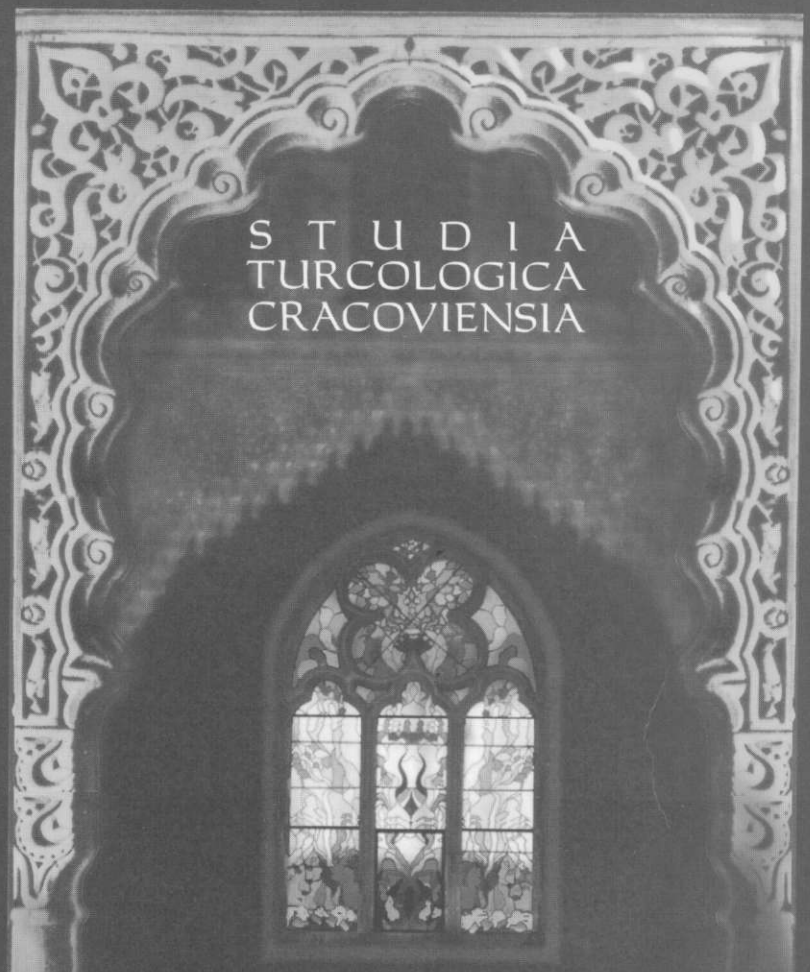
STUDIA
TURCOLOGICA
CRACOVIENSIA

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EWA SIEMIENIEC-GOŁAŚ

KARACHAY-BALKAR VOCABULARY OF PROTO-TURKIC ORIGIN

KSIĘGARNIA AKADEMICKA

STUDIA
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JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL PHILOLOGY

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Edited by
Stanisław Stachowski

KRAKÓW 2000

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. FOREWORD

The aim of this work is a lexicological description of the old, Turkic stratum of Karachay-Balkar. The Karachay-Balkar material, selected from various sources, is presented against a historical-comparative background of other Turkic languages. This is the first attempt at such an analysis in a Turkic comparative frame in the field of Karachay-Balkar linguistics.

Before we present a brief history of study on Karachay-Balkar we would like to focus on the basic data concerning the language, since, in different sources, one can meet various and sometimes misleading statements on this language.

2. SOCIO-LINGUISTIC DATA

Karachay-Balkar belongs to the Kipchak subgroup within Turkic languages (cf. Jaz. M 272). This is the official, literary language of two major communities i.e. Karachays and Balkars living in the North Caucasus. Despite the fact that these two communities belong ethnically and linguistically to one nation, due to historical and political reasons they live separately. The Karachays are settled in the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast while the Balkars in Kabardino-Balkaria. This lack of administrative unity affected some erroneous terminology concerning the Karachay-Balkar nation and its language. Therefore, in some sources we can come across different terms for this self same language, e.g.: Balkar, Karachay and also Karachay-Balkar for the same notion (cf. Al. SKB 8).

According to the census of 1989 the number of Karachay-Balkar speakers is approximately 231000 (cf. Jaz. M 272). There are also some

Karachay and Balkar minorities living in Turkey, Europe and the USA (cf. Seegmiller 4).

Karachay-Balkar has three dialects. The first one called *c*-dialect can be characterized by the feature [c]. The second one is Karachay having the feature [č] and the third one is called mixed since it has features both from [c] and [č] dialects. The *c*-dialect is spoken in the vicinity of North Ossetia, the *č*-dialect in the western part, and the mixed one in the central part of Central Caucasus (cf. Al. SKB 21).

3. A BRIEF SKETCH OF RESEARCH ON KARACHAY-BALKAR

The first information about Karachays and Balkars was given by the German traveller J. Klaproth after his journey to the Caucasus in 1807 and 1808. Also, at the end of the 19th century the Caucasus peoples were described by Erckert in his work (cf. Bask. G 11). The first research on the language started only at the beginning of the 20th century. The Russian scholar N. A. Karaulov published in 1908 and 1912 two works concerning the Balkars and their language (cf. Boz. 5). Parallelly, the Hungarian orientalist W. Pröhle, after his expeditions to the North Caucasus elaborated and edited the Karachay and Balkar material collected by him (Pr B, Pr K). These works are described in the paragraph: Sources.

In 1930 the first grammar of Karachay-Balkar was published. It comprised the characteristics of phonetics, morphology, vocabulary and syntax. It also included data on dialects of Karachay-Balkar (cf. Al. SKB 14).

Since that time research on this language has begun to develop. In 1933 V. I. Abajev in "Jazyk i myšlenije" published his article "Obščije elementy v jazyke osetin, balkarcev i karačajevcev (Iz materialov Balkaro-Karačajevskoj Ekspediciji Akademii Nauk SSSR 1930-33)". The article was reprinted in his work (Abajev OJ) in 1949 under the title "Pojezdka k verchovjam Kubani, Baksana i Čereka". Abajev presents in this paper Karachay-Balkar material in comparison with Ossetin parallels.

The sixties brought editions of a descriptive grammar and a Russian-Karachay-Balkar dictionary (cf.: Al. SKB 15-16). In 1962 Boziyev published his work (Boz.) concerning Balkar dialects. It will be discussed below.

In 1972 work on Karachay-Balkar syntax was published by U. B. Alijev (Al. SKB). This comprehensive work discusses thoroughly the structure of Karachay-Balkar sentences and their types. All problems are illustrated with contemporary lexical material.

The subject of word formation was chosen by Chabičev in his two works (Chab., Chab. KB) concerning Karachay-Balkar and other languages of the Kipchak group.

In 1976 a descriptive grammar edited by Baskakov was published (Bask. G). This comprehensive work comprises the phonetics, morphology and syntax of the modern Karachay-Balkar language. In 1996 Seegmiller published his work (Seegmiller) that gives a description of Karachay dialect referring mostly to general grammatical issues.

Apart from the monographs mentioned above there are some articles that contribute to some selected issues concerning the Karachay-Balkar language, to mention just a few. Hebert (Hebert KPh.) in his articles deals with Karachay phonology; Otarov (Otarov LKBJ) and Ulakov (Ul.) take up some lexical problems. Chadžilajev (Chadž. KBBS, Chadž. KBVS) chooses the subject of some lexical parallels with other languages (Besermian, Hungarian).

In presenting the history of research on Karachay-Balkar we cannot omit the question of mutual relations with other languages whose results are some loan words. There are two works by Schmidt (Schmidt O, Schmidt K) concerning Ossetin and Caucasian loan words in Karachay and also one article by Eren (Eren CTE) about some Caucasian-Turkic elements in Anatolian dialects. The work by Abajev (Abajev OJ) on Karachay-Balkar and Ossetin parallels was already mentioned before. Abajev is also the author of a very comprehensive etymological dictionary of the Ossetin language (Abajev SOJ) that is valuable in research into Karachay-Balkar vocabulary.

There is also a group of comparative works concerning Turkic languages where Karachay-Balkar is cited although it is not mentioned in their titles. Thus, there is work by Dybo (Dybo AE) dealing with some semantic reconstructions in Altaic etymology where Karachay-Balkar vocabulary is cited. Musajev in his work (Musajev LTJ) analyses the vocabulary of the western Kipchak group of Turkic languages in a comparative framework. The subject of kinship terms in Turkic languages is discussed by Yong-Song Li (TDAA). This work includes also Karachay-Balkar material. The article by Ščerbak (Šč. NŽTJ) dealing with terms denoting animals in Turkic languages includes Balkar words although not numerous. Frankle in her work (Franke WFTL) discussing the word formation in Turkic languages gives the examples of derivatives from Karachay-Balkar.

We are sure that the above presented works are not everything published in this field, however we are also conscious that the Karachay-Balkar language as a subject of Turkological research still requires a better, more comprehensive elaboration. Therefore, the subject we chose for our work seems to be entirely justifiable, filling to a certain extent a lack of lexicological works, although it does not fulfil expectations concerning complex research in this field.

4. SOURCES

The present work was prepared on the basis of four sources. Two of them are Pröhle's works (Pr B, Pr K) from the beginning of the 20th century. After his first expedition to the Caucasus in 1908 Pröhle published in Keleti Szemle, t. X, Budapest 1909, pp. 83-150, the Karachay material arranged in the form of a dictionary with translation into German. The results of the second expedition in 1913 was "Balkarische Studien" published in Keleti Szemle, t. XV, Budapest 1914/15, pp. 165-276. In this work Pröhle gives apart from the material prepared in the form of a Balkar-German dictionary a sketch of Balkar grammar including phonetics, morphology, inflexion and other grammatical problems.

The third source is the work by Boziyev (Boz.) concerning the dialects in Balkaria, their distribution and characteristic features. Apart from the basic information the work comprises about 40 texts written in these three dialects and translated into Russian. The last part constitutes the Balkar-Russian dictionary.

The fourth source is the contemporary Karachay-Balkar-Russian dictionary (KBRS) published in 1989. This is the most comprehensive source comprising the material from the literary Karachay-Balkar language (831 pages). This dictionary gives also a short sketch of Karachay-Balkar grammar, list of geographic names and index of family names.

As we can see the sources used in this work are not numerous since, as it was already mentioned, the Karachay-Balkar language has not been well elaborated and what is also important research in this field began only at the beginning of the 20th century. In talking about these sources we should mention the problem we faced during our work. This is the problem of transcription. Two sources (Boz., KBRS) are written in Cyrillic script whereas two others (Pr B, Pr K) are in Latin, however Pröhle used in his works his own transcription, which in some cases is not compatible with the standard of the international transcription system (it will be discussed later). As for the sources written in Cyrillic script, Boziyev introduces the sign *y*, which in KBRS has equivalent in *ў*. These two signs stand for the phoneme [w]. The problem of proper transcription refers also to the sources of comparative material, where the authors describing different Turkic languages introduce different signs for this same phoneme and even they use their own transcription that is only seemingly based on the international one.

5. TRANSCRIPTION REMARKS

In being faced with the difficulties presented above we are conscious that the transcription should be uniform. Therefore, taking into account the variety of languages, their phonetic differentiation and the various scripts used in the

sources we have introduced a phonological or rather half-phonological transcription[1] since not for all of the languages cited in this work phonological transcription is possible.
Hence:

- for [g], [ġ], [ǧ] we use [g];
- in some forms there is also [γ];
- for [k], [q] there is [k];
- for interdental Bašk. [δ] we use [z] and for [θ] we introduce [s]. These two phonetic signs we use only in citing reconstructed forms;
- for labialized Uz. [å] we use [o] according to the modern orthography.

In the case of [e] we use two signs: [e] and [ä] (open [e]).
In Chuvash there are two signs for reduced vowels i.e.: [ă] and [ĕ]. They cannot be substituted by other signs. In Salar and Yellow Uighur the aspirates are used in some forms.
As was mentioned above in Pröhle's work there are some additional signs. He introduced the [´] sign above the following letters: a, e, i, ı, o, u, ü. Above [i] he introduced a small circle that stands for [ï]. For: č, k, p, q, t he gave aspirate signs. Therefore, citing the material from Pröhle's sources we give in brackets the original orthography he used but we transcribe it phonologically.

Thus, all transcription signs used in the work are the following:

a, ă, ā, a˙, á, ā̆, â, ä, ä˙, ā̈, b, ƀ, β, c, cᶜ, ć, č, čᶜ, č́, d, ď, δ, e, ĕ, e˙, ē, é, ē̆, ê, f, g, ğ, ǵ, ǧ, ǧ', γ, x, x́, h, ı, i, i˙, ĭ, ī, ī̆, í, i̊, í, ï, ī̈, ī̆̈, j, j́, k, ḱ, kᶜ, l, ľ, m, ḿ, n, ń, ŋ, ŋ́, o, o˙, ŏ, ó, ō, ō̆, ö, ö˙, ő, ō̈, ō̆̈, p, pᶜ, ṕ, q, qᶜ, r, ŕ, s, sᶜ, ś, š, š́, θ, t, ť, tᶜ, u, ŭ, u˙, ú, ū, ū̆, ü, ű, ü˙, ű́, ṻ, ū̆̈, v, v́, w, z, ź, ʒ, ʒᶜ, ǯ, ž.

[1] Such a term was used by Stachowski in his StachM GJV 15.

II. ABBREVIATIONS

1. SOURCES AND CITED LITERATURE

Abajev OJ	Abajev, V. I. *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor*, I, Moskva-Leningrad 1949.
Abajev SOJ	Abajev, V. I. *Istoriko-etymologičeskij slovaŕ osetinskogo jazyka*, t. I, Moskva-Leningrad 1958.
Al. SKB	Alijev, U. B.: *Sintaksis karačajevo-balkarskogo jazyka*, Moskva 1972.
Bask. G	Baskakov, N. A. (Red.): *Grammatika karačajevo-balkarskogo jazyka. Fonetika, morfologija, sintaksis*, Naľčik 1976.
Bask. NJa.	Baskakov, N. A.: *Nogajskij jazyk i jego dialekty*, Moskva-Leningrad 1940.
Bask. JpU	Baskakov, N. A.: *Jazyk priissykkulskich ujgurov*, Alma-Ata 1978.
Boz.	Bozijev A. J.: *Materialy i issledovanija po balkarskoj dialektologii, leksike i folkloru*, Naľčik 1962.
Chab.	Chabičev, M. A.: *Imennoje slovoobrazovanije i formoobrazovanije v kumanskich jazykach*, Moskva 1989.
Chab. KB	Chabičev, M. A.: *Karačajevo-balkarskoje imennoje slovoobrazovanije*, Čerkessk 1971.
Chadž. KBBS	Chadžilajev, H-M. I.: O karačajevo-balkarskich i besermianskich leksičeskich schoždenijach, *Sovetskaja Tjurkologija* 2, 1989, pp. 76-80.

Chadž. KBVS Chadžilajev, H-M. I.: Karačajevo-balkarskije i vengerskije schoždenija, in: *Aktual'nyje problemy karačajevo-balkarskogo i nogajskogo jazykov*, Stavropol' 1981.

Clauson Clauson, G.: *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972.

ČRS Skvorcov, M. I. (Red.): *Čuvašsko-russkij slovaŕ*, Moskva 1985.

Doerfer LSCh Doerfer, G.: *Lexik und Sprachgeographie des Chaladsch. Textband*, Wiesbaden 1987.

DS *Türkiye'de halk ağzından derleme sözlüğü*, I A, Ankara 1963.

DTS Nadeljajev, V. M. et al. (Red.): *Drevnetjurkskij slovaŕ*, Leningrad 1969.

Dybo AE Dybo, A. V.: *Semantičeskaja rekonstrukcja v altajskoj etimologii. Somatičeskije terminy (plečevoj pojas)*, Moskva 1996.

Eg. Egorov, V. G.: *Etimologičeskij slovaŕ čuvašskogo jazyka*, Čeboksary 1964.

Eren CTE Eren, H.: Caucasian-Turkic Elements in the Anatolian Dialects, *Studia Caucaica* I (1963), pp. 94-126.

ÈSTJa Sevortjan, E. V., *Etimologičeskij slovaŕ tjurkskich jazykov*, Vol. I: *Obščetjurkskije i mežtjurkskije osnovy na glasnyje*, Moskva 1974; Vol. II: *(...) na bukvu "b"*, Moskva 1978; Vol. III: *(...) na bukvy "v", "g", "d"*, Moskva 1980; Vol. IV: [& Levitskaja, L. S.]: *(...) na bukvy "ğ", "ž", "j"*, Moskva 1989; Vol. V: [& Levitskaja, L. S., Dybo, A. V., Rassadin, V. I.]: *(...) na bukvy "k" (~"g") i "ķ" (~"ķ" ~"k")*, Moskva 1997.

Frankle WFTL Frankle, E.: *Word Formation in the Turkic Languages*, Columbia University Press 1948.

Gab. Gabain, A. von: *Alttürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1950.

Hebert KPh. Hebert, R. J.: Karačay Phonology, *UAS.* vol. 13 (1962), pp. 97-113.

Jaz. M *Jazyki mira. Tjurkskije jazyki*, Moskva 1997.

JUFD Sadvakasov, T. S.: *Jazyk ujgurov Ferganskoj doliny. Očerk fonetiki, teksty i slovaŕ*, Alma-Ata 1970.

Kakuk Kakuk, Z., *Mai török nyelvek*, I, Budapest 1976.

KBRS Tenišev, E. R., Sujunčev, Ch. I. (Red.): *Karačajevo-balkarsko-russkij slovaŕ*, Moskva 1989.

Kononov RT Kononov, A. N., *Rodoslovnaja Turkmen*, Moskva- Leningrad 1958.

KRPS *Karaimsko-russko-poľskij slovaŕ*, Moskva 1974.

Malov Malov, S. E.: *Lobnorskij jazyk. Teksty, perevody, slovaŕ*, Frunze 1956.

Musajev LTJ Musajev, K. M.: *Leksika tjurkskich jazykov v sravniteľnom osveščenii (Zapadnokipčakskaja gruppa)*, Moskva 1975.

Otarov LKBJ Otarov, I. M.: K izučeniju professjonaľnoj leksiki karačajevo-balkarskogo jazyka, *Sovetskaja Tjurkologija* 3 (1977), pp. 45-50.

ÖjHa. Németh, G.: Az ősjakut hangtan alapjai. *NyK* XLIII (1914), 3-81.

Podolsky Podolsky, B., *A Greek Tatar-English Glossary*, Wiesbaden 1985.

Pr. Pritsak, O.: Das Karatschaische und Balkarische, *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, t. I, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 340-368.

Pr B Pröhle, W.: Balkarische Studien, *Keleti Szemle*, XV (1914/ 15), pp. 165-276.

Pr K Pröhle, W.: Karatschajisches Wörterverzeichnis, *Keleti Szemle*, t. X (1909), pp. 83-150.

Rass. Rassadin, V. I.: *Fonetika i leksika tofalarskogo jazyka*, Ulan-Ude 1971.

Räs. VEWT Räsänen, M.: Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen (*Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae* XVII/1), Helsinki 1969.

Schmidt K Schmidt, G., Über die kaukasischen Lehnwörter des Karatschajischen, *Mémoires de la Societe Finno-Ougrienne* 67, Helsinki 1933, pp. 465-471.

Schmidt O Schmidt, G.: Über die ossetischen Lehnwörter im Karatschajischen, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae* 27, Helsinki 1932, pp. 364-395.

Seegmiller Seegmiller, S.: *Karachay. Languages of the World*, München-Newcastle 1996.

Sev. STJ Sevortjan E. V. et al. (Red.): *Struktura i istorija tjurkskich jazykov*, Moskva 1971.

SKT Baskakov, N. A.: Ob osobennostjach govora severo-kavkazskich turkmenov (truchmenov). *Jazyki Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana. Sbornik lingvističeskich issledovanij*, vyp. 2, Moskva-Leningrad 1949, pp. 140-182.

StachM GJV Stachowski, M.: *Geschichte des jakutischen Vokalismus*, Kraków 1993.

Sul. Kkar. Sulimowicz, J., Materiał leksykalny krymskokaraimskiego zabytku językowego (druk z 1734), *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, T. XXXVI (1973), z. 1, pp. 47-107.

Šč. SF Ščerbak, A. M.: *Sravniteľnaja fonetika tjurkskich jazykov*, Leningrad 1970.

Šč. NŽTJ Ščerbak, A. M.: Nazvanija domašnich i dikich životnych v tjurkskich jazykach, pp. 82-172, *Istoričeskoje razvitie leksiki tjurkskich jazykov*, Moskva 1961.

TDAA Yong Song Li: *Türk dillerinde akrabalık adları*, İstanbul 1999.

Tenišev Tenišev, E. R.: *Stroj salarskogo jazyka*, Moskva 1976.

Tenišev SJ Tenišev, E. R.: *Stroj sary-jugurskogo jazyka*, Moskva 1976.

Ul. Ulakov, M. Z.: Problemy soveršenstvovanija i unifikacii knižnych terminov sovremennogo karačajevo-balkarskogo jazyka, *Sovetskaja Tjurkologija* 2 (1990), pp. 95-97.

YRh. *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*, Istanbul 1981.

2. LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

2.1. Turkic languages and dialects

Alt.	Altai
Alt. (V)	(V) dialect of Altai
Az.	Azerbaijani
B	Balkar dialect
Baks.	Balkar dialect of Baksany valley
Balk.	dialect of Balkar valley

Bašk.	Bashkir
B. dial.	Balkar dialects
Čeg.	Balkar dialect of Chegem valley
Čuv.	Chuvash
Gag.	Gagauz
K	Karachay dialect
Kar. (Cr.)	Karaim (Crimea)
Kar. (H)	Karaim (Halicz)
Kar. (T)	Karaim (Troki)
Kaš.	Balkar dialect of Kashkatau
Kaz.	Kazakh
K-B	Karachay-Balkar
Khak.	Khakas
Khal.	Khalaj
Khul. – Bez.	Balkar dialect of Khulamy – Bezengi valley
Kir.	Kyrghyz
Kklp.	Karakalpak
Kum.	Kumyk
Lob.	Lobnor
Nog.	Nogai
NYak.	New Yakut
Oir.	Oirot
OT	Old Turkic
Ott.	Ottoman Turkish
PT	Proto-Turkic
Sal.	Salar
Šor.	Shor
T.	Turkic
Tat.	Tatar
Tat. (Cr.)	Tatar (Crimea)
Tat. (Kaz.)	Tatar (Kazan)
Tat. (Sib.)	Tatar (Siberia)
Tat. (Tüm.)	Tatar (Tümen)
Tat. (Ur.)	Tatar (Urum)
Tof.	Tofalar
Trkm.	Turkmen
Trukh.	Trukhmen
Tur.	Turkish
Tuv.	Tuvinian
Uig.	Uighur
Uz.	Uzbek

Uz. (S)	Uzbek (S)
Yak.	Yakut
Y.Uig.	Yellow Uighur

2.2. Other languages

Chin.	Chinese
Mong.	Mongolian
Pers.	Persian
Russ.	Russian

3. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

AH	Abu Hayyan dictionary
arch.	archaic
cf.	confer = compare
dial.	dialectal form
e.g.	exempli gratia = for example
fig.	figurative
i.e.	id est = that is
Istanb. dial.	dialect of Istanbul
KB	Kutadgu Bilig
lit.	literature
MK	Mahmud Kašgari dictionary
p.	person
pl.	plural
prob.	probably
sg.	singular
south.	southern
suf.	suffix
YE	Yunus Emre
Zamahš.	Zamahšari dictionary

Uz. (S)	Uzbek (S)
Yak.	Yakut
Y.Uig.	Yellow Uighur

2.2. Other languages

Chin.	Chinese
Mong.	Mongolian
Pers.	Persian
Russ.	Russian

3. OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

AH	Abu Hayyan dictionary
arch.	archaic
cf.	confer = compare
dial.	dialectal form
e.g.	exempli gratia = for example
fig.	figurative
i.e.	id est = that is
Istanb. dial.	dialect of Istanbul
KB	Kutadgu Bilig
lit.	literature
MK	Mahmud Kašgari dictionary
p.	person
pl.	plural
prob.	probably
sg.	singular
south.	southern
suf.	suffix
YE	Yunus Emre
Zamahš.	Zamahšari dictionary

III. KARACHAY-BALKAR VOCABULARY

The lexical material selected from the above presented sources constitutes the subject of our study. In selecting the material we took into account only simple words in terms of their structure and those unmotivated, whose derivational structure is unclear.

The Karachay-Balkar material is presented according to a division into parts of speech. Thus, there are the following groups: 1. Nouns; 2. Adjectives; 3. Numerals; 4. Pronouns; 5. Adverbs; 6. Conjunctions; 7. Particles; 8. Postpositions; 9. Verbs.

Within some of these groups (i.e. nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs) a further division was done according to a semantic criterion.

The aim of such a classification is to show the different grammatical and semantic strata that could have existed already at the early stage of development of the language. Such a supposition we can make based on the comparative analysis of other languages and historical sources. However, we are conscious that the classification into parts of speech in some cases is possible only to a certain extent. This refers mostly to the division within nouns and adjectives. We can come across in Karachay-Balkar many examples of nouns with both substantival and adjectival denotation. This same refers to adjectives, which are often given with both adjectival and adverbial meaning. Therefore, in both grammatical and semantic classification we take as a criterion the basic meaning of a word.

1. NOUNS

The Karachay-Balkar material comprising substantives is presented in several semantic groups. These are the semantic groups:

1.1. Kindred terms

akka (K-B) '1. ded, deduška; 2. starik' (KBRS 41); *akka* (*aqqa*; K)[2] 'Grossvater' (Pr K 86) < PT **āka*; cf.: OT *egä*, *ejä*, *igä*, *ijä*; Az. *aga*; Tur. *aga*; Khal. *äkä*; Gag. *aga*; Kar. (Cr.) *aka*; Tat. (Ur.) *aka*; Čuv. *akka*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog *aga*; Kir. *ake*; Trkm. *aga*; Uz. *akä*; Uig. *äka*; Lob. *aka*; Y. Uig. *aka*, *eke*; Alt. *aka*, *aga*; Khak. *aga*; Tuv. *akï*; Tof. *ē*; Šor. *akka*; Yak. *aga*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 38, 286; DTS 165, 167, 204, 205; Eg. 23; ÈSTJa I 121; KRPS 58; Rass. 183; Räs. VEWT 13a.

This word has equivalents in OT and modern Turkic languages. However, from the semantic point of view the present languages are not consistent. Historically the oldest forms of the word had the meaning '1. owner, master; 2. idd, deity' (cf. DTS). At present there are several meanings referring to this word, generally connected with kinship, e.g.: 1. elder sister, aunt (in Čuv.); 2. father's sister, aunt (Khal.); 3. elder brother, uncle (Uz., Trkm.); 4. grandfather (Khak.); 5. elder brother, uncle (Az., Gag., Kir., Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. Yak.); 6. master, landlord (Tur.).

ana (K-B) 'mať; matka' (KBRS 63); *anija* '1. mať, mama; 2. babuška' (ibid. 65); *ana* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'mať' (Boz. 165); *ana* (K) 'Mutter' (Pr K 87); *ana* (*aná*; B) 'Mutter' (Pr B 201) < PT **äńä*; cf.: OT *ana*; Kum., Az. *ana*; Tur. *ana*, *anne* (Istanb. dial.); Gag. *ana*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ana*; Tat. *ana*, *äni*, *ännä*; Tat. (Cr. Ur.) *ana*; Čuv. *anne*, *ani*; Bašk. *inä*; Kaz. *ana*, *ene*; Kklp. *ene*, *ana*; Kir. *ene*; Trkm. *ene*; Trukh. *ana*; Uz. *ona*; Uig. *ana*; Lob. *änä*, *ene*, *ana*; Sal. *ena*, *eno*, *anna*, *amma*, *ami*, *ama*; Y. Uig. *ana*; Alt. *ene*; Khak. *inä*; Tuv. *ene*, *ije*; Šor. *ene*; Yak. *ijä*. – Lit.: DTS 43; Eg. 28; ÈSTJa I 278; Gab. 294; KRPS 67; Malov 89, 108; Podolsky 1; SKT 177; StachM GJV 63; Sul. Kkar. 50; Tenišev 325; Tenišev SJ 172.

The word is confirmed both in OT and in modern Turkic languages. Its main meaning is 'mother, mum; grandmother', however in several modern languages it has a different meaning. Cf.: Tuv. *ene* 'aunt'; Čuv. *ani* 'mother-in-law'.

appa (K-B) '1. ded, deduška; 2. deduška; 3. papa' (KBRS 69); *apba* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'deduška' (Boz. 165) < PT **āpa* (? < **appa*); **aba*; cf.: OT *aba*, *apa*; Az. dial. *aba*, *abaj*, *abïj*; Khal. *äbä*; Tur. dial. *aba*, *abba*, *abu*, *ava*; Tat. (Sib.) *awa*; Čuv. *appa*; Bašk. *apa*, *apaj*; Kir. *aba*; Trkm. dial. *aba*; Uz. *opa*; Uig. *apa*;

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[2] The material taken from Pröhle's sources is given in brackets in its original orthography unless it is the same as in other sources.

Lob. *ava*; Sal. *aba*, *apï*, *ava*; Y. Uig. *ava*; Alt. *aba*; Khak. *aba*; Tuv. *ava*; Yak. *ubaj*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 35, 37, 286; DTS 1, 47; Eg. 30; ÈSTJa I 54; Gab. 294; JUFD 168; Malov 79; StachM GJV 20; Tenišev 279, 291, 297.

The word *appa* has equivalents both in OT and in modern languages. In K-B the basic meaning refers to the elder person in a family: father, uncle, grandfather, ancestor. However, in other Turkic languages, also OT, this name refers not only to a male elder person but to a female as well, i.e.: 'mother, aunt, elder sister', cf.: DTS 1, 47; Eg. 30; Gab. 294. This word is also known with the meaning 'bear', cf.: *aba* (DTS 1); Čuv. *upa*; Khak. *oba* (Eg. 274).

ata (K-B) 'otec, predok' (KBRS 85), *atas* 'otec' (ibid. 88), *attja* '1. papa, otec; tjatja. 2. ded' (ibid. 90); *ata* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'otec' (Boz. 165); *ata* (*atʿá*; K) 'Vater' (Pr K 89); *ata* (*atá*; B) 'Vater' (Pr B 203) < PT **āta*; cf.: OT *ata*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ata*; Čuv. *atte*, dial.: *ati*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *ata*; Uz. *ota*; Uig. *ata*; Lob. *ata*, *ača*; Sal. *eto*; Y. Uig. *ata*; Alt. *ada*, *ača*; Khak. *ada*, *aba*; Tuv. *ada*, *ača*; Tof. *ada*. – Lit.: DTS 65; Eg. 36; ÈSTJa I 200; KRPS 83; Malov 87, 88; Podolsky 2; Rass. 151; SKT 177; Sul. Kkar. 52; Tenišev 328.

The word *ata* denoting 'father; ancestor; grandfather' is widely known in most modern Turkic languages. It was also confirmed in OT sources.

baba (K-B) '1. predok, ded; 2. obrašč. rebionka k babuške; baba' (KBRS 109) < PT **bāba* (ESG)[3]; cf.: OT *baba*; Az. *baba*; Khal. *bāba*; Tur. *baba*; Gag. *boba*; Kar. (Cr.), Tat., Tat. (Ur.) *baba*; Bašk. *baba*, *babaj*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *baba*; Trkm. *bāba*; Uz. *bobo*; Uig. *baba*, *bova*; Lob. *bova*, *bova*; Sal. *paba*, *pavō*, *pō*; Alt. *poba*; Khak. *paba*; Tof. *bāba*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 236; Doerfer LSCh 34, 278; DTS 76; ÈSTJa II 10; KRPS 93; Malov 89, 94; Podolsky 3; Tenišev 434, 439, 450.

This is a term referring to family relations. It denotes 'ancestor; grandfather; father', however in Karachay-Balkar it means only 'ancestor, grandfather'. It was known both in OT and it has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

bala (K-B) '1. ditja, rebionok; 2. detionyš, ptenec' (KBRS 115); *bala* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'ditja, rebionok' (Boz. 166); *bala* (K) 'Kind, Junges' (Pr K 91); *bala* (*balá*; B) Kind., Junges (von Tieren)' (Pr B 205) < PT **bāla*; cf.: OT *bala*; Kum. *bala*; Az. *bala*, *balak*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *bala*; Trkm. *bāla*, *bala*; Uz. *bola*; Uig. *bala*; Lob. *bala*, *vala*; Sal. *bala*, *pala*, *palā*, *vala*; Y. Uig. *mula*, *mla*, *mle*,

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[3] The reconstructed forms are cited from the sources as: Eg., ÈSTJa I-V, Räs. VEWT, StachM GJV, Šč. SF. In cases where there is no reconstructed form for the analysed word given in the above sources I have given my own proposition of the reconstructed form (ESG).

mïla; Alt. *pala*; Khak. *pala*; Šor. *pala*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 40; DTS 80; ÈSTJa II 47; KRPS 100; Malov 91, 97; Podolsky 4; Tenišev 300, 435/6, 540; Tenišev SJ 192.

Bala 'child; little; youth: a young animal' is a common word in Turkic languages. In some of them it appears in phonetic variants. With the same meaning it is registered in Old Turkic sources. As far as its origin is concerned there are some conceptions about the Indo-European borrowing, cf. ÈSTJa II 49.

egeč (K-B) 'sestra' (KBRS 763); *egeč* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'sestra' (Boz. 170); *egeč*, *jegeč* (*egéč*, *jegéč*; K) 'Schwester' (Pr K 100); *egec*, *egeš* (*egéc*, *egéš*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 218) < PT **äkäč* (ESG); cf.: OT *ekäč*; Khal. *äkäči*; Čuv. *akka*; dial. *aki* ~ *akaj*; Trkm. *ekeği*; *ečkeči* (Eg. 23); Uz. *egači*; Khak. *igäči*; Yak. *agas*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 41, 286; DTS 167; Eg. 23; ÈSTJa I 222; Räs. VEWT 38 a.

The word *egeč* in K-B means 'sister'. It is registered in the form *ekäč* in OT with the meaning 'a clever girl'. The noun has its counterparts (in different variants) in some other Turkic languages with the following meanings: 'elder sister' (Trkm., Uz., Yak.); 'a sister, an aunt' (Čuv.); 'a sister in law' (Khal., Khak.).

egiz (K-B) 'bliznec' (KBRS 763); *egiz* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 170); *egiz*, *jegiz* (*egiz*, *jegiz*; K) 'Zwilling' (Pr K 100); *egiz* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 218) < PT **ikiz*, **äkiz* (ESG); cf.: OT *ekiz*; *ikkiz* (MK); Kum. *egiz*; Az. *äkiz*; Tur., Gag. *ikiz*; Kar. (Cr.) *egiz*; Tat. *igez*, *igezäk*, *igïz* (ÈSTJa I 252); Tat. (Cr.) *ekiz*; Čuv. *jĕkĕr*; Bašk *igïz*; *igez* (Eg.77); Kaz. *egïz*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *egiz*; Trkm. *ekiz*; Uz. *egiz*, *egizak*; Uz. (S) *igiz*; Alt. (V) *egis*, *igis*; Oir. *egis*; Khak. *ihis*; Tuv. *ij̇is*; Šor. *igis*; cf. also Yak. *ikir*, *igirä*, *igiri*, *igirie* < Mong. – Lit.: DTS 168, 207; Eg. 77; ÈSTJa I 252; KRPS 653.

The word *egiz* 'twins' is registered in OT in the forms *ekiz*, *ikkiz* and has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages. The forms in Yakut come from Mongolian, cf. ÈSTJa I 252. As for the structure this is a derivative formed from the numeral 'two' with the suffix *-z* showing the evenness, cf. ÈSTJa I 253.

er (K-B) '1. muž, suprug; xozjain; 2. mužčina' (KBRS 770); *er* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.), *eri* (Baks.) 'muž, mužčina; suprug' (Boz. 170); *er*, *jer* (K) 'Mann, Gatte' (Pr K 101); *er* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 219) < PT **ār*; cf.: OT *er*; Kum. *er*; Az. *är*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr. Ur.) *er*; Tat. *ir*; Čuv. *ar*; Bašk. *ir*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *er*; Trkm. *är*; Trukh. *er*; Uz. *er*; Uig. *är*; Lob. *ej*; Sal. *er*, *ïr*; Y. Uig. *jer*, *er*; Alt. *er*; Khak. *ir*; Tuv. *er*; Tof. *er*; Yak. *er*. – Lit.: DTS 175; Eg. 30; ÈSTJa I 321; KRPS 665; ÖjHa. 22; Podolsky 10; Rass. 182; SKT 182; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 326, 560; Tenišev SJ 183.

The word *er* 'man' according to Egorov (Eg. 30) is one of the oldest Turkic words and it is registered in almost all Turkic languages, in OT and other representatives of Altaic family.

erkek (K-B) '1. samec; osoba mužskogo roda; 2. mužčina; 3. (B) petux; 4. zadnij proxod' (KBRS 772); *erkek* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'samec' (Boz.

170); *erkek, jerkek* (*erkʿék, jerkʿék*; K) 'männlich' (Pr K 101); *erkek, erkex, erkeg* (*erkék, erkéx, erkég*; B) 'männlich, Mannsbild' (Pr B 219) < PT **erkek* ~ **irkek*; cf.: OT *erkäk, irkäk*; Kum. *erkek*; Az. *erkäk*; Tur. *erkek*; Gag. *jerkek*; Kar. (Cr.) *erkak, erkek*, (H) *erkek*, (T) *erkak*; Tat. *irkäk*; Tat. (Cr.) *erkek*; Bašk. *irkäk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *erkek*; Uz. *erkäk*; Uig. *ä(r)käk*; Y. Uig. *hrkik, erkek*; Lob. *ejkek, ejkej*; Alt. *erkek*; Khak. *ĭrgek*; Tuv. *irgek*; Tof. *irhek*; Šor. *ärgäk*; Yak. *irgex*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 40; DTS 179, 212; ÈSTJa I 297; KRPS 666, 667; ÖjHa. 27; Rass. 201; Tenišev SJ 181.

The word *erkek* 'male; man. 2. cock (B)' was registered in OT in two forms: *erkäk, irkäk* and at present it has its equivalents in some Turkic languages. In some cases there are some semantic differences in comparison to K-B, e.g.: Yak. *irgex* 'Männchen' (ÖjHa. 27); Tof. *irhek* 'samec sobola ili medvedia' (Rass. 201).

ğaš (K-B) I 'syn; malčik; pareń'. II '1. molodoj, neopytnyj, maľčišeskij'. III 'sleza' (KBRS 237); *žaš* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'pareń, junoša, molodoj čelovek' (Boz. 171); *ğaš, žaš* (Baks.) 'molodoj, junoša, pareń' (ibid. 172); *zaš* (Balk.), *žaš* (Čeg.), *zaš, žaš* (Kaš.) 'pareń, junoša' (ibid. 173); *zaš* (Balk.) 'svežesť, sočnyj' (ibid. 173); *ğaš* (*ǯaš*; K) 'jung, Jahr, Lebensalter, Sohn, Knabe' (Pr K 147); *zaš* (B) 'feucht, frisch, saftig, Feuchtigkeit, Saft' (Pr B 270); *zaš* (B) 'Kind, Knabe, Jüngling' (ibid. 270) < PT **jāš* (StachM GJV 41); **θāš* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *jaš*; Kum., Az. *jaš*; Khal. *jāš*; Tur., Gag. *jaš*; Kar. (Cr.) *jaš, ješ*, (H) *jas*, (T) *jaš*; Čuv. *śul* (in: *kuśśul*); Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *jaš*; Tat. *jäš*; Bašk. *jäš*; Kaz., Kklp. *žas*; Nog. *jas*; Kir. *ğaš*; Trkm. *jāš*; Uz. *još*; Uig., Lob. *jaš*; Sal. *jaš*; Y.Uig. *jas, jaʾs*; Alt. *ďaš*; Khak. *čas*; Tuv. *čaš*; Tof. *češ*; Šor. *čaš*; Yak. *sās*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 116, 317; DTS 245, 246; Eg. 120; ÈSTJa IV 161; KRPS 237, 242, 278; Malov 119; Podolsky 32; Rass. 196; StachM GJV 41; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 349; Tenišev SJ 183.

The word *ğaš* in K-B has several meanings i.e.: '1. young boy; son; 2. young; youngster'; 3. 'fresh'; 4. 'age'; 5. 'tear'. The form *jaš* in OT had also those meanings. At present the word has its equivalents in numerous Turkic languages, where the above presented meanings appear but in a different way in different languages. This problem refers to the discussion around the question of homonymy. Ščerbak (Šč. SF 196) suggests the existence of two homonymous words presenting two archetypes **θāš* with two different meanings: 1. 'tear'; 2. 'young; age'. Other specialists consider this lexeme to be a multisemantic word, cf. ÈSTJa IV 162.

ïnna (B.) 'babuška; staruxa' (KBRS 758); *ïnna* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'babuška; matuška' (Boz. 174); *ïnna* (*inná*; B) 'Mutter, Mütterchen' (Pr B 226) < PT (?) **äńä*; cf.: OT *ana*; Kum. *ene, ana*; Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., U) ana; Tat. *ana, ännä*; Čuv. *anne, ama*; Bašk. *inä*; Kaz., Kir. *ene*; Kklp. *ana, ene*; Trkm. *ene*; Uz. *ona*; Uig. *ana, anä, enä*; Lob. *änä, ene*; Sal. *ana, ama*,

ami, *anna*; Y. Uig. *ana*; Alt. *ene*; Khak. *inä*; Tuv. *ıjä*; Šor. *ene*; Yak. *ijä*. – Lit.: DTS 43; Eg. 25, 28; ÈSTJa I 278; JUFD 168; KRPS 67; Malov 89, 108; Podolsky 1; StachM GJV 63; Sul. Kkar. 50; Tenišev SJ 172.

The Balkar word *ïnna* 'grandma; mum' has its equivalents in most of Turkic languages (in different phonetic forms). The OT sources register the form *ana*. As far as the etymology is concerned some specialists consider the word to be an imitative one, cf. ÈSTJa I 281.

kajïn (K-B) '1. šurin; deveŕ; 2. rodstvennik po mužu (žene)' (KBRS 379); *kajïn* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'šurin' (Boz. 177); *kajïn* (*qʿajĭn*; K) 'Schwager, der Bruder des Mannes' (Pr K 113); *kajïn* (*qajin*; B) 'Schwager, Schwieger-; (Pr B 233) < PT **kāδïn*; cf.: OT *kaδïn*, *kadïn*, *kajïn*, *kazïn*; Kum. *kajin*, *kajïn*; Az. *gajïn*; Khal. *gādun*; Tur. *kajïn*; Kar. (Cr., T) *kajn*; Tat. *kajïn*; Čuv. *xuń*: *xuńăm*; Bašk. *kajnï*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kajïn*; Trkm. *gājïn*; Uz. *kajin*; Uig. *kejin*; Lob. *kain*; Sal. *kajna*; Y. Uig. *kazïn*; Alt. *kajïn*; Khak. *xazïn*, *xastï*; Tuv. *katï*; Tof. *xattï*; Šor. *kazïn*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 41, 288; DTS 402, 404, 407, 439; Eg. 304; ÈSTJa V 215; KRPS 283, 358; Malov 124; Räs. VEWT 218 a; Tenišev 374.

In K-B the word *kajïn* denotes 'brother-in-law; relative of husband (wife)'. In OT there were several forms confirmed: *kaδïn*, *kadïn*, *kajïn*, *kazïn* – all with the meaning 'father-in-law'. At present, in other Turkic languages there are equivalents of this word. Generally, in all Turkic languages, where this term is confirmed, it denotes relatives, either from the husband or from the wife's side. In Čuv. the form *xuń* appears only with the possessive suffix 1 sg i.e.: *xuńăm* 'my father-in-law'. As for the etymology, according to ÈSTJa V 216, yet to be established.

karnaš (K-B) 'brat' (KBRS 395); *karïndaš* (B) 'id.' (ibid. 397); *karïndaš*, *karnaš* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'brat' (Boz. 177); *karïndaš* (*qarĭndáš*; B) 'Bruder' (Pr B 235) < PT **karïndaš*; cf.: OT *karïndaš*, *karundaš*; Kum. *kardaš*; Az. *gardaš*; Tur. *kardaš* ~ *kardeš*; Gag. *kardaš*; Kar. (Cr.) *kardaš*, (H) *karandas*, *karïndas* (T) *kardaš*, *karandaš*, *karïndaš*; Tat. (Ur.) *xardaš*; Tat. *kärdäš*; Čuv. *xurăntaš*; Bašk. *karïndaš*, *kärzäš*; Kaz. *karïndas*; Nog. *kardaš*; Kir. *karïndaš*; Trkm. *garïndaš*; Uz. *kardos*, *karĭndoš*; Uig. *kerindaš*; Sal. *kārintaš*, *kārïntaš*; Alt. *karïndaš*; Khak. *xarïndas*; Šor. *karïndaš*. – Lit.: DTS 427, 430; Eg. 308; ÈSTJa V 322-323; KRPS 292, 293, 295; Podolsky 28; Sul. Kkar. 88; Tenišev 462.

The words *karïndaš*, *karnaš* 'brother' have their equivalents in other Turkic languages with the meaning 'brother' or 'sister'. The K-B form *karnaš* is probably a shortened form from *karïndaš*; also in other Turkic languages there are shorter forms *kardaš* and forms *karïndaš*. In OT there were two forms registered: *karïndaš*, *karundaš*. Judging by the structure of the word we may claim that this is a derivative formed < *karïn* + *-daš*.

kïz (K-B) '1. devuška; 2. doč; 3. nevesta; 4. dama' (KBRS 435); *kïz* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'devuška, doč' (Boz. 178); *kïz* (*qʿïz*; K) 'Mädchen, Tochter, Jungfrau' (Pr K 118); *kïz* (*qïz*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 238) < PT **kïs* (Šč. SF 194); **kïz* (StachM GJV 103); cf.: OT *kïs*, *kïz*; Az. *gïz*; Khal. *kïz*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kïz*; Tat. (Ur.) *xïz*; Tat. *kïz*; Čuv. *xĕr*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kïz*; Trkm. *gïz*; Trukh. *kïjz*; Uz., Uig. *kïz*; *kiz* (Rass. 223); Lob. *kïz*, *kït*; Sal. *kïz*, *kʿïz*; Y. Uig. *kïz*, *kïs*, *gïz*; Alt. *kïs*; Khak. *xïs*; Tuv., Tof. *kïs*; Yak. *kïs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 36, 306; DTS 447, 449; Eg. 298; KRPS 377, 383; Malov 132, 133; ÖjHa. 29; Podolsky 30; Rass. 223; Räs. VEWT 269 a; SKT 180; StachM GJV 103; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 466, 457; Tenišev SJ 179, 201.

The lexeme *kïz* 'girl; daughter' has its equivalents (in different phonetic variants) in other Turkic languages. The OT sources registered the following forms: *kïs*, *kïz*.

küjew (K) 'zjať' (KBRS 361), *kijew* (B) 'id.' (ibid. 346); *kijeu* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'zjať, ženix' (Boz. 175); *küjöü* (*kʿüjöü*; K) 'Schwiegersohn, Schwager' (Pr K 112); *kijeü* (*kijéü*; B) 'Schwiegersohn, Schwager, Bräutigam' (Pr B 229) < PT **küδägü*; cf.: OT *küdägü*, *küδägü*; Kum. *gijäv*, *gijev*; Az. *küräkän*, dial.: *kijäv*; Khal. *küdäji*; Tur. *güvej*; Gag. *güve*; Kar. (Cr.) *küjüv*, *küjev*, *kijüv*, *kijiv*, *gujev*, *guveji*, (H) *kijev*, (T) *kijov*; Tat. (Cr.) *güjäv*; Tat. *kijäw*; Čuv. *kĕrü* < *kĕrĕv*; Bašk. *kejäü*; *kijäü* (Rass. 192); Kaz., Kklp. *küjew*; *küjeü* (Eg. 109); Nog. *kijev*; Kir. *küjõ*, *küjöv*; Trkm. *gijev*, *köreken*; Trukh. *güjöv*, *küjöv*; Uz. *kujow*, *kujov*; Uig. *küjogul*, *kujav*; Lob. *küjü*, *küj ogul*; Sal. *köj*, *kuj*; Y. Uig. *küzegï*, *kuzegï*, *kuzigï*; Alt. *küjü*, *küjö*; Khak. *kizö*, *küzē*; Tuv. *küdē*; Tof. *hüdā*; Šor. *küzā*; Yak. *kütüö*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 40, 298; DTS 324; Eg. 109; ÈSTJa III 43; JUFD 204; KRPS 161, 317, 318, 352; Malov 138; ÖjHa. 44; Rass. 192; SKT 178, 179; StachM GJV 67; Tenišev 391, 395; Tenišev SJ 188, 201.

The K-B word *küjew*, *kijew*, *küjöü* '1. son-in-law; 2. brother-in-law; 3. fiancé' has counterparts in other Turkic languages in different phonetic variants. In OT sources the forms: *küdägü*, *küδägü* were registered.

öge (K-B) 'nerodnoj, svodnyj' (KBRS 274); *öge*: *öge-ana* (*ögé-anà*; K) 'Stiefmutter' (Pr K 127), *öge-ata* (*öge-atʿà*; K) 'Stiefvater' (ibid. 127), *öge-kïz* (*ögé-qʿïz*; K) 'Stieftochter' (ibid. 127), *öge-ğaš* (*ögé-ǯaš*; K) 'stiefsohn' (ibid. 127) < PT **ögej* (ESG); cf.: OT *ögäj*; Kum. *ögej*; Az. *ögäj*; Tur. *üvej*; Gag. *jüvä*; Kar. (Cr.) *ögej*, *ogej*, (H) *egej*; Tat. (Cr.) *ogej*; Tat. *ügi*; Bašk. *ügäj*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ögej*; Kir. *ögej*, *ogäj*; Trkm. *övej* (*öwej*); Uz. *ogej*, *ögäj*; Lob. *ügej*; Alt. *öj*; Khak. *õj*; Šor. *öj*. – Lit.: DTS 379; ÈSTJa I 495; KRPS 424, 437, 653; Räs. VEWT 369 a.

The word *öge* 'step- (e.g.: stepfather), adoptive' has its equivalents (in some phonetic variants) in other Turkic languages. The OT sources registered the form *ögäj*.

tul (K-B) '1. vdovec, vdova; 2. razvedionnyj, razvedionnaja' (KBRS 651); *tul* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'vdova, vdovec' (Boz. 187); *tul*: *tul-katïn* (*tʿul*: *tʿul qʿatʿïn*; K) 'Wittwe' (Pr K 140); *tul* (B) 'Wittwe, Witwer' (Pr B 262) < PT **tul*; cf.: OT *tul*; Kum. *tul*; Az. *dul*; Tur., Gag. *dul*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *tul*; Tat. *tŭl*; *tol* (Eg. 235); Čuv. *tălăx*; Bašk. *tŭl*; *tol* (Eg. 235); Kaz. *tŭl*; *dul* (Eg. 235); Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tul*; Trkm. *dul*; Uz., Uig. *tul*; Lob. *tol*, *tul*; Alt. *tul*; Šor. *tul*; Yak. *tulajax*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 264; DTS 585; Eg. 235; ÈSTJa III 292; KRPS 546; ÖjHa. 39; Sul. Kkar. 103; Šč. SF 198.

Tul 'widow, widower; divorced' registered in OT has also equivalents in other Turkic languages. Čuv. *tălăx* and Yak. *tulajax* denote 'orphan'.

ul (K-B) 'syn' (KBRS 680); *ul* (K) 'Sohn' (Pr K 142); *ul* (B) 'Knabe, Kind, Sohn' (Pr B 264) < PT **ogul*; cf.: OT *ogul*; Az. *ogul*; Khal. *ogul*; Tur. *ogul*; Gag. *ōl*; Kar. (Cr.) *ogï!*, *ogul*, (H) *ovul*, *uvul*, (T) *uvul*; Tat. *ŭl*; Čuv. *ĭvăl*; Bašk. *ŭl*; Kaz. *ŭl*; Kklp. *ul*; Nog. *uwïl*; Kir. *ūl*; Trkm. *ogul*; Trukh. *ogul*; Uz. *ogil*; *ŭgil* (Rass. 213); Uig., Lob. *ogul*; Y. Uig. *ogul*, *ogol*, *ogïl*; Alt. *ūl*; Khak. *ogïl*, *ōl*; Tuv. *ōl*; Tof. *ōl*; Yak. *uol*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Doerfer LSCh 36, 303; DTS 364; Eg. 341; ÈSTJa I 414; KRPS 423, 424, 572; Malov 149; Rass. 213; SKT 180; StachM GJV 77; Sul. Kkar. 83; Tenišev SJ 193.

The word *ul* 'son; child' has equivalents in most of the other Turkic languages. In OT there was the form *ogul*. As far as the etymology of the word is concerned Egorov presents several conceptions suggested by different scholars, cf. Eg. 341.

1.2. Other terms referring to man

baj (K-B) '1. bogač; baj; 2. gospodin, xozjaiń; bogatyj, zažitočnyj' (KBRS 112); *baj* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'bogatyj, zažitočnyj, bogač' (Boz. 166); *baj* (K) 'reich, ein reicher Mann' (Pr K 90); *baj* (B) 'reich, wohlhabend' (Pr B 205) < PT **bāj*; OT *baj*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *baj*; Čuv. *pujan*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp, Nog., Kir. *baj*; Trkm. *bāj*; Uz. *boj*; Uig., Lob. *baj*; Y. Uig. *päj*, *pajar* (Eg. 163); Alt. *paj*, (dial.) *baj*; Khak. *paj*; Tuv. *baj*; Tof. *baj*; Šor. *paj*; Yak. *bāj*. – Lit.: DTS 79; Eg. 163; ÈSTJa II 27; KRPS 98; Malov 90; Rass. 158; Räs. VEWT 56 a.

The word *baj* denoting '1. rich, wealthy; rich person; 2. master, householder' was known in OT and also has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

batïr (K-B) I '1. otvažnyj, xrabryj, mužestvennyj, besstrašnyj; 2. lixoj, bedovyj'; II (K) 'geroj' (KBRS 122); *batïr* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'xrabryj, geroj, bogatyŕ' (Boz. 167); *batïr* (*batʿïr*; K) 'tapfer, wacker' (Pr K 92); *batïr* (*batír*; B) 'tapfer, wacker; ein Held' (Pr B 207) < PT **bātur* (ESG); OT *batur*, *bagatur*; Kum. *batïr*; Az., Tur. *bahadïr*; Kar. (Cr., T) *batïr*, (Cr., T. H) *bagatïr*; Tat. *batïr*, *bahadir*; Čuv. *pattăr*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *batïr*; Kir.,

Trkm. *bātïr*; Uz. *bahodir*; Uig. *bahidur*, *batur*; Lob. *batuj*; Y. Uig. *patïr*; Alt. *bātïr*; Khak. *matïr*; Tuv. *mādïr*; Yak. *bātïr*. – Lit.: DTS 77, 89; Eg. 144; ÈSTJa II 82; KRPS 95, 107.

The word *batïr* meaning both 'courageous, brave' and 'hero' is widely known in Turkic languages (in some phonetic variants); also confirmed in OT sources. There are some conceptions concerning its origin, one relating this word to Mongolian, another one to Iranian languages, cf. ÈSTJa II 82-83.

bij (K-B) '1. *ist.* bij, bej, knjaź; 2. ekspluatator, bogač; vlastelin; 3. pčelinaja matka' (KBRS 141); *bij* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'gospodin, knjaź' (Boz. 167); *bij* (K) 'Fürst, Haupt' (Pr K 93); *bij* (B) 'Herr, Fürst; Bienenkönigin' (Pr B 208) < PT **bā̆g* (StachM GJV 61); **pāj* (Šč. SF 195); OT *beg*; Kum. *bek*; Az. *bäj*; Tur., Gag. *bej*; Kar. (Cr.) *bij*, *bej*, *beg*, (H, T) *bij*; Tat. (Cr.) *bej*, *beg*; Tat. *bi*; Kaz. *bi*, *bek*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *bek*, *bij*; Trkm. *beg*; Uz. *bek*, *bij*; Uig. *bäg*, *bek*; Lob. *bek*; Sal. *peg*, *pek*, *pex*; Y. Uig. *pᶜeg*, *peg*; Alt. *pij*, *bij*, Khak. *pig*; Tuv. *beg*; Tof. *beg*; Šor. *peg*; Yak. *bī*. – Lit.: DTS 91; ÈSTJa II 97; KRPS 115, 146, 148; Malov 92; Ras. 160; StachM GJV 61; Sul. Kkar. 54; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev SJ 195, 198.

The word *bij* '1. prince, ruler, master; 2. notable' has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages. OT sources register the form *beg*.

ğaw (K-B) 'vrag, neprijateľ, nedrug' (KBRS 235); *zau* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'vrag' (Boz. 173); *ğau* (*ʒau*; K) 'Feind' (Pr K 147); *zau* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 270) < PT **θaβ* (**θāβ* ?) (Šč. SF 196); OT *jagï*; Kum. *jaw*; Az. *jagï*; Khal. *jāgi*; Tur. *jagï*; cf.: Kar. (H) *javcï*; Tat., Bašk. *jaw*; Kaz., Kklp. *žaw*; Nog. *jaw*; Kir. *ğō*; Trkm. *jow*, *jagï*; Uz. *jow*; Uig. *jag*, *jegi*; Lob., Y. Uig. *jagï*; Alt. *ďu*; *jü* (Rass.195); Khak. *čā*; Tuv. *čā*; Tof. *čā*; Šor. *čā*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer JSCh 165, 317; DTS 224; ÈSTJa IV 55; KRPS 215; Rass. 195; Malov 116; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 181.

The word *ğaw* 'enemy' was known in OT in the form *jagï*; at present it has its equivalents in several Turkic languages. In Y. Uig. the word *jagï* denotes 'struggle, battle' and in Kar. (H) *javcï* means 'soldier'.

ğigit (K-B) 1. 'smelyj, xrabryj; 2. 'geroj, molodec, džigit, junoša' (KBRS 248); *žigit* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.), *ğigit* (Baks.) 'udalec, džigit, geroj' (Boz. 171); *ğigit* (*ʒigít*; K) 'Jüngling' (Pr K 148) < PT **jigit* (ESG); cf.: OT *jigit*; Kum. *igit*, *jigit*; Az. *igit*; Khal. *jigüt*; Tur. *jigit*; Gag. *īt*; Kar. (Cr.) *jigit*, (H) *igit*, *jigit*, (T) *igit*, *igit*, *jigit*; Tat. *jĭgĭt*; *jeget* (Eg. 77); Čuv. *ječĕt*; Bašk. *jĭgĭt*, *jeget*; Kaz., Kklp. *žĭgĭt*; Nog. *jigit*; Kir. *ğigit*; Trukh. *jigït*; Trkm., Uz. *jigit*; Uig. *jigit*; *žigit* (Rass. 209); Lob. *jigit*; Sal. *ixit*, *jihit*; Y. Uig. *jigït*, *jigit*; Alt. *ďīt*; Khak. *čĭt*; Tof. *ńit*; Šor. *čiŋät*. – Lit.: Doerfer 182, 318; DTS 260; Eg. 77; ÈSTJa IV 198; KRPS 193, 195, 244; Malov 120; Rass. 209; SKT 179; Tenišev 342, 356; YRh. 1258.

Ğigit '1. brave; 2. hero; 3. young man' was registered in OT in the form *jigit*. It has also its counterparts in other Turkic languages.

ije (K-B) 'xozjain, vladelec' (KBRS 295); *ije* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'xozjain, gospodin, suprug' (Boz. 174); *ije* (*ijé*; K) 'Herr, Besitzer' (Pr K 107); *ije* (*ijé*; B) 'Herr, Wirt, Besitzer, Gatte' (Pr B 224) < PT **iδi*, *iδä* (Räs. VEWT 169 ab); cf.: OT *ejä*, *egä*, *ijä*, *iδi*, *idi*; Kum. *jeje*; *ij* (Räs. VEWT 169b); Az. *jijä*; Tur. *eje*, *ije*; Kar. (Cr.) *ije*, *je*; Tat. *ijä*; Čuv. *ije*; Bašk. *ĭjä*; Kaz. *ĭje*; Kklp., Nog. *ije*; Kir. *ege*, *ē*; Trkm. *eje*; Uz. *äjä*, *egä*; Uig. *egä*, *igä*; Lob. *idi*, *ege*; Sal. *egi*; Y. Uig. *ise*; Alt., Khak. *ē*; Tuv. *ē*, *ije*; Yak. *ije*, *ičči* (?). – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; DTS 165, 167, 203, 205; Eg. 67; ÈSTJa I 237; KRPS 197, 268; Räs. VEWT 169 ab; Tenišev 321.

The word *ije* 'master; owner; spouse' had equivalents in OT sources in several forms: *ejä*, *egä*, *ijä*, *iδi*, *idi*. In OT the word also denoted 'God'. Modern Turkic languages register equivalents of this lexeme. In Čuv. the word means 'bad ghost, evil'. In Tuv. and Yak. *ije* denotes 'mother', which Egorov (Eg. 67) explains as the term from the matriarchy period. Later on, in the period of patriarchate the word gained a new meaning as 'the idol of fire, water; the owner; master'.

kelin (K-B) '1. nevesta, novobračnaja; 2. nevestka, snoxa' (KBRS 319); *kelin* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'nevesta, snoxa' (Boz. 174); *kelin* (*kʿelin*; K) 'Braut, Schwiegertochter' (Pr K 108); *kelin* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 227) < PT **kelin* (ESG); cf.: OT *kelin*; Kum. *gelin*; Az. *gälin*; *kälin* (Eg. 113); Khal. *kälīn*, *kälün*; Tur., Gag. *gelin*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kelin*; Tat. (Cr.) *kelin*, Tat. (Ur.) *ťelin*; Tat. *kilĭn*; *kilen* (Eg. 113); Čuv. *kin*, *kilen*; Bašk. *kilĭn*; *kilen* (Eg. 113); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kelin*; Trkm. *gelin*; Trukh. *kelin*; Uz., Uig., Lob. *kelin*; Sal. *kejn*, *kēn*, *kijn*, *kīn*; Y. Uig. *kʿelin*; Alt. *kelin*; Khak. *kilĭn*; Tuv. *kelin*; *Šor. käli*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 39, 296; DTS 296; Eg. 113; ÈSTJa III 16; Gab. 313; KRPS 302, 390; Malov 134; Podolsky 25; Räs. VEWT 250 a; SKT 179; Tenišev 377, 380, 382, 383.

The word *kelin* 'bride' is registered in the oldest OT sources. At present it has its equivalents also in other Turkic languages. As far as its etymology is concerned Egorov (Eg. 113) claims that this lexeme comes from the verb *kil-* ~ *kel-* 'to come' and originally it denoted a woman who came from another tribe or house.

kiši (K-B) 1. '1. čelovek; mužčina; 2. kto-libo, kto-to, kto-nibuť; 2. 'čužoj, postoronnij' (KBRS 350); *kiši* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul-Bez.) 'mužčina, čelovek' (Boz. 175); *kiši* (*kʿiši*; K) 'Mensch, Mannsbild, ein anderer, die Leute' (Pr K 110); *kiši* (B) 'Mann, Mannsbild, ein Mann wie er sein soll, braver, tapferer Mann; Mensch, Leute, ein anderer, ein dritter' (Pr B 229) < PT **kiši* (ESG); cf.: OT *kiši*, *kisi*; *kis* (MK); Kum. *giši*; Az., Khal., Tur., Gag. *kiši*; Kar (Cr., T) *kiši*, (H) *kisi*; Tat. (Ur.) *kiši*; Tat., Bašk. *kiši*; *keše* (Rass. 203); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kisi*; Kir., Trkm., Trukh., Uz., Uig. *kiši*; Lob. *kiši*, *kiše*, *kše*; Sal. *keš*, *kēš*, *keše*, *kič*, *kiči*, *kiš*, *kiši*; Y.Uig. *kisi*, *kʿisï*; *kʿisi*, *kise*, *kese*, *kse*; Alt. *kiži*; Khak. *kizi*; Tuv. *kiži*; Tof. *kiši*; Šor. *kiži*; Yak. *kisi* (ÖjHa. 30); *kihi*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 39, 297; DTS 310; ÈSTJa V 78; KRPS 323, 326; Malov 136, 139;

ÖjHa. 30; Podolsky 13; Rass. 203; Sul. Kkar. 78; Tenišev 380, 382, 384; Tenišev SJ 190.

The lexeme *kiši* '1. man; 2. stranger' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT two forms: *kiši*, *kisi* were registered. According to ÈSTJa V 79 the etymology of the word is vague.

konšu (B), **xonšu** (K) 'sosed' (KBRS 710); *konšu* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'sosed' (Boz. 179); *xonšu* (K) 'Nachbar' (Pr K 105); *konšu* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 239) < PT **konšu* (ESG); cf. OT *konšï*, *konašï*, *košnï*; Kum. *xonšu*; Az. *konšu*; Khal. *ko'nšï*; Tur. *konšu*, *komšu*; Kar. (Cr.) *konšï*, (H) *konsu*, (T) *konšu*; Tat. (Ur.) *xonšu*; Nog. *koŋsï*; Kir. *koŋsï*; Uig. *košni*; Khak. *xoŋgux*; Yak. *xon-oso*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 252; Doerfer LSCh 170, 306; DTS 455; 460; Gab. 330; JUFD 211; KRPS 332, 333, 370; Podolsky 30; Räs. VEWT 279 b.

The word *konšu* ~ *xonšu* 'neighbour' has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages. In OT the following forms were registered: *konšï*, *konašï* and with metathesis *košnï*. Räsänen (Räs. VEWT 279 b) suggests the derivational character of this word from the verbal basis *ko-n-* 'to settle; to sit down'.

kul (K-B) 'rab, xolop, krepostnoj; krepostnoj kresťjanin' (KBRS 421); *kul* (B. dial.: Baks., Kašk., Khul.-Bez.) 'rab, batrak, krepostnoj' (Boz. 179); *kul* (*qʿul*; K) 'Diener, der Leibeigene' (Pr K 120); *kul* (*qul*; B) 'Knecht, Leibeigener; niedriggesinnter Mensch' (Pr B 240) < PT **kul*; cf.: OT *kul*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kul*; Tat., Bašk. *kol*; Kaz., Nog., Kir., Uz., Uig., Trkm., Lob., Alt. *kul*; Khak. *xul*; Tuv. *kul*; Tof. *hul*; Yak. *kulut*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 253; DTS 464; KRPS 345, 374; Malov 130; Rass. 191; StachM GJV 50, 117; Šč. SF 194.

The lexeme *kul* 'slave' is registered both in OT and in some modern Turkic languages, where in some of them it appears in phonetic variants.

obur (K-B) 1. 'kolduńja, veďma; oboroteń; 2. '*per.* umnyj, soobraziteľnyj' (KBRS 487); *obur* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'koldun' (Boz. 181); *obur* (*obúr*; K) 'Hexe' (Pr K 125); *obur* (*obúr*; B) 'Zauberer' (Pr B 246) < PT **ōbur* (ESG); cf.: Kum. *obur*; Tur. *obur*; Kar. (Cr.) *obur*, *obïr*, (H, T) *obur*; Tat. *ubïr*; Čuv. *vupăr*, dial. *văpăr*; Bašk. *ubïr*; Kaz., Nog. *obïr*; Kir. *obur*. – Lit.: Eg. 57; KRPS 423; Räs. VEWT 363 a; YRh. 896.

The word *obur* in K-B has two meanings 1. 'witch, werewolf'; 2. *fig.* 'clever'. It has its equivalents in a few other Turkic languages. However, in some of them there are two other, various meanings, cf.: Kar. (Cr.) *obur*, *obïr* 'greedy', (H, T) *obur* 'witch'; Tur. *obur* 'greedy, gluttonous' (YRh.), *arch. obur* 'bad ghost'. Räsänen (Räs. VEWT 363 a) etymologizes the word from *ōp-* 'to lap'; Egorov (Eg. 57) gives the etymon *up* ~ *op-*'to swallow'.

öksüz (K-B) 'sirota; besprizornik' (KBRS 275); *öksüz* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'sirota' (Boz. 182); *ösküz* (*öskʿűz*; K) 'Waise' (Pr K 127); *öxsüz* (*öxsüz*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 248) < PT **ögsüz* (ESG); cf.: OT *ögsüz*; Kum., Tur. *öksüz*; Gag. *sűs*; Kar.

(Cr.) *öksiz*, *öksüz*, (H) *eksiz*, (T) *ökśuź*; Tat. (Cr.) *oksüz*; Tat. (Ur.) *öksüz*; Tat. *ŭksïz*; Uz. *oksiz*; Alt. *ösküs*, *üsküs*; Khak. *ökïs*; Tuv. *ösküs*; Šor. *üksüs*, *öksüs*, *ökküs*. – Lit.: DTS 381; ÈSTJa I 521; KRPS 438, 657; Podolsky 16; Räs. VEWT 368 b; Sul. Kkar. 85.

The word *öksüz*, also with metathesis *ösküz* 'orphan' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT there was the form: *ögsüz*. The structure shows the derivational character: *ök* + *-süz*.

uru (K-B) 'vor' (KBRS 685) < PT **ogur* (? ~ **ogïr*; StachM GJV 77); cf.: OT *ogrï*; Kum. *oru*, *uru*; Az. *ogru*; Tur. *ugru*; Kar. (Cr.) *ogrï*, (H) *ogri*, *uru*, (T) *uru*; Tat. (Cr.) *ogrï*; Tat. *ugrï*; Čuv. *vără*; Bašk. *bur*, *ogro*; Kaz. *ŭrï*; Kklp., Nog. *urï*; Kir. *ŭru*; Trkm. *ogrï*; Uz. *ogri*; *ugri* (Eg. 49); Uig. *ogri*, *ogur*; Lob. *ogjï*; Sal. *ogrï*, *ugru*; Y. Uig. *ogur*; Alt. (V) *ogur*, *ogru*, *ogra*, *ūr*; Khak. *ogïr*; Tuv. *ōr*; Tof. *ōrï*; Šor. *ogru*; Yak. *uor*. – Lit.: DTS 363; Eg. 49; ÈSTJa I 412; Gab. 320; KRPS 423, 424, 581; Malov 149; Rass. 213; Räs. VEWT 357 b; StachM GJV 77; Tenišev 423, 531; Tenišev SJ 193; YRh. 1196.

The word *uru* 'thief' has its equivalents in numerous modern Turkic languages. In OT sources the form *ogrï* was registered.

1.3. Parts of the body and body fluids

The group comprises not only parts of the body but also biological substances like blood, sweat, excrements.

ajak (K-B) '1. noga, stopa, stupnja, lapa, lapka; 2. nožka, podporka, opora; 3. konec, niz'. (KBRS 107); *ajak* (B. dial. Baks., Čeg.) 'noga, stupnja' (Boz. 164); *ajak* (*ajaq*; K) 'Fuss' (Pr K 85); *ajak*, *ajax*, *ajag* (*ajáq*, *ajáx*, *ajáγ*; B) 'Fuss, Ende' (Pr B 198). < PT **aδak*; cf.: OT *ajak*, *adak*, *jadak*; Kum. *ajak*; Az. *ajag*; Tur. *ajak*; Gag. *ajak*; Kar. (H) *ajak*, (Cr.) *ajak* (T) *ajax*; Tat. (Cr.) *ajak*, (Ur.) *ajax*, Tat. *ajak*; Čuv. *ura*; Bašk. *azak*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *ajak*; Uz. *ojok*, (dial.): *ojog*; Uig. *ajak*, dial: *ajag*; Lob. *ajak*; Sal. *ajax*, *ajex*; Y. Uig. *azax*, *azak*; Alt., Khak. *azax*, *azak*; Tuv. *adak*; Tof. *adak*; Yak. *atax*. – Lit.: DTS 8, 27; Eg. 275; ÈSTJa I 103; Gab. 292; KRPS 51, 52; Malov 82; Podolsky 3; Rass. 151; Räs. VEWT 5a; Tenišev SJ 171, 174; Tenišev 284, 285.

Ajak 'foot, leg' is common in all modern Turkic languages. It was also known in Old Turkic in the forms *adak*, *ajak*, *jadak* (cf. DTS 8, 27, Gab. 292).

ajaz (K-B) 'ladoń' (KBRS 106) < PT **ajaz* < **aja* (ESG); cf.: OT *aja*; Tur. *aja*; Khal. *aja*; Tat. (Cr.) *aja*; Bašk., Kaz., Nog. *aja*; Trkm. *āja*; Uz. dial. *āja*, *aja*; Y. Uig. *haja*; Khak. *aja*; Tuv. *adïš*; Tof. *adeś*; Yak. *ïtïs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh. 54, 278; DTS 25; ÈSTJa I 100; Gab. 296; Rass. 151; Tenišev SJ 219.

Although being old (confirmed in DTS) the word *ajaz* is not common in modern Turkic languages. It has a meaning 'palm of the hand'. Only in

Karachay-Balkar does it appear in the form *ajaz*; in other languages the most common form is *aja*, however with some exceptions (cf. above).

arka (K-B) '1. spina; 2. zad' (KBRS 74); *arka* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'spina' (Boz. 165); *arka* (*arqá*; B) 'Rücken' (Pr B 202) < PT **arka*; cf.: OT *arka*; Kum. *arka*; Az. *arxa*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (H, T), Kar. (Cr.), Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *arka*; in Čuv. only in form *urxalăx* 'čeressedeľnik' (ČRS 516); Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *arka*; Uz. *orka*; Uig. *a(r)ka*; Lob. *ajka*, *aka*; Sal. *arga*, *arxa*; Y. Uig., Alt. *arka*; Khak. *arga*; Yak. *aryā*, *aryān*. – Lit.: ČRS 516; DTS 53; ÈSTJa I 174; KRPS 73; Malov 81, 83; ÖjHa. 9; Räs. VEWT 26 a; StachM GJV 46; Tenišev 292, 293.

The word with the meaning 'back part, the back' is confirmed both in OT and in modern Turkic languages.

ašïk (K-B) I '1. aľčik, babka; 2. ščikolotka, lodyžka, golenostopnyj sustav'. II 'kostočka (np. na sčiotax)' (KBRS 105); *ašïk* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'lodyžka, aľčik, sustav' (Boz. 166); *ašïk* (*ašı́q*; K) 'Knöchelbein' (Pr K 89); *ašïk*, *ašïx*, *ašïg* (*ašı́q*, *ašı́x*, *ašı́γ*; B) 'Knöchel, Knöchelbein, Gelenk' (Pr B 203) < PT **ašïk* (ESG); cf.: OT *ašuk*; Az. *ašïg*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.), Tat., Tat. (Cr.), Bašk. *ašïk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *asïk*; Kir. *ašïk*; Trkm. *ašïk*; Uz. *ošik*; Uig. *ašuk*, *ošuk*; Lob. *ašuk*, *ašik*; Alt. *ažïk*.– Lit.: DTS 64; ÈSTJa I 216; KRPS 93; Malov 88, 89; Räs. VEWT 30 b.

The word denoting 'knucklebones' has its equivalents in OT and some modern Turkic languages.

awuz (K-B) '1. rot; 2. usťe, ruslo; 3. uščeľe; dolina; 4. gorlo, usťe, vyxodnoje otverstie; 5. dulo, žerlo; kalibr; 6. jazyk. reč; 7. lezvie; 8. napev, melodija' (KBRS 94); *aūz* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'rot, uščeľe' (Boz. 165); *aʾuz* (*aʾúz* ;K) 'Mund' (Pr K 89); *aʾuz* (*aʾúz*; B) 'Mund, Schneide eines Messers oder Schwertes, Schlucht, Kluft, Hohlweg' (Pr B 204) < PT **aguz*; cf.: OT *agaz* (DTS 17), *agïz*, *āg(i)z* (Gab. 293); Kum. *awuz*; Az. *agïz*; Khal. *aʿguz*; Tur. *agïz*; Gag. *āz*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *avuz*, (Cr.) *agïz*; Tat. *awïz*; Tat.(Ur.) *avuz*, Tat.(Cr.) *agïz*; Čuv. *śăvar*; Bašk. *awïz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *awïz*; Kir. *ōz*; Trkm., Trukh. *agïz*; Uz. *ogiz*; Uig. *egiz*; Lob. *agïz*, *azïg*; Sal. *agas*, *agïz*, *āgïz*, *āxïs*; Y. Uig. *axïs*, *gas* (Tenišev SJ 174); *ayïs*; Alt. *ōs*, *ās*; Khak., Tuv. *ās*; Tof. *ãs*; Šor. *ās*; Yak. *uos*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 47, 277; DTS 17; Eg. 204; ÈSTJa I 81; Gab. 293; KRPS 42, 44; Malov 80, 81; Podolsky 2; Rass. 158; SKT 177; StachM GJV 21; Sul. Kkar. 48, 52; Tenišev 281, 282, 283; Tenišev SJ 174.

The word with the meaning 'mouth' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. It is also known with the metaphorical sense 'speech, language'. In OT there were the forms *agaz*, *agïz*, *āg(i)z*.

azaw (K-B) 'klyk, biveń' (KBRS 27); *azau* (*azáu*; K) 'Eckzahn' (Pr K 90) < PT **azïg*; cf.: OT *azïg*, *azih*; Az., Tur. *azï*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *azav*; Tat. (Cr.)

azuv; Tat. *azaw*; Čuv. *asav*; Bašk. *azaw*; Kaz. *azu*; Kklp. *azuw*; Kir. *azū*; Trkm. *azï*; Uz. *ozik*; Lob. *azïk*; Y. Uig. *azïg*; Alt. *azu*; Khak., Tuv. *azïg*; Tof. *asāg*, *aseg*; Yak. *ahī* ~ *ïhī*. – Lit.: DTS 72; Eg. 33; ÈSTJa I 96; Gab. 297; KRPS 47; Malov 81; Räs. VEWT 33 a; StachM GJV 18; Tenišev SJ 215.

The word denoting 'canine tooth, fang' is common in Turkic languages, where it appears in various equivalents. In OT the forms *azïg*, *azih* were registered.

balak (K-B) 'svod stopy' (KBRS 115); *balak* (K) 'Fussohle (eigentlich die Sohlenwölbung' (Pr K 91); *balak* (*baláq*; B) 'der vordere Teil des Fusses mit den Zehen' (Pr B 205) < PT **balak* (ESG); cf.: Kum. *balak*; Az. *balak*; Tur. (only dial.) *balak*, *balag*, *balax*, *baldïrak*; Kar. (Cr.) *balak*; Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *balak*; Kir. *bagalak*, *bagelek*; Trkm. *balak*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa II 51; KRPS 100; Räs. VEWT 59 b.

This word is not confirmed in OT sources. It has equivalents only in some of the Turkic languages (Oghuz and Kipchak groups). As far as the meaning is concerned in K-B it has the meaning 'foot; arch of the foot; the front part of the foot', whereas in the above presented languages this word means: 'trouser leg'; 'armit; ankle' also 'loop'.

baltïr (K-B) 'ikra' (KBRS 116); *baltïr* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'ikra, goleń' (Boz. 166); *baltïr* (*baltı́r*; B) 'Wade, Unterschenkel' (Pr B 206) < PT **baltur*; OT *baltïr*; Az., Tur. *baldïr*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Nog., Kir. *baltïr*; Trkm. *baldïr*; Uz. *boldir*; Khak. *paltïr*; Tuv. *baldïr*; Tof. *baldïr*; Yak. *ballïr*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 237; DTS 81; KRPS 101; Rass. 158; Räs. VEWT 61 a.

The word *baltïr* denoting 'shin-bone' is rather uncommon in modern Turkic languages; it is registered in OT sources.

barmak (K-B) 'palec' (KBRS 118); *barmak* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'palec' (Boz. 166); *barmak* (*barmáq*; K) 'Finger' (Pr K 91); *barmak*, *barmax*, *barmag* (*barmáq*, *barmáx*, *barmáy*; B) 'Finger' (Pr B 206) < PT **barmāk*; cf.: Kum., Az. *barmak*; Khal. *barma'k*; Tur., Gag. *parmak*; Kar. (Cr.) *parmak*, (H) *barmak*, (T) *barmax*; Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *barmak*; Čuv. *pürne*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. Kir., Trkm. *barmak*; Uz. *barmok*; Uig. *ba(r)mak*; Lob. *barmak*, *majmak*; Sal. *permax*, *pïrmax*, *purmax*; Y. Uig. *pasïrmik*; Alt. *parmak*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 54, 278; Eg. 172; ÈSTJa II 66; KRPS 103, 446; Malov 91, 141; Tenišev 445, 456, 458.

Barmak 'finger' has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages, however it was not confirmed in OT sources.

baš (K-B) '1. golova; 2. soznanie, um; 3. sposobnosť; 4. verxuška, veršína; grebeń; 5. kryša; 6. kryška; pokrytie; 7. golova; duša; čelovek; 8. golovka, gorlyško, gorlovina, šejka; 9. zaglavie, glaza; 10. načalo; 11. verxovie; 12. izgolovie; 13. kolos; botva; kočan' (KBRS 123); *baš* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'golova, kryša, načalo, konec, verx' (Boz. 167); *baš* (K)

'Kopf, Gipfel, Wipfel, Spitze, Ähre' (Pr K 91); *baš* (B) 'Kopf, Haupt; Ähre; Dach; das Obere; Anfang; Ende' (Pr B 206). < PT **bāš* ~ **baš*; OT *baš*; Kum., Az. *baš*; Khal. *ba·š*; Tur., Gag. *baš*; Kar. (Cr., T) *baš*, (H) *bas*; Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *baš*; Čuv. *puś*; Bašk. *baš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *bas*; Kir. *baš*; Trkm. *baš*; Uz. *boš*; Uig. *baš*; Lob. *baš*; Sal. *bāš*, *bas*, *pās*, *pas*, *vās*, *pāš*; Y. Uig. *paš*, *pʿaš*; Alt. *baš*, *paš*; Khak. *pas*; Tuv. *baš*; Tof. *baš*; Yak. *bas*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 45, 174, 278; DTS 86; Eg. 168; ÈSTJa II 85; KRPS 104, 109; Malov 92; ÖjHa. 8; Podolsky 4; Rass. 159; StachM GJV 46; Sul. Kkar. 54; Tenišev 301, 438, 439, 542; Tenišev SJ 195.

The word *baš* is widely known both in OT and modern Turkic languages, where in some of them there are phonetic variants of the word. Semantically it shows a wide scale. It may denote '1. head; 2. top, surface; 3. beginning; 4. mind; 5. soul, person; 6. end'.

bawur (K-B) '1. pečeń; 2. gruď; život' (KBRS 122); *baūr* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'pečeń' (Boz. 167); *bawur*, *baʾur* (*bawúr*, *baʾur*; K) 'Leber' (Pr K 92); *baʾur* (*baʾur*; B) 'id' (Pr B 207) < PT **bagïr*; cf.: OT *bagïr*; Az. *bagïr*; Khal. *bāgïr-gara*; Tur. *bagïr*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *bawur*, *bagïr* (T), *bagïr* (Cr.); Tat. (Cr.) *bagïr*; Tat. *bägĭr*, *bawïr*; Čuv. *pĕver*; Bašk. *bägĭr*, *bawïr*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *bawïr*; Kir. *bōr*; Trkm., Trukh. *bagïr*; Uz. *bagir*; Uig. *begĭr*; Lob. *bagïr*, *bagïj* ~ *bagij*; Sal. *pagïr*; Y. Uig. *pegïr* ~ *pagïr*; Alt. *būr*, *pūr*; Khak. *pār*; Tuv., Tof. *bār*; Šor. *pār*; Yak. *bïar*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 278; DTS 78; Eg. 155; ÈSTJa II 17; KRPS 94, 96; Malov 90; Rass. 160; SKT 177; StachM GJV 21; Tenišev 434.

Bawur denoting '1. liver; 2. heart; 3. chest; 4. stomach' has equivalents both in modern Turkic languages and in OT.

bel (K-B) 'pojasnica, talja, pojas' (KBRS 131); *bel* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'talija, pojas, pojasnica' (Boz. 167); *bel* (K) 'die Taille' (Pr K 92); *bel* (B) 'die Taille, die Mitte des Körpers' (Pr B 207) < PT **bāl*; cf.: OT *bel*; Kum., Az. *bel*; Khal. *bēl*; Tur., Gag. *bel*; Kar. (T) *belʹbau*, *beli-bau*, (Cr., H) *bel*, (Cr.) *belbau*, (H) *belibau*; Tat. *bil*; Tat. (Cr.) *bel*; Čuv. *pilĕk*; Bašk. *bil*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *bel*; Trkm. *bil*; Uz. *bel*; Uig. *bel*, *bäl*; Lob. *bel*, *vel*; Sal. *bel*, *bil*, *pil*, *pīl*; Y. Uig. *pel*; Alt. *pel*; Khak. *pil*; Tuv. *bel*; Yak. *bīl*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 52, 279; DTS 93; Eg. 160; ÈSTJa II 135; KRPS 112, 149; Malov 93; ÖjHa. 28; StachM GJV 72; Tenišev 301, 302, 447; Tenišev SJ 196.

Bel 'belt; waist' confirmed in other Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants) was also registered in OT.

bet (K-B) '1. lico; 2. sovesť; 3. licevaja storona; 4. stranica; polosa' (KBRS 136); *bet* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'lico, cvet lica, kraska, licevaja storona, poverxnosť' (Boz. 167); *bet* (K) 'Gesicht, Gegend, Farbe' (Pr K 92); *bet* (B) 'Gesicht, Gesichtsfarbe, Farbe' (Pr B 208) < PT **bet*; cf.: OT *bit*; Kum. *bet*; Tur. *bet beniz*; Kar. (Cr.) *bät*; Tat. *bit*, Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bet*; Čuv. *pit*; Bašk. *bit*;

Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Trukh., Uz. *bet*; Uig. *bät*, *bet*; Alt. *bet*, *pet*; Tuv. *beti*; Tof. *bet*. – Lit.: DTS 103; Eg. 162; ÈSTJa II 121; KRPS 153; Podolsky 5; SKT 178.

The word *bet* meaning 'face, physiognomy' is known in OT and also at present in other languages.

bez (K-B) '(limfatičeskaja) železa' (KBRS 130); *bez* (K) 'Drüse' (Pr K 92); *bez* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 208) < PT **bez* (ESG); OT *bez*; Kum., Tur. *bez*; Tat. *biz*; Čuv. *par*; Bašk. *biz*; Kaz., Kklp., Kir. *bez*; Trkm. *mäz*; Uz. *bez*; Uig. *bäz*; Lob. *bez*; Tuv. *bes*; Tof. *bes*. – Lit.: DTS 97; Eg. 142; Malov 92; Rass. 161.

Bez 'gland' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages. It was confirmed in OT.

bilek (K-B) '1. ruka; 2. *per.* opora, nadežda; podderžka' (KBRS 142); *bilek* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'ruka, kisť ruki' (Boz. 167); *bilek* (*bilék*; K) 'Arm' (Pr K 93); *bilek*, *bilex*, *bileg* (*bilék*, *biléx*, *bilég*; B) 'der Arm' (Pr B 208) < PT **biläk*; cf.: OT *biläk*; Kum. *bilek*; Az. *biläk*; Khal. *biläkčä*; Tur., Gag. *bilek*; Kar. (Cr.) *bilek*, *bil'ak*, (H) *biläk*, (T) *bil'ak*; Tat. *bīläk*; Bašk. *bīläk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *bilek*; Uz. *bilak*, *biläk*; Uig. *bīläk*; Lob. *bilek*, *biläk*, *belek*, *belik*, *piläk*; Alt. *belek*; Khak. *pīlek*; Tuv. *bilek*; Tof. *bilék*; Šor. *pilek*; Yak. *bilihäx*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 148, 280; DTS 99; ÈSTJa II 145; KRPS 117, 119; Malov 93, 94, 156; StachM GJV 73.

Bilek 'wrist' is probably a derivative, both whose etymology and the formative basis are still the question of discussion (cf. ÈSTJa II 146). It is known both in Old Turkic and in modern Turkic languages, where in some of them it appears in some phonetic variants.

bogak (K-B) 'vtoroj podborodok' (KBRS 154); *bogak* (*boγáq*; K) 'die, schlaffe, beim Gehen baumelnde Haut am Halse der Rinder' (Pr K 94); *bogak*, *bogax*, *bogag* (*boγáq*, *boγáx*, *boγáy*; B) 'die Kehle, der Schlund; Adamsapfel' (Pr B 209) < PT **bokak* ~ **bukak*; cf.: OT *bukak*, *bukuk*, *boguk*; Kum. *bugak*; Az. *boxak*; Tur. *bogak*; Bašk. *bŭgak*; Kaz., Kklp. *bugak*; Kir. *bugak*, *bogok*; Uz. *bukok*; Uig. *pokak*, *poxäk*; Lob. *pokok*; Alt. *bogok*; Khak. *pogo*; Šor. *mogak*; Yak. *mogox*. – Lit.: DTS 125, 109; ÈSTJa II 202.

Although *bogak* '1. throat, pharynx; 2. pharyngitis; 3. Adam's apple' has equivalents in OT it is not common at present. Only several Turkic languages have its equivalents. The structure of the word shows its derivational character. There are some theories concerning its relationship with the verb *bog-* 'to choke' or with the noun *būk* 'swelling', cf. ÈSTJa II 202-203.

bojun (K-B) '1. šeja; gorlo; 2. *per.* otvetstvennosť' (KBRS 163); *bojun*, *bojnun* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'šeja, bereg' (Boz. 168); *bojun* (*bojún*; K) 'Hals' (Pr K 94); *bojun* (*bojún*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 210) < PT **boń* (Räs. VEWT 80 a); **pōj* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *bojun*; Kum., Az. *bojun*; Khal. *bojun*; Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bojun*; Tat. *mujïn*; Čuv. *măj*; Bašk. *mujïn*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *mojïn*;

Kir. *mojun*; Trkm. *bojun*; Trukh. *bojïn*; Uz. *bojin*; Uig. *bojun*, *bojan*; Lob. *mojun*, *moju*, *moin*, *müjün*, *bojun*, *bojïn*; Y. Uig. *moin*; Alt., Khak. *mojïn*; Tuv. *mojun*; Tof. *mojnï* 'his neck'; Šor. *moin*, *mojun*; Yak. *mojun*, *moj*, *mōj*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 49, 281; DTS 110; Eg. 129; ÈSTJa II 180; Gab. 304; KRPS 127; Malov 94; ÖjHa. 35; Podolsky 6; Rass. 207; Räs. VEWT 80 a; SKT 177; Tenišev SJ 192.

Bojun 'neck' has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages; the word was registered in OT.

bok (K-B) '1. deŕmo, kal, pomiot; 2. sor; 3. navoz; 4. *per.* deŕmo, drjań' (KBRS 155); *bok* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'nečistoty, navoz, grjaź, ekskrementy, otbrosy organizma' (Boz. 168); *bok* (K) 'Schmutz, Dünger' (Pr K 94); *bok*, *box*, *bog* (*boq*, *box*, *boγ*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 210) < PT **pok*; cf.: OT *bok*; Tur., Gag. *bok*; Kar. (Cr., H) *bok*, (T) *box*; Tat. (Cr.) *bok*; Tat. (Ur.) *box*; Čuv. *păx*; Bašk. *bok*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *bok*; Uz. *bug*, *bok*; Uig. *pok*, *pox*; Sal. *pog*, *pox*, *pux*; Alt. *pok*, *bok*; Khak. *pox*; Tuv. *bok*; Šor. *pok*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 112; Eg. 151; ÈSTJa II 183; Podolsky 5; SKT 177; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 451, 454, 457.

Bok meaning 'excrement, dung' was known in OT. At present there are its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

burun (K-B) '1. nos; 2. kliuv; 3. perednaja (nosovaja) časť; nos, nosok' (KBRS 169); *burun* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'nos' (Boz. 168); *burun* (*burún*; K) 'Nase, Schnabel' (Pr K 96); *burun* (*burún*; B) 'Nase, Schnabel, Schnauze' (Pr B 212) < PT **burun* (ESG); cf.: OT *burun*; Kum., Az. *burun*; Khal. *bu'run*; Tur. *burun*; Gag. *burnu*; Kar. (Cr., T) *burun*, (H) *borun*, *burun*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *burun*; Tat. *bŭrïn*; Bašk. *bŭrŭn*; *mŭrŭn*; Kaz., Kklp. *murïn*; Nog. *burïn*; Kir. *murun*; Trkm. *burun*; Uz., Uig. *burun*; Lob. *mujun*, *mujnu*; Sal. *purne*, *purnu*, *purnï*; Khak. *purun*; Šor. *murun*; Yak. *murun*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; DTS 126; Doerfer LSCh 46, 282; ÈSTJa II 269; KRPS 131, 141; Malov 145; ÖjHa. 39; Podolsky 6; Rass. 166; Tenišev 456, 458.

The word *burun* 'nose' has equivalents with this meaning in many other Turkic languages; registered in OT.

but (K-B) '1. noga; 2. bedro, oguzok (časť tuši)' (KBRS 171); *but* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'noga' (Boz. 169); *but* (K) 'Bein' (Pr K 96); *but* (B) 'Bein, Schenkel' (Pr B 212) < PT **būt*; **pūt* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *but* ; Kum. *but*; Az. *bud*; Khal. *būt*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *but*; Tat. *bŭt*; Čuv. *pĕśĕ*; Bašk., Kaz. *bŭt*; Kklp. *put*; Nog., Kir. *but*; Trkm. *būt*; Uz. *but*; Uig. *but*, *put*; Lob. *but*, *put*; Y. Uig. *put*, *vut*; Alt. *but*, *put*; Khak. *put*; Tuv. *but*; Tof. *but*; Šor. *put*; Yak. *būt*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; Doerfer LSCh 56, 282; DTS 129; Eg. 158; ÈSTJa II 280; KRPS 142; Malov 96, 157; ÖjHa. 40; Rass. 166; Sul. Kkar. 57; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 197, 219.

The word *but* 'leg; hip; thigh' has counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. It was registered by MK.

bürek (K-B) 'počka' (KBRS 176); *büjrek* (*bürek*) (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'počka' (Boz. 169); *börek* (K) '1. Leber; 2. eine Art Kuchen, dem *loqúm* ähnlich' (Pr K 95); *büjrek*, *büjürek*, *büjrex*, *büjreg* (*büjrék*, *büjürék*, *büjréx*, *büjreg*; B) 'Niere' (Pr B 212). < PT **bögürek* ~ **bögrek*; cf.: OT *bögür* (MK); Kum. *büjrek*; Az. *böjür*, *böjrək*; Khal. *bögärčük*; Tur. *böbrek*, *bögrek*; Gag. *bür*, *bürek*; Kar. (Cr.) *bögräk*, (H) *biwräk*, (T) *büwŕak*, *buvräk*, *buvŕak*; Tat. *bŭjĭräk*, *bŭjĭr*; Tat. (Cr.) *bobrek*; Čuv. *püre*; Bašk. *bŭjŭr*; Kaz. *bŭjĭr*, *büjrek*; Kklp. *büjir*, *büjrek*; Nog. *büjrek*; Kir. *böjrök*; Trkm. *böwrek*, *böwür*; Uz. *bujrak*; Uig. *böräk*; Sal. *pögrek*; Alt. *börök*; Khak. *pürek*, *pügürek*; Tuv. *bürek*; Tof. *börek*; Šor. *pürek*, *pügrek*; Yak. *büör*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 51, 281; DTS 116; Eg. 171; ÈSTJa II 205, 207; KRPS 114, 134, 144, 153; Rass. 73; StachM GJV 86; Tenišev 451; YRh. 195.

Bürek ~ *büjrek* 'kidney' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. In MK it was registered in the form *bögür*.

čač (K-B) '1. volosy; kosa; 2. *per.* trava, rastiteľnyj pokrov' (KBRS 729); *čač* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'volos, volosy' (Boz. 190); *čač* (*č^{c}ač*; K) 'Haare' (Pr K 96); *cac*, *caš* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 213) < PT **sač*; cf.: OT *sač*; Kum. *čas*; Az. *sač*; Khal. *sa'č*; Tur. *sač*; Kar. (Cr.) *sač*, *seč*; *čač*, (H) *cac*, (T) *čač*; Tat. (Ur.) *sač*; Tat. *čäč*; Čuv. *śüś*; Bašk. *säs*; Kklp., Nog. *šaš*; Kir. *čač*; Trkm., Trukh. *sač*; Uz. *soč*; Uig. *sač*, *čač*; Lob. *sač*, *säč*, *šäš*, *čač*, *čeč*; Sal. *sač*, *sāč*, *saz*, *s^{c}ïs*, *s^{c}ïč*; Y. Uig. *saž*, *šaž*; Alt. *čač*; Khak. *sas*; Tuv. *čaš*; Tof. *češ*; Yak. *as*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; Doerfer 49, 307; DTS 479; Eg. 224; KRPS 470, 500, 613, 625; Malov 160, 189, 194; ÖjHa. 8; Podolsky 19; Rass. 196; SKT 181; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 470, 476, 493; Tenišev SJ 206.

The word *čač* 'hair' is registered in the form *sač* in OT and is widely known in modern Turkic languages in some phonetic variants.

erin (K-B) 'guba' (KBRS 770); *erin* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'id.' (Boz. 170); *erin* (K) 'Lippe' (Pr K 101); *erin* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 219) < PT **erin* (ESG); cf.: OT *erin*; Kum. *erin*; Khal. *ä'rün*; Tur. (dial.) *erin*; Kar. (Cr., H) *erin*, (T) *erin*, *eriń*; Tat. *irĭn*; Bašk. *irĭn*; Kaz. *erĭn*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *erin*; Uz. *irin*; Alt. *erin*; Khak. *irĭn*; Tuv. *erin*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 47, 287; DTS 178; ÈSTJa I 292; KRPS 665, 666; Sul. Kkar. 63.

The substantive *erin* 'lip' was registered in OT and has counterparts in some modern Turkic languages.

ğajak (K-B) '1. čeljusť; 2. ščeka' (KBRS 239), *ğijak* (B) 'id.' (ibid. 269); *ğajak* (*ǯajáq*; K) 'Wange' (Pr K 145) < PT **janak*; cf.: OT *jaŋak*; Kum. *jajak*; Az. *janak*; Tur., Gag. *janak*; Kar. (Cr.) *janak*, *jagak*, (T) *janax*; Tat. (Ur.) *janax*; Tat. *jaŋak*; Čuv. *janax* (< Tat.); Bašk. *jaŋak*; Kaz., Kklp. *žak*; Kir. *ğāk*; Trkm. *jaŋak*; Uz. *ğag*, *jonok*; Uig. *jaŋak*, *ğag*; Sal. *jaŋax*; Y. Uig. *jinak*, *jïnak*, *ğigak*; Alt. *ďāk*; Khak. *nāx*; Tuv. *čak*; Tof. *ńāk*; Šor. *nāk*; Yak. *sïŋāx*. – Lit.: DTS 233;

Eg. 353; ÈSTJa IV 123; KRPS 215, 225; ÖjHa. 13; Podolsky 31; Rass. 73; StachM GJV 54.

The word *ğajak* '1. jaw; 2. cheek' was known in OT in the form *jaŋak*. At present it has its counterparts in numerous Turkic languages, however in some cases (Tat., Bašk., Alt., Kir., Khak.) with the meaning 'side; edge'.

ğamïz (K-B) '1. pax; 2. naručnyje polovyje organy ženščiny' (KBRS 222); *zammïz* (*zammĭz*; B) 'die Weichen' (Pr B 268) < PT **jamïz* (ESG); cf.: OT *jam(u)z*, *jomuz* (Gab. 351); *jamïz*, *jamuz* (DTS 231, 272); Az. *janbïz*; Tat. dial.: *jamuz*, *jamïs*, *jambuz*, *janbuz*, *jambïz*, *ğamïz*; Nog. *jamïz*; Trkm. *jamïz*; Yak. *sïmïs*. – DTS 231, 272; Gab. 351; ÈSTJa IV 110; Räs. VEWT 184 b.

The word *ğamïz* 'groin' is registered in OT in the forms: *jamuz*, *jamïz* ~ *jomuz*. At present it has its equivalents in only several Turkic languages. In most of the languages confirming the existance of this word the meaning is the same as in K-B, however in some languages the meaning is different, e.g.: Az. *janbïz* 'a sort of beef'; Tat. dial. *janbïz* 'part of a hip'. The etymology of this word is unclear, there are several conceptions concerning this matter, cf. ÈSTJa IV 111.

ğawrun (K-B) 'lopatka, lopatočnaja kost' (KBRS 236); *žaurun* (B. dial.: Kaš., Čeg.) 'plečnaja lopatka' (Boz. 171); *zaurun* (Balk., Čeg.) 'id.' (ibid. 173); *ğa'urun* (*ǯa'urún*; K) 'Schulterblätter' (Pr K 147); *za'urun* (*za'urún*; B) 'Schulterblatt' (Pr B 271) < PT **jarïn* (ESG) ; cf.: OT *jarïn*; Kum. *jawrun*; Tur. *jagïr*; Kar. (Cr.) *jagïrïn*, *jaŋïrïn*, (H) *javrun*, (T) *javrun*, *juvrun*; Tat. *jawïrïn*; Čuv. *śurăm*; Bašk. *javrïn*; Kaz. *žawrïn*; Kklp. *žawïrïn*; Nog. *jawïrïn*; Kir. *ğōrun*; Trkm. *jagïrnï*; Uz. *jagrin*; Uig. *jarïn*; Sal. *jagrï*; Y. Uig. *jarïn*; Alt. *jarïn*, *ďarïn*; Khak. *čarïn*; Tuv. *čarïn*; Šor. *čarïn*; Yak. *sarïn*. – Lit.: DTS 241; Eg. 220; ÈSTJa IV 65; KRPS 215, 216, 229, 252.

The word *ğaurun* denoting in K-B 'shoulder-blade' was known in OT in the form *jarïn*. At present it has its equivalents in some Turkic languages, sometimes with a wider semantic scale, cf.: Kar. (Cr.) *jagïrïn* 'shoulder-blade; back', *jaŋïrïn* 'shoulder'; Tur. *jagïr* 'withers'.

ğik (K-B) '1. *anat.* sustav; falanga; 2. *bot.* koleno; 3. *per.* podrobnosti, tonkosti, detali' (KBRS 248); *ğik* (*ǯik*; K) 'Fingerglied' (Pr K 148); *zik*, *zix*, *zig* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 272) < PT **jüj* ~ **jüg* < **jig*; **θī* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *ji*; Kum. *jik*; Az. *jiv*; Tur. *jiv*; Tat. *ğüj*; *žöj* (Eg. 209); Čuv. *śĕvĕ*; Bašk. *jŭj*, *jöj*; Kaz., Kklp. *žĭk*; Kir. *ğik*; Uz. *čok*; Alt. *ďik*; Khak. *čĭk*; Tuv. *tig*; Yak. *sik*. – Lit.: DTS 260; Eg. 209; ÈSTJa IV 197; Šč. SF 197; YRh. 1258.

The word *ğik* in K-B denotes '1. joint, wrist; 2. *bot.* node'. In OT the word was confirmed in the form *ji* with the meaning 'stitch'. At present the word has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages mostly with the meaning 'stitch; seam'.

ğilik (K-B) '1. kostnyj mozg; 2. mosol, mozgovaja kostʼ' (KBRS 247); *žilik* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'spinnoj mozg' (Boz. 171); *ğilik* (Baks.) 'mozg, kostnyj mozg' (ibid. 172); *ğilik* (*ǯilík*; K) 'Mark' (Pr K 148); *zilik, zilix, zilig* (B) 'Mark, Knochenmark' (Pr B 272) < PT **(j)ilik* (ESG) ; cf.: OT *ilik, jilig*; Kum. *jilik*; Az. *ilik*; Khal. *jilk, gilk, nīlk, nīl*; Tur. *ilik*; Kar. (H, T) *ilik*; Tat. *ğilīk, jīlīk*; Bašk. *jīlīk*; Kklp. *žilik*; Nog. *jilik*; Kir. *ğilik*; Trkm. *jülük, jilik*; Uz. *ilik*; Uig. *jilik, žilik*; Sal. *ilek*; Y. Uig. *ïlïg*; Alt. *ďilik, ďuluk*; Khak. *čīlīŋ*; Tuv. *čilig, čuluk*; Šor. *šülüŋ*; Yak. *silik, sili, sälī*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 289, 302, 318; DTS 208, 261; ÈSTJa IV 265; KRPS 198; Räs. VEWT 203 a; Tenišev 336; Tenišev SJ 220.

The word *ğilik* means 'medulla; marrow'. The word was registered in OT (in the forms: *ilik, jilig*) and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, in some cases with another meaning, e.g. Tuv. *čuluk* 'juice'; Alt. *ďuluk* 'juice of a tree'. The structure of the word shows its derivational character, however ideas on its origin are not homogenous, cf. ÈSTJa IV 265-266.

ğürek (K-B) '1. serdce; 2. *per.* serdce, duša' (KBRS 271); *ğürek* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'serdce' (Boz. 172); *ğürek* (*ǯürèk*; K) 'Herz' (Pr K 150); *zürek, zürex, züreg* (*zürék, züréx, zürég*; B) 'Herz, Sinn' (Pr B 275) < PT **jürek* (ESG); cf.: OT *jürük*; Kum. *jurek, jürek*; Az. *üräk*; Khal. *jüräk* in: *jüräk hāgrug, jiräk*; Tur., Gag. *jürek*; Kar. (Cr.) *jürek, jürak*, (H) *jirek*, (T) *juŕak, jüŕak, üŕak*; Tat. (Ur.) *jürek*; Tat. *jüräk*; *jöräk*; (Eg. 324); Čuv. *čĕre*; Bašk. *jüräk*; *jöräk* (Eg. 324); Kaz., Kklp. *žürek*; Nog. *jürek, jurek*; Kir. *ğürök*; *žürök* (Eg. 324); Trkm., Trukh. *jürek*; Uz. *jurak, jurak*; Uig. *jüräk, žüräk*; Lob. *jüjek, üjek, üjäk, ürek*; Sal. *jiräk, jirix*; Y. Uig. *jörek, jürek, jörïk, örek*; Alt. *ďürek, jürek*; Khak., Tuv. *čürek*; Tof. *čurek*; Šor. *čüräk*; Yak. *sürex*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; Doerfer LSCh 151, 318; DTS 286; Eg. 324; ÈSTJa IV 270; KRPS 245, 260, 262, 263, 590; Malov 122, 182, 183; ÖjHa. 44; Podolsky 34; Rass. 199; SKT 179; Tenišev SJ 185, 186, 194.

The word *ğürek* 'heart; soul' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. OT sources registered the form *jüräk*. Some specialists consider this word as a derivative from the verbal root *jür-* 'to go, to move', cf.: Eg. 324; Rass. 199; ÈSTJa IV 271.

ğüz (K-B) '1. lico; 2. poverxnostʼ' (KBRS 270) < PT **θūs* (Šč. SF 197); **jūz* (StachM GJV 139); cf.: OT *jüz*; Kum. *jüz*; Az. *üz*; Khal. *jūz*; Tur. *jüz*; Gag. *jüz, üz*; Kar. (Cr.) *jüz, juz*, (H) *iz, jiz*, (T) *jüz, juz*; Tat. *jŭz*; Bašk. *jŭz*; Kaz., Kklp. *žüz*; Nog. *jüz*; Kir. *ğüz*; Trkm. Trukh. *jüz*; Uz. *jüz*; Uig. *jüz*; Lob. *üz, uz, us*; Sal. *jiz, juz, jüz, juz*; Y. Uig. *jüz*; Alt. *ďüs*; Khak. *čüs*; Yak. *sūs*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 62, 319; DTS 287; ÈSTJa IV 259; KRPS 193, 244, 255, 261; Malov 179, 181, 182; ÖjHa. 44; SKT 179; StachM GJV 139; Sul. Kkar. 75; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 367, 368, 369; Tenišev SJ 186.

The word *ğüz* '1. face; 2. appearance' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages, in some languages, however, with another meaning, cf. Yak. *sūs* 'forehead'. The OT sources register the form *jüz*.

ičegi (K-B) '*anat.* kiška' (KBRS 308); *ičegi* (K) 'Darm' (Pr K 107) < PT **ičäk*, **ičägi* (ESG); cf.: OT *ičägü*; Kum. *iček*; Khal. *ičäk*; Kar. (T) *íčak*, (H) *icigi*; Tat. (Ur.) *iček*; Tat. *ïčäk*, *ïčägï*; Bašk. *ïsäk*; Kaz. *ïšek*; Kklp. *išek*; Trkm. *ičegi*, *ičege*; Kir. *ičе*, *iček*, *ičegi*; Uz. *ičäk*; Uig. *üčäj*; Y. Uig. *ičige*, *ečiki*; Alt. *ičege*, *iček*, *ičik*; Khak. *ïčege*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 294; DTS 201; ÈSTJa I 392; KRPS 211; 210; Podolsky 11.

The word *ičegi* 'intestine' is a sort of derivative from *ič* 'inside' or **iče-* 'to be inside'. It has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, where there are also forms being derivatives formed from either the nominal form *ič* or the verbal one **iče-*. Semantically these equivalents are similar to the K-B word *ičegi*, however in Khal. *ičäk* 'a stone in a fruit'. In OT there was the form *ičägü*.

kan (K-B) 'krov' (KBRS 385); *kan* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 177); *kan* (*qʿan*; K) 'Blut' (Pr K 115); *kan* (*qan*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 234) < PT **kān*; cf.: OT *kan*; Kum. *kan*; Az. *gan*; Khal. *kān*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kan*; Tat. (Ur.) *xan*; Tat. *kan*; Čuv. *jun*; Bašk. *kan*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kan*; Trkm. *gān*; Trukh. *kan*; Uz. *kon*; Uig. *kan*; Lob. *kan*; Sal. *kan*, *kān*; Y. Uig. *kan*, *kʿan*; Alt. *kan*; Khak., Tuv. *xan*; Tof. *kan*; Yak. *xān*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 59, 305; DTS 416; Eg. 349; ÈSTJa V 251; JUFD 206; KRPS 289, 361; Malov 126; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 28; Rass. 217; SKT 180; StachM GJV 41; Sul. Kkar. 88; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 460; Tenišev SJ 202.

The word *kan* 'blood' is widespread common among Turkic languages (in some cases it appears in phonetic variants). It was also registered by OT sources.

karïn (K-B) '1. život; utroba, črevo, brjuxo; 2. želudok; 3. syčug; 4. *per.* jedok, rot; 5. jeda, prodovoľstvije; 6. mexi' (KBRS 397); *karïn* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'život, želudok' (Boz. 177); *karïn* (*qárïn*; K) 'Bauch, Leib, Magen' (Pr K 116); *karïn* (*qarïn*; B) 'Bauch, Magen' (Pr B 235) < PT **karïn* (ESG); cf.: OT *karïn*; Kum. *karïn*; Az. *garïn*; Khal. *kārïnäk*, *kaˑrun*; Tur., Gag. *karïn*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *karïn*; Tat. *karïn*; Čuv. *xïrăm*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *karïn*; Trkm. *garïn*; Uz. *korin*; Uig. *kerin*; *karïn* (JUFD 207); Lob. *kain*; Sal. *karïn*, *kārïn*, *kʿarïn*; Y. Uig. *karïn*; Alt. *karïn*; Khak. *xarïn*; Tuv. *xïrïn*; Tof. *hïrïn*; Šor. *karïn*; Yak. *xarïn*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 50, 306; DTS 427; Eg. 314; ÈSTJa V 321; JUFD 207; KRPS 295, 365; ÖjHa. 10; Rass. 193; Tenišev 376, 467.

The word *karïn* 'stomach; womb' was registered in OT and it has its equivalents at present in other Turkic languages. There are two conceptions concerning the etymology of the word. The first one assumes its derivational development < *kar* 'womb' + suf. *-ïn*. The other compares Turkic *karïn* with Mongolian *qarbiŋ*, cf. ÈSTJa V 321-322.

kaš (K-B) 1. 'brov' (KBRS 405); 2. 'luka (sedla)' (ibid. 405); *kaš* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'brov' (Boz. 178); *kaš* (*qᶜaš*; K) 'Augenbraue, auch Sattelkopf' (Pr K 116); *kaš* (*qaš*; B) 'Augenbraue; Sattelkopf' (Pr B 235) < PT **kāš*; cf.: OT *kaš*; Kum. *kaš*; Az. *gaš*; Khal. *kāš*; Tur., Gag. *kaš*; Kar. (Cr., T) *kaš*, (H) *kas*; Tat. (Ur.) *xaš*; Tat. *kaš*; Čuv. *xarša*; Bašk. *kaš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kas*; Kir. *kaš*; Trkm. *gāš*; Uz. *koš*; Uig. *kaš*; Lob. *kaš*; Alt. *kaš*; Khak. *xas*; Tof. *xaš*; Šor. *kaš*; Yak. *xās*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 46, 306; DTS 431; Eg. 287; ÈSTJa V 343; KRPS 296, 299, 367; Malov 127; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 28; Šč. SF 194.

The word *kaš* '1. eyebrow; 2. saddle-bow' is also known in other Turkic languages, where in some of them it appears in different phonetic variants. The OT sources registered the form *kaš*. In Čuv. in word *xarša* there is epenthetic *-r-*.

kïl (*qᶜïl*; K) 'Haar' (Pr K 118) < PT **kïl*; cf.: OT *kïl*; Az. *gïl*; Khal. *kïl*; Tur. *kïl*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kïl*; Tat. *kïl*; Čuv. *xĕlĕx*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kïl*; Trkm. *gïl*; Trukh. *kïl*; Uz. *kil*; *kïl* (Eg. 297); Uig. *kil*, *kïl* (Eg. 297); Lob., Alt. *kïl*; Khak., Tuv. *xïl*; Tof. *hïl*; Yak. *kïl*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 49, 306; DTS 442; Eg. 297; KRPS 379, 385; Malov 132; ÖjHa. 28; Rass. 192; SKT 180; StachM GJV 94; Šč. SF 194.

The lexeme *kïl* 'hair' in other Turkic languages is known with two meanings: '1. horse hair; 2. string'. In OT sources the word has been confirmed.

kindik (K-B) '1. pupok, pup, pupovina; 2. *per.* centr' (KBRS 347); *kindik* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'pupok' (Boz. 175); *kindik* (*kᶜindík*; K) 'Nabel' (Pr K 110); *kindik*, *kindix*, *kindig* (*kindík*, *kindíx*, *kindíg*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 229) < PT **kīn* (Šč. SF 195); **kīn(-tik)* (Räs. VEWT 271 a); cf.: OT *kindik*; *kin*; Kum. *kindik*; Khal. *kindük*, *kimdük*; Tur. dial. *kindik*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kindik*; Tat. *kīndĭk*; *kendek* (Eg. 105); Čuv. *kĕntĕk*; Bašk. *kīndĭk*; *kendek* (Eg. 105); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kindik*; Uz. *kindik*, *kindäk*; Uig. *kindik*; Sal. *gindix*, *kintix*, *kinʒix*; Y. Uig. *kïn*, *kendek*, *kïndïk*; Alt. *kin*, *kindik*; Khak. *kin*, *kindik*; Tuv. *xin*, *xindik*; Tof. *hin*; Šor. *kindik*; Yak. *kīn*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 50, 297; DTS 307, 308; Eg. 105; ÈSTJa V 68; KRPS 320; Rass. 188; Räs. VEWT 271 a; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 383.

The word *kindik* '1. navel, navel-string; 2. *fig.* centre' has also its equivalents in other Turkic languages. Räsänen (Räs. VEWT 271 a) assumes the common origin of both forms *kin*, *kindik*, however according to ÈSTJa V 69, the etymology of *kin* is vague. In OT both forms *kindik* and *kin* are registered.

kirpik (K-B) 'resnica' (KBRS 349); *kirfik*, *kirfix*, *kerfig* (*kirfik*, *kirfix*, *kerfig*; B) 'Augenwimper' (Pr B 229) < PT **kirpik* (ESG); cf.: OT *kirpik*; Kum., Az. *kirpik*; Khal. *kirpük*, *kiprük*, *kirprük*, *kigïrpük*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kirpik*; Tat. *kĭrfĭk*; *kerfek* (Eg. 294); Čuv. *xărpăk*; Bašk. *kĭrpĭk*; *kerpek* (Eg. 294); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *kirpik*; Uz. *kiprik*; Uig. *kĭ(r)pik*, *kižpik*; Lob. *kipik*; Y. Uig. *kirmik*, *kĭrmĭk*, *kïrmïk*, *kermïk*; Alt. *kirbik*; Khak. *kĭrbĭk*; Tuv. *kirbik*.

– Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 45, 297; DTS 309; Eg. 294; ÈSTJa V 74; KRPS 323; Malov 136; Räs. VEWT 272 b.

The word *kirpik* 'eyelash' was registered in OT. At present it has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. Its structure shows its derivational character, perhaps < **kirp-* 'to blink' (cf. ÈSTJa V 75).

kojun (K-B) 1. '1. pazuxa; 2. gruď'. 2. '1. izgib, okruglenie, vognutosť; 2. ruslo, pojma' (KBRS 419); *kojun* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'pazuxa, lono, ruslo, mesto pod myškami, zaliv, objatie' (Boz. 179); *kojun* (*qʿojún*; K) 'Schooss' (Pr K 119) < PT **kōj*; cf.: OT *kojun*, *kojïn*, *koj*, *kon*; Kum. *kojun*; Az. *gojun*; Tur. *kojūn*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kojun*, (T) *kojun*, *kojïn*; Tat. (Ur.) *xojun*; Tat. *kujen*; Čuv. *xĕv*, *xü*; Bašk. *kujïn*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kojïn*; Kir. *kojun*; Trkm. *gojun*; Uz. *kŭjin*; Uig. *kojun*; Lob. *kǫjnï*; Sal. *kojn*, *kōn*; Y. Uig. *kojïn*, *kojen*; Alt. (V) *kojïn*; Khak. *xojïn*, *xojun*; Tuv. *xoj*; Tof. *hoj*; Yak. *xōj*, *xōjïn*. – Lit.: DTS 453, 455; Eg. 297; KRPS 329, 369; Malov 128; Podolsky 30; Rass. 189; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 386, 388, 464; Tenišev SJ 200.

The word *kojun* '1. bosom; 2. breast; 3. embrace' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages where there are some phonetic variants of this lexeme. In OT the following forms were registered: *kojun*, *kojïn*, *koj*, *kon*.

kol (K-B) '1. ruka; kisť; 2. ručka, rukojatka; 3. podpis; 4. počerk, ruka' (KBRS 409); *kol* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kash., Khul.-Bez.) 'ruka' (Boz. 178); *kol* (*qʿol*; K) 'Hand' (Pr K 119); *kol* (*qol*; B) 'id.' (Pr 238) < PT **kōl* (**kol* ?) (Šč. SF 194); cf.: OT *kol*; Kum. *kol*; Az. *gol*; Khal. *koˑl*; Tur. *kol*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kol*; Tat. (Ur.) *xol*; Tat. *kul*; Čuv. *xul*; Bašk. *kul*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kol*; Trkm. *gol*; Trukh. *kol*; Uz. *kŭl*; Uig. *kol*; Lob. *kol*, *kul*; Sal. *kol*; Y. Uig. *kol*, *kul*; Alt. *kol*; Khak., Tuv. *xol*; Tof. *kol*; Yak. *xol*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Doerfer LSCh 53, 155, 306; DTS 453; Eg. 303; KRPS 329, 369; Malov 128, 130; Podolsky 30; Rass. 220; Räs. VEWT 276 b; SKT 180; Sul. Kkar. 89; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 464; Tenišev SJ 200.

The lexeme *kol* 'hand' is registered both in OT and in modern T. languages (in some phonetic variants). In Khal. apart from the common meaning i.e. 'hand' the word also denotes 'sleeve'.

kökürek (K-B) '1. gruď; 2. gruď (ženskaja), moločnaja železa; 3. *per.* samouverennosť, samomnenie' (KBRS 339); *kökürek* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'gruď' (Boz. 176); *kökrek* (*kʿökrek*; K) 'Brust' (Pr K 111); *kökrek*, *kökrex*, *kökreg* (*kökrék*, *kökréx*, *kökrég*; B) 'Brust, Busen' (Pr B 230) < PT **kökürek* (ESG) < **kökiz*; cf.: OT *köküz*; Kum. *kokurek*, *kökürek*; Tur. *gögüs*, *kökrek* (DS); Gag. *güs*; Kar. (Cr.) *kökrek*, (H) *kekrek*, (T) *ḱokŕak*; Tat. *kükräk*; Čuv. *kăkăr*; Bašk. *kükräk*; Kaz. *kökrek*, *kökïrek*; Kklp. *kokrek*, *kökïrek*; Nog. *kokirek*, *kökïrek*; Kir. *kökürök*; Trkm. *kükrek*; Uz. *kokrăk*; *kukrak* (Eg. 98); Uig. *kökräk*; Lob. *köküz*, *köküs*; Sal. *küpräx*, *kö'pfrix*; Y. Uig. *gös*; Alt. (V) *kögüs*; Khak. *kögis*; Tuv. *xörek*;

Šor. *kogus*; Yak. *kögüs*. – Lit.: DTS 313; Eg. 98; ÈSTJa V 136; KRPS 301, 313, 337; Malov 136, 137; Räs. VEWT 288 b; StachM GJV 110; Tenišev 393, 398.

The word *kökürek* 'breast' has its counterparts in several Turkic languages (Tur. dial., Kum., Kar., Tat., Bašk., Čuv., Kaz., Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig., Sal.). However in the following languages: Khak., Alt., Šor., Yak., neither the lexeme *kökürek* nor its variants exist. Nevertheless, the word *kökürek* with its variants and some forms of the word *kögüs* ~ *kökiz* are so semantically close that we must assume their common origin though different development. In OT sources the form *köküz* has been confirmed.

köt (K-B) '*grub.* 1. zad, zadnica, zadnij proxod; 2. zad, zadniaja storona' (KBRS 344); *köt* (*kʿöt*; K) 'der After, die Schamteile' (Pr K 111) < PT **köt*; cf.: OT *köt*; Az. *göt*; Khal. *köt*; Tur., Gag. *göt*; Kar. (Cr.) *köt* (H) *ḱet*; Tat. (Cr.) *göt*, *kot*; Tat. (Ur.) *köt*; Tat. (Kaz.) *küt*; Čuv. *kut*; Baš. *küt*; Kaz., Nog. *köt*; Kklp. *kot*; Kir. *köt*; Uz. *ket*, *kut*; Alt. *ködön*, *köt*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 249; Doerfer LSCh 53, 298; DTS 319; Eg. 121; ÈSTJa III 84; KRPS 309, 340; Podolsky 13; StachM GJV 66.

The lexeme *köt* 'buttocks' was registered in OT; at present it has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages (generally with the same meaning as in K-B).

köz (K-B) '1. glaz, oko; 2. zrenie; 3. vzgliad, vzor; 4. durnoj glaz, sglaz; 5. *per.* otverstie, proušina, glazok' (KBRS 336); *köz* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'glaz' (Boz. 176); *köz* (*kʿöz*; K) 'Auge' (Pr K 111); *köz* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 231) < PT **kös*; cf.: OT *köz*; Kum. *göz*; Az. *göz*; Khal. *kö'z*; Tur., Gag. *göz*; Kar. (Cr.) *goz*, *köz*, (H) *kez*, (T) *ḱoź*; Tat. (Cr.) *ḱoz*, *goź*, *göz*, Tat. (Ur.) *köz*; Tat. *küz*; Čuv. *kuś*; Bašk. *küz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *köz*; Trkm. *göz*; Uz. *koź*; *kuz* (Eg. 120); Uig. *köz*; Lob. *köz*; Sal. *ḱoz*, *köz*, *kūz*; Y. Uig. *köz*; Alt. *kös*, *köz*; Khak. *kös*; Šor. *kös*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 45, 298; DTS 320-321; Eg. 120; ÈSTJa III 60; KRPS 161, 300, 312, 336; Malov 136; Podolsky 13; Sul. Kkar. 80; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 391, 394, 398; Tenišev SJ 187.

The lexeme *köz* 'eye' is widely known among other Turkic languages, where it appears in various phonetic forms; OT sources also registered it.

kulak (K-B) '1. uxo; 2. slux' (KBRS 421); *kulak* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'uxo' (Boz. 179); *kulak* (*qʿuláq*; K) 'Ohr' (Pr K 120); *kulak*, *kulax*, *kulag* (*quláq*, *qulax*, *quláγ*; B) 'das Ohr' (Pr B 240) < PT **kulkāk*; cf.: OT *kulag*, *kulak*, *kulgak*, *kulkak*, *kulxak*; Az. *gulag*; Khal. *kula'k*; Tur. *kulak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kulak*, (T) *kulax*; Tat. (Ur.) *xulax*; Tat. *kolak*; Čuv. *xălxa*; Bašk. *kolak*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kulak*; Trkm. *gulak*; Uz. *kulok*; Uz. (S), Uig., Lob. *kulak*; Sal. *kulax*; Y. Uig. *kulak*, *kʿulak*; Alt. *kulak*; Khak. *xulax*; Tuv., Tof. *kulak*; Yak. *kulgāx*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Doerfer LSCh 46, 307; DTS 465; Eg. 291; KRPS 345, 374; Malov 130; ÖjHa. 39; Podolsky 30; Rass. 222; StachM GJV 49, 117; Sul. Kkar. 91; Tenišev 395, 465; Tenišev SJ 201, 204.

The lexeme *kulak* 'ear' is widely known in other Turkic languages. In some other T. languages it appears in various phonetic forms. OT sources registered the folowing forms: *kulag*, *kulak*, *kulgak*, *kulkak*, *kulxak*. As far as its etymology is concerned the problem is still under discussion, cf. Eg. 291; StachM GJV 49-50.

kursak (K-B) 'život' (KBRS 425); *kursak* (*qᶜursáq*; B) 'Bauch' (Pr K 121) < PT **kursak* (ESG); cf.: OT *kurugsak*; Az. *kursax*; Tur. *kursak*; Kar. (Cr, H) *kursak*, (T) *kursax*; Tat. (Ur.) *xursax*; Kaz. *kursak*; Nog. *korsak*; Uig. *kursak*; Lob. *kujsak*, *kojsak*; Y. Uig. *korskak*; Yak. *kurtax*, *kuttax*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Bask. NJa. 252; DTS 470; KRPS 347, 348, 375; Malov 128, 130; Podolsky 31; Räs. VEWT 303 b; YRh. 687.

The K-B word *kursak* 'stomach, belly' has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages not only with the above mentioned meaning but also with the meaning 'claw of a bird', e.g. Tur. *kursak*. In OT sources the form *kurugsak* was registered. The structure of the word shows its compound character, but no sources have presented its etymology.

mïjï (K-B) '1. mozg; 2. um, rassudok, soznanie' (KBRS 474); *mijis* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'mozg' (Boz. 180); *mïjï* (*miji*; K) 'Gehirn' (Pr K 123); *mijis* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 243) < PT **bäŋi*; cf.: OT *meŋä*, *meji*, *meŋi*, *miji*; Kum. *mij*; Az. *bejin*; Tur. *bejin*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *mij*; Tat. (Ur.) *mij*; Tat. *mi*; Tat. (Cr.) *mäŋ*; Čuv. *mime*, *vime*, *nime*, *mimĕ*; Bašk. *mĭjĭ*; *meje* (Eg. 134); Kaz. *mïj*; Kklp. *mij(e)*; Nog. *mïj*; Kir. *mē*; Trkm. *bejni*; Uz. *mija*; Uig. *mejä*, *miŋä*; Lob. *megä*; Alt. *mē*; Khak. *mī*, mis; Tuv. *mē*; Tof. *ḿē*; Šor. *mīs*; Yak. *mejī*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; DTS 340, 341, 342; Eg. 134; ÈSTJa II 106; Gab. 319; KRPS 406; Rass. 207; Räs. VEWT 70 a.

A widely common word among Turkic languages denoting 'brain' in K-B has the form *mïjï*, in B. dialect *mijis*. In other Turkic languages there are many various form of this word. In OT sources the following forms were registered: *meŋä*, *meji*, *meŋi*, *miji*.

mïjïk (K-B) '1. usy; 2. *redko* ost' (KBRS 475); *mïjïk* (*mĭ̊jĭ́q*; K) 'Schnurrbart' (Pr K 123); *mïjïk*, *mïjïx*, *mïjïg* (*mijĭ̊q*, *mïjĭ́x*, *mijĭ́y*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 243) < PT **bïδïk*; cf.: OT *bïδïk*; Kum. *mïjïk*; Az. *bïg*; Tur., Gag. *bïjïk*; Kar. (Cr.) *mïjïk*, (H) *mijuk*, (T) *mïjïx*; Tat. (Cr.) *mïjïk*, *bïjïk*; Tat. *mïjïk*; *mïjek* (Eg. 130); Čuv. *măjăx*; Bašk., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *mïjïk*; Uz. *mijik*; Lob. *mujut*, *murut*, *bujut*, *burut*; Alt. *mïjïk*; Yak. *bïtïk*. – Lit.: DTS 105; Eg. 130; ÈSTJa II 304; KRPS 407, 413; Malov 96, 145; Räs. VEWT 73 b; StachM GJV 93.

The word *mïjïk* 'moustache' has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages. In MK the form: *bïδïk* was registered.

öpke (K-B) 'liogkoje' (KBRS 279); *öpke* (*öpkᶜé*; K) 'Lunge' (Pr K 127) < PT **öpkä* (ESG); cf.: OT *öwkä*, *ǒ̄pkā̄* (Gab.); *öpkä* (DTS); Kum. *öpke*; Tur. *öfke*; dial. *öpke*; Gag. *üfkä*; Kar. (Cr.) *öpke*, (H) *epke*, (T) *öpḱa*; Tat. *üpkä*; Tat.

(Cr.) *ofke*; Čuv. *üpke*; Bašk. *üpkä*; Kaz. *ökpe*; Nog. *öpke*; Kklp. *opke*, *ökpe*; Kir. *öpkö*; Trkm. *öjken*; Uz. *opkä*; *upka* (Eg. 280); Uig. *öpkä*; Sal. *öhken*, *ü'en*; Y. Uig. *ökpe*, *jürkpe*; Alt. *ökpö*; Khak. *ökpe*; Tuv. *ökpe*; Šor. *ökpe*. – Lit.: DTS 387, 388; Eg. 280; ÈSTJa I 540; Gab. 324; KRPS 442, 664; Räs. VEWT 373 a; YRh. 906.

In K-B *öpke* denotes 'lungs'. In other Turkic languages there are equivalents of the word in some cases denoting 'anger, rage', cf. Tur. *öfke*. In some other languages there are probably homonyms, cf.: Kar. (Cr.) *öpke* 'anger', 'lungs'. Such a semantic situation was also registered in OT, cf.: *öpke* 1. 'lungs'; 2. 'anger' (DTS 387, 388).

öt (K-B) '1. žiolč; 2. *per.* smelosť, xrabrosť' (KBRS 281); *öt* (K) 'Galle' (Pr K 127); *öt* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 248) < PT **ȫt*; cf.: OT *öt*; Kum. *öt*; Az. *öd*; Tur. *öt*; Gag. *jöt*; Kar. (Cr.) *öt*, (H) *otu*, *et*, (T) *öt*, *öt*; Tat. (Cr.) *ot*; Tat. *üt*; Čuv. *vat*; Bašk. *üt*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *öt*; Trkm. *ȫt*; Uz. *ot*; *ut* (Eg. 47); Uig. *öt*; Sal. *öt*; Y. Uig. *öt*, *jöt*; Alt. *öt*; Khak. *üt*, *öt*, *ȫt*; Tuv. *öt*; Tof. *öt*; Yak. *üös*. – Lit.: DTS 391; Eg. 47; ÈSTJa I 504; KRPS 435, 444, 671; Rass. 215; StachM GJV 91; Šč. SF 195.

The lexeme *öt* 'gall' was registered in OT. In other Turkic languages there are some equivalents of the word.

sakal (K-B) '1. boroda; 2. podborodok' (KBRS 534); *sakal* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kašk.) 'boroda' (Boz. 182); *sakal* (*saqʿál*; K) 'Bart' (Pr K 129); *sakal* (*saqál*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 250) < PT **sakal* (ESG); cf.: OT *sakal*; Az. *saggal*; Khal. *sakkal*; Tur. *sakal*; Kar. (Cr.) *sakal*, (H) *sagal*, (T) *sakal*, *sagal*; Tat. (Ur.) *saxal*; Tat. *sakal*; Čuv. *suxal*; Bašk. *hakal*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *sakal*; Trkm. *sakgal*; Uz. *sokol*; Uig., Lob. *sakal*; Sal. *sagal*; Alt. (V) *sagal*; Khak. *sagal*; Tuv. *sal*; Tof. *sahal*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 48, 308; DTS 486; Eg. 198; KRPS 456, 460, 461; Malov 158; Podolsky 19; Rass. 224; Räs. VEWT 396 a; Tenišev 470.

The word *sakal* '1. beard; 2. chin' has in other Turkic languages its equivalents (in some of them changed phonetically). The word was also confirmed in OT.

sïrt (K-B) '1. spina; 2. plato, ploskogorje' (KBRS 586); *sïrt* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'spina, stolb pozvonočnyj, ploskogorje' (Boz. 183); *sïrt* (*sı̊rt*; K) 'Rüzken, Rückgrat, Bergrücken' (Pr K 132); *sïrt* (*sı̊rt*; B) 'Rücken, Rückgrat' (Pr B 253) < PT **sïrt*; cf.: OT *sïrt*; Az. *sïrt*; Tur. *sïrt*; Kar. (Cr.) *sïrt*; Tat. *sïrt*; Čuv. *sărt*; Kaz., Kir., Nog. *sïrt*; Uig. *sïrt*; Alt. (V) *sïrt*; Khak. *sïrt*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 261; DTS 505; Eg. 184; KRPS 495; Räs. VEWT 419 b; Šč. SF 196; YRh. 1014.

The lexeme *sïrt* '1. back; 2. ridge (of a mountain); 3. plateau' was registered in OT. At present it is also registered in several other Turkic languages (in Čuv. in phonetic variant).

siŋir (K-B) 'žila, suxožilije' (KBRS 561); *siŋŋir* (K) 'Sehne, Muskel' (Pr K 132); *siŋŋir*, *siŋgir* (*siŋŋir*, *siŋgír*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 252) < PT **siŋir* (ESG); cf.:

OT *siŋir*; Kum. *singir*; Tur. *sinir*; Tat. *seŋer*; Čuv. *šănăr*; Bašk. *heŋer*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *siŋir*; Trkm. *siŋir*; Uz. *singir*; Uig. *siŋir*; Alt. (V) *siŋir*; Khak. *sīr*; Tuv. *sir*; Tof. *śīr*; Yak. *iŋīr*. – Lit.: DTS 500; Eg. 334; ÖjHa. 33; Rass. 227; Räs. VEWT 423 a.

The word *siŋir* 'vein; nerve' was registered in OT and at present it has equivalents in other Turkic languages.

süjek (K-B) '1. kosť. 2. stať, telosloženije' (KBRS 587); *süjek* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'kost' (Boz. 184); *süjek* (*süjék*; K) 'Knochen' (Pr K 133); *süjek*, *süjex*, *süjeg* (*süjék*, *süjéx*, *süjég*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 254) < PT **sõŋgäk*; cf.: OT *söŋük*; *süŋük* (Gab.); Kum. *süjek*; Az. *sümük*; Tur. *sümük*; Kar. (Cr.) *süjek*, *sujak*, *süvek*, (H) *sivek*, (T) *śuvak*; Tat. (Ur.) *süjek*; Tat. *söjak*; Čuv. *šămă*, dial.: *šănă*; Bašk. *höjäk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *süjek*; Kir. *sõk*; Trkm. *süŋk*; Uz. *sujak*; Uig. *söŋäk*, *süŋäk*, *süjäk*; Lob. *sönök*; Sal. *senix*, *sēnïx*, *sinex*, *sinix*, *sïnïx*; Y. Uig. *sumïk*, *sumuk*; Alt. *sõk*; Khak. *sõk*; Tuv. *sõk*; Tof. *sȭk*; Yak. *uŋuox*, *umuox*. – Lit.: DTS 511; Eg. 333; Gab. 335; KRPS 472, 483, 485, 486, 501; Malov 163; Podolsky 21; Rass. 228; Räs. VEWT 437 a; Sul. Kkar. 97; Tenišev 479, 480, 482, 492; Tenišev SJ 207; YRh. 1039.

The word *süjek* 'bone' has equivalents in many Turkic languages generally with the same meaning, however in literary Tur. *sümük* 'mucus (of the nose)'. In OT the forms *söŋük*, *süŋük* were registered.

süt (K-B) 'moloko' (KBRS 592); *süt* (B. dial.: Baks., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 184); *süt* (K) 'Milch' (Pr K 133); *süt* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 254) < PT **sŭ̄t*; cf.: OT *süt*; Kum. *süt*; Az. *süd*; Khal. *sŭ̄t*; Tur., Gag., *süt*; Kar. (Cr.) *süt*, (H) *sit*, (T) *śuť*; Tat. (Ur.) *süt*; Tat. *söt*; Čuv. *sĕt*; Bašk. *höt*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *süt*; Trkm. *süjt*; Uz. *sut*; Uig., Lob. *süt*; Sal. *süt*, *sŭ̄t*, *sü*^{c}; Y. Uig. *süt*, *söt*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *süt*; Tof. *süt*; Yak. *ŭ̄t*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 145, 311; DTS 518; Eg. 189; KRPS 476, 487, 502; Malov 165; ÖjHa. 44; Podolsky 21; Rass. 229; StachM GJV 139; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 490; Tenišev SJ 208.

The lexeme *süt* 'milk' is common in other Turkic languages, where in some of them it appears in phonetic variants. The word was registered also in OT.

taban (K-B) '1. *anat.* pjatka; 2. stupnja, noga; 3. kabluk' (KBRS 593); *taban* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'kabluk, pjatka' (Boz. 184); *taban* (*t*^{c}*abán*; K) 'Absatz' (Pr K 135); *taban* (*tabán*; B) 'Absatz, Ferse' (Pr B 255) < PT **tāpan* (Räs. VEWT 462b); **tāban* (StachM GJV 43); cf.: OT *taban*; Kum. *taban*; Az. *daban*; Khal. *tāpa'n*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.), Tat. *taban*; Čuv. *tupan*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *taban*; Kir. *taman*; Trkm. *dāban*; Uz. *towon*; Uig. *tapan*; Y. Uig. *tawan*; Alt. *taman*; Khak. *taban*; Tuv. *dawan*; Šor. *taban*; cf.: Yak. *taman* '1. Anfang, Wurzel. 2. Seitenfett der Pferde' (StachM GJV 43). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 57, 312; DTS 525; Eg. 258; ÈSTJa III 110; KRPS 502; Räs. VEWT 462 b; StachM GJV 43.

The word *taban* 'sole; heel' was registered in OT sources. At present it has equivalents in other Turkic languages.

talak (K-B) 'selezionka' (KBRS 598); *talak* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'id.' (Boz. 184); *talak*, *talax*, *talag* (*taláq*, *talάx*, *talάy*; B) 'Milz' (Pr B 256) < PT **tālak* (ESG) < **tāl* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *tal*, *talak*; Kum. *talak*; Az. *dalak*; Khal. *tāla'k*; Tur. *dalak*; Gag. *dalak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *talak*, (T) *talax*; Tat. *talak*; Čuv. *talak* (< Tat.); Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *talak*; Trkm. *dālak*; Uz. *talok*; Sal. *talïx*; Yak. *tāl*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 52, 312; DTS 528; Eg. 229; ÈSTJa III 137; KRPS 507, 508; Räs. VEWT 457 b; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 500.

The word *talak* 'spleen; milt' in OT registered in forms: *talak*, *tal*. It has also its equivalents in other Turkic languages. Some specialists analize the compound structure of the word, where *tal* should be the older form confirmed already in Middle Turkic (DTS 528) and Yakut. The character of the suffix *-ak* in *talak* is still debated, cf. ÈSTJa III 137-138.

tamak (K-B) '1. garlo, glotka, gortań; 2. goloś; 3. *redko* tupaja storona (noža, bitvy, kosy)' (KBRS 600); *tamak* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'gorlo' (Boz. 185); *tamak* (*tʿamaq*; K) 'Kehle, Schlund' (Pr K 136); *tamak*, *tamax*, *tamag* (*tamáq*, *tamάx*, *tamάy*; B) 'die Mundhöhle, der Gaumen' (Pr B 256) < PT **tāmgāk*, **tāmāk*; cf.: OT *tamag*, *tamak*, *tamgak*; Kum. *tamak*; Az. *damak*; Tur., Gag. *damak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *tamak*, (T) *tamax*, *tamag*; Tat., Čuv., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tamak*; Trkm. *damak*; Uz. *tomok*; Uig. *tamgak*, *tamak*; Lob. *damak*, *tamak*; Alt. *tamak*; Khak. *tamax*; Šor. *tamak*; *tabak* (Räs. VEWT 460 b); Yak. *tamax*. – Lit.: DTS 529, 530; ÈSTJa III 141; Gab. 337; JUFD 235; KRPS 509; Malov 168; Räs. VEWT 460 b.

Tamak '1. throat; palate; larynx' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In some of them the meaning is different, e.g.: Kir., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tamak* 'food'; Kar. (T) *tamag* 'straits'. In OT registered forms: *tamag*, *tamak*, *tamgak*.

ter (K-B) 'pot, isparina' (KBRS 622); *ter* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'pot' (Boz. 185); *ter* (*tʿer*; K) 'Schweiss' (Pr K 138); *ter* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 258) < PT **tär*; cf.: OT *ter*; Kum. *ter*; Az. *där*, *tär*; Khal. *tär*; Tur., Gag. *ter*; Kar. (Cr., H) *ter*, (T) *ter*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ter*; Tat. *tir*; Čuv. *tar*; Bašk. *tir*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ter*; Trkm. *der*; Uz. *ter*; Uig. *tä(r)*; Sal. *tʿer*, *ter*; Alt. *ter*; Khak. *tir*; Tuv. *der*; Šor *ter*; cf. Yak. *tirit-* 'schwitzen' (StachM GJV 63). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 312; DTS 553; Eg. 231; ÈSTJa III 203; KRPS 521, 565; Podolsky 23; StachM GJV 63; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 508.

The lexeme *ter* 'sweat' was registered in OT. It is known in some phonetic variants in other Turkic languages. Egorov suggests its Persian origin, cf. Eg. 231.

teri (K-B) '1. koža, škura; 2. mex' (KBRS 623); *teri* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'id.' (Boz. 185); *teri* (*tʿeri*; K) 'Haut' (Pr K 138) < PT **tärig*; cf.: *teri*

(MK); Kum. *teri*; Az. *däri*; Khal. *täri*; Tur., Gag. *deri*; Kar. (Cr., H) *teri*, (T) *ťeri*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *teri*; Tat. *tirĭ*; *tire* (Eg. 252); Čuv. *tir*; Bašk. *tirĭ*; *tire* (Eg. 252); Kaz., Nog., Kklp., Kir. *teri*; Trkm. *deri*; Uz. *teri*; Uig. *teri*, *terä*; Lob. *terä*, *tejä*, *tej*; Sal. *tir*; Y. Uig. *tᶜer*, *tere*, *terä*; Alt. *tere*; Khak. *tēr*, *tirĭ*; Tof. *teŕe*; Šor. *tere*; Yak. *tärī* ~ *tirī*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 73, 313; DTS 554; Eg. 252; ÈSTJa III 207; KRPS 522, 566; Malov 170, 172; ÖjHa. 27; Podolsky 23; Rass. 234; StachM GJV 62; Tenišev 511; Tenišev SJ 216.

The K-B *teri* '1. skin; 2. fur' registered by MK at present has equivalents in other Turkic languages.

til (K-B) '1. jazyk; 2. jazyk; reč; slog jazykovoj, rečevoj; 3. donos; spletnja; 4. jazyk; 5. borodka; 6. jazyčok' (KBRS 633); *til* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'jazyk' (Boz. 186); *til* (*tᶜil*; K) 'Zunge, Sprache, Schnalle' (Pr K 139); *til* (B) 'Sprache, Zunge' (Pr B 259) < PT **tïl*; cf.: OT *tïl*, *til*; Kum. *til*; Az. *dil*; Khal. *tiˑl*; Tur., Gag. *dil*; Kar. (Cr., T) *til*, (H) *til*, *kil*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *til*; Tat. *til*; *tel* (Eg. 323); Čuv. *čĕlxe*; Bašk. *tĭl*; *tel* (Eg. 323); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *til*; Trkm., Trukh. *dil*; Uz., Uig. *til*; Lob. *tïl*, *til*; Sal. *cil*, *til*; Y. Uig. *tïl*, *tel*; Alt. *til*; Khak. *til*; Tuv. *dïl*; Tof. *dïl*; Yak. *tïl*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 48, 313; DTS 559, 566; Eg. 323; ÈSTJa III 228; KRPS 319, 528; Malov 172; ÖjHa. 31; Podolsky 23; Rass. 179; SKT 178; StachM GJV 55; Sul. Kkar. 102; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 304, 510.

There are equivalents of the K-B lexeme *til* 'tongue, language' in many other Turkic languages. In OT sources there were the forms: *til* ~ *tïl*.

tiš (K-B) I '1. zub; 2. zub, zubec'. II 'vertel'. III 'skird' (KBRS 637); *tiš* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'zub' (Boz. 186); *tiš* (*tᶜíš*; K) 'Zahn, auch Bratspiess' (Pr K 139); *tiš* (B) 'Zahn'; *tiš* (B) 'Spiess, Heuschober' (Pr B 260) < PT **tīš* (**tiš* ?) (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *tiš*; Kum. *tïš*, *tiš*; Az. *diš*; Khal. *tīš*; Tur., Gag. *diš*; Kar. (Cr.) *tiš*, *diš*, *čiš*, (H) *tis*, *kis*, (T) *tiš*; Tat. (Ur.) *tiš*; Tat. *tĭš*; *teš* (Eg. 332); Čuv. *šăl*; Bašk. *tĭš*; *teš* (Eg. 332); Kaz. *tïs*; Kklp., Nog. *tis*; Kir. *tiš*; Trkm. *dïš*; Uz. *tiš*; Uig. *tiš*, *čiš*; Lob. *teš*, *tiš*; Sal. *tiš*, *tič*, *čiš*; Y. Uig. *tïs*, *tᶜïs*, *tes*; Alt. *tiš*; Khak. *tis*; Tuv. *diš*; Tof. *diš*; Yak. *tis*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 48, 313; DTS 563; Eg. 332; ÈSTJa III 242; KRPS 178, 323, 531, 532, 629; Malov 172; ÖjHa. 31; Podolsky 23; Rass. 173; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 311, 509, 511; Tenišev SJ 215, 216.

The word *tiš* 'tooth' registered in OT has equivalents in many other Turkic languages. The K-B sources together with the entry *tiš* 'tooth' place its homonym *tiš* 'spit, broach'. Since we consider *tiš* 'spit' to be a homonym therefore we have not taken it into account in the presented analysis.

tobuk (K-B) '1. koleno; 2. izgib, povorot, izlučina' (KBRS 639); *tobuk* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'koleno' (Boz. 186); *tobuk*, (*tᶜobuq*; K) 'Knie' (Pr K 139); *tobuk*, *tobux*, *tobug* (*tobúq*, *tobúx*, *tobúγ*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 260) < PT **tōpïk*; cf.: OT *tobïk*; Kum. *tobuk*; Khal. *topuk*; Tur. *topuk*; Tat., Bašk. *tubïk*; Kaz. *tobïk*; Kir. *tomuk*; Trkm. *topuk*; Uz. *tupik*; Uig. *tovuk*; Y. Uig. *tōk*; Alt. *tomuk*; Khak. *tomïx*;

Tuv. *dovuk*; Tof. *topʿok*; Yak. *tobuk* ~ *tabïk* ~ *tamïk*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 57, 314; DTS 569; Rass. 234; Räs. VEWT 489 a; StachM GJV 83, 100.

The word *tobuk* 'knee' has also some equivalents in other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT in form *tobïk*.

töš (K-B) I 'gruď; 2. bjust, ženskaja grud; 3. grudinka, korejka'. II 'nakovaľnja' (KBRS 630); *töš* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'gruď, nakovaľnja' (Boz. 187); *töš* (*tʿöš*; K) 'Amboss' (Pr K 140); *töš* (B) 'Brust; Amboss' (Pr B 262) < PT **tȭš*; cf.: OT *töš*; Kum. *töš*; Az. *döš*; Khal. *dȭš*, *tȭš*; Tur. (dial.) *döš*; Kar. (Cr.) *töš*, (H) *tes*, (T) *ťoš́*; Tat., Čuv., Bašk. *tüš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tös*; Kir. *töš*; Trkm. *dȭš*; Uz. *toš*; *tuš* (Eg. 267); Uig. *döš*; Lob. *töš*; Y. Uig. *tös*; Alt. *töš*; Khak. *tös*; Tuv. *döš*; Šor. *töš*; Yak. *tüös*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 50, 285, 314; DTS 582; Eg. 267; ÈSTJa III 286; KRPS 524, 541, 567; Malov 175; Räs. VEWT 495 b; StachM GJV 91; Sul. Kkar. 103; Šč. SF 197; YRh. 312.

The lexeme *töš* '1. breast'; 'anvil' has equivalents in numerous Turkic languages. The meaning 'anvil' is probably connected semantically, perhaps by association, with the basic meaning. The word was registered in OT only with the meaning 'breast'.

tük (K-B) '1. volos, volosinka; 2. volosjanoj pokrov; 3. vors, načios; 4. šersť; 5. mex; 6. pero, operenie, pux' (KBRS 671); *tük* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš.) 'volos' (Boz. 187); *tük* (*tʿük*; K) 'Haar' (Pr K 140); *tük*, *tüx*, *tüg* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 263) < PT **tȳ* (Šč. SF 198); **tüg* (StachM GJV 133); cf.: OT *tü*, *tüg*; Khal. *tȳk*; Tur. *tüj*; Kar. (Cr.) *tük*, (H) *tik*, (T) *ťuk*; Tat. *tök*; Čuv. *tĕk*; Bašk. *tök*; Kaz., Kir. *tük*; Trkm. *tüj*; Uz. *tuk*; Uig. *tük*; Lob. *tük*; Oir., *tük*; Khak. *tük*, *čüg*; Tuv. *düg*, *čüg*; Tof. *dük*; Yak. *tȳ*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 49, 314; DTS 594, 595; Eg. 244; KRPS 527, 553, 570; Malov 178; Rass. 178; Räs. VEWT 503 a; StachM GJV 133; Šč. SF 198.

The lexeme *tük* in K-B denotes '1. hair; 2. fur; 3. down; 4. feather'. At present there are some equivalents of the word in other Turkic languages, with the same meaning. In OT two forms were registered: *tü*, *tüg*.

uwuč (K-B) 'gorsť' (KBRS 689); *uʾuč* (*uʾúč*; K) 'die innere Handfläche' (Pr K 143) < PT **(h)abuč* (Räs. VEWT 3 a); cf.: *avuč* (KB); Kum. *uvuč*; Az. *ovuč*, *avuğ*; Tur., Gag. *avuč*; Kar. (Cr.) *avuč*, (H) *uvuc*, *uvuč*, (T) *uvuč*; Tat. (Cr.) *awuč*; Tat. *uč*; Čuv. *ĭvăś*; Bašk. *us*; Kaz., Kklp. *uwïs*, *uïs*; Nog. *uwïs*; Kir. *ūč*; Trkm. *owuč*; Uz. *hawuč*; Uig. *oč*, *awuš*; Y. Uig. *oš́*; Alt. *ōš*, *ūš*, *oš*; Khak. *ōs*; Tuv. *adïš*; Yak. *ïtïs*. – Lit.: DTS 70; Eg. 342; ÈSTJa I 409; KRPS 42, 573; Räs. VEWT 3 a; Sul. Kkar. 52; Tenišev SJ 194.

The K-B word *uwuč* denotes 'palm of the hand, hand'. In numerous modern Turkic languages there are equivalents of this word. In KB the form *avuč* was registered.

1.4. Animals (mammals, birds, fish, reptiles, amphibians)

agaz (K-B) 'laska' (KBRS 18); *agaz* (*aγaz*; K) 'Hermelin' (Pr K 85) < PT **arsï*, **arsu*; cf.: OT *as*, *ās*; Kum. *as*; Tur. *as*; Tur. dial. *ars* (DS I 331); Kar. *as*; Tat. *as*; Čuv. *jus*; Bašk. *as*; Bašk. dial. *ah*; Kir. *arïs*, *arsï*; Alt. *agas*; Khak. *as*; Tuv. *as*. – Lit.: DTS 59; Eg. 351; ÈSTJa I 191.

The word was confirmed in Old Turkic, however, it is not popular among Turkic languages at present. ÈSTJa I 191 reconstructs its oldest form from **arsï*, **arsu* which is confirmed in some languages (Kir. Tur. dial.). As far as the form *agaz* ~ *agas* (K-B, Alt.) is concerned, there is a conception that it comes from **ak as* 'white ermine'(cf. ÈSTJa I 191).

ajïw (K-B) 'medveď' (KBRS 40); *ajïw* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'medveď' (Boz. 164); *aju*, *ajü* (K) 'Bär' (Pr K 86); *ajü* (*ajǘ*; B) 'Bär' (Pr B 200) < PT **adïg* (ESG); cf.: OT *adïg*, *azïg*, *ajïg*: Kum. *ajuw*; Az. *ajï*; Tur., Gag. *ajï*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ajuv*; Tat. (Cr.) *ajuv*; Tat. (Ur.) *aju*; Tat. *aju*; Bašk. *ajïw*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ajuw*; Kir. *ajū*; Trkm. *ajï*; Uz. *ajik*, Uz. dial.: *ajuw*, *ajū*; Uig. *ejik*; Lob. *ajïk*; Sal. *acïx*, *atïx*, *ātïx*, *aʒᶜix*; Alt. *aju*; Khak. (dial.) *azïg*; Tuv. *adïg*. – Lit.: DTS 10, 14, 29; ÈSTJa 112; KRPS 55; Malov 82; Podolsky 3; Tenišev 280, 296, 297, 300.

This word meaning 'bear' has equivalents in most Turkic languages; also in OT.

alaša (K-B) '1. merin, lošaď; 2. nizkij' (KBRS 48); *alaša* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'nizkij, maleńkij, merin' (Boz. 164); *alaša* (K) 'niedrig; kleines Pferd' (Pr K 86); *alaša* (*alašá*; B) 'klein von Wuchs, niedrig; kleines, dickes Pferd, dickes Pferdchen' (Pr B 200) < PT **alaša*; cf.: Kum., Az. Tur., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Cr.) *alaša*; Čuv. *laša*; Bašk. *alaša*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *alasa*; Turkm. *alaša*; Uz. dial. *olača*. – Lit.: Eg. 126; ÈSTJa I 136; KRPS 62; Räs. VEWT 16a.

Not all modern Turkic languages register this word. Also, historical sources do not confirm the existence of the word in OT. The meaning of the word given in those languages that register it is various from adjectival 'low, little' to substantival 'little horse' and even 'mare'.

at (K-B) 'koń, lošaď; merin' (KBRS 83); *at* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'lošaď, koń' (Boz. 165); *at* (K) 'Pferd' (Pr K 89); *at* (B) 'Pferd, Ross' (Pr B 203) < PT **at*, **hat*; cf.: OT *at*; Kum., Az. *at*; Khal. *hat*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr. Ur.) *at*; Čuv. *ut*; Bašk. *at*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *at*; Uz. *ot*; Uig., Lob. *at*; Sal. *at*, *āt*, *aˀt*, *ac*, *acᶜ*, *aʒ*; Y. Uig. *at*, *aᶜt*, *hat*, *gat*; Alt., Khak. *at*; Tuv. *aᶜt*; Tof. *aᶜt*; Yak. *at*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 63, 291; DTS 65; Eg. 278; ÈSTJa I 197; KRPS 82; Malov 87; ÖjHa. 8; Podolsky 2; StachM GJV 49; Tenišev 296; Tenišev SJ 173.

At 'horse' is widely known in most modern Turkic languages. It was also known in Old Turkic and some scholars see a close relationship between this word and its Mongolian counterpart (cf. ÈSTJa I 197).

balïk (K-B) 'ryba' (KBRS 116); *balïk* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'ryba' (Boz. 166); *balïk* (*balı́q*; K) 'Walfisch' (Pr K 91) < PT **baluk* ~ **bālïk*; cf.: OT *balïk*; Kum. *balïk*; Az. *balïk*; Khal. *bāluk*, *balux*; Tur., Gag. *balïk*; Kar. (Cr.) *balïk*; (H) *balïk*; (Tr.) *balïk*, *balïx*; Tat. *balïk*; Tat. (Ur.) *balïx*; Čuv. *pulă*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *balïk*; Trkm. *bālïk*; Trukh. *balïk*; Uz. *balik*, *bolik*; Uig. *belik*; Lob. *balïk*, *baluk*; Sal. *balïx*, *balix*; Alt. *balïk*, *palïk*; Khak. *palïx*; Tuv. *balïk*; Tof. *balïk*; Šor. *palïk*; Yak. *balïk*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 278; DTS 80; Eg. 164; ÈSTJa II 59; KRPS 101; Malov 91; Podolsky 4; Rass. 159; Räs. VEWT 61 b; SKT 177; StachM GJV 43.

This very common word denoting 'fish' is known both in Old Turkic and in modern Turkic languages (in some of them it appears in phonetic variants).

borsuk (K-B) 'barsuk' (KBRS 160); *borsuk* (B. dial. Baks.) 'barsuk' (Boz. 168); *borsuk* (*borsúq*; K) 'Dachs' (Pr K 94); *borsuk*, *borsux*, *borsug* (*borsúq*, *borsúx*, *borsúy*; B) 'Dachs' (Pr B 210) < PT **borsuk* (ESG); cf.: OT *borsuk*; Kum. *porsuk*; Az. *porsug*; *Tur. porsuk*; Tat. *bursïk*; Čuv. *purăš*; Bašk. *burhïk*; Kaz. *borsïk*; Kklp. *porsïk*; Nog. *borsïk*; Trkm. *torsuk*; Uz. *bursuk*; Uig. *borsuk*; Sal. *porsux*, *porsuk*; Alt. *porsuk*; Khak. *porsïx*; Tuv. *morzuk*. – Lit.: DTS 113; Eg. 165; Räs. VEWT 81 a; Tenišev 452/3.

The word *borsuk* 'badger' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. At the earliest it was registered in MK. Its etymology is not clear, cf. Eg. 165.

börü (K-B) 'volk' (KBRS 140); *boru*, *börü* (B. dial., Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'volk' (Boz. 168); *börü* (*börű́*; K) 'Wolf' (Pr K 95); *börü* (*börű́*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 211) < PT **bȫrö*; cf.: OT *böri*; Kum. *börü*; Khal. *bȫri*; Tur. *arch. börü*; Kar. (Cr.) *börü*, (H) *bäri*, (T) *beri*, *bóru*; Tat. *bürĭ*; Bašk. *bürĭ*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *böri*; Kir. *börü*; Trkm. *bȫri*; Uz. *bori*; Uig. *böri*, *böre*, *börä*; Lob. *böjä*; Sal. *pūr*, *pura*; Y. Uig. *böji*, *peri*, *böjü*; Alt. *pöri*, *börü*, *pörü*; Khak. *pȫr*; Tuv. *börü*; Tof. *börü*; Šor. *pörü*; Yak. *börö*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 72, 281; DTS 118; ÈSTJa II 219; KRPS 113, 114, 135, 151; Rass. 165; StachM GJV 88, 91; YRh. 196.

Börü 'wolf' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. It was known in Old Turkic.

buga (K-B) 'byk; bugaj' (KBRS 165); *buga* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'byk' (Boz. 168); *boga* (*boyá*; K) < Stier' (Pr K 94) < PT **buka* ~ **buga* (ESG); cf.: OT *buka*; Kum., Az. *buga*; Tur. *boga*, *buga*; Gag. *bua*, *buga*; Kar. (Cr., T, H); Tat. (Cr., Ur.); Bašk. *buga*; Kaz. *bŭka*; Kklp., Nog. *buga*; Kir. *buka*; Trkm. *puka*, *buga*; Uz. *buka*; Uig. *buga*, *buka*; Lob. *buka*; Y. Uig. *bïka*, *boka*, *puka*, *poga*; Alt. *puga*, *buka*; Khak. *puga*; Tuv. *buga*; Tof. *buha*; Šor. *puga*; Yak. *buga*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; DTS 125; ÈSTJa II 230; KRPS 136; Malov 96; Podolsky 6; Rass. 165; Sul. Kkar. 56; .

Buga ~ boga 'bull' is a common word in other modern Turkic languages, where in some of them there are phonetic variants of this lexeme. In some languages the word denotes also 'deer'. It was also registered in OT.

buw (K-B) 'oleń' (KBRS 171); *bū* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'oleń' (Boz. 169); *bū* (K) 'Hirsch' (Pr K 95); *bū* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 211). < PT **bugu* (ESG); cf.: OT *bugu*; Kaz. *bŭgï* ; Kklp., Nog. *bugï*; Kir., Uz. *bugu*; Lob. *bugu*; Uig. *bugu*, *bogï*. – Lit.: DTS 120; ÈSTJa II 237; Malov 95; Räs. VEWT 86a.

Buw 'deer, maral' is according to some turkologists, semantically related to *buka ~ buga* 'bull', cf. ÈSTJa II 237. At present the word is not common among other Turkic languages. As far as its age is concerned it was registered for the first time in the 13th century.

čabak (K-B) I 'ryba' (KBRS 718); *čabak* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'ryba' (Boz. 190); *čabak* (*čᶜabáq*; K) 'Fisch' (Pr K 96); *cabak*, *cabax*, *cabag*, (*cabáq*, *cabáx*, *cabáγ*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 213) < PT **čabak* (ESG); cf.: OT *čabak*; Az. *čapag*; Tur. *čapak*; Kar. (Cr.) *čabak*; Tat. *čabak*; Čuv. *śupax*; Bašk. *sabak*; Kaz. *šabak*; Uz. *čavag balïk*; Šor. *šabak*. – Lit.: DTS 135; Eg. 219; KRPS 619; Räs. VEWT 99 b; YRh. 240.

The word *čabak* 'fish' is registered by MK with the meaning 'small fish'. In Kaz., Uz., Bašk., Tat. it denotes 'roach' and in Az., Tur., Čuv. it means 'bream'. We cannot exclude a Persian borrowing, cf. Eg. 219.

čočxa (K-B) 'porosionok; svińja' (KBRS 737); *čočxa* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'svińja' (Boz. 191); *čočxa* (*čᶜočxá*; K) 'Ferkel' (Pr K 98) < PT (?) **čočuk* (ESG); cf.: OT *čočuk*; Tur. *čoğuk*, (Ott.) *čuğïga*; Kar. (Cr.) *čočka*, (H) *cocka*, (T) *čočxa*; Tat. (Ur.) *čočxa*; Tat. (Kaz.) *čučka*; Kaz. *šoška*, *šuška*; Oir. *čočko*. – Lit.: DTS 151; KRPS 614, 631; Podolsky 8; Räs. VEWT 113 a.

The word *čočxa* in K-B denotes 'pig'. With such the meaning in the form *čočuk* the word is registered in OT. At present it has its equivalents only in a few Turkic languages. However among those languages in some cases the meaning has already changed, cf.: Tur. *čoğuk* 'boy; child'; Kar. (H) *cocka* and Kar. (T) *čočxa* 'boy, young man'.

ečki (K-B) 'koza' (KBRS 779); *exci*, *ečki* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk, Kaš.) 'koza' (Boz. 171); *ečki*, *ječki* (*ečkᶜi*, *ječkᶜi*; K) 'Ziege' (Pr K 100); *exci* (*excí*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 218) < PT **ečki* (ESG); cf.: OT *ečkü*, *ečki*; Khal. *äčgü*; Tur. (dial.) *ečki*; Kar. (Cr.,T) *ečki*, (T) *ecki*; Tat. (Ur.) *ečki*; Kaz. *ješki*; Kir. *eški*; Uz. *öčki*; Uig. *äciki*, *öški*; *öškä* (Rass.183); Alt. *ečki*; Khak. *öski*; Tuv. *öškü*; Tof. *eški*, *öškü*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 70, 286; DTS 162; JUFD 175, 224; KRPS 672; Podolsky 9; Rass. 183.

The word *ečki* 'goat' was known in OT and at present it has counterparts in some other Turkic languages.

erkeč (K-B) '1. trioxgodovalyj kastrirovannyj koziol; 2. koziol – vožak; 3. božak; zapravila' (KBRS 772); *erkeč* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'kozel kastrirovannyj' (Boz. 170) < PT **ärkäč* (ESG); cf.: OT *erkäč*; Kum. *erkeč*; Khal. *ärgäğ*; Tur. *erkeč*; (dial.) *ergeč*; Kar. *erkeš*; Kir. *erkeč*; Y. Uig. *erkeš*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 68, 286; DTS 179; ÈSTJa I 300; YRh. 345, 346.

The word *erkeč* 'he-goat, billy-goat' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in a few Turkic languages. There are several conceptions referring to the etymology of the word, where one shows its origin from the word *är* 'man', cf. ÈSTJa I 300.

ešek (K-B) '1. osiol; 2. *per.* osiol, upriamec; glupec' (KBRS 779); *ešek* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'osel' (Boz. 171); *ešek, ješek* (*ešék, ješék*; K) 'Esel' (Pr K 102); *ešek, ešex, ešeg* (*ešék, ešéx, ešég*; B) 'Esel' (Pr B 220) < PT **eš-(g/k)äk*; cf.: OT *ešäk, ešgäk, ešjäk*; Kum. *ešek*; Az. *ešäk*; Khal. *äšgä*; Tur. *ešek*; Gag. *ješek*; Kar. (Cr.) *ešek*, (H) *esek*, (T) *eśak*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ešek*, Tat. *išäk*; Čuv. *ašak*; Bašk. *išäk*; Kaz. *esek*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trukh. *eššek*; Trkm. *ešek*; Uz., Uig. *ešäk*; Uig. *išax, jišäk*; Lob. *ešek, išäk*; Sal. *ešex, ešix, ēšix, esex, ēsix, ejšix*; Alt., Šor. *eštek*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh. 63, 287; DTS 185, 186; Eg. 38; ÈSTJa I 317; Gab. 59; KRPS 673; Podolsky 10; Räs. VEWT 51 a; SKT 182; Tenišev 322, 326-7, 328.

The word *ešek* 'donkey' is confirmed in OT in the following forms: *ešäk, ešgäk, ešjäk*; also it has counterparts in other languages. According to Egorov (Eg. 38) the etymology is vague. Gabain (Gab. 59) as well as Räsänen (Räs. VEWT 51 a) claims that the word derives from **eš* 'comrade' + the diminutive suffix *-(g/k)äk*.

ğïlan (K-B) '1. zmeja; 2. *per.* zmeja, furija' (KBRS 265); *žïlan* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'zmeja' (Boz. 172), *zïlan* (Baks., Balk.), *zïlan, ğïlan* (Čeg.) 'id.' (ibid. 173); *ğïlan* (*ǯïlán*; K) 'Schlange' (Pr K 148); *zïlan* (*zïlán*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 273) < PT **jīlān*; cf.: OT *jïlan*; Kum. *jïlan, jilan*; Az. *ilan*; Khal. *jilān, ilān, julan, jülān*; Tur., Gag. *jïlan*; Kar. (Cr., H) *jïlan*, (T) *jïlan, ilan*; Tat. (Ur.) *jïlan*; Tat. *jïlan; jelan* (Eg.210); Čuv. *šĕlen*; Bašk. *jïlan*; Kaz., Kklp. *žïlan*; Nog. *jïlan*; Kir. *ğïlan*; *žïlan* (Eg. 210); Trkm. *jïlān*; Trukh. *jïlan*; Uz. *ilon*; Uig. *ilan*; *žilan* (Eg. 210); Lob. *ilan, ilän*; Sal. *jilan, jīlän, jilän*; Y. Uig. *jïlan, jilan*; Alt. *ďïlan, jïlan*; Khak., Tuv., Šor. *čïlan*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 85, 294, 318, 319; DTS 266; Eg. 210; ÈSTJa IV 277; KRPS 197, 264; Malov 113, 114; Podolsky 33; SKT 179; Sul. Kkar. 75; Tenišev 358; Tenišev SJ 184, 186.

The word *ğïlan* 'viper' is widely common in other Turkic languages, where its various counterparts are to be found. In OT the word was registered in the form *jïlan*. As far as its etymology is concerned some specialists underline its relation with the verb **jīl-* 'to creep.', cf. ÈSTJa IV 277. Semantically, it has a strong taboo character.

ijnek (K-B) 'korova' (KBRS 299); *ijnek* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 174); *inek* (*inék*; K) 'Kuh' (Pr K 107); *inek*, *inex*, *ineg* (*inék*, *inéx*, *inég*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 225) < PT **inäk*; cf.: OT *inäk*, *iŋäk*; Kum. *inek*; Az. *inäk*; Khal. *inäk*; Tur., Gag. *inek*; Kar. (Cr.) *inák*, (H) *jinek*; Tat. (Cr.) *inek*; Čuv. *ĕne*; Kir., Trkm. *inek*; Uig. *inäk*; Lob. *inek*; Sal. *inex*; Y. Uig. *ĭnek*, *enek*; Alt. *ijnek*, *inek*; Khak. *ĭnek*, *inek*; Tuv. *inek*; Tof. *inek*; Šor. *inek*; Yak. *anax*, *ïnax*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 294; DTS 209, 211; Eg. 64; ÈSTJa I 358; KRPS 245; Malov 115; ÖjHa. 31; Rass. 201; StachM GJV 23; Sul. Kkar. 67; Tenišev 338; Tenišev SJ 178 .

The word *ijnek* 'cow' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages (in different phonetic variants). In OT sources the following forms were registered: *inäk*, *iŋäk*.

it (K-B) '1. sobaka; 2. sobaka, podlec, negodnjaj' (KBRS 306); *it* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'sobaka' (Boz. 174); *it* (K) 'Hund' (Pr K 108); *it* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 225) < PT **ijt*; cf.: OT *it*; Kum., Az. *it*; Khal. *i't*; Tur. *it*; Kar. (Cr., H) *it*, *jit*, (T) *it*; Tat. *ĭt*; *et* (Eg. 83); Čuv. *jĭtă*, *jĭt*; Bašk. *ĭt*; *et* (Eg. 83); Kaz. *ĭjt*, *it*; Kklp. *ijt*, *it*; Nog. *ijt*; Kir. *it*; Trkm., Trukh., Uz., Uig., Lob. *it*; Sal. *it*, *ičt*, *išt*; Y. Uig. *ĭšt*, *šĭt*, *ešt*; Alt. *ijt*, *it*; Tuv. *ït*; Tof. *ït*; Yak. *ït*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 64, 294; DTS 215; Eg. 83; ÈSTJa I 385; KRPS 209, 246; Malov 115; ÖjHa. 31; Rass. 240; SKT 179; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 336, 341; Tenišev SJ 220.

The word *it* 'dog' is confirmed in OT and at present it has its counterparts in other Turkic languages.

kadïr (K-B) '1. mul; 2. lošak; 2. *per.* kljača' (KBRS 374); *kadïr* (*qᶜadír*; K) 'Maultier' (Pr K 113) < PT **katïr* (ESG); cf.: OT *katïr*, *kagatïr*; Az. *gatïr*; Tur., Gag. *katïr*; Kar. (Cr.) *katïr*, (H, T) *katïr*; Nog. *katïr*; Trkm. *gatïr*; Y. Uig. *katïr*, *kadïr*. Cf. also: Kum. *kačïr*; Khal. *gātur*, *gātïr*, *gatr̄*; Tat. *kačïr*; Bašk. *kasïr*; Kaz. *kašïr*; Kklp. *kašïr* ~ *gašïr*; Kir. *kačïr*; Uig. *kečĭr*, *xačĭr*, *xečĭ(r)*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 64, 288; DTS 405, 435; ÈSTJa V 339; KRPS 297, 367.

The word *kadïr* means 'mule'. According to ÈSTJa V 339-340 there are two conceptions concerning the etymology of the word. The first one points out its Iranian origin. The other suggests its derivational character from the verb *kat-* 'to mix'. The word was also lent to Mongolian, from where it was borrowed by some Turkic languages (Kum., Tat., Kir., Kaz., Kklp., Uig.). The Khalaj forms were borrowed from Persian. The earliest records go back to MK in form *katïr*; also in 13th c. the form *kagatïr* was registered. As for the meaning, in other languages the word denotes also 'mule', however in some of them it means 'donkey' (in Kar. (Cr.) and even 'stubborn' (in Gag., Kar. (Cr.).

kaplan (K-B) 'tigr' (KBRS 389) < PT **kaplan* (ESG); cf.: OT *kaplan*; Az. *gaplan*; Tur. *kaplan*; Kar. (H) *kaplan*; Tat., Bašk. *kaplan*; Kaz. *kablan*; Kklp. *kaplan*, *kablan*; Nog. *kaplan*; Kir. *kabïlan*; Trkm. *gaplaŋ*; Uz. *koplon*; Uig. *kaplan*. – Lit.: DTS 421; ÈSTJa V 269; Gab. 327; KRPS 290.

The word *kaplan* 'tiger' has its equivalents in some Turkic languages and it was registered by OT sources. In most of the Turkic languages, where the word is confirmed it denotes 'a tiger – like animal'. In Kir., Kaz., Kklp it is used for the name of 'heroe'. As far as the etymology is concerned there are different conceptions, however they have a common notion as to the derivational structure of the word.

karga (K-B) 'vorona, galka' (KBRS 393); *karga* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'vorona' (Boz. 177); *karga* (*qᶜaryá*; K) 'Krähe' (Pr K 116); *karga* (*qaryá*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 235) < PT **karga* (ESG); cf. OT *karga*; Kum. *karga*; Az. *garga*; Khal. *garga*; Tur. *karga*; Gag. *garga*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *karga*; Tat. *karga*; Čuv. *kurak*; Bašk., Kaz., *karga*; Kklp. *karga*, *garga*; Nog., Kir. *karga*; Trkm. *garga*; Uz. *karga*; Uig. *ka(r)ga*; Lob. *kajga*, *kaga*; Sal. *karga*, *karga*; Alt. *karga*; Khak. *xarga*; Tuv. *kārgan*; Tof. *karkan*; Šor. *karga*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 79, 288; DTS 426; Eg. 119; ÈSTJa V 303; KRPS 293, 363; Malov 123; Podolsky 12; Rass. 219; Tenišev 376, 462.

The word *karga* '1. crow; 2. jackdaw' has its counterparts in numerous Turkic languages. In some languages the semantic range is wider, however generally it refers to the bird species. In Uz. it denotes 'spades (in playing-cards). The word was also registered in OT. Some specialists point out the onomatopoeic origin of the word (cf. Eg. 119; ÈSTJa V 304). Its structure is vague.

kartčïga (K) 'jastreb' (KBRS 396); *kartčïga* (*qᶜartčïyá*; K) 'Habicht' (Pr K 116) < PT **kartïga* < **kartïgan* < **kartïkan*; cf.: *karčïga* (Zamahš.) Kum. *karčïga*; Tur. dial. *kartčïga* (DS); Tat. *karčïga*; Čuv. *xurčaka*; Bašk. *karsïga*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *karšïga*; Kir. *karčïga*; Trkm. *garčïgaj*; Uz. *karčigaj*; Uz. (S) *karčagaj* (Eg. 309); Uig. *ka(r)čïgu*; Lob. *kajčiga*, *kačiga*; Alt. *karčïga*, *karčaga*; Khak. *xartïga*, *xartxa*; Tuv., Tof. *xartïga*; Šor. *kartaga*; Yak. *xardāčï*, (?) *kĭ̄rt*, *kĭ̄t*. – Lit.: Eg. 309; ÈSTJa V 317; Malov 126; Räs. VEWT 237 a.

The word *kartčïga* means 'hawk'. The word has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages, however in some of them the semantic denotation is different, cf.: in Yakut '1. hawk; 2. falcon-like bird of prey; 3. white owl'; in Tuv., Tof. 'falcon'. As far as the origin of the word is concerned there are several conceptions. One of them, presented by Räsänen (Räs. VEWT 237 a) assumes the Mongolian origin. Another hypothesis, on the contrary, claims that the lexeme is a very old Turkic word being a prototype for the Mongolian counterpart, cf. ÈSTJa 318-319.

kaz (K-B) 'guś' (KBRS 374); *kaz* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'id.' (Boz. 176); *kaz* (*qᶜaz*; K) 'Gans' (Pr K 117); *kaz* (*qaz*; B) 'Gans' (Pr B 236) < PT **kās* (Šč. SF 194); **kāz* (< **kāŕ*) (Räs. VEWT 243 a); cf.: OT *kaz*; Kum. *kaz*; Az. *gaz*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kaz*; Tat. (Ur.) *xaz*; Tat. *kaz*; Čuv. *xur*; Bašk. *kaz*; Kaz. *kaz*; Kklp. *gaz*; Nog., Kir. *kaz*; Trkm. *gāz*; Uz. *goz*; Uig. *gaz*; *kaz* (Rass. 219); Lob. *gaz*, *gas*; Sal. *kaz*; Y. Uig. *kaz*, *kaza*; Alt. *kaz*; Khak. *xas*; Tuv. *kas*; Tof. *kas*; Yak.

sās. – Lit.: DTS 438; Eg. 306; ÈSTJa V 184; JUFD 184; KRPS 281, 357; Malov 97, 98; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 29; Rass. 219; Räs. VEWT 243 a; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 463; Tenišev SJ 200.

The lexeme *kaz* 'goose' is very common among Turkic languages, where it appears in some phonetic variants. It was also registered in OT.

kijik (K-B) I '1. dikij; 2. *per.* neobuzdannyj, dikij, varvarskij'; 2. 'zver'; dič' (KBRS 346); *kijik* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'lań, kozulja, dič, dikij' (Boz. 175); *kijik* (*kʿijík*; K) 'Wild' (Pr K 110); *kijik*, *kijix*, *kijig* (*kijík*, *kijix*, *kijíg*; B) 'Reh' (Pr B 229) < PT **käjik*; cf.: OT *kejik*, *keδik*; *kik*; Kum. *gijik*; Tur. *gejik*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kijik*; Tat. (Ur.) *ťijik*; Tat. *kiīk*; *kijek* (Eg. 85); Čuv. *kajăk*; Bašk. *kejek*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kijik*; Trkm., Trukh. *kejik*; Uz. *kijik*; Uig. *kijik*, *kīsik*; Lob. *kejik*, *keik*, *kiik*; Sal. *kijïx*; Y. Uig. *kejik*, *keik*, *kʿik*; Alt. *kijik*; Khak. *kīk*; Šor. *kīk.* – Lit.: DTS 294, 307; Eg. 85; ÈSTJa V 21; KRPS 318; Malov 133, 134, 135; Podolsky 26; SKT 179; Tenišev 382.

The word *kijik* '1. wild; 2. hind; 3. animal (a wild animal)' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages (in some phonetic variants) mostly with the same meaning as in K-B. However, in other Turkic languages the meaning is in some cases more specific, cf.: in Čuv. *kajăk* '1. bird, birds; 2. wild'; Tur. *gejik* 'deer'; Trukh. *kejik* 'billy-goat'. In OT the following forms were registered: *kejik*, *keδik* 'deer, hind' and also *kik* 'animal'.

kirpi (K-B) 'jož' (KBRS 349); *kirfi*, *kirpi* (B. dial.: Balk, Čeg.) 'jož' (Boz. 175); *kirpi* (*kʿirpʿi*; K) 'Igel' (Pr K 110); *kirfi* (*kirfí*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 229) < PT **kirpi* (ESG); cf.: OT *kirpi*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag. *kirpi*; Kar. (Cr.) *kirpi*, (H) *kïrpï*; Tat. *kĭrpĭ*; *kerpe* (Eg. 325); Tat. (Ur.) *ťirpi*; Čuv. *čĕrĕp*; Bašk. *tĭrpĭ*; *terpe* (Eg. 325); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz. *kirpi*; Uig. *kirpä*, *kĭ(r)pi*, *kĭžpi*; Šor. *kirbi.* – Lit.: DTS 309; Eg. 325; ÈSTJa V 72; KRPS 323, 387; Podolsky 26; Räs. VEWT 272 b.

The word *kirpi* 'hedgehog' has its equivalents also in other Turkic languages. It was also registered by MK and some Uighur texts (cf. DTS 309). There is a divergence of opinion concerning its origin: according to Egorov (Eg. 325) it is borrowed from Persian, whereas ÈSTJa V 73, in the opposite way, mentions its loan to Persian.

kočxar (K-B) '1. baran, baran-proizvoditel'' (KBRS 416); *kočxar* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'baran' (Boz. 179); *kočxar* (*qʿočxar*; K) 'Widder' (Pr K 119); *kocxar* (*qocxár*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 238) < PT **kočxar* < **koč*; cf.: OT *koč*, *kočŋar*; Tur. *koč*, *kočkar*; Kar. (Cr.) *koč*, *kočkar*, (H) *kockar*, (T) *kočxar*, *koškar*; Tat. (Kaz.) *kučkar*; Kaz. *koškar*; Trukh. *koč*; Uig. *kočkar*; Lob. *kočkaj*; Y. Uig. *kožgar*; Oir. *kočkar.* – Lit.: DTS 451; JUFD 211; KRPS 335, 372; Malov 129; Räs. VEWT 274 a; SKT 180; Sul. Kkar. 89; Šč. SF 194; YRh. 677.

The word *kočxar* in K-B denotes '1. ram; 2. stud ram'. In OT sources two words are registered: *koč* 'ram' and *kočŋar* 'stud ram'. In some modern

Turkic languages two forms are confirmed, e.g.: Tur., Kar. (Cr.) *koč*, *kočkar*. In Tur. *koč* means 'ram' whereas *kočkar* 'very large and powerful ram used for fighting'.

koj (K-B) 'ovca; baran' (KBRS 409); *koj* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'ovca' (Boz. 179); *koj* (*qʿoj*; K) 'Schaf' (Pr K 119); *koj* (*qoj*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 238) < PT **koj* ~ **koi*; cf.: OT *koj*, *koɟ*, *kojïn*, *kojun*, *kon*; Az. *gojun*; Tur. *kojun*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *koj*; Tat. *kuj*; Tat. (Ur.) *xoj*; Bašk. *kuj*; Kaz., Nog., Kir. *koj*; Trkm. *gojun*; Uz. *kŭj*; Uig. *koj*; Lob. *koj*; Y. Uig. *koj*; Alt. *koj*; Khak., Tuv. *xoj*; Tof. *hoɟ*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 251; DTS 453, 455; KRPS 329, 368; JUFD 210; Malov 128; Podolsky 30; Rass. 189. Sul. Kkar. 89; Šč. SF 194;

The lexeme *koj* 'sheep; ram' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages in some phonetic variants, also with the longer forms *kojun*, *gojun*. In OT the following forms were registered: *koj*, *koɟ*, *kojïn*, *kojun*, *kon*.

kojan (K-B) 'zajac, krolik' (KBRS 419); *kojan* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'zajac' (Boz. 179); *kojan* (*qʿoján*; K) 'Hase' (Pr K 119); *kojan* (*qoján*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 238) < PT **koδan*; cf.: Kum., Tur. (dial.), Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kojan*; Tat. (Ur.) *xojan*; Tat. *kujan*; Čuv. (< Tat.) *kujan*; the older form **xoran* (Eg. 122); Bašk. *kujan*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kojan*; Kir. *kojon*; Trkm. *kojan*; Uz. *kujon*; Uig. *kojan*; Alt. *kojon*; Khak. *xozan*; Tuv. kodan, *kojgun*; Šor. *kozan*; Yak. *xoton-ox*. – Lit.: Eg. 122; KRPS 329, 368; Podolsky 30; Räs. VEWT 274 b – 275 a.

The word *kojan* 'hare' has its counterparts in several other Turkic languages. Räsänen (Räs. VEWT 274 b) presents for this word the archetype **koδan*.

kögürčün (K-B) 'golub' (KBRS 335); *kögürčün* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 176); *kögürčün* (*kʿögürčün*: K) 'Taube' (Pr K 110); *kögürčün* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 230) < PT **kökärčin*; cf.: OT *kökürčkän*, *kökürčkün*; Kum. *gogurčun*, *gögürčün*; Az. *göjärčin*; Khal. *gövärčīn*, *gögärčīn*, *kökärčük*; Tur., Gag. *güvercin*; Kar. (Cr.) *kögürčin*, *kögirčin*, *kögürčün*, *kürgüčün*, (H) *kigircin*, *tigircin*, (T) *ḱuǵurčuń*, *ḱoǵurčuń*; Tat. (Ur.) *gögürğen*; Tat. *kügärčīn*; *kügärčen* (Eg. 97); Čuv. *kăvakarčan*; Bašk. *kügärsīn*; *kügärsen* (Eg. 97); Kaz. *kögeršin*; Kklp., Nog. *kögeršin*; Kir. *kogürčkön*; Trkm. *gögerčin*; Uz. dial. *gävärğin*; Uig. *köküškön*; Sal. *körgünzüx*, *kurgunzux*, *kurgunzïx*; Y. Uig. *kʿükiškïn*, *kükiškïn*; *köküšken*, *kükišxïn*; Alt. (V) *gogorčïn*; Tuv. *kögēzin*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 152, 290, 298; DTS 313; Eg. 97; ÈSTJa III 57; KRPS 312, 317, 336, 354, 396, 525; Podolsky 11; Räs. VEWT 287 b; Tenišev 393, 396, 397; Tenišev SJ 188, 189.

The word *kögürčün* 'pigeon' has its equivalents in many other Turkic languages with the same meaning, except Gag., where it denotes: '1. a specific sort of pigeon; 2. grey colour'. The OT sources registered two forms for 'pigeon': *kökürčkän* and *kökürčkün*.

kuš (K-B) '1. oriol; 2. ptica; 3. pux' (KBRS 433); *kuš* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'orel' (Boz. 180); *kuš* (*qᶜuš*; K) 'Vogel, grösserer Vogel' (Pr K 121); *kuš* (*quš*; B) 'Adler' (Pr B 241) < PT **kuš*; cf.: OT *kuš*; Az. *guš*; Khal. *guš*; Tur. *kuš*; Kar. (Cr., T) *kuš*, (H) *kuš*, *kus*; Tat. (Ur.) *xuš*; Tat. *koš*; cf. Čuv. *kajăk*; Bašk. *koš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kus*; Kir. *kuš*; Trkm. *guš*; Trukh. *kuš*, *guš*; Uz., Uig., Lob. *kuš*; Sal. *kus*; Y. Uig. *kus*, *kᶜus*, *kos*; Alt. *kuš*; Khak. *xus*; Tuv. *kuš*; Tof. *kuš*; Yak. *kus*. – Lit. Doerfer LSCh 80, 307; DTS 471; Eg. 85; KRPS 349, 351, 377; Malov 131; ÖjHa. 38; Podolsky 31; Rass. 222; SKT 178, 180; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 466; Tenišev SJ 200, 204.

The lexeme *kuš* '1. bird; 2. eagle; 3. sparrow' was registered in OT and it has its equivalents in many other Turkic languages, however in some languages the meaning is various, e.g.: Yak. *kus* 'duck'; Tof. *kuš* 'wood grouse'.

kuzgun (K-B) 'voron' (KBRS 420); *kuzgun* (*qᶜuzyún*; K) 'Rabe' (Pr K 122); *kuzgun* (*quzyún*; B) 'Hühnergeier' (Pr B 241) < PT **kuzgun* ~ **kuskun* (ESG); cf.: OT *kuskun*, *kuzgun*; Az. *guzgun*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kuzgun*; Tat. *kozgïn*; Bašk. *kozgon*; Kaz. *kuzgïn*; Kir. *kuzgun*; Uz., Uig. *kuzgun*; Lob. *kuzgun*, *kuškun*; Sal. *kozgun*, *kuzgun*; Alt. *kuskun*; Khak. *xusxun*; Tuv. *kuskun*; Tof. *kuskun*. – Lit.: DTS 470, 475; Eg. 208-209; KRPS 344, 373; Malov 130, 132; Rass. 222; Tenišev 391, 398, 466.

The word *kuzgun* '1. raven; 2. vulture' has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages. However, in some languages, i.e. Kar. (H, T) *kuzgun* '1. owl; 2. raven'; Kar. (Cr.) '1. jackdaw; 2. raven'. In OT sources: *kuskun*, *kuzgun*.

maka (K-B) 'ljaguška' (KBRS 457); *maka* (K) 'karlik, čelovek maleńkogo rosta' (ibid. 457); *maka* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'ljaguška' (Boz. 180); *maka* (*maqᶜa*; K) 'Frosch, Kropf' (Pr K 122) < PT **bāka*; cf. OT *baka*; Kum. *baka*; Az. *baga*; Tur. dial. *baga*, lit. *kurbaga*; Kar. (Cr.) *baka*, (H, T) *baga*; Tat. (Cr.) *baga*; Tat. *baka*; Bašk. *tašbaka*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *baka*; Trkm. *gurbaga*; Uz. *baka*, Uig. *baka*, *paka*; Lob. *paka*; Sal. *paga*, *paka*; Y. Uig. *paga*, *paka*; Alt. *baka*, *paka*; Khak. *paga*; Tuv. *paga*; Tof. *baka*; Yak. *baγa*. – Lit.: DTS 82; ÈSTJa II 40; KRPS 94, 99; Malov 154; ÖjHa. 10; Rass. 73, 159; Räs. VEWT 58 a; StachM GJV 43; Tenišev 434, 437; Tenišev SJ 195.

The word *maka* 'frog' also in a *fig.* sense of 'a men of short stature' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, however in some of them with a different meaning, cf.: Kar. (T, H) *baga* 'frog' but also 'snail'; Uig. *baka* 'mole'.

ögüz (K-B) '1. vol; 2. verzila' (KBRS 274); *ögüz* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'byk, vol' (Boz. 182); *ögüz*, *jögüz* (*ögű̈z*, auch *jögű̈z*; K) 'Ochs' (Pr K 127); *ögüz* 'id.' (Pr B 248) < PT **(h)öküz* (< **(h)ökür*) (Räs. VEWT 370 b); cf.: OT *ögüz*, *öküz*; Kum. *ögüz*; Az. *öküz*; Tur. *öküz*; Gag. *jöküz*; Kar. (Cr.) *ögüz*, (H) *egiz*, (T) *öǵuź*; Tat. (Cr.) *öküz*, Tat. (Ur.) *ögüz*; Tat. *ügïz*; *ügez* (Eg. 48); Čuv. *văkăr*, dial. *măkăr*; Bašk. *ügïz*; *ügez* (Eg. 48); Kaz., *ögiz*; Kklp. *ögiz*; *ogiz* (Eg. 48); Nog. *ögiz*; Kir. *ögüz*; Trkm. *hökiz*, *öküz*; Uz. *hokiz*; *hukiz* (Eg. 48); Uig. *hoküz* (Eg. 48),

höküz; Lob. *ögüs*; Y. Uig. *kʿus*; Yak. *ogus*. – Lit.: DTS 382, 383; Eg. 48; ÈSTJa I 521; KRPS 437, 653; Malov 152; Podolsky 16; Räs. VEWT 370 b; Tenišev SJ 189.

The word *ögüz* 'ox' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT two forms were registered: *ögüz*, *öküz*. According to Egorov this can be an onomatopoeic word. According to Ščerbak this is one of the Indo-European loanwords, cf. Eg. 48. Räsänen suggests its development < **(h)ököŕ*, cf. Räs. VEWT 370 b.

sïjïr (K-B) 'korova' (KBRS 582) < PT **sïgïr* (ESG); cf.: OT *sïgïr*; Kum. *sïjïr*; Khal. *sïgïr*; Tur. *sïgïr*; Kar. (Cr.) *sïgïr*, (H, T) *sïgïr*, *sïjïr*; Tat. (Kaz.) *sïjïr*; Tat. (Ur.) *sïjïr*; Kaz., Nog. *sïjïr*; Trkm. *sïgïr*; Uig. *sigir*; Uz. *sigir*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 261; Doerfer LSCh 67, 309; DTS 502; JUFD 232; KRPS 488, 490; Podolsky 20; Räs. VEWT 424 b.

The word *sïjïr* 'cow' has its equivalents in several modern Turkic languages. It was registered in OT in the form *sïgïr*.

tartar (K) '1. korosteľ, dergač; 2. *per.* zamoryš' (KBRS 606); *tartar* (*tʿartʿár*; K) 'Wachtel' (Pr K 137) < PT **tartar*; cf.: OT *tartar*; Tat. (Kaz.) *tartar*; Kaz. *tartar*; Šor. *tartal*. – Lit.: DTS 539; Räs. VEWT 465 b.

This word denoting 'corncrake; quail' is confirmed by MK with the meaning 'a small bird similar to a ring-dove'. In a few Turkic languages the word or its equivalent denotes 'quail'.

tawuk (K-B) '1. kurica; 2. v nazvanijax ptic' (KBRS 611); *taūk* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'kurica, ptica' (Boz. 185); *taʾuk* (*tʿaʾuq*; K) 'Huhn' (Pr K 137); *taʾuk*, *taʾux*, *taʾug* (*taʾúq*, *taʾux*, *taʾúγ*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 258) < PT **taguk* (ESG); cf.: OT *taguk*, *takuk*, *takagu*, *takïgu*; Kum. *tavuk*; Az. *tojug*; Tur. *tavuk*; Kar. (Cr.) *tavuk*, (H) *tawuk*, (T) *tavux*; Tat. *tavïk*; Tat. (Ur.) *taux*; Čuv. *čăxă*, *čăx*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp. *tauïk*; Nog. *tavïk*; Kir. *tōk*; Trkm. *tavïk*; *tovuk* (Eg. 321); Uz. *tovuk*; Uig. *toxu*, *tavuk*, *toxa*; Sal. *tōgo*, *tox*, *tux*; Y. Uig. *takakï*; Alt. *takā*; Khak. *tagax*; Tuv. *dagā*; Tof. *takïńak*; Šor. *taŋak*. – Lit.: DTS 527, 536; Eg. 321; JUFD 234, 241; KRPS 504, 505; Podolsky 23; Rass. 233; Räs. VEWT 457 a; Tenišev 512, 518, 525.

The word *tawuk* 'hen' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT the following forms were registered: *taguk*, *takuk*, *takagu*, *takïgu*.

teke (K-B) 'koziol' (KBRS 617); *teke* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'kozel' (Boz. 185); *teke* (*tʿekʿe*; K) 'Ziegenbock' (Pr K 137) < PT **täkä* (ESG); cf.: OT *tekä*; Kum. *teke*; Tur. *teke*; Kar. (Cr.) *teke*, (H) *tege*, (T) *ťeǵa*; Tat. *käžä täkäse*; Čuv. *taka*; Bašk. *harïk täkähe*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *teke*; Uig. *täkä*; Lob. *teke*; Oir. *teke*; Tuv. *dege*; Šor. *tägä*. – Lit.: DTS 550; Eg. 228; JUFD 237; KRPS 520, 560, 562; Malov 171; Räs. VEWT 470 a, b; YRh. 1127.

The lexeme *teke* 'he-goat, billy goat' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages. In Čuv. *taka* 'ram'. In OT the word was confirmed.

tijin (*tʿijín*; K) 'eine Art Marder' (Pr K 139) < PT < **tägiŋ*; cf.: OT *tejiŋ*, *tegiŋ* (MK); Tur. dial. *dejin* (DS); Kar. (T) *dīn*, *dijin*, (H) *dijik*; Tat. *tijīn*; *tijen* (Rass. 173); Bašk. *tin*, *tījīn*; *tejen* (Rass. 173); Kaz. *tijīn*; *tiin* (Rass. 173), *tijïn*; Kklp., Kir. *tijïn*; Uz., Uig. *tijin*; Lob. *tīn*; Alt. *tijiŋ*, *tijin*; Khak. *tīn*, *tīŋ*; Tuv. *dīŋ*; Tof. *dīŋ*; Šor. *tiŋ*; Yak. *tīŋ*; – Lit.: DTS 548, 549; ÈSTJa III 180; KRPS 177; Rass. 173; StachM GJV 61.

The word *tijin* in K denotes 'marten'. OT sources also registered the word in the forms: *tejiŋ*; *tegiŋ* (MK), however *tejiŋ* 'squirrel' and in MK *tegiŋ* 'sable'. At present there are equivalents of the word in other Turkic languages, however in some of them with a different meaning, e.g.: Kar. (T) *dijin* 'lizard'; in Kir., Kaz., Kklp., Tat., Bašk., Uig., Uz. apart from the meaning 'squirrel' there is another meaning 'a small coin'.

toŋuz (K-B) 'svińja' (KBRS 645); *toŋuz* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 186); *toŋŋuz* (*tʿoŋŋúz*; K) 'wildes Schwein' (Pr K 139); *toŋŋuz* (B) 'Schwein' (Pr B 261) < PT **toŋaz* < **toŋuŕ* (Räs. VEWT 488 b); cf.: OT *toŋuz*; Kum. *donguz*; Az. *donuz*; Khal. *toŋuz*, *doŋguz*; Tur., Gag. *domuz*; Kar. (Cr.) *domuz*, *domïz*, (H) *tonguz*, *domuz*, (T) *tonguz*, *toŋguz*, *donguz*; Tat. (Ur.) *domuz*; Tat. *duŋgïz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *doŋïz*; Kir. *doŋuz*; Trkm. *doŋïz*; Uz. *tongiz*; Uig. *toŋguz*; Lob. *toŋuz*, *toŋus*; Sal. *tonïs*, *toŋas*; Y. Uig. *toŋïs*, *tovïs*; Alt. *toŋïs*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 71, 72, 285, 314; DTS 575; ÈSTJa III 267; KRPS 179, 538; Malov 174; Podolsky 9; Räs. VEWT 488 b; Tenišev 514; Tenišev SJ 213, 214.

The word *toŋuz* 'pig' registered in OT has current equivalents in other Turkic languages.

torgaj (K-B) 'žavoronok' (KBRS 646) < PT **tōrkaj*; cf.: OT *torïga*, *turïga*; Az. *toragaj*; Tur. (dial.) *torgaj*; Kar. (Cr., T) *torgaj*, (H) *turgaj*; Tat. (Ur.) *torgaj*; Tat. *turgaj*; Čuv. *tări*; Bašk. *turgaj*; Kaz., Kklp. *torgaj*; Kir. *torgoj*; Trkm. *torgaj*; Uz. *turgaj*; Uig. *torgaj*; Lob. *tojgoj*; Alt. (V) *pos-torkoj*; Khak. *torgaj*; *pos-targaj* (Räs. VEWT 490 a); Yak. *tujār*. – Lit.: DTS 578, 587; Eg. 239; KRPS 539, 547; Malov 173; Podolsky 24; Räs. VEWT 490 a; StachM GJV 36; YRh. 1183.

The word *torgaj* in K-B denoting 'lark' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In some of them, however, (Tat. (Ur.), Kar. (Cr., H, T), Bašk.) it denotes 'sparrow'. In OT there were forms *torïga* ~ *turïga* registered. Egorov suggests the origin of the word from the verbal basis *tur-* 'to stand' (cf. Eg. 239).

turna (K-B) 'žuravl' (KBRS 652); *turna* (*tʿurna*; K) 'Kranich' (Pr K 140) < PT **turuŋa*; cf.: OT *turna* (MK), *turuɟaja*; *turuŋaja* (Gab.); Kum. *turna*; Az. *durna*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H) *turna*; Tat. *tŭrna*; *torna* (Eg. 239); Čuv. *tărna*; Bašk. *tŭrna*; *torna* (Eg. 239); Kaz., Kklp. *tïrna*; Nog. *turna*; Kir. *turna*, *turuna*; Trkm. *durna*; Uz., Uig. *turna*; Lob. *tujna*; Sal. *tïrna*; Alt., Khak. *turna*; Tuv. *duruja*; Tof. *duruɟa*; Šor. *turna*; Yak. *turuja*. – Lit.: DTS 588; Eg. 239; ÈSTJa III 301; Gab. 344; KRPS 548; Malov 176; Rass. 176; Räs. VEWT 501 a.

Turna 'crane' has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages. In OT three forms were registered: *turuŋaja*, *turuɟaja*, *turna*. Egorov suggests its onomatopoeic origin.

tüje (K-B) 'verbljud' (KBRS 667); *tüje* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 187); *tewe* (Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (ibid. 185); *tüje* (*tᶜüjé*; K) 'Kameel' (Pr K 141) < PT **tevä*, *tebä*; cf.: OT *tebä*, *tevä*, *teväj*, *tevi*, *devä*; Kum. *tüje*, *tuje*; Az. *devä*, *dävä*; Khal. *dövä*, *tävä*, *täväj*; Tur. *deve*; Gag. *devä*; Kar. (Cr.) *deve*, *tüje*, (H) *teve*, (T) *teva*; Tat. (Ur.) *deve*; Tat. (Cr.) *deve*; Tat. *dŭjä*; *döja* (Eg.244); Čuv. *tĕve*; Bašk. *dŭjä*; *döja* (Eg. 244); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tüje*; Kir. *tŏ*; Trkm., Trukh. *düje*; Uz. *tuja*; Uig. *tögä*; Lob. *tögä*, *tögö*; Sal. *tᶜovä*, *tove*, *töje*, *tŏje*, *töüvä*, *tŏuvü*, *tuvä*, *tüvi*; Y. Uig. *te*, *ti*; Alt. *tŏ*; Khak. *tibe*; Tuv. *teve*, *tᶜewe*; Tof. *tebe*; Šor. *tŏ*; Yak. *taba*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 65, 313; DTS 160, 546, 557; Eg. 244; ÈSTJa III 313; KRPS 183, 520, 553, 560; Malov 175; Podolsky 9; Rass. 233; Räs. VEWT 468 a; SKT 178; Tenišev 517, 519, 521, 527; Tenišev SJ 213.

The K-B word *tüje* 'camel' has equivalents in many Turkic languages with the same meaning. In Yak. *taba* 'deer'. In OT sources there were the following forms: *tebä*, *tevä*, *teväj*, *tevi*, *devä*.

tülkü (K-B) '1. lisa; 2. *per.* lisa, xitrec' (KBRS 672); *tülkü* (B. dial.: Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'lisa' (Boz. 187); *tülkü* (*tᶜülkᶜü*; K) 'Fuchs' (Pr K 141); *tülkü* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 263) < PT **tülki*, **tülkü* (ESG); cf.: OT *tülki*, *tilki*, *tilkü*; Az. *tulku*, *tülkü*; Khal. *tulki*, *tülkü*; Tur. *tilki*; Kum. *tulku*; Kar. (Cr., H) *tilki*, (T) *tulʹku*; Tat. (Ur.) *tulkü*, *tiltï*; Tat. *tölke*; Čuv. *tilĕ*; Bašk. *tölkö*; Kaz. *tülki*, *tülkü*; Kklp. *tülki*; Nog. *tülkü*; Kir. *tülkü*, *tulku*; Trkm. *tilgi*, *tilki*; Trukh. *tilki*; Uz. *tulki*; Uig. *tülkä*; Lob. *tülkö*, *tülkü*, *tölkö*; Sal. *tüligu*, *tülugo*, *tülügü*; Y. Uig. *tᶜulkï*, *tolkï*, *tokï*; Alt. *tülkü*; Khak. *tülgü*; Tuv. *dilgi*; Tof. *dilgi*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 265; Doerfer LSCh 72, 314; DTS 561, 596; Eg. 251; KRPS 528, 570; Malov 175, 178; Podolsky 23, 25; Rass. 173; Räs. VEWT 480 b; SKT 181; Tenišev 526; Tenišev SJ 213.

Tülkü 'fox' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the following forms were registered: *tülki*, *tilki*, *tilkü*. Egorov claims that Bang, Ščerbak and Kononov etymologize the word from *tükli* 'fluffy', cf. Eg. 251.

uku (B) 'sova' (KBRS 680); *uku* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'id.' (Boz. 188); *uku* (*uqú*; B) 'Eule' (Pr B 264 < PT **ügü*, **ügi* (ESG); cf. OT *ügi*, *ügü*, *ühi*; Tur. (dial.) *ügü*; Tat. (Tüm.) *ögö*; Čuv. *ŭxĕ*; Kaz. *üki*, *ükü*; Kklp. *uki*; Trkm. *hüvi*; Uz. *ukki*; Uig. *ükä*; Kir. *ükü*; Khak., Tuv. *ügü*; Šor. *ugu*. – Lit.: DTS 622, 623; Eg. 282; Räs. VEWT 519 b; YRh. 1207.

The word *uku* 'owl' has equivalents in several Turkic languages with the meaning 'eagle owl, owl'. In MK there were the following forms: *ügi*, *ügü*, *üki*. Egorov suggests an onomatopoeic origin for the word, cf. Eg. 282.

1.5. Insects

bit (K-B) 'voš' (KBRS 149); *bit* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk, Čeg.) 'voš' (Boz. 168); *bit* (K) 'Laus' (Pr K 93); *bit* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 209) < PT: **bīt* ~ **bit*; cf.: OT *bit*; Kum., Az. *bit*; Khal. *biˑt*; Tur., Gag. *bit*; Kar. (H) bit, (T) *bit*, *bit́*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Tat. *bĭt*; Čuv. *pĭjtă*; Bašk. *bĭt*; Kaz., Kklp., Kir. *bit*; Nog. *bijt*; Trkm., Trukh., Uz. *bit*; Uig. *pišt*, *pijt*; Lob. *pit*; Sal. *pist*, *pit*, *pičt*; Y. Uig. *pĭšt*; Alt. *pit*, *bijt*; Khak. *pit*; Tuv. *bït*; Šor. *pit*; Yak. *bït*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; Doerfer LSCh 84, 281; DTS 103; Eg. 172; ÈSTJa II 151; KRPS 123, 125; ÖjHa. 31; Podolsky 5; SKT 177 ; Tenišev SJ 198.

Bit 'louse' is both known in Old Turkic and in modern Turkic languages (in some of them there are phonetic variants). In some languages in anlaut the alternation *b-* ~ *p-* is observed.

bürče (K-B) 'bloxa' (KBRS 177); *bürče* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 169); *bürče* (K) 'Floh' (Pr K 96); *bürce*, *bürcö* (*bürcé*, *bürcő*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 212) < PT **bürgä* (ESG); cf.: OT *bürgä* (MK); Kum. *bürče*; Az. *birä*; Khal. *birä*, *bürä*; Tur. *pire*; Gag. *pire*; Kar. (Cr.) *bürčä*, *bïrčä*, *burača*, *pirä*, (H) *bircä*, (T) *birć́a*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *birčä*; Tat. *bŭrčä*; Čuv. *părśa*; Bašk. *bŭrsä*; Kaz., Kklp. *bürge*; Nog. *bürše*; Kir. *bürgö*; Trkm. *büre*; Uz. *burgä*; Uig. *bürgä*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 83, 280; DTS 133; Eg. 149; ÈSTJa II 298; KRPS 122, 141, 144, 146, 447; Podolsky 5; Räs. VEWT 92 b.

Bürče 'flea' is known among modern Turkic languages (however not in all of them). In these languages it appears in several phonetic variants. The earliest record which registers the word in the form *bürgä* is MK, however the meaning given is not only 'flea', but also the figurative 'fidget', cf. DTS 133.

čibin (K-B) 'muxa' (KBRS 733); *čibin* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 191); *čibin* (*čᶜibín*; K) 'Fliege' (Pr K 98); *cibin* (*cibín*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 214) < PT **čibin* ~ **čibun*; cf.: OT *čibin*, *čigün*, *čïbun*; Kum., Tur. *gibin*; Kar. (Cr.) *čïbïn*, (H) *cibin*, (T) *čibin*; Tat. (Ur.) *čibin*; Tat. (Kaz.) *čäbin*; Kaz. *šïbïn*; Trkm. *čĭbïn*; Oir. *čïmïn*, *čümüŋ*; Šor. *šïbïn*. – Lit.: DTS 145, 147; KRPS 613, 628, 634; Podolsky 7; Räs. VEWT 110 a; YRh. 228.

The word *čibin* 'fly' is registered in OT in several phonetic forms and it has its equivalents at present in a few Turkic languages.

köbelek (*kᶜöbelék*; K) 'Falter, Schmetterling' (Pr K 110) < PT **köpäli*; cf.: OT *kebäli*, *kepäli*; Kum. *gümelek*; Az. *käpänäk*; Tur., Gag. *kelebek*; Kar. (Cr.) *köbelek*, (H) *kebelek*, (T) *keb́lak*; Tat., Bašk. *kübäläk*; Kklp. *göbelek*, *gübelek*; Trkm. *kebelek*; Uz. *käpäläk*; Uig. *kepïläk*; Kir. *köpölök*; Nog. *küpelek*; Lob. *kepenek*; Y. Uig. *kᶜelegi*; Alt. *közölök*; Khak. *xubanax*, *xonax*; Tuv. *xowagan*; Šor. *xonax*. – Lit.: DTS 290, 300; ÈSTJa V 13; KRPS 300; Malov 134; Räs. VEWT 291 b; Tenišev SJ 188.

The word *köbelek* 'butterfly' has its equivalents in some Turkic languages. OT sources registered the following forms: *kebäli*, *kepäli*. According to ÈSTJa V 14 the etymology is vague.

kumursxa (K-B) 'muravej' (KBRS 422); *kumurčxa*, *kumursxa* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'id.' (Boz. 179); *kumursxa* (*qᶜumursxa*; K) 'Ameise' (Pr K 121); *kumurcxa* (*kumurcxá*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 240) < PT **kumïrtkač*; cf.: OT *kumursga*, *komursga*; Kar. (Cr.) *kïmïrsak*, *kumuska*, *kïrmïska*, *kïmska*, (H) *kumurstka*, (T) *kumurstka*, *kumurstxu*; Tat. (Kaz.) *kïrmïska*; Kaz. *komurska*; Nog. *kurïmïska*, *kumïrïska*; Kir. *kumurska*; Khak. *xïmïsxa*; Tuv. *kïmïskajak*; Šor. *kïmïrtaš*; Yak. *kïmïrdaγas* ~ *kïmïndaγas*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 253; DTS 455; KRPS 346, 374, 380, 381; Räs. VEWT 300 b; StachM GJV 119; Sul. Kkar. 91.

The K-B word *kumursxa* 'ant' has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages. The structure shows its compound character, however the etymology is vague. In OT there were registered forms: *kumursga*, *komursga*.

kurt (K-B) '1. červ, červjak, 2. ličinka' (KBRS 425); *kurt* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'červjak' (Boz. 179); *kurt* (*qᶜurt*; K) 'Wurm' (Pr K 121); *kurt* (*qurt*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 241) < PT **kūrt*; cf.: OT *kurt*; Kum. *xurt*; Az. *gurd*; Khal. *kūrt*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kurt*; Tat. (Ur.) *xurt*; Tat. *kort*; Čuv. *xurt*; Bašk. *kort*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kurt*; Trkm. *gurt*; Uz. *kurt*; Uig. *kurut*; Lob. *kujt*; Y. Uig. *kᶜurt*; Alt. *kurt*; Khak. *xurt*; Tuv. *kurt*; Tof. *kurt*; Yak. *kurdaγa*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 85; 307; DTS 468; Eg. 309; JUFD 212; KRPS 348, 375; Malov 130; Podolsky 31; Rass. 222; Sul. Kkar. 91; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev SJ 204.

The lexeme *kurt* 'worm, insect' was registered in OT and it also has its equivalents at present in other Turkic languages.

küje (K-B) 'mol' (KBRS 361); *küje* (*kᶜüjé*; B) 'Motte' (Pr K 112); *küje* (*küjé*; B) 'Motte, kleine Punkte, welche auf Haarbänder gemalt werden' (Pr B 231) < PT **küjä* (ESG); cf.: OT *küjä*; Kum. *güje*; Az. *küvä* (Eg. 103); *güvä*; Tur. *güve*; Gag. *güvä*; Kar. (Cr.) *küje*, *güja*, (H) *give*, *gije*, (T) *ǵuv́a*; Tat. *küjä*; *koja* (Eg. 103); Čuv. *kĕve*; Bašk. *küjä*; *köjä* (Eg. 103); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *küje*; Kir. *kübö*; Trkm. *güje*; Uz. *kuja*; Uig. *küjä*; Lob. *küjä*; Alt. (V) *kuja*; Alt. *küje*; Khak. *kū*; Šor. *kuja*; Yak. *köjür*, *küjür*. – Lit.: DTS 325; Eg. 103; ÈSTJa III 94; KRPS 352; Räs. VEWT 297 a.

The word *küje* 'moth' was registered in OT; also known in other Turkic languages. In some of them it appears in phonetic variants.

sirke (K-B) '1. gnida, 2. *med.* ekzema' (KBRS 561) < PT **sirkä* (ESG); cf.: OT *sirkä*; Az. *sirkä*; Tur. *sirke*; Kar. (Cr.) *sirke*, (T) *sirḱa*; Tat. *serkä*; Čuv. *šărka*; Bašk. *herkä*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sirke*; Uz. *sirka*; Uig. *sirkä*; Alt. (V.) *sirke*, *sirge*, *sirgi*; Khak. *sirge*; Tuv. *sirge*. – Lit.: DTS 501; Eg. 335; KRPS 475; Räs. VEWT 423 b.

The word *sirke* '1. nit; 2. eczema' was registered by MK and at present it has equivalents in several other Turkic languages. Egorov compares Čuv. *šărka* with Persian *serkä* 'vinegar', cf. Eg. 335. On the other hand Räsänen compares the word *sirke* with Mongolian *sirke* 'rote Läuse', cf. Räs. VEWT 423 b.

1.6. Some terms referring to animals

ağir (K-B) '1. žerebec; 2. zloj' (KBRS 25); *ažir*, *azir* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg. (*ažir*) 'žerebec' (Boz. 164); *ağir* (*ăžír* ;K) 'Hengst' (Pr K 90); *azïr* (*azı́r*; B) 'Hengst' (Pr B 205) < PT **aδgïr*; cf.: OT *adgïr*; Az. *ajgïr*; Tur. *ajgïr*; Kar. (H., Cr.) *ajgïr*; Tat. (Cr.) *ajgïr*; Čuv. *ăjăr*; Bašk. *ajgïr*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. Kir., Trkm. *ajgïr*; Uz., Uig. *ajgir*; Uig. *argij*; Lob. *ajgïj*; Y. Uig. *azgïr*; Alt. *ajgïr*; Khak. *asxïr*; Tuv. *askïr*; Tof. *asker*; Yak. *atīr*. – Lit.: DTS 10; Bask. JpU 40; Eg. 39; ÈSTJa I 107; KRPS 52; Malov 81; ÖjHa. 10, 67; StachM GJV 99; Tenišev SJ 174.

The word has equivalents both in Old Turkic and modern Turkic languages. Mainly it has the meaning 'colt', however in some languages (Yak., Čuv., Trkm. dialects) it is also used with different meanings, cf. ÈSTJa I 107.

bajtal (K-B) 'kobyla, kobylica' (KBRS 114); *bajtal* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'kobyla' (Boz. 166); *bajtal* (*bajtʿál*; K) 'Stute' (Pr K 91); *bajtal* (*bajtál*; B) 'Stute' (Pr B 205) < PT **bajtal* (ESG); cf.: Kum., Az. dial., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr.), Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig. *bajtal*; Alt. *bajtal*, *pajtal*; Yak. *bajtasïn ~ bājtasïn*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa II 36; Räs. VEWT 57 b.

The word *bajtal* with the meaning 'mare' is known also in other Turkic languages with the same meaning.

buzow (K-B) 'teljonok' (KBRS 166); *buzou* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'telenok' (Boz. 168); *buzou* (*buzóu*; K) 'Kalb' (Pr K 96); *buzou* (*buzóu*; B) 'kleines Kalb, Sangkalb' (Pr B 212) < PT **bïzaγu* (Räs. VEWT 74b); cf.: OT *buzagu*; Kum. *buzaw*; Az. *buzov*; Tur. *buzagï*; Gag. *buza*; Kar.(Cr.) *bïzuw*, *buzuv*, (H, T) *buzov*; Tat. (Cr.) *buzav*; Tat. (Ur.) *buzov*; Tat. *bŭzaw*; Čuv. *păru*; Bašk. *bïzaw*; Kaz. *bŭzaw*; Kklp., Nog. *buzaw*; Kir. *muzō*; Uz. *buzok*; Uig. *mozaj*, *bozō*; Lob. *muzaj*, *buzu*; Sal. *puzo*, *pūzï*; Alt. *puza*, *bïza*, *pïza*, *pozu*, *bozu*; Khak. *pïzo*; Tuv. *bïzā*; Šor. *puza*; cf. Yak.: *burgunas* 'eine junge Kuh, eine dreijährige Kuh, die noch nicht gekalbt hat' (ÖjHa. 38); also cf. *boruosku*, *torbos* 'teljonok' (Eg. 149). – Lit.: DTS 130; Eg. 149; ÈSTJa II 239; KRPS 137, 145; Malov 95, 145; ÖjHa. 38; Podolsky 6; Tenišev 457.

This common word denoting 'calf' appears in Turkic languages in different phonetic variants. It was already known in OT.

ğal (K-B) 'griva' (KBRS 219); *zalka* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'griva' (Boz. 173); *ğal* (*žal*; K) 'Mähne' (Pr K 145); *zalka* (*zalqá*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 268) < PT **θāl* (Šč.196); **jāl* (StachM GJV 40); cf.: OT *jal*; Kum., Az. *jal*; Khal. *jāl*; Tur. *jal*, *jele*; Gag. *jelä*; Kar. (Cr.) *jal*, (H) *jala*; Tat. *jal*; Čuv. *śilxe*; Bašk. *jal*; Kaz., Kklp.

žal; Nog. *jal*; Kir. *ǧal*; Trkm. *jāl*; Uz. *jol*; Uig. *jal*; *jajla* (Eg. 213); Lob. *jal*; Sal. *jalu*, *jaloï*; Alt. *ďal*; Khak. *čilĭn*; Tuv. *čel*; Tof. *čal*; Šor. *čal*; Yak. *sāl*, *siäl*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 109, 317; DTS 227; Eg. 213; ÈSTJa IV 85; KRPS 220; Malov 117; Rass. 194; StachM GJV 40; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 344; YRh. 1238, 1251.

The word *ǧal* in K-B denotes 'mane (of a horse)'. It was registered in OT and at present it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In some languages we can come across the phonetic and semantic differentiation of those lexemes, cf.: Yak. *sāl* '1. Kammfett; 2. Nackenmähne' but *siäl* 'Mähne' (StachM GJV 40).

ǧarï (K-B) 'koža; ovčina bez šersti' (KBRS 233) < PT **jag(ï)r-ï*; cf.: Kum. *jarï*; Tat., Bašk., Trkm. *jarï*; Alt. *jarā*; Šor. *čarïg*; Yak. *sar*; cf. also Tur. *jagïr* 'withers of a horse'. – Lit.: ÈSTJa IV 146; StachM GJV 20; YRh. 1235.

The word *ǧarï* 'skin; skin without fur' has its equivalents only in a few Turkic languages. The etymology is unclear. Stachowski suggests **jag(ï)r-ï* as the archetype, cf. StachM GJV 20.

ǧelin (K-B) 'vymja' (KBRS 241); *ǧelin* (*ǯelín*; K) 'Euter' (Pr K 147); *zelin* (*zelín*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 271) < PT **jelin* (ESG); cf.: OT *jelin*; Kum. *jelin*; Az. *jelin*; Tur. dial., Gag. *jelin*; Tat. *ǧilĭn*; *želen* (Eg. 213); Čuv. *śilĕ*; Bašk. *jĭlĭn*; *jelen* (Eg. 213); Kaz., Kklp. *želĭn*; Nog. *jelin*; Kir. *ǧelin*; *želin* (Eg. 213); Trkm. *jelin*; Uz. *jelin*; Uig. *jelin*, *jilim*, *žilim*; Alt. *ďeli*, *jelin*; Khak. *čilin*; Yak. *silin*. – Lit.: DTS 254; Eg. 213; ÈSTJa IV 180; Bask. JpU 42; Räs. VEWT 196 a.

The word *ǧelin* in K-B means 'udder'. It was known in MK in the form *jelin*. At present it has its equivalents in some Turkic languages with the same meaning. Its structure shows its derivational character perhaps from the verbal basis **jel-*, cf. ÈSTJa IV 180.

ǧïlkï (K-B) 'tabun' (KRPS 266); *zïlkï* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Kaš.), *zïlkï*, *žïlkï* (Baks.) 'tabun' (Boz. 173); *ǧïlkï* (*ǯĭlqʿĭ́*; K) 'Pferdenherde' (Pr K 148); *zïlkï* (*zĭlqĭ́*; B) 'Pferdeherde' (Pr B 273) < PT **jïlkï* (< **jïl*) (StachM GJV 93); cf.: OT *jïlkï*; Kum. *jïlkï*, *jilkï*; Khal. *jilki*; Tur. *jïlkï*; Kar. (Cr.) *jïlkï*; Tat. *jälkï*; Bašk. *jïlkï*; Kaz., Kklp. *žïlkï*; Nog. *jïlkï*; Kir. *ǧïlkï*; Trkm. *jïlkï*; Uz. *jil'ki*; Uig. *jilkï*, *ǧi(l)ka*; Lob. *ilkï*, *ilki*; Alt. *ďïlkï*; Khak., Tuv., Šor. *čïlgï*; Yak. *sïlgï*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 67, 318; DTS 267; JUFD 199; KRPS 264; Räs.VEWT 200b–201 a; StachM GJV 93; YRh. 1258.

In K-B the word *ǧïlkï* denotes 'herd of horses', whereas in other modern Turkic languages it can denote 'horse' (in Uig., Yak., Trkm., Nog.) or even 'ram' (in Khal.). As far as the structure of the word is concerned it is a derivative, however there are several notions regarding its etymology (cf. ÈSTJa IV 282). Räsänen considers this word as a specialized meaning of the adjective *jïlkï* 'year-old' in reference to a one year old horse, cf. Räs. VEWT 200b-201 a.

ǧumurtxa (K-B) 'jajco' (KBRS 258); *žumurtxa* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.), *ǧumurtxa* (Čeg.) 'jajco' (Boz. 172); *zumurtxa* (B) 'Ei' (Pr B 275) < PT

**jumurtga*; cf.: OT *jumurtga*, *jumurka*; Kum. *jïmïrtka*, *jïmurtka*; Az. *jumurta*; Khal. *jumurka*, *jumurta*, *numurka*, *numurta*, *numurtga*, *numurxta*; Tur. *jumurta*; Gag. *jïmmïrta*; Kar. (Cr.) *jumurta*, *jumïrta*, *jïmïrta*, *ïmïrtka*, (H) *jïmïrtka*, *jïmertka*, *jemertka*; (T) *imïrtxa*, *jumurtxa*, *jïmïrtxa*; Tat. (Ur.) *jïmïrta*; Tat. *jŭmïrka*; *jomïrka* (Eg. 207); Čuv. *śămarta*; Bašk. *jŭmŭrtka*; *jomortka* (Eg. 207); Kaz., Kklp. *žŭmïrtka*; Kir. *ğumurtka*; *žumurtka* (Eg. 207); Trkm. *jumurtga*; Uz. *jumurtka*; Sal. *jomurta*, *jumurta*, *jumuta*, *jumōtā*, *jumitta*; Alt. *jïmïrtka*, *ďïmïrtka*; Khak. *nïmïrxa*; Tuv. *čūrga*; Tof. *ńumurxa*; Yak. *sïmĭt*. – Lit.: Doerfer 82, 319; DTS 280; Eg. 207; ÈSTJa IV 250; KRPS 200, 258, 259, 266, 267, 271, 650; ÖjHa. 40; Podolsky 33; Rass. 210; Tenišev 362, 366, 367.

The word *ğumurtxa* 'egg' is very common in other Turkic languages, where it appears in different phonetic forms. In OT it was registered in the following forms: *jumurtga*, *jumurka*. Egorov (Eg. 207) considers the word 'round' as the derivational basis for this word. Clauson sees in the verb *jum-* 'to roll' the basis for this word which is a derivative from a semantic point of view, cf. ÈSTJa IV 251.

ğün (K-B) 'šersť, runo' (KBRS 271); *ğün* (*ǯün*; K) 'Wolle' (Pr K 150); *zün* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 275) < PT **θuŋ* ~ **θüŋ*; cf.: OT *jüŋ*, also *jük*; Kum. *jün*; Az. *jun*, *jün*; Khal. *juˈŋ*, *jüŋ*; Tur. *jün*; Gag. *jün*, *ün*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *jün*, *jun*; Tat. *jŭn*; *jon* (Eg. 207); Tat. (Ur.) *jun*; Čuv. *śăm*; Bašk. *jün*; *jön* (Eg. 206); Kaz., Kklp. *žün*; Nog. *jün*; Kir. *ğün*; *žün* (Eg. 207); Trkm. *jüŋ*; Uz. *žun*, *juŋ*; Uig. *juŋ*, *žuŋ*; Lob. *jun*, *juŋ*; Sal. *juŋ*, *joŋ*; Y. Uig. *jüŋ*, *jüg*; Alt. *ďuŋ*, *ďöŋ*; *ďum*, *ďïm* (Eg. 207); Khak. *nüŋ*; Tuv. *čüŋ*, *čüg*; Šor. *čū*, *čum*; Yak. *suŋ*, *suŋk*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 73, 319; DTS 285, 286; Eg. 206; ÈSTJa IV 267; JUFD 199; KRPS 259, 262; Malov 122; Podolsky 34; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 362, 366; Tenišev SJ 185.

The K-B word *ğün* 'fur; fell; wool' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, where they have a wider semantic range denoting also 'feather; down' and even 'cotton'. The OT sources registered the words *jüŋ* and *jük* with the following meanings: '1. feather; 2. fur; 3. cotton.'

in (K-B) 'nora' (KBRS 301) < PT **īn*; cf.: OT *in*, *jïn* ~ *jin*; Kum. *in*; Tur. *in*; Gag. *jin*; Kar. (H, T) *in*; Tat. *ön*; Čuv. *jĕnĕ*; Bašk. *ön*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *in*; Kir. *ijin*; Trkm. *xin*; Trukh. *ijn*; Uz., Uig. *in*; Sal. *oŋ*, *oŋa*; Khak. *in*. – Lit.: DTS 209, 261, 267; Eg. 79; KRPS 201; SKT 179; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 426.

The word *in* 'lair; haunt' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *in*, *jïn* ~ *jin* were registered.

kanat (K-B) '1. krylo; 2. pola; 3. kraj' (KBRS 386); *kanat* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'krylo' (Boz. 177); *kanat* (*qʿanát*; K) 'Flügel' (Pr K 115); *kanat* (*qanát*; B) 'Flügel, Feder' (Pr B 234) < PT **kānat*, **kāńat*; cf.: OT *kanat*; Kum. *kanat*; Az. *ganad*; Khal. *gänät*, *ganat*; Tur., Gag. *kanat*; Kar. (Cr., T, H) *kanat*; Tat. (Ur.) *xanat*; Tat. *kanat*; Čuv. *śunat*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kanat*; Trkm. *gānat*; Trukh. *kanat*; Uz. *kanot*; Uig. *kanat*; Lob. *kanat*; Sal. *kanat*; Y. Uig.

kanát, *kanat*, *kïjnat*; Alt. *kanat*; Khak. *xanat*; Tuv. *kanat*; Tof. *hanat*; Yak. *kïnat*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 81, 288; DTS 417-418; Eg. 218; ÈSTJa V 252; KRPS 289, 361; Malov 126; ÖjHa. 13; Podolsky 28; Rass. 186; Räs. VEWT 230 b; SKT 180; StachM GJV 30; Tenišev 460; Tenišev SJ 199.

The word *kanat* 'wing; flap' has its counterparts in numerous other Turkic languages. OT registered also the form *kanat*.

kančïk (K-B) 'samka, suka' (KBRS 388); *kančïk* (*qʿančĭq*; K) 'Leierkasten' (Pr K 115) < PT **kančïk* (ESG); cf.: OT *kančïk*; Kum. *kančïk*; Az. *gaŋgïg*; Tur. *kaŋgïk*; Gag. *kaŋgik*; Tat. dial. *kančïk*; Bašk. *kansïk*, *kansaj*; Kaz., Kklp. *kanšïk*; Nog. *kanžïk*; Kir. *kančïk*; Trkm. *gaŋgïk*; Uz. *kaŋgik*; Uig. *kaŋgik*. – Lit.: DTS 418; ÈSTJa V 255.

The K-B word *kančïk* 'bitch, female' has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages. The earliest record of this form comes from MK. The structure shows its derivational character, however the etymology has not been decisively established.

kašxa (K-B) '1. pleš, lysina' (KBRS 405); *kašxa* (B. dial.: Kaš.) 'beloje pjatno (zvezdočka) na lbu u lošadi' (Boz. 178); *kašxa* (*qʿašxa*; K) 'weisser Fleck an der Stirne von Tieren, Stern, Blässe' (Pr K 116); *kašxa* (*qašxá*; B) 'weisser Fleck an der Stirn von Tieren, Stern' (Pr B 236) < PT **kaška* (ESG); cf.: OT *kašga* (MK); Az. *gašga*; Tur. dial. *kaška* (DS); Tat. *kaška*; Čuv. *xuška*; Bašk. *kaška*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kaska*; Kir. *kaška*; Trkm. dial. *gašga*; Uz. *kaška*; Uig. *kaška*; Y. Uig. *kaska*; Khak. *xasxa*. – Lit.: DTS 431; Eg. 312; ÈSTJa V 350; Räs. VEWT 241 a.

The lexeme *kašxa* 'bald spot; blaze; star' has its equivalents in several Turkic languages. In some cases these forms have additionally another meaning than in K-B, cf. in Kir. 'clean, white'; in Kaz., Kklp. 'poor, unhappy'; in Uig. 'famous'. The form *kašga* was registered in MK.

kozu (K-B) 'jagnionok' (KBRS 408); *kozu* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'id.' (Boz. 179); *kozu* (*qʿozú*; K) 'Lamm' (Pr K 120); *kozu* (*qozú*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 239) < PT **kozï* (ESG); cf.: OT *kozï*, *kuzï*; Tur. *kozu*; Kar. (H, T) *kozu*; Nog. *kozï*; Lob. *kozu*; Y. Uig. *kozï*, *kozi*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 251; DTS 462, 475; Gab. 330; KRPS 329; Malov 128; Räs. VEWT 285 a; Tenišev SJ 200; YRh. 693.

The lexeme *kozu* 'lamb' has its counterparts in a few other Turkic languages. In OT sources the forms *kozï*, *kuzï* were registered.

kujruk (K-B) '1. xvost; 2. kurdjuk; 3. sedališče, zad; 4. zad, zadnaja čast' (KBRS 420); *kujruk* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'xvost' (Boz. 179); *kujruk* (*qʿujrúq*; K) 'Schwanz, Schweif' (Pr K 120); *kujruk*, *kujrux*, *kujrug* (*qujrúq*, *qujrúx*, *qujrúy*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 240) < PT **kuðrïk*; cf.: OT *kuðruk*, *kudruk*, *kuduruk*; Kum. *kujruk*; Az. *gujrug*; Khal. *kudruk*, *kurduk*; Tur. *kujruk*; Kar. (Cr.) *kujruk*, *kujrïk*, (H) *kujruk*, (T) *kujrux*; Tat. (Ur.) *xurjux*; Tat. *kojrïk*; Čuv. *xüre*

< dial. *xĕvre*; Bašk. *kojrok*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kujrïk*; Kir. *kujruk*; Trkm. *gujruk* (Eg. 313, Rass. 221); *kujrïk*; *kūrïk* (Räs. VEWT 296 b); Trukh., Uz., Uig. *kujruk*; Lob. *kujuk*, *kojug*; Sal. *kurux*; Y. Uig. *kuzuruk*; Alt. *kujruk*; Khak. *xuzurux*; Tuv. *kuduruk*; Tof. *kuduruk*; Šor. *kuzuruk*; Yak. *kuturuk*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Doerfer LSCh. 74, 307; DTS 463; Eg. 313; KRPS 344, 373; Malov 128, 130; ÖjHa. 39, 70; Podolsky 31; Rass. 221; Räs. VEWT 296 b; SKT 180; StachM GJV 121; Tenišev 397, 466; Tenišev SJ 201.

The word *kujruk* 'tail' has its equivalents in many other Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants). In OT: *kuðruk*, *kudruk*, *kuduruk* were registered.

müjüz (K-B) 'rog' (KBRS 478); *müjüz* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 180); *mügüz*, *müjüz* (*mügüz*, *müjüz*; K) 'Horn' (Pr K 124); *müjüz* (*müjüz*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 244) < PT **müŋüz*; cf.: OT *müŋüz*, *miŋiz*, *mügüz*, *müjüz*; Kum. *mujuz*; Az. *bujnuz*; Tur., Gag., Tat. (Cr.) *bojnuz*; Kar. (Cr.) *müŋüz*, *muŋuz*, (H) *miviz*, (T) *ṁuvuź*, *ṁuvuš́*, *ṁujuš́*; Tat. *mügïz*; *mögez* (Eg. 130); Čuv. *măjraka*; Bašk. *mügüz*; *mögöz* (Eg. 130); Kaz. *müjïz*; Kklp., Nog. *müjüz*, *müjiz*; Kir. *müjüz*; Trkm. *bujnuz*; Trukh. *bujunuz*; Uz. *muguz*; *mugiz* (Eg. 130); Uig. *müŋüz*, *müŋgüz*; *müŋgüs* (Eg. 130); Lob. *mügüs*, *müjüs*, *müjs*, *müs*, *müz*; Sal. *moŋas*, *moŋus*, *muŋas*, *muŋaz*; Y. Uig. *moŋus*; Alt. *müs*, *mūs*; Khak. *müs*; Tuv. *mïjïs*; Tof. *ṁīs*; Šor. *müs*; Yak. *muos*, *mojuos*, *müös*. – Lit.: DTS 345, 352, 354; Eg. 130; ÈSTJa II 243; KRPS 406, 411, 412, 416, 417; Malov 146; Rass. 207; Räs. VEWT 347 b; SKT 178; Tenišev 412, 413; Tenišev SJ 192.

Müjüz 'horn' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the following forms were registered: *müŋüz*, *miŋiz*, *mügüz*, *müjüz*.

taj (K-B) 'žerebionok' (KBRS 597); *taj* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'žerebenok' (Boz. 184); *taj* (*tʿaj*; K) 'Füllen' (Pr K 135); *taj* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 256) < PT **taj*; cf.: OT *taj*; Az. *dajča*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *taj*; Čuv. *tixa*; Bašk. *taj*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *taj*; Uz. *toj*, *tojča*, *tojčik*; Uig. *taj*, *tajčak*; Lob., Alt. (V) *taj*; Yak. *tïj*. – Lit.: DTS 527; Eg. 254; KRPS 505; Malov 166; Podolsky 23; Räs. VEWT 455 a; StachM GJV 20; Šč. SF 197.

The lexeme *taj* 'foal, colt' was registered in OT and it has its equivalents currently in some Turkic languages.

tana (K-B) 'telionok (od šesti mesjaca do goda)' (KBRS 602); *tana* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'telenok' (Boz. 185); *tana* (*taná*; B) 'ein einjähriges Kalb' (Pr B 256) < PT **tana* (ESG); cf.: Az., Tur. *dana*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *tana*; Čuv. *tĭna*; Bašk., Kir., Nog. *tana*; Trkm. *tāna*; Uz. *tana*; Lob. *tana*; Sal. *tana*, *tanū*; Tuv. *dönen*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 262; Eg. 268; KRPS 510; Malov 168; Podolsky 22; Räs. VEWT 460 b; Tenišev 500, 501.

The word *tana* 'calf; heifer' has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages with generally the same meaning. Egorov after Németh and Ščerbak

does not exclude its Old Indian origin, cf. Eg. 268. Räsänen, however, presents the notion of its Avestan origin, cf. Räs. VEWT 460 b.

tïrnak (K-B) '1. nogoť; 2. kogoť; 3. *ist.* železnyj sošnik; 4. *tex.* capfa, šip, vystup; 5. *ust.* kavyčki' (KBRS 663); *tïrnak* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'kogoť, nogoť' (Boz. 186); *tïrnak, tïrnax, tïrnag* (*tı̊rnáq, tı̊rnáx, tı̊rnáy*; B) 'Nagel, Klaue' (Pr B 260); *tïrnak* (*tᶜı̊rnáq*; K) 'id.' (Pr K 138) < PT **tïrïŋak* < **tïr-ïŋ-ak* (StachM GJV 95); cf.: OT *tïrŋak, tïŋrak, tïraŋak*; Kum. *tïrnak*; Az. *dïrnag*; Khal. *tïrnak*; Tur., Gag. *tïrnak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *tïrnak*, (T) *tïrnax*; Tat. (Cr.) *tïrnak*; Tat. (Ur.) *tïrnax*; Tat. *tïrnak*; Čuv. *černe*; Bašk. *tïrnak*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tïrnak*; Kir. *tïrmak, tïrnak*; Trkm. *dïrnak*; Uz. *tïrnok*; Uig. *tujnak, tï(r)nak, timak, tirmak*; Lob. *tïrmak, tijmak*; Sal. *tïrnax, cᶜïrnax*; Alt. *tïrmak*; Tuv. *dïrgak, tïrgak*; Khak. *tïrgax*; Tof. *dïrkak*; Yak. *tïŋïrax*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 54, 55, 74, 313; DTS 568, 569; Eg. 325; ÈSTJa III 348; KRPS 558; Malov 179; Podolsky 24; Rass. 179; StachM GJV 95; Tenišev 305, 529.

The word *tïrnak* '1. finger-nail; 2. hoof; 3. nail' has equivalents in numerous other Turkic languages. In OT the following forms were registered: *tïrŋak, tïŋrak* (with methathesis) and *tïraŋak*. The structure shows a derivational character probably < **tïr-* 'to scratch'.

tiši (K-B) 'samka, matka' (KBRS 638); *tiši* (Bal. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'samka' (Boz. 186); *tiši* (*tᶜiši*; K) 'weiblich, Weibchen' (Pr K 139); *tiši* (*tı̊šı̊*; B) 'Weibchen, weiblich' (Pr B 260) < PT **tïšï*; cf.: OT *tiši, tïšï*; Kum. *tiši*; Az. *diši*; Khal. *tiši*; Tur., Gag. *diši*; Kar. (Cr.) *tiši*, (T) *tiši, diši*, (H) *kiši, tisi*; Tat. (Cr.) *tiši*; Sal. *tiči*; Y. Uig. *tese*; Alt. *tiži, tïžï*; Khak. *tïzï*; Tuv. *diži*; Yak. *tïsï*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 181, 313; DTS 563, 569; ÈSTJa III 244; KRPS 178, 326, 531, 532; Räs. VEWT 482 a; Tenišev 509.

The lexeme *tiši* 'female; bitch' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, in Khal. and Kar. (H) also with the adjectival meaning 'female'. It was registered in OT in the forms *tiši, tïšï* .

tujak (K-B) 'kopyto' (KBRS 658); *tujak, tüjak, tüjax* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'kopyto' (Boz. 187); *tujak* (*tᶜujáq*; K) 'Huf' (Pr K 140); *tüjak, tüjax, tüjag* (*tüjáq, tüjáx, tüjáy*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 263) < PT **tuńak* (Räs. VEWT 499 b); cf.: OT *tujag* (MK); Tur. *dujnak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *tujak*, (T) *tujax*; Tat. (Ur.) *tujax*; Tat. (Kaz.) *töjak*; Bašk. *töjak*; Kaz. *tujak*; Trkm. *tojnak*; Y. Uig. *tïjïg*; Oir. *tïgak, tujgak*; Šor. *tïgak*; Yak. *tuj̵ax*. – Lit.: DTS 585; KRPS 545; Podolsky 25; Räs. VEWT 499 b; StachM GJV 30.

The word *tujak* 'hoof' registered by MK in the form *tujag* has its counterparts in several other Turkic languages with the same meaning.

tuwar (K-B) '1. [krupnyj, rogatyj] skot; skotina; 2. stado; 3. skot, skotina' (KBRS 656); *tūar* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš.) 'skot, životnoje' (Boz. 187) *tuʾar* (*tuʾár*: B) 'Rind, Vieh' (Pr B 262) < PT **tavar* (ESG); cf.: OT *tabar*,

tavar; Kum. *tuvar*, *tuwar*; Az. *dawar*, *tavar*; Tur. *davar*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tuvar*; Tat. (Ur.) *tvar*; Tat. *tŭwar*, *tuar*; *mal-tuar* (Eg. 227); Čuv. *tavar* (< Russ.); Bašk. *tawar*; *mal-tŭuar* (Eg. 227); Kklp. *tawar*; Nog. *tuwar*; Kir. *tabar*; *tubar* (Eg. 227); Trkm. *dowar*; *davar* (Eg. 227); Uz. *towar*; Uig. *tava(r)*; Y. Uig. *davar*, *tavar*, *tavar*; Alt. *tabar*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 264; DTS 526, 542; Eg. 227; ÈSTJa III 114; KRPS 542; Podolsky 25; Räs. VEWT 451 b; Tenišev SJ 178, 212.

The K-B *tuwar* denotes 'cattle'. In OT sources there were two forms: *tabar*, *tavar* meaning 'belongings, property'. At present in Uig. *tava(r)* 'silk; merchandise'; in some other languages (Čuv., Bašk., Tat., Kklp., Uz) the equivalents of the K-B *tuwar* denote 'article of trade'. In the rest of modern Turkic languages the meaning is the same as in K-B.

uja (K-B) 'gnezdo, nora; logovo' (KBRS 693); *uja*, *üja* (*uja*, *üjá*; K) 'Nest' (Pr K 142); *üja* (*üjá*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 266) < PT **(h)uja*; cf.: OT *uja*; Kum. *uja*; Az. *juva*, *uva*, *juja*; Tur., Gag. *juva*; Kar. (Cr.) *uja*; Tat. *oja*; Tat. (Ur.) *uja*; Čuv. *jăva*; Bašk. *oja*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *uja*; Uz. *uja*, *uva*; Uig. *uja*, *uga*, *uva*; Lob. *uja*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof. *uja*; Yak. *uja*. – Lit.: DTS 607; Eg. 73; KRPS 575; Malov 180; ÖjHa. 39; Podolsky 27; Rass. 236; Räs. VEWT 511 a.

The lexeme *uja* 'nest; burrow' registered in OT at present has equivalents in other Turkic languages.

1.7. Plants and words referring to them

agač (K-B) 'I. 1. derevo, 2. brevno ' (KBRS 19); *agac* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.), *agač* (Baks.) 'drova, stvol, derevo, kustarnik, les' (Boz. 163); *agač* (*aɣáč*; K) 'Baum, Holz, Gehölz, Wald' (Pr K 85); *agac* (*aɣác*; B) 'Holz, Baumstanm; Gehölz, Wald' (Pr B 198) < PT **aŋač*; cf.: OT *ïgač*; Kum. *agač*; Az. *agağ*; Khal. *hagač*; Tur. *agač*; Gag. *āč*; Kar. (T., Cr.) *agač*; Tat (Cr., Ur.) *agač*; Čuv. *jĭvăś*; Bašk. *agas*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *agaš*; Kir. *ğïgač*; Trkm. *agač*; Uz. *jogoč*; Uig. *jagač*; Y. Uig. *jïgaš*; Alt. *agaš*; Lob. *jïgač*, *jïgaš*; Sal. *agač*, *āgaš*, *agas*, *agïs*; Khak. *agas*; Tuv. *ïjaš*; Tof. *ńeš*; Šor. *agaš*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 86, 87, 127, 291; Eg. 83; ÈSTJa I 71; Gab. 309; KRPS 43; Malov 122; Podolsky 1; Rass. 209; Räs. VEWT 7 b; Sul. Kkar. 48; Tenišev 280, 282; Tenišev SJ 184.

The word is widely known among other modern Turkic languages where it appears in some phonetic variants mainly with the meaning 'tree, timber, bush, wood'. With such the meaning the word was known in Old Turkic.

alma (K-B) 'jabloko' (KBRS 54); *alma* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'jabloko' (Boz. 164); *alma* (*almá*; K) 'Apfel' (Pr K 87); *alma* (*almá*; B) 'Apfel' (Pr B 201) < PT **alïmla* (ESG); cf.: OT *alïmla* (MK), *alma*; Kum. *alma*; Az. *alma*; Khal. *alumla*; Tur. *elma*; Gag. *alma*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *alma*; Čuv. *ulma*; Bašk, Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *alma*; Uz. *olma*; Uig. *alma*; Lob. *alma*; Sal. *alima*; Y. Uig. *alma*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 90, 277; DTS 35, 36; Eg. 273; ÈSTJa I 138; KRPS 65; Podolsky 1; Räs. VEWT 18 a; Tenišev 286.

The word denoting 'apple' is widely known both in OT and modern Turkic languages. Some languages register the forms: *alima* (Sal.); *alumla* (Khal.).

andïz, ïndïz (K) 'devjasil' (KBRS 65, 758) < PT **aŋdïz* (ESG); cf.: OT *aŋduz*; Tur. *andïz*; Tur. dial. *anduz*; Tat. (Cr.) *andïz*; Bašk. *andïz*; Kaz. *andïz, anžï*; Kklp. *andïz*; Nog. *andïz*. – Lit.: DTS 47; ÈSTJa I 150; Räs. VEWT 21a.

Although the word was known in OT it is not common in modern Turkic languages. In Karachay it has the same meaning as in Old Turkic i.e.: 'elecampane'.

arpa (K-B) 'jačmeń' (KBRS 75); *arpa* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'jačmeń' (Boz. 165) < PT **arpa*; cf.: OT *arpa*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur. Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *arpa*; Čuv. *urpa*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz. *arpa*; Uig. *a(r)pa*; Lob. *ajpa*; Sal. *arfa, arfa*; Y. Uig. *harva*; Alt., Khak. *arba*; Tuv. *arwaj*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 98, 277; DTS 53; Eg. 276; ÈSTJa I 176; JUFD 169; KRPS 74; Podolsky 2; Räs. VEWT 27 a; Tenišev 292; Tenišev SJ 180.

This word with the meaning 'barley' (or 'wheat' in Sal.) is widely known both in OT and in modern Turkic languages.

artiš (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'melkij kustarnik' (Boz. 165) < PT **artïš* (ESG); cf.: OT *artïz, artuč*; Az. *ardïč, ardïğ*, (dial.) *ardïš*; Tur. *ardïč*, (dial.) *ardïk* (DS I 304); Tat. (Cr.) *ardïč*; Tat. *artïš*; Čuv. *urtăš*; Bašk. *artïš*; Kaz., Kklp. *arša*; Kir., Trkm. *arča*; Uig. *a(r)daš*; Alt. *artïš*; Tuv. *artïš*; Tof. *artïš*. – Lit.: DTS 57; Eg. 276; Gab. 295; Rass. 155; Räs. VEWT 28 a.

This word has equivalents both in OT sources and in some modern languages with the meaning 'juniper', but only in Balkar dialects does it have different meaning i.e. 'a small coppice'.

budaj (K-B) 'pšenica' (KBRS 165); *budaj* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'id.' (Boz. 168); *budaj* (*budáj*; K) 'Weizen' (Pr K 95); *budaj* (*budáj*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 211) < PT **bugdaj*; cf.: OT *bugdaj*; Kum. *budaj*; Az., Khal. *bugda*; Tur. *bugdaj*; Gag. *bōdaj, būdaj*; Kar. (Cr.) *bogdaj*, (H, T) *budaj*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bogdaj*; Tat. *bŭdaj*; Čuv. *pări*; Bašk. *bŭjzaj*; Kaz. *bidaj*; Kklp., Nog. *bijdaj*; Kir. *būdaj*; Trkm. *bugdaj*; Trukh. *bogudaj*; Uz. *bugdoj*; Uig. *bugdaj, bugudaj, bogdaj*; Lob. *bojdaj*; Sal. *bogde, bogdï, pōgïdï, pogde, pogzi, pogci, pogce, pogtar*; Alt. *būdaj, pūdaj*; Khak. *pugdaj*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 97, 281; DTS 120; Eg. 148; ÈSTJa II 232; KRPS 126, 136; Malov 94; Podolsky 5; SKT 177; Tenišev 303, 451.

Athough the word *budaj* 'wheat' has counterparts in many other Turkic languages and it was registered in MK, its origin still stimulates wide discussion with many varied notions, cf. ÈSTJa II 233.

burčak (K-B) '1. poroša, krupnyj sneg; melkij grad; 2. (B) gorox' (KBRS 170); *burčak* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'gorox' (Boz. 168); *burcak, burcax, burcag* (*burcáq, burcax, burcáy*; *B*) 'Erbse' (Pr B 212) < PT **burčak* (ESG); cf.: OT *burčak*; Kum., Tur. *burčak*; Gag. *borčak*; Kar. (Cr.) *burčak*, (T) *burčax*; Tat.

bŭrčak; Čuv. *părśa*; Bašk. *bŭrsak*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *buršak*; Kir. *būrčak*; Trkm. *burčak*; Uz. *burčok*; Uig. *pu(r)čak*; *počak* (Eg. 149); Lob. *pïrčak*; Sal. *pïčax*, *pičax*, *piččax*, *piččïx*; Y. Uig. *purčak*, *pïrčak*, *pïčak*, *pčak*; Alt. *mïrčak*, *pïrčak*; Yak. *burduk*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 125; Eg. 149; ÈSTJa II 275; KRPS 142; ÖjHa. 72; Räs. VEWT 89 b; Tenišev 446, 457; Tenišev SJ 197.

The word *burčak* was known in OT. At present it has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. It has two meanings: 1. 'common vetch, pea'; 2. 'hail'. The semantic differentiation was already registered in OT (cf. DTS 125). In some languages (Kum., Kklp., Kar. (Cr.), Bašk.) *burčak* functions with the second meaning i.e. 'hail'; in others denotes 'pea'.

butak (K-B) 'vetv́; vetka; otvetvlenie' (KBRS 171); *butak* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'vetka, suk' (Boz. 169); *butak* (*butáq*; K) 'Zweig' (Pr K 96); *butak*, *butax*, *butag* (*butáq*, *butáx*, *butáy*; B) 'Ast, Zweig' (Pr B 212) < PT **butïk*; *cf.:* OT *butak* (MK), *butïk*; Az. *budag*; Tur. *budak*; Kar. (Cr.) *budak*, *butak*, (H) *butak*; (T) *butax*; Tat. *botak*; Bašk. *botak*; Kaz. *butanak*; Kir. *butak*; Trkm. *pūdak*; Uz. *butok*; Uig. *putak*; Tuv. *buduk*; Tof. *buduk*; Yak. *butuk*, *mutuk*. – Lit.: DTS 129; Gab. 306; KRPS 136, 143; ÖjHa. 39; Rass. 165; StachM GJV 100; Räs. VEWT 90 b.

Butak '1. branch, twig; 2. knot (in timber)' is an old word registered in OT; it also has counterparts in modern Turkic languages.

čapïrak (K-B) 'list' (KBRS 726); *čaprak* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'id.' (Boz. 190); *ǧaprak* (*ǯapráq*; K) 'Blatt' (Pr K 146); *caprak*, *caprax*, *caprag*, *cafrak*, *cafïrak* (*capráq*, *caprák*, *capráy*, *cafráq*, *cafïráq*; B) 'Blatt, Baumblatt' (Pr B 213) < PT **japïrak* ~ **japïrgak* (ESG) ; cf.: OT *japïrgak*, *jalbïrgak*, *japurgak*; Kum. *japrak*, *japïrak*; Az. *jarpak*; Khal. *jarpak*; Tur., Gag. *japrak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *japrak*, (T) *japrax*; Tat. (Ur.) *japrax*; Tat. *jafrak*; Čuv. *śulśă*, *śăvălčă*; Bašk. *japrak*; Kaz. *žapïrak*; Kklp. *žapïrak*; Nog. *japïrak*; Kir. *ǧalbïrak*; Trkm., Trukh. *japrak*; Uz. *japrok*; Uig. *jopu(r)mak*; Sal. *jarfax*, *jaxpax*; Alt. *ďalbïrak*; Yak. *säbirdäx*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 87, 317; DTS 228, 236, 237; Eg. 217; ÈSTJa IV 130; KRPS 229; ÖjHa. 19; Podolsky 32; Räs. VEWT 188 a; SKT 179; Tenišev 347, 348, 350.

The word *čaprak* ~ *čapïrak* (in several dialectal forms) 'leaf' was known in OT in the forms: *japïrgak*, *jalbïrgak*, *japurgak* and also is widely common at present in other Turkic languages (in various variants). The etymology of this formation is still unclear.

erik (K-B) 'sliva' (KBRS 770); *erik* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'id.' (Boz. 170); *erik* (K) 'Pflaume' (Pr K 101); *erik*, *erix*, *erig* (*erík*, *eríx*, *eríg*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 219) < PT **erik* (ESG); cf.: OT *erük*; Kum. *erik*; Az. *ärik*; Khal. *ärük*; Tur. *erik*; Gag. *jerik*; Kar. (Cr., M) *erik*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *erik*; Tat. *ŭrĭk*; Bašk. *ŭrŭk*; Kaz. *orĭk*; Kklp. *erik*; Kir. *örük*; Trkm. *erik*; Uz. *orik*; Uig. *ürük*; Sal. *örüx*. – Lit. Doerfer LSCh 91, 287; DTS 182; ÈSTJa I 291; KRPS 665; Podolsky 10.

The word *erik* in K-B means 'plum'. In some Turkic languages (Trkm., Az., Kir., Kklp., Tat., Bašk., Khal.) its equivalents denote 'peach'. MK gives two meanings for *erük* '1. plum; 2. a fruit with a stone'.

ğerk (K-B) 'oľxa' (KBRS 243); *ğerk* (*ǯerk*; K) 'Erlenbaum' (Pr K 148); *zerk* (B) 'die Erle, Erlenbaum' (Pr B 271) < PT **jizik* (Räs.VEWT 204b); **jerik*, **ğerik* (ÈSTJa IV 206); cf.: Tat. *zirïk*; *zirek* (Eg. 214); Čuv. *śirĕk*; Bašk. *jïrïk*; *jerek* (Eg. 214); Uz. *zirk*; Yak. *sihik*, *sisik*. – Lit.: Eg. 214; ÈSTJa IV 206; Räs. VEWT 204 b.

The word *ğerk* 'alder' was not confirmed in OT sources, however at present it has its equivalents in a few Turkic languages, with the same meaning as in K-B. The etymology is vague.

ğilek (K-B) 'zemljanika' (KBRS 249); *ğilek* (*ǯilék*; K); 'Beere' (Pr K 148) < PT **jiδläk*, **jigläk* (Räs.VEWT 202b); **ed-lek* (Eg. 226); cf.: Tur. *čilek*; Tat. *žilek*; Čuv. *śïrla*; Bašk. *jelek*; Nog. *čigläk*; Trkm. *čigelek*; Khak., Tuv. *čistek*; Šor. *čästäk*. – Lit.: Eg. 226; Räs. VEWT 202 b.

The word *ğilek* in K-B denotes 'wild strawberry; berry'. There are its equivalents in several Turkic languages. Egorov (Eg. 226) points out its derivational character, from the verbal basis *je* – 'to eat'.

ğöge (K-B) 'lipa' (KBRS 246); *ğöge* (*ǯögé*; K) 'Linde' (Pr K 149); *zöge*, *zögö* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 274) < PT **jökä*; cf.: Kum. *jöge*; Az. *gökä*; *čökä* (Eg. 205); *ğöjke* (Räs.VEWT 207 b); Tat. *jükä*; Čuv. *śăka*; Bašk. *jükä*; Kaz., Kklp. *žöke*; Nog. *jöke*; Uz. *žuka*; Trkm. *čöke*. – Lit.: Eg. 205; ÈSTJa IV 32; Räs. VEWT 207 b.

The word *ğöge* 'linden' has its equivalents only in a few Turkic languages with generally the same meaning as in K-B. However in some languages the meaning is different. In Kaz., Bašk. it means 'phloem' and in Kaz., Kklp. 'mats'.

ğüzüm (K-B) 'vinograd' (KBRS 271); *züzüm* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'id.' (Boz. 174); *ğüzüm* (*ǯüzűm*; K) 'Weintraube' (Pr K 150); *züzüm* (B) 'id.) (Pr B 276) < PT **(j)üzüm* (ESG); OT *üzüm*; Kum. *jüzüm*; Az. *üzüm*; Tur. *üzüm*; Gag. *jüzüm*; Kar. (Cr.) *jüzüm*, *jüzim*, (H) *izim*; Tat. (Cr.) *jüzüm*; Tat. *jŭzïm*; *jözem* (Eg. 72); Čuv. *išĕm*; Bašk. *jŭzŭm*; *jözöm* (Eg. 72); Kaz. *žüzïm*; Kklp. *žüzim*; Nog. *jüzim*; Kir. *ğüzüm*; *žüzüm* (Eg. 72); Trkm. *üzüm*; Uz. *uzum*; Uig. *üzüm*; Lob. *üzüm*; Y. Uig. *üčüm*, *ozöm*, *öčüm*, *öğüm*. – Lit.: DTS 631; Eg. 72; ÈSTJa I 625; KRPS 194, 261, 262; Malov; Tenišev SJ 193.

The K-B word *ğüzüm* 'grape' has its equivalents in several Turkic languages in some phonetic variants with mostly two meanings: 1. grape; 2. raisins'. In OT there was registered the form *üzüm*. Some specialists show the parallels with the Mongolian word *üzem* 'id.', cf.: Eg. 72; ÈSTJa I 625.

kabuk (K-B) '1. kora, lub; 2. korka, kožura, skorlupa; oboločka ziornyška; 3. česnja' (KBRS 370); *kabuk* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'kora, skorlupa' (Boz.

176); *kabuk* (*qʿabúq*; K) 'Rinde' (Pr K 113); *kabuk*, *kabux*, *kabug* (*qabúq*, *qabúx*, *qabúy*; B) 'Rinde, Schale' (Pr B 232) < PT **kāpuk*; cf.: OT *kabïk*, *kabuk*; Kum. *kabuk*; Az. *gabïg*; Tur. *kabuk*; Gag. *kabuk*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kabuk*, (T) *kabux*; Tat. *kabïk*; Čuv. *xupă*; Bašk. *kabïk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kabïk*; Trkm. *gābïk*; Uz. *kobik*; Alt. *kabïk*; Khak. *xabïx*; Tuv. *xavïk*. – Lit.: Eg. 305; ÈSTJa V 168; KRPS 279, 280, 356; Räs. VEWT 234 b.

The K-B *kabuk* '1. bark; 2. shell' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. The earliest records of the word *kabuk* ~ *kabïk* on the common Turkic ground go back to the 12th-13th c.

kajïn (K-B) 'berioza' (KBRS 379); *kajïn* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'bereza' (Boz. 177); *kajïn* (*qʿajńn*; K) 'Birke' (Pr K 113) < PT **kaδïŋ*; cf.: OT *kaδïŋ*, *kajïŋ*; Az. *gajïn*; Tur. *kajïn*; Kar. (T) *kajïn*; Tat. *kajïn*; *kajen* (Eg. 308); Čuv. *xurän*; Bašk. *kajïn*; Kaz., Kklp. *kajïŋ*; Nog. *kajïn*; Kir. *kajïŋ*; Trkm. *gajïŋ*; Uz. *kajin*; Uig. *kejin*; Lob. *kain*; Sal. *kajin*; Alt. *kajïŋ*; Khak. *xazïŋ*; Tuv. *xadïŋ*; Tof. *kadïŋ*; Šor. *kazïŋ*; Yak. *xatïŋ*. – Lit.: DTS 404, 407; Eg. 308; ÈSTJa V 213; KRPS 285; Malov 124; ÖjHa. 10; Rass. 216; Räs. VEWT 218 b; YRh. 624.

The lexeme *kajïn* 'birch tree' is also known in other Turkic languages (in different phonetic variants). In OT sources there were registered the following forms: *kaδïŋ*, *kajïŋ*. In all languages where the word is confirmed it denotes 'birch', only in Tur. *kayın* 'beech' (YRh. 624). The structure of the word points out its compound character, however according to some specialists the suffix *-ïŋ* in **kaδ-ïŋ* is difficult to explain, cf. ÈSTJa V 214.

kamïš (K-B) 'kamyš' (KBRS 385); *kamïš* (*qʿamı̊š*; K) 'Schilfrohr' (Pr K 115) < PT **kamuš*; cf.: OT *kamïš*, *kamuš*; Kum. *kamuš*; Az. *gamïš*; Tur., Gag. *kamïš*; Kar. (Cr.) *kamïš*, (H) *kamus*, (T) *kamuš*; Tat. (Ur.) *xamïš*; Tat. *kamïš*; Čuv. *xămăš*, *xumăš*; Bašk. *kamïš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kamïs*; Kir. *kamïš*; Trkm. *gamïš*; Uz. *kamič*, *kamiš*; Uig. *komuš*, *kumuš*; Lob. *kamuš*; Sal. *kāmuš*, *kamïš*; Y. Uig. *kamïš*; Alt. *kamïš*; *Khak. xamïs*; Tuv. *xïmïš*; Yak. *xamïs* ~ *xomus*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; DTS 415, 416; Eg. 291; ÈSTJa V 249; KRPS 288, 361; Malov 126; Podolsky 28; StachM GJV 124; Tenišev 375.

The K-B *kamïš* ~ *kamïš* 'reed' has its equivalents in numerous other Turkic languages with the same meaning. OT sources registered two forms: *kamïš*, *kamuš*.

koz (K-B) 'greckij orex' (KBRS 407); *koz* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'orex' (Boz. 179); *koz* (*qʿoz*; K) 'Nuss (besonders grosse Nüsse' (Pr K 120); *koz* (*qoz*; B) 'Nuss' (Pr B 239) < PT **kōs*; cf.: OT *koz*, *kuz*; Tur. *koz*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *koz*; Nog. *koza*; Sal. *xos*, *xōs*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 251; DTS 462, 475; KRPS 328, 368; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 550, 558; YRh. 677.

The lexeme *koz* 'walnut' registered in OT (in the forms: *koz*, *kuz*) is also confirmed in a few modern Turkic languages in different phonetic variants.

köken (K-B) 'kust' (KBRS 338); *köken*, *kökön* (*kökén*, *kökőn*; B) 'Schlehe' (Pr B 230) < PT **köken* (ESG); cf.: *kökän* (AH); Kum. *koken*, *gogan*; Az. *göjäm*; Tur. *gögem*, *gügen*; Gag. *güven*; Tat., Bašk. *kügän*; Kaz. *küken*; Nog. *kögen*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa III 65; Räs. VEWT 287 b; YRh. 406, 419.

The word *köken* is registered in K-B sources with the following meanings: '1. bush; 2. sloe'. In a few other Turkic languages there are equivalents of this word. Räsänen presents its origin from *kők* 'blue' (cf. Räs. VEWT 287 b).

ot (K-B) 1. 'trava'; 2. 'otrava, jad' (KBRS 505); *ot* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'otrava' (Boz. 182); *ot* (K) 'Gras, Kraut, Gift' (Pr K 126); *ot* (B) 'Gras' (Pr B 247) < PT **ot*; cf.: OT *ot*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T); Tat. (Cr.); Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *ot*; Čuv. *ută*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *ot*; Uz. *ot*; *ut* (Eg. 279); Uig., Lob. *ot*; Y. Uig. *ot*, *ut*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof., Yak. *ot*. – Lit.: DTS 373; Eg. 279; ÈSTJa I 481; KRPS 434; ÖjHa. 34; Podolsky 16; Rass. 213; SKT 180; Šč. SF 195.

The lexeme *ot* '1. grass; 2. poison' is registered in OT and at present also in modern Turkic languages, where in some of them are to be found its various phonetic forms.

soxan (K-B) 'luk, lukovica' (KBRS 568); *soxan* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'luk' (Boz. 184); *soxan* (*soxán*; K) 'Zwiebel' (Pr K 132); *soxan* (*soxán*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 253) < PT **sogan*; cf.: OT *sogan*, *sogun*; Kum., Az., Tur. *sogan*; Gag. *suvan*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *sogan*; Tat. (Ur.) *sogan*; Tat. *sugan*; Čuv. *suxan*; Bašk. *hugan*; Nog. *sogan*; Kir. *sogon*; Y. Uig. *suxan*; Trkm. *sogan*; Alt. (V), *sogono*; Tuv. *soguna*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; DTS 506, 507; Eg. 198; KRPS 476; Podolsky 20; Räs. VEWT 425 b.

The word *soxan* 'onion' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages. In OT two forms were registered: *sogan*, *sogun*.

tal (K-B) 'topol' (KBRS 598); *tal* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'iva' (Boz. 184); *tal* (*t*^{c}*al*; K) 'Weidenbaum' (Pr K 135); *tal* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 256) < PT **tāl*; cf.: OT *tal*, *dal*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *dal*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tal*; Trkm. *tāl*; Uig. *tal*; Sal. *tal*, *tāl*; cf. Yak. *talax* 'Korbweide' (StachM GJV 43). – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; DTS 158; ÈSTJa III 130; Gab. 337; KRPS 507; StachM GJV 43; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 499.

In K-B the lexeme *tal* denotes '1. poplar; 2. willow.'. In OT sources two forms: *tal*, *dal* were registered, with however the meaning 'branch'. At present in some Turkic languages the word (or its equivalents) are registered predominantly denoting both 'branch' and '(weeping) willow'. In Yak. *talax* 'wicker'.

tamïr (K-B) '1. koreń; 2. *bot.* podvoj; 3. *anat.* žila, sosud; 4. grud' (KBRS 602); *tamïr* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'koreń, žila' (Boz. 185); *tamïr* (*t*^{c}*amîr*; K) 'Ader, Wurzel' (Pr K 136); *tamïr* (*tamîr*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 256) < PT **tāmïr*; cf.: OT *tamar*, *tamïr*, *tamur*; Kum. *tamur*, *tamïr*; Az. *damar*; Tur., Gag. *damar*; Kar. (Cr.) *damar*, *tamar*, *tamur*, (H) *tamar*, *tamur*, (T) *tamur*; Tat. (Cr.), Tat. *tamïr*;

Čuv. *tĭmar*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tamïr*; Trkm. *damar*; Trukh. *damïr*; Uz. *tomir*; Uig. *tamir*, *tomur*; Sal. *tamïr*, *tamur*, *tāmur*; Y. Uig., Alt., Khak. *tamïr*; Tuv. *damïr*; Tof. *damïr*; Šor. *tamïr*; Yak *tïmïr*. – Lit.: DTS 529, 530, 531; Eg. 267; ÈSTJa III 143; KRPS 169, 509, 510; ÖjHa. 14; Rass. 169; Räs. VEWT 460 a; SKT 178; StachM GJV 97; Tenišev 500.

Tamïr denotes '1. root; 2. vein; vessel'. At present there are its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT sources the forms: *tamar*, *tamïr*, *tamur* were registered.

tarï (K-B) 'proso' (KBRS 607); *tarï* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 185); *tarï* (*tʿarı̊*; K) 'Hirse' (Pr K 136); *tarï* (*tarı̊*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 257) < PT **tarïg* (ESG); cf.: OT *tarïg*, *tarïk*; Kum. *tarī*, *tari*; Az. *darï*; Tur., Gag. *darï*; Kar. (Cr.) *darï* ~ *tarï*; Tat. (Ur.) *tarï*; Tat. (Cr.) *darï*; Tat. *tarï*; Čuv. *tĭră*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tarï*; Kir. *taru*; Trkm. *darï*; Uz. *tarik*; Uig. *terik*; Lob. *tajïk*, *taik*; Y. Uig. *tarïg*; Alt. *tarān*; Khak. *tarïg*; Tuv. *tarā*; Tof. *darā* (< *Mong.*) – Lit.: DTS 537; Eg. 268; ÈSTJa III 157; KRPS 516, 169; Malov 166, 167; Podolsky 22; Rass. 169; Räs. VEWT 464 b.

The lexeme *tarï* 'millet' at present has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *tarïk*, *tarïg* were registered. According to Egorov (Eg. 268) it comes from the verbal basis *tarï-* 'to sow'.

terek (K-B) 'derevo' (KBRS 623); *terek* (B. dial.: Baks., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 185); *terek* (*tʿerék*; K) 'Baum' (Pr K 138); *terek*, *terex*, *tereg* (*terék*, *teréx*, *terég*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 258) < PT **tə̄räk*; cf.: OT *teräk* (MK); Kum. *terek*; Tur.: *direk agači*; Tur. dial. *terek*; Kar. (Cr.) *terak*, *terek*, *direk*, *derek*, (H) *terek*, (T) *ťeŕak*, *töŕak*; Tat. (Cr.) *terek*; Tat. *tiräk*; Čuv. *tirek*; Bašk. *tiräk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *terek*; Trkm. *derek*; Uz. *teräk*; Uig. *teräk*, *deräk*; Lob. *tejäk*; Y. Uig., Alt. *terek*; Khak. *tirek*; Tuv. *terek*; Šor. *terek*; Yak. *täräx* ~ *tiräx*. – Lit.: DTS 553; Eg. 252; ÈSTJa III 205; KRPS 178, 185, 522, 523, 565, 567; Podolsky 23; Räs. VEWT 475 a; StachM GJV 71.

The word *terek* in K-B denotes 'tree'. It has its counterparts in other languages, where in most of them (Trkm., Kum., Kir., Čuv., Kaz., Tat., Bašk., Uz., Alt. Yak.) it means 'poplar'. MK also registered the word *teräk* with the meaning 'poplar'. As far as its origin is concerned Räsänen (Räs. VEWT 475 a) admits the contamination with Persian *dirät* 'tree'.

toz (K) 'beriozovaja koža, beriosta' (KBRS 640) < PT **tōs* (Šč. SF 197); **tōz* (StachM GJV 82); cf.: OT *toz*; Tur. *toz*: *toz agağï*; Tat., Bašk. *tuz*; Kaz. *toz*; Kir. *toz*; Uz. *tŭs*; Alt. *tos*; Khak. *tos*; Tuv. *tos*; Tof. *dos*; Yak. *tuos*. – Lit.: DTS 579; Gab. 343; Rass. 174; Räs. VEWT 491 b; StachM GJV 82; Šč. SF 197; YRh. 1184.

The lexeme *toz* 'birch-tree bark' has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In Tur. there is: *toz agağï* 'aspen'. The OT sources give differentiated meanings: *toz* 'birch' (Gab.); *toz* 'birch-tree bark' (DTS).

1.8. Minerals

altïn (K-B) 'zoloto' (KBRS 55); *altïn* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'zoloto' (Boz. 164); *altïn* (*alt^{c}ín*; K) 'Gold' (Pr K 87) < PT < **āl* + Chin. *ton* (Räs.VEWT 18b); cf.: OT *altun*; Kum., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *altïn*; Čuv. *ĭltăn*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *altïn*; Uz. *oltin*; Uig. *altun*; Lob. *altun*; Sal. *altun*, *alt^{c}un*, *altïn*, *alton*; Y. Uig. *al^{c}tïn*, *a^{2}tïn*; Alt., Khak. *altïn*; Tuv. *aldïn*; Tof. *aldan*; Yak. *altan*; cf. Az. *gïzïl* 'zoloto' (Eg. 343). – Lit.: DTS 40; Eg. 343; ÈSTJa I 142; KRPS 65; Malov 84; Rass. 153; Räs. VEWT 18b; Tenišev 287; Tenišev SJ 172.

The word denoting 'gold' is widely known both in OT and modern Turkic languages. In Yak. *altan* means 'cooper' and in Az. for the notion 'gold' there is the word *gïzïl*.

kömür (K-B) '1. ugoľ; 2. goloveški' (KBRS 341); *kömür* (B. dial.: Kaš.) 'ugoľ' (Boz. 176); *kömür* (B) 'kohle' (Pr B 230) < PT **kömör*; cf.: OT *kömür*; Kum. *komur*, *kömür*; Az., Tur., Gag. *kömür*; Kar. (Cr.) *kömir*, *kömür*, (H) *kemir*, (T) *ḱomur*; Tat. *kümĭr*; *kümer* (Eg. 99); Čuv. *kămrăk*; Bašk. *kümĭr*; *kümer* (Eg. 99); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kömir*; Kir. *kömür*; Trkm. *kömür*; Uz. *komĭr*; *kumir* (Eg. 99); Uig. *kömü(r)*, *kömä(r)*; Lob. *kömüj*; Sal. *kumür*, *gumir*, *gūmir*, *gūmirr*; Alt. *kömür*; Khak. *kömĭr*; Tuv. *xömür*; Yak. *kömör*. – Lit.: DTS 314; Eg. 99; ÈSTJa V 102; KRPS 303, 313, 337; Malov 137; ÖjHa. 41; Räs. VEWT 289 b; StachM GJV 88; Tenišev 395.

The lexeme *kömür* 'carbon' was registered in OT sources. At present it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. Räsänen etymologizes the word < *köm* – 'to dig', cf. Räs. VEWT 289 b. Egorov, however, tries to establish its origin < T. *göy-*; Trkm. *köj-*; Kum. *güj-* etc. 'to burn, to be on fire', cf. Eg. 99.

kümüš (K-B) 'serebro' (KBRS 363); *kümüš* (B. dial.: Baks., Kaš.) 'id.' (Boz. 176); *kümüš* (*k^{c}ümű́š*; K) 'Silber' (Pr K 112); *kümüš* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 231) < PT **kömüš*; cf.: OT *kümüš*; Kum. *gumuš*, *gümüš*; Az., Tur., Gag. *gümüš*; Kar. (Cr.) *kümiš*, *gumuš*, *kümüš*, (H) *kimis*, (T) *ḱuṁuš́*; Tat. *kŭmĭš*; *kömeš* (Eg. 105); Čuv. *kĕměl*; Bašk. *kŭmŭš*, *kömöš* (Eg.); Kaz., Nog. *kümis*; Kklp. *gümis*; Kir. *hümüš*; Trkm. *kümüš*, Trukh. *kümiš*; Uz. *kumuš*; Uig. *kümüš*, *kümüč*; Lob. *kümüš*, *kömüš*, *gömüš*; Sal. *komuš*, *kumuš*, *kumïš*, *k^{c}umiš*, *kumuč*, *k^{c}umuš*; Y. Uig. *kumïs*, *kumos*, *kümis*, *kümüs*, *kümös*; Alt. *kümüš*; Khak. *kümüs*; Yak. *kömüs*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 326; Eg. 105; ÈSTJa V 141; KRPS 162, 353, 396; Malov 100, 137, 138; SKT 179; StachM GJV 88, 135; Tenišev 388, 395, 401; Tenišev SJ 188, 201.

The word *kümüš* 'silver' is registered in OT and is at present widely known in other Turkic languages (in different phonetic variants). According to some sources (cf. ÈSTJa V 142) the word comes from two Old Chinese words denoting 'metal' and 'sterling silver'.

temir (K-B) 'železo' (KBRS 619); *temir* (Bal. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kašk., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 185); *temir* (*tᶜemir*; K) 'Eisen' (Pr K 137); *temir* (*temír*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 258) < PT **temür* (ESG); cf. OT *temür*, *temir*; Kum. *temir*; Az. *dämir*; Khal. *dämir*, *tämir*; Tur., Gag. *demir*; Kar. (Cr.) *demir*, *temir*, (H) *temir*, (T) *temir*, *ťemir*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *demir*; Tat. *timĭr*; *timer* (Eg. 252); Čuv. *timĕr*; Bašk. *timĭr*; *timer* (Eg. 252); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *temir*; Trkm. *demir*; Uz. *temir*; Uig. *tömü(r)*, *temir*; Lob. *tömü*, *tömüj*; Sal. *temur*, *tĕmur*, *temŭr*, *timor*, *tīmor*; Y. Uig. *temer*, *temir*; Alt. *temir*; Khak. *timir*; Tuv. *demir*; Tof. *deṁir*; Šor. *tebir*; Yak. *timir*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 113, 284, 312; DTS 551; Eg. 252; ÈSTJa III 188; JUFD 241; KRPS 184, 520, 563; Malov 175; ÖjHa. 27; Podolsky 9; Rass. 171; Sul. Kkar. 101; Tenišev 508, 510; Tenišev SJ 212.

There are equivalents of the K-B word *temir* 'iron' in numerous other Turkic languages. In OT two forms were registered: *temür*, *temir*.

1.9. Nature, weather

ajaz (K-B) 'veterok, liogkoje dunovenie' (KBRS 106); *ajaz* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'veterok (s gor), prosniś' (Boz. 164); *ajaz* (K) 'frische Morgenluft' (Pr K 85); *ajaz* (*ajáz*; B) 'klar, heiter; klares, heiteres Wetter' (Pr B 199) < PT **ajaŕ*; cf.: OT *ajas*; Kum., Az. *ajaz*; Khal. *hajāz*; Tur., Gag. *ajaz*; Kar. (Cr.) *ajas*; Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *ajaz*; Čuv. *ujar*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig. *ajaz*; Y. Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv. *ajas*; Šor. *ajas*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 114, 291; DTS 27; Eg. 280; ÈSTJa I 102; KRPS 52; Podolsky 3.

The word *ajaz* was registered by MK with the meaning 'a clear sky' (DTS 27). In Karachay-Balkar it denotes 'a light wind; fresh morning air; clear weather', In some modern Turkic languages (Trkm., Tur., Az., Gag. Kaz. and others) it even denotes 'frost; cold' (cf. ÈSTJa I 102).

balawuz (K-B 'vosk' (KBRS 116); *balawuz*, *balaᵓuz* (*balawúz*, *balaᵓúz*; K) 'Wachs' (Pr K 91); *balaᵓuz* (*balaᵓúz*; B) 'Wachs' (Pr B 205) < PT **balawuz*; cf.: AH *balawuz*; Kum. *balawuz*; Tur. dial.: *balagïz* (DS II 497); Kar. (Cr.) *balaguz*, Kar. (Cr., H, T) *balavuz*; Tat.; Bašk., Kaz., Nog. *balawïz*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa II 51; KRPS 100; Räs. VEWT 60 a.

This word means 'wax', together with its equivalents in other Turkic languages. The oldest Turkic sources that register it go back to the 14th c., cf. ÈSTJa II 51.

balčïk (K-B) 'grjaź, stjakosť' (KBRS 116); *balčïk* (*balčı́q*; K) 'Erde, Koth' (Pr K 91); *balcïk* (*balcı́q*; B) 'Erde, Koth, Lehm' (Pr B 206) < PT **palčïk* (ESG); cf.: OT *balčïk*; Az. *palčïk*; Khal. *palčuk*; Tur. *balčïk*; Kar. (Cr.) *balčïk*, (H) *balcïk*, (T) *balčïx*; Tat. *balčïk*; Tat. (Ur.) *balčïx*; Čuv. *pĭlčäk*; Bašk. *balsïk*; Kaz. *balkaš*, *balšïk*; Kklp., Nog. *balšïk*; Kir. *balčïk*; Trkm. *palčïk*; Uz. *balčik*; Uig. *balčuk*; Sal. *palčex*, *palčix*, *palčïx*, *palğex*; Alt. *balkaš*, *palčak*, *pälgač*; Khak. *palčax*, *palgas*; Tuv. *malgaš*, *balhaš*; Šor. *mulčak*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh

162, 304; DTS 80; Eg. 173; KRPS 101; Podolsky 4; Rass. 158; Räs. VEWT 60 a; Sul. Kkar. 53; Tenišev 435, 436, 443.

The work *balčïk* 'mud' is rather common in Turkic languages. It was also known in OT.

batmak (K-B) '1. to že čto *balčïk*; 2. (K) grjazi, grjazelečenie' (KBRS 122); *batxak* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'boloto' (Boz. 167); *batmak* (*batmaq*; K) 'Schlamm' (Pr K 92) < PT **batgak* (ESG); Az., Tur., Gag. *batak*; Kar. (H) *batak*, (T) *batax*; Tat. (Cr.) *batak*; Čuv. *putlăx*, *putxax*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *batpak*; Kir. *batkak*; Uzb. *botkok*. – Lit.: Eg. 169; ÈSTJa II 80; KRPS 107.

Batmak 'mud' is not common among Turkic languages. In K-B it appears in two forms *batmak*, *batxak*. The latter is close to those forms which are registered in other Turkic languages (cf. above). This is probably a derivative semantically related to the verb *bat* – 'to plunge'. Since the formative structure is also clear in its Chuvash counterpart (cf. Čuv. *putxax*) we may assume that this derivative is fairly old, although it is not registered in OT sources.

bogaz (K-B) 'proliv, zaton' (KBRS 154) < PT **bogoz*; cf.: OT *bogaz*, *boguz*; Kum. *bugaz*; Az. *bogaz*; Khal. *bogaz*, *boguz*; Tur. *bogaz*; Gag. *buvaz*; Kar. (Cr.) *bogaz*, (H, T) *bogoz*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bogaz*; Tat. *bugaz*; cf. Čuv. *pĭr*; Bašk. *bŭgaz*; Kaz., Kklp. *bugaz*; Nog. *bogaz*; Trkm. *bogaz*; Uz. *bogoz*, *bogiz*, *buguz*; Uig. *bogaz*; Lob. *boguz*; Kir. *boguz*; Tuv. *bōstā*; Tof. *bōs*; Yak. *buohax*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 49, 281; DTS 109, 110; Eg. 173; ÈSTJa II 167; KRPS 126; Malov 94; Podolsky; Rass. 164; StachM GJV 76.

The word *bogaz* in K-B has only the meaning 'straits' whereas in other Turkic languages it mainly means 'throat; larynx' also 'harbour, port'. In Old Turkic sources this word was registered with the meaning 'throat, larynx'.

bulak (K-B) '1. istočnik, rodnik. 2. reka' (KBRS 168) < PT **bulak* (ESG); cf: OT *bulak*; Kum., Az., Tur., Tat. (Cr.) *bulak*; Tat. *bolak*; Kklp., Kir., Trkm. *bulak*; Uz. *bulok*; Uig., Lob., Y. Uig. *bulak*; Tuv. *buluk*, *bïlak*; Tof. *bïlak*, *bulak*; Šor. *puluk*; cf. Yak. *bïlāx* 'Trog' (StachM GJV 118). – Lit.: DTS 121; ÈSTJa II 257; Gab. 305; Malov 96; Rass. 165; StachM GJV 118.

The word *bulak* '1. spring, fountain; 2. river' is known in other Turkic languages with generally the same meaning, however in some languages the word is semantically different, cf.; Trkm. *bulak* 'canal'; Tuv. *buluk*, *bïlak* 'a layer of ice'; cf. Yak. above. In OT *bulak* had meaning 'spring; canal'.

bulut (K-B) '1. oblako, tuča' (KBRS 168); *bulut* (B. dial.: Balk., Baks., Čeg.) 'oblako' (Boz. 168); *bulut* (K) 'Wolke' (Pr K 95); *bulut* (*bulút*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 211) < PT **bulït*; cf.: OT *bulït*, *bulut*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *bulut*; Tat. *bŭlït*; Čuv. *pĕlĕt*; Bašk. *bŭlŭt*; Kaz. *bŭlt*, *bulut*; Kklp., Nog. *bulït*; Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig., Lob. *bulut*; Sal. *pulät*, *pūlet*, *bulut*, *pulut*, *pulït*, *polut*, *polït*; Y. Uig. *pïlït*, *pïlt*; Alt. *bulut*, *pulut*; Khak. *pulut*; Tuv. *bulut*; Tof.

bulut; Šor. *pulut*; Yak. *bïlït*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 113, 282; DTS 123, 124; Eg. 156; ÈSTJa II 262; KRPS 139; Malov 96; ÖjHa. 40; Sul. Kkar. 57; Tenišev 452; Tenišev SJ 197; StachM GJV 97.

Bulut 'cloud' has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages; also registered in OT.

buz (K-B) '1. ljod, ledjanoj; 2. grad' (KBRS 165); *buz* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'led, grad' (Boz. 168); *buz* (K) 'Eis, Hagel' (Pr K 96); *buz* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 212) < PT **būz*; **pūs* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *buz*; Kum., Az. *buz*; Khal. *būz*; Gag., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Tat. *bŭz*; Čuv. *păr*; Bašk. *bŭz*; Kaz. *mŭz*; Kklp. *muz*; Nog. *buz*; Kir. *muz*; Trukh. *būz*; Trkm. *būz*; Uz., Uig. *muz*; Lob. *muz*; Sal. *muz*; Y. Uig. *pïz*; Alt. *mus*, *pus*; Khak. *pus*; Yak. *būs*, *mūs*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Doerfer LSCh 195, 196, 282; DTS 130; Eg. 147; ÈSTJa II 238; KRPS 136; Malov 145; ÖjHa. 40; Podolsky 6; SKT 178; Šč. SF 196.

The noun *buz* denoting 'ice; hail' has counterparts in other Turkic languages, sometimes with a slight semantic difference, cf. Khal. *būz* "kalt, kühl" (Doerfer LSCh 282). It was known in OT.

čïk (K-B) 'rosa' (KBRS 742); *čïk* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'rosa' (Boz. 191); *čïk* (*čᶜîq*; K) 'Tan' (Pr K 98) < PT **čī* (Šč.SF 198); **čīg*; **čïg*, **cīg*, **čīk* (Räs. VEWT 107a.); cf.: *čïk* (AH); Kum. *čïk*; Tur. *čij*; Kar. (Cr.) *čij*, (H) *cij*, *cïj*, (T) *čïj*; Tat. (Kaz.) *čïk*; Trkm. *čīk*; Khak. *sïx*; Yak. *sīk*. – Lit.: KRPS 613, 616, 628, 636; ÖjHa. 31; Räs. VEWT 107 a; Šč. SF 198.

The word *čïk* in K-B means 'dew'. The word is registered by AH with two meanings: 1. 'dew' and 2. 'humid, to be humid, wet.' At present only a few Turkic languages confirm the word in different forms, however in some of them e.g. (Yak., Tat. (Kaz.) it means 'dew' in others, e.g.: Trkm., Kar., Khak. it denotes 'raw, unripe'. Perhaps all those formations come from one common archetype semantically referring to 'something humid, wet; unboiled'.

čuŋur (K-B) 'uglublenie, uxab, rytvina; jama; vpadina' (KBRS 738); *čuŋur* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'dolina, loščina, uglublenie' (Boz. 191); *čuŋŋur* (*čᶜuŋŋur*; K) 'Grube' (Pr K 99) < PT **čuŋur* (ESG); cf.: Kum. *čoŋŋur*, *čungur*; Tur. *čukur*; Kar. (Cr.) *čukur*, *čukïr*, (H) *cugur*, (T) *čugur*, *ğugur*; Tat. (Ur.) *čuxur*; Tat. (Kaz.) *čökör*; Kaz. *šuŋkur*, *šukur*; Kklp. *šuŋkïr*; Nog. *šokur*; Kir. *čuŋkur*; Trkm. *čukur*, *čuŋïr*; Uig. *čukur*, *čikku*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 268; Eg. 320; JUFD 254; KRPS 173, 615, 633; Podolsky 8; Räs. VEWT 120 a.

The word *čuŋur* 'pit, hole; hollow' has its equivalents only in a few modern Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In Trkm. *čukur*, *čuŋïr* has the adjectival meaning 'deep'.

ğalïn (K-B) 'kopoť' (KBRS 221); *ğalïn* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'plamja, dym, saža' (Boz. 172); *ğalïn* (*ǯalín*; K) 'Flamme' (Pr K 145); *zalïn* (*zalín*; B) 'Flamme, Flamme und Rauch' (Pr B 268) < PT **jalïn*; cf.: OT *jalïn*; Kum., Tur.,

Gag., Kar. *jalïn*; Tat. (Ur.) *jalïn*; Čuv. *śulăm*; Kaz., Kklp. *žalïn*; Nog. *jalïn*; Kir. *ğalïn*; Trkm. *jalïn*; Y. Uig. *jalïn*; Khak. *čalïn*; cf. also Tat., Bašk. *jalkïn*; Uz. *joľkin*; Uig. *jalkun*; Alt. *ďalkïn*. – Lit.: DTS 229; Eg. 217; ÈSTJa IV 106; KRPS 223; Podolsky 31; StachM GJV 121; Sul. Kkar. 69.

The word *ğalïn* is registered in K-B with the following meaning 'flame; smoke; soot'. In OT the word was confirmed and at present it has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages. However, in some languages (Tat., Bašk., Uz., Uig., Alt. and others) there are structurally more compound forms of this word. Therefore, there are several ideas concerning the etymology of the word, cf. ÈSTJa IV 107.

ğaŋur (K) '1. dožď' (KBRS 226); *ğaūn* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'dožď' (Boz. 172); *zaūn* (Balk.) 'id.' (ibid. 173); *ğaŋŋur* (*ǯaŋŋur*; K) 'Regen' (Pr K 146) < PT **jagmur*; cf.: OT *jagmur*, *jamgur*; Kum. *jaŋur*, *jaŋgur*; Az. *jagmur*; Tur. *jagmur*; Gag. *jāmur*; Kar. (Cr.) *jagmur*, (H) *jamgur*, (T) *jamgur*, *jangur*, *jaŋgur*; Tat. *jaŋgïr*; Tat. (Ur.) *javun*; Čuv. *śumăr*; Bašk. *jamgïr*; Kaz. *žaŋbïr*; Kklp. *žamgïr*; Nog. *jamgïr*; Kir. *ğamgïr*; Trkm. *jagmïr*; Uz. *jomgir*; Uig. *jaŋmur*; *jamgur* (Eg. 218); Lob. *jamguj*; Sal. *jagmur*, *jagmur*; Y. Uig. *jagmïr*; Alt. *nagbïr*, *ďaŋmïr*; Khak. *naŋmïr*; Šor. *namur*, *nagūr*; Yak. *samīr*. – Lit.: DTS 225, 231; Eg. 218; ÈSTJa IV 57; KRPS 215, 224, 225, 228; Malov 118; Podolsky 32; StachM GJV 17, 124; Tenišev 343.

The word *ğaŋur* 'rain' is registered in OT in the following forms; *jagmur*, *jamgur*; it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages at present.

ğar (K-B) 'ovrag, obryv, kruča' (KBRS 228); *žar* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'krutoj bereg, obryv, krutizna, jar, razkoli' (Boz. 171); *ğar* (*ǯar*; K) 'hohes Ufer' (Pr K 146) < PT **jār*; cf.: OT *jar*; Kum., Tur., Gag., Kar. (H), Tat. *jar*; Čuv. *śïr*; Bašk. *jar*; Kaz., Kklp. *žar*; Nog. *jar*; Kir. *ğar*; Trkm. *jār*, *ğar*; Uz. *ğar*; Uig. *ja(r)*; Lob. *jaj*; Alt. *ďar*; Khak. *čar*; Šor. *čar*; Yak. *sīr*. – Lit.: DTS 238; ÈSTJa IV 17; KRPS 230; ÖjHa. 14; Räs. VEWT 188 b.

The word *ğar* 'canyon' is registered in OT in the form *jar* and at present it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

ğel (K-B) '1. veter; 2. gazy, vetry; 3. *med.* revmatizm' (KBRS 240); *žel* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.), *ğel* (Baks.) 'veter' (Boz. 171); *ğel* (*ǯel*; K) 'Wind' (Pr K 147); *zel* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 271) < PT **jel* (Räs. VEWT 195b); **θāl* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *jel*, *jēl*; Kum., Az. *jel*; Khal. *je'l*; Tur. *jel*; Kar. (Cr. T) *jeľ*, (H) *jel*; Tat. (Ur.) *ğel*; Tat. *ğil*; Čuv. *śil*; Bašk. *jĭl*; *jel* (Eg. 213); Kaz., Kklp. *žel*; Nog. *jel*; Kir. *ğel*; *žel* (Eg. 213); Trkm. *jel*; Uz. *jel*; Uig. *jäl*; Lob. *ğel*, *jej*; Sal. *jel*; Y. Uig. *jïl*, *jil*, *jel*; Alt. *ďel*; Khak. *čil*; Šor. *čäl*; Yak. *tïal*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 113, 317; DTS 254; Eg. 213; ÈSTJa IV 174; KRPS 269, 270; Malov 110, 119; ÖjHa. 21; Podolsky 12; Räs. VEWT 195 b; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 353; Tenišev SJ 183, 186.

The lexeme *ğel* '1. wind; 2. flatulence' was known in OT in the forms *jel*, *jēl*. At present it has its equivalents in many Turkic languages also with the

meanings known in K-B. KBRS p. 240 gives also the meaning 'rheumatism' to the entry *ǧel*. According to ÈSTJa IV 175 in some languages (Uig., Kir., Tur., Az., Kum.) this notion also refers to names of illness.

issi (K-B) '1. žara, žarkij; 2. žaŕ', 'gorjačij' (KBRS 305); *issi* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'žara, gorjačij, žarko' (Boz. 174); *issi* (*issí*; K) 'heiss, Hitze' (Pr K 108); *issi* (*issí*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 225) < PT **isig* (**ïsïg*); cf.: OT *isig* ~ *ïsïg*; Kum. *issi*; Az. *isti*; Tur. *ïsï*, *issï*; Kar. (Cr.) *issi*, *isi*, (H) *issi*; Tat. (Cr.) *issi*; Tat. *ïssï*; *esse* (Eg. 45); Čuv. *ăšă*; Bašk. *isi*; *ese* (Eg. 45); Kaz. *ïssï*, *istik*; Kklp. *ïssï*; Nog. *issi*; Kir. *ïsïk*, *ïsï*; Trkm. *ïssï*; Uz., Uig. *issik*; Lob. *issik*, *istik*; Sal. *ïssï*, *ïsï*, *isi*; Y. Uig. *issïg*, *sïg*; Alt. *üzü*, *izü*; Khak. *izig*; Tuv., Šor. *izig*; Yak. *itī*. – Lit.: DTS 213, 220; Eg. 45; ÈSTJa I 668; KRPS 207; Malov 115; StachM GJV 110; Sul. Kkar. 67; Tenišev 560; Tenišev SJ 206, 208, 220.

The word *issi* has two meanings both substantival 'heat' and the adjectival 'warm, hot'. Its structure shows its derivational character. It has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. The forms: *isig*, *ïsïg* were registered in OT sources.

kaja (K-B) '1. skala, utios, 2. valun, glyba, 3. *per.* skala, titan, gigant, 4. *per.* trevoga, pereživanie' (KBRS 405); *kaja* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'skala' (Boz. 177); *kaja* (*qʿajá*; K) 'Stein, Felsen' (Pr K 113); *kaja* (*qajá*; B) 'Felsen, Stein' (Pr B 233) < PT **kaja* (ESG); cf.: OT *kaja*; Kum. dial. *kaja*; Az. *gaja*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kaja*; Tat. *kïja*; Bašk. *kaja*; Kklp. *kïja*; Nog. *kaja*; Kir. *kïja*; Trkm. *gaja*, in dial.: *gāja*; Uz. *koja*; Uig. *kija*; Lob. *kada* < Mong. *kada*; Sal. *kaja*, *kajï*; Y. Uig. *kaja*; Alt. *kaja*; Khak. *xaja*; Tuv. *xaja*; Tof. *haja*; Šor. *kaja*; Yak. *xaja*. – Lit.: DTS 406; ÈSTJa V 198; KRPS 282, 357; Malov 123; Rass. 185; Räs. VEWT 221 a-b; StachM GJV 23; Tenišev 459; Tenišev SJ 186, 199.

The lexeme *kaja* 'rock' was registered by early OT sources (cf. DTS 406). It also has its equivalents in modern Turkic languages. As for its etymology Räsänen suggests its Mongolian origin, cf. Räs. VEWT 221 a-b. The parallel: Turkic *kaja*, Mong. *kada* is excluded by Doerfer, cf. ÈSTJa V 199.

kar (K-B) 'sneg' (KBRS 389); *kar* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 177); *kar* (*qar*; B) 'Schnee' (Pr B 234) < PT **kār*; cf.: OT *kar*, *kagar*; Kum. *kar*; Az. *gar*; Khal. *kār*; Tur. *kar*; Gag. *kār*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kar*; Tat. (Ur.) *xar*; Tat. *kar*; Čuv. *jur*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kar*; Trkm. *kār*; Uz. *kor*; Uig. *ka(r)*; Sal. *kaŕ*, *kar*; Y. Uig. *kar*; Alt. *kar*; Khak., Tuv. *xar*; Tof. *kar*; Yak. *xār*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 111, 306; DTS 405, 422; Eg. 350; ÈSTJa V 284; KRPS 290, 362; Podolsky 28; Rass. 218; StachM GJV 41; Sul. Kkar. 88; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 376, 460.

The word *kar* 'snow' is widely known among Turkic languages. In some of them the word appears in its phonetic variants. In Tuv. and Yak. the word also denotes 'age (of an animal)'. The OT sources registered two forms: *kar* and *kagar*.

kïr (K-B) 'step; ravnina; pole' (KBRS 445); *kïr* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'mesta zarosšije travoj, na sklonax gor meždu uglublenijami, v kotoryje stekajet doždevaja i snegovaja voda s gor' (Boz. 178); *kïr* (*qïr*; B) 'mit Gras bewachsene Stellen an den Bergabhängen zwischen den Vertiefungen, in welchen das Regen- und Schnee-wasser von den Bergen herunterläuft' (Pr B 237) < PT **kïr*; cf.: OT *kïr*; Kum., Tur., Kar. (H), Tat. *kïr*; Čuv. *xir*; Bašk., Kaz., Nog., Kir. *kïr*; Uz. *kir*; Alt. *kïra*, *kra*; Khak. *xïr*. – Lit.: DTS 445; Eg. 301; KRPS 387; Räs. VEWT 265 b; Šč. SF 194.

The K-B *kïr* 'plain, steppe' has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages, however in some languages (Khak., Tat., Bašk., Kum., Nog., Alt.) the meaning is different from one in K-B. OT sources registered the word.

kïraw (K-B) '1. inej; 2. izmoroź; zamorozki' (KBRS 445); *kïrau* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'inej' (Boz. 178); *kïrau* (*qïráu*; B) 'Reif' (Pr B 237) < PT **kïragu*; cf. OT: *kïragu*; Tur. *kïragu*, *kïragi*; Tat. (Kaz.) *kïrau*; Kar. (Cr.) *kïrav*, *koruv*, (T) *kïrav*; Kir. *kïrō*; Oir. *kurū*; Khak. *xro*; Šor. *kïrā*; Yak. *kïrïa*. – Lit.: DTS 445; KRPS 371, 381, 387; ÖjHa. 29; Räs. VEWT 265 b; StachM GJV 37; YRh. 653.

The word *kïraw* 'hoarfrost' has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages. In OT the form *kïragu* was registered.

kir (K-B) '1. grjaź; 2. kal, ispražnenija, nečistoty; 3. sostojanie, bogactvo' (KBRS 348); *kir* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'grjaznyj, grjaź' (Boz. 175); *kir* (*kʿir*; K) 'Schmutz, schmutzig' (Pr K 110); *kir* (B) 'Schmutz, schmutzig, unrein' (Pr B 229) < PT **kir*; cf.: OT *kir*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kir*; Tat. *kïr*; *ker* (Eg. 113); Čuv. *kirĕk*; Bašk. *kïr*; *ker* (Eg. 113); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig., Alt. *kir*; Y. Uig. *ker*; Khak. *kir*; Tuv. *xir*; Tof. *hir*; Šor., Yak. *kir*. – Lit.: DTS 308; Eg. 113; ÈSTJa V 69; KRPS 322; Rass. 188.

The lexeme *kir* 'dirt, filth; dirty' has its equivalents in numerous other Turkic languages, where in some of them (Trkm., Kir., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Tat., Bašk., Uz., Uig.) it also means 'dirty clothes'. The OT sources also registered the word.

kol (K-B) '1. balka, dolina, uščelie; 2. [maleńkaja] rečka, rečuška' (KBRS 411); *kol* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'dolina, ovrag' (Boz. 179); *kol* (*qʿol*; K) 'kleines Tal, kleines Fluss, Bach' (Pr K 119) < PT **kōl* (**kol*); cf.: OT *kol*; Khak. *xol*; Šor. *kol*. – DTS 453; Räs. VEWT 277 a; Šč. SF 194.

The lexeme *kol* '1. valley; 2. a small river' was registered by MK and it is confirmed in a few modern languages in some phonetic variants.

köl (K-B) I '1. ozero, prud; 2. luža'. II 'duša, dux, nastrojenie, moralʹnoje sostojanie' (KBRS 339); *köl* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'ozero, prud' (Boz. 176); *köl* (*kʿöl*; K) 'Teich', *köl* (*kʿöl* [aus *kʿöŋül*]) 'Seele, Sinn' (Pr K 111); *köl* (B) 'Teich' (Pr B 230) < PT **kõl*; cf.: OT *köl*; Az. *köl*; Kum. *köl*, *kol*; Khal. *gõl*; Tur., Gag. *göl*; Kar. (Cr.) *göl*, (H) *gel*, (T) *ǵol*; Tat. *kül*; Čuv. *külĕ*; Bašk. *kül*; Kaz., Kklp.,

Nog., Kir. *köl*; Trkm. *kȫl*; Uz. *kul* (Eg. 123); *kol*; Uig. *köl*; Lob. *köl*; Sal. *kol*; Y. Uig. *kʿöl*; Alt. *köl*; Khak. *köl*; Tuv. *xöl*; Tof. *höl*; Šor. *köl*; Yak. *küöl*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 102, 290; DTS 313; Eg. 123; ÈSTJa V 95; KRPS 159, 160, 161; Malov 137; ÖjHa. 42; Rass. 190; StachM GJV 90; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 387, 464; Tenišev SJ 189.

The word *köl* has in K-B two meanings: 1. 'lake, pond'; 2. 'soul'. Probably these are two homonymic words. This lexeme is widely known among other Turkic languages, where it appears in some phonetic variants only with the meaning refering to 'lake, sea, pond, even river (in Sal.). As far as the etymology of that lexeme is concerned in ÈSTJa V 96 we can find a statement about vague etymology. There is even an opinion assuming its origin from Persian languages, cf. ÈSTJa V 96.

kölekke (K) '1. teń; 2. priznak; 3. *per.* zaščita, pokroviteľstvo' (KBRS 339); *kölekke* (*kʿölekké*; K) 'Schatten' (Pr K 111) < PT **kölök*, **kȫlök*; cf.: OT: *kölögä*, *köligä*, *kölik*; Az. *kölkä*; Khal. *kölgä*; Tur. *gölge*; Kar. (Cr.) *kölegä*, *köletke*, *kölaga*, *kólágá*, (H) *kelege*, (T) *ḱolaǵa*; Tat. *külägä*; Bašk. *küläŋkä*; Kaz. *küleŋke*; Kir. *kölökö*, *kölönkö*; Trkm. *kölege*; Uz. *kulaga*, *kulanka*; Uig. *köläŋgü*, *köläŋgä*; Lob. *kölögö*; Alt. *kölötkö*; Khak. *kölek*; Tuv. *xölege*; Tof. *hölege*; Šor. *köläk*; Yak. *külük*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 170, 298; DTS 314; KRPS 303, 313, 337; Malov 137; ÖjHa. 42; Rass. 190; Räs. VEWT 289 a; StachM GJV 88; Sul.Kkar. 79.

The word *kölekke* 'shadow' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT sources the following forms were registered: *kölägä*, *köligä*, *kölik*.

kuju (K-B) 'kolodec' (KBRS 433), *xuju* (K-B) 'id.' (ibid. 713); *kuju* (B. dial.) 'kolodeź' (Boz. 179); *xuju* (K) 'Brunnen' (Pr K 105); *kuju* (*qujú*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 240) < PT **koδï*; cf.: OT *kuδug*, *kudug*, *kujug*; Az. *kujï*; Tur. *kuju*; Kar. (Cr.) *kuju*, (H, T) *kuju*, *kujuw*; Tat. (Ur.) *xuju*; Tat. *köjö*; Kaz. *kuduk*; Nog. *kuju*; Uig. *kuduk*; Trkm. *kujï*; Khak. (< Mong.) *xutux*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Bask. NJa. 252; DTS 463, 464; KRPS 344, 345, 373; Podolsky 31; Räs. VEWT 296 b, 297 a.

The lexeme *kuju* 'well (*a noun*)' has its counterparts in several other Turkic languages. In OT there were the forms: *kuδug*, *kudug*, *kujug* registered. Räsänen (Räs. VEWT 297 a) suggests (with a question mark) its origin from *kuδ-* 'to pour'.

kum (K-B) 'pesok' (KBRS 422); *kum* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'pesok, pyl' (Boz. 179); *kum* (*qʿum*; K) 'Sand' (Pr K 120); *kum* (*qum*; B) 'Sand; sandige Erde' (Pr B 240) < PT **kum*; cf.: OT *kum*; Az. *gum*; Tur. *kum*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kum*; Tat. (Ur.) *xum*; Tat., Bašk. *kom*; Kaz., Nog., Kir. *kum*; Trkm. *gum*; Uz., Uig., Lob., Sal. *kum*; Alt. *kumak*; Khak. *xum*; Tuv. *kum*; Tof. *hum*; Yak. *kumax*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Bask. NJa. 253; DTS 465; KRPS 346, 374; Malov 131; ÖjHa. 39; Podolsky 30; Rass. 191; Räs. VEWT 299 b; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 395.

The lexeme *kum* registered in OT is also known in other Turkic languages, where it appears in several phonetic variants.

kurum (K-B) 'saža, kopot' (KBRS 426); *kurum* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'saža' (Boz. 179); *kurum* (*qʿurum*; K) 'Russ' (Pr K 121) < PT **kuruŋ* (ESG); cf.: OT *kurun*; Az. *gurum*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.) *kurum*; Tat. *korïm*; Čuv. *xărăm*; Bašk. *korom*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kurïm*; Trkm. *gurum*; *kurïm* (Räs. VEWT 304 b); Uz., Uig. *kurum*; Sal. *kurïm*; Alt. (V) *kurun*; Khak. *xurun*; *xurum* (Räs. VEWT 304 b); Yak. *kurum*, *kuruŋ*, *kūruŋ*. – Lit.: DTS 470; Eg. 294; KRPS 375; Räs. VEWT 304 b; Tenišev 397.

The word *kurum* 'soot', in OT registered in the form *kurun*, has its equivalents in several Turkic languages. As far as its etymology is concerned Egorov assumes its origin < **kuru* 'dry', cf. Eg. 294.

kül (K-B) 'zola, pepel' (KBRS 362); *kül* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'zola' (Boz. 176); *kül* (*kʿül*; K) 'Asche' (Pr K 112); *kül* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 231) < PT **kül*; cf.: OT *kül*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur. *kül*; Kar. (Cr.) *kül*, (H) *kil*, *til*, (T) *ḱul*; Tat. (Ur.) *kül*; Tat. *köl*; Čuv. *kĕl*; Bašk. *köl*; Kaz., Nog., Kir. *kül*; Trkm., Trukh., Uig., Lob. *kül*; Sal. kul, *kʿöl*, *kʿul*, *kʿül*; Y. Uig. *kʿul*; Oir. *kĕl*; Khak. *kül*; Tuv. *xül*; Yak. *kül*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 249; Doerfer LSch. 138, 298; DTS 325; Eg. 104; KRPS 318, 352, 396, 528; Malov 138; ÖjHa. 43; Podolsky 13; SKT 179; StachM GJV 132; Tenišev 395, 401, 402.

The lexeme *kül* 'ash' registered in OT has also its equivalents at present in other Turkic languages.

orman (K-B) 'les' (KBRS 501) < PT **orman*; cf.: OT *orman*; Kum., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *orman*; Tat. *urman*; Čuv. *vărman*; Bašk. *urman*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *orman*; Kir. *ormon*; Uz. *orman*; *urmon* (Eg. 50); Uig. *orman*; Sal. *ormän*. – Lit.: DTS 371; Eg. 50; ÈSTJa I 472; Räs. VEWT 365 b.

The word *orman* 'wood' was registered in OT; at present it is known in other Turkic languages (in some languages in various phonetic forms).

ot (K-B) '1. ogoń, plamja, žar; 2. master' (KBRS 505); *ot* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kašk.) 'ogoń' (Boz. 182); *ot* (K) 'Feuer' (Pr K 126); *ot* (B) 'Feuer, Herd; Schiesspulver' (Pr B 247) < PT **ōt*; cf.: OT *ōt*, *ot*; Kum. *ot*; Az. *od*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *ot*; Tat. *ut*; Čuv. *vut*; Bašk. *ut*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ot*; Trkm., Trukh. *ōt*; Uz. *ot*; *ut* (Eg. 57); Uig., Lob. *ot*; Sal. *o*, *ot*, *oˀt*; Y. Uig. *ut*, *ot*, *otʿ*, *xut*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *ot*; Tof. *ot*; Šor. *ot*; Yak. *uot*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 372, 373; Eg. 57; ÈSTJa I 483; KRPS 434; Malov 151; ÖjHa. 36; Rass. 213; SKT 180; Sul. Kkar. 84; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 422, 427, 429; Tenišev SJ 194, 219.

The lexeme *ot* 'fire, flame' was known in OT. At present it is registered in other modern Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants).

özen (K-B) 'uščelïe, dolina' (KBRS 275); *özen* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'step, dolina' (Boz. 182); *özen* (K) 'Tal, Fluss' (Pr K 128); *özen* (*özén*; B) 'Tal' (Pr B 249) < PT **özen* (ESG); cf.: OT *öz*; Kum. *özen*; Tur. (dial.) *özen*; Kar. (Cr.) *ózán*, *özen*, (H) *ezen*, (T) *öźań*; Tat. (Cr.) *ozeń*; Tat. *üzän*; Čuv. *vasan*; Bašk. *üzen*; Kaz. *özen*; Nog. *özen*; Kir. *özön*; Uz. *ozän*; Sal. *özen*, *uzen*, *uzen*; Alt. *özön*; Khak. *özen*; Tuv. *özen*; Yak. *üös*. – Lit.: DTS 395; Eg. 47; ÈSTJa I 510; KRPS 438, 656; ÖjHa. 45; Sul. Kkar. 86; Tenišev 433, 536, 537.

In K-B *özen* denotes: 'valley; small river; stream; steppe'. In other Turkic languages its equivalents have also various meanings although similar to those in K-B. In OT there was the form *öz* 'valley'.

saz (K-B) '1. glina; 2. *per.* žëltyj, blednyj, zemlistyj' (KBRS 533); *saz* (K) 'blass' (Pr K 131); *saz* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 251) < PT **sās*; cf.: Tur. *saz*; Kar. (Cr.) *saz*; Tat. *saz*; Čuv. *šur*; Bašk. *haz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Uig. *saz*; Alt. (V), Khak. *sas*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; Eg. 339; KRPS 459; Räs. VEWT 406 b; Šč. SF 196; YRh. 991.

In K-B the lexeme *saz* has two meanings: 1. 'clay'; 2. yellow, pale'. In other Turkic languages except Tur. its equivalents have a similar meaning, i.e. 'mud'. In Tur. *saz* 'reed, rushes'. The word is not registered in OT.

suw (K-B) '1. voda; 2. vlaga, syrosť; 3. reka' (KBRS 574); *sū* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk, Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'voda, reka' (Boz. 184); *sū*, *su* (K) 'Wasser, Saft' (Pr K 133); *sū* (B) 'Wasser, Strom' (Pr B 253) < PT **suß* (~ **suγ*) (Šč. SF 196); **sub* (StachM GJV 51); cf.: OT *sub*, *sug*, *suv*; Kum. *sū*; Az. *su*; Khal. *sū*; Tur. *su*; Kar. (Cr.) *suv*, *suj*, *sov*, (H, T) *suv*, *suw*; Tat. (Ur.) *suw*; Tat. *su*; Čuv. *šïv*; Bašk. *hïu*; Kaz. *su*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *sū*; Trkm. *suv*; Trukh. *suw*; Uz. *suv*; Uig. *su*; Lob., Sal. *su*; Alt. *su*, *sug*; Khak. *sug*; Tuv., Šor. *sug*; Tof. *sug*; Yak. *ū*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 111, 310; DTS 512, 513, 515; Eg. 340; KRPS 481, 483; Malov; ÖjHa. 40; Podolsky 21; Rass. 229; Räs. VEWT 431 a; SKT 181; StachM GJV 51; Sul. Kkar. 97; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 487.

The lexeme *suw*, *sū*, *su* 'water; river' has its equivalents in many other Turkic languages. In OT there were the following forms registered: *sub*, *sug*, *suv*.

taŋ (K-B) '1. rassvet, utreniaja zarja; 2. utro' (KBRS 604); *taŋ* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'zarja, rassvet, utro' (Boz. 185); *taŋ* (*tʿaŋ*; K) 'Tagesanbruch' (Pr K 136); *taŋ* (B) 'Tagesanbruch; Morgenröte' (Pr B 257) < PT **taŋ*; cf.: OT *taŋ*, *čaŋ*; Kum. *taŋ*; Az. *dan*; Tur. *tan*; Kar. (Cr.) *taŋ*, *tan*, (H, T) *tan*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *taŋ*; Trkm., Trukh. *daŋ*; Uz. *toŋ*; Uig., Lob., Sal., Y. Uig., Alt., Khak. *taŋ*; Tuv. *daŋ*; Tof. *daŋ*; Šor. *taŋ*; Yak. *tïŋ*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; DTS 139, 532; ÈSTJa III 144; KRPS 510, 511; ÖjHa. 14; Podolsky 22; Rass. 169; Räs. VEWT 461 a; SKT 178; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 501.

The word *taŋ* 'dawn; morning' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT sources the forms: *taŋ*, *čaŋ* were registered.

taš (K-B) '1. kameń; 2. gornaja poroda; kameń' (KBRS 612); *taš* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'kameń' (Boz. 185); *taš* (*tᶜaš*; K) 'Stein' (Pr K 137); *taš* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 257) < PT **tāš*; cf.: OT *taš*; Kum. *taš*; Az. *daš*; Khal. *tāš*; Tur., Gag. *taš*; Kar. (Cr.) *daš*, *taš*, (H) *tas*, (T) *taš*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *taš*; Tat. *taš*; cf. Čuv. *čul* (? < Mong.); Bašk. *taš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tas*; Kir. *taš*; Trkm. *dāš*; Uz. *toš*; Uig. *taš*; Lob. *taš*, *tas*; Sal. *taš*; Y. Uig. *tas*, *taᶜs*; Alt. *taš*; Khak. *tas*; Tuv. *daš*; Tof. *daš*; Šor. *taš*; Yak. *tās*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 108, 109, 312; DTS 539; Eg. 326; ÈSTJa III 167; KRPS 170, 516, 518; Malov 169; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 22; Rass. 170; StachM GJV 41; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 503, 504; Tenišev SJ.

The lexeme *taš* 'stone' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages. Egorov compares Čuv. *čul* with Mongolian *čilagun*, cf. Eg. 326. In OT the form *taš* was registered.

taw (K-B) 'gora' (KBRS 609); *tau* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk, Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 185); *tau* (*tᶜau*; K) 'Berg' (Pr K 137); *tau* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 257) < PT **tāg*; cf.: OT *tag*; Kum. *taw*; Az. *dag*; Khal. *dāg*, *tāg*; Tur. *dag*; Gag. *dā*; Kar. (Cr.) *dag*, *tag*, *tav* (H,T) *tav*; Tat. (Cr.) *dag*; Tat. *taw*; Čuv. *tu*, dial. *tăv*; Bašk. *taw*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *taw*; Kir. *tō*, *tau*; Trkm. *dāg*; Uz. *tog*; Uig. *tag*; Lob. *tag*, *tak*; Sal. *tag*, *tax*, *tïg*; Y. Uig. *tag*, *tᶜag*; Alt. *tū*; Khak. *tag*; Tuv. *dag*; Tof. *dag*; Šor. *tag*; Yak. *tïa*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 109, 283, 312; DTS 526; Eg. 254; ÈSTJa III 117; KRPS 168, 503, 505; Malov 166, 167; ÖjHa. 21; Rass. 168; StachM GJV 46; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 499, 505, 528; Tenišev SJ 211, 215.

The lexeme *taw* 'mountain' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages, however in some of them (Gag., Tat. (Cr.), Yak.) with the meaning 'forest'. In OT the form *tag* was registered.

teŋiz (K-B) 'more' (KBRS 621); *teŋiz* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'more' (Boz. 185); *teŋŋiz* (*tᶜeŋŋiz*; K) 'Meer' (Pr K 137); *teŋŋiz* (*teŋŋíz*; B) 'Meer' (Pr B 258) < PT **täŋiz*; cf. Old Bulgar **täŋgir* (Räs. VEWT 474 a); cf. *teŋiz* (MK); Kum. *dengiz*; Az. *däniz*; Tur., Gag. *deniz*; Kar. (Cr.) *deŋiz*, *deniz*, *teŋgiz*, *teniz*, (H) *tengiz*, (T) *ťeńgiź*, *tengiz*, *ťeńgiź*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *deŋiz*; Tat. *dingĭz*; *diŋgez* (Eg. 252); Čuv. *tinĕs*; Bašk. *diŋgĭz*; *diŋgez* (Eg. 252); Kaz. *teŋĭz*; Kklp., Nog. *teŋiz*; Kir. *teŋiz*, *deŋiz*; Trkm., Trukh. *deŋiz*; Uz. *dengiz*, *deŋiz*; Uig. *deŋiz*; Alt. *teŋis*; Khak. *tiŋĭs*. – Lit.: DTS 552; Eg. 252; ÈSTJa III 194; KRPS 184, 521, 564, 565; Podolsky 9; Räs. VEWT 474 a; SKT 178.

The word *teŋiz* 'sea' was registered by MK. At present it has its counterparts in other languages.

topurak (K-B) '1. glina, zemlja; 2. počva' (KBRS 646); *toprak* (*tᶜopráq*; K) 'Erde, Ton' (Pr K 140) < PT **toprak*; cf.: OT *toprak*; Az. *torpag*; Tur. *toprak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *toprak*, (T) *toprax*; Tat. (Ur.) *toprax*; Tat. *tufrak*; Čuv. *tăpra*; Bašk. *tuprak*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *topïrak*; Kir. *topurok*, *topurak*; Trkm., Trukh. *toprak*; Uz. *tuprok*; Uig. *toprak*; Oir. *tobrak*; Sal. *torax*, *torāx*, *tōrax*, *tōrux*, *torïx*, *tōrïx*; Tuv. *dovurak*; Khak. *tobrax*; Tof. *toprak*; Yak. *toburax*. – Lit.: DTS 575; Eg.

237; KRPS 538; Podolsky 24; Rass. 234; Räs. VEWT 489 b; SKT 181 Sul. Kkar. 102; Tenišev 514, 515.

The word *topurak*, *toprak* '1. clay, earth; 2. soil' registered in OT in the form *toprak* has its counterparts in some modern Turkic languages with the same meaning.

tot (K-B) '1. ržavčina; 2. *per.* naliot, pautina, nevežestva' (KBRS 646); *tot* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'ržavčina' (Boz. 186); *tot* (*tʿot*; K) 'Rost' (Pr K 140); *tot* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 261) < PT **tat* (~ ? **tot*); cf.: OT *tat*, *tut*; Kum. *tot*; Kar. (Cr.) *tot*, (H, T) *tut*; Tat. (Ur.) *tot*; Tat. (Kaz.) *tut*; Čuv., Bašk. *tut*; Kaz. *dat*, *tot*; Kklp., Nog. *tot*; Kir. *dat*; Oir., Khak. *tat*. – Lit.: DTS 541, 591; Eg. 262; KRPS 539, 549; Podolsky 24; Räs. VEWT 466 b; Šč. SF 197.

The lexeme *tot* 'rust' has its counterparts in several Turkic languages. MK registered two forms *tat*, *tut*.

töbe (K-B) '1. xolm, bugor, prigorok; 2. kuča, gruda' (KBRS 626); *töbe* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'kuča, xolm, kurgan' (Boz. 186); *töbe* (*tʿöbé*; K) 'Haufen, Hügel' (Pr K 140); *töbe* (*töbe*; B) 'Haufen, Hügel, Kurgan' (Pr B 261) < PT **töpe* (ESG); cf.: OT *töpü*, *töpi*; Kum. *töbe*; Az. *täpä*; Khal. *täpä*, *täppä*; Tur. *tepe*; Gag. *tepe*; Kar. (Cr.) *töbe*, (H) *tebe*, (T) *ťoba*; Tat. (Cr.) *tepe*; Tat. (Ur.) *töpe*; Tat. *tübä*; Čuv. *tüpe*; Bašk. *tübä*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *töbe*; Kir. *töbö*, *döbö*; Trkm. *depe*; Trukh. *tevve*; Uz. *tepä*; *tepa* (Eg. 265); Uig. *töpä*, *dövä*; Lob. *töbä*, *töbö*, *tövä*, *töve*, *töpä*; Alt. *töbö*; Oir. *töbe*; Yak. *töbö*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 109, 312; DTS 580; Eg. 265; ÈSTJa III 197; Gab. 343; KRPS 523, 540, 560; Malov 175; ÖjHa. 42; Podolsky 24; SKT 181.

The word *töbe* 'hill; pile; grave-mound' has equivalents in numerous modern Turkic languages, however their meaning is slightly different, mostly denoting 'top; height; zenith'. In OT there were the following forms registered: *töpü*, *töpi*, where *töpü* (DTS) '1. the crown of the head; 2. head; 3. top'; *töpü*, *töpi* (Gab.) 'top'.

töppe (K-B) '1. makuška, temja; 2. veršina, verx, verxuška; 3. tuľja; 4. xoxolok (*u ptic*)' (KBRS 629); *töppe* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'temja' (Boz. 187), *töppe* (*tʿöppe*; K) 'Gipfel, Schädel, Scheitel' (Pr K 140); *töppe* (*töppé*; B) 'Schädel, Scheitel' (Pr B 262) < PT **töpe* (ESG); cf.: OT *töpü*, *töpi*; Kum. *töbe*; Az. *täpä*; Khal. *täpä*, *täppä*; Tur., Gag. *tepe*; Kar. (Cr.) *töbe*, (H) *tebe*, (T) *ťoba*; Tat. (Cr.) *tepe*; Tat. (Ur.) *töpe*; Tat. *tübä*; Čuv. *tüpe*; Bašk. *tübä*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *töbe*; Kir. *töbö*, *döbö*; Trkm. *depe*; Trukh. *tevve*; Uz. *tepä*; *tepa* (Eg. 265); Uig. *töpä*, *dövä*; Lob. *töbä*, *töbö*, *tövä*, *töve*, *töpä*; Alt. *töbö*; Oir. *töbe*; Yak. *töbö*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 109, 312; DTS 580; Eg. 265; ÈSTJa III 197; Gab. 343; KRPS 523, 540, 560; Malov 175; ÖjHa. 42; Podolsky 24; SKT 181.

The word *töppe* 'top; the crown of the head' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with a meaning semantically close to the K-B one. In OT there were two forms registered: *töpü*, *töpi*. We cannot exclude that the word *töppe* is

semantically related to the word *töbe*, cf. also the comparative material from other Turkic languages.

tuman (B), **tuban** (K-B) '1. tuman; 2. zavesa, pelena; mgla' (KBRS 651, 649); *tuman* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'tuman' (Boz. 187); *tuban* (*tᶜuban*; K) 'Nebel' (Pr K 140) < PT **tuman* (ESG); cf.: OT *tuman*; Kum. *tuman*; Az., Tur., Gag. *duman*; Kar. (H, T) *tuman*; Tat. *tŭman*; Čuv. *tăn*; Bašk. *tŭman*; *toman* (Rass. 176); Kaz. *tŭman*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tuman*; Trkm. *dumān*; Uz., Uig., Lob., Sal., Alt. *tuman*; Khak. *tuban*; Tuv. *tuman*; Tof. *duman*; Šor. *tuban*; Yak. *tuman*. – Lit.: DTS 585; ÈSTJa III 295; KRPS 546; Malov 176; ÖjHa. 39; Rass. 175; Tenišev 523.

The K-B *tuman*, *tuban* '1. fog, mist; 2. smoke' has equivalents at present in some other Turkic languages. Rassadin suggests its origin from the verbal stem *tu*-'to cover', cf. Rass. 176. In OT *tuman* was registered.

tütün (K-B) '1. dym; 2. tabak, kurevo; 3. *redko* par; 4. *ust.* dom, semja' (KBRS 675); *tütün* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš.) 'dym, tabak' (Boz. 188); *tütün* (*tᶜütᶜün*; K) 'Rauch' (Pr K 141); *tütün* (B) 'Rauch, Tabak' (Pr B 264) < PT **tütün* (ESG) < **tüt*- (Šč. SF 198); cf.: OT *tütün*; Kum. *tütün*; cf. also Az. *tüssü*; Khal. *tütü'n*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.) *tütün*; Tat. *töten*; Čuv. *tětěm*; Bašk. *tötön*; Kaz., Kklp., *tütin*; Nog. *tütün*, *tütin*; Kir. *tütün*; Trkm. *tütin*; cf. also: *tüsse* 'smoke'; Uz. *tutun*; Uig., Lob. *tütün*; Sal. *cücün*, *cᶜüten*, *tüten*, *tütün*, *ʒücün*, *ʒᶜüʒün*; Oir., Khak. *tüdün*; Yak. *tütüm*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 265; Doerfer LSCh 138, 315; DTS 601; Eg. 248; KRPS 555; Gab. 346; Malov 178; Podolsky 25; Räs. VEWT 507 b; Šč. SF 198.

In K-B the word *tütün* denotes '1. smoke; 2. tobacco' and according to KBRS 675 also as archaism 'home, family'. In OT sources the word *tütün* meant 'smoke' but also 'tax paid in tobacco' (cf. DTS 601). At present there are equivalents of the word in other Turkic languages mainly denoting 'smoke' but in some languages (Tat. (Ur.), Kar. (Cr.), Nog.) it means 'tobacco'. In Yak. *tütüm* 'manure used as fuel'.

1.10. Some tools and elements used in human activity

ačxa (K-B) '1. deńgi; moneta; 2. finansy' (KBRS 99); *axča* (B. dial.: Balk., Baks., Čeg.) 'deńgi' (Boz. 166); *ačxa* (K) 'Geld' (Pr K 84) < PT **ākča* (ESG) < **āk*; cf.: OT *akča*; Kum. *akča*; Az. *agča*; Tur. *akča*; Kar. (H) *akca*, Kar. (T) *axča*; Tat. (Cr.) *akča*; Čuv. *ukša*; Bašk. *aksa*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *akša*; Kir. *akča*; Trkm. (dial.) *akğa*; Uz. *okča*; Uig. *akča*; Alt. *akča*; Khak. *axča*; Tuv. *akša*. – Lit.: DTS 48; Eg. 270; ÈSTJa I 120.; KRPS 86; Räs. VEWT 13a.

According to DTS the word *akča* was already confirmed in the 8th century. The word is known in some Turkic languages. In K-B it appears in methathesis. There are several hypotheses concerning the origin of this word. Some of them are presented in ÈSTJa I 120.

ajak (K-B) '1. čaša, tarelka, miska; 2. čaška, bokal, čarka, kubok' (KBRS 107); *ajak* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'derevjannaja čaška z ručkoj' (Boz. 164); *ajak* (*ajáq*; K) 'Schüssel' (Pr K 85); *ajak* (*ajáq*; B) 'ein hölzernes Trink gefäss in der Form einer kalben Nusschale, mit Henkel' (Pr B 198) < PT **ajak*; cf.: OT *ajak*; Kum. *ajak*; Tur. dial.: *ajak*; Kar. (Cr.) *ajag*; Bašk. *sïnajak* (Rass. 152), *ajak*; Kaz., Nog., Kir. *ajak*; Uz. *ojok*; Uig. *ajak*; Lob. *ajak*; Sal. *ajax*, *ajex*; Y. Uig. *ajak*; Alt. *ajak*; Khak. *ajax*; Tuv. *ajak*; Tof. *ajak*; Yak. *ajax*. – Lit.: DTS 27; ÈSTJa I 105; KRPS 51; Malov 82; Rass. 152; Tenišev 284, 285.

The word registered with the meaning 'bowl; cup' was known in Old Turkic with the same meaning. At present it is in use only in a part of modern Turkic languages.

arba (K-B) 'telega, voz, povozka' (KBRS 71); *arba* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš.) 'telega' (Boz. 165); *arba* (K) 'Wagen, Karren' (Pr K 88); *arba* (*arbá*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 202) < PT **(h)arba*, **(h)araba* (ESG); Kum. *arba*; Az. *araba*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T); Tat. (Cr. Ur.) *araba*; Tat. *arba*; Čuv. *urapa*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *arba*; Kir. *araba*; Trkm. *araba*; Uz. *arawa*; Uig. *harva*; Alt. *abra*. – Lit.: Eg. 275; ÈSTJa I 164; KRPS 72; Podolsky 2; Räs. VEWT 23 a.

The word denotes 'cart, vehicle'. It is not registered in OT sources, however it is widely known in some modern Turkic languages. As far as the origin of this word is concerned scholars are not of one mind. Some of them claim that this is an Arabic loan word (Clauson, Räsänen), some others have the opposite opinion (Dmitriev, Vladimircov). Assuming that this is a loan word it must be an old one since it is registered in Chuvash, cf. ÈSTJa I 164-165.

arïš (K-B) 'dyšlo, ogloblja' (KBRS 80); *arïš* (*arĭ́š*, K) 'Deichsel, Stange' (Pr K 88) < PT: **(h)arïl'* (Räs. VEWT 26a); Kum. *arïš*; Tur. *arïš*; *iriš*; *arač* (DS I 292); Kar. (Cr.) *arïč*, *arïš*; Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *arïš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *arïs*; Trkm. *arïš*; Uz. *ärč*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa I 189; KRPS 78; Räs. VEWT 26 a; YRh. 71, 546.

The word with the meaning 'pole (of an oxcart)' is registered only in a few modern Turkic languages. It is not confirmed in OT sources. Clauson claims that it is an Arabic loan word, some others (Ščerbak) see the connection between *arïš* and Old Mongolian *aral*, cf. ÈSTJa I 190, 192.

arkan (K-B) '1. veriovka, bečeva, kanat; čal, čalka; lasso; 2. arkan' (KBRS 74); *arkan* (B. dial. Balk., Čeg.) 'kanat iz konskogo volosa, arkan' (Boz. 165); *arkan* (*arqán*; B) 'Strick; Lasso um Einfangen der Pferde auf der Weide' (Pr B 202) < PT **arkan* (ESG); cf.: OT *arkag*; Khal. *argač*; Tur. *argan*; *argač*; Kar. (H) *arkan*; Tat. (Cr.) *arkan*, Tat. (Ur.) *arxan*; Tat. *arkan*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *arkan*; Trkm. *arkān*; Uz. *arkon*; Uig. *a(r)kan*; Lob. *ajkan*; Alt. *arkan*; cf. also Čuv. *uraśa*, *uraśśi* 'utok tkani, poperečnyje niti tkani' (Eg. 275). – Lit.: DTS 54; Eg. 275; ÈSTJa I 175; Gab. 295; KRPS 73; Podolsky 2; YRh. 71.

Probably this word is a derivative from the root **ar-* 'to woof'. In OT there is only form *arkag* 'weft' confirmed. The contemporary meaning 'lasso'

confirmed also in other modern Turkic languages is also semantically related to the verbal basis denoting 'to woof'.

aw (K-B) I '1. pautina; 2. set'; 3. zapadnja'. II '1. platok, šal; 2. platok, pokryvalo, kotorym pokryvajut nevestu'. III '1. bel'mo; 2. pelena, povoloka, zavesa, pokryv, mgla' (KBRS 90); *au* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'set', petlja, silok' (Boz. 165); *au* (K) 'Netz, Fischernetz' (Pr K 89); *au* (B) 'Netz, Garn, Schlinge; Star (am Ange)' (Pr B 204) < PT **āg*; cf: OT *ag*; Kum. *aw*; Az. *ag*; Tur. *ag*; Kar. (H, T) *uv*; Kar. (Cr. H, T) *av*; Tat. (Cr.) *ag*, *aw*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *aw*; Kir. *ū*; Trkm dial. *āk*; Uz. dial. *āg*; Alt. *ū*, *u*; Khak. *agnïx*; Šor. *ag*. – Lit.: DTS 16; ÈSTJa I 117; KRPS 39, 572.

Generally this word has the meaning 'net; cobweb'. There are its equivalents in other Turkic languages, in some of them with slight differences. The form *ag* was registered in OT sources.

bajrak (K-B) 'flag, znamja, stjag' (KBRS 114); *bajrak* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'znamja, flag' (Boz. 166); *bajrak* (*bajraq*; K) 'Fahne' (Pr K 90) < PT **bajïrak*, **badïruk*, **batïrak*; cf.: OT *badruk*, *bajrak*, *batrak*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Cr.), Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *bajrak*; Trkm. *bajdak*, *bajrak*; Uz. *bajrok*; Uig. *vajrak*. – Lit.: DTS 77, 79, 89; ÈSTJa II 33; KRPS 99.

Registered in Old Turkic sources in various forms, however not very common in modern Turkic languages the word *bajrak* is known with the meaning 'flag'.

balta (K-B) 'topor; tesak' (KBRS 116); *balta* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'topor' (Bor. 166); *balta* (*baltá*; B) 'Axt' (Pr B 206) < PT **balta*; cf.: OT *baldu*, *baltu*; Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Ur.) *balta*; Čuv. *purtă*; Kaz., Kir. *balta*; Trkm. *palta*; Uz. *bolta*; Uig. *palta*, *boltä*; Lob. *palto*, *paltï*; Alt. *malta*; Khak. *paltï*; Tuv. *baldï*; Yak. *balta*. – Lit.: DTS 80, 81; Eg. 166; JUFD 176; KRPS 101; Malov 154; ÖjHa. 10; Podolsky 4.

Although the word *balta* 'axe' is represented in several Turkic languages we cannot exclude its borrowing from other than Turkic languages. There are several hypotheses concerning this very problem, cf. Eg. 166. In some Turkic languages there are variants of this word. In Yak. *balta* 'iron hammer'.

bešik (K-B) 'ljul'ka, kolybel'' (KBRS 137); *bešik* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'kolybel'' (Boz. 167); *bešik*, *bešix*, *bešig* (*bešík*, *bešíx*, *bešíg*) 'Wiege' (Pr B 208) < PT **bešik* (ESG); cf.: OT *bešik*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *bešik*; Kar. (Cr.) *bäšik*, (H) *bäsik*; Tat. (Cr.) *bešik*, Tat. *bišik*, *bišek*; Čuv. *pelče*; Bašk. *bišïk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *besik*; Kir. *bešik*; Trkm. *bīšik*; Uz. *bešik*; Uig. *böšük*, *bišik*; Lob. *bešik*, *bešük*; Khak. *pizīk*; Tof. *ɓešik*; Y. Uig. *pelek*; Yak. *bisik*, *bihik*, *bičik*. – Lit.: DTS 97; Eg.154; ÈSTJa II 123; KRPS 152, 153; Malov 93; ÖjHa. 27; Rass. 161.

The word *bešik* 'cradle' is an old word already known in Old Bulgar, from where it was borrowed into Hungarian, cf. Eg. 154. It was also confirmed in

OT and it is known at present among modern Turkic languages, where in some of them it appears in phonetic variants.

biz (B), **miz** (K) 'šilo' (KBRS 141, 467); *biz* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'šilo' (Boz. 167); *miz* (K) 'Pfrieme (zum Nähen)' (Pr K 123); *biz* (B) 'Ahle, Pfriem' (Pr B 209) < PT **bīz*; cf.: OT *bï*, *bi* 'knife'; Kum., Az., Tur., *biz*; Kar. (Cr., H) *biz*, (T) *biź*; Tat.(Cr.) *biz*; Tat. *bïz*; Bašk. *bïz*; Kaz. *bïz*, *bïgïz*, Kklp., Nog. *biz*; Kir. *miz*; Trkm. *bïz*; Uz. *bigïz*; Uig. *begiz*; Sal. *piz*; Y. Uig. *pïz*, *puzï*; Alt. *pis*, *mis*; Khak. *pïs*; Tuv. *bis*. – Lit.: DTS 97; ÈSTJa II 130; Gab. 302; KRPS 115; Tenišev SJ 197, 198.

The word *biz* ~ *miz* 'pricker' is known among Turkic languages (also in other variants), however Old Turkic sources do not register this very form but only *bi* ~ *bï* with the meaning 'knife', cf. DTS 97, Gab. 302. As far as the etymology and structure of this word is concerned there are several conceptions e.g. Räsänen claims that *biz* < *bïz* < **bijiz* < **bigiz* < **bī-gi-z* < **bī-ki-z*, thus it is a derivative formed from the basis *bi* with the use of two suffixes, cf. ÈSTJa II 131.

bugow (K-B) '1. puty; 2. naručniki; cepi, kandaly; 3. *per.* uzy, bremja, puty, okovy; 4. cep'' (KBRS 165); *bugou* (*buγou*; K) 'Pferdefessel' (Pr K 95) < PT **bogaw* < **boγaγ* (ESG); cf.: OT *bogagu*, *bokagu*, *bukagu*; Kum. *bugaw*; Az. *buxov*; Tur. *bukagï*; Gag. *bïkaa*, *bukā*; Kar. (Cr.) *bugow*, *buqow*; (H, T) *bugow*, *buguv*; Tat. *bŭgaw*; cf. also Čuv. *păjav*; Bašk. *bïgaw*; Kaz. *bŭgaw*; Kklp., Nog. *bugaw*; Kir. *bogō*; Trkm. *bukaw*; Uz. *bugow*; cf. also Yak. *bïa* 'Schnur, Strick' (StachM GJV 45). – Lit.: DTS 109, 112, 125; Eg. 152; ÈSTJa II 248; Gab. 305; KRPS 136, 138; Räs. VEWT 87 a; StachM GJV 45.

The word *bugow* 'fetter; hobble' seems to be an old derivative formed from the verbal basis: **bok(a)-*, **buka-*, **baga-*. Such hypotethical forms are presented by Bang, Clauson, Zajączkowski. This verbal basis semantically refers to the action of binding, cf. ÈSTJa II 249. The word has equivalents both in OT and in modern Turkic languages.

četen (K-B) '1. pletionka; pletionoje izdelie; 2. korzina; sumka; 3. korob, pletionyj jaščik; sapetka; 4. pletionyj kuzov' (KBRS 732); *četen* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'korzina' (Boz. 190); *četen* (*č^{c}et^{c}en*; K) 'Korb' (Pr K 98) < PT **čätän*; cf.: OT *čit* (MK); Kum. *četen*; Tur. *čit*; Gag. *čiten*; Kar. (Cr.) *četen*, (H) *ceten*, (T) *čeťań*; Tat. *čitän*; Čuv. *śatan*; Bašk. *sitän*; Kaz. *šetän*; Uz. *četan*; Uig. *čitän*; Oir. *čedän*; Khak. *siden*; Šor. *šädän*. – Lit.: DTS 146; Eg. 204; KRPS 619, 627, 642; Räs. VEWT 106 a; YRh. 257.

The word *četen* in K-B denotes 'a thing which is plaited; wickerwork, basket-work' also 'basket'. A word *čit* was registered by MK denoting 'shelter made out of reed (cane)'. At present in some Turkic languages the word *četen* has its equivalents with the meaning generally referring to something plaited e.g.: 'basket, fence of hurdles etc'.

čüj (K-B) '1. gvozď; 2. ščekolda, zasov, kručok' (KBRS 746); *čüj* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'gvozď, kol' (Boz. 191); *čüj* (K) 'Nagel' (Pr K 99); *cüj* (B) 'Nagel, Pfahl' (Pr B 216) < PT **čüj* (ESG) ; cf.: Kum. *čuj*; Az. *čiv*; Tur. *čivi*; Kar. (Cr.) *čüj*; *čuj*, (T) *ćuv*; Tat. (Kaz.) *čöj*, *čüj*; Trkm. *čüj*. – Lit.: KRPS 633, 634, 642; Räs. VEWT 121 a.

The word *čüj* '1. nail; 2. hook; 3. tree-mail' has its equivalents only in a few Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

geben (K-B) 'stog (K); kopna (B)' (KBRS 183); *geben* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'kopna sena' (Boz. 169); *geben* (K) 'Schober, Haufen (bes. Heu)' (Pr K 103); *geben* (*gebén*; B) 'Schober, Heuhaufen' (Pr B 221) < PT **käpän*; cf.: Kum. *geben*; Tat. *kiben*; Tat. (Ur.) *ťeben*; Čuv. *kapan*; Bašk. *käbän*; Kaz. *keben*; Kir. *kebän*. – Lit.: Eg. 89; Podolsky 25; Räs. VEWT 254 a.

The word *geben* 'haystack' is registered only in several Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B, but in different phonetic variants. Egorov (Eg. 89) assumes that the word comes from the verbal root 'to dry, to get dry' and gives the examples of verbal bases in Bašk., Tat. *kip-* and in Kaz. *keb-*.

ğaja (K-B) '1. luk; 2. smyčok' (KBRS 239); *ğaja* (*ǯaja*; K) 'Bogen; Bogen zum Wollespinnen' (Pr K 145) < PT **jāj*; **jā* (StachM GJV 40); cf.: OT *ja*; Az., Tur. *jaj*; Gag. *jaj*, *jajï*; Kar. (Cr.) *jā*, *jaja*, (H) *jaj*, *jaja*, (T) *jaj*, *jaja*; Tat. *ğäjä*; Čuv. *śu* in: *ukśu*, *okśu*; Bašk. *jan*, *jäjä*; Kklp. *žaj*; Kaz. *žaj*, *žak*; Nog. *jaj*; Kir. *ğā*; Trkm. *jāj*; Uz. *joj*; Uig. *ja* in: *okja*; Lob. *ja*; Sal. *jā-ox*; Y. Uig. *ja*; Alt. *jā*, *ďā*; Khak. *čāğak*; Tuv. *ča*; Tof. *ča*; Šor. *čağak*; Yak. *sā*. – Lit.: DTS 221; Eg. 271; ÈSTJa IV 74; KRPS 213, 218; Rass. 193; StachM GJV 40; Tenišev 342.

The lexeme *ğaja* in K-B denotes 'bow'. In OT there was the form: *ja*. At present there are its counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

ğelim (K-B) 'klej' (KBRS 241); *ğelim* (*ǯelim*; K) 'Leim' (Pr K 147); *zelim* (*zelím*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 271) < PT **jelim* (ESG); cf. OT: *jelim*, *jilim*; Tur. *jelim*; Tat. *ğilïm*; *žilem* (Eg. 213); Čuv. *śilĕm*; Bašk. *jïlïm*; *jelem* (Eg. 213); Kaz., Kklp. *želim*; Nog. *jelim*; Kir. *ğelim*; *želim* (Eg.213); Trkm. *jelim*; Uz., Uig., Lob. *jelim*; Sal. *jilem*; Y. Uig. *jilïm*; Alt. *ďelim*; Šor. *čälim*; Yak. *silim*. – Lit.: DTS 254, 261; Eg. 213; ÈSTJa IV 179; Räs. VEWT 196 a; Tenišev 358; YRh. 1251.

The word *ğelim* 'glue' was registered in MK in the forms: *jelim*, *jilim* and at present it has its equivalents in some Turkic languages. Its etymology is vague.

ğer (K-B) 'sedlo' (KBRS 243); *ijer* (B) 'id.' (Ibid. 295); *ğer* (*ǯer*; K) 'Sattel' (Pr K 148); *zer* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 271) < PT **edär* (Räs. VEWT 36a); cf.: OT *edär*, *eδär*; Kum. *jer*, *er*; Az. *jähär*; Tur. *ejer*; Gag. *jēr*; Kar. (Cr.) *eger*, (H) *ïgïr*, (T) *jer*, *eger*, *er*; Tat. (Cr.) *ejer*; Tat. *ijär*; Čuv. *jĕner*; Bašk. *ejär* (Eg. 78); *ïjär*; Kaz. *er*; Kklp. *jer*; Kir. *ēr*; Nog. *ijer*; Trkm., Trukh. *ejer*; Uz. *egär*, *egar*; Uig. *egä(r)*, *igär*, *igā̄*; Lob. *egej*; Sal. *eŋer*; Y. Uig. *ezer*; Alt. *ēr*; Khak. *izer*; Tuv.

ezer; Tof. *eźer*; Šor. *ezer*; Yak. *ïnïr*; *ïŋïr* (ÖjHa. 33). – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 243; DTS 162, 164; Eg. 78; ÈSTJa I 241; JUFD 193; KRPS 273, 653, 654, 665, 650; ÖjHa. 33; Rass. 183; Räs. VEWT 36 a; SKT 182; Tenišev 325.

The word *ger* 'saddle' was registered in OT in the forms *edär*, *eδär*. At present the word is confirmed in different phonetic forms in most Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

ğib (K-B) '1. remeń, arkan iz remnja; 2. niť, nitka' (KBRS 247); *ğib* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'remennyj arkan' (Boz. 172); *ğib* (*ǯip*; K) 'Riemen' (Pr K 148); *zip*, *zif*, *zib* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 272) < PT **θïp* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jip*, *jïp*; Kum. *jip*; Az. *ip*; *sap* (Eg. 214); *Khal. jiˑp*; Tur. *ip*; Gag. *jip*; Kar. (Cr.) *jip*, (H) *ip*, *jip*, (T) *ip*; Tat. (Ur.) *jip*; Tat. *ğĭp*; *žep* (Eg. 214); Čuv. *śip*; Bašk. *jĭp*; *jep* (Eg. 214); Kaz., Kklp. *žĭp*; Nog. *ğip*; *jip*; Kir. *ğip*; *žip* (Eg. 214); Trkm. *jüp*; Uz. *ip*; Uig. *jip*; *žip* (Eg. 214); Lob. *ip*; Sal. *jip*; Y. Uig. *jip*, *č'ip*, *se'p*, *sip*, *sïp*, *jep*; Alt. *ďip*; Khak. *čĭp*; Šor. *čĭp*; Yak. *sap*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 240, 246; Doerfer LSCh 158, 318; DTS 262, 267; Eg. 214; ÈSTJa IV 268; KRPS 204, 245; Malov 115; Podolsky 33; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev SJ 175, 210.

The K-B *ğib* '1. strap; 2. thread' was confirmed in OT in the forms: *jip* ~*jïp*. At present it has its equivalents in some Turkic languages.

ğügen (K-B) 'uzda, uzdečka' (KBRS 270); *žügen* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'uzda' (Boz. 172); *ğügen* (*ǯügén*; K) 'Zaum' (Pr K 150); *zügön* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 275) < PT **jügen* (ESG); OT *jügün*; Kum. *jügen*; Az. *jüjän*; Tur. *ojan*; Kar. (Cr.) *jügen*; Kar. (T) *juǵan*, (H) *igen*, *jigen*; Tat. (Cr.) *jügen*; Tat. *jügän*; *jögän* (Eg. 77); Čuv. *jĕven*; Bašk. *jügän*; Kaz. *ğügen*; Kklp. *ğüwen*; *ğüjen* (Eg. 77); Nog. *jüwen*; Kir. *ğügön*; *žügön* (Eg. 77); Trkm. *ujan*; Uz. *jugan* (Eg. 77); *jügän*; Uig. *jü(r)gen*, *jügän*; Lob. *jugan*; Y. Uig. *jugïn*; Alt. *üjgen*, Alt. (V) *ügen*; Khak. *čügen*; Tuv., Šor. *čügen*. – Lit.: DTS 284; Eg. 77; ÈSTJa I 577; KRPS 193, 244, 254, 261; YRh. 905.

The K-B word *ğügen* 'bridle' has its equivalents also in other Turkic languages, mostly with the same meaning. The structure of the word shows its derivational character, perhaps from the verbal basis, cf. ÈSTJa I 577. In OT sources the form *jügün* was registered.

ğük (K-B) '1. gruz, vjuk, noša; bagaž; 2. zalog, zaklad, zadatok; 3. obuza, bremja; 4. fanť' (KBRS 271); *žük* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'tjažesť, gruz, vjuk, noša' (Boz. 172); *ğük* (*ǯük*; K) 'Last, Steuer' (Pr K 150); *zük* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 275) < PT **θük* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jük*; Kum., Az. *jük*; Khal. *jüˑk*; Tur. *jük*; Kar. (Cr.) *jük*, (H) *ik*, *jik*, *jük*, (T) *jük*, *juk*; Tat. *jŭk*; *jök* (Eg. 205); Čuv. *śăk*; Bašk. *jŭk*; *jök* (Eg. 205); Kaz., Kklp. *žük*; Nog. *jük*; Kir. *ğük*; Trkm. *jük*; Uz. *juk*; Uig. *jük*, *žük*; Lob. *jük*; Sal. *jüx*; Y. Uig. *jük*; Alt. *ďük*, *jük*; Khak. *čük*; Tuv. *čük*; Tof. *čük*; Šor. *čük*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 173, 319; DTS 285; Eg. 205; ÈSTJa IV 262; KRPS 197, 244, 255, 262; Malov 122; Rass. 199; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 369.

The K-B word *ğük* 'weight, load' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the word had the form *jük*. Analysing the etymology of the word *jük* some specialists have considered its Indo-European origin, cf.: Eg. 205; ÈSTJa IV 263.

ğüzük (K-B) 'kolco, persteń' (KBRS 270); *züzük* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'koľco' (Boz. 174); *ğüzük* (*ǯüzű́k*; K) 'Ring' (Pr K 150); *züzük* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 276) < PT **jüzük*; cf.: OT *jüzük*; Kum. *jüzük*; Az. *üzük*; Tur. *jüzük*; Gag. *jüzük*, *üzük*; Kar. (Cr.) *jüzük*, (H) *ezik*, *izik*, (T) *üźuk*; Tat. (Ur.) *jüzüg*; Tat. *jŭzĭk*; *jözek* (Eg. 212); Čuv. *śĕrĕ*; Bašk. *jŭzŭk*; *jözök* (Eg. 212); Kaz., Kklp. *žüzik*; Nog. *jüzik*; Kir. *ğüzük*; Trkm. *jüzük*; Uz. *uzuk*; Uig. *üzük*; Lob. *üzük*; Alt. *d'üstük*; Tuv., Khak. *čüstük*; Šor. *čüstük*. – Lit.: DTS 288; Eg. 212; ÈSTJa IV 261; KRPS 194, 262, 589, 655; Malov 182; Podolsky 34.

The K-B word *ğüzük* 'ring' has its counterparts in several Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT there was the form *jüzük*. As far as the structure of the word is concerned it seems to be a derivative perhaps from **jüz* 'joint', cf. ÈSTJa IV 262.

ijne (K-B) 'igla' (KBRS 299); *ijne* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'igla' (Boz. 174); *ine*, *ijne* (*iné*, *ijné*; K) 'Nadel' (Pr K 107); *ijne* (*ijné*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 225) < PT **ignä*; cf.: OT *jignä*, *jiŋnä*; Kum. *ine*; Az. *ijnä*; Khal. *īnä*; Tur. *igne*; Gag. *īnä*; Kar. (Cr.) *jine*, (H) *jine*, *ine*; (T) *iña*; Tat. (Ur.) *jine*; Tat. (Cr.) *igne*, *jine*; Tat. *inä*; Bašk. *īnä*; *enä* (Räs. VEWT 169b); Kaz. *ĭjna*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ijne*; Turkm. *iŋŋe*; Uz. *igna*, *ignä*; Uig. *igna*, *ignä*, *jiŋnä*, *jignä*; Sal. *igni*, *iŋne*, *jigena*, *jigine*, *jiginä*; Y. Uig. *jiŋne*; Alt. *īne*, *ijne*, *ine*; Khak. *ĭŋe*; Tuv. *ine*; Yak. *ińe*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 157, 204; DTS 261, 262; ÈSTJa I 367; KRPS 204, 245; Podolsky 33; Räs.VEWT 169 b; StachM GJV 67; Tenišev 336, 338, 357; Tenišev SJ 184, 186.

The K-B word *ijne* 'needle' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages and the forms *jignä*, *jiŋnä* were registered in OT sources.

irin (K-B) 'gnoj' (KBRS 305); *irin* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 174); *irin* (*irín*; K) 'Eiter' (Pr B 225); *irin* (*irín*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 225) < PT **iriŋä*; cf.: OT *jiriŋ*, *iriŋ*; Az., Tur. *irin*; Gag. *jirin*; Kar. (Cr., H) *irin*, (T) *iriń*; Tat., Bašk. *ĭrĭn*; Kaz. *ĭrĭn*; Kklp. *iriŋ*; Nog. *irin*; Kir. *iriŋ*; Trkm. *iriŋ*; Uz. *jiriŋ*; Uig. *ğiriŋ*; Sal. *jireŋ*; Alt. *iriŋ*; Khak. *ĭrĭn*; Tuv. *iriŋ*; Yak. *iräŋä*, *iriŋä*. – Lit.: DTS 212, 263; ÈSTJa I 373; KRPS 205; StachM GJV 110; Tenišev 360, 361.

The word *irin* 'dung; muck' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. The structure of the word shows its derivational character probably from *iri-* 'to decay', cf. ÈSTJa I 373. OT sources registered the following forms: *iriŋ*, *jiriŋ*.

kab (K-B) '1. čexol, futljar, kožux; 2. pokrov; 3. obraz, ličina; 4. *per.* ramki, predel' (KBRS 368); *kab*, *kap* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'pokrov, čexol' (Boz. 177); *kap* (*qʿap*; K) 'Futteral' (Pr K 115); *kap*, *kaf*, *kab* (*qap*, *qaf*, *qab*; B) 'Deckel,

Decke, Futteral' (Pr B 234) < PT *kāp; cf.: OT *kap*; *ka* (MK); Kum. *kap*; Az. *kab*; Tur., Gag., Kar.(Cr., H, T), Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kap*; Trkm. *kāp*; Uz. *kop*; Uig., Lob., Y. Uig., Alt. *kap*; Khak. *xap*; Tuv. *xap*; Šor. *kap*; Yak. *xā*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 399, 420; ÈSTJa V 266; KRPS 289, 362; Malov 126; ÖjHa. 12; StachM GJV 41; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev SJ 199.

The word *kab* '1. sack; 2. holder; 3. etui; 4. case' is known in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. Two forms were registered in OT sources: *kap*, *ka*.

kajïk (K-B) 'lodka, šljupka' (KBRS 379); *kajïk* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'lodka' (Boz. 177); *kajïk* (*qᶜajĭ́q*; K) 'Kahn' (Pr K 113); *kajïk*, *kajïx*, *kajïg* (*qajĭ́q*, *qajĭ́x*, *qajĭ́y*; B) 'Boot; Kahn' (Pr B 233) < PT *kajguk (ÈSTJa V 212); *kaŋuk (Räs. VEWT 233 a); cf.: OT *kajguk*, *kajgïk*; Kum. *kajïk*; Az. *gajïk*; Tur., Gag. *kajïk*; Kar. (H, T) *kajïk*; Tat. (Cr.) *kajïk*; Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kajïk*; Trkm. *gajïk*; Uz. *kajik*; Uig. *kejik*; Alt. *kajïk*; Yak. *xojūk* ~ *xojuk* ~ *xajĭ́k* ~ *xajïk*. – Lit.: DTS 407; ÈSTJa V 212; KRPS 285; Räs. VEWT 233 a; StachM GJV 131.

There are equivalents of the K-B *kajïk* 'boat' in other Turkic languages. In OT there were the forms *kajguk*, *kajgïk*. The etymology of this lexeme is the subject of speculation, cf. ÈSTJa V 212-213.

kalaj (K-B) '1. žesť; 2. bidon' (KBRS 381); *kalaj* (*qᶜaláj*; K) 'Blech' (Pr K 114) < PT *kalaj (ESG); cf.: Kum. *kalaj*; Az. *galaj*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Cr.), Tat., Čuv., Bašk. *kalaj*; Kaz. *kalajï*; Kklp. *kalaj*, *kalajï*; Nog., Kir. *kalaj*; Trkm. *galājï*; Uz. *kaľäji*; Uig. *käläj*; Alt. *kalaj*; Tuv. *xïlā*; Yak. *xalai*: *kilai* – *xalai*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa V 230; Eg. 86; KRPS 359; Räs. VEWT 225 a.

The word *kalaj* (appearing in other Turkic languages in some variants) denotes 'tin'. In other Turkic language the semantic range is wider, e.g.: in Tuv. *xïlā* 'enamel'; Kir. *kalaj* 'metal'; Yak. *xalai* in *kilai-xalai* 'shiny' etc. According to various sources the etymology of this word is difficult to establish. One of the hypotheses is its origin from the name of the town Qualah located on the peninsula in south-eastern Asia, cf.: ÈSTJa V 230; Eg. 86.

kazan (K-B) 'kotiol, kazan' (KBRS 375); *kazan* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'kotel mednyj' (Boz. 177); *kazan* (*qᶜazán*; K) 'Kessel' (Pr K 117); *kazan* (*qazán*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 236) < PT *kazgan (< *kāryan) [Räs. VEWT 243 b]; cf.: Kum. *kazan*; Az. *gazan*; Khal. *kāzgān*, *gazan*; Tur., Gag. *kazan*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kazan*; Tat. (Ur.) *xazan*; Tat. *kazan*; Čuv. *xuran*; Bašk. *kazan*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kazan*; Trkm. *gāzan*; Uz. *kozon*; Uig. *kazan*; Lob., Sal. *kazan*; Alt. *kazan*; Khak. *xazan*; Šor. *kazan*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 134, 288, 306; Eg. 307; ÈSTJa V 186; KRPS 281, 357; Malov 123; Podolsky 29; Räs. VEWT 243 b; Tenišev 463.

The lexeme *kazan* 'cauldron' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning, except Kar. (Cr.), Gag. and Tat. (Ur.). In Kar. (Cr.) and Tat. (Ur.) it means 'pot' and in Gag. 'bucket'. There are several notions

concerning the etymology of the word. Egorov (with a question mark) tries to etymologize it from *kaz-* 'to dig' (cf. Eg. 307).

keli (K-B) 'stupa, stupka' (KBRS 319); *keli* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'stupka' (Boz. 175); *keli* (*kʿeli*; K) 'Mörser' (Pr K 108); *keli* (B) 'id.) (Pr B 227) < PT **kälig*; cf.: Kum. *keli*; Kar. (Cr.) *keli*; Tat. *kile* (Eg. 112); *kilī*; Čuv. *kilĕ*; Bašk. *kile* (Eg. 112); *kilĭ*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Uz. *keli*; Yak. *kelī*. – Lit.: Eg. 112; ÈSTJa V 33; KRPS 390; Räs. VEWT 249 b; StachM GJV 59.

The word *keli* 'mortar' is registered in a few other Turkic languages in some phonetic variants.

keme (K-B) 'sudno, korabl' (KBRS 322); *keme* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'korabl' (Boz. 175); *keme* (*kʿemé*; K) 'Schiff' (Pr K 108); *keme* (B) 'Schiff' (Pr B 227) < PT **kämi*; cf.: OT *kämi*, *kemi*, *kemä*, *kimi*; Kum. *geme*; Az. *gämi*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H) *gemi*; Tat. *köjmä*; Čuv. *kimĕ*; Bašk. *kämä*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *keme*; Trkm. *gämi*; Uz. *kema*; Uig. *käme*, *kime*; Lob. *keme*, *kemä*; Sal. *kimu*, *kʿimu*; Alt. *keme*; Khak. *kime*; Tuv. *xeme*; Šor. *käbä*. – Lit.: DTS 297; Eg. 113; ÈSTJa III 38; Gab. 313; KRPS 159, 166; Malov 134; Räs. VEWT 251 a; Tenišev 383, 400.

The word *keme* 'ship, boat' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT sources there were registered the following forms; *kimi*, *kämi* (Gab.); *kemi*, *kemä* (DTS).

kïlïč (K-B) 1. 'meč, sablja, šaška'; 2. 'zasov, zadvižka; perekladina, žerd'; 3. 'raduga' (KBRS 443); *kïlïč* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'sablja, koromyslo, perekladina' (Boz. 178); *kïlïč* (*qʿïlïč*; K) 'Regenbogen' (Pr K 118); *kïlïc* (*qïlïc*; B) 'Rand, Geländer; Querholz' (Pr B 237) < PT **kïlïč*; cf.: OT *kïlïč*; Kum. *kïlïč*; Az. *gïlïnč*; Tur. *kïlïč*; Kar. (Cr., T) *kïlïč*, (H) *kïlïc*; Čuv. *xĕś*; Bašk. *kïlïs*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kïlïš*; Kir. *kïlïč*; Trkm. *gïlïč*; Trukh. *kïlïš*; Uz. *kilič*; Sal. *kiliš*, *küleš*, *küliš*; Oir. *kïlïš*; Khak. *xïlïs*; Tuv. *xïlïš*; Šor. *kïlïš*; Yak. *kïlïs*. – Lit.: DTS 442; Eg. 301; KRPS 380, 385; Räs. VEWT 263 b; SKT 180; StachM GJV 94; Tenišev 463, 466.

The word *kïlïč* is registered in K-B sources with three groups of meaning: 1. 'sword, sable'; 2. 'bar' and even 3. 'rainbow'. We cannot exclude homonymy in such a case. In other Turkic languages the word has its equivalents (phonetic variants) with the meaning 'sable, sword'. The word was registered also in OT.

kïn (K-B) '1. nožny; 2. čexol; 3. stručok; 4. [kukuruznyj] počatok' (KBRS 445); *kïn* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'nožny' (Boz. 178); *kïn* (*qʿïn*; K) 'Scheide' (Pr K 118); *kïn* (*qïn*; B) 'Scheide' (Pr B 237) < PT **kïn*; cf.: OT *kïn*; Az. *gïn*; Tur. *kïn*; Kar. (Cr, H, T) *kïn*; Tat. *kïnï*; Čuv. *jĕnĕ*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kïn*; Trkm. *gïn*; Uz., Uig. *kin*; Sal. *ken*, *kïn*; Y. Uig. *kʿïn*; Alt. *kïn*; Khak., Tuv. *xïn*; Yak. *kïn*. – Lit.: DTS 444; Eg. 79; KRPS 380, 386; ÖjHa. 29; StachM GJV 103; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 463, 466; Tenišev SJ 204; YRh. 652.

The lexeme *kïn* 'sheath' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

kijiz (K-B) 'vojlok, košma' (KBRS 346); *kijiz* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'vojlok, košma' (Boz. 175); *kijiz* (*kʿijíz*; K) 'Filz' (Pr K 110) < PT **kiδiz* (ESG); cf.: OT *kiδiz*, *kidiz*, *kiviz*; Kum. *kijiz*; Tur. (dial.) *kijiz*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kijiz*, (T) *kijiź*; (H) *tijiz*; Tat. *kiĭz*; *kijez* (Rass. 188); Bašk. *kĭjĭz*, *kejez*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kijiz*; Trkm. *kīz*; Uz. *kigiz*; Uig. *kigiz*; Y. Uig. *gïgïz*; Alt. *kijis*; Khak. *kīs*; Tuv. *kidis*; Tof. *hịdis*; Šor. *kīs*. – Lit.: DTS 306, 311; ÈSTJa V 66; KRPS 317, 527; Rass. 188; Räs. VEWT 270 a.

The word *kijiz* 'felt; thick felt' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT sources the following forms were registered; *kiδiz*, *kidiz* 'thick felt'; and also *kiviz* 'carpet'. As far as the etymology of this lexeme is concerned Bang assumes its origin from the verb *ked-* 'to put on (clothes)', cf. ÈSTJa V 67.

ok (K-B) 1. 'pulja'; 2. 'žalo' (KBRS 493); *ok* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'strela, pulja' (Boz. 181); *ok* (K) 'Kugel, Stachel' (Pr K 125); *ok*, *ox*, *og* (*oq*, *ox*, *oγ*; B) 'Kugel' (Pr B 246) < PT **ok*; cf.: OT *ok*; Kum. *ok*; Az. *ox*; Tur., Gag. *ok*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ok*; Tat. (Cr.) *ok*; Tat. *uk*; Čuv. *uxă*; Bašk. *uk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *ok*; Uz. *ok*; *uk* (Eg. 279); Uig., Lob. *ok*; Y. Uig. *oʾk*, *oʾkʿ*, *xok*; Alt. *ok*; Khak. *ux*; Tuv. *ok*; Tof. *ok*; Yak. *ox*. – Lit.: DTS 368; Eg. 279; ÈSTJa I 437; KRPS 426; Malov 150; ÖjHa. 34; Rass. 212; Räs. VEWT 359 b; SKT 180; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev SJ 193.

The lexeme *ok* '1. arrow; 2. sting' is widely known also in other Turkic languages. In some of them it appears in phonetic variants. In some T. languages (Y. Uig., Yak., Čuv.) it means '*bow*'. OT sources registered also this lexeme.

otun (K-B) 'drova, toplivo' (KBRS 506); *otun* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'drova' (Boz. 182); *otun* (*otʿún*; K) 'Holz, Brennholz' (Pr K 126); *otun* (*otún*; B) 'Holz' (Pr B 247) < PT **ōtuŋ* (ESG); cf.: OT *otuŋ*; Az., Tur., Gag. *odun*; Kar. (Cr.) *otun*, *otïn*, (H, T) *otun*; Tat. (Cr.) *odun*; Tat. *utïn*; Čuv. *vut*, *vută*; Bašk. *utïn*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *otïn*; Kir. *otun*; Trkm. *ōdun*; Uz. *otin*; *utin* (Eg. 57); Uig., Lob., Sal., Y. Uig. *otun*; Alt. *odïn*; Khak. *odïŋ*; Šor. *oduŋ*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 374; Eg. 57; ÈSTJa I 421; KRPS 435; Malov 152.

The lexeme *otun* 'firewood' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT there was the form *otuŋ*. As far as the etymology is concerned Egorov (Eg. 57) suggests its relation with the word *ot* 'fire'. The structure shows its derivational character.

özeŋi (K-B) 'stremja' (KBRS 275); *özeŋi* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'id.' (Boz. 183); *özeŋŋi* (K) 'Steigbügel' (Pr K 128); *özeŋŋi* (*özeŋŋí*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 249) < PT **izäŋgö* (StachM GJV 88); cf.: OT *üzäŋü*; Kum. *özengi*; Az. *üzängi*; Tur. *özengi*, *üzengi*; Gag. *jözeŋgi*; Kar. (Cr.) *özengi*, (H) *ezinge*; Tat. *üzäŋgĭ*; *özäŋge* (Eg. 66); Čuv. dial. *ĕsenkĕ* (< Tat.); *jărana*; Bašk. *üzäŋgĭ*; *özäŋge* (Eg. 66); Kaz.

üzeŋgĭ; Kklp. *üzeŋgi*; Nog. *zöoŋgi*; Kir. *üzöŋgü*; Trkm. üzeŋŋi; Uz. *üzäŋi*; *uzangi* (Eg. 66); Uig. *üzäŋgü*, *üzäŋgi*; Lob. *uzöŋgü*; Sal. *uzuŋgu*, *ozeŋgu*; Y. Uig. *ezenkï*, *ezengĭ*; Alt. *üzeŋi*; Khak. *ĭzeŋe*; Tuv. *äzeŋgi*, *ezeŋgi*; Tof. *eźeŋge*; Šor. *üzäŋä*; Yak. *ihäŋä*, *iŋähä*; *isäŋä* (ÖjHa. 45). – Lit.: DTS 630; Eg. 66, 76; ÈSTJa I 623; KRPS 438, 655; Malov 182; ÖjHa. 45; Rass. 183; StachM GJV 88, 106; Tenišev 431; Tenišev SJ 179; YRh. 1212.

The word *özeŋi* 'stirrup' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the form *üzäŋü* was registered. In Čuv. there are two forms: *ĕsenkĕ* perhaps from Tatar, the another one *jărana* according to Egorov (Eg. 76) of unknown origin. In Sal. *ozeŋgu* denotes 'stairs, ladder'.

sab (K-B) 'ručka, rukojatka'; 'deržak' (KBRS 529); *sab*, *sap* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'ručka, rukojatka' (Boz. 182, 183); *sap* (K) 'Stiel, Stengel' (Pr K 130) < PT **sap*; cf.: OT *sap*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *sap*; Čuv. *kisĕp* (< *kilĕ* + *sep* ~ *sap*); Bašk. *hap*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uig., Sal., Y. Uig. *sap*; Tuv. *sïp*; Yak. *up* ~ *uk*, *ub*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 259; DTS 485; Eg. 114; JUFD 230; KRPS 465; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 19; StachM GJV 20; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 474; Tenišev SJ 205.

The word *sab* ~ *sap* 'handle' is known in other Turkic languages. In some of them (Yak., Tuv.) there are phonetically various forms of the lexeme. The word was also registered in OT.

sagïz (K-B) 'smola, mastika' (KBRS 532) < PT **sagïz*; cf.: OT *sagïz*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.) *sakïz*; Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *sagïz*; Čuv. *suxăr*; Bašk. *hagïz*; Kaz., Kklp. (dial.), Kir. *sagïz*; Uig. *segiz*; Khak. *sagïs*, *sās*; Tuv. *sā̆t*; Yak. *jas*. – Lit.: DTS 481; Eg. 198; KRPS 462; Podolsky 19; Räs. VEWT 396 b; StachM GJV 21.

The word *sagïz* 'gum, resin' is registered in OT and in some modern T. languages. In some of them there are phonetically various forms.

salam, saman (K-B) 'soloma' (KBRS 535, 538); *salam* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 183); *salam* (*salám*; K) 'Stroh' (Pr K 129); *salam* (*salám*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 250) < PT **saman* (ESG); cf.: OT *saman*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., T), Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *saman*; Kir. *samal*; Trkm. *sāman*; Uig. *saman*; . – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 483; JUFD 230; KRPS 463; Podolsky 19; Räs. VEWT 399 b.

The word *saman* 'straw' appears in K-B also in the form *salam* (perhaps contamination ?). It is also known in a few other Turkic languages. In Kir. it has the form *samal*, which Räsänen explains by contamination with Russ. *soloma*, cf. Räs. VEWT 399 b. In Tat. (Ur.) and Tat. it denotes 'adobe'. The word registered by MK.

šiš (K-B) 'vertel' (KBRS 751); *šiš* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'vertel, palka, na kotoroj zarjat' (Boz. 192) < PT **šĭš* (**sĭš*); cf.: OT *šĭš*, *šiš*; Az., Tur. *šiš*; Kar. (Cr.) *šiš*, (H) *sis*; Tat. *šeš*; Bašk. *šeš*; Kir. *šiš*; Trkm. *čiš*; Nog. *sis*; Khak. *sis*; Tuv.

šiš; Tof. *šiš*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; DTS 524; Gab. 336; KRPS 476, 646; Rass. 231; Šč. SF 198.

The lexeme *šiš* 'drill; spit' confirmed in OT in the forms: *šiš*, *šïš* has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

tamga (K-B) '1. pjatno; 2. klejmo, tavro; tamga' (KBRS 601); *tamga* (*tᶜamγá*; K) 'Stempel, Stempeleisen' (Pr K 136) < PT **tamga* (ESG); cf.: OT *tamga*, *tamka*; Kum. *damga*; *tamŋa* (Räs. VEWT 460 a); Az. *damga*; *dagma* (Rass. 169); Tur. *damga*; Kar. (Cr.) *tamga*, (H) *tïmga*; Tat. *tamga*; Čuv. *tumxa*; Bašk. *tamga*; Kaz. *taŋba*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tamga*; Trkm. *tamga*; *dag* (Rass. 169); Uz., Uig., Alt. (V.) *tamga*; Khak., Tuv. *taŋma*; Tof. *daŋma*. – Lit.: DTS 530, 531; Eg. 257; Gab. 337; KRPS 509, 557; Rass. 169; Räs. VEWT 460 a.

The word *tamga* '1. sign; 2. stamp, mark' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages, however in some of them with different meaning, cf.: Kar. (Cr.) *tamga*, (H) *tïmga* '1. mark; 2. customs; 3. contribution; 4. seal.' In OT sources the forms: *tamga*, *tamka* were registered.

tegene (K-B) 'koryto, koloda' (KBRS 617); *tegene* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'koloda dlja korma skota, koryto' (Boz. 185); *tegene* (*tᶜegené*; K) 'Trog' (Pr K 137) < PT **tägänä* (ESG); cf.: Old Bulgar **täg(ä)näg* (Räs. VEWT 471 a); cf. *tegene* (Zamahš.); Az. *täknä*, dial. *tögönä*; Tur. *tekne*; Gag. *teknä*; Kar. (Cr., T) *tekne*, (H) *tegine*; Tat. (Ur.) *tekne*; Tat. (Kaz.) *tigänä*; Tat. (Sib.) *tikänä*; Čuv. *takana*; Kaz. *tegene*; Uz. *tegana*; Uz. (S) *tigna*. – Lit.: Eg. 228; KRPS 520, 560, 562; Podolsky 23; Räs. VEWT 470 b – 471 a.

The word *tegene* 'trough' has counterparts in several other Turkic languages, in some languages with different meaning, cf. Uz. *tegana* 'log'. Zamahšari registers *tegene*.

tïš (K-B) '1. čexol, fuljar, pokryška; 2. perepliot, obložka, obiortka; 3. verx, obivka; 4. naružnosť, vnešnosť; naružnaja storona' (KBRS 664); *tïš* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'vnešnosť, vnešneje' (Boz. 186); *tïš* (*tᶜïš*; K) 'äusserlich, das Äussere' (Pr K 138); *tïš* (*tïš*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 260) < PT **taš*; cf.: OT *taš*, *taś*; Kum. *tïš*; Tur. *dïš*; Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Cr.), Tat. *tïš*; Čuv. *tul*; Bašk. *tïš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tïs*; Kir. *tïš*; Trkm. *daš*; Uz. *taš*, *toš*; Uig. *taš*; Lob. *taš*; Y. Uig. *tas*; Alt. *tïš*; Yak. *tas*. – Lit.: DTS 539; Eg. 256; Gab. 338; KRPS 559; ÖjHa. 9; ÈSTJa III 164; StachM GJV 105.

The lexeme *tïš* 'outside, exterior, outer' in OT sources registered in *taš*, *taś* forms has also equivalents in other Turkic languages.

tob (K-B) I 'mjač'. II 'pačka, stopa; rulon; motok' korobka'. III 'puška, orudje' (KBRS 638); *tob*, *tof* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'mač, mjačik; puška' (Boz. 186) < PT **top*; cf.: OT *top*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.) *top*; Tat. *tup*; Čuv. *tupă*; Bašk. *tup*; Kaz. *dop*; Kklp., Nog., Trkm. *top*; Uz. *tup*; Uig. *top*. – Lit.: DTS 575; Eg. 258; KRPS 538; Podolsky 24; Räs. VEWT 489 a; Šč. SF 197.

The K-B source (KBRS 638) gives three meanings referring to the word *tob* 1. 'ball'; 2. 'foot; packet; hank'; 3. 'cannon, arms'. The OT form *top* together with some equivalents from modern Turkic languages confirm the meanings: '1. ball; 2. cannon'.

tokmak (K-B) I '1. kolotuška, derevjannyj molotok; 2. palica, dubina; kisteń; 3. nabaldašnik; 4. *per.* golova'. II 'bubenec, šarik, kolokoľčik, busina' (KBRS 642); *tokmak* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'derevjannyj molotok, kolotuška, kisteń, dubina' (Boz. 186); *tokmak* (*tᶜoqmáq*; K) 'Keule' (Pr K 139); *tokmak*, *tokmax*, *tokmag* (*toqmáq*, *toqmáx*, *toqmáγ*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 261) < PT **tokmak* (ESG); cf.: Az. *toxmag*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr.) *tokmak*; Tat. (Ur.) *toxmax*; Tat., Čuv., Bašk. *tukmak*; Kaz., Kklp. *tokpak*; Kir. *tokmok*; Trkm. *tokmak*; Uz. *tukmok*; Uig. *tokmak*; Lob. *tokmak*, *tokmok*; Sal. *toxmax*; Alt. (V) *tokpak*, *topkok*; Khak. *toxpax*; Tuv. *dokpak*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Eg. 255; KRPS 535; Malov 173; Podolsky 24; Tenišev 518.

Tokmak '1. mallet; 2. wooden pestle' also 'bat' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In Uz. it also denotes 'mace'. Egorov (Eg. 256) suggests the onomatopoeic character of the word.

tuzak (K-B) '1. silok, teniota; zapadnja, lovuška; 2. primanka; 3. nevolja, tjurma; kabala, rabstvo' (KBRS 650); *tuzak* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'petja, silok, lovuška, zasada' (Boz. 186) < PT **tuzak* (ESG); cf.: OT *tuzak*, *tuzag* (MK) but also *tuz* 'net' (Gab.); Az. *duzak*; Tur. *duzak*, *tuzak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *tuzak*, (T) *tuzax*; Tat. *tozak*; Bašk. *tozak*; Kaz., Kir. *tuzak*; Trkm. *tuzak*; Uz. *tuzok*; Uig. *tuzak*, *tozak*; Khak. *tuzax*; Tuv. *duzak*; Tof. *duzak*; Yak. *tusax*, *tuhax*. – Lit.: DTS 594; Gab. 345; KRPS 544, 545; Rass. 177; Räs. VEWT 502 b; YRh. 316, 1190.

The word *tuzak* 'trap; loop; snare' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT are confirmed the forms *tuzak*, *tuzag*; *tuz*. Perhaps the lexeme has a common origin with *tuz* 'net' registered by Gab. 345, however the suffix *-ak* in its structure *tuz-ak* is vague.

tüjme (K-B) '1. pugovica; 2. nagrudnik' (KBRS 670); *tüjme* (*tᶜüjme*; K) 'Knopf' (Pr K 141); *tüjme* (*tüjmé*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 263) < PT **tügmä* (ESG) < **tüγ-* (Šč. SF 198); cf. OT *tügmä*; Az. *düjmä*; Tur. *dügme*; Kum. *tüjme*; Gag. *dūme*; Tat. *tŭjmä*; *töjmä* (Eg. 264); Čuv. *tüme*; Bašk. *tŭjmä*; *töjmä* (Eg. 264); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tüjme*; Kir. *tüjmö*; Uz. *tugmä*; Uig. *tügmä*; Lob. *tüŋmä*; Sal. *tügme*; Yak. *timäx*, *tämäx*. – Lit.: DTS 595; Eg. 264; ÈSTJa III 307-308; Räs. VEWT 503 b; Šč. SF 198.

The word *tüjme* 'button' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. MK registered the form *tügmä*. The structure of the word shows its derivational character perhaps < **tüj-* < **tüγ-* 'to tie, to bind'.

1.11. Names of some human activities and their results

algïš (K-B) '1. blagoje poželanie, zdravica, privetstvie; 2. folk. pesnja-poželanie; zastoľnaja pesnja'; 'zazdravnyj' (KBRS 50); *algïš* (*alyíš*; K) 'Dank, Dankbarkeit' (Pr K 87); *algïš* (*alyíš*; B) 'Segen, Dank, Glückwunsch' (Pr B 201) < PT **algïš* (ESG); cf.: OT *algïš*, *alkïš*; Tur. *alkïš*; Kar. (Cr., T) *algïš*, (H) *algïs*; Sal.: *xalqasur*, *xalgeš*, *xalges*. – Lit.: DTS 34, 38; KRPS 63; YRh. 50.

This is the word confirmed in Old Turkic sources. However, at present it is registered only in a few modern Turkic languages with the meaning: 'blessing, praise'.

ğal (K-B) 'najom, batračestvo; 2. plata za batračestvo, zarabotok batraka' (KBRS 219); *žal* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) zarabotok, voznagraždenie' (Boz. 171); *ğal* (*ǯal*; K) 'Lohn, Bezahlung' (Pr K 145) < PT **jāl*; cf.: Kar. (Cr., H, T) *jal*; Tat. (Kaz.) *jal*; Kaz., Kklp. *žal*; Kir. *ğal*; Alt. *jal*, *ďal*; Khak. *čal*; Šor. *čal*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa IV 84; KRPS 220; Räs. VEWT 181 a.

The noun *ğal* '1. hire; 2. payment' has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages with the same meaning.

ğïr (K-B) 'pesnja' (KBRS 268); *ğïr* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'id.' (Boz. 172), *žïr* (Baks., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (ibid. 172); *ğïr* (*ǯír*; K) 'Lied' (Pr K 148) < PT **θïr* (~ **ïr*) (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *ïr*, *jïr*; Kum., Az. *jïr*; Tur. *ïr*, *jïr*; Kar. (H) *jïr*, (T) *jïr*, *ir*; Tat. *ğïr*; *žïr* (Eg. 350); Čuv. *jură*; Bašk. *jïr*; Kaz., Kklp. *žïr*; Nog. *jïr*; Kir. *ïr*; Trkm. dial. *jïr*; Uz. *žir* (Eg. 350); *ğir*; Y. Uig. *jïr*, *jer*; Sal. *jür*, *x́ür*; Khak., Tuv., Tof. *ïr*; Yak. *ïrïa*; *ïrïga* (Rass. 240). – Lit.: DTS 219, 268; Eg. 350; ÈSTJa IV 285; KRPS 205, 267; ÖjHa. 28; Rass. 240; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev SJ 183, 186; YRh. 1258.

The word *ğïr* 'song' has its equivalents at present in numerous Turkic languages. The forms *ïr*, *jïr* were registered in OT with the same meaning.

ğumuš (K-B) '1. rabota, služba; 2. zadanie, poručenie; 3. uslugi, usluga' (KBRS 258); *ğumuš* (*ǯumúš*; K) 'Dienst' (Pr K 149); *zumuš* (*zumúš*; B) 'Auftrag, Angelegenheit, Dienst' (Pr B 275) < PT **jumuš* (ESG); cf.: OT *jumuš*; Tur. (*dial.*) *jumuš*; Kar. (Cr., T) *jumuš*, (H) *jumus*; Tat. *jŭmïš*; *jomïš* (Eg. 207); Čuv. *šămăl*; Bašk. *jŭmïš*; *jomoš* (Eg. 207); Kaz., Kklp. *žumïs*; Kir. *ğumuš*; *žumuš* (Eg. 207); Trkm. *jumuš*; Uz. *jumuš*; Lob. *jumuš*; Khak. *nïmïs*; Tuv. *čïmïš*. – Lit.: DTS 280; Eg. 207; ÈSTJa IV 251; Gab. 357; KRPS 258, 259; YRh. 1263.

The word *ğumuš* '1. work, duty; 2. service; 3. order' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, where generally they have the same meaning, however in some languages the meaning is different e.g.: Tuv. *čïmïš* '1. problems; troubles; 2. poor fellow'. In OT there was the word *jumuš* with two meanings: 1. duty, work; 2. legation'.

iš (K-B) '1. rabota, zanjatie, trud, dejateľnosť; 2. proizvodstvo, rabota; 3. rabočij process, raboty; 4. delo, položenie veščej, obstajateľstvo; 5. delo, vopros,

problema; 6. trud, tvorčestvo' (KBRS 309); *iš* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'delo, rabota' (Boz. 174); *iš* (K) 'Sache, Beschäftigung' (Pr K 108); *iš* (B) 'Sache, Beschäftigung; was man zu tun hat' (Pr B 225) < PT **īš*; **īš* ~ **ĭš* (StachM GJV 113); cf.: OT *iš*, *üš*; Kum., Az. *iš*; Khal. *īš*; Tur., Gag. *iš*; Kar. (Cr., T) *iš*, (H) *is*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *iš*; Tat. *ĭš*; *eš* (Eg. 66); Čuv. *ĕś*; Bašk. *ĭš*; *eš* (Eg. 66); Kaz. *ĭš*; Kklp., Nog. *is*; Kir. *iš*; Trkm., Uz., Uig. Lob. *iš*; Sal. *ič*, *iš*; Y. Uig. *is*, *üs*; Alt. *iš*; Tuv., Tof. *iš*; Yak. *ĭs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 159, 294; DTS 214, 220; Eg. 66; ÈSTJa I 395; KRPS 206, 211; Malov 116; Podolsky 11; Rass 201; StachM GJV 113; Sul. Kkar. 67; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 335, 340; Tenišev SJ 220.

The word *iš* 'work' is very common in Turkic languages. The OT sources register it in two forms *iš*, *üš*.

kïjïn (K-B) 1. '1. trud, rabota; 2. xlopoty; 3. zarabotok'; 2. 'trudnyj, složnyj, tiažiolyj' (KBRS 441); *kïjïn* (*qʿïjïn*; K) 'schwer, schwierig, übel, beschwerlich' (Pr K 117); *kïjïn* (*qïjïn*; B) 'schwer, beschwerlich; Beschwerde, Not' (Pr B 237) < PT **kĭń*; cf.: OT *kïjïn*, *küin* ~ *küïn*; Kum. *kïjïn*; Tur. *kïn*; Kar. (Cr.) *kïjïn*, (H) *kïjïn*, *ḱejïn*, (T) *kïjïn*; Tat. *kïjen*; Čuv. *xĕn*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kïjïn*; Trkm. *kïn*; Uz., Uig. *kïjin*; Alt. (V.) *kïjïn*; Oir. *kïjïn*. – Lit.: DTS 440, 441; Eg. 298; Gab. 328; KRPS 379, 301, 385; Räs. VEWT 264 b.

The K-B sources give two meanings for the word *kïjïn*: 1. 'work; troubles'; 2. 'difficult, hard'. In other Turkic languages where this lexeme has its counterparts there are also two meanings (substantival and adjectival) for this word. In some languages (Čuv., Tur., Kar. (H, T) it denotes 'suffering; pain; torture' and in others, e.g.: Uz., Uig., Tat., Trkm., Nog. it means 'hard; difficult'. In OT sources the forms: *kïjïn*, *küin*, *küïn* denoted 'punishment; order; suffering'.

küj (B), **küw** (K) 'pesnja, plač' (KBRS 361, 366); *kuj*, *küj* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'golos, zvuk, melodija, napev, motiv' (Boz. 176); *küj* (*kʿüj*; K) '[oft fast *kʿüʰ* gesprochen] Lied (besonders Trauerlied' (Pr K 112) < PT **köǵ*; cf.: OT *kög* (DTS 311); *küg* (Gab. 317); Kum. *küj*; Az. *kök*; *küj* (Räs. VEWT 286 b); Tat. *kŭj*; *köj* (Eg. 104); Čuv. *kĕvĕ*; Bašk. *kŭj*; *köj* (Eg. 104); Kaz., Nog. *küj*; Kir. *küj*, *kü*; Trkm. *xen*; Uz. *koj*, *kuj*; Uig. *küj*; Alt. (V), Khak. *kög*; Šor. *küg*. – Lit.: DTS 311; Eg. 104; ÈSTJa V 82; Gab. 317; Räs. VEWT 286 b, 307 a.

The lexeme *küj* '1. song, threnody; 2. sound, melody' has counterparts in several other modern Turkic languages. OT sources registered: *kög* (DTS); *küg* (Gab.). Some specialists assume a Chinese origin of this word, cf.: Eg. 104; ÈSTJa V 82-83.

ojun (K-B) '1. igra; veseľe, zabava; 2. triuk; zrelišče, predstavlenie; 3. *per.* vyxodka, prodelka, šutka (KBRS 508); *ojun* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'igra, beseda, veseľe' (Boz. 181); *ojun* (*ojún*; B) 'Spiel, Unterhaltung, Belustigung' (Pr B 246) < PT **ojun*; cf.: OT *ojun*; Kum., Az. *ojun*; Khal. *oˑjun*; Tur., Gag. *ojun*; Kar. (Cr.) *ojun*, *ojïn*, (H, T) *ojun*; Tat. (Cr.) *ojun*; Tat. *ujïn*; Čuv. *văj(ă)*; Bašk. *ujïn*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ojïn*; Kir., Trkm. *ojun*; Uz. *ojin*, *ujin*; Uig.

ojun, *ojan*; Lob. *ojun*, *oin*; Y. Uig. *oin*, *ujin*; Alt. *ojïn*; Khak. *ojïn*; Tuv. *ojun*; Tof. *oen*, *öjen*; Šor. *oin*; Yak. *ojnū*; *ōńū* (Rass. 210). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 170, 304; DTS 366; Eg. 48; ÈSTJa I 435; KRPS 425, 426; Malov 150; Rass. 210; StachM GJV 121, 125.

The K-B *ojun* 'play; joke; feast' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. The form was registered in OT. Its structure shows its derivational character.

sarïn (K-B) 'plač, pričitanije' (KBRS 543); *sarïn* (*sarı̊n*; K) 'die Totentrauer, die Klage über einen Toten' (Pr K 130) < PT **sarïn* (ESG); Kum. *sarïn*; Khak. *sarïn*. – Lit.: Räs. VEWT 404 a.

The word *sarïn* '1. cry; 2. mourning song' is known only in two other Turkic languages. It is not confirmed in OT.

uw (K-B) 'oxota' (KBRS 687); *ū* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'id.' (Boz. 188); *ū* (K) 'Jagd' (Pr K 141); *ū* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 264) < PT **āβ* (Šč. SF 193); **āb* (< ? **hāb*; Räs. VEWT 1 a); cf.: OT *av*, *ab*; Kum. *haw*, *aw* ~ *av*; Az. *ov*; Tur., Gag. *av*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *av*; Tat. (Cr.) *aw* ~ *av*; Tat., Bašk. *aw*; Kaz., Nog. *aw* ~ *av*; Kir. *ū*; Trkm. *āw*; Uz. *ow*; Uig. *o*, *ow*, *ov*, *av*; Lob. *a*, *â*; cf. Tuv. *agla-*; Tof. *ag*. – Lit.: DTS 1, 68; ÈSTJa I 62; Gab. 297; KRPS 39; Malov 79; Rass. 151; Räs. VEWT 1 a; Šč. SF 193.

The lexeme *uw* 'hunting' has equivalents in other Turkic languages also with the meaning 'game'. In OT sources the following forms were registered: *ab*, *av*.

1.12. Seasons

ğaj (K-B) '1. leto; 2. letom' (KBRS 217); *zaj* (B. dial.: Balk.), *žaj* (Čeg.) 'leto' (Boz. 172); *ğaj* (*ǯaj*; K) 'Sommer' (Pr K 145) < PT **jāj* (Räs. VEWT 179 a); **θāj* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *jaj*; Kum., Az., Tur. *jaj*; Tat. *ğäj*; Čuv. *śu*, dial.: *śăv*; Bašk. *jäj*; Kir. *ğaj*; Uz. *jaj*; Lob. *jaj*; Sal. *ji*, *jij*; Y. Uig. *jaj*; Alt. *jaj*, *ďaj*; Khak., *čaj*, *čajgï*; Tuv. *čaj*; Tof. *čaj*; Šor. *čaj*; Yak. *saj*; *sajïŋ* (Rass.194). – Lit.: DTS 226; Eg. 215; ÈSTJa IV 74; Malov 116; Rass. 194; Räs. VEWT 179 a; StachM GJV 42; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 356, 357.

The lexeme *ğaj* 'summer' is both registered in OT in the form *jaj* and at present in other Turkic languages in different phonetic variants.

ğaz (K-B) 1. '1. vesna; 2. (B) leto.' (KBRS 216); *ğaz* (*ǯaz*; K) 'Frühling' (Pr K 147); *zaz* (B) 'Frühsommer' (Pr B 271) < PT **jaz* (StachM GJV 189); **θas* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *jaz*; Kum., Az. *jaz*; Khal. *jāz*; Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *jaz*; Čuv. *śur*; Bašk. *jaz*; Kaz., Kklp. *žaz*; Nog. *jaz*; Kir. *ğaz*; Trkm. *jāz*; Trukh. *jaz*, *jāz*; Uz. *joz*; Uig., Lob. *jaz*; Sal. *jaz*; Y. Uig. *jaz*; Alt. *ďas*; *jas* (Rass. 194); Khak., Tuv., Tof. *čas*; Yak. *sās*. – Lit.: DTS 250; Eg. 219; ÈSTJa IV 71; KRPS 216; Malov 116; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 32; Rass. 194; SKT 179; StachM GJV 189; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 352; Tenišev SJ 183.

The lexeme *ǧaz* '1. spring; 2. summer' was known in OT in the form *jaz* and it has also its equivalents at present in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

kïš (K-B) 'zima' (KBRS 450); *kïš* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 179); *kïš* (*qᶜïš*; K) 'Winter' (Pr K 118); *kïš* (*qïš*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 238) < PT **kīš*; cf.: OT *kïš*; Kum. *kïš*; Az. *gïš*; Tur., Gag. *kïš*; Kar. (Cr., T) *kïš*, (H) *kïš*, *kïs*; Tat. *kïš*; Tat. (Ur.) *xïš*; Čuv. *xĕl*; Bašk., *kïš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kïs*; Kir. *kïš*; Trkm. *gïš*; Trukh. *kïš*; Uz., Uig. *kiš*, *kïš*; Lob., Sal. *kïš*; Y. Uig. *kïs*; Oir. *kïš*; Alt. *kïš*; Khak. *xïs*; Tuv. *kïš*; Tof. *kïš*; Yak. *kïs*. – Lit.: DTS 448; Eg. 297; KRPS 380, 382, 390; Malov 133; ÖjHa. 28; Podolsky 29; Rass. 224; SKT 180; StachM GJV 94; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 466; Tenišev SJ 201.

The lexeme *kïš* 'winter' is widely known in other Turkic languages, where it appears in some phonetic variants. It was registered in OT.

küz (K-B) '1. [rannaja] oseń; 2. senokos' (KBRS 361); *küz* (*kᶜüz*; K) 'Herbstanfang' (Pr K 113); *küz* (B) 'Spätsommer' (Pr B 232) < PT **kūs* (Šč. SF 195); **kūz* (StachM GJV 111); cf.: OT *küz*; Kum. *güz*, *guz*; Tur., Gag. *güz*; Kar. (Cr.) *küz*, (H) *kiz*, *tiz*, (T) *kuź*; Tat. (Ur.) *küz*; Tat. (Cr.) *kuź*; Tat. *kŭz*; *köz* (Eg. 106); Čuv. *kĕr*; Bašk. *kŭz*; *köz* (Eg. 106); Kaz., Nog. *küz*; Kklp. *güz*; Kir. *küz*; Trkm. *güjz*; Uz. *kuz*; Uig. *küz*; Lob. *küz*, *küs*; Y. Uig. *kᶜoz*, *kuz*, *küz*; Alt. *küs*; Khak. *küs*; Tuv. *küs*; Tof. *küs*; Šor. *küs*; Yak. *küs*, *kühün*. – Lit.: DTS 331; Eg. 106; ÈSTJa III 94; KRPS 317, 351, 396, 526; Malov 138; ÖjHa. 43; Podolsky 13; Rass. 204; StachM GJV 111, 139; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev SJ 188, 189.

The lexeme *küz* '1. early autumn; 2. summer; 3. haymaking' was registered in OT; it also has counterparts in other Turkic languages.

1.13. Time units and time of day

aj (K-B) '1. mesjac; 2. luna, mesjac; 3. izobraženie polumesjaca' (KBRS 29); *aj* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'mesjac' (Boz. 164); *aj* (K) 'Mond, Monat' (Pr K 85); *aj* (B) 'Mond, Monat' (Pr B 198) < PT **āj*; cf.: OT *aj*; *āj*, *aj* (Gab. 297); Kum., Az. *aj*; Khal. *hāj*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat, Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *aj*; Čuv. *ujăx*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *aj*; Trkm. *āj*; Uz. *oj*; Uig., Lob., Sal., *aj*; Y. Uig. *aj*, *ej*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *aj*; Tof. *aj*; Yak. *ij*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 115, 291; DTS 24, 25; Eg. 270; ÈSTJa I 98; Gab. 297; KRPS 50; Malov 81; Podolsky 3; Rass. 152; StachM GJV 42; Tenišev 283; Tenišev SJ 174, 178.

Aj 'moon; month' is in use in most modern Turkic languages. It was also known in Old Turkic.

čak (K-B) 'vremja, pora; period' (KBRS 722) < PT **čāk*; cf.: OT *čak*; Kum. *čan*; Az. *čag*; Tur. *čag*; Kar. (Cr.) *čag*, (H) *cak*; Tat. *čan*; *čak* (Rass. 230); cf. also Tat. (Ur.) *čax*; Čuv. *čux*; Bašk. *sak*; Kaz. *šak*; Kir. *čan*; *čak* (Rass. 230); Trkm. *čag*; Uz. *čog*; Uig. *čag*; Lob. *čak*; Y. Uig. *zᶜag*; Alt. *čan*; Tuv. *šag*; *šak* (Eg.

327); Tof. *šag*; Yak. *sax*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; DTS 139; Eg. 327; JUFD 250; KRPS 611, 620; Malov 188; Podolsky 7; Rass. 230; StachM GJV 47; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev SJ 175, 177.

The word *čak* 'time; period' was known in OT and at present its counterparts with the self same meaning can be found in numerous Turkic languages. However in Tat. (Ur.) *čax* means 'even'; This perhaps being a homonym.

ğïl (K-B) '1. god; 2. vozrast' (KBRS 265); *žïl* (B. dial., Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'god' (Boz. 172); *ğïl* (Baks.) 'id.' (ibid. 172); *zïl* (Balk.) 'god, vozrast' (ibid. 173); *ğïl* (*žïl*; K) 'Jahr' (Pr K 148); *zïl* (*zĭl*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 273) < PT **θïl* (Šč.SF 197); **jïl* (StachM GJV 93); cf.: OT *jïl*, *jīl*; Kum. *jil*, *jïl*; Az. *il*; Khal. *ji'l*; Tur., Gag. *jïl*; Kar. (Cr.) *jïl*, (H, T) *jïl*, *il*; Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *jïl*; Čuv. *śul*; Bašk. *jïl*; Kaz., Kklp. *žil*; Nog. *jïl*; Kir. *ğïl*; *žïl* (Eg. 216); Trkm. *jïl*; Uz. *jil*; Uig. *jil*, *žil*; Lob. *jil*, *il*; Sal. *jel*, *jil*, *jïl*; Y. Uig. *jïl*, *jil*; Alt. *ďïl*, *jïl*; Khak., Tuv., Tof., Šor. *čïl*; Yak. *sïl*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 116, 318; DTS; 266 Eg. 216; ÈSTJa IV 275; KRPS 197, 263; Malov 114, 120; ÖjHa. 28; Podolsky 33; Rass. 199; StachM GJV 93; Sul. Kkar. 75; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 353, 358, 370; Tenišev SJ 186.

The word *ğïl* 'year' is common in all Turkic languages, where there are its various phonetic variants. In OT sources the word was confirmed in two forms: *jïl* and *jīl*.

ïjïk (K-B) 'nedelja' (KBRS 758); *ïjïx* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 174); *ïjïk* (*ĭjĭq*; K) 'Woche' (Pr K 106); *ïjïk*, *ïjïx*, *ïjïg* (*ĭjĭq*, *ĭjĭx*, *ĭjĭγ*; B) 'id' (Pr B 226) < PT **ī̈ðuk* < **ī̈ð-* (StachM GJV 103); cf.: OT *ïduk*, *ïdug*, *ïðuk*, *ïdduk*; cf. Kar. (Cr.) *juxkün*, (H) *jixkin*, (T) *jexkuń*; Kir. *ïjïk*; Alt. *ïjïk*, *ijik*; Khak. *ïzïx*; Tuv. *ïdïk*; Yak. *ïtïk*. – Lit.: DTS 217, 218; ÈSTJa I 649; KRPS 246, 260, 278; StachM GJV 103.

In K-B the word *ïjïk* means 'week' but *ïjïk kün* (Pr B 226) 'Sunday'. The word has its equivalents in several Turkic languages with the following meanings: '1. sth bringing luck (Kir., Alt.); 2. fetish (Alt., Khak.); 3. holy, sacred (Yak., Alt., Kir., Khak.); 4. Sunday (in the compound with *kun* ~ *kün* in Kar.). In OT there are the following forms registered: *ïduk*, *ïdug*, *ïðuk*, *ïdduk* 'holy, sacred'.

iŋir (K-B) 'večer' (KBRS 304); *iŋir* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'večer, vremja zaxoda solnca' (Boz. 174) < PT **iŋir* ~ **ïŋïr* (ESG); cf.: OT *iŋir*; Az. *ingiraz*; Kar. (Cr.) *ïŋgïr*, *ïŋïr*, (H) *ingir*, (T) *iŋgir*, *ingir*, *iŋgir*, *eŋgir*; Tat. *eŋer*, *ïŋgïr*; Čuv. *ĕnĕrĕk*, *ĕntĕrĕk*; Bašk. *ïŋïr*; *eŋer* (Eg. 65); Kaz. *ïmïrt*, *iŋir*; Kklp. *iŋin*, *iŋir*, *ïmïrt*; Kir. *iŋirt*, *ïmïrt*; Trkm. *iŋrik*; Alt. *iŋin*, *eŋir*, *iŋir*; Y. Uig. *inger*, *jiŋïr*, *jeŋir*, *jïnïr*, *ğiŋer*; Tuv. *imir*; Šor. *ïnar*. – Lit.: DTS 211; Eg. 65; ÈSTJa I 354; KRPS 202, 204, 651, 663.

The K-B *iŋir* 'evening, time of sunset' was known in OT and it has its counterparts in several Turkic languages.

keče (K-B) 'noč' (KBRS 332); *kece* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.), *keče* (Balk., Kaš., Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 175); *keče* (*kᶜečé*; K) 'Nacht' (Pr K 108); *kece* (B) 'Nacht, Abend' (Pr B 227) < PT **kēče*; cf.: OT *kičä*, *kečä*; Kum. *geče*, *geč*; Az. *ǵeğä*; *kečä* (Eg. 93); Khal. *kēčä*; Tur. *geğe*; Gag. *ǵeğä*; *geže* (Eg. 93); Kar. (Cr.) *geğe*, *geče*, *geča*, *keča*, *keče*, (H) *kece*, (T) *ǩečǧa*; Tat. (Ur.) *ťeğe*, *jeğe*; Tat. (Cr.) *geğe*; Tat. *kičä*, *kič*; Čuv. *kaś*; Bašk. *kisä*, *kis*; Kaz. *keš*; Kklp. *keš*, *keše*; Nog. *keše*; Kir. *kečē*, *keče*, *keše*; Trkm. *gīğe*, *geğe*; *giže* (Eg. 93); Trukh. *gijğa*; Uz. *kečä*; Uig. *kečä*, *kičä*, *kiče*; Lob. *keče*, *kiče*; Sal. *geği*, *geğe*, *keči*, *kēčï*, *keğe*, *kēğe*, *keši*, *keš*, *keže*, *keği*; Y. Uig. *kiče*; Alt. *keče*, *keč*; Khak. *kiğē*; Tuv. *kežē*; Tof. *keğä*; Yak. *kiähä*; *kiäsä* (ÖjHa. 23). – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 116, 296; DTS 291, 306; Eg. 93; ÈSTJa III 40; KRPS 159, 166, 167, 311, 312, 394, 395; Malov 135, 136; ÖjHa. 23; Podolsky 25, 32; Rass. 202; Sul. Kkar. 76; SKT 178; StachM GJV 67, 72; Tenišev 331, 377, 378, 380, 381.

The lexeme *keče* 'night; evening' is widely known in other Turkic languages, where it appears in some phonetic variants. Apart from the meaning known in K-B the word in some other languages (Kir., Kaz., Alt., Khak., Kklp., Tat., Bašk., Uz., Uig. Sal.) denotes also 'yesterday'. The form *keč* (or its variants) in some languages (Kum., Bašk., Kklp.) means 'evening' and also (in Alt.) 'late'. The OT sources (about the 11th c.) registered the forms: *kičä*, *kečä*.

kün (K-B) '1. solnce; 2. deń; 3. deń; sutki; 4. znamenateľnaja data; znamenateľnyj deń; prazdnik; 5. pogoda; 6. *per.* blagopolučije; sčastlivoje vremja, svetlyje dni' (KBRS 363); *kün* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'solnce, deń' (Boz. 176); *kün* (*kᶜün*; K) 'Sonne, Tag, Wetter, Mitterung' (Pr K 112); *kün* (B) 'Sonne, Tag, Wetter, Witterung' (Pr B 231) < PT **kün* (**kũn* ?) (Šč. SF 195); **kün* (StachM GJV 132); cf.: OT *kün*; Kum. *gün*; Az. *kün*, *gün*; Khal. *kü·n*; Tur., Gag. *gün*; Kar. (Cr.) *gun*, *kün*, (H) *kin*, (T) *ǩuń*; Tat. (Cr.) *kuń*; Tat. (Ur.) *kün*; Tat. *kũn*; *kön* (Eg. 117); Čuv. *kun*; Bašk. *kũn*; *kön* (Eg. 117); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kün*; Trkm. *gün*; Trukh. *kün*; Uz. *kun*; Uig. *kün*; Lob. *kün*; Sal. *gun*, *kun*, *kün*, *kᶜun*; Y. Uig. *kᶜün*, *kᶜun*; Alt., Khak. *kün*; Tuv. *xün*; Tof. *hün*; Šor. *kün*; Yak. *kün*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 114, 115, 298; DTS 326; Eg. 117; ÈSTJa III 100; KRPS 162, 320, 353, 396; Malov 138; ÖjHa. 43; Podolsky 13; Rass. 192; SKT 179; StachM GJV 132; Sul. Kkar. 80; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 332, 395, 398, 402; Tenišev SJ 189, 190.

The lexeme *kün* '1. day; 2. sun' is very common among other Turkic languages, where in some of them it appears in phonetic variants. It was registered in OT sources.

tün (K-B) '1. jav; 2. *redko* noč' (KBRS 672) < PT **tũn*; cf.: OT *tün*; Tur. (arch.) *dün*; Kar. (Cr.) *tün*; Tat., Bašk. *tön*; Kaz., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *tün*; Uz. *tun*; Uig. *tün*; Y. Uig. *tᶜune*; Alt., Khak. *tün*; Tuv. *dün*; Tof. *dün*; Yak. *tũn*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 265; DTS 597; KRPS 553; ÖjHa. 44; Rass. 177; Räs. VEWT 505 a; StachM GJV 139; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev SJ 216; YRh. 318.

The lexeme *tün* has in K-B two meanings; 1. 'consciousness, reality'; and rarely 2. 'night'. The word is registered by very early OT source and at present it is known in other Turkic languages (in the same form or in some phonetic variants) with the meaning 'night'.

tüš (K-B) 'poldeń; jug' (KBRS 675); *tüš* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'poldeń' (Boz. 188); *tüš* (B) 'Mittag' (Pr B 264) < PT **tüš* (**tūš* ?) (Šč. SF 198); cf.: OT *tüš*; Kar. (Cr.) *tüš*, (H) *tis*, (T) *tuś*; Tat., Bašk. *töš*; Kaz. *tüs*; Kir. *tüš*; Uz. *tuš*; Lob., Alt. *tüš*; Tuv. *düš*; Tof. *düš*. – Lit.: DTS 600; KRPS 531, 555, 571; Malov 178; Rass. 178; Räs. VEWT 507 a; Šč. SF 198.

The lexeme *tüš* 'noon' was registered in OT and at present it has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages.

1.14. Astronomical terminology

ğulduz (K-B) 'zvezda' (KBRS 257); *žulduz* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'zvezda' (Boz. 172), *zulduz* (Balk.) 'id.' (ibid. 174) < PT **jïlduz*; cf.: OT *jūltus*, *julduz*, *jultuz*; Kum. *julduz*; Az. *ulduz*; Khal. *julduz*; Tur., Gag. *jïldïz*; Kar. (Cr.) *jïldïz*, (H) *jolduz*, *julduz*, *juldus*, (T) *julduz*; Tat. *jŭldïz*; *joldïz* (Eg. 206); Čuv. *śăltăr*; Bašk. *jŭndŭz*; *jondoz* (Eg. 206); Kaz., Kklp. *žuldïz*; Nog. *juldïz*; Kir. *ğïldïz*; *žïldïz* (Eg.206); Trkm. *jïldïz*; Uz. *julduz*; Uig. *jolduz*, *julduz*, *jultuz*; Lob. *julduz*, *juldus*; Sal. *jiltis*, *jultus*, *jïldïs*; Y. Uig. *jïltïs*, *jilᶜtïs*, *jïltus*; Alt. *ďïldïs*, *jïldïs*; Khak. *čïltïs*; Tuv., Tof. *sïldïs*; Šor. *čïltïs*; Yak. *sulus*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 115, 319; DTS 278; Eg. 206; ÈSTJa IV 279; KRPS 248, 256, 264; Malov 121; Rass. 229; StachM GJV 121; Tenišev 358, 365; Tenišev SJ 184, 186.

The word *ğulduz* 'star' has equivalents in many Turkic languages. In OT three forms were registered: *jūltus*, *julduz* ~ *jultuz*.

kök (K-B) 'nebo, nebosvod' (KBRS 338); *kök* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'nebo, efir' (Boz. 176); *kök*, *köx*, *kög* (B) 'der Himmel; der Äther' (Pr B 230) < PT **kõk*; cf.: OT *kök*; Kum. *gok*, *gök*; Az. *göj*; Khal. *kõk*; Tur., Gag. *gök*; Kar. (Cr.) *kök*, (H) *kek*, (T) *koḱ*; Tat. (Cr.) *koḱ*; Tat. (Ur.) *kök*; Tat. *kük*; Čuv. *kăvak* 'blue' but *kăvak xuppi* 'sky'; Bašk. *kük*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kök*; Trkm. *gõk*; Uz. *kuk*; Uig. *kök*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 114, 298; DTS 312; Eg. 96; ÈSTJa III 66; KRPS 301, 313, 337; Podolsky 13; Rass. 204; Sul. Kkar. 79; Šč. SF 195.

The word *kök* denotes both 'sky' and 'green, blue'. The adjectival function has been discussed in another chapter including comparative material from other Turkic languages. Above, we mention only this comparative material from other languages that refers to the substantival meaning of the lexeme. In OT sources the form *kök* was registered.

1.15. Units of measure

el (B), **eli** (K-B) 'palec (linejnaja mera)' (KBRS 765, 766) < PT **älig* (ESG); cf.: Tat. *illī*; Bašk. *ilī*; Kaz. *elī*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *eli*; Alt. *elü*, *ölü̇*; Khak. *ĭlĭg*; Tuv. *ilig*; Šor. *älig*; Yak. *ili*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa I 263.

The word *el* or *eli* denotes 'finger' as a unit of measure. With the same meaning the word has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. As far as the structure is concerned this is a deverbal derivative formed with the suffix *-ig*^{2}, *-i*^{2}, cf. ÈSTJa I 264.

1.16. Terms referring to space

ara (K-B) '1. seredina, srednij; 2. centr; 3. promežutok, rasstojanie razdeljajuščeje dva predmeta; 4. promežutok, interval; 5. rubež, granica; 6. sreda, obščestvo; kompanija; 7. wzaimootnošenija; 8. meždu' (KBRS 70); *ara* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'promežutok, seredina' (Boz. 165); *ara* (K) 'Mitte' (Pr K 88); *ara* (B) 'Zwischenraum, Mitte' (Pr B 202) < PT **āra*; cf.: OT *ara*; Kum., Az. *ara*; Khal. *hara*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr. Ur.) *ara*; Čuv. *var*, *vară*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., *ara*; Trkm. *āra*; Uz. *ora*; Uig., Sal., Y. Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof. *ara*; Yak. *āra*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 219, 291; DTS 50; Eg. 47; ÈSTJa I 162; KRPS 72; Podolsky 2; Rass. 154; StachM GJV 42; Tenišev 291.

The lexeme meaning 'middle; space between; interval' is widely known both in OT and in modern languages.

art (K-B) '1. zadnaja storona, zadnaja čast, zad; spina; 2. prostranstvo, naxodjaščejesja pozadi'. (KBRS 75); *art* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'spina, tyl, zadnaja storona, ostatok' (Boz. 165); *art* (K) 'die hintere seite; der hintere; das Gesäss; der letzte' (Pr K 88). *art* (B) 'Rücken, Rückseite, der Ort hinter; das Übrigebliebene, Rest' (Pr B 202) < PT **art*; cf.: OT *art*; Kum. *art*; Az. *ard*; Khal. *hārt*; Tur. *art*; Gag. *ārt*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *art*; Tat. (Cr. Ur.) *art*; Tat. *ārt*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *art*; Trkm. *ārt*; Y. Uig. *ārt*, *art*; Alt. *art*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 204, 291; DTS 55; ÈSTJa I 179; KRPS 74; Podolsky 2; Räs. VEWT 27 b; Tenišev SJ 173.

The word denotes 'back part; the back; the rest' and with such meanings is known both in OT and most modern Turkic languages.

ček (K-B) '1. granica, rubež; 2. meža' (KBRS 730); *ček* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'granica, kraj, rubež' (Boz. 190); *cek*, *cex*, *ceg* (B) 'Grenze, Rain' (Pr B 214) < PT **čāk*; cf.: Kum. *ček*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ček*, (H) *cek*; Tat. *čik*; Čuv. *čikĕ*; Bašk. *sik*; Kaz., Kklp. *šek*, *šegara*; Kir. *ček*; Trkm. *čäk*; Uz. *ček*, *čegara*; Uig. *čäk*, *čegra*. – Lit.: Eg. 325; KRPS 617, 626, 640; Räs. VEWT 102 b; Šč. SF 198.

The word *ček* 'border' has equivalents in a few modern Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. The origin is vague.

en (K) '1. širina; 2. metka, nadrez (na uxe životnogo)' (KBRS 768) < PT **ẽn*; cf.: OT *en*, *in*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H) *en*; Tat. *iŋ*; Čuv. *an*; Bašk. *iŋ*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *en*; Trkm. *īn*; Uz. *en*; Uig. *än*; Lob. *en*; Alt. *ēn*; Khak. *in*; *ini* (Eg. 26); Tuv. *en*; Tof. *en*; Yak. *iän*. – Lit.: DTS 173, 209; Eg. 26; ÈSTJa I 352; KRPS 662; Rass. 181; StachM GJV 69; Šč. SF 194.

The word *en* in K-B denotes '1. width; 2. sign; notch'. It is registered in OT in the forms: *en*, *in* and has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

ğaga (K-B) I 'bereg; poberež'e'. II 'vorotnik, vorot' (KBRS 215); *zaga* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'vorotnik' (Boz. 172); *ğaga* (*ǯayá*; K) 'Kragen' (Pr K 145); *zaga* (*zayá*; B) 'Kragen, Rand' (Pr B 268) < PT **jaka* (ESG); cf.: OT *jaka*; Kum. *jaga*; Az. *jaxa*; Khal. *jaka*, *jakka*; Tur., Gag. *jaka*; Kar. (Cr., H) *jaka*, *jaga*; Tat. (Ur.), *jaxa*; Tat. *jaka*; Čuv. *śuxa*, *śuxavi*, dial.: *śuxava*; Bašk. *jaga*; Kklp., Kaz. *žaga*; Nog. *jaga*; Kir. *ğaka*; Trkm. *jaka*; Uz. *joka*; Uig. *jaka*; Lob. *jajka*, *jaka*; Sal. *jaxa*; Alt. *ďaka*; Khak. *čaga*; Tuv. *čaga*; Tof. *čaha*; Šor. *čaga*; Yak. *saga*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 155, 317; DTS 237; Eg. 222; ÈSTJa IV 82; KRPS 215, 219; Malov 117; Podolsky 32; Rass. 194.

The word *ğaga* has in K-B two meanings: 1. 'collar'; 2. 'edge, shore'. In other Turkic languages these two meanings are also met in reference to the word, which on the ground of other Turkic languages has different phonetic variants. However in the some languages there function two parallel phonetic forms, whereas one refers to the first meaning, the second to another one, cf.: Lob. *jajka* 'collar', but *jaka* 'edge, shore'; Kar. (Cr., H) *jaka* 'collar' but *jaga* 'edge'. The word is registered in MK with the meaning 'collar'.

ğak (K-B) 'storona' (KBRS 219) < PT **jāk* (ESG); cf.: OT *jak*; Kum., Kar. (Cr.), Tat., Bašk. *jak*; Kaz., Kklp. *žak*; Nog. *jak*; Kir. *ğak*; Trkm. dial. *jāk*; Uz. *jok*; Uig., Lob. *jak*; Y. Uig. *jak*, *ğak*. – Lit.: DTS 237; ÈSTJa IV 82; KRPS 219.

The word *ğak* 'side' is registered in OT and also in some modern Turkic languages (in variants) with generally the same meaning as in K-B. In some of them (Nog., Bašk., Tat., Uz.) the word denotes 'edge'.

ğan (K-B) 'storona; bok' (KBRS 223); *zan* (B. dial.: Kaš.), *ğan* (Čeg.) 'storona, kraj, bok' (Boz. 173); *žan* (Baks., Kaš., Čeg.) 'bok, storona, kraj' (ibid. 171); *ğan* (*ǯan*; K) 'Seite' (Pr K 145); *zan* (B) 'Seite, Gegend, Richtung' (Pr B 268) < PT **jān*; **θān* (Šč. 196); cf.: OT *jan*; Kum., Az. *jan*; Khal. *jān*; Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *jan*; Čuv. *śum*; *jen* (< Tat.); Bašk. *jan*; Kaz., Kklp. *žan*; Nog. *jan*; Kir. *ğan*; Trkm., Trukh. *jān*; Uz. *jon*; Uig. *jan*; Lob., Sal., Y. Uig. *jan*; Alt. *ďan*; Khak. *nan*, *čan*; Tuv. *čan*; Tof. *ńan*; Šor. *čan*. – Lit.: DTS 231; Eg. 61, 218; ÈSTJa IV 113; KRPS 225; Malov 117; Podolsky 31; Rass. 208; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 182.

The word *ğan* 'side' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in modern Turkic languages.

ğer (K-B) '1. zemlja; 2. zemlja, territorija; 3. zemlja, učastok; 4. zemlja, počva, grunt; 5. mesto, mestnosť; 6. mesto; prostranstvo; 7. mesto, položenie; 8. poľ' (KBRS 242); *žer*, *zer* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.), *žer*, *ğer* (Baks., Čeg.) 'zemlja, mesto' (Boz. 171); *ğer* (*ǯer*; K) 'Erde, Ort' (Pr K 147); *zer* (B) 'Erde, Ort, Stelle' (Pr B 271) < PT **jer*, *jir* (Räs.VEWT 198 a); **θär* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *jer*; Kum., Az. *jer*; Khal. *je'r*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.) *jer*; Tat. *ğir*, *žir*; Čuv. *śĕr*; Bašk. *jĭr*; *jer* (Eg. 211); Kaz., Kklp. *žer*; Nog. *jer*; Kir. *ğer*; *žer* (Eg. 211); Trkm., Trukh., Uz. *jer*; Uig. *jä(r)*, *jer*, *jā̈*; Lob. *jer*, *jej*, *jäj*, *jä*; Sal., Y. Uig. *jer*; Alt. *ďer*, *jer*; Khak. *čir*; Tuv. *čer*; Tof. *čer*; Šor. *čär*; Yak. *sir*. – Doerfer LSCh 107, 124, 317; DTS 257; Eg. 211; ÈSTJa IV 191; JUFD 198; KRPS 273; Malov 119, 120; ÖjHa. 27; Podolsky 33; Rass. 195; Räs. VEWT 198 a; SKT 179; StachM GJV 60; Šč. SF 196.

The lexeme *ğer* denotes '1. earth; 2. place; 3. space'. There are equivalents of this word in most of other Turkic languages. The word *jer* was registered in OT.

ğol (K-B) '1. doroga, puť; 2. sposob, metod; 3. uklad, porjadok; 4. soobščenie, kommunikacija; svjaź; 5. kurs; napravlenie' (KBRS 251); *žol*, *ğol* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'puť, doroga, raz' (Boz. 172), *zol* (Baks., Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'puť, doroga' (ibid. 173); *ğol* (*ǯol*; K) 'Weg' (Pr K 149); *zol* (B) 'Weg, Gang, Reise, Mal' (Pr B 274) < PT **jōl*; **θōl* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jol*, *ğol*; Kum. *jol*; Az. *jol*; Khal. *jōl*, *juol*; Tur., Gag. *jol*; Kar., Tat. (Ur.) *jol*; Tat. *jul*; Čuv. *śul*; Bašk. *jul*; Kaz., Kklp. *žol*; Nog. *jol*; Kir. *ğol*; *žol* (Eg. 216); Trkm., Trukh. *jol*; Uz. *jol*; *jul* (Eg. 216); Uig., Lob. *jol*; Sal. *jol*, *jōl*; Y. Uig. *jol*; Alt. *ďol*; Khak., Tuv., Tof. *čol*; Šor. *čol*; Yak. *suol*. – Lit.: Bask.JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 110, 111, 174, 318; DTS 270, 642; Eg. 216; ÈSTJa IV 217; KRPS 247; Malov 121; ÖjHa. 36; Podolsky 33; Rass. 102; SKT 179; StachM GJV 81; Sul. Kkar. 73; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 362; Tenišev SJ 184.

The word *ğol* 'way' is very common in most Turkic languages, where it appears in different phonetic variants. In OT two forms were registered: *jol* ~ *ğol*. The semantic range of the word is wide not only in K-B but also in other languages. Apart from the basic meaning 'way' the word denotes also 'method, system, direction, relation. In some languages (Tuv., Y. Uig., Tof.) it may also denote 'fate; luck; success'.

ič (K-B) '1. seredina; 2. začatok, embrion; 3. serdcevina, jadro, mjakoť; 4. načinka, farš; 5. vnutrennosti, potroxa; 6. duša; 7. nutro; utroba; želudok; 8. podkladka' (KBRS 307); *ic* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.), *ič* (Čeg.) 'vnutrennosť' (Boz. 174); *ič* (K) 'das Innere, das Eingeweide' (Pr K 107); *ic* (B) 'das Innere, Unterfutter, Eingeweide' (Pr B 224) < PT **ič*; cf.: OT *ič*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *ič*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ič*, (H) *ic*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ič*; Tat. *ič*; *eč* (Eg. 44); Čuv. *ăš*; Bašk. *eś* (Eg. 44); *ĭs*; Kaz. *ĭš*; Kklp., Nog. *iš*; Kir., Turkm., Trukh., Uz., Uig. *ič*; Lob. *iš*, *ič*, *eč*; Sal. *ičі*, *išі*, *ičī*; Y. Uig. *hič*, *sič*, *šï*; Alt. *ič*; Khak. *isti*; Tuv. *ižin*; Tof. *ištï*; Yak. *is*. – Lit.: DTS 201; Eg. 44; ÈSTJa I 388; KRPS 209, 210; Malov 116; Podolsky

11; Rass. 202; Sul. Kkar. 67; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 335, 340; Tenišev SJ 181, 206, 209.

The word *ič* '1. inside; 2. interior; 3. core' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages. In OT it was also known.

kat (K-B) '1. sloj, *per.* plast; 2. etaž, jarus' (KBRS 399); *kat* 'raz'; *kat* 'okolo, vozle, u' (ibid. 399); *kat* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'sloj, skladka' (Boz. 178); *kat* (*qat*; K) 'Seite, Gegend' (Pr K 117); *kat* (*qat*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 236) < PT **kat*; cf.: OT *kat*; Kum. *kat*; Az. *gat*; Khal. *kāt*; Tur., Gag. *kat*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. *kat*; Čuv. *xut*; Bašk., Kklp., Kir. *kat*; Trkm. *gat*; Uz., Uig., Lob. *kat*; Y. Uig. *kᵉaˀt*, *kaˀt*, *kiˀt*, *gaˀt*; Alt. *kat*; Khak. *xat*; Tuv., Tof. *kat*; Yak. *xat*. – Lit.: DTS 432; Eg. 310; ÈSTJa V 335; KRPS 296, 366; Malov 127; ÖjHa. 55; Rass. 219; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev SJ 203.

The lexeme *kat* 'vein, layer; side; level' was registered in OT. At present it has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages. In Yak. *xat* 'double; repetition'. Perhaps this is a homonym.

orta (K-B) '1. seredina; 2. vzaimootnošenija; 3. promežutok', 'srednij' (KBRS 502); *orta* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'seredina, srednij' (Boz. 181); *orta* (*ortᶜá*; K) 'Mitte, mittlerer' (Pr K 126); *orta* (*ortá*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 247) < PT **orta* (ESG.); cf.: OT *orta*, *ortu*, *otra*; Kum., Az. *orta*; Khal. *orta*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.) *orta*; Tat. *urta*; Čuv. *văta*; Bašk. *urta*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *orta*; Kir. *orto*; Trkm. *orta*; Trukh. *orto*; Uz. *orta*, *urta*; Uig. *orta*, *ottura*; Sal. *oˀtä*; Y. Uig. *horta*, *urᶜta*, *uˀrta*, *orta*, *orto*, *otra*; Alt. *orto*; Khak. *ortï*; Tuv. *ortu*; Tof. *orta*; Yak. *orto*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 219, 303; DTS 371, 374; Eg. 51; ÈSTJa I 474; KRPS 431; ÖjHa. 35; Podolsky 16; Rass. 212; SKT 180; Sul. Kkar. 84; Tenišev 429; Tenišev SJ 181, 218.

The lexeme *orta* 'middle' has its equivalents in other modern Turkic languages. In OT sources the forms: *orta*, *ortu*, *otra* were registered.

orun (K-B) '1. mesto; 2. posteľ; 3. mesto, dolžnosť; 4. vmestiliščе; 5. pomeščenije dlja soderžanija (np. skota)' (KBRS 503); *orun* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'mesto, ploščaď, xlev, saraj, zagorodok dlja skota' (Boz. 181); *orun* (*orún*; K) 'Stall' (Pr K 126) < PT **oron*; cf.: OT *orun*; Kum., Tur. *orun*; Kar. (Cr.) *orun*, *orïn*, (H, T) *orun*; Tat. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.) *orun*; Tat. *urïn*; Čuv. *vĭrăn*; Bašk. *urïn*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *orïn*; Kir. *orun*; Trkm. *orun*; Uz. *orin*; *urin* (Eg. 59); Uig. *orun*; Lob. *ojun*; Y. Uig. *orïn*; Alt. *orōn*, *orïn*; Khak. *orïn*; Tuv. *orun*; Tof. *oron*; Yak. *orun*, *oron*. – Lit.: DTS 372; Eg. 59; ÈSTJa I 477; KRPS 433; ÖjHa. 35; Podolsky 16; Rass. 212; StachM GJV 80; Sul. Kkar. 84.

The word *orun* denotes '1. place; 2. surface; 3. place to keep livestock'. The word was registered in OT sources. In other Turkic languages there are equivalents of the word, however in some of them the meaning is different, cf.: Tat. (Ur.) *orun* 'footprint' (Podolsky 16); Yak., Tof. *oron* 'bed' (Rass. 212).

öŋ (K) '1. mezdra; 2. obratnaja storona', (B) vnešnij vid' (KBRS 278) < PT **öŋ*; cf.: OT *öŋ*; Kum. *oŋ*; Az. *öŋ*; Tur. *ön*; Gag. *jön*; Kar. (Cr.) *öŋ*, *ön*, *ög*; Tat. (Cr.) *oǵ*; Tat. (Ur.) *ög*; Tat. *uŋ*; Čuv. *um*; Bašk. *uŋ*; Kaz. *oŋ*; Kklp., Nog. *öŋ*; Trkm. *öŋ*; Uz. *oŋ*; *um* (Eg. 274); Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv. *öŋ*; Tof. *öŋ*; Šor., Yak. *öŋ*. Lit.: DTS 385; Eg. 274; ÈSTJa I 532; KRPS 437, 441; Podolsky 16; Rass. 214; Räs. VEWT 372 b; Šč. SF 195.

There are some equivalents in other Turkic languages of the K-B *öŋ*. In K-B the word denotes: (K) '1. tanned part of the leather (the inside part); (B) 2. outside, superficial part'. The semantic range of the word in other Turkic languages is wider and in some of them (Tof.) the meaning is the same as in the K dialect. In others (e.g. Tur., Tat. (Ur.)) it means 'front' as in the B dialect.

ör (K-B) 'vysota, vyšina; verx' (KBRS 279); *ör* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'verxnaja časť' (Boz. 182); *ör* (K) 'der Oberteil' (Pr K 127); *ör* (B) 'Oberteil, obere Seite' (Pr B 248) < PT **ör*; cf.: OT only verbal form *ör-*; Kum., Tur. *ör*; Tat. *ür*; Čuv. *vir*; Bašk. *ür*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. Kir. *ör*; Uz. *or*; Uig. *örä*, *ör*; Y. Uig. *ür*, *jür*; Alt. (V) *örö*; Khak. *ǒre*; Yak. *örö*. – Lit.: DTS 388; Eg. 54; ÈSTJa I 542; Räs. VEWT 373 b; Šč. SF 195.

The K-B lexeme *ör* 'height, top' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the verbal basis *ör-* 'to climb' is registered.

tarlaw (K-B) '1. pole; ugoďje, polosa; 2. nazvanie travy' (KBRS 606) < PT **tarlag*; cf.: OT *tarlag*; Az. *tarla*; Tur. *tarla*; Kar. (Cr.) *tarlav*, *tarluv*, *tarlov*, (H, T) *tarlav*; Tat. (Kaz.) *tarlan*. – Lit.: DTS 538; KRPS 515; Räs. VEWT 464 b; Sul. Kkar. 100.

The lexeme *tarlaw* 'field' has its equivalents in a few Turkic languages. In OT there was the form *tarlag*.

togaj (K-B) '1. okružnosť; koľco; 2. krug' (KBRS 640); *togaj* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'koľco' (Boz. 186); *togaj* (*tᶜoγáj*; K) 'Glied einer Kette' (Pr K 139) < PT **toka* (ESG); cf.: OT *toku* (MK), *toka*; Az. *togga*; Tur. *toka*; Čuv. *tăxa*; Kaz. *toga*; Kir. *togō*; Uz. *tuka*; – Lit.: DTS 577; Eg. 240; Räs. VEWT 485 a; YRh. 1180.

The K-B word *togaj* 'ring' has equivalents in some phonetic forms in a few Turkic languages. In OT there were two forms registered: *toka*; *toku* (MK). According to Egorov (cf. Eg. 240) Čuv. *tăxa* < verbal basis **tăx-* 'to pull on; to bind; to tie'.

toxun (K-B) 'obod' (KBRS 648); *toxun* (*tᶜoxun*; K) 'Radkranz' (Pr K 139) < PT **tokïn*; cf.: Kum. *togan*; Tat. *tugïm*; Čuv. *tukun*; Bašk. *tugïn*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *togïn*; Kir. *togun*; Uz. (S) *togun*; Tuv. *duguj*. – Lit.: Eg. 256; Räs. VEWT 485 a.

The word *toxun* 'circle, ring, girdle' has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages. The OT sources do not register the word.

tüb, tüp (K-B) '1. niz; dno, osnovanie, podnožie; 2. prostranstvo; 3. koreń, klubeń; 4. opora; 5. podošva; stupnja; 6 a. zad; 6 b. podol, pola; 7. nasledstvo, imuščestvo umeršego; 8. *per.* taina, sekret; zaduševnoje, sokrovennoje; 9. *per.* suť, osnova' (KBRS 665); *tüb, tub, tüf, tüp* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'osnova, počva, pol, dno, pod' (Boz. 187); *tüp* (*t'üp*; K) 'Boden, Diele' (Pr K 141); *tüp, tüf, tüb* (B) 'Grund, Boden, Diele' (Pr B 263) < PT **tŭp* (~ **tīp*) (Šč. SF 198); cf.: OT *tüp*; Kum. *tüb*; Az. *dip*; Khal. *dīb*; Tur., Gag. *dip*; Kar. (Cr.) *tib, tüp*, (H) *tip, kip*, (T) *tup*; Tat. (Cr.) *tüp*; Tat. (Ur.) *tüb*; Tat. *tŭp*; *töp* (Eg. 246); Čuv. *tĕp*; Bašk. *tŭp*; *töp* (Eg. 246); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tüp*; Trkm. *düjp*; Uz. *tub*; Uig. *tüp, tüv, tub*; Lob. *düp, tüp*; Y. Uig. *tïp, tüp, top*; Alt., Khak. *tüp*; Tuv. *düp, tub*; Tof. *düp*; Šor. *tüp*; cf. Yak. *tügäx*. Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 174, 285; DTS 598; Eg. 246; ÈSTJa III 317; KRPS 321, 524, 529, 554, 570; Malov 105, 178; Podolsky 25; Rass. 178; StachM GJV 140; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev SJ 215.

The lexeme *tüb, tüp* '1. bottom; foot (of a hill etc.); 2. fundament; 3. root' has equivalents in numerous modern Turkic languages with these same meanings. In OT the form *tüp* is registered.

uč (K-B) 'konec, končik; kraj' (KBRS 689); *uč* (K) 'Ende' (Pr K 142) < PT **ūč*; cf. OT *uč*; Az. *uğ, uč*; Tur., Gag. *uč*; Kar. (Cr.) *uğ*, (H) *uc, uč*, (T) *uč*; Tat. (Cr.) *uč*; Tat. *ŭč*; *oč* (Eg. 52); Čuv. *vĕś*; Bašk. *ŭs*; *os* (Eg. 52); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *uš*; Kir. *uč*; Trkm. *ūč*; Uz., Uig., Lob. *uč*; Sal. *uʒ, ūğ, ičі*; Y. Uig. *uʒ, uč*; Alt. *uč*; Tuv. *uš*; Khak. *us*; Tof. *uš*; Šor. *uč*; Yak. *uhuk*. – Lit.: DTS 603; Eg. 52; ÈSTJa I 611; KRPS 573, 585, 586; Malov 181; Rass. 237; StachM GJV 130; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 532, 535, 536; Tenišev SJ 217.

The lexeme *uč* 'end, edge' registered in OT has at present counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning.

üs (K-B) '1. poverxnosť; verx, verxnaja časť; 2. oblik; vnešnosť; 3. odežda, odejanie' (KBRS 785); *üs* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'verxnaja časť, poverxnosť' (Boz. 189); *üs* (K) 'auf, an' (Pr K 144); *üs* (B) 'ober, Oberteil, Oberfläche' (Pr B 267) < PT **üst*; cf.: OT *üst*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag. *üst*; Kar. (Cr.) *üst*, (H) *ist*, (T) *ŭšť*; Tat. (Cr.) *üst, ušť*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *üst*; Uz. *ust*; Uig., Lob. *üst*; Sal. *ičči, isci*; Alt., Šor. *üst*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; Doerfer LSCh 218, 315; ÈSTJa I 638; Gab. 349; KRPS 208, 591; Malov 183; SKT 182; Sul. Kkar. 106; Šč. SF 198.

The K-B *üs* denotes '1. upper part of sth; 2. top; 3. clothing'. The word also functions as a postposition with the meaning 'on'. In many other Turkic languages there are equivalents of the word with the similar meanings and functions. In OT there was the form *üst*.

1.17. Terms referring to house and places for living

awul (K-B) 'aul, selo' (KBRS 95) < PT **āgïl* (~ **āŋïl*); cf.: OT *agïl*; Az. *agïl*; Tur. *agïl*; Gag. *aul, avul*; Kar. (Cr. H, T) *avul*; Tat. *avïl*; Čuv. *jal*; Bašk.,

Kklp. *auïl*; Kaz. *auïl*; Nog. *awïl*; Kir. *ajïl*, Trkm. *āgïl*, Trukh. *agïl*; Uz. *ogil*, *ovul*; Uig. *egil*, *avul*; Lob. *agïl*, *avul*; Sal. *agïl*, *āgïl*; Y. Uig. *agïl*; Alt. *ajïl* (Rass. 157); *al*, *āl* (Eg. 352); Khak., Tuv., Tof. *āl*; Yak. *ïal*. – Lit.: DTS 18; Eg. 352; ÈSTJa I 83; KRPS 42; Malov 80; Rass. 157; SKT 177; StachM GJV 45; Tenišev 281, 282, 283; Tenišev SJ 171.

Historically this word meant 'stockyard'. With such the meaning the form *agïl* was registered in OT. At present, in almost all modern Turkic languages there are equivalents of the word denoting 'house, place for living; a group of yurts; also stockyard'.

el (K-B) '1. selo, selenie, derevnja, nasekonnyj punkt; 2. narod, ljudi, obščestvo' (KBRS 765); *el* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'selo' (Boz. 170); *el*, *jel* (K) 'Dorf, Ansiedelung, Gegend, Leute' (Pr K 101); *el* (B) 'Dorf, Gemeinde, Ansiedelung, Land, Heimat; bewohnte Gegend' (Pr B 218) < PT **ā̈l*; cf.: OT *el*, *il*; Kum., Az. *el*; Khal. *ēl*; Tur. *il*, *el*; Gag. *jel*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *el*, (Cr., T) *el'*; Tat. *il*; Tat. (Cr.) *el*; Čuv. *jal*; Bašk. *il*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *el*; Trkm. *īl*; Uz., *el*; Uig. *el*, *il*; Lob. *el*, *il*; Alt. *el*; Khak. *il*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; Doerfer LSCh. 286; DTS 169, 207; Eg. 352; ÈSTJa I 339; KRPS 658, 659; Malov 107, 114; Šč. SF 193.

The word *el* '1. country; 2. nation, people' is registered in OT in two forms *el*, *il* and has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In Gag. (*jel*) and Čuv. (*jal*) the prejotation is noticed in the forms of this word.

ešik (K-B) '1. dveŕ; 2. vxod; 3. letok (*dlja pčiol*); 4. dvor, ulica' (KBRS 779); *ešik* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'dveŕ, porog' (Boz. 171); *ešik*, *ješik* (K) 'Tür' (Pr K 102); *ešik*, *ešix*, *ešig* (*ešik*, *ešíx*, *ešíg*; B) 'Tür, Schwelle' (Pr B 220) < PT **ēšik*; cf.: OT *išik*, *ešik*; Kum., Az. *ešik*; Khal. *ēšük*; Tur. *ešik*; Gag. *ješik*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ešik*, (H) *esik*; Tat. (Cr.) *ešik*; Tat. *išīk*; *išek* (Eg.24); Čuv. *alăk*; Bašk. *ïšïk*; *išek* (Eg.24); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *esik*; Kir. *ešik*; Trkm. *īšik*; Uz. *ešik*; Uig. *išik*; Lob. *išik*, *ešik*; Alt. *ežik*; Khak. *īzīk*, *īzīk*; Tuv. *ežik*; Tof. *ežik*; Šor. *ežik*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 124, 287; DTS 185, 214; Eg. 24; ÈSTJa I 396; KRPS 669, 673; Rass. 180; Räs. VEWT 51 b.

The word *ešik* 'door; entrance' is registered in OT in the forms: *ešik*, *išik* and at present it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. According to Egorov (Eg. 24) the origin of this word is vague.

ğurt (K-B) '1. rodina; 2. kraj, storona, mestnosť, mesto; 3. dom, žilišče, selo' (KBRS 259); *dzurt* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'dom, rodina, selo, aul, jurt' (Boz. 169), *ğurt* (Khul.-Bez.) 'mestožiteľstvo, stojanka, strana, žilišče, narod' (ibid. 172); *ğurt* (*ǯurt*; K) 'Dorf, Ansiedelung' (Pr K 150) < PT **jūrt*; cf.: OT *jurt*; Kum. *jurt*; Az. *jurd*; Khal. *jūrt*; Tur. *jurt*; Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.) *jurt*; Tat. *jŭrt*; *jort* (Eg.221); Čuv. *śurt*; Bašk. *jŭrt*; *jort* (Eg. 221); Kaz., Kklp. *žurt*; Nog. *jurt*; Kir. *ğurt*; *žurt* (Eg. 221); Trkm. *jūrt*; Uz. *jurt*; Uig. *žu(r)t*, *jurt*; Lob. *jujt*, *jut*; Y. Uig. *jurt*, *ğört*; Alt. *jurt*, *ďurt*; Khak., Tuv. *čurt*; Šor. *čurt*; Tof. *čurt*; Yak. *sūrt*. – Lit.: Doerfer

LSCh 123, 319; DTS 282; Eg. 221; ÈSTJa IV 254; KRPS 260; Malov 121; Podolsky 34; Rass. 198; Räs. VEWT 211 b; StachM GJV 129; Tenišev SJ 185, 186; YRh. 1263.

The word *ğurt* in K-B denotes '1. country; 2. native country; 3. home; 4. habitation; 5. place; 6. place of stay for nomads'. Similarly to K-B the equivalents in other Turkic languages also have very wide semantic range. Which is justifiable since historically for the nomadic ancestors of contemporary Turkic peoples the notion of home, homeland was connected with the place they stopped for encampment. Kononov (Kononov RT 79) trying to establish the etymology of the analysed lexeme as the derivative from *jürü-* 'to wander' takes into account the above mentioned factor. The word was confirmed in OT.

ïndïr (K-B) 'tok, gumno' (KBRS 758); *ïndïr* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'tok' (Boz. 174); *ïndïr* (*ïndı̊r*; K) 'Tenne' (Pr K 106); *ïndïr* (*ïndı̊r*; B) 'Tenne, Dreschtenne' (Pr B 226) < PT **ïndïr* (ESG); Kum. *indïr*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *indïr*, *ïndïr*; Tat. *ïndïr*; cf. Čuv. *jětem*, *item*; Bašk. *ïrzïn*; Nog., Kir. *ïndïr*; Alt. *ediren*; Khak. *ürdün*, *ürtün*; Šor. *ürtün*; *ïrtïn* (Räs. VEWT 167 a). – Lit.: Eg. 80; ÈSTJa I 656; KRPS 202, 651; Räs. VEWT 165 b, 167 a.

The word *ïndïr* 'barn; treshing – yard' has its equivalents in a few Turkic languages with the same meaning. There is no record of this word in OT. The etymology is vague.

kabak (K-B) '1. selenie, selo; žilišče, dvor; 2. vorota; stvorka; stavnja, staveń; 3. veko' (KBRS 368); *kabak* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'aul, selenie' (Boz. 176); *kabak* (Čeg.) 'vorota, pregrada' (ibid. 176); *kabak* (*qʿabáq*; K) 'Dorf, Ansiedelung' (Pr K 113); *kabak*, *kakax*, *kabag* (*qabáq*, *qaqáx*, *qabáγ*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 232) < PT **kapak* (ESG); cf.: OT *kapag*, *kapak*; Kum. *kabak*; Kar. (Cr.) *kabak*, *kapak*, (H) *kabak*, (T) *kabax*; Tat. (Ur.) *xapax*; cf. also Uig. *kapkak*. – Lit.: DTS 420; ÈSTJa V 160; JUFD 207; KRPS 279, 355, 362; Podolsky 28.

The word *kabak* is registered in K-B with the following meanings: '1. place to live; 2. country; 3. gate; 4. cover, lid'. It is hard to establish the etymology for the analysed word, however there are some parallels to the counterparts in other languages, cf. Kar. (Cr.) *kabak* '1. gate; 2. town' but in the same Kar. (Cr.) *kapak* 'lid.' Besides, it is hard to explain the wide semantic scale for the word *kabak*, e.g.: 'country' and 'cover'. In OT sources there are two words registered: *kapag* 'gate' and *kapak* 'cover, lid'.

oğak (K-B) '1. [dymovaja] truba, dymoxod; 2. očag, dom' (KBRS 489); *ožak* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'pečnaja truba' (Boz. 181); *oğak* (*oǯáq*; K) 'Herd' (Pr K 127); *ozak*, *ozax*, *ozag* (*ozág*, *ozáx*, *ozáγ*; B) 'Herd; Ofen' (Pr B 247) < PT **ōčak* (Räs. VEWT 356 b); **ōtčak* (StachM GJV 82); cf.: OT *očak*, *očuk*, *otčuk*, *otču*; Kum. *očak*; Az. *oğag*; Khal. *hōča·k*, *očak*, *oğak*; Tur. *oğak*; Gag. *oğäk*; Kar. (Cr.) *oğak*, *učak*, *očak*, (H) *odzak*, *ocak*, (T) *očax*, *očak*; Tat. (Cr.) *oğak*; Tat. (Ur.) *oğax*; Tat. *učak*; Čuv. *vučax*; Bašk. *usak*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog.

ošak; Kir. *očok*; Trkm. *ōğak*; Uz. *očok*; Uig. *očak*, *učag*; Lob. *očok*; Sal. *očax*, *očux*, *očïx*, *otčax*, *oʾtčïx*, *oʾtzax*, *oʾzʿux*, *učax*; Alt. *očok*; Khak. *očïx*; Tuv. *ožuk*; *odag* (Eg. 58); Tof. *ožuk*; Šor. *očak*; Yak. *ohox*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 136, 293, 303; DTS 362, 373; Eg. 58; ÈSTJa I 423; KRPS 424, 436; Malov 152; Podolsky 16; Rass. 211; Räs. VEWT 356 b; StachM GJV 82; Tenišev 422, 428, 429, 431, 531.

The word *oğak* in K-B denoting 'chimney, fire-place, stove' and also 'place to live, home' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the similar meaning. Some specialists etymologize the word from *ot* 'fire', cf.: Eg. 58; ÈSTJa I 424-425; StachM GJV 82.

otow (K-B) 'komnata dlja novobračnyx (v dome ženixa)' (KBRS 506); *otou* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'komnata' (Boz. 182); *otou* (*otóu*; B) 'Zimmer' (Pr B 247) < PT **ōṭag*; cf.: OT *otag*, *otak*; Kum. *otaw*; Az. *otag*; Khal. *otāg*; Tur. *otak*, *oda*; Gag. *oda*; Kar. (Cr., H) *oda*; Tat. (Cr.) *odak*, *oda*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *otaw*; Kir. *otō*; Trkm. *otag*; Uz. *otow*; Uig. *otak*, *oda*; Lob. *otok*; Y. Uig. *otag*, *otax*; Alt. *odag*; Khak. *otax*; Tuv. *odag*; Tof. *odag*; Šor. *odag*; Yak. *otū*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 124, 303; DTS 373; ÈSTJa I 484; KRPS 424; Malov 151; Rass. 210; Räs. VEWT 366 b.

The word *otow* in K-B denotes 'a room for a couple just married', in the B. dial. only 'room'. In OT there were two forms registered: *otag*, *otak*. At present there are some equivalents in other Turkic languages with a wide semantic range from 'house, home' to 'tent'.

üj (K-B) '1. dom; žiliščе; 2. komnata; 3. dvor, usadʹba; 4. semʹja, semejstvo' (KBRS 781); *üj* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'dom' (Boz. 188); *üj* (K) 'Haus' (Pr K 143); *üj* (B) 'Haus, Zimmer, Stube, Familie' (Pr B 266) < PT **äβ* (~ *öγ*) (Šč. SF 193); cf.: OT *eb*, *ef*, *ev*, *üj*, *üv*; Kum. *üj*; Az. *ev*; Tur. *ev*; Gag. *jev*; Kar. (Cr.) *ev*, *üj*, (H) *iv*, *jiv*, (T) *juv́*, *jüv*, *üv́*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ev*; Tat. *ŭj*; *öj* (Rass. 213); Bašk. *ŭj*; *öj* (Rass. 213); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *üj*; Trkm., Trukh. *öj*; Uz. *ŭj*; Uig. *öj*, *uj*; Lob. *üj*, *öj*; Sal. *oj*, *öj*, *ǒj uj*, *üj*; Y. Uig. *jü*, *ğü*, *ju*, *ǔ*, *üj*; Alt. *üj*; Khak. *ib*; Tuv. *ög*; Tof. *ög*; Šor. *ū*, *üg*, *ug*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 162, 165, 189, 623, 629; ÈSTJa I 513; KRPS 192, 244, 254, 260, 588, 589, 653; Podolsky 10; Rass. 213; Räs. VEWT 34 a; SKT 181; Sul. Kkar. 63; Šč. SF 193; Tenišev 424, 431, 432, 532, 539.

The K-B lexeme *üj* denotes '1. house; 2. room; 3. family'. In most of the modern Turkic languages there are equivalents of this word. In OT sources the following forms were registered: *eb*, *ef*, *ev*, *üj*, *üv*.

1.18. Food

ajran (K-B) 'ajran (kisloje moloko osoboj zakvaski)' (KBRS 34); *ajran* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'kisloje moloko, ajran' (Boz. 164); *ajran* (K) 'saure Milch' (Pr K 85); *ajran* (*ajrán*; B) 'eine Art gegorner Milch' (Pr B 199) < PT **ajran* (ESG); cf.: OT *ajran*; Kum., Az. *ajran*; Khal., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.)

ajran; Tat. *äjrän*; Čuv. *ujran*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *ajran*; Uz. *ojron*; Uig. *ajran*; Alt., Khak. *ajran*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 146, 278; DTS 30; Eg. 270; ÈSTJa I 111; KRPS 54; Räs. VEWT 12b.

This verbal noun meaning 'milk drink made of sour milk' is common in most Turkic languages. This word was also known in OT.

aš (K-B) '1. pišča, jeda; obed; 2. furaž, korm; 3. pominki, trizna' (KBRS 102); *aš* (B. dial.; Baks., Balk.) 'jeda, kušanie' (Boz. 166); *aš* (K) 'Nahrung, Futter' (Pr K 89); *aš* (B) 'Nahrung, Speise, Futter' (Pr B 203) < PT: **aš* ~ (?) **āš*; cf.: OT *aš*; *āš* (MK); Kum., Az. *aš*; Khal. *āš*; Tur. *aš*; Gag. *aš*, *āš*; Kar. (H) *as*; (Cr., T) *aš*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Tat., Čuv., Bašk. *aš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *as*; Kir., Trkm. *aš*; Uz. *oš*; Uig., Lob. *aš*; Sal. *aš*, *ās*, *as*; Y. Uig. *as*, *aᵓš*; Alt. *aš*; Khak. *as*; Tuv. *äš*; Tof. *aš*; Yak. *as*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 144, 277; DTS 61, 62; Eg. 38; ÈSTJa I 210; Gab. 296; KRPS 78; Malov 88; Podolsky 2; StachM GJV 62; Tenišev 295; Tenišev SJ 173.

This lexeme is widely known in modern Turkic languages. It was also registered in OT sources. Its basic meaning refers to food, products for eating, however we can observe semantic differentiation among particular languages. Cf. some languages: Čuv. *aš* 'meat' (Eg. 38); Sal. *aš* 'dough'; *ās* '1. food; 2. dough' (Tenišev 295); Kum. *aš* 'grain' (ÈSTJa I 211); Khal. *āš* 'soup' (Doerfer LSCh 144, 277).

bal (K-B) 'miod' (KBRS 115); *bal* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'med' (Boz. 166); *bal* (K) 'Honig' (Pr K 91); *bal* (B) 'Honig' (Pr B 205) < PT **bal* (ESG); cf: OT *bal*; *bāl* (MK); Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bal*; Čuv. *pĭl*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *bal*; Uz. *bol*; Uig. *bal*; Sal. *pal*; Alt. *pal*. – Lit.: DTS 79, 80; Eg. 173; ÈSTJa II 47; KRPS 100; Podolsky 4; Sul. Kkar. 53; Tenišev 435.

The word *bal* meaning 'honey' is known in most modern Turkic languages. It is also confirmed in OT sources. However, its Turkic origin is dubious since some scholars claim that this is an old Indoeuropean loan word; cf. Räs. VEWT 59 a and ÈSTJa II 47.

čagïr (K-B) 'vino' (KBRS 721); *čagïr* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'vino' (Boz. 190); *čagïr* (*čᶜayŕr*; K) 'Wein' (Pr K 96); *cagïr* (*cayŕr*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 213) < PT **čagïr* (ESG); cf.: OT *čagïr*; Kum. *čakïr*; Tur. *čagïr*; Kar. (Cr., T) *čagïr*, (H) *cagïr*; Kaz. *šïgïr*; Trkm., Y. Uig. *čakïr*. – Lit.; DTS 136; KRPS 610, 620; Räs. VEWT 96 b; YRh. 236.

The word *čagïr* 'wine' is registered by MK and at present it is confirmed only in a few Turkic languages. In Karaim it denotes 'vodka' (in Cr. and T also 'wine') and in other Turkic languages the meaning is the same as in K-B.

et (K-B) '1. mjaso; 2. telo; tkań; 3. myšca, muskul; 4. rodstvennik; 5. (*u ploda*) 'mjakoť' (KBRS 777); *et* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kḥul.-Bez.) 'mjaso' (Boz.

171); *et* (K) 'Fleisch' (Pr K 102); *et* (B) 'Fleisch, Leib, Körper' (Pr B 220) < PT **ät*; cf.: OT *et*; Kum. *et*; Az. *ät*; Khal. *ät*; Tur. *et*; Gag. *jet*; Kar. (Cr. H) *et*, (T) *et*, *et*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *et*; Tat. *it*; Čuv. *üt*; Bašk. *it*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., Uz. *et*; Uig. *ät*; Lob. *et*, *it*; Sal. *eˀt*, *et*; Y. Uig. *eˀt*, *šït*, *sit*; Alt. *et*; Khak. *it*; Tuv. *et*; Tof. *et*; Yak. *ät*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 58, 287; DTS 186; Eg. 282; ÈSTJa I 311; KRPS 671, 672; Podolsky 10; Rass. 183; SKT 182; StachM GJV 57; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 328; Tenišev SJ 179, 209, 210.

The word *et* denotes 'meat; body'. It is very common in other Turkic languages with also the same meaning. In some other Turkic languages there are its phonetic variants. It was also registered in OT.

ğaw (K-B) '1. maslo; žir, salo; 2. *per.* poť (KRBS 235); *žau* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'žir, salo, maslo' (Boz. 171); *ğau* (*ğau*; K) 'Talg, Fett, Öhl' (Pr K 147); *zau* (B) 'Fett, Talg, Butter' (Pr B 270 < PT **jāg*; **θāγ* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *jag*; Kum. *jaw*; Az. *jag*; Khal. *jāg*; Tur. *jag*; Gag. *jā*; Kar. (Cr.) *jaw*, *jag*, (H, T) *jaw*; Čuv. *śu*, *śăv* (< *jag*); Kir. (south.) *žov*; Trkm. *jāg*; Uz. *jog*; Uig. *jag*; Lob. *jag*, *jak*; Sal.: *jag*, *jeg*; Y. Uig. *jag*; Alt. *jag*; Alt. (V) *ďu*, *ďag*; *ďū*; *jū* (Rass. 193); Khak. *čag*; Tuv. *čag*; Tof. *čag*; Yak. *sïa*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 59, 146, 317; DTS 223; Eg. 215; ÈSTJa IV 58; KRPS 214, 215; Malov 116, 117; Rass. 193; StachM GJV 46; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 343, 353; Tenišev SJ 181.

The word *ğaw* 'fat; butter; oil' is known both in OT and at present in most Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

ğem (K-B) 'korm, pišča, jeda' (KBRS 241); *žem* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'korm, pišča' (Boz. 171) < PT **jem* (ESG); cf.: OT *jem*; Az. *jem*; Khal. *jēm*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.) *jem*; Tat. *žim*; Kaz. *žem*; Kir. *žem*; Trkm. *ijm*, *ot-ijm*, *ijmit*; Uz. *jem*; Uig. *jäm*; Alt. *ďem*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 163; 317; DTS 255; Eg. 214; JUFD 198; KRPS 271; Podolsky 32; YRh. 1252.

The lexeme *ğem* in K-B denoting 'fodder, food' was registered by MK in form the *jem*. At present it is known in some Turkic languages, where there are various phonetic forms denoting this notion. Structurally and semantically the word is probably a derivative from the verbal basis *je-* 'to eat'.

ğuwurt (K-B) 'varenec, celʹnoje kisloje moloko' (KBRS 262); *zuˀurt* (B) '...wenn man die Milch aufhocht und ohne die Sahne zu entfernen gerinnen lässt, das ist '*zuˀurt*' (Pr B 275) < PT **jogurat* ~ **jogurut* < **jogur-* (StachM GJV 76); cf.: OT *jogurt*, *jogrut*; Kum. *juwurt*; Tur., Az. *jogurt*; Gag. *jūrt*; Nog. *juvïrt*; Kir. *ğūrat*; Y. Uig. *jogïrt*, *jugurt*; Yak. *suorat*. – Lit.: DTS 270; ÈSTJa IV 207; StachM GJV 76; Tenišev SJ 184.

The word *ğuwurt* 'sour milk' has its equivalents in a few other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT sources two forms were registered: *jogurt* ~ *jogrut*. Judging by the structure of the word it is a derivative, however its etymology is still debated, cf. ÈSTJa IV 207-208.

kajmak (K-B) 'penka' (KBRS 378); *kajmak* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'slivki' (Boz. 176); *kajmak* (*qajmáq*; K) 'Sahne' (Pr K 114); *kajmak*, *kajmax*, *kajmag* (*qajmáq*, *qajmáx*, *qajmáγ*; B) 'Sahne, Rahm' (Pr B 233) < PT **kań-ak* (Räs. VEWT 231 b); cf.: OT *kajak*, *kanak*, *kïjak*; Kum. *kajmak*; Az. *gajmag*; Khal. *kānak*; Tur., Gag. *kajmak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kajmak*, (T) *kajmax*; Tat. (Cr.), Tat. *kajmak*; Čuv. *xăjma*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kajmak*; Trkm. *gajmak*; Uz. *kajmok*; Uig. *kajmak*; Y. Uig. *kajak*; Alt. *kajmak*; Khak. *xajax*, *xajmax*; Šor. *kajmak*; Yak. *xajax*, *xaɟax*; *xojmox* (StachM GJV 126). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 145, 305; DTS 406, 417, 441; Eg. 289; ÈSTJa V 200; KRPS 283, 358; Räs. VEWT 231 b; StachM GJV 126.

The word *kajmak* 'cream' has its equivalents in numerous Turkic languages. Those forms in other Turkic languages also denote 'cream' except Khak., and Yak., where they denote 'butter'. In OT sources the following forms were registered: *kajak*, *kanak*, *kïjak*. The structure of the word shows its derivational character, which is also suggested by Räsänen in his reconstructed form: **kań-ak*, cf. Räs. VEWT 231 b.

ötmek (K-B) 'xleb' (KBRS 281); *ötmek* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'xleb' (Boz. 182); *ötmek* (K) 'Brot' (Pr K 127); *ötmek* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 248) < PT **etmäk* (ESG); cf.: OT *etmäk*; Kum. *ekmek*; Az. *äppäk*; Tur. *ekmek*; Gag. *jekmek*; Kar. (Cr.) *ötmek*, (H) *etmek*, *ekmek*, (T) *öťńak*, *eťńak*; Tat. (Cr.) *ötmek*, *ekmek*; Tat. (Ur.) *ekmek*, *ökmek*; Tat. *ikmäk*; Bašk. *ikmäk*; Nog. *ötpek*; Sal. *egimex*, *eᵏmex*, *eᵊmex*, *emek*, *emex*, *emix*; Alt. *ötpök*; Khak. *ĭpek*, *ipek*; Šor. *itpäk*. – Lit.: DTS 188; ÈSTJa I 254; KRPS 444, 657, 671, 672; Podolsky 9; Tenišev 321, 323, 324, 325.

There are various equivalents in other Turkic languages for the K-B *ötmek* 'bread'. In OT the form *etmäk* was registered. The etymology is not clear.

tuz (K-B) '1. sol; 2. *per.* suť, soľ, sokrovennoje' (KBRS 649); *tuz* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'soľ' (Boz. 187); *tuz* (*tᶜuz*; K) 'Salz' (Pr K 140); *tuz* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 263) < PT **tūs* (Šč. SF 198); **tūz* (StachM GJV 129); cf.: *tuz* (MK); Kum. *tuz*; Az. *duz*; Khal. *tūz*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *tuz*; Tat. *tŭz*; *toz* (Eg. 234); cf. Čuv. *tăvar*; Bašk. *tuz*; *toz* (Eg. 234); Kaz. *tŭz*; Kklp. *duz*; Nog., Kir. *tuz*; Trkm. *dūz*; Trukh. *duz*; Uz., Uig., Lob., Sal., Y. Uig. *tuz*; Alt., Khak. *tus*; Tuv. *dus*; Tof. *dus*; Šor. *tus*; Yak. *tūs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 144, 314; DTS 594; Eg. 234; ÈSTJa III 288; KRPS 544; Malov 176; ÖjHa. 40; Podolsky 25; Rass. 176; SKT 178; StachM GJV 129; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev SJ 214.

The lexeme *tuz* 'salt' has its equivalents in many other Turkic languages. It was also registered by MK.

un (K-B) 'muka' (KBRS 682); *un* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 188); *un* (K) 'Mehl' (Pr K 142); *un* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 265) < PT **ūn*; cf.: OT *un*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur., Cr.) *un*; Tat. *ŭn*; *on* (Eg. 207); cf. also Čuv. *śănăx*; Bašk. *ŭn*; *on* (Eg. 207); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *un*; Trkm. *ūn*;

Uz., Uig., Lob., Sal., Khak. *un*. – Lit.: DTS 612; Eg. 207; ÈSTJa I 597; KRPS 578; Malov 181; Podolsky 26; Räs. VEWT 514 a; Tenišev 534.

The lexeme *un* 'flour' registered by MK, at present exists in other Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants).

1.19. Clothes

aw (K-B) 'motnja, klin v šagu brjuk' (KBRS 90); *au* (K) 'der weite Hosenboden' (Pr K 89) < PT **āg ~ *ag*; cf.: OT *āg*; Kum. *aw*; Az. *ag*; Tur. *ag*; Gag. *ā*; Kar. (Cr.) *av*; Kaz., Nog. *aw*; Uz. *og*, dial.: *āg*; Uig. *ag*. – Lit.: DTS 16; ÈSTJa I 67; KRPS 39.

It is difficult to establish the origin of this word denoting 'gusset'. Some scholars see the relation with Mongolian, some others link it to the homonym *aw* 'net', cf. ÈSTJa I 67. However, it has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. The form *āg* was registered in OT.

bašmak (K-B) 'bašmak; bašmaki (čašče o ponošennyx tufljax, botinkax)' (KBRS 125); *bašmak*, *bašmax*, *bašmag* (*bašmáq*, *bašmáx*, *bašmáy*; B) 'Shuh, Pantoffel' (Pr B 207) < PT **pašmak* (ESG); cf.: OT *bašmak*; Az.,Tur., Tat. (Ur.) *bašmak*; Čuv. *pušmak*. – Lit.: ČRS 321; DTS 88; ÈSTJa II 93; Podolsky 4.

The word *bašmak* denoting 'shoe; slipper' is not common in modern Turkic languages. It was confirmed the earliest by MK. Its origin both formally and semantically is still obscure, cf. ÈSTJa II 92.

baw (K-B) '1. zavjazka; 2. povodok, ošejnik, privjaz' (KBRS 122); *bau* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'bint, lenta, povjazka' (Boz. 167); *bau* (*báu*; K) 'Binde, Gurt, Gürtel' (Pr K 92); *bau* (B) 'Binde, Band, Strick, Kette' (Pr B 207) < PT **bāg*; OT *bag*; Kum. *baw*; Az. *bag*; Tur. *bag*; Kar. (H, T) *bav*, (Cr.) *bav*, *bag*; Tat. (Cr.) *bag*, *baw*, *bav*; Tat. *baw*; Čuv. *păjav*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *baw*; Kir. *bō*; Trkm. *bāg*; Trukh. *bag*; Uz. *bog*; Uig. *bag*; Lob. *bak*, Sal. *pax*; Y. Uig. *pag*; Alt. *bū*, *pū*; Tof. *bag*; Šor. *pag*; Yak. *bïa*. – Lit.: DTS 77; Eg. 152; ÈSTJa II 13; Gab. 300; KRPS 93, 94; Malov 90; Rass. 74; SKT 177; StachM GJV 45; Tenišev SJ 194.

Baw meaning '1. tie, bond, string, lace; 2. connection, link' has its counterparts in most Turkic languages. The form *bag* was registered in OT.

börk (K-B) 'šapka, šljapa' (KBRS 139); *börk* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš.)' mexovaja šapka' (Boz. 168); *börk* (K) 'Pelzmütze' (Pr K 95); *börk*, *börx*, *börg* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 211) < PT **börk* (ESG); cf.: OT *börk*; Az. *börk*; Khal. *bŏrk*; Tur. *börk*; Kar. (Cr.) *börk*, (H) *bärik*, *bärk*; (T) *ĺork*; Tat. *bürïk*; Bašk. *bürk*; Kaz. *börïk*; Kklp. *börik*; Nog. *börk*; Kir. *börük*; Trkm. *bŏrik*; *börük* (Rass. 164); Uz. *bork*; Uig. *bök*, *bok*; Y. Uig. *perik*, *pörük*, *perük*, *perk*; Alt. *börük*, *pörük*, *pirük*; Khak. *pörïk*; Tuv. *bört*; Tof. *bört*; Šor. *pörük*; cf. Yak. *bergehe*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 154, 281; DTS 118; ÈSTJa II 221; KRPS 114, 135, 151; Rass. 164; YRh. 196.

The word *börk* 'hat, cap' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In some languages it may slightly differ semantically depending on the geographic and cultural background. The word was also registered in Old Turkic.

etek (K-B) '1. pola; podol; falda; 2. *geogr.* podnožie; 3. konec; kraj; 4. B. jubka' (KBRS 777); *etek* (*etʿék*; K) 'Saum, Schoss' (Pr K 102); *etek*, *etex*, *eteg* (*eték*, *etéx*, *etég*; B) 'Schoss, Saum eines Kleides, Fuss eines Berges' (Pr B 220) < PT **äträk* (ESG); cf.: OT *etäk*; Kum. *etek*; Az., Khal. *äträk*; Tur. *etek*; Gag. *jetek*; Kar. (Cr., H) *etek*, (T) *eťak*; Tat. (Cr.) *etek*; Tat. *itäk*; cf.: Čuv. *arăk*, *arkă*; Bašk. *itäk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *etek*; Uz. *etäk*; Uig. *etäk*; *ötök* (Rass. 183); Y. Uig. *etek*, *hetek*, *hitik*; Alt. *edek*; Khak. *idek*; Tuv. *edek*; Tof. *etek*; Šor. *edek*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 156, 287; DTS 187; Eg. 30; ÈSTJa I 313; KRPS 672; Rass. 183; SKT 182; Tenišev SJ 179, 180.

The word *etek* '1. tail; 2. lap; 3. tuck; 4. foot of a hill' is known in other Turkic languages, generally with the same meanings as in K-B, however in some of them the meaning is different, e.g.: Nog. *etek* 'sole'; Uz. *etäk* 'apron'. The word is also registered in OT.

ğeŋ (K-B) 'rukav' (KBRS 241); *žeŋ* (B. dial.: Kaš.) 'id.' (Boz. 171); *ğeŋ* (*ǯeŋ*; K) 'Ärmel' (Pr K 147); *zeŋ* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 271) < PT **jäŋ* (StachM GJV 65), **θāŋ* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *jeŋ*; Kum. *jeŋg*, *jeŋ*; Az., Tur., Gag. *jen*; Kar. (Cr.) *jiŋ*, (H) *jeng*, (T) *jeng*, *jeńǵ*; Tat. (Ur.) *jeŋ*; Tat. *ğin*; *žiŋ* (Eg. 202); Čuv. *śană*; Bašk. *jīŋ*; *jeŋ* (Eg. 202); Kaz., Kklp. *žeŋ*; Kir. *ğeŋ*; *žeŋ* (Eg. 202); Nog. *jeŋ*; *jen* (Eg. 202); Trkm. *jeŋ*; Lob. *jeŋ*; Sal. *jiŋ*; Y. Uig. *jiŋ*, *ğiŋ*; Alt. *ďen*; Khak. *niŋ*; Tuv. *čeŋ*; Tof. *ńeŋ*; Šor. *näŋ*; Yak. *siex*. – Lit.: DTS 256; Eg. 202; ÈSTJa IV 186; KRPS 245, 271, 272; Malov 120; ÖjHa. 25; Podolsky 33; Rass. 74; StachM GJV 65; Tenišev 359; Tenišev SJ 184, 221.

The word *ğeŋ* 'sleeve' was known in OT in the form *jeŋ* and it at present has its counterparts in other Turkic languages.

ğuwurgan (K-B) 'odejalo' (KBRS 262); *ğuʾurgan* (*ǯuʾuryán*; K) 'Decke' (Pr K 150); *zuʾurgan* (*zuʾuryán*; B) 'Decke, Bettdecke' (Pr B 275) < PT **jogurkan*; cf.: OT *jogurkan*; Kum. *jowurgan*, *jūrgan*; Az. *jorgan*; Khal. *jorgaʿn*; Tur., Gag. *jorgan*; Kar. (Cr.) *jorgan*, (H, T) *juvurgan*; Tat. (Ur.) *jorgan*; Tat., Bašk. *jurgan*; Kaz. *žurgan*; Nog. *jurkan*; Kir. *ğūrkan*; Trkm. *jorgan*; Uig. *jotkan*, *jo(r)tkan*; Lob. *jojgon*, *jojgun*; Sal. *jorgan*; Alt. *jūrkan*, *ďūrkan*; Khak. *čorgan*; Tuv. *čōrgan*; Tof. *čōrhan*; Šor. *čōrgan*; Yak. *suoryan*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 140, 318; DTS 270; ÈSTJa IV 226; Gab. 356; KRPS 250, 253; Malov 121; Podolsky 33; Rass. 197; StachM GJV 32.

K-B *ğuwurgan* 'cover(ing)' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the form *jogurkan* was registered.

kübe (K-B) '1. [ženskij] kaftančik; 2. koľčuga, panciŕ, laty' (KBRS 360); *kübe* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'panciŕ, koľčuga' (Boz. 176); *kübe* (*kʿübé*; K) 'Panzer' (Pr K

112) < PT **küpä*; cf.: OT *kübä*: *kübä jarïk*; Kum. *gübe*; Tur. *küpe*; Gag. *küpä*; Kar. (Cr.) *kübe*, *köbe*, (H) *kibe*, *koba*, (T) *ḱoḅa*, *koba*, *ḱuḅa*, *ḱuv́a*; Tat. *köbä*: *köbä külmäk* (Eg. 106); Čuv. *kĕpe* 'shirt'; Nog. *kübe*; Kir. *kübö*; cf. Lob. *gülme*; Šor. *kübä*. – Lit.: DTS 322; Eg. 105–106; ÈSTJa V 129; KRPS 312, 316, 336, 351, 395; Malov 101.

The lexeme *kübe* '1. shirt; 2. cuirass; 3. armour' was registered in OT in: *kübe jarïk*. In other Turkic languages there are some variants of this word, however in some languages with another meaning, cf.: Tur. *küpe* 'earring'; Kar. (T) *ḱoḅa*, *ḱuḅa* 'shield'; Lob. *gülme* 'earring'. ÈSTJa V 129 after Doerfer gives the archetype for this word: **küpä*.

ton (K-B) 'šuba' (KBRS 644); *ton* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'šuba, verxnaja odežda, paľto' (Boz. 186); *ton* (*tᶜon*; K) 'Pelz, Pelzmantel' (Pr K 139); *ton* (B) 'Pelz, Mantel' (Pr B 261) < PT **tōn*; cf.: OT *ton*, *tōn*; Kum. *ton*; Az. *don*; Khal. *tōn*; Tur., Gag. *don*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ton*; Tat. *tun*; Čuv. *tum*, *tumtir*; Bašk. *tun*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ton*; Trkm. *dōn*; Uz. *ton*; *tun* (Eg. 257); Uig., Lob., Sal., Y. Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv. *ton*; Tof. *don*; Šor. *ton*; Yak. *son*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 153, 314; DTS 574; Eg. 257; ÈSTJa III 262; KRPS 537; Malov 174; Podolsky 24; Rass. 174; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 514; Tenišev SJ 213.

Ton 'fur-coat; coat' is widely known in other Turkic languages in some phonetic variants. Apart from the meaning given above in some languages (i.e. Tat. (Cr.), Tur., Gag., Az.) the word (or its variant) denotes 'trousers'. OT sources registered two forms: *ton*, *tōn*.

1.20. Illnesses

bezgek (K-B) 'malarija, lixoradka' (KBRS 130); *bezgek* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'lixoradka, oznob' (Boz. 167); *bezgek* (*bezgék*; K) 'Fieber' (Pr K 93); *bezgek*, *bezgex*, *bezgeg* (*bezgék*, *bezgéx*, *bezgeg*; B) 'Fieber, Schüttelfrost' (Pr B 208) < PT **bezgek*; OT *bezgek*; Kum. *bez:ek*; Kar. (T) *bezǵak*, *beźǵak*; (H) *bäźgek*; Tat. *bizgäk*; Bašk. *bizgäk*; Kaz., Nog., Kir. *bezgek*; Kklp. *bezgek*, *beskek*; Uig. *bezgäk*, *bäzgäk*. – Lit.: DTS 97; ÈSTJa II 104; KRPS 111, 147.

Although the word *bezgek* 'malaria' is a derivative (cf. ÈSTJa II 105) it is an old formation registered the earliest by MK. At present it is registered in some other Turkic language.

1.21. Customs

kalïn, **kalïm** (K-B) 'kalym, vykup za nevestu' (KBRS 384); *kalïn* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'kalym, pokupnaja cena, kotoruju vyplačivajet ženix ili otec ženixa za nevestu' (Boz. 177); *kalïn* (*qᶜalín*; K) 'der Kaufpreis den der Bräutigam dem Vater der Braut gibt und dessen Betrag bei der Verlobung bestimmt wird' (Pr K 114); *kalïn* (*qalín*; B) 'der Kaufpreis, den der Bräutigam oder dessen Vater

der Braut zu geben sich verpflichtet; derselbe wird bei der Verlobung bestimmt' (Pr B 234) < PT *kalïŋ (ESG); cf.: OT *kalïŋ*; Kum. *kalïn*; Az. *kalïm*; Tur. *kalïn*; Kar. (Cr.) *kalïn*, (T) *kalïn*, *kalïm*; Tat. *kalïm*; Čuv. *xulăm*, *xulăn*; Bašk. *kalïm*; Kaz., Kklp. *kalïŋ*; Nog. *kalïm*; Kir. *kalïŋ*; Trkm. *galïŋ*; Uz. *kalin*; Lob. *kaluŋ*; Y. Uig. *kalïn*, *kalïŋ*, *kʿalïŋ*, *kalïm*; Alt. *kalïm*; Khak. *xalïŋ*; *xalïm* (Eg. 303); Tuv. *kalïm*; Tof. *hïlïm*; Šor. *kalïŋ*; Yak. *xalïm*. – Lit.: DTS 412; Eg. 303; ÈSTJa V 239; KRPS 287, 360; Malov 125; Rass. 193; Tenišev SJ 199.

Kalïn ~ kalïm is a word denoting 'a price given by a bridegroom or his father for his future wife'. The word has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT it was registered in the form *kalïŋ*. The etymology of the word is still debated; however it is difficult to establish it explicitly, cf. ÈSTJa V 239.

sïn (K-B) 'nagrobie' (KBRS 384); *sïn* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'grobnica, nagrobnyj kameń, pamjatnik, figura, idol, izobraženie' (Boz. 183); *sïn* (*sỉn*; K) 'Grabmal, Grabstein' (Pr K 131) < PT *sïn; cf.: OT *sïn*; Kum. *sïn*; Tur. *sin*. – Lit.: DTS 503; Räs. VEWT 422 b; YRh. 1020.

The word *sïn* 'tomb' registered in OT is only confirmed in two other modern Turkic languages (Kum., Tur.) with the same meaning.

toj (K-B) '1. svadʹba, svadebnyj pir; 2. tancy, pir, veseľe' (KBRS 641); *toj* (B. dial.: Kaš.) 'ugoščenie, pir, prazdnik, tanec, svadʹba' (Boz. 186); *toj* (*tʿoj*; K) 'Hochzeit' (Pr K 139); *toj* (B) 'Gastmahl, Festgelage, Hochzeit' (Pr B 261) < PT *toj; cf.: OT *toj*; Tur. *dügün*; (arch.) *toj*; Kar. (Cr.) *dügün*, *toj*, (H, T) *toj*; Tat. (Ur.) *toj*; Tat., Čuv., Bašk. *tuj*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *toj*; Uz. *tuj*; Uig. *toj*; Lob. *toj*; Sal. *töj*; Y. Uig. *toj*; Oir., Khak. *toj*; Tuv. *doj*. – Lit.: DTS 572; Eg. 255; KRPS 182, 534; Malov 173; Podolsky 24; SKT 181; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 519; Tenišev SJ 213; YRh. 317, 1183.

The lexeme *toj* 'feast; banquet; wedding feast' has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages. In Kar. (Cr.) and Tur. there are parallelly two forms *dügün* and *toj*, where *toj* has the meaning 'feast', whereas *dügün* 'wedding feast'. The lexeme was registered in OT.

1.22. Religious terminology

tejri (K-B) '1. bog, tejri; 2. nebo' (KBRS 617); *tejri* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'bog, božestvo' (Boz. 185); *tejri* (*tʿejri*; K) 'Gott, bei Gott' (Pr K 137) < PT *täŋri (ESG); cf.: OT *täŋri*; Kum. *teŋŋiri*; Az. *tanrï*; *tori* (Eg. 259); Tur. *tanrï*; Kar. (Cr.) *taŋrï*, *tanri*, *teŋri*, (H) *tenri*, *tendri*, (T) *teńri*; Tat. *täŋre*; Čuv. *tură*; Bašk. *tänre*; Kklp. *tangri*; Kir. *teŋir*, *teŋiri*, *teŋri*; Trkm. *taŋrï*; Uig. *täŋri*; Lob. *teŋji*; Sal. *Tanru*; Alt. *teŋeri*; Khak. *tigir*; Tuv. *dēr*; Tof. *dēre*; Šor. *tägrä*, *tägri*; Yak. *taŋara*. – Lit.: DTS 544; Eg. 259; KRPS 511, 512, 521, 564, 565; Malov 171; ÖjHa. 20; Rass. 172; Räs. VEWT 474 a; Sul. Kkar. 100; Tenišev 501.

The K-B word *tejri* '1. God; 2. divinity; 3. Heaven' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In Orkhon runic texts the form *täŋri* was registered. Räsänen (Räs. VEWT 474 a) points out its similarity with Mongolian *teŋri*, *teŋgeri* and probable an origin from Sino-Korean languages.

1.23. Abstract nouns

ač (K-B) '1. golod; 2. golodnyj' (KBRS 98); *ac* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'golodnyj, golod' (Boz. 166); *ač* (K) 'hungrig' (Pr K 84); *ac* (B) 'hungrig, der Hunger' (Pr B 197) < PT **āč*; cf.: OT *ač*; *āč* (MK); Az. *ağ*; Khal. *āč*; Tur. *ač*; Gag. *āč*; Kar. (H) *ac*; Tat. (Cr.) *ač*; Čuv. *viśă*; Bašk. *as*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *aš*; Kir. *ač*; Trkm. *āč*; Uz. *oč*; Uig. *ač*; cf. Lob. *ač-* 'to be hungry'; Alt. *ač*; Khak. *as*; Tuv. *aš*; Tof. *aš*; Šor. *aš*; Yak. *ās*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa I 208; Eg. 59; DTS 3; Doerfer LSCh 191, 276; KRPS 87; Malov 88; ÖjHa. 12; Rass. 156.

The word known in Old Turkic has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. It functions both with an adjectival meaning 'hungry' and with the substantival denotation 'hunger'.

ačï (K-B) 'goreč' (KBRS 100); *ačū* (*ačű*; K) 'Kummer, Zorn' (Pr K 84); *acū* (*acű*; B) 'Erbitterung, Zorn' (Pr B 197) < PT **āč*; cf.: OT *ačïg*; Az. *ağï*; Tur. *ağï*; Kar. (Cr.) *ačči*, *ačuv*, (H) *acuv*; Uig. *aččik*. – Lit.: DTS 4; ÈSTJa I 90; JUFD 171 ; KRPS 87; Sul. Kkar. 47.

Although the word in the form *ačïg* was already known in Old Turkic with the meaning 'bitterness, anger' at present this word is not common in modern Turkic languages.

aŋ (K-B) '1. soznanie; 2. soobraženie; rassudok; razum' (KBRS 67); *aŋ* (K) 'Aufmerksamkeit, Achtgeben, Sorge, Erinnerung; Bedacht' (Pr K 87) < PT **āŋ* (ESG); cf.: OT only: *aŋla-* (DTS 47); *aŋlag* (Gab. 294); Tur. *an*; Kar. (T) *an*; in Kar. (Cr.) only in verbal form *aŋ-* (Sul. Kkar. 51); Tat. *aŋ*; Čuv. *ăn*; Bašķ., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *aŋ*; Trkm. *āŋ*; Uz. *oŋ*; Uig. *aŋ*. – Lit.: DTS 47; Eg. 40; ÈSTJa I 153; Gab. 294; KRPS 67.

The lexeme denoting 'mind, perception, memory; ratio' is known in several other Turkic languages. In OT it is not registered in such a form.

ant (K-B) 'kljatva, obet, zarok; prisjaga' (KBRS 66); *ant* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'kljatva, prisjaga' (Boz. 165); *ant* (K) 'Schwur, Eid' (Pr K 87); *ant* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 202) < PT **ant* (ESG); cf.: OT *and*, *ant*; Kum., Az. *and*; Khal. only in compound verb: *a·nd ič-*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. *ant*; Čuv., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *ant*; Uz. *ont*; Uig. *ant*; Lob. *an*; Sal. *at*; Y. Uig. *at*; Yak. *andār* ~ *andaγar*. – Lit.: ČRS 36; Doerfer LSCh 277; DTS 44, 45; Eg. 28; ÈSTJa I 151; KRPS 69; StachM GJV 37; Sul. Kkar. 50; Tenišev SJ 173.

This word is confirmed both in Old Turkic and some modern Turkic languages with the meaning 'oath'.

at (K-B) '1. imja, nazvanie, klička, prozvišče; 2. slava, izvestnosť, reputacija; 3. zvanie; 4. imja suščestviteľnoje' (KBRS 85); *at* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'imja' (Boz. 165); *at* (K) 'Name' (Pr K 89); *at* (B) 'der Name, der Vorname der im Balkarischen wie in den übrigen verwandten Dialekten, immer hinter dem Familien, oder Geschlechtsnamen steht' (Pr B 203) < PT **āt*; cf.: OT *at*; Az. *ad*; Tur. *ad*; Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *at*; Tat. (Ur.) *ad*; Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *at*; Čuv. *jat*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *at*; Trkm. *āt*; Uz. *ot*; Uig., Lob. *at*; Sal. *at*, *āt*; Y. Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv. *at*; Tof. *at*; Yak. *āt*. – Lit.: DTS 64; Eg. 354; ÈSTJa I 198; KRPS 82; Malov 87; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 1; Rass. 157; Sul. Kkar. 52; Tenišev 296; Tenišev SJ 173.

At with the meaning 'name' is widely known in modern Turkic languages. It was also registered in OT sources.

belgi (K-B) '1. znak, uslovnoje oboznačenie; 2. priznak, primeta; 3. čerta; 4. signal; 5. *etn.* podarok devuški parnju' (KBRS 132); *belgi* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'znak, primeta' (Boz. 167); *belgi* (K) 'Zeichen, Grenze' (Pr K 92); *belgi* (*belgí*; B) 'Zeichen, Merkmal, Grenzzeichen' (Pr B 207) < PT **bälgö*; cf.: OT *belgü*; Kum., Tur. *belgi*; Kar. (Cr., H) *bälgi*, (T) *beľgi*, (Cr.) *biľgi*; Tat. *bilge*, *bilgĭ*; Čuv. *palkă*; Bašk. *bilde*, *bilge*, *bilgĭ*; Kaz. *belgĭ*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz. *belgi*; Uig. *bälgü*; Lob. *belgü*; Alt. *pilgi*, *pilek*, *pölgü*; Tuv. *belgi*; Tof. *belge*; Šor. *pülgü*; Yak. *bäliä*. – Lit.: DTS 93; ÈSTJa II 108; KRPS 113, 118, 149; Eg. 142; Rass. 161; Sul. Kkar. 54; StachM GJV 58.

Belgi meaning 'sign, feature' has equivalents in other Turkic languages; also known in OT.

boj (K-B) 'rost; telosloženie' (KBRS 154); *boj* (K) 'Länge, Wuchs' (Pr K 94) < PT **bōδ* (Räs. VEWT 77a); **pōδ* (Šč. SF 196); OT *bod*, *boj*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *boj*; Tat. *buj*; Čuv. *pü*, dial. *pĕv*; Bašk. *buj*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *boj*; Uz. *boj*; Uig., Lob. *boj*; Sal. *buji*, *poj*; Y. Uig. *poz*; Alt. *boj*, *poj*; Khak. *pos*; Tuv. *bot*; Tof. *bot*. – Lit.: DTS 106/7, 110; Eg. 170; ÈSTJa II 176; Gab. 304; KRPS 126; Malov 94; Podolsky 6 Rass. 164; Räs. VEWT 77 a; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 303, 452.

The word *boj* was registered in OT and at present it has equivalents in other Turkic languages. As far as its meaning is concerned in K-B *boj* '1. height; stature. 2. length', whereas in other Turkic languages (together with OT) the semantic scale is wider. Cf.: *bod* I '1. stature; 2. height'. II 'clan, branch of a tribe' (DTS 106/7), *boj* 'tribe, clan' (ibid. 110); cf. also Tat. (Ur.) *boj* 'river' (Podolsky 6).

čal (K-B) '1. sedina; 2. starik, stareč'; 'sedoj' (KBRS 723); *čal* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'sedoj' (Boz. 190); *čal* (*čᶜal*; K) 'grau' (Pr K 97); *cal* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 213) < PT **čāl*; cf.: OT *čal*; Az., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.), Tat., Čuv. *čal*; Bašk. *sal*; Kaz. *šal*; Kklp. *šaj*; Trkm. *čal*; Uz. (S), Uig. *čal*; Khak. *čal*; Šor. *šal*. – Lit.: DTS 137; Eg. 316; KRPS 622; Podolsky 6; Räs. VEWT 96 b; Šč. SF 198.

The word *čal* in KBRS given with both substantival and adjectival meanings: 1. 'the grey; old man'; 2. 'grey (colour)' is registered by MK with the meaning 'grey'. At present it is confirmed in some other Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants) with the same meaning as in OT, however Uig. *čal* and Kklp. *šaj* function both as substantives and adjectives.

es (K-B) '1. pamjať; 2. vnimanie; 3. um; soobraziteľnosť, dogadka; 4. čuvstvo, soznanie, razum' (KBRS 774); *es* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'um, razum, pamjať' (Boz. 170); *es*, *jes* (K) 'Gedächtnis, Erinnerung, Gedanke, Sinn' (Pr K 102); *es* (B) 'Verstand, Vernunft, Bewusstsein' (Pr B 220) < PT **äs*; cf.: Kum., Kar., Tat. (Cr.) *es*; Tat. *is*; Čuv. *as*; Bašk. *is*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *es*; Uz. *es*; Uig. *äs*, *es*; Lob. *es*; Alt. *es*. – Lit.: Eg. 33; ÈSTJa I 306; KRPS 668; Šč. SF 194.

The word *es* '1. mind; 2. reason; 3. feeling; 4. consciousness' has also its counterparts in a few other Turkic languages with the same meanings, but the OT sources do not register this lexeme.

ïz (K-B) '1. sled; 2. ruslo, pojma; 3. ottisk, otpečatok; 4. čertočka' (KBRS 757); *ïz* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'sled, puť, rod, sposob' (Boz. 174); *ïz* (*ĺz*; K) 'Spur' (Pr K 106); *ïz* (*ĺz*; B) 'Spur; Art und Weise; Weg, Umstände, Einzelnheiten' (Pr B 226) < PT **īs*; cf.: OT *iz*, *ïz*; Kum. *gīz*; Az., Tur. *iz*; Gag. *jiz*; Kar. (Cr.) *iz*, *ïz*, (H) *iz*, *ïz*, (T) *jiz*, *iz*, *jïz*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *iz*; Tat. *ĭz*; *ez* (Eg. 79); Čuv. *jĕr*; Bašk. *ĭz*; *ez* (Eg.79); Kaz. *ĭz*; Kklp. *iz*; Nog. *ïz*; Kir. *iz*; Trkm. *ĭz*; Trukh. *iz*; Uz., Uig., Lob. *iz*; Y. Uig. *is*, *jäz*; Alt. *is*; Khak. *ĭs*; Tuv. *is*; Tof. *is*. – Lit.: DTS 216, 221; Eg. 79; ÈSTJa I 646; KRPS 193, 244, 263, 650; Malov 113; Podolsky 11; Rass. 201; SKT 179; Šč. SF 194.

The word *ïz* '1. footprint; 2. way; 3. method' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages and it was known in OT in the forms: *iz*, *ïz*.

ijis (K-B) 'zapax' (KBRS 297); *ijis* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'zapax, aromat' (Boz. 174); *ijis* (*ijís*; K) 'Geruch' (Pr K 107); *ijis* (*ijís*; B) 'Geruch, Duft' (Pr B 224) < PT **īs* (Šč. SF 194); **jïδ* (StachM 93); cf.: OT *jïδ*, *jïd*; Az. *ij*; Kum. *īs*; Kar. (Cr.) *ij*, *is*; (H) *iis* ~ *ijs*, (T) *ijiś*; Tat. *is*; Bašk. *jïs*; Kaz. *īs*; Turkm. *īs*; Trukh. *ijs*; Sal. *is*; Alt. *hït*, *jït*; Khak. *čïs*; Tof. *ťät* ~ *ťäs*; Yak. *sït*. – Lit.: DTS 264, 265; ÈSTJa I 380; KRPS 195, 196, 206; Räs. VEWT 170 a; SKT 179; StachM GJV 93; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 339.

The word *ijis* 'smell, fragrance' had equivalents in OT in the forms: *jïδ*, *jïd*. At present the word has also equivalents in other Turkic languages.

kajgï (K-B) '1. trevoga, volnenie, pereživanie, bespokojstvo; 2. duma, zabota, xlopoty; pečaľ; 3. intrigi, spletni; 4. beda, nesčastie, gore; 5. šum, ssora, skandal, draka' (KBRS 376); *kajgï* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'zabota, gore, beda, pečaľ' (Boz. 176); *kajgï* (*qʿajjĺ*; K) 'Sorge, Kummer' (Pr K 113) < PT **kajgï* < **kadgï* (ESG); cf.: OT *kajgu*, *kadgu*, *kaδgu*; Kum. *kajgï*; Az. *gajgï*; Tur. *kajgï*; Kar. (Cr.) *kajgï* ~ *kajgu*, (T, H) *kajgï*; Tat. (Cr.) *kajgï*, Tat. *kajgï*; Čuv. *xujxă*;

Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kajgï*; Trkm. *gajgï*; Uz., Uig. *kajgu*; Lob. *kajga*. – Lit.: DTS 402, 404, 407; Eg. 302; ÈSTJa V 201; KRPS 282, 357.

The lexeme *kajgï* 'sorrow; troubles; sadness' was registered in OT in the following forms: *kajgu*, *kadgu*, *kaδgu*. In modern Turkic languages the equivalents of this word are registered. The etymology of this lexeme is still vague, cf. ÈSTJa V 202.

kerek (K-B) 'nužda, nadobnosť, neobxodimosť; nužnyj, neobxodimyj; nužno, neobxodimo' (KBRS 325); *kerek* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'neobxodimo, nužno, sledujet, neobxodimoje, veščˊ' (Boz. 175); *kerek* (*kʿerék*; K) 'nötig, nötige Sachen, Einrichtung' (Pr K 109); *kerek*, *kerex*, *kereg* (*kerék*, *keréx*, *kerég*; B) 'nötig, das Nötige; Gerät, Werkzeng, Einrichtung, Zugehör' (Pr B 227) < PT **käräk*; cf.: OT *keräk*, *kergäk*; Kum. *gerek*; Az. *ǵäräk*; Tur. *gerek*; Kar. (Cr.) *kerak*, *kerek*, (H) *kerek*, (T) *ḱeŕak*; Tat. (Ur.) *ťerek*; Tat. (Cr.) *kerek*; cf.: Čuv. *kirlĕ*; Bašk. *käräk*; Tat. *kiräk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kerek*; Uz. *kerak*; Uig. *kiräk*, *keräk*; Lob. *kejek*, *kejäk*; Sal. *kerex*; Trkm., Trukh. *gerek*; Y. Uig., Alt. *kerek*; Khak. *kirek*; Tuv. *xerek*; Yak. *käräx*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 300; Eg. 114; ÈSTJa III 25; KRPS 307, 392, 393; Malov 134; Podolsky 26; SKT 178; StachM GJV 59; Tenišev 380.

The word *kerek* 'necessary; necessity' is registered in other Turkic languages in different phonetic variants. In OT sources there were the following forms registered: *keräk*, *kergäk*. As we can see, judging by the meaning given along with the K-B entries, the word *kerek* functions both as a noun and as a modal word and an adjective.

kut (K-B) '1. obojanie, simpatja, privlekateľnosť; 2. radosť, sčasťje, duševnoje udovletvorenije' (KBRS 428) < PT **kut*; cf.: OT *kut*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kut*; Tat. *kot*; Čuv. *xăt*; Bašk. *kot*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Uz. *kut*; Alt. (V.) *kōt*, *kut*; Khak. *xut*; Yak. *kut*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 253; DTS 471; Eg. 295; KRPS 350, 376; Räs. VEWT 305 a; Šč. SF 194.

The K-B lexeme *kut* has several meanings: 'luck; good luck; happiness; prosperity'. In OT sources the word was registered. There are some equivalents of that word in several other Turkic languages, in some languages however, the meaning is different than in K-B, cf. Yak. *kut* 'soul'.

küč (K-B) 'sila, mošč; moguščestvo, energija' (KBRS 367); *küč* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'sila', *küc* (Balk.) 'sila, nasilie' (Boz. 176); *küč* (*kʿüč*; K) 'Kraft, schwierig' (Pr K 112); *küc*, *küš* (B) 'Stärke, Kraft, Gewalt' (Pr B 231) < PT **kŭč*; cf.: OT *küč*; Kum. *güč*; Az. dial. *güž*, *güğ*, *küč*; Khal. *kĭč*; Tur., Gag. *güč*; Kar. (Cr.) *küč*, (H) *kic*, (T) *ḱuč*; Tat. (Ur.) *küč*; Tat. *kŭč*; Tat. (Cr.) *kuć*; Bašk. *kŭs*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *küš*; Kir. *küč*; Trkm. *güjč*; Uz. *kuč*; Uig. *küč*; Lob. *küč*; Sal. *kuš*; Y. Uig. *kuš*; Alt. *küč*; Khak. *küs*; Tuv. *küš*; Tof. *küš*; Šor. *küš*; Yak. *kŭs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 297; DTS 322; ÈSTJa III 96; KRPS 325, 355, 397; Malov 138; ÖjHa. 44; Podolsky 13; Rass. 205; StachM GJV 139; Šč. SF 195, Tenišev 466.

The lexeme *küč* 'strength, energy' was registered in OT and at present it has its equivalents in numerous languages, however in some of them the meaning is different, e.g. Tat. (Ur.) *küč* 'hard, difficult'; Khal. *kīč* 'tyrany; oppression'.

ogur (K-B) '1. dobrota; 2. sčasťe' (KBRS 489); *ogur* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'sčastlivyj, udačnyj' (Boz. 181); *ogur*: *ogurlu* (*oγur*, in *oγurlú*; B) 'glücklich, wohlgeraten, gesegnet' (Pr B 246) < PT **ogur* (ESG); cf.: OT *ogur*; Kum. *ogur*; Az. *ogur*, *ugur*; Tur. *ogur*, *ugur*; Gag. *ūr*; Kar. (Cr.) *ogïr*; Tat. (Cr.) *ogur*; Nog. *ogïr*; Trkm. *ugur*. – Lit.: DTS 364; ÈSTJa I 564; KRPS 424; Räs. VEWT 358 a; YRh. 897, 1196.

The word *ogur* in the K-B literary language denoting 'good luck, luckiness' and in Balkar dialects 'lucky' has equivalents in a few other Turkic languages, however in some languages with another meaning, cf. ÈSTJa I 564-565. In OT sources the form *ogur* 'lucky' was registered.

oj (K-B) '1. soznanie, myšlenie; 2. mnenie, mysľ, točka zrenija' (KBRS 491); *oj* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'um, razum, pamjať' (Boz. 181) < PT **ōj* (Šč. SF 195); **ōδ* (Räs. VEWT 357 a); cf.: OT *ög*; Kum., Tur., Tat. (Cr.) *oj*; Tat., Čuv., Bašk. *uj*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *oj*; Trkm. *ōj*; Uz. *oj*; *uj* (Eg. 269); Uig., Alt., Šor. *oj*; Yak. *oj* (Eg. 269); *öj* (ÖjHa. 37). – Lit.: DTS 378; Eg. 269; ÈSTJa I 428; ÖjHa. 37; Räs. VEWT 357 a; Šč. SF 195; YRh. 904.

Oj 'thought; opinion; reason; memory' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. According to Egorov (Eg. 269) the Old Turkic form for this lexeme was *ög*.

öč (K-B) I '1. premja, priz; 2. pari, zakład'. II 'zlosť-uloba' (KBRS 282); *öč* (K) 'Streit' (Pr K 127) < PT **ǒč*; cf.: OT *öč*; Kum. *öč*; Az. *öğ*; *öč* (Eg. 53); Tur. *öč*; Kar. (Cr., T) *öč*, (H) *ec*; Tat. (Cr.) *oć*; Tat. *üč*; Čuv. *věčě*; Bašk. *üs*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *öš*; Kir. *öč*; Trkm. *ǒč*; Uz. *oč*; *uč* (Eg. 53); Uig. *öč*; Lob. *öč*, *oč*; Alt. *öč*; Khak. *ös*; Tuv. *öš*; Tof. *öš*; Šor. *öš*; Yak. *ös*. – Lit.: DTS 376; Eg. 53; ÈSTJa I 558; KRPS 444; Malov 152, 153; ÖjHa. 41; Rass. 214; Šč. SF 195.

The K-B lexeme *öč* has a wide semantic range. It denotes: I 'bet; premium, prize'. II 'hatred, anger'. In other Turkic languages there are equivalents of the word mostly with the meaning 'anger, hatred'. In OT the form *öč* was also registered.

san (K-B) '1. čislo, cifra; 2. čislennosť, količestvo' (KBRS 538); *san* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'čislo, količestvo, sčet' (Boz. 183); *san* (K) 'Zahl' (Pr K 130); *san* (B) 'Zahl, Anzahl' (Pr B 250) < PT **sān*; cf.: OT *san*; Az. *saj*; cf. Khal. *sāj-* 'to count'; cf. Tur. *san* 'esteem, reputation'; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *san*; Tat. *san*; Čuv. *sum*; Bašk. *han*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *san*; Trkm. *sān*; Uz. *son*; Uig., Y. Uig., Alt. (V.), Khak., Tuv., Tof. *san*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 271, 308; DTS 483; Eg. 194; KRPS 463; Rass. 225; Räs. VEWT 400 a; Tenišev SJ 205.

The lexeme *san* 'number, cipher' was registered in OT. At present there are its equivalents in other Turkic languages. However, in some of them the meaning is different, cf. Tur. *san* 'esteem, reputation'.

ses (K) '1. golos; 2. zvuk, šum' (KBRS 554) < PT **ses* (ESG); cf.: Kum. *ses*; Az. *säs*; Khal. *säs*; Tur. *ses*; Gag. *ses*; Tat. (Ur.) *ses*; Čuv. *sasă*, *sas*; Kaz., Kklp., Trkm. *ses*; Uz. *sas*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 168, 309; Eg. 179; Podolsky 20; Räs. VEWT 413 a.

The lexeme *ses* 'voice' is not registered in OT sources. There are its equivalents in several modern Turkic languages.

söz (K-B) '1. slovo; 2. reč; 3. slovo, obeščanije; 4. spletnja' (KBRS 556); *söz* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kašk., Khul.-Bez.) 'slovo' (Boz. 184); *söz* (K) 'Wort, Sprichwort' (Pr K 132); *söz* (B) 'Wort' (Pr B 253) < PT **sȭs*; cf.: OT *söz*; Tur. *söz*; Kar. (Cr.) *söz*, *soź*, (H) *sez*, (T) *śoź*; Tat. (Kaz.) *süz*; Tat. (Ur.), Nog., Trkm. *söz*; Uig. *söz*; Lob. *söz*, *söt*, *süs*; Sal. *sözar*, *sᶜus*, *sūz*, *sᶜo*; Y. Uig. *söz*, *soz*; Yak. *ös*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; DTS 511; JUFD 233; KRPS 470, 480, 496; Malov 163, 165; Podolsky 21; Räs. VEWT 430 b; StachM GJV 87; Sul. Kkar. 96; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 487, 489, 490, 493; Tenišev SJ 207, 210.

The lexeme *söz* 'word; speech' confirmed in OT has also equivalents at present in some Turkic languages.

tïn (B) 'pokoj' (KBRS 660) < PT **tïn*; cf.: OT *tïn*; Tur. dial. *din*; Tat., Bašk., Kklp., Kir. *tïn*; Uz. *tin*; cf. also Uig. *tinik*; Sal. *tin*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *tïn*; Tof. *dïn*; Yak. *tïn*; – Lit.: DTS 567; ÈSTJa III 341; Rass. 179; Räs. VEWT 478 a; StachM GJV 103.

The lexeme *tïn* in the Balkar dialect of K-B denotes 'peace'. In a few other Turkic languages there are counterparts of the word, however mostly with different meaning, though their semantic relations with Balkar *tïn* can be seen, e.g.: Tur. dial. *din* 'rest'; Yak. *tïn* 'Atem' (StachM GJV 103). In OT the form *tïn* was registered with two meanings: '1. soul'; '2. breath'.

tüs (K-B) 'obraz, vid, oblik' (KBRS 675) < PT **tüs*; cf.: Kar. (Cr.) *tüs*; Tat. *tös*; Čuv. *tĕs*; Bašk. *tös*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tüs*; Trkm. *tüjs*; Uz. *tus*; Uig. *tüs*; cf. also Yak. *tus*. – Lit.: Eg. 248; KRPS 554; ÖjHa. 38; Räs. VEWT 507 a; Šč. SF 198.

Tüs 'image, picture; face, physiognomy' has its equivalents only in several other Turkic languages, also with a different meaning than in K-B, cf. Yak. *tus* 'die vor einem biegende Seite; Angelegenheit; Bezug' (ÖjHa. 38). Räsänen notices that the form *tüs* was registered in KB, however neither DTS nor other OT sources confirm it, cf. Räs. VEWT 507 a.

tüš (K-B) I '1. son, snovidenije; 2. mečta' (KBRS 675); *tüš* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'son' (Boz. 188); *tüš* (*tᶜüš*; K) 'Traum' (Pr K 141); *tüš* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 264) < PT **tüš*; cf.: OT *tüš* (MK), *tül* (Gab., DTS); Kum. *tüš*; Tur., Gag. *düš*; Kar.

(Cr.) *tüš*, *čüš*, (H) *tis*, *kis*, *tiš*, (T) *ťuś*; Tat. (Cr.) *tüš*; Tat. (Ur.) *tüš*; Tat. *tŭš*; *töš* (Rass. 178); Čuv. *tĕlĕk*; Bašk. *tŭš*; *töš* (Rass.178, Eg. 245); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tüs*; Kir. *tüš*; Trkm. *düjš*; Uz. *tuš*; Uig. *čüš*, *tüš*; Lob. *tüš*; Sal. *tiš*; Y.Uig. *tül*, *tel*, *tül*; Alt. *tüš*; Khak. *tüs*; Tuv. *düš*; Tof. *düš*; Šor. *tüš*; Yak. *tūl*; – Lit.: DTS 596, 599; Eg. 245; ÈSTJa III 323; Gab. 345; KRPS 323, 531, 532, 555, 571, 634; Malov 178; ÖjHa. 44; Podolsky 25; Rass. 178; Räs. VEWT 507 a; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 511; Tenišev SJ 214.

The word *tüš* 'dream' has at present its equivalents in many other Turkic languages. In OT sources the forms *tül*, *tüš* were registered.

tüz (K-B) 1. '1. pravda, istina; 2. ravnina, step; pole'. 2. '1. praviľnyj, vernyj, točnyj; 2. rovnyj, prjamoj; ravninnyj; 3. pravyj, nevinnyj, nevinovnyj; 4. spravedlivyj, bespristrastnyj; 5. čestnyj; beskorystnyj' (KBRS 668); *tüz* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'verno, praviľno, prjamo, prjamoj, rovnyj, ravnyj, kak raz, imenno, celʹ' (Boz. 187), *tüz* (Khul.-Bez.) 'pole' (ibid. 187); *tüz* (*tʿüz*; K) 'wahr, wirklich, richtig, rechtschaffen, Wahrheit, Ebene, Steppe' (Pr K 141); *tüz* (B) 'gerade, eben, richtig, wahr, rechtschaffen, ehrlich; Ebene, Recht, Wahrheit, Richtigkeit, Rechtschaffenheit' (Pr B 264) < PT **tūs*; cf.: OT *tüz*; Kum. *tüz*; Az., Tur., Gag. *düz*; Kar. (Cr.) *tüz*, (H) *tiz*, (T) *ťuź*; Tat. (Cr.) *tüz*; Tat. *tŭz*; *töz* (Rass. 178); Čuv. *türĕ*; Bašk. *töz* ; Kaz. *tüzü*; Kklp. *düz*; Nog. *tus*, *tüz*; Kir. *tüz*; Trkm. *düz*; Uig. *tüz*; Lob. *tüz*, *tüš*, *tuš*, *tözü*; Sal. *tiz*, *tös*, *töz*, *tüs*, *tüz*; Y. Uig. *tuz*, *tüz*, *tüs*, *toz*; Alt. *tüs*; Khak. *tüs*; Tof. *düs*; Šor. *tus*; cf.: Yak. *tüs*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; Bask. NJa. 264; DTS 602; Eg. 266; ÈSTJa III 309; KRPS 525, 552, 569; Malov 175, 177; Rass. 178; Räs. VEWT 508 a; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 512, 521, 522, 527, 528; Tenišev SJ 214.

The word *tüz* in K-B functions both with adjectival and substantival meaning. As an adjective it denotes '1. flat; 2. right; 3. proper; 4. straight'. As a substantive it means 'truth' but also '1. plain; 2. steppe'. In OT the word *tüz* had the meaning 'flat, smooth'. At present in most Turkic languages the equivalents of the word have both adjectival and substantival meanings the same as in K-B. As an exception the Yak. *tüs* can be mentioned. It denotes 'calm, quiet; serious', cf. Rass. 178.

uw (K-B) '1. jad, otrava; 2. zlo, vred; vrednoje vozdejstvie' (KBRS 687); *aw* 'jad' (ibid. 90); *ū* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'id.' (Boz. 188); *wū*, *ʾū* (*wū*, *ʾū*; K) 'Gift, Stachel' (Pr K 144); *ū* (B) 'Gift' (Pr B 264) < PT **ābo* (StachM GJV 80); **āγu* (Räs. VEWT 9 a); cf.: OT *agu*; Kum. *aguw*, *agu*, *uw*; Az. *agï*; Tur. *agï*, *agu*; Kar. (Cr.) *avgu*, *agu*, (H, T) *uv*; Tat. (Cr.) *aguw*; Tat. *agu*; Bašk. *agïw*; Kaz. *u*; Kklp. *uw*; Nog. *uw*, *aguw*; Kir. *ū*; Trkm. *āwï*; Uz. *ogu*; Uig. *agi*, *oga*; Lob. *agu*; Sal. *agu*; Y. Uig. *agï*; Khak., Tuv. *ō*; Šor. *ō*; Yak. *aba*. – Lit.: DTS 24; ÈSTJa I 67; KRPS 40, 44, 572; Malov 80; Podolsky 1; Räs. VEWT 9a; StachM GJV 80; Tenišev 281; Tenišev SJ 171; YRh. 19, 24.

The K-B the word *aw* ~ *ū* ~ *ᵓū* ~ *ɯw* ~ *wū* 'poison, venom' has numerous equivalents in other Turkic languages, however in some of them (Kar. (Cr.), Tuv., Trkm., Bašk., Nog., Kum.) with a different meaning than in K-B. In OT sources the form *agu* was registered.

2. ADJECTIVES

The K-B material representing this part of speech was divided into two groups of adjectives according to some features they describe. The first group represents the exterior, physical features. The other one names inner, chemical and more abstract features.

In the case of the words *arïk*, *kerti*, *teren* the question of their categorization appears, since in K-B sources they are presented both as adjectives and substantives. However, we place them among adjectives when taking into account the comparative material from other Turkic languages.

2.1. Adjectives describing physical, exterior features

ak (K-B) '1. belyj; svetlyj; 2. blednyj, matovyj; 3. belyj, belogvardejec' (KBRS 42); *ak* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg. Khul.-Bez.) 'belyj' (Boz. 164); *ak* (*aq*; K) 'weiss' (Pr K 86); *ak*, *ax*, *ag* (*aq*, *ax*, *ay*; B) 'weiss' (Pr B 200) < PT **āk*; cf. OT *ak*; Az. *ag*; Tur. *ak*; Gag. *ak*; Kar. (H) *ak*; *ax*, *ak* (T); Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ak*; Trkm. *āk*; Uz. *ok*; Uig., Lob. *ak*; Sal. *aᵓ*, *axur*; Y. Uig., Alt. *ak*; Khak. *ax*; Tuv. *ak*; Tof. *ak*. – Lit.: DTS 48; ÈSTJa I 116; KRPS 57, 85; Rass. 154; Räs. VEWT 12 b; Tenišev 298, 299.

This adjective with the meaning 'white, pale' is known both in Old Turkic and in modern Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants).

ala (K-B) '1. piostryj, raznocvetnyj; pjatnistyj; 2. svetlyj' (KBRS 47); *ala* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'pestryj, pegij, polosatyj' (Boz. 164); *ala* (*alá*; B) 'bunt; das Bunte' (Pr B 200) < PT **āla*; cf. OT *ala*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr. H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *ala*; Čuv. *ula*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ala*; Trkm. *āla*; Uz. *ola*; Uig., Lob. *ala*; Sal. *ala*, *allâ*; Y. Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv., Yak. *ala*. – Lit.: DTS 31; Eg. 271; ÈSTJa I 129; KRPS 61; Malov 83; Rass. 152; Räs. VEWT 15 a; StachM GJV 42; Tenišev 287; Tenišev SJ 171.

This word was known in OT and it is popular among modern Turkic languages. In some of them it appears in phonetic variants. It means in most of the languages 'colourful; spotted'.

arïk (K-B) I '1. xudoj, toščij; 2. postnyj, nežirnyj, toščij; 3. iznurionnyj, istoščionnyj; 4. bednyj, nesostojateľnyj' (KBRS 79); *arïk* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'xudoj, čaxlyj' (Boz. 165); *arïk* (*arı̊q*; K) 'mager' (Pr K 88). *arïk*, *arïx*, *arïg* (*arı̊q*, *arı́x*, *arı́y*; B) 'mager' (Pr B 202) < PT **arïk* (ESG); cf.: OT *arïk*; Az. *arïg*; Khal.

hāruk; Tur., Kar. (H), Tat. *arïk*; Tat. (Ur.) *arïx*; Čuv. *ïrxan*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *arïk*; Trkm. *arrïk*; Uz. (S) *arïg*; Uz. *orik*; Uig. *oruk*; *arïk* (JUFD 169); Khak. *arïx*; Tuv. *argan*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 199, 291; DTS 52; Eg. 344; JUFD 169; KRPS 77; Podolsky 2.

The word *arïk* with the meaning 'lean, thin; poor' has counterparts in some modern Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

awur (K-B) '1. tjažiolyj; 2. trudnyj; tjažiolyj; 3. medliteľnyj, lenivyj; 4. tjažiolyj, neprijatnyj; 5. ugrožajuščij, serioznyj, opasnyj; 6. obidnyj' (KBRS 95); *aūr* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'tjažiolyj' (Boz. 165); *aʾur* (*aʾúr*; K) 'schwer, mühselig' (Pr K 89); *aʾur* (*aʾúr*; B) 'schwer, lästig, hart, ermüdend' (Pr B 204) < PT **āγïr ~ *āŋïr*; cf.: OT *agïr*; Kum. *awïr*; Az. *agïr*; Khal. *agïr*; Tur. *agïr*, *aïr*, *dial.:ār*; Gag. *ār*; Kar. (Cr.) *agïr*, *avur*, (H, T) *avur*; Tat. (Cr.) *agïr*; Tat. *awïr*; Čuv. *yïvăr*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., *awïr*; Kir. *ōr*; Trkm. *āgïr*; Uz. *ogir*; Uig. *egir*; Y. Uig. *agïr*; Alt. *ūr*; Khak., Tuv., Šor. *ār*; Tof. *ā̆r*; Yak. *ïar*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 184, 277; DTS 18; Eg. 82; ÈSTJa I 85; KRPS 45; Rass. 157; StachM GJV 45; Tenišev SJ 171.

This word *awur* with a meaning 'heavy, hard, strong' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages. In Old Turkic the word *agïr* was registered.

az (K-B) I '1. malyj, maločislennyj; nedostatočnyj; 2. meńšij'. II '1. malo, nemnogo; nedostatočno; 2. slegka; 3. meńše; 4. nemalo, neredko' (KBRS 25); *az* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'malo' (Boz. 164); *az* (K) 'wenig' (Pr K 90); *az* (B) 'wenig' (Pr B 204) < PT **ās*; cf.: OT *az*, *as*, *āz*: Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.) *az*; Tat. *az*, *äz*; Bašk. *äz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *az*; Trkm., Trukh. *āz*; Uz. *oz*; Uig. *az*; cf. Lob. *azjak*; Y. Uig. *az*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *as*. – Lit.: DTS 71, 72; ÈSTJa I 93; Gab. 297; Malov 80; Podolsky 3; SKT 177; Sul. Kkar. 52.

Az meaning 'small, little; not much' both in an adjectival and adverbial sense is common among Turkic languages. It was also confirmed in OT in the forms: *az*, *as*, *āz*.

bijik (B), **mijik** (K) '1. vysokij; 2. roslyj' (KBRS 141, 467); *bijik* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'vysokij, vysota, vysoko, vozvyšennosť' (Boz. 167), *mijik* (Khul.-Bez.) 'vysokij' (ibid. 180); *mijik* (K) 'hoch' (Pr K 123); *bijik*, *bijix*, *bijig* (*bijík*, *bijíx*, *bijíg*; B) 'hoch, Höhe, Anhöhe, Gipfel' (Pr B 208) < PT **bädŭk*; cf.: OT *bedük*, *bädük*; Kum. *bijik*; Az. *böjük*; Tur. *büjük*; Gag. *bŭk*; Kar. (Cr.) *bijik*, *büjük*; (H, T) *bijik*; Tat. (Cr. Ur.) *büjük*; Tat. *bijĭk*, *bŭjĭk*; Čuv. *păsăk*; Bašk. *bĭjĭk*, *bŭjŭk*; Kaz. *bijĭk*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *bijik*; Trkm. *bejik*; Uz. *bujuk*; Uig. *büjük*; Sal. *pixi*, *pihi*, *pēxe*, *pexi*; Y. Uig. *perik ~ pejik*, *pezik*, *pezek*; Alt. *bijik*, *pijik*; Khak. *müzĭk*, *pözĭk*; Tuv. *bedik*; Tof. *bedik*. – Lit.: DTS 91; ÈSTJa II 288, 289; Gab. 302; KRPS 115, 144; Podolsky 6; Rass. 75; Tenišev SJ 196.

The adjective *bijik ~ mijik* 'high, tall' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT there were registered the following forms: *bedük*, *bädük*.

boz (K-B) 'seryj, svetlo-pepeľnyj' (KBRS 154); *boz* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'seryj' (Boz. 168); *boz* (K) 'fahl' (Pr K 95) < PT **pōs* ; cf.: OT *boz*; Az., Tur. *boz*; Gag. *boz*, *bōz*; Tat. (Cr.) *boz*; Tat. *büz*; Bašk. *buz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *boz*; Uz. *boz*; Uig. *boz*, *bos*; Lob. *boz*, *bot*, *bos*; Y. Uig. *poz*; Alt. *pos*, *bos*, *boro*; Khak. *pora*, *poraŋ*; Tuv. *bora*; Tof. *bora*; Yak. *boroŋ*; – Lit.: DTS 115; ÈSTJa II 171/172; Malov 94; Rass. 164; StachM GJV 82; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 197.

The adjective *boz* 'grey' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with generally this same meaning. According to ÈSTJa II 171-172 Tuv. form *bora* < Mong. *bora* and Khak. *poraŋ* < *bora-*. Old Turkic also registers this word.

buwaz (K-B) 'beremennaja' (KBRS 171); *būaz* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'beremennyj' (Boz. 168); *buʾaz* (*buʾáz*; K) 'schwanger' (Pr K 95); *buʾaz* (*buʾáz*; B) 'schwanger, trächtig' (Pr B 211) < PT **bugaz* (ESG); cf.: OT *bogaz*: *töl bogaz* (DTS 579); Khal. *bogaz*; Tat. (Ur.) *bugaz*; Tat. *buaz*; cf. Čuv. *pětĕ*; Bašk. *bïwaz*; Kaz. *buaz*; Kklp., Nog. *buwaz*; Kir. *bōz*; Trkm. *bogaz*; Uz. *bogoz*; Uig. *bogaz*; Lob. *bogus*; Alt. *bōs*, *pōs*; Khak. *pōs*; Tuv. *bōs*; Šor. *pōs*; Yak. *buos*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; Doerfer 200, 281; DTS 579; Eg. 158; ÈSTJa II 169; Podolsky 6; Räs. VEWT 78 b.

Buwaz 'gravid; with young'. At present it has counterparts in only some Turkic languages. DTS registers: *töl bogaz*.

čolak (K-B) 'odnorukij, bezrukij; s pokalečennoj rukoj' (KBRS 736); *čolak* (*čᶜoláq*; K) 'einer der nur eines Armes mächtig ist' (Pr K 99) < PT **čolak* (ESG); cf.: OT *čolak*; Az. *čolag*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.) *čolak*; Tat. *čulak*; Čuv. *čălax*; Bašk. *sulak*; Kaz., Kklp. *šolak*; Kir. *čolok*; Trkm. *čolak*; Uz. *čulok*; Uig. *čolak*. – Lit.: DTS 152; Eg. 319; KRPS 630; Räs. VEWT 114 a.

The word *čolak* 'having one arm missing or paralyzed; crippled in one hand' was registered in OT. In some modern Turkic languages it has its equivalents.

gitče (K-B) '1. maleńkij; 2. mladšij, molodoj; 3. nemnogočislennyj; neboľšoj; 4. tesnyj, maleńkij' (KBRS 186); *gitče*, *gičče* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'maleńkij' (Boz. 169); *kiče*, *kičče* (*kʿičé*, *kʿiččé*; K) 'klein, der kleinste, der jüngste (von Kindern, Geschwistern)' (Pr K 110); *gicce*, *gicci* (*giccé*, *giccí*; B) 'klein' (Pr B 221); *kici* (*kicí*; B) 'der, die kleinste unter Geschwistern' (ibid. 229) < PT **kičig* (ESG); cf.: OT *kičig*, *kičüg*, *kičük*; Kum. *gičči*; Az. *kičik*; Tur. *küčük*; Gag. *küğük*; Kar. (Cr., T) *kiči*, (H) *kici*, (Cr.) *kičik*; Tat. (Ur.) *kičik*; Tat. *kïčï*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp. *kïši*; Nog. *kiškej*; Kir. *kičü*, *küčü*; Trkm. *kiči*; Uig., Lob. *kičik*; Y. Uig. *kïzig*, *kïzig*; Sal. *kiči*; Alt. *kiči*, *kičü*; Khak. *kïčïg*; Šor. *kicig*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 248; DTS 306; ÈSTJa V 75; KRPS 325; Malov 136; Podolsky 13; Tenišev SJ 190.

The adjective *gitče* 'little, small' is common in other Turkic languages, where it appears in different phonetic variants. In OT the forms: *kičig*, *kičüg*,

kičük were registered. The etymology of this word is still under discussion, cf. ÈSTJa V 76-77.

ğalan (K-B) 'golyj' (KBRS 219); *zalan* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'golyj, nagoj' (Boz. 173); *ğalan* (*ǯalán*; K) 'nackt' (Pr K 145); *zalan* (*zalán*; B) 'bloss, nackt' (Pr B 268) < PT **jalaŋ* (ESG); cf.: OT *jalaŋ* (DTS), *jalïŋ* (Gab.); Kum. *jalan*; Az. *jalïn*; Khal. *jālīn*; Tur., Gag. *jalïn*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *jalan*, (Cr.) *jalïn*; Tat. dial. *ğalan*; Tat. *jalan*; Kaz., Kklp. *žalaŋ*; Nog. *jalaŋ*; Kir. *ğalaŋ*; cf. also Trkm. *jalaŋač*; Uz. *jaläŋ*; Uig. *jalïn*, *jalaŋ*; Lob. *jalan*, *jalaŋ*; Sal. *jalaŋgaš*; Y. Uig. *jalïŋ*; Alt. *ďalaŋaš*, *jïlaŋaš*, *ďïlaŋaš* ; Khak. *čalaŋ*; Šor. *čalaŋ*; also Yak. *sïgïnjax*, *sïŋïnjax*, *sīnax*, *sïgïjax*, *sïŋïjax*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 317; DTS 227; ÈSTJa IV 104; Gab. 351; JUFD 196; KRPS 220, 223; Malov 117; Räs. VEWT 182 a; Tenišev 344; Tenišev SJ 182.

The word *ğalan* in K-B denotes 'naked'. In OT two forms: *jalïŋ*, *jalaŋ* were registered. At present it has its equivalents in other languages sometimes with more meanings, e.g. in Kar. (Cr.), Gag., Lob. it means 'barefoot'; in Kir., Kaz., Nog., Uig. it means 'only one, single; exclusive'. In some languages (Trkm., Sal., Alt., Yak.) there are structurally more compound forms. According to some specialists they are derivatives, cf. ÈSTJa IV 106.

ğašil (K-B) 'zelionyj' (KBRS 238); *ğašïl* (*ǯašĺ*; K) 'grün' (Pr K 147), *ğešil* (*ǯešil*; K) 'id.' (ibid. 148); *zašïl* (*zašĺ*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 270) < PT **jāšïl* < **jāš*; cf.: OT *jašïl*; Kum., Az. *jašïl*; Khal. *jāšil*, *jāšul*; Tur., Gag. *ješil*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ješil*, (H) *jesil*, *isil*; Tat. (Ur.) *ješil*; Tat. *jäšĭl*; Čuv. *ješĕl* (< Tat.); Bašk. *jäšĭl*; Kaz., Kklp. *žasïl*; Nog. *jasïl*; Kir. *ğašïl*; Trkm. *jāšïl*; Uz. *jašil*; Uig. *ješil*; Lob. *jäšil*; Y. Uig. *jasïl*; Alt. *ďažïl*; Khak. *čazïl*; Šor. *čažïl*; Yak. *sahïl*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 205, 317; DTS 246; Eg. 62; ÈSTJa IV 164; KRPS 207, 275, 278; Malov 119; Podolsky 33; StachM GJV 43.

The adjective *ğašil* 'green' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages generally with the same meaning as in K-B. The semantic exception appears in Yak. *sahïl*, which means '1. yellow; 2. fox' (cf. StachM GJV 43). The form *jašïl* was registered in OT.

ğeŋil (K-B) '1. liogkij; 2. bystryj; 3. *per.* goriačij, vspyľčivyj' (KBRS 241); *žeŋil* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'bystro, skoro, legkij' (Boz. 171); *ğeŋŋil* (*ǯeŋŋil*; K) 'leicht, flink, jähzornig' (Pr K 147); *zeŋŋil* (B) 'schnell, flink, leicht' (Pr B 271) < PT **jäŋil*; cf.: OT *jeŋil*; Kum. *jeŋil*; Az. *jüngül*; Khal. *iŋgil*, *jeŋgil*, *jiŋgül*, *jüŋgül*, *jöŋgil*; Tur. *jegni*, *jejni*, *jünül*; Gag. *jilin*; Kar. (Cr.) *engiľ*, *jeniľ*, *jengiľ*, *jeŋil* (H) *jengiľ*, (T) *jengiľ*, *iŋgiľ*, *jeŋgiľ*, *jeŋiľ*; Tat. (Ur.) *jeŋil*; Tat. (Cr.) *jeŋgiľ*; Tat. *ğinĭl*; *ğiŋel* (Eg. 207); Čuv. *śămăl*; Bašk. *jeŋel* (Eg. 207), *jĭŋĭl*; Kaz., Kklp. *žeŋĭl*; Nog. *jeŋil*; Kir. *ğeŋil*; Trkm. *jeŋil*; Uz. *jängil*; Uig. *jeŋil*; Alt. *ďeŋil*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 184, 294, 317, 318, 319; DTS 256; Eg. 207; ÈSTJa IV 188; KRPS 204, 271, 272, 273, 662; Räs. VEWT 198 a; Sul. Kkar. 73; YRh. 1250, 1256, 1265.

The adjective *ǧeŋil* '1. light; 2. easy' has its equivalents in some Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. As far as the etymology is concerned Räsänen (cf. Räs. VEWT 198 a) analyzes **jäŋil* as a derivative formed from **jän* with the suffix *-gil*. There are also other conceptions referring to this problem, cf. ÈSTJa IV 189. In OT the form *jeŋil* was registered.

ǧïlï (K-B) 'tioplyj' (KBRS 267); *ǧïlï* (*ǯïlʹ*; K) 'warm' (Pr K 148); *zïlï* (*zïlʹ*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 273) < PT **jïlïg* (ESG); cf.: OT *jïlig*; Kum. *jïlï*; Az. *ilïk*; Tur. *ïlï*; Kar. (Cr.) *jïllï*; (H) *ilï*, (T) *ilï*, *jïlï*; Tat. *ǧïlï*; Bašk. *jïlï*; Kaz. *žïlï*; Kklp. *žïllï*; Kir. *ǧïlū*; Trkm. *jïlï*; Uz. *jilik*, *ilik*; Uig. *jilik*; Y. Uig. *jilïg*; Alt. *ďïlu*; Khak. *čïlïg*; Tuv. *čïlïg*. – Lit.: DTS 266; ÈSTJa IV 276; KRPS 199, 264, 266; Räs. VEWT 200 b.

The adjective *ǧïlï* 'warm' has its equivalents in some Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the form *jïlïg* was registered. The structure of the OT form and some forms in modern Turkic languages show the derivational character of the word.

ǧiti (K), **ǧütü** (B) '1. ostryj, ottočennyj; 2. pristaľnyj, vnimateľnyj; 3. ostryj, zorkij, pronicateľnyj; 4. *per.* bojkij, šustryj; jazykastyj' (KBRS 249); *zütü* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'ostryj, šustryj, lovkij' (Boz. 174); *zütü* (*zütü*; B) 'scharf; flink, gewandt, jugendlich' (Pr B 276); *ǧiti* (*ǯitʿi*; K) 'scharf, spitzig' (Pr K 148) < PT **jitü(g)*, **jiti(g)*; cf.: OT *jiti*, *jitig*, *jitti*; Kum. *itti*; Az. *iti*; Khal. *jitti*, *jittig*; Tur. *iti*; Kar. (Cr.) *jiti*, *iti*, (H, T) *iti*; Tat. *ǧïtï*; Kaz. *žïtï*; Trkm. *jiti*; Uig. *ištik*; Lob. *ittik*; Alt. *jidū*; Khak. *čïtïg*; Tuv. *čidig*; Tof. *čiti*; Šor. *čïdïg*; Yak. *sïtï*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 185, 318; DTS 263, 264; ÈSTJa IV 205; KRPS 209, 246, ÖjHa. 31; Rass. 197; Räs. VEWT 204 b; YRh. 564.

The adjective *ǧiti* 'sharp' has its equivalents in several Turkic languages. As far as its etymology is concerned it is a derivative from a verbal basis denoting 'to be sharp'. The following forms: *jiti*, *jitig*, *jitti* were registered in OT.

ǧuka (K-B) '1. tonkij; 2. xudoj; xudoščavyj; 3. liogkij; 4. židkij; redkij; 5. *per.* nervnyj' (KBRS 255); *zuka* (*zuqá*; B) 'flüssig, dünn, dünnflüssig' (Pr B 274) < PT **jub-ka* (Räs.VEWT 209 b); cf.: OT *juvga*, *juvka*; Kum. *jukka*; Az. *juka*; Tur. *jufka*; Gag. *jufka*, *jüfka*; Kar. (Cr.) *jufka*; Tat. (Ur.) *juxa*; Tat. *juka*; Čuv. *śüxe*; Bašk. *jūka*; *joka* (Eg. 224); Kaz., Kklp. *žūka*; Nog. *juka*; Kir. *ǧupka*; *žuka* (Eg. 224), *ǧuka*; Trkm. *jūka* (*juwka*); Uz. *juka*, *jupka*; Uig. *jupka*, *župka*, *juka*; Sal. *joxra*; Y. Uig. *juka*; Alt. *juka* (Rass. 198); *ďuka*; Khak. *čuga*; Tuv. *čuga*; Tof. *čuka*; Šor. *čoga*. – Lit.: DTS 282, 283; Eg. 224; ÈSTJa IV 241; KRPS 260; Podolsky 49; Rass. 198; Räs. VEWT 209 b.

The adjective *ǧuka* '1. thin; 2. slim; 3. light' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. The etymology of this word is not clear, however from the structural point of view the word seems to be a derivative. The forms; *juvga*, *juvka* were confirmed in OT.

ğumušak (K-B) '1. mjagkij; 2. *per.* miagkij, dobryj; 3. *per.* bezvoľnyj, mjagkotelnyj, besxarakternyj; 4. *ling.* palataľnyj, mjagkij' (KBRS 258); *ğumušak* (*ǯumušáq*; K) 'weich, biegsam' (Pr K 150); *zumušak* (*zumušaq*; B) 'weich, sanft anzufühlen' (Pr B 275) < PT **jum(u)šak* (ESG); cf.: OT *jumšak*, *jïmšak*; Kum. *jïmïšak*; Az. *jumšak*; Khal. *jumušak*; Tur. *jumšak*, *jumušak*; Gag. *jïmïšak*; Kar. (Cr.) *jïmšak*, *jimšak*, (H) *ïmsak*, *jïmsak*, (T) *jïmšax*, *ïmšax*; Tat. (Cr.) *jïmšak*; Tat. (Ur.) *jïmšax*; Tat. *jŭmšak*; *jomšak* (Eg. 75); Čuv. *jămšak* (< Tat.); Bašk. *jŭmšak*, *jomšak*; Kaz., Kklp. *žŭmsak*; Nog. *jumsak*; Kir. *ğumšak*, *žumšak*; Trkm. *jumšak*; Uz. *jumšok*; Uig. *jumšak*, *žumšak*; Lob. *jumšak*, *umšak*; Y. Uig. *jemsak*, *emsak*, *jimsak*; Alt. *ďïmžak*, *ďïmčak*, *ďïmïžak*; Khak. *nïmzax*, *čïmğ'ak*; Tuv. *čïmčak*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 199, 319; DTS 279, 267; KRPS 200, 244, 266; Malov 122; Eg. 75; ÈSTJa IV 253; Podolsky 33; Tenišev SJ 178, 183, 184.

The adjective *ğumušak* 'soft' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning; only in Kum. it denotes 'kind of pancake'. In OT the forms: *jumšak*, *jïmšak* were registered .

iŋičge (K) '1. tonkij; 2. vysokij (*o zvukax*)' (KBRS 304); *inčge* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'tonkij' (Boz. 174); *inčxe* (*inčxé*; K) 'dünn, schmal, fein' (Pr K 107); *iničxe* (*iničxé*; B) 'dünn' (Pr B 225) < PT **jiŋčkä* (Räs. VEWT 203); **jinčä* (< **jinč*) (StachM GJV 64); cf.: OT *jinčkä*; *inčkä*; Kum. *inče*; Az. *iŋga*; Khal. *īnčä*; Tur. *iŋge*; Gag. *iŋgä*; Kar. (Cr.) *iŋge*, (H) *incke*, (T) *inčke*, *ińčka*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *iŋge*; Tat. *nïčkä*; Čuv. *śinśe*; Bašk. *nïskä*; Kaz. *žïnïške*; *ženiške* (Eg. 214); Kklp. *žiŋiške*; *ženiške* (Eg. 214); Nog. *jiŋiške*; Kir. *ičke*; Trkm. *īŋge*; Uz. *ingičkä*, *ingička*; Uig. *inčikä*, *inčik*, *iŋičkä*; Lob. *ičke*; Sal. *läški*, *laški*, *leški*, *niške*; Alt. *čičke*; Khak. *niske*; Tuv. *čiŋge*; Tof. *ńiŋge*; Yak. *sinńigäs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 187, 294; DTS 261; Eg. 214; ÈSTJa I 364; Gab. 311; KRPS 202, 203, 204; Podolsky 11; Rass. 209; Räs. VEWT 203 b; StachM GJV 64; Tenišev 403, 420.

The K-B adjective *iŋičge* 'thin, lean' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT there were the forms: *jinčkä*, *inčkä*.

kak (K-B) 'vjalenyj, sušenyj' (KBRS 380); *kak* (*qʿāq*; K) 'gedörrtes und geräuchertes Fleisch' (Pr K 114) < PT **kāk*; cf.: OT *kak*; Kum. *kak*; Az. *gax*; Tur. dial., Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *kak*; Uz. *kok*; Uig. *kak*; Lob. *kak*; Y. Uig. *kak*; Alt. *kak*. – Lit.: DTS 421; ÈSTJa V 218; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev SJ 202.

The word *kak* 'dry'; also 'dried meat' is registered both in OT and in some modern Turkic languages.

kalïn (K-B) '1. gustoj; plotnyj, žirnyj; 2. tolstyj, tučnyj; 3. krepkij, nasyščennyj' (KBRS 384); *kalïn* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'tolstyj, gustoj' (Boz. 177); *kalïn* (*qʿalĭ́n*; K) 'dick, dicht' (Pr K 114); *kalïn* (*qalĭ́n*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 234) < PT **kalïn*; cf.: OT *kalïn*; Kum. *kalïn*; Az. *galïn*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *kalïn*; Tat. (Ur.) *xalïn*; Čuv. *xulăn*; Bašk. *kalïn*; Kaz., Kklp. *kalïŋ*; Nog. *kalïn*; Kir., Trkm. *kalïŋ*; Uz. *kalin*; Uig. *kelin*; Lob. *kaluŋ*; Y. Uig. *kʿalïn*; Alt. *kalïn*; Khak. *xalïn*; Tuv. *kïlïn*; Tof. *xïlïn*; Yak. *xalïŋ*. – Lit.: DTS 411; Eg. 303; ÈSTJa V

238; KRPS 287, 360; Malov; Podolsky 27; Rass. 193; Räs. VEWT 226 b; Tenišev SJ 202.

The adjective *kalïn* 'fat; thick' is registered in OT and at present it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages (in some phonetic variants).

kara (K-B) '1. čiornyj, tiomnyj; 2. voronoj; 3. tiomnyj; 4. karij; 5. nezabelionnyj, nezapravlennyj; 6. fizičeskij' (KBRS 389); *kara* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'černyj' (Boz. 177); *kara* (*qʿará*; K) '1. schwarz; 2. Zielscheibe; das Schwarze and der Zielscheibe' (Pr K 116); *kara* (*qará*; B) 'schwarz, Trauer, Trauerkleid' (Pr B 235) < PT **kara* (ESG); cf.: OT *kara*; Kum. *kara*; Az. *gara*; Khal. *kara*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *kara*; Tat. (Ur.) *xara*; Tat. *kara*; Čuv. *xura*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kara*; Trkm. *gara*; Trukh. *kara*; Uz. *kora*; Uig. *kara*; Lob. *kara*, *kaja*; Sal. *kara*; Y. Uig. *kara*; Alt. *kara*; Kak. *xara*; Tuv. *kara*; Tof. *kara*; Yak *xara*. – Lit.: Doerfer 205, 306; DTS 422; Eg. 306; ÈSTJa V 286; KRPS 290, 363; Malov 124, 126; Podolsky 28; Rass. 218; SKT 180; Tenišev 376, 460, 462, 467; Tenišev SJ 199.

The adjective *kara* in K-B denotes 'black'. However some sources give also its substantival meaning, cf. Pr K, Pr B. The word is widely known in other modern languages (appearing in some phonetic variants); also registered by OT sources.

keŋ (K-B) '1. širokij; 2. razdoľnyj, privoľnyj; 3. čuždyj, čužoj' (KBRS 323); *keŋ* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'obširnyj, dalekij, daľ' (Boz. 175); *keŋ* (*kʿeŋ*; K) 'geränmig' (Pr K 109); *keŋ* (B) 'weit, geränmig, ansgedehnt' (Pr B 227) < PT **kāŋ* (Šč. SF 195); **kēŋ*, **kiŋ* (Räs. VEWT 253 a); cf.: OT *keŋ*; Kum. *geŋ*; Az. *gen*; Khal. *kēŋ*; Tur. *gen*; Kar. (Cr., H) *ken*, (Cr.) *keŋ*, (T) *ḱeń*; Tat., Bašk. *kiŋ*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *keŋ*; Trkm. *gīŋ*; Uz. *keŋ*; Uig. *käŋ*; Lob. *keŋ*; Y. Uig. *kʿeŋ*, *kʿin*; Alt. *keŋ*; Yak. *kiäŋ*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 187, 296; DTS 298; ÈSTJa III 46; KRPS 304, 391; Malov 134; ÖjHa. 23; Räs. VEWT 253 a; StachM GJV 70; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev SJ 189.

The adjective *keŋ* 'wide, spacious; remote' was confirmed in OT sources and at present it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

kïŋïr (K-B) 'krivoj, *per.* kosoj' (KBRS 445); *kïŋïr* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'krivoj, kosoj' (Boz. 178); *kïŋŋïr* (*qʿïŋŋír*; K) 'krumm, schief' (Pr K 118); *kïŋŋïr* (*qíŋŋír*; B) 'schief, krumm' (Pr B 237) < PT **kïŋ*; cf.: OT *kïŋïr* (MK), *kïŋ* (Gab.); Kum. *kïŋŋïr*; Kar. (Cr.) *kïŋgïr*, (H) *kïngïr*, (T) *kïŋgïr*, *kïngïr*, *kïnxïr*; Tat. (Kaz.) *kïŋïr*; Kaz. *kïŋïr*. – Lit.: DTS 445; Gab. 328; KRPS 380, 386; Räs. VEWT 264 b.

The adjective *kïŋïr* 'crooked; *fig.* disapproving; slanting' is registered by MK and also in a few modern languages (in some phonetic variants). In the earliest sources there was the form *kïŋ* 'squinting, squint-eyed', cf. Gab. 328.

kïsxa (K-B) '1. korotkij; 2. častyj; 3. blizkij; 4. bystryj, skoryj; 5. krutoj' (KBRS 448); *kïsxa* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'korotkij, skoro' (Boz. 178); *kïsxa* (*qᶜïsxá*; K) 'kurz' (Pr K 118) < PT **kïsxa* (ESG); cf.: OT *kïsga*, *kïska*; Kum. *kïsga*; Az. *gïsa*; Khal. *kisga*; Tur. *kïsa*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kïska*, (T) *kïsxa*; Tat. *kïska*; Tat. (Ur.) *xïsxa*; Čuv. *kĕske*; Bašk. *kïska*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kïska*; Trkm. *gïsga*; Uz., Uig. *kiska*; Lob. *kïska*; Y. Uig. *kïska*; Alt. *kïska*; Khak. *xïsxa*; Tuv., Tof. *kïska*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 254; Doerfer 186, 306; DTS 447, 448; Eg. 109; KRPS 381, 388, 389; Malov 133; Podolsky 29; Rass. 224; Räs. VEWT 267 b; Tenišev SJ 201.

The adjective *kïsxa* 'short' has its equivalents in numerous Turkic languages. It OT there were two forms registered: *kïsga*, *kïska*. The structure of the word shows its derivational character. Egorov points out its origin from the verb *kïs-* 'to press', cf. Eg. 109.

kïzïl (K-B) '1. krasnyj; 2. rumjanyj; 3. ryžij, kaurij (o masti lošadi)' (KBRS 438); *kïzïl* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'krasnyj' (Boz. 178); *kïzïl* (*qᶜïźíl*; K) 'rot' (Pr K 119); *kïzïl* (*qïźíl*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 238) < PT **kïzïl*; cf.: OT *kïzïl*; Az. *gïzïl*; Khal., Tur. *kïzïl*; Kar. (H) *kïzïl*, *kizïl*, (T) *kïzïl*; Tat. *kïzïl*; Tat. (Ur.) *xïzïl*; Čuv. *xĕrlĕ*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kïzïl*; Trkm. *gïzïl*; Uz., Uig. *kizil*; Lob. *kïzïl*, *kizil*; Sal. *kïzïl*, *kïsïl*, *xïzïl*; Y. Uig. *kïzïl*; Alt. *kïzïl*; Khak. *xïzïl*; Tuv., Tof. *kïzïl*; Yak. *kïhïl*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 207, 306; DTS 450; Eg. 299; KRPS 383, 317; Malov 132; Podolsky 30; Rass. 224; StachM GJV 94; Tenišev 399, 466, 467, 553; Tenišev SJ 201.

The adjective *kïzïl* 'red' was registered in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. According to Rassadin it comes from the verb *kïz-* 'to get red', cf. Rass. 224.

kök (K-B) 'goluboj; sinij' (KBRS 338); *kök* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'sinij, goluboj' (Boz. 176); *kök* (*kᶜök*; K) 'blau, grau' (Pr K 111); *kök*, *köx*, *kög* (*kök*, *köx́*, *kög*; B) 'grün, blau, himmelblau, bläulichgrau' (Pr B 230) < PT **kök̃*; cf.: OT *kök*; Kum. *gök*, *gok*, *kok*; Az. *göj*; Khal. *göj*, *kök̃*; Tur., Gag. *gök*; Kar. (Cr.) *kök*, (H) *kek*, (T) *koḱ*; Tat. (Cr.) *koḱ*; Tat. *kük*; Čuv. *kăvak*; Bašk. *kük*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kök*; Trkm. *gök̃*; Uz. *kok*; *kuk* (Eg. 96); Uig. *kök*; Lob. *kök*; Sal. *köx*, *kᶜöx*, *kᶜu*; Y. Uig. *kᶜük*, *kuk*, *kök*, *kek*; Alt. *kök*; Khak. *kök*; Tuv. *kök*; Tof. *kök*; Yak. *küöx*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 205, 206, 290, 298; DTS 312; Eg. 96; ÈSTJa III 66; KRPS 301, 313, 337; Malov 136; ÖjHa. 42; Rass. 204; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 394, 401; Tenišev SJ 189.

The adjective *kök* 'blue, grey, green' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, however in some languages (Tof., Tuv., Khak., Yak.) it also denotes 'green, fresh grass'.

sarï (K-B) '1. žioltyj; 2. ryžij' (KBRS 542); *sarï* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'želtyj' (Boz. 183); *sar*, *sarï* (*sar*, *sarí*; K) 'gelb, blond' (Pr K

130); *sarï* (*sarí*; B) 'gelb, rötlich, fuchsfarbig' (Pr B 250) < PT **sārïg*; cf.: OT *sarïg*; Az. *sarï*; Khal. *sārug*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *sarï*; Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *sarï*; Čuv. *šură*, *šur*; *sară* (< Tat. ?); Bašk. *harï*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sarï*; Uz. *sarik*; Uig. *sarïk*, *sarïg*, *serig*, *serik*; Lob. *saik*, *sajïg*, *sajïk*; Sal. *sarï*, *sārï*; Y. Uig. *sarïg*; Alt. *sarï(g)*; Oir. *sar*; Khak. *sarïg*; Tuv., Tof. *sarïg*; Šor. *sarïg*; Yak. *arī* 'butter' (StachM GJV 99); *aragas* 'yellow' (ÖjHa. 9). – Lit.; Bask. JpU 45; Doerfer LSCh 205, 308; DTS 488; Eg. 339; KRPS 467; Malov 158; ÖjHa. 9; Podolsky 19; Rass. 226; Räs. VEWT 403 b – 404 a; StachM GJV 99; Tenišev 475; Tenišev SJ 205.

The word *sarï* 'yellow, blonde, foxy' is widely known among Turkic languages, where it appears in different forms. However, in some languages the meaning is different than in K-B, cf. Čuv. *šur(ă)* 'white'; *sară* 'yellow' (probably < Tat.); Yak. *arī* 'butter', but Yak. *aragas* 'yellow'. In OT there was registered the form *sarïg*.

semiz (K-B) 1. 'žir, žirnyj'; 2. 'polnyj, upitannyj, tučnyj' (KBRS 551); *semiz* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'žirnyj' (Boz. 183); *semiz* (K) 'Fett, fett' (Pr K 131); *semiz* (*semíz*; B) 'fett' (Pr B 251) < PT **sämiz*; cf.: OT *semiz*; Kum., Az., Tur. *semiz*; Kar. (Cr., H) *semiz*, (T) *śemiź*; Tat. (Ur.) *semiz*; Tat. *simez*; Čuv. *samăr*; Bašk. *himez*; Kaz., Kir., Trkm., Uz. *semiz*; Uig. *sämiz*; Lob. *semiz*; Sal. *semus*, *simus*; Khak. *simis*; Tuv. *semis*; Yak. *ämis*. – Lit.: DTS 495; Eg. 177; KRPS 470, 498; Malov 161; Podolsky 19; Räs. VEWT 409 b; StachM GJV 59; Tenišev 479, 482.

The word *semiz* 'fat' is registered in OT and at present it has its equivalents among other Turkic languages.

tar (K-B) 1. 'uzkij, tesnyj'; 2. '1. tesnina, uščelje; 2. *per.* trudnoje (stesnionnoje) položenie' (KBRS 604); *tar* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'uzkij, tesnyj' (Boz. 185); *tar* (B) 'eng, knapp' (Pr B 257) < PT **tār*; cf.: OT *tar*; Kum. *tar*; Az. *dar*; Khal. *tār*; Tur., Gag. *dar*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.), Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tar*; Trkm. *dār*; Uz. *tor*; Uig. *tar*; Lob. *taj*, *tar*; Sal. *tar*; Y. Uig. *tar*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *tar*; Tof. *dar*; Yak. *tār*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 187, 312; ÈSTJa III 146; KRPS 514; Malov 166; Podolsky 22; Rass. 169; StachM GJV 41; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 503.

The adjective *tar* 'narrow' was registered in OT and at present it has its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

teren (K-B) 'glubina, glubokij' (KBRS 623); *teren* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'gluboko, glubina' (Boz. 185); *teren* (*tᶜereń*; K) 'tief' (Pr K 138); *teren* (*terén*; B) 'tief, Tiefe' (Pr B 258) < PT **teräŋ* (ESG); cf.: OT *teräŋ*, *teriŋ*; Kum. *teren*; Az. *därin*; Tur., Gag. *derin*; Kar. (Cr.) *teren*, *teran*, (H) *teren*, (T) *teŕen*, *teŕań*; Tat. (Cr.) *tereŋ*; Tat. (Ur.) *teren*; Tat. *tirän*; Čuv. *tarăn*; Bašk. *tärän*; *tirän* (Rass. 172); Kaz., Kklp. *tereŋ*; Nog. *teren*; Kir. *tereŋ*; Trkm. *derīŋ*; Uz. *teran*, *tiriŋ*; Uig. *tirän*; Sal. *teruŋ*, *tiroŋ*; Alt. *tereŋ*; Khak. *tireŋ*; Tuv. *tereŋ*; Tof. *dereŋ*; Šor. *tereŋ*;

Yak. *diriŋ*. – Lit.: DTS 553, 554; Eg. 232; ÈSTJa III 208; KRPS 522, 565, 566, 567; ÖjHa. 27; Podolsky 23; Rass. 172; Räs. VEWT 475 b; Tenišev 509, 511.

In K-B the word *teren* denotes both 'depth' and 'deep'. In most other Turkic languages the word (or its equivalents) has the adjectival meaning, however in a few (Gag., Kar. (Cr., H), Alt., Yak.) also the substantival meaning is used. In OT the forms *teräŋ* and *teriŋ* were confirmed.

tik (K-B) '1. krutoj, obryvistyj; 2. *per.* naprjažionnyj, natjanutyj, obostrionnyj; 3. *per.* grubyj, rezkij; 4. pristaľnyj' (KBRS 633); *tik* (*tᶜik*; K) 'steil' (Pr K 139); *tik*, *tix*, *tig* (B) 'steil, schroff, steiler Abhang' (Pr B 259) < PT **tik* < **tiŋ*; cf.: OT *dik*: *dik tur-*, *tiŋ*: *tiŋ tur-*; Kum. *tik*; Az. *dik*; Tur., Gag. *dik*; Kar. (Cr.) *tik*, *tïk*; Tat. (Cr.) *tik*; Kaz. *tïk*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tik*; Trkm. *dik*; Uz., Uig., Lob. *tik*; Lob. *tek*; Šor. *tigä*. – Lit.: DTS 160, 561; ÈSTJa III 224; KRPS 527, 556; Räs. VEWT 479 b.

The adjective *tik* '1. straight; 2. steep, abrupt; 3. precipitous' has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT two forms of compound verbs including the forms: *dik*, *tiŋ* were registered: *dik tur-*, *tiŋ tur-* 'to stand straight (upright)'. The *tiŋ* was probably the older form of *tik* ~ *dik*; cf. ÈSTJa III 225.

toru (K-B) 'gnedoj' (KBRS 646); *tor* (*torï*) (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'koričnevyj' (Boz. 186); *toru* (*tᶜoru*; K) 'rötlichbraun (Pferd)' (Pr K 140); *tor*, *torï* (*tor*, *torĭ*; B) 'braun' (Pr B 261) < PT **tōr*; cf.: OT *torïg*, *torug*; Kum. *toru*; Tur. *doru*; Tat. *turï*; Čuv. *tură*; Bašk. *turï*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *torï*; Kir. *toru*; Trkm. *dōr*; Uz. *torik*; *turik* (Eg. 259); Uig. *toruk*; Lob. *tojok*; Sal. *toru*, *torï*; Alt. *toru*; Khak. *torïg*; Tuv. *dorug*; Tof. *dorug*; Yak. *turaγas*. – Lit.: DTS 578; Eg. 259; ÈSTJa III 268; Rass. 174; StachM GJV 83; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 514, 530.

The adjective *toru* 'bay (horse)' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT there were two forms registered: *torïg*, *torug*.

ullu (K-B) I '1. boľšoj, krupnyj; 2. vzroslyj; 3. staršij; 4. roslyj; vysokogo rosta; krupnyj; 5. velikij, vydajuščijsja; nezaurjadnyj; 6. vysšij'. 2. '1. očeń; 2. mnogo' (KBRS 681); *ullu* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'boľšoj' (Boz. 188); *ullu* (*ullú*; K) 'gross, ungeheuer, laut' (Pr K 142); *ullu* (*ullú*; B) 'gross' (Pr B 265) < PT **ullu* < **ullug* (ESG); cf.: OT *ulug*; Kum. dial. *ullu*; Az. *ulu*; Tur., Gag. *ulu*; Kar. (Cr.) *ulu*, (H) *ullu*, (T) *ullu*, *ullux*, *uŋlu*; Tat. (Cr.) *ulu*; Tat. *olï*, *olug* (Rass. 237); *ŭlï*; Bašk. *olo* (Rass. 237); *ŭlŭ*; Kaz. *ŭlï*, *ŭlïg*; Kklp. *ullï*, *ulïq*; Nog. *ullï*; Kir. *uluk*, *ulū*; Trkm. *ulï*; Uz. *ulug*; Uig. *ulug*, *uluk*; Lob. *ulug*; Sal. *uli*, *ulli*, *ullï*, *ullu*; Y. Uig. *ulug*; Alt. *ulu*; Khak. *ulug*; Tuv., Tof. *ulug*; Šor. *ulu*; Yak. *ulū*. – Lit.: DTS 610; ÈSTJa I 593; KRPS 577, 579; Rass. 237; StachM GJV 123; Tenišev 532, 533; Tenišev SJ 217.

The adjective *ullu* 'big, great; high' has its equivalents in most Turkic languages. OT sources registered the form *ulug*.

uwak (K-B) '1. melkij; nekrupnyj; 2. malyj, maloletnij' (KBRS 688); *ūak* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kash., Khul.-Bez.) 'maleńkij, melkij' (Boz. 188); *u'ak* (*u'āq*; K) 'klein' (Pr K 141); *u'ak*, *u'ax*, *u'ag* (*u'áq*, *u'áx*, *u'áy*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 264) < PT **uvak*, *uwak* (ESG); cf.: OT: *uvšak*, *ušak*; Kum. *uwak*; Tur., Gag. *ufak*; Kar. (Cr.) *ufak*, (H) *uwak*, (T) *uwax*; Tat. *uwak*; Tat. (Cr.) *ufak*; Čuv. *vak* (< Tat.); Bašk. *uak*; Kaz. *uak*; Kklp., Nog. *uwak*; Kir. *ubak*; Trukh. *uwak*; Uz. *uwok*; Uig. *uvak*; Lob. *ugak*; Alt. *ōk*; Khak. *ōx*; cf. Tuv. *ōndak*; Tof. *ūnak*. – Lit.: DTS 617, 619; Eg. 45; ÈSTJa I 560; Gab. 348; KRPS 572, 584; Malov 179; Rass. 238; SKT 181.

The adjective *uwak* 'small' has its equivalents in some Turkic languages, however in some of them the forms registered (e.g. Tuv. *ōndak*; Tof. *ūnak*) are the results of contamination, cf. ÈSTJa I 561. The OT sources confirm only the forms *uvšak*, *ušak* 'small' (cf.: Gab. 348; DTS 617, 619).

uzun (K-B) '1. dlinnyj; 2. vysokij; 3. dlinnyj, dolgij; zatjažnoj, zatjanuvšijsja' (KBRS 679); *uzun* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'dlinnyj' (Boz. 188); *uzun* (*uzún*; K) 'lang' (Pr K 143); *uzun* (*uzún*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 266) < PT **uzun*; cf.: OT *uzun*; Kum., Az. *uzun*; Khal. *uzūn*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *uzun*; Tat. *ŭzïn*; *ozïn* (Eg. 50); Čuv. *vărăm*; Bašk. *ŭzŭn*; *ozon* (Eg. 50); Kaz. *ŭzïn*; Kklp., Nog. *uzïn*; Kir. *uzun*; Trkm., Uz., Uig., Lob. *uzun*; Sal. *uzïn*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof. *uzun*; Yak. *uhïn*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; Doerfer LSCh 185, 315; DTS 621; Eg. 50; ÈSTJa I 571; KRPS 574; Malov 179; Podolsky 27; Rass. 238; StachM GJV 194; Sul. Kkar. 105; Tenišev 536.

The adjective *uzun* 'long' was registered in OT and at present it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

2.2. Adjectives describing inner, chemical, abstract features

ačï (K-B) '1. gorkij, kislyj; 2. žučij, jedkij, nesterpimyj; 3. gorkij, obidnyj; 4. rezkij, prouziteľnyj; 5. zloj. žestokij' (KBRS 99); *ačï* (*ačĭ*; K) 'sauer, herbe, schmerzlich' (Pr K 84); *acï* (*acĭ*; B) 'bitter, herbe, schmerzlich' (Pr B 197) < PT **āč*; cf. OT *ačïg*; Kum. *aččï*; Az. *ağï*; Khal. *hāčug*; Tur. *ağï*; Gag. *ağï*; Kar. (Cr.) *ağï*; Tat. (U) *ačï*; Tat. (Cr.) *ağï*; Čuv. *jüšĕ*; Bašk. *asï*, *äsï*; Kaz. *aščï*; Kklp. *ašší*; Nog. *ašší*; Kir. *ačū*; Trkm. *āğï*; Uz. *ači*; Uig. *aččik*; Sal. *ači*, *āʒï*; Y. Uig. *aʒïg*; Alt. *aču*; Yak. *ahī*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 195, 290; DTS 4; Eg. 82; ÈSTJa I 89; Räs. VEWT 4 a; Tenišev 285, 300.

The word has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages with the meaning 'bitter', 'sour'. In OT the form *ači* registered.

al (K-B) '1. perednij; 2. načaľnyj, pervičnyj, pervyj; 3. vstupiteľnyj, vvodnyj'; 'period' (KBRS 46); *al* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'perednaja storona, načalo, pered' (Boz. 164); *al*, *all* (K) 'Vorderteil, Vorderseite, Beginn, Anführer, Quelle' (Pr K 86); *al*, *all*, *ald* (B) 'Vorderseite, Vorderteil; Aufang, Beginn, früherer Zustand' (PrB 200). < PT **āl*; cf. OT *al*; Kum. *al*; Khal. *hāll*;

Tur. dial. *al*; Kar. (Cr.) *ald*; Tat., Bašk. *al*; Kaz. *alt*; Uig. *alïn*; Y. Uig. *al*; Yak. *alïn*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 46, 290; DTS 32; ÈSTJa 124; KRPS 64; Räs. VEWT 14 ab.

Although the word was known in Old Turkic it has equivalents only in a few modern Turkic languages. It means 'front, forepart; beginning'. In some languages (Kum., Y. Uig., Khal.) its equivalents have the meaning 'forehead' and in Yak. and Kaz. 'underside'.

aman, ğaman (K-B) 'ploxoj, durnoj, skvernyj'; 'ploxo'; 'ploxoje'; 'očeń'; 'silʹno' (KBRS 59); *ğaman* '1. poloxoj, skvernyj; 2. prokaznik, šalun; 3. očeń' (ibid. 222); *aman* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'ploxoj, durnoj, zloj' (Boz. 165); *aman* (K) 'schlecht' (Pr K 87); *aman* (*amán*; B) 'schlecht, böse, bösartig (Pr B 201) < PT **jaman* (ESG); cf. OT *jaman*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Bašk. *jaman*; Kaz., Kklp. *žaman*; Nog. *jaman*; Kir. *ğaman*; Trkm., Trukh. *jaman*; Uz. *jomon*; Uig., Lob. *jaman*; Sal. *jaman*, *jāman*, *jamen*, *jämän*, *jēmen*, *jemen*; Y. Uig. *jaman*; Alt. *ďaman*. – Lit.: DTS 231; ÈSTJa IV 109; KRPS 224; Malov 118; Podolsky 31; Sul. Kkar. 69; Tenišev 344, 345, 352, 354; YRh. 1239.

The word *aman* ~ *ğaman* with the meaning 'bad, foolish, evil' has equivalents in most modern Turkic languages. In Sal. *jaman* 'very'; 'calm'; 'willing for sth'. OT registered the form: *jaman*.

ariw (K-B) I '1. krasivyj, xorošij; 2. laskovyj; vežlivyj'. II 'daže, xoťa'. III 'slovno, točno' (KBRS 72); *ariu*, *ariū* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'krasivyj, čistyj, milovidnyj' (Boz. 165); *arïu*, *arū* (*arı́u*, *arū*; K) 'rein, schön' (Pr K 88) < PT **ārïγ*; cf.: OT *arïg*; Az. dial. *arï*; Khal. *arug*; Tur. *arï*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *aruv*; Tat. *aru*; Tat. (Cr.) *aruv*; Bašk. *arïw*; Kaz. *aru*; Kklp. *aruw*; Kir. *arū*; Uig. *arïg*; Sal. *ārï*; Y. Uig. *arïg*, *arʾk*; Khak., Tuv. *arïg*; Tof. *arïy*, *arèg*; Šor. *arïy*; Yak. *ïräs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 180, 277; DTS 51; ÈSTJa I 184; KRPS 76; Räs. VEWT 25 b; StachM GJV 45; Sul. Kkar. 51; Tenišev 294; Tenišev SJ 173.

This adjective *arïw* denoting 'clean, pure; good; beautiful' has counterparts in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the word *arïg* was registered.

axšï, ašxï, ğaxšï, jaxsï (K-B) 'xorošij, dobryj, xorošo; otlično, očeń xorošo' (KBRS 104); *ğaxšï* 'xorošij, xorošo' (ibid. 237); *axšï* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khal.-Bez.) 'xorošo, xorošij' (Boz. 166); *axšï*, *ašxï*, *jaxšï* (*axšı́*, *ašxı́*, *jaxšı́*; K) 'gut' (Pr K 85); *axšï*, *ašxï* (*axšı́*, *ašxı́*; B) 'gut, schön' (Pr B 198) < PT **jakšï* (ESG); cf.: OT *jaxšï*; *jakšï*; Kum. *jaxšï*; Az. *jaxšï*; Tur. *jakši*; Tur. dial. *jaxšï*; Kar. (T) *jakšï*, (Cr., T) *jaxšï*; (H) *jaxsï*; Tat. (Cr.), Tat. *jaxšï*; Bašk. *jakšï*; Kaz., Kklp. *žaksï*; Nog. *jaxšï*; Kir. *ğakšï*; Trkm. *jagšï*; Trukh. *jaxšï*; Uz. *jaxši*; Uig. *jakšï*, *jakši*, *jaxšï*, *jaxši*; Lob. *jakši*, *jaxši*; Sal. *jaxša*, *jaxšar*, *jaxši*, *jaxsi*; Y. Uig. *jahši*, *jaxšï*, *jaʾš*; Alt. *jakšï*, *ďakšï*; Khak. *čaxsï*; Šor. *čakšï*. – Lit.: DTS 238, 250; ÈSTJa IV 63; KRPS 219, 241; Malov 117, 119; SKT 179; Tenišev 351; Tenišev SJ 182.

This word with the meaning 'good; well' has counterparts in other modern Turkic languages. In K-B we can observe the dropping of the initial *j-*, that does not occur in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *jaxšï*, *jakšï* were registered.

bašxa (K-B) I '1. drugoj, inoj, pročij; 2. drugoj, osobyj, otličnyj, neobyčnyj; raznyj; 3. obosoblennyj; otdeľnyj'; 4. čužoj, inorodnyj'. II 'krome' (KBRS 126); *bašxa* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'drugoj, osobennyj, raznyj, krome' (Boz. 167); *bašxa* (*bašxá*; K) 'ein anderer, Unterschied, Verschiedenheit. Mit dem Abl.: ausser' (Pr K 91); *bašxa* (*bašxá*; B) 'ein anderer, ein besonderer; getrennt; Unterschied, Verschiedenheit' (Pr B 206) < PT **baška* (ESG); OT *baška*; Az. *baška*; *bašga* (Rass. 160); Khal. *ba'šxa*; Tur., Gag. *baška*; Kar. (Cr., T) *baška*, (H) *baska*; Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *baška*; Čuv. *puśne*; Bašk. *baška*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *baska*; Kir. *baška*; Trkm. *bašga*; Trukh. *baška*; Uz. *boška*; Uig., Lob. *baška*; Sal. *paška*, *paska*; Alt. *baška*; Khak. *pasxa*; Tuv. *baška*; Tof. *baška*; Šor. *paška*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 279; Eg. 169; ÈSTJa II 92; Gab. 301; KRPS 105, 109; Malov 92; Rass. 160; SKT 177; Tenišev 438, 439.

The word *bašxa* functions with two meanings: as an adjective 'different, another'; and as a postposition 'besides, apart from'. The form *baška* was registered in OT. In other Turkic languages there are equivalents of the word.

boš (K-B) '1. svobodnyj, nezanjatyj; vakantnyj; 2. slabyj, nepročnyj, ne tugoj; 3. pustoj, porožnij; 4. pustoj, pustejšij; 5. *gram.* prostoj' (KBRS 161); *boš* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'pustoj, xolostoj, svobodnyj' (Boz. 168); *boš* (K) 'leer, frei' (Pr K 95); *boš* (B) 'leer, ledig, frei, müssig; umsonst, nur' (Pr B 210) < PT **poš*; cf.: OT *boš*, *bōš*; Kum., Az. *boš*; Khal. *bo'š*; Tur., Kar. (Cr. T) *boš*, (H) *bos*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *boš*; Tat. *buš*; Čuv. *puš*, *puša*; Bašk. *buš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *bos*; Kir. *boš*; Trkm. *boš*; Uz. *boš*; Uig. *boš*; Y. Uig. *bos*; Alt. *boš*, *poš*; Khak. *pos*; Tuv. *boš*; Tof. *boš*; Yak. *bosxo*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 198, 281; DTS 113; Eg. 170; ÈSTJa II 203; KRPS 132, 133; ÖjHa. 35; Podolsky 5; Rass. 164; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 175.

The adjective *boš* 'empty; free' is known in other modern Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants). In OT *boš* and *bōš* registered.

bütew (K-B) '1. veś; celyj; polnyj; 2. obščij, obščevseobščij' (KBRS 177); *büteu* (B. dial.: Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'veś, celyj' (Boz. 169); *bütün* (B) 'noch mehr, noch' (Pr B 212) < PT * *bütün* (ESG); OT *bütün*; Kum. *bütün*; Az. *bütün*, *bütöv*; Tur. *bütün*; Gag. *bütün*; Kar. (Cr.) *bitüw*, *butun*, *bütün*; (H) *bitin*, (T) *bu̇tuń*, *bi̇tuń*; Tat. (Cr.) *butün*; Tat. (Ur.) *bütün*; Tat. *bütĭn*, *bŭtäü*; Čuv. *pětěm*; Bašk. *bŭtäü*, *bŭtĭn*; Kaz. *bütĭn*; Kklp. *pütin*; Kir. *bütün*; Trkm. *bütĭn*, *bitew*; Uz. *butun*; Uig. *pütün*; Lob. *pütün*; Alt. *büdün*, *püdün*; Khak. *püdün*; Tuv. *büdün*; Tof. *bütün*; Šor. *püdün*; Yak. *bütün*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45 ; DTS 134; Eg. 158; ÈSTJa II 302; KRPS 124, 125, 143, 145, 154; Podolsky 6; Rass. 167; Räs. VEWT 93 b.

The word *bütew* 'whole, entire, complete' in certain phonetic variants is known in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the form *bütün* was registered.

čij (K-B) '1. syroj; nedovarennyj; 2. syroj, neobrabotannyj, nevydelannyj; 3. vlažnyj; 4. zelionyj, nezrelyj, nespelyj; 5. svežij' (KBRS 734); *čij* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'syroj, svežij, sočnyj' (Boz. 191); *čij* (*čᶜij*; K) 'roh, unreif' (Pr K 98); *cij* (B) 'roh, frisch, saftig, nass, zart' (Pr B 214) < PT **čīǵ*; **čīg*, **čī̈g*, **čīk*; cf.: OT *čig*, *čïk*; Tur. *čig*; Kar. (Cr.) *čij*, (H) *cij*, *cïj*, (T) *čïj*; Trkm. *čīk*; Khak. *sïx*; Yak. *sīk*. – Lit.: KRPS 613, 616, 628, 636; ÖjHa. 31; Räs. VEWT 107 a; Šč. SF 198; YRh. 254.

The adjective *čij* '1. raw, uncooked; 2. green, fresh; 3. unripe' has equivalents in a few modern Turkic languages. In OT there were the forms *čig*, *čïk*. In Yak. the word *sīk* has two substantival meanings; 1. 'humidity'; 2. 'dew'.

eski (K-B) '1. staryj, vetxij; 2. staryj, starinnyj; drevnij; ustarelyj; 3. staryj, davnišnij; 4. staryj, byvšij, prežnij; 5. *per.* byvalyj, zakalionnyj; 6. izbytyj, šablonnyj, trafaretnyj' (KBRS 776); *eski* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'staryj' (Boz. 170); *eski*, *jeski* (*eskᶜi*, *jeskᶜi*; K) 'alt' (Pr K 102); *eski* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 220) < PT **eski* (ESG); cf.: OT *eski*; Kum. *eski*, *esgi*; Az. *äski*; Tur. *eski*; Gag. *jeski*; Kar. (Cr.) *eski*, (H, T) *eśki*; Tat. (Cr.) *eski*, Tat. (Ur.) *estï*; Tat. *iskï*; Bašk. *iskï*; Kaz. *eskï*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *eski*; Trkm. *esgi*; Uz., Uig. *eski*; Lob. *äski*; Sal. *eski*, *eske*; Alt. *eski*. – Lit.: DTS 184; ÈSTJa I 306; KRPS 669, 670; Podolsky 10; Tenišev 326.

The adjective *eski* 'old; worn out' is known both in OT and at present in some other Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants). As far as the meaning is concerned in most of the mentioned Turkic languages the meaning is the same; however in a few ones the word denotes something else, e.g. in Uig., Lob. it may mean 'silly, bad' and in Kar. (Cr.) apart from the meaning 'old' it also denotes 'cloth; dish-cloth'.

ğalgan (K-B) '1. ložnyj; falšivyj; fiktyvnyj; 2. pobočnyj, vtorostepennyj, nadstavlennyj, nadstavnoj' (KBRS 220); *žalgan* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'lož, lživyj' (Boz. 171); *ğalgan* (*ǯalγán*; K) 'Lüge' (Pr K 145) < PT **jalgan* (ESG); cf.: OT *jalgan*; Kum. *jalgan*; Az., Tur., Gag. *jalan*; Khal. *jalan*; Kar. (Cr.) *jalan*, *jalgan*, (H, T) *jalgan*; Tat. *jalgan*; Tat. (Ur.) *jalan*; Bašk. *jalgan*; Kaz., Kklp. *žalgan*; Nog. *jalgan*; Kir. *ğalgan*; Trkm., Trukh. *jalan*; Uz. *jolgon*; Uig. *jalgan*; Lob. *jalgan*; Sal. *jalgan*, *jelgan*. – Lit.: DTS 228; ÈSTJa IV 91; Bask. JpU 42; KRPS 220, 221; Malov 117; Podolsky 31; SKT 179; Sul. Kkar. 68; Tenišev 344, 353.

The word *ğalgan* '1. lie; 2. lying; 3. false' has equivalents at present in some Turkic languages with these both substantival and adjectival meanings. The etymology of this lexeme is still debated by some specialists, cf. ÈSTJa IV 92. In OT the form *jalgan* registered.

ğaŋï (K-B) 1. '1. novyj. 2. svežij'; 2. 'nedavno, vnov', tol'ko, tol'ko čto' (KBRS 227); *žaŋï* (B. dial.: Baks., Khul.-Bez.) 'novyj, molodoj' (Boz. 171); *ğaŋŋï* (*ǯaŋŋ́ï*; K) 'neu' (Pr K 146); *zaŋŋï* (*zaŋŋ́ï*; B) 'neu, frisch' (Pr B 269) < PT **janki*; cf.: OT *jaŋï*, *jeŋi*; Kum. *jaŋï*; Az. *jeni*; Khal. *jeŋgi*; Tur., Gag. *jeni*; Kar. (Cr., T) *jaŋgï*, *jangï*, (H) *jangï*; Tat. (Cr.) *jaŋï*, Tat. (Ur.) *jaŋï*, *jeni*; Tat. *jaŋa*; Čuv. *śĕnĕ*; Bašk. *jeŋï*; Kaz., Kklp. *žeŋa*; Nog. *jaŋï*; Kir. *ğaŋï*; Trkm. *jaŋï*; Uz. *jaŋi*; Uig. *jeŋi*; Lob. *jeŋi*, *jaŋi*; Sal. *jaŋa*; Y. Uig. *jaŋa*, *jaŋï*; Alt. *ďaŋï*; *jaŋï* (Rass. 209); Khak. *nā*; Tuv. *čā*; Tof. *nā̆*; Šor. *nā*; Yak. *saŋa*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 193, 317; DTS 234, 256; Eg. 211; ÈSTJa IV 124; KRPS 225, 228; Malov 118, 120; Podolsky 31, 33; Rass. 209; Räs. VEWT 185 b; Sul. Kkar. 70.

The word *ğaŋï* '1. new, fresh; 2. again' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In some cases we can notice phonetic differentiation together with a semantic one, e.g. in Tat. (Ur.) *jeni* 'again' but *janï* 'new'. In OT the forms: *jaŋï*, *jeŋi* were registered.

ğaŋïz (K-B) 1. 'odin, jedinstvennyj, odinokij'; 2. 'tol'ko, liš', vsego, vsego-novsego' (KBRS 227); *žaŋïz* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'odinokij, odin, tol'ko' (Boz. 171); *ğaŋïz* (Čeg.) 'odinstvennyj' (ibid. 172); *zaŋïz* (Balk.) 'jedinstvennyj, odin, tol'ko' (ibid. 173); *ğaŋŋïz* (*ǯaŋŋ́ïz*; K) 'einzig, allein, nur' (Pr K 146); *zaŋŋïz* (*zaŋŋ́ïz*; B) 'allein, einsam, einzig; nur' (Pr B 269) < PT **jalaŋïz* ~ **jalïŋïz* (ESG); cf.: OT *jalŋus* ~ *jalŋuz*, *jalïŋus* ~ *jalïŋuz*, *jalaŋuz*, *jalguz*, *jaŋus*, *ğalguz*; Kum. *jaŋïz*; Az. *jalnïz*; Khal. *jalguz*, *jagluz*, *jalgoz*; Tur., Gag. *jalnïz*; Kar. (Cr.) *jalgïz*, *jalïngïz*, *jalïŋgïz*, (H, T) *jalgïz*; Tat. *jalgïz*; Bašk. *jaŋgïz*; Kaz., Kklp. *žalgïz*; Nog. *jalgïz*; Kir. *ğaŋgïz*; Trkm. *jalŋ̄ïz*; Uz. *jolgiz*; Uig. *jalguz*; Lob. *jalguz* ~ *jalgus*, *jalus*; Sal. *jalgus*, *jālgus*, *jelgus*; Y. Uig. *jaŋgïs*; Alt. *jaŋïs*, *ďaŋïs*; Khak. *čalgïs*; *nagïs*; Tuv. *čaŋgïs*; Tof. *ńū̆s*; Šor. *čagïs*, *nagïs*; Yak. *soyotox*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 200, 317; DTS 227, 228, 229, 235, 640; ÈSTJa IV 97; KRPS 222, 223, 224; Malov 117, 118; Rass. 210; StachM GJV 127; Sul. Kkar. 69; Tenišev 344, 359.

The word *ğaŋïz* functions in K-B with two meanings: '1. one, single; 2. only'. Several phonetic variants were registered in OT, cf. above. The word has numerous equivalents in modern Turkic languages.

ğarlï (K-B) '1. bednyj, nejmuščij; 2. neščastnyj, goremyka' (KBRS 231); *žarlï* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'bednjak, bednyj' (Boz. 171); *ğarlï* (*ǯarĺï*; K) 'arm' (Pr K 146); *zarlï* (*zarĺï*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 269) < PT **jarlïg (ESG)*; cf.: OT *jarlïg*; Kum. *jarlï*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *jarlï*; Tat. *jarlï*; Čuv. *jurlă*; Bašk. *jarlï*; Kaz., Kklp. *žarlï*; Nog. *jarlï*; Kir. *ğardï*; Trkm. dial. *jarlï*. – Lit.: DTS 242; Eg. 351; ÈSTJa IV 143; KRPS 233; Räs. VEWT 190 b; Sul. Kkar. 71.

The adjective *ğarlï* means 'poor; unhappy'. The word has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. The structure of the word shows its derivational character, however the etymology is vague. Räsänen (cf. Räs. VEWT 190 b) suggests its origin from **jar* 'emptiness', but

without any arguments supporting his hypothesis. According to ÈSTJa IV 143 the OT form *jarlïg* was already registered between 8th-9th cc.

igi (K-B) '1. xorošij; 2. kak sledujeť, xorošeńko' (KBRS 293); *igi* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'xorošij, xorošo' (Boz. 174); *igi, iji* (*igí, iji*; K) 'gut, sehr, tüchtig' (Pr K 107); *igi* (B) 'gut, wohl' (Pr B 224) < PT **äðgü*; cf.: OT *eðgü, edgü, ejgü*; Tur. *eji, iji*; Gag. *ī*; Kar. (H) *egi, eji*, (T) *iji*; Tat. *igď*; Tat. (Cr.) *eji*; Čuv. *ïră*; Bašk. *izge*; Kaz. *ïjgï, ïgï*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ijgi*; Trkm. *ejgi*; Uz. *egi, ezgï*; ; Uig. *äzgü*; Sal. *ī*; Tuv. *eki*; Tof. *eki*; Yak. *ötüö ~ ütüö*. – Lit.: DTS 163, 164, 167; Eg. 344; ÈSTJa I 245; KRPS 195, 653, 656; Rass. 180; StachM GJV 63.

The adjective *igi* 'good' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B, however in Tat. and Uig. it denotes 'holy'. It OT there were the following forms: *eðgü, edgü, ejgü*.

kajïr (K) 'zloj, serdityj' (KBRS 379) < PT **kajïr ~ *kadïr* (ESG); cf.: OT *kajïr, kadïr* ; Bašk. dial. *kajïr*; Uig. *kadïr*; Alt. *kajïr*; Khak. *xazïr*; Tuv. *xadïr*. – Lit.: DTS 403, 407; ÈSTJa V 216; Räs. VEWT 218 b.

The word *kajïr* 'angry, viscious' is also confirmed in other Turkic languages (in some variants), however only in a few languages is the word known. In OT the forms *kajïr, kadïr* were registered.

keč (K-B) 1. 'pozdnij; zapozdalyj'; 2. 'večer, sumerki' (KBRS 332); *keč* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'pozdno' (Boz. 175); *keč* (*kʿeč*; K) 'spät' (Pr K 108); *kec* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 227) < PT **kā̆č* (Šč. SF 195); **kā̆č, *kēč* (Räs. VEWT 245 b); cf.: OT *keč, kič*; Kum. *geč*; Az. *ǵeč*; Tur., Gag. *geč*; Kar. (Cr.) *keč*, (H) *kec*, (T) *kéč*; Tat. (Cr.) *keč*, Tat. (Ur.) *čeč, ťeč*; Tat. *kič*; Čuv. *kaś*; Bašk. *kis*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *keš*; Kir. *keč*; Trkm. *gïč*; Uz. *keč*; Uig. *keč, käč*; Lob. *keč*; Sal. *keš*; Alt. *keč*. – Lit.: DTS 290, 306; Eg. 93; ÈSTJa III 50; KRPS 310, 311, 394; Malov 135; Podolsky 7; Räs. VEWT 245; Šč. SF 195.

The word *keč* has in K-B two meanings: 1. 'late'; 2. 'evening'. Such a situation is also observed in other Turkic languages where the word *keč* (or its variants) denotes paralelly 'late' and 'evening' or even 'night', cf. Čuv. *kaś* (Eg. 93). In OT the words *keč, kič* are registered with the meaning 'long; late' (DTS 290).

kerti (K-B) 1. 'pravda'; 2. '1. pravdivyj; praviľnyj; 2. dejstviteľnyj' (KBRS 327); *kerti* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'praviľno, dejstviteľno, verno, pravda' (Boz. 175); *kerti, kertti* (*kʿerťí, kʿertti*; K) 'wahr, richtig' (Pr K 109); *kerti* (*kertí*; B) 'wahr, richtig, wirklich' (Pr B 228) < PT **kertü*; cf.: OT *kertü*; *kirtü, kertö* (Gab.); Kum. *gerti*; Kar. (Cr.) *kerti*; Nog. *kerti*. – Lit.: DTS 302; ÈSTJa III 28; Gab. 315; KRPS 392.

The word *kerti* is registered in K-B sources with both substantival and adjectival as well as adverbial meanings: 'truth; true; really'. Also other Turkic languages (only a few) give meanings differentiated in terms of grammatical

category. OT sources registered the following forms: *kertü*, *kirtü*, *kertö*. The structure shows the derivational character of the word, however its etymology is vague.

kïsïr (K-B) '1. jalovyj, besplodnyj; 2. razvedionnaja (o ženščine); 3. celʹnyj, splošnoj; 4. xolostoj' (KBRS 449); *kïsïr* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'besplodnyj, jalovyj' (Boz. 178) < PT **kïsïr*; cf.: OT *kïsïr*; Kum. *kïsïr*; Az. *gïsïr*; Khal. *kïs(s)ïr*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. *kïsïr*; Čuv. *xĕśĕr*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kïsïr*; Trkm. *gïsïr*; Uz., Uig. *kisir*; Alt. *kïzïr*; Khak. *xïzïr*; Tuv. *kïzïr*; Tof. *kïsïr*; Yak. *kïtarax*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 254; Doerfer LSCh 201, 306; DTS 448; Eg. 300; KRPS 382; Rass. 224; Räs. VEWT 267 b -268 a.

The adjective *kïsïr* 'sterile, fruitless, barren' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. It was also confirmed in OT.

oŋ (K-B) 'pravyj' (KBRS 497); *oŋ* (B. dial.; Čeg.) 'pravyj' (Boz. 181); *oŋ* (K) 'recht' (Pr K 126); *oŋ* (B) 'recht, dexter' (Pr B 247) < PT **oŋ*; cf.: OT *oŋ*; Kum. *oŋ*; Tur. dial. (DS) *oŋ*; Kar. (Cr.) *on*, *oŋ*, (H,T) *on*; Tat. (Cr.) *oŋ*; Tat. *uŋ*; Bašk. *uŋ*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *oŋ*; Uz. *oŋ*; *ŭŋ* (Rass. 212); Uig. *oŋ*; Lob. *on*, *oŋ*; Y. Uig. *oŋ*, *un*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof. *oŋ*; Yak. *uŋa*. – Lit.: DTS 367; ÈSTJa I 456; KRPS 428, 429; Malov 151; Rass. 212; StachM GJV 76; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev SJ 193.

The adjective *oŋ* 'right, right side of sth' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages.

osal (K-B) '1. ploxoj, drjannoj; 2. nekačestvennyj, nevažnyj' (KBRS 504) < PT **osal* (ESG); cf.: OT *usal*; Kum., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *osal*; Tat. *usal*; Čuv. *usal*, dial. *osal*; Bašk. *usal*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *osal*; Kir. *osol*; Trkm. *osal*; Uz. *osal*; *usal* (Eg. 277); Uig. *osal*; Tuv. *ozal*; Yak. *ohol*. – Lit.: DTS 616; Eg. 277; ÈSTJa I 479; KRPS 433; Räs. VEWT 365 b – 366 a; StachM GJV 126-127.

The adjective *osal* in K-B denotes 'bad, poor; unimportant'. In OT sources there was registered the form *usal*. The word has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages, however also with different meanings, e.g.: Tuv. *ozal* 'slow, phlegmatic'; Kaz. *osal* 'weak'; Yak. *ohol* 'laziness, carelessness'.

sak (K-B) 'ostorožnyj, osmotriteľnyj, čutkij, bditeľnyj' (KBRS 534) < PT **sak*; cf.: OT *sak*; Tat. *sak*; Čuv. *sïx*, *sïxă*; Bašk. *hak*; Kaz., Kir. *sak*; Trkm., Uig. *sak*; Alt. (V) *sak*. – Lit.: DTS 485; Eg. 201; Gab. 332; Räs. VEWT 395 b; Šč. SF 196.

The adjective *sak* 'careful, delicate' was registered in OT and at present it has its counterparts in a few Turkic languages.

saŋïraw (K-B) 'gluxoj' (KBRS 541); *saŋrau* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 183); *saŋrau* (*saŋráu*; K) 'taub' (Pr K 130); *saŋrau* (*saŋráu*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 250) < PT **saŋïr* (ESG); cf.: Kum. *saŋŋïrau*; Tur. *sagïr*; Kar. (H) *sandraw*, (T)

sandraw, *sondrav*; Tat. (Kaz.) *saŋrau*; Bašk. *haŋrau*; Trkm. *sagïr*; Sal. *sāgïr*. – Lit.: KRPS 464, 478; Räs. VEWT 393 b; Tenišev 470.

The adjective *saŋïraw* 'deaf' has its equivalents only in a few other Turkic languages. The OT sources do not confirm the existence of the word.

saw (K-B) I '1. celyj; nenačatyj, nerazdeľnyj; 2. veś, celyj; polnyj'. II 'živoj, nevredimyj, zdorovyj' (KBRS 544); *sau* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'zdorovyj, nevredimyj' (Boz. 183); *sau* (K) 'gesund, lebendig, ganz' (Pr K 130); *sau* (B) 'gesund, unbeschädigt, lebendig' (Pr B 251) < PT **sag*; cf.: OT *sag*; Kum. *sav*; Az. *sag*; Khal. *saʿg*; Tur. *sag*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *sav*; Tat. (Ur.) *sav*; Tat. *sau*; Čuv. *sïvă*; Bašk. *hau*; Kaz., Kklp. *sau*; Nog. *sav*; Kir. *sō*; Trkm., Trukh. *sag*; Uz. *sog*; Uig. *sag*; Lob. *sak*, *sag*; Sal. *sax*, *sïx*; Alt. (V) *su*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 178, 307; DTS 480; Eg. 199; KRPS 454; Malov 158; Podolsky 19; SKT 181; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 476, 492.

The adjective *saw* 'healthy; whole; alive' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, with the same meaning as in K-B. However in Salar *sax* 'right' (? < Per. *sāg*). In OT the form *sag* was registered.

sol (K-B) 'levyj' (KBRS 565); *sol* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 184); *sol* (K) 'link' (Pr K 132); *sol* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 253) < PT **sōl*; cf.: OT *sol*; Az. *sol*; Khal. *sol*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.), *sol*; Tat. *sul*; Čuv. *sulaxaj* (< Mong.); Bašk. *hul*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sol*; Uig. *sol*, *soŋ*; Lob., Y. Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv. *sol*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 310; DTS 508; Eg. 193; KRPS 478; Malov 162; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 207.

The K-B *sol* 'left' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. According to Egorov (Eg. 193) Čuv. *sulaxaj* 'left' is borrowed from Mongolian. In OT there was registered the form *sol*.

teli (K-B) '1. sumasšedšij, nenormaľnyj; 2. durak, glupec, glupyj'; 'iskliučiteľnyj; črezmernyj' (KBRS 618); *teli* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'bezumnyj, durak' (Boz. 185); *teli* (*tʿelí*; K) 'verrückt, unverständig' (Pr K 137); *teli* (*telí*; B) 'verrückt, närrisch, Narr' (Pr B 258) < PT **tälig*; cf.: OT *telü*; Kum., *deli*; Az. *deli*, *däli*; Tur., Gag., *deli*; Kar. (Cr.) *deli*, (H) *teli*, (T) *ťeli*, *teli*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *deli*; Tat., Bašk. *tilī*; Nog. *deli*, *teli*; Kir. *teli*; Trkm. *dāli*; Lob. *telï*; Sal. *telli*; Šor. *tälig*. – Lit.: DTS 551; ÈSTJa III 214; KRPS 184, 520, 562; Podolsky 8; Räs. VEWT 472 a; Tenišev 507.

The adjective *teli* 'crazy, mad' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT there was registered the form *telü*. Judging by the structure of the word we may presume that this is a derivative, probably from **tel-* ~ **del-* 'to get mad', cf. ÈSTJa III 216.

tiri (K-B) '1. energičnyj, podvižnyj, živoj, provornyj, aktivnyj' (KBRS 636); *tiri* (*tʿirí*; K) 'lebendig' (Pr K 139) < PT **tiri*, **tirig* (ESG); cf.: OT *tirig*; Kum. *tiri*; Az. *diri*; Khal. *türri*; Tur., Gag. *diri*; Kar. (Cr., T) *tiri*, (H) *kiri*, *tiri*;

Tat. (Cr.) *tiri*; Tat. (Ur.) *tïrï*; Tat. *tĭrĭ*; *tere* (Eg. 324); Čuv. *čĕrĕ*; Bašk. *tĭrĭ*; *tere* (Eg. 324); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tiri*; Kir. *tiri*, *tirü*, *türü*; *tirū̃* (Eg. 324); Trkm. *dïri*; Uz. *tĭrik*; Uig. *tirik*; Lob. *tijik*, *terik*, *tīk*; Sal. *tirar*; Y. Uig. *tïrïg*, *terik*; Alt. *tirig*, *tirü*, *türü*, *tirüge*; Khak. *tirig*, *tĭrĭge*; Tuv. *dirig*, *diriġġe*; Šor. *tirig*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 315; DTS 562; Eg. 324; ÈSTJa III 240; KRPS 322, 529; Malov 172; Podolsky 24; Sul. Kkar. 102; Tenišev 511; Tenišev SJ 215.

The adjective *tiri* 'alive' has its equivalents in other modern Turkic languages. As far as the structure of the word is concerned this is a derivative. In OT there was confirmed the form *tirig*.

tok (K-B) '1. polnyj, tolstyj, tučnyj; korenastyj; 2. sytyj' (KBRS 641); *tok* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'poľnyj, sytyj, dovoľnyj' (Boz. 186); *tok* (*tᶜoq*; K) 'ganz satt' (Pr K 139) < PT **tok*; cf.: OT *tok*; Az. *tox*; Khal. *tok*; Tur., Gag. *tok*; Kar. (Cr., H) *tok*, (T) *tox*; Tat. (Cr.) *tok*; Tat. (Ur.) *tox*; Tat. *tuk*; Čuv. *tută*; Bašk. *tuk*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tok*; Trkm. *dok*; Uz. *tok*; *tuk* (Eg. 263); Uig. *tok*; Sal. *tox*; Alt. *toju*, *tok*; Khak. *tox*; Tuv. *todug*; Tof. *tok*; Šor. *tok*; Yak. *tot*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 191, 192, 314; DTS 576; Eg. 263; ÈSTJa III 252; KRPS 535, 539; ÖjHa. 34; Podolsky 24; Rass. 235.

The word *tok* 'satiated' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, where in some of them the meaning is slightly different, e.g.: Tof. *tok* 'thick (about a round device)'; Khal. *tok* '1. satiated; 2. drunken'; Tat. (Ur.) *tox* 'thick, fat'. *Tok* was also registered in OT.

türlü (K-B) '1. raznyj, različnyj, raznoobraznyj; vsevozmožnyj; 2. poxožij, obraznyj; 3. interesnyj, zanimateľnyj; zatejlivyj; 4. strannyj, čudnoj' (KBRS 674); *türlü* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'različnyj, raznorodnyj' (Boz. 188); *türlü* (*tᶜürlü*; K) 'verschieden' (Pr K 141); *türlü* (*türlü*; B) 'verschieden, verschiedenartig, varius' (Pr B 264) < PT **türlüg* (ESG); cf.: OT *türlüg*; Kum. *türlü*; Az. *dürlü*; Tur., Gag. *türlü*; Kar. (Cr.) *türlü*, *türli*, (H) *tirli*, *kirli*, (T) *ťurlu*; Tat. (Cr.) *türlü*; Tat. *türlĭ*; *törle* (Eg. 247); Čuv. *tĕrlĕ*; Bašk. *tŭrlŭ*, *törlö-törlö*; Kaz. *türlĭ*, *türli-türli*; Kklp., Nog. *türli*, *türli-türli*; Kir. *bir türdū̃*; Trkm., Trukh. *dürli*; Uz. *turli*; Uig. *türlük*; Sal. *türlüx*; Alt. *türlü*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; DTS 599; Eg. 247; ÈSTJa III 327; KRPS 323, 530, 554; SKT 178; Tenišev 526.

The word *türlü* 'various' is known in other Turkic languages, where it appears in different forms. The structure shows its derivational character, however the etymology is still debated, cf. ÈSTJa III 328. In OT the form *türlüg* was registered.

učuz (K-B) '1. dešiovyj; 2. neporjadočnyj, nizkij' (KBRS 690); *učuz* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'deševo, sxodno, ploxo' (Boz. 188); *učuz* (*učúz*; K) 'billig, wohlfeil' (Pr K 142); *ucuz* (*ucúz*; B) 'billig, wohlfeil; schlecht' (Pr B 264) < PT **učuz* (ESG); cf.: OT *učuz*, *užuz*; Kum. *učuz*; Az. *uğuz*; Tur. *uğuz*; Gag. *uğüs*; Kar. (Cr.) *uğuz*, *uğïz*, (H) *ucuz*, (T) *učuz*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *uğuz*; Tat. dial. *ŭčïz*, *ŭcïz*. – Lit.: DTS 604, 621; ÈSTJa I 567; KRPS 573, 585, 587; Podolsky 26.

The adjective *učuz* 'cheap' has its counterparts only in a few other Turkic languages (mostly representing the southern and north-western groups). In OT sources the following forms were registered: *učuz*, *užuz*.

uzak (K-B) '1. daliokij, daľnyj; 2. dolgij, prodolžiteľnyj' (KBRS 678); *uzak* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'daleko, dalekij, dolgij' (Boz. 188); *uzak* (*uzáq*; K) 'lang, weit, ferne, auf lange Zeit' (Pr K 143); *uzak*, *uzax*, *uzag* (*uzáq*, *uzax*, *uzay*; B) 'fern' (Pr B 266) < PT **uzak* (ESG); cf.: OT *uzak*; Khal. *uzāk*; Tur. *uzak*; Kar. (Cr., H) *uzak*, (T) *uzax*; Tat. *ozak*; Čuv. *vărax*; Bašk. *ozak*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *uzak*; Uz. *uzok*; Uig., Trkm. *uzak*; Lob. *uzak*; Y. Uig. *uzak*, *uzak*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 185, 315; DTS 620; Eg. 49; KRPS 573, 574; Malov 179; Tenišev SJ 218.

The adjective *uzak* 'long; remote' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. Its structure shows its derivational character from the verb *uza-* 'to last'. It was also registered in OT.

3. NUMERALS

altï (K-B) 'šest, šestiorka' (KBRS 55); *altï* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'šesť' (Boz. 164); *altï* (*alťï*; K) 'sechs' (Pr K 87) *altï* (*altí*; B) 'sechs' (Pr B 201) < PT **altï*; OT *altï*; Kum., Az. *altï*; Khal. *alta*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur., Cr.) *altï*; Čuv. *ult*, *ultă*, *ulttă*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *altï*; Uz. *olti*; Uig. *altä*; Lob. *altï*, *alto*; Sal. *altï*, *alci*, *alcï*; Y. Uig. *alᵊtï; haltï* (Tenišev SJ 172, 180); *alta* (ÈSTJa I 142); Alt., Khak. *altï*; Tuv. *aldï*; Tof. *altï*; Yak. *alta*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 212, 277; DTS 39; Eg. 274; ÈSTJa I 141; KRPS 65; Malov 84; Podolsky 1; Rass. 153; StachM GJV 27; Tenišev 287; Tenišev SJ 172, 180.

This word denoting 'six' has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

altmïš (K-B) 'šesťdesjat' (KBRS 55) < PT **altmïľ*; OT *altmïš*, *altmïs*; Kum., Az. *altmïš*; Khal. *altmiš*; Tur., Gag. *altmïš*; Kar. (H) *altïmïs*, (T) *altïmïš*; Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *altmïš*; Čuv. *utmăl*; Bašk. *altmïš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *alpïs*; Kir. *altïmïš*; Trkm. *altmïš*; Uz. *oltmiš*; Uig. *a(l)tmiš*; Lob. *atmiš*; Sal. *aᶜmmus*; Alt. *altan*; Khak. *alton*; Tuv. *aldan*; Šor. *alton*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 215, 277; DTS 40; Eg. 279; ÈSTJa I 141; KRPS 65; Malov 87; Podolsky 1; Tenišev 288.

The word denoting the numeral 'sixty' has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages. In OT the following forms were registered: *altmïš*, *altmïs*.

beš (K-B) 'pjať' (KBRS 137); *beš* (B. dial.: Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'pjať' (Boz. 167); *beš* (K) 'fünf' (Pr K 92); *beš* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 207) < PT **bāš*; **pāš* (Šč SF 195); OT *beš*; Kum., Az. *beš*; Khal. *bēš*; Tur., Gag. *beš*; Kar. (Cr.) *bäš*, (H) *bäs*, (T) *beš*; Tat. *biš*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *beš*; Čuv. *pillĕk*, *pilĕk*; Bašk. *biš*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *bes*; Kir. *beš*; Trkm. *bāš*; Trukh. *beš*; Uz. *beš*; Uig. *bäš*; Lob. *beš*;

Sal. *beš*, *bes*, *peš*, *pes*; Y. Uig. *peš*, *pes*, *pis*; Alt. *beš*; Khak. *pis*; Tuv. *beš*; Tof. *beš*; Šor. *peš*; Yak. *biäs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 212, 280; DTS 96; Eg. 160; ÈSTJa II 126; KRPS 114, 152, 153; Malov 93; ÖjHa. 23; Podolsky 5; Rass. 162; SKT 178; StachM GJV 70; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 196.

The numeral *beš* 'five' has equivalents in numerous other modern Turkic languages; also registered in OT.

bir (K-B) '1. odin; 2. takoj, tak; 3. to; 4. kakoj-nibuť, kto nibuť, čto-nibuť; kakoj-to, nekij; 5. odinakovyj, obščij, jedinyj' (KBRS 145); *bir* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk, Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'odin, odnaždy, približiteľno, jedva' (Boz. 167); *bir* (K) 'ein, einmal, anf einmal' (Pr K 93); *bir* (B) 'ein, einmal; ungefähr; etwa; oft als unbestimmter Artikel gebraucht' (Pr B 208) < PT **bīr*, **bir*; OT *bir*; Kum., Az., Tur. *bir*; Khal. *bī*; Gag., Kar. (Cr., H,T), Tat. (Ur.) *bir*; Tat. *ber*; Tat. (Cr.) *bĭr*; Čuv. *pĕr*, *pĕrre*; Bašk. *bĭr*; *ber* (Eg. 157); Kaz. *bĭr*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *bir*; Trkm. *bir*, *bīr* (in *onbīr* 'eleven'); Trukh. *bir*; Uz., Uig. *bĭr*; Lob. *bej*, *vej*, *bir*, *bij*, *bi*; Sal. *bir*, *ber*, *bir*, *pir*, *per*, *pe*, *pïr*; Y. Uig. *per*, *pïr*, *vïr*; Alt. *bir*, *pir*; Khak. *pĭr*; Tuv. *bir*; Tof. *bir*; Šor. *pir*; Yak. *bīr*. – Lit. Bask JpU 41; Doerfer LSCh 211, 280; DTS 101; Eg. 157; ÈSTJa II 146; KRPS 120; Malov 93, 97; ÖjHa. 31; Podolsky 5; Rass. 162; StachM GJV 112; Sul. Kkar. 55; Tenišev; Tenišev SJ 196, 197, 219.

The numeral *bir* 'one' has equivalents in numerous Turkic languages. It was also registered in OT.

eki (K-B) '1. dva; 2. oba' (KBRS 764); *eki* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'dva' (Boz. 170); *eki*, *jeki* (*ekʿi*, *jekʿi*; K) 'zwei' (Pr K 100); *eki* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 218) < PT **iki* (ESG); cf.: OT *iki*; Kum. *eki*; Az. *iki*; Khal. *äkki*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (H) *iki*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *eki*; Tat. *ikĭ*; *ike* (Eg. 67); Tat. (Ur.) *efĭ*; Čuv. *ikkĕ*, *ikĕ*, *ik*; Bašk. *ikĭ*; *ike* (Eg. 67); Kaz. *ekĭ*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *eki*; Trkm., Trukh. *iki*; Uz., Uig. *ikki*; Lob. *iki*, *ikke*, *ike*, *iške*; Sal. *ički*, *ičkʿi*, *iški*, *iškï*, *iske*, *iskï*; Y. Uig. *iški*, *iške*, *iškï*, *šike*, *šikï*, *šïkï*, *ški*; Alt. *eki*, *ekki*; Khak. *ĭkĭ*; Tuv. *ii*; Yak. *ikki*, *ekki*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer 212, 286; DTS 206; Eg. 67; ÈSTJa I 337; KRPS 197, 656; Malov 113, 116; Podolsky 10; SKT 179; Tenišev 335, 340, 341; Tenišev SJ 181, 209.

The numeral *eki* 'two' has its equivalents in numerous Turkic languages, where it appears (especially in Lob., Sal., Y. Uig.) in different phonetic variants. In OT the form *iki* was registered.

elli (K-B) 'pjaťdesjat' (KBRS 767) < PT **älig* (ESG); cf.: OT *elig*; Kum. *elli*; Az. *älli*; Khal. *ällig*; Tur. *elli*; Gag. *jelli*; Kar. (T) *eńli*, (H) *eńli*, *ińli*, *enli*; (Cr.) *elli*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *elli*; Tat. *älle* (Eg. 24); *illĭ*; Čuv. *allă*; Bašk. *älle* (Eg. 24); *illĭ*; Kaz. *elü*; *elüw* (ÈSTJa I 266); Kklp., Nog. *elli*; Kir. *elũ*; Trkm., Trukh. *elli*; Uz. *ellik*; Uig. *ällik*; Lob. *ellik*; Sal. *elli*; Alt. *ölü*, *elũ*; Khak. *ilig*; Šor. *elig*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 215, 286; DTS 170; Eg. 24; ÈSTJa I 266; KRPS 204, 663, 664; Malov 107; Podolsky 9; SKT 182; Tenišev 324.

The numeral *elli* 'fifty' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages. Some specialists relate this numeral to the word *el* ~ *elig* 'hand'; cf. Eg. 24, ÈSTJa I 267. In OT the form *elig* was registered.

ğeti (K-B) 'sem' (KBRS 245); *žeti* (B. dial.: Čeg.), *ğeti* (Baks.) 'id.' (Boz. 171); *ğeti* (*ǯeťi*; K) 'sieben' (Pr K 148); *žeti* (*žetí*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 276) < PT **θäti*, **dêttē*; cf.: OT *jedi*, *jeti*, *jetti*; Kum. *jetti*; Az. *jeddi*; Khal. *jētti*; Tur., Gag. *jedi*; Kar. (Cr., T) *jedi*, (H) *jedi*, *jegi*; Tat. (Ur.) *jedi*; Tat. *ğidï*; *žide* (Eg. 215); Čuv. *śiĕĕĕ*, *śiĕ*, *śiĕĕ*; Bašk. *jïtï*; *jete* (Eg. 215); Kaz., Kklp. *žeti*; Nog. *jeti*; Kir. *ğeti*; *žeti* (Eg. 215); Trkm. *jedi*; Uz. *jetti*; Trukh. *jeti*; Uig. *jättä*; Lob. *jetti*, *jeti*; Sal. *jec^{c}i*, *jeti*, *jiti*, *jic^{c}i*; Y. Uig. *ğetä*, *jiti*, *jite*, *jitï*, *ğïtï*, *jeti*; Alt. *jeti*, *ďeti*; Khak. *čiti*; Tuv. *čedi*; Tof. *čedi*; Šor. *čätti*; Yak. *sättä*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 212, 318; DTS 252, 259; Eg. 215; ÈSTJa IV 167; KRPS 269; Malov 120; ÖjHa. 23; Podolsky 32; Rass. 195; SKT 179; StachM GJV 108; Tenišev 353, 355, 356, 361; Tenišev SJ 184, 186, 221.

The K-B numeral *ğeti* 'seven' has equivalents in all Turkic languages (in different semantic variants). In OT there were the forms: *jedi*, *jetti*, *jeti* registered.

ğïjïrma (K-B) 'dvadcať' (KBRS 264); *žïjïrma* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 172); *ğiˀïrma*, *ğïgïrma*, *ğïjïrma* (*ǯiˀi̯rmá*, *ǯïγi̯rmá*, *ǯïji̯rmá*; K) 'zwanzig' (Pr K 148); *zïjïrma* (*zïji̯rmá*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 72) < PT **θiġirmä* ~ **θäġirmä*; **jigürmä* (~ **jigürmi*) (StachM GJV 107); cf.: OT *jigirmä*, *jigirmi*, *jegirmi*; Kum. *jigirma*; Az. *ijirmi*; Khal. *jigirmi*; Tur. *jirmi*, *jirmi*; Kar. (Cr.) *jigirmi*, (H) *egirmi*, (T) *igirme*, *egirmi*; Tat. (Ur.) *jürïm(ï)*; Tat. *jïğïrmï*; Čuv. *śirĕm*; Bašk. *jïğïrmï*; Kaz. *žïjïrma*; *žïjïrmi* (Eg. 214); Kklp. *žigirma*; Nog. *jïrma*; Kir. *ğïjïrma*, *žïjïrmi* (Eg. 214); Trkm. *jigrimi*; Trukh. *jigermi*; Uz. *jigirma*; Uig. *jigi(r)mä*, *žigi(r)mä*; Lob. *jigijmä*, *ğigijmä*; Sal. *jigirme*; Y. Uig. *jïgïrma*, *igïrmi*, *jigirmi*, *zigïrmo*; Alt. *ďïrme*; Khak. *čibirgi*; Tuv. *čērbi*; Yak. *sŭrbe*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; Doerfer LSCh 214, 318; DTS 253, 260; Eg. 214; ÈSTJa IV 201; KRPS 193, 244, 654; Malov 110, 120; ÖjHa. 32; Podolsky 33; SKT 179; StachM GJV 107; Tenišev 357; Tenišev SJ 221.

The numeral *ğijïrma* 'twenty' has its equivalents in most Turkic languages in many phonetic variants. In OT the forms *jigirmä*, *jigirmi*, *jegirmi* were registered.

ğüz (K-B) 'sto, sotnja' (KBRS 270); *ğüz* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'sto' (Boz. 172), *žüz* (Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (ibid. 172), *züz* (Balk.) 'id.' (ibid. 172); *ğüz* (*ǯüz*; K) 'hundert' (Pr K 150) < PT **θŭs* (Šč. SF 197); **jŭz* (StachM GJV 139); cf.: OT *jüz*; Kum., Az. *jüz*; Kum. *juz*; Khal. *jŭz*; Tur. *jüz*; Gag. *üz*; Kar. (Cr.) *jüz*, (H) *jiz*, *iz*, (T) *juź*, *jüz*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *jüz*; Tat. *jŭz*; *jöz* (Eg. 211); Čuv. *śĕr*; Bašk. *jŭz*; *jöz* (Eg. 211); Kaz. *žüz*; Kklp. *žüz*, *žuź*; Nog. *jüz*; Kir. *ğüz*; Trkm., Trukh. *jüz*; Uz., Uig. *juz*; Lob. *jüz*, *jüt*; Sal. *jüz*; Y. Uig. *jüs*, *jüz*, *juz*; Alt. *ďüs*, *jüs*; Khak. *čüs*; Tuv. *čüs*; Tof. *čüs*; Šor. *čüs*; Yak. *sŭs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 216, 319; DTS 288; Eg. 211; ÈSTJa IV 260; KRPS 193, 244, 255, 261; Malov 122; ÖjHa. 44;

Podolsky 34; Rass. 199; SKT 179; StachM GJV 139; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 369; Tenišev SJ 186.

The K-B numeral *güz* 'hundred' has its counterparts in almost all Turkic languages (in different phonetic variants). In OT there was the form *jüz*.

kïrk (K-B) 'sorok' (KBRS 446); *kïrk* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 178) < PT **kïrk*; cf.: OT *kïrk*, *kïrïk*; Az. *gïrx*; Tur. *kïrk*; Kar. (H) *kïrk*, (T) *kïrx*; Tat. (Ur.) *xïrx*; Tat. *kïrïk*; Čuv. *xĕrĕx*; Bašk. *kïrïk*; Kaz. *kïrïk*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *kïrk*; Trukh. *xïrx*; Uz. *kirk*; Uig. *kirk*, *kïrïk*; Lob. *kïk*; Sal. *kïrïx*; Khak. *xïrïx*. – Lit. Bask. JpU 44; DTS 446; Eg. 299; KRPS 387; Malov 132; Podolsky 29; Räs. VEWT 266 b; SKT 182; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 466.

The word *kïrk* 'forty' is known in many other Turkic languages (in some of them it appears in phonetic variants). In OT it was registered in two forms: *kïrk*, *kïrïk*.

on (K-B) 'desjat'' (KBRS 496); *on* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'id.' (Boz. 181); *on* (K) 'zehn' (Pr K 126); *on* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 246) < PT **ōn*; cf.: OT *on*; Kum., Az. *on*; Khal. *ōn*; Tur. on; Gag. *on*, *uon*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *on*; Tat. *un*; Čuv. *vunnă*, *vună*, *vun*; Bašk. *un*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *on*; Trkm. *ōn*; Trukh. *on*; Uz. *on*; *un* (Eg. 57); Uig. *on*, *un*; Lob. *on*, *un*; Sal. *on*, *un*; Y. Uig. *on*, *un*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof. *on*; Yak. *uon*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; Doerfer 213, 303; DTS 367; Eg. 57; ÈSTJa I 455; KRPS 428; Malov 151, 181; ÖjHa. 36; Podolsky 16; Rass. 212; SKT 180; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 425, 534; Tenišev SJ 193.

The K-B numeral *on* 'ten' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. It was also registered in OT.

otuz (K-B) 'tridcat'' (KBRS 506); *otuz* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'id.' (Boz. 182) < PT **ot(t)uz*; cf.: OT *ottuz*, *otuz*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *otuz*; Tat. *utïz*; Čuv. *vătăr*; Bašk. *utïz*; Kaz. *otïz*; Kklp., Nog. *otïz*; Kir. *otuz*, *oltus*; Trkm. *otuz*; Trukh. *otus*; Uz. *ottiz*; *uttiz* (Eg. 51); Uig. *ottuz*, *ottus*; Lob. *otuz*, *ottus*, Sal. *otos*, *otus*, *otuz*, *otïs*; Y. Uig. *otïs*, *otus*; Alt. *odus*, *oduz*; Khak. *otïs*; Šor. *otus*; Yak. *otut*. – Lit.: DTS 374; Eg. 51; ÈSTJa I 489; Gab. 322; JUFD 222; KRPS 435; Malov 152; ÖjHa. 36, 68; Podolsky 16; SKT 180; StachM GJV 77, 121; Tenišev 428, 429; Tenišev SJ 194.

The numeral *otuz* 'thirty' has equivalents in numerous Turkic languages. It was registered in OT in the forms: *ottuz*, *otuz*.

miŋ (K-B) 'tysjača' (KBRS 468); *miŋ* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 180); *miŋ* (K) 'tausend' (Pr K 123); *miŋ* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 243) < PT **pïŋ*; cf.: OT *biŋ*, *bïŋ*, *miŋ*, *miŋg*, *minŋ*; Az. *min*; Khal. *miŋ(g)*; Tur. *bin*; Kar. (Cr.) *bin*, *min*, (H) *min*, (T) *mińi*; Tat. (Ur.) *biŋ*; Tat. *meŋ*; Čuv. *pin*; Bašk. *meŋ*; Kaz. *mïŋ*; Kklp. *mïng*; Nog. *mïŋ*; Kir. *miŋ*; Trkm. *müŋ*; Trukh. *miŋ*; Uz. *ming*; Uig. *miŋ*; Lob. *mïŋ*, *miŋ*; Sal. *meŋ*, *miŋ*; Y. Uig. *mïŋ*; Alt. *muŋ*; Khak. *muŋ*; Tuv. *muŋ*; Yak.

muŋ. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Doerfer LSCh 216, 300; DTS 101, 105, 344, 345; Eg. 161; KRPS 119, 407; Malov 144, 146; ÖjHa. 32; Podolsky 49; SKT 180; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 409, 412; Tenišev SJ 192.

The numeral *miŋ* 'thousand' is common in other Turkic languages in different phonetic variants. In OT it was registered in several forms, cf. above.

segiz (K-B) 'vosemʹ' (KBRS 548); *segiz* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'vosemʹ' (Boz. 183); *segiz* (K) 'acht' (Pr K 131); *segiz* (*segíz*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 251) < PT **sekiz* (ESG); cf.: OT *sekiz*, *sekkiz*; Kum. *segiz*; Az. *säkkiz*; Khal. *säkkiz*; Tur. *sekiz*; Kar. (Cr.) *sekiz*, (H) *segiz*, (T) *śegiź*; Tat. (Ur.) *setïz*; Tat. *sigez*; Čuv. *sakăr*, *sakăr*; Bašk. *higez*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *segiz*; Trkm. *sekiz*; Trukh. *sekis*; Uz. *sakkiz*; Uig. *säkkiz*; Lob. *sekiz*, *sekkiz*; Sal. *sēkes*, *sēkïs*, *sekis*; Y. Uig. *sekes*, *saḱïs*; Alt. *segis*; Khak. *sigiz*; Tuv. *ses*; Tof. *śeh'es*; Yak. *agïs*. – Lit.: Doerfer 213, 308; DTS 494; Eg. 175; KRPS 470, 496, 497; Malov 161; ÖjHa. 24; Podolsky 20; Rass. 226; SKT 181; Tenišev 478; Tenišev SJ 206.

The numeral *segiz* 'eight' has counterparts in other Turkic languages and in OT.

seksan, **seksen** (K-B) 'vosemʹdesjat' (KBRS 550, 551) < PT **seks-on* (ESG); cf.: *seksün* (MK); Az. *säksän*; Tur. *seksen*; Gag. *säksän*; Kar. (Cr.) *seksan*, (H) *seksen*, (T) *śekśań*; Tat. (Ur.) *seksen*; Tat. *siksän*; Čuv. *sakăr vunnă*; Bašk. *hikhän*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *seksen*; Trkm. *segsen*; Trukh. *seksen*; Uz. *sakson*; Uig. *säḱsän*; Lob. *seksän*; Sal. *sehsen*; Khak. *segizon*; Tuv. *sezen*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 259; DTS 494; Eg. 175; JUFD 231; KRPS 470, 498; Malov 161; Podolsky 19; SKT 181; Tenišev 477.

The numeral *seksan* ~ *seksen* 'eighty' has counterparts in some other Turkic languages; it was also registered by MK in the form *seksün*.

toguz (K-B) '1. devjatʹ; 2. devjatka' (KBRS 640); *toguz* (*tᶜoγuz*; K) 'neun' (Pr K 139); *toguz* (*toγúz*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 260) < PT **tokkaz*; cf.: OT *tokuz*; Kum. *togus*; Az. *dogguz*; Khal. *tokkuz*; Tur., Gag. *dokuz*; Kar. (H, T) *toguz*; Tat. (Ur.) *toxuz*; Tat. *tugïz*; Čuv. *tăxăr*, *tăxxăr*; Bašk. *tugïz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *togïz*; Kir. *toguz*; Trkm. *dokuz*; Trukh. *tokus*; Uz. *tokkïz*; *tukkiz* (Eg. 241); Uig. *tokkuz*; Lob. *tokkuz*, *tokkus*, *tokus*; Sal. *tokos*; Y. Uig. *tokus*, *tokïs*; Alt. *togus*; Khak. *togïs*; Tuv. *tos*; Tof. *dohos*; Šor. *togus*; Yak. *togus*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 213, 314; DTS 578; Eg. 241; ÈSTJa III 255; KRPS 533; Malov 173, 174; ÖjHa. 24, 36; Podolsky 24; Rass. 173; SKT 181; Tenišev 514; Tenišev SJ 213.

The numeral *toguz* 'nine' is common among other Turkic languages, where it appears in different variants. In OT it was registered in the form *tokuz*.

toxsan (K-B) 'devjanosto' (KBRS 647) < PT **toksun*; **toks-on* (ESG); cf.: OT *toksun* (MK); Az. *doxsan*; Tur. *doksan*; Kar. (H) *toksan*, (T) *toxsan*; Tat. (Ur.) *doxsan*; Tat. *tuksan*; Čuv. *tăxăr vunnă*; Bašk. *tukhan*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *toksan*; Kir. *tokson*; Trkm. *togsan*; Trukh. *toksïn*; Uz. *tukson*; Uig. *toksan*; Lob. *tokson*; Sal.

tohsän; Alt. *toguzon*; Khak. *togïzon*. – Lit.: DTS 577; Eg. 241; KRPS 535, 539; Malov 173; Podolsky 9; SKT 181; Tenišev 512.

The numeral *toxsan* 'ninety' is known both in other Turkic languges (in some phonetic variants) and was registered in OT.

tört (K-B) '1. četyre; 2. (ocenka) četyre, četviorka' (KBRS 630); *tört* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'četyre' (Boz. 187); *tört* (*tᶜört*; K) 'vier' (Pr K 140); *tört* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 262) < PT **tȭrt*; cf.: OT *tört*; Kum. *dört*; Az. *dörd*; Khal. *tȭrt*; Tur., Gag. *dört*; Kar. (Cr.) *dort*, (H) dert, (T) *dȯrt*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *dört*; Tat. *dürt*; Čuv. *tăvată*, *tăvattă*; Bašk. *dürt*; Kaz., Kklp. *tört*; Nog. *dört*; Kir. *tört*; Trkm. *dȭrt*; Trukh. *dört*; Uz. *tort*; *turt*, *turtta* (Eg. 234); Uig. *tö(r)t*; Lob. *töjt*, *töt*, *döjt*, *döt*; Sal. *teᵊt*, *töᵊt*, *tᶜöt*, *töt*; Y. Uig. *dürt*, *tᶜört*, *tᶜort*, *türt*; Alt. *tört*; Khak. *tört*; Tuv. *dört*; Tof. *dört*; Šor. *tört*; Yak. *tüört*. – Lit.: Doerfer 212, 314; DTS 581; Eg. 234; ÈSTJa III 284; KRPS 170, 180, 184; Malov 104, 175; ÖjHa. 42; Podolsky 9; Rass. 175; SKT 178; StachM GJV 91; Sul. Kkar. 61; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 509, 521, 530; Tenišev SJ 214.

The numeral *tört* 'four' is widely known among Turkic languages. It appears there in some phonetic variants. OT sources register the form *tört*.

üč (K-B) '1. tri; 2. 'trojka' (KBRS 786); *üč* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'tri' (Boz. 189); *üc* (Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (ibid. 189); *üč*, *jüč* (K) 'drei' (Pr K 143); *üc* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 266) < PT **üč* (**ǖč* ?); cf.: OT *üč*; Kum., Az. *üč*; Khal. *ü'č*, *ǖč*; Tur., Gag. *üč*; Kar. (H) *ic*, *jic*, *oc*, (T) *üč*; Tat. (Cr.) *uć*; Tat. (Ur.) *üč*; Tat. *ǖč*; *öč* (Eg. 55); Čuv. *viśśĕ*, *viśĕ*, *viś*; Bašk. *ǖs*; *ös* (Eg. 55); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *üš*; Kir. *üč*; Trkm., Trukh. *üč*; Uz. *uč*; Uig. *üč*; Lob. *üs*, *üč*, *üš*; Sal. *ū*, *uš*; Y. Uig. *uš*, *üš*, *üč*. Alt. *üč*; Khak. *üs*; Tuv. *üš*; Tof. *üš*; Šor. *üš*; Yak. *üs*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 212, 315; DTS 621; Eg. 55; ÈSTJa I 641; KRPS 210, 246, 436, 592; Malov 183; ÖjHa. 43; Podolsky 27; Rass. 239; SKT 182; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 530, 535.

The numeral *üč* 'three' is common in most Turkic languages (in some phonetic variants). It was also registered in OT.

4. PRONOUNS

4.1. Personal

ala (K-B) 'oni' (KBRS 47); *alar*, *ala* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'oni' (Boz. 164); *ala*, *alar* (*alá*, *alár*; K) 'sie. Plur. von *ol*' (Pr K 86); *ala*, *alar* (*alá*, *alár*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 200) < PT **ōlar* (ESG); cf.: OT *olar*; Tur. *onlar*; Čuv. *vĕšem* < *vălsam*; Sal. *vuler*, *vuller*, *vullar*. – Lit.: DTS 366; Eg. 48; ÈSTJa I 444; Tenišev 544.

This is a personal pronoun 3 p. pl. In the form *olar* it was registered in OT. This pronoun exists in all modern Turkic languages, however, since in all vocabulary sources mostly the form of 3 p. sg. is indicated, therefore only a few (as we see above) sources register the plural form.

biz (K-B) 'my' (KBRS 140); *biz* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'my' (Boz. 167); *biz* (K) 'wir' (Pr K 94); *biz* (B) 'wir' (Pr B 209) < PT **pis*; OT *biz*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag. *biz*; Kar. (Cr.) *biz*, (H) *biz*, *bis*, (T) *biź*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *biz*; Tat. *bïz*; Čuv. *epir*; Bašk. *bïz*; Kaz. *bïz*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *biz*; Uz. *bïz*; Uig. *biz*; Lob. *bez*, *biz*, *bis*; Sal. *pisä*, *piser*, *pisï*, *peser*; Y. Uig. *pïz*, *pïž*, *müz*; Alt. *bis*, *pis*; Khak. *pïs*; Tuv. *bis*; Tof. *bis*; Šor. *pis*; Yak. *bisigi*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 117, 281; DTS 104; Eg. 345; ÈSTJa II 129; KRPS 115, 123; Malov 92, 93, 94; Podolsky 5; Rass 163; Sul. Kkar. 55; Tenišev 444, 449.

The pronoun *biz* 'we' was registered in OT. At present it has equivalents in other Turkic languages.

men (K-B) 'ja' (KBRS 465); *men* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 180); *men* (K) 'ich' (Pr K 123); *men* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 243) < PT **pän* (**pā̈n* ?) (Šč. SF 195); **bän* (StachM GJV 60) cf.: OT *ben*, *men*; Kum. *men*; Az. *män*; Khal. *män*; Tur. *ben*; Kar. (Cr., H) *men*, (T) *meń*; Tat. (Ur.) *men*; Tat. *min*; Čuv. *epĕ*; Bašk. *min*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *men*; Uz. *men*, *man*; Uig. *män*; Lob. *men*; Sal. *män*, *men*, *me*, *mē*, *mi*, *mī*; Y. Uig. *men*; Alt. *men*; Khak. *min*; Tuv., Tof. *men*; Yak. *min*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 207, 300; DTS 94, 340; Eg. 345; KRPS 406, 415; Malov 143; ÖjHa. 27; Podolsky 14; Rass. 206; SKT 180; StachM GJV 60; Sul. Kkar. 81; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 408, 409, 410.

The pronoun *men* 'I' registered in OT sources in the forms *ben*, *men* is very common in other Turkic languages. It appears in some phonetic variants.

o, **ol** (K-B): *o* 'tot (ta, to)' (KBRS 486); *ol* '1. on, ona, ono; 2. to, ta, tot; eto, eta, etot' (ibid. 494); *ol* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'on, ona, ono, tot, ta, to' (Boz. 181); *ol*, *o* (K) 'er, sie, es' (Pr K 126); *ol*, *o* (B) 'er, sie, es; der, die, das; jener, jene, jenes' (Pr B 246) < PT **ōl*; cf.: OT *ol*; Kum. *ol*; Az. *o*; Khal. *ō*; Tur., Gag. *o*; Kar. (Cr.) *o*, (H, T) *ol*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *o*; Tat. *ul*; Čuv. *văl*, dial. *u*; Bašk. *u*, *ul*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ol*; Kir. *ol*, *al*; Trkm., Trukh. *ol*; Uz. *ul*, *u*; Uig. *ol*, *u*, *ul*; Lob. *ol*, *o*, *u*, *ul*; Sal. *o*, *u*, *ū*, *vu*; Y. Uig. *ol*, *o*, *ö*, *vol*, *vu*; *kol*, *ko*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof., Šor. *ol*; Yak. *ōl*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; Doerfer LSCh 202, 220, 303; DTS 366; Eg. 48; ÈSTJa I 444; KRPS 423, 426; Malov 150, 179, 180; ÖjHa. 36; Podolsky 15; Rass. 211; SKT 180; Sul. Kkar. 83; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 422, 530, 537, 544; Tenišev SJ 187.

The pronoun *o*, *ol* 'he, she, it; that' is widely known in other Turkic languages. It appears there in some phonetic variants. OT sources register the *ol* form.

sen (K-B) 'ty' (KBRS 552); *sen* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 183); *sen* (K) 'du' (Pr K 131); *sen* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 251) < PT **sän* (**sā̈n* ?) (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *sen*; Kum. *sen*; Az. *sän*; Khal. *sän*; Tur. *sen*; Kar. (Cr., H) *sen*, (T) *śeń*; Tat. (Ur.) *sen*; Tat. *sin*; Čuv. *esĕ*; Bašk. *hin*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *sen*; Trkm., Uz. *sen*; Uig. *sän*; Lob. *sen*, *sän*; Sal. *sän*, *sen*, *se*, *sej*, *sē*;

Y. Uig. *sen*; Alt. *sen*; Khak. *sin*; Tuv. *sen*; Tof. *sen*; Yak. *än*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 207, 308; DTS 495; Eg. 346; KRPS 470, 498; Malov 160, 161; ÖjHa. 22; Podolsky 20; Rass. 226; Sul. Kkar. 95; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 477, 479; Tenišev SJ 206.

The pronoun *sen* 'you' is both mentioned in OT sources and in modern Turkic languages, where it is registered in some phonetic variants.

siz (K-B) 'vy' (KBRS 559); *siz* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 183); *siz* (K) 'ihr' (Pr K 132); *siz* (B) 'ihr' (Pr B 252) < PT **sis* (**sīs* ?) (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *siz*, *silär*, *sizlär*; Az. *siz*; Khal. *siz*, *sizlär*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H), Tat. (Ur.) *siz*; Tat. *sez*; Čuv. *esir*; Bašk. *hez*; Kaz. *sizder*; Nog. *siz*; Kir. *siz*; Trkm. *siz*, *sizler*; Trukh. *siz*; Uz. *siz*; Uig. *silär*; Lob., Y. Uig. *sez*; Alt. *sler*; Khak. *sirer*; Tuv. *siler*; Tof. *sler*; Yak. *ähigi*, *äsigi* (ÖjHa. 33). – Lit.: Doerfer 208, 310; DTS 500, 501; Eg. 346; KRPS 473; Malov 160; ÖjHa. 33; Podolsky 20; Rass. 227; SKT 181; Sul. Kkar. 96; Šč. SF 196.

The pronoun *siz* 'you (pl.)' is registered in OT in several forms (*siz*, *silär*, *sizlär*). At present the pronoun has different forms in other Turkic languages.

4.2. Demonstrativa, interrogativa and others

bu (K-B) '1. etot, eta, eto; 2. dannyj, nynešnij, nastojaščij; takoj; 3. on, ona, ono' (KBRS 165); *bu* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'etot' (Boz. 168); *bu* (K) 'dieser' (Pr K 95); *bu* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 211) < PT **pū* (Šč. SF 196); OT *bu*; Kum., Az. *bu*; Khal. *bō.*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Tat. *bu*; Kar. (H) *bo*; Kar. (Cr.) *mu*; Čuv. *ku*; Bašk. *bül*; Kaz. *bŭ*, *bŭl*; Kklp. *bul*; Nog. *bu*; Kir. *bu*, *bul*; Trkm. *bū*, Trukh. *bu*, *büj*; Uz. *bu*; Uig. *bu*, *bu(l)*; Lob. *bu*; Sal. *bu*, *mo*, *po*, *pu*; Y. Uig. *pu*, *po*, *mu*, *ko*; Alt. *bu*, *pu*; Khak. *pu*; Tuv. *bo*; Tof. *bo*; Šor. *pu*; Yak. *bu*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 239; Doerfer LSCh 220, 281; DTS 119; Eg. 114; ÈSTJa II 225; KRPS 126, 135, 410; Podolsky 6; Rass. 80, 163; SKT 178; Sul. Kkar. 56; Tenišev 303, 412, 450, 456; Tenišev SJ 197.

The pronoun *bu* 'this; he, she, it' is widely known in all Turkic languages (in different phonetic variants). Similarly to K-B in some languages (Uz., Uig. dial., Kum.) this pronoun is used as a personal pronoun of 3 p. sg. with the meaning 'he, she, it'. The word was also known in OT.

kačan (K-B) 'kogda, v kakoje vremja' (KBRS 404); *kačan* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'kogda' (Boz. 178); *kačan* (*qᶜačᶜan*; K) 'wann' (Pr K 113); *kacan* (*qᶜacan*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 232) < PT **kačan* (ESG); cf.: OT *kačan*; Kum. *kajčan*; Az. *hačan*; Tur. *kačan*; Kar. (Cr., T) *kačan*, (H) *kacan*; Tat. (Ur.) *xačan*; Tat. *kajčan*; Čuv. *xăšan*; Bašk. *kasan*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kašan*; Kir. *kačan*; Trkm. *xačan*; Uz. *kačon* ; Uig., Lob. *kačan*; Y. Uig. *kačan*, *kčan*, *kʒan*; Alt. *kačan*; Khak. *xačan*; Tuv. *kažan*; Tof. *kahïn*; Yak. *xahan*. – Lit.: DTS 400; Eg. 295; KRPS 299, 367; Malov 127; Podolsky 27; Rass. 217; Sul. Kkar. 87; Tenišev SJ 201.

The pronoun *kačan* 'when' was registered in OT sources. In other modern Turkic languages there are equivalents of this word.

kajda (K-B) '1. gde; 2. nu!, nu-ka!; 3. vsjakij, vsemožnyj' (KBRS 377); *kajda* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'gde' (Boz. 177); *kajda* (*qʿajdá*; K) 'wo' (Pr K 113); *kajda* (*qajdá*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 233); *kaj* (*qaj*; K) Pronominalstamm' (Pr K 113); *kaj* (*qaj*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 233) < PT **kaj* (Šč. SF 194); cf.: OT *kajda*, *kanda*, *xanda*; Tur. *kajda*; Kar. (Cr., T, H) *kajda*, (H) *kaa*; Tat. (Ur.) *xajda*; Tat. *kajda*; Čuv. *ăšta*, *xăšta*, *kăšta*; Bašk. *kajza*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kajda*; Trkm. *xanda*; Uz., Uig. *kajda*; Alt. *kajda*; Khak. *xajda*; Tuv. *kajda*; Tof. *kajda*; Yak. *xanna*. – Lit.: DTS 406, 407, 418, 636; Eg. 44; KRPS 279; 282; Podolsky 29; Rass. 217; Sul. Kkar. 87; Šč. SF 194; YRh. 623.

The pronoun *kajda* 'where' was registered in OT in several forms (cf. above). It has counterparts in other Turkic languages at present. We can notice its compound structure *kaj* + *da*. The root *kaj* is reconstructed by Ščerbak (Šč. SF 194) with the meaning 'what sort, which'. K-B sources also point out the root *kaj*, cf. Pr K 113, Pr B 233.

kesi (K-B) 1. 'sam'; 2. 'svoj, sobstvennyj'; 3. 'odin' (KBRS 329); *kesi* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'sam, on' (Boz. 175); *kesi* (*kʿesí*; K) 'selbst' (Pr K 109); *kesi* (*kesí*; B) 'er (sie, es) selber' (Pr B 228) < PT **kə̄n* (Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *kendü*, *kentü*; Tur., Gag. *kendi*; Kar. (Cr.) *kendi*, *gendi*, *kense*, (H, T) *kensi* (T) *ḱeńsi*; Uig. *kändü*; Yak. *kini*. – Lit.: DTS 298; ÈSTJa V 38; KRPS 304, 391; Räs. VEWT 252 b; Sul. Kkar. 64, 77; Šč. SF 195.

The pronoun *kesi* '-self (himself, herself, itself); he, himself' probably comes from the basis **ken* (< **kə̄n*). In OT this pronoun had the forms: *kendü*, *kentü*. It also has its equivalents in several other Turkic languages. In Kar. (T) the form *ḱeńsi* denotes 'in the period of time' and in Yak. *kini* 'er' (Räs. VEWT 252 b).

kim (K-B) 'kto' (KBRS 347); *kim* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 175); *kim* (*kʿim*; K) 'wer' (Pr K 110); *kim* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 229) < PT **kim*; cf.: OT *kim*; Kum., Az. *kim*; Khal. *kim*, *kēm*, *küm*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (H, T) *kim*; Tat. (Ur.) *tim*; Tat. *kĭm*; *kem* (Eg. 87); Čuv. *kam*; Bašk. *kĭm*; *kem* (Eg. 87); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., Uz., Uig. *kim*; Lob. *kim*, *kem*; Sal. *kʿem*, *kem*; Y. Uig. *kʿim*, *kʿïm*, *kʿem*; Alt. *kem*; Khak. *kem*; Tuv. *kïm*; Tof. *kum*; Yak. *kim*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 220, 296, 297, 298; DTS 307; Eg. 87; ÈSTJa V 68; KRPS 320; Malov 134, 135; ÖjHa. 33; Podolsky 26; Rass. 222; SKT 179; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 379, 400; Tenišev SJ 189, 190.

The pronoun *kim* 'who' is both registered in OT and at present in most Turkic languages, however in some phonetic variants.

ne (K-B) '1. čto; 2. kakoj; 3. vsjakij, ljuboj; 4. kak, skoľko' (KBRS 482); *ne* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (Boz. 181); *ne* (*né*; K) 'was' (Pr K 125); *ne* (*né*; B) 'was?, was für ein?, was für?' (Pr B 245) < PT **nə̄*; cf.: OT *ne*, *nü*; Kum. *ne*; Az. *nä*; Khal. *nä*; Tur. *ne*; Kar. (Cr., H) *ne*, (T) *ńe*; Tat. (Ur.) *ne*; Tat. *ni*; Čuv. *mĕn*; Bašk. *ni*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ne*; Kir. *emne*, *ne*; Trkm., Trukh., Uz. *ne*; Uig. *nä*; Sal. *ne*, *nä*, *ni*; Y. Uig. *ne*, *ni*; Alt. *ne*; Khak. *nime*; Tuv.

čȳ; Tof. *čü*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Doerfer LSCh 301; DTS 356, 361; Eg. 133; KRPS 418, 420; Podolsky 15; Sul. Kkar. 82; Rass. 198; SKT 180; Tenišev 416, 420; Tenišev SJ 193.

The pronoun *ne* 'what' registered in OT sources in the forms: *ne*, *nü* has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, in some cases, however, with also the meaning 'thing', cf. Khak. *nime* 'thing; what' (Eg. 133).

öz (K) 'selber (selten!)' (Pr K 127) < PT **ȫz* (Räs.VEWT 376 b); **ȫs* (Šč. SF 195); cf. OT *öz*, *öδ*; Kum., Az. *öz*; Khal. *ȫz*; Tur. *öz*; Gag. *jöz*; Kar. (Cr.) *óz*, *öz*, (H) *ez*, (T) *öź*; Tat. (Cr.) *oź*; Tat. (Ur.) *öz*; Tat. *üz*; Čuv. *var*, *vară*; Bašk. *üz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *öz*; Trkm. *ȫz*; Trukh. *öz*; Lob. *öz*, *üz*; Sal. *ezï*; Y. Uig. *üz*, *uz*, *uzu*; Uz. *oz*; Uig. *öz*; Alt. *üs*; Yak. *üös*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; Doerfer LSCh 208-210, 304; DTS 377, 394-395 (*öz* I, *öz* II, *öz* III); Eg. 47; ÈSTJa I 506; KRPS 437, 438, 655; Malov 152, 182; Podolsky 17; Räs. VEWT 376 b ; SKT 181; Sul. Kkar. 86; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 328; Tenišev SJ 218.

The pronoun *öz* 'self' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, however in some cases with also another meaning, cf. Čuv. *var*, *vară* '1. seredina, centr; 2. serdcevina; 3. želudok, život' (Eg. 47). The lexeme *öz* was also registered in OT sources, but besides the meaning 'self' it had other meanings, cf. DTS 394-395.

5. ADVERBS

arï (K-B) '1. tuda; na tu storonu; 2. daľše' (KBRS 78); *arï* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'tuda, daľše' (Boz. 165); *arï* (*arí*; K) 'dorthin, auf die andere seite' (Pr K 88); *arï* (*arí*; B) 'dahin, dorthin, weiter' (Pr B 202) < PT **ārï*, **aŋarï*; cf.: OT *aŋaru*; Az. *anarï*; *anri*; Kar. (Cr., T) *arï*, (H) *arï*, *ari*; Tat. *arï*; Kaz. *ärï*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *arï*; Trkm. *aŋrï*, *ār*; Y. Uig., Alt. *arï*; Khak., Tuv. *ār*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa I 157; KRPS 73, 77; Räs VEWT 25 b.

The word with the meaning 'that side; over there; farther' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the form *aŋaru* was registered.

bek (K-B) '1. očeń; 2. tviordyj, krepkij, pročnyj' (KBRS 130); *bek* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk, Čeg., Kaš.) 'očeń, siľno' (Boz. 167); *bek* (K) 'sehr' (Pr K 92); *bek*, *bex*, *beg* (*bek*, *beź*, *beg*; B) 'sehr, stark' (Pr B 207) < PT **päk*; OT *bek*; Kum. *bek*; Khal. *bäk*; Tur. *pek*, Tur. dial.: *bek*; Gag. *pek*; Kar. (T) *bek*, (Cr.) *bäk*, *päk*, (H) *bäk*; Tat. *bik*; Bašk. *bik*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz. *bek*; Uig. *bäk*; Lob. *bek*; Y. Uig. *pïk*, *pok*; Alt. *bek*, *bök*; Khak. *pik*; Tuv. *bek*; Tof. *bek*; Šor. *pek*; Yak. *bige*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 197, 279; DTS 92; ÈSTJa II 117; KRPS 111, 148, 450; Rass. 161; Šč. SF 195.

The word *bek* meaning '1. very; 2. strong, hard' has counterparts in numerous Turkic languages. It was registered in OT sources.

endi (K-B) '1. tepeŕ, nyne, v nastojaščeje vremja, sejčas; 2. ješčio; 3. v daľnejšem, v buduščem, daľše; 4. nedavno' (KBRS 768); *endi* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'tepeŕ, nyne, i tak' (Boz. 170); *endi, jendi* (*éndi, jéndi*; K) 'jetzt' (Pr K 101); *endi* (*éndi*; B) 'nun, jetzt; nun denn' (Pr B 219) < PT **emdi* (ESG); cf.: OT *amtï, emdi, emti*; Az. *indi*; cf. Tur. *šimdi*; Kar. (Cr.) *šindi, šïndï*; Kar. (Cr., H) *endi*, (T) *eńdi*; Tat. *ändi*; *inde* (Rass. 154); Tat. (Ur.) *šin, šinde*; Čuv. *ĕntĕ*; Bašk. *inde*; Kaz., Nog., *endi*; Kir. *emdi, emi*; Trkm., Trukh. *indi*; Uz. *endi*; Uig. *ämdi*; Lob. *emdi, emde*; Sal. *inži, inzi*; Alt. *amdi*; Khak., Y. Uig. *am*; Tuv. *am, amdï*; Tof. *amdï*; Yak. *anï*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 242; DTS 42, 172, 173; Eg. 65; KRPS 646, 648, 662, 664; Malov 107; Podolsky 22; Rass. 154; SKT 179; Tenišev 338.

The word *endi* 'now' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. As for its structure Egorov (Eg. 65) claims that the word is compound, built from two elements; *en-*, *am-* + suf. *-di* ~ *-ti*. In OT the following forms: *amtï, emdi, emti* were registered.

keri (K-B) '1. proč; 2. daleko; 3. široko' (KBRS 326); *keri* (*kʿeri*; K) 'zurück' (Pr K 109) < PT **keri* (ESG); cf.: OT *kerü*; Kum., Az., Tur. *geri*; Gag. *gēri*; Kar. (Cr.) *keri*; Tat. (Cr.) *geri*; Tat. *kirĭ*; Bašk. *kirĭ*; Kaz. *kerĭ*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *keri*. – Lit.: DTS 302; ÈSTJa III 27; KRPS 392.

The adverb *keri* 'back' also having the adjectival meaning 'far, wide' has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages, where there is in some cases a wider meaning (not only adverbial but also adjectival and substantival, cf. ÈSTJa III 27). In OT there was the form *kerü* registered.

köb, köp (K-B) '1. mnogo; 2. mnogo-; 3. dolgo' (KBRS 334); *köp* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'mnogo, očeń', *köb, köp* (Baks., Čeg., Kaš.) 'id.' (Boz. 176); *köp* (*kʿöp*; K) 'viel, lange' (Pr K 111); *köp, köf, köb* (B) 'viel' (Pr B 231) < PT **köp*; cf.: OT *köp, kop*; Kum. *köp, kop*; Tur. dial. *köp* (DS); Kar. (Cr.) *ḱop, köp*, (H) *kep*, (T) *ḱop*; Tat. (Ur.) *kap*; Tat., Bašk. *küp*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *köp*; Uz. *kop*; *kŭp* (Rass. 204); Uig. *köp*; Sal., Y. Uig. *kep, ke'p*; Alt., Khak. *köp*; Tuv. *xöj, köp*; Tof. *köp*; Šor. *köp*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 317, 456; ÈSTJa V 107; KRPS 305, 314, 338; Podolsky 13; Rass. 204; Sul. Kkar. 79.

The adverb *köp* ~ *köb* 'much' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. It was also registered in OT.

kündüz (K-B) 1. 'deń; 2. dniom' (KBRS 364); *kündüz, kunduz* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'jasnyj deń, dnem' (Boz. 176); *kündüz* (*kʿündüz*; K) 'bei Tage' (Pr K 112); *kündüz* (B) 'der helle Tag; bei Tage' (Pr B 231) < PT **kündiz*; cf.: OT *kündüz, küntüz*; Kum. *gündüz*; Az. *gündüz*; *kündüz* (Rass. 192); Khal. *kü'ndüz*; Tur. *gündüz*; *kündüz* (Rass. 192); Gag. *gündüz*; Kar. (Cr.) *kündüz*, (H)

kündüz, *kingiz*, (T) *kündüz*, *ḱuńďuź*; Tat. (Cr.) *gündüz*; Tat. *kŭndĭz*; *köndez* (Eg. 99, Rass. 192); Čuv. *kăntăr*; Bašk. *kŭndĭz*, *kŭndŭz*, *köndöz*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kündiz*; Kir. *kündüz*; Trkm. *gündĭz*; Uz. *kunduz*; Uig. *kündüz*, *kündüzi*; Lob. *kündüz*, *kündüs*; Sal. *kuntiz*; Y. Uig. *ḱundïz*, *ḱuntïs*, *kuntus*, *kündüs*, *kündes*; Tuv. *xündüs*; Tof. *hündüs*; Yak. *künüs*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 115, 298; DTS 327, 328; Eg. 99-100; ÈSTJa III 102; KRPS 320, 353, 396; Malov 138; Rass. 192; StachM GJV 110; Sul. Kkar. 80; Tenišev 396; Tenišev SJ 189.

The word *kündüz* '1. day; 2. during a day' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. Its structure shows the compound character with the formative element: *kün-düz*, cf. ÈSTJa III 103. In OT the forms: *kündüz* ~ *küntüz* are registered.

6. CONJUNCTIONS

da (K-B) 1. i, takže, tože; 2. že, i; daže i, veď; 3. nu, že, veď; 4. ni'; '1. a; 2. xotja i, daže jesli(i)' (KBRS 196); *da* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'takže, xotja, kak i' (Boz. 169); *da*, *ta* (K) 'und, auch' (Pr K 99); *da*, *ta*, *dä*, *de* (B) '(immer enklitisch): auch; *nach dem Conditional*: obzwar, wie auch' (Pr B 217) < PT **tā*; cf.: OT *da*, *ta*; Kum. *da* ~ *de*, *ta*, *te*; Az. *da* ~ *dä*; Tur. *da* ~ *de*, *ta*, *te*; Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *da*; Tat. (Cr.) *ta* ~ *te*, *da* ~ *de*; Tat. *da* ~ *dä*, *ta* ~ *tä*; Čuv. *ta*; Bašk. *da* ~ *dä*, *za*, *zä*, *ta* ~ *tä*; Kaz., Kklp. *ta* ~ *te*; Nog. *da*; Kir. *da*; Trkm. *da* ~ *de*, *dā* ~ *de*, *ta* ~ *te*, *tā* ~ *te*; Uz. *da*, *ta*; Y. Uig. *ta*, *da* ~ *ta*; Sal. *tä* ~ *te*; Alt. *dā* ~ *dē*; Khak. *tā* ~ *tē*; Tuv. *dā*; Yak. *da*, *+dö*, *+tö*; Šor. *dā* ~ *dē*. – Lit.: DTS 158, 525; ÈSTJa III 109; KRPS 167; ÖjHa. 8; Sul. Kkar. 59; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 506; Tenišev SJ 211.

The lexeme *da* functions in K-B as a conjunction with the meanings 'and, also' and is registered in both OT and modern Turkic languages mostly in the variants *da* ~ *de*, *ta* ~ *te*.

dagï: dagïda (K-B) '1. ješčio, krome togo; i; 2. opjať, snova, ješčio raz' (KBRS 197); *dagï*, *dagïda* (*dayï*, *dayïda*; B) 'wieder, abermals' (Pr B 217) < PT **takï*, *tagï* (ESG); cf.: OT *dakï*, *tagï*, *takï*; Kum. *dagï*; Az. *däxi*; Tur. *daha*, *dahi*; Kar. (Cr.) *dagïn*, *daxï*, *daxa*, (H) *dagïn*, *dagï*, (T) *dagï*; Tat. (Cr.) *dā*; Tat. *tagï*; Bašk. *tagï*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tagï*; Kklp. *dagï*; Kir. *dagï*, *dāgï*; Trkm. *dagï*; Uz. dial. *tagï*; Uig. *dagï*, *tagï*; Lob. *takï*, *tagï*, *tagïga*; Y. Uig. *tage*, *ta'kï*; Sal. *taxi*, *tāgï*; Alt. *dā*; Yak. *daganï*. – Lit.: DTS 158, 527, 536; ÈSTJa III 122; JUFD 234; KRPS 168, 170; Malov 166, 167; ÖjHa. 57; Sul. Kkar. 59; Tenišev 499; Tenišev SJ 211.

The word *dagï* '1. again; once more; 2. apart from sth' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. Probably the form *dagïda* is a combination of two conjunctions: *dagï* + *da*. In OT: *dakï*, *tagï*, *takï* were registered.

7. PARTICLES

em (K) 'samyj, naj-' (KBRS 767) < PT **eŋ, aŋ*; cf.: OT *eŋ, iŋ*; Kum. *iŋ*; Az. *än*; Tur. *en*; Gag. *en, hen*; Kar. (Cr.) *en, eŋ, enke*, (H) *enk*, (T) *eŋk, enk*; Tat. *iŋ*; Čuv. *ĕm*; Bašk. *iŋ*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *eŋ*; Trkm. *iŋ*; Uz. *eŋ*; Uig. *än*; Y. Uig. *jeŋ, jiŋ*; Alt. *eŋ*; Khak. *iŋ*; Tuv., Šor. *eŋ*. – Lit.: DTS 174, 211; Eg. 63; ÈSTJa I 365; KRPS 662, 663; Räs. VEWT 45 a.

The particle *em* 'the most' used to form *gradus superlativus* has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms *eŋ, iŋ* were registered.

hajda (K-B) 'nu; skorej, toropiś'; 2. nu i, davaj' (KBRS 700); *hajda* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'vosklicanie, vozbuždenie: ej, skoreje, nu!' (Boz. 189); *hajda* (*hajdá*; K) 'hernach, nun los drauf!' (Pr K 104); *hej* (B) 'he da!' (Pr B 222) < PT **hajda* < **ā* (Šč. SF 193) + *da*; cf.: OT *aj, haj*; Tur. *hajdi*; Tat. *äjdä*; Čuv. *ajta* > *aťa*; Bašk. *äjzä*; Kaz., Kir. *ajda*; Trkm. *hajda*; Y. Uig. *ajde*; Alt. *ajda*. – Lit.: DTS 25, 197; Eg. 22; Šč. SF 193.

This is an exclamatory particle, which judging by its structure is compound. Egorov (Eg. 22) presents the etymology given by other specialists, where Čuv. *ajta* < *ajde* < *aj* + *de* 'saying *aj*' and *aj* is an exclamation. Ščerbak (Šč. SF 193) gives the prototype for *aj* in the form **ā*. OT sources register two forms *aj, haj* for exclamation. Some modern Turkic languages also register the equivalents of K-B *hajda*.

tüjül, tül (K-B) 'ne' (KBRS 670, 672); *tügül, tüjül, tül* (*t'ügül, t'üjül, t'ül*; K) 'nicht, zur Verneinung des Verb. sunst.' (Pr K 141); *tüjül* (*tüjűl*; B) 'nicht' (Pr B 263) < PT **tägül* (ESG); cf.: OT *tegül*; Kum. *tügül*; Az. *döjü, dejil*; Tur. *degil*; Gag. *dīl*; Kar. (Cr.) *duguľ, dügül*, (H) *divil, tivil, kivil*, (T) *ťuvul*; Tat. (Cr.) *degil, duguľ*; Tat. (Ur.) *dügül*; Tat., Bašk. *tügĭl*; Kaz. *tügĭl*; Kklp. *tüwe*; Nog. *tuwïl*; Kir. *tügül*; Trkm. *dāl*; Trukh. *dēl, del*. – Lit.: DTS 549; ÈSTJa III 213; KRPS 177, 181, 182, 316, 524, 568; Podolsky 9; Räs VEWT 469 b; SKT 178; Sul. Kkar. 61.

The negative particle *tüjül, tül* 'no, not' has its equivalents in some other languages. In OT there was registered the form *tegül*. There are several ideas concerning the etymology of this particle, cf. ÈSTJa III 214.

8. POSTPOSITIONS

beri (K-B) I 'sjuda, v etu storonu, v etom napravlenii'. II 's, s tex por [kak ..., načinaja s ...' (KBRS 134); *beri* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kašk., Khul.-Bez.) 'siuda, s tex por kak' (Boz. 167); *beri* (K) 'hieher' (Pr K 92); *beri* (*berí*; B) 'hierher' (Pr B 207) < PT **beri* (ESG); OT *berü, beri*; Kum. *beri*; Az. *bäri*; Tur. *beri*; Gag. *bēri*; Kar. (Cr., H) *bäri, beri*; Tat. *bire, birĭ, birlī*; Bašk.

birlĭ, *bire*; Kaz. *beri*; Kklp. *berli*, *beri*; Nog., Kir., *beri*; Trkm. *bā̈ri*; Uz., Uig. *beri*; Lob. *beje*, *beji*; Y. Uig. *ver*, *beri*, *peri*, *beru*, *pïrï*; Alt. *beri*, *peri*; Khak. *pēr*; Tuv. *bēr*; Tof. *bēri*; Šor. *peri*. – Lit.: DTS 95, 96; ÈSTJa II 124; KRPS 151; Rass. 162.

Beri '1. here, hither; 2. since' has equivalents in modern Turkic languages. In OT the following forms were registered: *beri*, *berü*.

bla (K-B) '1. *poslelog* s *kem-čem*; 2. po *čemu*, čerez *čto*; 3. blagodarja, iz-za *kogo-čego*; 4. soglasno *čemu ili s čem*, po *čemu*; 5. i; 6. to li ... to li ... ili net' (KBRS 153); *bïla* (*bla*) (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 's, vdol, i' (Boz. 168); *bila* (*bilá*; K) 'mit, entlang, und' (Pr K 93); *bila*, *bilan*, *bile* (*bilá*, *bilán*, *bilé*; B) 'id' (Pr B 209). < PT **bilä(n)*; OT: *bilä*, *bilän*; Tur., Gag. *bile*; Kar. (Cr.) *bile*, *bilen*, *bil'an*; Tat. (Cr.) *bilen*; Tat. *bĭlän*; Trkm. *bilen*; Trukh. *bile(n)*; Uz. *bĭlän*; Uig. *bĭlän*, *bilä*, *bilän*; Lob. *viläп*, *belen*; Sal. *pile*; Y. Uig. *pĭl'ĭn*, *plï*, *pul'in*; *welin*, *wul'in*; Tuv. *bile*. – Lit.: DTS 98, 99; ÈSTJa II 140; KRPS 117, 119; Sul. Kkar. 55; Tenišev 447.

The word *bla* ~ *bïla* ~ *bila(n)* 'together, with; and' functions as a postposition, conjunction or adverb. According to information given by ÈSTJa II 141-142 it is formed from two elements *bir* + *-lä*. The forms *bilä*, *biläп* were known in OT. There are also counterparts of this word in other Turkic languages.

burun (K-B) 'prežde, rańše; v davne vremena' (KBRS 170); *burun* (B. dial. ?) 'drevnij, kogda-to' (Boz. 168); *burun* (*búrun*; K) 'früher, ehemals' (Pr K 96); *burun* (*burún* adv.; B) 'einst, ehemals; vor Zeiten' (Pr B 212) < PT **burun* (ESG); OT *burun*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *burun*; Tat. *bŭrïn*; Bašk. *bŭrŭn*; Kaz. *bŭrïn*; Kklp., Nog. *burïn*; Kir. *murun*; Trkm., Uz., Uig. *burun*; Lob. *mujun*; Y. Uig. *pïrïn*; Alt. *burun*; Khak. *purun*; Tuv., Tof. *burun*; Yak. *murun*. – Lit.: DTS 126; ÈSTJa II 271; KRPS 141; Rass. 166; Sul. Kkar. 57.

Burun denotes 'this, which was earlier, before; at the beginning'. It has a certain semantic correlation with the noun *burun* 'nose; front part'. With such the meaning the word was registered in the 11th century (MK). The word has equivalents in other Turkic languages at present.

kibik (K-B) 1. '1. kak, podobno, podobno tomu, kak..., napodobie, vrode *kogo-čego*'. 2. '1. podobnyj, takoj kak, ravnyj; 2. podobie čego' (KBRS 345); *kibik*, *kibix* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'kak, tak čto, podobno' (Boz. 175); *kibik* (*kʿibík*; K) 'wie; so dass' (Pr K 110); *kibik*, *kibix*, *kibig* (*kibík*, *kibíx*, *kibíg*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 228-229) < PT **kābik(k)*, **kēbi(k)*; cf.: OT *kep*, *kip*; Kum. *gimik*, *jimik*; Az. *guni* (Räs.VEWT 244 b); *kimi*; Tur. *gibi*; Kar. (Cr.) *kibik*, *kübik*, *kübük*, (H, T) *kibik*; Tat. (Ur.) *tïbi*; Tat. *kebek*; cf. Čuv. *pek*, *pekki*, dial. *kap*; Bašk. *keüek*; Uz. *kabi*; Uig. *käbi*; Trkm. *kimi*. – Lit.: DTS 299, 308; Eg. 153; JUFD 200; KRPS 316, 351; Podolsky 26; Räs VEWT 244 b; Sul. Kkar. 78.

The K-B *kibik* 'as, like' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. Egorov (Eg. 153) suggests its origin from the word *kep*, *kap* 'model, form'. In OT sources only *kep*, *kip* 'form' were registered.

sora (K-B) '1. posle, posle togo kak; 2. krome; pomimo, ne tolʹko, no i; 3. potom; 4. značit, stalo byt'; v takom slučaje' (KBRS 566); *sora* (*soŋra*) (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'zatem, potom, posle' (Boz. 184); *soŋra*, *soŋgura*, *sora*, *sora* (*soŋrá*, *soŋɣurá*, *sorá*, *sóra*; K) 'nachher, nach' (Pr K 132); *soŋra*, *sora* (*soŋrá*, *sorá*; B) '(mit dem Abl.) nach; ausser; (als adv.): nachher, hernach, dann' (Pr B 253) < PT **soŋra* (ESG); cf.: OT *soŋ*; Kum. *soŋ*; Khal. *sēra*, *sejrä*, *sōn*, *sōŋ*; Tur. *sonra*; Kar. (Cr.) *sonra*, *soŋra*, (H) *sondra*, (T) *sondra*, *sondrax*, *sonra*; Tat. (Ur.) *son*, *sora*; Kaz. *sō*; Nog. *soŋ*; Trkm. *soŋ*; Y. Uig. *soŋ*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; Doerfer LSCh 308, 309, 310; DTS 508; KRPS 478, 479; Podolsky 20, 21; Räs. VEWT 428 a; Sul. Kkar. 96; Tenišev SJ 207; YRh. 1027.

The K-B sources classify the word *sora* 'after; then' as both postposition and adverb. Its structure shows its compound character: *soŋ-ra*, *so-ra*. The form *soŋ* was registered in OT. At present the word has its equivalents also in other Turkic languages.

üčün (K-B) '1. *poslelog* za *kogo-čto*, iz-za *kogo-čto*; dlia, radi *kogo-čto*; 2. čtoby; 3. za to, čto' (KBRS 787); *üčü*, *üčün* (B. dial.: Balk. Čeg. Khul.-Bez.) 'iz-za, dlia, za' (Boz. 189); *üčü*, *üčün*, *jüčü*, *jüčün* (*üčű*, *üčűn*, *jüčű*, *jüčűn*; K) 'wegen, für' (Pr K 143); *ücü*, *ücün*, *üčün* (*ücű*, *ücűn*, *üčűn*; B) 'wegen, für, trotz' (Pr B 266) < **učin* (ESG); cf.: OT *üčün*; Kum., Az. *üčün*; Tur., Gag. *ičin*; Kar. (Cr.) *učun*, *üčün*, (H) *ičin*, (T) *üčuń*; Tat. *üčĭn*; *öčen* (Eg. 333); Tat. (Cr.) *ičün*; Čuv. *šăn*, *šĕn*; Bašk. *üčŭn*; *ösön* (Eg. 333); Kaz. *üšün*, *üšĭn*; Kklp. *üšin*, *ušïn*; Nog. *üšin*, *ušïn*; Kir. *üčün*; Trkm. *üčĭn*; Trukh. *üčün*; Uz. *üčün*; Uig. *üčün*; Lob. *üčün*, *ečin*; Alt (V) *üčün*; Khak. *üčün*; Tuv. *üžün*; Yak. *isin*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa.; DTS 622; Eg. 333; ÈSTJa I 642; KRPS 210, 587, 592; Räs. VEWT 169a; SKT 182.

The postposition *üčün* 'for' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT. Egorov claims that Turkic *üčün* is an old form of Instrumentalis from *uč* 'end', cf. Eg. 333.

9. VERBS

A division into semantic groups within this category is also not easy since there are numerous verbs that have several meanings which can be adopted in a semantic classification. This refers mostly to verbs that refering to sense or those with an abstract denotation.

Another question that can be mentioned here is the structure of collected verbs. Mostly these are one syllable verbs, however there are also verbs whose structure shows their derivational character. They are in most cases unmotivated. There are the following semantic groups selected within the group of verbs:

9.1. Verbs of action

ač-[4] (K-B) '1. otkryvať, raskryvať; 2. otkryvať, osnovyvať, učreńivať, raskryvať, razoblačať' (KBRS 98); *ac-* (B dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.,) 'otkryvať' (Boz. 166); *ač-* (K) 'öffnen, aufmachen; aushülsen' (Pr K 84); *ac-* (B) 'öffnen, aufmachen, endigen, zu Ende gehen, zu Ende sein' (Pr B 197) < PT **ač-*; cf.: OT *ač-*; Kum. *ač-*; Az. *ač*; Khal. *hač-*; Tur., Gag. *ač-*; Kar. (H) *ac-*; Tat. (U) *ač-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ač-*; Čuv. *uś-*; Bašk. *as-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *aš-*; Kir. *ač-*; Trkm. *ač-*; Uz. *oč-*; Uig. *ač-*; Lob. *ač-*; Sal. *ač-*, *aš-*, *as-*; Y. Uig. *haʒ-*, *haš-*; Alt. *ač-*; Khak. *as-*; Tuv. *aš-*; Tof. *aš-*; Yak. *as-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 251, 290; DTS 3; Eg. 277; ÈSTJa I 209; KRPS 87; ÖjHa. 8; Podolsky 1; Rass. 156.

This verb denoting 'to open' was registered in OT. It is also known in modern Turkic languages (where it appears in various forms).

axsa-, **asxa-** (K-B) 'xromať' (KBRS 82, 97); *asxa-* (K) 'hinken' (Pr K 88); *axsa-* (B) 'hinken' (Kr B 198) < PT **axsa-* (ESG); OT *axsa-*; Kum. *aksa-*; Az. *axsa-*; Tur. *aksa-*; Kar. (H) *aksa-*; Kar. (Cr.) *aksa-*; Tat. (Cr.) *aksa-*; Čuv. *uksaxla-*; Bašk. *akha-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *aksa-*; Trkm. *agsa-*; Uz. *oksa-*; Uig. *aksu-*; Sal. *xasa-*; Y. Uig. *axsa-*; *kesa-* (Tenišev SJ 203); Alt. *aksa-*; Khak. *axsa-*; Tuv. *aska-*; Šor. *aska-*; Yak. *axsā-*. – Lit.: DTS 71; Eg. 270; ÈSTJa I 76; KRPS 59; Räs. VEWT 9 b; Tenišev 547; Tenišev SJ 203.

The verb was registered in OT and at present in some modern Turkic languages there are its equivalents. It has a single meaning 'to lame'. In several languages (Tuv., Šor., Sal.) we can observe the phenomenon of methethesis as in K-B.

aja- (K-B) '1. žaleť, ščadiť; 2. bereč, ekonomiť (KBRS 108); *aja-* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'ščadiť, žaleť (Boz. 164); *aja-* (B) 'nicht gönnen, schonen' (Pr B 198) < PT **aja-* (ESG); cf.: OT *aja-*; Kum., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *aja-*; Čuv. *uja-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz. *aja-*; Uig. *aji-*; Lob., Alt., Khak. *aja-*. – Lit.: DTS 25; Eg. 280; ÈSTJa I 101; Gab. 297; KRPS 51; YRh. 99.

This verb was registered in OT. It has the meaning '1. to grudge; 2. to protect, to care'. It is known in other Turkic languages (in some of them in phonetic variants).

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[4] All the verbs from KBRS source we present similarly to Pröhle and Boziyev in stem forms giving the infinitival meaning, e.g.: *ač-* 'to open', whereas the real infinitive form of this verb is *ačarga*.

ajïr- (K-B) '1. razdeljať, razedinjať, otdeljať, vydeljať, obosobljať, rasčlenjať; 2. različať, otličať, differencirovať; 3. ponimať, soznavat, razbiraťsja; 4. izbiraťvybiraťv; 5. perebiraťv, sortirovať; 6. razvodiťv; 7. razlagať, rasščepljať' (KBRS 40); *ajïr-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'otdeliť, razdeliť, vybiraťv, ponjať (Boz. 164); *ajïr-* (*ajîr-*; K) 'abteilen, absondern, trennen, scheiden, verstehen, verwalten, lenken' (Pr K 85) < PT **ajïr-* (ESG); cf.: OT *aδïr-*, *adïr-*; Kum, Az., Tur., Gag. Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ajïr-*; Tat, *ajir-; ajer-* (Eg. 269); Tat. (Cr) *ajïr-*; Čuv. *ujăr-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm *ajïr-*; Uz. *ajir-*; Uig. *ajri-*; Lob. *aj-*, *ār-*; Y. Uig. *azïr-* Alt. *ajïr-*; Khak. *azïr-*; Tuv. *adïr-*; Tof. *adïr-*. – Lit.: DTS 15; Eg. 269; ÈSTJa 114; Gab. 292; KRPS 56; Malov 81; Rass. 151.

The verb *ajïr-* '1. to separate, to split; 2. to choose, select; 3. to distinguish' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *adïr-*, *aδïr-* were registered.

ajt- (K-B) '1. govoriť, skazať; 2. ispolnjať, rasskazyvať; 3. soobščať; 4. vydavať, razoblačať; 5. nazyvať; 6. obeščať; 7. izlagať; 8. proiznosiť, vygovarivať; 9. skaśem, naprimer, voobšče govorja, meždu pročim' (KBRS 35); *ajt-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'govoriť, razgovarivať, skazať' (Boz. 164); *ajt-* (K) 'reden, sprechen, sagen' (Pr K 86); *ajt-* (B) 'reden, sprechen, sagen, versprechen, sein Wort geben, bestimmen' (Pr B 199) < PT **aj(ï)t-* (ESG); cf.: OT *ajït-*; Kum. *ajt-*; Khal. *ha'j-*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ajt-*, Kar. (Cr.) *ejt-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ajt-*, Tat. *äjt-*; Čuv. *ïjt-*; Bašk. *äjt-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *ajt-*; Uz. *ajt-*, *aj-*; Uig. *äjt-*; Lob. *ajt-*, *at-*; Y. Uig. *ajt-*, *aj-*; Alt. *ajt-*; Khak. *ajt*; Tuv. *ajtïr-*; Tof. *ētïr-*; Yak. *ät-; ïjït-* (Eg. 342). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 228, 291; DTS 29; Eg. 342; ÈSTJa I 111; Gab. 297; KRPS 55, 656; Malov 82, 87; Podolsky 3; Rass. 184; Sul. Kkar. 49; Tenišev SJ 171, 174.

The verb *ajt-* with the meaning 'to say, to speak, to tell' has equivalents in numerous Turkic languages. In OT there was *ajït-* 'to ask' (Gab. 297). This meaning is also known at present in some languages (Yak., Tof., Tuv., Uig.).

ak- (K-B) '1. teč, liťsja, vytekať, vylivaťsja, prolivaťsja; 2. protekať, davať teč; 3. padať, osypaťsja; 4. vpadať; 5. spuskaťsja; 6. proxodiť, protekať' (KBRS 18); *ak-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'teč, padať' (Boz. 164); *ak-* (*aq-*; K) 'fliessen, fallen' (Pr K 86); *ak-*, *ax-*, *ag-* (*aq-*, *ax-*, *aγ-*) 'fliessen, fallen (in Massen)' (Pr B 200) < PT **ak-*; cf.: OT *ak-*; Kum. *ak-*; Az. *ax-*; Tur. *ak-*; Gag. *ak-*; Kar. (T) *ax-*, (H) *ak-* (Cr) *ak-*; Tat. (U) *ax-*, Tat. (Cr.) *ak-*; Čuv. *yux-*; Baš., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *ak-*; Uz. *ok-*; Uig., Lob., Y. Uig., Alt. *ak-*; Khak. *ax-*; Tuv. *ak-*; Tof. *ak-*. – Lit.: DTS 48; Eg. 352; ÈSTJa 118; KRPS 57, 85; Podolsky 3; Rass. 154; SKT 177; Sul. Kkar. 61; Šč. SF 193.

As we see this verb is common among modern Turkic languages and it was known in OT. Its main meaning is 'to leak, to flow'.

al- (K-B) '1. braťv, vzjaťv; 2. polučaťv v polzovanie; 3. dostavaťv, snimaťv, izvlekaťv; 4. pokupeťv, priobretaťv; 5. polučaťv; 6. vyčitaťv; 7. otnimaťv, lišaťv; 8.

zaxvatyvaťˊ, ovladevaťˊ; 9. ženiťsja; 10. prinimaťˊ; 11. vosprinimaťˊ, usvaivaťˊ' (KBRS 56); *al-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'braťˊ' (Boz. 164); *al-* (K) 'nehmen, können' (Pr K 86); *al-* (B) 'nehmen, erobern' (Pr B 200) < PT **al-*; cf.: OT *al-*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. *al-*; Čuv. *il-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *al-*; Uz. *ol-*; Uig., Lob., Sal., Y. Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv. *al-*; Tof. *al-*; Šor. *al-*; Yak. *ïl-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 245, 265; DTS 32; Eg. 68; ÈSTJa I 127; KRPS 61; Podolsky 1; Rass. 152; SKT 177; StachM GJV 19; Tenišev 286, 287.

The verb is known in modern Turkic languages with the chief meaning 'to take'. In all languages except Čuv., Yak. and Uz. it has the form *al-*. It was registered in OT.

as- (K-B) '1, vešaťˊ, podvešivaťˊ; 2. vešaťˊ *kogo*, kazniťˊ' (KBRS 80); *as-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'vešaťˊ, povesiťˊ' (Boz. 165); *as-* (K) 'aufhängen' (Pr K 88); *as-* (B) 'hängen, aufhängen' (Pr B 203) < PT **as-*; cf.: OT *as-*, *ās-* (MK); Kum., Az. *as-*; Khal. *has-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Tat. *as-*; Čuv. *us-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Kir., Trkm. *as-*; Uz. *os-*; Uig., Lob., Sal. *as-*, *ās-*; Y. Uig. *has-*, *as-*; Alt. *as-*; Tuv. *as-*; Tof. *as-*; Šor. *ās-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 263, 291; DTS 59; Eg. 277; ÈSTJa I 193; KRPS 79; Malov 86; Podolsky 2; Rass. 156; Tenišev 294; Tenišev SJ 180.

The verb was registered in OT and it has equivalents in Turkic languages. Its basic meaning is 'to hang', however, in some languages it has different meaning, cf.: Alt. *as-* 'to prepare food'; Čuv. *us-* 'to let sth down'.

at- (K-B) '1. brosaťˊ; 2. ostavljaťˊ, brosaťˊ; 3. streljaťˊ; biťˊ; rasstrelivaťˊ; 4. uvolnjaťˊ; 5. sejaťˊ; 6. vraťˊ, privираťˊ; 7. ispuskaťˊ vetry' (KBRS 87); *at-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'brosaťˊ, svyrjaťˊ, streljaťˊ, sypaťˊ' (Boz. 165); *at-* (K) 'werfen, wegwerfen, hinauswerfen' (Pr K 89); *at-* (B) 'werfen, schlendern, strenen, säen; schiessen, mit einem Schusse treffen oder töten' (Pr B 203) < PT **at-*; cf.: OT *āt-* 'to beat (about heart)', *at*; Kum., Az. *at-*; Khal. *hat-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr. Ur.) *at-*; Čuv. *ïvăt-*, dial.: *ït-*, *ut-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., *at-*; Uz. *ot-*; Uig., Lob. *at-*; Sal. *at-*, *aˀ-*; Y. Uig. *aˀt-*, *at-*, *hat-*; Alt., Khak. *at-*; Tuv. *at-*; Tof. *at-*; Yak. *ït-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 254, 291; DTS 65; Eg. 342; ÈSTJa I 199; KRPS 83; Malov 87; Podolsky 2; Rass. 157; StachM GJV 19; Tenišev 296, 297; Tenišev SJ 173, 180.

This verb with the meaning 'to throw, to shooťˊ was registered in OT and it has equivalents in modern Turkic languages.

aw- (K-B) '1. valiťsja, padaťˊ, oprokidyvaťsja; 2. perevaliťˊ, perejti, perejexat; 3. sklonjaťsja' (KBRS 92); *au-* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'povaliťˊ, povernuťˊ (Boz. 165), *au-* (Baks., Khul.-Bez.) 'perejti čerez, perešagnuťˊ' (ibid. 165); *au-* (K) '1. fallen, umfallen; zusammenstürzen; 2. über etwas schreiten' (Pr K 89); *au-* (B) 'übersteigen, überschreiten' (Pr B 204) < PT **āŋ-*; cf.: Kum. *aw-*; Az. dial. *ag-*; Tur. dial. *ag-* (DS I 102-103); Tat. *aw-*; Čuv. *jăvan-*; Bašk., Kaz.,

Kklp., Nog., Kir. *aw-*; Trkm. *āg-*; Uz. *og-*; Khak. *ayïlan-*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa I 69, Räs. VEWT 7 b.

The basic denotation of this verb is 'to fall down, to fall to once side; to go over sth; to cross sth'. It has counterparts in some Turkic languages.

bajla- (K-B) 'svjazyvať, zavjazyvať, obvjazyvať, privjazyvať, perevjazyvať (KBRS 113); *bajla-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'svjazyvať, privjazyvať' (Boz. 166); *bajla-* (K) 'binden, anbinden' (Pr K 90); *bajla-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 205) < PT **bā-* (ÈSTJa II 16); **bāj-u-* (Räs. VEWT 53 a); **pā-* (Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *bagla-*; Kum. *bajla-*; Az. *bagla-*; Tur. *bagla-*; Gag. *bāla-*; Kar. (Cr.) *bagla-*, (T, H) *bajla-*; Tat. *bäjlä-*; Tat. (Ur.) *bajla-*; Kaz., Kir. *bajla-*; Trkm. *bāgla-*; Yak. *bāj-*. – Lit.: DTS 78; ÈSTJa II 16; KRPS 95, 98; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 4.

Bajla- 'to tie' is a verb formed with the suffix *-la-* from the nominal basis *bag* ~ *baj* 'string, lace, bond'. When analysing this verb semantically we may assume that it is a variant of the form *bagla-* 'to tie' (registered in OT sources). The question of the form *bajla-* was disscussed by Bang and Ramstedt, cf. ÈSTJa II 17.

bak- (K-B) '1. lečiť, vračevať; 2. otkarmlivať; 3. uxaživať, smotreť, xoliť; 4. smotreť *na k-č.*' (KBRS 110); *bak-* (B. dial.; Balk.) 'smotreť *za k.-l.* zabotiťsja, xodiť za *k.-l.*' (Boz. 166); *bak-* (*baq-*; K) 'kurieren' (Pr K 91) < PT **pak-*; cf.: OT *bag- bak-*; Kum. *bak-*; Az. *bax-*; Tur., Gag. *bak-*; Kar.- (H, T) *bak-*, (Cr.) *bak-*; Tat., Tat (Cr.) *bak-*, *bax-*; Čuv. *păx-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *bak-*; Uz. *bok-*; Uig. *bak-* Lob. *bak-*, *vak-*; Sal. *pax-*, *vax-*, *paᶜ-*; Alt. *pak-*, *bak-*; Khak. *paxla-*; Tuv. *bakïla-*; Tof. *bak-*. – Lit. DTS 77, 81; Eg. 150; ÈSTJa II 38; KRPS 99; Malov 90; Rass. 159; Sul. Kkar. 53; Tenišev 440, 542.

The verb *bak-* denoting 'to see; watch; look after; take care of sb' was registered in OT. In K-B it also means 'to cure'. It has equivalents in some other Turkic languages.

bar- (K-B) 'idti, jexať, dvigaťsja, uxodiť, ujezžať, otpravljaťsja; 2. idti, dliťsja, prodolžaťsja; 3. teč, protekať; vpadať; 4. naveščať' (KBRS 118); *bar-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kašk., Khul.-Bez.) 'idti, otpravljaťsja' (Boz. 166); *bar-* (K) 'gehen' (Pr K 91); *bar-* (B) 'gehen, sich irgendwohin begeben' (Pr B 206) < PT **bar-* (~ **bār-*); cf.: OT *bar-*; Kum. *bar-*; Az., Khal., Tur., Gag. *var-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat (Cr., Ur.), *bar-*; Čuv. *pĭr-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp, Nog., Kir., Trkm, Trukh. *bar-*; Uz. *bor-*; Uig. *bar-*, *ba(r)-*; Lob. *bar-*, *baj-*; Sal. *vār-*, *var-*, *vā-*, *bar-*, *par-*, *pa-*; Y. Uig. *bar-*, *par-*; Alt. *bar-*; Khak. *par-*; Tuv. *bar-*; Tof. *bar-*; Yak. *bar-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 40; Doerfer LSCh 240, 315; DTS 83; Eg. 173; ÈSTJa II 64; KRPS 102; Malov 90, 91; ÖjHa. 8; Podolsky 4; Rass. 159; SKT 177; Tenišev 301, 433, 437, 539, 540, 541; Tenišev SJ 174, 195.

Bar- 'to go, to approach, to set on; to last' has equivalents in numerous modern Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

bas- (K-B) '1. stupať, nastupať; 2. daviť, žať, pridavlivať, prižimať; 3. ugnetať; 4. pokryvať; 5. unimať, uspokoivať, ukroščať; 6. valjať, katať; 7. mjať, mesiť, mololiť; 8. upletať (KBRS 119); *bas-* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'žať, daviť, pressovať' (Boz. 166); *bas-* (K) 'drücken, pressen, heraus pressen, drauftreten [Mit dem Dativ hat dieses Zeitwort auch die Bedeutung von 'coire'] (Pr K 91); *bas-* (B) 'drauftreten, treten, drücken, pressen' (Pr B 206) < PT **bās-*; **pas-* (Ščerb. SF 195); cf.: OT *bas-*; Kum, Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *bas-*; Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bas-*; Čuv. *pus-*; Bašk. *bas-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *bas-*; Uz. *bos-*; Uig. *bas-*; Lob. *bas-*, *vas-*; Sal. *bas-*, *pas-*, *pās-*; Y. Uig., Alt., Khak. *pas-*; Tuv. *bas-*; Tof. *bas-*; Yak. *battā-*. – Lit. DTS 85; Eg. 166; ÈSTJa II 74; KRPS 104; Malov 91, 97; ÖjHa. 10; Podolsky 4; Rass. 159; Tenišev 301, 438; Tenišev SJ 195.

The verb *bas-* '1. to press; to print; 2. to step' has equivalents in modern Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

bat- (K-B) '1. tonuť; pogružaťsja; 2. zaxodiť, zakatyvaťsja; 3. vjaznuť, zastrevať; 4. mjaťsja, vdavlivaťsja; 5. peren. pogruziťsja; otdaťsja, uvlečsja' (KBRS 121); *bat-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'tonuť, pogružaťsja, pogibať' (Boz. 166); *bat-* (K) 'sinken, versinken, untergehen' (Pr K 92); *bat-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 207) < PT **bat-* (StachM GJV 97); **pat-* (Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *bat-*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.), *bat-*; Čuv. *put-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *bat-*; Uz. *bot-*; Uig. *pat-*; Lob. *pat-*; Sal. *pat-*; Y. Uig. *pat-*; Alt. *bat-*; Khak. *pat-*; Tuv. *bat-*; Tof. *bat-*; Šor. *pat-*; Yak. *bat-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 120, 121, 297; DTS 89; Eg. 169; ÈSTJa II 78; KRPS 107; Malov 154; ÖjHa. 8; Podolsky 4; Rass. 160; StachM GJV 97; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 439.

This verb denoting 'to sink, to plunge, to go under' was registered in OT and has counterparts in many modern Turkic languages.

ber- (K-B) '1. davať; 2. vručat, prepodnosiť; 3. prisvaivať; 4. prodavať; 5. nadeljať, odarivať; 6. platiť, vyplačivať; 7. peredavat, pokazyvat, translirovať; 8. biť, udarjať' (KBRS 135); *ber-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kašk., Khul.-Bez.) 'dať, davať' (Boz. 167); *ber-* (K) 'geben, schenken' (Pr K 92); *ber-* (B) 'geben' (Pr B 207) < PT **bēr-* (Räs. VEWT 70 b); **pār-* (Šč SF 195); OT *ber-*; Kum. *ber-*; Az. *ver-*; Khal. *bär-*; Tur., Gag. *ver-*; Kar. (T) *ber-*, (Cr.) *vär-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ber-*, Tat. *bir-*; Čuv. *par-*; Bašk. *bir-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., Uz. *ber-*; Uig. *bä(r)-*, *ber-*; Lob. *ber-*, *bej-*, *bij*; Sal. *ver-*, *vi-*, *vī-*, *viĭ-*, *veĭ-*, *vēĭ-*, *ve-*, *vē*, *per-*, *pe-*, *pi-*, *pī-*, *piĭ-*, *ber-*, *beĭ-*, *bē-*, *be-*, *peĭ-*, *pē-*; Y. Uig. *per-*, *pe'r-*, *pïr-*, *ver-*, *ber-*; Alt. *ber-*; *Khak. pir-*; Tuv. *bēr-*; Tof. *ber-*; Šor. *per-*; Yak. *biär-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 245, 279; DTS 95; Eg. 143; ÈSTJa II 115; KRPS 113, 158; Malov 92, 93; ÖjHa. 23; Podolsky 5; Rass. 161; StachM GJV 69; Sul. Kkar. 54; Tenišev 301, 441, 444, 445, 447, 542, 543; Tenišev SJ 196, 197.

The verb *ber-* 'to give' has equivalents in all Turkic languages and was registered in OT.

bič- (K-B) '1. kroiť; 2. *per.* planirovať, rešať; 3. xolostiť, kastrirovať' (KBRS 151); *bič-* (K) 'schneiden, kastrieren' (Pr K 93); *bic-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 208) < PT **bič-* ~ **bïč-* (StachM GJV 66); * *pïč-* (Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *bič-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *bič-*; Kar. (Cr.) *bič-*, (H) *bic-*; Tat. (Cr.) *bič-*; Tat. *pǐč-*; Bašk. *bïs-*; *bïs-*; Kaz. *pǐš-*; Kklp *piš-*; Nog. *piš-*, *biš-*; Kir., Trkm, Uz. *bič-*; Uig., Lob. *pič-*; Y. Uig. *pïš-*; Alt. *bïč-*, *bïčï-*; Khak. *pïs-*; Tuv. *bïš-*; Tof. *bïš-*; Šor *pïš-*; Yak. *bïs-*. – Lit.: DTS 98; ÈSTJa 158; KRPS 125; ÖjHa. 28; Rass. 77; StachM GJV 66.

The verb *bič-* 'to cut; to castrate' was known in Old Turkic and it has counterparts in modern Turkic languages.

bile- (K-B) '1. točiť, zatačivať, ottačivať; 2. *per.* natravlivať, nastraivať' (KBRS 142); *bile-* (B. dial.; Khul.-Bez.) 'točiť, zaostriť' (Boz. 167); *bile-* (K) 'schärfen, schleifen' (Pr K 93); *bile-* (B) 'schleifen, schärfen' (Pr B 208) < PT **bilä-* (ESG); cf.: OT *bilä-*; Kum., Tur., Gag. *bile-*; Kar. (Cr.) *bile-*, *bil'a-*, (H) *bile-*, *bilä-*, (T) *bil'a-*; Tat. (Cr.) *bile-*; Nog. *bile-*; Uig. (dial.) *bilä-*; Sal. *bili-*, *pili-*; Khak. *pǯe-*. – Lit.: DTS 99; Eg. 155; ÈSTJa II 142; KRPS 117, 119; Tenišev 302, 447.

The verb *bile-* 'to sharpen' was known in OT. At present this verb is not common in other Turkic languages, however in some of them there are its equivalents.

biš- (K-B) '1. variťsja, peč'sja, žariťsja; 2. speť, pospevať, zreť, sozrevať' (KBRS 152); *biš-* (K) 'gar gekocht werden, gar gebacken werden, reif werden, reifen' (Pr K 93); *biš-* (B) 'gekocht werden, gar gekocht werden, reifen, reif werden (das Obst)' (Pr B 209) < **biš-* ~ **bïš-*; **pïš-* (Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *bïš-*, *biš-*; Kum., Az., Khal. *biš-*; Tur., Gag. *piš-*; Kar. (Cr.) *piš-*, (H) *bis-*, (T) *biš-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *piš-*; Tat. *pǐš-*; Čuv. *piś-*; Bašk. *bǐš-*; Kaz. *pǐs-*; Kklp., Nog. *pis-*; Kir. *bïš-*; Trkm. *biš-*; Uz., Uig. *piš-*; Lob. *peš-*, *piš-*; Y. Uig. *pïs-*; Alt. *pïs-*, *pïš-*, *bïš-*; Khak. *pïs-*; Tuv. *bïš-*; Tof. *bïš-*; Šor. *pïš-*; Yak. *bus-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 260, 281; DTS 103, 105; Eg. 162; ÈSTJa II 161; KRPS 123, 125, 448; Malov 156; Podolsky 18; Tenišev SJ 199.

The verb *biš-* '1. to get cooked; 2. to ripe' with *b-* ~ *p-* allophones in anlaut is common among Turkic languages; also registered in OT.

bit- (K-B) I '1. zaveršaťsja, zakončivaťsja; 2. *per.* umereť, skončaťsja; podoxnuť, pasť; 3. zakryvať, zakuporivať, zabivať'. II *bit-* '1. rasti, proizrastať, vozdelyvaťsja; 2. urodiť, byť urožajnym' (KBRS 150); *bit-* (B. dial.; Čeg.) 'rasti, proizrastať, končať, zakončiť (Boz. 168); *bit-* (K) 'endigen; spriessen, wachsen' (Pr K 93); *bit-* (B) 'wachsen, spriessen, endigen, fertig werden' (Pr B 209).

Analysing the Karachay-Balkar material we can notice that the verb *bit-* has two different meanings: 1. 'to end, finish; to be ready'. 2. 'to grow; to be fertile'. Therefore, we may assume that the authors of those sources combined two homonymic verbs into one. According to the semantic criterion all comparative sources present these verbs separately. Therefore, in showing the

comparative material from other Turkic languages we will also present these two verbs apart.

I bit- 'to end' < PT **büt- ~ *bit-*; **pit- ~ *püt-* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *büt-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. Kar. (Cr., T, H) *bit-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bit-*; Tat. *bĭt-*; Čuv. *pĕt-*; Bašk. *bŭt-*; Kaz. *bĭt-*; Kklp *pit-*; Nog. *bit-*; Kir. *büt-*; Trkm. *bit-*; Uz. *bit-*; Uig. *büt-*; Y. Uig. *pït-*, *pᶜut -*, *pᶜuʾt-*; Alt. *büt- püt-*; Khak. *püt-*; Tuv. *büt-*; Tof. *büt-*; Šor. *püt-*; Yak. *büt-*.

II bit- 'to grow; to be fertile'; cf.: OT *büt-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *bit-*; Kaz. *bĭt-*; Kklp. *pit-*; Nog. *bit-*; Kir. *büt-*; Trkm. *bit-*; Uz. *bit-*; Alt. *büt-*, *püt-*; Khak. *püt-*; Tuv. *büt-*; Yak. *büt-*. – Lit.: DTS 133; Eg. 158; ÈSTJa II 152, 154; KRPS 123; ÖjHa. 32; Podolsky 5; Rass. 167; Šč SF 196; Tenišev SJ 179, 198.

Both verbs with these two meanings were known in OT and their modern equivalents are registered in some Turkic languages.

boja- (K-B) '1. krasiť, okrašivat; 2. *per.* mazať, pačkať' (KBRS 163); *boja-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'krasiť' (Boz. 168); *boja-* (K) 'färben, schmieren' (Pr K 94); *boja-* (B) 'färben' (Pr B 210) < PT **bod-*, **boz-*; cf.: OT *boda-*, *bodu-*, *boδu-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Cr.) *boja-*; Tat. *buja-*; Čuv. *pĕve-*; Bašk. *buja-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *boja-*; Kir. *bojo-*; Trkm. *boja-*; Uz. *buja-*; Uig. *boja-*, *boju-*; Alt. *budu-*, *pojo-*, *poja-*; Tuv. *budu-*; Tof. *bodu-*; Yak. *butuj-*. – Lit.: DTS 107, 109; Eg. 155; ÈSTJa II 178; KRPS 126; Rass. 163.

The verb *boja-* 'to paint, to dye' has equivalents in modern Turkic languages, where it appears in some phonetic variants; also registered in OT.

boša- (K-B) '1. končať, zaveršať, dovodiť do konca; 2. *per.* izmatyvať, izvodiť'. (KBRS 162); *boša-* (B. dial.; Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'zakončivať, sjedať' (Boz. 168); *boša-* (K) 'beendigen, verzehren' (Pr K 95); *boša-* (B) 'id' (Pr B 210) < PT **boša-* (ESG); cf.: OT *boša-*, *bošu-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (T) *boša-*; Tat. *buša-*; Baš. *buša-*; Kaz., Kklp. *bosa-*; Kir. *bošo-*; Alt. *božo-*; Khak. *pozï-*; Tuv. *božu-*. – Lit.: DTS 113; ÈSTJa II 205; Gab. 304; KRPS 133.

The verb *boša-* from a formative point of view is a derivative formed from the nominal basis *boš* 'empty' with the suffix *-a*. This is an old formation since the earliest OT sources register it (cf. DTS 113, Gab. 331). In K-B it has slightly different meaning than in other languages i.e. it means '1. to finish; 2. to consume'. In other languages *boša-* '1. to get empty; 2. to get free'; Tuv. *božu-*, Khak. *pozï-* '1. to become empty; 2. to become free'.

böl- (K-B) '1. deliť; 2. vydeljať; 3. otvlekať, perebivať, preryvať' (KBRS 139); *böl-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'deliť, razdeliť' (Boz. 168); *böl-* (K) 'teilen' (Pr K 95); *böl-* (B) 'teilen, einteilen' (Pr B 211) < PT **bōl-*; **pōl-* (Šč SF 196); cf.: OT *böl-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *böl-*; Kar. (Cr.) *böl'-*, *bol'-*; Tat. (Cr.) *bol'-*; Tat. (Ur.) *böl-*; Tat. *bül-*; Čuv. *pül-*; Bašk. *bül-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Turk. *böl-*; Trukh. *böliš-*; Uz. *bol-*; Uig. *bö(l)-*; Lob. *bel-*, *böl-*; Alt. *pöl-*, *böl-*; Khak. *pöl-*; Tof. *böl-*; Šor. *pöl-*;

cf. Yak. *bölöx*. – Lit.: DTS 117; Eg. 171; ÈSTJa II 214; KRPS 130, 134; Podolsky 6; Rass. 77; SKT 178; StachM GJV 65; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *böl-* 'to divide' has counterparts in most modern Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

böle- (K-B) '1. pelenať, zaviortyvať, kutať; 2. okunať, pogrušať' (KBRS 138) < PT **bälä-*; cf.: OT *belä-*; Az. *bälä-*; Tur. *bele-*; Kar. (T) *beľa-*; Tat. *bilä-*; Čuv. *pijele-*; Bašk. *bilä-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *böle-*; Kir. *bölö-*; Uz. *bela-*; Uig. *böli-*; Khak. *pöle-*. – Lit.: DTS 93; Eg. 159; ÈSTJa II 111; KRPS 112; Räs. VEWT 69 a.

The verb *böle-* 'to swaddle' has counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. It is also registered by Mahmud Kašgari. According to Räsänen (cf. Räs. VEWT 69 a) the verb is related to the words **bāl*, ? **bīl* 'belt', which is semantically and phonetically convincing,.

bujur- (K-B) '1. veleť, prikazyvať; povelevať rasporjažaťsja; 2. napravljať; 3. prednaznačať, predpisyvať' (KBRS 173); *büjür-* (*bujur-*) (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'prikazyvať' (Boz. 169); *bujur-*, *büjur-* (K) 'befehlen, bestellen' (Pr K 95) < PT **bujur-* (ESG); cf.: OT *bujur-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *bujur-*; Tat. (Cr.) *bujur-*; Tat. *bŭjïr-*; Čuv. *pür-*; Bašk. *bŭjŭr-*; Kaz. *bŭjïr-*; Kklp., Nog. *bujïr-*; Kir., Trkm., Uz. *bujur-*; Uig. *bur-*; Lob. *buju-*, *buj-*; Alt. *bujur-*, *pujur-*. – Lit.: DTS 121; Eg. 171; ÈSTJa II 245; KRPS 138; Malov 95, 96; Räs. VEWT 87 a; Sul. Kkar. 57.

Bujur- 'to order; to command' was known in OT and in modern Turkic languages there are its equivalents with the same meaning as in K-B.

buk- (K-B) 'prjataťsja, skryvaťsja' (KBRS 165); *buk-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'prjataťsja, skryvaťsja' (Boz. 168); *buk-* (*buq-*; K) 'sich verstecken' (Pr K 95); *buk-*, *bux-*, *bug-* (*buq-*, *bux-*, *buɣ-*; B) 'sich verstecken, sich verbergen' (Pr B 211) < PT **buk-* (ESG); cf.: Kaz. *bok-*, *bŭk-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *buk-*; Uz. *bik-*; Yak. *bük-*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa II 248.

The verb *buk-* 'to hide, to be hidden, to get hidden' functions in only a few modern Turkic languages (in different variants) with the same meaning as in K-B. Not one source gives records concerning its historical age. However, there is the comment to the word claiming that *buk-* belongs to the old lexical substratum of Turkic languages, cf. ÈSTJa II 248.

bulga- (K-B) '1. mešať, pomešivat; 2. maxať, kačať' (KBRS 168); *bulga-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'maxať, kivať, boltať' (Boz. 168); *bulga-* (*bulɣa-*; K) 'wedeln' (Pr K 95); *bulga-* (*bulɣa-*; B) 'schütteln, aufmischen, umrühren, wedeln mit (Acc.)' (Pr B 211) < PT **bulgā-*; cf.: OT *bulga-*; Kum. *bulga-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *bula-*; Kar. (Cr.) *bulga-*, *bolga-*, (H, T) *bulga-*; Tat. *bŭlga-*; Bašk. *bŭlga-*; Kaz., Kklp., *bïlga-*; Nog. *bulga-*; *bïlga-*; Kir. *bulga-*; Trkm. *bula-*; Uz. *bula-*, *bulga-*, *bela-*; Uig. *bulgi-*, *bula-*, *bolgu-*; Lob. *bula-*; Y. Uig. *pula-*, *polga-*; Alt. *bulga-*, *pulga-*; Khak. *pulga-*; Tuv. *bïlga-*; Tof. *bulha-*; Šor. *pïlā-*; Yak. *bulā-*. – Lit.: DTS

122; ÈSTJa II 253; KRPS 128, 138; Malov 96; ÖjHa. 38; Rass. 165; StachM GJV 49.

The verb *bulga-* 'to stir, mix' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with generally the same meaning as in K-B. It was registered in Old Turkic.

bur- (K-B) '1. krutiť, vraščat; vvinčivať, vkručivať; 2. povoračivať; 3. *per.* nastraivať, natalkivať, sklonjať; 4. viť, sučiť; 5. krutiť, koloť' (KBRS 170); *bur-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'verteť, perevoračivať, otvoračivať, skručivať' (Boz. 168); *bur-* (K) 'drehen, bohren' (Pr K 95); *bur-* (B) 'id.' (Pr. B 211) < PT **pur-* (Šč SF 196); cf.: *bür-* (MK, KB); Kum., Az., Gag., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bur-*; Tat. *bŭr-*; Čuv. *păr-*; Bašk. *bŭr-*; Kaz. *bŭr-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig. *bur-*; Lob. *buj-*; Alt. *pur-*; Šor. *pur-*. – Lit.: Clauson 355; Eg. 147; ÈSTJa II 264; KRPS 140; Malov 95; Podolsky 6; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *bur-* '1. to twist, to screw; to wring; 2. to wind' is an old Turkic verb however at the earliest the verb in the form *bür-* was registered by MK, KB, cf. Clauson 355. The verb has counterparts in some modern Turkic languages with generally a similar meaning as in K-B.

buw- (K-B) '1. žať, daviť; 2. dušiť, daviť; 3. svjazyvať, obtjagivať; 4. *per.* pristavať, nasedať, nažimať' (KBRS 171); *bū-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'daviť, dušiť' (Boz. 169); *bū-* (K) 'erwürgen' (Pr K 95); *bū-* (B) 'würgen, erwürgen' (Pr B 211) < PT **poγ-*; cf.: OT *bog-*; Kum. *buw-*; Az. *bog-*; Tur. *bog-*; Gag. *bū-*; Kar. (Cr.) *bog-*, (H) *buw-*, (T) *bu-*, *buw-*; Tat. (Cr.) *bog-*; Tat. (Ur.) *bug-*; Tat. *bu-*; Čuv. *păv-*; Bašk. *bïw-*; Kaz. *bū-*; Kklp., Nog. *buw-*; Kir. *bū-*; Trkm. *bog-*; Uz. *bog-*; Uig., Lob. *bog-*; Sal. *pog-*; Y. Uig. *poγ-*; Alt. *bū-*, *pū-*, *pu-*; Khak. *pog-*; Tuv. *bog-*; Tof. *bog-*; cf. Yak. *muomax* 'das Erwürgen' (ÖjHa. 36). – Lit.: DTS 109; Eg. 146; ÈSTJa II 164; KRPS 126, 135; Malov 94; ÖjHa. 36; Podolsky 6; Rass. 163; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 451.

The verb *buw-* 'to choke, strangle' has counterparts in modern Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the form *bog-* was registered.

buz- (K-B) '1. portiť, lomať, vzvodiť iz stroja; 2. rasstraivať, razlaživať; 3. otmenjať, pastorgať; 4. narušať; 5. začjorkivať; 6. razvraščať, otricateľno vlijať; 7. menjať, razmenivať' (KBRS 166); *buz-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'lomať, isportiť' (Boz. 168); *buz-* (B) 'verderben, zerbrechen, zerreissen' (Pr B 212) < PT **pōs-*; cf.: OT *buz-*; Kum. *buz-*; Az. *poz-*; Tur. *boz-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *buz-*; Tat. *boz-*; Čuv. *păs-*; Bašk. *boz-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *buz-*; Trkm. *boz-*; Uz., Uig. *buz-*; Lob. *buz-*; Alt. *pus-*, *bus-*; Khak. *pus-*; Tuv. *bus-*; Tof. *bus-*. – Lit.: DTS 130; Eg. 150; Gab. 306; KRPS 136; Malov 95; Rass. 166; Sul. Kkar. 57; Šč SF 196.

The verb *buz-* 'to break; to destroy' has counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. Registered by OT sources.

bük- (K-B) '1. gnuť, sgibať; 2. sklonjať, ugovarivať, ubeždať; 3. prelomljať' (KBRS 175); *bük-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'gnuť, kriviť' (Boz. 169); *bük-* (K) 'biegen, beugen' (Pr K 96); *bük-, büx-, büg-* (*bük-, büź-, büg-*; B) 'biegen, krümmen' (Pr B 212) < **bük-*; **pük-* (Šč. SF 196); cf: OT: *bük-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *bük-*; Kar. (T) *buḱ-*, (H) *bik-*, Tat. (Cr.) *buḱ-*; Tat. *bŭk-*; Čuv. *pük-*; Bašk. *bŭk-*; Kaz. *bük-, bŭk-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *bük*; Uz. *buḱ-*; Uig. *pük-*; Lob. *bök-, pük-*; Sal. *pöx-*; Y. Uig. *pek-*; Alt. *bük-, pük-*; Khak. *pïx-*; Tof. *bük-*; Yak. *bük-*. – Lit.: DTS 132; Eg. 171; ÈSTJa II 290; KRPS 117, 154; ÖjHa. 43; Rass. 77; Tenišev 454.

The verb *bük-* '1. to bend; 2. to fold; 3. to twist' has equivalents in modern Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

čač- (K-B) '1. razdavať; 2. razbrasyvať, raskidyvať; 3. sejať; 4. razognať; 5. razbazarivať; 6. razrušať, lošať, razbirať; rozbivať; 7. bryzgať; 8. rasprostranjať' (KBRS 729); *čač-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'razbrasyvať, sejať' (Boz. 190); *čač* (*čᶜač-*; K) 'zersträuen, säen' (Pr K 96); *cac-* (B) 'streuen, zerstreuen, säen' (Pr B 213) < PT **sač-*; cf.: OT: *sač-*; Az., Khal., Tur. *sač-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sač-, säč-*, (H) *cac-*, (T) *čač-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sač-*; Tat. *čäč-*; Bašk. *säs-*; Kaz. *šaš-*; Kir. *čač-*; Trkm. *sač-*; Uz. *soč-*; Uig. *sač-*; Lob. *čač-, čäč-*; Sal. *sāč-*; Alt. *čač-*; Khak. *sas-*; Tuv. *čaš-*; Tof. *čäš-*; Yak. *ïs-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 247, 307; DTS 479; KRPS 470, 500, 613, 625; Malov 189; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 19; Rass. 196; StachM GJV 19; Sul. Kkar. 93; Tenišev 470.

The verb *čač-* 'to scatter, to sprinkle' in several phonetic variants functions in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the form *sač-* registered.

čajna- (K-B) '1. ževať, perežiovyvať; 2. *per.* mnogo govoriť; boltať; 3. ispytyvať neprijatnoje; perenosiť, pereživať' (KBRS 721); *čajna-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'ževať' (Boz. 190); *čajna* (*čᶜajna-*; K) 'kauen' (Pr K 97); *cajna-* (B) 'kauen (Pr B 213) < PT **čajna-* (ESG); cf.: Az. *čejnä-*; Khal. *čäjnä-*; Tur. *čigne-*; Kar. (Cr.) *čäjnä-*, (H) *cajna-, cäjna-*, (T) *čajna-, čejna-*; Tat. *čäjnä-*; Bašk. *säjnä-*; Kaz. *šajna-*; Kir. *čajna-*; Trkm. *čejne-*; Uz. *čajna-*; Uig. *čajni-*; Sal. *čāĭnä-, čēnē-, čeni-*; Alt. *čajna-*; Khak. *tajna-*; Tuv. *dajna-*; Tof. *dajna-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 231, 283; KRPS 621; Rass. 168; Tenišev 308, 309.

There are equivalents of the verb *čajna-* 'to chew' in other Turkic languages.

čakïr- (K-B) 'zvať, priglašať; 2. vyzyvať; prizyvať; 3. *per.* maniť, zamanivať, privlekať, soblaznjať' (KBRS 723); *čakïr-* (B. dial.; Balk., Čeg.) 'zvať' (Boz. 190); *čakïr-* (*čᶜaqᶜïr-*; K) 'rufen, herausrufen' (Pr K 97); *cakïr-* (*caqïr-*; B) 'rufen, schreien' (Pr B 213) < PT **čākïr-*; cf.: OT *čagur-*; Az. *čagïr-*; Tur.: *čagïr-*; Kar. (Cr.) *čagïr-, čakïr-*, (H) *čagïr-*; *cakïrna-*, (T) *čagïr-*; Tat. (Ur.) *čagïr-*; Tat. *čakïr-*; Čuv. *śuxăr-, yïxăr-*; Bašk. *sakïr-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *šakïr-*; Kir. *čakïr-*; Trkm. *čāgïr-*; Trukh. *čagïr-*; Uz., Uig. *čakir-*; Lob. *čakïr-*; Sal.: *čixar-, čixra-, čixrā-*,

čixïra-, *sakara-*, *sïkara-*, *sïkïra-*, *zïkïra-*; Alt. *kïjgïr-*; Khak. *xïgïr-*; Yak. *ïgïr-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 267; Eg. 83, 222; Gab. 306; KRPS 610, 611, 620, 622; Malov 188; Podolsky 6; SKT 182; Tenišev 311, 312, 474, 491, 563.

Čakïr- '1. to call; to invite; 2. to shout, to call out' has equivalents in Turkic languages, however in some of them with slight semantic differences compared to K-B. Cf. also in OT *čagur-* 'verleumden' (Gab. 306).

čal- (K-B) I '1. kosiť; 2. delať dviženie nogoj nad drugoj nogoj'. II 'plesti, zapletať' (KBRS 725); *čal-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'kosiť' (Boz. 191); *čal-* (K) 'mähen, stottern' (Pr K 97); *cal-* (B) 'mähen, schneiden' (Pr B 213) < PT **čal-*; cf.: OT *čal-*; Kum., Az., Tur. *čal-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *čal-*, (H) *cal*; Tat. (Ur.) *čal-*; Čuv. *šăl-*, *šul-*; Uig., Lob., Sal., Y. Uig. *čal-*; Khak. *čul-*. – Lit.: DTS 137; Eg. 206; JUFD 251; KRPS 611, 622; Malov 188; Podolsky 6; Räs. VEWT 97 a; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 307; YRh. 237.

The verb *čal-* in K-B means '1. to mow; 2. to cut'. Also two sources i.e. KBRS and Pr K give completely semantically different meanings: 'to weave' (KBRS) and 'to stutter' (Pr K). It has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages with various meanings however semantically related to the meanings already presented. In Sal., Lob., Uig., Tur., Tat. (Ur.) it also means 'to play any musical instrument'. The verb *čal-* is registered in OT with the meaning 'to strike; to throw'

ček- (K-B) '1. vzvešivať; 2. tjanuť; vesiť; 3. terpeť' (KBRS 730); *ček-* (*č^{c}ek-*; K) 'wägen' (Pr K 97) < **čäk-*; cf.: Az. *čäk*; Khal: *čäk-*, *ček-*; Tur.; *ček-*; Kar. (Cr.) *čäk-*, (H) *cäk-*, (T) *čäk-*, *ček-*; Tat. (Ur.) *ček-*; Čuv. *śak-*; Trkm., Trukh. *ček-*; Kaz. *šek-*; Sal.: *čex- čih-*, *čix-*; Khak. *sig-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 266, 283; Eg. 202; KRPS 626, 617, 640; Podolsky 7; Räs.. VEWT 102 b- 103 a; SKT. 182; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 309, 310, 312.

The verb *ček-* '1. to weigh; 2. to stand (e.g. pain)' has its equivalents in several Turkic languages, however with different meanings, cf.: Čuv. *śak-* 'vešať, povesiť' (Eg. 202); Kaz. *čik-* 'belegen, sticken' (Räs.. VEWT 103 a); Khak. *sig* 'provodiť čertu, liniju' (ibid.).

čïk- (K-B) '1. vyxodiť; 2. uxodiť, uvoľnjaťsja, ostavljať zanjatie; pokidať; 3. otpravljaťsja, vyjezžať; 4. pojavljaťsja; voznikať; 5. vyxodiť iz pečati, izdavaťsja; byť opublikovannym; 6. načinaťsja, brať načalo; isxodiť; 7. najtiś, otyskaťsja; 8. pojaviťsja, vozniknuť; 9. vyxodiť, polučaťsja; xvatať; 10. vsxodiť, pojavljaťsja, pokazyvaťsja; 11. vsxodiť, prorastať, vyrastať' (KBRS 739); *čïk-*, *čïx-* (B. dial.: Balk., Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'vyxodiť; vystupať, pokazyvaťsja' (Boz. 191); *čïk-* (*č^{c}îq-*; K) 'hinausgehen, herauskommen, hinreichen, aufgehen (von Himmelskörpern)' (Pr K 98); *cïk-*, *cïx-*, *cïg-* (*cî̊q-*, *cî̊x-*, *cî̊γ-*; B) 'herauskommen, hinausgehen, hervorkommen, zum Vorschein kommen; aufgehen, aufkeimen (die Saat)' (Pr B 215) < PT **čïk-*; cf.: OT *čïk-*; Az. *čïx-*; Tur. *čïk-*; Kar. (Cr.) *čïk-*, (H) *cïk-*,

(T) *čïx-*; Tat. *čïk-*; Tat. (Ur.) *čïx-*; Čuv. *tux-*; Bašk. *sïk-*; Kaz., Nog. *šïk-*; Trukh. *čïk-*; Uz., Uig. *čik-*; Sal. *čix-*, *čïx-*, cf. Yak. *tayïs-* 'herauskommen, hinausgehen' (StachM GJV 18). – Lit.: Bask. JpU 267; DTS 150; Eg. 263; KRPS 616, 636, 638; Podolsky 7; SKT 182; StachM GJV 18; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 311, 312, 316.

The verb *čïk-* '1. to go out, to move out, to come up, to go up, etc' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with a similar meaning to K-B. It was registered in OT.

čiri- (K-B) 'gniť, preť, tuxnuť, razlagaťsja' (KBRS 735); *čiri-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'gniť, sgniť, istleť' (Boz. 191); *čiri-* (*čᶜiri-*; K) 'faulen, vermodern' (Pr K 98); *ciri-* (B) 'faulen, verfaulen, vermodern' (Pr B 215) < PT **čürü-* (ESG); cf.: *čür-* (Zamahšari); Az. *čürü-*; Khal. *čirrü-*; Tur. *čürü-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *čiri-*, (H) *ciri-*, *čiri-*; Tat. *čer-*; Tat. (Ur.) *čür-*; Čuv. *šĕr-*; Bašk. *sere-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *šir-*; Kir. *čir-*, *iri*; Trkm *čüjre-*; Uz. *čiri-*, *iri-*; Uig. *čiri-*; Sal. *čür-*; Alt. *čiri-*, *iri-*; Tuv. *iri-*; Tof. *iri-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 269, 283; Eg. 211; KRPS 614, 629; Podolsky 8; Rass. 201; Tenišev 315.

The verb *čiri-* 'to rot, decay, to go bad' with such the meaning has counterparts in other Turkic languages.

čök- (K-B) '1. saditťsja, sideť; 2. prisesť; sesť na kortočki; 3. osedať; 4. otpravljať jestestvennuju nadobnosť; 5. spadať; umeńšivaťsja' (KBRS 732); *čök-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'sesť na kortočki' (Boz. 191); *čök-* (*čᶜök-*; K) 'untersinken' (Pr K 99) < PT **čök-*; cf.: OT *čök-*; Tur.: *čök-*; Kar. (Cr.) *čök-*, *čok-*, (H) *cok-*, *cäk-*, (T) *čök-*, *ćok-*, *čok-*; Lob. *čök-*; cf. Yak. *sügüj-* 'sich auf die Knie stellen' (ÖjHa. 44). – Lit.: DTS 154; KRPS 617, 614, 627, 630, 631; Malov 192; ÖjHa. 44; Räs. VEWT 117 a; YRh. 260.

The verb *čök-* 'to fall down, collapse; to kneel down' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

de- (K-B) '1. govoriť, skazať; 2. dumať, predpologať; 3. sčitať, prinimať; 4. nazyvať, nazyvaťsja' (KBRS 202); *de-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'skazať, govoriť, nazvať, dumať' (Boz. 160); *de-* (K) 'sagen, denken, meinen' (Pr K 100); *de-*, *te-* (B) 'sagen, nennen, denken, meinen' (Pr B 217) < PT **tā-*; OT *te-* (DTS 545); *ti-*, *te-* (Gab. 341); Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H) *de-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *de-*; Tat. *di-*; Čuv. *te-*; Bašk. *ti-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *de-*; Trkm., Trukh. *dij-*; Uz. *de-*; Uig. *dä-*; Lob. *dä-*, *de-*, *di-*; Sal. *de-*, *di-*; Y. Uig. *de-*, *di-*, *ti-*, *tᶜi-*, *tï-*; Alt. *de-*, *te-*; Khak. *tï-*; Tuv. *de-*, *di-*; Tof. *de-*; Šor. *te-*; Yak. *diä-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; DTS 545; Eg. 241; ESTJa III 221; Gab. 341; KRPS 183; Malov 102, 103; ÖjHa. 23; Podolsky 8; Rass. 170; SKT 178; StachM GJV 52, 73; Sul. Kkar. 60; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 320, 498, 506, 509, 510; Tenišev SJ 178, 216.

The verb *de-* 'to say, to speak; to think' has counterparts in numerous Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the forms: *te-*, *ti-* were registered.

ege- (K-B) 'piliť, točiť, stačivať' (KBRS 76'); *ege-* (B) 'feilen, raspeln' (Pr B 218) < PT **ägä-*; cf.:OT *egä-*, *igä-*; Tat. *igä-*; Bašk. *igä-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ege-*; Kir. *ege-* ~ *ögö-*; Alt. *ege-*; Khak. *ige-*; Tuv. *öge-* ~ *ege-*. – Lit.: DTS 165, 204; ÈSTJa I 326; Räs.VEWT 38 b.

The verb *ege-* 'to file' does not occur often in other Turkic languages. The more common is the nominal form denoting the tool *ege*. In OT sources were registered the forms: *egä-*, *igä-*.

ele- (K-B) 'proseivať; 2. sudačiť, zanimaťsja peresudami, spletničať' (KBRS 766) < PT **elgä-* (ESG); cf.: OT *elgä-*; Kum. *ele-*; Az. *älä-*; Tur. *ele-*; Gag. *jele-*; Kar. (Cr.) *ele-*, *öle-*, (H) *ele-*, *elä-*, (T) *öl'a-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ele-*; Tat. *ilä-*; Čuv. *ala-*; Bašk. *ilä-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., *ele-*; Kir. *elge-*; Trkm. *ele-*; Uz. *elä-*; Uig. *ägli-*; Alt. *elge-*; Khak. *ilge-*; Tuv. *eǵle-*; Šor. *ele-*. – Lit.: DTS 170; Eg. 24; ÈSTJa I 261; KRPS 439, 440, 658, 660; Podolsky 9; Räs. VEWT 40 a.

The verb *ele-* 'to sift, to sieve' also 'to gossip' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the meaning 'to sieve, sift'. In some languages (cf. Uig. *ägli-*, Tuv. *eǵle-*) the verb appears in the form with methathesis. Old Turkic sources registered the form *elgä-*.

em- (K-B) '1. sosať; 2. obirať; ugnetať, ekspluatirovať' (KBRS 767); *em-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'sosať' (Boz. 170); *em-* (K) 'saugen' (Pr K 101); *em-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 219) < PT **äm-*; cf.: OT *em-*; Kum. *em-*; Az. *äm-*; Khal. *äm-*; Tur. *em-*; Gag. *jem-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *em-*, (T) *öm-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *em-*; Tat. *im-*; Čuv. *ĕm-*; Bašk. *im-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *em-*; Uz. *em-*; Uig. *äm-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *em-*; Tof. *em-*; Šor. *äp-*; Yak. *em-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 232, 286; DTS 172; Eg. 63; ÈSTJa I 271; KRPS 440, 660; Podolsky 10; StachM GJV 58; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *em-* 'to suck' has equivalents in other Turkic languages and it was registered in OT.

en- (K-B) 'spuskaťsja, sxodiť, idti vniz' (KBRS 768); *en-* (K) 'sich herunterlassen' (Pr K 101) < PT **ān-*; cf.: OT *en-*; Kum. *in-*; Az. *en-*; Tur. *in-*; Gag. *jin-*; Kar. (Cr. H) *en-*, (T) *en-*, *eń-*; Tat. (Cr.) *en-*; Tat. *iŋ-*; Čuv. *an-*; Bašk. *in-*; Kaz., Kklp. Nog., Kir. *en-*; Trkm *īn-*; Uz. *in-*; Uig. *en-*; Khak. *in-*; Tof. *en-*; Šor. *en-*. – Lit.: DTS 173; Eg. 26; ÈSTJa I 353; KRPS 662, 664; Rass. 181; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *en-* 'to go down, to descend' with the same meaning is confirmed in OT. There are also its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

eri- (K-B) '1. tajať; 2. topiťsja; rastvorjaťsja; plaviťsja; 3. perevarivaťsja, usvaivaťsja; 4. smilostiviťsja, perestať serdiťsja; 5. tajať, čaxnuť, soxnuť' (KBRS 771); *eri-* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'tajať, plaviť, privesti v šidkoje sostojanie' (Boz. 170); *eri-* (K) 'schmelzen, tauen' (Pr K 101); *eri-* (B) 'schmelzen, auftauen' (Pr B 219) < PT **är-*; cf.: OT *eri-*; Kum. *iri-*; Az. *äri-*; Tur. *eri-*; Gag. *jeri-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *iri-*; Tat. (Cr.) *eri-*; Tat. *er-*, *ere-*; Čuv. *irĕl-*; Bašk. *irĭ-*; Kaz. *erĭ-*, *er-*; Nog.

eri-, *ir-*; Kklp., Kir. *eri-*; Trkm. *ere-*; Uz. *eri-*; Uig. *iri-*; *eri-*; Lob. *eji-*; Alt. *eri-*; Khak. *iri-*; Tuv. *eri-*; Tof. *eri-*; Yak. *ir-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 242; DTS 177; Eg. 71; ÈSTJa I 289; KRPS 205; Malov 107; Rass. 182; StachM GJV 60; Sul. Kkar. 67.

The K-B verb *eri-* 'to melt' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. It was also registered in OT. In some languages (Nog., Yak.) the verb has an open syllable structure, what may lead to the assumption that originally the verb had an open syllable form **är-*, cf. ÈSTJa I 290.

esne- (K-B) 'zevať' (KBRS 777); *esne-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'zevať' (Boz. 171); *esne-* (K) 'gähnen' (Pr K 102); *esne-* (*esné-*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 220) < PT **äsinä-*; cf.: OT *esnä-*; Kum. *esne-*; Az. *äsnä-*; Tur. *esne-*; Gag. *jesne-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *esne-*; Tat. (Cr.) *esne-*; Tat. *isnä-* Čuv. *anasla-*; Bašk. *isnä-*; Kaz. *esïne-*; Kklp., Nog. *esine-*; Kir. *este-*; Uz. *esna-*; Uig. *äsni-*; Sal. *esinä-*; Alt. *este-*; Khak. *ize-*. – Lit.: DTS 184; Eg. 27; ÈSTJa I 310; Tenišev 326.

The verb *esne-* 'to yawn' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B; also registered in OT. As far as its etymology is concerned Bang claims (cf. ÈSTJa I 311) that the verb comes from *es-* 'to blow'. Egorov presents another idea, pointing out its onomatopeic character, cf. Eg. 27.

eš- (K-B) 'plesti, zapletať, viť' (KBRS 779); *eš-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'plesti' (Boz. 171); *eš-*; *ješ-* (K) 'flechten' (Pr K 102); *eš-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 220) < PT **äš-*; cf.: OT only *išin*; Kum. *eš-*; Kar. (T) *eš-*; Tat., Bašk. *iš-*; Kaz., Kklp *es-*; Kir. *eš-*; Trkm *ïš-*; Uz. *eš-*; Uig. *äš-*; Lob. *eš-*; Tuv. *eš-*. – Lit.: DTS 215; ÈSTJa I 396; Gab. 312; KRPS 673; Räs. VEWT 51 a; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *eš-* 'to plait, to weave' in similar phonetic forms and with the same meaning is known only in some modern Turkic languages. In OT sources only the form *išin* was registered, cf.: DTS 215; Gab. 312.

et- (K-B) '1. delať, izgolovljať, proizvodiť; soveršať; zanimaťsja; 2. postupať, vesti sebja, dejstvovať; 3. deť, pološiť, zasunuť; 4. zakryvať; 5. *mat.* rešať; 6. sovokupljaťsja' (KBRS 777); *et-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'detať, izgolovljať'; *et-* (K) 'tun, machen, auch "zumachen"' (Pr K 102); *et-* (B) 'tun, machen, verfertigen' (Pr B 220) < PT **ät-*; cf.: OT *et-*, *ät-*, *it-*; Kum., Az. *et-*; Khal. *ēt-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H) *et-*; Kar. (T) *eť-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *et-*; Tat. *it-*; Čuv. dial. *at-*; Bašk. *it-*; Kaz., Kklp, Nog., Kir., Trkm, Uz., Uig., Lob. *et-*; Sal. *eˀt-*, *eˀ-*, *ec-*, *eˀc-*, *ęʒ-*, *eǐ-*, *ic-*, *įʒ-*; Y. Uig. *et-*, *eˀt-*; Alt., Tuv. *et-*. – Lit.: ČRS 46, Doerfer LSCh 227, 287; DTS 186, 215; ÈSTJa I 312; Gab. 312; KRPS 671, 672; Podolsky 10; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 321, 322, 328, 334, 335, 342; Tenišev SJ 179.

The common verb *et-* 'to do' is known in most modern Turkic languages, in some of them in phonetic variants. In OT the following forms were registered: *ät-*, *et-*, *it-*.

ez- (K-B) '1. daviť, mjať; 2. peretirať, rastirať, toloč; 3. *per.* ugnetať, mučiť, pritesnjať; 4. kušať, esť' (KBRS 763); *ez-* (B.dial.: Balk.) 'razdaviť, razdrobiť' (Boz. 170); *ez-* (B.) 'zermalmen, zerschmettern' (Pr B 220) < PT **ā̆s-*; cf.: OT *ez-* (MK); Kum. *ez-*; Az., Khal. *äz-*; Tur., Gag. *eg-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *ez-*, (T) *eź-*; Tat (Cr.) *ez-*; Tat., *iz-*; Čuv. *ir-*; Bašk. *iz-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig. *ez-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 258, 287; DTS 192; Eg. 71; ÈSTJa I 236; KRPS 655; Šč. SF 194.

Ez- '1. to crush; 2. to supress' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages generally with the same meaning as in K-B. MK registered *ez-* 'to peel off'.

ğabïš- (K-B) '1. lipnuť, prilipať, prikleivaťsja; 2. braťsja, xvataťsja, deržaťsja' (KBRS 214); *žabïš-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'prikleiť, kleiť' (Boz. 171); *ğabïš-* (*ʒabı̂š-*; K) 'kleben' (Pr K 145); *zabïš-* (*zabı̂š-*; B) 'ankleben, kleben, packen, ergreifen, festhalten' (Pr B 267) < PT **jap-iš-*; cf.: OT *japïš-*, *japïč-*; Kum. *jabïš-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *japïš-*; Kar. (Cr.) *japïš-*, *japuš-*, *jabuš-*; (H) *jabus-*, (T) *jabuš-*; Tat. (Ur.) *japuš-*; Tat. *jabïš-*; Čuv. *śïpắś-* ~ *śïpśắn-*; Bašk. *jäbïš-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žabïs-*; Nog. *jabïs-*; Kir. *ğabïš-*; Trkm. *japïš-*; Uz. *jopiš-*; Uig. *jepiš-* ~ *jopuš-*; Alt. *ďapsïn-*; Tuv. *čïpšïn-*. – Lit.: DTS 235, 236; Eg. 225; ÈSTJa IV 132; KRPS 214, 230; Podolsky 32; StachM GJV 19.

The verb *ğabïš-* 'to stick, to adhere' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *japïš-*, *japïč-* were confirmed.

ğaj- (*ʒaj-*; K) 'ausbreiten' (Pr K 145); *zaj-* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.), *žaj-* (Baks.) 'rassteliť, tjanuť, rastjagivať, položit na mesto' (Boz. 173); *zaj-* (B) 'ausbreiten, dehnen, strecken, niederstrecken' (Pr B 268) < PT **θað-* (Šč. SF 196); **jaj-* (StachM 97); cf.: OT *jad-*, *jað-* *jaj-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *jaj-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jaj-*, *ğaj-*, (H, T) *jaj-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jajdïr-*; Tat. *ğäj-*; Bašk. *jäj-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žaj-*; Nog. *jaj-*; Kir. *ğaj-*; *žaj-* (Rass. 195); Trkm. *jāj-*, *jaj-*; *jaz-* (Rass. 195); Uz. *joj-*; Uig. *jaj-*; Alt. *ďaj-*, *jaj-*; Khak. *čas-*; Tuv. *čat-*; Tof. *čat-*; Šor. *čas-*; Yak. *sajïn-*. – Lit.: DTS 222, 223, 226; ÈSTJa IV 76; KRPS 171, 218; Podolsky 32; Rass. 195; StachM GJV 97; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *ğaj-* ~ *zaj-* ~ *žaj-* 'to spread; to stretch out' has its equivalents at present in other Turkic languages. OT sources registered the forms: *jad-*, *jað-*, *jaj-*.

I ğak- (K-B) 'smazyvať; mazať' (KBRS 215); *ğak-* (*ʒaq-*; K) 'schmieren' (Pr K 145) < PT **jak-*; cf.: OT *jak-*; Kum. *jak-*; Az. *jax-*; Tur. *jagla-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jag-* ~ *jak-*, (H) *jak-*, (T) *jax-*; Tat. *jak-*; Bašk. *jak-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žak-*; Nog. *jak-*; Kir. *ğak-*; Trkm. *jagla-*; Sal. *jax-*; Y. Uig. *jak-*; Khak. *čagla-*; Tuv. *čag-*; Tof. *čag-*. – Lit. DTS 237; ÈSTJa IV 58; KRPS 215, 219, 240; Rass. 194.

The verb *ğak-* 'to oil; to grease; to smear' has equivalents in some Turkic languages. In OT the form *jak-* was registered.

II ğak- (K-B) 'žeč', sžigať' (KBRS 215) < PT **θak-* (Šč. SF 196); cf.: Kum. *jak-*; Az. *jax-*; Khal. *ja'k-*; Tur., Gag. *jak-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jak-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jax-*; Tat. *jak-*; Čuv. *śut-*; Bašk. *jak-*; Kaz., Kklp. *ğak-*; Nog. *jak-*; Kir. *žak-*; Trkm. *jak-*; Uz. *jok-*; Uig., Lob. *jak-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 270, 317; Eg. 222; ÈSTJa IV 82; Podolsky 32.

The verb *ğak-* 'to flame, to burn' is a homonymous form to I *ğak-* (cf. above). It has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

ğala- (K-B) '1. lizať, oblizyvať; 2. *per.* brať vzjatki' (KBRS 220); *žala-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'lizať' (Boz. 171); *ğala-* (*ǯala-*; K) 'lecken' (Pr K 145) < PT **jalgā-*; OT: *jalga- ~ jalva-, jalka-*; Kum., Az. *jala-*; Khal. *jalga-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T); Tat. *jala-*; Čuv. *śula-*; Bašk. *jala-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žala-*; Nog. *jala-*; Kir. *ğala-*; Trkm. *jala-*; Uz. *jalä-*; Uig. *jala-*, Lob. *ja(i)la-*; Y. Uig. *jalga- ~ jagla-*; Alt. *ďala-*; Khak. *čalga-*; Tuv. *čïlga-*; Tof. *čïlka-*; Šor. *čalga-*; Yak. *salā-*. – Lit.: Doerfer 231, 317; DTS 228, 230; Eg. 217; ÈSTJa IV 87; Malov 117; ÖjHa. 10; Rass. 199-200; StachM GJV 49.

The verb *ğala-* 'to lick' has counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the following forms were registered: *jalga- ~ jalva- ~ jalka-*.

ğama- (K-B) '1. činiť, remontirovať; 2. *per.* ženiť *kogo*' (KBRS 222); *žama-, zama-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'činiť, latať' (Boz. 171); *ğama-* (*ǯama-*; K) 'flicken' (Pr K 145); *zama-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 268) < PT **jamā-*; cf.: OT *jama-*; Kum., Az., Tur. Gag., Kar. (Cr.), Tat., Bašk. *jama-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žama-*; Nog. *jama-*; Kir. *ğama-*; Trkm., Uz., Uig., Lob. *jama-*; Sal., Y. Uig. *jama-*; Alt. *ďama-*; Khak. *nama-*; Tuv. *čama-*; Šor. *naba-*; Yak. *samā-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; DTS 231; ÈSTJa IV 108; KRPS 224; StachM GJV 17; Tenišev SJ 182.

The verb *ğama-* '1. to patch, 2. to stitch on' has counterparts in other Turkic languages, in some of them with a slightly different meaning, cf. Yak. *samā-* 'die Naht umsäumen' (StachM GJV 17). OT sources registered the form *jama-*.

ğan- (K-B) '1. zagoraťsja, vosplamenjaťsja, goreť; 2. blesteť, goreť; 3. *per.* rugať, nabrasyvaťsja *na kogo* s rugańju' (KBRS 224); *žan-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'goreť' (Boz. 171); *zan-* (Balk.) 'id.' (ibid. 172); *ğan-* (*ǯan-*; K) 'brennen' (Pr K 145); *zan-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 268) < PT **ja-n-*; cf.: OT: *jan-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Tat. *jan-*; Čuv. *śun-*; Bašk. *jan-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žan-*; Nog. *jan-*; Kir. *ğan-*; Trkm. *jan-*; Uz. *jon-*; Uig. *jan-*; Lob. *jan-*; Tuv. *šon-*. – Lit.: DTS 231; ÈSTJa IV 112; KRPS 225; Podolsky 31; Sul. Kkar. 69.

The verb *ğan-* 'to burn; to catch fire' has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages. In OT the form *jan-* was confirmed.

ğanša- (K-B) 'boltať, govoriť (nesti) vzdor' (KBRS 225); *zanša-* (B. dial.: Balk.) boltať, mnogo govoriť' (Boz. 172); *ğanša-* (*ǯanša-*; K) 'plaudern, klatschen' (Pr K 146); *zanša-* (B) 'schwatzen, viel reden' (Pr B 268) < PT **janša-* (ESG); cf.: OT *janša-*; Tur. *janša-*; Kir. *ğaŋša-*; Tuv. *čaŋča-*; Yak. *ďaŋsaj-*, *ńaŋsaj-* – Lit.: DTS 235; ÈSTJa IV 119.

The verb *ğanša-* 'to babble; to talk nonsense; to chat' has equivalents in some Turkic languages. As far as the origin of this verb is concerned there are several conceptions, one pointing out the Mongolian origin, another underlying the onomatopeic character, cf. ÈSTJa IV 119-120. Since the 11th century (MK) the form *janša-* has been confirmed.

ğap- (K-B) 'zakryvať (KBRS 213); *žap-* (b-) (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'kryť, zakryvať' (Boz. 171); *ğap-* (*ǯap-*;K) 'zudecken, bedecken' (Pr K 146); *zap-* (B) 'bedecken, zudecken, zumachen' (Pr B 269) < PT **θap-* (Šč. SF 196); **jap-* (StachM GJV 99); cf.: OT *jap-*; Kum., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.), Tat., Bašk. *jap-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žap-*; Nog. *jap-*; Kir. *ğap-*; Trkm. *jap-*; Uz. *jop-*; Uig. *jap-*; Alt. *ďap-*; Khak. *čap-*; Tuv. *šïp-*; Tof. *čïp-*; Šor. *čap-*; Yak. *sap-* ~ *sab-*. – Lit.: DTS 235; ÈSTJa IV 127; KRPS 229; ÖjHa. 9; Podolsky 32; Rass. 200; StachM GJV 99; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *ğap-* 'to close, to shut' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT the form *jap-* was registered.

ğar- (K-B) '1. razkalyvať, delať treščinu; 2. koloť, rubiť; 3. razrezať, raspilivať; 4. operirovať; vskryvať, anatomirovať; 5. zliť, besiť' (KBRS 234); *zar-* (B. dial.: Kaš.) 'koloť, razrubiť' (Boz. 173); *ğar-* (*ǯar-*; K) 'zerspalten, zerhauen, zerschneiden' (Pr K 146); *zar-* (B) 'spalten, entzweihauen' (Pr B 269) < PT **jār-*; cf.: OT *jar-*; Kum., Az., *jar-*; Khal. *jār-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. *jar-*; Čuv. *śur-*; Bašk. *jar-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žar-*; Nog. *jar-*; Kir. *ğar-*; Trkm. *jār-*; Uz. *jor-*; Uig. *jar-*, *ja(r)-*; Lob. *jar-*; Sal. *jar-*; *jār-*, *ʒār*; Alt. *ďar-*, *jar-*; Y. Uig. *jar-*; Khak. *čar-*; Tuv. *čar-*; Tof. *čar-*; Šor *čar-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 317; DTS 239; ÈSTJa IV 135; KRPS 230; Malov 119; Rass. 194; Tenišev 347, 371, 564.

There are equivalents of the verb *ğar-* 'to split, cut through' in other Turkic languages. In OT the form *jar-* was registered.

ğasa- (K-B) '1. ukrašať; 2. delať, masteriť' (KBRS 234); *ğasa-* (*ǯasa-*; K) 'machen' (Pr K 146) < PT **jasa-* (ESG); cf.: OT *jasa-*; Kum., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Ur.) *jasa-*; Čuv. *jusa-*; Bašk. *jaha-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žasa-*; Nog. *jasa-*; Kir. *ğasa-*; Trkm., Uz. *jasa-*; Uig. *jasa-* ~ *jasi-*; Lob., Sal. *jasa-*; Alt. *ďaza-*; Khak. *čaza-*; Tuv. *čaza-*; Tof. *časa-*; Šor. *čaza-*; Yak. *ďahaj-*. – Lit.: DTS 245; Eg. 351; ÈSTJa IV 150; KRPS 237; Malov 119; Podolsky 32; Rass. 195; Tenišev 348.

The verb *ğasa-* '1. to make, to prepare; 2. to arrange, to put straight; 3. to govern' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT there was the form *jasa-* registered.

ğat- (K-B) '1. ložitśja (spatʹ); 2. ležatʹ; boletʹ; valjatśja (lodyrničatʹ); bezdelničatʹ; 3. spatʹ; 4. sovokupljatśja' (KBRS 235); *zat-* (Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.), *žat-* (Čeg., Khul.-Bez.), *ğat-* (Baks.) 'ležatʹ, ložitśja, klastʹ' (Boz. 173); *ğat-* (*ǯat-*; K) 'liegen, sich legen, sich niederlegen' (Pr K 147); *zat-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 270) < PT **jat-*; cf.: OT *jat-*; Kum., Az. *jat-*; Khal. *jaʿt-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.), Tat., Bašk. *jat-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žat-*; Nog. *jat-*; Kir. *ğat-*; Trkm. *jat-*; Uz. *jot-*; Uig., Lob. *jat-*; Sal. *jac- ~ jat- ~ jaʒᶜ,- ~ jeˀ ~ jeˀt- jaˀ-*; Y. Uig. *jaᶜt-*; Alt. *ďat-*; Khak. *čat-*; Tuv., Tof. *čït-*; Šor. *čat-*; Yak. *sït-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 273, 317; DTS 247; ÈSTJa IV 156; KRPS 240; Malov 87, 119; ÖjHa. 14; Podolsky 32; Rass. 200; StachM GJV 19; Tenišev 342, 350, 352, 355; Tenišev SJ 183.

The verb *ğat-* 'to lay, to lie down' has counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the form *jat-* was registered.

ğaw- (K-B) 'idti, vypadatʹ (ob osadkax)' (KBRS 236); *žau-* (*zau-*) (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'padatʹ, idti (ob atmosfernyx osadkax)' (Boz. 171); *ğau-* (*ǯau-*; K) 'fallen (von atmosphärischen Niederschlägen) (Pr K 147); *zau-* (B) 'regnen, fallen (von atmosphärischen Niederschlägen) (Pr B 270) < PT **θag-*; cf.: OT *jag-*; Kum. *jaw-*; Az. *jag-*; Tur., Gag. *jag-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *jaw-*; Tat. *jaw-*; Čuv. *śu-*, dial. *śăv-*; Bašk. *jaw-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žau-*; Nog. *jaw*; Kir. *ğā-*, *žau-*; Trkm. *jag-*; Uz. *jog-*; Uig. *jag-*; Sal. *jag-*; Y. Uig. *jag-*; Alt. *ďa- ~ jā-*; Khak. *čag-*; Tuv. *čag-*; Tof. *čag-*; Šor. *čā-*. – Lit.: DTS 223; ÈSTJa IV 57; Eg. 216; KRPS 214; Rass. 193; Tenišev 343; Tenišev SJ 181.

The verb *ğaw-* 'to rain; to be poured out' has counterparts at present in other Turkic languages. In OT there was the form *jag-* registered.

ğaz- (K-B) '1. pisatʹ; 2. predpisyvatʹ, naznačatʹ' (KBRS 216); *žas-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'pisatʹ' (Boz. 171); *ğaz-* (*ǯaz-*; K) 'schreiben' (Pr K 147); *zaz-* (B) 'schreiben' (Pr B 271) < PT **θās-*; cf.: OT *jaz-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *jaz-*; Čuv. *śĭr-*; Bašk. *jaz-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žaz-*; Nog. *jaz-*; Kir. *ğaz-*; Trkm. *jaz-*; Trukh. *jaz-*; Uz. *joz-*; Uig. *jaz-*; Lob. *jaz-*; Yak. *suruj-*. – Lit.: DTS 250; Eg. 225; ÈSTJa IV 70; KRPS 216; Malov 116; Podolsky 32; SKT 179; Sul. Kkar. 72; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *ğaz-* 'to write' has counterparts in most other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the form *jaz-* was registered.

ğe- (K-B) 'jestʹ, kušatʹ' (KBRS 240) < PT **jā-*; cf.: OT *je-*; Az. *je-*; Khal. *jē-*; Tur. *je-*; Gag. *ji-*; Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *je-*; Čuv. *śi-*; Kaz., Kklp *že-*; Nog. *je-*; Kir. *ğe-*; Trkm. *ij-*; Trukh. *ij-*; Uz. *je-*; Uig. *jä-*; Lob. *je-*; Sal. *je- ~ ji- ~ jï- ~ jej- ~ jij-*; Y. Uig. *ji- ~ ʒi- ~ si- je- ği-*; Alt. *ďi-*, *ji-*, *ďe-*; Tuv. *či-*; Tof. *či-*; Yak. *siä-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer 230, 317; DTS 252; Eg. 213; ÈSTJa I 333; KRPS 268; ÖjHa. 23; Podolsky 33; Rass. 196; SKT 179; StachM GJV 70; Tenišev 353, 356, 357, 369; Tenišev SJ 184, 186, 210.

The verb *ğe-* 'to eat' has counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT there was the form *je-* registered.

ğïj- (K-B) '1. sobirať; 2. komplektovať; 3. ubirať; 4. pomeščať; 5. zagotovlivať; 6. nabirať; 7. prigonjať; 8. dovodiť, dovoziť' (KBRS 270); *žij-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'sobirať' (Boz. 172); *ğïj-* (*ǯi̊j-*; K) 'sammeln' (Pr K 148); *zïj-* (*zi̊j-*; B) 'sammeln, versammeln' (Pr B 273) < PT **θïγ-*; OT: *jïg-*; Kum. *ğïj*; Az. *jïg-*; Khal. *jig-*; Tur. *jïg-*; Gag. *jïw-*; Kar. (Cr.), Tat. *ğïj-*; Bašk. *jïj-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žïj-*; Nog. *jïj-*; Kir. *ğïj-*; Trkm. *jïg-*; Uz. *jig-*; Uig. *jig-* ~ *žig-*; Lob. *jïg-*; Y. Uig. *jïg-*; Alt. *ďu-*, *ju-*, *jū-*; Khak. *čïg-*; Tuv. *čïg-*; Tof. *čïg-*; Šor. *čïg-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 264, 318; DTS 265; ÈSTJa IV 271; KRPS 174; Rass. 199; Tenišev SJ 186.

The verb *ğïj-* 'to collect; to pile up' has equivalents with the same meaning as in K-B in other modern Turkic languages. In OT the form *jïg-* was registered.

ğïk- (K-B) '1. valiť, oprokidyvať; 2. svergať' (KBRS 262); *ğïk-* (*ǯi̊q-*; K) 'zusammenstürzen' (Pr K 148); *zïgïl-* (*zi̊γi̊l-*; B) 'fallen, zusammenstürzen' (Pr B 273) < PT **θïk-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jïk-*; Kum. *jïk-*; Az. *jïx-*; Khal. *jukul-*; Tur., Gag. *jïk-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jïk-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jïx-*; Tat. *jïk-*, *jek-*; Čuv. *śăk-*; Bašk. *jïk-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žïk-*; Nog. *jïk-*; Kir. *ğik-*; Trkm. *jïk-*; Uz., Uig. *jik-*; Lob. *jikït-*, *jikït-*; Alt. *ďïk-*, *jïk-*; Tuv. *čug-*; Tof. *čug-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 255, 319; DTS 268; Eg. 205; ÈSTJa IV 273; KRPS 263; Malov 120; Podolsky 33; Rass. 198; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *ğïk-* 'to pull down, to knock down; to demolish' has equivalents with such the meaning in other Turkic languages. OT sources registered the form *jïk-*.

ğïla- (K-B) 'plakať' (KBRS 266); *žïla-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'plakať' (Boz. 172), *ğïla-* (Čeg.) 'id' (ibid. 172), *zïla-* (Balk.) 'id' (ibid. 173); *ğïla-* (*ǯi̊la-*; K) 'weinen' (Pr K 148); *zïla-* (*zi̊la-*; B) 'id' (Pr B 273) < PT **ug-la-*, **jug-la-*; cf.: OT: *jïgla-*, *agïla-*, *ulï-*; Kum. *jïla-*, Az., Tur. *agla-*; Gag. *āla-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jïla-*, *agla-*, (H) *jïla-*, *ila-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ğïla-*; Tat. *jïla-*; Čuv. *uxla-*; Bašk. *ila-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žïla-*; Kir. *ïjla-*; Trkm. *āgla-*; Uz. *jiglä-*; Uig. *jigli-*; Lob. *jiŋla-*, *jïŋla-*, *jïgla-*; Y. Uig. *jigla-*; Alt. *ïjla-*, *ugla-*, *ujla-*; Khak. *ïlga-*; Tuv. *āla-*; Šor. *ulga-*, *ïlga-*. – Lit.: ČRS 520; DTS 18, 266, 609; ÈSTJa I 80; KRPS 44, 197, 264; Malov 120; Räs. VEWT 8 b; Tenišev SJ 184.

There are equivalents of the verb *ğïla-* 'to cry, to weep' in other Turkic languages however with some phonetic variants in anlaut. OT sources registered several forms, cf. above. As far as the structure of this verb is concerned Räsänen claims that the verb has an onomatopoeic origin formed from onomatopoeic basis with the suffix *-la*, cf. Räs. VEWT 8 b.

ğïr- (K-B) 'razrezať, rassekať; vsparyvať' (KBRS 269); *ğïrt-* (*ǯi̊rt-*; K) 'reissen, ausreissen, zupfen' (Pr K 148); *zïrt-* (*zi̊rt-*; B) 'zerreissen (trans.)' (Pr B 273) < PT **θīr-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jer-*, *jir;* Kum. *jïr-*; Khal. *jirt-*; Tur. *jïr-*; Gag. *jir-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jirt-*; Tat. *jir-*; Čuv. *čĕr-*; Bašk. *jir-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žïr-*; Nog. *jir-*; Kir. *ğir-*; Trkm. *jir-*; Uz. *jir-*; Uig. *jir-*, *žir-*; Sal. *čit-*; Khak. *čĭr-*; Tuv. *čir-*; Yak.

sīr-. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 252, 318; DTS 257; Eg. 324; ÈSTJa IV 203; Podolsky 33; Tenišev 311.

The equivalents of the verb *ğïr-* 'to tear, to rend, to split' are registered in other Turkic languages. In OT the following forms were registered: *jer-*, *jir-*.

ğïrla- (K-B) '1. peť; 2. ščebetať' (KBRS 268); *žïrla-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'peť' (Boz. 172); *ğïrla-* (*ǯïrla-*; K) 'singen' (Pr K 148); *zïrla-* (*zïrla-*; B) 'singen, ein Lied singen' (Pr B 273) < PT **θïr* (~ **ïr*) + *-la-*; cf.: OT *ïrla-*, *jïrla-*; *jurla-*; Tur. *ïrla-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *jïrla-*, (T) *irla-*, *jïrla-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jïrla-*; Tat. *jïrla-žïrla-*; Čuv. *jurla-*; Kaz. *žïrla-*; Nog. *jïrla-*; Kir. *ïrda-*; Uz. *žirlä-*; Sal. *jürlä-*; Y. Uig. *jerla-*, *jïrla-*; Khak. *ïrla-*; Tuv. *ïrla-*; Yak. *ïllā-*. – Lit.: DTS 220, 268, 282; Eg. 351; ÈSTJa IV 286; KRPS 205, 267; Podolsky 33; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 368; Tenišev SJ 183.

The verb *ğïrla-* 'to sing' formed from the nominal basis *ğïr* 'song' + suffix *-la* has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *ïrla-*, *jïrla-* were registered.

ğiber- (K-B) '1. posylať, otpravljať, napravljať; 2. otpuskať, osvoboždať; 3. upuskať, vypuskať; 4. opuskať; 5. provodiť (vremja); 6. (K) 'lopať, uminať, žrať; 7. otraščivať, otpuskať' (KBRS 247); *žiber-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'posylať, vypustiť, osvobodiť' (Boz. 171); *ziber-* (Balk.) 'posylať, ostaviť, vypustiť, osvovodiť' (ibid. 173); *ğiber-* (*ǯiber-*; K) 'lassen, schicken' (Pr K 148); *ziber-* (B) 'senden, schicken, lassen, gehen lassen, auslassen, freilassen' (Pr B 272) < PT **ijber-* > **jiber-*; cf.: OT *jibär-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jeber-* ~ *jibir-*, (H) *jeber-*, (T) *jeƀer-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ğiber-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jiber-*; Tat. *žibär-*; Bašk. *jïbär-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žïber-*; Nog. *jiber-*; Kir. *ğiber-*; Trkm. *īber-*; Uz. *jubor-*; Uig. (dial.) *jibär-*. – Lit.: DTS 260; ÈSTJa I 322; KRPS 268, 269, 243; Podolsky 33.

Ğiber- 'to send, to let go' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. In OT sources the form *jibär-* was registered.

ğoj- (K-B) '1. rasxodovať, tratiť; nesti rasxody; 2. prodavať; 3. razvraščať, raspuskať, razlagať; 4. upeč, zasudiť; 5. ubiť, pogubiť' (KBRS 254); *ğoj-* (*ǯoj-*; K) 'verlieren' (Pr K 148) < PT **joð-*; cf.: OT: *joð-*, *jod-*; Kum. *joj-*; Kar. (Cr.) *ğoj-*; Tat. (Ur.) *ğoj-*; Tat. *ğuj-*; Bašk. *juj-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žoj-*; Nog. *joj-*; Kir. *ğoj-*; Trkm. *joj-*; Tuv. *čot-*; Tof. *čot-*; Šor. *čos-*; Yak. *sot-*. – Lit.: DTS 269; ÈSTJa IV 210; KRPS 172; Podolsky 12; Rass. 197; StachM GJV 75.

The verb *ğoj-* 'to lose' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages. However, the meaning in some Turkic languages (Bašk., Tuv., Tof., Šor., Yak.) is different than in K-B, cf. ÈSTJa IV 210.

ğon- (K-B) '1. tesať, strogať; 2. čistiť' (KBRS 252); *zon-* (B) 'schnitzeln' (Pr B 274) < PT **jōn-*; cf.: OT *jon-*; Kum., Az. *jon-*; Khal. *jōn-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), *jon-*; Tat. *jun-*; Čuv. *śun-*; Bašk. *jun-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žon-*; Nog. *jon-*; Kir. *ğon-*; Trkm. *jōn-*; Uz. *jun-*; Uig. *jon-*, *jonu-*; Lob. *jon-*; Y. Uig. *jon-*; Alt.

ďon-, *jon-*; Tuv. *čon-*; Tof. *ńon-*; Šor *non-*; Yak. *suor-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 256, 318; DTS 272; Eg. 218; ÈSTJa IV 221; KRPS 249; Malov 121; Rass. 210; StachM GJV 81; Tenišev SJ 185.

There are equivalents of the verb *ǧon-* 'to cut, chip into shape; to sharpen' in other Turkic languages. In OT the form *jon-* was registered.

ǧort- (K-B) '1. idti ryśju; 2. spešiť, bežať' (KBRS 253); *ǧort-*, *žort-* (B. dial. Čeg.) 'begať ryśju' (Boz. 172) < PT **jort-* (ESG) < **θor-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jor-*, *jorït- jort-*; Kum., Az. Tur. *jort-*; Tat. *juïrt-*; Čuv. *jurt-* (< Tat.); Bašk. *jurt-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žort-*; Nog. *jort-*; Kir. *ǧort-*; cf.: Trkm. *jortma*; Uz. *jurt-*; Uig. *jorut-*; cf. Lob. *jorga*, *jogu* 'ambling horse'; Alt. *ďort-*; Khak. *čort-*; Šor *čort-*. – Lit.: DTS 274, 275; Eg. 351; ÈSTJa IV 226; Gab. 356; malov 120, 121; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *ǧort-* 'to travel about on horseback' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the forms: *jor-*, *jort-*, *jorït-* registered.

ǧuk- (K-B) 'perexodiť, peredavaťsja, poražať' (KBRS 255); *ǧuk-* (*ǯuq-*; K) 'übergehen, anhaften' (Pr K 149) < PT **θuk-*; cf.: OT: *juk-*; Kum. *juk-*; Kar. (Cr.) *juk-*, (H) *jak-*, (T) *jux-*; Tat., Bašk. *jŭk-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žŭk-*; Nog. *juk-*; Kir. *ǧuk-*; Trkm. *jok-*; Uz., Uig. *juk-*; Alt. *ďuk-*, *juk-*; Khak. *čux-*; Tof. *čok-*. – Lit.: DTS 281; ÈSTJa IV 211; KRPS 255, 256, 260; Rass. 197.

There are counterparts of the verb *ǧuk-* '1. to undergo (an illness); to become infected; 2. to adhere' in some of Turkic languages. In OT sources there is the form *juk-*.

ǧum- (K-B) '1. zakryvať, žmuriť; 2. sžimať; prižimať' (KBRS 258); *ǧum-* (*ǯum-*; K) 'zumachen, zudrücken (die Augen)' (Pr K 149) < PT **θum-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jum-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *jum-*; Khal. *jim-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jum-*; Tat. *jŭm-*; Čuv. *jămăx*; Bašk. *jŭm-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žŭm-*; Nog. *jum-*, *ǧïm-*; Kir. *ǧum-*; Trkm. *jum-*; Uz. *jum-*; Uig. *jum- ~ žum-*; Lob., Sal. *jum-*; Y. Uig. *jum-*; Alt. *ďum-*; Khak. *nug-*; Yak. *sim-*. – Lit. Bask. NJa. 241; DTS 279; Eg. 74; KRPS 257; Podolsky 34; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 365.

The verb *ǧum-* 'to close ones eyes' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. OT sources registered the form *jum-*.

ǧut- (K-B) '1. glotať; 2. vpityvať' (KBRS 260); *ǧut-* (*ǯut-*; K) 'schlucken' (Pr K 150); *zut-* (B) 'schlucken, verschlingen' (Pr B 275) < PT **θūt-*; cf.: OT *jut-*; Kum. *jut-*; Az. *ut-*, *ud-*; Khal. *jūt-*; Tur., Gag. Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.) *jut-*; Tat. *jŭt-*; Čuv. *săt-*; Bašk. *jŭt-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žŭt-*; Nog. *jut- ǧut-*; Kir. *ǧut-*; Trkm. *juwut-*; Uz., Lob. *jut-*; Uig. *jut- ~ žut-*; Alt. *ďut-*. – Lit. Bask. NJa. 240; Doerfer LSCh 231, 319; DTS 282; Eg. 208; ÈSTJa IV 242; KRPS 260.

The verb *ǧut-* 'to swallow' has equivalents with the same meaning in other Turkic languages and OT.

ğuw- (K-B) '1. myť, smyvať, kupať; 2. stirať' (KBRS 260); *žū-*, *ğū-* (B. dial. Baks., Čeg.) 'stirať, myť' (Boz. 172); *ğū-* (*ʒū-*; K) 'waschen' (Pr K 149); *zū-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 274) < PT **jū-* ~ **juv-* (Räs. VEWT 209 a); **θū-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *ju-*; Kum. *ğuw-*; Az. *ju-*; Khal. *jū-*; Tat. (Ur.) *juv-*; Tat. *ju-*; Čuv. *śu-*, dial. *śăv-*; Bašk. *jïw-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žuw-*; Nog. juw-, *ğuw-*; Kir. *ğū-*; Trkm. *juw-*; Uz. *juw-*; Uig. *juw-*, *žuj- juj-*; Lob. *ju-*; Sal. *ju-*, *juw-*, *jü-*, *ğü-*; Y. Uig. *juw-*; Alt. *ďug-*; Khak. *čug-*; Tuv. *čug-*; Tof. *ču-*; Yak. *sūj-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 260, 319; DTS 277; Eg. 216; ÈSTJa IV 238; KRPS 251; Malov 121; ÖjHa. 40; Podolsky 34; Rass. 198; Räs. VEWT 209 a; StachM GJV 140; Sul Kkar. 74; Tenišev 365, 367, 368, 373.

The verb *ğuw-* 'to wash' has counterparts in other modern Turkic languages and OT with the same meaning.

ğülü- (K-B) 'briť' (KBRS 271); *ğülü-* (*ʒülü-*; K) 'abrasieren, rasieren' (Pr K 150); *zülü-* (B) 'rasieren' (Pr B 275) < PT **jüli-*; cf.: OT *jüli-*; Kum. *julu-*; Az. *jol-*; Khal. *jili-*; Tur. *jülü-*; Gag. *jol-*; Kar. (Cr.) *üľ-*, *julu-*, (H) *ili-*, *julu-*; (T) *ülu-*, *julu-*; Tat. *jŭlï-*; Čuv. *śăl-*; Bašk. *jŭlŭ-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žul-*; Trkm. *jol-*; Uz. *jul-*; Uig. *jul-*, *žul-*; Lob. *jul-*; Sal. *jil-*; Y. Uig. *jul-*; Alt. *ďul-*; Khak., Tuv., Tof., Šor *čul-*; Yak. *sül-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 256, 318; DTS 285; Eg. 206; ÈSTJa IV 215; KRPS 198, 256, 589; Rass. 198; StachM GJV 132; Tenišev 358; YRh. 1260, 1265.

There are equivalents of the verb *ğülü-* 'to shave' in other Turkic languages however in some of them (Az., Gag., Kaz., Kklp., Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig., Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof., Čuv.) with the meaning 'to tear out'; cf also in Yak. *sül-* 'Fell/Rinde abziehen' (StachM GJV 132). In OT there was registered the form: *jüli-*.

ğürü- (K-B) '1. xodiť, jezdiť, dvigaťsja; 2. byť v xodu; 3. vodiťsja, imeťsja; 4. flirtovať; 5. dejstvovať, imeť silu' (KBRS 273); *žürü-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'xodiť, putešestvovať' (Boz. 172); *ğürü-* (*ʒürü-*; K) 'gehen' (Pr K 150); *zürü-* (B) 'gehen, wandern, verfahren' (Pr B 276) < PT **jüri- jorï-* (ESG); cf.: OT *jorï-*, *jüri-* ~ *jürü-*; Kum. *juru-*; Az. *jeri-*, *jürü-*; Khal. *jōri-*; Tur. *jürü-*; Gag. *jörü-*; Kar. (Cr.) *juŕu-*, (H) *iri-*, *jiri-*, (T) *juŕu-*, *jürü-*, *üŕu-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jürü-*; Tat. *jür-*; *jöre-* (Eg. 223); Čuv. *śüre-*; Bašk. *jŭrŭ-*; *jörö-* (Eg. 223); Kaz., Kklp. *žür-*; Nog. *jür-*; Kir. *ğür-*; Trkm. *jöre-* Trukh. *jör-*; Uz. *jur-*; Uig. *žü(r)- ğur-*; Lob. *jüjü-*, *jüj-*, *jū-*; Sal. *jir-*, *jör*; *jur-*, *jūr*, *jür-*; Y, Uig. *jor-*, *ğör-*, *ğor-*; Alt. *ďor-*, *ďür-jür-*; Khak. *čör-*; Tuv. *čor(u)-*; Tof. *čoru-* ~ *čorï-*; Šor. *čür-*; Yak. *sürüt-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer 243, 318; DTS 274, 286; Eg. 223; ÈSTJa IV 229; KRPS 205, 245, 260, 262, 590; Malov 122; Podolsky 34; Rass. 197; SKT 179; Sul. Kkar. 75; Tenišev 359, 360, 367, 368; Tenišev SJ 177, 185.

The verb *ğürü-* 'to go, to wander' has counterparts in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the following forms were registered: *jori-*, *jüri-*, *jürü-*.

ğüz- (K-B) '1. plavať; 2. šmygnuť, bystro proiti; 3. krasť, vorovať' (KBRS 270); *žüz-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'plavať' (Boz. 172); *ğüz-* (*ǯüz-*; K) 'schwimmen' (Pr K 150); *züz-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 276) < PT **θ̈s-*; cf.: OT *jüz-*; Kum. *jüz-*; Az. *üz-*; Tur., Gag. *jüz-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jüz- üz-*; Tat. *jŭz-*; *joz-* (Eg. 72); Čuv. *iš-*; Bašk. *joz-* (Eg. 72); *jŭs-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žüz-*; Nog. *jüz-*; *juz-* (Eg. 72); Kir. *ğüz-*; Trkm. *jüz-*; Uz. *juz-*, *suz-*; Uig. *üz-*; Alt. *ďüs-*; Khak. *čüs-*; Tuv. *ežin-* (Eg. 72); *süs-*; Šor. *čüs-*. – Lit.: DTS 288; Eg. 72; ÈSTJa IV 261; KRPS 261, 588; Šč. SF 197.

There are numerous equivalents of the verb *ğüz-* 'to swim' in other modern Turkic languages and in OT. Only in Tuv. the verb means 'to walk in the water', cf. ÈSTJa IV 261.

ïšï- (K-B) '1. tereť, natirať, massažirovať; 2. vtirať, smazyvať; 3. vytiraťʼ (KBRS 762); *ïšï-* (*ïšĭ-*; K) 'reiben' (Pr K 106) < PT **ïšï-*; cf.: Kum. *išï-*; Tat., Bašk. *ïškï-*; Kaz., Kklp. *ïs-*; Kir. *ğïšï-*, *ïškï-*; Uz. *ïška*; Uig. *ïški*; Alt. *jïš-*, *ďïš-*; Khak. *čïs-*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa I 667; Räs. VEWT 167 b.

The verb *ïšï-* '1. to rub; 2. to massage' has counterparts only in a few Turkic languages, where in some of them the forms are somewhat modified, cf.: Tat., Bašk., Kir., Uz. and others.

ič- (K-B) '1. piť; 2. vpityvaťʼ (KBRS 308); *ič-* (B. dial.: Baks., Khul.-Bez.) 'piť' (Boz. 174), *ic-* (Balk.) 'id.' (ibid. 174); *ič-* (K) 'trinken' (Pr K 107); *ic-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 224) < PT **ič-*; cf.: OT *ič-*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur. *ič-*; Gag. *jič-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ič-*, (H) *ic- ~ jic-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ič-*; Tat. *ĭč-*; Čuv. *ĕś-*; Bašk. *ĭs-*; *es-* (Eg. 66); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *iš-*; Kir. *ič-*; Trkm., Trukh., Uz., Uig. *ič-*; Lob. *ič*, *üč-*; Sal. *ič-*, *is-*; Y. Uig. *i'č-*, *ič'-*, *hiʒ- hiʒ'-*, *eč-*, *išt-*; Alt. *ič-*; Khak. *ĭs-*, *is-*; Tuv. *ič-*; Tof. *iš-*; Shor. *iš-*; Yak. *is-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 231, 293; DTS 201; Eg. 66; ÈSTJa I 391; KRPS 210, 246; Malov 116; ÖjHa. 30; Podolsky 11; Rass. 202; SKT 179; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 335, 340; Tenišev SJ 181, 209, 220.

The verb *ič-* 'to drink' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

je- (K-B) '1. posylať, otpravlať; 2. otpuskať, osvoboždať; 3. opuskať; 4. upustiť, uroniť; 5. dopuskať; razrešať; 6. zapuskať, vkliučaťʼ (KBRS 295); *ij-* (B. dial.: Baks., Khul.-Bez.) 'posylaťʼ (Boz. 174); *ij-* (K) 'hinauslassen, hereinlassen, zulassen, schicken, verlassen' (Pr K 107) < PT **ĭð-* (Šč. SF 194); OT *id-*, *ïð-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ij-*; Čuv. *jar-*; Kir. *ij-*, *ir-*; Alt. *ij-*, *ïs-*; Khak. *ïs-*; Tuv. *ït-*; Šor. *ïs-*; Yak *ĭt-*. – Lit.: DTS 217; Eg. 354; ÈSTJa I 332; Gab. 309; KRPS 195; Šč. SF 194.

The verb denoting '1. to send; 2. to let' is registered in two forms *ij-* (B, K) and *je-* (K-B). Perhaps the latter form is a result of metathesis. The verb has equivalents in a few other Turkic languages and in OT.

kač- (K-B) '1. bežať, ubegať, obraščaťsja v begstvo; 2. izbegať, uklonjaťsja; 3. vyjti zamuž, sbežat k ženixuʼ (KBRS 404); *kac-* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'ubegať,

udirať, spastiť begstvom' (Boz. 178); *kač-* (Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'id.' (ibid. 178); *kač-* (*qᶜač-*; K) 'fliehen, entlaufen, einen Mann heiraten' (Pr K 113); *kac-* (*qac-*; B) 'entlaufen, durchgehen, flüchten; jemandes (Dat.) Frau werden' (Pr B 232) < PT **kač-*; cf.: OT *kač-*; Kum. *kač-*; Az. *gač-*, Tur. *kač-*; Gag. *kač-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kač-*, (H) *kac-*, (T) *kač-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xač-*, Tat. *kač-*; Bašk. *kas-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kaš-*; Kir. *kač-*; Trkm. *gač-*; Uz. *koč-*; Uig. *kač- kaš-*; Lob. *kač-*; Sal. *kač-*, *kas-*, *kāš-*, *kᶜač-*; Alt. *kač-*; Khak. *xas-*; Tuv. *kaš-*; Šor. *kaš-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 400; ÈSTJa V 340; KRPS 299, 367; Malov 127; Podolsky 27; Sul. Kkar. 87; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 373, 376, 458, 462.

The verb *kač-* '1. to run; 2. to get married' has equivalents in most Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

kada- (K-B) '1. stiskivať, sžimať; 2. prikalyvať' (KBRS 373) < PT **kada-*; cf.: Kum. *kada-*; cf. Az. *gadag* (Rass. 216); Kar. (H, T) *kada-*; Tat. *kada-*; Bašk. *kaza-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kada-*; Uz., *kada-*; Uig. *kada-*; *kadi-* (Rass. 216); Lob. *kada-*; Alt. *kada-*; Khak. *xaza-*; Tuv. *kada-*; Tof. *kada*; Yak. *xatā-*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa V 180; KRPS 281; Malov 123; Rass. 216.

The verb *kada-* '1. to squeeze; 2. to prick' with the same meaning has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

kajna- (K-B) '1. kipeť; 2. variťsja; 3. brodiť, naxoditťsja v sostojanii broženija; 4. buševať, burliť; 5. zliťsja; 6. burno rasti' (KBRS 378); *kajna-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'kipjatiť, variť' (Boz. 176); *kajna-* (*qᶜajna-*; K) 'sieden, kochen' (Pr K 114); *kajna-* (*qajna-*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 233) < PT **kajna-* (ESG); OT *kajïn-*, *kajna-*; Kum. *kajna-*; Az. *gajna-*; Khal., Tur., Gag. *kajna-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kajna-*, (H, T) *kajna-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xajna-*; Tat. *kajna-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kajna-*; Trkm. *gajna-*; Uz. *kajna-*; Uig. *kajna-*; *kajni-* (Rass. 188); Lob., Sal. *kajna-*; Y. Uig. *kajnat-*; Alt. *kajna-*; Khak. *xajna-*; Tuv. *xajïn-*; Tof. *hē^{i}n-*; Šor. *kajna-*; Yak. *kïjïn-*, *kïjïn-*; *kïnnā-* (Rass. 188). – Lit.: DTS 407; ÈSTJa V 203; Malov 124; KRPS 283, 358; ÖjHa. 13; Podolsky 29; Rass. 188; Tenišev 459; Tenišev SJ 200.

The verb *kajna-* 'to boil' also 'to be angry' has equivalents in modern Turkic languages and OT. Semantically in other languages it denotes 'to boil'.

kak- (K-B) 'stučať; biť, udarjať; 2. trjasti, strjaxivať, vytrjaxivať; trusiť; 3. maxať; 4. pečatať; 5. ubivať; 6. udariť; uprekať, kritikovať' (KBRS 372); *kak-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'biť, udarjať, stučať' (Boz. 177); *kak-* (*qᶜaq-*; K) 'klopfen, anklopfen, abschütteln, (Früchte) ergreifen, packen' (Pr K 114); *kak-*, *kax-*, *kag-* (*qaq-*, *qax-*, *qay-*; B) 'klopfen, anklopfen, schütteln (z.B. Früchte von einem Baume), mit dem Schnabel picken' (Pr B 233) < PT **kak-*; OT *kak-*; Kum. *kak-*; Az. *gax-*; Tur., Gag. *kak-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kak-*, (H) *kax-*, (T) *kak-*; Tat. (Cr.) *kak-*; Tat. *kak-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *kak-*; Trukh. *gak-*; Uz. *kok-*; Uig., Lob., Alt. *kak-*; Khak. *xax-*; Tuv. *xak- kak-*; Tof. *kak-*; Šor. *kak-*. – Lit.: DTS 422; ÈSTJa V 221; KRPS 285, 298, 359; Rass. 218; SKT; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *kak-* '1. to beat, to strike; 2. to knock' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B; also confirmed in OT.

kal- (K-B) '1. ostavaťsja; 2. propuskať; 3. popadať; 4. otživať, uxodiť v prošloje; 5. proigryvať, ostavaťsja v proigryše; 6. dostavaťsja, ostavaťsja v nasledstvo; 7. ograničivaťsja, ostanavlivaťsja; 8. otstavať; opazdyvať (KBRS 384); *kal-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'ostavaťsja' (Boz. 177); *kal-* (*qʿal-*; K) 'bleiben' (Pr K 114); *kal-* (*qal-*; B) 'bleiben, übrigbleiben' (Pr B 233) < PT **kāl-*; cf.: OT *kal-*; Kum. *kal-*; Az. *gal-*; Khal. *kāl-*; Tur. *kal-*; Gag. *kal-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kal-*, (H, T) *kal-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xal-*; Tat. *kal-*; Čuv. *jul-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kal-*; Trkm. *gāl-*; Trukh. *kal-*; Uz. *kol-*; Uig. *kal-*; Lob. *kal-*; Sal. *gal-*, *ga-*, *kal-*; Y. Uig. *kal-*, *kʿal-*, *xal-*; Alt. *kal-*; Khak. *xal-*; Tuv., Tof., Šor. *kal-*; Yak. *xāl-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 236, 305; DTS 410; Eg. 347; ÈSTJa V 226; KRPS 285, 359; Malov 125; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 28; Rass. 217; SKT 180; Sul. Kkar. 88; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev SJ 199.

The verb *kal-* in K-B has several meanings, where the main one is 'to stay, remain'. It has counterparts in other Turkic languages and it is registered in OT.

kala- (K-B) '1. valiť, *peren.* skladyvať, navalivať, nagromoždať; 2. okučivať; 3. gruziť' (KBRS 382); *kala-* (*qʿala-*; K) 'legen, drauflegen, hineinlegen' (Pr K 114) < PT **kala-* (ESG); cf.: OT *kala-*; Az. *gala-*; Tur., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kala-*; Uz. *kaľa-*; Uig., Lob., Sal. *kala-*; Y. Uig. *kʿala-*; Alt. *kala-*; Yak. *xāla-*; cf. also Tof. *kag-* and Tuv. *xag-* (Rass. 216-217). – Lit.: DTS 410; ÈSTJa V 228; Rass. 216-217; Tenišev 459; YRh. 583.

The verb *kala-* 'to put; to pile up' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. However in some of the other Turkic languages (Kir., Lob., Sal. Alt.) the verb has the meaning. '1. to burn; 2. to set on fire'. According to ÈSTJa V 228 we cannot exclude that in some languages the meaning of *kala-* 'to pile up' was combined with the meaning of the Mongolian origin verb *kala-* 'to become warm, to burn' and finally it gave the meaning 'to pile up wood in order to burn it'. On the other hand in Tuv. and Tof. there are the verbs *xag-* and *kag-* (respectively) whose meanings are very close to *kala-*, but their morphological relation with the latter is obscure. The verb is confirmed in OT.

kalkï- (K-B) 'zasnuť, usnuť' (KBRS 383); *kalkï-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'dremať' (Boz. 177); *kalkï-* (*qalqı̊-*; B) 'schlummern, einschlummern' (Pr B 234) < PT **kalkï-*; cf.: Kum. *kalkï-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kalgï-*, (H) *kalgï-*; Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Tuv. *kalgï-*. – Lit.: ÈSTJa V 232-233; KRPS 359.

The verb *kalkï-* in K-B means 'to nap; to fall asleep', whereas in other Turkic languages apart from this meaning it also means 'to move very slowly; to go very slowly'. One cannot exclude relations with the Mongolian verb *galgi-* 'to step very slowly', which might affect the meaning of the verb in Turkic languages, cf. ÈSTJa V 232-233.

kap- (K-B) '1. kusaťˊ, žaliťˊ, klevat; 2. (K) vyigryvaťˊ; pobediťˊ; 3. tratiťˊ; 4. terjaťˊ; 5. jesťˊ, kušaťˊ; 6. sideťˊ, oblegaťˊ, prilegaťˊ (*ob odeždeˊ*); 7. jazviťˊ, govoriťˊ kolkosti' (KBRS 369); *kap-*, *kab-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'kušaťˊ, žaliťˊ' (Boz. 177); *kap-* (*qʿap-*; K) 'beissen, ergreifen, erhaschen' (Pr K 115); *kap-*, *kaf-*, *kab-* (*qap-*, *qaf-*, *qab-*; B) 'beissen, stechen (wie die Mücke etc.)' (Pr B 234) < PT **kap-*; cf.: OT *kap-*; Kum. *xap-*; Az. *gap-*; Tur., Gag. *kap-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *kap-*, Tat. (Ur.) *xap-*; Čuv. *xïp-*; Bašk., Kaz. Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kap-*; Trkm. *gap-*; Uz. *kop-*; Uig., Lob. *kap-*; Y. Uig. *kʿap-*; Alt. *kap-*; Khak. *xap-*; Tuv. *kap-*; Tof. *kap-*; Šor. *kap-*; Yak. *xap-*, *xab-* (ÖjHa. 8). – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 420; Eg. 314; ÈSTJa V 264; KRPS 290, 362; Malov 126; ÖjHa. 8; Podolsky 28; Rass. 218; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev SJ 202.

The verb *kab-*, *kap-* '1. to snap; 2. to bite; 3. to eat' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In other languages the meaning is the same; in Kar. (H, T) it also means 'to understand', cf. KRPS 290. It was registered in OT.

kara- (K-B) '1. smotreťˊ, gljadeťˊ; 2. uxaživaťˊ, sledíťˊ, prismatrivaťˊ; 3. obespečivaťˊ; 4. obraščaťˊsja, sčitaťˊsja; 5. rassmatrivaťˊ; 6. iskaťˊ; 7. skušaťˊ; 8. skušaťˊsja; 9. nabljudaťˊ, storožiťˊ; 10. vygladyvaťˊ, pokazyvaťˊsja, vysovyvaťˊsja; torčaťˊ; 11. smotreťˊsja; 12. ždaťˊ; 13. byťˊ obraščionnym, vyxodiťˊ; 14. upravljaťˊsja, spravljaťˊsja; 15. proverjaťˊ; 16. prinadležaťˊ, otnosiťˊsja, imeťˊ otnošenie' (KBRS 392); *kara-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'smotreťˊ, rassmatrivaťˊ, nabljudaťˊ' (Boz. 177); *kara-* (*qara-*; K) 'sehen, schauen, auch: bewachen, belauern' (Pr K 116); *kara-* (*qara-*; B) 'schauen, anschauen, zuschauen, beaobachten' (Pr B 235) < PT **kara-* (ESG); cf.: OT *kara-*, *karagu*; Kum., Tur., Kar. (H, T), Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kara-*; Trkm. *gara-*; Uz. *kara-*; Uig. *kara-*; *kari-* (Rass. 186); Lob. *kara-*; *kaja-* (ÈSTJa V 228); Y. Uig. *kara-*; Alt. *kara-*; Khak. *xara-*; Tuv. *xara-*; Tof. *hara-*; Yak. *xaraj-*. – Lit.: DTS 424; ÈSTJa V 288; KRPS 291; Malov 126; Rass. 186.

The verb *kara-* '1. to watch, observe; 2. to look on' is known in some other Turkic languages (in some of them appearing in variants). However, specialists (Sevortjan, Clauson) underline that the verb was not known before the Chagatay period, and the record given in DTS is probably a result of incorrect interpretation. On the other hand academics mention the form *karagu* registered in OT sources, which probably comes from the verb *kara-*, cf. ÈSTJa V 288.

karga- (K-B) 'proklinaťˊ, naklinaťˊ bedu' (KBRS 394); *karga-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'braniťˊ, rugaťˊ, proklinaťˊ' (Boz. 177); *karga-* (*qʿarγá-*; K) 'schimfen, schelten, anschelten' (Pr K 116); *karga-* (*qarγa-*; B) 'schimpfen, schelten, fluchen' (Pr B 235) < PT **karga-*; OT: *karga-*; Kum. *karga-*; Az. *gargï-*; Tur. *kargï-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *karga-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xarga-*; Tat. *karga-*; Čuv. *xarkaš-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *karga-*; Trkm. *garga*; Uz. *karga-*; Uig. *ka(r)ga-*; *kargi-* (Eg. 286); Sal. *karga-*; Alt. *karga-*; Khak. *xarga-*; Tuv., Tof., Šor. *karga-*. – Lit.: DTS 426; Eg. 286; ÈSTJa V 304; KRPS 293, 363; Podolsky 28.

There are equivalents of the verb *karga-* 'to scold; to swear' in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. The verb was registered in OT.

kašï- (K-B) 'česať, skresti' (KBRS 405); *kašï-* (*qašï-*; K) 'kratzen' (Pr K 116) < PT **kašï-*; cf.: OT: *kašï-*; Az. *gašï-*; Khal., Tur., Gag. *kašï-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kašï-* (H) *kasï-*, (T) *kašï-*; Tat. (Cr.) *kašï-*, Tat. (Ur.) *xašï-*; Tat. *kašï-*; Čuv. *xĭś-*; Bašk. *kašï-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *kasï-*; Kir. *kašï-*; Trkm. *gaša-*; Uz. *kaši-*; Yak. *kïhïj-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 251; Doerfer 250, 306; DTS 431; Eg. 315; ÈSTJa V 347; KRPS 296, 300, 367; Podolsky 28; StachM GJV 19.

The verb *kašï-* '1. to scratch; 2. to comb' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. It was registered in OT.

kaz- (K-B) '1. kopať, ryť; dolbiť; 2. dobyvať; 3. kopaťsja, ryťsja' (KBRS 375); *kaz-* (B. dial.; Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'kopať (Boz. 176); *kaz-* (*qʿaz-*; K) 'graben, ausgraben, aufgraben' (Pr K 117); *kaz-* (*qaz-*; B) 'graben' (Pr B 236) < PT **kās-*; cf.: OT *kaz-*; *kazï-*; Kum. *kaz-*; Az. *gaz-*, *gazï-*; Khal. *kaz-*; Tur., *kaz-*; Gag. *kazï-*, *kaz-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr.) *kaz-*, Tat. (Ur.) *xaz-*; Tat. *kazï-*; Bašk. *kazï-*; *kaz*; Kaz., Kklp. *kaz-*; Nog. *kazï-*; Kir. *kaz-*; Trkm. *gaz-*, *gaza-*; Uz. *kazi-*, *kaz-*; Uig. *kaz-*; Sal. *kaz-*, *kazï-*, *kāzï-*; Y. Uig., Alt. *kaz-*; Khak. *xas-*; Tuv., Tof., Šor. *kas-*; Yak. *xas-*. – Lit.: Doerfer 256, 306; DTS 439; ÈSTJa V 185; KRPS 281, 357; Podolsky 29; Rass. 219; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 377, 463.

The verb *kaz-* 'to dig' is confirmed in OT. There are its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

kekir- (K-B) 'rygať' (KBRS 318); *kekir-* (*kʿekʿir-*;K) 'Brechreiz haben' (Pr K 108) < PT **kākir-*; cf.: OT *kekir-*; Kum. *kekir-*; Az. *gäjir-*, *xajgïr*; *käjir-* (Eg. 85); Tur. *gegir-*; Gag. *gir-*; Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Cr.) *kekir-*; Tat. *kikĭr-*; Čuv. *kakăr-*; Bašk. *kikĭr-*; Kaz. *kekir-*; *kakïr-* (Eg. 85); Kklp., Nog. *kekir-*; Kir. *kekir-*; *kakïr-* (Eg. 85); Trkm. *gägir-*; Uz. *kekĭr-*; Uig. *kekī(r)-*, *kekij-* Y. Uig. *kekirt-* Alt. *kegir-*, *kagïr-*; Khak. *kigĭr-*; Tuv. *kegir-*; Yak. *käγärt-*. – Lit.: DTS 295; Eg. 85; ÈSTJa III 37; KRPS 390; Räs. VEWT 248 a; StachM GJV 71; YRh. 392.

Kekir- 'to nauseate' has its equivalents also in other Turkic languages; in some of them (Tur., Az., Alt.) it means 'to belch'. Probably the verb has an onomatopoeic origin, cf. Eg. 85.

kel- (K-B) '1. pribyvať, prixoditʹ, prijezžať; 2. nastavať, nastupať; prixoditʹ; 3. doxoditʹ, približaťsja; 4. donositʹsja, razdavaťsja; 5. postupať, dostavlaťsja, pribyvať; 6. vyxoditʹ zamuž; 7. teč, liťsja; 8. xoteťsja' (KBRS 319); *kel-* (B.dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'prixoditʹ' (Boz. 175); *kel-* (*kʿel-*; K) 'kommen' (Pr K 108); *kel-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 227) < PT **käl-*; cf.: OT *kel-*; Kum. *gel-*; Az. *gäl-*; Khal. *käl-*; Tur., Gag. *gel-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kel-*, (T) *ḱel-*; Tat. (Cr.) *kel-*; Tat. (Ur.) *ťel-*; Tat. *kil-*; Čuv. *kil-*; Bašk. *kil-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kel-*; Trkm. *gel-*; Uz. *kel-*; Uig. *kel-*, *kä(l)-*; Lob. *kil-*, *kel-*; Sal. *gel-*, *ge-*, *gij-*, *kel-*, *ke-*, *kē-*, *kej-*, *ki-*, *kī-*, *kij-*, *kil-*; Y. Uig. *kel-*, *gel-*, *kil-*, *ki-*; Alt. *kel-*; Khak. *kil-*; Tuv. *kel-*; Tof. *ḱel-*; Šor.

kel-; Yak. *käl-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 241, 296; DTS 295-6; Eg. 112; ÈSTJa III 14; JUFD 202; KRPS 301, 302, 390; Malov 134, 135; ÖjHa. 22; Podolsky 25; Rass. 203; StachM GJV 59; Sul. Kkar. 76; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 331, 377, 378, 379, 381-383; Tenišev SJ 179, 187.

There are equivalents of the verb *kel-* 'to come' in most other Turkic languages (the same meaning). In OT the verb was registered.

kemir- (K-B) '1. gryzť, glodať; 2. *per.* mučit, terzať; 3. myť, ščemiť, boleť' (KBRS 322); *kemir-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'gryzť' (Boz. 175); *kemir-* (B) 'nagen, kauen' (Pr B 227) < PT **kämī-*; cf.: OT *kemür-*; Kum. *gemir-*; Az. *gämir-*; Tur. *gemir-*; *kemir-*; Gag. *kemir-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kemir-*, (T) *ḱemir-*; Tat. (Cr.) *gemir-*; Tat. *kimĭr-*; Bašk. *kimĭr-*; Kaz. *kemĭr-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kemir-*; Trkm. *gemir-*; Uz. *kemĭr-*; Uig. *kemĭ(r)-*; Alt. *kemir-*; Khak. *kimĭr-*; Yak. *käbij-*. – Lit.: DTS 297; ÈSTJa III 18; KRPS 303, 391; StachM GJV 59.

The verb *kemir-* 'to bite; to gnaw' is confirmed also in OT and it has equivalents in other modern Turkic languages.

ker- (K-B) '1. rastjagivať, vytjagivať; raspravljať; rasširať, razdvigať; 2. raskryvať, raspaxivať' (KBRS 327); *ker-* (B. dial.) 'rasstilať, rastjanuť' (Boz. 175); *ker-* (*k'er-*; K) 'ausdehnen, austrecken' (Pr K 109); *ker-* (B) 'ansbreiten, vorbreiten, vorlegen' (Pr B 227) < PT **kär-*; cf.: OT *ker-*; Kum. *ger-*; Az. *gär-*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.) *ger-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ker-*; Čuv. *kar-*; Tat. *kier-*; Bašk. *kir-*; Kaz., Nog. Kklp., Kir. *ker-*; Trkm. *ger-*; Uz., Uig., Alt. *ker-*; Lob. *kij-*; Tuv. *xer-*; Khak. *kir-*. – Lit.: DTS 300; Eg. 90; ÈSTJa 23; KRPS 167; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *ker-* 'to stretch, tighten' is confirmed in OT and it has some equivalents in other Turkic languages.

kes- (K-B) '1. rezať, razrevať, otrezať; 2. peresekať; 3. opredeljať, ustanavlivať; 4. preryvať, prekraščať; 5. razjedať; zabivať, zaglušať' (KBRS 328); *kes-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg. Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'rezať, otrezať' (Boz. 175); *kes-* (K) 'schneiden, abschneiden, aushauen, abhauen, abschneiden' (Pr K 109); *kes-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 228) < PT **käs-*; cf.: OT *kes-*; Kum. *ges-*; Az. *käs-*; Khal. *käs-*; Tur., Gag. *kes-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kes-*, (H) *ḱeś-*; Tat. (Ur.) *ťes-*; Tat. *kis-*; Čuv. *kas-*; Bašk. *kis-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., Uz. *kes-*; Uig. *käs-*; Lob., Sal., Y. Uig., Alt. *kes-*; Khak. *kis-*; Tuv., Tof. *kes-*; Šor. *käs-*; Yak. *kïs-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 257, 296; DTS 302; KRPS 308, 393; Malov 135; Podolsky 26; Rass. 203; SKT 180; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 380.

The verb *kes-* 'to cut, to cut off' has counterparts in most the other Turkic languages. It was confirmed in OT.

ket- (K-B) '1. uxodiť, nezžať, otpravljaťsja; 2. sxodiť, isčezať; 3. proxodiť, unimaťsja; prekraščaťsja, končaťsja; 4. projti, okončiťsja, minovať; 5. ujti, ubežať; 6. sryvaťsja, provalivaťsja; 7. pojti, byť potračennym' (KBRS 331); *ket-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'idti, uxodiť' (Boz. 175); *ket-* (*k'et-*; K) 'gehen,

weggehen, vergehen' (Pr K 109); *ket-* (B) 'gehen, fortgehen' (Pr B 228) < PT **kāt-* (Šč. SF 195); **kit-* (Räs. VEWT 258 b); cf.: OT *ket-*; Kum. *get-*; Az. *ǵet-*; Tur., Gag. *git-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *ket-*, (T) *ḱet-*, *ḱeť-*; (Tat. Cr.) *ket-*; Tat. (Ur.) *ťet-*; Tat. *kit-*; Bašk. *kit-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ket-*; Trkm., Trukh. *git-*; Uz. *ket-*; Uig. *kät-*, *ket-*; Lob. *ket-*; Sal. *gī-*, *gi-*, *ǵi-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 303; KRPS 309, 394; Malov 135; Podolsky 26; Räs. VEWT 258 b; SKT 178; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *ket-* 'to go away, to go' has counterparts in most other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

kïj- (K-B) '1. točiť, zatačivať, zaostrjať; 2. vyrezať, kroiť; 3. *per.* stročiť, pisať; 4. *per.* ranit, lišať *kogo* sil' (KBRS 451); *kïj-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'stročiť po kraju, šiť po kraju' (Boz. 178); *kïj-* (*qᶜïj-*; K) 'zuspitzen, verrichten, erledigen, verwirklichen' (Pr K 117); *kïj-* (*qı̊j-*; B) 'verrichten, zubereiten, sich entschliessen' (Pr B 237) < PT **kïj-*; cf.: OT *kïj-*; Az., Tur. *kïj-*; cf. Čuv. *xăjă* 'lučina' (Eg. 289); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kïj-*; Trkm. *gïj-*; Uz. *kïj-*; Uig. *kij-*; Alt. *kïj-*; Khak. *xïj-*; Yak. *kïj-*. – Lit.: DTS 441; Eg. 289; StachM GJV 93; YRh. 659.

The verb *kïj-* in K-B has several meanings: '1. to shape; to sharpen'; '2. to cut'; also 'to decide'; 'to make sth' etc. In several Turkic languages and in OT its equivalents function also with different meanings, e.g.: Yak. *kïj-* 'um etw. Herumgehen'; Trkm. *gïj-* 'schneiden' (StachM GJV 93); Tur. *kïj-* '1. to chop up fine; 2. not to spare, to sacrifice; 3. to massacre' (YRh. 659).

kïl- (K-B) 'delať, soveršiť, ispolnjať' (KBRS 443); *kïl-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'delať' (Boz. 178); *kïl-* (*qᶜı̊l-*; K) 'tun, verrichten (ein Gebet)' (Pr K 118); *kïl-* (*qı̊l-*; B) 'tun, machen' (Pr B 237) < PT **kïl-*; cf.: OT *kïl-*; Az. *gïl-*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Bašk., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uzb. *kïl-*; Uig. *kil- kïl-*; Lob. *kïl-*; Alt. *kïlïn-*; Tuv. *kïl-*; Khak. *xïlïn-*; Tof. *kïl-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 254; Bask. JpU 43; DTS 442; JUFD 212; KRPS 379, 385; Malov 132; Sul. Kkar. 91; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *kïl-* 'to do' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the verb was confirmed.

kïr- (K-B) '1. uničtožať, istrebljať, ubivať, moriť, razbivať; 2. valiť, rubiť; 3. skobliť; čistiť, tereť; 4. začiorkivať' (KBRS 447); *kïr-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'razbiť, ubivať, razdrobiť, skobliť' (Boz. 178); *kïr-* (*qı̊r-*; K) 'abschauen, niedermachen' (Pr K 118); *kïr-* (*qı̊r-*; B) 'zerbrechen, zerschmettern, niedermachen, niedermetzeln' (Pr B 237) < PT **kïr-*; cf.: OT *kïr-*; Az. *gïr-*; Khal. *kı̄r-*; Tur. *kïr-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kïr-*, (H, T) *kïr-*, (H) *tïr-*; Tat. *kïr-*; Čuv. *xir-*; Bašk., Kaz., Nog. Kir. *kïr-*; Trkm. *gïr-*; Uz., Uig. *kir-*; Lob. *kïr-*, *kïj-*; Y. Uig. *kᶜïrïl-*; Khak. *xïr-*; Tuv. *kïr-*; Tof. *kïr-*; Yak. *kïr-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 252, 306; DTS 445; KRPS 558, 381, 387; Malov 132, 133; Podolsky 29; Rass. 223; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev SJ 204.

The verb *kïr-* has several meanings '1. to break; to destroy; 2. to scratch; to clean'. It has equivalents in some other Turkic languages. Only in Khal. the

verb *kīr-* 'zerreissen' is registered with a long vowel (Doerfer LSCh 252). In OT the verb was confirmed.

kïrk- (K-B) '1. strič; 2. lomať; 3. biť, poroť; 4. (K) perekusiť, pojesť; poščipať; 5. peresekať' (KBRS 446); *kïrk-* (*qʿîrq-*; K) 'brechen, scheeren' (Pr K 118); *kïrk-* (*qîrq-*; B) 'schneiden, scheren' (Pr B 237) < PT **kïrk-*; cf.: OT *kïrk-*; Az. *gïrx-*; Khal. *kirk-*; Tur. *kïrk-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kïrk-*, (H) *kïrk-*, (T) *kïrx-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xïrx-*; Tat. *kïrk-*; Trkm. *gïrk-*; Tuv. *kïrgï*; Yak. *kïrt-* (StachM GJV 94); *kïrïj-* (Räs. VEWT 266 b). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 256, 306; DTS 446; KRPS 381, 387; Podolsky 29; Räs. VEWT 266 b; StachM GJV 94; YRh. 655.

The verb *kïrk-* 'to shear; to clip' was known in OT. In other Turkic languages there are equivalents of this verb.

kïs- (K-B) '1. žať, davit; sžimať, prižimať; 2. zakryvať; 3. vjazať, privjazyvať, zavjazyvať; svjazyvať; 4. siľno prosiť, trebovať; 5. nadevať; 6. pridvigať; staviť vplotnuju *k čemu*; 7. *per.* pritesnjať; zastavljať, prinuždať; 8. bojaťsja, osteregaťsja' (KBRS 447); *kïs-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'daviť, pressovať, obvjazyvať, opojasyvať' (Boz. 178); *kïs-* (*qʿîs-*; K) 'drücken, pressen, auspressen, umgürten' (Pr K 118); *kïs-* (*qîs-*; B) 'drücken, pressen, umbinden, fest anbinden, zureden, nötigen, drängen, bedrängen' (Pr B 237) < PT **kïs-*; cf.: OT *kïs-*; Kum. *kïs-*; Az. *gïs-*; Tur. *kïs-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. *kïs-*; Čuv. *xĕs-*; Bašk. *kïs-*; Kaz., Kklp., Kir. *kïs-*; Trkm. *gïs-*; Uz., Uig. *kis-*; Lob. *kïs-*, *kis-*; Sal. *kïs-*, *xïs-*; Alt. *kïs-*; Khak. *xïs*; Tuv. *kïs-*; Tof. *kïs-*; Yak. *kïhaj-*. – Lit.: DTS 447; Eg. 300; KRPS 381, 388; Malov 133; Rass. 224; Sul. Kkar. 92; Tenišev 466, 553.

The verb *kïs-* '1. to press; to squeeze; 2. to bind' was registered in OT. At present it has counterparts in other Turkic languages.

kïz- (K-B) '1. greťsja, nagrevaťsja; 2. razgonjaťsja, nabiraťskorosť; 3. zavodiťsja, načinať rabotať; 4. temperaturiť; 5. preť, gniť, peregoraťs; 6. podnimaťsja (*o solnce*); 7. goreť, razgoraťsja; 8. gorjačiťsja, vspyxnuť, vspyliť; 9. razoxodiťsja; pristrastiťsja; vojti v azart; 10. nalivaťsja; 11. *per.* prel'ščaťsja, soblaznjaťsja' (KBRS 436); *kïz-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'byť, staťgorjačim; serdiťsja' (Boz. 178); *kïz-* (*qʿîz-*;K) 'glühen, glühend, heiss werden' (Pr K 119); *kïz-* (*qîz-*; B) 'glühend, heiss sein, heiss werden' (Pr B 238) < PT **kīs-*; cf.: OT *kïz-*; Az. *gïz-*; Khal. *kizārt-*; Tur. *kïz-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kïz-*, *küs-*, (H, T) *kïz-*; Tat. *kïz-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xïzdïr-*; Čuv. *xĕr-*; Bašk. *kïz-*; Kaz., Nog., Kir. *kïz-*; Trkm. *gïz-*; Trukh. *kïz-*; Uz. *kizi-*; *kizar-* (Rass. 224); Uig. *kizi-*, *kiza(r)-* (Rass. 224); Sal. *kïzï-*; Alt. *kïzar-*; Khak. *xïzar-*; Tuv. *kïs-*; Tof. *kïs-*; Yak. *kïtar-*; *kīs-* (Rass. 224). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 259, 306; DTS 450; KRPS 354, 378, 383; ÖjHa. 29; Podolsky 30; Rass. 223; SKT 180; StachM GJV 94; Sul. Kkar. 92; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 467.

The verb *kïz-* has several meaning in K-B, however the basic are '1. to become hot, to be hot; 2. to get angry'. The verb has its equivalents in other Turkic languages, sometimes however with different meaning, cf.: Khal. *kizārt-* 'rotbraun braten' (Doerfer LSCh 259, 306); Yak. *kïtar-* 'rot werden' (ÖjHa. 29,

StachM GJV 94); Kar. (Cr.) *kïz-* 'to conceive' (Sul. Kkar. 92), also Kar. (Cr.) *küs-* 'to irritate' (KRPS 354). The verb is also registered in OT.

kiči- (K-B) 'česaťsja; zudeť' (KBRS 350); *kiči-* (*kʿiči-*; K) 'jucken' (Pr K 110); cf. *kicū̃* (*kicū̃*; B) 'Krätze' (Pr B 229) < PT **kič-i-*, **kïč-ï-*; cf.: OT *kiči-*; Tur. *gici-*; Kar. (H) *kici-*, (T) *kiči-*; Tat. *kïču-*; Čuv. *kĕšĕt-*; *xïś-*; Bašk. *kïsï-*; Kaz. *kïšï-*; Kir. *kïčū*; Trkm. *giğe-*; Uz. *kiči-*; Uig. *kičiš-*; Khak. *xïčï-*; Tuv. *kiži-*; Tof. *kiži-*; Yak. *kïhïj-*. – Lit.: DTS 306; Eg. 110, 315, ÈSTJa III 42; KRPS 325; Rass. 203; Räs. VEWT 269 b; StachM GJV 19; YRh. 401.

The verb *kiči-* has in K-B two meanings: '1. to itch' and '2. to scratch, comb'. The verb has its equivalents in other languages, however in some of them the given etymology is not clear. Egorov presents two Chuvash verbs: *kĕšĕt-* and *xïś-* 'to comb'. In the case of *xïś-* he compares this form with other Turkic languages giving examples coming from both **kašï-* and **kič-i* ~ **kïč-ï-* forms, cf. Eg. 315. Rassadin, however, among the comparative examples gives Yak. form *kïhïj-* (cf. Rass. 203), which is according to Stachowski derived from **kaš-*, cf. StachM GJV 19.

kij- (K-B) 'nadevaťsja; nositʹ' (KBRS '46); *kij-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg. Khul.-Bez.) 'odevaťsja (Bez. 175); *kij-* (*kʿij-*;K) 'anziehen, anlegen (ein Kleidungsstück)' (Pr K 110); *kij-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 229) < PT * *käð-*; cf.: OT *keð-*, *ked-*, *ket-*, *kej-*; Kum. *gij-*; Az. *gij-*, *gej-*; *kej-* (Rass. 203); Khal. *kät-*; Tur. *gij-*; Gag. *gī-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *kij-*; Tat. (Ur.) *ťij-*; Bašk. *kīj-*; Kaz. *kīj-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kij-*; Trkm. *gej-*; Uz., Uig. *kij-*; Lob. *kej-*; Sal. *kī-*, *kij-*, *ki-*, *kīj-*; Y. Uig. *kez-*; Alt. *kij-*; Khak. *kis-*; Tuv. *ket-*, Tof. *ket-*; Šor. *kes-*; Yak. *kät-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 292, 294, 303; Doerfer LSCh 266, 297; ÈSTJa III 12; KRPS 317; Malov 133; Rass. 203; StachM GJV 59; Tenišev 381, 382, 400; Tenišev SJ 187.

The verb *kij-* 'to put on' has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. It was registered in OT.

kir- (K-B) '1. vxodiť, *per.* pronikať; 2. zaxodiť; 3. vstupať; 4. sadiťsja (*o tkani*); 5. uglubiťsja; 6. pristupať; načinať; 7. vpityvaťsja, vsadyvaťsja; 8. idti, trebovaťsja; 9. vxodiť v sostav; otnosiťsja; 10. pomeščaťsja; podxodiť (*po razmeru*)' (KBRS 348); *kir-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.)' vxodiť, vojti' (Boz. 175); *kir-* (*kʿir-*; K) 'hineingehen, eintreten' (Pr K 110); *kir-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 229) < PT **kīr-*; cf.: OT *kir-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *gir-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kir-*; Tat. (Cr.) *kir-*; Tat. *kĭr-*; Tat. (Ur.) *ťir-*; Čuv. *kĕr-*; Bašk. *kir-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kir-*; Trkm. *gīr-*; Trukh. *gijr-*; Uz., Uig. *kir-*; Lob. *kij-*, *kej-*; Sal. *kir-*; Y. Uig. *kʿer-*, *kïr-*, *kʿïr-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv, Tof., Šor. *kir-*; Yak. *kīr-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 308; Eg. 107; ÈSTJa III 47; KRPS 322; Malov 133, 135; ÖjHa. 31; Podolsky 26; Rass. 203; SKT 178; StachM GJV 113; Sul. Kkar. 78; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 383; Tenišev SJ 189, 190, 204.

The verb *kir-* 'to enter' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

kišne- (K-B) 'ržať' (KBRS 351); *kišne-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'ržať' (Boz. 175); *kišne-* (*kʿišne-*; K) 'wiehern' (Pr K 110); *kišne-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 230) < PT **kišnä-* (ESG); cf.: OT *kišnä-*; Kum. *kišne-*; Az. *kišnä-*; Tur., Gag. *kišne-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kišne-*, (T) *kišine-*, *kišńa-*, (H) *kisne-*, *tisne-*; Tat. *kĭšnä-*; Tat. (Ur.) *kišne-*; Čuv. *kĕsen-*; Bašk. *kĭšnä-*; Kaz. *kĭšĭne-*; Kklp. *kisne-*; Nog. *kisine-*; Kir. *kišene-*; Trkm. *kišŋe-*; Uz., Uig. *kišnä-*; Y. Uig. *kiste-*; Alt. *kište-*; Khak. *kĭste-*; Tuv. *kište-*; Yak. *kistē-*. – Lit.: DTS 310; Eg. 110; ÈSTJa V 79; KRPS 324, 326, 532; Podolsky 13.

The verb *kišne-* 'to neigh' was confirmed in OT. There are its equivalents in some modern Turkic language.

koj- (K-B) '1. ostavljať; 2. davať, razrešať, pozvoljať; 3. perestavať, prekraščať; 4. zaveščať, otkazyvať; 5. otkladyvať' (KBRS 419); *koj-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'ostaviť, ne trogať' (Boz. 179); *koj-* (*qʿoj-*; K) 'lassen, legen' (Pr K 119); *koj-* (*qoj-*; B) 'lassen, legen, überlassen, in Ruhe lassen' (Pr B 238) < PT **koδ-*; cf.: OT *kod-*, *koδ-*, *koj-*; *kot-*; Az. *goj-*; Khal. *kōj-*; Tur. *koj-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *koj-*; Tat. *kuj-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xoj-*; Čuv. *xur-*; Bašk. *kuj-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *koj-*; Trkm. *goj-*; Uz. *kuj-*; Uig., Lob. *koj-*; Sal. *koj-*, *kuj-*; Y. Uig. *kuz-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 251; Bask. JpU 44; DTS 451-453, 461; Doerfer LSCh 244, 307; KRPS 329, 368; Malov 128; Podolsky 30; Räs. VEWT 274 b; Sul. Kkar. 89; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 386, 395, 463, 464.

The verb *koj-* '1. to put; 2. to allow' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT the following forms were registered: *kod-*, *koδ-*, *koj-*, *kot-*.

kon- (K-B) '1. prizemljaťsja, sadiťsja, opuskaťsja; 2. osedať; 3. seliťsja; 4. *per.* nočevať; 5. *per.* otkladyvaťsja, nakaplivaťsja, zavodiťsja' (KBRS 412); *kon-* (B. dial. Baks.) 'spustiťsja, sesť, poseliťsja' (Boz. 179); *kon-* (*qʿon-*; K) 'sich niederlassen, sich auf etwas setzen' (Pr K 119); *kon-* (*qon-*; B) 'sich niederlassen, sich wohin setzen (wie die Vögel)' (Pr B 239) < PT **kon-* (StachM GJV 100), **kōn-* (Šč SF 194); cf.: OT *kon-*; Az. *gon-*; Tur. *kon-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kon-*; Tat. *kun-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xon-*; Bašk. *kun-*; Kaz., Kklp. Nog. *kon-*; Kir. *kon-*; Trkm. *gon-*; Trukh. *kon-*; Uzb. *kŭn-*; Uig., Lob., Sal., Alt. *kon-*; Khak. *xon-*; Tuv. *xon-*; Tof. *kon-*; Yak. *xon-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 252; DTS 445; KRPS 331, 370; Malov 129; ÖjHa. 34; Podolsky 30; Rass. 220; SKT 180; StachM GJV 100; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 388.

The verb *kon-* '1. to make a halt; 2. to stay for a night; 3. to settle' is registered in other Turkic languages (in some phonetic variants) with similar meanings, however in Tat. (Ur.) the verb *xon-* means 'to fly', cf. Podolsky 30. As far as the archetype is concerned Ščerbak gives the form: **kōn-* (Šč. SF 194) and Stachowski with a short vowel: **kon-* (StachM GJV 100).

kop- (K-B) '1. vstavať; podnimaťsja; 2. otslaivaťsja, oblezať, lupiťsja; otkleivaťsja, otstavať; 3. (K) razlivaťsja (*o reke*); 4. (K) *per.* razozliťsja' (KBRS 406); *kob-*, *kop-*, *kof-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'vstavať, podnimaťsja'

(Boz. 179); *kop-* (*qʿop-*; K) 'abreissen, sich lostrennen, sich erheben' (Pr K 119); *kop-*, *koƒ-*, *kob-* (*qop-*, *qoƒ-*, *qob-*; B) 'sich lostrennen, aufstehen' (Pr B 239) < PT **kop-*; cf.: OT *kop-*; Az. *gop-*; Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. *kop-*; Čuv. *xăp-*; Bašk. *kop-*; Kir. *kop-*; Trkm. *gop-*; Uig. *kop-*; Sal. *xop-*, *xoʾp-*, *xup-*, *xu-*, *xut-*, *xot-*, *xuzʿ-*; Y. Uig. *kop-*, *koʾp-*. – Lit.: DTS 456; Eg. 293; KRPS 333, 370; Šč. SF 194; Tenišev 550, 551, 552, 558-559.

The verb *kop-* '1. to get up, to raise; 2. to get detached, to have come off' was known in OT. At present it has counterparts in some other Turkic languages.

koru- (K-B) '1. oxranjaťˊ, stereč, storožiťˊ; oboronjaťˊ; 2. zaščiščaťˊ, zastupaťˊsja. 3. otgonjaťˊ' (KBRS 415); *koru-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'zaderžaťˊ, uderžaťˊ' (Boz. 179); *koru-* (*qoru-*; B) 'abhalten, zurückhalten, halten' (Pr B 239) < PT **kōrï-*; cf.: OT *korï-*, *koru-*; Az., Tur. *koru-*; Kar. (Cr.) *koru-*, *korï-*, (H, T) *koru-*; Kaz. *koru-*; Trkm. *kōrï-*; Y. Uig. *kʿorï-*. – Lit.: DTS 458, 460; KRPS 334, 371; Räs. VEWT 282; Tenišev SJ 203; YRh. 675.

The verb *koru-* '1. to protect, defend; to watch over'; 2. 'to stop' has equivalents in some Turkic languages. In OT two forms were registered: *korï-*, *koru-*.

koš- (K-B) '1. pribavljaťˊ; dobavlaťˊ; 2. naraščivaťˊ; nadstavljaťˊ; nadstraivaťˊ; 3. slučaťˊ, skreščivat; 4. priobščaťˊ, privlekaťˊ; vključaťˊ; 5. obedinjaťˊ; 6. *per.* wputyvaťˊ; 7. *per.* preuveličivaťˊ' (KBRS 417); *koš-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'pridaťˊ, pribaviťˊ, prisčitaťˊ' (Boz. 179); *koš-* (*qʿoš-*; K) 'vereinigen, hinzufügen' (Pr K 120); *koš-* (*qoš-*; B) 'hinzugeben, hinzufügen, hinzurechnen' (Pr B 239) < PT **kōš-*; cf.: OT *koš-*; Kum. *koš-*; Az. *goš-*; Tur. *koš-*; Kar. (Cr.) *koš-*, (H) *kos-*, (T) *koš-*; Tat. *kuš-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xoš-*; Čuv. *xuš-*; Bašk. *kuš-*; Kaz., Kklp. *kos-*; Nog. *kos-*; Kir. *koš-*; Trkm. *goš-*; Trukh. *koš-*; Uz. *kuš-*; Uig., Lob., Alt. *qoš-*; Khak. *xos-*; Tuv. *koš-*; Tof. *koš-*; Šor. *koš-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; Bask. NJa. 252; DTS 460; Eg. 312; KRPS 334, 335, 372; Malov 129; Podolsky 30; Rass. 221; Räs. VEWT 283 a-b; SKT 180; Sul. Kkar. 90; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *koš-* '1. to add, to mix; 2. to join, to unite' has equivalents in other Turkic languages sometimes with a wider semantic scale or another meaning, cf. Tof. *koš-* 'sšiťˊ verx untov (bez podošvy)' (Rass. 221). The verb was registered in OT.

köč- (K-B) '1. perejezžaťˊ, pereseljaťˊsja; 2. peredvigaťˊsja; otodvigaťˊsja; 3. perexodiťˊ, pereključaťˊsja; 4. prevraščaťˊsja; 5. perexodiťˊ, peredavaťˊsja; 6. perexodiťˊ' (KBRS 345); *köč-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'kočevaťˊ' (Boz. 176); *köč-* (*kʿöč-*; K) 'nomadisieren' (Pr K 110); *köc-* (B) 'nomadisieren, herumwandern, umziehen' (Pr B 230) < PT **köč-*; cf.: OT *köč-*; Kum. *göč-*; Az., Khal. *köč-*; Tur. *göč-*; Kar. (Cr.) *köč-* (T) *ḱoč-*; Tat. *küč-*; Čuv. *kuś-*; Bašk. *küs-*; Kaz. *kös-*; Kklp., Nog. *köš-*; Kir. *köč-*; Trkm. *göč-*; Uz. *koč*; Uig. *köč-*; Lob. *koč-*; *köč-*; Sal. *köč-*; Y. Uig. *kʿöš-*, *küš-*; Alt. *köč-*; Khak. *kös-*; Tuv. *köš-*; Tof. *köš-*; Šor. *köš-*; Yak. *kös-*. – Lit.:

Doerfer LSCh 244, 298; DTS 311; Eg. 120; ÈSTJa III 88; KRPS 315, 341; ÖjHa. 41; Rass. 204; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 391.

There are equivalents of the verb *köč-* 'to migrate, to move off' in other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

köm- (K-B) '1. zaryvať, zakapyvať; 2. topiť (v vode)' (KBRS 341) < PT **köm-*; cf.: OT *köm-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *göm-*; Kar. (Cr.) *köm-*, (H) *kem-*, (T) *ḱom-*; Tat. *küm-*; Tat. (Cr.) *koḿ-*, *göm-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *köm-*; Trkm. *göm-*; Uig. *köm-*; Lob. *köm-*, *göm-*; Sal. *kom-*, *köm-*; Y. Uig. *k'öm-*, *köm-*; Alt. *köm-*; Khak. *köm-*; Tuv. *xöm-*; Uz. *kom-*; Tof. *xöm-*; Yak. *köm-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; DTS 314; KRPS 303, 313, 337; Malov 137; ÖjHa. 41, Šč. SF 195; Tenišev SJ 189; Tenišev 387, 391, 392.

The verb *köm-* 'to bury' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT it was registered.

kuj- (K-B) '1. liť, nalivať; 2. liť, valiť, idti; 3. sypať, nasypať; 4. privodiť, sobirať; 5. *tex.* plaviť, liť; 6. valiť, oprokidyvať; 7. *per.* delať *čto* v boľšom količestve' (KBRS 434); *kuj-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'liť, nalivať, sypať' (Boz. 179); *kuj-* (*q'uj-*; K) 'giessen, einschenken' (Pr K 120); *kuj-* (*quj-*; B) 'einschenken, eingiessen, giessen, schütten, streuen' (Pr B 240) < PT **kuð-*; cf.: OT *kud-*, *kuj-*; Tur. *koj-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kuj-*; Kaz. *köj-*; Y. Uig. *kuz-*, *koz-*; Khak. *xus-* (Räs. VEWT 296 a), *kus-*; Yak. *kut-*. – Lit.: DTS 463, 464; KRPS 344, 373; ÖjHa. 38; Räs. VEWT 296 a; StachM GJV 117.

The verb *kuj-* 'to pour' has equivalents in some Turkic languages. In OT the forms *kud-*, *kuj-* were registered.

kur- (K-B) '1. ustanavlivať, staviť; 2. obrazovyvať, ustraivať; 3. nastraivať (*instrument*)' (KBRS 426); *kur-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'postaviť, sooružať, ustroiť, prigotoviť' (Boz. 179); *kur-* (*q'ur-*; K) 'aufstellen, machen' (Pr K 121); *kur-* (*qur-*; B) 'aufstellen, aufwinden' (Pr B 240) < PT **kur-*; cf.: OT *kur-*; Kum. *kur-*; Tur. *kur-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kur-*; Čuv. *xur-*; Kaz. *kör-*. – Lit.: DTS 467; Eg. 306; KRPS 347, 374; Räs. VEWT 302 a; StachM GJV 117; YRh. 684.

The verb *kur-* '1. to set up, establish; 2. to tune (an instrument)' has equivalents in a few Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

kus- (K-B) I 'rvať; tošniť'. II 'okisljať' (KBRS 428); *kus-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'rvať, blevať' (Boz. 180); *kus-* (*q'us-*; K) 'sich erbrechen' (Pr K 121); *kus-* (*qus-*; B) 'speien, sich erbrechen' (Pr B 241) < PT **kus-*; cf.: OT *kus-*; Kum. *kus-*; Az. *gus-*; cf. Khal. *kusma* 'Erbrechen' (Doerfer LSCh 60, 307); Tur. *kus-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kus-*; Tat. *kos-*; Čuv. *xăs-*; Bašk. *kos-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kus-*; Trkm. *gus-*; Trukh., Uz., Uig., Oir., Tuv. *kus-*, Khak. *xus-*; cf. also: N Yak. *xotuo* 'Erbrechen, Vomieren' (StachM GJV 38). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 60, 307; DTS 470; Eg. 295; KRPS 349, 376; SKT 180; StachM GJV 38; Šč. SF 194; YRh. 689.

There are equivalents of the verb *kus-* 'to vomit, to throw up' in some Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

kuw- (K-B) '1. gnať; 2. gnaťsja, stremiťsja, dobivaťsja' (KBRS 431); *kū-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Kaš.) 'gnať, traviť, gnaťsja za kem' (Boz. 179); *ku-* (*qᶜu-*; K) 'treiben, jagen' (Pr K 120); *ku-* (*qu-*; B) 'treiben, jagen, nacheilen, nachrennen, nachjagen' (Pr B 240) < PT **koγ-*; cf.: OT *kov-*; Kum. *kuv-*; Az. *gov-*; Tur. *kov-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *kuv-*; Tat. *ku-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xuv-*; Čuv. *xu-*, *xăv-*; Kaz., Kklp. *ku-*; Nog. *kov-*, *kuv-*; Kir. *ku-*; Trkm. *kov-*; Uz. *kuv-*; Uig. *kogli-*; Khak. *xog-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 251; DTS 461; Eg. 288; KRPS 342, 372; Podolsky 31; Räs. VEWT 275 a; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *kuw-* 'to drive away' has equivalents in some Turkic languages. In OT the form *kov-* was registered.

küj- (K-B) '1. goreť; 2. obvariťsja, obžečśja; 3. propadať zrja, idti praxom; 4. pereživať, gorevať' (KBRS 361); *küj-* (*kᶜüj-*; K) 'brennen, gebrannt werden' (Pr K 112); *küj-* (B) 'brennen' (Pr B 231) < PT **kȫj-* (Šč. SF 195); ** küń-*, **köń-* (Räs. VEWT 307 b); cf.: OT *köj-*, *küj-*, *kön-*; Kum. *güj-*; Khal. *kiᶜn-*; Tur. *göj-*, *köj-* (dial.); Kar. (H) *kiv-*, *tiw-*, (T) *kuv*; Tat. *kŭj-*; Čuv. *kuľan-*, dial.: *kujlan-*, *kulľan-*; Bašk. *kŭj-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *küj-*; Trkm. *köj-*; Uz. *kuj-*; Uig. *köj-*; Lob. *köj-*, *küj-*; Y. Uig., Alt. *küj-*; Khak. *köj-*; Yak. *kȫj-*. – Lit.: DTS 312, 314, 325; Eg. 116; ÈSTJa V 88; KRPS 316, 395, 524; Räs. VEWT 307 b; Šč. SF 195; YRh. 410.

The verb *küj-* 'to burn, to be on fire' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT the following forms were registered: *köj-*, *küj-*, *kön-*.

kül- (K-B) 'smejaťsja' (KBRS 363); *kül-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'smejaťsja' (Boz. 176); *kül-* (K) 'lachen' (Pr K 112); *kül-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 231) < PT **kül-*; cf.: OT *kül-*; Kum., Az. *gül-*; Khal. *kül-*; Tur., Gag. *gül-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kuľ-*, *kuľ-*, (H) *kil-*, (T) *ḱul-*; Tat. *kŭl-*; Tat. (Ur.) *kül-*; Čuv. *kul-*; Bašk *kŭl-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kül-*; Trkm., Trukh. *gül-*; Uz. *kuľ-*; Uig. *kul-*, *kül-*; Lob. *kül-*; Sal. *kul-*, *kuli-*, *ḱuli-*, *ḱul-*; Y. Uig. *kᶜul-*; Alt., Khak. *kül-*; Šor. *külü-*; Yak. *kül-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 232, 298; DTS 325; Eg. 115; KRPS 318, 346, 352, 396; ÖjHa. 43; Podolsky 13; SKT 178; StachM GJV 132; Tenišev 395, 401; Tenišev SJ 189.

The verb *kül-* 'to laugh' has equivalents in most other Turkic languages. The verb was registered in OT.

küre- (K-B) 'sgrebať *čto v kuču*' (KBRS 365); *küre-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'gresti lopatoj, čistiť' (Boz. 176); *küre-* (*kᶜüre-*; K) 'schaufeln' (Pr K 112) < PT **körü-*; cf.: OT *kürä-*, *küri-*; Kum. *küre-*; Az. *kürä-*; Tur. *kürü-*, *küre-*; Gag. *kürü-*; Tat. *kŭrä-*; Bašk. *gŭrŭ-*; *kŭrä-*; Kaz., Nog. *küre-*; Kir. *kürö-*; Kklp. *güre-*; Uz. *kurä-*; Uig. *kürä-*; Alt., Khak. *küre-*; Yak. *kürt-*. – Lit.: DTS 328, 329; ÈSTJa V 150; ÖjHa. 43; Räs. VEWT 310 a-b.

The verb *küre-* 'to shovel up, to clear away (with a shovel)' has equivalents in some Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *kürä-*, *küri-* were registered.

küreš- (K-B) '1. boroťsja; 2. staraťsja, delať *čto* so staraniem; 3. staraťsja *čto-l.* sdelať; 4. ssoriťsja, skandaliť; draťsja; 5. zanimaťsja' (KBRS 365); *kureš-*, *küreš-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'naprjagaťsja, mučiťsja, boroťsja, soriť' (Boz. 176); *küreš-* (*kʿüreš-*; K) 'ringen' (Pr K 112); *küreš-* (B) 'sich anstrengen, sich abquälen, ringen, streiten, zureden, eindringlich bitten; sich weigern, sich widersetzen' (Pr B 232) < PT **küräš-*; OT *küräš-*; Kum. *kureš-*; Az. *güläš-*; Tur., Gag. *güreš-*; Kar. (Cr.) *küräš-*; *kuraš-*; Tat. *kŭräš-*; Tat. (Cr.) *göreš-*; Tat. (Ur.) *küreš-*; Čuv. *kĕreš-*; Bašk. *kŭräš-*; Kaz., Nog. *küres-*; Kklp. *güres-*; Kir. *kürös-*, *kürösh-*; Trkm. *göreš-*; Uz. *kuraš-*; Uig. *küräš-*; Alt. *küreš-*; Khak. *küres-*; Tuv. *xüreš-*; Tof. *hüreš-*; Šor. *küreš-*. – Lit.: DTS 328; Eg. 107; ÈSTJa III 80; KRPS 354, 374; Podolsky 13; Rass. 192.

The verb *küreš-* 'to fight' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning. It is also registered in OT.

küt- (K-B) 'pasti' (KBRS 366); *kut-*, *küt-* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'bereč', pasti' (Boz. 176); *küt-* (*kʿüt-*; K) 'hüten, weiden lassen' (Pr K 112); *küt-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 232) < PT **kŭδ-*, **kŭt-* (StachM GJV 140); **kŭ-* (Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *küd-*, *küδ-*; Kum. *küt-*, *gut-*; Az. *güd-*; Tur., Gag. *güt-*; Kar. (Cr.) *küt-*, *kütü*, (H) *kit-*, (T) *kuť-*; Čuv. *kĕt-*; Tat., Bašk., *kŭt-*; Kklp., Kir. *küt-*; Uz. *kut-*; Uig. *küt-*; Lob. *küt-*; Sal. *küc-*, *küt-*, *kʿoˀ-*, *kʿöˀ- kʿuˀ-*; Alt. *küt-*; Yak. *kŭt-*. – Lit.: DTS 324; Eg. 110; ÈSTJa III 107; KRPS 324, 354, 307; ÖjHa. 44; StachM GJV 140; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 398, 401, 402.

The verb *küt-* 'to pasture; to watch over' is registered in OT and has equivalents in other Turkic languages, however in some languages the verb means 'to wait' in others 'to pasture', cf. Yak., Kir., Tat. Some authors claim that probably the contamination of two verbs occured, cf.: Eg. 111; StachM GJV 140.

makïr- (K-B) '1. blejaťˊ myčaťˊ mjaukaťˊ 2. *per.* plakaťˊ (KBRS 457); *makïr-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'mjaukaťˊ blejaťˊ (Boz. 180); *makïr-* (*maqʿîr-*; K) 'miauen' (Pr K 122); *makïr-* (*maqîr-*; B) 'miauen, blöken, meckern' (Pr B 242) < PT **bakïr-*; cf.: OT *bakïr-*; Az. *bagïr-*; Tur. *bagïr-*; Gag. *baïr-* ~ *bār-*; Kar. (Cr.) *bagïr-*, (H, T) *makïr-*; Tat. *bakïr-*; Tat. (Cr.) *bagïr-*; Čuv. *makăr-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *bakïr-*; Trkm. *bāgïr-*; Uz. *bokir-*; Uig. *wakĭri*, *böküri-*; Alt. *bagïr-*; Yak. *bakkïrā-*, *magïrā-*. – Lit.: DTS 82; Eg. 128; ÈSTJa II 20; KRPS 96, 402; Räs. VEWT 58 b.

There are equivalents of K-B verb *makïr-* 'to shout; to bleat' in other Turkic languages. We cannot exclude that this is an onomatopeic word.

min- (K-B) '1. vlezaťˊ zabiraťsja; podnimaťsja; 2. kudiťsja; 3. rasti; 4. jezdiť; 5. staťˊ vstaťˊ (KBRS 468); *min-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-

Bez.) 'sadiťsja, vlezať' (Boz. 180); *min-* (K) 'aufsteigen, sich auf etwas setzen' (Pr K 123); *min-* (B) 'sich setzen auf, besteigen (Dat.)' (Pr B 243) < PT **pīn-*; cf.: OT *bin-*, *min-*, *mün-*; Az. *min-*; Tur. *bin-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *min-*; Tat., Bašk. *men-*; Kaz. *mĭn-*; Nog. *mingiz-*; Kir. *min-*; Trkm. *bin-*; Uz., Uig. *min-*; Lob. *min-*, *men-*; Sal. *mim-*, *min-*, *miŋ-*; Y. Uig. *men-*, *mïn-*; Alt. *min-*; Khak. *mün-*; Tuv. *mun-*; Tof. *mun-*; Yak. *mīn-*. – Lit.: DTS 100, 344, 353; KRPS 407; Malov 143, 144; ÖjHa. 30; Rass. 208; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev SJ 191, 192; Tenišev 411, 412.

The verb *min-* '1. mount; 2. to ride' has equivalents in other Turkic languages and in OT.

oj- (K-B) '1. razrušať; valiť, razvalivať; 2. sryvať, rasstraivať; 3. vyrezať vyjem' (KBRS 508); *oj-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'razrušiť' (Boz. 181) < PT **ōj-*; cf.: OT *oj-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Cr.) *oj-*; Tat., Bašk. *uj-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *oj-*; Trkm. *ōj-*; Uz. *oj-*; Uig., Lob., Alt., Khak., Tuv., Šor. *oj-*. – Lit.: DTS 365; ÈSTJa I 425; KRPS 424; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *oj-* 'to carve; to excavate; to dig; to scoop out' is known both in OT and in some other Turkic languages, where in some of them there are different phonetic variants of this verb.

ojna- (K-B) '1. igrať, zabavljaťsa, razvlekaťsja; 2. vyigryvať; 3. šutiť, zaigrywať' (KBRS 492); *ojna-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'igrať, tancevať' (Boz. 181); *ojna-* (K) 'spielen' (Pr K 125); *ojna-* (B) 'hüpfen, tanzen, spielen, scherzen' (Pr B 246) < PT **ojunā-*; OT *ojna-*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ojna-*; Tat., Bašk. *ujna-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ojna-*; Kir. *ojno-*; Trkm. *ojna-*; Uz. *ojna-*; Uig. *ojni-*, *ojna-*, *ojnu-*; Sal. *ojna-*, *ojnā-*, *ojnä-*; Alt. *ojno-*; Khak. *ojna-*; Tuv. *ojna-*; Tof. *ojna-*; Yak. *ojnō-*, *ōjno-*, *ōńō-*, *ojńo-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 256; Doerfer LSCh 170, 304; DTS 365; ÈSTJa I 436; KRPS 425; Podolsky 16; Rass. 211; StachM GJV 50; Tenišev 424.

There are counterparts of the verb *ojna-* 'to play' in other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

oltur- (K-B) '1. sadiťsja, usažaťsja; 2. poseliťsja, osesť; 3. poterpeť neudaču; provaliťsja; 4. sideť, naxoditsja' (KBRS 405); *oltur-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'sideť, zaderživaťsja' (Boz. 181); *oltur-* (*olťur-*; K) 'sitzen, sich setzen' (Pr K 126); *oltur-* (B) 'sitzen; sich aufhalten, verweilen' (Pr B 246) < PT **ol-tur-*; **ol-ar-* (StachM GJV 125); cf.: OT *oltur-*, *oldur-*, *olur-*; Kum. *oltur-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *otur-*; Kar. (Cr.) *otur-*, *otïr-*, (H, T) *oltur-*; Tat. *utïr-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *otur-*; Čuv. *lar-*; Bašk. *utïr-*, *ultïr-*; Kaz., Kklp. *otïr-*; Nog. *oltïr-*; Kir. *otur-*; Trkm., Trukh. *otur-*; Uz. *otïr-*; Uig. *o(l)tu(r)-*, *otur-*; Lob. *ottur-*, *oltuj*, *ol'tuj-*, *ottu-*; Y. Uig. *olïr*, *olur-*, *oltur-*, *ulïr-*; Alt. *otur-*, *ottur-*; Khak. *odïr-*; Tuv. *olur-*; Tof. *olïr-*; Šor. *ottur-*; Yak. *olor-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 366, 367; Eg. 125; ÈSTJa I 489; KRPS 427, 435; Malov 151, 152; Podolsky 16; Rass. 212; SKT 180; StachM GJV 125; Tenišev SJ 193, 217.

The verb *oltur-* 'to sit' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. The forms: *oltur-*, *oldur-*, *olur-* were registered in OT.

or- (K-B) 'žať' (KBRS 503); *or-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'polučať urožaj, snimať urožaj, kosiť, žať' (Boz. 181); *or-* (K) 'ernten, mähen' (Pr K 126); *or-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 247) < PT **or-*; cf.: OT *or-*; Kum. *or-*; Tur. *ora-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *or-*, (Cr.) *ora-*; Tat. *ur-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ora-*; Čuv. *vĭr-*; Bašk. *ur-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *or-*; Uz. *or-*; Uig. *o(r)-*; Lob. *oj-*; Sal. *or-*, *ur-*; Y. Uig. *ur-*; Alt. *or-*. – Lit.: DTS 370; Eg. 59; ÈSTJa I 468; KRPS 430; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 426, 427, 534, 535.

The verb *or-* 'to reap' was known in OT. There are its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

oz- (K-B) '1. obgonjať; operažať; 2. proxodiť, projezžať; 3. minovať; 4. *per.* perexodiť meru, granicu, perebarščivať; 5. dostavaťsja, prixodiťsja. 6. prevosxodiť, pereščegoljať' (KBRS 490); *oz-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'idti vpered, operediť, peregnať; (Balk., Kaš.) 'proxodiť mimo' (Boz. 181); *oz-* (K) 'vorübergehen, vergehen' (Pr K 127); *oz-* (B) 'vorbeigehen, vorübergehen an (Abl.) (Pr B 247) < PT **ōs-*; cf.: OT *oz-*; Kum. *oz-*, Khal. *o˙z-*; Tur. dial., Kar. (Cr., T), Tat. (Cr.) *oz-*; Tat., Bašk. *uz-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *oz-*; Uz. *oz-*; Uig. *oz-*; Lob. *oz-*; Y. Uig. *joz-*, *juz-*, *jöz-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 244, 304; DTS 375; ÈSTJa I 425; KRPS 424; Malov 149; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *oz-* 'to get ahead, to overtake' is registered in OT and it has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. In Khal. the verb has another meaning, cf. *o˙z* - 'verlassen' (Doerfer LSCh 304).

ökür- (K-B) '1. myčať; reveť; 2. gromko plakať' (KBRS 276); *ökür-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'reveť' (Boz. 182); *ökür-* (*ökʿür-*; K) 'brüllen' (Pr K 127); *ökür-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 248) < PT **öŋ-*; cf.: OT *eŋrä-*; Tur. *ögür-*; Gag. *ür-*; Kar. (Cr.) *ökür-*, *akïr-*, (H) *ekir-*, (T) *ökur-*; Tat. *ükĭr-*; Čuv. *ĕnĕr-*; Bašk. *ükĭr-*; Kaz. *ökĭr-*; Kklp., Nog. *ökir-*; Kir. *ökür-*; Uz. *okir-*; Uig. *öŋkü(r)-*, *hökiri-*. – Lit.: DTS 175; Eg. 65; ÈSTJa I 517; KRPS 59, 439, 657; YRh. 907.

The verb *ökür-* 'to low, bellow; to retch' has its equivalents in some Turkic languages. In MK there was the verb *eŋrä-* with the same meaning, cf. DTS 175. Egorov underlines the onomatopoeic character of this verb, cf. Eg. 65.

ös- (K-B) '1. rasti; vospityvaťsja; 2. proizrastať; 3. razvivaťsja, zreť, krepnuť; 4. uveličivaťsja; 5. usilivaťsja' (KBRS 280); *ös-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'rasti' (Boz. 182); *ös-* (K) 'wachsen, gedeihen, zunehmen' (Pr K 127); *ös-* (B) 'wachsen, gedeihen' (Pr B 248) < PT **ös-*; cf.: OT *ös-*; Kum., Tur. dial. (DS) *ös-*; Kar. (Cr.) *ös-* (H) *es-*, (T) *ös-*, *öś-*; Tat. (Cr.) *oś-*; Tat. *üs-*; Čuv. *üs-*; Bašk. *üs-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *ös-*; Uz. *os-*; *us-* (Eg. 281); Uig. *ös-*; Lob. *ös-*, *üs-*, *us-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof., Šor. *ös-*. Lit.: DTS 391; Eg. 281; ÈSTJa I 552; KRPS 443, 668; Malov 153, 181; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *ös-* 'to grow; to develop' was registered in OT. There are its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

öt- (K-B) '1. proxoditʹ; 2. projezžatʹ; 3. perexoditʹ, perejezžatʹ, perepravljatʹsja; 4. proxoditʹ (*o toke*); 5. zlitʹsja; 6. dejstvovatʹ, vlijatʹ' (KBRS 281); *öt-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'perejti na storonu, perexoditʹ' (Boz. 182); *öt-*, *jöt-* (K) 'hinübergehen' (Pr K 127); *öt-* (B) 'hinübergehen; über, oder durch etwas gehen, vorbeigehen, vorübergehen, durchdringen' (Pr B 248); < PT **öt-*; cf.: OT *öt-*; Kum., Az. Tur. (arch.) *öt-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *öt-*; (H) *et-*; Tat. (Cr.) *otʹ-*; Tat. *üt-*; Čuv. *vit-*; Bašk. *üt-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *öt-*; Uz. *ot-*; *ut-* (Eg. 55); Uig., Sal. *öt-*; Lob. *öt-*, *üt-*; Y. Uig. *jüt-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof., Yak. *öt-*. – Lit.: DTS 391; Eg. 55; ÈSTJa I 554; KRPS 444, 671; YRh. 911.

The verb *öt-* 'to pass, to pass on' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

sal- (K-B) '1. staviʹ, klasʹ; 2. stlatʹ, postilatʹ, rasstilatʹ; 3. nasaživatʹ; 4. ustraivatʹ; 5. stroiʹ, sooružatʹ; 6. bitʹ, udarjatʹ; 7. vseliʹ; 8. navodiʹ, napravljatʹ; 9. vešatʹ; 10. sažatʹ; 11. dybitʹsja, vstavatʹ na dyby' (KBRS 537); *sal-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'klasʹ, staviʹ, naznačatʹ, opredeliʹ' (Boz. 183); *sal-* (K) 'werfen, schlendern, legen, setzen' (Pr K 129); *sal-* (B) 'werfen, schlendern, legen, setzen, stellen, aufstellen, erbauen, sich rasch in einer Richtung bewegen' (Pr B 250) < PT **sal-*; cf.: OT *sal-*; Az., Tur., Kar., Tat. *sal-*; Čuv. *sul-*; Bašk. *hal-*; Kaz., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sal-*; Uz. *sol-*; Uig., Lob., Sal., Y. Uig., Khak., Tuv. *sal-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; Bask. NJa. 259; ČRS 380; DTS 482; KRPS 462; Malov 159; Rass. 225; Šc. SF 196; Tenišev 471; Tenišev SJ 205.

The verb *sal-* 'to lay, to put; to hang down' etc. is registered in OT. It has also its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

sana- (K-B) '1. sčitatʹ, podčityvatʹ; podvergatʹ sčiotu; 2. priznavatʹ, sčitatʹ *k-č*, *za kogo-č.*; 3. *per.* boltatʹ, trepatʹ jazykom, nesti okelesicu' (KBRS 539); *sana-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'sčitatʹ, ceniʹ, dumatʹ' (Boz. 183); *sana-* (K) 'zählen' (Pr K 130); *sana-* (B) 'zählen, rechnen' (Pr B 250) < PT **sā-*; cf.: OT *sa-*; Az. *saj-*; Khal. *sāj-*; *sāna-*; Tur. *saj-*; Kar. (Cr.) *saj-*, *sana-*, (H, T) *sana-*; Tat. (Ur.) *saj-*; Tat. *sana-*, *saŋa-*; Čuv. *su-*, dial. *săv*; Kaz., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sana-*; Uig. *sana-*; Lob., Y. Uig. *sana-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 271, 308; DTS 478; Eg. 192; JUFD 230; KRPS 459, 464; Podolsky 19; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 205.

The verb *sana-* '1. to count; 2. to esteem, to respect; 3. to think' is registered in OT in the form *sa-*; it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

sat- (K-B) '1. prodavatʹ; 2. *per.* predavatʹ' (KBRS 543); *sat-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'prodavatʹ' (Boz. 183); *sat-* (K) 'verkaufen, kaufen' (Pr K 130); *sat-* (B) 'verkaufen' (Pr B 251) < PT **sat-*; cf.: OT *sat-*; Az. *sat-*; Khal. *saʿt-*; Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *sat-*; Čuv. *sut-*; Bašk. *hat-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sat-*; Uz. *sot-*; Uig., Lob. *sat-*; Sal. *sa-*, *sac-*, *sä²-*, *sat-*; Y. Uig., Alt., Khak.,

Tuv. *sat-*; Tof. *sat-*; cf. Yak. *atī* 'Ware' (StachM GJV 99). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 265, 308; DTS 490; Eg. 197; KRPS 468; Malov 160; Podolsky 19; Rass. 226; StachM GJV 99; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 469, 471, 475; Tenišev SJ 205.

There are many equivalents of the verb *sat-* 'to sell' in other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

saw- (K-B) '1. doiť; 2. *per.* vymogať, doiť' (KBRS 544); *sau-* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'doiť' (Boz. 183); *sau-* (K) 'melken' (Pr K 131); *sau-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 251) < PT **sag-*; cf.: OT *sag*; Kum. *sav-*; Az., Tur. *sag-*; Kar. *sav-*; Tat. *sav-*; Čuv. *su-*, dial.: *săv-*; Bašk. *hau-*; Kaz., Kklp. *sau-*; Nog. *sav-*; Kir. *sā-*; Trkm. *sag-*; Uz. *sog-*; Uig. *sag-*; Lob. *sag-*, *sak-*; Sal. *sax-*; Y. Uig. *sag-*; Alt. *sā-*; Khak., Tuv. *sag-*; Yak. *sïa-* (Eg. 192); *ïa-* (ÖjHa. 21, StachM GJV 21). – Lit.: DTS 480; Eg. 192; KRPS 454; Malov 158; ÖjHa. 21; StachM GJV 21; Tenišev SJ 205; Tenišev 476.

The verb *saw-* 'to milk' has its equivalents both in other modern Turkic languages and in OT.

seb-, **sep-** (K-B) '1. sypať; 2. sejať; 3. bryzgať' (KBRS 548); *sep-* (K) 'zerstreuen' (Pr K 131); *sep-*, *sef-*, *seb-* (B) 'streuen, zerstren, besprengen, bespritzen' Pr B 251) < PT **säp-*; cf.: *sep-* (Zamahš.); Az., Khal. *säp-*; Tur. *sep-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sep-*, *serp-*, (H) *sep-*, (T) *śop-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sep-*; Čuv. *sap-*; Kaz., Kklp. *sep-*; Nog. *sep-*, *sip-*; Kir., Uz. *sep-*; Uig. *säp-*; Alt. (V.) *sep-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; Bask. NJa. 259; Doerfer LSCh 247, 308; Eg. 178; KRPS 471, 499; Podolsky 20; Šč. SF 196; YRh. 1000.

The verb *sep-* 'to sprinkle, scatter; to powder' has its equivalents also in other languages. At the earliest it was registered by Zamahšari.

sekir- (K-B) '1. prygnuť, podprygnuť, podskočiť; 2. brosaťsja, kidaťsja' (KBRS 550); *sekir-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'prygať' (Boz. 183); *sekir-* (*sekʿir-*; K) 'springen' (Pr K 131); *sekir-* (B) 'springen, aufspringen' (Pr B 251) < PT **säkir-* (ESG); cf.: OT *sekri-*, *sikri-*; Az. *sek-*; Tur. *sek-*; Kar. *sekir-*; Tat. *siker-*; Čuv. *sik-*; Bašk. *hiker-*; Kaz., Kklp., Kir. *sekir-*; Uz. *sakra-*, Uz. (S) *sikir-*; Uig. *säkri-*; Alt. *sekir-*; Khak. *segir-*; cf. Yak. *äkkiriä-* 'springen' (ÖjHa. 22). – Lit.: DTS 494, 499; Eg. 190; KRPS 470, 498; ÖjHa. 22; YRh. 995.

The verb *sekir-* 'to hop; to run in a series of jumps' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. In the forms: *sekri- sikri-* it is registered in OT.

sïdïr- (K-B) '1. carapať, sdirať; delať ssadinu; 2. snimať, staskivať' (KBRS 579); *sïdïr-* (*sı̊dı̊r-*; K) '(ringsum) abschälen' (Pr K 131); *sïdïr-* (*sı̊dı̊r-*; B) 'abschälen, schinden, das Fell abziehen' (Pr B 252) < PT **sïðïr-* (ESG); cf.: OT *sïðïr-*; Az. *sïjïr-*; Tur. *sïjïr-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sïdïr-*; Tat. *sïdïr-*; Čuv. *šăjăr-*; Bašk. *hïzïr-*; Kaz. *sïdïr-*; Kklp. *sïïr-*; Kir. *sïdïr-*, *sïjïr-*; Y. Uig. *sïzïr-*; Alt. *sïjïr-*; Khak., Šor. *sïzïr-*. – Lit.: DTS 502; Eg. 332; KRPS 488; Räs. VEWT 414 b; YRh. 1015.

The verb *sïdïr-* 'to tear, peel off; to strip off' has its equivalents in some Turkic languages. The form *sïðïr-* was confirmed in OT.

sïk- (K-B) '1. vyžimať, otžimať; 2. *per.* žať, zastavljať *kogo* userdno rabotať' (KBRS 578) < PT **sïk-*; cf.: OT *sïk-*; Az. *sïx-*; Tur. *sïk-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sïk-*, (T) *sïx-*; Tat. *sïk-*; Čuv. *săx-*; Bašk. *hïk-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sïk-*; Uz. *sik-*; Uig., Lob., Alt. *sïk-*; cf.: Khak. *sïga tut-*; Tuv. *sïk-*; Tof. *sïk-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 261; DTS 504; Eg. 185; KRPS 491, 495; Malov 165; Rass. 230; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *sïk-* 'to squeeze, to press; to wring out' was known in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

sïn- (K-B) '1. lomaťsja, slomaťsja; 2. stixať, utixať; 3. *per.* slomiťsja; perežiť duševnyj podlom' (KBRS 584); *sïn-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'slomať' (Boz. 183); *sïn-* (*sĺn-*; K) 'zerbrochen werden' (Pr K 131); *sïn-* (*sĺn-*; B) 'zerbrechen (intr.)' (Pr B 252) < PT **sī̆-*; cf.: OT *sïn-*; Khal. *sīn-*; Tur. (arch.) *sïn-*; Kar. *sïn-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sïn-*; Lob. *sïn-*; Y. Uig. *sï-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 249, 309; DTS 503; KRPS 492; Malov 165; Sul. Kkar. 97; Podolsky 20; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 208.

The verb *sïn-* 'to break, to become broken' was known in OT. There are equivalents of this verb in some modern Turkic languages.

sïna- (K-B) '1. ispytyvať, probovať; 2. perežiť, vystradať; 3. prigljadyvaťsja, nabljudať' (KBRS 584); *sïna-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'isprobovať, ispytať' (Boz. 183); *sïna-* (*sĺna-*; K) 'erproben, prüfen' (Pr K 131); *sïna-* (*sĺna-*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 252) < PT **sïna-* (ESG); OT *sïna-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar., Tat. *sïna-*; Čuv. *săna-*; Bašk. *hïna-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sïna-*; Uz., Uig. *sina-*; Khak. *sïna-*. – Lit.: DTS 504; Eg. 181; KRPS 492.

The verb *sïna-* 'to try, to test' was known in OT. There are equivalents of the verb in other Turkic languages.

sïr- (K-B) 'stegať' (KBRS 587); *sïr-* (*sĺr-*; B) 'umgeben, umringen' (Pr B 252) < PT **sī̆r-*; cf.: OT *sïrï-*; cf. Kum. *sïrma* 'gesteppt' (Räs. VEWT 418 b); Khal. *siri-*; Tat. *sïr-*; Khak. *sïrï-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 257, 309; DTS 505; Räs. VEWT 418 b; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *sïr-* in K-B means 'to quilt' whereas in B. dial. it has the meaning 'to surround'. In OT and in a few other Turkic languages the verb has equivalents with the same meaning as in K-B.

sibir- (K-B) '1. mesti, podmetať; 2. *per.* krasť' (KBRS 558); *sïpïr-* (K-B) '1. vymetať, sgrebať; 2. stibriť, utaščiť' (ibid. 586); *sibir-* (K) 'fegen' (Pr K 132) < PT **sibir-*, **süpür-* (ESG); cf.: OT *sipir-*, *süpür-*; Kum. *sibir-*; Az., Tur. *süpür-*; Kar. *sibir-*; Tat. *seber-*; Bašk. *häpär-*; Kaz., Kklp. *sïpïr-*; Nog. *sïpïr-*; Kir. *šïpïr-*; Uz. *supur-*, *süpür-*; Uig. *šüpür-*, *süpür-*; Y. Uig. *sür-*; Oir. *sibir-*; Khak. *sïbïr-*; Yak. *sipī̆-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 261; DTS 501, 517; Eg. 335; JUFD 257; KRPS 472; Räs. VEWT 437 a; Tenišev SJ 210.

The verb *sibir-* 'to sweep; to brush' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *sipir-*, *süpür-* were registered.

sij- (K-B) 'močiťsja, ispuskať moču' (KBRS 559); *sij-* (K) 'pissen, urinieren' (Pr K 132); *sij-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 252) < PT **siδ-*, **sigδ-* (Räs. VEWT 421 a); **sig-* (StachM GJV 107); **sī* 'moča' (Šč. SF 196); cf.: OT *sid-*, *siδ-*, *sit-*; Kum., Tur., Kar., Tat. *sij-*; Čuv. *šăr-*; Bašk. *hej-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *sij-*; Kaz. *šora-*, *sar-*; Trkm. *sī-*; Uig., Uz. *sij-*; Y. Uig. *sez-*, *siz-*; Alt. *sij-*; Khak. *sĭd-e-*; Yak. *īk.* – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 499, 501; Eg. 335; KRPS 473; Räs. VEWT 421 a; StachM GJV 107; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *sij-* 'to urinate' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms *sid-*, *sit-*, *siδ-* were registered.

siŋ- (K-B) '1. vpityvaťsja; 2. proniknuť, probrať, proxvaliť; 3. prižívaťsja, privivaťsja, ukorenjaťsja; 4. *per.* uglubljaťsja, okunaťsja' (KBRS 560) < PT **siŋ-*; cf.: OT *siŋ-*; Tur. *sin-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *sin-*; Tat. *seŋ-*; Bašk. *heŋ-*; Kaz. *sĭŋ-*; Nog. *siŋ-*; Kir., Trkm. *siŋ-*; Uz. *singi-*; Uig. *siŋ-*; Y. Uig. *sïŋ-*; Tuv. *siŋ-*; Tof. *sïŋ-*; Yak. *iŋ-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; DTS 500; KRPS 474; Rass. 227; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 208; YRh. 1020.

The verb *siŋ-* '1. to crouch down; to be hidden; 2. to sink (into), to penetrate' was registered in OT. There are also its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

soj- (K-B) '1. snimať škuru (koru); 2. rezať, zabivať; 3. sveževať. 4. *per.* mučiť, terzať; silno rugať; 5. carapať; 6. ubiť' (KBRS 569); *soj-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'snjať škuru, obodrať' (Boz. 183); *soj-* (K) 'schinden, plündern, berauben' (Pr K 132) < PT **soj-*; cf.: OT *soj-*; Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. *soj-*; Tat. *suj-*; Tat. (Ur.) *soj-*; Čuv. *sü-*, dial. *sĕv-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., Uig., Lob. *soj-*; Y. Uig. *soj-*, *so-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *soj-*. – Lit.: DTS 507; Eg. 198; KRPS 477; Malov 162; Podolsky 21; SKT 181; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 206.

The verb *soj-* '1. to peel; 2. to strip' was registered in OT and has equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

sok- (K-B) I 'igraťˈ, akkompanirovaťˈ. II 'tkaťˈ. III '1. biť, udarjať, stukať; 2. rugať; 3. podstreliťˈ (KBRS 563); *sok-* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'biť, tkaťˈ (Boz. 183); *sok-* (*soq-*; K) 'weben' (Pr K 132), *sok-* (*soq-*; K) 'schlagen, hauen' (ibid. 132); *sok-* (*soq-*; B) 'schlagen, prügeln, weben' (Pr B 253) < PT **sok-*; OT: *sok-*; Tur. *sok-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sok-*; Tat. *suk-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sox-*; Čuv. *săx-*; Bašk. *huk-*; Kaz., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sok-*; Uz. *sŭk-*; Uig. *sok-*; Lob., Y. Uig., Alt. *sok-*; Khak. *sox-*; Tuv. *sok-*; Tof. *sok-*; Yak. *uk-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; DTS 508; Eg. 185; KRPS 477; Malov 162; ÖjHa. 38; Podolsky 21; Rass. 227; StachM GJV 75; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev SJ 207.

The verb *sok-* in K-B has several meanings, where the most frequent are 1 'to beat'; 2. 'to weave'. There are also the less frequent 'to scold' and even 'to

play an instrument'. In OT the verb *sok-* was registered with three meanings: 1 'to beat'; 2. 'to put, to insert'; 3. 'to bite'. At present in some languages (Tof., Tuv., Tat., Bašk., Uz., Uig.) the equivalents of the verb mean 'to beat', in some others (Tat. (Ur.), Yak., Lob.) 'to insert, shove', also in Tur., Trkm., Čuv. 'to bite'.

solu- (K-B) '1. dyšať; 2. otdyxať' (KBRS 565); *solu-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'dyšať, otdyxať' (Boz. 184); *solu-* (K) 'atmen, sich ausruhen' (Pr K 132); *solu-* (B) 'atmen, Atem holen, sich ausruhen' (Pr B 253) < PT **solu-* (ESG); cf.: Tur. *solu-*; Tat. *sula-*; Čuv. *sïvla-*. – Lit.: Eg. 200.

The verb *solu-* 'to breathe; to breathe heavily' has its equivalents only in three other Turkic languages. Comparative material is given only by Egorov.

sor- (K-B) '1. sprašivať; osvedomljaťsja; 2. sovetovaťsja; 3. doprašivať' (KBRS 567); *sor-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'sprašivať' (Boz. 184); *sor-* (K) 'fragen, ausfragen' (Pr K 132); *sor-* (B) 'fragen' (Pr B 253) < PT **sor-* (ESG); cf.: OT *sor-*; Kum. *sora-*; Khal. *so'r-*; Tur., Kar., Tat. (Ur.) *sor-*; Tat. (Kaz.) *söra-*; cf. Čuv. *šïra-* 'iskať' (ČRS 626); Nog. *sora-*; Trkm. *sōra-*; Trukh. *sōra-*, *sora-*; Uig. *sora-*; Lob. *soj-*; Y. Uig. *sura-*; Sal. *sor-*, *sur-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; ČRS 626; Doerfer LSCh 310; DTS 509; KRPS 479; Malov 162; Podolsky 21; SKT 181; Räs. VEWT 433 a-b; Tenišev 485, 486, 489; Tenišev SJ 208.

The verb *sor-* 'to ask' was registered in OT. There are some equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

I sök- (K-B) '1. rasparyvať, otparyvať; 2. razmatyvať, raspuskať' (KBRS 555); *sök-* (B) 'auftrennen, auflösen; ausspannen, abwickeln' (Pr B 253) < PT **sök-*; cf.: OT *sök-*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur. *sök-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sök-*, (H) *sek-*; Tat. *süt-*; Čuv. *süt-*, dial.: *sĕvĕt-*; Bašk. *hüt-*; Kaz. *söt-*; Kklp. *set-*, *söt-*; Nog., Kir., Trkm. *sök-*; Uz. (S) *sok-*; Uig. *sök-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *sök-*; Tof. *sök-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 252, 310; DTS 510; Eg. 199; KRPS 481, 497; Rass. 228; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *sök-* '1. to tear down; 2. to rip open; 3. to unplait' was known in OT. There are equivalents of this verb in some modern Turkic languages.

II sök- (K-B) '1. kritikovať, osužať; 2. poročiť, xuliť, černiť (KBRS 555); *sök-* (K) 'schelten, verleumden' (Pr K 132); *sök-*, *söx-*, *sög-* (B) 'Übles nachreden, verachten' (Pr B 251) < PT **sȫk-*; cf: OT *sök-*; Khal. *sög-*, *söj-*; Tur. *sög-* = *söv-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sök-*, *sögin-*, (H) *sek-*; Tat. *suk-*; Tat. (Kaz.) *sük-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sög(ün)-*; Čuv. *sĕk-*; Bašk. *hük-*; Kklp. *sok-*; Trkm. *sök-*; *sȫk-* (Räs. VEWT 429 b-430 a); Uig. *sök-*; Lob. *sök-*; Alt. (V) *sök-*; Yak. *üöx-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 310; DTS 510; Eg. 187; KRPS 480, 481, 497; Malov 163; ÖjHa. 42; Podolsky 21; Räs. VEWT 429 b-430 a; Šč SF 196; YRh. 1029.

The verb *sök-* '1. to criticize; to judge; 2. to scold' was registered in OT. There are its counterparts in some modern Turkic languages. However, in some

languages the meaning is different, cf.: Tur. *sög-* = *söv-* 'to curse, swear'; Kar. (H) *sek-* 'to slander'; Kklp. *sok-* and Tat. *suk-* 'to hit'; Čuv. *sĕk-* 'to gore, horn'.

söleš- (K-B) '1. govoriť, razgovarivať; 2. pogovoriť, peregovoriť; 3. vystupať' (KBRS 557); *söleš-* (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'govoriť, besedovať' (Boz. 184); *söjle-* (K) 'sagen, sprechen' (Pr K 132); *söjleš-*, *söjlöš-* (B) 'sprechen, sagen, rufen, anreden, sich (im Gespräch) unterhalten, sich in ein Gespräch einlassen' (Pr B 253) < PT **sö(z)-lä-š-* (ESG); cf: OT *sözlä-*; Kum. *söjle-*; Az. *söjlen-*; Tur. *söjle-*; Gag. *sülen-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sözľa-*, *sozla-*, (H) *sezle-*, (T) *śozľa-*; Tat. (Kaz.) *söjlä-*; Čuv. *sujlan-*, dial.: *suľan-*, *soľan-*; Kaz. *söjlö-*, *sülö-*; Nog. *söjle-*, *söjlö-*; Kir. *süjlön-*; Khak. *söle-*; Šor. *süjlä-*; Yak. *üläs-* 'usloviťsja' (Räs. VEWT 429 b); *sulan-* 'pričityvať, setovať, roptať' (Eg. 193). – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 260; DTS 512; Eg. 193; KRPS 471, 481, 497; Räs. VEWT 429 b; Sul. Kkar. 96.

The verb *söleš-*, *söjle-*, *söjleš-* 'to speak, to talk' has in other Turkic languages its equivalents, however in some of them with different meaning, cf.: Kum., Gag., Kir. 'to rave, to talk nonsense'; in Az. 'to growl'. Cf. also the meanings given by Räsänen and Egorov in the case of Yakut. The form *sözlä-* was registered in OT.

sugar- (K-B) 'polivať, orošať' (KBRS 572) < PT **suv-*(~ **sug-*)*-gar-*; cf.: OT *suvgar-*; Kum., *sugar-*; Az., Tur. *suvar-*; Kar. (Cr.) *suvar-*, (H) *sugar-*, (T) *suvgar-*; Tat. *sugar-*; Čuv. *šăvar-*; Bašk. *hugar-*; Kaz. *suar-*; Kklp. *sugar-*; Nog. *suvgar-*; Kir. *sugar-*; Trkm. *suvar-*; Uz. *sugor-*; Uig. *suvar-*, *sugar-*; Oir., Khak. *sugar-*; Tuv. *suggar-*. – Lit.: DTS 515; Eg. 332; KRPS 482, 483.

The verb *sugar-* '1. to pour; to water; 2. to sprinkle' has its equivalents in other languages, in some cases with different meaning, cf. in Tat. *sugar-*; Bašk. *hugar-* 'to steel'. The form *suvgar-* registered in OT.

suk- (K-B) '1. vtykať, vonzať; 2. sovať; 3. pogruziť, opustiť, maknuť' (KBRS 572); *suk-* (B. dial.: Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'vsunuť, prosunuť' (Boz. 184); *suk-* (*suq-*; K) 'hineinstecken' (Pr K 133); *suk-*, *sux-*, *sug-* (*suq-*, *sux-*, *suɣ-*; B) 'hineinstecken, eintauchen' (Pr B 253) < PT **suk-*; cf.: OT *suk-*, *sok-*; Kum. *sök-*; Tur. *sok-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sok-*; Tat. (Kaz.) *sök-*, Tat. (Ur.) *sox-*; Kaz. *suk-*; Trkm. *sok-*; Kir. *suk-*; Khak. *sux-*; Yak. *uk-*. – Lit.: DTS 508, 514; KRPS 477; Podolsky 21; Räs. VEWT 432 a; Šč. SF 196; YRh. 1026.

There are equivalents of the verb *suk-* 'to thrust into; to insert' in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the forms *sok-*, *suk-* were registered.

süje- (K-B) '1. staviť; 2. vozvodiť' (KBRS 588); *süje-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'staviť, postaviť' (Boz. 184); *süje-* (K) 'stützen, anlehnen, bauen' (Pr K 133); *süje-* (B) 'aufstellen, anlehnen, bauen' (Pr B 254) < PT **söj-ā̆-*; cf.: Kaz. *süö-*; Kir. *süjö-*; Trkm. *söje-*, *söjö-*; Tuv. *söjö-*; Yak. *öjüö* ~ *öjō̆-*. – Lit.: Räs. VEWT 435 a; StachM GJV 66, 73.

There are equivalents of the verb *süje-* 'to put, to put up; to place' only in a few modern Turkic languages, in Trkm. with the meaning 'to support' and in Yak. 'to help'.

sujre- (K-B) '1. tjanuť, voločiť; 2. *per.* soderžať, tjanuť, pomagať' (KBRS 590); *sujre-*, *süre-* (K) 'ziehen, schleppen' (Pr K 133) < PT **süδrä-*, **söδrä-*; cf. Tur. *sürü-*; Tat. *österä-* (Eg. 190); Tat. (Kaz.) *söjrä-*; Čuv. *sĕtĕr-*; Kaz. *sujrö-*; Trkm. *sujre-*; Uz. *sudra-*; Alt. (V) *süzür-*; Khak. *sözir-*; Tuv. *sȭrt-*; Šor. *süzür-*. – Lit.: Eg. 190; Räs. VEWT 435 a.

The verb *sujre-* 'to drag along the ground' has equivalents only in some modern Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

sür- (K-B) '1. gnať, vygonjať; 2. gnaťsja, dogonjať; 3. ugonjať; 4. gonjaťsja; 5. pristrastiťsja, proxotiťsja; 6. prinjať, priznať; 7. paxať, vspaxivať; 8. vyraščivať, proizvodiť' (KBRS. 592); *sür-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'gnať, prognať, gnať pered soboj' (Boz. 184); *sür-* (K) 'treiben, jagen, vertreiben' (Pr K 133); *sür-* (B) 'treiben, wegtreiben, vor sich hintreiben; ackern, pflügen' (Pr B 254) < PT **sür-*; **sūr-* (StachM GJV 135.); cf.: OT *sür-*; Kum., Az. *sür-*; Khal. **sūr-*, *sīr-*; Tur. *sür-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sür-*, *sur-*, (H) *sir-*, (T) *śur-*; Tat. *sör-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sür-*; Čuv. *süre-*, dial. *süvre-*, *sür-*, *sürele-*; Bašk. *hür-*; Kaz. *sujre-*; Nog. *sür-*; cf.: Kir. *sürgün* 'gonenje, ssylka' (Rass. 229); Trkm. *sür-*; Uz. *sur-*; Uig., Sal. *sür-*; Y. Uig. *sur-*; Alt. (V) *sūre-*; Khak., Tuv. *sür-*; Tof. *sür-*; Yak. *ür-*, *ūr-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 261.; Doerfer LSCh 262, 310; DTS 517; Eg. 198; KRPS 475, 486, 501; ÖjHa. 44; Podolsky 21; Rass. 229; StachM GJV 135; Sul. Kkar. 97; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 490; Tenišev SJ 208.

The verb *sür-* '1. to drive (cattle); 2. to plough' was known in OT. There are its equivalents in other Turkic languages, however in some languages as Tat. (Ur.), Čuv. with a meaning 'to plough'. In Uz. *sur-* 'to carry'.

süz- (K-B) '1. cediť, proceživať; 2. obsudiť; razobraťsja' (KBRS 589); *süz-* (B. dial.) 'cediť, fil'trovať' (Boz. 184); *süz-* (B) 'seihen, filtrieren' (Pr B 254) < PT **sūs-*; cf.: OT *süz-*; Kum., Az., Tur. *süz-*; Kar. (Cr.) *süz-*, (H) *siz-*, *ses-*, *sus-*, (T) *śuź-*, *sus-*; Tat. *söz-*; Tat. (Ur.) *süz-*; Čuv. *sĕr-*; Bašk. *hüz-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kirg., Trkm., Uig. *süz-*; Kklp., Uz. *suz-*; Alt. *šü-*; Tuv. *šūr-*. – Lit.: DTS 519; Eg. 188; KRPS 473, 485, 486, 500, 501; Podolsky 21; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *süz-* 'to filter, to strain' was registered in OT; it also has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with generally the same meaning. However in dialects of Karaim (i.e. H and T) it has also different meanings, cf. *sus-* (H, T) '1. to draw; 2. to steal'; *ses-* (H) 'to feel, realize; to feel pain'.

taj- (K-B) '1. skoľziť, sezžať, sdvigaťsja; 2. *per.* otxodiť, otklonjaťsja, otrekaťsja; 3. *per.* uxodiť, pokidať' (KBRS 614); *taj-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'poskoľznuťsja, vyskoľznuťsja' (Boz. 184); *taj-* (*tʿaj-*; K) 'ausgleiten' (Pr K 135); *taj-* (B) 'ausgleiten, entschlüpfen' (Pr B 256) < PT **tāj-*; cf.: OT *taj-*; Kar. (Cr.,

There are equivalents of the verb *süje-* 'to put, to put up; to place' only in a few modern Turkic languages, in Trkm. with the meaning 'to support' and in Yak. 'to help'.

süjre- (K-B) '1. tjanuť, voločiť; 2. *per.* soderžať, tjanuť, pomagať' (KBRS 590); *süjre-*, *süre-* (K) 'ziehen, schleppen' (Pr K 133) < PT **süðrä-*, **söðrä-*; cf. Tur. *sürü-*; Tat. *österä-* (Eg. 190); Tat. (Kaz.) *söjrä-*; Čuv. *sětěr-*; Kaz. *süjrö-*; Trkm. *süjre-*; Uz. *sudra-*; Alt. (V) *süzür-*; Khak. *sözir-*; Tuv. *sȫrt-*; Šor. *süzür-*. – Lit.: Eg. 190; Räs. VEWT 435 a.

The verb *süjre-* 'to drag along the ground' has equivalents only in some modern Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

sür- (K-B) '1. gnať, vygonjať; 2. gnaťsja, dogonjať; 3. ugonjať; 4. gonjaťsja; 5. pristrastiťsja, proxotiťsja; 6. prinjať, priznať; 7. paxať, vspaxivať; 8. vyraščivať, proizvodiť' (KBRS. 592); *sür-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'gnať, prognať, gnať pered soboj' (Boz. 184); *sür-* (K) 'treiben, jagen, vertreiben' (Pr K 133); *sür-* (B) 'treiben, wegtreiben, vor sich hintreiben; ackern, pflügen' (Pr B 254) < PT **sür-*; **sȗr-* (StachM GJV 135.); cf.: OT *sür-*; Kum., Az. *sür-*; Khal. **sȗr-*, *sīr-*; Tur. *sür-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sür-*, *sur-*, (H) *sir-*, (T) *śur-*; Tat. *sör-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sür-*; Čuv. *süre-*, dial. *süvre-*, *sür-*, *sürele-*; Bašk. *hür-*; Kaz. *süjre-*; Nog. *sür-*; cf.: Kir. *sürgün* 'gonenje, ssylka' (Rass. 229); Trkm. *sür-*; Uz. *sur-*; Uig., Sal. *sür-*; Y. Uig. *sur-*; Alt. (V) *sȗre-*; Khak., Tuv. *sür-*; Tof. *sür-*; Yak. *ür-*, *ȗr-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 261.; Doerfer LSCh 262, 310; DTS 517; Eg. 198; KRPS 475, 486, 501; ÖjHa. 44; Podolsky 21; Rass. 229; StachM GJV 135; Sul. Kkar. 97; Šč. SF 196; Tenišev 490; Tenišev SJ 208.

The verb *sür-* '1. to drive (cattle); 2. to plough' was known in OT. There are its equivalents in other Turkic languages, however in some languages as Tat. (Ur.), Čuv. with a meaning 'to plough'. In Uz. *sur-* 'to carry'.

süz- (K-B) '1. cediť, proceživať; 2. obsudiť; razobraťsja' (KBRS 589); *süz-* (B. dial.) 'cediť, fil'trovať' (Boz. 184); *süz-* (B) 'seihen, filtrieren' (Pr B 254) < PT **sȗs-*; cf.: OT *süz-*; Kum., Az., Tur. *süz-*; Kar. (Cr.) *süz-*, (H) *siz-*, *ses-*, *sus-*, (T) *śuź-*, *sus-*; Tat. *söz-*; Tat. (Ur.) *süz-*; Čuv. *sĕr-*; Bašk. *hüz-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kirg., Trkm., Uig. *süz-*; Kklp., Uz. *suz-*; Alt. *šü-*; Tuv. *šȗr-*. – Lit.: DTS 519; Eg. 188; KRPS 473, 485, 486, 500, 501; Podolsky 21; Šč. SF 196.

The verb *süz-* 'to filter, to strain' was registered in OT; it also has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with generally the same meaning. However in dialects of Karaim (i.e. H and T) it has also different meanings, cf. *sus-* (H, T) '1. to draw; 2. to steal'; *ses-* (H) 'to feel, realize; to feel pain'.

taj- (K-B) '1. skoľziť, sezžať, sdvigaťsja; 2. *per.* otxodiť, otklonjaťsja, otrekaťsja; 3. *per.* uxodiť, pokidať' (KBRS 614); *taj-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'poskoľznuťsja, vyskoľznuťsja' (Boz. 184); *taj-* (*t^{c}aj-*; K) 'ausgleiten' (Pr K 135); *taj-* (B) 'ausgleiten, entschlüpfen' (Pr B 256) < PT **tāj-*; cf.: OT *taj-*; Kar. (Cr.,

H, T), Tat., Tat. (Ur.), Bašk., Kaz. *taj-*; Trkm. *taj-*; Uz. *toj-*; Uig. *taj-*; Alt. *tajkïla-*; Khak. *tajlïx-*; Tuv. *taj-*; Tof. *taj-*. – Lit.: DTS 527; KRPS 505; Podolsky 23; Rass. 232; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *taj-* 'to slide' was registered in OT and has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

tajan- (K-B) '1. prislonjaťsja, privalivaťsja; 2. ložiťsja; 3. podnimaťsja, vosxodiť; 4. opiraťsja, osnovyvaťsja' (KBRS 614); *tajan-* (*tʿajan-*; K) 'sich anlehnen, sich stützen an' (Pr K 135) < PT **tajan-* (ESG); cf.: OT *taja-*, *tajan-*; Kum. *tajan-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *dajan-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *tajan-*; Čuv. *tajan-* (prob. < Tat.); Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tajan-*; Trkm. *dajan-*; Uz. *tajan-*; Uig. *tajan-*, *täjin-*; Sal. *ʒija-*; Y. Uig. *tejan-*, *tajan-*; Alt., Khak. *tajan-*; Tuv. *dajan-*; Šor. *tajan-*; Yak. *tajan-*. – Lit.: DTS 527; Eg. 234; ÈSTJa III 125; KRPS 506; Podolsky 23; Tenišev 565.

The verb *tajan-* '1. to lean against sth; 2. to resist' is known in OT in the form *taja-* and a reflexive one *tajan-*. It has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning, however in Tat (Ur.) *tajan-* 'to endure'.

tak- (K-B) '1. privjazyvaťˊ, pricepljaťˊ; 2. vešaťˊ, podvešivaťˊ; 3. nadevaťˊ; 4. braťˊ' (KBRS 596); *tak-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'vešaťˊ, povesiťˊ' (Boz. 184); *tak-* (*tʿaq-*; K) 'hängen, aufhängen, anbinden, sich etwas umhängen' (Pr K 135); *tak-*, *tax-*, *tag-* (*taq-*, *tax-*, *tay-*; B) 'hängen, anfhängen, daranhängen, anbinden' (Pr B 256) < PT **tak-*, **tāk-*; cf.: OT *tak-*; Kum. *tak-*; Az. *tax-*, *tag-*; Tur. *tak-*; Gag. *dak-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *tak-*, (T) *tax-*; Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *tak-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tax-*; Čuv. *tăx-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Kir. *tak-*; Trkm. *dak-*; Uz. *tak-*; Sal. *tax-*, *tāx-*; Alt. (V) *tag-*, *tak-*. – Lit.: DTS 536; Eg. 240; ÈSTJa III 129; KRPS 506, 518; Podolsky 23; StachM GJV 54; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 505, 506.

The verb *tak-* '1. to bind; 2. to hang; 3. to attach' was known in OT. There are its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

tala- (K-B) '1. kusaťˊ; 2. razmyvaťˊ, rozrušaťˊ; 3. *per.* izvodiťˊ, gryzťˊ; 4. *per.* obiraťˊ, opustošaťˊ, grabiťˊ' (KBRS 599); *tala-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk.) 'rasterzaťˊ' (Boz. 184); *tala-* (B) 'zerschmettern, zerstückeln, zermalmen' (Pr B 256) < PT **tala-* (ESG); cf.: OT *tala-*; Az. *dala-*, *tala-*; Tur., Gag. *dala-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tala-*; Tat. *tala-*; Čuv. *tula-*, dial.: *tăvla-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Kir., Trkm., Uz. *tala-*; Uig. *tali-*; Alt. (V) *tada-*; Oir. *tala-*; Yak. *talā-*. – Lit.: DTS 528; Eg. 256; ÈSTJa III 134; KRPS 507.

The verb *tala-* '1. to bite; 2. to tear, to rip; 3. to destroy; 4. to rob' was registered in OT and it has its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

tam- (K-B) 'kapaťˊ, teč kapljami' (KBRS 601); *tam-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'kapaťˊ' (Boz. 184); *tam-* (*tʿam-*; K) 'tropfen, tröpfeln' (Pr K 136); *tam-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 256) < PT **tam-*; cf.: OT *tam-*; Kum. *tam-*; Az., Tur. *dam-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tam-*; Tat., Tat. (Cr.), Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tam-*; Trkm. *dam-*; Uz. *tom-*;

Uig., Sal., Alt., Šor. *tam-*; cf. also Yak. *tammalā-*. – Lit.: DTS 529; ÈSTJa III 139; KRPS 509; ÖjHa. 11; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tam-* 'to drop; to drip' was known in OT. In some modern Turkic languages there are some phonetic variants of this verb.

tap- (K-B) '1. naxodit'; obnaruživat'; 2. polučat'; 3. rožat'; 4. nestiś, klast' jajca (o pticax); 5. *mat.* vyvodit', dokazyvat'' (KBRS 594); *tab-*, *taf-*, *tap-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'naxodit', rodit'' (Boz. 184); *tap-* (*tᶜap-*; K) 'finden, erlangen, erwerben' (Pr K 136); *tap-*, *taf-*, *tab-* (B) 'finden, gebären; sich etwas auschaffen' (Pr B 257) < PT **tap-*; cf.: OT *tap-*; Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T); Tat., Tat. (Ur.) *tap-*; Čuv. *tup-*; Bašk., Kaz., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *tap-*; Uz. *top-*; Uig. *tap-*; Y. Uig. *tap-*, *taᵓp-*, *taᵓ-*; Alt., Khak. *tap-*; Tuv. *tïp-*; Tof. *tup-*. – Lit.: DTS 533; Eg. 258; KRPS 513; Podolsky 22; Rass. 235; Sul. Kkar. 100; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev SJ 211.

The verb *tap-* 'to find' also 'to give a birth' was registered in OT and there are its phonetic variants in some other Turkic languages.

tara- (K-B) '1. pričesyvat', česat'; 2. razvevat', kolyxat'; 3. rozmyvat'' (KBRS 604); *tara-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'pričesyvat'' (Boz. 185); *tara-* (*tᶜara-*; K) 'kämmen' (Pr K 136); *tara-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 257) < PT **targa-*; cf.: OT *tara-*; Kum. *tara-*; Az. *dara-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *tara-*; Čuv. *tura-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tara-*; Trkm. *dara-*; Uz., Uig. *tara-*; Lob. *taja-*; Sal. *tara-*, *tarā-*, *tarï-*, *tārï-*; Y. Uig. *tara-* ~ *dara-*; Alt., Khak. *tara-*; Tuv. *dïra-*; Yak. *tarā-*. – Lit.: DTS 536; Eg. 259; ÈSTJa III 147; KRPS 514; Malov 167; ÖjHa. 11; Räs. VEWT 464 a; Tenišev 502; Tenišev SJ 211.

The verb *tara-* 'to comb' was known in OT and has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages.

tart- (K-B) '1. tjanut', taščit', natjagivat'; diorgat'; 2. gresti, idti, na vioslax; 3. pit'; vypivat'; 4. privlekat'; vovlekat'; 5. vesit'; 6. čertit'; 7. molot', razmelčat'; 8. bit'; 9. razdavat'; 10. kosit'; 11. pritjagivat'; 12. uvlekat'sja; 13. nesti, vezti' (KBRS 606) *tart-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'tjanut', taščit', sosat', pit'' (Boz. 185); *tart-* (*tᶜart-*; K) 'ziehen' (Pr K 136); *tart-* (B) 'ziehen, leiten, führen; saugen, schlürfen, trinken, wiegen, ein Gewicht haben' (Pr B 257) < PT **tart-*; cf.: OT *tart-*; Kum. *tart-*; Az. *dart-*; Tur. *tart-*; Gag. *dart-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tart-*; Tat., Tat. (Ur.) *tart-*; Čuv. *turt-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tart-*; Trkm. *dart-*, *tart-*; Uz. *tort-*; Uig. *ta(r)t-*, *tart-*; Lob. *tajt-*; Y. Uig. *tajt-*, *tart-*, *teat-*, *tät-*; Alt., Khak. *tart-*; Tuv. *tïrt-*; Tof. *tïrt-*; Yak. *tart-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; DTS 538; Eg. 260; ÈSTJa III 154; KRPS 515; Malov 166; Podolsky 22; Rass. 236; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tart-* '1. to pull; 2. to carry; 3. to lead etc.' is known in OT. At present it has equivalents in other Turkic languages with numerous meanings similarly to K-B.

tašï- (K-B) 'nosiť, voziť, perenosiť, peretaskivať' (KBRS 614); *tašï-* (*tᶜašî-*; K) 'tragen, forttragen, fortschleppen' (Pr K 137); *tašï-* (*tašî-*; B) 'bringen, tragen, schleppen' (Pr B 257) < PT **tašï-*; cf.: OT *tašu-*; Kum. *tašï-*, *taši-*; Az. *dašï-*; Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., T), Tat., Tat. (Cr., Ur.), Bašk. *tašï-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tasï-*; Kir. *tašï-*; Trkm. *daša-*, (dial.) *dašî-*; Uz. *taši-*; Uig. *tošu-*; Lob. *tošu-*; Sal. *tāši-*; *tāšï-*; Alt. *tažï-*; Khak. *tazï-*; Tuv. *dažï-*; Šor. *tažï-*; Yak. *tas-*. – Lit.: DTS 541; ÈSTJa III 170; KRPS 519; ÖjHa. 9; Podolsky 22; Tenišev 504.

The verb denoting 'to carry' is registered in OT in the form *tašu-*. It has also its counterparts in other Turkic languages.

tat- (K-B) '1. probovať na vkus, otvedyvať; 2. *per.* poznavať, ispytyvať, vkušať' (KBRS 608); *tat-* (B) 'kosten' (Pr B 257) < PT **tāt-*; cf.: OT *tat-*; Az. *dad-*; Tur. *tat-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tat-*; Tat., Tat. (Cr.) *tat-*; Čuv. *tutan-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Kir. *tat-*; Trkm. *dāt-*; Uz. *tot-*; Uig. *tat-*. – Lit.: DTS 541; Eg. 262; ÈSTJa III 162; KRPS 517; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tat-* 'to taste' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in some Turkic languages.

tebre- (K-B) '1. trogaťsja, otpravljaťsja, napravljaťsja; 2. načinaťsja, nastupať; 3. sobiraťsja, namerevaťsja, xoteť (*čto-l, sdelať*); 4. polučaťsja, vyxoditʹ' (KBRS 616); *tebre-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'načinať, prinimaťsja za delo, prigotoviťsja v puť, vzjať napravlenie' (Boz. 185); *tebre-*, *terbe-* (*tᶜebre-*, *tᶜerbe-*; K) sich an etwas machen, sich anschicken etwas zu tun, aufrechen, sich auf den Weg machen' (Pr K 137); *tebre-* (B) 'anfangen; sich anschicken etwas zu tun; sich daran machen; eine Richtung einschlagen, sich irgendwohin auf den Weg machen' (Pr B 258) < PT **täprä-* (ESG) < **täp-*; cf.: OT *tebrä-*; Kum. *terben-*; Az. *terpe-*; Tur., Gag. *tepre-*; Kar. (Cr.) *tepren-*, (T) *tebren-*, *tebran-*, *ťobŕan-*; Tat. (Cr.) *tepre-*; Tat. *tibrän-*; Čuv. *tapran-*; Bašk. *tibräle-* ~ *tirbäle-*; Kklp. *terbe-*; Trkm. *depre-*; Uz. *tebrä-*; Uig. *täwrä-*; Y. Uig. *terwe-*; Khak. *tibĭre-*. – Lit.: DTS 546; Eg. 230; ÈSTJa 200; KRPS 519, 522, 565; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tebre-*, *terbe-* (the form with metathesis) has equivalents in some Turkic languages, where it appears in some languages (Kklp., Y. Uig., Az.) with metathesis and in some others (Kar., Tat., Čuv., Kum.) in only reflexive forms. The basic meaning for this verb is 'to move; to move in order to do sth'. In OT the form *tebrä-* was confirmed.

teb-, **tef-** (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'dvigaťsja' (Boz. 185); *tep-*, *tef-*, *teb-* (B) 'böse werden, aufbrausen' (Pr B 258) < PT **täp-*; cf.: OT *tep-*; Kum. *tep-*; Az. *täp-*; Tur., Gag. *tep-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *tep-*, (T) *ťop-*; Tat. *tib-*, *tip-*; Čuv. *tap-*; Bašk. *tib-*, *tip-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tep-*; Trkm. *dep-*; Uz. *tep-*; Uig., Lob. *täp-*; Y. Uig. *tep-*; Alt. *tep-*; Khak. *tep-*, *tip-*; Tuv. *tep-*, *tëp-*; Tof. *tep-*; Šor., Yak. *tep-*. – Lit.: DTS 552; Eg. 230; ÈSTJa III 195; KRPS 523, 565; Rass. 234; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tep- ~ teb- ~ tef-* has several meanings, i.e. '1. to move; 2. to kick (in reference to a horse); to fling out; 3. to seethe' etc. The form *tep-* is registered in OT and has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

teš- (K-B) '1. probivať; 2. razbivať; 3. prodyriavlivať, progryzať' (KBRS 625); *teš-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'progryzť, prodyriaviť' (Boz. 185); *teš-* (*tᶜeš-*; K) 'löchern, durchlöchern' (Pr K 138); *teš-* (B) 'durchlöchern, ein Loch machen' (Pr B 259) < PT **tā̆š-*; cf.: OT *teš-*; Kum. *teš-*; Az. *deš-*; Tur., Gag. *deš-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *teš-*, (H) *tes-*, *teš-*; Bašk., Tat. *tiš-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tes-*; Kir. *teš-*; Trkm. *deš-*; Uz. *teš-*; Uig. *täš*, *töš-*; Lob. *teš-*; Sal. *täs-*; Alt. *teš-*; Khak. *tis-*; Tuv. *deš-*; Tof. *deš-*; Yak. *tes-*. – Lit.: DTS 555; ÈSTJa III 210; KRPS 522, 567, 568; Rass. 172; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 506.

The verb *teš-* 'to make a hole; to jab' is known both in OT and in some Turkic languages, where there are different phonetic forms.

tïrna- (K-B) 'carapať, carapaťsja' (KBRS 663); *tïrna-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'carapať' (Boz. 186); *tïrna-* (*tᶜîrna-*; K) 'scharren, kratzen' (Pr K 138); *tïrna-* (*tĭrna-*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 260) < PT **tïrńa- ~ *tïrŋ̇a-*; cf.: OT *tïrmal-*, *tïrmaš-*; Kum. *tïrna-*, *tïrpa-*; Az. *dïrma-*; Tur. *tïrmala-*, *tïrna-*; Gag. *tïrmala-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tïrna-*; Tat. *tïrna-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tïrmala-*; Čuv. *tărmala-*, *čărmala-*, *čĕrmele-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tïrna-*; Kir. *tïrma-*, *tïrmala-*; Trkm. *dïrma-*, *dïrma-*; Uz. *tirma-*, *tĭrmalä-*; Uig. *ta(r)mala-*; Y. Uig. *tïrna-*; Alt. *tïrma-*; Khak. *tïrba-*; Tuv. *dïrba-*; Yak. *tarbā-*. Lit.: DTS 569; Eg. 239; ÈSTJa III 345; KRPS 558; Podolsky 24; Räs. VEWT 479 a; StachM GJV 95.

The verb *tïrna-* 'to scratch' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages (also in various phonetic forms, cf.: above). In OT the forms: *tïrmal-tïrmaš-* were registered.

tij- (K-B) '1. trogať; dotragivaťsja; 2. kasaťsja; zatragivať; 3. biť, stegať, xlestať; 4. popadať *v kogo-čto*; poražať; 5. udariťsja; 6. vsxodiť (o nebesnyx svetilax) (KBRS 631); *tij-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'tronuť, trogať, kasaťsja' (Boz. 185); *tij-* (*tᶜij-*; K) 'berühren, anrühren' (Pr K 138); *tij-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 259) < PT **teŋ-* (ÈSTJa III 175); **täγ'-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *teg-*; Kum. *tij-*; Az. *däj-*; Tur. *deg-*; Gag. *di-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *tij-*; Čuv. *tiv-*, *tĕk-*; Bašk. *tĭj-*; *tej-* (Eg. 250); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tij-*; Trkm. *deg-*; Uz. *teg-*; Uig. *täg-*; Lob. *teŋ-*, *teg-*, *tij-*; Y. Uig. *teg-*; Alt. *tij-*; Khak. *teŋ-*, *tig-*; Tuv., Tof. *deg-*; Yak. *tīj-*, *tij-*. – Lit.: DTS 546-547; Eg. 244, 249; ÈSTJa III 173; KRPS 526; Malov 170, 171, 172; Podolsky 23; StachM GJV 61; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tij-* '1. to touch; 2. to concern' has its counterparts in other Turkic languages in various phonetic forms. In OT the form *teg-* was registered.

tik- (K-B) 'šiť (KBRS 634); *tik-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'šiť' (Boz. 186); *tik-* (*tᶜik-*; K) 'nähen' (Pr K 139); *tik-*, *tix-*, *tig-* (B) 'nähen; aufstecken' (Pr B 259) < PT **tik-*; cf.: OT *tik-*; Kum. *tik-*, *tig-*; Az., Khal. *tik-*; Tur., Gag. *dik-*; Kar. (Cr.,

H, T) *tik-*; Tat. (Cr.) *dik-*; Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *tīk-*; Bašk., Kaz. *tīk-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Uz., Uig. *tik-*; Lob. *tüg-*, *tek-*; Sal. *tix-*; Y. Uig. *tek-*, *tïk-*; Khak. *tīk-*; Šor. *tik-*; Yak. *tik-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 257, 313; DTS 558; Eg. 325; ÈSTJa III 227; KRPS 527; Malov 171; ÖjHa. 30; Podolsky 23; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 511, 512; Tenišev SJ 214.

The verb *tik-* 'to sew' was registered in OT. There are its counterparts in some modern Turkic languages.

til- (K) 'rezať *čto* na polosy, razrezať' (KBRS 635) < PT **til-*; cf.: OT *til-*; Kum. *til-*; cf. Az. *dilik* 'poloska', *dilim* 'lomoť, lomtik' (Rass. 173); Tur., Gag. *dil-*; Tat. *tīl-*; Čuv. *čĕl-*; Bašk., Kaz. *tĕl-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *til-*; Trkm. *dil-*; Uz., Uig. *tīl-*; Lob. *til-*; Alt. *til-*; Khak. *tīl-*; Tuv., Tof. *dil-*; Šor. *til-*; Yak. *tel-*. – Lit.: DTS 560; Eg. 322; ÈSTJa III 230; Malov 172; Rass. 173; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *til-* 'to tear; to tear into pieces' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

tile- (K-B) '1. prosiť, xodatajstvovať; 2. svatať, svataťsja' (KBRS 634); *tile-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'prosiť, domagaťsja' (Boz. 186); *tile-* (*t'ile-*; K) 'bitten, um die Hand anhalten, um die Hand werben' (Pr K 139); *tile-* (B) 'bitten; werben um…' (Pr B 259) < PT **tile-* (ESG); cf.: OT *tilä-*; Kum. *tile-*; Az. *dilä-*; Tur. *dile-*; cf.: Kar. (Cr.) *dilek* '1. želanie; 2. prośba' (KRPS 177); Tat., Bašk. *tile-*, *telä-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tile-*; Trkm. *dile-*; Trukh. *tile-*; Uz. *tīle-*, *tila-*; Uig. *tīli-*; Lob. *telä-*, *tile-*, *tilä-*, *tele-*; Y. Uig. *tela-*; Alt. *tile-*; Khak. *tīle-*; Tuv. *dile-*; Tof. *dil'e-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 263; DTS 560; ÈSTJa III 231; Malov 171, 172; Rass. 173; SKT 181.

The verb *tile-* 'to request' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

tire- (K-B) '1. podpirať, staviť podporku; 2. prislonjať, pristavljať; 3. upirať; 4. nastavljať, nacelivať' (KBRS 636); *tire-* (*t'ire-*; K) 'stützen, eine Stütze unterlegen' (Pr K 139) < PT **tīra-*; cf.: OT *tirä-*; Kum. *tire-*; Az. *dirä-*; Tur. *dire-*; Tat. *tīrä-*; Bašk. *tĭrä-*; Kaz. *tĭre-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tire-*; Trkm. *dīre-*; Uz. *tira-*; Khak. *tĭrä-*; Šor. *tire-*; Yak. *tirē-*; *tirie-*. – Lit.: DTS 561; ÈSTJa III 237 Räs. VEWT 481 a-b.

The verb *tire-* 'to support' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

tit- (K-B) '1. pušiť, trepať, terebiť; 2. rvať' (KBRS 637) < PT **tĭ̄t-*; cf.: OT *tït-*; Kum. *tüt-*; Az. *did-*; Khal. *tit-*; Tur. *dit-*; Gag. *did-*, *dit-*; Tat. *tĭt-*; *tet-* (Rass. 179); Čuv. *tat-*; Bašk. *tĭt-*; *tŭ̆t-* (ÈSTJa III 321); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tüt-*; Kir. *tüt-; tït-* (Eg. 233); Trkm. *düjt*, *tüjt-*; Uz. *tit-*; Uig. *tit-*; Tuv., Tof. *dït-*; Khak. *tĭt-*; Yak. *tĭ̄t-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 313; DTS 564; Eg. 233; ÈSTJa III 321; ÖjHa. 29; Rass. 179; Šč. SF 197.

There are equivalents of the verb *tit-* 'to scutch; to tear' in some modern Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the form *tït-* confirmed.

titire- (K-B) '1. drožať, trjastiť; sotrjasaťsja; 2. prixodiť v užas, užasaťsja' (KBRS 637); *titre-* (*tʿitre-*; K) 'zittern, beben' (Pr K 139) < PT **titrä-*; cf.: OT *titirä-*, *titrä-*; Khal. *titrä-*; Tur. *titre-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *titre-*, (T) *titre-*, *titŕa-*, cf. also Kar. (Cr.) *titrámák*; Tat. *teträ-*; Čuv. *čětre-*; Bašk. *teträ-*; Kaz., Kklp. *titre-*; Kir. *titire-*; Trkm. *titre-*; Uz. *titra-*; Uig. *titri-*; Khak. *titre-*; Tuv. *didire-*; Yak. *titirie-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 253, 313; DTS 564; Eg. 325; KRPS 532; Sul Kkar. 102.

The verb *titire-* 'to tremble' was known in OT and it has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages. According to Egorov it is an onomatopoeic verb (cf. Eg. 325).

tiz- (K-B) '1. staviť v rjad; 2. rasstavljať, raspolagať; 3. sostavljať, namečať; 4. nizať, nanizyvať; 5. rasskazyvať; 6. perečisljať; 7. obstavljať, ubirať, ukrašať' (KBRS 632); *tiz-* (*tʿiz-*; K) 'ordnen, in die Reihe Stellen' (Pr K 139) < PT **tīs-*; cf.: OT *tiz-*; Kum. *tüz-*, *tiz-*; Az. *düz-*; Tur. *diz-*; Gag. *diz-*; Kar. (Cr.) *tüz-*, (H) *tiz-*; Tat. (Cr.) *tiz-*; Tat. *tīz-*; *tez-* (Eg. 252); Čuv. *tir-*; Bašk. *tīs-*; *tez-* (Eg. 252); Kaz. *tīz-*; Kklp. *diz-*; Nog., Kir. *tiz-*; Trkm. *düz-*; Uz., Uig. *tīz-*; Lob. *tez-*, *tüz-*; Alt. *tis-*; Khak. *čīs-*, *tīs-*; Tuv. *dis-*; Tof. *dis-*; Šor. *tis-*; Yak. *tis-*. – Lit.: DTS 564; Eg. 252; ÈSTJa III 218; KRPS 526, 552; Malov 170; Rass. 173; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tiz-* '1. to put in order; 2. to string' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

tol- (K-B) '1. napolnjaťsja, zapolnjaťsja; 2. vypolnjaťsja; byť vypolnennym; 3. sbyvaťsja, osuščestvljaťsja; 4. ispolnjaťsja (*o vozraste*)' (KBRS 643); *tol-* (*tʿol-*; K) 'sich anfüllen' (Pr K 139); *tol-* (B) 'voll werden, sich füllen' (Pr B 261) < PT **tōl-*; cf.: OT *tol-*; Az. *dol-*; Khal. *tōldar-*; Tur., Gag. *dol-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tol-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *tol-*; Tat. *tul-*; Čuv., Bašk. *tul-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tol*; Trkm. *dōl-*; Uz. *tul-*; *tol-* (ÈSTJa III 257); Uig., Lob. *tol-*; Sal. *tōl-*, *tol-*; Y. Uig. *tol-*, *tʿol-*, *tul-*; Alt., Khak. *tol-*; Tuv., Tof. *dol-*; Šor. *tol-*; Yak. *tuol-*. – Lit.: Doerfer 264, 314; DTS 572; Eg. 256; ÈSTJa III 257; KRPS 535; Malov 174; ÖjHa. 36; Podolsky 24; Rass. 173; StachM GJV 82; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 513; Tenišev SJ 213, 216.

The verb *tol-* 'to fill' is known in OT and in some variants there are its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

tök- (K-B) '1. liť; vylivať, prolivať, razlivať; 2. vysypať, vyvalivať, ronjať' (KBRS 627); *tök-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'sypať, vylivať, vysypať' (Boz. 187); *tök-* (*tʿök-*; K) 'giessen, ausgiessen, ausschütten' (Pr K 140); *tök-*, *töx-*, *tög-* (B) 'schütten, ausgiessen, ausschütten' (Pr B 262) < PT **tök-*; cf.: OT *tök-*; Kum. *tök-*, *tok-*; Az., Khal. *tök-*; Tur., Gag. *dök-*; Kar. (Cr.) *tök-*, (H) *tek-*; (T) *ťok-*; Tat. (Cr.) *dök-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tök-*; Tat. *tük-*; Čuv. *tăk-*; Bašk. *tük-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tök-*;

Trkm. *dök-*; Uz. *tok-*, *tŭk-*, *tuk-*; Uig. *tök-*; Lob. *tök-*; Sal. *tö°-*, *tü°-*; Y. Uig. *tök-*; Alt., Khak. *tök-*; Tuv. *tök-*; Tof. *tök-*; Šor. *tök-*; Yak. *tox-*; *tök-* (Rass. 235) – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 247, 314; DTS 579; Eg. 235; ÈSTJa III 273; KRPS 523, 541, 561; Malov 175; ÖjHa. 42; Podolsky 24; Rass. 235; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 522, 528.

The verb *tök-* 'to pour' was known in OT. In most modern Turkic languages there are equivalents of this verb.

töše- (K-B) '1. stlať, mostiť; 2. valiť, klasť; 3. biť, izbivať' (KBRS 631) < PT **töšä-* (ESG); cf.: OT *töšä-*; Az. *döšä-*; Tur. *döše-*; Gag. *döše-*; Kar. (Cr.) *töše-*, (H) *tese-*, (T) *toša-*; Tat. (Cr.) *düše-*, *döše-*; Tat., Bašk. *tüšä-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *töse-*, *toše-*; Kir. *töšö-*; Trkm. *düše-*; Uz. *tuša-*; Alt. *tözö-*; Khak. *töze-*; Tuv. *döže*. – Lit.: DTS 582; Eg. 267; ÈSTJa III 333.

The verb *töše-* 'to make a bed; to spread sth' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

tunčuk- (K-B) '1. zadyxaťsja, ispytyvať uduše; 2. tonuť; 3. čaxnuť; 4. *per.* byť podavlennym, ugnetionnym' (KBRS 652); *tunčuk-* (*t^{c}unčuq-*; K) 'ersaufen, ertrinken' (Pr K 140) < PT **tunčuk-* (ESG); cf.: *tunčuk-* (MK); Tur. dial. *dunğuk-* (DS); Tat. *tončik-*; Bašk. *tonsok-*; Kaz. *tunšik-*; Kklp., Nog. *tunšik-*; Uig. *tunğuk-*; Šor. *tunčuk-*; Tof. *duńžuk-*. – Lit. DTS 586; Rass. 176; Räs. VEWT 499 b.

The verb *tunčuk-* '1. to suffocate; 2. to drown' was the earliest registered by MK, however at present the verb has its equivalents only in a few Turkic languages.

tur- (K-B) '1. vstavať, podnimaťsja; 2. žiť, proživať; poživať; 3. naxoditťsja, byť; 4. ostavaťsja; 5. otxoditť; 6. byť, stanoviťsja; 7. stojať, deržaťsja; naxoditťsja; 8. medliť' (KBRS 653); *tur-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'stojať, vstavať, ostanavlivaťsja' (Boz. 187); *tur-* (*t^{c}ur-*; K) 'stehen, aufstehen, aufhören, sich aufhalten, wohnen' (Pr K 140); *tur-* (B) 'stehen, aufstehen, stehen bleiben, bleiben, verweilen, wohnen' (Pr B 262) < PT **tur-*; cf.: OT *tur-*; Kum. *tur-*; Az. *dur-*; Khal. *tur-*; Tur., Gag. *dur-*; Kar. (Cr.) *dur-*, *tur-*, (H, T) *tur-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *tur-*; Tat. *tŭr-*; *tor-* (Eg. 238); Čuv. *tăr-*; Bašk. *tŭr-*; *tor-* (Eg. 238); Kaz. *tŭr-*, *tur-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tur-*; Trkm., Trukh. *tur-*, *dur-*; Uz. *tur-*; Uig. *tu(r)-*; Lob. *tuj-*, *toj-*; Y. Uig. *tur-*; Alt., Khak. *tur-*; Tuv. *tur-*; Tof. *dur-*; Šor. *tur-*; Yak. *tur-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 236, 239, 240, 314; DTS 586; Eg. 238; ÈSTJa III 296; KRPS 181, 547; Malov 173, 176; ÖjHa. 38; Podolsky 25; Rass. 176; SKT 178, 181; Sul. Kkar. 103; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev SJ 214.

The verb *tur-* '1. to stand up; 2. to stay; 3. to live; 4. to become' was registered in OT and it is very common in other Turkic languages, where there are some phonetic variants of this verb.

tut- (K-B) '1. deržať, uderživať, braťť; 2. deržaťsja, braťsja; 3. zaderživať; 4. deržať, razvoditť; 5. sobljudať, bljusti; 6. vesti sebja, deržaťsja; 7. *per.* xraniť,

deržať, soderžať; 8. nanimať, snimať, arendovať, brať vnajom; 9. vedať, zanimať; 10. vladeť, imeť; 11. zestigať, loviť; 12. ispovedovať; 13. oblegať, prilegať; 14. nosiťsja; 15. poľzovaťsja, obraščaťsja; 16. zatmevať; 17. sxvatiť, ukusiť; 18. načinaťsja, zaboleť; 19. *sport.* boroťsja; 20. podvergať, predavať; 21. iznasilovať; 22. sootvetstvovať' (KBRS 654); *tut-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'sxvatiť, pojmať, deržať' (Boz. 187); *tut-* (*tʿut-*; K) 'fangen, ergreifen, halten, unterstützen' (Pr K 140); *tut-* (B) 'fassen, ergreifen, fangen, halten (Haustiere); bewachen' (Pr B 263) < PT **tut-*; cf.: OT *tut-*; Az., Khal., Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Ur.) *tut-*; Tat. *tot-*; Čuv. *tït-*; Bašk. *tot-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh., Uz., Uig. *tut-*; Lob. *tut-*, *tot-*; Sal. *tut-*, *tuc-*, *tus-*; Y. Uig. *tut-*, *tʿut-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *tut-*; Tof. *tut-*; Yak. *tut-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 46; Doerfer LSCh 245, 314; DTS 591; Eg. 268; KRPS 549 Malov 174, 177; ÖjHa. 38; Podolsky 25; Rass. 235; SKT 181; Sul. Kkar. 103; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 522, 525; Tenišev SJ 214, 217.

The basic meanings of the K-B verb *tut-* are: '1. to hold, to keep; 2. to take; 3. to catch'. The verb was registered in OT and it has its equivalents in most other Turkic languages.

tuw- (K-B) '1. roždaťsja; 2. zaroždaťsja, voznikať, pojavljaťsja; 3. vsxoditʹ' (KBRS 656); *tū-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'byt roždennym, roditʹ' (Boz. 187); *tu-* (*tʿu-*; K) 'geboren werden' (Pr K 140); *tū-* (B) 'geboren werden' (Pr B 262) < PT **tog-*; cf.: OT *tog-*; Kum. *tuw-*; Az. *dog-*; Khal. *tog-*; Tur. *dog-*; Gag. *dū-*; Kar. (Cr.) *dog-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tuv-*; Tat. (Ur.) *dog-*; Tat. *tu-*; Čuv. arch. *tu-* (< *tăv-)*; Baš. *tïv-*; Kaz. *tu-*, *tū-*; Kklp. *tu-*, *tuv-*; Nog. *tuv-*; Kir. *tū-*; Trkm., Trukh. *dog-*; Uz., Uig. *tug-*; Lob. *tux-*, *tug-*, *tuk-*; Sal. *tog-*, *tug-*, *tux-*; Y. Uig. *tug-*, *tuk-*, *tog-*; Alt. *tū-*; *tu-* (Eg. 255); Khak. *tug-*; Šor. *tū-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 238, 313; DTS 570; Eg. 254; ÈSTJa III 245; KRPS 178, 542; Malov 176, 177; SKT 178; Sul. Kkar. 60; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 512, 520, 525; Tenišev SJ 214.

The verb *tuw-* '1. to be born; 2. to appear; 3. to rise' has its equivalents in many other Turkic languages. In Chuvash in the past the verb *tu-* (< *tăv-*) denoted 'to be born', however at present it means 'to do'. In Khakas, Altai and Kumyk the verb has also another meaning 'to lay eggs'. In OT the form *tog-* was registered.

tuwra- (K-B) 'rubiť, rezať, šinkovať, seč' (KBRS 657); *tūra-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'rubiť, razdrobiť, krošiť' (Boz. 187) < PT **togra-* (ESG); cf.: OT *togra-*; Kum. *tuvra-*; Az. *dogra-*; Tur. *dogra-*; Gag. *dora-*; Kar. (Cr.) *dogra-*, (H, T) *tuvra-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *dogra-*; Tat., Čuv., Bašk. *tura-*; Kaz. *tura-*; Kklp. *tūra-*, *tuvra-*; Nog. *tuvra-*; Kir. *tūra-*; Trkm. *dogra-*; Uz. *togra-*; *tugra-* (Eg. 259); Uig. *togri-*, *togra-*; Lob. *tojo-*; Y. Uig. *torga-*; Alt. (V) *tugra-*; Khak. *togïra-*; Šor. *togra-*. – Lit.: DTS 571; Eg. 259; ÈSTJa III 248; KRPS 178, 543; Podolsky 9.

The verb *tuwra-* 'to chop' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the form *togra-* was registered.

I tüj- (K-B) 'vjazať, zavjazyvať, svjazyvať' (KBRS 668) < PT **tüǵ-*; cf.: OT *tüg-*; Kum. *tüj-*; Az. *düj-*; Tur. *düg-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tüj-*; Trkm. *düv-*; Uz. *tug-*; Uig. *tüg-*; Lob. *tüg-*, *tüj-*; Alt. *tüj-*, *tü-*; Tuv. *düǵ-*, *düj-*; Šor. *tū̆-*. – Lit.: DTS 595; ÈSTJa III 307; Šč. SF 198; YRh. 316.

The verb *tüj-* 'to knot' has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages. In OT the form *tüg-* was registered.

II tüj- (K-B) '1. biť, izbivať; kololiť; 2. kovať; 3. molotiť, toloč, rušiť' (KBRS 667); *tüj-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'biť, kolotiť' (Boz. 187); *tüj-*, *tū̆-* (*tᶜüj-*, *tᶜū̆*; K) 'schlagen' (Pr K 141); *tüj-* (B) 'schlagen, prügeln, treten' (Pr B 263) < PT **töb-*, **tög-*; cf.: OT *tög-*; Kum. *tüj-*; Az. *dög-*, *döj-*; Tur. *döv-*; Gag. *dū̆-*; Kar. (Cr.) *tüj-*; Tat. (Cr.) *dög-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tüj-*; Tat. *tŭj-*; *töj-* (Eg. 264); Čuv. *tü-*; Bašk. *tŭj-*; *töj-* (Eg. 264); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tüj-*; Trkm. *döv-*; Uz. *tuj-*; Uig. *tüg-*; Sal. *tej-*. – Lit.: DTS 579; Eg. 264; ÈSTJa III 270; KRPS 553; Podolsky 25; Räs. VEWT 492 a-b; Tenišev 507.

There are equivalents of the verb *tüj-* '1. to beat; to pound; 2. to break; 3. to stab, prick' in several modern Turkic languages. In OT the form *tög-* was registered.

tükür- (K-B) '1. plevať, plevaťsja; 2. zagovarivať (bolezń); zaklinať' (KBRS 671); *tükür-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'plevať' (Boz. 187); *tükür-* (*tᶜükür-*; K) 'spucken' (Pr K 141); *tükür-* (B) 'spucken, speien' (Pr B 263) < PT **tū̆kir-*; cf.: *tüpür-*, *tüpir-* (MK); Tur. *tükür-*; Tat. *tügür-*; Trkm. *tüjkir-*; Y. Uig. *tüpür-*. – Lit. DTS 598; Räs. VEWT 504 a; YRh. 1190.

The verb *tükür-* 'to spit' is registered by Räsänen (in some phonetic variants) only in a few modern languages. According to Räsänen the verb has an onomatopoeic character, cf. Räs. VEWT 504 a. We do not know if there is any relation between the verb *tükür-* and the forms *tüpür-*, *tüpir-* 'to blow (about the wind)' registered in MK, cf. DTS 598.

türt- (K-B) '1. tolkať, pixať; natalkivať; 2. tormošiť, podganjať; 3. dvigať, peremeščať; 4. *per.* ottalkivať, otdaljať' (KBRS 674); *türt-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'tolkať' (Boz. 188); *türt-* (*tᶜürt-*; K) 'stossen' (Pr K 141); *türt-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 264) < PT **türt-*; cf.: OT *türt-*; Az. *dürt-*; Khal. *durt-*; Tur., Gag. *dürt-*; Kar. (Cr.) *türt-*, (H) *tirt-*; Tat. (Cr.) *türt-*; Tat. *tŭrt-*; *tört-* (Eg. 248); Čuv. *tĕrt-*; Bašk. *tŭrt-*; *tört-* (Eg. 248); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *türt-*; Trkm. *dürt-*; Uz. *turt-*; Uig. *tü(r)t-*; Alt. *türt-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 285; DTS 599; Eg. 248; ÈSTJa 328; KRPS 531, 554; Šč. SF 198.

The verb *türt-* '1. to push; to ill-treat; 2. to beat; to jostle' is registered in OT (MK), where it meant 'to rub, to smear with sth'. At present the verb has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

tüš- (K-B) '1. padať; 2. vyxodiť, sxodiť; slezať, spuskaťsja; 3. prizemljaťsja, sadiťsja; 4. vypadať; 5. nastupať, nastavať; 6. popadaťsja; 7. *per.* napadať,

obrušivaťsja; 8. okazaťsja; očutiťsja; 9. vseljaťsja; poseljaťsja; 10. ustupaťʼ; 11. popadaťʼ; 12. postupaťʼ; vstupaťʼ; 13. predstaviťsja; 14. voznikaťʼ, pojavljaťsja; 15. polučaťsja; 16. otpečatyvaťsja; nanosiťsja; 17. sbivaťsja' (KBRS 675); *tüš-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'padaťʼ (Boz. 188); *tüš-* (*tʿüš-*; K) 'herabsteigen, hinuntersteigen' (Pr K 141); *tüš-* (B) 'fallen, niederfallen, sich niederlassen, absteigen, einkehren' (Pr B 264) < PT **tüš-*; cf.: OT *tüš-*; Kum. *tüš-*, *tuš-*; Az. *düš-*; Khal. *tüš-*, *tuš-*; Tur., Gag. *düš-*; Kar. (Cr.) *duš-*, *tüš-*, *čüš-*, (H) *kis-*, *tis-*, (T) *ťuś-*; Tat. (Cr.) *düš-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tüš-*; Tat. *tӱš-*; *töš-* (Rass. 178); Bašk. *tӱš-*; *töš-* (Rass. 178); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *tüs-*; Kir. *tüš-*; Trkm., Trukh. *düš-*; Uz. *tuš-*; Uig. *tüš-*, *čüš-*; Lob. *tüš-* *töš-*; Y. Uig. *tʿüs-*, *tʿus-*, *tuʿs-*; Alt. *tüš-*; Khak. *tüs-*; Tuv. *düš-*; Tof. *düš-*; Šor. *tüš-*; Yak. *tüs-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 255, 315; DTS 600; ÈSTJa III 330; KRPS 182, 323, 531, 555, 571, 634; Malov 178; ÖjHa. 43; Podolsky 25; Rass. 178; SKT 178; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev SJ 217.

The verb *tüš-* '1. to fall; 2. to go down; to climb down' is registered in OT and in other Turkic languages at present there are numerous equivalents of this verb.

uč- (K-B) '1. letaťʼ; 2. kataťsja; 3. propadaťʼ, isčezaťʼ; 4. nabrasyvaťsja, nakidyvaťsja; 5. krasťʼ, vorovaťʼ (KBRS 689); *uč-* (Čeg.), *uc-* (Balk.) 'letaťʼ (Boz. 188); *uč-* (K) 'fliegen' (Pr K 142); *uc-*, *uš-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 264) < PT **uč-*; cf.: OT *uč-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., T) *uč-*, (H) *uc-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *uč-*; Tat. *ŭč-*; *oč-* (Eg. 53); Čuv. *věś-*; Bašk. *os-* (Eg. 53); *ŭs-*; Kaz. *ŭš-*; Kklp., Nog. *uš-*; Kir. *uč-*; Trkm., Uz., Uig. *uč-*; Lob. *uč-*, *uš-*; Sal. *uč-*, *us-*; Y. Uig. *ŭč-*, *uč-*; Alt. *ŭč-*, *uč-*; Khak. *us-*, *učux-*; Tuv. *uš-*; Tof. *uš-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; DTS 603-604; Eg. 53; ÈSTJa I 612; KRPS 585, 586; Malov 181; Podolsky 26; Rass. 238; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 531, 535, 537.

The verb *uč-* 'to fly' was registered in OT. At present it is common in most Turkic languages (in some phonetic variants). Similarly to K-B, where apart from the basic meaning the verb means also '1. to disappear; 2. to slide' even 3. 'to steal' in other languages it has more meanings as well. In Trkm., Tur., Khak., Tuv., Tat. (Ur.) this verb is known with the meaning 'to fall'.

ujan- (K-B) '1. prosypaťsja, probuždaťsja; 2. *per.* očnuťsja, opomniťsja' (KBRS 693); *ujan-* (K) 'erwachen' (Pr K 142) < PT **odun-*, **odan-* (ESG); cf.: OT *odun-*, *oδun-*; Kum. *ujan-*; Az. *ojan-*; Tur., Gag. *ujan-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ojan-*; Tat. (Cr.), Tat. *ujan-*; Čuv. *vărań-*; Bašk. *ujan-*; Kaz., Kklp. *ojan-*; Nog. *ujan-*; Kir. *ojgon-*; Trkm. *ojan-*; Uz. *ujgon-*; Uig. *o(j)gan-*; Lob. *ujgan-*, *ojgon-*; Sal. *ujan-*, *ujän-*; Y. Uig. *ozgan-*; Alt. *ojgon-*, *ujgun-*, *ojan-*; Khak. *usxun-*; Tuv. *odun-*; Yak. *usugun-*. – Lit.: DTS 362, 363; Eg. 49; ÈSTJa II 430; KRPS 424; Malov 180; Sul. Kkar. 83; Tenišev 532.

The verb *ujan-* 'to wake up, to awake' at present has equivalents in some Turkic languages with the same meaning. In OT two forms: *odun-*, *oδun-* were registered.

uju- (K) 'schlafen, einschlafen (auch von den Gliedern)' (Pr K 142) < PT **ūju-*, **ūδï-* (ESG); cf.: OT *udï-*, *uδï-*, *uju-*; Kum. *uju-*; Khal. *ūdi-*; Tur., Gag. *uju-*; Tat. (Cr.) *uju-*; Tat. *oje-*; Bašk. *ojo-*; Kaz., Kir. *uju-*; Y. Uig. *uzu-*, *ucu-*, *ozï-*; Khak. *uzu-*; Tuv. *udu-*; Tof. *udu-*; Šor. *uzu-*; Yak. *utuj-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 238, 273, 315; DTS 605, 606, 607; ÈSTJa I 579; ÖjHa. 40; Rass. 236; Tenišev SJ 217, 218.

There are equivalents of the verb *uju-* 'to sleep; to fall asleep' in other Turkic languages. The following forms: *udï-*, *uδï-*, *uju-* were registered in OT.

ulu- (K-B) 'vyť' (KBRS 682); *ulu-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'reveť, vyť' (Boz. 188); *ulu-* (K) 'heulen' (Pr K 142); *ulu-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 264) < PT **ūlï-* (ESG); cf.: OT *ulï-*; Kum. *ulu-*; Az. *ula-*; Tur., Gag. *ulu-*; Kar. (H) *ulu-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ulu-*; Tat. *olï-*, *ula-*; Čuv. *ula-*; Bašk. *ŭlŭ-*; *olo-* (Eg. 271); Kaz. *ŭlï-*, *ulu-*; Kklp., Nog. *ulï-*; Kir. *ulu-*; Trkm. *ūlï-*; Uz. *uvla-*; *uli-* (Rass. 237); Uig. *ulu-*; Lob. *ulu-*; Alt. *ulu-*, *ulï-*; Khak., Tuv. *ulu-*; Tof. *ulu-*; Yak. *uluj-*. – Lit.: DTS 609; Eg. 271; ÈSTJa I 595; KRPS 577; Rass. 237.

The verb *ulu-* 'to howl; to yell' has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages. MK registered the form *ulï-*.

ur- (K-B) '1. biť, udarjať; 2. zabivať; 3. streljať; 4. obivať; 5. vejať, duť, otdavať, donosiťsja; 6. pokryvaťsja, vystupať; probivaťsja; 7. katať, valjať; 8. obvalivať; 9. biťsja; 10. bodať[sja], brykať[sja]; 11. kušať, žaliť; 12. žrať; navoračivať' (KBRS 685); *ur-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'biť, streljať, gnať' (Boz. 188); *ur-* (K) 'schlagen, hauen, drucken' (Pr K 142); *ur-* (B) 'schlagen, schiessen, treffen (mit einer schiesswaffe), erschiessen, erlegen, töten; treiben' (Pr B 265) < PT **ūr-*; cf.: OT *ur-*; Kum. *ur-*; Az., Khal., Tur. *vur-*; Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ur-*; Tat. (Cr.) *vur-*; Tat. *ŭr-*; *or-* (Eg. 48); Čuv. *văr-*; Bašk. *ŭr-*; *or-* (Eg. 48); Kaz. *ŭr-*, *ur-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ur-*; Trkm., Trukh., Uz., Uig. *ur-*; Lob. *ur-*, *uj-*; Sal. *vur-*, *var-*, *ur-*; Y. Uig. *pʿer-*, *per-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *ur-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 47; Doerfer LSCh 248, 316; DTS 614; Eg. 48; ÈSTJa I 599; KRPS 580; Malov 180, 181; Podolsky 26; Šč. SF 198; Tenišev 534, 540, 545; Tenišev SJ 198.

The verb *ur-* '1. to beat; 2. to blow; 3. to shoot; 4. to drive' was registered in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages also with numerous meanings.

ut- (K-B) 'vyigryvať' (KBRS 687) < PT **ūt-*; cf.: OT *ut-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T) *ut-*; Tat. *ŭt-*; *ot-* (Eg. 44); Čuv. *ăt-*; Bašk. *ŭt-*; *ot-* (Eg. 44); Kaz. *ŭt-*; *ut-*; Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *ut-*; Uz. *jut-*; Uig. *ut-*; Alt. (V) *ūt-*; Khak. *ut-*; Tuv. *ut-*. – Lit.: DTS 617; Eg. 44; ÈSTJa I 609; KRPS 583; Šč. SF 198.

The verb *ut-* 'to win' registered in OT has at present its equivalents in some other Turkic languages. In some of them (Čuv., Tat., Bašk., Nog.) the verb has more meanings than the one known in K-B.

uw- (K-B) '1. mjať, razminať; 2. tereť; 3. krošiť, rušiť' (KBRS 688); *ū-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'mjať, rastereť' (Boz. 188) < PT **ov-* (ESG); cf.: OT *ov-*; Kum. *uv-*; Az., Tur. *og-* (Eg. 39); *ov-*; Gag. *ū-*; Kar. (T) *uv-*; Tat. *u-*; Čuv. *ăv-*, *ux-*; Bašk. *ïw-*; Tat. (Cr.) *og-*; Trkm. *ov-*; *ovnut-* (Eg. 39); Nog. *uv-*; Y. Uig. *ug-*; Khak. *ug-*; Tuv. *ug-* (Eg. 39); *ū-*. – Lit.: DTS 374; Eg. 39, 279; ÈSTJa I 401; KRPS 572.

The verb *uw-* '1. to crush; to wrinkle; 2. to rub' has at present its equivalents only in some of the other Turkic languages. MK registered the form *ov-*.

I ür- (K) 'duť' (KBRS 785); *ür-*, *jür-* (K) 'blasen (mit dem Munde)' (Pr K 143) < PT **ür-*; cf.: OT *ür-*; Kum. *uvfür-*; Az. *üfür-*; Tur. *ür-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ür-*, (H) *ir-*, *jir-*; Tat. *ŭr-*; *ör-* (Eg. 52); Čuv. *vĕr-*; Bašk. *ŭr-*; *ör-* (Eg. 52); Kaz. *ürle-*, *ür-*; Kklp. *urle-*, *uple-*, *ür-*; Nog. *ür-*; Kir. *üjlö-*; Trkm. *üfle-*; Uz. (S) *üfür-*, *pufla-*; Uig. *püli-*; Alt., Khak., *ür-*; Tuv. *ür-*, *ēr-*; Tof. *ür-*; Yak. *ür-*. – Lit.: DTS 626; Eg. 52; ÈSTJa I 635; KRPS 205, 245, 590; StachM GJV 134; Šč. SF 198; YRh. 1209.

The verb *ür-* 'to blow' has equivalents in many Turkic languages. Egorov (Eg. 52) points out the onomatopoeic character of the verb. The verb was confirmed in OT.

II ür- (K-B) 'lajať' (KBRS 785); *ür-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'lajať' (Boz. 189); *ür-* (K) 'bellen' (Pr K 143); *ür-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 267) < PT **ür-*; cf.: OT *ür-*; Az. *hür-*; Khak. *hül-*; Tur. *ürü-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ür-*; Tat. *ŭr-*; *ör-* (Eg. 52); Čuv. *vĕr-*; Bašk. *ŭr-*; *ör-* (Eg. 52); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ür-*; Trkm. *üjr-*, *ür-*; Alt., Khak. *ür-*; Tuv. *ēr-*; Šor. *ür-*; *übür-* (Eg. 52); Yak. *ür-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 293; DTS 626; Eg. 52; ÈSTJa I 626; KRPS 590; Šč. SF 198.

The verb *ür-* 'to bark; to howl' is registered in OT and it has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. ÈSTJa I 627 underlines its onomatopoeic character.

üren- (K-B) '1. učiťsja; 2. privykať; vtjagivaťsja; 3. trenirovaťsja; upražnjaťsja' (KBRS 784); *üjren-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'učiťsja, privykať' (Boz. 189); *üren-*, *ŭren-* (K) 'lernen, sich angewöhnen, sich gewöhnen an' (Pr K 143); *üjren-*, *üjrön-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 266) < PT **ögrän-*; cf.: OT *ögrän-*; Kum. *üjren-*, *ujren-*; Az. *öjrän-*; Khal. *öjrän-*; Tur. *ögren-*; Gag. *jüren-*; Kar. (Cr.) *ügren-*, *ören-*, (H) *ivren-*, (T) *üvŕań-*, *úŕań-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ogren-*; Tat. (Ur.) *ögren-*; Tat. *üjrän-*; *öjrän-* (Eg. 52, Rass. 215); Čuv. *vĕren-*; Bašk. *üjrän-*; *öjrän-* (Eg. 52, Rass. 215); Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *üjren-*; Kir. *üjrön-*; Trkm. *övren-*; Uz. *orgän-*; *urgan-* (Eg. 52, Rass. 215); Uig. *ügän-*; *ö(r)gän-* (ÈSTJa I 496); Lob. *öjgen-*, *öjgön-*, *ögön-*; Sal. *örgen-*; Y. Uig. *jörgen-*, *ürgen-*, *jürgen-*; Alt. *üren-*; Khak. *ügren-*; Tuv. *ően-*; Tof. *ően-*; Yak. *üöräп-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 234, 304; DTS 380; Eg. 52; ÈSTJa I 496; KRPS 192, 443, 588, 591; Malov 152; Podolsky 16; Rass. 215; StachM GJV 65; Tenišev 432; Tenišev SJ 185.

The verb *üren-* 'to learn' has its equivalents (in various phonetic forms) in many other Turkic languages. OT sources registered the form *ögrän-*.

üz- (K-B) '1. rvaťˊ, otryvaťˊ; 2. razediniťˊ' (KBRS 781); *üz-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'porvaťˊ, razorvaťˊ' (Boz. 188); *üz-* (K) 'zerreissen, abreissen' (Pr K 144); *üz-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 267) < PT **ǖs-*; cf.: OT *üz-*; Kum. *uz-*, *üz-*; Az., Tur. *üz-*; Kar. (H) *iz-*; Kar. (T) *úź*; Tat. *ŭz-*; *öz-* (Rass. 239); Bašk. *ŭz-*; *öz-* (Rass. 239); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *üz-*; Uz. *uz-*; Uig. *üz-*; Lob. *üz-*, *üs-*; Y. Uig. *jüz-*, *juz-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *üs-*; Tof. *üs-*. – Lit.: DTS 629; ÈSTJa I 621; KRPS 194; Malov 182, 183; Rass. 239; Šč. SF 198; YRh. 1212.

The verb *üz-* 'to tear; to detach' was registered in OT and at present it has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In Y. Uighur the verb appears with the prejotation: *jüz-juz-*.

zanï- (B. dial.: Balk.) 'groziťˊ, ugrožaťˊ' (Boz. 173); *zanï-* (*zanĭ-*; B) 'drohen, bedrohen' (Pr B 268) < PT **jān(-ï)-*; cf.: OT *jan-*; Gag. *jān-*; Tat. *jana-*; Čuv. *juna-*; Bašk. *janï-*; Trkm. *jana-*; Uz. *jan-*; Uig. *ǧonu-*; Lob. *ǧanu-*; Yak. *sān-*. – Lit.: DTS 231; Eg. 349; ÈSTJa IV 114; Räs. VEWT 184 b.

The verb *zanï-* (the dialectal form) means 'to scare, to threaten'. The verb has its equivalents only in some of the other Turkic languages. In OT the form *jan-* was registered.

9.2. Verbs of state

ačï- (K-B) '1. skvašivaťsja; 2. kisnuťˊ, gorknuťˊ; 3. vzojti, podnjaťsja' (KBRS 101); *ačï-* (B dial.: Baks.) 'staťˊ terpkim, staťˊ gorḱim, kislym' (Boz. 166); *ačï-* (*ačĭ-*; K) 'sauer werden' (Pr K 84); *acï-* (*acĭ-*;B) 'herbe werden, bitter werden, gerinnen' (Pr K 197) < PT **āč-*; cf.: OT *ačï-*; Az. *ağï-*; Tur. *ağï-*; Gag. *ağï -*; Kar. (T) *ağï-*; Tat (Cr) *ağï-*; Čuv. *jüś-* Bašk. *äse-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *ašï-*; Kir. *ačï-*; Trkm. *āğa-*; Uz. *ači-*; Uig. *ečï-*; Y. Uig. *ačï-*; Alt. *ačï-*; Khak. *ačï-*; Tuv. *ažï-*; Tof. *ažï-*; Yak. *asïj-*; *ahïj-* (Rass. 152). – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 195, 290; DTS 4; ÈSTJa I 92; Eg 82; Rass. 152.

The verb was registered in OT and at present it has equivalents in various Turkic languages.

esir- (K-B) '1. ṕjaneťˊ; 2. zaznaťsja, zagordiťsja, staťˊ vysokomernym' (KBRS 775); *esir-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'napiťsja ṕjanym' (Boz. 170); *esir-* (K) 'berauscht werden' (Pr K 102); *esir-* (B) 'sich berauschen' (Pr B 220) < PT **äsir- ~ * äsür-*; cf.: OT *esir-*, *esür-*, *isür-* (Gab. 299); Kum. *esir-*; Tur. *esri-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *esir-*; Tat. *isĭr-*; Bašk. *isĭr-*; Kaz. *esĭr-*; Kklp., Nog. Kir. *esir-*; Alt. *ezir-*; Khak. *izĭr-*; Tuv. *eziri-*, *ezir-*; Tof. *esiri-*; Yak. *itir-*. – Lit.: DTS 184; ÈSTJa I 309; Gab. 299; KRPS 669; Rass. 183; StachM GJV 62; YRh. 349.

The verb *esir-* 'to get drunk' has equivalents in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *esir-*, *esür-* were registered.

kama- (K-B) '1. tupiťsja, zatupljaťsja; 2. nabivaťsja. (*ob oskomine*); 3. slepiťˊ; 4. *per.* sniknuťˊ, staťˊ bezvolnym, poterjaťˊ interes' (KBRS 385) < PT

*kāma-; cf.: OT *kama-*; Kum. *kama-*; Az. *gamaš-*; Khal. *gōmaš-*; Tur. *kamaš-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kamaš-*, (H) *kamas-*, (T) *kamaš-*; Tat., Bašk. *kamaš-*; Kaz., Nog., Kir. *kama-*; Kklp. *kamas-*; Trkm. *gāmaš-*; Uz., Uig. *kamaš-*. – Lit.: DTS 414; ÈSTJa V 242; KRPS 288; 360; Räs. VEWT 228 b; YRh. 590.

The verb *kama-* '1. to set sb's teeth on edge; 2. to be dazzled; 3. to grow dull' has in other languages equivalents. The verb was registered in OT.

kat- (K-B) '1. tverdeť, krepnuť; stanoviťsja tviordym (krepkim); 2. zasyxať, soxnuť; vjaliťsja; 3. zakalivaťsja; 4. vpiťsja glazami, ustaviťsja, vperiť vzor; 5. zastyť kak vkopannyj; zamereť, ocepeneť; 6. umereť; 7. okočeneť; 8. krutiťsja, vraščaťsja; 9. ožestočiťsja' (KBRS 399); *katï-* (B. dial.: Baks.) 'stať tverdym, žestkim, krepkim' (Boz. 178); *kat-* (*qᶜat-*; K) 'trocknen, gedört werden' (Pr K 117); *katï-* (*qatĭ-*; B) 'hart werden, erstarren' (Pr B 236) < PT **kat-*; cf.: OT *kat-*; Kum. *gat-*; Khal. *gat-*; Tur. (arch.) *katï-* = *katïlaš-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. *kat-*; Čuv. *xït-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kat-*; Trkm. *gat-*, *gata-*; Uz. *kot-*; Uig., Alt., Tuv. *kat-*, Khak. *xat-*; Tof. *kat-*; Yak. *xat-*; Šor. *kat-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 288; DTS 432; Eg. 315; ÈSTJa V 334; KRPS 296, 366; Rass. 219; StachM GJV 19; Šč. SF 194; YRh. 618.

There are equivalents of the verb *kat-* '1. to become hard; 2. to dry' in some modern Turkic languages. In OT the verb was registered.

köp- (K-B) '1. opuxať, vzduvaťsja; 2. per. duťsja, obižaťsja, pyžiťsja' (KBRS 335); *köp-*, *köb-*, *köf-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'vspuxať, stať nadutym' (Boz. 176); *köp-* (*kᶜöp-*; K) anschwellen, aufgeblasen werden, sich aufblasen' (Pr K 111); *köp-*, *köf-*, *köb-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 231) < PT **köp-*; cf.: Kum. *göp-*; *köp-* (Eg. 124); Az. *köp-*; Tur. dial. (DS) *köp-*; Tat. *küp-*, *küben-*; Čuv. *küp-*, *küpĕn-*; Bašk. *küp-*; Kaz. *keb-*; Kklp. *kep-*; Nog., Kir. *köp-*; Uig. *köp-*; Alt., Khak., Šor., Yak. *köp-*. – Lit.: Eg. 124; ÈSTJa V 109; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *köp-* 'to swell' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning.

kuru- (K-B) '1. soxnuť, isparjaťsja; 2. otmiraťť, isčezaťť (KBRS 426); *kuru-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'staťť suxim (Boz. 179); *kuru-* (*quru-*; B) 'trocken werden, dürr werden' (Pr B 241) < PT **kūr-*; cf.: OT *kurï-*, *kuru-*; Kum. *kuru-*; Az. *guru-*; cf. Khal. *kurrug*; Tur. *kuru-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kuru-*, *kurï-*; (H, T) *kuru-*; Tat. *kor-*, *korï-*; Čuv. *xăr-*; Bašk. *koro-*, *kor-*; Kaz. *kürï-*; Kir. *kurga-*, *kuru-*; Trkm. *gurï-*, *gura-*; Uz. *kuri-*; Uig. *kuru-*; Sal. *kurï-*; Alt. *kurga-*, *kuru-*; Khak. *xuru-*; Tuv. *kurga-*; Tof. *kuru-*; Yak. *kūr-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 185, 307; DTS 468, 469; Eg. 293; KRPS 348, 375; ÖjHa. 40; Rass. 222; StachM GJV 129; Tenišev 397.

The verb *kuru-* 'to dry' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *kurï-*, *kuru-* were registered.

oŋ- (K-B) '1. linjaťť, vygoraťť; 2. *per.* vjanuťť, blioknuťť, vnešne stanoviťsja xuže, terjaťť vid; podurneťť (KBRS 498); *oŋ-* (K) 'verbleichen, verschiessen' (Pr

K 126) < PT *oŋ-; cf.: OT oŋ-; Kum. oŋ-; Tat., Bašk. uŋ-; Kaz., Kklp., Kir. oŋ-; Nog. oŋ, aw-; Uz. oŋ-; Uig. oŋ-; Alt., Khak., Tuv. oŋ-; Yak. uŋ-. – Lit.: DTS 367; ÈSTJa I 460; StachM GJV 76; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *oŋ-* '1. to become pale, to fade; 2. to moult' is registered in OT. There are its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages, however in some of them the meaning is different, cf. Yak. *uŋ-* 'ohnmächtig werden' (StachM GJV 76).

semir- (K-B) '1. žireť, tučneť, nabirať žir; 2. polneť, tolstaťʼ (KBRS 552); *semir-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'stať žirnym, tolstym' (Boz. 183); *semir-* (B) 'fett werden, dick werden' (Pr B 251) < PT **semir-* (ESG); cf.: OT *semri-*; Kum. *semri-*, *semi(r)-*; Tur. *semir-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *semir-*, (T) *śemir-*; Tat. *simer-*; Čuv. *samărăl-*, *samărlan-*; Bašk. *himer-*; Kaz., Kir. *semri-*, *semi(r)-*; Trkm. *semre-*; Uz., Uig., *semri- semi(r)-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 495; Eg. 177; KRPS 470, 498; Sul. Kkar. 95; YRh. 998.

The verb *semir-* 'to grow fat' has it equivalents in other languages. In OT the form *semri-* was registered.

suw- (K-B) '1. ostyť; 2. *per.* razočarovaťsja, oxladeť, poterjať nadeždu' (KBRS 577); *sūʾu-* (*sūʾu-*; K) 'sich abkühlen, kalt werden' (Pr K 133); *suʾu-* (*suʾu-*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 254) < PT **sogï-*; cf.: OT *sogï-*; Az. *soju-*; Tur. *sogu-*; Kar. *suvu-*; Tat. *suïn-*; Čuv. *sivĕn-*; Bašk. *hïwïn-*; Kaz., Kklp. *suïn-*; Nog. *suvun-* Kir. *suun-*; Trkm. *sova-*; Uz., Uig. *sovun-*; Alt. (V) *suu-*; Khak. *soo-*; Yak. *soj-*. – Lit.: DTS 507; Eg. 190; KRPS 482; Räs. VEWT 425 a.

The verb *suw-* 'to become cold, to cool' has equivalents in some other modern Turkic languages. In OT the form *sogï-* was registered.

üšü- (K-B) '1. miorznuť; 2. zamiorznuť; vymerznuťʼ (KBRS 787); *üšü-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'merznuť, zamerznuťʼ (Boz. 189); *üšü-* (K) 'ausfrieren, erfrieren' (Pr K 144); *üšü-* 'frieren, gefrieren' (Pr B 267) < PT **üšü-*, **üši-* (ESG); cf.: OT *üši-*, *üšü-*; Kum. *ušu-*, *üšü-*; Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (T) *üšü-*; Kar. (Cr.) *üšü-*, *ušu-*; Kar. (H) *isi-*; Tat. *ŭšĭ-*; Čuv. *šăn-*; Bašk. *ŭšŭ-*; Kaz. *üsĭ-*; Kklp., Nog. *üsi-*; Kir. *üšü-*; Trkm. *üše-*; Uig. *üšü-*; Alt. *üžü-*; Khak. *üzü-*, *uču-*; Tuv. *üžü-*; Uz. *ušu-*; Šor. *üžü-*. – Lit.: DTS 628; Eg. 334; ÈSTJa I 644; KRPS 207, 588, 592.

There are equivalents of the verb *üšü-* to freeze; to be frozen' in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *üši-*, *üšü-* were registered.

9.3. Verbs referring to sense and expressing an abstract denotation

ačï- (K-B) '1. boleť, ispytyvaťbol' (KBRS 101); *acit-* (B) 'sauer machen, eisäuern, kränken, beleidigen' (Pr B 197) < PT **āč-*; cf: OT *ačï-*; Az. *ağï-*; Tur. *ağï-*; Gag. *ağı-*; Kar. (H) *acï-*, (T) *ağï-*; Tat (Cr) *ağï-*; Kir. *ačï-*; Y. Uig. *ačï-*; Khak. *ačï-*; Tuv. *ažï-*; Tof. *ažï-*; Yak. *asïj-*; *ahïj-* (Rass. 152) . – Lit.: DTS 4; ÈSTJa I 91; Rass 152.

In several modern Turkic languages this verb (or its phonetic equivalents) has the meaning 'to feel pain'. This verb was also confirmed in OT.

arï- (K-B) '1. ustavat, utomljatsja; 2. obednet, razoriťsja; 3. istoščiťsja' (KBRS 79); *arï-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'ustať' (Boz. 165); *arï-* (*arĭ-*; K) 'müde werden' (Pr K 88); *arï-*, *ar-* (*arĭ-*, *ar-*; B) 'id.' (Pr B 202) < PT **ar(ï)-* (ESG); cf.: OT *ar-*; Kum. *arï-*; Khal. *hār-*; Tur. *arï-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *arï*; Tat. *ar-*; Čuv. *ïr-*; Bašk., Kaz., Nog., Kir. *arï-*; Kklp *harï-*, *arï-*; Trkm. *ār-*; Uz. *hori-*; *hor-*, dial. *har-* (Eg. 343); Uig. *har-*; Alt. *arï-*, *arïn-*; Khal. *ar-*; Tuv. *ar-*; Šor. *arï-*; Yak. *ïr-*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 269, 291; DTS 50; Eg. 343; ÈSTJa I 160; KRPS 77; StachM GJV 23.

The verb has the meaning 'to get tired; to weaken'. There are equivalents of this verb in modern Turkic languages and OT.

awru- (K-B) 'boleť, zaboleť' (KBRS 93); *auru-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'boleť, zaboleť' (Boz. 165); *auru-* (K) 'weh tun, krank sein, krank werden, erkranken' (Pr K 89); *auru-* (B) 'weh tun, schmerzen, krank werden, bettlägerig werden; niederkommen' (Pr B 204) < PT **āγïr- ~ āγar- ~ uwur- ~ awïr-*; cf.: OT *agrï-*; Az. *agrï-*; Tur. *agrï-*; Kar. (Cr.) *auru-*, *avru-*, (H, T) *avru-*; Tat. *awïrï-*, *awïr-*; Bašk. *awïri-*, *awïr-*; Kaz., Kklp. *awïr-*; Kir. *ōru-*; Trkm. *āgïr-*; Uz. *ogri-*; Uig. *agri-*; Lob. *agïj-*, *aguj-*; Sal. *agrï-*, *agïrï-*, *āgïr-*; Y. Uig. *agïr-*, *agur-*; Alt. *ōru-*; Khak. *agïr-*; Tuv *ārï-*; Tof. *ārï*; Yak. *ïarïj-* (Rass. 158); *ïarī* 'Schmerz, Krankheit' (StachM GJV 45). – Lit.: DTS 22; ÈSTJa I 86; Gab. 293; KRPS 41, 85; Malov 80; Rass. 158; StachM GJV 45; Tenišev 281, 282, 283.

The verb with the meaning 'to be ill, to become ill' has in other modern Turkic languages some equivalents. In OT there was the form *agrï-*.

az- (K-B) 'xudeť, toščať; osunuťsja; oslabnuť (KBRS 27); *az-* (K) 'magern, herabkommen' (PrK 90); *az-* (B) 'irre gehen, fehlgehen' (Pr B 204) < PT **ās-*; cf.: OT *az-*; Az., Tur., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Ur.), Tat. *az-*; Čuv. *as-*; Bašk. *az-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *az-*; Trkm. *āz-*; Uz. *oz-*; Uig., Lob., Y. Uig. *az-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *as-*; Tof. *as-*. – Lit.: DTS 72; Eg. 33; ÈSTJa I 94; Gab. 297; KRPS 47; Podolsky 3; Rass. 156; Sul. Kkar. 52.

The verb *az-* is known in some other Turkic languages. It was registered in OT. Generally it means '1. to get lost; 2. to be mistaken'. It has also a metaphorical meaning '1. to go to the bad; 2. to misbehave'. Only in K-B and Tat. (Ur) does this verb denote 'to grow thin'.

bez- (K-B) 'izmučiťsja, presytiťsja' (KBRS 130); *bezi-* (B. dial.: Čeg.) 'skučať, pitať otvraščenie' (Boz. 167) < PT **bäz-* (ESG); cf.: OT *bez-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Kar. (T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.), *bez-*; Tat. *biz-* Čuv. *pis-*; Bašk. *biz-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *bez-*; Uig. *bäz-*, Uz. *bez-*. – Lit.: DTS 97; Eg. 161; ÈSTJa II 103; Gab. 302; KRPS 111; Podolsky 5.

Bez- 'to get tired; to become disgusted; to be fed up with sth' has equivalents in some other Turkic languages, however in Čuv. there is *pis-* 'to become cold for sb'. The OT sources register only the verb *bez-* 'to tremble'.

bil- (K-B) '1. znať, uznavať; byť sveduščim, byť osvedomlennym; 2. dogadyvaťsja, razgadyvať; 3. umeť, znať; 4. imeť predstavlenie; ponimať, znať; 5. ceniť po dostoinstvu; 6. poznať; opredeliť, uznať *kogo*' (KBRS 143); *bil-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul-Bez.) 'znať, uznať, zamečať' (Boz. 167); *bil-* (K) 'wissen, kennen, können, raten, erraten' (Pr K 93); *bil-* (B) 'wissen, bemerken, erfahren, empfinden' (Pr B 208). < PT **pil-*; cf.: OT *bil-*; Kum., Az., Khal., Tur., Gag., Kar., Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bil-*; Tat. *bĭl-*; *bel-* (Eg. 155); Čuv. *pĕl-*; Bašk. *bĭl*; *bel-* (Eg. 155); Kaz. *bĭl-*, Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *bil-*; Uz. *bil-*; Uig. *bil-*; Lob. *bil-*; Sal. *bil-*, *bel-*, *pil-*; Y. Uig. *bel-*, *bïl-*, *pïl-*, *pel-*; Alt. *bil-*, *pil-*; Khak. *pil-*; Tuv. *bil-*; Tof. *bil-*; Yak. *bil-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; Doerfer LSCh 234, 280; DTS 98; Eg. 155; ÈSTJa II 137; KRPS 117; Malov 94; ÖjHa. 32; Podolsky 5; Rass. 162; SKT 177; Sul. Kkar. 55; Tenišev 301, 302, 447, Tenišev SJ 175, 197.

The verb *bil-* 'to know' is common in other Turkic languages, where in some of them it appears in phonetic variants. It was registered in OT.

bol- (K-B) '1. byť, proisxoditʹ, soveršaťsja, skučaťsja. 2; byť, javlaťsja; dovoditʹsja; 3. byť; prebyvať, naxoditʹsja; 4. byť v naličii, imeťsja; 5. byť podxodjaščim, goditʹsja; byť vporu; 6. polučaťsja, udavaťsja; 7. proxoditʹ; 8. nastavať, nastupať, prixoditʹ; 9. ispolniťsja; 10. xvatať, byť dostatočnym; 11. byť, stanoviťsja' (KBRS 157); *bol-* (B. dial.; Baks., Balk., Čeg. Khul.-Bez.) 'byť, staťʹ (Boz. 168); *bol-* (K) 'sein, werden, reifen, sich ereignen' (Pr K 94) < PT **bōl-*; **pōl-* (Šč SF 196); cf.: OT *bol-*; Kum. *bol-*; Az. *ol-*; Khal. *oːl-*; Tur., Gag. *ol-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *bol-*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *ol-*; Tat. *bul-*; Čuv. *pul-*; Bašk. *bul-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *bol-*; Uz. *bol-*; Uig. *bul-*, *bol-*; Lob. *ol-*; *bol-*; Sal. *bō*, *o-*, *pō-*, *pu-*, *pū-*, *ü-*, *vo-*, *vō-*, *vol-*, *vu-*, *vul-*; Y. Uig. *pol-*, *bol-*, *vol-*, *vo-*, *o-*, *vu-*; Alt. *pol-*, *bol-*; Khak. *pol-*; Tuv. *bol-*; Tof. *bol-*; Šor. *pol-*; Yak. *buol-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 41; Doerfer LSCh 236, 303, 271; DTS 111; Eg. 164; ÈSTJa II 185; KRPS 128; Malov 94, 150; ÖjHa. 36; Podolsky 16; Rass. 163; SKT 177; StachM GJV 81; Sul. Kkar. 56; Šč SF 196; Tenišev 303, 422, 450, 453-54, 455, 537, 543, 544; Tenišev SJ 175, 193, 196, 219.

The verb *bol-* 'to be, to become' is very common in all Turkic languages (appearing there in some phonetic variants). It was registered in OT.

dön- (K) 'razočarovaťsja, poterjať interes; rasxoteťʹ (KBRS 204); *dön-* (K) 'sich abwenden' (Pr K 100) < PT **tõn-*; cf.: OT *tön-*; Kum. Az., Tur., Gag., Tat. (Cr.) *dön-*; Tat. *dün-*, Kar. (Cr.) *don-*, *tün-*; Čuv. *tün-*; Bašk. *dün-*; Nog. *dön-*; Yak. *tönün-*. – Lit.: ČRS 502; DTS 580; Eg. 265; ÈSTJa III 276; KRPS 179; ÖjHa. 42; Räs. VEWT 493 b; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *dön-* in Karachay has the meaning '1. to turn round' but also in a figurative sense '1. to become disappointed; 2. to prevent'. It has equivalents

also in other Turkic languages, where the basic meaning is 'to come back, to be back'. However, there are some Turkic languages (e.g. Čuv., Az., Tat., where this verb means 'to fall down; to turn round, to turn over', cf. ÈSTJa III 276-277; Eg. 265. The OT sources registered the form *tön-* 'to be back, to come back'.

ešit- (K-B) '1. slyšať; 2. slušať, vnimať; 3. čuvstvovať-oščuščať, slyšať' (KBRS 780); *ešit-*, (B. dial.: Balk., Kaš.) 'slušať' (Boz. 717); *ešit-*, *ješit-* (K) 'hören' (Pr K 102); *ešit-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 220) < PT **äšit-*; cf.: OT *ešit-*, *ešid-*, *išit-*; Kum., Az. *ešit-*; Khal. *äšit-*, *ešit-*; Tur. *išit-*; Gag. *išit-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *ešit-*, (H) *esit-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ešit-*; Tat. *išĭt-*; Čuv. *ilt-*; Bašk. *išĭt-*; Kaz. *esĭt-*; Kklp., Nog. *esit-*; Trkm. *ešit-*; Trukh. *ĕšit-*; Uz. *ešit-*; Uig. *išit-*; Lob. *ešit- ešet-*; Sal. *isti-*; Yak. *ihit-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 229, 287; DTS 185, 215; Eg. 69; ÈSTJa I 318; KRPS 669, 673; Malov 116; SKT 182; StachM GJV 63; Sul. Kkar. 63; Tenišev 341.

The verb *ešit-* 'to hear' with the same meaning has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *ešit-*, *ešid-*, *išit-* were registered.

ğaŋïl- (K-B) 'ošibaťsja, dopuskať ošibki, zabluždaťsja' (KBRS 227); *ğaŋŋïl-* (*ǯaŋŋĭl-*; K) 'sich irren' (Pr K 146) < PT **jaŋ-ïl-*; cf.: OT *jaŋïl-*; Kum. *jaŋïl-*; Tur., Gag. *janïl-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jaŋïl- ~ janïl-*, (H) *jangïl-*, (T) *jangïl- ~ jaŋgïl-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žaŋïl-*; Kir. *ğaŋïl-*; Uig. *jeŋil-*; Y. Uig. *janïl*; Alt. *ďaŋïl-*; Šor. *nāl-*. – Lit.: DTS 234; ÈSTJa IV 120; KRPS 226, 228, 229; Tenišev SJ 182.

The verb *ğaŋïl-* 'to err, to make a mistake' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages with the same meaning, however in Y. Uig. there is only the nominal form *janïl* meaning 'mistake'. In OT sources the form *jaŋïl-* was confirmed.

ğara- (K-B) '1. godiťsja; 2. vlijať, vozdejstvovať, otraziťsja' (KBRS 220); *žara-* (Baks.), *ğara-* (Čeg.) 'godiťsja, byť godnym, podxodiť' (Boz. 171); *zara-* (Balk.) 'podxodiť kstati, byť sootvetsvujuščim, podxodjaščim' (ibid. 173); *ğara-* (*ʒara-*; K) 'gefallen, tangen, sich schicken' (Pr K 146); *zara-* (B) 'passen, entsprechen, passen sein, entsprechen sein, gemäss sein, geziemen, tauglich sein, taugen, helfen, unterstützen' (Pr B 269) < PT **jara- ~ *jaɣra-*; cf.: OT *jara-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat., Tat (Ur.) *jara-*; Čuv. *jura-* (< Tat.); Bašk. *jara-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žara-*; Nog. *jara-*; Kir. *ğara-*; Trkm. *jara-*; Uz., *jara-*; Uig. *jara- ~ jari-*; Lob. *jaja-*; Sal. *jara- ~ jarï-*; Y. Uig. *jaras-*; Alt. *ďara-*; Khak. *čara-*; Šor. *čara-*. – Lit.: DTS 239; Eg. 350; ÈSTJa IV 137; KRPS 230; Malov 117; Podolsky 32; Tenišev 347, 348; Tenišev SJ 182.

The verb *ğara-* 'to be suitable; to fit; to be useful' has counterparts in other Turkic languages. In OT the form *jara-* was registered.

ğarsï- (K-B) '1. zabotiťsja, bespokoiťsja; 2. stradať, nesti uščerb' (KBRS 232); *zarsï-* (*zarsĭ-*; B) 'entbehren, vermissen' (Pr B 269) < PT **jarsï-* (ESG); cf.:

OT *jarsï-*; Tat. *jarsï-*; Bašk. *jarhï-*; Nog. *jarsï-*; cf. also Kar. (T) *jarsït-*; Khak. *čarsïn-* – Lit.: DTS 243; ÈSTJa IV 144; KRPS 234.

There are several conceptions concerning the etymology and structure of this verb, cf. ÈSTJa IV 144. As we see the verb *ğarsï-* 'to worry; to suffer' has equivalents only in some modern Turkic languages, however with a different meaning than in K-B, e.g. in Khak. 'to feel disgust'. The OT sources registered *jarsï-* with the meaning 'to feel disgust'.

ğaša- (K-B) '1. žiť, suščestvovať; 2. vodiťsja, obitať' (KBRS 237); *žaša-* (B. dial.: Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'žiť' (Boz. 171); *ğasa-* (*ǯaša-*; K) 'leben' (Pr K 147); *zaša-* (B) 'leben, wohnen' (Pr B 270) < PT **jaša-* (ESG); cf.: OT *jaša-*; Tur., Kar. (Cr.), Tat. (Ur.) *jaša-*; Trukh. *jāša-*; Uig. *jaša-*; Sal. *jaša- ~ jasa-*. – Lit.: DTS 246; JUFD 197; KRPS 242; Podolsky 32; SKT 179; Tenišev 348, 349; YRh. 1245.

The verb *ğaša-* 'to live' has equivalents in a few Turkic languages. At the earliest MK registered the form *jaša-*.

ğeŋ- (K-B) '1. pobeždať, brať verx *nad kem*, peresilivať; 2. svešivaťsja; sklonjaťsja; 3. xmeleť, pjaneť' (KBRS 241); *ğen-* (*ǯen-*; K) 'im Streite siegen, einen Prozess gewinnen' (Pr K 147) < PT **jägn(i)-*; OT *jeŋ-*; Kum. *jeŋ-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *jen-*; Kar. (Cr.) *jeng-*, (T) *jen- ~ jeń-*, (H) *jen-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jeŋ-*; Tat. *žiŋ-*; Čuv. *śĕn-*; Bašk. *jĭŋ-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žeŋ-*; Nog. *jeŋ-*; Kir. *ğeŋ-*; Trkm. *jeŋ-*; Uz. *jeŋ-*; Uig. *jäŋ-*; Alt. *ďen-*; Khak. *čiŋ-*; Šor *näŋ-*; *näg-*. – Lit.: DTS 256; Eg. 211; ÈSTJa IV 187; KRPS 271, 272, 273; Podolsky 33; Räs. VEWT 197 b.

Ğeŋ- '1. to overcome, to conquer; 2. to win' has equivalents in modern Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT the form *jeŋ-* was registered.

ğet- (K-B) '1. doxodiť, dobiraťsja; 2. doxodit, dostigať; 3. *per.* doxodit; 4. xvatať, byť dostatočnym; 5. otrasti; 6. uspevať; 7. dogonjať, nastigať; naviorstvyať; 8. nastavať, nastupať, bliziťsja, približaťsja; 9. sozrevať, pospevať; vyrastať; 10. sbyvaťsja; 11. vypadať, prijtis na dolju, skučiťsja, proizjti; 12. dovodiťsja, prixodiťsja; 13. ispolnjaťsja; 14. poražať; 15. dožiť, dožďaťsja' (KBRS 244); *žet-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'doxodiť, dostigať' (Boz. 171), *zet-* (Balk., Khul.-Bez.) 'dostignuť, doxodiť' (ibid. 173); *ğet-* (*ǯet-*; K) 'reichen, erreichen, gelangen, reif werden' (Pr K 148); *zet-* (B) 'reichen, erreichen, einholen, gelangen, genügen, reif werden' (Pr B 272) < PT **jät-* (StachM GJV 61); **θät-* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jet-*; Kum., Az., Khul., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H) *jet-*; Kar. (T) *jeť-*; Tat. *ğit-*; Čuv. *śit-*; Bašk. *jet-*; Kaz., Kklp. *žet-*; Nog. *jet-*; Kir. *ğet-*; Trkm., Trukh., Uz. *jet-*; Uig. *jät-*; Lob. *jet-*; Sal. *jec-*, *je²-*, *jet-*, *je²t-*, *jeʒ-*, *je²ʒ,-*, *jit-*, *jiʒ-*; Y. Uig. *je²t-*, *e²t-*, *het-*, *hit-*; Alt. *ďet-*, *~ jet-*; Khak. *čit-*; Tuv. *čet-*; Tof. *čet*; Šor *čät-*; Yak. *sit-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; Doerfer LSCh 245, 318; DTS 258; Eg. 214; ÈSTJa IV 193; KRPS 276, 277; Malov 120; ÖjHa. 27; Rass. 196;

SKT 179; StachM GJV 61; Sul. Kkar. 73; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 353, 355, 356, 361; Tenišev SJ 179, 180, 184.

The verb *ǧet-* '1. to suffice, to be enough; 2. to reach, to attain' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B. In OT sources there was the form *jet-*.

ïšan- (K-B) 'nadejatśja, polagatśja, rassčityvatʹ, doverjatʹ' (KBRS 761); *išan-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'doverjatʹ' (Boz. 174) < PT **išän-* (< **išan-*); cf.: OT: *ïšan-*, *išän-*; Kar. (Cr.) *išan-* ~ *ïšan-*, (H) *isan-* ~ *ïsan-*, (T) *išan-*; Tat. *ïšan-*; Čuv. *šan-*; Bašk. *ïšan-*; Kaz. *sen-*; Kklp. *isen-*; Nog. *sen-*; Kir. *išen-*; Trkm. *ïšan-*; Uz. *išon-*; Uig. *išan-*, *ïšän-*; Lob. *išen-*; Y. Uig. *isen-*; *ïsan-* (Eg. 330); Alt. *ižen-*; Khak. *izen-*; *zen-*; Yak. *ihän-*. – Lit.: DTS 214, 220; Eg. 330; ÈSTJa I 673; KRPS 206, 211, 651, 652; StachM GJV 64, 106; Sul. Kkar. 107.

The verb *ïšan-* '1. to hope; 2. to believe' has counterparts in some other Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B; also registered in OT.

inan- (B. dial.: Baks., Khul.-Bez.) 'veriťʹ, bytʹ, ubeždennym' (Boz. 174); *ïnan-* (*ĭnan-*; K) 'glauben' (Pr K 106); *inan-* (B) 'glauben, überzeugt sein' (Pr B 225) < PT **ïnan-*; cf.: OT *ïnan-*; Kum., Az., Tur. *inan-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *inan-* ~ *ïnan-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ïnan-* ~ *inan-*; Tat. (Ur.) *jïnan-*; Tat. *inan-*; Čuv. *ĕnen-*; Bašk. *inan-*; Kaz. *nan-*; Kklp. *ïnan-*, *nan-*; Nog. *ïnan-*; Kir. *ïnal-*, *ïnan-*; Trkm. *ïnan-*; Uz. *inon-*; Uig. *ïnan-*, *inäl-*; Tuv. *ïnan-*. – Lit.: DTS 218; Eg. 64; ÈSTJa I 655; JUFD 194; KRPS 201, 650; Podolsky 33.

The verb *inan-* 'to believe' has equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT there was the form *ïnan-*.

kan- (K-B) '1. utoljatśja, udovletvorjatśja, nasyščatśja; 2. uspokaivatśja, unimatśja; 3. oxladevatʹ, ostyvatʹ' (KBRS 386); *kan-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Kaš.) 'uspokoitśja, bytʹ dovolʹnym, utolitʹ žaždu' (Boz. 177); *kan-* (*qan-*; B) 'gestillt werden, sich beruhigen, zufrieden sein' (Pr B 234) < PT **kān-*; cf. OT *kan-*; Kum. *kan-*; Az. *gan-*; Tur., Gag. *kan-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kan-*, *kam-*, *kaŋ-*, (T) *kan-*; Tat., Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kan-*; Trkm. *kān-*; Uz. *kon-*; Uig., Lob., Alt. *kan-*; Khak. *xan-*; Tuv. *xan-*; Yak. *xan-*. – Lit.: DTS 417; ÈSTJa V 251; KRPS 289, 360, 361, 362; Šč. SF 194.

The verb *kan-* '1. to calm down; 2. to satiate' was known in OT. There are its counterparts in other Turkic languages.

keč- (K-B) 'proščatʹ' (KBRS 333); *keč-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'prosti' (Boz. 175); *keč-* (*kʿeč-*; K) 'verzeihen, erlassen' (Pr K 108); *kec-* (B) 'verzeihen' (Pr B 227) < PT **käč-*; cf.: OT *keč-*; Kum. *geč-*; Az. *keč-*; Khal. *gäč-*; Tur. *geč-*; Gag. *geč-*; Kar. (Cr.) *käč-*, (H) *kec-*; Tat. (Cr.) *keč-*; Tat. *kič-*; Čuv. *kaś-*; Bašk. *kič- kis-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog. *keš-*; Kir. *keč-*; Trkm. *geč-*; Uz. *keč-*; Uig. *keč-*, *käč-*; Lob. *keč-*, *keš-*; Y. Uig. *keš-*; Alt. *keč-*; Khak. *kis-*; Tuv. *keš-*; Tof. *ḱeš-*; Šor. *keš-*; Yak. *kes-*, *käs-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 243, 288; DTS 290; Eg. 93;

ÈSTJa III 32; KRPS 310, 394; Malov 135; ÖjHa. 22; Rass. 203; StachM GJV 59; Šč. SF 195.

The verb *kеč-* has in K-B the meaning 'to 'forgive' whereas both in OT and in most other Turkic languages its equivalents mean 'to pass; to go across'. The meaning known in K-B, which refers to debts is also registered in the following languages: Trkm., Kum., Kaz., Nog., Uz., Uig., Šor., Čuv.

kork- (K-B) '1. bojaťsja, trusiť, pugaťsja, strašiťsja; 2. bojaťsja, bespokoiťsja, opasaťsja, trevožiťsja' (KBRS 414); *kork-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'bojaťsja' (Boz. 179); *kork-* (*qᶜorq-*; K) 'sich fürchten' (Pr K 119); *kork-* (*qorq-*; B) 'sich fürchten, erschrecken' (Pr B 239) < PT **kork-*; OT *kork-*; Kum. *kork-*; Az. *gorx-*; Tur. *kork-*; Kar. (Cr., H) *kork-*, (T) *korx-*; Tat. *kurk-*; Tat. (Ur.) *xorx-*; Čuv. *xăra-*; Bašk. *kurk-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kork-*; Trkm. *gork-*; Trukh. *xorg-*; Uz. *kurk-*; Uig. *ko(r)x-*; Lob. *kojk-*; Sal. *xorx-*, *xorga-*, *xorgu-*, *xorgï-*, *xurgo-*; Y. Uig. *kᶜuᶜrk-*, *korx-*; Alt. *korkï-*; Khak. *xorïx-*; Tuv. *kort-* (*korgar*); Tof. *kort-*; Yak. *xort-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 44; DTS 458; Eg. 293; KRPS 333, 334, 371; Malov 128; Podolsky 30; Rass. 221; SKT 182; StachM GJV 42; Tenišev 550,551; Tenišev SJ 200, 204.

The verb *kork-* 'to fear' was registered in OT. In other Turkic languages there are some counterparts of the verb.

kör- (K-B) '1. videť; smotreť; 2. uvažať, počitať, ljubiť, nenavideť; 3. probovať [na vkus]; 4. smeť, probovať, pytaťsja; 5. naveščať, provedyvať; 6. sčitať, prinimať; 7. ispytať, perežiť, preterpeť; 8. osmatrivať' (KBRS 343); *kör-* (B. dial., Baks., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'videť' (Boz. 176), *kör-*, *kor-* (Balk.) 'id.' (ibid. 176); *kör-* (*kᶜör-*; K) 'sehen' (Pr K 111); *kör-* (B) 'sehen; erleben, erdulgen' (Pr B 231) < PT **kör-*, **kȫr-* (? Šč. SF 195); cf.: OT *kör-*; Kum. *gör-*, *gor-*; Az. *gör-*; *kör-* (Eg. 118); Khal. *kör-*; Tur., Gag. *gör-*; Kar. (Cr.) *kör-* (H) *ker-* (T) *ḱor-*; Tat. *kür-*; Tat. (Cr.) *koŕ-*; Tat. (Ur.) *kör-*; Čuv. *kur-*; Bašk. *kür-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *kör-*; Trkm., Trukh., *gör-*; Uz. *kor-*; Uig. *kör-*; Lob. *köj-*; Sal. *kor-*, *kör-*, *ḱur-*; Y. Uig. *kör-*; Alt. *kör-*; Khak. *kör-*; Tuv. *kör-*; Tof. *kör-*; Yak. *kör-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 43; Doerfer LSCh 229, 298; DTS 317; Eg. 118; ÈSTJa III 77; KRPS 306, 314, 339; Malov 136; ÖjHa. 41; Podolsky 13; Rass. 204; SKT 178; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 389, 392, 396.

The verb *kör-* 'to see' is widely common and has equivalents in most Turkic languages. It was known in OT.

oŋ- (K-B) 'imeť udaču, preuspevať' (KBRS 498); *oŋ-* (B. dial., Balk., Kaš.) 'vyzdorovlivať, ulučšiťsja' (Boz. 181), (Čeg.) 'udavaťsja, podxodiť, byť poleznym' (ibid. 181) < PT **oŋ-*; cf.: OT *oŋ-*; Tur. *on-*; Kar. (Cr.) *oŋ-*, (H) *on-*; Tat. *uŋ-*; Čuv. *ăn-*; Bašk. *uŋ-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm. *oŋ-*; Uz. *oŋ-*; Uig. *oŋ-*; cf. Khak. *oŋ* 'udača' (Eg. 41). – Lit.: DTS 367; Eg. 40; ÈSTJa I 457; KRPS 428; Sul. Kkar. 84; Šč. SF 195; YRh. 900.

The verb *oŋ-* '1. to heal up; 2. to improve; 3. to succeed' was registered in OT. There are equivalents of this verb in some other Turkic languages.

öl- (K-B) '1. umirať; 2. mertveť; 3. pogibat; pomirať' (KBRS 278); *öl-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'umirať' (Boz. 182); *öl-* (K) 'sterben' (Pr K 127); *öl-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 248) < PT **öl-*; cf.: OT *öl-*; Kum., Az., Tur. *öl-*; Gag. *jöl-*; Kar. (Cr., T) *öl-*, (H) *el-*; Tat. (Cr.) *oľ-*; Tat. (Ur.) *öl-*; Tat. *ül-*; Čuv. *vil-*; Bašk. *ül-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir., Trkm., Trukh. *öl-*; Uz. *ol-*; *ŭl-* (Eg. 54); Uig. *öl-*; Lob. *öl-*; Sal. ol-, *öl-*, *ul-*, *ül-*; Y. Uig. *öl-*, *jul-*, *jül-*, *jol-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv. *öl-*; Tof. *öl-*; Yak. *öl-*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 45; DTS 383; Eg. 53; ÈSTJa I 525; KRPS 440, 658; Malov 153; ÖjHa. 41; Podolsky 17; Rass. 214; SKT 181; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 424, 432, 532, 539; Tenišev SJ 184, 185.

There are equivalents of the verb *öl-* 'to die' in many Turkic languages. It was registered in OT.

sez- (K-B) '1. počuvstvovať, oščutiť; 2. osoznať, ponjať' (KBRS 549); *sez-* (B) 'erraten, gewahr werden' (Pr B 252) < PT **sa̋s-*; cf.: OT *sez-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag. *sez-*; Kar. (H) *ses-*, sis-; Tat. *siz-*; Čuv. *sis-*; Bašk. *hiz-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *sez-*; Trkm. *sïz-*; Uz. *sez-*; Uig. *säz-*; Alt. *ses-*; Khak. *sis-*. – Lit.: DTS 498; Eg. 192; KRPS 473, 500; Šč. SF 196; YRh. 1009.

The verb *sez-* 'to perceive, feel, discern' is registered in OT. It has its equivalents in other Turkic languages.

söŋ- (K-B) '1. unjaťsja, utixnuť, uspokoiťsja; 2. ubaviťsja, umenšiťsja' (KBRS 558) < PT **sön-* (ESG); cf: OT *sön-*; Kum., Az., Tur. *sön-*; Gag. *sun-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sön-*, *son-*, (H) *sen-*, (T) *śoń-*; Tat. *sün-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sön-*; Čuv. *sün-*; Bašk. *hün-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Trkm. *sön-*; Uz. *sun-*. – Lit.: DTS 511; Eg. 198; KRPS 471, 478, 481, 498; Podolsky 21; Sul. Kkar. 96.

The verb *söŋ-* '1. to go out; 2. to calm down; 3. to still' has its equivalents in other Turkic languages. In OT the form *sön-* was confirmed.

süj- (K-B) '1. ljubiť; 2. xoteť, želať' (KBRS 588); *süj-* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg.) 'ljubiť, želať, xoteť, domogaťsja' (Boz. 184); *süj-* (K) 'lieben, wünschen' (Pr K 133); *süj-* (B) 'lieben, wünschen, begehren, wollen' (Pr B 254) < PT **säß-* (~ **söǵ-*); cf.: OT *seb-*, *sev-*; Kum. *süj-*; Az., Tur. *sev-*; Kar. (Cr.) *sev-*, *süv-*, *süj-*, (H) *siv-*, (T) *śuv́-*; Tat. *söj-*; Tat. (Ur.) *sev-*; Čuv. *sav-*; Baš. *höj-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *süj-*; Trkm., Trukh. *söj-*; Uz. *sev-*, Uig. *söj-*; Lob. *söj-*, *süj-*; Alt. (V) *sü-*; Oir. *sű-*. – Lit.: DTS 493, 497; Eg. 173; KRPS 472, 485, 486, 496, 500; Malov 163, 165; Podolsky 20; SKT 181; Šč. SF 196.

There are equivalents of the verb *süj-* 'to love; to like' in other Turkic languages. In OT there were registered the forms: *seb-*, *sev-*.

tal- (K-B) 'ustavať, utomljaťsja' (KBRS 600); *tal-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'ustavať, byť slabym' (Boz. 184); *tal-* (*tʿal-*; K) 'müde werden' (Pr K 135) < PT **tāl-*; cf.: OT *tal-*; Kum. *tal-*; Az. *dal-*; Tur., Gag. *dal-*; Kar. (Cr.) *dal-*; Tat. *tal-*;

Tat. (Cr.) *dal-*; Tat. (Ur.) *dal-*; Bašk. *tal-*; Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tal-*; Trkm. *dāl-*; Trukh. *dāl-*; Uz. *tol-*; Uig., Lob., Alt., Khak. *tal-*; Tuv. *dal-*; Tof. *dal-*; Šor. *tal-*; Yak. *tal-*. – Lit.: DTS 528; ÈSTJa III 133; KRPS 169; Podolsky 8; Rass. 168; SKT 178; Šč SF 197.

The verb *tal-* '1. to weaken, to become weak' is registered in OT and it has counterparts in other Turkic languages, where it has a wider semantic scale, e.g.: Tat. (Ur.) *dal-* 'to dive, to dip'; in Tur., Gag., Tat. (Cr.), Kar. *dal-* 'to plunge'.

tanï- (K-B) '1. znať; 2. uznavať; raspoznavať; opoznavať; 3. znakomiťsja; 4. ponimať, videť, zamečať, čuvstvovať' (KBRS 603); *tanï-* (*t'anĭ-*; K) 'erkennen, empfinden, fühlen' (Pr K 136); *tanï-* (*tanĭ-*; B) 'kennen, erkennen' (Pr B 256) < PT **tanï-*; cf.: OT *tanï-*; Az., Tur., Kar., Tat., Tat. (Ur.) *tanï-*; cf. Čuv. *tĭnă*, *tĭn* 'svidetel' (Eg. 268); Bašk., Kaz., Trkm. *tanï-*; Uz. *tani-*; Uig. *tonu-*; Lob. *tunu*, *tanï-*; Sal. *tanï-* ~ *tānï-*; Y. Uig. *tanïs-*; Alt., Khak., Tuv., Tof. *tanï-*. – Lit.: DTS 531; Eg. 268; KRPS 512; Podolsky 22; Rass. 232; Malov 168, 177; Tenišev 501; Tenišev SJ 211.

The verb *tanï-* '1. to know; 2. to know each other; 3. to acquaint oneself' was registered in OT. In the same form or in some phonetic variants it is known in some modern Turkic languages, however sometimes with a different meaning, cf. Sal. *tanï-* ~ *tānï-* 'to choose'; Tat. (Ur.) *tanï-* 'to recognize'.

tĭn- (K-B) '1. byť sdelannym, vypolnjaťsja; zaveršaťsja; 2. issjakať; končaťsja; 3. slabeť, drjaxleť, sdavať; 4. uspokaivaťsja, utixať, prekraščaťsja' (KBRS 660); *tĭn-* (B. dial.: Balk.) 'perestavať' (Boz. 186); *tĭn-* (*tĭn-*; B) 'aufhören, sich legen' (Pr B 260) < PT **tĭ̄n-*; cf.: OT *tĭn-*, *tun-*; Kum. *tin-*; Az., Tur., Gag. *din-*; Tur. *tin-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tĭn-*; Tat. *tĭn-*; Tat. (Ur.) *tĭn-*; Čuv. *tăn-*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *tĭn-*; Trkm. *dĭ̄n-*, *diŋ-*; Uz. *tin-*; Uig. *tin-*; Lob. *tin-*; Sal. *tin-*; Alt. *tĭn-*; Tuv. *tĭn*, *dĭn-*; Tof. *dĭn-*; Šor. *tĭn-*; Yak. *tĭ̄n-*. – Lit.: DTS 567, 586; ÈSTJa III 341; KRPS 557; Podolsky 24; Rass. 179; Šč. SF 197.

The verb *tĭn-* in K-B means '1. to calm down; to weaken; 2. to stop.' In OT two forms were registered: *tĭn-* 'to breathe' and *tun-* 'to calm down'. It has its equivalents in other Turkic languages also with numerous meanings, e.g.: in Tat. (Ur.) *tĭn-* 'to calm down' but in Tof. *dĭn-* 'to breathe' etc.

tĭŋĭla- (K-B) '1. slušať; proslušivať, vyslušivať; prislušivaťsja' (KBRS 662); *tĭŋla-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg., Khul.-Bez.) 'slušať, podslušivať' (Boz. 186); *tĭŋla-* (*t'ĭŋla-*; K) 'hören, horchen, gehorchen' (Pr K 138); *tĭŋla-* (*tĭŋla-*; B) 'zuhören, anhören, horchen' (Pr B 260) < PT **tĭŋla-* (ESG); cf.: OT *tĭŋla-*; Kum. *tĭŋla-*; Az. *dinlä-*; Tur. *dinle-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *tĭnla-*, (Cr.) *dinl'a-*, *diŋle-*, *dinle-*, *dĭŋla-*, *dĭŋle-*, (Cr., T) *tĭŋla-*; Tat. *tĭŋla-*; Tat. (Ur.) *diŋle-*; Čuv. *tănla-*; Bašk. *tĭŋla-*; Kaz. *tĭŋda-*; Nog. *tĭnla-*, *tĭjna-*, *tĭŋna-*; Kir. *tĭŋša-*; Trkm. *diŋle-*; Uz. *tiŋla-*; Uig. *tinši -*; Oir. *tĭŋda-*; Khak. *tĭŋna-*; Y. Uig. *tĭŋna-*. – Lit.: Bask. NJa. 265; DTS 568; Eg. 237; KRPS 178, 182, 557, 558; Podolsky 9.

The verb *tïŋla-* 'to listen' was known in OT. There are its equivalents in some modern Turkic languages.

toj- (K-B) '1. nasyščatʹsja; 2. *per.* bogatetʹ, stanovitʹsja bogatym' (KBRS 648); *toj-* (B. dial.: Baks., Čeg.) 'nasytitʹsja, statʹ sytym' (Boz. 186); *toj-* (*tᶜoj-*; K) 'sich satt essen, überdrüssig werden' (Pr K 139); *toj-* (B) 'sich sättigen, satt werden' (Pr B 261) < PT **toð-*; cf.: OT *tod-*, *toð-*, *toj-*, *toz-*; Az., Tur. Gag. *doj-*; Kar. (Cr., H, T) *toj-*; Tat. (Cr.) *doj-*; Tat. (Ur.) *toj-*; Tat. *tuj-*; Čuv. *tăran-*; Bašk. *tujïn-*, *tuj-*; Kaz. *toj-*, *tojdïr-*; Kklp. *toj-*, *tojïn-*, *tojdïr-*; Nog. *toj-*, *tojïn-*, *tojdïr-*; Kir. *toj-*; Trkm., Trukh. *doj-*; Uz. *toj-*, *tuj-*; Uig. *toj-*; Lob. *toj-*; Sal. *toj-*, *tuj-*, *tüj-*; Y. Uig. *toz-*, *tuz-*; Alt. *toj-*; Khak. *tos-*; Tuv. *tot-*, *töt-*; Tof. *dot-*; Šor. *tos-*; Yak. *tot-*. – Lit.: DTS 569, 570, 572, 579; Eg. 238; ÈSTJa III 251; KRPS 534; Malov 173; ÖjHa. 70; Podolsky 24; Rass. 174; SKT; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 513, 522, 526.

The verb *toj-* 'to eat one's fill' has its equivalents both in OT and in modern Turkic languages with the same meaning as in K-B.

töz- (K-B) '1. terpetʹ, vynositʹ, sderživatʹsja; 2. vyderživatʹ, perenositʹ, perežitʹ; 3. *per.* miritʹsja' (KBRS 628); *töz-* (B. dial.: Khul.-Bez.) 'terpetʹ, vynositʹ' (Boz. 186) < PT **tȫs-*; cf.: OT *döj-* (YE), *töz-*; Az. *döz-*; Tur. dial. *döj-*, *döz-*; Kar. (Cr.) *töz-*, *toz-*, (H) *tez-*, (T) *töz-*, *ťoź-*; Tat. *tüz-*; Čuv. *tüs-*; Bašk. *tüs-*; Kaz., Nog. *töz-*; Trkm. *döz-*; Lob. *töz-*; Y. Uig., Alt. *tüz-*. – Lit.: Eg. 267; ÈSTJa III 272; KRPS 523, 533, 541, 561.

The verb *töz-* 'to suffer' has been registered in Turkish since the 13th c. (YE). It has its equivalents only in some other Turkic languages, where sometimes it has a different meaning, cf. Kar. where only in the Crimean dialect it means 'to suffer'; in (H, T) it has the meaning 'to expect; to hope'.

unut- (K-B) 'zabyvatʹ, ne pomnitʹ; otvyknutʹ, razučitʹsja' (KBRS 683); *unut-* (B. dial.: Balk., Čeg.) 'zabivatʹ' (Boz. 188); *unut-* (K) 'vergessen' (Pr K 142); *unut-* (B) 'id.' (Pr B 265) < PT **unt-*, **umt-*; cf.: OT *unït-*, *unut-*; Kum., Az., Tur., Gag., Kar. (Cr., H, T), Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *unut-*; Tat. *ŭnŭt-*; *onït-* (Rass. 238); Čuv. *man-*; Bašk. *ŭnŭt-*; *onot-* (Rass. 238); Kaz. *ŭmït-*; *ŭnït-*; Kklp., Nog. *umït-*; Kir. *unut-*; Uz., Uig., Lob. *unut-*; Sal. *onut-*; Y. Uig. *unut-*, *unït-*; Alt., Khak. *undu-*; Tuv. *ut-*; Tof. *ut-*; Yak. *umun-*. – Lit.: DTS 612; Eg. 128; ÈSTJa I 597; KRPS 579; Malov 181; Podolsky 26; Rass. 238; Tenišev 426; Tenišev SJ 218.

There are counterparts of the verb *unut-* 'to forget' in other Turkic languages. OT sources registered the following forms: *unït- ~ unut-*.

ürk- (K-B) 'pugatʹsja, šaraxatʹsja' (KBRS 785) < PT **ürk-*; cf.: OT *ürk-*; Kum., Az., Tur. *ürk-*; Gag. *jürük-*; Kar. (Cr.) *ürk-*; Tat. (Cr.) *ürḱ-*; Tat. *ŭrk-*; *örk-* (Eg. 65); Čuv. *ĕrĕx-*; Bašk. *ŭrk-*; *örk-* (Eg. 65); Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *ürk-*; Kaz. *ürkĭ-*; Trkm. *ürk-*; Uz. *hürk-*, *hurk-*; Uig. *ürkü-*; *ürk-* (Eg. 65); Sal. *ürgi-*, *ürke-*; Y.

Uig. *örk-*; Alt. *ürkü-*, *ürük-*; Khak. *ürük-*, *ürgü-*. – Lit.: DTS 626; Eg. 65; ÈSTJa I 635; KRPS 590; Šč. SF 198.

The verb *ürk-* 'to be afraid' was registered in OT and it also has its equivalents in some other Turkic languages.

9.4. The words *bar, ǧok*

These words are placed apart but just after the group of verbs since the function they have in a sentence is more verbal than nominal in character.

bar (K-B) I 'jesť, imejetsja, suščestvujeť'. II 'imejuščijsja; 2. suščestvujuščij, realʹnyj, dejstviteľnyj, faktičeskij, podlinnyj, ne voobražajemyj; 3. per. bogatyj, izobiľnyj' (KBRS 117); *bar* (B. dial.: Baks., Balk., Čeg., Kaš., Khul.-Bez.) 'imejeťsja, jesť, čto jesť, čto; imejeťsja, vse'; *bar, bardï* (K; *bar, bárdï*) 'es gibt, man hat' (PrK 91) < PT **bār*, **pār*; cf.: OT *bar, pār*; Kum. *bar*; Az. *var*; Khal. *vār*; Tur., Gag. *var*; Kar. (Cr.) *bar, var*, (H, T) *bar*; Tat. (Cr., Ur.) *bar, var*; Tat. *bar*; Čuv. *pur*; Bašk., Kaz., Kklp., Nog., Kir. *bar*; Trkm. *bār*; Uz. *bor*; Uig. *bar*; Lob. *baj, vaj*; Sal. *var, vār, bār, par, pā*; Y.Uig., Alt., Khak. *par*; Tuv. *bar*; Tof. *bar*; Šor. *par*; Yak. *bār*. – Lit.: Doerfer LSCh 236, 271, 315; DTS 83; Eg. 165; ÈSTJa II 61; Gab. 301; KRPS 102, 156; Malov 90, 96; ÖjHa. 12; Podolsky 4; Rass. 159; Sul. Kkar. 53; Šč. SF 195; Tenišev 300, 433, 437, 540; Tenišev SJ 195.

The word denoting '1. there is; 2. existing; 3. existance' and also 'all' has counterparts in most other Turkic languages. In OT the forms: *bar, pār* were registered.

ǧok (K-B) '1. nerealnosť, nerealnyj; 2. otsutstvie, otsutstvujuščij' (KBRS 250); *žok* (B. dial. Khul.-Bez.), *ǧok* (Čeg.) 'net, ne' (Boz. 172), *zox* (Kaš.) 'id.' (ibid. 17'); *ǧok* (*ǯoq*; K) 'es gibt nicht' (Pr K 149); *zok, zox, zog* (*zoq, zox, zoγ*; B) 'es gibt nicht, es ist nicht vorhanden' (Pr B 273) < PT **jōk*; **θōk* (Šč. SF 197); cf.: OT *jok, jōk*; Kum. *jok*; Az. *jox*; Khal. *jūk*; Tur., Gag. *jok*; Kar. (Cr.) *jok*, (H) *jok, jo, joxt*, (T) *jok, jo, jox, joxt*; Tat. (Ur.) *jox*; Tat. *juk*; Čuv. *śuk*; Bašk. *juk*; Kaz. *žok*; Kklp. *žok, žak*; Nog. *jok*; Kir. *ǧok; žok* (Eg. 216); Trkm. *jōk*; Trukh. *jok*; Uz. *jok; juk* (Eg. 216); Uig. *jok, jak*; Lob. *jok, jox*; Sal. *jox*; Y. Uig. *jak, jok, ǧok*; Alt. *ďok*; Khak. *čox*; Tuv. *čok*; Šor. *čok*; Yak. *suox*. – Lit.: Bask. JpU 42; DTS 272; Eg. 216; ÈSTJa IV 211; KRPS 246, 247, 250, 251; Malov 121; ÖjHa. 36; Podolsky 33; SKT 179; StachM GJV 81; Šč. SF 197; Tenišev 363; Tenišev SJ 185.

The word *ǧok* 'no; there is no' has equivalents in many other Turkic languages with the same meaning. However, in several of them there is an additional meaning, cf.: in Khak. the word means 'poverty', in Kir. and Kklp. 'loss' etc. In OT there were two forms registered: *jok, jōk*.

IV. CONCLUSION

The whole analysed material comprises about 771 words which are presented divided into parts of speech as nouns (401), adjectives (68), numerals (19), pronouns (13), adverbs (5), conjunctions (2), particles (3), postpositions (6), verbs (254).

The nouns, adjectives, verbs undergo a further division into semantic groups. Thus, within nouns one can select the following groups:

1. Kindred terms.
2. Other terms referring to man.
3. Parts of the body and body fluids.
4. Animals (mammals, birds, fish, reptiles, amphibians).
5. Insects.
6. Some terms referring to animals.
7. Plants and words referring to them.
8. Minerals.
9. Nature, weather.
10. Some tools and elements used in human activity.
11. Names of some human activities and their results.
12. Seasons.
13. Time units and time of day.
14. Astronomical terminology.
15. Units of measure.
16. Terms referring to space.
17. Terms referring to house and places for living.
18. Food.
19. Clothes.
20. Illnesses.
21. Customs.

22. Religious terminology.
23. Abstract nouns.

The adjectives are divided into those:
– describing physical, exterior features;
– describing inner, chemical, abstract features.

Within verbs one can select three groups:
1. Verbs of action.
2. Verbs of state.
3. Verbs referring to sense and expressing an abstract denotation.

Each Karachay-Balkar word is compared with its counterparts from other Turkic languages. The list of about 30 Turkic languages, which are involved in the comparative analysis is to be found in the chapter: "Abbreviations (2.1. Turkic languages and dialects)".

The aim of such an analysis is to show what Karachay-Balkar has in common with other Turkic languages and thereby with the oldest lexical stratum of the whole Turkic group. Since the Karachay-Balkar has not been studied yet either in terms of its historical settlement among other Turkic languages or its age therefore our task is to pay attention to this very aspect.
Alijev in his work (Al. SKB 13) even claims that Karachay-Balkar in reference to its grammatical forms, vocabulary and phonetics is older than other Turkic languages since in the past it was isolated from them and therefore it preserved some old features.

To show the real attachment of Karachay-Balkar to the rest of Turkic languages we have to show how often the particular word has its counterparts in other Turkic languages. Since we have in our comparative analysis about 30 languages to compare with, to make our study clearer we decide to compare the Karachay-Balkar material with particular groups of Turkic languages not with particular languages. We have used the division of Turkic languages into groups done by Kakuk in her classification (cf. Kakuk 8).

Karachay-Balkar represents the Kipchak group of Turkic languages, therefore in comparison we have taken into account other groups i.e.: the Oghuz group (Turkish, Azerbaijan, Turkmen, Gagauz); the south-eastern group (Uzbek, Y. Uighur, Salar, Lobnor); the north-eastern group (Altai, Khakas, Tuvinian, Tofalar, Shor). Yakut and Chuvash are the only representatives of their groups. A slight classification problem appears in reference to Khalaj since some specialists (Doerfer) claim that this language represents a seperate group, the others claim that according to its feature it can be placed among Oghuz languages (cf.: Jaz. M. 471). For our purpose we accept the latter conception.

There is no doubt that within each group of Turkic languages the distribution of equivalents for Karachay-Balkar material is various. That means that not each language within the particular group has its counterpart for a

particular Karachay-Balkar word. In many cases it happens that only one language within a group registers a particular form equivalent for the analysed word. Nevertheless, for our purpose we accept even a single word as representative of the whole group.

Thus:

1. In the Oghuz group there are 723 equivalents that in comparison with the whole Karachay-Balkar material is 94%. The distribution of grammatical categories is as follows: 374 nouns, 242 verbs, 62 adjectives, 19 numerals, 13 pronouns, 5 adverbs, 2 conjunctions, 3 particles, 3 postpositions.

2. In the south-eastern group there are 708 equivalents that constitutes about 92%. The distribution of categories is as follows: 365 nouns, 239 verbs, 62 adjectives, 19 numerals, 12 pronouns, 5 adverbs, 2 conjunctions, 2 particles, 2 postpositions.

3. In the north-eastern group there are 665 counterparts that makes about 86,5 %. The number of particular representatives of grammatical categories is as follows: 339 nouns, 227 verbs, 59 adjectives, 19 numerals, 11 pronouns, 5 adverbs, 2 conjunctions, 2 particles, 1 postposition.

4. In the Yakut language there are 433 equivalents that constitutes about 56 %. The distribution of categories: 230 nouns, 140 verbs, 32 adjectives, 14 numerals, 12 pronouns, 3 adverbs, 2 conjunctions.

5. In the Chuvash language there are 414 counterparts that constitutes 53,8%. The distribution of grammatical categories is as follows: 180 nouns, 160 verbs, 40 adjectives, 18 numerals, 11 pronouns, 1 adverb, 1 conjunction, 2 particles, 1 postposition.

The presented above data are tabulated in this table:

		Distribution of Karachay-Balkar equivalents in particular Turkic groups				
Part of speech	Karachay-Balkar vocabulary	Oghuz group	South-eastern group	North-eastern group	Yakut language group	Chuvash language group
Nouns	401	374	365	339	230	180
Verbs	254	242	239	227	140	160
Adjectives	68	62	62	59	32	40
Numerals	19	19	19	19	14	18
Pronouns	13	13	12	11	12	11
Adverbs	5	5	5	5	3	1
Conjunctions	2	2	2	2	2	1
Particles	3	3	2	2	—	2
Postpositions	6	3	2	1	—	1
Total	**771**	**723**	**708**	**665**	**433**	**414**

As we can see in Yakut and Chuvash there are less equivalents for Karachay-Balkar material than in other groups. On the other hand the development of parts of speech is similar to Karachay-Balkar within all groups.

The data presented above allow us to come to the conclusion that the Karachay-Balkar language is firmly settled within the group of Turkic languages, however we can notice some tendencies for a stronger and weaker relationship which can be justified by geographic and historic factors. On the other hand the above data convince us that the Karachay-Balkar language belongs to that group of Turkic languages whose development began a very long time before now, which can be seen in comparison with the Yakut and Chuvash material.

V. INDICES

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