, сердиться): MJpn. *ira-t-, ira-ra-*; Tok. *ira-dát-, íra-ira*; Kyo. *írá-dát-, íra-ira*; Kag. *ìràdàt-, ira-íra / ira-irá*.

◊ JLTT 698. The original tone is hard to establish, because the root is present only as a reduplication or part of compound, and the RJ accentuation is not attested.

‖ Phonetically the TM form is a very good match for the rest; the meaning 'boast' may be connected if we suppose a causative formation ('cause annoyance (e.g. by boasting') > 'boast'.

***ǯə́ro (~ -u)** edge, row: Tung. ***ǯerin**; Mong. ***ǯerge**; Turk. ***jār**.

PTung. ***ǯerin** edge (край): Man. *ǯerin*; Ul. *ǯerin*; Nan. *ǯerī*.

◊ TMC 1, 285.

PMong. ***ǯerge** row, rank (ряд, разряд): MMong. *ǯerge-* 'rank, order' (SH, HYt); WMong. *ǯerge* (L 1045); Kh. *ǯereg*; Bur. *ǯerge*; Kalm. *zergə* (KPC); Ord. *ǯirge*; Dag. *ǯerigi*, (Тод. Даг. 143) *ǯerehe* 'rank, degree' (MD 176), *ǯerge, ǯereg*; S.-Yugh. *ǯerγe*; Mongr. *ǯerge* (SM 87).

◊ KW 473, MGCD 441. Mong. > Oyr. *järgä* etc. (ЭСТЯ 4, 25); Man. *ǯergi* etc., see TMN 1, 293, Doerfer MT 117, Rozycki 123.

PTurk. ***jār** precipice, steep bank (обрыв, крутой берег): Karakh. *jar* (MK); Tur. *jar*; Gag. *jar*; Az. *jar-Gan*; Turkm. *jār*; MTurk. *jar* (Ettuhf., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ǯar*; Uygh. *jar*; Krm. *jar*; Tat. *jar*; Bashk. *jar*; Kirgh. *ǯar*; Kaz. *žar*; Kum. *jar*; Nogh. *jar*; Khak. *čar*; Oyr. *ďar*; Chuv. *śĭr*; Yak. *sīr*; Dolg. *hīr*.

◊ EDT 953-954, VEWT 188-9, ЭСТЯ 4, 17-18, Stachowski 121.

‖ A Western isogloss. In Turkic one could also compare **jarı* (**jaru*) 'side', but the word is attested late, restricted to the Kypchak area and may be in fact a simplification of **jāk* 'side'+ directional -ru (cf. especially length in Oyr. *ďār*); see ЭСТЯ 4, 145-146.

✱**ǯi (~ *ǯi̯a)** to come: Tung. ***ǯi-** (~ ***di-**); Mong. ***ǯid-kü-**; Turk. ***jẹt-**.

PTung. ***ǯi-** (~ ***di-**) to come (приходить): Man. *ǯi-*; SMan. *ǯi-* (1172); Jurch. *di-xexe-gi* (678), *di-hul* (712); Ul. *diwu*; Nan. *ǯi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 255.

PMong. ***ǯid-kü-** to strive (стремиться, стараться): MMong. *ǯidku-* (MA 205); WMong. *ǯidkü-* (L 1049), *ǯüdkü-*; Kh. *ǯütge-*; Kalm. *zütkə-*; Ord. *ǯüdχü-*.

◊ KW 484. Mong. > Kirgh. *jütkün-* 'erregt sein' (KW 116).

PTurk. ***jẹt-** to reach (достигать): OTurk. *jet-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jet-* (MK); Tur. *jet-*; Gag. *jet-*; Az. *jet-iš-*; Turkm. *jet-*; Sal. *jet-*; MTurk. *jet-* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.), *jät-* (AH); Uzb. *jet-*; Uygh. *jät-*; Krm. *jet-*; Tat. *ǯit-*; Bashk. *jet-*; Kirgh. *ǯet-*; Kaz. *žet-*; KBalk. *ǯet-*, *zet-*; KKalp. *žet-*; Kum. *jet-*; Nogh. *jet-*; SUygh. *jet-*, *jit-*; Khak. *čit-*; Shr. *čet-*; Oyr. *jät-*, *ǰet-*; Tv. *če't-*; Chuv. *śit-*; Yak. *sit-*; Dolg. *hit-*.

◊ EDT 884-885, VEWT 199, ЭСТЯ 4, 193-194, Stachowski 105.

‖ EAS 52, KW 484, SKE 32. A Western isogloss; Ramstedt compares also Kor. *-ti-* (mod. *-či-*) 'to become', in which case the reconstruction should be changed to **di*.

✱**ǯìbì** house: Tung. ***ǯīb**; Mong. ***ǯuwka**; Jpn. ***(d)ìpià**; Kor. ***čìp**.

PTung. ***ǯīb** house, dwelling (дом, жилище): Evk. *ǯū*; Evn. *ǯū̯*; Neg. *ǯō*; Man. *ǯeofi* 'round hovel thatched with straw or birch bark'; Ul. *ǯū̯(γ)*; Ork. *dū̯-qu̯*; Nan. *ǯō*; Orch. *ǯu(g)*; Ud. *ǯugdi*; Sol. *ǯūγ*.

◊ TMC 1, 266-7, 285. For final *-b cf. Evk. *ǯūw-čā-* 'to do housework'. PT **ǯūb* probably < **ǯīb*; the archaic front vowel is preserved in the derivative **ǯīb-ma-* 'to go to one's home, to go visiting' > Evk. *ǯūmā-*, Evn. *ǯū̯ma-*, Oroch *ǯīma-*, Nan. *ǯi̯ma-* etc. (see TMC 1, 266-7, 257.).

PMong. ***ǯuwka** stove, hearth (печь, очаг): WMong. *ǯuuqa* (L 1081); Kh. *ǯūx*; Bur. *zūxa*; Kalm. *zūxə*; Ord. *ǯūxa*; Dong. *ǯowo*, *ǯiəwə*; S.-Yugh. *ǯouχuə*; Mongr. *ǯōxo*, *ǯōxo*.

◊ KW 482, MGCD 299, 460. Mong. > Leb., Kumd. *joqqi*.

PJpn. ***(d)ìpià** house (дом): OJpn. *ipje*; MJpn. *ìfè*; Tok. *ié*; Kyo. *íè*; Kag. *ié*.

◊ JLTT 421.

PKor. ***čìp** house (дом): MKor. *čìp*; Mod. *čip*.

◊ Liu 687, KED 1554.

‖ Martin 234, АПиПЯЯ 15, 69. Low tone in Kor. is irregular.

✱**ǯígù** to hurry, run: Tung. ***ǯig-**; Mong. ***ǯiɣi-**; Turk. ***jügür-**; Jpn. ***dúk-**.

PTung. ***ǯig-** 1 running fast; race horse 2 to streak (1 проворно бегающий, беговая лошадь 2 мелькать): Evk. *ǯiγar* 1; Evn. *ǯi̯g-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 255.

PMong. ***ǯiɣi-** to run, gallop (нестись, мчаться): WMong. *ǯiγi-* (MXTTT); Kh. *ǯī-ge-*; Kalm. *ǯīgə-* (KPC).

PTurk. ***jügür-*** to hurry, run (спешить, бежать): OTurk. *jügür-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jügür-* (MK); Tur. *jügür-*, *jüjir-* (dial.); Az. *jüjür-*; Turkm. *jüwür-* (dial.), *jügür-*; Sal. *jugur-*, *jü'kür-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *jügür-* (Houts., MA, AH), *jüwür-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jügir-*, *jugur-*; Uygh. *žügü(r)-*; Krm. *juwur-*, *ǯuwur-*; Tat. *jöger-*; Bashk. *jüger-*; Kirgh. *ǯügür-*; Kaz. *žügir-*; KKalp. *žügir-*, *žuwɨr-*; Nogh. *juwɨr-*; Khak. *čügür-*; Shr. *čügür-*; Oyr. *jügür-*, *ɗügür-*; Tv. *čügür-*; Yak. *sür-*; Dolg. *hür-*.

◊ EDT 914, VEWT 212, ЭСТЯ 4, 258, Stachowski 116.

PJpn. ***dúk-*** to go, walk (идти, ходить): OJpn. *juk-*; MJpn. *júk-*; Tok *yùk-*, *ìk-*; Kyo. *ík-*; Kag. *ík-*.

‖ Turk. **jügür-* reveals an assimilatory labialization (< **jigür-*).

✱**ǯìma** dark, quiet: Mong. ****ǯim***; Jpn. ****dàmùi***; Kor. ****čjəmír-***.

PMong. ****ǯim*** calmness, quietness (покой, тишина): WMong. *ǯim* (L 1056); Kh. *ǯim*; Kalm. *ǯim* 'звукоподражание молчанию' (*sic*) (KPC).

PJpn. ****dàmùi*** darkness (темнота): OJpn. *jami*; MJpn. *jàmì*; Tok. *yamí*; Kyo. *yámì*; Kag. *yamí*.

◊ JLTT 573.

PKor. ****čjəmír-*** to become dark (темнеть): MKor. *čjəmír-*; Mod. *čəmul-*.

◊ Nam 424, KED 1420.

‖ Whitman 1985, 185, 219 (Kor.-Jpn.). Korean has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**ǯip'o** perfume, fumes: Mong. ****ǯiɣar***; Turk. ****jɨpar***; Jpn. ****(d)impu-s-***.

PMong. ****ǯiɣar*** strong perfume, musk (сильный запах, мускус): MMong. *ǯixar* (HY 11); WMong. *ǯiɣar*, *ǯaɣar* (L 1023); Kh. *ǯār*; Bur. *zār*; Kalm. *zār*; Ord. *ǯār*; Dag. *ǯār*; S.-Yugh. *ǯārə*.

◊ KW 469, MGCD 419. Mong. > Man. *ǯarin*, Sol. *ǯār*, see TMN 2, 3, Doerfer MT 136, Rozycki 121.

PTurk. ****jɨpar*** smell, perfume, musk (запах, аромат, мускус): OTurk. *jɨpar* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨpar* (MK); Tur. *jɨpar* (dial.); Sal. *ju'ar*, *juχar*; MTurk. *jɨpar* (Houts.), *ipar* (AH), *jɨbar* (Pav. C.); Tat. *jɨfar*, *ǯufar*; Bashk. *jofar*; Kirgh. *ǯɨpar*; Kaz. *župar*; KKalp. *župar*; Yak. *sɨbar*.

◊ EDT 878-879, VEWT 201, ЭСТЯ 4, 284.

PJpn. ****(d)impu-*** 1 to smoke, fume 2 to be smoky (1 дымить, окуривать 2 дымиться): MJpn. *ibus-* 1, *ibur-* 2; Tok. *ibús-* 1, *ibúr-* 2; Kyo. *íbús-* 1, *íbúr-* 2; Kag. *ibús-* 1, *ibúr-* 2.

◊ JLTT 696. Original accent is not quite clear.

‖ KW, Владимирцов 209, Poppe 47, 80, 123. Despite TMN 1, 3, not a loan in Mong. from Turk.

✱**ǯip´u** evening, darkness: Tung. ***ǯip-ku-***; Jpn. ***dupu***.

PTung. ***ǯip-ku- (~ -ü-)*** to dusk (смеркаться, темнеть): Evn. *ǯipku-*; Neg. *ǯipku-, ǯipkil-*.

◊ TMC 1, 259.

PJpn. ***dupu*** evening (вечер): OJpn. *jupu, jupu-pje*; MJpn. *jufu, jufu-be*; Tok. *yūbe*.

◊ JLTT 580. Original accent is not quite clear.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**ǯírV** to split, slice: Tung. ***ǯī-***; Mong. ***ǯir-***; Turk. ***jīr-***.

PTung. ***ǯī-*** to cut off a slice, slice (срезать, нарезать полосками): Evk. *ǯī-*; Evn. *ǯi-*; Neg. *ǯi* 'piece of meat'; Ul. *ǯū-*; Nan. *ǯiɻaχa* 'small piece'; Orch. *ǯī-*; Ud. *ǯī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 255.

PMong. ***ǯir-*** 1 to cut lengthwise, slice 2 to split, hack (1 резать вдоль, резать ломтиками 2 раскалывать (дрова), разрубать (тушу)): MMong. *ǯisu-* 1 (MA 340); WMong. *ǯisü-* (L 1064) 1, *ǯirge-* (MXTT) 2; Kh. *ǯüse-* 1, *ǯirge-* 2; Bur. *žühe-, zühe-* 1, *žarxi* 2; Kalm. *züsə-* (KPC) 1; Ord. *ǯüsü-* 1; S.-Yugh. *čusu-* 1.

◊ MGCD 470. Mong. > Man. *ǯisu-*. The form *ǯirge-* shows that *ǯisü-* was originally a denominative verb, from a noun **ǯi-sü* < **ǯir-sü*.

PTurk. ***jīr- / *jīr-*** 1 to split lengthwise 2 to break, tear (1 расщеплять вдоль 2 ломать, разрывать): Karakh. *je/ir-* 1 (MK); Tur. *jir-* 2 (dial.); Gag. *jir-* 2; Turkm. *jir-* 1, 2; MTurk. (MKypch.) *jir-* 1 (AH); Uzb. *jir-* 1; Uygh. *jir-, ǯir-* 1; Tat. *jir-* 2; Bashk. *jir-* 2; Kirgh. *ǯir-* 2; Kaz. *žir-* 2; KKalp. *žir-* 2; Kum. *jir-* 'to dig through'; Nogh. *jir-* 2; Khak. *čər-* 1; Tv. *čir-* 1; Yak. *sīr-* 2.

◊ VEWT 198, EDT 955, ЭСТЯ 4, 203-204.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ǯiŕe** metal; anvil: Tung. ***ǯirA***; Turk. ***jEŕ***.

PTung. ***ǯirA*** anvil (наковальня): Evk. *ǯira*; Neg. *dijē-n*; Man. *ǯerin*; Ul. *dere(n)*; Nan. *ǯirẽ*; Orch. *darasu, deresu*; Ud. *ǯile, ǯīle* (Корм. 233).

◊ TMC 1, 259.

PTurk. ***jEŕ*** copper (медь): Karakh. *jez* (TT); Uzb. *ǯez*; Uygh. *ǯäz*; Krm. *jez*; Tat. *ǯiz*; Bashk. *jeδ*; Kirgh. *ǯez*; Kaz. *žez*; KBalk. *zez*; KKalp. *žez*; Kum. *jez*; Nogh. *jez*; SUygh. *ǯes*; Khak. *čis*; Shr. *čes*; Oyr. *jes, ǰes*; Tv. *čes*.

◊ EDT 982, VEWT 199, ЭСТЯ 4, 168-169, Лексика 404-405. Turk. > Mong. *jez, ǯes* id. (Clark 1980, 39, Щербак 1997, 123).

‖ Лексика 405. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; phonetically satisfactory, but not devoid of semantic problems ("metal" in PT vs. "tool for working metal" in PTM).

***ǯi̯aba** to call, request: Tung. ***ǯiab-**; Mong. ***ǯaɣa-**; Turk. ***jab-či**; Jpn. ***duá(m)p-**.

PTung. ***ǯiab-** to respond, answer (a call, request) (откликаться (на зов)): Evk. *ǯāw-*; Evn. *ǯāw-*; Man. *ǯabu-*; SMan. *ǯavə-*, *ǯavu-* (1292); Ork. *darra-*; Orch. *ǯā-*; Ud. *ǯieu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 240.

PMong. ***ǯaɣa-** to teach, show, demonstrate, appeal (указывать, показывать, учить): MMong. *ǯa'a-* (HY 34, SH); WMong. *ǯiɣa-* (L 1049); Kh. *ʒā-*; Bur. *zā-*; Kalm. *zā-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯā-*; Dag. *ǯā-* (Тод. Даг. 141, MD 174); Dong. *ǯa-* (Тод. Дн.); Bao. *ǯa-* 'to complain' (Тод. Бн.); S.-Yugh. *ǯā-*; Mongr. *ǯā-* (SM 75).

◊ MGCD 419.

PTurk. ***jab-či** in-between, matchmaker (сват): MTurk. *javčï* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ǯawčï* (dial.), *ǯɔwči*; Tat. *jawči*; Bashk. *jawsï*; Kirgh. *ǯŭču*; Kaz. *žawšï*; KKalp. *žawšï*; Nogh. *jawšï*; Oyr. *ǰŭčï*, *jūčï*.

◊ VEWT 176, ЭСТЯ 4, 34. Turk. > WMong. *ǯabu(l)či*, Khalkha *ʒūč* id. (hardly vice versa, despite Rona-Tas KM II 125-126).

PJpn. ***duá(m)p-** to call (звать): OJpn. *jwob-*; MJpn. *jób-*; Tok. *yòb-*; Kyo. *yób-*; Kag. *yób-*.

◊ JLTT 786.

‖ Jpn. **duá(m)p-* < **ǯi̯āba-p-* (with contraction).

***ǯi̯abo (~ *ǯi̯obe, -p-)** a k. of fish (salmon): Tung. ***ǯobi**; Mong. ***ǯebeɣe**.

PTung. ***ǯobi** a k. of fish (salmo lenoc) (вид рыбы (ленок)): Neg. *ǯojo*; *ǯowlatkān* 'a small taimen'; Nan. *ǯoi̯*; Ud. *ǯüiso*, dial. *ǯauŋa*.

◊ TMC 1, 262. In Evk. and Manchu we have *ǯelbe(n)* - obviously through contamination with yet another root, TM **ǯelī* 'taimen' (TMC 1, 284).

PMong. ***ǯebeɣe** Salmo lenoc (Salmo lenoc): MMong. *ǯebge* (SH); WMong. *ǯebeɣe* (MXTTT); Kh. *ʒevē*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, but borrowing seems hardly feasible. Cf. **di̯ā̆jgi*.

***ǯi̯àjnà** to burn; ashes, tar: Tung. ***ǯian-**; Turk. ***jan-**, ***jan-tïr-**; Jpn. ***dànì**; Kor. ***čă̆i**.

PTung. ***ǯian-** 1 to burn, blaze 2 to extinguish 3 to heat 4 torch 5 glowing coals (1 пылать 2 тушить 3 топить 4 факел 5 жар, горящие угли): Evk. *ǯānŋe-* 1; Man. *jaŋGa* 4; Ork. *dandalli-* 2; Nan. *jaŋGoŕa-* 3; Ud. *ǯaŋa* 5.

◊ TMC 1,249,342. A specific development of the initial **ǯ-* in Manchu and Nanai is probably conditioned by its position before the diphthong **ia*.

PTurk. ***jan-**, ***jan-tïr-** 1 to burn (*itr.*), blaze up 2 to burn (tr.) 3 to kindle 4 to shine (1 гореть, загораться 2 жечь 3 зажигать 4 светить): Karakh. *jan-* 1 (MK); Tur. *jan-* 1; Gag. *jan-* 1; Az. *jan-* 1, *jandïr-* 2; Turkm. *jan-* 1; MTurk. *jan-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔn-* 1; Uygh. *jan-* 1 (dial.); Krm. *jan-*

1; Tat. *jan-* 1, *jandir-* 2; Bashk. *jan-* 1; Kirgh. *ǯan-* 1; Kaz. *žan-* 1; KBalk. *žan-* 1; KKalp. *žan-* 1; Kum. *jan-* 1; Nogh. *jan-* 1, *jandir-* 2; Chuv. *śon-* 1, *śondar-* 2; Yak. *san-dār-* 4.

◊ VEWT 184, EDT 942, 947-948, Федотов 2, 136, ЭСТЯ 4, 112, Лексика 362.

PJpn. ***dànì*** tar, pitch (смола, деготь): OJpn. *jani*; MJpn. *jànì*; Tok. *yaní*; Kyo. *yánì*; Kag. *yaní*.

◊ JLTT 573.

PKor. ***čǎi*** ashes (зола, пепел): MKor. *čǎi*; Mod. *čă*.

◊ Nam 418, KED 1409.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 287. Medial *-j- accounts for loss of *-n- in Kor.

ǯi̯ak'a** order, rent: Tung. ***ǯiaka; Mong. ***ǯaki-***; Turk. ***jaka***.

PTung. ***ǯiaka*** 1 coin, money 2 valuables, things (1 монета, деньги 2 ценные вещи, вещи): Evk. *ǯaka* 2; Neg. *ǯaxa* 1, 2; Man. *ǯiχa* 1, *ǯaqa* 2; SMan. *ǯihā* (1412) 1; Jurch. *ǯie-xa* (575) 1, *ǯa-xa* 2; Ul. *ǯaqa* 2; Ork. *ǯaqa, ǯaqqa* 2; Nan. *ǯaqa* 2; Orch. *ǯaka* 2; Sol. *ǯaka* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 242, 243. Despite the doublet in Manchu, the forms meaning 'coin, money' and 'valuables' are hard to separate. Most probably we are dealing with interdialectal and interlingual loans: Manchu *ǯaqa* 'thing(s)' < Southern TM, while Manchu *ǯiχa* 'coin, money' (with a secondarily developed meaning) > Nan. *ǯiχa*, Orok *ǯaχa*, Ul. *ǯêχa* etc. 'money'. The original meaning (preserved, e.g., in Negidal) appears to have been 'valuable things destined for dowry'. Man. > Dag. *ǯiga* 'coin'.

PMong. ***ǯaki-*** to order (приказывать, заказывать): WMong. *ǯaki-* (L 1028); Kh. *ɜaxi-*; Bur. *zaxi-*; Kalm. *zakə-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯaχi-*; Dag. *ǯeki-* (Тод. Дар. 142 *ǯaki-*, 180 *čakir-*); S.-Yugh. *ǯakə-*; Mongr. *ǯəGān* 'honnête, loyal, en paix' (SM 72).

◊ MGCD 437.

PTurk. ***jaka*** rent, lease (плата, наем): OTurk. *jaqa* (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 898.

‖ A Western isogloss.

ǯi̯ák'ù** to pass, fit: Tung. ***ǯēk- (*ǯiak-); Mong. ****ǯoki-***; Jpn. ***dúkár-***.

PTung. ***ǯēk- (*ǯiak-)*** 1 fitting 2 to fit (1 точно, впору 2 подходить, быть впору): Neg. *ǯēk* 1, *ǯēk-* 2; Ul. *ǯēk* 1; Ork. *ǯīk, ǯēk* 1; Nan. *ǯēk* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 283. Long -ē- in all sources and the variation -ī- / -ē- in Orok point most probably to PTM *-ia- (with the expected -ê- in modern languages confused with -ē- after an affricate).

PMong. ****ǯoki-*** to pass, fit (подходить, соответствовать): WMong. *ǯoki-* (L 1068); Kh. *ɜoxi-*; Bur. *zoxi-*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *ǯoki-* etc. (see TMC 1, 262).

PJpn. ***dúkár-*** 1 to be related, connected 2 relation, connection (1 быть связанным, находиться в связи 2 связь, отношение): MJpn. *jukar-* 1, *jukari* 2; Tok. *yùkari* 2; Kyo. *yúkárí* 2; Kag. *yukári* 2.

‖ Despite TMC 283, the TM form has nothing to do with Mong. *ǯöbken* 'only'.

***ǯi̯ale** to burn, flash: Tung. ***ǯild-**; Mong. ***ǯali**; Turk. ***jal-**.

PTung. ***ǯild-** 1 to glance, be wide open (of eyes) 2 star 3 big-eyed (1 уставиться, выпучиться 2 звезда 3 большеглазый): Evk. *ǯildarān-, ǯildarga-* 1, (Kamn.) *ǯildawkī* 2; Evn. *ǯi̯ldakụ* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 257. The meaning 'star' in the Kamn. dialect of Evenki is clearly secondary (< 'flash'), so the comparison with OT *julduz* proposed ibid. is impossible.

PMong. ***ǯali** flame (пламя): WMong. *ǯali* (L 1031); Kh. *ǯaĺ*; Bur. *zali*; Kalm. *zā́lə*.

◊ KW 470.

PTurk. ***jal-** 1 to burn, blaze 2 flame (1 гореть, пылать 2 пламя): OTurk. *jal-* 1 (OUygh.), *jalïn* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jal-* 1 (MK), *jalïn* 2 (MK); Tur. *jalïn* 2; Gag. *jalïn* 2; Turkm. *jalïn* 2; MTurk. *jalïn* 2 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jalïŋ* 2 (dial.); Krm. *jalïn* 2; Kirgh. *ǯalïn* 2; Kaz. *ǯalïn* 2; KKalp. *ǯalïn* 2; Kum. *jalïn* 2; Nogh. *jalïn* 2; SUygh. *jalïn* 2; Khak. *čalïn* 2; Oyr. *jalïn, ǰalïn* 2; Tv. *čalïn* 2; Chuv. *śolъm* 2.

◊ VEWT 181, EDT 918, 929, ЭСТЯ 4, 106-107, Лексика 23, 356-357, 363, Федотов 2, 133-134, TMN 4, 187. Cf. also Kypch. *jalgavuč* 'frying pan' (ЭСТЯ 4, 13). Turk. **jaltïr-* 'to flash, blazed' (ЭСТЯ 4, 94) > Mong. *iltira-* id.; **jaltïrïm* (ЭСТЯ 4, 281) 'lightning' > Mong. *jildurum* id. (Щербак 1997, 121).

‖ KW 470. A Western isogloss, but, despite Щербак 1997, 121-122, hardly a loanword in Mong. < Turkic (final -i of the Mong. form is unexplained). The Turkic form, however, due to a merger of *ǯ- and *d- can also reflect PA **dàli* 'to roast, burn' (q.v.); cf. especially Kypch. *jalgavuč* 'frying pan' (ЭСТЯ 4, 13).

***ǯi̯ap'e** bare, naked, saddleless: Tung. ***ǯipu-čān**; Mong. ***ǯajidaŋ**; Turk. ***jąpïtak**.

PTung. ***ǯipu-čān** fur coat (worn on bare body) (шуба, нательный тулуп): Evk. *ǯipučān*; Man. *ǯibča(n)*; SMan. *ǯifəčā, ǯivəčā* 'fox fur coat' (225); Sol. *ǯibća*.

◊ TMC 1, 259.

PMong. ***ǯajidaŋ** saddleless (бесседельный): WMong. *ǯajidaŋ* (L 1026); Kh. *ǯajdan*; Bur. *zajdan*; Kalm. *zādŋ*; Ord. *ǯādaŋ*.

◊ KW 471. Modern Turkic forms like Kirgh. *ǯajdaq* 'saddleless' are < Mong. (see KW ibid., VEWT 179), despite some doubts in ЭСТЯ 4, 12.

PTurk. ***jąpïtak** without saddle (без седла): Karakh. *jabïtaq* (MK); Tur. *japïldaq* (dial.); Gag. *jalburdaq*; Turkm. *japbïllaq*; Uygh. *jawdaq*; SUygh. *jabïtaq*; Khak. *čabdax*; Shr. *čabïdaq*; Oyr. *ǰabïdaq*; Tv. *čawïdaq*; Yak. *sïbïdax*.

◊ EDT 873, ЭСТЯ 4, 49-50.

‖ Владимирцов 271. A Western isogloss. Closed *ą in Turkic is not quite clear (perhaps secondary vowel assimilation in Yak.?). Mong. *ǯubčaγa* (L 1077) 'fur-lined, cloth garment with fur inside' may be secondarily borrowed < TM.

✱**ǯi̯aru(kV)** a k. of foliage tree, alder: Tung. ***ǯugde-n***; Turk. ***jẹrük***; Jpn. ***dunturi***.

PTung. ***ǯugde-n*** alder (ольха): Evk. *ǯugden*; Evn. *ǯ̄ōdēkeɣ*, *ǯogdakaɣ*; Neg. *ǯuɡdēn*; Man. *ǯuqden*, *ǯekde* 'a k. of tree'; Ork. *ǯuegde*; Orch. *ǯugde(n)*; Ud. *ǯugde(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 269.

PTurk. ***jẹrük*** 1 alder 2 cedar (1 ольха 2 кедр): Tat. *jerek*, *jörek* 1; Bashk. *jerek* 1; KBalk. *ǯerk* 1; Shr. *jürgek* 2; Oyr. *jürük* 2; Chuv. *śirək* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 206-207, VEWT 204, Лексика 130-131. Turk. > Hung. *gyűrű* 'maple'.

PJpn. ***dunturi*** Daphnyphyllum macropodum (дафнифиллум (небольшое вечнозеленое деревце)): MJpn. *juduri-fa*; Tok. *yuzurí-ha*; Kyo. *yúzúrí-há*; Kag. *yuzurí-ha*.

‖ The etymology is possible, though somewhat problematic. Whether the Japanese Daphnyphyllum may be equated with the Turkic and TM alder is a botanical question requiring additional clarification; as for the equation of the Turkic and TM forms, it is possible if we assume PTM **ǯugde-* < **ǯurke*, with the original velar suffix reinterpreted as part of the root.

✱**ǯi̯ó̜ke (~ -kʻ-)** side, corner, direction: Tung. ***ǯuku-***; Mong. ***ǯüg***; Turk. ***jāk***; Jpn. ***dəkə́***.

PTung. ***ǯuku-*** 1 road 2 corner (1 дорога 2 угол): Neg. *ǯoxon* 2; Man. *ǯuGun* 1; SMan. *ǯohən* 1 (1244); Jurch. *ǯu-huj* (57) 1; Ul. *ǯoqo(n)* 2; Nan. *ǯoqõ* 2; Orch. *ǯoko(n)* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 262, 269 (words meaning 'direction' are most probably Mongolisms, see Rozycki 125).

PMong. ***ǯüg*** side, direction (сторона, направление): MMong. *ǯuk* (SH), *ǯug* (MA), *ǯuk* 'Ort' (HYt); WMong. *ǯüg* (L 1082); Kh. *ǯüg*; Bur. *züg*; Kalm. *züg*, *üzəg*; Ord. *ǯüg*; Mog. *ǯug* (Weiers); ZM *ǯug* (6-7b); Dag. *ǯug*, *ǯur* (Тод. Дат. 145), *ǯuhe* (MD 180); Bao. *śoG*; S.-Yugh. *šog*; Mongr. *roG*, joG (SM 316), (MGCD *ǯoG*).

◊ KW 460, 483, MGCD 467.

PTurk. ***jāk*** side (сторона): Turkm. *jāq* (dial.); MTurk. *jaq* (R), *jaq* (LOQ); Uzb. *jɔq*; Uygh. *jaq*; Tat. *jaq*, *ǯaq*; Bashk. *jaq*; Kirgh. *ǯaq*; Kaz. *žaq*; KKalp. *žaq*; Kum. *jaq* (dial.); Nogh. *jaq*; SUygh. *jaq*.

◊ VEWT 180, ЭСТЯ 4, 82.

PJpn. ***dəkə́*** side (сторона): OJpn. *joko*; MJpn. *jókó*; Tok. *yòko*; Kyo. *yókó*; Kag. *yóko*.

◊ JLTT 576.

‖ Martin 230 (Mong.-Tung.-Jpn.), АПиПЯЯ 77, 291.

✱**ǯi̯ókʻè** ice, cold, snow: Tung. ***ǯuke***; Mong. ***ǯike-ɣün***; Jpn. ***dúkì***.

PTung. ***ǯuke*** ice (лед): Evk. *ǯuke*; Evn. *ǯök*; Neg. *ǯuxe*; Man. *ǯuxe*; SMan. *ǯuxē*, *ǯuxū* (2029); Jurch. *ǯu-xe* (272); Ul. *ǯū*, *ǯue*; Ork. *duwe*, duke;

Nan. *ǯuke*; *ǯogbor* 'piece of ice on earth'; Orch. *ǯuke*; Ud. *ǯugde* (Корм. 235), *ǯuge*.

◊ TMC 1, 260, 271. TM > Dag. *ǯuku* (Тод. Даг. 145).

PMong. ***ǯike-ɣün*** cool, cold (холодный): WMong. *ǯikegün* (L 1054); Kh. *ǯixūn*; Ord. *ǯiχūn*.

◊ Mong. *ǯikir-* 'to shiver with cold' > Oyr. *jikir-* id.

PJpn. ***dúkì*** snow (снег): OJpn. *jukji*; MJpn. *juki*; Tok. *yukí*; Kyo. *yúkì*; Kag. *yúki*.

◊ JLTT 579.

‖ Murayama 1974, 177-78, Miller 1985b, 201, 1986, 46.

✱***ǯi̯ōlu*** river bed, stream: Tung. ****ǯila-***; Mong. ****ǯilga***; Turk. ****jul***.

PTung. ****ǯila-*** swift (not freezing) river current, ice-hole (быстрое (незамерзающее) течение, прорубь): Man. *ǯilan*, *ǯulan*.

◊ TMC 1, 257.

PMong. ****ǯilga*** river bed, ravine (русло реки, ущелье): MMong. *ǯilɣas* (MA 372); WMong. *ǯilɣa* (L 1055); Kh. *ǯalga*; Bur. *žalga*; Kalm. *ǯalɣə* (KPC); Dag. *ǯalag* (Тод. Даг. 142); S.-Yugh. *ǯalGa*.

◊ MGCD 428. Mong. > Kirgh. *ǯilɣa* etc. (see VEWT 200, ЭСТЯ 4, 36-38).

PTurk. ****jul*** stream, brook, fountain (река, ручей): OTurk. *jul* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jul* (MK); Sal. *jul*; Khak. *čul*; Oyr. *jul*; Chuv. *śъʷl*.

◊ EDT 917-918, VEWT 209-210, ЭСТЯ 4, 244.

‖ Лексика 89. A Western isogloss.

✱***ǯi̯ȍmu*** round: Tung. ****ǯem- (~ -ia-)***; Turk. ****jum-***.

PTung. ****ǯem- (~ -ia-)*** orbed, spheric (округлый, шаровидный): Evk. *ǯembeme*; Neg. *ǯeŋge-*.

◊ TMC 1, 284.

PTurk. ****jum-*** 1 round 2 ball of wool, thread (1 круглый 2 клубок): Karakh. *jumɣaq* 2 (MK); Tur. *jumak* 2, *jumru* 1; Gag. *jumaq* 2; Az. *jumru* 1, *jumaG* 2; Turkm. *jumaq* 2, *jumrı* 1; Sal. *jumax* 2; MTurk. *jumru* 1 (Pav. C.), *jumqaq* 2 (MA); Uzb. *jumalɔq* 1; Uygh. *jumlaq* 1; Krm. *jumɣaq* 2; Tat. *jomrı* 1, *jomɣaq* 2; Bashk. *jomoro* 1, *jomɣaq* 2; Kirgh. *ǯumuru* 1; Kaz. *ǯumaq* 2; KKalp. *ǯumrı* 1, *ǯumaq* 2; Kum. *jummaq* 2; Khak. *nıŋmax* 2; Oyr. *jumɣaq* 2; Chuv. *śъʷmɣa* 2.

◊ One of expressive common Turkic roots meaning 'round, spherical'. See VEWT 210, EDT 871, 873, 877, 936, 937-8, ЭСТЯ 4, 246-247, 249-250. The root has also a variant (expressive?) **jub-*, see ЭСТЯ 4, 237-238, Stachowski 114.

‖ An expressive and not quite reliable Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱***ǯi̯ȍŋè*** dream, echo: Tung. ****ǯōŋi-***; Mong. ****ǯeɣü-***; Turk. ****jaŋ***; Jpn. ****dìmài / *dùmài***; Kor. ****čá(ŋ)-***.

PTung. ****ǯōŋi-*** to resound, echo; to imitate (раздаваться (эху); подражать): Evn. *ǯōŋi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 265. Attested only in Evn., with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***ǯeɣü-*** 1 dream 2 to talk in one's sleep (1 сновидение 2 разговаривать во сне): MMong. *ǯeu'udun* (HY 35) 1, *ǯüdäli-* 'dream, pollution' 1 (IM); WMong. *ǯegüde(n)*, *ǯegüdü(n)* 1 (L 1043), *ǯegüle-* 2 (L 1044); Kh. *ǯüden* 1, *ǯüle-* 2; Bur. *züde(n)* 1; Kalm. *züdn̥* (KPC); Ord. *ǯüde* 1; Mog. *ǯöwdüla-* (Ramstedt 1906) 'to dream'; Dag. *ǯeud* 1 (Тод. Даг. 143 *ǯeude* 1, *ǯeule-* 2), *ǯeude* 1, *ǯeule* 2 (MD 176); Dong. *ǯōǯin* 1; Bao. *ǯoŋdoŋ*, (Тод. Бн.) *ǯudoŋ* 1, *ǯodele-* 'to have a dream'; S.-Yugh. *ǯüden* 1; Mongr. *ǯüdin* (SM 94), *ǯüdən* 1.

◊ MGCD 465.

PTurk. ***jaŋ*** 1 echo 2 sound, resound 3 to sound, pronounce (1 эхо 2 подражание звукам, звучание 3 звучать): OTurk. *jaŋqu* 1 (OUygh.), *jaŋra-* (Orkh.) 3; Karakh. *jaŋqu* 1, *jaŋra-* 3 (MK); Tur. *janḳ* 1; Turkm. *jaŋ* 2, *jaŋra-* 3; MTurk. *jaŋqu* 1 (AH); Uzb. *jaŋgra-* 3; Tat. *jaŋγïra-* 3; Bashk. *jaŋγïra-* 3; Kirgh. *ǯaŋïr-* 3; KKalp. *žaŋγïr-* 3; Kum. *janγïr-* 3; Nogh. *jaŋïra-* 3; Oyr. *ďaŋu* 1, *ďaŋïr-* 3; Tv. *čaŋγï* 1; Yak. *saŋa* 2; Dolg. *haŋa* 2.

◊ EDT 949, 952, ЭСТЯ 4, 119, 122, 124, Stachowski 96. Turk. > WMong. *jaŋ* 'melody' (Щербак 1997, 164).

PJpn. ***dìmài / *dùmài*** dream (сновидение): OJpn. *ime*, dial. *jumi*; MJpn. *ìmè*, *jume*; Tok. *yumé*; Kyo. *yúmè*; Kag. *yumé*.

◊ JLTT 579.

PKor. ***čá(ŋ)-*** to sleep (спать): MKor. *ča-*, *čá-sì-*, *ča'ăp-so-*; Mod. *ča-*, *ča-si-*, *čumu-si-*.

◊ Nam 411, KED 1374, 1380, 1497. The modern honorific *čumu-si-* is probably < **čaŋwu-si-* ~ **čaŋup-si-* = MKor. *ča'ăp-so-*.

‖ Semantically a challenging etymology, with some mythological connotations; nevertheless phonetically impeccable and seems quite probable as a common Altaic root.

ǯi̯óra (~ -ŕ-)** to send, to use: Tung. ***ǯori-; Mong. ***ǯaru-***; Jpn. ***dár-***; Kor. ***čǎrhì-***.

PTung. ***ǯori-*** 1 to take aim 2 to show (1 прицеливаться 2 показывать): Man. *ǯori-* 1, 2; SMan. *ǯori-* 'to point to' (1341); Ork. *ǯorị-* 1; Nan. *ǯorị-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 265.

PMong. ***ǯaru-*** to send, employ (посылать, давать задание): MMong. *ǯaru-* (MA, SH, HYt); WMong. *ǯaru-* (L 1038); Kh. *zar-*; Bur. *zara-*; Kalm. *zar-*; Ord. *ǯaru-*; Mog. *ǯɔru-* (Weiers); Dag. *ǯara-* (Тод. Даг. 142, MD 175), *ǯarə-*; Dong. *ǯaru-*; Bao. *ǯare-*; S.-Yugh. *ǯar-*; Mongr. *ǯari-* (SM 83).

◊ KW 467, MGCD 432.

PJpn. ***dár-*** 1 to send 2 to give (1 посылать 2 давать): OJpn. *jar-* 1; MJpn. *jár-* 1; Tok. *yàr-* 1, 2; Kyo. *yár-* 1, 2; Kag. *jár-* 1.

◊ JLTT 785.

PKor. ***čə̆rhì-*** to make ready, prepare (подготавливать, готовить): MKor. *čhə̆rì-*; Mod. *čhari-*.

◊ Nam 447, KED 1563.

‖ Ozawa 299-300, АПиПЯЯ 297. Kor. *čh-* reflects in this case a metathesis of aspiration (*čhə̆ri-* < **čə̆r-hi-*).

✱**ǯ[i̯ō]ŕo** a big number: Tung. ***ǯir-***; Turk. ***jŭ́r***; Jpn. ***dərə̀-***; Kor. ***jə́rh***.

PTung. ***ǯir-*** a very big number (очень большое число): Man. *ǯiri, ǯirun*.

◊ TMC 1, 259, 260. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***jŭ́r*** hundred (сто): OTurk. *jüz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jüz* (MK); Tur. *jüz*; Gag. *üz*; Az. *jüz*; Turkm. *jŭ̄z*; Sal. *jüz*; Khal. *jŭ̄z*; MTurk. *jüz* (MA, AH); Uzb. *juz*; Uygh. *juz*; Krm. *jüz, juź, jiz*, iz; Tat. *jöz*; Bashk. *jöδ*; Kirgh. *ǯüz*; Kaz. *žüz*; KBalk. *ǯüz, züz*; KKalp. *žüz*; Kum. *jüz, juz*; Nogh. *jüz*; SUygh. *juz, jöz*; Khak. *čüs*; Shr. *čüs*; Oyr. *jüs, ǵüs*; Tv. *čüs*; Chuv. *śəʷr*; Yak. *sŭ̄s*; Dolg. *hŭ̄s*.

◊ EDT 983, VEWT 213, ЭСТЯ 4, 260 (Turkm. *jüz*), Лексика 574, Stachowski 117.

PJpn. ***dərə̀-*** ten thousand (десять тысяч): OJpn. *joro-du*; MJpn. *jòrò-du*; Tok. *yorozu*.

◊ JLTT 577.

PKor. ***jə́rh*** ten (десять): MKor. *jə́r* (*jə́rh-*); Mod. *jəl*.

◊ Nam 376, KED 1178.

‖ Whitman 1985, 129, 243 (Kor.-Jpn.). The root presents considerable difficulties, and the reconstruction is by no means certain. Phonetically: in PT one should expect rather **jūŕ*; the Jpn.-Kor. tone does not correspond to PT length; Kor. **j-* is quite exceptional (a better match for Kor. would be perhaps Mong. **je(r)-sün* 'nine', **jeri-n* 'ninety' (Ozawa 32-33 compares Mong. with Jpn., but initial **d-* in Jpn. is an unsurmountable obstacle); in Kor. cf. also *jə́rə́h* 'a big quantity, number'). Criticism see in TMN 4, 222. Still the Manchu-Jpn. match seems plausible, and some irregularities could be explained by contaminations or tabooistic reasons.

✱**ǯi̯oso** shape: Tung. ***ǯese***; Mong. ****ǯisü***; Turk. ***josun***; Jpn. ***dəsi***.

PTung. ***ǯesē*** custom (привычка, обычай): Evk. *ǯesē*.

◊ TMC 1, 286. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ****ǯisü*** colour, shape (масть; вид, внешность): MMong. *ǯisu(n)* (SH); WMong. *ǯisü(n)* (L 1064); Kh. *ǯüs(en)*; Bur. *zühe(n)*; Kalm. *züsn̥*; Ord. *ǯüsü*; Dag. *ǯus* (Тод. Дар. 145), *ǯuse* (MD 180); Mongr. *ǯusə*.

◊ KW 484, MGCD 469. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *ǯühün* (see Kał. MEJ 48, Stachowski 91).

PTurk. ***josun*** manner, custom, method (способ, обычай, метод): Karakh. *josun* (KB); Az. *josun* (dial.); MTurk. *josun* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *jo̧sin*; Uygh. *josun*; Tat. *josuq*; Kirgh. *ǯošun*; Kaz. *žosın, žosaq* (dial.); Oyr. *jozaq, jozoq, jozor*; Tv. *čo'zu* (dial.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 31-32. Also reflected is a form **josuk, *josak*. Clauson (EDT 975) and Doerfer (TMN 1, 555-557) follow Ramstedt KW 219 and regard the Turkic forms as borrowed < Mong., which is somewhat dubious because of the peculiar phonology of Mong. *josun* (words with **jo-* are extremely rare in Mong.). PT **josuk* (**josak*) also strengthens the thesis about the Turkic origin of Mong. *josun*; Doerfer's hypothesis that Tat. *josuq*, Oyr. *jozaq* etc. reflect a contamination of **jasak* and **josun* is not very plausible (**jasak* has usually a quite different meaning 'impost, tax' etc.), and there is also a completely unexplained (as a Mongolism) form Oyr., Tel. *jozor*. All this makes us rather think of Turk. **josun* > Mong. **josun* > Manchu *joso*, Evk. *joso* etc. (TMC 1, 347).

PJpn. ***dəsi** reason, means (причина, средство): OJpn. *josi, josuka*; MJpn. *jósí, josuka*; Tok. *yóshi, yosuga*; Kyo. *yóshì*; Kag. *yoshí*.

◊ JLTT 577, 578. Accent correspondences are irregular.

‖ A difficult word. On Turk. **josun* and Mong. *josun* see above; Mong. **ǯisü* thus seems a better historical match for Turk. **josun*. There still remain, however, phonetic problems: in Mong. one would rather expect **ǯüs-* or **ǯös-*, not **ǯis-* (possibly we are dealing with a vocalic metathesis **ǯisü-* < **ǯüsi-*?); and Evk. *ǯesē* - although hardly a Mong. loanword because of semantic difference - is also not quite regular (one would expect **ǯis-*).

***ǯi̯òto** hunger, starvation: Mong. ***ǯüde-**; Turk. ***jut**; Jpn. ***dàtùrà-**.

PMong. ***ǯüde-** to tire, starve (уставать, изнуряться, истощаться): WMong. *ǯüdere-* (L 1082); Kh. *ǯüde-, ǯüdre-*; Bur. *züder-*; Kalm. *züd-, züdr-*; Ord. *ǯudek* 'fatigue'; Dag. *ǯudre-* (Тод. Даг. 145); S.-Yugh. *ǯöderī-*.

◊ MGCD 466. Mong. > Oyr. *jüdä-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 4, 35, VEWT 212, KW 483).

PTurk. ***jut** 1 bad weather, bad harvest 2 hunger, trouble (1 дурная погода, неурожай 2 голод, беда): OTurk. *jut* (Orkh.) 1; Karakh. *jut* (MK) 1; MTurk. *jut* (Pav. C., AH, Бор. Бад.) 1; Uzb. *jut* 1; Uygh. *ǯut, ǯüt* 2; Bashk. *jot* 2; Kirgh. *ǯut* 2; Kaz. *žut* 2; KKalp. *žŭt* 2; Kum. *jut* 1; Nogh. *jut* 1, 2; SUygh. *ǯüt* 'lean, meagre'; Khak. *čut* 1; Shr. *čut* 1; Oyr. *jut, ɟut* 1, 2; Tv. *čut* 2; Yak. *sut* 2.

◊ EDT 883, VEWT 211-212, ЭСТЯ 4, 256-257. Turk. > Mong. **ǯud, *ǯuta-* (KW 481, TMN 4, 210, Щербак 1997, 125).

PJpn. ***dàtùrà-** to be exhausted, emaciated (истощаться, изнурять-ся): OJpn. *jatura-*; MJpn. *jàtùrà-*; Tok. *yatsuré-*; Kyo. *yátsúré-*; Kag. *yàtsùrè-*.

◊ JLTT 785.

‖ A common derivative **ǯi̯òto-rV* is reflected in Mong. **ǯüde-re-* and Jpn. **dàtùrà-*.

***ǯi̯òǯu** thick, abundant: Tung. ***ǯaǯi- (~-ia-)**; Mong. ***ǯuǯaγan**; Turk. ***jogan**; Jpn. ***dùtáka-**; Kor. ***čǎč-**.

PTung. ***ǯaǯi- (~-ia-)** 1 to heap up 2 thicket (1 нагромождать, сва-ливать в кучу 2 чаща): Man. *ǯaǯi-* 1, *ǯaǯixi, ǯaǯuri* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 242. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ǯuǯaɣan*** thick (толстый): MMong. *ǯuǯa'an* (HY 54, SH), *ǯüǯa'an* (HY 22), *ǯuǯān* (IM), *ǯuǯa'ān*, *ǯuǯān* (MA); WMong. *ǯuǯaɣan* (L 1081); Kh. *ɜuɜān*; Bur. *zuzān*; Kalm. *zuzān*; Ord. *ǯuǯān*; Mog. *ǯuǯɔn* (Weiers); ZM *ǯoǯān* (18-3a); Dag. *ǯuǯān* (Тод. Дат. 145), *ǯuǯan* (MD 180); Dong. *ǯuǯan*; Bao. *ǯiǯaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *ǯuǯān*; Mongr. *ǯuǯwān*, *ǯuǯān* (SM 73).

◊ KW 481-482, MGCD 461.

PTurk. ***jogan*** thick (толстый): OTurk. *joɣan* (Orkh.), *joɣun* (OUygh.); Karakh. *joɣun* (MK); Tur. *joɣun*; Az. *joɣun*; Turkm. *joɣïn*; Khal. *joɣun*; MTurk. *joɣan* (MA); Uzb. *joɣɔn*; Uygh. *joɣan* 'big'; Tat. *juvan*; Bashk. *jɨwan*; Kirgh. *ǯōn*; KKalp. *žuwan*; Nogh. *juvan*; SUygh. *joɣɨn*, *joɣun*; Khak. *čōn*; Shr. *čōn*; Oyr. *jōn*, *ǰōn*; Tv. *čōn*; Tof. *ńōn*; Yak. *suon*.

◊ VEWT 205, EDT 904, ЭСТЯ 4, 208-209.

PJpn. ***dùtá-ka*** abundant (обильный): OJpn. *jutake-*; MJpn. *jùtákà*; Tok. *yútaka*; Kyo. *yùtákà*; Kag. *yutaká*.

◊ JLTT 580.

PKor. ***čǎč-*** be frequent, constant (быть частым, постоянным): MKor. *čǎč-*; Mod. *čač-*.

◊ Nam 418, KED 1408.

‖ VEWT 205 (Turk.-Mong.), АПиПЯЯ 287. The Turkic form may belong here if PT **jogan* < **jojga-n*. The Japanese form goes back to an intermediate variant **ǯi̯oč'u-k'a* (with assimilative devoicing of **-ǯ-*). Korean has a frequent verbal low tone.

ǯi̯úbù** sake, reason: Tung. ****ǯubu (~ -g-); Mong. ****ǯüj***; Jpn. ****dúwài***.

PTung. ****ǯubu (~ -g-)*** for, for the sake of (для, ради): Evk. *ǯuɣu ~ ɜuwu*; Evn. *ǯuwu*; Neg. *ǯuwu-dū*; Man. *ǯu-lefun*.

◊ TMC 1, 269.

PMong. ****ǯüj*** thing, circumstance, reason (дело, обстоятельство, причина): MMong. *ǯujil* (HY); WMong. *ǯüi* (L 1083); Kh. *ɜüj*; Bur. *züj*; Kalm. *zǖ*; Ord. *ǯǖ*, *ǯüi̯*.

◊ KW 484.

PJpn. ****dúwài*** reason (причина): OJpn. *juwe*; MJpn. *júwè*; Tok. *yué*; Kyo. *yúé*; Kag. *yúe*.

◊ JLTT 579. Accent in Kyoto is irregular in Hirayama, but Martin (ibid.) cites it as regular *yúè*.

‖ Ozawa 160-161, JOAL 69.

ǯi̯úgi** millet: Tung. ****ǯija- / *ǯije- (~ -g-); Turk. ****jügür-***; Kor. ****čòh***.

PTung. ****ǯija- / *ǯije- (~ -g-)*** 1 millet 2 porridge (1 просо 2 каша): Neg. *ǯākta* 1; Man. *ǯe* 1; SMan. *ǯē belə* 'millet (Setaria italica)' (286); Jurch. *che-(po-le)*; Nan. *ǯiekte* 1; Orch. *ǯiekte, ǯekte* 1; Ud. *ǯakta* 1; Sol. *ǯakta* 2.

◊ See TMC 1, 244.

PTurk. ***jügür-** 1 millet 2 sorgho 3 corn, maize (1 просо 2 сорго 3 кукуруза): OTurk. *üjür* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *jügür, ügür* (MK), *jür* (KB) 1; Tat. *ǯögärä* 2; Kirgh. *ǯügörü* 2, 3; Kaz. *žügeri* 3; KBalk. *ǯügeri* 3; KKalp. *žüweri* 2, 3; Tv. *ürgene* 'a k. of buckwheat'; Chuv. *vir* 1; Yak. *üöre* 1.

◊ EDT 275, Лексика 458. Turk. > Mong. *ǯügür*, Pers. *ǯuvārī*.

PKor. ***čòh** millet (просо): MKor. *čò* (*čòh-*); Mod. *čo*.

◊ Nam 427, KED 1468.

‖ PKE 37, Lee 1958, 113, Дыбо 11.

***ǯi̯ul[u]** halter, rope for binding animals: Tung. ***ǯulǯi-**; Mong. ***ǯiluɣa**; Turk. ***jular**.

PTung. ***ǯulǯi-** chain (цепь): Neg. *ǯulǯixēn*; Ul. *dulǯi(n)*; Ork. *dulǯiɣe*; Nan. *ǯulǯiē*; Orch. *ǯuggā(n)*, *ǯugǯe(n)* 'chain; rope for binding animals'.

◊ TMC 1, 272-273.

PMong. ***ǯiluɣa** halter (недоуздок, вожжи): MMong. *ǯilu'a* (SH), *ǯolā* (IM); WMong. *ǯiluɣa* (L 1055); Kh. *ǯolō*; Bur. *žolō*; Kalm. *ǯolā* (KPC); Ord. *ǯilō*; Dag. *ďilō, ǯilō* (Тод. Даг. 144), *ǯolō* 'reins' (MD 180); S.-Yugh. *ǯolū*.

◊ MGCD 452. Mong. > Chag. *čilau, ǯiluɣa*, Turkm. *ǯilaw* etc., see TMN 1, 297, Щербак 1997, 205, ЭСТЯ 4, 41-42; Evk. *ǯiluɣa* etc., see Poppe 1966, 190, 195, Doerfer MT 102, Rozycki 126.

PTurk. ***jular** halter (недоуздок): Karakh. *jular* (MK); Tur. *jular*; Gag. *jular*; Sal. *ǯulur*; MTurk. *jular* (Pav. C., Houts.), *jolar* (AH); Oyr. *ďular*; Tv. *čular*; Yak. *sular*.

◊ EDT 932, VEWT 210, ЭСТЯ 4, 244-245, Лексика 556.

‖ KW 114, Лексика 557, Tekin 1981, 121-122. A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 125, Mong. cannot easily be explained as a Turk. borrowing. Doerfer (TMN 1, 297) mentions Turk. **jular* : Mong. **ǯiluɣa*, but rejects without explanation.

***ǯi̯ú̯lu (~ -a)** to slide; smooth, slippery: Tung. ***ǯulV-**; Mong. ***ǯil-**; Turk. ***jīl-**.

PTung. ***ǯulV-** 1 smooth 2 naked (1 гладкий 2 голый): Evk. *ǯulā-kin* 2; Evn. *ǯulaqqan* 2; Sol. *ǯulu-brēx* 1, *ǯulāxī* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 272-273.

PMong. ***ǯil-** smooth, level (гладкий, ровный): WMong. *ǯilim, ǯilum*, (L 1055: *ǯildam* 'level'); Kh. *ǯildem*; Bur. *želeger*; Kalm. *ǯilm̥*.

◊ KW 110.

PTurk. ***jīl-** 1 to creep 2 snake (1 ползать 2 змея): OTurk. *jïlan* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jïlan* (MK) 2; Tur. *jïlan* 2; Gag. *jïlan* 2; Az. *ilan* 2; Turkm. *jïlān* 2; Sal. *jilïn* 2; MTurk. *jïl-* 1 (Vam.), *jïlan* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ǯil-* 1, *ilɔn* 2; Uygh. *ilan* 2; Krm. *jïlan* 2; Tat. *jïl-* 1, *jïlan* 2; Bashk. *jïlan* 2; Kirgh. *ǯïl-* 1, *ǯïlan* 2; Kaz. *žïlan* 2; KBalk. *žïlan* 2; KKalp. *žïlan* 2; Kum. *jïlan* 2; Nogh. *jïlan* 2; SUygh. *jilan* 2; Khak. *čïl-* 1, *čïlan* 2; Shr. *čïlan* 2; Oyr.

ďił- 1; Tv. *čił-* 1, *čilan* 2, dial. *čulan*; Tof. *čił-* 1, *čulan* 2; Chuv. *śəʷlen* 2; Yak. *sīl-* 1.

◊ VEWT 200, EDT 930-1, ЭСТЯ 4, 40-41, 277, Лексика 180. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *jilan* (see Щербак 1997, 164). Mong. *ǯilu-*, *ǯulu-* 'roll away, move away' may be related or borrowed < Turk.

‖ EAS 65-66, KW 110, TMC 1, 272, VEWT 200 (but the Kor. form *čičči-da*, despite SKE 37, hardly belongs here), АПиПЯЯ 285; hardly justified is Doerfer's criticism in TMN 4, 254-255. A Western isogloss. For the Turk. forms meaning 'snake' cf. alternatively TM **sulama* / **salama* 'snake' (TMC 2, 57) - if the latter is not borrowed from Russ. dial. *саломея* 'a mythical snake'.

***ǯi̯uŕi** to peel, skim off: Mong. ***ǯor-**; Turk. ***jüŕ-**; Kor. ***čiri- (~ -i-)**.

PMong. ***ǯor-** to plane, shave off, peel (строгать, соскребать, сбривать, сдирать): MMong. *ǯuru-* (MA); WMong. *ǯor-* (L 1070); Kh. *ǯoro-*; Bur. *zoro-*; *zorogodoho(n)* 'shavings'; Kalm. *zor-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯor-*; Mog. ZM *ǯuru-* 'to cut' (22-5); Dag. *ǯorgo-*, *ǯorgu-* (Тод. Даг. 144); S.-Yugh. *ǯūr-*; Mongr. *ǯōri-* (SM 91), *ǯōrə-*.

◊ MGCD 454.

PTurk. ***jüŕ-** to peel off (skin), to skin (сдирать (шкуру)): Karakh. *jüz-* (MK); Tur. *jüz-*; Gag. *jüz-*; Turkm. *jüz-*.

◊ EDT 984, ЭСТЯ 4, 261.

PKor. ***čiri- (~ -i-)** to skim off (as cream), cut off (снимать (сливки и т. п.), срезать): Mod. *čiri-*.

◊ KED 1530.

‖ SKE 36.

***ǯi̯utke** a k. of berry: Tung. ***ǯüksi- / *ǯükte**; Mong. ***ǯedegene**; Turk. ***jidgelek**.

PTung. ***ǯüksi- / *ǯükte** 1 blue-berry 2 berry (1 черника, голубика 2 ягода): Evk. *ǯiksiŋē* 1, *ǯikte* 2; Neg. *ǯikte* 1; Man. *duqsi* 1; Ul. *ǯuste* 1; Ork. *dusikte* 1; Nan. *ǯusikte* 1; Orch. *ǯikte* 1; Ud. *ǯikte* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 256.

PMong. ***ǯedegene** strawberry (клубника): WMong. *ǯedegene*; Kh. *ǯedgene*; Bur. *zedegene* 1, 2; Kalm. *zedəgənə*.

◊ KW 471.

PTurk. ***jidge, *jidge-lek** 1 jujube 2 strawberry, berry (1 ююба, лох 2 земляника, ягода): OTurk. *jigde* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jigde* 1 (MK); Tur. *ijde* 1; Az. *ijdä* 1; Turkm. *igde* 1; MTurk. *igde* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *ǯijda* 1; Uygh. *ǯigdä* 1; Tat. *ǯiläk*, *jeläk* (dial.) 2; Bashk. *jeläk* 2; Kirgh. *ǯijde* 1; Kaz. *žijde* 1, *židek* 2; KBalk. *ǯilek* 2; KKalp. *žijde* 1; Kum. *ǯijelek* 2; Nogh. *jelek* 2; Khak. *čistek*, *sestek* 2; Oyr. *ďilek* 2; Chuv. *śirla* 2.

◊ EDT 911, VEWT 202, ЭСТЯ 1, 325-326, Лексика 122, 140. Turk. (Bulg.) > Hung. *szőlő* 'grape' (<*śiδleɣ), see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 794. Turk. **jigde* > Mong. *ǯigde, ǯegde* (Щербак 1997, 123); but the TM forms are not borrowed, despite Doerfer MT 73.

‖ Дыбо 10. A Western isogloss. Secondary delabialization in Mong. (**ǯedegene* < **ǯödegene*).

✱**ǯobá (~ -u-, -i̯-)** to cut, crush: Tung. ***ǯobga***; Mong. ***ǯoɣu-***; Jpn. ***dàmpù-r-***.

PTung. ***ǯobga*** 1 harpoon 2 to cut, cut out (1 гарпун 2 резать, вырезать): Evk. *ǯewge* 1; Neg. *ǯobgo* 1; Man. *ǯo-, ǯō-* 2; Ul. *ǯoGbo* 1; Ork. *ǯobbo* 1; Nan. *ǯobGo* 1; Orch. *ǯobbo* 1; Ud. *ǯobʻo; ǯogbo* 1 (Корм. 233).

◊ TMC 1, 260, 281.

PMong. ***ǯoɣu-*** 1 to insert 2 barb of a harpoon (1 вставлять 2 зубец гарпуна): WMong. *ǯoɣu-* 1, *ǯoɣu* 2 (L 1067); Kh. *ǯō-* 1; Bur. *zō-* 1.

PJpn. ***dàmpù-r-*** to break, crush (ломать): OJpn. *jabur-*; MJpn. *jàbùr-*; Tok. *yabúr-*; Kyo. *yàbùr-*; Kag. *yàbùr-*.

◊ JLTT 784. Except Kyoto (pointing to **dàmpúr-*), all dialects point to PJ **dàmpùr-*.

‖ One of the many Altaic "Verba des Schlagens".

✱**ǯòkó (~ -u-)** to stop, abstain from: Tung. ***ǯuK-***; Mong. ***ǯogso-***; Jpn. ***dəká-***.

PTung. ***ǯuK-*** to stop (останавливаться): Evn. *ǯökъr-*.

◊ TMC 1, 266. Attested only in Evn., but having plausible external parallels.

PMong. ***ǯogso-*** to stand still, stop, finish (останавливаться, прекращаться): WMong. *ǯoɣso-* (L 1067: *ǯoɣsu-*); Kh. *zogso-*; Bur. *zogso-*; Kalm. *zoksə-*; Ord. *ǯoGso-*.

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *ǯūša-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 4, 34-35), see KW 475, VEWT 127.

PJpn. ***dəká-*** to refrain, abstain from (избегать, воздерживаться): OJpn. *joka-*; MJpn. *jòkà-*; Tok. *yoké-*; Kyo. *yòkè-*; Kag. *yòkè-*.

◊ JLTT 786.

‖ A good Mong.-TM-Jpn. parallel (although poorly attested in TM).

✱**ǯóḱʻe (~ -k-)** nearly, hardly: Tung. ***ǯuke***; Mong. ***ǯug / *ǯüg***; Turk. ***jōk***; Jpn. ***dəku (?)***.

PTung. ***ǯuke*** 1 hardly, barely 2 simple, usual (1 едва, еле-еле 2 простой, обычный): Evk. *ǯupkēkī* 'enough'; Man. *ǯuken* 1, 2, *ǯuki* 'enough'; SMan. *ǯukun* 'on bad terms, bad' (2507); Ul. *ǯuke(n)* 1; Nan. *ǯukẽ* 1; Orch. *ǯukke, ǯuke* 1; Ud. *ǯuke* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 272, 275. Man. > Dag. *ǯuken* (Тод. Даг. 145).

PMong. ***ǯug / *ǯüg*** in vain (напрасно): WMong. *ǯug, ǯüg*; (L 1083) *ǯüger, ǯügere*; Kh. *ǯügēr* 'so-so; common'; Kalm. *zug, züg*; Ord. *ǯügē* 'however, butʻ; *ǯügēr* 'ordinaire; sans rien faire'.

◊ KW 479.

PTurk. ***jōk*** is not, there is not (нет, не имеется): OTurk. *joq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *joq* (MK); Tur. *jok*; Gag. *joq*; Az. *jox*; Turkm. *jōq*; Sal.

jox; Khal. *jūq*; MTurk. *joq* (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *joq*; Uygh. *joq*; Krm. *joq*, jo; Tat. *juq*; Bashk. *juq*; Kirgh. *ǯoq*; Kaz. *žoq*; KBalk. *ǯoq, žoq, zox*; KKalp. *žoq, žaq*; Kum. *joq*; Nogh. *joq*; SUygh. *joq, ǯoq*; Khak. *čox*; Shr. *čoq*; Oyr. *ɗoq*; Tv. *čoq*; Chuv. *śok, śoγal-*; Yak. *suox*; Dolg. *huok*.

◊ EDT 895-896, VEWT 205, ЭСТЯ 4, 211-212, Лексика 333, Федотов 2, 129-130, Stachowski 112.

PJpn. ***dəku** usually, nearly (обычно, часто, почти): OJpn. *joku*; MJpn. *joku*; Tok. *yoku*.

◊ The word is written differently, but the accent is unknown and it may be actually an adverbial form of **də-* 'good' (v. sub **ɖi̯ò̯ge*).

‖ Basically a Western isogloss; the Japanese parallel is somewhat ambiguous.

***ǯòp'è (~ -u-, -o)** hollow under knee or neck, corner: Tung. ***ǯup(u)ku**; Mong. ***ǯobki**; Jpn. ***dəpərə́**.

PTung. ***ǯup(u)ku** hollow under neck (подшейная ямка): Evk. *ǯupku*; Neg. *ǯipkun*; Man. *ǯofoχo* 'wedge, gore, denticle'; Nan. *ǯupkū* 'otter's breast'; Ud. *ǯokpo* 'breast bow'.

◊ TMC 1, 262, 266, 275.

PMong. ***ǯobki** 1 corner of the eye; eyelid 2 corner, one of the four intermediate points of the four directions (1 уголок глаза; веко 2 угол, одно из четырех промежуточных направлений, азимут): WMong. *ǯobki* 1, *ǯobkis* 2 (L 1066); Kh. *ǯovxi* 1, *ǯovxis* 2; Bur. *zubxi* 1; Kalm. *zowkə* 1 (KPC); Ord. *ǯobχi* 1.

PJpn. ***dəpərə́** hollow under knee (подколенная впадина): OJpn. *jop(w)oro-kub(w)o*; MJpn. *jòfóró*.

◊ JLTT 577.

‖ An interesting term, basically anatomical, denoting a hollow or angle in some body part (angle in the corner of the eye; angle / hollow under the neck; angle / hollow under the knee). A common derivative **ǯòp'è-k'V* is reflected in Mong. **ǯob-ki* and PTM **ǯup(u)-ku*.

***ǯǿǯe** to quarrel, speak badly: Tung. ***ǯuǯa-**; Mong. ***ǯüǯig**; Turk. ***jōj**; Jpn. ***dəjə-**; Kor. ***c̈ič-**.

PTung. ***ǯuǯa-** 1 to quarrel 2 niggling, peddling (1 спорить, скандалить, судить 2 быть мелочным (в словах, поступках)): Man. *ǯuǯu-ra-* 2; Ul. *ǯuǯa-* 1; Nan. *ǯoǯa-* 1; Orch. *ǯuǯa-* 1; Ud. *ǯuǯa-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 270-271.

PMong. ***ǯüǯig** show, act, theatre (представление, театр): WMong. *ǯüǯügi*, (L 1073) *ǯöčüge, ǯüǯige, ǯüčige*; Kh. *ǯüǯig*; Bur. *züžeg*.

PTurk. ***jōj** 1 cunning, lying 2 to defame, disgrace 3 troubles, noise (1 хитрый, обманщик 2 поносить, позорить 3 волнение, шум): Kirgh. *ǯoj* 1; Khak. *čoj, čöj* 1; Shr. *čöj* 1; Oyr. *joj, ɗoj* 1; Chuv. *śoj* 3; Yak. *sūi-* 2.

◊ VEWT 205, ЭСТЯ 4, 210, Федотов 2, 129.

PJpn. ***dəjə-*** to speak badly (of old persons without teeth) (плохо говорить (о беззубых стариках)): OJpn. *jojom-*.

PKor. ***čɨč-*** to bark (лаять): MKor. *čɨč-*; Mod. *čit-* [*čič-*].

◊ Nam 441, KED 1559.

‖ Дыбо 14. An expressive reduplicated root, but no doubt archaic.

ǯu** summer: Tung. ****ǯu-ga; Mong. ****ǯu-n***.

PTung. ****ǯu-ga*** in summer, summer (летом, лето): Evk. *ǯuɣa*; Evn. *ǯuwuni*; Neg. *ǯoa*; Man. *ǯuwari*; SMan. *ǯuari* (2727); Jurch. *ǯuha* (268); Ul. *ǯua*; Ork. *duwa*; Nan. *ǯoa*; Orch. *ǯuwa*; Ud. *ǯua*; Sol. *ǯuga*.

◊ TMC 1, 268. TM > Russ. Siber. *d'ugany* 'spring and summer', see Аникин 194.

PMong. ****ǯu-n*** summer (лето): MMong. *ǯun* (HY 5), *ǯūn* (IM), *ǯūn* (LH); WMong. *ǯun* (L 1079); Kh. *ǯun*; Bur. *zun*; Kalm. *zun*; Ord. *ǯun*; S.-Yugh. *ǯun*; Mongr. *ǯun* (SM 73).

◊ KW 480, MGCD 463.

‖ Poppe 28, 101, Rozycki 128. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; but despite Doerfer MT 24, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

ǯŭgdV (~ -o-)** to hit, strike: Tung. ****ǯugd[u]-; Mong. ****ǯod-***; Turk. ****jod-***.

PTung. ****ǯugd[u]-*** to hit, push, kick (тыкать, толкать, ударять): Evk. *ǯugdū-*; Neg. *ǯūkte-*; Man. *ǯoqǯa-*; Nan. *ǯugǯukule-*.

◊ TMC 1, 269.

PMong. ****ǯoda-*** to hit, strike, fight (бить, ударять): WMong. *ǯoda-* (L 1066: *ǯodu-*); Kh. *ɜodo-*; Bur. *zodō(n)* 'fray, tussle'; Kalm. *zod-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯodo-*.

PTurk. ****jod-*** to destroy (уничтожать, разрушать): OTurk. *jod-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *joδ-* (MK); Turkm. *joj-*; MTurk. *joj-* (Houts.), *juj-* (AH); Krm. *ǯoj-*; Tat. *ǯuj-*; Bashk. *juj-*; Kirgh. *ǯoj-*; Kaz. *žoj-*; KKalp. *žoj-*; Kum. *joj-*; Nogh. *joj-*; Shr. *čos-*; Tv. *čot-*; Yak. *sot-* 'to wipe out'; Dolg. *hot-* 'to wipe out'.

◊ EDT 885, VEWT 204, ЭСТЯ 4, 210, Stachowski 109.

‖ A Western isogloss.

ǯuge (~ -o-, -i)** bee, wasp: Tung. ****ǯuge-; Mong. ****ǯögeji***.

PTung. ****ǯuge-*** wasp, bee (оса, пчела): Evk. *ǯuɣuk(te)*, *ǯuwuk(te)*, *ǯuwun*; Evn. *ǯewъt*; Neg. *ǯewekte*, *ǯeɣekte*; Nan. *ǯewẽ*; Sol. *ǯūkte*.

◊ TMC 1, 268.

PMong. ****ǯögej*** bee (пчела): WMong. *ǯögei* (L 1074); Kh. *ɜögij*; Bur. *zügi*; Kalm. *zögə*.

◊ KW 477.

‖ KW 477, Poppe 28, 58, Дыбо 8. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Despite Doerfer MT 47, TM is hardly borrowed from Mong.

***ǯugi** to carry (on the back): Tung. ***ǯugū-**; Mong. ***ǯöɣe-**; Turk. ***jü-**; Kor. ***čì-**.

PTung. ***ǯugū-** to carry, transport (перевозить, перетаскивать): Evk. *ǯuɣū-*; Evn. *ǯuɣu-*; Neg. *ǯuɣu-*; Man. *ǯuwe-*; SMan. *ǯō-* (1239); Ork. *dū-ri-*; Orch. *ǯu-si-*; Ud. *ǯū-*.

◊ TMC 1, 269.

PMong. ***ǯöɣe-** to carry, transport (переносить, перевозить): MMong. *ǯu-* (MA), *ǯo'e-* / *ǯu'e-* (SH), *ǯoge'ul-* (HYt); WMong. *ǯögege-*, *ǯöge-* (L 1074); Kh. *ǯō-*; Bur. *zō-*; Kalm. *zō-*; Ord. *ǯō-*; Dag. *ǯugā-*, *ǯugū-* (Тод. Дар. 144); Dong. *ǯue-*, *čue-*, *ǯo-*; Bao. *ǯō-*, *ǯo-*; S.-Yugh. *ǯū-*; Mongr. *ǯō-* (SM 89).

◊ KW 479, MGCD 456, 466. The Dag. form may be a secondary loan from TM.

PTurk. ***jü-** 1 load 2 to load, carry (1 груз, тяжесть 2 нагружать, везти): OTurk. *jük* 1, *jü-d-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jük* 1, *jü-δ-* 2 (MK); Tur. *jük* 1; Gag. *ük* 1; Az. *jük* 1; Turkm. *jük* 1; MTurk. *jük* 1 (Houts., AH); Uzb. *juk* 1; Uygh. *jük* 1; Krm. *jük, juk, jik,* ik 1; Tat. *jök* 1; Bashk. *jök* 1; Kirgh. *ǯük* 1; Kaz. *žük* 1; KBalk. *ǯük, žük, zük* 1; Kum. *jük, juk* 1; Nogh. *jük* 1; SUygh. *jük* 1; Khak. *čük* 1; Shr. *čük* 1; Oyr. *jüj-* 2, *jük, ǰük* 1; Tv. *čü'k* 1, *čüdür-* 2; Chuv. *śəʷk* 1; Yak. *sük-* 2.

◊ EDT 885, 910, VEWT 212, ЭСТЯ 4, 262-263, *Лексика* 520.

PKor. ***čì-** to carry on the back (нести на спине): MKor. *či-*; Mod. *či-*.

◊ Liu 682, KED 1527.

‖ EAS 65, KW 479, Владимирцов 197, SKE 31, Poppe 28, 111, Дыбо 13. The comparison seems quite valid, despite doubts in TMN 4, 225. Despite Poppe 1966, 191, Doerfer MT 24, Rozycki 128, TM is hardly < Mong. Loss of *-g- in Turkic is probably explained by the fact that the root is only used with suffixes (**jüg(V)k* > **jük*, **jüg(V)d* > **jüd-*).

***ǯŭjbe** weak, bad: Tung. ***ǯoba-**; Mong. ***ǯoba-**; Turk. ***jubka**; Jpn. ***duàwà-**; Kor. ***čubɨr-**.

PTung. ***ǯoba-** to suffer, be poor (страдать, бедствовать): Evk. *ǯowo-* / *ǯoɣo-*; Evn. *ǯow-* / *ǯoɣ-*; Neg. *ǯobo-*; Man. *ǯobo-*; SMan. *ǯovə-*, *ǯovu-* (1944); Jurch. *ǯo-bo-hun* (844) 'grief, sorrow'; Ul. *ǯobo-*; Ork. *ǯobbo-*; Nan. *ǯobo-*; Orch. *ǯobo-*; Ud. *ǯō-*; Sol. *ǯowo-*, *ǯogo-*.

◊ TMC 1, 260-261.

PMong. ***ǯoba-** to suffer (страдать): MMong. *ǯoubolaŋ* 'worry, agony' (HY 37), *ǯuba* (IM), *ǯoba-* (MA), *ǯoba-*, *ǯibtura-* (SH), *ǯibtura-* 'to be weak' (HYt); WMong. *ǯoba-* (L 1065); Kh. *ǯovo-*; Bur. *zobo-*; Kalm. *zow-*; Ord. *ǯowo-*; Dag. *ǯowo-*, *ǯogo-* (Тод. Дар. 144), *ǯobe-* (MD 179), *ǯobčon* 'suffering'; S.-Yugh. *ǯōldə-*; Mongr. *ǯoGloŋ* 'douleur, souffrance' (SM 89) (MGCD *ǯobloŋ*).

◊ KW 476, MGCD 448, 449. Mong. > Oyr. *jobo-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 4, 38-39); > Manchu *ǯobolon* (Rozycki 124).

PTurk. ***jubka** thin, slender, unsubstantial (тонкий): OTurk. *juqa* (OUygh.), *jujqa* (Orkh.); Karakh. *jupqa, juvqa* (MK), *juvɣa* (MK, KB); Tur. *jufka*; Gag. *jufqa, jifqa*; Az. *juxa*; Turkm. *jūqa*; Sal. *joχba*; MTurk. *jufqa* (AH), *juqa* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jupqa*; Uygh. *jupqa, juqa, župqa, žuqu*; Krm. *juwɣa, jufqa*; Tat. *juqa*; Bashk. *joqa*; Kirgh. *ǯupqa, ǯuqa*; Kaz. *žuqa*; KBalk. *žuqa*; KKalp. *žŭqa*; Kum. *juqqa*; Nogh. *juqa*; SUygh. *juqa*; Khak. *čuɣa*; Shr. *čoɣa*; Oyr. *ɗuqa*; Tv. *čuɣa*; Tof. *čuɣa*; Chuv. *śüɣe*.

◊ VEWT 209, TMN 4, 211-212, EDT 874, ЭСТЯ 4, 241-242.

PJpn. ***duàwà-** weak (слабый): OJpn. *jwowa-*; MJpn. *jòwà-*; Tok. *yowá-*; Kyo. *yówà-*; Kag. *yowá-*.

◊ JLTT 845.

PKor. ***čubɨr-** to be hungry, famished (быть голодным, истощенным): MKor. *čŭ'ɾi-*; Mod. *čŭri-*.

◊ Nam 434, KED 1496.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 77, Rozycki 124. Tungus forms may be borrowed from Mong. (see Poppe 1966, 194, Doerfer MT 80). Medial *-j- has to be reconstructed, as in a number of other cases, to explain Mong. -b- (not -ɣ-) and Jpn. *-w- (not -p-); exceptional back vowel in Turkic may be also due to dissimilation with the medial *-j-. In Turkic one has to suppose a semantic development 'thin' < 'lean, weak' (the latter meaning is actually widely attested since the earliest texts).

***ǯŭmo (?)** to think of, remember: Tung. ***ǯōm-**; Mong. ***ǯimu-**; Jpn. ***dàm-**.

PTung. ***ǯōm- (/ *ǯōn-)** to remember (помнить): Evk. *ǯōn-, ǯōm-kit-*; Evn. *ǯōn-, ǯōman-*; Neg. *ǯon-*; Man. *ǯo-, ǯono-*; Ul. *ǯombu-*; Ork. *dōndu-*; Nan. *ǯōmbo-*; Orch. *ǯōmbu-*; Ud. *ǯoŋi-*; Sol. *ǯōn-, ǯōmŭ-*.

◊ TMC 1, 264. Final *-n in some forms is unclear.

PMong. ***ǯimu-** be deep in thoughts or in work (быть поглощенным мыслями, работой): Kalm. *ǯum-*.

◊ KW 116.

PJpn. ***dàm-** to recite; to count, to read (читать наизусть; считать, читать): OJpn. *jcm-*; MJpn. *jòm-*; Tok. *jóm-*; Kyo. *jòm-*; Kag. *jòm-*.

◊ JLTT 786.

‖ The etymology is worth listing, but not devoid of problems: in Mongolian we have only an isolated Kalmuck form, and the Tung.-Jpn. equation is possible only if the variant **ǯōn-* in TM is secondary.

***ǯŭrVko** courage, joy: Tung. ***ǯurga- / *ǯurge-**; Mong. ***ǯirga-**; Jpn. ***dərəkà-p-**; Kor. ***čɨrkəb- / *čɨrkəb-**.

PTung. ***ǯurga- / *ǯurge-** 1 ethic, moral 2 honest 3 brave 4 justice (1 нравственный 2 честный 3 храбрый 4 справедливость): Evn. *ǯurri* 3; Man. *ǯurGan* 4, *ǯurGanGa* 2; SMan. *ǯurəhan* 4 (1041); Orch. *ǯugge* 1; Sol. *ǯurgana* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 277, 278.

PMong. ***ǯirga-** 1 happiness 2 to enjoy (1 счастье 2 радоваться): MMong. *ǯirqalaŋ* 1 (HY 37), *ǯirqa-* 2 (SH, HYt); WMong. *ǯirγa-* (L 1059) 2; Kh. *ǯarga-* 2; Bur. *žargal* 1; Kalm. *ǯirγъl* 'life; happiness'; Ord. *ǯirGa-* 2; Dag. *ǯarga-* 2 (Tod. 142; MGCD *ǯirga-*); S.-Yugh. *ǯargə-* 2; Mongr. *ǯirGa-* 2.

◊ KW 112, MGCD 433, TMN 1, 290. Mong. > Man. *ǯirga-*, see Doerfer MT 117, Rozycki 124; > Khak. *čirγa-*, Kirgh. *ǯirγa-* etc. (VEWT 201-202, ЭСТЯ 4, 42-43).

PJpn. ***dərəkə-p-** to be glad (радоваться): OJpn. *joroko-b-*; MJpn. *jòròkò-b-*; Tok. *yorokób-u*; Kyo. *yórókób-ú*; Kag. *yòròkòb-*.

◊ JLTT 787.

PKor. ***čírkəb- / *čírkàb-** to be glad (радоваться): MKor. *čírkáp- / čírkàp-* (-w-); Mod. *čilgəp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 439, KED 1520.

‖ SKE 38; Poppe 1950, 572, Lee 1958, 113, Menges 1984, 266, АПиПЯЯ 77; Дыбо 5, Martin 231, Miller 1985, 150, 1985a, 83, JOAL 99, Whitman 1985, 126, Лексика 276. The root is quite reliable, but not completely regular, probably due to contractions and assimilations (not quite clear is -i- in Mong. - on analogy with *ǯirüke* 'heart'? - and voicing of -k- in TM).

***ǯŭr(V)kʻe (~ -i̯u-)** heart, inner organ: Mong. ***ǯirüke ~ *ǯürike**; Turk. ***jürek**; Jpn. ***dəkəsi**.

PMong. ***ǯirüke ~ *ǯürike** heart (сердце): MMong. *ǯurokan* (HY), *ǯiruge(n)*, *ǯuruge* (SH), *ǯeorke* (IM), *ǯurukän* (MA) 1; WMong. *ǯirüke(n)* (L 1062); Kh. *ǯürx*; Bur. *zürxe(n)*; Kalm. *zürkn̥*; Ord. *ǯüreχe*; Mog. *ǯürkä*; Dag. *ǯurug*, *ǯurgu* (Тод. Дат. 145), *ǯurugu*, *ǯurehe* (MD 180); Dong. *ǯuGe* (MGCD *ǯuγə*); Bao. *ǯirge*; S.-Yugh. *ǯürgen*; Mongr. *ǯerge* (SM 87), *ǯirge* 1.

◊ KW 483-484, MGCD 469.

PTurk. ***jürek** heart; courage (сердце): OTurk. *jürek* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jürek* (MK, KB); Tur. *jürek*; Gag. *jüreḱ*; Az. *ürek*; Turkm. *jürek*; Sal. *jyrük*; Khal. *jirek*; MTurk. *jürek* (MA); Uzb. *jurak*; Uygh. *jüräk*; Krm. *jürek*; Tat. *jörɛk*; Bashk. *jörek*; Kirgh. *ǯürök*; Kaz. *žürek*; KBalk. *žürek*; KKalp. *žürek*; Kum. *jürek*; Nogh. *jürek*; SUygh. *jörek*; Khak. *čürek*; Shr. *čürek* (R., Верб.); Oyr. *ḋürek*; Tv. *čürek*; Tof. *čürek*; Chuv. *čəre*; Yak. *sürex*; Dolg. *hürek*.

◊ VEWT 213, EDT 965, ЭСТЯ 4, 270-271, Егоров 324, Лексика 276, Stachowski 116. Chuv. č- is irregular: a contamination with *čərə* 'alive'.

PJpn. ***dəkəsi** spleen (селезенка): MJpn. *jòkósi*.

◊ JLTT 576.

‖ KW 483-484, Владимирцов 188, АПиПЯЯ 282. One cannot exclude Mong. being borrowed from Turkic (see Щербак 1997, 126), but there are no special reasons for that.

✱**ǯVbV** to bite, grit teeth: Tung. ***ǯǖ(n)-**; Mong. ***ǯaɣu-**; Turk. ***jubut-**.

PTung. ***ǯǖ(n)-** to grit teeth (стискивать зубы): Evk. *ǯīn-*; Man. *ǯu(n)-*.

◊ TMC 1, 258. Manchu is hardly < Mong., despite Rozycki 127.

PMong. ***ǯaɣu-** to bite (кусать): MMong. *ǯa'u-* (SH), *ǯa'ū-* (IM); WMong. *ǯaɣu-* (L 1024); Kh. *зū-*; Bur. *zū-*; Kalm. *zū-*; Ord. *ǯū-*; Mog. *ǯau-* (Weiers); Dag. *ǯau-* (Тод. Дат. 143, MD 176); Dong. *ǯau-*, *ǯao-*; Bao. *ǯəu-*; S.-Yugh. *ǯū-*; Mongr. *ǯū-* (SM 94), (MGCD *ǯau-*).

◊ KW 482, MGCD 460.

PTurk. ***jubut-** to swallow (глотать): Karakh. *jut-* (MK); Tur. *jut-* (*judum* 'gulp'); Gag. *jut-* (*judum* 'gulp'); Az. *ud-*; Turkm. *juvut-*; MTurk. *jout-* (CC); Uzb. *jut-*; Uygh. *jut-*; Krm. *jut-*; Tat. *jot-*; Bashk. *jot-*; Kirgh. *ǯut-*; Kaz. *ǯut-*; KBalk. *ǯut-*; KKalp. *ǯut-*; Kum. *jut-*; Nogh. *jut-*; Oyr. *ɗut-*; Chuv. *śъt-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 212-243, VEWT 212, EDT 885, Егоров 203. The Turkm. and Koman forms, as well as reflexes of secondary length in Oghuz, point unmistakably to *-ubu-, contracted in other sources.

‖ TMC 1, 258, АПиПЯЯ 293. A Western isogloss. The vocalism is hard to establish because of reduction in PTM.