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Mongolic phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu languages

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Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages

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PREFACE

This study will investigate the phonology of the peripheral Mongolic languages of the Chinese provinces Qinghai and Gansu from a comparative historical viewpoint.

The Qinghai-Gansu languages comprise Eastern Yugur (Shira Yugur) and the Shirongol languages. The latter can be subdivided in a Monguor branch, consisting of Mongghul and Mangghuer, and a Baoanic branch, consisting of Baoan, Kangjia, and Dongxiang (Santa).

The Qinghai-Gansu languages area are increasingly well-described. They have also been the subject of studies in language contact, mostly in the context of the Amdo or Qinghai-Gansu *Sprachbund*.

However, the phonology of these languages is not simply converging with (Northwest Mandarin) Chinese and (Amdo) Tibetan. Even the developments triggered by these neighbouring languages are not predictable. For instance, new Chinese-inspired restrictions on final consonants are implemented differently in Mangghuer, Kangjia and Dongxiang. Other developments, such as accent-related vowel loss and aspiration phenomena in the consonants, are regional without being induced by Chinese or Tibetan.

The present work will examine the relationship between the Qinghai-Gansu languages and Common Mongolic. It provides an overview of the phonological developments of the Qinghai-Gansu languages, comparing them to the reconstructed ancestral language. At the same time it will investigate the archaic features that can be found in these languages, in order to improve the Common Mongolic reconstructions of individual lexemes. Many word shapes in the Qinghai-Gansu languages differ considerably from their counterparts in the better-known central Mongolic languages. Determining which of these deviating features are recent adoptions and which are preserved old features is a central task of this study.

This project was originally started in 1993, and it should have been completed well within the 20th century. Due to an ever increasing amount of available publications, it was only after the decision to limit the number of issues, languages, and lexemes to be investigated, that it became possible to bring it to completion.

The phonetic development of the Mongolic lexemes in the Qinghai-Gansu languages has become the core subject, with the focus on underived noun and verb stems (the former also including pronouns and numerals). The phonetic development of suffixes and that of irregular paradigms, like those of the personal pronouns, are not discussed. The material is still so abundant that not all Mongolic lexemes that survive in one or more QG languages could have been listed and discussed here.

The other peripheral languages Dagur and Moghol play a supplementary role. The central languages and the Middle Mongol sources are cited for the sake of comparison, but their developments are not systematically discussed. The discussion of non-Mongolic evidence and Altaic cognates have been kept to a minimum. This study thus mainly deals with the diversification of Mongolic in the historical (recorded) period.

The peripheral Mongolic languages first came to my attention in the informal Altaic study sessions in the book-laden office of my teacher Ane H. Nauta, several

years before the start of the research presented here. My friend and frequent co-author Marti Roos was also a participant in these sessions. Paul Tjon Sie Fat stood at the cradle of our joint publishing career by translating parts of the Yugur volumes of the '*jianzhi* series'. He was instrumental in eliminating our fear of Chinese characters. With Ane and Marti I have maintained a virtual Altaic department through the years, regardless of changes in employment and location. I thank them for our innumerable discussions on Turkic and Mongolic phonology and etymology. I want to thank Marti in particular for patiently reading through all chapters.

To Frits Kortlandt, the supervisor of this thesis, I am grateful for for keeping the faith in the project, and for his speedy corrections and suggestions.

Our traveling Altaic research group was occasionally joined by Maarten Korpershoek, another Leiden Altaicist. I have enjoyed cooperating with him in the fields of Turkic and Dutch.

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I should also thank my colleagues in Papendrecht for providing me with another pleasant work environment, where I gained a deeper understanding and appreciation of my native language.

Finally I would like to thank all friends, relatives and colleagues who never tired of periodically inquiring after my progress. I would like to thank my aunt for giving me my first etymological dictionary several decades ago. I thank my cousin Jaco and my friend Joris for providing valuable links with the normal world, and viewing my academic activities with alternating amusement and bemusement.

Most of all I want to express my gratitude to my parents. They did not object to my peculiar choice of academic pursuit, and they supported me through the years until I finally handed in the final chapter.

Hans Nugteren - Dordrecht, June 2011

ABBREVIATIONS

Languages

CM	Common Mongolic
CT	Common Turkic
PM	Proto Mongolic
WM	Written (Literary) Mongol
MMo	Middle Mongol
SH	Secret History (Middle Mongol in Chinese characters)
HY	Hua-Yi Yiyu (Middle Mongol in Chinese characters)
ZY	Zhiyuan Yiyu (Middle Mongol in Chinese characters)
Ph	Middle Mongol in ‘Phags-pa script
Muq	Muqaddimat al-Adab (Middle Mongol in Arabic script)
IM	Ibn Muhanna (Middle Mongol in Arabic script)
IV	‘Istanbul Vocabulary’ (Middle Mongol in Arabic script)
LV	‘Leiden Vocabulary’ (Middle Mongol in Arabic script)
RH	Rasulid Hexaglot (Middle Mongol in Arabic script)
QG	Qīnghǎi-Gānsù Languages: Eastern Yugur and Shirongol
BaoD	Dahejia (or Jishishan) Baoan
BaoDt	Datong dialect of Dahejia Baoan
BaoGm	Gomar dialect of Tongren Baoan
BaoGt	Ganhetan subdialect of Dahejia Baoan
BaoJ	Jishishan subdialect of Dahejia Baoan according to Li
BaoÑ	Ñantoq subdialect of Tongren Baoan
BaoX	Xiazhuang (Orkor) dialect of Tongren Baoan
Brg	‘Old’ Bargu dialect of Buriat
Bur	Buriat
Dag	Dagur (usually Butkha dialect)
Dgx	Dongxiang (usually Suonanba dialect)
DgxL	Longquan dialect of Dongxiang
EYu, EYugur	Eastern Yugur
EYuQ	Qinglong dialect of Eastern Yugur
Kalm	Kalmuck
Kgj	Kangjia
Kh	Khalkha
Kmg	Khamnigan
Mgr	Monguor (both languages)
MgrH	Mongghul = Huzhu Monguor
MgrM	Mangghuer = Minhe Monguor (includes Sanchuan)
Mog	Moghol
MogM	Mangut dialect of Moghol
MogMr	Marda dialect of Moghol
Ord	Ordos

Sources and Authors

B	Bökh [BaoD]; Bolčuluu [EYu]
BC	Bökh & Chen [BaoX]; Bökh & Čoyijungjab [Dgx]
BJ	Bolčuluu & Jalsan [EYu]
BL	Bökh & Liú [Bao]
C	Čeremisov [Bur]; Čenggeltei [MgrH, MgrM]
CN	Chen Naixiong [BaoN, BaoGm, BaoGt]
D	Dob [Chakhar]
DS	Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis, Stuart, et al. [MgrM]
E	Enkhbat [Dag]
EDPT	Clauson 1972
F	Fairy tales: Chen, Li, Lü, et al. [MgrM]
H	Haenisch [MMo]; Hangin [Kh]
Her	Hermanns [EYu]
I	Iwamura [Mog (Zirni)]
J	Janhunnen [Kmg]; Junast [EYu, MgrH, MgrM]
JL	Junast & Li [MgrM]
K	Kowalewski [WM]
L	Lessing [WM]; Li [MgrH]; Li [Bao]; Ligeti [MMo, Mog]; Liú [Dgx]
LC	Luvсанденев & Cedendamba [Kh, WM]
M	Mostaert [MMo; Ord]; Muniev [Kalm]
MC	Ma & Chen [Dgx]
NK	Namcarai & Khaserdeni [Dag]
P	Poppe [CM; MMo; Dag]; Potanin [EYu, MgrH, MgrM, Bao, Dgx]
R	Ramstedt [Kalm]
S	Sečenčogt [Kgj]; Sun [all languages]
SM	de Smedt & Mostaert [MgrH]
T	Todaeva [Dag, EYu, MgrH, MgrM, Bao, Dgx], Tömörtogoo [precl.]
TMEN	Doerfer 1963-1975
W	Weiers [Mog]
X	Khasbaatar [MgrH]
Z	Zhòng [Dag]; Zhōng [various QG languages]

Other

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative; according
adj.	adjective
caus.	causative
dat.	dative(-locative)
dim.	diminutive
gen.	genitive
intr.	intransitive
lgs.	languages

loc.	locative
obs.	obsolete/obsolescent
pass.	passive
pl.	plural
precl.	preclassical
tr.	transitive

TERMS

Groups of languages:

central Mongolic	Mongol proper, Ordos, Oirat-Kalmuck, Buriat, Khamnigan
peripheral Mongolic	Non-central languages: Dagur, Eastern Yugur, Shirongol, Moghol
Shirongol	Mongghul, Mangghuer, Baoan, Kangjia, Dongxiang
Baoanic	subgroup of Shirongol, consisting of Baoan, Kangjia, and Dongxiang
Monguoric	subgroup of Shirongol, consisting of Mongghul and Mangghuer
Dongxiang	= Santa
Baoan	= Bonan
Sanchuan	= (a variety of) Mangghuer

Collective names for CM phones:

double vowels	<i>*aa, *ee</i> , etc
complex vowels	<i>*ei, *au</i> , etc
‘back’ vowels	<i>*a, *i, *o, *u</i> (harmonic class)
‘front’ vowels	<i>*e, *i, *ö, *ü</i> (harmonic class)
high vowels	<i>*i, *i, *u, *ü</i> . In the context of QG languages, also <i>a</i>
non-high vowels	collective name for low <i>*a</i> , and mid <i>*e, *o, *ö</i>
strong consonants	(<i>*p,</i>) <i>*t, *č, *k, *s/š, *h</i>
weak consonants	<i>*b, *d, *j, *g, *m, *n, *ŋ, *l, *r, *y</i> (and vocalic onset (?)

NON-STANDARD SYMBOLS

?	etymological identity uncertain
č ʃ š ž	palato-alveolars (= IPA [tʃʰ tʃ ʃ ʒ])
c ʒ	apicals (= IPA [tʰ tʰ])
ć ʒ ʒ ʒ	alveo-palatals (= IPA [tʰ tʰ tʰ tʰ])
ɕ ʒ ʒ ʒ	retroflexes (= IPA [tʃʰ tʃ ʃ ʒ])
ğ	weak uvular plosive (= IPA [q])
ġ	voiced uvular fricative (= IPA [ɣ])
χ	voiceless palatal fricative ‘ich-laut’ (= IPA [ç])

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Qīnghǎi-Gānsù languages and reconstruction

The Mongolic languages spoken in Qīnghǎi and Gānsù provinces in northern China have struck researchers by their aberrant developments, compared to the central Mongolic languages. Some unique features were recognised as being in part due to contacts with neighbouring languages, while others were clearly ancient features, reminiscent of Middle Mongol. In the past decades the Mongolic languages of Qīnghǎi and Gānsù have become better known. Descriptions are available for all known Qīnghǎi-Gānsù languages¹, as well as numerous publications on various diachronic matters. It is now possible to study these languages as a group from a comparative historical viewpoint.

This book will explore the relationship between Common Mongolic, the reconstructed ancestral language of all Mongolic languages on the one hand, and the Qīnghǎi-Gānsù languages on the other. It will investigate how the development of Mongolic lexemes in these peripheral Mongolic languages can contribute to the reconstruction of the earliest forms and later phonetic history of these lexemes themselves, as well as to our knowledge of Common Mongolic phonology as a whole.

Although Qīnghǎi-Gānsù Mongolic has had a long separate development, only incidental word shapes are older than forms documented in Middle Mongol. The evaluation of these languages has widened the base of Common Mongolic, without however increasing its time depth. Most developments of the Qīnghǎi-Gānsù languages can be dated after the Mongol expansion of the 13th century.

Until recently the reconstruction of Common Mongolic lexemes heavily relied on a limited set of languages. In the first place, Written Mongol spellings have long been believed to accurately reflect an older stage of Mongolic. In the second place, the well-known (and politically important) ‘central’ Mongolic languages are generally used: Mongolian proper (including Khalkha and Chakhar), Oirat (including Kalmuck), and Buriat. Middle Mongol sources in several scripts were consulted to add information on specific details, such as the initial **h-* sound, and diphthongs lost in the central languages. Data from non-Mongolic (especially Turkic and Tungusic) languages were often used in support of the resulting reconstructions.

Data from the ‘peripheral’ Mongolic languages, i.e., those that are not in the above-mentioned ‘central’ group, also found their way into comparative Mongolic studies. Poppe (1955) used Dagur, Mongghul, and Moghol.

Materials for Baoan, Dongxiang, and Eastern Yugur were published by Potanin as early as 1893, but the material was quite limited until relatively recently. Poppe (1955) could not yet harness the data from these languages for reconstruction purposes.

Since Poppe’s time we have gained a lot of additional information on these languages, mainly thanks to Chinese and Soviet publications, the delayed results of

¹ The discovery of Kangjia demonstrates that finding new varieties of Mongolic is not out of the question. The term ‘Qīnghǎi-Gānsù (QG) languages’ will only be used here to refer to the peripheral Mongolic languages of these provinces. It thus excludes varieties of central Mongolic (Oirat and Mongol proper) also found here.

the Sino-Soviet expeditions of the 1950s. It was now becoming clear how different the peripheral Mongolic languages are from the central languages, and from one another.

The peripheral languages are not a single subgroup of related languages. There are at least three, but probably four independent groupings: Dagur in the Northeast, Moghol in the Southwest in Afghanistan, maybe all but extinct, and the Shirongol languages in Gānsù and Qīnghǎi provinces. Shirongol is the collective name for the vernaculars gathered under the names Mongghul, Mangghuer (the Monguoric branch), and Baoan, Kangjia, Dongxiang (the Baoanic branch).² Eastern Yugur seems to form a fourth group genetically; similarities between it and the Shirongol languages may be largely due to areal convergence.

Research for this project was started in the hope and expectation that the Qīnghǎi-Gānsù languages would be able to confirm and enhance our knowledge of the ancestral Mongolic language. In general they do provide confirmation of existing reconstruction forms, thus broadening their base.

The value of the Qīnghǎi-Gānsù languages for some phonetic details of Common Mongolic was already known. Both Eastern Yugur and the Shirongol languages preserve a number of old features that are absent from the central languages.

The initial *h*- documented in Middle Mongol survives (in various forms) in all QG languages (as well as Dagur). See 4.13.

The complex vowels **au* and **eü* are partly preserved in both branches of Shirongol (also shared with Dagur). See 3.13.4.

Preconsonantal *-l-* is preserved in Shirongol in a small group of words including **mölsün* ‘ice’ (as in Middle Mongol; this feature was also preserved by Khamnigan and Buriat). See 4.10.3.

Some instances of *q* and *ġ* in Eastern Yugur and the Baoanic languages may support the existence of a vowel harmonic counterpart of **i* (as in Middle Mongol in Arabic script). See 1.5.4.1. and 4.5.2.

Most further lexical and phonetic contributions of the Qīnghǎi-Gānsù (henceforth: QG) languages that will be discussed are due to their relative isolation, which enabled them to preserve features that were lost elsewhere. The QG languages have been separated from the other peripheries, and, more importantly, from central Mongolic. Most QG forms involve regional developments, or the absence of a central Mongolic development.

A related benefit of the QG languages is the lack of influence from Written Mongol, whereas the central languages have been influenced by, and have been influencing, the written forms for centuries. Compare the development of the ordinal suffix **-dUAr* > to *-dUgAAr* or invariable back-vocalic *-dugaar* in the central languages, as opposed to Dagur *-dAAr*, Mongghul *-dar*, Dongxiang *-da*, which developed according to sound laws.

The QG word shapes rarely reveal completely unexpected features of Common Mongolic lexemes. They do provide an additional opinion on the

² The term Shirongol, which encompasses the Qīnghǎi-Gānsù languages except Eastern Yugur, was used by Potanin in the same sense, apart from the fact that Kangjia was not known to him.

reconstruction of words with contradictory forms in the central languages, Middle Mongol and Written Mongol.

The forms found in the QG languages are not necessarily archaic. Individual word shapes deviating from the central languages may preserve archaic features, e.g. *s-* (when corresponding to central Mongolic *š-*), or *d* (central *ǰ* or *ʒ*). In a case like **kabar* ‘nose’ (central **kamar*) it is not obvious which variant is the older.

Due to the word-final accent prevailing in the QG languages they tend to preserve the very vowels that were reduced or elided in the central languages. They thus fulfil a complementary role to central Mongolic in the detection of the presence, location, and quality of vowels.

However, both sets of languages may not only elide unaccented vowels, but also break up original consonant clusters, leading to the appearance of non-etymological vowels. Therefore the Middle Mongol and Written Mongol forms are often indispensable to arrive at the correct reconstruction form. On the other hand, limitations of the writing systems make it unsafe to rely on these old written forms alone.³

In the following cases the QG forms contribute useful evidence, although the added data do not always lead to a definitive reconstruction.

a) the presence of vowels, especially in word-final position, e.g. **kora* ‘poison’ (Written Mongol has a spelling alternation *qoor* ~ *qoora*), **öreele* ‘hobble’ as opposed to Written Mongol *örögel*. However, especially high vowels following *r* tend to be lost, perhaps by absorption into this trill consonant, cf. **jïar(i)* ‘musk’, **saarï* ‘hindquarters’, **siberi* ‘foot sweat’. The QG languages can also be useful for detecting other vowels in non-first syllables.

b) the quality of vowels, more specifically vowel height. In such cases a vowel was certainly present, but its quality could not be established on the basis of the three central standard languages, where the distinction between high and non-high short vowels is largely neutralised in non-first syllables. Like Khamnigan and Ordos, the QG languages show different developments for **sere-* ‘to sense’ and **seri-* ‘to wake up’, **kada-* ‘to sew on’ and **kadu-* ‘to harvest’, **büte-* ‘to be covered’ and **bütü-* ‘to finish’.

In some instances the peripheral languages shed light on ambiguous central Mongolic or Written Mongol forms, or at least shift balance of evidence. In case of the Written Mongol spelling variants *jegüde(n)* ~ *jegüdü(n)* the QG languages support the reality of the latter (in this case contra Ordos *ju:de*). There are many similar cases, in which the peripheral languages favour a certain reconstruction, without establishing that this is the single ancestral form that all modern languages go back to. The reconstruction **kökül* ‘forelock of a horse; braid of hair’ is supported by Ordos *gukul*, but the Eastern Yugur and Mongghul equivalents suggest **kökel*. **olusun* ‘hemp’ is supported by Ordos *ulusu*, but Eastern Yugur and Mongghul suggest **olasun* instead. The reconstruction **eber* or **öber* ‘bosom’ agrees with Eastern Yugur *βer*, Mongghul *yer* and Kangjia *ver* (as opposed to Written Mongol spellings *ebür*, *öbür*). The QG languages also suggest **sini* ‘new’ (spellings *sine* ~ *sini*), again contradicting Ordos *šine*. Ordos *böjōŋ* ‘young hare’ and

³ Shortcomings related to vowel detection include the frequent omission of vowels in sources in Arabic script and the presence of potentially non-existing vowels in sources in Chinese script, as in *zhe-mi-shi* for **jemis* ‘fruit’).

Eastern Yugur *peŋeŋ* suggest **böŋeŋ* with a non-high vowel in the second syllable, while Khalkha and Kalmuck suggest **böŋiŋ*. Such disagreements will be indicated throughout the comparative supplement, see for instance **jebe* (?**jebi*) ‘rust’, **jele* (?**jelü*) ‘rope to which the tethers of cattle are attached’, **kaïnag* ~ **kaïnug* ‘yak’.

1.2. Mongolic Languages

1.2.1. Overview and global classification

Without revisiting the discussion about ‘dialect’ and ‘language’, the following Mongolic linguistic entities can be distinguished. For listings and taxonomies of the central Mongolic dialects I refer to existing publications such as Doerfer (1964) and Janhunen (2003e). Rybatzki (2003) deals with the taxonomy of all Mongolic languages, and summarises previous classifications.

Northeastern periphery

- Dagur

Central languages

- Mongol proper
- Ordos
- Oirat-Kalmuck
- Khamnigan
- Buriat

Western periphery

- Moghol

Southern periphery

1) Eastern Yugur

- Eastern Yugur (Shira Yugur or Nggar)

2) Shirongol

2a) Monguoric

- Mongghul (Huzhu Monguor)
- Mangghuer (Minhe Monguor)

2b) Baoanic

- Baoan (Bonan)
- Kangjia
- Dongxiang (Santa)

This list reflects an approximate genetic subdivision, although it does not do justice to the complexity of the original relationships and subsequent contacts between these languages. Taxonomic remarks in this book will mostly be limited to the internal relationships of the QG languages (see especially 1.5. below).

1.2.2. General characteristics and typology

Several of the assumed features of Common Mongolic are no longer shared by all, or even most, Mongolic languages.

Common Mongolic was an agglutinative SOV language. All affixes were suffixes placed after the stem in a prescribed order. Suffixes typically had a single function, and retained a distinct shape in the chain of suffixes. Most suffixes had several alternants, one of which was chosen based on the phonetic properties of the stem, such as its vocalism (vowel harmonic class) and any final consonant. Common Mongolic vowel harmony involved two classes of vowels. The distinction between the two may have been an opposition between front and back vowels or may have been based on tongue root position. The QG languages do not provide additional evidence to resolve this matter.

Substantives and adjectives were not strictly separated. Pragmatically all non-verbs (except particles) can be considered nouns.

The noun could occur in singular and plural; the latter was indicated by a variety of suffixes. Grammatical and basic spatial relations were expressed by case endings for the genitive, dative, accusative, ablative, instrumental, and comitative. More precise spatial, temporal and logical relations would be expressed by means of postpositions.

Some nouns had two forms, one of which (marked by *-n*) was used attributively, and the other in the predicate, in enumerations, or independently.

The oldest documents show evidence of grammatical gender, as well as some agreement. Modern languages now only preserve masculine and feminine forms for a small number of nouns and adjectives.

Personal and demonstrative pronouns based their case forms on oblique stems rather than the bare stem (which coincides with the nominative). The genitive of the personal pronoun could be placed before or after the noun to act as a possessive marker; the postposed genitives resulted in suffixes only in later stages (and are then placed after the case endings, as in Tungusic, but unlike Turkic). A reflexive possessive referred to the agent of the verb, irrespective of the grammatical person.

The personal pronouns have three persons in singular and plural, without gender distinction; the first person plural distinguished between exclusive and inclusive. The demonstrative pronouns later mostly supplanted the third person personal pronouns.

The verb had several finite tenses. Grammatical person was expressed by the personal pronoun. Only later, and in some languages, these developed into personal endings.

The simple imperative had the same shape as the bare verb stem. Many other imperatives, optatives, etc., existed. There were several participles or verbal nouns. Verb actions were stringed together by means of converbs.

Verbal negation is expressed by means of a large set of negative particles, several of which appear to be based on (defective) negation verbs, again as in Tungusic.

Questions are expressed by means of question particles.

For the inflectional suffixes of the ancestral language I refer to Janhunen 2003b. A selection of derivational suffixes is listed after Chapter 4.

1.2.3. Mongolic lexicon

As many of the typological features mentioned above are shared by other Eurasian languages, the lexicon is the defining trait of the Mongolic languages.

The limited time depth of Common Mongolic means that the reconstruction forms are not very speculative, and each individual item generally resembles the majority of its modern descendants. Differences between the reconstructions of various authors mainly concern conventions and notation.

The young age of the reconstructed language also means that many parts of the vocabulary are known in great detail. We know the specialist terms for male, female, young, infertile horses (of which **agta*, **ajirga*, **baïtasun*, **daagan*, **geün*, **unagan*, **ürie* are listed in the supplement). Another rich category is that of the edible bulbs (including **gogal*, **kaliar*, **kümeli*, **mangir*, **sarimsag*, **songina*, and **sorïsun* listed in the supplement). A large number of body parts is known, including the individual names of most fingers of the human hand (**kuruun* ‘finger’ and **herekei* ‘thumb’ are listed). Some widespread collocations may go back to the Common Mongolic period, such as **kara daru-* ‘to have a nightmare’ (lit. ‘for something black to press’) and **čikin kormai* ‘earlobe’ (lit. ‘ear hem’).

From an etymological point of view several categories can be recognised within the Mongolic lexicon; unique Mongolic items, items with related forms in non-Mongolic languages but with a specific Mongolic shape, and obvious loanwords from non-Mongolic languages. The second category is by some scholars adduced as evidence for a genetic relationship between Mongolic and other language families. This matter will not be touched upon here.

There is no documented stage of Mongolic that precedes the adoption of loanwords from Turkic, Indo-Iranian, and Chinese. Words adopted from these languages have not been systematically excluded from the comparative vocabulary, provided they meet some criteria mentioned below. Thus, the fact that a certain lexeme was listed in the supplement as a ‘Mongolic word’ (old and surviving in several corners of the Mongolic-speaking world) does not exclude the possibility that the same word is also a Turkic word or an Iranian word.

1.3. Source materials

1.3.1. General considerations

The comparative supplement at the end of the book was conceived as a working corpus to investigate to what degree the QG languages contribute to our knowledge of Common Mongolic. In order to be able to appreciate in which cases the QG

languages yielded new insights, equivalents in the other modern Mongolic languages and a selection of Middle Mongol sources were added wherever possible. The selection of lexemes that now constitutes the comparative supplement is meant to amply illustrate the phonetic developments discussed in chapters 3 and 4, provide the sources and page numbers for the words cited in the text, explain the reconstruction forms where necessary, and indicate any regional variants. As a whole it gives an impression of the phonetic diversity and, to some degree, the lexical diversity within Mongolic.

1.3.2. Selection of lexemes

The comparative supplement contains about 1350 items, which is by no means all of the old vocabulary that survives in the QG languages. Some general guidelines have been followed in selecting the listed items.

Nearly all of the included word stems exist in one or more, preferably many, of the Qīnghǎi-Gānsù languages. Within this group, preference has been given to words that are also documented in Middle Mongol and in the central languages.

The list contains examples for the regular (sound law) development of all Common Mongolic phonemes in all positions where they can be found. As some phonemes may behave differently in native and non-native stems (e.g. *š), examples for both groups have been included.⁴ Apart from such regular words, words with an interesting phonetic development or distribution, possibly relevant for classification, have been included as well.

The largest possible number of basic vocabulary items that the reader may look for has been listed, such as personal pronouns, numerals, colour names, animal husbandry terminology, body parts, and kinship terms. Widely occurring words that show little phonetic change (e.g. *kara ‘black’ or *ta ‘you (pl.)’) have also been listed.

Most of the listed items are primary noun and verb stems (the noun category includes numerals, adjectives, adverbs, and pronouns). Derived words have rarely been included, unless the base form was lacking in the relevant languages. The phonetic development of suffixes has mostly been disregarded.

1.3.3. Materials of the QG languages

The focus here is on the contribution that the peripheral languages can make to the reconstruction of Common Mongolic. Languages with a sizeable and searchable corpus were quoted systematically. From the outset it was clear that Eastern Yugur, Monguor, Baoan and Dongxiang should minimally be included. For Monguor both Mongghul (Huzhu Monguor) and Mangghuer (Minhe Monguor) were quoted. For Baoan both the Nantoq subdialect of (Qīnghǎi) Baoan and the Dahejia subdialect of

⁴ While compiling the etymological list I abandoned an earlier idea to exclude all words with known foreign connections including Turkic-Mongolic cognates. This idea was based on the expectation that the QG data would yield a different view of certain aspects of Common Mongolic phonology.

(Gānsù) Baoan were quoted. Kangjia, which is clearly not a variety of Baoan or Dongxiang, was also consulted.

Some other dialects were quoted where they shed light on the history of individual words. This applies to the Ganhetan and Xiazhuang subdialects of Baoan, and the subdialects of the Monguor languages, but also to the hardly known dialects of Eastern Yugur and Dongxiang.

A considerable, and increasing, amount of data is now available for the peripheral languages. This has made it both undesirable and impossible to quote all documented forms here.

A shortcut would have been to take all QG language forms from Sun (1990) and compare those. However, that compilation is not consistent enough to be used uncritically. As a general principle I consulted the most voluminous reliable publications that were available to me. Often these were the volumes from the ‘Hohhot series’ (*Měnggǔ yǔzú yǔyán fāngyán yánjiū cóngshū* = *Series of investigations into the dialects of the Mongolic language family*) and the ‘Peking series’ (*Zhōngguó xiǎoshù mínzú yǔyán jiǎnzhi cóngshū* = *Series of concise grammars of minority languages of China*). Making the data from these sources accessible to a wider audience was also a consideration. Todaeva’s monographs and de Smedt & Mostaert’s Monguor dictionary are present in many libraries, and have been quoted less frequently here.

For most languages one large vocabulary was consulted as the primary source. When a given etymon was not found there, other publications were consulted. Additional forms from other sources are given as well, especially when the phonetic shapes contain additional information about the history of the word. Also words with specific reconstruction problems, or contradictory or hard to interpret forms in other languages, were cited from more publications.

Eastern Yugur forms were cited from Bolčuluu et al. (1984 [1985]) and Junast (1981b), augmented by Bolčuluu & Jalsan (1988) and occasionally by older sources.

Mongghul forms were mainly taken from Khasbaatar et al. (1985 [1986]) and Junast (1981). De Smedt & Mostaert (1933) has been consulted selectively. Lǐ Kèyù’s dictionary (1988) became available to me only later into the project, and I have consulted it sparingly.

Mangghuer materials were taken from various smaller sources: Čenggeltei et al. 1988 [1991], Junast (1981), Junast & Lǐ (1982), Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis, Stuart et al. (1996), as well as the wordlist in Slater (2003).

Dahejia Baoan was primarily cited from Bōkh & Liú (1982).

Ñantoq Baoan was primarily cited from Chén et al. (1985 [1986]).

Other Baoan dialect forms were generally taken from the following sources: Ganhetan from Chén (1995), Jishishan from Li (ms.), Xiazhuang from Bōkh & Chén (1981), incidental forms from other dialects were taken from Chén et al. (1986 [1987]).

Kangjia was cited after Sečenčogt (1999).

Dongxiang was cited after Bōkh et al. 1983. and Liú (1981). The dictionary by Mǎ & Chén (2000) became available to me only recently. It was occasionally cited it when it provided new lexemes or useful variants.

Several of Todaeva's monographs have been used to find further variants: Mongghul and Mangghuer (1973), Baoan (1964), Dongxiang (1961).

Sun's comparative dictionary (1990) has also been selectively used. Potanin (1893) has been used for Eastern Yugur and Shirongol (Baoan, Dongxiang, Wuyangbu (?Weiyuanbu) = Mongghul, and Sanchuan = Mangghuer), especially where he documents words that have since been lost, or provides older phonetic shapes.

1.3.4. Materials of other Mongolic languages

The Written Mongol spellings of each etymon are given wherever they exist. Middle Mongol forms are cited but not necessarily exhaustively. For the modern central Mongolic languages, only the three literary languages Khalkha, Buriat and Kalmuck were consulted systematically. Ordos and Bargu were quoted often. Khamnigan is occasionally quoted when it contributes to the reconstruction of problematic words. Khalkha, Buriat and Kalmuck dialect forms may be included if they were mentioned in the main dictionaries. A systematic evaluation of the many other central Mongolic dialects for historical purposes has yet to be undertaken. Both other peripheral Mongolic languages, Dagur and Moghol, are quoted.

For the old Mongolic documents, a selection of sources in the various scripts has been consulted.⁵

The Secret History and the Huá-Yí Yiyǔ (in Chinese characters with some adaptations) were consulted for all lexemes (after Haenisch 1939, and Mostaert 1977). The Zhìyuán Yiyǔ is incidentally quoted (after Kara 1990).

The Muqaddimat al-Adab (in Arabic script) was consulted for all lexemes (after Haenisch 1939, Mostaert 1977 and Poppe 1938-39). Other sources in Arabic script were quoted selectively, including the 'Leiden Manuscript' and the 'Istanbul manuscript' (after Poppe 1927-28 and Ligeti 1962, 1963), and Ibn Muhanna (Poppe 1937-38). The Rasulid Hexaglot (Golden, et al. 2000) has been quoted, mostly when it contained additional phonetic information.

Forms in 'Phags-pa script are cited when they were listed by Poppe 1957.

For Written Mongol Lessing (1960) was primarily consulted. For the three central standard languages the well-known dictionaries were used: Hangin (1986) for Khalkha, Čeremisov (1973) for Buriat, and Muniev (1977) and Ramstedt (1935) for Kalmuck. Other dictionaries were consulted where necessary.

The primary source for Dagur were Enkhbat's materials, mostly (1984), but also (1983) and (1988).⁶ Additional Dagur forms were mostly taken from Zhòng (1982) and Namcarai & Khaserdeni (1983).

Moghol was cited after Ramstedt (1906) and Weiers (1972), augmented with Moghol words recorded by Ligeti (1963, 1964, 1968, 1974).

⁵ Most of the comparative supplement was prepared in the 1990s. It was not possible to systematically consult newer editions and commentaries on the older stages of Mongolic, such as de Rachewiltz (2004), Saito (2006, 2008), and Tömörtogoo (2006).

⁶ As a native speaker Enkhbat was able to better distinguish real Dagur forms from central Mongolic forms and Mongolic words reborrowed from Manchu and northern Tungusic.

1.3.5. Reconstruction of individual lexemes

The reconstruction forms are listed alphabetically in the comparative supplement. Readers familiar with Written Mongol will have little trouble finding a given word, because in many respects spellings in Uigur script resemble Common Mongolic quite closely.

The reconstruction of individual words is often straightforward because of the limited time depth of Common Mongolic. However, the phonetic developments in the various languages have occasionally altered related etyma beyond (immediate) recognition.

Reconstruction problems mostly involve contradictory information from the various languages or subgroups. The original word shapes need to be distinguished from secondary developments. Particular attention should be paid to the following:

- a) Establishing the location and quality of the vowels in the stem (vowel detection).
- b) Establishing whether consonant strength is primary or secondary. This includes distinguishing primary **h-* from secondary *h-* (and allied consonants such as *f-*).
- c) Establishing whether first members of consonant clusters are original or later additions.

Morphological dissection occasionally helps to connect related words, e.g. **haakai* and **haaljin* ‘spider’ reveal a root which is not known to occur independently.

1.3.6. Semantics

The meanings of the listed lexemes in individual languages are generally omitted when they agree with the meaning or set of meanings assumed for Common Mongolic. Meanings may be given if a semantic difference between the languages casts doubt on the identity of the forms. Semantic developments may also be mentioned and discussed when they are typical of a certain area or subgroup.

1.4. Phones of the cited languages

1.4.1. General considerations

This section contains the vowel and consonant inventories of the peripheral Mongolic languages. By and large these surveys will be organised as phonologies, but in the interest of historical transparency and ease of comparison of the data, I will on some occasions deviate from previous analyses.

The data on which I based my reconstructions and analyses are included in the comparative supplement, all provided with page numbers of the original publications. The published notation of each item can thus be retrieved.

For most Mongolic languages spoken in Gānsù and Qīnghǎi provinces there are now at least five phonological analyses which can be consulted in preparing this survey: those found in Todaeva’s monographs; the ‘Hohhot series’; the ‘Peking

series'; various authors in *The Mongolic languages*; and Svantesson et al. in *The phonology of Mongolian*.⁷

To enable convenient comparison of the data, some degree of standardisation of the notation was necessary. In doing this, a balance had to be struck between phonetic reality, phonological analysis and readability, and between diachronic transparency and synchronic comparability.

Given the goals of this book, diachronic transparency was generally given preference over phonological 'tidiness'. Marginal phonemes and speech sounds whose distribution is synchronically and/or diachronically unclear have not been 'sanitised', and have mostly been left intact (examples include the vowels *i* and *ə* in Eastern Yugur, the vowel *ɛ* in Kangjia, the retroflex versus the alveopalatal consonants in Mangghuer, *g* versus *ǰ* in Dongxiang, unexplained vowel lengths). Such occurrences may be explained in the future, and may even reveal details of historical development.

Unfortunately it was not feasible to acknowledge and endorse the emerging Pinyin-based writing systems of Mangghuer, Mongghul and Dongxiang. The reader would have had trouble generating phonetic realisations from the orthography⁸, e.g. Dongxiang <*xien*> is pronounced [*ʃien*] with *-n*, but <*khan*> is pronounced [*qʰaŋ*] with *-ŋ*. There are also discrepancies between the orthographies, e.g. the syllable <*zho*> is to be read [*ʃuo*] in Dongxiang, but Mangghuer spelling does not allow this non-Pinyin syllable, and prescribes the notation <*zhuo*> whether or not a diphthong is pronounced.

Following a convention in Chinese publications about the QG languages, weak consonants have been written with graphemes that are traditionally associated with voiced consonants, strong consonants with graphemes associated with voiceless consonants, e.g. *d* stands for [*t ~ ʈ*], and *t* for [*tʰ*]. However, affricates have been written here with single characters rather than ligatures, e.g. *č* instead of *tʃ*.

Phones restricted to borrowed lexemes are not included below. Some of the marginal phonemes occurring in native lexemes, and phones whose phonemic status is unclear, have been mentioned.

1.4.2. Non-QG languages

Apart from some superficial changes in the notation (such as the replacement of Haenisch's *ś* and *h* by *š* and *q*) the different spellings for Sino-Mongolian have been left as deciphered by the various authors. Some of the forms in documents in Arabic script have been read differently here, but such cases have been indicated.

Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck have been transliterated from the Cyrillic spelling, with only incidental further clarifications (e.g. whether <*ě*> should be read *yo* or *yö*). Ramstedt's Kalmuck spellings have been slightly altered. Dagur has been cited in a form close to the (phonetic) notation of Enkhbat. Moghol has been cited from the various sources without attempting to standardise the notation.

⁷ For a survey of earlier phonological analyses of the QG languages see Svantesson et al. (2005: 149-154), and the various chapters in Janhunen (2003).

⁸ The Mangghuer orthography is probably easiest to read, at least for those acquainted with Chinese written in Pinyin.

1.4.3. Eastern Yugur phones

The number of Eastern Yugur native vowel phonemes is hard to determine. Bolčuluu & Jalsan (1990) distinguished ten vowels /a/, /e/, /ə/, /i/, /ɔ/, /o/, /ö/, /u/, /ʉ/, /ü/, all with long counterparts. The independence of some of these phones cannot be demonstrated. On the other hand the analyses of Tenišev & Todaeva and Junast seem to be over-simplified. There are probably seven vowel phonemes /a/, /e/, /ə ~ i/, /ɔ/, /ö/, /u/, /ü/, with long counterparts. Short *i* is a relatively rare allophone of /ə/. Both synchronically and diachronically it seems likely that [o] is a defronted allophone of /ö/ and that [ʉ] is a centralised allophone of /ü/.

Eastern Yugur consonants in native lexemes:

	labial	apical	palatal	velar	uvular	phar./lar.
strong plos.	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>	
weak plos.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	<i>ġ</i>	
strong affr.		<i>c</i>	<i>č</i>			
weak affr.		<i>ɟ</i>	<i>ǰ</i>			
strong fric.		<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>χ</i>	<i>h</i>
weak fric.	<i>β</i>			<i>ɣ</i>	<i>ġ</i>	
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>		
lateral		<i>l</i>				
trills etc		<i>r</i>				
approx.			<i>y</i>			

The plosives *g* and *ġ* and the fricatives *ɣ* and *ġ* are only carefully distinguished by Junast; Bolčuluu, while acknowledging the existence of the fricatives, only uses the plosives in his notation.

The voiceless consonants *ʈ*, *ɳ*, and *ɕ* can be phonologically analysed as sequences /hl/, /hn/ and /hy/, which mostly agrees with their diachronic background.

1.4.4. Mongghul phones

Mongghul has a compact vowel system of five short vowels /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/, with long counterparts. The phoneme /i/ mostly appears as a centralised [ə].

Mongghul consonants in native lexemes:

	labial	apical	alveopal.	retrofl.	velar	uvular
strong plos.	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>			<i>k</i>	
weak plos.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>g</i>	<i>ġ</i>
strong affr.		<i>[c]</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>[ɕ]</i>		
weak affr.		<i>ɟ</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>[ʑ]</i>		

Mongghul consonants (continued)

strong fric.	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>ʂ</i>	<i>x</i>
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>
lateral		<i>l</i>			
trills etc		<i>r</i>			
approx.	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

1.4.5. Mangghuer phones

The Mangghuer vowel system has five short vowels, /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, and /u/, perhaps six if one counts /ə/ as a separate phoneme. Incidental vowel lengths survive.

Mangghuer consonants in native lexemes:

	labial	apical	alveopal.	retrofl.	velar	uvular
strong plos.	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>			<i>k</i>	
weak plos.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>g</i>	<i>g̃</i>
strong affr.		<i>c</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č̣</i>		
weak affr.		<i>ʒ</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>ẓ̌</i>		
strong fric.	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>ʂ</i>	<i>x</i>	
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>	
lateral		<i>l</i>				
trills etc		<i>r</i>				
approx.	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>			

r is often pronounced [ʐ] as in Mandarin, but will not be analysed as a fricative here.

1.4.6. Dahejia Baoan phones

Dahejia Baoan has six vowels: /a/, /e/, /ə/, /i/, /o/, /u/. Dahejia Baoan consonants in native lexemes:

	labial	apical	alveopal.	retrofl.	velar	uvular	phar./lar.
strong plos.	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>			<i>k</i>		
weak plos.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>g</i>	<i>g̃</i>	
strong affr.			<i>č</i>				
weak affr.		<i>ʒ</i>	<i>ž</i>				
strong fric.	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ś</i>	[ʂ]		<i>χ</i>	<i>h</i>
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>		
lateral		<i>l</i>					
trills etc		<i>r</i>					
approx.	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>				

The fricative $\mathfrak{s}$ occurs instead of $\acute{s}$ in related (Gansu) Baoan dialects.

1.4.7. Ñantoq Baoan phones

Ñantoq Baoan has six vowels $/a/$, $/e/$, $/ə/$, $/i/$, $/o/$, $/u/$, with long counterparts for all except $/ə/$.

Ñantoq Baoan consonants in native lexemes:

	labial	apical	alveopal.	retrofl.	velar	uvular	phar./lar.
strong plos.	p	t			k		
weak plos.	b	d			g	$\mathfrak{g}$	
strong affr.		c	$\acute{c}$				
weak affr.		$\mathfrak{c}$	$\acute{\mathfrak{c}}$				
strong fric.	f	s	$\acute{x}$	$\mathfrak{s}$		χ	h
weak fric.			$\acute{z}$				
nasal	m	n			η		
lateral		l					
trills etc		r					
approx.	w		y				

In native words $\mathfrak{s}$ occurs as the first member of clusters, while $\acute{x}$ (in fact a voiceless palatal fricative), is found before vowels. In Mongolic words, $\acute{s}$ is occasionally found in medial position. Svantesson is correct in viewing $\acute{x}$ and $\mathfrak{s}$ as allophones in native words.

1.4.8. Kangjia phones

Kangjia is described as having nine vowels $/a/$, $/e/$, $/ə/$, $/i/$, $/i:/$, $/ɔ/$, $/o/$, $/u/$, $/u:/$, but the status of $/ə/$ and $/i:/$ is not entirely clear. Uniquely among Shironqol languages, Kangjia largely preserves the distinction between back $*o$ and $*u$ and front $*ö$ and $*ü$, thus making it impossible to posit the merger of the two sets for Proto Shironqol, or even proto Baoanic. Some long vowels remain, but do not constitute a system of oppositions.

Kangjia consonants in native lexemes:

	labial	apical	palatal	velar	uvular	phar./lar.
strong plos.	p	t		k	q	
weak plos.	b	d		g	$\mathfrak{g}$	
strong affr.		c	$\acute{c}$			
weak affr.		$\mathfrak{c}$	$\acute{\mathfrak{c}}$			
strong fric.	f	s	$\acute{s}$		χ	h
weak fric.	v	z		y	$\mathfrak{g}$	
nasal	m	n		η		

Kangjia consonants (continued)

lateral	<i>l</i>
trills etc	<i>r</i>
approx.	<i>y</i>

The status of *ɭ* is synchronically and diachronically unclear.

1.4.9. Dongxiang phones

The Dongxiang vowels are /a/, /e ~ ə/, /i/, /ĩ/, /o/, /u/. Depending on the description, *ĩ* is found after apicals *s*, *c*, *ʒ* and retroflexes *ɕ* *ʑ* *ʒ* (= medial *r*), and/or in the vicinity of uvulars.⁹

Dongxiang consonants in native lexemes:

	labial	apical	alveopal.	retrofl.	velar	uvular	phar./lar.
strong plos.	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>			<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>	
weak plos.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>g</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	
strong affr.		<i>c</i>	<i>ɕ</i>	<i>ɕ</i>			
weak affr.		<i>ʒ</i>	<i>ʑ</i>	<i>ʑ</i>			
strong fric.		<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>x</i>		<i>h</i>
weak fric.				<i>[ʒ]</i>		<i>ḡ</i>	
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>		
lateral		<i>l</i>					
trill		<i>r</i>					
approx.	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>				

Medial *-r-* is pronounced *ʒ* in some vowel environments, notably following /i/.¹⁰ Final *-r* (pronounced *ɹ*) is marginal in Suonanba, and is often analysed as a part of the preceding vowel (Bökh adds the ‘rhotic vowel’ *ə̃* to his system). In other Dongxiang dialects syllable-final *r* occurs frequently. Liú (1981:13) has a velar fricative *ɣ* rather than a uvular one.

⁹ It may also be found in other environments, as in Dgx (according to Liú’s analysis) *tīḡi* < **tobčī* ‘button’, and *dalī* < **dalū* ‘shoulder’. The other sources record these words differently.

¹⁰ The sequence *-ri* in Dgx *qiri*- < **gar*- ‘to exit’, *ḡawari*- < **jalbari*- ‘to beg’ does not have a retroflex pronunciation. Ma & Chen write these words with <ei>, i.e., *-ai*. As such a pronunciation is not confirmed by other descriptions, this may be a spelling convention to indicate that *-r-* does not have a retroflex pronunciation.

1.5. Relationships of the Qīnghǎi-Gānsù Languages

The driving forces behind the development of the QG languages have been a large degree of isolation from the main body of Mongolic, and increasingly intensive contact with neighbouring non-Mongolic languages. The isolation and contact may have come about more or less simultaneously. Therefore the main difficulty in determining the exact relationships between the QG Mongolic languages is the fact that they are not only related, but also belong to the same *Sprachbund*. The problem is not so much a scarcity of similarities, but the fact that it is not always possible to distinguish between inherited similarities and those acquired by contact. Sound laws and other systematic changes that can be used for classification purposes are few. Moreover, there is not a single Qīnghǎi-Gānsù *Sprachbund*. There are several sets of isogloss bundles, each encompassing a different set of languages. Each bundle of isoglosses with a similar outline can be viewed as a mini-*Sprachbund*. Obviously a language can belong to several mini-*Sprachbünde*. There is an area encompassing Eastern Yugur, all of Shirongol Mongolic, as well as the Turkic languages Salar and Western Yugur, certain Amdo dialects and Northwest Mandarin dialects. There are also smaller ones. Eastern and Western Yugur form a mini *Sprachbund*. Baoanic and Salar form another one. There is a larger Amdo Tibetan-Shirongol *Sprachbund* excluding Dongxiang, and possibly a Baoanic-Mangghuer one excluding Mongghul.

As a consequence it seems to be impossible to determine whether the modern QG languages were a separate branch of Mongolic before settling in this area. Likewise it cannot be established whether the Monguoric and Baoanic branches of Shirongol entered the QG area as already distinct entities.

In the following pages I will concentrate on the internal division of the QG languages. Shared innovations are known to be the best classification arguments, and within that category shared *irregular* innovations seem to be most useful. Most of the arguments used involve phonetic shifts, morphological differences such as stems with different endings, and lexical differences including semantic and functional changes of existing lexemes. Purely morphological and syntactical arguments will only incidentally be referred to. See Rybatzki (2003b), whose list includes items of all types.¹¹

Genetic classification features should be non-trivial, not easily repeatable by several languages independently, and not easily reversible. They should not be obviously adopted from neighbouring languages. They are preferably not a by-product of another similarity (e.g. the reduction of unaccented vowels and the appearance of initial consonant clusters, both of which are due to the final accent). Such features are manifestations of, or evidence for, a certain development, but should not be counted as additional similarities.

Sound laws and other systematic changes are not necessarily informative in the context of classification. I will attempt to determine for each feature that is shared by two or more languages, and may therefore be of classificatory value, whether it was inherited from a shared ancestor, or developed separately under the influence of a neighbouring language.

¹¹ Not all of the phonetic criteria listed by Rybatzki will be repeated here, which is not a statement about their validity.

1.5.1. Features uniting all of QG Mongolic

The features shared by Eastern Yugur and the Shirongol languages are mostly of a very general nature, and most are not exclusive to the QG region.

Shared phonetic developments include: reductions following from the final accent, a tendency to simplify or abolish vowel harmony, weakening and strengthening of consonants depending on the phonetic environment, and, related to this, vowel devoicing phenomena, the development of secondary *h*- and a new phoneme *p*-.

Most classification arguments involve the irregular development of individual word shapes.

1.5.1.1. Final accent and consequences

Word-final accent is shared by all QG languages. This feature is also found in Moghol. While this clearly sets these languages apart from central Mongolic and Dagur, it is not clear which group of languages is the innovative one. It is possible to assume that the accent originally fell on the first vowel, and to ascribe the final accent in QG and Moghol to the influence of neighbouring Turkic languages, but in the case of the Shirongol languages it is not obvious that Turkic influence was sufficient for this feature to be adopted.

There are exceptions in the QG languages. In Eastern Yugur some word structures trigger changes in the position of the accent. In Baoan most exceptions involve compounds, which apparently carried the main accent on the last syllable of the first member, e.g. Baoñ *'nuda* 'today' < **ene* *üdür* 'this day', *ta* *'waraŋ* '50' < **tabun* *harban* 'five tens', *'debgə-* 'to blink' < Amdo *hdeb* + **ki-*. In Dongxiang exceptions may occur in words whose last vowel has ended up in the penultimate syllable due to epenthesis, e.g. *'basi* 'tiger' < **bars*, *'bosi* 'fabric' < **bös*.¹² Loanwords from Arabic may have non-final accent, e.g. *'saɣari* 'early morning meal' from Arabic *saḥar*, *'aɣili* 'intellect' from Arabic *'aql*.

Exceptions are also seen in Chinese loanwords, where non-final accents are perhaps the result of attempts to deal with tonal differences, and prevent homophony, e.g. Dgx *ʃi'zi* < *shīzi* 'lion' as opposed to *'ʃiʒi* < *shìzi* 'persimmon'.¹³

A corollary feature of the final accent are reduction and loss of unaccented vowels. This mostly affects the vowels of the first syllable, and, in case of longer stems, the vowels of medial syllables. This development is also observed in Dongxiang, the most conservative QG language in this regard. The following examples illustrate how several QG languages may have similar tendencies but with different outcomes. Different vowels are elided in various lexemes and dialects due to reasons that are not fully understood, but possibly involving accent or differences in vowel

¹² This may be more common than is indicated in the sources. In several words, such as *bosi* < **boas* 'pregnant', initial stress would be expected but is not indicated. In verbs, connective vowels that are reanalysed as the final vowel of the stem do take the accent.

¹³ These examples are from Bökh's dictionary. See Liu (1981:17) for more examples. The opposition between 'lion' and 'persimmon' has been resolved in the same way in Ganhetan Baoan. For this and other examples see Chen (1995:131-132).

quantity (phonemic or otherwise). In all languages, elision is restricted by constraints on syllable structure, so that it cannot lead to inadmissible consonant sequences.

EYu	Dgx	CM	
<i>aiğa</i>	<i>iğa</i>	* <i>ayaga</i>	bowl
<i>ömlö</i>	<i>məlie</i>	* <i>emüne</i>	front
<i>ondor</i>	<i>niudu</i>	* <i>ene üdür</i>	today
<i>nanda ~ danda</i>	<i>namadə ~ madə</i>	* <i>namada</i> /* <i>namadu</i>	to me
<i>dasära-</i>	<i>cıra- ~ sıra-</i>	* <i>tasura-</i>	to break (intr)
<i>adla-</i>	<i>adula-</i>	* <i>aduula-</i>	to tend animals
<i>halağan</i>	<i>haŋga</i>	* <i>halagan</i>	palm

These discrepancies show that individual cases of vowel loss are not reconstructable for older stages, although the general tendency may have developed quite early.

In most languages vowel elision results in consonant sequences. Most notably all QG languages developed initial consonant clusters in native words, something completely unknown in remaining Mongolic, but common in Amdo Tibetan. In Dongxiang, the only QG language that did not undergo Tibetan influence, this phenomenon is only seen in a small number of words that can also be analysed differently (by means of devoiced vowels).

1.5.1.2. Simplification of the vowel system

Only few developments (innovations) are shared by all of QG. The tendency for **i* to be retracted and lowered to *ə* is seen in all QG Mongolic languages, as well as in neighbouring Turkic languages and Amdo Tibetan. The reduction of the number of rounded vowels cannot be assumed for Proto Shirongol, as Kangjia preserves all four of them.

Vowel devoicing phenomena are connected to strong consonants.

Distinctive vowel quantity was largely lost in Mangghuer, Kangjia and Dongxiang, and in some varieties of Baoan, but even there a number of words with historically correct relictual vowel lengths tends to be preserved. Monguoric and Baoanic are thus both descended from ancestors with phonemic vowel length.

In a very general sense the QG languages share the reduction of the vowel harmony system. However, the changes in individual languages differ in the details.

In Eastern Yugur, vowel harmony in stems may be disturbed by secondary developments, but vowel harmony in non-high vowel suffixes (with **A*, in Eastern Yugur represented by the alternation *a/e/ɔ/ö*) remains largely productive. The vowels of the original high vowel suffixes (with **I* and **U*) tend to merge into a neutral *ə* (which phonologically remains a high vowel).

In Monguoric vowel harmony has broken down both in stems and in suffixation. The front rounded vowels **ö* and **ü* merged with their back counterparts **o* and **u*. Nevertheless, the former harmonic constraints are clearly visible in many existing primary and derived stems, as in the Mongghul derivations with the common verbalizer *-la* such as *gar.la-* ‘to grab with the hand’, *ide:.le-* ‘to develop pus’, *noko.lo-* ‘to make a hole’, or the causative *-GA* in *kur.ge:-* ‘to deliver’,

sur.ɡa:- ‘to teach’. Suffixes were later generalised by picking one of the original alternants, usually that with *a*.¹⁴

In Baoan and Dongxiang there are also only two rounded vowels left, but as Kangjia preserves four, generally corresponding to the four rounded vowels of CM, Proto Baoanic must have featured the larger system. Former constraints survive to some extent into modern Baoan and Dongxiang, e.g. the denominal verb suffix **-ra* still occurs in three harmonic variants in existing derivations, as in DgX *xula.ra-* ‘to become red’, *kugie.re-* ‘to become blue’, *noġo.ro-* ‘to become green’. In modern Dongxiang the suffix as such is still productive (mainly seen on stems adopted from Chinese), but it has now taken on the invariable shape *-ra*. The verbalizers *-dA* and *-lA* also occur in three variants in existing formations, and *-lA* is even found in two harmonic variants in modern derivations from Chinese words (see Liu 1981:23).

1.5.1.3. Phenomena related to consonant strength

In a general sense consonant strengthening and weakening phenomena are shared by the Mongolic languages as well as the Turkic languages of the area, Salar and Western Yugur. This involves the strengthening (aspiration) of weak consonants or weakening (aspiration loss) of strong consonants, mostly in word-initial position under the influence of the consonant starting the second syllable. In QG Mongolic, this type of distant assimilation only seems to take place when the first syllable has a simple vowel. Most languages also feature weakening of medial consonants, which is an unconditioned tendency.

Shifts in consonant strength are one of the shared QG tendencies that cannot be ascribed to Chinese or Tibetan influence, as in these languages the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated consonants carries great phonological weight.¹⁵ Although Mongolic, unlike Turkic, has an opposition between strong **t*, **č*, **k* and weak **d*, **j*, **g* in initial position, changes from strong to weak or vice versa have rarely resulted in a loss of distinctiveness of individual stems, perhaps because Mongolic stems are usually bi- or trisyllabic. The effects include the following:

Assimilatory initial strengthening, as in EYu *qagča* < **gagča* ‘alone’.

Assimilatory strengthening followed by medial weakening. Examples of this can be found in all of QG, but it is most systematically applied by Mongghul, as in *təʒin* < **döčün* ‘forty’.¹⁶

Dissimilatory initial weakening, as in BaoŃ *ġəśəŋ* < **kosiuŋ* ‘beak’.¹⁷

Assimilatory initial weakening, a shared derived feature of Eastern Yugur and Shirongol. For unknown reasons it is largely limited to the weakening of initial **k-*

¹⁴ The frequently used Mongghul perfect converb *-AA(nu)* exceptionally preserves productive alternants with *a*: ~ *e*: ~ *o*:

¹⁵ In Tibetan this is also important morphologically, as aspiration plays a role in distinguishing verb tenses.

¹⁶ The combined effect of this sequence of events looks like a kind of ‘metathesis of aspiration’, hence Svantesson’s term ‘flip-flop’.

¹⁷ This type of conditioned initial weakening is known from central Mongolic languages including Chakhar and Ordos.

when the second syllable starts with **d* or **ʃ*, as in **kada* > *gada* ‘rock’. This does not have a parallel in Turkic and Amdo Tibetan.

Assimilatory medial strengthening, the strengthening of a medial consonant by the strong initial, may explain the Nantoq Baoan forms *ćiɣaŋ* < **čagaan* ‘white’, *kunɣaŋ* < **köŋgen* ‘light’, *kuntə* < **kündü* ‘heavy’.

Strengthening has given rise to two further phenomena shared by the QG languages. Firstly, the weak consonant **b-* has developed a strong counterpart *p-* [*pʰ*] that did not exist in the Common Mongolic phoneme inventory. It is also caused by a medial strong consonant, as in Dgx *puʒalu-* < **bučal-* ‘to boil’. The strengthening of **b* to *p-* is also found in neighbouring Western Yugur and Salar.

Secondly, an initial *h-* developed in many words originally starting with vocalic onset. This secondary *h-* has developed the same modern pronunciations as primary CM **h-*, and the two are synchronically indistinguishable. It arose under the influence of the strong consonant starting the second syllable, leading to the devoicing of vocalic onset + vowel, as in MgrM *fʒu* ~ *sʒu* < **hʏsun* < **usun* ‘water’.

Medial preaspiration of consonants is documented for Eastern Yugur and Baoanic, but only in words with original intervocalic **-k-*, as in EYu *qayqai*, Dgx *qixgəi* (see 4.5.3.).

Further consonant developments are discussed in 4.1.3. and the individual consonant sections in chapter 4.

1.5.1.4. Lexical features

The peripheral languages retain a number of lexemes from the Middle Mongol period that were lost in the central languages, creating the (false) impression of a division between Middle Mongol and the peripheral languages on the one hand, and central Mongolic on the other. Examples include **a* ‘they’ (not listed), **biljür* ‘small bird’, **činaida*, **činar*, **činaji* ‘the day after tomorrow’, **daŋgal* ‘lump, clod’, **düre-* ‘to sell’, **haul-* ‘to run’, **heil-* ‘to leave’, **hüü-* ‘to stink, rot’, **i* ‘s/he, it’, **jilsun* ‘glue’, **koa-* ‘to wither’, **naʃir* ‘summer’, **ödme* ‘bread’, **siür-* ‘to sweep’, **temgü-* ‘to pick up’, **urijjin uriji üdür* ‘three days ago’, **ünügün* ‘kid (goat)’, **yama* ‘thing’. These items are more properly viewed as normal words, as several of them were only lost once, in the ancestor of the central Mongolic languages. In many instances related forms from the same roots actually exist in the central languages.

The QG languages also feature regional words that are not attested in Middle Mongol sources. As they do tend to have equivalents in neighbouring Turkic languages, they may ultimately be of non-Mongolic origin. Regional items found in Shirongol include **hayag* ‘handful’, **hurbī* (?) ‘sling’, and **ütergen* ‘threshing floor’. Eastern Yugur and Monguoric share **kirbei* ‘edge’. A regional word found in Eastern Yugur, both Monguor languages, and Dongxiang, is *mila* ~ *mula* ‘small’.

Further regionalisms will be discussed in the following pages. I will focus on words that do exist in central Mongolic and/or the other peripheries, but whose forms in the QG languages suggest a shared development of classificatory importance. The QG languages are sometimes in agreement with Middle Mongol, suggesting that they preserve the original form, while in other cases they are innovative. It is not always possible to determine which of the recorded variants is

the older one. Usually it may simply have been a matter of choosing from among a pool of pre-existing variants. Examples include the following (the actual distribution is more complicated, see the comparative supplement):

QG suggests	MMo suggests	central suggests	
<i>*buli-</i>	<i>*buli-</i>	<i>*bulia-</i>	to snatch
<i>*kabar</i>	<i>*kabar</i>	<i>*kamar</i>	nose
<i>*kadaar</i>	<i>*kadaar</i>	<i>*kajaar</i>	bit
<i>*kürjeg</i>	<i>*kürjeg</i>	<i>*kürje</i>	spade
<i>*tüükü</i>	<i>*tüükü(i)</i>	<i>*tüükei</i>	raw

Examples of this type are few, and as the isoglosses for the various items do not overlap, each case may suggest a different subdivision of the language family. In some cases, such as **kadaar*/**kajaar* ‘bit’, the former seems to be a ‘peripheral’ retention, and the latter a central innovation.

In others, such as **kabar*/**kamar* ‘nose’ and **buli-*/**bulia-* ‘to snatch’, the former is shared by Moghol and QG, the latter by the central languages and Dagur, suggesting a North-South division. This seems to be supported by other features, such as initial accent in the North and final accent in the South, and preservation of the distinction between attributive and enumerative numerals in the North, lost in the South. However, the impression of a North-South division is not confirmed by Middle Mongol, which may side with either region, or may be indecisive (e.g. Middle Mongol accent is not known).

Occasionally, two variants of the same etymon were already recorded in Middle Mongol sources, such as **könerge* ~ **körenge* ‘yeast’, without a predictable distribution. In this case the QG languages preserve the former variant, recorded in ‘Phags-pa. However, with regard to metathetic alternation, the QG languages do not always point in the same direction, see **magalai* ~ **malagai* ‘hat’.

In case of **yaan* and **yaun* ‘what’, QG favours the former variant, recorded in the Muqaddimat al-Adab. The same applies to the derived forms **yama* and **yauma* ‘what’.

In case of **čila-* ~ **čile-* ‘to be tired, to tingle’, the former variant, found in QG, is not attested in Middle Mongol, although one expects it to be the older variant (the reverse shift of harmonic class is unusual).

The verb ‘to laugh’ has the shape **hinie-* both in the QG languages and Dagur, suggesting that it may predate the form **inie-* supported by Middle Mongol.

In a couple of words, the QG languages share an (irregular) phonetic innovation, including the following:

QG suggests	CM as otherwise known	
<i>*doli-</i>	<i>*dolia-</i>	to lick
<i>*go:r</i> < <i>*koar</i>	<i>*koyar</i>	two
<i>*no:r</i>	<i>*noir</i>	sleep
<i>*örle</i>	<i>*öreele</i>	hobble; half
<i>*emele</i>	<i>*emüne</i>	front

Less dramatic potential classification arguments are provided by instances of unexpected presence (preservation or addition) of *-n*, as in **teerme(n)* ‘mill’, or of its unexpected absence, as in **morin* ‘horse’. Monguoric, which tends to drop the *-n* of substantive nouns in the nominative, is less informative in this regard.

1.5.1.5. Semantic and functional features

Semantic and functional developments also yield a number of classification criteria.

A semantic difference involves **kainag*, which denotes the yak in the QG languages, but a yak hybrid in the central languages. In QG the verb **kaïla-* means ‘(for animals) to make a noise’, but elsewhere it mostly means ‘to shout, to cry’. The verb **sïmtara-* means ‘to thaw, melt’ in Shirongol, but ‘to become blunt, calm, weak’ in central Mongolic. CM **keüken* ‘child’ now specifically denotes female children in central Mongolic, but male children in the QG languages.

A functional difference has developed with regard to **irgen* ‘people’. It has become a third person personal pronoun in Eastern Yugur and all of Shirongol. **ejen* ‘master’ has become a reflexive pronoun in Eastern Yugur and Monguoric, and a third person pronoun in Baoan. Several Shirongol languages have developed third person pronouns from **nögee* ‘other’ and first or third person pronouns from **öer-* ‘self’ (see 1.5.4.2.).

The numeral **nige* ‘one’ has come to function as an indefinite article and/or singular marker in Monguoric, Baoan and Kangjia.

1.5.2. Peripheral opinions on known Central Mongolic variants

The central languages display a number of correspondences that do not fall under the usual soundlaws. The distribution of variants among the three literary central languages is not always the same, and often goes against the traditional division between Eastern and Western Mongolic.

The fact that there are Khalkha-Buriat, Buriat-Kalmuck, and Khalkha-Kalmuck parallels may point that (at least) a three-way split must be assumed leading to the present three dialect groups. Unfortunately it is generally impossible to determine which variant is the innovative one.

The QG languages in some cases agree with Khalkha, in others with Buriat and Kalmuck, in yet others only with either Kalmuck or Buriat. All of this suggests that several variants coexisted in CM, and that each subgroup came to favour one of them. Distribution of the variants in modern languages certainly does not suggest a binary split of CM into Eastern and Western subgroups.

The preconsonantal *-l-* in the group **čaalsun* ‘paper’, **jïlsun* ‘glue’, **mölsün* ‘ice’, and **sölsün* ‘gall bladder’, was preserved in Shirongol, as in Buriat and Khamnigan, but lost in Eastern Yugur, as in Khalkha and Kalmuck.

Both Eastern Yugur and Shirongol agree with Khalkha on the group **eriün* ‘chin’, **kuruun* ‘finger’, **niruun* ‘back’, rather than the Kalmuck and Buriat forms

with additional *-g-*, suggesting the forms **erigün*, **kurugun*, **nirugun* for these words.¹⁸

In case of the morphological variants **gutusun* and **gutul* ‘boots’, the former form, typical of Kalmuck, is found both in Eastern Yugur and Shirongol, Kangjia excepted. In case of **hargal* and **hargasun* ‘dung’ all QG languages have the ‘Eastern’ variant ending in *-l*.

In case of **sü(n)* ~ **üsün* ‘milk’, Eastern Yugur shares the latter variant with Kalmuck and Ordos, while the word is lacking in Baoanic, and indecisive in Mongghul.

In the case of **turuun* and **tuura(i)* ‘hoof’, the former is found in both Dagur and Eastern Yugur, as in Buriat and Kalmuck; the latter in Khalkha and Ordos.

The verb **hogtal-* ‘to fell’ has preserved its preconsonantal *-g-* in Eastern Yugur as it has in Khalkha, whereas Buriat and Kalmuck reflect a form **otal-* which lost the *-g-*. The Shirongol forms are uninformative as their first syllables are too abraded.¹⁹

All QG languages seem to support the form **öčügedür* (< **öčigen üdür*) ‘yesterday’, also found in Khalkha and Ordos, whereas Buriat, Khamnigan and Kalmuck suggest **öčügeldür*. The QG languages also reflect **gadaa* ‘outside’, as found in Khalkha, rather than the Buriat, Khamnigan and Kalmuck innovation **gajaa* ‘id’.

The verbs **eči-*, **oči-* and **od-* ‘to go’ have a peculiar distribution. All of Shirongol except Nantoq Baoan uses **eči-*. Nantoq Baoan and Eastern Yugur use **od-* which is also found in Middle Mongol.

1.5.3. Features separating Eastern Yugur and Shirongol

1.5.3.1. Phonetic features separating Eastern Yugur and Shirongol

There are few systematic developments that separate Eastern Yugur from Shirongol. Many differences between Eastern Yugur and individual Shirongol languages are not valid classification features, because they arose after the split-up of Proto Shirongol. For instance, although Mangghuer and Dongxiang lost contrastive vowel length, it must have persisted into Proto Monguoric and Proto Baoanic, as it is still found today in Mongghul and parts of Baoan. Thus the local absence of vowel length does is not relevant for classification.

In Eastern Yugur, **ö* and **ü* did not merge with their harmonic counterparts **o* and **u*. Unlike Shirongol, Eastern Yugur does not retain traces of uncontracted diphthongs **au* and **eü*.²⁰

In Eastern Yugur the palatal affricates did not split into retroflex and alveolopalatal series.

¹⁸ The Buriat and Kalmuck forms are reminiscent of the Written Mongol spellings *eregüü*, *niruyu(n)*, *quruyu(n)*.

¹⁹ Cf. also the development of **ügtee-* ‘to pull out’.

²⁰ In Zhào (2006), and in the wordlist in Zhōng (2007) we do find diphthongs like *ɔu*. In view of other descriptions, these are best viewed as recent innovations.

The treatment of final **-n* and **ki-/ki-* is different between the two Shirongol branches, and will be discussed below. In both these matters Eastern Yugur agrees with Baoanic and differs from Monguoric.

Eastern Yugur lost the preconsonantal *-l-* in **čaalsun* ‘paper’, **mölsün* ‘ice’, and **sölsün* ‘gall bladder’ (as in Khalkha and Kalmuck), whereas Shirongol preserved it (as in Buriat and Khamnigan).²¹

Eastern Yugur tends to preserve the middle vowel of trisyllabic noun stems, whereas these were often elided (‘Mittelsilbenschwund’) in Shirongol. The words affected by this development typically have *l* or *r* preceding the elided vowel and *g* or *k* following it, e.g. **halagan* ‘palm of the hand’, **heligen* ‘liver’, **korakai* ‘insect’, **kulagai* ‘thief’. This type of elision is uncommon in Eastern Yugur, e.g. *jürŷen* < **jürüken* ‘heart’.²²

Unsystematic phonetic differences between Eastern Yugur and Shirongol include the following:

EYu	Shirongol	CM	
<i>jagčaqai</i>	<i>*čarčag</i>	<i>*čarčaakai</i>	grasshopper ²³
<i>da:lə</i>	<i>?*dalui</i>	<i>*dalu</i>	shoulderblade
<i>küre:</i>	<i>*kireü</i>	<i>*kiröe</i>	saw
<i>gertə</i>	<i>*ke(r)tü</i>	<i>*ger-tü</i>	home
<i>-kə</i>	<i>*-kü</i>	<i>*-ki</i>	‘converter’ suffix
<i>tal-</i>	<i>*tabi-</i>	<i>*talbi-</i>	to put
<i>labčəg</i>	<i>*labčün</i>	<i>*nabčün</i>	leaf
<i>hənəs-</i>	<i>*nis-, *mis-</i>	<i>*nüs-</i>	to fly
<i>aməra-</i>	<i>*ham(b)ura-</i>	<i>*hamura-</i>	to rest
<i>dörβen</i>	<i>*derben</i>	<i>*dörben</i>	four ²⁴
<i>möŋgə ~ meŋgə</i>	<i>*meŋgü</i>	<i>*möŋgün</i>	silver ²⁵

The unrounding of **ö* does not generally follow subgroup divisions like in these last examples. It often has an irregular distribution, as in BaoŃ *melsəŋ* ‘ice’ as opposed to Kgj *mərsün* < **mölsün* ‘ice’.

As to the development of **h-*, there are several other cases of disagreement between Eastern Yugur and Shirongol, like **hamura-* ‘to rest’. However, there are

²¹ These preconsonantal consonants are easily lost in modern Shirongol with its decreasing tolerance for syllable-final consonants, cf. MgrH *su:rʒə* ~ *su:ʒə* < **sölsün* ‘gall bladder’, Dgx *mansuŋ*, Dgx (Longquan dialect) *məsüŋ*, Kgj *mərsün* ~ *məsün* < **mölsün* ‘ice’.

²² The sequence *rVl* in the middle of words commonly leads to simplifications in all QG languages, as in EYu *alğa-* < **arılga-* ‘to clean’, BaoŃ *alʒa-* < **aralji-* ‘to exchange’, Kgj *kandu-* < **kereldü-* ‘to quarrel’, and even elsewhere, including Dagur, e.g. *alj-* < **aralji-* ‘to exchange’, *dull^w-* < **düreldü-* ‘to trade’.

²³ For Eastern Yugur cf. western forms like Dörbed *čagčä:xä:* (Vanduy 1965:167a).

²⁴ Only Gomar Baoan *dəraŋ* CN86:146 seems to disturb this picture, but in fact this dialect is insufficiently known to be certain how the form should be evaluated.

²⁵ The Shirongol form resembles the one in the Muqaddimat al-Adab.

also many disagreements within Shirongol. Most deviations do not neatly follow the subgroup divisions (see the words with **h-* in the comparative supplement).

1.5.3.2. Lexical and morphological features separating Eastern Yugur and Shirongol

The fact that a Mongolic word preserved in Eastern Yugur was lost in Shirongol is in itself not surprising, as the loss of native lexicon seems to be more dramatic in the latter. Nevertheless, more than a few CM words found in Shirongol were lost in Eastern Yugur as well.

Eastern Yugur lexical items missing from Shirongol include old Mongolic words, e.g. *ᠵᠣᠶᠴᠠᠢ*- ‘to sit’ < **čokai-* ‘to squat’, as well as words with a ‘Western’, i.e. Oirat, flavour, e.g. *duḡura-* ‘to roll’, *ḡaisən* ‘ghost’, *hučɯ* ‘fur jacket’, or western variants of more widely occurring words, e.g. *βəḷə* < **ubuḷi* ‘feeding horn’.

Also missing in Shirongol are ‘Yugurisms’, e.g. words shared with Western Yugur but without an obvious etymology in Mongolic or Turkic, e.g. *hanə-* ‘to go’, *lar* ‘speech, language’, *kutḡə* ‘throat’, *sure:čə* ‘crane (the bird)’, and other, possibly non-Mongolic, words apparently restricted to Eastern Yugur, such as *xalda-* ‘to look’ and *usqa-* ‘to scold’ mentioned below.

Lexical differences between Eastern Yugur and Shirongol are often the result of a different choice out of existing old vocabulary. In other cases one or both subgroups use a non-Mongolic word. Foreign words found in several Mongolic subgroups and already documented in Middle Mongol will be considered to have been present in CM.

There are numerous Mongolic lexemes that are preserved by Shirongol, but absent from Eastern Yugur. In the following cases Eastern Yugur and Shirongol use different Mongolic words. Occasionally the Yugur counterpart in this list is also attested in parts of Shirongol, but not the other way around. Note that the distribution of these same words is usually irrelevant outside the QG area, e.g. Ordos has both **elgü-* and **deiḡile-* ‘to hang’, which fact is of no classificatory value within central Mongolic.

Eastern Yugur	Shirongol	
<i>*asara-</i> , <i>*mal.la-</i>	<i>*teḡie-</i>	to feed; to raise
<i>*čiḡ.tü-</i>	<i>*nor-</i>	to get wet ²⁶
<i>*čokai-</i>	<i>*duḡdei-</i> (? <i>*döḡdei-</i>)	to squat, sit ²⁷
<i>*daga.ul-</i>	<i>*uduri-</i>	to lead ²⁸

²⁶ Several Shirongol idioms also use various verbs derived from the adj. **noitan* ‘wet’ with the suffixes *-rA*, *-dA*, *-tU*: BaoD *nəitar-* B85b, BaoÑ *ni:tara-* CN29, Kgj *neitɔda-* S281b, MgrM *niutiantu-* DS260a, Dgx *naićietu-* B25.

²⁷ Most of the vocabularies see the Shirongol word as derived from Ch *dūn* ‘to squat’, but as all languages involved have other common verbalizers for incorporating Chinese verbs, this may in fact be CM **döḡdei-* ‘to rise slightly’, semantically influenced by Chinese.

²⁸ **dagaul-* is the caus. of **daga-* ‘to follow’, while **uduri-* is related to the Turkic caus. of **ud-* ‘to follow’.

(continued)

Eastern Yugur	Shirongol	
* <i>dugura-</i>	* <i>höŋkeri-</i>	to roll ²⁹
* <i>elgü-</i>	* <i>deüjile-</i>	to hang
* <i>ges-</i>	* <i>simta.ra-</i>	to melt
?* <i>hamu-</i>	* <i>söne-</i>	to go out (fire)
* <i>hüsür-</i>	* <i>deül-</i>	to jump
* <i>hutaa</i> (< * <i>hutu.a</i>)	* <i>hunin</i>	smoke
* <i>kamki-</i>	* <i>hani-</i>	to close the eyes
* <i>kaurai</i>	* <i>koa.sun</i>	dry
* <i>mal</i>	(* <i>a:sun</i> <) * <i>aduu.sun</i>	livestock
* <i>möndür</i>	* <i>jarma</i>	hail
* <i>od-</i> (and <i>hanə-</i>)	* <i>eči-</i>	to go ³⁰
* <i>sura-</i>	(* <i>arsag-</i> <) * <i>harsag-</i> etc	to ask
* <i>šatu</i>	* <i>geški.ür</i>	ladder
* <i>tokanag</i> (and <i>čikeneg</i>)	* <i>tokai</i>	elbow ³¹
* <i>teü-</i>	* <i>temgü-</i>	to pick up ³²
* <i>tur-</i>	* <i>öles-</i>	to be hungry
* <i>üdesi</i>	* <i>(üde)si.leŋ</i>	(in the) evening

Eastern Yugur words of unknown origin opposed to CM words in Shirongol:

Eastern Yugur	Shirongol	
<i>xalda-</i>	* <i>kara-</i> , * <i>no-</i> , * <i>siğai-</i>	to look
<i>lar</i>	* <i>kelen</i>	language ³³
<i>ma: kelen</i> (= <i>hdei kelen</i>)	* <i>koš kelen</i>	uvula ³⁴
<i>usqa-</i>	* <i>sögee-</i> , * <i>karä-</i>	to scold, swear

The origin of Shirongol words **hayag* ‘handful’, **hurbī* ‘sling’, **ütergen* ‘threshing floor’ is unclear, but the first and third may be connected to Turkic *(*h*)*aya* ‘palm of the hand’ and **örtgün* ‘threshing floor’.

Shirongol word shapes include **aasun* < CM **aduusun* ‘livestock’.³⁵ In Shirongol the words **üdür* (?**ödür*) ‘day’ and **üde* ‘noon’ have been confused, and

²⁹ **dugura-* is not attested early, but it is also found in Kalmuck.

³⁰ EYu *hanə-* is of unknown origin, but cf. WYu *hani-*. Nantoq Baoan stands out among the Shirongol languages in that it uses **od-* rather than **eči-*.

³¹ Interestingly, **tokanag* is also found in Buriat. The similarly-structured *čikeneg* stems from Turkic.

³² Mangghuer also uses **teü-*.

³³ **kelen* does exist in Eastern Yugur in the meaning ‘tongue’.

³⁴ The meaning and origin of *ma:* is unknown. EYu *hdei kelen*, lit. ‘little tongue’ could, but need not, be a calque from Chinese; the first element is from Western Yugur. Shirongol **koš kelen* is not attested for Kangjia, which uses *šgə kelio* S84, lit. ‘little tongue’.

they generally merged into a single phonetic shape, so that a single word shape (either with or without the *-r* depending on the language) carries both meanings.

Shirongol also uses CM **kabar* ‘nose’ in the meaning ‘nasal mucus, snot’, whereas in Eastern Yugur it developed the additional meaning ‘before’ under Western Yugur influence.

A morphological innovation in Shirongol (only absent from Kangjia) involves the replacement of the habitual participle (nomen usus) *-dAG* by *-čIn*, by extending the function of the deverbal noun suffix **-g-čIn* and/or **-A-čIn*. In Shirongol the suffix *-čIn* is now used in inflection as well as word formation. Examples: MgrH *šuro:žin* ‘who blesses’, MgrM *dağačIn* ‘following; follower’, BaoŃ *medčan* ‘knowing; who knows’, Dgx *kieliečIn* ‘speaking; speaker; who speaks’. Eastern Yugur continues to use *-dAG*, and has another participle *-mA*, which it shares with Western Yugur.³⁶

Another innovation is the generalisation of the causative *-GA*. This CM suffix became invariable in Shirongol, and only the variant with uvular consonant and back vowel *-ğa* or *-ğA* remains as a productive suffix. It has replaced the causative suffixes *-Ul* and *-A*, and increasingly also *-IGA*, especially in Mangghuer, Baoan and Dongxiang. Existing formations with the old suffixes have been replaced.³⁷ Examples include MgrM *diğa-*, BaoŃ *ndeğa-*, Dgx *ižieğa-* ‘to cause to eat, feed’, MgrM *roğa-*, Dgx *oroğa-* ‘to cause to enter, insert’. MgrM *wužiğa-*, BaoŃ *užiğa-*, Kgj *užiğa-*, Dgx *užəğa-* ‘to cause to see, show’, MgrM *xuliğa-*, Dgx *fəilieğa-* ‘to cause to remain, leave over’, MgrM *bərduga-*, Dgx *barunduğa-* ‘to cause to catch fire, to light’. The Eastern Yugur equivalents are the conservative forms *edü:l-*, *oru:l-*, *oju:l-*, *holü:l-*, *baldu:l-*, from the stems **ide-* ‘to eat’, **ora-* ‘to enter’, **üje-* ‘to see’, **hüle-* ‘to remain’, **bari.ldu-* ‘to catch fire’.

The loss of productive vowel harmony caused numerous other suffixes to generalise a single variant. The diminutive *-kAn* only preserved its back unrounded variant *-qan* in QG (MgrH *-xa:n*, BaoŃ *-χaŋ*, Dgx *-ğaŋ*, etc.); the nomen futuri *-kU* only preserved a form *-ku* with velar consonant.

1.5.4. Features separating Monguoric and Baoanic

1.5.4.1. Phonetic features separating Monguoric and Baoanic

There are only few systematic phonetic differences between Monguoric and Baoanic. The development of the sequence **kī-/ki-* and the treatment of unstable

³⁵ As this etymon does not survive in Eastern Yugur at all, it cannot be determined which phonetic shape it had before it was lost. It may have been **a:sun* in Eastern Yugur as well.

³⁶ EYu uses **-g-čI* in word formation, but the participial usage described in Bolčuluu & Jalsan (1992: 266) is rare.

³⁷ Several *-Ul* formations, often with specialised meanings, do survive in Shirongol, including MgrH *xarəla-*, Dgx *qarulu-* ‘to answer < cause to return’ < **kari.ul-*; BaoŃ *əčəl-*, Dgx *oçulu-* ‘to turn (tr.)’ < **horčī.ul-*; BaoŃ *ačal-* < ‘to water (animals) < cause to drink’ < **oačī.ul-*.

*-n are the most marked of these. In both these matters Baoanic is the conservative one, thus agreeing with Eastern Yugur, Moghol, and Middle Mongol.

Baoanic preserves a distinction between velar and uvular variants of */k/ in this context. In Monguoric the sequence *kī- apparently merged with its velar counterpart *ki-, which was then palatalised (> modern *čí*), before the vowel *i* lost its palatality.³⁸ Examples:

Monguoric	Baoanic	CM	
*čirğa-	*qirğa-	*kirma-	to shave
*čimusu	*qimusuŋ	*kimusun	nail
*čidoŋo	*qidoŋo	*kituga	knife

The treatment of unstable *-n is in fact a morphological matter with a phonetic result. Baoanic has incorporated unstable *-n as a permanent part of the stem. In Monguoric, unstable -n was lost in the nominative in all common nouns. Some relics of it, as well as hypercorrect *n*'s, may appear in inflected forms. That dropping the -n was morphologically motivated, is also clear from the fact that the numerals and adjectival nouns were exempted from the development. Examples:

Monguoric	Baoanic	CM	
*ima:	*imaŋ	*imaan	goat
*nudu	*nuduŋ	*nidün	eye
*toŋo:	*toŋoŋ	*togaan	pot

Most phonetic differences between Monguoric and Baoanic are irregular. In the following three forms the Baoanic languages are the innovators. Baoanic might owe the strong initial to inflected forms with suffixes starting with strong consonants, e.g. for the verb we would have Proto Shirongol future participle *gar-ku, perfect participle *gar-san, conditional converb *gar-sa.³⁹ However, such transfers of consonant strength are typically more common in Monguoric than in Baoanic. Due to its ad hoc nature this explanation is unsatisfactory. Examples:

Monguoric	Baoanic	CM	
*gar	*qar	*gar	hand
*gar-	*qar-	*gar-	to exit
*gal	*qal	*gal	fire

³⁸ The sequence *kī/*ki in medial position, and its weak counterpart *gi/*gi shows similar developments.

³⁹ For *gar and *gar- there would be the additional factor that some variable suffixes (e.g. imperfect converb *-ŋU, dat. *-DU) used to take the strong consonant variant after stems in -r). Stems in -l took the weak consonant variant, so why *gal 'fire' developed a strong initial would remain unexplained.

Possibly cases like these should simply be counted among the numerous irregular correspondences regarding consonant strength, especially in words with initial **k-* and **g-*. There are two known environments than can affect the consonant strength of these consonants in all of QG. Strengthening of **g-* may occur when the second syllable starts with a strong consonant, while weakening of **k-* commonly occurs when the second syllable starts with **d* or **j̣*. Strengthening or weakening in the absence of these known triggers, or unexpected preservation of strong or weak consonants, may also create differences between Monguoric and Baoanic. E.g. CM **kura* ‘rain’ developed into expected **qura* in Monguoric, but underwent weakening in Baoanic **gura*. Likewise CM **mikan* ‘meat’ resulted in Monguoric **maqa*, but Baoanic **mağa*.

Unsystematic phonetic differences between Monguoric and Baoanic include the following (either side can be the innovative or irregular one):

Monguoric	Baoanic	CM	
<i>*dabsaq̣</i>	<i>*dabalağ</i>	<i>*dabusag</i> , etc.	bladder ⁴⁰
<i>*gedesun</i>	<i>*gejesuŋ</i>	<i>*gedesün</i>	intestine
<i>*uŋgasun</i>	<i>*noğosun</i> < <i>*nogasun</i>	? <i>*nuŋgasun</i>	wool
<i>*su:</i>	<i>*suğu</i>	<i>*suu</i> (~ <i>*sugu</i>)	armpit
<i>*qarmu-</i>	<i>*qarbu-</i>	<i>*karbu-</i>	to shoot
<i>*ta:da</i>	<i>*ča:da</i>	<i>*čaada</i>	near ⁴¹
<i>*qaučĩn</i>	<i>*qoičĩn</i>	<i>*kaučĩn</i>	old
<i>*aur</i>	<i>*hor</i>	<i>*haur</i>	air; anger
<i>*janči-</i>	<i>*yanči-</i>	<i>*janči-</i>	to beat, to thresh ⁴²

1.5.4.2. Lexical and morphological features separating Monguoric and Baoanic

Some differences between Monguoric and Baoanic are due to morphological innovation. **yamar* ‘what kind?’ was retained in Monguoric, but replaced in Baoanic by **yaan metü* or **yama metü*, lit. ‘what-like?’. In Baoanic the CM words **eimü* ‘this kind of’, **teimü* ‘that kind of’ were largely replaced by similar formations **ene metü* ‘this-like’, **te(re) metü* ‘that-like’, or possibly **ein metü* and **tein metü* ‘thus-like’.⁴³ The degree of phonetic reduction in the modern languages makes it hard to distinguish the exact components, cf. Baoñ *təmtəg* (the final *-g* appears to be secondary), Kgj *tentü*, Dgx *ćimutu* ‘that kind of’. For further forms see the comparative supplement s.v. **metü*. In Monguoric, **eimü* and **teimü* were replaced

⁴⁰ The Monguoric and Baoanic forms may represent different derivatives of the same root, but the endings are not clear.

⁴¹ Cf. Mongghul *tagṣa* ~ *čagṣa* < **čaa-gsĩ* ‘to(wards) that side’.

⁴² The Baoanic form with *y-* is reminiscent of the Turkic cognate **yanč-*. See **jarim* ‘half’ for a similar case.

⁴³ The latter etymology is favoured by Dongxiang *ćimutu* ‘that kind’ which is easier to explain with *ćin* < **tein* as a first element than with **tere* which (irregularly) retained its *t-* in Dongxiang.

by other formations of unclear structure: Mongghul *nəgi*: ‘this kind of’, *təgi*: ‘that kind of’, Mangghuer *niŋtai* ‘this kind of’, *tiŋtai* ‘that kind of’.

The decads higher than ‘twenty’, such as **gučīn* ‘thirty’, **döčīn* ‘forty’, were replaced in Baoanic by analytical forms **gurban harban* ‘three tens’, **dörben harban* ‘four tens’.⁴⁴ In Kangjia these were retained as analytical forms *guro haro*, *dero haro*, but in all Baoan dialects they have started to amalgamate, e.g. Nantoq Baoan *gu‘raraŋ*, *de‘raraŋ*. Kangjia even replaced **korīn* ‘twenty’ by an analytical form ‘two tens’. Dongxiang preserves *qoruŋ* < **korīn* ‘twenty’, but has now replaced all higher decads by Chinese forms. It is impossible to say if the analytical Mongolic forms were ever used in Dongxiang.

In Baoan and Dongxiang the numerals 1-10 tend to join with certain nouns that follow them.⁴⁵ This phenomenon occurs with the native words **üdü* ‘day’ and **ayaga* ‘bowl’, and a number of quantifiers and classifiers.⁴⁶ Some of the resulting forms: Dgx *žierudu* (for *žieroŋ udu*) < **dörben üdü* ‘four days’, *hariğa* (for *haroŋ iğa*) < **harban ayaga* ‘ten cups’, BaoD *de‘rudə* (for *derəŋ udər*) < **dörben üdü* ‘four days’, *har‘wiğə* (for *harwaŋ ayiğə*) < **harban ayaga* ‘ten cups’.⁴⁷ As the abovementioned nouns are often used in combination with numerals, it is understandable that they are worn down in this manner. However, it is unclear why other commonly counted nouns like **söni* ‘night’, **nasun* ‘year (of age)’ and **küün* ‘person’, should escape this treatment. It may be due to the fact that these words, unlike **üdü* and **ayaga*, have initial consonants, but perhaps more importantly, **üdü* ‘day’ and **ayaga* ‘bowl’ are also used locally in the meaning ‘thousand’ and ‘ten thousand’, respectively.⁴⁸ It cannot be established whether such joined forms ever occurred in Kangjia, as it systematically lost the final *-n* of these numerals.⁴⁹

In other cases different derivations of the same stem prevailed in the two Shirongol groups. In Baoanic the spatial noun **emüne* ‘front’ is retained in the form **emüle* (with dissimilation of the nasals), whereas in Monguoric a shortened form of the directive **emüne-gsi* ‘to the front’ has replaced its base.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ The forms replacing the old decads are transparent and obvious, and need not have been inspired by Chinese, Tibetan or Turkic, where similar forms exist.

⁴⁵ In Baoan, as in Tibetan and other languages influenced by it, numerals may also follow the noun, in which case this ‘joining’ does not take place.

⁴⁶ These may be of Chinese, Tibetan, or unknown etymology, e.g. Dgx *fa* ‘times’, *suay* ‘pair’, BaoÑ *yaŋ*, *taŋ*, *gə* ‘times’. See Bökh & Čoyijungjab (1985:114) and Chén Nǎixióng et al. (1986:163) for Dongxiang and Baoan examples.

⁴⁷ The numerals lose their *-n* in the process. In Dongxiang, *gua* < **koar* ‘two’ regains the *-r* it normally lacks, as in *guariğa* ‘two cups’, *guarudu* ‘two days’.

⁴⁸ The additional meanings were calqued via Chinese. See Nugteren & Roos (2010).

⁴⁹ According to Li Keyu **üdü* also occurs in compounds with some numerals in Mongghul: *go:du* ‘two days’, *guru:du* ‘three days’, *xaru:du* ‘ten days’, *xuru:du* ‘twenty days’ (from **koar*, **gurban*, **harban*, **korīn*). Li also mentions forms with **söni* ‘night’: *xuru:sonə* ‘twenty nights’, *xužu:sonə* ‘thirty nights’ (**korīn*, **gučīn*). These forms appear to have developed independently from Baoanic, as **ayaga* and **üdü* did not develop numeral functions in Mongghul.

⁵⁰ MgrH *mušī*, MgrM *mešī*. As this form lost its specific function, a new directive form was created: MgrH *mušīžə*, MgrM *mešīžī*.

Due to the loss of vowel length in most of Baoanic and in Mangghuer, and accent-related vowel lengthening in Mongghul several verbs were at risk of merging with their causatives in -A, resulting in a need to make the distinction clear again. The chosen solution may vary from verb to verb. In case of **sīta*- ‘to catch fire’ and its causative **sītaa*- ‘to make fire’, Baoanic created a new intransitive verb **sītara*- with a new causative **sītara*ga-, whereas in Monguoric, as in Eastern Yugur, only the transitive **sītaa*- ‘to light’ survives.

The ‘converter’ suffix *-*kl*, which turns an inflected noun into a new nominative base that can take case endings, split into two forms in Baoan and Dongxiang, whereas in Monguoric a single form is used.

Attached to stems with the dative, as well as to adverbs of time without explicit case marking, we find the Shirongol shape -*ku* with unexpected rounding, as in Dgx *araŋdaku* ‘the one in the river’, *məliešidaku* ‘the one in front’, *fuzuğuduku* ‘yesterday’s’, BaoŃ *kətagu* ‘the one in the house’, *ğadəgu* ‘the one on the outside’, *χi:nagu* ‘the one in back’, *maχsīgu* ‘tomorrow’s’.

To stems with the genitive a form with -*ŋ* is attached, perhaps from an old oblique form *-*kIn*-, as in Dgx *minuğun*, BaoŃ *məŋgaŋ* ‘mine’. This can be found with the old personal pronouns, but also with the non-CM pronouns such as Dgx *hənuğun*, BaoŃ *aʒaŋgaŋ* ‘his/hers’, and some other pronouns and nouns, e.g. Dgx *kienuğun* ‘whose’, *gienuğun* ‘the house’s’, BaoŃ *kaŋgaŋ* ‘whose’, *ndewağgaŋ* ‘that of the village’.⁵¹

In Kangjia the suffix shape -*gu* is used on genitives as well as datives, e.g. *məniɡu* ‘mine’, *kəɡu* ~ *kəniɡu* ‘whose’, *ɡanaɡu* ‘the one on the outside’, *kunɡu* ‘the one of the person’, *ağagu* ‘the one of the village’, *ağadugu* ‘the one in the village’.⁵² This situation is reminiscent of the central Mongolic situation (e.g. Ordos *geri:ki* ‘the one of the house’, *gerteki* ‘the one in the house’). In Monguoric and Eastern Yugur the genitives of personal pronouns seem to be unable to take the converter suffix, that is, the attributive shape of the genitive is also used predicatively.

Lexical differences come in various categories. In the first set below a different CM word has prevailed in Monguoric and Baoanic. In the second group, Monguoric replaced a well-known Mongolic word by one of unknown origin. In the third group it is Baoanic that has the replacement, of Turkic or unknown origin.

Monguoric	Baoanic	CM	
* <i>idee</i>	* <i>höesün</i>		pus
* <i>murui</i>	* <i>mairug</i>		crooked
* <i>üğtee-</i>	* <i>sei-</i>		to weed
* <i>anji:</i>	* <i>qala</i>	* <i>kaana</i>	where ⁵³
* <i>baga-</i>	* <i>eki-</i>	(various) ?* <i>högi-</i>	to hit ⁵⁴

⁵¹ *aʒaŋgaŋ* (for **aʒaŋnəgaŋ*) lacks the genitive suffix. Other commonly used nouns such as ‘house’ and ‘village’ also add -*ku* directly to the stem without the need for a genitive.

⁵² This may also be the case in some Baoan dialects, cf. BaoD *ćin(ə)gə*, BaoX *ćinəgo* ‘yours’ as opposed to BaoŃ *ćinɡaŋ*.

⁵³ Kgj *χana* deviates from its relatives here.

Monguoric	Baoanic	from	
* <i>silgüd-</i>	* <i>taqara-</i>		to shake
* <i>čaalsun</i>	<i>kegde</i>	< T < Ir	paper
* <i>šu:r</i> ⁵⁵	<i>čöke</i>	< T	chopsticks
* <i>balgasun</i>	<i>tam</i>	< T	wall

Some lexical differences are due to semantic shifts. CM **ejen* ‘master’, as in Eastern Yugur, has become a reflexive pronoun ‘self’ in Monguoric, whereas in Baoan (not in Kangjia and Dongxiang) it became a personal pronoun for the third person. CM **öer-* ‘self’ was retained in Baoanic as a personal pronoun (denoting the first person in Baoan and Dongxiang, and the third person in Kangjia), but was lost in Monguoric and Eastern Yugur.

CM **jaka* ‘collar’ developed the additional meaning ‘upside, top’ in Monguoric (also as in Eastern Yugur).⁵⁶ This probably coincided with the loss of **öede* ‘up, above’, which does survive in Baoanic. **no-* (?**nau-*) ‘to aim’ came to mean ‘to look’ in Monguoric.

As seen above, certain loanwords, especially those from Turkic, occur in informative patterns that support the subdivision of Shirongol. The Monguoric languages share **arčag* ← Turkic **agırçak* ‘spindle whorl’ and **tagau* ← Turkic **takagu* ‘chicken’. Baoanic shares **örüg* ← Turkic **ärük* ‘apricot’, **kegde* ← Turkic (← Iranian) **kägdä* ‘paper’, and **sičagan* ← Turkic **sičgan* ‘mouse’. In some instances Shirongol languages replaced a lexeme by its Turkic cognate. Baoanic borrowed the Turkic word and lost the native cognate in the following cases: Turkic **agil* ‘village’, **arpa* ‘barley’ and **bugday* ‘wheat’ are used instead of CM **aïl*, **arbai* and **buudaï*. In Monguoric, Turkic **takagu* ‘chicken’ has replaced native **takia*.

1.5.5. Deviating distribution of word shapes

1.5.5.1. Introduction

On several occasions, the data from the QG languages do not align with the patterns and subdivisions sketched above.

First of all, some data seem too erratic to be organised in a way that supports (or contradicts) the classification above, such as the verb ‘to read’: EYu *oŋšə-*, MgrH *mošə-*, MgrM *moši-*, BaoD *muši-*, BaoGt *məš-*, BaoÑ *əmci-*, Kgj *unči-*, Dgx *oŋši-*. Another lexeme whose modern forms seem to defy classification (or reconstruction) is ‘girl’: EYu *hkon*, MgrH *fužün*, MgrM *fužin*, BaoD *okən*, BaoÑ *okuŋ*, BaoX *xjoŋ*, Kgj *iχgə*, Dgx *očin*. Cases like this may be explained by inter-

⁵⁴ Kangjia has both *iy-* related to the Baoanic verb and a form *bīgī-* apparently related to Monguoric.

⁵⁵ According to Sun, EYu *šoro* < **širo* ‘skewer’ (unrelated to the Monguoric word) is also used for ‘chopsticks’.

⁵⁶ Kangjia *jīgali* ‘top’ may also be related, but is morphologically unclear. In Western Yugur, the Turkic equivalent **yaka* ‘collar’ is now also used as a spatial noun.

dialectal borrowing, as is suggested by the existence of doublets in individual languages, e.g. Mongghul *ḡusḡo-* and *ṣdoḡo-* ‘to stir’ seem to be divergent developments of **kudku-*.⁵⁷ Mongghul *ḡazar* and *ḡadar* ‘bridle’ seem to represent the old variants **kaḡaar* and **kadaar*. Mongghul *go:n*, *gom*, and *fugon* are divergent forms of **gün* ‘deep’. The verb **bagta-* ‘to sink’ is present in Kangjia twice, in the forms *paḡda-* and *puda-* (with semantic differentiation). It is difficult to distinguish such doublets from the ‘normal’ spectrum of variants encountered in these non-standardised languages, and to determine which of the forms was borrowed from another language.⁵⁸

Semantically similar lexemes may have an erratic, and thus uninformative distribution, such as the words for ‘head’ and ‘brain’: **hekin*, **taraki*, **teriün*, **tolagai*.

Another factor that disrupts the classification as discussed above, is retention of shared inherited features, e.g. Eastern Yugur agrees with Baoanic regarding the development of **kī-/ki-* and **-n*, which is irrelevant for classification, whereas the innovations found in Monguoric can be used to define that branch.

Finally there are many similarities that can be explained as *Sprachbund* phenomena as well as shared inherited features.

There are three recurrent deviations from the subdivisions described above:

- Eastern Yugur agreeing with Monguoric (or at least Mongghul)
- Mangghuer agreeing with Baoanic rather than with its sister language Mongghul
- Disagreements amongst the Baoanic languages

1.5.5.2. Similarities between Eastern Yugur and Monguoric

In the following cases Eastern Yugur and Monguoric share a phonetic variant:

E. Yugur	Mongghul	Mangghuer	CM (or local ancestral form)	
<i>ḡwa:sən</i>	<i>ḡua:sə</i>	<i>ḡuasī</i>	<i>*uḡgasun</i>	wool
<i>ḡö:rö ~ ḡüre</i>	<i>go:ro</i>	<i>gori</i>	<i>*öere</i>	other

In the first case Baoanic uses the related variant **nogasun*. **öere* ‘other’ was lost in Baoanic, but cf. **öermiče*. Eastern Yugur and Monguoric preserve **bida* ‘we’, while Baoanic seems to feature the innovative front-vocalic form **bide*. This certainly applies to Dgx *biḡien* and Kgj *bəde*. Most of the Baoan forms are ambiguous because of vowel reductions, but BaoGt *buda* stands out by agreeing with Eastern Yugur and Monguoric.

Eastern Yugur and Monguoric, or at least Mongghul⁵⁹, share the following lexemes that are absent from Baoanic:

⁵⁷ Cf. **kadku-* ‘to stab’ for similar Mongghul doublets.

⁵⁸ For a Dagur doublet see *čulč* and *sus* under **sölsün* ‘gall bladder’.

⁵⁹ The cases not confirmed by Mangghuer may be due to the larger number of loanwords in that language, to the smaller size of the wordlists, or to the fact that Mangghuer sometimes agrees with Baoanic rather than with its sister language.

E. Yugur	Mongghul	Mangghuer	local ancestral form	
<i>mənən</i>	<i>muno:n</i>	---	<i>*mona hon</i>	year after next
<i>gərβai</i>	<i>ćire:</i>	<i>çaibai</i>	<i>*kirbei</i>	edge
<i>dɔ:mbər</i>	<i>dumbur</i>	---	?	hill ⁶⁰
<i>ǰura-</i>	<i>ǰira:-</i>	<i>zua-</i>	<i>?*ǰura-</i>	to chase
<i>χərǰər</i>	<i>śorǰol</i>	---	<i>?*hürgul</i>	omen ⁶¹
<i>səis</i>	<i>śiās</i>	---	<i>?*süis</i>	billy-goat
<i>bɔda</i>	<i>bodo</i>	---	<i>*boda</i>	deer ⁶²

1.5.5.3. Similarities between Mangghuer and Baoanic

In some phonetic developments Mangghuer agrees with Baoanic rather than Mongghul, i.e., Mongghul stands out within Shirongol. In most of the following cases, Mongghul is the conservative language, lacking the irregular development shared by the other languages. Thus Mongghul agrees with both Eastern Yugur and central Mongolic in those cases.

Mongghul	Mangghuer	Baoanic	CM	
<i>fod</i> < <i>*hod</i>	<i>xotu</i>	<i>*hötüg</i>	<i>?*hötü</i>	maggot
<i>nes-</i>	<i>musi-</i>	<i>*mis-</i>	<i>*nis-</i>	to fly
<i>tailə-</i>	<i>tai-</i>	<i>*tai-</i>	<i>*tail-</i>	to untie
<i>budən</i>	<i>beduŋ</i>	<i>*bedüŋ</i>	<i>*bidüün</i>	coarse
<i>ćidar</i>	<i>ćidai</i>	<i>*kitai</i>	<i>*kitad</i>	Chinese

Strictly speaking the form **kitai* in the last example is not an erratic phonetic development but a shared loanword from Turkic.

In case of **seül* ‘tail; end’, the Baoanic forms stem from an irregularly unrounded **sel*, which also seems to be the source of MgrM *śier*.⁶³

A difficult case is **yeke* ‘large’, which developed rounded vowels in the Baoanic languages, as if there was an intermediate form **hüke*, cf. BaoD *fgo* ~ *go*, BaoÑ *ǰgə*, BaoX *xgo*, Kgj *gɬ*, Dgx *fugie*. Rounding is also found in MgrM: *ǰ(u)go*, but not in MgrH: *ǰge*. However, it is unclear what triggered the rounding, and what caused the divergent modern forms.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ BaoÑ *dəmbəg* ‘id’ may be (irregularly) related. Cf. also Sanchuan (MgrM) *tomlùk* P416b ‘ancient (?grave) mound’.

⁶¹ Perhaps somehow related to **iro*, cf. the extended stem in Kalm *yorǰo.čĩ* R219b ‘soothsayer’. However, the absence of **h-* in **iro* is an argument against such a connection. The enigmatic Middle Mongol form (Ibn Muhanna) *hilyab* (P438a) ‘omen’ may represent a scribal error of the same etymon.

⁶² This may the same word as **boda* ‘large livestock’.

⁶³ However, Mangghuer forms with preserved labial element are also recorded.

⁶⁴ The presence of the initial fricatives (normally suggestive of initial **h-*) is also unexpected. It could be the result of devoicing of the first syllable by the following *-k-*. However, the Dagur cognate *xij* may support the presence of **h-*.

The unexpected strengthening of **-d-* seen in MgrM *xotu* ‘larva’ mentioned above is also present in several other words, with unsystematic parallels in the Baoanic languages. It cannot be excluded that Mongghul originally shared this phenomenon, and lost it more recently due to newly developed restrictions on the distribution of consonant strength.

Mangghuer	Mongghul	Ñantoq Baoan	CM	
<i>mutu</i>	<i>mo:də</i>	<i>mətəŋ ~ mədəŋ</i>	<i>*modun</i>	wood
<i>xotu</i>	<i>fo:də</i>	<i>hətəŋ</i>	<i>*hodun</i>	star

Strengthening of the final **-d* of verbs can also be observed.⁶⁵ This involves the metanalysis of the connective vowel *U* as a part of the stem. The many verb suffixes with strong consonants may have triggered the strengthening (**-d-* that was already intervocalic in CM seems to escape this development).

Mangghuer	Mongghul	Dahejia Baoan	CM	
<i>betu-</i>	<i>idə-/udə-</i>	<i>etə-</i>	<i>*ebed-</i>	to hurt
<i>qaputu-</i>	<i>xai:də-</i>	<i>χitə-</i>	<i>*kabid-</i>	to swell

Lexical differences between the two Monguor languages are usually not informative. Many lexemes that are found in Mangghuer but not in Mongghul can either be well-known Mongolic words such as *bečín* < **ebečín* ‘disease’, *qudaŋ* < **kotan* ‘enclosure’, *kuardi-* < **kölde-* ‘to freeze’, *nažər* < **nažir* ‘summer’, or unique words of unknown origin such as *dama* ‘face’ and *duguli* ‘demon’.

**yama* ‘thing’ has developed the meaning ‘food’ in Mangghuer, as it has in Baoanic. This is paralleled by Turkic **neme* ‘thing’ in neighbouring Salar.

A functional development shared by Mangghuer and Baoanic is the use of the collective numeral **koarla* (< **koar-ula*, replacing CM **koya-ula*) ‘the two of us/you/them’ as a new comitative and instrumental suffix,⁶⁶ generally in a simplified shape: MgrM *-gula*, *-guerlo*, BaoGm *-guala*, BaoGt *-galə*, BaoÑ *-gala*, Kgj *-gala*, Dgx *-gala*.⁶⁷

1.5.5.4. Differences within Baoanic

Each of the Baoanic languages Baoan, Kangjia and Dongxiang has its own defining innovations not found in the other two subgroup members. Dongxiang developed *ʒ* and *č* from **d* and **t* preceding certain vowels (inspired by local Chinese). Baoan has the replacement of initial high vowels (followed by **d* or **j*) by *n-*. Kangjia has the development word-final *-ɔ* (via *-ō*) from **-an* and **-en*.

⁶⁵ Also in Moghol, see 4.3.3.

⁶⁶ The old comitative/instrumental suffix *-la* < **-lUA* has not disappeared from Shirongol. In Mangghuer, Kangjia, and Dongxiang it is still attested in both functions.

⁶⁷ In some dialects a less abraded form is preserved in the numeral function, as in BaoÑ *guala*, Dgx *guala* ‘the two of us/you/them’.

BaoÑ	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
<i>te:r-</i>	<i>tør-</i>	<i>ćiauru-</i>	<i>*teberi-</i>	to embrace
<i>dulə-</i>	<i>dauli-</i>	<i>źiauli-</i>	<i>*deüli-</i>	to jump
<i>fulde-</i>	<i>hundi-</i>	<i>fəñźie-</i>	<i>*hülde-</i>	to chase
<i>ndaŋ</i>	<i>idə</i>	<i>uiźien</i>	<i>*eüden</i>	door
<i>nde-</i>	<i>ide-</i>	<i>iźie-</i>	<i>*ide-</i>	to eat
<i>nda:-</i>	<i>uda-</i>	<i>uda-</i>	<i>*uda-</i>	to be late
<i>tarəŋ</i>	<i>tarə</i>	<i>tarəŋ</i>	<i>*tarian</i>	crop
<i>telaŋ</i>	<i>čilə</i>	<i>tulien</i>	<i>*tüliden</i>	firewood
<i>altaŋ</i>	<i>antə</i>	<i>antaŋ</i>	<i>*altan</i>	gold
<i>źulaŋ</i>	<i>žilə</i>	<i>zolien</i>	<i>*jöelen</i>	soft

These typical developments only have sporadic equivalents in the related languages. For instance the Baoan ‘prenasalisation’ is found once in Kangjia in *ndasun* ~ *dasun* < **hutasun* ‘thread’. The Dongxiang type of palatalisation is also occasionally found elsewhere, e.g. BaoÑ *ćiźe-* and Kgj *ćiźe-* agree with Dgx *ćieźə-* < **teźie-* ‘to feed’. An early instance of this phenomenon (as shown by the fact that Dongxiang further developed the palatal into a retroflex) is seen in BaoD *gaźiasuŋ*, Kgj *gaźisun*, Dgx *kizəsui* < **gedesün* ‘bowels’.

In the following cases Baoan has contracted the diphthongs that were preserved by Kangjia and Dongxiang:

BaoÑ	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
<i>kitaŋ</i>	<i>kuitə</i>	<i>kuićien</i>	<i>*köiten</i>	cold
<i>itaŋ</i> (BaoD)	<i>uitə</i>	<i>uitaŋ</i>	<i>*huićan</i>	narrow
<i>çi:ćila-</i>	<i>qaićila-</i>	<i>qaićila-</i>	<i>*kaići.la-</i>	to clip

A conservative feature of Kangjia is the preservation of four rounded vowel qualities. Although several forms are diachronically surprising, the following forms illustrate some of the vowel distinctions that were lost in Baoan and Dongxiang.

BaoD	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
<i>hor</i>	<i>hər</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>*haur</i>	steam; anger
<i>hor</i>	<i>hər</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>*heür</i>	nest
<i>tosuŋ</i>	<i>tusun</i>	<i>tosuŋ</i>	<i>*tosun</i>	fat, oil
<i>bosuŋ</i>	<i>bəsun</i>	<i>bosuŋ</i>	<i>*böesün</i>	louse
<i>hosuŋ</i>	<i>həsun</i>	<i>hosuŋ</i>	<i>*höesün</i>	pus
<i>gurdun</i>	<i>gurdun</i>	<i>gudun</i>	<i>*kurdun</i>	fast
<i>nəduŋ</i>	<i>nudu</i>	<i>nuduŋ</i>	<i>*nidün</i>	eye

No classificatory information can be extracted when each language shows a different development, as in the case of word-final **-l*, where Baoan is the conservative one, and Kangjia and Dongxiang have different alterations neither of which can be derived from the other.

BaoÑ	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
<i>kəl</i>	<i>kuar ~ kər</i>	<i>koŋ</i>	<i>*köl</i>	foot
<i>χal</i>	<i>χar</i>	<i>qaŋ</i>	<i>*gal</i>	fire
<i>sel</i>	<i>cer</i>	<i>śien</i>	<i>*seül</i>	tail

Kgj *χar* < **gar* ‘hand’ and *χar* < **gal* ‘fire’, as opposed to Dgx *qa* < **gar* ‘hand’ and *qaŋ* < **gal* ‘fire’, also demonstrate that the Kangjia situation cannot have developed from Dongxiang (in which case the Kangjia forms could not be identical), nor vice versa (in which case Dongxiang would have the form *qa* for both words).

Another matter in which the three Baoanic languages show different reflexes is the treatment of the vowels *e* and *a* after *ö* or *o* in the preceding syllable. Kangjia has typically rounded the *e* and *a*, and then raised both vowels. Interestingly, Dongxiang often shows an unrounded second syllable in front-vocalic words, and Baoan in back-vocalic words. In view of other words in Dongxiang and Baoan that do feature the expected rounding, and equivalents in other languages, the unrounded forms are probably secondary developments from Proto Shirongol forms with labial harmony.⁶⁸

BaoÑ	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
<i>kugə</i>	<i>kuku</i>	<i>kugie</i>	<i>*köke</i>	blue
<i>nəχgər</i>	<i>nəχgu</i>	<i>nokie</i>	<i>*nöker</i>	friend
---	<i>sugu-</i>	<i>sugie-</i>	<i>*sögee-</i>	to scold
<i>dəgla-</i>	<i>duḡlu-</i>	<i>doḡolo-</i>	<i>*dogal-</i>	to limp
<i>şdəgə</i>	<i>duḡu</i>	<i>qudoḡo</i>	<i>*kituga</i>	knife
<i>ələŋ</i>	<i>ulu</i>	<i>oloŋ</i>	<i>*olan</i>	much
<i>χələ</i>	<i>ḡulu</i>	<i>ḡolo</i>	<i>*kola</i>	far
<i>səlḡa</i>	<i>sulḡu</i>	<i>soŋgo</i>	<i>*saulga</i>	bucket

The abovementioned features, shared by different sets of Baoanic languages, do not bring us closer to a binary division.

Moreover, a wide variety of reflexes may be observed within a single language as well, e.g. the treatment of word-final **-g* in Kangjia: elision in *ima* < **aĩmag* ‘village’, a fricative in *aləḡ* < **alag* ‘variegated’, and a plosive in *pəḷəḡ* < **burčag* ‘bean’ (cf. 4.5.5.).

Some lexemes or variants in Kangjia differ from Baoan and Dongxiang, or even from all other QG languages. Examples include Kgj *čürsun ~ čürsa* < **čölsün*

⁶⁸ Some of the words in question, including **kituga* and **saulga* listed here, do not display labial harmony in central Mongolic, as they originally did not have **o* in the first syllable.

‘gall bladder’ instead of the variant **sölsün* found in the other Shirongol languages, *gudər* < **gutul* ‘boots’ instead of the variant **gutusun* prevailing in the other QG languages, and *χana* < **kaana* ‘where’ instead of the innovative form **kala* found in Baoan and Dongxiang.⁶⁹

In view of the above I will provisionally assume that Baoan, Kangjia, and Dongxiang are three equal subdivisions of Baoanic.

⁶⁹ This form has an equivalent in Salar *ġala* ‘where’; the structure of the forms with *-l-* is unclear in all languages involved.

2. COMMON MONGOLIC PHONOLOGY

2.1. Common Mongolic and Proto Mongolic

Only two named stages of reconstructed Mongolic are distinguished here: Common Mongolic and Proto Mongolic. I am aware of the fact that these terms have been used differently elsewhere, but they seemed preferable to any newly coined terms. Here each of the two stages is based on its own set of clearly defined materials.

Common Mongolic (CM) is the reconstructed language from which all known medieval and modern Mongolic languages are supposed to have developed. It is obtained by comparing the modern languages and the Middle Mongol sources in various scripts, with the emphasis on the modern QG languages.

Proto Mongolic (PM), situated in an earlier but undefined period, relies on the comparison of internal Mongolic evidence (including features of Written Mongol that are not confirmed by the spoken languages) and related forms in non-Mongolic languages. More speculative reconstructions, generally involving developments that must have taken place in the prehistoric period, are labeled Proto Mongolic. However, it should be noted that for numerous words the Proto Mongolic and Common Mongolic forms are identical.

In some phonological matters it is impossible to bring all available evidence under the same umbrella. The most salient problems will be discussed below, including the intervocalic *-h-* of Middle Mongol, postconsonantal *-p-* of Dagur, and retention of *s-* preceding **i/*i* in Moghol. These are incidental deviations from the majority that can be seen as locally preserved PM relics into the CM period. Such features are generally not reflected in the CM reconstructions.

It remains to be decided whether Dagur should be seen as a descendant of CM, or of a sister language that branched off before the CM period. In order to arrive at such a decision, it would first be necessary to systematically disentangle the ‘real’ Dagur vocabulary from the numerous Mongolic elements adopted from central Mongolic and from various Tungusic languages.⁷⁰

The reconstructed forms used here are generally those of CM. The comparative supplement is based on these reconstructions. Intermediate phases may be given in the discussion of individual etymologies, to elucidate their phonetic development. Such intermediate stages will generally remain unnamed. The Proto Shirongol occasionally referred to is a shorthand label for (mostly irregular) developments shared by both Shirongol branches. The only sound law distinguishing Proto Shirongol is the contraction of the CM vowel sequences.

Due to its limited time depth of perhaps a thousand years, Common Mongolic tends to be fairly close to the modern Mongolic languages. Yet even the reconstruction of CM is not without ambiguities. Although the modern languages agree on many phonological issues and on most individual reconstruction forms, they contradict each other in others. In addition, in some points, the Middle Mongol

⁷⁰ Obviously such a decision would also have to be based on morphological and syntactical features not considered here.

and Written Mongol data conflict with the phonology reconstructed on the basis of the modern languages.

Here a notation will be used that can accommodate most contradictory data in a transparent and predictable manner, without creating more reconstructed language stages. Some ‘concessions’ were made to Middle Mongol and Written Mongol, in order to facilitate their comparison to the reconstruction forms. The concessions mostly concern the notation of the long vowels as **aa*, etc. rather than **ā*, etc. Where Written Mongol notations contradict the reconstruction based on the modern languages, the latter is given preference. Not all instances where Written Mongol spelling is in conflict with the CM reconstruction as based on the modern languages, are regarded here as representing an older language stage. As in most long-lived literary languages, not everything that appears archaic in Written Mongol is necessarily of great antiquity. Arguments and choices behind the reconstruction of this set of phonemes will be discussed in the following pages.

2.2. Overview of Common Mongolic phonemes

In the Common Mongolic forms used in this book the following phonemes will be discerned:

Eight simple vowels	<i>*a, *e, *i, *i, *o, *ö, *u, *ü</i>
Six double vowels	<i>*aa, *ee, *ii, *ii, *uu, *üü</i>
Fourteen complex vowels	<i>*ai, *ei, *oi, *öi, *ui, *üi;</i> <i>*au, *eü;</i> <i>*ia, *ie, *iu, *iü;</i> <i>*oa (*ua), *öe (*üe)</i>
Sixteen consonants	<i>*b, *d, *t, *ʃ, *č, *g, *k</i> <i>*m, *n, *ŋ, *s, *š, *l, *r, *y, *h</i>

The double vowels and complex vowels listed here were not originally phonemes, as they were not indivisible, but they are nevertheless listed here as ‘phonological units’. In all modern languages, they have become long vowels and diphthongs. The CM complex vowels were not simply sequences of independent vowels, as shown by the fact that not all conceivable sequences are in fact allowed, e.g. there are no complex vowels **io* and **iö*, although the sequences **iCo* and **iCö* do exist.

Originally most of these vowel sequences must have been disyllabic, as is not only suggested by Written Mongol spellings and Middle Mongol notations, but confirmed by cognates in Turkic and Tungusic where these exist. Usually a consonant may have existed between the two elements of double vowels, but again we mostly depend on non-Mongolic evidence to establish which consonant it was. The same applies to the complex vowels. However, the complex vowels in a few words clearly do not go back to VCV sequences. This includes words where foreign *v/w* or *y* was reinterpreted as a diphthong element, e.g. CM **keüreg* ‘brittle’ (Turkic **kevrek*), **taulaï* ‘hare’ (Turkic **taviš.gan*) **dalaï* ‘sea’ (Turkic **taloy* ← Ch), and Mongolic roots in which **u/ü* alternates with **b*, e.g. **taulan* ‘five-year-old animal’ as opposed to **tabun* ‘five’, **jaura* ‘middle’ and **jauči* ‘mediator’ if related to **jab* ‘interval’. The notation used here is intended to leave all etymological options open.

The modern Mongolic languages, including the QG languages, contribute little to the history of these sequences. Before CM disintegrated into the modern groups, the monophthongisation of the double vowels and **oa/*öe* had already taken place.

The correlation between the CM vowel reconstructions used here (meant to accommodate Middle Mongol and Moghol data) and the actual stage the QG developments derive from can be schematised as follows:

CM	Reconstruction based on QG languages

contraction:

<i>*hulaan</i>	<i>*hula:n</i>	red
<i>*čürag</i>	<i>*či:rag</i>	tight
<i>*uu-</i>	<i>*u:-</i>	to drink

contraction and monophthongisation:

<i>*toari-</i>	<i>*to:rī-</i>	to circle
<i>*böesün</i>	<i>*bö:sün</i>	louse
<i>*jīlua > *jīloa</i>	<i>*jīlo:</i>	reins
<i>*čilüe > *čilöe</i>	<i>*čilö:</i>	spare time
<i>*hutu.a-</i>	<i>*huta:-</i>	to fumigate
<i>*bürkü.e-</i>	<i>*bürke:-</i>	to cover

rounding harmony:

<i>*oran</i>	<i>*oron</i>	place
<i>*öre</i>	<i>*örö</i>	stomach

Three-vowel sequences as seen in Middle Mongol *maui* ‘bad’, *širuai* ‘earth’ will not be discussed, as they were lost in the QG languages (see **mau* and **široi* in the supplement).

2.3. Word structure

Monosyllabic stems are relatively rare, apart from pronouns and particles. Many Common Mongolic stems that are disyllabic or longer cannot be reduced to monosyllabic roots.

The number of syllable structures originally allowed by Mongolic was quite limited. The minimal structure is V, the maximal structure CVVC. In longer stems vowels and consonants tend to alternate (VC, CV, etc). Sequences of two vowels are quite common. Such sequences can be viewed as phonological units that take up a single vowel slot. How many syllables these vowel sequences originally constituted is in many instances unknown.

Consonant clusters do not occur within a syllable, apart from a number of foreign words, notably from Turkic and Iranian, such as **bars* ‘tiger’ and **ters* ‘reverse’. Consonant sequences are allowed in medial position, i.e. when the constituents can be attributed to different syllables.

V	<i>*a-</i>	to be	VV	<i>*au</i>	wide
CV	<i>*ba</i>	we (excl.)	CVV	<i>*bau-</i>	to descend
VC	<i>*ab-</i>	to take	VVC	<i>*eüs-</i>	to arise
CVC	<i>*ken</i>	who	CVVC	<i>*tail-</i>	to undo

The abovementioned syllable types can be combined into numerous sequences. Not all extant sequences will be shown here. Word stems may be quite long, e.g. **temeeljigene* ‘dragonfly’.⁷¹

V-CV	<i>*ere</i>	man	VV-CV	<i>*aula</i>	mountain
VC-CV	<i>*alda-</i>	to lose	VVC-CV	<i>*auški</i>	lungs
V-CVC	<i>*alag</i>	variegated	VV-CVC	<i>*eülen</i>	cloud
CV-CV	<i>*bugu</i>	deer	CVV-CV	<i>*huuta</i>	bag
CVC-CV	<i>*nilka</i>	delicate	CVVC-CV	<i>*noïrsa-</i>	to sleep
CV-CVC	<i>*manan</i>	fog	CVV-CVC	<i>*baasun</i>	poo
CVC-CVC	<i>*sölsün</i>	bile	CVVC-CVC	<i>*čaalsun</i>	paper

The syllable-final consonant clusters found in central Mongolic and Dagur are due to the loss of unaccented vowels, as the accent lies on the first syllable. Likewise, the initial clusters of the QG languages are due to the accented final syllable, although Tibetan loanwords may have contributed to a new tolerance for such clusters.

2.4. Undecided matters in Common Mongolic

The notations of the Common Mongolic forms are naturally an abstraction. Not all aspects of the notation used here are based on detailed knowledge. In three matters specifically the QG languages provide us with additional information, without leading to a definitive solution: the nature of Common Mongolic vowel harmony, the nature of the opposition between weak and strong consonants, and placement of the accent (which was probably non-distinctive).

2.4.1. Nature of Mongolic vowel harmony

The term ‘vowel harmony’ in Mongolic covers two phenomena, which are conventionally labeled ‘palatal harmony’ and ‘labial harmony’.

Palatal harmony entails that there are two groups of vowels whose members cannot be combined in word stems; suffixes containing a vowel need to have at least

⁷¹ Superficially based on **temeen* ‘camel’, but possibly rather connected to **tebene* ‘pack needle’. The suffixes are formantia with unknown function.

two shapes to serve stems of each vowel class. This must be assumed to be an original feature of Mongolic phonology.

Here it will be assumed that CM had eight vowel qualities, divided into two vowel classes, the first containing **a*, **i*, **o*, **u*, and the second **e*, **i*, **ö*, **ü*. These classes will be given the traditional labels ‘back’ and ‘front’, respectively. Alternative analyses distinguish seven vowels, consisting of two vowel classes (back) **a*, **o*, **u* and (front) **e*, **ö*, **ü*, and a neutral vowel **i* (without counterpart **i*) that can combine with both vowel classes. See below for the evidence for **i*.

As the pronunciation of the CM vowels can only be approximated, the original relevant distinction between the two vowel classes is also unknown. The modern Mongolic languages that retain vowel harmony have different systems. Kalmuck really has a Turkic-like opposition between front and back vowels, whereas in Khalkha the opposition is based on tongue root position, whereby the pharyngeal vowel class corresponds to the traditional back vowels, and the non-pharyngeal vowels to the traditional front vowels (see Svantesson et al. 2005:7-9).

If palatality was irrelevant, the vowel represented here as **i* may have been a front vowel, while our **e*, **ö*, **ü* may have been central vowels **ə*, **o*, **u*.

The QG languages do not bring this matter closer to a solution. The fact that Eastern Yugur, like Kalmuck, features a palatal-type vowel harmony may be due to the fact that they are the most Turkicised Mongolic languages. Within Shirongol, Kangjia has preserved four rounded vowels in existing stems. That CM **ö* and **ü* are represented by *o*, *u* in Kangjia, does not necessarily favour a tongue root position system over a palatal one, as the defronting may be secondary. The remaining Shirongol languages have lost productive vowel harmony, and thus have little to contribute to our knowledge of CM vowel harmony. CM **i*, **ö*, and **ü* merged with their back counterparts in existing stems. However, the fact that **e* (the harmonic counterpart of **a*) is represented by the front vowel [e] in Shirongol suggests that at least in the stage preceding its abolition, vowel harmony was based on the front-back opposition.

The variety of extant systems does confirm that it is possible for vowel harmony to change the relevant oppositions without disappearing altogether, helped by the fact that the opposing vowel sets can largely remain intact, whether vowel harmony is based on palatal harmony, tongue root position, or even an opposition between open and closed vowels.

Labial or rounding harmony involves the rounding of non-first syllables after a rounded non-high vowel of the first syllable (in Mongolic labial harmony is restricted to the non-high vowels). This type of harmony is also documented from Middle Mongol onwards, but was not systematically applied, and must be considered a secondary development. It was present in the ancestor of the central languages, but Oirat-Kalmuck abandoned it again in the long vowels. Dagur did not apply it to the short vowels, e.g. *walən* (rather than **ɔlun*) < **olan* ‘many’. Labial harmony in Eastern Yugur resembles that of central Mongolic. Rounding was also applied in Proto Shirongol; exceptions seem to be due to secondary unrounding (see 1.5.5.4.)

2.4.2. Nature of the consonant strength opposition

The Common Mongolic consonant strength opposition is generally assumed to be based on aspiration rather than voice. This is the case in Khalkha and Buriat, which are not likely to have adopted such features from Chinese. The fact that the QG languages have an opposition based on aspiration does not carry the same weight, as the phonology of most Shingol languages is known to be strongly influenced by that of Chinese. Aspiration as the distinctive feature may also be considered an areal feature. Moghol and Kalmuck, two other languages outside of the Chinese sphere of influence, have an opposition based on voice (which could of course be attributed to Persian and Turkic in the case of Moghol, and to Turkic, and perhaps Russian, in the case of Kalmuck. At any rate, the fact that both the voice and the aspiration opposition are documented demonstrates that the relevant distinctive feature can be changed without upsetting the system as such. The reconstructions here use the traditional notation **d* versus **t*, etc. (rather than **t* versus **t^h*, etc.) for pragmatic reasons.

The examples below indicate that the consonant strength opposition in CM does not follow from the phonetic environment:

<i>*taa-</i>	to guess	<i>*daa-</i>	to be able to carry
<i>*taari-</i>	to cut	<i>*daari</i>	saddle gall
<i>*tala</i>	plain	<i>*dalu</i>	shoulder
<i>*tari-</i>	to cultivate	<i>*daru-</i>	to press
<i>*tau-</i>	to drive cattle	<i>*daun</i>	sound, voice
<i>*tere</i>	that	<i>*dere</i>	pillow
<i>*toli</i>	mirror	<i>*dolia-</i>	to lick
<i>*töre-</i>	to be born	<i>*döre</i>	nose ring
<i>*türei</i>	bootleg	<i>*düre-</i>	to sell
<i>*kötöl-</i>	to lead along	<i>*ködel-</i>	to move
<i>*kauli</i>	law	<i>*gauli</i>	brass
<i>*kalaun</i>	hot	<i>*galaun</i>	goose
<i>*kara</i>	black	<i>*gar</i>	hand
<i>*kari-</i>	to come back	<i>*gar-</i>	to come out
<i>*kasia</i>	enclosure	<i>*gasüun</i>	bitter
<i>*kada</i>	rock	<i>*gada-</i>	outside
<i>*kačar</i>	cheek	<i>*gačar</i>	land
<i>*kem</i>	measure	<i>*gem</i>	defect
<i>*kola</i>	far	<i>*gol</i>	river
<i>*kudal</i>	lie	<i>*gudul</i>	boot
<i>*kura</i>	rain	<i>*gura</i>	roe deer
<i>*kuri-</i>	to gather	<i>*guril</i>	flour
<i>*kür-</i>	to reach	<i>*gürü</i>	stone
<i>*kürien</i>	enclosure	<i>*güreen</i>	jugular vein
<i>*küün</i>	person	<i>*gün</i>	deep

<i>*čida-</i>	to be able	<i>*jida</i>	spear
<i>*čoki-</i>	to peck	<i>*joki-</i>	to suit
<i>*čöen</i>	few	<i>*jöen</i>	cold

2.4.3. Accent placement

In the Shirongol languages the accent normally falls on the last syllable. This also applies to Eastern Yugur, although predictable deviations occur under some phonetic circumstances (see 3.14.5.). Moghol has final accent as well. The QG languages show vowel reductions in unaccented syllables, and the complete loss of such syllables. This is seen least often in Dongxiang.⁷²

Given that Dagur and central Mongolic normally place the accent on the first syllable, one may conjecture that this represents the original situation, and that the QG languages and Moghol shifted the accent under Turkic and Iranian influence. However, the Middle Mongol sources do not provide support for such an assumption. Notably the reduction of unaccented syllables is not in evidence. Vowel assimilations had already started by the Middle Mongol period, but they may be rightward (labial harmony) or leftward (palatal breaking).

2.5. Issues related to the reconstruction of the vowels

2.5.1. Vowel Types

As seen above, three types of vowel can be discerned in the modern Mongolic languages. The terms simple, double, and complex vowels are used here to denote the forerunners of modern short vowels, long vowels, and diphthongs.

Double vowels and complex vowels are combinations of vowels from the set of simple vowels. The terms double and complex are used here (instead of the straight-forward terms ‘long vowels’ and ‘diphthongs’), because it cannot be determined on the basis of Mongolic data whether the double and complex vowels originally constituted one or two syllables. Written Mongol orthography and the spelling of words in Sino-Mongolian suggest the disyllabic nature of these vowel sequences. Non-Mongolic cognates confirm that at least in a number of words these vowel sequences result from the elision of the consonant from a VCV sequence. For instance CM **jee* ‘nephew’ could be reconstructed **je*: on the basis of the modern Mongolic languages, but the Sino-Mongolian notation *je’e* and the Written Mongol spelling *jige* indicate a disyllabic form.⁷³

In many cases double vowels not only span two syllables but also two morphemes, e.g. **bagtaa-* ‘cause to sink’ is **bagta-* + causative *-A*.

A similar situation holds for the complex vowels. Most of these result in diphthongs in modern languages, some are contracted into long vowels. Like the double vowels, they may go back to VCV sequences as can be seen from non-Mongolic cognates, cf. CM **dain* ‘war’ as opposed to CT **yagi* ‘id’.

⁷² Moghol tends to preserve the vowels of all original syllables, albeit with a reduced number of vowel qualities.

⁷³ Cf. also the Turkic cognate **yegen*.

Complex vowels can also be bimorphemic, as in **kala-un* ‘hot’, **tari-an* ‘crop’, from the verbs **kala-* ‘to be hot’ and **tari-* ‘to cultivate’.

The notations used here, **aa*, etc, correspond to Poppe’s *a’a*, Janhunen’s *axa* and Svantesson’s *aha*.

Oppositions single vowel - double vowel include the following:

<i>*ba</i>	we	<i>*baa-</i>	to defecate
<i>*kari-</i>	to return	<i>*kaari-</i>	to singe
<i>*ta</i>	you (plural)	<i>*taa-</i>	to guess
<i>*tala-</i>	to loot	<i>*taala-</i>	to love
<i>*tari-</i>	to plant, sow	<i>*taari-</i>	to slice
<i>*del</i>	mane	<i>*deel</i>	garment
<i>*dere</i>	pillow	<i>*deere</i>	upper side
<i>*döre</i>	nose ring	<i>*döree</i>	stirrup
<i>*sübe</i>	eye of a needle	<i>*sübee</i>	flank
<i>*sira</i>	yellow	<i>*siira</i>	shin, leg
<i>*sira-</i>	to roast		
<i>*ula</i>	sole	<i>*ulaa</i>	relay horse
<i>*düre-</i>	to sell	<i>*düüre-</i>	to fill

Although uncontracted sequences **oa* and **öe* occur (unsystematically) in Sino-Mongolian, their contraction had completed before the QG languages branched off. The results of the contractions can be considered the long counterparts of simple **o* and **ö*. Examples:

<i>*tosun</i>	fat	<i>*toosun</i>	dust (<i>*toasun</i>)
<i>*öre</i>	stomach	<i>*ööre</i>	other (<i>*öere</i>)

2.5.2. The harmonic counterpart of CM **i*

Here, an unrounded high vowel is attributed to each vowel class, sc. **i* and **i̥*, although these two are written identically in the historical sources and have merged in most modern languages. There are several arguments in favour of the existence of a back-vocalic counterpart for **i*.

In the first place, there is the argument of a symmetrical system. A neutral vowel **i* in the first syllable which can be followed by either **a* or **e*, would be in conflict with the principle that the vowel class of a word is determined by its first vowel. If a separate vowel **i̥* is not distinguished, one is obliged to distinguish consonant phonemes **q* and **ḡ* in addition to **k* and **g*, which is otherwise unnecessary. One would have to reconstruct the sequences **qa*, **ke*, **qi*, **ki*, **qo*, **kō*, **qu*, **kü* instead of simply **ka*, **ke*, **ki̥*, **ki*, **ko*, **kō*, **ku*, **kü*.

The existence of **i̥* independent from **i* is not merely assumed to satisfy the desire for a symmetrical system, but is in fact supported by direct or circum-

stantial evidence from the spoken languages. In individual words these two vowels can often be distinguished by means of the following arguments.

1) Other vowels of the stem. In words of two or more syllables in which the other vowels are back vowels, the high unrounded vowel in the first syllable goes will be assumed to be **i* rather than **i*. This follows from the assumptions that all vowels in a Common Mongolic word belong to the same vowel class, and that the first vowel of the stem determines the vowel class of all following vowels of stem and suffixes. Examples include **imaan* ‘goat’, **kilgasun* ‘coarse hair’, **kirga-* ‘to shear’, **sira* ‘yellow’, **jida* ‘spear’, **ilga-* ‘to choose’ (as opposed to front-vocalic **ide-* ‘to eat’, **ire-* ‘to come’, **itege-* ‘to believe’, **siree* ‘table’). Likewise I will assume that any high unrounded vowel following an **a*, **o*, or **u* of an earlier syllable is **i* rather than **i*, e.g. **amin* ‘life’, **korin* ‘twenty’, **uri-* ‘to call’.

2) The vowels in suffixes. In the case of **bi* (Written Mongol *bi*) ‘I’ we may assume that the original form was **bi* because of the oblique stem **nima-*, as well as the plural equivalents **bi-da* ‘we (inclusive)’ and **ba* ‘we (exclusive)’. Similarly, **či* (Written Mongol *či*) ‘you (sg)’, stems from **či* because of the oblique stem **čima-*, as well as the plural equivalent **ta* ‘you (pl)’. The other cases of the paradigms then can also be assumed to be back-vocalic originally, including the genitives **minu*/**mini* ‘my’ and **činu*/**čini* ‘your’.

3) Retention of uvular consonants in Middle Mongol, preclassical Written Mongol spellings, Moghol, Eastern Yugur and Baoanic, as in the case of Written Mongol *čiki-* ‘to stuff’ < **čiki-*, Written Mongol *čikin* ‘ear’ < **čikin*, which words feature *-q-* in the abovementioned sources and languages. Velar pronunciations in these languages are usually an indication for original **i* as in Written Mongol *ki-* ‘to do’ < **ki-*, *bičig* ‘writing’ < **bičig*.⁷⁴ In other cases the uvular consonant in a suffixed form reveals the **i*. CM **nis-* ‘to fly’ can be reconstructed with **i* because of the Middle Mongol causative derivation *nis-qa-* in the Muqaddimat al-Adab.⁷⁵ CM **is-* ‘to ferment’ was front-vocalic in view of its Eastern Yugur derivate *səkamel* ‘sour’ (**is-ke-mel*). The reconstruction of the verb **jili-* ‘to go away’ is supported by the EYu causative *jili:lga-*; **nii-* ‘to blow the nose’ may be reconstructed **nii-* if we assume it is related to **nisun* ‘snot’.

4) Non-Mongolic evidence. Mongolic words that have Turkic cognates containing the back vowel **i* can be assumed to have been back-vocalic, e.g. **jil* < **jil* ‘year’ because of CT **yil* ‘id’, **isu* ‘soot’ because of CT **i:s*, **siri-* ‘to stitch’ because of CT **siri-*.

In some cases an **i* is supported by several of the abovementioned arguments. In the case of **čüirag* ‘strong’ (which has become front-vocalic *čiyreg* in Khalkha) the *-a-*, and the uvular final consonant caused by it are preserved in Eastern Yugur and Mongghul. Cf. also **nilka* ‘tender’.

There are also words which do not contain any indication for the original vowel class, e.g. **ibil-* ‘to give milk’, **ilbi-* ‘to rub’, **silbi* ‘shin’, **sili* ‘nape’, **simi-* ‘to suck’, **jii-* ‘to extend’ only contain high unrounded vowels. They have

⁷⁴ Languages may disagree, e.g. **ki-* ‘to do’ has an early spelling with <*q*>, but all modern languages that could have preserved uvular *q-* in this word, in fact have a velar initial.

⁷⁵ Poppe nevertheless reads *nis-be* ‘flew’ as front-vocalic, although the Arabic allows for a reading *nisba*.

been provisionally reconstructed with **i*, but some of them may have contained back **i* originally.

2.5.3. CM **o* and **ö* in non-first syllables

The evidence for the independent occurrence of the vowels **o* and **ö* in non-first syllables is limited. From the Middle Mongol documents onward there are numerous occurrences of labialisation of **a* and **e* in non-first syllables after **o* and **ö* of the first syllable (rounding harmony). In most modern languages this labialisation has taken place throughout the vocabulary, and the sequences *o-a* and *ö-e* have now become inadmissible in these languages. In spite of the fact that the sequences **oCo* and **öCö* are attested as early as Middle Mongol, they cannot be distinguished etymologically from **oCa* and **öCe* respectively.

There is no internal Mongolic evidence for the existence of CM sequences **aCo*, **eCö*, **uCo*, **üCö*. The rare foreign evidence for such sequences, such as Turkic **altun* < **alton* ‘gold’, **taluy* < **taloy* ‘sea’ is only indirectly supported by Mongolic **altan* and **dalaï* (with *a* rather than *o* or *u*).

A small number of words with non-first syllable **o* and **ö* cannot be explained as secondary developments. In these words the vowel of the first syllable is **i* or **i* depending on the vowel class. Only following **i*/**i* can the difference between **ö* and **ü* and between **o* and **u* be determined in the central languages. This is because of the so-called palatal breaking, involving the assimilation of the **i* or **i* of the first syllable by the vowel of the second syllable, e.g. Kh *nüd(en)* from (**nüdün* <) **nidün* ‘eye’, but Kh *čötgör* from **čidkör* ‘demon’.

The modern forms of the following disyllabic and trisyllabic words suggest the presence of **o* or **ö* in the second syllable:

<i>*čino</i>	wolf
<i>*iro</i>	omen
<i>*nïdonï</i>	last year
<i>*sïro</i>	spit
<i>*sïnkör</i>	falcon
<i>*čidkör</i>	demon
<i>*čidör</i>	hobble
<i>*silön</i>	soup
<i>*čimögen</i>	marrow
<i>*siböge</i>	awl
<i>*sirböšün</i>	tendon

The reconstructions **čino* ‘wolf’ and **iro* ‘omen’ are based on the modern and Middle Mongol forms, but are hard to reconcile with the Written Mongol spellings *činu-a* (to be read *čino*a or *činwa*?) and *iru-a* (*?iro*a, *?irwa*). Poppe interprets these spellings in *-ua* as a sequence *-βa*, but this solution introduces sequences *-nw-* and *-rw-* which are otherwise unknown. The **o* cannot be a development of the complex vowel **ua*, since this would have resulted in a long vowel in several modern

languages. Perhaps these spellings are merely graphic devices to indicate that the vowel grapheme should be read *o* rather than *u*.

There is no single explanation for the few trisyllables with **iCö*. Unlike in the disyllabic stems, it is conceivable that **ö* is a secondary development in **čimögen*, **siböge* and **sərbösün*. Poppe (1955:44) did not consider **čimögen* ‘marrow’ and **siböge* ‘awl’ as problematic cases. These are seen as parallel developments of words like **čilöe* (> **čilö:*) ‘free time’ and **kiröe* (> **kirö:*) ‘saw’ which have probably ultimately developed from **čilüe* and **kirüe*. That is, the original **ü* sound was lowered under the influence of the following **e*. Alternatively **ö* has developed from earlier **e*, that is, **čimögen* ‘marrow’ and **siböge* ‘awl’ developed from earlier **čimegen* and **sibege* due to the labial consonant. The unrounded form **čimegen* is reflected by Middle Mongol (Muqaddimat) *čimegen*, and a variant **čemegen* seems to survive in Buriat *semgen*. The ‘labialisation’ explanation would also apply to CM **sərbösün* ‘tendon’ (where the third syllable vowel is not **e*) which may have developed from **sirbesün*.

Trisyllabic stems with **o* after **i* are rare. In some cases **o* may actually be long **o:* which has developed from an earlier complex **ua*. CM **sirgoljin* ‘ant’ from which Kalm *šoryljin* derives, appears to be shortened from (**sirgo:ljin* <) **sirgualjin*. The long *o:* is reflected by Khalkha, Buriat, and Eastern Yugur. Cf. **siroi* < CM **siruai* ‘earth’. CM **nidoni* ‘last year’ also has a long vowel, at least in Dagur and Mongghul, which suggests that it may have developed from an earlier **niduani*.⁷⁶ A word in which *o:* certainly developed from an original complex vowel **ua* is Ordos *ilo:* ‘fly’ from **hilua*; Dag *xila:*, as well as the forms in the three central standard languages developed from an assimilated form **hila* < **hilua*. This is how the sequence **ua* develops when the vowel of the preceding syllable is **a* or **u*.⁷⁷ Likewise the sequence **üe* in front words is assimilated to **ee* after a first syllable with **e* or **ü*.

In ‘Proto Shirongol’ **kitoga* < **kituga* ‘knife’ the **o* is the result of lowering of **u* due to the following **a*.

2.5.4. Vowel distribution

The positions where vowels are admitted are mainly determined by restrictions on syllable structure (see 2.3.). Which vowels are admitted in these positions is restricted by vowel harmony in that all vowels within one word have to belong to the same vowel class.

The back vowels **a*, **i*, **u*, and the front vowels **e*, **i*, and **ü* can occur in first and non-first syllables. As seen above, the vowels **o* and **ö* were largely restricted to the first syllable. The smaller subsystem of non-first syllables may be an indication for initial accent, at least in the period when this distribution of the vowels was established.

⁷⁶ If this is correct, this word can hardly be a compound containing **hon* ‘year’.

⁷⁷ With the exception of Khamnigan, where **ua* has resulted in *o:*.

Examples for admissible CM vowel sequences:

<i>*aCa</i>	<i>*aman</i>	mouth
<i>*aCī</i>	<i>*amīn</i>	life
<i>*aCu</i>	<i>*amu</i>	rice
<i>*eCe</i>	<i>*ere</i>	man
<i>*eCī</i>	<i>*erī-</i>	to look for
<i>*eCū</i>	<i>*ebūdūg</i>	knee
<i>*īCa</i>	<i>*īlga-</i>	to choose
<i>*īCī</i>	<i>*čīkī-</i>	to stuff into
<i>*īCo</i>	<i>*sīro</i>	spit (see discussion next paragraph)
<i>*īCu</i>	<i>*nīsūn</i>	snot
<i>*iCe</i>	<i>*ire-</i>	to come
<i>*iCī</i>	<i>*ilbi-</i>	to rub
<i>*iCō</i>	<i>*čīdkör</i>	demon (see discussion next paragraph)
<i>*iCū</i>	<i>*nidūn</i>	eye
<i>*oCa</i>	<i>*ora-</i>	to enter
<i>*oCī</i>	<i>*morīn</i>	horse
<i>*oCu</i>	<i>*modūn</i>	wood
<i>*ōCe</i>	<i>*ōre</i>	pit of the stomach
<i>*ōCī</i>	<i>*ōrī</i>	debt
<i>*ōCū</i>	<i>*sōlsūn</i>	gall bladder
<i>*uCa</i>	<i>*uda-</i>	to be late
<i>*uCī</i>	<i>*urī-</i>	to call
<i>*uCu</i>	<i>*urus-</i>	to flow
<i>*üCe</i>	<i>*büse</i>	belt
<i>*üCī</i>	<i>*büri</i>	every
<i>*üCū</i>	<i>*ülū</i>	not

There is no evidence for the existence of sequences **aCo*, **eCō*, **uCo*, and **üCō*.⁷⁸ The sequences **oCo* and **ōCō* probably only occur as secondary developments of **oCa* and **ōCe* due to vowel harmony.

Longer words follow the same rules. Since there are suffixes with **a/*e*, **i/*ī*, and **u/*ū* which can be attached to disyllabic stems it is quite easy to obtain trisyllables. Many of the following examples are not monomorphemic. Apart from **o/*ō* beyond the first syllable, most of the sequences for which no example is given can occur in derived or inflected forms.

⁷⁸ Middle Mongol (HY) **edōe* ‘now’ involves the complex vowel **ōe*.

<i>a-a-a</i>	<i>*asara-</i> ‘raise’, <i>*halagan</i> ‘palm of the hand’
<i>a-a-i</i>	<i>*adali</i> ‘same’, <i>*kaltari-</i> ‘slip’
<i>a-a-u</i>	<i>*gadasun</i> ‘peg’, <i>*nagaču</i> ‘uncle’
<i>a-i-a</i>	<i>*ajirga</i> ‘stallion’, <i>*haniska</i> ‘eyelid’
<i>a-i-u</i>	<i>*kabusun</i> ‘rib’, <i>*kalisun</i> ‘thin skin’
<i>a-u-a</i>	<i>*haluka</i> ‘mallet’, <i>*kalbuga</i> ‘spoon’
<i>a-u-u</i>	<i>*amusun</i> ‘porridge’
<i>e-e-e</i>	<i>*setere-</i> ‘break’, <i>*tebene</i> ‘large needle’
<i>e-e-i</i>	<i>*egeči</i> ‘sister’, <i>*teberi-</i> ‘embrace’
<i>e-e-ü</i>	<i>*esergü</i> ‘opposite’, <i>*gedesün</i> ‘entrails’
<i>e-i-e</i>	<i>*berigen</i> ‘sister-in-law’, <i>*ečiğe</i> ‘father’
<i>e-i-ü</i>	<i>*belbisün</i> ‘widow’, <i>*debiskü</i> ‘mattress’
<i>e-ü-e</i>	<i>*emüne</i> ‘front’, <i>*erüke</i> ‘skylight’
<i>e-ü-ü</i>	<i>*ebüdüg</i> ‘knee’, <i>*emüdün</i> ‘trousers’
<i>i-a-a</i>	<i>*sinaga</i> ‘scoop’
<i>i-a-i</i>	<i>*siraljin</i> ‘wormwood’
<i>i-a-u</i>	<i>*jigasun</i> ‘fish’, <i>*kilgasun</i> ‘coarse hair’
<i>i-o-i</i>	<i>*nıdonı</i> (?) ‘last year’
<i>i-u-a</i>	<i>*kituga</i> (~ <i>*kitugai</i>) ‘knife’, <i>*nıdurga</i> ‘fist’
<i>i-u-u</i>	<i>*nıgursun</i> ‘spinal marrow’, <i>*nılbusun</i> ‘tears’
<i>i-e-e</i>	<i>*simtere-</i> ‘melt’
<i>i-e-i</i>	<i>*siberi</i> ‘foot sweat’
<i>i-i-e</i>	<i>*bisire-</i> ‘believe’
<i>i-ö-e</i>	<i>*çimögen</i> (?) ‘marrow’, <i>*siböge</i> (?) ‘awl’
<i>i-ü-e</i>	<i>*sidüley</i> ‘two-year-old (sheep)’
<i>i-ü-ü</i>	<i>*niçügün</i> ‘naked’, <i>*silüsün</i> ‘saliva’
<i>o-a-a</i>	<i>*dotana</i> ‘inside’, <i>*oŋgača</i> ‘trough’
<i>o-a-i</i>	<i>*boganı</i> ‘low’
<i>o-a-u</i>	<i>*olasun</i> ‘hemp’
<i>o-i-u</i>	<i>*sormısun</i> or <i>*sormusun</i> ‘eyelash’
<i>ö-e-e</i>	<i>*bödene</i> ‘quail’, <i>*öygere-</i> ‘to pass by’
<i>ö-e-i</i>	<i>*dörbeljin</i> ‘squarish’, <i>*höykeri-</i> ‘to roll’
<i>ö-e-ü</i>	<i>*kölesün</i> ‘sweat’
<i>ö-i-e</i>	<i>*köñjile</i> ‘blanket’
<i>ö-i-ü</i>	<i>*körisün</i> ‘crust’
<i>ö-ü-e</i>	<i>*öcügedür</i> ‘yesterday’
<i>u-a-a</i>	<i>*huraka</i> ‘lasso’, <i>*ukana</i> (~ <i>*ukuna</i>) ‘billy-goat’
<i>u-a-i</i>	<i>*gurbaljin</i> ‘triangular’
<i>u-a-u</i>	<i>*hutasun</i> ‘thread’, <i>*kudaldu-</i> ‘to trade’
<i>u-i-a</i>	<i>*kubıra-</i> ‘to change’, <i>*kuriğan</i> (~ <i>*kuragan</i>) ‘lamb’
<i>u-i-u</i>	<i>*urıdu</i> ‘before’

<i>u-u-a</i>	<i>*kugura-</i> ‘to break’, <i>*sundula-</i> ‘to ride with passenger’
<i>u-u-i</i>	<i>*čuburi-</i> ‘to leak’
<i>u-u-u</i>	<i>*gudusun</i> ‘boots’, <i>*kulusun</i> ‘reed’
<i>ü-e-e</i>	<i>*hünegen</i> ‘fox’, <i>*jürecken</i> ‘heart’
<i>ü-e-i</i>	<i>*hümeri-</i> ‘to contract’, <i>*üdesi</i> ‘evening’
<i>ü-e-ü</i>	<i>*hünesün</i> ‘ashes’, <i>*sünesün</i> ‘soul’
<i>ü-i-e</i>	<i>*üliger</i> ‘tale’
<i>ü-ü-i</i>	<i>*büdüri-</i> ‘to stumble’
<i>ü-ü-ü</i>	<i>*ünügün</i> ‘kid goat’, <i>*hütügün</i> ‘vulva’

The complex vowels can occur word-initially, medially (predominantly in the first vowel slot) and finally. However, complex vowels starting with **i* and **i* do not occur initially (which follows from the analysis of **y*). Examples:

<i>*ai</i>	<i>*ail</i>	<i>*kaiči</i>	<i>*dalaï</i>	village; scissors; sea
<i>*ei</i>	<i>*ein</i>	<i>*heil-</i>	<i>*nekei</i>	like this; leave; fur
<i>*au</i>	<i>*aula</i>	<i>*bau-</i>	<i>*jalau</i>	mountain; descend; young
<i>*eü</i>	<i>*eüs-</i>	<i>*neü-</i>	<i>*bileü</i>	arise; migrate; whetstone
<i>*ia</i>	---	<i>*nia-</i>	<i>*aria</i>	glue; molar
<i>*ie</i>	---	<i>*siesün</i>	<i>*kerie</i>	pee; crow
<i>*iu</i>	---	<i>*niu-</i>	<i>*kariü</i>	hide; answer
<i>*iü</i>	---	<i>*siü-</i>	<i>*seriün</i>	strain; cool
<i>*oi</i>	<i>*oïra</i>	<i>*hoï</i>	<i>*siroi</i>	near; forest; earth
<i>*ui</i>	<i>*uïla-</i>	<i>*huïtan</i>	<i>*murui</i>	cry; narrow; crooked
<i>*üi</i>	<i>*üile</i>	<i>*büile</i>	<i>*tedüi</i>	work; gums; that much

The rare complex vowel **öi* can be found medially, as in **köiten* ‘cold’. The QG languages do not provide additional information.

The complex vowels **ua* and **üe* seem to appear only in non-first slots, while **oa* and **öe* are mostly found in first slots, and in non-first slots after **i* and **i* of the first syllable (see 2.5.3.). In non-derived stems the two sets are complementary and never in opposition, and it would be justified to use a single notation for both. Complex vowels **io* and **iö* are conspicuously absent from the system, although *iCo* and *iCö* sequences are possible.

2.5.5. Alternations in simple vowels

There are numerous cases of alternation between vowels. The words concerned do not necessarily vary within individual languages, but rather the different languages suggest different reconstruction forms. The distribution of the variants is such that it is not always possible to decide which of the forms is the original one.

In case of alternation **a* ~ **o* and **e* ~ **ö* in the first syllable, the rounded alternant is normally the secondary one, cf. **tamu-* ~ **tomu-* ‘to twist’ (see 2.3.4.),

**ergü-* > **örgü-/ürgü-* ‘to lift’ (see 3.3.4.). Middle Mongol developments in non-first syllables, such as **jobalaŋ* > **jobolaŋ* ‘suffering’ and **bödene* > **bödöne* ‘quail’, are the result of the emergence of rounding harmony, which is not reflected in the CM reconstructions here.

As to the alternations that are independent of vowel harmony, two general observations can be made. Firstly, alternations between rounded and unrounded vowels, both in the first and second vowel slots are caused by the consonant environment, usually a labial consonant preceding the affected vowel. Secondly, many alternations occur in the middle vowel of trisyllables, which is unaccented in all modern languages, and may have been easily influenced by the vowels of the preceding or following syllable.

Alternations **i* ~ **u* and **i* ~ **ü* in the first syllable: **bisī* ~ **busi* ‘not, other’, **bisire-* ~ **büsire-* ‘to believe’, **bīrau* ~ **burau* ‘calf’. The alternation **hiǰaur* ~ **huǰaur* ‘root’ could also be due to the consonant environment, given the fact that the forms with **h-* may go back to PM **pīǰaur* or **puǰaur*.

Alternations **i* ~ **u* and **i* ~ **ü* in non-first syllables: **debi-* ~ **debüs-* ‘to spread’, **kabīd-* ~ **kabud-* ‘to swell’, **kabirga* ~ **kaburga* ‘rib’.

Alternations **a* ~ **u* and **e* ~ **ü* in the second vowel slot of trisyllables. In some words which display such variations, e.g. **čibagan* ~ **čibugan* ‘jujube’, the middle vowel is preceded by a labial consonant, which suggests that one variant has developed from the other by means of assimilation or dissimilation.

In other words with **a* ~ **u* variations there is no labial consonant in the immediate vicinity. Examples: **bulagan* ~ **bulugan* ‘sable’, **ukana* ~ **ukuna* ‘billy-goat’, **sundala-* ~ **sundula-* ‘to ride with a passenger’. In these cases the middle vowel seems to adapt to the preceding (rounded) and following (unrounded) vowel alternately. Some modern languages, notably Ordos, feature many variations of this kind. This means that the Ordos form of such items is not decisive in determining which of the variants documented in other languages represents the original pronunciation.

Alternations **a* ~ **i* and **e* ~ **i* in the second vowel slot of trisyllables: **arasun* ~ **arisun* ‘skin’, **halagan* ~ **haligan* ‘palm of the hand’, **kuragan* ~ **kurigan* ‘lamb’, **juǰagan* ~ **juǰigan* ‘young of an animal’, **gölige* ~ **gölege* (> **gölöge*) or **gölige* ~ **gölüge* ‘pup’, **küregen* ~ **kürigen* ‘brother-in-law’.

Generally, there seems to be no means to determine which variant is older. Moreover, since many ‘middle’ vowels of trisyllables have been lost in all or nearly all modern languages, it is difficult to establish from which variant each modern form has developed. In pairs of variants such as **halagan* ~ **haligan* ‘palm of the hand’ it is most likely that the former is a secondary assimilated form of the latter, as the appearance of the **i* could not be explained.

Where a Turkic cognate exists, it may support one of the Mongolic variants as the original one. In the case of CM **kuragan* ~ **kurigan* ‘lamb’, its Turkic counterpart **kuzi* suggests that **kurigan* is older. In the case of CM **gölige* ~ **gölege* ‘pup’, the assumed Turkic cognate **kö:šek* ‘camel foal’, if indeed related, would suggest that **gölege* is original.

Some alternations **i* ~ **u* and **i* ~ **a* probably stem from the PM period. In some words an original vowel alternation has led to different consonants in the modern forms: cf. CM **andasun* ~ **anǰisun* (PM **andisun*) ‘plough’.

2.5.6. Assimilation of complex vowels

The assimilation of the first element of the complex vowels starting with **i/*i* and **u/*ü* had already started in Middle Mongol (cf. 3.13.5.). The distribution of modern variant forms confirms that some variation must have existed already at an early stage. One common type of variation involves an alternation between complex and double vowel, as in:

<i>*aria</i> > <i>*araa</i>	tusk, molar
<i>*dolia-</i> > <i>*dolaa-</i>	to lick
<i>*horia-</i> > <i>*horaa-</i>	to wind
<i>*kaniä-</i> > <i>*kanaa-</i>	to cough
<i>*kariä-</i> > <i>*karaa-</i>	to scold
<i>*jaria</i> > <i>*jaraa</i>	hedgehog

In such cases it must be assumed that the variant with the complex vowel is the older. These variants cannot be summarised in a simple sound law. Some words display assimilated complex vowels in many languages, others in fewer. Complex vowels starting with **i/*i* are preserved relatively often in Buriat and Dagur, and hardly ever in Khalkha, Kalmuck, Baoan, and Eastern Yugur. However there are exceptions to this pattern. For instance the long vowels in the following Dagur words all result from complex vowels whose **i/*i* element was assimilated, so that the preceding consonant was not palatalised: *dəlu:* < **deliün* ‘spleen’, *sə:-* < **sie-* ‘to urinate’, *xinə:d* < **hinie.dün* ‘joke’, *nɔ:-* < **nüu-* ‘to hide’, *gasu:n* < **gasiün* ‘bitter’, *gəsu:* < **gesiün* ‘branch’, *kɔsɔ:* < **kosiün* ‘beak’, *su:-* < **siü-* ‘to scoop up’.

A regional assimilation typical of the QG languages is **taqa:* < **takaa* ‘chicken’, in which **k* resulted in uvular *q*. In Kalmuck we find the form *taka:* with velar *k*, due to the fact that the **i* element of the complex vowel had become palatal *i* before the contraction into **aa* occurred.

For other cases where some languages reflect diphthongs, and others assimilated vowels, see **ebčēün* ~ **ebčüün* ‘chest’, **hebsie-* ‘to sneeze’, **kiurasun* ~ **kuurasun* ‘nit’. An early example, with divergent consonant development already documented in the Middle Mongol period, is **bilduur* ~ **biljür* ‘small bird’.

For metathesis of diphthong elements see 3.13.6. and for its effect on the development of **s* see 4.6.1.

2.6. Issues related to the reconstruction of the consonants

2.6.1. Positional distribution of the Common Mongolic consonants

The following examples illustrate the positional distribution of the consonant phonemes (for translations see the comparative supplement).

phoneme	initial	intervocalic	postcons.	final	precons.
*b	*baa-	*kabar	*humba-	*jöb	*ebde-
*d	*debte-	*kuda	*kölde-	*subud	*kudku-
*j	*jeün	*gaĵar	*negĵi-	-	-
*g	*gal	*nagaču	*ĵalgĭ-	*ög-	*bagta-
*t	*tabĭn	*sĭta-	*malta-	-	-
*č	*čĭna-	*kačar	*kamčui	-	-
*k	*kalaun	*čĭkĭn	*sedkil	-	-
*m	*maŋlai	*sumun	*ölmei	*sam	*kimda
*n	*naran	*hünesün	*sarnĭ- ⁷⁹	*ken	*sonĵi-
*ŋ	-	-	-	*düüreŋ	*taŋlai
*s	*sara	*časun	*sölsün	*bos-	*öskel-
*š	-	*kašaŋ	-	*koš	*auški
*l	-	*kelen	*nemle-	*köl	*talbĭ-
*r	-	*kura	-	*sur	*marta-
*y	*yosun	*bayas-	-	-	-
*h	*harban	-	-	-	-

Some gaps in the system follow from choices made in the analysis of the phoneme system. The consonant strength opposition is neutralised in final positions. I will follow the convention to reconstruct the weak consonant in these positions.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ *sarnĭ- ‘to scatter’ is found in central Mongolic. No old stems with postconsonantal -n- seem to survive in the QG languages.

⁸⁰ In Middle Mongol sources syllable-final -t, -q, -k can be seen, and in central Mongolic and Eastern Yugur preconsonantal plosives can be aspirated.

y-like elements do occur elsewhere, but these are interpreted as diphthong elements **i* or **i*, see 2.6.5. below.

There are some traces of preconsonantal **č* (or **čʔ*) in Middle Mongol; in such cases the second cluster element is always **k*. *š*- occurs in other positions as an allophone of **s* preceding **i*/**i*. In loanwords it can also be observed in other vowel environments, e.g. **šabi* ‘disciple’, **šatu* ‘stairs’ (not listed here). Initial *l*- is also found in old loanwords such as **lausa* ‘mule’ and **loŋka* ‘bottle’.

There are some traces of intervocalic **h* in Middle Mongol, see 2.6.6. below.

For the attested consonant sequences (clusters) see 2.6.7. below.

2.6.2. Status of the uvular plosives *q* and *g*

The uvular pronunciations of the phonemes */k/* and */g/* originally occurred with the back vowels **a*, **o*, **u*, as well as with **i*, whose pronunciation has varied, but appears to have been a back vowel in some periods and languages. The velar pronunciations *k* and *g* occurred with the front vowels **e*, **i*, **ö*, and **ü*. This distribution shifted in later language stages, where **i* usually merged with original **i*. In many words, however, **i* had been assimilated to **a* or **u* of the following syllable (‘prebreaking’) at an early stage, before its pronunciation could merge with **i*. As a consequence, the uvular pronunciation of **k/* and **g/* was maintained in these assimilated stems. E.g. Kh *xums* < **kimusun* ‘nail’.

Despite the fact that the two articulations were predictable and phonologically irrelevant, the uvular and velar allophones can be easily distinguished in the old sources, and the distinction has in some way been preserved in most modern languages. In some languages the two allophones of **k/* have undergone separate developments. In Eastern Yugur and Shirongol (Dongxiang excluded) only the uvular allophone has developed a fricative pronunciation, whereas the velar allophone remained a plosive. This situation is also found in Kalmuck, whereas in standard Khalkha and Buriat the allophones of **k* have merged into a fricative *x* in all vowel environments.⁸¹ In Eastern Yugur and Shirongol *k* and *q* are best considered phonemes (of different weight according to dialect), although minimal pairs are not numerous. Vowel mergers have made it impossible to synchronically predict the choice for *k* or *q* from the adjacent vowels. Cf. EYu *čəqə-* < **čiki-* ‘to stuff into’, but *škən* < **hekin* ‘head’; MgrM *ko-* < **köe-* ‘to swell’, but *qo-* < **koa-* ‘to dry’.⁸²

⁸¹ In Ordos the velar allophone also mostly retained a plosive pronunciation, while the uvular allophone became a fricative. However, initial *q-* underwent dissimilatory weakening to *g-*, and as a consequence escaped fricativisation, when the second syllable started with a strong consonant. In Chakhar both allophones of strong **k* have become fricatives, also with the exception of initials that were weakened preceding a strong consonant starting the second syllable.

⁸² In Kalmuck */x/* (from uvular *q*) and */k/* (from velar *k*) also owe their phoneme status to vowel shifts (contractions and palatalisations). Cf. Kalm *kaar-* < **kʰaar-* < **kiara-* ‘to be annihilated’, *xäär-* < **kaarʰ-* < **kaari-* ‘to cauterize’. The *k-* of the former is due to the first element of the original diphthong. The second word retains the back *x-* (< *q*) in spite of the vowel fronting.

Phonemic status of *k* and *q*, and of their weak counterparts *g* and *ḡ*, was further strengthened by an influx of words from Chinese and/or Tibetan, because velar consonants can be accompanied by back vowels in these languages.

2.6.3. Status of **ŋ*

The phoneme /*ŋ*/ only occurred preceding another consonant or a pause. Occurrences of *ŋ* preceding a guttural could be explained as an allophonic pronunciation of */*n*/, but *ŋ* also occurs before other consonants and in final position.⁸³ In spite of its limited occurrence, it is impossible to dismiss it as an allophone.

2.6.4. Status of **š*

In most modern languages *š* is a phoneme, e.g. Dag *šar* ‘yellow’ ≠ *sar* ‘month’ (from **sīra* and **sara*, respectively). Historically it has various origins. It stems from allophonic realisations of /*s*/ and /*č*/ in native words, and was strengthened by numerous loanwords from Turkic and Chinese containing *š* and similar sounds.

In earlier Mongolic, most occurrences of *š*- are allophonic realisations of /*s*/ before **i* or **ī*. After vowel assimilations (especially the so-called ‘palatal breaking’ in the first syllable) made the original **i* or **ī* disappear, the *š*- was left intact, so that it can now be found before all vowels. The fact that Moghol seems to preserve the pronunciation *s* before *i* in original front-vocalic words⁸⁴, suggests that this development was not completed by the Common Mongolic period (see 4.6.1.). Therefore the reconstruction forms are written with **si*/**sī* here.

There are some cases of *š*- which cannot be proven to have arisen like this. Some of these may be of foreign origin, others may have had older forms with **i*/**ī* which merely have not been recorded so far. This applies to words like **šaldan* ‘bare’, **šulu-* ‘to pick meat from a bone’, which could go back to earlier forms **sildan* and **sīlu-*.

Preceding -*k*- some instances of -*s*- and -*š*- in the modern languages apparently go back to **č* (cf. Poppe 1955:113). This is clear from incidental survivals of preconsonantal -*č*- in Middle Mongol, for which see **hečke-* (**hedke-*) ‘to cut’, **gečki-* (**geški-*) ‘to step on’.

Most cases of final *š* are found in ancient loanwords from Turkic with syllable-final **š* or **č*. Examples include (from -*š*) **kaš* ‘jade’, **koš* ‘double’, **žemiš* ‘fruit’, **tuš* ‘opposite’, and (from -*č*) **oš* ‘revenge’, **köküšken* ‘pigeon’, **köške* ‘baggage (honorific)’.⁸⁵ In modern languages the final *š* has often merged with -*s*.

Medial *š* can also be found in words of Turkic origin, e.g. **kašay* ‘lazy’ and **tušaa* ‘game trap’.⁸⁶

⁸³ Interestingly, Turkic medial and final *ŋ* is typically represented by intervocalic -*ŋg*- in old loanwords in Mongolic. Cf. **menge* ‘birthmark’ and **mīŋgan* ‘thousand’.

⁸⁴ The Middle Mongol sources in Arabic script are ambiguous, as many words are recorded there both with *s* and *š* spellings.

⁸⁵ Cf. also **esige* ‘kid (young goat)’, related to Turkic **ečkü*. In this case Mongolic has dissolved the consonant cluster.

⁸⁶ Turkic **köšige* ‘curtain’ can be analysed as **kösige* in Mongolic.

2.6.5. Status of *y

The phoneme */y/ occurred in syllable-initial positions, predominantly in intervocalic position, and less frequently in word-initial position. It does not occur in clusters with another consonant or word-finally.

The relatively rare initial */y- could alternatively be analysed as the first element of a complex vowel (diphthong). As such vowel sequences do exist in Mongolic, reconstructions **iasun* ‘bone’, **iersün* ‘nine’, instead of conventional **yasun*, **yersün* appear defensible. However, applying the same treatment to **yosun* ‘custom’ would require a sequence */io which is not otherwise known. Furthermore, the existence of intervocalic -y- makes it impossible to eliminate the phoneme */y from the inventory altogether. It is undesirable to replace conventional **bayan* ‘rich’ and **beye* ‘body’ by reconstructions **baïan* and **beie*, as this new analysis would also require the introduction of an otherwise unknown type of vowel sequence.

Note that the last element of the sequences like -*aï* and -*ei*, cannot be analysed as the consonant y, since words ending in such complex vowels take suffix variants with connective consonants, like other words ending in a vowel.

2.6.6. CM *h and PM *p

The initial */h- reconstructed for Common Mongolic is well documented in Middle Mongol and preserved in Dagur, Eastern Yugur, and the Shirongol subgroup (see 4.13.). The QG languages do not provide evidence for CM */h- in other positions. Middle Mongol seem to preserve some erratic instances of intervocalic -h- < -p-, some of which were borrowed by other languages.

Initial */h- is assumed to have developed from PM */p-.⁸⁷ This origin is supported by Tungusic cognates, and by the fact that this is a common development throughout the world. That intervocalic -h- also developed from earlier */p- is supported by Turkic. The fact that initial f- can be found before rounded vowels in Mongghul, Baoan, Kangjia, and Dongxiang is not a supportive argument for earlier */p-, because f- can be a recent conditioned development from */h- rather than conditioned relics from earlier */p-. This seems to be supported by the fact that secondary h- triggered by a following strong consonant can also result in f- with labial vowels, as in Dgx *fugu-* < **ükü-* ‘to die’, *funtura-* < **untura-* ‘to sleep’.

The development of */p at the beginning of syllables can be summarised as follows:

stage	initial	intervocalic	postconsonantal
PM	*/p-	*/p-	*/p-
CM	*/h-	*/h- > Ø	*/p- > */b-
MMo	*/h-	Ø (occasionally */h-)	*/b-

⁸⁷ Rozycki’s (1994) suggestion that h- may represent both earlier */p- and an independent primary */h- will not be discussed here. Initial h- occurs frequently enough for this dual origin to be possible, but the QG languages do not provide additional evidence.

Incidental relics of postconsonantal *-p-* are found in Dagur (for which see below).⁸⁸ Judging from Turkic cognates, final and preconsonantal *p* merged with *b* when it retained its syllable-final position, and was lost when it became intervocalic due to an additional vowel after *p*.⁸⁹ The following Middle Mongol forms with relic *-h-* have Turkic cognates with *-p-*:⁹⁰

CM	MMo	PM	CT	
* <i>köe</i>	Muq <i>köhe</i>	* <i>köhe</i> < * <i>köpe</i>	* <i>küpe</i>	small ring
* <i>köe-</i>	IM <i>köhe-</i>	* <i>köhe-</i> < * <i>köpe-</i>	* <i>köp-</i>	to swell, to foam
* <i>kuur</i>	RH <i>quhur-</i>	* <i>kuhur</i> < * <i>kupur</i>	* <i>kopuz</i>	stringed instrument
* <i>jaar(i)</i>	HY <i>jihar</i>	* <i>jihar(i)</i> < * <i>jīpar(i)</i>	* <i>yīpar</i>	musk (deer) ⁹¹
* <i>jīiin</i> (??)	HY <i>jīhi'in</i>	* <i>jīhiin</i> < * <i>jīpiin</i>	* <i>yipgin</i>	purple ⁹²
* <i>oa</i>	ZY <i>uha</i>	* <i>oha</i> < * <i>opa</i>	* <i>opa</i>	powder

This same development seems to have taken place in the following sets of words, for which the evidence is less complete than for the examples mentioned above. In the following set the *-h-* is also documented, but in the absence of a Turkic cognate an earlier *-p-* cannot be confirmed. In case of **keeli* ‘belly’ there are forms with a labial in some modern Mongolic languages, with a parallel in Manchu *kefeli* ‘belly’.

CM	MMo	PM	
* <i>deere</i>	Muq <i>dehere</i>	* <i>dehere</i> ? < * <i>depere</i>	above, on
* <i>huuta</i>	HY <i>huhuta</i> (? <i>huquta</i>)	* <i>huhuta</i> ? < * <i>huputa</i> ? < * <i>puputa</i>	bag ⁹³
* <i>keeli</i>	LV <i>keheli</i>	* <i>keheli</i> ? < * <i>kepele</i>	bribe
* <i>keeli</i>	RH <i>keheli</i>	* <i>keheli</i> ? < * <i>kepele</i>	belly
* <i>keer(e)</i>	LV <i>keheriki, keheri:n</i>	* <i>keher(e)</i> ? < * <i>keper(e)</i>	steppe
* <i>keer</i>	Muq <i>keher</i> (? <i>kehir</i>)	* <i>keher</i> ? < * <i>keper</i>	brown ⁹⁴

⁸⁸ I am not aware of supporting evidence from Middle Mongol.

⁸⁹ The background of these different treatments is unknown. In some words Mongolic may preserve vowels that also existed in early Turkic but were already lost in the earliest documented Old Turkic. However, some vowels may have been inserted by Mongolic in order to dissolve inadmissible clusters like *-pl-* and *-pr-*.

⁹⁰ While the *-h-* in the quoted Middle Mongol sources is of historical importance, *-h-* is occasionally used in the Afghan Zirni manuscript as a graphic device, possibly in order to distinguish *e* from *i*. Examples: <*k'hz^ah*> for *keže*: ‘when’, <*g'hr*> for *ger* ‘house’, <*g^ahl*> for *geli* ‘to drive’, <*n'hr^ah*> for *nere-* ‘to put a pot on the trivet’, <*s'hir*> for *se:r* ‘back’.

⁹¹ Alternatively the HY form may be a mistranscription from Written Mongol spelling *jīyar*. Cf. *huhuta* below.

⁹² The CM reconstruction is inferred from the Middle Mongol form, as the word has become rare in the modern languages. It is unclear how such a vowel sequence should have developed. Perhaps the form in the central languages should have been **jī:n* < **jīin*. Ord *jigin* with *-g-* seems to be a reading pronunciation.

⁹³ The HY form *huhuta* may be a mistranscription from the Written Mongol spelling *uyuta*. Cf. *jihar* above.

⁹⁴ Cf. Persian *kahar* and (Middle) Korean *kəhar*.

The fact that this MMo *-h-* never corresponds to WM *-g/y-* shows that it is not inspired by WM spelling. In the following words no Mongolic stage with *-h-* is documented. Note that in some of the Turkic cognates, the *-p-* was not intervocalic.⁹⁵

CM	PM	CT	
*siür-	*sihür- < *sipür-	*sipür-	to sweep
*taa-	*taha- < *tapa-	*tap-	to guess; CT to find
*tai-	*tahi- < *tapi-	*tap-	to worship
*toig	*tohig < *topig	*topik	kneecap; ankle
*jaidan	*jahidan < *japidan	*yapi:tak (?)	without saddle
*köerge	*köherge < *köperge	*köprüg	bridge
*toarag	*toharag < *toparag	*toprak	dust; CT earth
*taala-	*tahala- < *tapala-	*tapla-	to like ⁹⁶

Other words that also lost **-h-* < **-p-* include **daagan* ‘foal’, **daaki* ‘matted wool’, **kaiči* ‘scissors’, **kairčag* ~ **kaurčag* ‘chest, box’.

The cognate pairs in which Turkic *p* corresponds with $\emptyset$ in modern Mongolic, and occasionally with *h* in Middle Mongol can be considered to belong to the oldest contact layer. Some foreign words with *-p-* have entered Mongolic twice, leading to doublets with different phonetic solutions. Examples include Turkic (from Iranian?) **kepit* ‘shop’, which is represented in Mongolic by **keid* and **kebid*. Turkic **toprak* ‘dust, earth’ is represented by **toarag* mentioned above as well as by **tobarag*. The forms with *-b-* can be viewed as more recent adoptions.

Alternations between **-h-* or $\emptyset$ on the one hand and **-b-* on the other can also be found in native stems. **haakai* ‘spider’, **hi(h)ee-* ‘to protect’, and **höeljin* ‘hoopoe’ are the best documented cases. **höeljin* ~ **böeljin* ~ **höbeljin* ~ **böbeljin* ‘hoopoe’ owes some of its many variant forms to its obviously onomatopoeic nature, and some to the interaction between spoken and written forms. Nevertheless most forms could ultimately go back to a Proto Mongolic form **pöpeljin*. The other two words are not of onomatopoeic origin. CM **haakai* ~ **habakai* ‘spider’ seems to reflect an earlier (PM) alternation **papakai* ~ **pabakai*. Likewise CM **hi(h)ee-* ~ **hibee-* ‘to protect’ seems to have developed from PM **pipee-* ~ **pibee-*. In these words the variant with two *p*’s may be the original, in which case the forms with one *p* and one *b* may be the result of dissimilation; the existence of occasional (unexplained) fluctuations between **p* and **b* is no stranger than those between the other strong and weak counterparts: **t* ~ **d*, **k* ~ **g* and **č* ~ **j*. Dissimilation also does not account for other *b* ~ $\emptyset$ alternations, such as **deel* ~ **debel* ‘garment’. For the elided intervocalic consonants see further Janhunen 1999, 2003b.

⁹⁵ In some cases Mongolic may preserve ancient vowels that were lost in Turkic.

⁹⁶ Written Mongol *tab* ‘comfort’ and *tabla-* ‘to be content’ may represent more recent loans from CT **tap* and **tapla-*.

Dagur seems to preserve some cases of postconsonantal PM *-p-, whereas this has merged with *-b- elsewhere. In the unique case of *čolban < *čolpan ‘Venus’, the Dagur -p- corresponds to postconsonantal -p- of Turkic.

CM	PM	Dagur	CT	
*arbaï	*arpaï	-	*arpa	barley
*čolban~ *čolman	*čolpan	čolpun	*čolpan	Venus
*čarba-	*čarpa-	čarp-	-	to wag the tail ⁹⁷
*čölbe- ~ *čölme-	*čölpe-	čump-	-	to pick
*elbeg	*elpeg	əlpur	-	abundant
*humba-	*humpa-	xumpa:-	-	to swim
	?< *pumpa-			
*hurba-	*hurpa-	xwarp.a:	-	to turn
	?< *purpa-			

The above could be an argument to place Dagur outside of Common Mongolic, or to include postconsonantal -p- in the CM reconstructions. but as in the case of initial *h- confirmed by a single language only, the evidence is not conclusive. The case for postconsonantal p will be discussed under the individual entries in the comparative supplement.

Not all Dagur words in which -p- would be expected on the basis of a Turkic cognate do indeed contain it, cf. Dag *delbur* < *delbiür ‘fan’, in spite of CT *yelpi- ‘to fan’, and Dag *kurb*^w < *körbe ‘lamb’, in spite of CT *körpe ‘newborn lamb’. However, given the central Mongolic influence on Dagur, the appearance in a Dagur word of postconsonantal -b- rather than expected -p-, is not strong evidence that -p- was never there.

The QG languages do not provide additional evidence. Medial -p- in Monguoric is apparently due to a strong consonant following it, as in MgrM *ninpuzi* < *nilbusun ‘tears’ (which is contradicted by the Dagur form *ñombus*). The irregular Eastern Yugur form *lepə-* ‘to fan’ is more likely to be a recent borrowing from Turkic *yelpi- than an aberrant form of Mongolic *delbi-.

2.6.7. Relics of the sequences *dī/*di and *tī/*ti

When preceding *i/*i (and complex vowels starting with that element) PM *d and *t merged with *j and *č, so that in CM *d and *t only occur preceding the remaining six vowels.

Dagur occasionally has *dʷ* and *tʷ* instead of expected *j* and *č*. Examples include *atʷ-* ‘to load’, *atʷe:* ‘load’, *adʷrəɣ* ~ *aʃrəɣ* ‘stallion’, *dilo:* ~ *jilo:* ‘reins’. On the basis of the other languages these words can be reconstructed for CM as *ačī-, *ačīan, *aʃirga, *jīloa. The majority of words with CM *j and *č also have *j* and *č* in Dagur (for examples see the comparative supplement). The Dagur forms with *dʷ*

⁹⁷ The Dagur word may be related to CM *čarba- ‘to move the limbs about’, or alternatively to *sirba- ‘to wag the tail’. The former seems more likely, given that Dagur also has an extended form *šarba:lʃ-* E231, suggesting *sirbalʃi-, clearly derived from *sirba-.

and t^y may be reborrowed from, or influenced by, northern Tungusic, where this earlier pronunciation was generally preserved.⁹⁸ At this stage the Dagur forms are too rare to constitute an argument for a separate status of Dagur within Mongolic. The CM forms of the Dagur words with d^y and t^y have not been adapted to reflect this deviation.

In some words, (complex vowels starting with) $*i/*i$ were regionally assimilated, leading to variant forms in the modern languages. In case of $*bildiur$ (> $*biljiur$) ~ $*bilduur$ ‘songbird’, the former variant survives in most QG languages, the latter in Dagur. In case of $*kadiar$ (> $*kajaar$) ~ $*kadaar$ ‘horse’s bit’, the former is mostly found in the central languages, the latter in the QG languages and Moghol. The distribution of such variants (different for each lexeme) is often useful for classification purposes. Also compare the development of $*anjisun$ ‘plough’, $*gadaa$ ‘outside’, $*dota$ ‘inside’.

2.7. Combinatory restrictions of the Common Mongolic consonants

For various historical reasons some sequences of consonants or of consonants and vowels are not allowed. CM $*d$ and $*t$ do not occur preceding $*i/*i$, because they merged with $*j$ and $*č$ in this vowel context. Initial $*b$ does not occur when the first syllable ends in a nasal, as $*b-$ has merged with $*m-$ in this environment. rVr sequences tend to be avoided.

All original Mongolic consonant clusters consist of no more than two elements and are restricted to positions in the middle of words on syllabic boundaries, that is, the two elements of a cluster belong to different syllables. The term ‘clusters’ is used here as shorthand for the strictly more appropriate term ‘consonant sequences’. Apart from the abovementioned general restrictions, there are further specific limitations to the distribution of several individual consonants.

As seen above not all consonants are allowed to occur preconsonantly or postconsonantly, and even consonants that are allowed in these positions do not necessarily occur in all conceivable combinations. For instance $*s$ is allowed as a first cluster element and $*g$ as a second cluster element, but the sequence $*-sg-$ does not seem to occur.

There are also morphological restrictions, in that some clusters that are phonetically admissible are in practice only found on morpheme boundaries, that is, the second cluster element belongs to a suffix. For instance $*b$ only occurs postconsonantly after $*m$, $*l$ and $*r$ in stems, but past tenses $*ab-ba$ ‘took’, $*od-ba$ ‘went’, $*nis-ba$ ‘flew’ were apparently possible.

Some clusters (e.g. $*-dm-$) are not found in native words. CM $*č$ (or $*j?$) as a first cluster member was found in Middle Mongol, but it could only be followed by $*k$. Preconsonantal s was also followed by $*k$, and in derived stems, by $*l$.

Preceding $*k$ and $*g$ in monomorphemic stems, $*n$ cannot be distinguished from $*ŋ$. $*ŋ$ did not occur as a second cluster member. $*n$ is very rare postconsonantly; $-mn-$ and $-ŋn-$ in modern languages stem from $*ml$ and $*ŋl$. $*r$ did

⁹⁸ d^y and t^y also occur in Tungusic words in Dagur, such as *ardi*: ‘thunder’, *sarde*: ‘old’ (from Tungusic $*agdī$, $*sagdī$). Dag $d^yallə$ ‘late’ may also be from Tungusic $*dilda$, although Middle Mongol (SH) has *jilda*.

not occur as a second cluster member. Postconsonantal **l* is very common, but only in derived stems, cases like **maɣlai* ‘forehead’ and **taɣlai* ‘palate’ seem to involve a petrified formans *-lAI*. Rare clusters occur in **emlig* ‘untamed’, **saɣmai* (?) ‘forelock’⁹⁹, **ödmeg* ‘kind of bread’.

CM	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>l</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>b-b</i>	<i>bd</i>	---	---	<i>bt</i>	<i>bč</i>	<i>bk</i>	---	---	<i>b</i>	<i>b-l</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>d-b</i>	<i>d-d</i>	---	---	<i>d-t</i>	<i>d-č</i>	<i>dk</i>	<i>dm</i>	---	<i>d-s?</i>	<i>d-l</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>g-b</i>	<i>gd</i>	<i>gǰ</i>	---	<i>gt</i>	<i>gč</i>	---	---	---	<i>gs</i>	<i>g-l</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>mb</i>	<i>md</i>	<i>mǰ</i>	---	<i>mt</i>	<i>mč</i>	<i>mk</i>	---	---	<i>ms</i>	<i>m-l</i>
<i>n</i>	---	<i>nd</i>	<i>nǰ</i>	<i>ng?</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i>nč</i>	<i>nk?</i>	---	---	<i>n-s?</i>	<i>n-l</i>
<i>ɣ</i>	---	<i>ɣd</i>	<i>ɣǰ</i>	<i>ɣg</i>	<i>ɣ-t</i>	<i>ɣč</i>	<i>ɣk</i>	<i>ɣm</i>	---	<i>ɣs</i>	<i>ɣ-l</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>s-b</i>	---	---	---	<i>s-t</i>	<i>s-č</i>	<i>sk</i>	<i>sm</i>	---	---	<i>s-l</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>lb</i>	<i>ld</i>	<i>lǰ</i>	<i>lg</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>lč</i>	<i>lk</i>	<i>lm</i>	---	<i>ls</i>	<i>l-l</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>rb</i>	<i>rd</i>	<i>rǰ</i>	<i>rg</i>	<i>rt</i>	<i>rč</i>	<i>rk</i>	<i>rm</i>	<i>rn</i>	<i>rs</i>	<i>r-l</i>

In monomorphemic stems there are no geminates, that is, sequences consisting of twice the same consonant (= ‘doubled’ or ‘long’ consonants). Rare double spellings in Written Mongol such as *qudduy* ‘source’, *kkir* (*gkir*) ‘filth’ (both Turkic loanwords), and *köbbü-* ‘to float’ are not reflected in pronunciation and cannot be reconstructed for Common Mongolic. Derived and inflected stems show that these sequences were not considered impossible, e.g. **ed-dü* ‘to the goods’, **ab-ba* ‘took’, **köl-lüe* ‘with the foot’.

**b* as a first element:

- bd-* : **ebde-* ‘to break’;
- bt-* : **debte-* ‘to soak’, **dobtul-* ‘to rush’, **kabtasun* ‘plank’, **kabturga* ‘sack’, **kebte-* ‘to lie down’;
- bč-* : **čabčī-* ‘to chop’, **ebčīün* ‘chest’, **hibčau* ‘narrow’, **köbči* ‘bowstring’, **kubčasun* ‘clothes’, **nabčīn* ‘leaf’, **tobčī* ‘button’;
- bk-* : **dabkur* ‘double’, **ebke-* ‘to wrap up’, **jabka-* ‘to lose’;
- bs-* : **debse* ‘saddle cushion’, **ebsie-* ‘to yawn’, **tübsin* ‘even’, **jabsar* ‘interval’.

**d* as a first element:

- dk-* : **čīdku-* ‘to pour’, **čīdkör* ‘demon’, **hadku-* ‘to grab’, **kadku-* ‘to prick’, **kudku-* ‘to stir’, **sedki-* ‘to think’, **udku-* ‘to scoop’; and (partly alternating with *č*, *š*, *s*): **hedke-* ‘to cut’, **ödken* ‘thick’;
- dm-* : (not in native stems?) **ödmeg* ‘bread, bun’.

**g* as a first element:

- gd-* : **kagda* ‘dry grass’ (not listed);
- gt-* : **agta* ‘gelding’, **bagta-* ‘to sink’, **hogtal-* ‘to cut’, **magta-* ‘to praise’, **nogta* ‘halter’, **sogta-* ‘to be drunk’, **ügtee-* (~ **üdkee-*) ‘to uproot’;
- gǰ-* : **negǰi-* (~ **neǰǰi-*);

⁹⁹ Mentioned under **sančig* ‘hair on the temples’ in the comparative supplement.

- gč- : *gagča (~ *gaŋča) ‘alone’, *nögči- ‘to pass’;
- gs- : *agsu- ‘to borrow’, *böğse ‘buttocks’, *dogsın ‘fierce’, *ogsı- ‘to vomit’, *tegsi ‘even’.

*m as a first element:

- mb- : *embüre- ‘to collapse’, *humba- ‘to swim’, *nembe- (cf. *nemle-) ‘to cover’;
- md- : *dumda ‘middle’, *kimda ‘cheap’, *ömdegen ‘egg’, *umdaas- ‘to be thirsty’, *jarım.dug ‘half’;
- mt- : *amtan ‘taste’, *kamtu ‘together’, *tamtul- ‘to smash’, *temtel- ‘grope’;
- mǵ- : *nömǵige ‘greasy’;
- mč- : *čamča ‘shirt’, *kamčuī (-n-?) ‘sleeve’;
- mg- : *nimgen ‘thin’, *temgü- ‘to gather’;
- mk- : *emkü- ‘to hold in the mouth’, *čimki- ‘to pinch’, *kamki- ‘to close the eyes’ (the latter not listed);
- ms- : *amsa- ‘to taste’, *sarımsag ‘garlic’;
- ml- : *emlig ‘untamed’.

*n as a first element:

- nd- : *anda ‘friend’, *ende ‘here’, *gendü ‘male’, *köndelen ‘horizontal’, *kündü ‘heavy’, *möndür ‘hail’, *mendü ‘tranquil’, *öndür ‘high’, *sındasun ‘tendon’, *sundala- ‘to share a horse’, *ündesün ‘root’; cf. also *kondasun and *kondalai ‘buttocks’, in which -nd- probably goes back to *-ŋd-;
- nt- : *unta- ‘to sleep’, *untara- ‘to become numb’ (perhaps from -mt-);
- nǵ- : *anǵısun ‘plough’, *ganǵuga (not listed) ‘strap’, *köñjile(n) ‘blanket’;
- nč- : *mončag (not listed) ‘tassel’, *jančı- ‘to pound’.

-ng- and -nk- see under -ŋg- and -ŋk- below.

*ŋ as a first element:

- ŋd- : *köŋdei ‘hollow’;
- ŋt- : *loŋta ‘headstall’ (see *nogta);
- ŋǵ- : *neŋǵı- (~ *negǵı-) ‘to search’;
- ŋč- : *gaŋča (~ *gagča) ‘alone’;
- ŋg- : *aŋgai- ‘to open’, *čŋga ‘tight’, *daŋgal ‘clod’, *eŋger ‘flap of garment’, *hoŋgu- ‘to break wind’, *hüŋgü- ‘to rub’, *jaŋǵı ‘knot’, *köŋgen ‘light’, *köreŋge (~ *könerge) ‘yeast’, *maŋgus ‘ogress’, *meŋge ‘birthmark’, *meŋgü ‘silver’, *mŋgan ‘thousand’, *moŋgal ‘Mongol’, *oŋgača ‘trough’, *öŋge ‘colour’, *öŋgere- ‘to pass’, *solanğa ‘rainbow’, *soŋǵına ‘onion’, *teŋgelig ‘axle’, *teŋgeri ‘sky’, *uŋgasun ‘wool’;
- ŋk- : *haŋka- ‘to be thirsty’, *höŋkeri- ‘to roll’;
- ŋs- : *keŋsiün ‘burning smell’, *kolaŋsa ‘smell of sweat’, *uŋsı- (-m-?) ‘to read’.

*s as a first element:

- sk- : *aska- ‘to sprinkle’, *iskire- ‘to whistle’, *köskele- ‘to cut up’, *öskel- ‘to kick’; as well as words in -skA such as *eḡgeske ‘blush’, *haniska ‘eyelash; eyelid’, *kömeske ‘eyebrow; eyelid’.
- sm- : *tasma ‘thong’.

*š as a first element:

- šk- : *auški ‘lungs’, *geški- ‘to step on’, *muški- ‘to twist’.

*l as a first element:

- lb- : -lb-: *belbisün ‘widow’, *čilbuur ‘martingale’, *čilbö- (~ *čilmö-) ‘to pick’, *čolban ~ *čolman ‘Venus’, *delbi- (> *debi-) ‘to fan’, *elbeg ‘abundant’, *ilbi- ‘to stroke’, *kalbuga ‘spoon’, *kilbar ‘easy’, *kolba- ‘to join’, *nilbusun ‘tears’, *silbi ‘shin’, *talbi- (> *tabi-) ‘to put’, *jalbari- ‘to beg’;
- ld- : *alda ‘span’, *alda- ‘to lose’, *bilduur (~ *biljiur) ‘small bird’, *böldege ‘testicle’, *elde- ‘to tan’, *hülde- ‘to chase’, *ildü ‘sword’, *kolde- ‘to freeze’, *kömüldürge ‘breast strap’;
- lt- : *altan ‘gold’, *bültei- ‘to stare’, *kaltari- ‘to slip’, *malta- ‘to dig’, *mölte- ‘to shed’;
- lj- : *aralj- ‘to exchange’, *biljiur (~ *bilduur) ‘small bird’, *böelj- ‘to vomit’, *eljigen ‘donkey’, *galjau ‘insane’, *galjir (~ *giljir) ‘crooked’, *haaljin ‘spider’, *silja ‘tick’, *sirgoljin ‘ant’, *juljaga(n) ‘young animal’;
- lč- : *alčai- ‘to spread the legs’, *belčier ‘pasture’, *belčir ‘confluence’, *bulčirkai ‘gland’;
- lg- : *balgasun ‘city wall’, *bolgan ‘every’, *elgü- ‘to hang’, *ilga- ‘to choose’, *kilgasun ‘coarse hair’, *saulga ‘bucket’, *tulga ‘prop’, *jalga- ‘to connect’, *jalg- ‘to swallow’, *jolga- ‘to meet’;
- lk- : *halku- ‘to step’, *mölkü- ‘to crawl’, *nilka ‘newly-born’, *salkin ‘wind’, *talkan ‘roasted flour’, *tülki- ‘to push’, *jalkau ‘lazy’;
- lm-: : *ölmei ‘instep’ (and see under -lb-);
- ls- : *čaalsun (~ *čaarsun) ‘paper’, *mölsün (?*mölisün) ‘ice’, *sölsün ‘gall bladder’, *jilsun ‘glue’.

*r as a first element:

- rb- : *arbai ‘barley’, *herbeekei ‘butterfly’, *hurba- ‘to turn’, *karbu- ‘to shoot’, *körbe- ‘to roll’, *sirbösun ‘tendon’, *sorb- ‘walking cane’, *tarbagan ‘marmot’; and the (segmented) numerals *gurban ‘three’, *dörben ‘four’, *harban ‘ten’;
- rd- : *kurdun ‘quick’;
- rt- : *erte ‘early; morning’, *hurtu ‘long’, *(u)marta- ‘to forget’, *sarta- ‘Muslim’;
- rj- : *kirjaḡ ‘perineum’, *kürje(g) ‘spade’;
- rč- : *arča ‘juniper’, *arči- ‘to clean’, *burčag ‘bean’, *kerči- ‘to carve’;
- rg- : *ajirga ‘stallion’, *arga ‘method’, *burgasun ‘willow’, *bürge ‘flea’, *büürge ‘pommel’, *ergi ‘bank’, *ergü- ‘to lift’, *esergü ‘opposite’.

- *gorgi ‘ring’, *hargal ‘cow dung’, *hergi- ‘to turn’, *irge ‘wether’, *irgen ‘people’, *horgu- ‘to flee’, *hürgü- ‘to be startled’, *kirga- ‘to shear’, *kirgaul ‘pheasant’, *kirgui ‘sparrow-hawk’, *korgaljīn ‘lead’, *korgasun ‘sheep dung’, *köerge ‘bridge’, *köerge ‘bellows’, *kömüldürge ‘breast strap’, *könerge (~ *köreŋge) ‘yeast’, *kudurga ‘crupper’, *nīdurga ‘fist’, *mörgü- ‘to bow’, *örge ‘broad’, *örgesün ‘thorn’, *sirga ‘colour name’, *siurgan ‘storm’, *sirgü- ‘to rub’, *targun ‘fat’, *tergen ‘cart’, *urgu- ‘to grow’, *jirga- ‘to rejoice’, *jirguan ‘six’;
- rk- : *berke ‘difficult’, *bulčirkai ‘gland’, *burkan ‘Buddha’, *bürkü- ‘to cover’, *čimarkai ‘temples’, *orki- ‘to throw’, *serke ‘castrated billy-goat’, *sirka ‘wound’, *tarka- ‘to spread’;
- rm- : *čakirma ‘iris’, *kormai ‘hem’, *örmege ‘coarse fabric’, *teerme ‘mill’, *turma ‘turnip’, *jarma ‘groats’;
- rs- : *boarsag (?~ *boarčag) ‘kind of bun’, *čaarsun (~ *čaalsun) ‘paper’, *gaursun ‘quill’, *höersün ‘pus’, *kaīrsun ‘scale’, *kaliārsun ‘kind of onion’, *kiūrsun ‘nit’, *kölersün ‘sweat’, *möersün ‘cartilage’, *nīgursun ‘spinal marrow’.

In view of the Middle Mongol and modern forms there must have been some early variation in the shapes of the clusters. Early alternations include **m* ~ **n* preceding **d* and **t*, where the **n* is likely to represent an assimilation, cf. the development of **dumda* ‘middle’, **ömdegen* ‘egg’. In case of **uŋsi* ~ **umsi* ‘to read’ the second variant may also be the result of assimilation by the preceding **u*. In case of **ŋ* ~ **g* it seems impossible to say which is the older alternant (cf. **gagča* ~ **gaŋča* ‘alone’, **negji* ~ **neŋji* ‘to search’).

An alternation **m* ~ **mb* is suggested by the development of **ham(b)ura* ‘to rest’, **kam(b)u* ‘to gather’, **kum(b)i* ‘to fold’, **jum(b)aran* ‘ground squirrel’. Alternations **lb* ~ **lm* and **rb* ~ **rm* also occur, cf. **čilbö* (~ **čilmö*) ‘to pick’, **sirböšün* ~ **sirmösün* ‘tendon’.

Some of the cluster alternations *čk* ~ *šk* ~ *dk* that can be documented from Middle Mongol onwards, may ultimately go back to **jk*.

3. MODERN DEVELOPMENT OF THE CM VOWELS

3.1. Introduction

In the following pages the main developments of each CM vowel will be discussed. Each section will start with the ‘default’ development, which need not be the most frequent development. The quality of unaccented vowels is rather unstable in the QG languages, and easily influenced by the consonant environment. After the default reflexes the most common conditioned changes will be discussed. Whenever possible the focus will be on correspondences of historical and comparative importance.

In all modern languages the CM vowels underwent several changes, which are correlated to changes in the vowel system of each language as a whole. Such changes often affect the number of vowel phonemes, and modify or undermine vowel harmony. On the level of the lexeme such changes affect both the quantity and quality of the vowels.

In all three peripheries we find that the original vocalism is simplified. In general the distinction between **ī* and **i* is (all but) absent, and the number of phonemic rounded vowel qualities was reduced. The Dagur system and the Shirongol system are the result of different routes of simplification. In Dagur the front rounded vowels merged into *u*, the back ones into *ɔ*.¹⁰⁰ In Shirongol (Kangjia excepted) **ō* and **ū* merged with their respective back counterpart.

Loss of productive vowel harmony in the Shirongol languages removed one of the factors that tend to block or slow down vowel shifts, as well as restrict the changes in individual words.

Before discussing the modern developments of each CM vowel phoneme, some general remarks are due. Although most vowel shifts in the QG languages do not constitute autonomous sound laws, some patterns and tendencies can be recognized. Apart from the phonetic properties of the vowels themselves, such as vowel height, there are several factors influencing the vowel development in a given word in a given language, including (former or extant) vowel harmonic constraints, accent, and phonetic environment, i.e. the place or manner of articulation of the adjacent consonants, and syllable structure.

Vowel harmony

As mentioned above, the vowel system was simplified in the QG languages. However, even in Baoan, where all active vowel harmony has been lost, its role in shaping words is still evident in much of the surviving Mongolic lexicon.

The vowel harmony of the ancestral stages of Eastern Yugur and Shirongol may have been unlike the CM system. Eastern Yugur suggests it goes back to a Turkic-type front-back system. Monguoric may have had a simplified system of vowel qualities *a e i o u* without productive harmony. Kangjia suggests a system in

¹⁰⁰ This does not apply in all environments. If the following vowel is long *a*: both **o* and **u* result in Dag *u*, e.g. *tuwa*: < **togaan* ‘cauldron’, *xula:n* < **hulaan* ‘red’.

which the front vowels tended to be centralised, while the other Baoanic languages are uninformative as the front rounded vowels have been lost.

In CM there must have been suffixes with the alternations *A* (= **a* or **e*), *U* (= **u* or **ü*), and *I* (= **i* or **ï*). The non-high vowel suffixes (with *A*) later developed additional variants with **o* and **ö*, but high-vowel suffixes with fourfold alternation never arose.

The Shirongol languages preserve traces of palatal and labial harmony in existing formations only. Word shapes in Mongghul and Dongxiang show that they once had suffixes with the alternation *a/e/o* (a fourth alternant cannot be demonstrated). Within Shirongol only Kangjia roughly preserves the distinction in word stems between ‘front’ *ö* and *ü* and ‘back’ *o* and *u*; the distinction is no longer relevant in suffixation.

Eastern Yugur retains most of palatal harmony and labial harmony in productive suffixes (except in the original short high vowels). Vowel changes, mostly under the influence of the consonants, may lead to historically unexpected (unharmonic) vowel sequences within stems, as in EYu *neyan* < **nayan* ‘eighty’. Nevertheless the accented vowel will continue to trigger the (also diachronically) regular suffix shapes.

Harmonic rounding of the non-first *a/e* in words like **olan* ‘many’ and **köken* ‘chest’ was already in progress in Middle Mongol. It is therefore not surprising that both Eastern Yugur and Shirongol feature this rounding. Only Dongxiang has several exceptions, e.g. *nokie* ‘friend’, as opposed to EYu *nökör*, MgrH *nokor*, BaoD *nokor*, Kgj *nəxgu* < **nöker*. As Dongxiang is clearly embedded in the Baoanic branch of Shirongol, it must for now be assumed that forms like *nokie* are due to secondary unrounding.¹⁰¹

Accent

The development of the vowels is most predictable in monosyllabic stems, and in the accented vowel of longer stems. In Dagur, the accent falls on the first vowel. In Shirongol it falls on the last vowel, whereas accent placement in Eastern Yugur is more complicated, and partly correlated with vowel length (see 3.14.5.), as in Khalkha and elsewhere in Central Mongolic. A less rigid accent placement may also have existed in premodern Shirongol, judging from modern word shapes.

Phonetic stability of unaccented vowels and their phonological distinctiveness are low. In Dagur this typically applies to all non-first vowels, in Shirongol to all non-last vowels. Apart from changing the shape of individual lexemes, and the phonemic status of their component parts, the instability of unaccented vowels also tends to obscure the historical information we are interested in here.

The unaccented vowels are unstable in that they are likely to be reduced, and then inclined to adopt articulation features from the phonetic environment, mostly from the surrounding consonants, but also from the accented vowel. The

¹⁰¹ Secondary unrounding also took place in Oirat-Kalmuck, as hinted at by Rybatzki 2003b:368. That this is indeed the case is seen most clearly in words like *ǰola*: < **ǰolɔ*: < **ǰilɔ*: < **ǰilɔa* ‘rein’.

following examples from Mongghul show some of the possible influences of the consonants on the unaccented vowel:

Mongghul	CM	
<i>ala-</i>	<i>*ala-</i>	to kill
<i>xara</i>	<i>*kara</i>	black
<i>ara:l ~ ra:l</i>	<i>*aral</i>	river
<i>bara:- ~ bura:-</i>	<i>*bara-</i>	to finish
<i>ʒæga ~ ʒiga</i>	<i>*jaka</i>	collar

Unaccented vowels may even be elided, provided that the resulting word structure is allowed. Through such elisions, the differences in accent have created some of the more dramatic differences between Mongolic languages, as in the following examples:

Baoan	Dagur	CM	
<i>la-</i>	<i>wail-</i>	<i>*uila-</i>	to cry
<i>sə</i>	<i>ʌs</i>	<i>*usun</i>	water
<i>duŋ ~ ʃduŋ</i>	<i>ʃid</i>	<i>*sidün</i>	tooth

Such cases also demonstrate the complementary role the languages have in reconstruction.

Vowel height

High vowels are most susceptible to changes caused by adjacent consonants, reduction, and elision. However, unaccented non-high vowels are often raised in the process of reduction, and are then likely to undergo similar developments.

In Eastern Yugur and Monguoric all four simple high vowels **i* **i* **u* **ü* often merge into *ə*, even in the accented syllable.¹⁰² Although *ə* is phonetically no longer a high vowel, it will not be confused with the original non-high vowels, as these retain a full pronunciation when carrying the accent.

Elision of an unaccented vowel, whether originally high or non-high, is possible when the resulting sequence of consonants is permitted in the language in question.

Non-high simple vowels may be lengthened. Such lengthening appears to be mostly related to accent and syllable structure. Not all vowel lengths (that do not stem from contractions of double vowel sequences) can at this stage be explained.

In short, the developments that a non-high vowel may undergo are more diverse, and which development they will undergo in any individual word is harder to predict.

¹⁰² Most words that do not undergo this development contain another high rounded vowel, like EYu *nudun*, MgrH *nudu* < **nidün* ‘eye’. This can be viewed as a kind of assimilation unrelated to vowel harmony.

3.1.1. Proto Mongolic legacy and prehistoric shifts

Some changes in the vocalism need not, and in some cases, should not be attributed to the modern languages. Several developments found in today's QG languages had already started in Middle Mongol.

Harmonic rounding is well represented in Middle Mongol, albeit not consistently applied.

There are also some instances in Middle Mongol of the famous regressive assimilation phenomenon known as palatal breaking (see 3.6.). Cases of assimilation of diphthongs, e.g. **ia* > **aa*, are also documented early.

The distinction between **ī* and **i* may have been lost and redeveloped several times in different periods and regions.¹⁰³ It is worth noting that even within the QG languages both the separate status of the vowels **ī* and **i* and their merger into a single high unrounded vowel **i* is reflected. In the stage leading up to the Monguoric subgroup of Shirongol **ī* and **i* apparently merged into a palatal vowel that palatalised preceding **k-* > *č-* both in words of both original vowel classes. In the ancestral stage of the Baoanic languages the two vowels remained different enough to cause the phoneme **k-* to split into a velar **k-* and a uvular **q-*.¹⁰⁴ A similar split occurred in Eastern Yugur.¹⁰⁵

None of these early changes were completed in the Middle Mongolic period. Palatal breaking has been a tendency for centuries without becoming universally applied (e.g. Dagur preserves unbroken **i/*ī* in many native words, but features breaking even in some loanwords from Tungusic). Harmonic rounding of non-first syllables is reversible, as can be seen occasionally in Dongxiang (and as a rule in Kalmuck).

3.1.2. Types of changes

The default development of accented vowels is usually quite straightforward. The tendency of **i/*ī* to be 'neutralized' into *ə* is found in all QG languages. The 'front' rounded vowels **ō* and **ū* have merged with their 'back' counterparts in all of Shirongol except Kangjia. Apart from Kangjia, the Shirongol languages typically give the impression that they go back to an ancestral stage with a five-vowel system *a e i o u*. However, the fact that Kangjia preserves four rounded vowel phonemes makes it impossible to reconstruct the five-vowel system for Baoanic, even less so for Proto Shirongol.

Most other kinds of vowel development in the QG languages involve assimilation and/or reduction. The latter may also lead to elision. Non-high vowels

¹⁰³ This still holds true if one departs from an original CM system of seven vowels.

¹⁰⁴ The vowels **ī* and **i* themselves do not survive in Eastern Yugur or any Baoanic language. It is true that Dongxiang typically has the pronunciation *ī* following *q-* and *g-*, but *ī* may have (re)developed in recent centuries due to the uvular consonants.

¹⁰⁵ In Eastern Yugur the status of the phonemes */k/* and */q/* is, at least in the analysis of Bolčuluu, less strong, because only **ī* and **i* merged into *ə*, while *ō* and *ū* did not merge with their back counterparts. Eastern Yugur thus lacks oppositions like Mangghuer *qo-* 'to dry' versus *ko-* 'to swell' (cf. **koa-* and **kōe-*).

can undergo lengthening. The main types that will be repeatedly encountered are the following.

Assimilation phenomena

Assimilation of first syllable **i* and **i* by the second syllable vowel ('palatal breaking'):

CM **čisun* > Dgx *čusun* 'blood'

Assimilation of the middle vowel of trisyllables:

CM **čimegen* > MgrH *čimuge* 'marrow' (due to the *-m-*)

CM **kituga* > **kitoga* > Dgx *qudoḡo* 'knife' (due to the *a* of the following syllable)

Palatalisation by the preceding consonant:

CM **čagaan* > Kgj *čixɔ ~ čɔxɔ* 'white'

Palatalisation by **i*/**i* of the next syllable (umlaut):

CM **talbi-* > MgrM *tebi-* 'to put'

Harmonic rounding by the vowel of the preceding syllable:

CM **kola* > Dgx *ḡolo* 'far'

Rounding of first syllable vowel by the vowel of the second

CM **kalaun* > BaoX *χoloŋ* 'hot' (via **χaloŋ*)

Labialisation by adjacent consonant

CM **marta-* > MgrH *muṣda-* 'to forget'

Delabialisation by adjacent consonant:

CM **bučalga-* > EYu *pəjalḡa-* 'to boil (tr.)'

Reduction and elision phenomena

Raising of (unaccented) non-high vowels:

CM **ora-* > MgrH *uro-* 'to enter'

Raising and subsequent palatalisation:

CM **noyan* > EYu *niyɔn* 'lord'

Elision of unaccented vowels:

CM **kočar-* > BaoÑ *hɟər-* 'to remain'

Lengthening phenomena

Lengthening of accented last vowel:

CM **untara-* > MgrH *ntəra-* 'to sleep'

Lengthening before high vowel of the final syllable:

CM **morin* > EYu *mɔ:rə* 'horse'

Non-first vowels in the North

Due to the different accent placement the Mongolic subgroups complement one another in reconstruction.

In Dagur and Central Mongolic the accented vowel of the first syllable is most stable, except **i* and **i* which have almost disappeared due to the phenomenon of ‘*i*-breaking’, which involves the ‘copying’ of the second vowel into the first vowel position and the reduction of the **i* and **i* originally occupying that position. The other vowels of the first syllable may be palatalised (to various degrees) if an **i* or **i* follows later in the word.

Short vowels of the non-first syllables are often altered and/or reduced. In Dagur and the three Central Mongolic standard languages the short vowels of non-first syllables are quite limited.¹⁰⁶ Khalkha only allows either *i* or ‘non-*i*’, which takes the shape of a reduced non-high vowel the quality of which can be predicted from the environment.

Dagur allows *ə*, *i*, and *u* as non-first vowels (especially word-finally, the latter two tend to be reduced to ^y and ^w, i.e. palatalisation and labialisation of the preceding consonant).¹⁰⁷ This means that in Dagur there are three distinctive short vowels in non-first positions, each of which can occur in words of either harmonic class. Although in many cases Dagur *ə* in these positions stems from CM **a* or **e*, *i* from **i* and **i*, and *u* from **u* and **ü*, the Dagur vowels do not necessarily reflect historical reality as expected. Dag *alim* ‘pear’ and *am^y* ‘life’ correctly reflect the **i* of CM **alima*, **amīn*, and Dag *taryun* ‘fat’ and *alk^w*- ‘to step’ correctly reflect the **u* of CM **targun*, **alku-*. But in other words the same *i/y* and *u/w* are simply products of the environment. The appearance of *i* instead of *ə* may be triggered by a palatal consonant, as in *gajir* ‘land’ < **gajar*, *əjin* ‘master’ < **ejen*. Dagur *u* appears (instead of the normally expected *ə*) after a rounded first vowel or a diphthong ending with a rounded second element, as in *auyun* ‘firstborn’ < **aukan*, *nuy^w* ‘hole’ < **nüken*. As a consequence, Dagur forms whose vocalism is in agreement with a known ancient form, such as *uy^w*- < **ükü-* ‘to die’, do not constitute independent evidence for this CM reconstruction.

Non-last vowels in the South

In the QG languages it is the vowel of the last syllable that is typically most stable, while vowels of the remaining syllables may be influenced by the phonetic environment. Unaccented vowels often develop a different pronunciation under the influence of the consonantal environment or of the vowels of the following syllable(s). They are susceptible to devoicing, reduction, or even elision. The changes in the non-first syllables are too unpredictable to enable us to define a subsystem of reduced vowels, as is possible in the non-first syllables of Dagur.

¹⁰⁶ Not all dialects that belong to Central Mongolic share these same restrictions. Khamnigan and Ordos do distinguish between short *A*, *U*, and (neutral) *i* in non-first syllables. Therefore this treatment of the vocalism of the non-first syllables can not be considered a feature of the shared ancestor of the central languages.

¹⁰⁷ Svantesson et al. analyse this differently (2003:150). They see *u* of non-first syllables as the ‘shwa phoneme’ coloured by a preceding labialised consonant, and *i* of non-first syllables as the shwa phoneme coloured by a preceding palatalised consonant. Here I will use an analysis and notation that seeks to find a middle ground between indicating the pronunciation correctly and make the history of each word as transparent as possible.

Reduction in QG typically involves neutralisation of non-high vowels into ə ¹⁰⁸, after which they are often raised and palatalised $> i$, or raised and labialised $> u$, mainly depending on the articulation of the preceding consonant. Secondary developments such as MgrH *ćiga:n* ‘white’, *ćižag* ‘flower’, *žil* ‘year’, *žila:* ‘lamp’, *žira:-* ‘to mix’, *žirge* ‘heart’ (from **čagaan*, **čečeg*, **žil*, **žula*, **juura-*, **jürgen*) illustrate how the distinctive value of the first syllable has diminished in some phonetic environments.¹⁰⁹

Elision of vowels

There are two general routes for elision, which cannot necessarily be distinguished in individual lexemes. The first is simply the loss of an unaccented, often already reduced, vowel. The second is through devoicing of the vowel, typically when preceding a strong consonant. Elision through either route takes place frequently if the resulting consonant configuration is permitted. The general ‘guideline’ applying to both Dagur and the QG languages seems to be that all unaccented vowels can in principle be reduced, and elided as long as this does not result in the creation of inadmissible consonant sequences. E.g. CM **anda* ‘friend’ may become Dag *and*, and **arasun* ‘skin’ may become Dag *ars*, but **aral* ‘shaft’ may not become Dag **arl* (the actual Dagur form is now *arəl* ~ *allə*). CM **halagan* ‘palm of the hand’ became MgrH *xalga*, but **xlağa* (or **xlğa*) would not be admissible sequences, although we do have *nžasə* ‘plough’ from **anjasun*, *şde* ‘early’ from **erte*¹¹⁰ as these sequences happen to be permitted. The number and character of permitted initial consonant clusters varies from dialect to dialect.¹¹¹ In QG, elisions are most frequent in Eastern Yugur, Mongghul and Baoan, as these are most tolerant of consonant clusters. But even languages with similar restrictions may opt for different solutions, as in the case of CM **šinaga*, which has produced trisyllabic modern forms such as EYu *šanaga*, MgrH *šinaga*, and Dgx *šinaga*, as well as forms with reduced first or second vowel, such as MgrH *şnaga*, MgrM *şəŋga*, Baoŋ *nağa*.

¹⁰⁸ In QG there is also a strong tendency to merge the high vowels into ə . The fact that reduction of the non-high vowels does not normally take place in accented syllables, ensures that sufficient distinctiveness is preserved in the vowel system.

¹⁰⁹ These developments naturally complicate the discussion of palatal breaking in the QG languages (see 3.6.).

¹¹⁰ Mongghul *xalga* < **halagan* ‘palm of the hand’ is related to a tendency for *Mittelsilbenschwund* when it results in permitted consonant clusters. However, low vowels are less likely to disappear. Clusters *rg/rğ* and *lg/lğ* seem to especially ‘popular’, so the middle vowel is lost in all following words, creating disyllabic stems in Mongghul: **heligen* ‘liver’, **kulagai* ‘thief’, **malagai* ‘hat’, **solagai* ‘left’, **tolagai* ‘head’, **berigen* ‘daughter-in-law’, **gölige* ‘puppy’, **silükei* ‘saliva’, **herike* ‘beads’, **kurigan* ‘lamb’, **küriken* ‘brother-in-law’, **korakai* ‘insect’. Conversely, some other clusters tend to be broken up by epenthetic vowels, e.g. *şdogo-* ‘to prick’ < **kadku-*, *şdogo:n* ‘dense’ < **ödken*.

¹¹¹ Obviously the rules for permissible consonant clusters may change over time within each language. This is most notable in the (Sanchuan and) Mangghuer data through the decades. Mangghuer developed a form *muba-* ‘to swim’ from the form *mba-* with an initial cluster it apparently inherited but no longer allowed (ultimately < **humba-*).

Since elision is possible but not obligatory, the modern forms are not entirely predictable from the CM forms. Not only is the above general rule used differently by each language, we also find variation within each language, as in MgrH *arasə* ~ *rasə*, EYu *arasən* ~ *arəsən* ~ *arsən*, BaoD *arsuŋ*, Dgx *arasuŋ* < **arasun* ‘skin’.¹¹²

Another route whereby vowels can be lost in Eastern Yugur and Shirongol is devoicing. This occurs when a non-last vowel (vowel height is irrelevant in this case) is followed by a strong consonant, or located between strong consonants.

Even though the elisions can be found in several QG languages, the treatment of individual stems is very idiosyncratic. They must therefore be seen as having taken place independently, and can not be reconstructed for an ancestral language. We will in the following simplify matters, and assume that vowel loss preceding a weak consonant took place by reduction, and that vowel loss preceding a strong consonant is related to devoicing.

Dongxiang and Moghol, which also have word-final accent, are most conservative in that they usually preserve the vowels of all original syllables of longer words (related to their low tolerance of consonant clusters).

Although in QG the non-first vowels are more stable and probably more important phonologically, as well as more useful for historical comparison, they can be influenced by the vowel of the first syllable. In MgrH *yo:-* ‘to sew’ (< CM **oya-*) the *o* is due to the rounded first syllable which was subsequently lost. Likewise in EYu *hkor* ‘bovine’ (< CM **hüker*) the rounded vowel is due to the first vowel that was lost at a later stage.

The accented syllables play an important phonological role in keeping similar-sounding lexemes apart. Even in these non-standardised languages, free variation is less abundant in the accented vowel. While variations such as EYu *čaga:n* ~ *čəga:n* ~ *čǵa:n* ‘white’ (**čagaan*), *jaǵasən* ~ *jəǵasən* ‘fish’ (**jagasun*) are very common and meaningless, the same vowels are less likely to vary in the accented syllable, as in EYu *šəra-* ‘to stitch’ ≠ *šəra-* ‘to roast’, *hsə-* ‘to go sour’ ≠ *hsa-* ‘to make’, *čüsə-* ‘to cut’ ≠ *čüsa-* ‘to make’.¹¹³

Vowel lengthening

Under various circumstances short vowels have been lengthened, both in Dagur and in the QG languages. Such developments will be discussed in 3.14.

3.1.3. Vowel detection

As in the central languages, even the original number and location of the vowels within the stem is not always obvious, in that the modern form may not reflect the original situation. Often the place of the vowels is synchronically determined by

¹¹² This diversity means that the reductions and elisions can generally not be used in reconstruction forms.

¹¹³ The first example continues an old opposition **siri-* ‘to stitch’ ≠ **sira-* ‘to roast’, but phonemic oppositions of this kind need not be inherited from CM, as the other examples demonstrate. For the other Eastern Yugur verbs see **is-* ‘to go sour’, **jasa-* ‘to make’, **jisü-* ‘to cut’, and again **jasa-* ‘to make’ in the comparative supplement.

permissible consonant sequences rather than by etymology. Compare the following words, which behave similarly in modern Dagur, but originally had different structures: *məɮəɣ* ‘frog’ (< CM **melekei*), genitive *məɮɣiː*, versus *təɮəɣ* ‘cart’ (< **tergen*), genitive *təɮɣiː*. The first word was allowed to lose its medial vowel in the genitive, whereas the second added a vowel in the nominative to break up its original cluster. Modern rules block clusters like *ɮɣ* and *ɮɣ* in final position but the same sequence is allowed medially.

Another peculiarity Dagur shares with central Mongolic is ‘palatal creep’, whereby an **i* (from **i/i*) in a non-first syllable is carried over to an earlier or later position in the word, as in Dag *adiɮʷ* < **adali* ‘similar’, *ariɣʷ* < **araki* ‘liquor’, *alli* < **aril-* ‘to clean’. Such cases illustrate how both the vowel quality and the exact position of the vowels in the word would be difficult to reconstruct based on one Mongolic subgroup alone.

Vowel detection problems in the QG languages also usually involve the breaking up of consonant clusters, e.g. EYu *qutul-* < **hogtal-* ‘to fell’, MgrH *dəge-* < **hedke-* ‘to cut’.

3.2. Development of simple **a*

3.2.1. Default development

In monosyllables CM **a* has usually been preserved as such. Its quality is rarely influenced by surrounding consonants. For monosyllables ending in a vowel see 3.14.3.

In monosyllables ending in a consonant both quality and quantity are mostly left intact in Dagur and the QG languages. The same normally applies to **a* in accented syllables of longer stems. In Dagur, as in central Mongolic, the accent normally falls on the first syllable. In the QG languages **a* in the accented final syllable is preserved, while the vowels of non-last syllables are susceptible to change, reduction and elision. However, in words with certain syllable structures not conducive to elision, and in the vicinity of ‘neutral’ consonants unlikely to influence vowel quality, **a* is preserved even in the unaccented syllables. Neutral consonants are those who do not palatalise or labialise the adjacent vowels, i.e. *d, t, g, k, s, l, n, ŋ, r*. Elision will often not take place in words without a strong consonant in medial position. Words with unreduced *a*’s in most languages include **ala* ‘crotch’, **alda-* ‘to lose’, **aman* ‘mouth’, **arga* ‘way’, **harban* ‘ten’, **kabar* ‘nose’, *kada* ‘rock’, **kara* ‘black’, **naran* ‘sun’, **tala* ‘plain’. Examples:

CM	<i>*gal</i> ‘fire’ ¹¹⁴	<i>*gar</i> ‘hand’	<i>*sam</i> ‘comb’ ¹¹⁵	<i>*ala-</i> ‘kill’	<i>*sara</i> ‘moon’
Dag	<i>gal^y</i>	<i>gar^y</i>	<i>sannə, sand</i>	<i>al-</i>	<i>sar</i>
EYu	<i>gal</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>sam</i>	<i>ala-</i>	<i>sara</i>
MgrH	<i>gal</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>sam, san</i>	<i>ala-</i>	<i>sara</i>
MgrM	<i>gar</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>saŋ</i>	<i>ala-</i>	<i>sara</i>
BaoD	<i>χal</i>	<i>χar</i>	<i>sam</i>	<i>alə-</i>	<i>sarə</i>
BaoN	<i>χal</i>	<i>χar</i>	<i>sam</i>	<i>ala-</i>	<i>sara</i>
Kgj	<i>χar</i>	<i>χar</i>	<i>san, saɣ</i>	<i>ala-</i>	<i>sara, cara</i>
Dgx	<i>qaŋ</i>	<i>qa</i>	<i>saŋ</i>	<i>ala-</i>	<i>sara</i>
Mog	<i>yo:l</i>	<i>yar</i>	---	<i>ola-</i>	---

Accented **a* tends to be preserved, not only after **a* of the first syllable, but also after **i* (e.g. **sira* ‘yellow’); after **u* (**kura* ‘rain’); after **aa*, **ai*, and **au* (**daara-* ‘to feel cold’, **naiṁan* ‘eight’, **jaura* ‘space between’).

Exceptions may occasionally arise when monosyllabic verbs gain a final vowel in the Shirongol languages, and thus develop like primarily disyllabic stems. The added vowel usually seems to stem from the connective vowel *u* needed to connect the stem to some suffixes, which was then reinterpreted as part of the stem. In Dongxiang, this metanalysis may in part be motivated by a desire to maintain the integrity of the stem, since the final consonant would not be permitted in that

¹¹⁴ The palatal element in Dagur *gal^y* and *gar^y* at first sight suggests a disyllabic origin, but the stem shapes may have been adopted from inflected forms such as the genitive case *gali:*, *gari:*.

¹¹⁵ The Dagur forms and Kangjia *sar*_o seem to be due to a false analysis of the derived verbs **samda-* and **samlā-* ‘to comb’, respectively.

position; the alternative would be to drop the offending final consonant altogether.¹¹⁶ The verb **gar-* ‘to come out’ thus gained a final vowel in Dongxiang and some Baoan dialects, thus shifting the accent away from the **a*, resulting in Dgx *qiri-*, BaoD *ǰǰǰǰǰ*. Compare Dgx *qa* ‘hand’ from the, originally homophonous, noun **gar*, where a similar solution to preserve the final consonant was not present.¹¹⁷ In the case of CM **čad-* ‘to be satiated’, the unexpected form *čudu-* in both Mangghuer and Dongxiang is apparently caused by the connective vowel *u* which was incorporated into the stem.

3.2.2. Harmonic rounding

Most Mongolic languages feature some degree of rounding harmony, causing **a* of the non-first syllable to become *o* after **o* of the first syllable. This is an old development already documented in Middle Mongol, and common in the central languages, as well as in QG. In Eastern Yugur we tend to get **a > ɔ*, as in *χɔlɔ < *kola* ‘far’, *dɔǰɔlɔŋ < *dogalaŋ* ‘limping’. In Shirongol the sequence *o - a* has developed into *o - o* (with the same diphthongisations as the *o* that stems from primary **o/*ö*), e.g. BaoD *soǰor* (~ *soǰur* with raising) < **sokar* ‘blind’, *ǰor* < **hokar* ‘short’, *ǰolo* < **kola* ‘far’.¹¹⁸ In Kangjia both *ɔ*’s tend to be raised in words of this structure, e.g. *ǰulu* < **kola* ‘far’, *uru-* < **ora-* ‘to enter’.¹¹⁹ Other stems with similar developments in Shirongol include **olaŋ* ‘bellyband’, **onǰača* ‘trough’, **sogta-* ‘to get drunk’, **solanga* ‘rainbow’.

In Eastern Yugur and both Monguor languages the same rounding can usually be found after a complex vowel containing **o*, e.g. EYu *χɔino*, MgrM *quaino* /*qoino*/ < **koïna* ‘posterior’. Dongxiang preserves **a* in these words, e.g. *quaina* < **koïna*.¹²⁰

In Dagur we see two groups of reflexes, neither of which seems to reflect harmonic rounding. The first group features labial breaking, which shows that **a* must still have been present (preserved, or possibly redeveloped) in the second syllable at the time this breaking took place.

¹¹⁶ In nouns final **r* is generally dropped, however short the resulting form.

¹¹⁷ It may be relevant that noun stems are used in their shortest form more often than verb stems, which can only be used as such in the function of basic imperative form.

¹¹⁸ Although many of these cases of rounding may be very early, some rounding must have happened more recently in stems that originally did not contain **o*, e.g. BaoD *dogo* ~ *dogə* < **kituga* ‘knife’, *solgo* < **saulga* ‘bucket’, MgrH *ǰo:ro* < **ǰaura* ‘space between’.

¹¹⁹ This is also applied to loanwords, e.g. Kgj *suxu* ‘Mongolian’ < Amdo *sok-kwa*, lit. Tib *sog-pa*.

¹²⁰ The reflexes after **oa* are less predictable. Within Mongghul we find alternations such as *to:la-* ~ *to:lo-* < **toa-la-* ‘to count’. In Eastern Yugur *du:ra* < **doara* ‘underside’, the raising of **oa > o:* > *u:* blocked the harmonic rounding (cf. Mongghul *do:ro*).

Dagur	CM	
<i>d^watər</i>	<i>*dotar</i>	inside
<i>x^wakər</i>	<i>*hokar</i>	short
<i>walən</i>	<i>*olan</i>	many
<i>war-</i>	<i>*ora-</i>	to enter

In the second group the second vowel has disappeared altogether, e.g. *ɔi-* < **oya-* ‘to sew’, *xɔl* < **kola* ‘far’, *sɔns-* < **sonas-* ‘to hear’, or it has developed into *-u-*, when syllable structure prevents elision, e.g. *bɔyun*’ < **bogani* ‘low’, *čɔlpun* < **čolban* ‘Venus’, *sɔjur* < **sokar* ‘blind’. This *-u-* does not count as evidence for the existence of harmonic rounding in earlier Dagur. It is not clear how the division between the two groups of words with the different developments came about.¹²¹

3.2.3. Reduction/raising

Reduction of unaccented **a* is common in most Mongolic languages, as is its elision in certain environments (see below). In Dagur these phenomena happen in non-first syllables, as in Dag *xaləy* < **halagan* ‘palm of the hand’.

Reduction of **a* in the first syllable is a common development in all of QG. Reduction and raising is often accompanied by devoicing when a strong consonant is following and/or preceding the vowel. The primary result of reduction is the vowel *ə*, as in EYu *pəsa* < **basa* ‘also’, EYu *qəša:* < **kasia* ‘fence’, BaoD *χəra* < **kara* ‘black’, *iəsə-* ‘to make’, perhaps from local Turkic *yasa-* rather than < **jasa-*.

In Dongxiang this reduced vowel *ə* takes the shape *ï* after *q-* and after the retroflex affricates *ç-* and *ʒ-*, e.g. Dgx *qïza* < **kačar* ‘cheek’, *qïsaŋ* < **kašaŋ* ‘lazy’. This reduction mainly seems to occur between strong consonants, and may typically involve devoicing. In cases such as Dgx *çïgaŋ* ‘white’, ultimately from CM **čagaan*, it cannot be established whether Dgx *ï* may have developed < *i* < *ə* < *a*, that is, via the secondary *i* found in Baoan and Mongghul.

Reduction of unaccented *a* is the stage preceding labialisation and palatalisation as well as complete loss all of which are discussed below.

As can be seen in *sarə* < **sara* ‘moon’ above, Dahejia, and to a lesser extent other Baoan dialects, have a tendency to reduce **a* > *ə* even in accented final syllables.¹²² This includes cases with harmonic rounding. In view of the equivalents in closely related languages this development is relatively recent. Examples:

¹²¹ There are also some etyma which show both of these developments in Dagur, e.g. *d^watər* ‘inside’ as opposed to *dɔtur* ‘internal organs’. Enkhbat suggests that the former is from CM **dotara*, the second from **dotar*. In fact in this case one would expect both CM forms to result in the same Dagur shape. Some unexpected Dagur forms may be the result of borrowing from central Mongolic dialects, Manchu, or Northern Tungus. This requires further research.

¹²² A parallel development **a* > *ï* can be found in the neighbouring Turkic language Salar.

BaoD	BaoÑ	Kgj	CM	
<i>alə</i>	<i>alar</i>	<i>anla</i>	<i>*ala</i>	crotch
<i>aldə</i>	---	<i>anda</i>	<i>*alda</i>	fathom
<i>sarə</i>	<i>sara</i>	<i>sara</i>	<i>*sara</i>	moon
<i>martə-</i>	<i>marta-</i>	<i>marta-</i>	<i>*marta-</i>	to forget
<i>χuinə</i>	<i>χi:na</i>	<i>guaina</i>	<i>*koïna</i>	behind
<i>orə-</i>	<i>ər-</i>	<i>uru-</i>	<i>*ora-</i>	to enter

This development may even happen to long **aa*, see 3.12.2.

3.2.4. Non-harmonic rounding

Unaccented CM **a* may result in a labial vowel in QG in several ways that are unrelated to harmonic rounding. Some of the processes are discussed below.

Rounding of **a* by preceding consonant

Rounding of **a* > *u* under the influence of a preceding labial consonant is especially frequent in the first syllable in Mongghul, as in *bura:-* < **bara-* ‘to finish’, *muşda:-* < **(u)marta-* ‘to forget’. It is also found in the other QG languages, e.g. EYu *munə* ~ *manə* < **manan* ‘fog’; MgrM, Dgx and Kgj *puda-* < **bagta-* ‘to fit into’; MgrH *pusa*, MgrM *puza*, Dgx *pəsə* ~ *pusə* ‘also’ < **basa*.¹²³ There are also occurrences in non-first syllables, e.g. Dgx *awuğa* ‘uncle’ < **abaga*. In Baoan dialects, where even accented **a* can be reduced to *ə*, this reduction product can be rounded by the preceding consonant, as in BaoGt *yāmu* < **yamə* < **yama* ‘meal’.

Rounding of **a* by absorption of **b*

This is not uncommon in QG. It involves the absorption of intervocalic *-b-* as in Kgj *χər-* ~ *χur-* < **kabid-* ‘to swell’, MgrH *to:rğa* (< **tabargan*) < **tarbagan* ‘marmot’, or of preconsonantal *-b-*, as in MgrH *çuğua:-* < **jabka-* ‘to lose’.

Rounding of **a* by following vowel

Rounding of **a* under the influence of the following syllable is relatively uncommon, and occurs mostly in Baoan when the second syllable vowel has an original contraction length. Examples include BaoD *χutuŋ kuŋ* < **katun* (+ **küün*) ‘woman’, and *ćüxor* < **ćakiur* ‘lighter’. The same phenomenon can be observed in other Baoan dialects and Kangjia. Similar words in Dongxiang may feature reduction between strong consonants, typically in the shape of *i*, but lacks the rounding.

¹²³ Another example, MgrM *muqa* ‘meat’, probably developed from earlier **maqa* (cf. MgrH *maxa*), rather than directly from CM **mikan*.

BaoD	BaoÑ	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
<i>χuśüŋ</i>	<i>ǵaśøŋ</i>	---	<i>qīşuŋ</i>	<i>*gasiun</i>	sour, bitter
<i>χaluŋ</i>	<i>χøløŋ</i>	<i>χulɔ</i>	<i>qaluŋ</i>	<i>*kalaun</i>	hot
<i>χotoŋ</i>	<i>hdøŋ</i>	<i>χutuŋ/χuduŋ</i>	<i>qīduŋ</i>	<i>*kataun</i>	hard

Other incidental cases include MgrH *suʒog* < **sačug* ‘tassel’, EYu *duǵu:l-* < **daga.ul-* ‘to cause to follow’. Prehistoric cases such as **tamu-* > **tomu-* ‘to twist’, **namugan* > **nomugan* ‘docile’, **dolaan* < **doluan* < **daluan* ‘seven’, feature *o* rather than *u*.

Rounding (unknown causes)

Some labialisations of unaccented **a* lack an obvious explanation, e.g. EYu *ura:* < **ariā* ‘molar’, EYu *čüsa-* < **jasa-* ‘to make’; MgrH *dura:sə* < **darasun* ‘alcoholic drink’, Dgx *arunʒa-* < **araljī-* ‘to trade’.

Others have more than one possible explanation, e.g. in MgrH *manǵusə* ~ *monǵusə* ‘ogress’ the latter variant could either be caused by the *m-* or by the following vowel (CM **manǵus*). Both explanations may also apply to Dgx *boruŋ* < **baraun* ‘right hand side’ and *pudu* < **batu* ‘strong’. CM **a* in the middle syllable can easily be assimilated to the preceding or following vowel, as in Dgx *pudura-* < **butara-* ‘to be scattered’.

The rounding of **a* followed by *-ŋ* seen in some Baoan dialects and in Kangjia may be related to the Tibetan inspired simplification of vowel diversity preceding *ŋ* (see 3.3.5. and 4.8.3.). Examples:

BaoÑ	BaoGt	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
<i>aćaŋ</i>	<i>aćɔŋ</i>	<i>aćɔ</i>	<i>açaŋ</i>	<i>*ačīan</i>	load
<i>altaŋ</i>	<i>altɔŋ</i>	<i>antɔ</i>	<i>antaŋ</i>	<i>*altan</i>	gold
<i>bayaŋ</i>	<i>bayɔŋ</i>	<i>bayɔ</i>	<i>bayaŋ</i>	<i>*bayan</i>	rich
<i>ćixaŋ</i>	<i>ćixɔŋ</i>	<i>ćixɔ ~ čɔχɔ</i>	<i>ćiǵaŋ</i>	<i>*čagaan</i>	white

3.2.5. Palatalisation phenomena

CM simple **a* can be palatalised by adjacent sounds in several ways. In the QG languages most cases of palatalisation are due to preceding palatal consonants.

Umlauts and glides

The partial palatalisation of **a* of the first syllable due to */i/* < **i* in the following syllable occurs in central Mongolic as well as in Dagur.¹²⁴ In Dagur, */a/* of the first

¹²⁴ In most dialects of Mongolian proper and Buriat */a/* < **a* is slightly palatalized, which is not indicated in the orthography. However, in several dialects including Chakhar this has led to the creation of additional vowel phonemes with front pronunciations such as *ɛ*. This did not disturb vowel harmony, as the vowel harmony system of these dialects is not of

syllable is also slightly palatalised before /i/ of the following syllable, which will not be indicated here. It does not affect vowel harmony. This type of umlaut is only rarely encountered in the QG languages, as in MgrM *tebi-* < **talbī-* ‘to put’, Kgj *jeji-* < **jaǰīl-* ‘to chew’.

CM **a* may develop a palatal coarticulation after a palatal consonant. This takes the shape of a palatal glide between the consonant and the following vowel (not written by most authors). In Dahejia Baoan a glide *i* or *ĩ* is usually inserted between the alveolo-palatal affricates *č* and *ǰ* and the following /a/:

BaoD	CM	
<i>čiadə-</i>	<i>*čad-</i>	to be satiated
<i>čiasuŋ</i>	<i>*časun</i>	snow
<i>ǰiaǰial-</i>	<i>*jaǰīl-</i>	to chew
<i>ǰialχə-</i>	<i>*jalki-</i>	to swallow

This glide is also described for Mongghul. Mongghul also features a partial palatalisation of the **a* itself. Mostaert & de Smedt write the glide + vowel as *iä*; Khasbaatar and Junast (who do not write the glide before *a*) use the notation *æ*. Cf. the development of **čad-*.

Palatalisation by adjacent consonants

The consonants that are able to palatalise the following vowel are **č*, **ǰ*, and **y*. The Dagur developments differ from those in QG, partly due to the different accent placement.

CM **a* of the first syllable in Dagur is not simply palatalised by an initial **č*, **ǰ*, or **y*. The vowel remains unchanged in words like *čad-* < **čad-* ‘to be satiated’, **jar-* < **jaru-* ‘to use’, *yamər* < **yamar* ‘what kind of’. However, in CM word stems with two or more palatal elements, **a* tends to result in Dag *e*, sometimes even *i*, e.g. *čerč-* ~ *čirč-* < **čabčī-* ‘to chop’, *čīnč* < **čamča* ‘shirt’, *ǰebʲǰ* < **jabajī* ‘corner of the mouth’, *ǰeŋʲe:* < **jaŋǰia* ‘knot’, *ǰerʲe:* < **ǰaria* ‘hedgehog’, *ǰīnč-* < **ǰančī-* ‘to crush’. The palatalisation of the vowel in Dag *čeyʲ* < **čag* ‘time’ also seems to be due to the presence of two palatal elements, although the final vowel was not originally there.¹²⁵

In Dagur unaccented **a* in non-first positions tends to develop into *i* under the influence of a preceding palatal **č*, **ǰ*, or **y*, as in *baǰir* < **buǰar* ‘dirty’, *gaǰir* < **gaǰar* ‘earth’, *kačir* < **kačar* ‘cheek’. In Shirongol we normally find this development only in Baoan, probably due to the fact that Baoan is the only language with

the palatal-velar type. In Oirat, palatalisations caused many back-vocalic words to be transferred to the front-vocalic vowel class. The latter applies even to those Inner-Mongolian dialects which developed a real front vowel *ɛ*.

¹²⁵ The Dagur shape *čeyʲ* need not go back to a disyllabic form **čagi*, but may owe its palatalised final consonant to the gen.-acc. form *čeyi:*. The same is seen in other stems, including *galʲ* < **gal* ‘fire’, *garʲ* < **gar* ‘hand’, but as these words lack further palatal elements, their vowel did not become *e*.

the tendency **a* > *ə* even in the accented final syllable. This leads to forms like BaoŃ *gažar* ~ *gažir*, BaoD *gažir* ~ *gačir* < **gažar* ‘land’.

In Shirongol and Eastern Yugur the **a* of unaccented syllables may develop into *i* under the influence of a preceding palatal **č*, **j*, or **y*.¹²⁶ The effect of **y* is also more widespread in that it may also palatalise a preceding **a*, and **a* in non-first syllables. Examples include EYu *jiya* < **jayaan* ‘fate’, MgrH *žiğa* ~ *žæğa* < **jaka* ‘collar’, *čiğa:n* < **čagaan* ‘white’, Kgj *jiğasun* ~ *jağasun* < **jagasun* ‘fish’. The palatalising **y* may itself disappear, as in EYu (*y*)*ida*-, MgrH *ida*- ‘to be unable’ < *yida*- < CM **yada*-, EYu (*y*)*ima* < **yama* ‘thing’, and in non-first syllable: EYu *aiğa*, Dgx (*y*)*iğa* (< **ayiğa*) < CM **ayaga* ‘bowl’.

Palatalised **a* > *i* may become part of a new diphthong, as in *biar* < *bayar* < **bayar* ‘joy’, *tiağ* < **tayag* ‘cane’. A similar ‘absorption’ of the unaccented vowel by the *-y-* is found in Dagur, e.g. *bais-* < **bayas-* ‘to rejoice’, *k^wair* < **kuyag* ‘armour’. Due to the different stress patterns the results often look different:

Dagur	EYu	CM	
<i>aiyə</i>	<i>aiğa</i>	<i>*ayaga</i>	cup
<i>bayin</i>	<i>bəyan</i>	<i>*bayan</i>	rich
<i>niyəin</i>	<i>niyəin</i>	<i>*noyan</i>	official

The palatalisation of first syllable **a* is surprisingly also seen in Dagur, where the affected **a* carries the accent, e.g. *čiya:n* ‘white’, *jila*: ‘tassel’, and *jiya*: ‘fate’ from CM **čagaan*, **jalaa*, and **jyaa*.

This palatalisation of **a* leads to difficulties in reconstruction, in that it may become impossible to determine whether palatal breaking took place. Forms like BaoŃ *yimaŋ* (CM **imaan*, Kh *yamaa*) do not prove that palatal breaking did *not* occur, since an older Baoan form may have been **yamaŋ*.¹²⁷

It is not clear whether Dgx *çiğañ* ‘white’ developed through **čiğañ* as well, or merely represents a reduction **čəğañ*. The development **a* > *i* is quite common in Dongxiang, but is mostly seen preceding original strong consonants, and associated with devoicing. Examples include *qīza* < **kačar* ‘cheek’, *çižī-* < **čabčī-* ‘to chop’.

Dagur also features ‘palatal creep’, a more complicated variation on the ‘umlaut’ theme that is also known from central Mongolic. It involves the palatalisation of the /a/ of the second syllable of trisyllabic stems by the the original final syllable /i/ < **i*. Examples include Dag *adi^l* < **adali* ‘similar’, *ariy^l* < **araki* ‘liquor’. This leftward movement of the palatality has further led to the palatalisation of the first syllable, as in *jelbir-* < **jalbari-* ‘to beg’. The *-e-* of *jelbir-* would not have been palatalised by the initial **j-* alone, had the vowel *i* < **i* remained in its original position.

¹²⁶ Unlike in Dagur the development **a* > *e* is rare in the QG languages, except when *a* is part of the diphthong **ai*.

¹²⁷ See Nugteren forthcoming.

3.2.6. Elision

Elision of *a via reduction

Loss of *a preceding a weak consonant may have developed via an intermediate reduction vowel *ə. However, a variant with the a- preserved is often also attested alongside the elision form, as in MgrH *aləma* ~ *ləma* ‘fruit’, whereas forms like **ələma* are generally not documented.

Both the loss of initial *a and *a between two consonants can lead to initial consonant clusters. Examples:

E. Yugur	<i>ndağar</i> <i>χwa:r</i> <i>čəga:n</i> ~ <i>čəğə:n</i> ~ <i>čağa:n</i> <i>ra:lǰə-</i>	<i>*andagar</i> <i>*kabar</i> <i>*čagaan</i> <i>*aralǰi-</i>	oath nose white to exchange
Mongghul	<i>ləma</i> <i>ŋgai-</i> <i>dalə</i> <i>dəla-</i> <i>ra:l</i> <i>ra:</i> <i>yağa</i>	<i>*alima</i> <i>*aŋgai-</i> <i>*adalī</i> <i>*aduula-</i> <i>*aral</i> <i>*ariā</i> <i>*ayaga</i>	fruit to open resembling to herd livestock island; axle molar bowl
Kangjia	<i>dərasun</i> ~ <i>drasun</i> <i>ima</i>	<i>*darasun</i> <i>*aimag</i>	liquor village
Dongxiang	<i>(y)iğa</i> <i>da-</i>	<i>*ayaga</i> <i>*yada-</i>	bowl to be unable

Elision of *a via devoicing

In case of initial vowels that are lost, Eastern Yugur may display *h-*, apparently a relic of a vowel devoiced due to the following voiceless consonant or cluster. Similarly, Mongghul often has an unexpected initial *s-*, *ś-* or *ʃ-*.

E. Yugur	<i>hsar</i> <i>hsəra-</i> ~ <i>sra-</i> <i>hča:n</i> <i>hrča</i> ~ <i>arča</i> <i>sqa-</i>	<i>*asar</i> <i>*asara-</i> <i>*ačian</i> <i>*arča</i> <i>*aska-</i>	village to bring up load ¹²⁸ cypress to sprinkle

In other cases the initial consonant is dissimilated or lost:

¹²⁸ But cf. EYu *ačə-* < **ačī-* ‘to load’.

E. Yugur	<i>hğa-</i> <i>hta-</i> <i>hsa- ~ sa-</i> <i>χǎ:r</i>	<i>*kaka-</i> <i>*tata-</i> <i>*ǰasa-</i> <i>*gagčaar</i>	to suffocate to pull to make alone
Mongghul	<i>χgai</i> <i>sǰal</i> <i>sgə-</i> <i>saga- ~ sǰaga-</i> <i>sǰa-</i> <i>śǰa:</i>	<i>*gakai</i> <i>*sakal</i> <i>*saki-</i> <i>*hasag(u)-</i> <i>*aska-</i> <i>*ačian</i>	pig beard to wait ¹²⁹ to ask to sprinkle load

In Dongxiang **a* was only lost completely in a few words:

Dongxiang	<i>sǰi-</i> <i>cira- ~ sira-</i> <i>sima</i> <i>sda-</i>	<i>*saču-</i> <i>*tasura-</i> <i>*tasma</i> <i>*tata-</i>	to sprinkle to break thong to pull

A number of words feature similar developments (reduction, elision, preaspiration) in several languages, e.g. **gakai* ‘pig’: EYu *gayqai*, MgrH *xgai:*, MgrM *qgai*, BaoD *gai*, Dgx *qīgəi ~ qixǰai*. Cf. also **gagča* ‘alone’ and its derivations, *ǰasa-* ‘to make’, **takia* ‘chicken’, **tata-* ‘to pull’. Nevertheless it is usually impossible to assume that the vowel was already lost in the Proto Shirongol period.

Mittelsilbenschwund in trisyllables can be found in all QG languages, as in EYu *halǰan ~ halaǰan*, MgrH *xalǰa*, Dgx *hanǰa* < **halagan* ‘palm of the hand’. Unlike other elision phenomena, this is often confirmed in the same set of words by all Shirongol languages including Dongxiang. In that set of words the elision can probably be assumed for Proto Shirongol.

3.3. Development of simple **e*

3.3.1. Default development

In Dagur, **e* is represented by *ə*. In the QG languages the normal development in accented syllables is *e* (in Shirongol with the usual allophones *ie*, *ia*, *iä*, etc). Generally **e* is best preserved when accented and in contexts with neutral consonants, as in **dere* ‘pillow’, **gerel* ‘light’, **kelen* ‘tongue’, **ere* ‘man’, **nere* ‘name’.

In Dahejia Baoan the development of **e* in non-first syllables is often *ə* rather than *e*. A similar neutralization is also seen in the Dahejia Baoan development of other vowels in this position. Peculiarly, some of these words behave similarly in Dongxiang, even when other Baoan dialects feature *e*.

¹²⁹ Eastern Yugur and Nantoq Baoan both feature lengthened *a*: in **saki-*.

Dgx	BaoD	BaoÑ	CM	
<i>erə</i>	<i>erə</i>	<i>erə</i>	<i>*ere</i>	man
<i>etə</i>	<i>etə</i>	<i>erte</i>	<i>*erte</i>	early
<i>furə</i>	<i>furə</i>	<i>fure</i>	<i>*hüre</i>	seed
<i>ewə</i>	<i>uer</i>	<i>ewer</i>	<i>*eber</i>	horn
---	<i>helgə</i>	<i>helge</i>	<i>*heligen</i>	liver
<i>pišie</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>*büse</i>	belt
<i>sugie</i>	<i>suge ~ ge</i>	<i>şge</i>	<i>*süke</i>	axe

The development of **e* to *a* in the first syllable is frequently observed in Dahejia Baoan, without obvious reason, e.g. BaoD *gaʒiasuŋ* < **gedesün* ‘intestines’, *kalə-* < **kele-* ‘to speak’, *kaməl-* < **kemle-* ‘to gnaw’, *narə* < **nere* ‘name’, *nda-* < **ide-* ‘to eat’. Ñantoq Baoan typically has *e* in these words (see below for **-en* > BaoD *-aŋ*). Mongghul and Mangghuer have incidental cases of *a* < **e*, e.g. MgrH *sarən* < **seriün* ‘cool’, *χaŋgu-* < **emkü-* ‘to hold in the mouth’. Dongxiang also has a number of instances, e.g. *baŋçə* < **belčier* ‘pasture’.

3.3.2. Harmonic rounding

After **ö* of the first syllable, **e* is rounded. In Eastern Yugur this situation is normally only preserved when the vowel of the first syllable remains non-high. In the Hongshiwo dialect, on which the most elaborate description of Eastern Yugur was based, the **ö* has usually been raised, and the consecutive syllables remain unrounded.¹³⁰

MgrH	Qinglong EYu	Hongshiwo EYu	CM	
<i>gudoli-</i>	<i>gödöl-</i>	<i>gudel-</i>	<i>*ködel-</i>	to move
<i>ʒo:lon</i>	<i>ʒö:len</i>	<i>ʒü:len</i>	<i>*jöelen</i>	soft
<i>bo:ro</i>	<i>pö:rö</i>	<i>pü:re</i>	<i>*böere</i>	kidney
<i>şdogo:n</i>	<i>hötgön</i>	<i>hutgwen</i>	<i>*ödken</i>	dense
<i>konorʒə</i>	<i>kölösən</i>	<i>kulesən</i>	<i>*köle(r)sün</i>	sweat

In Dongxiang we find that some words show harmonic rounding, while others do not, without an obvious system, e.g. *kugie* < **köke* ‘blue’, *gogo-* < **köke-* ‘to breastfeed’, and *gogo* < **köken* ‘breast’, with the same phonetic environment. Cf. also *boro* < **böere* ‘kidneys’, *komoru-* < **kömeri-* ‘to overturn’, but *goʒielu-* < **ködel-* ‘to move’, *koliesuŋ* < **kölesün* ‘sweat’.

In Kangjia, harmonic rounding is normal, in many cases leading to a vowel sequence *u-u* unlike elsewhere in Shirongol, e.g. Kgj *kuku* < **köke* ‘blue’, *nuxgu* < **nöken* ‘cave’, *sugu-* < **sögee-* ‘to scold’.

¹³⁰ This is not uniquely Eastern Yugur. In Khalkha there is a similar restriction, so that *ə* cannot follow *o* (< **ö*), and *o* cannot follow *u* (< **ü*).

In Mongghul there are also cases of harmonic rounding after *ü of the first syllable, not supported by other languages, e.g. (u)go < *üge ‘word’, sgo < *süke ‘axe’. However, in some stems this is more widespread, probably due to lowering of the original *ü to *ö near velars. This may be the case in EYu nököñ, MgrH noko, MgrM nuko, BaoD nokuŋ, Kgj nuɣguŋ, all ultimately from *nüken ‘hole, cave’, and in EYu hgor, MgrH fugor ~ xgor, MgrM xugor, BaoD fgor ~ gor, BaoÑ økør ~ øɣgør, BaoX xgur, Kgj gør, all from *hüker ‘bovine’. Dongxiang deviates again with its unrounded second vowel in nokieŋ ‘pit’, fugie ‘bovine’.

Dagur forms such as kuk^w < *köke ‘blue’, xukur < *hüker ‘bovine’ are not due to harmonic rounding but to a rule that causes all vowels except *i to become u after a rounded vowel.

3.3.3. Reduction/raising

Unaccented *e* may be reduced to *ə*. In Eastern Yugur this neutralisation can be seen occasionally, as in kərəi < *kerie ‘crow’, Qinglong dialect əljïyen < *eljigen ‘donkey’. It is common in Mongghul, as in kəle < *kele < *kelen ‘tongue’. Often the reduced vowel is raised and fronted to *i*, especially in Narin Guol. Mongghul examples include imel < *emeel ‘saddle’, ire < *ere ‘man’. Kangjia examples include iʃɔ < *ebčïün ‘chest’, ire- < *eri- ‘to look for’, iʃɔ < *ejen ‘master’. Some words show this development in several languages, e.g. EYu kəseg, MgrH kəzəg, Dgx kišie, all from < *keseg ‘piece’.

Raising and fronting occurs in *yesün < *yersün ‘nine’ in many languages¹³¹, including both Dagur and most Shirongol dialects, due to the effect of the *y*-. Simultaneously the -s- caused devoicing phenomena in several QG languages. Forms: Dag is, yis, EYu xisən, šisən, MgrH ɣzən, BaoÑ yirsəŋ, BaoX isəŋ. Similar raising and devoicing effects can be seen among the very erratic reflexes of CM *yeke ‘big’.

3.3.4. Non-harmonic rounding

CM **e* may result in a labial vowel in QG in several ways that are unrelated to harmonic rounding discussed above. These types of labialisation usually occur in the unaccented non-last syllables.

Rounding of **e* by preceding consonant

In parallel with the development **a* > *u*, QG languages also feature rounding and raising of **e* > *u*. This phenomenon is especially frequent in the first syllable in Mongghul, e.g. bulen < *belen ‘ready’, mude- < *mede- ‘to know’, muŋgi < *meŋge ‘naevus’, mućin < *bećin ‘monkey’, but may also occur in the remaining syllables, e.g. imu < *eme ‘woman’, mugen < *emegen ‘old woman’. As usual, variants without the labialisation often persist as well. The development of EYu me:ndə ~

¹³¹ Kalmuck also has yisn, whereas Mongolian proper yösön and Buriat yühen feature rounding under the influence of the second syllable.

mö:ndə < **mendü* ‘peace’ can probably also be attributed to the initial consonant, although the previously rounded second vowel may have played a role.¹³²

Rounding of **e* by absorption of **b*

This development involves the disappearance of intervocalic *-b-*, which may then leave the vowel rounded, as in MgrH *to:rə* ~ *te:rə* < **teberi-* ‘to embrace’, or of preconsonantal *-b-*, as in MgrH *tudie:-* ~ *təbde:-* < **debte-* ‘to soak’. There are often several variants in evidence, as in MgrH *udəg* ~ *vudəg* ~ *idəg* ‘knee’ < **ebüdüg*. Similar developments can be found in Dongxiang, e.g. *odəu* ‘knee’ < **ebüdüg*, *osun* ‘grass’ < **ebesün*.¹³³

Rounding of **e* by following vowel

Rounding of **e* under the influence of the following syllable is relatively uncommon in QG. It is most frequent in Eastern Yugur, typically in words with a rounded contraction length in the second syllable, e.g. *dölü:n* < **deliün* ‘spleen’, *oru:n*, *orü:n* < **ereün* ‘chin’, *suru:n*, *surü:n* < **seriün* ‘cool’. Eastern Yugur causatives may develop forms that deviate from the base verb, e.g. *hergə-* < **hergi-* ‘to turn’ has the causative *xorgü:l-* < *hergi.ül-*.¹³⁴

Cases from Shirongol languages include MgrM *kugor*, BaoÑ *kurgur*, Kgj *kurgi* ~ *kurki*, all < **geškiür* ‘stairs’¹³⁵, and MgrH *туру:*, BaoÑ *təron*, Kgj *туру*, Dgx *čiauruŋ*, all < **teriün* ‘head’. The Dongxiang form seems to derive from a metathesised form **teurun*.¹³⁶ In case of Kgj *mutu*, Dgx *mutu* < **metü* ‘like’, the *m*-may have played a role as well.

Older instances of rounding by a following vowel include **elgü-* ‘to hang’, **ergü-* ‘to lift’. In this group the rounding is almost universal, modern forms preserving the *e* are rare. Dagur is especially conservative in this regard, e.g. *ərwə:-* as opposed to EYu *oryo-*, MgrH *(u)rgu-*, MgrM *argu-*, BaoGt *urgə-*, Dgx *uğu-*, all from **ergü-* ‘to lift’. Many other similarly structured stems, such as **emüne* ‘front’, **ebür* ‘bosom’, contain labial consonants as well, i.e., two possible sources of labialisation. These words generally have rounded the initial **e* in central Mongolic, but both in Dagur and in QG there are unrounded forms left, e.g. Dag *əməl*, BaoÑ *eməla*, Kgj *emele* ~ *emle*. CM **temür* ‘iron’, also rounded in central Mongolic, retains the unrounded **e* throughout QG: EYu *temər*, MgrH *təmur*, MgrM *tərmər*, BaoD *təmə*, Kgj *čimə*, Dgx *čiemu*.

¹³² The reverse development, unrounding of **ö* near labials is discussed below.

¹³³ As initial /*o*/ is pronounced [u*o*] in Dongxiang, one could argue that the **b* is ‘still present’. However, primary **o* and **ö* result in the same pronunciation.

¹³⁴ EYu *eje-* < **üje-* ‘to see’ has the causative *ojü:l-* < **üje.ül-*, and *hele-* < **hüle-* ‘to remain’ has the causative *holü:l-* < **hüle.ül-*, but in these cases the causatives may simply preserve the rounded vowel that was unrounded in the base verb.

¹³⁵ Due to the rounded second syllable **geškiür* developed differently from its base **geški-* ‘to step on’.

¹³⁶ Cf. also Dongxiang *čiauru-* < **teberi-* ‘to embrace’ and *čiaungu-* < **temgü-* ‘to pick up’.

In case of CM **üdür* (?**edür*) ‘day’ and **übül* (?**ebül*) ‘winter’ the evidence for an original form with **e-* is exceptionally weak, as both Middle Mongol and Dagur suggest a labial first vowel.

3.3.5. Tibetan-inspired simplification preceding *-ŋ*

In Baoan not all vowels are allowed to precede *-ŋ*. This seems to be inspired by Amdo Tibetan, where similar restrictions exist. As Baoan *-ŋ* also represents the very frequent CM **-n*, a large number of words is affected. We get *-aŋ* instead of expected *-eŋ*, and *-uŋ* instead of expected *-oŋ* (with harmonic rounding). In Dahejia Baoan, the development **e > a* also tends to occur in the first syllable of these words. In view of other Baoan dialects this is perhaps a recent assimilation phenomenon. Examples:

BaoD	BaoÑ	CM	
<i>kalaŋ</i>	<i>kelaŋ</i>	* <i>kelen</i>	tongue
<i>tarmaŋ</i>	<i>termaŋ</i>	* <i>teermen</i>	mill
<i>balan</i>	<i>balaŋ</i>	* <i>belen</i>	ready
<i>kitaŋ</i>	<i>kitaŋ</i>	* <i>köiten</i>	cold
<i>ndaŋ</i>	<i>ndaŋ</i>	* <i>eüden</i>	door
<i>uniaŋ</i>	<i>unaŋ</i>	* <i>ünien</i>	cow
<i>urgaŋ</i>	<i>wergaŋ</i>	* <i>berigen</i>	sister-in-law
<i>kurgaŋ</i>	<i>kurgaŋ</i>	* <i>kürgen</i>	brother-in-law
<i>moruŋ</i>	---	* <i>mören</i>	river
<i>nokuŋ</i>	<i>nøkøŋ</i>	* <i>nöken</i>	hole

In Kangjia word-final CM **-en*, like **-an*, has become *-ɔ* (via *-ə*), as in *kiliɔ* < **kelen* ‘tongue’, *uniɔ* < **ünien* ‘cow’, *idoɔ* < **eüden* ‘door’, *bergɔ* < **bergen* ‘sister-in-law’, *muruɔ* < **mören* ‘river’.

3.3.6. Elision

Elision of **e* via reduction

Loss of **e* preceding a weak consonant may have developed via an intermediate reduction vowel **ə*. In the first vowel position, both the loss of initial vowels and those between two consonants can lead to initial consonant clusters. The loss of the vowel before *w* is common in Eastern Yugur. Examples:

E. Yugur	<i>βesən</i> <i>βədəg</i> (ə)yečə	* <i>ebesün</i> * <i>ebüdüg</i> * <i>egeči</i>	grass knee elder sister
Mongghul	<i>ŋge</i> <i>mugen</i>	* <i>eyger</i> * <i>emegen</i>	flap of garment old woman

Mongghul	<i>nde:</i> <i>ǰige</i>	<i>*ende</i> <i>*elǰigen</i>	here donkey
Kangjia	<i>vəide-</i> <i>vəidəu</i> <i>vəisun</i>	<i>*ebed-</i> <i>*ebüdüg</i> <i>*ebesün</i>	to be ill knee grass

The following words lost the initial **e* in several QG languages. Nantoq Baoan deviates here, in that it sometimes preserved the initial **e* in words in which even the normally conservative Dongxiang lost it. This makes it impossible to postulate a Proto QG form with the elision.

**emüdün* ‘trousers’: EYu *modən*, *mudən*, MgrM *modo*, BaoD *məduŋ*, BaoÑ *emdəŋ*, Dgx *məduŋ*.

**emüs-* ‘to put on, to wear (clothes)’: EYu *məs-*, MgrH *musə-*, *mosə-*. MgrM *musi-*. BaoD *musi-*, BaoÑ *məs-*, Kgj *məsi-*, Dgx *mis-*.

**emüne* ‘front’: EYu *ölmö*, *ömlə*, BaoD *məilə*, BaoÑ *eməla*, BaoX *mələ*, Kgj *emele* ~ *emle*, Dgx *məlie*. (MgrH *muši* and MgrM *meši*, apparently represent the directive form **emüne-(g)si* ‘forward, to the front’).

Elision of **e* via devoicing

In Eastern Yugur the modern form may display *h-*, apparently a relic of a vowel devoiced due to the following voiceless consonant or cluster. Similarly, Mongghul often has an unexpected initial *s-*, *ś-* or *ʂ-*. As can be seen, the presence of original **h-* does not make a difference to the modern forms.

E. Yugur	<i>hče-</i> <i>hke</i> <i>čye</i> <i>śə</i> <i>škən</i> <i>ś(i)ke</i>	<i>*heče-</i> <i>*eke</i> <i>*ečige</i> <i>*hesi</i> <i>*hekin</i> <i>*yeke</i>	to be emaciated mother father handle head big
Mongghul	<i>si:</i> <i>sargu</i> <i>śde</i> <i>sgəl</i>	<i>*ese</i> <i>*(h)esergü</i> <i>*erte</i> <i>*sedkil</i>	neg. particle opposite early heart

The verb **eči-* ‘to go’ lost its initial vowel in most Shirongol languages: MgrH *śǰə-* ~ *śə-*, MgrM *śi-*, BaoD *čí-*, BaoGt *śi-*, BaoX *xǰə-*, Kgj *ǰi-*. However, the fact that

Dongxiang retained the disyllabic form *açi-* makes it impossible to reconstruct the shorter form for Proto Shirongol.¹³⁷ See also the negation particle **ese*.

As in the case of other vowels, medial **e* in trisyllabic stems is often elided in all of Shirongol, as in MgrH *kurge:n*, BaoGt *kurgɔŋ*, Dgx *quǵoŋ* < **küregen* ‘son-in-law’. In such unanimous cases a disyllabic form may be assumed for Proto Shirongol. In this and other cases Eastern Yugur also suggests a disyllabic form.

3.4. Development of simple **ĩ*

3.4.1. Preliminary remarks on CM **ĩ* and **i*

The reconstructions used here are based on an eight vowel system which includes **ĩ* as an harmonic counterpart to **i*. Evidence from Middle Mongol, Moghol, and the QG languages shows that such a system existed at least in some periods. As elsewhere in Mongolic **ĩ* and **i* themselves have become mostly indistinguishable in the peripheral languages. They merged into *i* in Dagur, and into *a ~ i* in the QG languages. The original distinction has left indirect traces in Eastern Yugur and Baoanic, especially in the treatment of **k* and **g*. These consonants have split into velar *k* and *g* and their uvular counterparts *q* and *ǵ* near the merged vowel, so that diachronic information about **ĩ* can be gleaned from these languages. E.g. the reconstruction **čiki-* ‘to stuff into’, as suggested by the *-q-* in the Muqaddimat al-Adab and Moghol, is confirmed by EYu *čəqə-*. The development of these consonants suggests that **ĩ* was a real back vowel, at least in an earlier stage of these languages. However, in other periods or languages **ĩ* must have been a palatal vowel, as in the Monguor languages both **ki-* and **kĩ-* sequences resulted in *či-*.

In words that do not contain **k* and **g* or other back vowels, it may be difficult to separate **ĩ* from **i* without circumstantial evidence, such as inflected or derived forms, or non-Mongolic data. The pronouns **bĩ* ‘I’, **čĩ* ‘you’ were back-vocalic in view of their inflected forms, e.g. acc. **čĩ.ma.ĩ* ‘you’, dat. **čĩ.ma.da* ‘to you’. CM **jĩl* ‘year’ may have been back-vocalic **jĩl* in view of its Turkic cognate **yil*. The verb **ki-* ‘to do’ may stem from **kĩ-*, but the evidence for this is weak.

3.4.2. ‘Breakable’ and ‘unbreakable’ **ĩ* and **i*

The development of **ĩ/*i* in first syllables strongly depends on the second vowel in the word. The most straightforward development can be found in **ĩ/*i* of monosyllabic stems, **ĩ/*i* of non-first syllables, as well as first-syllable **ĩ/*i* followed by another **ĩ/*i*.

When the second vowel was an **a*, **o*, **ö*, **u*, or **ü*, the **ĩ/*i* of the first syllable may undergo so-called palatal breaking, whereby the second vowel is imported into the first syllable, either joining or replacing the original **ĩ/*i*.

¹³⁷ Poppe (1955:30) assumes this verb derives from **od-* ‘to go’, in which case it would be an example for an irregular development (and elision) of **o*.

*i followed by *e* in the next syllable does not undergo breaking in central Mongolic, but in Dagur, Eastern Yugur, and Mongghul, words with this vowel pattern occasionally do undergo assimilations that are superficially reminiscent of prebreaking (see 3.6.1.).

In the following we will first deal with ‘unbreakable’ *i̯, then with ‘unbreakable’ *i, and finally with breaking of *i̯/*i in back and front-vocalic stems.

3.4.3. Default development of *i̯

‘Unbreakable’ *i̯ and ‘unbreakable’ *i have merged into *i* in the three central literary languages (although not in all central Mongolic dialects) and in Dagur. In the QG languages *i̯ and *i, and in many cases also *u and *ü, have the tendency to merge into *ə* (~ *i*) in non-first syllables. This tendency is shared by other languages of the *Sprachbund*, including Amdo Tibetan and the Turkic languages Salar and Western Yugur. This tendency can be called ‘high vowel neutralisation’. Examples for the development of *i̯ in monosyllables and following various back vowels: EYu *čə*, MgrH *čə*, MgrM *či*, BaoŃ *či*, Kgj *či* < *čī ‘you (sing.)’, EYu *amən*, MgrH *amən* ~ *amun* < *amīn ‘life’, *narən* < *narīn ‘fine’, EYu *gučən* ~ *qujin*, MgrH *xožin* < *gučīn ‘thirty’, EYu *šərgəljən*, MgrH *širgəljin* < *širgəljīn ‘ant’. As seen here, *ə* may appear as the allophone [i] when preceded by a palatal consonant. In Eastern Yugur the palatal pronunciation seems to be optional, cf. *ajərgə* ~ *ajirgə* < *ajirga ‘stallion’, *jajəl* ~ *jajil* < *jajil- ‘to chew’, *jərgə* ~ *jirgə* < *jirga- ‘to be glad’, but even after palatal consonants *ə* is the more common pronunciation.¹³⁸

In Dongxiang the back vowel *i̯* tends to occur not only after uvular *q* and *ḡ*, but, in some analyses, also after apicals *s*, *c* and retroflexes *ʂ*, *ʐ*, *ʒ*. In this analysis, which will be followed here, *i̯* may be viewed as a separate vowel phoneme, which however should not be seen as a continuation of the old phoneme *i̯.¹³⁹ The actual pronunciations following the apical and retroflex consonants are [ɿ] and [ʮ], respectively. In Mangghuer, which like Dongxiang is strongly influenced by Chinese, the same [ɿ] and [ʮ] can be found following apicals and retroflexes, but *i̯*-like pronunciations do not occur near the uvular consonants.¹⁴⁰

3.4.4. Rounding phenomena

Rounding of *i̯ by preceding consonant

There are several old alternations *i̯ ~ *u near labial consonants for which it is generally hard to determine which is the older variant, such as *kabīd- ~ *kabud- ‘to swell’, *kabirga ~ *kaburga ‘rib’. Isolated modern cases include EYu *muna* < *mīnaa ‘whip’, MgrH *xavuzə* < *kabīsun ‘rib’, MgrH *amun* < *amīn ‘life’, MgrM

¹³⁸ This does not apply when *i* goes back to long *i̯*.

¹³⁹ In an alternative Chinese-inspired analysis [ɿ] and [ʮ] are attributed to the phoneme /i/ and written <*i̯*>.

¹⁴⁰ In Baoan dialects with strong Chinese influence and in Kangjia, *i̯* occurs following apicals and/or preceding gutturals. However, the modern *i̯* in these languages rarely goes back to CM *i̯.

amula < **alima* ‘fruit’. In several languages: EYu *buda*, MgrH *buda*, MgrM *buda-ŋ* < **bida* ‘we’.

MgrM *muqa* and BaoX *moğa* ‘meat’ seem to stem from a form **maqa* with prebreaking, rather than directly from CM **mikan*, in view of the cognates with -*a*- in Mongghul and Baoan dialects.

**i* > *u* preceding -*ŋ* in Baoan and Dongxiang

In Baoan, the sequence -*iŋ* (the expected reflex of *-*in/-in*) simply seems to have become inadmissible, perhaps due to Tibetan dialects which show similar restrictions preceding -*ŋ*. However, such an explanation would not apply to Dongxiang, which is not otherwise known to have undergone Tibetan influence. The **i* is either lowered > *a* or rounded > *u*. Interestingly, Kangjia appears to agree mostly with the Nantoq Baoan forms, given that Kangjia -*ɔ* stems from *-*an* (in combinations -*un/-un* the -*n* is not lost in Kangjia).¹⁴¹

BaoD	BaoÑ	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
<i>amun</i>	<i>amon</i> (BaoX)	<i>amin</i>	<i>amin</i>	* <i>amin</i>	life
<i>labciun</i>	<i>labcan</i>	<i>lašɔ</i>	<i>laçən</i>	* <i>nabčün</i>	leaf
<i>narun</i>	<i>na:ran</i>	<i>narɔ</i>	<i>narun</i>	* <i>narün</i>	thin
<i>ciɣan</i>	<i>ciɣan</i>	<i>ciɣɔ</i>	<i>ciğən</i>	* <i>čikin</i>	ear
<i>žiočün</i>	---	<i>jũčɔ</i>	<i>zoçən</i>	* <i>jočün</i>	guest
<i>χuičün</i>	<i>χi:čan</i>	<i>χuaičɔ</i>	<i>quaiçən</i>	* <i>kaučün</i>	old
<i>χoron</i>	<i>χøθən</i>	---	<i>qorun</i>	* <i>korün</i>	twenty

If the *-*n* is lost, **i* does not result in Baoan *u*, e.g. BaoD *gonə*, BaoÑ *gəni* < **konün* ‘sheep’, BaoD *morə* < **morün* ‘horse’, and likewise if there was no final consonant, e.g. BaoD *žialɣə* < **žalki*- (< **žalgü*-) ‘to swallow’, *ciɣə* < **čiki*- ‘to stuff’. This is not surprising, given that even original **u* is unrounded if *-*n* is lost, e.g. BaoD *nasə* ‘age’, as opposed to Dgx *nasun* < **nasun*). There are cases where this vowel change occurs in Dongxiang with other final consonants:

BaoD	BaoÑ	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
---	<i>yarəm</i>	<i>yarun</i>	<i>zarun</i>	* <i>jarim</i>	half
---	---	---	<i>gurun</i>	* <i>kurim</i>	feast
<i>gular</i>	<i>gəlar</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>gurun</i>	* <i>guril</i>	flour

The rounded first syllable or the final **m* (rather than original *n/ŋ*) may have played a role in these cases.

¹⁴¹ Kgj *išɔ* ‘chest’ also agrees with BaoÑ *ebcan*, and in this case, with Dgx *açan*, whereas BaoD *ebciun* retains (or redeveloped) the high vowel of CM **ebciün*.

Rounding of *i due to various causes

Labialisation of first-syllable *i by the second syllable vowel constitutes palatal breaking (for which see below). There are some other sources for labialisation.

Occasionally the *i is rounded by the vowel of the preceding syllable, as in EYu *dəgšun* < **dogsün* ‘fierce’, *hčur* < **učir* ‘occasion’, MgrH *šžūra*:- < **učira*- ‘to meet’.

Rounding may be caused by a following consonant, as in BaoŃ *xəwar*, Dgx *suwa* < **sibar* ‘mud’, MgrM *čubar* < **kilbar* ‘easy’.

Some roundings in Dongxiang seem to be due to the connective vowel *u* which was reinterpreted as part of the stem: *arulu*- < **aril*- ‘to clear up’¹⁴², *žazulu*- < **jažil*- ‘to chew’ (cf. Dgx **čudu*- < **čad-u*- discussed above).

Inexplicable labialisations include EYu *juda* ~ *jäda* < **jida* ‘spear’, *qutad* < **kitad* ‘Chinese’, *χurğa*- ~ *χərğa*- ~ *χarğa*- < **kirga*- ‘to shear’¹⁴³, and MgrH *žül* (normally *žil*) < **žil* (?**žil*) ‘year’.¹⁴⁴ The equally unexplained labialisation of the ‘converter’ suffix *-*ki* > -*ku* is a shared feature of the Shirongol languages.

3.4.5. Elision

If no other variants are attested, elision makes it impossible to establish whether palatal breaking ever took place. Related languages may have quite different forms. In these cases, as in *člu*: < **čilaun* ‘stone’, *hru:r* < **hīroar* ~ **hīraur* ‘bottom’, *i may have been broken before being elided. In cases such as EYu *šlā* we can exclude breaking, but then we do not know whether the CM form was **sili* or **sili* ‘nape’. Whenever palatal breaking would result in a non-high vowel, it is less likely that this would subsequently be lost. Thus, EYu *ma:n* ‘goat’ is more likely to derive from an unbroken form, perhaps **əma:n*, than from a broken form **yama:n*.

Elision of *i via reduction

E. Yugur	<i>ma:n</i> <i>nagšə</i>	* <i>imaan</i> * <i>inagsi</i>	goat hither ¹⁴⁵
Mongghul	<i>nağšə</i> <i>ləğa-</i>	* <i>inagsi</i> * <i>ilga-</i>	hither choose
Dahejia Baoan	<i>bar</i> ~ <i>šbar</i> <i>nağa</i>	* <i>sibar</i> * <i>sinaga</i>	mud ladle

¹⁴² It seems unnecessary to assume influence from the Dongxiang adjective *aruŋ* < **ariun* ‘clean’.

¹⁴³ Cf. the cases of unexpected *u* < **a* in Eastern Yugur *ura*:-, *čüsa*- discussed above.

¹⁴⁴ Perhaps the Mongghul form stems from a derived form, cf. Dgx *žunŋtu* < **žil.tu* ‘born in the the year ...’, whereas *žəŋ* < **žil* ‘year (of the animal cycle)’.

¹⁴⁵ This stem is one of the rare cases that also may lose the initial vowel in Central Mongolic languages.

Elision of *i via devoicing

E. Yugur	<i>č(ə)na-</i> (~ <i>čəna-</i>) <i>š(ə)ra</i> <i>čkən</i> ~ <i>čqən</i>	<i>*čīna-</i> <i>*sīra</i> <i>*čīkīn</i>	to cook yellow ear
Mongghul	<i>šda:-</i> <i>šzu:r</i>	<i>*sita-</i> <i>*hījaur</i>	to catch fire root
Ñantoq Baoan	<i>xi</i>	<i>*bīsī</i>	(is) not

**čīda-* ‘to be able’ usually loses its first vowel in the QG languages: EYu *šda-*, MgrH *šda-*, BaoD *da-*, BaoÑ *šda-*, BaoX *da-*, Kgj *š(i)da-*.

Mittelsilbenschwund is found in longer stems, usually between syllables with high vowels. Examples include EYu *alğa-* < **arilğa-* ‘to clean’ and Baoan *almaŋ* < **alīma* ‘apple’.

Especially after *-r-*, **i* and other high vowels may disappear in word-final position, as in EYu *uğwa:r* < **ugaa.rī* ‘washing water’, and formations with the deverbal noun suffix *-bUrI*.¹⁴⁶ Another example is EYu *ja:r*, *ja:rə* < **jīar(i)* ‘musk (deer)’, but in this word the final vowel is not unanimously supported by other languages either. The same may be seen in verb stems, such as EYu *bar-* < **barī-* ‘to grab’, *χα:r-* ‘to geld’ < **kaarī-* ‘to scorch’, *šar-* < **sīrī-* ‘to stitch’. Occasionally also in Shirongol, e.g. BaoÑ *tar-* < **tarī-* ‘to plant’, Kgj *utur-* < **udurī-* ‘to lead’.

3.5. Development of simple *i

3.5.1. Default development of *i

As mentioned above in 3.4.3. ‘unbreakable’ **i* and **i* have merged into *i* in the three central literary languages and Dagur. In the QG languages **i* and **i* have the tendency to be depalatalized into the vowel *ə*, although the pronunciation *i* may be preserved (or redeveloped), especially when preceded by a palatal consonant. In non-first syllables **u* and **ü* have the tendency to merge into *ə* as well, thus leading to the neutralisation of the high vowels. This is related to the partial loss of vowel variations in suffixes originally containing *U* (**u/*ü*) or *I* (**i/*i*). Although the main reflex of the high vowels is the, phonetically mid, vowel *ə*, the high vowels still form a distinct category, often freely alternating with *i* and *u*, or *Ø*. Examples for the loss of palatality include EYu *pəčə-* < **biči-* ‘to write’, *əlbə-* < **ilbi-* ‘to grope’, EYu *setgəl*, MgrH *sgəl* < **sedkil* ‘mind’, MgrM *ćirəg*, BaoÑ *ćerəg* < **čerig* ‘soldier’. The influence of palatal and labial consonants is demonstrated by the following examples: EYu *belčir* < **belčir* ‘confluence’, MgrM *pužig* < **bičig* ‘writing’, EYu *döčən* ~ *döčin*, MgrH *təžin* < **döčin* ‘forty’. However, some words widely preserve

¹⁴⁶ The same tendency to drop vowels after *-r-* exists in Western Yugur, with occasional parallels in North Eastern Turkic, including derivations with the suffix *-GARU* (see Nugteren & Roos 2006:118-119).

the pronunciation *i* even without palatal consonants, e.g. BaoD *niŋgaŋ*, Kgj *niŋgɔ*, Dgx *niŋkien* < **nimgen* ‘flimsy’, and MgrH *ir* < **hir* ‘edge of a knife’.

Dongxiang and Mangghuer have *ï* after retroflex consonants, as in Dgx *zïrəŋ* < **jirim* ‘bellyband’, *šïrə* < **siree* ‘table’, MgrM *šini* < **sini* ‘table’. Words like these also demonstrate there is no connection between this back *ï* pronunciation and CM **ï*.

3.5.2. Rounding phenomena

Most cases of labialisation are caused by labial consonants that either follow or precede the **i*, cf. MgrM *šumi-*, MgrH *šimu-*, both from CM **simi-* ‘to suck’. In words with rounded vowels ‘normal’ labialisation is hard to distinguish systematically from palatal breaking (see below). Similar developments occur throughout Mongolic and even within Middle Mongol (and in both directions). The alternants **hüleü* ~ **hileü* ‘more than’ may be explained by labial consonants as well, if the alternation stems from the period before PM **p-* had become **h-*.

In some words the **i* was broken or assimilated in several dialects. For instance BaoX *su:kə*, Kgj *səuki* ~ *sikəu*, Dgx *sumuğə* ‘awl’ seem to suggest a development from a broken form **sübüge* (< **sibüge*), which must have developed early enough to prevent the development **s-* > *š-*. However, forms in closely related dialects, such as BaoD *šibgu*, BaoÑ *xuke*, make it impossible to place this development at an early date. Cf. also the Dagur words whose **s-* did not palatalise due to early metathesis of diphthong elements, as in Dag *suidur* < **siüderi* ‘dew’ (see under **s* in 4.6.1.)

Labialisation can also be caused by the vowel of the preceding syllable, as in EYu *hkon*, MgrH *fužün* ~ *šžün* < **ökin* ‘girl’, MgrH *nućün* ~ *noćin* < **önečün* ‘orphan’, Kgj *turgu-*, Dgx *tunku-* < **tülki-* ‘to push’.

3.5.3. Lowering of **i*

Lowering of first-slot **i* before **e*

In Eastern Yugur there is a development reminiscent of palatal breaking in words with an **iCe* vowel sequence, which will develop into > *e-e*. Examples include *ere-* < **ire-* ‘to come’, *eryen* ‘s/he’ < **irgen* ‘people’, *ede-* < **ide-* ‘to eat’, *nengwen* < **nimgen* ‘flimsy’, *šere* < **siree* ‘table’. The fact that this change also occurred in Turkic loanwords in Eastern Yugur such as *beleg* ‘wrist’ and *elmeg* ‘button loop’ (from CT **biläk* and **i:lmäk*) suggests that it is a fairly recent development not connected to palatal breaking.¹⁴⁷ The unaccented first syllable *e* may in fact be a secondary development of *ə*. There are some examples where Qinglong dialect features *ə* instead of Hongshiwo *e*, e.g. Qinglong *nəye* ‘one’ for Hongshiwo *neye* <

¹⁴⁷ The similarity with Buriat in fig. 21 in Svantesson et al. (2005:196) is coincidental. Unbroken **i* of the first syllable always results in Buriat *e* irrespective of the following vowel.

**nige* ‘one’, Qinglong *šəŋgen* for Hongshiwo *šəŋgen* < **siŋgen* ‘watery’.¹⁴⁸ The same development is found in a number of words in Mongghul: *nengen* < **nimgen* ‘flimsy’, *šəŋgan* < **siŋgen* ‘watery’, *xerge* < **irge* ‘wether’. EYu *her* < **hir* ‘edge of a knife’ is a peculiar case because the *e* was not triggered by the second syllable.

Lowering of **i* preceding -*ŋ* in Baoan and Dongxiang

Parallel to the development of words ending in -*in*, words in -*in* undergo a development > Dgx -*aŋ*, Bao -*aŋ*, Kgj -*ə*, as in BaoŃ *debšaŋ*, Kgj *dešə* < **tübsin* ‘flat, level’, BaoŃ *bečaŋ* < **bečīn* ‘monkey’, Dgx *oniečəŋ* < **ōnečīn* ‘orphan’, Kgj *vaičə* < **ebečīn* ‘illness’. However, the occasional rounding seen in words with -*in* is not mirrored here.

3.5.4. Elision

As in the case of ending in **i*, it is impossible to say whether palatal breaking took place before the vowel was elided.

Elision of **i* via reduction

E. Yugur	<i>βəl- šlə</i>	* <i>ibil- sili</i>	(of milk) to flow nape
Mongghul	<i>de- re- rgen</i>	* <i>ide- ire- irgen</i>	to eat to come people

Elision of **i* via devoicing

E. Yugur	<i>hni:- hsə- hteye- šdən</i>	* <i>hinie- is- itege- sidün</i>	to laugh to ferment to believe tooth
Mongghul	<i>šže:- šüre:- sgi:</i>	* <i>hiče- bisire- isegei</i>	to be ashamed to believe felt
Kangjia	<i>jasun</i>	* <i>hičesün</i>	willow

In non-first syllables **i* may disappear under the same circumstances as the other high vowels. An example for *Mittelsilbenschwund* is MgrM *xarge*, BaoD *helgə* < **heligen* ‘liver’. Loss of word-final **i* can be seen after **r*, as in EYu *ö:r* < **öri* ‘debt’, *teŋger* < **teŋgeri* ‘sky’, and also in verb stems, e.g. EYu *e:r-* < **eri-* ‘to

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Bolčuluu & Jalsan 1988:351. That this *e* developed from **i* through a stage *ə* seems to be supported by Eastern Yugur *eje-* < **ije-* ‘to see’ and *hele-* < **hüle-* ‘to remain’.

seek', *kömör-* < **kömeri-* 'to overturn'. Therefore Eastern Yugur is not helpful in resolving contradictory forms in other languages. For instance in the case of **siber* or **siberi* 'foot sweat', where the Written Mongol spelling has -i but the Buriat and Ordos forms end in -r, the Eastern Yugur equivalent *šəβer* could stem from either variant.

3.6. Palatal breaking

3.6.1. Assimilation of CM **i* and **i* to following vowels

Palatal breaking, or *i*-breaking, is the traditional term in Mongolic studies for an assimilation phenomenon whereby CM **i* or **i* of the first syllable is assimilated to the vowel of the second syllable. This phenomenon occurs when a first syllable **i* is followed by **a*, **o*, or **u* in the next syllable, or when first syllable **i* is followed by **ö*, or **ü*. This includes lexemes in which **i* and **i* are followed by double and complex vowels starting with the same elements, such as **aa*, **ai*, **oa*, **üü*, etc. Notably absent from the list of vowels that induce breaking is **e*.

Palatal breaking may manifest itself in two ways. In some stems it is expressed as the replacement of CM **i* and **i* by the vowel of the second syllable, e.g. Kh *maxan* < **makan* < CM **mikan* 'meat'. In other stems the second vowel is introduced in the first syllable as well, but the original vowel remains as a 'residual' palatal element, e.g. Kh *myangan* < CM **mīngan* 'thousand'.¹⁴⁹ The former type, which in fact entails the complete assimilation of the first syllable vowel, is called 'prebreaking' in Janhunen (2003b:5). This label is applied when there is no residual palatality [in words where it could have been preserved], e.g. Khalkha *maxan* (rather than **myaxan*) < **mikan* 'meat', Kalmuck *üld* (rather than **yüld*) < **ildü* 'sword'.

Below I will not systematically use the distinction between breaking and prebreaking in the context of the QG languages. As breaking is a phenomenon that affects the vowel of the first syllable, whose phonetic substance and phonemic relevance is generally diminished in the QG languages, it is often difficult to determine whether breaking took place, let alone which type.¹⁵⁰ Some palatal 'residues' may have disappeared only recently, as illustrated by MgrH *nargai* 'tender', as opposed to MgrM *n'argai* 'id'. Secondary palatalisations may obscure the picture by giving the impression that no palatal breaking took place. Due to its palatal initial consonant, **čagaan* 'white' has resulted in BaoD *čigaŋ*, which casts doubt on forms like *šira* < **sira* 'yellow'. Although this Baoan form looks like a straightforward unbroken continuation of the CM form, it cannot be excluded that it developed via a broken form **šara*. Conversely, secondary labialisations may give the impression that breaking did take place, as in MgrH *buru*: < **bīrau* 'calf'. For

¹⁴⁹ This palatal element is usually analysed as a palatalisation of the initial consonant rather than as a member of a newly-developed diphthong. I am not concerned here with its synchronic phonological status.

¹⁵⁰ Other evidence that would enable us to distinguish breaking and prebreaking is also lacking in the QG languages, e.g. **č* and **j* did not each split into two affricates as they did in the three literary central languages. The word shape of Kh *caray* 'face' shows that **čirai* 'face' developed into **čaraī* early enough for **č*- to develop into depalatalised *c*-.

these reasons the QG languages are not expected to provide many new insights regarding palatal breaking.

In spite of the abovementioned difficulties, it is clear that palatal breaking is present in a number of words in both Eastern Yugur and Shirongol. The evidence will be presented below, after a look at the more transparent situation in the central languages and Dagur.

3.6.2. Palatal breaking in the North

In the three literary Central Mongolic languages and Dagur, palatal breaking can be most clearly observed, as the affected vowels carry the accent, and are less likely to be assimilated by the consonantal environment. It is worth noting that even Central Mongolic is not monolithic in the application of palatal breaking. Kalmuck retains more unbroken **i* and **i*'s than Khalkha and Buriat, while Ordos and Khamnigan have very few instances of breaking. Chakhar, which in most respects is quite close to Khalkha, has many cases of unbroken **i*. Two regular examples in back-vocalic stems:

CM	Kh	Bur	Kalm	Dag	
<i>*sira</i>	<i>šar</i>	<i>šara</i>	<i>šar</i>	<i>šar</i>	yellow
<i>*čina-</i>	<i>čanax</i>	<i>šanaxa</i>	<i>čanx</i>	<i>šanə-</i>	to cook

Regular examples with breaking in all these four languages like the above are relatively rare. Incidental cases of breaking are already documented in the earliest documents, and through the centuries developed into a tendency that affected more and more words, apparently without becoming a universal sound shift. During the slow spread of breaking, other sound shifts were taking place, which has led to many inconsistencies. We find that **sibaun* 'bird' resulted in Khalkha *šuvuu*, but the similarly structured **bīrau* 'calf' resulted in Khalkha *byaruu*, apparently because the contraction of the diphthong **au* was completed at the time of breaking in the first word, but not in the second.

Some irregularities may be explained as the result of mutual influence between the dialects. Other unexpected forms in modern languages may be due to the influence from the written language, which generally retains the spelling with *<i>*.

The examples below from Northern Mongolic clearly demonstrate whether breaking or prebreaking took place in a given stem in a given language. Interestingly, Buriat and Dagur developments often agree. The examples also reveal the internal inconsistencies that can occur within each language, and the resulting irregular correspondences among languages.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ That breaking need not be old in Khalkha either is shown by cases like Kh *xyarguy* < **kīrgui* 'hawk', *xyadax* < **kīdu-* 'to annihilate', *nyacax* < **niču-* 'to retreat', which were apparently only broken after the following *u* was 'neutralised' to *a*.

Breaking of *i by *a of the second syllable

CM	Kh	Bur	Kalm	Dag	
*jida	jad	jada	jid	[gʷad < Ma]	spear
*mikan	max(an)	myaxa(n)	maxn	mʷay	meat
*mīŋgan	myanga(n)	myanga(n)	miŋyn	mʷaŋgə	thousand
*nilka	nyalx	nyalxa	nilx	ñalk	tender
*ilga-	yalgax	ilgaxa	ilyǎǰǎ	yaləy-	to choose
*imaan	yamaa(n)	yamaa(n)	yaman	ima:	goat
*hīlaa < *hīlua	yala(a)(n)	ilaahan ~ yalaahan	iläsn	xila:	fly

Breaking of *i by *o of the second syllable

CM	Kh	Bur	Kalm	Dag	
*čino	čono(n)	šono	čon	---	wolf
*iro	yor	yoro	yor	yɔr	omen
*jīloa	joloo(n)	žoloo	jola	jilɔ:	reins

Breaking of *i by *ö of the second syllable

*čidör	čödör	šüder	čödr	šidər	hobble
*čilöe	čölöö(n)	sülöö	čölän	čulə:	free time
*kiröe	xöröö(n)	xyüröö	körä	kirə:	saw

Breaking of *i by *u of the second syllable

*niku-	nuxax	nyuxaxa	nuxx	nɔɣʷ-	to knead
*nīsun	nus(an)	nyuha(n)	nusn	ñɔs	snot
*nīruun	nuru(n)	nyurga(n)	nuryn	nirɔ: ~ ñirɔ:	back

Breaking of *i by *ü of the second syllable

CM	Kh	Bur	Kalm	Dag	
*nidü-	nüdex	nyüdexe	nüdx	nid-	to pound
*nidün	nüd(en)	nyüde(n)	nüdn	nid	eye
*sidün	šüd(en)	šüde(n)	šüdn	šid	tooth

3.6.3. Dagur contribution to palatal breaking

As can be seen in the forms listed above, palatal breaking is applied often, but not always by Dagur in back-vocalic stems. Dagur and Buriat share a proclivity to preserve a palatal element more than Khalkha and Kalmuck, cf. Dag *mʷay* < **mikan*

‘meat’, *n^yombus* < **nīlbusun* ‘tear’. However, unlike in Buriat, breaking in Dagur is rare in front-vocalic stems. Apart from some cases where broken and unbroken variants are attested, as in **ničügün* ‘naked’, **i* mostly remains unbroken preceding **ü/ö* of the following syllable, as in Dag *nid* < **nidün* ‘eye’, *kirə:* < **kiröe* ‘saw’, *šidar* < **šidör* ‘hobble’. On the other hand, Dagur seems to feature some unique cases of breaking before a following **e*, e.g. Dag *šaur* < **siberi* ‘foot sweat’. Some similarly structured Dagur forms do not align with conventional reconstruction. Dag *yəul-* ‘to flow (of milk from the udder)’ may point to a CM form **ibel-* (rather than **ibil-* as suggested by other languages). *šəuy^w* ‘awl’ may indicate that **sibüge* ‘awl’ is a secondary development of **sibege*.

3.6.4. Eastern Yugur evidence for palatal breaking

As mentioned above, palatal breaking is documented for the QG languages, but it may be difficult to establish whether it has taken place in a given individual word. Even if the vowel of the first syllable has survived, its quality is likely to be influenced by the preceding consonant. In Eastern Yugur and Shirongol the vowel, whether it was broken or not, can be elided or reduced to a degree that makes the word unusable as evidence, e.g. EYu *šdən* < **sidün* ‘tooth’.

But apart from the many words that are indecisive, some clearly demonstrate that breaking did take place in these languages. These are mostly words with a structure that is not conducive to vowel elision, such as words starting with a nasal and with a plosive as the second consonant, e.g. EYu *mayqan*, MgrH *maxa* from **mikan* ‘meat’. But it is hard to get unanimous cases; in this very same word the Dongxiang cognate *miğa* stands out with an unbroken *i*.

A number of words clearly suggest that breaking did not take place, such as EYu *čəna* < **čino* ‘wolf’, instead of expected **čono*.

Among the more straightforward cases of breaking in Eastern Yugur are the following.¹⁵² The word shapes do not necessarily correspond to those in Shirongol.

E. Yugur	CM	
<i>mayqan</i>	* <i>mikan</i>	meat
<i>nagta</i>	* <i>nigta</i>	precise
<i>nulusun</i>	* <i>nīlbusun</i>	tear
<i>nudurğa</i>	* <i>nīdurga</i>	fist
<i>nuru:n</i>	* <i>nīruun</i>	back
<i>čusun ~ čüsən</i>	* <i>čisun</i>	blood
<i>šəruī</i>	?* <i>široī</i> < <i>širudā</i>	earth
<i>oldə, uldə</i>	* <i>ildü</i>	sword
<i>nodu-</i>	* <i>nidü-</i>	to knead

¹⁵² It is not clear whether some of these words may have had palatalised consonants at an earlier stage, e.g. *nudurğa* < *nīdurgā* ‘fist’, or *mayqan* < *mayqan* ‘meat’.

(continued)

E. Yugur	CM	
<i>nudun</i>	* <i>nidün</i>	eye
<i>bodü:n</i>	* <i>bidüün</i>	coarse
<i>šoruin</i>	* <i>sirüün</i>	coarse
<i>kure:</i>	* <i>kiröe</i>	saw
<i>hörö:r</i>	* <i>hiröer</i>	prayer
<i>čüder</i>	* <i>čidör</i>	tether
<i>čölö:</i>	* <i>čilöe</i>	spare time

Several words have unexpected forms. EYu *qutağa* < **kituga* ‘knife’, is strange in that it does not have *u* in the second syllable. The lowering of the first vowel of *bodü:n* and *šoruin* is also unexpected. It may be related to the unexpected *e* in these words in several Shironjol languages, e.g. Dgx *biedun* and *šierun*. EYu *hörö:r* ‘prayer’ represents a prebroken form as in Ordos *örö:l*, while Khalkha has a broken form and retains a palatal residue in *yörööl*.

In the following cases the Eastern Yugur data are inconclusive. This is either due to reduction or elision of the first syllable vowel, or to the coexistence of variants that contradict one another. (Note that *ə* is the normal Eastern Yugur reflex of both **i* and **i*, and not infrequently of **u* and **ü*).

E. Yugur	CM	
<i>čna- ~ čəna-</i>	* <i>čina-</i>	to cook
<i>šra ~ šəra</i>	* <i>sira</i>	yellow
<i>člu: ~ čəlu:</i>	* <i>čiluun</i>	stone ¹⁵³
<i>ma:n</i>	* <i>imaan</i>	goat
<i>šdən</i>	* <i>sidün</i>	tooth
<i>šu:n</i>	* <i>sibaun</i>	bird
<i>šəbye ~ šuye</i>	* <i>sibüge</i>	awl
<i>hru:r</i>	* <i>hiroar/*hiraar</i>	bottom
<i>χəməsən</i>	* <i>kimusun</i>	nail

In some cases the phonetic environment does make it possible to determine whether ‘breaking’ has taken place. In cases like EYu *məŋgan* < **müŋgan* ‘thousand’ and *ğəja:r* < **kijjaar* ‘edge’, with the vowel between weak consonants, it is less likely for any *a* that might have existed to be reduced.

In cases such as the following **oa* must have become *ə*:, and subsequently raised to *u*:. It is impossible to determine whether the variant with *u* in the first syllable is older than the variant with *ə*, or a relatively late development.

¹⁵³ Note that this word is usually reconstructed **čilaun*, but none of the modern languages preserves a trace of the **a*.

E. Yugur

CM

<i>ǰəlu:</i> ~ <i>ǰulu:</i>	<i>*ǰiloa</i> < <i>*ǰilua</i>	rein
<i>ǰirǰu:n</i> ~ <i>ǰurǰu:n</i>	? <i>*ǰirgoan</i> < <i>*ǰirguan</i>	six

The following cases are also hard to assess. If they are assumed to be instances of breaking with equivalents in central Mongolic, an Eastern Yugur form **yalǰa-* would be expected rather than *alǰa-*. As these forms are not confirmed by other languages, it is also unlikely that they represent early ‘prebreaking’. It seems most likely that they are recent cases of lowering under the influence of the following vowel, parallel to the developments in EYu *ere-* < **ire-* ‘to come’, *harβa-* < **hurba-* ‘to turn’.

<i>xarǰa-</i> ~ <i>xərǰa-</i>	<i>*kīrǰa-</i>	to shave
<i>alǰa-</i> ~ <i>əlǰa-</i>	<i>*īlǰa-</i>	to choose
<i>xalǰasən</i>	<i>*kīlǰasun</i>	coarse hair

3.6.5. Shirongol evidence for palatal breaking

In a limited set of words the Shirongol languages agree that breaking took place, so that it can be posited for Proto Shirongol. In other lexemes, the Shirongol languages disagree. As in Eastern Yugur, there are also many forms that are inconclusive because of secondary developments of the first syllable vowel.

Words with disagreement among the languages include MgrH *maxa* and Dgx *miǰa* ‘meat’, which makes it hard to judge shapes like MgrM *muqa*, which technically could stem either from the original **mikan* or from broken **makan*.

In several cases of disagreement between Mongghul and Mangghuer, the latter seems to have the historically correct one, suggesting that Mongghul has a secondary development > *i*, as in MgrH *ćisə*, MgrM *ćuzi* < Proto Shirongol **ćusun* < CM **ćisun* ‘blood’, MgrH *ǰirge*, MgrM *ǰurgi* < Proto Shirongol **ǰürgen* ‘heart’.¹⁵⁴ As these Mongghul words developed *i* from other vowels, other forms with *-i-* following a palatal consonant, such as *ǰida:* < *ǰida* ‘spear’, *śira* < *sira* ‘yellow’, *ćire:* < *ćirai* ‘face’, can not be used as evidence *against* breaking in Mongghul. Whether these forms with *-i-* go back to forms with breaking, can only be established if the corresponding Mangghuer form preserves the broken vowel.

Rounding of **i*/**i* can not with certainty be attributed to breaking when the word starts with a labial consonant, as in MgrH *buru:* < **bīrau* ‘calf’, *budən* < **bidüün* ‘coarse’, Dgx *bunzu* ~ *bənzū* < **bilǰiūr* ‘bird’, as these could be ‘normal’ labialisations that may have taken place in any period. The same uncertainty occurs in some words with a labial element following the *i*, as in MgrM *şubigi* < **sibüge* ‘awl’, where the *-u-* may be due to the *b* rather than to breaking. MgrM *şudu* ‘tooth’ probably is a secondary development of *şdu* < **sidün*, motivated by the reduced tolerance for initial clusters.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. also MgrH *śilo:*, MgrM *şuli* < **silön* ‘soup’, which has a complicated phonetic history.

Absence of breaking in the Monguor languages can be demonstrated in words originally starting with **ki/*ki*, because these developed initial *ć-*. This applies to MgrH *ćirval* < **kilbar* ‘easy’, as well as the reflexes of **kimusun* ‘nail, hoof’, **kirga-* ‘to shave’, **kitad* ‘Chinese’, **kiröe* ‘saw’, etc. In this regard the Monguor languages stand apart from both Eastern Yugur and remaining Shirongol (the Baoanic languages). Only Dgx *ćirau* ‘saw’ inexplicably also features initial *ć*, while normally **ki/*ki* results in *qə/kə* there.¹⁵⁵

Among the words with initial consonants that are neither labial nor palatal, there are a number which feature breaking in several Shirongol languages.

MgrH	Dgx	Kgj	CM	
<i>maxa</i> <i>nuġ-la-</i>	<i>miġa</i> <i>nuqu-</i>	<i>maġa</i> <i>nüġe-</i>	<i>*mikan</i> <i>*niku-</i>	meat to knead
<i>nəmpəsə</i> <i>nudurġa</i> <i>nurə</i>	<i>nuġusun</i> --- <i>nuruŋ</i>	<i>nürsün</i> <i>nudurġa</i> <i>nuru</i>	<i>*nilbusun</i> <i>*nidurga</i> <i>*niruun</i>	tear fist back
<i>nədə-</i> <i>nudu</i>	<i>nudu-</i> <i>nudu</i>	<i>nüdü-</i> <i>nüdü</i>	<i>*nidü-</i> <i>*nidün</i>	to pound eye

Cases supported by both Monguor languages include:

Mongghul	Mangghuer	CM	
<i>ćino ~ ćuna:</i> <i>ġulo:n ~ ġilo:n</i> <i>ġülzə</i> <i>ġoro</i> <i>ġu:rə-</i> <i>narġai</i>	<i>ćuna</i> --- <i>ġursi</i> --- <i>ġuri-</i> <i>n'arġai</i>	<i>*ćino</i> <i>*ġiloan/*ġiloan</i> <i>*ġilsun</i> <i>*ġiroa</i> <i>*ġiru-</i> <i>*nilka X *nirai</i>	wolf smooth glue ambler to paint young and tender
<i>uldə</i> <i>śolgo</i> <i>śüro:- ~ śiro:-</i> <i>śirən ~ śürun</i> <i>ćudor</i>	<i>ul'du</i> <i>śurke</i> --- <i>śuruŋ</i> ---	<i>*ildü</i> <i>*silükei</i> <i>*hiröe-</i> <i>*sirüün</i> <i>*ćidör</i>	sword saliva to bless coarse hobble

MgrH *ćuna:*, MgrM *ćuna* < **ćino* ‘wolf’ is peculiar in that the second syllable lost its rounding after assimilating the first vowel (cf. EYu *ćəna*, Bao *ćina*, where the rounded vowel left no trace at all).

¹⁵⁵ This seems to suggest borrowing from a Monguor-type language, although such a relation between Dongxiang and Monguoric is not otherwise known to exist.

In other cases the Monguor languages disagree with each other, as in MgrH *ćisə*, MgrM *ćuzi* < **ćisun* ‘blood’. As mentioned above, it is most likely that the Mongghul form is due to ‘repalatalisation’ of an earlier Monguoric form **ćusə* due to the initial consonant.

Within Baoanic there is little agreement concerning palatal breaking, but the following cases are supported by at least one language:

BaoÑ	Kangjia	Dongxiang	CM	
<i>ćanle-</i>	<i>ćiauli-/ćiɔli-</i>	<i>čanlie-</i>	* <i>ćiŋla-</i>	to listen ¹⁵⁶
---	---	<i>sanza</i>	* <i>siŋja</i>	sheep tick
<i>ćisəŋ</i>	<i>ćisun</i>	<i>ćusun</i>	* <i>ćisun</i>	blood
---	---	<i>şuluŋ</i>	* <i>siluun</i>	upright
<i>ćələ</i>	<i>ćələ: ~ ćilə:</i>	---	* <i>ćilöe</i>	free time
<i>kuru</i>	<i>kiru</i>	<i>ćirəu</i>	* <i>kiröe</i>	saw
<i>nişgan</i>	<i>nişiliu</i>	<i>muçuğuŋ</i>	* <i>ničügün</i>	naked
<i>nədə-</i>	<i>nudu-</i>	<i>nudu-</i>	* <i>nidü-</i>	to pound
<i>nədəŋ</i>	<i>nudu</i>	<i>nuduŋ</i>	* <i>nidün</i>	eye

When looking at the QG forms of **kirga-* ‘to shave’, alternations like EYu *çarğa-* ~ *çarğa-* ~ *çurğa-* and Kgj *qarğa-* ~ *qerğa-* again confirm the instability (and limited usefulness for historical purposes) of first syllable vowels. Given the distribution of forms that look broken and those that do not, and the alternations within languages or groups (e.g. BaoÑ *çarğa-*, Dgx *ğışa-*), it is most likely that Proto Yugur, Proto Monguor and Proto Baoanic all had preserved high vowels. In some cases there is evidence for recent breaking. For instance MgrM *ćarğa-*, as opposed to MgrH *ćirğa-*, shows that the *a* in the first syllable is probably due to a recent assimilation to the second syllable, because an early assimilation would have prevented the palatalisation of initial **k-*. Occasionally there is a clear indication that breaking must have taken place quite early. Dgx *saŋza* < **siŋja* ‘sheep tick’ must have developed its first *a* early enough to prevent the palatalisation of the initial *s-*.

3.7. Development of simple *o

3.7.1. Default development

In monosyllables and the accented syllable of longer stems **o* generally stays intact in Dagur and Eastern Yugur. Within Shirongol only Kangjia retains **o* as *ɔ*. In remaining Shirongol the standard reflex is *o* (with the usual diphthongal realisations), which has merged with its harmonic counterpart **ö*. Examples include **ol-* ‘to find’, **ora-* ‘to enter’, **hodun* ‘star’, **kola* ‘far’, **morin* ‘horse’.

¹⁵⁶ BaoÑ *ćanle-* may also owe its *a* to the influence of the following *-ŋ-*, see 3.4.4.

Labial breaking of the sequence **o-a* in Dagur was touched upon in 3.2.2. above. It occurs frequently, but not systematically, cf. *war-* < **ora-* ‘to enter’, but *xɔl* < **kola* ‘far’. It is not understood why, although the usual suspicion of central Mongolic and/or Manchu influence applies here as well.

3.7.2. Raising

CM words with the sequence **o-a*, developed a *ɔ-ɔ* (Shirongol *o-o*) sequence due to harmonic rounding of **a* (see above). The accented secondary *ɔ* of the non-first syllables is generally better preserved than the original *ɔ* of the first syllable.

In Mongghul, words of this structure tend to neutralise the first (unaccented) *ɔ* to *ə* or raise it to *u*, resulting in forms such as *ulon* < *olon* < **olan* ‘many’, *sunosə-* < *sonosə-* < **sonas-* ‘to hear’, *ləmo:n* < **lomo:n* < **noman* ‘mole (animal)’.

As mentioned above in 3.2.2., Kangjia tends to develop a vowel sequence *u-u* in words of this structure. Although the Mongghul and Kangjia developments came about independently after harmonic rounding took place, they are both illustrated in the following table, compared with the more primitive situation in Eastern Yugur:

Mongghul	Kangjia	E. Yugur	CM	
<i>ulon</i>	<i>ulu</i>	<i>ɔlɔn</i>	<i>*olan</i>	many
<i>uro-</i>	<i>uru-</i>	<i>ɔrɔ-</i>	<i>*ora-</i>	to enter
<i>χulo</i>	<i>gulu</i>	<i>χɔlɔ</i>	<i>*kola</i>	far

The development of unaccented **o > u* is not uncommon in Kangjia, even in words that did not develop the *u-u* vowel sequence, such as *suqta-* < **sogta-* ‘to get drunk’, *sunsī-* < **sonas-* ‘to hear’. The development **o > u* is also found, e.g. *murtun* < **modun* ‘wood’, *fɯtɔ* < **hodun* ‘star’, although Kangjia *u* more typically represents CM **ü*.

The development **o > u* (or *o*) in Mongghul and Mangghuer can also be triggered by adjacent uvular consonants, as in **konī* ‘sheep’, **mogāī* ‘snake’, **nokāī* ‘dog’.

In Eastern Yugur the raising of **o > u* is mainly seen in long vowels, but it also happened in the secondary vowel length of *mu:dən* (*mɔ:dən* in Qinglong dialect) < **modun* ‘wood’. This does not seem to be an Ordos-type raising under the influence of the following high vowel.¹⁵⁷

3.7.3. Unrounding

Many cases of unrounding of **o* cannot be separated from other phenomena such as raising and devoicing. However, in Shirongol there are instances of unrounding in unreduced, and even in accented syllables. The result is often *a*, as in MgrH (rare)

¹⁵⁷ As suggested by Rybatzki 2003:370.

basə < **bos*- ‘to get up’, *mančəg* < **mončag* ‘crest’, MgrM *lan* < **nom* ‘book’, Kgj *bağəni* ~ *bəğəni* ~ *bəğəni* < **boganī* ‘low’, BaoD *tabćia* < **tobći* ‘button’. The Mongghul reflexes in *fæn* < **hon* ‘year’, *tešǰə* < **tobći* ‘button’ can be viewed as further developments of *a*.

In most of these cases, the preceding or following labial consonant may have played a role. Unrounding is frequent in Dongshan Mongghul, often after a labial initial consonant, as in *mazə* < **morīn* ‘horse’, *bara* < **bora* ‘grey’, *pasə* < **bos*- ‘to rise’, *bal-* < **bol-* ‘to ripen’, but also after other initials, as in *naşdo* < **nogta* ‘halter’, *nayo:n* < **noyan* ‘lord’, *salǰvi* < **solagai* ‘left’, *talǰvi* < **tolagai* ‘head’.

In Dahejia Baoan word-final *ɔ* (stemming from **a* by harmonic rounding) can result in *ə* (as can the other non-high vowels), as in *orə* < **oro*- < **ora*- ‘to enter’.

In EYu *čəna* < **čino* ‘wolf’ the second syllable was unrounded before palatal breaking could take place.

3.7.4. Palatalisation

Palatalisation of **o* is generally caused by preceding palatal consonants; **y* can also palatalise a preceding **o*. In the QG languages it is hard to separate it from raising and reduction. This is especially true for the Shirongol languages, which lack a phoneme *ö*. Therefore the result of palatalisation of **o* in these languages is mostly *i* or *ü* (the latter is present in most dialects as an allophone or a loan phoneme).

Eastern Yugur has various reflexes, including *ö*, as in EYu *soyɔ:* ~ *söyɔ:* ~ *sio* < **soyaa* ‘tusk; stalk’, *niyɔn* ~ *nyɔ:n* ~ *nion* < **noyan* ‘lord’.¹⁵⁸

Mongghul examples include *čugu-* ~ *čigu-* < **čoki-* ‘to peck’, and due to initial consonant strengthening also *čugu-* ~ *čigu-* < **joki-* ‘to suit’.

An example with retained rounding from Kangjia is *jučɔ* ~ *jüčɔ* < **jočīn* ‘guest’, and one with collapse of the first syllable *niɔ* < **noyan* ‘lord’.

3.7.5. Elision

Elision of first-syllable **o* will not affect the harmonic rounding of any following **a*, cf. EYu *hǰɔr*, BaoD *ǰor*, Kgj *χɔr* ~ *χuar* < **hokar* ‘short’.

Elision of **o* via reduction

E. Yugur	<i>ru:n</i>	* <i>oran</i>	place
Mongghul	<i>losə</i>	* <i>olasun</i>	hemp
	<i>yo:-</i>	* <i>oya-</i>	to sew
	<i>ǰoǰvi</i>	* <i>oǰagai</i>	penis
Ñantoq Baoan	<i>ləŋ</i>	* <i>olan</i>	many

¹⁵⁸ Cf. also the palatalisation of diphthong elements, as in EYu *öiro* < **oira* ‘nearby’.

Elision of *o via devoicing

E. Yugur	<i>htɔɔ</i> <i>qutul-</i>	<i>*dotara</i> <i>*hogtal-</i>	inside to fell
Mongghul	<i>ʂdolə-</i> <i>χǵuar</i>	<i>*hogtal-</i> <i>*hokar</i>	to fell short
Dahejia Baoan	<i>ǵor</i> <i>tχuŋ</i>	<i>*hokar</i> <i>*togaan</i>	short pot

3.8. Development of simple *ö

3.8.1. Default development

In Dagur, CM *ö has normally merged with *ü into *u*, as in *bur*^v < *bös ‘fabric’, *nuyur* < *nöker ‘friend’, *kuk*^w < *köke ‘blue’.

In Eastern Yugur, CM *ö has resulted in a real front vowel *ö*, which in many words has become centralised to closed *o* (which can be distinguished from *ɔ*, at least in Bolčuluu’s analysis). However, closed *o* could also represent an earlier stage of development than the front *ö* (cf. the development of *ü below).

In Kangjia the distinction between *ö and *o was preserved. In the remaining Shirongol languages *ö merged with its harmonic counterpart *o into the modern phoneme *o*. This default development is generally found in monosyllables such as *ög- ‘to give’, *bös ‘fabric’, *köl ‘foot’.

The same reflexes may be found in longer stems. However, originally *ö was mostly restricted to the first syllable, apart from instances of harmonic rounding of *e, e.g. MgrH *losə-* < *olos- < CM *öles- ‘to be hungry’, and in words with *ö in the second syllable following *i* of the first syllable, e.g. *čidör ‘hobble’, *silön ‘soup’. The latter category is the only one with second syllable *ö that can not be explained as secondary development. The existence of *ö after *e or *ü of the first syllable cannot be demonstrated for older Mongolic based on the available evidence.

Two common deviations from these developments are unrounding and palatalisation.

3.8.2. Unrounding

Unrounding of *ö in first syllable is unpredictable but not uncommon in QG. In Eastern Yugur most examples of unrounding seem to be dissimilation cases due to a preceding labial consonant, e.g. *mere:n* < *mören ‘river’, *mer* < *mör ‘path’, *pes* < *bös ‘fabric’. A variant with *ö* is also attested in all these cases. It may be relevant that these words contain labial consonants. However, the *ö* variant of A-suffixes (A stands for the fourfold alternation *a e ɔ ö*) tends to be replaced by the *e* variant, irrespective of the surrounding consonants.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ In Western Yugur there is a similar tendency to unround *ö in the vicinity of a labial consonant, as in *perik* < *bö:rk ‘hat’.

All Shirongol languages have some examples for unrounding of **ö*, e.g. MgrH *far* ~ *for* ~ *fod* < **höd(ü)* ‘larva’, Dgx *kəway* < **köbeün* ‘son’, Kgj *besge* < **bögse* ‘buttocks’, *mante-* < **möltül-* ‘to undo’. Although many of the affected lexemes contain labial consonants and thus may involve dissimilation, other cases are unpredictable, e.g. MgrM *ango* < **önge* ‘colour’, Dgx *šieni*, Kgj *sini* < **söni* ‘night’, Dgx *šinie-*, Kgj *sini-* < **söne-* ‘to extinguish’, Kgj *tere-* < **töre-* ‘to give birth’, Kgj *eteɣ-* < **ötel-* ‘to grow old’.

A few words feature unrounding in several languages. For some words it may be viewed as an older development in view of their distribution. **dörben* ‘four’ is unrounded in all of Shirongol and may therefore have been unrounded in Proto Shirongol (cf. also MgrH *təʒin* < **döčün* ‘forty’, which was lost in remaining Shirongol). The same applies to **möngün* ‘silver’.

In Baoan and Dongxiang we find unrounding in **mölsün* ‘ice’ and **sölsün* ‘gall bladder’. The fact that this unrounding did not occur in Kangjia means that it is not a development of the Proto Baoanic period.

In Dahejia Baoan word-final *o* < **ö* (< **e* by harmonic rounding) can result in *a*, as in *orə* < **öre* ‘(pit of the) stomach’.

Second syllable **ö* following **i* of the first syllable was unrounded in EYu *čüder* < **čidör* ‘hobble’. EYu *šelen* ~ *šölön* < **silön* ‘soup’. See the section on palatal breaking in 3.6. above.

The unrounding in Dag *bədənʹ* < **bödene* ‘quail’ and *bəlluyʷ* < **böldegen* ‘testicles’ is due to the labial initial.

3.8.3. Raising

In Eastern Yugur the reflex *u* is not uncommon in Hongshiwo dialect (the basis of Bolčuluu’s dictionary), as in *muren* < **mören* ‘river’, *hutgwen* < **ödken*, but in Qinglong dialect **ö* is apparently retained. However, in view of forms such as Qinglong *nödön* < **nidün* ‘eye’, at least some occurrences of *ö* may in fact be due to lowering of an earlier development **ü*.

In Mongghul the sequence **ö-e* was harmonically rounded > *o-o*, and has the tendency to develop into *u-o* (like its harmonic counterpart **o-a* > *o-o*), e.g. **töre-* > *turo-* ‘to be born’.

In parallel to **o-a*, Kangjia has the development of the sequence **ö-e* > *ö-ö*, which may be raised to a sequence *u-u*, apparently mostly in the vicinity of velars. It is not clear whether this *u-u* developed via an intermediate stage whereby only the first or the second **ö* was raised.

Some Mongghul and Kangjia cases compared:

Mongghul	Kangjia	E. Yugur	CM	
<i>kugo-</i>	<i>kuku-</i>	<i>hkö-</i>	* <i>köke</i>	blue
<i>nuko</i>	<i>nuxgu(ŋ)</i>	<i>nökön</i>	* <i>nöken</i>	cave
<i>sgo:-</i>	<i>sgu-</i>	---	* <i>sögee-</i>	to scold

Kangjia *u* can also be the result of **ö* in other environments, e.g. *uγ-* < **ög-* ‘to give’, *uɳdər* < **(h)öndür* ‘high’, *ule* < **öreele* ‘half of a pair’, *uɳramɔ* < **öre aman* ‘pit of the stomach’.

3.8.4. Elision

Elision of **ö* via reduction

E. Yugur	<i>lögčän</i> <i>nöčän</i>	<i>*ölegčän</i> <i>*önečän</i>	she-dog orphan
Mongghul	<i>losə-</i> <i>ηgo</i> <i>ndur</i> <i>rme:n</i>	<i>*öles-</i> <i>*öηge</i> <i>*öndür</i> <i>*öreme</i>	to be hungry colour high skin on milk
Kangjia	<i>ηγusun ~ gusun</i> <i>lesī-</i>	<i>*örgesün</i> <i>*öles-</i>	thorn to be hungry
Dongxiang	<i>gieru-</i> <i>muğə</i>	<i>*öηgere-</i> <i>*örmege</i>	to pass by coarse fabric

Elision of **ö* via devoicing

E. Yugur	<i>hkö</i> <i>hkö-</i> <i>sukel- ~ sgöl-</i>	<i>*köken</i> <i>*köke-</i> <i>*öskel-</i>	blue to suckle to kick
Mongghul	<i>şdogo:n</i>	<i>*ödken</i>	dense
Mangghuer	<i>diməi</i> <i>xu-</i>	<i>*ödme</i> <i>*ög-</i>	bread to give
Ñantoq Baoan	<i>şgel-</i>	<i>*öskel-</i>	to kick
Kangjia	<i>dagɔ ~ žigɔ</i>	<i>*ödken</i>	dense

**öčügedür* ‘yesterday’ has lost its first vowel in Eastern Yugur and in all of Shironqol with the exception of Dongxiang: EYu *čogdor*, MgrH *čigudur*, MgrM *çugodur*, BaoD *gudər*, Kgj *šigudə*, Dgx *fužuğudu*. Remarkably, initial vowel loss is even found in this word outside of the QG languages, as in Ordos *čugdur* and Moghol *čikaɔdur*.

Another example of initial vowel loss that affects Mongolic languages both in the QG area and elsewhere is **öčeen ~ *čöen* ‘few’, if the resemblance between the two forms is not a coincidence. The loss of the initial vowel of **ösegei* ‘heel’ is restricted to Buriat.

3.9. Development of simple **u*

3.9.1. Default development

In Dagur **u* generally merged with **o*, typically resulting in *ɔ*. In Shirongol (except Kangjia) it merged with **ü*. In Kangjia it was usually retained, and can be distinguished from its harmonic counterpart **ü*, although fluctuations occur. In neutral consonant environments, the default reflex of **u* is *u*, e.g. in **gurban* ‘three’, **kurim* ‘banquet’, **sula* ‘loose’, **sun-* ‘to extend’, **unagan* ‘foal’.

In Eastern Yugur **u* is also generally retained as *u* (in Bolčuluu’s analysis). There are some alternations between *u* and *ɔ*, eg *ɔɔḡɔr* ~ *yuḡur* ‘Yugur’, *ɔɔḡ* ~ *urəḡ* < **urug* ‘relatives by marriage’. Occasionally medial **u* was lowered in Shirongol by **a* of the following syllable, most notably in MgrM *ćidogo*, Dgx *qudoḡo*, from **kitogo* < **kitoga* < **kituga* ‘knife’. Cf. also Dgx *yidoḡo* < **idugan* ‘shaman’. This is reminiscent of the development of the complex vowel **oa* < **ua* in **jīloa* ‘reins’ and the like.

3.9.2. Unrounding phenomena

High vowel neutralisation

The treatment of **u* in accented syllables varies. It is often preserved in Baoanic, but usually unrounded to *ə* in Monguoric and Eastern Yugur, as can be seen in words with the suffixes *-sUn*, *-dUn*, *-tU*, in Eastern Yugur also (verbalizer) *-dU*, (nomen futuri) *-kU*, and (deverbal noun) *-bUrI*. The *U* of course represents **ü* as well, which in these suffixes results in the same sounds in the QG languages (Kangjia excepted). This can be illustrated by means of **yasun* ‘bone’: EYu *yasən*, MgrH *yasə*, MgrM *yaḡsi*, BaoŃ *yasəŋ*, Kgj *yasun*, Dgx *yasuŋ*.¹⁶⁰

In Eastern Yugur and Mongghul the high vowels **u* and **ü* as well as unrounded **ĩ* and **i* may all result in *ə*, effectively leading to their neutralisation. Although *ə* is phonetically a mid vowel, it remains in the phonological high vowel category, not only for historical reasons, but also because of the alternations between *ə* and *i* and *u* in the modern languages.

In longer stems with more than a single *u*, they apparently strengthen each other’s presence, and resist the neutralisation > *ə*, cf. EYu *qusun* < **usun* ‘water’, *nurḡusun* < **nugursun* ‘spinal marrow’, *χulusun* ~ *χulusən* < **kulusun* ‘reed’, *urus* < **urus-* ‘to flow’. In some words only one of the original **u*’s was preserved, but nevertheless the expected unrounding did not take place, e.g. MgrH *sʒu* < **usun* ‘water’, EYu *hdu-* < **hutu-* ‘to emit smoke’. The **u*’s of stems with other vowels in the first syllable, such as **nasun* ‘age’, **daru-* ‘to press’, **modun* ‘wood’, were unrounded in Eastern Yugur and Mongghul.

In the initial syllable the development **u* > *ə* rarely occurs in non-labial environments, as in EYu *jəlḡəḡan* < **julḡa(n)* ‘animal young’.

¹⁶⁰ **nasun* ‘year of age’ resulted in Baoan *nasə*, apparently because final *-n* was lost.

In the vicinity of labial consonants it is impossible to specifically attribute examples of unrounding of **u* to dissimilation or to high vowel neutralisation. Examples from Eastern Yugur include *bəda:n* < **budaan* ‘porridge’, *pərcag* < **burčag* ‘bean’, *səmən* < **sumun* ‘arrow’, *nəmən* < **numun* ‘bow’, and *səb* < **sub* ‘otter’. There are also examples from Shirongol, e.g. BaoÑ *bəla-* < **bula-* ‘to bury’, Kgj *bəlaŋgar* ~ *buləŋgar* < **buləŋgür* ‘turbid, unclear’, Dgx *bili-* < **buli-* ‘to snatch’, Dgx *pīza* ~ *puza* < **burčag* ‘bean’.

There must have been prehistoric alternations **u* ~ **i* near labial consonants, partly documented in Middle Mongol, see **bulčirkai* ‘gland’, **birau* ‘calf’, **busi* ‘not’. Given that the **h-* in **hujaur* ~ **hijaur* ‘root’ probably goes back to PM **p-*, the vowel alternation could also be ascribed to this labial consonant.

Two rare Dagur examples for this type of unrounding are *bəp'e:-* < **bulia-* ‘to snatch’, and *xən'e:s* < **kuniāsun* ‘fold’ (the expected forms with **ɔ* also exist).

Labial breaking

Labial breaking in Dagur involves the insertion of second syllable **a* into a first syllable with **u* or **o*, while this original labial is reduced in the process, and the **a* usually disappears from its original position, e.g. *d^wand* < *dūandā* < **dumda* ‘middle’. Further examples include *want-* < **umta-* ‘to sleep’, *g^way* < **guya* ‘thigh’, *x^wark* < **huraka* ‘lasso’, *s^wadəl* < **sudal* ‘vein’. Also in this regard **u* behaves just like **ɔ* in Dagur, cf. *war-* < **ora-* ‘to enter’, *d^watər* < **dotar* ‘inside’.

After a labial consonant the vowel loses the labial element, or put differently, the labial initial consonant loses its labial coarticulation: Dag *bay* < **buka* ‘bull’, *bačil-* < **bučal-* ‘to boil’, *manə* < **muna* ‘cudgel’. It is not clear whether there ever were intermediate forms with *b^w-*, e.g. **b^way* as an earlier shape of *bay*.

Despite being an innovative Dagur feature, labial breaking contributes to CM reconstruction, by showing that words with labial breaking must have had **a* in their second syllable. For instance Dag *n^wayəs* ‘duck’ suggests CM **nogasun* or **nugasun*, contrary to Ordos *nuḡusu*, which favours **u* in the middle syllable.

Unrounding and lowering

The QG languages also feature developments that are similar to, but independent from, that seen in Dag *bay* < **buka* ‘bull’. This development **u* > *a* appears to be most frequent after a labial initial, but can occasionally be found elsewhere, as in EYu *balagān* < **bulagan* ‘sable’, MgrM *barčigai* < **bulčirkai* ‘gland’, BaoD *balag* ~ *bulag* < **bulag* ‘source’, Dgx *bağaçəu* < **buka(-čug)* ‘bull’. However, incidental cases such as MgrH *xonaḡla* ~ *xanaḡla* < **kulugana* ‘mouse’, and variants such as EYu *χuyaḡ* ~ *χayaḡ* < **kuyag* ‘armour’, *harβa-* < **hurba-* ‘to turn’, *haya-* < **huya-* ‘to tie’ indicate that assimilation to the vowel of the following syllable may play a role here rather than the labial consonant. In Eastern Yugur this type of lowering also occurs in the other high vowels of the first syllable (see for instance 3.5.3.).

Lowering accompanied by inexplicable fronting is seen in BaoÑ *terma* < **turma* ‘turnip’, BaoÑ *derəŋ* < **duran* ‘liking’, Kgj *mešχe-* < **muški-* ‘to twist’.

3.9.3. Palatalisation

In the QG languages palatalisation of **u* often co-occurs with unrounding. In the Shirongol languages this is partly due to the lack of a phoneme *ü*. Complete palatalisation **u > ə > i* by preceding palatal consonants is seen in Eastern Yugur and Shirongol. A widespread example is **ayu-* ‘to fear’, which has mostly become *ayi-* or *ai-*. A following **y-* can also palatalise **u*, as in EYu *xa:- ~ hia-* < **huya-* ‘to tie’. Palatalisation by preceding palatals is nearly universally applied in Mongghul and Baoan, while it is rare in their respective sister languages Mangghuer and Dongxiang, as illustrated by MgrH *žila:*, MgrM *zula*, BaoÑ *žila*, Dgx *zula* < **žula* ‘lamp’.¹⁶¹

As *ə* and *i* tend to be in an allophonic relationship in most of Shirongol, developments **u > i* in the absence of palatal consonants such as MgrM *bili-* ~ *buli-* < **buli-* ‘to seize’, can probably be interpreted as dissimilations.

Palatalisation *> ü* by adjacent consonant is found in Eastern Yugur, e.g. *čüsag* (~ *čisag*) < **žusag* ‘two-year-old (sheep)’. The Eastern Yugur phonological system already contained an *ü*, unlike that of Shirongol. Occasional cases occur elsewhere, e.g. BaoD *ganžün*, Kgj *ganžün ~ ganžun* < **kamčun* ‘sleeve’.

3.9.4. Elision

Elision of **u* via reduction

E. Yugur	<i>na:-</i>	<i>*una-</i>	to descend
	<i>βəjə</i>	<i>*ubujĩ</i>	feeding bottle
	<i>χwa:-</i>	<i>*kubĩa-</i>	to divide
	<i>sβəd</i>	<i>*subud</i>	pearl
Mongghul	<i>ŋgua:-</i>	<i>*ugaa-</i>	to wash
	<i>lus</i>	<i>*ulus</i>	nation
	<i>da:ldə-</i>	<i>*kudaldu-</i>	to sell
Ñantoq Baoan	<i>ta:-</i>	<i>*unta-</i>	to sleep

A widespread example of initial vowel loss is **uŋsi-* ~ **umsi-* ‘to read’, which lost its initial vowel in Monguoric and in most Baoan dialects, e.g. MgrH *mośə-*, BaoD *muśi-*, BaoGt *məś-*. Elision of the **u* may have become possible after a form **umuši-* with epenthetic vowel had developed. However, due to ‘dissenting’ forms like BaoÑ *əmči-* and Kgj *unči-*, it can not be reconstructed for Proto Shirongol.

**marta-* (or **umarta-*, based on its spelling) ‘to forget’ which famously lost its initial vowel even in central Mongolic, does not preserve a trace of it in the QG languages either.

¹⁶¹ Secondary *u* that was the result of palatal breaking, e.g. Proto Shirongol **čusun* < **čisun* ‘blood’, has undergone the same palatalisation in MgrH *čisə*, BaoD *čisun*, as opposed to the more conservative MgrM *čuzi*, Dgx *čusun*.

The exceptional loss of initial **u* in Dag *wa:-* < **ugaa-* ‘to wash’ probably involves an intermediate form **uwa:-*.

Elision of **u* via devoicing

E. Yugur	<i>hta:</i> <i>hta-</i> <i>rdə, hurtu</i>	<i>*hutaa</i> <i>*duta-</i> <i>*urtu</i>	smoke to lack long
Mongghul	<i>şdur</i> <i>şźūra:-</i>	<i>*urtu</i> <i>*učira-</i>	long to meet
Ñantoq Baoan	<i>hźa-</i> <i>şdasəŋ</i>	<i>*kuča-</i> <i>*hutasun</i>	to bark thread
Dahejia Baoan	<i>gul-</i>	? <i>*kukul-</i>	to break (tr.) ¹⁶²

**usun* ‘water’ lost its initial vowel in most of Shirongol, e.g. MgrH *şzu* ~ *szu*, BaoD *sə*, Kgj *sh* ~ *sü*. Older sources suggest that EYu *qusun* also goes back to a form with elided vowel *χsun* (*χ-* being a relic of the devoiced first syllable). MgrM *sužu* also involves a modern development from an older monosyllabic form *sžu*, due to decreasing tolerance for initial clusters.

Loss of **u* in other syllables can be seen occasionally, in Eastern Yugur usually following *-r-*, cf. *a:r* < **aru* ‘back’, *dar-* ~ *darə-* < **daru-* ‘to press’, *jar-* < **jaru-* ‘to use’.¹⁶³ Cases of *Mittelsilbenschwund* include EYu *χunlağ* < **kulugana* ‘mouse’, BaoÑ *ğəlsəŋ* < **kulusun* ‘reed’.

3.10. Development of simple **ü*

3.10.1. Default development

In Dagur **ü* merged with **ö* into *u* (See 3.8.).

In Eastern Yugur CM **ü* is represented by central *u* (according to Bolčuluu), and in some words by the front vowel *ü*.

In Kangjia the distinction between **ü* and **u* was preserved, although many irregularities occur. In the remaining Shirongol languages **ü* merged with its harmonic counterpart **u* into the modern phoneme *u*. This default development is found in words such as **bürge* ‘flea’, **büse* ‘belt’, **dülei* ‘deaf’, **jüg* ‘direction’, **kür-* ‘to reach’, **üge* ‘word’.

As far as the Shirongol languages are concerned, **ü* can also be reconstructed in **übül* ‘winter’ and **üdür* ‘day’, whose Written Mongol spellings suggest original forms **ebül* and **edür*. In these cases the forms with **ü-* are also

¹⁶² BaoD *gul-* did not lose its first syllable by devoicing, if it goes back to the variant **kugul-*.

¹⁶³ A rare example after another consonant is EYu *bat* < **batu* ‘strong’. The loss of the final vowel of the suffixes *-kU* and *-JU* is not universal, but only occurs when certain auxiliaries or negative particles follow.

supported by Dagur. In other words with this vowel pattern Dagur is in agreement with the Written Mongol spelling (cf. **elgü-* ‘to hang’, **ergü-* ‘to lift’, etc). In **sibüge* ‘awl’ and **čimügen* ‘marrow’ it seems better to reconstruct **ö* rather than **ü*; **ö* may be a secondary development of **e* due to the labial consonant.¹⁶⁴

3.10.2. Unrounding phenomena

High vowel neutralisation

Like its harmonic counterpart **u*, **ü* tends to become *a* in the final syllable in Eastern Yugur and Mongghul, cf. EYu *mendā* < **mendü* ‘peace’, EYu *xisān*, MgrH *ḡzān* < **ye(r)sün* ‘nine’, EYu *hodān*, MgrH *fo:dā* < **hödün* ‘feather’. There is also the exception, as in the development of **u*, that words with several **ü*’s may withstand the delabialisation tendency, as in EYu *nudun*, MgrH *nudu*, BaoŃ *nōdōŋ*, Kgj *nudu* (< **nudun*) < **nidün* ‘eye’. Even when the first syllable vowel is elided, the rounding remains in the second vowel, as in EYu *hsun*, MgrH *ḡzu* < **hüsün* ‘hair’, EYu *hsun* < **üsün* ‘milk’, EYu *hku-* < **ükü-* ‘to die’.

Some of the abovementioned words with the vowel sequence **e-ü* have lowered vowels in Eastern Yugur, reminiscent of central Mongolic, whereas Shirongol has two high vowels. However, this is another issue where the descriptions of Bolčuluu and Junast differ. Eastern Yugur examples include *odor* (B), *udur* (J) < **üdür* ‘day’, *olyo-* (B) < **elgü-* ‘to hang’, *oryo-* (B), *urḡa-* (J) < **ergü-* ‘to lift’, *öröyö* (B) < **erüke* ‘smoke-hole’.

In the vicinity of labial consonants it is impossible to specifically attribute examples of unrounding of **ü* to dissimilation or to high vowel neutralisation.

Moreover, there are several words with prehistoric alternations **ü ~ *i*, as recorded in Middle Mongol and modern languages including **bütegei* (?**bitegei*) ‘do not’, **büteü* (?**biteü*) ‘double handful’, **hüleü ~ *hileü* ‘superfluous’, **ildü ~ *üldü* ‘sword’. It is not always clear which variant is the older. The reason behind these alternations is not the same in all cases. In the words starting with **b-*, this labial consonant may have been the trigger to labialise or delabialise the first vowel. As **h-* stems from PM **p-*, one of the variants **hüleü ~ *hileü* may also be due to assimilation or dissimilation. **üldü* ‘sword’ can be viewed as an early ‘prebroken’ variant of **ildü*.

Modern cases of **ü > a* (predominantly near labial consonants) include EYu *bälambār* < **bülien.bir* ‘lukewarm’, *pūsəyui ~ pāsəyui* < **büsegüi* ‘woman’, BaoŃ *təlgə-* < **tülki-* ‘to push’.

Unrounding and lowering

Unrounding and lowering in Eastern Yugur occurs in stems with **ü* in the first and **e* in the second syllable, e.g. *eje-* < **üje-* ‘to see’, *hele-* < **hüle-* ‘to remain’, *tele-* < **tüle-* ‘to burn’, *temen* < **tümen* ‘ten thousand’. Similar developments can be

¹⁶⁴ Khalkha, Ordos and Kalmuck suggest **siböge*, in which the **ö* could either be the **ü* lowered by the following **e* (cf. **kituga* ‘knife’ for a parallel back-vocalic case), or an independent labialisation of the middle **e* of **sibege*.

seen in other words with a high vowel followed by a non-high vowel, so these cases may merely involve the assimilation of an unaccented vowels to the accented one in the following syllable.

Similar developments can be found in the Shirongol languages, but there most cases seem to involve dissimilation in the vicinity of a labial consonant. Examples include MgrH *tebsin* < **tübsin* ‘level’, MgrM *bergesī* < **bürküesün* ‘lid’, BaoŃ *belgaŋ* < ?**bülie.ken* ‘lukewarm’, *hergə-* < **hürgü-* ‘to be startled’, *telaŋ* < **tüli.en* ‘firewood’, Dgx *bəŋgə* < **bürge* ‘flea’.

Unlike its harmonic counterpart **u*, short **ü* does not systematically undergo labial breaking in Dagur. Dag *bəs* < **büse* ‘belt’ may have developed via **büəsə*.¹⁶⁵

3.10.3. Palatalisation

Palatalisation of **ü* by a preceding palatal is occasionally seen in Shirongol, e.g. MgrH *žirge*, BaoD *žirgə*, Kgj *žirge* ~ *žirgi* < **žürüken* ‘heart’, MgrM *kuži* < **küčün* ‘strength’, MgrH *nəčigo:r* < **ničügü.er* ‘naked’, and (strictly from long **üü*: BaoŃ *užir* < **(h)üžüür* ‘tip, end’.

3.10.4. Elision

Elision of **ü* via reduction

E. Yugur	<i>ni:n</i>	<i>*ünien</i>	cow
	<i>βəl</i>	<i>*übül</i>	winter
	<i>noyon</i>	<i>*ünügün</i>	kid (goat)
Mongghul	<i>sme:n</i>	<i>*süme</i>	temple
	<i>dur ~ udur</i>	<i>*üdür</i>	day
	<i>žu:r ~ užu:r</i>	<i>*üžüür</i>	tip

A widespread case is the negation particle **üle* ~ **ülü*, cf. EYu *lə*, MgrH *li:*, BaoD *lə*, Kgj *ne*, and even Mog *lu*, *le*, *la*. As this word does not carry an accent, it frequently becomes prefixed to the verb.

Elision of **ü* via devoicing

E. Yugur	<i>hsun</i>	<i>*hüsün</i>	hair
	<i>kute-</i>	<i>*ügtee-</i>	to weed
Mongghul	<i>sʒə ~ fuʒə</i>	<i>*hüsün</i>	hair
Ńantoq Baoan	<i>sge</i>	<i>*süke</i>	axe
	<i>se</i>	<i>*büse</i>	belt

¹⁶⁵ Labial breaking in front-vocalic words seems to be essentially limited to **öe*, cf. Dag *xʷə:s* < **höesün* ‘pus’, *tʷə:* < **töe* ‘handspan’, *mʷə:r* < **möer* ‘rim of a wheel’, etc.

Some words have elided *ü of the first syllable in several QG languages, including *hüsün ‘hair’ listed above, *ükü- ‘to die’, and *ütergen ‘threshing floor’: MgrM *śdarge*, BaoŃ *tergaŋ*, Kgj *tərǵo*, Dgx *tuǵoŋ*.

In a couple of words the presence and absence of initial *ü has an unusual distribution. In *üsü(n) ~ *sün ‘milk’, the former variant is supported by Eastern Yugur as well as by the central languages Kalmuck and Ordos. It seems unlikely that the longer form *üsün is a secondary extended form. It is potentially very old, and reminiscent of *umarta- ~ *marta-, although it lacks the early documentation of that word. Likewise, the word otherwise reconstructed as *gün ‘deep’, has an additional syllable in MgrH *fugon* ~ *gun*, suggesting a reconstruction *ügün or even *öken, which is however not confirmed by any other language.

Vowel loss in non-first syllables usually involves *Mittelsilbenschwund*. In case of *jüriken ‘heart’ this occurred in all of Shirongol and exceptionally also in Eastern Yugur. Other examples include MgrH *śolgo*, MgrM *śurke*, Dgx *śaŋki* < *silükei ‘saliva’, BaoŃ *ebdæg* < *ebüdüg ‘knee’.

3.11. Issues related to vowel length

3.11.1. Vowel length in Mongolic

In this section I will review some of the possible evidence for original vowel length in Eastern Yugur and the Shirongol languages, with some excursions on Dagur. The main focus will be on the determination of the historical accuracy of modern vowel lengths, and on finding any alternative explanations. The synchronic distinctive value of vowel length in the peripheral languages will nevertheless be discussed.

The feature of vowel length is found in many Mongolic languages. The distinction between short and long vowels is phonologically relevant in the central languages Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck, and in Dagur. In the QG languages distinctive vowel length is found in Eastern Yugur, in Mongghul; and it seems to preserve some relevance in the Ńantoq and Xiazhuang dialects of Baoan.

The rare vowel lengths attested in Mangghuer (only indicated by Čenggeltai) and in Kangjia, Dahejia Baoan and Dongxiang (in the latter only documented by Todaeva) can only be of limited phonological importance synchronically. They are however of historical importance.

Long vowels have been described for Moghol, but these are restricted to certain vowel qualities (under the influence of the Tajik vowel system) and lack phonological significance.

In Dongxiang, Mangghuer, and Moghol the lengths that result from double vowels (and possibly lengths of other origins) have generally merged with the short vowel set. Incidental surviving vowel lengths in these languages are valuable for historical purposes. All languages that lost phonological vowel length did preserve some of the complex vowels in the form of diphthongs.

Examples demonstrating the phonological relevance of vowel length in the various languages will be given below. After that follows a section on the various origins of vowel length, including a discussion of so-called primary vowel length from the viewpoint of Dagur and QG languages. The modern languages are important for the diachronic discussion, as Written Mongol spellings and Middle

Mongol notations are not always informative, especially where those long vowels are concerned that are not the result of contractions.

3.11.2. Phonological value of vowel length

In order to establish the phonological ‘weight’ of vowel quantity in Mongolic, I will list some ‘minimal pairs’ and ‘near minimal pairs’ for each of the peripheral Mongolic languages that preserve long and short vowels.

The importance of such pairs in daily speech must not be overestimated. The opposed words are often different parts of speech so that they are not interchangeable in a given grammatical context. Furthermore, however respectable the list of minimal pairs of a language, the majority of words, whether short or long vocalic, do not have an otherwise identical counterpart of the other quantity. The minimal pairs given below at least demonstrate that the vowel quantity is not determined by the phonetic environment.

Vowel length is always a relative feature. Long and short vowels do not have a fixed duration. Many irregularities and variations within and between languages are probably due to this fact.

Words which have a counterpart probably preserve their quantity better. But even phonemically relevant vowel lengths may disappear. Long vowels then merge with their short counterparts and eventually the entire system of vowel length distinction can be lost.¹⁶⁶ This is what happened in Mongolic, apparently three or four times independently: in Moghol¹⁶⁷, Mangghuer, Dahejia Baoan, and probably separately again in Dongxiang (which seems to descend from a conservative Baoan dialect not unlike Nantoq Baoan (without the Tibetan element).

The (rather incidental) vowel lengths observed by Todaeva in Dahejia Baoan, and the vowel lengths recorded by Cenggeltei in Minhe Monguor, will be briefly discussed below.

Historically, vowel lengths have various origins. Double vowels **aa*, **ee*, **ii*, **ii*, **uu*, **üü* gave rise to modern long vowels, naturally with various qualitative shifts similar to their short counterparts. Contraction of complex vowels **oa*, **öe* (as they are reconstructed here) resulted in additional long vowels *o:* and *ö:*.

As expected, some of the minimal or near-minimal pairs in the peripheral languages are direct continuations of ancient simple-double oppositions such as CM **dere* ‘pillow’ ≠ **deere* ‘above’. However, many of the CM minimal pairs of this type did not survive. Most minimal pairs found in Dagur, Mongghul and Eastern Yugur are new. The long vowels may result from the contraction of diphthongs or may have other secondary origins. As seen in the examples below, long vowels in the peripheral languages may correspond to short vowels elsewhere in Mongolic, and short vowels may be shortened long vowels. In many cases one or both members of a minimal pair may be loanwords.

¹⁶⁶ Compare the fate of the Common Turkic vowel length, which only survived directly in three modern languages, out of some thirty modern languages.

¹⁶⁷ The modern Moghol vowel lengths usually developed under Persian influence. See Ligeti 1964.

Different descriptions of the same language may disagree about the quantity of a vowel. Some divergences may be due to small dialectal or ideolectal differences, others perhaps merely to different interpretations by the various authors. Junast hears MgrH *xumba-* ‘swim’, *nura:-* ‘collapse’, *ži:da* ‘spear’, while Khasbaatar hears *xumba:-*, *nu:ra:-*, *žida:* (CM **humba-*, **nura-*, **žida*). Similarly, Enkhbat hears Dag *dəlin* ‘udder’, *xərdun* ‘quick’, whereas Namcarai & Khaserdeni hear *dəli:n*, *xərdə:n* (CM **delen*, **kurdun*). Such discrepancies also occur in words which are expected to have long vowels. Enkhbat’s *kunšun* ‘smell of burning’ appears as *kunšu:n* in Namcarai & Khaserdeni (CM **kūnšūn*).¹⁶⁸ In the case of Enkhbat’s *xəllə* as opposed to Namcarai & Khaserdeni’s *xəru:l* ‘lip’ the situation is the reverse, but for this lexeme the existence of two early variants **huruul* ~ **hurul* is confirmed by the other languages. Many Eastern Yugur words have a long vowel according to Junast and a short vowel according to Bolčuluu & Jalsan:

Junast	Bolčuluu & Jalsan	CM	
<i>mere:n</i>	<i>muren</i>	<i>*mören</i>	river
<i>ule: ~ ölö</i>	<i>ule</i>	<i>*üile</i>	work
<i>kude:l-</i>	<i>kutel-</i>	<i>*kötel-</i>	to lead
<i>urjūno:n</i>	<i>orjincən</i>	<i>*urijī hon</i>	year before last

These are all historically short vowels which have apparently been lengthened in the accented final syllable.¹⁶⁹

Variation in quantity is also commonly found within the materials of one author, e.g. MgrH *dala* ~ *dali:* ‘alike’, *burge* ~ *bu:rge* ‘flea’ in Khasbaatar, Dag *ɕlum* ~ *ɕlɔ:n* ‘bellyband’ in Enkhbat. The relative abundance of such variations seems to go against the case for vowel length as an important distinction.

3.11.3. Vowel length distinctions in peripheral Mongolic

Apart from the central languages Khalkha, Ordos, Khamnigan, Buriat, and Kalmuck, long and short vowels are distinguished in Dagur, Eastern Yugur, Baoan of Nantaoq, Baoan of Xiazhuang, and Mongghul. The phonological relevance of vowel quantity can be illustrated by means of minimal pairs.

In the central languages, minimal pairs often correspond directly to CM pairs. E.g. the short vowels of Khalkha correspond to short CM vowels, and the long vowels of Khalkha correspond to double vowels.

In Central Mongolic there are numerous minimal pairs in which the word with the long vowel is the causative of the word with the short vowel, e.g. Khalkha *xatax* ‘to dry (intransitive)’, *xataax* ‘to dry (transitive)’, from **kata-* and **kata.a-*,

¹⁶⁸ Note that many of these words are also found in Manchu and Northern Tungusic languages. These languages may be the source of variant forms in Dagur or may otherwise have affected the Dagur forms.

¹⁶⁹ The reverse situation seems to be less common, but can be observed, e.g. in Junast *görösən*, Bolčuluu *gure:sən* ‘wild animal’ (**göreesün*), Junast *gua-*, Bolčuluu *uğwa:-* ‘to wash’ (**ugia-*), Junast *jū:ra-*, Bolčuluu *jūra-* ‘to mix’ (**juura-*).

respectively. The concept of phonemic vowel length itself was preserved in several peripheral languages, but, due to various sound shifts, many of the original oppositions do not survive as such. Many of the minimal pairs in the peripheral languages have arisen due to incidental, often unpredictable developments. In other cases vowel qualities have merged so that the distinction between two words comes to rely on the vowel quantity, as in the following example from Ñantoq Baoan:

BaoÑ	CM	
<i>ø:løŋ</i>	<i>*eülen</i>	cloud
<i>øløŋ</i>	<i>*olan</i>	many

In the following, a selection of clear oppositions between short and long vowels will be presented for each of the peripheral languages where vowel length is still distinctive. For the other languages a selection of relictual vowel lengths will be given.

3.11.3.1. Vowel length distinctions in Dagur

See the lists of Enkhbat 1988:58, Zhong 1982:11, cf. also the vocabulary in Namcarai & Khaserdeni 1983.

Dag	source	
<i>ča:s</i>	<i>*čaasun</i>	paper
<i>čas</i>	<i>*časun</i>	snow
<i>ba:s</i>	<i>*baasun</i>	excrement
<i>bas</i>	<i>*basa</i>	also
<i>sa:r</i>	<i>*saari</i>	leather strips
<i>sar</i>	<i>*sara</i>	moon
<i>ja:r</i>	<i>*jïar(i)</i>	musk
<i>jar-</i>	<i>*jaru-</i>	to use
<i>əmə:l</i>	<i>*emeel</i>	saddle
<i>əməl</i>	<i>*emüne</i>	front
<i>tɔ:s</i>	<i>*toasun</i>	dust
<i>tɔs</i>	<i>*tosun</i>	fat
<i>du:r-</i>	<i>*düüre-</i>	to fill up (intr.)
<i>dur-</i>	<i>*düre-</i>	to sell
<i>xu:l-</i>	<i>*hülie-</i>	to blow
<i>xul-</i>	<i>*hüle-</i>	to remain

3.11.3.2. Vowel length distinctions in Eastern Yugur

Most examples are listed in Bolčuluu & Jalsan 1990:51-52. When EYu /i:/ is interpreted as the long counterpart of /ə/, pairs such as *šara* ‘yellow’ ≠ *ši:ra* ‘leg’ can also be viewed as minimal pairs involving vowel length. See Nugteren 2003.

EYu	source	
<i>ja:r</i>	* <i>ĵiar(i)</i>	musk
<i>jar-</i>	* <i>ĵaru-</i>	to use
<i>gada:r</i>	* <i>kadaar</i>	bridle
<i>gadar</i>	* <i>gadar</i>	surface
<i>sa:r</i>	* <i>saari</i>	buttocks (of livestock)
<i>sar</i>	* <i>sar</i>	bird of prey
<i>da:rə</i>	* <i>daari</i>	saddle gall
<i>darə-</i>	* <i>daru-</i>	to press
<i>ta:-</i>	* <i>taa-</i>	to guess
<i>ta</i>	* <i>ta</i>	you (pl)
<i>ta:wən</i>	* <i>tabun</i>	five
<i>tawən</i>	* <i>tabin</i>	fifty
<i>xana:-</i>	* <i>kanġa-</i>	to cough
<i>xana</i>	* <i>kaana</i>	where
<i>xwa:r</i>	* <i>kabar</i>	nose
<i>xwar</i>	Amdo <i>xwar</i>	printing block
<i>de:re</i> (~ <i>di:re</i>)	* <i>deere</i>	above
<i>dere</i>	* <i>dere</i>	pillow
<i>de:l</i>	* <i>deel</i>	garment
<i>del</i>	* <i>del</i>	mane
<i>teme:n</i>	* <i>temeen</i>	camel
<i>temen</i>	* <i>tümen</i>	ten thousand
<i>ɔɔ:</i>	* <i>oraa</i>	untamed
<i>ɔɔ-</i>	* <i>ora-</i>	to enter
<i>xɔɔ:-</i>	* <i>horġa-</i>	to wind
<i>xɔɔ</i>	* <i>kora</i>	poison

<i>tölö:</i> <i>tölö-</i>	<i>*tölee</i> <i>*töle-</i>	for to repay
<i>ju:n</i> <i>jun</i>	<i>*jaun</i> <i>*jun</i>	one hundred summer
<i>u:la</i> <i>ula</i>	<i>*aula</i> <i>*ula</i>	mountain sole
<i>tu:r-</i> <i>tur-</i>	?Turkic <i>*tü:r-</i> <i>*tur-</i>	to unwrap to be hungry
<i>mu:dən</i> <i>mudən</i>	<i>*modun</i> <i>*emüdün</i>	wood trousers

3.11.3.3. Vowel length distinctions in Mongghul

See Čenggeltei 1988, Junast 1981b. In Mongghul, most vowel length oppositions pertain to the non-high vowels.

Mongghul	source	
<i>ala:</i> <i>ala</i>	Amdo <i>yla</i> <i>*ala</i>	musk deer crotch
<i>ula:-</i> <i>ula:</i> <i>ula</i>	<i>*üila-</i> <i>*ula</i> <i>*aula</i>	to cry sole mountain
<i>buda:</i> <i>buda</i>	<i>*budaa</i> <i>*bida</i>	meal we
<i>şda:-</i> <i>şda-</i>	<i>*şita-</i> <i>*čida-</i>	to light to be able
<i>şira:-</i> <i>şira</i>	<i>*şira-</i> <i>*şira</i>	to roast yellow
<i>da:li:</i> <i>dali:</i> <i>dali:</i>	<i>*dalu</i> (? <i>daluĩ</i>) <i>*dalaĩ</i> <i>*adaliĩ</i>	shoulderblade sea alike
<i>ta:-</i> <i>ta</i>	<i>*taa-</i> <i>*ta</i>	to guess you

<i>bule:n</i>	* <i>bülien</i>	lukewarm ¹⁷⁰
<i>bulen</i>	* <i>belen</i>	ready
<i>ne:-</i>	* <i>nee-</i>	to open
<i>ne</i>	* <i>ene</i>	this
<i>ṣde:-</i>	* <i>ügtee-</i>	to weed
<i>ṣde</i>	* <i>erte</i>	early
<i>re:</i>	* <i>ere</i>	male
<i>re-</i>	* <i>ire-</i>	to come
<i>śji:</i>	Amdo <i>híi</i>	middle
<i>śji-</i>	* <i>eči-</i>	to go
<i>sgo:-</i>	* <i>sögee-</i>	to scold
<i>sgo</i>	* <i>süke</i>	axe
<i>ṣdo:lə-</i>	* <i>ötel-</i>	to become old
<i>ṣdolə-</i>	* <i>hogtal-</i>	to fell

3.11.3.4. A note on the long vowels of Mangghuer

Čenggeltei has observed vowel length in a number of Mangghuer words. These long vowels are not described by Todaeva or Junast & Li. They may be the last remnants of an original system of length oppositions like that of Mongghul. Most of the recorded Mangghuer lengths can be historically explained; many stem from double or complex vowels, e.g. *gi:-* ‘to release’ < CM **gee-*, *mila:* ‘whip’ < **mīlaa*, *mo:r-* ‘to low’ < **möere-*; *na:du-* ‘to play’ < **naad-*; *o:ko* ‘fat’ < **öekün*; *bo:sī* ‘louse’ < **böesün*; *argo:sī* ‘thorn’ < **örgeesün*, *gʷ:r* ‘two’ < **koar*; *qa:-* ‘to cover’ < **kaa-*; *sa:-* ‘to milk’ < **saa-*; *da:r-* ‘to surpass’ < **daari-*; *do:ro* ‘underside’ < **doara*.

Other lengths are compensations for consonants, vowels, or syllables that were lost: *çr:* ~ *çrǧ* ‘time’ < **čag*; *no:či-* ‘to surpass, exceed’ < **nöǧči-*; *ṣa:* ‘yellow’ < **sira*. In such cases, a variant with the consonant and without the vowel length is usually also recorded. The long vowels in *be:ćin* ‘illness’ < **ebećin*; *be:sə* ‘grass’ < **ebesün* may have developed after losing the first syllable, but these forms are also reminiscent of the type of lengthening of non-high vowels followed by a high vowel, as found in Eastern Yugur and Mongghul (see 3.14.5.).

Other lengths may be accent-related, e.g. *nta:-* ‘to sleep’ < **unta-*, *sula:* ‘loose’ < **sula*; *je:ni* ‘one’s own’ < **ejen* + genitive. Such lengths often agree with Mongghul and/or other languages, and may thus reflect regional developments of some antiquity.

¹⁷⁰ Thus according to Junast’s materials; in Li and S/M these words have become formally identical.

3.11.3.5. A note on the long vowels of Dahejia Baoan

In Dahejia Baoan, Todaeva still observed some (rather incidental) cases of vowel length, whereas Bökth & Liu did not. It seems that the recorded lengths are relics of the more elaborate system that must still have existed in the shared ancestor of the Baoan dialects. The lengths tend to be diachronically expected, representing known contraction lengths from double or complex vowels: *bu:-* ‘to descend’ < CM **bau-*, *he:-* ‘to warm oneself in the sun’ < **hee-*, *na:tə-* ‘to play’ < **naad-*, *ne:-* ‘to open’ < **nee-*, *no:r* ‘face’ < **niur*, *o:lə* ‘mountain’ < **aula*, *o:lon* ‘cloud’ < **eülen*, *su:-* ‘to live; to sit’ < **sau-*, *ta:-* ‘to guess’ < **taa-*, *to:r-* ‘to wander’ < **töeri-*, *tu:-* ‘to drive forth’ < **tau-*, *u:-* ‘to drink’ < **uu-*, *xa:-* ‘to cover’ < **kaa-*. Others represent more recent Baoan contractions, e.g. *de:sə-* ‘to spread’ < **debis-*, *te:rə-* ‘to embrace’ < **teberi-*. Not from contraction, but generally in agreement with other Baoan forms: *la:-* ‘to cry’ < **uila-*, *na:-* ‘to fall’ < **una-*, *sa:γə-* ‘to wait’ < **saki-*, *wa:r-* ‘to grab’ < **bari-*. All examples are from the wordlist in Todaeva 1964. These same words are documented with short vowels in other publications.

3.11.3.6. Vowel length distinctions in Āntoq Baoan

The following examples are mainly taken from the list in Chen Naixiong 1987:46-47, which includes oppositions where both members are loanwords from Tibetan or Chinese. Again, these examples illustrate clearly that present-day oppositions do not necessarily correspond to CM oppositions. In Āntoq Baoan, long vowels occur predominantly in the first vowel position.

Baoñ	source	
<i>na:raŋ</i>	<i>*narin</i>	fine
<i>naraŋ</i>	<i>*naran</i>	sun
<i>ma:ra-</i>	<i>*maria-</i>	to hide (metathetic for <i>*mara:-</i> ?)
<i>mara</i>	<i>*maria</i>	fleshiness
<i>sa:-</i>	<i>*sa:-</i>	to milk
<i>sa</i>	<i>*basa</i>	also
<i>da:rə-</i>	<i>*daara-</i>	to feel cold
<i>darə-</i>	<i>*daru-</i>	to press
<i>ta:-</i>	<i>*taa-</i>	to guess
<i>ta</i>	<i>*ta</i>	you (plural/polite)
<i>ya:r-</i>	<i>*yaara-</i>	to hurry
<i>yar</i>	Amdo <i>hyar</i>	summer
<i>ke:lə</i>	<i>*keeli</i>	belly
<i>kel-</i>	<i>*kele-</i>	to speak

<i>te:rə-</i> <i>terə</i>	<i>*teberi-</i> <i>*tere</i>	to embrace that
<i>ʒi:-</i> <i>ʒi</i>	<i>*jii-</i> <i>*ge.jü</i>	to extend and
<i>ə:ləŋ</i> <i>ələŋ</i>	<i>*eülen</i> <i>*olan</i>	cloud many
<i>ə:də</i> <i>ədə-</i>	<i>*öede</i> <i>*od-</i>	up to go
<i>tə:r(ə)-</i> <i>tər</i>	<i>*toari-</i> <i>*tor</i>	to circle net

Note that Chen (1985) lists the forms *əd-*, *te:r-*, *tə:r-* instead of the forms *ədə-*, *te:rə-*, *tə:rə-* included in the list of minimal pairs in Chen (1987:46-47).

3.11.3.7. Vowel length distinctions in Xiazhuang Baoan

The examples are from Bökh & Chen, mostly from p. 62.

BaoX	source	
<i>a:nə</i> <i>'anə</i>	?Turkic <i>ana</i> <i>*ali</i> (? <i>*ali inu</i>)	mother which
<i>χa:rə-</i> <i>χa:rə-</i> <i>χarə-</i>	<i>*kaari-</i> <i>*kari-</i> <i>*gar-</i>	to scald, burn to return to come out
<i>da:rə-</i> <i>da:rə-</i> <i>darə-</i>	<i>*daara-</i> <i>*daru-</i> Baoanic <i>*šitara-</i>	to feel cold to press to catch fire
<i>do:lə-</i> <i>do:lə-</i> <i>dolə-</i>	<i>*daula-</i> <i>*dolia-</i> <i>*hogtal-</i>	to sing to lick to cut off, sever
<i>xo:ŋ</i> <i>xoŋ</i>	Amdo <i>hoŋ(-wo)</i> <i>*hon</i>	body year

In spite of the scarce materials it is clear that length is distinctive in this dialect. Historically, the long vowels have diverse origins, but several are regular contractions of CM double vowels, e.g. *na:tə-* ‘to play’ < **naad-*. Others are due to more recent contractions, usually involving the loss of *-w-* < **b*, e.g. *su:kə* ‘awl’ < CM **siböge*, *te:rə-* ‘to embrace’ < CM **teberi-*. The length of the *a:* in *ga:dər*

‘sickle’ is perhaps a compensation for the loss of length in the second syllable (**kaduur*). The length of *vɛ:r* ‘horn’ (**(h)eber*), without equivalents elsewhere, may compensate for the lost initial, or be due to the *-r*.

Short vowels appear instead of the expected long vowels or diphthongs in many words including: *dulə-* ‘to jump’ (**deüli-*); *kisoŋ* ‘navel’ (**köisün*); *joŋ* ‘needle’ (**jeun*); *fəli-* ‘become red’ (**hulai-*).

3.11.3.8. A note on the long vowels of Kangjia

The vowel lengths recorded for Kangjia show that its long vowels have become marginal and optional. Diachronically the remaining lengths are the usual contraction products from double or complex vowels. Examples (all from the wordlist in Sečenčogt 1999): *ba:sun* ~ *basun* ‘excrement’ < **baasun*, *či:-* ~ *či-* ‘to become white’ < **čai-*, *gi:-* ~ *gi-* ‘to become bright’ < **gei-*, *na:di-* ~ *nade-* ‘to play’ < **naad-*, *u:-* ~ *u* ‘wide’ < **au*, *xa:-* ~ *xa-* ‘to cover’ < **kaa-*, *čilə:-* ~ *čölə:-* ~ *čölə* ‘free time’ < **čilöe*.

3.11.3.9. A note on the long vowels of Dongxiang

Vowel lengths in native words in Dongxiang are only recorded by Todaeva (1961). Historically they are the usual contraction products. The following are all the lengths in native words listed by Todaeva: *i:n* ‘this side’ < **ein*, *qa:-* ‘to cover’ < **kaa-*, *ši:-* ‘to pull out’ < **sei-*, *xo:* ‘anger’ < **haur*, *ya:lə* ‘how’ < either **yaa-* ‘to do what’+ final converb *-la* or **yaan* ‘what’+ comitative case **-lUA*. These same words are documented in other vocabularies without the vowel length.

3.11.4. Origins of vowel length

Historically, most vowel lengths result from the contraction of double and complex vowels, VV sequences which in their turn mostly stem from Proto Mongolic VCV sequences. Such contraction lengths are therefore traditionally called ‘secondary’ vowel lengths (Poppe, Doerfer). The contraction already took place early, and no uncontracted double vowels survive in modern languages. Many of the complex vowels do survive as diphthongs.

It is unlikely that the double vowels in Middle Mongol were anything more than spelling devices to write long vowels. Spellings such as *a'a* in Sino-Mongolic already alternated with simple *a*, which in such alternations is interpreted as *ā* by modern editors, cf. the variants *zha-ya-a-zhou* and *zha-ya-zhou* ‘destined’ in the Hua-Yi Yiyu, read *ʃaya'aʃu* and *ʃayāʃu*, respectively, by Mostaert. The two Sino-Mongolic notations are likely to represent the same pronunciation *ʃayāʃu*. Even the corresponding Written Mongol spellings (*aya*, etc) may be an orthographic means to indicate vowel length.

All modern languages which to some degree preserve the phonemic vowel length distinction, and tend to retain the CM double vowels as long vowels, also feature vowel lengths that are apparently not the result of contraction. Because these vowel lengths were thought, or hoped, to represent vowel lengths that predated the contraction lengths, they are traditionally called ‘primary’ long vowels (see

Janhunen 2003b for a synopsis). The lengths were viewed as possible relics from an early stage of the ancestral language, and would correspond to the long vowels of Turkic and Tungusic.

Unfortunately the ‘primary’ long vowels are not attested in the old sources or indicated in Written Mongol spelling. The internal Mongolic documentation for ‘primary’ lengths is purely modern. Evidence for non-contraction lengths is found in several central and peripheral languages.

The case for primary vowel lengths in Moghol seems weak, and will not be discussed here. Among the other peripheral languages Dagur, Eastern Yugur, Mongghul, and to a lesser extent, some Baoan dialects, also have many vowel lengths that are not the result of contractions. Unfortunately, the evidence is often contradictory, and rarely do we find vowel lengths supported by more than a single language.¹⁷¹ Vowel length supported by one Mongolic language only, or by two languages in the same periphery, is insufficient evidence to assume a long vowel in CM, but may represent a regional innovation.

In fact, many of the modern non-contraction lengths can be explained as other types of secondary developments, such as more recent elisions and contractions, or compensatory lengthening. There is also a correlation between accent and vowel length, and between vowel length and vowel height, which accounts for many forms that at first sight would be potential evidence for primary vowel length. What remains is a relatively small set of unexplained lengths, which for now seems insufficient to uphold ‘primary lengths’ as a category.

It is important to be aware of the fact that the decision whether a Mongolic vowel length in a give lexeme is ‘secondary’ or ‘primary’ has mostly depended on a comparison with Written Mongol spellings. Secondary lengths are supposed to be the result of contraction because in Written Mongol they are spelled as VCV sequences (which may correspond to actual VCV sequences in Turkic and Tungusic cognates). However, for words that have ambiguous or uninformative non-Mongolic cognates, or lack cognates altogether, the intervocalic consonant can not be confirmed. Thus, CM **hulaan* ‘red’ (thus reconstructed here, but all modern forms descend from **hula:n*) is assumed to stem from trisyllabic **hulaCan* (possibly **hulayan*), mainly because of the Written Mongol spelling *ulayan*. In this approach, modern vowel lengths that are not indicated in spelling, such as that of CM **haaga* ‘bran’ (Written Mongol spelling *aya*), are candidates for ‘primary’ vowel lengths. But words like *aya* may actually just be spelling oddities without historical significance.

The various types of explicable vowel length will be discussed in separate sections below, including:

- Contraction length from double and complex vowels
- Accent-related vowel lengthening
- Compensation length

¹⁷¹ The Mongolic situation can not be compared with the evidence for vowel length in Common Turkic where Turkmen, Yakut, and Khalaj, three very different languages in three different corners of the Turkic-speaking areas, largely support vowel lengths in the same words.

- Lengthening of non-high vowels preceding a high vowel (E. Yugur, Mongghul)
- Lengthening of final vowels of monosyllabic words (Dagur)
- Lengthening of the vowel of certain suffixes

I will also list examples for different types of unclear vowel length, if possible with attempts at an explanation. Perhaps some of these lengths can later be demonstrated to go back to the CM period, or perhaps their occurrence will turn out to be indirect evidence for another ancient phonetic feature.

3.12. Development of the CM double vowels

3.12.1. Introduction

In this section the usual development of the double vowels in the peripheral languages will be discussed. As indicated in chapter 2, the CM entities written here throughout as **aa*, **ee*, **iï*, **ii*, **uu*, and **üü*, must have developed into (monosyllabic) long vowel phonemes **a:*, **e:*, **i:*, **i:*, **u:*, and **ü:*, at the stage of development that is relevant for the discussions below. The notations used here are meant to facilitate the comparison to Written Mongol and Middle Mongol.

The complex vowels **oa/ua* and **öe/üe* will also be discussed here, as at the same stage of CM they can be assumed to have developed into long vowels **o:* and **ö:*. With regard to these two vowels, the digraph notations are again a concession, in this case also to Moghol, which seems to preserve these sequences as diphthongs.¹⁷²

The modern developments of **a:*, **e:*, **i:*, **i:*, **o:*, **ö:*, **u:*, and **ü:* tend to be more predictable than their short counterparts, which are prone to changes effected by the phonetic environment, reduction and elision. However, even in those modern languages that have not given up the phonemic length distinction, the double vowels can be contracted and shortened, and then may undergo any development found in the short vowels, including complete loss, as in BaoŃ *hda* < **huuta* ‘bag’.

In addition, many of the complex vowels have been simplified and merged with the long vowels, cf. MgrH *ra*: < CM **aria* ‘molar tooth’.

All this leads to many possible origins for each modern phoneme, and conversely, many modern reflexes for every CM phoneme. The long vowel *o:* in Mongghul illustrates this problem:

<i>bo:-</i>	<i>*boa-</i> (<i>*bo:-</i>)	to bundle
<i>xo:ʒən</i>	<i>*koasun</i> (<i>*ko:sun</i>)	empty
<i>bo:sə</i>	<i>*böesün</i> (<i>*bö:sün</i>)	louse
<i>ʒo:lon</i>	<i>*jöelen</i> (<i>*jö:len</i>)	soft
<i>o:sgu</i>	<i>*auškī</i>	lungs
<i>go:r</i>	<i>*koar</i>	two

¹⁷² At least in Ramstedt’s materials. The question whether the Moghol diphthongs could be a secondary development will not be discussed here.

(continued)

<i>no:r</i>	<i>*noir</i>	sleep
<i>fo:r</i>	<i>*heür</i>	nest
<i>bo:lə</i>	<i>*büile</i>	gums
<i>no:go:n</i>	<i>*nogaan</i>	green
<i>sgo:-</i>	<i>*sögee-</i>	to scold
<i>furo:-</i>	<i>*horia-</i>	to wind
<i>fo:de</i>	<i>*hodun</i>	star
<i>fo:de</i>	<i>*hödün</i>	feather
<i>šilo:</i>	<i>*silön</i>	soup
<i>muro:n</i>	<i>*mören</i>	river
<i>mo:r</i>	<i>*mör</i>	weg
<i>o:sə-</i>	<i>*ös- and/or *eüs-</i>	to grow
<i>yo:-</i>	<i>*oya-</i>	to sew

In the following the general tendencies will be given for the development of each double vowel; the focus will be on the languages preserving phonemic vowel length.

3.12.2. Development of double **aa*

Distribution

The sequence **aa* can be found in all vowel slots:

Word-initially: **aali*, **aasi* ‘character’ (not listed), **aarča* ‘curds’;

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: **baa-* ‘to defecate’, **čaalsun* ‘paper’, **daagan* ‘foal’, **daari* ‘saddle gall’, **kaa-* ‘to close’, **maajī-* ‘to scratch’, **naad-* ‘to play’, **saa-* ‘to milk’, **taa-* ‘to guess’, **yaara-* ‘to hurry’;

In non-first vowel slots: **budaan* ‘porridge’, **čagaan* ‘white’, **dutaa-* ‘to flee’, **hulaan* ‘red’, **hutaa* ‘smoke’, **imaan* ‘goat’, **jujaan* ‘thick’, **kijaar* ‘edge’, **minaa* ~ **milaa* ‘whip’, **salaa* ‘branch’, **umdaas-* ‘to be thirsty’.

Developments

Double **aa* is usually preserved as *a:* in all languages which preserve the feature of vowel length. In Nantoq Baoan *a:* is usually shortened beyond the first syllable. In Mangghuer, Dahejia Baoan, Dongxiang and Moghol, long *a:* < **aa* has merged with its simple counterpart *a* < **a*. In the languages preserving length, *a:* does not undergo most of the pronunciation changes (reduction, palatalisation, labialisation) which occurred in **a*.

CM **aa* of the second syllable remains **a:* after **a*, **i*, or **u* of the first syllable. Examples:

CM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	BaoÑ	
* <i>baa-</i>	<i>ba:-</i>	<i>pa:-</i>	<i>ba:-</i>	<i>ba:-</i>	to poo
* <i>naad-</i>	<i>na:d-</i>	<i>na:d-</i>	<i>na:də-</i>	<i>na:d-/na:tə-</i>	to play
* <i>jalaa</i>	<i>jila:</i>	<i>jala:</i>	<i>žala:</i>	<i>žala</i>	tassel
* <i>čagaan</i>	<i>čiȳa:n</i>	<i>čaǵa:n</i>	<i>čaga:n</i>	<i>čiχaŋ</i>	white
* <i>imaan</i>	<i>ima:</i>	<i>ma:n</i>	<i>ima:</i>	<i>yimaŋ</i>	goat
* <i>hulaan</i>	<i>xula:n</i>	<i>ła:n</i>	<i>fula:n</i>	<i>fulaŋ</i>	red

There seem to be no certain examples for the existence in CM of a vowel sequence **o-aa*. Poppe (1955:60) does not list examples for the sequence *CoCaya*. There is no reason why it could not occur, but evidence from the modern languages does not allow us to distinguish between **nogaan*, **noguan*, or **nogoan*, as these forms would result in the same modern forms. Only in some words there are historical arguments for a rounded vowel in the second vowel slot. For instance, in the case of **doloan* ‘seven’ there must once have been a rounded element in the second syllable to explain the **o* of the first syllable, in view of its relationship with **dalan* ‘seventy’. Otherwise the sequence **oa* can be distinguished from **aa* only after a first syllable with **i* (for **oa* see below). As a pragmatic solution the notation with **aa* is chosen here, e.g. **nogaan*. In most words listed below reconstructions with **aa*, **ua*, or **oa* would all be equally defensible.

CM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	BaoÑ	
* <i>boraan</i>	---	<i>bɔrɔ:n</i>	<i>buro:n</i>	---	rain
* <i>dolaan</i>	<i>dɔlɔ:(n)</i>	<i>dɔlɔ:n</i>	<i>dolo:n</i>	<i>dəlɔŋ</i>	seven
* <i>nogaan</i>	<i>nuwa:</i>	<i>nɔǵɔ:n</i>	<i>noǵo:</i>	<i>nəǵuŋ</i>	green
* <i>soyaa</i>	<i>sɔɣɔ:</i>	<i>sɔɣɔ:</i>	---	---	stalk
* <i>togaan</i>	<i>tuwa:</i>	<i>tɔǵɔ:n</i>	<i>toǵo:</i>	<i>təχɔŋ</i>	pot

The sequence **ua* as such does not seem to occur in monomorphemic stems. When the sequence **ua* arises in derivation or inflection, its development in the peripheral languages can not be distinguished from that of **aa*, except when the first syllable vowel is **i*. The same applies to most central languages.¹⁷³ Examples include **ab-* ‘to take’ > **ab.u.ad* ‘having taken’, **dusu-* ‘to drip’ > **dusu.a-* ‘to cause to drip’, **unu-* ‘to ride’ > **unu.a* ‘saddle animal’, **hutu-* ‘to emit smoke’ > **hutu.a* ‘smoke’, **jiɾu-* ‘to paint’ > **jiɾu.ači* ‘painter’.

Many CM words with the complex vowel **ia* in the second syllable have developed similar modern forms as **aa* in the QG languages, especially in Eastern Yugur and Baoan (see 3.13.6.).

¹⁷³ In Khamnigan it is possible to distinguish **aa* of non-first syllables from **ua*, even if the first vowel is not **i*, as in *abo:d* ‘having taken’, from **ab-* ‘to take’ with connective vowel and perfect converb ending +*Ad* (see Janhunen 2003:24). In other languages forms derived from an assimilated *aba:d* < **ab-u-ad* occur. Ordos has *awa:t*, however if the *u* belongs to the stem it is preserved, e.g. *alχ^ua:t* from **alku-*.

Even in the QG languages that preserve vowel length, *a:* is prone to be shortened. In Ñantoq Baoan this is more or less regular. In Eastern Yugur and Mongghul it happens less predictably, sometimes in the same stems, e.g. Eastern Yugur and Mongghul *sala* ‘branch’ < **salaa*.

3.12.3. Development of double **ee*

Distribution

The sequence **ee* can be found in all vowel slots:

Word-initially: **eede-* ‘to coagulate’ (not listed), **eemeg* ‘earring’ (not listed);

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: **čeeji* ‘chest’, **deel* ‘garment’, **deere* ‘above’, **deesün* ‘rope’, **gee-* ‘to release’, **hee-* ‘to dry in the sun’, **keeli* ‘belly’, **nee-* ‘to open’, **teermen* ‘mill’;

In non-first vowel slots: **emeel* ‘saddle’, **gegeen* ‘bright’, **güjeen* ‘stomach’, **herbeeki* ‘butterfly’, **idee* ‘pus’, **siree* ‘table’, **sübee* ‘flank’, **temeen* ‘camel’, **ügtee-* ‘to weed’.

Developments

Double **ee* typically appears as *ə:* in Dagur, but developed into a closed front vowel in QG. In Eastern Yugur, long *e:* has often been raised > *i:*, as in EYu *de:re* ~ *di:re* ‘above’ (**deere*), although Qinglong dialect preserves *e:* in these cases (see Bolčuluu & Jalsan 1988:351).

CM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	BaoÑ	
<i>*nee-</i>	<i>nə:-</i>	<i>ni:-</i>	<i>ne:-</i>	<i>ne:-</i>	to open
<i>*jee</i>	<i>jə:</i>	<i>jī:, jē:</i>	<i>je:</i>	---	cousin
<i>*keeli</i>	<i>kə:lʰ</i>	---	<i>ke:le</i>	<i>ke:lə</i>	belly
<i>*gegeen</i>	<i>gəɣə:n</i>	<i>gegen</i>	<i>gəge:n</i>	<i>gegaŋ</i>	bright
<i>*güjeen</i>	<i>gujə:</i>	<i>guje:n</i>	<i>guže:</i>	---	stomach

Rounding of **ee* after **ö* is applied less strictly than in the case of short **e* after **ö*, and **aa* after **o*.

CM	Dag	EYu	EYuQ	BaoÑ	
<i>*nögee</i>	<i>nuwə:</i>	---	---	<i>nəgə</i>	other
<i>*döree</i>	[<i>du:rə:ŋgi:</i>]	<i>düre:</i>	<i>döre:</i>	---	stirrup
<i>*göreesün</i>	<i>gurə:s</i>	<i>güre:sən</i>	<i>görö:sən</i>	---	wild animal
<i>*sögee-</i>	<i>suwə:-</i>	---	---	<i>sugʷ-</i> (Kgj)	to scold

Many instances of **ie* and **üe* developed like **ee*. Like **ua* discussed above, the sequence **üe* does not occur in monomorphemic stems, but it can arise when suffixes are added, as in **bürkü-* ‘to cover’ > **bürkü.esün* ‘covering’, **hürgü-* ‘to be frightened’ > **hürgü.e-* ‘to frighten’, **mörgü-* ‘to bow’ > **mörgü.ed* ‘having

bowed'. In all languages except Khamnigan *üe has become indistinguishable from *ee except when the first syllable vowel is *i. See the complex vowels below.

Cases of shortening include: EYu *emel*, MgrH *imel* < *emeel 'saddle', EYu *šere* < *siree 'table', EYu *termen*, MgrH *tərme*, BaoÑ *termaŋ* < *teermen 'mill', EYu *kute-* < *ügtee- 'to pull up weeds'. In EYu *örlö* ~ *örlö*: < *öreele 'half; hobble' the original long *ee was lost altogether.

3.12.4. Development of double *ī and *ii

These two double vowels, the rare double counterparts of *ī and *i are hard to distinguish in most languages. The difference between the short counterparts was almost annihilated in the first syllable in central Mongolic due to palatal breaking (see 3.6. above), so that they merged into one /i/ phoneme which is largely restricted to non-first syllables. Double *īī and *ii are not subject to breaking, and in that sense are more stable. However, the number of examples is small.

Distribution

The relatively rare sequences *īī and *ii are can be found in non-initial vowel slots: Non-initially in the first vowel slot: *čürag 'firm', *čiig 'moist', *čürsün 'mat' (not listed), *jii- 'to extend', *nii- (?*nii-) 'to blow the nose', *süira 'leg'; In non-first vowel slots: *hanii- (~ *hani-) 'to close one's eyes', ?*jihiin 'purple', *jimii- 'to close the mouth' (the latter two not listed).

Developments

Both *īī and *ii normally developed into long *i*:. In the central languages Khalkha and Kalmuck, stems with *īī like *čürag 'strong' and *süira 'leg' were transferred to the front vowel class, even when they contained back vowels or uvular allophones of *k, *g, or took back suffixes. However, Ordos, Buriat and Khamnigan tend to retain the original back features. Also the QG languages allow stems in which *a follows *i* or *i*: of the first syllable.

CM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	BaoÑ	
*jii-	j̄i:-	---	ži:-	ži:-	to stretch
*jilī-	---	j̄ili:-	---	---	to be separated ¹⁷⁴
*nii- (?*nii-)	n̄i:-	---	---	---	to blow one's nose
*čürag	---	čiraġ	čiraġ	---	strong, tight ¹⁷⁵
*süira	---	ši(:)ra	šira:	---	leg ¹⁷⁶
*čiig	---	či(:)g	---	---	moisture ¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ This word is reconstructed with back vowels because of the EYu caus. *jili:lga-*.

¹⁷⁵ In Dongxiang we find the unexpected form *čigara* with intervocalic consonant. See 4.5.4.

¹⁷⁶ Another unexpected Dongxiang form with intervocalic consonant: *šigara*.

¹⁷⁷ Not *čüig, in spite of its back-vocalic Turkic cognate *čü:g.

In Eastern Yugur long *i*: can be shortened without merging with its short counterpart /i/, as the latter is usually realised as [ə].

3.12.5. Development of double *uu

Distribution

The sequence *uu can be found in all vowel slots:

Word-initially: *uu- ‘to drink’, *uuča ‘back’, *uurag (? < *aurag) ‘biestings’;

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: *buudai ‘wheat’, *huuta ‘bag’, *juura- ‘to knead’, *suu ‘armpit’;

In non-first vowel slots: *čilbuur ‘martingale’, *huruu ‘downward’, *huruul ‘lip’, *kuruun ‘finger’, *niruun ‘spine’, *turuun ‘hoof’.

Developments

In Mongghul the long rounded high vowels of the second syllable are often reduced, especially words ending in this vowel (or that lost final *-n as is common in Mongghul). This reduction is uncommon in Eastern Yugur. In Nantoq Baoan all long vowels tend to be shortened beyond the first syllable.

CM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	BaoÑ	
*uu-	ɔ:-	u:-	u:-	u:-	to drink
*huruu	xɔɾɔ:	hɔɾui, hurü:	furə	---	downwards ¹⁷⁸
*niruun	nirɔ:	nuru:n	nurə	nəɾəŋ	back, ridge
*kuruun	xɔɾɔ:	χuru:n	xurə	ɡurə	finger

In Dagur *uu can be broken (like its short counterpart) when a short *a followed in the next syllable¹⁷⁹; the *uu is reduced in the process, and its length transferred to the imported *a*. In Eastern Yugur, Mongghul and Nantoq Baoan there are several instances of shortening or elision of *uu.

CM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	BaoÑ	
*uurag	wa:rəl	urag	urag	orgə (BaoGt)	biestings
*huuta	x ^w a:t	u:ta	fu:da	hda	sack
*juura-	j ^w a:r-	ǰü(:)ra-	ǰira:-	ǰira-	to mix

Many CM words with the complex vowel *au have developed similar modern forms in QG (and elsewhere). The same applies to the complex vowel *iu. See the section on the complex vowels below.

¹⁷⁸ The Eastern Yugur form is irregular in that it seems to include a diphthong with a palatal element (also reflected in Kalmuck ürü:).

¹⁷⁹ This can also be observed in words with unexpected lengths, such as Dag x^wa:l < *huula ‘tinder’ and t^wa:ləy < *tulga ‘support’ discussed in 3.14.2.

3.12.6. Development of double *üü

Distribution

The sequence *üü can be found in all vowel slots:

Word-initially: *üüče ‘meat provisions for winter’, *üür- ‘to carry on the back’ (these words not listed);

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: *büürge ‘pommel’, *düüre- ‘to fill’, *tüükei ‘raw’;

In non-first vowel slots: *bidüün ‘coarse’, *hüjüür ‘tip’, *küjüün ‘neck’, *sirüün ‘coarse’.

Developments

Parallel to *u:, in Mongghul *ü: tends to be reduced at the end of words.

CM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	BaoÑ	
*hüü-	xu:-	hü:-	fu:-	fu-	to rot
*tüükü ¹⁸⁰	tuiyun	tü:kə:, tü: ^h gə	tiu:gu	tugu	raw
*bidüün	budu:n	bodü:n	budən	bedəŋ	coarse
(continued)					

CM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	BaoÑ	
*küjüün	xuʃu:	gʉjü:n	guʒə	guʒuŋ	neck
*küün	xu: ¹⁸¹	kʉn, ku:n	kun	kun	person

Many CM words with the complex vowel *eü have developed similar modern forms in QG (and elsewhere). Depending on the language, *iü, *üi and *ui may also develop similarly. See the section on the complex vowels below.

In Eastern Yugur the long ü: is frequently shortened, as in *kü:ken* ~ *küken* ‘boy’ < **keü.ken* ‘child’. This does not cause phonological problems, as the palatal pronunciation prevents it from merging with *u*, the usual reflex of short *ü.

3.12.7. Development of *oa (*oo)

Distribution

The sequence *oa can be found in all vowel slots:

Word-initially: *oačī-* ‘to drink’;

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: **doa-ra* ‘underside’, **koa-* ‘to dry’, **toan* ‘number’, **toasun* ‘dust’;

¹⁸⁰ Rather than the central Mongolic form **tüükei*. Dag -*ui-* and -*n* are unexpected.

¹⁸¹ Dagur also has shortened forms of **küün* in the compounds *əmyun* ‘wife, woman, female’ from **eme küün*, and *əryun* ‘husband, man, male’, from **ere küün*.

In non-first vowel slots the presence of **oa* can only be established after **i*: **hīroar* ~ **hīraur* ‘bottom’, **jīloa* ‘rein’. Elsewhere it has become indistinguishable from **aa*.

Developments

In all modern languages except Moghol, CM **oa* has been contracted into *o*:. In the first syllable this was preserved as a long *ɔ*: sound in Dagur unless there was an **a* in the next syllable (which triggers labial breaking). In Eastern Yugur the contracted vowel is often raised to *u*:.¹⁸² CM **oa* merged with its harmonic counterpart **ōe* in Mongghul and Ñantoq Baoan, but stayed long.

CM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	BaoÑ	
<i>*oačī-</i>	---	<i>u:čə-</i>	<i>učə-</i>	<i>ačal-</i> (caus.)	to drink
<i>*koa-</i>	<i>x^wa:-</i>	<i>χu:-</i>	<i>χo:-</i>	<i>χθ:-</i>	to dry
<i>*doara</i>	<i>d^war</i>	<i>du:ra</i>	<i>do:ro</i>	<i>dθ:rə</i>	underside
<i>*toala-</i>	<i>t^wa:l-</i>	<i>tu:la-</i>	<i>to:la-</i>	<i>tθ:la-</i>	to count
<i>*čoara-</i>	---	<i>ču:ra-</i>	<i>čo:ra:-</i>	<i>čθ:ra-</i>	to be pierced
<i>*toari-</i>	<i>tɔ:r^y-</i>	<i>tɔrɔ-, toro:-</i>	<i>to:rə-</i>	---	to circle

In Mangghuer and Dahejia Baoan the typical reflex is short *o*, which in Kangjia may develop into *u*. In Dongxiang the situation is more complicated. In some of the stems listed above, Dgx also has *o*, e.g. *oči-* ‘to drink’, *go-* ‘to dry’. In other stems Dgx features the diphthong *əu*, as in *dəura* ‘underside’, *təula-* ‘to count’, *čəura-* ‘to be pierced’. These diphthongs may be archaisms. They are reminiscent of Moghol, where we find *qua-* ‘to dry’, *toala-* ‘to count’, etc, alongside *dora* ‘underside’, *qo:lei* < **koalai* ‘throat’. Moghol was one of the reasons why the CM forms are reconstructed here with **oa* rather than **o*:. However, it should be noted that Dongxiang and Moghol do not generally have the diphthongs in the same stems, and Dongxiang *əu* has several, partly unclear origins.¹⁸³

The broken vowels in Dagur are not instances of preserved uncontracted **oa*, but are due to labial breaking due to the presence of **a* in the next syllable (cf. Dag *tɔ:(n)* ‘number’ from **toan* as opposed to its derivation **toala-* above).

The developments in the second vowel slot are similar.

CM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	Kgj	
<i>*hīroar</i>	<i>xiɔ:r</i>	<i>hru:r</i>	---	<i>hurlu</i>	bottom
<i>*jīloa</i>	<i>jīlɔ: ~ dīlɔ:</i>	<i>jəlu: ~ julu:</i>	<i>žolo.čə</i>	---	reins
<i>*jīroa</i>	<i>jīrɔ:</i>	<i>jɔrɔ:</i>	<i>žoro</i>	<i>juru</i>	ambler

¹⁸² Qinglong dialect tends to preserve *ɔ*:. See Bolčuluu & Jalsan (1988:350-351) for dialectal differences regarding this. However, as in the case of **ōe* discussed below, forms such as *žɔ:n* ‘hundred’, *xɔ:čən* ‘old’ (from **jaun*, **kaučīn*) look like results of secondary lowering.

¹⁸³ Among other things, it occurs in stems where a final *-g* was lost, e.g. *odəu* ‘knee’ from **ebüdüg*.

3.12.8. Development of **öe* (**öö*)

Distribution

The sequence **öe* can be found in all vowel slots:

Word-initially: **öede* ‘up’, **öer-* ‘self’, **öere* ‘other’.

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: **böelji-* ‘to vomit’, **böere* ‘kidney’, **böesün* ‘louse’, **höesün* ‘pus’, **köesün* ‘scum’, **köerge* ‘bridge’, **töeri-* ‘to get lost’.

In non-first vowel slots the presence of **öe* can only be established after **i*: **čilöe* ‘free time’, **hiröe-* ‘to bless’, **kiröe* ‘saw’.

Developments

The developments are parallel to those of **oa*. In all modern languages except Moghol, CM **öe* has been contracted. Dagur has the developments *u:* and *wə:*. The latter is not a continuation of **öe*, but due to labial breaking (probably partly triggered by **e* of the second syllable). The different treatment of Dag *bə:r* (for **b^wə:r*) < **böere* ‘kidneys’, and *bu:s* < **böesün* ‘louse’ is probably due to the different vowels of the second syllable.¹⁸⁴ In Eastern Yugur it stays long, but is often raised to *ü:*.¹⁸⁵ In Mongghul and Nantoq Baoan, **öe* merged with its harmonic counterpart **oa*, and resulted in long *o:*, which was shortened in Mangghuer and most Baoan dialects.

CM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	BaoÑ	
* <i>köe-</i>	<i>x^wə:-</i>	<i>kü:-</i>	<i>ko:-</i>	<i>kə:-</i>	to swell
* <i>čöen</i>	<i>č^wə:n</i>	<i>čü:n, čö:n</i>	<i>čo:n</i>	<i>čəŋ</i> (BaoX)	few
* <i>böere</i>	<i>bə:r</i>	<i>pü:re, pö:rö</i>	<i>bo:ro</i>	<i>bə:rə</i>	kidneys
* <i>böesün</i>	<i>bu:s</i>	<i>bü:sən</i>	<i>bo:sə</i>	<i>bə:səŋ</i>	louse
* <i>böelji-</i>	<i>bə:lǰ-</i>	<i>bölǰö-</i>	<i>bo:lǰo-</i>	<i>bəlǰa-</i>	to vomit

In Dongxiang the development of **öe* differs from that of **oa*, as **öe* has never resulted in the diphthong *əu*.

In Dagur palatal breaking is less common than in the back-vocalic stems above. The second vowel is unrounded, whether or not breaking took place. The quality of the second syllable in QG is erratic.

¹⁸⁴ Likewise the Dagur variants of the same etymon *t^wə:r-* and *tu:r^y-* ‘to get lost’ perhaps reflect CM variants **töere-* and **töeri-*.

¹⁸⁵ Qinglong has *ö:*. See Bolčuluu & Jalsan 1988: 350-351 for examples for this dialectal difference. However, some Qinglong forms raise the question whether some cases of *ö:* are not the result of secondary lowering. This seems to be the case for *dö:* ‘younger brother’, *dölö:n* ‘spleen’, *törö:* ‘bootleg’ (from **deü*, **deliün*, **türei*).

CM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	BaoÑ	
*čilöe	čulə:	čölö:	---	čölö	free time
*hiröe-	xirə:-	hörö:r	šüro:-	---	to bless
*kiröe	kirə:	kure:	čirəu:	kuru	saw

MgrH *šjo:sə* suggests a reconstruction **hičöesün* ‘willow’ (as does Buriat), but EYu *hərči:sən* and Kgj *jasun* favour **hičesün*.

3.13. Development of the complex vowels

3.13.1. Types and developments

The complex vowels, or diphthongs, are sequences of two different vowels. They are called complex vowels here, because it is not known whether they originally constitute one or two syllables. There are some indications that at least in some words they were originally disyllabic.

Firstly, vowel sequences may span two morphemes, e.g. **tarian* ‘crop’ < **tari-* ‘to plant, cultivate’, **kalaun* ‘hot’ < **kala-* ‘to be hot’.

Secondly, the elements of a complex vowel may behave independently in that they can be seen to swap places. For this type of metathesis see 3.13.6.

Thirdly, the diphthongs in some words are known, mostly on the basis of non-Mongolic data, to go back to VCV sequences. Examples include **ail* ‘campsite’ (Turkic **agil*) and **siür-* ‘to sweep’ (Turkic **sipür-*).

The historical origin and morphological structure of the complex vowels has no bearing on their further development in the peripheral languages, that is, it is irrelevant whether there is evidence for a lost intervocalic consonant.

All complex vowels are made up of vowels that also occur independently. In many respects the diphthong elements behave like their independent counterparts. For example the **a* of **ai* may be harmonically rounded by a preceding **o*, and the **i* of **ie* palatalises a preceding **s*. In other respects they are different entities, for instance the second element of **ai*, **oi*, **ui*, retains its palatality in the QG languages, whereas **i* and **i* generally become centralised into a *ə*-like sound.

For the purpose of discussing their development in the QG languages, the CM complex vowels can be divided in four groups.

- 1) Diphthongs ending in **i*/*i* **ai*, **ei*, **oi*, **öi*, **ui*, **üi*
- 2) Diphthongs ending in **u*/*ü* **au*, **eü*
- 3) Diphthongs starting with **i*/*i* **ia*, **ie*, **iu*, **iü*
- 4) Diphthongs starting with **u*/*ü* **ua*, **üe*

The first three groups survive in Dagur, Moghol, and in both branches of Shirongol, although there are many contractions and exceptions in individual Shirongol

languages. In Eastern Yugur only group 1 partly survives.¹⁸⁶ Eastern Yugur thus even exceeds Khalkha, Ordos, and Kalmuck, which incidentally preserve group 3 diphthongs in non-first vowel slots. Within Shirongol, Ñantoq Baoan is perhaps the most eagerly contracting dialect, with groups 2-4 always resulting in monophthongs, and all of group 1 often appearing as *i*·.

The diphthongs **ua*/**üe* of group 4 were assimilated to either *aa/ee* (after *A* or *U* of the first syllable) or *oo/öö* (in the first vowel slot or after **i*/**i* of the first syllable).¹⁸⁷ Therefore they are discussed in the section on the long vowels above. They are written **oa* and **öe* in the reconstructions in order to facilitate comparison with written forms of Mongolic and with Moghol, the only modern language that did not systematically monophthongise these two sequences. This notation will also facilitate the comparison with non-Mongolic data.

Partly due to the simplification of vowel harmony, not all of the original diphthongs survive in native words in the QG languages.

Phonetic changes that affect the diphthongs may vary greatly, even within languages. The main changes are partial assimilation or complete assimilation (monophthongisation). The resulting monophthongs may subsequently be shortened, or, especially in the Shirongol languages, diphthongised into new (Chinese-inspired) diphthongs. These predictable diphthongal pronunciations will not be indicated in the notations here.

The second diphthong element tends to be dominant. Group 1 diphthongs ending in **i*/**i* will always retain a palatal element, whereas the preceding element may be partially or fully assimilated. Group 2 diphthongs ending in **u*/**ü* will always retain a labial element. In group 3 the palatal first element may be assimilated to the second element.

The elements *a* and *e* of the diphthongs **ai*, **ei* and **ia*, **ie* are subject to harmonic rounding when following **o*/**ö* of the first syllable, as in EYu *məḡɔi* < **mogai* ‘snake’.

The merger and loss of vowel sequences in Shirongol can be partially predicted from the development of the simple vowels, e.g. the loss of the distinction between **ui* and **üi* follows from the loss of the distinction between **u* and **ü*. Diphthongs absent from Chinese may shift towards a Chinese-compatible pronunciation, e.g. **oi* > *uai* or *ai* or *ei*.

A noteworthy special development in Dagur is that diphthongs can undergo palatal breaking, as in *x^yaut* < **hiutan* ‘narrow’, as well as labial breaking, as in *x^wainə* < **koina* ‘posterior’.

As similar developments have taken place repeatedly, in different periods (already starting in Middle Mongol), and in different branches, diphthong developments are of limited use for classification purposes.

In the following discussion it has to be kept in mind that many of the complex vowels that had been assimilated in a given language may re-emerge at a later stage, due to vowel reduction in native words. For instance the sequence **ia*

¹⁸⁶ In the central languages the treatment of the vowel sequences varies greatly. In Buriat most diphthongs of groups 1 and 3 are preserved. In Chakhar group 2 and most of group 1 have become monophthongs; the same has often happened to the sequences of group 3.

¹⁸⁷ Only Khamnigan shows a different development, e.g. *abo:d* < **ab.u.ad* ‘having taken’.

had been assimilated to *a*: in earlier Eastern Yugur, but modern Eastern Yugur has developed a new diphthong *ia* which is the result of the reduction of an unstressed vowel, as in *biar* < **baya* ‘joy’. The *-u-* in MgrM *ŋgua-* < **ugaa-* < **ugia-* ‘to wash’ echoes the preceding rounded vowel. The status of such sequences may be reinforced by Chinese loanwords containing similar diphthongs.

3.13.2. Development of **ai* and **ei*

3.13.2.1. Distribution

The sequence **ai* can be found in all vowel slots:

Word-initially: **aił* ‘village’, **aiimag* ‘village’;

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: **bai-* ‘to stand’, **čai-* ‘to dawn’, **kaiči* ‘scissors’, **kaiła-* ‘to call’, **naiıman* ‘eight’, **naiıta-* ‘to sneeze’, **saikan* ‘beautiful’, **taił-* ‘to untie’;

In non-first vowel slots: **čirai* ‘face’, **gakai* ‘pig’, **horai* ‘crown’, **hulai-* ‘to become red’, **mogai* ‘snake’, **nokai* ‘dog’, **taıłai* ‘palate’, **taulaı* ‘hare’.

The sequence **ei* can be found in all vowel slots:

Word-initially: **ein* ‘this way’;

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: **gei-* ‘to become bright’, **geičin* ‘guest’, **heil-* ‘to leave’, **kei* ‘wind’, **neile-* ‘to unite’;

In non-first vowel slots: **dülei* ‘deaf’, **herbeekei* ‘butterfly’, **hümekei* ‘smelly’, **isegei* ‘felt’, **melekei* ‘frog’, **silükei* ‘saliva’.

The occurrences in non-first syllables are all word-final.

3.13.2.2. Dagur metanalysis of final **ai* and **ei* in noun stems

In nouns ending in **ai* and **ei*, these diphthongs tend to lose their second element, and as a consequence may disappear altogether. However, Dagur adjectives and verbs generally preserve the diphthongs as such, or monophthongised into a long *i*:. This division is strikingly illustrated by the contrast between the CM noun **kaurai* ‘file (tool)’, which developed into Dag *xaur*, whereas the homophonous adjective **kaurai* ‘dry’ developed into Dag *x^wa:ri*:.¹⁸⁸ This indicates that the loss of the second diphthong element is not a phonetic matter. Rather, it seems to be due to metanalysis, whereby the bare stem was ‘mistaken’ for its genitive-accusative, and a new stem was created by removing the perceived case ending. Examples:

Dagur	CM	
<i>gay(ə)</i> , gen-acc <i>gayəi</i>	<i>*gakai</i>	pig
<i>nəy^w</i> , gen-acc <i>nəyui</i>	<i>*nokai</i>	dog
<i>mələy</i> , gen-acc <i>məlyi</i> :	<i>*melekei</i>	frog

¹⁸⁸ Other adjectives (all preserving a diphthong or contracted long vowel in Dagur) include **kelegei* ‘mute’, **köŋdei* ‘hollow’, **solagai* ‘left’, **subai* ‘barren’.

This reinterpretation has occurred in many (most?) noun stems, but is not universal, cf. Dag *dali*: < **dalai* ‘sea’.

Another clue as to why Dagur lost the *-i/-i from word-final diphthongs may be provided by Manchu cognates (in most cases obvious borrowings from Mongolic) which also end in a simple vowel rather than a diphthong. Examples:

Dagur	as if from CM	cf. Manchu	
<i>gayə</i>	* <i>gaka</i> (for * <i>gakai</i>)	---	pig
<i>jəl</i>	* <i>jula</i> (for * <i>julai</i>)	<i>giyolo</i>	fontanel
<i>mayəl</i>	* <i>magala</i> (for * <i>malagai</i>)	<i>mahala</i>	hat
<i>məɣ^w</i>	* <i>moga</i> (for * <i>mogai</i>)	---	snake
<i>šar</i>	* <i>čira</i> (for * <i>čirai</i>)	<i>cira</i>	face
<i>tannə</i>	* <i>taŋla</i> (for * <i>taŋlai</i>)	---	palate
<i>xaur</i>	* <i>kaura</i> (for * <i>kaurai</i>)	<i>hūwara</i>	file
<i>x^waləɣ</i>	* <i>kulaga</i> (for * <i>kulagai</i>)	<i>hūlha</i>	thief
<i>x^warəm</i>	* <i>korma</i> (for * <i>kormai</i>)	---	hem
<i>xər</i>	* <i>hora</i> (for * <i>horai</i>)	<i>foron</i>	crown of the head
<i>xəruɣ^w</i>	* <i>koraka</i> (for * <i>korakai</i>)	---	insect

Similarly, in front-vocalic nouns:

<i>kumuy</i>	* <i>kömüge</i> (for * <i>kömügei</i>)	---	uvula
<i>mələɣ</i>	* <i>meleke</i> (for * <i>melekei</i>)	---	frog
<i>urum</i>	* <i>ölme</i> (for * <i>ölmei</i>)	---	instep
<i>tur</i>	* <i>türe</i> (for * <i>türei</i>)	<i>ture</i>	bootleg
<i>xərəɣ</i>	* <i>hereke</i> (for * <i>herekei</i>)	<i>ferhe</i>	thumb

There are two possible explanations for the similarity of the Dagur and Manchu forms. Dagur could have taken these word shapes from Manchu, although several of them are not actually attested in Manchu. At any rate the Manchu forms need explanation themselves. They could stem from an Oirat-type language that monophthongised **ai* and **ei* into *a:* and *ä:* respectively. Alternatively, the Manchu forms are reminiscent of the Dagur ones because Manchu took many of its Mongolic loanwords from Dagur, as suggested by Doerfer (1984:11-12). In that case metanalysis seems the most likely reason behind the Dagur forms, at least provisionally.

Metanalysis may be at the root of similar cases in QG languages, where the loss of the last diphthong element occurs sporadically, e.g. EYu *ölöyö* < **ölegei* ‘cradle’, MgrH *solgo* < **silükei* ‘saliva’, MgrH *malga* (with equivalents in the other Shirongol languages) < **malagai* ‘hat’, MgrM *qormo* < **kormai* ‘hem’.¹⁸⁹ However, among the QG languages, only Eastern Yugur preserves the suffix shape *-i:n* as one of the variants of the genitive-accusative case ending; this suffix variant is required for metanalysis to take place. In Shirongol the shape *-ni* has become generalised.

¹⁸⁹ **kituga(i)* ‘knife’ only preserves the element **i* in Moghol.

Any metanalysis in Shirongol based on reinterpretation of the nominative as a genitive must have taken place in an earlier period.

On the other hand old variants found throughout Mongolic, such as **andagar* ~ *andagai* ‘oath’, **julaï* ~ **jula* ‘fontanel’, **koalaï* ~ **koala* ‘throat; food’, may indicate that the **-ï/-i* is an obsolete formans of unclear function. This is also suggested by the fact that words may lose the element **i/*i* before some suffixes, cf. the plurals of **nokai* ‘dog’, in SH *noqo-t*, Kalmuck *noxō-s*, ‘dogs’. Whatever the original etymological status of the element **i/*i*, a singular without it may have developed due to reanalysis of the plural.

3.13.2.3. Remaining developments of **ai* and **ei*

Initially and in monosyllables **ai* is generally preserved as *ai* both in Dagur and the QG languages. In non-first vowel slots **ai* may appear in several degrees of assimilation and contraction, i.e., *ai*, *əi*, *ei*, *e:*, *i:*, which may then be shortened to *e*, *i*. The reflexes often vary within a language, e.g. Dag *dalai* ~ *dali*: < **dalaï* ‘sea’, EYu *aŋgai* ~ *aŋǰai* ~ *aŋǰi*: < **aŋgai* ‘to open’, MgrH *će:-* ~ *ći:-* < **čai-* ‘to become bright’. Likewise **ei* may be assimilated, as in Kgj *sei* ~ *si*: < **sei* ‘to weed’. In Mangghuer and Dongxiang, **ei* may appear as *ai*, as in Dgx *lailie* < **neile* ‘to unite’.

As discussed above many nouns ending in **ai* and **ei* lose the second element of these diphthongs in Dagur, so that adjectives and verbs are the most reliable examples. After a rounded vowel, or partly rounded diphthong, *-ai* will result in Dag *-ui*.¹⁹⁰

Dag	CM	
<i>aulyui</i>	<i>*aulikai</i>	fearful
<i>ñɔskui</i>	<i>*ñisukai</i>	snotty
<i>sɔyui</i>	<i>*subai</i>	barren
<i>sɔlyui</i>	<i>*solagai</i>	left-handed

Rounding of **ai* after *ɔ* is also found in Eastern Yugur and Shirongol, e.g. EYu *sɔlɔǰɔi* < **solagai* ‘left-handed’, BaoD *nogoi* < **nokai* ‘dog’. This rounding is not present in Dongxiang. It was probably secondarily lost, as the sequence *o-o* is allowed in Dongxiang.

¹⁹⁰ In some Dagur words **-ai* behaves like the complex vowel **ia*, and develops into prepalatalising *e:*, as in *ɔm^ye:* < **umai* ‘Umay (goddess of childbirth)’, *ɔr^ye:* < **orai* ‘evening’, *ñer^ye:* < **ñirai* ‘tender’, *če:-* < **čai-* ‘to become white’. In the last example the palatal consonant may have played a role. Another group of words reduced the original **ai/*ei* into a palatalising element after the preceding consonant, e.g. *bə:l^y* < **beelei* ‘gloves’, *čakɔ:l^y* < **čakulai* ‘gull’, *tau^y* < **taulai* ‘hare’, but this may merely be the same phenomenon that caused the palatalisation of word-final *-l* and *-r*, as in *ku^y* < **köl* ‘foot’ and *gər^y* < **ger* ‘house’. Yet another strange development, reminiscent of Oirat, is Dag *jauja:* < **jaujai* ‘heel’.

3.13.3. Development of *oi, *ui, *öi, *üi

3.13.3.1. Distribution

Compared to *ai and *ei, the sequences *oi, *ui, *öi, *üi were rare, especially in non-first vowel slots.

The sequence *oi can be found in the first vowel slot:

Word-initially: *oira ‘near’;

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: *hoi ‘forest’, *koina ‘behind’, *noir ‘sleep’, *noitan ‘wet’;

Possibly *oi occurs in non-first vowel slot in *siroi ‘earth’, but this may stem from earlier *siruai.

The sequence *ui can be found in the first vowel slot:

Word-initially: *uila- ‘to cry’;

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: *buila ‘camel’s nose plug’, *huitan ~ *hiutan ‘narrow’, *kui ‘sheath’;

In non-first vowel slots: *alkui (?*algui) ‘pot’, *kanču(i) ‘sleeve’, *kirgui ‘hawk’, *muru ‘crooked’.

The sequence *öi may have been present in *göin (?) ‘shallow’, *köisün ‘navel’, *köiten ‘cold’, *söike ‘earring’. The QG languages offer little evidence to distinguish *öi from *üi.

The sequence *üi can be found in the first vowel slot:

Word-initially: *üile ‘work’;

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: *büile ‘gums’, *güi- ‘to run’, *tüimer ‘steppe fire’;

In non-first vowel slots: *tedüi ‘that much’ (not in QG), *ügüi ~ *ügei ‘absent’.

3.13.3.2. Development

In Dagur *oi and *ui will merge into oi, as in Dag *noitun* < *noitan ‘wet’, *ois* < ?*uisun (other languages suggest *üisün) ‘birchbark’. However, *oi and *ui are subject to labial breaking when followed by *a, as in *wair* < *oira ‘near’, *x^wainə* < *koina ‘behind’. Likewise *üi has resulted in ui, but when followed by *e it also underwent labial breaking, as in *wəil* < *üile ‘work’.¹⁹¹

In QG, the sequences *öi and *üi merged into *üi. The complex vowels *oi, *ui, *üi may monophthongise and merge to various degrees.

*oi may result in oi/ui, or may be ‘sinified’ into > uai, or unrounded > ai > ei > i:. The following example illustrates the diversity of reflexes among and within languages: MgrH *fui*:, *fi*:, *fe*:, *xoi*, BaoÑ *hi*:, Kgj *he*, Dgx *xoi* < *hoi ‘forest’. A

¹⁹¹ Dag *wəil* could also be explained as a borrowing from Manchu.

deviating development in all of QG is that of **noir* ‘sleep’, in which **oi* resulted in *ɔː*. This represents an early regional irregularity.

In the QG languages **ui* and **üi* tend to become indistinguishable. Both **ui* and **üi* usually result in *ui* in Dongxiang and Mangghuer, while they are normally contracted into *ü*: in EYu, and into *i*: in Baoan and Kangjia.

3.13.4. Development of **au* and **eü*

3.13.4.1. Distribution

The sequence **au* can be found in all vowel slots:

Word-initially: **au* ‘wide’, **aula* ‘mountain’, **auški* ‘lungs’;

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: **bau-* ‘to descend’, **daun* ‘sound’, **haul-* ‘to run’, **jau-* ‘to bite’, **jaura* ‘middle’, **kaučün* ‘old’, **sau-* ‘to sit’;

In non-first vowel slots: **bīrau* ~ **burau* ‘calf’, **galjau* ‘crazy’, **hasau-* ‘to ask’, **jalau* ‘young’, **kalaun* ‘hot’, **sibaun* ‘bird’, **sīmaul* ‘mosquito’.

The sequence **eü* can be found in all vowel slots:

Word-initially: **eüden* ‘door’, **eülen* ‘cloud’, **eüs-* ‘to develop’;

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: **deü* ‘younger sibling’, **deüli-* ‘to jump’, **heür* ‘nest’, **jeüdüin* ‘dream’, **jeün* ‘needle’, **seüder* ‘shade’, **seül* ‘tail’.

In non-first vowel slots: **bileü* ‘whetstone’, **ebčēün* ‘chest’, **ereün* ‘chin’, **hileü* ‘surplus’, **köbeün* ‘son’.

3.13.4.2. Development

Examples for the monophthongisation **au* and **eü* into **u:* and **ü:* are already documented in the Middle Mongol sources in Arabic script, but contraction was not a general rule. In central Mongolic as well as in Eastern Yugur this contraction was systematically executed.

In Dagur **au* and **eü* are typically preserved in the first vowel slot, as in *aul* < **aula* ‘mountain’, *aud* < **eüden* ‘door’. Elsewhere **au* has become *u:* or *o:*, without an obvious system, e.g. *xalu:n* < **kalaun* ‘hot’, *jalo:* < **jalau* ‘young’. Beyond the first vowel slot **eü* has resulted in Dagur *u:*, as in *ərču:* < **ebčēün* ‘chest’.

In Eastern Yugur, the normal developments of **au* and **eü*, regardless of position, are *u:* and *ü:*. The latter may be shortened to *ü* or ‘re-diphthongised’ into *ui*.¹⁹²

Mongghul features diphthongs and contracted reflexes. This largely depends on the dialect, as shown in the following examples (here compared with Mangghuer).

¹⁹² In Qinglong dialect, *ü:* may have been lowered to *ö:*, as in *dö:* < **deü* ‘younger brother’, *jö:dən* < **jeüdüin* ‘dream’.

CM	Mongghul				Mangghuer	
	S/M	Khas	Donggou	Dongshan		
*bau-	bu:-	bau-	bɤu- ~ bau-	bɤu-	bau-	to descend
*ǰau-	ǰiu:-	ǰau-	ǰɔu- ~ ǰau-	ǰɔu-	ǰau-	to bite
*keü	ku:	ko:	ku: ~ kiu	kü	kau	son
*ebčëin	šǰiu:	šǰau:	šǰɤu ~ šǰɔu	šǰɔu	šǰɔu	chest

As can be seen above, both *au and *eü may result in Mangghuer *au*. After some consonants *eü resulted in *iau*, as in *diau* < *deü ‘younger sibling’, *šauǰi* < *seüǰi ‘hip’. This can be seen as an attempt to make sense of the non-Chinese diphthong *eu that must have existed in earlier Monguoric.

In the Baoanic languages only Dongxiang preserves the diphthongal pronunciations of *au and *eü. The former often becomes *əu* in the first vowel slot. As in Mangghuer, *eü undergoes ‘sinification’ in Dongxiang, e.g. *ǰiau* < *deü ‘younger sibling’, *šiauǰie* < *seüder ‘shade’. In Baoan and Kangjia, *au and *eü tend to merge into *u* or *u:*, but exceptions abound. Unlike Baoan, Kangjia retains diphthongs sporadically, as in *mu* ~ *mau* < *mau ‘bad’, Kgj *sutər* ~ *səutər* < *seüder ‘shade’, *devu* < *deü ‘younger sibling’.

Moghol preserved a diphthong (*öu* according to Ramstedt) in all positions, e.g. *öul-* < *haul- ‘to run’.

There are quite many words that deviate from the above. Aberrant developments shared by a number of dialects may be useful for taxonomic purposes. Shirongol idiosyncracies include the following:

CM	local form(s) suggest
*auški ‘lungs’	Mongghul <i>o:</i> instead of <i>au</i> or <i>u:</i>
?*eüken ‘fat’	Monguoric <i>o:</i> instead of <i>əu</i> or <i>u:</i>
*aula ‘mountain’	No diphthong anywhere in QG
*eülen ‘cloud’	No diphthong anywhere in QG
*eüden ‘door’	Kgj and Dgx suggest earlier *uiden or *oiden ¹⁹³
*kaučün ‘old’	Baoanic suggests earlier *qoičün
*(h)aur ‘anger; steam’	Baoanic suggests *hor
*heür ‘nest’	All of Shirongol suggests *ho:r
*seüder ‘shade’	Baoan suggests *seiter
*seül ‘tail’	Baoanic suggests *sel

In short, although the peripheral languages are more informative regarding these vowel sequences than central Mongolic, individual word shapes can be hard to evaluate.

¹⁹³ This is supported by Moghol, probably fortuitously.

3.13.5. Development of **ia*, **ie*, **iu*, **iü*

3.13.5.1. Distribution

The diphthongs starting with **i/i* do not occur word-initially, unless words like **yasun* ‘bone’, **yeren* ‘ninety’ are analysed as **iasun*, **ieren*. While this analysis is possible, it would not eliminate the need for a consonant **y* in the CM system, as intervocalic *-y-* would be needed in **bayan* ‘rich’, **beye* ‘body’.¹⁹⁴

The sequence **ia* can be found:

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: **jïar(i)* ‘musk’, **kiag* (not listed) ‘couch grass’, **niä-* ‘to glue’.

In non-first vowel slots: **ačïan* ‘load’, **ariä* ‘molar, tusk’, **dolïa-* ‘to lick’, **horïa-* ‘to wind’, **kurïa-* ‘to gather’, **marïan* ‘fat’, **sunïa-* ‘to stretch oneself’, **takïa* ‘chicken’.

The sequence **ie* can be found:

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: **sie-* ‘to pee’.

In non-first vowel slots: **belčïer* ‘pasture’, **bülïen* ‘lukewarm’, **ebsie-* ‘to yawn’, **hinie-* ‘to laugh’, **hülïe-* ‘to blow’, **kerie* ‘crow’, **tülïen* ‘firewood’, **ünien* ‘cow’.

The sequence **iu* can be found:

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: **hiütan* ~ **huiütan* ‘narrow’, **kiürsun* ‘nit’, **niü-* ‘to hide’, **niün* ‘boy’, **niür* ‘face’.

In non-first vowel slots: **arčïür* ‘towel’, **ariün* ‘clean’, **biljïür* ~ **bïlduur* (?PM **bïldiür*) ‘small bird’, **biüün*, **čakiür* ‘lighter’, **čïül-* ‘to gather’, **gasiün* ‘bitter’, **horčïül-* ‘to turn (tr.)’, **kosïün* ‘beak’.

The sequence **iü* can be found:

Non-initially in the first vowel slot: **niül* ‘sin’ (not listed), **siü-* ‘to strain’, ?**siüčï* ~ ?**seüčï* ‘chisel’, **siüderi* ‘dew’, **siür-* ‘to sweep’, **siüsün* ‘juice’.

In non-first vowel slots: **delbiür* ‘fan’, **deliün* ‘spleen’, **ebčïün* ‘chest’, **eriün* ‘chin’, **gesiün* ‘branch’, **seriün* ‘cool’, **teriün* ‘head’.

3.13.5.2. Development

The most common change affecting the diphthongs starting with **i/i* is the assimilation of this first element to the second. This type of development can already be observed in Middle Mongol sources.¹⁹⁵ In general Buriat, Khamnigan and Dagur preserve most instances of **i/i* in the form of palatalisation of the preceding consonant. Retention of such palatal elements is also found in Khalkha, Ordos and

¹⁹⁴ The analysis of these words as **baïan* ‘rich’, **beie* ‘body’ is also undesirable, because it would introduce a new type of vowel sequences.

¹⁹⁵ The assimilation of complex vowels was already possible prehistorically, giving rise to modern regional variants such as **biljïür* ~ **bïlduur* ‘small songbird’ and **kajïar* ~ **kadaar* ‘bit of a bridle’.

Kalmuck. Several Shirongol languages preserve some of these diphthongs as well, but they were completely lost in Ñantoq Baoan. The diphthongs must have been present both in Proto Baoanic and Proto Monguoric. Eastern Yugur has consistently monophthongised both **au* and **eü*.

Assimilation of the diphthong elements may have taken place in any period. In some cases it must have been quite early because it affected the development of the consonants, for instance Dag *sə:s* ‘urine’ apparently developed from an assimilated form **seesün* rather than from the CM **siesün* suggested by the majority of Mongolic languages. The assimilation has prevented the development **s- > š-* that would have taken place preceding **i*. Other such cases include *gasu:n* < **gasüun* ‘bitter’ and *gəsu:* < **gesiün* ‘branch’ (see 4.6.1.).

Likewise Khalkha *zaar* ‘musk’ stems from the assimilated form **jaar* rather than from the earlier **jīar*. The original diphthong would have resulted in a Khalkha form with *ǰ-*.

Examples for the development of the complex vowels **ia* and **iu*:

CM	Bur	Dag	MgrM	EYu	
<i>*nīa-</i>	<i>nyaa-</i>	<i>n^ya:-</i>	<i>nia-</i>	<i>na:-</i>	to glue
<i>*kanīa-</i>	<i>xanyaa-</i>	<i>xan^ye:d-</i>	<i>qania-</i>	<i>χana:-</i>	to cough
<i>*kubīa-</i>	<i>xubaa-</i>	<i>xɔb^ye:-</i>	<i>quba-</i>	<i>χwa:-</i>	to divide
<i>*karīa-</i>	<i>xaraa-</i>	<i>xara:-</i>	---	<i>χara:-</i>	to scold
<i>*jarīa</i>	<i>zaryaa</i>	<i>jēr^ye:</i>	---	<i>jara:</i>	hedgehog
<i>*horīa-</i>	<i>oryoo-</i>	---	<i>xoro-</i>	<i>χɔrɔ:-</i>	to wind
<i>*korīan</i>	<i>xoryoo</i>	<i>xɔr^ye:</i>	<i>qoraŋ</i>	<i>χɔrɔ:n</i>	enclosure
<i>*nīu-</i>	<i>nyuu-</i>	<i>nɔ:-</i>	<i>niu-</i>	<i>nu:-</i>	to hide
<i>*ariün</i>	<i>aryuun</i>	<i>aru:n</i>	<i>ariun</i>	<i>aru:n</i>	clean

Moghol also preserves a number of the diphthongs starting with **i/*i*, as in *nio:-* < **nīa-* ‘to glue’. Others are preserved indirectly, in that the element **i/*i* has moved to the preceding vowel slot, e.g. Mog *qaiṇṇ-* < **kanīa-* ‘to cough’, *jāira* < **jarīa* ‘hedgehog’, *uīnā* < **ünien* ‘cow’.¹⁹⁶

In Dahejia Baoan, which does not generally preserve vowel length, the contraction lengths can be shortened and reduced to *ə*, as in:

BaoD	BaoÑ	CM	
<i>arə-duŋ</i>	<i>ariya</i> ¹⁹⁷	<i>*arīa</i>	molar
<i>χorə-</i>	<i>hərə-</i>	<i>*horīa-</i>	to wind

¹⁹⁶ *inna:-* < **hinie-* ‘to laugh’ may go back to a metathesised form *iīna:-*, which would explain the unusual gemination of *-n-*.

¹⁹⁷ The Dahejia Baoan form is a compound with *duŋ* < **sidün* ‘tooth’. The Ñantoq Baoan form need not be a relic of the original CM **arīa*, as it could also represent Baoan *arə* + Chinese *yá* ‘tooth’.

The long vowel has been lost altogether in BaoX *χandoŋ* < **kania.dun* ‘cough’.

**kiursun* ‘nit’ shows irregular developments in Dag *kʷaur* (suggesting **kiura*), EYu *χairsən* (suggesting **kairsun*), MgrH *ćirʒə* (suggesting **kirsun*).

Buriat, Dagur, and Khamnigan frequently preserve palatal elements in words with original **ie* and **iü*, but assimilations can be found even there, as in Dag *xinə:d* < **hinie.dün* ‘laughter’, Bur *ebheel-* < **ebsie.le-* ‘to yawn’; **kejie* ‘when’ developed as if from **kejee* in all three literary languages.

In the QG languages the diphthongs **ie* and **iü* have typically become indistinguishable from **ee* and **üü*.

3.13.6. Metathesis of diphthong elements

Some irregular forms, and resulting irregular correspondences between modern languages are due to the metathesis of diphthong elements. Several such cases of metathesis are actually documented in Middle Mongol, e.g. **hiütan* ~ **huiitan* ‘narrow’, both of them surviving into modern Mongolic, cf. Dag *xʷaut* from the former, and MgrM *xuitaŋ* from the latter variant.

**hīruar* ~ **hīraur* ‘bottom’ co-occur in Middle Mongol, but modern forms generally stem from **hīroar*, a development of the first variant. **jīloa* (< **jīlua*) ‘reins’ appears in sources in Arabic script as **jīlau*, **jīroa* ‘ambler’, as reconstructed on the basis of modern languages, appears in Arabic script as **jōria*.¹⁹⁸ **komaul* ‘horse dung’ is documented early, but the variant **komual* has given rise to the modern forms in the central languages. Likewise in front-vocalic words there must have been alternations **üe* ~ **eü*, the former developing into **öe*. Dag *ǰəulə:n* ‘soft’ and *əuyʷ* ‘grease’ suggest CM forms **jeülen* and **eükün*, whereas central Mongolic as well as the Shirongol languages suggest **jöelen* < **jüelen* and **öekün* < **üekün* (cf. MgrH *ǰo:lon*, *o:ko*).

Dag *suidur* must be from **süideri* instead of **siüderi* ‘dew’; the metathesised form has prevented the development **s-* > *š-*.

The transfer of the diphthong element **i* or **i* to another syllable is best known from Moghol (see 3.13.5.), but incidental cases can be found in central Mongolic:

Khalkha *malia* suggests **malia* < **mīlaa* < **mīnaa* ‘whip’.

Khalkha *myaraax* reflecting **mīraa-* instead of **maria-* ‘to spy on’

Ordos *mira*: reflecting **mīraan* instead of **marian* ‘flesh’

3.14. Non-contraction vowel-lengths

The following sections will discuss some of the types of vowel lengths in Dagur, Eastern Yugur, and the Shirongol languages, which are not the result of contractions. The majority of these lengths are due to accent-related lengthening or other kinds of by-products of word structure.

¹⁹⁸ This is actually the form that was expected on the basis of the Turkic cognate **yoriga*.

3.14.1. Ill-spelled contraction lengths?

As mentioned above, publications on Mongolic long vowels have often distinguished between ‘secondary’ and ‘primary’ vowel lengths. In practice, Written Mongol spelling was used to determine in which category a vowel length belonged. A long vowel in the modern languages, which is written in Written Mongol by means of a VCV sequence (nearly always *V_YV* or *VgV*), was supposed to be a ‘secondary’ length resulting from contraction. A modern long vowel which is written with a single Written Mongol vowel letter was considered to be a ‘primary’ length, predating the contraction lengths.

Unfortunately, Written Mongol spelling has never been completely stable, and many words appear in two or more spelling variants. Through the centuries Written Mongol spellings were often influenced by the diverging spoken languages they represented. It goes without saying that not all recorded spellings are etymologically correct. Spelling variation is often informative, in that some of the variants are clearly attempts to represent changing pronunciations in the spoken idioms of the users of the script.

Ramstedt (1902) already stressed that *V_YV* and similar sequences in Written Mongol were not necessarily historically correct, and that these spellings were also used to write long vowels in loanwords.¹⁹⁹ In spite of this, many later scholars have used Written Mongol spelling for reconstruction purposes with insufficient caution.

A number of words with a long vowel in several modern languages are often or even exclusively spelled with a single vowel sign in WM, e.g. **haaga* spelled *aya* ‘bran’, **öer* (?) spelled *ör* ‘dawn’. This seems to indicate that these vowels are either ‘primary’ or due to a type of lengthening different from contraction. However, such words may actually be contraction lengths which acquired a historically incorrect orthographical variant as their standard Written Mongol spelling. The following words, with long vowels supported by several languages, seem to belong to this group of miss-spelled words (historically correct spelling variants that are documented for several of these words are omitted here):

WM	CM as based on modern languages	
<i>aya</i>	<i>*haaga</i>	bran, chaff
<i>bolod</i>	<i>*boluad</i>	and
<i>ör</i>	<i>*öer</i>	dawn
<i>čayan</i>	<i>*čagaan</i>	white
<i>čüče</i>	<i>*čüüče < *siüče</i>	chisel
<i>gegen</i>	<i>*gegeen</i>	bright
<i>saral</i>	<i>*saaral</i>	grey (of animal’s coat)
<i>sina</i>	<i>*sinaa</i>	wedge
<i>sü(n)</i>	<i>*süü ~ *sün ~ *üsün</i>	milk
<i>ula</i>	<i>*huula</i>	tinder
<i>ü-</i>	<i>*hüü-</i>	to rot/stink

¹⁹⁹ Two examples for this practice that bear repeating are *byarwaas* written *birabayasun* < Ru. *perevóz* ‘transfer’ and *yaarmag* written *yayarmay* < Ru. *yármaka* ‘fair’.

The last word may also be a case of lengthening of the final vowel of a monosyllable (see 3.14.3).

The lengths are not systematically supported by all languages but are found in Khalkha, Buriat, Dagur, and incidentally in the QG languages:

Kh	Bur	Dag	EYu	MgrH	CM
<i>aaga</i>	<i>aaga.han</i>	<i>xa:yə</i>	---	---	* <i>haaga</i>
<i>süü(n)</i>	<i>hün</i>	<i>su:</i>	<i>hsun</i>	<i>sun</i>	* <i>süü</i>
<i>uul</i>	<i>u(u)la</i>	<i>x^wa:l</i>	---	<i>fula</i>	* <i>huula</i>
<i>ü-</i>	---	<i>xu:-</i>	<i>hü:-</i>	<i>fu:-</i>	* <i>hüü-</i>
<i>üür</i>	<i>üür</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>ö:r</i>	<i>o:r</i>	* <i>öer</i>

Cf. Kalm *üs*n ‘milk’, *ör* ‘dawn’, *ul* ‘tinder’. EYu *hsun* ‘milk’ and possibly MgrH *sun* may derive from the variant **üsün* (as does the Kalmuck form) rather than from a form **sün* or **sü:*.

In case of variant spellings²⁰⁰, the modern languages usually make it possible to determine which spelling is etymologically correct (which may be confirmed by Turkic cognates).

WM	CM	CT	
<i>daya(n) ~ dayaya(n)</i>	* <i>daagan</i>	* <i>yapak/*yapagu</i>	colt
<i>čoqor ~ čooqor</i>	* <i>čoakar</i>	* <i>čupar</i> (?=)	variegated ²⁰¹
<i>kö ~ köge ~ kögege</i>	* <i>köe</i>	* <i>kög</i>	soot in a pan

In the case of Written Mongol *daya(n)/dayaya(n)* ‘colt’, the modern forms such as Kh *daaga(n)*, EYu *da:ğan*, MgrH *da:xa*, Dag *da:y* point to a CM form **daagan*. Thus the short spelling *dayan* reflects neither etymological reality nor the pronunciation, while *dayayan* is correct within the Written Mongol spelling rules, with the first *y* now denoting vowel length, and the second still pronounced.

In the case of *kö ~ köge ~ kögege*, *kö* is based on the modern Khalkha pronunciation *xo:*, though it fails to represent the long vowel. *Köge* is an etymologically correct spelling. *Kögege* is a spelling apparently meant to indicate the long vowel, but contains one *-g-* too many from an etymological viewpoint. Likewise Written Mongol *dayaya-* for **daa-* ‘to bear’ and Written Mongol *egege-* for **hee-* ‘to warm in the sun’ contain a superfluous syllable.

²⁰⁰ Note that Written Inner Mongolian spelling seems to have adopted as standard the shorter spelling variants in many such cases, e.g. *čayan* ‘white’, *gegen* ‘bright’, *daya* ‘foal’, *kö* ‘soot’, *čoqor* ‘speckled’, etc. Cf. also the spelling *buqur* for Kh *buxuur*, Dag *bɔyɔ:r* ‘buttocks’.

²⁰¹ The traditional equation of CM **čoakar* with CT **čupar* is morphologically problematic. Since most Mongolic words lack a Turkic cognate, it is often difficult or impossible to tell the etymologically correct spellings from the incorrect ones, and to determine the nature of a Mongolic vowel length. (Ordos supports **čoakar*; EYu favours **čoakur*)

The vowel length of Khalkha *buurcag* ‘beans’ is only attested in central Mongolic; that of Khalkha *büüreg* ‘flea’ is supported by Kalmuck and one of the variants attested for Mongghul.²⁰²

Some lengths that (based on Written Mongol spelling) are considered to be contraction lengths may be primary lengths, at least it may sometimes be impossible to confirm that a written *g*, *γ*, etc. represents an actual etymological consonant.

In a small number of cases the corresponding Turkic form actually suggests that there never was a consonant, e.g. Khalkha *uuc* ‘back’, Written Mongol *uyuča*, which seems to stem from Turkic **u:ča*. There are some other instances where the Written Mongol intervocalic consonant probably does not reflect a real consonant: Khalkha *toodog*, Written Mongol *toyodoy* ‘bustard’, if corresponding to Turkic **to:d* ‘id’, Khalkha *xöörög*, Written Mongol *kögerge* ‘bellows’ if corresponding to Turkic **kö:r(ü)k* ‘id’, Khalkha *čiig*, Written Mongol *čigig* ‘moisture’ if corresponding to Turkic **či:g* ‘id’. If these comparisons are correct, the Written Mongol spellings can only be interpreted as spelling conventions.

As in Old Uigur (the source of many conventions of Written Mongol spelling), we find words in which the grapheme <u> is doubled, although the spoken languages lack evidence for a long vowel. Perhaps it was a spelling convention used to indicate *o* rather than *u*, but this explanation does not always make sense. Perhaps the doubling is just a graphical means to avoid confusion with other words, much like the accents in Romance languages, e.g. French *ou* ≠ *où*, *a* ≠ *à*, etc: Examples include Written Mongol *yool* ‘valley’, *qoora* ‘poison’, and *toor* ‘net’. One case where the spelling *oo* corresponds to an actual long vowel in QG is Written Mongol *doora* ‘underside’ (which was shortened in Dagur and central Mongolic).

For the (lack of) correlation between Mongolic and Turkic vowel length see further 3.15. below.

3.14.2. Non-contraction vowel lengths in peripheral Mongolic

In the following pages those vowel lengths will be discussed that are apparently not ‘secondary’, i.e. the result of contraction of two consecutive short vowels after the elision of an intervocalic consonant. As will become clear, part of the non-contraction lengths could have arisen relatively recently in certain phonetic environments, while others remain unexplained. Examples from the latter group may reflect actual CM vowel length (as the label ‘primary’ vowel length suggests), or be explained as secondary developments by future research.

Interestingly, Poppe concluded that there were original long vowels in Mongolic, and Doerfer concluded that their existence can not be proved, both on the basis of largely the same evidence. In the following paragraphs, some of the well-known evidence will be presented in a different way, and combined with new evidence from the peripheral languages. This includes a discussion of materials of Eastern Yugur, which was hardly described at the time when Poppe, Doerfer, Ligeti

²⁰² In these two words the CT cognates **burčak* and **bürge* suggest that these are short vowels which for unclear reasons have been secondarily lengthened in Mongolic, rather than contraction lengths.

and others discussed Mongolic vowel length. The focus will be on the various ways of vowel lengthening which may have occurred.

The peripheral languages, especially Dagur and Mongghul, show numerous vowel lengths that have not been observed elsewhere. In a number of cases both Dagur and Mongghul display length in the same word. Some correspondences make it tempting to reconstruct the length for CM. Perhaps the best-known and most striking examples for ‘primary’ long vowels in Mongolic are the following two:

WM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	CM	
<i>modu(n)</i>	<i>mɔ:d</i>	<i>mu:dən</i>	<i>mo:də</i>	<i>*modun</i> (? <i>*mo:dun</i>)	wood; tree
<i>tabu(n)</i>	<i>ta:wu</i>	<i>ta:βən</i>	<i>ta:vun</i>	<i>*tabun</i> (? <i>*ta:bun</i>)	five

There are some other words in which Mongghul and Dagur agree, but for which the Eastern Yugur materials are ambiguous:

WM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	CM	
<i>temeče-</i>	<i>təmče:-</i>	<i>temče-</i>	<i>tənʒe:-</i>	<i>*temeče-</i>	to struggle
<i>uya-</i>	<i>xuya:-</i>	<i>xa:-, hia-</i>	<i>fuya:-</i>	<i>*huya-</i>	to tie up
<i>umba-</i>	<i>xumpa:-</i>	<i>mba-</i>	<i>xumba:-</i>	<i>*humba-</i>	to swim
<i>örögel</i>	<i>əry^wlə:</i>	<i>örlö(:)</i>	---	<i>*öreele</i>	hobble

There are occasional supporting forms in other languages, such as BaoŃ *mba:-* ‘to swim’, and Buriat *uyaa-* ‘to tie up’.

Despite the lack of systematic support from all three languages, the long vowel in these words is still found in two peripheries, and at first sight make a quite convincing case for CM vowel length. That is, they seem to suggest CM reconstructions **temeče:-*, **huya:-*, **humba:-* rather than the forms listed above. However, the striking Dagur-Mongghul parallels are outnumbered by far by instances where length is only found in one of the two languages, and cannot be included in the CM reconstruction form. Examples for disagreement between Dagur and Mongghul:

Dagur	Mongghul	CM	
<i>bəryə:n</i>	<i>urgen</i>	<i>*berigen</i>	sister-in-law
<i>šil</i>	<i>šilo:</i>	<i>*silön</i>	soup
<i>yaləy-</i>	<i>ləga:-</i>	<i>*ilga-</i>	to choose
<i>wail-</i>	<i>ula:-</i>	<i>*uila-</i>	to cry
<i>kuitur-</i>	<i>kuidəre:-</i>	<i>*kuitere-</i>	to become cold
<i>gaɮ^lda:-</i>	<i>galda-</i>	<i>*galda-</i>	to make a fire
<i>xaičla:-</i>	<i>xaižila-</i>	<i>*kaičila-</i>	to clip
<i>šingə-</i>	<i>šinge:-</i>	<i>*singe-</i>	to be digested
<i>šingə:n</i>	<i>šəngan</i>	<i>*singen</i>	thin

Again, comparison with the Eastern Yugur forms, does not lead to a regular picture, e.g. EYu *be:rgə* ‘sister-in-law’ has a vowel length in the first syllable instead of the second, which may be due to the influence of *be:rə* ‘daughter-in-law’ (**beri*). The many other words with contradicting forms in Dagur, Eastern Yugur, and Mongghul, include:

WM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	CM	
<i>yara</i>	<i>yar</i>	<i>ya:ra</i>	<i>ya:ra</i>	* <i>yara</i>	wound
<i>kekere-</i>	<i>kəkre:-</i>	<i>ge:gəre-</i>	<i>kəgəre:-</i>	* <i>kekere-</i>	to belch
<i>tulya</i>	<i>tʷa:ləy</i>	<i>tu(:)lga</i>	<i>tulga</i>	* <i>tulga</i>	support

3.14.3. Lengthening of the final vowel of monosyllables

In Dagur the final vowel of CM monosyllabic stems is lengthened. There are examples of stems in **a*, **i*/**ĩ*, **u*, **ü*. There are unsystematic equivalents in central Mongolic. Examples:

CM	Dagur	length also found in	
* <i>a-</i>	<i>a:-</i>	MgrH, central * <i>a:-dal</i>	to dwell, to be
* <i>ba</i>	<i>ba:</i>		we (excl.)
* <i>ta</i>	<i>ta:</i>	Brg <i>ta:</i>	you (pl.)
* <i>bĩ</i>	<i>bi:</i>	Brg <i>bi:</i>	I
* <i>čĩ</i>	<i>ši:</i>	Brg <i>ši:</i>	you (sing.)
* <i>ki-</i>	<i>xi:-</i>	Khalkha <i>xiy-</i> , EYu <i>ki:-</i>	to do; to pour
* <i>bü</i>	<i>bu:</i>	Khalkha <i>büü</i> , MgrH <i>bi:</i>	don’t
* <i>nu-</i> (? <i>*no-</i> , ? <i>*onu-</i>)	<i>nɔ:-</i>	EYu <i>nu:-</i>	to hit

Dagur *a:n* < **a* ‘they’ and *i:n* < **ĩ* ‘s/he’ may also belong here, as these pronouns owe their final *-n* to the oblique forms. The vowel length may date from before this addition, or may be a later development under the influence of the other personal pronouns.²⁰³

The vowel length in Dag *su:* (?< **sü*) ‘milk’ also has equivalents in some other languages, this word elsewhere has the shape **sün* or **üsün*.

EYu *χa:* < **ka* ‘upper front leg’ also corresponds to vowel lengths in central Mongolic, but this word is absent from Dagur.

In addition to the prohibitive particle **bü*, Mongghul has also lengthened the final vowel of the negation particles **ese* and **ülü*, resulting in *si:* and *li:*, both with unexpected change of the vowel quality to *i*.

²⁰³ Interestingly the oblique stems of *ba:* ‘we (excl.)’ and *ta:* ‘you (pl.)’ are *ma:n-* and *ta:n-* with long vowel, while *bi:* ‘I’ and *ši:* ‘you (sing.)’ have oblique stems *min-* and *šin-* with short vowel. Of course the vowels here lack the word-final position that supposedly caused the vowel to be lengthened.

Apparently monosyllabic stems in **e*, **o*, or **ö* were rare or non-existent. But **nu-* ~ **onu-* may have been **nɔ-* (neither of these proposed CM forms would solely be able to explain all modern forms).

3.14.4. Accent-related lengthening in the final syllable

In Mongghul the accented last vowel of word stems is often lengthened. The same happens, less frequently, in Eastern Yugur and Ñantoq Baoan. This phenomenon is limited to words of a certain structure. It occurs predominantly in the final syllable of disyllabic stems ending in a non-high vowel or in disyllabic stems ending in **n* or **l* preceded by a non-high vowel. The first syllable may have a high or non-high vowel. This word structure, which triggers lengthening of the second vowel in Mongghul, is the same structure that causes the accent to fall on the second vowel in Eastern Yugur. In this regard this phenomenon is largely complementary with that described for Eastern Yugur in 3.14.5., involving the lengthening of the non-high vowel of the *first* syllable. However, not all words with this structure undergo lengthening.

Only some vowel lengths in this position in Eastern Yugur or Ñantoq Baoan are not confirmed by Mongghul, such as EYu *ude*: < **üde* ‘noon’, EYu *ywe*: < **üye* ‘generation’. Agreement between all languages is rare. In some cases two languages may agree:

MgrH	BaoÑ	CM	
<i>nta:-</i>	<i>ta:-</i>	<i>*unta-</i>	to sleep
<i>ula:-</i>	<i>la:-</i>	<i>*uila-</i>	to cry
<i>una:-</i>	<i>na:-</i>	<i>*una-</i>	to descend
<i>uda:-</i>	<i>nda:-</i>	<i>*uda-</i>	to be late
<i>dağa:-</i>	<i>dağa:-</i>	<i>*daga-</i>	to follow
<i>xumba:-</i>	<i>mba:-</i>	<i>*humba-</i>	to swim

Dagur occasionally agrees with Mongghul, as in **huya-* ‘to tie up’ (see above), but such similarities are greatly outnumbered by forms that disagree between the two languages, and may be coincidental.

Mongghul stands alone in most cases (short variants may exist but are not listed here). However, this development is still not regular enough to call it a sound law. Even in Mongghul there are many words of a similar structure in which the last vowel was not lengthened, e.g. *ula* ‘sole of the foot’ (**ula*), *ule* ‘work’ (**üile*), *ugo* ‘word’ (**üge*).

Here follows a, far from exhaustive, list of Mongghul examples.

Nouns ending in a non-high vowel:

MgrH	EYu	CM	
<i>dusa:</i>	<i>tusa</i>	<i>*tusa</i>	profit
<i>fure:</i>	<i>hure</i>	<i>*hüre</i>	seed

(continued)

MgrH	EYu	CM	
<i>gada:</i>	<i>gada</i>	* <i>kada</i>	rock
<i>guda:</i>	<i>guda</i>	* <i>kuda</i>	male in-law
<i>kəde:</i>	<i>kede</i>	* <i>kete</i>	steel for flint
<i>mula:</i>	<i>məla</i>	[regionalism]	small
<i>noḡdo:</i>	<i>nɔḡɔ</i>	* <i>noḡta</i>	halter
<i>turma:</i>	<i>turma</i>	* <i>turma</i>	turnip
<i>xura:</i>	<i>xura</i>	* <i>kura</i>	rain
<i>žarma:</i>	---	* <i>žarma</i>	hail
<i>žila:</i>	<i>žula</i>	* <i>žula</i>	lamp

Nouns ending in *-l* or *-n* preceded by a non-high vowel:

<i>gəre:l</i>	<i>gerel</i>	* <i>gerel</i>	light (noun)
<i>ra:l</i>	<i>aral</i>	* <i>aral</i>	shaft
<i>ra:l</i>	<i>aral</i>	* <i>aral</i>	river valley

MgrH	EYu	CM	
<i>baya:n</i>	<i>bəyan</i>	* <i>bayan</i>	rich
<i>dura:n</i>	<i>dura</i>	* <i>dura</i>	liking
<i>kəže:n</i>	<i>kəčə</i>	* <i>keče</i>	slope
<i>kurge:n</i>	<i>kürge:n</i>	* <i>küregen</i>	brother-in-law
<i>lumo:n</i>	<i>manan</i> (?=)	* <i>noman</i>	mole (animal)
<i>nama:n</i>	<i>manaj</i>	* <i>manan</i>	mist
<i>nže:n</i>	<i>ežen</i>	* <i>ežen</i>	self
<i>noyo:n</i>	<i>niyɔn</i>	* <i>noyan</i>	lord
<i>rme:n</i>	<i>örmön</i>	* <i>öreme</i>	skin on milk
<i>səme:n</i>	---	* <i>süme</i>	temple
<i>šdogo:n</i>	<i>hutgwen</i>	* <i>hödken</i>	dense
<i>šilo:</i>	<i>šelen ~ šölön</i>	* <i>silön</i>	soup
<i>šime:n</i>	<i>šəme</i>	* <i>sime(n)</i>	juice
<i>təme:n</i>	<i>temen</i>	* <i>tümen</i>	ten thousand

Some words with a similar structure in Mongghul may involve compensation length, e.g. MgrH *gura:n* ‘three’ from CM **gurban* after the loss of the *-v-* < **b*. In spite of the similar structure, a different development is found in MgrH *de:ren* ‘four’ < CM **dörben* where the first vowel was lengthened, and *xaran* ‘ten’ < CM **harban* where the **b* was lost without lengthening either of the vowels.

Incidentally, the preservation, and in some cases the addition, of final *-n* in the nouns is unexpected, as the **-n* of nouns is nearly always lost in Mongghul.

Verbs ending in a non-high vowel:

MgrH	BaoÑ	EYu	CM	
<i>bula:-</i>	<i>bəla-</i>	<i>bula:-</i>	<i>*bula-</i>	to bury
<i>bura:-</i>	<i>wara-</i>	<i>bara-</i>	<i>*bara-</i>	to finish
<i>čina:-</i>	<i>čina-</i>	<i>čəna-</i>	<i>*čina-</i>	to cook
<i>dağa:-</i>	<i>dağa:-</i>	<i>dağa-</i>	<i>*daga-</i>	to follow
<i>dava:-</i>	---	<i>daβa-</i>	<i>*daba-</i>	to cross
<i>fule:-</i>	---	<i>hele-</i>	<i>*hüle-</i>	to remain
<i>fuya:- ~ śa:-</i>	<i>χa:- (?=)</i>	<i>xa:-, hia-</i>	<i>*huya-</i>	to tie up
<i>nəme:-</i>	---	<i>neme-</i>	<i>*neme-</i>	to add
<i>ntəra:-</i>	---	<i>ndara-</i>	<i>*untura-</i>	to sleep
<i>nura:-</i>	---	---	<i>*nura-</i>	to collapse
<i>sune:-</i>	---	---	<i>*söne-</i>	to go out (fire)
<i>śže:-</i>	<i>gže-</i>	<i>hče-</i>	<i>*hičə-</i>	to be ashamed
<i>šiŋge:-</i>	---	<i>šəŋge-</i>	<i>*siŋge-</i>	to digest
<i>šiğa:-</i>	<i>xiχa-</i>	<i>šəqa-</i>	<i>*sika-</i>	to squeeze
<i>šira:-</i>	<i>xira-</i>	<i>šəra-</i>	<i>*sira-</i>	to roast
<i>təbde:-</i>	---	<i>debte-</i>	<i>*debte-</i>	to soak (intr)
<i>ula:-</i>	<i>la:-</i>	<i>ü:la-</i>	<i>*uila-</i>	to cry
<i>una:-</i>	<i>na:-</i>	<i>na:-</i>	<i>*una-</i>	to descend
<i>xambura:-</i>	<i>hamara-</i>	<i>aməra-</i>	<i>*hamura-</i>	to rest
<i>yo:-</i>	---	---	<i>*oya-</i>	to sew
<i>žira:-</i>	<i>žira-</i>	<i>jü:ra-</i>	<i>*juura-</i>	to mix ²⁰⁴

Among the Mongghul verbs with lengthened final vowels we also find the original causatives *kurge:-* < **kürge-* ‘to bring, send, deliver’ from **kür-* ‘to reach, arrive’, and *surğua:-* < **surga-* ‘to teach’ from **sur-* ‘to learn’. These verbs are perhaps no longer considered as causatives; in fact there are new Mongghul causative forms based on **kür-* and **sur-*, with the meanings ‘to cause to reach’ and ‘to cause to learn’ (MgrH *kurğa-* and *suruğa-*). The vowel of the productive causative suffixes *-ğa*, *-lğa* is not long.

Incidentally, verbs with lengthened final vowels did not merge with their own causatives, as these have been provided with newly added causative endings. *xada:-* ‘to dry (intr)’ represents CM **kata-*, and the function of the causative **kataa-* is now fulfilled by a new formation *xada:-lğa-* ‘to dry (tr)’.

Secondary lengthening may contribute to the convergence of originally different shapes. In Junast’s data MgrH *təme:n* ‘camel; ten thousand’ represents both **temeen* ‘camel’ and **tümen* ‘ten thousand’.

There are several discrepancies between Eastern Yugur sources with regard to length of non-high vowels. The forms documented by Junast more often have long final vowels reminiscent of Mongghul, including the following.

²⁰⁴ This example could be seen as a case of length metathesis, but it may simply be an accidental co-occurrence of shortening of a double vowel and lengthening of the final vowel.

Junast	Bolčuluu	CM	
<i>sogdo:-</i>	<i>səgtə-</i>	<i>*sogta-</i>	to get drunk
<i>tele:-</i>	<i>tele-</i>	<i>*tüle-</i>	to burn
<i>törö:-</i>	<i>törö-</i>	<i>*töre-</i>	to be born
<i>χagara:-</i>	<i>hqara-</i>	<i>*kagara-</i>	to break (intr.)
<i>mere:n</i>	<i>muren</i>	<i>*mören</i>	river
<i>pəse:</i>	<i>pəsəi</i>	<i>*büse (?*büsei)</i>	belt

Lengthening of original high vowels is uncommon. Lengthening of CM **i* is found in Mongghul in *puši:* ‘wrong’ < **bisi* ‘not’, *pugəli:* < **büküli* ‘all’, *dali:* (~ *dalə*) < **adali* ‘similar’.²⁰⁵

The negative particles MgrH *bi:* (**bu/*bü*) ‘don’t’, *li:* ‘not’ (**ülü*), *si:* ‘not’ (**ese*) all replaced their original vowels by an irregular *i:*, probably due to group analogy.

There seem to be hardly any common nouns and verbs with this development. MgrH *da:li:* ‘shoulderblade’ may go back to a form ending in a complex vowel **daluï* instead of the commonly reconstructed **dalu*; a form **daluï* could account for some of the other Shirongol forms as well.

²⁰⁵ Some of these function words may owe their long vowel to the fact that they have incorporated the copula *i:*.

3.14.5. Accent-related lengthening in non-final syllables

In Eastern Yugur and Mongghul one finds numerous long vowels in the first syllable which are short in the central languages and Dagur. Those Baoan dialects that preserve phonemic length, notably Nantoq Baoan, also feature lengthening in some words of this structure. These lengths are unexpected since the accent in the QG languages generally falls on the final syllable, which as seen in the previous paragraph is another source of vowel lengthening in Mongghul and Eastern Yugur.²⁰⁶

However, Poppe (1955:26 and 73-75) recognised a certain pattern in the Mongghul words with vowel lengthening in the first syllable. He noticed that many of the ‘affected’ stems have the structure (C)VCV(C), in which the first vowel is non-high and the second high. A similar pattern applies to many Eastern Yugur words with lengthened vowels. Virtually all cases are disyllabic stems with a non-high vowel in the first syllable and a high vowel in the second. In Mongghul the first syllable of the words in question is open, while in Eastern Yugur it may either be open or closed. The similar structures of the relevant words suggests that we are dealing with a conditioned development rather than the preservation of ancient vowel lengths. As high vowels in general tend to be slightly shorter than non-high vowels, it is likely that the vowel lengths in these words are due to a kind of compensatory lengthening.

Bolčuluu & Jalsan (1990: 142-143)²⁰⁷ describe how the vocalism has given rise to deviations from the final accent rule in Eastern Yugur. Synchronically the accent tends to avoid the vowel ə (which in Eastern Yugur mostly replaces the four CM short high vowels in non-first syllables), if a non-high vowel is also present in the stem.

The default accent placement is on the last syllable. This is found in stems containing only short non-high vowels such as *al'tan* (**altan*) ‘gold’, *hele'yen* (**heligen*) ‘liver’, and in stems containing only short high vowels, such as *pə'čəg* (**bičig*) ‘writing’, *xəmə'sən* (**kīmusun*) ‘nail’. However, if the stem contains a contraction length or diphthong, that will take the accent (vowel height is irrelevant), e.g. *ǰə'ro:* (**ǰiroa*) ‘ambler’, *tol'ǰəi* (**tolagai*) ‘head’; *du're:* (**dōree*) ‘stirrup’, *du'la:n* (**dulaan*) ‘warm’, *xa'ru:l-* (**kariul-*) ‘to reply’, but *'ki:re* (**keere*) ‘outdoors’, *'je:ren* (*jeeren*) ‘Mongolian gazelle’. If the stem contains long vowels only, the accent will fall on the final one.²⁰⁸ If the stem contains short high and non-high vowels, the final accent will be on the last syllable if that has a non-high vowel. If ə is in the final syllable of a disyllabic stem, the accent will avoid the ə, and fall on the vowel of the first syllable in, as in *'ǰatən* (**katun*) ‘empress’, *'xə:nə* (**konin*)

²⁰⁶ Related to this may be the lengthening of non-high vowels before the suffix *-sUn, a phenomenon found in both central and peripheral languages.

²⁰⁷ In Malov’s limited Eastern Yugur materials, edited by Kotwicz, non-final accent seems to be indicated with the grave accent in a handful of words. Junast (1981:14) only mentions the basic rule that accent is word-final.

²⁰⁸ Note Bolčuluu & Jalsan (1990:143) *'xə:nə* ‘sheep’ > accusative/genitive *xə:'ni:n*, reflexive possessive *xə:nə'ya:n* ‘one’s own sheep’, where the long suffix vowel takes over the accent. Compare the dative-locative *'xə:nədə*, where the accent remains on the stem.

‘sheep’. In trisyllabic and longer stems, the accent will fall on the rightmost non-high vowel available, as in *he'nesən* (**hünesün*) ‘ash’, *belwəsən* (**belbisün*) ‘widow’, *ǰə'ǰasən* (**ǰagasun*) ‘fish’, *xulǎ'ǰaičə* (**kulagaiči*) ‘thief’.

Now in many words this accent shift has led to the lengthening of the vowel that came to bear the accent, although this is not obligatory, see *ǰatən* ‘empress’ vs. *ˈxɔ:nə* above. Many words have been recorded both with short and long vowel, e.g. EYu according to Bolčuluu & Jalsan *ˈsdasən* ‘thread’ vs. Junast’s *hda:sən*. (**utasun*). Other examples of which Bolčuluu & Jalsan explicitly mark the accent are *ˈmu:dən* (**modun*) ‘wood’, *ˈdɔ:lə-* (**dolia-* via intermediate QG form **doli-*) ‘to lick’. Although accent is not indicated in the Eastern Yugur vocabularies, the same accent pattern should equally apply to the other examples listed below.

For Mongghul, all authors only note word-final accent. The example *na:ˈdə-* < **naad-* ‘to play’, stressed on the *ə* (which in this case is not even original, but a connective vowel reinterpreted as part of the stem), contrasts with the accent rules of Eastern Yugur. In Ñantoq Baoan final accent is also the norm, e.g. *məˈrə* < **morin* ‘horse’. The fact that Mongghul and Eastern Yugur have developed this type of vowel length under the same circumstances, albeit usually not in the same stems, suggests that, at an earlier stage of its development, the Mongghul accent may have behaved like that of Eastern Yugur.

Unfortunately the evidence is not at all consistent in the languages concerned. In both Mongghul and Eastern Yugur there are many words with a similar phonetic structure which did not develop a long vowel. Furthermore, in words which are preserved in both Mongghul and Eastern Yugur, the forms rarely agree. In fact the disagreements seem suspiciously systematic, which may indicate that another factor, as yet undiscovered, has played a role in shaping these forms. E.g. **konin* ‘sheep’, and **morin* ‘horse’ are long in Eastern Yugur, but short elsewhere in Mongolic; **hödün* ‘feather’ is only long in Mongghul; **hodun* ‘star’ is long in Mongghul and Ñantoq Baoan, but short elsewhere.²⁰⁹ Such contradictions make it impossible to reconstruct length in these words for a common ancestral language.

CM **modun* ‘tree’ and **tabun* ‘five’, the most widely accepted examples of primary vowel length in CM, are the only cases supported by three peripheral languages. They may be attributed to secondary vowel lengthening.

CM	E. Yugur	Mongghul	Dagur	
<i>*modun</i>	<i>mu:dən</i>	<i>mo:də</i>	<i>mɔ:d</i>	wood, tree
<i>*tabun</i>	<i>ta:βən</i>	<i>ta:vun</i>	<i>ta:wu</i>	five

The first example is complicated by the fact that QG languages may be influenced by Ch *mùtou* ‘wood’ and Dagur by the Tungusic word *mɔ:* ‘tree; wood’. The length in the second example is more difficult to explain. The length could have arisen to maximise the contrast with **tabin* ‘fifty’. It is not clear whether this could have been

²⁰⁹ Malov (Kotwicz) indicates accent on the first syllable in **hodun* ‘star’ for Eastern Yugur.

an early development, later neutralised again in central Mongolic, or an independent development in Dagur and the QG languages.

Below follows a list of the Mongghul and Eastern Yugur words of the structure (C)VCV in which lengthening occurred. Long vowels may appear in either Eastern Yugur or in Mongghul, or in both.²¹⁰ Apart from **modun* ‘tree’ and **tabun* ‘five’, Dagur does not confirm these lengths.

CM	E. Yugur	Mongghul	Dagur	
<i>*alī</i>	<i>a:lə</i>	<i>alə</i>	<i>alʸ</i>	which
<i>*amun</i>	<i>amən</i>	<i>a:mu</i>	<i>am</i>	millet ²¹¹
<i>*daku</i>	---	<i>da:xu</i>	<i>daw</i>	raincoat
<i>*dalu</i>	<i>da:lə</i>	<i>da:li:</i>	<i>dal</i>	shoulder-blade
<i>*daru-</i>	<i>dar(ə)-</i>	<i>da:rə-</i>	<i>dar-</i>	to press
<i>*hačī</i>	<i>haǰə</i>	<i>a:čə</i>	---	grandson/cousin
<i>*namur</i>	<i>na:mər</i>	<i>namur</i>	<i>namər</i>	autumn, fall
<i>*saki-</i>	<i>sa:ǵə-</i>	<i>sgə-</i>	<i>sayʸ-</i>	to wait
<i>*bečīn</i>	<i>be:ǰən</i>	<i>mučīn</i>	---	monkey
<i>*beri</i>	<i>be:rə ~ bi:rə</i>	<i>be:rə</i>	<i>bərʸ</i>	daughter-in-law
<i>*kebi-</i>	<i>keβə-</i>	<i>ke:yi-</i> ²¹²	<i>kəmʸ-</i>	to ruminate
<i>*kedü</i>	<i>ke:də</i>	<i>kədə</i>	<i>xəd</i>	how many
<i>*hodun</i>	<i>hədən</i>	<i>fo:də</i>	<i>xəd</i>	star
<i>*morīn</i>	<i>mɔ:rə</i>	<i>morə</i>	<i>mɔrʸ</i>	horse
<i>*konīn</i>	<i>xɔ:nə</i>	<i>xonə</i>	<i>xɔnʸ</i>	sheep
<i>*tolī</i>	<i>tɔ:lə</i>	---	<i>tɔlʸ</i>	mirror
<i>*tosun</i>	<i>tu:sən</i>	<i>to:sə</i>	<i>tɔs</i>	fat ²¹³
<i>*čokī-</i>	<i>čɔ:qə-</i>	<i>čugu-</i>	<i>čɔkʸ-</i>	to peck
<i>*dösi</i>	<i>tošo</i> ²¹⁴	<i>do:śə</i>	<i>duś</i>	anvil
<i>*hödün</i>	<i>hodən</i>	<i>fo:də</i>	<i>xudus</i>	feather
<i>*söni</i>	<i>sö:nə</i>	<i>sonə</i>	<i>sunʸ</i>	night

Some vowel lengths in Baoan dialects seem to be due to the same phenomenon, e.g. BaoÑ *sa:ga-* ‘to wait’, *hə:taŋ* ‘star’ (related to forms listed above), as well as BaoD

²¹⁰ Many of these examples appear in Bolčuluu & Jalsan 1990:62, Čenggeltei 1988:32, 35, 45, 53, Svantesson et al. 2003:113). In some cases the forms with a long vowel will have a variant with short vowel, which will not be mentioned in this list.

²¹¹ This word has a long *a:* in several other languages, which suggests it may belong to the ‘ill-spelled secondary length’ category discussed earlier. However, the Bargu form *amv:* may be either a metathetic length (see below), or it may instead stem from **amusun*.

²¹² The vowel length indicated by Mostaert & de Smedt is not confirmed elsewhere.

²¹³ The loss of CM **toasun* ‘dust’ may have facilitated this development.

²¹⁴ The lowering of the final vowel is unexpected.

wa:r- ‘to grab’ from **bari-*, BaoÑ *na:raŋ* ‘thin’ from CM **narin*, BaoX *χa:rə-* ‘to return’ from **karī-*.²¹⁵

The following words with (C)VCCV structure usually only have a long vowel in Eastern Yugur (although the unexpected diphthong in MgrH *səulʒə* may count as lengthening)²¹⁶:

CM	E. Yugur	Mongghul	
<i>*maŋgus</i>	<i>ma:ŋgəs</i>	<i>maŋgusə</i>	anthropophagous ogress
<i>*janči-</i>	<i>ja:njə-</i>	<i>janči-</i>	to crush
<i>*jargu</i>	<i>ja:rǵə</i>	<i>jarǵu</i>	lawsuit
<i>*gendü</i>	<i>ge:ndə</i>	---	male dog
<i>*mendü</i>	<i>mö:ndə/me:ndə</i>	---	good health
<i>?*dombur</i>	<i>dɔ:mbur</i>	<i>dumbur</i>	hillock
<i>*sonji-</i>	<i>sɔ:njə-</i>	<i>suænzji- (?=)</i>	to mock
<i>*sölsün</i>	<i>sö(:)sən</i>	<i>səulʒə</i>	gall bladder

In a number of cases these lengths correspond with Common Turkic long vowels, as in the case of EYu *ja:rǵə* ‘lawsuit’ (CT **ya:r-gu* ‘id’). In view of the many other CT words with long vowels that are not reflected in the Mongolic cognate, it seems better to view these as coincidences. Cf. EYu *gatən* ‘empress’, which corresponds to CT **ka:tun*.

In Eastern Yugur some foreign words of the same structure also have a long vowel. It is not clear what role the quantity in the source language may have played. These lengths are at any rate not confirmed by the other peripheral languages.

<i>*dari</i>	<i>da:rə</i>	gunpowder (ultimately Ir.)
<i>*šabi</i>	<i>ša:βə</i>	pupil (ultimately Skt.)
<i>*šatu</i>	<i>ša:tə</i>	stairs (< Old Uigur <?)

Some less widespread loanwords with similar structure also feature length in Eastern Yugur, including *ga:məs* ‘town’ (of unknown origin)²¹⁷, *jɔ:məs* ‘ladle’ and *te:ŋə* ‘deaf’ from Turkic, and *dɔ:rjə* ‘Indra’s thunderbolt’, *mda:rə* ‘drum’, and *ba:ndə* ‘novice’ from Amdo Tibetan. For the Tibetan loans Mongghul has corresponding forms without vowel lengthening: *dorʒə*, *ndarə*, *bandi:*.

Apparently related to this category of lengthening are the ‘morphological lengths’ in Eastern Yugur, genitive/accusative²¹⁸ forms in which the short non-high vowel of the stem was lengthened. Perhaps this does not happen in Mongghul due to

²¹⁵ Perhaps this explanation also applies to the *a:* of BaoX *ga:dər* ‘sickle’ < **kaduur* (via a form with shortened **uu*).

²¹⁶ Also EYu *ra:lʃə-* and MgrH *(a)ra:lʃi-* ‘to exchange’ (**aralji-*) may owe their long vowels to the word structure. Interestingly this same word lost its middle syllable in Baoan, e.g. BaoÑ *alʒa-*. Another case is MgrH *da:ldə-* ‘to trade’ (**kudaldu-*).

²¹⁷ Possibly garbled from an older form of Chinese Gānzhōu, the old name of Zhāngyè.

²¹⁸ As in the other QG languages, the accusative and genitive are identical in shape in Eastern Yugur.

its genitive in *-nə*, which creates a closed first syllable, an environment less likely to develop a long vowel in Mongghul, as seen above. Eastern Yugur:

Eastern Yugur	CM
<i>gar</i> ‘hand’, genitive <i>ga:rə</i>	<i>*gar</i> , <i>*gar-u</i>
<i>ken</i> ‘who’, genitive <i>ke:nə</i> ‘whose’	<i>*ken</i> , <i>*ken-ü</i>
<i>mal</i> ‘livestock’, <i>ma:lə emčə</i> ‘veterinarian’	<i>*mal</i> , <i>*mal-u</i>
<i>gal</i> ‘fire’, genitive <i>ga:lə</i>	<i>*gal</i> , <i>*gal-u</i>

This might be a recent development. It also occurs in loanwords such as *nag* ‘tree’, gen. *na:gə* (from Tibetan), *lar* ‘speech’, gen. *la:rə* (of unknown origin), and even in the second syllable in the Turkic loanword *tu:rag* ‘poplar’, gen. *tu:ra:gə*.

Apart from the words with this structure which have developed a long vowel in Eastern Yugur and/or Mongghul and/or Ñantoq Baoan, there are many similarly structured stems which retained their short vowel in all languages. A small selection: **amīn* ‘life’, **batu* ‘strong’, **kari-* ‘to return’, **tabīn* ‘fifty’ (apparently to distinguish it from **tabun* ‘five’), **tani-* ‘to know’, **tari-* ‘to plant’, **jaru-* ‘to use’, **jarīm* ‘half’ (unlike **jargu* ‘lawsuit’ from the same stem!), **čerig* ‘soldier’, **hekin* ‘head’, **hergi-* ‘to turn’, **jelü* ‘tether’, **jori-* ‘to point’, **korīn* ‘twenty’, **döčīn* ‘forty’, **ökin* ‘girl’, etc. Most disyllabic words in *-sUn* are not affected either (see the following paragraph).

In the following cases the vowel of the second syllable was lost, so that the lengths may be compensation lengths in a more traditional sense. These words are not very remarkable in that both the loss of final vowels after *-r-* and *Mittelsilbenschwund* are common in Eastern Yugur.

CM	E. Yugur	Mongghul	
<i>*aru</i>	<i>a:r</i>	---	back, behind
<i>*dabusun</i>	<i>da:βsən</i>	<i>dabsə</i>	salt
<i>*eri-</i>	<i>e:r-</i>	<i>yarə-</i>	to look for
<i>*öri</i>	<i>ö:r</i>	<i>urə</i>	debt

Some originally monosyllabic verb stems also developed vowel length. Some of these words may owe their vowel length to the fact that they acquired a final vowel by absorbing the connective vowel, so that they obtained the same (C)VCV structure as the words discussed earlier. Cf. MgrH *şdo:lə-* < **ötel-* ‘to grow old’, *no:rə-* ‘to become moist’ < **nor-*, apparently through intermediate forms **otoli-*, **nori-*. Similarly, MgrH *şo:rə-*, EYu *ju:rə-* ‘to plane’ from **jor-*.²¹⁹ The length in MgrH *o:sə-* ‘to grow’ is due to the same development, if related to CM **ös-* ‘id’. Alternatively it could be related to EYu *yü:s-* and Dag *əus-*, and stem from CM **eüs-* ‘to arise’ instead. Another ambiguous form is MgrH *o:li-* (recorded by

²¹⁹ These forms and one of the Middle Mongol forms (in the Muqaddimat al-Adab) would suggest a original form **joru-* which has the same structure as the other words with lengthening discussed above.

Mostaert & de Smedt), which form represents both **ol-* ‘to obtain’ and **bol-* ‘to become’. These two verbs merged into a short-vocalic form *olə-* according to other sources. In Eastern Yugur only the former verb has resulted in *ɔ:l-* with a long vowel, whereas *bɔl-* remains short.

3.14.6. Length before the element **-sUn*

Vowel lengthening of a non-high vowel preceding the suffix *-sUn* occurs in the central languages, and in Dagur, as well as in QG, in Eastern Yugur, and most frequently in Mongghul. This phenomenon is reminiscent of the lengthening discussed in the previous paragraph, which also involved the lengthening of non-high vowels followed by a high vowel. The two phenomena can not be sharply separated.

Interestingly, most disyllabic formations with *-sUn* are not affected in QG, e.g. **časun* ‘snow’, **nasun* ‘age’, **yasun* ‘bone’, **yosun* ‘custom’, and **yesün* ‘nine’. In the last example **e* had probably been raised to **i* before this lengthening phenomenon arose. **sösün* ‘gall bladder’ and **tosun* ‘grease’ did undergo lengthening.

A number of trisyllabic stems may owe the long vowels they display in Eastern Yugur and Mongghul to word structure, without requiring the element *-sUn*. The following similarly structured stems (all with a high first vowel) have length only in Eastern Yugur and Mongghul.

CM	E. Yugur	Mongghul	Dagur	central	
<i>*hünesün</i>	<i>henesən</i>	<i>fune:ʒə</i>	<i>xuns</i>	short V	ashes
<i>*sünesün</i>	<i>sune:sən</i>	<i>sune:ʒə</i>	<i>sums</i>	short V	soul
<i>*hutasun</i>	<i>sda:sən</i>	<i>ʂda:ʒə</i>	---	short V	thread
<i>*sudasun</i>	<i>sda:sən</i>	<i>ʂda:sə</i>	---	short V	vein
<i>*uŋgasun</i>	<i>ŋgwa:sən</i>	<i>ŋgua:sə</i>	---	short V	wool

The relevance of vowel patterns is underlined by the fact that trisyllables with a non-high first vowel did not develop a long vowel in any language²²⁰, including **arasun* ‘skin’, **gedesün* ‘intestines’, **jagasun* ‘fish’, **kölesün* ‘sweat’, **olasun* ‘hemp’. Indeed, in some stems a development in the other direction can be observed, e.g. EYu *ğadəsən* ~ *ğasən*, BaoŃ *ğadsəŋ* ~ *ğarsəŋ* < **ğadasun* ‘stake’; EYu *gedsən* ~ *gedəsən*, BaoGt *ğəsəŋ* < **gedesün* ‘bowels’.²²¹ These reductions are not seen in Monguoric.

The existence of a large number of words ending in a long vowel followed by *-sUn* may have influenced the denominal and opaque formations. The trisyllabic *-sUn* formations are based on diverse stems. Some derive from nominal roots that are known either from Mongolic (e.g. **aduu.sun* ‘herd animal’) or from Turkic (e.g. **balqa.sun* ‘wall’) while others are not as easily analysed (**arasun* ‘skin’). If the

²²⁰ This is confirmed by the very fact that the original high vowels were not lengthened before *-sUn* either.

²²¹ The reduced shapes are reminiscent of ‘western Mongolic’, e.g. Kalmuck *gesn*, Moghol *gesən* < **gedesün* ‘bowels’.

element preceding the syllable *-sUn* is not recorded independently, it is impossible to determine whether it is in fact a formation with the ending *-sUn*. The fact that the precise original functions of *-sUn* are still debated, makes many words hard to analyse. Another group of words ending in *-sUn* are deverbal formations with *-A-sUn*. The deverbal formations will typically develop a long vowel when the *A* contracts with the final vowel of the stem, or with the connective vowel. E.g. **kala-asun*, **nöke-esün* both ‘patch’. Other stem from verbs already ending in a long vowel: **baasun* ‘poo’, perhaps for **baa-asun* (an inadmissible structure), likewise **kolbaasun* ‘connection’ for **kolbaa-asun*.

The occurrence of long vowels preceding *-sUn* is erratic, and there even are variant forms within each of the central languages. Some words have long vowels in Buriat and/or Dagur, but short vowels in Khalkha and/or Kalmuck. Other lengths are shared by Eastern Yugur and Mongghul, but not found elsewhere. Buriat and Mongghul agree on **korgaasun* ‘sheep dung’, whereas Khalkha and Kalmuck have a short vowel in this word. Only Buriat has a long vowel in **balgasun* ‘town wall’, **sindasun* ‘tendon’. But MgrH *dəra:sə* ‘wine’ even corresponds to Bur *darhan* with **a > Ø* (CM **darasun*).

The irregular distribution of these lengths makes it nearly impossible to assume their early existence, even on a subgroup level. Only few cases are supported by several subgroups. For instance, EYu *hərči:sən*, MgrH *šjo:sə* and Bur *üšöōhe(n)* ‘willow’ all seem to suggest a long vowel.²²² Buriat and Dagur point to CM **kilgaasun* ‘coarse hair’, but Khalkha, Kalmuck, and Eastern Yugur to **kilgasun*. The CM reconstructions can not always do justice to the balance of evidence; see the supplement.

Erratic correspondences between the QG languages, Dagur and central Mongolic include the following:

CM	E. Yugur	Mongghul	Dagur	central	
<i>*anjasun</i>	<i>anjasən</i>	<i>nʒasə</i>	<i>anja:s</i>	short V	plough
<i>*burgasun</i>	---	<i>burǵa:sə</i>	<i>barya:s</i>	long or short V	willow
<i>*örgešün</i>	<i>orgwe:sən</i>	<i>rgo:ʒə</i>	<i>uryis</i>	long or short V	thorn ²²³

Further contradictory modern forms between Dagur and the central languages can be found under **kaïlasun* ‘elm tree’ and **kekesün* ‘spoke’.

3.14.7. Remaining first-syllable vowel lengths in QG languages

Quite a number of further first-syllable vowel lengths can not be explained by secondary lengthening. Most of these lengths occur in one language only.

It seems that non-high vowels tend to be lengthened before *-r-* in Mongghul. Some of these lengths are supported by Eastern Yugur:

²²² Eastern Yugur suggests **hičeesün*, Mongghul and Buriat perhaps **hičöesün < *hičüesün* with complex vowel. The Sino- Mongolian notation *hičesün* in HY would be compatible with the former, as it could be read *hičēsün* just as well.

²²³ In view of some central dialect forms this is perhaps really **örgeesün*.

Mongghul	E. Yugur	CM	
<i>mo:r</i>	<i>mör</i> ²²⁴	<i>*mör</i>	road, path
(<i>xara</i>) <i>sa:r</i>	<i>sar</i>	<i>*sar</i>	certain bird of prey
<i>to:r</i>	<i>tör</i>	<i>*tor</i>	net
<i>a:rdağ</i>	<i>a(:)rdağ</i>	<i>*ardag</i>	spoilt
<i>ba:rdam</i>	<i>bardam</i>	<i>*bardam</i>	proud
<i>tie:rge</i> (SM)	<i>teryen</i>	<i>*tergen</i>	cart
<i>ya:ra</i>	<i>ya:ra</i>	<i>*yara</i>	ulcer
<i>su:mar</i> (SM)	<i>su:mal</i>	<i>*sumal</i>	bag

Preceding *-r-* even high vowels may be occasionally lengthened, e.g. MgrH *ǰiu:rə-* < **ǰiru-* ‘to write’, *nu:ra:-* ~ *nura:-* < **nura-* ‘to collapse’.²²⁵ Lengthening before other consonants occurs less frequently, as in MgrH *ǰo:lǰo-* (cf. EYu *ǰolǰo-*) < **ǰolga-* ‘to meet’, and *a:sar* (EYu *hsar*) < **asar* ‘pavilion’.

3.14.8. Remaining first-syllable vowel lengths in Dagur

Most of the unconfirmed Dagur vowel lengths (both high and non-high vowels) occur preceding *r* or *n*, suggesting that at least part of them may be secondary developments triggered by this phonetic environment.

Dagur	CM	
<i>a:nəɣ</i>	<i>*anaga</i>	hunting spot
<i>du:t</i>	<i>*döte</i>	short (distance)
<i>ga:d</i>	<i>*gada-</i>	outside ²²⁶
<i>g^wə:n</i>	<i>*gün</i>	deep
<i>ǰu:r</i>	<i>*ǰüg</i>	direction
<i>ǰü:r</i>	<i>*ǰür</i>	roe deer
<i>k^wə:l-</i>	<i>*köl-</i>	to harness
<i>k^wə:nn^ye:</i>	<i>*köŋdei</i>	hollow
<i>sə:lbə:</i>	<i>*serbee</i>	fin
<i>sə:r</i>	<i>*sur</i>	thong ²²⁷
<i>ta:wu</i>	<i>*tagu</i> (?)	jackdaw ²²⁸
<i>xə:n</i>	<i>*hon</i>	year
<i>xu:nu-</i>	cf. <i>*hünir</i>	to smell

²²⁴ EYu *mör* in Malov’s materials (edited by Kotwicz), probably meant to denote **mo:r*.

²²⁵ Lengthening by *-r-* may also be assumed in other languages, e.g. in Ordos *i:r* < **hir* ‘knife edge’, *i:rge* < **irge* ‘wether’. It may also have caused the unexpected Khalkha forms *buurcag* ‘bean’ and *büürge* ‘flea’.

²²⁶ Thus according to Poppe (1967:6). Alternatively this could be a metathetic length from the extended form **gadaa*.

²²⁷ The Dagur variant *saur* given by Zhong could be a secondary development of this long vowel form.

²²⁸ Length is also recorded in Bargu *ta:g* ‘id’.

Some superficially similar, but special cases are dealt with in other sections. Dagur *a:n* ‘they’ and *i:n* ‘(s)he’ were perhaps influenced by the other personal pronouns **bi*, **či*, **ba*, **ta*, which were also lengthened in Dagur (see the monosyllables above). The long vowels in Dag *su:* ‘milk’, *xa:γə* ‘bran’, and *x^wa:l* ‘tinder’ correspond to long vowels in (some) central Mongolic dialects (see misspelled contraction lengths under 3.14.1.)

Some Dagur lengths may be due to length metathesis, e.g. *xu:l-* < **xu:lə-* < **hulie-* ‘to blow’, *ga:d* < **ga:da* < **gadaa* ‘exterior’ (see 3.14.10.).

Another Dagur length in the first syllable is *t^wa:ləγ* < **tulga* ‘pillar’, which also has a long vowel in Eastern Yugur, but is contradicted by its base, the verb *təl-* < **tul-* ‘to support’. Dag *je:bla:-* < **jabila-* ‘to sit cross-legged’ is also unexpected; it cannot merely be a compensation length, given that unaccented vowels are routinely elided in Dagur without the need for compensation.

Further unusual Dagur lengths in the first syllable include *də:l-* ‘(of the weather) to become warm’, perhaps from a verb **dul-*, which could be related to **dulaan* ‘warm’, but is not attested elsewhere, and *nə:γ-* ‘to weave’ from **neke-*.

3.14.9. Compensation lengths

In some words vowel lengths seem to have developed as compensation for the loss of a vowel in another syllable. Compensation is an alternative explanation for many of the vowel lengths discussed in the past paragraphs. On the other hand, many apparent compensation lengths can be adequately explained otherwise.

Bolčuluu & Jalsan give several Eastern Yugur words in which the loss of the first vowel is accompanied by lengthening of the accented second vowel: *χwa:r* ~ *χawar* < **kabar* ‘nose’, *nyɔ:n* ~ *nion* < **noyan* ‘lord’, *tya:g* ~ *tiyağ* ~ *tayağ* < **tayag* ‘walking cane’, EYu *xa:-* ~ *hia-*, *haya-* < **huya-* ‘to tie up’.

Some of these words also have lengths in Mongghul, such as **noyan* and **huya-*, but this does not necessarily indicate a shared origin, as Mongghul has many lengthened vowels in words of a similar structure, which did not lose any vowels in other syllables. Striking similarities like EYu *na:-*, MgrH *na:-*, BaoŃ *na:-* < **una-* ‘to fall’ become less remarkable in view of the alternative Mongghul form *una:-*.

Compensation in the first syllable for the loss of a vowel in the second may be seen in EYu *da:φsən*, *da:bsən* < **dabusun* ‘salt’, *a:r* < **aru* ‘posterior’, but they may also be due to the lengthening of the non-high vowels discussed in 3.14.5.

Perhaps compensation also plays a role in the length of Dag *g^wə:n* ‘deep’ and *su:* ‘milk’, etc. The forms of **gün* ‘deep’ are mostly short elsewhere, but in Mongghul there are disyllabic forms such as *fugon* which suggests the existence of a CM variants **öken* ~ **gü(:)n*. ‘Milk’ also has an old disyllabic variant, cf. Kalmuck *üsñ*, Ordos *usñ*, EYu *hsun*, pointing at CM variants **üsün* ~ **sü(:)n*. Another similar case may be **onu-* ~ **nuu-* ‘to hit’.

Compensatory lengthening may also be due to the loss of a consonant, usually **-b-*. In case of intervocalic **-b-*, this involves contractions of original VCV sequences like those in prehistoric Mongolic. Examples include EYu *jɔ:ləŋ* < **joba.ləŋ* ‘suffering’, MgrH *de:sə-* < **debis-* ‘to spread’, BaoŃ *te:r-* < **teberi-* ‘to embrace’. EYu *šu:n* ‘bird’ is a contraction of **sibaun*, but **au* had probably already been contracted before the **-β-* < **-b-* was lost. Puzzlingly three different solutions

were applied in Mongghol to the numerals *de:ren* < **dörben* ‘four’, *gura:n* < **gurban* ‘three’, and *xaran* < **harban* ‘ten’, the latter without any compensation.

Some of the rare vowel lengths in Mangghuer (recorded by Čenggeltei) have developed as a result of the loss of a consonant, e.g.

Mangghuer	CM	
<i>no:či-</i>	* <i>nögči-</i>	to pass
<i>ɕɤḡ ~ ɕɤ:</i>	* <i>čag</i>	time
<i>ša:</i>	* <i>sira</i>	yellow

3.14.10. Metathesis of vowel length

In some words vowel lengths seem to be transferred from another syllable. The vowel that was expected to be long on historical grounds appears as short. In fact this is also a type of ‘compensation length’.

Among the certain cases of metathesised length we find EYu *toro:-* ‘to circle’ instead of the expected form **to:rə-* (< CM **toari-*), BaoÑ *he:lə* ‘kind of bird of prey’ for **hele:* (< CM **helie*), BaoÑ *ma:ra-*, BaoX *ma:r-* ‘to hide’ for **mara:-* (< CM **maria-*).

Dag *ga:d* ‘outside’, if from **gada:* < CM **gadaa*, could belong in this group as well. However, Poppe (1967:6) compares it to the base **gada* (which he reconstructs **ga:da*) rather than to the derivate **gadaa*.

One of the more complicated cases is Dag *xu:l-* ‘to blow’, which should be related to CM **hülie-*. This etymon has an unexpected short final vowel in all peripheral languages, a diphthong in Dongxiang, and a long vowel in the first syllable in Mongghul and Eastern Yugur. Eastern Yugur and Mongghul further have initial [p^h-], showing that paralinguistic factors have played a role.

The verb **dolia-* ‘to lick’ lacks the expected contraction vowel in the QG languages, where all modern forms seem to derive from a form **do:li-* or **do:l-* ‘to lick’ instead of expected **dolo:-*. However, in this case the length may also have arisen after the word developed the syllable structure **doli-* (see 3.14.5). This would leave open the question why its second syllable was shortened.

BaoX *ga:dər* ‘sickle’ (ultimately from **kaduur*) is another example where the length may be due to syllable structure, seeing that other Baoan dialects feature the form *gadər*. Length metathesis in Baoan may go hand in hand with the tendency to reduce contraction lengths in the non-first syllables.

In the peripheral languages there are only isolated cases of vowel length metathesis. In Bargu, long vowels before the suffix *-sUn are often transferred to the second syllable.

Bargu	CM	
<i>baxa:</i> (for expected * <i>ba:xa</i>)	* <i>baasun</i>	excrement
<i>buxə:</i> (for expected * <i>bu:xə</i>)	* <i>böesün</i>	louse
<i>nɔxɔ:</i> (for expected * <i>nɔ:xɔ</i>)	* <i>noasun</i>	wool

Analogy is probably the reason why today most words containing the suffix *-sUn* now end in a final long vowel in Bargu, even if the first syllable vowel was not long:

<i>naxa:</i> (for expected <i>*naxa</i>)	<i>*nasun</i>	age
<i>tɔxɔ:</i> (for expected <i>*tɔxɔ</i>)	<i>*tosun</i>	oil
<i>uxu:</i> (for expected <i>*uxa</i>)	<i>*usun</i>	water

The same analogy may have affected Brg *buxə:* < **büse* ‘belt’, unless this is a genuine length (cf. also the QG cognates MgrH *puse:* and EYu *pəsəi*).

3.14.11. Lengthening of non-first vowels in Dagur

Apart from the monosyllabic stems and some cases which are also long either in central Mongolic, or in Mongghul and/or Eastern Yugur, most other unexpected vowel lengths in Dagur occur in non-first syllables. These lengths appear to be totally unrelated to QG lengthening, and they are mostly unexplained. Perhaps most involve morphological reinterpretation rather than phonetic developments.

Although there is no explanation for the secondary lengthening of these vowels, it is problematic to conclude, on the basis of Dagur alone, that they are therefore ‘primary’ lengths (as suggested in Tömörtogoo 1992). The corresponding vowels are short in the QG languages Eastern Yugur, Mongghul, and Ñantoq Baoan, which even tend to place the accent on the final syllable. Several groups of similarly-structured words can be distinguished. They will be discussed below.

3.14.11.1. Lengthening of the final vowel of verbs

A number of, mostly disyllabic, verbs end in *a:* and *ə:* where the vowel was expected to be lost, e.g. *xumpa:-* (**humba-*) ‘to swim’ and *xuya:-* (**huya-*) ‘to tie up’, *təmče:-* (**temeče-*) ‘to strive’. The occasional agreement with lengths in Mongghul (as in the three verbs just mentioned) seems to be coincidental.²²⁹ If they do represent old lengths, the short vowels in central Mongolic and Eastern Yugur need an explanation.

While lengthening of final vowels is quite common in Mongghul, it is hard to explain in Dagur, unless some kind of metanalysis is assumed, whereby original causative formations in *-A* supplanted the original verbs, or some frequent inflected forms such as the converb *-AAr* (**-Ad*) may have caused the (historically) incorrect reinterpretation of the stem.

An explanation in that direction is supported by the fact that the original vowel was not simply lengthened, whichever quality it had. Rather a non-high vowel element *A* was added to the original stem. Although *A* is also the shape of a causative ending, the change in shape did not affect the meaning of these verbs.²³⁰ Thus Dagur has *əlwə:-* < **elgü-* ‘to hang’, *ərwə:-* < **ergü-* ‘to lift’ rather than forms in long *-u:*.

²²⁹ **huya-* ‘to tie up’ also developed a long final vowel in Buriat.

²³⁰ Nevertheless it may be relevant that most of the affected verbs are transitive.

Verbs in **i/*ĩ* have Dagur *e*: (/ie/, [ʲe:]) instead of expected /i/ [ʲ] in verbs such as *kumrʲe:-* < **kömeri-* ‘to overturn’ and *təurʲe:-* < **teberi-* ‘to embrace’, *karče:-* < **kabčĩ-* ‘to squeeze’, *kəmbʲe:-* < **kumĩ-* ‘to fold’, *xəʎʲe:-* < **koli-* ‘to mix’, *təbkʲe:-* < **tobkĩ-* ‘to stitch coarsely’.²³¹ Here simple lengthening of the final vowel would have resulted in Dagur *i*:

The age of this development is unknown, but the development of a (Dagur and central Mongolic) form **bulia-* ‘to snatch’ alongside **bulĩ-* may be an early example.

For verbs ending in the ‘long-vocalic suffixes’ *-la*, *-ga*, *-lga* see 3.14.12. below.

3.14.11.2. Lengthening of the last vowel of disyllabic nouns

This type of lengthening typically affects non-high vowels. Surprisingly often these Dagur lengths correspond to short vowels in Mongghul, although Mongghul otherwise has many vowel lengths in disyllabic words of similar structure (see 3.14.4.).

Dagur	cf	CM	
<i>bəryə:n</i>	EYu <i>be:rgə</i>	<i>*berigen</i>	sister-in-law
<i>guyə:n</i>		? <i>*göen</i>	shallow
<i>gura:n</i>	EYu <i>gura</i>	<i>*gura</i>	roebuck
<i>daŋga:l</i>	MgrH <i>daŋgəl</i>	<i>*daŋgal</i>	clod
<i>xʷaima:r</i>	MgrH <i>xoimor</i>	<i>*koïmar</i>	seat of honour; Mgr: floor

This category also includes the following adjectives, again contradicted by Mongghul (forms from Junast here). In some cases the long vowels are also contradicted by Zhong’s Dagur data.

Dagur	Mongghul	CM	
<i>nĩŋə:n</i>	<i>nəŋgen</i>	<i>*nimgen</i>	thin, fine
<i>šĩŋə:n</i>	<i>šĩŋgen</i>	<i>*siŋgen</i>	thin (fluid)
<i>xuŋgə:n</i>	<i>koŋgon</i>	<i>*kõŋgen</i>	light (weight)
<i>yauya:n</i>	---	<i>*yabugan</i>	on foot
<i>ǰəulə:n</i>	<i>ǰo:lon</i>	<i>*ǰöelen</i>	soft

All these lengths correspond to short vowels in Mongghul, even though Mongghul has a tendency to lengthen second syllable non-high vowels followed by a nasal or liquid. However, the reverse situation is seen in Dag *urkun* < **ödken* ‘thick’, as opposed to MgrH *šdoǵo:n* ‘id’.

²³¹ Dag *kəkre:-* ‘to belch’ and *təmcə:-* ‘to compete’ suggest CM forms in *-i* rather than the forms **kekere-* and **temeče-* supported by other languages. Conversely, Dagur *nərčə:-* ‘to hatch’ suggests **nebčee-* rather than the usual **nebčie-*.

There may be a connection between the above unexpected Dagur lengths and the lengthening of the vowel before the diminutive *-kAn* in Dagur adjectives.²³² Remarkably, some of the adjectives have short vowels in their final syllable although they contained CM double or complex vowels.²³³

Dagur	CM	
<i>bələn - bələ:kən</i>	* <i>belen</i>	(quite) ready
<i>bulun - bulu:kun</i>	* <i>bülien</i>	(quite) luke-warm
<i>narin - nari:kən</i>	* <i>narin</i>	(quite) fine ²³⁴
<i>šɔlun > šɔlu:kun</i>	* <i>siluun</i>	honest > nimble
<i>xairən - xaira:kən</i>	* <i>kaïran</i>	(quite) pitiful

3.14.11.3. Lengthening of last syllable vowels before *-r*

Lengthening is found in several Dagur words with CM **-r* or secondary *-r* from **-g* or **-d*. The vowel is typically non-high. Beyond the fact that *r* is known to often lengthen the preceding vowel, there is no explanation for this phenomenon. Cf. lengthened monosyllables in *-r* in 3.14.8.

Dagur	Mongghul	CM	
<i>ala:r</i>	<i>alaḡ</i>	* <i>alag</i>	variegated
<i>bayəlja:r</i>	<i>baḡalʒaḡ</i>	* <i>bakalʒag</i>	wrist
<i>bədə:r</i>	---	* <i>beder</i>	spot, freckle
<i>bɔdɔ:r</i>	<i>budəḡ</i>	* <i>budug</i>	dye
<i>bula:r</i>	<i>bulag</i>	* <i>bulag</i>	(water) spring
<i>kalta:r</i>	---	* <i>kaltag</i> or * <i>kaltar</i>	name of a horse's coat colour
<i>kɔnɔ:r</i>	---	* <i>konag</i>	24-hour period
<i>kɔŋgɔ:r</i>	---	* <i>kongar</i>	light brown

These examples raise the question why this type of lengthening is not more universally applied (did *kɔdir* < **kudug* 'water well' and *sujir* < **süjüg* 'religion' remain short due to the high vowel?). Another problem is that many of the words in question could be (re-)borrowings from Manchu, which has *bederi* 'spot', *kaltara* 'brown with a white nose', *konggoro* 'brown'. This also applies to the adjectives above, many of which also occur in Manchu, e.g. *bulukan* 'lukewarm', *hairakan*

²³² In Mongghul the suffix **-kAn* has developed a long vowel, compare Mongghul *bulenxa:n*, as opposed to Dagur *bulu:kun*.

²³³ Puzzlingly, Enkhbat (1988:235) mentions the stems as *bulu:n*, *nari:n*, *šɔlu:n*, while his dictionaries, as well as Zhong's materials, report the same words with a short vowel in the unexpanded stem. Did he 'invent' these word shapes to explain the morphology on that given page? Alternatively, the lengthening is due to analogy with other words mentioned by Enkhbat, in which the length is due to contraction, such as *xulu:-kun* 'quite many', *xalu:-kun* 'quite hot', from **hüleü* and **kalaun*, respectively.

²³⁴ In view of Kh *nariyn* 'fine', the *-i-* of Dag *narin* could also be viewed as a shortening.

‘pitiful’. However, to assume reborrowing from Manchu does not ultimately lead to a solution, as many of the vowel lengths of Manchu (as recorded in Sibe) are themselves unexplained.²³⁵ Moreover, some of these words also display, partly erratic, vowel lengths in the neighbouring North Tungusic languages Solon and Orochen. In all these cases it is difficult to establish the direction of borrowing²³⁶, and at any rate none of the languages offers an obvious explanation for the long vowels.

Lengthening of CM high vowels is much rarer in Dagur. Dag *an^ye:r* in fact suggests a CM form **anⁱar* rather than **anⁱr*.

Dagur	CM	
<i>an^ye:r</i>	<i>*anⁱr</i>	sound
<i>xuli:r</i>	<i>*ölir</i> (? <i>*höⁱlir</i>)	wild apple

3.14.11.4. Various other Dagur vowel lengths

Several other Dagur words have unexpected vowel lengths. Lengthening of the last vowel of trisyllabic or longer nouns, either word-finally or preceding a sonorant is unexpected because of the Dagur accent on the first syllable.

Dagur	E. Yugur	CM	
<i>karəyna:</i>	<i>qarğana</i>	<i>*karagana</i>	(plant name) ²³⁷
<i>əy^wlə:</i>	<i>örlö(:)</i>	<i>*öreele</i>	hobble
<i>naučɔ: ~ nauč</i>	<i>nağaçə</i>	<i>*nagaču</i>	maternal uncle

The long vowel in *naučɔ:* may be not be a phonetic development. It may be a vocative or caritative form, cf. Dag *əwə:* ‘mother’, *əkə:* ‘older sister’ and *aka:* ‘older brother’, which apparently are vocative forms to the regular developments *əy* < **eke*, *əkč* < **egeči*, and *ay* < **aka*.

Lengthening of the second vowel of trisyllabic nouns, comparable to the group of *ala:r*, *bədə:r*, discussed above, but with other sonorants instead of *r*. These cases are also unexpected because of initial stress.

Dagur	CM	
<i>čakɔ:l^y</i>	<i>*čakulaï</i>	seagull
<i>nida:n^y</i>	<i>*nīdanī</i>	last year
<i>kur^ye:n</i>	<i>*kürene</i>	weasel (‘vole’ in Dagur)
<i>təmə:n^y</i>	<i>*təbənə</i>	large needle

²³⁵ There are other cases where Dagur has vowel lengths in Mongolic words reborrowed from Manchu, e.g. Dag *xada:l* ‘horse’s bit’ and *durə:ŋg^y* (Zhong), *durə:ŋgi:* (Enkhbat) ‘stirrup’ from Manchu *hadala*, *durenggi* (cf. CM **kadaar*, **döree*). But these vowel lengths are not documented in Manchu. Perhaps they were just perceived by Dagur as not reduced, and therefore associated with long vowels.

²³⁶ Solon also has the development *-r* from **-g*.

²³⁷ Cf. also Dag *tuy^ana:* ‘lead (the metal)’, apparently related to **tuulga*.

Again there are equivalents in Manchu, which cannot explain the vowel lengths, e.g. *kurene* ‘weasel’, *temene* ‘large needle’.²³⁸

Dag *salmi*: ‘sword’ from **seleme* is inexplicable unless it is originally a genitive which was morphologically redefined as an uninflected root. Dag *tulma*: ‘bucket’ (CM **tulum*, with no final vowel at all) may have been a reflexive possessive form reinterpreted as the stem. These explanations are rather *ad hoc*, but there is no purely phonetic development to explain these forms. Similar reinterpretations may underlie other cases where a Dagur long vowel corresponds to Ø in other languages, such as the verbs mentioned under 3.14.12.

In closing, there are many peculiar vowel lengths in Dagur: In view of the chaotic correlation with vowel length in QG and elsewhere, it is not generally advisable to make these poorly supported vowel lengths part of the CM reconstruction forms. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the Dagur vowel lengths is that so many occur in unaccented syllables. This may in fact indicate that accent placement was much more variable in earlier stages of development.

3.14.12. Long vowels in suffixes

The vowels of some suffixes have apparently been lengthened in Dagur and Mongghul. Not the same suffixes are lengthened in each language, so that it is impossible to reconstruct these suffixes as being long in CM. There is no explanation, other than the possibilities of a) metanalysis of derived or inflected forms, and b) the influence of neighbouring languages where the same suffixes exist.

As even contraction lengths can be found shortened in modern languages, it can not be excluded that some of the long vowel suffixes represent the original situation, and that their short counterparts elsewhere are the innovation.

Disagreements with respect to vowel length can be seen in several inflectional and derivational suffixes. The ablative suffix (probably from CM **-AAsA*, in spite of Written Mongol *-AčA*) has become *-A:s* in Dagur, but *-sA* in Eastern Yugur and *-sa* in Mongghul. The comitative **-lUA* > **-lA:* has become MgrH *-la*, and the ordinal suffix **-dUAr* has been shortened into MgrH *-dar*.

A more thorough investigation will be required, taking into account the many disagreements between various descriptions, especially in the case of Dagur. In the following only a selection of suffixes with lengthened vowel will be presented.

The denominal verb suffix *-lA*

In Dagur the vowel of the denominal verb suffix **-lA* is lengthened in a large number of derivations. However, another large group of *-lA* derivations has the expected reflex *-l*. It is not clear why some words developed the long vowel, and others did not. As there appears to be little free variation, it seems to be lexically determined.²³⁹

²³⁸ See Kara 1985 on the Dagur vowel lengths in Manchu loanwords.

²³⁹ One case where both the short and the long form occur is *wəyl-* and *wəylə:-*, both from CM **üye* ‘joint’, but with diverged meanings.

In Eastern Yugur, Mongghul, and Ñantoq Baoan, the suffix **-IA* is normally short, in spite of the fact that final non-high vowels are often lengthened in these languages.²⁴⁰

The verbalizer *-IA* is an ‘Altaic’ suffix also occurring widely in Tungusic, and its vowel is also long in Solon and Orochen, two Northern Tungusic languages neighbouring Dagur. Whatever the cause of the length in these languages, it is quite possible that these languages influenced Dagur in this respect (since Tungusic influence on Dagur is considerable).²⁴¹

Most verbs in *-IA* are straightforward verbalizer-derivates in which the nominal stem from which it is derived can be easily recognized. For the (usually predictable) meanings of most verbs I refer to the dictionaries. The long-vowel version of the suffix appears in: *aula:-* (from **aba* ‘hunt’), *ča:sla:-* (from **čaasun* ‘paper’), *dəyə:lə:-* (from **degee* ‘hook’), *dəllə:-* (from **dere* ‘pillow’), *gujilə:-* (**güjir* ‘difficult’), *mullə:-* ~ *murlə:-* (**mörü* ‘shoulder’), *ləllə:-* ‘to call’ (**nere* ‘name’), *nuɣ^wlə:-* (**nüken* ‘hole’), *t^wə:lə:-* (**töe* ‘handspan’), *usla:-* (**usun* ‘water’), *x^warəmla:-* (**kormaï* ‘hem’), *x^warkla:-* (**huraka* ‘lasso’).

The short-vowel version of the suffix: *čə:rəl- ~ čə:l-* (**čeer* ‘prohibition’), *daul-* (**daun* ‘song’), *dabkul-* (**dabkur* ‘layer’), *də:səl-* (**deesün* ‘rope’), *dəmul-* (**dom* ‘magic’), *najil-* (**najir* ‘summer’), *wə:dəl-* (**öede* ‘above’), *kəryəl-* (**kereg* ‘need’), *nasəl-* (**nasun* ‘age’), *sujil-* (**süjüg* ‘religion’), *t^wa:l-* (**toan* ‘number’).

These examples show that both versions of the suffix can be attached to native noun stems, and that there is no obvious phonetic reason that could explain the choice of suffix variant. As word-final short vowels are normally reduced or lost, the second set of derivations show the expected development.

The deverbal verb suffix *-IA*

Some verbs which at first sight have the same structure as the above formations with *-IA*, in fact contain different suffixes. There is an intensive/iterative (deverbal verb) suffix **-IA* which survives in Dag *nɔɣ^wla:-* ‘to pound continuously’, from *nɔɣ^w-* < CM **niku-* ‘to knead’, *mury^wlə:-* ‘to butt (of cattle)’ from *mury^w-* < **mörgü-* ‘to bow; to butt’. This suffix, too, has a short vowel elsewhere: EYu *qudqula-* ‘to stir’ from **kudku-*, MgrH *nuğla-* ‘to knead’ from **niku-*, BaoÑ *žabčila-* ‘to chop up’ from **čabčī-*.

The transitive marker *-I*

Even more peculiar are the verbs formed with the transitive marker **-I* (counterpart of intransitive **-rA*), which did not even contain a vowel originally. Apparently this suffix was associated with and influenced by the verbalizer *-IA* and/or other transitive (causative) verb formations ending in the vowel *A*. Metanalysis of suffixed forms (e.g. the converb *-AAr* or the agent noun *-AAčī*) may also have contributed to

²⁴⁰ As usual, there are some exceptions, e.g. BaoÑ *xirla:-* ‘to become yellow’ < **sira-la-*.

²⁴¹ The Turkic language Yakut, also has a long vowel in this suffix, which seems to be confirmed by the spellings in Kashghari’s 11th century dictionary (which could be a matter of spelling).

this unexpected development. Examples include *sətlə:-* (**setel-*) ‘to tear’, *xaulɔ:-* (**kagal-*) ‘to break’, *xɔɣʷlɔ:-* (**kugul-*) ‘to break’. However, not all *-l* formations have been lengthened, cf. *xaul-* ‘to skin’ (**kaul-*). Compare also the morphologically opaque verbs in *-l* showing the same long vowels such as Dag *kutlə:-* from **kütel-* ‘to lead by the hand’, *səndla:-* < **sundula-* ‘to ride with a passenger or luggage’.

The denominal verb suffix *-rA*

The development of the denominal verb suffix **-rA*, mainly a verbalizer of adjectives, shows the exact opposite development of **-lA*: its vowel is lengthened in Mongghul, and reduced or lost in Dagur. The corresponding forms in Eastern Yugur do not present a clear picture. Junast (1981:86) records the suffix as *-rAA*, but Bolčuluu & Jalsan (1991:383) as *-rA*. Cf. MgrH *galʒu:ra:-*, Dag *galʒɔ:r-* < **galjaura-* ‘to go mad’, MgrH *kuidəre:-*, Dag *kuitur-* < **küitere-* ‘to become cold’.

Dag *šarəl-* ~ *šallə-* ‘to become yellow’, and *xarəl-* ~ *xallə-* ‘to become black’ are from CM **sira-la-* and **kara-la-*, but these are dissimilated forms of earlier **sira-ra-* and **kara-ra-*, which are derived by means of the suffix **-rA*. The vowel of this suffix is not lengthened in Dagur, which is demonstrated by the development of other derivations such as **köke-re-* ‘to become blue’ (Dagur *kukur-*).

In view of the numerous other verbs with lengthened final vowel in Mongghul, the lengthening of verbs in *-rA* may not seem to be surprising. However, this lengthening is striking when compared with *-lA* formations which nearly always remained short-vocalic in Mongghul.

The intransitive marker *-rA*

The other suffix **-rA*, intransitive counterpart of **-lA*, is also lengthened in Mongghul, as illustrated by verbs like MgrH *xgara:-*, Dag *xayər-* < **kagara-* ‘to burst’, MgrH *tagšəra:-*, Dag *tasər-* < **tasura-* ‘to break (intr.)’, MgrH *xaura:-*, Dag *xaur-* < **kaura-* ‘to peel off (intr.)’. In Eastern Yugur the suffix has the form *-rA* according to Bolčuluu & Jalsan, but it occasionally appears with long vowel in Junast’s materials.

The denominal verb suffix *-dA*

Like **-lA*, the transitive verbalizer **-dA* has two sets of reflexes in Dagur, with long and short vowel, without obvious reason. In Mongghul and Eastern Yugur, **-dA* has a short vowel. Dagur examples with long vowel include *čɔlɔ:da:-* ‘to throw stones’ from **čilaun* ‘stone’, *xaurda:-* ‘to file’ from **kaurai* ‘file (the tool)’; examples with short vowel include *kirə:d-* ‘to saw’ from **kiröe* ‘saw’, *daud-* ‘to read’ from **daun* ‘voice’.

The adjective modifier **-bIr/-bUr*

The adjective modifier **-bIr/-bUr* has a long vowel in Mongghul, but a short one in Nantoq Baoan and Eastern Yugur, e.g. MgrH *fulaanwu:r*, BaoÑ *fulawər*, EYu *laiβər*

‘reddish’, from **hulaa.bur* or **hulaa.bir*.²⁴² The short vowel is confirmed by Dagur, assuming that the functional equivalent *-lbin/-rbin* in *xula:lbin* ~ *xula:rbin* is etymologically related. The long vowel in Mongghul *-wu:r* seems to be documented only in Li Keyu’s materials, cf. *číga:vur* ‘whitish’ (Činggeltei 1988:356).

The diminutive **-kAn*

The diminutive **-kAn*, found on numerals and adjectives, is also long in Mongghul, but short in Āntoq Baoan, Eastern Yugur and in Dagur. Mongghul examples include *kundunxa:n* ‘rather heavy’ from **kündü* ‘heavy’, *xaranxa:n* ‘only ten’ from **harban* ‘ten’. As mentioned above (3.14.11.2.), the vowel preceding the suffix **-kAn* may be lengthened in Dagur, as in *bələ:kən* ‘rather ready’ < **belen* ‘ready’.

The causative suffixes *-lgA*, *-gA*

The causative suffixes **-lgA* and **-gA* have usually become Dagur *-lyA:*, *-lkA:*, *-gA:*, *-kA:* with long vowel. Examples include Dag *ailya:-* (from **ayu-* ‘to fear’), *darəlyA:-* (from **daru-* ‘to press’), *du:ryə:-* (from **düür-* ‘to fill up’), *garyA:-* (from **gar-* ‘to exit’), *saulka:-* (from **sau-* ‘to sit’), *soryA:-* (from **sur-* ‘to learn’), *daurka:-* (from **daus-* ‘to end’), *xəirkə:-* (from **keis-* ‘to be blown away’). Perhaps these causative formations were lengthened under the influence of other causative verbs with a long final vowel, originally formed with *-A*, such as *kata:-* < **kataa-* ‘to harden’, causative to *kat-* < **kata-* ‘to become hard’, *dərtə:-* < **debtee-* ‘to soak (tr)’, from *dərt-* < **debte-* ‘to soak (intr.)’. That the lengthening is not a phonetic development is shown by verb stems ending in the syllable *gA*, which regularly lost their final vowel, e.g. Dag *ədəy-* < **edege-* ‘to recover’, *itəy-* < **itege-* ‘to believe’, *yaləy-* < **ilga-* ‘to choose’, *jaləy-* < **jalga-* ‘to join’, *jarəy-* < **jirga-* ‘to rejoice’.

The lengthening of the vowel of **-lgA* and **-gA* is not confirmed by Eastern Yugur and Mongghul, where these suffixes typically remain short-vocalic. Mongghul only has a long vowel in a handful of older causatives, e.g. *kurge:-* < **kürge-* ‘to bring, deliver’, *surğa:-* < **surga-* ‘to teach’. These are no longer felt to belong to the verbs *kur-* ‘to reach’ and *suru-* ‘to learn’; Mongghul has created new causatives *kurğa-* ‘to cause to reach’, *suruğa-* ‘to make sb. learn’ with a closer semantic relation to the base verb.

The deverbal noun suffix *-l*

In Dagur the deverbal noun suffix *-l* is now often preceded by a long vowel which was not present in the verb stem, e.g. *itə:l* < **itege-l* ‘belief’, *jarya:l* ‘smallpox’ (Ersatzwort) < **jirga-l* ‘happiness’, *jəyɔ:l* < **joba-l* ‘problem’, *mədə:l* < **mede-l* ‘knowledge’. At first sight these derivations suggest that the suffix somehow triggered the lengthening of the stem vowel. However, *xəry'e:l* (rather than **xəryi:l*) < **horgi-l* ‘whorl’ suggests that the shape of the suffix itself has been redefined as

²⁴² The *-n* of the stem **hulaan* was unexpectedly retained before *-bUr* in Mongghul. The Eastern Yugur form was probably influenced by the related verb *lai-* < **hulai-* ‘to become red’.

-Al or -AAl, so that $x\alpha\gamma^ye:l$ represents **horgi-al*. The shape -AAl is suggested by derivations from verbs ending in a consonant, such as $\alpha rs\alpha:l$ ‘stream’ from $\alpha rs-$ < **urus-* ‘to flow’. Perhaps this redefinition was also inspired by formations that do derive from stems in a long vowel, such as $xas\alpha:l$ < **hasau-l* ‘question’, $xir\alpha:l$ < **hiröe-l* ‘blessing’, although these are not frequent. As in the case of -IA, there are also forms with the expected phonetic development, i.e. a short vowel: $\check{s}ad\alpha l$ < **čida-l* ‘ability’, $d\alpha sul$ < **dusu-l* ‘drop’, $t\alpha s\alpha l$ < **tes-ü-l* ‘patience’.

In other languages this suffix tends to end in -l only. There are isolated parallels in central Mongolic, e.g. Khalkha *magtaal* ‘praise’ and *surgal* ~ *surgaal* ‘doctrine’, which should be from **magta-l* and **surga-l*. In Mongghul a long vowel may occur when the verb stem itself had developed a long vowel.

3.14.13. Dagur lengths due to Tungusic cognates

Several Dagur lengths occurs in Mongolic words reborrowed from neighbouring Tungusic languages. Potentially a large number of the Dagur vowel lengths discussed in the previous paragraphs may involve reborrowing from Tungusic, given the sizeable vocabulary Dagur shares with its neighbours. In some instances the borrowing has led to doublets, typically with a different semantic nuance, e.g. Dag *kara*: ‘black (of a horse’s coat)’ is from Oročen, while native **kara* resulted in Dag *xar* ‘black (in general)’. Dag *širya*: ‘yellow (of a dog’s coat)’ is probably from Manchu, whereas native **sirga* resulted in Dag *šarəy* ‘straw-coloured with light mane (horse’s coat)’. Dag *sula*: ‘idle’ is from Manchu, whereas native **sula* resulted in Dag *s^wal* ‘loose; free’.²⁴³

3.15. Turkic evidence for ‘primary’ vowel length?

As seen in the previous paragraphs, the internal Mongolic evidence for ‘primary’ vowel length, although at first sight abundant, is quite ambiguous. When the numerous Dagur, Eastern Yugur, and Mongghul words which feature interesting vowel lengths are investigated more closely, it appears that many such lengths are only supported by a single language, and rarely by two or three of the peripheral languages. In many cases these languages disagree on the quantity of vowels, both in endemic words such as **berigen* ‘sister-in-law’, and in words with CT cognates such as **kekire-* ‘to belch’. Therefore, the modern Mongolic evidence generally does not suffice to reconstruct these lengths for the ancestral language.

In spite of the contradictory evidence, unexplained vowel lengths found in the individual languages might be remnants of an earlier (Proto Mongolic) situation. As vowel lengths can often be confidently reconstructed in Turkic cognates, one would expect these cognates to provide some additional evidence for lengths in Mongolic.

²⁴³ The vowel lengths of Manchu are not indicated in spelling, but they survive in its modern dialects including Sibe.

In the following the potential correspondences between Turkic and Mongolic long vowels will be explored. The usual correspondences between Mongolic and Turkic with regard to vowel quantity are as follows:

- 1) CM simple vowel corresponding to a short vowel in Common Turkic
(e.g. CM **kara* - CT **kara* ‘black’)
- 2) CM simple vowel corresponding to a long vowel in Common Turkic
(e.g. CM **sal* - CT **sa:l* ‘raft’; CM **jarim* - CT **ya:rīm* ‘half’)
- 3) CM double vowel corresponding to a VCV (or VC) sequence in Common Turkic
(e.g. CM **jaidag* - CT **yapidak* ‘without saddle’; CM **saari* - CT **sagri* ‘rump’)

A fourth common correspondence should be mentioned here as well:

- 4) CM simple vowel corresponding to Ø in Common Turkic
(e.g. CM **bora* - CT **boz* ‘grey’; CM **köke* - CT **kö:k* ‘blue’)

Similarities in vowel length between modern Mongolic languages and Turkic²⁴⁴ are very rare. Even in the more striking cases there tend to be problems with the comparison, either the semantic development makes it difficult to establish the identity of a Mongolic word and its Turkic counterpart, or the length itself is only supported by a single language, or can be explained as a secondary development.

CM **dalu* ‘shoulderblade’ (whose **a* resulted in vowel length in Eastern Yugur and Mongghul) could be related to CT **ya:l* ‘mane’, but the Mongolic length can be explained as secondary lengthening due to word structure.²⁴⁵

CM **jargu* ‘lawsuit’ (with long vowel in Eastern Yugur) is obviously related to CT **ya:rgu* ‘lawsuit’, derived from the verb **ya:r-* ‘to split’. However, CM **jarim* ‘half’, corresponding to CT **ya:rīm* ‘half’, and derived from the same Turkic verb, lacks the vowel length in Mongolic. CM **yara* ‘wound’, possibly also related to the same verb, looks more convincing in that it has a long vowel in Eastern Yugur, Mongghul, and Nantoq Baoan, but it is contradicted by Dag yar. Moreover, the reconstruction of length in Turkic is also problematic, as Turkmen has a short-vocalic form *yara* suggesting CT **yara* without length, and perhaps unrelated to the verb.²⁴⁶ CM **jolga-* ‘to meet’ (with long vowel in Mongghul) is

²⁴⁴ There are several types of evidence for the original presence of vowel length in a Turkic stem. Long vowels as such survive in Turkmen, Yakut, and Khalaj. Lenition of the consonant following the vowel in Oguz languages is another indication. Many short vowels can be recognised in Tuva and Western Yugur by means of the accompanying pharyngalisation and preaspiration, respectively.

²⁴⁵ In CT there is also a front-vocalic form **yæ:l* ‘mane’ which corresponds to CM **del* ‘id’.

²⁴⁶ Moreover, *yara* seems to be unattested in earliest Turkic, and is morphologically problematic. The original meaning may have been ‘sore, ulcer’, which then later developed into ‘wound’ under the influence of the verb **ya:r-*. Unlike **jargu* and **jarim*, CM **yara* has an initial *y-* in the QG languages. This suggests that, if all three words ultimately derive from the same verb, these correspondences belong to different phases of Turkic-Mongolic contact.

clearly related to CT **yo:luk-* ‘to meet’. However, this length is only confirmed by a single Mongolic language.

Such problematic cases would not be relevant if there were hundreds of clear correspondences. In fact in the majority of cases there is no conclusive evidence in Mongolic for vowel lengths that are already known to exist in cognate Turkic words. Most of the etyma listed below are present in Eastern Yugur and/or Mongghul and/or Dagur, and normally occur without length.

The small selection below demonstrates how even an initially striking correspondence need not be very convincing. Not only the contradiction between languages (and between descriptions of the same language) damage the credibility of ‘primary’ vowel lengths in Mongolic, but also the fact that there are alternative explanations for several of them.

CT	CM		length supported by	contradicted by
<i>*sa:k-</i>	<i>*sakī-</i>	to wait	EYu <i>sa:ḡə-</i> , BaoÑ <i>sa:ḡa-</i>	Dag, Mgr
<i>*ke:kīr-</i>	<i>*kekire-</i>	to belch	EYu <i>ge:gəre-</i>	Dag, Mgr
<i>*ye:l</i>	<i>*del</i>	mane	Dag <i>də:lbur</i>	EYu, Mgr ²⁴⁷
<i>*so:l</i>	<i>*solagāi</i>	left	Dag <i>saulyui</i>	EYu, Mgr ²⁴⁸
<i>*to:r (?)</i>	<i>*tor</i>	net	MgrH <i>to:r</i>	EYu ²⁴⁹
<i>*yo:luk-</i>	<i>*jolga-</i>	to meet	MgrH <i>ḡo:lḡo-</i>	EYu, BaoÑ
<i>*kō:l- (?*kü:l-)</i>	<i>*kōli-</i>	to harness	Dag <i>kʷə:l-</i> (as if < <i>*kō:le-</i>)	EYu, Mgr

In other cases Mongolic lengths correspond to short vowels in Turkic. The vowel length suggested by MgrH *bu:rge* ‘flea’ is different in that it is supported by Kh *büüreg*²⁵⁰, but in Turkic it also has a short vowel. In the following cases the Mongolic length has arisen due to word structure (see 3.14.5.).

CT	CM		length suggested by	contradicted by
<i>*hatī</i>	<i>*ačī-</i>	grandchild	MgrH <i>a:čə</i>	EYu
<i>*koñ</i>	<i>*konīn</i>	sheep	EYu <i>χɔ:nə</i>	Dag, Mgr
<i>*ya(g)ku</i>	<i>*daku</i>	raincoat	MgrH <i>da:xu</i>	Dag

²⁴⁷ It is not unlikely that the first syllable of the Dagur word represents CM **del*. The etymology of the second syllable is unknown to me.

²⁴⁸ This Dagur form is only recorded by Zhong, elsewhere forms with -ɔ-. The -au- may, but need not be represent original length, a parallel case with the same alternation is Dag *saur* ~ *sɔ:r* ‘thong’ (also an unexpected length).

²⁴⁹ The Mongolic length seems to be confirmed by Written Mongol *toor*, but this double spelling has proven unrelated to vowel length in other cases. The Turkic length is not entirely certain either, as Turkmen has *tor* with short vowel; Khalaj *tūor* could be a borrowing from Persian, where this word is also found.

²⁵⁰ Kh *buurcag* is neither confirmed by the peripheral languages, nor by CT.

In yet other cases established Turkic vowel lengths correspond with short vowels in all of Mongolic:

CT	CM	
*a:la	*alag	multi-coloured ²⁵¹
*a:rt-	*a(r)čĭ-	to load
*ba:gla-	*bagla-	to tie up
*ba:y	*bayan	rich
*sa:l	*sal	raft
*sa:na-	*sana-	T: to count; M: to think
*e:r	*ere	man (if at all related)
*bo:nčok	*mončag	bead
* (h)ö:rmek	*örmege	coarse fabric
*kö:k	*köke	blue
*sö:k-	*sögee-	to scold
*bu:ka	*buka	bull
*su:n-	*sun-	to extend
*kü:č	*küčün	strength

All in all, the correspondences between Turkic and Mongolic are erratic at best. The abovementioned examples suggest that, if CT lengths have ever regularly corresponded to long vowels in CM or PM, they have now been lost in both the central and the peripheral languages. The non-contraction vowel lengths that do occur in the peripheral Mongolic languages usually correspond to CT short vowels (if a Turkic cognate exists).

²⁵¹ The Dagur form *ala:r* has an unexplained vowel length in the second syllable. As Khalaj has *h-* in this word, it is not certain that the Turkic and Mongolic words are even related.

4. MODERN DEVELOPMENT OF THE CM CONSONANTS

4.1. Introduction

In the following pages the main developments of each CM consonant will be discussed. Each section will start with the ‘default’²⁵² development of the consonant in question, which usually involves only a small change, if any at all. After that the other common developments will be given, which can be called shifts, as they consist of a change in one or more features. This survey focuses on those developments in the QG languages that shed light on aspects of the reconstruction of CM, or on the taxonomic relations between the modern languages. Dagur and Moghol will be compared where relevant.

There are usually several reflexes per CM consonant in each language. Which reflex appears in a given word is largely determined by phonotactical factors: the position of the consonant in the word with respect to the accent, the vicinity of any other consonants, either directly adjacent or separated by one vowel, and in some cases, the following vowel.

Most consonants show different developments in different positions and environments. The five relevant positions in Common Mongolic are:

Initial	(word-initial)
Intervocalic	(syllable-initial, following a vowel)
Postconsonantal	(syllable-initial, following a consonant)
Final	(word-final)
Preconsonantal	(syllable-final, preceding a consonant)

In CM **tarbagan* ‘marmot’ all of these positions occur: **t* initial, **r* preconsonantal, **b* postconsonantal, **g* intervocalic, **n* final.

Due to the loss of unaccented vowels consonants may secondarily come into contact with other consonants. They will be called secondarily preconsonantal or postconsonantal as the case may be. Such changes are relevant because they may affect not only the further development of the individual consonant but also the ability of that consonant to influence other consonants in the stem. CM **kurigan* ‘lamb’ has become **kurgan* in Proto Shirongol, after which the, now postconsonantal, *g* was able to deaspirate the initial in the Baoanic languages²⁵³, as in Kgj *gurğun*. The Dongxiang form *guğan* owes the loss of the *r* to its secondarily preconsonantal position (intervocalic *r* is not elided).

Vowel elisions have led to changes in the positional and combinatory properties of individual consonants. For instance **h-*, in CM limited to absolute initial position and followed by a vowel, can now be seen preceding other consonants, as in Baoan *hda* < **huuta* ‘bag’. CM **ŋ*, which used to be restricted to

²⁵² Default in the sense of ‘in the absence of factors triggering other developments’. The default reflex thus defined need not be the most frequent one.

²⁵³ Initial weakening is triggered by a weak (postconsonantal or intervocalic) consonant that starts the second syllable. See below.

syllable-final positions, can now also be found as the first member of initial clusters, as in MgrH *ŋgo* < **öŋge* ‘colour’.

Thus a new kind of syllable structure was created, with consonants that are word-initial and preconsonantal at the same time.

On the other hand, especially in dialects under strong Chinese influence, consonant clusters may be dissolved, resulting in secondarily intervocalic consonants.

4.1.1. Proto Mongolic legacy and prehistoric shifts

Some of the differences between the word shapes found in modern Mongolic languages are not due to relatively recent sound shifts, but are in fact relics from old variants that must have existed before the divergence of the present languages. Some are documented in older languages, while others can be distilled from the modern languages. Alternations include:

Final *d* ~ *s* ~ *š* ~ *č*, as in **hedke-* ~ **heske-*, etc. ‘to cut’

Initial *g* ~ *j*, as in **giloan* ~ **jiloan* ‘shiny’

Initial and medial *d* ~ *j*, as in **kadaar* ~ **kajaar* ‘horse’s bit’

Intervocalic *d* ~ *t*, as in *gedesün* ~ **getesün* ‘intestine’

Intervocalic *g* ~ *k*, as in **nigen* ~ **niken* ‘one’

Medial or final *l* ~ *r*, as in **čaalsun* ~ **čaarsun* ‘paper’, but mostly due to dissimilation

Initial and intervocalic *n* ~ *l*, as in **menekei* ~ **melekei* ‘frog’, mostly due to dissimilation

Intervocalic and postconsonantal *b* ~ *m*, as in **kabar* ~ **kamar* ‘nose’, **niibusun* ~ **niilmusun* ‘tear’.

Of course, most of these sets of variants reflect well-known phonetic changes, so that it is often possible to tell which variant is the oldest. The developments *d* > *j* and *g* > *j* are more likely than the reverse. An original syllable-final *j* may underlie the modern alternation *d* ~ *s* (see Poppe 1955:178, in the context of the plural suffixes *-d* and *-s*). In other cases it is impossible to determine which of the extant forms represents the older stage.

Prehistoric shifts are those phonetic changes that are already in evidence in the earliest written Mongolic. These include the development of **s* > *š* preceding **i*/**j*, and the split of **k* and **g* into a velar and an uvular set, depending on the adjacent vowels. The *š* sound may have been an incipient phoneme, as it also occurred syllable-finally in words of Turkic origin. In our CM notation the syllable-final *š* will be written as such, but the predictable *š*-preceding **i*/**j* will be written *s-*. The uvular allophones of **k* and **g* will not generally be distinguished in the notation, except in the section devoted to these consonants.

4.1.2. Types of phonetic shifts

Both unconditional and conditional changes may involve:

1. Place of articulation
2. Manner of articulation
3. Consonant strength, i.e. +/- aspiration or +/- voice

Examples for shifts in the place of articulation include:

CM **ki-* > Mongghul and Mangghuer *ci-*
 CM **-b-* > Mangghuer *-g-* (usually preceding *-s-*)
 CM **s* > Dongxiang *ś* before palatal vowels

Examples for shifts in the manner of articulation include

CM initial **k-* > Dagur *x-*
 CM intervocalic **-b-* > *w* /*v/u* in most languages

Examples for shifts in consonant strength:

CM initial **b-* > Shirongol *p-* when the next syllable starts with a strong consonant
 CM initial **k-* > Eastern Yugur *g-* when the next syllable starts with **d/*j*

4.1.3. Patterns, preferences, and tendencies

Many consonants did not only change their own phonetic characteristics, but also developed new features (usually restrictions) concerning their distribution and combinatory properties.

Many changes occur as a consequence of restrictions on syllable structures and distributional limitations of individual consonants. Limitations of this type as found in the peripheral languages are often inspired by neighbouring languages. In Mongghul and Eastern Yugur new syllable structures evolved due to a combination of a native tendency to elide unaccented vowels and a tolerance for consonant clusters, newly acquired under the influence of Tibetan. In Mangghuer and Dongxiang there is a tendency to eliminate all syllable types that are alien to Chinese. Interestingly, before coming under Chinese influence, Mangghuer had developed a tolerance for Tibetan-type initial clusters, which are now being broken up again, as in *śiǰou* < **śǰou* < **iścau* < **ebčeiin* ‘chest’, and *śide* < **śde* < **ite* < **erte* ‘early’. Other observable preferences can not be explained from neighbouring languages, although some of them have parallels in the Turkic languages of the region.

Strength/aspiration patterns and shifts

One of the regional features shared by Mongolic and Turkic languages, but not induced by Chinese or Tibetan, are the patterns in which strong and weak consonants can be combined within a word stem.²⁵⁴ However, such patterns change from language to language, and preferences vary from consonant to consonant.

²⁵⁴ It is not clear in which language family this phenomenon originated. North West Mandarin and Amdo Tibetan do not share this areal tendency, probably because syllables in these languages are not just segments of words, but autonomous lexemes or at least morphemes, which helps them to retain their phonetic integrity.

Several types of strength-related changes can be distinguished. Some changes are triggered by the other consonants of the stem, including assimilatory strengthening, assimilatory weakening, and dissimilatory weakening. These typically involve initial consonants being influenced by the (intervocalic or postconsonantal) consonant starting the following syllable. There are also groups of words with initial or medial weakening or strengthening without there being an obvious trigger. Developments in opposite directions may co-occur in the same language, so that the inventory of developments in each language may become quite complicated. Compare the following small subset of EYu words, only concerning the behaviour of initial **k* and **g*- in back-vocalic stems:

EYu	CM		
<i>gada</i>	<i>*kada</i>	assimilatory weakening	rock
<i>hğa-</i>	<i>*kaka-</i>	homorganic dissimilation	to choke
<i>gabčə-</i>	<i>*kabčī-</i>	dissimilatory weakening	to pinch
<i>qəsə-</i>	<i>*kīsu-</i>	strong <i>*k</i> - preserved as plosive	to scrape
<i>χutağa</i>	<i>*kituga</i>	strong <i>*k</i> - preserved as fricative	knife
<i>qagča</i>	<i>*gagča</i>	assimilatory strengthening of initial	alone
<i>gašu:n</i>	<i>*gasiun</i>	weak <i>*g</i> - preserved	bitter

Only some of these, partly contradictory, developments can be explained and predicted. Assimilatory weakening is shared by Eastern Yugur and the Shirongol group in a large number of words, and must have preceded most other strength-related changes in these languages.²⁵⁵ Homorganic dissimilation occurs in words with the structure **kVkV-* and **tVtV-*, while the initial retains its place of articulation in sequences like **kVtV-* or **kVčV-*. Initial **k* followed by medial **č* is often weakened, suggesting that this is ‘Ordos-type’ initial weakening. As the Eastern Yugur phenomenon lacks the regularity seen in Ordos, there may be other factors.²⁵⁶ The choice between *q-* and *x-* also has to do with the consonant starting the second syllable; *x-* usually appears before liquids, nasals, and semivowels. At first sight *qagča* < **gagča* looks like ‘Monguor-type’ initial strengthening, although medial *-č-* was not subsequently weakened, as would be the case in Mongghul. Moreover it is not a frequent phenomenon in Eastern Yugur.

Most of these tendencies have parallels in the other plosives and affricates of Eastern Yugur, but the interplay between any two consonants is different. Not even **k-* and **g-* in front-vocalic stems behave the same as their uvular counterparts. Initial **b-* is routinely strengthened to *p-* in the QG languages when the second

²⁵⁵ Preferences with regard to strength patterns have changed over time. CM **kadum* ‘spouse’s relatives’ has become **gadum* in Shirongol, but according to modern Mongghul the original strength pattern with strong initial and weak medial would have been ideal.

²⁵⁶ Certain preconsonantal consonants could mitigate the influence of the strong consonant of the second syllable. This requires more research.

syllable starts with *č*. Perhaps the absence of **p* in the original CM system prevented the confusion that arose in the development of the consonant pairs like **k* - **g*.

Some of the developments observed in the QG languages can be seen as attempts to regularise the gappy CM consonant system:

weak	strong
<i>*b</i>	<gap>
<i>*d</i>	<i>*t</i>
<gap>	<i>*s</i>
<gap>	<i>*š</i>
<i>*ǰ</i>	<i>*č</i>
<i>*g</i> (velar)	<i>*k</i> (velar)
<i>*ǵ</i> (uvular)	<i>*q</i> (uvular)
<gap>	<i>*h</i>

In the Mongolic languages of the QG region the following strength correlations can be found:

weak	strong
<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>ǰ</i>	<i>č</i>
<i>ʒ</i>	<i>c</i>
	<i>s</i>
<i>ǰ</i>	<i>č</i>
	<i>š</i>
<i>ž</i>	<i>č</i>
	<i>š</i>
<i>g</i> (velar)	<i>k</i> (velar)
<i>ǵ</i> (uvular)	<i>q /x</i> (uvular)
Ø (vocalic onset)	<i>h/f</i>

Not all these regularisation attempts apply to all languages. All QG languages show a strong tendency to strengthen the original weak word-initial consonant **b-* to *p-*, if the next syllable starts with a strong consonant. In the Monguor languages, weak **d-*, **ǰ-*, and **g-* in similar environments also tend to change into their strong counterparts **t-*, **č-*, and **k-* (which unlike *p-* already existed in the CM system). In the remaining languages this occurs more sporadically. The correlation between *h-* and Ø is also strongest in Monguor, although *h-* may arise elsewhere through devoicing of an initial syllable with vocalic onset. In Eastern Yugur such *h*'s tend to appear only if the initial vowel completely disappears, as in *hsəra-* < **asara-* 'to raise'.

The affricates ʒ ʝ ʒ seem to be incipient weak counterparts of s ś ś in some varieties of Mangghuer and Mongghul²⁵⁷, which appear at the beginning of the second syllable after a (primarily or secondarily) strong initial consonant, as in the following Mangghuer examples: *piʒili-* < **puśele-* < **büśele-* ‘to wear a belt’, *kuʒier* < **köser* ‘floor’, *qəʒəŋ* < **gasüun* ‘sour’, *quʒu* < **kosiun* ‘beak’, *puʒi* < **bisi* ‘not’. Poppe already noticed the distribution of medial *s* and ʒ in Mongghul (1955:120). In both Monguor languages ʒ also appears when **s* ended up as a second member of an initial cluster, as in MgrH *sʒu* ~ *fuʒu* < **usun* ‘water’. It cannot be determined why no voiced fricatives *z* ʒ *z* were created. Perhaps it was convenient to use the Chinese-compatible consonants that were already present. ʒ and ʒ (both from **j*) already existed as the weak counterparts of č and č (from **č*).²⁵⁸ This affrication of the weakened sibilants must be a relatively late development, otherwise confusion would have arisen between the ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ affricates, e.g. ʒ could have been secondarily strengthened to ś in some words.²⁵⁹

The assimilation and dissimilation processes serve to create the ideal word structure with regard to strength patterns, which differs from language to language. How, and when, these preferences came about is unclear; they are not obviously due to the influence of non-Mongolic neighbouring languages as so many features are.

The strength patterns favoured by Mongghul are the clearest. Preferably there is only one strong consonant, and preferably it should be the initial plosive or affricate. Words with a strong initial in CM, when any further consonants were weak, often keep their structure (e.g. *xana:-* < **kanīa-* ‘to cough’).²⁶⁰ Other word types will emulate this structure as far as possible. Words with a second strong consonant will weaken it, e.g. *xadoŋ* < **katau(n)* ‘hard’. Words with a weak initial and a strong medial consonant, will strengthen the initial and then weaken the medial, e.g. *təbde:-* < **debte-* ‘to soak’, *puʒağ* < **burčag* ‘bean’, *xaldan* < **altan* ‘gold’. When non-initial consonant strengths cannot move towards the left they tend to remain where they are, e.g. *maxa* < **mikan* ‘meat’, *mančog* < **mončag* ‘crest’, *ne:ten* < **noitan* ‘wet’.

The Monguor-type initial strengthening accompanied by medial weakening is what Svantesson et al. (2005:207) call flip-flop. In spite of the link between initial strengthening and medial weakening, this is not a straightforward case of metathesis,

²⁵⁷ Notably in the eccentric Mongghul dialect described by Dpal-Idan-bkra-shis and Slater (1996), although there are also examples in the other sources, e.g. *xvʒə* < **kosiun* ‘beak’ in Khasbaatar.

²⁵⁸ In the Turkic languages Tofa and Manchurian Khakas (Fuyu ‘Kyrgyz’) we also find *j* rather than ʒ in words featuring voicing of intervocalic **ś*, e.g. Tofa *ejik*, Fuyu *ijik* < **āśik* ‘door’ (Rassadin 1995:105b, Hu & Imart 1987:52). Cf. also, from further afield, borrowings like Italian *cugino* ‘cousin’ from older French and Japanese *reja* ‘leisure’ from English, where *j* stands in for the ʒ that the recipient language lacks.

²⁵⁹ These instances of ʒ ʝ ʒ diachronically stem from *s* ś ś , but it does not follow that they are considered to be the weak counterparts of the sibilants synchronically. There is no evidence that an active system of strength oppositions is known to, and synchronically applied by, the speakers.

²⁶⁰ Excluding the early cases of assimilatory weakening, mostly preceding **d* or **j*, as shared by Eastern Yugur and Shirongol.

as it has two distinct stages. The loss of aspiration in the medial consonant is not simultaneous, and can be considered a type of dissimilation. As none of the other QG languages systematically shares the second stage, it may have developed recently.

Eastern Yugur, Baoan, Kangjia, and Dongxiang show a more varied picture. Even following the secondarily strong initial *p*- the medial consonant that triggered the strengthening is not necessarily weakened.²⁶¹

In both Eastern Yugur and Baoan many instances of Ordos-type initial weakening are found, more commonly in fact than secondary initial strengthening. Ordos (and other central Mongolic dialects including Chakhar) have a preference for weak initials when a strong consonant follows, while the three literary central Mongolic languages have kept the CM strength constellations unchanged, e.g. they preserve CM **tata*- ‘to pull’ with two strong consonants, as opposed to MgrH *tada*- and Ord *data*-. Such preferences for certain strength patterns may be related to ancient accent patterns.

In Eastern Yugur, and occasionally elsewhere, homorganic sequences deviate from the general development, in that the first consonant is replaced by *h*, as in EYu *hta*- < **duta*- ‘to lack’, *hkü:r* < **köküür* ‘snuffbottle’.²⁶² CM **tata*- ‘to pull’ has produced dissimilated forms in Eastern Yugur and throughout Shirongol.

The second element of initial consonant clusters is generally weakened if the first element is strong, e.g. MgrH *sǵal* < **sakal* ‘beard’, *xgə* < **hekin* ‘brain’, *ʂda*- < **sita*- ‘to light’, BaoÑ *hǵa*- < **kuča*- ‘to bark’, BaoD *fgor* < **hüker* ‘bovine’. This is logical as the second element goes back to the syllable-initial consonant of the second syllable. After weak initials strong second elements are allowed, e.g. MgrH *ntəra*- < **untara*- ‘to sleep’ as opposed to *nde*- < **ende* ‘here’.

Incidentally the strengthening phenomena observed in initial position can be seen in the middle of words. This entails the strengthening of the consonant starting the second syllable by that starting the third, e.g. MgrH *kaǵi* < **egeči* ‘elder sister’, MgrM *dapuzi* < **dabusun* ‘salt’, Kgj *aŋkǵiŋ* < **iŋgarčag* ‘packsaddle’.

Initial consonant clusters

Initial consonant clusters appear in languages that underwent Tibetan influence: Eastern Yugur, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Baoan, and Kangjia, but - not coincidentally - only marginally in Dongxiang.²⁶³ Clusters in native words probably came about after a large amount of Amdo Tibetan loanwords created a tolerance for them.²⁶⁴ On

²⁶¹ In case of Eastern Yugur the descriptions of Junast and Bolčuluu disagree. Junast’s notation suggests that most non-initial strong consonants were weakened. It is not clear whether the varieties they describe are actually different with respect to strength patterns.

²⁶² Whether the second element of the resulting clusters is strong is another point of disagreement between the Eastern Yugur sources.

²⁶³ The few documented clusters in Dongxiang (*sd*-, *sʒ*-) can be alternatively analysed by assuming a voiceless vowel between the cluster elements. As Dongxiang apparently lacks Tibetan loanwords, Tibetan influence on the phonology would be unexpected.

²⁶⁴ The structural similarity between the QG Mongolic clusters and those of local Tibetan is discussed by Janhunen 2001.

the other hand, two non-Tibetan phenomena shared by the QG languages, word-final accent and vowel devoicing, were certainly helpful in creating the clusters. Not all clusters that are allowed in loanwords from Tibetan are necessarily found in native words. Reversely not all clusters found in the Mongolic languages are found in the neighbouring Tibetan dialects.²⁶⁵ There is, however, a large overlap. Amdo Tibetan and the QG languages agree that consonant clusters should have no more than two elements, and that the first element should not be a plosive or affricate.

Clusters typically arise when the (typically high and short) vowel of the first syllable is elided, but whether this elision will take place depends on the resulting structure. If this structure is allowed in a given language, the vowel may be elided. Normally the elided vowel is either the initial vowel, which is followed by a nasal or liquid, or the non-initial vowel preceded by a fricative.

The number of permissible clusters varies from dialect to dialect, but they share some general characteristics. Rather than attempting to list all documented clusters we will have a look at the major cluster types that are permitted and what their origins are. The clusters typically consist of:

1. **Nasal + Plosive/Affricate**, such as *mb-*, *nd-*, *nt-*, *ŋg-*.

These typically developed from a CM sequence **V + Nasal + Plosive/Affricate**, as in EYu *nda:s-* < **umdaas-* ‘to be thirsty’, see also **humba-* ‘to swim’, **iŋgarčag* ‘packsaddle’, **uŋgasun* ‘wool’. Words with initial nasal such as **nidün* ‘eye’ normally do not develop initial clusters of this type. The nasal first member may go back to **l*, as in Kgj *njiye* < **eljigen* ‘donkey’. In Baoan the initial *n* in clusters has often been added without a known reason, as in BaoD *nda-* < **ide-* ‘to eat’, *njiə-* < **iŋje-* ‘to see’. The same phenomenon occurs sporadically in other languages, e.g. MgrH *ŋgua:-* < **ugia-* ‘to wash’, Kgj *ndasun* < **hutasun* ‘thread’.

In rare cases the cluster may stem from a **VCVC* sequence, as in Kgj *mgɔ* < **emegen* ‘old woman’.

2. **Liquid + Plosive/Affricate**, such as *rb-*, *rd-*, *rg-*, *ld-*.

These developed from **V + Liquid + Plosive/Affricate**, as in MgrH *rdem* < **erdem* ‘knowledge’, see also **erte* ‘early’, **örgeesün* ‘thorn’, **urtu* ‘long’. In some of these clusters the *r* or *l* was almost certainly secondarily inserted, as in EYu *ldeye-* < **itege-* ‘to believe’, MgrH *rju:r* ~ *ju:r* < **hüjüür* ‘tip’.

3. **Fricative + Plosive/Affricate**, such as *hd-*, *χž-*, *fg-*, *sğ-*, *sž-*, *gd-*, *šž-*.

These have diverse origins. They usually developed from **Fricative + V + Plosive/Affricate**, as in EYu *sda:sən* < **sudasun* ‘vein’, see also **hekin* ‘head’, **hutasun* ‘thread’, **sidün* ‘tooth’. Occasionally *VV* is elided as well, cf. MgrH *sğan*, Kgj *sχɔ* < **saikan* ‘beautiful’, BaoÑ *hda* < **huuta* ‘bag’. Some clusters stem from **V + Fricative + Plosive/Affricate**, e.g. EYu *sqar-* < **iskir-* ‘to whistle’, BaoÑ *sgel-* < **öskel-* ‘to kick’. Other cases go back to **Plosive + V + Plosive/Affricate**, as in EYu *hta-* < **tata-* ‘to pull’, BaoÑ *hdəŋ* < **katau(n)* ‘hard’. In cases like EYu *xja:r* < **gagčaar* ‘alone’, MgrH *şde:-* < **ügtee-* ‘to uproot’, *hdəl-* < **hogtal-* ‘to cut down’, the initial fricative may reflect the whole collapsed initial syllable rather than specifically the initial or the preconsonantal consonant. In Mongghul it is not

²⁶⁵ The various Mongolic languages received their loanwords from different Amdo Tibetan donor dialects. See Róna-Tas 1962, Nugteren & Roos 1998.

uncommon for the fricative first element to go back to devoiced *r, as in *şde* < *erte ‘early’. The initial fricative may also go back to vocalic onset (> secondary h-), as in EYu *hča:n* < *ačian ‘load’, MgrH *şdogo:n* < *ödken ‘dense’, BaoÑ *hgu-* < *ükü- ‘to die’. Rarely the cluster is the result of the contraction of a *VCVC sequence, as in EYu and MgrH *sgi:* < *isegei ‘felt’.

Some less common categories include:

4. **Fricative + Nasal**, from **Fricative + V + Nasal**, as in MgrH *şnaga* < *şinaga ‘ladle’. EYu *ni:-* < *hinie- ‘to laugh’ has the same origin, but does not contain a cluster synchronically²⁶⁶.

5. **Fricative + Liquid**, from **Fricative + V + Liquid**, as in EYu *şra* < *şira ‘yellow’, *şlā* < *sili ‘nape’. Cases like EYu *la:n* ~ *ta:n* < *hulaan ‘red’ have the same origin, but cannot be considered to contain clusters synchronically.

6. **Fricative + Fricative**, from **Fricative + V + Fricative**, as in EYu *hsun*, BaoÑ *hsəŋ* < *hüsün ‘hair’, from **Secondary h + V + Fricative**, as in EYu *hsəra-* < *asara- ‘to raise’, or from **Fricative + V + Liquid**, as in BaoGt *xşa-* < *karia- ‘to swear’.

7. **Plosive + Fricative**, from **Plosive + V + Fricative**, as in BaoD *tχuŋ* < *togaan ‘cooking pot’.

8. **Plosive + Liquid**, from **Plosive + V + Liquid**, as in Kgj *drasun* < *darasun ‘wine’.²⁶⁷

Preferences regarding word structure may change with the linguistic pressures. In languages where Chinese influence is growing at the expense of Tibetan, we can observe that the Tibetan-type clusters are now being simplified as in BaoD *duŋ* < *şduŋ* < *şidün ‘tooth’, *gu-* < *fgu-* < *ükü- ‘to die’, or broken up as in MgrM *muba-* < *mba-* < *humba- ‘to swim’, *sužu* < *sžu* < *usun ‘water’. This is observable because the new word shape does not ‘reinstate’ the original shape, but developed from the form with initial cluster. Many of these changing preferences can even be observed by comparing data from the 1880s, 1950s and recent descriptions.

The order of the developments is not always self-evident. The Eastern Yugur forms *şukel-* < *öskel- ‘to kick’ may have developed before or after the loss of the initial vowel, but *qutul-* < *hogtal- ‘to fell’ most likely broke up the cluster before eliding the initial vowel, because an initial cluster *qt-* seems less likely to have existed. In MgrH *şdogo:n* < *ödken ‘dense’ the cluster *-dk-* must have been dissolved into *-tVg-* (with consonant strength moving to the left) before the new *-t-* could trigger the devoicing of the initial vowel and the development of the initial cluster.

Unwanted consonants at the end of the syllable

The treatment of the CM medial consonant clusters in Shirongol can be seen in the light of newly developed restrictions on the distribution of individual consonants. This affects the syllable-final consonants. The dialects with the lowest tolerance of

²⁶⁶ Voiceless nasals in the vicinity of, or as a vestige of, voiceless preradical s- are also found in some varieties of Amdo Tibetan.

²⁶⁷ The last two categories of uncommon cluster types are absent from Amdo Tibetan.

syllable-final consonants tend to be those with the strongest Chinese influence.²⁶⁸ These include Kangjia and Dongxiang, Mangghuer, and some dialects of Mongghul. On the other hand, the development of several final obstruents > -r in Dagur is not inspired by Chinese.

The maximum number of final consonants in Mandarin is three: *n*, *ŋ*, and *r* [ʅ], but in fact *n* and *ŋ* have often merged in local dialects of North West Mandarin. Needless to say these finals are allowed in all Shirongol languages. All further syllable-final consonants (**b*, **g*; **d*, **s*/**ʃ*, **m*, **l*, **r*) are to some degree undesirable in several Shirongol languages. A number of solutions are available to ‘fix’ stems with such consonants at the end of the syllable.

1. The most straightforward solution is elision, which is practiced most systematically by Dongxiang in the case of **b*, **g* and **r*, e.g. *ʒo* < **jöb* ‘correct’, *ça* < **čag* ‘time’, *qa* < **gar* ‘hand’.

2. Changing the offending consonant into a permissible one, e.g. **m* > -*ŋ* or **l* > -*r*, as in MgrM *saŋ* < **sam* ‘comb’, *gar* < **gal* ‘fire’.

3. Changing the word structure by means of an epenthetic vowel, as in MgrM *maŋguzi* < **maŋgus* ‘anthropophagous ogress’, MgrH *dəge-* < **hedke-* ‘to cut’, allowing the pronunciation of the separated consonants to stay intact.

4. Manoeuvring the offending consonant into a permissible position by means of metathesis, as in Kgj *turğu* < **toarag* ‘earth’.

5. Changing the syllabic analysis without changing the actual word shape, as in **har-ban* > Dgx *ha-roŋ* ‘ten’, where the **b* was absorbed into the second vowel, and **r* became the initial consonant of the second syllable. This has also happened to the compounds *ga-duŋ-me-kie* < **ka-dum e-ke* ‘mother-in-law’, *gie-re-zen* < **ger e-ŋen* ‘head of the household’, *ko-ro-loŋ* < **köl o-ran* ‘footprint, track’ (as opposed to *gaduj* < **kadum* ‘inlaws’, *gie* < **ger* ‘house’, *koŋ* < **köl* ‘foot’).

In practice these solutions may coexist or alternate in a given dialect, and may even be used in the same word, as in Dgx *ku-* ~ *kuru-* < **kür-* ‘to reach’. Although exceptions abound, each dialect usually has a preferred solution for each consonant. Final **m* becomes -*ŋ* in Mangghuer, Kangjia and Dongxiang²⁶⁹. However, the original pronunciation may be salvaged by means of an epenthetic vowel, as in Dgx *amusa-* < **amsa-* ‘to taste’. Syllable-final **g* is normally elided in Dongxiang, but it too may be preserved, as in *buğulie-* ‘to close with a stopper’ < **bögle-*.

As in case of the initial consonant clusters, preferences and tolerances may change over time. For instance, final **d* of nouns has tended to become **r* in Mongghul, as in *ćidar* < **kītaḍ* ‘Chinese’, *teved* ~ *tever* < **töbed* ‘Tibetan’, but in some Mongghul dialects final -*r* has apparently become problematic at a later stage, leading to forms such as Danma Mongghul *ćidari*, *ti:wari*.

²⁶⁸ It is noteworthy that even in the dialects with the most Sinicised phonologies some consonants are preserved despite not existing in Chinese, such as uvular *q-* and *g-*.

²⁶⁹ Confusion between word-final -*m* and -*n* is also seen in Mongghul, which was influenced by Chinese to a lesser degree. However, in Mongghul this confusion may also lead to original -*n* becoming -*m*, as in *ɣardam* < **altan* ‘gold’. Similar confusions can also be seen in (Turkic) Western Yugur, but seem to be absent from Eastern Yugur.

In the following pages the main modern developments of each CM consonant will be discussed. We will start with the ‘independent’ development, i.e. the default development if no other influences are at work. This normal development is not always statistically predominant. Most consonants can disappear completely under given circumstances.

A global inventory (excluding *š) is shown in the table below. It only aims to give an impression of the diversity of solutions within languages and between languages, and does not take into account the frequency of any solution in a given language or possible differences between the development of verb and noun stems (the former more often preserve final consonants by means of an epenthetic vowel). The reduction of the number of final consonants in Dagur may be completely independent from Chinese. Eastern Yugur and the best-known Mongghul dialects tend to preserve most final consonants. These languages are included here for the sake of comparison.

	*b	*g	*d	*s	*m	*l	*r
Dag	r	r	r	r	m	l	r
EYu	b	g/ġ	d	s	m	l	r
MgrH	b	g/ġ	d/r	s/sV	m/n	l	r
MgrH -NG	b	g/ġ	d/r	s/sV/ǰV	m/n	r/ Ø	r
MgrH -Do	? ~ Ø	? ~ Ø	r/ Ø / dV	s/sV	n	l	r
MgrH -DS	b	g/u	ri/ dV	sV	n	li	ri
MgrM	Ø	g/ġ/ǰ/Ø	Ø	sV/ǰV	ŋ	r	r
BaoD	b	g/ġ (x, ɣ, ʏ)	dV	s/sV	m	l	r
BaoGt	?	ǰV/ Ø	?	sV	m	l	r
BaoÑ	bV	g/ġ	d/r	s/sV/r	m	l	r
BaoX	?	g/ġ	dV	sV	m	l	r
Kgj	?	g/ġ/ʏ/ǰ/ǰV/ʉ/ Ø	dV ?	sV	ŋ	r/n ²⁷⁰	r
Dgx	Ø	Ø/u/ǰV	dV ?	sV	ŋ	ŋ	Ø

4.2. Development of CM *b

4.2.1. Default (non-shift)

Weak *b occurs in all positions:

Initial: *bau- ‘to descend’, *baya ‘joy’, *beye ‘body’, *bidüün ‘coarse’, *bogani ‘low’, *böeljī- ‘to vomit’, *böere ‘kidneys’.

Intervocalic: *dabusun ‘salt’, *ebesün ‘grass’, *kubīa- ‘to divide’, *sībaun ‘bird’, *yabu- ‘to go’.

²⁷⁰ The reflex -n appears regularly in deverbal formations with the ending -dan < *-dAl.

Postconsonantal: **dörben* ‘four’, **humba-* ‘to swim’, **karbu-* ‘to shoot’, **kirbei* ‘edge’, **nilbusun* ‘tears’.

Final: **ab-* ‘to take’, **eb* ‘peace’, **jab* ‘interval’, **jöb* ‘correct’.

Preconsonantal: **ebčiün* ‘chest’, **kebte-* ‘to lie down’, **nabčün* ‘leaf’, **tobči* ‘button’, **tübsin* ‘even’.

In general, **b* tends to be preserved as a weak bilabial plosive word-initially and postconsonantly after **m*.

4.2.2. Shifts in the place of articulation

The place of articulation is generally quite stable. In Mangghuer preconsonantal **b* tends to become *g*, cf. **tobči* ‘button’, **nabčün* ‘leaf’ (see below). In Dagur, intervocalic *-b-* may develop into *-ɣ-*, apparently via *-w-*, as in *šɔɣɔ*: < **sibaun* ‘bird’. This mostly happens after rounded vowels.²⁷¹ Incidental cases occur in other languages, e.g. Dgx *guḡa-* < **kubä-* ‘to divide’, EYu *dogšün* < **tübsin* ‘flat, level’.

In the case of EYu *dayqur* < **dabkur* ‘double’ and *juyqan* < **čibukan* ‘jujube’, the *-ɣ-* may just represent preaspiration, in which case *-b-* was elided altogether.

4.2.3. Shifts in the manner of articulation

The intervocalic development of **b* into a semivowel or fricative *w* (*v*, *β*, *φ*, *ʍ*) is common in Eastern Yugur and in all Shirongol languages except Mangghuer (cf. **kabar*, **ta(l)bi-*). In Mongghul, and to a lesser extent Baoan, the same development can also be found word-initially (cf. **bara-*, **beri*). This is not seen in Dongxiang, Kangjia, and Mangghuer, suggesting that the Baoan and Mongghul cases developed independently.

In Eastern Yugur, the development **b* > *β* in word-initial position is only documented as a sandhi phenomenon. Words that are listed with initial *β-* as a ‘standard form’ are in fact words that are usually or exclusively found after another word, e.g. EYu *βai-na* ‘is’, *βɔlgɔn* ‘every’, *βurü* ‘every’ (the latter two both placed after the noun) from **bai-na*, **bolgan*, **büri*.

In intervocalic position the development of *w* > *Ø* is common in Eastern Yugur as well as Shirongol. In Eastern Yugur this seems limited to words with labial vowels, such as *jɔ:-* (< **jɔβɔ-*) < **jɔba-* ‘to suffer’, EYu *šu:n* (< **šəβu:n*) < **sibaun* ‘bird’. In Shirongol this type can also be found. Many examples are like Dgx *otu-* < **ebed-* ‘to be ill’, Dgx *osuy* < **ebesün* ‘grass’, in which the labiality is absorbed into

²⁷¹ Also in Dag *jɔɣ^w-* < **jɔba-* ‘to suffer’, *suɣ^w* < **sübe* ‘small hole, eye of a needle’. Interestingly, Enkhbat chose to write the *-ɣ-* in these words with the grapheme <w> in his 1983 dictionary, which is in most regards merely an enlarged version, transliterated into Pinyin, of his 1984 dictionary. At the 2009 PIAC I had the opportunity to ask Prof. Enkhbat, who is himself a native speaker of Dagur, about this. The friction of *ɣ* in words like *šɔɣɔ*: ‘bird of prey’ was not audible to me. In other phonetic environments, e.g. in *deyi*: ‘bird’, *ɣ* can be clearly heard, and is not interchangeable with *-w-*.

the vowel²⁷². Baoan cases include BaoŃ *kuj* < **köbeün* ‘son’, BaoX *su:kə* < **sibüge* ‘awl’. Mongghul also has many cases with little or no trace of **b*, e.g. *te:rə-* ~ *to:rə-* < **teberi-* ‘to embrace’. In addition we can find the development **b* > *y* in Shirongol (when followed by *i*), in words like BaoD *χitə-* < **kabīd-* ‘to swell’, MgrH *tayin* < **tabīn* ‘fifty’, Dgx *tai-* < **tabī-* (< **talbī-*) ‘to put’. In Mongghul this may also occur when **b* is followed by other vowels, cf. *ver* ~ *yer* < *(*h*)*eber* ‘horn’, *kavaġ* ~ *kayaġ* < **kebeg* ‘bran’. In Mangghuer, **b* is stable in such words, with the exception of *yɔu-* < **yabu-* ‘to walk’. The treatment of intervocalic -*b*- constitutes one of the systematic differences between the two Monguor languages:

MgrM	MgrH	CM	
<i>çubuġa</i>	<i>çuġa</i>	* <i>çibuga</i>	jujube
<i>qabar</i>	<i>xavar</i>	* <i>kabar</i>	nose
<i>şibau</i>	<i>şau</i> ~ <i>şu:</i>	* <i>sibaun</i>	bird

Postconsonantal **b* may appear as **b* or as a fricative. The plosive pronunciation is preserved after **m* in all languages. After **l* and **r* it usually develops into the same fricative as intervocalic **b*. This is the case in Eastern Yugur and Shirongol (Mangghuer excepted). In most Shirongol dialects, the **b* in the numerals **gurban* ‘three’, **dörben* ‘four’ and **harban* ‘ten’ has disappeared or absorbed into a diphthong. In Mongghul this is also common in other words, e.g. *çire:* < **kirbei* ‘edge’. Only Mangghuer is quite consistent, as is clear from the following comparison²⁷³:

EYu	MgrH	MgrM	Dgx	CM	
<i>harβan</i>	<i>xar(v)an</i>	<i>xarbaŋ</i>	<i>haroŋ</i>	* <i>harban</i>	ten
<i>hurβa-</i>	<i>fura:-</i>	<i>xurba-</i>	<i>fura-</i>	* <i>hurba-</i>	to turn
<i>çolβən</i>	<i>çolbaŋ</i>	<i>çorbaŋ</i>	---	* <i>çolban</i>	Venus
---	<i>çirval</i>	<i>çərbar</i>	<i>ğīwa</i>	* <i>kilbar</i>	easy
<i>mba-</i>	<i>xomba:-</i>	<i>umba-</i>	<i>unba-</i>	* <i>humba-</i>	to swim

In Dagur original intervocalic **b* may become the labial element in a diphthong, as in *šaur* < **šawar* < **sibar* ‘mud’, *xəur* < *(*h*)*eber* ‘horn’. However, when intervocalic **b* was followed by **i* or **ī*, plosive *b* was retained, as in *xəbil-* < **kubil-* ‘to change’, *tabʷ* < **tabīn* ‘fifty’. The distinction between these two developments may be useful for reconstruction purposes, as in the case of Dag *xaud-* < **kabud-* (rather than from the alternant **kabīd-*) ‘to swell’, and *xabʷrəy* < **kabirga* (rather than from the alternant **kaburga*) ‘rib’. However, this has to be used with caution. In some words -*b*- is preserved unexpectedly, apparently due to secondary

²⁷² Initial /o/ is pronounced [uo], whether or not there was a **b* in CM.

²⁷³ An especially chaotic development is seen in **nilbusun* ‘tears’.

palatalisation, as in *ǰebʲǰ* ‘corner of the mouth’, *ǰib ~ ǰibʲ* ‘rust’ (as if from **ǰabǰǰi* and **ǰibi* instead of the CM forms **ǰabǰǰi* and **ǰebe* suggested by other languages).²⁷⁴

The incidental development **b > m* can be found in several languages (not counting ancient variants such as **kabar ~ *kamar* ‘nose’). Examples include Dag *kəmʲ* < **kebi*- ‘to ruminate’, Dgx *sumuǰə* < **sibüge* ‘awl’.

4.2.4. Strength/aspiration shifts

In both Eastern Yugur and the Shirongol languages initial **b-* tends to become *p-* [*pʰ*-] when the next syllable starts with a strong consonant, i.e., **t*, **č*, **k* or **s*. It is irrelevant whether the initial syllable ends in a vowel or consonant. This is similar to the strengthening phenomena seen in initial **d-*, **ǰ-*, **g-/ǰ-* discussed below. Although the triggers are the same, there are some points of difference. In the first place the other consonants already had strong counterparts **t-*, **č-*, **k-/q-* in the CM period, whereas **b-* did not have a counterpart **p-* in initial position. In the second place the development **b- > p-* is much more common than the strengthening of the other weak obstruents, which is only a systematic development in Mongghul. The emergence of a previously absent *p-* is also shared by neighbouring Turkic languages Western Yugur and Salar²⁷⁵, which belong to different subgroups. This seems to make this a rare areal feature which does not stem from Chinese or Tibetan. It is not clear in which language the phenomenon originated²⁷⁶, but in both Mongolic and Turkic it has the effect of making the consonantism more symmetrical.

Words with the right structure to trigger the appearance of *p-* include **bagta-* ‘to fit’, **basa* ‘also’, **batu* ‘strong’, **berke* ‘difficult’, **bötege* ‘bird’s crop’, **bučal-* ‘to boil’, **buka* ‘bull’, **burkan* ‘Buddha’, **büte-* ‘to finish’). Some of the more widespread cases are the following:

EYu	MgrM	BaoD	Dgx	CM	
<i>pəčə-</i>	<i>puǰi.ǰ</i>	<i>puči-</i>	<i>piǰi-</i>	<i>*biči-</i>	to write
<i>pərcəǰ</i>	<i>puǰiǰ</i>	<i>pučiaǰ</i>	<i>puǰa</i>	<i>*burčag</i>	bean
<i>pəsəi</i>	<i>piǰi.li-</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>pišie</i>	<i>*büse</i>	belt
<i>putü:</i>	<i>pudiau</i>	---	<i>pəǰie</i>	<i>*biteü</i>	double handful
<i>putən</i>	<i>puduǰ</i>	<i>putuǰ</i>	---	<i>*bütün</i>	whole

This is by no means a general rule. Especially words with a non-high vowel in the first syllable may retain the weak *b-*, cf. EYu *belče:r* < **belčier*, EYu *bətəǰən* < **botagan* ‘camel foal’, EYu *be:ǰən*, BaoÑ *bečəǰ* < **bečin* ‘monkey’.

²⁷⁴ In the words mentioned here the palatalisation can be explained by the phonetic environment.

²⁷⁵ The implications for the Turkic system are different, as initial **t-*, **č-*, **k-* also developed weak initial counterparts that did not exist earlier.

²⁷⁶ The incidental strengthening of initial **b-* found in several Turkic subgroups cannot easily be explained from the phonetic environment, and does not prove that this tendency originates in Turkic.

In Shirongol the strong consonants that gave rise to the *p*-, tend to be weakened themselves afterwards.²⁷⁷ This is the rule in Mongghul, but in Mangghuer and Dongxiang weakening is also more common after *p*- than after other strong initials. In Eastern Yugur this is not necessary, at least in Bolčuluu's analysis. Weakening of medial **s*/**š* is possible only in the Monguor languages.

Svantesson's observation (2005:207) that the strengthening of **b* "is not triggered if the distance between it and the causing consonant is more than one short vowel" is partially correct, in that there are no cases of strengthening before an original double or complex vowel. There are however several words like **bagta*- 'to fit', **burčag* 'pea', **burkan* 'Buddha', **bürkü*- 'to cover' that feature strengthening of **b* in spite of the preconsonantal weak consonants. The factor is not whether a strong consonant follows later in the stem, but specifically the next syllable has to start with a strong consonant. One possible reason why strengthening is not as widespread in Shirongol in stems like **bos*- 'to rise', **böš* 'fabric', **bars* 'tiger' is that these were originally monosyllabic; perhaps they developed their present final vowel after strengthening of **b*- was largely completed.²⁷⁸ However, Eastern Yugur did in fact strengthen *b*- in *pəs*- < **bos*- 'to rise' and *pös* < **böš* 'fabric', and some forms with *p*- can be found in Shirongol as well.

That strengthening did not occur before long vowels or diphthongs seems to be confirmed by EYu *bü:sən*, Dgx *bosun* < **böesün* 'louse'. However, words of this structure are rare (for **baasun* 'dung' see below). This in turn suggests that the loss of vowel length occurred after the *b* > *p* development was completed.²⁷⁹

The first vowel of such words, squeezed between *p*- and another voiceless consonant, is often devoiced, and in some cases subsequently lost. In the following Baoan words the entire first syllable has been devoiced and subsequently lost:

BaoD	CM	
<i>sa</i> < <i>*pasa</i>	<i>*basa</i>	also
<i>ši</i> < <i>*pši</i>	<i>*bisi</i>	not
<i>se</i> < <i>*puse</i>	<i>*büse</i>	belt
<i>təkə</i> < <i>*pütəgə</i>	<i>*bütegei</i>	don't (prohibitive)

Some similar cases exist in other languages, e.g. EYu *hčəlğa*- < **bučalga*- 'to boil' (*h*- remains as a voiceless vestige of the initial syllable), MgrH *šüre*- < **bisire*- 'to believe'.

²⁷⁷ It is impossible to say how much time elapsed between initial strengthening and medial weakening, but they did not occur simultaneously as the latter is not found systematically in all QG languages.

²⁷⁸ It may also be relevant that the syllables in which strengthening takes place are unaccented, so that monosyllables are automatically excluded from this development. Note that in Dongxiang the added final vowels do not take the accent, e.g. **bosī* < **böš* 'fabric'.

²⁷⁹ This would mean that the strengthening is no longer active, perhaps with the exception of Mongghul, where the strength patterns are most systematic.

Given that in the CM period **b* lacked a counterpart **p-*, it is interesting that this development is more common than some of the parallels such as **d- > t-* [*tʰ-*], **ǰ- > č-* [*čʰ-*].

In Mangghuer the same strengthening can be seen in medial *b*, when this is followed by *s* of the ending *-sUn*, as in *liɣpuʒi* < **nilbusun* ‘tear’, *qapuʒi* < **kabisun* ‘rib’, *dapuʒi* < **dabusun* ‘salt’. In Mangghuer a *-p-* may even appear if *-m-* is followed by *-s-*, as in *čimpəʒi* < **kimusun* ‘nail’, *sanpəʒəg* < **sarimsag* ‘garlic’. A superficially similar case is EYu *pəjü:n* < **ebčeiün* ‘chest’, in which the preconsonantal **b* secondarily became the initial.²⁸⁰

Apart from this largely predictable strengthening of **b-* there are two other groups of words with *p-* in Eastern Yugur and Shirongol.

The first group developed *p-* < **b-* in Eastern Yugur, but without the usual conditions, as in *pa:-* < **baa-* ‘to defecate’²⁸¹, *pu:-* < **boa-* ‘to wrap’, *pü:re* < **böere* ‘kidney’.²⁸²

In a second group *p-* appears instead of expected *h-*, e.g. Kgj *puta* < **huuta* ‘bag’, Kgj *puta-* < **hutu-* ‘to smoke’, EYu *pədən* (= *hədən*) < **hodun* ‘star’. Normally Eastern Yugur does not even have the reflex *f-* < **h-* preceding rounded vowels. Although it cannot be excluded that these instances of *p-* are relics from an older stage, it is puzzling why these isolated cases should be preserved. Eastern Yugur and Mongghul *pi:le-* ‘to blow’ probably involve an onomatopoeic rather than a phonetic development from **hülie-*.

Postconsonantal *-p-* in Dagur seems to be completely unrelated to the secondary *p*’s in the QG languages. As hinted at by Doerfer (1984:75), instances of postconsonantal *-p-* in Dagur may be relics of the consonant *-p-* of Proto Mongolic (lost via **h-* in initial and intervocalic positions), as in *čəlpun* ‘Venus’, *əlpur* ‘abundant’, *xumpa:-* ‘to swim’, *xurpa-* ‘with everted eyes’. *-p-* does not appear automatically in words of this structure, cf. Dag *nəmb-* < **nembe-* ‘to cover’, *ñəmb-* < **nilbu-* ‘to spit’, *tarbəy* < **tarbagan* ‘marmot’. However, as the presence of *-p-* is not confirmed by other languages, it will only be reflected in the CM reconstructions of these words in this section and the comparative supplement. Elsewhere they will appear as **čolban*, **elbeg*, **humba-*, **hurba-*.²⁸³

4.2.5. Syllable-final developments

At the end of the syllable the Shirongol languages feature a couple of special developments.

²⁸⁰ See below for the similar Eastern Yugur strengthening of *g* in the *-gt-* cluster.

²⁸¹ One may argue that the verb may owe its *p-* to the derived Eastern Yugur noun *pa:sən* < **baa-sun* ‘excrement’, in which the *p-* can be explained as being triggered by the following *-s-*. However, it is not otherwise known that strengthening of **b-* is possible before a long vowel.

²⁸² It may not be a coincidence that Western Yugur has (equally inexplicable) *p-* in the cognate words *poɣ-* < CT **bog-* ‘to strangle, tie up’ and *peɣir* < CT **böğür* ‘kidney’.

²⁸³ The *-p-* in ‘Venus’ is supported by its Turkic cognate. However, CT **körpe* ‘newborn lamb’ corresponds to Dag *kurb* with *-b-*. Although only a handful of Dagur words with postconsonantal *-p-* survive, Mongolic words in Tungusic provide additional evidence.

In noun stems word-final *-b* is elided in MgrM and Dgx *ʒo* < **jöb* ‘correct’. This is likely a Chinese-inspired development. In the verb stem **ab-* ‘to take’ the final *b* was preserved in MgrM *apu-*, MgrH *abu-*, Kgj *abi-* by absorbing the connective vowel into the stem. In Dongxiang **ab-* was replaced by the inexplicable form *agi-*²⁸⁴. Unfortunately **jöb* and **ab-* are the only two stems with word-final **b* which are reasonably widespread in the QG languages.²⁸⁵

In Dongxiang, preconsonantal **b* follows the same route as word-final **b*. It is lost without a trace in **čabčī-* ‘to chop’, **nabčīn* ‘leaf’, **tobčī* ‘button’. An exception may be Dgx *anšie-* < CM **ebšie-* ‘to yawn’. This development can perhaps be explained by means of an intermediate form **emsie-*, which may have a parallel in Dgx *dajsun* from CM **dabusun* ‘salt’, perhaps through intermediate stages **dabsun* > **damsun*.²⁸⁶

In Mongghul, preconsonantal **b* may remain unchanged, but it will often be replaced by *s*, *ʂ*, *ʃ* preceding sibilants or affricates in words like *tebʒə* ~ *teʃʒə* < **tobčī* ‘button’ (cf. also **ebčēün* ‘chest’, **jabsar* ‘interval’, **nabčīn* ‘leaf’, **tübsin* ‘level’). The *b* may itself disappear but leave the vowel rounded, as in *tudie:-* < **debte-* ‘to soak’, *čüga-* < **jabka-* ‘to lose’. There are many free variants between these solutions.

In Mangghuer, preconsonantal **b* tends to be replaced by *-g-*, as in *laǵci* < **nabčīn* ‘leaf’, *təǵʒi* < **tobčī* ‘button’. In Kangjia there are some forms with **b* > sibilant as in Mongghul, e.g. Kgj *laʃʒə* ~ *laʒčə* < **nabčīn*, Kgj *iʃʒə* ~ *iʒčə* < **ebčēün* ‘chest’, thus deviating from both Baoan and Dongxiang. These changes can not be explained as Chinese-inspired since a change *b* > *g* or into a sibilant does not result in a more acceptable word structure.

In Mongghul, preconsonantal *b* occasionally triggers the appearance of a secondary labialisation after a *-bk-* cluster, e.g. Mongghul (Narin Guol) *čuǵua:-* < **jabka-* ‘to get lost’.²⁸⁷ This phenomenon is also found in Ordos and Amdo Tibetan.

4.3. Development of CM **d* and **t*

4.3.1. Default (non-shift)

Weak **d* occurs in all positions:

Initial: **dabusun* ‘salt’, **daun* ‘sound’, **dere* ‘pillow’, **dogal-* ‘to limp’, **düüre-* ‘to fill’.

Intervocalic: **eüden* ‘door’, **kadu-* ‘to harvest’, **kedün* ‘how much’, **sidün* ‘tooth’, **üdür* ‘day’.

Postconsonantal: **dumda* ‘middle’, **ebde-* ‘to destroy’, **höndür* ‘high’, **kölde-* ‘to freeze’, **kündü* ‘heavy’.

²⁸⁴ It is probably an altered form of **ab-*, inspired by the Dgx verbs derived from Chinese stems by means of **ki-* ‘to do’.

²⁸⁵ CM-*b* was not a very common final consonant, but other (nominal) stems existed, e.g. **eb* ‘peace’, **jab* ‘interval’, **kob* ‘gossip’, **sub* ‘otter’.

²⁸⁶ See Nugteren forthcoming.

²⁸⁷ Similar cases, but with the preceding **b* not actually in preconsonantal position, are EYu *yawəǵuar* < **yabogaar* ‘on foot’, BaoGt *sue* < **büse* ‘belt’.

Final: *čad- ‘to be satiated’, *ebed- ‘to hurt’, *ed ‘goods’, *kitad ‘Chinese’, *söged- ‘to kneel’.

Preconsonantal: *čidkör ‘demon’, *kadku- ‘to prick’, *kudku- ‘to stir’, *sedkil ‘heart’, (alternating with č, s): *hedke- ‘to cut’, *ödken ‘thick’.

Strong *t occurs in all syllable-initial positions:

Initial: *taa- ‘to guess’, *tasura- ‘to break’, *teberi- ‘to embrace’, *tobči ‘button’, *tülien ‘firewood’.

Intervocalic: *butara- ‘to fall apart’, *kötel- ‘to lead by the hand’, *küiten ‘cold’, *metü ‘like’, *sita- ‘to catch fire’.

Postconsonantal: *altan ‘gold’, *bagta- ‘to sink’, *kamtu ‘together’, *kebte- ‘to lie down’, *togta- ‘to stop’, *ügtee- ‘to uproot’.

The default development of *d and *t is to leave them unchanged. Final and preconsonantal *d is often changed in several Shirongol languages.

4.3.2. Shifts in the place of articulation

In Dongxiang *d and *t have become alveolopalatal affricates ʃ and č when followed by the vowel *e, which in Dongxiang often resulted in a diphthong that palatalises preceding dentals *d and *t. Cf. ʃiausi- < *debi- ‘to spread’, ʃien < *deel ‘garment’, čiemu < *temür ‘iron’, čiauruŋ < *teriün ‘head’, also medially: funʃie- < *hülde- ‘to expel’, iʃie- < *ide- ‘to eat’, očiau < *ötegü ‘old’. This palatalisation has also befallen *s in similar contexts (see below).²⁸⁸ Among the words affected by this change there are also several with original *ö, which apparently merged with *e, in some cases quite early²⁸⁹, as in *dörben ‘four’. In Dongxiang this development was carried through quite consistently, so that the few words that escaped it, such as *tere ‘that’, *edee ‘now’, really stand out.²⁹⁰

In Kangjia there are only some isolated cases in which the dental plosive has become a palatal fricative, e.g. čilo < *tülien ‘firewood’, čimɔ < *temür ‘iron’. Some irregular cases are shared by several Baoanic dialects. CM *gedesün ‘intestines’ was apparently palatalised into a form *gejesün at an early stage, so that Dongxiang displays a retroflex affricate in this word rather than the alveolopalatal affricate. Similarly *tejje- ‘to feed’ has developed in Baoan and Kangjia as if it were *čeje-.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ Unlike the palatalisation of *s > ʃ, Mangghuer does not share the palatalisation of the dental stops with Dongxiang.

²⁸⁹ That this unrounding took place early at least in some words is suggested by its occurrence in other Shirongol languages, as in *dörben, but in case of *sölsün ‘gall bladder’ it is only found in Baoanic, cf. also *seül ‘tail’.

²⁹⁰ The palatalisation is reminiscent of the change di/ti > jī/či that took place in prehistoric Mongolic. However these ‘early secondary’ j and č, like primary *j and *č, have shifted in Dongxiang to a retroflex articulation, so that the old and new palatals did not merge.

²⁹¹ A relationship with Ordos čide- ‘id’ seems less likely.

4.3.3. Strength/aspiration shifts

Initial **d-* may be strengthened to *t-* when the next syllable starts with a strong consonant. This development is most consistent in Mongghul in words such as *tağur* < **dabkur* ‘layer’, *təbde:-* < **debte-* ‘to soak’, *təžin* < **döčin* ‘forty’, *təda-* < **duta-* ‘to lack’. Also typical for Mongghul is the subsequent weakening of the medial strong consonant. In the other languages it can be found occasionally, as in MgrM *təda-* (~ *cida-*) < **duta-* ‘to flee’, Dgx *tudoro* (~ *sudoro*) < **dotara* ‘inside’. The alternants in brackets are indicative of the shared aversion of the QG languages for certain homorganic consonant sequences (see below).

Outside Mongghul there are also cases in which original initial **t-* is weakened (dissimilated) when a strong consonant follows, as in BaoÑ *dəbci* < **tobci* ‘button’, BaoÑ *debsaŋ*, Kgj *dešɔ*, EYu *dogšün* < **tübsin* ‘level’. EYu *dayqa* < **takia* ‘chicken’, EYu *dakə-* < **taki-* ‘to sacrifice’, Dgx *tosuŋ* ~ *dosuŋ* < **tosun* ‘fat’.

Medially there is a tendency to weaken **t* to *-d-*. This, too, occurs most systematically in Mongghul, at least when the initial consonant is strong, secondarily strengthened, or a consonant without strong counterpart so that it cannot be strengthened. In Mangghuer, Baoan, Kangjia, and Dongxiang, *-d-* and *-t-* are mostly distinguished as in CM. In Eastern Yugur the descriptions disagree: Bolčuluu suggests medial *-t-* generally keeps its strength, whereas according to Junast it is generally weakened to *-d-*.

Non-initial strengthening by following *-s-* may be the reason for alternations *d* ~ *t* in words such as **gedesün* ‘bowels’, **gadasun* ‘stake’, **gudusun* ‘boots’, **baïdasun* ‘mare’²⁹². Interestingly the forms with *-t-* are found both in the Northeast (Dagur, Khamnigan, Buriat) and in the West, where the Muqaddimat form *getesün* may represent the first step towards the reduced form **gessün* from which the Kalmuck and Moghol forms derive. In Ganhetan Baoan, Kalmuck-like reductions are developing independently in this set of words.

Unexpected medial strengthening occurs in Shirongol²⁹³ in a number of nouns, of which the following are the most widespread cases:

MgrM	BaoÑ	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
<i>motu</i>	<i>mətəŋ</i>	<i>murtun</i>	<i>mutuŋ</i>	<i>*modun</i>	wood
<i>xotu</i>	<i>hə:taŋ</i>	<i>futɔ</i> ~ <i>hutɔ</i>	<i>xoduŋ</i>	<i>*hodun</i>	star
<i>šiudiar</i>	<i>si:tər</i>	<i>sutər</i>	<i>šiauzie</i>	<i>*seüder</i>	shadow

Unexpected strengthening also occurs in some verbs in which an originally stem-final *-d* ended up in intervocalic position in Mangghuer, Dongxiang, and often in Baoan.²⁹⁴

²⁹² However, the *-t-* is also present in Dag *gat* ‘stake’, Bur *gutal* ‘boots’ which lack the suffix *-sUn* of the alternative forms Dag *gatəs* and Bur *gutahan*.

²⁹³ Mongghul does not share this feature, but it may have had it earlier and lost it recently due to its tendency to weaken medial consonants.

MgrM	BaoD	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
<i>betu-</i>	<i>eṭə-</i>	<i>vəide-</i>	<i>otu-</i>	<i>*ebed-</i>	to be ill
<i>qaputu-</i>	<i>χitə-</i>	<i>χər- ~ χur-</i>	<i>qawitu-</i>	<i>*kabīd-</i>	to swell

This development in the verbs is also found in Moghol *ebāt-u-na* ‘is ill’, *delat-u-na* ‘hits’, *nət-u-na* ‘dances’ from **ebed-*, **deled-*, **naad-*. There is no obvious trigger for strengthening in these nouns and verbs, and they may be two unrelated phenomena. In the verbs it may have played a role that the verb stems are often followed by suffixes with strong consonants, such as future *-kU*, perfect *-gsAn* (Shirongol *-san*) and habitual *-gčI* (Shirongol *-čīn*).²⁹⁵

Strengthening of preconsonantal **d* may happen after the cluster is dissolved, as in Dgx *očiḡaŋ* < **ödken* ‘thick’.

Words starting with *tVt-* or *dVt-* display special developments in QG languages, e.g. **tata-* ‘to pull’: EYu *hta-*, MgrH *təda-* ~ *cida-*, MgrM *tida-* ~ *cida-*, BaoŃ *ṣda-* ~ *hda-*, Kgj *sta-* ~ *sda-* ~ *ṣita-*. Dgx *sda-*, *sida-* ~ *cida-*. Words starting with *tVt* (which partly stem from *dVt*) were most consistently adapted by Eastern Yugur, by replacing the first dental by *h* (as in the sequence *kVk-*, see below). While the tendency for the assimilation *dVt* > *tVt* is already evident in MMo²⁹⁶, this last EYu stage may be a very recent development, as Potanin and Malov still mention forms with both *t*’s intact. Cf. also EYu *hta-* < **duta-* ‘to lack’, *htɔɔ* < **dotara* ‘inside’, *hturḡan* < **tuturgan* ‘rice’, and the development of **duta-* ‘to flee’ in some Shirongol dialects.

Other peculiar developments may occur in words in which *t-* is followed by *-s-*, as in **tasura-* ‘to break’: MgrM *tasir-* ~ *cizir-*, BaoD *zarə-*, Kgj *cira-* ~ *cra-*, Dgx *cira-* ~ *sira-*. Cf. also **tasma* ‘thong’, **tüsür-* ‘to pour’.

4.3.4. Syllable-final developments

Only few nouns with word-final **-d* happen to survive in the peripheral languages, and none occur in all of them. Examples are **ed* ‘goods’, **keid* ‘temple’, **kitad* ‘Chinese’, **subud* ‘pearl’, **töbed* ‘Tibetan’. **höd* ‘larva’ is disyllabic in most languages. As mentioned above, the final **-d* of verbs has mostly become inter-vocalic in Shirongol.

In Dagur, final *-d* has become *-r*, as can be seen in derived forms such as *bɔlɔ:r* < **boluad* ‘and’ (the perfect converb of **bol-*), distributive numerals in *-Ad* such as *xarba:ya:r* ‘ten each’, and the plural suffix *-r*.²⁹⁷ In verb stems *-d* is retained.

In Eastern Yugur *-d* was preserved as such in both nouns and verbs.

²⁹⁴ This development is not found in all verbs of this structure, and not consistently in all dialects. For instance **čad-* ‘to be satiated’, **od-* ‘to go’, and **söged-* ‘to kneel’ lack it.

²⁹⁵ Alternatively it maybe postulated that these verbs originally had *-t*, and only appear with *-d* due to the general neutralisation of strength in syllable-final plosives.

²⁹⁶ The occasional development **dVt* > *tVt* can be found both in Sino-Mongolic and Arabo-Mongolic sources, see **dotara* ‘inside’, **duta-* ‘to lack’, **duta-* ‘to flee’.

²⁹⁷ Phonetically any Dagur plural in *-r* could also reflect the suffix **-s*, but it is found on stems which traditionally take **-d*.

Mongghul has preserved *-d* or developed *-r*, which also occurs in Āntoq Baoan and Kangjia, cf. MgrH *ćidar* < **kīṭad* ‘Chinese’, Kgj *tər* ~ *tur* < **töbed* ‘Tibetan’. MgrM *tiebie* ‘Tibetan’ lost the *-d* altogether, probably via *-r*.

Dongxiang preserved *-d* by means of an epenthetic vowel in the petrified plural *pəsədu* < **busu.d* ‘others’.

As shown above verbs in **-d* often preserved their final consonant in Shirongol by means of an epenthetic vowel. The added vowel tends to be *u*, suggesting that it is the connective vowel inserted between the stem and some suffixes which was reinterpreted as part of the stem.²⁹⁸ In Baoan and Kangjia some of these verbs have forms or variants with *-r*, especially in inflected forms, see **čad*- ‘to be satiated’, **naad*- ‘to play’, **od*- ‘to go’.

Preconsonantal *-d-* is treated similarly. It becomes *-r-* in Dagur, remains unaltered in Eastern Yugur²⁹⁹, and tends to be preserved by means of an epenthetic vowel in Shirongol.³⁰⁰ This can be illustrated by means of **ödken* ‘dense’: Dag *urkun*, EYu *hutgwen*, hödgön, MgrH *šdogo:n*, MgrM *ś(i)digen*, BaoD *dəgaŋ*, Kgj *dagɔ* ~ *žigɔ*, Dgx *oćiğaŋ*. See also **hedke*- ‘to cut’, **ödme* ‘bread’.

4.4. Development of CM **ǰ* and **č*

4.4.1. Default (non-shift)

Both **ǰ* and **č* are limited to syllable-initial positions. The original syllable-final affricates probably developed into **s/š*, which are dealt with below.

Weak **ǰ* occurs in all syllable-initial positions:

Initial: **ǰau*- ‘to bite’, **ǰeün* ‘needle’, **ǰöelen* ‘soft’, **ǰulǰiga* ‘animal young’, **ǰürken* ‘heart’.

Intervocalic: **gaǰar* ‘land’, **ǰaǰil*- ‘to chew’, **küǰüün* ‘neck’, **seǰǰi* ‘hip’, **üǰe*- ‘to see’.

Postconsonantal: **aralǰi*- ‘to exchange’, **bilǰiur* ‘small bird’, **elǰigen* ‘donkey’, **könǰilen* ‘blanket’, **kürǰe(g)* ‘spade’.

Strong **č* occurs in all syllable-initial positions:

Initial: **čagaan* ‘white’, **čisun* ‘blood’, **čimegen* ‘marrow’, **čoara*- ‘to be pierced’, **čöen* ‘few’.

Intervocalic: **hiče*- ‘to be ashamed’, **kaučün* ‘old’, **ničügün* ‘naked’, **ongača* ‘trough’, **saču*- ‘to scatter’.

Postconsonantal: **arčǰi*- ‘to clean’, **gagča* ‘alone’, **kamčun* ‘sleeve’, **nögčǰi*- ‘to pass’, **tobčǰi* ‘button’.

²⁹⁸ Sometimes another vowel appears instead, as in Dgx *šiaoǰie*- < **söged*- ‘to kneel’.

²⁹⁹ In Bolčuluu’s notation preconsonantal **d* may take over the strength of the following **k*.

³⁰⁰ In some words Baoan and Kangjia used metathesis, apparently to attain a more tolerable structure, as in BaoX *čigtar* < **čidkör* ‘demon’, BaoN *sagte*-, Kgj *sǰyte*- < **sedki*- ‘to think’.

4.4.2. Shifts in the place of articulation

Compared to the three literary central Mongolic languages, the first striking thing in the peripheral languages is that the **ǰ* and **č* did not split into palatal *ǰ* and *č* and depalatalised apical affricates *ʒ* and *c*. However, under the influence of Chinese and/or Tibetan, many QG languages have by now developed two or three sets of affricates. Modern *ʒ* and *c* as they appear in QG are unrelated to the same sounds in Khalkha, but are normally associated with **s* and will be dealt with below. Apart from *ʒ* and *c* most languages have a retroflex set *ʒ* and *ç* and an alveopalatal set *ʒ̥* and *č̥*. Note also the parallel development (split) of **ʃ*-.

The degree and manner of incorporation of the foreign pronunciations differs from language to language, showing that they were adopted relatively recently. In Mongghul **ǰ* and **č* were generally shifted towards *ʒ̥* and *č̥*, with only a couple of exceptions. In Baoan *ʒ̥* and *č̥* are also the normal reflex of **ǰ* and **č*. In Dongxiang the retroflexes *ʒ* and *ç* are the default reflexes of **ǰ* and **č*, whereas Dongxiang *ʒ̥* and *č̥* are the result of modern palatalisations of **d* and **t* (see above). The situation in Mangghuer is less orderly; both the retroflexes and the alveopalatals are used in native words with **ǰ* and **č*. The alveopalatals are less frequent, and seem to be favoured preceding the vowel *i*, as in *čí* < **či* ‘you’, *čížig* < **čečeg* ‘flower’, but not obligatory, cf. *ǰi*- < **ǰii*- ‘to stretch’.

Eastern Yugur and Kangjia have a single set *ǰ* and *č* in native words.³⁰¹

Mongghul *č̥* can also go back to **k* followed by **i*/**i̯*. Mangghuer *č̥* and *ç̥* both can also stem from **k* before **i*/**i̯* (see below).

4.4.3. Strength/aspiration shifts

Initial strengthening occurs systematically in Mongghul, as in *čüga*- < **ǰabka*- ‘to lose’, *čabsar* < **ǰabsar* ‘interval’, *čugu*- < **ǰokī*- ‘to fit’. Examples in other QG languages include MgrM *čúciŋ* < **ǰočin* ‘guest’, and EYu *časa*- < **ǰasa*- ‘to make’, *čüsə*- < **ǰisü*- ‘to cut’. Accompanying (that is, subsequent) medial weakening is only systematic in Mongghul.

In most QG languages there are also some unexpected developments in the opposite direction, i.e. Ordos-type weakening of initial **č*- due to (or in spite of) a following strong consonant, as in EYu *ǰabčə*-, Baoŋ *ǰabčī*- < **čabčī*- ‘to chop’, EYu *ǰagčəqai* < **čarčəakai* ‘grasshopper’, EYu *ǰasən* ~ *časən*, Dgx *zasuŋ* ~ *casuŋ* < **časun* ‘snow’.

4.4.4. **y*- instead of **ǰ*-

Mongolic words with initial **ǰ*- often correspond to **y*- in Turkic cognates. Words that should have had an initial affricate but instead appear with *y*- in Shirongol languages may be explained either as relatively recent Turkic borrowings, or as

³⁰¹ The few alveopalatals in native words such as EYu *ǰa:n* < **ǰajaan* ‘fate’ are marginal and not due to Chinese influence. In this case the *ǰ̥*- seems to be due to the collapse of the unaccented first syllable, so that the -*y*- palatalised the **ǰ*-.

archaisms. Words with *y-* in one or more Shirongol languages, like **janči-* ‘to pound’ and **jarim* ‘half’ could belong to either category. However, some of the affected words lack an ancient Turkic cognate, e.g. **jabka-* ‘to get lost’, **jasa-* ‘to make’. These cases of *y-* may be archaisms. If so, they might stem from prehistoric times, as these words are documented with **j-* in Middle Mongol.

4.4.5. Deaffrication of *č

In a number of words, **č* has become *š* in Dagur, without an obvious reason. However, for some of the affected lexemes a Manchu equivalent with *š-* exists, giving rise to the usual question whether Dagur owes this feature to Manchu or vice versa. Examples: *šanə-* < **čina-* ‘to cook’, *šad-* < **čina-* ‘can’, *šar* < **čirai* ‘face’, *ši:* < **či* ‘you’, *šiməy* < **čimegen* ‘marrow’, *šil-* < **čile-* ‘to feel numb’, *nurš-* < **nögči-* ‘to pass’, *šidar* < **čidör* ‘hobble’, *šurkul* < **čidkör* ‘demon’.

In QG deaffrication may occur in secondarily preconsonantal **č*, as in EYu *šda-* < **čida-* ‘to be able’³⁰², BaoŃ *nişgan* < **ničügün* ‘naked’.

4.5. Development of CM *g and *k

4.5.1. Default (non-shift)

Weak **g* occurs in all positions:

Initial: **gaɣar* ‘land’, **ger* ‘house’, **gurban* ‘three’, **guril* ‘flour’, **güi-* ‘to run’.

Intervocalic: **eljigen* ‘donkey’, **heligen* ‘liver’, **kituga* ‘knife’, **ničügün* ‘naked’, **nogaan* ‘green’.

Postconsonantal: **ilga-* ‘to choose’, **köngen* ‘light’, **margası* ‘tomorrow’, **nimgen* ‘thin’, **jirguan* ‘six’.

Final: **čag* ‘time’, **čug* ‘bundle’, **kereg* ‘matter’, **kulag-* ‘to steal’, **ög-* ‘to give’.

Preconsonantal: **bagta-* ‘to fit into’, **nogta* ‘halter’, **nögči-* ‘to pass’, **sogta-* ‘to be drunk’, **üğtee-* ‘to pull out’.

Strong **k* occurs in all syllable-initial positions:

Initial: **kaiči* ‘scissors’, **ken* ‘who’, **ködel-* ‘to move’, **kudku-* ‘to stir’, **küjüün* ‘neck’.

Intervocalic: **eke* ‘mother’, **hokar* ‘short’, **nöker* ‘friend’, **saki-* ‘to wait’, **ükü-* ‘to die’.

Postconsonantal: **aska-* ‘to sprinkle’, **dabkur* ‘layer’, **alku-* ‘to step’, **hedke-* ‘to cut’, **öskel-* ‘to kick’.

The CM guttural stops underwent a split into velar pronunciations **g* **k* and uvular pronunciations **ğ* **q* depending on the vocalic environment. The consequences of this split, which already took place prehistorically, are still present in all QG languages. The velars and uvulars have phonemic status in Shirongol and in Eastern

³⁰² In this auxiliary verb even Moghol shows deaffrication.

Yugur.³⁰³ Apart from the limited development **ki* > *ci* in the Monguor languages, most later changes involve fricativisation or changes in consonant strength, and related devoicing phenomena.

Default development of initial **g* and **k*:

	<i>*g(a)</i>	<i>*g(e)</i>	<i>*g(i)</i>	<i>*g(i)</i>	<i>*k(a)</i>	<i>*k(e)</i>	<i>*k(i)</i>	<i>*k(i)</i>
Dag	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k/x</i>	<i>k/x</i>	<i>k/x</i>	<i>k/x</i>
EYu	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>q/x</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q/x</i>	<i>k</i>
MgrH	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	?	?	<i>x</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ć</i>	<i>ć</i>
MgrM	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	?	?	<i>q</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ć</i>	<i>ć</i>
BaoD	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	?	?	<i>x</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>k</i>
BaoÑ	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	?	?	<i>x</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>k</i>
Kgj	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	?	?	<i>x</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>k</i>
Dgx	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	?	?	<i>q</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>k</i>

As in Kalmuck and Ordos, uvular *q*- has become a fricative in several peripheral languages, while velar *k*- remained a plosive. In Eastern Yugur *x*- tends to appear when a voiced consonant (or no consonant) follows, and *q*- elsewhere. In Dagur, both **k* and **q* may result in either *k*- or *x*-, without a predictable system, but also apparently without free variation.³⁰⁴

Uvular *q*- has become *x*- in Mongghul, Baoan, and Kangjia, unless *q*- was weakened before that could happen. *q*- was retained in Dongxiang. *q*- is also found in Mangghuer, but the fact that some words with initial **h*- now have *q*- in Mangghuer suggests that modern *q*- goes back to an earlier stage *x*-.³⁰⁵

In Mongghul and Mangghuer both **ka*- and **ha*- resulted in *xa*-. However, only the *x*- that stems from **h*- further developed into Mongghul *f*- when followed by rounded vowels. This indicates that the fricativisation of uvular **q*- took place after the development **h*- > *x*- (> *f*-) had mostly been completed. The development of **k*- > **x*- > *f*- is only rarely seen, as in *faḡ* ~ *xɔḡ* ‘fertilizer’ < **kog* (cf. MgrM *qo*).³⁰⁶

³⁰³ In Eastern Yugur the phoneme status in native words is somewhat weaker when Bolčuluu’s analysis is followed, as he distinguishes a greater variety of vowels. In Junast’s materials *o* and *u* also partly merged with their harmonic counterparts. Svantesson et al. (2005:151) chose to subsume *q* under /*kʰ*/ and both *ḡ* and *ḡ* under /*k*/.

³⁰⁴ This can perhaps be ascribed largely to the Dagurs’ history as multilinguals in several languages that have a large part of their vocabulary in common. This has also led to etymological doublets such as *xar* ‘black (general term)’ and *kara*: ‘black (of a horse’s coat)’.

³⁰⁵ Examples include *qaḡar* < **xarḡar* < **hargal* ‘dried dung’, *qarḡa* < **xarḡa* < **halagan* ‘palm of the hand’, *qoḡoar* < **x(o)ḡoar* < **hokar* ‘short’. This at least demonstrates that there has been a period of confusion. However, most **h*-words retain *x*- rather than *q*- in modern Mangghuer.

³⁰⁶ Another example is BaoÑ *fulə* ‘bottle’ from Chinese *húlu* ‘gourd’. Cf. also the secondary *f*- in Mongghul *furɔŋ.la*- ‘to protect’ < Amdo **hroŋ*-, cf. lit. Tib. *sruŋ*-.

4.5.2. Shifts in the place of articulation

A typical feature of the Monguor languages is the development of CM **ki/*kī* > *ci* in words such as MgrH *ćimuza*, MgrM *ćimpəzi* < **kīmusun* ‘nail’³⁰⁷; cf. also **kīlbar* ‘easy’, **kīrga-* ‘to shave’, **kīrgaul* ‘pheasant’, **kītad* ‘Chinese’, **kītuga* ‘knife’, **kīursun* ‘nit’, **kīrbe* ‘edge’, **kīröe* ‘saw’. However, this shift did not occur in all words where it was expected. It did not affect **ki-* ‘to do’, **kījaar* ‘edge’, **kīsu-* ‘to scrape’. And although there are cases such as MgrH *ćižirma*: < **ćakīrma* ‘iris’, *fužün* < **ōkin* (~ **okīn*) ‘girl’, there are few non-initial examples.³⁰⁸ In many words **k* has resulted in weak *-g-* which did not become palatalized, including the following: **auški* ‘lungs’, **ćakīur* ‘lightning’, **ćiki-* ‘to stuff’, **ćikīn* ‘ear’, **ćoki-* ‘to peck’, **daaki* ‘lumpy hair’, **joki-* ‘to suit’, **saki-* ‘to wait’, **muški-* ‘to twist’, **geški-* ‘to trample’, **hekin* ‘brain’, **sedkil* ‘mind’, **tülki-* ‘to push’.

One would expect a parallelism between the weak and strong counterparts, but it is not entirely clear whether **gi/gī* also became *ži-*. Some of the alleged examples are not very convincing, as they are of an onomatopoeic nature. MgrH *žilo:n* ‘shiny’ does not count as evidence for the Mongghul development, as it derives from a root that shows an alternation **g- ~ *j-* throughout Mongolic. Non-initial *g* was often preserved, as in *ğurgi* < **gorgi* ‘hook’, *žangəda-* < **jangid-* ‘to tie a knot’, *suḡgunəḡ* < **soḡgīna* ‘onion’. If the sequence **gi/gī-* did not, or not generally, become *ži-*, we can assume in the abovementioned cases that *k* had been weakened to *g* before it could become *ć-*. This suggests that the development **ki/kī* > *ci-* may be quite late, at least after the weakening of medial *-k-* in these words. Mangghuer does not have the same strong tendency to weaken the strong stops in medial position, but lacks the development *k > ć* in intervocalic position as well. The initial consonant of **ki-* ‘to do’, **kījaar* ‘edge’ was also weakened, which may be the reason why it escaped palatalisation.

In the other Shirongol languages there are some isolated cases of palatalisation of **k*. In Dongxiang the only examples in Mongolic words are *ćirəu* < **kīröe* ‘saw’, *daći* < **daaki* ‘matted wool’, and *oćin* < **ōkin* ‘girl’.³⁰⁹ The latter also has forms with palatal affricates in some Baoan dialects. Another example is BaoGt *rāći* < **araki* ‘liquor’. Unless interdialectal borrowing is assumed, these exceptions cannot be explained.

The Baoanic languages as well as Eastern Yugur tend to have an uvular consonant in words that had **kī*, and a velar consonant in those that had **ki*, but the difference between the vowels themselves has disappeared, and today they are both generally represented by *ə*. Only in Dongxiang the pronunciation *ī* can be seen after

³⁰⁷ In Mangghuer the alveopalatal *ć-* may further develop into retroflex *ç-*. This development seems to be due to a change in the following vowel, cf. *čaibai* < **kīrbei* ‘side’, *čubar* < **kīlbar* ‘easy’, as opposed to *ćidoḡo* < **kītuga* ‘knife’, *ćirəu* < **kīröe* ‘saw’.

³⁰⁸ The following correspondences are less certain as they seem to be of onomatopoeic origin: Mongghul *pužira-*, possibly < **burkīra-* ‘to belch forth (water, steam, smoke)’, *xažira-*, possibly < **kakīra-* ‘to expectorate’, *xožira-*, possibly < **korkīra-* ‘to snore, grunt’.

³⁰⁹ Cf. also Dgx *ćita* ‘religious tractate’ < Arabic *kitāb* ‘book’, Kgj *paći duḡu* ‘razor’ < Persian *pāki* ‘razor’ + Mongolic **kītuga* ‘knife’.

ḡ and q.³¹⁰ This is another illustration of the varying quality of *i through different periods and areas. In Proto Monguoric it probably merged with *i, or at least it was itself palatal enough to trigger the development $k > č$. It can not be established whether *i had merged with *i in Proto Baoanic and ‘Proto Yugur’, or whether it had developed a uvular i-like pronunciation. Dongxiang may have developed its i relatively recently.

Minor articulation shifts can be seen in Kangjia, Dongxiang, and Eastern Yugur. In Kangjia many words have velars in historically back-vocalic stems, e.g. *guru* < **kuruun* ‘finger’, *gimesun* < **kīmusun* ‘nail’. The opposite can occasionally be found in Dongxiang, e.g. *quḡon* < **küregen* ‘son-in-law’, *qīšīḡau* < **geškiür* ‘stairs’, and Mangghuer, e.g. *qur* < **köl* ‘foot’. According to Bolčuluu, the expected uvular ḡ is automatically replaced by velar g in Eastern Yugur when it precedes s, č, t, l, as in *agsə-* (< **agsə-*) < **agsu-* ‘to borrow’, *ḡagča* (< **ḡagča*) < **gagča* ‘alone’, *agta* (< **aḡta*) < **agta* ‘stallion’, *bagla-* (< **baḡla-*) < **bagla-* ‘to bind’.

4.5.3. Strength/aspiration shifts

There are several phenomena related to weakening and strengthening in Eastern Yugur and Shirongol. Many dialects have instances of Mongghul-type initial strengthening of *g- as well as Ordos-type initial weakening of *k-. Not all of these developments are predictable, and there are many cases of disagreement even between closely related dialects.

Initial strengthening is most common in Mongghul, as in MgrH *xoḡin* < **gučün* ‘thirty’, *keḡi* < **gesiün* ‘branch’, but can also be found in the other QG languages in words such as Dgx *qīḡai* < **gakai* ‘pig’, EYu *qagča* < **gagča* ‘alone’, BaoD *χušün* < **gasün* ‘bitter’. Instead of the default ḡ-, strong q- or x- will appear in back-vocalic stems, depending on the language. In front-vocalic stems, k- will appear instead of default g-. An interesting case of initial strengthening is MgrH *kudu*, BaoD *kətə* < **gertü* ‘at home’, which is originally just the dative-locative of **ger* ‘house’.

Initial weakening under the influence of a medial weak consonant is shared by Eastern Yugur and Shirongol in a considerable number of words. Most of these have a second syllable starting with *d or *j, such as **kada-* ‘to nail’, **kadaar* ‘bit’, **kadu-* ‘to harvest’, **kaja-* ‘to bite’, **ködel-* ‘to move’, **köndelen* ‘horizontal’, **könjile* ‘blanket’, **kurdun* ‘quick’, **kürje(g)* ‘spade’, **küjüün* ‘neck’. Other words feature weakening in the same set of languages, but for unknown reasons, e.g. **kee-* ‘to say’, **ki-* ‘to do’, **koar* ‘two’.³¹¹ In both of these sets the weakening must have taken place early, as they are also found in Mongghul, where the original structure

³¹⁰ Some analyses of Dongxiang distinguish separate vowel phonemes i and i. When a phoneme i is recognized, this has consequences for the phoneme status of q and ḡ, as well as the sibilants.

³¹¹ There are some possible arguments. **kee-* ‘to say’ is usually found at the end of quoted statements, cf. the irregular voicing in Turkic of *te:-* ‘to say’ which has the same functions. **ki-* ‘to do’ is often used as an (unstressed) verbalizer. **koar* ‘two’ may have been influenced by **gurban* ‘three’; **korin* ‘twenty’ does not have initial weakening.

of these words (strong initial, weak consonant starting the second syllable) is considered ideal.

In Baoanic, initial weakening is even more frequent, and usually occurs in words in which **k* is followed by a weak consonant: **kīmusun* ‘nail’, **kuī* ‘sheath’, **kuruun* ‘finger’. The initial weakening in Kgj *ǵurǵai* < **korakai* ‘insect’, *ǵulǵai* < **kulagai* ‘thief’, *ǵurǵun* < **kurigan* ‘lamb’ stems from the fact that the intermediate forms **korgai*, **kulgai*, **kurgan* had lost their middle vowel, so that the medial *-g* came into a position from which it could weaken the initial.

However, many other words without strong consonants have retained their initial **k* in Eastern Yugur and all of Shirongol, including **kabar* ‘nose’, **kalaun* ‘hot’, **kaniā-* ‘to cough’, **kara* ‘black’, **kelen* ‘tongue’, **ken* ‘who’, **küün* ‘person’. Although there is no obvious explanation for the different development of these groups, the fact that the same words behave similarly in several languages shows the ‘choice’ of initial may have a certain antiquity.

Baoanic further developed strong initials in **gal* ‘fire’, **gar* ‘hand’, and **gar-* ‘to exit’ (cf. Kgj *ǵar*, *ǵar*, *ǵar-* as opposed to EYu *gal*, *gar*, *gar-*). The reason for this is unknown.³¹²

Eastern Yugur has both initial strengthening and the reverse, Ordos-type dissimilatory weakening preceding a strong consonant, as in *ǵatu*: < **katau* ‘hard’, *gebe-* < **kebe-* ‘to lie down’, *ǵöbčə* < **köbči* ‘bowstring’. The same development can occasionally be seen elsewhere, as in BaoŃ *ǵəšəŋ* < **kosun* ‘beak’. This type of weakening did not take place in words with a double or complex vowel such as **kaučün* ‘old’, **koasun* ‘dry’, **köisün* ‘navel’, **köiten* ‘cold’, probably because dissimilation is less urgent given the greater distance between the two strong consonants. Svantesson et al. (2005:206) made the same observation for weakening in Chakhar.

As in the case of **tVt*, the homorganic consonant sequence **kVk* receives a special treatment in Eastern Yugur. It is dissimilated, resulting in forms like *hkö* < **köke* ‘blue’, *hkü:r* < **köküür* ‘snuffbottle’, *hǵa-* < **kaka-* ‘to choke’.

Preaspiration of intervocalic *k* (and *q*), alternating with, instead of, or in addition to postaspiration, is common in Eastern Yugur, with some erratic parallels in the Baoanic languages.

EYu	BaoŃ	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
<i>dayqa</i>	<i>təxa</i>	<i>taxa/tiǵa/tǵa</i>	<i>tǵa, tiǵa</i>	<i>*takia</i>	chicken
<i>nökör</i>	<i>nəkər, nəǵər</i>	<i>nəǵgu</i>	<i>nokie</i>	<i>*nöker</i>	friend
<i>nökön, nō^hgö</i>	<i>nəkun</i>	<i>nəǵgu(ŋ)</i>	<i>nokieŋ</i>	<i>*nüken</i>	hole
<i>hgor</i>	<i>əkər ~ əǵər</i>	<i>gər</i>	<i>fugie</i>	<i>*hüker</i>	bovine
<i>qayqai</i>	<i>ǵaǵai</i>	<i>ǵəǵai ~ ǵaǵai</i>	<i>qǵəǵai, qǵǵəǵai</i>	<i>*gakai</i>	pig
<i>nəǵqai</i>	<i>noǵai, nəǵai</i>	<i>nuǵuai</i>	<i>noǵai</i>	<i>*nokai</i>	dog
<i>hkon</i>	<i>əkun</i>	<i>iǵə</i>	<i>očin</i>	<i>*ökin</i>	girl

³¹² In the case of **gar-* it could be argued that the strengthening is due to the many verbal flection suffixes starting with a strong consonant. Cf. the development of **ög-* ‘to give’ and **ab-* ‘to take’ in Mangghuer. However, this does not account for **gar* and **gal*.

Many of the same words also have preaspirated *-k-* or *-q-* in Western Yugur³¹³, both in native words e.g. *ta^hgaǵi* < CT **takagu* ‘chicken’ (cognate to CM **takia*), and in borrowings, e.g. *nö^hger* ‘friend’ from Mongolic. In Eastern Yugur a much larger set of words is recorded with preaspirated *k/q*. It is noteworthy that many cases thus recorded by Junast are listed by Bolčuluu with (post)aspirated *k/q* instead, as in (Junast) *χoro^hgui* ~ (Bolčuluu) *χorəqɔi* < **korakai* ‘insect’. See also **čarčakai* ‘grasshopper’, **mikan* ‘meat’, **mukur* ‘blunt’, **saikan* ‘beautiful’, **tüükü* ‘raw’.³¹⁴ In fact both authors may have heard pre- and postaspirated sequences [^hk^h] and [^hq^h]; at any rate the exact realisation has little relevance for the diachronic considerations.

The absence of (recorded) preaspiration in intervocalic *-t-* or *-č-*, both in Eastern Yugur and in Shirongol, may have to do with the fact that aspiration is most clearly heard near the velars and uvulars.

As can be seen in some of the examples above, the Shirongol languages often weaken intervocalic **k/q* to *g* and *ǵ*. Uvular *-q-* may become a fricative *ǵ*. Medial weakening is not universal, and the exceptions are often inexplicable.

In Mongghul **-k-* at the beginning of the second syllable was weakened in words with a strong initial consonant, thus creating the pattern preferred by Mongghul. The initial consonant in such words may be primarily strong, as in *kugo* < **köke* ‘blue’, or the strength of the **-k-* could be transferred to the initial consonant, as in *čugu-* < **joki-* ‘to suit’. If the initial consonant is not strong or strengthenable, the **-k-* has remained strong, as in *maxa* < **mikan* ‘meat’, *nokor* < **nöker* ‘friend’, *noxuai* < **nokai* ‘dog’. Weakening also occurs when the first vowel is lost, thus moving intervocalic *-k-* into a postconsonantal position, as in *sqə-* < **saki-* ‘to wait’.

Baoan tends to neutralise the distinction between *-g-* and *-k-* in medial positions, at least in words that lack other strong consonants, cf. BaoGt *moǵui* < **mogai* ‘snake’, *noǵui* < **nokai* ‘dog’. However, the preservation of strong *-k-*, and the strengthening of *-g-*, seem to be enabled by certain environments, notably strong consonants earlier in the word, as in BaoD *tɣa* < **takia* ‘chicken’, BaoÑ *səxər* < **sokar* ‘blind’, BaoD *tɣuŋ* < **togaan* ‘pot’, BaoÑ *ɣuke* < **sibüge* ‘awl’, BaoÑ *ciɣaŋ* < **čagaan* ‘white’. Other cases of strengthening are due to a strong consonant colliding with the **g* after the loss of a vowel, as in *maɣsɪə* < **margasɪ* ‘tomorrow’.

In Kangjia we see the same neutralisation as in Baoan, at least in originally back-vocalic stems, cf. *muǵuai* < **mogai* ‘snake’, *nuǵuai* < **nokai* ‘dog’, *tuǵu* < **tugul* ‘calf’, *tuǵu-* < **toku-* ‘to saddle’. In front-vocalic stems Kangjia tends to preserve some medial **k*’s that were lost in its relatives, e.g. *kuku* as opposed to BaoÑ *kugə*, Dgx *kugie* < **köke* ‘blue’.

Medial strengthening occasionally occurs in the Monguor languages as well, as in MgrH *ɲkərʒaǵ* < **iŋgarčag* ‘packsaddle’, MgrM *əŋkuʒo* < **oŋgača* ‘trough’, in which the strength was apparently transferred from the initial consonant of the third syllable. There are some similar cases in Kangjia, e.g. *əkəči* < **egeči* ‘elder sister’.

³¹³ In Western Yugur the phenomenon is not restricted to the gutturals (see Roos 2000:32). The same applies to Salar, where similar phenomena exist (see Dwyer 2007:188).

³¹⁴ *-^hk-* is also attested in the ultimately foreign words **araki* ‘liquor’ and **tamaki* ‘tobacco’.

Two odd cases of strengthening of preconsonantal **g* by a following consonant can be found in EYu *qutul-* < **hogtal-* ‘to fell’ and *kute-* < **ügtee-* ‘to pull out’ (comparable to *pajü:n* < **ebčēün* ‘chest’ above).

Unexplained cases of medial strengthening in Shirongol include MgrH *da:xa*, BaoD *daɣaŋ* < **daagan* ‘foal’, MgrM *turxa*, BaoGt *talxa* < **tulga* ‘pillar’, Dgx *niŋkien* < **nimgen* ‘flimsy’.

Although Mongghul, Mangghuer, and the Baoan dialects feature similar developments with regard to consonant strength, individual words often develop differently because the precise rules are not identical. In Baoan an initial strong consonant is likely to keep an intervocalic **-k-* strong, and is even able to strengthen intervocalic **-g-*, but in Mongghul the same circumstances automatically lead to weakening of the **-k-*. More research is required in order to establish the rules in more detail.

In Dongxiang, due to the above and other developments, the reflexes of medial **k* and **g* are quite unpredictable. Both may appear as a plosive or fricative, or disappear altogether. The Dongxiang uvular fricative also occurs in historically front-vocalic words. The variety of reflexes can be illustrated by means of the following words:

CM	Dongxiang	Example
velar <i>*k-</i>	ǰ	<i>həbǰi</i> < <i>*herbekei</i> ‘butterfly’
	g	<i>sugie</i> < <i>*süke</i> ‘axe’
	k	<i>ekie</i> < <i>*eke</i> ‘mother’
	w ~ Ø	<i>iǰieku</i> ~ <i>iǰiewu</i> ~ <i>iǰiau</i> < <i>*idekü</i> ‘food’, ³¹⁵
	ć	<i>oćin</i> < <i>*ökin</i> ‘girl’
velar <i>*g-</i>	ǰ	<i>çumǰǰə</i> < <i>*çimegen</i> ‘marrow’
	g	<i>ǰəŋgien</i> ~ <i>šinǰien</i> < <i>*sinǰen</i> ‘thin’
	k	<i>niŋkien</i> < <i>*nimgen</i> ‘flimsy’.
	w ~ Ø	<i>ui</i> < <i>*ügei</i> ‘not there’; <i>oćiau</i> < <i>*ötegü</i> ‘old man’
velar <i>*k-</i> or <i>*g-</i>	Ø	<i>nie</i> < <i>*niken</i> or <i>*nigen</i> ‘one’
uvular <i>*q</i>	ǰ	<i>miǰa</i> < <i>*mikan</i> ‘meat’
	ǰ	<i>çǰǰəŋ</i> < <i>*čikin</i> ‘ear’
	q	<i>oqo</i> < <i>*hokar</i> ‘short’
	Ø	<i>baər</i> ‘money’ < Turkic <i>*bakir</i> (<i>*baqir</i>) ‘copper’
uvular <i>*ǰ</i>	ǰ	<i>iǰa</i> < <i>*ayaga</i> ‘bowl’
	ǰ	<i>çǰǰaŋ</i> < <i>*čagaan</i> ‘white’

³¹⁵ Probably as a consequence of the development of **-kU*, originally the future participle, the suffix **-kUlaŋ* also lost its *k*, even after a consonant, e.g. Dgx *çudulaŋ* as opposed to CM **čadkulaŋ* ‘satiated’.

It is typical for the Shirongol languages that the phonetic developments cannot be reduced to straightforward rules, although the words as such are transparently related to their cognates elsewhere in Mongolic. It tends to make them unsuitable for the reconstruction of certain features. Correctly distinguishing CM **g* and **k* in medial positions is difficult, as Middle Mongol and Written Mongol are of little help, especially in front-vocalic words. The situation in Dagur is also confusing. Apart from numerous words in which intervocalic³¹⁶ Dagur *-k-* and *-ɣ-* do go back to **k* and **g*, respectively, there are also several types of unexpected development.

Firstly, intervocalic **k* and **g* have partly become indistinguishable because they often merged in *ɣ*, as in *mɔɣ^w* < **mogai* ‘snake’, *nɔɣ^w* < **nokai* ‘dog’, or *bɔɣ^w* < **bugu* ‘deer’, *bay* < **buka* ‘bull’. The phonetic environment seems to offer no clues as to why **k* was retained or not. As can be seen in the selection of examples shown below, a preceding strong consonant may have played a role in preserving *-k-* in some words. This perceived pattern may be misleading as both reflexes are apparently allowed to occur after initial **b*-³¹⁷. As in the unpredictable treatment of initial **k-*, borrowings from central Mongolic and neighbouring Tungusic may have obscured the genuine Dagur development.

CM **-k-* > Dag *-k-*

xukur < **hūker* ‘bovine’

x^wakər < **hokar* ‘short’

xək^y < **hekin* ‘head’

wakən < **ukana* ‘billy-goat’

čək^y < **čokī* ‘to peck’

kuk^w < **kōke* ‘blue’

buk^w < **böken* ‘hump’

nək < **niken* ‘one’

čik^y < **čikīn* ‘ear’

CM **-k-* > Dag *-ɣ-*

nuyur < **nöker* ‘friend’

sɔyur < **sokar* ‘blind’

uyin ~ *uyin* < **ökin* ‘girl’

əɣ < **eke* ‘mother’

juɣ^y < **jokī* ‘to be suitable’

suɣ^w < **sūke* ‘axe’

nuy^w < **nüken* ‘hole’

bəɣ < **beke* ‘ink’

m^yay < **mikan* ‘meat’

The second problem with **k* and **g* in Dagur is that **g* has occasionally become *k*, leading to historically confusing forms. CM **k* and **g* seem to have changed places in *uɣ^w* ~ *u:-* < **ükü* ‘to die’³¹⁸ as opposed to *uk^w* < **ög* ‘to give’. Cf. also *təkul^y* < **tugul* ‘calf’, but *tɔɣ^w* < **toka* ‘to saddle’³¹⁹. The reason for this is unknown.

³¹⁶ Postconsonantal **k* did not become *-ɣ-* in Dagur.

³¹⁷ Moreover, systematic changes due to strength patterns have not been described for Dagur so far. There are only incidental cases of distant assimilation such as *kətəs* < **gedesün* ‘intestines’, in which the **g* was apparently strengthened by the following *-t-*, which was itself due to the *-s-*.

³¹⁸ The variant *u:-* ‘to die’ is less problematic, once the form *uɣ^w* had arisen, as *u/w* is another common Dagur reflex of intervocalic **g*, as in *jaus* < **jagasun* ‘fish’, *tuwa:* < **togaan* ‘pot’, *xaulɔ:-* ~ *xaylɔ:-* < **kagal-* ‘to break’. This will not be discussed here further, as it does not affect reconstruction. It may prove of interest for the investigation of the Mongolic words in Manchu, as this is one of the similarities between Dagur and Manchu forms, as in Manchu *suwa*, Dag *suwa:* < **sogaa* ‘doe’. Such similarities suggest

As is clear from the above, irregular developments, even those that are unexplained, may be of some antiquity, and useful for classification, as in the forms **jaga* ‘collar’ and **jürge(n)* ‘heart’ (instead of **jaka*, **jürüken*) shared by all QG languages, **jalki-* ‘to swallow’ (instead of **jalgi-*) shared by many QG languages, **kal* ‘fire’ (instead of **gal*) shared by Baoanic, **hamtu* ‘together’ (< **kamtu*) in Baoanic; and **köŋken* ‘light’ (< **köŋgen*) shared by Baoan dialects.

4.5.4. Relics from lost intervocalic consonants

The prehistoric intervocalic consonant of diverse origins, usually reconstructed *-g/-y-* by Poppe, but *-x-* by Janhunen, *-h-* by Svantesson et al., and as *-Ø-* here, seems to survive sporadically into the modern languages.³²⁰ Unlike in Middle Mongol³²¹ and the central standard languages, influence from the spelling in Uygur script is not an obvious explanation in the QG area. These survivals may therefore be real ‘atavisms’, harking back to a language stage preceding CM as it is otherwise known.

In **suu* (?**sugu*) ‘armpit’ there is an unexpected *-g-* in Baoanic, as in BaoD *soġo*, and Dgx *suġə* ~ *suŋġo*. These forms are reminiscent of Khalkha *suga*, but unlike in Khalkha, influence from the Written Mongol spelling *suyu* is rather improbable in the QG area. Dongxiang has some further cases, not all equally convincing: *aġui* corresponds to **auī* ‘wide’, *ŋiġara* corresponds to **sīra* ‘leg’ as reconstructed on the basis of other languages, *çiġara* ‘tight; busy’ could be related to **čīrag* ‘strong’, *buġuŋ* ‘wheat stack’ may be related to **böem*. *aġui* has an equivalent in Moghol. Some superficially similar cases are easily explained as (re)borrowings from the Turkic cognates, e.g. Dgx *aġəŋ*, BaoÑ *aġal* ‘village’ are from Turkic **a:ġil* rather than an archaic form of the Mongolic cognate **ail*, and likewise BaoÑ *bəġdi* ‘wheat’ is from Turkic **bugday* rather than from Mongolic **buudaī*. Outside Baoanic we find EYu *jö:ȳale-* ‘to talk in one’s sleep’, related to **jeüle-* ‘to dream’.³²²

Some non-Mongolic languages famously preserve relics of intervocalic consonants. Words with such elements occur in the Turkic languages Kök Munčaq (Tuva)³²³ and Western Yugur, and in the Tungusic languages Solon and Oročen.³²⁴

either that Dagur reborrowed this Mongolic word from Manchu, or that Manchu adopted this word from Dagur.

³¹⁹ The verb *təȳ^w* is in its turn contradicted by the noun *tək^w* ‘saddlepad’.

³²⁰ For a discussion see also Janhunen 1999, Svantesson et al. 2005:121-124.

³²¹ Forms like Muq *uyraq* (**uurag*) ‘biestings’, RH *niyur* (**niur*) ‘face’ are probably best considered literary forms rather than PM relics.

³²² The Eastern Yugur form closely resembles the equally inexplicable modern Uygur *jögilä-*.

³²³ According to Čoyjungjab 1985. The *-h-* is absent in other descriptions. Unexpected *-g-* in other varieties of Tuva can usually be attributed to Written Mongol influence.

³²⁴ Manchu also features intervocalic gutturals in Mongolic words which are written in Written Mongol but not pronounced in the Mongolic languages, e.g. Manchu *gurehe* ‘broad tendons on the neck of cattle’ corresponding to CM **güreen*.

Kök Munčaq (Tuva)	Oirat	CM	
<i>aljīhī:r</i>	<i>alčō:r</i>	<i>*alčīur < *arčīur</i>	towel
<i>χɔ̃hɔ:ra-</i>	<i>χɔ:r-</i>	<i>*kaur-</i>	to fry
<i>jalīhī:</i>	<i>zalɔ:</i>	<i>*jalau</i>	young
Solon	Dagur	CM	
<i>īmayan</i>	<i>ima:</i>	<i>*īmaan</i>	goat
<i>təməɣən</i>	<i>təmə:</i>	<i>*temeen</i>	camel
<i>unəɣən</i>	<i>uñe:</i>	<i>*ünien</i>	cow
Western Yugur	Eastern Yugur	CM	
<i>a^hzīyir</i>	<i>alču:r</i>	<i>*alčīur < *arčīur</i>	towel
<i>kreyi</i>	<i>kure:</i>	<i>*kiröe</i>	saw
<i>pağa-</i>	<i>pa:-</i>	<i>*baa-</i>	to defecate

These word shapes are obviously not recent borrowings from the neighbouring Mongolic languages. They indicate that there must have been a different source language and/or period of borrowing. As it is unlikely that Western Yugur was ever sufficiently exposed to Written Mongol to adopt word shapes from it, or that Solon took its animal husbandry terminology from a literary language, the borrowing probably took place in the Middle Mongol period or earlier.³²⁵ If these are indeed primitive forms surviving in various neighbouring languages, it is an unfortunate fact that so few words of this type survive in the Mongolic languages themselves.

4.5.5. Syllable-final developments

As in the central languages, syllable-final **g* is preserved in Eastern Yugur. It appears as velar *g* or uvular *ġ*. Eastern Yugur did not even develop the tendency to elide preconsonantal *g* in the suffixes (nomen perfecti) *-gsAn* and (directive) *-gsI*. It also preserves *g* in some stems where it was lost in several modern languages, such as **hogtal-* ‘to fell’, and **ügte-* ‘to weed’.

Final **g* developed > *r* in Dagur, as in *bula:r* < **bulag* ‘spring’. In *čəllə* < *čəral* < **čerig* ‘soldier’ the dissimilation (in order to avoid **čərar*) and subsequent assimilation makes the word quite different from the CM form.³²⁶

³²⁵ In view of occasional Middle Mongol relic forms with intervocalic *-h-* (< *-p-*) such as Muq *köhe* ‘chain mail’ and RH *quhurči* ‘lute player’, this is not a priori a ridiculous thought. See 2.6.6.

³²⁶ It is unclear why some words preserved final **g* as *y*, e.g. *kəɣy* < **kereg* ‘matter’, *səbəy* < **sebeg* ‘basket’, unless these forms were borrowed from central Mongolic, or from

Dahejia and Āntoq Baoan and most dialects of Mongghul generally preserve final **g*, as velar *g* or uvular *g̊*, depending on the original vowel class. The same applies to older Mangghuer materials. Fricative pronunciations did also develop. In dialects of all Shirongol languages we can observe a, probably Chinese-inspired, ‘aversion’ of **g* in syllable-final position. Regardless of the original harmonic class of the word, in several languages **g* has the tendency to be changed, elided, or preserved by means of an epenthetic vowel.

Dongxiang has been most consistent in its treatment of **g*. After *a/ə* it disappeared completely, as in *bula* < **bulag*, *kəwə* < **kebeg* ‘chaff’, but the word final sequences *ig/ug/üg* were replaced by *-əu*, as in *yəu* < **yig* ‘spindle’, *gudəu* < **kudug* ‘well’, *xodəu* < **hötüg* ‘maggot’, *zəu* < **jüg* ‘direction’.

Kangjia has more varied solutions; in some words *-g* is retained in the form of a plosive (*pəʃəg* < **burčag* ‘pea’) or of a fricative (*aŋkəʃiŋ* < **iŋgarčag* ‘packsaddle’), whereas in others it was completely lost (*ima* < **aimag* ‘village’). In yet another set of (originally front-vocalic) words **-g* was replaced by *-u* (*pəčiŋ* < **bičig* ‘writing’).

Ganhetan Baoan is another dialect that features various treatments of final **-g*. Some words retain it in its original position, such as *samsəg* < **sarimsag* ‘garlic’, others preserve it, aided by metathesis or an epenthetic vowel, such as *orǵə* < **uurag* ‘biestings’, yet others lost it completely, such as *čeri* < **čerig* ‘soldier’.

Some dialects of Mongghul also elide final *-g*. Dongshan Mongghul did this most regularly. Although these dialects share an aversion of word-final *-g*, the solutions came about independently.

The diversity of modern solutions, both among and within the Shirongol languages, can be illustrated by the table on the following page.³²⁷ The chosen solution depends partly on the height of the preceding vowel, or on the original harmonic class of the word (i.e. whether it is velar *-g* or uvular *-g̊*).

In verbs the solutions also vary. Dgx *asa-* < **hasag-* ‘to ask’, *gula-* < **kulag-* ‘to steal’, which lost the **-g* as in noun stems, correspond to Kgj *asǝḡ-* ~ *asǝḡi-* and *gǝlǝḡi-*. But in case of Kgj *uŋ-* ~ *u-* < **ög-* ‘to give’, the Dgx equivalent *ogi-* has preserved the final **-g* by means of an epenthetic vowel.³²⁸ Maybe the relative scarcity of verbs with this structure precluded the development of a generally applied sound law. MgrM *xu-* < **ög-* ‘to give’ was probably strengthened due to frequent inflected forms with strong consonants.

Tungusic. In some other words final **g* has disappeared completely, e.g. *ačim* < **ačimag* ‘kind of bag’, *kʷarəm* < **kirmag* ‘fine snow’, *bərčə:* < **burčag* ‘bean’.

³²⁷ The same diversity of solutions can be found in loanwords, cf. Dgx *orəu*, BaoGt *ori* ‘apricot’ < Turkic **örük* (< **ärük*), as opposed to Dgx *zəŋga*, Kgj *jaŋgəŋ*, BaoGt *žangəgə* ‘walnut’ < Turkic **jaŋgak* (< **yaŋgak*).

³²⁸ A parallel case may be Kgj *ī-* ~ *īy-* < ***(h)ög-* ‘to hit’, as opposed to Dgx *əǝḡi-*. The exact CM form of this word is hard to determine; it may have been disyllabic originally.

	<i>*bulag</i> 'source'	<i>*čečeg</i> 'flower'	<i>*kürje(g)</i> 'spade' ³²⁹	<i>*arug</i> 'pannier'	<i>*čerig</i> 'soldier'
Dongshan Mongghul	<i>bulɔ:(?)</i>	<i>čiʒɔ?</i>	<i>gurʒɔ?</i>	<i>arɔ?</i>	---
Danma Mongghul ³³⁰	<i>bulog</i>	<i>čiʒiu</i>	<i>guriʒog</i>	<i>arog</i>	<i>čiru:</i>
Mangghuer (C)	<i>bulag</i>	<i>čiʒig</i>	<i>kurʒi</i>	<i>arog</i>	<i>čirəg</i>
Mangghuer (DS)	<i>buləg</i>	<i>čiʒieg</i>	<i>kurʒi</i>	<i>aro</i>	---
Ganhetan Baoan	<i>bələxə</i>	<i>čiʒi</i>	---	<i>arogun</i>	<i>čeri</i>
Ñantoq Baoan	<i>bəlaḡ</i>	---	<i>gurʒig</i>	<i>arəḡ</i>	<i>čerəg</i>
Kangjia	---	<i>čičiu</i> ~ <i>čijiu</i>	<i>gurjiu</i>	<i>aruḡ</i> ~ <i>arḡu</i>	<i>čiriu</i>
Dongxiang	<i>bula</i>	<i>čiʒə</i>	<i>guʒə</i>	<i>arəu</i>	<i>čiri</i>

Secondary syllable-final *g*'s appear in Eastern Yugur and in several Shirongol dialects, which may be due to hypercorrection in reaction to the loss of many primary **g*'s. Examples include EYu *labčāḡ* < **nabčīn* 'leaf', BaoX *mətəḡ* < **metü* 'like', MgrH *ŋgućɔḡ* < **oŋgača* 'trough', BaoÑ *teŋgəṛəḡ* < **teŋgeri* 'sky', and Kgj *ʒəuʒəu* ~ *ʒiŋʒiŋ* 'spider' from a dialectal Chinese form related to *zhūzhu*³³¹. There is no morphological explanation for these additions. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the dialects where these added *g*'s occur are those with relatively stable original **-g*. Some added *g*'s are more widely distributed and may be older, e.g. MgrH *sunḡunəḡ*, BaoD *soŋḡonəḡ* < **soŋḡina* 'onion', or BaoÑ *xətəḡ*, Dgx *xodəu* < **hötüḡ* 'maggot' (Dgx *-əu* points at *-üḡ*). **kürjəḡ* 'spade' is found in Eastern Yugur and most of Shirongol. Most cases are incidental, and contradicted by other languages.

Preconsonantal **g* developed largely like final **g*. In Dongxiang it was normally elided. However, in some instances **g* was preserved by means of an epenthetic vowel and/or metathesis, as in Dgx *asuḡu-* < **agsu-* 'to borrow/lend', *buḡulie-* < **bögle-* 'to plug'. In some Mongghul dialects it may become *-s-*, as in Dongshan Mongghul *naşdo:* < **nogta* 'halter', Danma Mongghul *suşidu-* < **sogta-* 'to get drunk'. To be precise it is most likely that *naşdo:* developed via an intermediate **nogşdo:*, and that the *ş* does not represent the *-g-* but rather a kind of strength transfer from the original *-t-*.³³² As to Mangghuer, the older sources tend to preserve a plosive or fricative, while newer sources often lost **g* altogether (cf. **nogta* 'halter', **nögčī-* 'to pass', **sogta-* 'to get drunk').

³²⁹ As the original shape of his word seems to have been **kürje*, it is phonetically possible, but unlikely, that the Mangghuer and Dongxiang forms without the *-g* stem from the CM form rather than from the Shirongol form **kürjəḡ*.

³³⁰ The word-final sounds written with <*g*> and <*u*> in Danma Mongghul may not differ much. Both may represent a labialised dorso-velar approximant. This seems to be supported by the fact that final <*g*> is also written in loanwords such as *putog* 'grapes' < Chinese *pútáo*, *dinpog* 'lightbulb' < *diànpào*, and unexpectedly appears in native words, e.g. *nog-* < **no-* 'to aim at'.

³³¹ The same phenomenon is described for Wutun (see Janhunen et al. 2008:46).

³³² Forms like Mongghul *nogşji-* < **nögčī-* 'to pass', *teşji* < **tobčī* 'button' show that the sibilant is triggered, and its precise pronunciation determined, by the following consonant.

In Dagur preconsonantal *g develops like final *g, e.g. *sɔrt-* < **sogta-* ‘to get drunk’, *šalle-* < **šarlə-* < **šigla-* ‘to stitch’.

4.6. Development of CM *s (and š)

4.6.1. CM *s and *š

Prehistorically *s and *š split, because syllable-initial s- was palatalised by a following *i or *ī. The status of this allophonic š was reinforced by loanwords from Chinese and Turkic, and by some syllable-final developments of *j (*č) (see **hedke-* ‘to cut’ for an example). The variation between -d and -s in some other stems where no č or š variant is attested (cf. *deled-* ~ **deles-* ‘to beat’, **ëüd-* ~ **eüs-* ‘to develop’) may also go back to a single original form ending in an affricate.

Although š- developed quite early, and is therefore well attested in the old documents, there are words which seemingly escaped this development. This is well-known from Moghol, where the words that did develop š-, such as *šira* < **sira* ‘yellow’, *šira-* < **sira-* ‘to roast’, *šitv-* < *sītaa-* ‘to light’, *šuryu-* < **sirgu-* ‘to insert’, are outnumbered by cases such as *sudun* < **sidün* ‘tooth’, *seisün* < **siesün* ‘urine’, *sifika* < **sibüge* ‘awl’, *singā-* < **singe-* ‘to set (sun)’, *sitrum* < **siüderi* ‘dew’.³³³ In spite of the small Moghol corpus we can agree with Ligeti’s observation (1963:173) that š- is generally restricted to originally back-vocalic stems.³³⁴ In the first two examples one could argue that the s is no longer followed by i and may have lost its palatal pronunciation because of that, but this explanation does not apply to the remaining examples. Although some of the Moghol forms with s- resemble those in the Muqaddimat al-Adab, this is not generally true, and at any rate it does not provide a reason for the absence of palatalisation in Moghol.³³⁵

A handful of examples can be found in Dagur, in some cases in the same words: *sə:s* < **siesün* ‘urine’, *suidur* < **siüderi* ‘dew’. Here again the s is not followed by the i, perhaps indicating that the diphthong members swapped places before š- could develop. Other examples may likewise be explained by early contractions and assimilations, e.g. *gasu:n* < **gasiun* ‘bitter’, *gəsu:* < **gesiün* ‘branch’, *kəsɔ:* < **kosiun* ‘beak’, *su:-* < **siü-* ‘to strain’, *suiyaljin* < **sirgoljin* ‘ant’, *sak* < **sigai* ‘anklebone; bone used in games’.³³⁶

In other languages this ‘refusal’ to be palatalised is a marginal phenomenon. BaoX *su:kə*, Kgj *səuki* ~ *sikəu*, and Dgx *sumuğə* < **sibüge* ‘awl’ are reminiscent of Moghol *sifika*. CM **siüči* ‘chisel’, perhaps related to **sibüge*, also has some reflexes with s-. A rare case from Ordos is *su:ri-* ‘to tuck under the belt’, which corresponds to Middle Mongol *ši’uri-* and MgrH *šu:ri-* < **siüri-*.³³⁷

³³³ For further examples see **sin-gen* ‘watery’, *(s)*isegei* ‘felt’.

³³⁴ The same explanation was formulated by Poppe (1955:122).

³³⁵ Forms in the Muqaddimat al-Adab that resemble those of Moghol include *sisegei* ‘felt’ with s-, *šira* ‘yellow’, *šira-* ‘to roast’ with š-. However, many of the other words are attested with both consonants, such as **sibüge* ‘awl’, **sidün* ‘tooth’.

³³⁶ Alternatively Dagur *sak* could be related to **saka(i)* ‘knucklebone used in games’.

³³⁷ Two further cases are MgrH *su:sən* < **siüsün* ‘portion of meat’, Dgx *sanza* < **silja* ‘sheep tick’.

Apart from the cases discussed above, *s* has become *š* when followed by **i/*ī*. The former allophones *s* and *š* clearly have their separate developments.

4.6.2. Default development of **s*

CM **s* and **š* are found in all positions. In syllable-initial positions the distinction between the two depends on the following vowel. In syllable-final positions the distinction can only be explained diachronically. Therefore they will be distinguished in the following examples.

Initial: **sam* ‘comb’, **seri-* ‘to wake up’, **siree* ‘table’, **sokar* ‘blind’, **sur-* ‘to learn’, **sünesün* ‘soul’.

Intervocalic: **asara-* ‘to raise’, **bosaga* ‘threshold’, **büse* ‘belt’, **ese* ‘not’, **hasau-* ‘to ask’, **hesi* ‘handle’, **jasa-* ‘to make’, **usun* ‘water’ and numerous other words with the ending *-sUn*.

Postconsonantal: **dogsün* ‘fierce’, **kairsun* ‘scale’, **ojsi-* ‘to read’, **sarimsag* ‘garlic’, **sölsün* ~ **čölsün* ‘gall bladder’, **tübsin* ‘level’.

Final **s*: **mangus* ‘anthropophagous ogress’, **sonas-* ‘to hear’, **ulus* ‘people’, **umdaas-* ‘to be thirsty’.

Preconsonantal **s*: **aska-* ‘to sprinkle’, **hünüste-* ‘to smell’, **öskel-* ‘to kick’.

Final *š*: **koš* ‘double’, **tuš* ‘straight’, **öš* ‘revenge’.

Preconsonantal **š*: **auški* ‘lungs’, **geški-* ‘to tread’, **muški-* ‘to twist’.

The default development of **s* is to remain unchanged.

4.6.3. Shifts in the place of articulation

In Dagur initial and intervocalic *s* and *š* have been retained as such (apart from the cases discussed above that never developed *š* in Dagur). The same applies to postconsonantal position, except for a small group of words in which postconsonantal, or secondarily postconsonantal, *-s-* has developed into *č*: *xaič* < **kairsun* ‘scale’, *kimč* < **kimusun* ‘nail’, *nəkč* < **nugursun* ‘spinal marrow’, *məmč* < **möngersün* ‘cartilage’,³³⁸ *kolinč* < **kolaŋsa* ‘smell of sweat’. This may be inspired by neighbouring Solon, where a similar development has taken place systematically, e.g. Solon *əməččə* ‘ice’ < **əməkčə* < **əməksə*. However, this development is not very common in Dagur; postconsonantal *-s-* is generally preserved, and in some cases assimilated to preceding consonants, as in *xuls* ~ *xullə* < **kölesün* ‘sweat’ and *šuls* ~ *šull^w* < **silüsün* ‘saliva’.³³⁹

In Eastern Yugur initial and intervocalic *s* and *š* were preserved as well. In the Shirongol languages the distinction was also preserved, but in most dialects the old *š* was shifted towards a pronunciation more compatible with Chinese and/or

³³⁸ Thus Dag *čulč* ‘gall bladder’ may have come about in two ways: it may stem from the variant **sölsün* which developed postconsonantal *č* and then assimilated the initial, or it may stem from the variant **čölsün*, in which case the final *č* is the later development.

³³⁹ Moreover, the affrication is not even common in the Tungusic loanwords in Dagur, cf. Dag *xərše:l* ‘swan’ from a Tungusic form **hoksial*, which has become *öčče:l* in Solon.

Tibetan. It became retroflex *ʂ* in Dongxiang³⁴⁰, alveolopalatal *ʃ* in Dahejia Baoan, and palatal velar fricative *x* in Nantoq Baoan.³⁴¹ In Mongghul we see mostly *ʃ* and occasionally *ʂ*, whereas in Mangghuer the reverse is the case.³⁴² The usual reflex is illustrated by the development of **sira* ‘yellow’: EYu *šara* ~ *šra*, MgrH *šira*, MgrM *šira*, BaoD *šira*, BaoÑ *xira*, Kgj *šira*, Dgx *šira*. In secondary preconsonantal position, retroflex *ʂ* is used in Mongghul and Baoan, rather than the default reflexes. Cf. the development of **sidün* ‘tooth’: EYu *šdän*, MgrH *šdä*. MgrM *ʂ(u)du*, BaoD *šduŋ*, BaoÑ *šdöŋ*, Kgj *š(i)duŋ* ~ *šduŋ*, Dgx *šiduŋ*. We also find *ʂ* as a reflex of the non-palatal **s*, if it ends up in preconsonantal position, as in MgrH *šda:sə* < **sudasan* ‘vein’, BaoÑ *šge* < **süke* ‘axe’.

New palatalisations *s* > *ʃ* happened systematically in Dongxiang in words originally starting with **se-* or **sö-*, or with **se* in medial position. Mangghuer sporadically does the same in words starting with **se-*, and erratically in some others.³⁴³ Shared examples are MgrM *šiudiar*, Dgx *šiaužie* < **seüder* ‘shadow’; MgrM *šuarsī*, Dgx *šiensuŋ* < **sölsün* ‘gall bladder’; MgrM *šier*, Dgx *šien* < **seül* ‘tail’.³⁴⁴ This development does not establish a special relationship between these two languages; they share it due to shared sinification.

4.6.4. Affrication and weakening

Special developments of **s-* include the following. The tendency to assimilate initial *s-* to a following *-č-* is well-known from the central languages, and is also found in Dagur, but has hardly affected the QG languages. Cf. EYu *sažə-*, MgrH *sažə-*, Dgx *sžī-* < **saču-* ‘to sprinkle’ (see also **sečen* ‘smart’, **sočī-* ‘to startle’, **siüčī* ‘chisel’). Initial **s-* alternates with *Ø* in **sisegei* ‘felt’ ~ **isegei* ‘felt’, **sīsūn* ~ **īsūn* (?) ‘soot’, but it is unclear which are the older variants. Also compare the peculiar alternants in Dag *tusrə:-* ~ *susrə:-* ~ *surə:-* < **tüsür-* ‘to sprinkle’.

Initial **s-* has unpredictably become a strong affricate *c-* or a weak affricate *ʒ-* in some words in the QG languages. This is occasionally seen in the same word in several languages, as in EYu *zu:na*, MgrM *zono*, BaoÑ *zina* < **sona* ‘bee/gadfly’, but usually only in a single language, e.g. MgrM *zaixan* < **saikan* ‘beautiful’, BaoD *zetər* < **seüder* ‘shadow’, BaoÑ *cəbəcə* < **siüčī* ‘chisel’, BaoÑ *cīme* < **süme*

³⁴⁰ There are a few exceptions, e.g. Dgx *šičə-* < **hiče-* ‘to be ashamed’, which should have had *š-*, and Dgx *šigəi-* < **siğai-* ‘to look’, which should have had *ʂ-*.

³⁴¹ Intervocalic and postconsonantal **š* (as in **kosiun* ‘beak’, **tübsin* ‘even’) result in BaoÑ *-š-*. In BaoX *x* also occurs medially, e.g. *éxə* < **hesi* ‘handle’.

³⁴² It is not entirely clear what triggers the less common reflex to appear in Mongghul and Mangghuer. In Mongghul *ʂ* is often found preceding *u* or a consonant. It is more common in the Narin Guol data. In Mangghuer *ʂ* is normal even preceding **i*. Although there are words such as *šida-* < **šīta-* ‘to burn’, *š-* is more commonly the result of a modern palatalisation of *s-*.

³⁴³ In MgrM *sogodi-* < **söged-* ‘to kneel’, *soni* < **söni* ‘night’, *sunī-* < **söne-* ‘to extinguish’ **ö* had apparently become *o*, which prevented the palatalisation found in Dongxiang. Mangghuer palatalisations of **s* not found in Dongxiang include *š(i)gə-* < **saki-* ‘to wait’, *š(i)me* < **süme* ‘temple’.

³⁴⁴ BaoD *šiančix*, BaoGt *šančī* ~ *šančī* ‘tail’ (with dim. suffix) may owe their *š-* to assimilation to the following *-č-*.

‘temple’, Kgj *cer* < **seül* ‘tail’. The scarcity of examples and the erratic distribution make it hard to determine the historical background of this phenomenon³⁴⁵; the data are certainly insufficient to reconstruct separate consonants **c* and **ʒ* even for Proto Shirongol. The *c*- and *ʒ*- in QG languages cannot be connected to the depalatalised Khalkha affricates *c* and *ʒ*, except in one case: EYü *zuğul*- ‘to pull out’ corresponds to Ord *zuğul*- and SH *juqul*-, which also occurs with *s*- in Middle Mongol and modern languages.

In the Monguor languages medial **s*- has often become -*ʒ*-, which seems to function as the new weak counterpart of **s*.³⁴⁶ This development is not entirely predictable, but much like in the case of **b*- > *p*- and Ø- > *h*- it may be an attempt to fill some gaps in the system of strength oppositions.

The reflex -*ʒ*- is conspicuous in the many lexemes with the ending -*sUn*, such as MgrH *fuzu*, *szu* < **usun* ‘water’, but cf. also *szaga*- < **hasag*- ‘to ask’, *szargu* < **esergü* ‘opposite’, MgrM *puza* < **basa* ‘also’. In Mangghuer (and occasionally in some dialects of Mongghul), the same phenomenon can be seen in the treatment of intervocalic -*ʒ*- (from earlier **š*) and -*ś*- (more recently palatalised from **s*). Examples: *qəʒər*- (< **qaʒəl*-) < **gasil*- ‘to turn sour’, *quzu* (< **qoʒu*) < **kosün* ‘beak’, *kuʒier* (< **kośer*) < **köser* ‘floor’. The emergence of weak counterparts to the strong sibilants *s ʒ ś* makes sense as an attempt to integrate them into the system of strength oppositions. That the weak counterparts are affricates rather than weak fricatives is perhaps simply due to the fact that *ʒ* and *ś* were already well established as reflexes of CM **j*.³⁴⁷

4.6.5. Syllable-final developments

Word-final **-š* is found in Turkic loanwords, in which it may represent original Turkic -*š*, as in **kaš* ‘jade’, **koš* ‘double’, **tuš* ‘straight’, **jemiš* ‘fruit’, or original -*č*, as in **kerbiš* ‘brick’, **öš* ‘revenge’.³⁴⁸ Apart from these cases (not all listed in the comparative supplement) which are attested in Middle Mongol, there have been later loans in individual languages.

In the central languages final -*š* is often changed > -*s*; it is most often preserved in Kalmuck. The QG languages preserve the -*š* in the few words that survive, although most Shirongol languages use an epenthetic vowel (see **koš* ‘double’, **tuš* ‘straight’). The later Turkic borrowing **ta:š* ‘stone’, attested in

³⁴⁵ In case of Dgx *cira*- ~ *sira*- < **tasura*- ‘to break (intr)’ the *c* actually stems from *t* + *s* after devoicing and loss of the first syllable vowel.

³⁴⁶ Poppe (1955:120) already noticed the distribution of Monguor medial -*s*- and -*ʒ*-.

³⁴⁷ Strictly speaking, *ʒ* (from **r*) exists in native Mangghuer words, and would have been available as the weak counterpart of *ʒ*; *z* and *ʒ* do not occur at all.

³⁴⁸ In the Muqaddimat al-Adab both these words actually retain -*č*, due to ongoing Turkic influence in this variety of Middle Mongol. There is no need to reconstruct the Mongolic words with -*č*. The Arabic script makes it clear that no final vowel was added. In the documents in Chinese script syllable-final -*š* can not be distinguished from the syllable -*ši*. It will be assumed here that these words existed in CM, although the Middle Mongol and modern instances may be due to separate borrowing events.

Eastern Yugur and all of Shirongol, behaves the same as the older cases of *-š: EYu *taš*, MgrH *taš*, MgrM *taši*, BaoŃ *taš(i)*, Kgj *tʰaši*, Dgx *taši*.

Word-final -s is also found in Turkic loanwords, in which it represents Turkic -s, as in the Wanderwort **bars* ‘tiger’, -š, as in **ulus* ‘people’³⁴⁹, or -z, as in **boas* ‘pregnant’, **böš* ‘textile’. Well attested native examples are mostly plurals of nouns and pronouns in -s.

Final -s developed into -r (or -rʷ) in Dag *ɔlur* < **ulus* ‘people’, *burʷ* < **böš* ‘fabric’. In Eastern Yugur and Shirongol *-s is preserved, usually with an epenthetic vowel in the latter. The development of **böš* ‘textile’ is as follows: EYu *pös*, MgrH *bos*, MgrM *bosi*, Kgj *bəsi*, Dgx *bosi*. Innovative pronouns using the plural ending -s feature epenthetic vowels in the same dialects. They include EYu *ta.s* ‘you (pl.)’ (based on **ta*), *buda.s* ‘we (incl.)’ (based on **bida*), MgrM *da.sī* ‘we’ (based on **bida*), *gan.sī* ‘they’ (based on **irgen*); BaoŃ *ər.sə* ‘we’, BaoX *o.sə* ‘we’, Kgj *urū.sī*, *u.sī* ‘they’ (based on **öer-* ‘self’), Dgx *hə.s.la* ‘they’ (based on *hə* ‘s/he’ of unknown origin).³⁵⁰

In verbs the situation is different. There are no native verbs in *-š, but verbs ending in -s are frequent, e.g. **bos-* ‘to rise’, **debis-* ‘to spread’, **emüs-* ‘to wear’, **ges-* ‘to melt’, **nīs-* ‘to fly’, **öles-* ‘to be hungry’, **ös-* ‘to grow’. Forms like Dgx *bayasu-* < **bayas-* ‘to rejoice’ show that the added vowel is not simply an epenthetic vowel (which would have been *i*), but that it, at least in some cases, is the connective vowel *U* which has become part of the stem.

Preconsonantly -s- and -š- are harder to distinguish, because in some languages *s* has occasionally developed into *š* secondarily, as in Kalm *iškly* < **isküley* ‘sour’, *iškä* < **isegei* ‘felt’. Unlike final *-š, preconsonantal -š- also occurs in a number of Mongolic words, including **auški* ‘lungs’, **geški-* ‘to tread’, **muški-* ‘to twist’³⁵¹. Preconsonantal -s- occurs in **aska-* ‘to sprinkle’³⁵², and possibly in **iskir-* ‘to whistle’, **kaskir-* ‘to shout’, and **öskel-* ‘to kick’³⁵³. As in final position, the words that occur with an alternation between -s- and -d- (such as **hedke-* ~ **heske-* ‘to cut’³⁵⁴) never appear with -š-, so that modern languages have either the -d or the -s.

Dagur shows the most regular picture: *aurkʷ* < **auški* ‘lungs’, *gərʷkʷ* < **geški-* ‘to tread’, *mərʷkʷ* < **muški-* ‘to twist’. The reflex in Eastern Yugur is usually -š-, and the Shirongol languages feature -š-, -s-, or -ʈ- which may be followed by an epenthetic vowel, as in **geški-* ‘to step on’: EYu *kəšgə-*, MgrH *gišgi-*, MgrM *kəšgi-*, BaoD *kəšigə-*, Kgj *kerki-* ~ *keki-*, and Dgx *qišgiəu* < **geški.ür* ‘stairs’.

³⁴⁹ Unlike in **koš* and **tuš* mentioned above, no Mongolic variant with -š is recorded for **ulus*.

³⁵⁰ Dongxiang also has some petrified plurals in -s (the productive plural is now -la) which do not feature the epenthetic vowel: *kielie.s* ‘news’, *fugie.s* ‘the elderly generation’, *kəwa.s*, *kəwa.s.la* ‘children’, Dgx *oči.s.la* ‘daughters’ (cf. **kelen*, **yeke*, **köbeün*, **ökin*). As in the case of the initial consonant clusters with *s-*, this may be a matter of interpretation. Liu (1981:16) has *kəwosī* ‘children’ but describes the final -ī as optional.

³⁵¹ Also in HY *bišlaq* (bi-shi-la-hei), Kh *byaslaq* ‘cheese’ (also of Turkic origin).

³⁵² Derivations with the suffix -skA never develop *š* either (cf. **haniska*, **eŋgeske*).

³⁵³ In these cases not enough forms, or contradictory forms, are attested. Words like **iskir-* ‘to whistle’ are likely to undergo onomatopoeic changes.

³⁵⁴ Cf. **deled-* ~ **deles-* ‘to beat’, **eüd-* ~ **eüs-* ‘to arise’, **ödken* ~ **ösken* ‘thick’.

In Dagur, preconsonantal *-s-* also becomes *-r-*, but when there is another *r* in the word, the last *r* tends to be dissimilated to *l*, as in **daurkul* (< **daurkur*) < **debis.ker* ‘mattress’. In Eastern Yugur and Shirongol preconsonantal *s* is generally left unchanged, but it may be provided with an epenthetic vowel or metathesized, cf. EYu *sukel-*, *sgöl-*, BaoD *galə-*, BaoÑ *sgel-*, Kgj *siger-* ~ *sge-* < **öskel-* ‘to kick’; EYu *sqa-*, MgrH *saga-*, BaoÑ *asga-* ~ *aḡsa-* < **aska-* ‘to sprinkle’. Epenthetic vowels are also used in derived stems such as Dgx *žiausiku* < **debis.kü* ‘mattress’.

4.7. Development of CM **m*

4.7.1. Default (non-shift)

CM **m* was allowed in all positions in the word.

Initial: **marta-* ‘to forget’, **mikan* ‘meat’, **modun* ‘tree’, **mören* ‘river’, **muški-* ‘to twist’.

Intervocalic: **aman* ‘mouth’, **emüne* ‘front’, **imaan* ‘goat’, **kimusun* ‘nail’, **naïman* ‘eight’, **sumun* ‘arrow’, **temeen* ‘camel’.

Postconsonantal: **kormaï* ‘hem’, **ölmei* ‘sole’, **sormusun* ‘eyelash’, **teermen* ‘mill’, **jarma* ‘groats’.

Final: **em* ‘medicine’, **kadum* ‘spouse’s family’, **kurim* ‘banquet’, **sam* ‘comb’, **tulum* ‘leather bag’.

Preconsonantal: **amta-* ‘to taste’, **dumda* ‘centre’, **kamčui* ‘sleeve’, **kimda* ‘cheap’, **umdaas-* ‘to be thirsty’, **umta-* ‘to sleep’.

Except in final position CM **m* is quite stable in all Mongolic languages. Some modern variation between **m* and **b* reflects a prehistoric correlation between the two. Cases such as the pronoun **bi* ‘I’, which has the genitive **minu*, show that *m* can be due to secondary nasalisation. In other alternations, such as **tebene* ~ **temene* ‘packing needle’ the form with **b* may be due to secondary loss of nasality.

The peripheral languages do not provide clues about spellings such as Written Mongol *kümün* ‘person’, *keme-* ‘to say’, *qamiya* ‘where’ which are assumed to be based on a prehistoric correlation between **m* and **p*. In case of ‘person’ the peripheral languages supports the CM reconstruction **küün* ‘person’. The verb ‘to say’ is represented by **ge-*, i.e. a form weakened and shortened from an intermediate **kee-*. The question word ‘where’ occurs as **kaa-*.

4.7.2. Syllable-final developments

Word-final *-m* is preserved in Dagur and Eastern Yugur, most of Mongghul and Baoan. In Mangghuer, Kangjia and Dongxiang, *-m* was replaced by *-n* or *-ŋ*, as in MgrM *an*, Kgj *an* < **em* ‘medicine’, MgrM *qurəŋ*, Dgx *guruŋ* < **kurim* ‘banquet’, MgrM *saŋ*, Kgj *san*, Dgx *saŋ* < **sam* ‘comb’. This development took place three times separately. In Kangjia it was relatively recent, as shown by the fact that the secondary sequence *-an* in *an* ‘medicine’ and *san* ‘comb’ did not change into *-ɔ*, as did the CM words primarily ending in **-an*.

The assimilation of preconsonantal $m > n$ before dentals and palatals had already started prehistorically in words such as **dumda* ‘centre’, **kamčui* ‘sleeve’, **umdaas-* ‘to be thirsty’, **umta-* ‘to sleep’. This development has now affected other words, both in Dagur and in the QG languages, including the dialects that have no problem in pronouncing word-final *-m*. The following examples include some cases of secondarily preconsonantal *m*. Before dentals and palatals this results in *n* or η , e.g. Dag *kʷand* < **kimda* ‘cheap’, EYu *köndörge* < **kömüldürge* ‘breast strap’, MgrM *xaytu* < **kamtu* ‘together’, EYu *nanda* ~ *danda*, MgrM *naŋda* ~ *daŋda* < **namada* ‘(to) me’. Preceding gutturals it results in η , e.g. Dag *əŋkʷ-*, MgrH *χaŋgu-* < **emkü-* ‘to hold in the mouth’, BaoGt *fəŋgi* ~ *hoŋgi* < **hümekei* ‘smelly’, Dgx *čiauŋgu-* < **temgü-* ‘to gather’.

In Eastern Yugur the labiality of the preconsonantal *-m-* has been preserved in the form of a postconsonantal ‘echo labial’, as in *neŋgwen* (< **nemgwen*) < **nimgen* ‘thin’, *ceŋgwen* < **čimegen* ‘marrow’, *eŋgwen* < **emegen* ‘elderly woman’, *taŋgwa* < **tamaga* ‘seal’.³⁵⁵

4.8. Development of CM **n*

4.8.1. Default (non-shift)

CM **n* probably occurred in all positions in the word. However, no Mongolic words with postconsonantal *-n-* seem to have survived in the QG languages.³⁵⁶ In initial and medial positions **n* tends to remain unchanged. In final position it has undergone some Chinese-inspired changes, as well as elisions for morphological rather than phonological reasons. Some nouns only ended in **n* in part of their paradigm, and the **n* in these words is traditionally called ‘unstable’.

Initial: **naran* ‘sun’, **nere* ‘name’, **nidün* ‘eye’, **noitan* ‘wet’, **nüken* ‘cave’.

Intervocalic: **ene* ‘this’, **hinie-* ‘to laugh’, **hünigen* ‘fox’, **konün* ‘sheep’, **sine* ‘new’. **una-* ‘to fall’.

Final (stable *-n*): **belen* ‘ready’, **hon* ‘year’, **ken* ‘who’, **küün* ‘person’.

Final (unstable *-n*): **hüsün* ‘hair’, **naran* ‘sun’, **sidün* ‘tooth’, **tosun* ‘fat’.

Preconsonantal: **andagar* ‘oath’, **aŋjasun* ‘plough’, **höndür* ‘high’, **jančī-* ‘to pound’, **kündü* ‘heavy’.

Except in final position CM **n* is quite stable in all Mongolic languages. CM **n* is susceptible to dissimilation if there is an **m* in the vicinity, as in EYu *lɔm* < **nom* ‘book’, MgrH *lumo:n* < **noman* ‘mole’, BaoŃ *eməla* < **emüne* ‘front’, Kgj *mila* <

³⁵⁵ This is also seen in loanwords from Amdo Tibetan, such as EYu *namka* ~ *naŋkwa* ‘heaven’ (Lit. Tibetan *nam-mkha*). In Amdo itself echo labials are also found. Echo labials can also be triggered by a preconsonantal *b* or merely a rounded vowel. In Eastern Yugur and Mongghul this occurs occasionally, in Ordos frequently (see **jabka-* ‘to get lost’, **sibkara-* ‘to be squeezed out’, **ugaa-* ‘to wash’, **ungasun* ‘wool’).

³⁵⁶ There are a few native verbs with the sequence *-rn-*, cf. Written Mongol *örni-* ‘to grow’, *sarni-* ‘to scatter’, *torni-* ‘to grow’. EYu does have *tarnə* < **tarni* ‘incantation’ (from Sanskrit *dhāraṇī*).

**mīnaa* ‘whip’. There are some cases of **n > l* in other environments, such as the very widespread case **nabčīn* ‘leaf’. Metathesis is also seen especially when **m*, or **r* or **l*, are near, as in **könerge* ‘yeast’, **kulugana* ‘mouse’.

4.8.2. Syllable-initial developments

In isolated cases, initial *n-* has become *> m-* without explanation, as in EYu *mulqa* < **nilka* ‘tender’, *mučuğuŋ* < **ničügün* ‘naked’, BaoD *musi-* ~ *məs-* < **nis-* ‘to fly’.³⁵⁷

Intervocalic *-n-* that ends up in preconsonantal position may shift to *-m-* as well, as in Dag *sums* < **sünesün* ‘soul’, BaoD *homsuŋ* < **hünesün* ‘ash’.³⁵⁸ This development is not carried through systematically.

4.8.3. Syllable-final developments

When discussing the modern reflexes of final **-n*, it has to be realised that there are two kinds of stems involved, those with stable *-n* and those with unstable *-n*. These two *n*’s are phonetically identical but behaved differently in morphology. This has led to different word shapes in Shirongol.

Among the nouns with final *-n*, the overwhelming majority have unstable *-n*. Common nouns with unstable *-n* drop it before certain case endings and keep it before others (see Poppe 1955:166-170).³⁵⁹ A handful of examples: **aman* ‘mouth’, **amīn* ‘life’, **čīkīn* ‘ear’, **čīsūn* ‘blood’, **halagan* ‘palm of the hand’, **hekin* ‘head’, **morīn* ‘horse’, **nidün* ‘eye’, **usun* ‘water’.

All basic numerals (except **koyar* - QG languages **koar* ‘two’) are nouns with unstable *-n*. In case of the numerals there is a functional difference, the *-n* typically appears in attributive usage, and the *n*-less form in counting.

Stable *-n* is an integral part of the stem.³⁶⁰ The final *-n* of adjectives is nearly always stable³⁶¹; examples: **belen* ‘ready’, **kalaun* ‘hot’, **sirüün* ‘coarse’. A small group of nouns ends in stable *-n*, including **emegen* ‘old woman’, **hon* ‘year’, **kaan* ‘ruler’, **küün* ‘person’, **mören* ‘river’, **noyan* ‘official’, **ökin* ‘girl’, and words ending in the diminutive *-kAn*.

In the central languages these categories persist.³⁶² In Dagur the two shapes of the numerals are still distinguished, but the paradigmatic alternation *n ~ Ø* in the

³⁵⁷ In the verb ‘to fly’ this change is present in all of Shirongol except Mongghul.

³⁵⁸ Compare Kalm *üms* < **hünesün* ‘ash’, *küms* < **künesün* ‘provisions’, *süms* < **sünesün* ‘soul’.

³⁵⁹ So the stem variant with *-n* can be seen as a kind of oblique stem, similar to the (often irregular) oblique stems of pronouns, which also end in *-n*.

³⁶⁰ Even stable *-n* may be removed from the stem before some inflectional and derivational suffixes. Examples include the plural ending *-d* and the possessive adjective suffix *-tU*. Adjectives lose their *-n* before the diminutive *-kAn*.

³⁶¹ The frequency of stable *-n* in adjectives has probably caused the development of CM **katau* ‘hard’ into Shirongol **kataun*, and **kündü* ‘heavy’ into Monguor *kundun*.

³⁶² Sometimes the modern languages disagree about the status of *-n* in a given word, which means that words can be transferred to the other category. CM **oran* ‘place’ has stable *-n* judging from its presence in Ordos and Monguoric, but has unstable *-n* in Khalkha. Moreover, words without final *-n* may develop one. In case of **salaa* ‘branch’, **siree*

common noun was abolished. In the languages of the southern periphery the two types have only left some traces in the sense that stable and unstable *-n* have resulted in different developments in several languages, which are only partly phonetically determined. Given that the QG languages do not provide new insights in this regard, and many nouns have in fact changed categories, the distinction between stable and unstable *-n* has not generally been indicated in the reconstructions.

In Dagur stable *-n* is retained, and unstable *-n* is lost.

In Eastern Yugur stable *-n* survives, and unstable *-n*'s have also been made stable, i.e., made into an integral part of the stem, as in EYu *orɯn* < **ereün* 'chin', *ni:n* < **ünien* 'cow', *šu:n* < **sibaun* 'bird'. The *-n* is retained before all case endings. The numerals (except 'one') were also generalised in their shape with *-n*, and the shorter forms have become extinct.³⁶³

In Proto Shirongol the distinction between stable and unstable *-n* still existed. In modern Shirongol we can see different solutions in the Monguor languages on the one hand, and the Baoanic group on the other.

The Monguor languages eliminated unstable *-n* from virtually all noun stems with unstable *-n*. However this is not a sound law, but is related to a reanalysis of forms in the case paradigm. This may have started with the reinterpretation³⁶⁴, perhaps as early as in Proto Shirongol, of genitive/accusatives like *morin-i* as *mori-ni* '(of) the horse' (from **morin*). Many words feature an *n* in inflected case forms, cf. Mongghul:

nara < **naran* 'sun' > *naran-də* 'in the sun'
ude < **eüden* 'door' > *uden-də* 'at the door'
nudu < **nüdün* 'eye' > *nudun-də* 'in the eye'

Although in these instances these nouns appear with the *-n* lost in the nominative, this is not always the case. Some words that are known to have had *-n* appear without it, e.g. *morə-də* 'on the horse' (from **morin*, and words that do not have *-n* elsewhere, appear with it, e.g. *saran-də* 'to the moon' (from **sara*).³⁶⁵ Therefore such inflected forms do not have any value for reconstruction.

'table', only Khalkha added an *-n* to the declension. For other disagreements among central languages cf. **toa* 'number', **hötü* 'maggot', **kegesün* 'spoke'. The reverse development, unexpected loss of stable *-n*, has occurred in **juljagan* 'animal young', which had *-n* in Middle Mongol, but now only retains it in Eastern Yugur.

³⁶³ As in the common noun, there are derivational suffixes before which the 'stabilized' *-n* of numerals is removed, e.g. the distributive *harβa:d* 'ten each' < *harβan* < **harban* 'ten'.

³⁶⁴ As Janhunen 2010 suggests, the Turkic accusative **-nI* may have played a role in the development of this suffix shape. Similar convergence of suffixes can be seen in the instrumental/comitative (Salar *-la*, *-lanə* < Turkic **bilän*; Mongghul *-la*, Dongxiang *-lə* < **lUA*), and in the conditional (Salar *-sa* < Turkic; *-sA* in Eastern Yugur and Shirongol < **AsU*).

³⁶⁵ Cf. also *xana-n-sa* 'from everyone' from Tibetan *ha-ne*. The nomen futuri also takes *-n* before case endings, both when it is used in word formation, e.g. *šda:gu-n-də* 'to the firewood' (**šitaa-ku*), as in participial use, e.g. *šgu-n-sa* 'from going' (**eči-kü* + **-sA*).

Baoan and Dongxiang tend to preserve both stable and unstable *-n* in all types of nominal stems. In Dongxiang it is preserved as *-n* after *ə/e* and *i*, and as *-ŋ* after *a*, *o*, *u*.

All Shirongol languages agree with Eastern Yugur on the numerals 3-10, the decades, 100, and 1000. These all end in *-n*.³⁶⁶

In Kangjia, *-n* is lost under some circumstances. This is a purely phonetic development applied to the situation Kangjia inherited from its Baoan-like ancestor language. The loss of final *-n* (via nasalisation) affects the CM sequences *-an* and *-en*, but also words with secondary vowel lowering such as *iʃɔ* < **ebčiün* ‘chest’, *futɔ* < **hodun* ‘star’. In such cases the lowering is also attested in Baoan, and partly in Dongxiang, cf. BaoÑ *ebcaŋ* ‘chest’, *hə:taŋ* ‘star’. After high vowels *-n* is generally preserved unchanged, with some exceptions such as Kgj *sɯ* < **usun* ‘water’ (perhaps an old exception since it is also found in BaoÑ *sə*, Dgx *usu*). *-n* is also preserved in Kangjia after secondarily raised vowels, as in *nuḡun* < **nɔḡɔ:n* < **nogaan* ‘green’. Grammatical category is irrelevant for this Kangjia development, thus we also find *derɔ* < **dörben* ‘four’, *kɔ* < **ken* ‘who’, *dagɔ* < **ödken* ‘thick’.

CM	Dag	EYu	Mgr	Dgx	Kgj
<i>*ken</i> ‘who’	<i>xən</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>kien</i>	<i>kɔ</i>
<i>*hon</i> ‘year’	<i>xɔ:n</i>	<i>hɔn</i>	<i>fan</i>	<i>xoŋ</i>	<i>hɔn ~ huŋ</i>
<i>*ariün</i> ‘clean’	<i>aru:n</i>	<i>aru:n</i>	<i>arən</i>	<i>aruŋ</i>	<i>arun</i>
<i>*gurba(n)</i> ‘three’	<i>g^warəb & g^warbən</i>	<i>ḡurβan</i>	<i>gura:n</i>	<i>ḡuraŋ</i>	<i>ḡurɔ</i>
<i>*imaa(n)</i> ‘goat’	<i>ima:</i>	<i>ma:n</i>	<i>ima:</i>	<i>imaŋ</i>	<i>imɔ</i>

Given the phonological and morphological turmoil the peripheral languages have been subjected to, it is surprising these two categories are still recognizable. However, several words seem to have been transferred to another category. In Mongghul some words even developed against the general tendency to drop *-n*, e.g. MgrH *xaldan* < **altan* ‘gold’, EYu *örmön*, MgrH *rme:n* < **öreme* ‘skin on boiled milk’, MgrH *sme:n* < **süme* ‘temple’; in central Mongolic these words have unstable *-n* or no *-n* at all.

Some words probably lost final *-n* at an early stage, as they appear without it in all QG languages, e.g. **konin* ‘sheep’, **morin* ‘horse’, **möngün* ‘silver’.

The numeral **niken* ‘one’ also occurs without *-n*, whereas all other numerals in *-n* preserved their *-n* in EYu and all of Shirongol. This is interesting because all of these numerals originally had an enumerative form without *-n* and an attributive form with *-n* (this system persists in Dagur and central Mongolic). Except in the

³⁶⁶ In compound numerals, which are often reduced in other ways, there are *n*-less forms, e.g. BaoÑ *hara-yirsoŋ* ‘19’ < **harban yersün* ‘ten-nine’, *de’raray* ‘40’ < **dörben harban* ‘four tens’. In frequently used combinations, reductions may also occur, e.g. Dgx *haru du* (< *haroŋ udu*) ‘ten days’ < **harban üdür*. These shortened modern forms need not go back to the old attributive forms without *-n*.

case of ‘one’, the short forms of the numerals became extinct in the QG languages.³⁶⁷

The Shirongol languages have some further cases of loss of **n* not found in Eastern Yugur, such as **jürüken* ‘heart’, **kuruun* ‘finger’, **usun* ‘water’. In most cases the distribution of forms with and without *-n* is more erratic, as in the following *n*-less forms: EYu *ča:sə* < **čaasun* ‘paper’, *γɔsɔ* < **yosun* ‘tradition’, MgrH *žus* < **jüsün* ‘face’. BaoŃ *helge* < **heligen* ‘liver’, Kgj *nĩmu* < **numun* ‘bow’. Within Baoanic, Baoan dialects have *nasə* < **nasun* ‘age’, while Kangjia and Dongxiang preserve *-n*; Kangjia has *nudu* < **nidün* ‘eye’, while Baoan and Dongxiang preserve *-n*, BaoŃ *smə*, Kgj *sĩmu* disagree with Dgx *sumuŋ* < **sumun* ‘arrow’.

Incidentally *-ŋ* appears instead of *-n* in Eastern Yugur, as in *ğurdəŋ* < **kurdun* ‘fast’. More cases of this type occur in Mangghuer, partly shared with Mongghul, such as MgrM *baraŋ*, MgrH *varoŋ* < **baraun* ‘right’, and MgrM *qaluŋ*, MgrH *xaloŋ* < **kalaun* ‘hot’.³⁶⁸ However, this tendency is stronger in Mangghuer, e.g. *artaŋ* < **altan* ‘gold’, *purğaŋ* < **burkan* ‘Buddha’, *çağaŋ* < **čagaan* ‘white’, *çorbaŋ* < **čolban* ‘Venus’.

In some cases *-m* appears instead of *-n*, as in MgrH *xardam* < **altan* ‘gold’, BaoD *sgum* < **öekün* ‘fat’, BaoŃ *gəm* < **gün* ‘deep’.³⁶⁹

Preconsonantal *n* and *ŋ* are usually indistinguishable in Shirongol, as well as in Dagur (see below). In Eastern Yugur there are some cases of *ŋ* < *n*, e.g. *kũŋtə* < **kündü* ‘heavy’ and *oŋdor* < **höndür* ‘high’, which interestingly forms a minimal pair with *ondor* < **ene ödür* ‘today’.

4.8.4. Intrusive preconsonantal *n*-?

In Baoan a historically inexplicable *n*- tends to appear instead of an initial vowel preceding **d* or **j*. Only **hutasun* ‘thread’ deviates from this pattern, but it does have weak *-d*- in Shirongol. The added *n*- may be seen as a weak counterpart of the voiceless fricatives that may accompany the devoicing and loss of initial vowels followed by a strong consonant, e.g. MgrH *sɜu* < **usun* ‘water’. It may also be relevant that Baoan is known to occasionally replace the preradical *s* in Amdo Tibetan words by a nasal, also preceding weak consonants, as in BaoŃ *ndəm* ‘spider’, *ndewa* ‘village’, *mbawa* ‘frog’, *nɜaŋrsə* ‘honey’, corresponding to Literary Tibetan *sdom*, *sde-ba*, *sbal-ba*, *sbrang-rtsi*.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ Kgj *niχɔ*, which is used in addition to *niye*, probably is an extended form involving the diminutive suffix *-kAn*.

³⁶⁸ An unexpected *-ŋ* is present in all of Shirongol in the case of **katau* ‘hard’, probably inspired by the numerous adjectives ending in *-n*.

³⁶⁹ MgrH *nem*, BaoŃ *unem* < **üne* ‘price’ apparently involves an added *-n*. Spontaneous appearance of *-m* is less likely than that of *-n*, which can be motivated by analogy.

³⁷⁰ In some Tibetan loans the homorganic nasal alternates with *ʃ*, e.g. BaoŃ *ndewa* ~ *ʃdewa* ‘village’, *ŋgasəg* ~ *ʃgasəg* ‘spine’. Otherwise, however, the nasal and oral preradicals tend to retain separate nasal and oral pronunciations in Baoan, although the exact pronunciation is varied. Tibetan oral preradicals do not normally correspond to nasal dialect pronunciations. What is puzzling here is that *s* and the other oral preradicals have merged phonetically in the neighbouring Amdo dialects, for instance resulting in *h*- in Labrang.

CM	BaoD	BaoGt	BaoÑ	BaoX	Kgj
* <i>eüden</i> ‘door’	<i>ndaŋ</i>	<i>dɔŋ</i> ³⁷¹	<i>ndaŋ</i>	---	<i>idɔ</i>
* <i>ide-</i> ‘to eat’	<i>nda-</i>	<i>ndä-</i>	<i>nde-</i>	<i>ndə-</i>	<i>ide-</i>
* <i>uda-</i> ‘to be late’	<i>nda-</i>	<i>nda-</i>	<i>nda:-</i>	---	<i>uda-</i>
* <i>hutasun</i> ‘thread’	<i>ndasuŋ</i>	<i>ndasuŋ</i>	<i>ɣdasəŋ</i>	---	<i>(n)dasun</i>
* <i>üdür</i> /* <i>ödür</i> ‘day’	<i>udər</i>	<i>udər</i>	<i>udər</i>	<i>ndor</i>	<i>udər</i>
* <i>üje-</i> ‘to see’	<i>nɣiə-</i>	<i>nɣä-</i>	<i>uɣi-</i>	<i>nɣə-</i>	<i>uɣe-</i>
* <i>hüjüür</i> ‘tip’	<i>uɣir</i>	---	<i>uɣir</i>	<i>nɣor</i>	<i>uɣir</i>
* <i>ejen</i> ‘master; s/he’ ³⁷²	<i>nɣaŋ</i>	<i>ɣɔŋ</i>	<i>aɣaŋ ~ ɵɣaŋ</i>	<i>nɣaŋ</i>	<i>iɣɔ</i>

Interestingly Mongghul has the last word as *nɣe:n* ‘master; self (reflexive pronoun)’.³⁷³ The initial nasal in MgrH *nɣoŋ*, BaoÑ *nɣoŋ ~ ɣoŋ* ‘hundred’, normally reconstructed **jaun*, has a different origin. Rather than replacing an initial vowel, the *n* originates from the numerals 3-9 often preceding it. Thus **dörben jaun* ‘400’ appears in Xiazhuang Baoan as *deri nɣoŋ* rather than **derəŋ ɣoŋ*. The only two units that do not end in *-n* in Baoan, **niken* ‘one’, which lost its *-n*, and **koar* ‘two’ which never had *-n*, now also appear with it, as in Xiazhuang Baoan *nəgi nɣoŋ* ‘100’, *guari nɣoŋ* ‘200’. The modern forms are also analysed differently; compare the Xiazhuang form *guari nɣoŋ* to Ñantoq Baoan *guar nɣoŋ*, Ganhetan Baoan *guarAn jün*.³⁷⁴

As the unexplained preconsonantal *n* of Baoan incidentally corresponds to variants with unexplained preconsonantal *-r-* in Mongghul, it cannot be entirely excluded that they go back to an old preconsonantal consonant, cf. MgrH *rɣu:r* < **hüjüür* (? **üjüür*) ‘tip’, Hongyazi Mongghul *ɣda-* < **ide-* ‘to eat’, Mongghul *rde*, Hongyazi *ɣda* < **eüden* ‘door’, Danma *rɣe-* < **üje-* ‘to see’.

A less frequent and apparently unrelated type of intrusive preconsonantal *n* can be found in words like BaoGt *ɣundun* < **jeüdüin* ‘dream’, Dgx *ɣawaŋ ~ ɣaŋwaŋ* < **jabaan* ‘insipid’, *nudun ~ nuɣdun* < **nidün* ‘eye’, Kgj *dɔlɔ ~ danlɔ* < **dolaan* ‘seven’. The appearance of the preconsonantal nasal in these cases seems to be a kind of reduplication of the word-final consonant.

4.9. Development of CM **ŋ*

CM **ŋ* is restricted to syllable-final positions (preconsonantal and word-final). There is an unexplained early alternation with **g* in a few words, as in **gagča ~ *gaŋča* ‘alone’.

³⁷¹ The *n-* is present in BaoGt *fgindɔŋ* ‘gate’ < **yeke eüden* ‘big door’.

³⁷² The original meaning ‘master, owner’ is retained in Kangjia. In the Baoan dialects it has come to function as a personal pronoun.

³⁷³ Mongghul *ŋgua:-* < **ugaa-* ‘to wash’ can be viewed as a similar case in another place of articulation.

³⁷⁴ As **jaun* ‘hundred’ is typically used in combination with other numerals, it is not entirely clear whether these forms reflect different analyses of the speakers of different dialects, or are merely different notations by the describing linguists.

Final: **deleŋ* ‘udder’, **dүүreŋ* ‘full’, **kašaŋ* ‘lazy’, **olaŋ* ‘bellyband’.

Preconsonantal: **hoŋgu-* ‘to break wind’, **höŋkeri-* ‘to roll’, **köŋdei* ‘hollow’, **maŋlai* ‘forehead’, **möŋgün* ‘silver’, **taŋlai* ‘palate’.

CM **oŋsi-* ‘to read’ has such diverse modern forms (with *-m-* instead of the *-ŋ-* among other things) that it is hard to decide which consonant should be reconstructed as the original one.

In the QG languages only Eastern Yugur and the Monguor languages preserve the distinction between final *-n* and *-ŋ*, e.g. in the words **buluŋ* ‘corner’, **deleŋ* ‘udder’, **dogalaŋ* ‘limping’, **dүүreŋ* ‘full’, **jobalaŋ* ‘suffering’. In Dagur the two nasals tend to merge into *-n*.

In Bao **-ŋ* and **-n* generally merge into *-ŋ*. In Dongxiang both *-n* and *-ŋ* occur, mainly related to the preceding vowel (see under **-n* above).

4.10. Development of CM **l*

4.10.1. Default (non-shift)

In native words CM **l* is found in intervocalic, postconsonantal, final, and preconsonantal positions.

Intervocalic: **adali* ‘similar’, **hulaan* ‘red’, **dolia-* ‘to lick’, **jalau* ‘young person’, **olan* ‘many’, **öreele* ‘hobble’, **salaa* ‘branch’, **tülien* ‘firewood’.

Final: **emeel* ‘saddle’, **gal* ‘fire’, **gol* ‘river’, **huruul* ‘lip’, **köl* ‘foot’, **kudal* ‘lie’, **seül* ‘tail’, **tugul* ‘calf’, **übül* ‘winter’.

Preconsonantal: **alku-* ‘to step’, **hülde-* ‘to expel’, **ilga-* ‘to choose’, **malta-* ‘to dig’, **tülki-* ‘to push’, **jalgi-* ‘to swallow’.

The default development of **l* is to remain *l*.

Like **r* and the nasals **m* and **n*, **l* is susceptible to metathesis in words like **aral* ‘island’, **guril* ‘flour’, **hargal* ‘dried dung’. Whereas more than a single *r* per word is avoided in Dagur, it does not have similar problems with multiple *l*’s. Indeed, *r-l* sequences are often assimilated to *-ll-*; hence we find forms such as *kurul* ~ *kullʷ* ‘chestnut colour’ < **kürel* ‘bronze’, *ləllə:-* < **nerele-* ‘to name’, *duruld-* ~ *dullʷ-* < **düreldü-* ‘to trade’.

In Dagur *-l-* is inexplicably replaced by *-r-* in a number of words, including *širəm* < **silbi* ‘shin’, *urum* < **ölmei* ‘instep’, *šurkud-* < **silgüd-* ‘to shake’. The reverse also occurs (see 4.11.1.).

4.10.2. Syllable-initial developments

When initial **l* is encountered in native words, it is a secondary development of **n-* (see **nogta* ‘halter’, **nauka* ‘gum in the eyes’).

Intervocalic **l* is quite stable in all languages, as long as the vowel following it is not elided.

Postconsonantal **l* is most frequent in verbs formed with *-la-*, which are usually based on native nouns, cf. **bögle-* ‘to plug’, **čugla-* ‘to gather’.³⁷⁵ There are only some words with postconsonantal **l* which as yet can not be analysed, such as **manlai* ‘forehead’, **tanlai* ‘palate’, and **emlig* ‘untamed’. In Dagur these postconsonantal *l*’s may become *n* after a nasal consonant, as in central Mongolic. In Eastern Yugur and Shirongol *l* is usually preserved in this position, although some irregularities may occur (cf. **sam.la-* ‘to comb’).

4.10.3. Syllable-final developments

In Dagur final **-l* is normally preserved as such, but in a number of noun stems it becomes palatalised *-lʲ*, e.g. *galʲ* < **gal* ‘fire’, *kuʲ* < **köl* ‘foot’, *səuʲ* < **seül* ‘tail’. The palatality probably stems from the gen./acc. case suffix *i*:, although this leaves unexplained why not all similarly structured stems were affected (see also the Dagur development of **-r*).

In Eastern Yugur final *-l* is preserved as such. Within Shirongol, most of Mongghul and all of Baoan preserve it as well. In Narin Guol **-l* appears as *-r*, and may be elided, as in *ara:(r)* < **aral* ‘axle’. In Mangghuer **-l* merges with **r* in syllable-final position, as in *gar* < **gal* ‘fire’, *kuar* < **köl* ‘foot’. In Dongxiang **-l* usually becomes *-ŋ*, e.g. *furun* < **huruul* ‘lip’, *tuğun* < **tugul* ‘calf’.³⁷⁶ As with the other final consonants, the solutions in Kangjia are quite erratic. Loss of final *-l* is seen in *guru* < **guril* ‘flour’, *tuğu* < **tugul* ‘calf’, **l > r* is seen in *χar* < **gal* ‘fire’ and *kuar* < **köl* ‘foot’, yet other words have **l > n*, like *aran* < **aral* ‘island’³⁷⁷, or preserve **l* with an epenthetic vowel, *jile* < **jil* ‘calendar year’.

The verb **tail-* ‘to untie’ irregularly lost its *-l* in Baoanic as well as in Mangghuer, causing it to merge phonetically with **talbi-* ‘to put’ (which also developed irregularly) in Baoanic.

In verbs the situation in Mangghuer and Dongxiang is different in that *l* may be preserved by means of an epenthetic vowel. In Kangjia we find that **l* has become *-r*, or disappeared. The following list illustrates the different approaches of the three languages (some uncertain correspondences are omitted here).

MgrM	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
[<i>xorgo-</i>] ³⁷⁸	<i>hɔr-</i>	<i>xolu-</i>	<i>*haul-</i>	to run
<i>bar-</i>	<i>bɔr-</i>	<i>bolu-</i>	<i>*bol-</i>	to ripen
<i>pučar-</i>	---	<i>pužalu-</i>	<i>*bučal-</i>	to cook (intr)
<i>guder-</i>	<i>gudəle-</i>	<i>gožielu-</i>	<i>*ködel-</i>	to move

³⁷⁵ Others are based on foreign verbs, such as **čijla-* ‘to listen’ which may be from Chinese *tīng* (via Turkic).

³⁷⁶ The Longquan dialect has varied reflexes even within its diminutive corpus: *qay* < **gal* ‘fire’, *gurun* < **guril* ‘flour’, but *tuğu* < **tugul* ‘calf’, *daŋga* < **dangal* ‘clod’.

³⁷⁷ All deverbal nouns in *-dAl* appear with *-n* as well, e.g. Kgj *sadan* < **jasa-dal* ‘way of doing’.

³⁷⁸ MgrM *xorgo-* and *arərga-* are causatives. As these reflect CM **haulga-* and **arilga-* the *l* is strictly speaking preconsonantal. However, *l* before *g* results in MgrM *r* as well.

(continued)

MgrM	Kgj	Dgx	CM	
[<i>arərga-</i>]	---	<i>arulu-</i>	<i>*aril-</i>	to clear up
<i>zazər-</i>	<i>jeji-</i>	<i>zazulu-</i>	<i>*jañil-</i>	to chew
<i>guder-</i>	<i>kutaŋ- ~ kute</i>	---	<i>*kotel-</i>	to lead by the hand
<i>futar-</i>	<i>dər-</i>	<i>otolu-</i>	<i>*hogtal-</i>	to fell
<i>šidier-</i>	<i>eteŋ- ~ ete-</i>	<i>oćielu-</i>	<i>*otel-</i>	to age
---	<i>siŋeŋ- ~ sge-</i>	---	<i>*öskel-</i>	to kick

In some languages the development of preconsonantal **-l-* differs from that of word-final **-l*. The details depend on the language, and on the following consonant.

In Dagur and Eastern Yugur, and in most of Mongghul, it is preserved intact. Deviating developments include forms with nasals, such as Dag *ñɔmb-* < **ñilbu-* ‘to spit’³⁷⁹, and MgrH *manta-* < **malta-* ‘to dig’ and *santa* < **salta(ur)* ‘Muslim’. Other deviations involve unexpected *-r-*, such as Dag *šurkud-*, MgrH *širgudə-* < **silgüd-* ‘to shake’, MgrH *turgu-* < **tülki-* ‘to push’.³⁸⁰ The loss of preconsonantal *-l-* is also seen in Mongghul, e.g. *mutəla-* < **möltül-* ‘to take off’. Narin Guol Mongghul may have *-r-* or *Ø*, as in word-final position, as in *ara:ñi-* < **araljñi-* ‘to exchange’. The situation in Mangghuer is the same as in word-final position, so the normal reflex is *r*, as in *artaŋ* < **altan* ‘gold’, but occasionally *-l-* has disappeared completely, as in *çərbar ~ çubar* < **kilbar* ‘easy’, *zərkə- ~ zəkə-* (< **jalki-*) < **jalgi-* ‘to swallow’.

In Dongxiang, Baoan, and Kangjia preconsonantal **l* behaves differently from the word-final position. In Dongxiang it generally becomes *-n/-ŋ*, e.g. *antaŋ* < **altan* ‘gold’, *zəŋqəi-* (< **jalki-*) < **jalgi-* ‘to swallow’, but it may also disappear altogether. Several words feature variants such as *soŋgo ~ soğo* < **saulga* ‘bucket’, *haŋga ~ hağa* (< **halgar*) < **hargal* ‘dried dung’. In causatives derived from verb stems in **-l* like those listed above, alternations like *puzaluğa- ~ puzağa-* < **bučalga-* ‘to cook (tr.)’ occur, suggesting that awareness of the morphological structure blocked the change into **puzaŋga-*. Secondarily preconsonantal *-l-* may also result in *n/ŋ* or *Ø*, e.g. *haŋga* < **halagan* ‘palm of the hand’, *guği* < **kulagai* ‘thief’, *soği* < **solagai* ‘left side’, *şəŋki* < **silükei* ‘saliva’. The elided vowel was usually followed by **-k-* or **-g-*. Preceding dental and palatal consonants the reflex is *-n-*. There are only few clear examples for the sequence *-lb-*. In *zawari-* < **jalbari-* ‘to beg’ the *-l-* was lost³⁸¹, but the Dongxiang developments of other words, such as **kilbar* ‘easy’ and **nilbusun* ‘tear’, are diverse and difficult to evaluate historically.

³⁷⁹ Dag *xuns-* ‘to be hungry’, usually considered to derive from **öles-*, is puzzling, especially since the *-l-* is only secondarily preconsonantal. The etymology may be incorrect.

³⁸⁰ The development of syllable-final *-l-* > *-r-* is a normal development in Narin Guol Mongghul, but not in the other dialects.

³⁸¹ This is reminiscent of the development of in **talbi-* ‘to put’. However, this word seems to have lost its *-l-* in a much earlier stage, at least in Shirongol and in central Mongolic.

In Ĥantoq Baoan preconsonantal *-l-* is generally preserved. In Dahejia Baoan, *-n-* appears preceding dentals and palatals, but *-l-* remains preceding gutturals. Exceptions occur in the Baoan dialects. Dahejia Baoan preserved *-l-* in *altaŋ* < **altan* ‘gold’; reversely, BaoĤ developed *-n-* in *χandara-* < **kaltari-* ‘to slip’. Given that all Baoan dialects allow *l* to appear in syllable-final position, this can be viewed as a conditioned assimilation to the following consonant, rather than a general Chinese-inspired ‘simplification’.

Kangjia roughly follows the Dahejia Baoan pattern, with *-n-* preceding dental and palatal obstruents, e.g. *anda* < **alda* ‘fathom’, *ganjira-* < **galjau.ra-* ‘to go mad’. But as usual in Kangjia, there are exceptions, such as *borji-* < **böeljji-* ‘to vomit’. Preceding *s*, Kangjia has *r*, thus deviating from its closest relatives: Kgj *morsun* ~ *mösun*, BaoD *mi(n)šiu*, BaoĤ *melsoŋ*, BaoX *mənsu*, Dgx *mansuŋ*, DgxL *məsüŋ* < **mölsün* ‘ice’. If other consonants follow, *r* or *l* or *Ø* appears, without a clear system: Kgj *halğu-* < **alku-* ‘to step’, *turgu-* < **tülki-* ‘to push’.

CM **mölsün* ‘ice’ belongs to a small but interesting group of words that preserved some trace of the *-l-* in Shirongol as well as in Buriat and Khamnigan, but lost it altogether in Mongol proper, Kalmuck, and Eastern Yugur.³⁸² Among the few other surviving words in this group are **čaalsun* ‘paper’, **jilsun* ‘glue’, and **sölsün* ‘gall-bladder’.³⁸³ Only the latter preserved its *-l-* in Dagur and some dialects of Mongol proper.

4.10.4. Intrusive preconsonantal *-l-*?

In a handful of words, preconsonantal **l* appears unexpectedly. Junast notes the Eastern Yugur forms *łdeye-* < **itege-* ‘to believe’ and *łjür* < **učir* ‘reason’, in which the lateral fricative seems to be a by-product of the devoicing of the first syllable. The corresponding forms according to Bolčuluu are *həteye-* and *hčur*, with secondary *h-* but without lateral element.

The verb **jažil-* ‘to chew’ may have become **jaljal-* before resulting in the forms BaoGt *jinžäl-*, BaoX *janjal-*.

As similar explanations do not present themselves in the case of (Sanchuan) MgrM *jağarsı*, BaoĤ *žalğasəŋ* ‘fish’, these forms may be relics from a regionally preserved old form **jağalsun* or **jalğasun* (other languages suggest **jağasun*).

4.11. Development of CM **r*

4.11.1 Default (non-shift)

In native words CM **r* was allowed in intervocalic, final and preconsonantal positions.

³⁸² This development probably took place very early, and is one of the features that Eastern Yugur shares with Mongol proper rather than with Shirongol.

³⁸³ This handful of words should be distinguished from those whose preconsonantal *-l-* has been reconstructed for comparative purposes, but is actually absent from both Middle Mongol and Shirongol, e.g. **nalsun* ‘year (of age)’ (see Ramstedt 1957:75, 110).

Intervocalic: **bari-* ‘to hold’, **büri* ‘all’, **kuruun* ‘finger’, **naran* ‘sun’, **nere* ‘name’, **sirüün* ‘coarse’, **tere* ‘that’.

Final: **gaġar* ‘earth’, **ger* ‘house’, **kabar* ‘nose’, **mör* ‘road’, **(h)okar* ‘short’, **niür* ‘face’.

Preconsonantal: **hargal* ‘dung’, **irgen* ‘people’, **kirma-* ‘to shave’, **örgesün* ‘thorn’, **kurdun* ‘fast’, **kürje(g)* ‘spade’, **teermen* ‘mill’.

Intervocalic *r* is generally preserved, in syllable-final positions it may be changed or elided.

In Dagur, *-l-* appears instead of normal *-r-* for unknown reasons in a small number of words, such as *sulʷ* < **sür* ‘majesty’, *julum* ~ *jilim* < **jirim* ‘bellyband’, *sälək* < **serke* ‘castrated billy-goat’. For the reverse see 4.10.1. above.

4.11.2. Intervocalic developments

Like **l* (and the nasals **m* and **n*), **r* is prone to metathesis in words such as **gulir* ‘flour’, **aral* ‘island’. Dissimilation is common to avoid the occurrence of two *r*’s in a stem, cf. **hiroar* ‘bottom’, **hiröer* ‘blessing’.³⁸⁴ This is most carefully avoided in Dagur, which led to changes such as *šurkul* (instead of **šurkur*) < **čidkör* ‘demon’, *čärəl* (instead of **čärər*) < **čerig* ‘soldier’ (in these words one of the *r*’s developed from *d* and *g* respectively).³⁸⁵

In most QG languages, as well as in Dagur, intervocalic *-r-* (and the vowel following it) is elided in a number of trisyllabic (or longer) words, which typically also contain *-l-*. Examples include Dag *alġ-*, BaoÑ *alġa-*, Kgj *anġa-* < **aralġi-* ‘to exchange’; EYu *alġa-*, BaoÑ *alġa-*, Kgj *alġa-* < **arilġa-* ‘to clean’; EYu *baldu:l-*, MgrM *bərduga-*, both caus. forms of **barildu-* ‘to ignite (intr.)’; BaoÑ *keldə-*, Kgj *kandu-* < **kereldü-* ‘to quarrel’.³⁸⁶

4.11.3. Syllable-final developments

Word-final **-r* is retained in central Mongolic, Moghol, and Dagur, and also in Eastern Yugur, Mongghul³⁸⁷, Mangghuer, and all of Baoan, i.e., it is considered much less problematic than **-l* in the same position.

Preconsonantal **-r-* may disappear in Mongghul preceding dentals or palatals, e.g. *puġag* < **burčag*, *pudaġ* < **burtag* ‘filthy’.

³⁸⁴ Cf. the development of the instrument suffix *-Ur*, which tends to become *-Ul* when the stem contains an **r*: **čakī.ur* ‘lighter’, **barī.ul* ‘handle’, **tülki.ür* ‘key’ from **čakī-* ‘to light’, **barī-* ‘to hold’, **tülki-* ‘to push’.

³⁸⁵ It seems that Dagur further prefers to have the *r* precede the *l*, if they have to be in the same word, even if it makes the word etymologically less transparent, as in case of *kə:rəlč* (via **kə:lərč*) < **keeli-bči* ‘apron < belly-cover’, and *xəŋəlč* (via **xəŋərč*) < **helige-bči* ‘waistcoat < liver-cover’. Cf. also causatives like *narilka-* (instead of **narirka-*) < **narid-ka-* ‘to make fine’.

³⁸⁶ The trisyllabic forms may survive in the same modern languages as well.

³⁸⁷ Only Danma Mongghul features paragogic *i* after word-final and preconsonantal *r*, e.g. *timuri* < **temür* ‘iron’, *ġari* < **gar* ‘hand’, *murigu-* < **mürgü-* ‘to bow’.

In Dongxiang final **-r* is elided, as in *qa* < **gar* ‘hand’ (cf. *qaj* < **gal* ‘fire’), *gua* < **koar* ‘two’, *gie* < **ger* ‘house’, *qawa* < **kabar* ‘nose’. Only in compounds and frequently used word combinations, in which final *-r* in fact becomes intervocalic, Dongxiang manages to preserve it, as in *guar udu* < **koar üdür* ‘two days’, *gier ezen* < **ger ejen* ‘head of the household’. However, two other developments can be found. In the first *-ŋ* appears, as in the case of original **-l*, e.g. *nudun* < **nidüür* ‘pestle’; in the other we find *-əu*, as in the case of original **-g*, e.g. *mandəu* < **möndür* ‘hail’, *qışığəu* < **geškiür* ‘stairs’.

As usual, the situation in Kangjia is more chaotic. In some words *-r* is retained, as in *ɣar* < **gar* ‘hand’, *guar* < **koar* ‘two’. In others it was preserved with added epenthetic vowel. Yet others dropped *-r* altogether, such as *nəxgu* < **nöker* ‘friend’, *čimɔ* < **temür* ‘iron’. There are also cases of alternation, as in Kgj *binjir* ~ *binjiri* < **biljür* ‘bird’, *šivar* ~ *šive* < **sibar* ‘mud’, *ver* ~ *ve* ~ *veš* < **öber* ‘bosom’.

In Kangjia the final *-r* of verbs is preserved. In Dongxiang the final *-r* of verbs escapes elision by means of an epenthetic vowel, which may at least in part of the cases be the CM connective vowel *U*. This leads to Dongxiang forms such as *kuru* ~ *ku* < **kür* ‘to reach’, *qiri* < **gar* ‘to come out’, *nuru* < **nor* ‘to become wet’, *suru* < **sur* ‘to learn’, *şuru* ~ *şu* < **siür* ‘to sweep’.

In Dongxiang preconsonantal *-r* has been elided as thoroughly as in word-final position, e.g. *mata* < **marta* ‘to forget’ (cf. *manta* < **malta* ‘to dig’), *tağun* < **targun* ‘fat’, *tuma* < **turma* ‘turnip’. The same applies to secondarily preconsonantal *-r*, as in Dgx *zuğə* < **jürken* < **jürüken* ‘heart’, *taği* < **tarakai* ‘bald’. However, in some words **r* is represented by a nasal in Dongxiang³⁸⁸, e.g. *bəŋğə* < **bürge* ‘flea’; which also applies to secondarily preconsonantal *r*, as in *baŋgan* < **berigen* ‘sister-in-law’, Dgx *guŋğəi*, alongside *guği* < **korakai* ‘insect’, *wanlie*, alongside *olie* < **öreele* ‘one of a pair’. Since *n/ŋ* is the regular reflex of **l* these alternations may be due to some degree of confusion between *r* and *l* (as seen in Kangjia).

In extended stems of verbs originally ending in *-r*, Dongxiang may have variants with *r* and *Ø*, as in the causatives *qiriğa* ~ *qiğa* < **gar.ga* ‘to bring out’ and *suruğa* ~ *suğa* < **sur.ga* ‘to teach’. Cf. also *kutala* ~ *kurutala* < **kür.tele* ‘until’. One of the few things we know about the other Dongxiang dialects is that they preserve cases of both final and preconsonantal *r* which are lost in Suonanba, the only described dialect.³⁸⁹ These *r*-words are listed in the following table, which also includes Kangjia for comparison.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁸ This development occurred elsewhere in Kgj *ŋgusun* ~ *gusun* < **örgesün*, and seemingly in some Baoan forms of **irgen*, q.v.

³⁸⁹ Even in Suonanba, *-r* is not as intolerable as *-l*, in that a number of words do end in *-r*, e.g. *baər* ‘money’ (a loan from Turkic), and many Arabo-Persian words.

³⁹⁰ The Dongxiang data were compiled from Liu (1981:5, 8), Bökh & Čoyijungjab (1985: 28, 246). The Longquan dialect also has *fugiəri* < **hüker* ‘bovine’. Ma & Chen have words such as *fugiərəi* ‘bovine’, *oə* ‘horn’, *noə* ‘lake’, without marking them as ‘dialectal’ (the forms without *-r* are also listed). The original notations of *-r* have been left intact in this section, although both *ɹ* and the ‘rhotic’ element of *ə* can be analysed as the syllable-final allophone of */r/* without problem.

Suonanba	Wangjiaji	Sijiaji	Kangjia	CM	
<i>fugie</i>	<i>fugə</i>	<i>fugiəri</i>	<i>gər</i>	<i>*hüker</i>	bovine
<i>mata-</i>	<i>ma.ɿta-</i>	<i>mata-</i>	<i>marta-</i>	<i>*marta-</i>	to forget
<i>nu</i>	<i>nuə</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>nər</i>	<i>*niür</i>	face
<i>no</i>	<i>no.ɿ</i>	<i>no</i>	---	<i>*naur</i>	lake
<i>baŋgan</i>	<i>bəŋən</i>	---	<i>bergə</i>	<i>*berigen</i>	sister-in-law
<i>qa</i>	<i>qa.ɿ</i>	<i>qa</i>	<i>χar</i>	<i>*gar</i>	hand
<i>gua</i>	<i>guaə</i>	<i>gua</i>	<i>guar</i>	<i>*koar</i>	two
<i>ewə</i>	<i>uə, wo.ɿ</i>	---	---	<i>*(h)eber</i>	horn
<i>užu</i>	<i>užu.ɿ</i>	<i>užu</i>	<i>užir</i>	<i>*hüjüür</i>	tip
<i>guği ~ guŋgəi</i>	<i>gu.ɿgi</i>	<i>guği</i>	<i>ğurğei</i>	<i>*korakai</i>	insect
<i>gü.ɿga-</i>	<i>gü.ɿga-</i>	<i>gü.ɿga-</i>	<i>qarğa-</i>	<i>*kirga-</i>	to shave
<i>ciəgə</i>	---	---	---	<i>*tergen</i>	cart
<i>činəə</i>			<i>činaye</i>	<i>*činar</i>	day after tomorrow

In a few words *-r-* was preserved by changing the syllabification. The *-r-* in **gurban* ‘three’ was preconsonantal, but after **b* had become a semivowel, the syllables *ğur-waŋ* were reanalysed as *ğu-ruaŋ*, i.e. */ğu-roŋ/*. The same solution was chosen in **dörben* ‘four’, **harban* ‘ten’, and in *qaruğa* < **karbīga* < **kabirga* ‘rib’.³⁹¹

In Kangjia preconsonantal *-r-* may be preserved as such, or elided, as in word-final position. In some words *-r-* has been devoiced, or assimilated to the following consonant, leading to geminates, as in *aṛja* ~ *aṛja* < **arča* ‘cypress’, *kečče-* < **kerči-* ‘to cut’.

4.11.4. Intrusive preconsonantal *-r-*?

Preconsonantal *r*’s not found in Middle Mongol sources are documented in Eastern Yugur and most Shirongol dialects. However, these dialects only share the phenomenon as such. The *r*’s have various origins, and not a single instance is supported by all QG languages.

In Eastern Yugur intrusive *r*’s appear in reduced initial syllables preceding a strong consonant, as in *hərči:sən* < **hičesün* (?**hičöesün*) ‘willow’.

Mongghol has some cases with unexplained *-r-* preceding a weak consonant, as in *rde:* < **idee* ‘pus’ (other cases are listed above under intrusive *-n*).

Most cases in Mangghuer are ‘echo consonants’, as they appear in words that already had a syllable ending in *r*. Examples include *kurmər-* < **kömeri-* ‘to put upside down’, *qorğörna* < **kulugana* ‘mouse’, *tierbər-* < **teberi-* ‘to embrace’.³⁹²

In BaoGt *murtuŋ*, Kgj *murtun* < **modun* ‘wood’ the *-r-* precedes a strong *-t-* which is itself unexplained.³⁹³

³⁹¹ Longquan dialect has *ğurwaŋ* ‘three’ and *žierwaŋ* ‘four’, which preserve *-r-* without resyllabification.

³⁹² See Nugteren (forthcoming).

³⁹³ Cf. also Ganhetan Baoan *barti* < **batu* ‘strong’.

As these same languages also preserve instances of old preconsonantal *r*, e.g. MgrM *arči-* < **arči-* ‘to load’, Baoŋ *yirsəŋ* < **yersün* ‘nine’, there is always a possibility that some of the other cases are archaisms rather than areal innovations. This has to be decided for each word separately. The antiquity of *-r-* in **arči-* is confirmed by its Turkic cognate **art-*, while *-r-* in **yersün* ‘nine’ is supported by **yeren* ‘ninety’. Unfortunately such additional evidence is often absent.

Even the cases shared by several dialects may not affect the CM reconstruction, but represent regional developments which can be useful for classification and studying contact phenomena.

4.12. Development of CM **y*

Because all *y*-like elements of diphthongs are traditionally (and with due motivation) analysed as **i* or **ī*, the consonant **y* is restricted to syllable-initial positions. The traditional intervocalic **-y-* followed by **i* or **ī* is here considered as $\emptyset$ in words like **aīl* ‘campsite’, **dolīa-* ‘to lick’ (rather than **ayil*, **dolīya-*). In other contexts it is reconstructed, e.g. **yama* ‘what’, **yeren* ‘ninety’, **bayan* ‘rich’, **noyan* ‘lord’.

Word-initial **y-* is fairly stable. In **yeke* ‘big’ and **ye(r)sün* ‘nine’ it is devoiced by a following strong consonant in Dagur and in most QG languages³⁹⁴, probably after **e* was raised to *i*. This does not happen in the similarly-structured words **yasun* ‘bone’, **yosun* ‘custom’, which retained their non-high first vowel.

Medial **-y-* is generally preserved as well, but it may be absorbed into a diphthong after the loss of an unaccented vowel, as in Dag *bais-* < **bayas-* ‘to rejoice’, EYu *bəyar* ~ *biar* < **bayar* ‘joy’.

4.13. Development of CM **h-* (and vocalic onset)

4.13.1. Introduction

In this section, the various reflexes of CM **h-* in Middle Mongol and the modern peripheral languages will be discussed. In the modern languages there is only evidence for word-initial **h-*. It is likely that CM **h-* usually³⁹⁵ stems from earlier (PM) **p-*. Intervocalic **p-* has disappeared (via **h*), postconsonantal **p* has merged with **b*, except perhaps in Dagur (see under **b* above).³⁹⁶ Issues related to the earlier history of CM **h-*, as well as evidence for **h* in non-initial positions, has been discussed in 2.6.6.

³⁹⁴ In **huya-* ‘to tie’ the collision of the **h* and **y* after elision of the first vowel has a similar result in Eastern Yugur and Mongghul.

³⁹⁵ It cannot be excluded that, like Proto Tungusic, PM may have had both **p-* and **h-*. See Rozycki 1994 and Doerfer 1996 on the evidence for a primary Mongolic **h* not stemming from earlier **p*.

³⁹⁶ The evidence for **p* in final and preconsonantal positions is sparse. Syllable-final **p* would probably have merged with **b*, mirroring the neutralisation of the strength opposition in the dentals and gutturals in the same positions. The final and preconsonantal **p* of Turkic is assumed to corresponded to an intervocalic **p* in PM, which later became **h* and disappeared, like primary intervocalic **p*.

Much has been written about CM **h-*, and there is no need to revisit those parts of the consensus that I agree with. The focus here will be on the reflexes of **h-* in the peripheral languages, and on how to distinguish actual evidence for **h-* from secondary developments. Non-Mongolic evidence will be largely ignored here.

Some perspectives have changed in the last couple of decades, even since Krippes' overview of 1992. For many words whose modern *h-* was deemed 'secondary' by Krippes, it is now understood what triggered their appearance: the strong consonant starting the second syllable.

4.13.2. Reflexes of **h-* in the peripheral languages

CM **h-* was preserved by at least two peripheries separately: Dagur and the QG languages. As Eastern Yugur is probably not closely related to the Shirongol languages, one may recognise each as an independent source of evidence for **h-*. The Moghol *h-*, as reconstructed by Ligeti from Leech's materials (Ligeti 1955b), is not supported by other observations of Moghol, and does not have an obvious correlation with the certain cases of CM **h-* as reflected in Middle Mongol, Dagur, and the QG languages.

In Butkha Dagur **h-* appears as *x-*³⁹⁷, and is only occasionally palatalised into *š-*. In the QG languages **h* can take on many phonetic shapes, depending on the following vowel, or the loss of the vowel from the initial syllable. In Eastern Yugur **h-* predominantly appears as *h-*; occasional other reflexes occur when the first vowel is lost.³⁹⁸ In Shirongol the reflexes are more varied. In Mongghul we find *x-* as a default reflex, *f-* preceding originally rounded vowels, and sibilants if the following vowel is elided. In Mangghuer *x-* is the normal reflex; *f-* only occurs marginally.³⁹⁹ In Baoan dialects we mostly see *h-*, and (less often than in Monguor) *f-*, and sibilants. In Kangjia we also find *h-*, *f-*, and sibilants. Dongxiang features *h-* or *x-* generally, *f-* before originally rounded vowels, and *š-* preceding **i*. In some dialects, and only in a handful of words, *p-* inexplicably appears instead of one of the usual reflexes.

Some straightforward examples:

CM	Dag	EYu	MgrH	Kgj	Dgx	
<i>*harban</i>	<i>xarəb</i>	<i>harβan</i>	<i>xaran</i>	<i>harɔ</i>	<i>haroŋ</i>	ten
<i>*halagan</i>	<i>xaləɣ</i>	<i>halaŋan</i>	<i>xalga</i>	---	<i>haŋga</i>	palm
<i>*hodun</i>	<i>xɔd</i>	<i>hɔdən</i>	<i>fo:di</i>	<i>futo ~ huto</i>	<i>hoduŋ</i>	star
<i>*hulaan</i>	<i>xula:n</i>	<i>ta:n</i>	<i>fula:n</i>	<i>fulɔ</i>	<i>xulaŋ</i>	red
<i>*hüle-</i>	<i>xul-</i>	<i>hele-</i>	<i>fule:-</i>	<i>fule-</i>	<i>fəilie-</i>	to remain

³⁹⁷ Hailar Dagur dialects lost **h-* altogether (see Tsumagari 2003:132).

³⁹⁸ The Eastern Yugur materials in Sun 1990 feature some cases of initial *f-* and *ɸ-* preceding rounded vowels.

³⁹⁹ In Mangghuer even the *f-* of Chinese loanwords tends to become *x-*, and *f-* followed by an unrounded vowel will be replaced by *xw-*.

4.13.3. Pseudo-reflexes of *h- in QG Mongolic

Reconstructing *h- in an individual word is not necessarily a straightforward matter, even when several languages seem to support it. Most of the consonants that occur as reflexes of CM *h- (*f*, *h*, *x*, *ś*, etc) may also stem from other CM consonants.

Furthermore it has become clear that much of the apparent evidence is secondary. In parallel to the strengthening of initial *b-, *d-, *ǰ-, *g- into their strong (aspirated) counterparts, a development Ø- (vocalic onset) > h- has occurred under the influence of the strong consonant starting the second syllable. This can be seen in Eastern Yugur and the Shirongol languages. Some of these secondary h's, such as in *ükü- 'to die', are widely represented, while others are restricted to a single language. This indicates that these languages share the tendency to develop secondary h-, but the individual cases can not be reconstructed with *h- for Proto Shirongol or 'Proto QG Mongolic'. See Svantesson et al. (2005:208).

CM	Dagur	E. Yugur	Mongghul	Dongxiang	
*eükün	əuɣ ^w	ükün	fo:ge	fugun	fat
*ükü-	uɣ ^w -	hku-	fgu-	fugu-	to die
*urtu	ɔrt	hurtu	şdur	fudu	long
*alku-	alk ^w -	alqə-	halǵu-	han̄ku-	to step
*altan	alt	altan	xaldan	antan	gold

As a consequence even a trustworthy looking form such as Baoan *fgor* 'bovine' in fact does not corroborate the reconstruction *hüker based on MMo *hüker*, Dag *xukur*, and confirmed by non-Mongolic data such as Turkic *höküz.

CM	Dagur	E. Yugur	Mangghuer	Dongxiang	
*hiče-	xič-	hče-	śže-	şizə-	to be shy
*hüker	xukur	hkor	xuguar	fugie	ox
*huiitan ~ *hiutan	x ^y aut	ütan	xuiitan	uitan	narrow
*hüsün	xus	hsun	sʒu ~ fʒu	usun	hair

In words of this structure, where the h- could have been triggered by the following consonant, we have to rely on Middle Mongol and Dagur. If a word does not exist in these languages we can not with certainty reconstruct *h-. Similar causes for secondary h- are not known in Dagur, so that cases of *h- that are only supported by Dagur can be accepted at least provisionally.

Perhaps there has been some awareness among the speakers of QG languages that *h- can be a byproduct of consonant strength. This would explain the loss of the h- from words in which its veracity is firmly established, but whose second syllable starts with a strong consonant, such as *hasag- 'to ask', *huiitan 'narrow', *hüker 'bovine'. Admittedly proven *h- may also disappear in words of a different structure.

On the other hand there are some instances where Eastern Yugur, Mangghuer, and Kangjia have χ -, q -, or p - instead of the normally expected reflex of $*h$ -, e.g. MgrM *qarğa* < $*\chi$ arğa < $*halagan$ ‘palm of the hand’.⁴⁰⁰ Cases with p - < $*h$ - such as EYu *pɔdɛn* (~ *hɔdɛn*) < $*hɔdun$ ‘star’ are discussed above under strengthening of $*b$ -. Although it can be safely assumed that many instances of CM $*h$ - go back to earlier (PM) $*p$ -, it does not follow that forms like EYu *pɔdɛn* are relics from that period. Cf. 2.6.6 for PM $*p$.

4.13.4. Reliability of Middle Mongol data

Whenever the QG data are ambiguous it is useful to consult Dagur, which to our present knowledge does not feature similar secondary h ’s. Obviously Middle Mongol is also useful to corroborate reconstructions.

However, it is important not to consider Middle Mongol as an infallible reference point to resolve disagreements between peripheral languages. In this and other issues such as palatal breaking, loss of intervocalic $-g-$ and degree of vowel contraction, documents like SH are far from consistent. Given that they are often transcribed from the Uigur script by scribes who had to decide whether a word started with h - or vocalic onset, or whether an intervocalic $\langle g \rangle$ was pronounced or not, it is hardly surprising that some mistakes were made.

Variant pairs like SH *asaq-* ~ *hasaq-* ‘to ask’, *atqu-* ~ *hatqu-* ‘to hold’, *o’ara-* ~ *ho’ara-* ‘to disobey’ raise the question which variant is the historically correct and therefore authoritative Middle Mongol form. Whether we see such variants as being due to scribal inconsistencies or as evidence for actual language variation, they reduce the decisive power of such words, and even that of the words that are only known in one notation.

As to the sources in Arabic script, only some of their content can be traced back to forms written in Uigur script. Nevertheless they do contain inconsistencies, usually in the form of the unexpected presence of h - rather than its unexpected absence. In the Muqaddimat al-Adab, many frequent words that normally have vowel onset (written ’) occasionally appear with h -, e.g. *hirgen* ‘people’, *hörgü-* ‘to lift’, *huila-* ‘to cry’, *hündüsün* ‘root’.⁴⁰¹

In the light of the above we should not be too eager to label modern h ’s ‘secondary’ as soon as they seem to be contradicted by the Middle Mongol sources. Words with unexpected h -, especially with unexpected h - in more than one subgroup, such as the following, are not automatically disqualified by Middle Mongol. Even words whose $*h$ - is only documented in a single modern language, some of which are listed in the following pages, should not be discarded as long as no mechanism is discovered that triggers secondary h -.

Some h ’s, especially those confirmed by both Dagur and the QG languages, may well go back to the CM period. This applies to $*humba-$ and $*hinie-$ below.

⁴⁰⁰ Secondary h - can develop a hypercorrect form as well, as in Eastern Yugur *qusun* < $*\chi$ sun < $*usun$ ‘water’.

⁴⁰¹ In some cases the only notation is with h -, as in the frequently occurring *hildü* ‘sword’. This spelling can not be dismissed as an incidental mistake, but can nevertheless not be reconciled with the other Middle Mongol sources, and the modern languages.

Cases found in fewer languages may at least be of areal relevance and useful for classification.

CM	Dagur	E. Yugur	Mongghul	Dongxiang	
?*hinie-	<i>xinə:-d</i> ⁴⁰²	<i>ni:-</i>	<i>šine-</i>	<i>šinie-</i>	to laugh
?*humba-	<i>xumpa:-</i>	<i>mba-</i>	<i>xumba-</i>	<i>(f)unba-</i>	to swim
?*hunu-	<i>ɔnu-</i>	<i>hɔnə-</i>	<i>funi-</i>	<i>unu-</i>	to ride

The evidence for CM **h-* must be assessed for each word individually. There are many evidence ‘configurations’, a selection of which are shown in the table below. It greatly simplifies the actual situation, as it does not take into account *h* ~ $\emptyset$ variations within subgroups or dialects, e.g. MgrH *xana-* ~ *ana-* ‘to heal’.

	MMo	Dag	EYu	Shir	example
Unanimously preserved primary <i>*h-</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	*harban ‘ten’, *heür ‘nest’, *hüleü ‘surplus’, *hon ‘year’
Primary <i>*h-</i> lost in one group	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>h</i>	*huuta ‘bag’, *huitan ‘narrow’
Less widely attested, but not contradicted.	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	---	---	*haluka ‘hammer’, *haŋka- ‘to thirst’
Possible primary <i>*h-</i> not attested in MMo	$\emptyset$	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	*hinie- ‘to laugh’
Possible primary <i>*h-</i> not attested in MMo	$\emptyset$	<i>h</i>	$\emptyset?$	<i>h</i>	*humba- ‘to swim’
Seemingly unanimous <i>*h-</i> , but it may be secondary in QG languages	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h?</i>	<i>h?</i>	*hiče- ‘to be shy’, *hüker ‘bovine’, *hüsün ‘hair’
Possibly old <i>*h-</i> in (some) QG languages only	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	?*hunu- ‘to ride’
Possibly old (regional?) <i>*h-</i> in Shirongol only	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	<i>h</i>	?*hamura- ‘to rest’
Possibly old <i>*h-</i> in Dagur, contradicted elsewhere	$\emptyset$	<i>h</i>	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	*(h)eber ‘horn’, *höndür ‘high’
Possibly old <i>*h-</i> in Dagur only, but not contradicted	---	<i>h</i>	---	---	*hilidün ‘tinea’
Possibly old <i>*h-</i> in E. Yugur only	$\emptyset$	---	<i>h</i>	$\emptyset$	?*hile ‘clear’
Secondary <i>h-</i> in QG	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	<i>h?</i>	<i>h?</i>	*urtu ‘long’
Secondary <i>h-</i> in Shirongol only	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	<i>h?</i>	*alku- ‘to step’, *eükün ‘fat’
Secondary <i>h-</i> in E. Yugur only	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	<i>h?</i>	$\emptyset$	*eke ‘mother’

⁴⁰² In Dagur the verb was reshaped on the basis of the derived noun *xinə:d* < **hinie.dün* ‘laughter’.

4.13.5. Dagur evidence for CM **h-*

A relatively large group of words only has evidence for CM **h-* in Dagur. This is partly because of the abundant Dagur materials. Furthermore, due to the word-initial accent Dagur has preserved the first syllable better than the QG languages. The following words have not been attested so far in the QG languages.

Dagur	CM	
<i>xa:yə</i>	<i>*haaga</i>	bran
<i>xaləyda:</i>	<i>*halagdaa</i>	jerboa ⁴⁰³
<i>xata:</i>	<i>*hataa</i>	wish, ambition
<i>xər^ye:n</i>	<i>*herien</i>	grey
<i>xərkəl-</i>	<i>*herkele-</i>	to be polite ⁴⁰⁴
<i>xərkir-</i>	<i>*herkire-</i>	to feel pain in the pit of the stomach
<i>xild</i>	<i>*hil(i)dün</i>	ringworm

The following words do exist in Middle Mongol and/or one or more QG languages, but these do not provide support for the **h-* suggested by the Dagur form.

Dagur	CM	
<i>xač</i>	<i>*hača</i>	fork ⁴⁰⁵
<i>xəsruy^w</i>	<i>*hesergü</i>	opposite
<i>xəur</i>	<i>*heber</i>	horn
<i>xəur</i>	<i>*hebür</i>	sunny spot
<i>xundur</i>	<i>*höndür</i>	high ⁴⁰⁶
<i>xuns-</i>	<i>*höles-</i>	to be hungry ⁴⁰⁷
<i>xuǰu:r</i>	<i>*hüǰüür</i>	tip

4.13.6. Evidence for CM **h-* in the QG languages

In all Shirongol languages and Eastern Yugur the appearance of initial *h-* (and other modern consonants associated with **h-*) can be triggered by a strong consonant starting the second syllable. See Svantesson (2005:208) for a couple of examples spanning the QG languages. Additional examples include **alku-* ‘to step’ (without

⁴⁰³ Enkhbat (1983) has both this form and *alərda:n*.

⁴⁰⁴ This form may confirm the impression that **erke* ‘power’ and **erke* (or rather **herke*) ‘sweet, spoiled, etc’ are different words. **erke* ‘power’ occurs without *h-* in Middle Mongol and QG languages.

⁴⁰⁵ A form *hača* or *hačča* ‘fork’ is also found in Turkic languages and Tajik. EYu *hača* ‘rope for tying up cattle’ may be related despite the semantic difference. If so, the EYu *h-* does not constitute evidence for **h-* as it may have been triggered by the following strong consonant **č*.

⁴⁰⁶ This word is found as *höndür* in the Turkic language Azeri.

⁴⁰⁷ As the *-n-* is also unexpected here, we may be dealing with a different etymon.

h- in Eastern Yugur), **eükün/*öekün* ‘fat’ (in most of Shirongol⁴⁰⁸). Due to the inconsistent application of this tendency even a well documented secondary *h-*, as in **ükü-* ‘to die’, cannot be reconstructed for Proto Shirongol.

Among the QG languages Mongghul most often features secondary *x-*. This agrees with the fact that it also strengthens initial **b-*, **d-*, **ǰ-*, **g-* more frequently than its relatives. The following words may owe their *x-* to the following strong consonant:

Mongghul	CM	
<i>xada</i>	<i>*agta</i>	stallion
<i>xalǰai-</i>	<i>*alčai-</i>	to spread the legs
<i>xamsa-</i>	<i>*amsa-</i>	to taste
<i>xamta</i>	<i>*amtan</i>	taste
<i>xaǰir</i>	<i>*alčüür < *arčüül</i>	scarf
<i>xaldan</i>	<i>*altan</i>	gold
<i>xanǰu-</i>	<i>*emkü-</i>	to put in the mouth

Likewise, Eastern Yugur *h-* in words such as *hčur* ‘reason’, *hke* ‘mother’, *hsun* ‘milk’, *hsəra-* ‘to raise’ (< **učir*, **eke*, **üsün*, **asara-*) does not support an original **h-*, but merely constitutes a vestige of the initial syllable which was devoiced and lost. Similarly structured words with known CM **h-*, such as *hče-* < **hiče-* ‘to be ashamed’, *hkor* < **hüker* ‘bovine’, *hsun* < **hüsün* ‘hair’, are therefore not useful as additional evidence for it.

In Eastern Yugur there seem to be no words with secondary *h-* followed by a full non-high vowel, like MgrH *xaldan* < **altan* ‘gold’. The rare cases with a full vowel may be explained differently. In *qusun* ‘water’, although it ultimately stems from **usun*, the first *u* may have been inserted into an earlier form *χsun* with secondary *h-*. Bolčuluu’s notations *harte* (< **erte*) ‘early’ and *hurtu* (< **urtu*) ‘long’ may be attempts to describe pronunciations *rte*, *rtu* (Junast: *rde* and *rdə*⁴⁰⁹).

In Baoanic such instances of secondary *h-* are not that common, but they do occur, as in Dgx *huntura-*, Kgj *huntra-* < **untara-* ‘to sleep’.

Initial *h-* in words that do not have this structure may be useful for reconstruction purposes. Some of the following words also have Mongghul variants starting with a vocalic onset, and most of them are attested without **h-* in one or more peripheral languages. This means that they are not strong examples for original **h-*.

⁴⁰⁸ This case stands out because it developed the secondary **h-* preceding a vowel length.

⁴⁰⁹ It is not clear whether Bolčuluu and Junast actually *heard* different pronunciations. There is a correlation between devoicing of the first vowel, initial *h*, and the presence of preconsonantal **r* or **l*. In **erte* and **urtu* both the *-t-* and the *-r-* are original, but in *hərči:sən* < **hičesün* ‘willow’ the *-r-* was probably inserted later. In *hrbai* ~ *rbai* < **arbai* ‘barley’, *hərke* < **erke* ‘power’, and *hdög* < **öteg* ‘dung’ the *h-* was probably added.

Mongghul	CM	
<i>xamur</i> ~ <i>amar</i>	?* <i>amur</i>	quiet
<i>xana-</i> ~ <i>ana-</i>	?* <i>ana-</i>	to recover
<i>xerge</i>	?* <i>ergi</i>	bank, shore
<i>xerge</i>	?* <i>irge</i>	ram
<i>fo:rongi:</i>	?* <i>orangi</i> (?* <i>orankai</i>)	paralysed ⁴¹⁰

The first syllable vowels in the above examples are non-high, which, together with the weak consonant environment, prevents them from being lost. If the vowel is elided, the modern forms are difficult to evaluate. It seems impossible to tell whether the *s-* of *szaga-* represents the primary *h-* of **hasag-* ‘to ask’ or is merely a relic of the devoiced vowel. Cf. also *szu* < **hüsün* ‘hair’ and *szu* < **usun* ‘water’.

Cases of *h-* which can not be explained by a following strong consonant include EYu *hele* ‘clear’, EYu *helu:r* ‘flatiron’, MgrM *χuduri-* ‘to lead’⁴¹¹ for the words otherwise known as **ile*, **iliür*, and **udurĩ-*.

If such unexpected instances of **h-* are found in several languages, such as **hunu-* ‘to ride’, **haur* ‘steam; anger’, **hamura-* ‘to rest’, they make a stronger case for CM **h-*. In case of **hinie-* ‘to laugh’, the **h-* is confirmed by Dagur, Eastern Yugur, and all of Shirongol. Even if a secondary explanation were found, the wide distribution would still suggest an *early* secondary development.

Another complication in weighing the evidence lies in the fact that even unambiguous **h-* can often be lost in one or more languages, especially in words with a strong consonant beginning the second syllable, as in MgrH *a:ci* < **hači* ‘grandson’, Dgx *asa-* < **hasag-* ‘to ask’, EYu *ütan*, Dgx *uitaŋ* < **huiŋan* ‘narrow’, EYu *u:ta* < **huuta* ‘bag’, Dgx *usuŋ* < **hüsün* ‘hair’. This suggests that *h-* and its derived pronunciations are increasingly treated by speakers as automatic (and optional) side effects of some phonetic environments. Such instances of **h-* have thus become less distinctive synchronically, and less informative diachronically.

However, **h-* can also be lost from words devoid of strong consonants, e.g. MgrH *ir* < **hir* ‘edge of a knife’. Baoŋ *əžər* < **hufaur* ‘root’. In a case like MgrH *xana-* ~ *ana-* ‘to heal’, the authenticity of the **h-* is not confirmed by other languages. On the other hand, there is no known mechanism that would produce secondary *h-* in words without strong consonants.

4.14. Some notes on metathesis

Metathesis of consonants is a relatively frequent but unpredictable phenomenon. In some phonetic environments it is more likely to occur. It especially affects the ‘liquids’ *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, especially in words containing two or more consonants from this set, and in stems that are trisyllabic or longer. Other cases of metathesis generally

⁴¹⁰ Cf Kh *orongi* H398a ‘lame in the hind leg(s) (of an animal)’, Ord *orongō* M521b ‘disease in horses consisting of a kind of paralysis of the hind legs’. Mongghul also has the verb *fo:ro-* X59 ‘to be paralysed’. If this is related to MMo SH *ho’ara-* H76, *o’ara-* H120 ‘to neglect, abandon’, the **h-* is confirmed.

⁴¹¹ The Kangjia cognate *utur-* does have a strong *-t-*, but that is itself inexplicable.

involve the exchange of the elements of a cluster. Morphologically transparent stems may resist this general tendency.

EYu <i>gular</i> , BaoD <i>gular</i>	* <i>guril</i>	flour ⁴¹²
EYu <i>saltu:r</i>	* <i>sarta.ul</i>	Hui
MgrH <i>xaril</i>	* <i>kalïar</i>	wild onion
MgrH <i>ćirval</i>	* <i>kilbar</i>	story
MgrM <i>balər</i>	* <i>baril</i>	handle
BaoÑ <i>alar</i>	* <i>aral</i>	river
BaoÑ <i>hargal</i> ~ <i>halgar</i>	* <i>hargal</i>	dung
Dgx <i>korolon</i>	* <i>köl oraŋ</i>	footprint
Dag <i>murtul</i>	(* <i>muldur</i> <) * <i>möndür</i>	hail
Dag <i>uryil</i>	* <i>üliger</i>	story
Mog <i>ulu:r</i>	* <i>huruul</i>	lips

Given the disagreements between the modern dialects, such cases cannot generally be dated back to an early period. On the other hand several instances of metathesis are recorded in Middle Mongol. The form **könerge* (< **köreŋge*) ‘yeast’ is found in Shirongol, Eastern Yugur and Dagur, and is also reflected by the ‘Phagspa form. The form **malaga* (< **magalai*) ‘hat’ can also be assumed for Shirongol; only Dongxiang has *mağala* in addition to *malağa*.

Different tendencies can be observed in the following cases, where Eastern Yugur swapped the labial and velar consonants, whereas Mongghul moved the liquid to the right.

EYu	MgrH	CM	
<i>xalğa</i>	<i>xaulğa</i>	* <i>kalbuga</i>	spoon
<i>oryeme</i>	<i>murge</i>	* <i>örmege</i>	coarse fabric
<i>tarğwan</i>	<i>to:rğa</i>	* <i>tarbagan</i>	marmot
<i>χarğwa</i>	[<i>xarğa:</i>]	* <i>kaburga</i>	rib

Other cases of -r- moving to a different syllable include the following.

EYu <i>nurğusun</i>	* <i>nugursun</i>	spinal marrow
EYu <i>saŋğarčag</i>	* <i>sarkinčag</i>	paunch ⁴¹³
MgrH <i>nurdağa</i>	* <i>nïdurga</i>	fist
MgrM <i>kuərməgr</i>	* <i>kömürge</i>	trunk
BaoÑ <i>udərnə mərə</i> ~ <i>urdənə mərə</i>	* <i>üdür(ün) büri</i>	every day
BaoÑ <i>ömərzi</i>	* <i>öermiče</i>	other
Kgj <i>ğadar</i> ~ <i>ğarda</i>	* <i>kadaar</i>	bit of a bridle

⁴¹² This type is also common in central Mongolic, cf. Khalkha *gulir* ~ *guril* ‘flour’, *xürel* ~ *xüler* ‘bronze’, *čalir* ~ *čaril* ‘crowbar’.

⁴¹³ Eastern Yugur resembles Kalmuck *sāŋgrcg* here, while Buriat *harxinsag* represents the other form.

Swapping nasals

BaoÑ <i>menbə-</i> ~ <i>nenbə-</i>	* <i>nembe-</i>	to cover
MgrM <i>menjen</i>	* <i>nimgen</i>	flimsy
MgrH <i>nama:n</i> ~ <i>lama:n</i>	* <i>manan</i>	mist

Clusters of liquids and nasals

EYu <i>elməg</i>	* <i>emlig</i>	untrained (horse)
MgrH <i>samla-</i> ~ <i>salma-</i>	* <i>sam.la-</i>	to comb
EYu <i>kelme-</i>	* <i>kemle-</i>	to gnaw
EYu <i>ölmö</i>	(* <i>ömlö</i> <) < * <i>emüne</i>	front
EYu <i>nelme-</i>	* <i>nemle-</i> (?* <i>nemne-</i>)	to cover

Velar/apical clusters

BaoD	BaoÑ	Kgj	CM	
<i>ośigəi</i>	<i>əχśə</i>	---	* <i>auški</i>	lungs ⁴¹⁴
---	<i>aśga-</i> ~ <i>aśsa-</i>	---	* <i>aska-</i>	to sprinkle
<i>muśigə-</i>	<i>məχśal-</i>	<i>meśχe-</i>	* <i>muški-</i>	to twist
---	<i>bərke</i>	<i>besge</i>	* <i>bögse</i>	buttocks
<i>səχtə-</i>	<i>səgte-</i>	<i>sīχte-</i>	* <i>sedki-</i>	to think
---	<i>čigtar</i> (BaoX)	---	* <i>čidkör</i>	demon

The erratic forms do not permit us to assume these metatheses even for Proto Baoanic alone. The following case shows widespread agreement in Shirongol: MgrH *aśgʊ-*, BaoD *aśχo-*, Dgx *asuğʊ-* < **agsu-* ‘to lend’.

Clusters -lb- and -rb-

EYu <i>eblig</i>	* <i>elbeg</i>	abundant
MgrH <i>a:blu:</i>	* <i>albin</i>	will o’ the wisp
BaoÑ <i>χabrə-</i>	* <i>karbu-</i>	to shoot
BaoÑ <i>harwaŋ</i> ~ <i>hawraŋ</i>	* <i>harban</i>	ten

Other cases of metathesis, usually with one or more of the motivations mentioned above, include:

EYu <i>χunağla</i> , MgrH <i>xonağla</i>	* <i>kulugana</i>	mouse
EYu <i>mökör-</i> ~ <i>kömör-</i>	* <i>kömeri-</i>	to topple
EYu <i>šwe:-</i>	* <i>(h)ebšie-</i>	to yawn
MgrM <i>amula</i>	* <i>alima</i>	fruit
MgrM <i>aŋçiğo</i>	* <i>oŋgača</i>	trough

⁴¹⁴ This type of metathesis can also be found in central Mongolic, e.g. Khalkha *dogšin* ~ *dośgin* < **dogsīn* ‘fierce’, Ordos *göškön* < **kögsin* ‘old’.

(continued)

BaoGt <i>māḡḡə</i>	* <i>margaasi</i>	tomorrow
BaoX <i>dalḡaŋ</i>	* <i>daŋgal</i>	clod
BaoÑ <i>ćamḡa</i> , Kgj <i>ćamḡa</i>	* <i>ćakirma</i>	iris; orchid
Kgj <i>tumar</i> ~ <i>turma</i>	* <i>turma</i>	turnip
Kgj <i>eter-</i> ~ <i>erte-</i>	* <i>ötel-</i>	to age
Dgx <i>sulara-</i> ~ <i>surala-</i>	* <i>sula.ra-</i>	to come loose

Cf. also (Sanchuan) MgrM *ḡagarsi*, BaoÑ *ḡalḡasəŋ* ‘fish’, which forms may be relics from a regionally preserved old form **ḡagalsun* or **ḡalgasun*. It is not known which of these forms is the original, since other languages suggest an original form **ḡagasun*.

4.15. Some notes on intrusive consonants

In the sections on **n*, **l*, **r*, and **h* above, the intrusive (non-etymological) occurrence of these consonants has been discussed. Intrusive *n*- appears word-initially in words that lost the initial vowel preceding a weak consonant. Unexpected *l* and *r* mostly appear preconsonantly as well, but they predominantly precede strong consonants. Secondary *h*- occurs word-initially, and is triggered by a strong consonant starting the second syllable. Cases like the *-p-* in MgrM *sanpəzəḡ* < **sarimsag* ‘garlic’ are also due to devoicing, in this case caused by the second *-s-*.

Other intrusive consonants are due to a reduplication that makes the syllables of a word stem more alike, usually by assimilating the first to the second. Examples include Dgx *ḡaway* ~ *ḡaŋway* < **ḡabaaŋ* ‘insipid’, MgrM *tərmər* < **temür* ‘iron’, BaoX *janḡal-* < **jalḡal-* < **jaḡil-* ‘to chew’.

The unexpected *b* in the following cases may stem from an earlier *-w-* which in its turn was due to a reinterpretation of a rounded vowel: Dag *dulbʷ* < *dului* < **dülei* ‘deaf’, *xəbʷ* < **kuï* ‘sheath’, BaoÑ *həbrə* < **hərbə* < **horoi* < **horai* ‘crown of the head’, *cəbćə* < **siüći* ‘chisel’.⁴¹⁵

For the unexpected appearance of *g* (in syllable-final positions) see 4.5.5.

In other cases there is no obvious explanation for the secondary appearance of the additional consonant. A widespread example is the following: EYu *hambu:l-*, MgrH *xambulə-* < **hamuul-* ‘to extinguish’. MgrM *xaḡbura-*, Kgj *hambəra-* < **hamura-* ‘to rest’. Most other instances seem to be limited to the Monguor languages, e.g. MgrH *namur* ~ *nambur* < **namur* ‘autumn’, *ćombog* < **ćomug* ‘heap’, MgrM *mandəḡai* < **menekei* ‘frog’, *xunduḡai* < **hünegen* ‘fox’, *xunbuḡai* < **hümükei* ‘smelly’. Some of these cases may preserve an older form.

⁴¹⁵ Chén (1986:50) notes that syllable-final *b* can ‘sometimes’ be pronounced as a fricative, so that the Baoan forms may actually be *həwrə* and *cəwćə*.

LIST OF DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

(includes plural endings and *genera verbi*)

N noun; V verb; R root

-A	V>V	causative
-AčI	N>V	(professions, etc)
-Ad	N>N	approximative (numeral)
-A(n)	V>N	
-AsU(n)	V>N	
-bIr	N>N	adjective modifier
-bUrI	V>N	
-čI	N>N	(professions, etc)
-čI	V>V; R>V	intensive
-d	N>N	plural
-d	N>V	verbalizer
-dA	N>N	petrified plural
-dA	V>V	passive
-dA	N>V	verbalizer
-dAl	V>N	
-dUAr	N>N	ordinal number
-dU(n)	R>N; V>N	partly petrified formans
-GA	V>V	causative
-gčIn	V>N	(professions, etc)
-gčIn	N>N	feminine (animals)
-gsI	R>N; N>N	directive (adverb)
-gdA	V>V	passive
-jI	N>V	
-kAi	R>N	petrified formans
-kAn	N>N	diminutive; delimitive (numeral)
-l	V>N	
-l	R>V	forms transitive verbs
-lA	N>V	verbalizer
-lA	V>V	intensive/iterative
-lAη	V>N	
-lčA	V>V	reciprocal/cooperative
-ldU	V>V	reciprocal
-lgA	V>N	
-lgA	V>V	causative
-m	V>N	
-mA	V>N	
-mAl	V>N	
-nA	R>N	petrified formans
-r	R>N	petrified formans
-rA	R>V	forms intransitive verbs
-rA	N>V	forms intransitive verbs

-s	N>N	plural
-sA	N>V	desiderative
-sAr	N>N	
-sI	N>V	
-skA	R>N; N>N; V>N	
-sU(n)	R>N; N>N; V>N	partly petrified formans
-tA	V>V	passive
-tU	N>N	
-tAI	N>N	
-U	V>N	
-Ul	V>V	causative
-UIA	N>N	collective numeral
-Un	V>N	
-Ur	V>N	instrument

COMPARATIVE SUPPLEMENT

Alphabetical order:

a b č d e g h ĭ i j k l m n ŋ o ö s š t u ü y

Order of languages:

CM, MMo (SH, HY, Muq, LV, IV, RH, Ph). WM. Kh. Ord. Bur. Brg. Kalm. Dag.
EYu. MgrH. MgrM. BaoD. BaoÑ. Kgj. Dgx. Mog.

- A -

***a-** (?*a:-) ‘to stay, live’. In the central languages a defective verb ‘to be’. The Dagur vowel length is expected in monosyllables ending in a vowel, but the long vowel in the derived noun Dag *a:dal* E2, MgrH *a:dal* X2 ‘life’ may support an original long vowel.

MMo SH *a-* H4 ‘to be, stay, live’, HY *a-* M33 ‘to be, exist, stay’. WM *a-* L1a ‘to be, etc’. Kh *ax* H36b. Dag *a:-* E1. QG *lgs---*. Mog *Λ-* W158a.

***aarča** ‘curds from fermented milk’. MMo suggests **aarči*, but this is contradicted by Bur, Kh, and Kalm, as well as by the form in the Zirni manuscript.

MMo SH---, HY *a'arči* M33, Muq---, RH *a:rči* 188C3. WM *ayarča* L13a. Kh *aarc* H3a. Bur *aarsa(n)* C18a. Kalm *aarc* M19a. Dag *a:rč* E2. QG *lgs---*. Mog---, cf. Zirni *a:rča* (?) 15:5b ‘tuj’ (I could not find this Persian word, but the word is listed among ‘curds’, ‘cheese’, ‘milk’ and ‘water’).

***ab-** ‘to take, to get’. The final vowel in the QG and Mog forms is originally a connective vowel. The MgrM form *xəg-* probably originated in conjugated forms, first when the suffix started with a strong consonant, e.g. future *xəku* < **ab-ku*, perfect *xəsan* < **ab-san* < **ab-u-gsan*, imperfect converb *xəgži* < **ab-ču*, and then spreading to the other forms, e.g. imperfect *xəba* < **ab(-u)-ba*. The origin of the Dgx form is unclear, but it may be a further development of **abu-* > *abi-* found in Kangjia.

MMo SH *ab-* H1, HY *ab-* M31, Muq *ab-* P94a, LV, IV *ab-* (*abumu*) L14. WM *ab-* L1b. Kh *avax* H4a. Bur *abaxa* C21b. Brg *aβ-* U3. Kalm *avx* M23a. Dag *au-* E3, *aw-* E17. EYu *ab-* B2, J93a. MgrH *abu-* SM1, *awu-* SM16, *avu-* J93a, X11. MgrM *abu-* JL467, *xəg-* (?) DS225b, *xə-* C149. BaoD *apə-* BL57 ‘to buy’, BL80 ‘to take’. BaoGt *ap-* C114. BaoÑ *ab-* CN4. BaoX *ab(ə)-* BC70. Kgj *abi-* S278a. Dgx *agi-* (?) B2. Mog *ab-* R22a, *afu-* R22a, *Λb-* W158a, *ɔb-* W174a.

***abaga** ‘paternal uncle’.

MMo SH *abaqa* H1, HY *abaqa* M33, Muq---, LV *abaqa* P1254, IV---. WM *abaya* L2b. Kh *avga* H5a. Bur *abga* C23b. Brg *aβag* U4. Kalm *avy* M21a.

Dag---. EYu *abga* P413b. MgrH *a:ga* SM2 (?=) ‘father’s younger brother’. Bao---. Kgj *aqā* (?=) S278b. Dgx *awuḡa* B6. Mog---, but cf. Hazara *abaga* (quoted from Ligeti in TMEN IV:370).

***abaldu-** ‘to wrestle’. The WM spelling *abuldu-* suggests that this was the reciprocal of **ab-* ‘to take’, which seems a reasonable etymology. However, both MMo and several QG languages suggest **abaldu-*, which cannot be dissected that easily.

MMo SH *abaldu-* H1, HY---, Muq *abaldu-* P93b, RH *abaldu-qčī* (?), unclear) 205C31 ‘wrestler’. WM *abuldu-* L6a ‘to seize or hold each other; (...) to fight each other’. Kh *aval dax* (according to Lessing). Ord *awalda-* M36b ‘to come to blows’. Bur--- (only *abal daxa* as the reciprocal of **ab-*). Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *aβaldā-* B2. MgrH *ba:ldā-* X42, *va:ldā-* X242 (there derived from **barildu-*). MgrM---. BaoD *udā-* BL76. BaoJ *vud-* L206. BaoÑ *aude-* CN1. Dgx *amandu-* MC8a. Mog---.

***abčīra-** and ***ačara-** ‘to take/bring with one’. Form: The modern forms of these verbs are hardly separable. **ačara-*, although already found in early sources, may be a secondary development of **abčīra-*, which in its turn seems to derive from the converb **ab-ču* + **ire-* ‘to come’. EYu *hčəra-* could be the result of a form **pčīra-* < **abčīra-* (a parallel development is seen in EYu *hčəlḡa-* < **pčəlḡa-* < **bučalga-* ‘to boil’), but *h-* may be simply a relic of the devoiced initial vowel. Thus EYu does not confirm the *h-* of the Moghol form *hačara-* reconstructed (!) by Ligeti (1954b) from Leech’s materials. In Bur-Kalm **ačara-* merged phonetically with **asara-*.

MMo SH *abcira-* H1, *acira-* H2, HY---, Muq *ačira-* P95a, *ačara-* P122b, LV *abčir-* Pop1254, IV *abčira-*, *abčara-* L14. WM *abčira-*, *abčire-* L4a, *ačara-* L7b. Kh *avčrax* H7a, *acrax* H38a. Ord *ačara-* M35a. Bur *asarxa* C63a. Brg *aβšir-* U4. Kalm *asrx* M53b, cf. *acrχă* (obs) R18b. Dag *ačir-* E14. EYu *hčəra-* BL62. MgrH *awuḡi re-* SM16. MgrM *xəḡiri-* (see **ab-*) DS24a. BaoD *apḡi rə-* B60. BaoÑ *awčir-* CN86:230. BaoÑ *abčir-* CN4. Kgj *ačiri-* S279a. Dgx *ačə-* MC2a. Mog *abčira-* W158a, *əbčira-* W174a, also *ačar-* R22a, *əčar-*, etc W159a, MogM/Mr *ačaru-* L62:14 (see above).

***ačī-** (< ***arčī-**) ‘to load’. Only the MgrM form reflects the earlier form **arčī-*, which is supported by the CT cognate **art-*. In view of CT, the original PM form may have been **artī-*. The *-t-* in the Dag form seems to be a relic of this form, but the *-r-* of the PM form was lost also in Dag. MgrH *śḡa:-* and MogM *v:čiya-* have been remodeled on the basis of the derived noun **ačīan*.

MMo SH *aci-* H2, HY---, Muq *ači-* P95a. WM *ači-* L8a. Kh *ačix* H38b. Ord *ači-* M35b. Bur *ašaxa* C68a. Brg *aš-* U13. Kalm *ačx* M59b. Dag *atʰ-* E13. EYu *ačə-* B6, J93b. MgrH *śḡa:-* J93b, *śḡia:-* SM387. MgrM *arči-* JL479. BaoD *ači-* BL81a. BaoÑ *ači-* CN8. Kgj *ači-* S279a. Dgx *ačī-* B5, L109b. Mog *ači-* R22a, *əčid-*, *əčit-* W159a (?sic), cf. MogM *v:čiya-* L62:15.

***ačīan** (< ***arčīan**) ‘burden, load’. From **ačī-* above. For the older form with *-r-* see above. The unconfirmed EYu *h-* (lacking in the verb) is secondary.

MMo SH *aci'an* H2, HY *ača'an* M34, Muq *ača'an* P94b, cf. *ači'atu* P95a, IV *ačiya* L15, RH *ača*: 201B26. WM *ačiya(n)* L8a. Kh *ačaa(n)* H38a. Ord *ača*: M35a. Bur *ašaa(n)* C67a. Brg *aša* (?*aša*:) U13. Kalm *acan* M58b. Dag *aʔe*: E13. EYu *hča:n* B62, *hjan* B62, *hja:n* J93b. MgrH *śža*: J93b, *śžia*: SM387. MgrM *arča* JL474. BaoD *áciaŋ* BL81b. BaoGt *áčəŋ* C118. BaoÑ *áciaŋ* CN8. Kgj *ačə* S279a. Dgx *açaŋ* B5, *ačan* L109b. Mog---.

***adali** ‘similar, same, as’.

MMo SH *adali* H2, HY *adali* M34, Muq *adali* P95a. WM *adali* L9b. Kh *adil* H10a. Ord *adali* M3b, *adil* M3b, *adila*, *adili* M4a. Bur *adli* C31a. Brg *adil* U14. Kalm *ädl* M64b. Dag *adiʔ* E13. EYu *dalə* (only) S407. MgrH *dalə* J93b, *dali* SM42. MgrM *adaliŋ* (sic) JL468, *adali* T327. BaoD *adəli* BL81b, cf. *nəgtalə* BL11 (+ **nigen* ‘one’). BaoJ *adəli madəli* L1. BaoÑ---. Kgj *adali* S279a. Dgx *adali* T110. Mog *ado:li* R22a, *ədəli* W174b.

***aduun** ‘herd (usually of horses)’. The *a* of the second syllable suggested by one of the WM spellings cannot be confirmed by any language, but perhaps **ada-ska* ‘hide of emaciated livestock’ (not listed here) supports it.

MMo SH *adu'u(n)* H3, HY [*adu'uči* M34], Muq---, LV---, IV [*adu:nči* L145]. WM *aduyu(n)* L11b, *adayu(n)* L9b. Kh *aduu(n)* H10b. Ord *adu*: M4b. Bur *aduu(n)* C32a. Brg *adv* (?*adv*:) U14. Kalm *adun* M28b. Dag *adv*: E13. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***aduula-** ‘to tend livestock’. The EYu and Mgr forms derive from a shortened form **adula-*.

MMo SH *adūla-* H3, HY---, Muq *adu:la-qči* P377b. WM *aduyula-* L11b. Kh *aduulax* H10b. Ord *adu:la-* M4b. Bur *aduulxa* C32a. Kalm *adulx* M28b. Dag *adv:l-* E13. EYu *adla-* B6, J75. MgrH *dula:-* SM64. MgrM *adula-* J91. BaoD *adal-* BL73. BaoÑ *adala-* CN8. Kgj *adəla-* S279a. Dgx *adula-* B5. Mog---.

***aduusun** ‘livestock’. The Shirongol forms derive from a contracted form **a:sun*. Cf. **mal*.

MMo SH *adūsun*, *adu'usun* H3, HY *adūsun* M34, Muq *adu:sun* P96a, *adu'usu* P96a, cf. *adasun* P95b, Ph *adu'usun* P119a. WM *aduyusu(n)* L11b, *adayusu(n)* L9b. Kh *aduus(an)* H10b, *adguus* H10a. Ord *adagu:s(u)* M3a. Bur *aduuha(n)* C32b, *adaha(n)* (western) C31a. Brg *adgv:s* (←Kh) U14. Kalm *adusn* M28b. Dag *adus* E13, *adv:s* Z92b. EYu---. MgrH *a:sə* X7 also ‘bovine’. MgrM *asə* J91. BaoD *asuŋ* BL81b. BaoÑ *asəŋ* CN7. BaoX *asoŋ* BC64. Kgj *asun* S278b. Dgx *asuŋ* B5. Mog---.

***agsu-** ‘to borrow or lend’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *aqsu-qsan* P104a ‘loan’. WM *aysu-* (obs) L15a. Kh (?only) *agsan* H8a ‘borrowing or lending money at interest’. Ord---. Bur *agsaxa* C29a ‘to change, trade’. Brg *ags-* U5. Kalm---. Dag *ars-* E17. EYu *agsə-* B3, *əgsə-* J88. MgrH *asğu-* SM15, *asğu-* X8. BaoD *asxo-* BL77. BaoÑ *axsə-* CN5. Kgj *asği-* ~ *asiğ-* S278b. Dgx *asuğu-* B5. Mog---.

***agta** ‘gelding’, ***agtala-** ‘to geld, castrate’. The Mongghul form developed from a form *aχata* with epenthetic vowel or alternatively the strong *-t-* triggered the appearance of a secondary initial *h-*.

MMo SH *ahta* H3, HY *aqta* M36, Muq *aχtala-* P108b. WM *ayta* L15b. Kh *agt* H8. Bur *agta* C29a. Brg *aχt* U5. Kalm *agt* M26a. Dag *art* E17. EYu *agta*, *axta* B3, *ağda* J93b. MgrH *χada* X70, J93b, *χadala-* X70. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *atala-* B5. Mog---.

***aïl** ‘camp, group of tents; village; neighbour(hood)’. Related to CT **a:gïl*; the Baoanic and Moghol forms are relatively recent borrowings from the same Turkic word.

MMo SH *ayil* H11, HY---, Muq---. WM *ayil* L20a. Kh *ayl* H13a. Ord *ä:l* M39a. Bur *ayl* C36. Brg *ail* U2. Kalm *ääl* M61b. Dag *ail* E2. EYu *ail* B1, J93a. MgrH *ayil* J93a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ağal* CN5 ‘village (of laypeople opposite a temple)’. BaoX *ağəl* BC66 ‘market’. Kgj *ağa* S278b. Dgx *agəŋ* B2. Mog *avli* W159a ‘house’, MogMr *ayəl* L68, No.86 ‘flock of sheep, village of tents’.

***aïmag** ‘tribe, village’.

MMo SH *ayimaq* H11, HY *aimaq* M34, Ph *ayimaq* P119b. WM *ayimay* L21a. Kh *aymag* H13b. Bur *aymag* C37a. Kalm *äämg* M62a. Dag *aimən* (← Manchu) E2. EYu---. MgrH *yi:mağ* X235, *imağ* X13. MgrM *imağ* C369, *yiməğ* DS259a. Bao---. Kgj *ima* S280a ‘peasant household’. Dgx---. Mog *aimağ* W158a (tribal name).

***aïrğa** ‘stallion’. Agricultural term related to CT **adgïr* ‘id’ (perhaps ~ **adrig?*).

MMo SH *ajirqa* H4, HY *ajirqa* M34, Muq *ajïrya morin* Pop97a, LV *ajïrğa* Pop1255, IV *ajïrya* L15. WM *ajïrya(n)* L62b. Kh *azraga(n)* H12a. Bur *azarga* C35b. Brg *azrag* U14. Kalm *ajry* M30a. Dag *adʹrəy* E14, *ajrəy* E15, *adrəy* Z93b. EYu *ajərgə* B6, *ajïrğa* J93b. MgrH---. MgrM *ajïrğa* P413b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. MogMr *ajərya-du ira-* L62:15 ‘to mate (said of female animals)’.

***aka** ‘elder brother’. Some forms suggest **aga*, while others may be affective formations. In several languages it is only attested in the combination **aka deü* ‘brother(s)’, also used in the meaning ‘friend(s)’. The form with *-k-* seems to survive in EYu *həganar* B59 ‘man; husband’ (originally a plural in *-nAr*).

MMo SH *aqā* H3, HY *aqā* M36, Muq *aya dü:* P256a ‘brothers’, LV *aya* P1256. WM *aqā* L59b. Kh *ax* H36a. Ord *aχa* M8b, *ağa:* (Otok) M6b. Bur *axa* C65a. Brg *aχ* U5. Kalm *ax* M56b. Dag *ay* E7, cf. also *aka*: E7. EYu *ağa* B3, J93a. MgrH *ağa* SM2, X4. MgrM *ğa-dəu* C167, *ağa-di* Z326:204. BaoD *ağə-dəu* BL22. BaoÑ *ağa du* CN5, *adu* (contracted from the previous form?) CN8. BaoX *ağə* BC65 ‘elder brother’ (perhaps only in the combination *ağə du* ‘close friends’). Kgj *ağa* S278b, *ağa devu* S278b. Dgx *ağa* S126, *ağa jïau* B2. Mog---.

***ala** ‘crotch, groin; fork of trousers; hip’. EYu, MgrM, BaoÑ and Kgj display an inexplicable extra consonant (or morpheme), but all in different ways.

MMo SH *ala* H4, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *ala(n)* L26a. Kh *al*

H14. Ord *ala* M11a. Bur *ala* C39a. Kalm *al* M33a. Dag *al* E7. EYu *ala* J93a, *ala:d* S590, ?cf. also *olod* BJ337 ‘crotch of trousers’. MgrH *ala* J93b. MgrM *alaŋ* JL462. BaoD *alə* BL81b. BaoÑ *alar* CN6. Kgj *anla juğun* (*juğun* < **jakaun* ‘space between’) S278a. Dgx *ala* B2. Mog---.

***ala-** ‘to kill’. The *h-* of Mog *ha:la:* was emended by Ligeti from Leech’s spelling *kala-*.

MMo SH *ala-* H4, HY *ala-* M34, Muq *ala-* P97a, LV *alawul-* (caus.) P1257, IV---. WM *ala-* L26a. Kh *alax* H14b. Bur *alaxa* C39b. Brg *al-* U6. Kalm *alx* M37. Dag *al-* E7, Z91b. EYu *ala-* B3, J93b. MgrH *ala-* J93a, SM3. MgrM *ala-* T314. BaoD *ala-* BL81a. BaoÑ *ala-* CN5. BaoX *alə-* BC71. Kgj *ala-* S278b. Dgx *ala-* B3, L109a. Mog *ola-* R35b, *ala-* W158a, *əla-* W174b, MogMr *v:lv:-*, *hàlā-* (from Leech) L54b:134.

***alag** ‘multi-coloured, speckled, spotted’. The similar Turkic word found in Muq and Mog cannot be related if the *h-* of Khalaj *ha:la* is original.

MMo SH *alah* H4, HY *alaq* M34 [in *alaq ta’un* ‘white-necked crow’], Muq *ala* [←Turkic] P97a. WM *alay* L26b. Kh *alag* H14a. Bur *alag* C39a. Kalm *alg* M33b. Dag *ala:r* E8, Z91b. EYu *alag* B3, *alag* J93a. MgrH *alag* SM3, *alag* J93a. BaoD *alax* BL81a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *aləğ* S278b. Dgx---. Mog *alo:* [←Turkic] R22b.

***albīn** ‘demon, evil spirit’. Often used with **gal* ‘fire’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *albin* L28b. Kh *albin* H15a ‘evil spirit’, *albin gal* ‘will o’ the wisp’. Ord *albiŋ* M13b, cf. *albiŋi:* *gal* ‘will o’ the wisp’. Bur *al’ba(n)* C45b. Kalm *al’vn* M38b ‘naughty; playful’. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr *a:blu:* X1 ‘will o’ the wisp’, *abulu:* *gar* SM1 ‘will o’ the wisp’. MgrM *abulin* DS225.

***alčai-/ *alčala-** ‘to spread the legs’. The latter, surviving in MgrM and Dgx, may in fact reflect **alčaal-* (cf. Kh *alcaa* H19a ‘crotch, etc’). MgrH *x-* is due to the following *-č-*. Perhaps related to **ala* ‘groin’ above, but not in a morphologically transparent way.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *alčayi-* L28b. Kh *alcayx* H19. Ord *alčä:-* M18a. Bur *alsayxa* C44a. Brg *alsai-* U6. Kalm *alcax* M38b. Dag *alči:-* E9. EYu *alči:-* B4. MgrH *xalžai-* L168. MgrM *ərčala-* DS205b ‘q.v.’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *aŋcala-* B2, *alanə aŋči-* B3 (**ala* ‘crotch’). Mog---.

***alda** ‘fathom, armspan’.

MMo SH *alda* H5, HY---, Muq *alda* P98a, LV---, IV *alda* L16. WM *alda* L29a. Kh *ald* H15b. Bur *alda* C41a. Kalm *ald* M34a. Dag *ald* E9, *allə* E9. EYu *alda* B4, J94a. MgrH *alda* J94a. MgrM *arda* J88. BaoD *aldə* BL81b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *anda* S278a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***alda-** ‘to lose, to let go of, etc’. Cf. **gee-*.

MMo SH *alda-* H5, HY *alda-* M34, Muq---, IV---. WM *alda-* L29a. Kh *aldax* H16a. Bur *aldaxa* C42a. Kalm *aldx* M35b. Dag *ald-* E9, *allə-* E9. EYu *alda-* B4, J94a. MgrH *alda-* J94a. MgrM *ərda-* DS220b ‘to err’. BaoD---. BaoGt *andə-* C118. BaoÑ *alda-* CN6. Kgj *anda-* S278a. Dgx *anda-* B1. Mog---.

***ali** ‘which’. The Baoan and Kangjia forms (unexpectedly not in Dgx) may be due to the incorporation of the 3rd person possessive **inu* and subsequent contraction. Alternatively the *-n-* is a relic of the oblique stem **alin-*. Sečenčogt (1999:189) suggests that Kgj *ani* is a reduced form of *aniye* < **ali nigen* (a form *ani-ni* is also recorded). IV *ali* L62:16 ‘where’ may not be a mistake, as it is echoed by Dgx *alidədu* (sic) L85 ‘where’, Kalm *al’d* M38b, *äld* (Torgud) M65b ‘where’, *älin* (Torgud) M65b ‘from where’, Bur (Tunka) *alšaa* C45b ‘where’. Dag *anin* E6 ‘who’ may also be related, as well as the Monguor forms MgrH *anži*: ~ *anžæ* ~ *anžə* X3 ‘where’, MgrM *anži* J87 ‘where’.

MMo SH *ali* H5, HY *ali* M35, whichever, any’, Muq *ali* P98b. WM *ali(n)* L31b. Kh *al’* H19a. Bur *ali* C43a. Kalm *al’* M38b, *äl’* M65b. Dag *al’* Z91b. EYu *a:lə* B1, J93a. MgrH *ali* SM4, *alə* J93b, X5. BaoD *anə* BL81b. BaoÑ *anə* CN2. BaoX *anə* BC64. Kgj *ani* S278a. Dgx *ali* B3. Mog---.

***ali** ‘give me’, with several extended forms. Behaves like a verb and takes objects. The opposite of **maa* ~ **mai* ‘here you are’. Kgj instead uses *gere* S223, compared there to MgrH *gera* C306 ‘id’.

MMo---. Kh *al’* H19b, *aliv* H17a. Chakhar *el’* D107, *el’a*: D43. Ord *ali* M16b. Bur *alyee* C42b, *ali* C43a. Brg *al’β* U8. Kalm *al’* M38b. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoGt *ane* CN86:320. BaoÑ *an* CN2. BaoX *ane* CN86:320. Kgj---. Dgx *ani* B1. Mog---.

***alima** ‘fruit’. With *-n* in Kalm and part of Baoan. Agricultural term related to CT **alimla*, **alma* ‘apple’.

MMo SH---, HY *alima* M5 ‘pear’, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *alima* L32a. Kh *alim* H17b. Ord *alima* M16b. Bur *al’ma* C46a ‘apple’. Kalm *al’mn* M39a ‘apple’. Dag *alim* E8 ‘pear’. EYu *alma* B3, J93a ‘fruit’. MgrH *aləma* J93a ‘pear’, *alima* SM4 ‘name of several fruits’, *aləma* X5 ‘fruit’, *ləma* X113, *lama* L289, *ma:lə* (?=) L309. MgrM *amula* C369 ‘fruit’. BaoD *almanj* BL81a ‘fruit’. BaoGt *alməŋ* C119 ‘fruit’. BaoÑ *alma* CN6 ‘fruit; apricot’. Kgj *alima* S278a, *amila* S41 ‘fruit (general term)’. Dgx *alima* B3 ‘pear; fruit’. Mog---.

***alku** ‘step’. With secondary *h-* in Shirongol due to the strong consonant starting the following syllable. See the homophonous verb. Also **alkum*, derived from the homophonous verb listed below.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *alqu-* L34a. Kh *alxam*, *alxaa* H18b (new formations). Bur *alxa* (also *alxam*) C45a. Kalm *alx* (also *alxm*) M38a. Dag *alkud* (new form.) E100, Z91b. EYu---. MgrH *xalgu* J93a, *xalğv* X68, *χargu* SM161, *alğv* X5, *argu* SM13. MgrM *xargu-la-* JL476. BaoD *χalguŋ* BL81b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *halgu* S286b. Dgx *hayku* B64, *hanku* L109a, T139. Mog---.

***alku-** ‘to step’. See the noun **alku* ‘step’ above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *alqu-* P99a. WM *alqu-* L34a. Kh *alxax* H18b. Bur *alxaxa* C45a. Kalm *alxx* M38a. Dag *alkʷ-* E8, Z91b. EYu *alqə-* B3, *alğə-* J93a. MgrH *xalgu-* J93a, *xalğv-* X68, *argu-* SM13. MgrM---. BaoD *χalğə-* BL81b. BaoÑ *halğə-* CN65. Kgj *halgu-* S286b. Dgx *hanku-* L109b. Mog---.

***altan** ‘gold’. The *h-* in MgrH is due to the *-t-* starting the second syllable. Cf. CT ***altun** ‘gold’.

MMo SH *altan* H6, HY *altan* M35, Muq *altan* P99a, LV *altan* Pop1257, IV *altat* L16 ‘piece of gold (money)’. WM *alta(n)* L33a. Kh *alt(an)* H18a. Ord *alta* M17a. Bur *alta(n)* C44a. Kalm *altn* M37a. Dag *alt* E9, Z91a. EYü *aldan* J94a, *altan* B4. MgrH *χaldan* J93a, *χardan* SM161, *χardam* SM160, *χaldan* T372, *χaldan* X68. MgrM *artan* JL469. BaoD *altan* BL81a. BaoGt *altan* C103. BaoÑ *altan* CN6. BaoX *andan* BL63. Kgj *ant* S278a. Dgx *antan* B4, *antan* L109a. Mog *Altān* W158b, MogMr *altv:n* L62:16 ‘silver piece (money)’, R---.

***aman** ‘mouth’ often also ‘opening’.

MMo SH *ama(n)* H6, HY *aman* M35, Muq *aman* P99b, LV *aman* P1257, IV *aman* L16. WM *ama(n)* L35a. Kh *am(an)* H19b. Bur *ama(n)* C46a. Kalm *amn* M40a. Dag *am* E10. EYü *aman* B4, J93b. MgrH *ama* X6, SM5, J93b. MgrM *ama* JL462. BaoD *aman* BL81b, *amay* BL5. BaoGt *amaj* C101. BaoÑ *amay* CN6. BaoX *amay* BC63. Kgj *am* S278b. Dgx *amay* B3, *aman* L109b. Mog *aman*, *amun* R22b, *āmān* W158b, MogMr *v:mv:n* L62:17.

***amasar** ‘opening (usu. of a vessel)’. Apparently from ***aman** ‘mouth’ above.

MMo SH *amasar* H6, HY *amasar* M35, Muq *amasar* P100a. WM *amasar* L36b, *amsar* L39a. Kh *amsar* H22b. Bur *amhar* C51a. Brg *amv:r* U11. Kalm *amsr* R10a. Dag *amsar* E10. EYü---. MgrH *amasar* SM5, *amusar* SM7 ‘cover, lid’; *amasar* X7 ‘cover; opening’. Bao---. Dgx *amasa* B4, *masa* MC256a. Mog---.

***amīn** ‘life; breath’.

MMo SH *ami(n)* H6, HY *amin* M35, Muq *amin* P100b, LV *amin* P1257 ‘soul’. WM *ami(n)* L37a. Kh *am’* (*amin*) H23b. Ord *ami* M20b. Bur *ami(n)* C49b. Brg *am’* U11. Kalm *āmn* M66a. Dag *am’* E11. EYü *amən* B5, J93b. MgrH *amun* J93b, *ami* SM6, *amən* X7. MgrM *ami* JL461. BaoD *amuṇ* BL81a. BaoÑ---. BaoX *amōṇ* BC61. Kgj *amin* S278b. Dgx *amiṇ* B4. Mog---.

***amītu**, ***amīdu** ‘alive’. Both derived from ***amīn** above; the second apparently from the dat.-loc. case ending.

MMo SH *amidu* H7 ‘living being’, *amitu* H7 ‘alive’, HY---, Muq *amidu* P100a, *amitu* P101a, LV *amitu* P1258 ‘having a soul’. Dag *am’dun*, *am’nun*. EYü only *amtan* B6 (originally pl.) ‘animal(s)’. MgrH *amutə* J93b. MgrM *amidu* T314. Bao *amtə* BL81b. Dgx *amitu* B4. Mog *amdun* R22b ‘living, alive’, *amdula-* R222b ‘to come alive’, *o:mudula-* R35b ‘id’, MogMr *amudun* L54:127 ‘alive’.

***amsa-/ *amta-** ‘to taste’ (the latter form influenced by ***amtan**?). The *h-* suggested by one of the MgrH forms arose due to the *-s-* of the next syllable.

MMo SH---, HY *amsa--* M35, Muq *amsa-* P101a, LV *amsa-* P1257, IV---. WM *amsa-* L39a, cf. *amta-* L39a ‘to have a taste for, find tasty’. Kh *amsax* H22b. Ord *amsa-* M21b. Bur *amsaxa* C50b, *amhaxa* C51a. Kalm *amsx* M42b. Dag *ant-* E6, Z91b. EYü *amsa-* B6. MgrH *amōsa-*, *amsa-* X8, *amasa-* X7, *amsa-* J93b, *amusa-* SM7, *χamsa-* C86:574, *amta-* X8. BaoD-?. BaoÑ *amsa-* CN7. Dgx *amusa-* B4, L109b. Mog *amsa-* R23a, *amsə-* W174b.

***amtan** ‘taste, flavour’. The *h-* suggested by one of the MgrH forms arose due to the *-t-* of the next syllable. The final *-g* in BaoD is inexplicable.

MMo SH *amta-tai* H7 ‘tasty, delicious’, HY *amtan* M35, Muq *amta*, *amtan* P101a. WM *amta(n)* L39a. Kh *amt* (sic, no *-an*) H22b. Ord *amta* M22a. Bur *amta(n)* C50b. Kalm *amtn* M42b. Dag *ant* E6, Z91b. EYu *amtan* B6. MgrH *amuta*, *amtar* X8, *amuta* SM7, *amta* J93b, *χamta* C86:574. MgrM *añtu-don* DS254b ‘tasty’. BaoD *amtæg* (sic) BL81a. BaoÑ *amtā-tā* CN7. Kgj *antatu* S278a ‘fragrant’. Dgx *anda-tu* B1 ‘tasty, delicious’. Mog *amta* R23a, W---.

***amun** ‘rice; millet; rice gruel’, also used for other cereals, or as a general term. **narin amun* generally denotes ‘millet’. Note the erratic vowel lengths, the first vowel in Ord, Brg and MgrH, the second vowel in Kh. Missing both in Kalm and Bur.

MMo SH [*amicin* H6, *amucin* H7 ‘Reisverwalter’], HY *amun* M35, Muq *amun* P102a ‘millet’, Ph *amu* P119b. WM *amu(n)* L40a. Kh *amuu* (sic, no *-n*) H23a ‘cereal, grain’. Ord *amu* ~ *a:mu* M22b ‘millet à panicules’. Bur---. Brg *a:m* U1 ‘cereal’. Kalm---. Dag *am* E10 ‘grain, cereal’, cf. the amalgamated compounds *mañḡælām* E194 ‘broomcorn millet’ < **moñgal amun*, *nar’e:m* E55 ‘millet’. EYu *amən* B5, J44 ‘grain, cereal’, *narən amən* BJ337 ‘millet’. MgrH *a:mu* SM6, X1 ‘millet’. MgrM *amu* C390 ‘millet’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *amuy* CN7 ‘millet’. Kgj *amu* S278b ‘millet’. Dgx *aməḡ* B4 also ‘rice gruel’. Mog---.

***amusun** ‘name of several cereal dishes (not specified in the following); cooked rice’. Apparently derived from **amun* above.

MMo SH---, HY *amusun* M36, Muq---. WM *amusu(n)* L41b. Kh *ams* (sic, no *-an*) H22b. Ord---. Bur *amha(n)* C51a. Brg *amov*: U11. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *aməsən* B5. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *amusuy* MC10b. Mog---.

***ana-** (?*hana-) ‘to heal, get well, recover’. The **h-* suggested by MgrH is not confirmed elsewhere, but this word does not have the structure known to generate secondary *h-*.

MMo SH *ana-* H7, HY---, Muq---. WM *ana-* L42a. Kh *anax* H24b. Bur (only the caus ‘to cure’) *anaaxa* C51b. Kalm---. Dag *anə-* E5. EYu---. MgrH *χana-* J69, X68, *χana-* SM154, *ana-* X3, SM8. BaoÑ *ana-* CN2, (caus) *anaḡa-* CN2 ‘to cure, treat’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***anda** ‘sworn friend; friend’.

MMo SH *anda* H7, HY---, Muq *anda* P102b. WM *anda* L42b. Kh *and* H25b. Bur *anda* C52b. Kalm *and* (obs) M43b. Dag *and* E6. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *anda* B1. Mog---.

***andagar ~ andaga(i)** ‘oath’. The form **andagai* restricted to Mongol proper. The forms with *-m-* perhaps influenced by **aman* ‘mouth’. Related to CT **ant* (?*and) ‘oath’.

MMo SH *andaqar* H7, HY---, Muq *andayar* P102b, cf. LV *andaya:rad-* P1258 ‘to swear (an oath)’. WM *andayar*, *andayai* L42b. Kh *andgar* H26a, *andgay* H26. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *andyar* M43b. Dag---. EYu *ndaḡar* B28, *andaḡar* J88.

MgrH *ndəga* X38 ‘incantation’, *ndaga* SM261 ‘oath’, *amdaga* S624 ‘oath’, S625 ‘incantation’, *amdəga* L13 ‘incantation; wager; oath’. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *andərag* S624 ‘oath’. Kgj *andağa* S278a. Dgx *andağa* B1. Mog---.

***anjasun ~ *anjisun** ‘plough’. The form **anjisun* from PM **andisun*. The palatal element in Kh *andis* and some of the Ord and Kalm forms cannot be explained. Kalm apparently from **andaska*. Both Dag and the Shirongol languages derive from **anjasun*. The unique long vowel in Dagur cannot be explained.

MMo SH---, HY *anjasun* H36, Muq *anjasun*- P103b. WM *anjisu(n)* L47a. Kh *anjis(an)* H26a, *andis* H26a. Chakhar *en'dʲis* D168b. Ord *anjasu*, *anjus(u)*, *andüs* M23b. Bur *anzaha(n)* C53a. Brg *anʲjɔ*: B3. Kalm *andsx* M44a, *ancāsn* (*ancn*) R11a, *ändisn*, *āncn* R23b, etc. Dag *anja:s* E6. EYü **anjagsən* Man67. MgrH *nʒasə* J93a. MgrM *(a)nʒasɪ* JL478. BaoD *anʒisun* BL81a. BaoÑ *anʒisən* CN3. Kgj *anjasun* S278a. Dgx *anzasun* B2. Mog---.

***aŋgai-** ‘to open, open up (intr), to be agape, etc’. Probably from **aŋ* ‘crack, fissure’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *angyayi-* L43b. Kh *angayx* H24b. Bur *angayxa* C52a. Kalm *aŋyax* M45a. Dag *aŋgi:-* E6, *xaŋgai-* T173. EYü *aŋgai-*, *aŋgai-* B2, *aŋgi:-* J93a. MgrH *aŋgai:-* J93a. MgrM *aŋgai-* C373. BaoD *anyi-* BL81b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *aŋgei-* ~ *aŋga-* S278a. Dgx *aŋgai-* B2. Mog---.

***araki ~ *ariki** ‘alcoholic beverage’. Various forms within Baoan, including forms with an affricate from **k*, normally a Monguor development. Wanderwort found in numerous Asian languages. The MgrH form is likely to stem from Tibetan *a-rag*. Cf. **darasun*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *araki(n)* L48a, *ariki(n)* L53b. Kh *arxi(n)* H32b. Ord *ariki* M29a. Bur *arxi* C60a. Kalm *ärk* M69b. Dag *aryʲ* E16. EYü *arəkə*, *arakə* B7, *arəʰgə* J94a. MgrH *a:rəg* (only) L22. MgrM---. BaoD *raku* BL82a. BaoGt *ráci* C119. BaoÑ *rakə* CN221. BaoX *račə* BC73. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***aral** ‘island; river’.

MMo SH *aral* H8 (no translation), HY *aran* (sic) M36, Muq *aral* P104a. WM *aral* L48b. Kh *aral* H28b. Bur *aral* C55a. Brg *aral* U15. Kalm *arl* M50. Dag---. EYü *aral* (only) S116. MgrH *ara:l* X9 ‘river valley’, *ra:l* J93b ‘river’. MgrM *arur* DS209a ‘brook’. Bao *arəl* P419a ‘river’. BaoÑ *alar* CN6 ‘river valley’. Kgj *aran* S279a ‘floodland; small river’. Dgx *araŋ* B6 ‘river’. Mog---.

***aral** ‘shaft of a cart’.

MMo SH---, HY *aral* M36 ‘shaft’, Muq---. WM *aral* L48b. Kh *aral* H28b. Bur *aral* C55a ‘cart; shaft’. Brg *aral* U15. Kalm---. Dag *arəl* Z92b, *allə* E8 ‘shaft’. EYü *aral* J94b ‘axle’. MgrH *ara:l* X9, *ara:r* SM11, *ara:* SM9. Bao---. Dgx. Mog---.

***araljĩ-** ‘to exchange, trade’. In spite of its vague similarity to **araljĩ-*, Kalm *arcx* M52a ‘to trade’ rather stems from **arčə-* ‘to argue’. Both MgrM and Dgx have an unexpected *-u-*. In MgrH and EYü the vowel of the middle syllable was lengthened,

in Bao and Kgj the middle syllable was elided. Dag has a similarly compressed variant. This verb looks like a reciprocal, which makes semantic sense.

MMo SH *aralji-* H8, HY---, Muq *aralji-* P104a. WM *aralji-* L48b. Kh *ariljix* H31b. Ord *aralji-* ~ *arilji-* M27a. Bur *aralžaxa* C55a. Kalm---. Dag *alj-* E10, *aralji-* NK451a, *allji-* NK451a, cf. *arəlja:n* E15 ‘business, trade, exchange, etc. EYu *aralja-* B7, *ara:lja-* J21, *ra:lja-* J80. MgrH *ara:ži-* SM10, *ra:ži-* SM309, *ara:lži-* L19, *ra:lži-* L458. MgrM *arurži-* DS211a. BaoD *anjə-* T134. BaoÑ *alža-* CN6. BaoX *anjə-* C117. Kgj *anjə-* S278a. Dgx *arunža-* B6. Mog---.

***arasun/*arison** ‘skin; hide’. The latter form only in Kh. *Mittelsilbenschwund* in several languages, including Bur.

MMo SH *arasun* H8, HY *arasun* M37, Muq *arasun* P104b, IV *ara:sun* L17. WM *arasu(n)* L49a, *arisu(n)* L54a. Kh *ar’s(an)* H33b. Ord *arus(u)* M31b. Bur *arha(n)* C60a. Brg *arv* (?*arv:*) U15. Kalm *arsn* M51a. Dag *ars* E17. EYu *arəsən* ~ *arasən* B7, *arsən* J94a. MgrH *rasə* J94b, *arasə* (only) L20. BaoD *arsuŋ* BL82a. BaoÑ *arsoŋ* CN10. Kgj *arasun* S279a. Dgx *arasuŋ* B6 ‘&bran’. Mog *aro:sun* R23a, *arəsun* W175a.

***arbai** ‘barley’. Agricultural term related to CT **arpa*. In view of the CT cognate the PM form may have been **arpaï*, but the word is absent from Dagur, the only language that occasionally preserves postconsonantal **p*. Secondary *h-* in EYu is normally due to a following strong consonant; maybe WYu *harwa* (< CT **arpa*) has played a role here. The reason for the addition of *-i* in the CM form is unclear. The Bao-Kgj-Dgx forms and the Mog forms lacking the *-i* are more recent loans from CT **arpa*.

MMo SH---, HY *arpai* (sic) M37, Muq *arbai* P104b, IV *arpa* (←Tkc) L17. WM *arbai* L49b. Kh *arvay* H29a. Bur *arbay* C55b. Brg. Kalm *arwε:* Ram15b, *arva* (Derbet) M47a. Dag---. EYu *hrbai* B63, *rbai* J9. MgrH *šbai:* J9. MgrM---. BaoD *arpə* BL41/77. BaoÑ *arpa* CN10. BaoGt *aşbu* C120. Kgj *arpa* ~ *appa* S279a. Dgx *apa* B2, L9. Mog *arfa:* R23a, *arfēi* R23a, *arpa* W175a, MogMr *arpa* L62:17.

***arča** ‘cypress’. Cognate of CT **a:rtuč*.

MMo SH *arca* H8, HY *arča* M37 ‘thuya’, Muq *arči* (sic) P104b, *arčiin* *modun* P105a. WM *arča* L50b ‘juniper’. Kh *arc* H33a. Bur *arsa* C59b. Kalm *arc* M52a. Dag---. EYu *hrča* B63, *arča* BJ320. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoJ *arčí* L4 ‘incense’. BaoÑ---. Kgj *arja* ~ *ajja* S279a, *aja* S28. Dgx---. Mog---.

***arči-** ‘to wipe, to clean; to weed’. Related to CT **ari-t-* ‘id’. cf. **arčiur*, **aril-*, **ariun*.

MMo SH *arci-* H8, HY---, Muq *arči-* P104b. WM *arči-* L51a. Kh *arčix* H33a. Ord *arči-* M30a. Bur *aršaxa* C61b. Brg *arš-* U16. Kalm *arc* M52b. Dag---. EYu *arčə-* B7 ‘to wipe’. MgrH *a:rčí-* (only?) L23. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *arčí-* CN10 ‘to weed’. Kgj *ači-* S279a. Dgx *açi-* B5 ‘to weed with a hoe’. Mog---.

***arčiur** ‘rag, dust-cloth; towel; scarf’. The *h-* in MgrH is due to the following *-č-*. cf. **arči-*, **aril-*, **ariun*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *arči'ur* P178a. WM *arčiyur*, *arčiyul* L51a, *alčiyur* L29a. Kh *arčuur* H33a 'cleaning cloth, etc', *alčuur* H19a 'scarf, etc'. Ord *alču:r* M18a. Bur *aršuuł* C61b, *aršuur* (western) C61b. Brg *aršo:r* U16, cf. *ałšo:r* U8 'tobacco pouch'. Kalm *arčul* M52b 'cleaning cloth'. Dag---. EYu *alču:r* B4, J7. MgrH *xažir* (?) SM149, *xa:žir* L164, cf. also *a:rčir* L23 'mop'. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *anču* MC11b, *anču* T111. Mog---.

***arga** 'means, way, method, plan, ruse, shrewdness'.

MMo SH *arqa* H9, HY *arqa* M37, Muq *arya* P105a. WM *arya* L51a. Kh *arga* H29b. Bur *arga* C56b. Kalm *ary* M48a. Dag *arəy* E15. EYu *arğa* B7, J94a. MgrH---. MgrM *arğa* J90. Remaining lgs---.

***aril-** 'to become clean, to clear up; to disappear'.

MMo SH *aril-* H9, HY---, Muq---. WM *aril-* L53a. Kh *arilax* H31b. Bur *arilxa* C59a. Brg *ar'l-* U17. Kalm *ärıx* M70a. Dag *aril-* E16, *alli-* E9. EYu---. MgrH *arili-* SM14. MgrM *aru-* C369 'to clear up', caus. *arərga-* JL462. Bao (unspecified dial) *alər-* S118 'to disappear'. Dgx *arulu-* B6. Mog---.

***arilga-** 'to clean', in several languages also 'to castrate'. The caus. of **aril-* 'to clean' above. With shortened forms in several languages. Cf. **arči-*, **arčiur*, **ariun*.

MMo SH---, HY *arılqa-* M37, Muq---. WM *arıya-* L53b. Kh *arılğax* H31b. Bur *arılğaxa* C58b. Dag *alli-lyä:-* (newly-formed caus.) E9. EYu *alğa-* B3. MgrH *arığa-* SM14. MgrM *arərga-* JL462, *arurğa-* DS212a. BaoD *aləyəsəñ mori* BL81a 'gelding'. BaoÑ *alğa-* CN6. Kgj *alğa-* S278b. Dgx *aruluğa-* B6.

***arıa** 'molar; canine; fang, tusk' often used with **sidün* 'tooth'. Nearly all languages from the assimilated form **araa*. One of the rare cases where even Buriat and Dagur do not preserve a palatal element, but note the Brg derivation. Related to CT **azig* 'id'.

MMo SH *ara'a* H8, HY *ara-tai* M37 'river deer', lit '(the one) with fangs', Muq *ari'a sidün* P105b, *?haria* (: *naria*) *šidün* P246a. WM *araya* L47b, *ariya* L53b. Kh *araa(n)* H27b. Ord *ara:* M26b. Bur *araa(n)* C54b 'molar; fang, tusk'. Brg *ara:* U15, but cf. *ar'a:-tañ* U17 'wild animals'. Kalm *aran* M46b. Dag *ara:* (*šid*) E15. EYu *ura:* B19, J94b, *ara:* BJ320. MgrH *ara:* X9, SM9, *ra:* (*šdə*) J93b. MgrM---. BaoD *arə duñ* BL82a, B19 (*duñ* < **sidün*). BaoÑ *ariya* CN9 (perhaps *arə* + Ch *yá* 'tooth'). Dgx-?- . Mog---.

***arıun** 'clean; pure'. Related to **arči-* and **aril-* 'above'. The BaoÑ meaning 'completely' is echoed by Dag *aru:kun* E16 'all', MgrH *arən-də* X10 (originally 'until clean') 'completely'. It may also be present in Kgj *ağula* ~ *ağla* S278b 'all, everyone', Dgx *aşığala* B5 'everybody', which may be abraded forms of **arıu-kan* + plural ending. The final element may also be the comitative *-lUA* or the collective numeral ending *-UIA*.

MMo SH---, HY *ari'un* M37, Muq *ari'un* P105b, *ariyun* P106a, LV---, IV *aru:n* L17. WM *ariyun* L53a. Kh *ariun* H32a. Ord *aru:n* M31a. Bur *aryuun* C62b. Brg *ar'ö:ñ* U17. Kalm *ärün* M70b. Dag *aru:n* E16. EYu *aru:n* B7, J94a. MgrH *arən*

J94b, *arin* SM14. MgrM *ariun* T315, *aroy*(-*široŋ*) DS212a. BaoD *aruŋ* BL82b. BaoÑ *aroy* CN10 ‘completely, totally’. BaoX *aroy* BC64. Kgj *arun* S279a. Dgx *aruŋ* B6. Mog *oru:n* R35b, *ɔrun* W175a, MogMr *v:run* L62:17.

***aru** ‘back, posterior side’. Dag *arkən* could be a diminutive of this, but is more likely to stem from neighbouring North Tungusic.

MMo SH *aru* H9, HY *aru* M37, Muq *aru-* P106a ‘back’. WM *aru* L54b. Kh *ar* H27b. Ord *aru* M30b. Bur *ara* C54a. Kalm *ar* M46a. Dag *arkən* (see remark above) E16 ‘back’. EYu *a:r* (for expected **a:rə*) B1, J94a. Remaining lgs---.

***arug** ‘pannier, basket (carried on the back)’, usu. a basket for collecting dung. Any connection with **aru* ‘back’ cannot be established.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *aruq* P113a. WM *aruq* L54b. Kh *arag* H28b. Ord *aruq* M31a. Bur *arag* C54b. Kalm *arəğ* R13a. Dag---, EYu---. MgrH *aruğ* SM14. MgrM *arog* C369. BaoD *aroug* BL50. BaoGt *arogun* C137. BaoÑ *arog* CN10. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *arogon* (sic) S115. Kgj *aruğ* ~ *arğu* S279a. Dgx *arəu* B6. Mog---.

***asara-** ‘to take care of; to bring up, raise; to adopt’. The EYu **h-* is secondary, and due to the devoicing triggered by the following *-s-*. In Bur-Kalm this verb was apparently associated and merged with **ačara-*. The MgrM form was incorrectly derived from *asī* < **aduusun* ‘livestock’.

MMo SH *asara-* H9, HY *asara-* M37, Muq *asara-* P107a, LV *asara-* P1256 ‘to defend’. WM *asara-* L56b. Kh *asrax* H34b. Ord *asara-* M32b. Bur *asarxa* C63a. Kalm *asrx* M53b. Dag *asər-* E12 ‘to nurse’. EYu *hsəra-* B60, *sra-* B104, *asara-* S122. MgrH---. MgrM *asīra-* Slater 2003:311. Bao---. Dgx---. Kgj---. MogMr *v:srp:-* L68, No. 124 ‘to look at; to guard’.

***aska-** ‘to pour out, sprinkle, spill, scatter’.

MMo SH *asqa-* H9 ‘to spit’, HY *asqa-* M37, Muq *asqa-* P107a, LV *asqa-* P1256. WM *asqa-* L57b. Kh *asgax* H34a. Ord *asxa-* M33a. Bur *adxaxa* C33a. Brg *atag-* U13. Kalm *asxx* M54b. Dag---. EYu *sqa-* BJ342, *sğa-* J93b, *sğa:-* S121. MgrH *sąga-* SM318, *sğa-* X143, *szağa-* L537. MgrM *siğa-* F119:39. BaoD---. BaoGt *sgə-* (?) C129. BaoÑ *asğa-* CN8, *ağsa-* CN5. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---, but it does have the derived intr. form *asqara-* R23a.

***au (& *auī)** ‘broad, wide, vast’. In some languages apparently supplanted by derivatives **audam* and **aujīm*. The forms with *-g-* in the central languages could normally be explained as borrowings from WM (reading pronunciations), but the Dgx and Mog forms also atypically display an intervocalic uvular.

MMo SH *a’ui* H10, HY *a’u*, *a’ui* M37, Muq *a’u* P108a, *u:* P371a. WM *uu* L889a, *ayuu* L18b, *ayui* L16b. Kh *aguu*, *aguy* H8b. Ord---. Bur *uu* C480a, *aguy*, *aguu* C29a great. Kalm *u* M526a, *ayu:* R3b. Dag *au* E3. EYu *ayui* (sic, only) S96 ‘huge’. MgrH *au:* J93a, *u:* SM462. MgrM---. BaoD *u* BL81b. BaoÑ *u:* CN19. Kgj *u:* ~ *u* S280a. Dgx *ağui* B2. Mog *ɔğui* W175a ‘spacious’.

***audam, *aujīm:** WM *ayudam* L16b, *ayujīm* L18b. Kh *uudam* Han555a, *uujīm* Han555b. Ord *u:jīm* M723b. Kalm *uujm* M541a. EYu *u:ǰəm* B19. MgrM *udan* C369.

***aula** ‘mountain’. The Mgr and Dgx forms unexpectedly point at **uula* > **ula*. The Bao and EYu forms may be either from **aula* or **uula*.

MMo SH *a’ula* H10, HY *a’ula* M37, Muq *a’ula* P189a, *u:la* P372a, LV *aula* P1260. WM *ayula(n)* L17a. Kh *uul(an)* H556a. Bur *uula* C480b. Kalm *uul* M541a. Dag *aul* E4. EYu *u:la* B18, J93b. MgrH *ula* J93a, SM469. MgrM *ula* JL463. BaoD---. BaoÑ *u:la* CN20. BaoX *ə:lə* CN86:16. Kgj *ula* S280a. Dgx *ula* B20. Mog *avlə* W159, MogM *əula*, MogMr *aula* L54b:140.

***aur** ‘steam; anger’ see ***haur**

***aurag** see ***uurag**

***auči-** ‘to sip’ see ***oači-**

***aus-** (tr.), ***austa-** (intr) ‘to smell, taste’. Actually **aus-* may have meant ‘to disperse, dissolve (intr)’ originally, and may in that case be derived from **au* ‘wide’.

MMo---. WM (suppl) *ayusta-* L1197a. Kh *uusax* ‘to dissolve, etc’. Ord *u:s-* M743b ‘to be perceptible (taste), etc’. Bur---. Kalm *u:s-* R455b ‘to have the right taste’. Dag---. EYu *usda-* B19 ‘to taste, smell’. MgrH *o:sə-* SM298b ‘to be enough to be tasted (e.g. of salt in a brew)’. Bao---. Dgx *suda-* (?=) MC372b, S109 ‘to taste’.

***auški** ‘lungs’. The Kalm, Mgr, and Bao forms point at **ɔ:*. The EYu *u:* could be either from **auški* or from the form with **ɔ:*. The *-n* is absent in all of Shirongol. MgrH *-s-* is unexpected.

MMo SH *a’ušigi* (?*aušgi*) H10, HY *a’ušigi* (?*a’ušgi*) M37, Muq *a’uški* P108b, LV *awuski* P1259, *awusqi* P1261. WM *ayušgi(n)* L18b. Kh *uušgi(n)* H558a. Ord *u:ški* ~ *ušigi* M744b. Bur *uušxa(n)* C482a. Brg *o:tg* U36. Kalm *oošk* M400a. Dag *aurk’* E5. EYu *u:šgān* B18, *u:šgə* J93b. MgrH *o:sgu* J93b, *o:sgi* SM298. MgrM *oški* P415. BaoD *ošigəi* BL81a. BaoGt *ɔšgi* C100. BaoJ *ɔšgi* L138. BaoÑ *əχsə* CN16. Kgj---. Dgx *ušigəi* MC409a ‘heart, pit of the stomach’. Mog---.

***ayaga** ‘cup, bowl’. Several forms, including Kalmuck and most QG languages, derive from **aiga* < **ayiga*. Related to CT **ayak* ‘id’.

MMo SH *ayaqa* H10, HY *ayaqa* M38, Muq *ayaya* P108b, *ayaqa* P237b, LV *ayaqa* P1262, Ph *ayiqā* T138. WM *ayaya(n)* L23a. Kh *ayaga* H39a. Ord *ayağa* M10a. Bur *ayaga* C69a. Brg *ayag* U14. Kalm *aaγ* M17b. Dag *aiyə* E2 ‘the bowl of a pipe’. EYu *aiğa* B1, J93b. MgrH *yağa* J93b, *yæğa* X232. MgrM *yiga*, *ğa* DS208a. BaoD *aiyə* BL82a, *ayigə* BL23. BaoÑ *ayiga* CN9. BaoX *aiğə* BL62. Kgj *ayigə* S279a. Dgx *iğa* B11. Mog---.

***ayil** ‘camp’ see ***aïl**

***ayu-** ‘to fear’. All modern forms derive from **ayi-*. P66 connects the (extinct) Old Turkic *ayin-* ‘to fear’, cf. EDPT (274b) where Clauson considers the resemblance

‘prob. fortuitous’.

MMo SH *ayu-* H11, HY *ayu-* M38, Muq *ayi-* P109a, *ai-* P96b, LV *ayu-* P1264, IV *ayu-* L17. WM *ayu-* L24b, *ayi-* L19b. Kh *ayx* H14a. Ord *ä:-* M39a. Bur *ayxa* C38a. Brg *ai-* U2. Kalm *ääx* M63a. Dag *ai-* E2, *ay-* E15. EYu *ai-* B1, J94b. MgrH *ayə-* J93b. MgrM *ayi-* JL461. BaoD *ayi-* BL82b. BaoÑ *ayi-* CN9. BaoX *ai-* BC66. Kgj *ayi-* S279a. Dgx *ayi-* B6. Mog *ai:-* R22b, *ai-*, *ai-* W158a.

- B -

***ba** ‘we (exclusive)’. Some inflected forms survive in languages that lost **ba* itself, e.g. Bur *man-* C291a (oblique stem of *bide* < **bīda*) as well as *maanad(uud)* C289b ‘we’, Brg *man* U143. In QG the genitive and/or accusative survive, cf. EYu *manə* J21 (postnominal possessive) ‘our’, BaoD *manə* BL33 ‘our (incl.)’, Dgx *mani* ~ *mayi* (gen./acc.) B102/104, *mai* (postnominal possessive) L44 ‘our’. New nominatives were also formed, as in BaoD *mangə* BL33, Dgx *matan* B103, L49 ‘we (incl.)’, Kgj *mənə* S292a ‘we (incl.)’. Cf. **bīda* ‘we (inclusive)’ and **bī* ‘I’.

MMo SH *ba* H11, HY *ba* M38, Muq---, WM *ba* L64a. Kh *ba* (obs) H41 ‘we’. Ord---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *ma* M337a, *maanr* (pl.) M337b. Dag *ba:* E65. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***baa-** ‘to defecate’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ba:-* P115b, WM *baya-* L67b. Kh *baax* H42a. Bur *ba:-* U65. Brg *ba:-* U65. Kalm *baax* M72b. Dag *ba:-* E66. EYu *pa:-* B38, J97b. MgrH *ba:-* J98b. MgrM---. BaoD *ba-* BL85b. BaoÑ *ba:-* CN47. Kgj *ba-* ~ *bai:-* S282b. Dgx *ba-* B33. Mog---.

***baasun** ‘excrement; dung’. Possibly for **baa-asun*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ba:sun* P115b, IV *bayasun* (sic) L18. WM *bayasu(n)* L68b. Kh *baas(an)* H42a. Bur *baaha(n)* C72b. Brg *baxa:* U66. Kalm *baasn* M71b. Dag *ba:s* E66. EYu *pa:sən* B38, J96b. MgrH *ba:sə* J98a. MgrM *basī* DS221. BaoD *basuŋ* BL85a. BaoÑ *ba:səŋ* CN47. Kgj *basun* ~ *ba:sun* S283a. Dgx *basuŋ* B37. Mog---.

***baatur** ‘hero’. Wanderwort also found in Turkic, Persian, and Russian. The form in Muq may owe its *-d-* to Persian influence. In view of the shape and meaning, the Dgx forms may instead be connected to, or at least influenced by **batu* ‘strong’.

MMo SH *ba’atur* H11, HY *ba’atur* M38, Muq *ba:dur* P115b. WM *bayatur* L68b. Kh *baatar* H42a. Bur *baatar* C72a. Brg *ba:tar* U65. Kalm *baatr* Mun72a. Dag *ba:tur* E66. EYu *ba:tār* B29, *ba:tār* J98b. MgrH *ba:tur* J98a, *ba:tār* X43. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *baduru* ~ *baturu* ~ *batulu* B37 ‘young and vigorous man’. Mog---.

***baga** ‘small’. Cf. **bičikan*, **üčüken*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *baya* L67a. Kh *baga* H42b. Bur *baga* C73a. Brg *bag* U66. Kalm *bay* M74b. Dag---. EYu *bağa* B30, J97b. Remaining lgs---.

***bagta-** ‘to have the capacity of, to fit into, to suit; to sink’. Interestingly, MgrM, Kgj and Dgx share the same form *puda-*. However, Kgj has two forms, suggesting interdialectal borrowing. Note the metathesis in BaoGt (cf. **čidkör*, **sedki-* for the reverse).

MMo SH *baqta’aldu-* (caus. + reciprocal) H11, HY---, Muq *baqta-* P111b. WM *bayta-* L70a. Kh *bagtax* H44b. Bur *bagtaxa* C75a. Kalm *bagtx* Mun74a. Dag *bart-* E73 ‘etc’. EYu *bagta-* B30. MgrH *pağda-* X54. MgrM *puda-* JL467. BaoD---. BaoGt *vatğə-* C116. BaoÑ *wağta-* CN226. BaoX *əğtə-* CN86:283. Kgj *pağda-* ~ *pəğta-* S284a ‘to sink into’, *puda-* ~ *puta-* S284b ‘to fit into’. Dgx *puda-* B48. Mog *baχta-* R23b.

***bai-** ‘to stand still, to stop, to pause’. **bai-* ‘to be’, a semantic development of this verb (as in the verb **a-* listed above), is not included here. The auxiliary verb has often developed reduced shapes, e.g. MgrH *vai-*, *vi:-*, *i:-* X242/243/11.

MMo SH *baiyi-* H12, HY *bayi-* M39, Muq *bai-* P109b, *bayi-* P115a. WM *bayi-* L72b. Kh *bayx* H49a. Bur *bayxa* C80a. Kalm *bäax* M89b. Dag *bai-* E67. EYu *bai-* B30. MgrH *bai-* X43. MgrM *bai-* DS252. BaoJ *bi-* L14. BaoÑ *bi:-* CN51. Kgj *bei-* S283b. Dgx *bai-* B33. Mog *bei-* R24a, *bai-* W159b.

***baidasun/*baitasun** ‘mare’. An alternative form **baital* is found in Turkic languages (cf. **kabtal* and **kabtasun* ‘board, plank’). Cf. **geün*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *bayidasu(n)* L74a, *bayitasu(n)* L76b. Kh *baydas* H47a, *baytas* (sic) H48b ‘three- or four-year-old barren mare’. Ord *bä:das(u)*, *bä:dus(u)* M59b ‘(..) mare of three, four, or five years that has not yet foaled’, cf. also *bä:tat* (pl.) M60b ‘young mares that have not yet foaled (..)’. Bur *baytaha(n)* C80a ‘not having had young for some years (of mares and cows)’. Brg *baito:ŋ* U65 ‘infertile female domestic animal’. Kalm *bäasn* M89b ‘three-year-old mare’. Dag---. EYu *baidasən* B30 ‘three- or four-year-old mare’. Remaining lgs---.

***baka** ‘frog’. It seems likely that **melekei* was the original Mongolic word for ‘frog’ and that this word is simply ←CT **baka* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *baqa* L92b. Kh *bax* H58b ‘toad’. Bur *baxa* C92a ‘frog; toad’. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *bağa* B30, J102b. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *paka* S284a. Dgx *bağa* B36. Mog---.

***bal** ‘honey’. Cf. CT **bal* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bal* P118a. WM *bal* L78a. Kh *bal* H49b. Ord *bal* M46b. Bur *bal* C83a. Brg *bal* U67. Kalm *bal* Mun78b. Dag---. EYu *bal* B30, J98b. MgrH *bal* J98a. X45. MgrM *bar* JL467, *bər* DS229. BaoD *bal* BL85b. BaoÑ *bal* CN48 (only in *bal bumbu* ‘honeybee’). Kgj---. Dgx *baŋ* B36. Mog---.

***bal(a)gasun** ‘wall; town’. The variant with four syllables seen in Sino-Mongolian can not be confirmed in the modern languages. CT **balik* ‘id’.

MMo SH *balaqasu(n)* H12 ‘town’, HY *balaqasun* M38, Muq *balyasun* P110a, *balqasun* P111a ‘wall; town’. WM *balyasu(n)* L80b. Kh *balgas* (sic) H50b ‘city, town, ruins or site of an ancient town’. Bur *balqaaha(n)* C83b ‘stable, pen’, *bulqaaha(n)* (sic, ?=) C111a ‘pen; hut’. Brg---. Kalm *balysn* M79b ‘town’. Dag---. EYü **balğasən* Her206. MgrH *balğasə* X45, *valğasə* X242. MgrM *barğasi* JL469. Remaining lgs---.

***bara-** ‘to finish, end’.

MMo SH *bara-* H13, HY *bara-* M38, Muq *bara-* P111b. WM *bara-* L82b. Kh *barax* H54a. Bur *baraxa* C87a. Brg *bar-* U69. Kalm *barx* M83b. Dag *bar-* E72. EYü *bara-* B31, J98a. MgrH *bura-* J98a, *bara-* X46. MgrM *bura-* JL463. BaoD *uärə-* BL86a. BaoGm *warə-* CN86:219. BaoÑ *wara-* CN227. BaoX *var-* BC70. Kgj *bəra-* ~ *bura-* S283b, *bura-* S19. Dgx *bara-* B38. Mog *baragda-* W160a (pass), MogMr *br:rv:* *yda-*, MogM *barayda-* L64:36.

***baraun** ‘right (hand side)’ Shortening of the expected contraction length in both Dag and Mgr.

MMo SH *bara'un* H13, HY *bara'un* M39, Muq *bara'un* [P: u:] P112a, *baran* [ʔbara:n] P111b. WM *barayun* L84a. Kh *baruun* H56b. Bur *baruun* C90a ‘right; west’. Brg *baro:ŋ* U69 ‘west; right’. Kalm *barun* M83b ‘right; west’. Dag *barən* E72 ‘right; west’. EYü *baru:n* B31, J98a ‘right’. MgrH *varon* J98a ‘right, west’, *baroŋ* X46, *varoŋ* X243 ‘right’. MgrM *baray* C396. BaoD---. BaoÑ *bayan* (??) CN48 ‘id’. Kgj---. Dgx *boruŋ* B43. Mog---.

***bari-** ‘to grab, to hold, to take’ as well as, in several languages also ‘to build, make, do’

MMo SH *bari-* H13, HY *bari-* M39, Muq *bari-* P112a. WM *bari-* L85b. Kh *barix* H56a. Bur *barixa* C89a. Brg *barʷ-* U69. Kalm *bärx* M92b. Dag *barʷ-* E73. EYü *bar-* B31, J98a. MgrH *varə-* J98, *barə-* X46, *varə-* X243. MgrM *bari-* C396, *bari-* T316. BaoD *uarə-* BL86a, *uar-* BL34. BaoÑ *war-* CN227. Kgj *bari-* S283a. Dgx *bari-* B38. Mog *bari-* R23b, *bari-* W160a, *bar-* W159b.

***bars** ‘tiger’. An Iranian word that probably entered via Turkic. The ‘un-Mongolic’ final cluster *-rs* was simplified in several ways.

MMo SH *barus* (??) H13 ‘q.v.’, HY *bars* M39, Muq---. WM *bars* L88b ‘tiger’. Kh *bar* H52b, *bars* H56b. Ord *bar* M50a. Bur *bar* C85a ‘panther; tiger’, (western) ‘lion’, *baras* (sic) C87b ‘tiger; panther’. Brg *bar* U69. Kalm *bars* M83a ‘panther’. Dag---. EYü *barəs* B31, J98a. MgrH *bas* J98a, *basə* X45, *pasə* X54. MgrM *barsə* JL469, *bar(s)* C374. BaoD *bas* BL86b. BaoÑ *basə* CN48. Kgj *basī* S283a. Dgx *basī* B37, *basī* L114a. Mog---.

***basa** ‘again; also’. The *p-* is due to the following *-s-*. Related to CT **bas-a*.

MMo SH *basa* H13, HY *basa* M39, Muq *basa* P113a. WM *basa* L90a. Kh *bas* H57b. Bur *baha* C92b. Kalm *bas* M84a. Dag *bas* E71. EYü *pəsə* B39, J98a. MgrH *pusa* J98a. MgrM *puzə* C390, DS204a. BaoD *sa* BL58. BaoÑ *sa* CN121. Kgj

basa ~ *basya* (sic) S283b, *basya* S219 ‘also; or; otherwise, or else’. DgX *pasə* B46, *pusə* L113a. MogMr *bp:sa* L62:19.

***batu** ‘strong, sturdy, firm (of people and objects)’. The unexpected *-r-* in BaoGt may be a byproduct of the aspiration of *-t-*. The initial *p-* in Shirongol is also due to the following *-t-*.

MMo SH *batu* H13, HY *batu* M39, Muq *batu* P113b. WM *batu* L91a. Kh *bat* H57b. Bur *bata* C91a. Brg *bat* U68. Kalm *bat* M84b. Dag---. EYu *batə* BJ321, J86, *bat* B31. MgrH *padə* J99a. MgrM *batə* ~ *batu* C375. BaoD *batə* BL86b. BaoJ *baštɿ* L12. BaoGt *barti* C107. BaoÑ *batə* CN48. Kgj---. DgX *pudu* B48. Mog---.

***bau-** ‘to descend, come down’.

MMo SH *bao'u-* H12, *ba'u-* H14, HY--- [*ba'ura'ul-* M39 ‘to diminish (tr.)’], Muq *ba'u-* P114a, *bu'u-* P126b, *bu:-* P126b. WM *bayu-* L71a. Kh *buux* H86b. Bur *buuxa* C118b. Kalm *buux* M124b. Dag *bɔ:-* E79. EYu *bu:-* B35, J98a. MgrH *bau:-* J98a, *bau-Khas43*, *bu:-* SM30. MgrM *bou-* C374, *bau-* JL482. BaoD *bu-* BL85a. BaoÑ *bu:-* CN53. Kgj *bu-* S283b. DgX *bau-* B34. Mog *bu:-* R25a, *böu-* R24b.

***bayan** ‘rich’. Related to CT **ba:y* ‘id’.

MMo SH *baiyan* H11, HY *bayan* M39, Muq *bayan* P114a. WM *bayan* L76b. Kh *bayan* H60a. Bur *bayan* C93a. Brg *bayan* U68. Kalm *bayn* M77a. Dag *bayin* E72. EYu *bəyan* B32, *bayan* J98a, *buyan* S255. MgrH *bayan* J98a, *baya:n* X45. MgrM *bayan* JL466. BaoD *bayan* BL85b. BaoGt *bayəŋ* C103. BaoÑ *bayan* CN48. BaoX *bayan* BC64. Kgj *bayə* S283a. DgX *bayan* B37. Mog---.

***bayar** ‘joy, happiness’.

MMo---. WM *bayar* L77a. Kh *bayar* H60a. Bur *bayar* C93a. Brg *bayar* U68. Kalm *bayr* M77b. Dag---. EYu *bəyar* B32, *biar* J13. MgrH *bayar* L42. MgrM *bayər* DS232a. Remaining lgs---.

***bayas-** ‘to be glad, rejoice’.

MMo SH *bayas-* H14, HY *bayas-* M39, Muq *bayas-* P114b. WM *bayas-* L77b. Kh *bayasax* H60b. Bur *bayasaxa* (←Kh) C93b. Brg *bays-* (←Kh) U68. Kalm *baysx* M78a. Dag *bais-* E67. EYu [*pəyarla-* B32]. MgrH *be:sə-* X46, *bəysə-* X47. MgrM *bayasī-* JL467. BaoGt *bəs-* C108. BaoX *bes-* CN86:222. Kgj---. DgX *bayasu-* B37. Mog---.

***bečīn** ‘monkey, ape; ninth in the Twelve Animal cycle’. The Kalm form *sar-möčn* M442b may be an attempt to make sense of the etymon also found in WM *sarbačīn* L675a, *sarmayčīn* L676b, Bur *harmagšan* C677b. An Iranian word that probably entered through Turkic **be:čīn* ‘id’.

MMo HY *bečīn* M40, Muq *bečīn* P115b. WM *beči(n)* L93b. Kh *bič(in)* H63a, *mič(in)* H312b, *meč(in)* H339b. Ord *meči* ~ *méči* M463b. Bur *meše(n)* C313b. Brg *məš* U145. Kalm *möčn* M361a (see above). Dag---. EYu *be:žən* B32. MgrH *mučīn* X127, *mīčīn* SM237. MgrM *mečīn* P417a, *mičīŋ* T345, *mišižun* (?=) DS237a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *bečan* CN51. Kgj---. DgX *biečan* B40. Mog---.

***beke** ‘ink stick; ink’. A cultural word that probably entered from Turkic but is ultimately from Chinese.

MMo SH---, HY *beke* M40, Muq *beke* P115b. WM *beke* L95b. Kh *bex* H98b. Bur *bexe* C134b. Brg *bax* U70. Kalm *bek* M93b. Dag *bəy* E75. EYu *beke* B32. Remaining lgs---.

***belbisün** ‘widow’. Mog *beβa* W160a ‘id’ is from Persian, although the similarity raises the question whether the root of the CM word may be of Iranian origin.

MMo SH *belbisun* H14, HY *belbisün* M40, Muq *belbüsün* P116a. WM *belbesün* L96b. Kh *belbesen* (?stable -n) H95b, *belevsen* H96b. Ord *belbesen* M63b. Bur *belbehe(n)* C131a. Brg---. Kalm *belvsn* M94a. Dag *bəlibsən* E76. EYu *belβasən* B33, J98a. Remaining lgs---.

***belčier** ‘pastureland’. In view of the MMo forms the modern form may be due to dissimilation. The final -i in Bur is hard to reconcile with the other languages. In Kalm apparently merged with **belčir*.

MMo SH *belji’el* H14, HY---, Muq *belčil* P116a, *belče’el* P150b. WM *belčiger* L96b, *belčigir* L97a. Kh *belčeer* H96b, *bilčeer* H62a. Ord *belče:r* M65a. Bur *belšeeri* C131b. Brg *bəłšə:r* U71. Kalm *belčr* M95a. Dag---. EYu *belče:r* B33. MgrH---. MgrM *bərče* DS250 ‘slope’, Slater 2003:61 ‘pasture’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *bañça* B35. Mog---.

***belčir** ‘delta; confluence of rivers’. Cf Turkic **beltir*.

MMo SH *belcir* H14, HY---, Muq---. WM *belčir* L97a. Kh *belčir* H96a, *bilčir* H62a. Bur *belšer* C131b. Brg---. Kalm *belčr* M95a. Dag---. EYu *belčir* B33. Remaining lgs---.

***belen** ‘ready; ready-made’.

MMo SH *belen* H14, *bolen* H17, HY---, Muq *belen* P116a. WM *belen* L97b. Kh *belen* H97a, *bilen* H62a. Bur *belen* C132a. Brg *biləŋ* U71. Kalm *beln* M95a. Dag *bələn* E75. EYu *belen* B33, *bəlen* J98a, *bele:n* S148. MgrH *bulen* J98a. MgrM---. BaoD *balan* BL86a. BaoÑ *bəlan* CN49. Kgj *beilian* ~ *bailian* S283b. Dgx *bəlien* B39. Mog---.

***beri** ‘daughter-in-law; bride’.

MMo SH *beri* H14, HY *beri* M40, Muq *beri* P118a. WM *beri* L99b. Kh *ber* H97a. Bur *beri* C132. Brg *bər* U71. Kalm *ber* M95b. Dag *bərʷ* E77. EYu *be:rə* B32, *bi:rə* J98a. MgrH *be:rə* J98a. X46, *ye:rə* X234. MgrM *beri* JL466. BaoD *uerə* BL86a, BL54 ‘wife’. BaoÑ *werə* CN228 also ‘wife’. Kgj *bere* S283b, *šinuri* (**sini* ‘new’) S295a. Dgx *bieri* B41 also ‘wife’. Mog *beiri* R23b, *bēiri* W160b.

***berigen** and ***bergei** ‘sister-in-law’. EYu perhaps from **bergei* as Bolčuluu suggests but one would expect a long final vowel.

MMo SH *bergen* H14, *berigen* H15, HY *bergen* M40, Muq *berigen* P118a. WM *bergen* L99b. Kh *bergen* H97b ‘wife of older brother’, cf. *bergey* H97a. Ord *bergen* M66b. Bur *berigen* C132b, *bergen* C132b. Brg *bərgəŋ* U71. Kalm *bergn* M95b. Dag *bəryə:n* E77. EYu *be:rge* B32, *bi:rge* J98a. MgrH *bergen* J98a, *vergen*

X243, *burgen* L55, *urgen* L616. MgrM---. BaoD *urgan* BL86b. BaoGt *vurgan* C116. BaoÑ *wergan* CN228. BaoX *organ* BC64. Kgj *bergə* S283b. Dgx *banğan* B35, *bənyən* L114a. Mog---.

***beye** ‘body; person; side’. The meaning ‘self’ known from several central languages, is also documented for EYu. However, EYu normally uses *ejen* < **ejen* ‘master’ in this function. Also compare **öer-*.

MMo SH *beye* H15, *be’e* H14, HY *beye* M40, Muq *beye* P118a ‘body’. WM *beye(n)* L94b. Kh *biye* H61a. Ord *bəye* M62b. Bur *beye* C129b. Brg *bəy* U71 ‘body’. Kalm *biy* M98a. Dag *bəy* E76 ‘body’, E77 ‘side’. EYu *biy* B33 ‘body; self’, *bəi* J98a. MgrH *beye* J98a, *be:* X46, *buye* X52 ‘body’. MgrM *bie* DS207b. BaoD *baiyə* BL6. BaoGt *bē* C108 ‘stature’. BaoÑ---. Kgj *be ~ bei* S283b ‘body’. Dgx *bəyə* B39, *bəiyə* L114b ‘body’. Mog---.

***bī > *bi** ‘I’. The original back-vocalic form is suggested by **ba* ‘we (exclusive)’ and **bīda* ‘we (inclusive)’; as well as the parallel 2nd and 3rd person pronouns **čī* and **ī*.

MMo SH *bi* H15, HY *bi* M40, Muq *bi* P118a. WM *bi* L101a. Kh *bi* H60b. Chakhar *bi:* D173b. Ord *bi* M67b. Bur *bi* C93b. Brg *bi:* U71. Kalm *bi* M97a. Dag *bi:* E78. EYu *bu* B35, *bə* J98a. MgrH *bu* J98b. MgrM *bi* C375. BaoD *bū*, *bə* BL86b. BaoÑ *bə* CN49. Kgj *bi* S283b. Dgx *bi* B39, L114a. Mog *bi* R24a.

***bīčikan** ‘small’. Kh and Ord suggest **bīčakan*, whereas the word became front-vocalic in Kalm. It is unclear whether Baoan *bədi*, *bədgan* belong here. See also **üčūken*; some of the Baoan forms listed there may instead belong here.

MMo---. WM *bičiqan* L102a. Kh *byacxan* H100b ‘small child; small, tiny; a little’. Ord *bičaxan* M71b. Bur *bišixan*, *bišayxan* (western) C95b. Brg *bišxan*, *biši:xan* U72 ‘immature’. Kalm *bičkn* M101a. Dag *bači:kən* E71 ‘small, a little bit’. BaoD *bəjiğon* T135. BaoX *bədi* (?=) BC64 ‘small’. BaoÑ *bədgan* (?=) CN50.

***bīda** (?and ***biden**) ‘we (inclusive)’. The original back-vocalic form was preserved in Ord, Dag, EYu and the Monguor languages. The three central standard languages have the front-vocalic form. Dongxiang and Kangjia, and perhaps all the Baoanic languages (as far as the extant Baoan forms are not simply due to reduction), also have the front form. Moghol is inconclusive. Cf. **ba* ‘we (excl)’ and **bi* ‘I’. New inclusive formations in Shirongol, apparently based on inflected forms of **ba*, include BaoÑ *mangə* CN110, Kgj *mənə* S292a, Dgx *matan* B103.

MMo SH *bida* H15, HY *bida* M41, Muq *bida* P118b. WM *bida/bide(n)* L102b. Kh *bid(en)* H60b ‘we’. Chakhar *bəd* D174a. Ord *bida* M67b. Bur *bide*, *bidener* C94a. Brg *bid* U72. Kalm *bidn* M97b. Dag *bed* E78, *bād* E73. EYu *buda* B35, J98b, J25 ‘we (exclusive)’, *buda-s* B36, J25 ‘we (inclusive)’. MgrH *buda* J26, *buda-sge* J26, *buda-ŋgula* J98b. MgrM *buda-ŋ* JL484, *buda-dan* C198, *da*, *da-si*, *da-tan* DS77a (cf. Slater 2003:84, who no longer documents forms with preserved first syllable. BaoD *bədə* BL86a. BaoGt *buda* CN86:389 ‘we (exclusive)’. BaoJ *budā ~ budá* L18. BaoÑ *bədə* CN50. Kgj *bəde* S283b ‘we (exclusive)’. Dgx *bižien* B41, L114a ‘we (exclusive)’. Mog *bidā*, *bidā-t* R24a ‘we’.

***bīlduur** ~ ***bīljūur** ‘small bird’ (cf. **sibaun*). The first variant survives in Dag, the second in EYu and Shirongol. Probably related as well are two sets of further bird names. An apparent diminutive **bīljūukai* is found in Kh *byalzuuxay* H99b ‘a general term for small birds’. Ord *bīlju:xä*: M69a. Bur *bilzuuxay* C94b ‘small bird’, *bilzuurxay* (*šuvuun*) C94b ‘small songbird’, *bolzuuxay*, *bulzuuxay* C111b ‘small bird’, Brg *boljɔ:xɔi* U74 ‘small bird’. A second set is even harder to reduce to a single CM form: WM *boljīmor* L119b ‘lark’. Kh *boljmor* H67b ‘lark’, *byalzuumar* H99b ‘lark’. Bur *bolžomor* (Kab.), *bulžamar*, *bulžamuur* C111b. Brg *boljmv:r* U77 ~ *boljmor* U74 ‘small bird’.

MMo SH *bilji'ur* H16 ‘small bird, sparrow’, *bildu'ur* H16 ‘lark’, HY---, Muq---, RH *bildu:r* [eds read short ü] 200.B7. Dag *b'yellur*, *b'yeldur* E77 ‘lark’, *b'yoldur* NK479b ‘lark’. EYu *χara βöljir* B46 ‘swallow’ (*χara* ‘black’), *belžɔr* Z342:399 ‘bird’, *bulyür* (sic) Her199 ‘sparrow’. MgrH see ‘bat’ s.v. **sarīsūn*. BaoD---. BaoGt *binžir* C106. BaoÑ *bəlžir* CN49 ‘sparrow’. BaoX *bənžir* BC62 ‘bird’. Kgj *binjir* ~ *binjiri* S283b. Dgx *bunzu* B43, *bənzu* B39 ‘small bird; sparrow’.

***bīrau** (as based on Kh, Ord, Kalm) ‘calf’. Interestingly Bur, Brg, and Khamnigan *boro*: (Janhunen 26) reflect a form **burau* in which the **i* was lost without a trace. This form is confirmed by MMo, but it is ore likely that the original form had **i*. Agricultural term related to CT **buzagu* (?**bīzagu*). Cf. **tugul*.

MMo SH *bura'u* H22, HY---, Muq *buru*: P126 ‘three-year-old calf’. WM *birayū(n)* L106a ‘calf in its second year’. Kh *byaruu(n)* H100b. Chakhar *birɔv*: D174a. Ord *biru*: M70a. Bur *buruu*, *buruun* C114b. Brg *borɔv*: U79. Kalm *bürü* M130. Dag---, EYu---, MgrH *buru*: X52, MgrM *piru* P420b, *burər* DS210. BaoD---, BaoÑ---, Kgj---, Dgx---, Mog---, cf. Zirni *buraul* 20:6, *burayul* 20:8.

***bīsūn** ‘quick, lively, smart’. ?cf. CT **bišig* ‘mature’ (lit and fig).

MMo SH---, HY *biši'un* M41, Muq *bišu:n* P119b. WM *bisiyu* L106a, *busiyu* L140b. Kh *bušuu* H87b. Ord *bušu*: M100a. Bur *bušuu* C119b. Brg *bošov*: U78 ‘quick, nimble’. Kalm *bušu*: R63b. Dag *bəšov:n* E82 ‘(of a child) healthy and lively’. Remaining lgs---.

***biči-** ‘to write’. One of the most widespread loanwords in Eurasia, ultimately from Chinese (cf. Turkic **biti-*). In Dag *ki-* ‘to do’ is used instead, under the influence of the neighbouring North Tungusic languages, where *ɔ:-* is both ‘to do’ and ‘to write’, and/or Manchu/Sibe, where both ‘to do’ and ‘to write’ are expressed by *arambi/aram*. The Monguoric languages use **jiru-*.

MMo SH *bici-* H15, HY *biči-* M40, Muq *biči-* P118b. WM *biči-* L101b. Kh *bičix* H63. Kalm *bičx* M102a. Bur *beše-* C136a. Brg *biš-* U72. Dag---, EYu *pəčə-* B39. Mgr--- [see **bičig*]. BaoD *puči-* BL86b. BaoÑ *pəči-* CN54. Kgj *pəči-* S284a. Dgx *pizi-* B47, L114b. Mog *biči-* R24a, W160b.

***bičig** ‘book, writing, letter (epistle)’. Dag *bitəy* E78 is from Manchu. The irregular loss of *-g* in BaoÑ must be due to the verb **biči-*.

MMo SH *bicik* H15, HY *bičik* M40, Muq *bičik* P118b. WM *bičig* L101b. Kh *bičig* H63a. Bur *bešeg* C135b. Kalm *bičg* M101a. Dag---, EYu *pəčəg* B39.

MgrH *puʒig* X57. MgrM *puʒig* JL467. BaoD---. BaoÑ *pəci* (sic) CN54. BaoX *pəʒəg* BC66. Kgj *pəciu* S284a. Dgx---. Mog *bičik* R24a.

***bidüün** ‘coarse, crude’. The vocalism of the first syllable is unexpected in several languages. Dag *u* in the first syllable appears instead of expected *i*. Most, but not all, of the Shirongol forms suggest an earlier form **bedun*. Cf. **sirüün* ‘coarse’, which shows similar phonetic developments.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bidü:n* P119a. WM *büdügün* L144b, *bidügün* L103a. Kh *büdüün* H89a. Ord *büdu:n* ~ *büdi:n* M101b, *bidü:n* M68a. Bur *büdüün* C121b. Brg *büdu:ŋ* U82. Kalm *bödün* M113b. Dag *büdu:n* E87. EYu *bodü:n* B35, *büdü:n* J98b. MgrH *budən* J98b. MgrM *beduŋ* JL477, *bieduŋ* C375. BaoD *baiduŋ* BL86a, *beduŋ* BL37. BaoÑ *bedəŋ* CN51. BaoX *bedəŋ* BC64. Kgj *beduŋ* S283b, *bəduŋ* S19. Dgx *bieduŋ* B40. Mog *beidu:n* R23b, *bäidun* W160a.

***bileü** ‘whetstone’. Related to CT **bi:legü*.

MMo SH *bile’u-de-* H16 ‘to whet’, HY---, Muq---, IV *bile’ü* L20. WM *bilegüü* L104b, *bileü* L104b. Kh *bilüü* (and *bilüür*) H62a. Ord *bilu:* M70a. Bur *bülyüü* [written *bülyuu*] C123a. Brg *bul’u:* U81, *bilu:* S151. Kalm *bülü* M127b. Dag---. EYu *buləi* B36, *bulu:* BJ321, *bulü:* J98a. MgrH *buliu:* J98b. MgrM *biliau* JL465. BaoD *bülü* BL86a. BaoÑ *bəlu* CN49. BaoX *bəlu* BC64. Kgj *bəliau* ~ *buliau* S283a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***bisire-** ‘to believe in; to revere, worship’. Dgx *-ś-* instead of expected *-s-*. Cf. **itege-*.

MMo SH *bušire-* H24, HY *büšire-* M45, cf. *bišire’ül* M41 ‘good faith’, Muq---, Ph *bušire-* P121a. WM *bisire-* L106b. Kh *bišrex* H64a. Ord *bišire-* M70b. Bur *bešerxe* C136a. Kalm *biširx* M102b. Dag---. EYu *šüre-* (only) S152. MgrH *šüre:-* X158, *šžüre:-* X161. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *pišierə-* B47.

***boa-** ‘to tie up, bundle, wrap’. The EYu *p-* is unexpected in the absence of a strong consonant. Cf. CT **bog-*.

MMo SH *bo’o-* H19 ‘to block, obstruct’, HY---, Muq *bo:-* P122b, *bo’o-* P121a. WM *boyo-* L111a. Kh *boox* H71a. Ord *bo:-* M72a. Bur *booxo* C105a. Brg *bɔ:-* U73. Kalm *boox* M109b. Dag only in *bɔ:j uy^w*- E83:21 ‘to die by hanging’ where it is viewed as an expression with **bau-* ‘to descend’. EYu *pu:-* B40. MgrH *bo:-* J98b. X47. Remaining lgs---.

***boarsag ~ *boarčug** ‘name of various types of bread and pastry fried in oil’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH---. WM *boyorsoy* L113a, *boyorčoy* L113a. Kh *boorcog* H71a. Ord *bo:rsog* M81b. Bur *boorsog* C105a. Brg *bɔ:rsɔg* U73. Kalm *boorcog*, *boorsg* M109b. Dag---. EYu *bu:rsag* B34, J74. MgrH *bo:rɔg* X48. MgrM *borsok* P421b, *puʒiḡo* DS224b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *børseḡ* CN52---. BaoX *barsag* BC67. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***boas** ‘pregnant; with foal, calf, etc’. Cf. CT **bogaz*, but the erratic Muq forms seem to indicate that there was a genuine Mongolic form with rhotacism.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bo'ar*- P120a, *boyar* P120a, *boyur* P120b, *bo'or*- P121a. WM *boyos* L113a. Kh *boos* H71a. Ord *bo:s* (~ *bo:sor*) M82b. Bur *bood* C104b. Kalm *boos* (obs) M109b. Dag *bɔ:r* E79. EYu *bo:s* S337. Mgr---, Bao---, Kgj---, Dgx *bosī* B42. Mog---.

***boda** ‘large livestock (collective term for horses, camels, and bovines)’. Possibly the same word as EYu-MgrH **boda* ‘deer’: EYu *bɔdɔ* B34 ‘deer, stag’, *bɔdɔ* J98b ‘deer’. MgrH *bodo* J98a ‘deer’.

MMo SH *bodo* H16, HY---, Muq---. WM *boda* L108b. Kh *bod* H65a. Ord *bodo* M72b. Bur *bodo* C96b ‘large (of livestock)’. Kalm *bod* M103b. Dag *bɔd* E83. EYu *bɔdɔ* B34. Remaining lgs---.

***boda-** ‘to count; to calculate; to think; to plan’. Cf. **sedki-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *bodo-* L109a. Kh *bodox* H65. Ord *bodo-* M72b. Bur *bodoxo* C97b. Brg *bod-* U75. Kalm *bodx* M104a. Dag *bɔd-* E83. EYu *bɔdɔ-* B34. MgrH---, MgrM *bodo-* JL487. Remaining lgs---.

***bogani** ‘low, short (not tall)’. There are several unexpected forms. A metathesized form **bogina* seems to underlie the Ord and Brg forms. MgrM and BaoD share another deviant form, which may represent a dissimilation of an earlier **bogonin*. Also note BaoÑ *bəgdə*. Perhaps cf. CT **bokay*.

MMo SH *boqoni-t-qa-* H17 ‘to lower’, HY *boqoni* M42, Muq *boyani* P120a. WM *boyoni* L113a. Kh *bogino* H64b. Ord *bogoni* ~ *boğono* M74a, *bogino* M73b. Bur *bogoni* C96a. Brg *bɔyɪnʸ* U75. Kalm *boynʸ* M103a. Dag *bɔyɪnʸ* E81. EYu *bəğɔnɔ* B34, *bəğɔnə* B33, *boğonə* J98a. MgrH *boğnə* J98b, *boğon* ~ *buğon* X48/49, *buğun* L51. MgrM *boğoliŋ* DS235a. BaoD *boɣoluŋ* BL86b. BaoJ *boğolúŋ* L17. BaoGm *bəğñəŋ* CN86:17. BaoÑ *boğni* ~ *bəgdə* CN52. Kgj *bəğəni* ~ *bəğɔni* ~ *bağəni* S283a. Dgx *boğoni* B42, *boyoni* L114a. Mog---.

bogar** (?bogaar**) and ***bagaur** (the same etymon?) ‘buttocks; anus’. The form with *a* in the first syllable does not survive in modern languages. It may have been influenced by **baa-* ‘to defecate’. Kh and Ord suggest **bukuur* or **bukaur*. Interesting distribution in Kh, Dag, Baoanic and Mog. Cf. **böğse*, **kondalai*, **konñiasun*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *baqa'ur* P111a, *baya'ur-* P163a (could also be read with *-u-* in the unvocalised first syllable), also *asabaqu:r* P106b with unknown first element, IV *bayayur* (sic) L17, RH *bayayur* (sic) 199A13. WM *buqur* L143a. Kh *buxuur* H87a. Ord *buχu:r* M92a. Bur---, Brg---, Kalm---, Dag *bɔyɔ:r* E80. EYu---, Mgr---, BaoD *boğor* BL86a. BaoÑ---, Kgj *bəğɔr* ~ *bəğɔ* S283b ‘female genitals’. Dgx *boğo* B41. Mog *buya:r* R24b, MogM *boyp:r* L62:18.

***bokī** / ***mokīn** ‘resin’. The form with *m-* and *-n* in Bur-Kalm. The loss of the second syllable in EYu is irregular.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *boki* L114a. Kh *boxʸ* H73b. Bur *moxi(n)* C301a ‘tree resin’. Kalm *mokn* M354b. Dag *bɔkʸ* E80 ‘rosin, colophony’. EYu *pɔğ* B40 ‘gum of a pine; tree sap’. Remaining lgs---.

***bol-** ‘to become, to be; to be possible or allowed’. Cf. CT **bo:l-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *bol-* H18, HY *bol-* M41, Muq *bol-* P120a. WM *bol-* L114b. Kh *bolox* H69a. Bur *boloxo* C102a. Kalm *bolx* M107a. Dag *bɔl-* E81. EYü *bɔl-* B34, *bol-* J98b. MgrH *olə-* J98b, *o:li-* SM296. MgrM *boř-* T318, *bər-* DS210a ‘can’. BaoD *ol-* BL52 ‘to become’. BaoÑ *ol-* CN17 ‘to become, turn into’. Kgj---. Dgx *olu-* B14 ‘to be possible, to be proper’. Mog *bol-* R24b, *bol-* W161a.

***bol-** ‘to ripen, to be cooked’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bol-* P120b, LV *bolya-* (caus.) P1267 ‘to cook’. WM *bol-* L115a. Kh *bolox* H69a. Bur *boloxo* C102a. Kalm *bolx* M107a. Dag *bɔl-* E81. EYü *bɔl-* B34. MgrH *balə-* X45, *bɔlə-* X48. MgrM *bar-* T374, *boř-* T318. BaoD *bol-* BL13. BaoÑ *bol-* CN52 ‘to ripen (grain)’. Kgj *bər-* S283b. Dgx *bolu-* B42. Mog *bol-* R24b, *bol-* W161a.

***bolgan** ‘all, every’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *bolγan* L117a. Kh *bolgon* H67a. Ord *bolgon* M78a. Bur *bolgon* C99a. Brg *bɔlgɔŋ* U74. Kalm *bolγn* M105. Dag *bɔly^w* E82. EYü *bɔlgɔn* B34, *bolgon* J54. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *aliğay boğoy* B3 ‘no matter which, whichever’, *kieğay boğoy* B75 ‘whoever’ (cf. **ali* ‘which’, **ken* ‘who’). Mog---.

***bora** ‘grey’. Note also the feminine derivation **boragčīn*, as in MMo SH *boroqcin* H19 ‘chick’, MgrH *burəğsji:* X52 ‘hen’. Cf. CT **boz*.

MMo SH *boro* H19, HY *boro* M42, Muq *bora* P121b. WM *boro* L121a. Kh *bor* H71a. Ord *boro* M80b. Bur *boro* C106a. Brg *bər* U75. Kalm *bor* M110b. Dag *bər* (in compounds only) E83, *bər* Z96a ‘brown’. EYü *bərɔ* B34 ‘camel colour’, *boro* J98b. MgrH *boro* J98b. MgrM *boro* JL464. Bao *boro* P420b. BaoÑ---. Dgx *boro* B43. Mog *boro*: R24b.

***boraan** ‘rain’. As Ligeti explains (1974:302) Mog is likely to be borrowed from Persian *bârân*.

MMo SH *boro'an* H19, *boro'on* H19, *boroqan* H19 ‘snow storm’, HY---, Muq---. WM *boroya(n)* L121b. Kh *boroo(n)* H72a. Ord *boro:n* M81a. Bur *boroo* C106a, *boroon* (lit) C106b. Brg *bərɔ:* U75. Kalm *boraan* M110b. Dag---. EYü *bərɔ:n* B34 ‘precipitation, rain or snow’, *boro:* J89. MgrH *buro:n* X52. Bao *bora* [asxajī] P413a (cf. **aska-*). BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *boron* (?=) R161a.

***bos-** ‘to get up, stand up’. The BaoÑ reflexes are hard to separate from those of **ös-* ‘to grow’.

MMo SH *bos-* H19, HY *bos-* M43, Muq *bos-* P122a. WM *bos-* L122b. Kh *bosox* H73a. Ord *bos-* M82a. Bur *bodoxo* C97b, *bohoxo* (western) C107b. Brg *bɔd-* U75. Kalm *bosx* M111b. Dag *bɔs-* E82. EYü *pɔs-* B40, *pos-* J98b. MgrH *posə-* J98b, *bosə-* X48, *basə-* X45, *pasə-* X54. MgrM *bosi-* JL467. BaoD *osi-* BL86a, *os-* BL75. BaoÑ *əs-* ~ *əɣ-* CN18, *wər-* CN230. Kgj *bɔs-* S283b. Dgx *bosi-* B42, L114b. Mog *bos-* R24b, *bos-* 161a.

***bosaga** ‘threshold’. Kh and Ord suggest an alternant **bosiga*, Bur a metathesized form **bogasa*; Dagur points at **bosarga* (as do Northern Tungus forms). The meaning in the Muqaddimat is reminiscent of Khamnigan (Köhlmi 187, and footnote 7).

MMo SH *bosoqa* H20, HY *bosoqa* M43, Muq (*de:dü*) *bosaya* P141b ‘intel’, *bosaqa* P143b ‘door frame’. WM *bosoqa* L122b. Kh *bosgo* H72a, *bošgo* H73b. Ord *bošogo* M83a. Bur *bogoho* C96b. Brg *bəgu*: U73. Kalm *bosg* M111b, *bosxa* M112a. Dag *basrəy* E71. EYu---. MgrH *bošgo* J98b, *posgu* X56. MgrM *bošgo* JL469. Remaining lgs---.

***botaga(n)** ‘camel foal’. CT **boto* ‘id’.

MMo SH *botoqan* H20, HY---, Muq *botayan* P122b, *botaya* P245a. WM *botoya*, *botoyo(n)* L123a. Kh *botgo* H73a. Ord *botoḡo* M83b. Bur *botogo(n)* C107a. Brg *botəg* U74. Kalm *botxn* M112b. Dag---. EYu *botəḡon* B34. Remaining lgs---.

***bödene** ‘quail’. Dag suggests final -i.

MMo SH---, HY *bödene* M43, Muq---, LV *bödene* P1266, IV *bödene* L62:21. WM *büdüne* L144b. Kh *büdne(e)* H88b, *bödnö* H74b. Ord *bödönö* M84a. Bur *büdne* C121a. Brg *budən* U82. Kalm *bödn* M113b. Dag *bədən*^y E76. EYu---. MgrH *puduri* ~ *puduru* (?=) SM305. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog: Hazara *bə:danā* (etc) L62:21.

***böe** ‘shaman, sorcerer’. Cf. CT **böḡü* ‘id’. Cf. **idugan*.

MMo SH *bo’e* H16, HY *bö’e* M42, Muq---. WM *böge* L123b. Kh *böö* H75b. Ord *bö*: M84a. Bur *böö* C107b. Brg *bo*: U79. Kalm *bö* M112b. Dag---. EYu *bö*: KotL455. MgrH *bo*: X47. MgrM *bo* P422a. Remaining lgs---.

***böelji-** ‘to vomit’. This form is confirmed by the three literary central languages. Most of QG (and one of the MMo forms in Muq) suggest **böelje-*. Cf. **ogsī-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bö’ölje-* P123b, *bö:lji-* P124a. WM *bögelji-* L124a. Kh *bööljix* H75b. Ord *bö:lji-* M86b. Bur *böölžexe* C107b. Brg *bo:lji-* U79. Kalm *bööljix* M114b. Dag *bə:lji-* E74. EYu *böljō-* B35. MgrH *bo:ljo-* J99a. MgrM *barže-* C374. BaoD *banži-* BL86b. BaoÑ *bəlža-* CN52. Kgj *bərji-* S284a. Dgx *banžə-* B36. Mog---.

***böere** ‘kidneys’. The SH forms with -k- must be due to an erroneous transcription from the Uigur script. Is Todaeva’s form a loan from central Mongolic? All other Dag sources give *basərt* for ‘kidney’ (< Tungusic **boso-kto*). Cf. also Dag *tauļ’e: buə:r* NK502b ‘chestnut’, lit. ‘hare’s kidney’ as in Kh *tuulayn böör* ‘chestnut’. CT **böḡür(-ek)* ‘id’. The MMo IV form was influenced by Turkic.

MMo SH *bo’ere* H16, *bokore* H17, *bokorai* H17, HY *bö’ere* M43, Muq---, LV *bö:re* P1266 (‘waist region’), IV *bö:rek* L21. WM *bögere* L124b. Kh *böör* H76a ‘& testicles’. Ord *bö:rö* M88a. Bur *bööre* C108a. Brg *bo:r* U79. Kalm *böör* M114b. Dag *bə:r* (?←Kh) T18, and see above. EYu *pū:re* B41, *pö:rö* (Qinglong dial) BJ350, *pi:re* J99a. MgrH *bo:ro* J99a. MgrM */bori/* = *bozi* C375. BaoD *borə* BL86b. BaoÑ *bə:rə* CN52. Kgj *böre* S284a. Dgx *boro* B43. Mog *böärä* R24b.

***böesüg ~ *böesün** ‘testicle’. In EYu and BaoŃ in fact with the same shape as ‘louse’ below. The Ordos form is also more likely to stem from the variant with *-n*. Cf. **böldegen*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH---. WM *bögesüg* L125a ‘testicle(s)’, *bögesügey* LC 1:276a ‘penis’. Kh *böösgiy* LC 1:276a ‘penis’. Ord *bö:slö-* M88b ‘to castrate (usu. said of rams and billy-goats)’. Bur---. Kalm *böösg* M115a. Dag---. EYu *baisən* B32 ‘testicles’. BaoŃ *bə:səŋ* (?=) CN51 ‘spleen’.

***böesün** ‘louse’. MgrM *bəsīgə* F102:36 ‘lice’ seems to be *bəsī gə*, i.e. **böesün* followed by the modal adverb *gə* (< **nigen*). Possibly related to CT **bö:g* ‘spider’.

MMo SH *bo’esun* H16, HY *bö’esün* M43, Muq *böwesün* (P: *bö’e:sün*) P123a, RH *bö:sün* 200A7. WM *bögesü(n)* L125a. Kh *böö(ön)* H76a. Ord *bö:s(u)* M88b. Bur *bööhe(n)* C108a. Brg *buxə:* U80. Kalm *böösn* M115a. Dag *bu:s* E84. EYu *baisən* B32, *bü:sən* BJ322, J99a. MgrH *bo:sə* J99a. MgrM *bo:sī* C169 (and see above). BaoD *bosun* BL86a. BaoŃ *bə:səŋ* CN51. Kgj *bəsun* ~ *bə:sun* S284a. Dgx *bosun* B42. Mog *busu* W161b, MogM/Mr *bə:su’n* L62:21.

***bögle-** ‘to stop up; to block, barricade’. More frequently attested than its base **böğ* ‘stop, plug’, which survives in Ord and Mog.

MMo SH *bokle-* H17, HY---, Muq---. WM *bögle-* L125b. Kh *böglöx* H74a. Ord *bög* M84a, *bögle-* M84b. Bur *büglexe* C120b. Kalm *böglx* M113a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *bugəle-* X49. BaoGt *bugal-* C114. Kgj---. Dgx *buğulie-* B43. Mog *bug* R25a ‘stopper, cork’.

***böğse** ‘backside, buttocks’. Cf. **bogar*, **kondalaï*.

MMo SH *bokse* H17, HY---, Muq *bökse* P123b. WM *bögse(n)* L126a. Kh *bögs* H74a. Ord *bögsö* M85a. Bur *bügse* C120b. Brg *bugs* U81. Kalm *bögs* M113a. Dag *burs* E88 ‘hindquarters of an animal’. EYu *bəgse* S161, *böxsö* K447. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoŃ *bərke* (via **bəske*) CN52. Kgj *besge* S283b. Dgx---. Mog---.

böjən** (?böjeŋ**) ‘young hare’. Ord and EYu support **böjeŋ* with non-high vowel and *-ŋ*. Kh *-j-* indicates an earlier form **böjīn*; *-i-* is supported by Kalm, which also has a long vowel, probably a secondary development. EYu *p-* is unexpected in the absence of a following strong consonant.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *böjən* [P: *bučan*] P357a. WM *böjün* (*böjön*) L128b. Kh *böjīn* H74b. Ord *böjōŋ* M84a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *böjōŋ* M114b. Dag---. EYu *pejeŋ* B39. Remaining lgs---.

***böke** ‘strong; wrestler’.

MMo SH *boko* H17, HY *bökö* (in pers. name) M43, Muq *böke* P123a. WM *böke* L126b. Kh *böx* H76b. Ord *bökö* M85b. Bur *büxe* C127b. Brg *bux* U80. Kalm *bök* M113b. Dag *buk^w* E84. EYu *bö^hgö* S162. MgrH *buko* L52. MgrM *boko bari-* (Sanchuan) P411a ‘to wrestle’, *woko bari-* DS261b (cf. **bari-*). Remaining lgs---.

***böken** ‘hump of a camel’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bökün* P345b, RH *böke.tü* 204A18 ‘hunch-backed’. WM *bökö(n)* L127b. Kh *böx* H76b. Ord *bökö* M86a. Bur *büxe(n)* C128a.

Kalm *bökn* M113b. Dag *buk*^w E84. EYu *bögön* (only) S162. Shirongol lgs---. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *bökkan* 20:5.

bökene** (?bökeene**) ‘gadfly, horsefly’ with several unexpected variant forms.

MMo SH---, HY *bökö’üne* M43 ‘mosquito’, Muq---. WM *bököne* L127a, *bükügene* (so read) L145b. Kh *böxnö* H76b. Ord *bököŋ* M86a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *bökün* M114a ‘mosquito’. Dag---. EYu *bögdæg* (?) B35 ‘mosquito’. MgrH *pugunağ* X56. Remaining lgs---.

***böldegen** ‘testicles’. Shirongol and Moghol reflect disyllabic forms in *-g* and *-ŋ* respectively.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *böldegen* P123b, IV *böldöge* L21. WM *böldege(n)* L127b. Kh *böldögöö* H74a ‘testicles’. Ord *böldögö* M86b ‘penis; testicle’. Bur *büldege(n)* C122a ‘scrotum; testicles’. Brg *buldæg* U81 ‘penis’. Kalm *böldögn* R56a ‘female genitals’. Dag *bälluγ*^w ~ *bälduγ*^w E76. EYu---. MgrH *burdu*: SM35 ‘penis (of children and animals)’, cf. *bu:də* X49, L49 ‘boy’s penis’. MgrM *pərdæg* DS255, (Sanchuan) *purduk* P422a ‘testicles’. BaoÑ *bəldæg* (?) CN49 ‘ball’. Kgj---. Dgx *paoda* (?) MC316a ‘scrotum’. Mog *buldaŋ* R25a ‘penis’, cf. also Mog *buydot* (?) W161b ‘id’.

***böś** ‘(piece of) cloth, textile; cotton cloth’. Wanderwort (probably from Arabic *bazz*) that entered Mongolic from Turkic.

MMo SH---, HY *bös* M43, Muq *bös-* (reborrowing ←CT) P124a. WM *bös* L128a. Kh *bös* H76b (cf. *büs(en)* H92b). Ord *būs* M, *bös* M88b. Bur *büd* C121a. Brg *bud* U82. Kalm *bös* M115a. Dag *bur*^v E88. EYu *peś* B39, J12, *pös* J5. MgrH *bos* X48. MgrM *bosī* C374. Bao---. Kgj *bəśi* S284a. Dgx *’bosī* B42. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *buz* (so read) 13:3 (*-z* suggests this is the Turkic form).

***bötege** ‘bird’s crop, gizzard’. The central languages display slightly changed forms. The first vowel was unrounded in Kh-Kalm, suggesting a form **betege*. Bur indicates **k* instead of **g* (the voiceless *-k* in Kalm may be due to the preceding *-t*). Ord *betege* M67b ‘name of a stomach disease’, *butege* M107b ‘disease of the heart caused by grief’, may be related. However the Buriat disease names *büd’xe* C121b, *bed’xe* C129a are phonetically different from *büdxe* listed below.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bötege-* (P reads *-k-*) P123b, RH *bötege* 186C26. WM *betege(n)* L100b. Kh *beteg* H98a. Ord (see above). Bur *büdxe* C121b. Kalm *betk* M96b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *podogo* SM303 ‘gizzard’. MgrM *pieđigər* DS252b ‘stomach of an animal’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***bučal-** ‘to boil (intr)’ and ***bučalga-** ‘to boil (tr)’. The Kalm *-s-* (instead of expected *-c-*) is irregular. BaoÑ *šžal-* has been compared to WM *sijala-* L722a ‘to boil until soft, etc’, but can also be derived from the present etymon. Kgj is too abraded to be certain, but could be from **bučalga-*.

MMo SH *bucalqa-* H20, HY---, Muq *bučal-* P124a, *bučalya-* P124a. WM *bučal-* L129a. Kh *bucalax* H87b, *bucalgax* H87b. Ord *bučal-* M100b. Bur *busalxa* C116a. Brg *bosal-*, *boslag-* U78. Kalm *buslx*, *buslgx* M122a. Dag *bačil-* E71, *bačilya-* E71. EYu *hčälğa-* B53, *pəjalğa-* J17. MgrH *šžolə-* X160, *šžolga-* X160,

śźüeli- SM392, *śźieli-* SM389, *śźieliga-* ~ *śźierga-* SM390, *śźüeliga-* ~ *śźüerga-* SM392. MgrM *pućar-* C393, *bićilga-* P414b, *piźierga-* DS207. BaoD *źiale-* BL79, *źiale-* BL60. BaoÑ *śźal-* CN152, *hźal-* CN73 ‘to cook’. BaoX *źal-* CN86:222. Kgj *je-* ~ *jeř-* (?=) S302b, *jiğa-* ~ *jağa-* (?=) S303a. Dgx *puźalu-* B48, *puźaluğa-* B49, *puźağa-* B48. Mog *bućo:l-* R24b, *bićol-* W160b (and causatives).

***budaan** ‘grain, groats; porridge; meal’.

MMo SH *buda'an* H20, HY *buda'an* M43, Muq *buda:n* P247a. WM *budaya(n)* L129b. Kh *budaa* H77b. Ord *buda:* M89a. Bur *budaa* C109a. Brg *boda:* U78. Kalm *budan* M116a. Dag *buda:* E86, *bada:* E71. EYu *bəda:n* B32, J98a, *buda:n* S165. MgrH *buda:* J98a. MgrM *buda* C375. BaoD---. BaoÑ *badan* (‘Tongren’) T134. Kgj *budɔ* S284a. Dgx *budan* B44. Mog---.

***budaŋ** ‘mist’. Cf. **manan*.

MMo SH *budan* H20, HY---, Muq *budan* P124a. WM *budang* L129b. Kh *budan(g)* H78a. Ord *budaŋ* M89b. Bur *budan(g)* C109a. Kalm *budŋ* M116b. Dag---. EYu *budaŋ* B35. Remaining lgs---.

***budu-** ‘to dye, paint’. Cf. CT **boda-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *budu-* P124b. WM *budu-* L130a. Kh *budax* H78a. Ord *budu-* M90a. Bur *budaxa* C109a. Brg *bod-* U78. Kalm *budx* M116b. Dag *bɔd-* E83. EYu *budu-* B36, *budə-* J98a. MgrH *budə-* J98a. MgrM *budu-* JL464, *buda-* T319. Remaining lgs---.

***budug** ‘dyestuff, paint’. Cf. CT **bodog*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *buduq-* P156a. WM *buduy* L130a. Kh *budag* H78a. Ord *buduq* M90a. Bur *budag* C109a. Brg *bodag* U78. Kalm *budg* M116a. Dag *bɔdɔ:r* E83. EYu *budug* B36, *budog* J98a. MgrH *budəg* J98a. MgrM *budag* T319. Remaining lgs---.

***bugu** ‘deer’.

MMo SH *buqu* H21, HY *buqu* M43, Muq *buyu-* P124b. WM *buyu* L131a ‘male deer’. Kh *buga* H77b. Ord *buğu* M91b. Bur *buga* C108b. Brg *bog* U76. Kalm *bug* M115b. Dag *bɔɣ*^w E81. EYu *bɔğɔ* S166 ‘deer’, *bɔğɔ* B33 ‘deer chess (a kind of board game)’. MgrH *buğu* S166. MgrM *bogu* P416a. Remaining lgs---.

***buila** ‘camel’s nose-plug’. Apparently not attested in the QG languages, but it is found in neighbouring WYu *pila*. Cf. **döre*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *buila* P124b. WM *buyila* L132a. Kh *buyila* H79a. Ord *buila* M92b, *bu:li* (?< Oir) M95a. Bur *buyila* C109b. Brg *boilag* U76. Kalm *buul* M123b. Remaining lgs---.

***bujar** ‘dirt; dirty’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *bujar* L143a. Kh *buzar* H79a. Bur *buzar* C109a. Brg *bɔzar* U78. Kalm *buzr* M116b. Dag *bajir* E72. EYu---. MgrH *bužira:-* X52 ‘to become dirty’. Remaining lgs---.

***buka** ‘bull’. Agricultural term related to CT **buka* (?**bu:ka*, ?**bukka*) ‘id’. BaoÑ *warɣan* possibly from an Amdo corruption of the Turkic/Mongolic word, but may also involve Tibetan *ba-* bovine. Dgx may represent an earlier (diminutive) **buka-čug*; the *a* in the first syllable is unexpected.

MMo SH *buqa* H21, HY *buqa* M43, Muq---. WM *buqa* L142b. Kh *bux* H87a. Bur *buxa* C119a. Brg *box* U76. Kalm *bux* M124. Dag *bay* E70. EYü *pəyqa* B39, *puğa* J98b. MgrH *puğa* J98b. MgrM *puğa* Z338:346, *pika* P411b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *warɣan* (?=) CN227 ‘whole yak bull’. Kgj---. Dgx *bağaçəu* B36 ‘bull’. Mog *buqa* R24b.

***bukaur** ‘buttocks’ see ***bogaar**

***bula-** ‘to bury’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bula-* P124b. WM *bula-* L133a. Kh *bulax* H80b. Bur *bulaxa* C110b. Brg *bol-* U77. Kalm *bul-* R60a. Dag *bal-* E70. EYü *bəla-* B32, *bula:-* J98b. MgrH *bula:-* J98a. MgrM *bula-* DS209b. BaoD *bula-* BL86a. BaoÑ *bəla-* CN49. Kgj---. Dgx *bula-* B44. Mog---.

***bulag** ‘(water) spring’. Cf. CM **kudug* ‘well’.

MMo SH---, HY *bulaq* M43, Muq *bulaq* P289a. WM *bulag* L133a. Kh *bulag* H80a. Bur *bulag* C110a. Brg *bolag* U77. Kalm *bulg* M117b. Dag *bula:r* E85. EYü *bulag* B35, J98a. MgrH *bulag* J98a. MgrM *bulag* JL477, *bulag* DS252b. BaoD *bulag* ~ *balag* BL86b. BaoGt *bäləxə* C101. BaoÑ *balag* CN49. BaoX *balag* BC61. Kgj---. Dgx *bula* B43. Mog---.

***bulagan** (?**bulugan*) ‘sable’.

MMo SH *buluqan* H22, HY *buluqan* M43, Muq *bulgan* P125b. WM *bulaga(n)* L133a. Kh *bulga(n)* H80b. Ord *bulğa* M93b. Bur *bulga(n)* C111a. Brg *bolag* U77. Kalm *bulyn* M118a. Dag *baləy* E70. EYü *balagan* B31, *bulagan* S168 ‘marten’. MgrH *bulğa* S168 ‘marten’. Remaining lgs---.

***bulanğır** ‘turbid, unclear’.

MMo SH---, HY *bulunggir* M43, Muq *bulanqir* P125a. WM *bulanggir* L133b, *bulunggir* L136b. Kh *bulingar* H81a, *bulangir* H80b. Bur *bulangir* C110b. Kalm *bul’nyr* M119b. Dag---. EYü---. Mgr---. MgrM *pelenkur* P416b. Bao---. Kgj *bəlanğar* ~ *bulanğar* S283a. Dgx *bulanğəi* B44. Mog---.

***bulčirkaï** ‘gland’. Perhaps related to **bulčün* ‘muscle’ (not listed here), unless the first vowel was really *i*, as suggested by MMo. The Dgx form lacks the ending *-kAi*. Alternatively it could be related to Kalm *buljır* R59b (not found elsewhere?), but the strong *-ç-* speaks against this.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bilčirqai* P119a, RH *bulčirğa* [unvocalised] 205B1. WM *bulčirqai* L134a. Kh *bulčirxay* H82a. Ord *bulčarxä*: M96b, *balčarxä*: M48b. Bur *bulšarxay* C112b. Brg *bolširxai* U77. Kalm *bul’črxä* M119b. Dag---. EYü---. MgrH *pažərgai* X54 ‘lymph node’. MgrM *barčigai* JL467. Bao (unmarked dial) *bəncīgi* S169. Kgj---. Dgx *binçi* (?=) MC39b ‘lymph node’. Mog---.

***buli-** / ***bulia-** ‘to snatch away, seize’. The latter form, found in central Mongolic and Dag, formally resembles a causative.

MMo SH *buli-* H22, HY---, Muq---. WM *buli-* L134b, *buliya-* L134b. Kh *bulaax* H79b. Ord *bula:-* M93a. Bur *bulyaaxa* C113a. Brg *boŋ'a-* U77. Kalm *bulax* M117b. Dag *bəŋ'e:-* E75, *bəŋ'e:-* Z96a ‘to snatch, seize’, cf. the reciprocal *bəŋ'e:lč-* E75, *bəŋ'e:lč-* E81 ‘to fight for sth, to contend, to try to be the first’. EYu *bulə-* B35, J98a, *bələ-* S167. MgrH *bulə-* X50. MgrM *buli-* JL461, *bili-* C375. BaoD *bulə-* BL86a. Baoŋ *bəŋ-* CN49. Kgj *bəli-* ~ *buli-* S283a. Dgx *bili-* B41. Mog---.

***buluŋ** ‘corner’. Cf. CT **buluŋ* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *bulung* L136 ‘corner; (..) bend of a river, etc’. Kh *bulan(g)* H80a. Ord *buluŋ* M96b. Bur *bulan(g)* C110b. Kalm *buluŋ* M118b. Dag---. EYu *buləŋ* J98a ‘corner’, BJ321 ‘river valley’. MgrH *buləŋ* J98a. MgrM---. Bao---, perhaps survives in BaoD *derəŋbəltə* BL92b ‘square (adj.)’ if from **dörben buluŋ-tu*. Kgj---. Dgx *buluŋ* B44 ‘side, edge (of a road, a field)’. Mog---.

***burčag** ‘pea, bean’. Note the vowel length in Kh. Agricultural term related to CT **burčak* (? < **burč-ak*).

MMo SH---, HY *burčaq* M43, Muq *burčaq* P125b. WM *burčay* L137b. Kh *buurcag* H86b. Ord *burčaq* M98a. Bur *buursag* C118a ‘seed, fruit (of a plant)’. Brg *boršog* U75. Kalm *burčg* M121b. Dag *bərčə:* (sic) E84. EYu *pərčag* B39, *pərjağ* J98a. MgrH *pužag* J99a. MgrM *pužig* C376 ‘bean/pea’. BaoD *pučiax* BL86a. BaoGt *pəciğ* C149. Baoŋ *pəčag* CN54 ‘bean; pea’. Kgj *pəjəğ* S284a. Dgx *puža* L114b, B48, *pīža* B47 ‘bean, pea’. Mog---.

***burgasun** ‘willow’. Cf. **hičesün*.

MMo SH *burqasun* H22 ‘elm bark’, HY---, Muq *buryasun* P234, P237, *buryasut* P113a ‘twigs’, P125b ‘leaves’. WM *buryasu(n)* L137b. Kh *burgas(an)* H82b, *burgaas(an)* ‘willow’. Ord *burğasu* M98b. Bur *burgaaha(n)* C113a ‘&c’. Brg *borğa:* U79 ‘willow twig, wicker’. Kalm *buryasn* M120a ‘pussy-willow’. Dag *barya:s* E73 ‘willow twig, wicker’, *barya:s mɔ:d* Z45 ‘willow’. EYu---. MgrH *burğa:sə* L56. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---, but cf. Hazara (Bēsut) *buryasu* L54:107.

***burkan** ‘Buddha; deity’. Wanderwort that probably entered via Turkic **burkan*.

MMo SH *burhan* (in toponym) H22, HY *burqan* M43, Muq---. WM *burqan* L139b. Kh *burxan* H84a. Bur *burxa(n)* C115a. Brg *borxaŋ* U79. Kalm *burxn* M121b. Dag *barkən* E73. EYu *pərqan* B39, *pərgan* J89. MgrH *purğa:n* X58. MgrM *purğaŋ* JL467, C376. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***buruu** ‘wrong, false, incorrect; mistake’. EYu suggests the presence of a palatal element, apparently supported by the rare Kalm variant (cf. **huruu* for a similar case). An endemic word, unless it is somehow related to CT **buz-* ‘to spoil, ruin’.

MMo SH *buru'u* H23, HY *buru'u* M44, Muq *buru:* P126a. WM *buruyu* L138b. Kh *buruu* H83a. Ord *buru:* M99a. Bur *buruu* C114a. Brg *börö:* U79. Kalm *buru* M121a, *bürü:* (rare) R69a. Dag *börö:* E83. EYu *burui* B36, *börü:* J98b, *burü*

S170. MgrH *murū*: X128, *burū*: L57. MgrM---. BaoD *boro* BL86b. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *burū* B44. Mog---.

***busi** (?*bīsī) ‘(is) not’ (typically the negation for nominal sentences), ***busu** ‘other’. The latter also survives in the plural form **busud*, in Dgx also **busus*. The back-vocalic reconstruction of **bīsī* is based on the assumption that **busi* and **busu* may be related. As the two words are morphologically opaque, it is difficult to say whether and how they are actually related, but the forms and meanings have influenced each other. However, the two words can usually be distinguished in the modern languages. In QG, **busu* only survives in Kgj and Dgx, whereas **busi* was preserved by all languages. The *p-* in the QG languages is due to the following strong consonant *-s-*. The *p-* in Dgx suggests that this is the native word rather than Chinese *bùshì*; however, the speakers may associate the two, as they use the Chinese borrowing *shì* as a copula as well. The variety of final vowels in the QG languages is due to the amalgamation with following copulas.

MMo SH *busu* H23 ‘other; (is) not’, *buši* H24 ‘other; not’, HY *busu* M44 ‘(is) not; other’, Muq *biši* P119b ‘other’, Ph *buši* P121a ‘other’. WM *busu* L140b ‘other (...)’; not (...)’, *biši* L106a ‘(colloquial form of busu)’. Kh *bus* H84a ‘other, etc’, *biš* H63b ‘not (...)’; other (...)’. Ord *busu* M99b ‘other; not’, *biši* M70b ‘not (...)’; other (...)’. Bur *beše* C135a ‘other; (is) not’, *busa* (←Kh) C115b ‘other; un-’. Brg *biš* U72 ‘is not’, *busad* (←Kh) U78 ‘others’. *bəs* U74 ‘not’. Kalm *biš* M102b ‘(is) not; other’, *bus* (lit.) M122a ‘other’. Dag *bišin* E78 ‘other; not’. EYu *puš* B40, *puša* J98b ‘is not’, suffixed also *-ša*. MgrH *puši*-, *puša* J98b ‘is not’. MgrM *puži* JL467 ‘is not’. BaoD *ši/so* BL86b ‘is not’. BaoÑ *xi* CN155, *xo* CN159. BaoGt *ši* CN86:297. Kgj *buši* ~ *bəši* S283a ‘is not’, (te) *busun* S283a ‘other’. Dgx *puši* B48 ‘is not’, *pəsədu* (pl) B46 ‘others’, *pu’sədu*, *pu’səzi* Na (1988:100). Mog *biši* R24a ‘an other one’, W160b ‘no; not; other’.

***butara-** ‘to be scattered, to fall apart, etc’.

MMo SH *butara-* H24, HY *butara’ul-* (caus) M44, Muq *butara-* [written *bwtr’*] P126b. WM *butara-* L141b. Kh *butrax* H85a. Ord *butara-* M100a, *budxara-* (?=) M90a. Bur *butarxa* C117a. Kalm *butrx* M122b. Dag *bata:ra-* (sic) NK477a. EYu---. MgrH *pudəra-*: X57. MgrM *budərağa-* (caus.) DS215b ‘to damage’. Bao---. Kgj *pudəra-* ~ *pudara-* ~ *pudra-* S284b. Dgx *putura-* B48. Mog---.

***buudai** ‘wheat’. Agricultural term related to CT **bugday* ‘id’. Straightforward reflexes of the CM are in the minority. In view of the preserved *-g-*, the forms in Muq, EYu, Mog represent more recent borrowings from Turkic. Also the forms in Bao-Kgj-Dgx point to recent borrowing (as in the case of **arbai* ‘barley’). Further unexpected developments include the *-i-* and *-y-* in Ord and Mog, reminiscent of Kypchak Turkic forms of this word. In Bur this word may have been confused with **buda* ‘groats, porridge’ above.

MMo SH---, HY *bu’udai* M44, Muq *buydai* P124b. WM *buyudai* L131a, *buudai* L142a. Kh *buuday* H85b. Ord *bu:dä*: M90a, *buidä*: M92a. Bur---. Brg *bə:dəi* U73. Kalm *buudya* M132a ‘grain’. Dag---. EYu *bogdii* P418. MgrH *bu:də* J98a. MgrM *bidi* C375. BaoD *baogdəi* BL86b. BaoÑ *bəgdi* CN52. BaoX *bogdi* BC64.

Kgj *bəḡdi* ~ *baḡdi* S283a. Dgx *baudai* B35, *baodai* L114a. Mog *buydai* R24b, *buydai* W161b, *bi:da:* R24a, etc.

***buurul** ‘grey-haired; certain hair colour of animals, usu. shades of grey’. Agricultural term related to CT **bogrul*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bu:rul* P127a. WM *buyurul* L132a, *buyural* L131a. Kh *buural* H86b. Ord *buural* M97b, *buurul* M99a. Bur *buural* C118a. Brg *bo:ral* U76. Kalm *buurl* M123b. Dag *bo:rul* E80. EYu *bu:ral* B35. Shirongol---.

***bū** (and ***bu**?) ‘do not’ (negative (‘prohibitive’) particle used with imperatives and the like). Possibly originally the stem of a negational verb like Tungusic **ə-*. The harmonic class is unclear. The long vowel is probably secondary (a phenomenon often seen in monosyllables ending in a vowel). The distribution of this word and **butegei* below is peculiar, especially the disagreement among the Shirongol languages. Bao and Kgj favour **butegei*, as does EYu.

MMo SH *bu* H20, HY *bu* M43, Muq *bū* (so read) P182b, Ph *bu* P121a. WM *buu* L141b, *büü* L153a. Kh *büü* H94a. Ord *bu:* (according to Mostaert ← WM) M88b. Bur *bū* C119b. Brg *bu:* U81. Kalm *bū* (obs.) M125b. Dag *bu:* E84. EYu---. MgrH *bi:* J98b. X47. MgrM *bu* T317. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *bu* B43. Mog *bi* R24a, MogM/Mr *bi* L62:22.

***būdūri-** ‘to stumble’. The WM spelling with *-l-* is supported by Dgx, and by Manchu *bulduri-* (~ *buduli-*). The Dgx form with *-ǰ-* rather suggests an earlier form **būdiri-* < **būderi-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *būdūri-*, *būdūre-* L144b, *būdūri-* L145b. Kh *būdrex* H88b. Ord *budur(e)-* M101b. Bur *būderxe* C122a. Brg *budər-* U82. Kalm *būdrx* M126a. Dag *budər-*, *budir-* E87. EYu *budur-* B36. MgrH *budərə-* X52, *pudərə-* X57. MgrM *buduri-* T319. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *buǰiri-* B44, *bīǰirai-* MC38b. Mog---.

***būǰi-** ‘to dance’, ***būǰig** ‘dance’. HY is the only form supporting **ö* rather than **ü*. Related to CT **bödi-* ‘id’. Kypchak developments of the Turkic form were reborrowed by Kalm *bi* M97a, Kh *biye-lex* H61.

MMo SH---, HY *bōǰi-* M43, Muq *bōǰi-* [so read] P123a. WM *būǰi-*, *būǰig* L153a. Kh *būǰig* H89a. Bur *būǰeg* C122a. Brg *būǰig* U83. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *buǰig* L51. BaoÑ *buǰi-gu* (nomen futuri) CN53. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***büküli** ‘all, every’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *bükü* P1265. WM *büküli* L145b. Kh *büxel* H94b. Ord *bukuli* M102b. Bur *büxeli* C128a. Kalm *bükl* M126b. Dag *buyulʷ* E85. EYu---. MgrH *pugəli:* X56. MgrM *pukule* P421b, *puguliŋ* JL467. Remaining lgs---.

***büile** ‘gums’. The Ord vocalism, the Bur *m-*, and the MgrH *o:* are all irregular.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---. LV---. WM *büyile* L145a. Kh *büyl* H89a. Ord *buīla* (sic) M92b. Bur *müyle* C305a. Brg *buil* U80. Kalm *büül* M131b. Dag *buil* E84. EYu *buile* B36. MgrH *bo:lə* X47. Remaining lgs---.

***būlien** ‘warm, lukewarm’. Vowel shortening both in Dag and EYu. The -g- in Ord and Bao, as well as one of the WM spellings is unexpected. EYu *bələmbər* stems from **būlien-bir* (or *-bür*) ‘warmish’; the Baoan forms could stem from another diminutive **būlieken*.

MMo SH *bule'en* H21, HY *būli'en* M44, Muq---, IV---, LV---, Ph---. WM *būliyen* L146b, *būligen* L146b. Kh *būleen* H90b. Chakhar *bul'ə:* D175b. Ord *bule:n* M102b, also *bulgen* M103b. Bur *būlyeen* C122a. Brg *bul'ə:ŋ* U81. Kalm *būlān* M126b. Dag *bulun* E85. EYu *bələmbər* B32, J98b. MgrH *bule:n* J98b. BaoD *bəlgan* BL86b. BaoÑ *belgəŋ* CN51. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***būljeg** ‘(finger) ring’. Loanword from CT **bilezük*, probably < **bilek yüzük* ‘wrist ring’. It appears in different shapes, possibly representing as many separate instances of borrowing. The Bur form, like that in Muq, suggests -s-; Kalm suggests -č-, whereas the EYu form with -z- apparently represents a more recent borrowing. BaoX resembles **bögeji* ‘ring, etc’, but this is not otherwise attested in QG.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bilesük* (←Turkic) P119a. WM *bilečüg ~ bilüčüg ~ biličeg ~ bilüčeg ~ bülečeg ~ bilüčüg ~ bilisüg* L105b. Kh *bölzög* H74b. Ord *bulejik, buljik* M102b, *bélejik* M64a. Bur *behelig* C135a. Brg *bul'ju:* (sic) U82. Kalm *bilcg* M100a. Dag---. EYu *pelezək* B33. Mgr---. BaoGm *bəlzīg* CN86:16. BaoÑ *belzəg* CN51. BaoX *bəgzi* (?=) CN86:16. Remaining lgs---.

***bültei-** ‘to stare, glare, to open one’s eyes wide’. EYu may instead stem from back-vocalic **bultai-* ‘to protrude’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *bülteyi-* L147a. Kh *bültiyx* H90a. Bur *beltixe* C131b, *bültixe* C122b. Brg *bulti:-* U81. Kalm *bültix* M127a. Dag *bulti:-* E86. EYu *palti:-* (sic, ?=) B39. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *bənzji-* B39. Mog---.

bürge** (?büürge**) ‘flea’. Found in MMo. Kh-Kal, and Shirongol. From CT **bürge*, but the long vowel seen in Kh, Kalm, and MgrH is not confirmed in Turkic.

MMo SH---, HY *bürge* M45, Muq---, RH *bürge* 200A5. WM---. Kh *büüreg* H94b ‘lice found on fur-bearing animals’. Ord---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *büürg* M132a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *bu:rgə* X49, *burgə* X52. MgrM *bargə* C375. BaoJ *bərgə* L14. BaoÑ *bərgə* CN50. BaoX *bərgə* BC65. Kgj *bərgi* S283b. Dgx *bəŋgə* B39. Mog---.

***büri** ‘every, all, whole’.

MMo SH *buri, burin* H22, HY *büri, būrin* M45, Muq *büri* P105a. WM *büri* L148a. Kh *bür* H90b, *büren* H92a, *büriy* H91a. Bur *büri* C124a. Brg *bur* U83. Kalm *bür* M127b. Dag---. EYu *buri* B36, *βurü* J54, cf. also ook EYu *burən* BJ322 ‘complete, intact’. MgrH *bur* (sic) X52, *bi:ri* (sic) L45. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *məra* CN118, *məta* CN119. BaoX *maru* BC69, *mərag* CN86:285. Kgj *buru* S284a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***bürkü-** ‘to cover; to become cloudy’. Dgx *pukutu-* may represent a denominal verb **bürkügtü-*.

MMo SH *burgu-* H22, HY *bürkü-* M45, Muq *bürkü-* P127b ‘to be closed’, cf Ph *burk^hig* P121a ‘darkness’. WM *bürkü-* L150a, *bürke-* L149b. Kh *bürxex* H91b.

Ord *burku-* M105b. Bur *bürxexe* C125a. Brg *burax-* U83. Kalm *bürkx* M129a. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD *bigə-* BL52 ‘to build (a house)’. Kgj *pəgri-* S284a ‘to become dark/overcast’. Dgx *pugu-* B48 ‘to cover up, to close the smoke-hole’, *pukutu-* B48 ‘(of the sky) to become overcast’. Mog *burku-* R25a.

***bürküer** and ***bürküür** ‘lid, cover’. EYu and MgrH must be from **būkeer* < **bürkeer* < **bürküer*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bürkü:r* P128a. WM *bürkegöl* ~ *bürkügöl* L150a/b, also *bürkeger* L150a. Kh *bürxeer* H91b ‘a kind of cone-shaped headgear, etc’, *bürxüül* H91b ‘cover’. Ord *burke:r* M105a, *burku:l* M105b. Bur *berxeer* C134a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *puke:r* B40, *puger* J93b. MgrH *puger* X56. MgrM---, but cf. *bərgəsi* DS234a, *bergesi* P415b < **bürküesün*. Remaining lgs---.

***büse** ‘belt’. In QG the **b-* was strengthened to *p-* due to the following *-s-*. The EYu form suggests **büsei*, but this may merely be a diphthongisation of the secondary long vowel. At first sight MgrM *piži* is more reminiscent of **büči* ‘string, cord’ (not listed here), but *-ž-* here results from the weakening of earlier *-ś-*.

MMo SH *buse* H23, HY *büse* M45, Muq *büse* P128b. WM *büse* L151a. Kh *büs(en)* H92b. Bur *behe* C134b, *bühe* C128b. Brg *buxə:* U80. Kalm *büs* M130a. Dag *bəs* E76. EYu *pəsəi* B39, *pəse:* J98b. MgrH *puse:* J98b. MgrM *piži-li-* DS207a (to wear a belt). BaoD *se* BL86a. BaoGt *sue* C110. BaoJ *sue* L160. BaoÑ *se* CN130. BaoX *se* BC31. Kgj *puse* ~ *pəse* S284b. Dgx *pišie* B47. Mog---.

***büsegüi** ‘woman’ < **büse ügüi* ‘without belt’. Possibly originally a taboo-related term. The counterpart **büsetü* ‘man’ < ‘with belt’ also exists, e.g. Bur *behetē* C135a, EYu *sötə* S264.

MMo SH--- H, HY---, Muq---. WM *büsegüi* L151a. Kh *büsgüy* H92b. Bur *behegüy* C135a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *pəsəyui* B40, *pəsəyui* J94b. Remaining lgs---.

***büte-** ‘to be covered or blocked, to be shrouded (in mist or smoke); to suffocate’. In Dagur and most central languages phonetically indistinguishable from **bütü-* below. The MgrH form could be the causative form as suggested by Khasbaatar.

MMo SH *bute-* H24, HY---, Muq---, Ph---. WM *büte-* L151b. Kh *bütex* H93a. Ord *bute-* M107a ‘to suffocate’, *butu-* (sic) M107b ‘to be covered’. Bur *bütexē* C126b. Kalm *bütē* M131b. Dag *but-* E86. EYu *püte-* B40, *pude-* J16. MgrH *pudə:-* X57 ‘to fill the air, to give off steam’. MgrM (Sanchuan) *bite-* P424. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

bütegei** (?bitegei**) ‘do not’ (negative particle used with imperatives and the like). Only MMo HY suggests **bütügei* with rounded second vowel. According to Poppe (1955:287) based on **bü-* ‘to be’ + concessive suffix. However, WM, Kh, Bur go back to a form **bitegei*, while EYu and Kgj could easily be due to secondary rounding. The similar-looking Chakhar, Ord and Kalm forms are irregular. The Baoan forms developed from a form with *p-*, which was due to secondary strengthening. The similarity between the shortened forms in EYu and Kgj is probably coincidental.

MMo SH---, HY *bütügei* M44, Muq---. WM *bitegei* L107b, *betegei* L101a. Kh *bitgiy* ~ *bitiy* H62b. Chakhar *biči*: D174a. Ord *bičige* M71b. Bur *betegey* C134b. Kalm *bičā* M100b, *bičkā* (?) M101a. EYu *putā* B41, *pudā* J99a. Mgr---. BaoD *tākā* BL86b. BaoÑ *tāgā* CN162. BaoX *tāgā* BC63. Kgj *bude* ~ *budegei* S284a. Dgx (only) *butāgi* Na (1988:100). Mog---.

bütēü** (?biteü**) ‘double handful’. Kmg *butu* Kōhalmi 187.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *büte’ü* P274a, *bütün* (?*bütü:n*) P129b. WM---. Kh *bitüü* LC 1:246b ‘handful’, cf. Chakhar *bitu*: D173b. Ord *bitu*: M71a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *butu*: E86 ‘double handful’. EYu *putü*: J98b ‘double handful’. MgrH *pudiu* X57 ‘double handful’. MgrM *pudiau* JL467 ‘double handful’, *bitö* P418b ‘handsful’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *pāžie* L114b, *pišiu* (sic) B47 ‘double handful’, cf. *pišiulie*-, *pižiulie*- B47 ‘to hold in both hands’. Mog: cf. Hazara *butāu* (L68, No. 9) ‘that what can be held in the cupped hands’.

***bütü-** ‘to finish, succeed, to be formed, concluded, completed’. In most central languages and in Dagur phonetically indistinguishable from **büte-* above.

MMo SH *butu’e-*, but also *bute’e-* (caus.) H24 ‘to finish, i.e. to kill’, HY---, Muq *bütü-* P128b, Ph *bütü-* P121b. WM *bütü-* L152a. Kh *bütex* H93a. Chakhar *botōn* D175a. Ord *butu-* M107b. Bur *bütexe* C126a. Kalm *bütix* M131b. Dag *but-* E86. EYu *putā-* BJ339, *putā-* J98b, *pudā-* J76. MgrH---. MgrM *pudu-* DS253b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *pudu-* B48, MC323a. Mog *butu-* R25a.

***bütün** ‘complete, whole, entire; all’. Cf. also the following words, which have developed differently in spite of the relatable meaning: *budu:n* J52, *budān* B41 ‘most (superlative marker)’, EYu *budutā* B36 ‘especially’, Dgx *budāi* MC44b ‘extraordinary, -ily, unusual, especially, very’, *budāidā* MC44b ‘especially, etc’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bütün* P129a, cf. *bütü*: P99b ‘q.v.’. WM *bütün* L152b. Kh *büten* H93a. Ord *butun* M108a. Bur *büten* C126a ‘whole, etc’. Kalm *bütñ* M131a. Dag *butun*. EYu *putān* B41, *pātān* J98b. MgrH---. MgrM *puduñ* C375. BaoD *putuñ* BL86b. BaoX *putoñ* BC69. BaoÑ *putoñ* CN55. Kgj *putun* ~ *putō* S284b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***büürge** ‘pommel of a saddle; bow or hind-bow of a saddle’

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bü’ürge* P154b. WM *bügürge(n)* L145a. Kh *büüreg* H94a. Ord *bü:rge* M104a. Bur *büürge* C127a. Brg *bü:räg* U80. Kalm *büürg* M132a. Dag *bü:ruy*^w E84. EYu *bü:rge* B36. Remaining lgs---.

- Č -

***čaa-da** ‘over there, on the other side’. Note the meaning ‘near’ in SH and Baoanic, and the meaning ‘yonder’ in the central languages. The Monguor languages have **tada* instead, which could be an aberrant development of the same word. In WM

the roots **čaa-* and **čina-*, q.v., have become confused and they are treated as spelling variant by Lessing. Cf. **čina-* ‘the other side’.

MMo SH *ca’ada* H24 ‘close, near’, HY---, Muq---. WM *čayadu* L157b, *čadu* L156b. Kh *caad* H734b. Bur *saada* C377b. Kalm *caad* M620a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ta:da* X170. MgrM *tada* DS238b. BaoD *tadə ~ tasə* BL28 ‘(in) there’, *ta:də* T147 ‘to, in the direction of’. BaoÑ *čada* CN183 ‘near’. BaoX *čataŋ* BC67. Kgj *čada* S300a. Dgx *čada* B158 ‘near’. Mog---.

***čaa-gsi** ‘to(wards) that side’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čayasi* L158b. Kh *caaš* H735b. Bur *saaša* C378b. Brg *sa:ša*: U150. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *čagšə* B133 ‘towards that side’. MgrH *tagšə* SM406 ~ *čagšə* SM442. Remaining lgs---.

***čaa-na** ‘farther, yonder’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čayana* L158a, *čiyana* L178a. Kh *caana* H735a. Bur *saana* C377b. Kalm *can*’ (=) M625a (**čaa ni*). Dag---. EYu *ča:nə* B132 ‘that side (somewhat remote)’. Remaining lgs---.

***čaalsun ~ *čaarsun** ‘paper’. The latter is a Northeastern variant found in Bur and Khamnigan. The loss of **-n* in EYu is unusual. As in the case of **mölsün* ‘ice’ and **sölsün* ‘gall bladder’, the preconsonantal *-l-* was lost in EYu but preserved in Shirongol. Apparently endemic although it belongs to the semantic field of writing technology (cf. the loanwords **nom* ‘book’, **biči-* ‘to write’, **üjüg* ‘character’, **beke* ‘ink’). Perhaps in some way related to a root **ča-* ‘white’ (see **čagaan*).

MMo SH *ca’alsun* H24, HY *ča’alsun* M45, Muq *ča:lsun* P131b, LV---, IV---. WM *čayasu(n)* L159a, *čayalsu(n)* L158a. Kh *caas(an)* H735b. Ord *ča:s(u)* M696b. Bur *saarha(n)* C378b. Brg *sa:rv*: U150, *sa:s* (←Kh) U150. Kalm *caasn* M621a. Dag *ča:s* E292. EYu *ča:sə* B132, J106a. MgrH *ča:lzə* J106b, X202, *ča:lsə* X202, *ča:zə ~ ča:rzə* SM441/443. MgrM *čarsü* JL473. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čabči-** ‘to cut, chop, split, fell’. Kalm *č-* has probably developed from *c-* due to assimilation to the *č* of the next syllable. Dissimilatory initial weakening in EYu and BaoÑ (as in Ord). The Dgx *i* from **a* is a rare development.

MMo SH *cabci-* H25, HY---, Muq *čabči-* P129a, IV---, LV---. WM *čabči-* L154b. Kh *čavčix* H737b. Ord *jabči-* M177b. Bur *sabšaxa* C380a. Kalm *čavčx* M644a. Dag *čerč-* E297, *čirč-* Z104a. EYu *jabčə-* B142, *jabčə-* J106a, *jabjə-* J75. MgrH *čabžə-* J106b, *čæb(š)žə-* X203. MgrM *čiabči-* T378, *čærži-* C167. BaoD---. BaoÑ *žabči-* CN195. Kgj *čeči-* ~ *čeři-* S300a. Dgx *čīgi-* B162 ‘id’. Mog---.

***čaču-** ‘to sprinkle’ see ***saču-**.

***čad-** ‘to have eaten one’s fill’. In some of the QG languages a connective vowel was added. In MgrM and Dgx this connective vowel may have caused the rounding of the **a*.

MMo SH *cat-* H26, HY *čat-* M45, Muq *čat-* P131a, LV *čat-* P1271, IV---, Ph *č^hadu-* P121b. WM *čad-* L156a. Kh *cadax* H740b. Bur *sadaxa* C382b. Brg *sad-*

U153. Kalm *cadx* M623b. Dag *čad-* E293. EYu *čad-* B133, J106a. MgrH *čadə-* J106b. MgrM *čudu-* C392. BaoD *čiadə-* BL93a. BaoÑ *žad-* CN197, *žar-* CN198. Kgj *čar-* ~ *čer-* S300a. Dgx *čudu-* B164 ‘id’. Mog *čat-qa-* (originally a caus.) R25b.

***čag** ‘time’. EYu *čeg* may alternatively be related to Ord *čig* M701a ‘amount of time, session’. The Dag *-y*^ʷ is unexpected, as is the *-u-* in Kgj. Chen Naixiong compares BaoD *čixan* BL74, BaoÑ *čiḡa:zi* CN185, *čiḡa:ŋ* CN186, BaoX *čixan* BC70 ‘while, during’; cf. also Dgx *nie čaḡan* (~ *nie ča*) B29 ‘a little while’. If these words are derived from **čag*, the further elements in these words are unclear. The diminutive *-kAn* and (for *čiḡa:zi*) a petrified instrumental *-Ar* may be involved. Cf. CT **čag* ‘id’.

MMo SH *cah* H25, HY *čaq* M45, Muq *čaq* P130b, Ph *č^hak^h-* P121b. WM *čay* L156b. Kh *cag* H737b. Ord *čag* M690a. Bur *sag* C380a. Brg *sag* U152. Kalm *cag* M621b. Dag *čey*^ʷ E297. EYu *čag* B133 ‘time’, cf. also *čeg* (?=) B135 ‘hour’. MgrH *čag* J106b, X202. MgrM *čaḡ* JL473, *črḡ* C391, *čr:* C385. Bao (see above). Kgj *čuq* S301a. Dgx *ča* L120a, also as in *un-ča* B23 ‘winter time’ (cf. **übül*). Mog---.

***čagaan** ‘white’. Probably related to **čai-* below. P60:97 compares CM **časun* (Poppe: **ča:-l-sun*) ‘snow’, as well as many other Turkic and Tungusic words which do not aid Mongolic reconstruction.

MMo SH *caqa'an* H25, HY *čaqɑ:n* M45, Muq *čaya:n* P130a, *čaqɑ:n* P131a, *čiya:n* P133a, *čiqa:n* P251a, LV *čaqɑ:n* P1271, P1272, IV *čaya:n* L23, Ph *č^haqɑ'an* P121b. WM *čayan* L158a. Kh *cagaan* H738a. Ord *čaga:n* M691a. Bur *sagaa(n)* C381a. Brg *saga:ŋ* U152. Kalm *cayan* M622b. Dag *čiya:(n)* E300. EYu *čəḡa:n* B134, *čḡa:n* B139, *čaḡa:n* J106a. MgrH *čaga:n* J106b, X202, *čiḡa:n* X205. MgrM *čaḡan* JL463, *çiḡan* C392, *čiḡan* T379. BaoD *čiḡan* BL93b. BaoGt *čixəŋ* C142. BaoÑ *čixan* CN186. BaoX *čixan* BC67. Kgj *čixɔ* ~ *čɔxɔ* S300b. Dgx *çiḡan* B160. Mog *čayo:n* R8, *čəḡon* R161b.

***čai-** ‘to become white or bright’ (often used in combination with **ör* ‘dawn’). The BaoÑ form seems to be remodeled on the basis of **čagaan*. Probably related to **čagaan* (cf. the parallel pair **gei-* ‘to become bright’ and **gegeen* ‘bright’). The PM form may have been **čay-i-*.

MMo SH *caiyi-* H25, HY---, Muq *čai-* P130, LV---, IV *čai-* L23. WM *čayi-* L160b. Kh *cayx* H742a. Bur *sayxa* C383b. Kalm *cääx* M628b. Dag *če:-* E296. EYu *čai-* B133. MgrH *či:-* X204, *če:-* X204. MgrM *durčai-* (*dur* < **üdür* ‘day’) DS215b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *čixi:-* (?=) CN186. Kgj *či-* ~ *či:-* S300a. Dgx---. MogMr *čai-* L68, No. 78.

***čakırma** ‘iris (flower), orchid’. Perhaps related but with other endings: WM *čakilday* L161b ‘iris’, Kh *caxildag* H748a ‘iris’. Bur *saxilza* (*übhen*) C387a ‘iris’. Kalm *cakldäḡ* R420a ‘*Iris pumila*’. Perhaps there is a relationship with **čakir* ‘blue-eyed’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, WM *čakirma* L162a ‘orchid’, *čikirma* *čečeg* L182a ‘orchid’. Kh *čaxirmaa* H748a ‘orchid’. Ord *jakirmaq* M181a, *jarkimaq* M187b. Bur (see above). Kalm (see above). Dag *čikirm*^ʷ (?=) E300 ‘fringed pink’.

(medicinal herb)'. EYu *jaḡərmag* S565. MgrH *cižirma*: X208, *cižima* X208, *cižima:r* L446. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *camḡa* CN183. Kgj *camḡa* S300a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čakīur** 'flint; steel for flint; lighter; lightning'. From a verb **čakī-* 'to strike fire' which is found in fewer languages than this derivative; cf. CT **čak-* 'id'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH *čaqu:r* 204B26. WM *čakiyur* L161b. Kh *caxir*, *caxiur* H748a 'flint, silica'. Bur *saxyuur* C387a 'flint'. Kalm *cäkür* M629a 'flint, etc'. Dag---. EYu *jaḡqu:r* B142 'flint'. MgrH *čügür* X211 'lightning'. MgrM---. BaoD *čüḡor* BL87b 'flint', *čiuḡur* BL51 'lightning'. BaoÑ *čaxər* CN183 'flint; lightning'. Kgj *čagər ~ čagur* S300a 'flint'. Dgx---. Mog---.

časun** (?čabsun**) 'snow'. The Mgr, BaoX, and Dgx forms stem from an earlier form with a consonant preceding *-sUn*, perhaps **b*. Cf. the development of **dabusun* which became Dgx *daḡsun* (possibly via **damsun*). MgrM *-g-* from **b* has a parallel in **nabčīn* 'leaf' and **tobčī* 'button'. However, the other languages and even the other Mgr, Bao, and Dgx forms make it difficult to consider a form **čabsun* as an early variant, let alone as the original form of this word. Perhaps there is a relationship with a root **ča-* 'white'. Poppe and Ramstedt compare **čai-* and **čagaan* q.v.

MMo SH *casun* H26, HY *časun* M45, Muq *časun* P131a, LV *časun* P1271, IV *časun* L24. WM *času(n)* L166b. Kh *cas(an)* H746b. Ord *jasu* M189b. Bur *saha(n)* C387b. Brg *saxa*: U151. Kalm *casn* M626b. Dag *čas* E293. EYu *jasən* B143, *časən* J106a. MgrH *časə* J106b. MgrM *čagṣi* JL470, *čagṣi* JL482, *čaxse* T378. BaoD *čiasuḡ* BL93b. BaoÑ *žasəḡ* CN197. BaoX *čabsəḡ* CN86:16. Kgj *časun* S300a. Dgx *zaḡsunḡ* B177, *zasuḡ* B178, *časuḡ* B158. Mog *čo:sun* R25b, *čəsun*, *čəsu* W162b.

***čamča** 'shirt'. The unexpected Dag form with *-i-* is due to the two *č*'s in the vicinity; cf. also Manchu *cimci* 'id'.

MMo SH *camca* H25, HY---, Muq *čamčai* P130b, IV---, LV---. WM *čamča* L164a. Kh *camc* H743a. Bur *samsa* C384a. Kalm *camca* (obs.) M625a. Dag *činč* E299 'unlined garment'. Remaining lgs---.

***čarčaa(-kaī)** 'grasshopper, locust'. EYu suggests **čagčaaakai*, reminiscent of western forms like Dörbed *čagčä:xä*: (Vanduy 167a). The Shirongol forms stem from **čarčag*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čarča*, *čarčaya*, *čarčayai*, *čarčaqai* L185b. Kh *carcaa(n)* H746a, *carcaaxay* H746a. Ord *jarča:*, *jarča:ḡä*: M188a. Bur *sarsaa* (Kiaxta) C385b. Kalm *carcaxa* M626a. Dag *ča:rča:ki*: E83:174b 'cricket'. EYu *jaḡčaqai* BJ324, *jaḡjaḡqai* J106a. MgrH *ča:ržag* X202. MgrM---. BaoD *žiažiaḡ* BL93b. BaoÑ *čarčar* CN184. Kgj *jarja ~ jaḡča* S302b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čaul-** 'to tear to pieces' see s.v. ***čöal-**.

***čecēg** ‘flower’ often also ‘smallpox’, as in CT ***čček**.

MMo SH---, HY *čček* M46, Muq *čček* P133a. WM *čecēg* L168a, *čičig* L176a, *sečeg* L680a. Kh *ceceg* H773a. Ord *jičik* M205a. Bur *seseg* C404b. Brg *sasag* U154. Kalm *cecg* M633b. Dag---. EYu *čecig* S568 (only). MgrH *čižag* X208. MgrM *čižig* C392, *čičeg*, *čižag* T381 ‘flower’, *čček* P417b ‘smallpox’. BaoD---. BaoGt *čiži* C107. Kgj *čičiu* ~ *čijiu* S301a ‘flower; smallpox’. Dgx *čizə* B161 ‘flower; painting; cowpox’. Mog *ččák* R25b.

***ččen** ‘intelligent’ see ***sečen**.

***čcejji** ‘chest; memory’, cf. ***čcejile-** ‘to recite from memory’. The Kalm *č-* instead of expected *c-* is perhaps due to the following palatal.

MMo SH *ce’ejji* H26, HY---, Muq *če’ejji* P238b, *če:ji* P132a, *če:jīn* P132b, *čijejji* P358b (different readings are possible). WM *čegeji(n)* L170a. Kh *ceej* H773b. Ord *če:ji* M699b. Bur *seeže* C405b. Kalm *čeej* M646b. Dag *čə:jil-* E294. EYu *čijə* B136 ‘human back’, *čijele-* B136. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *čejji* R25b.

***čene-** ‘to measure’. The MMo *-e-* in HY, and the Kh *c-* support ***čene-**, but the derivates listed as the following entry has developed differently in the central languages. The EYu and MgrH forms could be from ***čene-** or ***čine-**. EYu *čen* B135 ‘time’, without equivalents in the other QG languages, may be related. Cf. also Muq *čen* [Poppe: *čin*] P353b, P378a ‘measure’.

MMo SH---, HY *čene-* M46, Muq *čene-* [Poppe reads *čine:-*] P134a. WM *čene-* L171b, *čine-* L188a. Kh *cenex* H771b ‘to evaluate, estimate, etc’. Ord *činek* M706b ‘measure (...)’. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *čene-* B137. MgrH *čine:-* X205. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čer** ‘phlegm’. Perhaps also related: Bur *ser* C403b ‘callosity, subcutaneous swelling, tumour’, Kalm *cer* M633a ‘callosity, swelling’. Dag *čər* E296 ‘swelling, lump in flesh’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *čer* P132b. WM *čer* L172b. Kh *cer* H771b. Ord *čir* M707b. Bur (see above). Brg *sər* U155. Kalm (see above). Dag (see above). EYu *čer* B136. MgrH---. MgrM *čər* DS242b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čerig** ‘soldier; army’. Dag *čəllə* has developed from *čərəl*, which in its turn is a dissimilation of **čərər* which is the regular development of **čerig*. Cf. CT **čerig* ‘id’, itself of Indic origin.

MMo SH *cerik* H26, HY *čerik* M46, Muq *čerik* P132a, LV *čirik/čerig-* P1272, IV---, Ph *č^herig*, *č^hérig* P121b. WM *čerig* L173a, *čirig* L192a. Kh *cereg* H772a. Ord *čirik* M708b. Bur *sereg* C404a. Kalm *cerg* M633a. Dag *čəllə* E295, *čərəl* E296. EYu *čerəg* B136, J105b. MgrH *čirəg* J105a, X209, *čirəg* X208. MgrM *čirəg* JL462. BaoD *čiarəg* BL31. BaoGt *čerī* C107. BaoÑ *čerəg* CN184. BaoX *čərəg* BC74. Kgj *čiriū* S301a. Dgx *čiri* B86:115. Mog---.

***čī** ‘you (sing.)’. The vowel length in Dag is secondary. CM **čī* was back-vocalic originally, in view of its oblique stem **čīma-* and the plural counterpart **ta* ‘you

(pl.). Based on CM **ta* one may further assume that **či* goes back to an earlier (PM) form **tī*, compare **bī* ‘I’ and **ba* ‘we’.

MMo SH *ci* H26, HY *či* M46, Muq *či* P132b. WM *či* L174a. Kh *či* H783a. Chakhar *či*: D184a. Ord *či* M700a. Bur *ši* C725b. Brg *ši*: U163. Kalm *či* M647a. Dag *ši*: E232. EYu *čə* B133, J105b. MgrH *čə* J105a, X209. MgrM *či* C392. BaoD *čī* BL93b. BaoÑ *či* CN184. Kgj *či* S300a. Dgx *čī* B159. Mog *či* R25b.

***čibugan** (?* **čibagan**) ‘jujube’. EYu and Bao suggest *-k-*. For the development of the EYu form with *-yq-*, cf. **dabkur*. The Kh and Bur forms appear to have developed from a form **čibagan*, which may be the original form although the form with *-u-* is documented in MMo. Bao has *-m-* instead of *-b-*.

MMo SH---, HY *čibuqan* M46, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *čibaya(n)* L174a, *čibuya* L175a. Kh *čavga(n)* H775a. Ord *čiwağa* M709b. Bur *šabga* (in compounds, q.v.) C712a. Brg *šabag* U160. Kalm---, cf. Oirat *čabğa* (Čoyijungjab & Gereltü, 234). Dag---. EYu *čuyqan* B147. MgrH *čuğa* X211, *čauxa* L438, *čuğa* SM439. MgrM *čubuğa* JL481. BaoD---. BaoGt *čimuğɔŋ* C104. BaoÑ *čəŋxalma* (?< **čibugan alima*) CN189. BaoX *čəŋxan* BC73. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *čimxan* S554. Dgx *čuçuga* (sic, ?=) S554. Mog---.

***čida-** ‘to be able’. The long vowel in BaoX may be due to **daa-* ‘to be able to carry’ q.v.

MMo SH *cida-* H27, HY *čida-* M46, Muq *čida-* P132b, IV---, LV---, Ph *č^hida-* P122a. WM *čida-* L176b. Kh *čadax* H777b. Ord *čida-* M700b. Bur *šadaxa* C715a. Kalm *čadx* M644b. Dag *šad-* E230 (in derivations), Z104b. EYu *šda-* B110, J106b, *šəda-* S556, *hda-* S556. MgrH *šda-* J106a. MgrM *čida-* C388, *čida-* T384. BaoD *da-* BL56. BaoÑ *šda-* CN149. BaoX *da-*: BC66. Kgj *šida-* ~ *šda-* S295b. Dgx *šida-* B131. Mog *čida-*, *čidɔ-* W162a, MogMr *čidɔ-*: L64:35. Note its negation *la-šta-* R33a, hence MogM *v:šta-* L64:35.

***čidku-** ‘to pour’. Kh-Kalm *c-* suggests an early development > **čudku-*. EYu may go back to either form. Cf. **ki-*, **tüsür-*.

MMo SH *čitqu-* H28, HY---, Muq *čitqu-* P135b. WM *čidqu-* L177b. Kh *cutgax* H763b. Ord *judxu-* M215a. Bur *šudxaxa* C732b. Brg *šotax-* U170. Kalm *cutxx* M642a. Dag---. EYu *čədğu-* B135. Remaining lgs---.

***čüirag** ‘strong, sturdy, tight’. The *-g-* in the Dgx form, if related, would be irregular. However, the Brg form with the unexpected *-x-* is echoed by several other central Mongolic dialects (cf. S568). In Kh-Kalm the word changed vocalic class. Related to CT **tigrak*.

MMo SH---, HY *či'iraq* M47, Muq---. WM *čigiray* L179b, *čigiireg* L179b. Kh *čiyreg* H785a. Ord *či:raq* M708a, also *čiraq*. Bur *šiirag* C726b. Brg *ši:ræg* U164, *sax^yrag* (sic, ?=) U164. Kalm *čüirg* M648b. Dag---. EYu *čirağ* BJ345, J106b. MgrH *čirağ* X208. Bao---. Dgx *çiğara* (?=) B160 ‘tight; busy’. Mog---.

***čiki-** ‘to squeeze into, to stuff’. Traces of the back-vocalic origin of this word are preserved in the uvular consonants in EYu, Bao-Kgj-Dgx, and Mog. The CM form may go back to an earlier (PM) form **tiki-*, in view of related CT **tik-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *čiqi*- P266b. WM *čiki*- L181a. Kh *čixex* H791a. Ord *jike*- M196a. Bur *šexexe* C751b. Brg *šix*- U165. Kalm *čikx* M650a. Dag *čik^y*- E300. EYu *čəqə*- B134 ‘id’. MgrH *čigə*- J106a. MgrM *čigə*- DS253b. BaoD *čixə*- BL93b. BaoGt *čixə*- C122. BaoÑ---. Kgj *čixi*- ~ *čigi*- S300b. Dgx *čigəi*- B161, *čigū*- L121b ‘id’. Mog *čiqā*- R25b.

***čikīn** ‘ear’. Traces of the back-vocalic origin of this word are preserved in Mog, EYu and Bao-Kgj-Dgx.

MMo SH *ciki(n)* H27, HY *čikin* M47, Muq *čiqin* P134b, LV *čikin* P1272, IV *čikin* L25. WM *čiki(n)* L181a. Kh *čix(en)* H789a. Ord *jike* M196a. Bur *šexe(n)* C751a. Brg *šix* U165. Kalm *čikn* M649b. Dag *čik^y* E300. EYu *čkan* B139, *čqən* BJ346, *čəgən* J106b. MgrH *čigə* J106a. MgrM *čigi* JL474, *čigi* T378. BaoD *čixəŋ* BL93a. BaoÑ *čixəŋ* CN185. Kgj *čixɔ* ~ *čɔxɔ* S300b. Dgx *čigəŋ* B160. Mog *čekin*, *čikin* R25b, *čiqin* W162a.

***čila-** ‘to be tired’ see ***čile-**

***čilaun** ‘stone’. Interestingly the Shirongol languages use CT **ta:s* instead (usually viewed as an ancient cognate of the Mongolic word); EYu and Kgj have both the Mongolic and the Turkic word. For Mog see **gürü*.

MMo SH *cilao'un*, *cila'un* H27, HY *čila'un* M47, Muq---, Ph *č^hila'un* P122a. WM *čilayu(n)* L182a. Kh *čuluu(n)* H793b. Ord *čilu:* M704a. Bur *šuluu(n)* C733a. Brg *šolɔ:* U169. Kalm *čolun* M654b. Dag *čɔlɔ:* E304. EYu *člu:* B139, *čəlu:* J106b. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *čilɔ* S301a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čilbuur** ‘martingale, part of a horse’s harness, etc’. Kh-Kalm suggest **čilbuur*.

MMo SH *cilbur* H27, HY *čilbur* M47, Muq---, LV---, IV *čulbur* L25. WM *čilbuyur* L182b, *čulbuyur* L206b, *čirbuyul* L191b. Kh *culbuur* H761a. Ord *čulbu:r* M718b. Bur---. Kalm *culvur* M640b. Dag *šɔlbɔ:r* E239. EYu *čəlβu:r* BJ345, *čəlbu:r* S581. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čimarkaī** ‘temple (anat)’. Bur suggests **čabirkai*, Brg **čamarkaī*. The peculiar EYu form may be influenced by **čoku* ‘temple’; cf. Bur (Oka dial.) *soxo* C393b ‘temple’, Bur *soxo* C393b ‘forehead’, Kalm *cox* M637b ‘temple’. Apparently contains the element **-KAi* also found in other body parts, cf. **bulčirkai* ‘gland’, **herekei* ‘thumb’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čimarqai* L184b. Kh *čamarxay* H778b. Ord *čimarqä:* M704b. Bur *sabirgay* C379b. Brg *samarxai* U153. Kalm---. EYu *ǰəǰəməi* (?) B146.

***čina-** ‘to cook’.

MMo SH *cina-* H27, HY *čina-* M47, Muq *čina-* P133b. WM *čina-* L186b. Kh *čanax* H779a. Ord *čina-* M705b. Bur *šanaxa* C719a. Brg *šan-* U159. Kalm *čanx* M645a. Dag *čanə-* E292 (‘children’s language’), *šanə-* E229. EYu *čna-* B139, *čəna-* J105b. MgrH *čina:-* J105a. MgrM *čina-* JL473, *čina-* T380. BaoD *činə-* BL93a. BaoÑ *čina-* CN185. Kgj *čina-* S300b. Dgx *čina-* B159. Mog---.

***činaida, *činar** (and other derivatives of ***čina-**) ‘the day after tomorrow’. MMo and Bao from ***činaji**; Mog from ***činaji-da**; EYu and MgrM from ***činaida**, MgrH from ***činaada**; Dgx from ***činar**. Elsewhere derivatives of ***čaa-** are used, often with ***üdür** ‘day’ as a last element: Bur *saadder* C377b, *saada üder* (lit.) C377b. Brg *sa:dar* U150 ‘three days from now’. Dag *ča:ǰ* E292, *ča:ǰ udur* Z95b. Cf. also EYu *ča:ǰādār* B132 ‘three days from now’.

MMo SH *cinaji*, *cinaru* H27/28 ‘beyond’, HY---, Muq *činaji* [P reads *čina:či*] *ödür* P134a, LV---, IV *činaji ödür* L24. WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *čanida* B133, *čini:da* J97b. MgrH *čina:da* X205, *čina:daǰ* SM451. MgrM *činaida* JL473. BaoD *činaǰia* BL86a. BaoÑ *čina:žā* CN184. Kgj *činaye* S300b. Dgx *činaər* B159, L113a. Mog *činǝžda*, *čənǝžda* W162a, MogMr *činn:šta* L62:24.

***čingga** ‘strong; tight’. The Dag and MgrH verbs from ***čingga-**.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *čingya* L189a. Kh *čanga* H779b. Ord *čangga* M694b, *čingga* M707a. Bur *šanga* C719a. Kalm *čany* M645a. Dag *šanga:-* E229 ‘to pull tight’ (?). EYu *čəŋga-ra-* B134 ‘to be tightened’. MgrH *čəŋga* J106a ‘tight’, *čingga:-* X205 ‘to pull tight’. MgrM *čəŋga* DS256a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čino** ‘wolf’. Some of the QG forms are difficult to explain. EYu *čəna* and BaoÑ *čina*, which echo the form in MMo Muq, apparently unrounded the second syllable before palatal breaking could take place. However, the Monguor forms suggest that breaking did take place there, but the forms in *-a* instead of *-o* are unexpected. Cf. **jaurangai*/**jaurakai*.

MMo SH *činō* H28, HY *čino* M47, Muq *čina* [ed reads *čina:*] P134a, LV *čina* [ed. reads *čana:*, first syll. unvocalised acc. to Saitō] P1273, IV---. WM *činoa* L190b. Kh *čono(n)* H791b. Ord *čino* M706b, *čono* M712b. Bur *šono* C729a. Brg *šon* U167. Kalm *čon* M655a. Dag---. EYu *čəna* B133, J105b. MgrH *čino* L449, *čuna:* L457. MgrM *čuna* C379, *čuna* T338. BaoD *čina* BL93b. BaoÑ *čina* CN185. BaoX *čina* BC70. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *čino:* R25b, *činǝ* W162a.

***čijla-** ‘to listen’. The central languages developed from an assimilated form ***čijna-**. Some of the QG forms suggest an earlier front version ***čijle-**. Cf. CT **tiŋle-* ~ **tiŋla-* ‘id’, perhaps from Chinese *tīng*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *čingna-*, *čingla-* L190a. Kh *čagnax* H776b. Ord *čijna-* M707a. Bur *šagnax* C713b. Brg *šagn-* U161. Kalm *čijnx* M652b. Dag---. EYu *čəŋl-u:r* BJ345 ‘eavesdropper’. MgrH *čəŋla-* X202, *činla-* X205. MgrM *čijli-* J92, *čəŋle-* C384, *čənli-* DS228a. BaoD *čiaŋla-* BL90b, *čəŋla-* T151. BaoÑ *čəŋle-* CN182. BaoX *čəŋla-* BC65. Kgj *čiauli-* ~ *čičli-* S300b. Dgx *čanlie-* B157. Mog---.

***čirai** ‘face; facial expression’. Kh *c-* suggests a form ***čarai**, which would be supported by Ord. NB Dag *š-*.

MMo SH *cirai* H28, HY *čirai* M47, Muq *čirai* P135a. WM *čirai* L191a. Kh *caray* H744b. Ord *čarä:* M695b. Bur *šaray* C721a. Brg *šarai* U162. Kalm *čirä*

M652b. Dag *šar* E230. EYu---. MgrH *ćire*: X209. MgrM *ćiræi* C371. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog R.

***čirī-** ‘to pull, drag’. Ord and EYu suggest a monosyllabic **čir-*. The back-vocalic form is supported by the EYu caus. formation and by Dag. The Dag form, if related, suggests an older **čiru-* or **čiro-* (the *š-* is irregular but not unique). As expected, the central languages developed from a secondary front-vocalic form **čir(i)-*.

MMo SH *cir-* H28, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *čir-* L191a, *sire-* L716a. Kh *čirex* H789a. Ord *čir-* M707b, *šir-* M621b. Bur *šerexe* C750b. Brg *šir-* U167. Kalm *čirx* M653b. Dag *šor-* (?=) E240. EYu *čir-ğa-* (caus) B136, BJ78. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *čire-* ~ *čiri-* S301a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čisun** ‘blood’. Kh-Kalm *c-* seems to suggest **čusun* with palatal breaking, also supported by Dag, Ord, and EYu. In view of the MgrM and Dgx forms both Shirongol branches originally had forms with palatal breaking. The *-i-* in Mongghul, Baoan and Kangjia probably redeveloped later. Mogholi has contradicting forms. Only MMo and WM certainly have *-i-*. May contain the (?collective) suffix *-sUn*. The PM root may have been **ču-* or **či-*.

MMo SH *cisu(n)* H28, HY *čisun* M47, Muq *čisun* P135a, LV *čisun* P1274, IV---. WM *čisu(n)* L192b. Kh *cus(an)* H763a. Ord *jusu* M221b. Bur *šuha(n)* C736a. Brg *šoxo:* U169. Kalm *cusn* M641a. Dag *čos* E304. EYu *čüsən* B138, *čusun* J106b, BJ346. MgrH *čisə* J106a, X207, *cəzə* X212. MgrM *čuzi* JL470. BaoD *čisun* BL93b. BaoÑ *čisəŋ* CN188. Kgj *čisun* S301a. Dgx *čusun* B164. Mog *čusun* R26a, W162b, *čisu* W162a.

***čül-** ‘to gather, convene’. Bökh incorrectly derives Dgx *čulu-* from **čugla-*, q.v.

MMo SH *ci'ul-* H29, HY---, Muq---. WM *čiyul-* L178b. Kh *čuulax* H794b, *čuguulax* H793b. Ord *ču:l-* M718a. Bur---. Kalm *cu:l-* (obs) R435b. Dag---. EYu *čul-ğa-ra-ğda-* (probably <**čül-gan* ‘gathering’ + verbalizer + pass.) S581 ‘to gather, assemble, etc’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *čulu-* B163, S581. Mog---.

***čiči-** ‘to stab’ see ***seči-**.

***čidkör** ‘demon, devil’. Metathesis in Bao.

MMo SH---, HY *čitkör* M47, Muq---. WM *čidkör* L177b. Kh *čötgör* H793a. Ord *jödker* M212b. Bur *šüdxer* C737a. Brg *šutgər* U171. Kalm *čötkr* M656b. Dag *šurkul* E241. EYu *čüdger* (only) S579. MgrH *čidəgur* (only) S579. MgrM---. Bao *čixtir* P422a. BaoJ *čidör* L188. BaoÑ---. BaoX *čigtar* BC62. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čidör** ‘horse’s hobble; shackles’. Dag may be influenced by or reborrowed from Manchu *sideri* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *čider-le-* P305b. WM *čidör* L178a, *čider* L177a. Kh *čödör* H791a. Ord *čödör* M714b. Bur *šüder* C737b. Brg *šudər* U171. Kalm *čödr* M656a. Dag *šidər* E236. EYu *čüder* B138, *čödör* S577. MgrH *čüdor* X211, *čidor* J90. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čiiḡ** ‘moisture; moist, wet’. Perhaps related to CT **čī:* ‘moisture’ and/or **čī:g* ‘dew’. If related to the latter, this is one of the rare cases where a long CT vowel corresponds to a CM double vowel.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *čigig* L179a. Kh *čiyg* H784b. Ord *či:g* M701b. Bur *šiiḡ* C725b. Brg *ši:g* U163. Kalm *čig* M647b ‘dew, moisture’, *čiiḡ-tā* M648b ‘wet’. Dag---. EYu *čig* B136, *či:g* J97a. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čile-** (?*čīla-) ‘to be tired, exhausted; to become numb or stiff’. As in other cases where two variants exist, the back-vocalic form **čīla-* supported by the QG languages might be the original one. However, in this case it is contradicted by MMo and Ordos.

MMo SH *cile-* H27, HY---, Muq---. WM *čile-* L182b. Kh *čilex* H785b ‘to grow numb, lose feeling, etc’. Ord *čile-* M703b. Bur *šelexe* C744b. Brg *šil-* U166. Kalm *čilx* M650b. Dag *šil-* E234 ‘to be weary, tired; to feel numb’. EYu *čla-* B139, *čāla-* J65. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *čila-* CN187 ‘to ache, tingle’. Dgx *čila-* B161 ‘to be tired, to ache, tingle (e.g. of eyes or feet)’. Mog---.

***čilmö-** ‘to pick’ see ***čölbe-**.

***čilöe** (?*čölee) ‘free time’. Bur *s-* suggests **čölee*, which then represents an earlier case of breaking than in Kh and Kalm. The breaking in Ordos and Dagur is also atypical, and seems to support the Buriat form.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, Ph---. WM *čilöge(n)* L183a. Kh *čölöö(n)* H792a. Ord *čölö:* M715a. Bur *sülöö* C398b. Brg *šulə:* U171. Kalm *čölän* M656a. Dag *čulə:* E306. EYu *čölö:* B137, J106b. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *čөлө* CN190. Kgj *čөлө ~ čөлə: ~ čilə:* S301a. Dgx---. Mog (see under **čöäl-*).

***čimegen** (?*čimögen) ‘marrow; bone containing marrow’. Although all forms cited below are certainly related, the oldest form is hard to retrieve. Possibly the form **čimegen* suggested by MMo is indeed the original shape, and the second vowel was rounded to *ö* in the form ancestral to Kh and Kalm (before palatal breaking). Bur may represent **čemegen* or **čümege(n)*. The vowel rounding in Mgr and Dgx may have been recently triggered by the *-m-*. Dag *š-* is unusual.

MMo SH---, HY *čimegen* M47, Muq *čimegen* P388a. WM *čimöge(n)* L186a, *čömöge(n)* L203a. Kh *čömög* H792b. Ord *čömögö* M715b. Bur *semge(n)* C402b. Brg *suməḡ* U158. Kalm *čimḡn* M651a. Dag *šiməḡ* E235, *šimug* T183. EYu *čengwen* B135, *čengön* J106b. MgrH *čimuge* J106a. MgrM *čumuḡai* C388 ‘marrow’, *čimeke* P419a ‘arm’. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *čuməḡə* B164 ‘marrow, spinal marrow’. MogM *čimkə:n* L64:41 ‘upper arm’.

***čimki-** ‘to pinch, nip’. Several of the modern forms suggest an original **čimkü-*, but the rounding may have been caused by the *-m-*. Brg *šimšu:r* U166 ‘tweezers’ supports **čimki.ür*. EYu suggests **čimke-*, but Shirongol supports the high final vowel. May be related to **čimö-*. The synonymous Dag *kimč-* E148 could be the result of metathesis, but could also be an independent development based on Dag *kimč* ‘nail’ from CM **kimusun* ‘nail’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *čimki*- L185b. Kh *čimxex* H786b. Ord *čimke*-, *čimku*- M705a. Bur *šemxexe* C745a. Brg *šiməx*- U166 (and see above). Kalm *čimkx* M651a. Dag (see above). EYu *čimke*- (only) S571. MgrH *čingə*- X205, *čimgə*- C88:586. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *čunğə*- (?=) CN190. Kgj *čünğu*- S301b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čōal-** ‘to pierce, puncture, perforate, make holes in’, ***čōara-** ‘to be pierced, perforated, develop holes’. In BaoÑ ***čōara-** may have become confused with ***čuburi-** ‘to trickle, leak’ listed below. Even more confusion is caused by another pair of similar-looking verbs: ***čaul-** ‘to tear into pieces’ and ***čaura-** ‘to be torn into pieces’. This verb is attested in MMo SH *cao’ure*-, *cao’uru*- H25 ‘to crumble’, Kh *cuulax* (tr.) H764a, *cuurax* (intr.) H764b. The Muq forms display the form of ***čaul-/čaura-** but are all translated ‘to pierce, puncture’ in the Turkic counterparts. Phonetically, the EYu forms could have developed from either set of verbs, and perhaps they represent both. Mog *čo:lo*: R25b ‘hole’ could belong with ***čolo** rather than with ***čōal-**.

MMo Muq *ča’ul*- P131a/344b, *ča’ura*- P131a, *ču:ra*- P137b (see above). WM *čoyol*-, *čoyora*- L195b. Kh *coolox* H753b ‘to pierce, puncture, perforate, etc’, *coorox* H753b. Ord *čo:l*- M711a, *čo:ro*- M713b. Bur *sooloxo* C392a, *sooroxo* C392a, *suuraxa* (western) C397a. Kalm *coolx* M637a, *coorx* M637a. Dag---. EYu *ču:l*- B138, J19 ‘to pierce’, *ču:ra*- B138 ‘to be broken, torn etc’. MgrH *čo:lə*- X210, *čo:ra*- X210. MgrM *nuko čuar*- C372 (cf. **nöken*), *čur*- DS242b, *čoro*- F123:10. BaoD *čorə*- T151. BaoÑ *čəl*- CN189, *čə:ra*- CN189 ‘to pierce; to drip; to break’. Kgj *čura*- S301a. Dgx *čaura*- B159 ‘to be pierced’. Mog (see above).

***čōarga / *čūurga** ‘lock’. The MMo variant with -o- seems to survive in the Monguor languages. Both this and the Kh-Bur variant may go back to an earlier alternation ***čūarga ~ *čaurga**.

MMo SH *co’orqa-tai* H29, *šo’orqa* H143, HY *čo’orqa* M47, Muq---. WM *čuyurya(n)* L206b, *čuurya* L208a, *čayurya(n)* L160a, *suyurya* (?Buriat spelling) L735b. Kh *cuurga* H764b. Ord---. Bur *suurga* C397a. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *čorğö* X210. MgrM *čorğö* JL473. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čogča** ‘heap, pile’. EYu reflects ***čogčag**, which may also be the source of the MgrM and Dgx forms. In some languages only the derived verb in -la is attested. It cannot be entirely excluded that the QG forms are instead derived from ***čug** ‘bundle’. The similarly-structured MgrH *sogsoğ* X136 ‘heap; flock’ is from Tibetan *chogs-chogs*.

MMo---. WM *čoyča* L194b ‘heap, pile; mass, etc’. Kh *cogc* H750a. Ord *jogčol*- M207b ‘to form a compact group’. Bur *sogso* C389b. Kalm *cogc* M635a. Dag *čəkc* (?=) E304 ‘pinch (of tobacco)’. EYu *čogčəğ* B146. MgrH *čužog* L456, *čižog* L446 ‘herd’, elsewhere only the derived verb: *čužəğla*- X211 ‘to gather, assemble, collect’, *čužiolo*- SM460 ‘to pile up (tr); to gather (intr)’. BaoÑ *čəğžəğ* (?=) CN189 ‘full to the brim’. Dgx *čuzo* MC63a. Mog---.

***čogla-** ‘to gather’ Zie ***čugla-**.

***čokī-** ‘to peck, pick’, in the central languages and Dagur also with more general meanings like ‘to strike’. The Kangjia form with unexpected nasal may have been influenced by **čimki-* ‘to pinch’ or **temgü-* ‘to pick up’.

MMo SH *coki-*, *šoki-* H143 ‘to drill’, HY---, Muq---. WM *čoki-* L196a. Kh *coxix* H755b. Ord *joki-* M208a. Bur *soxix* C393b ‘to strike, etc’. Kalm *cokx* M636a ‘to strike, etc’. Dag *čɔkʷ-* E304. EYu *čɔ:qə-* B136. MgrH *čugu-* X212, *čigu-* L444. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj *čunḡu-* (sic, ?=) S301b. Dgx *čugū-* MC61a. Mog---.

***čolban/*čolman** ‘Venus’. In view of the Dag -p-, probably < **čolpan*, also in view of the CT cognate **čolpan* ‘id’. The second variant in Ordos suggests an -u- in the second syllable.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *čolbon* [eds. read *čolban*] 198A12. WM *čolmon*, *čolman*, *čolbon* L197a. Kh *colmon* H751a. Ord *čolmon* ~ *čulmun* M711b. Bur *solbon(g)* C390a. Kalm *colvḡ* M636a. Dag *čolpun* E304. EYu *čɔlβɔn* B137. MgrH *čolbanḡ* (only) S575. MgrM *čorbanḡ* JL481. Bao--- Dgx---. Mog---.

***čola** see s.v. ***čilöe**.

***čöen** ‘few’. The relation between this word and **öčeen* is unclear. Cf. also **üčüken*.

MMo SH *joyen* H93, cf. *jo'ekan* H92, HY *čö'en* M47, Muq *čö:n* P136b. WM *čögen* L201a. Kh *cöön* H758b. Ord *čö:n* (= *öčö:n*) M716b. Bur---. Brg *usə:ŋ* U51. Kalm *cön* M639a. Dag *čʷə:n* E308. EYu *čü:n* B138, J106b, *čö:n* J17. MgrH *čo:n* J106a. MgrM *čonḡ* JL473, *čuanḡ* C393. BaoD *čüḡ* BL93a. BaoÑ---. BaoX *čonḡ* BC72. Kgj *čun* ~ *čunḡ* S301b. Dgx *čogonḡ* B162 (from the dim. **čöe-ken*). Mog---.

***čögeče** (?*čögüčeg) ‘(wine) cup’. Dag *čɔkč* E304 ‘bowl for a Buddha lamp made of flour’ may also be related, although it is of the wrong harmonic class. The MMo form with -g may survive in MgrH; MgrM and Dgx may have lost -g recently (cf. **kürjeg* for a similar case).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *čögüček* P322b. WM *čögüče*, *čögeče*, *čöčige* L200b. Kh *cögc* H757a. Ord *čögöči* M314b, *jöčögö* M214b ‘cup’. Bur *sügse* (obs) C398a. Brg *sugč* U158 ‘bowl of an oil lamp (used to illuminate a Buddha effigy)’. Kalm *cögc* M638a. Dag (see above). EYu---. MgrH *čögžɔḡ* X210 ‘handleless wine cup’. MgrM *čogžɔ* JL474. Bao---. Dgx *žogöči* MC462b ‘handleless cup’. Mog---.

***čölbe-** ~ ***čölme-** ‘to pick, peck’. Kalmuck suggests a form **čilmö-*. The -p- in Dagur may be old (cf. **čolban* ‘Venus’ above). For the preconsonantal -m-, cf. the Dagur development of *ñɔmbus* < **nilbusun* ‘tears’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čölbe-* L202a, *čölme-* L202b. Kh *cölmöx* (?=) H757b ‘to requisition, to confiscate’. Ord *čölmö-* M715a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *čölmx* M656b ‘to peck’. Dag *čump-* E83:185b ‘to pick; to pinch’. EYu *čölβe-* B137 ‘to examine’. MgrH---. MgrM *čuanḡmu-* C391 ‘to pick’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čömü-** ‘to pick, pluck’. MgrH suggests an earlier **čimö-* or **čöme-*, Ord supports **čöme-*. Cf. Kh *cömöö* ‘nut, edible seed’. Perhaps related to **čimki-* ‘to pinch’ and to **čölbe-* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čömü-* L202b. Kh *cömöx* H758a ‘to crack nuts, to remove the pits from fruit’. Ord *čömö-* M715b. Bur *semexe* C403a, *sümexe* C399b. Brg---. Kalm *cümə-* R436a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ćimo:-* X207 ‘to pick’. MgrM *čumu-* T379 ‘to gather’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čösün** ‘gall bladder’ see ***sösün**.

***čuburī-** ‘to leak, drip’. The Bur *h-* (from earlier **s*) suggests that the development **č > s* took place earlier than usual. In some languages this word has become confused with **čoara-* ‘to develop a hole’.

MMo SH *cuburi’ul-* (caus.) H29 ‘to let flow, shed’, HY---, Muq---. WM *čuburi-*, *čubura-* L204a. Kh *cuvrax* H760b. Ord [*čuvvu:l-* M720a ‘cause to flow’]. Bur *hubarixa* (sic!) C687a. Brg---. Kalm *cüwr-* R436a, *cüvr̥x* M643b, *cövrül* M638a ‘tap, faucet’. Dag *čɔ:rʷ-* E302 ‘to leak, to flow, to trickle’. EYu *ču:ra-* J87. MgrH *ču:rə-* X210. MgrM *čuburi-* T381. BaoD *ćiurə-* BL84b, *čur-* T151. BaoÑ *ču:r-* CN190, but this meaning also given for *čo:ra-* (see **čoara-*). Kgj *čīuri-* ~ *čūri-* ~ *čiri-* S300b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čug** ‘bundle’. The original concrete meaning was lost in the central languages and EYu, probably under the influence of the derived verb **čugla-* below. Cf. CT **čug* ‘id’ (EDPT 405a).

MMo SH *cuh-tai* H29, HY---, Muq---. WM *čuy* L205b ‘together with, etc’. Kh *cug* H760b ‘together with, etc’. Ord *čug* M717b. Bur *sug* C395b ‘together’. Kalm *cug* M639b ‘all’. Dag---. EYu *čɔg* B137 ‘all’. MgrH *ćɔg* X210. MgrM *čug* JL477. BaoGt *ćog* C126. BaoJ *čoǵó* (sic) L192 ‘sheaf’. BaoÑ *čog* CN189. Kgj *čuqu* (sic) S301a. Dgx *čəu* B158. Mog---.

***čugla-** ‘to bundle; to put together; to gather, assemble’. Derived from **čug* ‘bundle’ above. The similar-looking MgrH form *ncɔgla-* X39 is from Tibetan.

MMo SH *cula-* (sic) H29, HY---, Muq---. WM *čuy-la-* L205b ‘to gather, etc’. Kh *cuglax* H760b ‘to gather, assemble; to bundle or tie together’. Ord *čugla-* M717b. Bur *suglaxa* C396a. Kalm *cuglx* M640b. Dag---. EYu *čugla-* B138. MgrH---. MgrM *čugla-* C373. BaoD---. BaoÑ *čogla-* CN189. Kgj *čuqla-* S301a. Dgx *čəula-* B159. Mog---.

***čuul-**, ***čuura-** see s.v. ***čaul-**.

***čüče** ‘chisel’ see ***siüči**

- D -

***daa-** ‘to be able to carry or bear, etc’. The peculiar WM spelling perhaps serves to distinguish this word from **daga-* ‘to follow’, to which it would otherwise be identical in spelling. Some of the Bao forms may have been confused with forms of

**čida-* ‘to be able’.

MMo SH *da’a-* H30, HY---, Muq---. WM *dayaya-* L216a. Kh *daax* H148a. Bur *daaxa* C178a. Kalm *daax* M173b. Dag *da:-* E268. EYu *da:-* B123. MgrH *da:-* X186. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *da:-* CN170. Kgj---. Dgx *da-* B142. Mog---.

***daagan** ‘two-year-old foal; foal’. The strengthening of the *-g-* in MgrH and BaoD is unexpected. Agricultural term, which, as Poppe (1960:47, etc) noted, is probably related to Turkic **yapak* ‘foal’ (not attested early). Cf. also Turkmen *yabī* ‘horse’, which points at a shorter stem. Cf. **unagan*.

MMo SH *da’aqan* H30, HY---, Muq *da:yan* P139b. WM *dayaya(n)* L216a, *daya(n)* L216a. Kh *daaga(n)* H147a. Ord *da:ga* M111b. Bur *daaga(n)* C177aa. Kalm *daayn* M172a. Dag *da:γ* E268. EYu *da:ğan* B124, J105b. MgrH *da:xa* J105b. MgrM *tagir* P413b, *dağar* DS224. BaoD *daɣaŋ* BL83a/92a. BaoGt *daxɔŋ* C116. BaoÑ---. Dgx *dağaŋ* B144. Mog---.

***daaki** ‘(lump of) shaggy hair’. Remarkably the sequence *kī* did not result in an uvular pronunciation of the *-k-* in EYu and Shirongol. Agricultural term related to CT **yapaku* ‘matted wool, etc’ (cf. EDPT 874b), or, as the correspondence CT **u-* CM **i* is irregular, to CT **yapak* (cf. **kumakī*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *da:qi* P139b, IV---, LV---. WM *dayaki* L217a. Kh *daax’* H148b. Bur *daaxi* C178b ‘moult; entangled wool’. Kalm *däak* M187b ‘entangled’. Dag---. EYu *da:kə* B124. MgrH *da:kir* SM41. BaoÑ---. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *da:gə-tə-* S184 ‘to become tangled’. BaoJ *daqí* (?=) L27 ‘the first layer of wool blankets placed on horseback when one saddles a horse’. Dgx *dači* (?=) MC72b ‘wool shorn during the hot summer days’. Mog---.

***daara-** ‘to be cold; to feel cold’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *da:ra-* P139b. WM *dayara-* L218a. Kh *daarax* H147b. Bur *daaraxa* C178a. Kalm *daarx* M173a. Dag *da:r-* E269. EYu *da:ra-* B124, J105a. MgrH *da:ra-* J105b. MgrM *dara-* DS212b. BaoD *darə-* BL92b. BaoÑ *da:rə-* CN170. Dgx---. Mog---.

***daari** ‘saddle gall, sore on an animal’s back’. Agricultural term related to Turkic **yagir* ‘id’.

MMo SH *da’ari* H30 ‘sore’, HY---, Muq *da:ri* P139b. WM *dayari* L218b. Kh *dayr* H155a. Bur *daari* C178a. Kalm *däär* M188a. Dag *da:r* E269. EYu *da:rə* B124, J105a. MgrH *da:rə* J105b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***daari-** ‘to pass by, drop in; to bump into, run over; to insult’. In spite of the wide variety of meanings this is a single verb. Poppe’s suggestion (P60:41,141) that WM *dabara-* and *dayari-* are ultimately the same etymon, is probably incorrect in spite of a semantic overlap between the two. The former seems to be an intransitive formation from **daba-* below. However, western dialects may have forms with *-w-* with the meanings mentioned above. The spelling variant *dabari-* may confirm the fact that the two etyma are no longer clearly distinguished. At any rate this is a problem the peripheral languages do not shed light on.

MMo SH *da’ari-* H30 ‘to pass by; to bump against; to offend [or ‘to

ridicule], HY *da'ari*- M48 'to pass by', Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *dayari*- L218a, *dabara*- L212a, *dabari*- L212a. Kh *dayrax* H155a 'to hit, brush against (..), to rush, charge (..), to pass by (..), to insinuate; to be stricken by an illness'. Ord *da:ri*- M122a. Bur *dayraxa* C182a. Brg *dair*- U192 'to charge, rush'. Kalm *dävr̥x* (?=) M189a 'to attack, etc', *dä:rx̥ə* R83a 'to hit, bump into, offend, etc', *däwr̥x̥ə* R82b 'to pass (by)'. Dag *da:r̥*- E269 'to pass by or through, to go via; (of lightning) to strike'. EYu *da:r*- J105a 'to rush, charge; to bump against, run into', *da:r*- B124 'to pass by'. MgrH *da:rə*- J105b 'to bump against, run into; to encounter'. MgrM *da:r*- C396 'to surpass'. BaoJ *dar*- L29. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***daba-** 'to cross, pass; to exceed'.

MMo SH *daba*- H30, HY---, Muq---. WM *daba*- L211a. Kh *davax* H149a. Bur *dabaxa* C179a. Kalm *davx* M175b. Dag *daw*- E277, *dau*- E270. EYu *daβa*- B125, J105b. MgrH *dava*:- J105a. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *dawa*- B146. Mog---.

***dabasug ~ *dabusag (~ *dabasuj)** 'urinary bladder'. There is disagreement regarding both the final consonant and the quality of the second and third vowels. Even the QG languages reflect three different forms. EYu supports **dabasug*, while Monguoric suggests **dabsag* (possibly < **dabusag*). The forms in Baoanic seem to stem from a form **dabalag*. Although *-l* does not otherwise correspond to **-s-*, *-lag* can at this stage not be explained as an alternative ending. Bur-Brg have **čuuka*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *dabasun* P137a. WM *dabusay* L213b, *dabusang* L213b, etc. Kh *davsan*, *davsag* H150a, *davsnag* (sic) H150b. Ord *dawusaq* M130b, *dawusuq* M131a. Bur *dabsag* (western) C179b. Brg---. Kalm *davsg* M174a. Dag *daus* E270 'abdomen', *daus* Z103b 'bladder'. EYu *daβasäḡ* B125, *daβasəḡ* J105b. MgrH *dabsag* J105a, *daṣṣag* X191. MgrM *dabsag* JL466. BaoD *doləḡ* BL92a, *doläḡ* BL6. BaoJ *doləḡə* L34 'the crop of a bird'. BaoÑ *danlag* CN171, also 'fish's air bladder'. Kgj *dabələḡ* S298b. Dgx *dawala* B146. Mog---.

***dabkur** 'double; row; layer; folded'. The Dagur form *dabkur* (instead of **darkər* > **darkəl*), with unexpected *u* and retention of the syllable-final *b*, may indicate that it is a reborrowing from Manchu *dabkūri*. Cf. **dabta*- 'to repeat' (not listed here).

MMo SH *dabqur* H30, HY *dabqur* M48, Muq *dabqur* P304a. WM *dabqur* L214a. Kh *davxar* H214a. Ord *dawχur* M130a, *daχur* M113a. Bur *dabxar* C179b. Kalm *davxr* M175b. Dag *dabkur* (sic, see remark below) E272. EYu *dayqur* B125 'times', *daχguar* J105b 'double'. MgrH *tagur* J105a. MgrM *yigə təḡər* DS260 'for a while' (the first element from **nikən* and/or Chinese *yīge* 'one'), possibly also in *toḡor kəlie* Z335:317 'uvula', lit. 'double tongue'. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dabusun** 'salt'. All modern forms apparently developed from a form **dabsun*. However, the first *-ŋ-* in Dgx *daṅsun* is unusual; this Dgx form perhaps stems from an intermediate form **damsun*, although it is also possible that *daṅsun* developed from earlier **dasun* < **dabsun* (see **jabaan* for a similar 'intrusive' *ŋ*). Apparently contains the (?collective) suffix **-sUn*, so the PM root may have been **dabu-*.

MMo SH---, HY *dabusun* M48, Muq *dabusun* P137. WM *dabusu(n)* L213b. Kh *davs(an)* H150a. Ord *dawus(u)* M131a. Bur *dabha(n)* C180a. Brg *daβv*: U139. Kalm *davsn* M174b. Dag---. EYu *da:βsən* (*da:φsən*) B124, *da:bsən* J105b.

MgrH *dabsə* J105a, X190. MgrM *dabsi* JL466, *dapuzi* C390, *dabusī* ~ *dapuzi* DS247a. BaoD *dabsuŋ* BL92b. BaoGt *dāpsuŋ* C115. BaoÑ *dabsəŋ* CN172. Kgj---. Dgx *daŋsuŋ* B144. Mog *dabsan*, *dabsun* R26a, *dəbsun* W163b.

***daga-** ‘to follow’, in Bao and Kgj also ‘to resemble’.

MMo SH *daqā-* H30, HY *daqā-* M48, Muq---. WM *daya-* L216a. Kh *dagax* H153a. Bur *dagaxa* C180b. Kalm *daxx* M187a. Dag *day-* E273. EYu *dağa-* B125, *tağa-* (sic) J105b. MgrH *dağa-* J105b. MgrM *dağa-* DS224a. BaoD *dəğa-* BL2 ‘follow’, *ndəğa-* BL58, BL65 ‘resemble’. BaoÑ *dağa-* CN172. Kgj *dağa-* ~ *dəğa-* S298b, *dəğa-* S208. Dgx *dağa-* B144. Mog---.

***däin** ‘war’ and ***däisun** ‘enemy’. Related to CT **yagī* ‘enemy’ (cf. EDPT 868a).

MMo SH *dayin* H34, *daiyin* H31, *daiyisu(n)* H31, HY---, Muq *dain* P138a ‘enemy’. WM *dayin* L222b, *dayisun* L222b. Kh *dayn* H154a, *daysan* H155b. Bur *day(n)* C182a, *daysa(n)* (←Kh) C182b. Brg *daiŋ* U192, *daisaŋ* (←Kh) U192. Kalm *dän* M189b ‘war’, *dääsn* M188b ‘enemy’. Dag *dayin* E276 ‘war, chaos caused by war’. EYu *dain* B124. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***daku** ‘fur coat (with the fur outside), raincoat’. The Dagur form may be from Manchu *dakû*. Related to CT **yagku* ‘id’ (EDPT 898b), according to Clauson from **yag-* ‘to rain’.

MMo SH *daqu* H31 ‘fur-lined coat’, HY---, Muq---, RH *daqu* 205B42. WM *daqu* L237b. Kh *dax* H164b ‘coat with the fur outside’. Bur *daxa* C189b. Brg *dax* U193. Kalm *daxă* R72b. Dag *daw* E277 ‘cape, cloak’, *dayu* NK497a. EYu---. MgrH *da:xu* SM41 ‘short sleeveless garment worn in the past by Monguor women’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dalai** ‘sea’. Apparently related to CT **taluy* ‘id’, itself possibly a geographical name of Chinese origin.

MMo SH *dalai* H31, HY *dalai* M48, Muq *dalai* P138a ‘great’. WM *dalai* L224a. Kh *dalay* H156a. Ord *dalä:* M115a. Bur *dalay* C183a. Brg *dalai* U194. Kalm *dala* M178a. Dag *dali:* E274, *dalai* Z103a. EYu *dali:* B125, J105a. MgrH *dali:* X190. Remaining lgs---.

***dalan** ‘seventy’. Related to **dolaan* (< **daluan*) ‘seven’. In Bao-Kgj replaced by a new analytical form **dolaan harban* ‘seven tens’, contracted in BaoD *dolaran* BL92a, BaoÑ *də'laran* CN180.

MMo SH *dalan* H31, HY *dalan* M48, Muq *dalan* P138a. WM *dala(n)* L223b. Kh *dal(an)* H156a. Ord *dala* M114b. Bur *dala(n)* C183b. Brg *dal* U194. Kalm *daln* M180a. Dag *dal* E273. EYu *dalan* B125, J105a. MgrH *dalan* J105b. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dalu** ‘shoulder-blade, scapula’. The long vowel shared by EYu and MgrH is secondary. Some of the Shirongol languages feature forms suggesting an additional phoneme after **u*; MgrH and BaoD suggest a Shirongol form **daluī*; Dgx may support this form (cf. **maylai* ‘forehead’ for the treatment of **-ai*). MgrM does not share this possible Shirongol word shape. For the forms in a nasal, we may compare

WM *dalang* L224b ‘nape of the neck (of animals); withers (of a horse)’. Perhaps **dalu* and **dalaŋ* were confused.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *dalu* P138a. WM *dalu* L226b. Kh *dal* H155b. Ord *dalu* M116b. Bur *dala* C183a. Brg *dal* U194. Kalm *dal* M178a. Dag *dal* E273 ‘shoulder-blade’. EYu *da:lə* B124 ‘shoulder-blade’. MgrH *da:li*: J102b ‘shoulder’. MgrM *dalu* T327, DS249b. BaoD *daləi* BL90b ‘shoulder’. BaoÑ *dalaŋ* CN172 ‘shoulder-blade’. Kgj *dalian* ~ *dalen* S298b. Dgx *daləu* B145 ‘shoulder’, *dali* L118b ‘shoulder’. Mog *do:lu* R27a.

***damla-** ‘to carry on a carrying-pole, in a sedan chair, etc’. A Chinese word (modern Mandarin *dān* ‘shoulder pole’) that seems to be absent from MMo, but was adopted early enough to be represented widely in the modern languages. The antiquity is supported by the *-m*, which has since merged with *-n* in Northwest Mandarin. MgrH *dänla-* SM43, *danla-* X189 may represent more recent loans. Dgx *daŋla-* may also be recent. Kgj *dama-* must have developed via either **damna-* or **dalma-*. Dag *jenjla:-* E315 could stem from an unattested assimilated variant **jamjila-* < **damjila-*.

MMo---, WM *damna-* L228a. Kh *damnax* H159b, *damlax* H159a. Ord *damna-* M118a, cf. also *damjil(a)-* M117b. Bur---. Kalm *damnⁿ*- R75b. Dag (see above). EYu *damla-* B125. MgrH *damla-* X191, *darma-* SM46 (naast. BaoD *damələ-* BL32. BaoÑ *dabla-* CN172. Kgj *dama-* S298b. Dgx *daŋla-* B144. Mog---.

***daŋgal** ‘lump, clod’. Note the peculiar distribution. Mgr seems to suggest a form **daŋgol*. BaoD results from a recent metathesis. Apparently because the word is rare in the central languages, this word is often presented in the vocabularies of QG languages as a loanword of Turkic origin, and compared to NUyg *daŋgal*. However, the initial *d-* in NUyg rather indicates a non-Turkic word. It seems likely that Kashghari’s *deŋgel* (or *daŋgal*; it is read as a front-vocalic word in EDPT 520a because of the spelling of *-g-*) ‘knob or node’ is the same word, but this early occurrence also has the foreign-looking *d-*. Even if ultimately not an endemic Mongolic word, it was probably present in CM. The presence of this word in Dagur also supports its presence in early Mongolic. As it is reminiscent of, and largely in complementary distribution with, **deŋliül*, **deŋliüsün* ‘turf, sod; hillock’ found in the central languages, this may be an alternate form of the same etymon. Cf. also Ord *deŋgel-dongol* M139b ‘lumps and bumps in the soil’.

MMo SH *danglasun* H32 ‘clod of earth’, HY---, Muq---, IV *tanglasun* L62:67 ‘sun-dried brick’, RH *tanglasun* 202A5 ‘brick’. WM---. Kh---. Bur *dagnaha(n)* (western) C181a. Kalm---. Dag *daŋga:l* E272. EYu---. MgrH *daŋgol* X189. MgrM *daŋgvar* C390, *dongul* P421a ‘peat’, *daŋbulər* (?) DS237b ‘mound’. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. BaoX *dalgaŋ* BC66. Kgj---. Dgx (Longquan) *daŋga* B144. Mog---.

***darasun** ‘wine (from fruit or cereals)’. Bur seems to suggest **darsun* (perhaps also the origin of the Kh and Kalm forms), Mgr and Bao point at **durasun*. Apparently formed with the (?collective) suffix **-sUn*.

MMo SH *darasun* H32, HY *darasun* M48, Muq---. WM *darasu(n)* L232a. Kh *dars(an)* H163a. Ord *darasu* M120b, *darusu* M125a. Bur *darhan* (obs) C189a.

Brg *darv*: U195. Kalm *darsn* R78b. Dag *dars* Z39. EYu *dura:sən* (only) S203. MgrH *dəra:sə* J105b, *dura:sə* X201. MgrM *duruasī* C391. Bao *turasī* P412a. Kgj *dərasun* ~ *drasun* S299a. Dgx *darasuŋ* B146. Mog---.

***daru-** ‘to press, push down, suppress’.

MMo SH *daru-* H33, HY *daru-* M48, Muq *daru-* P138b. WM *daru-* L233b. Kh *darax* H161a. Bur *daraxa* C187b. Kalm *darx* M185a. Dag *dar-* E276. EYu *darə-* B126, J105a. MgrH *da:rə-* J105b. BaoD *darə-* BL92b. BaoÑ *dar-* CN173. Dgx *daru-* B146. Mog *daru-*, *do:ru-* R27a.

***daun** ‘sound; voice; song’.

MMo SH *dao'u(n)* H32, HY *da'un* M49, Muq *da'un* P139a, cf. *du:la-* P147b ‘to sing’. WM *dayu(n)* L219a, *dayuu* L221b. Kh *duu(n)* H183a. Ord *du:* M158b. Bur *duu(n)* C206a. Kalm *dun* M214a. Dag *dau* E270 ‘&thunder’. EYu *du:n* B130, J105a. MgrH *dau:* J105b. MgrM *dau* JL468. BaoD *duŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ *dəŋ* CN179. Kgj *duŋ* S299b, but cf. *daula-* S298a. Dgx *doŋ* B147 and *duan* B148 (both representing the same pronunciation), but cf. *dəula-* B146. Mog *döun* R27a, *daon*, *down*, *dov* W163a.

***dauria-** ‘to imitate, follow the example of’. The *n* in EYu is inexplicable.

MMo SH, HY---, Muq---. WM *dayuriya-* L219b. Kh *duurix* H184b. Bur *duuryaaxa* C206b. Kalm *du:ra:-* R104b, *dura:-* R102b. Dag *daur'e:-* E271 ‘id, etc’. EYu *du:ran-* J105a. MgrH *daura:-* X189, *dau:ra:-* J105b.

***daus-** ‘to be finished; to suffer, endure’.

MMo SH *dao'us-* H32, *da'us-* H33, HY---, Muq *da'us-* P139a, *du:s-* P326b. WM *dayus-* L220a. Kh *duusax* H184b. Bur *duuhaxa* C206b. Kalm *duusx* M218a. Dag *daus-* E270 ‘to pull in to shore; to end, finish, reach the end’. EYu *du:s-* J105a ‘to end, finish’. Remaining lgs---.

debis-** (>debüs-**) ‘to spread’. In the alternative form ***debüs-** suggested by SH the original ***i** was probably rounded because of the preceding *b*. Most modern forms may be either from ***debis-** or ***debüs-**, but Ord suggests the former, and Dag the latter.

MMo SH *debus-* H34, HY---, Muq *debis-* P139b. WM *debis-* L238b. Kh *devsex* H190b. Ord *dewis-* ~ *dewes-* M145a. Bur *debdixe* C213a. Brg *diβd-* U197. Kalm *devsx* M191a. Dag *dəus-* E279. EYu *des-* J88, *deβəsge-* (caus) B127. MgrH *de:sə-* X193. MgrM *debse-* T329. BaoD---. BaoÑ *der-* CN177, *debər-* CN176. Kgj *desi-* S299a. Dgx *žiausi-* B165. Mog---.

***debisker** ‘mattress, bedding’. Derived from ***debis-** above; Dgx from ***debiskü**.

MMo SH---, HY *debüsger* M49, Muq *debisker* P139b. WM *debisker* L238b. Kh *devsger* H190a. Ord *dewisker* M145a. Bur *debdixer* C213b, *debisxer* (←?) C213b. Brg [ɔr] *diβtgər* U34. Kalm *devskr* M191a. Dag *dəurkul* E279. EYu *deβəsger* B127, *desger* J88. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *žiausiku* B165. Mog---.

***debse** ‘saddle cushion, undersaddle’. Probably related to **debis-*. The three literary central languages and Brg developed as if it was **debsün*; Ord and EYu agree with the WM spelling. Dag *dəbsəy* is peculiar: preconsonantal *b* should have become *r*, and the final *y* is unexpected. The expected form is **dərs*, i.e. this word would have merged with the reflex of **deresün*, q.v.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *debse* L239a. Kh *devs(en)* (obs. in this meaning) H190a. Ord *debse* M132b. Bur *debhe(n)* C214a, *debese* (?←WM) C214b. Brg *dəβu*: U196. Kalm *devsŋ* M191a. Dag *dəbsəy* (sic) E280. EYu *debse* B312, J105a.

***debte-** ‘to be soaked, to be steeped’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *debte-* L239b, *debtü-* L240b. Kh *devtex* H191a. Bur *debtex* C214a. Kalm *devtx* M191b. Dag *dərt-* E282. EYu *debte-* BJ322, *debde-* J105a. MgrH *təbde:-* J105b, *təde:-* X180, *tudie:-* SM427. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. MogM *defta-* L68, No. 58.

***deel** ‘clothes, garment, jacket, coat, gown’. A clear example of the interaction between WM and the spoken languages. The QG languages stem from CM **deel*. The Dag form with its *-lʰ* seems to suggest a CM **deeli*; or it may instead belong with **deelei* ‘jacket’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *deʼel* H34, *degel* H35, HY *deʼel* M49, Muq *de:l* P141b. WM *debel* L238a, K1698a, Ceval222b, *degel* K1740b, Ceval231a. Kh *deel* H199a. Ord *de:l* M136a. Bur *degel* C215a. Brg *də:l* U195. Kalm *devl* M190b. Dag *də:lʰ* E278 ‘fur-lined coat’. EYu *di:l* B128. MgrH *de:l* J105a. MgrM *der* JL468. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *ʒien* B166. Mog---.

***deere** ‘above, upper’. From a root **dee-*, whose other derivatives are less widespread in the peripheral languages. In view of the Muq spelling with *-h* perhaps from a PM root **depe-* > **dehe-*.

MMo SH *deʼere* H34, HY *deʼere* M49, Muq *de:re* P142a, *dehere* P148a. WM *degere* L243a. Kh *deer* H199a. Ord *de:re* M140b. Bur *deere* C219b. Kalm *deer* M194b. Dag *də:r* E278. EYu *di:rə* B128, J105b, *de:rə* B126. MgrH *dəre* J105a. MgrM *dere* T329. BaoD *ʒiərə* BL92b. BaoÑ *di:rə* CN177. Kgj *dere* S299a. Dgx *ʒiərə* B169. Mog *de:ra*, *de:rə* R26b, *dəra* W163a, *dira* W163b.

***deesün** ‘rope, cord’. The similar forms with *ei* Kgj and Mog are probably a coincidence. Possibly related to the Turkic **yep*, a NE variant of **yip* ‘thread’.

MMo SH---, HY *deʼesün* M49, Muq *de:sün* P142a. WM *degēsü(n)* L244b. Kh *dees(en)* H200a. Bur *deehe(n)* C220b. Brg *dəxə*: U196. Kalm *deesn* M195b. Dag *də:s* E278. EYu *di:sən* B128, J105b, *de:sən* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *de:sə* J105a. MgrM *desə* J87. BaoD *desuŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *deisun* ~ *desun* S299a. Dgx *ʒiesuŋ* B168. Mog *deisun* R26b, *deisun* W163a.

***del** ‘mane’. The second element of the Dagur form is unclear (it is reminiscent of **deelbüri* ‘covering’). Agricultural term related to CT **ye:l* ‘id’.

MMo SH *del* H35, HY *del* M49, Muq--- but cf. *del-tü-* P141a ‘hyena’ (lit. ‘with mane’), RH *deltü čina* 199C19 ‘hyena’ (lit. ‘wolf with mane’). WM *del* L247a. Kh *del* H193a. Ord *dél* M136a. Bur *del-he(n)* C216b. Brg *dil* U197. Kalm *del* M196a. Dag *də:lbur* E278, Z103b. EYu *del* B127, J105b. Remaining lgs---.

***delbi-** ‘to wave, to fan’, ***delbiür** ‘fan’. Preconsonantal *-l-* was lost in the central languages (cf. the development of CM **talbī-* ‘to put’ > **tabī-*). The EYu form is irregular; in view of the *-p-* it also could be a borrowing from Turkic **yelpi-* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *delbü-* P213b (and *yelbi-* P390b from Turkic). WM *debi-* L238a, *debigür* L238a. Kh *devex* H191b, *devüür* H191a. Ord *dewe-* M144b, *dewü:r* M145a. Bur *debixe* C213b, *debyüür* C214b. Kalm *dewü:r* R91a. Dag *dəlbür* E280 ‘fan’. EYu *lepə-* B87, *lepü:r* B87. Remaining lgs---.

***deled-** ‘to beat’. There is also a variant with ***deles-**, usually with different semantics, cf. WM *deles-* L249a, Kh *delsex* H194b, Kalm *delsx* M198a. Both forms may go back to a PM form **delej-*.

MMo SH *delet-* H35, HY *delet-* M49, Muq *delet-* P140a. WM *deled-* L248b. Kh *deldex* H194b. Ord *delde-* M136b. Bur *deldexe* C216a. Kalm *deldx* (obs) M197a. Dag---. EYu *deled-* B127. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *dilat-* W163b ‘to rain’, MogM *delat-* L62:27 ‘to beat, hit’.

***delen** ‘udder’. Ord and Dag seem to reflect a form with *-i-*, which happens to agree with the Turkic cognate **yelin* ‘id’. The *-ŋ*, however, does not.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *deleng* L249a. Kh *delen(g)* H195a. Ord *deliŋ*, *déliŋ* M138a. Bur *delen(g)* C216b. Brg *dələŋ* U197. Kalm *delŋ* M197b. Dag *dəlin* E280. EYu *deleŋ* B127, J105b. MgrH *dələŋ* J105a, *dələŋ* X195. MgrM---. BaoD *dələŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *delio* S299a. Dgx *žielien* L120b. Mog---.

***delge-** ‘to spread’. For Dongxiang cf. **gee-*.

MMo SH *delge-* H35, HY *delge-* M48, Muq *delge-* P140b. WM *delge-* L249a. Kh *delgex* H194b. Bur *delgexe* C216b. Kalm *delgx* M197a. Dag *dəlyə:-* E281. EYu *delye-* B127. MgrH *dəlgə-* X196. MgrM *derge-* JL462. Bao---. Dgx *žieğə-* MC184b ‘to roll out (dough); to spread (grain on the threshing floor for threshing)’. Mog---.

***deliün** ‘spleen’. Dag *dəlkin* probably stems from Tungusic, cf. Manchu *delihun*. LV also has *-g-*.

MMo SH---, HY *deli’ün* M50, Muq *delü:n* P141a, LV *delgün* P56. WM *deligüü* L250a. Kh *delüü(n)* H195a. Bur *deliün* C216b, *delyüü(n)* C216b. Brg *dilu:* U198. Kalm *deliün* M198a. Dag *dəlu:* E280, *dəlkin* E280 (latter form ←MT). EYu *dölü:n* B130, *dölön* J105b, *dölö:n* (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *dəliu:* J105a, *dəliu* X196. Remaining lgs---.

***dere** ‘pillow’. Dag *dərəb* E281 ‘pillow’ is from Tungusic, cf. Solon *dəbbu* < **dərbu*. This Tungusic word may well be related to Mongolic.

MMo SH *dere* H36 ‘etc’, HY *dere* M50, Muq *dere* P141a. WM *dere*

L253a. Kh *der(en)* H197a. Ord *dére* M140b. Bur *dere* C218b. Brg *dər* U197. Kalm *der* M199a. Dag [see above]. EYu *dere* B127, J57. MgrH *dəre* X196. MgrM *dere* JL462. Remaining lgs---.

***deresün** ‘name of several reeds and grasses; rush mat’. Probably related to CT **yez*.

MMo SH *deresun* H36, HY---, Muq---. WM *deresü(n)* L253b. Kh *ders(en)* H197b. Ord *déres(ʰ)* M141a. Bur *derhe(n)* C218b. Brg *dəru*: U197. Kalm *dersn* M200a. Dag *dərs* E282. EYu---. MgrH *dəresi* X196. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *žierəsun* B169. Mog---.

***deü** ‘younger sibling’. In many languages this word is not used independently. In Muq apparently only in the combinations **aka deü* and **egeči deü*; In Bur and Kalm also restricted to compounds.

MMo SH *de’u* H36, HY *de’ü* M50, Muq *de’ü*: P303b, *dü*: P256a. WM *degüü* L246a. Kh *düü* H188b. Bur *düü* C211b ‘younger’. Kalm *dü* M218a ‘younger’. Dag *dəu* E279. EYu *dü*: B132, J105b, *dö*: (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *diu*: J105a, *diu* X195, *du*: X199. MgrM *diau* JL465. BaoD *dəu* BL92a. BaoÑ *du* only in *aga du* CN5. Kgj *devu* S299a. Dgx *žiau* B165. Mog *döün* R27a.

***deüjile-** ‘to hang up, suspend, attach’. The *-ž-* in the Monguor languages is peculiar. Some of the Chinese authors derive this word from Chinese *diào*, but this is only phonetically compatible with the Dongxiang form. Cf. **elgü-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *degüjile-* L246a. Kh *düüjflex* H189a. Ord *du:žile-* M167b. Bur *düüželxe* C211b. Kalm *düüjlx* M221a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *diužəle-* X195. MgrM *diaožili-* DS227b. BaoÑ *du:žilga-* (caus) CN181. Kgj *dəujile-* ~ *daujile-* S298b. Dgx *žiaužilie-* B165.

***deüli-** ‘to jump, leap’. Cf. **hüsür-*.

MMo SH *duyal-* (?=) H40 ‘to jump for joy’, HY---, Muq *dü:li-* P148a. WM *degüli-* L245b. Kh *düülex* H189a. Bur *düülix* C211b. Kalm *dü:l(’)-* R106b ‘to strive for, try to get, etc’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *diu:lə-* J96a. MgrM *diauli-* JL471. BaoD *dulə-* BL84a. BaoÑ *dulə-* CN181. BaoX *dul-* BC71. Kgj *dauli-* ~ *dəuli-* S298A. Dgx *žiauli-* B165. Mog---.

***deür-** ‘to carry sb/sth in front or behind while riding a horse’. In spite of phonetic problems, possibly in some way related to the Turkic form **ünger-* (?**yünger-*). For the phonetic development compare CM **döree* - CT **yüzəngü* ‘stirrup’ below. Cf. **sundala-* which occurs in similar meanings.

MMo SH *de’ur-* H36. WM *deür-* L254a. Kh *düürex* H189b. Ord *du:r-* M171a. Bur *-?-*. Brg *du:r-* U203. Kalm *düürx* M221b.

***doa-ra** ‘under’. Note the fluctuations in vowel length. Kh, Ord, Brg do have a long vowel in other derivatives of the same root, e.g. Kh *dooš* ‘downward’, *dood* ‘lower’ etc. In BaoD this word may have dropped from use after its form has come to resemble **dotara* ‘inside’ too closely.

MMo SH *do:ro* H37, HY *dora, doro* M50, Muq *dora* P143a. WM *doora* L266a. Kh *dor* H171a. Ord *doro* M152b. Bur *doro* C196a, *dooro* C195b. Brg *dər* U200. Kalm *dor* M207a. Dag *d^war* E290. EYu *du:ra* B131, J105, *də:rə* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *do:ro* J105a. MgrM *do:ro* C376, *doro* C391. BaoD-?- BL. BaoÑ *də:rə* CN178. BaoX *dorə* BC65. Kgj *duru* S299b. Dgx *dəura* B147. Mog *dora* R27a, *dərə* W163b.

***dobtul-** ‘to gallop; to rush, charge, attack’.

MMo SH *dobtul-* H36, HY---, Muq *dobtul-* P142b. WM *dobtul-* L255a. Kh *dovtlox* H167a. Ord *dubtul-* M155b. Bur *dobtolxo* C193a. Kalm *dovtlx* M202b. Dag *dərtul-* E286. EYu *dobdəl-* J7. Remaining lgs---.

***dogal-** ‘to limp’ and ***dogal-aŋ** ‘limping, crippled’ (the latter not listed here for all languages where it survives). Bur suggests **-k-*. Most of Baoanic seems to have reinterpreted the verb as **dogla-*.

MMo SH---, HY *doqalaŋ* M50, Muq *doqul-* (or *doqol-*) P143a. WM *doyol-* L257b. Kh *dogolox* H167b. Ord *dogol-* M147b. Bur *doxolxo* C199a. Brg *dəgləŋ* U199. Kalm *doylx* M203b. Dag *dəy^wl-un* E284. EYu *dəğol-* B129, *doğol-* J105b. MgrH *doğolə-* J105a. MgrM *dərgə-* (?=) DS234a, *d^yəğol-aŋ* (sic) C391, *dogolan* P421b. BaoD *doyol-* BL92b. BaoÑ *dəğla-* CN180. Kgj *duğlu-* S299b. Dgx *doğolo-* B147. Mog---.

***dogsın** ‘fierce, cruel’. Note the metathesis in Kh, Ord, Bur.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *doysin* L256b. Kh *dogšin* H167b, *doşgin* H174b. Ord *dogšin* M148a, *doşkin* M154a. Bur *doşxon* C199a. Kalm *dogšn* M293a. Dag *dəršin* E285. EYu *dəğšin* B129. MgrH *dogšin* L91, also *dogšin* L91, *togšin* L580 ‘sour’. Remaining lgs---.

***dolia-** (> **dolaa-*) ‘to lick’. The form **dolia-*, now only present in Bur, must have been the oldest. The QG forms developed from a form **doli-* or **dol-* which can not be explained, unless the final part was mistaken for a causative, and removed. The QG form seems to be supported by Moghol. The length in EYu and MgrH may be due to the word structure (which is a common development), but perhaps the vowel length of the second syllable was transferred to the first. The assumed relation with CT **yalga-* ‘id’ is problematic, since an earlier Turkic form **yaluga-* has to be postulated in order to reconcile the actual Turkic forms with the CM **o* in the first syllable, but a Turkic form **yoliga-* would be required if one wants to explain the **ia* in the CM form.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *dola:-* P142b. WM *doliya-* L259b, *doloya-* L260a. Kh *doloox* H169a. Ord *dolo:-* M150b. Bur *dolyooxo* C194a, *žolooxo* (rare) C233a. Brg *dəl^yə:-* U199. Kalm *dolax* M205a. Dag *dəlb:-* E284. EYu *də:lə-* B128, *do:l-* J105b. MgrH *do:lə-* X297. MgrM *dor-* JL468. BaoD *dolə-* BL92b. BaoGt *dual-* C110. BaoJ *dual-* L36, *dal(ə)-* L30. BaoÑ *dəl-* CN180. BaoX *do:lə-* BC62. Kgj *dər-* S299b. Dgx *dolu-* B148. MogMr *də:lu-* L64:45, Zirni *do:l-* 15:6b.

***dolaan** ‘seven’. In view of **dalan* ‘seventy’, **dolaan* may go back to an earlier (PM) **daluan*.

MMo SH *dolo’an* H37, HY *dolo’an* M50, Muq *dola:n* P142b. WM *doloʔa(n)* L260a. Kh *doloo(n)* H169a. Ord *dolo:* M150b. Bur *doloon* C194b. Brg *dɔlɔ:*, *dɔlɔ:ŋ* U199. Kalm *dolan* M204b. Dag *dɔlɔ:*, *dɔlɔ:n* E284. EYu *dɔlɔ:n* B129, *dolo:n* J105b. MgrH *dolo:n* J105a. MgrM *dolon* T330, *dolaŋ* (obs.) DS4, but *dolaŋ* DS260a ‘week’ is still in use. BaoD *doluŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ *dələŋ* CN180. Kgj *danlɔ ~ dɔlɔ* S298a. Dgx *doloŋ* B147. MogM *dv:lv:n* L54b:135 (rarely used).

***domag** ‘tale, legend, fairy tale’, in some languages ‘nonsense; mockery’. The EYu *l-* probably arose due to the influence of EYu *lɔm* from **nom* ‘book’. Related to CT **yomak* ‘fairy tale’.

SH *domoq-či* H37, HY---, Muq---. WM *domoʔ* L261a. Kh *domog* H169b. Ord *domoq* M151b. Bur *domog* C195a. Kalm *domg* M206a. EYu *lɔmɔg* B88.

***dota-r** ‘interior’, ***dota-ra** ‘in, inside’. Note the development of **d > t* from MMo onwards, and the dissimilations of the **d-t* sequence in QG. Other derivatives from the same root also feature irregular dissimilations, as in **dota ~ *dočaa*: Buriat *dosoo* C197b, *zosoo* C258a, Brg *dɔsɔ:* U199, apparently shared by Khamnigan (Janhunen 91), as opposed to Kalm *dota* M208a.

MMo SH *dotora*, *dotore* H38, HY *dotora* M50, Muq *dotar* P143b, *dotura* P119b, cf. *dotara-qi* P143b, *totar* P142a ‘lining’, *totara* P209a. WM *dotor*, *dotora* L265a. Kh *dotor* H173a. Ord *dotor*, *dotoro* M154b. Bur *dotor* C198a. Brg *dɔtɔr* U200. Kalm *dotr* M208b. Dag *dʷatər* E290 ‘inside’, cf. *dɔtur* E285 ‘internal organs; heart (fig.)’. EYu *htɔr* B61, *hdɔr* B62, *htɔrɔ* B61, *hdoro* J105b. MgrH *tudor* X185, *čüdor* X211; *toro* J105a, X181, *turo* X185, *šduro* L512, *sduro* SM339. MgrM *tuduar* C390, *dotor* T367, *tudoro*, *cudoro* DS231a. BaoD *dorə* BL93b. BaoÑ---. BaoX *dərə* BC69, *hdər-sə* (abl.) CN86:164. BaoDt *hdərə* CN86:186. Kgj [*tuši ~ tuši* S297 < **dota-gsi* ‘inwards’], *dugu* S20 ‘the one on the inside’, perhaps < **dotar-kī*. Dgx *sudoro* B119, *tudoro* L120a, cf. also *ənə toro* B7 ‘in here’, *hə toro* B66 ‘in there’. Mog *doto:-na* R27a.

***döčin** ‘forty’. In Bao and Kgj replaced by a new form **dörben harban* ‘four tens’ (BaoD *deräraŋ* BL92b, BaoÑ *de’raraŋ* CN177). Probably from a root **dö-* and a suffix *-čln* (cf. **gučin* ‘thirty’, **dörben* ‘four’ and (not listed) **dönen* ‘four-year-old’).

MMo SH *docin* H36, HY *döčin* M50, Muq *döčin* P143b. WM *döči(n)* L266b. Kh *döč(in)* H177b. Ord *döči* M158a. Bur *düşe(n)* C213a. Brg *duš* U204. Kalm *döčn* M212b. Dag *duč* E287. EYu *döčən* B130, *döčin* J105a. MgrH *təžin* J105b. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dörben** ‘four’. The Shirongol forms go back to an unrounded form **derben*. Related to **döčin* ‘forty’ above and **dönen* ‘four-year-old’ (not listed).

MMo SH *dorben* H37, HY *dörben* M50, Muq *dörben* P143b. WM *dörbe(n)* L268b. Kh *döröv* (*dörvön*) H176b. Bur *dürbe(n)* C209a. Brg *durəβ*, *durβəŋ* U204. Kalm *dörvn* M211b. Dag *durbʷ*, *durbun* E288, *durəb* Z104b, *durub* Z47. EYu *dörβen* B130, J105a. MgrH *de:ren* J105b. MgrM *derbaŋ* T477, JL477. BaoD *derəŋ*

BL92a. BaoÑ *derañ* CN177. Kgj *derə* S299a. Dgx *žieron* B169, *žierwan* (Longquan) B170. Mog *durbən* W164a.

***döre** ‘nose ring, camel’s nose peg’.

MMo SH *dore-bci* H37 ‘ring’, HY---, Muq---. WM *dörö* L269a. Kh *dör* H175b. Ord *dörö* M157a. Bur *düre* C210b. Brg *dur* U204. Kalm *dör* M210b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *duro*: X201, *duro:l* (sic) L101. MgrM *dori* DS239. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***döree** ‘stirrup’. Dag *du:rə:ŋgi*: E288 is from Manchu. Agricultural term which in spite of phonetic difficulties seems to be related to CT **(y)üzen(g)ü* ‘id’. The general absence of **y-* in Turkic languages and the loss of *-ŋ-* in Mongolic are most surprising. The Turkic and Manchu forms may point at a PM form **döreŋe* or **düreŋe*.

MMo SH---, HY *dörö’e* M51, Muq *döre*: P237b. WM *döröge* L269a. Kh *döröö(n)* H176b. Ord *dörö*: M157a. Bur *düröö* C209b. Brg *durə*: U204. Kalm *dörä* M210b. Dag (see above). EYu *düre*: B132, *dure*: J105a, (Qinglong) *döre*: BJ350.

***dösi** ‘anvil’. Ord and EYu share an unexpectedly lowered final vowel.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *döši* P144a. WM *dösi* L269b. Kh *dös* H177b. Ord *dösö* M158a. Bur *düše* C213a. Brg *duš* U204. Kalm *dös* M212b. Dag *duš* E287. EYu *tošo* S231. MgrH *do:šə* J105b.

***döte** ‘directly; nearby’. The connection between this word and MgrH *ta:da*, suggested by Khasbaatar, is unlikely.

MMo SH *dote-le-n* (converb of denominal verb) ‘directly’, HY *döte* M51 ‘directly’, Muq---. WM *döte* L269b. Kh *döt* H177a. Ord *dötö* M158a. Bur *düte* C210b. Kalm *döt* M212a. Dag *du:t* E286.

***dötüer** ‘fourth’. Replaced elsewhere by new formations from **dörben*, e.g. Kh *dörövdüger* (with reading pronunciation of the ordinal suffix). Cf. **dörben* ‘four’ and **döčün* ‘forty’ above as well as **dönen* ‘four-year-old’ (not listed).

MMo SH---, HY *dötü’er* M51, Muq *döte:r* P144a. WM *dötüger* L270a. Kh---. Ord *dötögö:r* M158a (also *dörwöduğa:r* M157a). Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *dutə:r* E287 (also *durubdə:r* E288). EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dulaan** ‘warm’. Cf. Dag *də:l-* E283 ‘to become warm (of the weather)’, Kalm *dul* ‘warm’, Ord *dul* M160b ‘without wind and not cold’.

MMo SH---, HY *dula’an* M51, Muq---. WM *dulayan* L272b. Kh *dulaan* H179a. Bur *dulaa(n)* C200a. Kalm *dulan* M214a. Dag *dula:n* E287. EYu *dula:n* B131, J105b, *dəla:n* S237. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dumda** ‘middle’. Possibly from a root **dum-* + dat-loc ending.

MMo SH *dumda*, *dunda* H38, HY *dumda* M51, Muq *dumda* P211a, *dunda* P144b. WM *dumda* L273a, *dunda* L274a. Kh *dund*, *dumd* H179b. Ord *dunda* M161b. Bur *dunda* C201a. Brg *dond* U201. Kalm *dund* M214b. Dag *dʷand* E289, *dʷannə* E289. EYu *dunda* B131, J105b. MgrH *dunda* J105a. MgrM *dunda* JL468.

Bao---. Kgj *dunda* S299b. Dgx *dunda* B149. Mog *dunda* R27a.

***duran** ‘heart, mind; willingness; wish, desire; love, etc’. Monguoric unexpectedly preserved the stable *-n*, while EYu lost it.

MMo SH *dura*, *duran* H39, HY *dura* M51, Muq *dura* P145a, *duran* P145a. WM *dura(n)* L274b. Kh *dur* H180b, *duran* H181a (differentiated semantically). Bur *dura(n)* C202b. Kalm *durn* M215b. Dag *d^war* E290. EYu *dura* BJ323, J105b ‘hobby’. MgrH *dura:n* J105a. MgrM *duraŋ* T332. BaoÑ *dəraŋ* CN176, *deraŋ* CN177 ‘fondness, interest’. Kgj *durɔ* S299b. Dgx *duraŋ* B150. MogM *durv:n* L64:37.

***dusu-** ‘to drip, drop’. Cf. the caus. **dusaa-* < **dusua-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *dusu-* P146a, *tusu-* P99b, *dusa:-* (caus) P146a, *tusa:-* (caus) P355b. WM *dusu-* L276a. Kh *dusax* H182b, *dusaax* (caus) H182b. Ord *dus-* M164b. Bur *duhaxa* C207b. Brg *dod-* U202. Kalm *dusx* M216b, *dusax* (caus) M216b. Dag *dɔs-* E284. EYu---. MgrH *tusa:-* (caus) X184 ‘to sprinkle wine as an offering’. Bao---. Dgx *doso-ǵo-* (caus.) (?only) S240. Mog---.

***duta-** ‘to lack, to be insufficient’. Note the development of **d > t* from MMo onwards. Muq also has the derivate **dutau* in the variants *dutu:* P147a ~ *tutu:* P356b.

MMo SH *duta-* H39, *tuta-* H156, HY---, Muq *tuta-* P356a, cf. *duta’ul-* (caus.) P147a. WM *duta-* L277a. Kh *dutax* H182b. Ord *duta-* M167a. Bur *dutaxa* C204a. Kalm *dutx* M217a. Dag *d^wat-* E290. EYu *hta-* B60. MgrH *tədau* X179 ‘lacking’.

***dutta-** ‘to flee’. Note the development of **d > t* (due to the following *-t-*) from MMo onwards as in **dotara* above. Cf. **horgu-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *tuda’a-* H153, *duta’a-* H39, *tuta’a-* H156. HY---, Muq *tuta:-* P356b. WM *dutaya-* L277b. Kh *dutaax* H182b. Ord *duta:-* M167a. Bur *-?-*. Brg *dota:-* U202. Kalm *duta:χǎ* R103b, a Kh loanword according to Ramstedt. Dag *duta:-* E287. EYu *hda:-* (only) S241. MgrH *tuda:-* X184, *čüda:-* X211. MgrM *təda-* C390, *čida-* DS223b. BaoD---. BaoGt *təta-* C117. BaoÑ *təda:-* CN163, *čida:-* CN188. BaoX *təda-* BC66. Kgj *sida-* ~ *sda-* ~ *sta-* S293b. Dgx---. Mog *duto:-* R27a, *dɔtɔ-*, *dutɔ-* W164a, *tutɔ-* W182a.

***düil-** ‘to shave’. A peculiar distribution in MMo, Kh, and Dgx. MMo and Kh support the form **düil-*, the form **düli-* suggested by Dgx may be secondary. Possibly irregularly related to CT **yilü-* ‘id’. Cf. **kīrga-*.

MMo SH---, HY---. Muq *düil-* P147b, *düyil-* P148a, IV *délbūr* (sic) L62:26 ‘razor’, RH *dülbūr* (?), eds. read *delbūr* 205A13 ‘razor’. WM *düil-* L279b. Kh *düyilex* (acc. to Lessing). Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *duli-* B150 ‘to have one’s head shaved, to have a haircut’. Mog---.

***dülei** ‘deaf’. The Dag form with *-b-* may be due to strengthening of the second *u* of the expected form of expected **dului* (see **kui* ‘sheath’ for a similar case).

MMo SH---, HY *dülei* M51, Muq *dülei* P147b. WM *dülei* L280a. Kh *düliy*

H186b. Ord *duli*: M170a. Bur *dülii* C208a. Kalm *dülä* M218a. Dag *dulb'* E287 'hard-of-hearing'. EYu *duli*: J106a, *deli*: S244. MgrH *dəli*: J106a. MgrM *dulai* JL465, *dulei* T331. BaoD *duləi* BL93a. BaoGt *duəli* C110. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *duləi* B150. Mog---.

***düre-** 'to sell'. Note the peculiar distribution. Other languages use **kudaldu-*. The Dag words forms for to buy are from the reciprocal **düre-ldü-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *düreji ab-* P145a [read *dura-*] 'to buy', *dürekči* P262b 'salesman'. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *dur-* E288 'to sell', *duruld-* E288 ~ *dull'*- E287 'to buy'. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *durə-* J92 'to buy'. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *dura-* R27a, *dura-* W164a 'to sell'.

***dүүr-** 'to be(come) full'. The Bao forms are from the (caus.) form **dүүрге-*; the alternative BaoD form *dəger-* BL93b 'to fill' seems to be a peculiar case of metathesis.

MMo SH *du'ur-* H40, HY---, Muq *dü'ür-* P147b, *dü:r-* P148b. WM *dügür-* L278b, *degür-* L245b. Kh *düürex* H189b. Bur *düürex* C212b. Kalm *düürx* M221b. Dag *du:r-* E286. EYu *dü:r-* B132, J106a. MgrH *du:rə-* X199, *diu:rə-* J105b. MgrM *dur-* C391. BaoD *dər-ge-* (caus. 'to fill') ~ *dəger-* BL93b. BaoÑ *dər-gi-* (caus.) CN176. Kgj *dur-* S300a. Dgx *duru-* B150. Mog *dur-* R27a, *dur-* W164a.

***dүүreŋ** 'full'. From **dүүr-* above. The *-g-* in Mog probably involves a change of suffix (cf. *-gAn* in **yabugan*).

MMo SH *du'uren*, *du'ureng* H40, HY *dü'üren* M51, Muq *dü'üren* P147b, *dü:ren* P148b. WM *dügüreng* L279a, *degürin* L245b, etc. Kh *düüren(g)* H189a. Bur *düüren* C212a. Kalm *düüreŋ* M221b. EYu *düreŋ* B132, *dü:reŋ* J87. Bao---. Dgx *duran* B150. MogMr *durgv:n* (sic) L64:41 'full; pregnant woman'.

- E -

***ebčëün** (~ ***ebčüün**) 'chest'. The rounding of the initial vowel is only found in the central languages. As to the second syllable, the form with *-č-* in Kh suggests a CM form **ebčüün*. Bur-Kalm, the Monguor languages and MMo suggest an original form **ebčëün*. Dag, EYu, Bao, and Mog could have developed from either form. The *-a-* in BaoÑ and Dgx is due to the following *-ŋ*. Perhaps related to **ebür* 'bosom'.

MMo SH *ebce'un* H40, HY *ebče'ün* M51, Muq *ebče'ün* P346a, LV *ebčewün* P1254, IV *ebčü:n* (L reads 'closed e') L62:28. WM *ebčigün*, *ebčigüü* L285a. Kh *övcüü(n)* H405a. Ord *öbčü:n* M526b. Bur *übsüü(n)* C488b. Brg *ušu:* U51. Kalm *övcün* M410b. Dag *ərču:* E31. EYu *pəjü:n* J94b, *pučü:n* BJ339. MgrH *šžau:* J94a, *šžiu:* SM391. MgrM *šžzu* C387. BaoD *ebčüŋ* BL82a. BaoÑ *ebčan* CN13. Kgj *išjə* ~ *irčə* S280a. Dgx *əčan* B9. Mog *ebčü:n* R27b.

***ebde-** ‘to break, destroy’. In view of the *-r-* it is not certain that the Dgx form belongs here.

MMo SH *ebde-* H40, *obde-* H120, HY---, Muq *ebde-* P148a. WM *ebde-* L285a. Kh *evdex* H827a. Bur *ebdexe* C752b. Kalm *evdx* M689a. Dag *ərd-* E31. EYu *ebde-re-* B9 ‘to be damaged’. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj *ebde-* S279b ‘to take apart, dismantle’. Dgx *ərʒie-* (?=) MC89b. Mog *öftä-* (?=) R37b, *uftä-* R41b.

***ebečün** ‘illness, disease’. Related to, possibly derived from **ebed-* listed below. However, the form **ebedčün*, suggested by some MMo forms and the WM spelling, is not confirmed by any modern language. Dag *əur* E20 seems to be from **ebed*, based on the verb stem but with the development of word-final *-d* expected in nouns.

MMo SH *ebecin* H40, *obecin* H120, *obetcin* H120, HY *ebečün* M51, Muq *ebečün* P149b, RH *ebedči.tei* 204A11 ‘sick’. WM *ebedči(n)* L286b, *ebeči(n)* L286a. Kh *öväčün* H404b. Ord *öwöčün* M544b. Bur *übše(n)* C489a, *ebšen* C753b. Brg *uβšün* U48. Kalm *öväčün* M410b. Dag (see above). EYu *bečän* B38, J94a. MgrH---. MgrM *bečün* J90, *be:čün* C371. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *vəičö* S307a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ebed-** ‘to be ill; to hurt’. The rounding of initial **e* is only found in the central languages (and in a derivate in SH, see **ebečün*). Note the strong *-t-* in MgrM, BaoD, and Dgx, as well as in Mog (for which cf. **naad-*).

MMo SH *ebet-* H40, HY---, Muq *ebet-* P151a, *ebed-* P150a. WM *ebed-* L286a. Kh *övdöx* H403a. Ord *öwöd(ö)-* M543b. Bur *übdexe* C488a. Kalm *övdx* M409a. Dag *əud-* E20. EYu *bed-* B38, J94a, *be:d-* B37. MgrH *idä-* J94a, X14, *udä-* X20. MgrM *betu-* JL469. BaoD *etä-* BL82b. BaoÑ *ebdä-* CN13. BaoX *vetä-* BC65. Kgj *vəide-* S307a. Dgx *otu-* B15. Mog *ebät-* R27b, *ebät-* W164b.

eber** (?heber**) ‘horn’. Rounding of initial **e* has taken place several times independently. The **h-* is only supported by Dag, as Muq is unreliable in this regard.

MMo SH *eber* H40, HY *eber* M52, Muq *eber* P150a, *öber* P272a, *heber* P131b. WM *eber* L286b. Kh *ever* H829a. Ord *ewer*, *éwer* M251b. Bur *eber* C753b, *über* C489b. Brg *əβər* U19. Kalm *övr* M409a. Dag *xəur* E108. EYu *eβer* B9, J94a, *βer* S249, *eber* (sic) S249. MgrH *ver* J94a, *ver* X234, *yer* X234. MgrM *yəbər/wəbər* DS229b, *yəbər* Z338:348, *ubür/obör* P419a. BaoD *uer* BL82b. BaoÑ *ewer* CN15. BaoX *və:r* BC62. Dgx *əwə* T144, MC91b, *uər* (Wangjiaji dialect) L5, *wor* (Wangjiaji) BC85:246, *əər* MC302b. Mog---, cf. Zirni *ebar* 20:8.

***ebesün** ‘grass, weed’. The rounding of initial **e* is only found in the central languages. As to the second vowel, the WM spelling *ebüsü(n)* is historically incorrect. Possibly from a PM root **ebe-* + the (collective?) suffix **-sUn*.

MMo SH *ebesun* H40, HY *ebesü*, *ebesün* M52, Muq *ebesün* P150b. WM *ebesü(n)* L287b, *ebüsü(n)* L291a. Kh *övs(ön)* H404a. Ord *öwös(ü)* M544b. Bur *übhe(n)* C488b. Brg *uβu:* U47. Kalm *övsn* M410a. Dag *əus* E20. EYu *βesən* B37, J94a. MgrH *vesə* J94a, X243, *usə* X19, *yesə* X234. MgrM *be:sə* C396, *bese* T321, *ebisī* P421a. BaoD *uesəŋ* BL82a. BaoGt *vesuŋ* C116. BaoÑ *ebseŋ* CN13. Kgj *vəisun* 307b. Dgx *osuŋ* B14. Mog *ebásun* R27b, *ebásu(n)* W164b.

***ebke-** ‘to roll up, wrap up, fold’. The χ - in EYu is triggered by the following strong -k-.

MMo SH---, HY *ebke-* M52, Muq *ebke-* P151a. WM *ebke-* L288a. Kh *evxex* H828b ‘to fold, etc’. Ord *ebke-* ~ *ebk^ue-* M228a, *ewk^ue-* M251b. Bur *ebxexe* C753b. Kalm *evkx* M689b. Dag *əbk-* E22, *əkk-* E23. EYu *χugue-* S251. Remaining lgs---

ebsie-** (?hebsie-**) ‘to yawn’. Various forms which nevertheless appear to be related. Bur goes back to an extended form **ebseele-* with assimilated diphthong. Brg stems from a similar form, but has a secondary initial x-, possibly of onomatopoeic origin. Dag x- may equally be of onomatopoeic origin. EYu has undergone metathesis. EYu *šelye-* has a causative suffix, which need not imply a semantic change (cf. WYu *ehsdet-*, also formally a causative). Dgx could be from a variant **emsee-* (cf. **dabusun* for the development **b > m*). Could Muq *šini’e:-* P335a ‘to yawn’ be a scribal error for the present word?

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ebsiye-* L289b. Kh *evšeex* H829a. Ord *ebše:-* M228a. Bur *ebheelxe* C753b. Brg *xəβi:l-* U101 ‘to yawn (of people)’. Kalm *evšäx* M691a. Dag *xəbšə:-* E109. EYu *šwe:-* B111, *šelye-* S250 (see above). Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ansie-* S250. Mog---.

***ebüdüg** ‘knee’. The QG languages lost either the first or the second vowel. These elisions took place quite recently in view of the differences, e.g. between the Bao dialects. The QG forms do not support the early rounding of initial **e-*, since the rounded vowels in these languages may be due to the contraction of the first two syllables. The rounding, already found in MMo, is supported by the central languages and by Moghol. The Mog form may owe its peculiar -n- to an assumed relation with **emüdün* ‘trousers’ listed below.

MMo SH *ebuduk* H40, HY---, Muq *öbüdük* P272a. WM *ebüdüg* L290a. Kh *övdög* H402b. Ord *öwödög* M543b. Bur *übdæg* C488a. Brg *uβdæg* U48. Kalm *övdg* M408b. Dag---. EYu *βədæg* B37, J94b. MgrH *vudæg* J94a, *udæg* X21, *idæg* X14. MgrM *podok* P414b, *bodo* DS232b. BaoD *ebdæg* BL82b. BaoGt *vedī* C116. BaoÑ *ebdæg* CN13. BaoX *vedæg* BC64. Kgj *vəidəu* S307a. Dgx *odəu* B15. Mog *unduk* (sic) R41b.

***ebügen** ‘elderly man’. Rounding of **e-* in the central languages.

MMo SH *ebugan*, *ebuge(n)* H40 ‘old man’, HY *ebüge* M52 ‘husband’s father’, Muq *öbügen* P272b ‘old man’. WM *ebüge* L290a ‘ancestor; grandfather’, *ebügen* L290b ‘old (man)’. Kh *övgön* H402a ‘old man; övög H403a ‘ancestor’. Ord *öwögö* M543b; *öwögön* M543b ‘ancestor’. Bur *übgén* C487a. Kalm *övgn* M408b. Brg *uβæg*, *uβə:* U47; *uβgəŋ* U47. Dag *əukə:* (?=) E19 (form of address), *əukə:n* (?=) E19. Remaining lgs---

***ebül/*öbül** ‘winter’ see ***übül**.

***ebür/öbür** it is not clear whether the following words of similar shape are etymologically of the same origin. It seems to be semantically possible, but the forms in the modern languages have developed differently, and therefore they are

listed here separately. In Lessing all meanings are listed under a single entry.

CM **ebür* can perhaps be analyzed as **ebü-r*, in which case it could be connected to **emüne* ‘front’. Compare parallel pairs like **gada-r* and **gada-na* ‘outside’ and **dota-r* and **dota-na* ‘inside’.

***ebür/*öber** (?*h-) ‘bosom’. The vocalism in the various languages is reminiscent of **üdür* ‘day’, but in the present word the unrounded initial vowel is actually attested. Most QG languages suggest **e* in the second syllable, perhaps pointing to an earlier form **öber* or **eber*. The unconfirmed Dag *x-* may be secondary, as in **ebür* ‘southern slope’ below. The two words may well have the same origin, but as they have resulted in different word shapes in some languages, they are listed separately. Possibly related to **ebčiün* ‘chest’ (cf. Poppe 1960:43).

MMo SH *ebur* H41, HY---, Muq---. WM *ebür* L291a, *öbür* L628b. Kh *övör* H403b. Ord *öwör* M544b. Bur *über* C489b. Brg *u:r* U45. Kalm *övr* M409b. Dag *xəur* E108. EYu *βer* B38. MgrH *yer* SM492. MgrM *ərbər* F115:221. BaoD *uer* BL20. BaoÑ---. Kgj *ver ~ ve(š)* S307b. Dgx *o* B13. Mog---.

***ebür/*öber** (?*h-) ‘sunny spot; southern slope; front’. As in the previous entry the unconfirmed Dag *x-* in this word may be secondary. EYu *xi:lβər* B113 ‘sunny spot’ is derived from **hee-* ‘to warm in the sun’, cf. Kh *eever* H866b, representing a form **heebür* (the *-l-* in EYu is unclear).

MMo SH *ebur* H41 ‘front’, HY *ebür* M52 ‘southern slope of the Hing’anling’, Muq---. WM *ebür* L291a, *öbür* L628b. Kh *övör* H403b. Ord *öwör* M544b. Bur *über* C489b. Brg *uβər* U47. Kalm *övr* M409b. Dag *xəur* Z94b ‘sunny spot’. EYu *βər* J96b ‘sunny spot’, *βer* B38 ‘bosom; mountain bosom (?)’. Mgr---. BaoD *ber* BL84a. BaoÑ---. Dgx *wo*, in: *ula nara wo mian* B20 ‘sunny side of a mountain’. Mog---.

***eči-** ‘to go’. The distribution is striking: only one occurrence in MMo (Muq) and absent in Bur-Kalm. It is found in both Shirongol branches, but EYu and BaoÑ favour **od-*. The unrounded form survives in Shirongol, Dagur and Ordos, as well as in Khorčin (Sun 1990:534). The history of **eči-* is unclear. It could be an irregular development **oči-* from **orči-* from **horči-* ‘to turn’ (q.v.). Cf. MMo Muq *orči-* P269b ‘to go’, P270a ‘to turn’, *horči-* P186a ‘to turn; to go’, WM *oči-* L599b ‘to go to a place’. Kh *oči* H402a. Bur *ošoxo* C366b. Brg *ᠠᠰ-* U33. Mog *orči-* R35b ‘to go’. Strikingly, Muq has both *eči-* and *(h)orči-*, while neither is found in the Sino-Mongolian sources, where one finds SH *yorči-* H171, HY *yorči-* M111 ‘to go’ which looks like **horči-* but cannot be connected to it. Another solution, suggested by the forms with *o*, may be that it is related to CM **od-* ‘to go’, perhaps an intensive formation **odči-* (Poppe 1955:30, 113).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *eči-* P102a, IV---, LV--- (and see above). WM *eči-* L292a. Kh *eči* H866a. Ord *iči-* M389b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *ič-* E35. EYu---. MgrH *śǰə-* J95b, X166, *śə-* J49, X156. MgrM *śi-* JL473. BaoD *či-* BL83b. Bao Gaser *hǰə-* CN86:232. BaoGt *śi-* C123. BaoÑ---. BaoX *xǰə-* BC64. Kgj *ji-* S302b, *śji-*, *hji-* S58. Dgx *əči-* B9, L111b. Mog---.

***ečige** ‘father’. This form in MMo and WM. The Central languages suggest **ečege*. The *i* in Dag and EYu could have been triggered by the *č*, and so neither supports nor undermines the reconstruction **ečige*.

MMo SH *ecige*, *eci'e*, *ecē* H41, HY *ečige* M52, Muq *ečige* P151b, LV *ečge* P1255, IV *ečige* (L reads ‘closed e’) L62:28. WM *ečige* 292a. Kh *eceg* H865b. Bur *esege* C776b. Kalm *eck* M705a. Dag *əčiγ* E28. EYu *čye* B139, *čīye* J93a. Remaining lgs---.

***ed** ‘thing; goods, merchandise; material; fabric’. Related to CT **ed*, originally probably a general term ‘goods’, in some modern languages also ‘fabric, textile’.

MMo SH *et* H47, HY---, Muq *et* P167a. WM *ed* L293a. Kh *ed* H831b. Bur *ed* C755a. Kalm *ed* M691b. Dag---. EYu *ed* B11, BJ327 ‘goods’, J87 ‘property’. Remaining lgs---.

***edege-** ‘to recover, heal, to come alive’. Chén also compares BaoGt *ge-* C125 and BaoÑ *ge:-* CN93 from the present etymon, but these rather stem from **gee-* ‘to abandon’.

MMo SH---, HY *edege'ül-* (caus) M52, Muq---. WM *edege-* L293b. Kh *edgex* H832b. Bur *edegexe* C758b. Kalm *edgx* M692a. Dag *ədəγ-* E28. EYu---. MgrH *dəge-* J94a, X195 ‘to live’. MgrM *edige-* P423 ‘to get well’, *digə-* DS234b ‘to live’. BaoD *edəgə-* BL82b. BaoGt *dəgə-* C105,. BaoÑ (see above). Kgj *edege-* ~ *edge-* S279b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***edüe** (> **edee*) and ***odua** (> **odaa*) ‘now’. The distribution of the forms **edüe* and **odua* seem to be complementary, although BaoD appears to preserve both forms. The vocalism would normally exclude a relationship between the two forms, but it seems unlikely that they are totally unrelated. Kalm *ödge:* R293a ‘now’ is a reading pronunciation of the literary form WM *edüge*. Most languages now use a contraction of the back-vocalic variant. The front form survives in Dag, BaoÑ, and Dgx in forms that go back to an assimilated form **edee*. In Dgx the *-d-* resisted the usual palatalisation (as in **tere*). Whether the Monguoric forms represent the front or back form is impossible to determine. The Muq form could perhaps also be read **ödö:*. Both readings are surprising on account of the rounded non-high vowel in a non-first syllable.

MMo SH *edo'e* H41, HY *edö'e* M52, Muq *odo:* (so read) P262b. WM *edüge* L294b, *odo* L600b, *odoo-a* L601a. Kh *odoo* H388a. Ord *odo:* M506b. Bur *odoo* C350a. Kalm *oda* M393a, *ödge:* (dial). Dag *ədə:* E28. EYu *ədə:* B13, *odo* J95a, MgrH *do* J95a. MgrM *du* C391. BaoD *da* BL57 ‘now’, *de* BL57 ‘just now’. BaoÑ *ede* CN14, *de* CN176. BaoX *da* BC68. Kgj *da* S298a (cf. also Kgj *doğə?*). Dgx *ədə* B8, L111b. Mog---.

***edür/ödür** ‘day’ see ***üdür**

***egeči** ‘elder sister’. In several languages in the combination **egeči deü*, with **deü* ‘younger sibling’. Secondary strengthening of the *-g-* in Kgj.

MMo SH *egeci* H42, HY *egeči* M52, Muq *egeči* P151b. WM *egeči* L297a. Kh *egč* H830b. Bur *egše* C754b. Kalm *egč* M691b. Dag *əkč* E23. EYu *əyečə* B8,

yečə J94b. MgrH *gəćə* X104, *kaži diu*: SM194. MgrM *gəćidiau* JL462 ‘sisters’. BaoÑ *egēi du* CN13 ‘sister’. Kgj *əkəči devu* S279a, *kəči devu* S125 ‘sister’. Dgx *əğəči* B8. Mog---.

***eimü** ‘such, this kind of’. From the pronominal (proximal demonstrative) root **e-*, cf. also **ene* ‘this’, **ende* ‘here’, **ein* ‘this way’ etc. Dagur may involve another suffix (as in **yamar*). In Baoanic mostly displaced by new formations with **metü*, q.v. The Baoan forms have now adopted the function of **edüi* ‘this much’ (not listed here). Kangjia *eme* has taken on the meaning of **ein* ‘like this’. MgrH *nəgi*: X32 and MgrM *niŋtai* DS10a ‘this kind of’ are also new forms based on the demonstrative **ene*.

MMo SH *eyimu(n)* H48, *eimu* H42, HY *eyimün* M56, Muq---. WM *eyimü* L303b. Kh *iyim* H272b. Bur *iime* C276b. Kalm *iim* M266a. Dag *əimər* E19 (new extended formation). EYu *omo* B15, *umə* J26 (possibly a new formation). MgrH *namainge* L350 ‘this much’. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *emi:ngə* CN14. BaoX *nəmi:nəgə* CN86:179 ‘this much’. Kgj *eme* S280b ‘this way’, *eme niye* S192 ‘this much’. Dgx *imi* BC85:127 ‘like this’, *imi nie* BC85:132 ‘as little as this’. Mog---.

***ein** ‘like this, this way’. Originated as a converb of **ei-* ‘to do this way’. See **eimü* above.

MMo SH *eyin* H48, HY---, Muq *eyin* P168b, *hein* P182b. WM *eyin* L304a. Kh *iyin* H272b. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *əi* E19. EYu *i:n* BJ332. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *iŋ* B10. Mog---.

***ein ki-** ‘to do this way’, with several contractions and alterations. The forms in the central languages and Dag are new formations based on **ei ki-*, cf. **ein* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *inggi-* L411b, *engge-* L318b. Kh *ingex* H276b. Bur *iixe* C277a, *iigexe* C276b. Kalm *iigx* M266a. Dag *əi xi:-* Z92a. EYu *əŋgə-* B8, J94b. MgrH [*nəŋgə-* J94b]. BaoD *əngə-ji* T152 [*nəntəgə-* BL83b]. BaoÑ *əngə-* CN12. Kgj *əŋgi-* ~ *aŋgi-* S280b. Dgx *ingie-* L110a. Mog---.

***ejen** ‘master, owner, boss’. In Dag, the central languages, and Mog **ejen* has largely retained its original meaning with some small shifts. In the QG languages this word has developed some pronominal functions. In EYu and Mgr **ejen* occurs in the original meaning, but has also become the word for ‘self’. In Baoan, which apparently lost the original meaning, **ejen* is a third person personal pronoun. Phonetically, the initial *n-* in MgrH is peculiar (in Bao the replacement of an initial vowel by *n-* is seen more commonly, e.g. in **eüden* above).

MMo SH *ejen* H42, HY *ejen* M53, Muq *ejen* 153b. WM *ejen* L336b. Kh *ezen* H835a. Bur *ezen* C759b. Kalm *ezn* M693a. Dag *əjin* E28 ‘emperor; master’. EYu *ejen* B11, J94a ‘master; self’, *-jen* (clitic) J27 ‘self’. MgrH *nže:n* ~ *nže:n-a*: J28 ‘self’, *nže:n* X40 ‘master; self’. MgrM *že:n-aŋ* (refl. poss.) C373 ‘self’, *že:ni* (gen.) C174. BaoD *nžan* BL34, *njan* T145 ‘he, she’. BaoGm *əžan* CN86:130. BaoGt *žəŋ* C179 ‘he, she’. BaoÑ *ažan* CN8, *əžan* CN18 ‘he, she’. BaoX *njan* BC66, 68 ‘he, she’. Kgj *ijə* S280a ‘master’. Dgx *əžən* B9, L110b ‘master’. Mog *ejan* R27b ‘lord, ruler’, *əjan* W164b ‘husband’.

***eke** ‘mother’. The *h*- in EYu is secondary.

MMo SH *eke* H42, HY *eke* M53, Muq *eke* P152a, LV *eke* P1256, IV *eke* (L reads ‘closed *e*’) L62:28. WM *eke* L305a. Kh *ex* H864a. Bur *exe* C779a. Kalm *ek* M693a. Dag *əy* E23. EYu *hke* B58, *hge* J94a. MgrH---. MgrM *eke-ner qun* P413b ‘woman’ (plural + **küün*). Bao---. Dgx *əkie* B8 also ‘dam’. Mog---.

***ekeyü-** ‘to bow, bend over, stoop’. Mostaert compares HY *e’inggü* M52 ‘sinueux, courbé’ to this, but this would involve a mistranscription of WM *-G-* as zero. The WM (Oirat) spellings *ökeyi-*, *öküyi-*, *üküyi-* given by Ramstedt and Čoyijungjab & Gereltü may have been devised to better reflect the present form, possibly influenced by the near-synonym **bökei-* (cf. MgrH *pugi-*: X56). EYu *h-* could be secondary (triggered by the following *-k-*).

MMo SH *eke’ul-* (tr.) H43. WM *eqiyü-* (so read) L300a, preclassical *ekeyü-* T384. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm *ökäx* M413a, *ükixə* R456b. EYu *xogui-* B51, *χugi-* S181, *hogi-* S303. Remaining lgs---.

***ekir** or ***ikir** ‘twins’. The final vowel in some WM spellings is not confirmed by MMo and the modern languages. Related to CT **ekkiz* ‘id’, from **ekki* ‘two’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ikir* P195b, IV---, LV---. WM *ikere* L401b, *ikire* L401b, *ekir* L306a. Kh *ixer* H281b, *ixir* H280b. Ord *éker* ~ *ékir* M233a. Bur *exir* C779a. Brg *ixər* U26. Kalm *ikr* M267a. Dag---. EYu *škar* B110. Remaining lgs---.

***elbeg** ‘abundant, superfluous’. The unexpected *-p-* in Dagur may be an instance of original *-p-* preserved in postconsonantal position.

MMo---. WM *elbeg* L306b. Kh *elbeg* H836a. Bur *elbeg* C760b. Kalm *elvg* M695v. Dag *əlpur* E24. EYu *elβeg* B9, *ebliq* J64. Remaining lgs---.

***elde-** ‘to tan (a hide)’. Perhaps this could be a metathesized form of an older **edle-*, which was apparently derived from **ed* listed above. However, this **edle-* (also?) survives in Mongolic: WM *edle-* L294a ‘to use, utilize, employ; etc’, Kh *edlex* H832b, Ord *edle-*, *elle-*, MMo Muq *edele-* (sic) P151b ‘to tan a hide’, EYu *edle-* BJ327 ‘to tan, to process’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *elde-* L307b. Kh *eldex* H837a. Bur *eldexe* C761a. Kalm *eldx* M696a. EYu *elde-* B10. Remaining lgs---.

***ele-** ‘to be worn down, to wear out’. Dag *əla-*: E24 ‘to torment’ may go back to a caus. of this verb, cf. Ord *ǰowoǰi ele-* M235b ‘to suffer’ (cf. **ǰoba-*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ele-* P152b. WM *ele-* L308a. Kh *ellex* H840b. Bur *ellex* C764b. Kalm *elx* M697b. Dag (see above). EYu *ele-* J87, *ölö-* (?=) BJ338. MgrH *ile-*: Khas12. MgrM---. Bao *elə-* (unspecif. dial.) S257, S258. Dgx *əlie-* MC84b. (?caus). Mog---.

***elesün** ‘sand’. Cf. **kumag* ~ **kumakī* ‘sand’ (not listed).

MMo SH *elet* (pl) H43, HY *elesün* M53, Muq---. WM *elesü(n)* L306b. Kh *els(en)* H838a. Bur *elhe(n)* C763b. Brg *ilu:* U27. Kalm *elsn* M697b. Remaining lgs---.

***elgü-** ‘to hang, suspend’. Rounding of the **e-* except in Dag (cf. **ergü-* below). The first vowel was rounded by the second except in Dag, where the second vowel is also unexpectedly lengthened. Cf. **deiǰile-*.

MMo SH *elgu-* H43 ‘to angle’, HY *elgü-* M53, Muq *ölgü-* P276a. WM *elgü-* L309a, *ölgö-* L633b. Kh *ölgöx* H408b. Ord *ülgü-* M755b. Bur *ülgexe* C499b. Brg *ulʰg-* U50. Kalm *ölgx* M414b. Dag *əlwə:-* E25. EYu *olyo-* B15. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***elǰigen** ‘donkey’. Dag *əiyə:n* E17 ‘id’ is from Manchu *eihen*, which is itself considered to be related to the CM word. Also related to CT **ešgek*.

MMo SH---, HY *elǰigen* M53, Muq *elǰigen* P152b. WM *elǰige(n)* L311a. Kh *ilǰig (ilǰigen)* H273b, *elǰig (elǰigen)* H837b. Bur *elǰege(n)* C761b. Kalm *elǰgn* M697a. Dag (see above). EYu *elǰiyen* B10, *əǰiyen* J94a, *əǰiyen* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *ǰige* J94b, *ǰigə* X221. MgrM *rǰige* T356, *ərǰigə* DS218a. BaoD *ənǰigə* BL82a, *nǰigə* BL12. BaoJ *ǰigə* L47. BaoÑ *elǰige* CN13. Kgj *nǰiye* S282b. Dgx *ənǰəǰə* B7. Mog *elǰiyo:n* R27b.

***em** ‘medicine, remedy’. Cultural term related to CT **em* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *em* M54, Muq *em* P152b. WM *em* L311a. Kh *em* H840b. Bur *em* C764b. Kalm *em* M697b. Dag *əm* E25. EYu *em* B10. MgrH---. MgrM *an* JL481, *əm* C385. Bao---. Dgx---. Kgj *an* S278a. Mog---.

***embüre-** ‘to fall apart, tumble down, collapse’. With a tr. counterpart **embül-* which is not attested in QG. Note the peculiar distribution: Kh, Dag, Dgx and Mog. Cf. **nura-*.

MMo SH *amburu* H6 ‘collapsing’, HY---, Muq---. WM *embüre-* L311a, *embüri-* L311b. Kh *emberex* H841a. Ord---. Bur---. Brg *umbər-* U50. Kalm---. Dag *əmbər-* E26. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *unbərə-* B19, *ənbərə-* MC86a. Mog *umburA-* W182b.

***emdege(i)** ‘egg’ see ***ömdegen**

***eme** ‘woman’.

MMo SH *eme* H43 ‘woman; wife’, HY *eme gü’ün* M54 ‘woman’, Muq *eme* P153a ‘woman; female’, LV *eme* P1263, IV *eme* (Ligeti reads *éme*) L62:29. WM *eme* L311b. Kh *em* H840b ‘woman; wife; female’. Bur *eme* C766a ‘woman; female’. Kalm *em* M698a ‘woman’. Dag *əmyun* E26 ‘wife; woman; female’ (< **eme* + **küün*), cf. *əryun* s.v. **ere*. EYu *eme* B10 ‘female’. MgrH *imu* X13, *yəmu* X233 ‘girl (term of endearment)’. BaoÑ *emə* CN14 ‘wife’. BaoX *imə* BC61, 73 ‘woman; wife’. Kgj *eme* S279a. Dgx *əmə* B8 ‘woman; wife; female’. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *emma* (9-6b).

***emegen** ‘elderly woman; grandmother’. Derived from **eme* ‘woman’, cf. **berigen* from **beri*.

MMo SH *emege* H44, HY *emegen* M54, Muq---, LV---, IV *emegen* L62:29. WM *emege* L312a, *emegen* L312b. Kh *emgen* H841a, *emeg* H843b, *emgee* H841b, *emeə* H844a. Bur *emgen* C764b. Kalm *emgn* M698b. Dag *əməy* E26, *əmə:yʷ*

Z92b. EYu *enḡwen* B9, *emḡen* J94b. MgrH *mugʒn* X125. Bao---. Kḡj *mgɔ* S293a. Dḡx---. Mog---.

***emeel** ‘saddle’. Consistently spelled *ʹyml* in MMo Muq (also on P139b where Poppe reads *eme:l* anyway), but a connection to the shortening in EYu-Mgr is unlikely.

MMo SH *emeʹel* H44, HY---, Muq *emel* (? see above) P154b. WM *emegel* L312a. Kh *emeel* H844a. Bur *emeel* C766b. Kalm *emäl* M698a. Dag *əmə:l* E26. EYu *emel* B11, J94b. MgrH *imel* J94b. MgrM *imer* JL461. BaoD *emäl* BL82b. BaoÑ---. Dḡx---. Mog *emo:l* R27b, *ʹamal* R168a, MogMr *yamv:l* L62:74.

***emkü-** ‘to hold in the mouth’. Although Poppe (1955:48) considers it original, the **h-* suggested by Mongghul is likely to be due to the following *-k-*.

MMo SH *omgu-* H124, *emgu-* H44 ‘to swallow’, HY---, Muq---. WM *emkü-* L313b, *ümkü-* L1007a. Kh *ünxex* H578b. Ord *üḡkü-* M759b. Bur *ümxxex* C503b ‘to hold between the teeth, to bite off’. Brg *uḡk-* U46. Kalm *ömxx* M415 ‘to bite (off)’. Dag *əḡkʷ-* E22, *əḡku-* Z92b also ‘to bite, eat’. EYu---. MgrH *ḡaḡgu-* SM157. Bao---. Dḡx *uḡḡu-* ~ *uḡgu-* (?=) MC406a ‘to gobble up’. Mog---.

***emlig** ‘wild, untamed’. The literary central languages have developed from an assimilated **emnig*. Ord and EYu feature metathesis. The Dag form could instead be related to Kh *emzeg* H841b, which has among its meanings ‘spoiled, willful, capricious’. Cf. **oraa* and **jerlig* (the latter not listed here).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *emlik* P154b. WM *emleg*, *emneg*, *emnig* L314a. Kh *emneg* H842a. Ord *elmek* M237a. Bur *emnig* C765a. Brg *imləḡ* U27. Kalm *emng* M698b. Dag *əḡjir* (?=) E27, *əḡjə:r* (?=) E26. EYu *elməḡ* S258. Remaining lgs---.

***emüdün** ‘trousers’. Related to **emüs-* below. Note the rare loss of the initial vowel in Dḡx. The MgrM form may have been influenced by **ebüdüg* ‘knee’.

MMo SH *emudun* H44, HY *emüdün* M54, Muq *ömüdün* P276a. WM *ömödün* L635b. Kh *ömd(ön)* H410b. Ord *ömödü* M532a. Bur *ümde(n)* C503a. Brg *uməd* U50, *und* U46. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *modən* B94, *mudən* J96b. MgrH---. MgrM *mutug* (?=) P422a, *məto* Z358:598, *modo* DS241. BaoD *məduḡ* BL84a. BaoÑ *emdəḡ* CN14. BaoX *mədoḡ* BC74. Kḡj---. Dḡx *məduḡ* B106. Mog *undun* R41b.

***emüne** ‘south; front, anterior’. Dag, EYu and the Baoanic languages have developed from **emüle*, in which the *-l-* apparently arose in order to dissimilate the sequence of two nasals. The *-m-* in **emüne* is probably a secondary nasalisation of **b*, assuming that this word is related to **ebür* ‘front’. This would have a parallel in other pairs like **gadar* - **gadana* ‘outside’. EYu developed from a form with rounded first vowel like that of the central languages. MgrH *muši* X126 and MgrM *meḡši* JL467 seem to be shortened forms of the directive **emüne-(g)si* ‘forward, to the front’.

MMo SH *emune* H44 ‘front’, HY *emüne* M54 ‘south’, Muq *emüne* P155a ‘front’, *ömüne-* P276b ‘front’, *ömüne* P276a ‘opposite’. WM *emüne* L314b. Kh *ömnö* H410b ‘south; front’. Ord *ömönö* M532a. Bur *ümene* C504a ‘front’. Brg *əḡən* U21. Kalm *ömn* M415b ‘front; south’. Dag *əḡəl* E26 ‘front; south’. EYu *ölmö* B17

‘east; front’, *ölmö*: S544 ‘south; front’, *ömlə* J94b ‘south; front’. MgrH and MgrM see above. BaoD *məilə* BL32. BaoGt *mälə* C115. BaoÑ *eməla* CN14. BaoX *mälə* BC69. Kgj *emele* ~ *emle* S279b. Dgx *məlie* B105. Mog---

***emüs-** ‘to put on, to wear (clothes)’. A paragoric vowel was added in some QG languages and MogMr. The initial vowel was lost in QG, even in Dgx. Cf. **emüdün* ‘trousers’.

MMo SH *emus-* H44, HY *emüs-* M54, Muq *ömüs-* P276b, *emüs-* P233b. WM *emüs-* L315b. Kh *ömsöx* H411a. Ord *ömös-* M539a. Bur *ümdexe* C503a, *ümedexe* C504a. Brg *umd-* U51. Kalm *ömsx* M416b. Dag *əms-* E26. EYu *mas-* B91, J94b. MgrH *musə-* J94b, *mosə-* X123, *umus-* (sic) X19. MgrM *musi-* C383. BaoD *musi-* BL82b. BaoÑ *məs-* CN114. Kgj *məsi-* S292a. Dgx *misī-* L110a. Mog *ömüs-* R36a, MogMr *umas-*, MogM/Mr *umus-* L62:29.

***ende** ‘here’ see s.v. **ene*

***ene** ‘this’. From the demonstrative root **e-*. **ene* had an oblique stem **eün-*, and a plural **ede*, whose modern equivalents are listed here as well. Both **eün-* and **ede* were lost in Shirongol. Cf. also **ende* ‘here’, and several compounds with **ene* listed as separate entries.

MMo SH *ene* H44, HY *ene* M54, Muq *ene* P155b, LV *ene* P1263, IV *ene* (L reads *éne*) L62:29. WM *ene* L316b. Kh *ene* H847b. Bur *ene* C768b. Kalm *en* M699a. Dag *ənə* E21. EYu *ene* B9, J94a. MgrH *ne* J94a. MgrM *ni* JL483. BaoD *enə* BL82a. BaoÑ *enə* CN12, *nə* CN27. BaoX *nə* BC66. Kgj *enə* ~ *eni* ~ *ene* S279b. Dgx *ənə* B7. Mog *enə* R27b.

The oblique stem **eün-* survives in the central languages and EYu. It may also be the source of Kgj *yün* S306a ‘this side’, if one assumes metanalysis from inflected forms like the dative **eündü*. Survives in its original function as follows.

MMo SH *e’un-* H47 (*e’un ece*, *e’un i*, *e’uber*), HY *e’ü-ber* M54, Muq *ü:n-e:se* P348a. WM *egün-* L301a. Kh *üün-* H583b. Bur *enüün* (lit, obs) C768a. Brg *u:n* U44. Kalm *enü-*. Dag---. EYu *ün-* B20, *un-* J26. Kgj (see above). Remaining lgs---.

The plural form ***ede** ‘these’:

MMo SH *ede* H41, HY *ede* M52, Muq---. WM *ede(n)* L293b. Kh *ed(en)* H831b. Bur *ede* C758a. Kalm *edn* M692a. Dag *əd(ən)* E27. Remaining lgs---.

***ene üdür** ‘today’. See **üdür* ‘day’. With unpredictable assimilations and reductions in most modern languages. Ord, Kalm and EYu share the same reduction of the middle part of the compound, while most of Shirongol lost the initial vowel.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ene ödür* P158a, IV *ene ödür* L62:29. WM *ene edür* L316b. Kh *ene ödör* H847b, *önöödör* H413b. Ord *undur* M757a. Bur *ene üder* C768b, cf. *ünöö üder* C507b. Brg [*mənə:dər* U144, *münə:dər* U148]. Kalm *en ödr* M699a, *endr* M699b, *öndr* R296b. Dag *ənə udur* E21. EYu *ondor* B15, *undur* J96b. MgrH *niu:dur* J96a, *niudur* X31, *nedur* X29. MgrM *nçudur* C373. BaoD *nudər* BL84b. BaoÑ *‘nudə* CN34. Kgj *niude* ~ *nude* S282a. Dgx *ənudu* B7, *niudu* L112a. Mog *enaodur* W164b.

***ene hon** ‘this year’. See **hon* ‘year’. With unpredictable assimilations and reductions. Central Mongolic instead uses **ene jil*, as in Kalm *enjl* M700a.

MMo---. Central languages---. Dag *ənə xɔ:n* E21. EYu *ono:n* J49. MgrH *nɔŋ* X34. MgrM *n'e xuaŋ* C372. BaoD *nə-hoŋ* BL75, *nóhoŋ* L132. BaoÑ *nəŋ* CN32. Kgj *enun* S279b. Dgx *ənə xoŋ* B7. Mog *ənān*, *əno* W164b.

***ene üdesi(leŋ)** ‘this evening, tonight’. With unpredictable assimilations and reductions. See **üdesi(leŋ)* ‘evening’.

Ord *undeš* M757a. EYu *öndögšə* B17. MgrH *niušloŋ*, *niušloŋ* L396. MgrM *nɔu-šulen* C372. BaoÑ *nəxəlaŋ* CN27. Kgj *niuši*, *nuši* S282a. Dgx *ənušia*, *ənušiašilia* MC87 ‘tonight, this evening’.

***ende** ‘here’. Cf. **ene* ‘this’. MgrM uses a new formation *nindi* C201.

MMo SH *ende* H44, HY *ende* M54, Muq *ende* P155a, IV *ende* L62:29. WM *ende* L315b. Kh *end* H845b. Bur *ende* C767a. Kalm *end* M699a, cf. *enünd* M700a. Dag *ənd* E21. EYu *ende* B9. MgrH *nde*: X38. MgrM (see above). BaoD---. BaoÑ *endə* CN12. Kgj *ende* S279b. Dgx *əndə* B7. Mog *endā* R27b.

***enger** and ***engge** ‘front of a garment, flap of a garment’. Dag and Mgr go back to **eŋge*. The Dgx form may be from either variant. At any rate the BaoÑ form prevents us from deriving all Shirongol forms from **eŋge*. WM *enggede*- L318a (‘to open the flaps of one’s garment, etc’ also lacks the -r).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *engger* L318a. Kh *enger* H845a. Bur *enger* C766b. Kalm *eŋgr* R122b, *eŋgn* R122b ‘foot of a mountain’. Dag *əŋgə* E22. EYu *enger* B9 ‘collar’. MgrH *ŋge* X41. MgrM *ŋge* JL461, *angə* DS223b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *eŋgər* CN12. Dgx *əŋgie* B7.

***engeske** ‘blush; rouge’. Note the peculiar distribution. Possibly related to CT **eŋ* ‘cheek’ or ‘complexion’, to which the Mongolic suffix -skA was added. It is unclear how the rounded vowel in Mongghul arose.

MMo SH *engesge* H44 ‘red’ (used with *qacar* ‘cheeks’), HY---, Muq *engeske* P161a, LV---, IV *engeske* (L reads first *e* ‘closed’) L62:29. WM *engeske* L318a. Kh *engeseg* H845b. Ord *engeske* M241b, 331b ‘*Salsola soda* (plant name)’. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *eŋgesge* B9 ‘cheeks (?)’. MgrH *ŋgusge* SM294.

***erdem** ‘virtue; specialty; science, learning’. Cf. CT **erdem*.

MMo SH *erdem* H44, HY---, Muq *erdem* P161a. WM *erdem* L320a. Kh *erdem* H852a. Bur *erdem* C770b. Kalm *erdm* M702b. Dag *ərdəm* E31. EYu *ərdem* B8, *erdem* J95a, *rdem* J87 ‘knowledge, learning’. MgrH *rdem* J95a ‘knowledge, learning’. MgrM *ərden* C396. Bao---. Dgx *ərziən* MC89b. Mog---.

***ere** ‘man’. Possibly related to CT **er* ‘id’. This correspondence is problematic if the Khalaj **h-* is correct.

MMo SH *ere* H45 ‘husband; man’, HY *ere gü'ün* M55 ‘man’, Muq *ere* P161a ‘man; male animal’, LV *ere* P1262, IV *ere* (L reads first *e* ‘closed’) L62:29. WM *ere* L321a. Kh *er* H848b ‘man, husband; masculine, male’. Bur *ere* C775b ‘man; male’. Kalm *er* M701a ‘man; male’. Dag *ər* E28 ‘man’, *əryun* E30 ‘husband;

male' (< *ere + *küün, cf. *amyun* s.v. *eme). EYu *ere* B11, J94a 'male'. MgrH *re*: SM313 'male; male animal'. MgrM---. BaoD *erə* BL82b 'man'. BaoÑ *erə* CN15 'husband'. BaoX *irə* BC73 'husband'. Kgj *ere* S279b 'man; husband; male'. Dgx *ərə* B9 'man; husband; male'. MogMr *irrä* L62:29.

***ereün** 'chin'. Note the -g- in Bur-Kalm, which suggests a variant *eregün, unless this form represents a reading pronunciation of the WM spelling (cf. *kuruun 'finger', *niruun 'back'). SH suggests CM *eriün.

MMo SH *eri'un* H45, HY---, Muq *erü:n* P165b, LV---, IV *erü:n* (L reads 'closed e') L62:30. WM *eregüü* L322a, *ereü* L323b. Kh *erüü(n)* H855a, *ürüü* H581a 'chin, lower jaw'. Ord *eru*: M248b. Bur *ürge(n)* C511a. Brg *aru*: U24. Kalm *örgn* M424a. Dag *aru*: E29. EYu *oruin* B16, *orü:n* BJ337. MgrH *yeru*: X234, *iru*: SM192. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---, but cf. Kundur manuscript *urvu* (2:2a) 'cheek'.

***ergi** (?*hergi) 'shore, bank; cliff, precipice'. The *h- suggested by MgrH is not confirmed elsewhere, but secondary h- does not generally appear in words of this structure. Dag *ary*' E30 'side, direction' seems to be a loan from the unrelated Manchu word *ergi*.

MMo SH *ergi* H45, HY *ergi* M55, Muq---. WM *ergi* L323b. Kh *ereg* H859a. Ord *erge* M244b. Bur *er'e* C774b. Kalm *erg* M701b. Dag *ariy* E29. EYu *eryə* BJ327, J95a. MgrH *xerge* J95a, *ɣargi* SM162, T374, *yergi* SM492. MgrM *arge* JL461 'cliff, precipice'. Bao---. Dgx *əgi* B8, *əğai* MC83b. Mog---.

***ergü-** 'to lift, raise; to carry'. The unconfirmed h- in Muq is probably secondary. The development of this word looks less chaotic than that of other stems with the e-ü sequence. Central Mongolic, EYugur, Shirongol and Moghol can all be derived from a rounded form *örgü-. Rounding of the *e- did not occur in Dag, as in *elgü- above, which also has the same unexpected long vowel. Because of the meaning in Mongghul (also elsewhere in QG), Poppe (1955:48) assumed contamination with *üür- 'to carry on the back', as in MMo SH *ür-* H165, *u'ur-* H167. Cf. also BaoGt *urgə* C105 'backload'.

MMo SH *ergu-* H45, HY *ergü-* M55, Muq *örgü-* P94b, *hörgü-* P186b, LV *ergü-* P1256/1262, *örge-* P1259. WM *ergü-* L325b, *örgö-* L641b. Kh *örgöx* H417b. Ord *ürgü-* M762a. Bur *ürgexe* C511b. Kalm *örgx* M424a. Dag *arwə:-* E31, *əkuə-* E83:45b, *arkuə:-*, *əukuə:-* NK454b. EYu *oryo-* B16, *uryə-* J95a. MgrH *rgu-* J95a, *urgu-* X22. MgrM *argu-* JL479. Bao---. Kgj--- Dgx *uğu-* B20. MogMr *urgu-* L63:128.

***eri-** 'to look for; to want, wish for; to request'. There are some verbs that could easily be confused with *eri- phonetically and semantically. In the first place there is a verb *ere-: MMo SH *ere-* H45 'to hope', HY *ere-* M55 'to hope'. Lessing sees WM *ere-* as a spelling variant of *eri-*. Cf. Kh *eremgelzex* 'to wish, hope for, desire'. In the second place there is a verb *eere- or *eeri-: WM *egere-* L298b, *egeri-* L299a, Kh *eerex* H868b 'to seek, search, look for; to importune', and (reading pronunciation) *egeerex* H831b 'to wish, desire, etc', Kalm *eerx* M706b 'to strive for'. Finally note the forms written 'yr'- in Muq but read in different ways by Poppe:

e:re- P161a ‘to want’, *e:re-* P225a ‘to demand’, *ere-* P381b ‘to ask for’; *ere-* [ʸrh] P281b ‘to ask’; *e:rel* P162a ‘request’. As the Sino-Mongolian forms could be read with long *e:* as well, we may do away with the verb **ere-* altogether. The following forms seem to be certain descendants of **eri-*.

MMo SH *eri-* H45, HY *eri-* M55, Muq *eri-* P163a, IV *er-* L62:30. WM *eri-* L326b. Kh *erex* H860b. Bur *erixe* C772a. Kalm *erx* M704a ‘to request’. Dag *ərʰ-* E31. EYu *e:r-* B9. MgrH *yarə-* J95a, *yerə-* X234. MgrM *yarrī-* C394, *yərrī-* DS248a (i.e., *-rʷ-*). Bao---. Kgj *ire-* S280a. Dgx *əri-* B9. Mog *eri-* R27b, *eri-* W165a.

***erte** ‘early; morning’. Dag *ərd* E31 with *-d-* is from Manchu or from Northern Tungusic. The EYu *h-* is secondary. Related to CT **erte* ‘id’.

MMo SH *erde* H44, *erte(n)* H46 ‘in the past, before’, HY *erte* M55 ‘early’, *erde* M54 ‘in the past, before’, Muq *erte* P164b. WM *erte(n)* L331b. Kh *ert(en)* H854a. Bur *erte* C772b. Kalm *ert* M704a. Dag (see above). EYu *hərte* B56, *rde* J95a. MgrH *şde* J95a, *şdie* SM372. MgrM *şide* C388, *şde* T384. BaoD *etə* BL83a. BaoÑ *erte* CN15. Dgx *əcie* B9 ‘morning’. Mog---.

***erüke** ‘skylight, smoke-hole (of a yurt)’. see ***örüke**

erүүл** (?ereül**) ‘health(y)’. The Muq form with two *r*’s may in fact represent the original form, in which case the remaining forms are due to dissimilation and metathesis.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *erü:r(lik)* P165b, *ele’ür* P156b, LV *eleür* P1262, RH *eleür* 203B21. WM *eregül* L321a, *elegür* L1202b. Kh *erүүл* H855a. Ord *eru:l* M248b. Bur *eliür* C763a, *erүүл* C773a. Kalm *erül* M704a. Dag---. EYu *ülü:r* BJ347, *lui:r* S270. Remaining lgs---.

***ese** ‘not’. Only lost in EYu. A rare instance of initial vowel loss in Moghol. The defective negative verb does not otherwise survive in the QG languages.

MMo SH *ese* H46, HY *ese* M55, Muq *ese* P165b. WM *ese* L333a. Kh *es* H861b, cf. *esex* H863b (defective negative verb). Ord *ese* M249a. Bur *ese* (rare; ←Kh) C776b. Kalm *es* M704b. Dag *əs* E27. EYu---. MgrH *si:* X134. MgrM *se* T359. BaoD *sə* BL58. BaoÑ *esə* ~ *ese* CN14. BaoX *sə* BC75. Kgj *se* S141. Dgx *əsə* B8, L78. Mog *sa*, *sə*, *sö* R37b.

esergü** (?hesergü**) ‘opposite side’. With a long final vowel in several central languages. The **h-* suggested by Dag is not supported elsewhere, but on the other hand only contradicted by MMo.

MMo SH *esergu* H46, HY---, Muq---, RH *esergü* 205MC. WM *esergü* L333b. Kh *esreg* H862b. Ord *esergu:* M249b. Bur *üheryüü* [written *üheryuu*] C520a (and *esergüü* C776b ←Kh). Kalm *esrgü* M705a. Dag *xəsruyʷ* E111. EYu---. MgrH *sargu* X134, SM327, *szargu* L540. MgrM *šergu* JL473. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***esige** ‘kid (young goat)’. Agricultural term, perhaps borrowed from CT **ečkü* ‘goat’. The unusual correspondence of Mongolic [ʃ] with CT **č* is due to the syllable-final position in Turkic. The original adapted form may have been **ešge*, but a trisyllabic form is supported by several languages. Cf. **ünügün* ‘kid goat’,

which is almost in complementary distribution with **esige*.

MMo SH *ešige* H46 ‘ram’, HY---, Muq---. WM *isige(n)* L416b, *esige* L334b. Kh *išig* H283a. Ord *išige* M389a, *ešige*, *éšige* M249b. Bur *ešege(n)* C780b. Brg *išig* U28. Kalm *išk* M276a. Dag---. EYu *šeye* B107. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***eüden** ‘door’. Note the EYu-MgrH vowel shortening. Kgj and Dgx as well as Mog seem to suggest **üiden*.

MMo SH *e’uden* H47, *e’ute(n)* H48, HY *e’üden* M56, Muq *e’üden* P167b, *ü:den-* P249a. WM *egüde(n)* L300a. Kh *üüd(en)* H583a. Bur *üüde(n)* C516b. Brg *u:d* U44. Kalm *üüdn* M556a. Dag *äud* E20. EYu *üden* B22, J94b, *uden* J94b. MgrH *ude* J94b, X19, *den* (sic) X134, *rde* X241. MgrM *idi* C370, *yidi*, *di*, *dian* DS218a, *suguaidi* DS225a ‘gate’ (**yeke eüden*). BaoD *ndaŋ* BL82a. BaoGt *dŋ* C132, cf. *fgindŋ* C132 ‘gate’ (**yeke eüden*). BaoÑ *ndaŋ* CN34. Kgj *idŋ* S280a. Dgx *uižien* B18, *wəižien* B192. Mog *ordān* W174b.

***eükün/*öekün** ‘fat, grease’. The central languages and Mgr suggest **öe* in the first vowel slot, the Sino-Mongolian sources and Dag suggest **eü*. In fact the pair of variants may be due to metathesis of diphthong elements, and go back to variants **eükün/*üekün*. EYu may have developed from either form. The *h-* in QG is probably due to the following *-k-*. The vowel of the final syllable is high in MMo, but some of the QG forms suggest **e*. The final *-m* in Baoan is inexplicable.

MMo SH *o’ukun* H129, *e’ukun* H47, HY *e’ükün* M56, Muq *ö:kün-* P279a, RH *ö:kün* [eds. read short *ö*] 199A4. WM *ögekü(n)* L631a. Kh *ööx(ön)* H416a. Ord *ö:kö* M530a. Bur *ööxe(n)* C368b, *üüxe(n)* C517b. Brg *o:x* U43. Kalm *öökn* M420a. Dag *əuɣ^w* E19, *əuɣ* Z94b. EYu *ükun* B21, *ü:kön* J96b. MgrH *fo:ge*, *fo:ke* SM100, *o:ke* SM296, *o:ku* J96a. MgrM *oko* JL464, *o:ko* C370. BaoD *sgum* BL13, *gum* BL84b. BaoGt *sgəm* C129. BaoÑ---. Kgj *gun* S290a. Dgx *fugun* B54, *fgun* BC85:45. Mog---.

***eülen** ‘cloud’. The Monguor languages unexpectedly preserved the *-n*. The Donggou Mongghul forms *lŋ* ~ *ɟlŋ* ~ *rrlŋ* C382 seem to suggest an original form **eblen*, but these forms may also involve Tibetan influence (cf. LT *rluŋ* ‘air, breeze’).

MMo SH *e’ule(n)* H47, HY *e’ülen* M56, Muq *e’ülen* P168a, *ü:len* P383a, RH *üilen* (? , eds. *eüilen*) 198A15. WM *egüle(n)* L300b. Kh *üül(en)* H583a. Bur *üüle(n)* C516b. Brg *u:l^ʰ* U44. Kalm *üüln* M557a. Dag *əulən* E19. EYu---. MgrH *ulon* J94b (see above). MgrM *uolen* C382, *ulin* T368. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ə:lŋ* CN16. Kgj *ulio* S280b. Dgx *olien* B14, *wəilien* B192. Mog---.

***eün-** oblique stem of ***ene**

***eüs-** ~ ***eüd-** ‘to originate, arise, to be started’. MgrH *o:sə-* (?=) X14, MgrM *o:s-* C370 are more likely to stem from **ös-* ‘to grow’.

MMo SH *e’us-* H48, HY *eüsge-* (caus.) M56, Muq *e’üskel* P168b ‘base’. WM *egüs-* L302b. Kh *üüsex* H584b, *üüdex* H583a. Ord *u:d-* M747a, *u:s-* M764a. Bur *üüdxexe* (caus.) C516a, *üüsxexe* (caus., ←Kh) C517b. Kalm *üüdx* M556a, *ü:s-*

R462a. Dag *aus-* E20 ‘to set out, start off’. EYu *yü:s-* B155 ‘to grow up’ (?=, perhaps from **ös-*). Mgr (see above). Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

- G -

***gada-** ‘outside, exterior’. Derivates from this root include **gadaa*, **gadar*, **gadana*, **gadagsi*, as well as **gadaun* (cf. MMo SH *qada'un* H56, HY *qada'un* M86). The Mgr and Bao forms could represent **gada* or perhaps **gadaa*. Bur-Kalm display a form **gaʃaa* instead of **gadaa*, but Bur and Kalm also feature derivates with *-d-*. The vowel length in Dag may originate in the second syllable if we assume a development **gaada* < **gadaa*.

MMo SH *qada* (and derivates) H55, HY *qada-na* M85, Muq *yada:-du* P173a. WM *yadaya* L342a. Kh *gadaa* H104a, etc. Ord *gada:* M284a. Bur *gadaa*, *gadaada* C138b, *gazaa*, *gazaada* C139b. Brg *gaʒa:* ~ *gada:* U131. Kalm *yaza* M152a. Dag *ga:d* E163. EYu *gadana* B75, J101a. MgrH *gada* J101a. MgrM *gada* C189. BaoD *gadā* BL89b. BaoN *gadā* CN85. Kgj *ganna* ~ *gana* S288a. Dgx *gadanā* B80. Mog *yadana*, *yadaqši* R28b.

***gadasun** ‘stake’ and ***kadaasun** ‘nail’. In central Mongolic these two phonetically and semantically similar words exist separately, although there is some semantic interference in Khalkha. In the QG languages they seem to have become phonetically indistinguishable. Sun Zhu (1990:227) also confuses the two words. In most of MMo they cannot be distinguished either.

***gadasun** ‘peg, stake, pole’. Bur *gataha(n)* and Dag *gatās* point at **gatasun*. The ‘contracted’ Kalm form (cf. **gedesün* for a similar treatment) could be either from **gadasun* or **gatasun*. Dag also has a form without the (collective?) suffix *-sUn*, suggesting a PM **gata-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *yadasu(n)* L343a ‘stake, picket, pale; peg’. Kh *gadas* (sic, no *-an*) H105a ‘stake, picket; pole; peg’. Ord *gadás(u)* M285b ‘peg’. Bur *gadaha(n)* C138b, *gataha(n)* (eastern) C152a, *gahana* (western) C152a. Kalm *yasn* M161a. Dag *gat*, *gatās* E167 ‘wooden stake’.

***kadaasun** ‘nail’. Derived from the verb **kada-* ‘to nail’ listed separately under **k-*.

MMo SH *qada'asun* H55 ‘nail’, HY---, Muq (see below), RH (see below). WM *qadayasu(n)* L902b, *qadasu(n)* L903a. Kh *xadaas(an)* H595b ‘nail; spike; rivet; peg’. Ord *xada:s(u)* M321b ‘nail’. Bur *xadaaha(n)* C529b. Brg *xada:* (according to Uuda from **kadaa*) U96. Kalm *xadasn* M565b, also *xada* M565b. Dag---.

***gadasun** ‘stake’ and/or ***kadaasun** ‘nail’. The semantics of the QG forms listed below seem to indicate that they represent a merger of **gadasun* and **kadaasun*. The weakening of CM **k-* > *g-* is a common development in QG when the second syllable starts with **d*.

EYu *gadásən* B75, *gasən* B74 ‘wooden stake’, *gadásən* J99b ‘nail’. MgrH *gadasə* J99b ‘nail’. MgrM *gadasī* DS238a ‘nail’. BaoD *gadasuŋ* BL87b ‘nail’.

BaoÑ *ğadsəŋ* CN85, *ğarsəŋ* CN86 ‘nail; wooden stake’. Kgj *ğadasuŋ* S288a ‘wooden stake’. Dgx *ğadasuŋ* B80 ‘nail’, L115a ‘nail’. Mog---

In MMo Muq it is equally unclear whether the forms represent **ğadasun* or **kadaasun*. Long and short *a* may be written identically, and initial *y* and *q* are not systematically distinguished in MMo. Whenever a Turkic counterpart is given it is *qazuq* ‘stake, peg’; Poppe’s Russian translations are *kol* ‘stake’, *gvozd* ‘nail’, and *drevko* ‘arrow shaft’. The Muq forms are *qada(:)sun* P108b, *qada(:)su* P132a, *qatasun* P130a (there are several other occurrences). It is perhaps most likely that at least the forms with *-t-* belong to **ğadasun* ~ **gatasun*.

In RH the same problem exists, the form *qadasun* occurs twice, as *qadasun* 202A9 ‘tent peg’ (*al-watad*) and *qadasun* 205A29 ‘nail’ (*al-mismār*), in both cases with the same Persian equivalent *mīx* and the same Turkic equivalent *qazuq*.

***gagča** ~ ***gaŋča** ‘alone’. The form with *-n-* is largely restricted to the central languages and Dagur, but the Sanchuan (MgrM) form given by Potanin disturbs this picture. Some of the forms feature the instrumental and adverb suffix **-Ar/-GAAr* or the diminutive **-kAn*. The emphatic reduplication in Dag *gan gaška*: ‘all alone’ suggests that *gaška*: stems from **ganč-*. It may in fact be incorrectly back-formed from the instrumental *gaška:r* < **ganča-kAn-A:r*. The variation *n* ~ *g* is also found in other alternant pairs such as **neŋji-* ~ **negji-* ‘to search’. Róna-Tas (1966:93) derived the MgrH form *śzağna*: from Tibetan *gčig-na*, but this is not necessary for the forms listed below.

MMo SH *qahca* H56, *qahca’ar* H56, HY *qaqča* M88, Muq *yaqča* P175a, LV---, IV *qaqča* L62:41, Ph *qaqč^ha* P129a. WM *yaŋča* L343b, *yanča* L347b. Kh *ganc* H112b, *gagc* H104a. Ord *gagča* ~ *ganča* M287a. Bur *gansa* C145b, *gagsa* C138b. Brg *gans* U128. Kalm *yanč* M156a. Dag *ganč* E165, *gaška*: E167, *gaška:r* E167. EYu *qagča* B63, *qača* B63, *χja:r* J9, *qagča:ra:n* B63, *gakčar* P417a. MgrH *xažæ-ğa:r* X70, *śja-ğa:r* X159. MgrM *qaža-ğar* JL479, *qəzi-ğər* DS250a, *gančkar* (sic!) P417a. BaoD *χžia-χan* BL34 (**gagča-kan*) ‘alone, on one’s own’, cf. *χžia kun* BL13 (*kun* < **köbeün*) ‘only son’. BaoÑ [*śžanaŋ*] CN152 ‘alone’ ?< Tib]. BaoX *ja:χan* BC62. Kgj *qəjə-χəno* S287a. Dgx---. Mog---

***gaĵar** ‘land, earth, soil, place’. The Bao forms with *-i-* are peculiar, since **a* is usually palatalized in unaccented syllables only.

MMo SH *qajar* H57, HY *qajar* M86, Muq *yaĵar* P173b, *qajar* P288b, Ph *qajar* P128b. WM *yaĵar* L355b. Kh *gazar* H106a. Ord *gajar* M285b. Bur *gazar* C140a. Brg *gazar* U131. Kalm *yazr* M152b. Dag *gaĵir* E167. EYu *gaĵar* B75, J101a. MgrH *gaĵar* J101a. MgrM *gažar* JL472. BaoD *gažir* BL71, *gačir* BL89a. BaoÑ *gažar*, *gažir* CN86. BaoX *gaĵir* BC70. Kgj *gaĵar* ~ *geĵe* S288a. Dgx *gaža* B80. Mog *yaĵar* R28b.

***gakai** ‘pig’. In all QG languages there are forms with (aspirated) *q* < **g-*, which developed under the influence of the following *-k-*. In Mgr, Bao, Dgx the **a* of the first syllable was consequently devoiced or lost. The CM word may contain the formans **-kAi*, in which case the PM root may have been **ga-*.

MMo SH *qaqai* H56, HY *qaqai* M88, Muq *yaqai* P175a, LV *yaqai* P61,

qaqai P63, IV *qaqai* L62:41. WM *yaqai* L355a. Kh *qaxay* H117b. Bur *qaxay* C152a. Brg *qaxai* U129. Kalm *yaqa* M161b. Dag *gayə* E165. EYu *gayqai* B73, *qayqai* B63, *gaqai* B145, *qəgai* J101a. MgrH *xgai*: J101a. MgrM *qgai* JL478, *qəgai* DS242b. BaoD *gai* BL88b. BaoÑ *gəgai* CN84. BaoX *gai* BC62. Kgj *gəgai* ~ *gağai* S288a. Dgx *qīgəi*, *qīxəi* B70. Mog *yo:qei* R28b.

***gal** ‘fire’. One of the rare cases in which initial **g-* has been strengthened in Baoanic although it is not followed by a voiceless CM consonant (cf. **gar*, **gar-*). The unexpected palatalised *-lʲ* in Dagur has parallels in **gar*, **ger*, **seül*.

MMo SH *qal* H57, HY *qal* M87, Muq *yal* P174b (frequent), *qal* P221a (once), LV *qal* P61, IV *qa:l* L62:41. WM *yal* L346a. Kh *gal* H108b. Bur *gal* C143a. Brg *gal* U129. Kalm *yal* M154a. Dag *galʲ* E166. EYu *gal* B74, J101a. MgrH *gal* J101a. MgrM *gar* JL471. BaoD *χal* BL88a. BaoÑ *χal* CN57. Kgj *χar* S285a. Dgx *qan* B68. Mog *yo:l* R28b, *ğɔl* W178b.

***galaun** ‘goose’.

MMo SH *qalao'un* H57, HY *qala'un* M87, Muq---, LV *qalawun* P63, IV---. WM *yalayu(n)* L346a. Kh *galuu(n)* H110a. Bur *galuu(n)* C144b. Brg *galv*: U130. Kalm *yalun* M155a. Dag *galɔ*: E166. EYu *galu*: B74. MgrH *galu*: SM117 ‘goose; duck’, *galau* (sic) L120 ‘duck’. Remaining lgs---.

***galjau** ‘mad, insane’, **galjaura-* ‘to go mad’. Original meaning probably ‘rabies’, as featured in Kh. The **au* diphthong suggested by WM is not confirmed, and on the basis of the modern languages a CM form **galjuu* would also be possible. The forms in Dag and QG could also stem from **galjiu*, but this form could not be reconciled with the central languages.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *yalju:ra-* P174b, LV *qalju*: P63, IV *qalja* L62:42. WM *yaljayu*, *yaljiyu* L346b. Kh *galzuu* H109b. Bur *galzuu* C143a. Brg *galʒv*: U130. Kalm *yalzu* M155a. Dag *galʒɔ*:, *galʒɔ:r-* E166. EYu *galju*: B74, *galju*: J101a. MgrH *galʒiu*: J101a, *galʒu*: X94, *galʒu:ra:-* X94. MgrM *garʒiu* JL464. BaoD *ganʒir-san* BL89b ‘insane’, BaoÑ *galʒəŋ* CN85, *galʒira-səŋ* (from the verb) CN85 ‘insane’, *galʒira-* CN85 ‘to go mad’. Kgj *ganʒira-* S289a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***gar** ‘hand’. One of the rare cases in which initial **g-* has become *q-* in Baoanic although it is not followed by a voiceless CM consonant (cf. **gal*, **gar-*). The Dag *-rʲ* is inexplicable, unless it is due to a false analysis of the genitive *gari*: as */gari-i/* instead of */gar + -ii/* (cf. similar cases s.v. **gal*, **ger*, **seül*).

MMo SH *qar* H60, HY *qar* M88, Muq *yar* P175b, *qar* P111b, LV *qar* P61, IV *yar-* L62:30. WM *yar* L350a. Kh *gar* H113a. Bur *gar* C146a. Brg *gar* U131. Kalm *yar* M157b. Dag *garʲ* E168. EYu *gar* B76, J101a. MgrH *gar* J101a. MgrM *gar* JL463. BaoD *χar* BL89b. BaoÑ *χar* CN58 ‘hand; arm’. Kgj *χar* 285a. Dgx *qa* B67. Mog *yar* R28b, *qar* R31b, *gar* W165a, *ğar* W178b, etc.

***gar-** ‘to come out, appear’. One of the rare cases in which initial **g-* has become *q-* in Baoanic although it is not followed by a voiceless consonant (cf. **gal*, **gar*). Cf. BaoÑ *ha:ʒir-* and *ha:ʒər-* CN66 < **garču ire-*, **garču od-*.

MMo SH *qar-* H61, HY *qar-* M88, Muq *yar-* P176b, Ph *qar-* P129a. WM *yar-* L350b. Kh *garax* H114b. Bur *garaxa* C148a. Brg *gar-* U133. Kalm *yarx* M159b. Dag *gar-* E168. EYu *gar-* B76, J101b. MgrH *garə-* J101b. MgrM *gara-* T325. BaoD *ǰärə-* BL89a. BaoGm *ǰar-* CN86:227. BaoÑ *ǰar-* CN59. BaoX *ǰarə-* BC62. Kgj *ǰar-* S285a. Dgx *qiri-* B71, L117b. Mog *yar-* R28b, *ǰar-* W165a, *ǰar-* W178b, *qar-* W176a.

***gasün** ‘bitter, sour’. Strengthening of the initial in most Shirongol dialects. The Dag form with *-s-* must stem from a form **gasuun* with assimilated diphthong (for which cf. MMo VI). In spite of the existence of Kh *gušuu* H136a ‘bitter taste’, the Shirongol forms with rounded first syllable are more likely to derive from **gasün*. The related verb ***gasil-** ‘to turn sour’ survives in Bur *gašalxa* C152b, Ord *gašil-* M297b, BaoÑ *gašil-* CN85. Dgx *qışulu-* B70, etc. In view of WM *yasila-*, Ord *gašila-* M297b, there also was a form ***gasila-**, which may also be present in Kgj *gašila-* (rare) S288a.

MMo SH *qasi’un* H62, HY *qasi’un* M89, Muq *yašu:n* P178b, IV *qasu:n* L62:43, RH *qasu:n* 202C27. WM *yasiyu(n)* L354a. Kh *gašuu* H118b. Ord *gašu:n* M298a. Bur *gašuu* C152b. Brg *gašo:ŋ* U130. Kalm *yašun* M162b. Dag *gasu:n* E167. EYu *gašu:n* B74, J101a. MgrH *xašin* J101b, X69, *gašin* X94. MgrM *qəzəŋ* DS251b. BaoD *χušūŋ* BL88b ‘sour’. BaoÑ *gašəŋ* CN85 ‘sour’. Dgx *qışuŋ* B70 ‘sour; bitter’. Mog *yašu:n* R28b, *qašu:n*, *qošu:n* R31b, *qəšun* W177b ‘annoyance, anger, bitterness’, MogMr *qv:šu:n* L62:43 ‘opium’, MogM *qv:šū* L62:43 ‘tea; bitter’.

***gauli** ‘copper, brass’. WM and modern central Mongolic, as well as Dag, support a final *-i*, but MMo (Muq) and EYu go back to a form with *-a*, perhaps **go:la* or **gu:la*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *yula* P179b ‘id’. WM *yauli(n)* L355a, *yūuli* L371a, *yaŋuli* L344a ‘brass, copper’. Kh *guul* H135b. Ord *gu:li* M313a. Bur *guuli(n)* C162a. Brg *gō:lʷ* U137. Kalm *yūul* M171a. Dag *gaulʷ* E164 ‘brass’. EYu *gɔlɔ* B78, *go:lo* S302 ‘brass’.

***gaursun** ‘stubble, cut grain stalks; shaft of a feather’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *yaŋursu(n)* L344a, *yuyursu(n)* L365a, *yūursu* L371a. Kh *guurs(an)* H135b ‘(..) quills, tubes, pipes, straws’, Kh *xuurs* H697a ‘(..) chaff, awn or beard of certain kinds of grasses’. Ord *gu:rsu* M315b. Bur *guurha(n)* C162a ‘shaft of a feather; pen’. Kalm *yūursn* M171b ‘feather’. Dag *gaurs* E164 ‘stubble’, cf. *xudusəi gaurs* S302 ‘shaft of a feather’. EYu *gu:rs* (sic) (only) S302 ‘shaft of a feather’. MgrH *χv:rʒə* SM185, *xaurzi* L188. Remaining lgs---.

***ge-** ‘to say’ see ***kee-**

***gedesün** ‘intestines, bowels; belly’. There are several interesting variants, reminiscent of the development of **gadasun* ‘stake’, **gudusun* ‘boots’. Bur-Dag and Muq stem from an older **getesün*. In case of Muq this may herald the reduced ‘western’ form now found in Kalm and Mog. The Bur-Dag *-t-* is also shared by Khamnigan *gətaxun* (Janhunen 90), and thus represents a northeastern feature.

However, it has to be kept in mind that this group of words may lose the vowel before *s* in Dagur and the central languages, e.g. Dag *gətsi*: (gen.-acc.), and this is where the strengthening may originally have taken place. Baoanic has developed from **gejesün*. As in the case of **gudusun*, BaoGt has a shortened form reminiscent of the one found in Kalm and Mog. This word probably contains the (collective?) suffix *-sUn*, so that the PM root may have been **gede-* or **gete-*.

MMo SH---, HY *gedesün* M56, Muq *getesün* P238b, LV *gesesün* (sic) P67, *gesüsün* (sic) P69, RH *gesesün* (sic) 199A2. WM *gedesü(n)* L373a. Kh *gedes* (*gedsen*) H141a. Ord *gedes*(#), *gödös* M268b. Bur *gedehe(n)* C168b, *getehe(n)* C174a. Brg *gətu*: U135. Kalm *gesn* M140b. Dag *kətas* E146, *gətas* E83:60a. EYu *gedsən* B82, *gedesən* J101b. MgrH *gədesə* J101b. MgrM *gedesi* JL461. BaoD *gažiasuŋ* BL89b. BaoGt *gasuŋ* C141. BaoÑ---. Kgj *gəjisun* S289a. Dgx *kizəsuy* B76. Mog *gesən* R28a, MogM *gesal* (sic) L68, No 3.

***gee-** ‘to lose; to let go of; to put down’. The Dgx form is a good match semantically, but the development of the initial consonant would be unique (there are however some cases where Dgx *č* stems from **k*).

MMo SH *ge-* H48, HY---, Muq---. WM *gege-* L373b. Kh *geex* H145b. Bur *geexe* C176b. Brg *gə:-* U134. Kalm *geex* M135b. Dag *gə:-* E169. EYu *gi:-* B83, *ge-* J49 (auxiliary). MgrH *ge:-* SM130, X101. MgrM *gi:-* C197, *gī-* C380. BaoD *ge-* BL50. BaoÑ *ge:-* CN93. Kgj *ge-* ~ *gi-* S289a. Dgx *žie-* (?=) B166, MC183b ‘to put down, to lay aside; to leave over’, in MC also ‘to abandon, give up (e.g. smoking)’. Mog *ge:-* R28a ‘to lose’.

***gegeen** ‘light, bright’. Related to the verb **gei-* below, parallel to the relation between **čagaan* ‘white’ and **čai-* ‘to become white’.

MMo SH *gegen*, *gegeyen* H48, HY *gege'en* M56, Muq *gege:n* P169a. WM *gegege(n)*, *gege(n)* L373b. Kh *gegee(n)*, *gegeen* H140b. Bur *gegee(n)* C167b. Kalm *gegän* M134b. Dag *gəyə:n* E170; cf. *gəyə:* E170 ‘dawn’. EYu *gegen* B82 ‘living Buddha’. MgrH *gəge:n* J101b. MgrM *gegen* JL461. BaoD *gəgaŋ* BL11. BaoÑ *gəgaŋ* CN93. Kgj *gigə* S289a. Dgx *giegaŋ* B89. Mog---.

***gei-** ‘to become light, to shine’. In QG normally in the phrase **ör gei-* ‘to dawn’. Cf. **gegeen* above.

MMo SH *geyi-* H50, HY---, Muq *gei-* P169b. WM *geyi-* L374b. Kh *giyx* H119a. Bur *giixe* C153b. Kalm *gi:-* R137b. Dag *gai-* E169. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *gi:-* CN94. Kgj *gi-* ~ *gi:-* S289a. Dgx (see s.v. **ör*). Mog---.

***geičin** ‘guest’. This word and the synonymous **ailčün* (not listed) and **jočün* display a chaotic distribution. Perhaps derived from **keid* (q.v.), although in that case a form **kei(d)čün* would be expected.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *geyičün* L374b. Kh *giyčün* H119a. Ord *gi:čün* M267b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *giič* M143b. Dag---. EYu *ke:čən* B67, *ge:čən* J107a. MgrH---. MgrM *gečün* P412b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***gejige** ‘back of the head; neck’. Kh and Bur reflect a form **gejege*; Dag and EYu could have developed either from **gejige* or **gejege*. Cf. **gedei-* ‘to bend

backwards', **gedergü* 'backwards' (not listed).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *gejige* P170a. WM *gejige* L381a. Kh *gezeg* H141b 'hair; pigtail'. Ord *gejige* M255b 'nape; braid, etc', cf. *gede*: M254b 'occiput'. Bur *gezege* C169a 'braid; (western) nape'. Brg *gəʒəg* U135 'braid'. Kalm *gijg* M142b 'nape; braid'. Dag *gəjiy* E172 'braid', cf. also *gədiy* ~ *gəjiy* E172 'back of a knife'. EYu *gejiye* B83, *gejeje* J81 'back of the head'. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *gieziği* B90 'back of the head', *gižiği* MC119b 'neck, nape'. Mog---.

***geli-** 'to follow, catch up with'. The Moghol meaning 'to sow' perhaps < 'to follow the furrow'.

MMo SH *geli-* H49, HY---, Muq *geli-* [P: *keli-*] P215a 'to drive (livestock)'. WM *geli-* K2477. Kh *gilex* H119b 'to round up livestock'. Ord---. Bur ?-. Brg *gil-* U136. Kalm---. Dag *gəʎ-* E171 'to drive (livestock)'. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD---. Dgx---. Mog *geli-* R28a 'to sow', *gəʎ-* W165b 'to drive', MogMr *geli-* L68, No. 126 'to sow; to take along, chase in front of oneself'.

***gem** 'defect, damage; disease; fault; trouble'. In spite of the unusual **g-* apparently related to CT **kem* 'illness' (cf. EDPT 720b).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, Ph *gem-* P123b. WM *gem* L375b. Kh *gem* H142a 'defect; damage, etc. Bur *gem* C170a 'fault, guilt'. Brg *gəm* U135. Kalm *gem* M136a. Dag *gəm* E171. EYu *gem* BJ328, J101b 'illness, disease'. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *gəm* BL89a 'illness, disease'. BaoÑ *gem* CN93. Kgj *gan* S288b. Dgx *gien* B89. Mog---.

***gendü** 'male (of certain carnivores)'.

MMo SH *gendu* H49, HY---, Muq---. WM *gendü(n)* L376b. Kh *gendüü* H142b 'male tiger or leopard'. Ord---. Bur (Tunka, Oka) *gende* C171a, *günde* C165b 'male of the sable'. Brg---. Kalm *gendn* M137. Dag---. EYu *ge:ndə* B82 'male dog'. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***genedte** 'by accident; sudden(ly)'. Several modern forms have replaced the ending by a more familiar suffix like *-tU* or *-tAI* or added the dim. *-kAn*.

MMo SH *genete* H49. Muq *genete* P208a. WM *genedte* L377a. Kh *gent*, *genet*, *gented*, *gentxen* H142b/143a. Ord *genedte*, *genete*, *gente*, *gentu* M259a/b. Bur *gente* C171a. Kalm *gent*, *gentkn* M138a. Dag *gənti:*, *gəntkə:n* E170, *gənt* E83:59b. EYu *geneti* BJ328, *genetele* (with attached particle) S292. Remaining lgs---.

***ger** 'dwelling, house; Mongolian yurt'. The Dag *-rʷ* is inexplicable, unless it is due to a false analysis of the genitive *gəri:* as */gəri-i/* instead of */gər-ii/* (cf. similar cases s.v. **gal*, **gar*, **seül*). MgrH *ges* X102 'family' may represent a contracted plural of this word.

MMo SH *ger* H49, HY *ger* M56, Muq *ger* P170b, LV *ger* P69, IV---. WM *ger* L377b. Kh *ger* H143a. Ord *ger* M259b. Bur *ger* C171b. Brg *gər* U135. Kalm *ger* M138b. Dag *gərʷ* E172. EYu *ger* B83, J101b. MgrH *ger* J101b. MgrM *ger* JL475. BaoD *gər* BL89a (influenced by Tibetan *gur?*), *gar* BL74. BaoÑ *ger* CN94. Kgj *ger* ~ *gar* S289a. Dgx *gie* B88. Mog *ger* R28a.

***gere** ‘brightness; torch; witness’. For the meaning ‘witness’ also see **gereči*. MgrH *gerie*: SM134 ‘light’ could be from **gerel*.

MMo SH *gere* H49 ‘brightness’, HY---, Muq *gere* P170b ‘witness’. WM *gere* L378a. Kh *gere* H144b ‘light, brightness; dawn; a torch’. Ord *gere* (*gére*) M260a ‘light; witness’. Bur *gere* (western) C173a ‘pine torch’. Kalm *ger* R134a ‘witness; testimony; torch, etc’. Dag *gar* E172 ‘torch, torch made out of willow twigs’, cf. *gar.d-* E172 ‘to fish by means of a torch’. MgrH (see above). Remaining lgs---.

***gereči ~ *gerečin** ‘witness; proof’.

MMo SH---, Muq---, IM *gereči* P437b ‘witness’. WM *gereči* L378b. Kh *gerč* H143b ‘witness; testimony, etc’. Ord *gereči* M260b ‘witness’. Bur *gerše* C173a ‘witness; testimony’. Brg *garš* U135 ‘testimony’. Kalm *gerč* M140a ‘witness; testimony’. Dag *garčin* E172 ‘testimony’. EYu *gerečə* BJ328 ‘witness’, possibly also related is *gerče* B83 ‘small scripture’ (with *-čA*). Mgr---. BaoÑ *geržan* CN94 ‘witness’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***gerel** ‘light, brightness’. There is some confusion in Mongghul, as well as disagreement between the sources. MgrH *gere* X102 ‘sunny’, *gerie*: SM134 ‘light, brightness, sheen, ray of light’ can be from **gerel* and/or **gere* (cf. *gurma* < **gürümel*, *ara*: < **aral*). There is also a form *gerəl* X102 ‘sunny side; southern side’, but this may be related to *gere* X102 ‘sunny’. Khasbaatar derives *gere* from **gerü*, but this is the word for ‘shady side of a mountain; north’. Possibly related to **gei-* and **gegeen*.

MMo SH *gerel* H49, HY *gerel* M56, Muq---, Ph *gerel* P123b. WM *gerel* L378b. Kh *gerel* H141a. Ord *gerel* M260a. Bur *gerel* C173a. Brg *garəl* U135. Kalm *gerl* M139a. Dag---. EYu *gerel* B83, J101b. MgrH *gare:l* J101b, X104 ‘light’. MgrM *garə* (?) DS234a. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *gieran* B90, *gierən* S292. Mog---.

***gerte/*gertü** ‘(at) home’. This word is simply the dative-locative case of **ger* ‘house’ listed above, although the Shirongol equivalents have been derived from **kotan* by several Inner-Mongolian authors. The Shirongol forms with *k-* are due to the following *t* which in its turn was originally triggered by the final *-r* of the stem.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *gertü*, *gerteki* P171a, LV---, IV *gerte* L62:30. Ord *gerte/gertü* M261ab. Dag *gar’t* > *gat* E88:167. MgrH *kudu* SM206. MgrM *garđu* DS12b. BaoD *kətə* BL62, BL78 ‘home(-wards)’. BaoDt *kətə* CN86:225 ‘(at) home’. BaoÑ *kətə* CN77 ‘(at) home’. Kgj *kete* S287a. Dgx *kidə* L78 ‘house (loc.)’, *giedə-du* B90, *kidə-du* B76 ‘being at home, i.e. wife’. Mog *gertü* R28a, MogM, MogMr *gértü* L62:31.

***ges-** ‘to melt, thaw’. The fluctuation in consonant strength in Khalkha is unusual. Cf. **siri-* ‘to melt’, and Baoanic **sümtara-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *gesge-* (caus.) H50, HY---, Muq *ges-* (or *kes-*) P171a. WM *ges-* (so read) L379b. Kh *gesex* H145a, *xesex* H726b. Ord *ges-* M262a. Bur *gedexe* C168b. Kalm *ges-* R134b ‘to become cheerful, etc’. Dag *gəs-* E171. EYu *kes-* B68, J35. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***gesiün** ‘branch’. The Dag form with -s- must stem from a form **gesüün* with assimilated diphthong. Bur-Kalm have an additional variant **gesiü-sün*. Cf. **salaa* ‘id’.

MMo SH *geši'ut* (pl) H50, HY *geši'ün* M56, Muq---, LV---, IV *geši'ün* L62:31, Ph *k^heši'un* P126a. WM *gesigün* L380a, *gesigüü* L380a. Kh *gišüü(n)* H120b. Ord *göšu*: M272a. Bur *gešüü(n)* C175b, also *gešüühe(n)* ‘id’. Kalm *gešü:n* R135a, *gešü:sn* R135a, *gišü:n* R137a. Dag *gəsu*: E171. EYu---. MgrH *kaši*, *kaši* L258, *keši* L260. Remaining lgs---.

***geški-** ‘to step on; to trample’. Perhaps the original form is **gejki-*. Initial strengthening in many forms in the QG languages.

MMo SH *getki-* H50, *geci-ki-le-* H48, HY---, Muq *gički-* P221b. WM *giški-* L384b, *gičgi-* L381b. Kh *gišgex* H120b. Ord *géški-* ~ *giški-* M262b. Bur *gešxexe* C176a. Brg *gitəg-* U136. Kalm *iškx* (?-, cf. **öskel-* ‘to kick’) M276b, *giškəχə* R137a. Dag *gərk^y-* E172, *girk-* Z99a. EYu *kšgə-* B72, *kəšgə-* J101b. MgrH *gišgi-* SM137, *gišgi-* L148, *kišgi-* L267. MgrM *kəšgi-* JL472. BaoD *kəšigə-* BL89b. BaoGt *kəšgə-* C124. BaoÑ---. Kgj *keški-* ~ *keki-* S287b. Dgx *qəši-* (sic, ?=) S295. Mog---.

***geškiür** ‘stairs, (step of a) staircase, (rung of a) ladder’. From **geški-* ‘to step on’. Initial strengthening and rounding of the unaccented **e*.

MMo SH---, HY *gečgi'ür* M56, Muq---. WM *giškigür* L385a. Kh *gišgüür* H120b. Bur *gešxüür* C175b. Kalm *giškür* (rarely) M146a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *kəšgu:r* ~ *kəšgu:* X87, *kəšgu:r* X92, *gišgu:(r)* SM137, *kišgu:(r)* L267. MgrM *kugor* C379. BaoÑ *kurgur* CN83. Kgj *kurgi* ~ *kurki* S288a. Dgx *qışigəu* ‘stairs’ B70.

***getül-** ‘to cross, ford’ see **ketül-**.

***geün** ‘mare’. Cf. **baïtasun* ‘id’.

MMo SH *ge'u(n)* H50, HY *ge'ün* M57, Muq *ge'ün* P171b, *gü'ün-* P115a, LV *geün* P66, IV---. WM *gegün*, *gegüü* L374b. Kh *güü(n)* H139b. Bur *güü(n)* C167a. Brg *gu:* U139. Kalm *gün* M149a. Dag *gəu* E169. EYu *guin* B84, *gü:n* J101b. MgrH *gu:* SM138, J101b. MgrM *gu* [mori] P414b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***göl-** ~ ***gil-** ~ ***jöl-** ~ ***jil-** ‘smooth; glossy, shiny’. A large and complicated word family, with a strange distribution of derivations crossing the normal subgroup lines. The same *g* ~ *j* variation is found in **gīrakai* ~ **jīrakai* ‘clever, perceptive’. A form **jilman* survives in Kalm, EYu and Mog. The unclear Kgj form could be metathesized from **gilman*. A form **giluan* is found in Kh and Ord. MgrH may also be from this word, or from an alternant **jiloan* < **jiluan*. Dag and Dgx seem to represent the front-vocalic counterparts **gilöen* < **gilüen* and **jilöen* < **jilüen*, respectively. A selection of morphologically unclear but probably related words is also included below.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *gilayan* L382a, *giluyan* L383b. Kh *gilger* H119b, *gyalaan* H145b, etc. Ord *gilo:n* M266a ‘white’ (Ersatzwort). Bur *yalaan* C798a, *geliger* C169b, *zeleger* C236b, *yalaqar* C798a, *yeleger* C221b, *gilagar* (western) C153b, and other derivatives. Kalm *jilmn* M228b. Dag *gilə:n* NK539a, *gilu:r* E173 ‘shiny and clean’, *gilba:n* E174 ‘sunny’. EYu

jälman B144. MgrH *žilo:n* X221, *žulo:n* X225. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *gemiliɔ*, *gemiliɔ* (?) S289 ‘smooth’. Dgx *žilien* B172 ‘smooth’. Mog *žilmo:n* R42b ‘smooth’.

***gogal**, ***gogasun**, ***gogad** ‘Chinese chives and other bulbous plants’. The MgrH form most likely reflects the (plural) form **gogad*, but an irregular development of **gogal* cannot be excluded.

MMo HY *qoqosun* M90. WM *yoɣod*, *yoɣosu(n)* L358a/b. Kh *gogod* H121a ‘variety of wild leek’, *gogol* H121a ‘a variety of the *Liliaceae* Hall.’. Ord *gogot* M304a ‘kind of leek’. Bur *googol* (eastern), *googoho(n)* (western) C157a. Kalm *goyʷsn* R149b. Dag *gʷayəs* E183 ‘wild chives’. MgrH *gogor* X98. Remaining lgs---.

***goka** ‘hook, crook’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *yoɣa* P147a, P223a. WM *yoqa* L363a. Kh *gox* H127a. Bur *goxo* C158a. Kalm *yoɣ* M167b. Dag *gɔɣʷ* E175 ‘hook-shaped pattern’, cf. also *gɔkɔ*: E175 ‘hook; hook (name of a wrestling hold)’.

***gol** ‘river, brook, streamlet, ditch’. Cf. **mören*.

MMo SH *qol* H65 ‘mountain brook’, HY---, Muq---. WM *yool* L362b. Kh *gol* H123a. Bur *gol* C155a. Kalm *ɣol* M165a. Dag *gɔl* T132. EYü *gɔl* B78 ‘mountain valley; river’, *göl* J62 ‘river’. MgrH *göl* J101b. MgrM *gol* P419a, (*ula*) *guar* C378 (cf. **aula*). BaoJ *gual* L152. BaoÑ *göl* CN87. BaoX *gol* BC69. Kgj *gwr* (sic) S290a. Dgx *gön* B82. Mog *yo:l* R28b ‘riverbed’.

***gorgi** ‘hook; buckle, clasp’. Only Kh and one Kalm form suggest **gorki*. The EYü forms seem to point at an older Mongolic form **gorgai*. Muq *yoɣa* P223a is from **goka* ‘hook’.

MMo SH *qorgit* (pl) (?) H67 ‘q.v.’, HY---, Muq---. WM *yorki* L361b, *yorgi* K1043a ‘buckle, ring or hook of a belt, clasp’ (different readings of the same spelling). Kh *gorxi* H126b. Ord *gorgi* M307a. Bur *gorʷyo* C158a. Kalm *yorʷk* M167a, *gorʷgi* R151b. Dag *gɔɣɣʷ* E3:65a ‘ring for attaching a knot’. EYü *gorgi*: S559, *gorgui* S287 ‘ring, circle’, *gɔrgɔi* B78 ‘hook; hunchback; winding, crooked’. MgrH *guorgi* SM126 ‘buckle’, *gurgi* L142 ‘slipknot’. Bao---. Dgx *guḡai* MC126a ‘knot on the door, door bolt’.

***göen** (?and **göin*) ‘shallow’. Very similar to its opposite **gun* ‘deep’ listed below. The structure of the Dagur forms (which also changed harmonic class) is unclear.

MMo SH---, HY *gö'en* M57 ‘shallow’, Muq---. WM *güi-ken* L390a, *güyü-ken* L390b. Kh *güyü* H137b ‘shallow’, *göyön* H127b ‘shallow’, *güyxen* H138a ‘weak; shallow’, *göyöxön* H127b ‘rather shallow’. Ord *gi:n* ~ *gü:n* ~ *gö:n* ~ *ge:n* M266b, M281b. Bur *güyxen* C164b. Brg *guixəŋ* ~ *guyxəŋ* U140. Kalm *gi:n* R137a ‘shallow’. EYü---. Dag *guya:n*, *guya:-kən* (sic, ?=) E179. Remaining lgs---.

***gölige** ‘puppy; whelp, cub (of carnivores)’. Most forms apparently from a disyllabic form **gölge*. As the EYü form *gäläg* S300 is irregular and not confirmed by other sources, it is most likely a printing error for the normal EYü *gäčäg* B82, probably from CT **kičig* ‘small’. HY *güčük* M57 and Dgx *kizəu* B76 (there

connected to **gičii* ‘female of wild animals’) have the same origin.

MMo SH---, HY--- (? cf. *gülīgö* M58 proper name), Muq---. WM *gölöge*, *gölige* L386b. Kh *gölög* H127b. Bur *gülge(n)* C165a. Brg *gulig* U140 ‘puppy (dog)’. Kalm *gölg* M146b. Dag *guly*^w E180. EYu---. MgrH *golgo* J102a. MgrM *kuł^yger*, *kulgar* P422b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***göre-** ‘to braid’ see ***gürü-** ‘id’

***göree** ‘hunting; game’, ***göreesün** ‘(wild) animal’. The *k-* in MgrH is unexpected.

MMo SH *gore’e* H51, *gore’esu(n)* H51, *goregesun* (sic) H51, HY---, Muq *göre:sün* P171a ‘roe deer’, LV *göre:sün* P68 ‘antelope’, IV---. WM *göröge(n)* L387, *görögesü(n)* L387b. Kh *görüö* H128b ‘hunting; wild animal’, *görüös(ön)* H128b ‘antelope’. Bur *güröhe(n)* C166a ‘roe deer’. Brg *gurə:* U140 ‘hunting’, *gurə:* U141 ‘wild animal’. Kalm *göra* (obs) M147a ‘hunting’, *göraśn* M147a ‘saiga antelope’. Dag *gurə:s* E181 ‘(wild) animal’. EYu *gure:sən* B85, *görösən* J102a, *görü:sən* (Qinglong) BJ350 ‘(wild) animal’. MgrH *korosə* J102a ‘bear’. Remaining lgs---.

***gučīn** ‘thirty’. With strengthening in EYu and MgrH due to the following č. In Bao and Kgj replaced by **gurbaŋ harbaŋ* ‘three tens’ (BaoD *guraraŋ* BL89a, *gubaraŋ* BL35, BaoŃ *guraraŋ* CN89). Cf. **gurbaŋ* ‘three’ below and **gunan* ‘three-year-old’ (not listed).

MMo SH *qucin* H70, HY *qučīn* M91, Muq *yučīn* P179b. WM *yuči(n)* L364a. Kh *guč(in)* H136a. Bur *guša(n)* C162b. Kalm *yučn* M171b. Dag *gəč*, *gəčīn* E177. EYu *gučən* B80, *qujīn* J101a. MgrH *xožin* J101a. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***gudusun** ‘boots’ see ***gutusun**

***gulir** ‘flour’ see ***güril**

***gura** ‘roe deer; roebuck’. The modern languages disagree regarding the final *-n*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *yura* L368b. Kh *gur* H133a. Bur *gura(n)* C160b. Kalm *yurū* R155b. Dag *gura:n* E181. EYu *ğura* B80. Remaining lgs---.

***gurbaŋ** ‘three’. Cf. **gučīn* ‘thirty’, **gutuar* ‘third’, and **gunan* ‘three-year-old’ (the latter not listed). A peculiar palatal element is present in a word for ‘hobble for three legs’: Dag *gərb^yla:n šidər* E177, Bur *gur’balaa (šüder)* C161b, in fact suggesting a stem **gurbī* (not supported by Kalmuck, EYu *ğurbałəd* B30. Cf. also the *i* in Dag *gərbid* E177 ‘(constellation of) three stars’ < **gurbaŋ hodun*).

MMo SH *qurban* H72, HY *qurban* M91, Muq *yurban* P179b. WM *yurba(n)* L369a. Kh *gurav* (*gurvan*) H133a. Ord *ğurwa* M316b. Bur *gurba(n)* C160b. Kalm *yurvn* M170a. Dag *g^warbə*, *g^warbən* E183, *g^warəb* Z100a. EYu *ğurbaŋ* B80, J102a. MgrH *ğura:n* J102a. MgrM *ğurbaŋ* T326, *gurbaŋ^y* P422. BaoD *ğuraŋ* BL89b. BaoŃ *ğuraŋ* CN89. BaoX *ğoraŋ* BC67. Kgj *gura ~ gura* S289b. Dgx *ğuraŋ* B85. DgxL *ğurwaŋ* B86. Mog *yurbo:n* R60.

***güril** ‘flour’. With metathesis in many languages. Although **gulir* has the earlier

documentation, either form could be the older. Different simplifications in Kalm and Dag.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *γulir* P179b, *γulur-* P152b. WM *γulir*, *γuril* L367a. Kh *guril* H134a, *gulir* H132a. Ord *ḡulir* M313a, *ḡuril* (rare) M315b. Bur *guril* C161a. Kalm *γuyr* M168a. Dag *gɔlʰ* E176. EYü *ḡulər* B79, J101b. MgrH *ḡurəl* J101b. MgrM *ḡurur* JL477, *ḡuru* DS223b. BaoD *ḡulər* BL89a, *ḡur* (sic) BL30. BaoÑ *ḡolər* CN87. Kgj *guru* (sic) S290b. Dgx *ḡurun* B86. Mog *γulur* R28b, *gulur* W165b, *ḡulur*, *ḡuḡul* W178b.

***gutuär** ‘third’. In many languages replaced by **gurbaduar*. Cf. **gurban* ‘three’ and **gučün* ‘thirty’ above.

MMo SH *quta’ar*, *qutu’ar* H73, HY---, Muq---. WM *γutayar* (lit) L370a. Bur *gutaar* (dial.) C161b ‘milk of the third milking’. Dag *guta:r* E180. Remaining lgs---.

***gutusun** and ***gutul** ‘boots’, as well as forms pointing at *-d-* rather than *-t-*. Kh-Bur stem from the form **gutul*. The *-t-* instead of *-d-* is also found in some of the MMo forms. The remaining MMo forms and the forms in the QG languages are from the variant **gudusun*. Kalm has a shortened form reminiscent of **gadasun* ‘stake’ (q.v.) and **gedesün* ‘intestine’ (q.v.). Kgj stands out among the Shirongol languages.

MMo SH *qudusu(n)* H71, HY *qudusun* M91 (but: HY *qudul-či* M91 ‘cobbler’!), Muq *γutusun-* P180a, *qudusun* (P: *qo-*) P272b, *qutusun* P313a. WM *γutul* L370b, Kow1029a, and *γutusun* Kow1029a. Kh *gotal* H134b. Ord *ḡutul* M318a ‘leather boot’. Bur *gotal* C161b ‘high fur boots’, *gutaha(n)* C162a, *godoho(n)* (western) C154a. Brg *gotal* U139. Kalm *γosn* M167a. Dag *gɔčɔ:r* (sic, ?=) E177. EYü *ḡudəsən* B80, *ḡɔdəsən* B78, *ḡudusun* J101b, *gutusun* P419 ‘boot’. MgrH *ḡudusə* J101a. MgrM---. BaoD *ḡudəsən* BL89b. BaoGt *ḡosson* C120. BaoÑ *ḡədsən* CN87, *ḡərsən* CN88. Kgj *ḡudər* ~ *gudər* S288b. Dgx *ḡudusun* B84, L117a. Mog---.

***guya** ‘thigh’.

MMo SH *quya* H73 ‘leg’, HY---, Muq *γuya* P180b. WM *γuya* L365b. Kh *guya* H136a. Ord *guya* M311b. Bur *guya* C162b. Kalm *γuy* M168a. Dag *gʷay* E183. EYü *ḡuya* B80, J101a. MgrH---. MgrM *ḡɔya* C387 ‘leg’. BaoD *ḡuya* BL89b. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *ḡuya* L117a ‘thigh’, *ḡuya* B85 ‘shin, shank’, *boya* (?=) MC44a ‘thigh’. Mog *γuya* R28b.

***guyu-** ‘to request, ask for, to beg’.

MMo SH *quyi-* H74, *quyu-* H74, HY *quyu-* M92, Muq *γui-* P179b, *γuya-* P180b, Ph *quyu-* P129b. WM *γuyu-* L365b. Kh *guyx* H131a. Bur *guyxa* C159b. Kalm *γuux* M171b, *ḡu:χä* R156b. Dag *gɔi-* E174. EYü *ḡɔi-* B78, *ḡui-* J101b. MgrH *ḡoi-rla-* X98, cf. *ḡoi-šžə* X98 ‘beggar’. MgrM *ḡuai-čin* JL465 ‘beggar’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ḡui-* CN89. Kgj *ḡui-* S288b. Dgx *ḡoyi-* B83 ‘to borrow’, *ḡuai-* MC124a. Mog---.

***gübi-** ‘to shake (off), to beat repeatedly, to thrash’. Unexpected *k-* in Baoanic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *gübi*- P172a. WM *göbi*- L386a, *gübi*- L388b. Kh *güvex* H136b. Ord *güwe*-, *güwi*- M281b, *göwö*- M273a. Bur *gübixe* C163a. Kalm *güvx* M148a. Dag *gub*^y- E179. EYu *gəβə*- B81. MgrH *guwu*- SM144, *gubu*- SM139. MgrM *kubi*- P421a. BaoÑ *kib*- CN79. Kgj *kui*- S287b. Dgx *kuyi*- MC230b. Mog---.

***güi-** ‘to run’. Cf. **haul-* ‘to run (mainly of animals)’.

MMo SH *guiyi*- H52, HY *güi*- M57, *güyi*- M59, Muq *güi*- P172a, *güyü*- P173b. WM *gü[y]i*- L389a, *güyü*- L390a. Kh *güyx* H138a. Ord *güi*- M275a. Bur *güyxe* C164b. Brg *gui*- U140. Kalm *güüx* M150b. Dag *gui*- E178, *guy*- E181 (‘of people’). EYu---. MgrH *guai*- J102b. MgrM *gui*- JL475. Bao---. Kgj *güi*- S289b. Dgx---. Mog *güi*:- R28b, *gui*-, *guyi*- W165b.

***güiče-** ‘to catch up with, to overtake; to be completed, fulfilled’. Perhaps related to **güi-* ‘to run’ listed above.

MMo SH *guiyce*- H52, *kuiyce*- H105, HY *küiçe*- M73, Muq *güiče*- P172b. WM *gü[y]içe*- L389a. Kh *güycex* H138b. Ord *güiči*- M278a, *güči*- M280b. Bur *güysexe* C164b. Brg *guis*- U140. Kalm *güücx* M151b. Dag *küičə*:- E154. EYu *güče*- B85, *güiče*- BJ328. MgrH *küjæ*- X91. MgrM *küiči*- JL475. BaoD---. BaoÑ *kiča*- CN80. Kgj *küiči*- S287b. Dgx *küiče*- B78. Mog---.

***güjeen** ‘belly, stomach’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *güje:n* P172b. WM *güjege* L393a. Kh *güzee* H137a ‘paunch’. Ord *güje*:- M274b. Bur *güzee(n)*, *güzöð(n)* C163b ‘&paunch, peritoneum’. Kalm *güzän* M148b ‘&paunch; peritoneum’. Dag *gujə*:- E180. EYu *güje:n* B85, *guje:n* J102a ‘rumen’, *guje:n* J78 ‘stomach’. MgrH *gujie*:- SM140, *guje*:- L155 ‘stomach’. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *gujan*, *gužan* W165b.

***gün** ‘deep’. There are several variant forms which can hardly be derived from a single original form. The long vowel in Kalm and Dag, which may be due to confusion with **göen* ‘shallow’ listed above. The *-m* in MgrM and Bao is also remarkable. The forms in MgrH an extra syllable at the beginning is inexplicable, and is not supported by any other source (cf. **nīs*-). Moreover, the *f*- in the variant *fugon* suggests an original form **öken*, as secondary *f*- is usually triggered by a following strong consonant. It is not clear whether BaoD *gudaŋ* BL89b ‘id’ belongs here.

MMo SH *gun* H52, HY *gün* M58, Muq---, Ph *gün* P124a. WM *gün* L391a. Kh *gün* H138b. Bur *gün* C165b. Brg *guŋ* U140. Kalm *gün* M149a (cf. adverb *güün-äär*), *gün* R139a, *gü:n* R140b. Dag *g^wə:n* E184. EYu---. MgrH *gom* J102a, *fuguæn* SM104, *fugon* X61, *gun* X105, *gu:n* T323, *go:n* C88:577. MgrM *guŋ* JL475, *gum* ~ *guŋ* C381. Bao *guŋ* P412a (see above). BaoJ *gum* L77. BaoÑ *gom* CN96. Kgj *gun* S289b. Dgx *gun* B93, L117b. Mog---.

***gürü-** ‘to plait, braid’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV *gür*- L62:31. WM *görö*- L387b, *gürü*- L392b [in fact these are two readings of the same spelling]. Kh *göröx* H128b, *gürex* H139b. Chakhar *gorön* D188a. Ord *gürü*- M279a, *guri*- M278b. Bur *gürex*

C166b. Brg *gur-* U140. Kalm *gürx* M150a. Dag---. EYu *gur-* B85. MgrH *gurə-* X108. MgrM *guru-* JL463. Bao---. Dgx---. MogM *guri-* L62:31.

***güreen** ‘name of certain muscles, tendons, or veins’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *gürü:n sudusun* [*gürö:n?*] P172b ‘jugular vein’. WM *güree(n)* L392a. Kh *güree(n)* H139b ‘the area of the neck below and in front of the ears’. Ord *güre:* M278a ‘the sides of the neck’. Bur *güröö* C166a ‘carotid (artery)’. Kalm *gürä* M149 ‘vein’, *güre:n sudäsn* R139b ‘jugular vein’ (**sudasun*). Dag *gur'e:* *s^wadal* E83:68a ‘neck artery’, *gurə s^wadal* S309 ‘jugular vein’ (**sudal*). EYu *güre:n* BJ328 ‘the sides of the neck’, *güre:n xda:sən* S309 ‘jugular vein’ (**sudasun*). Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***gürü** (?**kürü*) ‘stone’. The *g-* is found in some central languages. MMo in Phagspa script, as well as Mog suggest *k-*. Initial *k-* can also be read in the sources in Arabic script, and also in SH *guru*, because words with *kü-* are often written with characters denoting *gu*. Cf. **čilaun* ‘stone’.

MMo SH *guru* H53, HY---, Muq *güri* P133a, *gürü-* P278a, RH *güri* [?eds. read *k-*] 202A2, Ph *k^huru-* P126b. WM *gürü* L392b ‘ironstone; pebble’. Kh *gür* H139a ‘ironstone’. Ord *guru* (in compound) M279a. Bur---. Kalm *gür* M149a ‘ore’. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *quri* (sic) W177b, MogM, MogMr *kuri* L62:52.

- H -

***haaga** ‘bran’.

MMo---. WM *aya* L12b. Kh *aaga* H1b. Ord *a:ğ* M6b. Bur *aagahan* C16b ‘crushed oatmeal; (Tunka dial.) roasted flour’. Dag *xa:γə* E96 ‘bran; roasted oatmeal’.

***haakaï** and ***haaljīn** ‘spider’. The Bur and Mgr forms could perhaps represent a pair of PM variants **habakaï* ~ **haakaï* from earlier **pabakaï* ~ **papakaï* (for a similar pair of variants see **hibee-*). The last syllable *-kaï* may be the same element which is found in **nokaï*, **gakaï*, etc. The form **haaljīn* may be the same root with a different formans also found in animal and plant names.

***haakaï** ~ ***habakaï**: MMo---. WM *abayaqai* (‘Buriat and Kalmuck’) L3a. Bur *abaaxai* C19b. Brg *aβa:xai* U4. MgrH *χa:χe:* SM151, *xa:xai* X64; C465. MgrM *xaxai* DS251b.

***haaljīn**: MMo SH---, HY *ha:ljin* H59, Muq---. WM *ayalja(n)*, *ayalji(n)* L12b. Kh *aalz(an)* H2b. Ord *a:lja* M15a. Bur *aalza* C17a, *abaalzay* (Sel.) C19a. Kalm *araljn* (sic, ?=) M46b.

***hača** ‘fork, bifurcation’. The EYu *h-* could have been triggered by the following strong consonant; it is however supported by Dagur. Ligeti mentions Tajik *hačča*; cf. also Azeri *hača* ‘forked branch’.

MMo---. WM *ača* L7a. Kh *ac* H37b. Ord *ača* M34b. Bur *asa* C62b. Kalm *ac* M58a. Dag *xač* E104. EYu *hača* (?=) BJ330 ‘rope for tying cows’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. MogM *ača* L68, No. 82 ‘(two times three) poles serving to support the tent (in front and back)’.

***hači** ‘grandson; nephew/niece’. Related to CT **atī* ‘grandson’, which in fact may have been **hatī*.

MMo SH---, HY *hači kō’ün* M59, *ači* HY34, Muq---. WM *ači* L8a. Kh *ač* H38a. Bur *aša* C67. Kalm *ač* M58b. Dag---. EYu *hačəkon* B55 ‘niece’ (see **ōkin*), *hačəkiin* B55 ‘nephew’ (see **kōbeün*). MgrH *ači sunzə* SM15, *a:čə* X2. Bao---. Dgx *hači* B65, *hači* T140 ‘nephew’. Mog---.

***hadku-** ‘to grab, to hold in the hand’. There is also a noun ‘handful’ with the same phonetic shape.

MMo SH *hatqu-* H75, *atqu-* H10, HY---, Muq---. WM *adqu-* L12a. Kh *atgax* H35b. Bur *adxaxa* C33a. Kalm *atxx* M56a. Dag *xatk^w* E103 ‘handful’, *xatɔ:k^w* (sic) Z92b. EYu *adqə-m* BJ320. MgrH---. MgrM *atkò* P412b ‘handful’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***halagan** ‘palm of the hand’. The modern forms are not unanimous. Bur-Kalm suggest **aligan*, Kh **alaga*; EYu **halagan*; Mgr and Dgx **halga*. Mog **alakai* with remodeled ending. The Bao forms have surprisingly become identical to the forms of CM **heligen* ‘liver’. LV *halaqa* P76 (ms. *šalaqa*) is translated ‘hand’, but the ms. form is also reminiscent of **salaa*.

MMo SH *halaqan* H74, HY *halaqan* M59, Muq *alaqan* P97b, LV (see above), IV---. WM *alaya(n)* L26b. Kh *alga* H15a, Chakhar *alāğ* D170a. Ord *alaga* M11b. Bur *al’ga(n)* C46a. Brg *alag* U6. Kalm *al’xn* M39a. Dag *xaləy* E100, Z91b. EYu *halğan* B55, *halağan* J93a. MgrH *xalğa* J93a, X68, *χarğa* SM161, *χalğa* T372, *alğa* X5, *arğa* SM13; MgrM *xarğa* J88, *gar qarğa* (sic) C377 (+ **gar*), *gar qarğa* DS241. BaoD *χar həlgə* (?=) BL81b. BaoÑ *helge* (?=) CN67. Kgj---. Dgx *hanğa* B64. Mog *olaqei* R35b.

***haluka** ‘(small) hammer’.

MMo IM *haluya* [emended, vocalised *hulya*] P437b, RH *aluqa* 204C8. WM *aluqa(n)* L34a. Kh *alx(an)* H18b. Ord *aluğa ~ aluxu* M18a. Bur *alxa* C45a. Brg *alx* U6. Kalm *alx* M37b. Dag *xalluy^w* E102, *xalləy^w* Z91b. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *aluqa* R22b, W---.

***hamu-** ‘to rest’. Cf. the caus. **hamuul-* below. Also compare **hamura-*, although the development of **h* is different in that word, making the relationship between the two uncertain.

MMo SH *amu-* H7, HY *amu-* M35, Muq *amu-* P101b, LV *amu-* P1257. WM *amu-* L40a. Kh *amax* H21a. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *hambu-* (?=) B55 ‘to go out (fire)’, *hamə-* J75 ‘to go out (fire)’, *haməs gə-* J41 (converbum momentanei + **ki-*) ‘to rest’. Mgr---.

***hamuul-** ‘to put to rest, etc’. The caus. of **hamu-* above. The MgrH form may also represent **hamul-*, the transitive counterpart of **hamura-*. For the semantic development in EYu-MgrH cf. **untara-* ‘to lie down > to go out’.

MMo SH *amu’ul-* H7, HY---, Muq *amu’ul-* P102a, *amu:l-* P102a, Ph *amu’ul-* P119b. WM *amuyul-* L40a. Kh *amuulax* LC 1:95a. Ord---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *hambu:l-* B55 ‘to extinguish, put out’, *χamu:l-* J16 ‘id’. MgrH *xamuli-* SM153, *xambulə-* X69 ‘to extinguish, put out’. Remaining lgs---.

***hamura-** ‘to rest’. The *h-* is only found in Shirongol, but cannot be explained as a secondary development, at least no mechanism is known in the absence of strong consonants. Some of the Shirongol forms suggest an older form **hambura-*. The relationship with **hamu-* above is not clear; **hamura-* looks like an intransitive formation in *-rA* derived from **hamu-*, but in EYu the latter appears with *h-*. The related adjective also has vocalic onset in MMo Muq *amur* P102a, Dag *amər* E11, EYu *amər* B5, J93a (MgrH *xamur* L173 is contradicted by *amar* J93b).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *amura-* L40b, *amara-* L36a. Kh *amrax* H22a. Ord *amara-* M19b. Bur *amarxa* C48a. Kalm *amrx* M42a. Dag *amər-* E11, Z91b. EYu *aməra-* B5, *amura-* J93a. MgrH *xambura:-* J93b, X69, *χamura:-* SM154. MgrM *xanbura-* JL467. BaoD *hamar-* BL81b. BaoÑ *hamara-* CN65. Kgj *hambəra-* S286b. Dgx *hamara-* B65, *hamura-* L109b, T139. Mog---.

***hangqa-** ~ ***hanjka-** ‘to be thirsty’. Cf. **umdaas-* elsewhere.

MMo SH *hangqa-* H74, HY---, Muq---, IV---. WM *angya-* L43b. Kh *angax* H25a. Bur *angaxa* C52a. Kalm-?-. Dag *xanjk-* E99, Z91a. Remaining lgs---.

***hanī-** and ***hanīi-** ‘to close one’s eyes’ (slight semantic differences are indicated in languages that have both forms). Bökh derives Dgx *xami-* from the synonymous **kamki-* (cf. EYu *χamgə-* J93a), but the elision of the **-k-* would be irregular; cf. the form with *-n-* in Todaeva.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hanis-* (sic) P181a. WM *ani-* L46a, *anii-* L46b. Kh *anix* H26b, *aniyx* H26b. Ord *ani:-* M23b. Bur *anixa* C53b, *aniixa* C53a. Brg *an^y-* U2, *ani:-* U2. Kalm *än^x* M68a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *xanə-* J93a, *χani-* SM156. MgrM *xani-* JL476. BaoD *hani-* BL81b. BaoJ *hon-* L81. BaoÑ *hani-* CN64. Kgj *hani-* S286a. Dgx *xani-* T139, *xami-* (?=) B57, L109b. Mog---.

***haniska** ‘eyebrow; eyelash’. Derived from **hanī-* above. Bur *nidxe* may be an altered form of this, perhaps influenced by **nidün* ‘eye’. Cf. also the problematic MgrH *senasga* SM344 ‘eyelashes’, MgrM *naosiga* DS221b ‘eyelashes’. Cf. CM **sormusun* ‘id’ elsewhere.

MMo SH---, HY *hanisqa* M60 ‘eyebrow’, Muq *hanisqa* P181a ‘eyebrow’, LV *hanišqa* P76 ‘eyebrow’, IV *hanasqa* L62:31 ‘eyebrow’. WM *anisqa* L46b. Kh *an’sga* H27b ‘eyelid’. Ord---. Bur *nidxe* (?=) C326a ‘eyebrows’. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *χanasga* SM155 ‘eyebrows’, *xanəsga* J103b ‘eyelashes’. MgrM *xanisiga* DS221, *xaniská* P411b ‘eyebrow’, *hanisga* Z331:256, 258 ‘eyebrow; eyelash’. BaoD *χamsəg* (?=) BL90b ‘eyelashes’. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***harban** ‘ten’. Perhaps **ha* + *-rban* or **har* + *-ban* in view of the similar structure of **gurban* ‘three’ and **dörben* ‘four’.

MMo SH *harban* H75, HY *harban* M60, Muq *harban* P181b, LV *harban* P75, IV *harba:n* L62:31. WM *arba(n)* L49b. Kh *arav* (*arvan*) H28a. Ord *arwa* M31b. Bur *arba(n)* C56a. Brg *araß* (*arbaŋ*) U15/16. Kalm *arvn* M48a. Dag *xarəb* E105, Z91b, *xarbən* E106. EYü *harβan* B55, J94a. MgrH *xaran* J94a, X71, *χaran* T374, *xarvan* J79, *χarwan* SM165, *xarvan* X73. MgrM *xarbaŋ* JL476. BaoD *harwaŋ* BL82b, *harən* (in compounds) BL35. BaoÑ *harwaŋ* CN66, *hawraŋ* CN67, *harən* (in compounds) CN66. BaoX *xabraŋ* BC74. Kgj *harɔ* S286b. Dgx *haron* L110a, B65 [the ‘variant’ *haruan* B65 represents the same pronunciation]. Mog *arbo:n* R23a ‘ten; several; some’, MogMr *arbo:n* L62:32 ‘ten’, MogM ‘ten kran coin’.

***hargal, *hargasun** ‘dung; dried cow dung (used as fuel)’. The MMo form *haryaul* also has equivalents in central Mongolic. Agricultural term related to CT **hark* ‘dung’. Cf. **baasun*, **komaul*, **korgasun*, **öteg* (?), **jundaul*.

MMo SH *harqasun* H177 (in a name), HY---, Muq *haryal* P182a, *haryaul* P182a, LV---, IV---. WM *aryal* L52a, *aryasu(n)* L52b. Kh *argal* H30a. Ord *arǵal* M28a. Bur *argal* C57b, *argaha(n)* (western) C58a, *argaahan* (Al., Barg.) C57a. Brg *argal* U16. Kalm *arysn* M49a. Dag *xaryəl* E106. EYü *harǵal* B55, J94a. MgrH *xarǵal* X72, *χarǵar* SM161; MgrM *xarǵar* J88, *qaǵər* DS218b. BaoD *χalǵar* BL19, *χalǵər* BL62. BaoÑ *hargal* CN66, *halǵar* CN65. Kgj *halǵa* S286a. Dgx *hanǵa* B64, *haǵa* B65, *hanya* L28. Mog---.

***hasag-** ~ ***hasagu-** ~ ***hasau-**, etc ‘to ask’. On account of the variants and their distribution in the old and modern languages, it is difficult to arrive at a single ancestral form. Several languages feature more than one of the variants. Apart from the number of syllables and the treatment of **-g-*, the development of **h-* also varies from the earliest sources. The forms in the peripheral languages represent several old forms. Dag goes back to **hasau-*. MgrH suggests an earlier form **asaga-*, perhaps **hasaga-*. MgrM suggests **asag-* or **arsag-*. The Bao forms go back to **asaga-* ~ **asag-*. Dgx could go back to **asag-*, but is also reminiscent of the short SH form *hasa-*. Mog goes back to **asug-*. For a similar set of early variants cf. **kulag-* ‘to steal’. If the **h-* is correct and the *-r-* in MgrM is original, the PM form may have been **parsag-*. The *-u* of some of the forms may stem from the connective vowel. Cf. **sura-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *hasa-* H75, *hasah-* H75, *asah-* H9, *asa’u-* H9, HY *asaq-* M37, Muq *asaq-* P106b, *asayu-* P106b, *asqa-* P107a, LV---, IV *hasaq-* L62:32. WM *asayu-* L55b. Kh *asuux* H35a, *asgax* (lit) H34a. Ord *asu:-* M33a. Bur *asuuxa* (sic, ←Kh) C63b. Kalm-?- . Dag *xasɔ:-* E102, Z91b. EYü---. MgrH *sǵa-* J94a, X141, *sǵə-* J80, *sǵa-* X145. MgrM *arsǵ-* C384, *ərsǵ-* DS231a. BaoD *asǵə-* BL81b. BaoÑ *asaχ-* CN7, *asχa-* CN8. Kgj *asiǵ-* ~ *asǵi-* S278b. Dgx *asa-* B5, L109b. Mog *asuq-* (present *asuyuna*) R23a.

***haul-** ‘to run’. Note the distribution: **haul-* occurs in MMo, Dag, Mog, and Shirongol, but not in the central languages. EYü *hi:l-* S303 is a better match for CM

**heil-* ‘to leave’. In most other QG languages **au* has become *o* or *u*. Cf. **güi-* ‘to run’.

MMo SH *ha’ul-* H75, *hao’ul-* H74, HY---, Muq---, IV---; WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *xaul-* E97 (‘of animals’). EYu---. MgrH *xau:lə-* J82, *χu:li-* SM180. MgrM *xurli-* (?=) DS225a ‘to gallop’, *xolgo-* (caus.) P412a ‘to race (horses)’. BaoD *χolə-* BL89a, *hol-* BL40. BaoÑ *χəl-* CN72. BaoX *xolə-* BC65. Kgj *hər-* ~ *hur-* S286b. Dgx *xolu-* B59, L117a, T139. Mog *öul-* R36a ‘to walk’.

***haur** ‘air; steam; anger’. Within Mongolic, the modern evidence for **h-* is restricted to Baoanic, but loanwords in Turkic, such as NUyg *hor* ‘steam’, suggest that this word has also occurred with *h-* outside the QG region. The Baoanic languages also share the development of **au* > *o* in this word.

MMo SH *a’ur* H10 ‘air; anger’, HY *a’ur* M37 ‘air’, Muq *ha’ur* P270a, *hu:r-* P189a, *a’ur* P108a. WM *ayur* L17b. Kh *uur* H556b/557a. Bur *uur* C481a ‘anger’. Kalm *ur* M534b ‘steam; anger’. Dag *aur* E4/5 ‘steam; anger’. EYu *u:r* B19 ‘steam; anger’, J93b ‘steam’. MgrH *au:r* J93b, *u:r* J77 ‘steam’. MgrM *wər* DS208b (s.v. breath), DS204b ‘anger’, *orla-* JL481 ‘to get angry’. BaoD *χor* BL81b ‘steam’, *hor* BL20 ‘anger’. BaoÑ---. BaoX *xor* BC71, *hər* CN86:224. Kgj *hər* S286b ‘air; anger’. Dgx *xo* B58 ‘air, steam; anger’, L109b. Mog---.

***hayag** ‘(double) handful’, also used as a classifier, as in Dgx *niə xəiya sauçu* ‘a broom’. A Shirongol word of unclear etymology. Perhaps this is a foreign word related to Western Yugur *haya* ‘palm of the hand’ with unconfirmed *h-* from CT **a:ya*. This leaves the -*g* in Mongghul unexplained; it may have been a recent addition, or it may have been lost in the other languages, which is expected in Dgx, and not unusual in MgrM and Kgj. If Mongolic it may be a derivation from **huya-* ‘to tie’, but this is not supported by the modern vocalism, and an unattested meaning ‘bundle’.

EYu---. MgrH *ayağ* X9, SM16, *χayağ* X70. MgrM *xaya* C377, DS227b. Bao---. Kgj *χaya* S285a. Dgx *xəiya* B58. Mog---.

?***heber** ‘horn’ see ***eber**

?***hebür** ‘bosom’ see ***ebür**

?***hebür** ‘sunny slope’ see ***ebür**

***heče-** ‘to become tired or emaciated’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *heče-* P182b, *eče-* P151a, LV *heče-* P74. WM *eče-* L291b. Kh *ecex* H866a. Ord *eči-* M250a. Bur *esexe* C777a. Kalm *ecx* M705b ‘to become thin’. Dag *xəč-* E111 ‘to lose weight’. EYu *χje:-* S273, *hče-ηgə*, *hče-ηki*: B62 ‘emaciated’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *həçə-* B66. L121b. Mog *ečā-* R27b.

***hedke-** (~ **heske-* ~ **hečke-*) ‘to cut’. The original form may have been **hejke-*, perhaps from PM **pejke-*. The form with -*s-* is the central Mongolic form (Brg *ətag-* derives from this, in view of the Brg treatment of **geški-*, **auški* ‘lungs’). It is

impossible to tell from which variant Dag derives. Mog, EYu, and MgrH all stem from **hedke-*.

MMo SH *etke-* H47, HY *etke-* M55, Muq *hečke-* P182b, *ečke-* P151b, LV *hečke-* P74, RH *hetküme* 187C22 ‘a kind of vermicelli’. WM *eske-* L334b. Kh *esgex* H862a. Ord *eske-* M249a. Bur *esxexe* C776b. Brg *ətag-* U22. Kalm *işkx* M276a. Dag *xərk-* E112. EYu *hətgə-* B55, *hədge-* J94a. MgrH *dəge-* X195, J94b. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *etqā-* R27b, *idkλ-* W167b, *itkλ-* W168a, MogM *yétka-* L74:301.

***hee-** ‘to warm; to dry in the sun; to bake, roast’. Several of the peripheral forms were incorrectly analysed as loans from Chinese. Cf. **hebür* ‘sunny spot’. A form **heelbüri* (the origin of the *-l-* is unclear) seems to be the origin of EYu *xi:lβar* B113 ‘sunny spot’. Bur instead uses the etymologically unclear verb *igaaxa* C276a ‘to dry in the sun’, *yagaaxa* (western) C795a. However, it may be a deviant form of **hee-*, in view of the parallel case **kegesün* ‘spoke’, which also became back-vocalic in Buriat.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ege-* L296b, *egege-* L297b. Kh *eex* H868b. Ord *e:-* M227a. Bur-?- . Brg *narand ə:-* U58 (*narand* ‘in the sun’). Kalm *eex* M706b. Dag *še:-* T183. EYu *xi:-* B113, *hi:-* J94b. MgrH *xə:-* X73, J94a, T375, *xe:-* SM166, *še:-* C580. MgrM *šie-* DS218b. BaoD *hi-*, *həi-* BL82b, *he-* BL90b, *hə:-* T150. BaoÑ *he:-* CN67. Kgj *he-* 286b. Dgx *šie-* B110a, L75. Mog---.

***heere-** ‘to choke from crying, to have a fit of crying or a tantrum’.

MMo---. WM *egere-* L299a. Kh *eerex* H868b. Bur *eerexe* C781b. Kalm *eerx* M706b. Ord *e:re-* M243a. Dag *xə:r-* E83:77b. Remaining lgs---.

***heil-** ‘to part, to leave each other’.

MMo SH *heyil-* H76. WM *eyil-* L303b. Ord *i:l-* M381a ‘to run (for fear)’. Dag *xəil-* E108. EYu *hi:l-* S303 ‘to run’. Remaining lgs---.

***hekin** ‘head’. A rare disagreement between MgrH and MgrM concerning the development of *-k-*. The Dgx form, if indeed from the present etymon, also has *-č-*. Cf. **teriün* ‘head’, **tolagaĩ* ‘head’, **tariki* ‘brain’.

MMo SH *heki* H75 (SH *eki(n)* H43 ‘brain’), HY *heki* M60, Muq *hekin* P183a, LV *hekin* P77, IV---, RH *heki* 199A29. WM *eki(n)* L305b. Kh *ex(en)* H864a ‘beginning, etc’. Ord *ekin* M233 ‘first’, *iki:n* M381 (postp) ‘before’. Bur *exi(n)* C779a ‘beginning, etc’. Kalm *ekn* M694a ‘brain’. Dag *xəkʷ* E109, Z102b. EYu *şkan* B110 ‘at first, originally; top, peak’. MgrH *χəgi* SM166 ‘source, beginning’, *xgə* X83. MgrM (*golni*) *işči* P411a ‘upper course (of a river)’. Bao---. Dgx *əćin* (?=) S531 ‘top, summit’, *oćin* (sic) MC308a ‘high point; top, peak, highest summit’, *ula ćin* MC403b ‘mountain top’ (cf. **aula*). Mog *ekin* R27b. *ekin*, *əkin* W164b, *ikin*, *iki* W167b.

***heli-** ‘to float; to soar’. Note the peculiar distribution. Chen Naixiong and Bökh compared the Bao and Dgx forms to CM **kalĩ-* ‘to float’ (not listed), which survives in the central languages, but this correspondence is phonetically unlikely.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ele-* Ceval 875b.. Kh *ellex* H840a ‘to soar, hover, skim over; to float in midair’. Ord---. Bur *elixe* C762b ‘to soar’. Kalm *elx*

M697b ‘to soar’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *he:lə*- CN67 ‘to float’. Kgj---. Dgx *həlie*- B66 ‘to float’. Mog---.

***helie** name for various birds of prey, usually ‘kite’. Possibly originally the nomen imperfecti of **heli-* above. Cf. also MMo Muq *ele*: P164a, RH *eliye* 198A6, MgrH *ile*: X12 ‘demon’, which may be a semantic development of the same stem.

MMo SH---, HY *hele’e* M60, Muq *el[e:]s* P288a, LV *hele*: P76. WM *eliye* L310a. Kh *elee* H840b ‘kite’. Chakhar *əʎə*: D169a. Ord *éle*: M236b. Bur *elyee* C761b ‘black kite’. Kalm *elä* M695a ‘black kite’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ile*: J94b. MgrM *xəliulu* (?=) DS219a/228a ‘eagle; hawk’. BaoD *heluŋ* BL82b. BaoÑ *he:lə* CN67. Kgj---. Dgx *həlie* B66, *hərliə* MC157a, *həliəwu* MC156a. Mog---.

***heligen** ‘liver’. Note the *-k-* in both Kalm and Mog. In Bao seemingly merged with **halagan* ‘palm of the hand’.

MMo SH *helige(n)* H75, *elige* H43, HY *heligen* M60, Muq *eligen* P52a, LV *helegen* P76, *helege* P77, IV---. WM *elige* L309b. Kh *eleg (elgen)* H839a. Ord *elege* M238a. Bur *el’ge(n)* C764a. Kalm *elkn* M697a. Dag *xələγ* E110 also ‘purple’. EYu *heleyen* B56, *heleye* J94a. MgrH *χaliege* SM152, *χalige*, *χelige* T375, *xalgə* X68, *xelge* J84b. MgrM *xarge* JL476. BaoD *helgə* BL82a. BaoÑ *helge* CN67. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *elkan* R27b ‘liver’, *ilkan* W167b ‘heart’.

***herbeeki** ~ ***herbekei** ‘butterfly’. The MgrH form *χaliege* SM152 may be unrelated and be a corruption of CT **kelepi*, which has developed many irregular variants even within Turkic, cf. Western Yugur *kele^hge*, Salar *kegelex*. This word may contain the element *-kAi* also found in other animal names.

MMo SH---, HY *herbegei* M60, Muq *herbekei* (or *herbe:kei*) P184a. WM *erbegekei* L319a, *erbekei* L319b. Kh *erveexiy* H849b. Bur *erbeexey* C770b. Kalm *erväkä* M701b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *xerbuge* (only) L190, *xairbuğa* L163. MgrM *xərbigə* DS210a. Dgx *həbəği* ~ *həbuği* B66, *hənbəği* MC156a. Mog---.

***herekei** ‘thumb’. The EYu and Mgr forms are different formations but could derive from the same stem. Mgr may be from **hereke-bči* (properly ‘thumb covering’) as suggested by Mostaert. The EYu form may have the same origin, with metathesis. The Dagur form without the diphthong could perhaps be from Manchu *ferge/ferhe* (*x-* < Manchu *f-* is not unique). This word may contain the formans suffix *-kAi* also found in other body parts (see **bulčirkai* ‘gland’, **čimarkai* ‘temple’); in that case the PM root may have been **pere-* > **here-*.

MMo SH *heregai* H75, HY---, Muq---, LV *herekeyin* (gen.) P75, *erke* (?=) P1256 ‘finger’, RH *ereke.bči* 205A7 ‘thimble’. WM *erekei* L322a. Kh *erxiy* H856b. Ord *ereki*: M243a. Bur *erxi* C773a. Kalm *erkä* M703a. Dag *xərəγ* E111. EYu *hermegčə* (?=) B57. MgrH *sgəčə xərə* (?=) X164. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

?***hergi** ‘bank, shore’ see ***ergi**

***hergi-** ‘to turn, to move around’. The caus. **hergiül-* has developed differently from the stem in EYu *xorgü:l-* B51, and MgrH *furgulə-* X63, *xargulə-* X73.

MMo SH *hergi*- H75, HY---, Muq *hergi*- P184a. WM *ergi*- L323b. Kh *ergex* H851a. Ord *erge*- M244b. Bur *er'yexe* C775a. Kalm *ergx* M702a. Dag *xəry^y*- E112, cf. *əry^y*- E30 'to return'. EYu *hergə*- B78. MgrH *xergə*- X74, *xargə*- X72, *χergi*- SM167, *χargi*- T374. MgrM *xargx*- C377, *xərgə*- DS256b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *irgɿ*- W168a 'to spin'.

***herike** (?*herke) 'prayer beads'. If the disyllabic form existed early enough, the *h-* in the QG languages could have been triggered by the following *-k-*. However, the Dag form with *x-* independently suggests original **h-*. Enkhbat derives Dag *xərk* from Manchu, but this is unnecessary and indeed implausible in this case, since the Manchu form begins with a vowel. The etymology of Dag *əryis* E30 'pearl' is unknown. Although it looks like an extended form with *-sUn*, the stem differs from *xərk*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *erike* P163b, P239b, P292b 'necklace, tassel, beads'. WM *erike(n)* L328a. Kh *erx* H856b, *erxi* H856b, *erix* H852b. Ord *ereke* M243a. Bur *erxi* C773a. Kalm *erkn* M703a. Dag *xərk* E112. EYu *herge* B57, J95a. MgrH *χarge* SM161, *χargə* X72. Bao---. Dgx---. MogM *erka* 'pearl, mother-of-pearl' L68, No. 106.

?***hesergü** 'opposite' see ***esergü**

***hesi** 'handle, grip'. Within Mongolic, the **h-* in this word has survived in Bao-Kgj and Dag. Theoretically Dag could have borrowed the word from Manchu *fesin* 'id' (similar cases are known), but Tungusic would at least confirm the antiquity of the **h-*. The *h-* in QG could be secondary development due to the following strong consonant.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, Ibn Muhanna written *hesti*, *hisni* P438a, RH *hesi* 205A11. WM *esi* L334a, *isi* L416b. Kh *eš* H866b, *iš* H282b. Bur *eše* C780a. Kalm *iš* M275b. Dag *xəš* E111. EYu *šə* B105, J80. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoGt *heš* C121. BaoÑ---. BaoX *exə* BC61. Kgj *heši* S286b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***heür** 'nest; grave'. The Shirongol forms seemingly derive from a form **hö:r* (?< **höer* ?< **hüer*). Khasbaatar connects *fo:r* in the meaning 'grave' to WM *kegür*, which is unnecessary in view of the MMo forms.

MMo SH---, HY *he'üt* (pl) M60, Muq *hü'ür* [P: *hu'ur*] P188a 'grave', *he'ür*- [P: *ha'u:r*] P182a 'grave', *e'ür* P168b 'nest', LV---, IV---. WM *egür* L301b. Kh *üür* H583b 'nest', but cf. Kh *xirgis-üür* H635b 'ancient grave mound' (lit. 'Kirghiz grave'). Bur *üür* C517a 'nest'. Kalm *ür* M553a. Dag *xəur* E108 'nest'. EYu---. MgrH *fo:r* J94b 'nest', SM100 'nest, grave', X59 'nest; lair, den; cave; grave'. MgrM *xor* JL476 'nest', *xuar* C376 'grave', *quar* ~ *hur* (sic) Z315:92 'grave'. BaoD *hor* BL82b. BaoÑ *hør* CN69. Kgj *hør* S286b 'nest, lair'. Dgx *xo* B58, L110a. Mog---.

hibau** (?hibuu**) 'shell (mollusk)'. In Dag with the ending *-sUn*. The *-a-* in the spelling is not confirmed elsewhere.

MMo---. WM *ibayu*, *ibau* L396a. Kh *yüvüü* H869b (sic) 'mussel'. Bur *yobuun* C226a. Dag *xiwə:s* E83:83b, *iwə:s* E83:101b. Remaining lgs---.

?*hibčau ‘narrow, tight’. see *ibčau.

*hīlua ‘fly’. Most modern forms developed from an assimilated *hīlaa, but Ordos from *hīlo: < *hīloa. Bur-Kalm are from an extended form *īlaa-sun (cf. Kmg *ila:xun* Janhunen 91, but *ila*: Kōhalmi 191). Cf. *sīmaul, *sona.

MMo SH *hilu’atu*- H76 ‘to be stung by flies’, HY---, Muq---. WM *ilaya(n)* L402a. Kh *yala(a)n* H875b. Chakhar *ila*: D168a. Ord *ilo*: M384a. Bur *ilaahan* C277a, *yalaaha(n)* (western) C798a, also *alyaaha(n)* (?=) C46a. Brg *yala*: U220 ‘mosquito’. Kalm *ilāsn* M267. Dag *xila*: E114 ‘horsefly’. Remaining lgs---.

*hīra (?) ‘bottom part, underside’. This form suggested by the Baoanic languages. Perhaps related to the MMo form in spite of the absence of *h-* in that form. This word could be related to *hīraur ‘bottom’. The connection between the SH and modern forms was proposed by Bökh. The *-b* of BaoÑ *íirab* is inexplicable. The Kgj form with *χ-* (instead of *h-*) is also unexpected.

MMo SH *irada* H82 (?=) ‘downstream’, HY---, Muq---. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD *śira* BL92a ‘underside’, *śira-či* BL84b ‘downwards’, *śira-gu* BL79 ‘the one below’. BaoÑ *íirab* (?=) CN158 ‘foundation, base’. BaoX *íira* BC69 ‘bottom part; under’. Kgj *χara* S285b ‘underside’, *χarənda* ~ *χanda* S285a ‘lower part; lower reaches of river’, *ude χanda* S119, S308 (lit. ‘above below’, see *ōede) ‘about, approximately’. Dgx *śira* B126 ‘bottom part; under’. Mog---.

*hīruar ~ *hīraur ‘bottom, base, ground’. The evidence for the precise original form is conflicting. Both *au and *ua are already represented in MMo. *hīra above may support *hīraur as the original variant. The forms with *-l* are due to dissimilation. Kh *yoroal*, the Ord and Kalm forms, as well as Dgx, developed from *hīruar > *hīroar > *hīro:r. EYu *hru:r* could have developed from either *hīro:r < *hīruar or *hīru:r < *hīraur. Kh-Bur *oyoor* looks like another irregular development from an earlier *yoroor. The somewhat similar Dagur form with *-γ-* is also unexpected.

MMo SH *hiru’ar*, *hira’ur* H76, HY *hiru’ar* M60, Muq *hiru’ar* P185b, *hiro:r* [ʔhiru:r] P185b, *hira:r* P135a, LV---, IV---. WM *iruyar* [ʔ= iroyar] L415a, *iruyal* [ʔ=iroyal] L415a. Kh *yoroal* H205b, *yoroor* H205b, *oyoor* H388b. Ord *iro:l* M387b. Bur *oyoor* C350. Brg *γɔ:r* U33. Kalm *yoral* M280a. Dag *xiγ:r* E114, *šiγ:r* E134. EYu *hru:r* B62, *horu:l* S740. Mgr---. BaoGt *holər* C140. Kgj *hulur* ~ *hurlu* S286b. Dgx *śiro* B126. Mog---.

*hīutan (~ *huītan) ‘narrow, tight’. The more common form with *ui survives in NM, Mog, EYu, MgrM, Bao, and Dgx. The MMo form *hīutan survives in Dag. In MgrH both variants seem to be represented. The Dag forms are the result of a kind of palatal breaking, which caused the *a of the second syllable to be inserted between the diphthong elements of the first. The *h- survives in Dag and MgrM, but was strikingly lost in the other QG languages. Perhaps related to *hibčau above?

MMo SH---, HY *hi’utan* M60, Muq *uitan* P362b, IV *hiyutan* (?=) L62:32 ‘darkness’. WM *uyitan* L867a. Kh *uytan* H542a. Ord *uitan* M727b. Bur *uytan*

C465b. Kalm *uut'xn* M542b. Dag *x^yaut* E131, NK558b, *šaut* NK519a. EYu *ütan* B22. MgrH *yu:tæn*, *yu:tan* SM495, *wi:tæn*, *wi:tan* SM484. MgrM *xuitaŋ* JL469, cf. *φuitaŋ* C396 'poor'. BaoD *itaŋ* BL3. BaoÑ---. Kgj *uitə* S280a. Dgx *uitaŋ* B18. Mog *itān* W168a, MogMr *itv:n*, MogM *itv̄*: L64:38.

***hibee-** (~ ***ihee-**) 'to protect, defend, to help'. One of the rare words with intervocalic *-h-* in MMo. In spite of the different forms this seems to be a single etymon. The PM forms may have been **pibee-* ~ **pipee-*, which resulted in CM variants **hibee-* ~ **hihee-*. The latter was then dissimilated > **ihee-*. The regular modern form of the variant **pipee-* > **hihee-* would have been **hiee-*, which is not actually attested (and in fact this vowel sequence is not otherwise known).

MMo SH *ihe'e-*, *ihe:-* H81, HY *ihe:-* M62, Muq *hibe:-* P347b, cf. 'Phags-pa *ihe'en* 124b 'protection'. WM *ibege-* L396b, precl. also *igege-* T412. Kh *iveex* H268b. Ord *iwēge:-* (← WM) M390a 'traiter avec bonté'. Bur-?- Kalm *ivāx* (obs) M262a. Remaining lgs---.

***hiče-** 'to be ashamed' Dgx *ɣ-* instead of expected *ś-*. Sino-Mongolian and the QG languages support the reconstruction **hiče-*. The form **hiči-* suggested by one of the Muq forms and one WM spelling is supported by the central languages (because of the development of the preceding **-č-*). Dag *xič-* could be from either form.

MMo SH *hice-* H76, HY *hiče-* M60, Muq *hiči-* P184b, *iči-* P194a, *iče-* P194a. WM *iče-* L397b, *iči-* L398a. Kh *ičix* H282b. Ord *éči-* M250a. Bur *ešexe* C780b. Kalm *ičx* M275b. Dag *xič-* E115, *šič-* Z93b. EYu *hče-* B62, *hije-* J95b. MgrH *śje:-* J95a, X159, *ɣje:-* X169. MgrM *śje-* JL462. BaoD *jiə-* BL83a. BaoÑ *ɣje-* CN152. Kgj *šji-* ~ *hji-* ~ *ji-* S296a. Dgx *ɣižə-* B131, L111a, *šijə-* T143, *ɣižə-* ~ *ɣzə-* BC85:45. Mog---.

hičesün** (?hičöesün**) 'willow'. The MMo forms could be read with long vowels. The vowel length in EYu and MgrH could be secondary, but on the other hand they are supported here by the Bur form. The unconfirmed *-r-* in EYu may be secondary. Monguoric, Kh and Bur suggest the presence of a rounded element. In view of the *-č-* and *-š-*, respectively, Kh and Bur are compatible with the form **(h)öčiesün* suggested by the WM spelling. However, this spelling, which I have not seen elsewhere, may have been introduced after 'prebreaking' **(h)ičöesün* > **(h)öčöesün* had taken place. The semantic generalisation 'willow' > 'tree' in MgrH and Kgj has also occurred in Salar *dal* 'tree'.

MMo SH---, HY *hičesün* M60, Muq *ičesün* P194a, RH *ičesün* 202A20. WM *öčiyesün* LC49a 'poplar'. Kh *öčöös* LC49a 'poplar'. Bur *üšööhe(n)* C520b 'purple willow'. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *hərči:sən* B56, *rči:sən* S666 'willow'. MgrH *śžo:sə* J102b, X166, *śüžo:žə* X158 'tree'. MgrM *śužuesi* DS260b 'willow'. Bao---. Kgj *jasun* S302b 'tree'. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hildü** 'sword' see ***ildü** ~ ***üldü**

***hilidün** ‘tinea, ringworm (skin affliction)’.

MMo---. WM *ilidü(n)* L408a, *ilde* L403b. Kh *yüld* H869a. Ord *elede* ~ *eleji* (?=) M235b. Bur *eldin* C761a, *el'den* C764b. Brg *yuld* U224. Kalm *ildn* M268a. Dag *xild* E115. Remaining lgs---.

***hileü** ‘superfluous, etc.’ see ***hüleü**

***hinie-** ‘to laugh’. The **h-* in the reconstruction is supported by Dag and the QG languages, but is absent in all attested old forms. The geminate in Mog probably reflects an earlier **iñe-*, with the metathesis also seen in **kania-* ‘to cough’, **ünien* ‘cow’.

MMo SH *ine'e-*, *ine:-* H82, HY *ine'e-* M63, Muq *ine:-* P196b, LV *ine:-* P1263. WM *iniye-*, *inige-* L411b, *inege-* L411a. Kh *ineex* H277b. Ord *ene:-* M240a, *ine:-* M386a. Bur *enyeeexe* C768a. Brg *in'ə:-* U26. Kalm *inäx* M270a. Dag *xinä:d-* (reformed on the basis of *xinä:d* ‘joke’) E113. EYu *ni:-* B28, J94b. MgrH *šine-* J95b. MgrM *šini-* JL472. BaoD *šine-* BL83b. BaoGm *šine-* CN86:17, *šene-* CN86:302. BaoGt *šine-* C108, *šne-* CN86:17. BaoGm BaoÑ *šene-* CN86:302. BaoÑ *šine-* CN156. BaoX *ñe-* BC64. Kgj *šine-* S295a. Dgx *šinie-* B124. Mog *inna:-* R29b, *inΛ-* W167b.

***hir** ‘edge of a knife’, with several unexpected developments. The final vowel in Bur and the *e* in EYu are both irregular. In the Mongghul form both the loss of the **h-* and the preservation of **i* are unexpected. Elsewhere in Shirongol **kituga aman*, lit. ‘knife mouth’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *irte* 187C14 ‘sharp’ from **hir-tei* ‘having an edge’. WM *ir* L412b. Kh *ir* H277b, Chakhar *ir* D168a. Ord *i:r* M386a. Bur *eri* (sic) C771b. Brg *ir* U29b. Kalm *ir* M272a. Dag *xir* E115. EYu *her* J95a, [*qutağa'i:n*] *her* B65 (**kituga* ‘knife’). MgrH *ir* X14. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *sidu* (?=) B126 ‘sharp’ if from **hir-tü*. Mog---.

***hiröe-** ‘to wish well, to bless’. With palatal breaking in the three central standard languages, but with ‘prebreaking’ (without *y-*) in Ordos. In EYu no *y-* was expected in view of the fact that **i* was not in initial position. No breaking in Dagur, and in view of the *ś*, the rounding in MgrH was relatively recent, as it took place after the development **h > ś* before *i*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hire:-* P185a, LV *hire-* (?), could possibly be read instead of *har-*, *habar-*, *habur-* proposed by Poppe and Saitô) P75. WM *irüge-* (?*iröge-*) L415b ‘to wish well, etc’. Kh *yöröox* H202a. Ord *örö:-* M538b. Bur *yürööxe* C782b, *üryeeexe* C512a, *ürööxe* C513a. Brg *yurə:-* U224. Kalm *yöräx* M281b. Dag *xirə:-* E115 also ‘to curse’, *xiruə-* NK559b. EYu---. MgrH *šüro:-* X158, SM402. Remaining lgs---.

***hiröer/*hiröel** ‘wish; prayer; curse’. From the verb **hiröe-* above. The form with *-l* due to dissimilation.

MMo SH *hiru'er* H76 ‘prayer &c’, HY---, Muq *hire:r* P185b. WM *irügel* (?*irögel*) L415b, *irüger* (?*iröger*) L416a. Kh *yörööl* (written *yerööl*) H202a. Ord

örö:l M539a. Bur *yürööl* (written *yurööl*) C782b, *üryeel* C512a, *ürööl* C513a. Brg *yurə:l* U224. Kalm *yöräl* M281b. Dag *xirə:l* E115. EYu *hörö:r* B58.

***hodun** ‘star’. This word features various phonetic peculiarities in the modern languages. The secondary vowel length in MgrH and BaoÑ is in this case not found in EYu. The *-t-* in MgrM-Bao-Kgj (for which compare **modun*) is unexplained. These two developments can not be used to emend the CM reconstruction. Perhaps most striking is the EYu *p-*, which may be a relic from the PM period. Perhaps **hodun* contains the (collective?) suffix **-dUn*, so that the PM root may have been **po-*.

MMo SH *hodun* H76, HY *hodun* M60, Muq *hodun* P185b. WM *odu(n)* L600b. Kh *od(on)* H388a. Ord *udu* M722b. Bur *odo(n)* C350a. Brg *ɔd* U33. Kalm *odn* M393b. Dag *xɔd* E119, *xɔdɔ* NK561b, *χɔd* Z93b. EYu *hɔdɔ̃n* B57, *hodən* J95a, *pɔdən* BJ339, *podən* Z308:5. MgrH *fo:də* J95a, MgrM *xotu* J88. BaoD *hotuŋ* BL83a. BaoGt *hoti* C107. BaoJ *hotɿ* L82. BaoÑ *hə:taŋ* CN68, cf. *taŋ* in *anʒisəŋ taŋ* CN3 ‘triple star’, lit ‘plough star(s)’. Kgj *futɔ ~ hutɔ ~ ɸutɔ* S285a. Dgx *xoduŋ* B60, L111a, *xodun* T139. Mog---.

***hogtal-** ‘to cut, harvest; to fell’. Note the Bur-Kalm form which lost the preconsonantal **-g-*. Could the Kalm form with *u-* be due to the influence of *utx* ‘knife’? The **h-* is not confirmed in the modern languages. Like the EYu *q-*, the *h*, *h*, *ɕ* in the Shirongol forms may only reflect the CM **-g-*; at an rate they may merely be the last remnant of the devoiced syllable without specifically preserving **h-*. The *-l* is the transitive suffix. There are also an intransitive **hogtara-* and an intensive **hogtačir-*, as in MMo SH *hohtoci-* H76 ‘to cut, mince’.

MMo SH *hohtal-* H76, HY---, Muq *oqtal-* P268a, *oqtul-* P185b, LV *hotqal-* P74, IV---. WM *oytol-* L602a, *oytal-* L601b. Kh *ogtlox* H387b. Ord *ogtol-* M508a. Bur *otolxo* C365b. Brg *ɔtol-* U33, *ɔgtol-* U32. Kalm *utlx* M540a. Dag---. EYu *qutul-* B65, *qudol-* J95a. MgrH *ɕdolə-* J95a. MgrM *futar-* (?=) C381, *sudur-* (?=) DS215. BaoD *hdolə-* T151. BaoJ *xodal-* L212 ‘to cut deep’. BaoÑ *hdəl-* CN72, *ɕdəl-* CN151. BaoX *dolə-* BC62, *hdəl-* CN86:229. Kgj *dɔr- ~ dur-* S299b, *dər-* S20 ‘to fell’. Dgx *otolu-* B15, L111a. Mog---.

***hoi** ‘forest’. Preserved in all of Shirongol, but lost in Dag, EYu and Mog.

MMo SH *hoi* H77, HY *hoi* M61, Muq---. WM *oi* L603b. Kh *oy* H388b. Bur *oy* C350a. Kalm *ö* (obs) M408a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *fui:* J95a, *fui* X59, *fi:* X59, *fe:* SM99, *xvi* X75, *fri* C88:34. MgrM *χoi* T369, *xuai* DS224a. BaoD *hi* BL81a ‘mountain’. BaoÑ *hi:* CN67 ‘forest’. BaoX *fi* CN86:229 ‘forest’. Kgj *he* S286b. Dgx *xoi* P416a. Mog---.

***hokar** ‘short’. The *h-* is not well represented in MMo, and the QG languages may have developed it under the influence of *-k-*, so that the Dag form is the only unambiguous basis for the reconstruction. The relationship between this word and central Mongolic **akur* ‘short’ is unclear. If it were not for the Muq form, they could be taken to represent original variants **hukar ~ *hakur*.

MMo SH *oqor* H122, HY *oqor* M81, Muq *oqar* P267a, *oyar* P262b, *oyor* P262b [also *aqar* P103b], LV *hoqar* P76, IV *hoqa* (sic) L62:32, [Ph *aqar* T137].

WM *oqor* L626a. Kh *oxor* H401b [and *axar* H36b]. Ord [*aχur* M9b]. Bur *oxor* C366a [and *axar* C65b]. Brg---. Kalm [*axrxn* M58a]. Dag *x^wakər* E134, Z93b. EYu *hğər* B59, *χoğor* J95a. MgrH *χğuar* J95a, *χğar* J55, *χuğuor* SM179, *χuğor* T376, *χoğur* X77, *χğor* X82. MgrM *qoğvar* (sic) C379, *χuğor* T376. BaoD *gor* BL83a. BaoGt *gor* C142. BaoÑ *ğor* CN88. BaoX *gor* BC62. Kgj *χər* ~ *χuar* S285b. Dgx *oqo* B13, L111a. Mog *uqar* R41a, *ɔqar* W175a.

***hon** ‘(the duration of a) year’. Cf. **jil* ‘(calendar) year’, **nasun* ‘year (of age)’. The Dagur vowel length is not confirmed elsewhere.

MMo SH *hon* H77, HY *hon* M61, Muq *hon* P185a, LV *hon* P77, IV *hon* L62:32, Ph *hon* P124b. WM *on* L611b. Kh *on* H393a. Ord *on* M511b. Bur *on* C355b. Kalm *on* (obs) M397a. Dag *xɔ:n* E115, *χɔ:n* Z105a, *χɔ:ŋ* Z93a. EYu *hɔn* B57, *hon* J95a. MgrH *fon* J95a, *fæn* SM98, *χuæn* SM174, *fan* X58, *fon* X59. MgrM *xuan* C376. BaoD *hoŋ* BL83b, *xoŋ* T149. BaoÑ *hoŋ* CN68. Kgj *hon* ~ *huŋ* S286b. Dgx *xoŋ* B59, *xuan* B61 (these two notations represent the same pronunciation). Mog---.

***horai** ‘crown of the head; top, summit’. The *-b-* in BaoÑ and the *-əu* (instead of *ai*) in Dgx are unexpected.

MMo SH [*horaitala* H77 q.v.], HY---, Muq *horai* P183b ‘fontanel, skull suture’, LV---, IV---, RH *horai* 198B14. WM *oroi* L621b. Kh *oroy* H397b. Ord *orö*: M522a. Bur *oroy* C361a. Kalm *ora* M400a. Dag *xər* E120 (?←Manchu). EYu *hərui* B57, *horoi* J6. MgrH *fure*: C86:574, *uri*: SM475, cf. *so:ri*: (sic) X136. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *həbrə* (?=) CN69. Kgj---. Dgx *fərəu* B51. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *urai* 1:8a.

***horčī-** ‘to turn (intr); to go’. Although several languages, including MMo Muq, have both **horčī-* and **očī-* type forms, this verb may be the origin of **očī-* > **ečī-* ‘to go’. Interestingly a third form **yorčī-* (similar-looking but unrelated) is found in some MMo sources: SH *yorci-* H171 ‘to go’, HY *yorčī-* M111 ‘to go’, RH *yorčī-* 188C25, Ph *yorčī-* P133b ‘to go, proceed, ride’. cf. **ečī-* (**očī-*) and **od-*.

MMo SH *horci-* H77 ‘to encircle; to turn (intr)’, HY---, Muq *horčī-* P186a ‘to turn, to go’, *orčī-* P269b ‘to turn, to go’, LV *horčī-* P75 ‘to turn (intr.)’. WM *orčī-* L616b. Kh *orčix* H400a ‘to turn around, revolve, rotate’. Ord---. Bur--- [*oršoxo* (lit) (?=) C365a ‘to enter, etc’ is from **orasī-*]. Kalm *orčī-* (rare) R290b ‘to turn (intr)’. Dag *xərč-* E123. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *oçira-* (?=) B15. Mog *orčī-* R35b ‘to go way, leave’, *orčī-* W175a ‘to go’, *určī-* W183a ‘to go’.

***horčīul-** ‘to turn (tr.)’. Caus. of **horčī-* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *horča’ul-* P186a, *horčī’ul-* P186b, *horčil-* P186a, *orča’ul-* P269b, *orčī’ul-* P270b, LV *horču:l-* P75 ‘to turn (tr.)’. WM *orčiyul-* L616b. Kh *orčuulax* H400b ‘to rotate; to translate’. Ord *orču:l-* M522b ‘to translate’. Bur *oršuulxa* C365a ‘to translate’. Kalm *orčulx* M406b ‘to translate’. Dag [*xurča:-* E131 could represent an alternative caus. **horčīa-*]. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *əčəl-* CN18. Kgj *əčə-* S280b. Dgx *oçulu-* B16. Mog *orču:l-* R35b.

***horgi-** ‘to boil, to bubble, to gush forth’. According to SM, MgrH *śjola-* ‘to boil’ is the same word as **horgil-* (inchoat. *orgila-??*), cf. Kh *orgilox* H396b. It seems that **bučal-* is a better etymology for the MgrH verb. Dgx *xorolo-* MC163b ‘for water to make a noise before boiling’ was probably newly formed from an onomatopoeic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *orgi-* L618a. Kh *orgix* H396b ‘to spurt, gush forth, etc’. Bur *or’yołxo* C365a. Kalm-?- . Dag---. EYu *hōrgə-* B57 ‘to boil’. MgrH (see remark above). Dgx (see above). Remaining lgs---.

***horgu-** ‘to flee’. Absent in Mog and the QG languages, perhaps apart from Mangghuer. Cf. **dutaa-* ‘id’ used in a number of other languages.

MMo SH *horqu-* H77, HY---, Muq *horyu-* P186b, *horyuul-* (caus) P186b, *oryu-* P265b, RH *horyodasun* 204A27 ‘fugitive’. WM *oryu-* L617b. Kh *orgox* H396b. Ord *urgu-* M739b. Bur *orgoxo* C359b. Kalm *oryx* M402a. Dag *xəɣʷ-* E122 ‘to hide (oneself)’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *xorgo-* (?=) P419b ‘to gallop’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***horĩa-** ‘to bind, wind, spin, wrap’ Most languages go back to a form with assimilated diphthong **hōraa-* (> **horo:-*). The palatal element of *-ĩa-* is retained in Buriat.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hora:-qčī* P238b (nomen agentis). WM *oriya-* L618a, *oroɣa-* L621a. Kh *oroox* H398b. Ord *oro:-* M520a. Bur *oryooxo* C360a, *oroyxo* C361b. Kalm *orax* M401a. Dag---. EYu *horo:-* J95b, *xəɣ:-* B50. MgrH *furo:-* J95b, SM111, *χuro:-* SM185. MgrM *xoro-* JL475, *xoro-* in *aqar xoroku xulusi* P421b (s.v. *cevka*) ‘spool for a loom’. BaoD *χorə-* BL83b. BaoÑ *həɣə-* CN70. Kgj *huru-* S286b. Dgx *xoro-* B60, L111b, T139. Mog---.

?***höčügedür** ‘yesterday’ see ***öčügedür**

***hödün** ‘feather’. The MgrH vowel length is secondary. The striking EYu form with *p-* was retracted by the authors. This word may contain the (collective?) suffix *-dUn*, in which case a PM root **pə-* may be assumed. In Dagur an additional ending *-sUn* was added.

MMo SH *odun* H121, HY *ödün* M83, Muq *hödün* P327b, LV *ödün* P327b, IV *ödün* L62:60 ‘feather of an arrow’, RH *ödün* 205A4. WM *ödü(n)* L630a. Kh *öd(ön)* H406b. Ord *üdü* M748a. Bur *üde(n)* C494b. Kalm *ödn* M412b. Dag *xudus* E129, *χudusʷ* Z94a. EYu *hodən* B58, J96a, *pədən* B40 (BJ339 instructs the reader to strike this variant). MgrH *fə:də* J96b. MgrM---. BaoD *hotuŋ* BL84a. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *xoduŋ* B60, L112a. Mog---.

***höeljin** (**böeljin*, **höbeljin*, **böbeljin*) ‘hoopoe’. This word owes some of its many variant forms to its obviously onomatopoeic nature, and some to the interaction between spoken and written forms. Nevertheless, most forms could ultimately go back to a PM form **pöpeljin* (as suggested by Ramstedt in his Kalmuck dictionary). Independent attempts to reflect the hoopoe’s call are present in Dag *əpɔ:pi:* E38 ‘hoopoe’, Dgx *xuma* ‘*bubu*’ B64 ‘hoopoe’, and possibly Dgx *‘binbinči’* (?=) MC38 ‘name of a kind of bird’.

MMo SH---, HY---, ZY *ü:göljin Kara333 ‘hoopoe’, *hübü’elčin Kara272 ‘cormorant, heron’, Muq hö’öljin sara P186b ‘jumāda ’l-’āḥīr (6th lunar month)’, LV---, IV---, RH hö:ljin [eds read short ö] 200B8 ‘hoopoe’, cf. öheljin 201A12 ‘the third month of spring’, Ph---. WM öbeljin L627a, ögeljin L631b, böbegeljin L123b, bübegeljin/bübügeljin (so read) L143b. Kh bövöölj(in) H74a, büveeljin H88a, övöölj H403b, övgöljinö H402a. Ord ö:ljin M530b, ö:lji: sara ‘twelfth month (last winter month)’. Bur büböölžen C120a. Brg uβə:lʃ U47. Kalm ö:ljin, öwä:ljin R304b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH barbaržin SM20 ‘hoopoe’, barbalžin X46 ‘woodpecker’ (sic). Kgj bəbəçi S284a.

höesün** (höersün**) ‘pus, matter’. The word is found in the central languages, MMo, Dagur, and Shirongol, but absent in EYu. However, the identification of the Monguoric forms and the MMo forms in Arabic script is not entirely certain, some may involve a connection with *usun ‘water’ or *üsün ‘milk’. Enkhbat compares Dag x^wə:s to WM kögesün ‘foam, froth etc’. Indeed Dag x^wə:s is also attested with this meaning, suggesting that *höesün and *köesün have merged phonetically in Dagur. Cf. *idee ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IM hö:sün (?hü:sün) P438a ‘sperm’, LV he:sün P74 ‘pus’, RH hö:sün (eds. read husun) 186c12 ‘semen’. WM ögesü(n) L632a. Kh öörs H415b. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag x^wə:s E135. EYu---. MgrH (Danma dialect) sun DS248b ‘semen’. MgrM soŋ DS248b ‘semen’. BaoD hosun BL83b. BaoJ hosun L82 ‘seminal fluid’. Kgj husun S286b. Dgx hosun B66, xosun L111b. Mog---.

***högi-** (?) ‘to hit, strike, beat’. Note the peculiar distribution of this word in Muq, Mog and a number of QG languages. It is difficult to derive all forms from a single CM form, and perhaps they are best viewed as a set of loosely related onomatopoeics. However, there is no overlap between the variants. EYu suggests a monosyllabic form *hög-; Baoanic suggests unrounded forms, perhaps *eki- and *ig-. The verb *ki- ‘to do’ may have been originally involved in the formation of *högi-, as is perhaps suggested by Kalm üg ge- R455b ‘to suddenly threaten to hit’. The QG forms were compared by Chen Naixiong and Bökh to MMo SH aš(i)gi- H9 ‘to hit’, which is phonetically impossible (cf. Kh asgix H34a ‘to beat, hit lightly’). In view of the fact that Ord ög- (< *ög-) ‘to give’ also has ‘to hit’ (donner des coups) among its meanings, *högi- may have merged with *ög- rather than simply dying out. However, the verbs ‘to hit’ and ‘to give’ did not merge anywhere in the QG languages. All in all this is reminiscent of the etymologically problematic Turkic verbs *ber- ‘to give’ and *ber- ‘to hit’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq ögi- (or ügi-, öki-, different readings in Poppe, including oki-, which he corrected in the index) P375a, P229b, ögü-kči P205a. WM---. Kh---. Ord (see above). Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu xəg- B50, xog- B51, hog- J21. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD ekə- BL62. BaoJ sgə- L168. BaoGm iχ- CN86:227. Baoŋ yiχ- CN218. BaoX xgə- BC70, xgə- CN86:173. Kgj i- ~ iŋ- S279b. Dgx əği- B8, aği- L68. Mog uggh- R41b; note Leech’s hug- ‘heat’ corrected in ‘beat’ by Ligeti.

***höŋkeri-** ‘to roll, tumble’. Apart from the absence in MMo well attested. The character of the final vowel is unclear. Mgr, MgrM, BaoÑ favour **höŋkere-*; Dgx suggests *-i*; BaoD and BaoX suggest a disyllabic form. The *h-* could be secondary in Shirongol, but it is confirmed by Dagur. The preconsonantal *-m-* suggested by some of the WM spellings is not confirmed anywhere in modern Mongolic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *ömkere-*, *ömkeri-*, *ömköri-* L635b, *öŋkeri-*, *öŋköri-* L639a. Kh *önxröx* H414a. Ord *öŋkörö-* M536b. Bur---. Brg *uŋkär-* U46. Kalm *öŋkr-* R297b. Dag *xunkir-* E83:95b, *xunkir-* NK563b. EYu---. MgrH *ŋguro:-* X42 ‘roll; lie down’. MgrM *xoŋgur-* C374, *xongur-* P424, *ŋangere-* T373. BaoD *xəŋgər-* T150 ‘to lie down’, *ŋgər-* T145 ‘to lie; to sleep’. BaoGt *hoŋgär-* C137. BaoÑ *həŋgəra-* CN68 ‘roll, tumble; trip’. BaoX *xoŋgar-* BC71. Kgj *həŋgəre-* ~ *həŋgəri-* S286b ‘to roll; to lie down’. Dgx *hoŋgieri-* B66 ‘to fall, tumble’, *xuŋguri-* T139 ‘to trip, stumble’. Mog---.

***hörüm** ‘drill, auger’. The Ord variant *öröm* would normally represent **hörem*; the other Ord form agrees with the high vowel in MgrH.

MMo SH---, HY---, ZY **hörüm* (Kara 298), Muq---, RH *erim* [eds. read thus] 204C14. WM *öröm* L644a. Kh *öröm* H418b. Ord *öröm* M539b, *ürüm* M764a. Bur *ürem* C514b. Kalm *örm* M424b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ŋarin* SM163. Remaining lgs---.

***hötü ~ *hödü** ‘larva, maggot; worm’. Several older forms must have existed, apparently none of them attested in older sources. The literary central languages suggest **ötün*. Dag suggests **hödü*. The Baoanic forms suggest **hödüg ~ *hötüg*. MgrH suggests **höd*. Róna-Tas proposes a Tibetan etymology for this word (cf. RT 1966, No. 142), while Khasbaatar suggests a relationship with **korakaï*, Čenggeltei derives it from a Chinese *fēng(r)* ‘wasp’, which are all unlikely. MgrM may stem from **hötü* or **hötüg*. EYu, if the same word, supports the monosyllabic form of Mgr. Cf. also the Zirni and Kundur manuscripts.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ötü(n)* L646b. Kh *öt(ön)* H421a, cf. Chakhar *ot* D172b. Ord *ütü* M765a. Bur *üte(n)* C516a. Kalm *ötn* M427b. Dag *xud* E129, *χud^w* Z94a, surprisingly also *ut* (perhaps from central Mongolic) E47. EYu *hö:d* (?=) B331 ‘penis’, *öt* [only] S550 ‘maggot’. MgrH *fod* J96b, *far* X59, SM99 ‘maggot in meat’, *fod ~ for ~ far* C86:573 ‘fly’. MgrM *xotu* JL476. BaoD *hodəg* BL84b. BaoÑ *xətəg* CN158 ‘maggot in meat’. Kgj---. Dgx *xodəu* B59, L112b, T139. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *wöd* (21:7), Kundur manuscript *höd* (24-6a) ‘worm’.

***huǰaur ~ *hiǰaur** ‘root; origin, source’. Both variants can be found in old sources and in modern languages. It is not clear which is older. In Shirongol, Mongghul seems to have developed from **hiǰaur*, while BaoÑ is in agreement with **huǰaur* (although it lost the initial). See also **ündüsün* for the literal meaning ‘root’. Not to be confused with **hüǰüür* ‘tip, end’ and **učir* ‘cause, reason’.

MMo SH *huja’ur* H78, HY *huja’ur* M61, Muq *hija’ur* P184a, *uǰa’ur* P163a, LV (?) *huǰawur* P76, IV *huǰaur* L62:33, RH *huǰaur* 202A17, Ph *huja’ur* P124b. WM *iǰayur* L418b. Kh *uzuur* H541b, *yoזור* H203b, *yazguur* H875a. Ord *iǰo:r* M579b ‘bottom, base, etc’, *iǰu:r* M580a ‘origin, etc’, *uǰu:r* M724a ‘once upon a time’. Bur *uzuur* C464a ‘root etc’, *izaguur* (←WM) C276a ‘origin etc’. Kalm *yozur*

M280a. Dag *xɔʃɔ:r* E120. EYu---. MgrH *śʒau:r* J96a, *śʒiu:r* SM392. MgrM *zor* JL472, *zur* DS206a (**hüjüür* has developed the same shape). BaoD---. BaoÑ *əʒər* CN18 ‘root’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hula** (?**huula*) ‘tinder, etc’. Kh, Bur, and Dag suggest a long vowel; the *h-* is based on both Dagur and Monguoric. Cf. **kete*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ula* L868b. Kh *uul* H556a. Ord *ula* M728a. Bur *uula* C480b (translation misprinted *trup* for *trut* ‘tinder’), *ula* C465b. Brg *ɔ:l* U35. Kalm *ul* M530a. Dag *x^wa:l* E132 ‘tinder grass, punk’. EYu---. MgrH *fula* SM105, J5 ‘mugwort/artemisia’, *fula* X61 ‘Chinese mugwort; tinder’. MgrM *xola* [xɔʊʒi] C376. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hulaan** ‘red’.

MMo SH *hula'an* H78, HY *hula'an* M61, Muq *hula'an*, *hula:n* P187a, *ula:n* P363a, LV *hula:n* P76, *hulaan* 77, IV---. WM *ulayan* L869b. Kh *ulaan* H543a. Ord *ula:n* M729a. Bur *ulaan* C466a. Kalm *ulan* M530b. Dag *xula:n* E126. EYu *la:n* B88, J96a. MgrH *fula:n* SM105, J96b. MgrM *xulan* J88, *χulan* T370. BaoD *fulan* BL83b, *fəlan* T148. BaoÑ *fulan* CN55. BaoX *fəlan* BL65. Kgj *fulɔ* S285a. Dgx *xulan* B63, *xulan* L111a, T139, *fulan* (Longquan) B54. Mog *ulo:n* R41a.

***hulai-** ‘to become red’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hulai-* P187a, LV---, IV---. WM *ulayi-* L870a. Kh *ulayx* H543b. Bur *ulayxa* C467b. Kalm *ulax* M531a. Dag *x^wali:-* E134. EYu *lai-* BJ335. MgrH *fulie:-* SM105, *fule:-* X61. BaoD---. BaoÑ *fule:-* CN56. BaoX *fəli-* BL62. Kgj---. Dgx *xuli-* B63. Mog---.

***huliasun** ‘poplar, aspen’. In Dag both the *-r-* and the absence of *h-* are surprising. Cf. also Dag *xɔlurda:n* E119 ‘poplar’, which stems from a Northern Tungusic form **holo-gda:n*.

MMo SH---, HY---, ZY *huliasun* Kara 299, Muq---, LV---, IV---, RH *huliyasun* 202A21. WM *uliyasu(n)* L873a. Kh *ulias(an)* H544b. Ord *ula:su* M729b. Bur *ulyaaha(n)* C468b ‘aspen’ (& *ulyaangir* ‘poplar’). Kalm *ulasn* M531a. Dag *ɔ^le:rs* E38 ‘poplar’, *ɔ^le:s* Z10 ‘old poplar’. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *xulasun* B63, *xulasun* L111a ‘poplar’. Mog---.

***humba-** ‘to swim’. The *-p-* in Dagur may well be a relic from PM (cf. **elbeg* for a similar case). If this is the case, the earlier **p* may have triggered the appearance of *h-* in QG. However, the Dagur *x-* can not be explained away like this. The final long vowel in Dagur is inexplicable.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *unba-* [Poppe: *onba-*] P266b, LV---, IV---. WM *umba-* L874b, *ombo-* L610b. Kh *umbax* H546a. Ord---. Bur *umbaxa* C469a. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *xunpa:-* E124, *xumpa:-* E128, *xɔmpa:-* (sic) Z93a, *umpa:-* E83:220b. EYu *mba-* B96, *umba-* J95a. MgrH *xomba:-* X78, *xumba-* J96a. MgrM (*u*)*mba-* JL467, *umba-* T377, *muba-* DS254b. BaoD *mba-* BL83a. BaoÑ *mba:-* CN120. Dgx *unba-* B19, L111a, *funba-* (Longquan) B52. MogMr, MogM *umbr:-* L64:37.

***hunin** ‘smoke’. The distribution is interesting: **hunin* is attested in MMo, Bur, Dag, and the Shirongol languages, but absent in Kh, Kalm, and EYu. There is a related form **huniar*, which is found in the central languages, and may also be present in Dag *xɔn^ye:tɔ-* NK560a ‘to be covered in mist’ from **huniartu-*. Cf. **hutaa* ‘smoke’.

MMo SH *huni* H79, HY *hunin* M61, Muq *hunin* P187b, LV---, IV *hunin* L62:34. WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur *uni(n)* C470b. Kalm---. Dag *xɔn^y* E117, Z94a. EYu---. MgrH *fune* J96b, *funi* SM107; MgrM *xuni* J88, *χuni* T371. BaoD *fune* BL84b, *fənə* T149. BaoJ *honé* L81. BaoÑ *funəŋ* CN55, *hunəŋ* CN70. Kgj *funi* ~ *funi* S284b. Dgx *funi* L111a. Mog---.

***hunu-** ‘to ride on horseback; to mount’. The **h-* is confirmed by MMo, EYu, Mgr, Bao; it can presently not be explained as a secondary development. A rare case of disagreement between Bao and Dgx.

MMo SH *unq-* H165, HY---, Muq *unu-* P365a, LV *unu-* P1261, IV---. WM *unu-* L877b. Kh *unax* H546b. Ord *unu-* M736a. Bur *unaxa* C470a. Brg *on-* U37. Kalm *unx* M534b. Dag *ɔnu-* E37, *ɔnə-* Z93b. EYu *hɔnə-* B57, *hunə-* J95b. MgrH *funə-* J95b, *funi-* SM107, *foni-* SM100, *χoni-* SM183. MgrM *uni-* JL461, T371. BaoD *χonə-* BL83b. BaoÑ *hənə-* CN68. BaoX *xonə-* BC62. Kgj *une-* ~ *uni-* S280a. Dgx *unu-* B19, L111b. Mog *uni-* R41a.

***hunḡu-** ‘to break wind, fart’. The WM spelling with *-a* is historically incorrect. The *ɔ* < **u* in Kalm, EYu, BaoÑ may be due to the following *-ŋ-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hunqu-* P187b, *unqu-* P98b, LV *hunḡu-* P76, IV *hunyu-* L62:34. WM *ungya-* L876b. Kh *ungax* H547a. Ord *unḡu-* M736b. Bur *ungaxa* C470a. Brg *oŋg-* U38. Kalm *oŋḡx* M399a. Dag *xɔŋg^w-* E118. EYu *hɔŋḡə-* B57, *hoŋḡə-* J95b. MgrH---. MgrM *xunḡu-* DS222. BaoD *hunḡə-* BL83a. BaoÑ *hoŋḡə-* CN68. Kgj *hunḡu-* S286b. Dgx *hunḡu-* B67. Mog *unḡu-* W134a, MogM *unḡu-* L62:34.

***hunḡusun** ‘fart’. From **hunḡu-* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *hunqusun* P76, IV---, RH *hunyasun* 199B4. WM *ungyasu(n)* L876b, *ungyusu(n)* L877a. Kh *ungas* H547a. Ord *unḡus(u)* M737a. Bur *ungaha(n)* C470a. Brg *oŋgɔ:* ~ *oŋgor* (sic) U38. Kalm *oŋyāsɳ* R287b. Dag *xɔŋḡus* E118. EYu *hɔŋḡəsən* B57. MgrH *ŋḡosə* J95b. MgrM *xunḡuzə* JL470, *xunḡusi* DS222. BaoD---. BaoÑ *hoŋḡəsəŋ* CN68. Kgj *hunḡusun* S286b. Dgx *hunḡusun* B67. Mog---.

huraka** (?hurika**) ‘lasso, noose, snare, trap’. In spite of the phonetic and semantic similarity to **uurga* ‘pole for catching horses’, these are different words.

MMo SH *huraqa-la-* H79, HY---, Muq *uruqa* P367b, *uruqu* (sic) P351a. WM *uraqa(n)* L880a, *uriqa(n)* L884a ‘net, snare for catching birds’. Kh *urxi(n)* H552b ‘net, snare for catching birds’. Ord *uraxa* M737b. Bur *ur'xa* C478a. Brg *orix* U41. Kalm *urx* M537b ‘lasso’. Dag *x^wark* E135, *wark* E335. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hurba-** ‘to turn (around) (intr)’. In Dag the verb is missing, but the adjectives *x^warpa*: E83:91, *xurpa*: E83:96b ‘with sore, everted eyes’, *x^warpəγər* E83:91 ‘sore, everted (of eyelids)’ derive from it, in which case the original form of the verb may have been **hurpa-* < PM **purpa-*. The adj. **hurba-gar* also occurs in Kh and Bur with similar meanings.

MMo SH *hurba-* H79, HY *hurba-* M61, Muq *hurba-* P187b, *urba-* P366a, LV---, IV---. WM *urba-* L880a. Kh *urvax* H550a. Ord *urwa-* M743a. Bur *urbaxa* C473b. Kalm *urvx* M535a ‘to betray; to change’. Dag (see above). EYu *hurβa-* J78, *harβa-* BJ330. MgrH *fura-*: X62. MgrM *xurba-* DS221 ‘to fall’. Bao---. Dgx *fura-* MC104a, *fura-*: Ibr75. Mog---.

hurbī** (?hurbai**) ‘sling (for hurling stones), slingshot’. A word limited to Shirongol. It is difficult to reduce all of the documented forms to a single reconstruction form. Kgj *χ-* normally stems from **k-*, not from **h-*. The MMo form with its additional syllable and lack of **h-* may be unrelated to. Although absent in EYu, it is found in Western Yugur as *horve* (~ *horeş*) L222b/223a. The ultimate origin of this word is unclear. Both the MMo and the Shirongol forms are reminiscent of Kipchak *orbu* ‘ballista’ in the Codex Cumanicus (80v:26-1). Also semantically similar, but impossible to connect phonetically, is Central Mongolic. **karbuur* (from **karbu-* ‘to shoot’): Kh *xarvuul* H619b ‘a device for shooting projectiles, ballista’, Bur *xarbuur*, *xarbuul* C554a ‘toy arrow’. Given that the word is present in Dgx, a loanword related to LT **ur-rdo*, Amdo **ur-ča* (Roerich 159) is less likely.

MMo HY *orbu’ur* (?=) M81 ‘ballista’. MgrH *fure*: X62. MgrM (Sanchuan) *xurbi* P418b. Bao---. Kgj *χəbre* S285b ‘cannon’ or ‘ballista’ (? , Chinese pàor) . Dgx *fərau* B51, *hərgəi* MC156b, *hərbəi*, *hərbi* MC156a/b.

***huruu** ‘downward; downstream’. The palatal element in the Kalm and EYu forms seem to suggest an older **hurüu* or **hurui*. Cf. **dɔara*, **hira* (s.v. **hira*ur).

MMo SH *huru’u* H79, HY---, Muq *huru*: P188a, *uru*: P368b, LV---, IV---. WM *uruγu* L886a. Kh *uruu* H552a. Ord *uru*: M742a. Bur *uruu* C477b, *oruu* C363b. Brg *orv*: U42. Kalm *ürü* M555a. Dag *xərc*: E121, Z94b. EYu *horui* B58, *xorui* B51, *həru* BJ331, *hurü*: J95b, *hörü*: S221. MgrH *furu* SM112, *furə* J95b. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *furu* B55, T138. Mog---.

***huruul** ‘lip(s)’. Bur-Kalm suggest an older form **hurul* with short vowel. Dagur has short and long forms. The length in HY and Muq was assumed on the basis of Kh, but can not be proven from the respective MMo spellings, so that these MMo forms may represent the variant **hurul* of Bur-Kalm. EYu *hɔrəl* B57 ‘dimple’, *χo:lor* S422 ‘inside of the cheek’ is unlikely to be related; the WYu equivalent *halvīr* L219b also points to a different phonetic history of this word. Cf. **kosīun* ‘beak, snout’, and **kirbei* ‘edge’ which are now used for ‘lips’ in some languages.

MMo SH---, HY *huru:l* M61, Muq *huru:l* P188a, LV *huru:l* P75, IV *huru:l* L62:34, RH *hurul* [eds. read *hürül*] 198B28. WM *uruγul* L886a. Kh *uruul* H552b. Ord *uru:l* M742b. Bur *ural* C472a. Brg *oral* U41. Kalm *url* M536b. Dag *xəllə* E119, Z94b, *xərul* E122, *xərc:l* NK560b. EYu (see above). MgrH *uro:l* C88:570. MgrM---.

Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *furun* B55, *furəu*, *furu* MC104b. Mog *ulur* R41a, MogM *ulu'r*, MogMr *uru'l* L62:34.

***hutasun** ‘thread’. In EYu easily confused with forms of **sudasun* q.v. EYu-MgrH share secondary vowel length. A rare case of Baoan-type secondary *n*- in Kgj.

MMo SH---, HY *hudasun* M61, Muq *utasun* P370b, IbnMuh *hutasun* P438b, LV---, IV *hutasun* L62:34, RH *hutasun* [eds. read *huta:sun*] 205C2. WM *utasu(n)* L888b. Kh *utas (utsan)* H554b. Ord *utas(u)* M745a. Bur *utaha(n)* C480a. Brg *otō*: U40. Kalm *utcn* M540b. Dag---. EYu *sda:sən* B104, *hda:sən* J96a. MgrH *ṣda:sə* J96b, *sda:zə*, *ṣda:zə* T358. MgrM in *lumune utasī* P420b ‘bowstring’. BaoD *ndasun* BL83b. BaoGt *ndasun* C130. BaoÑ *ṣdasəŋ* CN149. Kgj *ndasun* ~ *dasun* S282b. Dgx *utasun* B22, *utasun* L111a. Mog---.

***hutū-** ‘to emit smoke’. Not attested in MMo, but the modern distribution points at an old word. Dag suggests that the **h-* is old, but the QG forms could have developed it secondarily. Chén also connects BaoÑ *hta:-* CN71 ‘to lead into a trap’, but this is phonetically and semantically problematic (although WM *utu-* also means ‘to smoke out (animals)’).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *utu-* L888b. Kh *utax* H554b. Ord *utu-* M745a. Bur *utaxa* C479b. Kalm *utx* M540a. Dag *xət-* E119, Z94a. EYu *hdu-* J96a, BJ331, *χdu-* S683. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ (see above). Kgj *puta-* ~ *puda-* S284b. Dgx *fudu-* MC98b. Mog---.

***hutua** (> **hutaa*) ‘smoke’. Elsewhere **hunin* is used.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *utuya(n)* L889a, *utaya(n)* L888b. Kh *utaa(n)* H554b. Ord *uta:* M744b. Bur *utaa(n)* C479b. Brg *ota:* U40. Kalm *utan* M539b. Dag *xuta:* T180. EYu *hta:* B60, *hda:* J96b, BJ331. Remaining lgs---.

***huuta** ‘bag, sack’. If the HY form was indeed intended to be read *huhuta*, the PM form may have been **puputa*.

MMo SH---, HY *huquta* (or rather *huhuta*?) M61, Muq *u:ta* P372b, RH *hu:ta* 204C16. WM *uyuta* L865a, *uuta* L890b. Kh *uut* H557b. Ord *u:ta* M744b. Bur *uuta* C481b. Brg *ot:t* U36. Kalm *uut* M542b. Dag *x^wa:t* E132 ‘scrotum’. EYu *u:ta* B18, J95a. MgrH *fu:da* J95a, X59, *fu:da* SM101. MgrM *xuda* J87, *fuda* JL468, *ṣuta* CL390, *ṣuda* DS247. BaoD *fda* ~ *da* BL83b. BaoÑ *hda* CN71 ‘q.v.’. Kgj *puda* ~ *puta* S284b. Dgx *fuda* B54, L111b, *fda* B55. Mog---.

***huya-** ‘to tie, fasten’. The vowel length in Bur, Dag, and Mgr, seems to suggest a form **huyaa-* which is not supported elsewhere. In Kalm this word has apparently absorbed the verb **oya-* ‘to sew’. Kgj *fiya-* and Bao *ha-/χa:-* have both meanings ‘to tie; to sew’ as well. However, CN derives BaoÑ *xa:-* from **kaba-* ‘to stitch’ (not listed), also cf. **kaa-*.

MMo SH *huya-* H79, HY *huya-* M61, Muq *huya-* P188ab, *uya-* P113b, LV *huya-* P77, IV---, RH *huya-* 189C7. WM *uya-* L867a. Kh *uyax* H561b. Ord *uya-* M727b. Bur *uyaaxa* C487b. Brg *oy-* U41. Kalm *uyx* M530a. Dag *xuya:-* E130, *xəya:-* T94b. EYu *xa:-* B113, *hia-* J96a, *haya-* BJ330. MgrH *fuya:-* SM113, X62,

śa:- J96b, X147. MgrM *xuya-* JL474. BaoD *ha-* (?=) BL12, BL83a ‘to tie up; to sew’. BaoÑ *χα:-* (?=) CN56 ‘to tie up; to sew’. BaoX *ha:-* CN86:239. Kgj *fuya-* ~ *fiya-* ~ *šüa-* ~ *šüya-* S285a ‘to tie up; to sew’. Dgx *fäiya-* B50, L111a, *xuya-* T139, *xuiya-* B62. Mog---.

hüde-** (?hüdü-**) ‘to patch, mend’. Phonetically the Mongghul and Baoan forms could also stem from **side-* ‘to stitch’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *üde-* L995b, *üdü-* L996a ‘to fasten with thongs, etc’. Kh *üdex* H566a. Ord *udu-* M748a. Bur *üdexe* C495a. Kalm *üdx* M546b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *śde:-* X166, *śdie:-* SM334 ‘to patch’. MgrM---. BaoJ *de-* L31. Kgj---. Dgx *xudu-* B64. Mog---.

***hüdesün** (perhaps **hüdesün* < **hüdüesün*) ‘patch (on clothes)’. The meanings are quite diverse, but the meaning in Dgx matches the verb **hüde-* (?**hüdü-*) ‘to patch’ above. This makes other phonetically possible etymologies such as **hürtesün* ‘scraps’ and **öedesün* ‘rags’ less likely. However, it is remarkable that the development of this noun in Dgx differs from the verb, with *f-* and *-ž-* instead of *x-* and *-d-*. Cf. **kalaasun*.

MMo SH *hudesu* H78 ‘leather’, HY---, Muq *hüdesün* (?=) P171a ‘ceiling’. WM---. Kh *üdes* (?=) H566b ‘thong; bookbinding thread, stitching of a book; seam’. Bur---. Kalm---. Dgx *fužiesun* B55 ‘patch’.

***hügün** ‘deep’ see ***gün**

hüjüür** (?üjüür**) ‘tip, end’. The **h-* suggested by Dag is not confirmed elsewhere, but cannot be explained secondarily. The preconsonantal *r-* in the MgrH variant *ržu:r* may be a secondary addition under the influence of the final *-r*, but it cannot be excluded that it is an old element (compare variants of **üje-* ‘to see’, **eüdün* ‘door’).

MMo SH *uju’ur* H161, HY *üjü’ür* M108, Muq *üjü’ür* P100a, *üjü:r* P214b, LV---, IV---. WM *üjügür* L1017a. Kh *üzüür* H568b. Ord *užu:r* M750b. Bur *üzüür* C496b. Kalm *üzür* M547a. Dag *xužu:r* E129. EYu *čü:r* B148, J97a, *učü:r* BJ125. MgrH *šžiu:r* J97b, *užu:r* X21, *žu:r* X224, *ržu:r* X241, *ržiu:* SM312. MgrM *žur* DS220a. BaoD *užir* BL84a, *nžor* T145. BaoÑ *užir* CN21. BaoX *nžor* BC63. Kgj *užir* S281a. Dgx *uzu* B23, L112a. Mog---.

***hüker** ‘bovine; ox’. Surprisingly without *h-* in Muq. Most of the QG forms suggest an original form **höker*. Agricultural term related to CT **höküz* ‘ox’.

MMo SH *huker* H78, HY *hüger* M62, Muq *üker* P377b, LV *hüker* Pop76, IV *hüker* L62:35, RH *üker* 199B18. WM *üker* L1003a. Kh *üxer* H584b. Ord *uker* M754a. Bur *üxer* C518b. Kalm *ükr* M548a. Dag *xukur* E125, Z94b. EYu *hgor* B59, J96b. MgrH *fugor* J96a, X61, *xgor* X83. MgrM *xugor* JL475, *χukur* T370. BaoD *fgor* ~ *gor* BL84a. BaoÑ *oker* ~ *oxgør* CN16. BaoX *xgur* BL63. Kgj *gor* S289b. Dgx *fugie* B52, L112a, *fugə*, *fugər* MC99a, *fugiərəi* MC101a, Wangjiaji *fugər* L8, Sijiaji *fugieri* L5, Longquan *fugieri* B53. Mog *ukār* R41b, *okar* etc W182b.

***hülde-** ‘to drive; to chase, pursue; to expel, drive out’. The EYu form is reminiscent of WM *elde-* L307b ‘to drive, chase, pursue’. However, EYu *helde-* can also be from **hülde-*; cf. EYu *eje-* ‘to see’ from **üje-* for the same development of the vowels.

MMo SH *hulde-* H78, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *ülde-* L1004a. Kh *üldex* H576b. Ord---. Bur *üldexe* C500a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *helde-* B56. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *hunda-* BL91b, *honda-* BL40. BaoÑ *fulde-* CN75, *holda-* CN29. Kgj *hundi-* ~ *huandi-* S286b. Dgx *fənzie-* B50, *funzie-* L119b. Mog---.

***hüle-** ‘to remain, to be left’. BaoÑ *’xuda-* may represent a contracted form incorporating the aux. **od-*, but cf. also **hüleda-* ‘to remain’ as found in SH *huleda-* and modern languages. Cf. **kočar-*.

MMo SH *hule-/hüle-* H78, H80, HY *hüle-* M62, Muq *hüle-* P281b. WM *üle-* L1004b. Kh *ülex* H577a. Ord *uli-* ~ *ule-* M756a. Bur *ülexe* C502b. Kalm *ülx* M550b. Dag *xul-* E126. EYu *hele-* B56, J96b. MgrH *fule:-* J96a, *fulie:-* SM106. MgrM *xuli-* DS246. BaoD---. BaoÑ (see above). Kgj *fule-* S285a. Dgx *fäilie-* B50. Mog---.

***hüleü/*hileü** ‘superfluous, more than; surplus, excess’. In many languages this word and its base **hüle-* ‘to remain’ developed quite differently. The derivate often features *-i-* in the first syllable. This is puzzling in that the MMo form all suggest **ü*, and no forms with *-i-* are found for **hüle-*. A dissimilation **hileü* < **hüleü* is not commonly seen.

MMo SH *hüle’u* H80, HY *hüle’ü* M62, Muq *hüleü* P190a, *hülü:* P190b, cf. LV *hüliwüle-* Pop76 ‘to remain’. WM *ilegüü* L405a, *ilegü* L404b, *ilügü* L408b, *ilüü* L408b, *ülegüü* L1005a, *ülügü* L1007a. Kh *ilüü* H274a, *ülüü* H577a. Ord *ilu:* ~ *ilgu* M384b, *ulgu:* M756a. Bur *ülüü* C500b. Brg *ilu:* U27. Kalm *ülü* M550a. Dag *xulu:* E127 ‘many, much’. EYu *holi:* B57, *höli:* BJ331, *həli:* J94b, *həli* J78. MgrH *fuliu:* J83a, *fuliu* X62, *xaliu* X67, *šiliu*, *xiliu* T382. MgrM *xeliao* JL476. BaoD *šilu* BL83a. BaoGt *šili* C137. BaoJ *šlx* L170. BaoÑ---. Kgj--- (*ulu* < **olan*). Dgx *šiliu* B126, *šiliu* T142. Mog---.

***hülie-** (~ ***hüile-**) ‘to blow’. Many languages display irregular developments or new onomatopoeic formations with *p-*, long vowels or diphthongs.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hüile-* P190a, *hüle:-* P190b. WM *üliye-* L1006a. Kh *üleex* H577b, but cf. Chakhar *u^lə:n* D173a. Ord *ule:-* M755a. Bur *ülyeexe* C500a. Brg *uilə:-* U45, *u^lə:-* U50. Kalm *üläx* M549a. Dag *xu:l-* E124. EYu *pi:le-* B39, J96a. MgrH *pi:le-* J96a, *pu:le-* X56. MgrM *xuili-* DS207b. BaoD *fəilə-* BL84b (with the mouth), *hil-* BL53 (of the wind); *filə-* T148. BaoGt *fil-* C106. BaoÑ *hilə-* CN67. Kgj *fəli-* ~ *fūli-* ~ *φuli-* S284b. Dgx *fäilie-* B50, L112a, *fuliə-* T138. Mog---.

***hültüre-** ‘to fall apart, to become worn out or gappy’. With a tr. counterpart **hültül-*. The EYu *h-* could have developed secondarily, but it is confirmed by Dagur. Kgj (n)*durgi-* S300a, BaoÑ *’dərgə-* CN234 ‘to cook to a pulp’ are from Tibetan *’dur* + **ki-*.

MMo---. WM *ültüre-*, caus. *ültüregül-* L1006b. Kh *ültrex* H576b. Bur *ültirxe* C500b. Kalm *ültr-* R457a ‘to be compressed, bent down’. Dag *xultur-* E128. EYu *həltru:l-* (caus.) B55 ‘to boil to a pulp’. Remaining lgs---.

***hümekei ~ *hümükei** ‘stinking, malodorous’. Probably derived from **hüü-* ‘to rot’ and possibly also related to **höesün* ‘pus’. Note the unexpected loss of the first syllable in Chakhar and Ordos.

MMo SH *humegai* H79, HY-?-, Muq *hümekei* P191a, LV *hümkei* P76, IV---, *hümekei qoroqai* 200A10 (**korakai* ‘insect’) ‘dungbeetle’. WM *ömökei* L636a, *ömekei*, *ömöki* L636a. Kh *ümxiy* H577b, *ömxiy* H411b, also *ömx* H411b, also note Chakhar *mäxi*: D176a. Ord *ümüki*: M757a, *müki*: M477b, *umuki*: M732b. Bur *ümxei* C503b, *ümxi* C503b. Brg *umxi*: U50. Kalm *ümkä* M551a. Dag---. EYu *həmuki* J96a, *həmähgi*: J78, *xoməkai* B51. MgrH *fumugi*: J96a, X62, *xamugi*: X68. MgrM *xunbugai* DS250. BaoD *huŋgi* BL84b. BaoGt *fəŋgi* C118, *hoŋgi* C133. BaoÑ---. Kgj *fūğai* (perhaps an alternative formation from **hüü-*) S284b. Dgx *fumuği* B54, *fumuğai* L112b. Mog---.

***hümeri-** ‘to wrinkle, shrivel, contract’. Not very common, but a derivate **hümeriül* ‘drawstring’ survives in Kh *ümrüül* H577b, Kalm *ümrül* M551b.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hümeri-* P191a, *ümeri-* P380b. WM *ümüri-* L1007b. Kh---. Ord---. Bur *ümerixe* C504a. Kalm *ömrχ* R296a. Dag---. EYu *həmər-* B55. MgrH *fumurə-* X62, *finburağa-* (dial., caus.) DS261b. Remaining lgs---.

***hünegen** ‘fox’. Brg, MgrH and Kgj seem to suggest **hünigen*.

MMo SH *hunegen* H79, HY *hünegen* M62, Muq *hünegen* P191b, *ünegen* P381a, LV *hüngen* P76, IV---. WM *ünege(n)* L1008a. Kh *üneg(en)* H578b. Ord *ünege* M757b. Bur *ünege(n)* C508a. Brg *unig* U45. Kalm *üngr* M551b. Dag *xunuy*^w E124. EYu *höneyen* B58 *heneyen* J96b. MgrH *funəge* J96b, *funige* SM108, *χunige* SM183. MgrM *xonəgə* C376, *xundegey* P415b, *xunduğai* DS224b. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *funigə* S284b. Dgx *funieğay* B51, *funieyən* L112b. Mog---.

***hünesün** ‘ashes’. Ord and Brg seem to suggest a form **hünisün*. Kalm and Bao (accidentally) share a development *n > m* preceding *s*.

MMo SH *hunesu* H79, HY---, Muq *hünesün* P191b. WM *ünesü(n)* L1009b. Kh *üns(en)* H578b, *ünes(en)* H579b. Ord *unisü* M759a, *unes ~ unis* M758b. Bur *ünehe(n)* C509b. Brg *un’u*: U46. Kalm *ümsn* M551a. Dag *xuns* E124. EYu *henesən* B56, J96b, *nesən* S695, *tesən* (sic) S695. MgrH *funesə* J96a, *funie:zə* SM107, *funie:sə ~ funie:zə* J7, X60. MgrM *xunisü* DS205a. BaoD *homsuŋ* BL84a. BaoGt *hoŋsoŋ* C102. BaoÑ *həmsu* CN69. Kgj---. Dgx *funiesuŋ* B51. Mog *unasun* W182a, MogMr *unasun* L62:35.

hünir** (?hünür**) ‘smell, odour, aroma’, ***hünirde-**, ***hünirte-** ‘to smell (tr.)’.

MMo SH *hunor* H79 ‘smell’, *hünir* H79 ‘breath’, HY *hünir-tü* M62 ‘having a smell’, Muq *hünir* P191b. WM *ünür* L1010a. Kh *üner* H579b. Ord *uner ~ unir* M758a/b. Bur *üner-dexe* C509b ‘to smell’. Brg *unir* U45. Kalm *ünr* M552b. Dag---. EYu *honor* B57, *honər* J96b, *hunər* J78. MgrH *funir* SM108, *funur* SM500, *funər* J96a. MgrM *xunir* JL471, T371, *xunti-* (?< **hünirte-*) DS250 ‘to smell; smell’.

BaoD *hundə-* (?< **hünirde-*) BL84a ‘to smell’, *humdə-* BL12. BaoÑ---. Kgj *funur* S284b. Dgx *funićia-* B51, *fəncía-* B50, *funiəćia-* MC103a, *fuñćia-* MC103b (< **hünirte-*) ‘to smell’. Mog---.

***hūnis-** ~ ***hūnūs-** ‘to smell (tr)’. In Kh-Kalm ‘to kiss’. Dag suggests **hü:nü-*. A similar short form seems to be suggested by some of the Kgj forms. Zirni *hunuy* 3:8b may also be related. However, the Dag form may be connected to Tungusic **pu:n* ‘smell’ (cf. SSTMJalI:349a). In EYu only the passive **hünüste-* ‘to smell (intr)’ survives.

MMo SH *hunos-* H79, *hūnis-* H80, HY---, Muq *hūnis-* P192a. WM *ünüs-* L1010b ‘to kiss; to smell (obs)’, passive WM *ünüste-* L1010b, cf. also WM *ünüri-* L1010b ‘to smell (intr)’. Kh *ünsex* H578b ‘to kiss’. Ord *unis-* M758b. Bur *ünedexe* C508a, *ündexe* C506a, *ünesexe* C509a, *ünhexe* C507b. Brg---. Kalm *ümsx* M551b ‘to kiss’. Dag *xu:nu-* (see above) E123. EYu *honosdə-* B57, *honəsdə-* J78. MgrH *funis-* SM108, *funəsə-* J96a, pass. *funisdie-* SM108. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *funə-* ~ *funu-* ~ *funur-* ~ *huni-* ~ *huñni-* S284b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hüngü-** ‘to crumple; to rub between the hands’. The Kalm form with *-m-* may be the original. Phonetically the Mog form could be an iterative of this verb, but it differs semantically. The vocalism of Dag *xing^w-* may have been influenced by *xin^{ki}-* E113, which is of Tungusic origin. However, it has an equivalent in Kh *ingex* H276b ‘to crush, make into powder, etc’, suggesting that there are separate Mongolic verbs **hüngü-* and **hingü-*. Cf. also Kh *ingüümel* H276b ‘a finely-powdered incense, etc’ which corresponds to Dag *xing^wmə:l* E113 ‘rubbed-down tobacco crumbs’. This verb **hingü-* is not found in Ord, Bur, Kalm. Mostaert & de Smedt further compare MgrH *ngulie-* SM293 ‘to rub down; to graze one’s skin’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hüngü-* P191b, *üngü-* P382a. WM *üngge-* L1010a. Kh *üngex* H577b. Ord *ungu-* M759a. Bur *üngexe* C505b. Kalm *ümgx* M550b. Dag *xing^w-* (?) E113 (see above). EYu *hongə-* B57. MgrH *fun^{gu}-* J7, SM109. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog only the derivate *ungula-* R41b.

***hüre** ‘seed; pip; fruit’.

MMo SH---, HY *hüre* M62, Muq *hüren* P206b. WM *üre* L1011a. Kh *ür* H580a. Ord *ure* M760a. Bur *üre* C514a. Kalm *ürn* M554b ‘child’. Dag *xur* E130. EYu *hure* B58, *hure* J97a. MgrH *fure* J97a, *fure:* J70, *furie:* SM110. MgrM *xuru* JL476, *xorə* C376, *xurie* T371. BaoD *furə* BL84b. BaoÑ *fure* CN56. Kgj *fure* ~ *furi* S285a. Dgx *furə* B55, L112a. Mog---.

***hürgü-** ‘to be startled, frightened (typically of animals)’. Agricultural form related to CT **hürk-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *urgu-* H166, HY---, Muq *hürgü-* P192b, *ürgü-* P345b. WM *ürgü-* L1012b. Kh *ürgex* H580b. Ord *urgu-* M761a. Bur *ürgexe* C511b. Brg *urəg-* U54. Kalm *ürgx* M554a. Dag *xury^y-* E131. EYu---. MgrH *furgu-də-* X63. MgrM *kurga-* (sic, ?=) P418b. BaoD---. BaoGt *herəgə-* C107. BaoÑ *hergə-* CN67. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hürü-** ‘to rub (off) with the hands, to grind, etc’.

MMo SH *huru-*, *hur-* H79 ‘to sharpen’, HY---, Muq---, WM *ürü-* L1013a. Kh *ürex* H582a. Ord *uru-* M763a. Bur *ürex* C514b. Kalm *ürx* M555a. Dag---. EYu *horo-* B58. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *furi-* L57, B55, *furəu-* L119b, *furəi-* MC104b. Mog---.

***hüsün** ‘hair’. The EYu and Mgr forms do not confirm the **h-*, as it could have been triggered by the following *-s-*. Note the loss of **h-* in Dgx. This word may contain the (?collective) suffix *-sUn*, so that the PM root may be **hü-* (?**pü-*).

MMo SH *hüsu(n)* H80, HY *hüsün* M62, Muq *üsün* P382b, LV *hüsün* P76, IV *hüsün* L62:35, RH *hüsün* 198B15. WM *üsü(n)* L1013b. Kh *üs(en)* H582a. Ord *usu* M764a. Bur *ühe(n)* C519b. Brg *uxu:* U48. Kalm *üsn* M555b. Dag *xus* E128, *χus*^w Z95a. EYu *hsun* B60, *hasun* J96b. MgrH *szu* J96a, *fuza* SM102, *szə*, *fuza* T359. MgrM *szu* ~ *fzu* JL468. BaoD *suŋ* BL84b. BaoÑ *hsəŋ* CN71, *səŋ* CN134. Kgj *sun* S294a. Dgx *usuŋ* B22. Mog *usun* R41b.

***hüsür-** ‘to jump, leap’. Kalm and Dag seem to suggest **hesür-*. The Bur form, if related, would involve the unusual loss of the first syllable, as in **isegei* and **ösügei*. The Mgr forms traditionally associated with this verb by SM are listed under **tüsür-*. Cf. Shirongol **deüli-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *üsür-* L1014a ‘&to spout, squirt out’. Kh *üsrex* H582a ‘to jump, leap, skip; to squirt’. Ord *usur-* M764b. Bur *hürex* (?=) C698b ‘to jump, etc’. Brg *usər-* [←Kh] U51. Kalm *ösr* M427a. Dag *xəsur-* E110. EYu *hsur-* B60, *husur-* J96a ‘to jump’. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog *usur-* R41b.

***hütügün** ‘vagina’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hütügün* P192b, LV *hütgün* P74, *ütügün* P1258, IV *hütügün* L62:35, RH *hütügün* [?, eds. read *hütkün*] 199A10. WM *ütügü(ü)* (‘vulgar’) L1014b. Kh [*ütree* H582b] *üteg* acc. to Lessing. Ord *utugū* M765a. Bur---. Brg *utəg* U51. Kalm *ütkn* M555b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *şdagū* X167, *şdugu* X169. MgrM *kutugu* (sic) P413b, *dugu* DS258. Bao---. Dgx *fuduğun* B54. Mog *utkun* W183b, MogM *utkü* L62:35.

***hüü-** ‘to stink’ and ***höe-** ‘to rot, fester’ (?). These two verbs may have existed separately, as suggested by SH, and by derivatives **höesün* ‘pus’ and **hümekei* ‘smelly’, but most of the QG forms could derive from either or represent both. The spellings in Muq could also represent both *hü:-* and *hö:-*. Both meanings can be found in modern languages. Some of the Shirongol forms have been incorrectly derived from Chinese.

MMo SH *hu’u-* H79 ‘to smell’, *ho’e-* (?=) H76 (translated ‘Schutt, Abfall sein’, but *mèn* is also ‘to boil over slow fire’, see Dag), HY---, Muq *hü:-*, *hü’ü-* P192b ‘to smell; to rot’. WM *ü-* L995a, *üü-* LC 3:433a. Kh *üüx* LC 3:433a. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *ö:-* R304a, *öw-* R303a ‘to rot, fester’. Dag *xu:-* E123, *xu:-* NK563a also ‘to become soft from overboiling’. EYu *hü:-* B58. MgrH *fu:-* SM101, J36. MgrM *xu-* DS216a ‘to decay’. BaoD---. BaoGt *fī-* C115. BaoÑ *fu-* CN55. Kgj *fū-* S284b. Dgx *fu-* MC97b. Mog---.

- ī -

***ī** (?) ‘(s)he, it’. The stem is extremely rare in the modern languages, but the genitive **īnu* (MMo SH *ino* H82, HY *inu* M63, Muq *inu* P143a) survives in all languages as the third person possessive. The Dag -*n* has been adopted from the oblique (genitive) stem **in-*. Cf. also the oblique stem **īma-* from which the other cases are formed, cf. SH *ima-* H82, HY *ima-* M63, Muq---, Dag *yam-* E327/328. Cf. the MMo plural counterpart **a* ‘they’, parallel to the pairs **bī* ‘I’ - **ba* ‘we’ and **cī* ‘you (sg)’ - **ta* ‘you (pl)’. The *h-* in DgX would normally suggest CM **h-*, but it is not confirmed elsewhere. However, there is no alternative etymology for the DgX form.

MMo---, WM---, Kh---, Bur---, Kalm---, Dag *in* E32, *i:n* Z51. EYu---, Mgr---, Bao---, DgX *hə* (?=) B65. Mog---.

***ībčau** ‘narrow, tight’. The original form may have been **hībčau* when a connection with **hīutan* ‘narrow’ is assumed. It is unclear whether the Dag word is related (a form **xirčə* would have been expected). The Bur form with -*g-* is also unexpected.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, WM *ibčayu* L396a, *ibču(u)* L396b. Kh *yavcuu* H873b; cf. Chakhar *ibčə*: (*ɪ̯p̚t̚ʷ*) D168a. Ord---, Bur *igsuu(n)* (?=) C276a ‘(...) tight (of clothes)’. Brg---, Kalm---, Dag *xirčin* (?=) E115. Remaining lgs---.

***idugan** ‘shaman(ess)’. Cf. **böe*.

MMo SH---, HY *iduqan* M62, Muq---, WM *udayan*, *uduqan* L861a/b, *iduqan* L401a. Kh *udgan* H541a, *nyadgan* H382b. Ord *udaqan* M722a ‘obstetrician’. Bur *udagan* C463a, *od’ogon* (Western dial.) C350a. Brg *odgan* U41. Kalm *udyn* M528b. Dag *yadyən* E328. EYu---, Mgr---, Bao---, DgX *yidoḡo* T122, *idoḡo* S160. Mog---.

***ilga-** ‘to choose, select, distinguish’. Cf. **songu-*.

MMo SH *ilqa-* H81, HY *ilqa-* M63, Muq---, WM *ilya-* L406a. Kh *yalgax* H876b. Ord *ilga-* M382b. Bur *ilgaxa* C278a. Kalm *ilyⁿ* R206b, *yilyx* M277b. Dag *yaləy-* E327. EYu *alğa-* B3, *əlğa-* J94b, BJ327. MgrH *ləga:-* X113, *laga:-* X111. MgrM *aliga-* DS211b. BaoD---, BaoÑ---, Kgj---, DgX *iŋga-* B10. Mog---.

***īmaan** ‘goat’. Agricultural term related to CT **(y)im̐ga* ‘id’.

MMo SH *ima’at* (pl) H82, HY *ima’an* M63, Muq *ima’an* P153a, *ima:n* P234b. WM *imaya(n)* L409a, *nimaya(n)* L584b. Kh *yamaa(n)* H877b. Ord *yama:* M394b. Bur *yamaa(n)* C799a, *nimaa(n)* C328a. Brg *yama:* U220. Kalm *yaman* M709b. Dag *ima:* E33, *ima:rs* E34 ‘goat skin’, but cf. *yama:rs* E327 ‘goat skin’. EYu *ma:n* B89, J94b. MgrH *ima:* J94b. MgrM *ima* JL468. BaoD *imaŋ* BL83a. BaoÑ *yimaŋ* CN218. BaoX *imaŋ* BC64. Kgj *imə* S280a. DgX *imaŋ* B11. Mog---.

***inagsi** ‘hither, to this place’. The loss of the initial vowel in some of the central Mongolic forms is unusual. Perhaps as compensation for the lost initial vowel, the

**a* is lengthened in some modern forms. From a root **ina-* ‘this side’ whose other derivatives include EYu *na:na* J53 ‘here’, *na:də* B23, J60 ‘that one there’.

MMo SH *inahši* H82, HY *inaqši-* M63, Muq *inaqši* P196b. WM *inaysi* L410a, *inasi* L410b, *naγasi* L557b. Kh *naaš* H342a, *yanagš* (lit. form) H878b. Ord *na:š(i)* M485a. Bur *naaša* C316b. Kalm [*naa-yar*] M364a. Dag---. EYu *nagšə* B23. MgrH *nağšə* SM255. Remaining lgs---.

***in̄jaga** ‘fawn, young deer or antelope’. The Kalm form has been reshaped, as if from **in̄jūkai* (with the diminutive *-kai*). The Dag form could be from an earlier **yanjij*, or reborrowed from Manchu *injaha(n)* H501b ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *in̄jaya* L412b. Kh *yanzaga* H879a. Bur *inzagan* C279a. Kalm *in̄jixä* M270b ‘fawn of the saiga antelope’. Dag *yen̄jij* E329. Remaining lgs---.

***in̄garčag** ‘packsaddle’. The evidence for the quality of the middle vowel is contradictory. Some forms with *a-* in MgrM, Kgj, Dgx. MgrH and Kgj seem to have transferred the aspiration from the *-č-* to the *-g-*. There is also another form from the same root, as in WM *yanggiya* L427b.

MMo SH *inggircah* H82, HY---, Muq---. WM *yanggirčay* L427b. Kh *yangircag* H878b. Ord *yan̄garčaq*, *yan̄gurčaq* M396b. Bur---. Kalm *yan̄yrcg* M710b. Dag---. EYu *in̄garčag* B29, *in̄garjag* J9. MgrH *in̄karčag* X42. MgrM *an̄qəzəg* JL477b. *en̄qəči* Z370:716. BaoJ *gaciğ* (?=) L69 ‘a harness placed on the back of a beast of burden for pulling carts’. Kgj *an̄kəjij* S278a. Dgx *in̄gəča* MC175a, *an̄gača* MC12b. Mog---.

?***irada** ‘downstream’ see ?***hira** ‘bottom part’.

***irau** ‘melody, melodious; singing’. CT **yir-a-gu* from CT *(y)*ir* ‘song’. Mongghul was derived from LT by Róna-Tas (1966, No. 780).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *yira’u* P390b. WM *irayu* L413a. Kh *yaruu* H881a. Ord *iraḡu*: M386b, *irḡu* M387b. Bur *iraguu* (←lit) C279b. Kalm *irü*: R219a (*iru*:, *yaru*: R216b) ‘clear (of voice)’. Dag *irɔ*: E36 ‘melody accompanying a shamanic prayer’. EYu---. MgrH *yoro* SM494, X236 ‘sound’ (?=, see above). Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***iro** ‘omen, premonition, etc’. It seems impossible to connect EYu *χorḡor* B51, *χorḡor* J5 ‘omen’, *χo:rḡor* S721 ‘dice’, MgrH *šorḡol* ~ *šorgol* X156 ‘omen’, which seem to stem from a common form, perhaps **hürgul*. However, this word may instead be a Tibetan loanword, an unknown compound of *šo* ‘dice’, which would be **xho* in Arik dialect. Possibly related to CT **irk* ‘id’, but the connection is morphologically obscure.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ira* P242b. WM *irua* L415a, *iruaa*, *irva* L415b. Kh *yor* H205a. Ord *yɔrɔ* M404a. Bur *yoro* C228a. Kalm *yor* M280a. Dag *yɔr* E331. EYu *yɔr* (sic, ?←InMo, only) S740. Remaining lgs---.

***isu** (?) ‘soot’ see ***is(ü)**

***itau** ‘hazel-grouse, partridge or other large member of the chicken family’. Interestingly, both Kh and Kalm seem to have split this word into two phonetically and semantically distinct words.

MMo IV *itaun* L62:37, LV *itaun* P1262. WM *itayu* L417b. Kh *yatuu* H882b ‘partridge’, *yotuu* H206b ‘hazel-grouse’. Ord *itu*: M389b. Bur---. Kalm *yotun* M281b ‘partridge’, *itü* M275a ‘hazel-grouse’. Dag *itɔ*: E35 (possibly reborrowed ←Manchu *itu*). EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *itv:n* L62:37, MogM *itau* L62:37.

- I -

ibil-** (?ibel-**) ‘to flow (of milk from the udder)’. Ord and Dag seem to support the form **ibel-*, EYu supports **ibil-*. Dgx probably < **iyilu-* < **ibil-u-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ibil-* L397a, *ibel-* L396b. Kh *ivlex* H268a. Ord *éwel-* M251a. Bur-?-. Brg *ibəlgə:-* (caus.) U26. Kalm *ivlx* M262a. Dag *yəul-* E329. EYu *βəl-* B37 ‘(of milk) to flow’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ilu-* T121 ‘to give milk’. Mog---.

***ide-** ‘to eat’. One of the words with unexpected *n-* in Baoan (cf. similar cases **eüden*, **uda-*).

MMo SH *ide-* H80, HY *ide-* M62, Muq *ide-* P194a. WM *ide-* L398b. Kh *idex* H270. Bur *edixe* C757a. Kalm *idx* M264b. Dag *id-* E35. EYu *ede-* B11, J95b. MgrH *de-* J95b, *ide-* X13, MgrH (Hongyazi dialect) *ɬdë-*, *ɬda-* C370. MgrM *idi-* JL460, *di-* C370. BaoD *nda-* BL83a. BaoGt *ndä-* C100. BaoÑ *nde-* CN35. BaoX *ndə-* BC64. Kgj *ide-* S280a. Dgx *iɟie-* B12. Mog *idä-* R29b, *ida-*, *idä-* W167a ‘to eat, drink’.

***idee** ‘pus’. Some forms suggest **ideeri*. Possibly derived from **ide-* ‘to eat’. Cf. **höesün* ‘id’.

WM *idege* L399a, *idegeri* L399b. Kh *idee* (and *ideer*) H271b. Bur *edyeere* C756a. Kalm. Dag *idə*: E83:98a. EYu---. MgrH *ide*: X13, *rde*: X240. MgrM *idi* C395, cf. *de-le-* JL462 ‘to fester’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

ig** (?yig**) ‘spindle, spindle whorl’. The QG languages may all go back to a variant form **yig*, and may represent a separate borrowing event from Turkic (original CT may have been **i:k* ‘id’, but forms **yik* and **iyik* are also found in modern languages).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ig* L401b. Kh *ig* H268b ‘spindle’. Ord *i:g* M380a. Bur---. Kalm *ig* M263a. Dag---. EYu *yig* B154 ‘spindle’. MgrH *ig* X12. MgrM *yaχ* P411b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *yəu* B188. Mog---.

***iker** ‘twins’ see ***ekir**

***ilbi** ‘magic; sleight of hand, conjuring tricks’. The EYu form with *i-* (instead of **əlwə*) suggests that it stems from a variant with **y-*. According to Khasbaatar the MgrH form is related, but SM derive it from **helie*. Cf. Turkic **yelvi*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH---, Ph---. WM *ilbi*, *ilbe* L402b, *yelbi* L432b, *yilbi*, *yilwi* L433b. Kh *ilbe* H273a. Ord *ilbe*, *elbe* M381b. Bur *el’be* C763b. Kalm *ilv* M267b. EYu *ilwə* J5. MgrH *ile*: X12, *ilie*: SM191, *ulie*: (?=) SM470 ‘demon’. Remaining lgs---.

***ilbi-** ‘to rub; to smooth with the hand’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *yilbi-* P390a. WM *ilbi-* L403a. Kh *ilbex* H273b. Ord *ilbe-*, *élbe-*, *elbe-* M381b. Bur *el’bexe* C763b. Dag---. EYu *əlβə-* B8 ‘to stroke; to grope, fumble’. Remaining lgs---.

***ildü** ‘sword, sabre’, with an early ‘prebroken’ variant ***üldü**. Both forms survive. The *h-* in Muq is not confirmed by any other language, but is written systematically in this word. For the meaning ‘shuttle’ in MgrM, cf. CT **kilič* ‘sword’, also used for ‘shuttle’ in several Turkic languages.

MMo SH *uldu* H162, HY *üldü* M108, Muq *hildü* P184b, RH *ildü* 204C18. WM *ildü(n)* L403b, *uldu* (sic) L873a (see above). Kh *ild(en)* H273b, *yüld* H869a. Ord *uld#* M755a. Bur *yülde* [written *yulde*] (rare) C782a. Brg---. Kalm *üld* M549b. Dag---. EYu *oldə* B15 ‘tailor’s knife’, *uldə* J94b ‘sabre’, J80 ‘wooden knife used on a loom’. MgrH *uldə* X19. MgrM *u^ldu* [i.e., *urdu*?] P421b ‘weaver’s shuttle’. Bao---. Dgx---. MogMr *uld#* L62:35 ‘rifle’.

***ile** (?*hile) ‘clear, visible, obvious, evident’. Bur suggests **eli*, EYu suggests **hile* with *h-* unconfirmed elsewhere.

MMo SH *ile* H81, HY---, Muq *ile* P195b, *ilede* P377a. WM *ile* L404a, *iledte* L404b, *ilete* L406a, *ilerkei* L405b. Kh *il* H273a. Ord *ile* ~ *éle* M382a. Bur *eli* (sic) C761b, adv *elyeer*. Kalm *il* M267a. Dag *il* Z29 ‘clear, evident’ (but *il* E33 ‘lively, bustling’). EYu *hele* B56. Shirongol---. MogM, MogMr *ila* L74:305.

***ile-** ‘to go’, ***ilee-** (and newly-formed ***ile-ge-**) ‘to send, dispatch’. ***ilee-** was the causative of ***ile-** ‘to go’. The modern languages a new causative formed with the suffix *-GA*.

MMo SH *ile-* H81 ‘to go’, *ile-* H81 ‘to send’, HY *ile-* M62, Muq *ile-* [*ile:-*] P195b ‘to send, etc’, *hile-* P184a, 185a. WM *ile-* (obs) L404a ‘to send’, *ilege-* L404b. Kh *ilex* H276a ‘to send, dispatch’, *ilgeex* H273b ‘to dispatch, send, delegate’. Ord---. Bur *el’gexe* C764a. Brg *ilgə:-* U27. Kalm *ilgäx* M268a. Dag---. EYu *əlye-* B8, *ilye-* BJ105, *elye-* J49 (mostly used as an auxiliary). Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *ilğä-* W167a.

***irbis** ‘leopard, panther’. The equivalents in Turkic (with final *-z* or *-š*, *-l-* instead of *-r-*, sometimes with medial *-p-* or initial *y-*) are too diverse to contribute to reconstruction.

MMo SH---, HY, Muq---, RH---. WM *irbis* L413b. Kh *irves* H278a. Ord *erwis* M248b. Kalm *irws* R210a, *irvsg* (sic) M272a ‘tiger’. Bur *erbed* (dial) C770a. Brg *irβas* U29. Dag---. EYu *ərβas* B8. Mgr *rбузə* S411. Remaining lgs---.

***ire-** ‘to come’.

MMo SH *ire-* H82, HY *ire-* M63, Muq *ire-* P197a, *yire-* P390b. WM *ire-* L413b. Kh *irex* H279a. Ord *ire-* M387a. Bur *yerexe* C222b. Brg *ir-* U29, *yir-* U222. Kalm *irx* M273a. Dag *ir-* E35. EYu *ere-* B11, J95b, *eri-* B12, *ire-* B11. MgrH *re-* J95b. MgrM *ri-* [ʒi-] C395. BaoD *rə-* BL83b. BaoÑ *er-* CN15, *ər-* CN11, *rə-* CN222. Kgj *re-* S306a. Dgx *ire-* B12. Mog *irā-* R29b, *irē-*, *irā-* W168a.

***irge** ‘wether’. The **h-* that seems to be suggested by MgrH is not supported elsewhere. The second syllable cannot be the source of the *x-*, as all languages point at *-g-* rather than *-k-*. Agricultural term related to CT **irk*.

MMo SH *irge* H83, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *irge* L414a. Kh *ireg* H278a, *irgen* H279a. Ord *i:rge* (sic) M387a. Bur *er’e* C774b. Kalm *irg* M272a. Dag---. EYu *erye* B12. MgrH *xerge* X76, *yerge* SM492. MgrM *ergè* P417a ‘female sheep’ (sic). Bao---. Dgx *ingə* MC175a ‘wether’, *inyə* T121 ‘billy-goat’. Mog---.

***irgen** ‘people’. The original meaning was apparently ‘people’ in the sense of ‘ethnic group, nation’, although the general meaning ‘human beings’ appears already in Muq. In the QG languages **irgen* has become a personal pronoun of the third person (cf. the development of **ejen*). Although the *ŋ-* in Baoan and Kangjia is not a normal reflex of **r*, in view of the other regional forms it is probably the same etymon. The Dag meaning ‘Chinese’ is also attested (as obs.) in Kh. Cf. Manchu *irgen* H503 ‘subject(s), population, people’.

MMo SH *irge(n)* H83 ‘people’, HY *irgen* M64 ‘people’, Muq *irgen* P197b ‘people, persons’, *hirgen-* P185b, LV *irgen* P1256. WM *irgen* L414b. Kh *irgen* H278a ‘people; subject, citizen’. Ord *i:rgen* M387b ‘subject; Chinese’. Bur *ergen arad* (lit) C770b ‘people’. Kalm *irgn kümn* (hist) M272b ‘citizen’. Dag *iryən* E36 ‘Chinese’. EYu *eryen* B12, BJ327 ‘he, she, people (in the sense of persons, not nation)’, *ergen* J26. MgrH *rgən* X239 ‘(other) people’. MgrM *gən* C199 ‘he, she’. BaoD *ŋgaŋ* BL34. BaoGt *gəŋla ~ gəla* (pl) C132 ‘others’. BaoÑ *aŋaŋ* CN5, *əŋaŋ* CN17 ‘others, people’. BaoX *ŋgaŋ* BC63 ‘s/he’. Kgj *ŋgə* S33 ‘other; he’. Dgx *əŋən* B8 ‘s/he’. Mog *irgān* W168a, *irgəd* (pl) W168a ‘people’, MogM *irgə:n ~ ergə:n*, MogMr *irgə:n* L64:42.

***is-** ‘to turn sour, ferment’, caus. **iske-*, and some further derivations. The Kgj verb formally looks like a caus. The Kgj verb and adjective may involve a garbled form of **sirke* ‘vinegar’ (not listed here).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *is-* L416a. Kh *isex* H280a, *esex* H863a. Ord *es-* M248b. Bur *ehexe* C780a, *ed’xexe* C758a. Brg *isgə:-* U27 ‘to become sour’ (sic). Kalm *isx* M274a, cf. *iškly* M276a ‘sour’. Dag---. EYu *hsə-* BJ331 ‘to ferment’, *səkə-mel* B99, *sgə-mel* J101b ‘sour’. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ŋge-gər* CN147 ‘yeast’. Kgj *šilge-* S295b ‘to become sour’, *šilgei ~ širgei* S295b ‘sour’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***isegei ~ *sisgei** ‘felt, felt blanket’. Both variants occur from the oldest sources onwards. The variant with *s-* survives in Mog, and in Dag if this is not a reborrowing from Manchu *sishe*, Sibe *šisx*. Both Dag and Mog feature a dissimilated variant. EYu-MgrH are probably from **isegei*. The Bur form *heyei* lost its initial vowel, a rare feature in the central languages (cf. **ösegei* ‘heel’ for a similar development).

MMo SH *isgai* H83, *sisgai* H135, HY *sisgei* M94, Muq *sisegei*, *sisügei* P323b, RH *siskei* 202A12, *siske* 204B6 (*sisegei*, *sisege* can be read as well). WM *isegei* L416a, *esegei* L333a. Kh *isgiy* H279b, *esgiy(n)* H861b. Ord *esegi*: M249a. Bur *heyei* C703a, *ehegi* C779b, *ešegi* (sic, ←?) C780b. Brg [*išgi*: U28 ←??]. Kalm *iškä* M276a. Dag *šisəy* E235, *šidəy* E236, *šidəg* Z92a. EYu *ski*: B103, *sgi*: J94b. MgrH *sgi*: J95b, X143, *šge*: ~ *sge*: T383. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *šiχə* (?=) MC429b. Mog *sisgei* R38a, *diskei* W179b.

***iskir-** ‘to whistle’. HY and one of the WM forms suggest **siskir-*. Some modern dialects have an unexpected initial *x-* (cf. Sun 190:413). EYu, if related, could represent a back-vocalic version **iskar-*.

MMo SH---, HY *šiskir-* M98, Muq---. WM *iskire-* L417a, *iskerü-* L417a, *siskir-* L719b. Kh *isgerex* H279b. Ord *iskir-* M388b, also *iškir-*, *eskir-*, *geskir-* etc. Bur *ešxerxe* C780a. Kalm *iškrx* M276b. Dag---. EYu *sqər-* BJ342, *sqar-* B103, *sagar-* (sic) S413. MgrH *šžürie:-* (?=) SM393. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***is** or ***isü** or ***isün** or ***isu** ?? ‘soot, lampblack’. Assuming the forms listed below are all related, they represent several old variants. Only Bur explicitly supports the front-vocalic form; the derived verb Kh *išlex* may have been fronted secondarily. The Muq and Dgx forms suggest additional variant with initial *s-*, for which compare **(s)isegei* ‘felt’ and **(s)iskir-* ‘to whistle’ listed above. Poppe translates Muq *sisu-tu* as ‘smelly’, but in view of the Chagatay Turkic equivalent *islik* a translation ‘sooty’ is warranted. Muq *susun* P328b ‘starch’ is semantically difficult to connect. The Muq forms may also be read as front-vocalic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *sisu-tu* (?=, see above) P323b. WM *isü* [or *isu*?] L417a. Kh *is* (sic) H279b. Ord---. Bur *ehe(n)* C779b. Kalm *iš* R210b. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *susuŋ* B119, *sisuŋ* MC369b ‘soot’ (?=).

***itege-** ‘to believe, trust’. Cf. **bisire-*.

MMo SH *itege-* H83, HY *itege-* M64, Muq *itege-* P198a, *itegü-* P198b. WM *itege-* L417b. Kh *itgex* H280a. Ord *etege-* M249b. Bur *etigexe* C778a. Kalm *itkx* M274b. Dag *itəy-* E35. EYu *həteye-* B55, *hde:* *ye-* S414, *ldeye-* J80. MgrH---. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***itelgü** ‘species of falcon’. The back variant **italgu* suggested by some Turkic languages does not seem to occur in Mongolic.

MMo SH---, HY *itelgü* H64, Muq *itelgü* P221a, RH *itelgü* 200A21. WM *itelgü* L418a, L1204b. Kh *idleg* H269a ‘saker falcon’. Ord *etelge* M250a, *ötölgö* M542b. Bur---. Kalm *itlg* M274b. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr *sdiergu* SM336. MgrM (Sanchuan) *ter’gè* P418b. Remaining lgs---.

- ǰ -

***ǰaa-** ‘to tell, announce, indicate’. The **ia* sequence suggested by WM spelling and one of the SH forms can not be confirmed.

MMo SH *ja’a-* H84, *ji’a-* H89, HY *ǰa’a-* M64, Muq *ǰa’a-* P199a, *ǰa:-* P204a ‘to promise’. WM *ǰiya-* L1049b. Kh *zaax* H221b. Ord *ǰa:-* M175a. Bur *zaaxa* C240a. Brg *ǰa:-* U209. Kalm *zaax* M234b. Dag *ǰa:-* E308. EYu *ǰa:-* B141 ‘to teach’, *ǰa:-* J106b ‘to index’. MgrH *ǰa:-* J106a. BaoD *ǰa:-* T139 ‘to complain’. BaoÑ *ǰa:-* CN194 ‘to accuse’. Kgj---. Dgx *ǰa-* B175 ‘to charge, accuse’, cf. *ǰala-* B178 ‘to point, to give directions’. Mog---.

***ǰaari** ‘musk’ see ***ǰiari**

***ǰab** ‘interval, spare time’. Dag *ǰabk* may be influenced by the synonymous Manchu *jaka*. Cf. also Dag *ǰe*: E314 from **ǰai* ‘gap, interval’ (not listed here).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ǰab* L1018a. Kh *zav* H222a. Bur *zab* C241a. Brg *ǰaβ* U210. Kalm *zav* M235a. Dag *ǰabk* (sic, ?=) E311 ‘crack’. EYu *ǰab* S419/421. MgrH---. MgrM *ǰabčig* C392 ‘crack’, apparently from **ǰab* + diminutive **-čag*. BaoD *ǰab-tə* T139 ‘between’. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰaba** ‘gap; gorge, ravine’.

MMo SH *ǰaba* H84, HY---, Muq---. WM *ǰaba* L1018a, *ǰabi* L1019a. Kh *zav* H222a ‘gorge, ravine’. Ord *ǰawa* M190a. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ǰawa* B179. Mog---.

***ǰabaan** ‘insipid, tasteless’. Related to CT **yavgan* (EDPT 874b).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ǰabaya(n)* L1018a. Kh *zavaa* H222a. Ord *ǰawa*: M190b. Bur *zabaan* C241a. Kalm *zava* M235a ‘unpleasant’, *zawa:n* R468a ‘smell or taste of herbs...’, *zama:n* R466a ‘meal eaten in the fasting period’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ǰava:n* X216. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *ǰawaŋ* MC456a ~ *ǰaŋwaŋ* MC453b. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *ǰaba:n* 14:8b.

***ǰabaji** ‘corner of the mouth’. The final *-a* in EYu is unexpected.

MMo SH *ǰabaji(n)* H84, HY---, Muq---. WM *ǰabaji* L1018b, *ǰabji* L1021a. Kh *zav’j* H224a. Ord *ǰawaji* ~ *ǰawiji* M190b. Bur *ǰabža* C230a, also *ǰabžuur* C230b. Brg *ǰaβ’j* U206. Kalm *zebjǝ* R469b, *ǰebjǝ* R108b. Dag *ǰeb’j* E315. EYu *ǰaβaǰa* BJ234, *ǰaβaǰə* J106a. Remaining lgs---.

***ǰabıla-** ~ ***ǰamıla-** ‘to sit cross-legged’. Kalm suggests **ǰamıla-*, while Ord has both forms. The long final *a*: in Dag and the additional *-ǰ-* in the MgrH form are inexplicable. At first sight **ǰabıla-* looks like a verb formation from a noun **ǰabi* or **ǰami*, which stem may survive in MgrH *ǰa:mi*: X214 ‘crack, crevice; groin’ (though both SM and Khasbaatar compare this Mongghul word to Kh *zaam* H221a ‘collar, lapel’). The MgrH word is reminiscent of CT **yamiz* ‘groin’ which was

borrowed by EYu and Dgx, and is also found in MMo Muq *jamiz* P201a ‘groin’. The form *jamir*- P130b ‘belly’, occurring once in Muq and not found in any other Mongolic language, is probably due to the omission of the dot on the *zayn*. However, if not a mistake it suggests a possible etymology **jamir-la-* for the present entry. MgrH *ža:mi* is also close to **čabi ~ *čami* ‘groin’ found in the central languages, but the strong initial of that item makes a connection less likely.

MMo SH *jabila-* H84, HY---, Muq *jabila-* P199a. WM *jabila-* L1019a. Kh *zavilax* H222b. Ord *jawila-* M190b, *jamila-* M184b. Bur *zabilxa* C241b. Kalm *zämlx* M244b. Dag *je:bla:-* E315. EYu---. MgrH *žabži:la-* S420, L220. MgrM *žabeila-* DS214. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jabka-** ‘to lose, be lost (esp. of animals)’. Cf. also ***jabkara-** ‘to get lost, disappear’ in Muq *jabqara-* P199b, Ord *jiwq^uara-* M206a, Kalm *zavxarx* M235b, etc., which seems to be (irregularly) related to MogM *apqara-* L68, No. 119 ‘to get lost’. The *y-* in Bao and Kgj is also unexpected, but not unique (also in **janči-* ‘to crush’, **jarim* ‘half’, **jasa-* ‘to make’ below). Cf. **gee-* ‘to lose’, **töeri-* ‘to stray’.

MMo SH *jabqa-* H84, HY---, Muq *jabqa-* P199a, *jabya-* P199a, LV *jabqa-* P1271, IV---. WM *jabqa-* L1020b. Kh *zavxax* H223b. Ord (see above). Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *čüga-* X211, *čuğua:-* SM439. MgrM---. BaoGt *yaxa-* C156. BaoÑ *yaxa-* CN214. BaoX *yəxa-* CN86:341. Kgj *yabxa-* S305a. Dgx---. Mog (see above).

***jabsar** ‘gap, crack; space or time between, interval’. P60:48 considers **jab*, **jaura*, and **jabila-* to be related. **jabsar* contains the same suffix as **amasar*.

MMo SH---, HY *jabsar söni* M64 ‘last day of the year’, Muq *jabsar* P199b. WM *jabsar* L1019b. Kh *zavsar* H223a. Bur *zabhar* C242a. Brg *žaβo:r* (sic, ?=) U211, *žaβsar* (←Kh) U211. Kalm *zavsar* M235a. Dag---. EYu *jaβsar* (*jaφsar*) B142, BJ324, *jabsar* J106a. MgrH *čabsar* J106b, X202, *žæsar* X217, *čæbsar* X203, *čarsar* X203. MgrM (Sanchuan) *čapsir* P425. BaoD---. BaoÑ *jabsar* CN195. Kgj---. Dgx *zasa* MC456a. Mog---.

***jagala-** (and related formations) ‘to itch, tickle’. Several formations, apparently from a base **jaga-*. The forms in MgrM, Kgj, Dgx may simply be a semantic development of **jau-* ‘bite’ (q.v. below).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *jayala-* L1022b. Kh *zagalax* H224b. Ord *jağatana-* ~ *jağatuna-* M179a. Bur *zoxolxo* (sic, ?=) C259a. Brg *zagal-* U211. Kalm *jayšix* M223b ‘to scratch’, *zayadāχă* (?) R463a. Dag *jaul-* E309. EYu *jağača-* B142. MgrH *žau-lğa-* X215. MgrM *zao-* DS231b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *žagde-* CN196, cf. *žagə žəğə* CN196 ‘itch’. BaoX *žaglā-* CN86:224. Kgj *jīu-* S302b. Dgx *zau-* B175. Mog---, but Zirni *jayal-* (23:9b).

***jagasun** ‘fish’. The central languages suggest a form **jagasun*, and none of the remaining modern languages is in conflict with such a form with **a* as the first vowel. One might reconstruct an extra consonant based on MgrM and Bao, either **jagalsun* or **jalgasun*, one of which may be a metathesized variant of the other. However, the MMo forms contradict the first syllable **a* and do not support the

extra consonant. Poppe (60:57, 61, etc) also reconstructs an extra consonant: **jirkasun*, but Poppe's -r- is based on comparison with WM *jirmayai* 'small fry, young fish' (L1060a 'fish roe, caviar'). Within Mongolic the reconstruction of this word is difficult; it is attested as follows: MMo SH *jiramut* (pl.) H90, Kh *zaram* H235a, Bur *jaraaxay* C231b, Kalm *jirmäxä* M231a. Dag *jarəm* E312. These forms suggest CM forms **jiram*, **jaram*, and diminutives **jiraa-kaï* and **jir(a)ma-kaï*. It is uncertain that this word is related to **jagasun*.

MMo SH *jiqasu(n)* H89, HY *jiqasun* M67, Muq *jīyasun* P205b, *jiqasun*-P206b, LV *jiqasun* P1274, IV---. WM *jīyasu(n)* L1050a. Kh *zagas(an)* H224b. Ord *jaḡas(u)* M179a, *jaḡus* M179b. Bur *zagaha(n)* C243a. Brg *zago*: U211. Kalm *zaysn* M236a. Dag *jaus* E309. EYu *jaḡasən* B142, J106b, *jaḡasən* B143. MgrH *jaḡasə* J106a, *jaḡasə* X217, *jaḡasə* X221. MgrM *jaḡarsī* P419a. BaoD *žilyasuŋ* BL93b. BaoJ *žal(ə)ḡasuŋ* L45. BaoÑ *žalgasəŋ* CN196. Kgj *jiḡasun* ~ *jaḡasun* S303a. Dgx *zaḡasuŋ* B177. Mog---.

***jaḡil-** 'to chew'. In Bur and Kalm the unexpected palatal initial is due to assimilation to the second **j*. Some of the Baoan forms probably from an earlier **jalḡil-* or **jalḡal-* with assimilation of the two syllables.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *jaḡil-* P200a. WM *jaḡil-* L1041b. Kh *zajlax* H226a. Ord *jaḡil-* M178b. Bur *žaḡalxa* C231a, *žaḡalxa* (western) C244b. Brg *zajil-* U213. Kalm *jaḡilx* M223b. Dag *jeḡil-* E316. EYu *jaḡəl-* B143, *jaḡil-* J106a. MgrH *jaḡilə-* J106b. MgrM *zaḡər-* DS211b. BaoD *žiaḡial-* BL93b. BaoGt *žinḡal-* C117. BaoÑ *jaḡil-* CN197. BaoX *janḡal-* BC62. Kgj *jeḡi-* S302b. Dgx *zaḡulu-* B178. Mog *jaḡi-* (sic) R42a, *jaḡul-* W168b 'to eat'.

***jaka** 'edge; collar'. All peripheral languages would be compatible with a reconstruction **jaga*. EYu-Mgr also developed the generalized meaning 'above, upper'. Cf. Kgj *jiḡali* S303a 'upside' with unknown last element. Cf. CT **yaka* 'collar'.

MMo SH *jaqa* H84, HY *jaqa* M65, Muq *jaqa* P201b, *jīya-* P205b, LV---, IV *jīqa* (sic?) L62:38. WM *jaqa* L1041a. Kh *zax* H237b. Bur *zaxa* C252a. Brg *zax* U211. Kalm *zax* M243b. Dag *jay* E311. EYu *jaḡa* B142. MgrH *jaḡə* X217, *jaḡa*: X220. MgrM *jaḡa* C189, *zaḡa* DS203a 'above'. BaoD---. BaoÑ *jaḡa* CN195. Bao (unspecif. dial) *jaḡa* S436. Kgj *jiḡa* S303a. Dgx *zaḡa* B177. MogMr *jaḡa* (etc) L62:39, *jaḡe* I108 '(river) bank', *jaḡa* W168b 'bank'.

***jakaun** 'space between'. This reconstruction inspired by MMo. The Baoanic forms could also reflect a form **jaugun*, which would be easier to connect to **jab*, **jaura*. Also compare MMo SH *dege'un* H35 'above', which may be a mistranscription for **deegün*. This is supported by MgrH *de:xəŋ* X192 'surface', and not contradicted by MgrM *dieḡoŋ* DS240a 'on', BaoD *deguŋ* BL60 'not only... but also', BaoGt *degoŋ* BC69 'upside', and Kgj *degun* S299a 'upside'. A third parallel formation is Kgj *duḡun* S299b 'underside' < **doagun*.

MMo SH *jaqa'un* H84, HY---, Muq---. BaoD *joyeŋ* T139, BaoDatong *žəḡeŋ* CN86:186. Kgj *juḡun* S303b.

***jalaa** ‘(red) tassel’. Perhaps related to CT **yalig* ‘cock’s comb’. BaoÑ *žala* is explained as a loanword from Tibetan *sgya-la*, but the latter is more likely to be an ill-spelled loanword from Mongolic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH--- (see s.v. **jele* ‘tether’). WM *jalaya* L1029b. Kh *zala(n)* H228a. Ord *jala*: M181b. Bur *zala* C246a. Brg *zala*: U211. Kalm *zala* (obs) M237a. Dag *žila*: E317. EYu *žala*: B142, J106a. MgrH *žala*: J106b, *žəla* X217 ‘type of hat’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *žala* CN196. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jalau** ‘young (person)’. Probably from a stem **jala-* related to CT **ya:s* ‘id’.

MMo SH *jala’ui* H85, HY---, Muq *jala’u* P200a, *jalau*: P200b, LV *jalawu* P1272, IV *jalau* L62:37. WM *jalayu* L1029b, *jalayuu* L1030a. Kh *zalu* H229b. Ord *jalau*: M184a. Bur *zalu* C247b. Brg *zalu*: U211. Kalm *zalu* M238b ‘man; husband; youth’. Dag *žalə*: E312. EYu *žalu*: B143, J106a. MgrH *žaliu*: J106b, *žəliu* X217. MgrM *žalau* JL466. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *jalau* S302a. Dgx *žalau* B178. Mog *žaləu* W168b, MogMr *jalau* L62:37.

***jalbari-** ‘to beg, request; to pray’. Cf. CT **yalvar-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *jalbari-* H85, HY---, Muq *jalbari-* P200a, Ph *jalbari-* P124b. WM *jalbari-* L1030b. Kh *zalbirax* H228a. Ord *jalbari-* ~ *jalbira-* ~ *jalbiri-* M182a. Bur *zal’barxa* C248a. Brg *zalbir-* U212. Kalm *zal’vrx* M239b. Dag *jelbir-* E315. EYu *jalbar-* B143, J80, *jalbar-* (sic?) J50. MgrH---. MgrM *žierbari-* DS244a. Bao---. Dgx *žawari-* B179. Mog---.

***jalga-** ‘to join, connect’.

MMo SH *jalqa-* H85, HY---, Muq *jalqa-* P200b, LV *jalqa-* P1272 ‘to reach’, IV---. WM *jalqa-* L1030b. Kh *zalgax* H228b. Bur *zalgaxa* C247a. Brg *zalgax* U211. Kalm *zalyx* M238a. Dag *žaləy-* E312. EYu *žalgā-* B143. MgrH *žalgā-lda-* (reciprocal) X216. MgrM *žalgā-* T333, *žiergā-* DS213b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *žalgā-* CN196. Kgj *žalgā-* S302b. Dgx *žangā-* B176, *žagā-* MC451a. Mog---.

***jalgī-** ~ ***jalkī-** ‘to swallow’. MgrH (with consonant strength moved to the initial consonant), MgrM, BaoD, Dgx, and one of the EYu forms point at **jalkī-*. BaoÑ and Kgj unexpectedly do not support this form, so that the *-k-* cannot be reconstructed for Baoanic with certainty.

MMo SH *jalgī-* H85, *jalkī-* H85, HY---, Muq *jalyi-* P200b. WM *jalgī-* L1031b. Kh *zalgix* H229a. Ord *jalgī-* M182b. Bur *zalgixa* C247a. Brg *žal’ig-* U212. Kalm *zal’gx* M239b. Dag *žely’-* E315. EYu *jalqə-* B143, *žalgə-* J106a. MgrH *čalgə-* J106b. MgrM *žərkə-* DS227b (s.v. gulp), *žəkə-* DS254. BaoD *žialχə-* BL93b. BaoGt *žəlxə-* C121. BaoÑ *žalgə-* CN196. Kgj *žalgē-* S302b. Dgx *žəŋqəi-* B176. Mog---.

***jalkai** and ***jalkau** ‘lazy’. In spite of the HY notation not the same word as **jalikai* ‘shrewd’. Cf. **kašan* ‘lazy’.

MMo SH---, HY *jaliqai* M65 ‘laziness’, Muq---. WM *jalqayu(u)* L1032b. Kh *zəlxay* H230a, *zəlxuu* H230b (and *zəlxag* H230a). Ord *žalxu*: M183b. Bur *zəlxuu* C248a. Brg *zəlxu*: U212. Kalm *zəlxu* M239a. Dag *žalkə*: E312, also *žalkə*: *žalyai*

E312. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *zağai* MC452a, *zañgi-la*-B177 ‘to become lazy’. Mog---.

***janči-** ‘to beat, pound (usu. with an axe, hammer, etc)’. Bur-Kalm stem from a form with nasalized initial **nanči-*. Kalmuck according to Ramstedt displays *n ~ j ~ y*! The Baoanic and Ordos forms with *y-* are closer to the Turkic source form **yanč-* ‘id’. However, the disyllabic forms show that this variant is of some antiquity. The Mog form and meaning seem to be influenced by **čabči-* ‘to chop’.

MMo SH *janci-* H85, HY---, Muq *janči-* P201a, LV *janči-* P1273, IV---. WM *janči-* L1034a, *jangči-* L1034b, *nanči-* L564b. Kh *jančix* H209b, *zančix* H234a. Ord *yanči-* M396a. Bur *nanšaxa* C321b. Kalm *nančx* M368b. Dag *jinč-* E317. EYu *ja:nǰa-* B141, *janǰa-* J51. MgrH *žanči-* L229. MgrM *zanči-* C393, DS224a. BaoD---. Bao Gaser *enče-* CN86:219 ‘to hit’. BaoÑ *yanči-* CN213 ‘to beat; to forge’. Kgj *yanči-* ~ *yenči-* S305a ‘to thresh’. Dgx *yanči-* B186 ‘to thresh grain (to husk with a roller)’. Mog *janči-* R42a, *čanči-* R25a ‘to chop’.

***janggi, *janggia** ‘knot’, ***janggid-, *janggila-** ‘to tie a knot’. Strengthening of the **-g-* is found in Bao and in one MgrH form.

MMo SH *janggi* H85 ‘agreement’, HY---, Muq *janqi* P204a. WM *janggiya* L1035b. Kh *zangia* H233b. Ord *janğa:* M185b, *jangid-* M185b. Bur *zangilxa* C250a. Kalm *zängä* (obs) M244b ‘kind of talisman, q.v.). Dag *jeŋg’e:* E315, *jeŋg’e:-* E315. EYu *janğäd-* B142, *janğad-* J106a. MgrH *žanğäda-* J106b, *žanğäda-* X216 ‘to tie a knot’, *žanğäda-* X216 ‘to get into a knot’. BaoD *zanğaldä-* BL93b. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jaria** ‘hedgehog’. The form with **ia* survives in Bur, Dag, and in metathesized form, in Moghol. The remaining languages go back to an assimilated **jaraa*.

MMo SH---, HY *jari’a* M65, Muq *jari’a* P201b, LV *jara:n* P1271, IV *jariasun* L62:37, RH *jaria* 200A1. WM *jaraya* L1037a. Kh *zaraa* H234b, Chakhar *jira:* D183a. Ord *jara:* M187a. Bur *zaryaa* C252a. Brg *zara:* (?←Kh) U213. Kalm *zara* M241b. Dag *jer’e:* E316. EYu *jara:* B143, *jara* J106a, *ja:ra:* S432. MgrH *žara:* L229. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. MogMr *žaira* (etc) L62:37.

***jarim** ‘half (orig. adj)’, ***jarim-dug/-tug** ‘half (noun)’. In the central languages the meaning of ***jarim** developed into ‘some’. ***jarimdug/-tug** also developed some derived meanings. Note the *y-* in Baoan and Kangjia, in this case not supported by Dongxiang. Cf. CT **ya:r-im* from the verb **ya:r-* ‘to split’.

MMo SH *jarim* H86, HY *jarim* M65, *jarimtuq* M65, Muq *jarim* P201b. WM *jarim* L1038a ‘some, etc’, *jarimduy* L1038a ‘one half, etc’. Kh *zarim* H235b ‘some, a certain’, *zarimdag* H235b. Ord *jarmin* (< **jarim inu*) M188a ‘some, certain’. Bur *zarim* C251b ‘some; part of’. Brg *zarim* U213 ‘some’. Kalm *zärm* M245a ‘some; part of’. Dag *jerin* (?=) E316 ‘not full’. EYu *jarəm* J31 ‘half’, *jarəmdag* BJ325 ‘defective; paralysed’. MgrH *žærən* X218, *žæmtəg* X217, *žæmtəg* X216. MgrM *zanṭuḡ* JL476, *žyarim* P418a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *yarəm* (sic) CN216. Kgj *yarun* (sic) S305b. Dgx *zarun* B179 ‘half’, *zarunṭu* MC456a ‘paralysed (person)’. Mog---.

***jarma** ‘groats; hail’. The meaning ‘hail’ in Shirongol, elsewhere ‘groats’. Salar *yarma* (CT **ya:r-ma*) has both meanings. Kgj *cirima*, especially the *c-*, is an abnormal development if the form is indeed from **jarma*. Sečencogt (p. 68) derives it from NUyg *yamğur*, which is even less likely. Cf. **möndür* ‘hail’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *jarma* L1038b ‘groats, grits, bran; fine meal’. Kh *zaram* H234b ‘coarsely-ground grain; bran, grist’. Ord---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *zarm* (Derbed dial.) M242a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *jarma*: J102b, *jarma* X218 ‘hail’. MgrM---. BaoD *jarma* P412b ‘hail’. BaoÑ *jarma* CN198 ‘hail’. BaoGt *jarma* C121 ‘grain from spring’. Kgj *cirima* (sic, ?=) S302a ‘small hail’. Dgx *zama zajsun* B178 ‘hail’ (second element see **časun* ‘snow’). Mog---.

***jaru-** ‘to use; to employ; to slaughter’.

MMo SH *jaru-* H86, HY *jaru-* M65, Muq *jaru-* P202b. WM *jaru-* L1038b. Kh *zarax* H235a. Bur *zaraxa* C251a. Brg *zar-* U213. Kalm *zarx* M242b. Dag *jar-* E312. EYu *jar-* B143, J106a. MgrH *jarə-* J106a. MgrM *jar-* JL474. BaoD *jarə-* BL93b. BaoÑ *jar-* CN198. Kgj *jar-* S302b. Dgx *zaru-* B178. Mog *jaru-* W1698a, MogMr *jaru-* L64:33.

***jasa-** ‘to regulate, bring in order’, in modern languages usually ‘to repair; to make, manufacture; to fix’. The verb *yasa-* occurring in many Turkic languages, but not in the earliest-sources, is probably from Mongolic. At any rate, some of the Bao forms with *y-* may represent the Turkic form. The abraded forms such as EYu *hsa-* and MgrM *sa-* may be from **jasa-* or **yasa-*. The variety of forms within EYu is remarkable. Dag *das-* is from Manchu *dasa-*, which itself may in some (irregular) way be related to CM **jasa-*.

MMo SH *jasa-* H87, HY *jasa-* M65, Muq *jasa-* P202b, Ph *jasa'ul-* (caus) P125a. WM *jasa-* L1039a. Kh *zasax* H237a. Ord *jasa-* M188b, *yasa-* (Northeast dial.) M398b. Bur *zahaxa* C254a. Brg *zas-* (←Kh) U212. Kalm *zasx* M242b ‘to punish’, cf. *yasx* M712b ‘to castrate’. Dag (see above). EYu *časa-* B135, J106a, *čüsa-* BJ346, *hsa-* B60, *χsa-* S435, *sa-* B10 (in *em sama* ‘medicine maker’, i.e. ‘pharmacist’). MgrH *gza-* J106b. MgrM *sa-* C386. BaoD *žiasī-* BL93a ‘to repair’, *iəsə-* BL87b ‘to do’, *iəsī-* BL3 ‘to repair’. BaoGt *žās-* ~ *yās-* C142. BaoÑ *žar-* CN197, *žas-* CN197, *yar-* CN216. BaoX *jas-* BC74. Kgj *sa-* S293a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jau-** ‘to bite; to sting’.

MMo SH *ja'u-* H87, HY---, Muq *ja'u-* P203b, *ju:-* P211a. WM *jayu-* L1024a. Kh *zuux* H256b. Bur *zuuxa* C265b. Brg *zov-* U215. Kalm *zuux* M259a. Dag *jau-* E309. EYu *ju:-* B147, J106a. MgrH *žau:-* J106b, *žau-* X215, *žiū:-* SM94. MgrM *zau-* JL465. BaoD *žiū-* BL44. BaoGm *žu:-* CN86:227. BaoÑ *žu-* CN202. Kgj *jiū-* S302b. Dgx *zau-* B175. Mog *žöu-* R42b, *jav-* W169a.

***jauči** ‘mediator, go-between, matchmaker’. Possibly related to **jaura* ‘space between’. The Bur form suggests that **jauči* may go back to **jaurči*, whereas Kalm suggests **jaulči*. However, similar forms with *-l-* in WM and Kh are semantically different: WM *jayulči(n)* L1024b, *jiyulči(n)* (sic) L1051a ‘traveler, guest, passer-by,

etc’, Kh *žuulč(in)* H219b from ‘traveler, tourist’ (cf. also **jo(l)čün* ‘guest’ below, which may have influenced form and meaning of the present entry).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ǰayuči* L1024b, *ǰiyuči* (sic) L1051a. Kh *zuuč* H256b, *žuuč* H219b, [*zuučlagč* H256b]. Ord *ǰu:či* M222a. Bur [*zuurša(-lagša)* C265ab]. Kalm *zu:lčī* R482a, *zu:čī* R483b. Dag *ǰauč* E309. EYu [*ǰu:rmačə* (< **ǰaurmačī*) B147]. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ǰauči* B176. Mog---.

***ǰaugasun** ‘lily bulb’. Strange disharmonic form in Dagur.

MMo SH *ǰa’uqasu* H87 ‘lily root’, HY---. Muq *ǰu:yasunu čecek* [Poppe reads *čuyasunu*] P136b ‘kind of flower’. WM and central lgs---. Dag *ǰauwə:s* E310 ‘“lantern flower” [name used for several unrelated plants with bell-shaped flowers], lily; soft hoof of newborn calf’, *ǰauwə:s* NK524a ‘lily bulb; the soft part of the hoof’. Remaining lgs---.

***ǰauǰai** ‘heel (of foot or footwear)’. The Dag form is unexpected, as *-ai* is normally either lost completely, or preserved with a palatal element as *e:*, *i:*, or *ai*. Cf. **ösegei* ‘heel’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV *ǰauǰai* L62:38, RH *ǰauǰa* 199A20. Kh *zuuzay* H255b ‘counter for boots or shoes’. Bur *zuuzay* C264b. Kalm *zuuza* M258a. Dag *ǰauǰa:* E310. EYu---. MgrH *ǰauǰə* X215. MgrM [*qur*] *ǰaoǰia* DS228b, cf. *ǰəuǰia* (lit. hand heel’) DS219b ‘elbow’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰaun** ‘hundred’. The initial *n-* in some MgrH and BaoÑ forms is likely due to an erroneous analysis of compounds with the units 3-9 which end in *-n*. An *n-* now also appears after **koar* ‘2’ which never had *-n*, and **niken* ‘one’, which had lost it in Shirongol, e.g. MgrH *ǰo:r nǰon* J32, BaoÑ *ǰuar nǰon*, BaoGt *ǰuarən ǰün* C132, BaoX *ǰuari nǰon* CN86:152 ‘200’, BaoGt *nəgan ǰün* BL31 ‘100’, BaoX *nəgin ǰon* BC64 ‘100’.

MMo SH *ǰa’u(n)* H87, HY *ǰa’un* M66, Muq *ǰa’un* P203b, LV *ǰawun* P1271, IV *ǰawun* L62:38. WM *ǰayu(n)* L1024a. Kh *zuu(n)* H255a. Bur *zuu(n)* C264b. Brg *ǰo:* U215. Kalm *zun* M255b. Dag *ǰau* E309. EYu *ǰu:n* B147, J106a. MgrH *ǰǰon* X224, *nǰon* J106b. MgrM---. BaoD *ǰün* BL93a. BaoGt *ǰün* C132. BaoÑ *nǰon* CN37, *ǰon* CN201. BaoX *ǰon* BC64. Kgj *ǰun ~ ǰün* S303. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰaura** ‘space between’. In the central languages ‘on the way, halfway; while’. Cf. **ǰauči* ‘matchmaker’; possibly also related to **ǰab*, **ǰabsar* ‘interval’.

MMo SH *ǰa’ura* H87, HY *ǰa’ura* M66, Muq *ǰu:ra* P211b, Ph *ǰa’ura* P125a. WM *ǰayura* L1024b. Kh *zuur* H256a. Bur *zuura* C264b. Brg *ǰo:r* U215. Kalm *zuur* M258a. Dag *ǰaur* Z73, *ǰaur*, *ǰǰ:r* T143. EYu *ǰu:ra* B147. MgrH *ǰo:ro* X223, *ǰu:rə* X224. MgrM *ǰaura* JL466. BaoD---. BaoGt *ǰorə* C103. BaoÑ *ǰo:rə* CN201. Kgj *ǰuru* S303b. Dgx *ǰəura* B179 ‘at the time that..’. Mog *ǰöuro:* R42b.

***ǰaurangai/*ǰaurakai** ‘wolf’. Although lacking in MMo, the distribution shows this could be an old word. It might in reality be more widespread. Apparently an Ersatzwort derived from **ǰau-* ‘to bite’ with the adjectival suffix *-rAkAi* denoting

habitual actions; alternatively from **jaura-* ‘to close the mouth tightly’ (not listed). Cf. **čino*.

MMo---. Bur (Khorī dial.) *zuurangi* C265a ‘(taboo) wolf’. MgrH *žiu:raŋge*: SM95. Kgj *jiurŋei* S303a. Dgx *žiranŋəi* B181, *žanŋəi* B177, *žiranqəy* P412a.

***jayaan** ‘fate, destiny, luck, etc’. Cf. Muq *jaya:-* P203b ‘to create’, Kh *zayaax* H239a ‘to predetermine, etc’, Dgx *žaya-san(də)* B178 ‘come into the world’.

MMo SH *jaya’an* H87, HY *jaya’an* M66, *jaya:n* M66, Muq *jīya:-tu* P316a, Ph *jāya’an* P125a ‘rebirth’. WM *jāyaya(n)* L1028a. Kh *zayaa(n)* H238b. Chakhar *jīya*: D183a. Ord *jīya*: M195b. Bur *zayaa(n)* C254a. Brg *žaya*: U213. Kalm *zayan* M243b. Dag *jīya*: E318. EYu *žā:n* B149, *jīya* J106b. MgrH *žaya:n* J106a. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *žaya-* B178 ‘to be lucky’. Mog---.

***jebe** (?*jēbi) ‘rust’. The final vowel is uncertain. MgrH seems to indicate *-e* rather than *-i*, but MgrM does not support this. Ordos has two variants and cannot decide the matter. The first vowel is also uncertain: Kh-Kalm *z-* points at **e*, but Bur *ž-* suggests **jibe* or **jibi*. The Dag forms suggest a form **jebi* or **jibi*, since **-b-* is only preserved in Dag before **i/i*. Unfortunately this word is absent from the old documents (**jebe* in MMo SH, HY, Muq is ‘weapon, arm’)

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *jibe* L1048a, *jibi* L1048b, *jebi* L1042a, *jabi* (sic) L1019a. Kh *zev* H262a, according to Lessing also *jiv*, *zav*. Ord *jīwe*, *jīwi* M206ab. Bur *žebe* C234b. Brg *jīβ* U207. Kalm *zev* M245b. Dag *jib* E317, *jib’* NK526a. EYu---. MgrH *žē*: X219, *žūe*: SM95, cf. *žō:-də-* X223 ‘to rust’. MgrM *žeb-de-* JL474 ‘to rust’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jee** ‘cousin’. The WM spelling with *-i-* is incorrect in view of the *z-* in the central languages, and the Turkic cognate **yegen* ‘id’. The complete absence of *-n* in Mongolic is surprising.

MMo SH *je’e*, *je* H88, HY *je’e* M66, Muq---. WM *jige* L1051b. Kh *zee* H266b. Ord *je*: M192a. Bur *zee* (in compounds) C275a. Brg *žə*: U213. Kalm *ze* M245a. Dag *žə*: E313. EYu *jī*: B145, J106b, *je*: (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *žē*: J106a, X219. MgrM (Sanchuan) *čī* [**žə*] P418a. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *žə* B179. Mog---.

***jeeren** ‘Mongolian gazelle (kind of antelope)’. Related to CT **yegren* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *je:ren* M67, Muq *je:ren* P205a, LV *jīyren* P1273, IV---. WM *jegere(n)* L1043b. Kh *zeer(en)* H267b. Bur *zeere(n)* C275b. Kalm *zeern* M246a. Dag *žə:rən* E312. EYu *je:ren* B144, J106b. MgrH---. MgrM *jer’ imà* P413a (**imaan* ‘goat’). Remaining lgs---.

***jele** (?*jēlü) ‘long rope to which the tethers of cattle are attached’. Ord, Bur and EYu disagree on the final vowel. Agricultural term related to CT **yelü* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH *jele* [eds read *jala:*] 205A30. WM *jele* L1045a. Kh *zel* H263b. Ord *jīle* M198a. Bur *zele*, *zeli* C272b, *zeeli* (?=) C275a ‘horse hair rope’. Brg *žəl* U214. Kalm *zel* M246b. Dag *jildə:s* (+ **deesün*) E318, *dillə:s* E88:103. EYu *jelə* B144. Remaining lgs---.

***jeü-** ‘to wear (usu. an ornament)’. In EYu-Mgr this word merged phonetically with **jöe-* ‘to transport’, and most of the Baoanic forms also suggest an earlier form **jo:-* rather than the expected **ju:-*. Cf. **emüs-* ‘to wear (clothes)’.

MMo SH---, HY *je’ü-* M67, Muq---. WM *jegü-* L1043b. Kh *züüx* H262a. Ord *ju:-* M222a. Bur *züüxe* C270a. Brg *zu:-* U217. Kalm *züüx* M262a. Dag---. EYu *jü:-* B148, J106b. MgrH *žo:-* J106a. MgrM *zo-* JL472. BaoD *žia-* BL93b. BaoÑ *žo:-* CN201. Kgj *jü-* S304a. Dgx *zo-* B181, *juei-* T120. Mog---.

***jeüdüñ** ‘dream’. The added preconsonantal *-n-* in some Baoan dialects may be due to assimilation to the final nasal. Dgx *-ž-* instead of *-d-* is unexpected, and at first sight more suggestive of an original form **jeüden* (but cf. **büdüri-* ‘to stumble’). Apparently from a root **jeü-*, cf. the verb **jeüle-*, which survives in Dag *jəul-* E313, EYu *jö:yəle-* (sic) B146 ‘to talk in one’s sleep’.

MMo SH *jao’udun* H86, HY *je’üdüñ* M67, Muq *jü:dü* P212b. WM *jegüde(n)* L1043b, *jegüdü(n)* L1044a. Kh *züüd(en)* H261b. Ord *ju:de* M222b. Bur *züüde(n)* C270a. Brg *zu:d* U217. Kalm *züüdn* M261b. Dag *jəud* E313. EYu *jü:dən* B148, J106b, *jö:dən* (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *žiu:dən* J106a. MgrM *žauduñ* JL474, *jiuden* T334. BaoD *žünduñ* BL93a. BaoGt *žunduñ* C137. BaoJ *žündüñ* L52. BaoÑ *žudañ* CN202. BaoX *judon* BC64. Kgj *judun* ~ *jüdüñ* S304a. Dgx *žaužüñ* B176. Mog *jödu-la-* R42b ‘to dream’.

***jeün** ‘left; east’. Cf. **solagai* ‘left’.

MMo SH *jao’un* H86, HY *je’un* M67, Muq *jü’un* P112a, *jö’en* P209a, LV *jöwen* P1271, IV *jüyün* L62:40. WM *jegün* L1044a. Kh *züün* H261b. Bur *züü(n)* C270a. Brg *zu:ñ* U217. Kalm *zün* M259b. Dag *jun* T145. EYu *jüñ* (‘obsolete’) B147, *jü:n* J106b. Remaining lgs---.

***jeün** ‘needle’.

MMo SH *je’u* H89, HY *jö’un* M69, Muq *je’un* P205a, *jü’un-* P297a, *jü:n-* P370b. WM *jegüü* L1044b, *jegün* L1044a, *jeü* L1047b. Kh *züü(n)* H261b. Ord *ju:* M222a. Bur *züü(n)* C270a. Brg *zu:* U217. Kalm *zün* M260a. Dag *ju:* E320, *jəu* NK525a. EYu *jü:n* B148, J106b. MgrH *žiu:* J106b. MgrM *žau* C393. BaoD *žüñ* BL93a. BaoÑ *žəñ* CN201. Kgj *jün* ~ *jün* S304a. Dgx *žun* B182. Mog *jöun* R42b.

***jä-** ‘to announce, etc’ see ***jaa-**

***jä(r)(i)** (> ***jaar(i)**) ‘musk’. There are several phonetic inconsistencies. The **ia* of WM and HY, which is supported by Turkic **yipar* ~ **ipar* ‘id’, is not preserved in the modern languages; the *z-* in the central languages indicates an assimilated form **jaar*. Some of the Kh, Bur, and EYu forms suggest a longer form in *-i* not found in the older sources.

MMo SH---, HY *jiqar* (or *ji-ha-r*) M67 ‘musk deer’, Muq *ja:r* P204a, RH *ja:r* 205D4. WM *jaqar* L1023b, *jiyar* L1050a. Kh *jaar* H221b ‘musk, etc’, *jaar* H221b ‘musk, etc; gelded reindeer’, *zair* H227b (both meanings?). Ord *ja:r* M187a. Bur *jaar* C240a, *zaari* C240b both ‘strong smell’, cf. *zari* (Oka dial.) C251b ‘gelded

four-year-old reindeer, etc'. Brg *za:r* U209. Kalm *zar* M241b 'musk'. Dag *ja:r* E308. EYu *ja:r* B141, *ja:rə* J106a. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jīda** 'spear, lance'. A widespread word in North Eurasia. Dag *g'ad* is from Manchu *gida* 'id'.

MMo SH *jida* H89, HY *jida* M67, Muq *jida* P205a, LV---, IV *jida* L62:38. WM *jida* L1049a. Kh *jad* H208b. Ord *jida* M193b. Bur *žada* C230b. Brg *jad* U206. Kalm *jid* M226b. Dag (see above). EYu *jəda* BJ325, J106b, *juda* B147. MgrH *ži:da* J106a, *žida*: X222. MgrM *žida* JL461. Bao---. Kgj *jida* S303b. Dgx *žida* B180. Mog---.

***jīgasun** 'fish' see ***jāgasun**

***jīlga** 'ravine, gorge, chasm, abyss'. The Kgj form may also be from ***jölke**.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *jilyas* (pl) P372a 'pad' - tiefe schlucht'. WM *jilya* L1055a. Kh *žalga* H209a. Bur *žalga* C231a. Kalm *jaly* M224a. Dag *jaləy* (?) E312 'marshland'. EYu *jalğa* B144. Mgr---. BaoD *žingə* (?) BL58 'Ganhetan (placename)'. Kgj *jirge* (?) S303b.

***jīloa** 'reins'. The Arabo-Mongolic forms see to involve a metathetic ***jīlau**.

MMo SH *jilo'a*, *jilu'a* H90, HY---, Muq---, LV *jilawu* P1272, IV---, RH *jilau* 187C13. WM *jiloya* L1055b. Kh *joloo(n)* H217b. Ord *jilo*: M198b. Bur *žoloo* C232b. Brg *jolə*: U208. Kalm *jola* M231a. Dag *dilə*: E283, *jilə*: ~ *dilə*: E88:116. EYu *jəlu*: B144, *julu*: J106b, *jolu*: S452. MgrH *žolo-čə* X224 'driver'. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jīlsun** 'glue, paste'. The distribution of this word is interesting. The Kgj form suggest a front form, but Kalm supports the present reconstruction. The *-l-* is preserved in Shirongol as in ***čaasun** 'paper', etc. The *-i-* in the Bao and Kgj forms may be due to secondary palatalisation, rather than represent an archaic form. Perhaps related to Kh *jiliy* H214b 'rosin, colophony', Bur *želii* C236a 'tree resin'. A relationship with CT ***yelim** 'id' is doubtful.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *jilsun* (P: *jilsün*) P206a, LV---, IV---, RH *jilsun* [eds.: *jalasun*] 204C28. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm *zun* M257b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *žülzə* X225. MgrM *zursi* JL473. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *žilsoŋ* S555. Kgj *jilesun* S303a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jīrga-** 'to be glad or happy'.

MMo SH *jirqa-* H90, HY *jirqa-* M67, Muq---, Ph *jirqa-* P125b. WM *jirya-* L1059a. Kh *jargax* H210a. Ord *jirga-* M202a. Bur *jargaxa* C231b. Brg *jarag-* U206. Kalm *jiryx* M230a. Dag *jarəy-* E312. EYu *jirğa-* B145, *jarğa-* J65. MgrH *žargal* (only) L230 'happiness'. Remaining lgs---.

***jīrguan** 'six'. The central languages reflect a shape ***jurgaān** (the result of early breaking), Dagur and Shirongol derive from ***jirgo:n** < ***jirgoan**. The latter is also

likely to be the source of the EYu form (via an unattested **ǰǝrǝǰǝ:n*). Related to **ǰiran* ‘sixty’ which suggests a root **ǰir-* with an unknown suffix (?-gUAn).

MMo SH *jirwa’an* H91, *jirqo’an* H90, HY *jirwa’an* M67, Muq *ǰiryu’an* P207a, *ǰirya:n* P206b, LV *ǰirya:n*, *ǰurya:n* P1271, IV *ǰuryu’an* L62:39. WM *ǰiryuya(n)* L1059b. Kh *zurgaa(n)* H254a. Ord *ǰurǝa:* M220a. Bur *zurgaan* C263b, *yorgoon* (Ekhirit) C228a. Brg *zǝrǝa:ŋ* U217. Kalm *zurǝan* M257a. Dag *ǰiryǝ:* E318. EYu *ǰirǝu:n* B145, *ǰurǝu:n* J107a. MgrH *ǰirǝo:n* J106b. MgrM *ǰurǝoŋ* T334. BaoD *ǰirǝuŋ* BL93a. BaoÑ *ǰirǝoŋ* CN200. BaoX *ǰirǝoŋ* BC67. Kgj *ǰirǝuŋ* ~ *ǰirǝun* S303b. Dgx *ǰirǝoŋ* B180. MogMr *ǰuryǝ:n* (rarely used) L62:40.

***ǰiran** ‘sixty’. In Bao and Kgj replaced by a new formation **ǰirguan harban* ‘six tens’, e.g. *ǰirgaran* CN200. Related to **ǰirguan* ‘six’ which suggests a root **ǰir-* + decade suffix -An, for which cf. **dalan* ‘seventy’, **yeren* ‘ninety’.

MMo SH---, HY *ǰiran* M67, Muq *ǰiran* P206b, LV *ǰiran* P1274, IV *ǰiran* L62:39. WM *ǰira(n)* L1058b. Kh *ǰar(an)* H210a. Ord *ǰira* M200b. Bur *ǰara(n)* C231b. Brg *ǰar* U206. Kalm *ǰirn* M231a. Dag *ǰar* E312. EYu *ǰiran* B145, J106b. MgrH *ǰiran* J106a. BaoD---, BaoÑ---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***ǰiroa** ‘amble; ambler’. The CM form **ǰoria*, expected on the basis of the Turkic cognate **yorǝga* from **yorǝ-* ‘to walk’, is only attested in MMo sources in Arabic script. Vowel shortening in Mgr.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *ǰoriya* P1273, IV *ǰorya* L62:39. WM *ǰiroya* L1061a. Kh *ǰoroo* H218b. Ord *ǰiro:* M203a. Bur *ǰoroo* C233a. Brg *ǰǝrǝ:* U208. Kalm *ǰora* M232b. Dag *ǰirǝ:* E318. EYu *ǰǝrǝ:* B146, *ǰoro:* J107a. MgrH *ǰoro* J106a, *ǰuro* L251. MgrM---, Bao---, Kgj *ǰuru* S303b. Dgx---, Mog *ǰiro:* R42b.

***ǰiru-** ‘to paint; to write’. The **i* in the first syllable is uncertain. The central languages go back to a form **ǰuru-* or **ǰur-*. EYu as if from **ǰura-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ǰiru-qsan* P207a ‘drawn’, cf. Muq *ǰuri’a-tu* P211a ‘striped’. LV---, IV---. WM *ǰiru-* L1060b. Kh *zurax* H254a. Ord *ǰuru-* M220b. Bur *zuraxa* C263b, (western) ‘to write’. Brg *zǝr-* U216. Kalm *zurx* M257a. Dag---. EYu *ǰura-* B147. MgrH *ǰiu:rǝ-* J98b ‘to write’. MgrM *ǰuri-* JL464 ‘to write’, *ǰuri-* T335 ‘id’. Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***ǰi-** ‘two’ see ***ǰitüer** ‘second’.

***ǰii-** ‘to stretch, extend’. The original form may have been **ǰiǝ-*, but the Dgx form does not prove this. In PM, a consonant may have been between the two i’s, most likely **g* or **p*. Cf. **sun-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, Ph---. WM *ǰigi-*, *ǰigii-*, *ǰigei-* L1052a. Kh *ǰiǝx* H213b. Ord *ǰi:-* M192b. Bur *ǰiǝxe* C232b. Brg *ǰi:-* U206. Kalm *ǰiǝx* M227b. Dag *ǰi:-* E316. EYu---. MgrH *ǰi:-* J106a. BaoD *ǰi-* BL93b. BaoÑ *ǰi:-* CN198. Kgj---, Dgx *ǰi-* L121b, *ǰiǝǝa-* (caus.) B180. Mog---.

***ǰil** ‘(calendar) year, year of the Twelve Animal Cycle’. The Turkic equivalent **yǝl* ‘id’ suggests that this word was probably back-vocalic **ǰiǝl*, but there is no

confirmation for this in the Mongolic languages. The extra vowel in Baoan and Kangjia is a later addition, given that Dongxiang has the normal development *-l > -ŋ. Cf. **hon* ‘(duration of a) year’; **nasun* ‘(year of) age’.

MMo SH *jil* H90, HY *jil* M67, Muq---, LV *jil* P1274, IV---, Ph *jil* P125a. WM *jil* L1054a. Kh *jil* H213b. Chakhar *jil* D182b. Kalm *jil* M227b. Bur *žel* C236a. Brg *jil* U207. Dag *jil* E317. EYu *ǰəl* B144, J106b. MgrH *ǰil* J106a, X221, *ǰül* X225. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ǰilə* CN199. Kgj *ǰile* S303a. Dgx *ǰəŋ* B110, cf. also *ǰuŋtu* B110 ‘born in the ... year’ (**ǰil.tü* or **ǰil.tu*). Mog *ǰil* W169a ‘time’.

?**ǰir-* ‘to cut’. Apparently only present in Shirongol, but it may nevertheless be an old verb. Perhaps the base of **ǰirim* ‘bellyband’ (for which a verbal base is known in Turkic). The MgrH form was derived from **ǰor-* (listed below) by Khasbaatar, but there is also a MgrH *ǰo:rə-* which suits **ǰor-* better. BaoÑ *ǰir-* could also go back to **ǰisü-* ‘to cut’ listed below. ?cf. also Kh *ǰirgex* H216a ‘to cut into smaller pieces’, *ǰürmele-* L1085b ‘to cut into thin strips’.

MMo---, Central lgs---, Dag---, EYu---, MgrH *ǰi:ri-* SM93 ‘to cut into long strips’, *ǰi:rə-* X219 ‘to cut’. BaoD *ǰarə-* (?=) T139 ‘to cut’. BaoÑ *ǰir-* (?=) CN200 ‘to cut’ (could be from **ǰisü-*). Kgj *ǰiri-* S303b ‘to cut, to slash’. Dgx---, Mog (see ?**ǰor-*).

**ǰirim* ‘bellyband on the left side of the saddle’. The rounded vowels in the Dag form *ǰulum* may suggest a relationship with Kh *zürem* H260b ‘thin strips of something’. This would explain the rounded vowel forms but not the -l-. Perhaps related to Turkic **yirim* or **yerim* ‘a single fresh strip of anything’ (cf. EDPT 969a) from **yer-* or **yir-* (cf. EDPT 955a). Cf. **olaŋ*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ǰirim* P207a ‘thong’, LV---, IV---, WM *ǰirim* L1060a. Kh *ǰirem* H216b. Ord *ǰirim* M202b. Bur *ǰerem* C238b. Brg *ǰirəm* U207. Kalm *ǰirm* M231a. Dag *ǰulum* E324, *ǰilim* NK526b, *ǰulim* T145. EYu *ǰərəm* B144. Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx *ǰirəŋ* B181, *ǰiriŋ* L7, *ǰirun* MC462a. Mog---.

**ǰirüken* ‘heart’ see **ǰürüken*

ǰisü-* ‘to cut, slice, split’. The central languages have z- which rather suggests a CM **ǰüsü-*. Dagur and Ordos support this as well. It is phonetically possible that BaoÑ *ǰir-* CN200 ‘to cut’ belongs here, but cf. also ?ǰir-* listed above.

MMo SH *ǰisu-* H91, HY---, Muq *ǰisü-* P207b. WM *ǰisü-* L1064a. Kh *züsex* H261a. Ord *ǰusu-* M225b. Bur *zühexe* C271a. Brg *ǰuxu:-* U218. Kalm *züsx* M261a. Dag *ǰus-* E323 ‘etc’. EYu *čüsə-* BJ346 ‘to chop; to stab’, *čusu-* (?=) S579 ‘to tear to pieces’. Mgr---, BaoD---, BaoÑ *ǰir-* (?=, see above) CN200 ‘to cut’. Dgx---, Mog---.

**ǰisün* ‘colour (esp. of the hair of an animal); complexion; appearance, looks’. The forms with z- in the central languages suggest CM **ǰüsün*. This form is also supported by Dagur, where one would expect **ǰisün* to result in **ǰis*. Enkhbat compares Dag *ǰus* to WM *ǰisüm*, which is probably incorrect, although the loss of -m is also seen in other Dag words. Some of the EYu and MgrH forms also suggest **ǰüsün* rather than a disyllabic form.

MMo SH *jisu(n)* H91, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *jisü(n)* L1064a. Kh *züs(en)* H260b, cf. *züse(m)*. Ord *jusu* M225b. Bur *zühe(n)* C270b, *zühe(n)* C234b. Brg *juxu*: U209. Kalm *züs(n)* M260b. Dag *jus* E323, Z105a. EYu *jus* B148, *jüs* BJ113, *čösön* J106b. MgrH *žus* C88:587 ‘face’, *žusə* S469. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jitüer** ‘second; co-wife’ and ***jitüen** ‘competition’. Morphologically ***jitüer** is an ordinal number from the root ***ji-** ‘two’, also occurring in ***jirin** ‘two’, cf. MMo SH *jirin* H90 ‘two, both (feminine)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *jitö:r* [Poppe reads *jitür*] P207b ‘jealousy’. Kh *jötöör* H218a, *jötgör* H218b ‘wives of a polygamist; jealousy, envy’, *jötöö(n)* H218b ‘jealousy, envy’, *jitger* LC2:180a ‘(youngest) wife of a polygamist’. Ord *jötö:r* M214a ‘jealous’, *jötö:*, *ata: jötö:* M214a ‘jealousy, rivalry’. Bur *žütöö(n)* C234a. Kalm *atan jitään* M231b ‘envy, competition’. cf. Dag *xata: jütə:* E323 ‘aspiration, willpower’. Remaining lgs---.

***jüür** ‘wing’. The central languages go back to ***jibür**, the MMo sources stem from ***jüür** > ***jüür**. The forms with **-güü-** in Kh and Bur are reading pronunciations. Perhaps then from a set of PM variants ***jibür** ~ ***jipür**, of which the latter went on to become ***jihür** > ***jüür**. The MgrH forms are perhaps related in spite of the aberrant forms. In MgrM this word seems to be confused with ***ijüür** ‘tip, end’.

MMo SH *ji’ur* H91, HY *jü’ür* M67 (read *ji’ür* by Mostaert), Muq---, LV *jü:r* P1273, IV *jibür* L62:38, RH *jüür* 200B14. WM *jigür* L1053a, *jiber* ‘sometimes used instead of *jigür*’) L1048b. Kh *jiver* H211b ‘fin(s) of a fish’, *jigüür* H212a ‘wing’. Ord *jigü:r* (← WM) M195b. Bur *žeber* C234b ‘pinion, wing’, *žegüür* C235b ‘wing’. Kalm *jivr* M225a ‘wing’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ža:r* (?=) X214, *sa:r* (?=) X129. MgrM *jur*, *ujur* P415b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***joba-** ‘to suffer, to worry’.

MMo SH *joba-*, *jobo-* H91, HY *jobo-laŋ* M67 ‘suffering’, Muq *joba-* P207b. WM *joba-* L1065b. Kh *zovox* H239b. Bur *zoboxo* C255a. Brg *зѡβ-* U215. Kalm *zovx* M250a. Dag *joγ^w* E320. EYu *jo:-* B145, *jo:-* J91. MgrH *žoblŋ* X224, *žæblŋ* X217, *žærlŋ* X218 < **jobalaŋ*, and perhaps in *žo:rgo-* SM91 (caus.) ‘to thank’ < **joba-lga-*. MgrM *zobo-* DS256a ‘to toil’. Bao---. Dgx---. MogMr only in *jobo-lyā* L68, No. 18 ‘bad quality meat’.

***jočün** ‘guest’. Apparently from an older form ***jolčün** and related to a CT ***yo:l-čī** ‘traveller’ from ***yo:l** ‘road’. The form with **-l-** only seems to survive in one Baoan source, and in Kalm *zolčn* R476a ‘traveller’. Kalm *zuul’č* M258a ‘traveller, tourist, stranger’ and *zo:člχä* R477b ‘to be a guest (and give presents at the occasion), to ask a girl to marry’, *zu:lčī* R482a, *zulčī* R483a ‘mediator’ seem to involve a confusion between this word and ***jaučī** ‘mediator, matchmaker’. Two other Mongolic words for guest are similarly formed: ***ailčün** (not listed here) from ***ail** ‘camp, village’, and ***geičün**, perhaps < ***keidčün** from ***keid** ‘dwelling’. The partially overlapping distribution of these three words seems erratic. Ordos has all three words. The peripheral languages typically only preserve one each.

MMo SH---, HY *jočin* M67, Muq *jočin* P208a. WM *joči(n)* L1066a. Kh *zočin* H245a. Ord *jočid* (pl.) M211a. Bur *zošon* (some dialects) C259a. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *çućin* JL473. BaoD *žiaocüñ* BL93b, *žioćüñ* BL4. BaoJ *žolćuñ* L50. BaoÑ---. Kgj *jučə ~ jüčə* S304a. Dgx *zočəñ* B181. Mog---.

***jokī-** ‘to fit, to suit’.

MMo SH *joki-* H92, HY *jokiya-* (caus. form) M67 ‘to arrange’, Muq *joqi-* P208a, Ph *joqiya-* (caus) P125b. WM *joki-* L1068a. Kh *zoxix* H245a. Bur *zoxixo* C259a. Kalm *zokx* M251a. Dag *juyʷ-* (sic) E322. EYu *jəgə-* B146. MgrH *čugu-* X211, *čigu-* L444, *čugu-* SM440. MgrM---. BaoD *joyə-* T139. BaoÑ *žəgə-* CN201. Kgj *juğu-* S303b. Dgx *zoğu-* MC465b. Mog *joya:lya-* (double caus.) R42b ‘to cause to perform, to cause to do, to do’, *jəgə-* W169a ‘to prepare’.

***jolga-** ‘to meet; to visit’. The long vowel in MgrH, although in agreement with Turkic **yo:l-uk-* ‘id’, is unexpected here. The Turkic is from **yo:l* ‘road, path’, which is cognate to CM **jol* ‘good luck’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *jolqa-* H92, *joluqa-* H93, HY *jolqa-* M68, Muq *jolqa-* P208a. WM *jolya-* L1069b. Kh *zolgox* H241a. Bur *zolgoxo* C255b. Brg *zəlg-* U215. Kalm *zolyx* M251a. Dag---. EYu *jəlgə-* B146, *jəlgə-* J93b. MgrH *žio:rğa-*, *žio:rgo-* SM91, *žo:lğa-*, *žo:lgo-* X223. BaoD *zolyə-* BL81b. BaoÑ *žolga-* CN201. BaoX *jəlgə-* BC71. Kgj *julğu-* S303b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jor-** ‘to plane, shave, peel, pare off’. In spite of Poppe’s readings, the Muq forms probably belong here, which is supported by the Chagatai equivalent *yon-*. However, the disyllabic form *juru-qu* is unexpected. EYu-MgrH vowel length probably arose after the connective vowel *U* was incorporated into the stem. Cf. **jir-* and **jisü-* ‘to cut’ listed above for some further QG forms that may belong with the present etymon. Ramstedt’s Moghol form is hard to connect to either **jir-* or **jor-*, as *öu* normally reflects **au* or **eü*. Ramstedt’s etymology **jaura-* seems untraceable; Weiers’ suggestion to derive *juri-* from **jori-* ‘to point at’ is semantically problematic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *jor-* (Poppe: *jur-qu*, *juru-ba*) P211a, *juru-qu* P383a, the second *u* is only written in the last instance. WM *jor-* L1070b. Kh *zoroX* H243b. Ord *jor-* M210a. Bur *zoroXo* C257b. Kalm *zorx* M252a. Dag *joryʷ-* (apparently a caus. formation, but not semantically) E320. EYu *ju:r-* B147, S470, *jü:r-* S454. MgrH *žo:rə-* X223. Mog *jöurunä* (?=) R42b ‘cuts’, *juri-* (?=) W169b ‘to make’, but the context of the only occurrence (in fact the pass. *jurigda-* W64, No. 185) is compatible with ‘to cut’; cf. Zirni *juru-* 22:5a ‘to cut’.

***jori-** ‘to point at’, with derived meanings like ‘to aim’ and ‘to intend’. In some languages most clearly attested in derived forms, e.g. MMo HY *jorin* M68 ‘intentionally’, *joriq* M68 ‘intention’, Dgx *zoroğon* MC464a ‘intentionally’. The Dgx verb listed below is a semantically problematic match.

MMo SH *jori-* H93, HY (see above), Muq *jori-* P208b ‘to show the way, to give directions’, Ph *jori-* P125b ‘to strive’. WM *jori-* L1071a. Kh *zorix* H243b. Bur

zorixo C257b ‘to aim at’. Kalm *zörx* M254b ‘to aim at’. Dag *ǰorʸ*- E320. EYu *ǰorə*- B146 ‘to aim at’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *zorəi*- (?=) MC464a ‘to begin (upwards or downwards)’ (?). Mog--- (see **ǰor*- above).

***ǰoraa** ‘ambler’ see ***ǰiroa**

***ǰöb** ‘right, correct, proper’. Perhaps Dag *ǰu:yu:* below and *ǰuyi(n)* T145 (derived from **ǰöb* by Enkhbat as well as Todaeva) are not related to **ǰöb*, but rather to Dag *ǰuyʸ*-, which seems to be an irregular development of **ǰokī*- ‘to be suitable’.

MMo SH *job* H91, HY *jöb* M68, Muq *jöbleldü*- P208b ‘to promise’ (**jöbleldü*-). WM *jöb* L1072b. Kh *zöv* H245b. Ord *jöb* M212a. Bur *züb* C265b. Brg *zuß* U218. Kalm *zöv* M252a. Dag *ǰu:yu:* (sic, ?=) E320, cf. *ǰubše*:- E322 ‘to support’ (**jöbsie*-). EYu *jöb* B146. MgrH *ǰob* X223, *ǰüb* X225, *ǰür* X225, *ǰod* X223. MgrM *zo* JL472. Bao---. Kgj *ǰübə-la* ~ *ǰubu-la* S304a ‘true’. Dgx *zo* B181. Mog---.

***ǰöe**- ‘to carry, transport’. For semantic reasons it is difficult to connect MMo SH *jo’e*- H92, *ju’e*- H94 ‘to set up, install, etc’, Muq *ǰö*:- P209a ‘to obtain’. The HY *-g*- may be a mistranscription from the Uigur script, but is also reminiscent of EYu *jöke*- B146 ‘to bring, deliver (betrothal gifts)’. This may have further equivalents in MMo SH *jugeli* H94 ‘sacrifice to Heaven with meat suspended from a pole’, Dag *ǰu:yu:*- E321 ‘to offer up a sacrifice’, cf also Manchu *juge*-. In some languages **ǰöe*- has phonetically merged with **ǰeü*- ‘to wear (gloves, jewelry, etc)’.

MMo SH (see above), HY *jögelge*- M68, *jöge’ül*- M69 (caus. forms), Muq (see above). WM *jöge*- L1074a, *jögege*- L1074b. Kh *zööx* H248b. Ord *jö*:- M212a. Bur *zööxe* C260a. Brg *zo*:- U217. Kalm *zööx* M253b. Dag---. EYu *jü*:- J107a. MgrH *ǰo*:- J107b. MgrM *jiu*- T334. BaoD *ǰo*:- T139. BaoÑ---. Dgx *jue*- T120, *čue*- T141 (sic), *zo*- MC462a ‘to apply/spread (dung)’. Mog *ǰuwa*- W169b ‘to bring out’.

ǰöelen** (?ǰeülen**) ‘soft’. The form **ǰeülen* (due to metathesis of diphthong elements) is suggested by Dag, and perhaps supported by MogM. The forms in the QG languages do not strongly favour the form with *-öe*-. Kalm *j*- is unexpected.

MMo SH *jo’olen* H93, HY *jö’elen* M68, Muq *jö’elen* P209a, *jö’ölen* P209a, *jö:’len* P209b, LV---, IV *jö:’len* L62:39. WM *jögelen* L1074b. Kh *zöölön* H247b. Bur *zööle(n)* C259b. Brg *zo:liṅ* U217. Kalm *jöölñ* M233a. Dag *ǰaula:n* E313. EYu *jülen* B148, *jü:’len* B148, J107a, *jö:’len* (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *ǰo:lon* J107a. MgrM *zolen* JL464, *jiolon* T334. BaoD *ǰiuləṅ* BL93a. BaoÑ *ǰulaṅ* CN202. Kgj *ǰilo* S303a. Dgx *zolién* B181. MogMr *ǰo:lan*, MogM *ǰəulä* L62:39.

***ǰöen** ‘cold’. In central Mongolic ***ǰöeg** ‘lukewarm, cool’. In some languages only derived verbs **ǰöed*-/**ǰöes*- are attested.

MMo SH *ju’en* H94, HY *jö’en* M68, Muq *jö’öske*- P209a, *jö:ske*- P210a (caus.) ‘to make cold’, LV *jöen* P1273, IV *jöyen* L62:39. WM---. Kh *zö(g)ön xaluun* H248a/247a ‘humid and warm’, *zöög* H247b ‘lukewarm, etc’, *zöösǰöröx* H248a *zöötǰöröx* H248b ‘to cool down, become lukewarm, etc’. Ord *jö:s ge*- M214a ‘to diminish, decrease’. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *zö:g* R479a ‘lukewarm, no longer too hot’, *zö:dəxə* R479a ‘to become somewhat cooler or milder’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH

žio:di- SM89. MgrM *žosi-* DS214a. Bao---. Dgx *žosiya-* S375 ‘to cool off’ (+ caus.). Mog---.

***jōriū** ‘transverse; askew; stubborn’.

MMo SH---, HY *jōriū* M69, Muq---. WM *jōrigiū* L1076b. Kh *zōriū* H249a. Bur *zūryūū* (written *zūryūū*) C269b. Brg *jiru:* U208. Kalm *zōriū:* R478b. Ord *jiru:* M203a. Dag *juri:* E323. EYu *jōriū:* S459. Remaining lgs---.

***jujaan** ‘thick; dense’.

MMo SH *juja'an* H94, HY *juja'an* M69, Muq *juja'an* P210a, *juja:n* P210b, LV---, IV *juja:n* P62:39. WM *jujayan* L1081b. Kh *zuzaan* H250b. Ord *juja:n* M215b. Bur *zuzaan* C261a. Brg *zɔza:ŋ* U216. Kalm *zuzan* M255a. Dag *juja:n* E323. EYu *juja:n* B147, J107a. MgrH *žužuan* L107b. MgrM *jujaŋ* T335. BaoD *žižian* BL93b. BaoÑ *žižan* CN200. Kgj *jijɔ* S303b. Dgx *žužan* B184. Mog *jujɔn* W169b, MogM *jujɔ:n* L62:39.

***jula** ‘(oil) lamp’. The Kgj form is peculiar, but its similarity to the alternative WM spelling with *-y-* is probably coincidental. Cf. CT **yula* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *jula* M69, Muq *jula* P210b, LV---, IV *jula* L62:39, Ph *jula* P125b. WM *jula* L1078a, *julaya* L1078a. Kh *zul* H251a. Ord *jula* M217a. Bur *zula* C261b. Brg *zol* U216. Kalm *zul* M255b. Dag *j^wal* E325. EYu *jula* B147, J107a. MgrH *žila:* J107b. MgrM *žula* JL464, *jula* T333. BaoD *žiula* BL93b. BaoÑ *žila* CN199. Kgj *jilağa* (sic) S303a. Dgx *žula* B183. Mog---.

julaī** (jula**) ‘fontanel, sinciput’. Both EYu and Baoanic support the form **jula*; Dag does as well, but in Dag the loss of word-final *i/i* from diphthongs is very common. The MgrH form may be a semantic development of *žiärge*: ‘ridge between fields; boundary between plots of land’ (of unknown etymology).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---, cf. IM *jola:* P439b ‘brain’. WM *julai*, *jula* L1078a. Kh *zulay* H251b. Ord *julä:* M217b. Bur *zulay* C261b; cf. also the phonetically aberrant Bur *žoloo* C232b ‘fontanel’, *yoloon* (Bokh. dial) C227a ‘id’. Brg *zolai* U216. Kalm *zula* M255b. Dag *jol* E320. EYu *jula* B147. MgrH *žiärge*: (?=) SM83. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *žila* CN199. Dgx *žula* B183. Mog---.

***juljaga(n)** ‘young of an animal, offspring’. The *-n* found in MMo only survives in EYu. Kalm remodeled as if from a diminutive formation **juljiu-kaī* (cf. **injaga* for a similar treatment). MgrM has the final *-r* commonly added to names of young animals, probably under the influence of Chinese *-er*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *juljayan* P211a, LV *juljiqan* P1272, IV---, Ph *juljiqan* P125b. WM *juljayan* L1079b. Kh *zulzaga* H252b. Ord *juljaga* M218a. Bur *zulzaga* C262a. Brg *jöljig* U208. Kalm *juljuxa* M233b ‘chick’. Dag *jeljij* E316. EYu *jəlǰəğan* B144, J107a. MgrH *žilžaga* J107b. MgrM *žužuğar* JL463, *jujuğar* T333. BaoD *žinjigə* BL93a. BaoÑ *žilžiga* CN199. BaoX *jinjəgə* BC61. Kgj *jinjiga* S303a. Dgx *žunžuğa* e.g. in *qigəi žunžuğa* B70 ‘piglet’. Mog---.

***jūmuran** ‘suslik (ground squirrel)’. This form in the oldest sources. Kh-Kalm suggest **jūruman* with metathesis of *-m-* and *-r-*. Bur and Dag represent an earlier form **jūmburan* with added *-b-*.

MMo SH---, HY *jūmuran* M69, Muq---, RH *jūmran* (or *jūmuran*) 200A2. WM *jūrama*, *jūrum* L1080a/b. Kh *zuram* H254a. Ord *jurma* M220a. Bur *zumbara*, *zumbaraa(n)* (lit) C262b, *zumara*, *zumari* (western) C262b, *zurman* only in the combination *xerme zurman* C649a ‘squirrel’ (**keremün* ‘squirrel’ not listed here). Brg *zumbara*: U216. Kalm *zurmn* M257a. Dag *jūmbor* S464, *jūmbra*: T145 ‘suslik’. Remaining languages---.

***jūn** ‘summer’. Cf. **najūr* ‘id’.

MMo SH *jūn* H94, HY *jūn* M69, Muq *jūn* P211a, LV *jūn* P1273, IV---. WM *jūn* L1079b. Kh *zun* H253a. Bur *zun* C262b. Brg *zovj* U216. Kalm *zun* M256a. Dag---. EYū *jūn* B147, J107a. MgrH *jūn* (only) L250, *zun* (only) L691. Remaining lgs---.

***jūruman** ‘suslik’ see ***jūmuran**

***jūura-** ‘to mix, stir; to knead’. The WM spelling *jūyura-* (and the form in SH) is unexpected, since Kh, Bur, Kalm have *z-*, not **j-* or **ž-*; cf. also the CT equivalent **yogur-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *jū'ure-* (sic) H91, HY---, Muq *jū:ra-* P234a, *jūyura-* (sic) P224a. WM *jūyura-* L1051a, *jūyura-* L1077b. Kh *zuurax* H256a. Bur *zuuraxa* C265a. Kalm *zuurx* M258b. Dag *j^wa:r-* E324. EYū *jūra-* B149, *jū:ra-* J106a. MgrH *jira:-* J106b, X222. BaoD---. BaoÑ *jira-* CN200. Kgj *jira-* S303b. Dgx *zuwa-* B184, *zura-* MC469b, *zurwa-* MC469b. MogMr *jū:rv-* L64:36.

***jūg** ‘direction, side’. Also used as a postposition ‘towards, to’ (already in MMo), e.g. Chakhar *gōl jū:* D93 ‘to the river’, Dag *adō:yi: jūr* Z72 ‘towards the herd’, EYū *namin jūg* J42 ‘to me’, MgrH *nda: žā* J51 ‘to me’. Probably also the source of the Monguoric directive ending found in lexicalised formations such as MgrH *do:roži* X197 ‘downwards’, MgrM *gadaži* DS241a ‘outwards’, *quainoži* DS205b ‘backwards’. Similar-looking Baoan forms like BaoGt *odāž* C121 ‘upwards’, *dorāž* C121 ‘downwards’ may have the same origin, but corresponding forms in other Baoan dialects suggest a different (unknown) final element, e.g. BaoD *širači* BL84b ‘downwards’, BaoGT *yēc* C122 ‘hither’, BaoÑ *ō:dārc* CN16 ‘upwards’, *yōrc* C219 ‘hither’, *tōrc* C169 ‘thither’ BaoX *yočā* BC72 ‘hither’, *tāčā* BC72 ‘thither’.

MMo SH *juk* H94, HY *jūk* M69, Muq *jūk* P211b, Ph *jūg* P125b. WM *jūg* L1082b. Kh *zūg* H257a. Ord *jūg* M223b. Bur *zūg* C266b. Brg *zug* U218. Kalm *zūg* (obs) M259a, nowadays *üzg* (sic) M546a. Dag *jū:r* E321, *jūr* Z105b, *jūr* NK528a, cf. also *jū:yu:* E321 ‘direction’ with an additional final element. EYū *jāg* B143, *jūg* J66. Mgr (see above). Bao---. Dgx *zəu* in *iŋ zəu* B10 ‘on this side’, *ciŋ zəu* B154 ‘on that side’. Mog *žuk*, *juk* W169b.

***jūrūken** ‘heart’. All modern forms except Ordos can be derived from a disyllabic form. The central languages and Dagur go back to **jūrke(n)*. The QG forms stem

from **jürge(n)*. (Note the absence of initial strengthening in Monguoric). Final *-n* is atypically absent in Baoanic; it may never have survived into Shirongol. The MgrH and Bao forms with *-i-* are recently palatalized in view of MgrM and Dgx. The *-i-* in WM and SH may be a spelling mistake; an alternative explanation that it is a very early case of palatal breaking is in conflict with the Turkic cognate (cf. **jïar* ‘musk’, **jee* ‘nephew’). The trisyllabic forms in MMo could well represent a pronunciation that once existed, although a form **jüregen* with *-e-* would normally be expected on the basis of the Turkic cognate **yürek* ‘id’.

MMo SH *juruge(n)* H95, *jiruge(n)* H91, HY *jürüken* M69, Muq *jürüken* [?or **jürügen*] P211b, LV *jürke* P1273, IV---. WM *jirüken* L1062a. Kh *zürx(en)* H259b. Ord *jüreke* M225b. Bur *zürxe(n)* C268b. Brg *zurx* U218. Kalm *zürkn* M260a. Dag *jüry*^w E324. EYu *jüryen* B149, J107a. MgrH *žirge* J106a, *žirgə* X222. MgrM *zurgi* JL461. BaoD *žirgə* BL93b. BaoÑ *žirge* CN200. Kgj *jirge* ~ *jirgi* S303b. Dgx *zuğə* B183 ‘heart; mood, thought, thinking’. Mog *jurkā* R42b.

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***kaa, *kaana** ‘where?’. In addition to the forms listed below, Dag has a Turkic-looking form *xaida*: E97 ‘where’. However, this has the same morphological structure as *aida*: ‘on/to this side’, *ti:da*: ‘on/to that side’. Note the *-l-* in Baoanic, not shared by Kgj in this case.

MMo *qa’a* H54, HY *qa’a* M85, Muq *qa:na* P297b. WM *qamiya* L923b, *qaya* L905a, *qa* L895a, *qana* L927a. Kh *xaa* H587a. Bur *xaa* C522a, *xaana* C523a. Brg. Kalm *xa* M559a, *xama* M573a. Dag *xa:nə* E95, Z97a. EYu *χana* J99a, J27. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *χalə*, *χali* BL87a, *halə* BL63. BaoGt *halə* C127. BaoÑ *hala* CN65. BaoX *xalə* BC69. Kgj *χana* S285a. Dgx *qala* B68, L115b. Mog *qana* R31b, *qana* W176a.

***kaa-** ‘to close, enclose; to block, shut off’. EYu *χa:-* J88 ‘to sew, stitch’ could be a semantic development of the present verb, but it may also belong with *χaβa-* B43 ‘to sew with long stitches’ (< **kaba-*, not listed here). Cf. also BaoX *xa:-* BC70 ‘to sew’, BaoD *ha-* BL12 ‘to sew; to tie’, but the latter meaning suggests these forms are irregular developments of **huya-*.

MMo SH *qa’a-* H54, HY *qa’a-* M85, Muq *qa:-* P297b. WM *qaya-* L905a. Kh *xaax* H588a. Bur *xaaxa* C524a. Kalm *xaax* M560b. Dag *xa:-* E95. EYu *χa:-* B42 ‘to cover’, J99a ‘to close’. MgrH *xa:-* J99a. MgrM *qa:-* C376, *qa-* JL463. BaoD *χa-* BL87a. BaoÑ *χa:-* CN56. Kgj *χa-* ~ *χa:-* S285a. Dgx *qa-* B67. Mog---.

***kaan** ‘khan, king, emperor’. Widespread Eurasian word (see TMEN 1161).

MMo SH *qa’an* H54, *qahan* H56, *qan* H59, HY *qan* M87, *qahan* M86, Muq *χa:n* P117b, *χan* P225a [but in fact these are spelled the same]. WM *qayan* L906b, *qan* L926b. Kh *xaan* H588a, *xan* (obs) H611b. Bur *xaan* C523a, *xan* C544b. Kalm *xan* M575a. Dag *xa:n* E95. EYu *xa:n* B42. MgrH *xa:n* X64. MgrM *qan*

JL477. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *χa:n* (←Pers.) R29a ‘khan’, MogM, MogMr *χp:n* L62:40 (in family names).

***kaari-** ‘to roast, burn’, in some languages ‘to cauterize, to geld’. It is uncertain whether the phonetically and semantically deviating Kgj and Dgx forms belong here. There are some other words with *h-* < **k-*, notably **kamtu* ‘together’, but the vocalism is also problematic. Alternatively they may represent an intransitive formation **heere-* derived from **hee-* ‘to warm up in the sun’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qayari-* L907a, *qayira-* L913a (Khalkha-based re-spelling). Kh *xayrax* H600a. Ord *χa:ri-* M340a. Bur *xayraxa* C534b. Kalm *xäärx* M587a. Dag *xa:rʸ-* E96. EYu *χa:r-* B42, S97 ‘to geld’. MgrH *xaira-* (sic, unconfirmed by other sources) L163. BaoD---. BaoÑ *χa:-* (sic, ?=) CN56 ‘to geld’. BaoX *χa:rə-* BC62 ‘to burn, scald’. Kgj *here-* (?=) S286b ‘to become hot’. Dgx *həri-* (?=) B66 ‘to become hot’. Mog---.

***kaban/*kabaŋ** ‘wild boar’.

MMo SH---, HY *qaban* M85, Muq---. WM *qabang* L895b, *qaban* L895a. Kh *xavan(g)* H589a. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *xavŋ* M561b. Dag *xau gayə* (?=) E97 ‘boar’ (**gakai*). EYu *χaβaŋ* BJ347 ‘breeding boar (?)’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kabar/*kamar** ‘nose’. The distribution of the two variants is interesting. The forms in the QG languages and Mogholi are all developments of a form with *-b-*, resembling that in the MMo sources. In the central languages and Dagur the form with *-m-* is found. In view of the MMo forms the form with *-m-* looks like an (inexplicable) innovation. The Shirongol languages share the additional meaning ‘snot’; in EYu there is an additional meaning ‘front’ used in postpositional phrases, perhaps inspired by Turkic, where **burun* (also originally ‘nose’) performs the same function.

MMo SH *qabar* H54, HY *qabar* M85, Muq *qabar* P284a. WM *qabar* L895b, *qamar* L923b. Kh *xamar* H609b. Ord *χamar* M330a. Bur *xamar* C542a. Brg *xamar* U93. Kalm *xamr* M573b. Dag *xamər* E102. EYu *χwa:r* B54, *χaβar* J99a. MgrH *xavar* X73 ‘&snot’. MgrM *qabar* JL467. BaoD *χor* BL87b ‘nose, BL85a ‘snot’. BaoÑ *χawar* CN59 ‘nose; snot’. Bao dialects in CN86:16: Datong *χor*; Ganhetan *χor*; Xiazhuang *χor*; Gaser *χuar*; Gomar *χuar*. Kgj *χuar* S285b ‘&snot’. Dgx *qawa* B69 ‘&snot’, *qawar* (Wangjiaji?) B87:311. Mog *qabar* R31a, *qabār* W176a.

***kabīd- (*kabud-)** ‘to swell’. Shirongol (but not MMo) represents the form **kabīd-*. EYu *χaβəd-* could be from either variant. **kabīd-* is probably the older form, as an early development *ī > u* is more likely than the reverse. Also note the *-t* from **d* in MgrM, Bao and Dgx (cf. **čad-*, **ebed-*, **naad-*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qabut-* P285b. WM *qabud-* L900a. Kh *xavdax* H589b. Ord *χawud-* M345a. Bur *xabdaxa* C526a. Brg *xaβd-* U90. Kalm *xavdx* M561b. Dag *xaud-* E97. EYu *χaβəd-* B43, J99b. MgrH *xaidə-* X65, *xe:di-* SM166 ~ *xawudi-* SM165. MgrM *qaputu-* DS254a. BaoD *χitə-* BL87b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *χər-* ~ *χur-* S286a. Dgx *qawitu-* B70, *qayitu-* B69, *kaitu-* (sic) L115a. Mog---.

***kabirga** ‘rib; side, vicinity’, also used as postposition. Although the *-rga* in **kabirga* is unclear, it has been assumed here that this word and **kabisun* are related (**kabi* is also attested independently in central Mongolic). The form **kabirga* features several metathetical forms in QG (cf. **tarbagan* and **kalbuga* ‘spoon’ for similar alterations). SH *qabirqar* EYü *χarǵuar* and BaoÑ *harǵal* contain an additional element, probably the same *-r* as in **dotar* ‘inside’ and **qadar* ‘outside’. Likewise, EYü *χarǵwara* and *χarǵwana* developed in parallel with **dotara* and **dotana*, etc. EYü *hərqwaǵ* B55 ‘vicinity’ is hard to connect for phonetic reasons (notably the *h-*, the strong *-q-* and the final *-ǵ*).

MMo SH *qabirqa*, *qabirqar* H54, HY *qabirqa* M85, Muq *qabirqa*, *qabirya* P285a, *qaburya*- P285b. WM *qabirya(n)* L898a. Kh *xavirga(n)* H590a. Ord *χawirǵa* M344a. Bur *xabirga* C526b. Brg *xaβʳrəǵ* U90. Kalm *xävry* M588a ‘side of the body; side in general’. Dag *xabʳrəǵ* E99 ‘rib’. EYü *χarǵwa* B49, *χarǵua* S313, *χaβərǵa* J98b ‘rib’, *χarǵuar* S316 ‘side’, cf. the postpositions *χarǵwara* B49 ‘side’, *χarǵwana* BJ348 ‘one’s side’. MgrH *xarǵa*: L181, *ǵarǵa*: S316 ‘side’. MgrM *qərǵa* DS60a ‘near’, DS205a ‘around’, F15:28 ‘beside’. BaoD *χalgə* BL86b, *xarǵa* P418b. BaoÑ *harǵal* CN66. Kgj---. Dgx *qaruǵa* B69 ‘rib’, *qarǵa*, *qarawa* MC208a, *qaruwa* MC208b ‘rib; side’, DgxL *qaruqa(də)* B69 ‘next door’. Mog *qoburya* R32a.

***kabisun** ‘rib; side’. One of the Mgr forms suggests **kabirsun*. Cf. **kabirga*.

MMo SH---, HY *qabusun* M85 q.v., Muq---. WM *qabisu(n)* L898a. Kh *xavis(an)* H590a, *xav’s(an)* H593a. Ord *χawis(u)* M344b. Bur *xabha(n)* C527b. Brg---. Kalm *xavsn* M562a. Dag---. EYü---. MgrH *xavuzə* J99b ‘rib’, *xairsə* X65 ‘rib’. MgrM *qapuzi* JL477. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kabtagai** ‘flat’. Cf. **kabtasun* ‘board’.

MMo SH *qabtaqai* H54, HY *qabtaqai* M85, Muq *qabtayai*, *qabtaqai* P285a. WM *qabtayai* L899a. Kh *xavtgay* H591a. Ord *ǵabtagä*: M282b. Bur *xabtagay* C527a. Brg *xaβtgai* U90. Kalm *xabtxa* M562 ‘q.v.’. Dag *kartyai* E142, *kabtyai* E138. EYü *ǵabtagai* B73, *ǵabdaǵai* J99b. Remaining lgs---.

***kabtasun** ‘board’, often the ‘sideboards supporting the saddle’. In Dagur the latter is expressed by the form **kabtal* (?**kabtaal*), which is rare in Mongolic, but commonly found in Turkic languages. Manchu *habta* also reflects **kabtal*. Cf. **kabtagai*.

MMo SH *qabdusun* H54, *qabtasun* H55, HY---, Muq *qabtasun* P295a. WM *qabtasu(n)* L899b. Kh *xavtas* (sic, not *-an*) H590b. Ord *ǵabtasu* M282b. Bur *xabtaha(n)* C527b. Brg *xaβtv*: U90. Kalm *xaptäsn* R167a, cf. *χaptäyāsn* R167a, *χapcä* R167b. Dag *kartəs* E142 ‘board’, *kabta:l* E138 ‘sideboards of the saddle’. EYü *ǵabtasən* B73. Remaining lgs---.

***kabturga** ‘bag, sack, (tobacco) pouch’. The Kh form and one of the Dag forms reflect a simplified form **kabtuga*. Perhaps in some way connected to CT **ka:p* ‘bag’, although there is no explanation for the *-turga* element.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qabturya* P285a. WM *qabtaya* L899a. Kh *xavtga* H591a. Ord *ǵabtarga* M282b. Bur-?-. Kalm *χaptryä* R167a ‘pouch’, *χaptäχä* R167a

‘bag’. Dag *kartrəy*, *kartəy* E142. EYu *gabtār^hqa* B73. MgrH *šdarğa* X166 ‘tobacco pouch’.

***kabur** ‘spring (season)’.

MMo SH *qabur* H55, HY *qabur* M85, Muq *qabur* P285b. WM *qabur* L900a. Kh *xavar* H589a. Bur *xabar* C525b. Kalm *xavr* M561b. Dag *xaur* E97. EYu *xaβər* B43, J98b. MgrH *xawur* (only) L188. MgrM *kabir* P411b. Remaining lgs---.

***kačar** ‘cheek(s)’. Kalm suggests **kačir*. EYu instead uses an etymologically obscure, but Mongolic-looking word *čagtāgai* B133.

MMo SH *qacar* H55, HY *qačar* M85, Muq *qačar*, *yačar* P187a. WM *qačar* L901a, *qačir* L901b. Kh *xacar* H628b. Ord *gačar* M299b. Bur *xasar* C559b. Brg *xasar* U94. Kalm *xačr* (obs) M584b. Dag *kačir* E141. EYu---. MgrH *xačar* J99b. MgrM *kīča* (sic) P422b, *qəzər* DS211a, *qazar* Z331:262. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *qīza* B71. Mog---.

***kada** ‘rock; overhanging rock; ravine’. Initial weakening due to the following *-d-* in the QG languages.

MMo SH *qada* H55, HY---, Muq---. WM *qada(n)* L902a. Kh *xad(an)* H595a. Ord *xada* M320b. Bur *xada* C529a ‘mountain’. Kalm *xad* M565b. Dag *xad* E103. EYu *gada* B75, J99b. MgrH *gada*: J99b. MgrM *gada* J87. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *gada* T115. Mog---.

***kada-** ‘to nail down; to sew on (a button or a sole)’. Related to CT **kadu-* (some languages suggest **kadi-*). Cf. **kadaasun* ‘nail’.

MMo SH *qada-ul-* (caus) H56 ‘to have nailed down’, HY---, Muq *qada-* P350b ‘to sew on (a button)’. WM *qada-* L902a ‘to nail’, cf. *tobči qada-* L902a ‘to sew on a button’. Kh *xadax* H596a. Ord *xada-* 321a. Bur *xadaxa* C530b. Kalm *xadx* M567a. Dag *xad-* E103 ‘to sew on’. EYu *gadə-* J22 ‘to sew on a button’, *gada-* B75 ‘to nail; to settle’. MgrH *gada-* X94 ‘to sew on a patch’. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *gada-* CN85 ‘to nail’. Dgx *gada-* B80 ‘to nail’. Mog---.

***kadaar** ‘bit of a horse’s bridle’ see ***kajaar**

***kadaasun** ‘nail’. this word derives from **kada-* ‘to nail’, but in the QG languages it has become indistinguishable from **gadasun* ‘peg’ (see there for the modern forms)

***kadku-** ‘to prick, sting, stab, pierce’. The BaoÑ form deviates semantically. The apparent pair of doublets in Mongghul is reminiscent of **kudku-* ‘to stir’. Contamination with MgrH *šdogov* < CM **kitoga* ‘knife’?

MMo SH *qatqu-* H63, HY *qatqu-ldu-* (reciprocal) M89 ‘to fight (with weapons) at close quarters’, Muq *qatqu-* P296b. WM *qadqu-* L904a, *qadqa-* L903b. Kh *xatgax* H626b. Ord *gatxu-* M284b. Bur *xadxaxa* C531a. Kalm *xatxx* M584a. Dag *kark^w-* E142. EYu *qatgə-* B63, *gadgə-* J8, *xadgə-* J57. MgrH *gasgə-* X94, *šdogov*-X168. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *xadgə-* (?) CN58 ‘to hang, put up’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kadu-** ‘to cut, harvest’. Initial weakening in QG. As Poppe suggests, perhaps related to CM **kadku-* ‘to stab’ above, and **kaĵa-* ‘to bite’ below.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qadu-* P286a. WM *qadu-* L903a. Kh *xadax* H596a. Ord *χadu-* M322a. Bur *xadaxa* C530b. Kalm *xadx* M567a. Dag *xad-* E103. EYu *ġadā-* B75. MgrH *ġadā-* J99b. MgrM *ġadu-* JL468. BaoD *ġadā-* BL87a. BaoÑ *ġada-* CN85. Kgj *ġade-* ~ *ġadi-* S288a. Dgx *ġadu-* B80. Mog---.

***kaduur** ‘sickle’. Derived from **kadu-* above. MgrH vowel shortening.

MMo SH---, HY *qadu’ur* M86, Muq---. WM *qaduyur* L903a. Kh *xaduur* H596b. Ord *χadu:r* M322a. Bur *xaduur* C530b ‘sickle’, but *xažuur* C532b ‘scythe’. Kalm *xadur* M567a. Dag *xadu:r* E104 ‘knife; kitchen knife; sickle’. EYu *ġadu:r* B75. MgrH *ġadər* J99b. MgrM *ġadur* C381. BaoD *ġadər* BL87b, BaoÑ *ġadər* CN85. BaoX *ġa:dər* BC65. Kgj *ġadər* S288a. Dgx *ġadu* B80. Mog---.

***kadum** ‘family-in-law’, and ‘-in-law’ as added to kinship terms. Initial weakening in QG. Similar to the synonymous CT **kadīn*, but the CM **u* and **m* are not normal correspondences of CT **i* and **n*.

MMo SH---, HY *qadum* (*eċige, eke*) M86 (father, mother) -in-law’, Muq *qadum* P286a. WM *qadum* L903b, *qadam* L903a. Kh *xadam* H596a. Bur *xadam* C530a. Kalm *xadm* M566b. Dag *xadəm, xadən* E103 ‘family-in-law’ (& several compounds). EYu *ġadam* B75 ‘family-in-law’ (& compounds). MgrH *ġadəm* J99b. MgrM *ġaduŋ* JL477. BaoD---. BaoÑ only in *ġadəm ana* CN85 ‘mother-in-law’, *ġadəm baba* CN85 ‘father-in-law’. Kgj---. Dgx *ġaduŋ* B80 ‘father-in-law’ (& compounds). Mog---.

***kagača-** ‘to separate; to part with, etc’. Probably related to **kagal-*, **kagara-*, below. The loss of *-g-* in the Monguoric forms is unexpected. However, a connection with **alĵia-* ‘to separate’ is also problematic, as secondary *h-* normally appears when the following syllable starts with a strong consonant.

MMo SH *qaqaca-* H56, HY *qaqača-* M88, Muq *qayača-* P286a, *qaqača-* P291b, *yaqača’ul-* (caus) P329b. WM *qayača-* L905a. Kh *xagacax* H594b. Bur *xaxasaxa* C563b. Kalm *xaycx* M565b. Dag---. EYu *xaġača-* B44. MgrH *xa:žä-* (?=) SM148, *xa:ža-* (?=) X64. MgrM *qəžia-* (?=) DS248b. Bao---. Dgx *ġaġača-* B80. Mog---.

***kagal-** ‘to break, split, burst (tr.)’. Bur and Mog suggest **kakal-*. The final long vowel in Dag is commonly seen in this suffix, although it only consists of *-l* in the remaining lgs.

MMo SH *qaqal-* H56, HY---, Muq *qaqala-* P291b. WM *qayal-*, *qayala-* L906a. Kh *xagalax* H593b. Ord *xaġal-* M323b. Bur *xaxalxa* C563a. Brg *xagal-* U91. Kalm *xaylx* M565a. Dag *xaulɔ:-* E97, *xaylɔ:-* E100. EYu-?. MgrH *xġalā-* J99a. MgrM *qġar-* JL480. BaoD *ġalā-* BL87b. BaoÑ *ġaġal-* CN84. BaoX *ġal-* BC70. Kgj *ġəġa-* S288a, S169. Dgx *ġaġalu-* B79. Mog *qaqala-* R31a ‘to cut up’.

***kagara-** ‘to break, split, burst (intr.)’. Bur and Mog suggest **kakara-*; EYu seems to have both variants.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qaqara*- P291b. WM *qayara*-, *qayar*- L907a. Kh *xagarax* H593b. Ord *xağar(a)*- M323b. Bur *xaxarxa* C563a. Brg *xagar*- U91. Kalm *xayrx* M565a. Dag *xayər*- E100. EYu *xağara*:- J99a, *hqara*- BJ331. MgrH *xğara*:- J99a. MgrM *qrgara*- C379, *qəğəra*- DS208b. BaoD *gar*- BL13. BaoÑ---. Kgj *ğəra* ~ *gara*- S288a. Dgx *ğağari*- L115b, *ğağara*-, *ğağarəi*- MC113b. Mog *qaqara*- R31a, *qakara*- W176a.

***kaiči** ‘scissors’. Probably related to a Turkic form **kapiti*, in which case the PM form may have been **kahiti* < **kapiti*.

MMo SH---, HY *qayiči* M89, Muq *qa’iči* P346a. WM *qayiči(n)* L912a. Kh *xayč(in)* H601b. Ord *χä:či* M347b. Bur *xayša* C535b. Kalm *xäč* M587b. Dag *kaič* E137. EYu *xaičə* B42, B98b. MgrH *xaižə* ~ *xaičə* X65, *xai:žə* J98b. MgrM *qaiči* JL474. BaoD *χaičiə* BL86a, *χiciə* BL21. BaoÑ *χi:ci* CN61. BaoX *χičə* BC65. Kgj *qaiči* ~ *qeiči* S286b. Dgx *qaiči* B67. Mog *qeiči* R32a.

***kaila**- ‘to make a noise; to shout; to cry’. The original meaning of this verb was probably very broad. In MMo Muq this verb was used to denote the shouting of humans and all kinds of animal noises except those of dogs, horses, cattle, etc, for which there are special verbs. In the QG languages **kaila*- is still used in a similar fashion, and even for more animals. However, in the literary central languages the meaning is narrowed.

MMo SH *qaila*- H57, *qayila*- H57, *qaiyila*- H64 ‘to call, shout’, HY---, Muq *qaila*- P287b (for semantics see above). WM *qayila*- L912b ‘to weep, cry, shed tears’. Kh *xaylax* H599a ‘to weep, cry’. Ord *χä:la*- M346a ‘to moo’. Bur *xaylaxa* C534a (used in comb. with *uylaxa* ‘to cry’). Kalm *xäälx* M586b ‘to cry’. Dag---. EYu *χaila*- B42 ‘to neigh’. MgrH *xaila*- X65 ‘to crow; to neigh; etc’. MgrM *qaila*- C377, *χeila*- T375 ‘(of animals) to make a sound’. BaoD *χil*- BL51 ‘to make a sound [of thunder]’, *χəila*- T150 ‘to shout, yell; to make a noise’. BaoÑ *χila*- CN61 ‘to call; to chirp; to crow, caw; to roar, howl’. Kgj *χaila*- S285a ‘to call, to crow, to shout’. Dgx *qaila*- B67 ‘to shout or call; to cackle, chirp’. Mog *qaila*- W176a ‘to call’.

***kailasun** ‘elm tree’.

MMo SH---, HY *qailasun* M86, Muq---, RH *qaliyasun* (sic) 202A23. WM *qayilasun(n)* L912b. Kh *xaylaas(an)* H599a, *xayls* H599b. Ord *χä:las(u)* M346a. Bur *xaylaaha(n)* C533b. Bur *xaila*: U87. Kalm---. Dag *kails* E137. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *qailasī* JL477. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx--- Mog---.

***kainag** (?and **kaīnug*) ‘yak’. The *-u-* only occurs in WM spelling, but the MgrM, BaoÑ and Kgj forms would be compatible with a high vowel in the second syllable. In the central languages it denotes a hybrid animal, but in QG **kainag* is just ‘yak’. The QG languages use **umsu* (from Tibetan) for the hybrid.

MMo---. WM *qayinuy* L913b ‘a hybrid between a yak and a cow’. Kh *xaynag* H599b ‘a yak-cow hybrid’. Ord *χä:naq* M346a ‘yak cow’. Bur *xaynag* C534a ‘crossbreed of Tibetan yak and Mongolian cow’. Kalm *xääng* M586b ‘crossbreed of yak and domestic cow’. Dag---. EYu *xainag* B42, J15. MgrH *χe:nag*

SM167. MgrM *qainəg* P422b. BaoÑ *χi:nəg* CN60. Kgj *χeinəg* ~ *χainəg* S285b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kairan** ‘(what a) pity, mercy, care, affection’. In central Mongolic one typically finds a noun **kaira* ‘love, compassion, etc’ and an adjective/exclamation **kairan* ‘what a pity; pitiable, poor’; this is reflected in WM.

MMo SH *qayiran* H64, *qayirala-* H64, HY *qairala-* M86, *qayirala-* M89, Muq *qairala-* P288a. WM *qayira* L913a ‘love, etc’, *qayiran* L913b ‘pitiable, etc’. Kh *xayr*, *xayran* H600a. Bur *xayra* C534a, *xayran* C534b. Kalm *xäär*, *xäärn* M587b. Dag *xairan* E97. EYu *xairan* B42, *χair* (sic) S317. MgrH *χe:ran* SM167 ‘dear’, *χe:rğan* (**kairakan*) SM167 ‘pitiable, poor’. MgrM *qairan* C377b. Remaining lgs---.

***kairsun** ‘fish’s scale’. Interestingly, Bur and Kalm use **kačirsun* instead: Bur *xašarha(n)* C566a. Kalm *xačrsn* M584b.

MMo SH---, HY *qairsun* M86, Muq---. WM *qayirsu(n)* L914a, *qayirasu(n)* L913b. Kh *xayrs* H600b. Ord *χä:rsu* ~ *χä:rsa* M347a, *gä:rsu* M301b. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *xaič* E97. Remaining lgs---.

***kaĵa-** ‘to bite’.

MMo SH *qaja-* H57, HY---, Muq---. WM *qajā-* L947a. Kh *xazax* H598a. Bur *xazaxa* C533b. Kalm *xazx* M568b. Dag *xaj-* E104 ‘to gnaw, bite’. EYu *ġaja-* J99b, S316 ‘to bite’, BJ329 ‘to sever, cut off’. MgrH *ġaġa-* J99b. MgrM *ġaġa-* JL472 ‘to gnaw’. BaoD-?- . BaoÑ-?- . BaoX *ġaji-* BC74 ‘to bite to death’. Kgj *ġaja-* S288a. Dgx *ġaġa-* B81 ‘to gnaw’. Mog---.

***kaĵaar/*kadaar** (<**kadiar/*kadaar*) ‘bit of a horse’s bridle’. Haenisch’ translation of *pèitóu* reins, halter’ is incorrect, cf. **ĵiloa* ‘reins’, **čilbuur* ‘martingale’, **nogta* ‘halter’. At first sight the distribution seems to suggest that **kaĵaar* is a central Mongolic innovation, while **kadaar* was the old form, which is preserved both in Dagur and the QG languages. However, there are some problematic forms in Dagur, Mongghul, and Mangghuer. If the Muq form in *-l* is not a mistake, the Dagur form *xada:l* may have a long history in Mongolic. Alternatively it may have been adopted from Manchu *hadala*. The Mongghul variant with *-z-* is puzzling as this affricate usually goes back to **s*; there are no neighbouring central Mongolic donor languages from which it could have been borrowed. The same applies to Mangghuer *qazər*, in which both the strong initial and the medial affricate are unexpected. Probably related to **kaĵa-* ‘to bite’ above.

MMo SH *qada’ar*, *qada:r* H55, HY *qada’ar* M85, Muq *qada:r* P286a, *qada:l* (?sic) P342a, LV *qada:r* P62. WM *qajayar* L947b. Kh *xazaar* H597b. Ord *χaja:r* M323a. Bur *xazaar* C532b. Brg *xaza:r* U96. Kalm *xazar* M568a. Dag *xada:l* ‘bit (of a bridle)’ E103 (see above). EYu *ġada:r* B75 ‘bit (of a bridle)’, *ġadar* J99b. MgrH *ġadar* J99b, X95, note also *ġazar* X96. MgrM *qazər* DS207a. BaoD *ġadar* BL87b, *ġadər* BL23. BaoGt *ġadər* C117. BaoÑ *ġadər* CN85. Kgj *ġadar* ~ *garda* S288a. Dgx *ġada* B80. Mog *qada:r* R31a.

***kaka-** ‘to choke (intr), to be suffocated; for sth to be stuck in one’s throat’.

MMo SH *qaqa-* H56, HY---, Muq *qaqa-* P291a. WM *qaqa-* L946b. Kh *xaxax* H627b. Ord *gaxa-* M287a. Bur *xaxaxa* 563b. Kalm *xaxx* M584b. Dag *xay-* E100 ‘to choke’, ?cf. also *xak^w*- E100 ‘to be blocked’. EYu *hga-* B59 ‘to obstruct, to block’, *χga-* J9, *qaga-* S336. Remaining lgs---.

***kalaun** ‘hot’. From the verb **kala-* which is not well attested in the peripheral languages.

MMo SH *qala’un* H57, HY *qala’un* M87, Muq *qala’un* P288b. WM *qalayun* L916b. Kh *xaluun* H606a. Bur *xaluu(n)* C539b. Kalm *xalun* M570b. Dag *xalu:n* E100. EYu *χalu:n* B44, J99a. MgrH *xalon* J99a. MgrM *qalun* JL476. BaoD *χalun* BL87b, *χolon* BL62. BaoGt *xolon* C125. BaoÑ *χolon* CN62. BaoX *χolon* BC67. Kgj *χulɔ* S286a. Dgx *qalun* B68. Mog *qalu:n*, *qalōun* R31b, *qalɔn* W176a.

***kalbuga** ‘spoon’. Possibly **kalbaga* in spite of the earliest attestations, but the QG languages are indecisive. EYu and MgrH are based on (differently) metathesized forms, cf. **tarbagan* ‘marmot’ for a comparable case. BaoÑ *kağa* CN75 ‘spoon; ladle; fork’ is given as development of this word, which seems improbable; perhaps it is of Tibetan origin. Turkic **kašuk*. In Dagur it may survive as *xalbēy* E101 ‘hoe blade’, and in the combination *xalbēy šid* E101 ‘incisors’, as well as perhaps *čiki*: *xabləy* ~ *čiki*: *xa:ləy* E300 ‘tragus’ (**čikin* ‘ear’). However, the latter variant suggests **kaalga* (not listed here, but cf. **kaa-*), implying ‘gate of the ear’ rather than ‘spoon of the ear’.

MMo SH *qalbuqa* H57, HY *qalbuqa* M87, Muq *qalbuya* P289b, *yalbuya* P139b. WM *qalbaya(n)* L917b, *qalbuya* L918a. Kh *xalbaga* H602b. Ord *χalbaga* M327a, *χablağa* M320b. Bur *xalbaga* C537b. Brg *xalgaŋ š’anag* (?) U92 (cf. **sinaga*). Kalm *χalwǎǰǎ* R164a. Dag (see above). EYu *xalğwa* B45. MgrH *xaulğa* X65. MgrM---. Bao---. BaoÑ (see above). Dgx---. Mog---.

***kaliar, *kaliarsun** ‘wild onion and similar plants’.

MMo SH *qaliyarsun* H58, HY---, Muq---. WM *qaliyar* L920a ‘wild garlic’. Kh *xaliar* H604a. Ord---. Bur *xalyaar* C541b ‘species of wild garlic’. Kalm---. Dag *kalʔe:r* E139 ‘mountain leek’. EYu---. Mgr *χarir* SM163 ‘small wild (edible) onion’, *xaril* X72 ‘*Allium mongolicum* (plant name)’. Remaining lgs---.

***kalisun** ‘bark, rind, peel, outer covering, thin skin’. The EYu variant *χalasən* may be influenced by **kalaasun* ‘patch (on clothes)’.

MMo SH *qalisu korisu* H58 (cf. **kōrisün*), HY---, Muq---. WM *qalisu(n)* L920b. Kh *xal’s* (sic, no *-an*) H608a. Ord *χalisu* M329a. Bur *xal’han* C541a. Brg *xalʔu*: U93. Kalm *xal’sn* M572b. Dag *xalʔs* E102. EYu *χaləsən* B44, *χalasən* J99a. MgrH *xalzə* J99a, *xalasə* X67. Remaining lgs---.

***kaltara-, *kaltari-** ‘to glide, slip’. The MgrH *-m-* (via *-n-*) is unexpected (cf. **malta-*).

MMo SH *qaltari’ul-* (caus) H58, HY---, Muq *qaltari-* P290a, *qaltara-* P290a. WM *qalturi-* L921b. Kh *xal’trax* H608a, *xaltirax* H606a. Ord *galtur(i)-* M290b. Bur *xaltirxa* C539b. Kalm *xal’trx* M572b. Dag---. EYu *χaldəra-* B45,

χaldər- S321. MgrH *xandəra:-*, *xanda:ri-* SM155, *xamdəra:-* X69. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *χandara-* B57. BaoX *handər-* CN86:228. Dgx *qantari-* B68. Mog---.

***kama-** ~ ***kaba-** ‘(of eyes) to be dazzled; (of teeth) to tingle or to feel rough (e.g. after eating sth. sour)’. The Monguoric variants with *-r-* may be influenced by **karbu-* ‘to shoot’, which is also used for ‘to sting or bite’ (of the sun, bees, snakes). Cf. CT **kama-*, also used in relation to unpleasant sensations of the eyes or teeth (cf. EDPT625b).

MMo Muq *qama-* (?=) P290b ‘to be blinded (eyes); to become blunt (teeth)’. WM *qabu-* LC 4:4b, also spelled thus in Inner Mongolia. Kh *xavax* LC 4:4b. Ord *χawa-* M343a (teeth). Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *nudun χumağa-* (caus.) S265 ‘to cause the eyes to be dazzled’. MgrH *χama:-* L169, SM152, *χarma-* L184, *xama:-* X68 (teeth), *χarmu-* SM164 (eyes), the latter viewed by SM as stemming from **karbu-*. MgrM *nudu qurmu-* (?=) DS216a ‘to be dazzled’ (from **karbu-*?). Bao---. Dgx *qama-* ~ *qamu-* MC205a (teeth).

***kamčui** ~ ***kamčun** ‘sleeve’. Kalm suggests **kančun*, Bur **kamčui*. One would expect that the *-m-* is original and the *-n-* due to later assimilation, but the MMo forms have *-n-*. Initial weakening in parts of Baoan, in Kangjia and Dongxiang, in spite of the following strong *-č-* (but this was also weakened itself).

MMo SH *qancu(n)* H59, HY *qančun* M87, Muq *qančun* P291a. WM *qančui*, *qanču* L927b, *qamčui* L923b. Kh *xancuy* H614b. Ord *χanču* M334b. Bur *xamsi* C543a, *xansi* C547a, *xanši* C547b. Brg *xamsai* U94. Kalm *xancn* M576a. Dag *kanč* E139. EYu *χančun* B43, *χanču:n* J99b. MgrH *xamžə* J99b, X69, *xančə* X66. MgrM *qanči* JL475. BaoD *ganžün* BL87a, *ganžün* (sic) BL4. BaoGt *xanžon* C121. BaoÑ *hanžu* CN64. Kgj *ganžün* ~ *ganžun* S288a. Dgx *ganžun* B79. Mog *qamči*, *qamču* R31b.

***kamtu** ‘together; at the same time’. In Ordos the initial was unexpectedly not weakened in spite of the following strong *-t-*. In Shironqol **kamtu* developed as if it were **hamtu*.

MMo SH *qamtu* H59, HY *qamtu* M87, Muq *qamtu* P290b. WM *qamtu* L925a. Kh *xamt* H610b. Ord *χamtu* M331b. Bur *xamta* C543a. Kalm *xamt* M573b. Dag---. EYu *χamdə* B45. MgrH *χamdə* J8, X69. MgrM *xaytu* JL469. BaoD *hamtə* T150. BaoGt *hamti* C127. BaoÑ *hamdə* CN65. Kgj---. Dgx *hantu* B64. Mog *qamtu* R31b.

***kamug** ‘all’. The Dagur form could stem from the genitive of this word. Cf. Turkic *kamug* < *kamag*, which is a Middle Persian loanword according to Clauson (EDPT 627b). Not related to MgrH *xane*, BaoD *hanə* BL77, BaoÑ *hani* CN64, which are ← LT *ha-ne*.

MMo SH *qamuh* H59, HY *qamug* M87, Muq---. WM *qamuy* L926a. Kh *xamag* H609a. Bur *xamag* C542a. Kalm *xamg* M573a. Dag *kamyi*: (?=) E140 ‘all kinds of, various’, S255 ‘every’. EYu *xamağ* B45 ‘every’. MgrH---. MgrM *qamu* C377. Remaining lgs---.

***kania-** ‘to cough’. A form **kanaa-* is reflected by EYu, MgrH, Bao, and Dgx, whereas Mog, and surprisingly MgrM, have retained a palatal element.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *qana:-* (emended), *qana:d-* P64, RH *qania-du* (emended) 204A9 ‘cough’. WM *qaniya-* L930a. Kh *xaniax* H614a. Ord *χana:-* M332b. Bur *xanyaaxa* C547b. Kalm *xanyax* M576b. Dag *xan^ye:d-* (new formation based on the noun *xan^ye:d*) E98. EYu *χana:-* B43, J98b. MgrH *xana:-* J99b. MgrM *qan ‘a-* C377, *qania-tu* JL465 ‘cough’. BaoD *χanə-* BL86a. BaoÑ *χana-* CN57. BaoX *χanə-* BC64. Kgj *χana-* S285a. Dgx *qana-* B68. Mog *qamλ-* W176a.

***kara** ‘black’. Related to Turkic **kara*.

MMo SH *qara* H60, HY *qara* M88, Muq *qara* P292a. WM *qara* L931a. Kh *xar* H615b. Ord *χara* M337b. Bur *xara* C547b. Kalm *xar* M576b. Dag *xar* E104, also *kara:* E142 ‘black (horse colour)’ from Tungusic. EYu *χara* B46, J99b. MgrH *xara* J99b. MgrM *qara* JL463. BaoD *χəra* BL87b. BaoGt *xsa* C121. BaoÑ *χara* CN59. BaoX *χəra* BC67. Kgj *χara* S285b. Dgx *qara* B69 ‘id, dark’. Mog *qaro:* R31b, *qλrɔ* W176a.

***kara-** ‘to look at’.

MMo SH *qara-* H60, HY *qara-* M88, Muq *qara-* P292b. WM *qara-* L932a. Kh *xarax* H618b. Ord *χara-* M337a. Bur *xaraxa* C552b. Kalm *xarx* M581b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *xarə-* X72. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *qara-* R31b.

***karbisun** ‘placenta, afterbirth (of an animal)’. Reminiscent of **karbin* ~ **arbin* ‘belly fat’ (not listed).

MMo SH *qarbisu* H61. WM *qarbisu(n)* L935b. Kh *xarvis* H619b ‘placenta’. Dgx *qayisun* MC209a ‘afterbirth of a sheep’.

***karbu-** ‘to shoot’. Monguoric **karmu-*; metathesized in some Baoan forms.

MMo SH *qarbu-* H61, HY *qarbu-* M88, Muq *qarbu-* P293a. WM *qarbu-* L936a. Kh *xarvax* H619a. Ord *χarwu-* M342b, *χarwa-* M342a. Bur *xarbaxa* C554a. Kalm *xarvx* M578a. Dag *xarəb-* E105. EYu *χarβə-* B48, J99b. MgrH *xarmu-* X73. MgrM *karmu-* P420a. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *χurə-* S331. BaoÑ *χabrə-* CN57, *hawər-* CN66. Kgj *χar-* S285b. Dgx---. Mog *qλrbu-xčī* W176b ‘bayonet’, MogMr *qarbuyčī* L62:43 ‘rifle’.

***karbuur** ‘ballista’ see ***hurbī**.

***karī-** ‘to return’. The BaoÑ form may be explained from the fact that this verb is usually combined with other verbs of movement, and appears then in the imperfect converb form *ha:ʒi*.

MMo SH *qari-* H62, HY *qari-* M88, Muq *qari-* P293b. WM *qari-* L937a. Kh *xarix* H622b. Bur *xarixa* C555b. Kalm *xārx* M590b. Dag *xar^y-* E107. EYu *χarə-* B48, J99b. MgrH *xarə-* J99b. MgrM *qazī-* C377, *qari-* T375. BaoD *χarə-* BL87a, *χar-* BL15. BaoÑ *ha:-* (sic, ?=) CN63. BaoX *χa:rə-* BC62. Kgj *χari-* S285b. Dgx *qari-* B69. Mog *qari-* R31b, *qaril-* (caus.) W176b.

***karia-** ‘to abuse, swear, curse’. Most languages from the assimilated form **karaa-*. One of the few words in which (lit.) Bur and Dag do not preserve a palatal element. Related to CT **karga-* ‘id’. Cf. **sögee-*, **hiröe-*.

MMo---. WM *qariya-* L938b. Kh *xaraax* H617a. Ord *χara:-* M337b. Bur *xaraaxa* C549b. Brg *xar^va:-* U100. Kalm *xarax* M578a. Dag *xara:-* E105. EYu only in the noun *χara:r* S330. MgrH *xara:-* L178. MgrM---. BaoD *χəra-* BL87b. BaoGt *xša-* C138. BaoÑ *χara:-* CN59. Dgx *qara-* MC206b. Mog---.

***kariačai** ‘swallow’. MMo **kariača*, central languages from an assimilated **karaačai*. Reminiscent of Turkic **karliğač* ~ **kargılač* ‘id’, but hard to connect to it. In some modern languages now associated with **kara* ‘black’. Dgx *qarasuŋ* may go back to **kara sibaun* ‘black bird’ (cf. EYu *χara βöljir* B46 ‘swallow’, see **biļjūr* ‘small bird’). MgrH *anžigai* X3 ‘sparrow’, MgrM (Sanchuan) *amickay* P418b ‘small bird’, and even Bao *amiči* P418b ‘(domestic) bird’, Dgx *amičəu* MC8b ‘sparrow’ may have arisen through metanalysis of this word as *xara anžigai*.

MMo SH---, HY *qariyača* M89, Muq---, RH *qaryača* [spelled *q'ryj'*] 200B10. WM *qariyačai* L938b. Kh *xaraacay* H617a. Ord *χara:čä:* M338b. Bur *xaraasgay* C549b. Brg *xara:sai* U99. Kalm *xara:cä:* R168b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *xaračəgai* X72, *xarabčigai* X72, *xara(n)čige:* SM159/160. MgrM (Sanchuan) *karajyagay* P415b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *qaranča* MC207b, *qarasuŋ* MC207b (see above). Mog---.

***kašan** ‘lazy, slow (usu. of animals)’. From Turkic **kašan* ‘id’. Cf. **jalkai* and **jalkau*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qašan* P295a. WM *qašang* L943a, *qasing* L942a. Kh *xašin* H629a. Ord *gašan* M296b. Bur *xašan* C565b. Kalm *xašŋ* M585a. Dag---. EYu *gašan* J106a. MgrH *xašan* J106b. Dgx *qišan* S90.

***katau** ‘hard’, also ‘difficult’. It has taken on the shape **kataun* in Shirongol, probably in imitation of the numerous adjectives in *-n*. From CM **kata-* ‘to be or become hard or dry’, cf. CT **katig* ‘hard’ from the verb **kat-*.

MMo SH---, HY *qata'u* M89, Muq *qata'u* P295a, *qatu:* P275a, *qadu:-* P379a. WM *qatayu* L943b. Kh *xatuu* H627a. Ord *gatu:* M298b. Bur *xatuu* C561b. Kalm *xatu* M583a. Dag *katu:* E141. EYu *gatu:* B75, *gadu* J99a. MgrH *χadoŋ* J99b. MgrM *qxdəŋ* C377, *qəgdən* DS227b. *qatoŋ* T372. BaoD *χotoŋ* BL87b. BaoÑ *hdəŋ* CN72. Kgj *χutuŋ* ~ *χuduŋ* S286a. Dgx *qiduŋ* B71. Mog---.

***katun** ‘empress; wife; woman’. Widespread in Asia, which means that some Mongolic languages reborrowed it from neighbouring languages. Note *χ-* in Muq. CT **ka:tun*.

MMo *qatu(n)* H63 ‘wife’, HY *qadun* M86, *qatut* (pl.) M89 ‘wives’, Muq *χatun-* P384a ‘woman’. WM *qatun* L946a. Kh *xatan* H625b. Bur *xatan* C560a. Kalm *xatn* M583a. Dag *katun*, *katɔ:* E141 ‘sister (form of address)’. EYu *gatan* B74. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *χutuŋ kuŋ* BL82b ‘woman’. BaoÑ-?- . BaoX *xdəŋ kuŋ* BC74 ‘woman’. Dgx---. Mog *χot(un)* R29b, MogMr *χv:tun*, MogM *χv:tũ* L62:43.

***kau** and/or ***koa** ‘all, everybody’. The modern languages do not clearly support either vocalism. The diphthong ***au** is only confirmed by Dagur. The Mongghul form seems to be absent from the others sources. As suggested by Poppe (1955:70), a CM form ***koa** could be related to CT ***kop** ‘all’ (EDPT 579b). Perhaps related to the structurally unclear MMo Ph *qot^hola* P129a ‘all, everything’, Kh *xotol* H656b ‘all, entire’, Ord *gotolo* M309a ‘all’, Kalm *xotl* (obs.) M601a ‘all; entirely’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM <qww> (*qoo* or *quu*) Ceval 736b, Inner Mongolian spelling *qau*. Kh *xuu* H694b ‘all, completely’. Bur *xuu* C605a. Kalm *xu* M605a, *xo:* R191b. Dag *xo:* E115, also *xau-ya:r-a:n* (+ instr. case and ref. poss.) E97. EYu---. MgrH *xo:-la*, *xu:-lo* SM180. Remaining lgs---.

***kaučīn** ‘old’. The Baoanic form suggest a development from ***goičīn**.

MMo SH *qa’ucin* H63, HY *qa’učin* M89, Muq *qu:čīn* P313b. WM *qayučin* L908b. Kh *xuuč(in)* H697b. Bur *xuušan* C607b. Kalm *xuučn* M616a. Dag *kaučīn* E137. EYu *xu:čən* B52, *xu:jən* J99a, *xo:čən* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *xau:žin* J99a. MgrM *qaučīn* JL475. BaoD *xuičūn* BL87b. BaoÑ *xi:čān* CN61. BaoX *xuičōn* BC62. Kgj *xuaičō* S285b. Dgx *quaičōn* B72. Mog---.

***kaul-** ‘to peel, to skin’. Bur seems to suggest ***kaula-**. There is also an intr. form ***kaura-** ‘to shed (skin)’, cf. Ord *xu:ra-* M371a, MgrM *qaura-* J87. Cf. ***koltul-**.

MMo SH *qa’ul-* H63, HY---, Muq *qa’ul-* P104b. WM *qayul-* L909b. Kh *xuulax* H695b. Ord *xu:l-* M365b. Bur *xuulaxa* C605b. Brg *xo:l-* U112. Kalm *xuulx* M614b. Dag *xaul-* E97. EYu *xu:l-* B51, J5. MgrH *xaulə-* X65. MgrM *qur-* DS242b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *qolu-* MC213a. Mog---.

***kauli** ‘law, rule’.

MMo SH *qa’uli* H64, HY---, Muq---. WM *qauli* L946a. Kh *xuul’* H695b. Bur *xuuli* C605b. Kalm *xuul’* (obs) M614b. Dag *kə:l’* E149. EYu *xu:lə* S379, *xulu* B84. Remaining lgs---.

***kaur-** ‘to stir-fry’. MgrH *kurgu-* does not belong here. Cf. CT ***kagur-**. Cf. ***kaari-**.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qa’ur-* P297b. WM *qayur-* L910a, *qayuur-* L911a, *quyur-* L982a. Kh *xuurax* H696b. Ord *xu:r-* M370a. Bur *xuuraxa* C606b. Kalm *xuurx* M615b. Dag---. EYu *xu:r-* B52, J99a. Mgr---. BaoD *xurə-* BL87a. BaoÑ *xər-* CN62. Kgj *xur-* S286a. Dgx *quru-* B73. Mog---.

***kaurai** ‘file (the tool)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qu:rai* P313b, RH *qaura* 204C13. WM *qaurai* L946b, *qayurai* L910a. Kh *xuuray* H696a. Bur *xuuray* C606b. Kalm *xüürä* M619a. Dag *xaur* E98. EYu *xu:ri:* B52. Remaining lgs---.

***kaurai** ‘dry’ see ***kuurai**.

***kebeg** ‘chaff, bran, husks’. A widespread loan from Turkic ***kepek**. It seems impossible to connect the following Baoanic forms: BaoJ *ğuiğə* L153 ‘husks of wheat’, BaoÑ *ğəyөг* CN87 ‘chaff’, Kgj *ğuyag* S288b ‘wheat straw (left after

threshing), Dgx *guyəu* MC129a ‘covering of wheat’. Dgx has both this form, suggesting an original **guyVg*, and **kebeg*. Dgx *qəiya* B70 ‘kind of grass’ is yet another word (from **kiag* ‘couch grass’).

MMo RH *kebek* 205B6. Kh *xeveg* H712b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *kevg* M287a. EYU---. MgrH *kavağ* X85, *kayağ* X84. MgrM *qəbəğ* DS208b, *kəbəğə* Slater 2003:370. Bao (see above). Kgj *kivü* S287b. Dgx *kəwə* B75, *kəwo* MC201a, and see above. Mog---.

***kebereg** and ***keüreg** ‘fragile, brittle, crisp’, usually with some semantic differentiation when both forms are found in a single language. Both seem to stem from Turkic **kevrek*, borrowed in different periods.

MMo SH---, HY *keberek* M70, Muq---. WM *kebereg*, *keberig* L439a, *keüreg* L462a. Kh *xevreg* H712a, *xüüreg* H708a. Ord *kewerek* M419a, *kü:rek* M439a. Bur *xebereg* C639b, *xebreg* C638b. Kalm *kewrəg* R229b, *küürg* M331b. Dag---. EYU *kebreg* (only?) S338. MgrH *ke:rəg* X85, ?cf. *kairan(g)* L253. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *kurəg* S338. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kebi-** ‘to chew; to ruminate’. Dag *kəm^y*- may be influenced by **kemile-* ‘to gnaw’. Cf. CT **kev-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kebi-* P212a. WM *kebi-* L439a. Kh *xevex* H713a, *xivex* H631b. Bur *xibexe* C569a. Kalm *kevx* M288a. Dag *kəm^y*- E146. EYU *keβə-* BJ333. MgrH *ke:yi-* SM199, *ke:-*, *kəyi-* X85. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kebid** ‘shop’ see ***keid**.

***kebte-** ‘to lie down’. The strong *k-* in the Mgr, Kgj, and Dgx forms suggests that they stem from **kebte-* and not from **gedei-* ‘to bend backwards, etc’ (not listed here). It is not clear how these forms are related to Muq *kete-* P217b ‘to lie down’, unless this is a misspelling for *kebte-* (with *yā* instead of *bā*).

MMo SH *kebte-* H96, *kebde-* H95, *gebte-* H48, HY---, Muq *kebte-* P212b. WM *kebte-* L439b. Kh *xevtex* H712a. Ord *gebte-* M254a. Bur *xebtexe* C638a. Brg---. Kalm *kevtx* M288a. Dag *kərt-* E147. EYU *gebte-* B82. MgrH *kəde:-* X87. MgrM *kəde-* C379. Bao---. Kgj *kete-* ~ *kite-* S287a. Dgx *kižie-* B76. Mog *teftā-* R40a, *tebtā-*, *teftā-*, *teftā-* W181a.

***keče** ‘slope’. The QG forms possibly from **kiče*; MgrH atypically added *-n*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *keče* L440a ‘steep’. Kh *xec* H727b ‘steep’. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *kec* M297a ‘slope’. Dag *kəč* (?) E146 ‘side’, cf. *dali:kəč* E274 ‘seashore’. EYU *kəčə* (sic) B68 ‘cliff’. MgrH *kəže:n* X87 ‘slope’. MgrM *kiže* Z310:31. Bao---. Dgx [*ulani*] *kižə* B20 ‘slope, hillside’ (cf. **aula*). Mog---.

***kedüi** and ***kedün** ‘how much, how many’. The loss of *-n* in EYU is unexpected. Related to **ken* ‘who’ and **keñie* ‘when’.

MMo SH *kedui*, *kedun* H96a, HY *kedün* M70, Muq *kedün* P213a. WM *kedü(n)* L441a. Kh *xediy* H713b, *xed(en)* H713b. Bur *xedi* C640a, *xede(n)* C641a. Kalm *kedü* M289a. Dag *xəd*, *xədən* E111. EYU *ke:də* B67, J100a. MgrH *kədə* J100a.

MgrM *kedu* JL463, *kədu* C379. BaoD *kutuŋ* BL87a. BaoÑ *kutoŋ*, *kudoŋ* CN83. BaoX *kutoŋ* BC69. Kgj *gudɔ* ~ *gəɔ* S290a. Dgx *gieduŋ* B91. Mog *kedu*: R30a.

***kee-** ‘to say’. Modern languages suggest a form ***ge-**. Apart from literary forms, neither the *k-* nor the *-m-* are found in modern languages, nor is there a long vowel as is usually the case in contractions. Nevertheless it may once have been ***kee-**, and owe its reduction to its frequent position at the end of a quote.

MMo SH *ke'e-* H96, *kē-* H97, HY *ke'e-* M70, *kē-* M69, Muq *ge-* (or *ke(:)-*) P169a, Ph *k^he'e-* P126a, *ge'e-* P123b. WM *ge-* L372a, *keme-* (‘literary form’) L450b. Kh *gex* H145a, *xemeex* (according to Lessing). Ord *ge-* M253a. Bur *gexe* C174a. Kalm *gix* M145b. Dag---. EYu *gə-* B81. MgrH *gi-* SM135. MgrM *gə-* DS20a. BaoD-?-. BaoÑ *gə-* CN91. Kgj *gə-* S289a. Dgx *gie-* B89. Mog *ge-* R28a, *g^l-* W165a.

***keeli** ‘belly, abdomen’. The MMo *-h-* points at PM **keheli* < **kepli*, which is supported by Manchu *kefeli*. Kh *xevli* H711a ‘stomach, paunch; womb’ and Kalm *kevlä* (obs) M287a ‘belly, abdomen; womb’ strictly stem from a form **kebelei*.

MMo SH *ke'eli* H96, HY *ke'eli* M70, Muq *ke:li* P218a, IV *kehli* L48, LV *ke:li*, *keili* P66/68, RH *keheli* (eds. read *kehli*) 198C24. WM *kebeli* L438b, *kegeli* L442b (reflecting the semantic differences as in Khalkha). Kh *xeel* H728b ‘embryo, fetus (of an animal), *xewel* H713a ‘stomach, belly; womb’. Ord *ke:l* M410b ‘fetus’, *keweli* M419a ‘womb’. Bur *xeeli* C655a ‘&pregnancy’. Brg *xə:l* U101 ‘belly; fetus (of livestock)’. Kalm *keel* M289a ‘&pregnancy (of livestock)’. Dag *kə:p* E143. EYu---. MgrH *ke:le* X85. MgrM---. BaoD *kiələ* BL49. BaoÑ *ke:lə* CN77. Kgj *kele* ~ *kile* S287a. Dgx *kieli* B75. Mog---.

***keer** ‘animal colour (usu. varieties of brown)’. The MMo *-h-* may be an orthographical ‘trick’ to write the *e* or *e:* sound (as in the Zirni manuscript), but it cannot be excluded that it is an actual consonant, perhaps a vestige of earlier **p*. This seems to be supported by forms with *-h-* in Persian and Korean (P60:66). Bur *xeyer* and Dag *kəir* are reminiscent of Manchu *keire* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *keher* (sic, with *h*) P213b. WM *keger* L443a. Kh *xeer* H729a. Bur *xeer* C655b, *xeyer* (western) C641b. Kalm *ker* M294b. Dag *kəir* (?←Manchu) E144. EYu *ke:r* B67. Mgr. BaoD---.

***keere** (?*keer) ‘field, plain, steppe’. The final vowel in WM, Bur, EYu is not confirmed elsewhere. These forms may have reanalysed the old dative-locative *-A* as part of the stem. P60:48,127 compares Ewenki *kəwər*, which is the source of the Dag form *kəur* E144 ‘grassland, grassy marshland’. Perhaps the Arabic spelling with *-h-* and the Tungusic *-w-* point to the existence of PM variants **keper* ~ **keber*.

MMo SH *ke'er* H97, HY *ke'er* M70, Muq *ke:r* P218a, IV *keher-* L62:48. WM *kegere* L443a. Kh *xeer* H728b. Bur *xeere* C655b. Kalm *keer* M289b. Dag *xə:r* E107 ‘open country, wilderness’, cf. also *kəur* above. EYu *ki:re* B69, J99a. Remaining lgs---.

***kegesün** ‘spoke’. Although apparently related, it seems impossible to derive all languages from a single CM form. The change of vowel class in some of the Bur

forms is reminiscent of **hee-*, q.v.) The Kalm form with *-ii-* may go back to **üi* (as in one of the Buriat forms).

MMo SH *kekesun* H97, HY *kekesün* M70, Muq---. WM *kegesü(n)* L443a. Kh *xegees* H713a, *xigees* H631b (sic, no *-en*),. Ord---. Bur *xüygehe(n)* C615b, *xiigaha(n)*, *xiigadaha(n)* (the latter two forms are marked as ‘western’) C570a. Brg *xigə*: U105. Kalm *kiiys* M298b, *kigə:sn* R231a. Dag *xəiyə:s* E108. Remaining lgs---.

***kei** ‘wind’. In the central languages often ‘air’. In Dagur with *-n*. Cf. **salkin* ‘wind’.

MMo SH *kei* H97, HY *kei* M70, Muq *kei* P213b. WM *kei* L444b. Kh *xiy* H632a. Ord *ki*: M419b. Bur *xii* C569b. Brg *xi*: U105. Kalm *ki* M297b. Dag *xain* E107. EYu *ki*: B68, J99b. MgrH *ki*: J99a. MgrM *kəi* JL475, *ke* C379. BaoD *ki* BL87a. BaoÑ *ki*: CN79. Kgj *ke ~ ki* S287a. Dgx *kai* B73, *kei* L115a. Mog *kei* R30a, *kei* W170a.

***keid** ‘temple’ and ***kebid** ‘shop’. From CT **kepit*, which in its turn is from Iranian.

MMo SH *geyit* (?=) H50 ‘houses’, HY *kebit* M70 ‘shop’, Muq---, Ph *k^hebid* P125b ‘shops’, *geyid* (?=) P123b ‘dwellings’. WM *keyid* L444b ‘convent, monastery, temple’. Kh *xiyd* H632b ‘monastery, etc’. Ord *ki:d* M420a. Bur *xiid* C570a ‘monastery’. Kalm *kiyd* (obs) M300a ‘monastery’, *kivd* M298a (obs) ‘shop’. Dag---. EYu *ki:d* B68 ‘temple’. Remaining lgs---.

***kejie** > ***kejee** ‘when’. The reconstruction with *-ie* is based on MMo; the central languages, including Buriat, point at *-ee*; the other languages could be from either form. Related to **kedün* ‘how many’ and **ken* ‘who’.

MMo SH *keji’e* H97 ‘how far’, HY *keji’e* M69 [q.v.], Muq *kejiye* P213b, *keje*: P213b. WM *kejiye* L462a. Kh *xezee* H715a. Bur *xezee* C641b. Kalm *kezä* M290a. Dag *xəjə*: E111. EYu *keje*: B68. MgrH *kəje*: J100a. MgrM *keže* JL462. BaoD *kəciə* BL87a. BaoÑ *kəci* CN77. BaoX *kəjə* BC69. Kgj *gəje* S289a. Dgx *kiezə* B90. Mog---.

***kekere-** or ***kekire-** ‘to belch, burp’. Dagur suggests **kekerie-*, a pseudo-causative of a base **kekeri-*. Related to CT **ke:kir-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kekere-* [could be read *kekire-*] P213b. WM *kekere-* L446a. Kh *xexrex* H727b. Ord *gekir(e)-* M256b. Bur *xexerxe* C654a. Kalm *kekrx* M290b. Dag *kəkre:-* E145. EYu *ge:gəre-* B82. MgrH *kəgəre:-* X86. MgrM *kəgəri-* JL462. Remaining lgs---.

***kelen** ‘tongue; speech, language’.

MMo SH *kele(n)* H97, HY *kelen* M70, Muq *kelen* P214b. WM *kele(n)* L447a. Kh *xel(en)* H715a. Ord *kéle* M411a. Bur *xele(n)* C644b. Brg *xil* U105. Kalm *keln* M291a. Dag *xəl^ʰ* E110. EYu *kelen* B67, J99a. MgrH *kəle* J100a. MgrM *kəlie* DS256b. BaoD *kalan* BL87b. BaoÑ *kəlan* CN78. Kgj *kiliə* S287b Dgx *kielien* B75. Mog *kələn* R30a, *kəlan*, *kəlan* W170a.

***kele-** (< ***kelele-**) ‘to speak’. All peripheral languages have the shortened form.

MMo SH *kelele-* H98, HY *kelele-* M70, *kele-* M70, Muq *kele-* P213b, *kelle-* P215a, WM *kele-* L447b, *kelele-* L448b. Kh *xellex* H719a, *xellex* H716b. Ord *kéle-* M411b. Bur *xellex* C645a. Brg *xəl-* U102. Kalm *kelx* M292b. Dag *əl-* (sic) E24, *xəl-* E83:78b. EYu *kele-* B67. MgrH *kəle-* J100a. MgrM *kili-* JL475. BaoD *kalə-* BL84b. BaoÑ *kel-* CN78. BaoX *kəl-* BC70. Kgj *kele-* S287a. Dgx *kielie-* B75. Mog *kelä-* R30a, *kelä-*, *kelæ-*, *kelē-* W170a.

***kemile-** ‘to gnaw’. Probably derived from a noun **kemi* ‘soft bone’, cf. WM *kemi* L451b ‘marrow of bones’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kemile-* P215b. WM *kemeli-*, *kemele-* L451a. Kh *xemlex* H720b. Ord *kemele-* M413a. Bur *ximelxe* C572a. Brg *ximil-* U106. Kalm *kemlx* M293b. Dag---. EYu *kelme-* B67, *kemle-* J101a. Mgr---. BaoD *kaməl-* BL87a ‘to bite’. BaoÑ---. Kgj *kemle-* S287a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ken** ‘who’. Related to **kedün* ‘how many’ and **kejīe* ‘when’.

MMo SH *ken* H98, HY *ken* M70, Muq *ken* P216a. WM *ken* L453b. Kh *xen* H721b. Bur *xen* C647b. Kalm *ken* M293b. Dag *xən* E108. EYu *ken* B67, J99a, genitive *ke:nə* BJ73. MgrH *ken* J99a. MgrM *ken* JL475. BaoD *kaŋ* BL87b. BaoÑ *kaŋ* CN74. BaoX *kaŋ* BC69. Kgj *kə* S287b. Dgx *kien* B75. Mog *ken* R30a.

***keŋgerge** ‘drum’. With some oddly distributed variants: Bur, Ord and BaoÑ have an alternative form **keŋgerge* or **keŋgerig*, Kalm **keŋkereg*. EYu suggests **keŋgerkei*.

MMo SH---, HY *kenggerge* M71 ‘small drum’, Muq---. WM *kenggerge(n)* L454a. Kh *xengereg* (*xengergen*) H721b. Ord *keŋgerge*, *keŋgerik* M414b. Bur *xengereg* C648a ‘drum’, cf. *xengergee(n)* (western) C648a ‘thunder’. Kalm *keŋkrg* M294b. Dag---. EYu *keŋgerki*: S343. MgrH *kəŋgərgə* X85. MgrM---. BaoÑ *keŋgərag* CN78 ‘one-sided hand drum’. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kerči-** ‘to cut, mince’. Cf. CT **kert-* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *kerči-* L455a. Kh *xerčix* H724a. Ord *gerči-* M261b. Bur *xeršexe* C650a. Kalm *kerčx* M296b. Dag *kərč-* E147. EYu---. MgrH *kirži-* SM204. MgrM *kəžə-* C379. BaoD *kuči-* (?=) BL87a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *kečče-* ~ *keči-* S287b. Dgx *kizi-* B76, *kižiə-* (sic) L115b. Mog ?cf. *kerči* R30b ‘large knife’.

***kereg** ‘need, necessity; matter, affair, business’. Cf. CT **kergek* > **kerek* ‘id’.

MMo SH *kerek* H99, HY *kerek* M71, Muq *kerek* P157a. WM *kereg* L455b. Kh *xereg* H724b. Bur *xereg* C650a. Kalm *kerig* M294b. Dag *kərag* (sic) E147. EYu *kereg* B68 ‘needs’. MgrH (only?) *kerig* L260, *kirig* L266. MgrM *kərag* JL475. BaoD *kər* T141. BaoÑ *kərag* CN77. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***keregle-** ‘to use, employ; to need, want’. The Baoanic forms seem to stem from a verb stem **kereg-* or **kerge-*, which may have secondarily lost the verbalizer -lA. The MgrH form was derived from Tibetan by Róna-Tas.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *keregle*- L456a. Kh *xereglex* H725a. Bur *xereglexe* C651a. Kalm *kerqlx* M295b. Dag *kəryəl*- E147. EYu---. MgrH *xəgəla*- X74, *xgəle*- X83. MgrM *qarlı*- C378, *kərli*- DS204b ‘to apply’, DS212a ‘to claim’. BaoD---. BaoGt *kəşgə*- C124. BaoÑ *kər*- (sic, ?=) CN77. Kgj *ker*- ~ *kar*- ~ *keš*- S287b. Dgx *kərau*- B74, *kərə*- MC201a. Mog---.

***kereldü-** ‘to quarrel, have an argument’. Reciprocal of **kere-* ‘to fight’, which does not seem to survive in the peripheral languages.

MMo SH *kereldu*- H99, HY---, Muq *kereldü*- P216b. WM *kereldü*- L457a. Kh *xereldex* H725b. Bur *xereldexe* C652a. Kalm *kerldx* M295b. Dag---. EYu *kereldə*- B68. MgrH *kəre:də*- X88, *kəreldu*- L266. BaoÑ *keldə*- CN78. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *kandə*- S344. BaoGt *kandə*- CN86:282. Kgj *kandu*- ~ *karəndu*- S287a. Dgx---. Mog *kerālda*- R30b, *kerāldu*- W170a.

***kerie** ‘crow’. In this case Buriat supports **keree* with assimilated diphthong.

MMo SH *kere’e* H99, *keri’e* H99, HY---, Muq *keri’e* P220b. WM *keriye(n)* L458a. Kh *xeree(n)* H726a. Bur *xiree* C573b. Kalm *kerä* M294b. Dag---. EYu *kəräi* B67, *kəri*: J100a, BJ351, *kere*: BJ351. MgrH *kəre*: X88. Remaining lgs---.

***keseg** ‘part, piece’. Cf. **kes-ek* from **kes* ‘piece’, homophone of **kes-* ‘to cut’.

MMo SH--- (see **kesig*), HY *kesek* M71, Muq *kesek* P217a ‘piece’. WM *keseg* L459a. Kh *xeseg* H726b. Ord *gesek* M262a. Bur *xehēg* C564b. Brg *xəsəg* U103. Kalm *kesg* M296b. Dag---. EYu *kəseg* B66, J99a. MgrH *kəzəg* J100a. Bao---. Dgx *kišie* B76. Mog---.

***kesig** ‘part, share, lot, fate’. CT **kes-ig* from **kes-* ‘to cut’.

MMo SH *kešik* [emended by Haenisch as *kesek*] H99, HY---, Muq *kešik* P217b ‘part, share’. WM *kesig* L460a. Kh *xəšig* H728a, *xišig* H636b. Ord *gešik* M262b. Bur *xəšeg* C564b. Brg *xəšig* U103. Kalm *kišg* M303b. Dag *kəš* E146 ‘kindness’ (probably, as E suggests, reborrowed < Manchu *kesi*). EYu *kšəg* BJ334 ‘favour, kindness’, MgrH *kəšəg* SM199 ‘share of a sacrificed animal (...)’. Bao---. Kgj *kešiu* S287a ‘share, time(s)’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kete-** ‘to lie down’ see ***kebte-**

***kete** ‘steel for striking fire’. Cf. **čakiur*.

MMo SH *kete* H100, HY---, Muq *kete* P174b. WM *kete* L460b. Kh *xet(en)* H726b. Ord *gete* M263a. Bur *xete* C652b. Kalm *ket* M296b. Dag---. EYu *kede* B68. MgrH *kəde*: J100a. MgrM *kəde* JL475. Remaining lgs---.

***ketül-** ‘to cross, to wade across’. The initial is unclear, as the *k-* in Shirongol may be secondarily strengthened by the following *-t-*. Dag *xədul-* with its irregular *-d-* may be influenced by Tungusic **ədəl-* ‘id’. Bökh derives the Dgx form from **gatul-* ‘id’ (not listed here but found in central Mongolic) which is possible phonetically.

MMo SH *ketul*- H100, HY---, Muq *gütül-* P172b (can also be read *kütül-*). WM *getül-* L380b, *ketül-* L461a (different reading of the same spelling). Kh *xötlöx* H675b, *getlex* Cevél171b. Chakhar *gotlön* D188a. Ord *getul-* M263b, also *geltul-*

M257b. Bur *getelxe* C173b. Brg *gətl-* U135, cf. also *xədləg gar-* U103 ‘to cross’. Kalm *getl-* (rare) R135a. Dag *xədul-* (?=) E111. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoGt *kudāl-* C124. BaoÑ *kutel-* CN83. Dgx *qutulu-zi dawa-* B72 (*dawa-* < **daba-*). Mog *ketul-* R30b.

***keü, *keüken** ‘child’ listed under **köbeün* for the sake of comparison.

***kīdu-** ‘to kill, massacre’. An interesting spectrum of forms with respect to palatal breaking. Bur and Kalm feature breaking, with preserved palatality (note velar *k-* in the latter), while Ord features breaking without a trace of palatality. Kh has a recent type of breaking that took place after the second vowel was neutralised to *a*). EYu may represent the unbroken form, but strictly speaking it could be a development of a broken form **kudu-*.

MMo SH *kidu-* H101, HY---, Muq---. WM *kidu-* L464a. Kh *xyadax* H729b. Ord *χudu-* M363a. Bur *xyudaxa* C656a. Brg *šod-* U170. Kalm *kudx* M321b. Dag---. EYu *gədə-* B77. Remaining lgs---.

***kījaar** ‘side, edge, border’. Initial **k-* was weakened in QG, before it could become *č-* in Monguoric. Cf. also **kījaasun* in central languages and EYu. MgrM may also be related to **kija*, WM *qija*, and Mog *qiji(n)* W177a.

MMo SH *kija'ar*, *kiji'ar* H101, HY *kija'ar* M72, Muq *qija:r* P135a, *yija:r* P221a. WM *kijayar* L474b. Kh *xyazgaar* H729b. Ord *kijağa:r* (← WM) M420b. Bur *xizaar* C569a, *xizagaar* (lit.) C569b. Kalm *kizār* (obs) M298b. Dag *kija:r* E149. EYu *gəja:r* B77. MgrH *gəja:r* X104. MgrM *xaji-du* (?=) P418a ‘next to’. Bao---. Dgx *giža* B81, *gižira* B81. Mog---.

***kīlbar** ‘easy’.

MMo SH *kilbar* H101, HY *kilbar* M72, Muq *qilbar* P298a. WM *kilbar* L466a. Kh *xyalbar* H730b. Ord *kilbar* M420b. Bur *xilbar* C571a, *xyalbar* C657a. Brg *x'albar* U127. Kalm *kilwr* R231b, *kilvür* (different formation) M300b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *čirval* J99b, *čüro:l* X212. MgrM *čərbar* JL467, *čubar* C393. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *gəiwa* B81, *giwa* B81, *gəira* B81. Mog---.

***kīlgasun** ‘coarse hair’. Related to CT **kil*. Cf. **hüsün*, **noasun*.

MMo SH *kilqasun* H102 ‘(horse’s) tail hair’, HY---, Muq *qilyasun* P298a ‘horse hair’. WM *kilyasu(n)* L466a. Kh *xyalgas(an)* H730b ‘hair of the mane and tail, etc’. Ord *kilgasu* M421a. Bur *xilgaaha(n)* C571a ‘horse hair’. Brg *šalgv:* U161 ‘coarse hair’. Kalm *kilysn* M300b ‘hair (usu. of a horse)’. Dag *kilya:s* E148 ‘horse’s tail hair’. EYu *χalğasən* B45 ‘pubic hair’. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *galğasun* S288a ‘goat’s hair’. Dgx *imaŋ qağasun* (**imaan* ‘goat’) B11 ‘goat’s hair’. Mog *qilyasun* R32a (thick) hair, *qilğəsun* W176b ‘goat’s hair’.

***kīmda** ‘cheap’. The *k-* (instead of an uvular) in the unconfirmed EYu form is unexpected.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *kimda* L468a. Kh *xyamd* H731a. Ord *gimda* M266b. Bur *xyamda* C657a ‘easy; cheap’. Brg *š'amd* U172, *x'amd* U127. Kalm *kimd* M301a. Dag *k'and*, *k'annə* E160 ‘cheap; easy’. EYu *kəmda* (sic?, only) S352 ‘cheap’. Remaining lgs---.

***kīmusun** ‘nail, claw’, sometimes ‘hoof’. In Kh, Ord and Kalm the first-syllable **i* was assimilated by the following **u*, resulting in the uvular pronunciation of **k* in these languages. Palatal breaking took place in Bur and Brg, thus giving rise to forms with palatal consonants and *u*. In Mog the first syllable **kī* has become *qi*, suggesting an *ī*-like pronunciation of **i* in an earlier stage. It is not clear whether the EYü and Baoanic forms go back to a form with *qī*- or with assimilated *qu*-. In Monguoric, **i* developed into *i*, causing the palatalisation of **k*.

In Ord and EYü the initial became a fricative before it could undergo the expected weakening. The development of *-sun* into *-č* in Dagur is rare, but not unique (see **kairsun* ‘scale’, **nugursun* ‘spinal marrow’). The Monguor development **s > ʒ* is unrelated. The MgrM *-p-* was probably inserted as a byproduct of the devoicing of the middle syllable by *-s-*.

MMo SH *kimusun* ‘claw’, *kimul* ‘nail’ H102, HY *kimusun* M72, Muq *qimusun* P298b. WM *kimusu(n)* L469a, *qumusun* L986a. Kh *xums(an)* H687b. Ord *xumusu* M369a. Bur *xyumha(n)* C656a. Brg *šomv*: U170. Kalm *xumsn* M609b. Dag *kimč* E148. EYü *χəməsən* B49, J99b. MgrH *ćimužə* J99b, *ćimsə* X207, *ćimžə* X207. MgrM *ćimpəži* C392, *čənpuzi* DS238a. BaoD *gomusun* BL87a. BaoÑ *gəmsəŋ* CN87. Kgj *gemesun* ~ *gimesun* (sic) S289b. Dgx *gīmusuŋ* B81. Mog *qimsun* R32a.

***kīrau** ‘hoar-frost’. From CT **kīr-a-gu* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *qira’u* M72, Muq---. WM *kirayu(n)* L470b. Kh *xyaruu* H733b. Ord *kiru*: M422b as well as *girsu*: (sic, ?=) M267a. Bur *xyuruu* C656b. Brg *š’orov*: U173. Kalm *kirü* M302b. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *qīrəu* B71. Mog---.

***kīrga-** ‘to shave, shear, scrape’. Cf. CT **kīrk-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *kirqa-* H102, HY---, Muq *qirya-* P298b. WM *kirya-* L471b. Kh *xyargax* H733b. Ord *kirğa-* M422a. Bur *xirgaxa* C572b. Kalm *kiryx* M302a. Dag---. EYü *χarğa-*, *χərgə-* BJ348, *χurğa-* S354. MgrH *ćirğa-* J100b. MgrM *ćarğa-* JL475. BaoD---. BaoJ *xarğə-* L210. BaoÑ *χarğa-* CN59. Kgj *qar-* ~ *qarğa-* ~ *qerğa-* S287a. Dgx *giğa-* B81 ‘to clip; to cut’. Mog *qirya-* R32a, *qī&rğa-* W177a.

***kīrguī** ‘name of some birds of prey’. As is seen often, Kh suggests **a* instead of expected **u*, which would be possible here if CM were **kīraguī*. Dgx *-ŋ* normally stems from *-l-* rather than *-r-*. Cf. CT **kīrguy*.

MMo SH---, HY *kiryui* M72, Muq---. WM *kiryui* L471b. Kh *xyarguy* H733b. Ord *χurgui* M372b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *kiryü* M302a. Dag *kiryɔ*: E149. EYü---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *giŋgi* B81. Mog---.

***kīrgaul** ~ ***kurgaul** ‘pheasant’. The form with *ī* survives in Kh, Kalm, Mgr. The MMo form in HY is puzzling in that the breaking (assimilation) to *u* is unexpected, since the following vowel is actually *a*.

MMo SH---, HY *qurqa’ul* M92, Muq---. WM *kiryuul* L471b, *kirayul* L470b, *yuryuul* L369b, *quuryuul* L993a. Kh *xyarguul* H733b, cf. *temeen xyaruul* H733b ‘ostrich’ (lit. camel pheasant). Ord *gurgu:l* M315a, *gurgu:li* (sic) M315b. Bur *gorgol* (?=). Kalm *kiryül* M3302a. Dag *xəryɔ:l* E122. EYü---. MgrH *ćirgöl* X209. MgrM---. BaoÑ *gulgur* CN89. Kgj *gulguar* ~ *gulğɔ* S288b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kīrjaŋ** ‘penis’, but with several other meanings in central Mongolic. Kalm suggests **kīrčaŋ*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *yirjaŋ* (Poppe: -č-) P152b ‘penis’. WM *kirjaŋ* L473b ‘perineum’. Kh *xyarzan* H733b, *šarzan* H806a ‘perineum’. Ord *kirjaŋ* M422a. Bur---. Kalm *kircŋ* R232b ‘bladder; tendons between anus and genitals’. EYu *ǵarjaŋ* BJ329 ‘penis’. Remaining lgs---.

***kīrmag** ‘fine snow’. The loss of -g in Dagur is unexpected. For the semantic development in MgrM, cf. Kgj *turŋ časun* S64 ‘dandruff’, lit. ‘head snow’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *kiramay* L470b, *kirmay* L472b. Kh *xyarmag* H733b ‘fine or fluffy snow (...)’. Ord *kirmaq* M422b, also *kimarxaq* M421b. Bur *xirmag* (*sahan*) C572b, *xyarmag* C657b. Brg *šʹarmag saxa*: U172. Kalm *kirmg* M302a ‘powdery snow’. Dag *kyarəm čas* E160 ‘fine snow’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *čierma* DS215b ‘dandruff’. Remaining lgs---.

***kīsu-** ‘to scrape’. Apparently an assimilated variant **kusu-* developed quite early. Dagur lacks the verb, but has both *kisɔ:r* E83:124 ‘tool for fastening a skin with a hook’, and *kɔswər* [*?kɔsɣər*] E83:128 ‘knife for scraping skins’. The former phonetically matches **kīsuur* ‘scraper’, the latter is closer semantically, but has an unknown suffix. MgrH is peculiar, in that it has velar *k-*; **kī-* should have resulted in MgrH *či-*, while early breaking should have resulted in MgrH *xu-*. The -a- in Bao is also unexpected.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qusu-* L992a, *kisu-* L473b. Kh *xusax* H693b. Ord *gusu-* M317a. Bur *xyuhaha* C656b. Brg *šv:-* U168. Kalm *xusx* M614a. EYu *qasə-* B63. MgrH *kizə-* SM202, *kəsə-* L268. BaoD *χasə-* BL88b. BaoÑ *gasə-* CN85. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kīsuraj** ‘infertile, barren’. Agricultural term related to CT **kīsīr*, **kīsrak*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qisran* P298b, *qusran* (so read) P312b. WM *qusurung* L992a. Kh *xusran(g)* H693b. Ord *gusaraŋ* M317a. Bur *xyuharan* C656a ‘barren milch cow’. Kalm *xusraŋ* M613b. EYu *qəsəraŋ* B63.

***kītad** ‘Chinese’. All Shirongol languages except Mongghul use developments of **kītai*, apparently from Turkic **kītay* < CT **kītañ* (cf. WYu *qidey*, Sal *χadi*).

MMo SH---, HY *kitat* M72, Muq---. WM *kitad* L473b. Kh *xyatad* H734a. Chakhar *gītād* D108. Ord *gitat* M267b. Bur *xitad* C574a. Brg *xʹatad* U127. Kalm *kitd* M303a. Dag---. EYu *qutad* B65, *qudad* J57. MgrH *čidar* X207. MgrM *čidai* C392, DS60, BaoD *χəti harəb* (*harəb* ‘letter’ from Ar.) BL64 ‘Chinese characters’, *χəti gaci* (*gaci* ‘language’ from Tib.) BL69 ‘Chinese language’, BaoGt *xdi gāca* (*gāca* ‘language’) C129 ‘Chinese language’, BaoÑ *hdi* CN72 ‘Chinese’, Kgj *χte ~ χde* S286a. Dgx *qīdai* B70 ‘Chinese language’. Mog---.

***kītuga(i)** ‘knife’. The final -i seen in SH only survives in Mog. In this case the EYu form resembles Kh rather than Kalm and Ord. The Shirongol forms seem to derive from a form **kītogo* < **kītoga* < **kītuga*. Dagur lost this word as such but may preserve it in the verb *kʹatəyla:-* E83:123a ‘to stab/prick (of a knife)’. This suggests an earlier form **kītuga*, which cannot easily be explained as a loanword

from central Mongolic. On the other hand, Dag *kwa:rt* E161 ‘hunting knife’ vaguely resembles **kituga* and Tungusic *kɔtɔ* ‘knife’.

MMo SH *kituqai* H102, HY---, Muq *qituya* P299a, *qutuya* P290b. WM *kituya* L474a, *qutaya* L992a, *qutuya* L992b. Kh *xutga(n)* H694a, Chakhar *gotāg* D187b. Ord *utaga* M744b. Bur *xutaga* C605a, *xotyogo* (western) C592a. Brg *xotag* U116. Kalm *utx* M540a. Dag (see above). EYu *qutağa* B65, *qudağa* J99b, *χudağa* J58. MgrH *cidoğ* J99b. MgrM *cidoğ* JL477. BaoD *dogə*, *doğ* BL87a. BaoGt *doğ* C117. BaoÑ *şdəğə* CN151 ‘id, pocket knife’. BaoX *xdogə* BC74. Kgj *duğu* S299b. Dgx *qudoğ* B72. Mog *qitqei* R32a.

***kiursun** ‘nit’. Many unexpected developments. In Kh, Kalm (and WM) this word has become confused with **kaursun* ‘chaff’ (not listed here) and **gaursun* ‘feather shaft’. The *iu* has developed in unexpected ways. In Dag the ending *-sUn* was dropped; the form *k’aur* suggests an earlier **kiura*. MgrM also dropped the ending (unless it is not related but a foreign word). EYu *-ai-* and MgrH *-i-* are also abnormal.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH---. WM *kiyurasu(n)*, *kiyurusu(n)* L464b, cf. also *qaurasun* L910b. Kh *xuurs* H697a ‘... nit; chaff, etc’, *xiurs* H636a ‘flea eggs’. Ord *gu:rsu* M316a. Bur *xyuurha(n)* C656b. Brg *şv:rar* (sic) U168. Kalm *xuursn* M615b. Dag *k’aur* E160. EYu *χairsən* B42. MgrH *čirzə* SM456. MgrM *čər* (?) DS239a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ki-** ‘to do’, in Dag also ‘to write’, under Tungusic influence (e.g. Manchu *ara-* ‘to do; to write’). Initial **k-* was apparently weakened in QG before it could become *č-* in Mgr. The long vowel in Kh, Ord, and Dag may be due to the stem structure as in **a-* ‘to be’. This verb is also used as a verbalizer, in the QG languages especially on foreign nouns, e.g. EYu *laryə-* ‘to speak’ < *lar* ‘speech’. The verb is spelled with *q* twice in Muq (albeit against more than 100 times with *k-*), with equivalents in preclassical spelling. The *q*-spelling was seen as evidence for a connection to Turkic **kil-* ‘to do’ (P60:19,114). The peripheral languages do not provide support for a CM reconstruction **ki-*.

MMo SH *ki-* H101, HY *ki-* M71, Muq *ki-* P218a. WM *ki-* L462b. Kh *xiyx* H633b. Ord *ki:-* M419b. Bur *xexe* C653a. Kalm *kex* M297a. Dag *xi:-* E112. EYu *gə-* J100a. MgrH *gə-* J99b. MgrM *gr-* C380. BaoD *gə-* (used as verbalizer) BL21, *kə-* T141. Kgj *gi-* S89a. Dgx *gie-* B89. *gei-*. Mog *kə-*, *ki-* R30b.

***ki-** ‘to pour’. This could be a semantic development of **ki-* ‘to do’, via the meaning ‘to put into, insert’ as attested for MMo SH and Muq *ki-*. Whether or not this is the case, the two verbs now have different shapes in several QG languages. Cf. **čidku-*, **tüsür-*, **yeü-*.

Kh, Bur, Kalm have the same phonetic shapes listed under **ki-* ‘to do’. EYu *ki:-* B68. BaoD *ki-* BL51, BL74. BaoGt *ki-* C124. BaoÑ *ki:-* CN79. Dgx *kie-* B75, MC217b. Mog *ki-* R1 ‘to put into’.

***kirbei** ‘edge’. EYu suggests *g-*, Monguoric favours **k-*. Found only in Monguoric and EYu, but cf. WM *kirbegesü(n)* L471a. Kh *xirvees* H635b ‘fur trimming’, *xervees* H723a ‘trimmings’, cf. *xervix* H722b, Ord *kerwe-* ~ *kérwe-* M418b ‘to trim’,

Kalm *kirwä:sn* R233 ‘(..) shearings’. WM *i ~ e* variations usually are from **e*, but here the first vowel needs to be **i* in order to explain the *é-* in Monguoric.

MMo---, WM---, Kh---, Bur---, Kalm---, Dag---, EYu *aman gərβai* B5 ‘lip’ (lit. ‘mouth edge’), *čkən gərβai* B139 ‘helix’ (‘ear edge’). MgrH *ćire*: X208. MgrM *čaibai* C393, *čaibai ~ čəbie* DS208a. Remaining lgs---.

***kirüe > *kiröe** ‘saw’. The Shirongol forms may go back to a form **kireü*, a metathetic alternant of **kirüe* > **kiröe*. The *é-* in the Dgx form is unexpected and reminiscent of Monguoric.

MMo SH *kiru’e* H102, HY---, Muq *kirö*: P219a. WM *kiröge* L473a. Kh *xöröö(n)* H674a. Ord *körö*: M430b. Bur *xyüröö* [written *xyuröö*] C656a, *xüree* (western) C630b. Brg *šurə*: U171. Kalm *körä* M318b. Dag *kirə*: E149. EYu *kure*: B71, *kure*: J99b. MgrH *ćiru*: X209, *ćirəu*: J100b. MgrM *ćircu* C393. BaoD---, BaoÑ *kuru* CN83. Kgj *kiru* S287b. Dgx *ćirəu* B158. Mog---.

***koa** ‘all’ see ***kau**

***koa-** ‘to dry (intr), wither’. Initial weakening only in Dgx.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qo:-* P306a. WM---, Kh---, Ord---, Bur---, Kalm---, Dag *x^wa:-* E131. EYu *χu:-* BJ346, *χɔ:-* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *χo:-* SM168. MgrM *qo-* J86 ‘to dry’. BaoD---, BaoÑ *χə:-* CN61. Kgj *χu-* S285b. Dgx *go-* B81. Mog *qua-* R32b.

***koala(i)** ‘throat’ and ***koala(i)** ‘food’. EYu and BaoÑ suggest two words **koala* ‘food’ and **koali* ‘throat’.

MMo SH *qo’olai* H66 ‘throat’, HY *qowolai* M90 ‘throat’, Muq *qo:lai* P306a ‘throat’. WM *qoyolai* L952b ‘throat’, *qoyola(n)*, *qoyol* L952a ‘food, etc’. Kh *xooloy* H650a ‘throat’, *xool(on)* H649b ‘food’. Ord *χo:l* M349a ‘food’, *χo:lo* M350a ‘food; throat, etc’, *χo:lö*: M350b ‘throat, etc’. Bur *xooloy* C586a ‘throat’, *xool* C586a ‘food’, *xuul* (western) C605b ‘nutritiousness’. Brg *xɔ:l* U106 ‘food’, *xɔ:lɔi* U106 ‘throat’. Kalm *xol* M593a ‘throat; nutritiousness’. Dag *xɔ:lʰ* E116 ‘throat; neckband’, *x^wa:l* (?) E132 ‘goiter (disease)’. EYu *χula* B53, *χu:la* J100b ‘meal, food’, and in *la:n χu:lə* B88, J89 ‘oesophagus’ (*la:n* < **hulaan* ‘red’). MgrH *xɔ:la*, *xɔ:lo* X74 ‘throat; fodder’, *xo:lo* J100a ‘throat’. MgrM *qolo* J87 ‘throat’. BaoD---, BaoÑ *χələ* CN62 ‘breakfast’, but *fulaŋ gəli* CN56 ‘oesophagus’ (*fulaŋ* < **hulaan* ‘red’). Kgj *guli* (sic) S290b. Dgx *gələi* B82 ‘throat; fodder, feed’. Mog *qo:ləi* R32a ‘throat’, *kələi* W170b ‘neck’.

***koar** ‘two’ see ***koyar**

***koasun** ‘dry’. See ***koasun** ‘empty’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qo’asun* P299a, *qo:sun* P306b. WM---, Kh---, Bur---, Kalm---, Dag---, EYu---, MgrH *xo:sən* J99a, *xɔ:sən ~ xɔ:zən* X75 ‘dry’. MgrM *qɔsun* C378 ‘dry’. BaoD *χosun* BL87b ‘dry’. BaoÑ *χə:səŋ*, *χə:səŋ* CN59. Dgx *qosun* B71. Mog *qosun* W177a.

***koasun** ‘empty’. Although this is likely to be the same word as **koasun* ‘dry’ above, it is listed separately to show the different development and distribution.

MMo SH *qo’osun* H66, HY *qo’osun* M90, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *qoyosun* L953a. Kh *xooson* H650b. Bur *xooho(n)* C587b. Brg *xəxə:ŋ* U108, *xə:səŋ* (←Kh) U106. Kalm *xoosn* M597b. Dag *xə:sun* E116. EYu *χu:sən* B52, J100a. MgrH *xo:ʒən* J100a. MgrM *qəsun* C378. Bao---. Dgx *qusun* B72. Mog---.

***kočar-** ‘to remain’. Survives in EYu in reduced form as a perfective auxiliary (parallel to WYu *qal-*), as in *nda-čur-* B28 ‘to sleep’, *hku-čər-* ‘to die’, *marta-čər-* ‘to forget’ (BJ1990:233, with different etymology). MgrH *χuičira:-* C88:575 ‘to remain’, there connected to this etymon, rather stems from **koičira-*.

MMo SH *qocor-* H64, HY---, Muq *qočar-* P299b. WM *qočor-* L951a. Kh *xocrox* H658a. Ord *gočiro-* M309b ‘to stay behind, disappear; to become poor’. Bur *xosorxo* C591b ‘to disappear (without trace), (..) to die’. Brg *xəʃər-* U110. Kalm *xocrx* M602a. Dag---. EYu (see above). MgrH--- (see above). MgrM---. BaoD *χʒior-* BL29, *χʒiorči-*, *ʒiorči-* BL84a. BaoGt *xočál-* C119. BaoÑ *hʒər-* CN73, *ʒər-* CN202. BaoX *ʒor-* BC73. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *qočar-* R32a ‘id’, *qəčar-* W177b.

***kog** ‘plant waste, sweepings, garbage, filth’.

MMo SH *qoh* H64, HY---. Muq---. WM *qoy* L951b. Kh *xog* H638b. Ord *xoğ* M348a. Bur *xog* C575a. Kalm *xog* M591b. Dag---. EYu *xoğ* S471. MgrH *xəğ* X81, *fağ* X59 ‘dung; fertilizer’, *fog* DS222 ‘fertilizer’. MgrM *qo* DS222 ‘fertilizer’. Remaining lgs---.

***koimar** ‘northern side; seat of honour’. Probably related to **koi-* ‘behind; north’, but the suffix is unclear.

MMo SH *qoyimar* H69, HY---, Muq *qoimar* P110b. WM *qoyimar*, *qoyimor* L954a. Kh *xoymor* H640b. Bur *xoymor* C577b. Kalm *xööm̐r* M603b. Dag *x^waima:r* E133 ‘north side of the kang (heatable brick bed)’. MgrH *xvimor* X76 ‘smooth floor indoors; floor’. Remaining lgs---.

***koïna** ‘back, posterior side, behind, later, etc’. The initial weakening in Kgj is unexpected. There are many other derivations of the same stem **koïgsi* ‘backwards’, **koitu* ‘posterior (adj)’ (not listed).

MMo SH *qoyina* H69, HY *qoyina* M91, Muq *qoina* P299b. WM *qoyina* L954a. Kh *xoyno* H640b. Bur *xoyno* C577b. Kalm *xöön̐* M603b. Dag *x^wainə* E132 ‘north; back’. EYu *xəinə* B49, *χoino* J99b. MgrH *xuaino* J100b ‘north; back’, *xvino* X75. MgrM *quaino* JL465. BaoD *χuinə* BL82a, 87b. BaoÑ *χi:na* CN60 back side; behind, back’. Kgj *guaina* S288b. Dgx *quina* B72, *quŋna* MC216b. Mog *qoina* R32a, *koina* W170b, *qavna* W176b.

***kola** ‘far’. Cf. **alus* ‘far’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *qola*, *qolo* H65, HY *qolo* M90, Muq *qola* P300a. WM *qola* L956b. Kh *xol* H642b. Ord *xolo* M350a. Bur *xolo* C580a. Brg *xəl* U109. Kalm *xol* M592b. Dag *xəl* E118. EYu *χələ* B50, *χolo* J100a. MgrH *xolo* J100a. MgrM *qolo* JL464, *qolo* C378. BaoD *golo* BL87b. BaoGt *xolo* C102. BaoÑ *χələ* CN62. BaoX *xolo* BC67. Kgj *gulu* S28b. Dgx *golo* B82. Mog *qolo*: R32a, *qələ* W177a.

***kolaŋsa** (?) ‘unpleasant smell, smell of sweat’. The precise form is difficult to establish. The *-a-* is supported by Muq, but Ord suggests **koluŋsu*. Bur suggests **kolimsun*, Dagur suggests a palatal element as well. A rare case of **s > Dag č* that does not involve the ending *-sUn*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qolanqsa* P301a. WM *qulungsu(n)*, *qulungyusu(n)*, *qulumsun* L985a, *qulmusu(n)* L984b. Kh *xulmas* H686b, *xulans* H685a. Ord *χuluŋsu* ~ *χuluŋsa* M368a. Bur *xol'modoho(n)* C582a, *xol'moho(n)* (western) C582a. Kalm *χolŋsǎ* R183a. Dag *kolinč* E151 ‘body odour’. Remaining lgs---.

***kolba-** ‘to connect, join, unite’. The loss of *-b-* in MgrM is unexpected. Cf. **jalga-*.

MMo SH (*qolba'ara-*, *qolbara-* H65 ‘to unite (intr)'), HY---, Muq *qolba-* P301a. WM *qolbo-*, *qolba-* L957b. Kh *xolbox* H643b. Bur *xolboxo* C579b. Kalm *xolvx* M593b. Dag *xɔlb-* E119. EYu *χolβɔ-* B50, *χolbo-* J100a. MgrH *xolo:-* J100a. MgrM *xulo-* T377. Remaining lgs---.

***koli-** ‘to mix’.

MMo SH *qoli-* H65, HY *qoli-* M90, Muq *qoli-* P301b. WM *qoli-* L959a. Kh *xolix* H644b. Ord *χoli-* M349b. Bur *xolixo* C580a. Brg *xɔlʰ-* U109. Kalm *xol'x* M595a. Dag *xɔlʰe:-* E116. EYu *χula-* B53, *χɔla-* J100a. MgrH *xolə-* J100a. MgrM *xolo-* DS237a. Remaining lgs---.

***koltul-** ‘to peel, to skin’, with intr. counterpart ***koltura-** ‘to peel off, fall off, etc’. Related to **koltusun* ‘bark’, cf. MMo RH *qoldasun* (eds. read *quldasun*) 204C27 ‘thin bark of a tree which is used to wrap around bows’, Dag *kɔltus* E151 ‘outer shell, outer skin’, etc. The reconstruction **koltul-* is supported by Ordos; Baoanic seems to suggest **koltal-*. Cf. **kaul-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qoltul-*, *qoltura-* L960a. Kh *xoltlox*, *xoltrox* H644b. Ord *ğultul-*, *ğultur-* M313a. Bur *xoltolxo* C581a, *xoltorxo* C581b. Kalm *xoltlx*, *xoltrx* M584a. Dag *kɔltɔ:-* E83:126a, *kɔltur-* E151. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoÑ *χədal-* (sic) CN62. BaoGt *xundāl-* C118. Kgj *χundi-* S286a ‘to skin’. Dgx *qoŋtolu-* MC213a.

***kom** ‘saddle pad, felt under the packsaddle’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq only *qom-la-* P301b ‘to saddle (a camel)’, and *qom-u-nu* (sic, genitive) P302a ‘camel saddle’. WM *qom* L960b. Kh *xom* H645b. Bur *xom* C582a. Kalm *xom* M595b ‘&saddle; fat spot near a camel's hump’. Dag---. EYu *χɔm* B50. Mgr---. Bao---. BaoÑ *χəm* CN62. Dgx---. Mog---.

***komaul** ~ ***komual** ‘horse dung’. Note the peculiar similarity of the Bur and EYu form. Cf. also the ‘standard’ Bur *tontogool*, *tontoxoodo(n)* C428b ‘horse dung’, Brg *təntv:l* U183 ‘horse dung’. Cf. Turkic **komuk*. Cf. for a parallel case **jundaal* (as in SH) corresponding to CT **yundak*.

MMo SH *qoma'ul* H65 ‘dried dung’, HY---, Muq---. WM *qomoyol*, *qomol* L961a. Kh *xomool* H646a. Ord *xomo:l(i)* M351a. Bur *xontool* (Selenga) (?) C585a.

Brg. Kalm *xomył* M595b ‘humus’, *χomyāl* R184b, *χoma:l* R184b ‘round pellet of sheep or camel dung’. Dag---. EYu *χɔndu:l* (?=) B49. Remaining lgs---.

***konag** ‘millet’. The present distribution (as well as the fact that other cereal names have been borrowed from Turkic in QG) suggests that this word entered from Turkic in recent centuries.

MMo SH---, HY *qonoq* M90, Muq *qonaq* [P: *qunaq*] P302a. WM *qonoy* L964a. Kh *xonog* H648a. Bur---. Kalm *χonōg* R185a. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj *gūnəg* S288b. Dgx *gonaυ* B81, *gono* L80. Mog---.

***kongar** ‘fallow, light bay, etc’. Cf. CT **koŋur*.

MMo SH *qongqor* H66, HY---, Muq---. WM *qongyor* L962a. Kh *xongor* H647a. Ord *χonggor* M354a. Bur *xongor* C583b. Kalm *xonȳr* M596a. Dag *kəŋgɔ:r* E150. EYu *χəŋgɔr* B49, *χəŋgɔr* J100b. Remaining lgs---.

***koŋka** ‘bell’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qongqo* L963a. Kh *xonx(on)* H648a. Ord *χonχo* M354a. Bur *xonxo* C584b. Kalm *xonx* M596a. Dag *kəŋgilʃa:r* ~ *kəŋgulʃa:r* (?=) E150 ‘small bell’. EYu *χəŋgɔ* B49, *χəŋgɔ* J100b. MgrH *xəŋgɔr* J100b, *xəŋgɔr* X81, *xəŋgɔr* X77. MgrM *qəŋgɔ* JL477, *qəŋgɔ* C378. BaoD *galalaŋ* (?=) BL87a. Kgj *gɔɔlɔŋ* ~ *gɔɔlɔŋ* (?=) S288a. Dgx *gūŋgūŋ* B83, *gəŋgəŋ* L115b. Mog---.

***konin** ‘sheep’. Note the loss of -n in EYugur and all of Shirongol. The weakening of initial **k* in Dongxiang and some Baoan dialects is probably due to the following nasal. Agricultural term related to CT **ko:ŋ*.

MMo SH *qoni(n)* H66, HY *qonin* M90, Muq *qonin* P302a, *yonin* P206b. WM *qoni(n)* L963b. Kh *xon*’ (*xonin*) H649a. Ord *χoni* M352a. Bur *xoni(n)* C584a. Kalm *xön* (gen *xöönä*) M603a. Dag *xɔnʷ* E117. EYu *χɔ:nə* B49, *χɔ:nə* J100b. MgrH *xonə* J100b. MgrM *qoni* JL464. BaoD *gonə* BL87a. BaoGt *xonə* C131. Baoŋ *gəni* CN86. BaoX *χonə* BC62. Kgj *χɔni* ~ *χuni* S285b. Dgx *goni* B81. Mog *qonin* R32b, *qɔnin* W177a.

***konjiasun**, ***kondasun** ‘colon; anus’. Cf. **anjasun* ‘plough’ for a similar set of variants. Dag and Bur point at an assimilated form **konjaasun*. There are many semantically similar words that may all share the same root: **kondalaï*, **koŋ*, **konɣai*, **kondaska*; **kondarčag*, all with meanings like ‘buttocks, hindquarters’ (none of them listed here), some of which indicate that the -n- goes back to **ŋ*. EYu *gəŋgɔr* B78 ‘buttocks’ may also be from this root.

MMo SH *qonjiasun* H66, HY---, Muq---. WM *qongjusu* L963b ‘the junction of the two thighs, crotch’. Kh---. Ord---. Bur *xonzooho(n)* C584a ‘anus’. Kalm *χondāsŋ* R185a ‘backside, etc’. Dag *kəŋʃɔ:s* ~ *kəŋñɔ:s* E88:491 ‘colon’. EYu---. MgrH *gonʃasə* J98b, *gəŋʃəsə* ~ *gəŋʃosə* X98. MgrM *gəŋʃosɪ* C381. Remaining lgs---.

***kora** ‘poison’. In WM and NM this word has become confused with **kor* ‘disaster’. The WM spellings *qoor*, *qoora* now both represent both original words. In this context also note Manchu *horon* ‘poison’, *koro* ‘sorrow, etc’.

MMo SH *qōro(n)* H68, HY---, Muq *qora* P302b, *γora* P135b. WM *qoor*, *qoora* L973b. Kh *xor(on)* H651a. Ord *χoro* M360a. Bur *xoro(n)* C590a. Kalm *xorn* M599b. Dag *kər* E153. EYu *χṛṛ* B51, *χoro* J99b. MgrH *xoro: sman* (*sman* ‘medicine’ ←Tib) X81. Remaining lgs---.

***korakaï** ‘insect/worm’. A general word for a variety of mainly invertebrates (like Chinese *chóng*). All Shirongol forms stem from a shortened **korgai*. Initial weakening in Baoanic may have occurred after weakening (itself unexplained) of the second *-k-*. The CM word may contain the (diminutive?) suffix *-kAi*, so that the PM root may be **kora-*.

MMo SH---, HY *qoroqai* M90, Muq *qorayai* P302b, *γorayai* P238a. WM *qoroqai* L970a ‘insects and worms in general’. Kh *xorxoy* H655a. Ord *χor(o)χö:* M358b, M360b, sporadically *gorχö:* M307a. Bur *xorxoy* C591a ‘worm, etc’. Brg *xṛxṛi* U111. Kalm *xorxa* M600a ‘worm; moth’. Dag *xṛy*^w E122. EYu *χṛṛqṛi* B51, *χoroχgui* J100a. MgrH *xorḡuai* J100a. MgrM *qorḡai* JL465. BaoD *ḡorḡai* BL87b. BaoÑ *ḡorḡai* CN88 also ‘maggot, shrimp; giant salamander, etc’. BaoX *ḡorḡi* BC65. Kgj *ḡurḡei* ~ *ḡurḡai* S288b. Dgx *ḡuḡi* B84, *ḡuḡḡai* B83. Mog---.

***korgal**, ***korgasun** ‘sheep, goat, or camel dung’ The Ord and Bur forms contradict each other as to the quality and quantity of the vowel of the second syllable. The meaning ‘earwax’ in MgrM is reminiscent of **kulakī* ‘earwax’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *qorqosun* H67, HY---, Muq *qoryal* (*qorya:l* also possible) P346a ‘dung (of camel)’. WM *qoryal* L965b, *qoryol* L966a, *qoryusun* L966a. Kh *xorgol* H651b. Ord *χorgol* M358a, *χurḡu:s* M372b. Bur *xorgooḥo(n)* C588a, *xorgool* C588a, *xorgol* (western) C588a. Brg *xṛḡol* U111. Kalm *xorysn* M598b. Dag---. EYu *χorgol* (sic, only) S365. MgrH *xorḡo:sə* X81. MgrM *xorgosī* P418a ‘sheep dung’, *qurḡosī* DS219a ‘earwax’. Remaining lgs---.

***korian** ‘courtyard; enclosure (usu. for keeping livestock in)’. From **kori-* ‘to protect’. The *-n* was lost in parts of central Mongolic, but exceptionally preserved in MgrM. Kgj could be from **kürien* instead, on the other hand there are other unexpected cases of velar *g-* in Kgj.

MMo SH *quru’a* H73, *qoriya’an* H67, HY *qoriyan* M90, Muq---. WM *qoriya(n)* L967a, *qoroḡa* L968b, *qoriḡa(n)*, etc. Kh *xoroo(n)* H654a. Ord *χṛṛ:* M360a. Bur *xoryoo* C588b, *xoroy* (?) C589b. Brg *xṛṛṛ:* U112. Kalm *xora* M597b ‘room’. Dag *xṛṛṛ:* E121. EYu *χṛṛṛ:n* in *qəša: χṛṛṛ:n* B64 (cf. **kasīa*). MgrH---. MgrM *qoray* JL471, *qṛ:ray* C395. Bao---. Kgj *ḡurṛ* ~ *ḡurṛ* S290b. Dgx *ḡoroḡ* B83 ‘courtyard, winnowing area inside the courtyard’. Mog---.

***korin** ‘twenty’. In Kgj replaced by a new formation **koar harban* ‘two tens’, in MgrM by Chinese. Related to **koar*.

MMo SH *qorin* H67, HY *qorin* M90, Muq *qorin* P303a. WM *qori(n)* L966a. Kh *xor’* (*xorin*) H656a. Bur *xori(n)* C589a. Kalm *xörn* M604b. Dag *xṛṛṛ*^y E123, *xṛin* E121. EYu *χṛṛən* B50, *χorən* J100a. MgrH *xorən* J100a. MgrM---. BaoD *χoroḡ* BL87b, *χoruḡ* BL41. BaoGt *xoroḡ* C132. BaoÑ *χəreḡ* CN63. Kgj---. Dgx *qoruḡ* B72. MogM *qorī* ‘20 kran coin’.

***kormaï** ‘skirt, lower hem’. Both Dag and MgrM lost the final *-i*. Initial weakening only in Dgx.

MMo SH *qormai* H67, HY *qormai* M90, Muq *qormai* P303a, also *qoimar* (sic, see **koïmar*) P340a. WM *qormai* L967b, *qormoi* L968a. Kh *xormoy* H653a. Bur *xormoy* C589a. Kalm *xorma* M599b. Dag *x^warəm* E135. EYü *χormai* B51, *χormi*: J100a. MgrH *xormi*: J100a. MgrM *qurmo* DS250, *qormo* Z358:599. BaoD *χurmi* BL88a ‘front of a Chinese garment’. BaoÑ---. Dgx *gomai* B82 ‘skirt’. Mog---.

***koš** (> ***kos**) ‘pair; double’, with many specialised meanings. Although probably adopted from Turkic **koš*, in the central languages this word has become part of the paradigm of **koyar*, especially the distributive **kosiad*. In Shirongol it is only attested in the combination **koš kelen* ‘uvula’ (lit. ‘additional tongue’).

MMo SH *qoš* H68 ‘house’, *qošiliq* [H: *qošilih*] H68 ‘tent’, HY *qoš* [M: *qošī*] M90 ‘pair’, Muq *qoš* P303a ‘pair’. WM *qos* L970b, *qoos* L974a, *qod* L951b. Kh *xos* H656a, but cf. *xošoy* ‘twice’. *xošood* ‘two each’. Ord *χos* M361b, *ğošī* M308a. Bur *xos* C591b ‘pair’, but cf. *xošoo* ‘paired’, *xošood* ‘two each’. Kalm *χos*, *χoš* R189b, *xoš* (obs) M602a ‘second yurt (near the main one)’, *xošad* ‘two each’. Dag---. EYü---. MgrH *ğos kəle* X98, L143. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *χoš kalaŋ* S396. BaoÑ *ğəža kelaŋ* CN87. Dgx *qošī kielien* B71.

***kosïun** ‘bill, beak’. The Dag *-s-* suggests an early contraction form **kosuun*. The intervocalic affricate in the Monguor languages is unusual.

MMo SH *qošī’un* H68, HY *qošī’un* M90, Muq--- (P355b is an emendation of Poppe’s, q.v.). WM *qosiŋu(n)* L970b, *qusiŋu(n)* L991b (spelled identically!). Kh *xošuu(n)* H659a. Ord *ğušu*: M317a. Bur *xušuu(n)* C609b. Kalm *χošu*: R190a. Dag *kəɣɔ*: E152 ‘beak’. EYü *qušu:n* B65 ‘beak’, J95b ‘lips’, *qəšu*: S365 ‘snout’. MgrH *xošə* J95b ‘lips’, *xošə* X79, *xəžə* X80. MgrM *quzu* DS206b, *košu* P416b ‘snout’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ğəšəŋ* CN87 ‘lip’. Dgx *quşuŋ* B72 ‘beak’. Mog---.

***kotan** ‘enclosure; walled town’. Not to be confused with Shirongol **ketü* < **gertü* ‘(at) home’. Semantic developments comparable to that of **korïa*.

MMo SH *qoton* H68, pl *qotot*, *qotat* H68, HY *qoton* M90 ‘town’, Muq *qotan* P302a ‘enclosure’. WM *qota(n)* L972a, *qoto(n)* L972b. Kh *xot* (sic, not *-on*) H656a. Ord *ğoto* M308b. Bur *xoto* C592a ‘town’, cf. *xoto(n)* C592b ‘enclosure’. Brg *xət* U110 ‘town’. Kalm *xotn* M601a ‘settlement, village’. EYü [only S]. MgrH---. MgrM *qudaŋ* DS242b. BaoJ *x(y)dün* L215. Kgj *χutuŋ* S286a. Dgx *qudoŋ* B73. Mog---.

***koyar** (?~ ***koar**) ‘two’. The forms in the QG languages all seem to stem from **ğo:r* < **koar*. The latter variant may be related to **koarandu* ‘between’ in central Mongolic, as in Ord *χo:r(ğ)ondu* M358b/361a. Cf. **korin* ‘twenty’; perhaps related to **koï-* ‘after’. Endemic, unless in some way related to **kos*.

MMo SH *qoyar* H68, HY *qoyar* M90, Muq *qoyar* P303b. WM *qoyar* L955b. Kh *xoyor* H639a. Ord *χoyor* M348b. Bur *xoyor* C576a, *xoor* (Kachug.) C586b. Brg *χəyər* U111. Kalm *xoyr* M592a. Dag *xəir* E116. EYü *ğu:r* B79, J100a. MgrH *ğo:r* J100a, *ğu:r* X97. MgrM *guar* JL479, *ğo:r* C219, *ğor* T325. BaoD *guar*

BL87b. BaoÑ *guar* CN88. BaoX *guar* BC62. Kgj *guar* S288b. Dgx *gua* B83. Mog *qoyo:r* R32a.

***kōbči** ‘bowstring’.

MMo SH---, HY *kōbči* M72, Muq *kōbči*, *kōbčin* P219b. WM *kōbči* L475b. Kh *xōvč* H661a. Ord *gubči* ~ *gōbči* M273b. Bur *xūbše* C611a. Brg *xuβš* U122. Kalm *kōvč* M310a. Dag *kurč* E159. EYu *gōbčə* J100a. Mgr---. BaoÑ *karžil* (?=) CN76. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kōbeün, *kōün, *keü** ‘boy, child’. In some languages hard to distinguish from **keü* ‘child’, which may be related (irregularly). Forms that preserve *-n* and/or *-b-* can be assumed to reflect **kōbeün* rather than **keü*. Some of the variants in Monguoric have a diphthong which seems more in agreement with **keü* (the loss of *-n* is regular in these languages). The form **kōbeün* is unexpectedly rare in MMo. In Bao and Kgj (but not in related Dgx) **kōbeün* and **küün* ‘person’ have merged phonetically. In Arabo-Mongolic they are also hard to distinguish.

MMo SH *ko'u(n)* H105, HY *kō'ün* M73, Muq *kü'ün* (or *kō'ün*) P230b, *kü:n-* (or *kō:n* ?) P231b, *ke'üt* (pl) P166b, RH *kōün* (or *kü:n*) 200B22, LV *kōbewün* P66 ‘boy, son’, (*diyü*) *keün* P57 ‘younger brother’, Ph *k^he'ün* P126a, *k^hübe'ün* P126b. WM *kübegün* L494b, cf. *küü* (‘coll. form’) L509a, *keü* L461b. Kh *xōvüün* H660b, *xüvüün* H699a, *xüü* H707b. Ord *ku:* M433b ‘son, boy’, *kōwu:t* M433b (originally pl.) ‘slave of the lowest rank’. Bur *xübüü(n)* C610a, cf. *üxibüü(n)* C517b ‘child’ apparently from **ökin kōbeün*. Brg *xu:ŋ* U119. Kalm *kövün* M309b. Dag---. EYu only in compounds such as *hajə-kün* B55 ‘grandson’ (cf. **hačī*) and **kōbeün ökin* listed below. MgrH *kəu:* J101b, *ko:* X88, *ku:* X90. MgrM *kau* C380. BaoD *χžia kun* BL13 (*χžia* < **gagča*) ‘only son’. BaoÑ *kun* CN82. BaoX *kun* BC61. Dgx *kəwaŋ* B74. Mog *köün* R30b, *koon* W170b.

***kōbeün ökin** and/or ***keü ökin** ‘children (sons and daughters)’. For the unexpected forms of the second element see ***ökin** ‘girl’. Perhaps some of the Shirongol forms go back to the form ***kōbeün sibaun** also found in MMo HY *kō'ün šiba'un* H73 ‘son’, Muq *kü'ün šiba'un* P228b ‘children’ (Chagatai equivalent *oylanlarī*), P230b ‘children’ (Chagatai equivalent *oylı uşaq*) and MogMr *kəu-šibv:n* L63:164, cf. also Ord *ku:ket šu:χat*, *ku:ket šiwu:* M436b ‘children’.

EYu *kü:n hkon* B72, MgrH *ko: šžün* X88, MgrM *kau šužun* DS21b. BaoD *kočün* BL48. BaoÑ *kun okun-la* (with pl. ending) CN82. Kgj *kunšün* S287b. Dgx *kəwaŋ očin* B74.

***keüken** ‘child’. Note the semantic development. Although it is merely the diminutive of **keü*, the word now denotes specifically the female child in central Mongolic, specifically the male child in EYu, Mgr, and Kgj.

MMo SH *ko'uken* H104, HY *keüken* [written with *kou*] M71, *kō'üket* (pl) M73, Muq *kü:ken* P231a, LV *kü:ken* P68, RH *küket* 200C18. WM *keüken* L461b, *kegüken* L443b, *keüked* (pl) L461b. Kh *xüüxen* H708b ‘child (..), girl, etc’, cf. the forms of address *xüüxee(n)*, *xüxee(n)* H709a. Ord *ku:ken* M435a ‘daughter; child in general’, *ku:ket* M436b ‘children’. Bur *xüüxen* C634b ‘girl, daughter’, *xüüge(n)*

C634a ‘child; girl, daughter’, *xüüged* C633b, *xüüxed* C634b ‘children’. Brg *xu:gəŋ* U119 ‘girl’. Kalm *küükn* M329b ‘girl’, *küükd* M329b ‘children’. Dag *kəkʷ* (sic, ?=) E145 ‘son’, *kəkur* (pl.) E145 ‘children’. EYu *küken* B72, *kü:ken* J101b ‘son’. MgrH *kugän* SM208 ‘small child, boy’. Bao---. Kgj *kugə* S287b ‘son, boy’. Dgx---. Mog *kökükät* (pl) R30b, *kaoka*, *kaokA* W169b ‘boy’.

***ködee** (?) ‘hazel grouse’. This form (or **küdee* or **ködüe*) may be the source of the Dagur form. Kh and Bur suggest **kötüü* and **ködüü* (or possibly *-eü*), respectively. LC give a WM spelling <*gwdwgww*> which could be read *kötügüü* in accordance with Kh, or *küdügüü* in accordance with Bur.

MMo---. WM (see above). Kh *xötüü* LC4:149a. Ord---. Bur *xüdüü* C612b. Dag *xudə*: E129.

***ködel-** ‘to move (intr)’. Initial weakening in the QG languages.

MMo SH *kodol-* H103, *godol-* H50, HY *gödöl-* M57, Muq *ködel-* P219b. WM *ködel-* L477b. Kh *xödlöx* H663a. Bur *xüdelxe* C614a. Brg *xudlʷ-* U125. Kalm *ködlx* M312a. Dag *xudul-* E129. EYu *gudel-* B85, *gödöl-* J100b. MgrH *godolə-* J101b, *gudoli-* SM139. MgrM *guder-* JL475. BaoD *gudəl-* BL88a, *gudal-* BL74. BaoÑ *gudel-* CN98. Kgj *gudəle-* S290a. Dgx *gožieli-* L116b. Mog---.

***köe** ‘soot (usu. on the bottom of a pan)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *köye* P224b. WM *köge* L478b, *kö* L475a, *kögege* L479a. Kh *xöö* H670b. Bur *xöö* C593b ‘charcoal; soot’. Kalm *kö* M308b. Dag *xʷə*: E135. EYu *kü*: B72, J5. MgrH *ko*: X88. MgrM *ko* C379. Bao---. Dgx-?. Mog---.

***köe-** ‘to foam; to swell’. Some of the QG forms may also represent **köb-* or **köbe-* ‘to float’ (cf. Ord *köwö-* M432b, and perhaps Dag *kʷə:bəd-* E162). The final consonant in Kgj *kur-* is peculiar, but the derived noun **köesün* displays an unexpected *-r-* in Mgr, and there is also an extended verb **köere-*. Cf. CT **köp-ük* ‘foam’, **köpür-* ‘to foam’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kö:-* P224b. WM *köge-* L478b, *kögege-* L479a. Kh *xööx* H672b. Ord *kö:-* M423b. Bur *xööxe* (some dialects) C595a ‘to swell’. Kalm *kööx* M318b. Dag *xʷə:-* E135. EYu *kü:-* B72, J69 ‘to rise (of water)’. MgrH *ko:-* X88. MgrM *ko-* JL464. BaoD *ko-* BL13 ‘to swell, bulge’. BaoÑ *kə:-* CN180 ‘to swell, etc’. Kgj *ku-* (~ *kur-*) S287b. Dgx *ko-* B75 (s.v. *kieli*). Mog---.

***köerge** (?*küürge) ‘bridge’. With similar uncertainty about the vocalism as in **köerge* ‘bellows’, but here the **öe* is supported by MgrH, but contradicted by Bur. Technological term related to CT **köprüg* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *ke'ürge* M71, Muq *kü'ürge* P231a. WM *köerge* L480a, *kögörge* L481b, *kegürge* L443b. Kh *xöörög* H671b. Bur *xüürge* C634b. Brg *xo:rəg* U119. Dag *xu:ruyʷ* E124. EYu *kü:rge* B72. MgrH *korgo* X89. MgrM *kuərgə* C380. BaoD---. BaoÑ *kurge* CN83. Dgx---. Mog---.

***köerge** (?*küürge) ‘bellows’. The vocalism is unclear. The SH form suggests **üü* (the Dag and EYu forms can be from **öe* or **üü*. Technological term related to CT

***kō:rk** ‘id’. A rare case of Turkic vowel length which seems to have a parallel in Mongolic.

MMo SH *ku’urge* H105, *gu:rege* H52, HY---, Muq---. WM *kögerge* L480a, *kögörge* L481b, *kegürge* L443b. Kh *xöörög* H671b. Bur *xöörge* C593b, *xürxe* (western) C627b. Brg *xo:ræg* U119. Kalm *köörg* M317b. Dag *xu:ruγ*^w E124. EYu *kü:rge* B72. BaoÑ *kurgam* CN83 ‘bellows’ is derived by CN from LT *kholsgam*.

***köesün** ‘foam, froth’. Some languages suggest **köersün*. Derived from **kōe-* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kō’esün* P346a, *kö:sün* P240a, *köhesün* P194b. WM *kögesü(n)* L480b. Kh *xöös(ön)* H672b. Ord *kö:rsu* M431b. Bur *xööhe(n)* C595a. Brg *xuxə:* U122. Kalm *köösn* M318a. Dag *x^wə:s* E135. EYu---. MgrH *ko:sə* J101a, *ko:rsə* X88. Remaining lgs---.

***kögsin** ‘old (animate)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *kögsin* L481a. Kh *xögşin* H662b. Ord *göşkōn* M271b. Bur *xiügşe(n)* C612a. Kalm *kögşn* M311a. Dag *kurşin šəγɔ:* (?=) E158 ‘experienced (trained) falcon or eagle; male falcon or eagle’ (cf. **sibaun*). EYu *kögşən* J68, *kogşən* B69, *qogşən* (sic) S259. Bao *kokuşyun* P420a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kōi, *köisün** ‘navel, umbilicus; umbilical cord’. The HY form suggests that **üi* may go back to **öi*. The preconsonantal *-l-* of WM is not reflected in Bur and Shirongol.

MMo SH---, HY *köyisün* M73, Muq *küisün* P226a. WM *kü(y)i* L498a, *kü(y)isü(n)* L498b, *kü(y)ilsü(n)* L498a. Kh *xüy* H700a, *xüys(en)* H700b. Chakhar *xi:s* D188b. Ord *kü:* M441a, *ki:* M419b, *kü:s(u)* ~ *kö:s* ~ *kuis* ~ *ki:s* M441b. Bur *xüy* C615b, *xüyhe(n)* C616b. Brg *xui* U120. Kalm *ki* (obs) M298a, *kiisn* M299b. Dag *kuis* E154. EYu *kü:* B72 ‘placenta’, *kü:sən* B72, J101b. MgrH *kui:ʒə* J101b. MgrM *kuaizī nudu* C380 (**nidün* ‘eye’). BaoD *kisun* BL88a. BaoÑ *kisəŋ* CN79. BaoX *kisəŋ* BC62. Kgj---. Dgx *kuaisuŋ* B77, *kuisun* L116b. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *kusun* 3:3b.

***köiten** ‘cold’. Perhaps connected to **kölde-* and/or **kör-*. Compare the parallel relationship between **nor-* and **noitan*.

MMo SH *koyiten* H105, HY *köyiten* M73, Muq *küiten* P226a. WM *kü(y)iten* L498b, *kü(y)itün* L499a. Kh *xüyten* H701a, *xüyt* H700b. Chakhar *xi:tš* D188b. Ord *kü:tōn* ~ *kuiten* ~ *ki:ten* M441b. Bur *xüyte(n)* C615b. Brg *xuitəŋ* U120. Kalm *kiitn* M299b. Dag *kuitun* E154. EYu *küten* B72, *kü:ten* J101b. MgrH *kui:den* J101b. MgrM *kuiten* JL469. BaoD *kitaŋ* BL88b. BaoÑ *kitaŋ* CN79. BaoX *kitaŋ* BC67. Kgj *kuitə* ~ *kučtə* S287b. Dgx *kuičien* B78. Mog---.

***köke** ‘blue, green’. Cf. CT **kō:k* ‘id’.

MMo SH *koko* H103, HY *kökö* M72, Muq *köke* P220b (also with the meaning ‘sky’ as in Turkic). WM *köke* L482a. Kh *xöx* H675b. Ord *gökö* M268b. Bur *xüxe* C635b. Brg *xux* U122. Kalm *kök* M312b. Dag *kuk^w* E155. EYu *hkö* B59,

hgö J101a. MgrH *kugo* J101a. MgrM *kugo* C330. BaoD *kugo* BL88a. BaoGt *kəgo* C102. BaoÑ *kugə* CN82. Kgj *kuku* S287b. Dgx *kugie* B78. Mog *kukā* R31a, *kəka*, *kəkə* W170b.

***köke-** ‘to suck the breast’. In spite of their peculiar forms Dag *mək* and *mək-* may nevertheless be related in view of their occurrence as noun and as verb. See ***köken**.

MMo SH *koko-* H103, HY---, Muq *köke-* P220b. WM *kökö-* L483a. Kh *xöxöx* H676b. Ord *gökö-* M269a. Bur *xüxexe* C637a. Brg *xux-* U122. Kalm *köcx* M313b. Dag *mək-* (?) E197. EYu *hkö-* B59, *hgö-* J101a. MgrH *kugo-* J101a. MgrM *kugo-* C380. BaoD *kugo-yo-* (caus) BL88a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *kuku-* S287b. Dgx *gogo-* B91. Mog *kökā-*, *kökāla-* (new formation from the noun) R30b.

***köken** ‘breast’. The *-n* was lost in Mohol and all of Shirongol. See ***köke-** above.

MMo SH *kokan*, pl. *kokot* H103, HY---, Muq *köken* P220b. WM *köke(n)* L482a, *kökö(n)* L483a. Kh *xöx* H676a. Ord *gökö* M269a. Bur *xüxe(n)* C636b. Brg *xux* U122. Kalm *kökn* M313a. Dag *mək* (?) E197. EYu *hkön* B59, *hgön* J101a. MgrH *kugo* J101a. MgrM *kugo* JL475. BaoD *kugo* BL88a. BaoÑ *kugə* ~ *kukə* CN82. BaoX *kuko* BC67. Dgx *gogo* B91. Mog *kökā* R30b ‘nipple’, *kəka* W170b, *qəqa* W177a.

***kökül** ‘forelock of a horse; braid of hair’. Ordos suggests ***kökül**, but the modern forms of EYu and MgrH seem to favour ***kökel**. Dag *gəkulən* looks like a loanword from Manchu, but the actual Manchu forms are *kukule*, *kukulu*.

MMo SH *keguli* (?*kögül*) H97, HY---, Muq *kakil* (←Ir) P239a, RH *ke:kül* 198B16. WM *gököl* L386a, *kekül* L446a, *kökel* L482b, *kököl* L483b. Kh *göxöl* H129a, *xöxöl* H676a. Ord *gukul* M76b. Bur *xüxel* (Kiaxta dialect) C636b. Kalm *kükl* M323b. Dag *gəkulən* (sic) E170. EYu *hkol* B59, *kogol* (sic) S290, cf. *kükül* P415a. MgrH *kugol* X92. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *qoqu:l* R32a, MogM, MogMr *kə:kul* L62:49.

***köküür** ‘leather vessel for liquids; snuffbottle’. MMo SH *go’ur* H51 ‘small leather bucket’ could be the result of a mistranscription from a WM spelling, but cf. Kalm *kü:r* R250a ‘small leather bag for fluids’. Cf. ***köerge**.

MMo SH (see above), HY---, Muq---, RH (emended) *kökür* 204B21 ‘leather container for liquor’, Ph---. WM *kökügür*, *köküür* L483b, Inner Mongolian spelling *kᠠᠭᠦᠷ*. Kh *xöxüür* H677a. Ord *guku:r* M276b. Bur *xüxüür* C635b ‘leather bag’. Kalm *kökür* M313b. Dag---. EYu *hkü:r* B59. Mgr---. BaoÑ *kəkər* CN80.

***köl** ‘foot’, often also ‘leg’. The palatalised final in Brg and Dag seem to suggest a form ***köli**.

MMo SH *kol* H103, HY *köl* M72, Muq *köl* P221b. WM *köl* L483b. Kh *xöl* H664b. Bur *xül* C616b. Brg *xulʰ* U123. Kalm *köl* M313b. Dag *kulʰ* E155. EYu *köl* B69, J100b. MgrH *kol* J100b. MgrM *koar* C379, *qur* (sic) DS224a. BaoD *kual* BL88a. BaoÑ *kəl* CN80. Kgj *kuar* ~ *kər* S287b. Dgx *kuaŋ* (i.e. /kon/) B77, *kon* L116b, *koŋ* MC222b. Mog *köl* R170b, *kol*, *kəl*, *köl*, etc W170b.

***köl-** (?) ‘to harness an animal (to a cart or plough)’. Both the central languages and Kgj suggest a form **kölle-* or **körle-*. Dag suggests a long vowel. In MgrH this verb appears to have merged with **küli-* ‘to bind’.

MMo SH *kol-* H103, HY *kölgen* H72 ‘team of horses’ Muq---, Ph *kölgen* P126a ‘vehicle’. WM *köl-* L484a, cf. *kölle-* L485b. Kh *xöllöx*, *xölöx* H666b. Ord *kölö-* M427a ‘to harness’. Bur *xüllexe* C618b ‘to harness’. Brg *xurəl-* U126. Kalm *köllx* (rare) M315a. Dag *k^wə:l-* E162. EYu---, but cf. *kölgö* J5 ‘mount of important person’. MgrH *kolə-* J101b, X89. Bao---. Kgj *gurla-* ~ *guarla-* S288b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kölberi-** ‘to roll’ see ***körbe-**

***kölde-** ‘to freeze’. Perhaps from the same root as **kör-*, **kösi-* (not listed here) ‘to freeze’, **köiten* ‘cold’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *köldö-*, *kölde-* L485a. Kh *xöldöx* H666a. Bur *xüldexe* C617b. Brg *xul^yd-* U124. Kalm *köldx* M315a. Dag *xuld-* E128, *xullə-* E127. EYu *kölde-* BJ334. MgrH---. MgrM *kuardi-* C380. BaoD *gondə-* BL74. BaoGt *gundə-* C112. BaoÑ *golde-* CN96. Kgj *guandi-* S289b. Dgx *gonžie-* B90. Mog---.

***kölesün** ‘sweat’. The *-r-* in the Monguor languages may be a secondary addition adopted from the related verb **köler-* ‘to sweat’.

MMo SH *kolesun* H103, HY *kölösün* M72, Muq *kölesün* P222a. WM *kölösü(n)* L486b, *kölesü(n)* L485b. Kh *xöls(ön)* H667a. Ord *kölös(u)* M427ab. Bur *xülhe(n)* C619a. Brg *xul^yu:* U124. Kalm *kölsn* M315a. Dag *xuls* E128, *xullə* E127. EYu *kulesən* B70, *kölösən* J100b. MgrH *konorʒə* J100b, *konorsə* X88. MgrM *kolesi* C379, *koliersi* DS254a, *kurliesi* DS242b, *kuarlisī* Z337:332. BaoD *kolsuŋ* BL88b, *komsuŋ* BL88b. BaoGt *kumsuŋ* C124. BaoÑ *kölsöŋ* CN81. Kgj *kulesi* S287b. Dgx *koliesuŋ* B76. Mog---.

***kölle-** (?) ‘to harness’ see ***köl-**

***kömeri-** ‘to put upside down; to overturn, topple’. Note the metathesized form in EYu (as if from **möker-*). Could there be a relation with MMo SH *mokori* ‘ul-’ ‘to decapitate, execute’? The added *-r-* in MgrM is triggered by the original *-r-* in the second syllable. Since the final vowel in MgrH and Dgx may be a recent addition, Bur is the only modern form to suggest a trisyllabic CM form. The Dag form seems to support this (the vowel length is unexplained).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *kömöri-* L487b, *kömeri-* L487a. Kh *xömröx* H668b. Ord *kömör(ö)-* M428a. Bur *xümerixe* C620b. Brg *xumər-* U124. Kalm *kömr^x* M316a. Dag *kumr^ye:-* E156. EYu *kömör-* J101a, *mökör-* BJ336, J5, *mögör-* S373. MgrH *kumorə-* J101a. MgrM *kurmər-* DS257b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *kömör-* CN81. Dgx *komoru-* B76, L116a. Mog---.

***kömeske** ‘eyebrow’. This vocalism suggested by Ord and MgrH, but not by MMo Muq. Dag *kurmult* E158 ‘eyelid’ was borrowed from a, possibly related, Tungusic form (dissimilated < **kurmurt* < **kurməktə* ~ **kuməktə*). Cf. **haniška*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kömüske* P250b ‘eyelid’. WM *kömösge* L487b ‘eyebrow(s)’. Kh *xömsög* H668b. Ord *kömöskö* M428a. Bur *xümedxe* C620b ‘eyebrow arches, eyebrows’. Brg *xuntäg* U121 ‘eyebrow’. Kalm *kümsg* M324b ‘eyebrow’. MgrH *komosgo* J101a ‘eyebrow’. Remaining lgs---.

***kömüldürge** ‘breast strap of a horse’s harness’. Agricultural term related to CT **kömüldürük* < **köñül-* ‘heart’ (cf. EDPT 722b). Ord suggests **kömeldürge*.

MMo SH *komuldurge* H103, HY---, Muq *kömüldürüg-ün* (gen.) P223a, LV *kömüldürge* P67. WM *kömüldürge(n)* L487a. Kh *xömöldrög* H668a. Ord *kömöldörgö* M427b. Bur *xümelderge* C620b. Kalm *kömlärgə*, also *köm^oräg* R239a. EYu *köndörge* B69.

***kömürge** ‘trunk, chest’. Metathesis in MgrM.

MMo SH---, HY *gümerge* M58, Muq *kömürgei* P108a, P189b, *kömürkei* P141b (but in fact all written *kwmwrki*, which may also represent *gümürgi*, *kömürgi*, etc). WM *kömürge* L487a. Kh *xömrög* H668, cf. *gömrög* H128a. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *kömrög* M316a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *komorgo* X89. MgrM *kuərməgr* C379. Bao---. Dgx *kumuğə* B79. Mog---.

***köndelen** ‘horizontal, across, transverse’. In several languages also ‘transverse beam’ and the like. Kalm, EYu, and Bao suggest -η.

MMo SH *kondelen* H104, *küdelen* (?=) H105, HY *köndölen* M72, Muq---. WM *köndelen* L488a, *köndölen* L488b. Kh *xöndlön(g)* H670a. Ord *köndölön* M429a. Bur *xündelen* C623b. Brg *xundləη* U121. Kalm *köndlḡ* M316b. Dag *xundul* E125 ‘horizontal’, E83:95b ‘rafter’. EYu *köndälen* J101a ‘horizontal’, *köndeleḡ* BJ334 ‘of a strange land’. MgrH *kondälen* J101a. MgrM *kondilen* JL468. BaoD *guandəlaḡ* BL88a. BaoÑ *gəndəlaḡ* CN95. Kgj *guandilə* S289b. Dgx---. MogM *kundalḡ*: L64:42 ‘kind of timber used in the construction of the (black) tent’.

***könerge** ~ ***köreḡge** ‘yeast, leaven’. Both variants are attested in MMo; the former survives in Dag and the QG languages; the latter in central Mongolic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *köreḡge* P224a, Ph *k^hönörge* P126a. WM *köröḡge(n)* L491a, precl. *könörge* T453. Kh *xöröḡgö* H673b. Ord *köröḡgö* M431a. Bur *xüreḡge* C629a. Kalm *körḡ* M319a, *körḡgə* R240b. Dag *xunuruḡ^w* E124. EYu *kunerge* S376. MgrH *konorgo* X88. BaoD---. BaoÑ *kunge* CN81 ‘distiller’s yeast’. Dgx *kunieḡə* B78 ‘distiller’s yeast’. Mog---.

***köñjile(n)** ‘blanket, quilt’. Ord and Bur suggest a disyllabic word, which is not contradicted by Kh and Kalm. The Shirongol languages and Moghol do confirm the third syllable. The distribution of the final -n is peculiar.

MMo SH *konjile* H104, *gonjile* H51, HY *könjile* M72, Muq *könjile* P223b. WM *könjile(n)* L490a. Kh *xönjil* H670b. Ord *könjil* M429a. Bur *xünzel* C624b. Brg *xunjil* U121. Kalm *könjl* M316b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *konžilen* J101a. MgrM *guanžielie* DS245a. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *gonžəlie*, *gonžəlien* B91. Mog *könjilä* R30b, *könjilä* W170b.

***köŋdei** ‘hollow, empty’. EYu and MgrM suggest *-t-*; the presence of the *-t-* explains the preserved strong initial **k-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *köŋdei* P223a. WM *köndei* L487b, *köndöi* L488b. Kh *xöndiy* H669b. Ord *köndi*: M428a. Bur *xündi* C622b. Brg *xundi*: U121. Kalm *köndä* M316b. Dag *kʷə:nnʷe:*, *kʷə:ndʷe:* E162 (also ‘pelvis’). EYu *kuntü*: B70. MgrH---. MgrM *kuantey* P413a, *kuantay* DS229a. Remaining lgs---.

***köŋgen** ‘light(weight)’. It is unclear whether this is related to Bur *xüygen* (western) C615a, Kalm *giŋn* M143a ‘light’. Baoan features medial strengthening of *-k-*, which also enabled the initial *k-* to remain.

MMo SH---, HY *köŋgen* M72, Muq *köŋgen* P223a. WM *köŋgen* L489a. Kh *xöŋgön* H669a. Bur *xüngen* C621b. Brg *xuŋgəŋ* U122. Kalm *göŋgn* M147a. Dag *xuŋgə:n* E125. EYu *köŋgen* B69, *köŋgön* J101a. MgrH *köŋgon* J101a. MgrM *köŋgen* JL470. BaoD *kun̄kaŋ* BL88b. BaoGt *kun̄kəŋ* C118. BaoÑ *kəŋkaŋ* CN80. Kgj *guŋgə* S290a. Dgx *goŋgien* B91, *guan̄gien* B92 (in fact also */goŋgien/*). Mog *kun̄go:n* R31a.

***kör-** ‘to freeze, to become cold’. Perhaps related to **köiten* and/or **köldē-*.

MMo SH---, HY *kör-* M72, Muq---. WM *körö-* L490b. Kh *xöröx* H674b. Ord *kör-* M430a. Bur *xürexe* C630a. Brg *xur-* U126. Kalm *körx* M319b. Dag---. EYu *kör-* B70, J75, J101b. MgrH *korə-* X89. Remaining lgs---.

***körbe** (?*kürbe) ‘lamb’. The middle vowel in the WM spelling is not confirmed elsewhere. Unlike its Turkic counterpart **körpe*, Dagur unexpectedly does not feature *-p-*. Cf. also Sibe *kurvw* (not in Manchu), Solon *xəbbə* ‘lamb’. Cf. **kurigan*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *körbe* [so read] 199C25 ‘lamb born prematurely’. WM *köröbe* (*kürwöbe*) LC4: 145b, also spelled thus in Inner Mongolia. Kh *xöröv töl* LC4: 145b ‘young animal that has been separated from its mother early’. Ord *körwö* M431b ‘no longer very young’ (phase after **nılka*). Bur *xürbe* (Ekhirit dial.) C625b. Kalm---. Dag *kurbʷ* E158 ‘lamb’. Remaining lgs---.

***körbe-** ‘to roll on the back; to turn’. Dag suggests **körbi-*, mirroring one of the WM spellings, but it also has some derivatives without any suggestion of **i*. In Bur-Kalm this seems to have been replaced by a similar and possibly related verb **kölberi-*: Bur *xül’berxe* C619b, Kalm *kölvr̄x* M314b, which also has an equivalent in Kh *xölböröx* H666a.

MMo SH *korbe-* H104 ‘to turn’, HY---, Muq *körbe-* P224a [P reads long *e:*, probably based on Kalm]. WM *körbe-* L490a, *körbi-*, *körbö-* L490b. Kh *xörvöx* H673a ‘to turn, etc’. Ord *körwö-* M432a. Bur *xürbexe* C625b (always used in comb. with *urbaxa* < **hurba-*). Brg *xurəβ-* U126. Kalm *körwöχə* (sic) R241a. Dag *xurbʷ-* E130. EYu *körβe-* B70, *körwö-* S375. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *køle-* (?=) CN81. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *kolər-* S375. Kgj *kurle-* S288a ‘to roll about’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***köreŋge** ‘yeast’ see ***könerge**

***kōrisün** ‘crust’. The *-i-* is preserved in Bur only.

MMo SH *korisu* H104 ‘skin’, HY---, Muq---. WM *körösü(n)* L491b, cf. also *körödesü(n)* L490b. Kh *xörs(ön)* H674b. Ord *körös(ʉ)* M431b ‘upper layer, epidermis’. Bur *xür’he(n)* C628a. Brg *xuru:* U126. Kalm *körsn* M319a. Dag *kurs* E158 ‘sod, turf’, *ars kurs* E17 ‘hide, pelt’ (cf. **arasun*). Remaining lgs---.

***köskele-** ‘to mince, cut up’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM---. Kh *xöšiglōx* H677a. Ord *göškölō-* M271b. Bur---. Kalm *köšglx* M320b. EYu *kusgəle-* B70, *kösgölō-* J100a. MgrH *kosgo* X89 ‘half; piece’.

***kötēl-** ‘to lead by the hand, to lead along’.

MMo SH *kotol-* H104, HY *kötöl-* M72, Muq---. WM *kötöl-*, *kötēl-* L493b. Kh *xötlōx* H675b. Ord *götöl-* M272b. Bur *xütelxe* C633b. Brg *xutl-* U125. Kalm *kötlx* M320a. Dag *kutlā:-* E157. EYu *kutel-* B71, *kude:l-* J100b, *kudü:l-* J51. MgrH *kudolā-* J100b. MgrM *guder-* JL475. BaoD *kudal-* BL35. BaoGt *kudāl-* C124. BaoÑ---. BaoX *kudal-* BC66. Kgj *kutar- ~ kute-* S288a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kubčasun** ‘clothes’.

MMo SH *qubcasu(n)* H69, HY *qubčasu* M69, Muq---. WM *qubčasu(n)* L976a. Kh *xuvcas(an)* H680a, cf. Chakhar *göbtās* D187b. Ord *qubčas(u)* M310a. Bur *xubsaha(n)* C597a. Brg *xosv:* U116. Kalm *xuvcn* M606a. Dag---. EYu *χobjosən* J100a, *ğəbčəsən* BJ336. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kubī** ‘part, share’. Dag *ɔb* is a reborrowing from Manchu *ubu* which lost the initial consonant (as in *orin* ‘twenty’ < CM **korin*).

MMo SH *qubi* H69, HY---, Muq *qubi* P305a. WM *qubi* L976b. Kh *xuv’* H680a. Bur *xubi* C596a. Kalm *xüv* M617b. Dag (see above). EYu *χυβə* BJ349, *χυβ* B54. MgrH---. MgrM *qobi* DS235a ‘luck’. Remaining lgs---.

***kubīa-** ‘to divide’. Both MgrM and Dgx (independently) developed from an intermediate form **quğa-* < **quba-*. From **kubī* above.

MMo SH *qubiya-* H69, HY *qubiya-qda-* (pass) M91, Muq---. WM *qubiya-* L977a. Kh *xuvaax* H679a. Bur *xubaaxa* C595b. Kalm *xuvax* M605b. Dag *xəbʲe:-* E118. EYu *χwa:-* B54, *χua-* J100a. MgrH *xgua:-* J100a. MgrM *quba-* DS217b. BaoD *gua-* BL88b. BaoÑ *gua-* CN88. Kgj *gua-* S288b. Dgx *ğuğa-* B83, *ğuğua-* MC126b. Mog---.

***kubīl-** ‘to change, turn into’. From a root **kubī-*, of which other derivatives survive in the central lgs. The MgrM form could alternatively be from **hurbaul-* ‘to cause to turn’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qubil-* L977b. Kh *xuvilax* H679b. Bur *xubilxa* C596b. Brg *xəβʲl-* U108. Kalm *xüvlx* (obs) M618a. Dag *xəbil-* E118. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *xuərbər-ğa-* (caus.) (?) F134:61. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *golu-* B82, *guilu-* B83, *guailu-* L80. Mog---.

***kuča** ‘ram’. Agricultural term related to CT **koč*, **kočnar*/**kočgar*.

MMo SH---, HY *quča* M91, Muq *quča* P307, *yuča* P150a. WM *quča(n)* L979a. Kh *xuc* H698a. Ord *guča* M318b. Bur *xusa* C604b. Kalm *xuc* M616b. Dag *kəč* E152. EYu *quča* B65, *quja* J100b. MgrH *xuža* J100b, *xoʒæ* X79. MgrM *qužia* DS249a, *kučà* P411a. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *quza* B73. Mog---.

***kuča-** ‘to bark’.

MMo SH *quca-* H70, HY *quča-* M91, Muq *quča-* P307a. WM *quča-* L979a. Kh *xucax* H698a. Ord *guča-* M318b. Bur *xusaxa* C604b. Kalm *xucx* M617a. Dag *kəč-* E152. EYu *quča-* B65, *quja-* J100b, *xuja-* J53. MgrH *xuža-* J100b. MgrM *qužia-* DS206a. BaoD *xəžia-* BL88a. BaoÑ *hža-* CN72. BaoX *xja:-* BC63. Kgj *quča-* S287a. Dgx *quza-* B73. Mog *quiča-* R32b.

***kuči-** ‘to cover, wrap up in’.

MMo SH *quci-* H70, HY *quči-* M91 ‘q.v.’, Muq *quči-* P307b. WM *quči-* L979a. Kh *xučix* H698b. Ord *guči-* M318b. Bur *xušaxa* C609a. Kalm *xučx* M617b. Dag *kəč-* E152. EYu---. MgrH *xoʒə-* X80 ‘to wrap; to surround, etc’. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *xəči-* CN62. Dgx *quži-* B73. Mog *quiči-* R32b.

***kuda** ‘men related through the marriage of their children’.

MMo SH *quda* H70, HY *yuda* M59, Muq---. WM *quda* L979b. Kh *xud* H682a. Ord *xuda* M362b. Bur *xuda* C597b. Brg *xod* U116. Kalm *xud* M607a. Dag *x^wad* E134. EYu *guda* B79, J100b. MgrH *guda:* J110b. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. MogM *quda*, *yuda* L63:153.

***kudagai** ‘women related through the marriage of their children’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *quduyui* L980b. Kh *xudguy* H683a. Ord *xuduḡ^ui:* M363b. Bur *xudagi* C597b. Brg *xodgai* U117. Kalm---. Dag *xəduy^w* E120. EYu *gudagai* B79. MgrH---. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *gudagi* B84. Mog---.

***kudal** ‘lie, falsehood’.

MMo SH *qudal* H70, HY---, Muq *qudal* P307b. WM *qudal* L979b. Kh *xudal* H682b. Bur *xudal* C597b. Kalm *xudl* M607a. Dag *x^wadəl* E134. EYu *gudal* B79, J100b. MgrH *gudal* J100b. MgrM *gudar* JL477. Bao---. Kgj *gudar* S288b. Dgx *gudaŋ* B84. Mog *qudo:l* R32b, *qudəl* W177b.

***kudaldu-** ‘to trade, sell’. Cf. **düre-* used instead in Dag, MgrM, and Mog.

MMo SH *qudaldu-* H70, HY *qudaldu-* M91, Muq *qudaldu-* P308a, *yudaldu-* P231a. WM *qudaldu-* L980a. Kh *xudaldax* H682b. Ord *xudaldu-*, *xudalda-* M363a. Bur *xudaldaxa* C598a. Kalm *xuldx* M608a. Dag---. EYu *gudald-* B80. MgrH *da:ldə-* X187. MgrM---. BaoD *dandə-* BL18 ‘to sell’. BaoÑ *dalda-* CN172 ‘to sell’. Kgj *dandi-* S298a ‘to buy; to sell’. Dgx *gudandu-* B84. Mog---.

***kudku-** ‘to stir, mix, blend’. Surprisingly there are two different forms in Mongghul, and neither is an obvious loanword (compare the development of **kadku-* for the former, and **hedke-* for the latter).

MMo SH *qutqu-la-* H73, HY *qutqula-* (?=) M92 ‘to harass’, Muq *qutqu-* P312b. WM *qudqu-* L981b, *qudqula-* L981b. Kh *xutgax* H694b. Ord *ğudxu-*, *ğudxula-* M310b. Bur *xudxaxa* C598b. Kalm *xutxx* M614b. Dag *kərkw-* E153. EYu *qudqula-* B65, *qudgə-* J100b. MgrH *ğosğu-* X98, *şdoğu-* X168. MgrM *quduğö-* DS252b, *kotoga-* P416b. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. BaoX *xdagə-* (?=) BC63. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *doğə-* S394. Dgx *quduğu-* S394, MC215b. Mog---.

***kudug** ‘well’. CT **kudug* from **kud-* ‘to pour’. Cf. **bulag* ‘spring’.

MMo SH *quduh* H70, HY *yuduq* M59, Muq *quduq* P308b. WM *qudduy*, *quduy* L980b. Kh *xudag* H682b. Ord *χuduq* M363b. Bur *xudag* C597b. Kalm *xudg* M607a. Dag *kədir* E152. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *ğudəu* B84 also ‘pit for storing water’. Mog---.

***kudurga** ‘crupper’. Initial weakening in QG. Agricultural term related to CT **kuduruk* ‘tail’ and **kuduşgun* ‘crupper’.

MMo SH *qudurqa* H70, HY---, Muq *qudurya* P308b. WM *qudurya(n)* L980b. Kh *xudraga* H683a. Ord *χudurğa* M363b. Bur *xudarga* C598a. Brg *xədrag* U117. Kalm *xudry* M607b. Dag *xədruy^w* E120. EYu *ğudurğa* B80. MgrH *ğudərğa* (only) L139. MgrM *ğudurğa* JL481. Bao---. Kgj *ğudağa* S288b. Dgx *ğuduğa* B84. Mog---.

***kugul-** (?*kukul-) ‘to break (tr.)’. Bur, EYu and Mog suggest *-k-*, but most languages could stem from a form with either *-g-* or *-k-*.

MMo SH *ququl-* H71, HY---, Muq *ququl-* P310a. WM *quyul-* L981b, *qayul-* (sic) L909b. Kh *xugalax* H681b. Ord *χuğal-* ~ *χuğul-* M364a. Bur *xuxalxa* C608a. Brg *xogal-* U115. Kalm *xuylx* M606b. Dag *xəy^wlə-* E118. EYu *huqul-* B58, *χuğul-* J100a, *hğəl-* (?=) B59. MgrH *xğulə-* J100a, *xəğulə-* X77. MgrM *quğur-* DS208b. BaoD *ğul-* BL88b, *ğol-* BL66. BaoÑ *ğəğəl-* CN86. Dgx *ğugulu-* MC126a, *ğugula-* B84, *ğulu-* (sic, ?=) S386. Mog *ququl-* R32b ‘to bend’, *qəqəl-* W177a ‘to cut up’, MogMr, MogM *ququl-* L62:46 ‘to break; to defeat’.

***kugura-** (?*kukura-) ‘to break (intr.)’.

MMo SH *ququra-* H71, HY---, Muq *ququra-* P372a, *quqara-* P309b. WM *quyura-* L982a, *quyara-* L981b. Kh *xugarax* H681b. Ord *χuğar(a)-* ~ *χuğur(a)-* M364a. Bur *xuxarxa* C608b, *xugarxa* C597b. Kalm *xuyrx* M606b. Dag---. EYu *huqura-* B58, *χuqura-* BJ42, *χu:ra-* (sic, ?=, perhaps **kaura-*) J99a. MgrH *xəğora-* X77. MgrM *quğura-ğa-* (caus.) DS23. BaoD *ğura-* BL87a. BaoÑ *ğəğora-* CN86. Dgx *ğura-* MC127a, *ğugura-* MC126a. Mog *ququru-* R32b ‘to be bent’, *qəqərl-* W177a.

***kuī** ‘sheath (of a knife)’ The Dag form *xəb^y* (instead of expected **xəi*) seems to suggest a form **kubī*, but the remaining languages could not have developed from such a form (cf. **dülei* ‘deaf’ for a similar case).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qui* Pop299a. WM *qui* L982b ‘scabbard, sheath’. Kh *xuy* H684a. Bur *xuy* C599a ‘sheath’. Brg *xəai* U113. Kalm *xū* (obs) M617b, *χū:* R204a ‘sheath (of a sword)’. Dagur *xəb^y* E118 ‘sheath of a knife’. EYu *χui* B52.

MgrH *xoi* X75, *xui* L202. BaoD---. BaoGt *gui* C111. BaoJ *gui* L152. BaoÑ---. Kgj *guai* S288b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kulagai** ‘thief; theft’. See **kulagu-* below.

MMo SH *qulaqai* H71, HY *qulaqai* M91, Muq *qulayai* P309a. WM *qulayai* L983b. Kh *xulgay* H685b ‘thief; theft; etc’. Bur *xulgay* C599b ‘theft’. Brg *xolgai* U115. Kalm *xulxa* M608b ‘theft’, *xulxa-č* M609a ‘thief’. Dag *x^waləy* E134. EYu *χulāgai-čə* B53, *χulağai-čə* J100a. MgrH *xulgai*: J100b, *xolgai* X78, *xolga* X78. MgrM *qvarğai-či* C378. BaoD *ğulğai* BL88b. BaoÑ *ğolğai* CN87. Kgj *ğulğai* S288b. Dgx *ğuği* B84, *ğuğai* S388, *ğulağai* S388. Mog *qulayei* R32b, *qolayei* W177a.

***kulag-** ~ ***kulagu-** ~ ***kulau-** ‘to steal’. For a similar set of variants cf. **hasagu-* ~ **hasau-* ‘to ask’. Related to **kulagai* above.

MMo SH *qulah-*, *qulaqu-* H71, HY---, Muq *qulaq-* P309a. WM *qulayu-* L984a, *qoloyo-* (?*quluyu-*) L960a. Kh *xulgax* H686a, *xuluux* H687a, *xulguux* H686b. Ord *χul(u)gu-* M366b. Bur *xuluuxa* C600b. Brg *xolgo-*: U115. Kalm---. Dag *xolc-*: E118. EYu *χulağ-* BJ348, *χuləğ-* J90. MgrH *χolağa-* SM180, *xolga-* X78. BaoD *ğaləyə-* BL88a. BaoÑ *lağ-* (?) CN101. Kgj *ğulği-* S288b. Dgx *ğula-* B84. Mog *qulo:yu-* R32b, *qoləğ-* W177a.

***kulugana** ‘mouse, rat’. The surviving QG forms are rather garbled, but doubtlessly all related. Possibly originally an *Ersatzwort* related to the verb **kulagu-* ‘to steal’ above.

MMo SH *quluqana* H71, HY *quluqana* M91, Muq *qulyuna* P309a. WM *quluqana* L984b. Kh *xulgana* H686a. Ord *χuluğuna* M367b. Bur *xulgana*, *xulganaan* C600a. Brg *xolqana* U116, *xolgan* U115 ‘mouse (in the twelve year cycle); thyroid’. Kalm *xulyn* M608a. Dag---. EYu *χunlağ* B53, *χunaglağ* B52, *χunagla* J100b. MgrH *xonağla* X76, *xanağla* X66, *xulqanağ* S388. MgrM *qvarğvarna* C378. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kulusun** ‘reed; bamboo’. Bur suggests **kulsun*; Dgx suggests **kulasun*.

MMo SH---, HY *yulusun* M59, Muq *qulusun* P119a. WM *qulusu(n)* L985a. Kh *xuls(an)* H686b. Ord *χulus(u)* M368a. Bur *xulha(n)* C600b. Brg *xolə*: U115. Kalm *xulsn* M608b. Dag *kəls* E151. EYu *χulusun* B53, *χulusən* J100b. MgrH *xuləzə* J100b, *xolusə* ~ *xoluzə* X78. MgrM *qulusi* JL469. BaoD *ğuləsuy* BL88b. BaoGt *ğumsuy* C149. BaoÑ *ğəlsəy* CN87. Dgx *ğulasuy* B84. Mog---.

***kumi-** (?~ ***kumbi-**) ‘to fold, to bundle together, wrap up; to gather’. Dag from a pseudo-causative **kumbia-*.

MMo SH---, HY *yumbi-* M59 ‘to gather’, Muq---. WM *qumi-*, *qumbi-* L985b. Kh *xumix*, *xumbix* H687b, also *xumxix* H688a. Ord *χumi-* ~ *χomi-* M368a. Bur *xumixa* C601a. Kalm *xömx* M603a. Dag *kəmb^ve-*: E152. EYu---. MgrH *χombu-* X79. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kura** ‘rain’.

MMo SH *qura* H72, HY *qura* M91, Muq *qura* P310a. WM *qura* L987a. Kh *xur* H689a. Ord *χura* M370b. Bur *xura* C601b. Brg *xor* U117. Kalm *xur* M610a. Dag *x^war* E135. EYu *χura* B53, J100b. MgrH *xura*: J100b. MgrM *qora* C378. BaoD *ğura* BL88b. BaoÑ *ğura* CN89. Kgj *gura* S290a. Dgx *ğura* B85. Mog---

***kurča** ‘sharp’. Cf CT **kurč* ‘tough, hard’.

MMo SH *qurča* H72, HY *qurča* M92, Muq *qurča* P311a. WM *qurča* L988a. Kh *xurc* H692b. Ord *ğurča* M316a. Bur *xursa* C602b. Kalm *xurc* M612b. Dag *kərčīn* (=?=) E153 ‘fast; quick; strong (of taste)’. EYu *qurča* B65. MgrH *xoʒæ* X79. MgrM *quʒieğ* (sic) DS248b. Bao---. Kgj *χujja* ~ *χuča* S286a. Dgx---. Mog---

***kurdun** ‘fast, quick’.

MMo SH *qurdun* H72, HY---, Muq *qurdun* P311b. WM *qurdun* L989a. Kh *xurd(an)* H691a. Ord *χurdun* M372a. Bur *xurda(n)* C602b. Brg *xordəŋ* U118. Kalm *xurdn* M611b. Dag *xərdun* E122. EYu *ğurdəŋ* J100a. MgrH *ğurdən* J100a. MgrM *ğordun* C382. BaoD *ğurduŋ* BL88a. BaoÑ *ğərdəŋ* CN88. BaoX *ğordəŋ* BC65. Kgj *ğurdun* S288b. Dgx *ğuduŋ* B84, cf. *ğuzin* B85 (=?=), L80. Mog *qurdun* R32b.

***kurīa-** ‘to gather (tr.)’. This is the caus. form of **kuri-* ‘to gather (intr.)’, which is not as common in the modern languages.

MMo SH *quriya-*, *quriya'a-* H73, HY *quriya-* M92, Muq *quri'a-* P311b, *qura:-* P358b. WM *quriya-* L989b, *quraya-* L987a. Kh *xuraax* H690a. Bur *xuryaaxa* C604b. Brg *xor'a:-* U118. Kalm *xurax* M610b. Dag *xər'e:-* E121. EYu *χura:-* J100b. MgrH *xura:-* J100a. MgrM *qura-* DS225b. BaoD-?- . BaoGt *ğuri-* C108. BaoÑ *ğəra-* CN88. Kgj *guru-* (sic) S289b. Dgx *ğura-* B85. Mog---

***kurīm** ‘banquet, feast; wedding (banquet)’. From **kuri-* ‘to gather’, for which see **kurīa-* above.

MMo SH *qurim* H72, HY *qurim* M92 ‘gathering’, Muq *qurim* P118a. WM *qurim* L990b. Kh *xurim* H691b. Bur *xurim* C602b. Kalm *xürm* M618b. Dag *xərin* E121. EYu *χərəm* B50. MgrH *xərəm*, *xərən* X80, *xurəm* J100b. MgrM *qurəŋ* J89. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *ğuruŋ* B86. Mog---

***kurigan** ‘lamb’. The forms in the old documents suggest trisyllabic **kurigan* or **kuragan*. The form **kurigan* is supported by Buriat. The remaining languages, including those of QG, may have developed through a disyllabic form **kurgan*. Initial weakening in Baoanic was enabled by this loss of the middle vowel. As in **bətagan*, the *-gan* may be a diminutive. Agricultural term related to CT **kozi* ‘id’, which supports a PM form with *-i-* not *-a-*.

MMo SH *qurīqa(n)* H72, HY *qurīqan* M92, Muq *qurayan* P111b, *qulayan* (sic) P309a. WM *quraya(n)* L987a, *qurya(n)* L989a. Kh *xurga(n)* H690b. Ord *χurğa* M372a. Bur *xur'ga(n)* C604a. Brg *xorag* U117. Kalm *xuryn* M611a. Dag---. EYu *χurğan* B54, J100b. MgrH *xurğan* J100b. MgrM *qoargəvar* C378, *qurğur* DS233a, (Sanchuan) *kurga* P422b. BaoD *ğurğan* BL88a. BaoÑ *ğurğan* CN89. Kgj *ğurğun*

S288b. Dgx *guḡaŋ* B84. Mog *quryana* R32b, *qurḡan* W177b, *qərḡān* W177a, MogM/MogMr *quryv:n ~ yuryv:n* L64:39 ‘sheep’.

***kuruun** ‘finger’. The Bur-Kalm forms may reflect **kurugun*, which possibly represents a reading pronunciation (cf. **eriün*, **niruun*). The unstable *-n* was lost in all of Shirongol. Initial weakening in Baoanic, without a clear reason.

MMo SH *quru'u(n)* H73, HY *quru'un* M92, Muq *quru:n* P312b, *χuru:n* P385b. WM *quruḡu(n)* L991a. Kh *xuruu(n)* H692a. Ord *χuru:* M372b. Bur *xurga(n)* C602a. Brg *xorv:-* (?←Kh) U118. Kalm *xuryŋ* M611a. Dag *xorɔ:* E121. EYü *χuru:n* B53, J100a. MgrH *xurə* J100a. MgrM *quru* JL463. BaoD *ḡur* BL88b ‘finger, toe’. BaoÑ *ḡurə* CN89 ‘finger; toe’. Kgj *guru* (sic) S289b. Dgx *ḡuru* B86. Mog *quru:n* R32b, *qurun*, *quru* W177b.

***kuur** ‘lute, stringed musical instrument’. The *-h-* in RH may be a relic of *h < *p*; cf. the cognate CT form **kopuz* ‘id’. Kgj *χuxuər* S286a, S64 looks more like a Northwest Mandarin reduplication form of Chinese *hú* than a cognate of **kuur*.

MMo SH *qu'urda'ul-* H73 ‘to have string music played’, HY---, Muq---, RH *quhurči* 205C29 ‘lute player’. WM *quḡur* L982a, *quur* L993a. Kh *xuur* H696a. Bur *xuur* C606a. Kalm *xuur* M615a, *xur* M610a. Dag *kɔ:r* Z98a. EYü *χu:r* B52, J100a. Remaining lgs---.

kuurai** (?kaurai**) ‘dry’. The presence of the diphthong *au*, as suggested by one of the WM spellings, is not confirmed elsewhere. The Dagur form agrees with the spelling with *uyu* and suggests **kuurai*. The other languages could stem from either form.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qayurai* L910a, *quḡurai* L982a. Kh *xuuray* H696a. Bur *xuuray* C606b. Kalm *xüürä* M619a. Dag *x^wa:ri:* E132. EYü *xu:ri:* BJ348. Remaining lgs---.

***kuyag** ‘armour’. Related to CT **kuyag* (cf. EDPT 676a).

MMo SH *quyah* H74, HY *quyaq* M92, Muq---. WM *quyay* L983a. Kh *xuyag* H698b. Bur *xuyag* C609b. Brg *xoyag* U117. Kalm *xuyg* M607b. Dag *k^wair* E161. EYü *χuyag* B53, *χayag* J91, 100b. MgrH *xuyag* J100b. Remaining lgs---.

***küčün ~ *küčün** ‘strength, force’. Cf. CT **kü:č*.

MMo SH *gucu(n)* H51, HY *güčün* M57, Muq *küčün* P225a. WM *küčü(n)* L496a. Kh *xüč(in)* H709b. Bur *xüse(n)* C632a, *xüše(n)* C637b. Brg *xuś* U124. Kalm *küčn* M332b. Dag *kuč* E157. EYü *küčən* B71, *küjən* J101b. MgrH *kužə* J101b. MgrM *kuži* JL474. BaoD *kučiə* BL88a. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***küiče-** ‘to overtake’ see ***güiče-**

***küji** ‘incense, incense stick, perfumery’. Cf. Turkic **küzi*, probably itself a loanword.

MMo SH---, HY *güji* M57, Muq---. WM *küji* L509b. Kh *xüj* H700a. Bur *xüže* C615a. Kalm *küj* M323a. Dag *küj* E157. EYü *güjə* B85, *güjə* J101a. MgrH

guʒə J101a. MgrM *guʒi* JL474. BaoD---. BaoÑ *guʒi* CN98 ‘cypress branches’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***küjüün** ‘neck’. The *-h-* in SH is unusual.

MMo SH *guju* ‘u(n), *gjuhun* (sic) H52, HY *küjü* ‘ün M73, Muq *küjü* ‘ün, *küjü:n* P226a. WM *küjügüü* L510b, *küjügün* L510a. Kh *xüzüü(n)* H700a. Bur *xüzüü(n)* C615a. Brg *xuzu*: U125. Kalm *küzün* M323a. Dag *xuʃu*: E129. EYu *guʃü:n* B85, *guʃü:n* J101a. MgrH *guʒə* J101a. MgrM *guʒi* C381. BaoD *guʒün* BL88b. BaoÑ *guʒün* CN98. Kgj *guʃun* S290a. Dgx *guʒəŋ* B85, *guʒun* L116b. Mog *kuʃu:n* R31a, *kuʃun*, *kuʒun* W171a.

***küli-** ‘to bind, tie, tighten’. In MgrH this verb appears to have merged with **köli-* ‘to harness’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *küli-* L499b ‘to bind, tie, tighten’. Kh *xülex* H702a. Ord *kuli-* M436a. Bur *xülix* C618b ‘to tie up, etc’. Brg *xulʷ-* U123. Kalm *külx* M324a. Dag---. EYu *kulə-* B70, *kulu-* J101b. MgrH *kolə-* X89. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *kuli-* R31a, *kuli-* W171a, *quli-* W177b.

***kümeli** ‘kind of onion’. Enkhbat connects this to Dag *xungə:r* E125 ‘*Allium mongolicum*’, but this is another word, also found in Kh as *xünxeel* H704a ‘an edible onionlike plant which grows in sandy soil’. Perhaps related to Turkic (NE) **kömürgeŋ*/**kövürgeŋ*.

MMo---. WM *kümel(i)* L501a, *kömel(i)* L487a (in fact the same spellings). Kh *xömöl* H668a, *xümel* H702b ‘wild onion’. Ord *kümel* M436a ‘kind of wild garlic (a bit larger than *ta:na*)’. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *kumbil* E156 (?=) ‘willow herb’, E83:132a ‘shoots of *Artemisia integrifolia* (can be prepared as a vegetable)’, *kumbilʷ* NK550b ‘variety of white goosefoot’. EYu *kumel* B85 ‘fragrant-flowered garlic, Chinese chives’, *tali:n kümelə* B115 ‘kind of wild chives’ (**tala* ‘steppe’). Remaining lgs---.

***kündü** ‘heavy’. The (itself inexplicable) *-t-* in Bao and EYu has helped to preserve initial *k-*. The surprising added *-n* in MgrH is probably due to the fact that numerous MgrH adjectives end in this sound, whereas nouns usually do not.

MMo SH *kundu* H105, HY *kündü* M73, Muq *kündü* P227b. WM *kündü* L501b. Kh *xünd* H703a. Ord *kündu* M437a. Bur *xünde* C622b. Brg *xund* U121. Kalm *künd* M325a. Dag *xund* E125. EYu *kunʒə* B70, *kundə* J101b. MgrH *kundun* J101b. MgrM---. BaoD *kuntə* BL88b. BaoGt *kunti* C107. BaoÑ *kuntə* CN81. Kgj *gundu* S290a. Dgx *gundu* B93. Mog *kundu* R31a, *kundu* W171a.

***künesün** ‘provisions’. Kalm has *-m-* < **n* as in **hünesün* and **sünesün*.

MMo SH *gunesu(n)* H52, HY *günesün* M58, Muq *künesün* P228b. WM *künesü(n)* L503a, *künüsü(n)* L503b. Kh *xüns(en)* H704a. Bur *xünehe(n)* C625a. Brg *xunʷu*: U121. Kalm *kümsn* M324b. Dag *xuns* E124. EYu *kunesən* B70. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kür-** ‘to reach, arrive’.

MMo SH *gur-* H53, HY *kür-* M73, *gür-* M58, Muq *kür-* P229a. WM *kür-* L503b. Kh *xürex* H706a. Ord *kur-* M438a. Bur *xürex* C629b. Brg *xur-* U126. Kalm *kürx* M328b. Dag *kur-* E158. EYu *kur-* B71, J101a. MgrH *kurə-* J101a. MgrM *kur-* JL475. BaoD *kurə-* BL88a. BaoÑ *kur-* CN83. BaoX *kor-* BC65. Kgj *kur-* S288a. Dgx *kuru-* B79. Mog *kur-* R31a, *kur-* W171a.

***kürge-** ‘to send, deliver’. Originally the caus. of **kür-* ‘to reach’ above, it has become an independent verb in many languages.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kürge-* P229a. WM *kürge-* L505a. Kh *xürgex* H704b. Bur *xürgexe* C625b. Kalm *kürgx* M327a. Dag *kuryə:-* E158. EYu *kürge-* B71, *körgö-* J101a. MgrH *kürge:-* J101a. BaoD *kurgə-* BL88a. BaoÑ *kürge-* CN83. Kgj *kürge-* S288a. Dgx *quǵo-* (sic) B72.

***küregen** ‘son-in-law; brother-in-law; husband’. Apart from Bur the modern languages have all developed from a disyllabic **küregen*.

MMo SH *guregan*, *gurege(n)* H52, *gurigen* H53, HY *güregen* M58, Muq *küregen* P229a. WM *küregen* L505b. Kh *xüregen* H704b. Ord *kurgən* M438b. Bur *xür’ge(n)* C628a. Brg *xurgəŋ* U127. Kalm *kürgn* M327a. Dag *xuryun* E131. EYu *kürgen* B72, *kürgen* J101b. MgrH *kürge:n* J101a. MgrM *kurgæn* [bulai] C380. BaoD *kurgan* BL88b. BaoGt *kurgəŋ* C100. BaoÑ *kurgan* CN83. Kgj *kurgə* S288a. Dgx *quǵon* B72. MogM *kürvgö:* L64:42, *kürvgö:n* L62:52.

***kürien** ‘enclosure, etc’. The preserved *-n* in MgrH is unexpected. The Kgj form listed under **korïa* may in fact go back to **kürien*. Cf. **korïa*, **kotan*.

MMo SH *gure’e(n)* H52, *gureyen* H53, HY *güriyen* M58, Muq---. WM *küriye(n)* L506a. Kh *xüree(n)* H706b. Bur *xüryee* C626a. Kalm *kürä* M326b. Dag *kur’e:* E158, *kurə:* E158, cf. also *kurə:n* E83:133a ‘the old name of Ulaanbaatar’. EYu---. MgrH *kuran* L282. Bao---. Kgj (see above). Dgx---. Mog---.

***kürjeg ~ *kürje** ‘spade, shovel’. Assuming that MgrM and Dgx go back to forms with *-g* like their close relatives, the variant **kürjeg* is found in MMo survives in all QG languages, whereas the shorter form survives in central Mongolic. Dag *kullur* could have developed < **kuljür* < **kurjər* < **kürjeg*, but could also be related to Kalm *keldü:r* R223a ‘small shovel for removing the ashes from the hearth’ (< **küldeür*). Cf. CT **kürek* ‘id’ < **küre-* ‘to shovel; to row’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kürjek* P230a, cf. also *kürek* (← Turkic) P175a. WM *kürje* L508a. Kh *xürz(en)* H705a ‘shovel, spade’. Ord *kürji* M438b. Bur *xürze* C626a. Brg *xurʒ* U127. Kalm *kürz* M327b. Dag *kullur* ~ *kuldur* (?) E155. EYu *gurjeg* J101a, *gurjig* S400. MgrH *gurʒig* J101a. MgrM *kurʒi* C381. BaoÑ *gurʒig* CN99. Kgj *gurjiu* S290b. Dgx *guzə* L117b.

***küse-** ‘to wish, desire’. CT **küse-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *guse-* H53, HY---, Muq *küse-* P230b. WM *küse-* L508a. Kh *xüsex* H707b. Bur *xüsexe* C633a, *xühexe* C637a. Brg *xud-* U125. Kalm *küs-* R248b. Dag---. EYu *kuse-* J35 ‘to hope for’. Mgr---. BaoD *kuse-* BL90a ‘to miss, long for’. BaoX *kuse-* BC64 ‘to miss, long to see again’. Dgx *kušie-* B79 ‘to admire, envy’.

***küün** ‘person, human being’. In several languages also used as an indefinite ‘somebody else’. In some languages this word has become phonetically indistinguishable from **keün* and **köbeün* ‘son’. Loss of stable *-n* in Dagur is unexpected, but it is preserved in some old compounds (see s.v. **eme*, **ere*). The *-m-* in some of the forms in the central languages was likely reintroduced from the WM spelling. Nevertheless it may represent an actual lost consonant, possibly *-m-* < earlier *-p-* (cf. **kee-* ‘to say’, WM *keme-*).

MMo SH *gu'un* H53, HY *gü'ün* M59, Muq *kü'ün* P231a, *kü:n* P114b, *küwü'ün* P385b. WM *kümün* L501a. Kh *xün* H702b, *xümüüs* (pl) H702a, *xöümüün* (literary form) H702b. Ord *kun* M436b, also *kumun* (lit.). Bur *xün*, *xümüün* (elevated style) C620b. Brg *xuŋ* U121. Kalm *kün* M324b, *kümn* (elevated style) M324b. Dag *xu:* E123, *-yun* in some compounds. EYu *kun* B70, genitive *kü:nə* BJ335, *ku:n* J101b. MgrH *kun* J101b. BaoD *kuŋ* BL88b. BaoÑ *kuŋ* CN82. BaoX *kuŋ* BC61. Kgj *kun* S287b. Dgx *kuŋ* B78. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *kü:* 10:7a.

- L -

***lauka** ‘secretion of the eye’ see ***nauka**

***lausa** ‘mule’. Loanword from Chinese *luózi* ‘id’. Most languages go back to a form **lausa* but the Dag form is a recent borrowing closer to the modern Mandarin pronunciation. The Bur form with final *-s* is contradicted by the final vowel in MMo, Ord, and QG.

MMo SH *laosa-s-ut* (double plural) H105, HY *lausa* M73, Muq *lu:sa* P232b. WM *luusa* L518a, *layusa* (sic) L515a. Kh *luus* H292b. Ord *l^ua:sa* M447b. Bur *luus* C288b. Kalm *lus* M337b. Dag *l^wə:s* E192. EYu *lu:sa* B88. MgrH *lausa* X109. MgrM *lusa* T343. BaoD *lusə* T142. BaoÑ *lusa* CN106. Kgj *lusa* S291a. Dgx *lausa* B95. Mog---.

***loŋka** ‘bottle’. Probably a foreign word; possibly a dissimilation of an earlier **nənka*.

MMo SH---, HY *loŋqa* M73, Muq---. WM *longqo* L517a. Kh *lonx(on)* H291a. Ord *loŋxo* M447a. Bur *lonxo* C288a. Kalm *loŋx* M336a. Dag *loŋk^w* E190. EYu *loŋqə* B87. MgrH *loŋxo* Khas115. MgrM *loŋxuo* Z368:690. Remaining lgs---.

- M -

***maa** ~ ***maï** ‘here, take it, here you are’. The modern distribution shows that this is an old word in spite of the absence in MMo. Apparently this word was originally an interjection, although some of the forms in Buriat and Kalmuck take verbal

suffixes which suggests that it was seen as an imperative of a verb stem. Most languages suggest an original form **maa*. The form **mai* as found in Kalm is also a less common variant in Kh. The CM forms can not be reduced to a single PM form. Cf. the opposite term **ali* ‘give me’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ma* L519a, *mai* L522a. Kh *ma* H293a, *maa* H293a, *may* H297a. Ord *mā* ~ *mä*: M456b, *me* M458a. Bur *maa* C289a, also *maa aba* C289a, *maatgi* C289a (pl). Brg *ma*: U142. Kalm *mā* M346a, *mātn* (pl, Torgut dial.) M346a. Dag *ma*: E192. EYu *ma* B89, *ma*: J60. MgrH *ma*: X116. MgrM *ma* DS225b. BaoÑ *ma* CN109. Kgj *ma* S291b ‘give (i.e. to hand or pass sth)’ (sic), S223 ‘here, take it, here you are’. Dgx *ma* B101. Mog---.

***maajī-** ‘to scratch’. The Bao forms feature -ʒ- instead of expected -ǰ-, but the derivate **maajīur* ‘rake’ does display the expected -ǰ- in BaoÑ. Not to be confused with **maču-* ‘to clamber, climb’ (not listed here), which survives in the central languages and EYu.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ma:ji-* P234b. WM *mayaji-* L519b. Kh *maajix* H293b. Ord *ma:ji-* M449a. Bur *maajaxa* C289a. Brg *ma:j-* U142. Kalm *maajx* M337b. Dag *ma:j-* E192. EYu *ma:jə-* B89 (also ‘to dig’), J102a. MgrH *ma:ǰə-* J101b. MgrM *maǰi-* JL463. BaoD *maǰi-* BL89b ‘scratch’. BaoÑ *ma:ǰə-* CN109, but *ma:ǰir* CN109. Dgx *maǰi* B104 ‘rake’. Mog---.

***maara-** see ***maïla-** ‘to bleat’

***magalai** ~ ***malagai** ‘hat, headgear’. There are several forms which show a peculiar distribution. The metathesized forms in some languages have probably developed independently. MMo and Kalmuck seem to reflect **magalai* or **makalai*. The occurrence of this form in MMo suggests that this consonant sequence is the original one, although it is not supported by a majority of the modern languages. The Dagur form may be from **magalai* or **makalai* as well (the loss of **-ai* is not unique), but may also be a reborrowing from Manchu *mahala*. The Manchu form itself may be a loan from Kalmuck or Dagur. Kh, Bur, EYu, and Mog forms suggest **malagai*. The Shirongol forms derive from **malaga*, with irregular simplification of the final diphthong. This form further developed into disyllabic **malga* in Mgr, MgrM and Bao.

MMo SH *maqalai* H106, HY---, Muq *maqalai* P233b. WM *malayai* L524a, *malaya* L523b. Kh *malgay* H299b. Bur *malgay* C291a. Brg *malgai* U144. Kalm *maxla* M344b. Dag *mayəl* E194, *malgai* Z100a. EYu *malāǰai* B90, *malaǰai* J101b. MgrH *malga* J102b, X120. MgrM *marǰa* C383. BaoD *malǰa* BL89b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *malǰa* S291b. Dgx *malaǰa*, *maǰala* B103. Mog *malǰeɪ* R33a, *malǰeɪ* W171.

***magta-** ‘to praise’.

MMo SH---, HY *maqta-* M74, Muq *maqta-* P233b. WM *mayta-* L520a. Kh *magtax* H296b. Ord *maǰta-* M449b. Bur *magtaxa* C290a. Kalm *magtx* M338b. Dag---. EYu *maxda-* S476. MgrH *maǰda-* L306, *maxda-* S476. Bao---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***maïla-** and ***maara-** ‘to bleat’. At first sight this is not a reliable word for reconstruction purposes, but the form ***maïla-** survives quite well and must have been the original word in QG. The form ***maara-** may also be old, and perhaps developed from a PM form ***majara-**, in view of the possible cognate CT ***majra-** (?< ***bañra-**) (EDPT 770b). Dag **mʷa:r-** seems to represent yet another onomatopoeic form.

MMo SH---, HY *maila-* M73, Muq *ma:ra-* P234b. WM *mayila-* L522b. Kh *maylax* H298a. Bur *maaraxa* C289a, *maylaxa* C290b. Brg *ma:lʷ-* U142. Kalm *määlx* M346a. Dag **mʷa:r-** (?=) E207 ‘to bleat, low, mew, croak’. EYu *maila-* B89, J102a. MgrH *mai:la-* J102b, *maila-* X117. BaoD *mila-* T142. BaoÑ *mi:la-* CN116 ‘to low; to bleat’. Dgx [*mia gie-* T128]. Mog---, cf. Zirni *mailaqči* 20:4 ‘sheep’, *meilakči* 20:10 ‘goat’.

***maïrug** ‘crooked; slanted’. In QG, this adjective seems to be limited to Baoanic. Bökh and Chen Naixiong compared these forms with WM *murui-* and *murui*, which are semantically comparable, but unlikely cognates on phonetic grounds. The phonetically most similar Khalkha forms *mayrag*, *mayrdag* H298b ‘toothless; dull, blunt’ have unsuitable meanings. It is unclear if there is a relationship with other ‘central’ forms such as Kh *maytgar*, *mayga*, *mayjig*, *mayjgar* ‘crooked, askew, bow-legged, etc.’; Ord *mä:ruḡur* M457b; Bur *mayagar* C295b, *mayaa* C295a; Kalm *määyḡ* M346a ‘crooked, bow-legged’.

Ord *mä:raq* 457b. MgrM *mer-* P424 ‘become crooked’. BaoD *mairoḡ* BL21. BaoÑ *me:roḡ* CN115. Dgx *mairu* (Longquan dialect) B101.

***makalai** ‘hat’ see ***magalai**

***mal** ‘domestic animals, livestock’. Wanderwort, ultimately probably from Arabic *māl*, also present in Iranian and Turkic languages, and probably borrowed by Mongolic from the latter. The narrowed meaning ‘livestock’ instead of ‘property’ in general is typical of Turkic and Mongolic. Cf. the endemic word **aduusun*, which exists alongside **mal* in the languages cited above, and is the normal word for livestock in Baoanic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *mal* P232b. WM *mal* L523b. Kh *mal* H299a. Bur *mal* C290b. Brg *mal* U143. Kalm *mal* M339a. Dag *mal* E194. EYu *mal* B90, J102a. MgrH *mal* L309, *mar* SM232. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog *mo:l* R33b ‘property’.

***malagai** ‘hat’ see ***magalai**

***malta-** ‘to dig, excavate’. The *-n-* in MgrH appears instead of expected *-l-* or *-r-*. The final *-l* in Baoan (also seen in other verbs, see s.v. **muški-*) is another deviation.

MMo SH *malta-* H106, HY---, Muq---. WM *malta-* L524b. Kh *maltax* H300b. Bur *maltaxa* C291b. Kalm *maltx* M340a. Dag *malt-* E195 ‘etc’. EYu *malta-* B90, *malda-* J103b. MgrH *manta-* J102b. MgrM *manta-* JL467. BaoD *malta-* BL83b, *mantal-* BL83b. BaoÑ *mantal-* CN111 ‘etc’. Kgj *manta-* S291b. Dgx *manṭa-* B102. Mog---.

***mana-** ‘to guard, keep watch’. Possibly from PM **bana-*. The Shingol lgs use **eüden saki-* ‘to guard the door’ in this meaning.

MMo SH---, HY *mana-* M73, Muq---. WM *mana-* L525a. Kh *manax* H302a. Bur *manaxa* C292a. Kalm *manx* M342a. Dag *mana-* T153. EYu *mana-* B89. Remaining lgs.

***managaar**, ***margaasi**, etc ‘morning; tomorrow’. The modern forms listed here are very diverse, but they appear all to be related. The original form was probably **managaar* which developed into **mangaar* and > **margaar*. Dgx and Kgj seem to derive from this form **margaar*. The form **margaasi* found in many languages may represent **margaar-si*. Some forms have further endings or incorporate **erte* ‘morning’ or **üdür* ‘day’. There are also words incorporating **ene* ‘this’, such as MgrH *namağsə* X26 ‘this morning’ < **ene margaasi*, MgrM *naŋga* DS21 (if not from Amdo *naŋ-hka*), Kgj *na mağa* S281a ‘this morning’ < **ene managar*, BaoŃ *nəmguarte* CN28, Kgj *na mağade* S281a ‘this morning’, probably < **ene managar erte* ‘this morning early’. The origin of MgrH *malay* J102b ‘morning’ is unclear. **managaar* may be related to **maniär* ‘mist’ (not listed) and **manan* ‘mist’ (listed below).

MMo SH *manaqar* H106 ‘the next day, the next morning’, *manaqaru* H106 ‘early in the morning’, *manaqari* H106 ‘the next morning’, *manaqarši* H106 ‘on the next day/morning’, *manaqaši* H106 ‘the next morning’, HY *manaqar erte* M74 ‘early in the morning’, Muq *manayar*, *manaqar* P233a ‘tomorrow’. WM *manayar*, *manayarsi* L525a, *maryasi* L529a, *maryata* L529a. Kh *managaar* H301b ‘tomorrow’, *margaas* H305b ‘tomorrow’, *margaad*, *margaadar* H305b ‘tomorrow’. Ord *margā:ta* M455b. Bur *margaar* C293a, *margaasa* C293a, *malgaar* (‘western’) C291a ‘tomorrow’. Kalm *maŋyar* M342a ‘mist, mirage (in the morning)’, *maŋydur* M342b ‘tomorrow’ < **managar üdür*. Dag---. EYu *margā:šda* B91, *margāšda* J102b. MgrH *mağasi* X119, *mağasə* X119 ‘tomorrow’, *mağsi* X120 ‘next year’ (sic!), *mağzə* X120 ‘early morning’. MgrM *mağase* T343. BaoD *maχsiə* BL89a. BaoGt *māsgə* C120. BaoŃ *maχsi* CN112. BaoX *moχšə* BC62. Kgj *mağa* ~ *mağga* S29b ‘(early) morning, etc’, *mağasi* S291b ‘tomorrow’, *mağade* S291b ‘morning’. Dgx *mağa* B103 ‘(early) morning’, *mağasi* B103 ‘tomorrow’, *mağasi xoŋ* B103 ‘next year’, DgxL *mağudu* B103 ‘next year’. Mog---.

***manan** ‘mist, fog’. The -u- in EYu and the metathesis in MgrH are recent developments. Perhaps related to **managaar* ‘tomorrow’ listed above, as well as **maniär* ‘mist’, HY *moniyar* M75, etc. Kalm *manr* ‘misty’. Cf. **budaŋ* ‘mist’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *manan* P233a. WM *manan*, *manang* L525b. Kh *manan* H301b. Bur *mana(n)* C292a. Brg *man* U142. Kalm *mann* (lit) M341a. Dag *manən* E193. EYu *munay* B96, *manay* J102a. MgrH *nama:n* J102b, X26, hence also *lama:n* X111. MgrM *manay* JL462. BaoD---. BaoŃ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***mangir**, ***mangir(r)sun** ‘wild onion (and similar bulbous plants)’. The existence of two clearly different Dagur forms is puzzling; both are possible developments from **mangisun* (? **mangiasun*), for *manč* cf. Dag *nəkč* ‘spinal marrow’ from **nugusun*.

MMo SH *mangirsu(n)* H107, HY *manggir* M74, Muq---. WM *manggir* L527a. Kh *mangir* H302b, *mangis* H302b. Ord---. Bur *mangir* C292a, *mandiha(n)*

(Ekhirit) C292b. Brg *maṅgır* U143. Kalm *māṅgrsn* M346b. Dag *maṅgʷe:s* E194 “‘mountain onion’”, *mañč* E193 ‘wild garlic’. EYu *maṅgarsən* S480. Remaining lgs---.

***maṅgus** ‘a type of (usually female, many-headed, human-eating) demon; a large snake’. In Buriat this word was perhaps lost because it merged phonetically with *mangad* C292a ‘Russian’. Or could this actually have the same etymology, as suggested by Poppe 1955:171. The final vowel in Monguoric is a recent addition. The alternative form in Ord *mu:s* M476b, Kalm *mus* M362a was probably borrowed from the (Kipchak) Turkic form **mawuz*, going back to the same etymon. The first element of Dgx *mausumāğāci* B101 is likely to be related to this Turkic form, but the second part is obscure; it may involve **emegen* ‘old lady’ or **meke.či* ‘trickster’.

MMo SH *manggus*, *mangqus* H107, HY---, Muq---. WM *mangyus* L527a. Kh *mangas* H302b. Ord *maṅgus* M454b. Bur-?-. Brg *mangad* U143. Kalm *maṅys* M342b. Dag *maṅgʷe:* (?=) E194. EYu *ma:ṅğās* B89. MgrH *maṅguzə* X119, *məṅguzə* X124. MgrM *maṅguzi* JL470, *maṅquzi* DS237a. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx (see above). Mog---.

***maṅlai** ‘forehead’. The central languages developed from an assimilated form **maṅnai*. The peculiar *-əu* in Dgx normally reflects the loss of a **-g*. The Dag form is close to the Solon form *maṅgʷe:l*, but the loss of *-ai* is also seen in other Dag words. The Bur dialect form *maalay* may represent an early variant **maṅalai* with resolved cluster. The element *-lai* is also found in some other body parts (e.g. **koalai*, **koṅdalai*) and may be a suffix.

MMo SH *manglai* H107, HY *maṅlai* M74, Muq *maṅqlai* P233a. WM *manglai* L527a, *mangnai* L527b. Kh *magnay* H296a, *manlay* H304a (the latter form mainly in figurative meanings; ←WM?). Bur *magnay* (obs) C290a, *mangilay* (Ekhirit) C292a, *maalay* (Alar and Ekhirit) C289a. Brg *magnai* U143 ‘back of the head’. Kalm *maṅna* M342b. Dag *maṅgil* E194 (see above). EYu *maṅli*: B90, J102a. MgrH *maṅli*: J102b. MgrM *maṅlai* JL476. BaoD *maṅlai* BL89a. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *maṅləu* B102. Mog---.

***margasī** ‘tomorrow’ see s.v. ***managar**

***marīan** ~ ***maraan** ‘flesh; degree of fatness (usu. of livestock)’. The element **i* in the second syllable was only preserved in the central languages. The QG languages share the development **ia > a: > a*. But note that the development **ia > *aa* can already be seen in the SH. Ordos stands apart, suggesting **mīraa*.

MMo SH *mara’a* H107, *mariya(n)* H108 ‘(human) flesh, the body’, HY---, Muq---. WM *mariya* L529b, *miriya* L540a ‘body, flesh; corpulence, pudginess’. Kh *maria* H306a ‘fatness, corpulence, obesity’. Ord *mira:* M465a. Bur *maryaa(n)* C294b. Brg *marʷa:-tai* U144 fat (adj.). Kalm *merān* in *max merān* M350b ‘lean’, *merē*: R261b ‘flesh (esp. in the face)’. Dag---. EYu *maran* B90 ‘skin’, J81 ‘pork skin’. MgrH *mara* SM233 ‘flesh, corpulence; face’, L314 also ‘skin’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *mara* CN113 ‘fat, (of animals) fattened, well-fed’. Kgj *mara* S291b ‘fat (of an animal)’. Dgx *mara* B104 ‘flesh; fat’. Mog---.

***maria-** ‘to spy on, to peek; to stalk, approach stealthily’. Kh and Ord seem to stem from a form **mīraa-*. Baoanic seem to go back to **ma:ra-* with metathesis of length < **mara:-*. Dag *mar^ʰe:-* E196 ‘to have sex’ corresponds well phonetically, but the semantic connection is perhaps too far-fetched.

MMo SH *mariya-* H108, HY---, Muq---. WM *mariya-* L529b, *miriya-* L540a, *miraya-* L540a, *mira-* L540a. Kh *myaraax* H340b. Ord *mira:-* M465a. Bur *maryaaxa* C294a. Kalm *meræ-* R261b. Dag see above. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ma:ra-* CN109 ‘to hide, lie low’. BaoX *ma:r-* BC75 ‘to hide’. Kgj *mara-* S291b ‘to hide’. Dgx *mara-* B104 ‘to peek, spy on’. Mog---.

***marta-** (< **umarta-*) ‘to forget’. One of the very rare cases of initial vowel loss in the central languages.

MMo SH *umarta-* H163, HY---, Muq *marta-* P234a, IV *umarta-* L62:71, LV *umarta-* P1261. WM *umarta-* L874a, *marta-* L530a. Kh *martax* H306b, *umartax* H546a. Bur *martaxa* C293b. Brg *mart-* U144. Kalm *martx* M344a. Dag *mart-* E196. EYu *marta-* B91, J102b. MgrH *maşda-* J102b, *muşda:-*, *muşda:-* SM251. MgrM *marta-* T344. BaoD *martə-* BL89b. BaoÑ *marta-* CN113. BaoX *martə-* BC65. Kgj *marta-* S292a. Dgx *mata-* B103. Mog *mo:rta-* R33b, *mərta-* W172b.

***mau** ‘bad’. Bao may have added the *-ŋ* because the majority of adjectives end in it. Note the irregularity of the vocalism in the Dag derivations *mɔ:t-* E201 from **maud-* and *mɔ:l-* E200 from **maula-*, but cf. *maud-*, *maurka:-* E193.

MMo SH *mao'u(n)*, *mao'ui* H107, HY *ma'u* M74, Muq *ma'u* P234a, *mu'u* P321a, *mu:* P242a. WM *mayu* L520b. Kh *muu* H333a. Bur *muu* C302b. Kalm *mu* M361b. Dag *mɔ:* E200. EYu *mu:* B94, J102a. MgrH *mau:* J102b. MgrM *mɔu* C382. BaoD *muŋ* BL89b. BaoÑ *muŋ* CN119 ‘bad, ugly, etc’. BaoX *mu* BC73. Kgj *mau* ~ *mu* S291b. Dgx *mau* B101. Mog---.

***mede-** ‘to know’.

MMo SH *mede-* H108, HY *mede-* M74, Muq *mede-* P234b. WM *mede-* L531a. Kh *medex* H336a. Ord *mede-* M458a. Bur *medexe* C310b. Brg *məd-* U145. Kalm *medx* M348a. Dag *məd-* E198. EYu *mede-* B92, J102a. MgrH *mude-* J102a. MgrM *mide-* C383. BaoD *madə-* BL89b. BaoÑ *medə-* CN116 ‘etc’. BaoX *mədə-* BC70. Kgj *mede-* S292a. Dgx *məʒie-* B106, *məiʒie-* L117b. Mog *meda-*, *mede-* W172a, MogM, MogMr *médä-* L62:53.

***melekei** ‘frog’ see ***menekei**.

***mendü** ‘peace(ful), tranquil(ity); health, well-being; as usual’.

MMo SH---, HY *mendü* M75, Muq---. WM *mendü* L535b. Kh *mend* H337b. Ord *möndu* M469b. Bur *mende* C312a. Brg *mənd* U144. Kalm *mend* M349b. Dag---. EYu *mendə* B92, *me:ndə* J58, *mö:ndə* J5. MgrH---. MgrM---. Bao *mendu* P425. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***menekei** ‘frog’. MMo and QG point at **menekei*, Dagur and the central languages at **melekei*. The inexplicable *-d-* in MgrM and BaoD is probably secondary (cf. the development of **hünegen* ‘fox’). Historically the form with *-l-* may be due to

dissimilation of the two nasals. BaoD *lam(ən)dəgi* ‘frog’ is probably a corrupted compound with **menekei* as a second element, cf. BaoÑ *lamba mən̄gi* CN107 ‘toad’ (according to Chen Naixiong the first element is LT *lhan-pa* ‘patch’). It is phonetically possible but semantically unlikely that BaoD is the same compound as MMo HY *naq menegei* M77 ‘soft tortoise’, WM *lay melekei*, Ord *laḡ meleki*: M442b ‘turtle’. The *-kei* may be a suffix (cf. **no-kaï*, **herbee-kei*), in which case the PM root may have been **mene-* or **bene-*.

MMo SH---, HY *menegei* M75 ‘frog’, Muq *menekei* P235b [‘turtle’ according to Poppe], P287b [‘frog’]. WM *melekei* L534b, *menekei* L536a. Kh *melxiy* H337a ‘frog, toad’. Ord *meleki*: M462b ‘frog’. Bur *melxey* C311b ‘tortoise’. Kalm *meklä* M348b ‘frog; toad’. Dag *mäləy* E198. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *mandəgai* C385, *mendegei* T357. BaoD *lam(ən)dəgi* BL89a. BaoÑ *mən̄gi* CN113. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***menge** ‘mole, birthmark’. Related to CT **bey* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *mengge* M75, Muq *menge* P235b. WM *mengge* L536b. Kh *menge* H337b. Ord *menge* M463a. Bur *menge* C312a. Kalm *mej* (?←T) M350a. Dag---. EYu *mej* (←T) B92. MgrH *mungi* L339. MgrM *menkə* Z335:305, 306. Bao---. Dgx *mankiə* S485, *mänkə*, *mänkie* MC260a. Mog---.

***mergen** ‘smart, wise, talented; good marksman’.

MMo SH *mergan* H109, HY *mergen* M75, Muq---. WM *mergen* L537a. Kh *mergen* H338a. Bur *merge(n)* C312b. Kalm *mergn* M350b. Dag *məryən* E198. EYu *meryen* B93. MgrH *murgən* X128. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj *mergə* S292a. Dgx *məryən* T129, *məngən* MC260a ‘active, vigorous’. Mog *mirgan* W172a ‘hunter’.

***metü** ‘like, as... as’. The final *-g* in Baoan is probably a secondary addition (this not unique, see **teŋgeri* ‘sky’). However, in view of its accent and attributive usage, BaoD *mə'təgə* may represent **metü-ki*. **metü* is also preserved by Baoanic in a number of new formations, which are also present in BaoÑ: BaoD *əntəg* T152, *nəntəgə-nə* (+ poss3) BL82b ‘like this’, BaoÑ *əmtəg* CN14, *əmtəg* CN11, Kgj *əntu* ~ *əntu* ~ *əntu* S279b ‘like this, this kind of’ BaoD *təntəgə* BL91b, BaoÑ *yamtəg* CN163, Kgj *təntu* ~ *təntu* ~ *təntu* S297b ‘like that, that kind of’, BaoÑ *yamtəg* CN215 ‘what kind of’, BaoD *iantəg* BL72 ‘how much’ (sic), Kgj *matu* S291b ‘what kind of’, Dgx *matu-ni* B103 ‘what kind of’. These appear to stem from **ene metü*, **te(re) metü*, and **yaan* or **yama metü*. Dgx *imutu* BC85:132, *imutu-ni* B11 ‘this kind of’ and *ćimutu* B155 ‘that kind of’, in view of their vocalism, suggest **ein* and **tein* as a first element instead.

MMo SH *metu* H109, HY *metü* M75, Muq *metü* P261b, *mütü* P361. WM *metü* L538a. Kh *met* H338b. Ord *metu* M463b, *mötu* M472a. Bur *mete* C313a, *bete* C134b. Kalm *met* M351a. Dag *mut*^ʔ E88:420, *mut* NK474a. EYu---. MgrH *madu* X120. MgrM---. BaoD *mə'təgə* BL59. BaoGt *muti* C107. BaoGm *məsgə* CN86:282. BaoÑ---. BaoX *məti* BC73, *mətag* BC73, *məntəg* CN86:282. Kgj *mutu* ~ *muntu* ~ *mətu* S292b. Dgx *mutu*, *mutuŋ* B111. Mog *metu* W172a.

***mikan** ‘meat’. In the QG languages **i* was assimilated to the following **a*, except in Dgx. The vowel rounding in MgrM and BaoX is recent. In the other languages **i*

was also assimilated to the **a*. In Bur, Brg, and Dag *m*- remained palatalized, whereas in Kh and Kalm the palatal element has completely disappeared. In this word the unstable *-n* was lost in all of Shirongol.

MMo SH *miqa(n)* H109, HY *miqan* M75, Muq *miqan* P236b. WM *miqa(n)* L540b. Kh *max(an)* H308a. Bur *myaxa(n)* C314a. Brg *m^yax* U150. Kalm *maxn* M345a. Dag *m^yay* E207. EYu *mayqan* B90, *maḡgan* J102b. MgrH *maxa* J102a, X119. MgrM *muqa* C383, *maqa* T344. BaoD *məḡa* BL89b, *muḡá* L121. BaoGt *muḡa* C104. BaoÑ *maḡa* CN113. BaoX *moḡa* BC73. Kgj *maḡa* S291b. Dgx *miḡa* B107. Mog *miqo:n* R33b, *m^yəqān*, *m^yəqən* W172, MogMr *m^yaqo:n*, *m^ya:qv:n*, MogM *m^yaqqḃ*: L62:54.

***mīlaa** ‘whip’ see ***mīnaa**

***mīnaa** ‘whip’. The variants and their distribution appear rather chaotic; note the striking disagreement between the central languages and between Bao and Dgx. Some of the forms, such as EYu, are apt to be confused with **muna* ‘wooden club’, WM *muna* L551a ‘wooden club, stick, mallet’, Kh *muna* H331a, Dag *manə* ~ *mana*: E193, or with **bilau* ‘cudgel’, WM *bilayu* L103b. Kh *byaluu* H99b, Dag *bəlc*: E81.

The form **mīnaa* is probably the original form, which is supported by its occurrence in the old documents. The form **mīlaa* could then be the result of a dissimilation of the two nasals (as in **menekei* ~ **melekei* ‘frog’). The Kh and Kalm forms go back to a form with metathesized vowels **malia* < **mīlaa*. Kh *myalga* seems to be an incorrect reading pronunciation of WM *milaya*. If the original form was indeed **mīnaa*, the PM form may have been **bīnaa* (probably with a consonant between the two **a*’s). Cf. **sičua* and **tasiur* ‘whip’ (the latter not listed here).

MMo SH *mina’a* H109, HY *mina’a* M75, Muq *mina*: P236a. WM *milaya* L538b. Kh *malia* H300a, *myalga* H339b. Ord *mila*: M464a ‘la lanière qui fixe le fouet à son manchot’. Bur *minaa* (western) C296b. Brg---. Kalm *malya* M340b. Dag *mina*:, also *mina:la:n* E199. EYu *muna* B95. MgrH---. MgrM *mila*: C387. BaoD *məla*, also *bula* BL89a (the latter may be from **bilau* ‘cudgel’ although the *-a* is against that). BaoGt *mula* C100. BaoÑ *məla* CN114. Kgj *mila* S292b. Dgx *mina* B106. Mog---.

***mīngan** ‘thousand’. Front-vocalic in Kalm, as a consequence of the absence of breaking. Both the *-x-* and the vocalism in MgrH is unexpected. Related to CT **biŋ* ~ **biŋ* ‘id’, on which one may base a PM form **biŋgan* (cf. P60:72 etc; RI:78 etc.) In the remaining languages replaced by Tibetan, Chinese, and Iranian words.

MMo SH *minqa(n)* H109, HY *minyan* M75, Muq *minqan* P236b. WM *mingya(n)* L539b. Kh *myanga(n)* H340. Ord *miŋga* M465a. Bur *myanga(n)* C314a. Brg *m^yang*, *m^yangay* U149. Kalm *miŋyn* M353. Dag *m^yangə* E207. EYu *məŋgan* B91, J102b. MgrH *meŋxan* J102a, *meŋxen* X121. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***modun** ‘tree; wood’. The aspirated *-t-* in MgrM and Baoanic is inexplicable. One might think of influence of Chinese *mùtou* ‘wood’, but there are other words with a similar development, e.g. **hodun* ‘star’. The origin of *-r-* in BaoGt and Kgj is also obscure. Furthermore this is one of the few cases in which an unexpected vowel

length appears in the same word in Dag, EYu, and MgrH. In EYu and MgrH the length seems to be triggered by word structure, whereas the length in Dagur form was perhaps influenced by Northern Tungusic *mɔ:* ‘tree’. **modun* may contain the (?collective) suffix **-dUn*, in which case the PM root is **mo-*. This is supported by MMo SH *moci* H109, MgrH *moči* X123 ‘carpenter’, apparently from **mo-čī*.

MMo SH *modun* H110, *mudun* H111 ‘tree; wood’, HY *modun* H75 ‘tree, wood’, Muq *modun* P237b. WM *modu(n)* L541a ‘tree; wood; etc’. Kh *mod(on)* H313b. Ord *mudu* M473a. Bur *modo(n)* C297b ‘tree; wood’. Brg *mɔd* U146 ‘wood’. Kalm *modn* M353b. Dag *mɔ:d* E201 ‘wood; tree’. EYu *mu:dən* B95, J102b, EYu (Qinglong) *mɔ:dən* BJ351. MgrH *mo:də* X122 ‘wood’, *mo:du* L325 ‘wood; tree’. MgrM *motu* C383, *mo:to* C166, *mutu* T345. BaoD *mutoŋ* T143. BaoJ *murtón* L121. BaoGt *murtuŋ* C104. BaoÑ *møtøŋ* CN117, *mødøŋ* CN118. BaoX *mætøŋ* CN86:298. Kgj *murtun* S293a. Dgx *mutuŋ* B111 ‘wood; tree’. Mog *modun* R33b ‘wood’, *mɔdu*, *mudun* W172b ‘wood, wooden stick’.

***mogai** ‘snake’. Dagur from a form **moga* which lost the -i, for which cf. **gakai* ‘pig’, **nokai* ‘dog’, etc.

MMo SH *moqai* H110, HY *moqai* M76, Muq *moyai* P238a. WM *moyai* L541b. Kh *mogoy* H313a. Bur *mogoy* C297a. Brg *məŋɔi* U146. Kalm *moya* M353b. Dag *məy*^w E202. EYu *məŋɔi* B93, *məŋui* J102b. MgrH *moguai* J102a, *mogɔi* X122. MgrM *mogai* JL465. BaoD *mogəi* BL89a. BaoGt *mogui* C110. BaoÑ *məŋəi* CN117. BaoX *mogui* BC74. Kgj *muŋuai* S292b. Dgx *mogəi* B109, *moyai* L117a. Mog *məyo:i*: R33a, *məŋoi* W172.

***mogadur** and ***mokudag** ‘blunt, dull’. These two adjectives are listed together because of the ambiguous Shirongol evidence. The latter could be the nomen usus of the verb **moku-/moki-* ‘to become blunt’. The nomen imperfecti of this verb also occurs in central Mongolic: Kh *moxoo* H319b, Bur *moxoo* C301a, Brg *məxɔ:* U146, Kalm *moka* M354a. How **mogadur* can be compared to this verb is unclear. The MgrM, Kgj and Dgx forms could have developed from either adjective. Confusingly MgrM suggests **mogadur*, while the BaoD form with -χ may reflect **mokudag*. Cf. also **mukur* listed below.

MMo SH---, HY *moqodaq* M76, Muq *moqadaq* P238a. WM *moyotor* L542a, *moqotor* L544b, *moqoday* L544a. Kh *mogotor* H313b, *moxdog* H319b. Ord *muxudaq*, *muxuduq* M474a, cf. also *muŋdu:*, *muŋduŋur*, *muŋduŋ* M473b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu--- *moxgordəŋ* (only) S495. MgrH *mogdər* J102a, *mogordu*, *mogordur*, *mogodur* SM239. MgrM *mogodo* DS207b. BaoD *moxtəχ* BL89b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *məŋdu* ~ *mɔdu* S292b. Dgx *muŋudu* B110, *muŋutu* L117b. Mog---.

***mokin** ‘resin’ see ***boki**.

***mona** ‘future-’. Only in the combinations below. The first element of Dag *bən^y udur* E75, *bən^y udur* E80, *bun^y udur* E84 ‘today’ is most likely to go back to an earlier **buni* and is therefore hard to connect to **mona*.

MMo SH *mona qoyina*, *mono qoyina* H110 ‘in the future’, HY *mono qoyina* M75 ‘in the future’ (cf. **koïna*), Muq---. WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur---.

Kalm---, Dag---, EYu *mənən* B93 ‘the year after next’ (**mona hon*). MgrH *muno:n* SM248 (**mona hon*). MgrM---, Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***mongal** ‘Mongol’. BaoD *munḡu* BL89b, Dgx *munḡu* B110 are from Ch *Měnggǔ*. Potanin (410) gives *mongol kun* P140 as one of the self-designations of the Baoan speakers. Mog *moḡo:l* R33b is the Persian form. Dag *məḡgul* may be a central Mongolic form, cf. Dag *maḡḡələm* ‘broomcorn millet’ < **mongal amun*.

MMo SH *mangqol* H107, HY *moḡqol* M75, Muq *monḡol* P238a. WM *mongyol* L542b. Kh *mongol* H315b. Bur *mongol* C298b. Kalm *monḡyl* M355a. Dag *məḡgul* E202. EYu *məḡgul* B93, *moḡol* J102b. MgrH *moḡol* J102a. MgrM *moḡor* JL464 also ‘Monguor’, *məḡḡuar* C383. Bao (see above). Remaining lgs---.

***morin** ‘horse’. Note the loss of -n in EYugur and Baoanic (in the Monguor languages this loss is expected).

MMo SH *mori(n)* H111, HY *morin* M76, Muq *morin* P238b. WM *mori(n)* L543b. Kh *mor*’ (*morin*) H318a. Ord *mori* M467b. Bur *mori(n)* C300a. Brg *mər*’ (*iy*) U147. Kalm *mörn* M360a. Dag *mər*’ E204. EYu *mə:rə* B93, *mo:rə* J102b. MgrH *morə* J102b. MgrM *mozi* /*mori*/ C383. BaoD *morə* BL89b. BaoÑ *mərə* CN118. BaoX *morə* BC64. Kgj *məri* S292b. Dgx *mori* B109. Mog *morin* R33b, W172b, etc.

***möčir** ‘foliage’. Both the Ord long *u*: and the Kalm *b*- are unexpected. Cf. **nabčün* ‘leaf’, **salaa* ‘branch’.

MMo---, WM *möčir* L545a ‘twig, etc’. Kh *möčir* H328a. Ord *möču:r* M472a. Bur *müšer* C309b ‘branch’. Brg *mušir* U149. Kalm *büčr* M132b ‘foliage, top, branch, sprout’. Dag---, EYu---, MgrH *mučir* L340 ‘branch’. MgrM *muču* T346 ‘stick’. Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***möer** ‘rim of a wheel’. Dag and Bur (some forms) suggest an additional final vowel.

MMo SH---, HY *mö’er* M76, Muq---. WM *möger* L545b. Kh *möör* H324a. Ord---. Bur *möör*, *mööri*, *mööre* C301b ‘wheel’. Brg *mo:r* U148. Kalm *mö:r* R268a. Dag *mʷə:r* E208 ‘rim of a wheel’, *mə:r* T18 ‘rim’. Remaining lgs---.

***möere-** ‘to moo, low’. Ultimately an onomatopoeic. But nevertheless it may be related to the synonymous Turkic **müḡre-*.

MMo SH *mo’ore-*, *mo’ere-* H110, HY *mö’ere-* M76, Muq *mö:re-* P241a. WM *mögere-*, *mögeri-* L545b. Kh *mööröx* H324a. Bur *möörex* C301b. Brg *mo:r-* U148. Kalm *möörx* M358b. Dag *mʷə:r-* E208. EYu *mü:re-* B96, J102a. MgrH *mo:ro-* J102b. MgrM *mori-* JL468, *mo:r-* C383. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *muri-* B112. Mog---.

***möersün** ~ ***möngersün** ‘cartilage, gristle’. The modern forms point at the existence of (at least) two CM variants, **möersün* and **möngersün* (cf. **noasun* for a similar set of old variants). MgrM may reflect another form **mögersün*. The Dag -*m*- is unexpected.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH---. WM *mögeresü(n)* L545b, *bögersü(n)* L125a. Kh *mögöors(ön)* H320a, *mögöös(ön)* H320b, *möörs* H324a.

Chakhar *mogo:rs* D176b. Ord *mö:rös(ʉ)*, *mö:rs* M471b. Bur *mengeerhe(n)* C312a, *müngöörhen* C306a, *möörhe(n)* (western) C301b. Brg *munḡa:ru:* U148. Kalm *möörsn* M358a. Dag *məməč* E198, *məməči* S489. EYu---. MgrH *munḡarʒə* J102b, X124. MgrM *məḡursi* DS227a, *mogursi xolo* P412b ‘windpipe’ (cf. **koalai*). BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***möjki-** ‘to trace’. Possibly in some way related to **mör* ‘track, etc’.

MMo SH *mocgi-* H109, *mutki-* H112, *morgi-* (?) H111, HY---, Muq---. WM *möski-* L550b. Kh *möšgox* H329a. Ord *möškö-* M471b. Bur *müšxexe* C309a. Kalm *möškx* M361b. Remaining lgs---.

***mölkü-** ‘to crawl, creep, clamber’. Dag *milk^w*- may be inspired by Tungusic, but it could represent the original CM form.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *mölkö-* L546a. Kh *mölxöx* H321b. Ord *mölkö-* M468b. Bur *mülxixe* C305b. Brg *muləx-* U149. Kalm *mölkx* M357a. Dag *milk^w*- E200, *mulk^w*- Z100b. EYu *molkə-* B94, *məlgə-* J102a. MgrH---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***mölsün** ‘ice’. Bur *mül’hen* seems to suggest a CM form **mölisün*, but unexpected palatalisations and added vowels appear more often in Bur, which may both be very recent. The Ordos *ö* instead of expected *ʉ*. This word may contain the (?collective) suffix **-sUn*, in which case the PM root may be **möl-*. If there is a relationship with **möndür* ‘hail’, it is morphologically unclear.

MMo SH *molsun* H110, HY *mölsün* M76, Muq *mölsün* p239a. WM *mösü(n)* L550b, *mölsü(n)* L546b. Kh *mös(ön)* H326b, *möls* H321a. Ord *mösʉ* M471b. Bur *mül’he(n)* C305b. Brg *mul’u:* U149. Kalm *mösn* M360b. Dag *məis* E197. EYu *mösən* B94, J75, *mesən* J102a. MgrH *molsə* J102b, *malʒə* X120. MgrM *mirsī* S12, *mərsī* DS230. BaoD *mišiu* BL90a, *minšiu* BL31. BaoGt *mišī* C107. BaoJ *miš’* L117. BaoÑ *melsoḡ* CN116. BaoGm *mincu* CN86:16. BaoX *mənsu* S12, CN86:228. Kgj *mərsun* ~ *məsun* S292b. Dgx *mansuḡ* B102, *mənsun* L118b, Dgx (Longquan dialect) *məsuḡ* B106. Mog-?-.

***möltül-** ‘to take off, undo’, ***möltüre-** ‘to fall off, come loose’. Ord suggests **möltel-* and **möltäre-*. However, based on MMo and the QG languages one would assume an original *ü* in the first syllable. Cf. also the back-vocalic parallel set **multul-*, **multura-*, which also survive in Buriat.

MMo SH *multul-* H111, *multüre-* H111, HY *mültül-* M76, Muq---. WM *möltöle-* L546b, *möltöre-* L546b. Kh *möltlōx* H321b, *möltrōx* H321b. Ord *möltöl-* M468b. Bur (see above). Kalm *möltlx*, *möltrx* M357b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *mutələ-* X127, *mutäre-* X127. BaoD---. BaoÑ *məntəl-* CN114 ‘to take off, cause to fall off’, *məntərə-* CN114 ‘to come off, to fall off’. Kgj *mante-* S291b. Dgx *muturə-* B111 ‘to wither; to drop, fall off’. Mog---.

***mön** ‘real, true; the same, this very; it is so’.

MMo SH *mun* H111, HY *mün* M76, Muq *mön* P248b. WM *mön* L547a. Kh *mön* H322a. Ord *mön* M469a. Bur *mün* C306a. Brg *muḡ* U148, *mən*. Kalm *mön* M357b. Dag in *mətər* E198 ‘yes, right, that’s it, etc’ from **mön tere*. EYu *mən* B91.

Mgr *namba*: X32 (?*mön baïna), *nambi*: X32 (*mön büi). BaoD *mba* BL54 (?*mön baïna), *mbi* BL55 (*mön büi). BaoÑ *mba* CN120 (?*mön baïna), *mbi* CN120 (*mön büi). Kgj *mba* (?*mön baïna), *mbi* S293a (*mön büi). Dgx *ənbainə* L75 ‘is indeed’ (?*mön baïna). Mog *mun*, *mün* W173a.

***möndür** ‘hail’. The Dag and Brg forms with *-l* are unexpected. The *-əu* in Dgx is exceptional in that it normally appears when an original *-g* is lost, whereas *-r* usually disappears without a trace. Somehow related to **mölsün* ‘ice’? Cf. the Shirongol word **jarma*.

MMo SH---, HY *mündür* M76, Muq *möndür* (?*mündür*) P354b (form given as Turkic, see Poppe). WM *möndör* L547a. Kh *möndör* H323b. Ord *möndör* M469b. Bur *münder* C307a. Brg *məndəl* U145. Kalm *möndr* M357b. Dag *murtul* (small hailstones) E206. EYu *möndür* B94 (small hailstones). MgrH---. MgrM *mendur* P424. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *mandəu* B102; Mog---.

***möngersün** ‘cartilage, gristle’ see ***möersün**

***möngün** (?and ***mengü**) ‘silver’. The *-n* was lost in Muq, and is also lacking in all QG languages. The Shirongol languages all point at **mengü* with *e*. However, the *e* could also be the result of recent unrounding, as it is in Dagur.

MMo SH *munngu(n)* H112, HY *müנגgün* M76, Muq *möngü* P239a [ed. reads thus, but only once (p133) written with *wâw* in the first syllable]. WM *mönggö(n)* L547b. Kh *möngö(n)* H322a. Ord *möngö* ~ *müngü* M469b. Bur *münge(n)* C306b also ‘money’. Brg *mung* U148 ‘&money’. Kalm *möngn* M358a also ‘money’. Dag *mung*^w E205, *məng*^w E197. EYu *möngə* B94, *məngə* J102a. MgrH *məngu* J102b. MgrM *məngu* JL468. BaoD *miaṅgu* BL89a. BaoÑ *mengu* CN115. BaoX *miṅgo* BC62. Kgj *məngu* S292a. Dgx *miengu* B106. Mog---.

***mör** ‘track, trail; path, road’.

MMo SH *mor* H110, HY *mör* M76, Muq *mör* P239b. WM *mör* L548a. Kh *mör* H324a. Bur *mür* C307b. Brg *mur* U149. Kalm *mör* M358b. Dag---. EYu *mör* B94 (also ‘a Chinese mile’), J102a, *mer* J37. MgrH *mo:r* J102b, X122, *mo:r* L330, *mur* L340. MgrM *mor* T345, *mər* DS259b. BaoD *mör* BL90b. BaoÑ *mər* CN118. Kgj *mər* S292b. Dgx *mo* B108, DgxL *mo* B158. Mog *mür* R34a, *mər* W172, *mur* W173, MogM, MogMr *mər* L62:55.

***mören** ‘river’. Several modern forms suggest **müren*, so that the original first vowel can not be reconstructed with certainty.

MMo SH *muren* H112, HY *müren* M76, Muq *mören* (could also be read *müren*) P220a and many other occurrences, usually translated ‘sea’. WM *mören* L548b ‘large river or lake’. Kh *mörön* H326a. Ord *mörön* M471a. Bur *müre(n)* C309a. Brg *murəṅ* U149. Kalm *mörn* (obs) M360b. Dag *mur* E206, cf. *xar mur* E104 ‘Heilongjiang = Amur’ (**kara*). EYu *müren* B96, *mere:n* J101b. MgrH *muro:n* J102b, X127. MgrM *meræn* C383, *muren* T347, cf. *šukò muren* P413b ‘the Huanghe (Yellow River)’. BaoD *moruṅ* BL89a, BL51 ‘river; the Huanghe’. BaoÑ---. Kgj *murə* S293a. Dgx *morān* B109, *moron* L117b. Mog---.

***mörgü-** ‘to touch with one’s forehead; to bow; to pray; to butt; to run into sb’. MMo and the Shirongol languages point at a CM **mürgü-*.

MMo SH *murgu-* H112 ‘to touch the floor with one’s forehead’, *murgu-le-* H112 ‘to butt’, HY *mürgü-* H76 ‘to touch the floor with one’s forehead’, Muq *mörgü-* [can also be read *mürgü-*] P240a. WM *mörgö-* L549a. Kh *mörgöx* H325a. Ord *mörgö-* ~ *murgu-* M470a. Bur *mürgexe* C308a. Brg *murəg-* U149. Kalm *mörgx* M359b. Dag *mury^w-* E206, cf. also *mury^wlə:-* E207 ‘to butt’. EYu *moryə-* B94, *muryə-* J102a. MgrH *murgu-* J102b. MgrM *murgu-* JL475. BaoD *murgə-* BL90a. BaoÑ *mərgə-* CN115, *murgə-* CN120 ‘to run into; to bow’. Kgj *murgu-* 293b. Dgx *muğu-* B110 ‘to touch; to run into; to contradict sb’. Mog---.

***möri** ~ ***mörü** ‘shoulder’. The Muq form in *-i* may be supported by the palatalized *-r^y* in Brg. All other modern forms may be from either **-i* or **-ü*. However, the Ordos form rather suggests **möre*. In most Tungusic languages there is a word *mairə* (SMT) or *mi:rə* (Northern Tungusic) meaning ‘shoulder’. Dagur *mi:r* E199 ‘arm’ is probably borrowed from this Tungusic form. Cf. **dalu* ‘shoulder-blade’.

MMo SH *murū* H112, HY *mürü* M77, Muq *möri* P240a. WM *möri*, *mörö(n)* L549b. Kh *mör(ön)* H324b. Ord *mörö* M471a. Bur *müre* C309a, *mür* C308a. Brg *mur* U149 ‘shoulder’, also *mur^y* U149 ‘back’. Kalm *mörn* R267a ‘armpit, shoulder area’, cf. *mörg^ö* R266a ‘back; harrow’, *mörgn* R266b ‘back of an axe, knife, sword’. Dag *mur* E206. EYu *murə* B96, *murə* J102a. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *murū* S293a ‘back of a knife’. Dgx *morəi* MC269b ‘dorsal skeleton of a chicken’. Mog---.

***möški-** ‘to trace’ see ***möjki-**

***mukur** ‘blunt’. The lit. Kalm form, and EYu-MgrH suggest **mokar* or **mokur*. Cf. the verb **moku-* (not listed); see **mokudag* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *muqur* L553b. Kh *muxar* H334a. Ord *muḡur* M474b. Bur *muxar* C304a. Brg *moxar* U147. Kalm *moxr* M356b, *muḡä-* R268b. Dag *məḡər* NK473a ‘hornless’. EYu *məḡər* B93, *moxḡur* J102b. MgrH *moḡor* X122. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***murui** ~ ***muriu** ‘crooked, slanted’. Cf. Baoanic **mairug* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *murū*: P241b, *murui* P357b, *mura* P241a, RH *murū*: 203C16. WM *murui* L552a. Kh *muruy* H332b, cf. *muriu* H332b. Ord *mur^ui*: M476a. Bur *muruyu* in *haryuu muruyu* C679a. Brg---. Kalm *mur^yu*: R269a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *muri*: J102b, X127. MgrM *muri* JL467, *muḡi* C384. Bao---. Kgj---, but cf. *mərlaḡai* S292b, from the derived verb *mərla-* ~ *murla-* ~ *marlə-* S292b/S19 ‘to become slanted’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***muški-** ‘to twist’. The modern languages go back to a form **muški-*, but most likely to be a secondary development of either **muskī-* or **mujki-* > **mučki-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, IM *mučki-* [thus emended] P442a. WM *muski-*, *muški-* L552b. Kh *muḡix* H335a. Bur *muḡxaxa* C305a. Brg *motig-* U148. Kalm *moḡkx* M356b. Dag *mər^k’-* E203. EYu---. MgrH *muḡgə-* J102b, *muḡgi-* L344. MgrM *məḡkə-* C383, *mər^kə-* DS257b (ḡ ‘phonologised’ as /r/), *morki-*

JL475. BaoD *mušigə*- BL89a. BaoGt *mušgə*- C121. BaoÑ *məsal*- CN117, *məχsal*- CN117. Kgj *mesxe*- ~ *mesge*- ~ *mešxe*- S292a. Dgx *mušigə*- B111. Mog---.

***mürgü**- ‘to bow, etc’ see ***mörgü**-.

- N -

***naa**- ‘this side’ see ***ina**-

***naad**- ‘to play’. A connective vowel has been added in most of the Shirongol forms. The development **d > t* in Bao and Mog forms is inexplicable (cf. **ebed*-, **deled*-).

MMo SH---, HY *na’ad-um* M77, Muq *na:t*- P247a. WM *nayad*-, *nayadu*- L556b. Kh *naadax* H341a. Bur *naadaxa* C315b. Brg *na:d*- U55. Kalm *naadx* M365a. Dag *na:d*- E51. EYu *na:d*- B22, J97a. MgrH *na:də*- J97a. MgrM *nadu*- T347, *na:du*- C371. BaoD *nata*- BL85b. BaoÑ *na:d*- CN23, *na:tə*- CN22, *na:r*- CN23. BaoX *na:tə*- BC62. Kgj *nade*- ~ *na:di*- S281b. Dgx *nadu*- B27. Mog *nətu*- (i.e. *nət*-) W174a ‘to dance’.

***nabčīn** ‘leaf, foliage’. In spite of the different variants and their somewhat erratic distribution, all of these forms have a common origin. The form **nabčīn*, with **n*- and **b*- as attested in the old sources, survives in Kh and one of the Bur forms. Kalm and the other Bur form go back to **namčī*. Initial **n*- has been replaced by *l*- in the QG languages, in Dagur, as well as in some Inner Mongolian dialects not listed here. All QG languages and Dag do stem from a form with **b*- not **m*-. The Bur forms in *-ha(n)* and Brg *naβšv* go back to **nabčī-sun* ~ **namčī-sun* with the (?collective) suffix **-sUn*. The aberrant *-g* and *l*- in the EYu forms are inexplicable. For the MgrM *-g*- cf. **tobčī* ‘button’.

Likely to be related (although this relationship is morphologically obscure): CM **nabaa* ~ **namaa* ‘foliage’ Kh *navč namaa* H348b ‘foliage’. Bur *nabša namaa* C317a ‘foliage’. Brg *nama*: U57 ‘thin end of a twig’. Dag *lawa*: E188 ‘twigs, bunch of leaves’, *larč lawa*: E188 ‘branches and leaves’. Ramstedt’s suggestion that Mog *no:m* R34b is also related to **nabčīn* could be correct.

MMo SH---, HY *nabčīn* M77, Muq *nabčīn* P244a. WM *nabči(n)* L555a. Kh *navč(in)* H343b. Bur *nabša* C317a, *namša* C321b, *nabšaha(n)* C317a, *namšaha(n)* C321b. Brg *naβš*, *naβšv*: U56. Kalm *namč* M368a. Dag *larč* E188. EYu *labčäg* B86, *labjög* J97a. MgrH *labžə* J97a, X110, *labšji* SM218, *lašji* SM222, *laršžə* X112. MgrM *lağci* JL461, *ləğci* DS233b. BaoD *labčün* BL85a. BaoÑ *labčan* CN100. Kgj *lašjə* ~ *lařčə* S290b. Dgx *laçəŋ* B96. Mog (see above).

***nagaču** ‘maternal uncle’. The Dag form with the long final vowel may have originated as a form of address (cf. *aka*: ‘brother’, *əukə*: ‘old man’, *kato*: ‘sister’), but may also be a reborrowing of the Manchu form *nakcu*. The form *nağai* found in MgrH has equivalents in central Mongolic, e.g. Ord *nağä*·, also *nağan awä*: M480a.

MMo SH *naqacu* H112, HY *naqaču* M77, Muq---. WM *nayaču* L556a. Kh *nagac* H344a ‘maternal relative’. Ord *nağači*, *nağača* M480a. Bur *nagasa* C317a ‘(maternal) relatives’. Brg [*nagc* U56]. Kalm *naγc-nr* (pl) M366a ‘maternal relatives’. Dag *naučə*: E52, *nauč* E83:157. EYu *nağaçə* B23, J97a. MgrH *nağa* J97a, *nağai* (?=) X25 (see above). Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***naïman** ‘eight’. Cf. **nayan* ‘eighty’ below, which suggests that this is a root **nai-* + a suffix **-mAn*. perhaps a nasalized variant of the **-bAn* (or **-rbAn*) found in **gurba* ‘three’, **dörben* ‘four’, **harban* ‘ten’.

MMo SH *naiman* H113, HY *naiman* M77, Muq *naiman* P244b. WM *na(y)ima(n)* L559a. Kh *naym(an)* H345b. Bur *nayma(n)* C318b. Brg *naim*, *naimaŋ* U55. Kalm *nämn* M371a. Dag *naim*, *naimən* E52. EYu *naiman* J97a, *nəiman* B24, *neiman* B25. MgrH *naiman* X24, *ni:man* X29. MgrM *naimaŋ* (obs.) DS4a, (Sanchuan) *naiman* P422. BaoD *nəimaŋ* BL84a. BaoŃ *nimaŋ* CN30. Kgj *neimo* S281b. Dgx *nəimaŋ* B27. Mog---.

***nair** ‘harmony; joyous gathering, feast’. See **naira-* below.

MMo SH---, HY *nayir* M77 ‘intention, sentiments’, Muq---. WM *nayir* L559b. Kh *nayr* H346. Bur *nayr* C319a. Kalm *när* M372b. Dag---. EYu *nair* BJ336. MgrH---. MgrM *nir*^y P418a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***naira-** ‘to mix, combine (intr), to be in harmony’.

MMo SH---, HY *naira-qui* M77 ‘justice, decency’, Muq---. WM *nayira-* L559b. Kh *nayrax* H346b. Bur *nayruulxa* (caus.) C319a ‘to compose, etc’. Kalm *närx* M372a. Dag---. EYu *neiru:l-* (caus.) BJ337 ‘to mix (medicine); to explain’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *nəira-* B28 ‘to grip; to be suitable, to fit’. Mog---.

***naita-** ‘to sneeze’. Many languages suggest a pseudo-causative form **naitaa-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *naitaya-*, *naita-* L561a. Kh *naytaax* H347a. Bur *naytaax* C319b. Brg *naita:-* U56. Kalm *näätxx* (sic) M372a. Dag *nait-* E52. EYu *naita:-* B22, *naita-* J97a. MgrH *naita:-* X24, *nai:ta-* J97a. MgrM *naita-* DS251a. BaoD *nəitə-* BL84b. BaoŃ *ni:ta-* CN29. Kgj---. Dgx *naita-* B24. Mog---.

***naĵagāi** ‘lazy’ see ***nasīgāi**

***naĵir** ‘summer’. Note the peculiar distribution of this rare word in Bur, Dag, and MgrM. LC (3:384b) list it as an obsolete word in Khalkha. Cf. the more common CM **jun* ‘summer’.

MMo SH---, HY---, ZY **naĵir* Kara311, Muq---. WM---. Kh---. Bur *nažar* (western and lit.) C317a ‘summer’. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *naĵir* E54 ‘summer’. EYu--. MgrH---. MgrM (Sanchuan) *naĵir* P416a, *nažər* DS254. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***namukan** > ***nomukan** ‘gentle, quiet; calm, tame; honest’. Some metathesis forms in QG. Related to WM *nam* L562b ‘low, calm’ and its many derivatives.

MMo SH---, HY *nomuqan* M79, Muq *nomuqan* P259a, *nomuyan* P259a, *namayan* P245a, *namuyan* P245b. WM *nomoqan* L591a. Kh *nomxon* H362b. Ord *nomoxon* M496b. Bur *nomgon* C330a, *nomxon* C330b. Brg *nomxəŋ* U61, *nomxəxəŋ*

U60. Kalm *nomyn* M381a, *namxn* M368a. Dag *nɔmu:n*, *nɔmu:kun* E62. EYü *nɔmɔǰɔn* B26, BJ337, *nəǰomon* S204. MgrH *nɔǰmu* L400. Bao---. DgX---. Mog---.

***namur** ‘autumn, fall’.

MMo SH *namur* H113, HY *namur* M77, Muq *namur* P245a. WM *namur* L564a. Kh *namar* H349a. Ord *namur* M483a. Bur *namar* C320b. Brg *namar* U57. Kalm *namr* M367b. Dag *namər* E53. EYü *na:mər* B22, J97a. MgrH *namur* L352, *nam(b)ur* C86:570. MgrM *namir* P417b. Bao---. DgX---. Mog---.

***naran** ‘sun’.

MMo SH *naran* H113, HY *naran* M77, Muq *naran* P245b; WM *nara(n)* L565a. Kh *nar(an)* H351a. Bur *nara(n)* C322a. Brg *nar* U57. Kalm *narn* M368b. Dag *nar* E54. EYü *naran* B24, J96b (mistranslated). MgrH *nara* J97a. MgrM *nara* T348, JL462. BaoD *naraŋ* BL85b. BaoGt *närɔŋ* C112. BaoÑ *naraŋ* CN26. Kgj *narɔ* S281b. DgX *naraŋ* B27. Mog *narān*, *nārān* W173a, *narɔn* W173b, *nɔrɔn* W174a.

***narin** ‘thin, fine (not coarse)’. The developments of *i in Baoanic are due to the -ŋ. Cf. the dim. forms with long vowel: Bur *nari(i)xan*, Dag *nari:kən*. Brg *nʸ*- appears to be due to metathesis of the palatal element. Cf. TMEN 380.

MMo SH *narin* H114, HY---, Muq *narin* P246a. WM *narin* L566a. Kh *nariyn* H352a, *narin* H352b. Ord *nari:n* M484a. Bur *narin* C323a. Brg *nʸaraŋ* U83. Kalm *närn* M372b. Dag *narin* E55, *nari:n* E83:158a, *narʸ* (in some combinations) E56. EYü *narən* B24, J97b. MgrH *narən* J97b. BaoD *naruy* BL85b. BaoGt *nari* C112. BaoÑ *na:raŋ* CN23. Kgj *narɔ* S281b. DgX *naruy* B27. Mog *no:rin* R34b, *nɔrin* W174a.

***nasigai** ‘slow, lazy’. With a variety of phonetical shapes which nevertheless appear related. The form **nasigai* is reflected by MMo, but Kh and Bur go back to **naǰagai* (? < **naǰigai*). Kalm suggests **nasün* with a different ending. Yet another ending is present in EYü *naja:n*, which is reminiscent of Northeastern Turkic **yašaŋ* and **yašik* ‘lazy’ (e.g. Khakas *čazaŋ*), of unclear origin and structure. Cf. the synonyms **jalkai* and **kašaŋ*.

MMo LV *našqai* P71, LI *našqa* L56, RH *našqai* 204B27 ‘slow, lazy (horse)’. WM *naǰayai* L567a, precl. *našiyai* T478, *načiyai* T475. Kh *nazgay* H344b, cf. also *naazgay*, *naadgay* H341a. Ord---. Bur *nazgay* C317b. Kalm *nošu:(n)* R279b. Dag---. EYü *naja:n* B24 ‘slow moving’. Remaining lgs---.

***nasun** ‘(year of) age’. The loss of -n in Bao is unusual. Ramstedt (I:75,110) compares this word (according to him < **nalsun*) to CT **ya:š* ‘id’. This correspondence will remain problematic until a form with -l- is actually attested in a Mongolic language. Cf. **hon* ‘(the duration of a) year’, **jil* ‘(calendar) year’.

MMo SH *nasu-tu* H114 ‘... years old’, HY---, Muq *nasun* P246b. WM *nasu(n)* L566b. Kh *nas(an)* H353a. Bur *naha(n)* C324b. Brg *naxa:* U56. Kalm *nasn* M369b. Dag *nas* E53. EYü *nasən* B23, J97a. MgrH *nasə* J97a. BaoD *nasə* BL85b. BaoÑ *nasə* (sic) CN26. Kgj *nasun* S281b. DgX *nasuy* B26. Mog---.

***nau-** (?*no-) ‘to aim, to hit (a target)’. In Monguoric also ‘to see’. The form with the diphthong is suggested by Shirongol, and compatible with the long vowel of EYu and Dag. The central forms with initial vowel are puzzling and may have a different origin. Cf. also MMo SH *ono-* H125 ‘to count’, HY *ono-* M81 ‘to think over’, Muq *ona-* P266a ‘to understand, etc’.

MMo (see above), Ph *no'oqra-* (for *no'oqda-*) P127b ‘to come under (the influence of)’. WM *ono-* L615b, *no-* L587a. Kh *onox* H394b, *nox* H364a. Ord *ono-* M512b, also *onog-* (?=) M513a, *anuğ-* (?=) M24b ‘to take aim’. Bur *onoxo* C357b. Brg *ɔgɔn-* (?=) U32, *ɔnɔxɔ* S529. Kalm *onǒχ^p* R286b. Dag *nɔ:-* E61. EYu *nu:-* B27, J95a. MgrH *nau:-* J95a, *nau-* X24. MgrM *nau-* JL470. BaoD *noyǎ-* (caus?), *nu-* BL83a. BaoGt *nī-* C107. Kgj *nu-* ~ *nu-* S282a. Dgx *nau-* B25, *noya-* (caus.) L111a. Mog---.

***nauka** ‘rheum, mucus discharged by the eye’. The Dag form is unexpected since **n-* > *l-* is usually triggered by a following nasal. The *n^y*- in Brg suggests a form **nīuka*. Kh and Kalm *nuux* could have derived from either **nauka* or **nīuka*. It seems impossible to connect the synonymous Bur *nyaagaha(n)* C346b; this could be a derivation from **nīa-* ‘to be sticky’ below.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *luuqa* L518a. Kh *luux* H292b ‘rheum discharged by the eyes’, *nuux* H372a ‘pus from the eyes’. Ord *nu:χa* M500b, *lu:χa* (rare) M447b. Bur---. Brg *n^yo:x* U63. Kalm *nuux* M387b, *lox* M336b. Dag *lauy^w* E185, hence (**lauw* >) *lau* Z26. EYu---. MgrH *nau:xa* J102a. MgrM *nauxa* JL476. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***naur** ‘lake, pond’. Some of the modern languages seem to go back to a form **no:r* (cf. **haur*, **auški*). The diphthong has been retained in Dag only. The final vowel heard in MgrH by Junast must be a secondary development, perhaps due to an assumed relation with MgrH *norǎ-* ‘to be wet’, for which see **nor-* listed below.

MMo SH *na'ur* H114, HY *na'ur* M77, Muq---. WM *nayur*, *nuur*. Kh *nuur* H371b. Bur *nuur* C333b. Brg *nɔ:r* U61. Kalm *nur* M386a ‘lake’. Dag *naur* E52. EYu *nu:r* B27, J97a. MgrH *no:r* X33, *nɔ:r* SM290, *norǎ* J97a. MgrM *nor* Z311:39. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *no* B31, *nɔər* MC296b. Mog---.

***nayan** ‘eighty’. In Bao and Kgj replaced by a new formation **nāiman harban* ‘eight tens’, e.g. BaoD *nāimaray* BL85a. Cf. **nāiman* ‘eight’, which suggests that **nayan* is from a root **nāi-* + a decad suffix *-An*, cf. **jīran* ‘sixty’, **dalan* ‘seventy’, **yeren* ‘ninety’.

MMo SH *nayan* H114, *naiyan* H113, HY *nayan* M77, Muq *nayan* P246b. WM *naya(n)* L561a. Kh *naya(n)* H354a. Bur *naya(n)* C325b. Brg *nay*, *nayan* U57. Kalm *nayn* M366b. Dag *nay* E54. EYu *nayan* B24, J97b, *neyan* B25. MgrH *nayan* J97a. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nee-** ‘to open’. The SH forms with *-g-* and *-k-* may be mistranscriptions from the spelling in Uigur script.

MMo SH *ne'e-*, *nege-*, *neke-* H114, HY *ni'e-* M78, *ne'e'ülge-* (caus.) M77, Muq *ne'e-* P247b, *ne:-* P175b. WM *nege-* L568b. Kh *neex* H382a. Bur *neexe* C342a.

Brg *nə*:- U58. Kalm *neex* M374a. Dag *nə*:- E56. EYu *ni*:- B26, J97b. MgrH *ne*:- J97b. BaoD *nəi*- BL85b, *ne*- BL71. BaoÑ *ne*:- CN28. BaoX *ñe*- CN86:239. Kgj *ne*- S281b. Dgx *nie*- B29. Mog---.

***negji-** see ***neŋji-**.

***neile-** ‘to gather, unite, join; to mix’. The *l*- in Baoanic is due to assimilation. The *ü*: in EYu is abnormal. Derived from **nei* ‘agreement, etc’, attested in the central languages.

MMo SH *neyile*- H116, HY---, Muq *neile*- P247b. WM *neyile*- L570b. Kh *niylex* H357a. Bur *niilexe* C327a. Kalm *niilx* M377b. Dag---. EYu *nü:le*- (?=) B28 ‘to mix, blend’. MgrH *ne:lə*- X27. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoJ *lel*- L106. BaoÑ *le:lə*- CN102 ‘to mix, blend, etc’. Kgj *lele*- S290b. Dgx *lailie*- B95 ‘to mix, mingle (intr)’. Mog---.

***neke-** ‘to weave’. The irregular Dgx form with *-o-* is reminiscent of **nöke-* ‘to patch’, q.v. But for ‘to patch’ **hüde-* is used in Dgx.

MMo SH *neke*- H114, HY---, Muq *neke*- P248a. WM *neke*- L572a. Kh *nexex* H381b. Bur *nexexe* C341b. Brg *nəx*- U58. Kalm *nekx* M374b. Dag *nə:γ*- Z95b, *nəγə*- NK483b. EYu *neke*- B25, J97b. MgrH *nəkə*- J97b. MgrM (Sanchuan) *nike*- P420b. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *nokie*- B31. Mog *nekə*- W173b.

***nekei** ‘(garment made of) sheepskin’.

MMo SH *nekei* H114, *nekei de’el* H114, HY *nekei de’el* M78 ‘fur-lined jacket’, Muq *nekei de:l* P248a. WM *nekei* L572b. Kh *nexiy* H381a. Bur *nexi*, *nexey* C341a. Kalm *nekä* M374a ‘untanned sheepskin’. Dag---. EYu *nəkə*: B24. MgrH *nəki*: X31. MgrM *nekei* T350, *nəkai* JL462 ‘fur coat’. Bao---. Kgj *neke* S281b. Dgx *nəki* B28 ‘fur-lined jacket’. Mog W---.

***nekelei** ‘illegitimate child’.

MMo SH---, HY *nekelei* (name) M78, Muq---. WM *nekelei* L572b. Kh *negliy* H378a, *nexliy* H381a. Bur---. Kalm *neklä* (obs) M374b. Dag *nəγəl* E58. EYu---. MgrH *nikili*: SM276, *nəkəli*: L387. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***neken** ‘one’ see ***niken**.

***nembe-** ~ ***nemle-** ‘to cover (with a blanket, etc)’. In spite of the large number of forms there seem to be some recognizable patterns. The form **nembe-* can be found in MMo, Dag, and the Shironjol languages, whereas **nemle-* is represented in the central languages and EYu.

MMo SH *nembe’e* H114 ‘cover’, HY *nembe-* M78, Muq---. WM *nemne*- L574b. Kh *nemnex* H378b. Bur *nemnexe* C338a. Kalm *nemnəχə* R275a. Dag *nəmb*- E58 ‘to cover (with a blanket &c)’. EYu *nelme*- B25, *nemle*- S515, *nembele*- J59 all ‘to drape over one’s shoulders’. MgrH *nemba*- X29, *nimba*- X31. MgrM *lianbie*- DS259. BaoD---. BaoÑ *menbə*- CN113, *nenbə*- CN28. Kgj *nambe*- S281b. Dgx *nienbə*- B30. Mog W---.

***nembee** ~ ***nemlee**, ***nembesün** ~ ***nemlesün**, etc ‘cover; blanket’. One of the spellings in Muq could represent *nemle*: (from **nemlee*). From **nembe-* ‘to cover’ above.

MMo SH *nembe’e* H114 ‘cover’, *nembule* H114 ‘hut’, Muq *nemele* [spelled *nmylh*] P238b, [spelled *nymhl*] P239a ‘horse-blanket’. Kh *nemnee* H378b ‘horse-cloth, etc’. Bur *nemnee* C338a ‘horse-cloth, etc’. Kalm *nemne* M375a. Dag *nambə*: E58, *lambə*: E188 ‘grass for covering a house’, *nambəs* E58 ‘quilt’. EYu *nelmesən* B25 ‘cape, cloak’, *nemne:l* (sic) S505 ‘horse-blanket’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***neme-** ‘to add’.

MMo SH *neme-* H115, HY *neme-* M78, Muq---. WM *neme-* L573b. Kh *nemex* H379a. Bur *nemexe* C338b. Brg *nəm-* U59. Kalm *nemx* M375a. Dag *nəmə*- B58. EYu *neme-* B25, J97b. MgrH *nəme:-* J97b. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *neme-* S281b. Dgx *nimə-* B30. Mog---.

***neŋji-** ~ ***negji-** ‘to search’. The form **neŋji-* is found in MMo and the Shirongol languages, **negji-* occurs in the central languages and EYu. The distribution of the **g* and **ŋ* variants differs from that of **gagča* ~ **gaŋča* ‘alone’. Dag *nərd-* E59 ‘to search’ may in some way be related (if from a form like **negdü-*). Perhaps also to be compared to MMo SH *nende-* H115 ‘unversehens fangen, etc’.

MMo SH *nengji-* H115, HY *nengji-* M78, Muq---. WM *nengji-* L575a. Kh *negjix* H337b. Ord *neŋji-* M491a, *negji-* M488b. Bur *negžexe* C336b. Brg *nəgj-* U59. Kalm *negj-dlx* M373a. Dag--- (see above). EYu *negjə-* B25. MgrH *nenži-* L372 ‘to collect, look for, hunt for’, *nemži-* (sic) S503. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *nenži-* CN28. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *nanži-* S503. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nere** ‘name’. Kalm added an *-n*.

MMo SH *nere* H115, HY *nere* M78, Muq *nere* P248a. WM *nere* L575b. Kh *ner* H379b. Bur *nere* C339b. Brg *nər* U59. Kalm *nern* M376a. Dag *nər* E58. EYu *nere* B25, J97b. MgrH *nəre* J97b. MgrM *nierə* DS238a. BaoD *narə* BL85b. BaoÑ *nerə* CN29. Kgj *nere* S281b. Dgx *nierə* L113a. Mog *nerə* W173b.

***nere-** ‘to press down, to fit into, to put sth on sth’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *nere-* L576a. Kh *nerex* H381a ‘to refine, distill; to fill a pipe’. Bur *nerexe* C341b. Kalm *nerx* M376b. Dag *nər-* E59 ‘to wear, carry; to install’. EYu *nəre-* (?only) S669. MgrH *nərz-* X33 ‘to distill; to find a place for; to install’. MgrM---. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *nalər-* (sic) S669. Kgj *nira-* ~ *nire-* S282a. Dgx *naira-* (?=) MC279b. Mog *nirə-* R34b.

***neü-** ‘to move, nomadize’. For MgrH cf. **yeü-*.

MMo SH *ne’u-* H116, *nou’u-* H119, HY *ne’ü-* M78, Muq *nü:-* P262b, *nü’ülge-* (caus.) P262b. WM *negü-* L569a. Kh *nüüx* H375a. Bur *nüüxe* C335b. Brg *nu:-* U61. Kalm *nüüx* M390b. Dag *nəu-* E56. EYu *nü:-* B28, J97b. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *nöu-* R35a, *nəu-* W174a.

***neüresün** ‘charcoal’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq nü:resün P262b, RH nü:resün 202B1. WM negüresü(n) L569b. Kh nüürs(en) H374b. Ord nü:res(u) M504a. Bur nüürhe(n) C334b. Bur nu:ru: U61. Kalm nüürsn M390a. Dag---. EYu---.Mgr---. BaoGt nər̥sī C106. BaoJ nər̥s̥ L129. Kgj nursun S282b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nīa-** ‘to be sticky; to stick, paste, glue’. The element *ī was preserved in all corners of Mongolic: Bur, Dag, Dgx, Mog (also Khamnigan *nie-* J30). It was lost (assimilated) in Kh-Kalm and EYu. Both Monguoric and Baoanic have forms with *-ia-* and assimilated forms.

MMo SH *nī'a-* H116, HY---, Muq *nī'a-* P249b, *niya-* P258b, (reciprocal) *na'a-ldu-* (reciprocal) P244a. WM *naya-* L556a, *niya-* L578b. Kh *naax* H342a. Bur *nyaaxa* C347a. Brg *n'a:-* U62. Kalm *naax* M365b. Dag *n'a:-* NK489. EYu *na:-* B22. MgrH *nia:-* SM269, *na:-* X23. MgrM *nia-* JL465. BaoD---. BaoÑ *na:-* CN22 ‘to infect, be contagious’. Kgj *niğa-* ~ *niğa-* (caus.?) S282a. Dgx *nia-* B28. Mog *nio:-ldu-* (reciprocal) R34b.

***nīdanī hon** ‘last year’. Several MMo and modern forms suggest a form **nīdonī*, but the *o* in the second syllable may also stem from **hon*. All of Shirongol supports the form with *-a-*. The EYu, Mgr, and Dgx forms appear to go back a form with initial vowel. The Baoan forms may also stem from a form with initial vowel, because *n-* can develop secondarily there (as in BaoD *nda-* ‘to eat’ < **ide-*). Perhaps all QG forms go back to a form **udani hon*. Interestingly Ordos also features a form without *n-*. The *-r-* and *-dʷ-* in the MgrM form are unclear, and it is somewhat reminiscent of **urji hon* ‘the year before last’, q.v. The origin of the similar-looking Kgj *ninda* S27 ‘next year’ is unclear.

MMo SH *nīdoni* H116, HY *nīdoni (hon)* [ed. reads *nīdōni*] M78, Muq---, RH *nīdani hon* 201A4. WM *nīdonon* L578a. Kh *nodnin*, *nodlin* H360b. Chakhar *nīdnāṅ* D189a. Ord *idonon* M379a, *nīdonon* M492a. Bur *nyodondo(n)*, dial. *nyodonon* C326a. Brg *nōdnūṅ* U61 (?←Kh). Kalm *nīdn* M377a. Dag *nīda:nʷ* E60. EYu *ōdōnōn* B13, *odonon* J97b. MgrH *ṣdanonṅ* J97b. MgrM *ordʷani xvaṅ* (?=) C388, *wudani xvaṅ* DS261b. BaoD *ndanā hoṅ* BL85b. BaoÑ *nda:nonṅ* CN34. Kgj *udanun* ~ *danun* S280b. Dgx *udani xoṅ* B22. Mog *nīdōni*, *nīdō* W173b.

***nīdurga** ‘fist’. The form with *ī only left traces in the Northeast; breaking had already taken place in MMo. Related to CT **yīdruk* ‘id’.

MMo SH *nodurqa*, HY *nudurqa* M80, Muq *nudurqa* P261a. WM *nīdurya* L578a. Kh *nudraga(n)* H368b. Bur *nyudarga* C342a. Brg *nʷodrag* U64. Kalm *nudrm* M385b, cf. *nudryā* R280b ‘clenched fist’. Dag *nʷodrūṅ* E64. EYu *nudurğa* B27, J97b. MgrH *nurdağa* J97b, *nudurğa* X36, *ndağa* L364, *andağa* L17. BaoD *nudəraḡ* BL85a, *nodəroḡ* BL60. BaoÑ *nədgā* CN28. Kgj *nuduğa* ~ *nuduğa* S282a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nīgursun** ‘spinal marrow’ see ***nugursun**.

***nīku-** ‘to rub, press, knead’. The Dag form without a trace of *ī is unexpected.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *nuqu-* P316b. WM *niqu-* L586b, *nuqu-* L597a.

Kh *nuxax* H372a. Ord *nuxu-* M500b. Bur *nyuxax* C346a. Brg *n^yox-* U63. Kalm *nuxx* M388a. Dag *nɔɣ^w*- E62. EYu---. MgrH *nuḡo-* X35. MgrM *nuḡu-* DS232b. BaoD *nuɣə-* BL85a. BaoÑ *nəḡə-* CN32. Kgj *nuḡe-* S282b. Dgx *nuqu-* MC300a ‘to hit with force’. Mog *nuqu-* R35a ‘to crush’.

***nīlbusun** ‘tears’. Note the great variety of forms within Dgx. Also in the other peripheral languages this word has developed many surprising forms. Some seem to stem from an earlier development **nīmbusun*, others from **nīmusun* < **nīlbusun*. In the central languages, Kh and Kalm seem to indicate an earlier **nūlīmusun*. The development **u > o* in Bur occurs occasionally in the vicinity of labial consonants. Cf. also the (less widespread) verb **nīlbu-* ‘to spit’: Dag *ñɔmb-* E65. MgrH *numpə-* X36. MgrM *linbi-* DS251b. BaoD *numəl-* BL85b. Dgx *nuḡu-* B32.

MMo SH *nilbusu(n)* H117 ‘tears’, HY *nilbusun* M79 ‘salive; larme’, Muq *nilbusun* P253b. WM *nilbusu(n)*, *nīlbusu(n)* L583a. Kh *nulims(an)*, *nulmas* H369a ‘tear; mucus; spittle’, *nyalmas* (sic) H383a. Ord *nulmusu* M501a. Bur *nyolboho(n)* C326a ‘tears; saliva’. Brg *n^yolbu-* U63 ‘tear’. Kalm *nul’msn* M387b ‘tears; saliva’. Dag *ñɔmbus* E65 ‘tear; saliva’. EYu *nulusun* B27 ‘tears’, *nuləsən* J97b ‘tears’. MgrH *nəmbuzə* J97b ‘tears’, *nəmpəsə* X33 ‘tears; saliva’. MgrM *nīnpuzi* JL477, *liṇpuzi* JL470. BaoD *namsuṇ* BL85a ‘tears’, *namusuṇ* BL90a ‘saliva’. BaoÑ *nimsəṇ* CN30 ‘tear; saliva’. Kgj *nursun* S282b. Dgx *nuḡusuṇ* B32, *niḡusuṇ* B30 ‘tear; saliva’, *nubusuṇ* L113b ‘tear’, *niubusuṇ* L118b ‘saliva’, *numbusun* T131 ‘saliva’, *niyusun* L130 ‘tear’. Mog *nilbusun* R34b.

***nīlka** ‘the youngest (child of a family), baby’. The Monguoric forms may be the result of confusion between **nīlka* and **nīrai*. The *m-* in EYu may be due to influence of EYu *mula ~ məla* ‘child’. Possibly in some way related to CT **ya:š* ‘young’, but CM **jalau* ‘young’ is a more likely cognate of this CT word.

MMo SH *nilqa* H117, HY---, Muq *nilqa* P253b. WM *nilqa* L584b. Kh *nyalx* H383a. Ord *niłxa* M493a. Bur *nyalxa* C347b, *niłxa* C328a. Kalm *niłx* M378a. Dag *ñalk* E64. EYu *mulqa* [məla] B96, *mulḡa* [mula] J58. MgrH *nargai* X27 ‘young and tender’. MgrM *n’argai* C371 ‘tender, delicate’, MgrM *niergai* DS255a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nīrai** ‘newly-born’. Contrary to expectation, Bur lost the palatalisation in the first syllable. For MgrH *nargai*, MgrM *niergai* see **nīlka* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *nirai* L585a. Kh *nyaray* H384a. Bur *naray* C322a ‘child; newly-born (dom. animals)’. Brg *n^yarai* U62 ‘baby’. Kalm *nira;*, *nire:* R277a. Dag *ñer^ye:* E65. MgrH (see above).

***nīruun** ‘back’. The Bur and Kalm forms with *-g-* suggest a variant **nīrugun*, unless these forms are simply due to WM influence (cf. **eriün* ‘chin’, **kuruun* ‘finger’ for similar cases). Note the shortening of the contraction length in Mgr. For MMo HY *nirisun* see **nīgursun*.

MMo SH *niru’u(n)* H117 ‘back, backbone’, *niri’u(n)* H117 ‘id, mountain ridge’, HY (*ger-ün*) *niri’un* M56 ‘roof beam’, Muq *niru:n* P257a, RH *niryun* 199A7. WM *niruyu(n)* L585a. Kh *nuruu(n)* H370b. Ord *nuruu* M502a. Bur *nyurga(n)* C343b, cf. also *nyuruu* C344a ‘surface; crest’. Brg *n^yorv-* U64 ‘back; purlin’. Kalm

nuryn M386b. Dag *nirɔː* E61, *ñirɔː* E65 ‘back; purlin’. EYu *nuruːn* B27, J97b. MgrH *nurə* J97a ‘back, waist’. MgrM *nuru* C376. Bao---. BaoÑ *nəreŋ* CN86:35 ‘slope’. Kgj *nuru* S282a. Dgx *nuruŋ* B33. Mog---.

***nīs-/nis-** ‘to fly’. This word occurs in a number of strange variants, which are nevertheless all related. In most of the QG forms and in Mog the connective vowel has become part of the stem. The form **nīs-* is found in MMo, Kh-Kalm, Mog, and MgrH, although the back vowel is only hinted at by the caus. form in Muq and the enigmatic first syllable in EYu. In the central languages it changed harmonic class > **nis-*. In Bur the vowel was lengthened which is a rare phenomenon; in fact Khamnigan *neid-* suggests an early alternant **neid-*, which may also underlie the Bur form. In EYu one finds an inexplicable disyllabic form, as if from **hunīs-* or the like. The forms in Mangghuer and Baoanic suggest the existence of an early regional form **mis-*.

MMo SH *nis-(gu)* H117, HY *nis-* M79; Muq *nis-* P257b, caus. *nisqa-*. WM *nis-* L585b (and *nes-*?). Kh *nisex* H359a. Ord *nis-* ~ *nés-* M494b. Bur *niidex* C326b. Brg *nid-* U58. Kalm *nis-* M379b, *nis-* R277. Dag---. EYu *hənəs-* B57, *hunəs-* J97a. MgrH *nesə-* H29, J97a. MgrM *mese-* (?to be read *məsə-*) T350, *musi-* DS224a. BaoD *musi-* BL85b, *məs-* BL12. BaoÑ *məḡ-* CN114, *mər-* CN86-76. Kgj *məsi-* S292a. Dgx *misī-* B108, *musi-* B111, L113a. Mog *nisa-*, *nisi-* R34b.

***nīsun** ‘snot, nasal mucus’. Perhaps related to **nii-* ‘to blow one’s nose’ (listed below), if this stems from earlier **nii-*. Cf. also **nisukai* ‘runny-nosed (person)’, which developed differently in Bur *nyoxay* C326a (cf. Kh *nusgay/nusxay* H371a, Ord *nusu(ŋ)ḡä*: M502b. Kalm *nusxa* M387a, Dag *ñɔskui* E65).

MMo SH *nisun* H117, HY *nisun* M79, Muq---. WM *nisu(n)* L586a. Kh *nus(an)* H371a. Ord *nusu* M502b. Bur *nyuha(n)* C346b. Brg *nʷuxv*: U63. Kalm *nusn* M386b. Dag *ñɔs* E65. MgrH *nuːsoŋ* SM291. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nīu-** ‘to hide’. The *-k-* in Mog is puzzling. The assimilation of the **i* in Dag is unexpected.

MMo SH *niʼu-* H117, HY---, Muq *niʼu-* P257b, *nu:-* P262a, *niyu-* P258a, *nuyu-* P261b. WM *niyu-* L579a. Kh *nuux* H372a. Bur *nyuuxa* C346a. Brg *nʷo:-* U63, *nʷo:-* S517. Kalm *nuux* M387b. Dag *nɔ:-* E61. EYu *nu:-* B27, J97b. MgrH *niu:-* J97b. MgrM *niu-* T351. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *nu-* S517. BaoÑ *nu:-* CN34. Kgj---. Dgx *niu-* B30. Mog *niku-* W173b.

***nīun** ‘boy’. Only preserved in the central languages and Dag, unless the MgrM is really related (DS derive it from Ch *nán* ‘man, male’). The Kh and Bur forms with *-g-* are reading pronunciations of the WM form. Cf. **köbeün* ‘son’.

MMo SH *noʼun* H119, HY *nuʼun* M81, Muq---. WM *niyun* L580a, *nuyun* L595a. Kh *nugan* H368a, *nuguun* H368b. Bur *nugan* C333a (lit, obs). Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *nɔːn* E61, *ñɔːn* E65 ‘boy, man’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *noŋ koŋ* DS235b, *nun qun* (sic, ?=) P419b ‘man’ (for the second element cf. **küün* ‘person’). Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***niür** ‘face’. The Bur and Brg forms go back to **niür*, which is the original form if the WM spelling is historically correct. In Kh, Kalm, EYu, and apparently in Mog, this word goes back to a form **niür*. The harmonic class of the MMo forms can not be determined. The Mgr, Bao, and Dgx forms do not hold any clues as to their former harmonic class.

MMo SH *ni’ur* H117, HY *ni’ur* M79 ‘face’, Muq *ni’ur* P258a, *nu:r(tu)* P251a, RH *niyur* (sic) 198B21. WM *niyur* L580a. Kh *nüür(en)* H374a. Ord *nu:r* M504a, *niġu:r* (in songs, ←WM) M492b. Bur *nyuur* C345a. Brg *n^yo:r* U63. Kalm *nür* M389b. Dag [*n^yadām*]. EYu *nü:r* B28, J97b. MgrH *niu:r* J97b. MgrM *nur* JL470, *niur* T351. BaoD *nur* BL85a. BaoÑ *nər* CN29. Kgj *nur* ~ *nər* S282b. Dgx *nu* B32 ‘id’. Mog *nu:r* R35a, *nur* W174a.

***ničügün** ‘naked, bare’. The Monguoric forms apparently stems from the adverb **ničügüer*. The Dag and Kgj forms have altered the final part, without obvious morphological motivation. Some of the Dag forms are also surprising in that breaking of **i* by following **ü* is rare. The Dgx *m-* instead of **n-* is inexplicable.

MMo SH *nicugun*, *nicuhun* H116, HY---, Muq *ničügün* P221b, *nüčügen*, *nüčügün* P262a. WM *ničügün* L577b. Kh *nücgēn* H375b. Ord *nučugun* M504b. Bur *nyusegen* C344b. Brg *nusgəŋ* U62. Kalm *nücn* M391a. Dag *niškwə*: E60, *nuškui* Z95a, *n^yušik^ye*: NK489b, *nušik^ye*: S521. EYu---. MgrH *nəčigo:r* J97a, X33, *nigučo:r* L387. MgrM *nočigər* DS238a. BaoD *nəšigan* BL85a. BaoGt *nəšgəŋ* C103. BaoÑ *nišgəŋ* CN31. Kgj *nišiliu* ~ *nišliu* ~ *niušile* S282a. Dgx *mučuġuŋ* B111. Mog---.

***nidü-** ‘to pound, crush’. Surprisingly, Dag *nid-* seems to be more archaic than SH. A palatal element also survives in Bur. The meaning in BaoÑ may have become more general due to the influence of *nədgə* ‘fist’, for which see **nidurga*.

MMo *nodu-* H118, HY---, Muq---. WM *nidü-* L578a [Inner Mongolian spelling *nüdü-*]. Kh *nüdex* H373b. Bur *nyüdexe* [written *nyuden*] C343a. Brg *n^yudəx* S521. Kalm *nüdx* M389a. Dag *nid-* E60. EYu *nodu-* B26, *nudu-* J97b, *nudə-* J88. MgrH *nədə-* J97b. MgrM *nedu-* JL470. BaoD *nədə-* BL85a. BaoÑ *nədə-* CN28 ‘to hit, strike’. Kgj *nude-* ~ *nudu-* S282b. Dgx *nudu-* B32 ‘to crush (garlic); to build (a wall)’. Mog---.

***nidün** ‘eye’. May contain the (?collective) suffix **-dUn*, so that the PM root may have been **ni-*.

MMo SH *nidun* H116, HY *nidün* M78, Muq *nidün* P249b. WM *nidü(n)* L578a. Kh *nüd(en)* H372b. Bur *nyüden* [written *nyuden*] C342b. Brg *n^yud* U64. Kalm *nüdn* M388b. Dag *nid* E60. EYu *nudun* B27, *nudun* J97a, *nödön* (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *nudu* J97a. MgrM *nudu* C373, T353. BaoD *nəduŋ* BL85b. BaoÑ *nəduŋ* CN33. Kgj *nudu* S282b. Dgx *nuduŋ* B32, *nunđu*, *nunđuŋ* MC300a. Mog *nudun* R35a, *nudun* W174a.

***niü-** ‘to blow one’s nose’. Perhaps from **niü-*, if related to **nisun* ‘snot’ above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *nigi-* L582b. Kh *niyx* H358a. Bur *niixe* C327b. Kalm *niix* M378a. Dag *ñi:-* E65. Remaining lgs---.

***niĵiel** ‘one each’. Also **niĵied*, with the usual distributive ending *-Ad*, which appears to be the plural counterpart of *-Al* (see Poppe 1955:108). The morphology is unclear, but the root should be the same as that in **niken* ‘one’. EYu at first sight looks like a metathesis of the WM-influenced central Mongolic form **neĵeye:d*, but it is more likely that an earlier *neĵe:d* was changed in analogy with *neye* < **niken* ‘one’. Mongghul may go back to **niĵied*, as the *-r* is also found in Mongghul varieties that do not usually have the development *-r* < **-l*. Dgx *niezən* stems from **niĵiel*. Dgx *nieĵia* B30 ‘one each’ may contain an unknown second element from Chinese (if from **niĵiel* it should have had *-z-* rather than *-ĵ-*).

MMo SH *niji’el* H117 ‘handful’, HY *nijeget* (sic) M79, Muq *nije:t* [spelled *nyjt*] P197a. WM *nijeged* L587a. Kh *nij(g)eed* H355a, *nej(g)eed* H378a. Ord---. Bur *neĵeed* C338a. Kalm *nejād* M374a, also *nejāyād* M374a. Dag *nijā:l* E61. EYu *neĵeye:d* BJ90:204. MgrH *nāĵe:r* X33 ‘some, a number of; very few, one or two’, *ni:ĵe:r* C88:571 ‘one or two’, also *nāĵu:du* X33 ‘on some days; sometimes’ (**niĵiel üdür*). MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *nizan* B31 ‘some’, *niezən* MC293a ‘very few, one or two’, also *niezən udu* ~ *ni’zəudu* MC293a ‘(in) one or two days, in the next couple of days’ (**niĵiel üdür*). Mog---.

***niken** ~ ***neken** ~ ***negen** ~ ***nige** ‘one’. In all of Shirongol except Dongxiang also used as a suffixed or postclitic indefinite/singular marker (article), usually in a reduced shape, such as Mgr, BaoÑ *-ŋgə*.

The modern forms favour different reconstructions. The central languages go back to **nege(n)*. The QG languages suggest a form **nige* (with loss of *-n* in all languages, unlike the other numerals), although it survives in some derived forms such as MgrH *nigəndu* L385, Dgx *niendə* B30 ‘all of a sudden’. Mog suggests **niken*. At first sight Dagur stems from **neken*, but the development of **-k-* and **-g-* in Dagur is rather erratic. Kgj *niχɔ* probably stems from an extended (diminutive) form **nige-ken*, cf. Dgx *niegəŋ* B30 ‘only one’. The loss of the velar in Dgx *nie* is unusual, although loss of **k* can be seen in some suffixes.

MMo SH *nike(n)* H117, *nikan* H117, HY *niken* M79, Muq *niken* (or *nigen*?) P251a. WM *nige(n)* L580b. Kh *neg(en)* H376b. Bur *nege* C336b, *negen* C337b. Brg *nəg*, *nəgəŋ* U58. Kalm *negn* M373b. Dag *nək*, *nəkən* E57. EYu *neye* B25, *niye* J97b. MgrH *nəge* J97b. MgrM *nigi* JL479, *nigə* DS4. BaoD *nəgə* BL85a. BaoÑ *nəgə* CN27. Kgj *niye* S282a, *niχɔ* S282a. Dgx *nie* B29. Mog *nika*, *nikə*, *nikən* W173b.

***nimgen** ‘thin, flimsy, fine’.

MMo SH---, HY *nimgen* M79, Muq *nimgen* P257a. WM *nimgen*, *nimegen* L584b. Kh *nimgen* H358b, *ningen* H359a. Bur *nimgen* C328a. Brg *nimgəŋ* S508, *nimi:xəŋ* U59. Kalm *nimgn* M378b. Dag *nimgə:n* E59. EYu *neŋg^wen* B25, *neŋgön* S508, *nemgen* J97b. MgrH *nəŋgen* J97b, *nengen* X28, but also *meŋgən* X121. MgrM *meŋgen* JL475, *meŋgen* T42. BaoD *nimgəŋ* BL85b. BaoÑ *nimgəŋ* CN29. BaoX *nimgəŋ* BC65. Kgj *nimgɔ* S282a. Dgx *nɪŋkien* B30. MogM *nimgv̄*: L64:43.

***noasun** ‘wool’ see ***nogasun**

***nogaan** ‘green’.

MMo SH *noqo'an* H118 ‘green, fresh grass’, HY *noqo'an* M79, Muq [*nob*] *noya:n* P259a. WM *noyoyan* L588b. Kh *nogoon* H360a. Ord *noḡo:n* M495a. Bur *nogoo(n)* C328b. Brg *nəḡɔ:n* U60. Kalm *noyan* M380a. Dag *nuwa*: E63 ‘vegetables’. EYu *nəḡɔ:n* B26, *noḡo:n* J97a. MgrH *noḡo:n* J97a. MgrM *noḡoʷaŋ* C372, *noḡoŋ* T352. BaoD *noḡoŋ* BL85a. BaoÑ *noḡuŋ* CN32. Kgj *nuḡun* S282a. Dgx *noḡoŋ* B31. Mog---.

***nogasun, *noasun, *uṅgasun** ‘wool’. These three forms have different distributions. Most languages only have one of the three, but there is some overlap. The different forms are problematic, but it is still likely that all of them are related. In this case it is impossible to attribute a number of variants to literary influence, since the unwritten peripheral languages are also ambiguous. The Baoanic form **nogasun* is hard to explain as these languages are not known to have undergone WM influence. EYu and Monguoric agree. The Kangjia form *nuṅḡusun* is puzzling; rather than stemming from **nuṅgasun*, it may be an independent development from the other Kangjia form *nuḡusun*, which is the normal development of Baoanic **nogasun*. Dagur and Moghol did not preserve any of the variants.

Agricultural term related to CT **yʉŋ* ‘id’. The original PM form may have been **nuṅa-* to which the (?collective) suffix *-sUn* was added. After that two variants may have developed. In one variant the *-ŋ-* was lost, resulting in a form **nuasun* which further developed > **noasun*. In the other variant *-ŋ-* was rendered as *-ŋg-*. The resulting form **nuṅgasun* then developed a dissimilated form **uṅgasun*. A form **uṅguasun* with ‘echo labial’ developed, perhaps independently, in EYugur, Monguor, and Ordos. For a similar set of variants $\emptyset \sim \eta g$ resulting from earlier PM **ŋ* see CM **möersün ~ *möṅgersün* ‘cartilage’.

(1) ***noasun** (< **nuasun* < **nuyasun*): WM *noyosu(n)* L589a. Kh *noos(on)* H363b ‘wool, etc’, *noors(on)* H363b ‘the down of birds’. Ord *no:s* M497a. Bur *nooho(n)* C331a. Brg *nəxɔ:* U60. Kalm *noosn* M381b.

(2) ***nogasun** (< **nugasun*): BaoD *noḡosuŋ* BL85b. BaoÑ *noḡsəŋ* CN33. BaoX *noḡsəŋ* BC61. Kgj *nuḡusun* S282a. Dgx *noḡosuŋ* B32.

(3) ***uṅgasun** and ***nuṅgasun**: MMo SH *uṅqasun* H164 ‘hair, wool’, *nungqasu* H120 ‘wool’, HY---, Muq *uṅqasun* P124b, (cf. Poppe’s reading *onqasun* P266b). WM *uṅyasu(n)* L876b, *uṅyusu(n)* L877a. Kh *ungas* H547a. Ord *uṅḡas(u)* M736b. EYu *ṅḡwa:sən* B29, *uṅguasən* J97a. MgrH *ṅḡua:sə* J97a. MgrM *ṅḡuasi* JL465. Kgj *nuṅḡusun* S282a.

***nogta** ‘halter’. The Dag form is probably a recent loanword from Ch *lóngtou*. Any relationship between the the Mongolic and the Chinese word is unclear.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *noḡta-* P259b. WM *noyto* L588a. Kh *nogt* H360b. Ord *noḡto* M495a. Bur *nogto* C329a. Brg *nəxt* U60. Kalm *nogt* M380a. Dag *lont* E190. EYu *nəḡtɔ* B26, *noḡdo* J97a. MgrH *noḡdo*: SM281, J97a, *noḡsdo*: SM281. MgrM *nə(ḡ)tɔ* C372. BaoD *loḡtə* BL85b. BaoGt *loḡdo* C119. BaoÑ *ləḡta* CN105. Kgj *luḡdu* S291a. Dgx *loto* B99. Mog---.

***noir** ‘sleep’, with the additional meaning ‘pancreas’ in Kh, Bur, Brg, Kalm, Dag, EYu. All QG forms seem to derive from a form **no:r*, which is an unexpected

development (cf. **hoi*, **koina*, **noitan* for other reflexes of **oi*). Perhaps the obscure MMo verb in HY *norus*- M80 ‘to take a nap’ is somehow related.

MMo SH *noyir* H120, HY---, Muq *noyur* P260a, *noyir* P382b, *noir*- P320b. WM *noyir* L589a. Kh *noyr* H361a. Bur *noyr* C329b. Brg *nɔir* U60. Kalm *nör* M384b. Dag *nɔir* E61. EYu *nu:r* B27, J97a. MgrH *no:r* J97a. MgrM *nor* T352. BaoD *nor* BL85a. BaoÑ *nør* CN34. Kgj *nur* S282b. Dgx *no* B31. Mog *noir* W173b.

***noitan** ‘wet’. Perhaps related to **nor*- ‘to become wet’, which (morphologically unclear) relationship could have a parallel in **kör*- and **köiten*, q.v.

MMo SH *noyitan* H120, HY---, Muq *noitan* P259a. WM *noyitan* L589b. Kh *noyt*, *noyton* H361b. Bur *noyto(n)* C330a. Brg *nɔitɔŋ* U60. Kalm *nöötñ* M384a. Dag *nɔitun* E61. EYu *nɔitɔn* B26. MgrH *ne:ten* J97a. MgrM *niuten* JL469. BaoD *nəitəŋ* BL85a. BaoGt *nitɔŋ* ~ *netɔŋ* C107. BaoÑ *ni:taŋ* CN29. Kgj *neitɔ* ~ *nito* S281b. Dgx *naicien* B25. Mog---.

***nokai** ‘dog’. If this word contains the (?diminutive) suffix **-kAi*, the PM root may be **no*-.

MMo HY *noqai* H118, HY *noqai* M79, Muq *noqai* P259a. WM *noqai* L592a. Kh *noxoy* H364a. Bur *noxoy* C331b. Brg *nɔxɔi* U60. Kalm *noxa* M382a. Dag *nɔɣ^w* E62. EYu *nɔɣqɔi* B26, *noɣgoi* J97a. MgrH *noxuai* J97a. MgrM *noqɔai* C372, *noɣoi* T352. BaoD *noɣoi* BL85a. BaoÑ *noɣɔi*, *nɔxɔi* CN32. Kgj *nuɣuai* S282a. Dgx *noɣɔi* B31. Mog *noqei* R34b, *nɔqai* W174a, MogM *noqqei* L62:58.

***nom** ‘doctrine; religion; scripture, book’. The *l*- in Dag and EYu-Mgr is due to the dissimilation of the sequence of two nasals (cf. **mīnaa* and **menekei* for earlier cases). A foreign word, ultimately Greek.

MMo SH---, HY *nom* M79, Muq---. WM *nom* L590a. Kh *nom* H362a. Bur *nom* C330a. Brg *nɔm* U60 ‘book’. Kalm *nom* M380b. Dag *lɔm* E190. EYu *lɔm* B88, *lom* J97a. MgrH *lom* J97a. MgrM *luan* J89, *lan* C382.

***noman** ‘mole; vole; zokor’. Often used with **sokar* ‘blind’ (which is apparently the origin of the international name *zokor*). There is a wide variety of forms. Some forms, such as Dag *mɔ:mɔ:* and the **manan* form in Bur, EYu, and Dgx could be unrelated to **noman*. There are, however, no obvious alternative etymologies for these forms.

MMo SH---, HY *noman* M79, Muq---. WM *nomon* L591a. Kh *soxor nomin* H362b. Ord (*soxor*) *nomon* M496b, (*soxor*) *numuŋ*, (*soxor*) *numu:n* M501b. Bur *mana hoxor* C291b. Brg *xɔxɔr nɔm* U108. Kalm *soxr numn* M456b, (*soɣör*) *nomn* R279a, 329b. Dag *sɔyur mɔ:mɔ:* (?=) E222. EYu *manan sɔɣɔr* B89. MgrH *nəmo:n* X32, *ləmo:n* X113, *lumo:n* X115, *sɔguor lumo:n* SM227. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *manəŋ* B102. Mog---.

***nomukan** ‘gentle’ see ***namukan**

***nor**- ‘to become wet, soaked’. Perhaps related to **noitan* ‘wet’ listed above. The Dag form with *-i-* is perhaps influenced by the adjective **noitan*. In Mgr and Dgx a connective vowel became part of the stem.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *nor-ma* [eds. read *norama*] 203C21 ‘moistened’. WM *nor-* L591b. Kh *norox* H363b. Bur *noroxo* C331b. Kalm *norx* M382a. Dag *nɔir-* (sic) E62. EYu---. MgrH *no:rə-* J97b. MgrM *nori-* T352. Bao---. Dgx *nuru-* B33, *noro-* T131, *noru-* S513. Mog---.

***noyan** ‘lord, chief’.

MMo SH *noyan* H119, HY *noyan* M80, Muq *noyan* P260a. WM *noyan* L589b. Kh *noyon* H360b. Bur *noyon* C329a. Brg *nɔyɔŋ* U61. Kalm *noyn* M380b. Dag---. EYu *niyɔn* B26, *nyɔ:n* B28, *nion* J97a. MgrH *noyo:n* J98a, *nəyɔ:n* X33, *naivan* C88:570. MgrM *noyan* JL470. Bao---. Kgj *niɔ* S281b. Dgx *noyan* B32, *noyən* L113a. Mog---.

***nögči-** ‘to pass’. The central forms with *-c-* suggest **nögče-*.

MMo SH *nokci-* H118, HY *nökči-* M80, Muq *nökči-* P260b. WM *nögči-* L592a. Kh *nögčix* H365b, *nöxcöx* (sic) H367b. Bur *nügšex* C334a (elevated) ‘to die’. Brg---. Kalm *nökc-* R280a ‘to die’. Dag *nurš-* E63. EYu---. MgrH *noğszi-* SM281. MgrM *noğči-* T352 ‘to pass the time’, *no:či-* C395. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nögee** (?*nökee) ‘other’. In view of its equivalents in Bao, Kgj *ŋgɔ* S33 ‘other; he’ probably stems from **irgen*, q.v. Also compare the functional development of **öer-* ‘self’.

MMo SH *noko'e* H118 ‘second, further, other’, HY *nökö'e* M80 ‘second’, Muq---. WM *nögöge* L592b. Kh *nögöö* H365b. Bur *nügöö* C334a. Brg *nugə:* U62. Kalm *nögä* M383a. Dag *nuwə:* E63. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *nugu-si* DS255b ‘they’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *nəgə* CN33 ‘that one, another one, other’. BaoX *nogə* BC68 ‘s/he’. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nöker** ‘friend; spouse’.

MMo SH *nokor* H119, HY *nökör* M80, Muq *nöker* P261a, *nökör* (P: *nökür*) P376b. WM *nökör* L593b. Kh *nöxör* H367a. Ord *nökör* M498a. Bur *nüxer* C335a. Brg *nuxər* U61. Kalm *nökr* M383b. Dag *nuyur* E63. EYu *nökör* B26, J97b. MgrH *nokor* J97b. MgrM *nukuar* C372. BaoD *nokor* BL85b. BaoÑ *nəkər*, *nəxgər* CN32. Kgj *nəxgə* S282b. Dgx *nokie* B31. Mog---.

***nöke-** ‘to patch’, **nöke-esün* ‘patch’. For Dgx see **neke-*. Cf. **hüde-* ‘to patch’, **kalaasun* ‘patch’.

MMo SH---, HY *nökö-* M80, Muq *nöke-* P217a. WM *nökö-* L592b. Kh *nöxöx* H367b. Ord *nökö-* M498a. Bur *nüxexe* C335b. Brg *nux-* U61. Kalm *nök^ö-* M279b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *nəko:sə* ~ *nəko:zə* J7, *nukuo:zə* SM289. MgrM *nososi* JL470. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nugasun** ‘duck’. MMo SH, HY suggest **nogasun*. Muq could be read with *o*; Dagur could have developed from either **nogasun* or **nugasun*. Ord suggests **nugusun* or **nogusun*.

MMo SH *noqosu* H118, HY *noqosun* M79, Muq *nuyasun* P261b. WM *nuyusu(n)* L595b. Kh *nugas(an)* H368b. Ord *nuğus(u)* M500a. Bur *nugaha(n)* C333a. Brg *nəgɔ:* U60. Kalm *nuyšn* M385b. Dag *n^wayəs* E64. Remaining lgs---.

***nugura-** ‘to be bent, to be folded’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *nuyura-* L595a. Kh *nugarax* H368a. Ord *nugura-* M499b. Bur *nugarxa* C333a. Kalm *nuyrx* M385a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *nugora-* X35 ‘to become crooked’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *nuquru-* R35a.

***nugursun** ‘spinal marrow’. The **i* suggested by the WM spelling is not confirmed by any modern language, unless Brg *nʷoglov:r* U63 ‘id’ is a related word with different ending. The peculiar Muq form *muqursun* is also reminiscent of **möersün* ‘cartilage’ listed above. For MMo HY *nirisun* M79 ‘backbone’ see Mostaert’s remark. For the -č- in Dag *nəkč*, cf. **möersün* ‘cartilage’, **kairsun* ‘scale’. The metathesis in EYu perhaps occurred under the influence of *nuru:n* < **niruun* ‘back’ (listed below).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *muqursun* (sic, ?=) P241a. WM *niyursu(n)* L580b, *nuyursu(n)* L595b. Kh *nugars(an)* H368b. *nugas(an)* H368b, *nigurs* (sic) H354b. Ord *nugus(u)* M500a. Bur *nugarha(n)* C333a. Brg (see above). Kalm *nuyrsn* M385a. Dag *nəkč* E62. EYu *nurğusun* B27, *nurğusan* J97b. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***numun** ‘bow’. The *-l-* in the Mgr languages is due to nasal dissimilation. The *-ə-* in Dag and EYu is peculiar. The loss of *-n* in Kgj is unexpected. Bur *-o-* is caused by the *-m-*.

MMo SH *numu(n)* H120, HY *numun* HY80, Muq *numun* P261b. WM *numu(n)* L595b. Kh *num(an)* H369a. Bur *nomo* C330b. Brg *nəm* U60. Kalm *numn* M386a. Dag *nəm* E58. EYu *nəmən* B24, J97b, but cf. *nəməda-* BJ337 ‘to shoot an arrow’. MgrH *nəmu* J97b, *lumu* SM227. MgrM *lumu* JL471, *loŋmu* DS205a (s.v. arrow). Bao---. Kgj *nīm* S282b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nura-** ‘to collapse, crumble’. The Dag form suggests an ancestral form **nurga-*; MgrH seems to suggest an older **niura-*. Note the peculiar distribution. Cf. **embüre-*, **yeüre-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *nura-* L596a. Kh *nurax* H370a. Bur *nuraxa* C333a. Kalm *nurx* M386b. Dag *nəryʷ-* (sic, ?=) E62. EYu---. MgrH *nura-* J97b, *nu:ra-* X35, *niura-* X30. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *nura-* L113a. Mog---.

***nutug** (?) ‘camp; homeland, region’. Several languages suggest a different phonetic shape. Bur-Brg as well as Kmg suggest a form **nītug*, which in view of its regional character cannot be confirmed as the original form, even though a development of **nutug* from earlier **nītug* makes more sense than the reverse. The form **nuntug*, as seen in Sino-Mongolian, Mgr, and Mog, could be old; the form **nutug* may in that case be due to dissimilation. Cf. **(n)uŋgasun* ‘wool’.

MMo SH *nuntuh* H120, *nutuh* H120, HY *nuntuq* M80 ‘camp’, Muq *nutuq* P261b ‘homeland’. WM *nutuy* L596b. Kh *nutag* H371a. Bur *nyutag* C344b. Brg *nʷotag* U63. Kalm *nutg* M387a. Dag *nətwg* (sic) T156. EYu *nutuḡ* B27 ‘site’, J97b ‘countryside’. MgrH *nontog* J97b ‘countryside’. MgrM *nomtik* P413a ‘courtyard’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *nuntuy* R35a ‘homeland’.

***nüken** ‘hole’. The QG languages mostly favour a CM **nöken*.

MMo SH *nukele*- H120 ‘to bore a hole’, HY---, Muq *nüken* P262a. WM *nüke(n)* L597b. Kh *nüx(en)* H375a. Ord *nüke* ~ *nükü* M503b. Bur *nüxe(n)* C335a. Brg *nux* U61. Kalm *nükn* M389a. Dag *nuy*^w E63 ‘hole, cave, pit’. EYu *nökön* B26, *nöken* BJ200, *nö^hgö* J97b. MgrH *noko* J97b. MgrM *nuko* JL470. BaoD *nokuṇ* BL85b. BaoÑ *nokuṇ* CN32 ‘cavern, hole’. Kgj *nuxgu* ~ *nuxguṇ* S282b. Dgx *nokieṇ* B31 ‘pit’. Mog---.

***nümjige** ‘fat, oil’.

MMo---, WM *nümjige* L597b. Kh *nümjig* ~ *nünjig* H373b (adjective). Ord---. Bur *nemžege(n)* (western) C338a, *nimžege(n)* (western) C328b, *ünžege(n)* C507a. Kalm---, Dag---, EYu *nönjgə* B26 ‘oil, fat (general term)’, *nunjig* S189 ‘grease stain’. Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

- O -

***oači-** ‘to take a sip, drink’. If the central Mongolic forms with *o:* are correct, **oači-* can not be related to **uu-* ‘to drink’. The Muq form *a’urči-* P108a ‘to take in the mouth’, if the same word as **oači-*, may be influenced by its Turkic counterpart **avurtla-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, WM *oyoči-* L602b, *ooči-* L625b. Kh *oočix* H396a. Ord *o:či-* M523b. Bur *oošoxo* C359a. Kalm *oočlx* (iterative) M400a. Dag---, EYu *u:čə-* B18 ‘take a sip’. MgrH *o:či-* SM299, *učə-* X20. MgrM---, BaoD---, BaoÑ *acal-* CN8 (caus.) ‘to water’. Kgj *uči-* S280b. Dgx *oči-* B15. Mog *oči-* W175a.

***oali** ‘adze’. The **h-* suggested by Muq and RH is contradicted by SH and Dgx. The *-q-* in SH is probably due to a mistranscription from the Uyghur script, unless it was supposed to indicate *-h-* rather than *-q-*, in which case it reflects a rare relic **-h-* (< PM **-p-*). MC mark the Dgx form as a borrowing from Chinese, without giving a source form.

MMo SH *uqali* H160, HY---, Muq *ho:li* P186b, RH *ho:li* [eds read *hu:li*] 204C10. WM *oyoli* L603a. Kh *ool’* (*oolin*) H396a. Bur *ooli* C358b. Kalm *ool’* M399b. Dag---, EYu---, Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx *uali* S522, *wali* MC414b. Mog---.

***obaa** ‘stone heap, shamanistic cairn’. The preserved *-b-* in Dag and Mgr is unexpected, as if the word was reborrowed from Chinese.

MMo SH---, HY *obo’o* M81, Muq---, WM *oboya(n)* L598b. Kh *ovoo* H386a, *obaya* L598a. Bur *oboo* C348b. Kalm *ova* M391b. Dag *ɔbo:* E37 ‘pile, heap; oboo’. EYu *ɔbo:* S523, *ɔbo* B13, *oβo* B15, *oβo:* J95a. MgrH *o:bo:* X14, SM296. MgrM *wobo* F11. Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***obag** ‘family name; clan’ See ***omag**

***oči-** ‘to go’ see ***eči-**

***od-** ‘to go’. Unexpectedly rare, and with a strange distribution. In EYu it is mainly used as an auxiliary verb, whereas the etymologically obscure verb *hanə-* is the normal verb for ‘to go’. Apart from BaoŃ, all of Shirongol uses **eči-* ‘to go’, which is also used in Dag.

MMo SH *ot-* H129, HY *ot-* M82a, Muq *ot-/od-* P209a/256a. WM *od-* L600a. Kh *odox* H388b. Ord---. Bur *odoxo* C350a. Brg---. Kalm *odx* M393b. Dag---. EYu *ɔd-* BJ338, (*o*)*d-* J50 (used as an auxiliary). MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoŃ *əd-* ~ *ər-* CN18. Dgx---. Mog---.

***odua** ‘now’ See ***edüe**

***ogsī-** ‘to vomit, throw up’. Cf. the more common verb **böeljī-* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *oysi-* L601b, ?cf. WM *ogis-* L603b ‘to be nauseated; to belch’. Kh *ogšix* H388a. Ord *ogši-* M507b. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *xɔigsɔ-* (?=) NK559b, *xɔiwɔsɔ-* (?=) E83:84b ‘id (‘of children’). EYu *ogšə-* J98a, *ogšə-* B13, BJ338. Mgr---. MgrM *oši-* JL464. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***öin** ‘thought, intellect’. The NM languages point at a form **oyun* or **oyuun*, the remaining forms could be from **öin*, or perhaps **oyin*.

MMo SH *oyi(n)* H130 ‘&feelings, love’, HY---, Muq *oin-* P262b, Ph *oyi-tʰu* P128a ‘endowed with intellect’. WM *oyun* L606b, also *oi* L604a. Kh *oy* H389a, *oyun* H402b. Ord *oyu:n* M508b. Bur *oy* C350b, *oyuu(n)* C367a. Kalm *oyun* M407b, *oyin* M393b. Dag *ɔyin* E40. EYu *ɔin* B12, *öin* BJ338 ‘consciousness’, *öin* J5 ‘memory’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *oyin* B16. Mog---.

***öira** ‘nearby’. Note the inconsistent development of the Dag derivatives *wair-ɔ:n* ~ *ɔir-ɔ:n*, *wair-kən*, *wair-t-*, etc. Cf. the (near) synonymous **čaada* in Baoanic, and **döte*.

MMo SH *oyira* H130, HY *oyira* M83, *oyiri* M83, Muq *oira* P263a, LV *oira* P1262, IV *oira* L62:59. WM *oyira* L605a. Kh *oyr* H389b. Bur *oyro* C352a. Kalm *öör* M421b. Dag *wair* E333. EYu *ɔirɔ* B12, *ö:rə* B17, *öiro* J95a. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *uira* B19. Mog *oiro:* R35, *oira* W174b, MogM *əura*, MogMr *oirə* L62:59.

***oĵagai** ‘penis’. Possibly intentionally omitted from some dictionaries. Cf. **kırĵaŋ*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *oĵagai* P263b, *oĵoyai-* P191a, IV *oĵoqai* L62:59. WM *oĵuŋu*, *oĵuŋui* L626b. Kh *ozgoy* LC 3:462a. Ord *oĵogö:*, *oĵogo* M506b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *ozöŋe:* R292a (also *oza:* R292a). Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ĵogövi* X224, *ĵigövi* X221. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoŃ---. Dgx *ozogöi* B16. Mog---.

oka-** (?hoka-**) ‘to have sexual intercourse’. This word is probably more common than shown here.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *oqa-* P266b, LV *hoqa-* P75. WM *oqo-* L626a. Kh *oxox* L626a. Ord *oxo-* M508a. Bur---. Kalm *oxö-* R284a. Dag---. EYu *oqa-* Kot445. Mgr---. BaoD-?. BaoŃ *өгə-* CN17. Kgj *ɔğɔ-* ~ *uğɔ-* S280a. Dgx *aoğö-* MC14b. Mog *ɔka-*, *ɔku-* W174b.

***okīn** ‘daughter, girl’ see ***ökin**

***ol-** ‘to find; to get, obtain’. Moghol and the Shirongol lgs have developed forms with paragogic vowels. Cf. MgrH *lo:lə-* X113, BaoD *lolə-* BL82b, 46 ‘to look for’ < ‘not to find’.

MMo SH *ol-* H123, HY *ol-* M81, Muq *ol-* P265b. WM *ol-* L607a. Kh *olox* H392a. Ord *ol-* M509a. Bur *oloxo* C355a. Kalm *olx* M396a. Dag *ɔl-* E38. EYü *ɔ:l-* B12, *o:l-* J95a. MgrH *olə-* J95a, *ulə-* X18, *o:li-* SM296. MgrM *olu-* T354, *lu:-* (sic) C394. BaoD *ol-* BL83a ‘to find’, *olə-* BL92a ‘to give birth’. BaoÑ *əl-* CN17. Kgj *uli-* S280a. Dgx *olu-* B14. Mog *ɔl-* W174b also ‘to hear’, MgrMr *v:lu-* L64:45.

***olan** ‘many’. Kgj *ulu* could also reflect **hüleü* ‘more than’, but the loss of **h-* would be unexpected.

MMo SH *olon* H123, HY *olon* M81, Muq *olan* P265a, *olon* P230b. WM *olan* L607b. Kh *olon* H391b. Ord *olon* M510b. Bur *olon* C354a. Kalm *oln* M395a. Dag *walən* E334. EYü *ɔlən* B13, *olon* J95a. MgrH *ulon* J95a. MgrM *ulay* JL471. BaoD *oloy* BL83b. BaoÑ *əloy* CN17, *loy* CN104. Kgj *ulu* S280a. Dgx *oloy* B14. Mog---.

***olanj** ‘bellyband (of a horse)’. An alternative form in *-m* is found in Kh, Bur, and Dag. BaoD *golə* BL83a may be from LT *glo*; BaoÑ *ʕlə* CN233 ‘bellyband’ is certainly from LT *glo*, cf. *sga-glo* ‘saddle-girth’. Kgj may (but need not) be from LT as well. Perhaps related to CT **kolan* (?**kolanj*) ‘saddle-girth’ (cf. EDPT 622b).

MMo SH *olang* H122, HY---, Muq *olay* [*olang*] P265a, LV *olan* P1260, IV---. WM *olong* L610b. Kh *olom*, *olon* H391b ‘the right-hand saddle girth’. Ord *oloy* M510b. Bur *ulam* C468a, *olom* (some dialects) C550a. Kalm *olj* M396a. Dag *ɔl:n* ~ *ɔlum* E38. EYü *ɔloy* B13, *oloy* J95a. MgrH *uloy* J95a. MgrM---. Bao (see remark below). Kgj *ɔlu* ~ *lu* S280a. Dgx *oluy* B14. Mog---.

***olusun** ‘hemp’. The evidence for the original vocalism is ambiguous. The forms with *o* in the second syllable found in MMo HY and EYü-MgrH support **olasun*. The Kh, Kalm and Brg forms could be from **olasun* as well, or from **olusun*. Ord *ulusu* points at **olusun* or **ulusun*. The Bur form, which in this rare case disagrees with Brg, also suggests **ulusun*. Dag *ɔls* suggests a form **olusun* or **ulusun*, since the expected Dag development from **olasun* would have been **wals*.

MMo SH---, HY *olosun* M81, Muq---. WM *olosu(n)* L610a. Kh *ols(on)* H392a. Ord *ulusu* M731b. Bur *ulha(n)* C468b. Brg *ɔlɔ:* U32. Kalm *olsn* M396a. Dag *ɔls* E39. EYü *losən* (only) S528. MgrH *losə* J95a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***omag** ~ ***obag** ‘clan, family; family name’. It is hard to determine which of the variants is the oldest.

MMo SH *oboh* H120, HY---, Muq---. WM *oboy* L598b, *omoy* L611a. Kh *ovog* H385b, *omog* H392b. Ord *omoq* M511a. Bur *omog* C355b, *obog* C348a. Kalm *omg* (obs) M396b. MgrH *omɔḡ* X15. Remaining lgs---.

***omag** ‘courage; arrogance, haughtiness’. The negative meaning appears in the modern languages.

SH *omoh* H124 ‘courage’, HY *omoq* M81 ‘power and influence’, *omoq-tan* M81 ‘courageous’, Muq---. WM *omoy* L611a. Kh *omog* H392b. Ord *omoq* M511a. Bur *omog* C355b. Kalm *omg* M396b. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *oməg* CN17. Dgx---. Mog---.

***oŋgača** ‘boat; trough’. In Muq, WM, Kh, Bur, Kalm, and EYu both meanings are attested. Added -*g* in Mgr. Transfer of consonant strength from -č- to -*g*- in MgrM.

MMo SH---, HY *ongqača* M81 ‘trough’, Muq *onqača* P266b, LV---, IV *onqača* (*ongqača*) L62:59 ‘boat’, Ph *onqoc^ha.s* P128a ‘boats’. WM *ongyoča* L613a. Kh *ongoc* H393b. Ord *ongočo* ~ *ongoči* M515a. Bur *ongoso* C356b. Brg---. Kalm *onyc* M399a. Dag---. EYu *onğəčə* BJ338 ‘trough’, *ongočo* J95a ‘boat’. MgrH *ηgućəğ* ~ *ηgućag* X42 ‘trough’. MgrM *onkužo* C387 ‘horse’s trough’, *anqužo* DS252a ‘stable’, *ançiğə* F85:12 ‘trough’. Bao---. Dgx *ongočo* B13 ‘trough’. Mog---.

oni/*ona** (?honi**) ‘notch on an arrow’. The **h-* suggested by Muq is unconfirmed. Cf. also **onubčī* (?) ‘knife for making notches in arrows’, MMo SH *onubci kituqai* H125. Kh *onovč* H394a. Kalm *onovč* M397b. Dag *onč* E37 ‘knife’.

MMo SH *ono* H125 (q.v.), HY---, Muq *honi* P186a. WM *oni* L614b, *ono* L615a. Kh *on*’ H395b. Ord *oni* M512b. Bur *oni* C357a, *onoo* C357b. Brg *on^y* U31. Kalm *on* (obs) M397a. Dag *onə* (*on^y*) NK461b. QG---. Mog---.

***ora** ‘track, trace, footprint, fingerprint’. In Mgr and Dgx one finds the forms **oraŋ* and **köl oraŋ* (**köl* ‘foot’). The forms in -*m* in the central languages may be influenced by **horum* ‘road’ (cf. SH *horim*, *horum*).

MMo SH *oro* H126, HY---, Muq---. WM *oro* L620a, *orom* L623a. Kh *or* H396b, *orom* H398a. Ord *oro* M518b, *orom* M521a. Bur *orom* C362a, *oro* (in expressions, q.v.) C360b. Brg *or* U34. Kalm *orm* M403a. Dag *or* E41. EYu---. MgrH *kurloŋ* L283. MgrM *uraŋ* C395, *kurruaŋ* DS224. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *koroloŋ* B76, *koloroŋ* MC222b, *kororoŋ* MC224a. Mog---.

***ora-** ‘to enter’.

MMo SH *oro-* H127, HY *oro-* M82, Muq *ora-* P269a, LV *or-* P1259, IV *ora-* L62:60. WM *oro-* L620a. Kh *orox* H399a. Bur *oroxo* C362b. Kalm *orx* M405a. Dag *war-* E335. EYu *orə-* B13, *oro-* J95b. MgrH *oro-* J95b, *uro-* X22. MgrM *oro-* JL480, *uro-* C370. BaoD *orə-* BL83a. BaoÑ *or-* CN18. Kgj *uru-* S280b. Dgx *oro-* B16. Mog *ora-* R35b.

oraa** (?orīa**) ‘wild, untamed, undomesticated’. Cf. **emliq*.

MMo SH *oro’a* H127, *ora’a* H125, *ura’a* H165, HY---, Muq---. WM *oroya* L621a. Kh *oroo* H398b ‘difficult to catch’, also ‘estrus, heat’. Bur *oryoo morin* C360a ‘agile horse’, cf. *oroo(n)* C362b ‘rut, heat; mating’. Kalm *ora* M401a, *orā:* R287b. Dag *orə:* E41 ‘stubborn and unruly’. EYu *orə:* B13. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***orai** ‘evening; late’.

MMo SH *orai* H125, HY---, Muq---. WM *oroi* L621b. Kh *oroy* H397b. Ord *orö:* M522a. Bur *oroy* C361a. Kalm *ora* M400b. Dag *or^ye:* E41. EYu *orui* B14,

öröi J95b. MgrH *urui*: J95b. MgrM *wurai* DS19, *orey* P411b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***oran** ‘place, spot; seat; throne; bed; country’. Ramstedt’s suggestion that this word be related to **horum* ‘road’ is incorrect because of the **h-* in this word. In later languages, the two words may have become confused (cf. the forms with *-m* in Kalm and Mog). Cf. CT **orun* ‘place’.

MMo SH *oro(n)* H126, H128, HY *oro* M81, Muq *oran* P269a, *orun* P325a, *ora* P269a. WM *oro* L620a, *oron* L623a. Kh *or* H396b, *oron* H398a (with semantic diversification). Ord *oron* M521b. Bur *oro(n)* C362a ‘bed’, *oron* C362a ‘country’, ‘place, etc’. Kalm *orn* M403b ‘land, state’; ‘bed’, *orm* M43a ‘place’, cf. *or-der* M402a ‘bed’ (cf. **dere*). Dag *or* E41 ‘place; bedding’. EYu *orən* B14, *oron* J95b, *oro:n* S531 ‘place’, *ru:n* S339 ‘kennel’. MgrH *oron* J95b, *uran*, *uron*, *urəŋ* X22. MgrM *uran* C370. BaoJ *roŋ* L147. Kgj *uru* S280b. Dgx *oroŋ* B16. Mog *oram* R35b ‘place’, MogM *orv:n* L68, No. 46 ‘bed’.

***orki-** ‘to throw, cast away; to abandon, release; to put’ The peculiar spelling in SH could be influenced by **hoara-* or **ugur-*, q.v. There is no evidence for a long vowel in the living languages. Cf. **songu-* which is spelled *so’onggu-* in SH.

MMo SH *o’orki-* H125, HY---, Muq *orki-* P270b, *orqi-* P271a. WM *orki-* L619b. Kh *orxix* H400a. Bur *orxixo* C364b. Kalm *orkx* M402b ‘to put down, etc’, cf. *okx* M394a ‘to put down’. Dag *orkʷ-* E41. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD *uašialdā-* (recipr.) (?=) BL66. BaoJ *vušál-* L206. BaoÑ *wargā-* CN227, *wašgā-* CN226. Dgx---. Mog---.

***oya-** ‘to sew’. In Kalm this verb has become indistinguishable from **huya-* ‘to tie up’. The same may have happened in Bao, where the shape *ha-* is used in both meanings. The fact that one of the verbs has *h-* seems to make this phonetically unlikely, but it is supported by Kgj *fiya-* which also seems to represent both **oya-* and **huya-*. Alternatively, Baoan *ha-* may represent a merger of **kaba-* ‘to stitch’ and **huya-* ‘to tie up’, although this is still irregular.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *oya-* P272a, LV *oyo-* P1261, IM *hoyu-* [ed. reads thus, in fact unvocalised] P438a. cf. RH *hoy[o]qč̣i* 205C28 ‘taylor’. WM *oyo-* L606a. Kh *oyox* H388b. Ord *oyo-* M508b. Bur *oyoxo* C350b. Brg *ɔy-* U33. Kalm *uyx* M530a. Dag *ɔy-* E40, *ɔi-* E36. EYu---. MgrH *yo:-* X235, J95b. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *oi:-* R35b, *wɔyɔ-* W184a, MogM *oya:-*, MogMr *v:ɔv:-* L68, No. 41.

?***oyun** ‘thought, intellect’ see ***oīn**

- Ö -

***öber, *öbür** ‘bosom’ see ***ebür**

***öbür** ‘southern slope’ see ***ebür**

***öčeen** ‘few’ see *čöen

***öčügedür** (< ***öčigen üdür**) ‘yesterday’. The initial *h* in the MMo forms in Arabic script is not confirmed elsewhere. Dgx *f-* may be a secondary development due to the following *-č-*. Dag *xečige udur* (Poppe 1934-1935:23) is not related but the same word as *kəčiy ~ kəčiy udur* E146 ‘the day before yesterday’. Dag *udiš* E47, *udiš udur* Z94a from **üdesi* is used for ‘yesterday’. The loss of the initial vowel in most of the QG forms is not unusual, but a similar development is atypically seen in some of the Ord and Mog forms. Note the *-l-* in Bur-Kalm (also in Khamnigan).

MMo SH *ocigen udur* H121, HY *öčigen* M83 ‘recently’, Muq *öčüge ödür* P273a, LV *hečegen* P74, IV *höčken ödür* L62:33. WM *ečügedür* L292b, *öčögedür*, *öčögeldür*, *öčigeldür* L629a, and cf. *öčigen* L629a. Kh *öcögdör* H422a. Ord (*u*)*čugudur* M765b, *čug(u)dur* M720b. Bur *üsegelder* C515b, *üsegder* 515b, *üster* (western) C515a. Brg *usəgdər ~ usdər* U51. Kalm *öckldür* M427b. Dag---, see above. EYu *čogdor* B137, *čügdur* J96a. MgrH *čigudur* J96b, *čigu ~ čigudur* SM449. MgrM *čugodur* JL464, *čugudur* T379. BaoD *gudər* BL84a. BaoÑ *šgudə* CN148. Kgj *šigudə ~ šgudə* S295b. Dgx *fuzuğudu* B55, *šuzuğudu* B134, *fuzuğu* ‘last’ in compounds B55. Mog *učko:n*, *učko:n udur* R41b, *uškon*, *ušködur*, *uškudur* W183b, *čikaodur*, *čiködur* W162a, *čikun* W162a ‘last’.

***öčüken** ‘little, small’ see *üčüken

***ödken** ‘thick, dense’. The Shirongol languages go back to a form with an epenthetic vowel between the elements of the *-dk-* cluster. The **h-* suggested by the EYu form is not confirmed elsewhere, except perhaps Mgr. It may be due to the following *-k-*. In view of Kh *ötgön ~ ösgön* there may have been an old variant **ösken*; in that case both forms may go back to a PM **öčken* (**öjken*). The Bur variant *üsxen* may be a direct descendant of a form **öčken* but could also be borrowed from Kh.

MMo SH *otkan* H129, HY---, Muq *ötken* P279b. WM *ödken* L629b. Kh *ötgön* H421a, *ösgön* H421a. Ord *ödkön* M527a. Bur *üdxen(n)* C494a, *üsxen* C515b. Kalm *ötkn* M427a. Dag *urkun* E50, Z94a. EYu *hutgwen* B58, *hödgön* J96a, *čödgön* S551. MgrH *šdago:n* J96b, *dugo:n* C88:584. MgrM *š(i)digen* JL473. BaoD *dəgaŋ* BL84b. BaoGt *dəgəŋ* C118. BaoÑ-?- CN. Kgj *dagə ~ žīgə* S298b. Dgx *očiğəŋ* B15, *očiğən* L112b. Mog *utko:n* R42a.

***ödme** (and ***ödmeg**) ‘kind of bread or cake’. The emended ZY form agrees with HY, but it can also be read without the final consonant, as this variant is also attested in MMo. The Shirongol languages derive from a form ***öteme** with dissolved cluster. The Kalm form is the only certain survival of the variant **ödmeg*. Cf. CT **etmek* ‘bread’, which also has variant forms **ekmek* and **epmek* which were borrowed by Moghol.

MMo SH---, HY *ütmek* M109, ZY **üdme(k)* (wu-du-ma) Kara331, Muq *ötmek* P279a, *etmek* P167a, LV---, IV *ötüme* L62:61.---. Kh---, Ord---, Bur---. Kalm *ödmg* M412b. Dag *utum* E47. EYu---. MgrH *šdama* X167, *šdame* J63. MgrM (*š*)*diməi* C386, *diməi* C388, *šdime* T384. BaoD *damə* BL59. BaoÑ *šdemə* CN151.

Kgj *deme* S299a. Dgx *ičime* P421b. Mog (prob. recently borrowed) *uŋtāŋ* R41b, *ukmΛŋ* W182b, etc.

***ödür** ‘day’ see ***üdür**

***öede** ‘upwards, upstream; above’. In EYu-Mgr replaced by **jaka*. However, according to Bolčuluu & Jalsan (1991:175-176), **öede* has become a directive suffix *-i:d* in EYu, as in *gadi:d* ‘up a cliff’ < **kada öede*. This has a parallel in Ordos, as in *gere:t* M260b ‘to(wards) the house’ < **ger öede*.

MMo SH *o’ede* H121, HY---, Muq---. WM *ögede* L630b, precl. also *öbede* T502. Kh *ööd* H414b. Ord *ö:d* M526b, *ö:dö* M527a. Bur *ööde* C367a. Brg. Kalm *ööd*, *ööden* M419a. Dag *wə:d* E336. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *odə* BL84a. BaoÑ *ə:də* CN18. BaoX *odə* BC69. Kgj *ude* S281a. Dgx *oʒie* L112a. Mog *öädä* R35b, *udΛ* W182a, *ɔdΛ* W174a, MogM *üødə*, MogMr *ə:da* L54b:39.

***öer-** ‘self’. Kh *övsveen* H404a is a reading pronunciations of WM *öbersüben*. Used as a (first or third person) personal pronoun in Baoanic. This functional shift arose in, and is in some languages still restricted to use in indirect speech. The final element may represent a petrified genitive **öerün* or the reflexive possessive form **öerien*. Baoanic uses a Northwest Mandarin word in the meaning ‘self’: BaoD *goʒiə* BL35. BaoÑ *gə:ʒi* CN95. Kgj *guja* ~ *guja* S290a, Dgx *goʒia*, *goyə* B91. In EYu and Monguoric **ejen* is used instead to express ‘self’. It is unclear whether EYu *ewer* ‘soul’ is related, as suggested by Kotwicz.

MMo SH *o’er* H121, *or* H125, *or-iyen* (with ref. poss.) H126, HY *ö’er* M83, *ö:r-* M84, Muq *ö:r* P279b. WM *öber* L627b, *öbesüben* L628a. Kh *öör* H415b. Ord *ö:r-i:n* M537b, *ö:r-ö:n* M539b, *ö:s* M541a, *ö:s-ö:n* M541b. Bur *öör-* C368a. Kalm *evr-än* M690a, *erv-ä:n* M701b. Dag *wə:r* E336. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *əreŋ* C18 ‘I’, cf. also *ərsə* CN19 ‘we’. BaoX *oroŋ* BC68 ‘I’, cf. also *osə* BC68 ‘we’. Kgj *uru* S281a ‘he/she’, *urusun* ~ *urusı* S281a ‘they’, *usı* S280b ‘they’. Dgx *oruŋ* B17 ‘I (myself)’, *oruntan* L53 ‘we (ourselves)’. Mog *öärini* R35 ‘he himself’, *orin* W183a.

***öere** ‘other, different’. The form **öere* itself is rather poorly attested. However, EYu *gö:rö* J27, *güre* B85, *gu:rə* S529, MgrH *go:ro* X104, MgrM *gori* C381 may represent an aberrant form of this same word. The derived form **öermiče* is found in Bao. The disappearance of **öere* from Baoanic and Dag and the disappearance of **öer* from EYu and Monguoric are understandable since the two words developed similar or identical pronunciations, whereas their meanings are opposites. Possibly related to CT **özge* ‘other’, if one assumes a metathetic variant **ögze*.

MMo SH *o’ere* H121, *ore* H126, HY---, Muq *ö:re* P279b, *ö:rö* P283b. WM *ögere* L631b, *öbere* L627b, both spellings also preclassical. Kh *öör* H415b. Ord *ö:rö* M538b. Bur *ööre* C368b. Kalm-?. Dag---. EYu (see above). MgrH (see above). MgrM (see above). Bao (see **öermiče* below). Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***öermiče** ‘other’.

MMo SH *o’ermici-le-* H122, HY *ö:rmiče* M84 ‘different’. WM *öbermiče* L628b. Kh *övörmöc* [←WM] H404a. BaoD *măčă, mărčă* T143. BaoÑ *əmərži* CN17 ‘other’, cf. also Bao (unknown locality) *ərži* CN87:129, Bao (unspecif dial) *moči* S529 ‘other’. BaoX *măčă* BC69 ‘other’.

***ög-** ‘to give’. Moghol, some of the QG forms, and even Dagur, have developed a paragogic vowel. In Monguoric this verb changed vowel class, resulting in *-g-* rather than expected *-g-*. In Mangghuer the initial vowel was lost, after which the *g* was strengthened, probably due to the many inflected forms with strong consonants, such as conditional converb *xusa*, perfect *xusan*, future *xuku*.

MMo SH *ok-* H122, HY *ök-* M84, Muq *ög-* P274a, LV *ög-* P1256, IV *ök-* (ms. ^wl) L62:60. WM *ög-* L630a. Kh *ögöx* H405b, *öx* H422a. Ord *ög-* M527b. Bur *ügexe* C493a, *üxe* (coll.) C518a. Brg *ug-* U49. Kalm *ögx* M412a. Dag *uk^w*- E44. EYu *og-* B15, J96a. MgrH *oğo-* J96a, *uğv-* X17, *ğv-* X97. MgrM *uğu-* T368, *xu-* DS225b. BaoD *okă-* BL84a. BaoÑ *əχ-, ək-* CN16. Kgj *uy- ~ u-* S280b. Dgx *ogi-* B13. Mog *ögu-* R36a.

***ökin** (~ ***okīn**) ‘daughter, girl’. Not all forms can be reduced to a single ancestral form. The form **ökin* is found in Bur, Dag, EYu, BaoD, BaoÑ, and Mog. A back-vocalic **okīn* form survives in Kh-Kalm. The SH form could represent either variant. A completely unrounded variant **iken* is found in some central Mongolic dialects (see Sun 1990:396). The **h-* suggested by Mgr and EYu appears to be triggered by the following *-k-*.

The forms in Mgr, BaoD, BaoX, Kgj, Dgx which instead of **k* have a palatal fricative or affricate are problematic. In Monguoric, **k > č* is a common development before **i/*ī* (usually in initial position), but in Baoanic this is exceptional. Perhaps the forms with affricate are due to confusion between **ökin/*okīn* ‘girl’ and the early loanword *fūjin* ‘lady’ (← Ch. *fūren*), cf. MMo SH *ujin* H161, Kh *üjen* (obs.) H568b ‘lady’. On the other hand the modern meaning is clearly ‘girl’. That the Monguoric forms stem from **ökin* rather than **fūjin* cannot be decided on the basis of the modern pronunciations, but is likely based on the neighbouring languages.

MMo SH *oki(n)* [or *öki(n)*] H122, HY *ökin* M84, Muq *ökin* P275a, LV *ökin* P1260, IV *ökin* L62:60, RH *hökin* 202C13 ‘virgin’, *ökin* 200B24 ‘daughter’. WM *ökin* L633a, *okin* L607a. Kh *oxin* H401b. Ord *okin* M508b. Bur *üxi(n)* C518a. Brg *uxiη* U48. Kalm *okn* M394a. Dag *uyin* E44, *uyin* E49. EYu *hkon* B58, *hgun* J99b. MgrH *fužün* SM103, *śžün* J99a. MgrM *fužin* JL468, *śužin* JL468, *(x)učin dyu* P419b ‘younger sister’ (cf. **deü*) and *kao-śužun* DS21 ‘children’ (cf. **keü* or **köbeün*). BaoD *okən* T145, but cf. *ko-čün* BL48 ‘children’ (cf. **keü* or **köbeün*). BaoGt *śindi* C117 ‘younger sister’ apparently from **ökin deü*. BaoÑ *əkuη* CN17. BaoX *xjoη* BC63. Kgj *iχgə* S279b; *kunšün* S287b ‘boys and girls, offspring’ may represent either **köbeün ökin* or **köbeün sibaun*. Dgx *očin* B15, L28. Mog *ukin* R41a, *ukin* etc W182a, MogM/Mr *ökin*, *üökin* L62:60, see further s.v. **sibaun*.

***ölegčīn** ‘female of carnivorous animals; she-dog’. In Bur homophonous with the feminine form of the colour name *üle* < **öle*. Perhaps this is originally a taboo-related term ‘the grey one’, cf. MgrH *burǰǰǰi*: < **bora-gčīn* ‘hen’, lit. ‘the grey one’ (feminine). In spite of the similarity Dag may not be related, as the loss of the initial vowel is abnormal.

MMo---. WM *ölögčī(n)* L634a. Kh *ölögčīn* H409b. Ord *ölögčīn* M531b. Bur *ülegšen* C502a. Kalm *ölgčīn* M414b. Dag *lukčə:n* (?) E44 ‘she-dog’, however *ukčə:n* E83:44. EYu *lögčən* B88 ‘she-dog’. Remaining lgs---.

***ölegei** ‘cradle’. EYu goes back to a form **ölege*.

MMo SH *olegai* H123, HY---, Muq *ölegei* P275b, LV---, IV *ölöge* L62:60. WM *ölögei* L634a, *ölegei* L633b. Kh *ölgīy* H408b. Ord *ölögi*: M531a. Bur *ülgī* C499b. Brg *ulgi*: U50. Kalm *ölgä* M414a. EYu *ölöyö* B17, *ölöye* J86. Remaining lgs---.

***öles-** ‘to be hungry’. The initial **h-* suggested by Dag is not confirmed elsewhere. Could the *x-* in Dag be due to the influence of *xuns* < **künesün* ‘provision’? The *-n-* in the Dag form is also peculiar. Chen Naixiong compares BaoŃ *ələr-* to WM *ölber-* ‘to starve’, which is phonetically possible, but unlikely in view of the other Shirongol languages (BaoŃ *-r* < *-s* is common). Some of the meanings in Kh seem to point at an etymology **öl-se-* with the desiderative suffix ‘to want nourishment’. However, the MMo, Mog, and Shirongol forms are clearly incompatible with such a reconstruction.

MMo SH *oles-* H123, *olos-* H124, HY *öles-* M84, Muq *öles-* P275b, LV *ölüs-* P1260, IV *ölös-külen* L61 ‘hungry’. WM *ölös-* L634b. Kh *ölsöx* H410a. Ord *ölös-* M532a. Bur *öldexe* C500a. Brg *ulʹd-* U50. Kalm *ölsx* M415a. Dag *xuns-* (sic, ?=) E124, *xunsu-*. EYu---. MgrH *losə-* J96b. MgrM *losi-* JL469. BaoD *olos-* BL84b, *olesi-* BL75. BaoŃ *ələr-* CN17, *ələr-* CN17. Kgj *läsi-* ~ *lesi-* S290b. Dgx *oliesi-* B14, *oliesu-* L112b. Mog *uläs-* R41b, *olas-* W174b.

***örgü-** ‘to hang’ see **elgü-**

***ölmei** ‘instep’. MMo reflects a form **ölmi*, which may survive in Bur *ülʹme*. The Dag form, if at all related, also goes back to a form **ölmi* or **ölme*, which then dissolved the cluster.

MMo SH *olmi* H123, HY *ölmi* M84, Muq---. WM *ölmei* L633b. Kh *ölmiy* H409a ‘sole of the foot or a boot; (hon.) feet’, Luv319b ‘foot, instep’. Ord *ölmi*: M531a ‘foot (hon.)’. Bur *ülʹmī*, *ülʹme* C502a ‘metatarsus’. Brg *ulmi*: U50 ‘instep’. Kalm *ölmä* M414b ‘front part of the foot’. Dag *urum* (?) E50 ‘instep’. Remaining lgs---.

***ömüdün** ‘trousers’ see ***emüdün**

***ömdegen** (?< **emdegen* or **emdügen*) ‘egg’. It seems impossible to reconstruct a single CM form for all the modern forms. Note that the various languages suggest forms in *-e*, *-ei*, or *-en*. It is unclear whether the initial vowel was **e* or **ö* originally. An original **e* could have been rounded by an **ü* of the following syllable, or by the

**m*. Dagur and the Shirongol languages have unrounded first syllables. The Monguoric languages suggest **endege*, Baoanic **emdege* or **emdegei*. However, the Dagur -*u*- does suggest an original rounded second vowel, which is not confirmed in MMo.

MMo SH *ondegen* H124, HY *ömdegen* M84, Muq *ömdegen* P341a, *ömdögen* P136b, cf. *öndegele-* P276b. WM *öndege(n)*, *öndöge(n)* L636b, *ömdege(n)*, *ömdöge(n)* L635a. Kh *öndög* (*öndgön*) H413a. Ord *öndögö* M533b. Bur *ündege(n)* C505b. Brg *undäg* U44. Kalm *öndgn* M416b. Dag *ənduy*^w E21. EYu---. MgrH *ndäge* J96a. MgrM *andige* JL479. BaoD *əndəgi* BL84b. BaoÑ *emdäge* CN14. Kgj *ndeye* ~ *əndeye* ~ *andeye* S282b. Dgx *endeyi* B7, *endeyei* 112a. Mog *undäyo:n* R41b, *əndəgən* W175a.

***öndege** ‘egg’ see ***ömdegen**

***öndür** (?*höndür) ‘high’. The **h*- suggested by the Dag form is not confirmed elsewhere in Mongolic, but cf. Azeri *höndür*. The Middle Mongol vocalism seems to be confirmed by Shirongol, while EYu *ondor* sides with Khalkha and Kalmuck (cf. **üdür* ‘day’).

MMo SH *undur* H164, *untur* H165, HY *üntür* M109, Muq *öndür* (or *ündür*) P276b, Ph *ündür* P133a. WM *öndör* L637a. Kh *öndör* H413a. Ord *undur* M757a. Bur *ünder* C505b. Brg *undär* U46. Kalm *öndr* M416b. Dag *xundur* E125. EYu *oṅdor* B15, *uṅdur* J96b. MgrH *ndur* J96a, X39, *undur* X16. MgrM *undur* JL479. BaoD *undär* BL84b. BaoÑ *undär* CN20. Kgj *undär* S280b. Dgx *undu* B19. L112a. Mog---.

***önečün** ‘orphan(ed)’.

MMo SH *onocit* (pl) H124, *onocit* (pl) H125, HY---, Muq *önečün-* P107a. WM *önöčün*. Kh *önčün* H414a. Ord *önöčün* M534b. Bur *ünšen* C507b, *ünešen* C509b. Brg *unšiṅ* U46. Kalm *önčn* M417b. Dag *wənčün* E337, *unčün* E43. EYu *nöčən* B26. MgrH *nočün* X34, *nučün* X37. MgrM *wuniečün* DS240b, *mišžün* (sic) Z329:238. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *oniečəṅ* B13, *oliečün* MC304b. Mog---.

***öṅge** ‘colour; appearance’. Related to CT **öṅ* ‘colour’.

MMo SH *ongge* H124 ‘colour’, HY *öṅgö* M84 ‘colour’, Muq *öṅge* P277a ‘surface’, P306b ‘colour’. WM *öṅge(n)* L637b. Kh *öṅgö(n)* H412a. Ord *öṅgö* M535a. Bur *ünge* C504a. Kalm *öṅg* M418a. Dag *uṅg*^w E43 ‘facial expression’. EYu *öṅgö* J96b ‘colour’, B17 ‘colour; appearance, look’, BJ338 ‘face’, *öṅge* J90 ‘face’. MgrH *ṅgo* J96a ‘colour’. MgrM *aṅgo* JL478. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *oṅgie* B13, *wāṅgie* B191 ‘face, facial expression’. Mog---.

***öṅgere-** ‘to pass by’. The *h*- in MMo (Muq) in the causative form *höṅgere-ül-* P326a is incidental. Note the atypical loss of the initial syllable in Dgx.

MMo SH---, HY *öṅgere-* M84, Muq *öṅgere-* P277a. WM *öṅggere-* L638a. Kh *öṅgöröx* H412b. Ord *öṅgörö-* M536a. Bur *üngerxe* C505a. Kalm *öṅgrx* M418b. Dag *uṅgərə-* T171. EYu *öṅgere-* B17. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *gieru-* B90. Mog---.

***ör** ‘dawn’, often used with **čai-* ‘to become white’ or **gei-* ‘to become bright’. Note the vowel length in Kh, Bur, and EYu-Mgr, as if CM were **öer*. Dag could have developed from **ör* or **ür*. The Muq form could be read *ö:r*, *ür* or *ü:r* just as well.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ör* P382a. WM *ür* L1010b. Kh *üür* H583b. Ord *ör* M537b, *örö* M538a, but *určä:-* M741b. Bur *üür* C517a. Brg *u:r* U45. Kalm *ör* M422a. Dag *ur čē:-* ‘to dawn’. EYu *ö:r* B16, J34, *oyir* (sic) S686, perhaps also in *určag* B20 ‘morning; tomorrow’ (cf. **čag*). MgrH *o:r* X15, *u:r čē:-* X16. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ør gi:-* CN18. Dgx *o ği-* B13, *oyäi-* L37.

***öre** ‘(pit of the) stomach’.

MMo SH *ore* H126 ‘heart’, *oro* H126 ‘pit of the stomach’, HY *örö* M84 ‘pit of the stomach’, Muq---. WM *öri*, *örö* L643b, *öri* L642a ‘interior; heart; abdomen; coronary artery; pit of stomach, precordia’. Kh *örön* [*ör(n)*] H416b. Ord *ör(ö)* M538a ‘heart (fig.)’. Bur *üre* C514a ‘inner part, middle’. Kalm *ör* M422a ‘core, centre; chest, soul’. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD *orə* BL87a ‘stomach’. BaoÑ *raman* CN221 (+ **aman* ‘mouth, opening’) ‘chest; pit of the stomach’. Kgj *uramə* S281a (+ **aman*). Dgx *oro* B16 ‘(pit of the) stomach’, cf. also *oro amasa*, *oromasa* B16/17 (**amasar* ‘opening’). Mog---.

***öreče** ‘diaphragm’. Ord, Kalm and EYu suggest **öreči*. Probably derived from **öre*.

MMo---. WM *öröče* L643b ‘diaphragm, etc’. Kh *örc* H420a. Ord *öröči* M540a. Bur *ürse* C513a. Brg *urs* U54 ‘the bottom of one’s heart’. Kalm *örč* M425b ‘diaphragm’. Dag---. EYu *orečə* B16 ‘pleura’. Remaining lgs---.

***öreele** ‘type of hobble’ and ***öreesün** ‘half (one of a pair)’. Due to the final vowel of the first variant, the suffix alternation is not quite the same as the well known alternation *-l ~ -sUn* seen in **hargal ~ *hargasun*, **baidal ~ *baitasun* ‘mare’, **gudul ~ *gudusun* ‘boots’, although HY features *-l-sUn*. The QG languages developed from a shortened form **örle*; the *-ö:* in EYu was probably lengthened recently. The surprising Dag *-y-* may be a secondary development of earlier *-w-*. Dag initial *e-* is also unexpected in view of the MMo forms. The similarity to Turkic **örk* ‘hobble’ is probably fortuitous, as the Turkic word seems to derive from the verb **hö:r-* ‘to weave, plait’, which means that initial *h-* would be expected in CM as well. Cf. **čidör* ‘hobble’.

MMo SH *ore’ele* H126, *oro’ele* H127 ‘one (of a pair)’, HY *örö’elsün* M84 ‘one (of a pair)’, Muq *öre:le* P95a ‘one (of a pair)’, P277b ‘half’. WM *örögel* L643b ‘(..) hobble..’, *örögesün* L644a, *örögelsün* L643b ‘half of a pair, etc’. Kh *örööl* H419a ‘half of a whole; hobbles for the legs of only one side of a horse’, *öröös(ön)* H419a ‘odd, unpaired; unmatching’. Ord *örö:l* M539a (kind of hobble), *örö:sön* M539b ‘one of a pair’. Bur *ürööl* C513a ‘one of a pair’, *ürööle* C513a, *üreele* C512a ‘one of a pair, half; kind of hobble’, *ürööhe(n)* C513a ‘one of a pair; half’. Kalm *öräl* M422b ‘half’, *öräsən* M422b ‘one of a pair’. Dag *əryʷlə:* E30 ‘hobble’, *əryulə:n* S548. EYu *örlö* B18 ‘half; hobble for the legs on one side’, *örlö:* J96a ‘hobble’, *örlö:* S549 ‘one (of a pair)’. Mgr---. Bao *olər* Z387 ‘half’. BaoD *olə* BL84a ‘hobble’. BaoÑ *öle* CN17 ‘half’, cf. *kuñ olenə* CN82 ‘some people’ (cf. the semantic

development of **jarim* ‘half’). Kgj *ule* ~ *uli* S280b ‘half’. Dgx *olie* L112a ‘hobble’, *olie* B13 ‘half’, *wanlie* B191 ‘half’. Mog---

***örege** ‘skylight’ see ***erüke**

***öreme** ‘skin on boiled milk’. Bur, EYu suggest a form with final *-n*, which is surprisingly confirmed by Mgr, which usually eliminates final *-n*. Several forms lack the middle vowel.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *öreme* P329b. WM *öröme* L644a. Kh *öröm* H418b. Ord *örmö* M538a. Bur *ürme(n)* C513a. Kalm *örm* M424b ‘sour cream; skin on milk’. Dag *urum* E50. EYu *örmön* B18 ‘fat’. MgrH *rämen* J96b, *rme:n* X240, L467, *yermiæn* SM492. Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---

***örgen** ‘broad, wide, vast’.

MMo SH *orgen* H126, HY *örgen* M84, Muq---. WM *örgen* L641a. Kh *örgön* H417a. Ord *örgön* M537b. Bur *ürge(n)* C511a. Kalm *örgn* M424a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *rgon* X239. Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---

***örgeesün, *örgesün** ‘thorn’. Note the disagreement of the vowel quantity of the syllable preceding *-sUn*. The Ordos forms seem to reflect earlier variants **örgüsün* and **örgesün*. Kgj *η-* is unusual. Cf. the regional word **adaakai* used in Bur *adaaxay* C30a and Dag *ada:ki*: E13 ~ *aduk’e*: E14.

MMo SH *orugesun* H128, HY---, Muq *örgesün* P278a. WM *örgegüsü(n)*, *örgesü(n)* L641a, *örgösü(n)* L641b. Kh *örgös(ön)* H417b. Chakhar *orgo:s* D172b. Ord *urgusu* M762a, *örgös(ü)* M537b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *örge* M424a ‘splinter; thorn’, *örge:sn* Ram299a, *ürgäsn* Ram459b. Dag *uryis* E50. EYu *orgwe:sæn* B16, *örgösæn* J96a also ‘bristle’, *rgü:sæn* J57, *örgö:sön* S548, *örgösæn* (Qinglong) BJ352. MgrH *rgo:sə* J96a also ‘bristle’, *rgo:zə* X239. MgrM *argo:sī* C395. Bao---. Kgj *ηgusun* ~ *gusun* S282b. Dgx *əğəsuy* B8. Mog *urgasu* W183a ‘camel-thorn’, MogMr, MogM *örgäsün* L62:61.

***örgü-** ‘to lift’ see **ergü-**

***öri** ‘debt’. With *-n* in Kh and Kalm.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *öri* P278b. WM *öri* L641b. Kh *ör(ön)* H416b. Ord *örö* M538a. Bur *üri* C512b. Kalm *örn* M425a. Dag *ur* E49. EYu *ö:r* B17, J96a, *ö:rə* S546. MgrH *urə* X22. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj *uri* S281a. Dgx *ori* B16. Mog---

***örmege** ‘kind of coarse fabric’. In EYu metathesized > **örgeme*; in Mgr and Dgx metathesized > **ömerge*. Related to CT **hö(:)r-mek* from the verb **hö(:)r-* ‘to plait’.

MMo SH *ormege, ormuge* H126 ‘woollen garment’, HY---, Muq---, IM *örmege* P443b ‘upper garment’. WM *ermüge(n)* L331b ‘coarse fabric made of hair of camel or sheep’s wool, etc’, *örmöge* L642b. Kh *örmög* H418 ‘gingham’. Ord *örmögö* M538a. Bur *ürmege* (Bokh. dialect) C513a ‘doormat’. Kalm *örmg* M424b ‘peasant’s cloth coat; overcoat’. Dag---. EYu *oryeme* B16. MgrH *mierge* SM236, *murgz* X128, *murge* L340. MgrM *merge* P411a. Bao---. Dgx *muğə* B110. Mog---

***örüke** ‘skylight, smoke-hole (of a yurt)’. The initial vowel is not certain. The **e-* is only confirmed by SH and the WM spelling; the round vowel in the other sources could be original or secondary. Ord rather suggests an original vocalism **öreke*, whereas EYu favours *-g-* rather than *-k-*. According to Enkhbat Dag *uryə*: E88:498 ‘felt tent, yurt’ also belongs here. Although Kh *örx* has also developed the meaning ‘household’, Dag *uryə*: is more likely to be related to Kh *örgöö* H417a ‘yurt’ (honorific), from **örgee* ‘palace’.

MMo SH *eruge* H46, *oruge* H128, HY---, Muq *örüke* P278b, RH *örüke* 186C29. WM *erüke* L322b, *örke* L642a. Kh *örx(ön)* H420a ‘smoke hole cover of a yurt’. Ord *örökö* M538b. Bur *ürxe* C513b. Kalm *örk* M424b. Dag (see above). EYu *öröyö* B17, *ruye* S206. MgrH---, MgrM---, Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***ös-** ‘to grow’. In MgrH perhaps confused with **eüs-* ‘to arise, develop’. In Bao this verb has become hard to distinguish from **bos-* ‘to get up’.

MMo SH *os-* H128, HY *ösge-* (caus) M84, Muq *ös-* P279a. WM *ös-* L645a. Kh *ösöx* H421a. Bur *üdex* C494b. Kalm *ösx* M427a. Dag---, EYu---, MgrH *o:sə*: (?) J96b ‘to grow, to develop’. BaoD *osī-* BL84a. BaoÑ *wər-* CN230. Kgj *usi-* S280b. Dgx *osī-* B14. Mog---.

***öskel-** (?**hisköl-*) ‘to kick’. The evidence concerning the vocalism and initial *h-* is ambiguous. The first-syllable *-i-* as found in the WM spelling is only found in MMo and Kalmuck. It may be the original form, while the other central languages derive from an assimilated form **öskel-* (via **ösköl-*). The initial *h-* is only found in a single MMo source, and supported by the possible Manchu cognate *feshele-* (P60:11, 65 etc), but a CM **h-* is not confirmed by the modern Mongolic languages that normally preserve **h-*. The Dag forms appear to be reborrows from Tungusic. In the QG languages the first syllable is too abraded to provide evidence for or against **h-*. The MgrH form *sgolda-* seems to be a new formation based on the noun *sgol* X143 ‘kick’, which itself looks like a back-formation from **öskel-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *hiskel-* (*hisköl-*?) ms. 73a-04-7. WM *iskül-* (?*isköl-*) L417a, *öskile-* L645b, *ösköl-* L646a. Kh *öšiglöx* H422b. Ord *ösköl-* M541a. Bur *üd'xelxe* C494a, *üšxelxe* (Bokh.) C520b. Brg *utigäl-* U51. Kalm *išklx* M276a. Dag *əšklə:-* (←Manchu/Tungus) Z93a, *pəšklə:-* (←Manchu) E91. EYu *sukel-* B103, *sgöl-* J95b. MgrH *sgolda-* J95b. MgrM---, BaoD *galə-* BL83a. BaoGt *sgäl-* C130. BaoJ *sgal-* L158. BaoÑ *sgel-* CN147. Kgj *siger-* ~ *sge-* S293b. Dgx---, Mog---.

***ösegei** ‘heel’. SH and Bur suggest **(ö)sügei*, Dgx supports **ösegei*. The loss of the initial vowel in Bur is unusual (cf. **isegei* ‘felt’). The vaguely similar EYu *зэҗэи* B151 ‘heel’ is probably unrelated. Cf. **jaujai*.

MMo SH *ösügei* H128, HY *ösögö* M85, Muq *ösegei* P279a. WM *ösögei* L646a, *ösgei* L645a. Kh *ösgiy* H420b. Ord *ösögi*: M541b. Bur *hüyei* C695a, *ühegi* C519b. Brg *xugi*: U123. Kalm *öskä* M426a. Dag---, EYu (see above). Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx *ošiği* B14. Mog---.

***öteg** ‘dung’. This vocalism (rather than **ötüg*) suggested by Ord and EYu. The RH form is an emendation. Although it is not contradicted by other languages, EYu

h- is probably due to the following *-t-*. Cf. also Kh *ötgön* H421a, Bur *üdxen*(n) C494a ‘excrement (euphemism)’ (listed under *üdxen* < **ödken* ‘thick’. Possibly related to Turkic **ötük*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *hötük* [ms. *hwrwn*] 200A16. WM *ötög* L646b. Kh *ötög* H421b. Ord *ötök* M542a (with altered meaning). Bur *üteg* C515b (in compounds). Kalm *ötg* M427a. Dag---. EYu *hdög* BJ331 ‘sheep dung’ (the authors instruct the reader to strike the form *hərtög* B56; the *-r-* might have been intrusive rather than wrong, cf. the EYu treatment of **hičesün*). Remaining lgs---.

***ötege** (and ***ötegü**) ‘old, old man’, also used as an Ersatzwort for ‘bear’, usually in the form **ötege*. Note the disappearance of *-g-* in Bur and Dgx. The Kgj form was apparently newly derived from the related verb **ötel-* listed below.

MMo SH *otogu* H129 ‘old (person)’, HY *ötögü* (*gü’ün*) M85 ‘old person’, *ötögö* M85 ‘bear’. Muq *ötege* P279a ‘bear’, *ötegü* P279a, *ötöge-* P228a ‘old man’, LV *öt(e)ge* P1258 ‘bear’, *ötegü* P1258 ‘old man’, RH *ötege* 199C20 ‘bear’. WM *ötege* L646a ‘bear’, *ötegü* L646b ‘old man’. Kh *ötög* H421b ‘bear’, *ötgös* (pl.) H421b ‘elders, seniors’. Bur *ütöö* (folkl. & western) ‘grandmother’. Kalm *ötg* (obs.) M427a ‘bear’, *ötögə*, *ötkö* R302a ‘old man; bear’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *şdo:gu* X167 ‘old’. MgrM (Sanchuan) *itigü* P420a. Bao---. Kgj *eteğai* ~ *öteğai* S279b ‘old’. Dgx *oćiau* B15 ‘old’. Mog *utäyü*: R41b ‘old man’, *wataga* Leech785 ‘bear’, MogM *ütäga* ‘old man; bear’.

***ötel-** ‘to get old, to age’. Cf. **ötege*/**ötegü* above. Dgx *oćiaulu-* B15 seems to be newly form based on the latter.

MMo SH *otol-* H129, HY---, Muq *ötel-* P279a. WM *ötel-* L646b, *ötöl-* L647a. Kh *ötölöx* H421b. Ord *ötöl-* M542a. Bur *ütelxe* C516a. Kalm *ötlx* M427b. Dag *utul-* E47 ‘to become old, to dry out (e.g. vegetables)’. EYu---. MgrH *şdo:lə-* X168. MgrM *şidier-* DS240a. BaoJ *dual(ə)-* L36. Kgj *ete-* ~ *eteŋ-* ~ *erte-* S279b. Dgx *oćielu-* MC308a. Mog---.

***öyee** ‘feed, fodder’. Dag, Mgr and Dgx suggest a CM **üyee* or **öyee*. The Kh form suggests that this is a derivate ?**ögyee* of **ög-* ‘to give’, but this is not confirmed elsewhere, and does not make sense morphologically. Cf. MMo SH *oyese-* H129 ‘to be voracious’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ögjöge* (sic) L633a, *ögyöge* Ceval 432b. Kh *ög’yöö* [written *ög’eö*] Ceval432b ‘food for birds and rodents’. Ord---. Bur *üyee(g)* C496b ‘bait (esp. in a trap)’. Kalm---. Dag *uyə:* E48 ‘pig food’. EYu---. MgrH *uye* X21 ‘(pig-, dog-)food’. MgrM *uyi* JL474. Bao---. Dgx *uyə* B23 ‘food (for chicken, dog or bird)’. Mog---.

- S -

***saa-** ‘to milk’. The peculiar MgrH and Mog forms, which seem to reflect a CM form **sua-*, are inexplicable. This variant is incompatible with the regular

reconstruction (and with Turkic). To assume that these have developed under the influence of **sün* ‘milk’ seems far-fetched. An agricultural term related to CT **sag-* ‘id’ (EDPT 804b), suggesting a PM form **saya-*.

MMo SH *sa’a-* H130, HY---, Muq *sa:-* P319b. WM *saya-* L656a. Kh *saax* H430a. Bur *haaxa* C660b. Brg *xa:-* U86. Kalm *saax* M434b. Dag *sa:-* E209. EYu *sa:-* B96, J102b. MgrH *sa:-* J102a, *sua:-* (sic) SM356. MgrM *sa-* JL469, *sa:-* C384. BaoD *sa-* BL90a. BaoÑ *sa:-* CN121. Kgj *sa-* ~ *ca-* S293a. Dgx *sa-* B112, cf. also *sayi-* MC348b with an unexpected final element, reminiscent of the verbalizer *yi* which is typically restricted to stems of Chinese origin. Mog *so-* W179b, MogM *sup-* L63:157.

***saaral** ‘name of several colours of horses’ coats (usu. shades of grey)’. The Dag form *sa:lla* developed the final vowel after the *r* and *l* were assimilated (cf. **huruul* for a similar development), unless this form is influenced by the Manchu form *sarla* H770. Agricultural term which, unlike other animal colour names, seems to lack a CT cognate.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *saral* 187C8. WM *sayaral* L657b, *saral* L675a. Kh *saaral* H429b. Bur *haaral* C660a. Brg *xa:ral* U87. Kalm *saarl* M434a. Dag *sa:rəl* E209, *sa:ral*, *sa:lla* NK87. EYu *sa:ral* BJ341, S584. Remaining lgs---.

***saari** ‘buttocks, hindquarters; names for types of leather’. The loss of the final vowel in EYu is irregular, as is the vowel shortening in Mgr. Related to CT **sagīr* or **sagri* (EDPT 815a). Kh *sayr* H433a ‘cracked skin, chapping’. EYu *sa:r* S588, Bao *sirəg* (?) S588 ‘callus’ probably represents a development of the same etymon. The WM spelling *sayir* L660b seems to be a Khalkha-inspired innovation. There may have been semantic interference between **saari* and **sarīsun*.

MMo SH *sa’ari* H130 ‘buttocks’, Muq *sa:ri* P319b ‘Russia leather’, P140a ‘hindquarters (of a horse)’ (P: ‘back’). WM *sayari(n)* L657b ‘horsehide, leather, shagreen’. Kh *sayr* H433a ‘suede...’. Bur *haari* C660a ‘red spots on the hands; skin of the spine’. Brg *xair* U88 ‘callus’. Kalm *säär* M444a ‘croup’. Dag *sa:r* E209 ‘leather bootstrap’. EYu *sa:r* B97 ‘buttocks (of livestock)’. MgrH *sari* SM328 ‘short-haired skin; fur’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *sairin* R37b ‘thin leather, shagreen’.

***saajagai** ‘magpie’ see ***sajagai**

***saba** ‘vessel, household container; utensil’.

MMo SH *saba* H130, HY *saba* M92, Muq *saba* P148a. WM *saba* L653a. Kh *sav* H430a. Bur *haba* C660a, *saba* (←Kh) C379b. Kalm *sav* M434b. Dag only in *tiy saw* E256 (*tiy* is a regional word). EYu *saβa* B97. MgrH *sava:* X134. MgrM *saba* JL467. BaoD---. BaoÑ *sawør* (?) CN127. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***saba-** ‘to beat’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *saba-* P314a. WM *saba-* L653a. Kh *savax* H430b. Bur *habaxa* C661a. Kalm *savx* M435a. EYu *sawa:-* S585. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *saba-* R37b.

***saču-** ‘to sprinkle, scatter, shed’. An assimilated form **čacu-* arose early, and prevails in the central languages. The -g- in MgrM may be a byproduct of devoicing. BaoŃ *sar-* is reminiscent of **sarni-*, but that verb is not attested elsewhere in QG. Related to CT **sač-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *sacu-* H131, HY---, Muq *sači-* P314a, *čači-* P129a. WM *saču-* L655a, *čaču-* L156a. Kh *cacax* H748b, *sacax* H443a. Ord *jaču-* M189b. Bur *sasaxa* C386a. Brg *sas-* U153. Kalm *cacx* M628a. Dag *čeč-* E297. EYu *saǰə-* B98, J50. MgrH *saǰə-* J94a. MgrM *səǰǰi-* DS217. BaoD---. BaoŃ *sar-* (?=) CN126. Dgx *sǰi-* B120, *ǰiǰi-* MC362b. Mog---.

***sačura-** ‘to be sprinkled, scattered, shed’. At first sight a Mongolic intransitive formation from **saču-*, the counterpart of the transitive **sačul-*, but cf. also CT **sačra-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *čačira-* P129b, *čačara-* P135b. WM *sačura-* L655b. Kh *cacrax* LC 4:255b. Bur *sasarxa* C386a. Kalm *cacr-* R423b. Dag---. EYu *saǰəra-* B98, *saǰira:-* J5. MgrH *saǰira:-* X132. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *ǰiǰira-* MC363a, *sǰira-ǰa-* (caus.) B120. Mog---.

***sagad ~ *sagadaï ~ *sagag** ‘buckwheat’. The extant forms are rather diverse, and all of them are poorly attested (none of them in the old sources). The Dgx form could have developed from **sagag*, but in MgrH the loss of -g would be abnormal. Perhaps there was yet another variant **saga*. The vaguely similar-looking Kalm *saksa*: R308b ‘buckwheat’ may go back to a further variant **sagasaï*. The *sagadaï* form is structurally similar to **buudaï*. The phonetic variation within Mongolic could indicate that this is a loanword. Unlike other names of cultivated plants this word does not seem to have a cognate in early Turkic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sayay* L656b, *sayada* L656b. Kh *sagag*, *sagaday* H431b. Ord *sagaq ~ saǰat* M551b. Bur---. Kalm (see above). Dag---. EYu *sīgd(i)* P398. MgrH *saǰa* SM318. MgrM *ska* P398. BaoD *sagəd* BL77. BaoGt *səǰədə* C117. BaoJ *səǰədə* L158. Dgx *saǰa* B114.

***saikan** ‘beautiful, good-looking’. Originally the diminutive of **saïn* ‘good’. The meaning in Muq is taboo-related, cf. Dag *ǰarya:l* E312 ‘smallpox’, lit. ‘joy’, EYu *χara pərqan* B46 ‘smallpox’, lit. ‘black Buddha’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *saiqan* P317b ‘smallpox’ (sic), Ph *sayiqan* P129b. WM *sayiqan* L661b. Kh *sayxan* H433b. Bur *hayxan* C666a. Brg *xaixan* U87. Kalm *sääxn* M444a. Dag *saiḱən* E210. EYu *seiyqan* B99, *saiyqan* B97, *saiḱḱan* J101b. MgrH *sḱan* J101b, *sai:ḱan* J102a, *saiḱan* X130, *saixan* X129. MgrM *saixan* JL476, *ǰaixan* DS206b. BaoD *saiḱan* BL89b. BaoŃ---. BaoX *seḱan* CN86:226. Kgj *sḱə ~ siḱə* S294b. Dgx *saiḱan* B115. Mog---?

***saïn** ‘good’. The unexpected Baoan form *saṇ* and Kangjia *sə* could be borrowed from or at least influenced by LT *bzang* ‘id’.

MMo SH *sayin*, *sayi* H133, HY *sayin* M94, Muq *sain* P315a, *sayin* P96a. WM *sayin* L660b. Kh *sayn* H433a. Bur *hay(n)* C664a. Brg *xaiṇ* U87. Kalm *sān* M445a. Dag *sain* E209. EYu *sain* B97, J102b, *sein* B99. MgrH *sai:n* J102a. MgrM *śæn* (?) C384. BaoD *saṇ* (?=) BL90b. BaoŃ *saṇ* (?=) CN122. BaoX *saṇ* (?=) BC67.

Kgj *seini* S293b, alongside *sə* (?=) S294a. Dgx---. Mog *so:i:n* R38b ‘correct’, *som* (~ sandhi form *som*) W179b.

***sainug** ‘ox; billy-goat’ see ***seinüg**

***sakal** ‘beard’. Related to CT ***sakal** ‘id’.

MMo SH *saqal* H131, HY *saqal* M93, Muq *saqal* P318a. WM *saqal* L677b. Kh *saxal* H442a. Ord *saxul* ~ *saçal* M553a. Bur *haxal* C679b, *haxuul* (Alar) C679b. Brg *xaxal* U90. Kalm *saxl* M443a. Dag *sayəl* E213. EYu *sağal* B97, J102b. MgrH *sğal* J102a. MgrM *sğar* JL478, *siğar* C385. BaoD *sağal* BL90b. BaoÑ *saçal* CN124, *caçal* CN190 ‘pubic hair’. Kgj---. Dgx *sağar* B114. Mog *sayal* R37b.

***saki-** ‘to wait; to protect; to guard, keep watch’. Note the lengthening of the **a* due to word structure both in EYu and Bao, in this case contradicted by Mgr where the vowel was lost. Perhaps related to CT **sa:k-* ‘to think’. Cf. **mana-*.

MMo SH *saki-* H131 ‘to protect’, HY *saki-* M93, Muq *saqi-* P318a ‘to protect,’ WM *saki-* L662b. Kh *saxix* H442b. Bur *haxixa* C679b. Kalm *säx* M445a ‘to keep watch; protect; etc’. Dag *say^y-* E213. EYu *sa:ğə-* B96 ‘wait; keep watch’. MgrH *sgə-* X143 ‘protect; wait’. MgrM *ś(i)gi-* JL473, *ś(i)gə-* C385. BaoD *sa:ğə-* T146. Bao (Gaser) *sa:ğa-* CN86:227. BaoÑ *sa:ğa-* CN121. BaoX *sa:ği-* CN86:180. Kgj *saxi-* S293a. Dgx *saği-* B114.

***sal** ‘raft’. The peculiar Buriat and Dagur forms suggest CM forms **sala*, **sula*, **salī*, which are incompatible with the remaining languages. Related to CT **sa:l* ‘id’.

MMo SH *sal* H131, HY---, Muq---. WM *sal* L663a. Kh *sal* H434a. Ord *sal* M554a. Bur *hala* C669b. Brg---. Kalm *sal* M436b. Dag *s^wal* E227, *sal^y* E213. EYu *sal* B98 ‘boat’, J8 ‘raft made of inflated skins’. Remaining lgs---.

***sal-** ‘to loosen; to be divided; to part’. The final *-a* in MgrH is peculiar; original connective vowels that become part of the stem are normally *ə* or *u*.

MMo SH *salqa-* (caus.) H131, HY *salqaqda-* (caus. + pass.) M93, Muq---. WM *sal-* L663a, *salu-* L666a. Kh *salax* H434b ‘to separate, part with..’. Ord *sal-* M554a. Bur *halaxa* C667b. Kalm *salx* M438a. Dag *sal-* E213. EYu *sal-* B98 ‘to leave, depart from’, *salə-* BJ340. MgrH *sala-* (only) L475. Remaining lgs---.

***salaa** ‘branch; space between fingers’. Possibly derived from **sal-*. See **gesiün* ‘branch’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *sala:sun* (emendation) 202A19. WM *salaya(n)* L663b. Kh *salaa(n)* H434a. Ord *sala:* M554b. Bur *halaa* C667b. Brg *sala:* (←Kh) U153. Kalm *sala* M436b. Dag *sala:* E213. EYu *sala:* B98, *sala* J102b. MgrH *sala* J102a. MgrM *sala* JL471. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *sala* B114, L118a. Mog---.

***salkin** ‘wind’. The MgrH form with its long *i:* may be influenced by CM **kei* ‘wind’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *salki(n)* L665b. Kh *salxi(n)* H436a. Ord *salkin* M556b. Bur *halxi(n)* C669b. Brg *xalx'* U92. Kalm *sal'kn* M438b. Dag---. EYu *salgān* J102b 'wind', *salqān* B98 '(soft) wind', corrected by BJ340 as *salqān* 'apoplexy'. MgrH *salki*: X132 'gentle breeze'. Remaining lgs---.

***sam** 'comb'. The Dag form *sannə* 'comb' appears to be remodeled after the verb (listed below).

MMo SH---, HY *sam* M93, Muq *sam* P317b. WM *sam* L666b. Kh *sam(an)* H436a. Bur *ham* C670a. Brg *xam* U93. Kalm *sam* M438b. Dag *sannə* E212, *sand* Z101a. EYu *sam* B98, J102b. MgrH *sam* J102a, *san* X130. MgrM *saṅ* JL463. BaoD *sam* BL90b. BaoÑ *sam* CN124. Kgj *san* ~ *saṅ* S293a. Dgx *saṅ* B113. Mog---.

***samla-** 'to comb'. Dag *sannə* < **samna-* < **samla-*, or < **sandə-* < **samda-*, or from **samud-*, for which cf. IV *samud-* L62:62.

MMo Muq *samla-* P317b, central Mongolic Brg *xamal-* U93, etc. Dag *sannə* E212. EYu *samla-* J102b. MgrH *samla-* J102a, *salma-* X132, *samna-* X132. MgrM *saṅbula-* DS212b. BaoD *samlə-* BL90a. BaoGt *sāmāl-* C115. BaoÑ *samla-* CN125, *sabla-* CN123. Kgj *sama-* S293a. Dgx *sanla-* B113. Mog---.

***samur-** 'to throw up in the air and scatter; to ladle; to stir'. In the first meaning reminiscent of CT **savru-* 'to winnow'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. Kh *samrax* (?=) H437a 'to ladle up and pour back', cf. also *zamrax* H232b 'to ladle or pour liquid back into a boiling P'. Ord *samur-* M577a 'to stir with a ladle (...)', *semur-* M572a 'to throw (grains) up in the air (...)'. Bur *hamarxa* C670b. Brg *xamar-* U94. Kalm *samrx* M439a 'to stir'. Dag---. EYu *samər-* BJ340. MgrH *samurə-* X132.

***sana-** 'to think'. Cf. **bodo-*.

MMo SH---, HY *sana-* M93 'to calculate', Muq *sana-* P178a 'to consider as'. WM *sana-* L668b. Kh *sanax* H438b. Bur *hanaxa* C674a. Kalm *sanx* M441a. Dag *sanə-* E212. EYu *sana-* S593. MgrH *sana-* J102a. MgrM *sana-* DS210a. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *sana-* ~ *sina-* S293a. Dgx *sana-* B113. Mog---.

***sančig** 'hair on the temples'. It is not certain that all forms below are indeed related. Brg *samsag* (instead of expected **xanšag*) may have developed from an assimilated intermediate form with initial č-, but the -m- and the second -s- are also irregular. EYu seems to suggest **sanjīg*, although weakening of **č* is possibly quite recent. Dag is perhaps related instead to ?**saṅnai* or **saṅmai* 'forelock', cf. Ord *saṅmä:* ~ *saṅnä:* M560b, Bur *hambay* C671a, dial *hamnay* C671b, Kalm *saṅna* M441b. As to the Ch translations, the characters *jì* 'hair worn in a bun or coil' and *bìn* 'hair on the temples' might have been confused.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *sančiq* [Poppe reads *sanjiq*] P318a 'curls'. WM *sančiy* L671a, *sanjīy* L673b (both forms spelled identically). Kh *sančig* H439b 'hair on the temples'. Ord---. Bur *hanšag* C676a 'hair on the temples'. Brg *samsag* U153, *sansag* U151 'hair in a bun'. Kalm *sanjīg* M312a '(...) short hairs over the forehead'.

Dag *sannuy*^w (?=) E212 ‘hair in a bun’. EYu *sanjəğ* B97 ‘hair on the temples’, BJ340 (?=) ‘corner’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sar** ‘bird of prey’ [several species]. Rather poorly attested. Absent in Bur and Kalm, but perhaps Kalm *sārc* M446a ‘male of the saker falcon’ is from **sariča* as Ramstedt suggests, although this suffix is otherwise unknown.

MMo SH---, HY *sar* M93 ‘buzzard’, Muq---. WM *sar* L674a. Kh *sar* H440a. Ord *sar* M561a. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *sar* B99. MgrH *sa:r* X129. BaoD---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sara** ‘moon; month’.

MMo SH *sara* H132, HY *sara* M93, Muq *sara* P318b. WM *sara, saran* L674a. Kh *sar* H439b. Bur *hara* C676a. Brg *xar* U100. Kalm *sar* M441b. Dag *sar* E214. EYu *sara* B99, J102b. MgrH *sara* J103b. MgrM *sara* JL469. BaoD *sarə* BL90a. BaoÑ *sara* CN126. Kgj *sara* ~ *cara* S293a. Dgx *sara* B114. Mog---.

***sarimsag** ‘garlic’. The rounded vocalism in MgrH is peculiar. Baoanic seems to go back to a form **samsag*. Agricultural term related to CT **sarimsak* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *sarimsaq* M93, Muq *sarimsaq* P179a. WM *sarimsaq, sarimsang* L676a. Kh *sarimsaq* H440b. Ord *sarimsaq* ~ *sarmisaq*. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *sārmsg* M445b. EYu *sarəmsəğ* B99, J102b. MgrH *sarəmsəğ* J103b, *surəmsəğ* X140, *surunsag* L537. MgrM *sanpəzəğ* DS225b. BaoD *samsəğ* BL90b. BaoGt *samsəğ* C115. BaoÑ *samsəğ* CN125. Kgj *samasığ* ~ *suamsığ* S293a. Dgx *samusa* B114.

***sarisun** ‘membrane, thin skin’. Apparently **sarisun* was lost as an independent word in Mgr. It developed the narrowed meaning ‘bat’ in Dgx; possibly via a compound word ‘membrane bird’ or the like. The rounding in MgrH is peculiar. In spite of a semantic and phonetic resemblance to **saari* these two words can hardly be related.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *sarisu* P319a ‘morocco leather’. WM *sarisu(n)* L676a. Kh *sar’s(an)* H442a. Ord *saris(u)* M563a. Bur *har’ha(n)* C679 ‘thin softly tanned skin’, cf. *har’han erbeexey* C679a ‘bat’. Brg *xar’v: ərbəxi:* U100 ‘bat’ (lit. ‘membrane butterfly’, cf. **herbeeki*). Kalm *sārsn* M446a. Dag---. EYu *sarəsən* B99. MgrH *sorosə buldu:* X136 ‘bat’ (lit. ‘membrane bird’, cf. **bildiur*). MgrM *ami sara* DS206a ‘bat’, *urmen sara* P415b ‘bat’ (if *sara* represents a garbling of the present entry, these compounds literally mean ‘fate membrane’ and ‘cream membrane’ respectively, see **amīn*, **öreme*). Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *sarisuy* B115 ‘bat’. Mog---.

***sarta-** ‘Muslim’. Many modern forms from **sartaul* > **saltaur*. On colour names *-gčIn* usually denotes females, but this is not the case in *sartaqčIn*. Foreign word related to Turkic **sart*. The *-n-* in MgrH, Bao and Dgx should normally go back to *-l-* rather than *-r-*.

MMo SH *sartaqčIn, sartaqtai* H132, *sarta’ul, sarda’ul* H132, HY *sartaqčIn* M93, Muq *sarta’ul* P319a ‘Sart (language)’. WM *sartayul* L677a. Kh *sartuul* (tribal name) Ceval 472a. Bur---. Brg. Kalm *sartul* M443a (tribal name).

EYu *salu:r* B98 ‘Hui (Chinese muslim)’. MgrH *santa* SM324 ‘name of a Muslim ethnicity (...) speaking a Mongolic dialect’. MgrM *sartur* P419a ‘Salar’, *sərtur* DS238a ‘Muslim’. Bao *santir* P419a ‘Salar’. BaoD [*jalər* BL55 ‘Salar’]. Dgx *santa* B113 ‘Hui; Muslim’. Mog---.

***sau-** ‘to sit (down); to settle down, to live’.

MMo SH *sa’u-* H133, HY *sa’u-* M93, Muq *sa’u-* P319b, *su:-* P328a. WM *sayu-* L658b. Kh *suux* H458b. Bur *huuxa* C693b. Kalm *suux* M464a. Dag *sau-* E211. EYu *su:-* B102, J102b. MgrH *sau:-* J102a, *su:-* SM355. MgrM *sau-* JL466. BaoD *səu-* BL90b, *sou-* BL56. BaoÑ *su:-* CN136. Kgj *su-* 294a. Dgx *sau-* B113. Mog *səu-* W179a, *soo-* W179b, MogM *səu-*, MogMr *sau-* L54b:141.

***saulga** ‘bucket, pail’. Possibly related to **saa-* ‘to milk’, cf. Turkic **sagu* ‘bucket’ from **sag-* ‘to milk’).

MMo SH *sa’uluqa* [or *sa’ulqa*] H132 ‘leather pail’, HY---, Muq *sa’ulya* P319b. WM *sayulya* L659a, *suul(a)ya* L740b. Kh *suulga* H457a. Bur *huulga* C692a. Brg *xo:lag* U112. Kalm *suuly* M463b. Dag---. EYu only in *saβa su:lğa* B97 ‘furniture, etc’. MgrH *sau:lğa* J102a. MgrM *sorgo* P411b. BaoD *solgo* BL90a. BaoÑ *solğa* CN135. Kgj *sulğu* S294a. Dgx *soğo* B116, *soṅgo* B116. Mog---.

***sajagai** ‘magpie’. Many modern languages do not support this exact reconstruction. Dagur reflects **sajigai*, the central languages with *š-* suggest **siajigai*, unless the *š-* is due to assimilation to the *-j-*. EYugur suggests **sajakai*. The Shirongol forms could have developed from either **sajagai* or **sajakai*. In spite of the erratic correspondence probably related to CT **sagizgan* ‘id’, apparently with remodeling of the ending.

MMo SH---, HY *sajiqai* M92, Muq---. WM *šayaṣayai* L748a, *siyaṣiyai* L700a. Kh *šaaṣgay* H796a. Ord *ša:jaḡä:* M601a. Bur *šaaṣgay* C710b, *šaaṣgay* (Khor) C710b. Brg *ša:jgai* U159. Kalm *šaaṣya* M657a. Dag *sa:ṣiy* E209. EYu *sajaqai* B98, *sajaxgai* J103b. MgrH *saṣagai:* J103a. MgrM *saṣagai* JL472. BaoD *šiaṣigai* BL91a. BaoGt *seciḡi* C120. BaoÑ *ḡjiḡai* CN152 (not from LT *skye-ka*). Kgj *sajigei* S293a. Dgx *saziḡi* B114, *saziḡai* L119a. Mog---.

***sečen** ‘intelligent, bright’. The initial **č-* suggested by Kh *cecen*, as well as the Bur, Kalm, and Dag forms, is due to assimilation to the following *-č-*.

MMo SH *secen* H133, HY *sečen* M94, Muq---. WM *sečen* L680a, *čečen* L168b. Kh *cecen* H773a, *secen* H472a. Bur *sese(n)* C404b. Brg *səsəṅ* U154, *səcəṅ* (←Kh) U155. Kalm *cecən* M634a. Dag *čečin* E297 ‘diligent’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *šičen* P421a. Bao---. Dgx *ṣiṣan* B131. Mog---.

***seči-** ‘to poke, prod, prick, pierce’. Problematic. If all of these forms are indeed related, most of them show irregular developments. Kh and Kalm are from a form **čiči-*. The Dgx form may be from Ch *chuō* ‘id’, as the verbalizer *-ṣi* is commonly used with Chinese stems. The *-u-* in Dag is unexpected, but a Chinese borrowing is unlikely.

MMo SH *seci*- H127, HY---, Muq---. WM *čiči*- L176a, *čeči*- L168b, *seči*- L680a. Kh *čičix* H791a. Ord *jiči*- M205a. Bur---. Brg *səs*- U154. Kalm *čičx* M654a. Dag *čuč*- (?=) E307, *čiči*- NK532a. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *čuži*- (probably ←Ch) B164 ‘to poke, stab, prick’. Mog---.

***sedki-** ‘to think’. Many languages lost this verb, but see **sedkil* below.

MMo SH *setki*- H134, HY *setki*- M94, Muq *setki*- P321a. WM *sedki*- L680b. Kh *setgex* H471a. Bur *sed’xexe* (←Kh) C402a. Kalm (see below). Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD *səxtə*- BL86b. BaoÑ *səgte*- CN128. Kgj *sihte*- S293b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sedkil** ‘heart (fig), mind, thought’. Derived from **sedki*- above.

MMo SH *setkil* H134, HY *setkil* M94, Muq *setkil* P321b. WM *sedkil* L680b. Kh *setgel* H470b. Bur *hešxel* C709a ‘conscience’, *sed’xel* (←Kh) C401b. Brg *sətgəl* (←Kh) U154. Kalm *sedkl* M447a. Dag---. EYu *setgəl* B100, *sedgəl* J90. MgrH *sgəl* J102a. MgrM *ś(i)gər* JL462. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***seer** ‘backbone, spinal column’. Perhaps related to CT **sejir* in spite of the fact that this is usually ‘mountain ridge’ rather than an anatomical term.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *seger* L682a. Kh *seer* H472a. Bur *heer* C709b ‘end of rib bone, etc’, *nyurga heer* ‘vertebrae, spinal column’ (cf. **niruun*). Brg *xə:r* U101. Kalm *se:r* R328a. Dag *sə:r* E216. EYu *si:ra* ~ *sü:r* (?=, both only) S596. Shirongol---. Mog *se:r* R38a ‘back; neck’, cf. Zirmi *sehir* (sic) 3:3b ‘slender part under the short ribs’.

***sei-** ‘to pull out, to weed’. In this form and meaning in Baoanic. The meaning may originally have been ‘to make sth. more widely spaced’. If so, Kh *siyx* H443b ‘to become thin; to develop gaps’ should be related although it is an intransitive verb. A verb **sei-* is also the base of forms such as Kh *siymxiy* H443b ‘open-textured; with gaps or open spaces’. Ord *si:megi*: M579a ‘loose, transparent (of fabrics)’, Dag *səimər’k’e*: E216 ‘id’. CM **seire-* ‘to thin out (intr.)’, which survives mostly in the Central languages, may derive from this, but may alternatively be a borrowing from CT **sedre-*. The vague similarity of Dag *is-* E34 ‘to pull out’ is a coincidence; it is probably from **isü-* ‘id’ (cf. T419). A borrowing from Manchu *isi-* is less likely as the <s> should have been pronounced š. Cf. **arči-*, **üğtee-*.

BaoD *səi*- BL10. BaoJ *si-* L158. BaoÑ *si:-* CN132, cf. also *ci-* CN191 ‘to thin out young plants’. Kgj *sei*- ~ *si-* S293b. Dgx *ši*- B120, L71.

***seil-** ‘to carve, engrave’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *seyil-*, *seyile-*, *seyilü-* L684a/b. Kh *siylex* H443b. Bur *hiilexe* C680b. Kalm *siilx* M452a. Dag *səilə*- S603. EYu *si:l-* BJ341, S603. Remaining lgs---.

***seinüg ~ *sainug** ‘(kind of) ovid or bovid’. Semantically this term is peculiar as the languages do not even agree on the species, so perhaps the age group or castratedness provides a semantic link. It is also strange phonetically, in that it has back- and front-vocalic variants. There are no old forms to help establish the original

shape and meaning. Structurally similar to **kainug* ‘yak’. Cf. **serke* and **teke*, other words for ‘billy-goat’, and the peculiar regional word EYu *sais* B99 ‘two-year-old billy-goat’, MgrH *šiäs* SM395 ‘castrated billy-goat’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH---. WM *seyinüg* L684b ‘two-year-old goat’. Kh *siyneg* LC 3:103b ‘two-year-old billy-goat’. Ord---. Bur (Bokh) *haynag* C665b ~ *hiineg* C680b ‘ox, castrated bull’, (Ekhirit dial.) *haynag* C665b ‘two-year-old billy-goat’, (some dialects) *hiineg* C680b ‘castrated billy-goat’. Brg *xi:nag* U105 ‘castrated goat’. Kalm *si:nag* R38b ‘two-year-old billy-goat’. MgrH *se:nag* SM344 ‘wild yak’. MgrM *kuneg* (?=) P414b ‘billy-goat’.

***seleme** ‘sword’. Perhaps an early loanword from Tungusic in view of Tungusic **sälä* ‘iron’ (P60:29, 125).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---, RH---. WM *seleme* L686b, *selme* L687a. Kh *selem* H467a. Bur *helme* C704b. Brg *xäläm* U102, *säläm* (←Kh) U154. Kalm *selm* M449a. Dag *sälmi*: E218. EYu *seleme* Kot449. MgrH *slim* L521. Remaining lgs---.

***sem**, (diminutive) ***sem-ken** ‘silent’, (instrumental) ***sem-eer** ‘silently, secretly, stealthily’. Kalm *cem* M631b ‘quietly’, and Dag *čämu:r* E296 ‘silently, stealthily’ can hardly be related.

MMo SH *sem* H133, *semyer* H133, HY---, Muq *sem* P320a. WM *sem*, *sem iyer*, *semege* L687a, *semken* L687b. Kh *sem* H467a, *semxen* H467b, *semeer* H467b. Bur *hemeexen(eer)* C706a, *hemüüxen* (western) C705b. Brg *xämä:rxəŋ* U102. Kalm *sem semε:r* R323b. Dag (see above). EYu *seme:r* B100. MgrH *simäge:r* X135, *smuge:r* X145. MgrM---. BaoD *saŋkaŋ* BL76. BaoÑ *semkaŋ* CN131. Kgj *saŋkuda* ~ *caŋkuda* (?=) S293a. Dgx *šiemä* S598. Mog---.

***semejin** ‘fat (around the intestines)’. Possibly related to CT **semiz* ‘fat (adjective)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *semeji* P320a. WM *semeji(n)*, *semeje* L687b. Kh *semj(in)* H467b. Ord *semeji* M571b. Bur *hemže* C705b. Kalm *semjn* M449b ‘epiploon; fatty covering of the peritoneum, belly fat’. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. MogM *semajin*, MogMr *šemajin* L68, No. 60 ‘fat’.

***seri-** ‘to wake up, be awake’ (? and **sere-* ‘to notice, feel’). MMo distinguishes between these two verbs. Dagur and the QG forms all derive from **seri-* phonetically and mean ‘to wake up’. Moghol appears to stem from **sere-*. Both Mongolic verbs have been compared to CT **sez-* ‘to notice, be aware of’.

MMo SH *sere-* H134 ‘to doubt, notice, suspect’, *seri-* H134 ‘to notice, learn of, know’, HY *seri-* M94 ‘to wake up’ as well as *sere-* M94 ‘to notice’, Muq *seri-* P320b ‘to wake up’, *sere-* P320a ‘to feel, sense’. WM *sere-* L689a, *seri-* L690b (no semantic difference between both spellings). Kh *serex* H470a. Bur *herixe* C708a, *herexe* C708b. Brg *xər-* U104, *sər-* (←Kh) U155. Kalm *serx* M451b. Dag *sər^v-* E220. EYu *ser-* B100, J103a. MgrH *serä-* J103b, *sarä-* X133. MgrM *šeri-* JL473. BaoD *serä-* BL90b. BaoÑ *ser-* CN132. Kgj *sere-* 294a. Dgx *šieri-* B123. Mog *serä-* R38a.

***seriün** ‘cool’. Note the vowel shortening in Mgr.

MMo SH *seri'ut*- H134 ‘to become cool’, HY *seri'ün* M94, Muq---. WM *serigün* L691a, *seregün* L689b. Kh *serüün* H469b. Ord *seru:n* M576a. Bur *heryüün* [written *heryuun*] C708b. Brg *xəru:ŋ* U104. Kalm *serün* M451b. Dag *səru:n* E219. EYü *suruün* B103, *surü:n* J103a. MgrH *sarən* J103b. MgrM *šerən* JL461. Bao---. Dgx *šieruŋ* MC428b. Mog---.

***serke** ‘castrated billy-goat’. The -l- in Dagur is peculiar.

MMo SH *serkes* (pl) H134, HY---, Muq *serke* P330b ‘billy-goat’, RH *serke* 199B29. WM *serke* L691a. Kh *serx* H469b. Bur *herxe* C708a. Kalm *serk* M451a. Dag *səlak* (?=) NK513b. EYü *serke* B100. MgrM *serkì* P414b ‘female goat’. Remaining lgs---.

***setel-** ‘to break, tear, crack open (intr)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, RH---. WM *setel-* L691b. Kh *setlex* H471a. Bur *hetelxe* C708b. Kalm *setlχə* R327a. Dag *sətlə:-* E219, *sətlu:-* NK514a. EYü *sedel-* B100. MgrH *sdieli-* SM335. Remaining lgs---.

***setere-** ‘to break, tear, crack open (intr)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *setere-* P321a. WM *setere-* L692a. Kh *setrex* H471a. Bur *heterxe* C708b. Brg *heterxe* C708b. Kalm *setrχə* R327a. Dag *sətar-* E218. EYü *sedere-* B100. Remaining lgs---.

***seüder** ‘shadow’. In spite of the -t- and the vocalism the Baoan forms must be related. The forms with -k- are very peculiar if related. MgrH, Bao and Kgj could stem from a form with high vowel in the final syllable, but MgrM and Dgx reflect **seüder*.

MMo SH *se'uder* H134, HY *se'üder* M94, Muq *se'üder* P322a, *sü:der* P267a, RH *seüder* 198A24. WM *següder* L683a. Kh *süüder* H462b. Ord *su:der* M596a. Bur *hüüder* C699b. Brg *xu:dər* U120. Kalm *süüdr* M466a. Dag *səudər* E217. EYü *su:der* (only) S615 [the normal word is *kölöki* ←CT]. MgrH *su:dər* (only) L527. MgrM *šitudiar* C384. BaoD *zetər* BL90b, as well as *zəikə* (sic, ?=) BL9. BaoGt *zitər* C107. BaoJ *zitər* L39. BaoÑ *si:tər* CN133. BaoX *zikər* (sic, ?=) BC62. Kgj *sutər* ~ *səutər* S294a, *sutur* S21. Dgx *šiaužie* B121, *šiaužiau* (sic) MC423a. Mog---.

***seüji** ‘hip, hipbone’. Perhaps related to **seül* ‘tail’, but both words are morphologically opaque.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *sü:ji* P219b. WM *següji(n)* L684a. Kh *süüj* H462b. Bur *hüüje* C699b. Brg *xu:ǰ* U120. Kalm *süüj* M466b. Dag *səuǰ* E217. EYü *suiǰə* B103, *sü:ǰə* J103a. MgrH *su:ǰə* X138, *səu:ćə* J103b. MgrM *šauži* JL473. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***seül** ‘tail; end’. Bao-Kgj-Dgx, as well as the modern MgrM form, seem to derive from a form **sel* (or **sel-čig*). May be related to **seüji* ‘hip’ and/or **seürel* ‘pubic hair’ (the latter not listed here).

MMo SH *se'ul* H134, HY *se'ül* M94, Muq *se'ül-* P322a, *sü'ül* P330b, *sü:l* P131b. WM *segül* L683b. Kh *süül* H462b. Ord *su:l* M597b. Bur *hüül* C699b. Brg *xu:l* U120. Kalm *sül* M465a. Dag *səulʰ* E217. EYu *sü:l* B103, J102b. MgrH *su:l* X137, *səu:l* J103b. MgrM *sölʰ* ('pronounced *sör*') P421b, *šier* DS254b, *šar* Z338:352 'tail', *šuar* DS32 'end'. BaoD *šianciχ* BL90a. BaoGt *šančĩ* ~ *šančĩ* C133. BaoÑ *sel* CN130 'tail hair', *selčig* CN130 'tail'. Kgj *sar* ~ *cer* S293a. Dgx *šien* B122 '&tail hair'. Mog *söul* R38b.

***seüresün** 'sigh'. Note the peculiar distribution of this word.

MMo SH *seo'urel-* H134 'to breathe, sigh', HY---, Muq---. WM *següresü(n)* L683b, *seür(e)sü* L692b, *sigüresü(n)* L703b. Kh *süürs* H463b, *šüürs* H824b. Ord---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *su:s* E83:200b. MgrH *su:re:sə* X138, *surie:zə* SM365, *su:re:sĩ* L536, *səru:səle-* X135 'to sigh'.

***sia** 'ankle' see ***sigaĩ**

***siba-** 'to plaster; to smear on'. Dagur *šay-* combines the meanings of ***siba-** and ***sika-**, and since Dag *y* < *w* < ***b** is not uncommon, the Dagur form most likely represents both CM verbs.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *suba-* (sic, ? ←Turkic) P326b, IV---, LV---. WM *siba-* L693a. Kh *šavax* H797b. Ord *šawa-* 610b. Bur *šabaxa* C712a. Kalm *šavx* M659b. Dag *šay-* (?=) E229. EYu *šβa-* B110. Mgr---. BaoÑ *xiwa-* CN158. Kgj *šiva-* S296a. Dgx *šuwa-* B134. Mog---.

***sibar** 'mud, loam'. Poppe derives this word from ***siba-** above.

MMo SH *šibar* H139, HY *šibar* M96, Muq *šibar* P332a. WM *sibar* L694a. Kh *šavar* H797a. Ord *šawar* M611a. Bur *šabar* C712a. Brg *šafar* U160. Kalm *šavr* M659b. Dag *šaur* E228. EYu *šβar* B110, *šəβar* J103a. MgrH *šavar* J103b, *šəvar* X149. MgrM *šbar* C386, *šabar* T381. BaoD *bār* BL90b, *bar* BL13, *šbar* BL13. BaoGt *šibər* C123. BaoÑ *xiwar*, *xəwar* CN158. BaoX *xbar* BL63. Kgj *šivar* ~ *šive* S296a. Dgx *šuwa* B134. Mog---.

***sibaun** 'bird'. In Mog this word seems to survive in *kou-šibλ(n)* W170b 'boy' (for the first element cf. **köbeün*). A similar looking compound is present in Kgj *kunšün* S287b 'sons and daughters, offspring', but the second element is perhaps more likely to be an irregular reflex of **ökin* 'girl', as is the first element of BaoGt *šindĩ* 'younger sister'. Cf. **bildiur*, which has become the generic name for small birds in Baoan and Dongxiang. The second element of Dgx *qarasuŋ* MC207b 'swallow' might be a contracted form of **sibaun*, although it differs considerably from the form recorded by Potanin.

MMo SH *šibao'un* H139 'small bird', HY *šiba'un* M96, Muq *šiba'un* P332b. WM *sibayu(n)* L693b, *sibau* L694b. Kh *šuvuu(n)* H819b. Ord *šiwu:* M626a, (sporadically) *šuwu:* M636a. Bur *šubuu(n)* C731b. Brg *šofu:* U169. Kalm *šovun* M678a. Dag *šɔɣɔ:* E238, *šɔwɔ:* E240 'falcon'. EYu *šu:n* B109. MgrH *šau* X147, *šu:* X157. MgrM *šibau* JL472. Bao---. Kgj (see above). Dgx *šiwaj* P418b, see above. Mog (see above).

***sibkara-** ‘to be squeezed out, to flow out, to lose fluid, to be emptied’. Apparently originally an intransitive form of ***sibka-** ‘to remove the fluid from sth’. This word seems to survive in Dag *šibk-* E234 (although the expected development of ***sibka-** would have been Dag ***šark-**).

MMo---. WM *sibqar-* L696b. Kh *šavxrax* H798a. Ord *šiwχ^uara-* M625b ~ *šibχara-* M612b. Bur *šabxarxa* C712b. Kalm *šavrxr* M660a ‘to scoop out’. Dag (see above). EYu *šəβqaru:l-* (caus) BJ342. MgrH *šügora:-* X158, *šgura:-* SM378.

***sičua** ‘whip’. Monguoric suggests a form ***sičau** with metathesized vowel sequence. The Ordos word may be the same word, but in that case it probably represents a misinterpretation of a spelling with -y-. Cf. also Manchu *šusiha*. Cf. ***mīnaa**.

MMo SH *cicu’a* H27, HY---, Muq---. WM---. Ord *jičaga* (?) M204b ‘twisted thread or rope (...)’. MgrH *šžau* X159. MgrM *šžau* JL474, (Sanchuan) *rču* P418a. Remaining lgs---.

***siğai** ~ ***sia** ‘anklebone; bone used in games’. The forms are rather diverse and may have different origins. Some languages feature a form with -g- and a form without -g-. The form ***sia** may have developed from ***siğaa** (through intermediate stages ***siya** > ***siya**), but such developments normally belong to the PM period. Another possibility is that ***sia** represents the regular development of this etymon, whereas the forms with -g- are due to WM influence. This solution is unlikely, since both *siğai* and *ša:* are used in MgrH, which language doesn’t seem to be influenced by WM. Kh *šagaa* seems to go back to a third variant ***siğaa** which is not in the old sources (note that Kalm *šaya* could be a regular development of ***siğai**). It is also possible that Kh *šagaa* represents a reading pronunciation of the WM spelling *siya*. As to Dag *sak*, this could be one of a small set of Dagur words in which ***s** failed to palatalize before ***i/i**. However, *sak* could also represent yet another etymon, ***saka(i)**, which is found in the ‘central’ languages, cf. Kh *sax* H442a, Bur *haxi* C680a, *haxa* (dial.) C679b, *haxay* C679a, which all denote small bones used in games. It is unclear whether there is a relationship with ***siira** ‘leg’.

MMo SH *ši’a* H138, HY *ši’a* M96 ‘ankle’, Muq *šiyai-* P333a ‘ankle’, LV *šiyai* P61 ‘ankle’. WM *siyai* L699a, *šaya(n)* L747b, *siya(n)* L699a. Kh *šagaa* H798b, *šagay* H799a. Ord *ša:* M600a ‘ankle’. Bur *šagay* C713a. Brg *šagai* U161. Kalm *šaya* M661a ‘ankle; knucklebone’, *ša* M657a ‘small bones (used in fortune-telling)’. Dag *sak* (?) E212 ‘anklebone’. EYu *šqai* B110 ‘anklebone’, *šagai* J103b. MgrH *ša:* J103a, X147 ‘anklebone’, *siğai* X152, *šgai* X163 ‘leg’. MgrM *šgai* JL478 ‘shin, shank’, *šigai* C387 ‘leg’, *šage* Z333:283 ‘heel’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. MogM *šiyei* L62:66 ‘ankle’.

***siğai-** (~ ***siğaa-**) ‘to peep at, spy on; to gaze at, to stare’. Dgx *š-* is unexpected. MgrM *čigə-* DS248a ‘to see’, and Kgj *čigi-* ~ *čiki-* S300b ‘to look’ may also be related in spite of the irregular initial. On the other hand, there is also a Kgj verb *šigara-* S295b ‘to look sideways at’ (of which the last part is unclear).

MMo SH---, HY *šiqaji üje-* M97, Muq---. WM *siqaya-* L721b, *siya-* L699a, *siyayi-* L699a. Kh *šagaax* H799a, *šagayx* H799a. Ord *šaxa:-* M602a. Bur *šagaaxa* C713a. Brg *šiga:-* U167, *sagai-* U152. Kalm *šayax* M661a. Dag *šiy^ye:-*

E234. EYu *sḡai-* B104, J6. MgrH *sge-* X142. MgrM (see above). Bao---. Kgj (see above). Dgx *śiḡai-ḡi uḡa-* B125 (**ūje-* ‘to see’). Mog---.

***sūra** ‘leg’. The Dgx form with -ḡ- is puzzling. In the central languages the appearance of such consonants can be explained as WM influence, but nothing is known about a WM writing tradition among the Dgx. The -ḡ- could also be due to the influence of **siḡai* but this word is now absent from Dgx.

MMo SH *šiyira* H143 ‘hoof’, HY---, Muq *ši:ra* (ed. reads *šira*) P335b ‘legs’, LV *si:ra* (ed. reads *seire*) P60 ‘shin’. WM *sigira* L702b, *sigere* L702a. Kh *šiyr* H811a ‘shank, leg (of animals), hoof &c’. Ord *ši:ra* M621b. Bur *šiire* C726b. Brg *ši:r* U163. Kalm *šiir* M671b ‘shank; leg (of furniture)’. Dag---. EYu *šira* B108 ‘leg’, *ši:ra* S713 ‘shank’. MgrH *šira:* SM397 (q.v.). Bao---. Dgx *šigara* B130 ‘leg’. Mog---.

***sika-** ‘to squeeze, press, pinch’. Related to CT **sik-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *šiqā-* H140, HY *šiqā-* M97, Muq *šiqā-* P335b, *šiya-* P333a. WM *šiqā-* L721a, *siya-* L699a. Kh *šaxax* H807b. Ord *šaxa-* M602a. Bur *šaxaxa* C724b. Kalm *šaxx* M668b. Dag *šay-* E229. EYu *šəqa-* B105, *šəyqa-* BJ302, *šga-* J9. MgrH *šixa:-* X152, *šiga:-* X152, *šga:-* X163. BaoD---. BaoÑ *xiḡa-* CN156. Kgj---. Dgx *šigā-* B130. Mog---.

***siluun** ‘straight (literally); upright, honest’.

MMo SH *šili’un* H140 ‘noble’, HY---, Muq---. WM *siluyun* L708a. Kh *šuluun* H820b. Bur *šuhuu(n)* C733b also ‘quick’. Kalm *šulun* M683a ‘quick’. Dag *šɔhun* E239. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *šuluḡ* B134 ‘straight; honest’. Mog---.

***silja** ‘sheep tick’. Sun’s Mongghul form is not confirmed by other vocabularies. The unexpected *s-* in Dgx agrees with the form in Muq.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *salja* [Poppe reads *selče*] P389b, RH *šalja* (thus emended, ?*salja*) 200A8. WM *silja* L708b, *šalja* L751a. Kh *šalz(an)* H802a. Ord *šilja* M616a. Bur *šalza* C716b. Kalm *šalz* M663a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ša:lža* S704. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *sanḡa* MC346a. Mog---.

simali-** (?simal-**) ‘to tuck up, roll up’. SH seems to suggest a CM form **simali-*, although the Chinese notation may also be read without vowel. The vowel lengthening in EYu and MgrH, for which a following syllable is typically required, points at a trisyllabic form as well, but this need not be original. The WM form in *-a* may be historically incorrect. If the intransitive counterpart **sima-ra-* in Kh is not a recent invention, one would expect the transitive verb to be **sima-l-*. Ordos *šima-* may represent the original root.

MMo SH *šimaliqa-* (caus) H140, HY---, Muq---. WM *simala-*, *simali-* L709a. Kh *šamlax* H803a. Ord *šima-* M617b ‘tuck up’, *šimal-* ‘to graze the skin’. Bur *šamaxa* C718a. Kalm *šamlx* M664a. Dag *šaməl-* E230. EYu *šəma:l-* (only) S725. MgrH *šima:lə-* X153. Remaining lgs---.

***simtara-** ‘to become blunt, calm, weak’. This meaning occurs in the central languages and in Dagur. In Shirongol it has the meaning ‘to melt, thaw, dissolve’,

and in shapes suggesting an earlier form **simtere-* (BaoÑ excepted). Here we will assume that all these forms are indeed related, and that the back-vocalic variant is the older one. In the central languages there are further related forms, all semantically related. An early related form may be Muq *šimta-* (?) [Poppe reads *šimet-*] P333b ‘to melt’. Poppe’s reading agrees with LV *simed-* 73a-03 ‘to liquefy’, but the Muq form allows for the reading *šimta(ba)*.

MMo--- (see above). WM *sintara-* L713a, precl. *šintara-*, *šintara-* T564. Kh *šantrax* H804b. Ord *šintara-* M619b ‘to become blunt, calm, weak, etc’. Bur---. Kalm *šamtr-*, *šantr-* R348a ‘to become blunt, etc’. Dag *šantar-* (only) NK517b. EYu---. MgrH *šindare-* X152. MgrM *šintar-* C386, *šantər-* JL472. BaoJ *šindər-* L23. BaoÑ *šumdara-* CN159, *šimdara-* CN157. Kgj *šintəri-* S295a. Dgx *šimičire-* P424. Mog---.

***šimuul** ‘mosquito’. The WM form with *-ayu-* is not supported by the modern languages, except perhaps Ramstedt’s Kalmuck form with *-o-*. Note the different ending in Kalmuck. Reminiscent of CM **simi-* ‘to suck’, to which it can hardly be related because of the different vowel class.

According to Bökh, Dgx *sunbəŋ* B117, *šunbəŋ* B133 ‘fly’ is related to this word. The following forms could be related as well: MMo LV *sinsa:wul* (thus Saitō) P58, RH *šišau:l* 200B12, MgrH *šimsu:l* X153, *šamsu:l* L634. MgrM *šumušer* T382 (the modern forms all meaning ‘fly’). Cf. also MgrH *šimsu* C88:586, MgrM *šimsar* JL460, and BaoD *bəsmal* BL83b ‘fly’, which are similar to but hard to connect to **šimuul*, unless perhaps by assuming compounds with an unknown first element.

MMo SH---, HY *šimu’ul* M97 ‘fly’, Muq *šimu:l* P333b, RH *šimu:l* 200B11. WM *šimuyul* L710b, *šimayul* L709a. Kh *šumuul* H821a ‘&gnat’. Ord *šimu:l(i)* M618b, *šumu:l(i)* M634b. Bur *šumuul* C733b ‘insect’. Kalm *šumu:sn* R368a, *šomu:l* R364a. Dag *šomɔ:l* E239. EYu---. MgrH *šæmu:l* X149, *šimul* X153, *šimur* L643 all meaning ‘mosquito’. MgrM *šimər* DS224a, (Sanchuan) *šumul* P416b ‘fly’. Bao (see above). Kgj *šimilšimu gūrgei* (**korakaï*) S295b. Dgx (see above). Mog---.

***šinaa** ‘wedge; temple of the head; promontory’. It will be assumed here that the three main meanings belong to the same etymon. The modern WM spelling *sina* with single *a* may well be historically incorrect. Although reminiscent of Kh *šaantag* H769a. Ord *ša:nčaq*, *ša:nčik* M606b ‘wedge’. Bur *šaantag* C711a ‘wedge’. Kalm *šaancg* M657b, this word, written WM *šančay*, *šantuy* L751b, *siyantay*, *siyantuy* L699a/b ‘wedge’, may be from the verb **sĩa-* (WM *siya-*) ‘to drive in’ (?= CT **sīg-*).

MMo SH *šina’a* H141 ‘island, land surrounded by water’, HY, Muq---, Ph---. WM *šinaya* L710b ‘spur of a mountain’, WM *sina*, *šinaya* L710b ‘temple of the head’. Kh *šanaa* H803b ‘cheeks; (..) spur of a mountain’. Ord *šina:* M618b ‘spur of a mountain’. Bur *šanaa* C718a ‘temple’. Kalm *šana* M664b ‘temple; border’. Dag *šina:* E233 ‘wooden wedge’. EYu---. MgrH *šina:* X151 ‘wedge’. Remaining lgs---.

***šinaga** ‘spoon, ladle, scoop’. Baoan reduced the first syllable, and MgrM the second. Endemic and without obvious segmentation.

MMo SH *šinaqa* H141, HY---, Muq *šinaya* P333b. WM *sinaya* L710b. Kh *šanaga(n)* H803b. Ord *šinağa* M618b. Bur *šanaga* C718b. Brg *š^yanag* U172. Kalm *šany* M664b. Dag---. EYu *šanağa* B105, J103a. MgrH *šinağa* J103b, *šanağa* X162. MgrM *šəŋğa* JL462. BaoD *nağa* BL90b. BaoGt *niağə* C110. BaoJ *nieğə* L131. BaoÑ *nağa* CN25. BaoX *ñiğə* BC62. Kgj *šiniğa* S295a. Dgx *šinağa* B130, L118a. Mog---.

***sindasun** ‘tendon’. Only in the central languages + EYu.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sindasu(n)* L710b. Kh *šandas(an)* H804a. Ord *šindasu* M618b. Bur *šandaaha(n)* C720a. Kalm *šandsn* M664b ‘Achilles’ tendon’. Dag---. EYu *šandasən* B105, *šəldasən* (sic) S723. Remaining lgs---.

***sira** ‘yellow’.

MMo SH *šira* H141, HY *šira* M97, Muq *šira* P335b. WM *sira* L714b. Kh *šar* H805a. Ord *šara* M608a. Bur *šara* C720b. Brg *š^yar* U172. Kalm *šar* M665b. Dag *šar* E230. EYu *šra* B111, *šəra* J103b. MgrH *šira* J103a. MgrM *šira* ~ *ša* JL472, *ša*: C387. BaoD *šira* BL90a. BaoÑ *šira* CN157. Kgj *šira* S295b. Dgx *šira* B132, L118b. Mog *šira* R39b, *širə* W180b, MogMr, MogM *širə*: L73:173.

***sira-** ‘to roast’.

MMo SH *šira-* H141, HY *šira-* M97, Muq *šira-* P335b. WM *sira-* L714b. Kh *šarax* H805b. Ord *šara-* M608a. Bur *šaraxa* C721b. Brg *šar-* U162. Kalm *šarx* M667a. Dag *šar-* E230. EYu *šəra-* B106, J103b. MgrH *šira-*: J103a, X154. MgrM *šira-* JL471. BaoD---. BaoGt *ša-* C121. BaoÑ *šira-* CN157. Kgj *šira-* S295b. Dgx *šira-* B132, *šira-* L118a. MogM *širə-*: L63:173 ‘id’.

***sīrau/*sīrua/*sīroī** ‘earth, ground, soil, dust’. The first two forms display metathesis of diphthong elements; the **sīroī* variant is probably from **sīruai*, as Poppe (1955:43,80) suggests. The forms **sīrua* and **sīroī* are found in the North. The Shironogol languages all seem to stem from **sīrau*. The Dgx form represents yet another metathesis of that.

MMo SH *širo’ai* H142, HY *šira’u* M97, Muq *šira’u* P336a, *širu*: P336a, *široi* P336a, RH *široa* 201C17 ‘dust’ [or ‘earth’], *šira* 202A4 ‘clay’. WM *siroi* L719a, *siroya*, *siroyai* L718b. Kh *šoroy* H818a, *šoroo* H818a. Ord *šoroo* M629a. Bur *šoroy* C730b. Brg *šəru*: U168. Kalm *šora* M680a. Dag *širə*: E237 ‘grit (in cereals)’. EYu *šəru*: J103b, BJ343, *šəru*: B108, *šoru*: B108. MgrH *širəu*: J103a, *širu*: X155, *šūru*: X158. MgrM *šao* DS219a, *širan* (?) DS227a. BaoD *širou* BL90b. BaoÑ *širu* CN158. Dgx *šəura* B129.

***sīrga** ‘certain horse colour, isabella, etc’. One would suspect a relationship with **sira* ‘yellow’.

MMo SH *širqa* H142, HY---, Muq *širya* P336a. WM *sirya* L716b. Kh *šarga* H805b. Ord *šarga* M609b. Bur *šarga* C722a. Kalm *šary* M666a. Dag *šarəy* E231 (and *širya*: E237 ←Manchu). EYu *šərga* B106. Remaining lgs---.

***sīrgoljīn** ‘ant’. Note the vowel length in Kh and Bur. In Dag the -ui- is unexpected, and so is the s- rather than š-.

MMo SH---, HY *širqaljin* (or rather *široqaljin*) M98, Muq---. WM *siryolji(n)* L717a, precl. *sir(o)joljin* T565. Kh *šorgoolj(in)* H818a. Ord *šurgulji* ~ *šurgu:lji* ~ *šorgolji* M635b. Bur *šorgoolzon* ~ *šorgoolžon* C730a. Brg *šorgo:lji* U168. Kalm *šoryljin* M142a. Dag *suiyaljin*, *suiyalj* E224. EYu *šorgoljən* B108. MgrH *širgolžin* X155, *šorgolžin* X156. Remaining lgs---.

***sīrgu-** ‘to penetrate; to get through; to insert’.

MMo SH *širqu-* H142, HY---, Muq---. WM *siryu-* L717a, *šuryu-* L758a. Kh *šurgax* H821b. Bur *šurgaxa* C734a. Kalm *šuryx* M684a. Dag---. EYu *šurgu-* B109. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *šuryu-* R39b.

***sīrī-** ‘to stitch (usually the sole of a shoe)’. That this word belongs to the back vowel class is based on the Turkic cognate **sīrī-* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, RH---. WM *siri-* L717b. Kh *širex* H815b. Ord *šire-* ~ *širi-* M622a. Bur *šerexe* C750b. Kalm *širx* M677a. Dag *šir-* E236. EYu *šar-* B106, J103b, J35. MgrH *širə-* J103a. BaoD *širə-* BL90a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *širi-* S296a. Dgx *širi-* L118a. Mog---.

***sīrka** ‘wound’. EYu suggests **sīrga*.

MMo SH *širqa-* H142 ‘to injure’, HY---, Muq---, LV---, RH---. WM *širqa(n)* L719a. Kh *šarx* H806a. Ord *šarxa* M610a. Bur *šarxa* C723a. Kalm *šarx* M667a. Dag---. EYu *šərga* B106, *šərga* J103b. Remaining lgs---.

***sīro** ‘pointed stick; spit’. In Muq this word shows the same unrounding as **čino* ‘wolf’. However, Ordos and EYugur behave differently here. In spite of the modern forms that suggest **šoro*, the original form must have been **sīro*, because modern š- owes its palatality to **i/*i*.

MMo SH *širo* H142, HY---, Muq *šira* P335b ‘spit’. WM *šoro* L756b, *siro* L718b. Kh *šor* H818a. Ord *šoro* M629a. Bur *šoro* C730b. Brg *šor* U168. Kalm *šor* M680a. Dag *šor* E239. EYu *šoro* J19. Remaining lgs---.

***sīta-** ‘to catch fire, to burn (intr.)’, ***sītaa-** ‘to light (a fire), to burn, set fire to’. The surprising variants Dag *xita:-* and Ord *išta:-*, with equivalents in other central dialects, such as Khorčin *xet-* (Chagankhad 1995:28; also see Sun 1990:710;), can not be incorporated into the reconstruction. CM **sīta-* and its caus. **sītaa-* probably merged phonetically in EYu and Mgr, but today only the transitive seems to survive there. In Baoanic the original forms were replaced by new forms **sītara-* ‘to catch fire, burn (intr.)’, and caus. **sītaraga-* ‘to set fire to, to burn (tr)’: BaoD *darə-* BL90a. BaoÑ *hdara-* CN86:382, *šdara-* CN150, *šdarga-* CN150. BaoX *darə-* BC62. Kgj *dəra-* S318, *dağa-* S298b. Dgx *sdara-* B120, *sdarağa-* B120. Bökh’s suggestion that the Dgx forms are related to Kh *sadrax* H432b ‘to spurt, etc’ is less likely.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *šita-* P336b. WM *sita-* L719b, *sitaya-* L720a. Kh *šatax* H807a, *šataax* H806b, cf. Chakhar *yatān*, *yata:n* D186a. Ord *šita:-* M624a, *išta:-* M389a. Bur *šataxa* C724a. Brg *šat-*, *šata:-* U161. Kalm *šatx* M668a. Dag

šita:- E235, *xita*:- E114. EYü *šəta*:- B106, *šda*:- J103a. MgrH *šda*:- J103a, X164 also ‘to prepare a meal’. MgrM *šida*- DS209b, *šda*- T384. Bao (see above). Kgj (see above). Dgx (see above). MogM *šitw*:- L63:173 ‘to cook’.

***sürgan** ‘storm’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *siyurya(n)* L701a, *šuurya(n)* L758b. Kh *šuurga* H822b. Ord *šu:rğan* M635a. Bur *šuurga(n)* C735a. Brg *šʷo:rag* U173. Kalm *šuuryn* M684b ‘blizzard’. Dag *šw:rəγ* NK521a. EYü *šu:rğan* B109 ‘blizzard’. Remaining lgs---.

siber** (?siberi**) ‘sweat on the palms or feet’. In view of Ord and Bur, the *-i* in WM seems to be historically incorrect. However, in EYü the loss of a high vowel after *r* is not unusual.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *siberi* L695a. Kh *šiver* H808b. Ord *šiwir* M625a. Bur *šeber* C741a. Brg *šibər* U164. Kalm *šivr* M669b. Dag *šəur* E231. EYü *šəβer* B105. Mog---.

sibüge** (?sibege**) ‘awl’. As in case of **čimegen*, the original form is hard to determine due to contradictory evidence. The *s-* in BaoX and Dgx is unexpected, and the *-m-* in Dgx is irregular. The central languages suggest a form **siböge* with **ö* as the second vowel. This **ö* in its turn may have been rounded from earlier **e* by the preceding **b*, or lowered from **ü* due to the following **e*. If this word is related to **sibe-* ‘to perforate’, **sibege* is the most likely original form.

MMo SH *šibüge* H139, HY---, Muq *šibüge* P332b, RH *sibege* 204C2. WM *sibügen* (?*siböge(n)*) L696b. Kh *šövög* H818b. Ord *šöwögö* M630b. Bur *šübgē* C736b. Brg *šubəg* S723. Kalm *šövg* M681a. Dag *šəuγ* E231. EYü *šəβye* B105, *šəβəye* J103a, *šuyē* BJ343, *šuyē* J86. MgrH *šiu:ge* J103b, *šu:gə* X157, *šubuge* SM383, *šu:ge* SM384. MgrM *šubigi* JL472. BaoD *šibgu* BL90a. BaoGt *sikə* C108. BaoÑ *šuke* CN159. BaoX *su:kə* BC62. Kgj *səuki* ~ *sikəu* S293b. Dgx *sumuğə* B118. MogM *šibika* L68, No. 112.

***side-** ‘to sew, stitch, baste’. In Dgx *ś-* appears instead of expected *š-*. Dag *šij-* E236 is a borrowing from Manchu *siji-* (which could ultimately be the same word as CM **side-*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *side-* L697b. Kh *šidex* H810a. Ord *šide-* M613a. Bur *šedexe* C743a. Kalm *šidx* M671a. Dag---. EYü---. MgrH *šde*:- X166 ‘to patch’. MgrM *šide-* T382, *šidi-* DS248b. Bao---. BaoÑ *šde-* CN150. Kgj *šte-* ~ *šde-* S296a. Dgx *šijie-* B126. Mog---.

***sidün** ‘tooth’. Perhaps a collective form from a PM root **si-* (See **nidün* ‘eye’ for a similar formation).

MMo SH *šidu* H139, *sudu* H136, HY *šidün* M97, Muq *šidün* P332b, *sidün* P105b. WM *sidü(n)* L698b. Kh *šüd(en)* H823a. Ord *šudu* M636a. Bur *šüde(n)* C737a. Brg *šud* U171. Kalm *šüdn* M685b. Dag *šid* E235. EYü *šdən* B110, J103b, *šədən* S728. MgrH *šdə* J103a, *šdi* L642. MgrM *šudu* JL472, *šdu* JL478. BaoD *šduŋ* ~ *duŋ* BL90b. BaoÑ *šdəŋ* CN151. Kgj *šidun* ~ *šdun* S295b. Dgx *šidun* B131. Mog *sudun* R39a.

***sie-** ‘to urinate’. The Dag form suggests **see-*. See **siesün* ‘urine’.

MMo SH *ši’e-* H139, HY---, Muq *še:-* P331b, *šiye-* P337a. WM *sige-* L701b. Kh *šeex* H825b. Ord *še:-* M611b. Bur *šeexe* C752b. Brg *šə:-* U162. Kalm *šeex* M669a. Dag *sə:-* E216. EYu *ši:-* B107, J103a. MgrH *še:-* J103b. MgrM *še-* J88. BaoD *šiə-* BL90b. BaoÑ *xe-* CN155. Kgj *še-* S295a. Dgx *şə-* B128. Mog--- (see above).

***siesün** ‘urine’. Mog points at **seisün* with metathesis of diphthong elements.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *še:sün* P331b. WM *sigesü(n)* L702a. Kh *še(sen)* H825b. Ord *še:s(u)* M612a. Bur *šehe(n)* C752b. Brg *šixə:* U165. Kalm *še(sen)* M669a. Dag *sə:s* E216. EYu *ši:sən* B107, J103a, *še:sən* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *še:sə* J103b. MgrM *şesi* JL472, *şərsi* DS258b, *şərsi* Z336:330. BaoD *šiəsuy* BL90a. BaoÑ *şesoy* CN155. Kgj *şesun* S295a. Dgx *şəsuy* B129. Mog *seisun* R38a.

***silbi** ‘shank, shin’. Note that Muq *šili* P333b is also translated ‘shank’ (cf. CM **sili* below).

MMo SH---, HY *šilbi* M97, Muq *šilbi-* P202a. WM *silbi* L705b. Kh *šilbe(n)* H811b. Ord *šilbi ~ šilbe* M615b. Bur *šelbe* C744a. Brg *šiləβ* U166. Kalm *šilv* M672a. Dag *širəm* (?=) E237, *šiləm* T183. EYu *şəlβə* BJ343. Remaining lgs---.

***sileü(l)sün** ‘lynx’. The *-l-* of the MMo is unexpectedly not confirmed by Bur. The breaking of **i > u* in Dagur is unexpected. The similar-looking Dgx *şəlie* B129 is from Ch *shēli*.

MMo SH---, HY *šile’ülsün* M97, Muq---. WM *silügüsü(n)* L708b, *silegüsü(n)* L706a. Kh *šülüüs* H823a, *šilüüs(en)* H812a. Ord *şölu:s* M630a. Bur *šelüühe(n)* C744b. Brg *şulu:* U171. Kalm *šilüsn* M673a. Dag *şulu:s* E240. EYu *şəle:sən* B106. Dgx (see above).

***silgüd-** ‘to shake, tremble’. The *-r-* instead of *-l-* is unexpected in MgrH (except in Narin Guol dialect) and Dag.

MMo SH *šilgutke-* (caus) H140, HY---, Muq *šilgüt-* P333b. WM *silgüd-*, *silged-* L706b. Kh *šilgedex* LC 4:353b. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *şurkud-* (?=) E241. EYu---. MgrH *širgudi-* SM399, *širgudə-* X155. MgrM *şukutu-* DS249a, *şugudu-* DS257a. Remaining lgs---.

***sili** ‘nape of the neck’. Muq *šili* P333b is translated ‘shank’ (see **silbi*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq (see above). WM *sili* L706b. Kh *šil(en)* H811b. Ord *šile ~ šili* M616a. Bur *šele* C744b. Brg *šil* U166. Kalm *šil* M672a ‘neck tendon; neck’. Dag---. EYu *şlə* B110. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***silön** (?) ‘meat broth; soup’. The original form is hard to determine, especially the first vowel. Even if **i* is the original vowel of the first syllable, breaking is already present in the Sino-Mongolian sources SH and HY. On the other hand the *-i-* form survives in Dag. The forms with *-i-* in the QG languages are probably secondary. Possibly related to **silükei* and **silüsün* listed below.

SH *šulen* H143, HY *šülen* M98, Muq *šilen* P333a, RH *šülen* 205B44. WM *silö(n)* L708a, *šülen* L759b, *şölö* L757a. Kh *şöl(ön)* H818b. Ord *şölö* M630a. Bur

šüle(n) C738a. Brg *šul* U170. Kalm *šöln* M681a. Dag *šil* E234. EYu *šelen* B107, *šölön* B109, *šälen* J103b. MgrH *šilo*: J103a, *šulo*: SM385. MgrM *šuli* C380. BaoD *šile* BL91b. BaoJ *šle* L170. BaoÑ *šile* CN157. Kgj *šile* S295b. Dgx *šulie* B134. Mog---.

***silükei** ‘saliva; slobbering’. Ord and MgrH seem to suggest **silökei*. Related to **silüsün*, and possibly to **silön*. Cf. also MMo SH *šilemelce*- H140 ‘to salivate’.

MMo SH *šiluget* (?) H140 ‘who can’t keep their saliva in’, HY---, Muq---, RH *silütü* (sic) 199A27. WM *silükei* L708b ‘slobbery, etc’. Kh *šülxiy* H823b ‘slobbery &c’. Ord *šölöki*: M630a. Bur *šülxi* C737b ‘foot-and-mouth disease’. Brg *šulxi*: U171 ‘foot-and-mouth disease’. Kalm *šülkä* M686a ‘foot-and-mouth disease; slobbery’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *šolgo* X156, *šorgo* J103a ‘saliva’. MgrM *šurka* DS247a, *šurke* Z337:335 ‘saliva’. Bao---. Dgx *šəŋki* B129 ‘saliva’. Mog---.

***silüsün** ‘saliva’. See s.v. **sərbösün* for further possible cognates in MgrH and BaoÑ. Probably related to **silükei*, and possibly to **silön*. Mostaert and de Smedt instead compare MgrH *šulužə* to CM **silbüsün* ‘pine needle’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *šilusun* H140, HY---, Muq---. WM *silüsü(n)* L708b. Kh *šüls(en)* H823a, cf. also *aalzan šüls* H2b ‘spider web’. Ord *šölös(u)* M630a. Bur *šülhe(n)* C738a, cf. also *abaaxayn šülhe(n)* C738a ‘spider’s web’. Brg *šulu*: U171. Kalm *šülsn* M686a. Dag *šull*^w E240 also ‘spider’s silk’, cf. *ata:ki: šuls* E13 ‘spider’s silk’ (*ata:ki*: from Tungusic). EYu---. MgrH *šulužə* SM385 ‘thread, fibre (in meat, fruit, wood)’. Bao (see remark above). Dgx---. Mog---.

***sime(n)** ‘juice’. The *-n* in MgrH is unexpected. Perhaps related to CM **simi*- ‘to suck’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sime* L709b. Kh *šim* H812b. Ord *šime* M618a. Bur *šeme* C745a. Brg *šim* U166. Kalm *šimn* M673a. Dag *šim* E235 ‘nutritiousness; juice’. EYu *šəme* BJ343 ‘taste, flavour’. MgrH *šime:n* X153. Remaining lgs---.

***simi**- ‘to suck’. The form **simi*- with *-i* is supported by MMo, Mog and the QG languages, and not contradicted elsewhere. The spelling WM *sime*- may be historically incorrect, although Ordos seems to support this variant. Perhaps related to **sime* ‘juice’ listed above. In spite of the different harmonic class somehow related to **simuul*? Cf. also Dag *šəmə:r* E239 ‘mouthpiece for pipe/cigarette holder’, suggesting **simiul*.

MMo SH *šimi*- H141, HY---, Muq *šimi*- [P: *šime*-] P333b. WM *sime*- L709b, *simi*- L710a. Kh *šimex* H813a. Ord *šime*- M618a. Bur *šemexe* C745b. Brg *šim*- U166. Kalm *šimx* M673b. Dag *šim*- E235. EYu *šəmə*- B106. MgrH *šimu*- X153, *šimə*- X153. MgrM *šumi*- JL464. BaoÑ *šimə*- CN157. Kgj *šimi*- S295b. Dgx *šiməi*- MC358b ‘to sip, take in the mouth and taste’. Mog *simi*- R38a.

***simtere**- ‘to melt’ see ***šimtara**-

***sini** (?~ ***sine**) ‘new’. The QG languages all stem from **sini*. The form **sine* suggested by Muq and WM may be confirmed by Ordos and Khamnigan (J21). The

remaining modern languages are inconclusive (the *-e* in Bur and Kh spelling could stem from either variant). The rounding in Brg is unexplained.

MMo SH *šini* H141, HY *šini* M97, Muq *šine* P334a, *šini* P334b, Ph *šine* P130b. WM *sine* L711a, *sini* L713a. Kh *šine* H814a. Ord *šine* M619a. Bur *šene* C747b. Brg *š'un* U173. Kalm *šin* M673b. Dag *šij-kən* E233, *šəŋ-kən* E231. EYu *šəna* B105, J103a. MgrH *šinə* J103b. MgrM *šini* JL470. BaoD *šinə* BL90a. BaoJ *šna* L170. BaoÑ *šinə* CN156. BaoX *šəna* CN86:274. Kgj *šini* S295a. Dgx *šini* B130. Mog---

***singe-** ‘to be digested’, and ‘(of the sun) to set’. Cf. CT **siŋ-*.

SH *šingge-* H141 ‘to set (sun)’, HY---, Muq *šinge-* P334a ‘to be digested; to set (heavenly bodies)’, *singe-* P194b ‘to be digested’, Ph *šingge'e-* (caus.) P130b ‘to absorb’. WM *singge-* L711b. Kh *šingex* H813b. Ord *šingge-* M620b. Bur *šengexe* C746b ‘absorb; be digested; sink’. Brg *šing-* U164 ‘to be digested; to set’. Kalm *šingx* M675a ‘to be digested, etc’. Dag *šingə:-* (caus.) E234 ‘to digest, etc’. EYu *šenge-* J103a ‘to digest’. MgrH *šingə:-* J103b ‘to digest’. MgrM *šangə-* DS217a. BaoD *šingə-* BL90a ‘to digest’. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *šingə-* R38a ‘to set (sun)’

***singen** ‘thin, watery’. Probably from **singe-*. Muq *šinqan* in *šinqan saqaltu* P335b ‘having a thin beard’ may also belong here in spite of the vocalism.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *singen* P323a. WM *singgen* L712a. Kh *šingen* H813a. Ord *šingen* M621a. Bur *šengen* C746b. Brg *šingəŋ* U164. Kalm *šingn* M675a. Dag *šingə:n* E234. EYu *šengen* B106, J103a. MgrH *šingen* J103b, *šəngan* X149. MgrM *šengen* JL472. BaoD *šingəŋ* BL90b. BaoÑ *šingəŋ* CN156. Kgj *šingo* S295a. Dgx *šingən* L118a, *šəngien* B129 ‘watery’. Mog *šingo:n* R38a.

sərbüsün** (?sərbösün**) ‘tendon, muscle’. The Kh form requires an earlier **ö* in the second syllable. MgrH *šiu:lʒə* and BaoÑ *šilsəŋ* are perhaps rather related to **silusun* listed above, although this connection is semantically more difficult.

MMo SH *širbusun* H141, HY *širbüsün* M97, Muq *širbüsün* P130a, RH *širbüsün* 199A23. WM *širbüsün* (?*sərbösü(n)*) L716a, *sirmüsün* (?*sirmösü(n)*) L718b. Kh *šörvös* H819a, *šörmös(ön)* H819a. Ord *šörwös(ʉ)* M630b. Bur *šürbehe(n)* C738b, *šürmehe(n)* C738b. Brg *šurmu:* U171. Kalm *šürüsñ* M687a. Dag *širbəs* E237. EYu---. MgrH *šiu:lʒə* (?=) J103a, *šurbusə* S723, *šbuzi* L502. MgrM *šyurpusi* P420a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *šilsəŋ* (?=) CN157 ‘tendon; ligament’. Bao *šinson benjir* (?=) P415b, perhaps ‘tendon bird’ (cf. **biljür*). Dgx---. Mog---

***siree** ‘table’. Only Kh treats this word as a stem with unstable *-n*. The Bao forms with *-l-* could perhaps be a corruption of LT *šij-leb* ‘table’, cf. WYu *šijlep*.

MMo SH---, HY *širi'e* M98, Muq *šire:* P166a. WM *sirege(n)* L716a. Kh *širee(n)* H816a. Ord *šire:* M622a. Bur *šeree* C750b. Brg *širə:* U167. Kalm *širä* M675a. Dag *širə:* E237. EYu *šere* B107, J103b. MgrH *šire:* J103a, X154. MgrM *širi* JL461. BaoD *šile* (?=) BL10. BaoÑ---. BaoX *šəle* (?=) BL66. Kgj *šire* S296a. Dgx *širə* B132. Mog---

***sirüün** ‘coarse’. The -e- in Bao-Dgx is unexpected, and suggests an earlier form ***serun** (cf. ***bidüün** ‘coarse’ for a similar case). MgrH vowel shortening.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *širü:*, *širü:n* P336b, *sirü:n* P323b, *sirü'ün* P323b, *sire'ün* P323a. WM *sirügün* L719b, *siregün* L716b. Kh *širüün* H815a, *šürüün* H823b. Ord *šuru:n* M638a. Bur *šerüün* C750a. Brg *š'uru:ŋ* U173. Kalm *šürün* M686b. Dag *širu:n* E237. EYu *šoruin* B108, *šürü:n* J103b. MgrH *širən* J103a, *šurun* X158. MgrM *šuruŋ* JL464. BaoD *šüruŋ* ~ *seruŋ* BL90a. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *šieruŋ* B123, L118b.

***sisegei** ‘felt’ see ***isegei**

***siü-** ‘to strain, filter; to skim off; to scoop out of a fluid’. In some languages impossible to separate phonetically from ***siür-** ‘to sweep’.

MMo SH *ši'u-* H142, HY---, Muq *šü:-* P337b, *sü:-* P330b; cf. *ši'ü-kü* P336b ‘filter’. WM *sigü-* L702b, *šügü-* L759a. Kh *šüüx* H825a. Ord *šü:-* M636a. Bur *šüüxe* C740a. Kalm *šüüx* M688b. Dag *su:-* E223 ‘to scoop up’. EYu *šü:-* B109. MgrH *šu:-* X157, *šu:-* SM383. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***siüči** ‘chisel’. The variations in the initial consonant are due to the assimilation to the following -č- and to the assimilation in some languages of ***iü** > ***üü**. Kh *cüüc* < **cüüče* < **siüčē*; Bur *hüüše* < **siüčē*; Kalm *šüünč* < **šüü(n)či*. The BaoÑ c- and Dgx s- indicate an earlier form with *ü:* rather than ***iü**. Kalm -n- is inexplicable. The Kgj form, if at all related, is also inexplicable. Perhaps in some way related to CM ***sibege** ‘awl’?

MMo SH *ši'uci* H142, HY---, Muq---. WM *čüče* L209a. Kh *cüüc* H768a. Ord *čü:či* M721a. Bur *hüüše* C701a. Brg *su:s* (?←Kh) U158. Kalm *šüünč* M687b. Dag *ču:č* E306. EYu---. MgrH *šu:čə* X157. MgrM *šəuci* JL465. BaoD---. BaoÑ *cəbčə* CN191. Kgj *šəbə* ~ *šəbər* (?=) S296a. Dgx *sučē* B119, *sučē* MC372b. Mog---.

***siüderi(n)** ‘dew’. The many irregular variant forms are doubtlessly all related. The central languages, Dag, and one of the EYu forms, do not confirm the final -i. Dag points at ***siüder** with metathesized vowel sequence. Surprisingly Chakhar and Ordos also have s- instead of expected š- (perhaps influenced by ***seüder**). Dgx -ŋ may go back to -m as in EYu and Mog, or to -n as in HY.

MMo SH *ši'uder* H142, HY *ši'üderin* M98, Muq---, RH *sü:derin* [eds. read *seü-*] 198A20. WM *sigüder(i)* L703a. Kh *šüüder* H824a, Chakhar *su:dər* D182b. Ord *sü:der* M596a ‘hoarfrost’. Bur *šüüder* C739b. Brg *š'ü:dər* U173. Kalm---. Dag *suidur* E224. EYu *šudürum* B109, *šudurum* BJ343, *šöddöröm* BJ343, *šudtü:r* BJ343, *šugurum* (sic) J103a. MgrH *šiu:dərə* J103a. MgrM *šəuderi* JL472. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *šaužieruŋ* B127, *šiaožieruŋ* L118b. MogMr *sitrum* L68, No. 66 ‘hoarfrost’, cf. also Hazara dialects *sudri*, *šudri* L54:108.

***siür** ‘broom; fine-toothed comb’. For the etymology see ***siür-** below. The Dagur form *suŋk^w* is a new derivation of *su:-* < ***siü-**.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ši'ür* P336b ‘broom’. WM *sigür* L703b ‘broom’ (..) strainer (..) fine comb’. Kh *šüür* H824 ‘broom; comb with fine teeth; filter, etc’. Bur *šüür* C739a ‘sieve (..); broom’. Kalm *šür* M686b ‘sieve; strainer’, also *sam šü:r*

R372b ‘coarse comb’, R310b ‘comb and the like’. Dag [*suŋk*^w *sannə* E224 ‘fine-toothed comb’]. EYu *šü:r sam* (only in this combination, cf. **sam*) B109 ‘fine-toothed comb’. MgrH *šu:(r)sam* X157 (only in this compound) ‘fine-toothed comb’. BaoD *šir* BL21 ‘fine-toothed comb’. BaoÑ *xir* CN157 ‘fine-toothed comb’. Kgj *šir* S295b ‘fine-toothed comb’. Dgx *šu* B133 ‘(fine) comb’. Mog---.

***siür-** ‘to sweep’. The central languages use **siürde-*, a new derivation of the noun **siür*. The Monguoric forms are likely to be from **siü-*. Dgx *šu-* may be either from **siü-* or from **siür-*. In Kgj these two verbs have merged. LV *sibir-* seems to be a recent borrowing of the Turkic cognate **sipür-* ‘to sweep’. The relationship with the central Mongolic verb **sirbe-* ‘to sweep’ is unclear.

MMo SH---, HY *ši'ür-* M98, Muq *ši'ür-* P336b, LV [*sibir-* P58]. WM---. Kh---. Ord [*šörwö-* ~ *širwe-* M630b]. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *šü:r-* B109. MgrH *šu:-* X157, *šu:-* SM383. MgrM *şou-* DS254a. BaoD *šir-* BL62. BaoÑ *xir-* CN157. BaoX *xərə-* BL70. Kgj *šir-* ~ *šür-* S295b also ‘to strain’. Dgx *šu-* B133, *şuru-* B134. Mog---.

***siüsün** ‘juice; portion of meat allocated to a certain person’. Dag *ču:s* would be an irregular development of **siüsün*, if related.

MMo SH *ši'usun* H142 ‘ration’, HY---, Muq---, RH *süsün* 187C23 ‘provision for travelling’, Ph *ši'usu* P130b ‘food, provisions’. WM *sigüsü(n)* L704a, *šügüsü* L759b, *šüsü* L759b. Kh *šüüs(en)* H824b ‘sap, juice; food (usually meat) for offerings &c’. Ord *šu:s(ü)* M638a. Bur *šüühe(n)* C740a ‘juice’. Brg *šu:* U170 ‘tree juice’. Kalm *šüüsñ* M688a. Dag *ču:s* (?=) E306 ‘half-cooked meat juice, etc’. EYu---. MgrH *su:sən* SM366 ‘sheep cooked in its entirety (...)’.

***soči-** ‘to be startled’. The variations in the initial consonant are due to assimilation to the following -č- (as in **saču-*, **seči-*).

MMo SH *soci-* H135, *coci-* H29, *šoci-* H143, HY---, Muq---. WM *čoči-* L193b, *soči-* L723a. Kh *sočix* H450a, *cočix* H756a. Ord *joči-* M211a. Bur *sošoxo* C394b. *šošoxo* (western/dial) C731b. Brg *səš-* U156. Kalm *čočx* M656a. Dag *čəč-* E305. EYu *čəčə-* BJ346. MgrH *sačə-* X133.

***sogaa** ‘doe, hind’. The Dagur form could be a borrowing from Manchu *suwa* H835b ‘small red deer’, or the Manchu form could be from Dagur. Ord suggests **sogu* instead. The word is reminiscent of CT **sīgūn* ‘deer’, but this should normally have corresponded to a Mongolic **siün*, which may in fact be reflected by Kh *šoo buga* H817b ‘spotted deer’, Dag *čə: bəy^w* (sic) E301 ‘sika deer’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *soyo* L724b. Kh *sogoo* H444a. Ord *suğu* M590a. Bur *hogoo(n)* C681a ‘female of the (Siberian) red deer’. Kalm *soya* M453b ‘female reindeer’. Dag *suwa:* E227, *şuyua* NK517a. Remaining lgs---.

***sogta-** ‘to be drunk’.

MMo SH *soqta-* H135, HY *soqta-* M95, Muq *soqta-* P324b. WM *soyta-*, *soyto-* L723b. Kh *sogtox* H444a. Ord *soğto-* M580a. Bur *hogtox* C681a. Brg *xəgt-* U109. Kalm *sogtx* M453b. Dag *sərt-* E223. EYu *səgtə-* B101, *səğdo:-* J5. MgrH

soğdo:- SM3515, *sdo*:- SM336, *soğdo*:-*ηgi*: J103b ‘drunk’. MgrM *səğdov*- C384, *sodo*- DS218b. BaoD *soxtə-žigu* BL90b ‘drunk’. BaoGt *soğtə*- C105. BaoÑ *səxta*- CN135. Kgj *suqta*- ~ *suğta*- S294a. Dgx *sudo*- B119. Mog---.

***sokar** ‘blind (person)’.

MMo SH *soqor* H135, HY *soqar* M95, Muq *soqar* P324b, *soqur* P255b. WM *soqor* L730a. Kh *soxor* H450a. Ord *soxor* M581a. Bur *hoxor* C686a. Brg *xəxər* U108. Kalm *soxr* M456a. Dag *səyur* E222. EYu *səğər* B101, *soğor* J103b. MgrH *suğor* J103a, *sğor* X142. MgrM *sogvar* C385, *suğur* DS207b. BaoD *soğor* BL90a, *soxur* BL90a. BaoÑ *səxər* CN135. Kgj---. Dgx *suğor* B118, *suğor* L118b. Mog---.

***solagai** ‘left, left hand side’. The Bur *-a-* and the Dag *-au-* are both unusual. Related to CT **so:l* ‘left’, **so:l-ak* ‘left-handed (person)’. Cf. **jein* ‘left’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *soloyai* L726a. Kh *solgoy* H446b. Ord *sologö*: M582a. Bur *halgay* C669a, cf. *holgoy* (?=) C682a ‘idler’. Brg *xalgai* U92. Kalm *solya* M454a. Dag *səlyui* E222, *saulqui* Z101a. EYu *sələğči* B101, *sologui* J103b. MgrH *solguai* J103b. MgrM *sargai* C384. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *soği* B116. Mog---.

***solaŋga** ‘rainbow’.

MMo SH---, HY *solaŋga* M95, Muq---. WM *solongya* L726a. Kh *solongo(n)* H446b. Ord *solongö* M582a. Bur *holongo* C682b. Brg *xələŋg* U109. Kalm *solŋy* M454a. Dag---. EYu *sələŋgə* B101, *solongo* J103b. MgrH *solongö* J103b, *slangva* C385. MgrM (Sanchuan) *solongu* P418b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sona** ‘gadfly, horsefly’. Enkhbat convincingly derives Dag *sə:ni:kʰe*: E220 ‘wasp or bee’, *sə:nə:kʰe*: E220 ~ *sə:nə:ki*: E223 ‘wasp’ from Manchu *sorokiyan*, but in view of the *-n-* in the Dag forms, they may at least be influenced by **sona*. The *ʒ-* in the QG forms is inexplicable. The Bao forms with *-l-* and *-ŋ* seem even further removed from the CM form. MgrH has been seen as a borrowing from LT *sbraŋ-ma* ‘bee’ (cf. RT 1966, No. 104), but *ʒ-* from Tib *sbr-* (*hʒ-*, *wʒ-* in the relevant Amdo dialects) would be phonetically equally problematic. Li derives his Baoan form from Chinese (without giving a source form).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *sona* P59. WM *sono* L727b. Kh *sono* H448a. Ord---. Bur *hono* C684a. Brg *xən* U107. Kalm *sonö* M331a. Dag (see above). EYu *zu:na* B151, *zu:na*: J7 ‘fly’. MgrH *ʒəŋna*: (?=) X228 ‘bee’. MgrM *zono* JL470. BaoD *zulaŋ* BL9 ‘gadfly’, BaoGt *ʒiləŋ* C119 ‘bee’. BaoJ *ʒrləŋ* L40. BaoÑ *zina* CN205 ‘fly’. BaoX *ʒulaŋ* BC64 ‘bee’. Kgj *zunna* ~ *zuna* S305a ‘bee’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sonas-** ‘to hear’. Cf. **čijla-* ‘to listen’.

MMo SH *sonos-* H135, HY *sonos-* M95, Muq *sonas-* P324a. WM *sonos-* L728a. Kh *sonsox* H448b. Ord *sonos-* M583a. Bur *sonosxo* (←Kh) C391a. Brg *səns-* (←Kh) U155. Kalm *sonsx* M455b. Dag *səns-* E221. EYu---. MgrH *sonosə-* J103a, *sunosə-* X139. MgrM *sonosī-* DS228a. Bao---. Kgj *sunsī-* S294a. Dgx *sonosu-* B117. Mog *sonus-* R38b.

***sonin** ‘news; new, newsworthy, interesting’.

MMo SH *sonin* H135, HY---, Muq---. WM *sonin* L727a. Kh *sonin* H447b ‘news, etc’, *son*’ H448b ‘interest in something’. Ord *soni:n* M582b. Bur *honi(n)* C683b. Brg *хони* U107 Kalm *son*’n M455a. Dag *sonin* E83:196a. EYu *sononj* (only) S606. Dgx *soni* MC371a. Mog---.

***sonji-** ‘to mock; to imitate’.

SH---, HY *sonji-* M95, Muq---. WM *sonji-* L728b. Kh *sonjix* (?=) H447b ‘to consider unfit or unworthy, etc’. Ord only *sori-* *sonji-* M582b ‘to interrogate’. Bur---. Kalm *sonji-* R331a ‘scharf kritisieren, etc’. Dag---. EYu *сә:нјә-* B100, *so:njә-* J63 ‘to imitate, learn from’. MgrH *suənži-* (?=) SM356, *sonči-* C86:579. MgrM *sanži-* DS232 ‘to joke’. Bao *suanži-* S257 ‘to mock’. Kgj *sanči-* ??? S293a. Dgx *sonži-* Bökh1986:53 ‘to mock’. Mog---.

***songina** ‘onion’. Ord, as well as Mgr, MgrM and BaoD suggest a form **songunag* with final *-g*. The Dgx form could also stem from such a form. BaoGt and Kgj involve further deviations. The CM word was probably borrowed from a CT diminutive **sogan-kiña* from **sogan* ‘onion’. The expected CM form would be **soankina*, which seems to be supported by the form in MMo HY, although there is no long *o* in the central languages. Turkic origin is likely since the names of cultivated plants are often of CT origin. EYu uses *сәгәһ* B140, a new borrowing from Turkic **sogan*. The *c-* in Kgj may be due to the influence of Chinese *cōng*.

MMo SH---, HY *songgina* M95 (spelled as if *so’onggina*), Muq *sonqina*, *sonqinan* P324a. WM *songgina* L727b. Kh *songino* H446a. Ord *songino(q)* M583b. Bur *hongino* C683b. Brg *сәһгін* (←Kh) U156. Kalm *songin* R331b. Dag---. EYu (see above). MgrH *sunğuncğ* X139. MgrM (Sanchuan) *sanginīg* P415b. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *sonog* S605. BaoD *songonəğ* BL5. BaoGt *sunğolun* C102. BaoÑ---. Kgj *cunğulu* ~ *cunğulğu* S302a. Dgx *sunğuna* B117. Mog---.

***songu-** (~ ***sunqu-**) ‘to choose, select, elect’. Bur-Kalm *-u-*. Cf. CM **ilga-*.

MMo SH *so’ongqu-* H135, HY *songqu-* M95 (spelled as if *so’onqu-*), Muq *sonqu-* P324a. WM *songyo-* L726b. Kh *songox* H447a. Ord *sunğu-* M593a. Bur *hungaxa* C690a. Brg *song-* (←Kh) U156. Kalm *sunyx* M462a, *songǎǎ* R331b. Dag---. EYu *сәһгәд-* BJ341, *songo-* J103a. MgrH *сәһгө-* X137. Bao---. Kgj *cunqu-* (?=) S302a. Dgx *sunğu-* B17. Mog---.

***sorbi** ‘cane, walking-stick’. Apparently a ‘regional’ survival in Bur-Dag. **sorbi* ‘scar’ is probably unrelated.

MMo SH---, HY *sorbi* M96 [read *sörbi* by Mostaert], Muq---. WM *sorbi* K1416a, precl. *sorbi* T553. Kh *sorvi* LC 3:115a ‘stick, shaman’s staff’. Ord---. Bur *hor’bo* C685b, *horbi* C684b. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *сәrb’* E223. Remaining lgs---.

***sora-** ‘to suck’. Related to CT **so:r-* ‘id’. Cf. **simi-*, **köke-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *soro-* L729b. Kh *sorox* H449b. Ord *soro-* M584b. Bur *horoxo* C685a. Kalm *sorx* M456a. Dag---. EYu *сәрә-* B101. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sorisun** ‘edible flowers of wild leek’ and other bulbous plants.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH---. WM *sorisu* L729b. Kh *sor*’s H450a, *sors* H449b (different translations, the latter spelling not in LC). Ord *sorisu* M584b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *sorsn* R332b ‘spice, originally preserved leek flowers’. Dag *sors* E223 ‘flowers of leek’. EYu---. MgrH *sorosə* X136 ‘flowers of wild onion’. Remaining lgs---.

***sormusun** ‘eyelash’. The Bur form seems to recall the SH *surimusun*, but could also have developed from **sormisun*. Dag *sarmilt* ‘id’ is from **sarmirt* < Tungusic **sarmikta*. Cf. **hani-ska*.

MMo SH *surimusun* (?=) H138 ‘hair’, HY *sormisun* M95, Muq *sorbisun* P325a. WM *sormusu(n)*, *sormuusu(n)* L729b. Kh *sormos*, *sormuus* (sic, not -on) H449a. Ord *sormu:s(u)* M584b, *surmu:s* M594b. Bur *hor’moho(n)* C685b. Brg *xɔrmɔ*: U111. Kalm *surmsg* M463a, *sormsn* R332b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *sormu* L526. BaoD---. BaoÑ *semsoŋ* CN131 ‘eyebrow’. Kgj *samasun* S293a. Dgx *somosun* B117. Mog.

***soyaa** ‘stalk, shoot; fang, tusk’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *soyoya* L724b. Kh *soyoo(n)*, *soyoo* H445a. Ord *soyo*: 581a. Bur *hoyoo* C681a, cf. *hobyoo* (western) C681a, *hoboy* (rare, ?=) C681a. Brg *xɔyɔ*: U110. Kalm *soya* M457a ‘fang’. Dag *sɔyɔ*: E222 ‘branch of antler’. EYu *sɔyɔ*: B101, BJ343, *söyɔ*: B102, B141, *sio* J6. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *soyə ʃiduŋ* B117 (**sidün* ‘tooth’).

***söem** ‘small handspan, the space between thumb and index finger’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sögöm* L731a, *sögem* L730b. Kh *sööm* H451b ‘span’. Ord *sö:m* M596b. Bur *hööm* (obs) C686b. Brg *xo:m* U119. Kalm *söm* M457b. Dag *sum* E225. EYu *sö:m* BJ341, *siom* J13. Remaining lgs---.

***sögee-** ‘to scold, curse, blame’. Some of the forms deviate semantically and/or phonetically, so it is uncertain if they belong to this etymon. The EYu forms below may be an unidentified Tibetan or Chinese stem (perhaps Ch *cui*) made into a verb with **ki-*. EYu also has a vaguely similar-looking, but likely unrelated verb *usqa-* ‘to scold’. In spite of the long final vowel probably related to CT **sö:k-* ‘to scold’. Cf. **kariä-*.

MMo SH---, HY *sökö-* M95, Muq *söge:-* (can also be read with short e and/or with -k-) P325b, *sökü-* (can also be read *söge-* or *sök-*) P301a ‘to scold’. WM *sögege-* L730b ‘to blame, call names, curse, etc’, precl. *söke-* T554. Kh *söxööx* (?=) H452a ‘to disapprove, rebuke’. Ord---. Bur *hügexe* (?=) C695a ‘to hit with the fists; to lie’. Kalm *söge:-* R333a. Dag *suwə:-* E227 ‘to refute, to criticize’. EYu *sɔiɣə-* B100, *söy-* S448 (?=) ‘to torment, maltreat’, *söyə-* S203 (?=) ‘to oppress’. MgrH *sgo:-* X143, J99b. MgrM *sugo-* C385. Bao---. Kgj *sugu-* S294a. Dgx *sugie-* B118. Mog *suka-* W179b, *suqal-* W180a.

***söged-** ‘to kneel’. With extended forms in Bao (**sögedčile-*), and Dgx (**söged(ü)le-*) which look like intensives. Kgj *guidele-* S289b is considered a Chinese loanword by Sečenčogt (presumably *guidāo*), but it may also be from

?*söged(ü)le-. The Kgj synonym *vaidela-* S307a looks similar but derives from **ebüdüg* ‘knee’. Reminiscent of Old Turkic *sök-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *sogot-* H135, HY *sögöt-* M95, Muq *söged-* P325b. WM *sögöd-* L731a. Kh *sögdöx* H450b. Ord *sögöd(ö)-* M586a, *sugude-* M596b. Bur *hügedexe* C695a. Brg *xugd-* S608, *sugd-* (←Kh) U158. Kalm *sögdx* M457a. Dag---. EYu *sögöd-* B102, J103a. MgrH *sgodə-* J104b. MgrM *sogodi-* C385. BaoD *gaćialə-* BL91a. BaoGt *səgdi-* C133. BaoJ *sgədə-* L158, *skti-* L160. BaoÑ *şgerćila-* CN147. Kgj---. Dgx *şiaoşie-* L119a, *şiaudulie-* B121.

***söike** ‘earring’. With regard to the development of **öi*, Ord and Bur behave differently compared to **köiten* ‘cold’, q.v. The peripheral languages have little to offer to distinguish between the sequences **öi* and **üi*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *süike* P328b. WM *süike* L742a. Kh *süyx* H460a. Ord *suike* M597a. Bur *hiixe* C680b. Brg *xi:x* U105. Kalm *siik* M452a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *su:gə* X137. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *şiauğə* B120. Mog---.

***sölsün** (~ ***čölsün**) ‘gall bladder; bile’. Although all listed forms are doubtlessly related, it seems impossible to derive them from a single CM form. Kalm, Ord, and one Kh form suggest **čölsün*, Dag *čulč* suggests **čölsün*, EYu suggest **sösün*, MMo and Bur **sölsün*. Cf. also Kmg *suls* Köhalmi 198. Bao and Dgx, but not Kangjia in this case, share a secondary unrounded form **selsün* < **sölsün*. The MgrH forms seem to indicate **seülsün*, but the diphthong may be a development of the long vowel which is itself probably of a secondary nature. The variants have a curious distribution. The *-l-* is preserved in Bur and Shirongol as in **mölsün* ‘ice’, but here Dagur also preserves it. The *č-* is supported by Kh, Kalm, Dag, and unexpectedly by Kgj. Dag *sus* may be from Kh; at any rate the existence of two divergent forms in Dag requires an explanation. Possibly from a root **söl-*. A relationship with CT **söl* ‘meat juice’ seems unlikely (RI:70).

MMo SH *sülsu* H138 ‘bile; courage’, HY *sölsün* M95, Muq *sölsün* (assuming that Persian *zire* is mistaken for *zahra*, and Chagatay *ot* for *öt*) P329a. WM *sösü(n)* L732b, *sölsü(n)* L731a, *čösü(n)* L203a. Kh *sös* (sic, instead of **sös(ön)*) H452a, *cös* H759b. Ord *jusu* M225b. Bur *hülhe(n)* C696a. Brg *xilu:* U106. Kalm *cösn* M639b. Dag *čulč* E307 ‘gall bladder’, cf. *sus* E83:200a ‘courage, guts’. EYu *sösən* B102, J103a, *sö:sun* S618. MgrH *səu:lʒə* J104b, *su:lʒə* X138, *su:rʒə* ~ *su:ʒə* SM364/357. MgrM *şuarsı* JL473. BaoD *selsun* BL91a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *čürsun* S54, *čürsa* (sic) S301b. Dgx *şiensun* L119a. Mog---.

***söne-** ‘to go out (fire)’. Dag *su:-* E223 ‘to extinguish’ could be a loan from Northern Tungusic (see Poppe60:30), unless this should be compared to MMo SH *sü'e-* H138 ‘to end, disappear’. In both cases it is not (at least not directly) related to the present entry. Related to CT **sö:n-* ‘id’.

SH *süno'e-* (caus) H138, HY---, Muq *söne-* P325b. WM *sönö-* L732a. Kh *sönöx* H451a ‘to perish, etc’. Ord *sönögö:-* (reading pronunciation of caus.) M587a ‘to dispose of’. Bur *hünexe* C697a. Brg *xun-* U121. Kalm *sön-* R333b. Dag (see above). EYu---. MgrH *suno:-* SM361, *sne:ga-* (new caus.) X141. MgrM *sunı-* DS221b, *sunıga-* (new caus.) DS221b. BaoGt *şinegə-* (new caus.) C109. BaoJ *şinė-* L160. Kgj *şini-* S293b. Dgx *şinie-* B124. Mog---.

***söni** ‘night’. Khalkha and Chakhar have unexpected *š-*.

MMo SH *süni* H138, HY *söni* M95, Muq *söni* P326a. WM *söni* L732a. Kh *šönö* (sic) H819a, Chakhar *šon* D185b. Ord *sönö* ~ *söni* M586b. Bur *hüni* C696b. Brg *xun^y* U121. Kalm *sö* M457a. Dag *sun^y* E224. EYu *sö:nə* B101, J103a. MgrH *sonə* J103b. MgrM *soni* C384. BaoD *sonə* BL91b. BaoÑ *söni* CN133. Kgj *sini* S293b. Dgx *šieni* B122, *šieyi* MC429a. Mog *sun* R39a, *sun* W180a.

***sösün** ‘gall bladder’ see ***sölsün**

***subag** ‘ditch, canal’. Probably related to CT **suba-* ‘to water’, from **sub* ‘water’.

MMo SH---, HY *subaq* M96, Muq---. WM *subay* L733a, cf. *jubay* L1077a ‘irrigation channel, gutter, etc’, *čubuy* L203b [refers to *subay*]. Kh *subag* H452b. Ord *suwaq* (as well as *suwa:*) M595a. Bur *hubag* C687a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *sβag* B103. Mgr---. BaoD *zag* (?) BL62. BaoGt *səg* (?) C126. BaoÑ *suwaq* CN137. Kgj *suxu* (?) S294a. Dgx *suwa* B119. Mog---.

***subai** ‘barren (of livestock)’. Cf. **kisureaŋ*.

MMo Muq---. WM *subai* L733a. Kh *subay* H452b. Ord *suwä:* M595a. Bur *hubay* C687b. Brg *xəβai* U114. Kalm *suwe:* R338b, [*suvrxə* M459b]. Dag *səyui* E222. Remaining lgs---.

***subud** ‘pearl’. See **subusun*.

MMo SH *subut* H136, HY *subut* M96, Muq *subut* P327a. WM *subud* L733b, *subad* L733a. Kh *suvd(an)* H452b. Ord *suwut* M595b. Bur *hubad* C687a, *subad* (←Kh). Brg *xəβad* U114. Kalm---. Dag *sər* (?) E222. EYu *sβəd* B103. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***suburgan** ‘stupa, pagoda’. Buriat must be borrowed from Mongol proper because of the *s-*. Dagur instead of expected **s^wabərəy*. From Sogdian, via Turkic. EYu, MgrH and Baoan use Tibetan *mčhod-rten*.

MMo SH---, HY *suburqan* M96, Ph *supuryan* P130a. WM *suburya(n)* L733b. Kh *suvrəga* H453a. Ord *suwurgə* M595b. Bur *subarga* C395b. Brg *sə:rag* U157. Kalm *suveryn* M459b. Dag *sabərya:n* E212. MgrH *suburgə* (only) L527. MgrM *suburgə* JL481, *surbərgə* DS241a.

***subusun** ‘pearl’. Perhaps both **subusun* and **subud* are from a PM root **subu-*, **subud* originally being a plural, and **subusun* a collective form.

WM *subusu(n)* L735a. Kh *suvs* H453a necklace. Bur *huvha(n)* C687b ‘beads’, (Alar) *hobho(n)* C681a ‘pearl’. Kalm *suvsn* M460a ‘pearl’. Remaining lgs---.

***sučal-** ‘to unravel, undo, take apart, to make gaps’. with the intr. counterpart **sučara-*.

MMo SH *cucal-* H29, HY---, Muq---. WM *čučala-* (sic), *čučara-* L204b/205a. Kh *cucrax* H766a. Ord *jučal-*, *jučara-* M221b. Bur *susarxa* C397a only in the derived meaning ‘to become tired’. Kalm *cucx*, *cucrx* M643a.

Dag *čočlɔ:-*, *čočir-* E83:184b. EYU---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *sučul-* W35 ‘to remove’, *sučara-* W34 ‘to be released’, MogMr *sučul-* L68, No. 21 ‘to uproot’.

***sudal** ‘vein, etc’. See **sudasun*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sudal* L734a. Kh *sudal* H453b. Ord *sudal* M588b. Bur *hudal* C688a ‘pulse’. Brg *xodal* U116, *sodal* (←Kh) U158. Dag *s^wadəl* E227. Dgx *sidaŋ* L119a ‘vein, artery’.

***sudasun** ‘blood vessel, vein, artery’. Both the *-j-* and the complex vowel in the SH form are peculiar. The long vowel in EYU and MgrH has developed independently. Like **sudal* above apparently from a PM root **suda-*. Unlike in other cases, such as **gudusun* ‘boots’, several languages have both the form in *-l* and that in *-sUn*.

MMo SH *suji’asu*, *sujiyasu* (sic, ?=) H136 ‘neck vein’, HY *sudasun* M96, Muq *sudasun* P327a, *sudusun* P327a. WM *sudasu(n)* L734a. Kh *sudas* H454a. Ord *sudas(u)* M589a. Bur *hudaha(n)* C688a. Brg *xodv:* U117, *sodv:* U158 (s- due to Kh influence). Kalm *sudsn* M460a. Dag---. EYU *sda:sən* B104, *hda:sən* J103a. MgrH *šda:sə* J103b, X165. MgrM (Sanchuan) *sutasī* P413b. Bao---. Kgj *sdasun* ~ *sidasun* S294b. Dgx *sdasun* B119 ‘&muscle’, *sidasun* L118a ‘muscle’.

***sugul-** ‘to pull out a long thin object, to unsheath’, perhaps with a variant ***jugul-**. This variation with **s-* ~ **j-* in initial position would be remarkable. However, the *j* of SH and WM corresponds to *ɟ-* in Ord and EYU, languages that normally retain the palatal pronunciation of **j*. The loss of the *-g-* in MgrH is peculiar.

MMo SH *juqul-* H94 and iterative *suquči-* H136, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *suyl-* L735a, *juyl-* L1077b, *jiyl-* (sic) L1051a ‘to pull out, pluck out, etc’. Kh *sugalax* H453b. Ord *zugal-* M174b, *zugul-* M175a. Bur *hugalxa* C688a. Brg *xugal-* U115. Kalm *suylx* M460a. Dag---. EYU *zugul-* B151. MgrH *su:lə-* X138, *su:li-* SM358. Remaining lgs---.

***sula** ‘loose, lax; empty’.

MMo SH *sula-ra-* H137 ‘to loosen’, HY---, Muq *sula* P327a. WM *sula* L736a. Kh *sul* H454a. Ord *sula* M590b. Bur *hula* C688b. Brg *xol* U115. Kalm *sul* M460a. Dag *s^wal* E227 [*sula:* ←Manchu]. EYU *sula* B102, J103a. MgrH *sula* J103b. MgrM *sula* JL471, *sula:* C385. BaoD *sula* BL91b. Kgj *sula* S294a. Dgx *sula* B118. MogM *sulv:* L64:35.

***sumal** ‘bag’. Note the vowel length shared by EYU and MgrH, which cannot easily be explained as a secondary development.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *sumal* 204C15 ‘a small leather bottle’. WM *sumal* L737a. Kh *sumal* (according to Lessing). Ord *sumal* M592b. Kalm *suml* R337a. EYU *su:mal* B102. MgrH *su:mar*, *su:ma* SM358/359. Remaining lgs---.

***sumun** ‘arrow, bullet’. In EYU with the same unrounding as **numun* ‘bow’. With loss of *-n* in Bao and Kgj, but surprisingly not in Dgx.

MMo SH *sumu(n)* H137, HY *sumun* M96, Muq *sumun* P327b. WM *sumu(n)* L737a. Kh *sum(an)* H455a. Ord *sumu* M592b. Bur *human* (folk) C689b, *homo(n)* C683a ‘bullet, etc’. Brg *xom* U110. Kalm *sumn* M461a. Dag *som* E222.

EYü *səmən* B99, J103a. MgrH *sumu* X140, *səmun* J103b. MgrM *sumu* JL471, *simu* DS205a. BaoD *sumu* BL91a, *səmu* BL24. BaoÑ *smə* CN137. Kgj *simu* S293b. Dgx *sumuŋ* B118 ‘id’. Mog---.

***sundula-** ‘to ride on a horse with a passenger or luggage in front or behind’. Bur from a cooperative form **sunduldu-*. Cf. **deür-*.

MMo SH *sundula-* H137, HY---, Muq *sundula-* P327b. WM *sundala-*, *sundula-* L737b. Kh *sundlax* H455b. Ord *sundala-* M593a. Bur *hundaldaxa* C690a. Brg *xondald-* U114. Kalm *sundlx* M461a. Dag *səndla:-* E221. EYü *sundəla-* B102. MgrH *sundula-* X139. MgrM *suṇdala-* JL476.

***sun(u)-** ‘to stretch, extend (intr)’, ***sunia-** ‘to stretch oneself’, ***sunga-** ‘to stretch, extend (tr)’. **sun-* is related to CT **su:n-* ‘to stretch, extend’, **sunga-* (**sun-ga-*) is its causative. The morphological structure of **sunia-* is unclear. Dag *səni:-* rather seems to suggest **sunai-* instead of **sunia-*. The *-m-* in Dgx and the *-t-* in Mog are both unexpected. Dgx *sumu-* is also reminiscent of the structurally obscure MgrH *sumba:-* SM359 ‘to alternately stretch and contract the limbs (...)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *suna:-* (P reads *suna-*) (intr) P327b, *sunī'a-* (intr) P328a, *sunu-* P176a. WM *sunu-* L738a, *sun-* L737b, *sung-* L738a, *sunīya-* L738a, *sungya-* L738a. Kh *sunax* H455b, *sunīax* H456a, *sunaax* H455b, *sungax* H455b. Ord *sun-*, *suna:-* M592b, *sungā-*, *suṅgu-* M593a. Bur *hunaxa* C689b, *hunyaaxa* C690a, *hunaaxa* C689b, *hungaaxa* (western) C689b. Brg *xon'a:-* (intr.) U114, *xona:-* (tr.) U114 (also the borrowed forms *soṅg-*, *soṅga:-* U157). Kalm *sunx* M461b, *sunyax* M461b, *suṇyax* M461b. Dag *sənə-* E221, *səni:-* E221, *səncə:-* E221. EYü *sun-* BJ342, cf. the new intransitive formation *sunara-* B102 ‘to stretch oneself’. MgrH *suna:-* X138. MgrM *sunia-* JL463. BaoD---, BaoÑ---, Dgx *sumu-* MC375b, *sumuḡa-* B118. Mog *suntu-* (?=) R39a.

***sur** ‘strip of leather, leather strap’. The length and the *-au-* in the Dagur forms are inexplicable. Kmg *su:r* Kōhalmi 198.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *sur* P59 ‘animal skin’, IV *sur* L62:65. WM *sur* L738a. Kh *sur(an)* H456a. Ord *sur* M593b. Bur *hur* C690a. Kalm *sur* M462a. Dag *sə:r* E221. EYü *sur* B102. Remaining lgs---.

***sur-** ‘to learn’. Mog and some QG languages feature an added vowel. The resemblance to **sura-* ‘to ask’ is probably fortuitous, although the forms of both verbs have become indistinguishable in the central languages.

MMo SH *sur-* H137, HY *sur-qa-* (caus) M96, Muq *sur-* P328a. WM *sur-* L738b. Kh *surax* H456a. Ord *sur-* M593b. Bur *huraxa* C691a. Brg *sorga:-* (←WM) U158 ‘to teach’. Kalm *surx* M463a. Dag *sər-* E223. EYü *sur-* B102, J103a. MgrH *surə-* J103b, *suru-* SM365b. BaoD *suru-* BL91b. BaoÑ *sər-* CN129. Kgj *sur-* S294a. Dgx *suru-* B119. Mog *suru-* R39a.

***sura-** ‘to ask’. The resemblance to **sur-* ‘to learn’ is probably fortuitous. CM **sura-* may be related to CT **sər-*. Al of Shirongol uses the synonymous CM **hasa(g)u-*.

MMo SH *sura*- H137, HY---, Muq---. WM *sura*- L738b. Kh *surax* H456b. Ord *sura*- M593b. Bur *huraxa* C691a. Brg *xora*- U117. Kalm *surx* M463a. Dag *s^war*- E228 ‘to inquire, ask about’. EYu *sura*- B102, J93b.

***suu** (~ *sugu) ‘armpit’. Ramstedt compares Mog *suqa*- R38b ‘to embrace’, which is morphologically and phonetically problematic. The forms with -g- in Kh and Bur might be due to literary influence. However, this seems to be a strangely unliterary word for such borrowing from WM. Furthermore, an intervocalic consonant also appears in Bao-Dgx. Kangjia *sijigun* may have *jigun* < **jakaun* ‘between’ as a second element; alternatively it could be a metathesis of a form related to Dgx *suğə zawa* ‘armpit’. The Dgx form with -ŋ- is even more problematic (preconsonantal -ŋ- typically goes back to *n or *l).

MMo SH *su*’u H138, HY *su*’u M96, Muq *su*: P328b. WM *su*yu(n) L734b, *suu* L740b. Kh *suga(n)* H453a, cf. Chakhar *so*: D182a. Ord *su*: M588a. Bur *huga* C687b. Brg *xog* U115, also *ola:ŋ xog* U39 (**hulaan* ‘red’). Kalm *sü* M464a, *su*: R339a. Dag *so*: E220, cf. *sau* Sun85:685. EYu *su*: B102, J103a. MgrH *səu*: (sic) J103b, *su*: X137. MgrM *su* JL469, *su*: *do:ro* (*do:ro* ‘under’) C384. BaoD *soğō* BL91b. BaoÑ *cəχəi* CN191. Kgj *sijigun* (see above) S65. Dgx *suğə* B118, cf. *suŋgo* MC376b. Mog---.

***sü(n)** ~ ***üsün** ‘milk’. The form **sün* is represented in MMo, Mog, Kh, Bur and Dag, whereas Kalm, Ord, and EYu go back to **üsün*. Cf. also Kmg *sū*: Kōhalmi 198. The *h*- in EYu indicates the former presence of a syllable, although it is probably secondary itself. MgrH *sun* could have developed from either variant. Of the two, **üsün* is probably the original form, since the loss of an initial vowel seems more likely than the later addition of a vowel in some languages. Admittedly one would have expected the older form to be reflected in MMo. If **sün* is indeed a secondary form, it is impossible to connect the CM word to CT **sü:t* ‘milk’, of which the -t was already problematic. (cf. P60:141).

MMo SH *sun* H138, HY---, Muq *sün* P329a, *sü* P328b, IV *sün* L62:65. WM *sün* L744a, *sü* H741a. Kh *süü(n)* H462b. Ord *üsü* M764b. Bur *hü(n)* C696a, *ühe(n)* (western) C520a, *süü* (Tunka) C399b, *sün* (←Kh) C399b. Brg *xu*: U119. Kalm *üsü* M555b. Dag *su*: E223. EYu *hsun* B60, *sun* J103a. MgrH *sun* J104b, L532, *su*: L527. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *sun* R37a.

***sübe** ‘small hole, eye of a needle’.

MMo SH *subes* (pl.) H136 ‘narrow passages’, HY---, Muq *sübe* P205a. WM *sübe* L741a ‘eye of a needle; small hole, etc’. Kh *süv* H459a. Ord *sūwe* M599b, *söwö* M587b. Bur *hübe* C694b. Brg---. Kalm *süv* M464a. Dag *su*^w E225. EYu---. MgrH *su:lie*- SM358 ‘to thread a needle’ (**sübele*-). Bao---. Dgx---. MogMr, MogM *suba* L68, No. 104.

***sübee** ‘flank, side of the chest’.

MMo SH *sube’e* H136 ‘hollow of the back’, HY---, Muq *sübe* (*sübe*:) P328b. WM *sübege* L741a. Kh *süvee* H459a, *sövöö* H450a. Ord *söwö*: M587b. Bur *hübee* C694b. Kalm *süvä* M464a. Dag *subi*: (sic, ? ←Kh) *xab’rəy* E225 ‘false ribs’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *subian* (?=) DS234b ‘loin’.

***süjig** ‘faith, belief’. From CT **süzüg* ‘pure’, from the verb **süz-* ‘to filter’. The Mongolic languages feature several solutions to adopt the alien consonant *z*.

MMo SH---, HY [cf. *südzülge-* M96 ‘to reform’], Muq---, IV---, LV---, Ph [cf. *süsul-* P130b ‘to revere’]. WM *süsüg* L745b, *süjüg* L746b. Kh *süseg* H462b, *süjig* H459b, *süzeg* H459b. Ord *sujuk* M596b. Bur *hüzeg* C695a. Brg *sujiḡ* (←Kh) U159. Kalm *süzg* M464b. Dag *suḡir* E226. EYu *suḡag* B103, *suḡag* J102b. Remaining lgs---.

***süke** ‘axe’.

MMo SH *suke* H137, HY *süke* M96, Muq *süke* P329a. WM *süke* L742b. Kh *süx(en)* H463b. Ord *suke* M597b. Bur *hüxe* C701a. Brg *xux* U122. Kalm *sük* M464b. Dag *suḡ*^w E225. EYu *suke* B103, *suge* J104a. MgrH *sgo* J103a. MgrM *sugo* JL478, *sgo* C167. BaoD *süge* BL91a, *ge* BL91a. BaoÑ *ḡge* CN147. Kgj *suḡu* S294a. Dgx *sugie* B118. Mog---.

***süme** ‘temple; Buddha effigy’. Interestingly with an added *-n* in MgrH, where CM **-n* is usually lost. The EYu form may survive indirectly in Western Yugur *seme* (~*sume*) ‘temple’. For the origin see Rybatzki 2006:676b.

MMo SH *sume* H137 ‘Buddha (image)’, HY *süme* M96 ‘temple’, Muq *süme* P329a ‘temple’, P327b, P207a ‘portrait, picture’. WM *süme* L743b ‘temple, etc’. Kh *süm* H461a. Ord *süme* M598b, *sömö* M586b. Bur *hüme* C696a, *süme* (←Kh) C399a. Brg *sum* (←Kh) U158. Kalm *süm* M465a. Dag *sum* E225. EYu--- (see above). MgrH *säme:n* J103a, *sme:n* X144. MgrM *śime* JL462 ‘temple’, *śme* C385, *śimian* DS255a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *cime* CN191 ‘picture or statue of a deity’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sünesün** ‘soul’. The *-m-* both in Kalm and Dag is probably shared accidentally (cf. however the Kalm development of **hünesün* ‘ashes’ and **künesün* ‘provisions’). MgrH *f-* is inexplicable, unless due to **hünesün* ‘ashes’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sünesü(n)* L744a. Kh *süns(en)* H461b. Ord *sunes(ḡ)* M598b. Bur *hünehe(n)* C697a. Brg *xunu:* U121. Kalm *sümsn* M465a. Dag *sums* E225. EYu *sönösän* B101, *sune:sän* J104a. MgrH *fune:sə* (sic) J103a, *sune:ʒə* X139. MgrM *sunisi* JL469. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sür** ‘grandeur, majesty, might, power’. Dag *suḡ*^v could alternatively be related to **sülde* or **sülde* (not listed here).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sür* L744b. Kh *sür* H461b. Ord *sür* M598b. Bur *hür* C697a. Kalm *sür* M465b. Dag *suḡ*^v (?=) E225, *sur* E83:199b. EYu *sür* B103, *sur* J104a. MgrH *sur* J103a. MgrM *sur.dai* DS255a ‘terrible’, DS257b ‘ugly’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

- T -

***ta** ‘you (plural and/or polite)’. In some forms in the QG languages suffix were added, such as the plural suffix **-s*.

MMo SH *ta* H143, HY---, Muq *ta* P337a. WM *ta* L760a. Kh *ta* H472a. Chakhar *ta*: D179a. Ord *ta* M639a. Bur *ta* C406a. Brg *ta*: U173. Kalm *ta* M467a. Dag *ta*: E242. EYu *ta* B114, J103b, *tas* J53, see also J25. MgrH *ta* J26 (usually in compound forms). MgrM *ta-si* JL484. BaoD *ta* BL91a. BaoÑ *ta* CN159, *ta-la* CN161. Kgj *ta-si* S178. Dgx *ta* B135. Mog *to* (also *tod*, *tot*) R40b.

***taa-** ‘to guess; to suppose’. Dagur does have the apparent derivation *tau^l* E244 ‘riddle’ (although related words in central Mongolic mean ‘tale’). Probably related to CT **tap-* ‘to find’.

MMo SH---, HY *ta’a-* M98, Muq *ta’aldu’ul-* (coop + caus) P338a, IV---, LV---, WM *taya-* L763b. Kh *taax* H473b. Bur *taaxa* C407a. Kalm *taax* M469b. Dag see above). EYu *ta:-* B113, J104b. MgrH *ta:-* J104b. MgrM *ta-* JL469. BaoD *ta-* BL91a. BaoÑ *ta:-* CN159. Dgx *ta-* B135. Mog---.

***taala-** ‘to like, to love; to caress’. Related to CT **tapla-* ‘to be pleased’. WM *tab(a)la-* ‘to feel content, etc’ may be a different relative of the same Turkic word.

MMo SH *ta’ala-* H143, HY *ta’ala-* M98, Muq *ta:la-* P343b, LV *ta:la-* P1268, IV *ta:la-* L67. WM *tayala-* L763b. Kh *taalex* H472b. Bur *taalex* C406a. Kalm *taalex* M468b. Dag *ta:l-* E242. EYu---, Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx *tala-* B137. MogM *tv:la-* L62:67.

***tabi-** ‘to put’ see **talbi-**

***tabin** ‘fifty’. In Bao and Kgj replaced by a new formation **tabun harban* ‘five tens’, e.g. BaoÑ *ta’waray* CN162.

MMo SH *tabin* H143, HY *tabin* M98, Muq *tabin* P338a, LV *tabin* P1267, IV *tabin* L66. WM *tabi(n)* L760b. Kh *tav’ (tavin)* H476a. Ord *tawi* M650a. Bur *tabi(n)* C408b. Kalm *tävn* M485a. Dag *tab’* E246. EYu *taβən* B115. MgrH *tain* X174. MgrM---, BaoD---, BaoÑ---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***tabun** ‘five’. Famously with a long vowel in Dagur and Mongghul (and in EYugur). However, the long vowel in QG is likely be due to the structure of the word, with a high vowel following a non-high vowel. Cf. **modun* ‘wood’ for a similar case.

MMo SH *tabun* H143, HY *tabun* M98, Muq *tabun* P338a. WM *tabu(n)* L761b. Kh *tav(an)* H474a. Ord *tawu* M652a. Bur *taba(n)* C407b. Kalm *tavn* M471a. Dag *ta:wu*, *ta:wun* E243. EYu *ta:βən* B115, J103b. MgrH *ta:vun* J104a. MgrM *tabəŋ* JL462, *taben* T362. BaoD *tawuŋ* BL91a. BaoÑ *tawəŋ* CN162. Kgj *tavun* ~ *tavuŋ* S297a. Dgx *tawuŋ* B137. Mog *tabun* R60.

***tai-** ‘to make an offering, to sacrifice’. In Mongghul this verb may not have been lost, but absorbed by ***talbi-** ‘to put’. Related to CT ***tap-** ‘to worship’, which indicates a PM form ***tahi-** < ***tapi-**. Cf. the unrelated but semantically overlapping ***taki-**.

MMo SH *tayi-* H146, HY---, Muq *tayi-qči* P246a ‘worshipper’, IV---, LV---, WM *tayi-* L767b. Kh *tayx* H479a. Bur *tayxa* C410b. Kalm *täax* M485a. Dag *tai-* E83:202a. EYu *tai-* BJ343. Shirongol see above. Mog---.

***tail-** ‘to undo, untie, unwrap’. Note the loss of *-l* in Baoanic and Mangghuer, which is unexpected at least in Baoan. In Baoanic ***tail-** may have merged with ***talbi-** ‘to put’, but the Monguor languages continue to distinguish the two.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tayil-* P343a. WM *tayil-* L768b. Kh *taylax* H478a. Ord *tä:l-* M652b. Bur *taylaxa* C410b. Kalm *täälx* M484a. Dag *taila-* T165. EYu *tail-* B114, J103b. MgrH *tai:lə-* J103a. MgrM *tai-* DS258a. BaoD *təi-* BL91b. BaoÑ *ti:-* CN167. Kgj *te-* S297a. Dgx *tai-* B135. Mog---.

***taka** ‘horseshoe’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *taya* P134a, IV---, LV---. WM *taqa* L788b. Kh *tax* H489b. Ord *daḡa* M112b. Bur *taxa* C418b. Kalm *tax* C482a. Dag *tak* E246. EYu *daqasən* (!) B125, *taka* P418a. Remaining lgs---.

***taki-** ‘to serve; to worship, to make an offering’. Cf. ***tai-**.

MMo SH *taki-* H144, HY *taki-* M98, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *taki-* L770a. Kh *taxix* H490a. Ord *daki-* M113b. Bur *taxixa* C418b. Kalm *täx* M486b. Dag *takʷ-* E246. EYu *dakə-* B125. Remaining lgs---.

***takia** ‘chicken’. EYu, Bao, Kgj, and Dgx all stem from a form ***takaa** with assimilation of the ***ia**. Deviating forms in Mgr, MgrM, Mog are borrowings from the related Turkic form ***takagu** ~ ***takigu**. Front-vocalic Dag *dəyi*: ‘bird’ is not related to ***takia** as Enkhbat suggests, but a Tungusic loanword.

MMo SH *takiya* H144, HY *takiya* M99, Muq *taqi'a* P341a, LV *taqiya* P1268, *tayawut* (pl) P1269 (←Turkic), IV *tayaqu* L66 (←Turkic), RH *daqau* 200B9, *taqaqun* [in animal cycle] 199C16. WM *takiya(n)* L770b. Kh *taxia(n)* H489b. Chakhar *dex'a:* D177a. Ord *daka:* M113b. Bur *taxyaa* C419a. Brg *tax'a:* U176. Kalm *taka* M473a. Dag---. EYu *dayqa* B125, *da'ga* J104b, *daqa* S628. MgrH *tagau:* J104a, *təgau* X178. MgrM *tagaov* C388, *toqò* P415b, cf *taga* Z340:372 ‘chicken’, but *təɔ* Z400:1000 [in animal cycle]. BaoD *təxa* ~ *tɕa* BL91b. BaoÑ *təxa* CN162. Kgj *taxa* ~ *tixa* ~ *tɕa* S296b. Dgx *tüga*, *tuxga* B139. MogMr *taxp:qu* L62:67.

***talbi-** ‘to put, lay down; to release, let go of’. The form ***talbi-** itself does not survive. In the modern languages one finds two unexpected developments, one of which involves the loss of *-b-*, the other the loss of *-l-*. The distribution of the variants is peculiar. The form ***tabi-** already appears in MMo Muq. It survives in the central languages and in the Shirongol languages. In Baoanic ***tabi-** further developed into ***tai-**; the MgrH form independently developed in the same way (cf. ***kabid-** for a similar phonetic history). Another simplified form ***tali-** seems to underlie the Dag, EYu, and Mog forms. There is no attested old variant without *-b-*,

but it would be quite a coincidence if *-b-* was elided in three peripheries separately. In Baoanic merged with **taił-* ‘to undo’, in Mongghul perhaps with **tai-* ‘to sacrifice’.

MMo SH *talbi-* H144, HY *talbi-* M99, Muq *talbi-* P339a, *tabi-* P338a, LV *talbi-* P1270, IV---. WM *talbi-* L772a, *tabi-* L760b. Kh *tavix* H475a. Ord *tawi-* M650a. Bur *tabixa* C409a. Kalm *tävx* M485b Dag *talʷ-* E247, *talʷ-* ~ *ʷala-* NK503b. EYu *tal-* B125, J104a. MgrH *tai:-* J104b, *te:-* SM413, *ti:-* SM415. MgrM *tebi-* JL487. BaoD *ti-* BL32. BaoÑ *ti:-* CN167. Kgj *te-* S297a. Dgx *tai-* B135. Mog *tali-* R40a, *ʷali-* W181a.

***talkan** ‘flour; roasted flour; bread’. Agricultural term related to CT **talkan*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *talqan* P339b ‘oat flour’, IV---, LV---. WM *talqa(n)* L773b. Kh *talx(an)* H480b. Ord *dalyxa* M116a. Bur *talxa(n)* C411b. Kalm *talxn* M474b. Dag---. EYu *talğan* B115, J52. MgrH *talğa* X173. MgrM *tarxa* JL469. BaoD *talğan* BL72. Dgx *tağan* B136. Mog---.

***tamtul-** ‘to smash, to rip, to tear to pieces’, ***tamtura-** ‘to be smashed, torn, ripped’.

MMo SH *tamtul-* H144, *tantul-* H145, HY---, Muq *tamtul-*, *tamtura-* P340a. WM *tamtura-* L775b. Kh *tamtrax* H482a, cf. *tamtax* H482a. Dag *tantlɔ:-*, *tantar-* E83:204b, cf. *tantɔ:-* NK503b. EYu---. MgrH *tandəla-* X172, *tandəra:-* X172. MgrM *taŋtər-* (tr.) DS26a, F55:178. Bao---. Kgj *tande-* ~ *tamdi-* (tr.) S296b, *tantəra-*, *tandəra-*, *tantra-* S296b (intr.). Dgx *tamtura-* B136.

tamu-** and ***tomu-** (toma-**) ‘to rub; ‘to twist or spin thread or rope’. It will be assumed here that these two forms are related (cf. **dalan* ‘seventy’ and **dolaan* ‘seven’ for a similar pair). As the two variants do not seem to have a meaningful distribution, and some languages have both, they are listed here together. Another variant **tomĩ-* seems to be suggested by one of the Kalm and one of the MgrM forms. Dag *tɔŋgʷ-* is from Tungusic **tɔmkɔ-* and replaces the CM word.

MMo SH *tamu-* H144, HY---, Muq *toma-*, *tomu-* P340b, *doma-* P142b, IV---, LV---. WM *tamu-* L776a, *tomo-* L823a ‘to twist or spin thread or rope’. Kh *tamax* H481a, *tomox* H499b ‘to twist or spin thread or rope’. Ord *tamu-* M644a. Bur *tomoxo* C427b. Brg *tɔm-* U185. Kalm *tomx* M504a, *tömχə* R407a. Dag---. EYu *tɔmɔ-* B120, *tomə-* J104a, *tomu-* J18. MgrH *tamu-* J104b, X174. MgrM *tomo-* DS257b, *tomi-* P411b. BaoD *taməl-*, *toməl-* (originally intensive forms?) BL91b. BaoÑ *təm-* CN169. Kgj *tumu-* S297b. Dgx *tamu-* B137. Mog---.

***tana** ‘large pearl’. In the central languages ‘mother-of-pearl’. Cf. **subud* ‘pearl’.

MMo SH *tana* H145, HY *tana* M99, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tana* L776a. Kh *tana* H482b. Ord *tana* M644b. Bur *tana* C413a. Kalm *tan* M475b. Dag *tanə* E244. EYu *tana.čə* B114 (unclear suffix). MgrH *tana:* X172. Remaining lgs---.

***tani-** ‘to know, to recognize’.

MMo SH *tani-* H145, HY *tani-* M99, Muq *tani-* P340b, IV---, LV---. WM *tani-* L778b. Kh *tanix* H483b. Bur *tanixa* C414a. Kalm *tanʷx* M477a. Dag *tanʷ-* E245. EYu *tanə-* B114, 103b. MgrH *tanə-* J103a. MgrM *tani-* JL469. BaoD *tani-*

BL91b. BaoÑ *tani*- CN159. Kgj *tani*- S296b. Dgx *tani*- B135. Mog *təni*- W181b, MogMr, MogM *tv:ni*- L64:35.

***taŋlaï** ‘palate’. May contain a suffix *-lAi* (cf. other body parts **maŋlaï*, **kondalaï*), in which case the PM root may have been **taŋ-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tanqlai* P341a, LV *tanglai* P1270, IV---. WM *tangnai* L777b, *tanglai* L777b. Kh *tagnay* H477a. Ord *taŋnä*: M646b. Bur *tangalay* C413b. Brg *taŋlai* U175. Kalm *taŋna* M477a ‘hard palate’. Dag *tannə* E245. EYu *taŋli*: B114, J103b. MgrH *taŋli*: J104a. MgrM *taŋlai* DS241b. BaoD *taŋləi* BL91a. Dgx *taŋləi* B136, NB *taŋləi* MC384a ‘hard palate’, but *taŋgalai*, *taŋgolai* MC382b ‘soft palate’. Mog---.

***tarag** ‘sour milk, clabbered milk, yoghurt, cottage cheese, etc’.

MMo SH *tarah* H145, HY *taraq* M99, Muq *taraq* P341a. WM *taray* L779b. Kh *tarag* H484b. Bur *tarag* C414b. Kalm *targ* M478a. Dag---. EYu *tarag* B116. MgrH *tarag* X175. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Kgj---. MogMr *tarv:y* L64:38.

***taragai** or ***tarakai** ‘mange; bald’. Apparently related to CT **taz* ‘bald’ to which an element *-GAi* or *-kAi* was added (the evidence is ambiguous). RI:111 compares CM **tarbalji* ‘vulture’ (not listed here), which is there assumed to reflect CT *ta:z-baš* ‘bald head’; Cf. MMo Muq *tarbaji* 341a ‘name of a bird’, surviving in Bur *tarba(l)ža* C415a, Kalm *tarvj* M478a (names of eagle species).

MMo SH---, HY *taraqai* M77 ‘bald’, Muq *tarayai* P341a ‘mange, scab (skin disease)’. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *tarxa* M479a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *targai* X175 ‘mange; empty, smooth, bare terrain’. Bao---. Dgx *tagi* B137 ‘bald person’. Mog---.

***tarbagan** ‘marmot’. Some EYu and MgrH forms are from metathesized forms **targawan* and **tawargan*. This word may contain a suffix *-GAN*, so that the PM ‘root’ may have been **tarba-*.

MMo SH *tarbaqan* H145, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tarbaya(n)* L780a. Kh *tarvaga(n)* H484b. Ord *tarwağa* M649a. Bur *tarbaga(n)* C415a. Brg *tarβag* U178. Kalm *tarvlyn* (sic) M478a. Dag *tarbəy* E249. EYu *tarğwan* B116, *tarğuan* J104a, *taβarğan* (Qinglong dial) BJ352. MgrH *to:rğa* J104a, SM424, *tarbuğa* S625. MgrM *tarbagà* P420a. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***targun** ‘fat (adj)’.

MMo SH *tarqut* (pl) H146, HY *tarqun* M99, Muq *taryun* P341b. WM *taryu(n)* L780b. Kh *targa(n)* H484b. Bur *targan* C415a. Kalm *taryn* M478b. Dag *taryun* E250. EYu *tarğan* B116, *tarğən* J104a. MgrH *tarğun* J104b. MgrM *tarğon* C388. BaoD *tarğun* BL91a. BaoÑ *tarğon* CN162. Kgj *tarğun* S297a. Dgx *tagun* B137. Mog---.

***tari-** ‘to sow, plant’. Agricultural term related to CT **tari-* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tari-* P341b, LV *tara-* P1269, IV---. WM *tari-* L780b. Kh *tarix* H485b. Ord *tari-* M648a. Bur *tarixa* C415b. Brg *tar^v-* U179. Kalm *tärx* M487a. Dag *tar^v-* E251. EYu *tarə-* B116, J104a. MgrH *tarə-* J104b. MgrM *tari-*

DS243a. BaoD *tarə*- BL91a, *tar*- BL76. BaoÑ *tar*- CN161. Kgj *tari*- S296b. Dgx *tari*- B137. Mog---.

***tarīan** ‘crop; grain, cereal; agricultural field’. The QG languages all reflect a form **taraan* with assimilation of the **ia*. Either derived in Mongolic from CM **tarīa* or directly related to CT **tarīg* ‘wheat’.

MMo SH *tariyat* (pl) H146, HY *tariyan* M99, Muq *tari'an* P341b, LV *tara:n* P1269, IV---, Ph *t^hariyan* P131a. WM *tariya(n)* L781a. Kh *taria(n)* H485a. Ord *tara*: M647a. Bur *taryaan* C416b. Brg *tar^va*: U179. Kalm *tārān* M486b. Dag *tar^ve*: E248 ‘crop; field’. EYu *tara:-laŋ* BJ344 ‘crop’, *tara:-lǰān* B119 ‘farmer’ (with unclear suffix). MgrH *tara*: J104b. MgrM *tara* JL462. BaoD *taray* T147. BaoÑ *taray* CN161. Kgj *tarə* S297a. Dgx *taray* B137. Mog---.

***tarikī** ‘brain’. Kh, Chakhar and Bur derive from a form **tarkī*. The structure of the MgrH form is peculiar, cf. *tarag* (sic) X175 ‘brain; skull’, *tarag ši*: X175 ‘crown; brain’, *tarag šǰi*: X175 ‘brain’; the latter forms are treated as compounds with *šǰi* ‘centre’ (from LT *dkyil*). Kalm *tarxa* is also puzzling; perhaps this form is due to confusion with **taragāi* ‘bald’ listed above. Cf. **heki(n)*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tariki(n)* L781a, *taraki(n)* L779b ‘&occurput’. Kh *tarxi(n)* H486a. Chakhar *der^vx^v* D177a. Ord *tariki* M648a. Bur *tarxi* C415b ‘head; brain; Buriat sausage’. Brg *tarix* U178. Kalm *tarxa* (obs) M479a also ‘head’, *targ* M478a ‘brain’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *taragši*: J104b, X175, see remark above. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***tarka-** ‘to scatter, spread, disperse’. Perhaps in some way related to the verb **tara-* (or **tar-?*) reflected by WM *tara-* L779b, Kh *tarax* H484b ‘to disperse, etc’, Ord *tara-* M646b, Bur *taraxa* C414b (intr). Kalm *tarx* M479a (intr).

MMo SH *tarqa-* H145, HY *tarqa-* M99, Muq---, IV---, LV---, *tarqa-* P131a. WM *tarqa-* L782a. Kh *tarxax* H486a. Ord *darḡa-* M121b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *tarḡāḡā* R381a. Dag---. EYu *tarqa-* BJ344. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *taḡa-* B136. Mog---.

***tasma** ‘strip of leather, thong’. Wanderwort that may have entered Mongolic from Persian. Perhaps Kh *tams* H481b ‘edging, bordering, etc’ and Bur *tamha(n)* C413a ‘small strip of textile’ go back to a metathesized variant of this word.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tasma* P342a ‘thong’, IV---, LV---. WM *tasama* L782b, *tasma(n)* L784a. Kh *tasam* H487a ‘border, edging’. Ord *dasma* M126a. Bur *tahama* C420a ‘leather thongs’. Kalm *tasm* M480a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *tasma* X179. MgrM (Sanchuan) *tsma* P420b ‘ribbon’. Bao---. Dgx *sima* S613, S1985:686 ‘strip of leather’. Mog *tasma*: R40a ‘untanned goatskin’.

***tasura-** ‘to break (intr)’. Several unexpected forms are found. The *-ḡ-* in MgrH is intrusive, and may be a byproduct of the devoicing of the first syllable. The affricates in the MgrM form *cǰǰir-* are caused by the reduction of the first vowel. In the BaoD and Dgx forms the **a* of the first syllable has disappeared completely, after which the **t* and the **s* formed an affricate. In EYu and BaoÑ the *t-* was

weakened (dissimilated) due to the following -s-. Cf. the peculiar development of **tata-*.

MMo SH *tasura-* H146, HY---, Muq *tasura-* P342a, IV---, LV---. WM *tasura-* L785b. Kh *tasrax* H487b. Bur *taharxa* C420a. Brg *taxa:r-* U175. Kalm *tasrx* M480a. Dag *tasər-* E248. EYu *dasāra-* B126, *dasər-* J104a. MgrH *dağsəra:-* J104b, *tağsəra:-* X173. MgrM *tasīr- ~ cījīr-* JL470, *cīsara-* P418b. BaoD *zarə-* BL91a. BaoÑ *dasar-* CN173. Kgj *cīra- ~ cra-* S302a. Dgx *cīra-* B156, L11, *sīra-* B116, L119b. Mog---.

***tata-** ‘to pull’ in many languages also ‘to grind, mill’, or ‘to smoke’. In the QG languages the first syllable was reduced and devoiced between the two strong consonants, which led to several unexpected developments which even affected the initial consonant.

MMo SH *tata-* H146, HY *tata-* M99, Muq *tata-* P342a, LV *tata-* P1268, IV---, Ph *t^hat^ha-* P131a. WM *tata-* L785b. Kh *tatax* H488a. Ord *data-* M127b. Bur *tataxa* C417b. Kalm *tatx* C481b. Dag *tat-* E248. EYu *hta-* B60, *hda-* J79. MgrH *təda-* X179, *cida-* SM444. MgrM *tida-* ~ *cida-* JL470. BaoD---. BaoGt *şda-* C121. BaoÑ *şda-* CN149. Kgj *sta-* ~ *sda-* ~ *sita-* S294b. Dgx *sda-* B119, *cida-* MC328b. Mog *tata-* R40a, *tata-* W181a, *təta-* W181b.

***tau-** ‘to drive (usu. animals)’.

MMo SH *ta’u-* H146, *tao’u-* H145, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *taɣu-* L766a. Kh *tuux* H519a. Bur *tuuxa* C438a. Kalm *tuux* M521a. Dag *tau-* E244. EYu *tu:-* B121, J104b. MgrH *tau:-* J104b. MgrM *tau-* T366. BaoD---. BaoGt *tī-* C117. BaoÑ *tu:-* CN169. Kgj *tu-* S297b. Dgx *tau-* B135. Mog---.

***taulai** ‘hare’.

MMo SH *taolai* H145, *ta’ulai* H146, HY *taulai* M100, Muq *ta’ulai* P343a, *tu:lai-* P357a, LV *taulai* P1270, IV *taulai* L68, *tu:lai* L70, Ph *t^havlayi* P131a. WM *taulai* L788b, *tulai* L840b. Kh *tuulay(n)* H518a. Bur *tuulay* C438a. Kalm *tuula* M520a. Dag *taul^ʰ* E244. EYu *tu:li-* B121, J103b. MgrH *to:li-* J103a. MgrM *taulai* JL469. BaoD *taolai* BL91a. BaoÑ *təli* CN168. Kgj *tuli* S297b. Dgx *taulai* B135. MogMr *taulai* L62:68.

taun** and/or ***tagan**/tagun** ‘jackdaw’. It is impossible to derive all forms from a single CM form. Vowel length in Brg and Dag. The MMo Muq form seems to be related to (or rather a borrowing from) the synonymous CT **taɣan* (EDPT 523a). The other Mongolic forms may be connected in some way as well. A variant Turkic form **tagan* may have existed, cf. **yaɣan ~ *yagan* ‘elephant’ as opposed to CM **jaan*. However, the Mongolic equivalent of CT **taɣan* should have been **taɣgan* or **taan* and the Mongolic equivalent of **tagan* should have been **taan*.

MMo SH---, HY *alaq ta’un* M34 (see **alag* ‘multi-coloured’), Muq *taqan* (perhaps for *taɣan*) P341a. WM *taɣu* L766a, *alay taɣu* L26b. Kh *tuu* H518a, *alagtuu* H14b. Ord---. Bur *tuun* C438a. Brg *ta:g* U173. Kalm---. Dag *ta:wu* E243. Remaining lgs---.

***tayag** ‘stick, walking cane’. Loan from CT **tayak* ‘id’. Derived from the CT verb **taya-* ‘to support’. Cf. **sorbī*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tayaq* P346b. WM *tayay* L769b. Kh *tayag* H491b. Ord *tayaq* M641a. Bur *tayag* C421a. Kalm *tayg* M472b. Dag *tayiy* [?←Kh] Z102b. EYu *tiyağ* B118, *tʰa:ğ* B123, *tiağ* J104a. MgrH *tiağ* J104b, *teğ* X176. MgrM---, Bao---, Dgx *təiya* B138. Mog *tayag* W180b.

***te** see ***tende** and ***tere**

***tebeg** (?*tebüg) ‘shuttlecock’. Apparently borrowed from CT **tepük*, derived from **tep-* ‘to kick’. Cf. Salar *tiux* ‘id’. A late loan on account of the correspondence CT **-p-* = CM **-b-*. BaoÑ *te*: CN164 ‘id’ is from Amdo *tʰe-wu* (written *the-bug*) HL259b ‘id’, which in its ultimately from the same Turkic word.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, WM *tebeg* L789b. Kh *teveg* H529b. Ord *tewek* M662a. Bur *tebeg* C451a. Kalm *tewg* R395a. Dag---, EYu *teβag* B117. Mgr---, BaoD---, BaoÑ (see above). Dgx *ćiau* B151, cf. *ćie-da-* MC328b ‘to kick about a shuttlecock’. Mog---.

***tebene** (?*temene) ‘large needle’. Note the *-m-* in Ord-Kalm-Dag, which may be older than the forms with *-b-* in view of the Turkic cognate. The Dag vowel length is unexpected, as is the *-nʸ*, which may suggest a CM form **teme(e)ni*. Related to CT **temen* ‘id’.

MMo SH *tebene* H147, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tebene* L790a. Kh *tevne* H528b. Ord *temene* M656b. Bur *tebene* C451a. Brg *təβan* U180. Kalm *temn* M492b. Dag *təmə:nʸ* E253. EYu---, Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx---, MogM *tēβana* L68, No. 111.

***teberi-** ‘to embrace’. EYu reformed from the noun **teber* ‘armful; embrace’. Dag ends in an inexplicable long vowel.

MMo SH *teberi-* H147, HY---, Muq *teberi-* P343b, LV *tebri-* P1268, IV---. WM *teberi-* L790a. Kh *tevrex* H529a. Ord *tewere-* M662a. Bur *teberixe* C451a. Brg *təβar-* U180. Kalm *tevr̥x* M488a. Dag *təurʸe:-* E251. EYu *teβer-le-* B117, *töβer-le-* J22. MgrH *te:rə-* X175, *to:rə-* X181, MgrH *tüe:ri-* SM437. MgrM *tʰarbar-* /*terbar-* C389, *tierbar-* DS229b. BaoD *te:re-* T148. BaoÑ *te:r-* CN164. BaoX *terə-* BC62. Kgj *tər-* S297b. Dgx *ćiauru-* B151. Mog---.

***tebsi** ‘plate, dish’. With added *-g* in EYu. From Chinese *diézi*, perhaps via Turkic **tevsī*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tepši* (so read) P239a, LV *tebšin* P1268, IV---. WM *tebsi* L790b, *debsi* L239b. Kh *tevš* H529b. Ord *debši* M132b. Bur *tebše* C451a ‘small trough; wooden dish’. Kalm *tevš* M488a ‘wooden trough, tub, oblong wooden tray’. Dag---, EYu *tebšəg* B117 ‘trough; a wooden implement used for winnowing’. MgrH *diewši* SM50 ‘small dish’. BaoD---, BaoÑ *debši* CN176. Dgx---, Mog---.

***tede** ‘those’ see ***tere**

***teeli** ‘axle’ see ***tengeli(g)**

***teermen** ‘mill’, in the QG languages **termen*, with unexpected vowel shortening also in EYu-MgrH. Technical term related to CT **tegirmen* ‘id’. In view of the Turkic cognate the loss of the *-n* in central Mongolic is an innovation of that subgroup. MMo Muq and Ph have borrowed the Turkic word again at a later stage.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tegirmen* (←Turkic) P344b, IV---, LV---, Ph *t^hegirmed* (pl.) P131b. WM *tegerme* L793b. Kh *teerem* H538a. Bur *teerme* C460a. Kalm *teerm* M489b. Dag---. EYu *termen* B118, J104b. MgrH *tərme* J104a. MgrM *t^harme* /*terme*/ C389. BaoD *tarmaŋ* BL92b. BaoÑ *termaŋ* CN166. Kgj *təmə* ~ *tərmə* S297a. Dgx *ciemān* B153a, *ciemān* L119b. Mog *te:rmə:n* R40a.

***tegsi** ‘level, even’. Cf. **tübsin*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tekši* P345b ‘fair, just’. WM *tegsi* L794a. Kh *tegš* H530a. Bur *tegše* C451b. Kalm *tegš* M488b. Dag *tərš* E255, *təkš* E252. EYu *degšə* B117, J104b, *tegšə* BJ344. Remaining lgs---.

***tegüs-** ‘to end (intr)’.

MMo SH---, HY *tegüs-ge-* (caus.) M100, Muq---. WM *tegüs-* L796a. Kh *tögsöx* H507b. Bur *tügesexe* (←Kh) C442b. Kalm *tögsx* M512a. EYu *dögəs-* BJ323.

***teimü** ‘such, that kind of’. From the pronominal (distal demonstrative) root **te-*, cf. **te(re)* ‘this’, **tende* ‘there’, **tein* ‘thus’. Dagur may involve another suffix (as in **yamar*). Kangjia *teme* has functionally replaced **tein* ‘thus’, the Baoan forms have replaced **tedüi* ‘that much’ (not listed). Most Shirongol forms include **nige* ‘one’. For new Baoanic formations replacing **teimü*, see s.v. **metü*. MgrH *təgi:* X178, MgrM *tiŋtai* DS30a ‘that kind of’ are other new formations based on **te-*.

MMo SH *teyimu* H150, HY---, Muq *ti:m* (probably < *ti:n* assimilated to *boltuyai* following it) P345a. WM *teyimü* L796b. Kh *tiym* H492a. Bur *tiime* C422a. Kalm *tiim* M498a. Dag *ti:mər* E255. EYu *tomo* [in compounds] B120, *tumə* J104a. MgrH *tamaingə* H173 ‘a lot of’, *tamaingə* L553 ‘that much’. BaoD *təmingə* BL75 ‘that much’. BaoÑ *temi:ngə* CN165 ‘that much’. BaoX *təmi: nəgə* CN86:179 ‘that much’. Kgj *teme* (?=) S297a ‘that way’, *teme niye* S192 ‘that much’. Dgx *ćimi nie* BC85:132 ‘as little as that’. Mog---.

***tein** ‘like that, so’. Cf. **teimü* above.

MMo SH *teyin* H150, HY *teyin* M101, Muq *teyin* P168b, *ti:n* P345a, LV---, IV *tein* L68. WM *teyin* L796b. Kh *tiyn* H492b. Bur *tiin* C422a. Kalm---. Dag *ti:* E255. EYu *ti:n* B118, BJ344, J53. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ćin* B154.

***teingi-** < **tein ki-* ‘to do that way’. The forms in the central languages and Dag are new formations based on **tei ki-*. The Dgx form takes any negation particles between the original components (cf. BC85:175). From the pronominal root **te-*, cf. also **tere* ‘that’, **tende* ‘there’.

MMo SH---, HY, Muq---. WM *tenggi-* L802b, *tege-* L792b, also *ćinggi-* L190a. Kh *tegex* H530b. Bur *tiigexe* C421b, *tiixe* C422b. Brg *ti:g-* U182. Kalm *tiigx* M498a. Dag *ti:xi:-* Z102a, cf. the gerund *ti:yə:* E255, *tiyə:* E256. EYu *təŋgə-* B116. Mgr *tiŋgə-* X176, *təŋgə-* X178. MgrM *tiŋgə-* DS32b. BaoD *təŋgə-* BL74. BaoÑ *təŋgə-* CN162. Kgj *təŋgi-* ~ *təŋgi-* S297a. Dgx *ćin giə-* B154.

***teĵie-** ‘to feed, nourish’. The *ć-* in Bao is irregular (in Kgj it is also a rare development but other cases are documented, see **temür* ‘iron’). But in view of the Dgx form this irregularity does not date back to Proto Baoanic (in which case Dgx would have had initial *ć-*). The same irregularity occurs (alongside the expected form) in MgrH. Mostaert compares the MgrH form to Ord *ċide-*. Although theoretically the latter could represent another verb, it could be another odd alteration of **teĵie-*.

MMo SH *teji'e-*, *tejiye-* H147, HY *teĵe'e-mel* M100, Muq---, LV *teĵe-* P1268, IV---. WM *tejiye-*, *teĵige-* L808b. Kh *teĵeex* H531a. Ord *teĵe-* M655a, *ċide-* (?=) M701a. Bur *teĵeexe* C453a. Kalm *teĵäx* M490a. Dag *täĵä-* E254. EYu---. MgrH *täĵe-* J104a, *ċiĵie-* SM446. MgrM *teĵe-* JL462. BaoD *ċiĵia-* BL91a. BaoÑ *ċiĵe-* CN188. Kgj *ċiĵe-* S301a. Dgx *ċieĵä-* B153, L119a. Mog---.

***teke** ‘billy-goat’. Agricultural term related to CT **teke* ‘id’. Cf. **ukuna* and **serke*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *teke* P267b, IV---, LV---. WM *teke* L797a ‘wild goat, ibex’. Kh *tex* H537a ‘wild goat, mountain goat’. Ord *deke* (in riddles) M136a. Bur *texe* C458a. Brg *täx* U180. Kalm *tek* M490b. Dag---. EYu *teke*, *tege* B117. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *takä* R59.

***temeċe-** ‘to struggle, to strive for, to exert oneself, to compete’. Dagur suggests **temeċie-*. Not to be confused with **teŋċe-* (not listed here).

MMo SH *temece-* H148, *demece-* H36, HY---, Muq *temeċe-* P345b, IV---, LV---. WM *temeċe-* L799b. Kh *temcex* H532a. Bur *temsexe* C453b. Kalm *temcx* M493a. Dag *tämċe-* E253. EYu *temċe-* J90. MgrH *tänĵe-* X178, *tämĵe-* L571. Bao---. Dgx *ċiemäċä-* MC329b. Mog---.

***temeen** ‘camel’. Agricultural term related to CT **teve* ‘id’. The CM *-m-* has apparently developed under the influence of the following *-n* of the element *-en* that was added after borrowing.

MMo SH *teme'en* H148, HY *teme'en* M100, Muq *teme:n* P345b, LV *teme:n* P1270, IV---. WM *temege(n)* L800a. Kh *temee(n)* H532a. Ord *teme:* M656b. Bur *temee(n)* C453b. Brg *tāmā:* U181. Kalm *temän* M491b. Dag *tāmā:* E253. EYu *teme:n* B117, *temen* J104b. MgrH *tāme:n* J104a. MgrM *teme* JL461. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *temə*, *temən* W181a.

***temgü-** ‘to gather, pick up’. Note the peculiar distribution of this verb and **teü-*. Only MMo and Dgx seem to preserve both verbs. **temgü-* appears in MMo, Shirongol, and perhaps in Dagur and Moghol; **teü-* is found in MMo, the central languages, EYu, and Dgx. It is unclear whether these two nearly complementary verbs are in some way related. Both the long *ä:* and the *-k-* of the Dag form are unexpected. The former suggests a connection with Manchu *tunggiyembi* ‘to pick up’; the latter may indicate that the Dagur form is instead related to **töŋki-* ‘to peck’ (cf. Ord *töŋkō-*). The irregular Mog form is reminiscent both of **temgü-* and **čömiü-*.

MMo SH *temgu-* H148, *tenggu-* H148 ‘to pick up, to gather’, HY---, Muq---, IM *temgü-* P448a. WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *tunĵä:* (?=)

E262. EYu---. MgrH *tungu-* J104a, X183. MgrM---. BaoD *tungə-* BL91a ‘to pick up, gather’. BaoÑ *toŋgə-* CN168 ‘to pick up, gather’. Kgj *tunŋi-* S298a. Dgx *ćiaunŋu-* B151 ‘to pick up, collect, gather’. Mog *tomu-* W181b ‘to gather’, MogM/Mr *tomu-* L74:301 ‘to pick (flowers or fruits)’.

***temtel-, *temtere-** ‘to feel, grope’. Unlike other similar-looking verb pairs this is not a pair of transitive/intransitive counterparts. Central Mongolic has the form with *-r-*, Shirongol has the form in *-l-*. Dag *təm^ʷe:lə:-* E253 ‘to grope’ may be related to the latter, but the morphological relationship between the two shapes is unclear.

MMo SH *temtel-* H148 ‘to whet’, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *temteri-* L800b, *temtel-* (‘old form’) L800b. Kh *temtrex* H532a ‘to feel, grope’. Ord *temtere-* M657a, *temtur-* M657b. Bur *temterxe* C453b. Kalm *temtrx* M492b. Dag (see above). EYu---. MgrH *temdələ-* X176. BaoD---. BaoÑ *temdel-* CN165. Dgx *ćienćielu-* B153. Mog---.

***temür** ‘iron’. Related to CT **temir* ‘id’. The rounding of the second vowel seen in most recorded Turkic forms is also found in the earliest Mongolic. Subsequent rounding of the first syllable only took place in central Mongolic. Dagur famously stands out with a different lexeme *kasɔ:* E140.

MMo SH *temur* H148, HY *temür* M100, Muq *temür* P346a, LV *temür* P1270, IV---. WM *temür* L800b. Kh *tömör* H509a. Ord *tömör* M674a. Bur *tümer* C444b. Brg *tumər* U190. Kalm *tömr* M513a. Dag---. EYu *temər* B117, J104b. MgrH *təmur* J104a. MgrM *təmər* C389. BaoD *təmər* BL91b. BaoÑ *temər* CN165. Kgj *ćimɔ* S301a. Dgx *ćiemu* B153. Mog---.

***tende** ‘there’. The same stem as **tein* ‘like that’, **tere* ‘that’, etc.

MMo SH *tende* H148, HY *tende* M100, Muq *tende* P346b. WM *tende* L801a. Kh *tend* H533a. Ord *tende*, *ténde* M657b, *te:nde* (emphatic) M657b ‘over there’. Bur *tende* C454b. Kalm *tend* M493a. Dag *tənd* E251. EYu *tende* B116, J104a. MgrH *təndai:* J104a, *tənde:*, *təndi:* X177. MgrM *tindu* DS42a, *tendekuni* P420b ‘from there’. BaoD *təndə* BL91b. BaoÑ *təndə* CN164, *təndə* CN162. Kgj *tende* S129. Dgx *təndə* B138. Mog *təndə* R40a.

***təngeli(g)** ‘axle’. An apparently related form **teeli* also exists: WM *tegeli* L793a, Kh *teel* H538a ‘pivot pin of tools such as scissors and pliers’, *degli* H192a ‘the pivot of scissors or thongs’, Bur *teeli* C459b ‘axle, pivot pin’. Not to be confused with MMo Muq *töngelik* P211b, 367b ‘ring of the bridle’, Ord *töngölök* M674b ‘rings on the bit for the reins’, Kalm *töölġ* M513b ‘iron (metal) ring’.

MMo SH *təngeli* H148, HY---, Muq *töngelik modun* P358b (*modun* ‘wood’). WM *təngelig* L802b. Kh *tenxleg* H533b. Ord *təngel*, *təngelik* M658b. Bur---. Brg *təngələg* U180. Kalm---. Dag *təngəl* E251. Remaining lgs---.

***təŋgeri** ‘sky, weather; heaven; god’, in Shirongol ‘sky’. Note the added *-g* in Baoan. Potanin (424) gives Dgx *təngir*, in which both the preserved *t-* and the final *-r* are unexpected. Unfortunately the word is quoted in a sentence which does not specifically look Dongxiang, and may be mislabeled. Related to CT **teŋri* ‘id’.

MMo SH *tenggeri*, *tenggiri* H148, HY *tenggiri* M100, Muq *tengiri* (or *teŋri*) P347a, LV *tengri* P1270, IV *tengri* L68, Ph *déŋri* P122a. WM *tngri* L809b, *tenggeri* L802b, *tegri* (?misreading of *tngri*) L794a. Kh *tenger* H532b. Ord *teŋger* M658b. Bur *tengeri* C454a. Kalm *teŋgr* M493b. Dag *təŋgər* E251. EYu *teŋger* B116, B104b ‘sky’. MgrH *təŋgerə* J104a. MgrM *tiangərə* DS250a, (Sanchuan) *tengri* P416b. Bao *tengri* P416b. BaoÑ *təŋgərəg* CN164. BaoX *təŋgərəg* BC61. Kgj---. Dgx (see above). Mog---, but cf. Zirni *tengari* 1:4.

***tere** (and ***te?**) ‘that; s/he, it’. The distal demonstrative, in many languages also used as the third person singular pronoun (cf. **eŋen*, **irgen*, **nögee*, **öer-*). The monosyllabic forms in Mgr, Bao, Kgj, and Mog are interesting, but it can not be determined whether these are older forms or recent reductions. In view of the oblique stem listed below, and related words such as **tein*, and **tende* discussed above, it is not impossible that the short forms are old. The retention of the **t-* in Dgx (instead of *č-*) is unexpected.

MMo SH *tere* H149, HY *tere* M101, Muq *tere* P348a. WM *tere* L804b. Kh *ter* H534b. Ord *tere* M660a. Bur *tere* C457a. Kalm *ter* M495a. Dag *tər* E254. EYu *tere* B118, J104b. MgrH *te* J104a. MgrM *ti* JL479 ‘that one; he’. BaoD *tə* ~ *tərə* BL34, *tər* BL91b. BaoÑ *terə* CN165, *tərə* CN163, *tə* CN162. Kgj *te* S297a. Dgx *tərə* B138. Mog *te* R40a, MogMr *te*: L62:68.

The oblique stem ***teün-**. As such lost in most peripheral languages, but it seems to survive in Dag *tu*: *ča:ǰ* E261 ‘day after next’, *tu*: *nuwə: xɔ:n* E261 ‘year after next’. MgrH *təŋ* X182 ‘year after next’, *təŋ čina:daǰ* X182 ‘in three days’ (cf. Ord *tū*: *nögö:dör* M498a ‘in three days’ in central Mongolic). The oblique stem may also be the source of Kgj *tün* S298a ‘that side’, in which case it was metanalysed from inflected forms like the dative **teündü*. Survives in its original function as follows.

MMo SH *te’u(n)-* H149, HY *te’ü-ber* M101, Muq *tü:n-* P360a. WM *tegün-* L795b. Kh *tüün-* H527a. Ord *tu:n* M686a. Bur *tüün* C448b. Kalm *tüün-* M525b. Dag---. EYu *tün-* B122, *tun-* J26. Remaining lgs---.

The plural ***tede** ‘those’. This old plural uses the same suffix as **ede*, the plural of **ene* ‘this’, and, apparently **bida* ‘we’.

MMo SH *tede(n)* H147, HY *tede* M100, Muq *tede* P344a, *teden-* P344b. WM *tede(n)* L791a. Kh *ted(en)* H530b. Ord *tede* M654a. Bur *tede*, *teden-*, *tedeen-* C452ab. Kalm *tedn* M489a. Dag *təd* E254 (gen. *tədni:*). Remaining lgs---.

***tergen** ‘cart’.

MMo SH *terge(n)*, *tergan* H149, HY *tergen* M101, Muq *tergen* P349b, IV---, LV---. WM *terge(n)* L805a. Kh *tereg (tergen)* H535b. Ord *terge* M660b. Bur *terge* C456a. Kalm *tergn* M495a. Dag *tərəy* E254. EYu *teryen* B118, J104b. MgrH *tərge* J104a, *tie:rge* SM417. MgrM *t’argə* C389. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *čiarǰə* B154, *čiarəiǰan* MC331b. Mog---.

***teriün** ‘head’, with many derived meanings such as ‘chief’ and ‘beginning’. A phonetic variant **türüün* developed already in MMo, usually associated with the meaning ‘first’ as an adverb of time and as an ordinal number. Reading pronunciations with *-g-* can be found in central Mongolic. The peripheral languages

tend to preserve only a single variant. Dgx developed as if from **teürün* or **törün*. For ‘head’ in the anatomical sense also see **hekin* and **tolagäi*. **teriün* is also the base of the verb **teriüle-* ‘to begin’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *teri’u(n)* H149 ‘head’, *turun* H155 ‘at first’, HY *teri’ün* M101 ‘head’, *törün* M103 ‘at first’, Muq---, LV *terü:n*, *tirü:n* P1269, IV *térgün* L62:68. WM *terigün* L805b, *türügüü* L856a ‘head (of a group), etc’, *türügün* L856a. Kh *tergüün* H535a ‘head, chief; first; beginning; leading’, *türüü(n)* H525b ‘head of a group, etc’. Bur *türüü* C446a ‘first, head, main, etc’, *türüün* C446b ‘earlier, etc’. Brg *tərgu:ŋ* U182 ‘chief’, *туру:* U191 ‘chieftain; ear (of grain)’. Kalm *tergün* (obs) M495b ‘head, chief; first, etc’, *türün* M524b ‘first, head, main, etc’. Dag *turun* E264 ‘first; champion’. EYu *hkö tūru:n* B59 ‘gadfly’ (**köke* ‘blue’). MgrH *туру:* SM436, *турч* X186, *торч* X181 ‘for the first time’, etc. BaoD *təruŋ* BL92b ‘head’. BaoJ *troŋ* L181. BaoÑ *təreŋ* CN169, also ‘beforehand’. Kgj *туру* S298a ‘head; ear (of grain)’. Dgx *ciauruŋ* B151 ‘head’. Mog---.

***teü-** ‘to gather, pick up’ (e.g. dried dung or firewood). Cf. **temgü-* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tü:-* P359b. WM *tegü-* L794b. Kh *tüüx* H527b. Ord *tü:-* M683b. Bur *tüüxe* C449b. Brg *tu:-* U188. Kalm *tüüx* M525b. Dag---. EYu *tü:-* B123, J104a. MgrH---. MgrM *tiu-* F44:32. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx (*hanğa*) *ciau-* B64 ‘to collect (manure)’. Mog---.

***teün-** oblique stem of **tere*

***toa(n)** ‘number, figure’. The *-n* was exceptionally lost in Kalm-Bur.

MMo SH *to’a* H150, *to’o* H151, HY *to’a* M101, *to’an* M101, *to’on* M101, Muq *to’an* P350a, *to:n-* P352a. WM *toya(n)* L813a. Kh *too(n)* H501a. Ord *to:* M663b. Bur *too* C428b. Kalm *to* M499a. Dag *tō:* E257, *tō:n* E257. EYu *tu:n* B121, J104a, *tō:n* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *to:* J104b, SM422, *to:r* (sic) SM424. MgrM (Sanchuan) *to* P420a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *toa* R40b.

***toala-** ‘to count’. From **toa(n)* ‘number’ above.

MMo SH *to’ola-* H151, *to’ula-* H152, HY---, Muq *to:la-* P352a, LV *to:la-* P1271, IV---. WM *toyala-* L814a. Kh *toolox* H501b. Dag *t’a:l-* E266. EYu *tu:la-* B121. MgrH *to:la-* SM423, *to:rla-* SM426. MgrM *tolo-* C389. BaoGt *tolā-* C103. BaoÑ *tō:la-* CN167. Kgj *tula-* S297b. Dgx *tāula-* B138. Mog *toala-* R40b.

***toarag** and ***tobarag** ‘earth; dust, dust cloud, speck of dust’. The latter form is found in the central languages. Both stem from the same Turkic word **toprak* ‘earth’. Dgx *tura* B142 is compared to WM *tobaray* by Bökh, but it could also be from **toarag*. Kgj *durpa* could represent a recent loan from Turkic (with metathesis). Cf. **toasun* ‘dust’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tobaray* L810a, *tobray* L811b, *toyuray* L817b. Kh *toorog* H502a, *tovrog* H493a. Ord *[to:s]* *toworoq* M672a. Bur *toorog* C429b, *toborog* C423a. Kalm *toorm* (sic) M506b, *tovrq* M499b. Dag *t’a:rəl* E266. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj *туру* ~ *turğu* S297b, cf. also *dur* ~ *durpa* (?) S299b. Dgx *tura* B142 ‘earth’. Mog---.

***toari-** ‘to turn around; to circle; to enclose’. In Kalmuck **toari-* appears to have merged with **töeri-* ‘to get lost’. The meaning ‘to roam’ found in several Baoanic languages may have developed from **toari-* ‘to circle’ or **töeri-* ‘to get lost’ or may be also due to confusion of the two. Strangely enough the two Kangjia forms seem to correspond to the single BaoÑ form. The *ø* of *tørli-* normally suggests a front-vocalic CM form.

MMo SH *to'ori-* H151, HY *to'ori-* M101, Muq *to:ri-* P352a, IV---, LV---, Ph *tʰo'ori-* P131b. WM *toyori-* L817b. Kh *toyrox* H497b, *toyrix* H497a. Ord *to:ri-* M670b. Bur *toyroxo* C425b, *toorixo* C429b. Brg *tɔirʷ-* U183 ‘to wind’. Kalm (see above). Dag *tɔ:rʷ-* E258 ‘to return on the same day’. EYu *tɔrɔ-* B120, *toro:-* (length metathesized) J104a. MgrH *to:rə-* J104b. MgrM---. BaoD *torə-* BL92a. BaoGt *tor-* C112. BaoÑ *tə:rə-* CN167 ‘to wind; to turn; to be dizzy; to surround; to roam’. Kgj *turi-* S297b ‘to go for a stroll, wander’, *təri-* ~ *turi-* S20 ‘to call at people’s homes’, cf. *turiğai* S297b ‘who likes to call at people’s homes’, but also *tərli-* (?=) S297b ‘to be dizzy, to lose consciousness’. Dgx *tori-* B140 ‘to stroll, roam’, *torəi-* MC392b ‘to stroll, roam, stroll about, go sightseeing’. Mog---.

***toasun** ‘dust’. Perhaps related to Turkic **tog* ‘id’ or **topa* ‘id’.

MMo SH *to'osun* H151, *to'usun* H152, HY *to'osun* M101, Muq---, LV---, IV *to:sun* L69. WM *toyosu(n)* L818b. Kh *toos(on)* H502b. Ord *to:s(u)* M672a. Bur *tooho(n)* C430a. Brg *tɔ:s* (←Kh) U183. Kalm *toosn* M506a. Dag (*tʷa:rəl*) *tɔ:s* E266 (first element from **toarag*). Remaining lgs---.

***tobčĭ** ‘button’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tobčĭ* P350b, IV---, LV---. WM *tobčĭ* L810b. Kh *toṽč(in)* H493b. Ord *dobčĭ* M146a. Bur *tobšo* C423a. Kalm *toṽč* M499b. Dag *tɔrč* E261. EYu *tɔbčə* B119, *tobčə* J104b. MgrH *tebžə* X176, *tešžə* J104b, X177, *dešžĭ* SM54. MgrM *toğžĭ* C389, *toğčĭ* T328, *təğžĭ*, *tužĭ* DS210a. BaoD *tabčĭə* BL92a. BaoÑ *dobčĭ* CN179. Kgj---. Dgx *təğčĭ* B138, *tĭğčĭ* L119a. Mog---.

***togaan** ‘pot, pan, cauldron’. Cf. **kaĭsun*.

MMo SH *toqo'an* H150, HY *toqo'an* M101, Muq *toya:n* P350b, *toqa:n* P351a, IV---, LV---. WM *toyoya(n)* L817a, *toyo(n)* L816b. Kh *togoo(n)* H494b. Ord *togoo* M664b. Bur *togoo(n)* C423b. Kalm *toya:čĭ* R397a ‘cook’. Dag *tuwa:* E265. EYu *təğɔ:n* B119, *toğɔ:n* J104a. MgrH *toğɔ:* J104b, *tuğɔ:* X183. MgrM *tuğɔ* C389. BaoD *tuχuŋ* BL92b, *tχuŋ* BL13. BaoÑ *təχəŋ* CN162. Kgj *tuχuŋ* ~ *tχuŋ* S297a. Dgx *tuğəŋ* B141, *tuğon* L120b. Mog---.

***togaraun** (?*toguraun) ‘crane (the bird)’. In Chinese sources often confused with ‘wild goose’. The EYu form in Sun is likely to be wrong; the normal EYu word for ‘crane’ is *sure:čə* B103, of unclear etymology.

MMo SH *toqora'u(n)*, *toqura'un* H150, HY---, Muq *tuyra'un* P354a, LV *toqaraqaun* (sic) P1269, IV *toyora'un* (spelled *toyorwa:n*) L69. WM *toyoruu* L818b, *toyoriu* L818b, *toyoriyun* L818a. Kh *togoruu* H495a. Ord *tuğuru:* M677a. Bur *toxoryuu(n)* C432a. Brg *təgrɔ:* U185. Kalm *toyrun* M501a. Dag *təyʷlɔ:r* E259. EYu *tuğuroŋ* [only] S638. MgrH *tuğorɔŋ* X183. MgrM *tuğurun* DS226a. BaoD *təχəraŋ* BL88b. Kgj---. Dgx *tonğori* B139, *tonğori* L108, *toğoro* L117b. Mog---.

***togta-** ‘to be steady; to stand still, to stop; to take shape’.

MMo SH *toqta-* H150, HY *toqto’a-* (caus.) M102 ‘to memorize’, Muq *toqta-* P351a. WM *toyta-* L815a, *toyto-* L816b. Kh *togtox* H495b. Bur *togtoxo* C424a. Kalm *togtx* M501a. Dag *tort-* E261. EYu *togto-* B119, *togdo-* J79. Remaining lgs---.

***tokai** ‘elbow’. The form **tokanag* in Bur and EYu may be based on the same root.

MMo SH---, HY *toqai* M101, Muq *toqai* P351a, LV *toqai* P1270, IV *toqai* L69. WM *toqoi* L829b, *toqai* L829a. Kh *toxoy* H506a. Ord *doxo-* M149b. Bur *toxoy* C432a (and *toxonog* C432a). Brg *taxci* U184. Kalm *toxa* M509b. Dag---. EYu (*dəqəncə* B129). MgrH *tuḡui*: J104b. MgrM *tuḡuai* DS219b. BaoD *toxai* ~ *togoi* BL92b. BaoÑ---. Dgx *toḡi* B139, *toyai* L119b. Mog *tuḡei* R40b.

***toku-** (?*toka-) ‘to saddle, to cover with sth’. The form with *a* is suggested by Ord. the *-k-* was weakened in several languages.

MMo SH *toqu’ul-* (caus) H150, HY *toqu-* M102, Muq *toqu-* P351a, IV---, LV---. WM *toqo-* L829a. Kh *toxox* H506a. Ord *doxo-* M149a. Bur *toxoxo* C432a. Brg *tax-* U183. Kalm *toxx* M510a. Dag *təy^w-* E259. EYu *təḡə-* B119, *toḡə-* J104b. MgrH *tuḡu-* J104b. BaoD *taoḡə-* BL92a. BaoÑ *təxə-* CN168. Kgj *tuḡu-* S297b. Dgx *toḡu-* B139, L119a. Mog---.

***tokum** (?*tokam) ‘saddle-pad, sweat-cloth’, in some QG languages ‘felt’. Derived from **toku-* above. The form with *a* is suggested by Ord. The final consonant was completely lost in Dag and Kgj.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *toyum* P1270, IV---, RH *toqum* 205A19. WM *toqom* L830b. Kh *toxom* H506a. Ord *doxom* M149a. Bur *toxom* C432a. Kalm *toxm* M510a. Dag *tək^w* (sic) E259. EYu *təḡom* B119 ‘sheep’s wool felt’, *toḡam* J104b ‘saddle-pad’. MgrH *tuḡum* J104b ‘saddle-pad’. MgrM---. BaoD *tuḡam* BL92b ‘saddle-pad’, *tḡum* BL32 ‘felt’. BaoÑ *təxəm* CN162 ‘felt; saddle-pad’. BaoX *təxom* BC62 ‘saddle-pad’. Kgj *tuḡu* S297b ‘saddle-pad’. Dgx *tuḡuṃ* B141, *toyuṃ* L119b. Mog---.

***tolagai** ‘head’. The shorter form **tola*, as seen in Dgx *tolo*, is perhaps mirrored by MgrM *tolò* P420a ‘haystack’. See **hekin*, **teriün* ‘head’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH---, Ph---. WM *toloyai* L822a. Kh *tolgoy* H498a. Ord *tologö-* M665b. Bur *tolgoy* C425b. Kalm *tolya* M502a. Dag *toluy* only in *xək^y toluy* E4-491 ‘the main points of a matter’ (cf. **hekin*). EYu *toləḡci* B119, *toloḡui* J104a. MgrH *tolḡoi* X181, *tolḡuai* J104b. MgrM *tarḡai* JL477, *torḡui* T366 (and see above). Bao---. Kgj as such---, but perhaps preserved in *turḡu(n)či* S297b ‘chieftain, tribal headman’. Dgx *toloḡai* MC392a ‘hill’, *tolo* MC392a, S221. Mog---.

***toma-** ‘to spin thread, etc’ see ***tamu-**

***tor** ‘net’. Related to CT **tor* (?*to:r) ‘id’, and some of the forms below may represent recent borrowings.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *toor* L829a. Kh *tor* H503a [*toor* ‘bird trap’ is from Chinese]. Ord *tor* M670a. Bur---. Brg *tər* U185. Kalm *toor* M506a. Dag---. EYu *tər* B120 ‘net; wire; railing’, *tor* J104b. MgrH *to:r* J104a. MgrM *tor* P420b, *xaxaitər* DS212b ‘cobweb’ (see **haakai* ‘spider’). Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *tor* R40b, *tər* W181b.

***torga(n)** ‘silk’. Also in view of CT **torku* ‘id’, the *-n* is a Mongolic addition, but not necessarily in the CM period. Note that it is absent in Muq, as well as in EYu, which normally preserved both stable and unstable *-n*.

MMo SH *torqan* H152, HY---, Muq *torqa* P210b. WM *torya(n)*, *toryu(n)* L826ab. Kh *torgo(n)* H503a. Ord *torgo* M670b. Bur *torgo(n)* C430b. Kalm *toryn* M507a. Dag *tory^w* E261. EYu *törgö* B120, *törgö* J104a. MgrH *törgö* X182. MgrM *torgo* P422a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***tosun** ‘fat, oil, butter’. EYu and MgrH share secondary vowel length. May contain the (collective?) suffix **-sUn*; the PM root may have been **to-*.

MMo SH *tosun* H152, HY *tosun* M102, Muq *tosun* P351b, LV *tosun* P1270, IV *tosun* L69. WM *tosu(n)* L828a. Kh *tos(on)* H504b. Ord *dusu* M165b. Bur *toho(n)* C432b. Brg *təxə:* U184. Kalm *tosn* M508b. Dag *təs* E260. EYu *tu:sən* B121, J104a, *tə:sən* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *to:sə* J105b. MgrM *tosī* JL464. BaoD *tosuŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ *təsəŋ* CN169. Kgj *tusun* S297b. Dgx *tosuŋ* B139, *dosuŋ* B148. Mog *tusun* R40b, *təsun* W181b, *tusun* W182a, MogMr *tw:sun* L62:69.

***töbed** ‘Tibetan’. In EYu **tangud* is used instead.

MMo SH *tobodut* (pl.) H150. WM *töbed* L831a. Kh *tövd* H507a. Ord *töwöt* M676a, cf. also the pl. *töwödu:t* used as a clan name. Kalm *tüw^üd* R417b. Bur *tübed* C441b. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr *tever* ~ *teved* Khas177, *təver* Khas180. MgrM *t^ʷebe* C389, *tiebie* DS9. BaoD *ted* BL65, BL66. BaoX *tē* BC71. Kgj *tər* ~ *tur* S297b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***töe** ‘handspan’.

MMo Muq *töwe* P353b, IM *töhe* [Poppe reads *töhe:*] P448b. WM *töge* L832a. Kh *töö* H509b. Ord *tö:* M672b. Bur *töö* C433a. Kalm *tö* M511a. Dag *t^wə:* E267. EYu *tü:* J105a, BJ345. Remaining lgs---.

***töene** ‘cauterisation, moxibustion’, and the related verb **töene-*. Related to CT **tögün*, originally ‘brand’, and **tögne-* ‘to brand’. As Lessing notes, the first meaning in Bur is reminiscent of **töel(i)*, Kalm *tööl* M513b ‘white spot, blaze (on the forehead of domestic animals)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tö'ene* P352a, *tö'e'üne* P352b, *tö:ne* P353b. WM *tögene*, *tögene-* L832a. Kh *töönö* H509b ‘cauterisation etc’. Ord *tö:n* (sic) M674b, verb *tö:nö-* M674b. Bur *töön* C433a ‘white spot; brand’. Kalm *töön* M513b ‘burn; brand’. Dag *tuənə* and *tuənə-* E3:216, also *t^wə:-* (sic) Z103b. EYu *tü:ne* B123, *tü:ne-* J105a ‘to apply moxibustion’. MgrH *to:no-da-* J104b ‘to apply m.’. Bao---. Kgj *tene-* S297a ‘to apply m.’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***töeri-** ‘to get lost’. EYu with *-e* as if from **töere-*, which variant is supported by the Dag form with breaking *tʷə:r-*. See **toari-* ‘to turn around, which may have been confused with **töeri-* in Baoanic. Cf. **jabka-*

MMo SH *to'ori-* H151, HY---, Muq *tö:ri-* P353b, IV---, LV---. WM *tögeri-* L832b. Kh *tööröx* H510a. Ord *tö:rö-* M675a. Bur *töörixe* C433a. Brg *to:r-* U188. Kalm *töörx* M514a. Dag *tʷə:r-* E267, *tu:rʷ-* E261. EYu *türe-* B123, *tü:r-* J54. Mgr---, Bao---, Kgj---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***tögerig** ‘circle or sphere; round, circular, spherical’. MMo also has a variant **töerig* and an extended form **tögerigei*. Bur and Dag suggest **tökerien*.

MMo SH *togorigai* H150, HY *tögörik* M102, Muq *tö'erik* P352b, cf. *naranu tögerik* P246a ‘solar disc’ (**naran* ‘sun’), IV---, LV---, Ph *tʰökʰöriḡeé-* P131b ‘circle’. WM *tögerig*, *tögörig* L832b. Kh *tögrög* H507b. Ord *tögörök* M673a. Bur *tüxeryee(n)* C449b, *tüxerig* C450a ‘ruble’. Brg *tugrag* U189. Kalm *tögrg* M512a. Dag *tukrʷe:n* E263. EYu *tugreg* B122, *tögörög* S236, cf. *töyörögda-* J48 ‘to become round’. MgrH *tuguri:* L589. MgrM *togori* DS211b. Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***töre-** ‘to be born or to give birth’. Cf. CT **törü-* (EDPT 533a).

MMo SH *tore-* H152, *toru-* H152, *dore-* H37, HY *töre-* M102, Muq *töre-* P353a, IV---, LV---. WM *törö-* L836a. Kh *töröx* H510b. Ord *törö-* M675a. Bur *türexe* C448a. Brg *tur-* U191. Kalm *törx* M515a. Dag *tur-* E264. EYu *törö-* B121, *törö:-* J104b. MgrH *turo-* J104a. MgrM *tur-* C390. Bao---, Kgj *tere-* S297a. Dgx---, Mog *turâ-* R41a, *tɔrɒ-* W181b.

***tugul** ‘calf’. In view of the other bovine terminology shared by Turkic and Mongolic, this word is probably related to CT **tokli* ‘id’, in spite of the flawed phonetic correspondence. Dag has *-k-*, but many documented cases of *-k-* < **-g-* occur in that language.

MMo SH *tuqul* H153, HY *tuqul* M103, Muq *tuyul* P354a, IV---, LV---. WM *tuyul* L838b. Kh *tugal* H512a. Ord *tuḡul* M676b. Bur *tugal* C433b. Brg *togal* U187. Kalm *tuyul* M516b. Dag *tɔkulʷ* E259. EYu---, MgrH *tuḡul* J105b. MgrM *tuḡur-la-* DS208 ‘to breed calves (sic, for to give birth to)’. BaoD *toḡol* BL92b. BaoGt *täl-čəḡ* CN86:286 (dim. formation). BaoÑ *täl-čəḡ* CN169 (dim.). BaoX *toḡla-* (sic, ?for **toḡol-la-*) BC64 ‘to calve’. Kgj *tuḡu* S297b, *tuḡula-* S297b ‘to calve’. Dgx *tuḡuḡ* B141, also *tuḡuḡça* B141 (dim.); DgxL *tuḡu* B53. Mog *tuyul* R40b, *tuḡul* W182a.

***tuila-** ‘to buck; to kick with the hind legs’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tuila-* P354a. WM *tuyila-* L840a. Kh *tuyilax* H513a. Bur---, Brg---, Kalm *tuulʷx* M521a. Dag---, EYu *tü:la-* B123, J42. Mgr---, BaoÑ *ti:la-* CN167. Dgx---, Mog---.

***tul-** ‘to support’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tul-* P354a, IV---, LV---. WM *tul-* L840a. Kh *tulax* H513b. Bur *tulaxa* C435a. Kalm *tulx* M517b. Dag *tɔl-* E260. EYu *tulu-* J105a, BJ344. MgrH *tula-* J105b. Bao---, Dgx *tulu-* B142. Mog---.

***tulga** ‘support, pillar, column’. This meaning in MMo and the peripheral languages; in the central languages more specifically ‘cooking tripod, support for the

cooking pot over the fire’. Note the vowel length in Dag and EYu, which is unexpected in view of **tul-* above, from which it must be derived.

MMo SH---, HY *tulqa* M103, Muq *tulya* P354a, IV---, LV---. WM *tulya(n)* L840b. Kh *tulga(n)* H514a. Ord *tulga* M679a. Bur *tulga* C435a. Brg *tolag* U187. Kalm *tuly* M517b. Dag *t^wa:ləy* E266. EYu *tu:lga* BJ345, *tulga* J105a. MgrH *tulga* J104a, X184, *tolga* X182. MgrM *turxa* JL475, DS242b, *torxa* C390. BaoD *tolga* BL92b. BaoGt *talxa* C118. BaoÑ---. Kgj *tulga* 297b. Dgx *tuğa*, *tuğua* B141, *tuxua* L120b. Mog---.

***tulum** ‘animal skin used as a container, leather bag’. The Dag form is semantically and phonetically aberrant, but it is equally problematic to connect it with Bur *tuulmag* C438a ‘small bag’. Cf. CT **tulum*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tulum* P351b, IV---, LV---. WM *tulum* L841b. Kh *tulam* H513b. Ord *tulum* M86b. Bur *tulam* C434b. Kalm *tulm* M517a. Dag *tulma*: (?=) E263 ‘wooden bucket’. EYu *tulum* B122. MgrH *tulum* X184. MgrM *tuluṅ* T367. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *tulun* ~ *tuluṅ* S297b. Dgx *tuluṅ* B142. Mog *tulum* W182a.

***tur-** ‘to be or become emaciated’. The stem shape is not entirely certain, but if it was disyllabic **turu-* is more likely than **tura-*. The caus. *turaax* would support a disyllabic base verb. Some languages only have the derived adjective **turukan*.

MMo SH *turu-* H155, *tura-* H155, HY *turuqan* M103 ‘lean’, Muq *turuqsan* P355b, IV---, LV---. WM *tura-* L843a. Kh *turax* H516a. Bur *turaxa* C436b. Kalm *tur-* R411b. Dag---. EYu *tur-* B122, J96a ‘to be hungry’. MgrH (only) *turḡan* X186 ‘lean’. Bao---. Dgx *turi-* B142, cf. *tuḡaṅ*, *tuxaṅ* B141 ‘lean’. Mog---.

***turma** ‘turnip’. This word may have been borrowed from CT **turma* (of IE origin) by MMo and the QG languages separately rather than representing a CM word.

MMo SH---, HY *turma* M103, Muq---. WM---. Kh *toorom* (?=) H502a ‘tuberous vegetable such as the carrot or turnip’. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *turma* J83. MgrH *tərma*: X180. MgrM *turma* C390, *turma*: J82. BaoÑ *terma* CN166. Kgj *turma* ~ *tumar* S297b. Dgx *tuma* B142. Mog---.

***turuun** ‘hoof’. This form is shared by MMo, Bur-Kalm, Dag, and EYu. The aberrant Kh forms *tuur* and *tuuray* suggest a form **tuura(i)*, also supported by Ord. Neither form survives in the Shirongol languages (some of which use **kimusun* ‘nail’ also in the meaning ‘hoof’). The relationship between the two forms is unclear.

MMo SH---, HY *turu’un* M103, Muq *turu:n* P239a, LV---, IV *turu:n* L70. WM *turuṅ* L844b, *tuyura*, *tuyurai* L839a. Kh *tuur* H518b, *tuuray* H518b, *turuu* H516a. Ord *tu:rä*: M682a. Bur *turuu(n)* C437a. Brg *torv*: U188, *to:rai* (←Kh) U186. Kalm *turun* M518b, *turu:n* R412a. Dag *tōrō*: E261. EYu *turu:n* B122, J105a. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***tusa** ‘assistance; benefit, profit’. Cf. CT **tusa* ‘id’.

MMo SH *tusa* H156, HY *tusa* M103, Muq *tusa* P355b. WM *tusa* L845a. Kh *tus* H516b. Bur *tuha* C439a. Kalm *tus* M519a. Dag *t^was* E267. EYu *tusa* J105a.

MgrH *tusa*: X184, *dusa*: J104a. MgrM *tusa* P424, T367. Bao---. Dgx *tusa* B142. Mog---.

***tuš** (> ***tus**) ‘straight, upright, vertical; opposite’. From CT **tuš* ‘equal; opposite’.

MMo SH *tus* H156 ‘rightful’, HY *tus* M103 ‘rightful, legitimate’, Muq---, Ph---. WM *tus* L844a ‘(...) opposite, face to face, in front of’. Kh *tuus* H519a ‘direct, straight’, *tuuš* H519a ‘straight, etc’, *tus* H516b ‘aforementioned (...) this very, etc’. Ord *tus* M683a ‘opposite’. Bur *tus* C437b. Kalm *tus* M519a ‘right in front, opposite’. EYu *toš* B120 ‘straight, etc’, *duš* J84, *tuš* J8 ‘straight’. MgrH *tus* X184, L595 ‘straight; equitable’, SM437 ‘opposite’, *tusu* SM437 ‘straight’. Remaining lgs---.

***tuturgan** ‘rice’. Agricultural term related to CT **tuturkan* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *tuturqan* M103, Muq *tuturyan* P356b, LV *tuturyan* P1268, IV---. WM *tuturya(n)* L847a. Kh *tutraga* H518a. Ord *duturga* M167b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *tutry* M519b. Dag---. EYu *hturğan* B61, *hdurğan* J14. MgrH *tudorğa* X185. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *tuturğān*, *tuturğon* W182a.

***tuu-** ‘to land, swoop down’. Enkhbat derives the Dagur form from Manchu *dombi*, which is unnecessary, although it has the same meaning. Perhaps related to **tun-* ‘to precipitate, settle, sink’.

MMo SH *tu’u-* H157 ‘to sit down’, HY---, Muq *tu:-* P332b ‘to sit down [in the example of a bird on a tree]’. WM *tuu-* (?=) L847a ‘for a spirit to enter the shaman’. Kh *tuux* LC 3:262b ‘to shamanize, to summon spirits’. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *tɔ:-* E257. Remaining lgs---.

***tuulga** ‘tin; lead’. The Dagur form deviates. The MgrM form, the only one documented in the QG area, suggests **tuulgaï*.

MMo SH---, HY *tu’ulqan* M103, Muq---, RH *tuqulyan* 205C21. WM *tuyulya(n)*. Kh *tugalga(n)* H512a. Ord *tu:lga* M679b. Bur *tuulga(n)* C438a. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *tuyna*: E263. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *tolgay* P417b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***tuura(i)** ‘hoof’ see sv **turuon**

***tübsin** ‘flat, level, smooth; peaceful, quiet’. The Sino-Mongolian forms and Khalkha support this form, but Ord, EYu, and perhaps the Shironol languages favour a reconstruction **töbsin*. The Kalm form as if from **töbsiün*. The EYu form with *-g-* may be due to the influence of **tegsi*.

MMo SH *tübšin* H153, HY *tübšin* M103, Muq *tübšin* P357a, IV---, LV---. WM *tübši(n)* L849a. Kh *tüvšin* H520b. Ord *döbšin* M135b. Bur *tübšen* C441a. Kalm *tövšün* M511b. Dag---. EYu *dogšün* (sic) B130. MgrH *tebšin* X176, *teşjin* X177, *debšin* J104a. MgrM *tebšin* P418b. BaoD---. BaoGt *dabşun* C114. BaoÑ *debşan* CN176. Kgj *deşo* S299b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***tüimer** ‘(unwanted) fire, steppe fire’. The vowel of the last syllable is **e* according to WM, apparently supported by Ordos. The remaining central forms are

indecisive, as is Dagur (both Khalkha *-e-* and Dag *-u-* are automatically generated). The EYu sources contradict one another.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *tüyimer* L851b. Kh *tüymēr* H523a. Ord *tuimer* M684b. Bur *tüymēr* C443a. Kalm *tüümēr* M525a. Dag *tuimur* E262. EYu *tü:mər* B123, *tü:mer* J104b. Remaining lgs---.

tüle-** (tüli-**) ‘to light, set fire to, burn’. For the vocalism in EYu cf. **hüle-* ‘to remain’, **ijje-* ‘to see’.

MMo SH *tulē-* (so read) H154, HY---, Muq *tüle-* P358a, LV *tüleül-* (caus) P1270, IV *tüle-* L70. WM *tüle-* L852a. Kh *tülex* H524a. Bur *tülixē* C443b, *tülexe* C444b. Brg *tu^l-* U190. Kalm *tülx* M522b. Dag *tu^l-* E263. EYu *tele-* BJ344, *tele:-* J104b. MgrH *tule:-* J104a; there are two forms according to Khasbaatar: *tule:-* X183 ‘to burn (one’s hand)’, and *təle-* X196 ‘to light, set on fire’. MgrM *tuli-* JL460. BaoD *tuliə-* BL92b. BaoÑ *təli:-* CN7 (s.v. *aman*). Kgj *čile-* (?=) S301a ‘to get hot’. Dgx *tulie-* B141. Mog---.

***tülien** ‘firewood’. Derived from **tüle-* (**tüli-*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tüle:n* P358b, LV *tüle:n* P1270, IV *tüle:n* L70. WM *tüliye(n)* L852a. Kh *tülee* H524a. Bur *tülyee(n)* C443b. Kalm *tülän* M522a. Dag *tu^lʰe:* E263. EYu *tele:n* B117, J104b. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *talaŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ *telaŋ* CN165. Kgj *čilə* S301a. Dgx *tulien* B141. Mog *tüle:n* R41a, *tulən* W182a.

***tüлки-** ‘to push’. All MgrH dialects have *-r-*, while normally only Narin Guol does.

MMo SH---, HY *tülki-* M103, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tülki-* L852b. Kh *tülxex* H523b. Ord *dülki-* M170a. Bur *tülxixe* C444a. Brg *tu^lx-* U190 ‘to lock’. Kalm *tülkx* M522b. Dag *tu^lkʰ-* E263. EYu *tülkə-* B122, *tulgə-* J104b. MgrH *turgu-* J105a, X186. MgrM *turgo-* JL464. BaoD *tolgə-* BL92b. BaoÑ *təlgə-* CN163. BaoX *tolgə-* BC65. Kgj *turku-* S298a. Dgx *tuŋku-* B140. Mog *tulku-* R41a.

***tüлкиүр** ‘key’. Derived from **tüлки-* ‘to push’. HY *türiür* ‘key’ appears to be from **türi-* ‘to drag; to push’ (not listed).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tülkigür* L852b. Kh *tülküür* H523a. Ord *dülkü:r* M170a. Bur *tülxyüür* [written *tülxyuur*] C444a. Brg *tu^lxʷu:r* U190. Kalm *tülküür* M522b. Dag *tu^lk-uŋkʷ* E263 (new formation). EYu *tükü:r* B122, *tülgü:r* S659. MgrH *turgur* SM433 ‘agricultural implement serving to push grain or straw on the threshing floor’. Remaining lgs---.

***tümen** ‘ten thousand; multitude’. Widely occurring Eurasian word related to CT **tümen* ‘id’.

MMo SH *tume(n)* H154, HY *tümen* M103, Muq---, LV---, IV *tümen* L70. WM *tüme(n)* L853a. Kh *tüm(en)* H524a. Bur *tüme(n)* C444b. Kalm *tümn* M523a. Dag *tum* E263. EYu *temen* B118, J104b. MgrH *tumun* X184, *tumie:n* SM432, *təme:n* J104a. Mog---.

***türei** ‘bootleg’. Dag *tur* could be a reborrowing from Manchu *ture* ‘id’, but there are several other Mongolic words that lost their final diphthong in Dagur.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *türei* L854b, *türüi* L856b. Kh *türiy* H525b. Bur *türüi* C446a. Brg *turi*: U191. Kalm *türä* M523b. Dag *tur* E264, *turi*: T169. EYu *ture*: B122, *törö*: (Qinglong dial.) BJ350. MgrH *ture*:, *turi*: X185 ‘trouser leg’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *təri*: CN164. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***türgen** ‘fast, quick’.

MMo SH *turgen*, *turgun* H155 ‘fast, tight’, HY *türgen* M104, Muq *türgen* P359b. WM *türgen* L855a. Kh *türgen* H525a. Bur *türge(n)* C445b. Kalm *türgn* M524a. Dag *turyun* E264. EYu *turyen* B123. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***türüün** ‘at first’ see s.v. ***teriün**

***tüsur-** ‘to sprinkle, to pour, to cast (metal)’. In Dagur both the treatment of the initial and the final vowel length are unexpected. The Monguor forms are also unexpected, as they rather seem to reflect a form **üsür-*. However, the suggested connection with the intransitive verb **hüsür-* ‘to jump’ is problematic. Cf. **čidku-*, **ki-*.

MMo SH *tusur-* H156 ‘to pour’, HY *tüsür-* M104, Muq---. WM *tüsür-* L857b. Kh *tüsrex* H526b. Ord---. Bur (dial) *tüherxe* C450a ‘to dilute’. Kalm---. Dag *tusrə:-* E264, *susrə:-* E226, *surə:-* E226. EYu---. MgrH *fuzuru-* SM103, *fuzuri-* L117, *suri-* L536, *szuri-* L544, *surə-* X140, *szurə-* X146. MgrM *sur-* DS243b. Remaining lgs---.

***tüükei** ~ ***tüükü** ‘raw’. The QG forms apparently go back to the form **tüükü*. In Dagur the final *-n* and the *-ui-* are unexpected. EYu *tü:kə:* is also strange, as long *ə:* is a rare marginal phoneme. It is not a normal development of either variant.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tü:küi* P359b, LV---, IV *tü'ükü* L70, RH *tüiküi* 205A37. WM *tügükei* L850b. Kh *tüüxiy* H527b. Ord *tu:ki*: M685a. Bur *tüüxey* C449a. Brg *tu:xi*: U188. Kalm *tüükä* M525a. Dag *tuiyun* E262. EYu *tü:kə:* B123, *tü.^hgə* J104b. MgrH *tu:gu* X182, *tü:gu* J105a. MgrM *tugu* JL464. BaoD *tugu* BL92a. BaoÑ *tugu* CN170. Kgj *tugw* S298a. Dgx *tugu* B141. Mog---.

- U -

***ubuĵi** ‘feeding horn’ see ***ugĵi**

***učir** ‘reason; circumstance; occasion’. The Dagur form *wačir*, which would suggest an earlier **učar*, may owe its form to remodeling after the verb *wačir-* from **učira-* (see below).

MMo SH---, HY *učir* M104 ‘time’, Muq---. WM *učir* L859a. Kh *učir* H560a. Bur *ušar* C485b. Kalm *učr* M544a. Dag *wačir* E334 ‘opportunity’. EYu *hčur* B62, *ĵür-tə* J9. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *učur* (19:5b) ‘time’ (L68, No. 88).

***učira-** ‘to meet’. Possibly derived from CM **učir* listed above. Perhaps related to a non-attested Turkic form **utir-* ‘to meet’ (cf. EDPT 67b), the basis of the reciprocal *utruš-* (EDPT 69b). If this correspondence is correct, the PM form may be **utira-*.

MMo SH *ucira-* H157, HY *učira-* M104, Muq---, WM *učira-* L859b, *učara-* L859a, Kh *učrax* H561b, Bur *ušarxa* C486a, Kalm *učrx* M544b, Dag *wačir-* E334, EYu---, MgrH *šžūra-* X161, MgrM *učura-* P412a, Bao---, Dgx *oçira-* B15, Mog---.

***uda-** ‘to be late’. The *n-* in Bao is unexplained (cf. other cases **eüden*, **ide-*).

MMo SH *uda-* H158, HY---, Muq *uda-* P361b, WM *uda-* L860a, Kh *udax* H541a, Bur *udaxa* C463b, Kalm *udx* M529a, Dag---, EYu *uda-* B19, MgrH *uda-* X19, MgrM *wuda-* DS233b, cf. *uday* (**udaan*) JL477 ‘slow’. BaoD *nda-* (given as a noun) BL83a, BaoGt *nda-* C128, BaoÑ *nda-* CN34, Kgj *uda-* S280b, Dgx *uda-* B22, Mog---.

***udku-** ‘to scoop up’. The EYu form may belong here (cf. EYu *qusun* < *χsun* from **usun* ‘water’), but is more likely to be from **kudku-* ‘to stir’ (which can also have the meaning ‘to scoop up’ as it has in Khalkha).

MMo SH *utqu-* H167, HY---, Muq---, WM *udqu-* L863a, Kh *utgax* H555a, Bur *udxaxa* C464a, Kalm *utxx* M540b, Dag *ɔrkʷ-* E42, EYu *qutğə-* (?=) B65, Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***udurid-** and ***uduri-** ‘to lead, guide’. Both variants are already attested in MMo, but the form **udurid-* only survives in the central languages. The function of the added *-d* is unclear. The form **uduri-* survives in the Shirongol lgs Mgr, Bao, and Dgx. The **h-* suggested by the MgrM form is not confirmed by MMo or elsewhere in QG, but there may be a connection with the unexpected strong *-t-* in Kgj. On the other hand secondary *h-* does not normally appear before a weak consonant; the MgrH and Bao forms which lost the entire first syllable do not speak against **h-*. Apparently related to CT **uduz-* (EDPT 74b), a caus. formation of **ud-* ‘to follow’.

MMo SH *udurit-* H159, HY *udurit-* M105, Muq---, LV---, IV---, Ph *uduri’ul-* (caus) P132a, WM *udurid-* L862a, Kh *udirdax* H541a, Ord *uduri-*, *udurid-* M723a, Bur *udaridaxa* C463a, Kalm *udrdx* (obs) M529a, Dag---, EYu---, MgrH *durə-* X201, MgrM *χuduri-* T332, *φdur(zi)-* C391, *dur-* DS233, BaoD *durə-* BL88b, BaoGt *dor-* C139, BaoÑ *dər-* CN175, Kgj *utər-* ~ *utur-* S280b, Dgx *uduru-* B22, Mog---.

***ugäa-** (> ***ugaa-**) ‘to wash’. With many unexpected phonetic developments. The *-iä-* suggested by SH and WM is not supported by modern forms, not even in Bur which usually preserves this complex. The SH form with *-k-* appears to be a mistranscription from the Uygur script. The modern forms and their distribution are unexpected. The form **ugaa-* is found in MMo, the central languages, and Mog. EYu seems to go back to **ugua-*, in which the second *u* is an echo labial triggered by the first vowel (not uncommon, cf. also **uŋgasun* ‘wool’). This echo labial is also present in Ordos. A form **ugua-* may also be the origin of the BaoD and BaoX forms. The Mgr forms stem from a similar form with an ‘intrusive’ nasal. Yet

another form **uaga-* is found in BaoÑ and Dgx, possibly a metathesized form of **ugua-*. Dag *wa:-* may have developed from **uwa:-* < **ugaa-*.

MMo SH *ukiya-* (sic?) H161, HY---, Muq *uya:-* P362a, LV *uya:-* P1260, IV---, Ph---. WM *ugiya-* L865b, *ukiya-* (misreading of the same spelling) L868a, *uya-* L863b, cf. precl. *uyiya-* (Poppe 1924). Kh *ugaax* H539a. Ord *uḡa:-* M725a, *ḡa:-* M310a. Bur *ugaaxa* C461b. Kalm *uyax* M528a. Dag *wa:-* E332. EYu *uḡwa:-* B19, *ḡua-* J95b. MgrH *ḡua:-* J95b. MgrM *ḡua-* JL478, *uḡua-* T535, *ḡua-* DS259. BaoD *ḡua-* BL83a. BaoGt *ḡua-* C111. BaoGm *waḡa-* CN86:219. BaoÑ *waḡa-* CN226. BaoX *ḡua-* BC71. Kgj *uḡua-* ~ *ḡua-* S280a. Dgx *waḡa-* B192. Mog *uya:-* R41a, *uḡa-* W183a, *ḡa-* W175a.

***ugji, *ubujji** ‘feeding horn, feeding bottle’. The form **ugji* is found in Kh and Bur and **ubujji* is found in Kalm and EYu, although the second vowel in WM and EYu is not confirmed by Kalm. Dag *ɔrj* must be from **ugji* or perhaps from a form **ubji*. Morphologically obscure, and therefore hard to connect to **uu-* ‘to drink’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---, RH *ubujji* 186C5 ‘nipple of the breast’. WM *uyji* L865b, *ubujji* L859a. Kh *ugj(an)* H539b. Ord *uḡji* M724b. Bur *ugza* C461b. Kalm *uvj* M526a, *ovj* M392a. Dag *ɔrj* E42 ‘feeding bottle’. EYu *βəjə* B37. Remaining lgs---.

***ugulja** ‘ibex, mountain goat’, also used for ornaments in the shape of stylized spiralling horns. The loss of the initial vowel is not unusual in EYu, but unexpected in Kalm and Mog.

MMo SH *uqulja* H160 ‘ibex’, HY---, Muq---, RH *uyulja* 186C18 ‘ibex’. WM *uyulja* L864b, *uyaḷja* L863b. Kh *ugalz* H539b also ‘spiral pattern’. Ord *uḡalji* 725b ‘argali; spiral pattern (...)’, *uḡalji* M724a, *uḡulji* M725b ‘spiral pattern’. Kalm *uyulzv*, (Torgut) *gulzv* R447a. Bur *ugalza* C461b ‘embroidery, pattern’. Brg---. Dag *ɔwurjin* (?=) E83:169a ‘antelope’. EYu *ḡulja* (?*ḡulja*) *xɔ:nə* B79 ‘argali’ (cf. **konī*), *ylja* Mannerheim 64 ‘wild sheep’. Shirongol lgs---. Mog---, cf. Zirni *ylja* [eds. read -o-] 20:11 ‘mountain goat’.

***ugur-** (?) ‘to throw’. The reconstruction of this word is problematic, especially since MMo -ʔ- corresponds here to a fricative in EYu and Mog. The forms with -ʔ- disagree on the CM vowel sequence: **oa*, **uu*, or **au*. The SH form seems to hint at a relationship with **orki-* ‘to throw’ (which is written *o’orki-* in SH). The WM form and Kalm *u:r-* seem to have absorbed **hoara-* ‘to abandon, neglect’. Kh *ogoorox* H387a ‘to abandon; to neglect’ is a reading pronunciation of the WM spelling.

MMo SH *o’or-* H125 ‘to throw away’, *ōr-* H126, HY---, Muq *u’ur-* P352b, *u:r-* P108b, *u:ra-* P372b, *u:ru-* P143a, *a’ur-* P94b ‘to let go of, to put (down), etc’, LV *u:ru-* P1259 ‘to throw’. WM *oyur-* L603a, *uyur-* L865a (see above) ‘to leave, abandon; to neglect’. Kh (see above). Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *u:r-* R455a ‘to throw away; to abandon; to stop (doing sth.)’ (see above). Dag---. EYu *ḡɔr-* B13 ‘to throw’, (*u*)*ḡur-* J49 ‘auxiliary (indicates that the action is performed completely)’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *uyuru-* R41a ‘to pour into, to lay in’, *uḡur-* W183a ‘to put, lay, etc’.

***uila-** ‘to cry’. The *h-* in Muq, unconfirmed by other languages, is secondary, perhaps onomatopoeically inspired. Given that it is not confirmed elsewhere, Kh *uxila-* probably is a borrowing from WM. It is unclear how this spelling came about.

MMo SH *uiyila-* H161, HY---, Muq *uila-* P362a, *huilawul-* (caus.) P186b, LV *uila-* P1261, IV *uila-* L62:71. WM *uyila-* L866a, *ukila-* (?to be read *ugila-*) L868a. Kh *uylax* H542a, *uxilax* (←WM) H559b. Ord *uila-* M727a. Bur *uylaxa* C465a. Brg *ōail-* U37. Kalm *uul’x* M541b. Dag *wail-* E332. EYu *ü:la-* B21, J95b. MgrH *ula:-* J95b, X17, *la:-* X109. MgrM *ila-* C382, *yila-* T341. BaoD *la-* BL83b. BaoÑ *la:-* CN99. Kgj *ila-* S279b. Dgx *uila-* B17, *wāila-* B192. Mog *ui:la-* R41a, *uila-* W182b.

?***uisun** ‘birchbark’ see ***üisün**.

***ukana** ‘billy-goat’. Ord, Dag and Mog support the reconstruction ***ukana**. MMo suggests ***ukuna** (the *y* in HY deviates). The forms in the central languages could be from either form. Cf. ***seinüg**, ***serke**, ***teke**.

MMo SH---, HY *uyuna* M105, Muq *uquna* P365b. WM *uquna* L892b, *uqana* L892b. Kh *uxna* H559b. Ord *uxana* M725b, *ux’ana* M726b. Bur *uxana* C483b ‘young billy-goat’. Kalm *uxñā* R447a ‘young billy-goat’. Dag *wakən* E333. EYu---, Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx---, Mog *uqo:na* R41a.

ula** ‘sole of the foot (or shoe)’. The *h-* in MMo Muq is secondary. Related to CT ***ul** (?hul**) (EDPT 124a).

MMo SH *ula* H162, HY *ula* M105, Muq *hula* P186b. WM *ula* L868b. Kh *ul* H542b. Bur *ula* C465b. Kalm *ul* M530a. Dag *wal* E334 ‘&bottom’. EYu *ula* B19, J96a. MgrH *ula* J96b, *ula:* X17, cf. *kol la:* X89 ‘sole of the foot’ (***köl** ‘foot’). MgrM *ulā* P418a. BaoD *la* T142. BaoGt *vula* C116. BaoÑ---, Kgj *ula* S280a ‘&palm of the hand’. Dgx *ula* S671, cf. *xai-wula* L106 ‘sole of a shoe’ (*xai* ← Chinese). Mog *ulo:* R41a ‘&floor’.

***ulus** ‘people; state, country’. Related to CT ***ulus** ‘id’ (EDPT 152b). Unlike in other loans from Turkic ending in **-š*, none of the Mongolic languages has *-š* (cf. ***koš**, ***tuš**).

MMo SH *ulus* H163, HY *ulus* M105, Muq *ulus-* P204a, Ph *ulus* P132a. WM *ulus* L873b. Kh *uls* H545a. Ord *ulus* M731b. Bur *ulad* C467a. Brg *old* U40 ‘people (i.e. humans)’, *olos* U40 ‘people (nation)’, the latter a borrowing. Kalm *uls* M532a. Dag *olur* E38 ‘people, everybody’, *orol-sul* (pl.) Z32 ‘people’. EYu *ulus* S673. MgrH *lus* X115. MgrM---, Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***umarta-** ‘to forget’ see ***marta-**

***umdaan** ‘drink, beverage’. In the central languages there is also a form ***umdan** with simplex vowel. Cf. ***umdaas-** ‘to be thirsty’.

MMo SH *undan* H164, HY---, Muq *unda’an* P364a ‘ayran’, *unda:n-* P364b, LV *umdaan* P1257, IV *umdaan* L62:71. WM *umdaya(n)* L874b, *umda* L874b, *unda* L876a. Kh *undaa(n)* H547a, also: *und* H547a, *umd* H546a. Ord *unda* M734a. Bur *unda(n)* C470a. Kalm *undn* M533a. Dag---, EYu *nda:n* B28 ‘sour cow

milk (from which the fat has been taken)'. Mog *undo*: R41a 'drink', *undən* W183a 'Sauermilch'.

***umdaas-** 'to be thirsty'. Derived from **umdaan* above. Dag uses **haŋka-*, q.v.

MMo SH *unda* 'as- H64, *undas*- H164, *umtas*- H164, HY---, Muq *unda* 'as- P364a, *unda*:s- P364b. WM *umdayas*- L874b. Kh *undaasax* H547a. Bur [*undarxaxa* C470a]. Brg---. Kalm *undax* M533a. Dag---. EYu *nda*:s- B28, *ndas*- J95a. MgrH *undasə*- J93a. MgrM *ndasə*- JL478. BaoD *ndasə*- BL81a. BaoÑ *ndar*- CN35. BaoX *nda*:sə- BC63. Kgj *ndasu*- ~ *ndasi*- S282b. Dgx *undasa*- B19, *undasu*- L109a. Mog---.

***umsu** (perhaps **ümsü* in view of the EYu and Kgj forms) 'yak hybrid'. A Tibetan word (*mdzo*, see Nugteren & Roos 1998:71), but already attested in MMo. The QG forms may represent independent borrowings, but there is no phonetic argument that suggests they must be recent. Cf. **kaïnag* 'yak'.

MMo Ph *umsu* P132a. Central lgs---. Dag---. EYu *omsə* B15. MgrH *musu* SM251, *musə* X126. MgrM *musun* DS261b 'yak', *musün* P421b 'yak hybrid'. BaoÑ *omsə* CN71. Kgj *musun* S292b. Dgx--. Mog---.

***una-** 'to fall, to come down'. Cf. **bau-* 'to descend'.

MMo SH *una*- H164, HY---, Muq *una*- P363b, LV *una*- P1261, IV---. WM *una*- L875b. Kh *unax* H546b. Bur *unaxa* C469b. Kalm *unx* M534a. Dag *wanə*- E333. EYu *na*:s- B22, *na*- BJ336, J95b. MgrH *una*:s- J95b, X16, *na*:s- X23. BaoD *na*- BL83b. BaoÑ *na*:s- CN22. BaoX *na*:s-ğə- (caus.) BC73. Kgj *una*- S280a. Dgx *una*- B19. Mog *uno*:s- R41a, *unə*-, etc W183a.

***unagan** 'foal, colt'. The QG forms point at **unagan*; the SH and HY forms suggest **unugan*. The forms in the central languages could have developed from either form. May contain a (?diminutive) suffix as in **kurigan* 'lamb'.

MMo SH *unoqan* H165, HY *unuqan* M105, Muq *unayan* P364a, LV *unayan* P1258, IV---. WM *unaya(n)* L875b. Kh *unaga(n)* H546a. Ord *unağa* M733a. Bur *unaga(n)* C469b. Kalm *unyn* M532a. Dag---. EYu *nağan* B23, J95b. MgrH *nağa* J95b. Bao---. Kgj *nuğun* S282a. Dgx *unağan* B19. Mog---.

***unta-** 'to sleep'. The *-m-* in one of the WM forms is not confirmed elsewhere, but could be original. The *n-* in Mog (also in **untara-* below) seems to be recent, or at least a secondary development rather than a relic of an older form.

MMo SH *unta*- H165 'to sleep', HY *unta*- M105 'sleep', Muq *unta*- P365a, IV---, LV---. WM *umta*- L874b, *unta*- L877b. Kh *untax* H548a. Bur *untaxa* C471a. Kalm *untx* M534a. Dag *want*- E333. EYu *nda*- J95b, B28 ('to have intercourse'), *ndačur*- B28. MgrH *nta*:s- X37. MgrM *nta*:s- C373, (*u*)*nta*- JL478, *nuta*- DS234a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ta*:s- CN159. Dgx---. Mog *nunta*- R35a 'to sleep'.

***untara-** 'to lie down; to sleep'. Derived from **unta-* listed above. The *h-* in Dgx and Kgj is probably due to the following *-t-*. The forms with *-m-* in WM, although not confirmed elsewhere, may represent earlier forms. For the *n-* in Mog cf. **unta-*). Cf. **hamu-* for similar semantic developments.

MMo SH *untara-* H165, *umtara-* H164 ‘to sleep’, HY---, Muq *untara-* P222a ‘to be numb (of body parts)’, IV---, LV---. WM *umtara-* L875a, *untara-* L877b. Kh *untrax* H548a ‘to be extinguished, etc’. Ord *untara-* M735b ‘to go out; to have a tingling sensation (e.g. in the leg)...’. Bur *untarxa* C471a ‘to be extinguished, etc’. Kalm *untrx* M533b ‘to be extinguished, etc’. Dag---. EYu *ndara-* B28 ‘to become numb’. MgrH *ntāra:-* J95b ‘to sleep’. BaoD *tāra-* BL83a ‘to sleep’. BaoÑ---. BaoX *tāra-* BC72. Kgj *huntāra-* ~ *huntra-* S286b ‘to sleep’. Dgx *huntura-* B66, L111a, *funtura-* MC103b, *fintura-* MC97a, *untura-* MC406b. MogMr *nuntv:ra-* L64:37 ‘to become numb’.

***uŋgasun** ‘wool’ see ***nogasun**

***uŋsī-** ~ ***umsī-** ‘to read’. There are many variants in the modern languages and these show a peculiar distribution. Therefore evidence for the CM form is ambiguous. The central languages indicate initial **u-*. EYu, BaoÑ, and Dgx indicate initial **o-*. The *-m-* survives in many central dialects (cf. Sun 1990:676). Mgr and BaoD lost the initial vowel altogether, and seem to derive from a form **muši-* or **moši-*. This form apparently arose after the break-up of the original consonant sequence and the loss at a later stage of the initial vowel. The forms with *-ŋ-* seem to be original, *n* and *m* resulting from assimilation to the *š* and *u* respectively. BaoÑ and Kgj share a development of the *-š-* into an affricate.

MMo SH *uŋši-* H164 ‘to call’, HY *uŋši-* M105, Muq *uŋši-* (*uŋšī-*) P364b, IM *humši-* P438b, LV *uŋši-* (*uŋšī-*) P1261, IV---. WM *uŋsi-* L877a. Kh *unšix* H548b. Ord *omši-* M511b. Bur *unšaxa* C471b. Brg *oŋš-* U38. Kalm *umšx* M532b. Dag *ənš-* E37. EYu *oŋšə-* B13, *ənšə-* B13, *oŋšə-* J95b. MgrH *mošə-* J95b. MgrM *moši-* J88. BaoD *muši-* BL83b. BaoGt *məš-* C121. BaoÑ *əmči-* CN18. Kgj *unči-* S280a. Dgx *oŋši-* B13, *wəŋši-* B191, *oši-* MC310b. Mog *umši-* W182b, *əmši-* W174b.

***uran** ‘master, craftsman; skill; skillful’. Related to CT **u:z* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *uran* M106, Muq *uran* P365b, IV---, LV---. WM *uran* L879b. Kh *ur(an)* H548b. Bur *uran* C472b. Kalm *urn* M537a. Dag *warən* E335. EYu---. MgrH *uran* J96b. Bao---. Dgx *uran* L111b. Mog---.

***urgu-** ‘to come up, appear (usu. of celestial bodies); to grow, sprout’. The *h-* in one Muq form is secondary.

MMo SH *urqu-* H166, HY---, Muq *uryu-* P366a, *huryu-* P187b. WM *uryu-* L881a. Kh *urgax* H220b ‘grow/rise(sun)’. Bur *urgaxa* C474a ‘grow’. Kalm *uryx* M535b ‘grow/come up’. Dag *ɔry^w*- E42. EYu possibly in *uğarma* S679 ‘plant’ if this is < **urgu-ma*. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *uryu-* R41a ‘to grow’.

***urī-** ‘to call; to invite’.

MMo SH *uri-* H166, HY *uri-* M106, Muq *uri-* P366a ‘invite’. WM *uri-* L881b. Kh *urix* H551b ‘invite’. Bur *urixa* C476a. Kalm *ürx* M555a. Dag *ɔr^v*- E42. EYu---. MgrH *urə-* J96b. MgrM---. BaoD *ur-* BL80. BaoGt *vuri-* C116. BaoÑ *ur-* CN21. Kgj *uri-* S280b. Dgx *uru-* B23. Mog---.

***urida** ‘before, earlier’, ***uridu** ‘former, previous; front; south’. Cf. ***uriji** below.

MMo SH *urida* H166, *uridu* H166, HY *urida* M106, *uridu* M106, Muq *urida* P366a, *uridu* P366a. WM *urida* L882a, *uridu* L883a. Kh *urd* H550b, *ur’d* H553a. Bur *urda* C474b. Brg *ur’d* U43, *urid* U42. Kalm *urd* M536a. Dag *ward* E335, *urdo:n* E42 ‘before, previously’ (cf. SH *urida’un* ‘in front’). EYu *urda* B20, J95b. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *urdo* W183a ‘vicinity; near’, MogMr, MogM *urdp*: L64:35.

***uriji üdür** ‘the day before yesterday’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *uriju ödür* P366b, LV *urji ödür* P1259 ‘the day after tomorrow (sic)’, IV---. WM *urji edür, urjidur, urjiydur* L887a. Kh *urjdar*, also *urjigdar* H551a. Ord *urjidur* M739a. Bur *uržader* C475b. Brg *urjidar* U42. Kalm *urj ödr* M536a. Dag---. EYu *uržudür* B20, *urjüdur* J96b. MgrH *ržudur* J96a, *užudür* X21, *žudur* X225. MgrM *uržudur* JL478, *užudur* JL474. BaoD *nžiudär* BL84a, ‘nžiudä BL32. BaoÑ *žudä* CN237. Kgj *ujide ~ urjide* S280b. Dgx *uružu du* B23, *uružudu* L112b. Mog *ujavudur* W182a.

***uriji hon** ‘the year before last’. The forms represent several stages of contraction. Bur-Kalm -z- suggests that **a* or **u* not **i* followed the *j*-. Central Mongolic and EYu suggest that **hon* ‘year’ may have been incorporated in the stem twice.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *urji hon* 201A5. WM *urjinan, urjinon* L887a. Kh *urjnan(g)* H551a. Ord *urjinan* M739a. Bur *urzanen* C475b ‘... before last’. Brg *urjmonj* U42. Kalm *urzn* M536b ‘... before last’. Dag *urjwɔ:n* E42, *urjɔ:n* Z94b. EYu *urjinon* B14, *urjūno:n* J95b. MgrH *ržonj* J96a, *ržonj* X241, *uržonj* X23, *uržixon* L619. MgrM *wužini xuanj* DS261b ‘year before last’, *ord’anixuanj* C388 ‘last year’ (sic). BaoD *nžiuhonj* BL84b. BaoÑ *žonj ~ žonj honj* CN237. Kgj *ujun ~ urjun* S280b. Dgx *uružu xonj* B23. Mog *urjān* W183a ‘year before last’.

***urijün uriji üdür** ‘three days ago’. Apart from Ordos, only in the QG languages. In Shirongol the genitive ending of **urijün* was replaced by the Shirongol ending -ni.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM---. Kh---. Ord *urji:n urjidur* M739a, also the variant *urjiduri:n urd udur* M739a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *urjü:n uržudür* B20. MgrH *užü-nə užudur* X21, *žü-nə žudur* X225. BaoÑ *žžinə žžudä* CN236. Dgx *uružuni uružu du* B23. Mog---.

***urtu (~ *utu ~ *utur)** ‘long’. The variants and their distribution seems rather chaotic. The MMo forms all indicate a form **urtu* without **h*-. This is supported by Kh and Dag. The standard Bur and Kalm forms go back to **utu*. The Shirongol forms go back to **utu ~ *utur*. The EYu forms may stem from the original form **urtu*. Both the EYu and the Shirongol forms apparently developed *h*- and the like due to the following -t-.

MMo SH *urtu* H166, HY *urtu* M106, Muq *urtu* P366b, *utu* P370b. LV *urtu* P1255, IV---. WM *urtu* L884b. Kh *urt* H552a. Ord *urtu* M741b. Bur *uta* C479a, *urta* (Selenga) C477a. Brg *ort* U42. Kalm *ut* M239a. Dag *ort* E42, *ort^w* Z94b. EYu *hurtu* B58, *rdä* J95b, *hdur* Yu19. MgrH *šdur* J96a, *fudur* SM101. MgrM *šudur* DS234.

BaoD *fudə*, *futə* BL84a, *ftə* BL13, *fdu* T149. BaoGt *fti* C129. BaoÑ *šdər* CN150. Kgj *šdu* ~ *štu* S296a. Dgx *fudu* B54, L112b, *fūdu*, *fdu* BC85:45. Mog *urtu* R41a.

***urug** ‘relatives by marriage’. Also in the combination **urug tarīg* (elsewhere in central Mongolic replaced by **urug törel*). CT **urug*, **urug tarīg*.

MMo SH *uruq* H167, HY *uruq*, *uriq tariq* M106, Muq *uruq*, *uruq* P367b. WM *uruy*, *uruy tariy* L885b. Kh *urag* H549a. Ord *uruq* M742b. Bur *urag*, *urag tarig* C472a. Kalm *urg* M535a. EYu *urəg* J65, *urəg tarağ* B14. MgrH *urəg* X22, *urəg turəg* X22. MgrM *wuro* DS231a ‘inlaws’, *oroğ* C371, *oroğ taroğ* C371. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *urəu* B23. Mog---.

***urugsi** ‘forward’. In spite of the different vowel in the second syllable apparently related to the words with **uri-* listed above. Replaced by **emüne-gsi* in the QG languages.

MMo SH *uruhši* H67, HY *uruqši* M106, Muq *uruqši* P367b. WM *uruysi* L885b. Kh *uragš* H549a. Bur *uragša* C472a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *uruqši* R41a, *uruxš* W183a.

***uruldu-** ‘to race (horses)’. Some forms suggest **urildu-*. Like **kudaldu-* ‘to trade’ apparently a reciprocal verb of which the base has become extinct. Dagur *yoll^w*-E331, which was connected to this etymon by Enkhbat, is phonetically hard to derive from it, and may instead be from **yabuldu-*, the reciprocal of **yabu-* ‘to walk’ listed below.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *urildu-* P366b, *uruldu-* P238b. Kh *uraldax*, *uraldaax* H549b. Ord *urildu-* M742b. Bur *urildaaxa*, *urildaxa* C476a. Brg *orild*-U41. Kalm *urldx* M536b. Dag (see above). EYu *uruldə*-J37. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***urus-** ‘to flow’. Dgx *usuru-* is also reminiscent of **hüsür-*.

MMo SH *urusqa-* (caus) H167, HY---, Muq *urus-* P368a, LV *urus-* P1256, IV *urus-* L62:71. WM *urus-* L886b. Kh *ursax* H551b. Ord *urus-* M743a. Bur *urdaxa* C475a. Brg *ord-* U42. Kalm *ursx* M537a. Dag *ors-* E42. EYu *urus-* B20, J95b. MgrH *orosə*-J96b. Bao---. Dgx *urusu-* L112a, B23, *usuru-* (?=) B21. Mog---.

***usun** ‘water’. The *q-* in EYu is peculiar. It may have developed as a kind of hypercorrect form from **χusun* < **husun*, in the period when original *q-* was developing into *χ-*. See **udku-* for a possible similar development in EYu. The *h-* itself, like that in Mgr, is probably secondary and triggered by the following *-s-*. However, Ligeti (1962:72) points out that there is a single MMo form with *h-*: *husu* ‘water’ in the Hei-Da Shilüe. Ramstedt assumes, based on Kalm *šar usn* R452 ‘rheumatism’ that there was a word **husun* ‘pus’, which was not related to **usun* ‘water’ (or to front-vocalic **höesün* ‘pus’). This may be supported by the inclusion of <*usun*> in a list of ‘impurities’ in preclassical WM (The Twelve Deeds of Buddha, T117). However, combinations corresponding to Kalm *šar usn* elsewhere have meanings (e.g. ‘serum’ in EYu and Ord) that can easily be derived from **sira usun*, lit. ‘yellow water’. Cf. also Rybatzki 2006:177. The final *-n* in this word was atypically elided in all of Shirongol; in most words this only happened in the

Monguor languages. Perhaps derived from a root **u-* by means of the (?collective) suffix **-sUn*.

MMo SH *usu(n)* H167, HY *usun* M106, Muq *usun* P368b, LV *usun* P1259, IV *usun* L62:72. WM *usu(n)* L887b. Kh *us(an)* H553b. Ord *usu* M744a. Bur *uha(n)* C484a. Brg *oxv*: U38. Kalm *usn* M538a. Dag *ɔs* E39, Z93a. EYu *qusun* B65, J96a. MgrH *ʂzu* J96b, *fuzu* SM102, *szu* ~ *fuzu* T359, *szu* X146. MgrM *fzu* ~ *szu* JL468, *suzu* DS259b. BaoD *sə*, *sə* BL83a. BaoÑ *sə* CN127. BaoX *sə* BC62. Kgj *su* ~ *sü* S294a. Dgx *usu* B21, L111b. Mog *usun* R41a, *usun*, *ovv*, *usun* W183b.

***uu-** ‘to drink’. The etymological reality of the WM spelling *ayu-* can not be confirmed. Cf. **ugji* ‘feeding bottle’ and **oači-* ‘to drink’ (an etymological relationship with these words cannot be established).

MMo SH *ū-* H160, *u’u-* H167, HY---, Muq *u:-* P371b, LV *au-* P1258, IV---. WM *uyu-* L864b, *uyu-* L889b, *uu-* L889a, *ayu-* L15b. Kh *uux* H557b. Bur *uuxa* C481b. Brg *o:-* U35. Kalm *uux* M542a. Dag *ɔ:-* E36. EYu *u:-* B18. MgrH *u:-* X15. MgrM *u-* JL463. BaoD *u-* BL83a. BaoÑ *u:-* CN19. BaoX *o:-* BC64. Dgx *u-* B17 ‘to drink (water in large gulps)’. Mog---.

***uuča** ‘back; sacrum; crotch, hindquarters, rump’. The WM spellings *ayuča* and *uyuči* are certainly incorrect, but the *-y-* in *uyuča* is also unetymological, as this word corresponds to CT **u:ča*. This is one of the rare cases where a CM double vowel corresponds to a CT long vowel (a similar case is **köerge* ‘bellows’).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *uča* (*u:ča*) P371b ‘back’, LV *uča* P1255, IV *uča* L62:71 ‘back’. WM *uyuča* L864b, *uyuči* L864b, *ayuča* L16a. Kh *uuc* H558a. Bur *uusa* C481b. Kalm *uuc* M543a. Dag *wa:č* E332. EYu *u:ča* B18 ‘sacral area’. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *uča* W183b ‘back’, MogMr, MogM *uča* L62:71 ‘id’.

***uur-** (?) ‘to throw’ see ***ugur-**

***uurag** ‘biestings, colostrum’. The Muq form with unexpected *-y-* may be due to WM spelling or to the Turkic equivalent. The Dag form, although strange looking, is a regular development. Note the vowel shortening in EYu-Mgr. An agricultural term related to CT **aguz* ‘id’, to which an element *-Ak* was added (cf. Yak *uohax*). In view of the Turkic cognate the Mongolic form may stem from earlier (PM) **ayurag*. However, the **a* of the Turkic form is not found in any Mongolic form.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *uyraq* (sic) P362a, LV---, IV---, RH *u:raq* 205B8. WM *uyuruy* (sic), *uyuray* L865a. Kh *uurag* H557a. Ord *u:raq* M737b. Bur *uurag* C481a. Brg *o:rag* U37. Kalm *uurg* M542a. Dag *wa:rəl* E332. EYu *urag* B20, J95a. MgrH *urag* J95a. BaoGt *orgə* C103. Dgx---. Mog---.

***uurga** (?**urga**) ‘urga, pole with a noose at the end used for catching horses’. The vowel length was lost in Bur. Not to be confused with **huraka* ‘lasso, snare’.

MMo SH *u’urqa* H165, *uqurqa* (sic) H160, HY---, Muq---. WM *urya(n)* L881a, *uyurya* L865a. Kh *uurga* H557a. Ord *u:rga* M739a. Bur *urga* C474a. Brg *orag* U41. Kalm *uury* (obs) M542a. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

- Ü -

***übül** (?*ebül) ‘winter’. The Muq form ö:l- could also be read ü:l, ewül, öwül, or üwül. In any case most forms are unexpected since *-b- is normally preserved as such in Muq. Although it seems certain that all the listed forms are related, they can hardly be reduced to a single CM form. Most languages, including MMo and Dag, indicate a CM form *übül. The *e-, as written in WM is only supported by one of the Moghol variants; Kh and Ord suggest *ö-. The -g- in Brg and MgrM is puzzling (in Dagur the alternation *w ~ γ* is not unique).

The Baoan words for ‘winter’, BaoD *ηgun* BL82a, BaoÑ *ʕgən* CN232, BaoX *ərgən* BC64 have been borrowed from Tibetan (cf. Amdo *rgən*, LT *dgun* Jä84b). The Monguoric forms seem to involve a contamination with the Tibetan form (cf. Róna-Tas 1966, No. 464).

MMo SH *ubul* H157, HY *übül* M107, ZY **üwül* (emended) Kara333, Muq *öbül* P272b, ö:l- P279a, cf. *ebülje-* P151a ‘to pass the winter’, RH *öbül* 201A21. WM *ebül* L290b. Kh *övöl* H403b. Ord *öwöl* M544a. Bur *übel* C489b. Brg *ugul* U49, *ußəl* U47. Kalm *üvl* M544a. Dag *uγul* E44, *uwul* E50, *u:l* E43. EYü *βəl* B37, J94b. MgrH *rgul* J94b, X240, L464 (see remark above). MgrM *ugur* C395, *uğur* T355. BaoD *ulʔ* P414a. BaoGt *vulə* C116. BaoJ *vul* L206. BaoÑ---. Dgx *un* B19, *uwən* B23, cf. *unça* L110b (+ čay). Mog *ubul* R41b, *ebulä*, *ubulä* R27b ‘in winter’.

***üčüken** (?*öčüken) ‘little, small’. In view of the very numerous occurrences (the forms without *h-* each occur once) there is no doubt that the language of the Muq had a *h-* in this word. It is however not confirmed by any other source. The Bao and Kgj forms could also stem from **bīčikan* ‘small’. The speakers of several languages also seem to associate this word with **čöeken*, **čöen* ‘little, few’. Cf. also **baga* ‘small’. Also note the regional word in MgrH *mula*: X125, MgrM *mula*: C383, Dgx *mila* B107; EYü EYü *məla* B91, with equivalent in WYü, means ‘small child’.

MMo SH *ucugan*, *ucugen*, etc. H157, HY *üčügen* M107, Muq *hüčüken* P189a, *üčüken* P273a (P: ö-), *üčü:n* P273a (P: ö-), LV *üčken* P1258, IV---. WM *öčüken* L629a, *üčüken* L995a (same actual spelling). Kh *öcüüxen* H422a, *öcüüxen* H422b. Ord *öčö:kön*, *öčö:n* (= *čö:n*) M543a. Bur *üsööxen* C515a, *üsöö(n)* C515a. Brg *usə:η* U51. Kalm *üčükn* M558b. Dag *uškan* E46, *uči:kən* E48, *učkən* E48. EYü---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *šjigaŋ* T152. BaoGt *šigəŋ* C123. BaoGm *hžigaŋ* CN86:17. BaoÑ *žigaŋ* CN199. BaoX *jigaŋ* BC65. Kgj *šgə* S296a. Dgx---. MogMr *učkə:n*, *učkan*, MogM *uškb*: L64:43 ‘light; bad; lousy’.

***üde** ‘noon, midday’. In the Shirongol languages there is some confusion between **üde* ‘noon’ and **üdür* ‘day’. In Dgx they both have the word shape *udu*, in Kgj both are represented by *udər*. This suggests that the word shape of ‘day’ absorbed the meaning of **üde* ‘noon’. Cf. also the confusion in BaoÑ *udərgu* CN21 (adj.) ‘daytime; noon’, and also *χi:čudə* CN61 ‘on the second day’ (first element **koiči*), *kudu:d* CN83 ‘a couple of days’ (first element **kedün*), *təɾə'nudə* CN83 ‘that day’ (**tere nege*). Namcarai & Khaserdeni (p. 465b) translate Dag *udur* as ‘day; noon’,

suggesting the same confusion, which is however not confirmed by Enkhbat. Enkhbat does have *udur əməl* ‘before noon’, *udur x^wainə* ‘after noon’ based on **üdür* rather than **üde*. Mostaert and de Smedt derive MgrH *dur* in the meaning ‘noon’ from **düli* ‘middle’ (not listed here). This would be semantically fitting but not phonetically.

MMo SH *ude* H158 ‘evening, late’, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *üde* L995a. Kh *üd* H565b. Ord *ude* M747a. Bur *üde* C494b. Kalm *üd* M545b. Dag *udu* (?*ud^w*) T170 (see above). EYu *ude*: B21, *ude* J96a. MgrH *dur* (sic, merged with *dur* ~ *udur* ‘day’) SM68. MgrM *dursuḡo* DS239b ‘noon’ (the second element perhaps < Ch *shihòu*). BaoD---. BaoÑ see above. Kgj *udər* (sic, merged with ‘day’) S281b. Dgx *udu* (sic, merged with ‘day’) B22, L112b, (Longquan dial.) *uduru* B22 ‘noon’. Mog---.

***üdesi** ‘(in the) evening, (at) night’. Perhaps from the same root as **üde* above, although the function of the element **-si* is unknown. The *-g-* in EYu is reminiscent of the directives derived from spatial nouns with the suffix **-gsi*, such as **gada-gsi* ‘outwards’, **dota-gsi* ‘inwards’. Based on the meaning of **üde* in SH, there may indeed have been a form **üdegsi* with the original meaning ‘towards the evening’, but the *-g-* in that word should have been reflected in the MMo forms. Alternatively, the EYu form is a contraction of **üde koḡsi* ‘after noon’.

MMo SH *udeši* H158, HY *üdeši* M107, Muq *üdeši* P373a, *hüdeši* P190a, LV *üdeši* P1259, IV---. WM *üdesi* L995b, *üdüsi* (sic) L996b. Kh *üdeš* H566b. Ord *udeši* M748a. Bur *üdeše* C495a. Kalm-?- . Dag *udiš* E47 ‘yesterday’. EYu *ödögšə* B17, J97a. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj *udəši* ~ *udeši* S280b. Dgx *užieši* B22. Mog---.

***üdesileŋ** ‘(in the) evening, (at) night’. Derived from **üdesi* above. Note the interesting distribution of this word: Bur and the Shirongol languages, assuming that the short Mgr and Bao forms are indeed related. These forms could simply result from the reduction of unaccented syllables; or perhaps this word was popularly considered a compound containing **üde* ‘noon’ which element has since been dropped. Since the form **sileŋ* is only found in Mgr and Bao, which underwent the strongest Tibetan influence, one suspects that this could be also a loanword from that language, perhaps a compound with *phyi-* (Amdo *śə-*). Cf. also **ene üdesileŋ* ‘tonight’, also BaoÑ *gəḡgəlaŋ* CN92 ‘last night’, which should be from *ḡgudə(gu)* *šilaŋ*, cf. MgrM *ḡugušulian* DS58 (cf. **öčügedür*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur *üdešelen* C495b. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *šuloŋ* J97b, *šiloŋ* X153, *šülöŋ* X158, *šlöŋ* X164. MgrM *šuloŋ* T389. BaoD *šilaŋ* BL84a. BaoGm *šilaŋ* CN86:302. BaoGt *šilöŋ* C108. BaoJ *šlöŋ* L170. BaoÑ *šilaŋ* CN141. BaoX *šilaŋ* BC74. Kgj *šilaŋ* S65. Dgx *užiešilen* B22. Mog---.

***üdür/*ödür** ‘day’. As in the case of **übül* ‘winter’ above, the WM spelling with *e-* is not supported by the other documented forms. MMo, Mog and the Shirongol languages indicate an ancestral form **üdür*. Kh-Kalm suggest **ödür*, which could also be the source of the Ord and Bur forms. The Dag and EYu forms are ambiguous; Dag may be from **ödür* or **üdür*; EYu *odor* would normally suggest **ödör* < **öder*. For a similar distribution of forms cf. **öndür* ‘high’. In Dgx and Kgj this

word has merged with **üde* ‘noon’, in Mgr and BaoÑ there is also some overlap or confusion between the two words.

MMo SH *udur* H158, HY *üdür* M107, Muq *ödür* (?or *üdür*) P273a. WM *edür* L295a. Kh *ödör* H407a. Ord *üdür* M748b. Bur *üder* C494b. Kalm *ödr* M412b. Dag *udur* E47. EYu *odor* B15, *udur* J94a. MgrH *dur* J94a, X200, *udur* X20. MgrM *udur* JL471. BaoD *udər* BL82b. BaoGt *udər* C100. BaoÑ *udər* CN21. BaoX *ndor* BC63. Kgj *udər* S281a. Dgx *udu* B22. Mog *udur* R41b, *udur* W182a, *ödur*, *ödör* W174b, MogM *udur*, MogMr *ödur* L54b:140.

***üge** ‘word; speech’.

MMo SH *uge* H159, HY *üge* M107, Muq *üge* P373a. WM *üge(n)* L996b. Kh *üg(en)* H561b. Bur *üge* C492a. Kalm *üg* M544b. Dag---. EYu *uɣe* B20. MgrH *ugo* J96a, *go* X104. MgrM *uge* T368. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

ügei** (?ügüi**) ‘there is not; without; not’, in some languages also ‘poor’. In all Shirongol languages it can take verbal suffixes.

MMo SH *ugai* H159, HY *ügei* M107, Muq *ügei* P373b, LV *ügei* P1260, IV *ügei* L62:72. WM *ügei* L997a. Kh *ügüy* H564a. Bur *ügi* C491a. Kalm *-go*, *uga:*, *uɣa:*, *ügæ:*, *üge:* R446b. Dag *uwai* E50. EYu *uɣui* B20, *uɣwei* B21, *uɣo* B20, *uɣui* J96b. MgrH *gui:*, *gua:* J96a. MgrM *ugui* JL465, *ugo* T368. BaoD *gi-* BL84b. BaoÑ *gi-* CN95. Kgj *uǰi*, *uǰua* (+ cop.) S280b. Dgx *ui-* L112b B. Mog *uǰei* R41b, *uǰei* W182b.

***ügtee-** ‘to pull out, tear out’. The Dagur form appears instead of expected **urt-* or **urtə:-*. The *f-* in MgrM is also surprising. It may be a side-effect of the vowel devoicing. If original it suggests **hügtee-* which is not supported elsewhere. The Muq form occurs in the sentence *hanisqayin üsüni üktebe* (Pope: *öktebe*) which could be translated ‘s/he pulled out/plucked an eyebrow hair’. The equivalent Chagatay sentence seems inappropriate: *qašın tüketi boldi* which Pope translates as ‘your eyebrows are dense’. The following forms may also be related in spite of the different consonants: Kalm *ümtäx* M551b ‘to pinch; to pull out’, *ömtə:-* R296a, *ünte:-* R458b. Mog *upta-* W183a ‘to tear out’, *ufta-* W182. Cf. **sei-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ükte-* P181a (?=; see explanation above). WM *ügtege-* L998b, *üdkege-* L996a. Kh *ügteex* H564a ‘to pull, tear at’. Ord *ügte:-* M751a, *üte:-* M764b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm (see above). Dag *ut-* E47. EYu *kute-* B70 ‘to pull out (weed)’. MgrH *şde:-* X166, *sdie:-* SM334 ‘to pull out, weed, uproot’. MgrM *füdi-* C388, *şudi-* DS258b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog (see above).

***üile** ‘work, deed, affair’. BaoD *le* ‘work’ could be either from **üile* or a loanword from Amdo Tibetan *le* (LT *las*). As in other cases the similarity between Dagur and Manchu (*weilen* in this case) may indicate borrowing in either direction. The *h-* in MogMr is secondary (CM **h-* was lost in Mog).

MMo SH *uiyile* H161, HY *üile* M108, Muq *üile* P375b, IV *üile* L62:72. WM *ü(y)ile* L999a. Kh *üyl* H572b. Bur *üile* C498b. Kalm *üül* M556a. Dag *wail* E336. EYu *ule* B21, *ule:* J93b, *ölö* J24, *ulö* S690. MgrH *ule* J96b, X17. MgrM *weilie* DS261a. BaoD *le* (?=) BL77. BaoGm *yile-gə-* CN86:302 ‘to work’. BaoÑ---. Kgj *ile* S280b. Dgx *uilie* B17, *wailie* B192. MogMr *hula*, MogM *ula* L62:72.

***üisün** (?*uīsun, ?*uīlsun) ‘birchbark’. In view of Dagur this word may have been back-vocalic originally, and later shifted vowel classes due to the *i* (cf. *niūr > *niür, and perhaps *sainug > *seinüg), although Dagur is outnumbered by the front-vocalic forms, the reverse development is less likely. WM spelling is ambiguous with regards to the harmonic class, as is MMo. The MMo *-l-* is not preserved in Bur in this case. Cf. also Kmg *uxun* Janhunen 49.

MMo SH *uyilsun* (?üyilsün) H168, HY---, Muq---, RH---. WM *üisün* L1001b (could be read *uyisun* or *oyisun*) ‘birchbark’, *uyilsun* L1213a ‘birchbark quiver’. Kh *üys(en)* H575a. Bur *üyhen* C499a. Brg *uxi*: U48. Kalm *ü:sn* R462a. Dag *ois* E36.

***üje-** ‘to see’. For the *n-* in BaoD and BaoX cf. *ide-, *uda-, etc.

MMo SH *uje-* H161, HY *üje-* M108, Muq *üje-* P377a, *hüje-* P190a, LV *üje-* P1258, IV *üje-* L62:72. WM *üje-* L1014b. Kh *üzex* H571a. Bur *üzexe* C498a. Brg *uz-* U52. Kalm *üzx* M547a. Dag *uj-* E48. EYü *eje-* B11, J97a. MgrH *užæ-* X20. MgrM *uži-* JL474. BaoD *nžiä-* BL84b. BaoGt *nžä-* C129. BaoJ *nžä-* L126. BaoÑ *uži-* CN21. BaoX *nžä-* BC71. Kgj *uje-* ~ *uji-* S281a. Dgx *uzä-* B22. Mog *ujä-* R42a, *ujä-* W182a.

***üjüg ~ *üsüg** ‘letter, character; writing’. Related to CT **üzük*, itself a loanword from an unknown source. For phonetic and semantic reasons difficult to compare to Dag *usuy^w* E46, *us^w* Z94b ‘word, speech’, *xuswulj-* Enk83:96b ‘to talk, chat, converse’. According to Ramstedt (1935:460) **üjüg* and **üsüg* are originally unrelated words.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *üzük* P383a ‘pen’. WM *üsüg* L1013b, *üjüg* L1017a the latter also ‘reed-pen’. Kh *üseg* H582b ‘letter, writing, script’, *üzeg* H569b ‘pen’. Bur *üzeg* C497a, *üseg* C515b. Kalm *üzg* M546a. Dag (see above). EYü *öžäg* J96b, B17. Dgx *urəu* [= *uzəu*] B23, L112b, *užig* P418a, *užig* P411b. Mog---.

***üjüür** ‘tip, end’ see ***hüjüür**

***ükü-** ‘to die’. The *h-* found in most QG forms was triggered by the following *-k-*. The single occurrence of *h-* in MMo is coincidental.

MMo SH *uku-* H162, HY *ügü-* M107, Muq *ükü-* P378b, LV *ükü-* P1260, *üküdel* P1260 graveyard, IV---, RH *ükü-* 204A25 ‘to die’, *hüküdel* 202A15 ‘grave’. WM *ükü-* L1003a. Kh *üxex* H585b. Bur *üxexe* C519a. Kalm *ükx* M549a. Dag *uy^w*- E45, *u:-* E43. EYü *hku-* B59, *hgu-* J96b. MgrH *fugu-* J96a. MgrM *fugu-*, *xugu-* DS217. BaoD *fgu-* ~ *gu-* BL84b. BaoGt *fgä-* C129. BaoÑ *sgu-* CN148, *hgu-* CN70. BaoX *xgo-* BC63. Kgj *gu-* S289b. Dgx *fugu-* B53, L112b, *fgu-* B55. Mog *uku-* R41b, *uku-*, *okv-* W182b.

***öldü** ‘sword’ see ***ildü**

***üliger** ‘story, tale; example; proverb’. Kalm *ülgür* (instead of **ülgr*) suggests **ülgüür*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *üliger* L1005b. Kh *ülger* H575b. Bur *ül’ger* C501b. Kalm *ülgür* M549b. Dag *uryil* E50. Remaining lgs---.

***üle, *ülü** ‘not’. At first sight the form **ülü* seems to survive in EYu, Mgr, and Bao, the form **üle* in Dgx, and both forms in Mog. This is not certain. As this word is unaccented and may lose its vowel before the verb it negates, it is difficult to interpret the history of the isolated forms in the vocabularies. Cf. EYu *lere-* ‘not to come’ (from **ire-*), MgrH *lo:lə-* ‘not to find’ (from **ol-*), Mog *lašta-* ‘not to be able’ (from **čida-*). Cf. the other negative particles **bisi*, **bütegei*, **ese*, **ügüi*.

MMo SH *ulu* H163, HY *ülü* M108, Muq *üle* P379b, *ülü* P380b, IV *üle* L62:72, *ülü* L62:73. WM *ülü* L1006b. Kh *ül* H575a. Bur *üle* C502a, *üli* C500a. Kalm---. Dag *ul* E45. EYu *lə* J96b. MgrH *li:* J96a. MgrM *lai* JL465, *li* T342. BaoD *lə* BL84a. BaoÑ *elə* CN13. Kgj *ne* S281b. Dgx *ulie* B18. Mog *lu*, *le*, *la* R33a, Mog, MogM *la*, *le*, MogMr *ula*, *ul* L54b:138.

***ündesün** ‘root’. There is no *h*-less variant in Muq; nevertheless it seems unlikely that the **h-* is original. Peculiar distribution. Cf. **hiǰaur* ~ **huǰaur* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hündüsün* P238a. WM *ündüsü(n)* L1007a. Kh *ündes* (*ündsen*) H577b. Bur *ündehe(n)* C506b. Brg *undu:* U46. Kalm *ündsn* M552a. Dag *undus* E43. EYu---, Mgr---, Bao---, Kgj---, Dgx *undusun* S693, *untusun* P415a. Mog---.

***üne** ‘price’. MgrH and Bao apparently stem from a form **ünem*. Confusingly the same shape **ünem* occurs in derivatives of **ünen* ‘true’ in central Mongolic, such as Kh *ünemlex* H579b ‘to testify’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *üne* P380b. WM *üne* L1008a. Kh *üne* H578b. Ord *une*, *uni* M757b. Bur *üne* C508a. Brg *un* U45. Kalm *ün* M551b. Dag---. EYu *une* B20, *une* J96a, S694; *u:ne* S550 ‘cost’. MgrH *nem* J96b. MgrM---. BaoD *nem* BL84b. BaoÑ *unəm* CN20. BaoX *ñəm* CN86:226. Kgj---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***ünen** ‘true’. Chakhar and Bargu seem to suggest **ünün*.

MMo SH *unen* H164, HY *ünen* M109, Muq *ünen* P381a. WM *ünen* L1009a. Kh *ünen* H579a, cf. Chakhar *un^yi* D173a. Ord *unen* M758a. Bur *ünen* C508a. Brg *uniŋ* U45. Kalm *ünn* M552b. Dag *unun* E43, *unəŋ* Z94. Remaining lgs---.

***ünien** ‘cow’. Moghol shows the metathesis of the palatal element also seen in **kanīa-* ‘to cough’. Kalm *ünŋn* M551b ‘female (of wild animals or birds); (obs) cow that has calved for the first time’ may be a contamination of **ünien* ‘cow’ and **iŋgen* ‘camel mare’ (the latter not listed here). Poppe (60:62,141, etc), and Ramstedt (I:89,114,157) compare CT **in(g)ek* ‘cow’. However, the expected CT cognate of CM **ünien* would have been **üni* or **ünig*.

MMo SH *uniyen* H165, HY *üne’en* M109, Muq *üneyen* P381b. WM *üniye(n)* L1010a. Kh *ünee(n)* H580a. Bur *ünyeen* C507a. Kalm (see above). Dag *üñe:* E44. EYu *ni:n* B26, J96b, (Qinglong dial.) *ne:n* BJ351. MgrH *une:* J96a.

MgrM *une* [xuɣuar] C370. BaoD *uniaŋ* BL84b. BaoGt *uniɔŋ* C111. BaoÑ *unaŋ* CN20. BaoX *ñaŋ* BC63. Kgj *uniɔ* S280b. Dgx---. Mog *uina* R41b, *uinaŋ* W182b.

***ünügün** ‘kid (goat)’. This word was lost in most central languages, perhaps because it phonetically merged there with **hünege* ‘fox’. In Kalm there is a word *üŋn* ‘female’, with which **ünügün* could also be confused, see s.v. **ünien* above. The WM and Kh forms given by LC are unexpected; the latter should have been **üneg* or **ünege*. The loss of the initial vowel in Dgx and Mog is unusual. The final *-r* in MgrM is an addition this language usually has in designations of young animals. The *-l* in BaoGt may stem from the derived verb **ünügüle-*.

MMo SH *uno.gun* H165 ‘looking like a male lamb’, HY---, Muq *ünügün* P382a, LV *üngen* (Saitō reads *-r*) P1258, IV---, RH *ünügün* 199B26. WM *ünüg* (sic) LC 3:414b. Kh *ünüg* (sic) LC 3:414b. Ord *unugu* M759a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *unuk* S414. EYu *noyon* B26, *nuyun* J95b. MgrH *nugu* X36, *nəgu* J95b. MgrM *nugur* DS232b, *unyugur* P414a. BaoD *imaŋ nəguŋ* BL83b (*imaŋ* ‘goat’). BaoGt *nogol* C117. BaoÑ *unğu* CN20. Kgj *nuyun* S282b. Dgx *unuğuŋ* B19, *nuğuŋ* MC300a. Mog *noku* W74, cf. Zirni *nuku:t* (pl.) 20:10.

***ürie** ‘young stallion (of three, four, or five years)’.

MMo SH *uri’e* H166, HY---, Muq---. WM *üriye* L1013a, *ürege* L1011b. Kh *üree* H582a, cf. Chakhar *urʷə:* D173a. Ord *ure:* M760a. Bur *üryee* C512a. Kalm *ürä* M553b. Dag *urʷe:* E49, and (erroneously?) *urə:* E83:221. EYu *ure:* B21. Remaining lgs---.

***üsün** ‘milk’ see ***süü**

***ütergen** ~ ***ütürme** ‘threshing floor’. The form **ütergen* (?**ütürgen*) that appears to be reflected by the Shirongol languages is also found in a number of Inner-Mongolian dialects. Forms like the synonymous Khorčīn *itrəg* (Chagankhad 1995:200) and Dag *itləy* ~ *itəl* E83:101a/b may also belong here in spite of the *i-* and the *-l-*. Cf. the Dagur verb *itəl-* E83:101a ‘to thresh grain’, and Solon *itulgə* D346a ‘threshing floor’. **ütergen* and **ütürme* seem to be two derivatives from the same stem, but the morphology is unclear. Perhaps a corruption of Turkic **örtgün* ‘id’?

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ütürme* L1014b. Kh *ütrem* H582b. Ord---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag (see above). EYu---. MgrH *sdierge* SM335, *şdergə*, *şdärgə* X167. MgrM *şdärgə* JL478, (Sanchuan) *iterge* P412b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *tergaŋ* CN166. BaoX *targaŋ* BC66. Kgj *tərgə* ~ *tərgə* ~ *təgə* S297a. Dgx *tuğon* B141. Mog---.

***üye** ‘joint; generation’.

MMo SH *üye qaya* H167 ‘relative’, HY *üye üye* M109 ‘from generation to generation’, Muq *üye* P382b. WM *üye* L1001b. Kh *üye* H566b. Bur *üye* C495b. Kalm *üy* M547b. Dag *wəy* E337, *ui* Z11. EYu *ywe:* B156 ‘generation’. MgrH *uye* X21. Bao---. Dgx *uyə* B23. Mog---.

***üyee** ‘feed, fodder’. see ***öyee**.

- Y -

***yaan** and ***yaun** ‘what; what kind of’. Both formations are old. The form **yaun* seems to be extinct in the QG languages, although MgrM *yoy* may be a last surviving form. Cf. **yama*, **yamar*.

MMo SH *ya’u(n)* H169 ‘who, what, what kind of’, HY *ya’u* [ba] M110 ‘whatever’, Muq *ya:n* [Poppe reads *yan*] P387a, and an assimilation form *ya:m* [Poppe: *yam*] P386b. WM *yayu(n)* L424b. Kh *yuu(n)* H869b, *yüü(n)* H870a, cf. Chakhar *yu*: D186b. Ord *yü*: M407a ‘what’, but instr. case *yu:ga:r*, com. case *yu:tä*:, etc; also *yu:n* M406a, *yü:n* M408a ‘which’. Bur *yüü(n)* [written *yuu(n)*] B785a. Brg *yu*: U223. Kalm *yun* M707b. Dag *yɔ*: E33. EYu *ya:n* B152. MgrH *ya:n* J107a. MgrM *ya:n* C204, *yoy* T337. BaoD *iaŋ* B193b. BaoÑ *yaŋ* CN213. BaoX *yaŋ* BC65 ‘what’. Kgj *yɔ* ~ *yaŋ* S305b. Dgx *yaŋ* B185. Mog---.

***yaaki-** ‘to do what/how’ (interrogative verb). Apparently from **yaan* + **ki-*. In some QG languages we find **yama* + **ki-* instead or in addition. A verb **yaa-* is found in central Mongolic and Dagur: Kh *yaax* H872a, Bur *yaaxa* C789a, Kalm *yaax* M708a, Dag *ye:-* E329. Dag *yɔ*: *xi:-* E330 is an alternative formation **yaun* + *ki-*. See **yaan* and **yaun*.

MMo SH *yeki-* H170, cf. SH *yaki-n* H169 (gerund) ‘how’, HY---, Muq---. WM *yayaki-* L423b, *yaki-* L425a, etc. Kh *yaaxi-n* H872a ‘how; why’. Bur *yaa geže* C787a ‘how; what’. Brg---. Kalm *ya:yă-* R213b. Dag (see above). EYu *ya:kə-* B152, *ya:yə-* J69. MgrH *ya:ga-* X231. MgrM *yaŋgə-* DS23. BaoD *iangə-* BL49, *iangə-* BL63. BaoÑ *yaŋgə-* CN213. Kgj---. Dgx *yaŋ gie-* MC435a. Mog---.

***yaara-** ‘to be in a hurry’. The Muq form is unexpected but not a misspelling as it is very common.

MMo SH *ya’ara-* H168, HY *yāra-* M110, Muq *ja:ra-* P204a. WM *yayara-* L423b. Kh *yaarax* H871b. Bur *yaaraxa* C789a. Kalm *yaarx* M707b ‘to huddle together’. Dag *ya:r-* E325. EYu in *yara:ŋgui* B153 ‘slowly’ (< without hurrying). MgrH---, MgrM---, BaoD---, BaoÑ *ya:r-* CN231. Kgj *yara-* S305b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***yabu-** ‘to go; to walk’. The *-b-* was atypically lost in MgrM. In some MgrH sources confused with **yeü-* (?**yüü-*) ‘to transfer’.

MMo SH *yabu-* H168, HY *yabu-* M109, Muq *yabu-* P385a. WM *yabu-* L420a. Kh *yavax* H872b. Bur *yabaxa* C793a. Brg *yɔβ-* U222. Kalm *yovx* M279b. Dag *yau-* E326, *yaw-* E328. EYu *yafə-* B153, J106b. MgrH *yau:-* J107b, *yau-* X232, *yu:-* X236, *yævu-* X234. MgrM *yɔu-* C394, *yau-* JL474, T338. BaoD *iu-* BL93a. BaoÑ *yawu-* CN217, *yu-* CN220. BaoX *yu-* BC65. Kgj *yu-* S306a. Dgx *yawu-* B187. Mog *yobu-* R30a, *yɔbu-* W168b.

***yada-** ‘to be unable’.

MMo SH *yada-* H168, HY *yada-* M110, Muq *yada-* P386b. WM *yada-* L422a. Kh *yadax* H874b. Bur *yadaxa* C796a. Kalm *yadx* M709a. Dag *yad-* E328 ‘to

be scared, to be shy'. EYu *yida-* B155, *ida-* J48, cf. *ida-* J107b 'to become tired'. MgrH *ada-* J45, cf. *yada:-* J106a 'to be tired'. MgrM *da-* T313. BaoD *edə-* BL56. BaoÑ *yada-* CN216. BaoX *idə-* BC70. Kgj *ada-* S278b. Dgx *da-* B143, L75. Mog---.

***yadara-** 'to be(come) tired'. Apparently an inchoative formation to **yada-* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *yadara-* L422b. Kh *yadrax* H874b 'to be tired; to become poor'. Bur *yadarxa* C796a. Kalm *yadrax* M708b. Dag *yadər-* E328. EYu *yidara-* BJ333 'to be weak, feeble', *yadara-* B153. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *edər-* BL93b. BaoÑ *yadara-* CN104. BaoX *idar-* BC71. Kgj *yadəra-* ~ *yadra-* S305a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***yama** 'what; something; thing'. Apparently a semantic narrowing of the same word: MgrM *yama* JL474, *ya:ma* C391 'food'. BaoD *iamə* BL59, BL86a, *iamo* BL42 'food; meal'. BaoGt *yāmu* C123 'meal', Dgx *yama* P421b 'cereal (crop on the field)'. Note the distribution of this form in MMo Muq, Mog, and the QG languages (the remaining languages use **yauma*). Perhaps **yaa-ma* from **yaan* 'what' + (particle) *ma* 'whatever'. See **yaan* 'what' listed above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *yama* P386b. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *yima* B154, *ima* J106b. MgrH *ama* J107b, *yama* X232, *yəma* X233. MgrM *yama* T337. BaoD *iamə* BL35 'whatever'. BaoÑ *yama* CN215 'thing'. Kgj *yama* S305a. Dgx *yama* B187. Mog *yema* R30a 'what', cf. *yem* 'id', *ima* W167b 'what (kind of)', *ema* W164b 'what', MogMr *yəmə*, *imə*, MogM *yama* L62:73.

***yamar** 'what, what kind of'. Note **yambar* in Sino-Mongolian (and WM spelling). Unlike **yama* this form also occurs in the central languages and Dag. In Dgx, **yamar* has been lost or it has simply merged with **yama* phonetically. See further **yaan* 'what' listed above. In Baoanic replaced by **yaan metü* (see the latter element).

MMo SH *yambar* H169 'how; what', HY *yambar* M110 'which', Muq *yamar* P387a. WM *yambar*, *yamar* L426b. Kh *yamar* H877b. Bur *yamar* C799b. Kalm *yamr* M710a. Dag *yamər* E327 'what kind of'. EYu *imar* J107b, *yimar* B155. MgrH *amar* J107b, *yamar* X233. MgrM *yamar* C204. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *yema:r* R30a 'how' (perhaps from **yamaar*, instr. of **yama* above).

***yara** 'ulcer, sore; syphilis', in MMo and Dag 'wound'. As in **yaara-* above, Muq has a form with *ǰ-*. The vowel length in EYu, MgrH and BaoÑ may be due to the *-r-*.

MMo SH *yara* H169, HY---, Muq *yara* P387b, *ǰara* P297a. WM *yara* L428b. Kh *yar* H879b. Ord *yara* M397b. Bur *yara* C801b. Brg *yar* U221. Kalm *yarǎ* R215b. Dag *yar* E328. EYu *ya:ra* B152, J107b. MgrH *ya:ra* J107a, X231. MgrM *yara* C394. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ya:ra* CN213. Kgj *yara* S305b. Dgx *yara* B187. Mog---.

***yasun** 'bone(s)'. The unusual MgrM *-ǰ-* is not confirmed elsewhere. Kgj *-c-* is also peculiar (cf. **yesün* 'nine'). Apparently formed with the (?collective) suffix *-sUn* from a PM root **ya-*.

MMo SH *yasu(n)* H169, HY *yasun* M110, Muq *yasun* P388a. WM *yasu(n)*

L430a. Kh *yas(an)* H881a. Bur *yaha(n)* C802b. Kalm *yasn* M711b. Dag *yas* E328. EYu *yasən* B153, J107b. MgrH *yasə* J106a. MgrM *yağsı* JL474, *yığsı* C394. BaoD *iasuŋ* BL93a. BaoÑ *yasəŋ* CN215. BaoX *isəŋ* CN86:228. Kgj *yasun* ~ *yacun* S305a. Dgx *yasuŋ* B187. Mog *yo:sun* R30a, *yəsud* (pl) W168b.

***yauma** ‘something, thing’. Cf. ***yama** ‘id’ listed above, which is used elsewhere.

MMo HY---, Muq---. WM *yayuma* L425a. Kh *yüüm* H869a, cf. Chakhar *yim* D185b. Ord *yum*, *yumu* M405b. Bur *yüüme(n)* [written *yuume(n)*] C783b. Brg *yum* U224, *yu:m* U223. Kalm *yumn* M707a. Remaining lgs---.

***yaun** ‘what’ see s.v. ***yaan**.

***yeke** (?) ‘large, big, great’. All these forms are apparently related, but it is impossible to reduce them to a single reconstruction form. The form ***yeke** as found in the old sources only seems to survive in Bur. Kh, Kalm, and Mog go back to a form ***ike**. Both Dag and QG seem to point at CM ***h-**, but in the QG languages the appearance of ***h**-like reflexes may be due to devoicing of ***y-** by the following **-k-**. Dag suggests an older form ***hike**. As there is some degree of confusion or variation between **š-**, **x-** and **y-** in Dagur (cf. also *xita:-* < **sītaa-* ‘to light’, *x’añkən* < **yaŋkan* ‘prostitute’). A development ***y** > ***x** > ***x** in Dagur is conceivable, but not common. The MgrM and Baoanic forms (but not MgrH) seem to represent a form like ***hüke**, with a peculiar rounded vowel. In Dgx, ***yeke** has come to be pronounced the same as ***hüker** ‘bovine’. This reminds of the collocations WM *üker čilayu(n)* ‘boulder’, *üker quluyana* ‘rat’, *üker ɣal* ‘campfire’, in which *üker* may be an independent word for ‘large’, but is more likely to be an extended meaning of ***hüker**. Within central Mongolic, Dörbed features another rounded form *yüx*.

MMo SH *yeke* H169, HY *yeke* M110, Muq *yeke* P388a. WM *yeke* L431a. Kh *ix* H280b. Chakhar *ix* D168a. Ord *ike* M380a. Bur *yexe* C223a. Brg *yix* ~ *yik* U222. Kalm *ik* M266a. Dag *xiɣ* E113, *šiɣ* E234. EYu *šike* B107, *šge* J107b. MgrH *šge* J107a. MgrM *šugo* ~ *šgo* JL464, *xge* T384. BaoD *fgo* ~ *go* BL93a, *hgo* T150. BaoGt *fgo* C129. BaoÑ *šgə* CN147. BaoX *xgo* BC65. Kgj *gʷ* S318, cf. *gʷ-da-* S290a ‘to become large’. Dgx *fugie* B52, L121b. Mog *ikā*, *ekā* R29b.

***yeren** ‘ninety’. Related to ***ye(r)sün** ‘nine’ below. In Bao and Kgj replaced by a new formation ***ye(r)sün harban** ‘nine tens’, as in BaoÑ *yir’saraŋ* CN219.

MMo SH *yeren* H170, HY *yeren* M110, Muq *yiren* (?*yeren*) P390b. WM *yere(n)* L433a, *yire(n)* 434a. Kh *yer(en)* H201b, *ir(en)* H277b. Bur *yere(n)* C222a. Kalm *yirn* M278a. Dag *yər* E329. EYu *yeren* B154, J107b. MgrH *yerən* J107b, X234. Remaining lgs---.

***yesün** < ***yersün** ‘nine’. ***ye(r)sün** is the only numeral formed with **-sUn**. Only BaoÑ preserves the **-r-**, but it is confirmed by the corresponding decad ***yeren** ‘ninety’ listed above. The EYu and Mgr initials are devoiced due to the following strong consonant. The affrication of **-s-** is common in Mgr but less so in Kgj.

MMo SH *yesun* H170, HY *yesün* M111, Muq *yisün* (?*yesün*) P390b. WM *yisü(n)* L434a. Kh *yös(ön)* [written *yesö(n)*] H202b. Ord *yisʉ* ~ *yʉsʉ* M402b. Bur *yühe(n)* [written *yuhe(n)*] C787a. Brg *yuxu:* ~ *yus* U224. Kalm *yisn* M278a. Dag *is*

E34, *yis* NK568b. EYu *xisən* B113, *šisən* J107b. MgrH *gʒən* J107a, X169, *sʒən* X146. MgrM *šʒeŋ* T384, *šʒaŋ* (obs.) DS4. BaoD *iəsuy* BL93a. BaoGt *yəsuy* C142. BaoÑ *yirəŋ* CN219. BaoX *isoŋ* BC67. Kgj *yasuy* ~ *yacun* ~ *yaʒuy* S305a. Dgx *yesuy* B188. Mog---.

***yeü-** (?*yüü-) ‘to scoop or ladle out and transfer into another container; transfuse, transplant, etc’. The form with *e* is based on the assumption that this word is related to **yeüd-*. In MgrH the situation is complicated, as **yeü-* has also taken on the meaning of **neü-* ‘to migrate’, and in most sources it has merged phonetically with **yabu-* ‘to go’. Perhaps as a consequence of this, MgrH *yu:-* now has tr. and intr. meanings. MgrM *wei-* could instead be related to **üi-*, for which cf. MgrH *i:-* X11, Ord *ü:-* M765a, *yü:-* M408b, *i:-* M377a ‘to put sth. into a cooking pot which has water in it; to drop into the water’; see WM *üi-* L999a, *üyü-* L1002b.

In the central languages we also find a derived (?intensive) form **yeüle-* ‘to transfer a fluid’: WM *yegüle-* L431a, Kh *yüülex* H870b ‘to transfuse, etc’, Ord *yü:le-* ~ *yü:li-* M407b ‘to empty’, Bur *yüülexe* C738b, Kalm *yü:l-* R221b.

MMo---. WM---. Kh---. Ord *yü:-* M407b ‘to transfer into another container’. Bur---. Kalm *yü:-* R221b ‘to pour from one container into another’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *yu:-* SM494, *yu:-* X236. MgrM *wei-* (?=) DS208a ‘to put into a bowl’, DS247b ‘to scoop’, F41:175 ‘to dip water (with a bucket)’. BaoÑ *yu-* CN220.

***yeüdke-** ‘to move, shift (tr.)’. Caus. of **yeüd-*, which is not as widely attested. The relationship with **yeü-* (?*yüü-) ‘to transfer’ is not clear.

MMo SH *ye'ütge-*, *ye'ütke-* H170 ‘to change’, HY *ye'ütge-*, *ye'ütke-* M111 ‘to change’, Muq *ye'ü:tke-* P392a ‘to translate’. WM *yegüdke-* L430a. Kh *yüütgex* H870b. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *yü:tkə-* R221b ‘to end, to die’. Dag *yəurkə:-* E329 ‘to plant, to transplant seedlings’. EYu *ü:tge-* B21 ‘to move’. Remaining lgs---.

***yosun** ‘custom, habit, rule’. The loss of the *-n* in EYu is a rare phenomenon. Appears to contain the (?collective) suffix *-sUn*, although it does not fit the category semantically, and the root is not known.

MMo SH *yosu(n)* H171, HY *yosun* M111, Muq---. WM *yosu(n)* L435b. Kh *yos(on)* H205b. Ord *yusu* M406a. Bur *yoho(n)* C228b. Kalm *yosn* M280b. Dag *yəs* E331. EYu *yəsə* B155, *yosə* J107b. MgrH *yos-la-* X236 ‘to respect; extend greetings’. Remaining lgs---.

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Mongoolse fonologie en de Qinghai-Gansu-talen.

Dit proefschrift behandelt de relatie tussen de fonologie (de ontwikkeling van het systeem van spraakklanken) van de Mongoolse oertaal en die van de Mongoolse talen die worden gesproken in de Noord-Chinese provincies Qinghai en Gansu. Enerzijds behandelt het de ontwikkeling van de oorspronkelijke klanken en klankcombinaties in de Qinghai-Gansu-talen. Anderzijds wordt ingegaan op de bijdrage die waarnemingen in deze talen leveren aan de reconstructie van genoemde oertaal.

De Mongoolse taalfamilie is een geografisch wijdverbreide taalfamilie die zich uitstrekt van de Kaspische Zee tot in Oost-Siberië en Noord-China. Taalkundige verschillen tussen de talen zijn naar verhouding gering, en veelal direct terug te voeren op de invloed van buurtalen.

De Mongoolse talen worden door velen niet als onafhankelijke taalfamilie gezien, maar als een onderdeel van de Altaïsche taalfamilie, die in engere zin ook de Turkse en de Mantsjoe-Toengoezische talen omvat; in bredere zin ook het Koreaans en Japans. De aard van de relaties met niet-Mongoolse talen valt buiten het bestek van dit onderzoek. Hier zal vooral de groeiende verscheidenheid binnen de Mongoolse talen in het laatste millennium worden belicht. Verwante vormen uit Turkse en Mantsjoe-Toengoezische talen worden enkel aangehaald wanneer deze bijdragen tot de reconstructie van het prehistorische Mongools.

De Mongoolse talen kunnen in verschillende groepen worden ingedeeld. De centrale groep omvat de Mongoolse talen met de meeste sprekers: Mongools in engere zin (inclusief Chalcha in de Republiek Mongolië en Tsjachar in de autonome regio Binnen-Mongolië in China), Kalmuks-Oiratisch (onder meer in de republiek Kalmukkië, een deelrepubliek van de Russische Federatie, en in Dzjoengarije), en het Boerjatisch (onder andere in de republiek Boerjatië, eveneens in de Russische Federatie). De kleinere randtalen behoren tot verschillende groepen. In Mantsjoerije vinden we het Dagoer, een geheel op zichzelf staande taal. Het Mogoli, eveneens een taal zonder directe zustertaal, werd in Afghanistan gesproken, maar is wellicht uitgestorven. In Qinghai en Gansu, op het grensgebied van de Mongoolse, Chinese en Tibetaanse invloedssferen, worden de talen gesproken die het onderwerp van dit proefschrift vormen. Het Oost-Joegoer vormt hierbinnen een eigen groep. De Shirongol-groep omvat de overige Mongoolse talen van het gebied, waarbinnen ik twee takken onderscheid. Tot de Baoan-tak behoren het Baoan (Bonan), het Dongxiang (Santa) en het Kangjia. Tot de Monguor-tak behoren het Mongghul (Huzhu-Monguor) en het Mangghuer (Minhe-Monguor).

Het proefschrift bespreekt een ruime selectie van fonetische en lexicale overeenkomsten en verschillen tussen de Qinghai-Gansu-talen die bovenstaande classificatie onderbouwen. Hoe nauw het Oost-Joegoer en de Shirongol-talen verwant zijn kan evenwel niet eenduidig worden vastgesteld, aangezien veel van de aanwezige overeenkomsten op taalcontact kunnen berusten.

De reconstructie van de Mongoolse oertaal is traditioneel overwegend gebaseerd op de vergelijking van de centraal-Mongoolse talen, archaïsche spellingen in het Mongoolse ('Oeigoerse') schrift, en oude teksten in verschillende andere

schriftsoorten. Het betrekken van de Qinghai-Gansu-talen (en in mindere mate de overige randtalen) bij deze reconstructie is een hoofddoel van dit proefschrift. De Qinghai-Gansu-talen zijn inmiddels redelijk goed onderzocht, zodat we beschikken over uitgebreide woordenlijsten en grammaticale beschrijvingen. Desondanks zijn ze tot op heden slechts beperkt gebruikt voor taalhistorisch onderzoek, afgezien van een aantal ‘bilaterale’ vergelijkingen van een enkele randtaal met het literair Mongools of het gesproken Mongools van Binnen- en Buiten-Mongolië.

De bijdrage van de Qinghai-Gansu-talen ligt hoofdzakelijk in het verbeteren van de reconstructie van individuele woordvormen. Voordeel hierbij is dat deze randtalen grotendeels van de rest van het Mongools afgesneden waren, zodat de woordvormen gevrijwaard zijn gebleven van de invloed van de schrijfwijze in het Mongoolse schrift, of de gestandaardiseerde centrale talen.

De Qinghai-Gansu-talen bewaren enkele oude fonetische kenmerken die in de centrale standaardtalen verdwenen of gewijzigd zijn, zoals de **h-* (verdwenen in centraal Mongools), tweeklanken zoals **au* (in centraal Mongools samengetrokken tot lange *u:*), het onderscheid tussen klinkers **a/e* en **u/ü* in niet-eerste lettergrepen (samengevallen in de meeste centrale talen), en medeklinkercombinaties die in de centrale talen vereenvoudigd zijn. Eveneens van belang is het bewaren van de klinkers van de laatste lettergreep, welke in de Qinghai-Gansu-talen beklemtoond is. Naast deze fonetische kenmerken hebben de Qinghai-Gansu-talen, evenals het Dagoer en het Mogoli, woorden en woordvarianten behouden die in de centrale talen zijn verdwenen.

Daarentegen is de bijdrage van de Qinghai-Gansu-talen aan de reconstructie van klinkers in de onbeklemtoonde niet-eerste lettergrepen gering. Hier kan namelijk elke oorspronkelijke klinker bijna elke moderne klinker opleveren. Dit komt doordat aangrenzende medeklinkers de klinkers kunnen ronden, ontronden of palataliseren (‘umlauten’), geholpen door het feit dat het oorspronkelijke systeem van klinkerharmonie in alle Qinghai-Gansu-talen gereduceerd of geheel verdwenen is. Ook vallen de klinkers van onbeklemtoonde lettergrepen gemakkelijk weg.

Uitval van klinkers in de eerste lettergreep heeft geleid tot het ontstaan van - in andere Mongoolse talen niet toegestane - medeklinkercombinaties aan het begin van woorden, bijvoorbeeld Mongghul *nta:-* < **unta-* ‘slapen’. Dit was mede mogelijk doordat het naburige Tibetaans ook dergelijke clusters bezit. Anderzijds zijn veel slotmedeklinkers uitgevallen, vooral in het Mangghuer en Dongxiang, die het meest zijn beïnvloed door het Mandarijn, dat slechts weinig slotconsonanten toestaat.

Bij de medeklinkers zijn veranderingen in medeklinkersterkte de meest opvallende ontwikkeling. Dit behelst het verlies of ontstaan van aspiratie bij plosieven en affricaten. De omstandigheden en regels waaronder dit gebeurt, verschillen van taal tot taal. Versterking (aspiratie) van zwakke beginmedeklinkers kan ontstaan wanneer de tweede lettergreep met een sterke medeklinker begint, bijvoorbeeld Oost-Joegoer *pəčə-* < **biči-* ‘schrijven’. Verzwakking (verlies van aspiratie) van sterke medeklinkers kan ook door de volgende lettergreep worden veroorzaakt, zoals in Mangghuer *gada* < **kada* ‘rots’ (assimilatie aan zwakke medeklinker), of Baoan *debsi* < **tebsi* ‘bord’ (dissimilatie van een van de aanwezige sterke medeklinkers). Het Mongghul heeft een afkeer voor sterke medeklinkers ontwikkeld, behalve aan het begin van woorden. De meest stabiele woorden zijn die

waarin in de oertaal geen sterke medeklinkers voorkwamen, zoals **daba-* ‘oversteken’, of die waarin de medeklinkersterkte niet zou kunnen worden verplaatst, zoals **kara* ‘zwart’ en **mikan* ‘vlees’.

Versterking van *b* heeft geleid tot het ontstaan van *p-*, een klank die in het systeem ontbrak, althans in de historische periode. Eenzelfde ontwikkeling heeft in de naburige Turkse talen plaatsgevonden. Versterking van de glottisslag (klinker-aanzet) heeft geleid tot het verschijnen van *h-*, als in Baoan *hgu-* < **ükü-* ‘sterven’. Deze nieuwe *h-* heeft zich in de moderne Qinghai-Gansu-talen parallel ontwikkeld aan de oorspronkelijke **h-* van de oertaal. In dergelijke gevallen moeten bij wijze van ‘second opinion’ het Dagoer en het Middel-Mongools worden geraadpleegd, waar dit verschijnsel niet optreedt. Zo kan de *h-* van Oost-Joegoer *hkor* ‘rond’ onder invloed van de sterke medeklinker *-k-* zijn ontstaan, maar Dagoer *xukur* en Middel-Mongools *hüker* tonen aan dat de **h-* in dit woord oorspronkelijk is.

Het proefschrift wordt afgesloten met een vergelijkende woordenlijst van circa 1350 gereconstrueerde oer-Mongoolse woorden, vergezeld van de moderne vormen waarop de reconstructies berusten.

Curriculum vitae

Hans Nugteren werd op 5 maart 1968 geboren in Rotterdam. Na het behalen van de propedeuse Turks in 1987 begon hij aan de studie Vergelijkende Altaïsche Taalwetenschap aan de Rijksuniversiteit Leiden. Deze studie rondde hij af in 1992. Hij was AiO van 1993-1997, in welke periode de basis werd gelegd voor dit proefschrift. In de periode hierna verzorgde hij enkele colleges voor de studierichting Turks, en was werkzaam in het woordenboekproject Nederlands-Turks. In 2001-2002 en 2006-2007 was hij werkzaam aan de Goethe-Universität te Frankfurt am Main. Verder was hij de afgelopen tien jaar werkzaam als docent Nederlands als Tweede Taal en vertaler Turks-Nederlands.