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Mongolic phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu languages

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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
-lAŋ	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
-UlA	N>N	collective numeral
-Un	V>N	
-Ur	V>N	instrument

COMPARATIVE SUPPLEMENT

Alphabetical order:

a b č d e g h ï i ǰ 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:dəl* 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 ʌ- W158a.

***aarča** 'curds from fermented milk'. MMo suggests **aarčï*, 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 'tuǰ' (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 *xəġ*- 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 *xəġǯi* < **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, *xəġ*- (?=) 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, *ʌb*- W158a, *ɔb*- W174a.

***abaga** 'paternal uncle'.

MMo SH *abaqa* H1, HY *abaqa* M33, Muq---, LV *abaqa* P1254, IV---. WM *abaɣa* L2b. Kh *avga* H5a. Bur *abga* C23b. Brg *aβag* U4. Kalm *avɣ* M21a.

Dag---. EYu *abga* P413b. MgrH *a:ga* SM2 (?=) 'father's younger brother'. Bao---. Kgj *aqa* (?=) S278b. Dgx *awuğa* 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-qči* (?, unclear) 205C31 'wrestler'. WM *abuldu*- L6a 'to seize or hold each other; (...) to fight each other'. Kh *avaldax* (according to Lessing). Ord *awalda*- M36b 'to come to blows'. Bur--- (only *abaldaxa* as the reciprocal of **ab*-). Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *aβaldə*- B2. MgrH *ba:ldə*- X42, *va:ldə*- X242 (there derived from **barïldu*-). MgrM---. BaoD *udə*- BL76. BaoJ *vud*- L206. BaoÑ *aude*- CN1. Dgx *amandu*- MC8a. Mog---.

***abčïra**- 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 **abčïra*-, which in its turn seems to derive from the converb **ab-ču* + **ire*- 'to come'. EYu *hčəra- could* be the result of a form **pčira*- < **abčïra*- (a parallel development is seen in EYu *hčəlğa*- < **pčalğa*- < **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 *aβšır*- U4. Kalm *asrx* M53b, cf. *acrχă* (obs) R18b. Dag *ačir*- E14. EYu *hčəra*- BL62. MgrH *awuʒ́i re*- SM16. MgrM *xəʒ́iri*- (see **ab*-) DS24a. BaoD *apʒ́i rə*- B60. BaoÑ *awćir*- CN86:230. BaoÑ *abćir*- CN4. Kgj *ačiri*- S279a. Dgx *açə*- MC2a. Mog *ʌbčirʌ*- W158a, *ɔbčirʌ*- W174a, also *ačar*- R22a, *ʌčʌr*-, etc W159a, MogM/Mr *ačaru˙*- L62:14 (see above).

***ačï**- (< ***arčï**-) 'to load'. Only the MgrM form reflects the earlier form **arčï*-, which is supported by the CT cognate **art*-. In view of CT, the original PM form may have been **artï*-. 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 *ʃ́ʒ́a:*- and MogM *ɒ:čiya*- have been remodeled on the basis of the derived noun **ačïan*.

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 *atʲ*- E13. EYu *ačə*- B6, J93b. MgrH *ʃ́ʒ́a:*- J93b, *ʃ́ʒ́ia:*- SM387. MgrM *arći*- JL479. BaoD *ači*- BL81a. BaoÑ *ači*- CN8. Kgj *ači*- S279a. Dgx *açï*- B5, L109b. Mog *ači*- R22a, *ʌčid*-, *ʌčit*- W159a (?sic), cf. MogM *ɒ:čiya*- L62:15.

***ačïan** (< ***arčïan**) 'burden, load'. From **ačï*- 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 *ačа'an* M34, Muq *ačа'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 *atʲe:* E13. EYu *hča:n* B62, *hǰan* B62, *hǰa:n* J93b. MgrH *śʒa:* J93b, *śʒia:* SM387. MgrM *arća* JL474. BaoD *aćiaŋ* BL81b. BaoGt *aćɔŋ* C118. BaoÑ *aćaŋ* CN8. Kgj *ačɔ* S279a. Dgx *açaŋ* B5, *açan* L109b. Mog---.

***adalï** '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 *adıl* U14. Kalm *ädl* M64b. Dag *adilʲ* 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 *adəlí madəlí* L1. BaoÑ---. Kgj *adali* S279a. Dgx *adali* T110. Mog *ado:li* R22a, *ɔdɔli* 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 *aduɣu(n)* L11b, *adaɣu(n)* L9b. Kh *aduu(n)* H10b. Ord *adu:* M4b. Bur *aduu(n)* C32a. Brg *adʊ* (*?adʊ:*) U14. Kalm *adun* M28b. Dag *adɔ:* 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 *aduɣula*- L11b. Kh *aduulax* H10b. Ord *adu:la*- M4b. Bur *aduulxa* C32a. Kalm *adulx* M28b. Dag *adɔ: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 *aduɣusu(n)* L11b, *adaɣusu(n)* L9b. Kh *aduus(an)* H10b, *adguus* H10a. Ord *adagu:s(u)* M3a. Bur *aduuha(n)* C32b, *adaha(n)* (western) C31a. Brg *adgʊ:s* (←Kh) U14. Kalm *adusn* M28b. Dag *adus* E13, *adɔ: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 *aɣsu*- (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, *aġsə*- J88. MgrH *asġu*- SM15, *asġʊ*- X8. BaoD *asχo*- BL77. BaoÑ *aχsə*- CN5. Kgj *asğï*- ~ *asïğ*- 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 *aɣta* L15b. Kh *agt* H8. Bur *agta* C29a. Brg *aχt* U5. Kalm *agt* M26a. Dag *art* E17. EYu *agta*, *axta* B3, *aġda* 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 *aġal* CN5 ‘village (of laypeople opposite a temple)’. BaoX *aġəl* BC66 ‘market’. Kgj *ağa* S278b. Dgx *agəŋ* B2. Mog *aʊli* 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 *ayimaɣ* L21a. Kh *aymag* H13b. Bur *aymag* C37a. Kalm *äämg* M62a. Dag *aimən* (← Manchu) E2. EYu---. MgrH *yi:maġ* X235, *imaġ* X13. MgrM *imağ* C369, *yiməġ* DS259a. Bao---. Kgj *ima* S280a ‘peasant household’. Dgx---. Mog *aimʌğ* W158a (tribal name).

***aǰïrga** ‘stallion’. Agricultural term related to CT **adgïr* ‘id’ (perhaps ~ **adrïg*?).

MMo SH *ajirqa* H4, HY *aǰirqa* M34, Muq *aǰirɣa morin* Pop97a, LV *aǰirğa* Pop1255, IV *aǰirɣa* L15. WM *aǰirɣa(n)* L62b. Kh *azraga(n)* H12a. Bur *azarga* C35b. Brg *aʒrag* U14. Kalm *ajrɣ* M30a. Dag *adʸrəɣ* E14, *aǰrəɣ* E15, *adrəɣ* Z93b. EYu *aǰərğa* B6, *aǰirğa* J93b. MgrH---. MgrM *aǰirga* P413b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. MogMr *ajərɣa-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 *hġanar* B59 ‘man; husband’ (originally a plural in *-nAr*).

MMo SH *aqa* H3, HY *aqa* M36, Muq *aɣa dü:* P256a ‘brothers’, LV *aɣa* P1256. WM *aqa* L59b. Kh *ax* H36a. Ord *aχa* M8b, *aġa:* (Otok) M6b. Bur *axa* C65a. Brg *aχ* U5. Kalm *ax* M56b. Dag *aɣ* E7, cf. also *aka:* E7. EYu *ağa* B3, J93a. MgrH *aġa* SM2, X4. MgrM *ġa-dəu* C167, *aġa-dï* Z326:204. BaoD *aġə-dəu* BL22. BaoÑ *aġa du* CN5, *adu* (contracted from the previous form?) CN8. BaoX *aġə* BC65 ‘elder brother’ (perhaps only in the combination *aġə du* ‘close friends’). Kgj *ağa* S278b, *ağa devʉ* S278b. Dgx *ağa* S126, *ağa ʒiau* 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 ǰuğun* (*ǰuğun* < **ǰakaun* ‘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, *ʌlʌ*- W158a, *ɔlɔ*- W174b, MogMr *ɒ:lɒ:*-, *hàlà*- (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 *alaɣ* L26b. Kh *alag* H14a. Bur *alag* C39a. Kalm *alg* M33b. Dag *ala:r* E8, Z91b. EYu *alaġ* B3, *alaġ* J93a. MgrH *alaġ* SM3, *alaġ* J93a. BaoD *alaχ* BL81a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *alağ* S278b. Dgx---. Mog *alo:* [←Turkic] R22b.

***albïn** ‘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. *albiŋgĩ: ġal* ‘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: ġar* SM1 ‘will o’ the wisp’. MgrM *abulin* DS225.

***alčaï-/ *alčala**- ‘to spread the legs’. The latter, surviving in MgrM and Dgx, may in fact reflect **alčaala*- (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 *xalʒ́ai*- L168. MgrM *ərçala*- DS205b ‘q.v.’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *ançala*- B2, *alanə aŋçï*- 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 **ïnu* and subsequent contraction. Alternatively the *-n-* is a relic of the oblique stem **alïn-*. Sečenčogt (1999:189) suggests that Kgj *ani* is a reduced form of *aniɣe* < **alï 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 *anʑi: ~ anʑæ ~ anʑə* X3 ‘where’, MgrM *aŋʑi* 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 *alʲ* 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 ~ *maï* ‘here you are’. Kgj instead uses *gere* S223, compared there to MgrH *gera* C306 ‘id’.

MMo---. Kh *al’* H19b, *aliv* H17a. Chakhar *ɛlʲ* D107, *ɛlʲa:* D43. Ord *ali* M16b. Bur *alyee* C42b, *ali* C43a. Brg *alʲβ* U8. Kalm *al’* M38b. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoGt *ane* CN86:320. BaoÑ *an* CN2. BaoX *ane* CN86:320. Kgj---. Dgx *ani* B1. Mog---.

*__alïma__ ‘fruit’. With *-n* in Kalm and part of Baoan. Agricultural term related to CT **alïmla*, **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:la* (?=) L309. MgrM *amula* C369 ‘fruit’. BaoD *almaŋ* BL81a ‘fruit’. BaoGt *almɔŋ* 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 *xalġu* J93a, *xalġʊ* X68, *χarġu* SM161, *alġʊ* X5, *arġu* SM13. MgrM *xarġu-la-* JL476. BaoD *χalġuŋ* BL81b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *halğu* S286b. Dgx *haŋku* 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, *alġə-* J93a. MgrH *xalġu-* J93a, *xalġʊ-* X68, *arġu-* SM13. MgrM---. BaoD *χalġə-* BL81b. BaoÑ *halġə-* CN65. Kgj *halğu-* 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. EYu *ałdan* J94a, *altan* B4. MgrH *χaldan* J93a, *χardan* SM161, *χardam* SM160, *χaldan* T372, *χaldan* X68. MgrM *artaŋ* JL469. BaoD *altaŋ* BL81a. BaoGt *altɔŋ* C103. BaoÑ *altaŋ* CN6. BaoX *andaŋ* BL63. Kgj *antɔ* S278a. Dgx *antaŋ* B4, *antan* L109a. Mog *ʌltãn* W158b, MogMr *altɒ: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. EYu *aman* B4, J93b. MgrH *ama* X6, SM5, J93b. MgrM *ama* JL462. BaoD *aman* BL81b, *amaŋ* BL5. BaoGt *amɔŋ* C101. BaoÑ *amaŋ* CN6. BaoX *amaŋ* BC63. Kgj *amɔ* S278b. Dgx *amaŋ* B3, *aman* L109b. Mog *aman, amun* R22b, *ãmãn* W158b, MogMr *ɒ:mɒ: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 *amʊ:r* U11. Kalm *amsr* R10a. Dag *amsər* E10. EYu---. MgrH *amasar* SM5, *amusar* SM7 ‘cover, lid’; *amasar* X7 ‘cover; opening’. Bao---. Dgx *amasa* B4, *masa* MC256a. Mog---.

***amïn** ‘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 *amʸ* U11. Kalm *ämn* M66a. Dag *amʸ* E11. EYu *amən* B5, J93b. MgrH *amun* J93b, *ami* SM6, *amən* X7. MgrM *ami* JL461. BaoD *amuŋ* BL81a. BaoÑ---. BaoX *amoŋ* BC61. Kgj *amin* S278b. Dgx *amiŋ* B4. Mog---.

***amïtu**, ***amïdu** ‘alive’. Both derived from ***amïn** 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 *amʸdun*, *amʸnun*. EYu 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. EYu *amsa-* B6. MgrH *amʊsa-*, *amsa-* X8, *amasa-* X7, *amsa-* J93b, *amusa-* SM7, *χamsa-* C86:574, *amta-* X8. BaoD-?-. BaoÑ *amsa-* CN7. Dgx *amusa-* B4, L109b. Mog *amsa-* R23a, *ɔmsɔ-* 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 *aŋtu-doŋ* DS254b ‘tasty’. BaoD *amtəg* (sic) BL81a. BaoÑ *amtə-tə* CN7. Kgj *antatʉ* 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. **narïn 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 *maŋŋələm* E194 ‘broomcorn millet’ < **moŋgal amun, narʸe: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 *amuŋ* CN7 ‘millet’. Kgj *amu* S278b ‘millet’. Dgx *amən* 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 *amɔ:* U11. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *aməsən* B5. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *amusuŋ* 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) *anaġa-* 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(ï)__ ‘oath’. The form **andagaï* 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 *andaɣar* P102b, cf. LV *andaɣa:rad-* P1258 ‘to swear (an oath)’. WM *andaɣar, andaɣai* L42b. Kh *andgar* H26a, *andgay* H26. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *andɣar* M43b. Dag---. EYu *ndağar* B28, *andağar* J88.

MgrH *ndəġa* X38 ‘incantation’, *ndaġa* SM261 ‘oath’, *amdaġa* S624 ‘oath’, S625 ‘incantation’, *amdəġa* L13 ‘incantation; wager; oath’. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *andərəġ* S624 ‘oath’. Kgj *andağa* S278a. Dgx *andağa* B1. Mog---.

***anǰasun ~ *anǰïsun** ‘plough’. The form **anǰïsun* from PM **andïsun*. 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 **anǰasun*. The unique long vowel in Dagur cannot be explained.

MMo SH---, HY *anǰasun* H36, Muq *anǰasun-* P103b. WM *anǰisu(n)* L47a. Kh *anǰis(an)* H26a, *andis* H26a. Chakhar *ɛnʸdʸǰs* D168b. Ord *anǰasu*, *anǰus(u)*, *andüs* M23b. Bur *anzaha(n)* C53a. Brg *anʸǰɔ:* B3. Kalm *andsx* M44a, *ancăsn* (*ancn*) R11a, *ändǰsn*, *äncn* R23b, etc. Dag *anǰa:s* E6. EYu **anǰagsən* Man67. MgrH *nʒasə* J93a. MgrM *(a)nʒasï* JL478. BaoD *anʒisuŋ* BL81a. BaoÑ *anʒisəŋ* CN3. Kgj *anǰasun* S278a. Dgx *anʒasuŋ* B2. Mog---.

***aŋgaï-** ‘to open, open up (intr), to be agape, etc’. Probably from **aŋ* ‘crack, fissure’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *angɣayi-* L43b. Kh *angayx* H24b. Bur *angayxa* C52a. Kalm *aŋɣax* M45a. Dag *aŋgi:-* E6, *xaŋgai-* T173. EYu *aŋğai-*, *aŋğəi-* B2, *aŋği:-* J93a. MgrH *ŋġai:-* J93a. MgrM *aŋġai-* C373. BaoD *anɣi-* BL81b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *aŋġei- ~ aŋġa-* S278a. Dgx *aŋġəi-* B2. Mog---.

***arakï ~ *arïkï** ‘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 *arɣʸ* E16. EYu *arəkə*, *arakə* B7, *araʰgə* J94a. MgrH *a:rəg* (only) L22. MgrM---. BaoD *raku* BL82a. BaoGt *rȧći* 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---. EYu *aral* (only) S116. MgrH *ara:l* X9 ‘river valley’, *ra:l* J93b ‘river’. MgrM *arur* DS209a ‘brook’. Bao *arèl’* 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’. EYu *aral* J94b ‘axle’. MgrH *ara:l* X9, *ara:r* SM11, *ara:* SM9. Bao---. Dgx. Mog---.

***aralǰï-** ‘to exchange, trade’. In spite of its vague similarity to **araljï-*, Kalm *arcx* M52a ‘to trade’ rather stems from **arča-* ‘to argue’. Both MgrM and Dgx have an unexpected *–u-*. In MgrH and EYu 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 *aralǰi-* P104a. WM *aralǰi-* L48b. Kh *arilǰix* H31b. Ord *aralǰi- ~ arilǰi-* M27a. Bur *aralžaxa* C55a. Kalm---. Dag *alǰ-* E10, *aralǰi-* NK451a, *allǰi-* NK451a, cf. *arəlǰa:n* E15 'business, trade, exchange, etc. EYu *aralǰə-* B7, *ara:lǰə-* J21, *ra:lǰə-* J80. MgrH *ara:ʒ́i-* SM10, *ra:ʒ́i-* SM309, *ara:lʒ́i-* L19, *ra:lʒ́i-* L458. MgrM *arurʒ́i-* DS211a. BaoD *anǰə-* T134. BaoÑ *alʒ́a-* CN6. BaoX *anʒ́i-* C117. Kgj *anǰa-* S278a. Dgx *arunʐa-* B6. Mog---.

arasun**/arïsʊn** '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'sʊ(an)* H33b. Ord *arus(u)* M31b. Bur *arha(n)* C60a. Brg *arʊ* (*ʔarʊ:*) 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, *ɔrɔsun* W175a.

***arbaï** '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 *-ï* 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 *arwɛ:* Ram15b, *arva* (Derbet) M47a. Dag---. EYu *hrbai* B63, *rbai* J9. MgrH *ʂbai:* J9. MgrM---. BaoD *arpə* BL41/77. BaoÑ *arpa* CN10. BaoGt *aʂbu* C120. Kgj *aɻpa ~ appa* S279a. Dgx *apa* B2, L9. Mog *arfa:* R23a, *arfɛi* R23a, *ɔrpʌ* 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 *arćí* L4 'incense'. BaoÑ---. Kgj *aɻǰa ~ aǰǰa* S279a, *aǰa* S28. Dgx---. Mog---.

***arčï-** 'to wipe, to clean; to weed'. Related to CT **arï-t-* 'id'. cf. **arčïur*, **arïl-*, **arïun*.

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:rći-* (only?) L23. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *arći-* CN10 'to weed'. Kgj *ači-* S279a. Dgx *aɕï-* B5 'to weed with a hoe'. Mog---.

***arčïur** 'rag, dust-cloth; towel; scarf'. The *h-* in MgrH is due to the following *–č-*. cf. **arčï-*, **arïl-*, **arïun*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *arči'ur* P178a. WM *arčiɣur*, *arčiɣul* L51a, *alčiɣur* L29a. Kh *arčuur* H33a 'cleaning cloth, etc', *alčuur* H19a 'scarf, etc'. Ord *alču:r* M18a. Bur *aršuul* C61b, *aršuur* (western) C61b. Brg *aršʊ:r* U16, cf. *alʲšʊ:r* U8 'tobacco pouch'. Kalm *arčul* M52b 'cleaning cloth'. Dag---. EYu *alču:r* B4, J7. MgrH *xaʒ́ir* (?=) SM149, *xa:ʒ́ir* L164, cf. also *a:rćir* L23 'mop'. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *ançu* MC11b, *anču* T111. Mog---.

***arga** 'means, way, method, plan, ruse, shrewdness'.

MMo SH *arqa* H9, HY *arqa* M37, Muq *arɣa* P105a. WM *arɣa* L51a. Kh *arga* H29b. Bur *arga* C56b. Kalm *arɣ* M48a. Dag *arəɣ* E15. EYu *arğa* B7, J94a. MgrH---. MgrM *arġa* J90. Remaining lgs---.

***arïl**- 'to become clean, to clear up; to disappear'.

MMo SH *aril*- H9, HY---, Muq---. WM *aril*- L53a. Kh *arilax* H31b. Bur *arilxa* C59a. Brg *arʲl*- U17. Kalm *ärlx* M70a. Dag *aril*- E16, *alli*- E9. EYu---. MgrH *arili*- SM14. MgrM *aru*- C369 'to clear up', caus. *arərġa*- JL462. Bao (unspecified dial) *alər*- S118 'to disappear'. Dgx *arulu*- B6. Mog---.

***arïlga**- 'to clean', in several languages also 'to castrate'. The caus. of **arïl*- 'to clean' above. With shortened forms in several languages. Cf. **arčï*-, **arčïur*, **arïun*.

MMo SH---, HY *arilqa*- M37, Muq---. WM *arilɣa*- L53b. Kh *arilgax* H31b. Bur *arilgaxa* C58b. Dag *alli-lɣa:*- (newly-formed caus.) E9. EYu *alğa*- B3. MgrH *ariġa*- SM14. MgrM *arərġa*- JL462, *arurġa*- DS212a. BaoD *aləɣəsaŋ mori* BL81a 'gelding'. BaoÑ *alġa*- CN6. Kgj *alğa*- S278b. Dgx *aruluğa*- B6.

***arïa** '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 **azïg* '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 *araɣa* L47b, *ariya* L53b. Kh *araa(n)* H27b. Ord *ara:* M26b. Bur *araa(n)* C54b 'molar; fang, tusk'. Brg *ara:* U15, but cf. *arʲa:-taŋ* U17 'wild animals'. Kalm *aran* M46b. Dag *ara:* (*šid*) E15. EYu *ura:* B19, J94b, *ara:* BJ320. MgrH *ara:* X9, SM9, *ra:* (*ṣdə*) J93b. MgrM---. BaoD *arə duŋ* BL82a, B19 (*duŋ* < **sidün*). BaoÑ *ariya* CN9 (perhaps *arə* + Ch *yá* 'tooth'). Dgx-?-. Mog---.

***arïun** 'clean; pure'. Related to **arčï*- and **arïl*- '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 *aχʉla* ~ *aχla* S278b 'all, everyone', Dgx *aṣïğala* B5 'everybody', which may be abraded forms of **arïu-kan* + plural ending. The final element may also be the comitative *-lUA* or the collective numeral ending *-UlA*.

MMo SH---, HY *ari'un* M37, Muq *ari'un* P105b, *ariyun* P106a, LV---, IV *aru:n* L17. WM *ariɣun* L53a. Kh *ariun* H32a. Ord *aru:n* M31a. Bur *aryuun* C62b. Brg *arʲʊ:ŋ* U17. Kalm *ärün* M70b. Dag *aru:n* E16. EYu *aru:n* B7, J94a. MgrH *arən*

J94b, *arin* SM14. MgrM *ariun* T315, *aroŋ*(*-śiroŋ*) DS212a. BaoD *aruŋ* BL82b. BaoÑ *aroŋ* CN10 ‘completely, totally’. BaoX *aroŋ* BC64. Kgj *arun* S279a. Dgx *aruŋ* B6. Mog *oru:n* R35b, *ɔrun* W175a, MogMr *ɒ: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 *aruɣ* L54b. Kh *arag* H28b. Ord *aruq* M31a. Bur *arag* C54b. Kalm *arăġ* R13a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *aruġ* SM14. MgrM *arʊġ* C369. BaoD *arouġ* BL50. BaoGt *aroġuŋ* C137. BaoÑ *arəġ* CN10. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *arġoŋ* (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 *asï* < **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 *asïra*- Slater 2003:311. Bao---. Dgx---. Kgj---. MogMr *ɒ:srɒ:*- 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 *asχa*- M33a. Bur *adxaxa* C33a. Brg *atag*- U13. Kalm *asxx* M54b. Dag---. EYu *sqa*- BJ342, *sġa*- J93b, *sġa:*- S121. MgrH *saġa*- SM318, *sġa*- X143, *sʒaġa*- L537. MgrM *sïġa*- F119:39. BaoD---. BaoGt *sgə*- (?=) C129. BaoÑ *asġa*- CN8, *aġsa*- CN5. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---, but it does have the derived intr. form *asqara*- R23a.

***au** (& ***auï**) ‘broad, wide, vast’. In some languages apparently supplanted by derivates **audam* and **aujïm*. 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, *aɣuu* L18b, *aɣui* L16b. Kh *aguu*, *aguy* H8b. Ord---. Bur *uu* C480a, *aguy*, *aguu* C29a great. Kalm *u* M526a, *aɣu:* R3b. Dag *au* E3. EYu *aɣui* (sic, only) S96 ‘huge’. MgrH *au:* J93a, *ʊ:* SM462. MgrM---. BaoD *u* BL81b. BaoÑ *u:* CN19. Kgj *u: ~ u* S280a. Dgx *ağui* B2. Mog *ɔğui* W175a ‘spacious’.

***audam**, ***aujïm**: WM *aɣudam* L16b, *aɣujïm* L18b. Kh *uudam* Han555a, *uujïm* Han555b. Ord *u:jïm* M723b. Kalm *uujm* M541a. EYu *u:jəm* B19. MgrM *udaŋ* 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 *aɣula(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 *ɵ:lə* CN86:16. Kgj *ula* S280a. Dgx *ula* B20. Mog *aʊlɔ* W159, MogM *əula*, MogMr *aula* L54b:140.

***aur** ‘steam; anger’ see ***haur**

***aurag** see ***uurag**

***aučï-** ‘to sip’ see ***oačï-**

***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) *aɣusta-* 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’.

***auškï** ‘lungs’. The Kalm, Mgr, and Bao forms point at **ɔ:*. The EYu *u:* could be either from **auškï* or from the form with **ɔ:*. The *-n* is absent in all of Shirongol. MgrH *-s-* is unexpected.

MMo SH *a’uśigi* (?*auśgi*) H10, HY *a’ušigi* (?*a’ušgi*) M37, Muq *a’uški* P108b, LV *awuski* P1259, *awusqi* P1261. WM *aɣušgi(n)* L18b. Kh *uušgi(n)* H558a. Ord *u:ški ~ ušigi* M744b. Bur *uušxa(n)* C482a. Brg *ʊ:tɪg* U36. Kalm *oošk* M400a. Dag *aurk*^{y} E5. EYu *u:šġăn* B18, *u:šġə* J93b. MgrH *o:sgu* J93b, *o:sgi* SM298. MgrM *oški* P415. BaoD *ośiġəi* BL81a. BaoGt *ɔʂġi* C100. BaoJ *ɔśğí* L138. BaoÑ *ɵχśə* CN16. Kgj---. Dgx *uʂïğəi* 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 *ayaɣa* P108b, *ayaqa* P237b, LV *ayaqa* P1262, Ph *ayiqa* T138. WM *ayaɣa(n)* L23a. Kh *ayaga* H39a. Ord *ayaġa* M10a. Bur *ayaga* C69a. Brg *ayag* U14. Kalm *aaɣ* M17b. Dag *aiɣə* E2 ‘the bowl of a pipe’. EYu *aiğa* B1, J93b. MgrH *yaġa* J93b, *yæġa* X232. MgrM *yiġa*, *ġa* DS208a. BaoD *ayiɣə* BL82a, *ayiġə* BL23. BaoÑ *ayiġa* CN9. BaoX *aiġə* BL62. Kgj *ayiğa* S279a. Dgx *iğa* B11. Mog---.

***ayïl** ‘camp’ see ***aïl**

***ayu-** ‘to fear’. All modern forms derive from **ayi-*. P66 connects the (extinct) Old Turkic *ayïn-* ‘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, *ʌi-*, *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* < **bïda*) 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 *mataŋ* B103, L49 ‘we (incl)’, Kgj *mənə* S292a ‘we (incl)’. Cf. **bïda* ‘we (inclusive)’ and **bï* ‘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 *baɣa-* L67b. Kh *baax* H42a. Bur -?-. 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 *baɣasun* (sic) L18. WM *baɣasu(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 *basï* 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 *baɣatur* L68b. Kh *baatar* H42a. Bur *baatar* C72a. Brg *ba:tar* U65. Kalm *baatr* Mun72a. Dag *ba:tur* E66. EYu *ba:tăr* B29, *ba:tər* J98b. MgrH *ba:tur* J98a, *ba:tər* X43. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *baduru ~ baturu ~ batulu* B37 ‘young and vigorous man’. Mog---.

*__baga__ ‘small’. Cf. **bïčïkan*, **üčüken*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *bayа* 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 *paġda-* X54. MgrM *puda-* JL467. BaoD---. BaoGt *vatğə-* C116. BaoÑ *wağta-* CN226. BaoX *өğtə-* CN86:283. Kgj *paġda-* ~ *pəġta-* S284a ‘to sink into’, *puda-* ~ *puta-* S284b ‘to fit into’. Dgx *puda-* B48. Mog *baχta-* R23b.

*__baï-__ ‘to stand still, to stop, to pause’. **baï-* ‘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 *bääx* 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 *bɛi-* R24a, *baï-* W159b.

*__baïdasun__/*__baïtasun__ ‘mare’. An alternative form **baïtal* 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 *baitɔ:ŋ* U65 ‘infertile female domestic animal’. Kalm *bääsn* 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 *baġa* 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 **balïk* ‘id’.

MMo SH *balaqasu(n)* H12 ‘town’, HY *balaqasun* M38, Muq *balɣasun* P110a, *balqasun* P111a ‘wall; town’. WM *balɣasu(n)* L80b. Kh *balgas* (sic) H50b ‘city, town, ruins or site of an ancient town’. Bur *balgaaha(n)* C83b ‘stable, pen’, *bulgaaha(n)* (sic, ?=) C111a ‘pen; hut’. Brg---. Kalm *balɣsn* M79b ‘town’. Dag---. EYu **balğasən* Her206. MgrH *balġasə* X45, *ʋalġasə* X242. MgrM *barġasï* 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. EYu *bara-* B31, J98a. MgrH *bura:-* J98a, *bara:-* X46. MgrM *bura-* JL463. BaoD *uărə-* BL86a. BaoGm *warə-* CN86:219. BaoÑ *wara-* CN227. BaoX *var-* BC70. Kgj *bəra- ~ bura-* S283b, *bʉra-* S19. Dgx *bara-* B38. Mog *bʌrʌgdʌ-* W160a (pass), MogMr *bɒ:rɒ: ɣda-*, MogM *baraɣda-* 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* [?*bara:n*] P111b. WM *baraɣun* L84a. Kh *baruun* H56b. Bur *baruun* C90a ‘right; west’. Brg *barɔ:ŋ* U69 ‘west; right’. Kalm *barun* M83b ‘right; west’. Dag *barən* E72 ‘right; west’. EYu *baru:n* B31, J98a ‘right’. MgrH *varoŋ* J98a ‘right, west’, *barɔŋ* X46, *ʋarɔŋ* X243 ‘right’. MgrM *baraŋ* C396. BaoD---. BaoÑ *bayaŋ* (?=) CN48 ‘id’. Kgj---. Dgx *boruŋ* B43. Mog---.

*__barï-__ ‘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 *bar^{y}-* U69. Kalm *bärx* M92b. Dag *bar^{y}-* E73. EYu *bar-* B31, J98a. MgrH *ʋarə-* J98, *barə-* X46, *ʋarə-* X243. MgrM *barï-* C396, *bari-* T316. BaoD *uarə-* BL86a, *uar-* BL34. BaoÑ *war-* CN227. Kgj *bari-* S283a. Dgx *bari-* B38. Mog *bari-* R23b, *bʌri-* W160a, *bʌr-* 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---. EYu *barəs* B31, J98a. MgrH *bas* J98a, *basə* X45, *pasə* X54. MgrM *barsə* JL469, *bar(s)* C374. BaoD *bas* BL86b. BaoÑ *basə* CN48. Kgj *basï* S283a. Dgx *'basï* B37, *basï* 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. EYu *pəsa* B39, J98a. MgrH *pusa* J98a. MgrM *puʒa* C390, DS204a. BaoD *sa* BL58. BaoÑ *sa* CN121. Kgj

bəsa ~ bəsχa (sic) S283b, *bəsχa* S219 ‘also; or; otherwise, or else’. Dgx *pəsə* B46, *pusə* L113a. MogMr *bɒ: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 *baştý* L12. BaoGt *bartï* 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 *baɣu-* 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, *bөи-* 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 *bayaŋ* U68. Kalm *bayn* M77a. Dag *bayin* E72. EYu *bəyan* B32, *bayan* J98a, *buyan* S255. MgrH *bayan* J98a, *baya:n* X45. MgrM *bayaŋ* JL466. BaoD *bayaŋ* BL85b. BaoGt *bayɔŋ* C103. BaoÑ *bayaŋ* CN48. BaoX *bayaŋ* BC64. Kgj *bayɔ* S283a. Dgx *bayaŋ* 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, *beysə-* X47. MgrM *bayasï-* JL467. BaoGt *bɛs-* C108. BaoX *bes-* CN86:222. Kgj---. Dgx *bayasu-* B37. Mog---.

***bečin** ‘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 *sarbačin* L675a, *sarmaɣčin* L676b, Bur *harmagšan* C677b. An Iranian word that probably entered through Turkic **be:čin* ‘id’.

MMo HY *bečin* M40, Muq *bečin* P115b. WM *beči(n)* L93b. Kh *bič(in)* H63a, *mič(in)* H312b, *mеč(in)* H339b. Ord *meči ~ méči* M463b. Bur *meše*(*n*) C313b. Brg *məš* U145. Kalm *möčn* M361a (see above). Dag---. EYu *be:ǰən* B32. MgrH *mućin* X127, *mĭećin* SM237. MgrM *mečin* P417a, *mičiŋ* T345, *miśiʒun* (?=) DS237a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *bećaŋ* CN51. Kgj---. Dgx *bieçən* 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 *bəx* U70. Kalm *bek* M93b. Dag *bəɣ* 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 *belβəsən* 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 *bəlšə:r* U71. Kalm *belčr* M95a. Dag---. EYu *belče:r* B33. MgrH---. MgrM *bərće* DS250 ‘slope’, Slater 2003:61 ‘pasture’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *bançə* 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, *bələn* J98a, *bele:n* S148. MgrH *bulen* J98a. MgrM---. BaoD *balaŋ* BL86a. BaoÑ *bəlaŋ* 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 *bərʸ* 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, *šinɯri* (**sini* ‘new’) S295a. Dgx *bieri* B41 also ‘wife’. Mog *beiri* R23b, *bɛiri* 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, *ʋergen*

X243, *burgen* L55, *urgen* L616. MgrM---. BaoD *urgaŋ* BL86b. BaoGt *vurgaŋ* C116. BaoÑ *werġaŋ* CN228. BaoX *orgaŋ* BC64. Kgj *bergɔ* 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 *eǰen* < **eǰen* '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 *bɛ* C108 'stature'. BaoÑ---. Kgj *be ~ bei* S283b 'body'. Dgx *bəyə* B39, *bəiyə* L114b 'body'. Mog---.

***bï** > ***bi** 'I'. The original back-vocalic form is suggested by **ba* 'we (exclusive)' and **bïda* 'we (inclusive)'; as well as the parallel 2nd and 3rd person pronouns **čï* and **ï*.

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 *bŭ*, *bə* BL86b. BaoÑ *bə* CN49. Kgj *bi* S283b. Dgx *bi* B39, L114a. Mog *bi* R24a.

***bïčïkan** 'small'. Kh and Ord suggest ***bïčakan**, whereas the word became front-vocalic in Kalm. It is unclear whether Baoan *bədi*, *bədġaŋ* belong here. See also **üčüken*; 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 *bičaχan* M71b. Bur *bišïxan*, *bišayxan* (western) C95b. Brg *bišxaŋ*, *biši:xaŋ* U72 'immature'. Kalm *bičkn* M101a. Dag *bači:kən* E71 'small, a little bit'. BaoD *bəǰiğoŋ* T135. BaoX *bədi* (?=) BC64 'small'. BaoÑ *bədġaŋ* (?=) CN50.

***bïda** (?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 *mənɔ* S292a, Dgx *mataŋ* 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, *bäd* 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-daŋ* C198, *da*, *da-sï*, *da-taŋ* DS77a (cf. Slater 2003:84, who no longer documents forms with preserved first syllable. BaoD *bədə* BL86a. BaoGt *buda* CN86:389 'we (exclusive)'. BaoJ *budá ~ budə́* L18. BaoÑ *bədə* CN50. Kgj *bəde* S283b 'we (exclusive)'. Dgx *biźien* B41, L114a 'we (exclusive)'. Mog *bidâ*, *bidâ-t* R24a 'we'.

*__bïlduur__ ~ *__bïljïur__ ‘small bird’ (cf. **sïbaun*). 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 **bïljïukaï* is found in Kh *byalzuuxay* H99b ‘a general term for small birds’. Ord *bilǰu:xä:* M69a. Bur *bilžuuxay* C94b ‘small bird’, *bilzuurxay* (*šuvuun*) C94b ‘small songbird’, *bolžuuxay*, *bulžuuxay* C111b ‘small bird’, Brg *bəlǰə:xəi* U74 ‘small bird’. A second set is even harder to reduce to a single CM form: WM *boljïmor* L119b ‘lark’. Kh *boljmor* H67b ‘lark’, *byalzuumar* H99b ‘lark’. Bur *bolžomor* (Kab,), *bulžamar*, *bulžamuur* C111b. Brg *bɵlǰmɵ:r* U77 ~ *bəlǰmər* 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^{y}ellur*, *b^{y}eldur* E77 ‘lark’, *b^{y}ɔldur* NK479b ‘lark’. EYu *χara βöljir* B46 ‘swallow’ (*χara* ‘black’), *belǰɔr* Z342:399 ‘bird’, *bulyür* (sic) Her199 ‘sparrow’. MgrH see ‘bat’ s.v. **sarïsun*. BaoD---. BaoGt *binǰir* C106. BaoÑ *bəlǰir* CN49 ‘sparrow’. BaoX *bənǰir* BC62 ‘bird’. Kgj *binǰir ~ binǰirï* S283b. Dgx *bunƶu* B43, *bənƶu* B39 ‘small bird; sparrow’.

*__bïrau__ (as based on Kh, Ord, Kalm) ‘calf’. Interestingly Bur, Brg, and Khamnigan *boro:* (Janhunen 26) reflect a form **burau* in which the **ï* was lost without a trace. This form is confirmed by MMo, but it is ore likely that the original form had **ï*. Agricultural term related to CT **buzagu* (*?*bïzagu*). Cf. **tugul*.

MMo SH *bura’u* H22, HY---, Muq *buru:* P126 ‘three-year-old calf’. WM *birayu(n)* L106a ‘calf in its second year’. Kh *byaruu(n)* H100b. Chakhar *bɪrɵ:* D174a. Ord *biru:* M70a. Bur *buruu*, *buruun* C114b. Brg *bʊrʊ:* U79. Kalm *bürü* M130. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *buru:* X52. MgrM *pirù* P420b, *burər* DS210. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---, cf. Zirni *buraul* 20:6, *burayul* 20:8.

*__bïsïun__ ‘quick, lively, smart’. ?cf. CT **bïšïg* ‘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 *bʊšʊ:* U78 ‘quick, nimble’. Kalm *bušu:* R63b. Dag *bɔšɔ:n* E82 ‘(of a child) healthy and lively’. Remaining lgs---.

*__bičі-__ ‘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*/*arəm*. The Monguoric languages use **ǰïru-*.

MMo SH *bici-* H15, HY *bičі-* M40, Muq *bičі-* P118b. WM *bičі-* L101b. Kh *bičix* H63. Kalm *bičx* M102a. Bur *beše-* C136a. Brg *biš-* U72. Dag---. EYu *pəčə-* B39. Mgr--- [see **bičig*]. BaoD *pućǐ-* BL86b. BaoÑ *pəći-* CN54. Kgj *pəči-* S284a. Dgx *piƶï-* B47, L114b. Mog *bičі-* 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 *puʒ́ig* X57. MgrM *puʒ́iġ* JL467. BaoD---. BaoÑ *pəći* (sic) CN54. BaoX *pəǰəg* BC66. Kgj *pəčiʉ* 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 *bʉdʉ:n ~ bʉdi:n* M101b, *bidʉ:n* M68a. Bur *büdüün* C121b. Brg *budu:ŋ* U82. Kalm *bödün* M113b. Dag *budu:n* E87. EYu *bodü:n* B35, *budü:n* J98b. MgrH *budən* J98b. MgrM *beduŋ* JL477, *bieduŋ* C375. BaoD *bəiduŋ* BL86a, *beduŋ* BL37. BaoÑ *bedəŋ* CN51. BaoX *bɛdoŋ* BC64. Kgj *bedʉŋ* S283b, *bədʉŋ* S19. Dgx *bieduŋ* B40. Mog *beidʉ: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 *bilʉ:* M70a. Bur *bülyüü* [written *bülyuu*] C123a. Brg *bulʲu:* U81, *bilʉ:* S151. Kalm *bülü* M127b. Dag---. EYu *bʉləi* B36, *bʉlʉ:* BJ321, *bulü:* J98a. MgrH *buliu:* J98b. MgrM *biliau* JL465. BaoD *bŭlu* BL86a. BaoÑ *bəlu* CN49. BaoX *bəlu* BC64. Kgj *bəliau ~ bʉliau* S283a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***bisire-** ‘to believe in; to revere, worship’. Dgx *-ś-* instead of expected *-ʂ-*. Cf. **itege-*.

MMo SH *buśire-* 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 *śüre:-* X158, *śʒ́üre:-* 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 *boɣo-* L111a. Kh *boox* H71a. Ord *bo:-* M72a. Bur *booxo* C105a. Brg *bɔ:-* U73. Kalm *boox* M109b. Dag only in *bɔ:ǰ uɣ*^{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 *boɣorsoɣ* L113a, *boɣorčoɣ* L113a. Kh *boorcog* H71a. Ord *bo:rsoq* M81b. Bur *boorsog* C105a. Brg *bɔ:rsɔg* U73. Kalm *boorcg*, *boorsg* M109b. Dag---. EYu *bu:rsaġ* B34, J74. MgrH *bo:rʒɔġ* X48. MgrM *borsok* P421b, *puʒïġo* DS224b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *bərsəġ* CN52---. BaoX *barsaġ* 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, *boɣar* P120a, *boɣur* P120b, *bo'or-* P121a. WM *boɣos* 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 *bosï* 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---.

***boganï** 'low, short (not tall)'. There are several unexpected forms. A metathesized form **bogïna* 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 *bəġdə*. Perhaps cf. CT **bokay*.

MMo SH *boqoni-t-qa-* H17 'to lower', HY *boqoni* M42, Muq *boɣani* P120a. WM *boɣoni* L113a. Kh *bogino* H64b. Ord *boġoni ~ boġono* M74a, *bogino* M73b. Bur *bogoni* C96a. Brg *bɔyɪnʸ* U75. Kalm *boɣn'* M103a. Dag *bɔɣunʸ* E81. EYu *bɔğɔnɔ* B34, *bɔğɔnə* B33, *boğonə* J98a. MgrH *boġnə* J98b, *boġʊn ~ buġʊn* X48/49, *buġun* L51. MgrM *boğoliŋ* DS235a. BaoD *boɣoluŋ* BL86b. BaoJ *boğolúŋ* L17. BaoGm *bəġñəŋ* CN86:17. BaoÑ *bəġni ~ bəġdə* CN52. Kgj *bəğəni ~ bɔğɔni ~ bağəni* S283a. Dgx *boğoni* B42, *boɣoni* 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. **bögse*, **kondalaï*, **konjïasun*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *baqa'ur* P111a, *baɣa'ur-* P163a (could also be read with *-u-* in the unvocalised first syllable), also *asabaqu:r* P106b with unknown first element, IV *baɣaɣur* (sic) L17, RH *baɣaɣur* (sic) 199A13. WM *buqur* L143a. Kh *buxuur* H87a. Ord *buχu:r* M92a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *bɔɣɔ:r* E80. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD *boġor* BL86a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *bɔğɔr ~ bɔğɔ* S283b 'female genitals'. Dgx *boğo* B41. Mog *buɣa:r* R24b, MogM *boɣɒ:r* L62:18.

***bokï** / ***mokïn** '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 *box'* H73b. Bur *moxi(n)* C301a 'tree resin'. Kalm *mokn* M354b. Dag *bɔkʸ* E80 'rosin, colophony'. EYu *pɔġ* 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. EYu *bɔl-* B34, *bol-* J98b. MgrH *olə-* J98b, *o:li-* SM296. MgrM *boř-* T318, *bər-* DS210a ‘can’. BaoD *ol-* BL52 ‘to become’. BaoÑ *ɵl-* 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 *bolɣa-* (caus.) P1267 ‘to cook’. WM *bol-* L115a. Kh *bolox* H69a. Bur *boloxo* C102a. Kalm *bolx* M107a. Dag *bɔl-* E81. EYu *bɔl-* B34. MgrH *balə-* X45, *bɔlə-* X48. MgrM *bar-* T374, *boř-* T318. BaoD *bol-* BL13. BaoÑ *bɵl-* CN52 ‘to ripen (grain)’. Kgj *bɔr-* S283b. Dgx *bolu-* B42. Mog *bol-* R24b, *bol-* W161a.

*__bolgan__ ‘all, every’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *bolɣan* L117a. Kh *bolgon* H67a. Ord *bolġon* M78a. Bur *bolgon* C99a. Brg *bɔlgɔŋ* U74. Kalm *bolɣn* M105. Dag *bɔlɣ*^{w} E82. EYu *bɔlğɔn* B34, *bolğon* J54. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *aliğaŋ boğoŋ* B3 ‘no matter which, whichever’, *kieğaŋ boğoŋ* B75 ‘whoever’ (cf. **alï* ‘which’, **ken* ‘who’). Mog---.

*__bora__ ‘grey’. Note also the feminine derivation **boragčïn*, as in MMo SH *boroqcin* H19 ‘chick’, MgrH *burɔġśźi:* 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 *bɔr* U75. Kalm *bor* M110b. Dag *bɔr* (in compounds only) E83, *bɔr* Z96a ‘brown’. EYu *bɔrɔ* 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 *boroɣa(n)* L121b. Kh *boroo(n)* H72a. Ord *boro:n* M81a. Bur *boroo* C106a, *boroon* (lit) C106b. Brg *bɔrɔ:* U75. Kalm *boraan* M110b. Dag---. EYu *bɔrɔ:n* B34 ‘precipitation, rain or snow’, *boro:* J89. MgrH *buro:n* X52. Bao *bora* [*asxaǰi*] 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. EYu *pɔs-* B40, *pos-* J98b. MgrH *posə-* J98b, *bosə-* X48, *basə-* X45, *pasə-* X54. MgrM *bosï-* JL467. BaoD *osï-* BL86a, *os-* BL75. BaoÑ *ɵs-* ~ *ɵʂ-* CN18, *wər-* CN230. Kgj *bɔs-* S283b. Dgx *bosï-* B42, L114b. Mog *bos-* R24b, *bos-* 161a.

*__bosaga__ ‘threshold’. Kh and Ord suggest an alternant **bosïga*, Bur a metathesized form **bogasa*; Dagur points at **bosarga* (as do Northern Tungus forms). The meaning in the Muqaddimat is reminiscent of Khamnigan (Kőhalmi 187, and footnote 7).

MMo SH *bosoqa* H20, HY *bosoqa* M43, Muq (*de:dü*) *bosaɣa* P141b ‘lintel’, *bosaqa* P143b ‘door frame’. WM *bosoɣa* L122b. Kh *bosgo* H72a, *bošgo* H73b. Ord *bošoġo* M83a. Bur *bogoho* C96b. Brg *bɔgʊ:* U73. Kalm *bosg* M111b, *bosxa* M112a. Dag *basrəɣ* E71. EYu---. MgrH *bosġo* J98b, *posġʊ* X56. MgrM *bosġo* JL469. Remaining lgs---.

*__botaga(n)__ ‘camel foal’. CT **boto* ‘id’.

MMo SH *botoqan* H20, HY---, Muq *botaɣan* P122b, *botaɣa* P245a. WM *botoɣa*, *botoɣo(n)* L123a. Kh *botgo* H73a. Ord *botoġo* M83b. Bur *botogo(n)* C107a. Brg *bɔtɔg* U74. Kalm *botxn* M112b. Dag---. EYu *bɔtɔğɔn* 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 *bədənʸ* E76. EYu---. MgrH *puduri* ~ *puduru* (?=) SM305. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog: Hazara *bə:danə* (etc) L62:21.

*__böe__ ‘shaman, sorcerer’. Cf. CT **bögü* ‘id’. Cf. **ïdugan*.

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---.

*__böelǰi-__ ‘to vomit’. This form is confirmed by the three literary central languages. Most of QG (and one of the MMo forms in Muq) suggest **böelǰe-*. Cf. **ogsï-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bö’ölǰe-* P123b, *bö:lǰi-* P124a. WM *bögelǰi-* L124a. Kh *bööljix* H75b. Ord *bö:lǰi-* M86b. Bur *bööložexe* C107b. Brg *bo:lǰ-* U79. Kalm *bööljx* M114b. Dag *bə:lǰ-* E74. EYu *böljö-* B35. MgrH *bo:lʒ́o-* J99a. MgrM *barʒ́e-* C374. BaoD *banʒ́i-* BL86b. BaoÑ *bəlʒ́a-* CN52. Kgj *bərǰi-* S284a. Dgx *banʒə-* 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 *taulʸe: bʉə:r* NK502b ‘chestnut’, lit. ‘hare’s kidney’ as in Kh *tuulayn böör* ‘chestnut’. CT **bögür(-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 *pü:re* B41, *pö:rö* (Qinglong dial) BJ350, *pi:re* J99a. MgrH *bo:ro* J99a. MgrM */bori/ = boʐï* C375. BaoD *borə* BL86b. BaoÑ *bə:rə* CN52. Kgj *bəre* S284a. Dgx *boro* B43. Mog *böärə* R24b.

***böesüg** ~ ***böesün** ‘testicle’. In EYu and BaoÑ 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 *bəisən* B32 ‘testicles’. BaoÑ *bə:səŋ* (?=) CN51 ‘spleen’.

***böesün** ‘louse’. MgrM *bəsïgə* F102:36 ‘lice’ seems to be *bəsï 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 *böös(ön)* H76a. Ord *bö:s(ʉ)* M88b. Bur *bööhe(n)* C108a. Brg *buxə:* U80. Kalm *böösn* M115a. Dag *bu:s* E84. EYu *bəisən* B32, *bü:sən* BJ322, J99a. MgrH *bo:sə* J99a. MgrM *bo:sï* C169 (and see above). BaoD *bosuŋ* BL86a. BaoÑ *bə:səŋ* CN51. Kgj *bəsʉn ~ bə:sʉn* S284a. Dgx *bosuŋ* B42. Mog *busu* W161b, MogM/Mr *bə:sʉ̇n* L62:21.

***bögle-** ‘to stop up; to block, barricade’. More frequently attested than its base **bög* ‘stop, plug’, which survives in Ord and Mog.

MMo SH *bokle-* H17, HY---, Muq---. WM *bögle-* L125b. Kh *böglö*x 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 *bʉg* R25a ‘stopper, cork’.

***bögse** ‘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---. BaoÑ *bərke* (via **bəske*) CN52. Kgj *besge* S283b. Dgx---. Mog---.

böǰen** (?böǰeŋ**) ‘young hare’. Ord and EYu support **böǰeŋ* with non-high vowel and *-ŋ*. Kh *-ǰ-* indicates an earlier form **böǰin*; *-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 *böǰen* [P: *bučan*] P357a. WM *böǰün* (*böǰön*) L128b. Kh *böǰin* H74b. Ord *böǰöŋ* M84a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *bööǰn* M114b. Dag---. EYu *peǰeŋ* 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*^{h}*gö* S162. MgrH *buko* L52. MgrM *boko bari-* (Sanchuan) P411a ‘to wrestle’, *woko bari-* DS261b (cf. **barï-*). 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 *bögdəg* (?=) B35 ‘mosquito’. MgrH *pugunaġ* 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 *buldəg* U81 ‘penis’. Kalm *böld*^{ö}*gn* R56a ‘female genitals’. Dag *bəlluɣ*^{w} ~ *bəlduɣ*^{w} E76. EYu---. MgrH *burdu:* SM35 ‘penis (of children and animals)’, cf. *bu:də* X49, L49 ‘boy’s penis’. MgrM *pərdəġ* DS255, (Sanchuan) *purduk* P422a ‘testicles’. BaoÑ *bəldəg* (?=) CN49 ‘ball’. Kgj---. Dgx *paoda* (?=) MC316a ‘scrotum’. Mog *buldaŋ* R25a ‘penis’, cf. also Mog *buydot* (?=) W161b ‘id’.

***bös** ‘(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 *bʉs* M, *bös* M88b. Bur *büd* C121a. Brg *bud* U82. Kalm *bös* M115a. Dag *bur*^{y} E88. EYu *pes* B39, J12, *pös* J5. MgrH *bos* X48. MgrM *bosï* C374. Bao---. Kgj *bəsï* S284a. Dgx *ˈbosï* B42. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *bʉz* (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’, *bʉtege* 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 *podoġo* SM303 ‘gizzard’. MgrM *piedigər* 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 *ʂʒal-* has been compared to WM *siǰala-* 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, *bučalɣa-* P124a. WM *bučal-* L129a. Kh *buclax* H87b, *bucalgax* H87b. Ord *bučal-* M100b. Bur *busalxa* C116a. Brg *bʊsal-*, *bʊslag-* U78. Kalm *buslx*, *buslgx* M122a. Dag *bačil-* E71, *bačilɣa:-* E71. EYu *hčəlğa-* B53, *pəǰalğa-* J17. MgrH *śʒolə-* X160, *śʒolga-* X160,

ś́ʒ́üeli- SM392, *ś́ʒ́ieli-* SM389, *ś́ʒ́ieliġa- ~ ś́ʒ́ierġa-* SM390, *ś́ʒ́üeliġa- ~ ś́ʒ́üerġa-* SM392. MgrM *pućar-* C393, *bičilga-* P414b, *piʒ́ierġa-* DS207. BaoD *ʒ́iale-* BL79, *ʒ́iəle-* BL60. BaoÑ *ʂ́ʒ́al-* CN152, *hʒ́al-* CN73 'to cook'. BaoX *ʒ́al-* CN86:222. Kgj *ǰe- ~ ǰeŗ-* (?=) S302b, *ǰiğa- ~ ǰağa-* (?=) S303a. Dgx *puʐalu-* B48, *puʐaluğa-* B49, *puʐağa-* B48. Mog *bučo:l-* R24b, *bičol-* W160b (and causatives).

***budaan** 'grain, groats; porridge; meal'.

MMo SH *buda'an* H20, HY *buda'an* M43, Muq *buda:n* P247a. WM *budaɣa(n)* L129b. Kh *budaa* H77b. Ord *buda:* M89a. Bur *budaa* C109a. Brg *bʊda:* 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 *badaŋ* ('Tongren') T134. Kgj *budɔ* S284a. Dgx *budaŋ* 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 *bʊd-* 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 *buduɣ* L130a. Kh *budag* H78a. Ord *buduq* M90a. Bur *budag* C109a. Brg *bʊdag* U78. Kalm *budg* M116a. Dag *bɔdɔ:r* E83. EYu *buduġ* B36, *budoġ* J98a. MgrH *budəġ* J98a. MgrM *budag* T319. Remaining lgs---.

***bugu** 'deer'.

MMo SH *buqu* H21, HY *buqu* M43, Muq *buɣu-* P124b. WM *buɣu* L131a 'male deer'. Kh *buga* H77b. Ord *buġu* M91b. Bur *buga* C108b. Brg *bʊg* U76. Kalm *bug* M115b. Dag *bɔɣ*^{w} E81. EYu *bɔğɔ* S166 'deer', *bɔğɔ* B33 'deer chess (a kind of board game)'. MgrH *buġu* S166. MgrM *bogu* P416a. Remaining lgs---.

***buïla** '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 *buyla* H79a. Ord *buĭla* M92b, *bu:li* (?< Oir) M95a. Bur *buyla* C109b. Brg *bʊilag* U76. Kalm *buul'* M123b. Remaining lgs---.

***buǰar** 'dirt; dirty'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *buǰar* L143a. Kh *buzar* H79a. Bur *buzar* C109a. Brg *bʊʒar* U78. Kalm *buzr* M116b. Dag *baǰir* E72. EYu---. MgrH *buʒ́ira:-* X52 'to become dirty'. Remaining lgs---.

*__buka__ ‘bull’. Agricultural term related to CT **buka* (*?*bu:ka, ?*bukka*) ‘id’. BaoÑ *warχan* 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 *bʊx* U76. Kalm *bux* M124. Dag *baɣ* E70. EYu *pəɣqa* B39, *puġa* J98b. MgrH *puġa* J98b. MgrM *puġa* Z338:346, *pïka* P411b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *warχan* (?=) 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 *bʊl-* U77. Kalm *bul-* R60a. Dag *bal-* E70. EYu *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 *bʊlag* U77. Kalm *bulg* M117b. Dag *bula:r* E85. EYu *bulaġ* B35, J98a. MgrH *bulaġ* J98a. MgrM *bulaġ* JL477, *buləġ* DS252b. BaoD *bulaġ ~ balaġ* BL86b. BaoGt *bȧləxə* C101. BaoÑ *bəlaġ* CN49. BaoX *balaġ* 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 *bulaġa* M93b. Bur *bulga(n)* C111a. Brg *bʊlag* U77. Kalm *bulɣn* M118a. Dag *baləɣ* E70. EYu *balağan* B31, *bulağan* S168 ‘marten’. MgrH *bulġa* S168 ‘marten’. Remaining lgs---.

*__bulaŋgïr__ ‘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’ŋɣr* M119b. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. MgrM *pelenkur* P416b. Bao---. Kgj *bəlaŋgar ~ bʉlaŋgar* S283a. Dgx *bulaŋġəi* B44. Mog---.

*__bulčïrkaï__ ‘gland’. Perhaps related to **bulčïn* ‘muscle’ (not listed here), unless the first vowel was really *ï*, as suggested by MMo. The Dgx form lacks the ending *-kAi*. Alternatively it could be related to Kalm *buljr* 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 *bulčarχä:* M96b, *balčarχä:* M48b. Bur *bulšarxay* C112b. Brg *bʊlširxai* U77. Kalm *bul’črxa* M119b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *paźærġai* X54 ‘lymph node’. MgrM *barćiġai* JL467. Bao (unmarked dial) *bənćiġi* S169. Kgj---. Dgx *binçï* (?=) MC39b ‘lymph node’. Mog---.

*__bulï-__ / *__bulïa-__ ‘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 *bʊlʲa-* U77. Kalm *bulax* M117b. Dag *bəlʲe:-* E75, *bəlʲe:-* Z96a ‘to snatch, seize’, cf. the reciprocal *bəlʲe:lč-* E75, *bəlʲe: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. BaoÑ *bəl-* CN49. Kgj *bəli- ~ bʉli-* 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 *bulŋ* M118b. Dag---. EYu *buləŋ* J98a ‘corner’, BJ321 ‘river valley’. MgrH *buloŋ* J98a. MgrM---. Bao---, perhaps survives in BaoD *deraŋbəltə* 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 *burčaɣ* L137b. Kh *buurcag* H86b. Ord *burčaq* M98a. Bur *buursag* C118a ‘seed, fruit (of a plant)’. Brg *boršog* U75. Kalm *burčg* M121b. Dag *bərčɔ:* (sic) E84. EYu *pərćaġ* B39, *pərǰaġ* J98a. MgrH *puʒaġ* J99a. MgrM *puʒiġ* C376 ‘bean/pea’. BaoD *pućiaχ* BL86a. BaoGt *pəćiġ* C149. BaoÑ *pəćaġ* CN54 ‘bean; pea’. Kgj *pəǰəġ* S284a. Dgx *puʒa* L114b, B48, *pïʒa* 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 *burġasu* M98b. Bur *burgaaha*(*n*) C113a ‘&c’. Brg *bʊrga*: U79 ‘willow twig, wicker’. Kalm *burysn* M120a ‘pussy-willow’. Dag *baryaːs* E73 ‘willow twig, wicker’, *baryaːs məːd* Z45 ‘willow’. EYu---. MgrH *burġaːsə* 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 *bʊrxaŋ* U79. Kalm *burxn* M121b. Dag *barkən* E73. EYu *pərqan* B39, *pərġan* J89. MgrH *purġaːn* X58. MgrM *purġaŋ* 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 *buruʼu* H23, HY *buruʼu* M44, Muq *buru:* P126a. WM *buruɣu* L138b. Kh *buruu* H83a. Ord *buru:* M99a. Bur *buruu* C114a. Brg *bʊrʊː* U79. Kalm *buru* M121a, *bürü:* (rare) R69a. Dag *bərɔː* E83. EYu *burui* B36, *börü:* J98b, *burü*

S170. MgrH *muru:* X128, *buru:* L57. MgrM---. BaoD *boro* BL86b. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *buru* B44. Mog---.

***busï (?*bïsï)** ‘(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 **bïsï* is based on the assumption that **busï* and **busu* may be related. As the two words are morphologivcally 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 **busï* 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’, *buśi* H24 ‘other; not’, HY *busu* M44 ‘(is) not; other’, Muq *biši* P119b ‘other’, Ph *buši* P121a ‘other’. WM *busu* L140b ‘other (...); not (...)’, *bisi* 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’. *bɔs* U74 ‘not’. Kalm *biš* M102b ‘(is) not; other’, *bus* (lit.) M122a ‘other’. Dag *bišin* E78 ‘other; not’. EYu *puš* B40, *pušə* J98b ‘is not’, suffixed also *-šə*. MgrH *puśi:*, *puśa* J98b ‘is not’. MgrM *puʒï* JL467 ‘is not’. BaoD *śi*/*śo* BL86b ‘is not’. BaoÑ *śi* CN155, *śo* CN159. BaoGt *ʂï* CN86:297. Kgj *bɯ̈ši ~ bəši* S283a ‘is not’, (*te*) *busun* S283a ‘other’. Dgx *puʂï* B48 ‘is not’, *pəsədu* (pl) B46 ‘others’, *puˈsədu*, *puˈsəʒï* 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, *budχara-* (?=) M90a. Bur *butarxa* C117a. Kalm *butrx* M122b. Dag *bata:ra-* (sic) NK477a. EYu---. MgrH *pudəra:-* X57. MgrM *budəraġa-* (caus.) DS215b ‘to damage’. Bao---. Kgj *pudəra- ~ pudara- ~ pudra-* S284b. Dgx *putura-* B48. Mog---.

***buudaï** ‘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 **arbaï* ‘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 **budaa* ‘groats, porridge’ above.

MMo SH---, HY *bu’udai* M44, Muq *buɣdai* P124b. WM *buɣudai* L131a, *buudai* L142a. Kh *buuday* H85b. Ord *bu:dä:* M90a, *buidä:* M92a. Bur---. Brg *bɔ:dɔi* U73. Kalm *buudya* M132a ‘grain’. Dag---. EYu *bogdüi* P418. MgrH *bu:də* J98a. MgrM *bidi* C375. BaoD *baoġdəi* BL86b. BaoÑ *bəġdi* CN52. BaoX *boġdi* BC64.

Kgj *bəġdi ~ baġdi* S283a. Dgx *baudəi* B35, *baodəi* L114a. Mog *buɣdäi* R24b, *bʉydäi* 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 *buɣurul* L132a, *buɣural* L131a. Kh *buural* H86b. Ord *buural* M97b, *buurul* M99a. Bur *buural* C118a. Brg *bo:ral* U76. Kalm *buurl* M123b. Dag *bɔ:rul* E80. EYu *bu:ral* B35. Shirongol---.

***bü** (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 **bʉtegei* below is peculiar, especially the disagreement among the Shirongol languages. Bao and Kgj favour **bʉtegei*, as does EYu.

MMo SH *bu* H20, HY bu M43, Muq *bü* (so read) P182b, Ph *bu* P121a. WM *buu* L141b, *büü* L153a. Kh *büü* H94a. Ord *bu:* (according to Mostaert ←WM) M88b. Bur *bü* C119b. Brg *bu:* U81. Kalm *bü* (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.

***büdüri-** 'to stumble'. The WM spelling with *-l-* is supported by Dgx, and by Manchu *bulduri-* (~ *buduli-*). The Dgx form with *-ʒ́-* rather suggests an earlier form **büdiri-* < **büderi-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *büdüri-*, *büdüre-* L144b, *büldüri-* L145b. Kh *büdrex* H88b. Ord *bʉdʉr(e)-* M101b. Bur *büderxe* C122a. Brg *budər-* U82. Kalm *büdrx* M126a. Dag *budər-*, *budir-* E87. EYu *bʉdʉr-* B36. MgrH *budərə-* X52, *pudərə-* X57. MgrM *buduri-* T319. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *buʒ́iri-* B44, *bïnʒ́irəi-* MC38b. Mog---.

***büǰi-** 'to dance', ***büǰig** '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 *böǰi-* M43, Muq *böǰi-* [so read] P123a. WM *büǰi-*, *büǰig* L153a. Kh *büǰig* H89a. Bur *büžeg* C122a. Brg *buǰig* U83. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *buʒ́ig* L51. BaoÑ *buʒ́i-gu* (nomen futuri) CN53. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***büküli** 'all, every'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *bükü* P1265. WM *büküli* L145b. Kh *büxel* H94b. Ord *bʉkʉli* M102b. Bur *büxeli* C128a. Kalm *bükl* M126b. Dag *buɣulʲ* 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 *buĭla* (sic) M92b. Bur *müyle* C305a. Brg *buil* U80. Kalm *büül* M131b. Dag *buil* E84. EYu *bʉile* B36. MgrH *bo:lə* X47. Remaining lgs---.

*__bülien__ ‘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 **bülien-bir* (or *-bür*) ‘warmish’; the Baoan forms could stem from another diminutive **bülieken*.

MMo SH *bule’en* H21, HY *büli’en* M44, Muq---, IV---, LV---, Ph---. WM *büliyen* L146b, *büligen* L146b. Kh *büleen* H90b. Chakhar *bulʸə̃:* D175b. Ord *bʉle:n* M102b, also *bʉlgen* M103b. Bur *bülyeen* C122a. Brg *bulʸə:ŋ* U81. Kalm *bülän* M126b. Dag *bulun* E85. EYu *bələmbər* B32, J98b. MgrH *bule:n* J98b. BaoD *bəlgan* BL86b. BaoÑ *belġaŋ* CN51. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__bülǰeg__ ‘(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 **bögeǰi* ‘ring, etc’, but this is not otherwise attested in QG.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bilesük* (←Turkic) P119a. WM *bilečüg ~ bilüčüg ~ biličeg ~ bilüčeg ~ bülečeg ~ bülüčüg ~ bilisüg* L105b. Kh *bölzög* H74b. Ord *bʉleǰik*, *bʉlǰik* M102b, *béleǰik* M64a. Bur *behelig* C135a. Brg *bulʸǰu*: (sic) U82. Kalm *bilcg* M100a. Dag---. EYu *pelezək* B33. Mgr---. BaoGm *bəlʒïg* CN86:16. BaoÑ *belʒəg* CN51. BaoX *bəġźi* (?=) CN86:16. Remaining lgs---.

*__bültei-__ ‘to stare, glare, to open one’s eyes wide’. EYu may instead stem from back-vocalic **bultaï-* ‘to protrude’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *bülteyi-* L147a. Kh *bültiyx* H90a. Bur *beltïxe* C131b, *bültïxe* C122b. Brg *bulti:-* U81. Kalm *bültix* M127a. Dag *bulti:-* E86. EYu *palti:-* (sic, ?=) B39. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *bənźi-* 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 *bərgə́* L14. BaoÑ *bərge* CN50. BaoX *bərgə* BC65. Kgj *bərgi* S283b. Dgx *bəŋğə* B39. Mog---.

*__büri__ ‘every, all, whole’.

MMo SH *buri*, *burin* H22, HY *büri*, *bürin* 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 *bʉri* B36, *βurü* J54, cf. also ook EYu *bʉrən* BJ322 ‘complete, intact’. MgrH *bur* (sic) X52, *bi:ri* (sic) L45. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *mərа* CN118, *mərta* CN119. BaoX *maru* BC69, *mərəg* CN86:285. Kgj *bʉrʉ* 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 *burkʰig* P121a ‘darkness’. WM *bürkü-* L150a, *bürke-* L149b. Kh *bürxex* H91b.

Ord *bʉrkʉ-* M105b. Bur *bürxexe* C125a. Brg *burəx-* U83. Kalm *bürkx* M129a. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD *biğə-* 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 *bʉrkʉ-* R25a.

***bürküer** and ***bürküür** ‘lid, cover’. EYu and MgrH must be from **bükeer* < **bürkeer* < **bürküer*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bürkü:r* P128a. WM *bürkegül ~ bürkügül* L150a/b, also *bürkeger* L150a. Kh *bürxeer* H91b ‘a kind of cone-shaped headgear, etc’, *bürxüül* H91b ‘cover’. Ord *bʉrke:r* M105a, *bʉrkʉ:l* M105b. Bur *berxeer* C134a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *pʉke:r* B40, *puger* J93b. MgrH *puger* X56. MgrM---, but cf. *bərgəsï* DS234a, *bergesï* 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 *piʑi* is more reminiscent of **büči* ‘string, cord’ (not listed here), but *-ʑ-* 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 *piʑi-li-* DS207a (to wear a belt). BaoD *se* BL86a. BaoGt *suɛ* C110. BaoJ *suɛ* L160. BaoÑ *se* CN130. BaoX *sɛ* BC31. Kgj *pʉse ~ pəse* S284b. Dgx *piśie* 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 *behete* C135a, EYu *sötə* S264.

MMo SH--- H, HY---, Muq---. WM *büsegüi* L151a. Kh *büsgüy* H92b. Bur *behegüy* C135a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *pʉsəɣui* B40, *pəsəɣui* 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 *bʉte-* M107a ‘to suffocate’, *bʉtʉ-* (sic) M107b ‘to be covered’. Bur *bütexe* C126b. Kalm *bütx* M131b. Dag *but-* E86. EYu *pʉte-* B40, *pude-* J16. MgrH *pudɘ:-* 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 *bičä* M100b, *bičkä* (?=) M101a. EYu *ᵽutə* B41, *pudə* J99a. Mgr---. BaoD *təkə* BL86b. BaoÑ *təgə* CN162. BaoX *təgə* BC63. Kgj *bᵽde ~ bᵽdeğei* S284a. Dgx (only) *butəği* Na (1988:100). Mog---.

büteü** (?biteü**) 'double handful'. Kmg *bᵽtᵽ* Kőhalmi 187.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *büte'ü* P274a, *bütün* (*?bütü:n*) P129b. WM---. Kh *bitüü* LC 1:246b 'handful', cf. Chakhar *bitu:* D173b. Ord *bitᵽ:* 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 *pəʒ́ie* L114b, *piśiu* (sic) B47 'double handful', cf. *piśiulie-*, *piʒ́iulie-* B47 'to hold in both hands'. Mog: cf. Hazara *bᵽtəu* (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 *botŏn* D175a. Ord *bᵽtᵽ-* M107b. Bur *bütexe* C126a. Kalm *bütx* M131b. Dag *but-* E86. EYu *ᵽutə-* BJ339, *putə-* J98b, *pudə-* J76. MgrH---. MgrM *pudu-* DS253b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *pudu-* B48, MC323a. Mog *bᵽtᵽ-* R25a.

***bütün** 'complete, whole, entire; all'. Cf. also the following words, which have developed differently in spite of the relatable meaning: *budu:n* J52, *bᵽdən* B41 'most (superlative marker)', EYu *budutə* B36 'especially', Dgx *budəi* MC44b 'extraordinary, -ily, unusual, especially, very', *budəidə* MC44b 'especially, etc'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bütün* P129a, cf. *bütü:* P99b 'q.v.'. WM *bütün* L152b. Kh *büten* H93a. Ord *bᵽtᵽn* M108a. Bur *büten* C126a 'whole, etc'. Kalm *bütn* M131a. Dag *butun*. EYu *ᵽutən* B41, *pətən* J98b. MgrH---. MgrM *puduŋ* C375. BaoD *putuŋ* BL86b. BaoX *putoŋ* BC69. BaoÑ *putөŋ* CN55. Kgj *ᵽutᵽn ~ ᵽutə* 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 *bᵽ:rge* M104a. Bur *büürge* C127a. Brg *bu:rəg* U80. Kalm *büürg* M132a. Dag *bu:ruʒ*^{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 **čïna-*, q.v., have become confused and they are treated as spelling variant by Lessing. Cf. **čïna-* 'the other side'.

MMo SH *ca'ada* H24 'close, near', HY---, Muq---. WM *čaɣadu* 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 *ćada* CN183 'near'. BaoX *čataŋ* BC67. Kgj *čada* S300a. Dgx *ç̣ada* B158 'near'. Mog---.

***čaa-gsï** 'to(wards) that side'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čaɣasi* L158b. Kh *caaš* H735b. Bur *saaša* C378b. Brg *sa:ša:* U150. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *čagšə* B133 'towards that side'. MgrH *taġ̣ə* SM406 ~ *ćaġ̣ə* SM442. Remaining lgs---.

***čaa-na** 'farther, yonder'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čaɣana* L158a, *čiɣana* L178a. Kh *caana* H735a. Bur *saana* C377b. Kalm *can'* (?=) M625a (**čaa nï*). 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 *čaɣasu(n)* L159a, *čaɣalsu(n)* L158a. Kh *caas(an)* H735b. Ord *ča:s(u)* M696b. Bur *saarha(n)* C378b. Brg *sa:rɔ:* U150, *sa:s* (←Kh) U150. Kalm *caasn* M621a. Dag *ča:s* E292. EYu *ča:sə* B132, J106a. MgrH *ća:lʒə* J106b, X202, *ća:lsə* X202, *ća:ʒə ~ ća:rʒə* SM441/443. MgrM *ç̣arsï* JL473. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čabčï**- '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 *cavčix* H737b. Ord *ǰabči-* M177b. Bur *sabšaxa* C380a. Kalm *čavčx* M644a. Dag *čerč-* E297, *čirč-* Z104a. EYu *ǰabčə-* B142, *ǰabčə-* J106a, *ǰabǰə-* J75. MgrH *ćabʒ́ə-* J106b, *ćæb(ś)ʒ́ə-* X203. MgrM *čiabči-* T378, *ćærʒ́i-* C167. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ʒ́abći-* CN195. Kgj *čeči- ~ čeŗči-* S300a. Dgx *ç̣ïʒ̈ï-* 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^{h}adu-* P121b. WM *čad-* L156a. Kh *cadax* H740b. Bur *sadaxa* C382b. Brg *sad-*

U153. Kalm *cadx* M623b. Dag *čad-* E293. EYu *čad-* B133, J106a. MgrH *ćadə-* J106b. MgrM *ɕudu-* C392. BaoD *ćiadə-* BL93a. BaoÑ *ʒ́ad-* CN197, *ʒ́ar-* CN198. Kgj *čaᵚ-* ~*čeᵚ-* S300a. Dgx *ɕudu-* 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 *-ɣ^{y}* is unexpected, as is the *-u-* in Kgj. Chen Naixiong compares BaoD *čiχaŋ* BL74, BaoÑ *ćiχa:ź́i* CN185, *ćiχa:ŋ* CN186, BaoX *čixaŋ* BC70 'while, during'; cf. also Dgx *nie ɕağaŋ (~ nie ɕa)* B29 'a little while'. If these words are derived from **čag*, the further elements in these words are unclear The diminutive *-kAn* and (for *ćiχa:ź́i*) a petrified instrumental *-Ar* may be involved. Cf. CT **čag* 'id'.

MMo SH *cah* H25, HY *čaq* M45, Muq *čaq* P130b, Ph *č^{h}ak^{h}-* P121b. WM *čaɣ* L156b. Kh *cag* H737b. Ord *čaġ* M690a. Bur *sag* C380a. Brg *sag* U152. Kalm *cag* M621b. Dag *čeɣ^{y}* E297. EYu *čaġ* B133 'time', cf. also *čeg* (?=) B135 'hour'. MgrH *ćaġ* J106b, X202. MgrM *ɕaġ* JL473, *ɕɤğ* C391, *ɕɤ:* C385. Bao (see above). Kgj *čuq* S301a. Dgx *ɕa* L120a, also as in *un-ɕa* B23 'winter time' (cf. **übül*). Mog---.

***čagaan** 'white'. Probably related to **čaï-* 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 *čaqa:n* M45, Muq *čaɣa:n* P130a, *čaqa:n* P131a, *čiɣa:n* P133a, *čiqa:n* P251a, LV *čaqa:n* P1271, P1272, IV *čaɣa:n* L23, Ph *č^{h}aqa'an* P121b. WM *čaɣan* L158a. Kh *cagaan* H738a. Ord *čaġa:n* M691a. Bur *sagaa(n)* C381a. Brg *saga:ŋ* U152. Kalm *caɣan* M622b. Dag *čiɣa:(n)* E300. EYu *čəğa:n* B134, *čğa:n* B139, *čağa:n* J106a. MgrH *ćaġa:n* J106b, X202, *ćiġa:n* X205. MgrM *ɕaġaŋ* JL463, *ɕïğaŋ* C392, *čiġaŋ* T379. BaoD *ćiġaŋ* BL93b. BaoGt *ćixɔŋ* C142. BaoÑ *ćiχaŋ* CN186. BaoX *čiχaŋ* BC67. Kgj *čiχɔ ~ čɔχɔ* S300b. Dgx *ɕïğaŋ* B160. Mog *čaɣo:n* R8, *čʌğɔn* R161b.

***čaï-** '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 **čaɣ-ï-*.

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 *ći:-* X204, *će:-* X204. MgrM *durçai-* (*dur* < **üdür* 'day') DS215b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *čiχi:-* (?=) CN186. Kgj *či-* ~ *či:-* S300a. Dgx---. MogMr *čäi-* L68, No. 78.

***čakïrma** 'iris (flower), orchid'. Perhaps related but with other endings: WM *čakilday* L161b 'iris', Kh *caxildag* H748a 'iris'. Bur *saxilza* (*übhen*) C387a 'iris'. Kalm *cakldăġ* R420a '*Iris pumila*'. Perhaps there is a relationship with **čakïr* 'blue-eyed'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čakirma* L162a 'orchid', *čikirma čečeg* L182a 'orchid'. Kh *čaxirmaa* H748a 'orchid'. Ord *ǰakirmaq* M181a, *ǰarkimaq* M187b. Bur (see above). Kalm (see above). Dag *čikirm^{y}* (?=) E300 'fringed pink

(medicinal herb)'. EYu *ǰaχərmag* S565. MgrH *ćiʒirma:* X208, *ćiʒima* X208, *ćiʒima:r* L446. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ćamχa* CN183. Kgj *ćamġa* S300a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čakïur** 'flint; steel for flint; lighter; lightning'. From a verb **čakï-* 'to strike fire' which is found in fewer languages than this derivate; cf. CT **čak-* 'id'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH *čaqu:r* 204B26. WM *čakiɣur* L161b. Kh *caxir, caxiur* H748a 'flint, silica'. Bur *saxyuur* C387a 'flint'. Kalm *cäkür* M629a 'flint, etc'. Dag---. EYu *ǰaɣqu:r* B142 'flint'. MgrH *ćügur* X211 'lightning'. MgrM---. BaoD *ćüχor* BL87b 'flint', *ćiuχur* BL51 'lightning'. BaoÑ *ćaχər* CN183 'flint; lightning'. Kgj *čağər ~ čağur* 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 *daŋsuŋ* (possibly via **damsun*). MgrM *-ġ-* from **b* has a parallel in **nabčïn* 'leaf' and **tobčï* '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 **čaï-* 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 *ǰasu* M189b. Bur *saha(n)* C387b. Brg *saxa:* U151. Kalm *casn* M626b. Dag *čas* E293. EYu *ǰasən* B143, *časən* J106a. MgrH *ćasə* J106b. MgrM *ɕaġsï* JL470, *ćaġʒï* JL482, *čaχse* T378. BaoD *ćiasuŋ* BL93b. BaoÑ *ʒ́asəŋ* CN197. BaoX *ćabsəŋ* CN86:16. Kgj *časun* S300a. Dgx *ʒaŋsuŋ* B177, *ʒasuŋ* B178, *ɕasuŋ* B158. Mog *čo:sun* R25b, *čɔsun, čɔsu* 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**(**-kaï**) 'grasshopper, locust'. EYu suggests **čagčaakaï*, reminiscent of western forms like Dörbed *čagčä:xä:* (Vanduy 167a). The Shirongol forms stem from **čarčag*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čarča, čarčaɣa, čarčaɣai, čarčaqai* L185b. Kh *carcaa(n)* H746a, *carcaaxay* H746a. Ord *ǰarča:, ǰarča:χä:* M188a. Bur *sarsaa* (Kiaxta) C385b. Kalm *carcaxa* M626a. Dag *ča:rča:ki:* E83:174b 'cricket'. EYu *ǰagčaqai* BJ324, *ǰaġǰaχqai* J106a. MgrH *ća:rʒ́aġ* X202. MgrM---. BaoD *ʒ́iaʒ́iaχ* BL93b. BaoÑ *ćarćar* CN184. Kgj *ǰarǰa ~ ǰaɻča* S302b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čaul-** 'to tear to pieces' see s.v. ***čoal-**.

čečeg ‘flower’ often also ‘smallpox’, as in CT **čeček*.

MMo SH---, HY *čeček* M46, Muq *čeček* P133a. WM *čečeg* L168a, *čičig* L176a, *sečeg* L680a. Kh *ceceg* H773a. Ord *jičik* M205a. Bur *seseg* C404b. Brg *səsəg* U154. Kalm *cecg* M633b. Dag---. EYu *čečig* S568 (only). MgrH *ćiʒaġ* X208. MgrM *ćiʒiġ* C392, *čičeġ*, *čiǰaġ* T381 ‘flower’, *čeček* P417b ‘smallpox’. BaoD---. BaoGt *ćiʒï* C107. Kgj *čičiʉ* ~ *čiǰiʉ* S301a ‘flower; smallpox’. Dgx *ɕïʒə* B161 ‘flower; painting; cowpox’. Mog *čečȧk* R25b.

čečen ‘intelligent’ see ***sečen**.

čeeǰi ‘chest; memory’, cf. ***čeeǰile-*** ‘to recite from memory’. The Kalm *č-* instead of expected *c-* is perhaps due to the following palatal.

MMo SH *ce'eji* H26, HY---, Muq *če'eǰi* P238b, *če:ǰi* P132a, *če:ǰin* P132b, *čiyeǰi* P358b (different readings are possible). WM *čegeǰi(n)* L170a. Kh *ceeǰ* H773b. Ord *če:ǰi* M699b. Bur *seeže* C405b. Kalm *čeeǰ* M646b. Dag *čə:ǰil-* E294. EYu *čiǰə* B136 ‘human back’, *čiǰele-* B136. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *čɛiǰi* R25b.

čene- ‘to measure’. The MMo *-e-* in HY, and the Kh *c-* support **čene-*, but the derivate 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 *ćine:-* 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 *ɕər* 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^{h}erig*, *č^{h}érig* 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 *ćirəg* J105a, X209, *ćiraġ* X208. MgrM *ćirəġ* JL462. BaoD *ćiarəg* BL31. BaoGt *ćɛrï* C107. BaoÑ *ćerəg* CN184. BaoX *čərəg* BC74. Kgj *čiriʉ* S301a. Dgx *ɕïri* B86:115. Mog---.

čï ‘you (sing.)’. The vowel length in Dag is secondary. CM **čï* was back-vocalic originally, in view of its oblique stem **čïma-* and the plural counterpart **ta* ‘you

(pl.). Based on CM **ta* one may further assume that **čï* goes back to an earlier (PM) form **tï*, compare **bï* '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 *ćə* J105a, X209. MgrM *ći* C392. BaoD *ćĭ* BL93b. BaoÑ *ći* CN184. Kgj *či* S300a. Dgx *ɕï* B159. Mog *či* R25b.

***čïbugan** (?* **čïbagan**) 'jujube'. EYu and Bao suggest *-k-*. For the development of the EYu from with *-ɣq-*, cf. **dabkur*. The Kh and Bur forms appear to have developed from a form **čïbagan*, 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 *čibaɣa(n)* L174a, *čibuɣa* L175a. Kh *čavga(n)* H775a. Ord *čiwaġa* M709b. Bur *šabga* (in compounds, q.v.) C712a. Brg *šabag* U160. Kalm---, cf. Oirat *čabġa* (Čoyiǰungǰab & Gereltü, 234). Dag---. EYu *ǰuɣqan* B147. MgrH *ćuġa* X211, *ćauxa* L438, *ɕuġa* SM439. MgrM *ɕubuġa* JL481. BaoD---. BaoGt *ćimuġɔŋ* C104. BaoÑ *ćөŋχalma* (?< **čïbugan alïma*) CN189. BaoX *čoŋχaŋ* BC73. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *ćimχaŋ* S554. Dgx *ɕuɕuga* (sic, ?=) S554. Mog---.

***čïda**- '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*^{h}*ida-* 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 *ʂda-* J106a. MgrM *ćida-* C388, *čida-* T384. BaoD *da-* BL56. BaoÑ *ʂda-* CN149. BaoX *da:-* BC66. Kgj *šida-* ~ *šda-* S295b. Dgx *ʂïda-* B131. Mog *čidʌ-*, *čidɔ-* W162a, MogMr *čidɒ:-* L64:35. Note its negation *la-šta-* R33a, hence MogM *ɒ:šta-* L64:35.

***čïdku**- 'to pour'. Kh-Kalm *c-* suggests an early development > **čudku-*. EYu may go back to either form. Cf. **ki-*, **tüsür-*.

MMo SH *citqu-* H28, HY---, Muq *čitqu-* P135b. WM *čidqu-* L177b. Kh *cutgax* H763b. Ord *ǰudχu-* M215a. Bur *šudxaxa* C732b. Brg *šʊtax-* U170. Kalm *cutxx* M642a. Dag---. EYu *čədġu-* B135. Remaining lgs---.

***čïïrag** 'strong, sturdy, tight'. The *-ġ-* 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 **tïgrak*.

MMo SH---, HY *či'iraq* M47, Muq---. WM *čigiraɣ* L179b, *čigiireg* L179b. Kh *čiyreg* H785a. Ord *či:raq* M708a, also *čiraq*. Bur *šiirag* C726b. Brg *ši:rəg* U164, *sax*^{ɣ}*rag* (sic, ?=) U164. Kalm *čiirg* M648b. Dag---. EYu *čiraġ* BJ345, J106b. MgrH *ćiraġ* X208. Bao---. Dgx *ɕïġara* (?=) B160 'tight; busy'. Mog---.

***čïkï**- '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 **tïkï-*, in view of related CT **tïk-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *čiqi-* P266b. WM *čiki-* L181a. Kh *čixex* H791a. Ord *ǰike-* M196a. Bur *šexexe* C751b. Brg *šix-* U165. Kalm *čikx* M650a. Dag *čik^{y}-* E300. EYu *čəqə-* B134 'id'. MgrH *ćigə-* J106a. MgrM *ɕïgə-* DS253b. BaoD *ćiχə-* BL93b. BaoGt *ćixə-* C122. BaoÑ---. Kgj *čiχi- ~ čigi-* S300b. Dgx *ɕïğəi-* B161, *ɕïğu-* L121b 'id'. Mog *čiqə-* R25b.

***čïkïn** '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 *ǰike* M196a. Bur *šexe(n)* C751a. Brg *šix* U165. Kalm *čikn* M649b. Dag *čik^{y}* E300. EYu *čkən* B139, *čqən* BJ346, *čəġən* J106b. MgrH *ćigə* J106a. MgrM *ćigi* JL474, *čigi* T378. BaoD *ćiχaŋ* BL93a. BaoÑ *ćiχaŋ* CN185. Kgj *čiχɔ ~ čɔχɔ* S300b. Dgx *ɕïğəŋ* B160. Mog *čekin*, *čikin* R25b, *čiqïn* W162a.

***čïla-** 'to be tired' see ***čile-**

***čïlaun** 'stone'. Interestingly the Shirongol languages use CT **ta:š* 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^{h}ila'un* P122a. WM *čilaɣu(n)* L182a. Kh *čuluu(n)* H793b. Ord *čilu:* M704a. Bur *šuluu(n)* C733a. Brg *šɔlɔ:* U169. Kalm *čolun* M654b. Dag *čɔlɔ:* E304. EYu *člu:* B139, *čəlu:* J106b. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *čilɔ* S301a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čïlbuur** 'martingale, part of a horse's harness, etc'. Kh-Kalm suggest **čulbuur*.

MMo SH *cilbur* H27, HY *čilbur* M47, Muq---, LV---, IV *čulbur* L25. WM *čilbuɣur* L182b, *čulbuɣur* L206b, *čirbuɣul* 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---.

***čïmarkaï** 'temple (anat)'. Bur suggests **čabïrkaï*, Brg **čamarkaï*. 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. **bulčïrkaï* 'gland',**herekei* 'thumb'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čimarqai* L184b. Kh *čamarxay* H778b. Ord *čimarχä:* M704b. Bur *sabirgay* C379b. Brg *samarxai* U153. Kalm---. EYu *ǰɔġɔməi* (?=) B146.

***čïna-** '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 *ćina:-* J105a. MgrM *ɕïna-* JL473, *čina-* T380. BaoD *ćinə-* BL93a. BaoÑ *ćina-* CN185. Kgj *čina-* S300b. Dgx *ɕïna-* B159. Mog---.

***čïnaïda**, ***čïnar** (and other derivates of ***čïna**-) 'the day after tomorrow'. MMo and Bao from **čïnajï*; Mog from **čïnajï-da*; EYu and MgrM from **čïnaïda*, MgrH from **čïnaada*; Dgx from **čïnar*. Elsewhere derivates of **čaa*- are used, often with **üdür* 'day' as a last element: Bur *saadder* C377b, *saada üder* (lit.) C377b. Brg *sa:dər* U150 'three days from now'. Dag *ča:ǰ* E292, *ča:ǰ udur* Z95b. Cf. also EYu *ča:ğădăr* B132 'three days from now'.

MMo SH *cinaji*, *cinaru* H27/28 'beyond', HY---, Muq *činaǰi* [P reads *čina:či*] *ödür* P134a, LV---, IV *čanaǰi ödür* L24. WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *čənida* B133, *čini:da* J97b. MgrH *ćina:da* X205, *ćina:daġ* SM451. MgrM *ɕïnaida* JL473. BaoD *ćinaźiə* BL86a. BaoÑ *ćina:źə* CN184. Kgj *činaye* S300b. Dgx *ɕïnaər* B159, L113a. Mog *činɔždʌ*, *čɛnɔždʌ* W162a, MogMr *činɒ:šta* L62:24.

***čïŋga** 'strong; tight'. The Dag and MgrH verbs from **čïŋgaa*-.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *čingɣa* L189a. Kh *čanga* H779b. Ord *čaŋġa* M694b, *čiŋġa* M707a. Bur *šanga* C719a. Kalm *čaŋɣ* M645a. Dag *šaŋga:*- E229 'to pull tight' (?). EYu *čəŋġa-ra*- B134 'to be tightened'. MgrH *ćaŋġa* J106a 'tight', *ćiŋġa:*- X205 'to pull tight'. MgrM *ɕəŋġa* DS256a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čïno** 'wolf'. Some of the QG forms are difficult to explain. EYu *čəna* and BaoÑ *ćina*, 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. **ǰaurangaï*/**ǰaurakaï*.

MMo SH *činō* H28, HY *čino* M47, Muq *čina* [ed reads *čina:*] P134a, LV *čina* [ed. reads *čana:*, first syll. unvocalised acc. to Saitô] P1273, IV---. WM *činoa* L190b. Kh *čono(n)* H791b. Ord *čino* M706b, *čono* M712b. Bur *šono* C729a. Brg *šɔn* U167. Kalm *čon* M655a. Dag---. EYu *čəna* B133, J105b. MgrH *ćino* L449, *ćuna:* L457. MgrM *ɕuna* C379, *čuna* T338. BaoD *ćina* BL93b. BaoÑ *ćina* CN185. BaoX *čina* BC70. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *čino:* R25b, *činɔ* W162a.

***čïŋla**- 'to listen'. The central languages developed from an assimilated form **čïŋna*-. Some of the QG forms suggest an earlier front version **čiŋle*-. Cf. CT **tiŋle*- ~ **tïŋla*- 'id', perhaps from Chinese *tīng*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *čingna*-, *čingla*- L190a. Kh *čagnax* H776b. Ord *čiŋna*- M707a. Bur *šagnax* C713b. Brg *šagn*- U161. Kalm *čiŋnx* M652b. Dag---. EYu *čəŋl-u:r* BJ345 'eavesdropper'. MgrH *ćaŋla*- X202, *ćinla*- X205. MgrM *ćiŋli*- J92, *ɕəŋle*- C384, *ɕənli*- DS228a. BaoD *ćiaŋlə*- BL90b, *čoŋlə*- T151. BaoÑ *ćaŋle*- CN182. BaoX *čaŋlə*- BC65. Kgj *čiauli*- ~ *čiɔli*- S300b. Dgx *ɕanlie*- B157. Mog---.

***čïraï** 'face; facial expression'. Kh *c*- suggests a form **čaraï*, 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.

***čïrï**- ‘to pull, drag’. Ord and EYu suggest a monosyllabic **čïr-*. The back-vocalic form is supported by the EYu caus. formation and by Dag. The Dag form, if related, suggests an older **čïru-* or **čïro-* (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 *šɔr-* (?=) E240. EYu *čir-ğa-* (caus) B136, BJ78. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *čire- ~ čiri-* S301a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čïsun** ‘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 **čï-*.

MMo SH *cisu(n)* H28, HY *čisun* M47, Muq *čisun* P135a, LV *čisun* P1274, IV---. WM *čisu(n)* L192b. Kh *cus(an)* H763a. Ord *ǰusu* M221b. Bur *šuha(n)* C736a. Brg *šoxo:* U169. Kalm *cusn* M641a. Dag *čɔs* E304. EYu *čüsən* B138, *čusun* J106b, BJ346. MgrH *ćisə* J106a, X207, *cəʒə* X212. MgrM *ɕuʒï* JL470. BaoD *ćisuŋ* BL93b. BaoÑ *ćisəŋ* CN188. Kgj *čisun* S301a. Dgx *ɕusuŋ* B164. Mog *čusun* R26a, W162b, *čısu* W162a.

***čïul**- ‘to gather, convene’. Bökh incorrectly derives Dgx *ɕulu-* from **čugla-*, q.v.

MMo SH *ci’ul-* H29, HY---, Muq---. WM *čiɣul-* L178b. Kh *čuulax* H794b, *čuguulax* H793b. Ord *ču:l-* M718a. Bur---. Kalm *cu:l-* (obs) R435b. Dag---. EYu *čul-ğa-ra-ġda-* (probably <**čïul-gan* ‘gathering’ + verbalizer + pass.) S581 ‘to gather, assemble, etc’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ɕulu-* 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 *ǰödker* M212b. Bur *šüdxer* C737a. Brg *šutgər* U171. Kalm *čötkr* M656b. Dag *šurkul* E241. EYu *čüdger* (only) S579. MgrH *ćidəgur* (only) S579. MgrM---. Bao *čixtïr* P422a. BaoJ *ćidə́r* 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 *ćüdor* X211, *ćidor* J90. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

čiig ‘moisture; moist, wet’. Perhaps related to CT **čï:* ‘moisture’ and/or **čï: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 *šiig* C725b. Brg *ši:g* U163. Kalm *čig* M647b ‘dew, moisture’, *čiig-tä* M648b ‘wet’. Dag---. EYu *čig* B136, *či:g* J97a. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čile**- (?*čïla-) ‘to be tired, exhausted; to become numb or stiff’. As in other cases where two variants exist, the back-vocalic form **čïla*- 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, *čəla*- J65. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ćila*- CN187 ‘to ache, tingle’. Dgx *ç̈ila*- 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 *čöläп* M656a. Dag *čulə:* E306. EYu *čölö:* B137, J106b. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ćələ* CN190. Kgj *čələ ~ čələ: ~ čilə:* S301a. Dgx---. Mog (see under **čoal*-).

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 **čümegen*. 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 *suməg* U158. Kalm *čimgn* M651a. Dag *šiməɣ* E235, *šimug* T183. EYu *čeŋgwen* B135, *čeŋgön* J106b. MgrH *ćimuge* J106a. MgrM *çumuġai* C388 ‘marrow’, *čimeke* P419a ‘arm’. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *çuməğə* B164 ‘marrow, spinal marrow’. MogM *čimkɒ: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 **kïmusun* ‘nail’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *čimki-* L185b. Kh *čimxex* H786b. Ord *čimke-*, *čimkʉ-* M705a. Bur *šemxexe* C745a. Brg *šiməx-* U166 (and see above). Kalm *čimkx* M651a. Dag (see above). EYu *čimke-* (only) S571. MgrH *ćiŋgə-* X205, *ćimgə-* C88:586. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ćuŋġə-* (?=) CN190. Kgj *čüŋgʉ-* S301b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čoal-** 'to pierce, puncture, perforate, make holes in', ***čoara-** 'to be pierced, perforated, develop holes'. In BaoÑ **čoara-* may have become confused with **čuburï-* '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 **čoal-*.

MMo Muq *ča'ul-* P131a/344b, *ča'ura-* P131a, *ču:ra-* P137b (see above). WM *čoɣol-*, *čoɣora-* 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 *ćo:lə-* X210, *ćo:ra:-* X210. MgrM *nuko ɕuar-* C372 (cf. **nöken*), *ɕur-* DS242b, *ɕoro-* F123:10. BaoD *čorə-* T151. BaoÑ *ćөl-* CN189, *ćө:ra-* CN189 'to pierce; to drip; to break'. Kgj *čura-* S301a. Dgx *ɕəura-* B159 'to be pierced'. Mog (see above).

***čoarga** / ***čuurga** '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 **čuarga ~ *čaurga*.

MMo SH *co'orqa-tai* H29, *šo'orqa* H143, HY *čo'orqa* M47, Muq---. WM *čuɣurɣa(n)* L206b, *čuurɣa* L208a, *čaɣurɣa(n)* L160a, *suɣurɣa* (?Buriat spelling) L735b. Kh *cuurga* H764b. Ord---. Bur *suurga* C397a. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ćorġʊ* X210. MgrM *ɕorġo* 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 *soġsoġ* X136 'heap; flock' is from Tibetan *chogs-chogs*.

MMo---. WM *čoɣča* L194b 'heap, pile; mass, etc'. Kh *cogc* H750a. Ord *ǰoġčol-* M207b 'to form a compact group'. Bur *sogso* C389b. Kalm *cogc* M635a. Dag *čɔkč* (?=) E304 'pinch (of tobacco)'. EYu *ǰɔgčɔġ* B146. MgrH *ćuźog* L456, *ćiźog* L446 'herd', elsewhere only the derived verb: *ćuźɔġla-* X211 'to gather, assemble, collect', *ćüźiolo-* SM460 'to pile up (tr); to gather (intr)'. BaoÑ *ćөġźөġ* (?=) CN189 'full to the brim'. Dgx *ɕuʒo* MC63a. Mog---.

***čogla-** 'to gather' Zie ***čugla-**.

čokï- ‘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 *ǰoki-* M208a. Bur *soxixo* C393b ‘to strike, etc’. Kalm *cokx* M636a ‘to strike, etc’. Dag *čɔkʸ-* E304. EYu *čɔ:qə-* B136. MgrH *ćugu-* X212, *ćigu-* L444. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj *čuŋgu-* (sic, ?=) S301b. Dgx *ɕuġu-* 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 *colvŋ* M636a. Dag *čɔlpun* E304. EYu *čɔlβɔn* B137. MgrH *ćolbaŋ* (only) S575. MgrM *ɕorbaŋ* 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 *ćo:n* J106a. MgrM *ɕoŋ* JL473, *ɕuaŋ* C393. BaoD *ćüŋ* BL93a. BaoÑ---. BaoX *čoŋ* BC72. Kgj *čuŋ ~ čuŋ* S301b. Dgx *ɕoğoŋ* 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. **kürǰeg* for a similar case).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *čögüček* P322b. WM *čögüče*, *čögeče*, *čöčige* L200b. Kh *cögc* H757a. Ord *čögöči* M314b, *ǰöčögö* 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 *ćɔġʒɔġ* X210 ‘handleless wine cup’. MgrM *ɕoġʒo* JL474. Bao---. Dgx *ʒoğoɕï* 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* < **nïlbusun* ‘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 *ɕuaŋmu-* 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**.

***čuburï-** ‘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 [*čuwu:l-* M720a ‘cause to flow’]. Bur *hubarixa* (sic!) C687a. Brg---. Kalm *cüwr-* R436a, *cüvrx* M643b, *cövrül* M638a ‘tap, faucet’. Dag *čɔ:r^{y}-* E302 ‘to leak, to flow, to trickle’. EYu *ču:ra-* J87. MgrH *ću:rə-* X210. MgrM *čuburi-* T381. BaoD *ćiurə-* BL84b, *čur-* T151. BaoÑ *ću:r-* CN190, but this meaning also given for *ćə:ra-* (see **čoara-*). Kgj *čiʉri-* ~ *čüri-* ~ *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 *čuɣ* L205b ‘together with, etc’. Kh *cug* H760b ‘together with, etc’. Ord *čuġ* M717b. Bur *sug* C395b ‘together’. Kalm *cug* M639b ‘all’. Dag---. EYu *čɔġ* B137 ‘all’. MgrH *ćɔġ* X210. MgrM *çuġ* JL477. BaoGt *ćoġ* C126. BaoJ *ćoğó* (sic) L192 ‘sheaf’. BaoÑ *ćəġ* CN189. Kgj *čuqu* (sic) S301a. Dgx *çəu* B158. Mog---.

***čugla-** ‘to bundle; to put together; to gather, assemble’. Derived from **čug* ‘bundle’ above. The similar-looking MgrH form *ncɔġla-* X39 is from Tibetan.

MMo SH *cula-* (sic) H29, HY---, Muq---. WM *čuɣla-* L205b ‘to gather, etc’. Kh *cuglax* H760b ‘to gather, assemble; to bundle or tie together’. Ord *čuġla-* M717b. Bur *suglaxa* C396a. Kalm *cuglx* M640b. Dag---. EYu *čugla-* B138. MgrH---. MgrM *çugla-* C373. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ćəġla-* CN189. Kgj *čuqla-* S301a. Dgx *çəula-* 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

**čïda-* ‘to be able’.

MMo SH *da’a-* H30, HY---, Muq---. WM *daɣaɣa-* 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 *yabï* ‘horse’, which points at a shorter stem. Cf. **unagan*.

MMo SH *da’aqan* H30, HY---, Muq *da:ɣan* P139b. WM *daɣaɣa(n)* L216a, *daɣa(n)* L216a. Kh *daaga(n)* H147a. Ord *da:ġa* M111b. Bur *daaga(n)* C177aa. Kalm *daaɣn* M172a. Dag *da:ɣ* E268. EYu *da:ğan* B124, J105b. MgrH *da:xa* J105b. MgrM *tagïr* P413b, *daġər* DS224. BaoD *daχaŋ* BL83a/92a. BaoGt *daxɔŋ* C116. BaoÑ---. Dgx *dağaŋ* B144. Mog---.

***daakï** ‘(lump of) shaggy hair’. Remarkably the sequence *kï* 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 **ï* is irregular, to CT **yapak* (cf. **kumakï*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *da:qi* P139b, IV---, LV---. WM *daɣaki* L217a. Kh *daax’* H148b. Bur *daaxi* C178b ‘moult; entangled wool’. Kalm *dääk* M187b ‘entangled’. Dag---. EYu *da:kə* B124. MgrH *da:kir* SM41. BaoÑ---. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *da:gə-tə-* S184 ‘to become tangled’. BaoJ *dagí* (?=) L27 ‘the first layer of wool blankets placed on horseback when one saddles a horse’. Dgx *daći* (?=) MC72b ‘wool shorn during the hot summer days’. Mog---.

***daara**- ‘to be cold; to feel cold’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *da:ra-* P139b. WM *daɣara-* 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---.

***daarï** ‘saddle gall, sore on an animal’s back’. Agricultural term related to Turkic **yagïr* ‘id’.

MMo SH *da’ari* H30 ‘sore’, HY---, Muq *da:ri* P139b. WM *daɣari* 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---.

***daarï**- ‘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 *daɣari-* 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 *dävrx* (?=) M189a 'to attack, etc', *dä:rχə* R83a 'to hit, bump into, offend, etc', *däwrχə* R82b 'to pass (by)'. Dag *da:r^{y}-* 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** (~ ***dabasuŋ**) '(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 *dabusaɣ* 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 *daβasăġ* B125, *daβasəġ* J105b. MgrH *dabsaġ* J105a, *daşsaġ* X191. MgrM *dabsaġ* JL466. BaoD *doləġ* BL92a, *dolăχ* BL6. BaoJ *doləğə́* L34 'the crop of a bird'. BaoÑ *daŋlaġ* CN171, also 'fish's air bladder'. Kgj *dabələğ* 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 *dabkûri*. 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 *daɣqur* B125 'times', *daχġuar* J105b 'double'. MgrH *taġur* J105a. MgrM *yigə təġər* DS260 'for a while' (the first element from **nikən* and/or Chinese *yīgè* 'one'), possibly also in *toġor 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 *daŋsuŋ* is unusual; this Dgx form perhaps stems from an intermediate form **damsun*, although it is also possible that *daŋsuŋ* developed from earlier **dasuŋ* < **dabsun* (see **ǰabaan* 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 *daβʊ:* U139. Kalm *davsn* M174b. Dag---. EYu *da:βsən* (*da:ɸsən*) B124, *da:bsən* J105b.

MgrH *dabsə* J105a, X190. MgrM *dabsï* JL466, *dapuʒï* C390, *dabusï ~ dapuʒï* DS247a. BaoD *dabsuŋ* BL92b. BaoGt *dȧpsuŋ* 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 *daqa*- H30, HY *daqa*- M48, Muq---. WM *dayа*- L216a. Kh *dagax* H153a. Bur *dagaxa* C180b. Kalm *daxx* M187a. Dag *dayˌ*- E273. EYu *dağa*- B125, *tağa*- (sic) J105b. MgrH *dağaː*- J105b. MgrM *dȧğa*- DS224a. BaoD *dəğa*- BL2 ‘follow’, *ndəğa*- BL58, BL65 ‘resemble’. BaoÑ *dȧğaː*- CN172. Kgj *dağa*- ~ *dəğa*- S298b, *dəğa*- S208. Dgx *dağa*- B144. Mog---.

***daïn** ‘war’ and ***daïsun** ‘enemy’. Related to CT **yagï* ‘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’, *dayʉ* NK497a. EYu---. MgrH *da:xu* SM41 ‘short sleeveless garment worn in the past by Monguor women’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dalaï** ‘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 *dolaraŋ* BL92a, BaoÑ *dəˈlaraŋ* 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 **daluï*; Dgx may support this form (cf. **maŋlaï* ‘forehead’ for the treatment of **-aï*). 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’, *dalï* 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 *ǰenǰla:*- E315 could stem from an unattested assimilated variant **ǰamǰïla*- < **damǰïla*-.

MMo---. WM *damna*- L228a. Kh *damnax* H159b, *damlax* H159a. Ord *damna*- M118a, cf. also *damǰil(a)*- M117b. Bur---. Kalm *damn^{n}*- 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 **daŋgʊl*. 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-doŋgol* 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 *daŋġʊl* X189. MgrM *daŋġʊar* C390, *dongul* P421a ‘peat’, *daŋbulər* (?=) DS237b ‘mound’. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. BaoX *dalġaŋ* BC66. Kgj---. Dgx (Longquan) *daŋġa* 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 *darʊ:* U195. Kalm *darsn* R78b. Dag *dars* Z39. EYu *dura:sən* (only) S203. MgrH *dəra:sə* J105b, *dura:sə* X201. MgrM *duruasï* C391. Bao *turasï* 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 *daɣu(n)* L219a, *daɣuu* 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 *dөʜn* R27a, *daʊn*, *doʊn*, *doʊ* W163a.

***daurïa**- 'to imitate, follow the example of'. The *n* in EYu is inexplicable.

MMo SH, HY---, Muq---. WM *daɣuriya*- L219b. Kh *duuriax* H184b. Bur *duuryaaxa* C206b. Kalm *du:ra:*- R104b, *dura:*- R102b. Dag *daur^{y}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 *daɣus*- 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 *desï*- S299a. Dgx *ʒiausï*- 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 *ʒiausïku* 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 *dəbsəɣ* is peculiar: preconsonantal *b* should have become *r*, and the final *ɣ* 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 *dəbsəɣ* (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 *debtexe* 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 *-lʲ* seems to suggest a CM **deeli*; or it may instead belong with **deelei* ‘jacket’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *de’el* H34, *degel* H35, HY *de’el* M49, Muq *de:l* P141b. WM *debel* L238a, K1698a, Cevel222b, *degel* K1740b, Cevel231a. Kh *deel* H199a. Ord *de:l* M136a. Bur *degel* C215a. Brg *də:l* U195. Kalm *devl* M190b. Dag *də:lʲ* 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 derivates are less widespread in the peripheral languages. In view of the Muq spelling with *-h-* perhaps from a PM root **depe-* > **dehe-*.

MMo SH *de’ere* H34, HY *de’ere* 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 *ʒierə* B169. Mog *de:ra*, *de:rə* R26b, *dɛrʌ* W163a, *dirʌ* 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 **yïp* ‘thread’.

MMo SH---, HY *de’esün* M49, Muq *de:sün* P142a. WM *degesü(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 *deisʉn* ~ *desʉn* S299a. Dgx *ʒiesuŋ* B168. Mog *deisun* R26b, *dɛısun* 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 *dəːlbur* 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 **talbï-* ‘to put’ > **tabï-*). 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, *dewʉːr* M145a. Bur *debixe* C213b, *debyüür* C214b. Kalm *dewü:r* R91a. Dag *dəlbur* 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 **deleǰ-*.

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 *dïlʌt-* W163b ‘to rain’, MogM *delat-* L62:27 ‘to beat, hit’.

***deleŋ** ‘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, *dəlaŋ* X195. MgrM---. BaoD *dəlaŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *deliɔ* S299a. Dgx *ʑielien* 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 *dəlɣəː-* E281. EYu *delɣe-* B127. MgrH *dəlgɜ-* X196. MgrM *derge-* JL462. Bao---. Dgx *ʑieğə-* 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 *delüün* C216b, *delyüü(n)* C216b. Brg *dilu:* U198. Kalm *delün* M198a. Dag *dəluː* E280, *dəlkin* E280 (latter form ←MT). EYu *dölü:n* B130, *dölön* J105b, *dölö:n* (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *dəliuː* J105a, *dəliu* X196. Remaining lgs---.

***dere** ‘pillow’. Dag *dərəb* E281 ‘pillow’ is from Tungusic, cf. Solon *dəbbʉ* < **dərbʉ*. 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(ʉ)* M141a. Bur *derhe(n)* C218b. Brg *dəru:* U197. Kalm *dersn* M200a. Dag *dərs* E282. EYu---. MgrH *dəresï* X196. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *ʒierəsuŋ* 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 *aġa du* CN5. Kgj *devʉ* S299a. Dgx *ʒiau* B165. Mog *döʉn* R27a.

***deüǰile**- 'to hang up, suspend, attach'. The *-ʒ-* 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 *degüǰile-* L246a. Kh *düüǰlex* H189a. Ord *dʉ:ǰile-* M167b. Bur *düüželxe* C211b. Kalm *düüǰlx* M221a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *diuʒəle-* X195. MgrM *diaoʒïli-* DS227b. BaoÑ *du:ʒilġa-* (caus) CN181. Kgj *dəuǰile- ~ dauǰile-* S298b. Dgx *ʒiauʒïlie-* 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 *düülixe* 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 *ʒiauli-* 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 **yüzeŋgü* 'stirrup' below. Cf. **sundala-* which occurs in similar meanings.

MMo SH *de'ur-* H36. WM *deür-* L254a. Kh *düürex* H189b. Ord *dʉ: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 derivates 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 *dɔr* U200. Kalm *dor* M207a. Dag *dʷar* E290. EYu *du:ra* B131, J105, *dɔ:rɔ* (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, *dɔrɔ* 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 *dɔrtul*- 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 *doɣol*- L257b. Kh *dogolox* H167b. Ord *doġol*- M147b. Bur *doxolxo* C199a. Brg *dɔglɔŋ* U199. Kalm *doɣlx* M203b. Dag *dɔɣʷl-un* E284. EYu *dɔğɔl*- B129, *doğol*- J105b. MgrH *doġolə*- J105a. MgrM *dərġo*- (?=) DS234a, *dʲɔġɵl-aŋ* (sic) C391, *dogolan* P421b. BaoD *doɣol*- BL92b. BaoÑ *dəġla*- CN180. Kgj *duġlu*- S299b. Dgx *doğolo*- B147. Mog---.

***dogsïn** 'fierce, cruel'. Note the metathesis in Kh, Ord, Bur.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *doɣsin* L256b. Kh *dogšin* H167b, *došgin* H174b. Ord *dogšin* M148a, *doškin* M154a. Bur *došxon* C199a. Kalm *dogšn* M293a. Dag *dɔršin* E285. EYu *dɔgšun* B129. MgrH *dogśin* L91, also *dogśin* L91, *togśin* L580 'sour'. Remaining lgs---.

***dolïa**- (> *dolaa-) 'to lick'. The form **dolïa-*, 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 comon 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 **yolïga-* would be required if one wants to explain the **ïa* in the CM form.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *dola:*- P142b. WM *doliya*- L259b, *doloɣa*- L260a. Kh *doloox* H169a. Ord *dolo:*- M150b. Bur *dolyooxo* C194a, *žolooxo* (rare) C233a. Brg *dɔlʲɔ:*- U199. Kalm *dolax* M205a. Dag *dɔlɔ:*- E284. EYu *dɔ: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 *dɔr*- S299b. Dgx *dolu*- B148. MogMr *dɒ: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 *doloɣa(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 *dɒ:lɒ: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 *domoɣ* 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 derivates from the same root also feature irregular dissimilations, as in **dotaa* ~ **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, *ćüdor* X211; *toro* J105a, X181, *turo* X185, *şduro* 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* ~ *tɯši* S297 < **dota-gsï* ‘inwards’], *dɯgɯ* S20 ‘the one on the inside’, perhaps < **dotar-kï*. 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 *derăraŋ* BL92b, BaoÑ *deˈraraŋ* CN177). Probably from a root **dö-* and a suffix *-čIn* (cf. **gučïn* ‘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 *düše(n)* C213a. Brg *duš* U204. Kalm *döčn* M212b. Dag *duč* E287. EYu *döčən* B130, *döčin* J105a. MgrH *təźin* 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 *deraŋ*

BL92a. BaoÑ *deraŋ* CN177. Kgj *derɔ* S299a. Dgx *ʒieroŋ* B169, *ʒierwaŋ* (Longquan) B170. Mog *durbɔn* 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)üzeŋ(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 pint 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 *dʉre:* 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 *döš* H177b. Ord *döšö* M158a. Bur *düše* C213a. Brg *duš* U204. Kalm *döš* M212b. Dag *duš* E287. EYu *tošo* S231. MgrH *do:śə* 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 *dörövdügeer* (with reading pronunciation of the ordinal suffix). Cf. **dörben* ‘four’ and **döčin* ‘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 *dörwöduġa:r* M157a). Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *dutə:r* E287 (also *durubdə:r* E288). EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dulaan** ‘warm’. Cf. Dag *dɔ: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 *dulaɣan* 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 *dʊnd* U201. Kalm *dund* M214b. Dag *d^{w}and* E289, *d^{w}annə* 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*^{w}*ar* 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 *durɒ: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 *dʊd*- U202. Kalm *dusx* M216b, *dusax* (caus) M216b. Dag *dɔs*- E284. EYu---. MgrH *tusa:*- (caus) X184 'to sprinkle wine as an offering'. Bao---. Dgx *doso-ğo*- (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*^{w}*at*- E290. EYu *hta*- B60. MgrH *tədau* X179 'lacking'.

***dutaa**- '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 *dutaɣa*- L277b. Kh *dutaax* H182b. Ord *duta:*- M167a. Bur -?-. Brg *dʊta:*- U202. Kalm *duta:χă* R103b, a Kh loanword according to Ramstedt. Dag *duta:*- E287. EYu *hda:*- (only) S241. MgrH *tuda:*- X184, *ćüda:*- X211. MgrM *təda*- C390, *cïda*- DS223b. BaoD---. BaoGt *təta*- C117. BaoÑ *təda:*- CN163, *ćida:*- CN188. BaoX *təda*- BC66. Kgj *sïda*- ~ *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. **kïrga-*.

MMo SH---, HY---. Muq *düil*- P147b, *düyil*- P148a, IV *délbür* (sic) L62:26 'razor', RH *dülbür* (?, eds. read *delbür*) 205A13 'razor'. WM *düil*- L279b. Kh *düylex* (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 **kuï* 'sheath' for a similar case).

MMo SH---, HY *dülei* M51, Muq *dülei* P147b. WM *dülei* L280a. Kh *düliy*

H186b. Ord *dʉli:* M170a. Bur *dülii* C208a. Kalm *dülä* M218a. Dag *dulb*^{y} 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 *düreǰi ab*- P145a [read *dura*-] 'to buy', *dürekči* P262b 'salesman'. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *dur*- E288 'to sell', *duruld*- E288 ~ *dull*^{w}- E287 'to buy'. EYu--. MgrH---. MgrM *durə*- J92 'to buy'. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *dʉra*- R27a, *durʌ*- W164a 'to sell'.

***düür**- 'to be(come) full'. The Bao forms are from the (caus.) form **düürge*-; 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 *düürexe* 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 *dʉr*- S300a. Dgx *duru*- B150. Mog *dʉ:r*- R27a, *dur*- W164a.

***düüreŋ** 'full'. From **düür*- 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 *düürŋ* M221b. EYu *düreŋ* B132, *dü:reŋ* J87. Bao---. Dgx *duran* B150. MogMr *dʉrgɒ:n* (sic) L64:41 'full; pregnant woman'.

- E -

***ebčeün** (~ ***ebčiün**) '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 **ebčiün*. Bur-Kalm, the Monguor languages and MMo suggest an original form **ebčeün*. 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 *övčüü(n)* H405a. Ord *öbčü:n* M526b. Bur *übsüü(n)* C488b. Brg *ušu:* U51. Kalm *övcün* M410b. Dag *ərču:* E31. EYu *pəǰü:n* J94b, *pʉčü:n* BJ339. MgrH *śʑau:* J94a, *śʑiu:* SM391. MgrM *śiʑɔu* C387. BaoD *ebćüŋ* BL82a. BaoÑ *ebćaŋ* CN13. Kgj *išǰɔ ~ iɻčɔ* S280a. Dgx *əçan* B9. Mog *ebčʉ: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 *ərʒ́ie-* (?=) MC89b. Mog *öftȧ-* (?=) R37b, *ʉfta-* R41b.

*__ebečin__ ‘illness, disease’. Related to, possibly derived from **ebed-* listed below. However, the form **ebedčin*, 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 *ebečin* M51, Muq *ebečin* P149b, RH *ebedči.tei* 204A11 ‘sick’. WM *ebedči(n)* L286b, *ebeči(n)* L286a. Kh *övčin* H404b. Ord *öwöčin* M544b. Bur *übše(n)* C489a, *ebšen* C753b. Brg *uβšiŋ* U48. Kalm *övčn* M410b. Dag (see above). EYu *βečən* B38, J94a. MgrH---. MgrM *bećin* J90, *beːćin* C371. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *vəićɔ* 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 **ebečin*). 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 *βed-* B38, J94a, *βeːd-* B37. MgrH *idə-* J94a, X14, *udə-* X20. MgrM *betu-* JL469. BaoD *etə-* BL82b. BaoÑ *ebdə-* CN13. BaoX *vɛtə-* BC65. Kgj *vəide-* S307a. Dgx *otu-* B15. Mog *ebȧt-* R27b, *ɛbʌt-* 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*/*wobər* DS229b, *yebar* Z338:348, *ubür*/*obör* P419a. BaoD *uer* BL82b. BaoÑ *ewer* CN15. BaoX *vɛːr* BC62. Dgx *əwə* T144, MC91b, *uər* (Wangjiaji dialect) L5, *wor* (Wangjiaji) BC85:246, *oər* 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 *beːsə* C396, *bese* T321, *ebisï* P421a. BaoD *uesoŋ* BL82a. BaoGt *vesuŋ* C116. BaoÑ *ebsөŋ* CN13. Kgj *vəisʉn* 307b. Dgx *osuŋ* B14. Mog *ebȧsun* R27b, *ɛbʌsu(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^{u}e*- M228a, *ewk^{u}e*- 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 *šelɣe*- 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’eː*- P335a ‘to yawn’ be a scribal error for the present word?

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ebsiye*- L289b. Kh *evšeex* H829a. Ord *ebšeː*- M228a. Bur *ebheelxe* C753b. Brg *xəβiːl*- U101 ‘to yawn (of people)’. Kalm *evšäx* M691a. Dag *xəbšəː*- E109. EYu *šweː*- B111, *šelɣe*- S250 (see above). Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *anśie*- 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 *übdeg* C488a. Brg *uβdəg* U48. Kalm *övdg* M408b. Dag---. EYu *βədəg* B37, J94b. MgrH *vudəg* J94a, *udəg* X21, *idəg* X14. MgrM *podok* P414b, *bodo* DS232b. BaoD *ebdəg* BL82b. BaoGt *vɛdï* C116. BaoÑ *ebdəg* CN13. BaoX *vɛdəg* BC64. Kgj *vəidəʉ* S307a. Dgx *odəu* B15. Mog *ʉnduk* (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 *übgen* C487a. Kalm *övgn* M408b. Brg *uβəg*, *uβəː* U47; *uβgəŋ* U47. Dag *əukəː* (?=) E19 (form of address), *əukəːn* (?=) 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 *ɤi: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---.

***ečі-** '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 **ečі-* is unclear. It could be an irregular development **očї-* from **orčї-* from **horčї-* '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 *očix* H402a. Bur *ošoxo* C366b. Brg *ɔš-* U33. Mog *orči-* R35b 'to go'. Strikingly, Muq has both *ečі-* 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 **horčї-* 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 **odčї-* (Poppe 1955:30, 113).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ečі-* P102a, IV---, LV--- (and see above). WM *ečі-* L292a. Kh *ečix* H866a. Ord *ičі-* M389b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *ič-* E35. EYu---. MgrH *śʒ́ə-* J95b, X166, *śə-* J49, X156. MgrM *śi-* JL473. BaoD *ći-* BL83b. Bao Gaser *hʒ́ə-* CN86:232. BaoGt *śi-* C123. BaoÑ---. BaoX *xǰə-* BC64. Kgj *ǰi-* S302b, *śǰi-*, *hǰi-* S58. Dgx *əçї-* 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 *əčiɣ* E28. EYu *čɣe* B139, *čiɣe* 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 *gɛ*- 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 *ədəɣ*- 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 *ödgɛ:* 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, *ödgɛ:* (dial). Dag *ədə:* E28. EYu *ɔdɔ:* 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 *doğo*?). 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 *egeše* C754b. Kalm *egč* M691b. Dag *əkč* E23. EYu *əɣečə* B8,

ɣečə J94b. MgrH *gəćə* X104, *kaźi diu:* SM194. MgrM *gəćidiau* JL462 ‘sisters’. BaoÑ *egći du* CN13 ‘sister’. Kgj *əkəči devʉ* S279a, *kəči devʉ* S125 ‘sister’. Dgx *əğəçï* 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 *iym* 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 niɣe* 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 *iyn* 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-ǰi* T152 [*nəntəgə-* BL83b]. BaoÑ *engə-* CN12. Kgj *eŋgi- ~ aŋgi-* S280b. Dgx *ingie-* L110a. Mog---.

***eǰen** ‘master, owner, boss’. In Dag, the central languages, and Mog **eǰen* 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 **eǰen* occurs in the original meaning, but has also became the word for ‘self’. In Baoan, which apparently lost the original meaning, **eǰen* 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 *eǰen* M53, Muq *eǰen* 153b. WM *eǰen* L336b. Kh *ezen* H835a. Bur *ezen* C759b. Kalm *ezn* M693a. Dag *əǰin* E28 ‘emperor; master’. EYu *eǰen* B11, J94a ‘master; self’, *-ǰen* (clitic) J27 ‘self’. MgrH *nʑe:n ~ nʑe:n-a:* J28 ‘self’, *nʑe:n* X40 ‘master; self’. MgrM *ʑe:n-aŋ* (refl. poss.) C373 ‘self’, *ʑe:ni* (gen.) C174. BaoD *nʑaŋ* BL34, *nǰaŋ* T145 ‘he, she’. BaoGm *əʑaŋ* CN86:130. BaoGt *ʑɔŋ* C179 ‘he, she’. BaoÑ *aʑaŋ* CN8, *өʑaŋ* CN18 ‘he, she’. BaoX *nǰaŋ* BC66, 68 ‘he, she’. Kgj *iǰɔ* S280a ‘master’. Dgx *əʐən* B9, L110b ‘master’. Mog *eǰən* R27b ‘lord, ruler’, *ɛǰʌn* 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 *əɣ* 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 Čoyiǰungǰab & 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 *egiyü-* (so read) L300a, preclassical *ekeyü-* T384. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm *ökäx* M413a, *ükiχə* R456b. EYu *xogʉi-* 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 *škər* B110. Remaining lgs---.

*__elbeg__ ‘abundant, superfluous’ The unexpected *-p-* in Dagur may be a 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, *eblig* 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 *ələ:-* 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 *elex* H840b. Bur *elexe* C764b. Kalm *elx* M697b. Dag (see above). EYu *ele-* J87, *ölö-* (?=) BJ338. MgrH *ile:-* Khas12. MgrM---. Bao *ɛlə-* (unspecif. dial.) S257, S258. Dgx *əlie-* MC84b. (?caus). Mog---.

*__elesün__ ‘sand’. Cf. **kumag ~ *kumakï* ‘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. **deüǰile*-.

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 *ulʸg*- U50. Kalm *ölgx* M414b. Dag *əlwəː*- E25. EYu *olɣo*- B15. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__elǰigen__ ‘donkey’. Dag *əiɣəːn* 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* (*ilǰgen*) H273b, *elǰig* (*elǰgen*) H837b. Bur *elǰege(n)* C761b. Kalm *elǰgn* M697a. Dag (see above). EYu *elǰiɣen* B10, *əlǰiɣen* J94a, *əlǰiɣen* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *ʒige* J94b, *ʒigɜ* X221. MgrM *rǰige* T356, *ərʒigə* DS218a. BaoD *ənʒigə* BL82a, *nʒigə* BL12. BaoJ *ʒigə́* L47. BaoÑ *elʒige* CN13. Kgj *nǰiɣe* S282b. Dgx *ənʒəğə* B7. Mog *elǰiɣoːn* 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, *æm* 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 *umburʌ*- 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 *əmɣun* E26 ‘wife; woman; female’ (< **eme* + **küün*), cf. *ərɣun* s.v. **ere*. EYu *eme* B10 ‘female’. MgrH *imu* X13, *yæmu* 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, *emee* H844a. Bur *emgen* C764b. Kalm *emgn* M698b. Dag *əməɣ* E26, *əməːɣ*^{w}

Z92b. EYu *eŋgwen* B9, *emgen* J94b. MgrH *mugɜn* X125. Bao---. Kgj *mgɔ* S293a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***emeel** ‘saddle’. Consistently spelled *’yml* 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 *eme’el* H44, HY---, Muq *emel* (?, see above) P154b. WM *emegel* L312a. Kh *emeel* H844a. Bur *emeel* C766b. Kalm *emäl* M698a. Dag *əməːl* E26. EYu *emel* B11, J94b. MgrH *imel* J94b. MgrM *imer* JL461. BaoD *eməl* BL82b. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog *emo:l* R27b, *yʌmʌl* R168a, MogMr *yamɒ: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 *üŋkü*- M759b. Bur *ümxexe* C503b ‘to hold between the teeth, to bite off’. Brg *uŋk*- U46. Kalm *ömkx* M415 ‘to bite (off)’. Dag *əŋk*^{w}- E22, *ənku*- Z92b also ‘to bite, eat’. EYu---. MgrH *χaŋgu*- SM157. Bao---. Dgx *uŋǧu*- ~ *uŋgu*- (?=) 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 **ǰerlig* (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 *imləg* U27. Kalm *emng* M698b. Dag *əmǰir* (?=) E27, *əmǰəːr* (?=) E26. EYu *elməg* S258. Remaining lgs---.

***emüdün** ‘trousers’. Related to **emüs*- below. Note the rare loss of the initial vowel in Dgx. 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 *məduŋ* BL84a. BaoÑ *emdəŋ* CN14. BaoX *mədoŋ* BC74. Kgj---. Dgx *məduŋ* B106. Mog *ʉndʉn* 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 *muśi* X126 and MgrM *meşï* 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 *əmən* U21. Kalm *ömn* M415b ‘front; south’. Dag *əməl* E26 ‘front; south’. EYu *ölmö* B17

‘east; front’, *ölmö:* S544 ‘south; front’, *ömle* J94b ‘south; front’. MgrH and MgrM see above. BaoD *məilə* BL32. BaoGt *mə̀lə* C115. BaoÑ *eməla* CN14. BaoX *mələ* BC69. Kgj *emele ~ emle* S279b. Dgx *mə̀lie* B105. Mog---.

***emüs**- ‘to put on, to wear (clothes)’. A paragogic 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 *məs*- B91, J94b. MgrH *musə*- J94b, *mosə*- X123, *umus*- (sic) X19. MgrM *musï*- C383. BaoD *musï*- BL82b. BaoÑ *məᵱ*- CN114. Kgj *məsï*- S292a. Dgx *misï*- L110a. Mog *ömʉs*- R36a, MogMr *ʉmas*-, MogM/Mr *ʉmʉs*- 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 *enȁ* R27b.

The oblique stem ***eün**- survives in the central languages and EYu. It may also be the source of Kgj *yʉn* 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 *ʉn*- 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 *ʉndʉr* M757a. Bur *ene üder* C768b, cf. *ünöö üder* C507b. Brg [*mənə:dər* U144, *munə: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 *nɔudur* C373. BaoD *nudər* BL84b. BaoÑ *'nudə* CN34. Kgj *niʉde ~ nʉde* S282a. Dgx *ənudu* B7, *niudu* L112a. Mog *ɛnaʊdur* W164b.

*__ene hon__ ‘this year’. See **hon* ‘year’. With unpredictable assimilations and reductions. Central Mongolic instead uses **ene jil*, as in Kalm *enǰl* M700a.

MMo---. Central languages---. Dag *ənə xɔ:n* E21. EYu *ono:n* J49. MgrH *nɔŋ* X34. MgrM *nʸe xuaŋ* C372. BaoD *nə-hoŋ* BL75, *nóhoŋ* L132. BaoÑ *nøŋ* CN32. Kgj *enʉn* S279b. Dgx *ənə xoŋ* B7. Mog *ɛnã̃n*, *ɛnɔ* W164b.

*__ene üdesi(leŋ)__ ‘this evening, tonight’. With unpredictable assimilations and reductions. See **üdesi(leŋ)* ‘evening’.

Ord *ʉndeš* M757a. EYu *öndögšə* B17. MgrH *niuʂloŋ*, *niuśloŋ* L396. MgrM *nɔu-ʂulen* C372. BaoÑ *nəχ́əlaŋ* CN27. Kgj *niʉši*, *nʉši* S282a. Dgx *ənuśiə*, *ənuśiəʂïliə* 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 *endȧ* R27b.

*__eŋger__ and *__eŋge__ ‘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 *eŋger* B9 ‘collar’. MgrH *ŋge* X41. MgrM *ŋge* JL461, *angə* DS223b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *eŋgər* CN12. Dgx *əŋgie* B7.

*__eŋgeske__ ‘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 *enggesge* H44 ‘red’ (used with *qacar* ‘cheeks’), HY---, Muq *engeske* P161a, LV---, IV *engeske* (L reads first *e* ‘closed’) L62:29. WM *enggeske* L318a. Kh *engeseg* H845b. Ord *eŋgeske* 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 *ərʑ́iən* 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’, *ərɣun* E30 ‘husband;

male’ (< **ere* + **küün*, cf. *əmɣun* 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 *irrə* 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’, **nïruun* ‘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 *əru:* U24. Kalm *örgn* M424a. Dag *əru:* 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 *ərɣ*^{y} 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 *əriɣ* E29. EYu *eryə* BJ327, J95a. MgrH *xerge* J95a, *χargi* SM162, T374, *yergi* SM492. MgrM *arge* JL461 ‘cliff, precipice’. Bao---. Dgx *əği* B8, *ərğəi* 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 *ūr-* 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 *ərwə:-* E31, *əkuə-* E83:45b, *ərkuə:-*, *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 *ər*^{y}- E31. EYu *e:r-* B9. MgrH *yarə-* J95a, *yerə-* X234. MgrM *yarrï-* C394, *yərrï-* DS248a (i.e., *-rʐ-*). Bao---. Kgj *ire-* S280a. Dgx *əri-* B9. Mog *eri-* R27b, *ɛri-* 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 *ʂde* J95a, *ʂdie* SM372. MgrM *ʂïde* C388, *šde* T384. BaoD *etə* BL83a. BaoÑ *erte* CN15. Dgx *əćie* B9 ‘morning’. Mog---.

***erüke** ‘skylight, smoke-hole (of a yurt)’. see ***örüke**

erüül** (?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 *erüül* H855a. Ord *eru:l* M248b. Bur *elüür* C763a, *erüül* C773a. Kalm *erül* M704a. Dag---. EYu *ulü: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*, *sɛ*, *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 *xəsruɣ*^{w} E111. EYu---. MgrH *sargu* X134, SM327, *sʒargu L*540. MgrM *śergu* JL473. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***esige** ‘kid (young goat)’. Agricultural term, perhaps borrowed from CT **ečkü* ‘goat’. The unusual correspondence of Mongolic [*š*] 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 *šeɣe* 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 *əud* E20. EYu *üden* B22, J94b, *uden* J94b. MgrH *ude* J94b, X19, *den* (sic) X134, *rde* X241. MgrM *idi* C370, *yidi*, *di*, *dian* DS218a, *ɻuguaidi* DS225a 'gate' (**yeke eüden*). BaoD *ndaŋ* BL82a. BaoGt *dɔŋ* C132, cf. *fgindɔŋ* C132 'gate' (**yeke eüden*). BaoÑ *ndaŋ* CN34. Kgj *idɔ* S280a. Dgx *uiʑien* B18, *wəiʑien* B192. Mog *oɪdʌn* 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 *öөx(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 *ükʉn* B21, *ü:kön* J96b. MgrH *fo:ge*, *fo:ke* SM100, *o:ke* SM296, *o:ku* J96a. MgrM *oko* JL464, *o:ko* C370. BaoD *ɻgum* BL13, *gum* BL84b. BaoGt *ɻgəm* C129. BaoÑ---. Kgj *gʉn* S290a. Dgx *fuguŋ* B54, *fguŋ* BC85:45. Mog---.

***eülen** 'cloud'. The Monguor languages unexpectedly preserved the *-n*. The Donggou Mongghul forms *lɔŋ ~ ɔgʲlɔŋ ~ ɤrlɔŋ* 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*^{y} U44. Kalm *üüln* M557a. Dag *əulən* E19. EYu---. MgrH *uloŋ* J94b (see above). MgrM *uolen* C382, *ulin* T368. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ɵ:ləŋ* CN16. Kgj *ʉliɔ* 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 *ʉ:d-* M747a, *ʉ:s-* M764a. Bur *üüdxexe* (caus.) C516a, *üüsxexe* (caus, ←Kh) C517b. Kalm *üüdx* M556a, *ü:s-*

R462a. Dag *əus-* 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*, **gadagsï*, 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 **gaǰaa* 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 *ɣada:-du* P173a. WM *ɣadaɣa* L342a. Kh *gadaa* H104a, etc. Ord *ġada:* M284a. Bur *gadaa, gadaada* C138b, *gazaa, gazaada* C139b. Brg *gaʒa: ~ gada:* U131. Kalm *ɣaza* M152a. Dag *ga:d* E163. EYu *ġadana* B75, J101a. MgrH *ġada* J101a. MgrM *ġada* C189. BaoD *ġadə* BL89b. BaoÑ *ġadə* CN85. Kgj *ġanna ~ ġana* S288a. Dgx *ġadanə* B80. Mog *ɣadana, ɣadaqši* 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 *gatəs* 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 *ɣadasu(n)* L343a ‘stake, picket, pale; peg’. Kh *gadas* (sic, no -an) H105a ‘stake, picket; pole; peg’. Ord *ġadus(u)* M285b ‘peg’. Bur *gadaha(n)* C138b, *gataha(n)* (eastern) C152a, *gahana* (western) C152a. Kalm *ɣasn* M161a. Dag *gat, gatəs* 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 *qadaɣasu(n)* L902b, *qadasu(n)* L903a. Kh *xadaas(an)* H595b ‘nail; spike; rivet; peg’. Ord *χada: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-* > *ġ-* is a common development in QG when the second syllable starts with **d*.

EYu *ġadəsən* B75, *ġasən* B74 ‘wooden stake’, *ġadəsən* J99b ‘nail’. MgrH *ġadasə* J99b ‘nail’. MgrM *ġadasï* DS238a ‘nail’. BaoD *ġadasuŋ* BL87b ‘nail’.

BaoÑ *ġadsəŋ* CN85, *ġarsəŋ* CN86 ‘nail; wooden stake’. Kgj *ġadasuŋ* S288a ‘wooden stake’. Dgx *ġadasuŋ* B80 ‘nail’, L115a ‘nail’. Mog---.

In MMo Muq it is equally unclear whether the forms represent **gadasun* or **kadaasun*. Long and short a may be written identically, and initial *ɣ* 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 **gadasun* ~ **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 **neŋǰi-* ~ **negǰi-* ‘to search’. Róna-Tas (1966:93) derived the MgrH form *śʒaġna:* 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 *ɣaqča* P175a, LV---, IV *qaqča* L62:41, Ph *qaqč^{h}a* P129a. WM *ɣaɣča* L343b, *ɣanča* L347b. Kh *ganc* H112b, *gagc* H104a. Ord *ġaġča* ~ *ġanča* M287a. Bur *gansa* C145b, *gagsa* C138b. Brg *gans* U128. Kalm *ɣanc* M156a. Dag *ganč* E165, *gaška:* E167, *gaška:r* E167. EYu *qagča* B63, *qača* B63, *χǰa:r* J9, *qagča:ra:n* B63, *gakčar* P417a. MgrH *xaʒ́æ-ġa:r* X70, *śʒ́a-ġa:r* X159. MgrM *qaʒ́a-ġar* JL479, *qəʒ̈-ġər* DS250a, *gančkar* (sic!) P417a. BaoD *χʒ́ia-χaŋ* BL34 (**gagča-kan*) ‘alone, on one’s own’, cf. *χʒ́ia kuŋ* BL13 (*kuŋ* < **köbeün*) ‘only son’. BaoÑ [*ʂʒ́anaŋ* CN152 ‘alone’ ?< Tib]. BaoX *ǰa:χaŋ* BC62. Kgj *qɔǰɔ-χɔnɔ* S287a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***gaǰar** ‘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 *qaǰar* M86, Muq *ɣaǰar* P173b, *qaǰar* P288b, Ph *qaǰar* P128b. WM *ɣaǰar* L355b. Kh *gazar* H106a. Ord *ġaǰar* M285b. Bur *gazar* C140a. Brg *gaʒar* U131. Kalm *ɣazr* M152b. Dag *gaǰir* E167. EYu *ġajar* B75, J101a. MgrH *ġaʒ́ar* J101a. MgrM *ġaʐar* JL472. BaoD *ġaʒ́ir* BL71, *ġaćir* BL89a. BaoÑ *ġaʒ́ar*, *ġaʒ́ir* CN86. BaoX *ġaǰir* BC70. Kgj *ġaǰar* ~ *ġɛǰɛ* S288a. Dgx *ġaʐa* B80. Mog *ɣaǰar* R28b.

***gakaï** ‘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 *ɣaqai* P175a, LV *ɣaqai* P61,

qaqai P63, IV *qaqai* L62:41. WM *ɣaqai* L355a. Kh *gaxay* H117b. Bur *gaxay* C152a. Brg *gaxai* U129. Kalm *ɣaxa* M161b. Dag *gaɣə* E165. EYu *ġaɣqai* B73, *qaɣqai* B63, *ġaqai* B145, *qəġai* J101a. MgrH *xġai:* J101a. MgrM *qġai* JL478, *qəġai* DS242b. BaoD *ġai* BL88b. BaoÑ *ġaġəi* CN84. BaoX *ġəi* BC62. Kgj *ġəğai ~ ġağai* S288a. Dgx *qïġəi, qïxġəi* B70. Mog *ɣo:qɛi* 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 *-l^{y}* in Dagur has parallels in **gar*, **ger*, **seül*).

MMo SH *qal* H57, HY *qal* M87, Muq *ɣal* P174b (frequent), *qal* P221a (once), LV *qal* P61, IV *qa:l* L62:41. WM *ɣal* L346a. Kh *gal* H108b. Bur *gal* C143a. Brg *gal* U129. Kalm *ɣal* M154a. Dag *gal^{y}* E166. EYu *ġal* B74, J101a. MgrH *ġal* J101a. MgrM *ġar* JL471. BaoD *χal* BL88a. BaoÑ *χal* CN57. Kgj *χar* S285a. Dgx *qaŋ* B68. Mog *ɣo:l* R28b, *ğɔl* W178b.

***galaun** 'goose'.

MMo SH *qalao'un* H57, HY *qala'un* M87, Muq---, LV *qalawun* P63, IV---. WM *ɣalaɣu(n)* L346a. Kh *galuu(n)* H110a. Bur *galuu(n)* C144b. Brg *galʊ:* U130. Kalm *ɣalun* M155a. Dag *galɔ:* E166. EYu *ġalu:* B74. MgrH *ġalu:* SM117 'goose; duck', *galau* (sic) L120 'duck'. Remaining lgs---.

***galǰau** 'mad, insane', **galǰaura-* '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 **galǰuu* would also be possible. The forms in Dag and QG could also stem from **galǰïu*, but this form could not be reconciled with the central languages.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ɣalǰu:ra-* P174b, LV *qalǰu:* P63, IV *qalǰa* L62:42. WM *ɣalǰaɣu, ɣalǰiɣu* L346b. Kh *galzuu* H109b. Bur *galzuu* C143a. Brg *galʒʊ:* U130. Kalm *ɣalzu* M155a. Dag *galǰɔ:, galǰɔ:r-* E166. EYu *ġalǰu:* B74, *ġałǰu:* J101a. MgrH *ġalʑiu:* J101a, *ġalʑu:* X94, *ġalʑu:ra:-* X94. MgrM *ġarʑiu* JL464. BaoD *ġanʑir-saŋ* BL89b 'insane', BaoÑ *ġalʑəŋ* CN85, *ġalʑira-səŋ* (from the verb) CN85 'insane', *ġalʑira-* CN85 'to go mad'. Kgj *ganǰira-* 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 *-r^{y}* 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 *ɣar* P175b, *qar* P111b, LV *qar* P61, IV *ɣar-* L62:30. WM *ɣar* L350a. Kh *gar* H113a. Bur *gar* C146a. Brg *gar* U131. Kalm *ɣar* M157b. Dag *gar^{y}* E168. EYu *ġar* B76, J101a. MgrH *ġar* J101a. MgrM *ġar* JL463. BaoD *χar* BL89b. BaoÑ *χar* CN58 'hand; arm'. Kgj *χar* 285a. Dgx *qa* B67. Mog *ɣar* R28b, *qar* R31b, *gʌr* W165a, *ğʌr* 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:ʑir-* and *ha:ʑər-* CN66 < **garču ire-*, **garču od-*.

MMo SH *qar-* H61, HY *qar-* M88, Muq *ɣar-* P176b, Ph *qar-* P129a. WM *ɣar-* L350b. Kh *garax* H114b. Bur *garaxa* C148a. Brg *gar-* U133. Kalm *ɣarx* M159b. Dag *gar-* E168. EYu *ġar-* B76, J101b. MgrH *ġarə-* J101b. MgrM *ġara-* T325. BaoD *χărə-* BL89a. BaoGm *χar-* CN86:227. BaoÑ *χar-* CN59. BaoX *χarə-* BC62. Kgj *χar-* S285a. Dgx *qïri-* B71, L117b. Mog *ɣar-* R28b, *gʌr-* W165a, *ğʌr-* W178b, *qʌr-* W176a.

***gasïun** '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 *gušuun* H136a 'bitter taste', the Shirongol forms with rounded first syllable are more likely to derive from **gasïun*. The related verb ***gasïl-** 'to turn sour' survives in Bur *gašalxa* C152b, Ord *ġašil-* M297b, BaoÑ *ġaśil-* CN85. Dgx *qïʂulu-* B70, etc. In view of WM *ɣasila-*, Ord *ġašila-* M297b, there also was a form ***gasïla-**, which may also be present in Kgj *ġašila-* (rare) S288a.

MMo SH *qasi'un* H62, HY *qaši'un* M89, Muq *ɣašuːn* P178b, IV *qasuːn* L62:43, RH *qasuːn* 202C27. WM *ɣasiɣu(n)* L354a. Kh *gašuun* H118b. Ord *ġašuːn* M298a. Bur *gašuun* C152b. Brg *gašʊːŋ* U130. Kalm *ɣašun* M162b. Dag *gasuːn* E167. EYu *ġašuːn* B74, J101a. MgrH *xaśin* J101b, X69, *ġaʂïn* X94. MgrM *qəʑəŋ* DS251b. BaoD *χuśüŋ* BL88b 'sour'. BaoÑ *ġaśəŋ* CN85 'sour'. Dgx *qïʂuŋ* B70 'sour; bitter'. Mog *ɣašuːn* R28b, *qašuːn, qošuːn* R31b, *qɔšun* W177b 'annoyance, anger, bitterness', MogMr *qɒːšuˑn* L62:43 'opium', MogM *qɒːšũ* L62:43 'tea; bitter'.

***gaulï** 'copper, brass'. WM and modern central Mongolic, as well as Dag, support a final *-ï*, but MMo (Muq) and EYu go back to a form with *-a*, perhaps **goːla* or **guːla*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ɣula* P179b 'id'. WM *ɣauli(n)* L355a, *ɣuuli* L371a, *ɣaɣuli* L344a 'brass, copper'. Kh *guul'* H135b. Ord *ġuːli* M313a. Bur *guuli(n)* C162a. Brg *gʊːlʲ* U137. Kalm *ɣuul'* M171a. Dag *gaulʲ* E164 'brass'. EYu *ġɔlɔ* B78, *ġoːlo* S302 'brass'.

***gaursun** 'stubble, cut grain stalks; shaft of a feather'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ɣaɣursu(n)* L344a, *ɣuɣursu(n)* L365a, *ɣuursu* L371a. Kh *guurs(an)* H135b '(..) quills, tubes, pipes, straws', Kh *xuurs* H697a '(..) chaff, awn or beard of certain kinds of grasses'. Ord *ġuːrsu* M315b. Bur *guurha(n)* C162a 'shaft of a feather; pen'. Kalm *ɣuursn* M171b 'feather'. Dag *gaurs* E164 'stubble', cf. *xudusəi gaurs* S302 'shaft of a feather'. EYu *guːrs* (sic) (only) S302 'shaft of a feather'. MgrH *χʊːrʒə* SM185, *xaurʒï* 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 *gətəxʉn* (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 **geǰesün*. 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(ы)*, *gödös* M268b. Bur *gedehe(n)* C168b, *getehe(n)* C174a. Brg *gətu:* U135. Kalm *gesn* M140b. Dag *kətəs* E146, *gətəs* E83:60a. EYu *gedsən* B82, *gedesən* J101b. MgrH *gədesə* J101b. MgrM *gedesï* JL461. BaoD *gaźiəsuŋ* BL89b. BaoGt *gəsuŋ* C141. BaoÑ---. Kgj *gəǰisʉn* S289a. Dgx *kiʒesuŋ* 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 *ć* 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, *gï-* C380. BaoD *ge-* BL50. BaoÑ *ge:-* CN93. Kgj *ge-* ~ *gi-* S289a. Dgx *ǰie-* (?=) 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 **čaï-* ‘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 *gəɣə:n* E170; cf. *gəɣə:* E170 ‘dawn’. EYu *gegen* B82 ‘living Buddha’. MgrH *gəge:n* J101b. MgrM *gegen* JL461. BaoD *gəgaŋ* BL11. BaoÑ *gegaŋ* CN93. Kgj *gigɔ* S289a. Dgx *gieğaŋ* 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 *gəi-* E169. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *gi:-* CN94. Kgj *gi-* ~ *gi:-* S289a. Dgx (see s.v. **ör*). Mog---.

***geičin** ‘guest’. This word and the synonymous **aïlčïn* (not listed) and **ǰočïn* display a chaotic distribution. Perhaps derived from **keid* (q.v.), although in that case a form **kei(d)čin* would be expected.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *geyičin* L374b. Kh *giyčin* H119a. Ord *gi:čin* M267b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *giič* M143b. Dag---. EYu *ke:čən* B67, *ge:čən* J107a. MgrH---. MgrM *gečin* P412b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***geǰige** ‘back of the head; neck’. Kh and Bur reflect a form **geǰege*; Dag and EYu could have developed either from **geǰige* or **geǰege*. Cf. **gedei-* ‘to bend

backwards', **gedergü* 'backwards' (not listed).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *geǰige* P170a. WM *geǰige* L381a. Kh *gezeg* H141b 'hair; pigtail'. Ord *geǰige* M255b 'nape; braid, etc', cf. *gede:* M254b 'occiput'. Bur *gezege* C169a 'braid; (western) nape'. Brg *gəʒəg* U135 'braid'. Kalm *giǰg* M142b 'nape; braid'. Dag *gəǰiɣ* E172 'braid', cf. also *gədiɣ ~ gəǰiɣ* E172 'back of a knife'. EYu *geǰiɣe* B83, *geǰeɣe* J81 'back of the head'. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *gieʑiğ̈i* B90 'back of the head', *ġïʑiğ̈əi* 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 *gəlʲ*- E171 'to drive (livestock)'. EYu--- . Mgr---. BaoD---. Dgx---. Mog *geli*- R28a 'to sow', *gɛlɛ*- 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 *geːndə* 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, gentu̵* M259a/b. Bur *gente* C171a. Kalm *gent, gentkn* M138a. Dag *gənti:, gəntkəːn* E170, *gənt* E83:59b. EYu *geneti* BJ328, *genetele* (with attached particle) S292. Remaining lgs---.

***ger** 'dwelling, house; Mongolian yurt'. The Dag *-rʸ* 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 *gərʸ* 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 *geree* H144b ‘light, brightness; dawn; a torch’. Ord *gere* (*gére*) M260a ‘light; witness’. Bur *gere* (western) C173a ‘pine torch’. Kalm *gerᵊ* R134a ‘witness; testimony; torch, etc’. Dag *gər* E172 ‘torch, torch made out of willow twigs’, cf. *gər.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 *gərš* U135 ‘testimony’. Kalm *gerč* M140a ‘witness; testimony’. Dag *gərčin* E172 ‘testimony’. EYu *gerečə* BJ328 ‘witness’, possibly also related is *gerče* B83 ‘small scripture’ (with *-čA*). Mgr---. BaoÑ *gerʒaŋ* 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 *gərəl* U135. Kalm *gerl* M139a. Dag---. EYu *gerel* B83, J101b. MgrH *gəre:l* J101b, X104 ‘light’. MgrM *gərə* (?=) 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*/*gertᴎ* M261ab. Dag *gərʸt* > *gət* E88:167. MgrH *kudu* SM206. MgrM *gərdu* 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 *gertᴎ* R28a, MogM, MogMr *gértᴎ* L62:31.

*__ges-__ ‘to melt, thaw’. The fluctuation in consonant strength in Khalkha is unusual. Cf. **sïrï-* ‘to melt’, and Baoanic **sïmtara-* ‘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^{h}eši’un* P126a. WM *gesigün* L380a, *gesigüü* L380a. Kh *gišüü(n)* H120b. Ord *göšʉ:* M272a. Bur *gešüü(n)* C175b, also *gešüühe(n)* ‘id’. Kalm *gešü:n* R135a, *gešü:sn* R135a, *gišü:n* R137a. Dag *gəsu:* E171. EYu---. MgrH *kaśi*, *kaʂï* L258, *keʂï* L260. Remaining lgs---.

*__geški-__ ‘to step on; to trample’. Perhaps the original form is **geǰki-*. Initial strengthening in many forms in the QG languages.

MMo SH *getki-* H50, *geciki-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 *giʂgi-* SM137, *giśgi-* L148, *kiʂgi-* L267. MgrM *kəʂgi-* JL472. BaoD *kəśigə-* BL89b. BaoGt *kəʂgə-* C124. BaoÑ---. Kgj *keʼrki-* ~ *keki-* S287b. Dgx *qəśi-* (sic, ?=) S295. Mog---.

*__gešk__**__iür__** ‘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 *kəʂgu:r* ~ *kəʂgu:* X87, *kuʂgu:r* X92, *giʂgu:(r)* SM137, *kiʂgu:(r)* L267. MgrM *kugor* C379. BaoÑ *kurgur* CN83. Kgj *kʉrgi* ~ *kʉrki* S288a. Dgx *qïʂïğəu* ‘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 *gʉin* B84, *gü:n* J101b. MgrH *gu:* SM138, J101b. MgrM *gu* [*mori*] P414b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__gïl-__ ~ *__gil-__ ~ *__ǰïl-__ ~ *__ǰil-__ ‘smooth; glossy, shiny’. A large and complicated word family, with a strange distribution of derivations crossing the normal subgroup lines. The same *g* ~ *ǰ* variation is found in **gïrakaï* ~ **ǰïrakaï* ‘clever, perceptive’. A form **ǰïlman* survives in Kalm, EYu and Mog. The unclear Kgj form could be metathesized from **gïlman*. A form **gïluan* is found in Kh and Ord. MgrH may also be from this word, or from an alternant **ǰïloan* < **ǰïluan*. Dag and Dgx seem to represent the front-vocalic counterparts **gilöen* < **gilüen* and **ǰilöen* < **ǰilüen*, respectively. A selection of morphologically unclear but probably related words is also included below.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *gilaɣan* L382a, *giluɣan* L383b. Kh *gilger* H119b, *gyalaan* H145b, etc. Ord *gilo:n* M266a ‘white’ (Ersatzwort). Bur *yalaan* C798a, *geliger* C169b, *želeger* C236b, *yalagar* C798a, *yeleger* C221b, *gilagar* (western) C153b, and other derivates. Kalm *ǰilmn* M228b. Dag *gilə:n* NK539a, *gilu:r* E173 ‘shiny and clean’, *gilba:n* E174 ‘sunny’. EYu

ǰəlman B144. MgrH *ʒ́ilo:n* X221, *ʒ́ulo:n* X225. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *gemeliɔ*, *gemiliɔ* (?=) S289 ‘smooth’. Dgx *ʒ́ilien* B172 ‘smooth’. Mog *ǰilmo: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 *ɣoɣod*, *ɣoɣosu(n)* L358a/b. Kh *gogod* H121a ‘variety of wild leek’, *gogol* H121a ‘a variety of the *Liliaceae* Hall.’. Ord *ġoġot* M304a ‘kind of leek’. Bur *googol* (eastern), *googoho(n)* (western) C157a. Kalm *ġoɣᵑsn* R149b. Dag *gʷaɣəs* E183 ‘wild chives’. MgrH *ġʊġʊr* X98. Remaining lgs---.

***goka** ‘hook, crook’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ɣoɣa* P147a, P223a. WM *ɣoqa* L363a. Kh *gox* H127a. Bur *goxo* C158a. Kalm *ɣox* 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 *ɣool* L362b. Kh *gol* H123a. Bur *gol* C155a. Kalm *ɣol* M165a. Dag *gɔl* T132. EYu *ġɔl* B78 ‘mountain valley; river’, *ġol* J62 ‘river’. MgrH *ġol* J101b. MgrM *gol* P419a, *(ula) ġuar* C378 (cf. **aula*). BaoJ *ğuəl* L152. BaoÑ *ġəl* CN87. BaoX *ġol* BC69. Kgj *gʉr* (sic) S290a. Dgx *ġoŋ* B82. Mog *ɣo:l* R28b ‘riverbed’.

***gorgï** ‘hook; buckle, clasp’. Only Kh and one Kalm form suggest **gorkï*. The EYu forms seem to point at an older Mongolic form **gorgaï*. Muq *ɣoɣa* P223a is from **goka* ‘hook’.

MMo SH *qorgit* (pl) (?=) H67 ‘q.v.’, HY---, Muq---. WM *ɣorki* L361b, *ɣorgi* K1043a ‘buckle, ring or hook of a belt, clasp’ (different readings of the same spelling). Kh *gorxi* H126b. Ord *ġorgi* M307a. Bur *gor’yo* C158a. Kalm *ɣor’k* M167a, *ġorʸgĭ* R151b. Dag *gɔrɣʸ* E3:65a ‘ring for attaching a knot’. EYu *ġorği:* S559, *ġorğui* S287 ‘ring, circle’, *ġɔrğɔi* B78 ‘hook; hunchback; winding, crooked’. MgrH *ġuorgi* SM126 ‘buckle’, *ġurgi* L142 ‘slipknot’. Bao---. Dgx *ġuğəi* MC126a ‘knot on the door, door bolt’.

***göen** (?and *göin) ‘shallow’. Very similar to its opposite ***gʉn** ‘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 *güyn* 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’. EYu---. Dag *guɣa:n*, *guɣa:-kən* (sic, ?=) E179. Remaining lgs---.

***gölige** ‘puppy; whelp, cub (of carnivores)’. Most forms apparently from a disyllabic form **gölge*. As the EYu form *gələg* S300 is irregular and not confirmed by other sources, it is most likely a printing error for the normal EYu *gəčəg* B82, probably from CT **kičig* ‘small’. HY *güčük* M57 and Dgx *kiʒəu* B76 (there

connected to **gičii* ‘female of wild animals’) have the same origin.

MMo SH---, HY--- (? cf. *güligö* M58 proper name), Muq---. WM *gölöge, gölige* L386b. Kh *gölög* H127b. Bur *gülge(n)* C165a. Brg *gulig* U140 ‘puppy (dog)’. Kalm *gölg* M146b. Dag *gulyʷ* E180. EYu---. MgrH *golgo* J102a. MgrM *kulʸger, 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 *göröö* H128b ‘hunting; wild animal’, *göröös(ön)* H128b ‘antelope’. Bur *gürööhe(n)* C166a ‘roe deer’. Brg *gurə:* U140 ‘hunting’, *gurə:* U141 ‘wild animal’. Kalm *görä* (obs) M147a ‘hunting’, *göräsn* M147a ‘saiga antelope’. Dag *gurə:s* E181 ‘(wild) animal’. EYu *gʉre:sən* B85, *görösən* J102a, *görö:sən* (Qinglong) BJ350 ‘(wild) animal’. MgrH *korosə* J102a ‘bear’. Remaining lgs---.

***gučïn** ‘thirty’. With strengthening in EYu and MgrH due to the following č. In Bao and Kgj replaced by **gurban harban* ‘three tens’ (BaoD *ġurараŋ* BL89a, *ġubaraŋ* BL35, BaoÑ *ġurараŋ* CN89). Cf. **gurban* ‘three’ below and **gunan* ‘three-year-old’ (not listed).

MMo SH *qucin* H70, HY *qučin* M91, Muq *ɣučin* P179b. WM *ɣučï(n)* L364a. Kh *guč(in)* H136a. Bur *guša(n)* C162b. Kalm *ɣučn* M171b. Dag *gɔč, gɔčin* E177. EYu *ġučən* B80, *quǰin* J101a. MgrH *xoʒ́in* J101a. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***gudusun** ‘boots’ see ***gutusun**

***gulïr** ‘flour’ see ***gurïl**

***gura** ‘roe deer; roebuck’. The modern languages disagree regarding the final *-n*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ɣura* L368b. Kh *gur* H133a. Bur *gura(n)* C160b. Kalm *ɣurŭ* R155b. Dag *gura:n* E181. EYu *ġura* B80. Remaining lgs---.

***gurban** ‘three’. Cf. **gučïn* ‘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 *gɔrbʸla:n šidər* E177, Bur *gur’balaa* (*šüder*) C161b, in fact suggesting a stem **gurbï* (not supported by Kalmuck, EYu *ġurβaləd* B30. Cf. also the *i* in Dag *gɔrbid* E177 ‘(constellation of) three stars’ < **gurban hodun*.

MMo SH *qurban* H72, HY *qurban* M91, Muq *ɣurban* P179b. WM *ɣurba(n)* L369a. Kh *guravn* (*gurvan*) H133a. Ord *ġurwa* M316b. Bur *gurba(n)* C160b. Kalm *ɣurvn* M170a. Dag *gʷarbə, gʷarbən* E183, *gʷarəb* Z100a. EYu *ġurβan* B80, J102a. MgrH *ġura:n* J102a. MgrM *ġurbaŋ* T326, *gurbanʸ* P422. BaoD *ġuraŋ* BL89b. BaoÑ *ġuraŋ* CN89. BaoX *ġoraŋ* BC67. Kgj *gurɔ ~ ġurɔ* S289b. Dgx *ġuraŋ* B85. DgxL *ġurwaŋ* B86. Mog *ɣurbo:n* R60.

***gurïl** ‘flour’. With metathesis in many languages. Although **gulïr* has the earlier

documentation, either form could be the older. Different simplifications in Kalm and Dag.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ɣulir* P179b, *ɣulur-* P152b. WM *ɣulir*, *ɣuril* L367a. Kh *guril* H134a, *gulir* H132a. Ord *ġulir* M313a, *ġuril* (rare) M315b. Bur *guril* C161a. Kalm *ɣuyr* M168a. Dag *gɔlʲ* E176. EYu *ġulər* B79, J101b. MgrH *ġurəl* J101b. MgrM *ġurur* JL477, *ġuru* DS223b. BaoD *ġulər* BL89a, *ġur* (sic) BL30. BaoÑ *ġələr* CN87. Kgj *ġuru* (sic) S290b. Dgx *ġuruŋ* B86. Mog *ɣulur* R28b, *gulur* W165b, *ğulur*, *ğuğul* W178b.

***gutuar** 'third'. In many languages replaced by **gurbaduar*. Cf. **gurban* 'three' and **gučïn* 'thirty' above.

MMo SH *quta'ar*, *qutu'ar* H73, HY---, Muq---. WM *ɣutaɣar* (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 then *-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 *ɣutusun-* P180a, *qudusun* (P: *qo-*) P272b, *qutusun* P313a. WM *ɣutul* L370b, Kow1029a, and *ɣutusun* Kow1029a. Kh *gutal* H134b. Ord *ġutul* M318a 'leather boot'. Bur *gutal* C161b 'high fur boots', *gutaha(n)* C162a, *godoho(n)* (western) C154a. Brg *gʊtal* U139. Kalm *ɣosn* M167a. Dag *gɔčɔ:r* (sic, ?=) E177. EYu *ġudəsən* B80, *ġɔdəsən* B78, *ġudusun* J101b, *gutusun* P419 'boot'. MgrH *ġudusə* J101a. MgrM---. BaoD *ġudəsuŋ* BL89b. BaoGt *ġosson* C120. BaoÑ *ġɵdsɵŋ* CN87, *ġɵrsɵŋ* CN88. Kgj *ġudər ~ gudər* S288b. Dgx *ġudusuŋ* B84, L117a. Mog---.

***guya** 'thigh'.

MMo SH *quya* H73 'leg', HY---, Muq *ɣuya* P180b. WM *ɣuya* L365b. Kh *guya* H136a. Ord *ġuya* M311b. Bur *guya* C162b. Kalm *ɣuy* M168a. Dag *gʷay* E183. EYu *ġuya* B80, J101a. MgrH---. MgrM *ġʊya* C387 'leg'. BaoD *ġuya* BL89b. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *ġuya* L117a 'thigh', *ġuya* B85 'shin, shank', *boya* (?=) MC44a 'thigh'. Mog *ɣuya* R28b.

***guyu-** 'to request, ask for, to beg'.

MMo SH *quyi-* H74, *quyu-* H74, HY *quyu-* M92, Muq *ɣui-* P179b, *ɣuya-* P180b, Ph *quyu-* P129b. WM *ɣuyu-* L365b. Kh *guyx* H131a. Bur *guyxa* C159b. Kalm *ɣuux* M171b, *ġu:χă* R156b. Dag *gɔi-* E174. EYu *ġɔi-* B78, *ġui-* J101b. MgrH *ġʊi-rla-* X98, cf. *ġʊi-śźə* X98 'beggar'. MgrM *ġuai-ćiŋ* JL465 'beggar'. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ġui-* CN89. Kgj *ġui-* S288b. Dgx *ġoyi-* B83 'to borrow', *ġuai-* 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 *gʉwe-*, *gʉwi-* 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 *kʉi-* 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 *gʉi-* 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 *gʉi-* S289b. Dgx---. Mog *gʉi:-* 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 *guiyice-* H52, *kuiyice-* H105, HY *küyiče-* M73, Muq *güiče-* P172b. WM *gü[y]iče-* L389a. Kh *güycex* H138b. Ord *gʉičі-* M278a, *gʉči-* M280b. Bur *güysexe* C164b. Brg *guis-* U140. Kalm *güücx* M151b. Dag *kuičə:-* E154. EYu *güče-* B85, *gʉiče-* BJ328. MgrH *kuiʒœ-* X91. MgrM *kuići-* JL475. BaoD---. BaoÑ *kića-* CN80. Kgj *kʉičі-* S287b. Dgx *kuiçe-* B78. Mog---.

***güǰeen** 'belly, stomach'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *güǰe:n* P172b. WM *güǰege* L393a. Kh *güzee* H137a 'paunch'. Ord *gʉǰe:* M274b. Bur *güzee(n), güzöö(n)* C163b '&paunch, peritoneum'. Kalm *güzän* M148b '&paunch; peritoneum'. Dag *guǰə:* E180. EYu *gʉǰe:n* B85, *guǰe:n* J102a 'rumen', *guǰe:n* J78 'stomach'. MgrH *guʒie:* SM140, *guʒe:* L155 'stomach'. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *guǰʌn*, *gužʌn* 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. **nïs-*). 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^{w}ə:n* E184. EYu---. MgrH *gom* J102a, *fuguœn* 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 *gʊm* CN96. Kgj *gʉn* 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 *gorŏn* D188a. Ord *gʉru-* M279a, *gʉri-* M278b. Bur *gürexe*

C166b. Brg *gur-* U140. Kalm *gürx* M150a. Dag---. EYu *gʉr-* B85. MgrH *gurə-* X108. MgrM *guru-* JL463. Bao---. Dgx---. MogM *gʉri˙-* L62:31.

***güreen** 'name of certain muscles, tendons, or veins'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *gürü:n sudusun* [*gürö:n?*] P172b 'jugular vein'. WM *gürege(n)* L392a. Kh *güree(n)* H139b 'the area of the neck below and in front of the ears'. Ord *gʉre:* M278a 'the sides of the neck'. Bur *gürөө* C166a 'carotid (artery)'. Kalm *gürä* M149 'vein', *gürɛ:n sudăsn* R139b 'jugular vein' (**sudasun*). Dag *gur^{y}e: s^{w}adal* E83:68a 'neck artery', *gurə s^{w}adal* S309 'jugular vein' (**sudal*). EYu *gʉre:n* BJ328 'the sides of the neck', *gure:n χda: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. **čïlaun* 'stone'.

MMo SH *guru* H53, HY---, Muq *güri* P133a, *gürü-* P278a, RH *güri* [?eds. read *k-*] 202A2, Ph *k^{h}uru-* P126b. WM *gürü* L392b 'ironstone; pebble'. Kh *gür* H139a 'ironstone'. Ord *gʉrʉ* (in compound) M279a. Bur---. Kalm *gür* M149a 'ore'. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *quri* (sic) W177b, MogM, MogMr *kʉri* L62:52.

- H -

***haaga** 'bran'.

MMo---. WM *aɣa* L12b. Kh *aaga* H1b. Ord *a:ġ* M6b. Bur *aagahan* C16b 'crushed oatmeal; (Tunka dial.) roasted flour'. Dag *xa:yə* E96 'bran; roasted oatmeal'.

***haakaï** and ***haaljïn** '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 **haaljïn* may be the same root with a different formans also found in animal and plant names.

***haakaï ~ *habakaï**: MMo---. WM *abaɣaqai* ('Buriat and Kalmuck') L3a. Bur *abaaxai* C19b. Brg *aβa:xai* U4. MgrH *χa:χe:* SM151, *xa:xai* X64; C465. MgrM *xaxai* DS251b.

***haaljïn**: MMo SH---, HY *ha:ljin* H59, Muq---. WM *aɣalǰa(n)*, *aɣalǰi(n)* L12b. Kh *aalz(an)* H2b. Ord *a:lǰa* M15a. Bur *aalza* C17a, *abaalzay* (Sel.) C19a. Kalm *aralǰn* (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 *haččа*; 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)’.

***hačï** ‘grandson; nephew/niece’. Related to CT **atï* ‘grandson’, which in fact may have been **hatï*.

MMo SH---, HY *hači kö’ün* M59, *ači* HY34, Muq---. WM *ači* L8a. Kh *ač* H38a. Bur *aša* C67. Kalm *ač* M58b. Dag---. EYu *hačəkon* B55 ‘niece’ (see **ökin*), *hačəkün* B55 ‘nephew’ (see **köbeün*). MgrH *ać i sunʒə* SM15, *a:ćə* X2. Bao---. Dgx *haçï* B65, *hačï* 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 **alïgan*, Kh **alaga*; EYu **halagan*; Mgr and Dgx **halga*. Mog **alakaï* with remodeled ending. The Bao forms have surprisingly become identical to the forms of CM **heligen* ‘liver’. LV *halaqa* P76 (ms. *ṣalaqa*) 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 *alaɣa(n)* L26b. Kh *alga* H15a, Chakhar *alăğ* D170a. Ord *alaġa* M11b. Bur *al’ga(n)* C46a. Brg *alag* U6. Kalm *al’xn* M39a. Dag *xaləɣ* E100, Z91b. EYu *halğan* B55, *halağan* J93a. MgrH *xalġa* J93a, X68, *χarġa* SM161, *χalġa* T372, *alġa* X5, *arġa* SM13; MgrM *xarġa* J88, *ġar qarġa* (sic) C377 (+ **gar*), *ġar qərġa* DS241. BaoD *χar həlgə* (?=) BL81b. BaoÑ *helge* (?=) CN67. Kgj---. Dgx *haŋġa* B64. Mog *olaqɛi* R35b.

***haluka** ‘(small) hammer’.

MMo IM *haluɣa* [emended, vocalised *hulɣa*] P437b, RH *aluqa* 204C8. WM *aluqa(n)* L34a. Kh *alx(an)* H18b. Ord *aluχa ~ aluχu* M18a. Bur *alxa* C45a. Brg *alx* U6. Kalm *alx* M37b. Dag *xalluɣ*^{w} E102, *xaləɣ*^{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 *amuɣul-* 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 *xaŋbura-* JL467. BaoD *hamar-* BL81b. BaoÑ *hamara-* CN65. Kgj *hambəra-* S286b. Dgx *hamara-* B65, *hamura-* L109b, T139. Mog---.

*__haŋga__- ~ *__haŋka__- ‘to be thirsty’. Cf. **umdaas-* elsewhere.

MMo SH *hangqa-* H74, HY---, Muq---, IV---. WM *angɣa-* L43b. Kh *angax* H25a. Bur *angaxa* C52a. Kalm-?-. Dag *xaŋk-* E99, Z91a. Remaining lgs---.

*__hanï__- and *__hanïï__- ‘to close one’s eyes’ (slight semantic differences are indicated in languages that have both forms). Bökh derives Dgx *xami-* from the synonymous **kamkï-* (cf. EYu *χamġə-* 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 *anʸ-* U2, *anɪ:-* 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---.

*__hanïska__ ‘eyebrow; eyelash’. Derived from **hanï-* above. Bur *nidxe* may be an altered form of this, perhaps influenced by **nidün* ‘eye’. Cf. also the problematic MgrH *senasġa* SM344 ‘eyelashes’, MgrM *naosïġa* 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 *χanasġa* SM155 ‘eyebrows’, *xanəsġa* J103b ‘eyelashes’. MgrM *xanisïġa* DS221, *xaniská* P411b ‘eyebrow’, *hanisġa* Z331:256, 258 ‘eyebrow; eyelash’. BaoD *χamsəġ* (?=) 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 *araβ* (*arβaŋ*) U15/16. Kalm *arvn* M48a. Dag *xarəb* E105, Z91b, *xarbən* E106. EYu *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 *haroŋ* L110a, B65 [the ‘variant’ *haruan* B65 represents the same pronunciation]. Mog *arbo:n* R23a ‘ten; several; some’, MogMr *arbɒ: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* (?), **ǰundaul*.

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 *arġal* M28a. Bur *argal* C57b, *argaha(n)* (western) C58a, *argaahan* (Al., Barg.) C57a. Brg *argal* U16. Kalm *arysn* M49a. Dag *xaryəl* E106. EYu *harğal* B55, J94a. MgrH *xarġal* X72, *χarġar* SM161; MgrM *xarġar* J88, *qaġər* DS218b. BaoD *χalġar* BL19, *χalġər* BL62. BaoÑ *harġal* CN66, *halġar* CN65. Kgj *halğa* S286a. Dgx *haŋġa* B64, *hağa* 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. EYu---. MgrH *sġa-* J94a, X141, *saġə-* J80, *sʒaġa-* X145. MgrM *arsɤġ-* C384, *ərsəġ-* DS231a. BaoD *asġə-* BL81b. BaoÑ *asaχ-* CN7, *asχa-* CN8. Kgj *asiğ-* ~ *asğï-* 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. EYu *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, *χo: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 *hɔr- ~ hur-* S286b. Dgx *xolu-* B59, L117a, T139. Mog *ӧԝl-* 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 *aɣur* 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 *hɔr* 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 *-ġ* 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 *ayaġ* X9, SM16, *χayaġ* 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 *χǰe:-* S273, *hče-ŋgə*, *hče-ŋki:* B62 ‘emaciated’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *həçə-* B66. L121b. Mog *ečə-* 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 *ətəg-* derives from this, in view of the Brg treatment of **geški-*, **auškï* ‘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 *ətəg-* U22. Kalm *iškx* M276a. Dag *xərk-* E112. EYu *hətge-* B55, *hədge-* J94a. MgrH *dəge-* X195, J94b. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *etqä-* R27b, *idkʌ-* W167b, *itkʌ-* 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:lβər* 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 *xe:-* X73, J94a, T375, *χe:-* SM166, *śe:-* C580. MgrM *śie-* DS218b. BaoD *hi-*, *həi-* BL82b, *he-* BL90b, *hə:-* T150. BaoÑ *he:-* CN67. Kgj *he-* 286b. Dgx *śie-* 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 *-ć-*. Cf. **teriün* 'head', **tolagaï* 'head', **tarïkï* '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 *xək^{y}* E109, Z102b. EYu *škən* B110 'at first, originally; top, peak'. MgrH *χəgi* SM166 'source, beginning', *xgə* X83. MgrM (*golni*) *išči* 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 *ɛkin* R27b. *ɛkin*, *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 **kalï-* 'to float' (not listed), which survives in the central languages, but this correspondence is phonetically unlikely.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ele-* Cevel 875b.. Kh *elex* 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 *əlʲə:* D169a. Ord *éle:* M236b. Bur *elyee* C761b ‘black kite’. Kalm *elä* M695a ‘black kite’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ile:* J94b. MgrM *xəliuliu* (?=) 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 *xələɣ* E110 also ‘purple’. EYu *heleɣen* B56, *heleɣe* J94a. MgrH *χaliege* SM152, *χalige*, *χelige* T375, *xalgɜ* X68, *xelge* J84b. MgrM *xarge* JL476. BaoD *helgə* BL82a. BaoÑ *helge* CN67. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *elkȁn* R27b ‘liver’, *ılkʌn* W167b ‘heart’.

***herbeekei** ~ ***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*^{h}*ge*, 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, *xairbuġa* L163. MgrM *xərbigə* DS210a. Dgx *həbəği ~ həbuği* B66, *hənbəğəi* 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 **bulčïrkaï* ‘gland’, **čïmarkaï* ‘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 *erxï* C773a. Kalm *erkä* M703a. Dag *xərəɣ* E111. EYu *hermegčə* (?=) B57. MgrH *ʂgɜćə xʊrə* (?=) 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 *xərɣ^{y}-* E112, cf. *ərɣ^{y}-* E30 'to return'. EYu *hergə-* B78. MgrH *xergə-* X74, *xargə-* X72, *χergi-* SM167, *χargi-* T374. MgrM *xargɤ-* C377, *xərgə-* DS256b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *irgʌ-* 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 *ərɣis* 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, *xargɜ* 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 *heęï* C121. BaoÑ---. BaoX *ɛx́ə* 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 *hər* CN69. Kgj *hər* S286b 'nest, lair'. Dgx *xo* B58, L110a. Mog---.

***hïbau** (**?*hïbuu**) 'shell (mollusk)'. In Dag with the ending *-sUn*. The *-a-* in the spelling is not confirmed elsewhere.

MMo---. WM *ibaɣu, ibau* L396a. Kh *yüvüü* H869b (sic) 'mussel'. Bur *yobuun* C226a. Dag *xiwɔ:s* E83:83b, *iwɔ:s* E83:101b. Remaining lgs---.

?***hïbčau*** ‘narrow, tight’. see ***ïbčau***.

hïlua ‘fly’. Most modern forms developed from an assimilated **hïlaa*, but Ordos from **hïlo:* < **hïloa*. Bur-Kalm are from an extended form **ïlaa-sun* (cf. Kmg *ila:xun* Janhunen 91, but *ila:* Kőhalmi 191). Cf. **sïmaul*, **sona*.

MMo SH *hilu’atu-* H76 ‘to be stung by flies’, HY---, Muq---. WM *ilaɣa(n)* L402a. Kh *yalaa(n)* H875b. Chakhar *ıla:* D168a. Ord *ilo:* M384a. Bur *ilaahan* C277a, *yalaaha(n)* (western) C798a, also *alyaaha(n)* (?=) C46a. Brg *yala:* U220 ‘mosquito’. Kalm *iläsn* M267. Dag *xila:* E114 ‘horsefly’. Remaining lgs---.

hïra (?) ‘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 **hïraur* ‘bottom’. The connection between the SH and modern forms was proposed by Bökh. The *-b* of BaoÑ *ɕirab* 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 *ɕira* BL92a ‘underside’, *ɕira-ćі* BL84b ‘downwards’, *ɕira-gu* BL79 ‘the one below’. BaoÑ *ɕirab* (?=) CN158 ‘foundation, base’. BaoX *ɕira* BC69 ‘bottom part; under’. Kgj *χara* S285b ‘underside’, *χarənda ~ χanda* S285a ‘lower part; lower reaches of river’, *ꟈde χanda* S119, S308 (lit. ‘above below’, see **öede*) ‘about, approximately’. Dgx *ɕira* B126 ‘bottom part; under’. Mog---.

hïruar ~ ***hïraur*** ‘bottom, base, ground’. The evidence for the precise original form is conflicting. Both **au* and **ua* are already represented in MMo. **hïra* above may support **hïraur* as the original variant. The forms with *-l* are due to dissimilation. Kh *yorool*, the Ord and Kalm forms, as well as Dgx, developed from **hïruar* > **hïroar* > **hïro:r*. EYu *hru:r* could have developed from either **hïro:r* < **hïruar* or **hïru:r* < **hïraur*. Kh-Bur *oyoor* looks like another irregular development from an earlier **yoroor*. The somewhat similar Dagur form with -ɣ- is also unexpected.

MMo SH *hiru’ar*, *hira’ur* H76, HY *hiru’ar* M60, Muq *hiru’ar* P185b, *hiro:r* [*?hiru:r*] P185b, *hira:r* P135a, LV---, IV---. WM *iruɣar* [?= *iroɣar*] L415a, *iruɣal* [?=*iroɣal*] L415a. Kh *yorool* H205b, *yoroor* H205b, *oyoor* H388b. Ord *iro:l* M387b. Bur *oyoor* C350. Brg *ɔyɔ:r* U33. Kalm *yoral* M280a. Dag *xiyɔ:r* E114, *šiyɔ:r* E134. EYu *hru:r* B62, *horu:l* S740. Mgr---. BaoGt *holər* C140. Kgj *hulur ~ hurlu* S286b. Dgx *ɕiro* B126. Mog---.

hïutan (~ ***huïtan***) ‘narrow, tight’. The more common form with **uï* survives in NM, Mog, EYu, MgrM, Bao, and Dgx. The MMo form **hïutan* 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 **hïbčau* 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^{y}aut* E131, NK558b, *šaut* NK519a. EYu *ütan* B22. MgrH *yu:tæn, yu:tan* SM495, *wi:tæn, wi:tan* SM484. MgrM *xuitaŋ* JL469, cf. *ɸuitaŋ* C396 'poor'. BaoD *itaŋ* BL3. BaoÑ---. Kgj *uitɔ* S280a. Dgx *uitaŋ* B18. Mog *itʌ̃n* W168a, MogMr *itɒ̃:n*, MogM *itɒ̃:* 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 *iwege:-* (← WM) M390a 'traiter avec bonté'. Bur-?-. Kalm *iväx* (obs) M262a. Remaining lgs---.

***hiče**- 'to be ashamed' Dgx *ʂ-* 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, *ičі-* P194a, *iče-* P194a. WM *iče-* L397b, *ičі-* L398a. Kh *ičix* H282b. Ord *éčі-* M250a. Bur *ešexe* C780b. Kalm *ičx* M275b. Dag *xič-* E115, *šič-* Z93b. EYu *hče-* B62, *hije-* J95b. MgrH *śʑe:-* J95a, X159, *ʂʑe:-* X169. MgrM *śʑe-* JL462. BaoD *ʑiə-* BL83a. BaoÑ *ʂʑe-* CN152. Kgj *šǰi-* ~ *hǰi-* ~ *ǰi-* S296a. Dgx *ʂïʒə-* B131, L111a, *šïǰə-* T143, *ʂi̯ʒə-* ~ *ʂʐə-* 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 *śʑo:sə* J102b, X166, *śüʑo:ʒə* X158 'tree'. MgrM *śuʑuesï* DS260b 'willow'. Bao---. Kgj *ǰasun* 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 ~ eleǰi* (?=) 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 **iĭne-*, with the metathesis also seen in **kanïa-* ‘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 *enyeexe* C768a. Brg *inʸə:-* U26. Kalm *inäx* M270a. Dag *xinə:d-* (reformed on the basis of *xinə:d* ‘joke’) E113. EYu *ɲi:-* B28, J94b. MgrH *śine-* J95b. MgrM *ʂïni-* JL472. BaoD *śine-* BL83b. BaoGm *x́ine-* CN86:17, *x́ene-* CN86:302. BaoGt *ʂïnɛ-* C108, *ʂne-* CN86:17. BaoGm BaoÑ *x́ene-* CN86:302. BaoÑ *x́ine-* CN156. BaoX *ñɛ-* BC64. Kgj *šine-* S295a. Dgx *śinie-* B124. Mog *inna:-* R29b, *inʌ-* 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 **kïtuga 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 (**kïtuga* ‘knife’). MgrH *ir* X14. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *śidu* (?=) 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, *üryeexe* C512a, *üröoxe* C513a. Brg *yurə:-* U224. Kalm *yöräx* M281b. Dag *xirə:-* E115 also ‘to curse’, *xirʁə-* NK559b. EYu---. MgrH *śüro:-* 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 *yeröol*) H202a. Ord

örö:l M539a. Bur *yürööl* (written *yuröol*) C782b, *üryeel* C512a, *üröol* C513a. Brg *yurəːl* U224. Kalm *yöräl* M281b. Dag *xirəːl* 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 *foːdə* J95a, MgrM *xotu* J88. BaoD *hotuŋ* BL83a. BaoGt *hotï* C107. BaoJ *hotŕ* L82. BaoÑ *həːtaŋ* CN68, cf. *taŋ* in *anʒ́isəŋ taŋ* CN3 'triple star', lit 'plough star(s)'. Kgj *fʉtɔ ~ hʉtɔ ~ φʉtɔ* 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, ʂ* 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 **hogtačï-*, as in MMo SH *hohtoci-* H76 'to cut, mince'.

MMo SH *hohtal-* H76, HY---, Muq *oqtal-* P268a, *oqtul-* P185b, LV *hotqal-* P74, IV---. WM *oɣtol-* L602a, *oɣtal-* L601b. Kh *ogtlox* H387b. Ord *oġtol-* M508a. Bur *otolxo* C365b. Brg *ɔtɔl-* U33, *ɔgtɔl-* U32. Kalm *utlx* M540a. Dag---. EYu *qutul-* B65, *qudol-* J95a. MgrH *ʂdolə-* J95a. MgrM *futar-* (?=) C381, *sudur-* (?=) DS215. BaoD *hdolə-* T151. BaoJ *xodal-* L212 'to cut deep'. BaoÑ *hdəl-* CN72, *ʂdəl-* CN151. BaoX *dolə-* BC62, *hdəl-* CN86:229. Kgj *dər- ~ dur-* S299b, *dər-* S20 'to fell'. Dgx *otolu-* B15, L111a. Mog---.

***hoï** '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, *xʊi* X75, *fɤi* 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, *oɣar* P262b, *oɣor* 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^{w}akər* E134, Z93b. EYu *hġɔr* B59, *χoġor* J95a. MgrH *χġuar* J95a, *χġar* J55, *χuġuor* SM179, *χuġor* T376, *χʊġʊr* X77, *χġʊr* X82. MgrM *qʊġʊar* (sic) C379, *χuġor* T376. BaoD *ġor* BL83a. BaoGt *ġor* C142. BaoÑ *ġər* CN88. BaoX *ġor* BC62. Kgj *χɔr ~ χuar* S285b. Dgx *oqo* B13, L111a. Mog *uqar* R41a, *ɔqʌr* W175a.

***hon** '(the duration of a) year'. Cf. **ǰil* '(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, *fœn* SM98, *χuœn* SM174, *fan* X58, *fon* X59. MgrM *xuaŋ* C376. BaoD *hoŋ* BL83b, *xɔŋ* T149. BaoÑ *həŋ* CN68. Kgj *hon ~ huŋ* S286b. Dgx *xoŋ* B59, *xuan* B61 (these two notations represent the same pronunciation). Mog---.

***horaï** 'crown of the head; top, summit'. The *-b-* in BaoÑ and the *-əu* (instead of *əi*) 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 *xɔr* E120 (?←Manchu). EYu *hɔrui* 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.

***horčï**- 'to turn (intr); to go'. Although several languages, including MMo Muq, have both **horčï-* and **očï-* type forms, this verb may be the origin of **očï-* > **ečï-* 'to go'. Interestingly a third form **yorčï-* (similar-looking but unrelated) is found in some MMo sources: SH *yorci-* H171 'to go', HY *yorči-* M111 'to go', RH *yorči-* 188C25, Ph *yorči-* P133b 'to go, proceed, ride'. cf. **ečï-* (**očï-*) and **od-*.

MMo SH *horci-* H77 'to encircle; to turn (intr)', HY---, Muq *horči-* P186a 'to turn, to go', *orči-* P269b 'to turn, to go', LV *horči-* P75 'to turn (intr.)'. WM *orči-* L616b. Kh *orčix* H400a 'to turn around, revolve, rotate'. Ord---. Bur--- [*oršoxo* (lit) (?=) C365a 'to enter, etc' is from **orasï-*]. Kalm *orčǐ-* (rare) R290b 'to turn (intr)'. Dag *xɔrč-* E123. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *oçïra-* (?=) B15. Mog *orči-* R35b 'to go way, leave', *ɔrči-* W175a 'to go', *urči-* W183a 'to go'.

***horčïul**- 'to turn (tr.)'. Caus. of **horčï-* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *horča'ul-* P186a, *horči'ul-* P186b, *horčil-* P186a, *orča'ul-* P269b, *orči'ul-* P270b, LV *horču:l-* P75 'to turn (tr.)'. WM *orčiɣul-* 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. **horčïa-*]. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ɵćɵl-* CN18. Kgj *ɵčɵ-* S280b. Dgx *oçulu-* B16. Mog *orču:l-* R35b.

*__horgï__- ‘to boil, to bubble, to gush forth’. According to SM, MgrH *śʒolə*- ‘to boil’ is the same word as **horgïl*- (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’yolxo* C365a. Kalm-?-. Dag---. EYu *hɔrğə*- 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 *horɣu*- P186b, *horɣuul*- (caus) P186b, *orɣu*- P265b, RH *horɣodasun* 204A27 ‘fugitive’. WM *orɣu*- L617b. Kh *orgox* H396b. Ord *urġu*- M739b. Bur *orgoxo* C359b. Kalm *orɣx* M402a. Dag *xɔrɣ*^{w}- E122 ‘to hide (oneself)’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *xorgo*- (?=) P419b ‘to gallop’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__horïa__- ‘to bind, wind, spin, wrap’ Most languages go back to a form with assimilated diphthong **horaa*- (> **horo:*-). The palatal element of *-ïa*- is retained in Buriat.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hora:-qči* 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, *xɔrɔ:*- B50. MgrH *furo:*- J95b, SM111, *χuro:*- SM185. MgrM *xoro*- JL475, *xoro*- in *aqar xoroku xulusï* P421b (s.v. cevka) ‘spool for a loom’. BaoD *χorə*- BL83b. BaoÑ *hərə*- 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?) suffic *-dUn*, in hich 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, *χudus*^{w} Z94a. EYu *hodən* B58, J96a, *pɔdɔn* B40 (BJ339 instructs the reader to strike this variant). MgrH *fo:də* J96b. MgrM---. BaoD *hotuŋ* BL84a. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *xoduŋ* B60, L112a. Mog---.

*__höelǰin__ (*böelǰin, *höbelǰin, *böbelǰin) ‘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 **pöpelǰin* (as suggested by Ramstedt in his Kalmuck dictionary). Independent attempts to reflect the hoopoe’s call are present in Dag *ɔpɔ:pi:* E38 ‘hoopoe’, Dgx *xuma ˈbubu* B64 ‘hoopoe’, and possibly Dgx *ˈbïnbïnçï* (?=) MC38 ‘name of a kind of bird’.

MMo SH---, HY---, ZY **ü:göljĭn* Kara333 ‘hoopoe’, **hübü’elčin* Kara272 ‘cormorant, heron’, Muq *hö’öljĭn sara* P186b ‘jumāda ’l-’āḫīr (6th lunar month)’, LV---, IV---, RH *hö:ljĭn* [eds read short *ö*] 200B8 ‘hoopoe’, cf. *öhelǰin* 201A12 ‘the third month of spring’, Ph---. WM *öbelǰin* L627a, *ögelǰin* L631b, *böbegelǰin* L123b, *bübegelǰin/bübügelǰin* (so read) L143b. Kh *bövööljˇ(in)* H74a, *büveelǰin* H88a, *övööljˇ* H403b, *övgöljĭnö* H402a. Ord *ö:ljĭn* M530b, *ö:ljĭ: sara* ‘twelfth month (last winter month)’. Bur *büböölžen* C120a. Brg *uβə:ljˇ* U47. Kalm *ö:ljn, öwä:ljn* R304b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *barbarʒ́in* SM20 ‘hoopoe’, *barbalʒ́in* X46 ‘woodpecker’ (sic). Kgj *bəbəçï* 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^{w}ə:s* to WM *kögesün* ‘foam, froth etc’. Indeed Dag *x^{w}ə: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^{w}ə:s* E135. EYu---. MgrH (Danma dialect) *sun* DS248b ‘semen’. MgrM *soŋ* DS248b ‘semen’. BaoD *hosuŋ* BL83b. BaoJ *hosúŋ* L82 ‘seminal fluid’. Kgj *hʉsʉn* S286b. Dgx *hosuŋ* 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 *xɔg-* B50, *xog-* B51, *hog-* J21. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *ekə-* BL62. BaoJ *ɻgə-* L168. BaoGm *iχ-* CN86:227. BaoÑ *yiχ-* CN218. BaoX *xgə-* BC70, *ɣ́gə-* CN86:173. Kgj ï- ~ ïɣ- S279b. Dgx *əğï-* B8, *ağə-* L68. Mog *ʉggʉ-* 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, *öngkeri-*, *öngköri-* L639a. Kh *önxröx* H414a. Ord *öŋkörö-* M536b. Bur---. Brg *uŋkər-* U46. Kalm *öŋkr-* R297b. Dag *xunkir-* E83:95b, *xʉnkir-* NK563b. EYu---. MgrH *ŋguro:-* X42 ‘roll; lie down’. MgrM *xoŋgur-* C374, *xongur-* P424, *χangere-* T373. BaoD *xəŋgər-* T150 ‘to lie down’, *ŋgər-* T145 ‘to lie; to sleep’. BaoGt *hoŋgər-* 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 *χarin* 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** ~ ***hïǰaur** ‘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 **hïǰaur*, 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 **učïr* ‘cause, reason’.

MMo SH *huja’ur* H78, HY *huǰa’ur* M61, Muq *hiǰa’ur* P184a, *uǰa’ur* P163a, LV (?) *huǰawur* P76, IV *huǰaur* L62:33, RH *huǰaur* 202A17, Ph *huǰa’ur* P124b. WM *iǰaγur* L418b. Kh *uzuur* H541b, *yozoor* 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 *xɔǰɔ:r* E120. EYu---. MgrH *śʒau:r* J96a, *śʒiu:r* SM392. MgrM *ʒor* JL472, *ʒur* DS206a (**hüǰüür* has developed the same shape). BaoD---. BaoÑ *өʒər* 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^{w}a:l* E132 'tinder grass, punk'. EYu---. MgrH *fula* SM105, J5 'mugwort/artemisia', *fula* X61 'Chinese mugwort; tinder'. MgrM *xʊla* [*xɔuʒï*] 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 *ulaɣan* L869b. Kh *ulaan* H543a. Ord *ula:n* M729a. Bur *ulaan* C466a. Kalm *ulan* M530b. Dag *xula*:n E126. EYu *ła:n* B88, J96a. MgrH *fula:n* SM105, J96b. MgrM *xulaŋ* J88, *χulaŋ* T370. BaoD *fulaŋ* BL83b, *fəlaŋ* T148. BaoÑ *fulaŋ* CN55. BaoX *fəlaŋ* BL65. Kgj *fʉlɔ* S285a. Dgx *xulaŋ* B63, *xulan* L111a, T139, *fulaŋ* (Longquan) B54. Mog *ulo:n* R41a.

***hulaï**- '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^{w}ali:*- E134. EYu *łai*- BJ335. MgrH *fulie:*- SM105, *fule:*- X61. BaoD---. BaoÑ *fule:*- CN56. BaoX *fəli*- BL62. Kgj---. Dgx *xuli*- B63. Mog---.

***hulïasun** '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 **hʊlʊ-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 *ɔlʲe:rs* E38 'poplar', *ɔlʲe:s* Z10 'old poplar'. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *xulasuŋ* 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 *xʊmba:*- 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 *umbɒ:*- L64:37.

*__hunïn__ ‘smoke’. The distribution is interesting: **hunïn* is attested in MMo, Bur, Dag, and the Shirongol languages, but absent in Kh, Kalm, and EYu. There is a related form **hunïar*, which is found in the central languages, and may also be present in Dag *xɔnʸe:tɔ-* NK560a ‘to be covered in mist’ from **hunïartu-*. 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 *xɔnʸ* E117, Z94a. EYu---. MgrH *fune* J96b, *funi* SM107; MgrM *xuni* J88, *χuni* T371. BaoD *fune* BL84b, *fənə* T149. BaoJ *honé* L81. BaoÑ *funaŋ* CN55, *hunaŋ* CN70. Kgj *fʉni ~ 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 *unọ-* H165, HY---, Muq *unu-* P365a, LV *unu-* P1261, IV---. WM *unu-* L877b. Kh *unax* H546b. Ord *unu-* M736a. Bur *unaxa* C470a. Brg *ʊn-* 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.

*__huŋgu-__ ‘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 *hunɣu-* P76, IV *hunɣu-* L62:34. WM *ungɣa-* L876b. Kh *ungax* H547a. Ord *uŋġu-* M736b. Bur *ungaxa* C470a. Brg *ʊŋg-* U38. Kalm *oŋɣx* M399a. Dag *xɔŋgʷ-* E118. EYu *hɔŋġə-* B57, *hoŋġə-* J95b. MgrH---. MgrM *xuŋġu-* DS222. BaoD *huŋġə-* BL83a. BaoÑ *həŋġə-* CN68. Kgj *huŋğu-* S286b. Dgx *huŋġu-* B67. Mog *uŋğu-* W134a, MogM *uŋɣu˙-* L62:34.

*__huŋgusun__ ‘fart’. From **huŋgu-* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *hunqusun* P76, IV---, RH *hunɣasun* 199B4. WM *ungɣasu(n)* L876b, *ungɣusu(n)* L877a. Kh *ungas* H547a. Ord *uŋġus(u)* M737a. Bur *ungaha(n)* C470a. Brg *ʊŋgʊ: ~ ʊŋgʊr* (sic) U38. Kalm *oŋɣăsn* R287b. Dag *xɔŋgus* E118. EYu *hɔŋġɔsən* B57. MgrH *ŋġosə* J95b. MgrM *xuŋġuʒə* JL470, *xuŋġusï* DS222. BaoD---. BaoÑ *həŋġəsəŋ* CN68. Kgj *huŋğusun* S286b. Dgx *huŋġusuŋ* B67. Mog---.

*__huraka__ (?*__hurïka__) ‘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 *uraχa* M737b. Bur *ur’xa* C478a. Brg *ʊrɪx* U41. Kalm *urx* M537b ‘lasso’. Dag *xʷark* E135, *wark* E335. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__hurba__- ‘to turn (around) (intr)’. In Dag the verb is missing, but the adjectives *x*^{w}*arpa:* E83:91, *xurpa:* E83:96b ‘with sore, everted eyes’, *x*^{w}*arpəɣər* 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---.

*__hurbï__ (?*__hurbaï__) ‘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* (~ *horęş*) 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 *^{u}ur-ča* (Roerich 159) is less likely.

MMo HY *orbu’ur* (?=) M81 ‘ballista’. MgrH *fure:* X62. MgrM (Sanchuan) *xurbi* P418b. Bao---. Kgj *χɔbre* S285b ‘cannon’ or ‘ballista’ (?, Chinese pàor) . Dgx *fərəu* B51, *hərğəi* MC156b, *hərbəi*, *hərbi* MC156a/b.

*__huruu__ ‘downward; downstream’. The palatal element in the Kalm and EYu forms seem to suggest an older **hurïu* or **huruï*. Cf. **dɔara*, **hïra* (s.v. **hïraur*).

MMo SH *huru’u* H79, HY---, Muq *huru:* P188a, *uru:* P368b, LV---, IV---. WM *uruɣu* L886a. Kh *uruu* H552a. Ord *uru:* M742a. Bur *uruu* C477b, *oruu* C363b. Brg *ʊrʊ:* U42. Kalm *ürü* M555a. Dag *xɔrɔ:* E121, Z94b. EYu *horʉi* B58, *xorʉi* B51, *hɔrui* 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 *halvïr* L219b also points to a different phonetic history of this word. Cf. **kosïun* ‘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 *uruɣul* L886a. Kh *uruul* H552b. Ord *uru:l* M742b. Bur *ural* C472a. Brg *ʊral* U41. Kalm *url* M536b. Dag *xɔllə* E119, Z94b, *xɔrul* E122, *xɔrɔ:l* NK560b. EYu (see above). MgrH *uro:l* C88:570. MgrM---.

Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *furuŋ* B55, *furəu, furu* MC104b. Mog *ulur* R41a, MogM *uluːr*, MogMr *uruːl* 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 *ʊtʊː* U40. Kalm *utcn* M540b. Dag---. EYu *sdaːsən* B104, *hdaːsən* J96a. MgrH *ʂdaːsə* J96b, *sdaːʒə*, *ʂdaːʒə* T358. MgrM in *lumune utasï* P420b ‘bowstring’. BaoD ndasuŋ BL83b. BaoGt *ndasuŋ* C130. BaoÑ *ʂdasəŋ* CN149. Kgj *ndasun* ~ *dasun* S282b. Dgx *utasuŋ* B22, *utasun* L111a. Mog---.

***hutu**- ‘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 *xɔt*- 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 **hunïn* is used.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *utuɣa(n)* L889a, *utaɣa(n)* L888b. Kh *utaa(n)* H554b. Ord *uta:* M744b. Bur *utaa(n)* C479b. Brg *ʊtaː* 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 *uɣuta* L865a, *uuta* L890b. Kh *uut* H557b. Ord *u:ta* M744b. Bur *uuta* C481b. Brg *ʊːt* U36. Kalm *uut* M542b. Dag *xʷaːt* E132 ‘scrotum’. EYu *u:ta* B18, J95a. MgrH *fu:da* J95a, X59, *fu:da* SM101. MgrM *xuda* J87, *fuda* JL468, *φu̯ta* CL390, *ʂuda* 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*-/*χaː*- 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 *ʊy*- U41. Kalm *uyx* M530a. Dag *xuya:*- E130, *xɔyaː*- T94b. EYu *ɣ́aː*- 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 *χa:*- (?=) CN56 ‘to tie up; to sew’. BaoX *ha:*- CN86:239. Kgj *ɦɥya*- ~ *fiya*- ~ *šüa*- ~ *šüya*- S285a ‘to tie up; to sew’. Dgx *fəiya*- 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 *ʉdʉ*- M748a. Bur *üdexe* C495a. Kalm *üdx* M546b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ʂde:*- X166, *sdie:*- SM334 ‘to patch’. MgrM---. BaoJ *dɛ*- L31. Kgj---. Dgx *xudu*- B64. Mog---.

***hüdesün** (perhaps **hüdeesün* < **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 *-ʑ*- instead of *x*- and *-d*-. Cf. **kalaasun*.

MMo SH *hudesu* H78 ‘leather’, HY---, Muq *hüdesün* (?=) P171a ‘ceiling’. WM---. Kh *üdees* (?=) H566b ‘thong; bookbinding thread, stitching of a book; seam’. Bur---. Kalm---. Dgx *fuʑiesuŋ* B55 ‘patch’.

***hügün** ‘deep’ see ***gün**

***hüǰüür** (?*üǰüür) ‘tip, end’. The **h*- suggested by Dag is not confirmed elsewhere, but cannot be explained secondarily. The preconsonantal *r*- in the MgrH variant *rʑu: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 **üǰe*- ‘to see’, **eüdün* ‘door’).

MMo SH *uju’ur* H161, HY *üǰü’ür* M108, Muq *üǰü’ür* P100a, *üǰü:r* P214b, LV---, IV---. WM *üǰügür* L1017a. Kh *üzüür* H568b. Ord *ʉǰʉ:r* M750b. Bur *üzüür* C496b. Kalm *üzür* M547a. Dag *xuǰu:r* E129. EYu *čü:r* B148, J97a, *ʉčü:r* BJ125. MgrH *śʑiu:r* J97b, *uʑu:r* X21, *ʑu:r* X224, *rʑu:r* X241, *rʑiu:* SM312. MgrM *ʐur* DS220a. BaoD *uʑir* BL84a, *nǰor* T145. BaoÑ *uʑir* CN21. BaoX *nǰor* BC63. Kgj *ʉǰir* S281a. Dgx *uʐu* 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 *ʉker* 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 *ɵkər* ~ *ɵχgər* CN16. BaoX *xgur* BL63. Kgj *gər* S289b. Dgx *fugie* B52, L112a, *fuġə*, *fuġər* MC99a, *fugiərəi* MC101a, Wangjiaji *fugər* L8, Sijiaji *fugieri* L5, Longquan *fugieri* B53. Mog *ʉkər* R41b, *ʊkʌr* 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 *eǰe*- ‘to see’ from **üǰe*- 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 *huŋdə*- BL91b, *hoŋdə*- BL40. BaoÑ *fulde*- CN75, *hɵlde*- CN29. Kgj *hundi*- ~ *huandi*- S286b. Dgx *fənźie*- B50, *funźie*- L119b. Mog---.

*__hüle__- ‘to remain, to be left’. BaoÑ *ˈxudə*- may represent a contracted form incorporating the aux. **od*-, but cf. also **hülede*- ‘to remain’ as found in SH *hulede*- and modern languages. Cf. **kočar*-.

MMo SH *hule*-/*hüle*- H78, H80, HY *hüle*- M62, Muq *hüle*- P281b. WM *üle*- L1004b. Kh *ülex* H577a. Ord *ʉli*- ~ *ʉle*- 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 *fʉle*- S285a. Dgx *fəilie*- 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 *hülüwüle*- Pop76 ‘to remain’. WM *ilegüü* L405a. *ilegü* L404b, *ilügü* L408b, *ilüü* L408b, *ülegüü* L1005a, *ülügü* L1007a. Kh *ilüü* H274a, *ülüü* H577a. Ord *ilʉ:* ~ *ilgʉ* M384b, *ʉlgʉ:* M756a. Bur *ülüü* C500b. Brg *ilu:* U27. Kalm *ülü* M550a. Dag *xulu:* E127 ‘many, much’. EYu *holi:* B57, *hölü:* BJ331, *həlü:* J94b, *həlü* J78. MgrH *fuliu:* J83a, *fuliu* X62, *xaliu* X67, *šiliu*, *xiliu* T382. MgrM *xeliau* JL476. BaoD *śilu* BL83a. BaoGt *ʂïlï* C137. BaoJ *ʂlɤ* L170. BaoÑ---. Kgj--- (*ulu* < **olan*). Dgx *śiliu* 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 *ulʸə:n* D173a. Ord *ʉle:*- M755a. Bur *ülyeexe* C500a. Brg *uilə:*- U45, *ulʸə:*- 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*- ~ *fʉli*- ~ *φʉli*- S284b. Dgx *fəilie*- 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*)*dʉrgi*- S300a, BaoÑ *ʿdərgə*- CN234 ‘to cook to a pulp’ are from Tibetan *ʿdur* + **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 (**korakaï* ‘insect’) ‘dungbeetle’. WM *ömökei* L636a, *ömekei*, *ömöki* L636a. Kh *ümxiy* H577b, *ömxiy* H411b, also *ömx* H411b, also note Chakhar *məxi:* D176a. Ord *ümüki:* M757a, *müki:* M477b, *umuki:* M732b. Bur *ümxey* C503b, *ümxi* C503b. Brg *umxi:* U50. Kalm *ümkä* M551a. Dag---. EYu *həmuki* J96a, *həmə^{h}gi:* J78, *xoməkəi* B51. MgrH *fumugi:* J96a, X62, *xamugi:* X68. MgrM *xunbuġai* DS250. BaoD *huŋgi* BL84b. BaoGt *fəŋgi* C118, *hoŋgi* C133. BaoÑ---. Kgj *fʉğai* (perhaps an alternative formation from **hüü-*) S284b. Dgx *fumuği* B54, *fumuğəi* 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^{ə}* R296a. Dag---. EYu *həmər-* B55. MgrH *fumurə-* X62, *finburaġa-* (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 *ʉnege* M757b. Bur *ünege(n)* C508a. Brg *unig* U45. Kalm *üngn* M551b. Dag *xunuɣ^{w}* E124. EYu *höneɣen* B58 *heneɣen* J96b. MgrH *funəge* J96b, *funige* SM108, *χunige* SM183. MgrM *xʊnəgə* C376, *xundegey* P415b, *xunduġai* DS224b. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *fʉnigɔ* S284b. Dgx *funieğaŋ* B51, *funieɣən* 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 *ʉnisʉ* M759a, *ʉnes* ~ *ʉnis* M758b. Bur *ünehe(n)* C509b. Brg *un^{y}u:* U46. Kalm *ümsn* M551a. Dag *xuns* E124. EYu *henesən* B56, J96b, *nesən* S695, *łesən* (sic) S695. MgrH *funesə* J96a, *funie:ʒə* SM107, *fune:sə* ~ *fune:ʒə* J7, X60. MgrM *xunisï* DS205a. BaoD *homsuŋ* BL84a. BaoGt *hoŋsoŋ* C102. BaoÑ *həmsu* CN69. Kgj---. Dgx *funiesuŋ* B51. Mog *unʌsun* W182a, MogMr *ʉnasun* L62:35.

hünir** (?hünür**) ‘smell, odour, aroma’, ***hünirde-**, ***hünirte-** ‘to smell (tr.)’.

MMo SH *hunor* H79 ‘smell’, *hunir* H79 ‘breath’, HY *hünir-tü* M62 ‘having a smell’, Muq *hünir* P191b. WM *ünür* L1010a. Kh *üner* H579b. Ord *ʉner* ~ *ʉnir* 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 *ɧnʉr* S284b. Dgx *funićiə-* B51, *fənćiə-* B50, *funiəćiə-* MC103a, *fuŋćiə-* MC103b (< **hünirte-*) ‘to smell’. Mog---.

***hünis-** ~ ***hünüs-** ‘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 *hunuɣ* 3:8b may also be related. However, the Dag form may be connected to Tungusic **pʉ:n* ‘smell’ (cf. SSTMJaII:349a). In EYu only the passive **hünüste-* ‘to smell (intr)’ survives.

MMo SH *hunos-* H79, *hünis-* H80, HY---, Muq *hünis-* 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 *ʉnis-* 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 *ɧnə-* ~ *ɧnʉ-* ~ *ɧnʉr-* ~ *huni-* ~ *huŋni-* S284b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hüŋgü-** ‘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 *xiŋg*^{w}- may have been influenced by *xiŋki:-* 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 **hüŋgü-* and **hiŋgü-*. Cf. also Kh *ingüümel* H276b ‘a finely-powdered incense, etc’ which corresponds to Dag *xiŋg*^{w}*mə:l* E113 ‘rubbed-down tobacco crumbs’. This verb **hiŋgü-* is not found in Ord, Bur, Kalm. Mostaert & de Smedt further compare MgrH *ŋgulie-* SM293 ‘to rub down; to graze one’s skin’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hüngü-* P191b, *üngü-* P382a. WM *üngge-* L1010a. Kh *üngex* H577b. Ord *ʉŋgʉ-* M759a. Bur *üngexe* C505b. Kalm *ümgx* M550b. Dag *xiŋg*^{w}- (?=) E113 (see above). EYu *hoŋgo-* B57. MgrH *fuŋgu-* J7, SM109. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog only the derivate *ʉŋgula-* R41b.

***hüre** ‘seed; pip; fruit’.

MMo SH---, HY *hüre* M62, Muq *hüren* P206b. WM *üre* L1011a. Kh *ür* H580a. Ord *ʉre* M760a. Bur *üre* C514a. Kalm *ürn* M554b ‘child’. Dag *xur* E130. EYu *hʉre* B58, *hure* J97a. MgrH *fure* J97a, *fure:* J70, *furie:* SM110. MgrM *xuru* JL476, *xʊrʊ* C376, *xurie* T371. BaoD *furə* BL84b. BaoÑ *fure* CN56. Kgj *ɧre* ~ *ɧri* 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 *ʉrgʉ-* M761a. Bur *ürgexe* C511b. Brg *urəg-* U54. Kalm *ürgx* M554a. Dag *xurɣ*^{y}- E131. EYu---. MgrH *furgu-də-* X63. MgrM *kurga-* (sic, ?=) P418b. BaoD---. BaoGt *hɛrəgə-* 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 *ᵾrᵾ-* M763a. Bur *ürexe* 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 *ᵾsᵾ* M764a. Bur *ühe(n)* C519b. Brg *uxu:* U48. Kalm *üsn* M555b. Dag *xus* E128, *χus*^{w} Z95a. EYu *hsᵾn* B60, *həsun* J96b. MgrH *ʂʒu* J96a, *fuʒə* SM102, *sʒə*, *fuʒə* T359. MgrM *sʒu ~ fʒu* JL468. BaoD *suŋ* BL84b. BaoÑ *hsөŋ* CN71, *sөŋ* CN134. Kgj *sᵾn* S294a. Dgx *usuŋ* B22. Mog *ᵾsᵾn* 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 *ᵾsᵾr-* M764b. Bur *hürexe* (?=) C698b ‘to jump, etc’. Brg *usər-* [←Kh] U51. Kalm *österx* M427a. Dag *xəsur-* E110. EYu *hsᵾr-* B60, *husur-* J96a ‘to jump’. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog *ᵾsᵾr-* 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 *ᵾtᵾgᵾ* M765a. Bur---. Brg *utəg* U51. Kalm *ütkn* M555b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ʂdəgu* X167, *ʂdugu* X169. MgrM *kutugu* (sic) P413b, *dugu* DS258. Bao---. Dgx *fuduğuŋ* B54. Mog *utkun* W183b, MogM *ᵾtkᵾ* L62:35.

*__hüü__- ‘to stink’ and *__höe__- ‘to rot, fester’ (?). These two verbs may have existed separately, as suggested by SH, and by derivates **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, *xᵾ:-* NK563a also ‘to become soft from overboiling’. EYu *hü:-* B58. MgrH *fu:-* SM101, J36. MgrM *xu-* DS216a ‘to decay’. BaoD---. BaoGt *fï-* C115. BaoÑ *fu-* CN55. Kgj *fᵾ-* S284b. Dgx *fu-* MC97b. Mog---.

- Ï -

***ï** (?) '(s)he, it'. The stem is extremely rare in the modern languages, but the genitive **ïnu* (MMo SH *inọ* 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 **ïn-*. Cf. also the oblique stem **ïma-* 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 **bï* 'I' - **ba* 'we' and **čï* '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---.

***ïbčau** 'narrow, tight'. The original form may have been *?*hïbčau* when a connection with **hïutan* 'narrow' is assumed. It is unclear whether the Dag word is related (a form **xirčɔ:* would have been expected). The Bur form with *-g-* is also unexpected.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ibčaɣu* L396a, *ibču(u)* L396b. Kh *yavcuu* H873b; cf. Chakhar *ɪbčʊ:* (*ɪɸčʊ:*) D168a. Ord---. Bur *igsuu(n)* (?=) C276a '(...) tight (of clothes)'. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *xirčin* (?=) E115. Remaining lgs---.

***ïdugan** 'shaman(ess)'. Cf. **böe*.

MMo SH---, HY *iduqan* M62, Muq---. WM *udaɣan, uduɣan* L861a/b, *iduɣan* L401a. Kh *udgan* H541a, *nyadgan* H382b. Ord *udaġan* M722a 'obstetrician'. Bur *udagan* C463a, *od'ogon* (Western dial.) C350a. Brg *ʊdgaŋ* U41. Kalm *udɣn* M528b. Dag *yadɣən* E328. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *yidoğo* T122, *idoğo* S160. Mog---.

***ïlga-** 'to choose, select, distinguish'. Cf. **soŋgu-*.

MMo SH *ilqa-* H81, HY *ilqa-* M63, Muq---. WM *ilɣa-* L406a. Kh *yalgax* H876b. Ord *ilġa-* M382b. Bur *ilgaxa* C278a. Kalm *ilɣ^{n}-* R206b, *yilɣx* M277b. Dag *yaləɣ-* E327. EYu *alğa-* B3, *əlğa-* J94b, BJ327. MgrH *ləġa:-* X113, *laġa:-* X111. MgrM *aliġa-* DS211b. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *iŋġa-* B10. Mog---.

***ïmaan** 'goat'. Agricultural term related to CT **(y)ïmga* 'id'.

MMo SH *ima'at* (pl) H82, HY *ima'an* M63, Muq *ima'an* P153a, *ima:n* P234b. WM *imaɣa(n)* L409a, *nimaɣa(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 *imɔ* S280a. Dgx *imaŋ* B11. Mog---.

***ïnagsï** '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 **ïna-* ‘this side’ whose other derivates include EYu *na:na* J53 ‘here’, *na:də* B23, J60 ‘that one there’.

MMo SH *inahši* H82, HY *inaqši-* M63, Muq *inaqši* P196b. WM *inaɣsi* L410a, *inasi* L410b, *naɣasi* L557b. Kh *naaš* H342a, *yanagš* (lit. form) H878b. Ord *na:š(i)* M485a. Bur *naaša* C316b. Kalm [*naa-ɣar*] M364a. Dag---. EYu *nagšə* B23. MgrH *naġᵹə* SM255. Remaining lgs---.

***ïnǰaga** ‘fawn, young deer or antelope’. The Kalm form has been reshaped, as if from **ïnǰïïkaï* (with the diminutive *-kAi*). The Dag form could be from an earlier **yanǰiɣ*, or reborrowed from Manchu *injaha(n)* H501b ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *inǰaɣa* L412b. Kh *yanzaga* H879a. Bur *inzagan* C279a. Kalm *inǰixä* M270b ‘fawn of the saiga antelope’. Dag *yenǰiɣ* E329. Remaining lgs---.

***ïŋgarčag** ‘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 *yanggirčaɣ* L427b. Kh *yangircag* H878b. Ord *yaŋġarčaq*, *yanġurčaq* M396b. Bur---. Kalm *yaŋyrcg* M710b. Dag---. EYu *ŋġarčaġ* B29, *ŋġərǰaġ* J9. MgrH *ŋkərźaġ* X42. MgrM *aŋqəʒəġ* JL477b. *enqəçï* Z370:716. BaoJ *gaćíğ* (?=) L69 ‘a harness placed on the back of a beast of burden for pulling carts’. Kgj *aŋkəǰiɣ* S278a. Dgx *iŋġəça* MC175a, *aŋġaça* MC12b. Mog---.

?***ïrada** ‘downstream’ see ?***hïra** ‘bottom part’.

***ïrau** ‘melody, melodious; singing’. CT **yïr-a-gu* from CT **(y)ïr* ‘song’. Mongghul was derived from LT by Róna-Tas (1966, No. 780).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *yira'u* P390b. WM *iraɣu* L413a. Kh *yaruu* H881a. Ord *iraġu:* M386b, *irġu* M387b. Bur *iraguu* (←lit) C279b. Kalm *irü:* R219a (*iru:*, *yaru:* R216b) ‘clear (of voice)’. Dag *irə:* E36 ‘melody accompanying a shamanic prayer’. EYu---. MgrH *yoro* SM494, X236 ‘sound’ (?=, see above). Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ïro** ‘omen, premonition, etc’. It seems impossible to connect EYu *χərğər* B51, *χorğor* J5 ‘omen’, *χo:rğor* S721 ‘dice’, MgrH *śərġʊl ~ śorġʊl* X156 ‘omen’, which seem to stem from a common form, perhaps **hïrgul*. However, this word may instead be a Tibetan loanword, an unknown compound of *šo* ‘dice’, which would be **xho* in Arïk dialect. Possibly related to CT **ïrk* ‘id’, but the connection is morphologically obscure.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ira* P242b. WM *irua* L415a, *iruua*, *irva* L415b. Kh *yor* H205a. Ord *yərə* M404a. Bur *yoro* C228a. Kalm *yor* M280a. Dag *yər* E331. EYu *yər* (sic, ?←InMo, only) S740. Remaining lgs---.

***ïsu** (?) ‘soot’ see ***is(ü)**

***ïtau** ‘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 *itɒ:n* L62:37, MogM *itəu* 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 *iβəlgə:*- (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) *ʐdë*-, *ʐda*- C370. MgrM *idi*- JL460, *di*- C370. BaoD *nda*- BL83a. BaoGt *ndȁ*- C100. BaoÑ *nde*- CN35. BaoX *ndə*- BC64. Kgj *ide*- S280a. Dgx *iʑie*- B12. Mog *idȁ*- R29b, *ida*-, *idʌ*- 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 *iġ* 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 **kïlïč* ‘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 *ᵾldᵾ* 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 *ulʸdu* [i.e., *urdu*?] P421b ‘weaver’s shuttle’. Bao---. Dgx---. MogMr *ᵾldᵾ* 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 *əlɣe*- B8, *ilɣe*- BJ105, *elɣe*- J49 (mostly used as an auxiliary). Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *ilğʌ*- 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 *irβəs* U29. Dag---. EYu *ərβəs* B8. Mgr *rbuʒə* 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*- [*ʐï*-] C395. BaoD *rə*- BL83b. BaoÑ *er*- CN15, *ər*- CN11, *rə*- CN222. Kgj *re*- S306a. Dgx *ire*- B12. Mog *irȁ*- R29b, *irɛ*-, *irʌ*- 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 *erʼe* C774b. Kalm *irg* M272a. Dag---. EYu *eryɐ* B12. MgrH *xerge* X76, *yerge* SM492. MgrM *ergè* P417a ‘female sheep’ (sic). Bao---. Dgx *inğə* MC175a ‘wether’, *inɣə* T121 ‘billy-goat’. Mog---.

*__irgen__ ‘people’. The original meaning was apparently ‘people’ in the sence 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 **eǰen*). 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 *irɣən* E36 ‘Chinese’. EYu *erɣen* B12, BJ327 ‘he, she, people (in the sense of persons, not nation)’, *ergen* J26. MgrH *rgɜn* X239 ‘(other) people’. MgrM *gɜn* C199 ‘he, she’. BaoD *ŋgaŋ* BL34. BaoGt *gɔŋla* ~ *gɔla* (pl) C132 ‘others’. BaoÑ *aġaŋ* CN5, *əġaŋ* CN17 ‘others, people’. BaoX *ŋgaŋ* BC63 ‘s/he’. Kgj *ŋgɔ* S33 ‘other; he’. Dgx *əğən* B8 ‘s/he’. Mog *irgʌ̃n* W168a, *irgɔd* (pl) W168a ‘people’, MogM *irgɒ:n* ~ *ergɒ:n*, MogMr *irgɒ: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, *edʼxexe* C758a. Brg *isgə:*- U27 ‘to become sour’ (sic). Kalm *isx* M274a, cf. *iškl̆ŋ* M276a ‘sour’. Dag---. EYu *hsə*- BJ331 ‘to ferment’, *səkə-mel* B99, *sgə-mel* J101b ‘sour’. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ʂge-ġər* CN147 ‘yeast’. Kgj *šilğe*- S295b ‘to become sour’, *šilğei* ~ *širğei* S295b ‘sour’. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__isegei__ ~ *__sisegei__ ‘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 *heyeï* 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 *heyeï* C703a, *ehegï* C779b, *ešegï* (sic, ←?) C780b. Brg [*išgi:* U28 ←??]. Kalm *iškä* M276a. Dag *šisəɣ* E235, *šidəɣ* E236, *šidəg* Z92a. EYu *ski:* B103, *sgi:* J94b. MgrH *sgi:* J95b, X143, *šge: ~ sge:* T383. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *śiχə* (?=) MC429b. Mog *sisgɛi* R38a, *diskɛi* 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 **ïskar*-.

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, *saġar*- (sic) S413. MgrH *śʑürie:*- (?=) SM393. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***is** or ***isü** or ***isün** or ***ïsu** ?? ‘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, *sïsuŋ* 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 *itəɣ*- E35. EYu *həteɣe*- B55, *hde: ɣe*- S414, *ɬdeɣe*- J80. MgrH---. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***itelgü** ‘species of falcon’. The back variant **ïtalgu* 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 **ïa* 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 *ǰiɣa-* L1049b. Kh *zaax* H221b. Ord *ǰa:-* M175a. Bur *zaaxa* C240a. Brg *ʒa:-* U209. Kalm *zaax* M234b. Dag *ǰa:-* E308. EYu *ǰa:-* B141 ‘to teach’, *ǰa:-* J106b ‘to index’. MgrH *ʑa:-* J106a. BaoD *ǰa:-* T139 ‘to complain’. BaoÑ *ʑa:-* CN194 ‘to accuse’. Kgj---. Dgx *ʓa-* B175 ‘to charge, accuse’, cf. *ʓala-* B178 ‘to point, to give directions’. Mog---.

***ǰaarï** ‘musk’ see ***ǰïarï**

***ǰab** ‘interval, spare time’. Dag *ǰabk* may be influenced by the synonymous Manchu *jaka*. Cf. also Dag *ǰe:* E314 from **ǰaï* ‘gap, interval’ (not listed here).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ǰab* L1018a. Kh *zav* H222a. Bur *zab* C241a. Brg *ʒaβ* U210. Kalm *zav* M235a. Dag *ǰabk* (sic, ?=) E311 ‘crack’. EYu *ǰab* S419/421. MgrH---. MgrM *ʑabćiġ* C392 ‘crack’, apparently from **ǰab* + diminutive **-čag*. BaoD *ǰab-tə* T139 ‘between’. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰaba** ‘gap; gorge, ravine’.

MMo SH *jaba* H84, HY---, Muq---. WM *ǰaba* L1018a, *ǰabi* L1019a. Kh *zav* H222a ‘gorge, ravine’. Ord *ǰawa* M190a. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ʓawa* B179. Mog---.

***ǰabaan** ‘insipid, tasteless’. Related to CT **yavgan* (EDPT 874b).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ǰabaɣa(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 *ʑava:n* X216. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *ʓawaŋ* MC456a ~ *ʓaŋwaŋ* MC453b. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *ǰaba:n* 14:8b.

***ǰabaǰï** ‘corner of the mouth’. The final *-a* in EYu is unexpected.

MMo SH *jabaji(n)* H84, HY---, Muq--. WM *ǰabaǰi* L1018b, *ǰabǰi* L1021a. Kh *zav’ǰ* H224a. Ord *ǰawaǰi ~ ǰawiǰi* M190b. Bur *žabža* C230a, also *žabžuur* C230b. Brg *ʒaβ^{y}ǰ* U206. Kalm *zɛbǰĩ* R469b, *ǰɛbǰĩ* R108b. Dag *jeb^{y}ǰ* E315. EYu *ǰaβaǰa* BJ234, *ǰaβaǰə* J106a. Remaining lgs---.

***ǰabïla-** ~ ***ǰamïla-** ‘to sit cross-legged’. Kalm suggests **ǰamïla-*, while Ord has both forms. The long final *a:* in Dag and the additional *-ʑ-* in the MgrH form are inexplicable. At first sight **ǰabïla-* looks like a verb formation from a noun **ǰabï* or **ǰamï*, which stem may survive in MgrH *ʑa: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 **yamïz* ‘groin’ which was

borrowed by EYu and Dgx, and is also found in MMo Muq *ǰamiz* P201a ‘groin’. The form *ǰamir-* 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 **ǰamïr-la-* for the present entry. MgrH *ʒa:mi* is also close to **čabï* ~ **čamï* ‘groin’ found in the central languages, but the strong initial of that item makes a connection less likely.

MMo SH *jabila-* H84, HY---, Muq *ǰabila-* P199a. WM *ǰabila-* L1019a. Kh *zavilax* H222b. Ord *ǰawila-* M190b, *ǰamila-* M184b. Bur *zabilxa* C241b. Kalm *zämlx* M244b. Dag *ǰe:bla:-* E315. EYu---. MgrH *ʒabʑi:la-* S420, L220. MgrM *ʓabeila-* DS214. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰabka-** ‘to lose, be lost (esp. of animals)’. Cf. also ***ǰabkara-** ‘to get lost, disappear’ in Muq *ǰabqara-* P199b, Ord *ǰiwq^{u}ara-* 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 **ǰančï-* ‘to crush’, **ǰarïm* ‘half’, **ǰasa-* ‘to make’ below). Cf. **gee-* ‘to lose’, **töeri-* ‘to stray’.

MMo SH *jabqa-* H84, HY---, Muq *ǰabqa-* P199a, *ǰabɣa-* P199a, LV *ǰabqa-* P1271, IV---. WM *ǰabqa-* L1020b. Kh *zavxax* H223b. Ord (see above). Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ćüġa-* X211, *ɕuġua:-* SM439. MgrM---. BaoGt *yaχa-* C156. BaoÑ *yaχa-* CN214. BaoX *yөχa-* CN86:341. Kgj *yabχa-* S305a. Dgx---. Mog (see above).

***ǰabsar** ‘gap, crack; space or time between, interval’. P60:48 considers **ǰab*, **ǰaura*, and **ǰabïla-* to be related. **ǰabsar* contains the same suffix as **amasar*.

MMo SH---, HY *ǰabsar söni* M64 ‘last day of the year’, Muq *ǰabsar* P199b. WM *ǰabsar* L1019b. Kh *zavsar* H223a. Bur *zabhar* C242a. Brg *ʒaβo:r* (sic, ?=) U211, *ʒaβsar* (←Kh) U211. Kalm *zavsr* M235a. Dag---. EYu *ǰaβsar (ǰaɸsar)* B142, BJ324, *ǰabsar* J106a. MgrH *ćabsar* J106b, X202, *ʑæsar* X217, *ćæbsar* X203, *ćarsar* X203. MgrM (Sanchuan) *čapsïr* P425. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ʑabsar* CN195. Kgj---. Dgx *ʓasa* MC456a. Mog---.

***ǰagala-** (and related formations) ‘to itch, tickle’. Several formations, apparently from a base **ǰaga-*. The forms in MgrM, Kgj, Dgx may simply be a semantic development of **ǰau-* ‘bite’ (q.v. below).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *ǰaɣala-* L1022b. Kh *zagalax* H224b. Ord *ǰaġatana-* ~ *ǰaġatuna-* M179a. Bur *zoxolxo* (sic, ?=) C259a. Brg *ʒagal-* U211. Kalm *ǰaɣšix* M223b ‘to scratch’, *zaɣadăχă* (?) R463a. Dag *ǰaul-* E309. EYu *ǰağača-* B142. MgrH *ʑau-lġa-* X215. MgrM *ʓao-* DS231b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ʑaġde-* CN196, cf. *ʑaġə ʑəġə* CN196 ‘itch’. BaoX *ʑaġlə-* CN86:224. Kgj *ǰiʁ-* S302b. Dgx *ʓau-* B175. Mog---, but Zirni *ǰaɣal-* (23:9b).

***ǰagasun** ‘fish’. The central languages suggest a form **ǰagasun*, 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 **ǰagalsun* or **ǰalgasun*, 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: **ǰïrkasun*, but Poppe's *-r-* is based on comparison with WM *ǰirmaɣai* '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 *ǰaraaxay* C231b, Kalm *ǰirmäxä* M231a. Dag *ǰarəm* E312. These forms suggest CM forms **ǰïram*, **ǰaram*, and diminutives **ǰïraa-kaï* and **ǰïr(a)ma-kaï*. It is uncertain that this word is related to **ǰagasun*.

MMo SH *jiqasu(n)* H89, HY *ǰiqasun* M67, Muq *ǰiɣasun* P205b, *ǰiqasun-* P206b, LV *ǰiqasun* P1274, IV---. WM *ǰiɣasu(n)* L1050a. Kh *zagas(an)* H224b. Ord *ǰaġas(u)* M179a, *ǰaġus* M179b. Bur *zagaha(n)* C243a. Brg *ʒagoː* U211. Kalm *zaɣsn* M236a. Dag *ǰaus* E309. EYu *ǰağasən* B142, J106b, *ǰəğasən* B143. MgrH *ʑaġasə* J106a, *ʑæġasə* X217, *ʑiġasə* X221. MgrM *ǰagarsï* P419a. BaoD *ʑilɣasuŋ* BL93b. BaoJ *ʑal(ə)ğasúŋ* L45. BaoÑ *ʑalġasəŋ* CN196. Kgj *ǰiğasun ~ ǰağasun* S303a. Dgx *ʒağasuŋ* B177. Mog---.

***ǰaǰïl-** 'to chew'. In Bur and Kalm the unexpected palatal initial is due to assimilation to the second **ǰ*. Some of the Baoan forms probably from an earlier **ǰalǰïl-* or **ǰalǰal-* with assimilation of the two syllables.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ǰaǰil-* P200a. WM *ǰaǰil-* L1041b. Kh *zaǰlax* H226a. Ord *ǰaǰil-* M178b. Bur *žažalxa* C231a, *zažalxa* (western) C244b. Brg *ʒaǰɪl-* U213. Kalm *ǰaǰlx* M223b. Dag *ǰeǰil-* E316. EYu *ǰaǰəl-* B143, *ǰaǰil-* J106a. MgrH *ʑaʑilə-* J106b. MgrM *ʒaʒər-* DS211b. BaoD *ʑiaʑial-* BL93b. BaoGt *ʑinʑàl-* C117. BaoÑ *ʑaʑil-* CN197. BaoX *ǰanǰal-* BC62. Kgj *ǰeǰi-* S302b. Dgx *ʒaʒulu-* B178. Mog *ǰaǰi-* (sic) R42a, *ǰʌǰul-* W168b 'to eat'.

***ǰaka** 'edge; collar'. All peripheral languages would be compatible with a reconstruction **ǰaga*. EYu-Mgr also developed the generalized meaning 'above, upper'. Cf. Kgj *ǰiğali* S303a 'upside' with unknown last element. Cf. CT **yaka* 'collar'.

MMo SH *jaqa* H84, HY *ǰaqa* M65, Muq *ǰaqa* P201b, *ǰiɣa-* P205b, LV---, IV *ǰiqa* (sic?) L62:38. WM *ǰaqa* L1041a. Kh *zax* H237b. Bur *zaxa* C252a. Brg *ʒax* U211. Kalm *zax* M243b. Dag *ǰaɣ* E311. EYu *ǰaġa* B142. MgrH *ʑæġa* X217, *ʑiġaː* X220. MgrM *ʑaġa* C189, *ʒaġa* DS203a 'above'. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ʑaġa* CN195. Bao (unspecif. dial) *ʑiġa* S436. Kgj *ǰiğa* S303a. Dgx *ʒağa* B177. MogMr *ǰaɣa* (etc) L62:39, *ǰaɣe* I108 '(river) bank', *ǰʌğʌ* W168b 'bank'.

***ǰakaun** 'space between'. This reconstruction inspired by MMo. The Baoanic forms could also reflect a form **ǰaugun*, which would be easier to connect to **ǰab*, **ǰaura*. Also compare MMo SH *dege'un* H35 'above', which may be a mistranscription for **deegün*. This is supported by MgrH *deːxɔŋ* X192 'surface', and not contradicted by MgrM *dieġoŋ* DS240a 'on', BaoD *deguŋ* BL60 'not only... but also', BaoGt *dɛgoŋ* BC69 'upside', and Kgj *degʉn* S299a 'upside'. A third parallel formation is Kgj *duğun* S299b 'underside' < **doagun*.

MMo SH *jaqa'un* H84, HY---, Muq---. BaoD *ǰoɣeŋ* T139, BaoDatong *ʑɵġɵŋ* CN86:186. Kgj *ǰuğun* S303b.

***ǰalaa** ‘(red) tassel’. Perhaps related to CT **yalïg* ‘cock’s comb’. BaoÑ *ʒ́ala* 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. **ǰele* ‘tether’). WM *ǰalaɣa* L1029b. Kh *zalaa(n)* H228a. Ord *ǰala:* M181b. Bur *zalaa* C246a. Brg *ʒala:* U211. Kalm *zala* (obs) M237a. Dag *ǰila:* E317. EYu *ǰala:* B142, J106a. MgrH *ʒ́ala:* J106b, *ʒ́æla* X217 ‘type of hat’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ʒ́ala* CN196. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰalau** ‘young (person)’. Probably from a stem **ǰala-* related to CT **ya:š* ‘id’.

MMo SH *jala’ui* H85, HY---, Muq *ǰala’u* P200a, *ǰalu:* P200b, LV *ǰalawu* P1272, IV *ǰalau* L62:37. WM *ǰalaɣu* L1029b, *ǰalaɣuu* L1030a. Kh *zaluu* H229b. Ord *ǰalu:* M184a. Bur *zaluu* C247b. Brg *ʒalʊ:* U211. Kalm *zalu* M238b ‘man; husband; youth’. Dag *ǰalɔ:* E312. EYu *ǰalu:* B143, J106a. MgrH *ʒ́aliu:* J106b, *ǰæliu* X217. MgrM *ʒalau* JL466. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *ǰalu* S302a. Dgx *ʒalau* B178. Mog *ǰʌlaʊ* W168b, MogMr *ǰalau* L62:37.

***ǰalbarï-** ‘to beg, request; to pray’. Cf. CT **yalvar-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *jalbari-* H85, HY---, Muq *ǰalbari-* P200a, Ph *ǰalbari-* P124b. WM *ǰalbari-* L1030b. Kh *zalbirax* H228a. Ord *ǰalbari- ~ ǰalbira- ~ ǰalbiri-* M182a. Bur *zal’barxa* C248a. Brg *ʒalbır-* U212. Kalm *zal’vrx* M239b. Dag *ǰelbir-* E315. EYu *ǰalβar-* B143, J80, *ǰalbar-* (sic?) J50. MgrH---. MgrM *ʒ́ierbari-* DS244a. Bao---. Dgx *ʒawari-* B179. Mog---.

***ǰalga-** ‘to join, connect’.

MMo SH *jalqa-* H85, HY---, Muq *ǰalɣa-* P200b, LV *ǰalqa-* P1272 ‘to reach’, IV---. WM *ǰalɣa-* L1030b. Kh *zalgax* H228b. Bur *zalgaxa* C247a. Brg *ʒalag-* U211. Kalm *zalɣx* M238a. Dag *ǰaləɣ-* E312. EYu *ǰalğa-* B143. MgrH *ʒ́alġa-lda-* (reciprocal) X216. MgrM *ǰalġa-* T333, *ʒ́ierġa-* DS213b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ʒ́alġa-* CN196. Kgj *ǰalğa-* S302b. Dgx *ʒaŋġa-* B176, *ʒağa-* MC451a. Mog---.

***ǰalgï-** ~ ***ǰalkï-** ‘to swallow’. MgrH (with consonant strength moved to the initial consonant), MgrM, BaoD, Dgx, and one of the EYu forms point at **ǰalkï-*. BaoÑ and Kgj unexpectedly do not support this form, so that the *-k-* cannot be reconstructed for Baoanic with certainty.

MMo SH *jalgi-* H85, *jalki-* H85, HY---, Muq *ǰalɣi-* P200b. WM *ǰalgi-* L1031b. Kh *zalgix* H229a. Ord *ǰalgi-* M182b. Bur *zalgixa* C247a. Brg *ʒalʲıg-* U212. Kalm *zal’gx* M239b. Dag *ǰelɣʲ-* E315. EYu *ǰalqə-* B143, *ǰałġə-* J106a. MgrH *ćalgə-* J106b. MgrM *ʒərkə-* DS227b (s.v. gulp), *ʒəkə-* DS254. BaoD *ʒ́ialχə-* BL93b. BaoGt *ʒ́ålxə-* C121. BaoÑ *ʒ́alġa-* CN196. Kgj *ǰalğe-* S302b. Dgx *ʒaŋqəi-* B176. Mog---.

***ǰalkaï** and ***ǰalkau** ‘lazy’. In spite of the HY notation not the same word as **ǰalïkaï* ‘shrewd’. Cf. **kašaŋ* ‘lazy’.

MMo SH---, HY *ǰaliqai* M65 ‘laziness’, Muq---. WM *ǰalqaɣu(u)* L1032b. Kh *zalxay* H230a, *zalxuu* H230b (and *zalxag* H230a). Ord *ǰalχu:* M183b. Bur *zalxuu* C248a. Brg *ʒalxʊ:* U212. Kalm *zalxu* M239a. Dag *ǰalkɔ:* E312, also *ǰalkɔ: ǰalɣai*

E312. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *ʒağəi* MC452a, *ʒaŋği-la-* B177 ‘to become lazy’. Mog---.

ǰančï- ‘to beat, pound (usu. with an axe, hammer, etc)’. Bur-Kalm stem from a form with nasalized initial **nančï-*. Kalmuck according to Ramstedt displays *n ~ ǰ ~ 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 **čabčï-* ‘to chop’.

MMo SH *janci-* H85, HY---, Muq *ǰančï-* P201a, LV *ǰančï-* P1273, IV---. WM *ǰančï-* L1034a, *ǰangčï-* L1034b, *nančï-* L564b. Kh *ǰančix* H209b, *zančix* H234a. Ord *yančï-* M396a. Bur *nanšaxa* C321b. Kalm *nančx* M368b. Dag *ǰinč-* E317. EYu *ǰa:njə-* B141, *ǰanǰə-* J51. MgrH *ʑańći-* L229. MgrM *ʒaŋćï-* C393, DS224a. BaoD---. Bao Gaser *enće-* CN86:219 ‘to hit’. BaoÑ *yańći-* CN213 ‘to beat; to forge’. Kgj *yančï- ~ yenčï-* S305a ‘to thresh’. Dgx *yaŋçï-* B186 ‘to thresh grain (to husk with a roller)’. Mog *ǰänčï-* R42a, *čänčï-* R25a ‘to chop’.

ǰaŋgï, ***ǰaŋgïa*** ‘knot’, ***ǰaŋgïd-***, ***ǰaŋgïla-*** ‘to tie a knot’. Strengthening of the **-g-* is found in Bao and in one MgrH form.

MMo SH *janggi* H85 ‘agreement’, HY---, Muq *ǰanqi* P204a. WM *ǰanggiya* L1035b. Kh *zangia* H233b. Ord *ǰaŋga:* M185b, *ǰaŋgid-* M185b. Bur *zangilxa* C250a. Kalm *zängä* (obs) M244b ‘kind of talisman, q.v.). Dag *ǰeŋg^{y}e:* E315, *ǰeŋg^{y}e:-* E315. EYu *ǰaŋġăd-* B142, *ǰaŋġad-* J106a. MgrH *ʑaŋgədə-* J106b, *ʑængədə-* X216 ‘to tie a knot’, *ʑænkədə-* X216 ‘to get into a knot’. BaoD *ʒaŋχəldə-* BL93b. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

ǰarïa ‘hedgehog’. The form with **ïa* survives in Bur, Dag, and in metathesized form, in Moghol. The remaining languages go back to an assimilated **ǰaraa*.

MMo SH---, HY *ǰari’a* M65, Muq *ǰari’a* P201b, LV *ǰara:n* P1271, IV *ǰariasun* L62:37, RH *ǰaria* 200A1. WM *ǰaraɣa* L1037a. Kh *zaraa* H234b, Chakhar *ǰıra:* D183a. Ord *ǰara:* M187a. Bur *zaryaa* C252a. Brg *ʒara:* (?←Kh) U213. Kalm *zara* M241b. Dag *ǰer^{y}e:* E316. EYu *ǰara:* B143, *ǰara* J106a, *ǰa:ra:* S432. MgrH *ʑara:* L229. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. MogMr *ǰäira* (etc) L62:37.

ǰarïm ‘half (orig. adj)’, ***ǰarïm-dug/-tug*** ‘half (noun)’. In the central languages the meaning of ***ǰarïm*** develped into ‘some’. ***ǰarïmdug/-tug*** also developed some derived meanings. Note the *y-* in Baoan and Kangjia, in this case not supported by Dongxiang. Cf. CT **ya:r-ïm* from the verb **ya:r-* ‘to split’.

MMo SH *jarim* H86, HY *ǰarim* M65, *ǰarimtuq* M65, Muq *ǰarim* P201b. WM *ǰarim* L1038a ‘some, etc’, *ǰarimduɣ* L1038a ‘one half, etc’. Kh *zarim* H235b ‘some, a certain’, *zarimdag* H235b. Ord *ǰarmin* (< **ǰarïm ïnu*) M188a ‘some, certain’. Bur *zarim* C251b ‘some; part of’. Brg *ʒarım* U213 ‘some’. Kalm *zärm* M245a ‘some; part of’. Dag *ǰerin* (?=) E316 ‘not full’. EYu *ǰarəm* J31 ‘half’, *ǰarəmdaġ* BJ325 ‘defective; paralysed’. MgrH *ʑærən* X218, *ʑæmtɔġ* X217, *ʑæntɔġ* X216. MgrM *ʒaŋtuġ* JL476, *ǰyarïm* P418a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *yarəm* (sic) CN216. Kgj *yarun* (sic) S305b. Dgx *ʒaruŋ* B179 ‘half’, *ʒaruŋtu* MC456a ‘paralysed (person)’. Mog---.

ǰarma ‘groats; hail’. The meaning ‘hail’ in Shirongol, elsewhere ‘groats’. Salar *yarma* (CT **ya:r-ma*) has both meanings. Kgj *cïrima*, especially the *c-*, is an abnormal development if the form is indeed from **ǰarma*. Sečencogt (p. 68) derives it from NUyg *yamğur*, which is even less likely. Cf. **möndür* ‘hail’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ǰarma* 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 *ʒarma:* J102b, *ʒœrma* X218 ‘hail’. MgrM---. BaoD *ǰarma* P412b ‘hail’. BaoÑ *ʒarma* CN198 ‘hail’. BaoGt *ǰarmu* C121 ‘grain from spring’. Kgj *cïrima* (sic, ?=) S302a ‘small hail’. Dgx *ʑama ʑaŋsuŋ* B178 ‘hail’ (second element see **časun* ‘snow’). Mog---.

ǰaru- ‘to use; to employ; to slaughter’.

MMo SH *jaru-* H86, HY *ǰaru-* M65, Muq *ǰaru-* P202b. WM *ǰaru-* L1038b. Kh *zarax* H235a. Bur *zaraxa* C251a. Brg *ʒar-* U213. Kalm *zarx* M242b. Dag *ǰar-* E312. EYu *ǰar-* B143, J106a. MgrH *ʒarə-* J106a. MgrM *ʒari-* JL474. BaoD *ʒiarə-* BL93b. BaoÑ *ʒar-* CN198. Kgj *ǰari-* S302b. Dgx *ʑaru-* B178. Mog *ǰɔru-* W1698a, MogMr *ǰɒ:ru-* L64:33.

ǰasa- ‘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 **ǰasa-* 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 **ǰasa-*.

MMo SH *jasa-* H87, HY *ǰasa-* M65, Muq *ǰasa-* P202b, Ph *ǰasa’ul-* (caus) P125a. WM *ǰasa-* L1039a. Kh *zasax* H237a. Ord *ǰasa-* M188b, *yasa-* (Northeast dial.) M398b. Bur *zahaxa* C254a. Brg *ʒas-* (←Kh) U212. Kalm *zasx* M242b ‘to punish’, cf. *yasx* M712b ‘to castrate’. Dag (see above). EYu *čəsa-* B135, J106a, *čüsa-* BJ346, *hsa-* B60, *χsa-* S435, *sa-* B10 (in *em sama* ‘medicine maker’, i.e. ‘pharmacist’). MgrH *ʂʒa-* J106b. MgrM *sa-* C386. BaoD *ʒiasï-* BL93a ‘to repair’, *iəsə-* BL87b ‘to do’, *iəsï-* BL3 ‘to repair’. BaoGt *ʒàs-* ~ *yàs-* C142. BaoÑ *ʒar-* CN197, *ʒaʂ-* CN197, *yar-* CN216. BaoX *ǰas-* BC74. Kgj *sa-* S293a. Dgx---. Mog---.

ǰau- ‘to bite; to sting’.

MMo SH *ja’u-* H87, HY---, Muq *ǰa’u-* P203b, *ǰu:-* P211a. WM *ǰaɣu-* L1024a. Kh *zuux* H256b. Bur *zuuxa* C265b. Brg *ʒʊ:-* U215. Kalm *zuux* M259a. Dag *ǰau-* E309. EYu *ǰu:-* B147, J106a. MgrH *ʒau:-* J106b, *ʒau-* X215, *ʒiu:-* SM94. MgrM *ʑau-* JL465. BaoD *ʒiu-* BL44. BaoGm *ʒu:-* CN86:227. BaoÑ *ʒu-* CN202. Kgj *jiʉ-* S302b. Dgx *ʑau-* B175. Mog *ǰöʉ-* R42b, *ǰʌʊ-* W169a.

ǰaučï ‘mediator, go-between, matchmaker’. Possibly related to **ǰaura* ‘space between’. The Bur form suggests that **ǰaučï* may go back to **ǰaurčï*, whereas Kalm suggests **ǰaulčï*. However, similar forms with *-l-* in WM and Kh are semantically different: WM *jaɣulči(n)* L1024b, *ǰiɣulči(n)* (sic) L1051a ‘traveler, guest, passer-by,

etc', Kh *žuulč(in)* H219b from 'traveler, tourist' (cf. also **ǰo(l)čïn* 'guest' below, which may have influenced form and meaning of the present entry).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ǰaɣuči* L1024b, *ǰiɣuči* (sic) L1051a. Kh *zuuč* H256b, *žuuč* H219b, [*zuučlagč* H256b]. Ord *ǰu:či* M222a. Bur [*zuurša(-lagša)* C265ab]. Kalm *zu:lčĭ* R482a, *zu:čĭ* R483b. Dag *ǰauč* E309. EYu [*ǰu:rmačə* (< **ǰaurmačï*) B147]. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ʒauçï* B176. Mog---.

***ǰaugasun** 'lily bulb'. Strange disharmonic form in Dagur.

MMo SH *ǰa'uqasu* H87 'lily root', HY---. Muq *ǰu:yasunu čeček* [Poppe reads *čuɣasunu*] 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', *ǰauwɔ:s* NK524a 'lily bulb; the soft part of the hoof'. Remaining lgs---.

***ǰauǰaï** 'heel (of foot or footwear)'. The Dag form is unexpected, as *-aï* 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 *ʒauʒœ* X215. MgrM [*qur*] *ʒaoʒia* DS228b, cf. *ġər ʒouʒia* (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 *ġo:r nʒoŋ* J32, BaoÑ *ġuar nʒəŋ*, BaoGt *ġuarən ǰün* C132, BaoX *ġuari nʒəŋ* CN86:152 '200', BaoGt *nəgan ʒüŋ* BL31 '100', BaoX *nəgin ǰoŋ* BC64 '100'.

MMo SH *ja'u(n)* H87, HY *ǰa'un* M66, Muq *ǰa'un* P203b, LV *ǰawun* P1271, IV *ǰawun* L62:38. WM *ǰaɣu(n)* L1024a. Kh *zuu(n)* H255a. Bur *zuu(n)* C264b. Brg *ʒʊ:* U215. Kalm *zun* M255b. Dag *ǰau* E309. EYu *ǰu:n* B147, J106a. MgrH *ʒɔŋ* X224, *nʒoŋ* J106b. MgrM---. BaoD *ʒüŋ* BL93a. BaoGt *ǰün* C132. BaoÑ *nʒəŋ* CN37, *ʒəŋ* CN201. BaoX *ǰoŋ* BC64. Kgj *ǰun ~ ǰün* S303. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰaura** 'space between'. In the central languages 'on the way, halfway; while'. Cf. **ǰaučï* 'matchmaker'; possibly also related to **ǰab*, **ǰabsar* 'interval'.

MMo SH *ja'ura* H87, HY *ǰa'ura* M66, Muq *ǰu:ra* P211b, Ph *ǰa'ura* P125a. WM *ǰaɣura* L1024b. Kh *zuur* H256a. Bur *zuura* C264b. Brg *ʒʊ:r* U215. Kalm *zuur* M258a. Dag *ǰaur* Z73, *ǰaur, ǰɔ:r* T143. EYu *ǰu:ra* B147. MgrH *ʒo:ro* X223, *ʒu:rə* X224. MgrM *ʒaura* JL466. BaoD---. BaoGt *ʒorə* C103. BaoÑ *ʒə:rə* CN201. Kgj *ǰuru* S303b. Dgx *ʒəura* B179 'at the time that..'. Mog *ǰöʁro:* R42b.

ǰauraŋgaï**/ǰaurakaï** '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 **ǰaura-* ‘to close the mouth tightly’ (not listed). Cf. **čïno*.

MMo---. Bur (Khori dial.) *zuurangi* C265a ‘(taboo) wolf’. MgrH *ʒ́iu:raŋġe:* SM95. Kgj *ǰiɯrğei* S303a. Dgx *ʒïraŋġəi* B181, *ʒaŋġəi* B177, *ǰiranqèy* P412a.

***ǰayaan** ‘fate, destiny, luck, etc’. Cf. Muq *ǰaya:-* P203b ‘to create’, Kh *zayaax* H239a ‘to predetermine, etc’, Dgx *ʒaya-san(də)* B178 ‘come into the world’.

MMo SH *jaya’an* H87, HY *ǰaya’an* M66, *ǰaya:n* M66, Muq *ǰiya:-tu* P316a, Ph *ǰaya’an* P125a ‘rebirth’. WM *ǰayaɣa(n)* L1028a. Kh *zayaa(n)* H238b. Chakhar *ǰiya:* D183a. Ord *ǰiya:* M195b. Bur *zayaa(n)* C254a. Brg *ʒaya:* U213. Kalm *zayan* M243b. Dag *ǰiya:* E318. EYu *ʒ́a:n* B149, *ǰiya* J106b. MgrH *ʒ́aya:n* J106a. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *ʒaya-* B178 ‘to be lucky’. Mog---.

***ǰebe** (?*ǰebi) ‘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 **ǰibe* or **ǰibi*. The Dag forms suggest a form **ǰebi* or **ǰibi*, since **-b-* is only preserved in Dag before **ï/*i*. Unfortunately this word is absent from the old documents (**ǰebe* in MMo SH, HY, Muq is ‘weapon, arm’)

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *ǰibe* L1048a, *ǰibi* L1048b, *ǰebi* L1042a, *ǰabi* (sic) L1019a. Kh *zev* H262a, according to Lessing also *ǰiv*, *zav’*. Ord *ǰiwe*, *ǰiwi* M206ab. Bur *žebe* C234b. Brg *ǰiβ* U207. Kalm *zev* M245b. Dag *ǰib* E317, *ǰib*^{y} NK526a. EYu---. MgrH *ʒ́e:* X219, *ʒ́üe:* SM95, cf. *ʒ́o:-də-* X223 ‘to rust’. MgrM *ʒ́eb-de-* JL474 ‘to rust’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰee** ‘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 *ǰe’e* M66, Muq---. WM *ǰige* L1051b. Kh *zee* H266b. Ord *ǰe:* M192a. Bur *zee* (in compounds) C275a. Brg *ʒə:* U213. Kalm *ze* M245a. Dag *ǰə:* E313. EYu *ǰi:* B145, J106b, *ǰe:* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *ʒ́e:* J106a, X219. MgrM (Sanchuan) *čï* [**ʒə*] P418a. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *ʒə* B179. Mog---.

***ǰeeren** ‘Mongolian gazelle (kind of antelope)’. Related to CT **yegren* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *ǰe:ren* M67, Muq *ǰe:ren* P205a, LV *ǰiyren* P1273, IV---. WM *ǰegere(n)* L1043b. Kh *zeer(en)* H267b. Bur *zeere(n)* C275b. Kalm *zeerŋ* M246a. Dag *ǰə:rən* E312. EYu *ǰe:ren* B144, J106b. MgrH---. MgrM *ǰer’ imà* P413a (**ïmaan* ‘goat’). Remaining lgs---.

ǰele** (?ǰelü)** ‘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 *ǰele* [eds read *ǰala:*] 205A30. WM *ǰele* L1045a. Kh *zel* H263b. Ord *ǰile* M198a. Bur *zele*, *zeli* C272b, *zeeli* (?=) C275a ‘horse hair rope’. Brg *ʒəl* U214. Kalm *zel* M246b. Dag *ǰildə:s* (+ **deesün*) E318, *dillə:s* E88:103. EYu *ǰelə* B144. Remaining lgs---.

ǰeü- ‘to wear (usu. an ornament)’. In EYu-Mgr this word merged phonetically with **ǰöe-* ‘to transport’, and most of the Baoanic forms also suggest an earlier form **ǰo:-* rather than the expected **ǰu:-*. Cf. **emüs-* ‘to wear (clothes)’.

MMo SH---, HY *ǰe’ü-* M67, Muq---. WM *ǰegü-* L1043b. Kh *züüx* H262a. Ord *ǰʉ:-* M222a. Bur *züüxe* C270a. Brg *ʒu:-* U217. Kalm *züüx* M262a. Dag---. EYu *ǰü:-* B148, J106b. MgrH *ʒ́o:-* J106a. MgrM *ʒo-* JL472. BaoD *ʒ́iao-* BL93b. BaoÑ *ʒ́ɵ:-* CN201. Kgj *ǰʉ-* S304a. Dgx *ʒo-* B181, *ǰuei-* T120. Mog---.

ǰeüdün ‘dream’. The added preconsonantal *-n-* in some Baoan dialects may be due to assimilation to the final nasal. Dgx *-ʒ́-* instead of *-d-* is unexpected, and at first sight more suggestive of an original form **ǰeüden* (but cf. **büdüri-* ‘to stumble’). Apparently from a root **ǰeü-*, cf. the verb **ǰeüle-*, which survives in Dag *ǰəul-* E313, EYu *ǰö:yəle-* (sic) B146 ‘to talk in one’s sleep’.

MMo SH *jao’udun* H86, HY *ǰe’üdün* M67, Muq *ǰü:dü* P212b. WM *ǰegüde(n)* L1043b, *ǰegüdü(n)* L1044a. Kh *züüd(en)* H261b. Ord *ǰʉ:de* M222b. Bur *züüde(n)* C270a. Brg *ʒu:d* U217. Kalm *züüdn* M261b. Dag *ǰəud* E313. EYu *ǰü:dən* B148, J106b, *ǰö:dən* (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *ʒ́iu:dən* J106a. MgrM *ʒ́auduŋ* JL474, *ǰiuden* T334. BaoD *ʒ́ünduŋ* BL93a. BaoGt *ʒ́unduŋ* C137. BaoJ *ʒ́ündúŋ* L52. BaoÑ *ʒ́udaŋ* CN202. BaoX *ǰudoŋ* BC64. Kgj *ǰʉdʉn ~ ǰüdʉn* S304a. Dgx *ʒauʒ́iŋ* B176. Mog *ǰöʉdʉ-la-* R42b ‘to dream’.

ǰeün ‘left; east’. Cf. **solagaï* ‘left’.

MMo SH *jao’un* H86, HY *ǰe’ün* M67, Muq *ǰü’ün* P112a, *ǰö’en* P209a, LV *ǰöwen* P1271, IV *ǰüyün* L62:40. WM *ǰegün* L1044a. Kh *züün* H261b. Bur *züü(n)* C270a. Brg *ʒu:ŋ* U217. Kalm *zün* M259b. Dag *ǰun* T145. EYu *ǰʉŋ* (‘obsolete’) B147, *ǰü:n* J106b. Remaining lgs---.

ǰeün ‘needle’.

MMo SH *je’u* H89, HY *ǰö’ün* M69, Muq *ǰe’ün* P205a, *ǰü’ün-* P297a, *ǰü:n-* P370b. WM *ǰegüü* L1044b, *ǰegün* L1044a, *ǰeü* L1047b. Kh züü(n) H261b. Ord *ǰʉ:* M222a. Bur *züü(n)* C270a. Brg *ʒu:* U217. Kalm *zün* M260a. Dag *ǰu:* E320, *ǰəu* NK525a. EYu *ǰü:n* B148, J106b. MgrH *ʒ́iu:* J106b. MgrM *ʒau* C393. BaoD *ʒ́üŋ* BL93a. BaoÑ *ʒ́ɵŋ* CN201. Kgj *ǰʉn ~ ǰün* S304a. Dgx *ʒuŋ* B182. Mog *ǰöʉn* R42b.

ǰïa- ‘to announce, etc’ see ***ǰaa***-

ǰïar(ï) (> ***ǰaar(ï)***) ‘musk’. There are several phonetic inconsistencies. The **ïa* of WM and HY, which is supported by Turkic **yïpar ~ *ïpar* ‘id’, is not preserved in the modern languages; the *z-* in the central languages indicates an assimilated form **ǰaar*. Some of the Kh, Bur, and EYu forms suggest a longer form in *-ï* not found in the older sources.

MMo SH---, HY *ǰiqar* (or *ǰi-ha-r*) M67 ‘musk deer’, Muq *ǰa:r* P204a, RH *ǰa:r* 205D4. WM *ǰaɣar* L1023b, *ǰïɣar* L1050a. Kh *zaar* H221b ‘musk, etc’, *zaar’* H221b ‘musk, etc; gelded reindeer’, *zair* H227b (both meanings?). Ord *ǰa:r* M187a. Bur *zaar* C240a, *zaari* C240b both ‘strong smell’, cf. *zari* (Oka dial.) C251b ‘gelded

four-year-old reindeer, etc'. Brg *ʒa:r* U209. Kalm *zar* M241b 'musk'. Dag *ǰa:r* E308. EYu *ǰa:r* B141, *ǰa:rə* J106a. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰïda** 'spear, lance'. A widespread word in North Eurasia. Dag *gʸad* is from Manchu *gida* 'id'.

MMo SH *jida* H89, HY *ǰida* M67, Muq *ǰida* P205a, LV---, IV *ǰida* L62:38. WM *ǰida* L1049a. Kh *ǰad* H208b. Ord *ǰida* M193b. Bur *žada* C230b. Brg *ǰad* U206. Kalm *ǰid* M226b. Dag (see above). EYu *ǰəda* BJ325, J106b, *ǰuda* B147. MgrH *ʒi:da* J106a, *ʒida:* X222. MgrM *ʒida* JL461. Bao---. Kgj *ǰida* S303b. Dgx *ʒïda* B180. Mog---.

***ǰïgasun** 'fish' see ***ǰagasun**

***ǰïlga** 'ravine, gorge, chasm, abyss'. The Kgj form may also be from **ǰölke*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ǰilɣas* (pl) P372a 'pad' - tiefe schlucht'. WM *ǰilɣa* L1055a. Kh *žalga* H209a. Bur *žalga* C231a. Kalm *ǰalɣ* M224a. Dag *ǰaləɣ* (?=) E312 'marshland'. EYu *ǰəlğa* B144. Mgr---. BaoD *ʒiŋġa* (?=) BL58 'Ganhetan (placename)'. Kgj *ǰirge* (?=) S303b.

***ǰïloa** 'reins'. The Arabo-Mongolic forms see to involve a metathetic **ǰïlau*.

MMo SH *jilo'a*, *jilu'a* H90, HY---, Muq---, LV *ǰilawu* P1272, IV---, RH *ǰilau* 187C13. WM *ǰiloɣa* L1055b. Kh *ǰoloo(n)* H217b. Ord *ǰilo:* M198b. Bur *žoloo* C232b. Brg *ǰəlɔ:* U208. Kalm *ǰola* M231a. Dag *dilɔ:* E283, *ǰilɔ: ~ dilɔ:* E88:116. EYu *ǰəlu:* B144, *ǰulu:* J106b, *ǰolu:* S452. MgrH *ʒolo-ćə* X224 'driver'. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰïlsun** '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 *ǰiliy* H214b 'rosin, colophony', Bur *želii* C236a 'tree resin'. A relationship with CT **yelim* 'id' is doubtful.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ǰilsun* (P: *ǰilsün*) P206a, LV---, IV---, RH *ǰilsun* [eds.: *ǰalasun*] 204C28. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm *zusn* M257b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ʒülʒə* X225. MgrM *ʒursï* JL473. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *ʒilsoŋ* S555. Kgj *ǰilesʉn* S303a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰïrga**- 'to be glad or happy'.

MMo SH *jirqa*- H90, HY *ǰirqa*- M67, Muq---, Ph *ǰirqa*- P125b. WM *ǰiryа*- L1059a. Kh *ǰargax* H210a. Ord *ǰirġa*- M202a. Bur *ǰargaxa* C231b. Brg *ǰarag*- U206. Kalm *ǰiryx* M230a. Dag *ǰarəɣ*- E312. EYu *ǰirğa*- B145, *ǰərğa*- J65. MgrH *ʒargal* (only) L230 'happiness'. Remaining lgs---.

***ǰïrguan** 'six'. The central languages reflect a shape **ǰurgaan* (the result of early breaking), Dagur and Shirongol derive from **ǰïrgo:n* < **ǰïrgoan*. The latter is also

likely to be the source of the EYu form (via an unattested **ǰɔrğɔ:n*). Related to **ǰïran* 'sixty' which suggests a root **ǰïr-* with an unknown suffix (?-*gUAn*).

MMo SH *jirwa'an* H91, *jirqo'an* H90, HY *ǰirwa'an* M67, Muq *ǰiryu'an* P207a, *ǰirya:n* P206b, LV *ǰirɣa:n*, *ǰurɣa:n* P1271, IV *ǰurɣu'an* L62:39. WM *ǰirɣuɣa(n)* L1059b. Kh *zurgaa(n)* H254a. Ord *ǰurġa:* M220a. Bur *zurgaan* C263b, *yorgoon* (Ekhirit) C228a. Brg *ʒɔrga:ŋ* U217. Kalm *zurɣan* M257a. Dag *ǰiryɔ:* E318. EYu *ǰirğu:n* B145, *ǰurğu:n* J107a. MgrH *ʑirġo:n* J106b. MgrM *ǰurġoŋ* T334. BaoD *ʑirġuŋ* BL93a. BaoÑ *ʑirġөŋ* CN200. BaoX *ǰirġoŋ* BC67. Kgj *ǰirğuŋ ~ ǰirğun* S303b. Dgx *ʑïğoŋ* B180. MogMr *ǰurɣɒ:n* (rarely used) L62:40.

***ǰïran** 'sixty'. In Bao and Kgj replaced by a new formation **ǰïrguan harban* 'six tens', e.g. *ʑirġaraŋ* CN200. Related to **ǰïrguan* 'six' which suggests a root **ǰïr-* + 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 *žara(n)* C231b. Brg *ǰar* U206. Kalm *ǰirn* M231a. Dag *ǰar* E312. EYu *ǰiran* B145, J106b. MgrH *ʑiran* J106a. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰïroa** 'amble; ambler'. The CM form **ǰorïa*, expected on the basis of the Turkic cognate **yorïga* from **yorï-* '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 *ǰiroɣa* L1061a. Kh *ǰoroo* H218b. Ord *ǰiro:* M203a. Bur *žoroo* C233a. Brg *ǰɔrɔ:* U208. Kalm *ǰora* M232b. Dag *ǰirɔ:* E318. EYu *ǰɔrɔ:* B146, *ǰoro:* J107a. MgrH *ʑoro* J106a, *ʑuro* L251. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj *ǰuru* S303b. Dgx---. Mog *ǰiro:* R42b.

***ǰïru-** 'to paint; to write'. The **ï* 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 *ʒɔr-* U216. Kalm *zurx* M257a. Dag---. EYu *ǰura-* B147. MgrH *ʑiu:rə-* J98b 'to write'. MgrM *ʒuri-* JL464 'to write', *ǰuri-* T335 'id'. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰi-** 'two' see ***ǰitüer** 'second'.

***ǰii-** 'to stretch, extend'. The original form may have been **ǰïï-*, 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 *ǰiyx* H213b. Ord *ǰi:-* M192b. Bur *ǰiixe* C232b. Brg *ǰi:-* U206. Kalm *ǰiix* M227b. Dag *ǰi:-* E316. EYu---. MgrH *ʑi:-* J106a. BaoD *ʑi-* BL93b. BaoÑ *ʑi:-* CN198. Kgj---. Dgx *ʒï-* L121b, *ʒïğa-* (caus.) B180. Mog---.

***ǰil** '(calendar) year, year of the Twelve Animal Cycle'. The Turkic equivalent **yïl* 'id' suggests that this word was probably back-vocalic **ǰïl*, 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 *ǰil* M67, Muq---, LV *ǰil* P1274, IV---, Ph *ǰil* P125a. WM *ǰil* L1054a. Kh *ǰil* H213b. Chakhar *ǰil* D182b. Kalm *ǰil* M227b. Bur *žel* C236a. Brg *ǰil* U207. Dag *ǰil* E317. EYu *ǰəl* B144, J106b. MgrH *ʒil* J106a, X221, *ʒül* X225. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ʒilə* CN199. Kgj *ǰile* S303a. Dgx *ʑəŋ* B110, cf. also *ʑuŋtu* B110 'born in the ... year' (**ǰil.tü* or **ǰil.tu*). Mog *žil* 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 *ʒo:rə-* which suits **ǰor-* better. BaoÑ *ʒir-* 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 *ʒi:ri-* SM93 'to cut into long strips', *ʒi:rə-* X219 'to cut'. BaoD *ǰarə-* (?=) T139 'to cut'. BaoÑ *ʒir-* (?=) 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 *ǰülum* 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 *ǰülum* E324, *ǰilim* NK526b, *ǰulim* T145. EYu *ǰərəm* B144. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ʑirəŋ* B181, *ʑirïŋ* L7, *ʑirun* 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 *ʒir-* CN200 'to cut' belongs here, but cf. also *?**ǰir-* listed above.

MMo SH *jisu-* H91, HY---, Muq *jisü-* P207b. WM *jisü-* L1064a. Kh *züsex* H261a. Ord *ǰusu-* M225b. Bur *zühexe* C271a. Brg *ʒuxu:-* U218. Kalm *züsx* M261a. Dag *ǰus-* E323 'etc'. EYu *čüsə-* BJ346 'to chop; to stab', *čusu-* (?=) S579 'to tear to pieces'. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ʒir-* (?=, 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 be supported by Dagur, where one would expect **ǰisün* to result in **ǰis*. Enkhbat compares Dag *ǰus* to WM *jisüm*, 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 *ǰisü(n)* L1064a. Kh *züs(en)* H260b, cf. *züsem*. Ord *ǰʉsʉ* M225b. Bur *zühe(n)* C270b, *žühe(n)* C234b. Brg *ǰuxu:* U209. Kalm *züsn* M260b. Dag *ǰus* E323, Z105a. EYu *ǰʉs* B148, *ǰüs* BJ113, *čösön* J106b. MgrH *ʒus* C88:587 'face', *ʒusə* S469. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰitüer** 'second; co-wife' and **ǰitüen* 'competition'. Morphologically **ǰitüer* is an ordinal number from the root **ǰi-* 'two', also occurring in **ǰirin* 'two', cf. MMo SH *jirin* H90 'two, both (feminine)'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ǰitö:r* [Poppe reads *ǰitür*] P207b 'jealousy'. Kh *ǰötöör* H218a, *ǰötgör* H218b 'wives of a polygamist; jealousy, envy', *ǰötöö(n)* H218b 'jealousy, envy', *ǰitger* LC2:180a '(youngest) wife of a polygamist'. Ord *ǰötö:r* M214a 'jealous', *ǰötö:*, *ata: ǰötö:* M214a 'jealousy, rivalry'. Bur *žütöö(n)* C234a. Kalm *atan ǰitään* M231b 'envy, competition'. cf. Dag *xata: ǰutə:* E323 'aspiration, willpower'. Remaining lgs---.

***ǰiür** 'wing'. The central languages go back to **ǰibür*, the MMo sources stem from **ǰiür* > **ǰüür*. The forms with *-güü-* in Kh and Bur are reading pronunciations. Perhaps then from a set of PM variants **ǰibür* ~ **ǰipür*, of which the latter went on to become **ǰihür* > **ǰiür*. The MgrH forms are perhaps related in spite of the aberrant forms. In MgrM this word seems to be confused with **üǰüür* 'tip, end'.

MMo SH *ji'ur* H91, HY *ǰü'ür* M67 (read *ǰi'ür* by Mostaert), Muq---, LV *ǰü:r* P1273, IV *ǰibür* L62:38, RH *ǰiür* 200B14. WM *ǰigür* L1053a, *ǰiber* ('sometimes used instead of *ǰigür'*) L1048b. Kh *ǰiver* H211b 'fin(s) of a fish', *ǰigüür* H212a 'wing'. Ord *ǰigʉ:r* (← WM) M195b. Bur *žeber* C234b 'pinion, wing', *žegüür* C235b 'wing'. Kalm *ǰivr* M225a 'wing'. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ʒa:r* (?=) X214, *sa:r* (?=) X129. MgrM *ǰur*, *uǰur* P415b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰoba-** 'to suffer, to worry'.

MMo SH *joba-*, *jobo-* H91, HY *ǰobo-laŋ* M67 'suffering', Muq *ǰoba-* P207b. WM *ǰoba-* L1065b. Kh *zovox* H239b. Bur *zoboxo* C255a. Brg *ʒɔβ-* U215. Kalm *zovx* M250a. Dag *ǰɔɣʷ-* E320. EYu *ǰɔ:-* B145, *ǰo:-* J91. MgrH *ʒoblɔŋ* X224, *ʒæblɔŋ* X217, *ʒærlɔŋ* X218 < **ǰobalaŋ*, and perhaps in *ʒo:rġo-* SM91 (caus.) 'to thank' < **ǰoba-lga-*. MgrM *ʒobo-* DS256a 'to toil'. Bao---. Dgx---. MogMr only in *ǰobo-lɣa* L68, No. 18 'bad quality meat'.

***ǰočïn** 'guest'. Apparently from an older form **ǰolčïn* and related to a CT **yo:l-čï* '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:člχă* R477b 'to be a guest (and give presents at the occasion), to ask a girl to marry', *zu:lčï* R482a, *zulčï* R483a 'mediator' seem to involve a confusion between this word and **ǰaučï* 'mediator, matchmaker'. Two other Mongolic words for guest are similarly formed: **aïlčïn* (not listed here) from **aïl* 'camp, village', and **geičin*, perhaps < **keidčin* 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 *ǰočin* M67, Muq *ǰočin* P208a. WM *ǰoči(n)* L1066a. Kh *zočin* H245a. Ord *ǰočid* (pl.) M211a. Bur *zošon* (some dialects) C259a. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *ɕućiŋ* JL473. BaoD *ʑiaućüŋ* BL93b, *ʑiućüŋ* BL4. BaoJ *ʑolćuŋ* L50. BaoÑ---. Kgj *ǰʉčɔ ~ ǰüčɔ* S304a. Dgx *ʑoɕəŋ* B181. Mog---.

***ǰokï**- ‘to fit, to suit’.

MMo SH *joki*- H92, HY *ǰokiya*- (caus. form) M67 ‘to arrange’, Muq *ǰoqi*- P208a, Ph *ǰoqiya*- (caus) P125b. WM *ǰoki*- L1068a. Kh *zoxix* H245a. Bur *zoxixo* C259a. Kalm *zokx* M251a. Dag *ǰuɣ*^{y}- (sic) E322. EYu *ǰɔġə*- B146. MgrH *ćugu*- X211, *ćigu*- L444, *ɕugu*- SM440. MgrM---. BaoD *ǰoɣə*- T139. BaoÑ *ʑəġə*- CN201. Kgj *ǰuğu*- S303b. Dgx *ʑoğu*- MC465b. Mog *ǰoɣa:lɣa*- (double caus.) R42b ‘to cause to perform, to cause to do, to do’, *ǰɔğʌ*- W169a ‘to prepare’.

***ǰolga**- ‘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 **ǰol* ‘good luck’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *jolqa*- H92, *joluqa*- H93, HY *ǰolqa*- M68, Muq *ǰolqa*- P208a. WM *ǰolɣa*- L1069b. Kh *zolgox* H241a. Bur *zolgoxo* C255b. Brg *ʒɔlɔg*- U215. Kalm *zolɣx* M251a. Dag---. EYu *ǰɔlğɔ*- B146, *ǰolğo*- J93b. MgrH *ʑio:rġa*-, *ʑio:rġo*- SM91, *ʑo:lġa*-, *ʑo:lġo*- X223. BaoD *ʒolɣə*- BL81b. BaoÑ *ʑəlġa*- CN201. BaoX *ǰolġə*- BC71. Kgj *ǰulğu*- S303b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ǰor**- ‘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 *ǰuru-qu* is unexpected. EYu-MgrH vowel length probably arose after the connective vowel *U* was incorporated into the stem. Cf. **ǰir*- and **ǰisü*- ‘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 **ǰir*- or **ǰor*-, as *öʁ* normally reflects **au* or **eü*. Ramstedt’s etymology **ǰaura*- seems untraceable; Weiers’ suggestion to derive *ǰuri*- from **ǰorï*- ‘to point at’ is semantically problematic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ǰor*- (Poppe: *ǰur-qu, ǰuru-ba*) P211a, *ǰuru-qu* P383a, the second *u* is only written in the last instance. WM *ǰor*- L1070b. Kh *zorox* H243b. Ord *ǰor*- M210a. Bur *zoroxo* C257b. Kalm *zorx* M252a. Dag *ǰɔrɣ*^{w}- (apparently a caus. formation, but not semantically) E320. EYu *ǰu:r*- B147, S470, *ǰü:r*- S454. MgrH *ʑo:rə*- X223. Mog *ǰöʁʁnȧ* (?=) R42b ‘cuts’, *ǰuri*- (?=) W169b ‘to make’, but the context of the only occurrence (in fact the pass. *ǰurigdʌ*- W64, No. 185) is compatible with ‘to cut’; cf. Zirni *ǰuru*- 22:5a ‘to cut’.

***ǰorï**- ‘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 *ǰorin* M68 ‘intentionally’, *ǰoriq* M68 ‘intention’, Dgx *ʒoroğoŋ* MC464a ‘intentionally’. The Dgx verb listed below is a semantically problematic match.

MMo SH *jori*- H93, HY (see above), Muq *ǰori*- P208b ‘to show the way, to give directions’, Ph *ǰori*- P125b ‘to strive’. WM *ǰori*- L1071a. Kh *zorix* H243b. Bur

zorixo C257b ‘to aim at’. Kalm *zörx* M254b ‘to aim at’. Dag *ǰɔr^{y}-* E320. EYu *ǰɔrə-* B146 ‘to aim at’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ʒorəi-* (?=) MC464a ‘to begin (upwards or downwards)’ (?). Mog--- (see **ǰor-* above).

***ǰoraa** ‘ambler’ see ***ǰïroa**

***ǰöb** ‘right, correct, proper’. Perhaps Dag *ǰu:ɣu:* below and *ǰuɣi(n)* T145 (derived from **ǰöb* by Enkhbat as well as Todaeva) are not related to **ǰöb*, but rather to Dag *ǰuɣ^{y}-*, which seems to be an irregular development of **ǰokï-* ‘to be suitable’.

MMo SH *job* H91, HY *ǰöb* M68, Muq *ǰöbleldü-* P208b ‘to promise’ (**ǰöbleldü-*). WM *ǰöb* L1072b. Kh *zöv* H245b. Ord *ǰöb* M212a. Bur *züb* C265b. Brg *ʒuβ* U218. Kalm *zöv* M252a. Dag *ǰu:ɣu:* (sic, ?=) E320, cf. *ǰubše:-* E322 ‘to support’ (**ǰöbsie-*). EYu *ǰöb* B146. MgrH *ʒ́ob* X223, *ʒ́üb* X225, *ʒ́ür* X225, *ʒ́od* X223. MgrM *ʒo* JL472. Bao---. Kgj *ǰübə-la ~ ǰʉbʉ-la* S304a ‘true’. Dgx *ʒo* 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 *ǰöke-* 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:ɣu:-* E321 ‘to offer up a sacrifice’, cf also Manchu *juge-*. In some languages **ǰöe-* has phonetically merged with **ǰeü-* ‘to wear (gloves, jewelery, etc)’.

MMo SH (see above), HY *ǰögelge-* M68, *ǰöge’ül-* M69 (caus. forms), Muq (see above). WM *ǰöge-* L1074a, *ǰögege-* L1074b. Kh *zööx* H248b. Ord *ǰö:-* M212a. Bur *zööxe* C260a. Brg *ʒo:-* U217. Kalm *zööx* M253b. Dag---. EYu *ǰü:-* J107a. MgrH *ʒ́o:-* J107b. MgrM *ǰiu-* T334. BaoD *ǰo:-* T139. BaoÑ---. Dgx *ǰue-* T120, *čue-* T141 (sic), *ʒo-* MC462a ‘to apply/spread (dung)’. Mog *ǰuwʌ-* 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 *ǰ-* is unexpected.

MMo SH *jo’olen* H93, HY *ǰö’elen* M68, Muq *ǰö’elen* P209a, *ǰö’ölen* P209a, *ǰö:len* P209b, LV---, IV *ǰö:len* L62:39. WM *ǰögelen* L1074b. Kh *zöölön* H247b. Bur *zööle(n)* C259b. Brg *ʒo:liŋ* U217. Kalm *ǰööln* M233a. Dag *ǰəulə:n* E313. EYu *ǰülen* B148, *ǰü:len* B148, J107a, *ǰö:len* (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *ʒ́o:lon* J107a. MgrM *ʒolen* JL464, *ǰiolon* T334. BaoD *ʒ́iuləŋ* BL93a. BaoÑ *ʒ́ulaŋ* CN202. Kgj *ǰilɔ* S303a. Dgx *ʒolien* B181. MogMr *ǰə:lan*, MogM *ǰəʉlã* 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 *ǰö’en* M68, Muq *ǰö’öske-* P209a, *ǰö:ske-* P210a (caus.) ‘to make cold’, LV *ǰöen* P1273, IV *ǰöyen* L62:39. WM---. Kh *zö(g)ön xaluun* H248a/247a ‘humid and warm’, *zöög* H247b ‘lukewarm, etc’, *zöösgöröx* H248a *zöötgöröx* H248b ‘to cool down, become lukewarm, etc’. Ord *ǰö:s ge-* M214a ‘to diminish, decrease’. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *zö:g* R479a ‘lukewarm, no longer too hot’, *zö:dəχə* R479a ‘to become somewhat cooler or milder’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH

ʒ́io:di- SM89. MgrM *ʒosï-* DS214a. Bao---. Dgx *ʒosïɣa-* S375 ‘to cool off’ (+ caus.). Mog---.

ǰöriü ‘transverse; askew; stubborn’.

MMo SH---, HY *ǰöriü* M69, Muq---. WM *ǰörigüü* L1076b. Kh *zörüü* H249a. Bur *züryüü* (written *züryuü*) C269b. Brg *ǰiru:* U208. Kalm *zörü:* R478b. Ord *ǰiruᵾ:* M203a. Dag *ǰuri:* E323. EYu *ǰörü:* S459. Remaining lgs---.

ǰuǰaan ‘thick; dense’.

MMo SH *juja’an* H94, HY *ǰuǰa’an* M69, Muq *ǰuǰa’an* P210a, *ǰuǰa:n* P210b, LV---, IV *ǰuǰa:n* P62:39. WM *ǰuǰaɣan* L1081b. Kh *zuzaan* H250b. Ord *ǰuǰa:n* M215b. Bur *zuzaan* C261a. Brg *ʒʊʒa:ŋ* U216. Kalm *zuzan* M255a. Dag *ǰuǰa:n* E323. EYu *ǰuǰa:n* B147, J107a. MgrH *ʒ́uʒ́uan* L107b. MgrM *ǰuǰaŋ* T335. BaoD *ʒ́iʒ́iaŋ* BL93b. BaoÑ *ʒ́iʒ́aŋ* CN200. Kgj *ǰiǰə* S303b. Dgx *ʒuʒaŋ* B184. Mog *ǰuǰən* W169b, MogM *ǰuǰɒ:n* L62:39.

ǰula ‘(oil) lamp’. The Kgj form is peculiar, but its similarity to the alternative WM spelling with *-ɣ-* is probably coincidental. Cf. CT **yula* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *ǰula* M69, Muq *ǰula* P210b, LV---, IV *ǰula* L62:39, Ph *ǰula* P125b. WM *ǰula* L1078a, *ǰulaɣa* L1078a. Kh *zul* H251a. Ord *ǰula* M217a. Bur *zula* C261b. Brg *ʒʊl* U216. Kalm *zul* M255b. Dag *ǰʷal* E325. EYu *ǰula* B147, J107a. MgrH *ʒ́ila:* J107b. MgrM *ʒula* JL464, *ǰula* T333. BaoD *ʒ́iula* BL93b. BaoÑ *ʒ́ila* CN199. Kgj *ǰilaǧa* (sic) S303a. Dgx *ʒula* B183. Mog---.

ǰulaï (***ǰula***) ‘fontanel, sinciput’. Both EYu and Baoanic support the form **ǰula*; Dag does as well, but in Dag the loss of word-final *ï/i* from diphthongs is very common. The MgrH form may be a semantic development of *ʒ́iärġe:* ‘ridge between fields; boundary between plots of land’ (of unknown etymology).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---, cf. IM *ǰola:* P439b ‘brain’. WM *ǰulai*, *ǰula* L1078a. Kh *zulay* H251b. Ord *ǰulä:* M217b. Bur *zulay* C261b; cf. also the phonetically aberrant Bur *žoloo* C232b ‘fontanel’, *yoloon* (Bokh. dial) C227a ‘id’. Brg *ʒʊlai* U216. Kalm *zula* M255b. Dag *ǰəl* E320. EYu *ǰula* B147. MgrH *ʒ́iärġe:* (?=) SM83. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ʒ́ila* CN199. Dgx *ʒula* B183. Mog---.

***ǰulǰaga*(n)** ‘young of an animal, offspring’. The *-n* found in MMo only survives in EYu. Kalm remodeled as if from a diminutive formation **ǰulǰïu-kaï* (cf. **ïnjaga* 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 *ǰulǰaɣan* P211a, LV *ǰulǰiqan* P1272, IV---, Ph *ǰulǰiqan* P125b. WM *ǰulǰaɣan* L1079b. Kh *zulzaga* H252b. Ord *ǰulǰaġa* M218a. Bur *zulzaga* C262a. Brg *ǰʊlǰɪg* U208. Kalm *julǰuxa* M233b ‘chick’. Dag *ǰeljïɣ* E316. EYu *ǰəlǰəğan* B144, J107a. MgrH *ʒ́ilʒ́aġa* J107b. MgrM *ʒuʒuġar* JL463, *ǰuǰuġar* T333. BaoD *ʒ́inʒ́iġə* BL93a. BaoÑ *ʒ́ilʒ́iġa* CN199. BaoX *ǰinǰəgə* BC61. Kgj *ǰinǰiğa* S303a. Dgx *ʒunʒuğa* e.g. in *qïğəi ʒunʒuğa* B70 ‘piglet’. Mog---.

ǰumuran ‘suslik (ground squirrel)’. This form in the oldest sources. Kh-Kalm suggest **ǰuruman* with metathesis of *-m-* and *-r-*. Bur and Dag represent an earlier form **ǰumburan* with added *-b-*.

MMo SH---, HY *ǰumuran* M69, Muq---, RH *ǰumran* (or *ǰumuran*) 200A2. WM *ǰurama*, *ǰurum* L1080a/b. Kh *zuram* H254a. Ord *ǰurma* 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 *ʒʊmbara:* U216. Kalm *zurmn* M257a. Dag *ǰɔmbɔr* S464, *ǰumbra:* T145 ‘suslik’. Remaining languages---.

ǰun ‘summer’. Cf. **naǰïr* ‘id’.

MMo SH *jun* H94, HY *ǰun* M69, Muq *ǰun* P211a, LV *ǰun* P1273, IV---. WM *ǰun* L1079b. Kh *zun* H253a. Bur *zun* C262b. Brg *ʒʊŋ* U216. Kalm *zun* M256a. Dag---. EYu *ǰun* B147, J107a. MgrH *ʑun* (only) L250, *ʒun* (only) L691. Remaining lgs---.

ǰuruman ‘suslik’ see ***ǰumuran***

ǰuura- ‘to mix, stir; to knead’. The WM spelling *ǰiɣura-* (and the form in SH) is unexpected, since Kh, Bur, Kalm have *z-*, not **ǰ-* or **ž-*; cf. also the CT equivalent **yogur-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *ji'ure-* (sic) H91, HY---, Muq *ǰu:ra-* P234a, *ǰuɣra-* (sic) P224a. WM *ǰiɣura-* L1051a, *ǰuɣura-* L1077b. Kh *zuurax* H256a. Bur *zuuraxa* C265a. Kalm *zuurx* M258b. Dag *ǰʷa:r-* E324. EYu *ǰüra-* B149, *ǰü:ra-* J106a. MgrH *ʑira:-* J106b, X222. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ʑira-* CN200. Kgj *ǰira-*S303b. Dgx *ʒuwa-* B184, *ʒura-* MC469b, *ʒurwa-* MC469b. MogMr *ǰu:rɒ:-* L64:36.

ǰüg ‘direction, side’. Also used as a postposition ‘towards, to’ (already in MMo), e.g. Chakhar *ġɔl ǰu:* D93 ‘to the river’, Dag *adɔ:yi: ǰur* Z72 ‘towards the herd’, EYu *namin ǰug* J42 ‘to me’, MgrH *nda: ʑə* J51 ‘to me’. Probably also the source of the Monguoric directive ending found in lexicalised formations such as MgrH *do:roʑi* X197 ‘downwards’, MgrM *ġadaʑi* DS241a ‘outwards’, *quainoʑi* DS205b ‘backwards’. Similar-looking Baoan forms like BaoGt *odəʑ* C121 ‘upwards’, *dorəʑ* C121 ‘downwards’ may have the same origin, but corresponding forms in other Baoan dialects suggest a different (unknown) final element, e.g. BaoD *śiraći* BL84b ‘downwards’, BaoGT *yɛć* C122 ‘hither’, BaoÑ *ɵ:dərć* CN16 ‘upwards’, *yərć* C219 ‘hither’, *tərć* C169 ‘thither’ BaoX *yočə* BC72 ‘hither’, *təčə* BC72 ‘thither’.

MMo SH *juk* H94, HY *ǰük* M69, Muq *ǰük* P211b, Ph *ǰüg* P125b. WM *ǰüg* L1082b. Kh *züg* H257a. Ord *ǰʉg* M223b. Bur *züg* C266b. Brg *ʒug* U218. Kalm *züg* (obs) M259a, nowadays *üzg* (sic) M546a. Dag *ǰu:r* E321, *ǰur* Z105b, *ǰʉr* NK528a, cf. also *ǰu:ɣu:* E321 ‘direction’ with an additional final element. EYu *ǰəg* B143, *ǰug* J66. Mgr (see above). Bao---. Dgx *ʒəu* in *iŋ ʒəu* B10 ‘on this side’, *ćiŋ ʒəu* B154 ‘on that side’. Mog *žuk*, *ǰuk* W169b.

ǰürüken ‘heart’. All modern forms except Ordos can be derived from a disyllabic form. The central languages and Dagur go back to **ǰürke(n)*. The QG forms stem

from **ǰürge(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. **ǰïar* 'musk', **ǰee* 'nephew'). The trisyllabic forms in MMo could well represent a pronunciation that once existed, although a form **ǰüregen* with *-e-* would normally be expected on the basis of the Turkic cognate **yürek* 'id'.

MMo SH *juruge(n)* H95, *jiruge*(n) H91, HY *ǰürüken* M69, Muq *ǰürüken* [?or **ǰürügen*] P211b, LV *ǰürke* P1273, IV---. WM *ǰirüken* L1062a. Kh *zürx(en)* H259b. Ord *ǰʉreke* M225b. Bur *zürxe(n)* C268b. Brg *ʒurx* U218. Kalm *zürkn* M260a. Dag *ǰurɣ*^{w} E324. EYu *ǰʉrɣen* B149, J107a. MgrH *ʑirge* J106a, *ʑirgɜ* X222. MgrM *ʒurgi* JL461. BaoD *ʑirgə* BL93b. BaoÑ *ʑirge* CN200. Kgj *ǰirge ~ ǰirgi* S303b. Dgx *ʒuğə* B183 'heart; mood, thought, thinking'. Mog *ǰʉrkə* R42b.

- K -

***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 *əidə:* '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 *qamiɣa* L923b, *qaɣa* 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, *qʌnʌ* 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 *qaɣa*- 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 *qaɣan* 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 *qaŋ*

JL477. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *χa:n* (←Pers.) R29a ‘khan’, MogM, MogMr *χɒ:n* L62:40 (in family names).

***kaarï**- ‘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 *qaɣari-* L907a, *qayira-* L913a (Khalkha-based re-spelling). Kh *xayrax* H600a. Ord *χa:ri-* M340a. Bur *xayraxa* C534b. Kalm *xäärx* M587a. Dag *xa:r^{ɣ}-* 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 gaɣə* (?=) E97 ‘boar’ (**gakaï*). 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, *qʌbʌr* W176a.

kabïd**- (kabud**-) ‘to swell’. Shirongol (but not MMo) represents the form **kabïd-*. EYu *χaβəd-* could be from either variant. **kabïd-* is probably the older form, as an early development *ï* > *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 *χөr-* ~ *χʉr-* S286a. Dgx *qawitu-* B70, *qayitu-* B69, *kaitu-* (sic) L115a. Mog---.

*__kabïrga__ ‘rib; side, vicinity’, also used as postposition. Although the *-rga* in **kabïrga* is unclear, it has been assumed here that this word and **kabïsun* are related (**kabï* is also attested independently in central Mongolic). The form **kabïrga* features several metathetical forms in QG (cf. **tarbagan* and **kalbuga* ‘spoon’ for similar alterations). SH *qabirqar* EYu *χarğuar* and BaoÑ *harġal* contain an additional element, probably the same *-r* as in **dotar* ‘inside’ and **gadar* ‘outside’. Likewise, EYu *χarğwara* and *χarğwana* developed in parallel with **dotara* and **dotana*, etc. EYu *hərqwaġ* B55 ‘vicinity’ is hard to connect for phonetic reasons (notably the *h-*, the strong *-q-* and the final *-ġ*).

MMo SH *qabirqa*, *qabirqar* H54, HY *qabirqa* M85, Muq *qabirqa*, *qabirɣa* P285a, *qaburɣa-* P285b. WM *qabirɣa(n)* L898a. Kh *xavirga(n)* H590a. Ord *χawirġa* M344a. Bur *xabirga* C526b. Brg *xaβʸrəg* U90. Kalm *xävrɣ* M588a ‘side of the body; side in general’. Dag *xabʸrəɣ* E99 ‘rib’. EYu *χarğwa* B49, *χarğua* S313, *χaβərğa* J98b ‘rib’, *χarğuar* S316 ‘side’, cf. the postpositions *χarğwara* B49 ‘side’, *χarğwana* BJ348 ‘one’s side’. MgrH *xarġa:* L181, *ġarġa:* S316 ‘side’. MgrM *qərġa* DS60a ‘near’, DS205a ‘around’, F15:28 ‘beside’. BaoD *χalġə* BL86b, *xarga* P418b. BaoÑ *harġal* CN66. Kgj---. Dgx *qaruğa* B69 ‘rib’, *qarğa*, *qarawa* MC208a, *qaruwa* MC208b ‘rib; side’, DgxL *qaruqa*(*də*) B69 ‘next door’. Mog *qoburɣa* R32a.

*__kabïsun__ ‘rib; side’. One of the Mgr forms suggests **kabïrsun*. Cf. **kabïrga*.

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---. EYu---. MgrH *xavuʒə* J99b ‘rib’, *xairsə* X65 ‘rib’. MgrM *qapuʒï* JL477. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__kabtagaï__ ‘flat’. Cf. **kabtasun* ‘board’.

MMo SH *qabtaqai* H54, HY *qabtaqai* M85, Muq *qabtaɣai*, *qabtaqai* P285a. WM *qabtaɣai* L899a. Kh *xavtgay* H591a. Ord *ġabtaġä:* M282b. Bur *xabtagay* C527a. Brg *xaβtgai* U90. Kalm *xabtxa* M562 ‘q.v.’. Dag *kartɣəi* E142, *kabtɣəi* E138. EYu *ġabtağai* B73, *ġabdağai* 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. **kabtagaï*.

MMo SH *qabdasun* H54, *qabtasun* H55, HY---, Muq *qabtasun* P295a. WM *qabtasu(n)* L899b. Kh *xavtas* (sic, not *-an*) H590b. Ord *ġabtasu* M282b. Bur *xabtaha(n)* C527b. Brg *xaβtʊ:* U90. Kalm *xaptăsn* R167a, cf. *χaptăɣăsn* R167a, *χapcă* R167b. Dag *kartəs* E142 ‘board’, *kabta:l* E138 ‘sideboards of the saddle’. EYu *ġabtasən* 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 *qabturɣa* P285a. WM *qabtaɣa* L899a. Kh *xavtga* H591a. Ord *ġabtarġa* M282b. Bur-?-. Kalm *χaptrɣă* R167a ‘pouch’, *χaptăχă* R167a

‘bag’. Dag *kartrəɣ*, *kartəɣ* E142. EYu *ġabtăr*^{h}*qa* B73. MgrH *ʂdarġa* 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 *χaβər* B43, J98b. MgrH *xawur* (only) L188. MgrM *kabïr* P411b. Remaining lgs---.

***kačar** ‘cheek(s)’. Kalm suggests **kačïr*. EYu instead uses an etymologically obscure, but Mongolic-looking word *čagtăğai* B133.

MMo SH *qacar* H55, HY *qačar* M85, Muq *qačar*, *ɣačar* P187a. WM *qačar* L901a, *qačir* L901b. Kh *xacar* H628b. Ord *ġačar* M299b. Bur *xasar* C559b. Brg *xasar* U94. Kalm *xačr* (obs) M584b. Dag *kačir* E141. EYu---. MgrH *xaćar* J99b. MgrM *kïča* (sic) P422b, *qəʒər* DS211a, *qaʒar* Z331:262. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *qïʒa* 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 *χada* M320b. Bur *xada* C529a ‘mountain’. Kalm *xad* M565b. Dag *xad* E103. EYu *ġada* B75, J99b. MgrH *ġada:* J99b. MgrM *ġada* J87. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *ġada* T115. Mog---.

***kada**- ‘to nail down; to sew on (a button or a sole)’. Related to CT **kadu-* (some languages suggest **kadï-*). 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 *χada-* 321a. Bur *xadaxa* C530b. Kalm *xadx* M567a. Dag *xad-* E103 ‘to sew on’. EYu *ġadə-* J22 ‘to sew on a button’, *ġada-* B75 ‘to nail; to settle’. MgrH *ġada-* X94 ‘to sew on a patch’. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ġada-* CN85 ‘to nail’. Dgx *ġada-* B80 ‘to nail’. Mog---.

***kadaar** ‘bit of a horse’s bridle’ see ***kaǰaar**

***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 *ʂdoġʊ* < CM **kïtʊga* ‘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 *ġatχu-* M284b. Bur *xadxaxa* C531a. Kalm *xatxx* M584a. Dag *kark*^{w}- E142. EYu *qatġə-* B63, *ġadġə-* J8, *χadġə-* J57. MgrH *ġasġʊ-* X94, *ʂdoġʊ-* X168. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *χadgə-* (?) 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 *_kaǰa_- ‘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 _ġadə_- B75. MgrH _ġadə_- J99b. MgrM _ġadu_- JL468. BaoD _ġadə_- 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 _qaduɣur_ 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 *_kadïn_, but the CM *_u_ and *_m_ are not normal correspondences of CT *_ï_ and *_n_.

MMo SH---, HY _qadum_ (_ečige, 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 *_aljïa_- ‘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 _qaɣača_- P286a, _qaqača_- P291b, _ɣaqača’ul_- (caus) P329b. WM _qaɣača_- L905a. Kh _xagacax_ H594b. Bur _xaxasaxa_ C563b. Kalm _xaɣcx_ M565b. Dag---. EYu _χağača_- B44. MgrH _χa:ʒä_- (?=) SM148, _xa:ʒa:_- (?=) X64. MgrM _qəʒia_- (?=) DS248b. Bao---. Dgx _ġağaça_- 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 _qaɣal_-, _qaɣala_- L906a. Kh _xagalax_ H593b. Ord _χağal_- M323b. Bur _xaxalxa_ C563a. Brg _xagal_- U91. Kalm _xaɣlx_ M565a. Dag _xaulə:_- E97, _xaɣlə:_- E100. EYu-?-. MgrH _xġalə_- J99a. MgrM _qġar_- JL480. BaoD _ġalə_- BL87b. BaoÑ _ġaġal_- CN84. BaoX _ġal_- BC70. Kgj _ġəğa_- S288a, S169. Dgx _ġağalu_- 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 *qaɣara-*, *qaɣar-* L907a. Kh *xagarax* H593b. Ord *χaġar(a)-* M323b. Bur *xaxarxa* C563a. Brg *xagar-* U91. Kalm *xaɣrx* M565a. Dag *xaɣər-* E100. EYu *χaġaraː-* J99a, *hqara-* BJ331. MgrH *xġaraː-* J99a. MgrM *qɤġara-* C379, *qəġəra-* DS208b. BaoD *ġar-* BL13. BaoÑ---. Kgj *ġəra- ~ ġara-* S288a. Dgx *ġağari-* L115b, *ġağara-*, *ġağarəi-* MC113b. Mog *qaqara-* R31a, *qʌkʌrʌ-* W176a.

***kaïčï** 'scissors'. Probably related to a Turkic form **kapïtï*, in which case the PM form may have been **kahïtï* < **kapïtï*.

MMo SH---, HY *qayiči* M89, Muq *qa'ičі* P346a. WM *qayiči(n)* L912a. Kh *xayč(in)* H601b. Ord *χäːči* M347b. Bur *xayša* C535b. Kalm *xääč* M587b. Dag *kaič* E137. EYu *χaičə* B42, B98b. MgrH *xaiʒ́ə ~ xaićə* X65, *xaiːʒ́ə* J98b. MgrM *qaići* JL474. BaoD *χəićiə* BL86a, *χićiə* BL21. BaoÑ *χiːći* CN61. BaoX *χičə* BC65. Kgj *qaiči ~ qeiči* S286b. Dgx *qaiçï* B67. Mog *qɛiči* R32a.

***kaïla**- '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 **kaïla-* 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 *χäːla-* 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 *qaılʌ-* W176a 'to call'.

***kaïlasun** 'elm tree'.

MMo SH---, HY *qailasun* M86, Muq---, RH *qaliyasun* (sic) 202A23. WM *qayilasu(n)* L912b. Kh *xaylaas(an)* H599a, *xayls* H599b. Ord *χäːlas(u)* M346a. Bur *xaylaaha(n)* C533b. Bur *xaila:* U87. Kalm---. Dag *kails* E137. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *qailasï* JL477. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx--- Mog---.

***kaïnag** (?and *kaïnug) '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 **kaïnag* is just 'yak'. The QG languages use **umsu* (from Tibetan) for the hybrid.

MMo---. WM *qayinuɣ* L913b 'a hybrid between a yak and a cow'. Kh *xaynag* H599b 'a yak-cow hybrid'. Ord *χäːnaq* M346a 'yak cow'. Bur *xaynag* C534a 'crossbreed of Tibetan yak and Mongolian cow'. Kalm *xääng* M586b 'crossbreed of yak and domestic cow'. Dag---. EYu *xainaġ* B42, J15. MgrH *χeːnaġ*

SM167. MgrM *qainəġ* P422b. BaoÑ *χi:nəġ* CN60. Kgj *χeinəğ ~ χainəğ* S285b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kaïran** ‘(what a) pity, mercy, care, affection’. In central Mongolic one typically finds a noun **kaïra* ‘love, compassion, etc’ and an adjective/exclamation **kaïran* ‘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*, *xäarn* M587b. Dag *xairan* E97. EYu *xairan* B42, *χair* (sic) S317. MgrH *χe:ran* SM167 ‘dear’, *χe:rġan* (**kaïrakan*) SM167 ‘pitiable, poor’. MgrM *qairaŋ* C377b. Remaining lgs---.

***kaïrsun** ‘fish’s scale’. Interestingly, Bur and Kalm use **kačïrsun* 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, *ġä:rsu* M301b. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *xaič* E97. Remaining lgs---.

***kaǰa-** ‘to bite’.

MMo SH *qaja-* H57, HY---, Muq---. WM *qaǰa-* L947a. Kh *xazax* H598a. Bur *xazaxa* C533b. Kalm *xazx* M568b. Dag *xaǰ-* E104 ‘to gnaw, bite’. EYu *ġaǰa-* J99b, S316 ‘to bite’, BJ329 ‘to sever, cut off’. MgrH *ġaźa-* J99b. MgrM *ġaʒa-* JL472 ‘to gnaw’. BaoD-?-. BaoÑ-?-. BaoX *ġajï-* BC74 ‘to bite to death’. Kgj *ġaǰa-* S288a. Dgx *ġaʒa-* B81 ‘to gnaw’. Mog---.

kaǰaar**/kadaar** (<*kadïar/*kadaar) ‘bit of a horse’s bridle’. Haenisch’ translation of *pèitóu* reins, halter’ is incorrect, cf. **ǰïloa* ‘reins’, **čïlbuur* ‘martingale’, **nogta* ‘halter’. At first sight the distribution seems to suggest that **kaǰaar* 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 *-ʒ-* 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 *qaʒər*, in which both the strong initial and the medial affricate are unexpected. Probably related to **kaǰa-* ‘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 *qaǰaγar* L947b. Kh *xazaar* H597b. Ord *χaǰa:r* M323a. Bur *xazaar* C532b. Brg *xaʒa: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 *ġaʒar* X96. MgrM *qaʒər* DS207a. BaoD *ġadar* BL87b, *ġadər* BL23. BaoGt *ġədər* C117. BaoÑ *ġadər* CN85. Kgj *ġadar ~ ġarda* 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 *ġaχa*- M287a. Bur *xaxaxa* 563b. Kalm *xaxx* M584b. Dag *xaɣ*- E100 ‘to choke’, ?cf. also *xak*^{w}- E100 ‘to be blocked’. EYu *hġa*- B59 ‘to obstruct, to block’, *χġa*- J9, *qaġa*- 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 *qalaɣun* L916b. Kh *xaluun* H606a. Bur *xaluu(n)* C539b. Kalm *xalun* M570b. Dag *xalu:n* E100. EYu *χalu:n* B44, J99a. MgrH *xaloŋ* J99a. MgrM *qaluŋ* JL476. BaoD *χaluŋ* BL87b, *χoluŋ* BL62. BaoGt *xoluŋ* C125. BaoÑ *χөlөŋ* CN62. BaoX *χoloŋ* BC67. Kgj *χulɔ* S286a. Dgx *qaluŋ* B68. Mog *qalu:n*, *qalөun* R31b, *qʌlɔn* 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 *kaġa* 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 *xalbėɣ* E101 ‘hoe blade’, and in the combination *xalbėɣ šid* E101 ‘incisors’, as well as perhaps *čiki: xabləɣ ~ čiki: xa:ləɣ* E300 ‘tragus’ (**čïkïn* ‘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 *qalbuɣa* P289b, *ɣalbuɣa* P139b. WM *qalbaɣa(n)* L917b, *qalbuɣa* L918a. Kh *xalbaga* H602b. Ord *χalbaġa* M327a, *χablaġa* M320b. Bur *xalbaga* C537b. Brg *xalgaŋ š*^{y}*anag* (?=) U92 (cf. **sïnaga*). Kalm *χalwăɣă* R164a. Dag (see above). EYu *xalğwa* B45. MgrH *xaulġa* X65. MgrM---. Bao---. BaoÑ (see above). Dgx---. Mog---.

*__kalïar__, *__kalïarsun__ ‘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 *kal*^{y}*e:r* E139 ‘mountain leek’. EYu---. Mgr *χarir* SM163 ‘small wild (edible) onion’, *xaril* X72 ‘*Allium mongolicum* (plant name)’. Remaining lgs---.

*__kalïsun__ ‘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. **körisün*), HY---, Muq---. WM *qalisu(n)* L920b. Kh *xal’s* (sic, no *-an*) H608a. Ord *χalisu* M329a. Bur *xal’han* C541a. Brg *xal*^{y}*ɔ:* U93. Kalm *xal’sn* M572b. Dag *xal*^{y}*s* E102. EYu *χaləsən* B44, *χalasən* J99a. MgrH *xalʒə* J99a, *xalasə* X67. Remaining lgs---.

*__kaltara__-, *__kaltarï__- ‘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 *ġaltur(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).

***kamčuï** ~ ***kamčun** 'sleeve'. Kalm suggests **kančun*, Bur **kamčuï*. 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 *xamsï* C543a, *xansï* C547a, *xanšï* C547b. Brg *xamsai* U94. Kalm *xancn* M576a. Dag *kanč* E139. EYu *χanǰun* B43, *χanǰu:n* J99b. MgrH *xamźə* J99b, X69, *xanćə* X66. MgrM *qanći* JL475. BaoD *ġanźüŋ* BL87a, *gaŋźüŋ* (sic) BL4. BaoGt *xanʒoŋ* C121. BaoÑ *hanźu* CN64. Kgj *ġanǰün ~ ġanǰʉn* S288a. Dgx *ġanʑuŋ* 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 Shirongol **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 *xaŋtu* JL469. BaoD *hamtə* T150. BaoGt *hamtï* 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 *qamuq* M87, Muq---. WM *qamuɣ* L926a. Kh *xamag* H609a. Bur *xamag* C542a. Kalm *xamg* M573a. Dag *kamɣi:* (?=) E140 'all kinds of, various', S255 'every'. EYu *xamaġ* B45 'every'. MgrH---. MgrM *qamu* C377. Remaining lgs---.

*__kanïa__- ‘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 *xanʸe:d*- (new formation based on the noun *xanʸe: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 *qaɪnʌ*- 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 *xᵱa* C121. BaoÑ *χara* CN59. BaoX *χəra* BC67. Kgj *χara* S285b. Dgx *qara* B69 ‘id, dark’. Mog *qaro:* R31b, *qʌrɔ* 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.

*__karbïsun__ ‘placenta, afterbirth (of an animal)’. Reminiscent of **karbïn* ~ **arbïn* ‘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 *qʌrbu-xči* W176b ‘bayonet’, MogMr *qarbuɣči* L62:43 ‘rifle’.

*__karbuur__ ‘ballista’ see *__hurbï__.

*__karï__- ‘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 te imperfect converb form *ha:ʑi*.

MMo SH *qari*- H62, HY *qari*- M88, Muq *qari*- P293b. WM *qari*- L937a. Kh *xarix* H622b. Bur *xarixa* C555b. Kalm *xärx* M590b. Dag *xarʸ*- E107. EYu *χarə*- B48, J99b. MgrH *xarə*- J99b. MgrM *qaʐï*- 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, *qʌril*- (caus.) W176b.

***karïa-** ‘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^{y}a:-* U100. Kalm *xarax* M578a. Dag *xara:-* E105. EYu only in the noun *χara:r* S330. MgrH *xara:-* L178. MgrM---. BaoD *χəra-* BL87b. BaoGt *xʂa-* C138. BaoÑ *χara:-* CN59. Dgx *qara-* MC206b. Mog---.

***karïačaï** ‘swallow’. MMo **karïača*, central languages from an assimilated **karaačaï*. Reminiscent of Turkic **karlïgač ~ *kargïlač* ‘id’, but hard to connect to it. In some modern languages now associated with **kara* ‘black’. Dgx *qarasuŋ* may go back to **kara sïbaun* ‘black bird’ (cf. EYu *χara βöljïr* B46 ‘swallow’, see **bïljïur* ‘small bird’). MgrH *anʒiġai* X3 ‘sparrow’, MgrM (Sanchuan) *amickay* P418b ‘small bird’, and even Bao *amiči* P418b ‘(domestic) bird’, Dgx *amiɕəu* MC8b ‘sparrow’ may have arisen through metanalysis of this word as *xara anʒiġai*.

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 *xaraćəġai* X72, *xarabćiġai* X72, *xara(n)ćiġe:* SM159/160. MgrM (Sanchuan) *karaǰyagay* P415b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *qarança* MC207b, *qarasuŋ* MC207b (see above). Mog---.

***kašaŋ** ‘lazy, slow (usu. of animals)’. From Turkic **kašaŋ* ‘id’. Cf. **ǰalkaï* and **ǰalkau.*

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qašaŋ* P295a. WM *qašang* L943a, *qasing* L942a. Kh *xašin* H629a. Ord *ġašaŋ* M296b. Bur *xašan* C565b. Kalm *xašŋ* M585a. Dag---. EYu *ġašaŋ* J106a. MgrH *xaśaŋ* J106b. Dgx *qïʂan* 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 **katïg* ‘hard’ from the verb **kat-*.

MMo SH---, HY *qata’u* M89, Muq *qata’u* P295a, *qatu:* P275a, *qadu:-* P379a. WM *qataɣu* L943b. Kh *xatuu* H627a. Ord *ġatu:* M298b. Bur *xatuu* C561b. Kalm *xatu* M583a. Dag *katu:* E141. EYu *ġatu:* B75, *ġadu* J99a. MgrH *χadoŋ* J99b. MgrM *qɤdəŋ* C377, *qəġdən* DS227b. *qatoŋ* T372. BaoD *χotoŋ* BL87b. BaoÑ *hdəŋ* CN72. Kgj *χutuŋ ~ χuduŋ* S286a. Dgx *qïduŋ* 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 *ġatən* B74. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *χutuŋ kuŋ* BL82b ‘woman’. BaoÑ-?-. BaoX *xdoŋ kuŋ* BC74 ‘woman’. Dgx---. Mog *χot(un)* R29b, MogMr *χɒ:tun*, MogM *χɒ: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^{h}ola* P129a ‘all, everything’, Kh *xotol* H656b ‘all, entire’, Ord *ġotolo* M309a ‘all’, Kalm *xotl* (obs.) M601a ‘all; entirely’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM <*qww*> (*qoo* or *quu*) Cevel 736b, Inner Mongolian spelling *qau*. Kh *xuu* H694b ‘all, completely’. Bur *xuu* C605a. Kalm *xu* M605a, *χo:* R191b. Dag *xɔ:* E115, also *xau-ya:r-a:n* (+ instr. case and ref. poss.) E97. EYu---. MgrH *χo:-la, χu:-lo* SM180. Remaining lgs---.

*__kaučïn__ ‘old’. The Baoanic form suggest a development from *_qoičin_.

MMo SH *qa’ucin* H63, HY *qa’učin* M89, Muq *qu:čin* P313b. WM *qaɣučin* L908b. Kh *xuuč(in)* H697b. Bur *xuušan* C607b. Kalm *xuučn* M616a. Dag *kaučin* E137. EYu *χu:čən* B52, *χu:ǰən* J99a, *χɔ:čən* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *xau:ʒin* J99a. MgrM *qaućiŋ* JL475. BaoD *χuićüŋ* BL87b. BaoÑ *χi:ćaŋ* CN61. BaoX *xuićoŋ* BC62. Kgj *χuaičɔ* S285b. Dgx *quaiçəŋ* B72. Mog---.

*__kaul__- ‘to peel, to skin’. Bur seems to suggest *_kaula_-. There is also an intr. form *_kaura_- ‘to shed (skin)’, cf. Ord *χu:ra*- M371a, MgrM *qaura*- J87. Cf. *_koltul_-.

MMo SH *qa’ul*- H63, HY---, Muq *qa’ul*- P104b. WM *qaɣul*- L909b. Kh *xuulax* H695b. Ord *χu:l*- M365b. Bur *xuulaxa* C605b. Brg *xo:l*- U112. Kalm *xuulx* M614b. Dag *xaul*- E97. EYu *χu:l*- B51, J5. MgrH *xaulə*- X65. MgrM *qur*- DS242b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *qolu*- MC213a. Mog---.

*__kaulï__ ‘law, rule’.

MMo SH *qa’uli* H64, HY---, Muq---. WM *qauli* L946a. Kh *xuul’* H695b. Bur *xuuli* C605b. Kalm *xuul’* (obs) M614b. Dag *kɔ:l^{y}* E149. EYu *χu:lə* S379, *χulu* B84. Remaining lgs---.

*__kaur__- ‘to stir-fry’. MgrH *kurgu*- does not belong here. Cf. CT *_kagur_-. Cf. *_kaarı_-.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qa’ur*- P297b. WM *qaɣur*- L910a, *qaɣuur*- L911a, *quɣur*- L982a. Kh *xuurax* H696b. Ord *χu:r*- M370a. Bur *xuuraxa* C606b. Kalm *xuurx* M615b. Dag---. EYu *χu:r*- B52, J99a. Mgr---. BaoD *χurə*- BL87a. BaoÑ *χər*- CN62. Kgj *χur*- S286a. Dgx *quru*- B73. Mog---.

*__kauraï__ ‘file (the tool)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qu:rai* P313b, RH *qaura* 204C13. WM *qaurai* L946b, *qaɣurai* L910a. Kh *xuuray* H696a. Bur *xuuray* C606b. Kalm *xüürä* M619a. Dag *xaur* E98. EYu *xu:ri:* B52. Remaining lgs---.

*__kauraï__ ‘dry’ see *__kuuraï__.

*__kebeg__ ‘chaff, bran, husks’. A widespread loan from Turkic *_kepek_. It seems impossible to connect the following Baoanic forms: BaoJ *ğuíğə* L153 ‘husks of wheat’, BaoÑ *ġəyəġ* CN87 ‘chaff’, Kgj *ġuyağ* S288b ‘wheat straw (left after

threshing)', Dgx *ġuyəu* 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 **kïag* 'couch grass').

MMo RH *kebek* 205B6. Kh *xeveg* H712b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *kevg* M287a. EYu---. MgrH *kavaġ* X85, *kayaġ* X84. MgrM *qəbəġ* DS208b, *kəbəġə* Slater 2003:370. Bao (see above). Kgj *kivʉ* 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, *kʉ: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 *kəmʸ*- 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 *kəmʸ*- E146. EYu *keβə*- BJ333. MgrH *ke:yi*- SM199, *ke:*-, *kɜyi*- 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 *kiʑie*- B76. Mog *teftə*- R40a, *tɛbta*-, *tɛbtʌ*-, *tɛftʌ*- 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 *kəʑe:n* X87 'slope'. MgrM *kiʑe* Z310:31. Bao---. Dgx [*ulani*] *kiʒə* 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 **kejïe* 'when'.

MMo SH *kedui, kedun* H96a, HY *kedün* M70, Muq *kedün* P213a. WM *kedü(n)* L441a. Kh *xediy* H713b, *xed(en)* H713b. Bur *xedï* 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 *gʉdɔ ~ gədɔ* S290a. Dgx *gieduŋ* B91. Mog *kedʉ:* 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^{h}*e'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, *gʌ*- W165a.

***keeli** 'belly, abdomen'. The MMo *-h*- points at PM **keheli* < **kepeli*, which is suported by Manchu *kefeli*. Kh *xevliy* 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), *xevel* 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:*l^{y} 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 *xigəː* U105. Kalm *kiiɣs* M298b, *kigɛːsn* R231a. Dag *xəiɣəːs* E108. Remaining lgs---.

***kei** 'wind'. In the central languages often 'air'. In Dagur with *-n*. Cf. **salkïn* 'wind'.

MMo SH *kei* H97, HY *kei* M70, Muq *kei* P213b. WM *kei* L444b. Kh *xiy* H632a. Ord *kiː* M419b. Bur *xii* C569b. Brg *xiː* U105. Kalm *ki* M297b. Dag *xəin* E107. EYu *kiː* B68, J99b. MgrH *kiː* J99a. MgrM *kəi* JL475, *ke* C379. BaoD *ki* BL87a. BaoÑ *kiː* CN79. Kgj *ke ~ ki* S287a. Dgx *kai* B73, *kei* L115a. Mog *kei* R30a, *kɛɪ* 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^{h}ebid* P125b 'shops', *geyid* (?=) P123b 'dwellings'. WM *keyid* L444b 'convent, monastery, temple'. Kh *xiyd* H632b 'monastery, etc'. Ord *kiːd* M420a. Bur *xiid* C570a 'monastery'. Kalm *kiyd* (obs) M300a 'monastery', *kivd* M298a (obs) 'shop'. Dag---. EYu *kiːd* B68 'temple'. Remaining lgs---.

***keǰie** > *keǰee '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 *keǰi'e* M69 [q.v.], Muq *keǰiye* P213b, *keǰeː* P213b. WM *keǰiye* L462a. Kh *xezee* H715a. Bur *xezee* C641b. Kalm *kezä* M290a. Dag *xəǰəː* E111. EYu *keǰeː* B68. MgrH *kəʒ́eː* J100a. MgrM *keʒ́e* JL462. BaoD *kəćiə* BL87a. BaoÑ *kəći* CN77. BaoX *kəǰə* BC69. Kgj *gəǰe* S289a. Dgx *kieʒə* B90. Mog---.

***kekere**- or ***kekire**- 'to belch, burp'. Dagur suggests **kekerie-*, a pseudo-causative of a base **kekeri-*. Related to CT **keːkir-*.

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 *kəkreː*- E145. EYu *geːgəre*- B82. MgrH *kəgəreː*- 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 *xəlʲ* E110. EYu *kelen* B67, J99a. MgrH *kəle* J100a. MgrM *kəlie* DS256b. BaoD *kalaŋ* BL87b. BaoÑ *kelaŋ* CN78. Kgj *kiliɔ* S287b Dgx *kielien* B75. Mog *kelən* R30a, *kɛlʌn*, *kelʌn* 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 *xelex* H719a, *xellex* H716b. Ord *kéle*- M411b. Bur *xelexe* 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 *kelȁ*- R30a, *kɛlʌ*-, *kɛlæ*-, *kɛlɛ*- 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 **keǰie* ‘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 *kɔ* S287b. Dgx *kien* B75. Mog *ken* R30a.

*__keŋgerge__ ‘drum’. With some oddly distributed variants: Bur, Ord and BaoÑ have an alternative form **keŋgereg* 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 *kɜngɜrgɜ* X85. MgrM---. BaoÑ *keŋgərəg* 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 *kirźi*- SM204. MgrM *kəźə*- C379. BaoD *kući*- (?=) BL87a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *kečče*- ~ *keči*- S287b. Dgx *kiʒï*- B76, *kiźiə*- (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 *kerg* M294b. Dag *kərəɣ* (sic) E147. EYu *kereg* B68 ‘needs’. MgrH (only?) *kerig* L260, *kirig* L266. MgrM *kərəġ* JL475. BaoD *kər* T141. BaoÑ *kərəg* 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 *kerglx* M295b. Dag *kəryəl-* E147. EYu---. MgrH *xəgəla-* X74, *xgəle-* X83. MgrM *qarli-* C378, *kərli-* DS204b 'to apply', DS212a 'to claim'. BaoD---. BaoGt *kəşgə-* C124. BaoÑ *kər-* (sic, ?=) CN77. Kgj *ker- ~ kar- ~ kеš-* 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 *kandʉ- ~ karəndʉ-* S287a. Dgx---. Mog *kerȧlda-* R30b, *kɛrʌldu-* 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 *kərəi* 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 *xeheg* C564b. Brg *xəsəg* U103. Kalm *kesg* M296b. Dag---. EYu *kəseg* B66, J99a. MgrH *kəʒaġ* 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 *xešig* H728a, *xišig* H636b. Ord *gešik* M262b. Bur *xešeg* C564b. Brg *xəšig* U103. Kalm *kišg* M303b. Dag *kəš* E146 'kindness' (probably, as E suggests, reborrowed < Manchu *kesi*). EYu *kšəg* BJ334 'favour, kindness', MgrH *kəşəg* SM199 'share of a sacrified animal (...)'. Bao---. Kgj *kešiʉ* S287a 'share, time(s)'. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kete**- 'to lie down' see ***kebte**-

***kete** 'steel for striking fire'. Cf. **čakïur*.

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* Cevel171b. Chakhar *gotlŏn* D188a. Ord *getʉl-* M263b, also *geltʉl-*

M257b. Bur *getelxe* C173b. Brg *gətl-* U135, cf. also *xədləg gar-* U103 ‘to cross’. Kalm *getl-* (rare) R135a. Dag *xədul-* (?=) E111. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoGt *kudȧl-* C124. BaoÑ *kutel-* CN83. Dgx *qutulu-ʒï dawa-* B72 (*dawa-* < **daba-*). Mog *ketʉlʉ-* R30b.

***keü**, ***keüken** ‘child’ listed under **köbeün* for the sake of comparison.

***kïdu-** ‘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 *šʊd-* U170. Kalm *kudx* M321b. Dag---. EYu *ġədə-* B77. Remaining lgs---.

***kïǰaar** ‘side, edge, border’. Initial **k-* was weakened in QG, before it could become *ć-* in Monguoric. Cf. also **kïǰaasun* in central languages and EYu. MgrM may also be related to **kïǰa*, WM *qiǰa*, and Mog *qïǰi(n)* W177a.

MMo SH *kija’ar, kiji’ar* H101, HY *kiǰa’ar* M72, Muq *qiǰa:r* P135a, *ɣiǰa:r* P221a. WM *kiǰaɣar* L474b. Kh *xyazgaar* H729b. Ord *kiǰaġa:r* (← WM) M420b. Bur *xizaar* C569a, *xizagaar* (lit.) C569b. Kalm *kizär* (obs) M298b. Dag *kiǰa:r* E149. EYu *ġəǰa:r* B77. MgrH *gəʑa:r* X104. MgrM *xaǰi-du* (?=) P418a ‘next to’. Bao---. Dgx *ġïʒa* B81, *ġïʒïra* B81. Mog---.

***kïlbar** ‘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 *xʸalbar* U127. Kalm *kilwr* R231b, *kilvür* (different formation) M300b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ćirval* J99b, *ćüro:l* X212. MgrM *çərbar* JL467, *çubar* C393. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *ġəiwa* B81, *ġïwa* B81, *ġəira* B81. Mog---.

***kïlgasun** ‘coarse hair’. Related to CT **kïl*. Cf. **hüsün*, **noasun*.

MMo SH *kilqasun* H102 ‘(horse’s) tail hair’, HY---, Muq *qilɣasun* P298a ‘horse hair’. WM *kilɣasu(n)* L466a. Kh *xyalgas(an)* H730b ‘hair of the mane and tail, etc’. Ord *kilġasu* M421a. Bur *xilgaaha(n)* C571a ‘horse hair’. Brg *šalgɔ:* U161 ‘coarse hair’. Kalm *kilɣsn* M300b ‘hair (usu. of a horse)’. Dag *kilɣa:s* E148 ‘horse’s tail hair’. EYu *χalğasən* B45 ‘pubic hair’. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *ġalğasun* S288a ‘goat’s hair’. Dgx *imaŋ qağasun* (**ïmaan* ‘goat’) B11 ‘goat’s hair’. Mog *qilɣasun* R32a (thick) hair, *qïlğɔsun* W176b ‘goat’s hair’.

***kïmda** ‘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 *šʸamd* U172, *xʸamd* U127. Kalm *kimd* M301a. Dag *kʸand*, *kʸannə* E160 ‘cheap; easy’. EYu *kəmda* (sic?, only) S352 ‘cheap. Remaining lgs---.

*__kïmusun__ ‘nail, claw’, sometimes ‘hoof’. In Kh, Ord and Kalm the first-syllable **ï* 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 **kï* has become *qi*, suggesting an *ï*-like pronciation of **ï* in an earlier stage. It is not clear whether the EYu and Baoanic forms go back to a form with *qï-* or with assimilated *qu-*. In Monguoric, **ï* developed into *i*, causing the palatalisation of **k*.

In Ord and EYu 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 **kaïrsun* ‘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 *χumusu* M369a. Bur *xyumha(n)* C656a. Brg *šʊmʊː* U170. Kalm *xumsn* M609b. Dag *kimč* E148. EYu *χəməsən* B49, J99b. MgrH *ćimuʒə* J99b, *ćimsə* X207, *ćimʒə* X207. MgrM *ćimpəʒï* C392, *ɕənpuʒï* DS238a. BaoD *ġomusuŋ* BL87a. BaoÑ *ġɵmsɵŋ* CN87. Kgj *gemesɯn ~ gimesɯn* (sic) S289b. Dgx *ġïmusuŋ* B81. Mog *qimsun* R32a.

*__kïrau__ ‘hoar-frost’. From CT **kïr-a-gu* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *qiraʼu* M72, Muq---. WM *kiraɣu(n)* L470b. Kh *xyaruu* H733b. Ord *kiru:* M422b as well as *girsu:* (sic, ?=) M267a. Bur *xyuruu* C656b. Brg *šʸʊrʊː* U173. Kalm *kirü* M302b. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *qïrəu* B71. Mog---.

*__kïrga-__ ‘to shave, shear, scrape’. Cf. CT **kïrk-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *kirqa-* H102, HY---, Muq *qirɣa-* P298b. WM *kirɣa-* L471b. Kh *xyargax* H733b. Ord *kirġa-* M422a. Bur *xirgaxa* C572b. Kalm *kiryx* M302a. Dag---. EYu *χarğa-*, *χərğa-* BJ348, *χurğa-* S354. MgrH *ćirġa-* J100b. MgrM *ćarġa-* JL475. BaoD---. BaoJ *xarğə-* L210. BaoÑ *χarġa-* CN59. Kgj *qar- ~ qarğa- ~ qerğa-* S287a. Dgx *ġïğa-* B81 ‘to clip; to cut’. Mog *qirɣa-* R32a, *qi&rğʌ-* W177a.

*__kïrguï__ ‘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 **kïraguï*. Dgx *-ŋ* normally stems from *-l-* rather than *-r-*. Cf. CT **kïrguy*.

MMo SH---, HY *kirɣui* M72, Muq---. WM *kirɣui* L471b. Kh *xyarguy* H733b. Ord *χurġui* M372b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *kirɣü* M302a. Dag *kiryɔː* E149. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ġïŋği* B81. Mog---.

*__kïrgaul__ ~ *__kurgaul__ ‘pheasant’. The form with *ï* 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 *qurqaʼul* M92, Muq---. WM *kirɣuul* L471b, *kiraɣul* L470b, *ɣurɣuul* L369b, *quurɣuul* L993a. Kh *xyarguul* H733b, cf. *temeen xyaruul* H733b ‘ostrich’ (lit. camel pheasant). Ord *ġurġuːl* M315a, *ġurġuːli* (sic) M315b. Bur *gorgol* (?=). Kalm *kirɣül* M3302a. Dag *xɔrɣɔːl* E122. EYu---. MgrH *ćirġʊl* X209. MgrM---. BaoÑ *ġulġur* CN89. Kgj *ġulğuar ~ ġulğɔ* S288b. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__kïrǰaŋ__ ‘penis’, but with several other meanings in central Mongolic. Kalm suggests **kïrčaŋ*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ɣirǰaŋ* (Poppe: *-č-*) P152b ‘penis’. WM *kirǰang* L473b ‘perineum’. Kh *xyarzan* H733b, *šarzan* H806a ‘perineum’. Ord *kirǰaŋ* M422a. Bur---. Kalm *kircŋ* R232b ‘bladder; tendons between anus and genitals’. EYu *ġərǰaŋ* BJ329 ‘penis’. Remaining lgs---.

*__kïrmag__ ‘fine snow’. The loss of *-g* in Dagur is unexpected. For the semantic development in MgrM, cf. Kgj *ᵵuruᵵ časun* S64 ‘dandruff’, lit. ‘head snow’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *kiramaɣ* L470b, *kirmaɣ* L472b. Kh *xyarmag* H733b ‘fine or fluffy snow (..)’. Ord *kirmaq* M422b, also *kimarχaq* M421b. Bur *xirmag* (*sahan*) C572b, *xyarmag* C657b. Brg *šʸarmag saxa:* U172. Kalm *kirmg* M302a ‘powdery snow’. Dag *kyarəm čas* E160 ‘fine snow’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *ćierma* DS215b ‘dandruff’. Remaining lgs---.

*__kïsu__- ‘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 *kɔswɔr* [*?kɔsɣər*] E83:128 ‘knife for scraping skins’. The former phonetically matches **kïsuur* ‘scraper’, the latter is closer semantically, but has an unknown suffix. MgrH is peculiar, in that it has velar *k-*; **kï-* should have resulted in MgrH *ći-*, 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 *ġusu-* M317a. Bur *xyuhaha* C656b. Brg *šʊ:-* U168. Kalm *xusx* M614a. EYu *qəsə-* B63. MgrH *kiʒə-* SM202, *kəsə-* L268. BaoD *χasə-* BL88b. BaoÑ *ġasə-* CN85. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__kïsuraŋ__ ‘infertile, barren’. Agricultural term related to CT **kïsïr*, **kïsrak*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qisran* P298b, *qusran* (so read) P312b. WM *qusurung* L992a. Kh *xusran(g)* H693b. Ord *ġusaraŋ* M317a. Bur *xyuharan* C656a ‘barren milch cow’. Kalm *xusraŋ* M613b. EYu *qəsəraŋ* B63.

*__kïtad__ ‘Chinese’. All Shirongol languages except Mongghul use developments of **kïtaï*, apparently from Turkic **kïtay* < CT **kïtañ* (cf. WYu *qïdey*, Sal *χadi*).

MMo SH---, HY *kitat* M72, Muq---. WM *kitad* L473b. Kh *xyatad* H734a. Chakhar *gıtăd* D108. Ord *gitat* M267b. Bur *xitad* C574a. Brg *xʸatad* U127. Kalm *kitd* M303a. Dag---. EYu *qutad* B65, *qudad* J57. MgrH *ćidar* X207. MgrM *ćidai* C392, DS60, BaoD *χəti harəb* (*harəb* ‘letter’ from Ar.) BL64 ‘Chinese characters’, *χəti gaćĭ* (*gaćĭ* ‘language’ from Tib.) BL69 ‘Chinese language’, BaoGt *xdi gäća* (*gäća* ‘language’) C129 ‘Chinese language’, BaoÑ *hdi* CN72 ‘Chinese’, Kgj *χte* ~ *χde* S286a. Dgx *qïdəi* B70 ‘Chinese language’. Mog---.

*__kïtuga(ï)__ ‘knife’. The final *-ï* 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 **kïtogo* < **kïtoga* < **kïtuga*. Dagur lost this word as such but may preserve it in the verb *kʸatəɣla:-* E83:123a ‘to stab/prick (of a knife)’. This suggests an earlier form **kïtaga*, 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 *qituɣa* P299a, *qutuɣa* P290b. WM *kituɣa* L474a, *qutaɣa* L992a, *qutuɣa* L992b. Kh *xutga(n)* H694a, Chakhar *gʊtăg* D187b. Ord *utaga* M744b. Bur *xutaga* C605a, *xotyogo* (western) C592a. Brg *xʊtag* U116. Kalm *utx* M540a. Dag (see above). EYu *qutağa* B65, *qudağa* J99b, *χudağa* J58. MgrH *ćidoġo* J99b. MgrM *ćidoġo* JL477. BaoD *doġə*, *doġo* BL87a. BaoGt *doġo* C117. BaoÑ *ʂdɵġə* CN151 ‘id, pocket knife’. BaoX *xdoġə* BC74. Kgj *duğu* S299b. Dgx *qudoğo* B72. Mog *qitqɛi* R32a.

***kïursun** ‘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 *ïu* has developed in unexpected ways. In Dag the ending *-sUn* was dropped; the form *kʸaur* suggests an earlier **kïura*. 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 *kiɣurasu(n)*, *kiɣurusu(n)* L464b, cf. also *qaurasun* L910b. Kh *xuurs* H697a ‘.., nit; chaff, etc’, *xiurs* H636a ‘flea eggs’. Ord *ġu:rsu* M316a. Bur *xyuurha(n)* C656b. Brg *šʊ:rar* (sic) U168. Kalm *xuursn* M615b. Dag *kʸaur* E160. EYu *χairsən* B42. MgrH *ćirʒə* SM456. MgrM *ɕər* (?=) 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 *ć-* 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 **kïl-* ‘to do’ (P60:19,114). The peripheral languages do not provide support for a CM reconstruction **kï-*.

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 *gɪ-* 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. **čïdku-*, **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 *ć-* in Monguoric.

MMo---. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *aman gərβəi* B5 'lip' (lit. 'mouth edge'), *čkən gərβəi* B139 'helix' ('ear edge'). MgrH *ćire:* X208. MgrM *ɕaibai* C393, *ɕaibai ~ ɕəbie* DS208a. Remaining lgs---.

***kirüe > *kiröe** 'saw'. The Shirongol forms may go back to a form **kireü*, a metathetic alternant of **kirüe > *kiröe*. The *ć-* 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 *kʉre:* B71, *kure:* J99b. MgrH *ćiru:* X209, *ćirəu:* J100b. MgrM *ćirɔu* C393. BaoD---. BaoÑ *kuru* CN83. Kgj *kirʉ* 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^{w}a:-* E131. EYu *χu:-* BJ346, *χɔ:-* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *χo:-* SM168. MgrM *qo-* J86 'to dry'. BaoD---. BaoÑ *χө:-* CN61. Kgj *χu-* S285b. Dgx *ġo-* B81. Mog *qua-* R32b.

***koala(ï)** 'throat' and ***koala(ï)** 'food'. EYu and BaoÑ suggest two words **koala* 'food' and **koalï* 'throat'.

MMo SH *qo'olai* H66 'throat', HY *qowolai* M90 'throat', Muq *qo:lai* P306a 'throat'. WM *qoɣolai* L952b 'throat', *qoɣola(n), qoɣol* 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:ləi* U106 'throat'. Kalm *xol* M593a 'throat; nutritiousness'. Dag *xɔ:l^{y}* E116 'throat; neckband', *x^{w}a:l* (?=) E132 'goiter (disease)'. EYu *χula* B53, *χu:la* J100b 'meal, food', and in *ła:n χu:lə* B88, J89 'oesophagus' (*ła:n* < **hulaan* 'red'). MgrH *xʊ:la, xʊ:lo* X74 'throat; fodder', *xo:lo* J100a 'throat'. MgrM *qolo* J87 'throat'. BaoD---. BaoÑ *χөlө* CN62 'breakfast', but *fulaŋ ġөli* CN56 'oesophagus' (*fulaŋ* < **hulaan* 'red'). Kgj *gʉli* (sic) S290b. Dgx *ġoləi* B82 'throat; fodder, feed'. Mog *qo:lɛɪ* R32a 'throat', *kɔlɛɪ* 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, *xʊ:sən ~ xʊ:ʒən* X75 'dry'. MgrM *qɔsuŋ* C378 'dry'. BaoD *χosuŋ* BL87b 'dry'. BaoÑ *χө:sөŋ, χө:saŋ* CN59. Dgx *qosuŋ* B71. Mog *qɔsun* 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 *qoɣosun* L953a. Kh *xooson* H650b. Bur *xooho(n)* C587b. Brg *xɔxɔːŋ* U108, *xɔːsɔŋ* (←Kh) U106. Kalm *xoosn* M597b. Dag *xɔːsun* E116. EYu *χuːsən* B52, J100a. MgrH *xoːʒən* J100a. MgrM *qɔsuŋ* C378. Bao---. Dgx *qusuŋ* 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’, *hkʉ-čɔr*- ‘to die’, *marta-čɔr*- ‘to forget’ (BJ1990:233, with different etymology). MgrH *χuićiraː*- C88:575 ‘to remain’, there connected to this etymon, rather stems from **koïčïra*-.

MMo SH *qocor*- H64, HY---, Muq *qočar*- P299b. WM *qočor*- L951a. Kh *xocrox* H658a. Ord *ġočiro*- M309b ‘to stay behind, disappear; to become poor’. Bur *xosorxo* C591b ‘to disappear (without trace), (..) to die’. Brg *xɔšɔr*- U110. Kalm *xocrx* M602a. Dag---. EYu (see above). MgrH--- (see above). MgrM---. BaoD *χʒior*- BL29, *χʒiorći*-, *ʒiorći*- BL84a. BaoGt *xoćäl*- C119. BaoÑ *hʒər*- CN73, *ʒər*- CN202. BaoX *jor*- BC73. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *qočar*- R32a ‘id’, *qɔčar*- W177b.

*__kog__ ‘plant waste, sweepings, garbage, filth’.

MMo SH *qoh* H64, HY---. Muq---. WM *qoɣ* L951b. Kh *xog* H638b. Ord *χoġ* M348a. Bur *xog* C575a. Kalm *xog* M591b. Dag---. EYu *χoġ* S471. MgrH *xɔġ* X81, *faġ* X59 ‘dung; fertilizer’, *fog* DS222 ‘fertilizer’. MgrM *qo* DS222 ‘fertilizer’. Remaining lgs---.

*__koïmar__ ‘northern side; seat of honour’. Probably related to **koï*- ‘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 *xöömr* M603b. Dag *xʷaimaːr* E133 ‘north side of the kang (heatable brick bed)’. MgrH *xʊimor* 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 **koïgsï* ‘backwards’, **koïtu* ‘posterior (adj)’ (not listed).

MMo SH *qoyina* H69, HY *qoyina* M91, Muq *qoina* P299b. WM *qoyina* L954a. Kh xoyno H640b. Bur *xoyno* C577b. Kalm *xöön* M603b. Dag *xʷainə* E132 ‘north; back’. EYu *xɔinɔ* B49, *χoino* J99b. MgrH *xuaino* J100b ‘north; back’, *xʊino* X75. MgrM *quaino* JL465. BaoD *χuinə* BL82a, 87b. BaoÑ *χiːna* CN60 back side; behind, back’. Kgj *ġuaina* S288b. Dgx *quina* B72, *quŋna* MC216b. Mog *qoina* R32a, *koɪnʌ* W170b, *qaʊnʌ* 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 *χolo* M350a. Bur *xolo* C580a. Brg *xɔl* U109. Kalm *xol* M592b. Dag *xɔl* E118. EYu *χɔlɔ* B50, *χolo* J100a. MgrH *xolo* J100a. MgrM *qolo* JL464, *qɒlʊ* C378. BaoD *ġolo* BL87b. BaoGt *xolo* C102. BaoÑ *χɵlɵ* CN62. BaoX *χolo* BC67. Kgj *ġulu* S28b. Dgx *ġolo* B82. Mog *qolo:* R32a, *qɔlɔ* 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 **kolïmsun*, 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)*, *qulungɣusu(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 *χɔlŋsă* R183a. Dag *kɔlinč* E151 ‘body odour’. Remaining lgs---.

***kolba**- ‘to connect, join, unite’. The loss of *-b-* in MgrM is unexpected. Cf. **ǰalga-*.

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 *χɔlβɔ-* 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 *xɔlʲ-* U109. Kalm *xol’x* M595a. Dag *xɔlʲe:-* E116. EYu *χulə-* B53, *χɔlə-* 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 *ġultul-*, *ġultur-* M313a. Bur *xoltolxo* C581a, *xoltorxo* C581b. Kalm *xoltlx*, *xoltrx* M584a. Dag *kɔltlɔ:-* E83:126a, *kɔltur-* E151. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoÑ *χɵdal-* (sic) CN62. BaoGt *xundȧl-* 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 *χɵm* 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 *tɔntʊ:l* U183 ‘horse dung’. Cf. Turkic **komuk*. Cf. for a parallel case **ǰundaul* (as in SH) corresponding to CT **yundak*.

MMo SH *qoma’ul* H65 ‘dried dung’, HY---, Muq---. WM *qomoɣol*, *qomol* L961a. Kh *xomool* H646a. Ord *xomo:l(i)* M351a. Bur *xontool* (Selenga) (?=) C585a.

Brg. Kalm *xomɣl* M595b ‘humus’, *χomɣăl* 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 *qonoɣ* L964a. Kh *xonog* H648a. Bur---. Kalm *χonŏġ* R185a. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj *ġunəğ* S288b. Dgx *ġonau* B81, *ġono* L80. Mog---.

koŋgar ‘fallow, light bay, etc’. Cf. CT **koŋur*.

MMo SH *qongqor* H66, HY---, Muq---. WM *qongɣor* L962a. Kh *xongor* H647a. Ord *χoŋġor* M354a. Bur *xongor* C583b. Kalm *xoŋɣr* M596a. Dag *kɔŋgɔ:r* E150. EYu *χɔŋġur* B49, *χɔŋġɔr* J100b. Remaining lgs---.

koŋka ‘bell’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qongqo* L963a. Kh *xonx(on)* H648a. Ord *χoŋχo* M354a. Bur *xonxo* C584b. Kalm *xoŋx* M596a. Dag *kɔŋgilja:r ~ kɔŋgulja:r* (?=) E150 ‘small bell’. EYu *χɔŋġɔ* B49, *χoŋġo* J100b. MgrH *xoŋġor* J100b, *xɔŋġʊr* X81, *xʊŋġʊr* X77. MgrM *qoŋġo* JL477, *quaŋġʊ* C378. BaoD *galalaŋ* (?=) BL87a. Kgj *ġɔləlɔŋ ~ ġɔlɔŋlɔŋ* (?=) S288a. Dgx *ġuŋġuŋ* B83, *ġonġon* L115b. Mog---.

konïn ‘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:ñ*.

MMo SH *qoni(n)* H66, HY *qonin* M90, Muq *qonin* P302a, *ɣonin* P206b. WM *qoni(n)* L963b. Kh *xon’* (*xonin*) H649a. Ord *χoni* M352a. Bur *xoni(n)* C584a. Kalm *xön* (gen *xöönä*) M603a. Dag *xɔn*^{y} E117. EYu *χɔ:nə* B49, *χo:nə* J100b. MgrH *xonə* J100b. MgrM *qoni* JL464. BaoD *ġonə* BL87a. BaoGt *xonə* C131. BaoÑ *ġəni* CN86. BaoX *χonə* BC62. Kgj *χɔni ~ χuni* S285b. Dgx *ġoni* B81. Mog *qonin* R32b, *qɔnin* W177a.

konǰïasun, ***kondasun*** ‘colon; anus’. Cf. **anǰasun* ‘plough’ for a similar set of variants. Dag and Bur point at an assimilated form **konǰaasun*. There are many semantically similar words that may all share the same root: **kondalaï, *koŋ, *koŋgaï, *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 *ġɔŋġɔr* B78 ‘buttocks’ may also be from this root.

MMo SH *qonjiyasun* H66, HY---, Muq---. WM *qongǰusu* L963b ‘the junction of the two thighs, crotch’. Kh---. Ord----. Bur *xonzooho(n)* C584a ‘anus’. Kalm *χondăsn* R185a ‘backside, etc’. Dag *kɔnǰɔ:s ~ kɔnñɔ:s* E88:491 ‘colon’. EYu---. MgrH *gonʒasə* J98b, *ġʊnʒæsə ~ ġʊnʒosə* X98. MgrM *ġʊnʒʊsï* 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, *ɣora* P135b. WM *qoor, qoora* L973b. Kh *xor(on)* H651a. Ord *χoro* M360a. Bur *xoro(n)* C590a. Kalm *xorn* M599b. Dag *kɔr* E153. EYu *χɔrɔ* B51, *χoro* J99b. MgrH *xʊro: 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 **korgaï*. 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 *qoraɣai* P302b, *ɣoraɣai* P238a. WM *qoroqai* L970a 'insects and worms in general'. Kh *xorxoy* H655a. Ord *χor(o)χö:* M358b, M360b, sporadically *ġorχö:* M307a. Bur *xorxoy* C591a 'worm, etc'. Brg *xɔrxɔi* U111. Kalm *xorxa* M600a 'worm; moth'. Dag *xɔrɣ*^{w} E122. EYu *χɔrɔqɔi* B51, *χoro*^{ɣ}*ġui* J100a. MgrH *xorġuai* J100a. MgrM *qorġai* JL465. BaoD *ġorġəi* BL87b. BaoÑ *ġərġəi* CN88 also 'maggot, shrimp; giant salamander, etc'. BaoX *ġorġi* BC65. Kgj *ğurğei ~ ğurğai* S288b. Dgx *ġuği* B84, *ġuŋġəi* 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 **kulakï* 'earwax' (not listed here).

MMo SH *qorqosun* H67, HY---, Muq *qorɣal* (*qorɣa:l* also possible) P346a 'dung (of camel)'. WM *qorɣal* L965b, *qorɣol* L966a, *qorɣusun* L966a. Kh *xorgol* H651b. Ord *χorġol* M358a, *χurġu:s* M372b. Bur *xorgooho(n)* C588a, *xorgool* C588a, *xorgol* (western) C588a. Brg *xɔrgɔl* U111. Kalm *xorɣsn* M598b. Dag---. EYu *χorgol* (sic, only) S365. MgrH *xʊrġo:sə* X81. MgrM *xorgosï* P418a 'sheep dung', *qurġosï* DS219a 'earwax'. Remaining lgs---.

***korïan** 'courtyard; enclosure (usu. for keeping livestock in)'. From **korï-* '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, *qoroɣa* L968b, *qoriɣa(n)*, etc. Kh *xoroo(n)* H654a. Ord *χɔrɔ:* M360a. Bur *xoryoo* C588b, *xoroy* (?=) C589b. Brg *xɔr*^{y}*ɔ:* U112. Kalm *xora* M597b 'room'. Dag *xɔr*^{y}*e:* E121. EYu *χɔrɔ:n* in *qəša: χɔrɔ:n* B64 (cf. **kasïa*). MgrH---. MgrM *qoraŋ* JL471, *qʊ:raŋ* C395. Bao---. Kgj *gʉrɔ ~ gurɔ* S290b. Dgx *ġoroŋ* B83 'courtyard, winnowing area inside the courtyard'. Mog---.

***korïn** '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 *xɔr*^{y} E123, *xɔrin* E121. EYu *χɔrən* B50, *χorən* J100a. MgrH *xorən* J100a. MgrM---. BaoD *χoroŋ* BL87b, *χoruŋ* BL41. BaoGt *xoroŋ* C132. BaoÑ *χərəŋ* CN63. Kgj---. Dgx *qoruŋ* B72. MogM *qorĩ˙* '20 kran coin'.

*__kormaï__ ‘skirt, lower hem’. Both Dag and MgrM lost the final *-ï*. 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^{w}arəm* E135. EYu *χɔrməi* B51, *χormi*: J100a. MgrH *xormi:* J100a. MgrM *qurmo* DS250, *qormo* Z358:599. BaoD *χurmi* BL88a ‘front of a Chinese garment’. BaoÑ---. Dgx *ġoməi* 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 **kosïad*. In Shirongol it is only attested in the combination **koš kelen* ‘uvula’ (lit. ‘additional tongue’).

MMo SH *qoš* H68 ‘house’, *qošiliq* [H: *qośilih*] H68 ‘tent’, HY *qoš* [M: *qoši*] 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, *ġoši* 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---. EYu---. MgrH *ġʊs kəle* X98, L143. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *χoś kalaŋ* S396. BaoÑ *ġʊʑa kelaŋ* CN87. Dgx *qoʂï 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 *qoši’un* H68, HY *qoši’un* M90, Muq--- (P355b is an emendation of Poppe’s, q.v.). WM *qosiɣu(n)* L970b, *qusiɣu(n)* L991b (spelled identically!). Kh *xošuu(n)* H659a. Ord *ġušu:* M317a. Bur *xušuu(n)* C609b. Kalm *χošu:* R190a. Dag *kɔsɔ:* E152 ‘beak’. EYu *qušu:n* B65 ‘beak’, J95b ‘lips’, *qəšu:* S365 ‘snout’. MgrH *xośə* J95b ‘lips’, *xʊśə* X79, *xʊʑə* X80. MgrM *quʑu* DS206b, *košu* P416b ‘snout’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ġəśəŋ* CN87 ‘lip’. Dgx *quʂuŋ* 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 *ġoto* M308b. Bur *xoto* C592a ‘town’, cf. *xoto(n)* C592b ‘enclosure’. Brg *xɔt* U110 ‘town’. Kalm *xotn* M601a ‘settlement, village’. EYu [only S]. MgrH---. MgrM *qudaŋ* DS242b. BaoJ *x(ų)dúŋ* L215. Kgj *χutuŋ* S286a. Dgx *qudoŋ* B73. Mog---.

*__koyar__ (?~ *__koar__) ‘two’. The forms in the QG languages all seem to stem from **ġo:r* < **koar*. The latter variant may be related to **koarandu* ‘between’ in central Mongolic, as in Ord *χo:r(ġ)ondu* M358b/361a. Cf. **korïn* ‘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 *xɔyɔr* U111. Kalm *xoyr* M592a. Dag *xɔir* E116. EYu *ġu:r* B79, J100a. MgrH *ġo:r* J100a, *ġu:r* X97. MgrM *ġuar* JL479, *ġʊ:r* C219, *ġor* T325. BaoD *ġuar*

BL87b. BaoÑ *ġuar* CN88. BaoX *ġuar* BC62. Kgj *ġuar* S288b. Dgx *ġua* B83. Mog *qoyo:r* R32a.

***köbči** ‘bowstring’.

MMo SH---, HY *köbči* M72, Muq *köbči, köbčin* P219b. WM *köbči* L475b. Kh *xövč* H661a. Ord *gʉbči ~ göbči* M273b. Bur *xübše* C611a. Brg *xuβš* U122. Kalm *kövč* M310a. Dag *kurč* E159. EYu *göbčə* J100a. Mgr---. BaoÑ *karʒil* (?=) CN76. Dgx---. Mog---.

***köbeün,** ***köün**, ***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 **köbeün* 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 **köbeün* is unexpectedly rare in MMo. In Bao and Kgj (but not in related Dgx) **köbeün* and **küün* ‘person’ have merged phonetically. In Arabo-Mongolic they are also hard to distinguish.

MMo SH *ko’u(n)* H105, HY *kö’ün* M73, Muq *kü’ün* (or *kö’ün*) P230b, *kü:n-* (or *kö:n* ?) P231b, *ke’üt* (pl) P166b, RH *köün* (or *kü:n*) 200B22, LV *köbewün* P66 ‘boy, son’, (*diyü*) *keün* P57 ‘younger brother’, Ph *k*^{h}*e’ün* P126a, *k*^{h}*übe’ün* P126b. WM *kübegün* L494b, cf. *küü* (‘coll. form’) L509a, *keü* L461b. Kh *xövüün* H660b, *xüvüün* H699a, *xüü* H707b. Ord *kʉ:* M433b ‘son, boy’, *köwʉ:t* M433b (originally pl.) ‘slave of the lowest rank’. Bur *xübüü(n)* C610a, cf. *üxibüü(n)* C517b ‘child’ apparently from **ökin köbeün*. Brg *xu:ŋ* U119. Kalm *kövün* M309b. Dag---. EYu only in compounds such as *hajə-kün* B55 ‘grandson’ (cf. **hačï*) and **köbeün ökin* listed below. MgrH *kəu:* J101b, *ko:* X88, *ku:* X90. MgrM *kau* C380. BaoD *χʑia kuŋ* BL13 (*χʑia* < **gagča*) ‘only son’. BaoÑ *kuŋ* CN82. BaoX *kuŋ* BC61. Dgx *kəwaŋ* B74. Mog *köʉn* R30b, *koʊn* W170b.

***köbeün 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 ***köbeün sïbaun** also found in MMo HY *kö’ün šiba’un* H73 ‘son’, Muq *kü’ün šiba’un* P228b ‘children’(Chagatai equivalent *oɣlanlarï*), P230b ‘children’ (Chagatai equivalent *oɣlï ušaq*) and MogMr *kəu-šibɒ:n* L63:164, cf. also Ord *kʉ:ket šu:χat, kʉ:ket šiwu:* M436b ‘children’.

EYu *kü:n hkon* B72, MgrH *ko: śʑün* X88, MgrM *kau śuʒun* DS21b. BaoD *koćüŋ* BL48. BaoÑ *kuŋ ɵkuŋ-la* (with pl. ending) CN82. Kgj *kʉnšüŋ* S287b. Dgx *kəwaŋ oćin* 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, *kö’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 *kʉ:ken* M435a ‘daughter; child in general’, *kʉ:ket* M436b ‘children’. Bur *xüüxen* C634b ‘girl, daughter’, *xüüge(n)*

C634a ‘child; girl, daughter’, *xüüged* C633b, *xüüxed* C634b ‘children’. Brg *xuːgəŋ* U119 ‘girl’. Kalm *küükn* M329b ‘girl’, *küükd* M329b ‘children’. Dag *kək*^{w} (sic, ?=) E145 ‘son’, *kəkur* (pl.) E145 ‘children’. EYu *küken* B72, *küːken* J101b ‘son’. MgrH *kugän* SM208 ‘small child, boy’. Bao---. Kgj *kʉgɔ* S287b ‘son, boy’. Dgx---. Mog *köʉkät* (pl) R30b, *kaɔka*, *kaɔkʌ* 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 <*gẅdwgww*> 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 *xudəː* 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 *xudlʲ*^{y}- U125. Kalm *ködlx* M312a. Dag *xudul-* E129. EYu *gʉdel-* B85, *gödöl-* J100b. MgrH *ġodolə-* J101b, *gudoli-* SM139. MgrM *guder-* JL475. BaoD *gudəl-* BL88a, *gudal-* BL74. BaoÑ *gudel-* CN98. Kgj *gʉdəle-* S290a. Dgx *goʑielu-* 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 *x*^{w}*əː* 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 *k*^{w}*əːbəd-* E162). The final consonant in Kgj *kʉr-* 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 *köː-* P224b. WM *köge-* L478b, *kögege-* L479a. Kh *xööx* H672b. Ord *köː-* M423b. Bur *xööxe* (some dialects) C595a ‘to swell’. Kalm *köөx* M318b. Dag *x*^{w}*əː-* E135. EYu *küː-* B72, J69 ‘to rise (of water)’. MgrH *koː-* X88. MgrM *ko-* JL464. BaoD *ko-* BL13 ‘to swell, bulge’. BaoÑ *kəː-* CN180 ‘to swell, etc’. Kgj *kʉ-* (~ *kʉr-*) 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 *keʼürge* M71, Muq *küʼürge* P231a. WM *kögerge* L480a, *kögörge* L481b, *kegürge* L443b. Kh *xöörög* H671b. Bur *xüürge* C634b. Brg *xoːrəg* U119. Dag *xuːruɣ*^{w} E124. EYu *küːrge* B72. MgrH *korġo* 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

**kö: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:rəg* U119. Kalm *köörg* M317b. Dag *xu:ruɣ*^{w} E124. EYu *kü:rge* B72. BaoÑ *kurgəm* CN83 ‘bellows’ is derived by CN from LT *khol-sgam*.

***köesün** ‘foam, froth’. Some languages suggest **köersün*. Derived from **köe-* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kö’esün* P346a, *kö:sün* P240a, *köhesün* P194b. WM *kögesü(n)* L480b. Kh *xöös(ön)* H672b. Ord *kö:rsʉ* M431b. Bur *xööhe(n)* C595a. Brg *xuxə:* U122. Kalm *köösn* M318a. Dag *x*^{w}*ə:s* E135. EYu---. MgrH *ko:sə* J101a, *ko:rsə* X88. Remaining lgs---.

***kögsin** ‘old (animate)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *kögsin* L481a. Kh *xögšin* H662b. Ord *göškön* M271b. Bur *xügše(n)* C612a. Kalm *kögšn* M311a. Dag *kuršin šɔɣɔ:* (?=) E158 ‘experienced (trained) falcon or eagle; male falcon or eagle’ (cf. **sïbaun*). EYu *kögšən* J68, *kogšən* B69, *qoġšən* (sic) S259. Bao *kokušyun* P420a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***köi**, ***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(ʉ) ~ kö:s ~ kʉis ~ 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 *kuaiʒï nudu* C380 (**nidün* ‘eye’). BaoD *kisuŋ* BL88a. BaoÑ *kisəŋ* CN79. BaoX *kisoŋ* BC62. Kgj---. Dgx *kuaisuŋ* B77, *kuisun* L116b. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *kʉsʉn* 3:3b.

***köiten** ‘cold’. Perhaps connected to **kölde-* and/or **kör-*. Compare the parallel relationship between **nor-* and **noïtan*.

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:tə̃* D188b. Ord *kü:tön ~ kʉiten ~ 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 *kʉitɔ ~ kʉčtɔ* S287b. Dgx *kuićien* B78. Mog---.

***köke** ‘blue, green’. Cf. CT **kö: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 *kugɵ* CN82. Kgj *kʉkʉ* S287b. Dgx *kugie* B78. Mog *kʉkɑ̀* R31a, *kɔkʌ*, *kɔkɔ* 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 *kökx* M313b. Dag *mək*- (?=) E197. EYu *hkö*- B59, *hgö*- J101a. MgrH *kugo*- J101a. MgrM *kugo*- C380. BaoD *kugo-ɣo*- (caus) BL88a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *kʉkʉ*- S287b. Dgx *gogo*- B91. Mog *kökɑ̀*-, *kökɑ̀la*- (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 *kugɵ ~ kukɵ* CN82. BaoX *kuko* BC67. Dgx *gogo* B91. Mog *kökɑ̀* R30b 'nipple', *kɔkʌ* W170b, *qɔqʌ* 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 *gökül* L386a, *kekül* L446a, *kökel* L482b, *kökül* L483b. Kh *göxöl* H129a, *xöxöl* H676a. Ord *gʉkʉl* M76b. Bur *xüxel* (Kiaxta dialect) C636b. Kalm *kükl* M323b. Dag *gəkulən* (sic) E170. EYu *hkol* B59, *kogol* (sic) S290, cf. *kukùl'* P415a. MgrH *kugol* X92. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *qoqu:l* R32a, MogM, MogMr *kɒ:kul* L62:49.

***köküür** 'leather vessel for liquids; snuffbottle'. MMo SH *go'ur* H51 'small leather bucket' coould 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 *köküger*, *köküür* L483b, Inner Mongolian spelling *kẅkẅr*. Kh *xöxüür* H677a. Ord *gʉkʉ:r* M276b. Bur *xüxüür* C635b 'leather bag'. Kalm *kökür* M313b. Dag---. EYu *hkü:r* B59. Mgr---. BaoÑ *kɵkɵr* 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 *xul^{y}* U123. Kalm *köl* M313b. Dag *kul^{y}* E155. EYu *köl* B69, J100b. MgrH *kol* J100b. MgrM *kʊar* C379, *qur* (sic) DS224a. BaoD *kual* BL88a. BaoÑ *kɵl* CN80. Kgj *kuar ~ kər* S287b. Dgx *kuaŋ* (i.e. /*kon*/) B77, *kon* L116b, *koŋ* MC222b. Mog *köl* R170b, *kol*, *kɔl*, *kʊl*, 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 *kʷə: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 *xulʸd-* U124. Kalm *köldx* M315a. Dag *xuld-* E128, *xullə-* E127. EYu *kölde-* BJ334. MgrH---. MgrM *kuardi-* C380. BaoD *gondə-* BL74. BaoGt *gundə-* C112. BaoÑ *gəlde-* CN96. Kgj *guandi-* S289b. Dgx *gonʒie-* 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(ʉ)* M427ab. Bur *xülhe(n)* C619a. Brg *xulʸu:* U124. Kalm *kölsn* M315a. Dag *xuls* E128, *xullə* E127. EYu *kʉlesən* B70, *kölösən* J100b. MgrH *konorʒə* J100b, *konorsə* X88. MgrM *kolesï* C379, *koliersï* DS254a, *kurliesï* DS242b, *kuarlisï* Z337:332. BaoD *kolsuŋ* BL88b, *komsuŋ* BL88b. BaoGt *kumsuŋ* C124. BaoÑ *kölsöŋ* CN81. Kgj *kʉlesï* 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 unexlained).

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 *kömrx* M316a. Dag *kumrʸe:-* 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* < **kʉrməktə ~ *kʉməktə*). Cf. **hanïska*.

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 *xuntəg* 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* < **köŋül-* ‘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 *kömldrgə*, also *köm^{ö}rəg* 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 *kömrg* M316a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *komorgo* X89. MgrM *kuərməgɤ* C379. Bao---. Dgx *kumuğə* B79. Mog---.

***köndelen** ‘horizontal, across, transverse’. In several languages also ‘transverse beam’ and the like. Kalm, EYu, and Bao suggest *-ŋ*.

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 *xundləŋ* U121. Kalm *köndlŋ* M316b. Dag *xundul* E125 ‘horizontal’, E83:95b ‘rafter’. EYu *köndələn* J101a ‘horizontal’, *köndeleŋ* BJ334 ‘of a strange land’. MgrH *kondələn* J101a. MgrM *kondilen* JL468. BaoD *guandələŋ* BL88a. BaoÑ *gəndələŋ* CN95. Kgj *guandilɔ* S289b. Dgx---. MogM *kʉndalɵ̃:* L64:42 ‘kind of timber used in the construction of the (black) tent’.

***könerge** ~ ***köreŋge** ‘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 *körenge* P224a, Ph *k^{h}önörge* P126a. WM *köröngge(n)* L491a, precl. *könörge* T453. Kh *xöröngö* H673b. Ord *köröŋgö* M431a. Bur *xürenge* C629a. Kalm *körŋ* M319a, *körŋgə* R240b. Dag *xunuruɣ^{w}* E124. EYu *kunerge* S376. MgrH *konorgo* X88. BaoD---. BaoÑ *kunge* CN81 ‘distiller’s yeast’. Dgx *kunieğə* B78 ‘distiller’s yeast’. Mog---.

***könǰile(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 *könǰile* M72, Muq *könǰile* P223b. WM *könǰile(n)* L490a. Kh *xönǰil* H670b. Ord *könǰil* M429a. Bur *xünžel* C624b. Brg *xunǰil* U121. Kalm *könǰl* M316b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *konʒ́ilen* J101a. MgrM *guanʒ́ielie* DS245a. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *gonʒəlie*, *gonʒəlien* B91. Mog *könǰilə* R30b, *kɔnǰilʌ* 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 *xündï* C622b. Brg *xundi:* U121. Kalm *köndä* M316b. Dag *kʷəːnnʸeː*, *kʷəːndʸeː* E162 (also ‘pelvis’). EYu *kʉŋtü:* 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 *giign* M143a ‘light’. Baoan features medial strengthening of *-k-*, which also enabled the initial *k-* to remain.

MMo SH---, HY *könggen* M72, Muq *köngen* P223a. WM *könggen* L489a. Kh *xöngön* H669a. Bur *xüngen* C621b. Brg *xuŋgəŋ* U122. Kalm *göŋgn* M147a. Dag *xuŋgəːn* E125. EYu *köŋgen* B69, *köŋgön* J101a. MgrH *koŋgon* J101a. MgrM *koŋgen* JL470. BaoD *kuŋkaŋ* BL88b. BaoGt *kuŋkɔŋ* C118. BaoÑ *kəŋkaŋ* CN80. Kgj *gʉŋgɔ* S290a. Dgx *goŋgien* B91, *guaŋgien* B92 (in fact also /*goŋgien*/). Mog *kʉŋgoːn* R31a.

kör- ‘to freeze, to become cold’. Perhaps related to **köiten* and/or **kölde-*.

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. **kurïgan*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *körbe* [so read] 199C25 ‘lamb born prematurely’. WM *köröbe* (*kẅrẅbe*) 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 **nïlka*). 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 derivates 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 *kölvrx* 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 *körwʊ̈χə* (sic) R241a. Dag *xurbʸ-* E130. EYu *körβe-* B70, *körwö-* S375. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *kəle-* (?=) CN81. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *kolər-* S375. Kgj *kʉrle-* S288a ‘to roll about’. Dgx---. Mog---.

köreŋge ‘yeast’ see ***könerge***

*__körisün__ ‘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 *körs(ön)* H674b. Ord *körös(ᵾ)* 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 *xöšiglöx* H677a. Ord *göškölö-* M271b. Bur---. Kalm *köšglx* M320b. EYu *kᵾsgəle-* B70, *kösgölö-* J100a. MgrH *kosgo* X89 ‘half; piece’.

*__kötel-__ ‘to lead by the hand, to lead along’.

MMo SH *kotol-* H104, HY *kötöl-* M72, Muq---. WM *kötöl-*, *kötel-* L493b. Kh *xötlöx* H675b. Ord *götöl-* M272b. Bur *xütelxe* C633b. Brg *xutl-* U125. Kalm *kötlx* M320a. Dag *kutlə:-* E157. EYu *kᵾtel-* B71, *kude:l-* J100b, *kudü:l-* J51. MgrH *kudolə-* J100b. MgrM *guder-* JL475. BaoD *kudal-* BL35. BaoGt *kudȧl-* C124. BaoÑ---. BaoX *kudal-* BC66. Kgj *kᵾtar̥-* ~ *kᵾte-* S288a. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__kubčasun__ ‘clothes’.

MMo SH *qubcasu(n)* H69, HY *qubčasu* M69, Muq---. WM *qubčasu(n)* L976a. Kh *xuvcas(an)* H680a, cf. Chakhar *gʊbtăs* D187b. Ord *ġubčas(u)* M310a. Bur *xubsaha(n)* C597a. Brg *xʊsʊ:* U116. Kalm *xuvcn* M606a. Dag---. EYu *χobǰosən* J100a, *ġɔbčɔsən* BJ336. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__kubï__ ‘part, share’. Dag *ɔb* is a reborrowing from Manchu *ubu* which lost the initial consonant (as in *orin* ‘twenty’< CM **korïn*).

MMo SH *qubi* H69, HY---, Muq *qubi* P305a. WM *qubi* L976b. Kh *xuv’* H680a. Bur *xubi* C596a. Kalm *xüv* M617b. Dag (see above). EYu *χuβə* BJ349, *χᵾβ* B54. MgrH---. MgrM *qobi* DS235a ‘luck’. Remaining lgs---.

*__kubïa-__ ‘to divide’. Both MgrM and Dgx (independently) developed from an intermediate form **quġa-* < **quba-*. From **kubï* above.

MMo SH *qubiya-* H69, HY *qubiya-qda-* (pass) M91, Muq---. WM *qubiya-* L977a. Kh *xuvaax* H679a. Bur *xubaaxa* C595b. Kalm *xuvax* M605b. Dag *xɔbʸe:-* E118. EYu *χwa:-* B54, *χua-* J100a. MgrH *xgua:-* J100a. MgrM *quba-* DS217b. BaoD *ġua-* BL88b. BaoÑ *ġua-* CN88. Kgj *ġua-* S288b. Dgx *ġuğa-* B83, *ġuğua-* MC126b. Mog---.

*__kubïl-__ ‘to change, turn into’. From a root **kubï-*, of which other derivates 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 *xɔβʸl-* U108. Kalm *xüvlx* (obs) M618a. Dag *xɔbil-* E118. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *xuərbər-ġa-* (caus.) (?=) F134:61. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *ġolu-* B82, *ġuilu-* B83, *ġuailu-* L80. Mog---.

*__kuča__ ‘ram’. Agricultural term related to CT **koč, *kočŋar/*kočgar*.

MMo SH---, HY *quča* M91, Muq *quča* P307, *ɣuča* P150a. WM *quča(n)* L979a. Kh *xuc* H698a. Ord *ġuča* M318b. Bur *xusa* C604b. Kalm *xuc* M616b. Dag *kɔč* E152. EYu *quča* B65, *quǰa* J100b. MgrH *xuʒ́a* J100b, *xʊʒ́æ* X79. MgrM *quʒ́ia* DS249a, *kučà* P411a. Bao---.Kgj---. Dgx *quʒa* B73. Mog---.

*__kuča__- ‘to bark’.

MMo SH *quca*- H70, HY *quča*- M91, Muq *quča*- P307a. WM *quča*- L979a. Kh *xucax* H698a. Ord *ġuča*- M318b. Bur *xusaxa* C604b. Kalm *xucx* M617a. Dag *kɔč*- E152. EYu *quča*- B65, *quǰa*- J100b, *χuǰa*- J53. MgrH *xuʒ́a*- J100b. MgrM *quʒ́ia*- DS206a. BaoD *χəʒ́ia*- BL88a. BaoÑ *hʒ́a*- CN72. BaoX *xǰa:*- BC63. Kgj *quča*- S287a. Dgx *quʒa*- B73. Mog *quǐča*- R32b.

*__kučï__- ‘to cover, wrap up in’.

MMo SH *quci*- H70, HY *quči*- M91 ‘q.v.’, Muq *quči*- P307b. WM *quči*- L979a. Kh *xučix* H698b. Ord *ġuči*- M318b. Bur *xušaxa* C609a. Kalm *xučx* M617b. Dag *kɔč*- E152. EYu--- . MgrH *xʊʒ́ə*- X80 ‘to wrap; to surround, etc’. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *χɵći*- CN62. Dgx *quʒï*- B73. Mog *quǐči*- R32b.

*__kuda__ ‘men related through the marriage of their children’.

MMo SH *quda* H70, HY *ɣuda* M59, Muq---. WM *quda* L979b. Kh *xud* H682a. Ord *χuda* M362b. Bur *xuda* C597b. Brg *xʊd* U116. Kalm *xud* M607a. Dag *x^{w}ad* E134. EYu *ġuda* B79, J100b. MgrH *ġuda:* J110b. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. MogM *quda, ɣuda* L63:153.

*__kudagaï__ ‘women related through the marriage of their children’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *quduɣui* L980b. Kh *xudguy* H683a. Ord *χuduġ^{u}i:* M363b. Bur *xudagï* C597b. Brg *xʊdgai* U117. Kalm---. Dag *xɔduɣ^{w}* E120. EYu *ġudağai* B79. MgrH---. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *ġudaği* 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^{w}adəl* E134. EYu *ġudal* B79, J100b. MgrH *ġudal* J100b. MgrM *ġudar* JL477. Bao---. Kgj *ġudar* S288b. Dgx *ġudaŋ* B84. Mog *qudo:l* R32b, *qudɔl* W177b.

*__kudaldu__- ‘to trade, sell’. Cf. **düre*- used instead in Dag, MgrM, and Mog.

MMo SH *qudaldu*- H70, HY *qudaldu*- M91, Muq *qudaldu*- P308a, *ɣudaldu*- P231a. WM *qudaldu*- L980a. Kh *xudaldax* H682b. Ord *χudaldu*-, *χudalda*- M363a. Bur *xudaldaxa* C598a. Kalm *xuldx* M608a. Dag---. EYu *ġudald*- B80. MgrH *da:ldə*- X187. MgrM---. BaoD *dandə*- BL18 ‘to sell’. BaoÑ *dalda*- CN172 ‘to sell’. Kgj *dandi*- S298a ‘to buy; to sell’. Dgx *ġudandu*- 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 *ġudχu-*, *ġudχula-* M310b. Bur *xudxaxa* C598b. Kalm *xutxx* M614b. Dag *kɔrkʷ-* E153. EYu *qudqula-* B65, *qudġə-* J100b. MgrH *ġʊsġʊ-* X98, *ʂdoġʊ-* X168. MgrM *quduġo-* DS252b, *kotoga-* P416b. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. BaoX *xdaġə-* (?=) BC63. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *doġə-* S394. Dgx *quduğu-* S394, MC215b. Mog---.

***kudug** ‘well’. CT **kudug* from **kud-* ‘to pour’. Cf. **bulag* ‘spring’.

MMo SH *quduh* H70, HY *ɣuduq* M59, Muq *quduq* P308b. WM *qudduɣ*, *quduɣ* L980b. Kh *xudag* H682b. Ord *χuduq* M363b. Bur *xudag* C597b. Kalm *xudg* M607a. Dag *kɔdir* E152. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *ġudəu* B84 also ‘pit for storing water’. Mog---.

***kudurga** ‘crupper’. Initial weakening in QG. Agricultural term related to CT **kuduruk* ‘tail’ and **kudušgun* ‘crupper’.

MMo SH *qudurqa* H70, HY---, Muq *qudurɣa* P308b. WM *qudurɣa(n)* L980b. Kh *xudraga* H683a. Ord *χudurġa* M363b. Bur *xudarga* C598a. Brg *xʊdrag* U117. Kalm *xudrɣ* M607b. Dag *xɔdruɣʷ* E120. EYu *ġudurğa* B80. MgrH *ġudərġa* (only) L139. MgrM *ġudurġa* JL481. Bao---. Kgj *ġudağa* S288b. Dgx *ġuduğa* 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 *quɣul-* L981b, *qaɣul-* (sic) L909b. Kh *xugalax* H681b. Ord *χuġal-* ~ *χuġul-* M364a. Bur *xuxalxa* C608a. Brg *xʊgal-* U115. Kalm *xuɣlx* M606b. Dag *xɔɣʷlɔː-* E118. EYu *huqul-* B58, *χuġul-* J100a, *hġɔl-* (?=) B59. MgrH *xġulə-* J100a, *xʊġʊlə-* X77. MgrM *quġur-* DS208b. BaoD *ġul-* BL88b, *ġol-* BL66. BaoÑ *ġəġəl-* CN86. Dgx *ġuġulu-* MC126a, *ġuğula-* B84, *ġulu-* (sic, ?=) S386. Mog *ququl-* R32b ‘to bend’, *qɔqɔl-* 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 *quɣura-* L982a, *quɣara-* L981b. Kh *xugarax* H681b. Ord *χuġar(a)-* ~ *χuġur(a)-* M364a. Bur *xuxarxa* C608b, *xugarxa* C597b. Kalm *xuɣrx* M606b. Dag---. EYu *huqura-* B58, *χuqura-* BJ42, *χuːraː-* (sic, ?=, perhaps **kaura-*) J99a. MgrH *xʊġʊraː-* X77. MgrM *quġura-ġa-* (caus.) DS23. BaoD *ġura-* BL87a. BaoÑ *ġəġəra-* CN86. Dgx *ġura-* MC127a, *ġuğura-* MC126a. Mog *ququru-* R32b ‘to be bent’, *qɔqɔrʌ-* W177a.

***kuï** ‘sheath (of a knife)’ The Dag form *xɔbʸ* (instead of expected **xɔi*) seems to suggest a form **kubï*, 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 *xŏai* U113. Kalm *xü* (obs) M617b, *χüː* R204a ‘sheath (of a sword)’. Dagur *xɔbʸ* E118 ‘sheath of a knife’. EYu *χui* B52.

MgrH *xʊi* X75, *xui* L202. BaoD---. BaoGt *ġui* C111. BaoJ *ğui* L152. BaoÑ---. Kgj *ġuai* S288b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kulagaï** ‘thief; theft’. See **kulagu-* below.

MMo SH *qulaqai* H71, HY *qulaqai* M91, Muq *qulaɣai* P309a. WM *qulaɣai* L983b. Kh *xulgay* H685b ‘thief; theft; etc’. Bur *xulgay* C599b ‘theft’. Brg *xʊlgai* U115. Kalm *xulxa* M608b ‘theft’, *xulxa-č* M609a ‘thief’. Dag *x*^{w}*alaɣ* E134. EYu *χulăğai-čə* B53, *χulağai-čə* J100a. MgrH *xulġai:* J100b, *xʊlġai* X78, *xʊlġa* X78. MgrM *qʊarġai-ći* C378. BaoD *ġulġəi* BL88b. BaoÑ *ġəlġəi* CN87. Kgj *ġulğai* S288b. Dgx *ġuği* B84, *ġuğəi* S388, *ġulağəi* S388. Mog *qulaɣɛi* R32b, *qəlʌɣɛı* W177a.

***kulag-** ~ ***kulagu-** ~ ***kulau-** ‘to steal’. For a similar set of variants cf. **hasagu-* ~ **hasau-* ‘to ask’. Related to **kulagaï* above.

MMo SH *qulah-*, *qulaqu-* H71, HY---, Muq *qulaq-* P309a. WM *qulaɣu-* L984a, *qoloɣo-* (*?quluɣu-*) L960a. Kh *xulgax* H686a, *xuluux* H687a, *xulguux* H686b. Ord *χul(u)gu-* M366b. Bur *xuluuxa* C600b. Brg *xʊlgʊ:-* U115. Kalm---. Dag *xɔlɔ:-* E118. EYu *χulaġ-* BJ348, *χuləġ-* J90. MgrH *χʊlaġa-* SM180, *xʊlġa-* X78. BaoD *ġaləɣə-* BL88a. BaoÑ *laġ-* (?=) CN101. Kgj *ġulği-* S288b. Dgx *ġula-* B84. Mog *qulo:ɣu-* R32b, *qɔlɔğ-* 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 *qulɣuna* P309a. WM *quluɣana* L984b. Kh *xulgana* H686a. Ord *χuluġuna* M367b. Bur *xulgana*, *xulganaan* C600a. Brg *xʊlgana* U116, *xʊlgan* U115 ‘mouse (in the twelve year cycle); thyroid’. Kalm *xulɣn* M608a. Dag---. EYu *χunlaġ* B53, *χunaglaġ* B52, *χunaġla* J100b. MgrH *xʊnaġla* X76, *xanaġla* X66, *xulġanaġ* S388. MgrM *qʊarġʊarna* C378. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kulusun** ‘reed; bamboo’. Bur suggests **kulsun*; Dgx suggests **kulasun*.

MMo SH---, HY *ɣulusun* M59, Muq *qulusun* P119a. WM *qulusu(n)* L985a. Kh *xuls(an)* H686b. Ord *χulus(u)* M368a. Bur *xulha(n)* C600b. Brg *xʊlʊ:* U115. Kalm *xulsn* M608b. Dag *kɔls* E151. EYu *χulusun* B53, *χulusən* J100b. MgrH *xuləʒə* J100b, *xʊlusə ~ xʊluʒə* X78. MgrM *qulusï* JL469. BaoD *ġuləsuŋ* BL88b. BaoGt *ġumsuŋ* C149. BaoÑ *ġəlsəŋ* CN87. Dgx *ġulasuŋ* B84. Mog---.

***kumï-** (?~ ***kumbï-**) ‘to fold, to bundle together, wrap up; to gather’. Dag from a pseudo-causative **kumbïa-*.

MMo SH---, HY *ɣumbi-* 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 *kɔmb*^{ʏ}*e:-* E152. EYu---. MgrH *χʊmbu-* 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 *xʊr* U117. Kalm *xur* M610a. Dag *x^{w}ar* E135. EYu *χura* B53, J100b. MgrH *xura:* J100b. MgrM *qʊra* C378. BaoD *ġura* BL88b. BaoÑ *ġura* CN89. Kgj *gʉra* S290a. Dgx *ġura* 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 *ġurča* M316a. Bur *xursa* C602b. Kalm *xurc* M612b. Dag *kɔrčin* (?=) E153 ‘fast; quick; strong (of taste)’. EYu *qurča* B65. MgrH *xʊʒœ* X79. MgrM *quźieġ* (sic) DS248b. Bao---. Kgj *χuǰǰa ~ 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 *xʊrdaŋ* U118. Kalm *xurdn* M611b. Dag *xɔrdun* E122. EYu *ġurdəŋ* J100a. MgrH *ġurdən* J100a. MgrM *ġʊrdun* C382. BaoD *ġurduŋ* BL88a. BaoÑ *ġərdəŋ* CN88. BaoX *ġordoŋ* BC65. Kgj *ġurdun* S288b. Dgx *ġuduŋ* B84, cf. *ġuźin* B85 (?=), L80. Mog *qurdun* R32b.

*__kurïa__- ‘to gather (tr.)’. This is the caus. form of **kurï-* ‘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, *quraɣa-* L987a. Kh *xuraax* H690a. Bur *xuryaaxa* C604b. Brg *xʊr^{y}a:-* U118. Kalm *xurax* M610b. Dag *xɔr^{y}e:-* E121. EYu *χura:-* J100b. MgrH *xura:-* J100a. MgrM *qura-* DS225b. BaoD-?-. BaoGt *ġurï-* C108. BaoÑ *ġəra-* CN88. Kgj *guru-* (sic) S289b. Dgx *ġura-* B85. Mog---.

*__kurïm__ ‘banquet, feast; wedding (banquet)’. From **kurï-* ‘to gather’, for which see **kurïa-* 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 *xɔrin* E121. EYu *χɔrəm* B50. MgrH *xʊrəm*, *xʊrən* X80, *xurəm* J100b. MgrM *qurəŋ* J89. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *ġuruŋ* B86. Mog---.

*__kurïgan__ ‘lamb’. The forms in the old documents suggest trisyllabic **kurïgan* or **kuragan*. The form **kurïgan* 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 **bɔtagan*, the *-gan* may be a diminutive. Agricultural term related to CT **kozï* ‘id’, which supports a PM form with *-ï-* not *-a-*.

MMo SH *quriqa(n)* H72, HY *quriqan* M92, Muq *quraɣan* P111b, *qulaɣan* (sic) P309a. WM *quraɣa(n)* L987a, *quryа(n)* L989a. Kh *xurga(n)* H690b. Ord *χurġa* M372a. Bur *xur’ga(n)* C604a. Brg *xʊrag* U117. Kalm *xuryn* M611a. Dag---. EYu *χurğan* B54, J100b. MgrH *xurġan* J100b. MgrM *qʊarġʊar* C378, *qurġur* DS233a, (Sanchuan) *kurga* P422b. BaoD *ġurġaŋ* BL88a. BaoÑ *ġurġaŋ* CN89. Kgj *ğurğun*

S288b. Dgx *ġuğaŋ* B84. Mog *quryana* R32b, *qurğʌn* W177b, *qɔrğ̃n* W177a, MogM/MogMr *quryɒ:n ~ yuryɒ:n* L64:39 ‘sheep’.

***kuruun** ‘finger’. The Bur-Kalm forms may reflect **kurugun*, which possibly represents a reading pronunciation (cf. **eriün*, **nïruun*). 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 *quruɣu(n)* L991a. Kh *xuruu(n)* H692a. Ord *χuru:* M372b. Bur *xurga(n)* C602a. Brg *xʊrʊ:-* (?←Kh) U118. Kalm *xurɣn* M611a. Dag *xɔrɔ:* E121. EYu *χuru:n* B53, J100a. MgrH *xurə* J100a. MgrM *quru* JL463. BaoD *ġur* BL88b ‘finger, toe’. BaoÑ *ġurə* CN89 ‘finger; toe’. Kgj *guru* (sic) S289b. Dgx *ġuru* 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 *χʉχʉər* 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 *quɣur* L982a, *quur* L993a. Kh *xuur* H696a. Bur *xuur* C606a. Kalm *xuur* M615a, *xur* M610a. Dag *kɔ:r* Z98a. EYu *χu:r* B52, J100a. Remaining lgs---.

kuuraï** (?kauraï**) ‘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 *uɣu* and suggests **kuuraï*. The other languages could stem from either form.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qaɣurai* L910a, *quɣurai* L982a. Kh *xuuray* H696a. Bur *xuuray* C606b. Kalm *xüürä* M619a. Dag *x^{w}a:ri:* E132. EYu *xu:ri:* BJ348. Remaining lgs---.

***kuyag** ‘armour’. Related to CT **kuyag* (cf. EDPT 676a).

MMo SH *quyah* H74, HY *quyaq* M92, Muq---. WM *quɣaɣ* L983a. Kh *xuyag* H698b. Bur *xuyag* C609b. Brg *xʊyag* U117. Kalm *xuyg* M607b. Dag *k^{w}air* E161. EYu *χuyaġ* B53, *χayaġ* J91, 100b. MgrH *xuyaġ* J100b. Remaining lgs---.

***küčün** ~ ***küčin** ‘strength, force’. Cf. CT **kü:č*.

MMo SH *gucu(n)* H51, HY *güčün* M57, Muq *küčin* P225a. WM *küčü(n)* L496a. Kh *xüč(in)* H709b. Bur *xüse(n)* C632a, *xüše(n)* C637b. Brg *xuš* U124. Kalm *küčn* M332b. Dag *kuč* E157. EYu *kʉčən* B71, *kuǰən* J101b. MgrH *kuźə* J101b. MgrM *kuźi* JL474. BaoD *kućiə* BL88a. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***küiče-** ‘to overtake’ see ***güiče-**

***küǰi** ‘incense, incense stick, perfumery’. Cf. Turkic **küži*, probably itself a loanword.

MMo SH---, HY *güǰi* M57, Muq---. WM *küǰi* L509b. Kh *xüǰ* H700a. Bur *xüže* C615a. Kalm *küǰ* M323a. Dag *kuǰ* E157. EYu *gʉǰə* B85, *guǰə* J101a. MgrH

guʒə J101a. MgrM *guʒi* JL474. BaoD---. BaoÑ *guʒi* CN98 ‘cypress branches’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***küǰüün** ‘neck’. The *-h-* in SH is unusual.

MMo SH *guju’u(n)*, *gujuhun* (sic) H52, HY *küǰü’ün* M73, Muq *küǰü’ün*, *küǰü:n* P226a. WM *küǰügüü* L510b, *küǰügün* L510a. Kh *xüzüü(n)* H700a. Bur *xüzüü(n)* C615a. Brg *xuʒu:* U125. Kalm *küzün* M323a. Dag *xuǰu:* E129. EYu *gʉǰü:n* B85, *guǰü:n* J101a. MgrH *guʒə* J101a. MgrM *guʒi* C381. BaoD *guʒüŋ* BL88b. BaoÑ *guʒuŋ* CN98. Kgj *gʉǰʉn* S290a. Dgx *ġuʒəŋ* B85, *ġuʒuŋ* L116b. Mog *kʉǰu:n* R31a, *kuǰun*, *kužun* 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 *kʉli-* M436a. Bur *xülixe* C618b ‘to tie up, etc’. Brg *xulʲ-* U123. Kalm *külx* M324a. Dag---. EYu *kʉlə-* B70, *kulu-* J101b. MgrH *kolə-* X89. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *kʉli-* R31a, *kuli-* W171a, *quli-* W177b.

***kümeli** ‘kind of onion’. Enkhbat connects this to Dag *xuŋgə: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) **kömürgen*/**kövürgen*.

MMo---. WM *kümel(i)* L501a, *kömel(i)* L487a (in fact the same spellings). Kh *xöməl* H668a, *xümel* H702b ‘wild onion’. Ord *kümeli* 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)’, *kumbilʲ* NK550b ‘variety of white goosefoot’. EYu *kʉmel* B85 ‘fragrant-flowered garlic, Chinese chives’, *tali:n kʉmelə* 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 *kʉndʉ* M437a. Bur *xünde* C622b. Brg *xund* U121. Kalm *künd* M325a. Dag *xund* E125. EYu *kʉŋtə* B70, *kundə* J101b. MgrH *kundun* J101b. MgrM---. BaoD *kuntə* BL88b. BaoGt *kuntï* C107. BaoÑ *kuntə* CN81. Kgj *gʉndʉ* S290a. Dgx *gundu* B93. Mog *kʉndʉ* 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 *xunʸu:* 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 *kʉr*- M438a. Bur *xürexe* C629b. Brg *xur*- U126. Kalm *kürx* M328b. Dag *kur*- E158. EYu *kʉr*- B71, J101a. MgrH *kurə*- J101a. MgrM *kur*- JL475. BaoD *kurə*- BL88a. BaoÑ *kur*- CN83. BaoX *kor*- BC65. Kgj *kʉr*- S288a. Dgx *kuru*- B79. Mog *kʉr*- 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 *kʉrge*- B71, *körgö*- J101a. MgrH *kurge:*- J101a. BaoD *kurgə*- BL88a. BaoÑ *kurge*- CN83. Kgj *kʉrge*- S288a. Dgx *quğo*- (sic) B72.

*__küregen__ ‘son-in-law; brother-in-law; husband’. Apart from Bur the modern languages have all developed from a disyllabic **kürgen*.

MMo SH *guregan*, *gurege(n)* H52, *gurigen* H53, HY *güregen* M58, Muq *küregen* P229a. WM *kürgen* L505b. Kh *xürgen* H704b. Ord *kʉrgən* M438b. Bur *xür'ge(n)* C628a. Brg *xurgəŋ* U127. Kalm *kürgn* M327a. Dag *xuryun* E131. EYu *kʉrgen* B72, *kurgen* J101b. MgrH *kurge:n* J101a. MgrM *kurgœn [bulai]* C380. BaoD *kurgaŋ* BL88b. BaoGt *kurgɔŋ* C100. BaoÑ *kurġaŋ* CN83. Kgj *kʉrgɔ* S288a. Dgx *quğoŋ* B72. MogM *kʉrɒgɔ̃:* L64:42, *kʉrɒgɒ: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 *kurʸe:* E158, *kurə:* E158, cf. also *kurə:n* E83:133a ‘the old name of Ulaanbaatar’. EYu---. MgrH *kuraŋ* L282. Bao---. Kgj (see above). Dgx---. Mog---.

*__kürǰeg__ ~ *__kürǰe__ ‘spade, shovel’. Assuming that MgrM and Dgx go back to forms with *-g* like their close relatives, the variant **kürǰeg* is found in MMo survives in all QG languages, whereas the shorter form survives in central Mongolic. Dag *kullur* could have developed < **kuljur* < **kurjər* < **kürǰeg*, 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 *kürǰek* P230a, cf. also *kürek* (← Turkic) P175a. WM *kürǰe* L508a. Kh *xürz(en)* H705a ‘shovel, spade’. Ord *kʉrǰi* M438b. Bur *xürze* C626a. Brg *xurʒ* U127. Kalm *kürz* M327b. Dag *kullur* ~ *kuldur* (?=) E155. EYu *gurǰeg* J101a, *gurǰig* S400. MgrH *gurʑig* J101a. MgrM *kurʑi* C381. BaoÑ *gurʑig* CN99. Kgj *gʉrǰiʉ* S290b. Dgx *ġuʒə* 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 *kusɛ*- BC64 ‘to miss, long to see again’. Dgx *kuśie*- 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, *xömüün* (literary form) H702b. Ord *кын* M436b, also *кымын* (lit.). Bur *xün*, *xümüün* (elevated style) C620b. Brg *xuŋ* U121. Kalm *kün* M324b, *kümn* (elevated style) M324b. Dag *xu:* E123, *-ɣun* in some compounds. EYu *кын* B70, genitive *кы:nə* BJ335, *ku:n* J101b. MgrH *kun* J101b. BaoD *kuŋ* BL88b. BaoÑ *kuŋ* CN82. BaoX *kuŋ* BC61. Kgj *кын* S287b. Dgx *kuŋ* B78. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *кы:* 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, *laɣusa* (sic) L515a. Kh *luus* H292b. Ord *l^{u}a:sa* M447b. Bur *luus* C288b. Kalm *lus* M337b. Dag *l^{w}ə: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 **nɔnka*.

MMo SH---, HY *loŋqa* M73, Muq---. WM *longqo* L517a. Kh *lonx(on)* H291a. Ord *loŋχo* M447a. Bur *lonxo* C288a. Kalm *loŋx* M336a. Dag *lɔŋk^{w}* E190. EYu *lɔŋqɔ* B87. MgrH *lɔŋxʊ* Khas115. MgrM *laŋxuo* 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 **maï* 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 **alï* 'give me'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ma* L519a, *mai* L522a. Kh *ma* H293a, *maa* H293a, *may* H297a. Ord *mä ~ mä:* M456b, *me* M458a. Bur *maa* C289a, also *maa aba* C289a, *maatgï* C289a (pl). Brg *ma:* U142. Kalm *mä* M346a, *mätn* (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---.

***maaǰï**- 'to scratch'. The Bao forms feature *-ʒ-* instead of expected *-ʑ-*, but the derivate **maaǰïur* 'rake' does display the expected *-ʑ-* 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:ǰi*- P234b. WM *mayaǰi*- L519b. Kh *maaǰix* H293b. Ord *ma:ǰi*- M449a. Bur *maaǰaxa* C289a. Brg *ma:ǰ*- U142. Kalm *maaǰx* M337b. Dag *ma:ǰ*- E192. EYu *ma:ǰə*- B89 (also 'to dig'), J102a. MgrH *ma:ʑə*- J101b. MgrM *maʑi*- JL463. BaoD *maʒï*- BL89b 'scratch'. BaoÑ *ma:ʒə*- CN109, but *ma:ʑir* CN109. Dgx *maʑï* B104 'rake'. Mog---.

***maara**- see ***maïla**- 'to bleat'

***magalaï** ~ ***malagaï** '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 **magalaï* or **makalaï*. 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 **magalaï* or **makalaï* as well (the loss of **-aï* 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 **malagaï*. 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 *malaɣai* L524a, *malaɣa* L523b. Kh *malgay* H299b. Bur *malgay* C291a. Brg *malgai* U144. Kalm *maxla* M344b. Dag *mayəl* E194, *malgai* Z100a. EYu *malăğai* B90, *malağai* J101b. MgrH *malġa* J102b, X120. MgrM *marġa* C383. BaoD *malġa* BL89b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *malğa* S291b. Dgx *malağa*, *mağala* B103. Mog *malɣɛɪ* R33a, *malğɛɪ* W171.

***magta**- 'to praise'.

MMo SH---, HY *maqta*- M74, Muq *maqta*- P233b. WM *mayta*- L520a. Kh magtax H296b. Ord *maġta*- M449b. Bur *magtaxa* C290a. Kalm *magtx* M338b. Dag---. EYu *maχda*- S476. MgrH *maġda*- 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 **maŋara-*, in view of the possible cognate CT **maŋra-* (?< **baŋra-*) (EDPT 770b). Dag *m^{y}a: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:l^{y}-* U142. Kalm *määlx* M346a. Dag *m^{y}a: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’, *mɛilakči* 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, mayǰig, mayǰgar* ‘crooked, askew, bow-legged, etc’; Ord *mä:ruġur* M457b; Bur *mayagar* C295b, *mayaa* C295a; Kalm *määɣg* M346a ‘crooked, bow-legged’.

Ord *mä:raq* 457b. MgrM *mer-* P424 ‘become crooked’. BaoD *məiroġ* BL21. BaoÑ *me:rəg* CN115. Dgx *mairu* (Longquan dialect) B101.

*__makalaï__ ‘hat’ see *__magalaï__

*__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’.

*__malagaï__ ‘hat’ see *__magalaï__

*__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. **muškï-*) 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, *małda-* J103b. MgrH *manta-* J102b. MgrM *manta-* JL467. BaoD *malta-* BL83b, *mantal-* BL83b. BaoÑ *mantal-* CN111 ‘etc’. Kgj *manta-* S291b. Dgx *maŋta-* B102. Mog---.

*__mana__- ‘to guard, keep watch’. Possibly from PM **bana*-. The Shirongol lgs use **eüden sakï*- ‘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__, *__margaasï__, 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 **margaasï* found in many languages may represent **margaar-sï*. Some forms have further endings or incorporate **erte* ‘morning’ or **üdür* ‘day’. There are also words incorporating **ene* ‘this’, such as MgrH *namaġśə* X26 ‘this morning’ < **ene margaasï*, MgrM *naŋġa* DS21 (if not from Amdo *naŋ-hka*), Kgj *na mağa* S281a ‘this morning’ < **ene managar*, BaoÑ *nəmġuarte* CN28, Kgj *na mağade* S281a ‘this morning’, probably < **ene managar erte* ‘this morning early’. The origin of MgrH *malaŋ* J102b ‘morning’ is unclear. **managaar* may be related to **manïar* ‘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 *manaɣar*, *manaqar* P233a ‘tomorrow’. WM *manaɣar*, *manaɣarsi* L525a, *maryasi* L529a, *maryata* L529a. Kh *managaar* H301b ‘tomorrow’, *margaaš* H305b ‘tomorrow’, *margaad*, *margaadar* H305b ‘tomorrow’. Ord *marġa:ta* M455b. Bur *margaar* C293a, *margaaša* C293a, *malgaar* (‘western’) C291a ‘tomorrow’. Kalm *maŋɣar* M342a ‘mist, mirage (in the morning)’, *maŋydur* M342b ‘tomorrow’ < **managar üdür*. Dag---. EYu *marğa:šda* B91, *marğašda* J102b. MgrH *maġaśi* X119, *maġaşə* X119 ‘tomorrow’, *maġśi* X120 ‘next year’ (sic!), *maġźə* X120 ‘early morning’. MgrM *maġaše* T343. BaoD *maχśiə* BL89a. BaoGt *màşġə* C120. BaoÑ *maχśi* CN112. BaoX *moχšə* BC62. Kgj *mağa ~ maŗğa* S29b ‘(early) morning, etc’, *mağaši* S291b ‘tomorrow’, *mağade* S291b ‘morning’. Dgx *mağa* B103 ‘(early) morning’, *mağaşï* B103 ‘tomorrow’, *mağaşï 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 **manïar* ‘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 *munaŋ* B96, *manaŋ* J102a. MgrH *nama:n* J102b, X26, hence also *lama:n* X111. MgrM *manaŋ* JL462. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__maŋgïr__, *__maŋgï(r)sun__ ‘wild onion (and similar bulbous plants)’. The existence of two clearly different Dagur forms is puzzling; both are possible developments from **maŋgïsun* (*?*maŋgïasun*), for *mančˇ* cf. Dag *nɔkčˇ* ‘spinal marrow’ from **nugusun*.

MMo SH *manggirsu(n)* H107, HY *manggir* M74, Muq---. WM *manggir* L527a. Kh *mangir* H302b, *mangis* H302b. Ord---. Bur *mangir* C292a, *mandiha(n)*

(Ekhirit) C292b. Brg *maŋgır* U143. Kalm *mäŋgrsn* M346b. Dag *maŋg^{y}e:s* E194 '"mountain onion"', *manč* E193 'wild garlic'. EYu *maŋġarsən* S480. Remaining lgs---.

***maŋgus** '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 *mausuməğəçï* 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 *mangɣus* L527a. Kh *mangas* H302b. Ord *maŋġus* M454b. Bur-?-. Brg *mangad* U143. Kalm *maŋys* M342b. Dag *maŋg^{y}e:* (?=) E194. EYu *ma:ŋğăs* B89. MgrH *maŋġuʒə* X119, *mɔŋġʊʒə* X124. MgrM *maŋġuʒï* JL470, *maŋquʒï* DS237a. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx (see above). Mog---.

***maŋlaï** 'forehead'. The central languages developed from an assimilated form **maŋnaï*. The peculiar *-əu* in Dgx normally reflects the loss of a **-g*. The Dag form is close to the Solon form *maŋg^{y}e:l*, but the loss of *-aï* is also seen in other Dag words. The Bur dialect form *maalay* may represent an early variant **maŋalaï* with resolved cluster. The element *-lAi* is also found in some other body parts (e.g. **koalaï, *koŋdalaï*) and may be a suffix.

MMo SH *manglai* H107, HY *maŋlai* M74, Muq *manqlai* 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 *maŋna* M342b. Dag *maŋgil* E194 (see above). EYu *maŋli:* B90, J102a. MgrH *maŋli:* J102b. MgrM *maŋlai* JL476. BaoD *maŋləi* BL89a. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *maŋləu* B102. Mog---.

***margasï** 'tomorrow' see s.v. ***managar**

***marïan** ~ ***maraan** 'flesh; degree of fatness (usu. of livestock)'. The element **ï* in the second syllable was only preserved in the central languages. The QG languages share the development **ïa* > *a:* > *a*. But note that the development **ïa* > **aa* can already be seen in the SH. Ordos stands apart, suggesting **mïraa*.

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 *mar^{y}a:-tai* U144 fat (adj.). Kalm *merän* in *max merän* M350b 'lean', *merɛ:* 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---.

*__marïa__- ‘to spy on, to peek; to stalk, approach stealthily’. Kh and Ord seem to stem from a form **mïraa-*. Baoanic seem to go back to **ma:ra-* with metathesis of length < **mara:-*. Dag *mar^{y}e:-* 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, *miraɣa-* L540a, *mira-* L540a. Kh *myaraax* H340b. Ord *mira:-* M465a. Bur *maryaaxa* C294a. Kalm *merœ-* 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 *maʂda-* J102b, *muʂda:-*, *murʂda:-* SM251. MgrM *marta-* T344. BaoD *martə-* BL89b. BaoÑ *marta-* CN113. BaoX *martə-* BC65. Kgj *marta-* S292a. Dgx *mata-* B103. Mog *mo:rta-* R33b, *mɔrtʌ-* 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 *maɣu* 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 *məʑie-* B106, *məiʑie-* L117b. Mog *medʌ-*, *mɛdɛ-* 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 *möndʉ* 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 *łamba məngi* 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 *layˌ melekei*, Ord *laġ 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 *mələɣ* E198. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *mandəġai* C385, *mendeġei* T357. BaoD *lam(ən)dəgi* BL89a. BaoÑ *məngi* CN113. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***meŋge** ‘mole, birthmark’. Related to CT **beŋ* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *mengge* M75, Muq *menge* P235b. WM *mengge* L536b. Kh *menge* H337b. Ord *meŋge* M463a. Bur *menge* C312a. Kalm *meŋ* (?←T) M350a. Dag---. EYu *meŋ* (←T) B92. MgrH *mungi* L339. MgrM *menkə* Z335:305, 306. Bao---. Dgx *mankiə* S485, *mənkə*, *mənkie* 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 *mərɣən* E198. EYu *merɣen* B93. MgrH *murgɜn* X128. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj *mergɔ* S292a. Dgx *mərɣən* T129, *mənğən* MC260a ‘active, vigorous’. Mog *mɪrgʌn* 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 *məˈtəgə* 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 *emtəg* CN14, *əmtəg* CN11, Kgj *entʉ ~ antʉ ~ ʉntʉ* S279b ‘like this, this kind of’ BaoD *təntəgə* BL91b, BaoÑ *təmtəg* CN163, Kgj *tentʉ ~ tantʉ ~ tʉntʉ* 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 *metʉ* M463b, *mötʉ* M472a. Bur *mete* C313a, *bete* C134b. Kalm *met* M351a. Dag *muʈʸ* E88:420, *mʉt* NK474a. EYu---. MgrH *madu* X120. MgrM---. BaoD *məˈtəgə* BL59. BaoGt *mutï* C107. BaoGm *məʂgə* CN86:282. BaoÑ---. BaoX *məti* BC73, *mətəg* BC73, *məntəg* CN86:282. Kgj *mʉtʉ ~ mʉntʉ ~ mətʉ* S292b. Dgx *mutu*, *mutuŋ* B111. Mog *mɛtu* W172a.

***mïkan** ‘meat’. In the QG languages **ï* was assimilated to the following **a*, except in Dgx. The vowel rounding in MgrM and BaoX is recent. In the other languages **ï*

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 *mʸax* U150. Kalm *maxn* M345a. Dag *mʸaɣ* E207. EYu *maɣqan* B90, *maχǧan* J102b. MgrH *maxa* J102a, X119. MgrM *muqa* C383, *maqa* T344. BaoD *məǧa* BL89b, *muǧá* L121. BaoGt *muġa* C104. BaoÑ *maġa* CN113. BaoX *moġa* BC73. Kgj *maǧa* S291b. Dgx *miǧa* B107. Mog *miqoːn* R33b, *mʸəqʌ̃n*, *mʸəqɔn* W172, MogMr *mʸaqoːn*, *mʸaːqɒːn*, MogM *mʸaqqõː* L62:54.

***mïlaa** ‘whip’ see ***mïnaa**

***mïnaa** ‘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 ~ manaː* E193, or with **bïlau* ‘cudgel’, WM *bilaɣu* L103b. Kh *byaluu* H99b, Dag *bɔlɔː* E81.

The form **mïnaa* is probably the original form, which is supported by its occurrence in the old documents. The form **mïlaa* 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 **malïa* < **mïlaa*. Kh *myalga* seems to be an incorrect reading pronunciation of WM *milaɣa*. If the original form was indeed **mïnaa*, the PM form may have been **bïnaa* (probably with a consonant between the two **a*’s). Cf. **sïčua* and **tasïur* ‘whip’ (the latter not listed here).

MMo SH *minaʼa* H109, HY *minaʼa* M75, Muq *minaː* P236a. WM *milaɣa* L538b. Kh *malia* H300a, *myalga* H339b. Ord *milaː* M464a ‘la lanière qui fixe le fouet à son manchet’. Bur *minaa* (western) C296b. Brg---. Kalm *malya* M340b. Dag *minaː*, also *minaːlaːn* E199. EYu *muna* B95. MgrH---. MgrM *milaː* C387. BaoD *məla*, also *bula* BL89a (the latter may be from **bïlau* ‘cudgel’ although the *-a* is against that). BaoGt *mula* C100. BaoÑ *məla* CN114. Kgj *mila* S292b. Dgx *mina* B106. Mog---.

***mïŋgan** ‘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 ~ *bïŋ* ‘id’, on which one may base a PM form **bïŋgan* (cf. P60:72 etc; RI:78 etc.) In the remaining languages replaced by Tibetan, Chinese, and Iranian words.

MMo SH *minqa(n)* H109, HY *minɣan* M75, Muq *minqan* P236b. WM *mingɣa(n)* L539b. Kh *myanga(n)* H340. Ord *miŋġa* M465a. Bur *myanga(n)* C314a. Brg *mʸaŋg*, *mʸaŋgaŋ* U149. Kalm *miŋɣn* M353. Dag *mʸaŋgə* E207. EYu *məŋġan* 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 *moći* X123 'carpenter', apparently from **mo-čï*.

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:tʊ* C166, *mutu* T345. BaoD *mutoŋ* T143. BaoJ *murtóŋ* L121. BaoGt *murtuŋ* C104. BaoÑ *mətəŋ* CN117, *mədəŋ* CN118. BaoX *mətəŋ* CN86:298. Kgj *mʉrtʉn* S293a. Dgx *mutuŋ* B111 'wood; tree'. Mog *modun* R33b 'wood', *mədu, mudun* W172b 'wood, wooden stick'.

***mogaï** 'snake'. Dagur from a form **moga* which lost the *-ï*, for which cf. **gakaï* 'pig', **nokaï* 'dog', etc.

MMo SH *moqai* H110, HY *moqai* M76, Muq *moɣai* P238a. WM *moɣai* L541b. Kh *mogoy* H313a. Bur *mogoy* C297a. Brg *mɔgɔi* U146. Kalm *moɣa* M353b. Dag *mɔɣ*^{w} E202. EYu *mɔğɔi* B93, *mɔğui* J102b. MgrH *moġuai* J102a, *moġʊi* X122. MgrM *moġai* JL465. BaoD *moġəi* BL89a. BaoGt *moġui* C110. BaoÑ *məğəi* CN117. BaoX *moġui* BC74. Kgj *muğuai* S292b. Dgx *moğəi* B109, *moɣəi* L117a. Mog *maɣo:i:* R33a, *mɔğoɪ* 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-/*mokï-* 'to become blunt'. The nomen imperfecti of this verb also occurs in central Mongolic: Kh *moxoo* H319b, Bur *moxoo* C301a, Brg *mɔxɔ:* 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 *moɣotor* L542a, *moqotor* L544b, *moqodaɣ* L544a. Kh *mogotor* H313b, *moxdog* H319b. Ord *muχudaq*, *muχuduq* M474a, cf. also *muġdu:*, *muġduġur*, *muġduŋ* M473b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu--- *moχgordəg* (only) S495. MgrH *moġdər* J102a, *moġordu*, *moġordur*, *moġodur* SM239. MgrM *moġodo* DS207b. BaoD *moχtəχ* BL89b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *mɔğdu* ~ *mɔdu* S292b. Dgx *muğudu* B110, *muğutu* L117b. Mog---.

***mokïn** 'resin' see ***bokï**.

***mona** 'future-'. Only in the combinations below. The first element of Dag *bən*^{y} *udur* E75, *bɔn*^{y} *udur* E80, *bun*^{y} *udur* E84 'today' is most likely to go back to an earlier **bunï* 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 *mənɔn* B93 ‘the year after next’ (**mona hon*). MgrH *muno:n* SM248 (**mona hon*). MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***moŋgal** ‘Mongol’. BaoD *muŋgu* BL89b, Dgx *mungu* B110 are from Ch *Měnggǔ*. Potanin (410) gives *mongol kun* P140 as one of the self-designations of the Baoan speakers. Mog *moɣo:l* R33b is the Persian form. Dag *mɔŋgul* may be a central Mongolic form, cf. Dag *maŋŋələm* ‘broomcorn millet’ < **moŋgal amun*.

MMo SH *mangqol* H107, HY *moŋqol* M75, Muq *monɣol* P238a. WM *mongɣol* L542b. Kh *mongol* H315b. Bur *mongol* C298b. Kalm *moŋɣl* M355a. Dag *mɔŋgul* E202. EYu *mɔŋġul* B93, *moŋġol* J102b. MgrH *moŋġol* J102a. MgrM *moŋġor* JL464 also ‘Monguor’, *mɔŋġʊar* C383. Bao (see above). Remaining lgs---.

***morïn** ‘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 *mɔr^{y}(ɪŋ)* U147. Kalm *mörn* M360a. Dag *mɔr^{y}* E204. EYu *mɔ:rə* B93, *mo:rə* J102b. MgrH *morə* J102b. MgrM *mozɻï* /*mori*/ C383. BaoD *morə* BL89b. BaoÑ *mərə* CN118. BaoX *morə* BC64. Kgj *mɔri* S292b. Dgx *mori* B109. Mog *morin* R33b, W172b, etc.

***möčir** ‘foliage’. Both the Ord long *ʁ:* and the Kalm *b-* are unexpected. Cf. **nabčïn* ‘leaf’, **salaa* ‘branch’.

MMo---. WM *möčir* L545a ‘twig, etc’. Kh *möčir* H328a. Ord *möčʁ:r* M472a. Bur *müšer* C309b ‘branch’. Brg *mušir* U149. Kalm *büčr* M132b ‘foliage, top, branch, sprout’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *mućir* 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 *m^{w}ə: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 **müŋre-*.

MMo SH *mo’ore-, mo’ere-* H110, HY *mö’ere-* M76, Muq *mö:re-* P241a. WM *mögere-, mögeri-* L545b. Kh *mööröx* H324a. Bur *möörexe* C301b. Brg *mo:r-* U148. Kalm *möörx* M358b. Dag *m^{w}ə:r-* E208. EYu *mü:re-* B96, J102a. MgrH *mo:ro-* J102b. MgrM *mori-* JL468, *mo:r-* C383. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *muri-* B112. Mog---.

***möersün** ~ ***möŋgersün** ‘cartilage, gristle’. The modern forms point at the existence of (at least) two CM variants, **möersün* and **möŋgersün* (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 *mögöörs(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 *muŋgə:ru:* U148. Kalm *möörsn* M358a. Dag *məmč* E198, *mʉəmči* S489. EYu---. MgrH *muŋgərʒə* J102b, X124. MgrM *mərġursï* DS227a, *mogursï xolo* P412b 'windpipe' (cf. **koalaï*). BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***möǰki**- '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*^{y}*u*: U149. Kalm *mösn* M360b. Dag *məis* E197. EYu *mösən* B94, J75, *mesən* J102a. MgrH *molsə* J102b, *malʒə* X120. MgrM *mirsï* S12, *mərsï* DS230. BaoD *miśiu* BL90a, *minśiu* BL31. BaoGt *miśï* C107. BaoJ *miśɨ́* L117. BaoÑ *melsoŋ* CN116. BaoGm *mincu* CN86:16. BaoX *mənsu* S12, CN86:228. Kgj *mərsʉn ~ məsʉn* S292b. Dgx *mansuŋ* B102, *mənsun* L118b, Dgx (Longquan dialect) *məsuŋ* B106. Mog-?-.

***möltül**- 'to take off, undo', ***möltüre**- 'to fall off, come loose'. Ord suggests **möltel*- and **möltere*-. 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, *multure*- H111, HY *mültül*- M76, Muq---. WM *möltöle*- L546b, *möltöre*- L546b. Kh *möltlöx* H321b, *möltröx* H321b. Ord *möltöl*- M468b. Bur (see above). Kalm *möltlx*, *möltrx* M357b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *mutələ*- X127, *mutəre:*- X127. BaoD---. BaoÑ *məntəl*- CN114 'to take off, cause to fall off', *məntəra*- 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 *muŋ* U148, mən. Kalm *mön* M357b. Dag in *mətər* E198 'yes, right, that's it, etc' from **mön tere*. EYu *mən* B91.

Mgr *nəmba:* X32 (*?*mön baïna*), *nəmbi:* 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*, *mʉn* 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 **ǰarma*.

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---.

***möŋgersün** 'cartilage, gristle' see ***möersün**

***möŋgün** (?and ***meŋgü**) 'silver'. The *-n* was lost in Muq, and is also lacking in all QG languages. The Shirongol languages all point at **meŋgü* with *e*. However, the *e* could also be the result of recent unrounding, as it is in Dagur.

MMo SH *munggu(n)* H112, HY *münggün* 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 *möŋgö ~ mʉŋgʉ* M469b. Bur *münge(n)* C306b also 'money'. Brg *muŋg* U148 '&money'. Kalm *möŋgn* M358a also 'money'. Dag *muŋg*^{w} E205, *məŋg*^{w} E197. EYu *möŋgə* B94, *meŋgə* J102a. MgrH *meŋgu* J102b. MgrM *meŋgu* JL468. BaoD *miaŋgu* BL89a. BaoÑ *mengu* CN115. BaoX *miŋgo* BC62. Kgj *meŋgʉ* 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 *mor* BL90b. BaoÑ *mər* CN118. Kgj *mər* S292b. Dgx *mo* B108, DgxL *mo* B158. Mog *mʉr* R34a, *mɔr* 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 occurences, usually translated 'sea'. WM *mören* L548b 'large river or lake'. Kh *mörön* H326a. Ord *mörön* M471a. Bur *müre(n)* C309a. Brg *murəŋ* U149. Kalm *mörn* (obs) M360b. Dag *mur* E206, cf. *xar mur* E104 'Heilongjiang = Amur' (**kara*). EYu *mʉren* B96, *mere:n* J101b. MgrH *muro:n* J102b, X127. MgrM *merœn* C383, *muren* T347, cf. *šukò muren* P413b 'the Huanghe (Yellow River)'. BaoD *moruŋ* BL89a, BL51 'river; the Huanghe'. BaoÑ---. Kgj *mʉrɔ* S293a. Dgx *moran* 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*- ~ *mʉrgʉ*- M470a. Bur *mürgexe* C308a. Brg *murəg*- U149. Kalm *mörgx* M359b. Dag *murɣ*^{w}- E206, cf. also *murɣ*^{w}*ləː*- 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 *mʉrgʉ*- 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 *məirə* (SMT) or *miːrə* (Northern Tungusic) meaning ‘shoulder’. Dagur *miːr* E199 ‘arm’ is probably borrowed from this Tungusic form. Cf. **dalu* ‘shoulder-blade’.

MMo SH *muru* 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 *mʉrə* B96, *murə* J102a. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *mʉrʉ* S293a ‘back of a knife’. Dgx *morəi* MC269b ‘dorsal skeleton of a chicken’. Mog---.

*__möški__- ‘to trace’ see *__möǰki__-

*__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 *muχur* M474b. Bur *muxar* C304a. Brg *mʊxar* U147. Kalm *moxr* M356b, *muχä*- R268b. Dag *mɔɣɔr* NK473a ‘hornless’. EYu *mɔɣqɔr* B93, *moχġur* J102b. MgrH *moġʊr* X122. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__muruï__ ~ *__murïu__ ‘crooked, slanted’. Cf. Baoanic **maïrug* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *muru:* P241b, *murui* P357b, *mura* P241a, RH *muru:* 203C16. WM *murui* L552a. Kh *muruy* H332b, cf. *muriu* H332b. Ord *mur*^{u}*i*: M476a. Bur *muryuu* in *haryuu muryuu* C679a. Brg---. Kalm *mur*^{y}*u:* R269a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *muri:* J102b, X127. MgrM *muri* JL467, *muʐï* C384. Bao---. Kgj---, but cf. *mərlağai* S292b, from the derived verb *mərla*- ~ *murla*- ~ *marlə*- S292b/S19 ‘to become slanted’. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__muškï__- ‘to twist’. The modern languages go back to a form **muškï*-, but most likely to be a secondary development of either **muskï*- or **muǰkï*- > **mučkï*-.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, IM *mučki*- [thus emended] P442a. WM *muski*-, *muški*- L552b. Kh *mušgix* H335a. Bur *mušxaxa* C305a. Brg *mʊtɪg*- U148. Kalm *moškx* M356b. Dag *mɔrk*^{y}- E203. EYu---. MgrH *muşgə*- J102b, *muśgi*- L344. MgrM *məʐkə*- C383, *mərkə*- DS257b (*ʐ* ‘phonologised’ as */r/*), *morki*-

JL475. BaoD *muśiġə-* BL89a. BaoGt *muṣgə-* C121. BaoÑ *məśal-* CN117, *məχśal-* CN117. Kgj *mesχe- ~ mesge- ~ mešχe-* S292a. Dgx *muṣïği-* B111. Mog---.

***mürgü**- 'to bow, etc' see ***mörgü**-.

- N -

***naa**- 'this side' see ***ïna**-

***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 *natə-* BL85b. BaoÑ *na:d-* CN23, *na:tə-* CN22, *na:r-* CN23. BaoX *na:tə-* BC62. Kgj *nade- ~ na:di-* S281b. Dgx *nadu-* B27. Mog *nɔtu-* (i.e. *nɔt-*) W174a 'to dance'.

***nabčïn** 'leaf, foliage'. In spite of the different variants and their somewhat erratic distribution, all of these forms have a common origin. The form **nabčïn*, 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 **namčï*. 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 *naβšʊ:* go back to **nabčï-sun ~ *namčï-sun* with the (?collective) suffix **-sUn*. The aberrant *-g* and *ɬ-* in the EYu forms are inexplicable. For the MgrM *-ġ-* cf. **tobčï* '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 **nabčïn* could be correct.

MMo SH---, HY *nabčin* M77, Muq *nabčin* P244a. WM *nabči(n)* L555a. Kh *navč(in)* H343b. Bur *nabša* C317a, *namša* C321b, *nabšaha(n)* C317a, *namšaha(n)* C321b. Brg *naβš*, *naβšʊ:* U56. Kalm *namč* M368a. Dag *larč* E188. EYu *labčăġ* B86, *łabǰəġ* J97a. MgrH *labʒə* J97a, X110, *labśʒi* SM218, *laśʒi* SM222, *larśʒə* X112. MgrM *laġći* JL461, *ləġći* DS233b. BaoD *labćüŋ* BL85a. BaoÑ *labćaŋ* CN100. Kgj *lašǰɔ ~ laɽčɔ* 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', *katɔ:* 'sister'), but may also be a reborrowing of the Manchu form *nakcu*. The form *naġai* found in MgrH has equivalents in central Mongolic, e.g. Ord *naġä:*, also *naġan awä:* M480a.

MMo SH *naqacu* H112, HY *naqaču* M77, Muq---. WM *nayačᴜ* L556a. Kh *nagac* H344a ‘maternal relative’. Ord *naġači*, *naġača* M480a. Bur *nagasa* C317a ‘(maternal) relatives’. Brg [*nagc* U56]. Kalm *nayc-nr* (pl) M366a ‘maternal relatives’. Dag *naučɔ:* E52, *nauč* E83:157. EYu *nağačə* B23, J97a. MgrH *naġa* J97a, *naġai* (?=) X25 (see above). Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***naïman** ‘eight’. Cf. **nayan* ‘eighty’ below, which suggests that this is a root **naï-* + a suffix **-mAn*. perhaps a nasalized variant of the **-bAn* (or **-rbAn*) found in **gurban* ‘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 *näämn* 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. BaoÑ *nimaŋ* CN30. Kgj *neimɔ* S281b. Dgx *nəimaŋ* B27. Mog---.

***naïr** ‘harmony; joyous gathering, feast’. See **naïra-* 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 *nïr*^{y} P418a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***naïra-** ‘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 *näärx* 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---.

***naïta-** ‘to sneeze’. Many languages suggest a pseudo-causative form **naïtaa-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *naitaɣa-*, *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. BaoÑ *ni:ta-* CN29. Kgj---. Dgx *naita-* B24. Mog---.

***naǰagaï** ‘lazy’ see ***nasïgaï**

***naǰïr** ‘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 **ǰun* ‘summer’.

MMo SH---, HY---, ZY **naǰir* Kara311, Muq---. WM---. Kh---. Bur *nažar* (western and lit.) C317a ‘summer’. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *naǰir* E54 ‘summer’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM (Sanchuan) *naǰïr* P416a, *naʒər* 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 derivates.

MMo SH---, HY *nomuqan* M79, Muq *nomuqan* P259a, *nomuɣan* P259a, *namaɣan* P245a, *namuɣan* P245b. WM *nomoqan* L591a. Kh *nomxon* H362b. Ord *nomoχon* M496b. Bur *nomgon* C330a, *nomxon* C330b. Brg *nɔmxɔŋ* U61, *nɔmɔixɔŋ*

U60. Kalm *nomγn* M381a, *namxn* M368a. Dag *nɔmu:n*, *nɔmu:kun* E62. EYu *nɔmɔğɔn* B26, BJ337, *nəğomon* S204. MgrH *nɔġmu* 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. EYu *na:mər* B22, J97a. MgrH *namur* L352, *nam(b)ur* C86:570. MgrM *namïr* 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. EYu *naran* B24, J96b (mistranslated). MgrH *nara* J97a. MgrM *nara* T348, JL462. BaoD *naraŋ* BL85b. BaoGt *nȧrɔŋ* C112. BaoÑ *naraŋ* CN26. Kgj *narɔ* S281b. Dgx *naraŋ* B27. Mog *nʌrãn*, *nãrãn* W173a, *nʌrɔn* W173b, *nɔrɔn* W174a.

***narïn** 'thin, fine (not coarse)'. The developments of **ï* 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. EYu *narən* B24, J97b. MgrH *narən* J97b. BaoD *naruŋ* BL85b. BaoGt *narï* C112. BaoÑ *na:raŋ* CN23. Kgj *narɔ* S281b. Dgx *naruŋ* B27. Mog *no:rin* R34b, *nɔrin* W174a.

***nasïgaï** 'slow, lazy'. With a variety of phonetical shapes which nevertheless appear related. The form **nasïgaï* is reflected by MMo, but Kh and Bur go back to **naǰagaï* (?< **najïgaï*). Kalm suggests **nasïun* with a different ending. Yet another ending is present in EYu *naǰa:n*, which is reminiscent of Northeastern Turkic **yašaŋ* and **yašïk* 'lazy' (e.g. Khakas *čazaŋ*), of unclear origin and structure. Cf. the synonyms **ǰalkaï* and **kašaŋ*.

MMo LV *našqai* P71, LI *našqa* L56, RH *našqai* 204B27 'slow, lazy (horse)'. WM *naǰaγai* L567a, precl. *našiγai* T478, *načiγai* T475. Kh *nazgay* H344b, cf. also *naazgay*, *naadgay* H341a. Ord---. Bur *nazgay* C317b. Kalm *nošu:(n)* R279b. Dag---. EYu *naǰa: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', **ǰil* '(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. EYu *nasən* B23, J97a. MgrH *nasə* J97a. BaoD *nasə* BL85b. BaoÑ *nasə* (sic) CN26. Kgj *nasun* S281b. Dgx *nasuŋ* 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 *onoġ*- (?=) M513a, *anuġ*- (?=) M24b ‘to take aim’. Bur *onoxo* C357b. Brg *ɔgɔn*- (?=) U32, *ɔnɔxɔ* S529. Kalm *onŏχ*^{p} R286b. Dag *nɔ:*- E61. EYu *nu:*- B27, J95a. MgrH *nau:*- J95a, *nau*- X24. MgrM *nau*- JL470. BaoD *noɣə*- (caus?), *nu*- BL83a. BaoGt *nï*- C107. Kgj *nu*- ~ *nʉ*- S282a. Dgx *nau*- B25, *noɣa*- (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 **nïuka*. Kh and Kalm *nuux* could have derived from either **nauka* or **nïuka*. It seems impossible to connect the synonymous Bur *nyaagaha(n)* C346b; this could be a derivation from **nïa*- ‘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*^{y}*ʊ:x* U63. Kalm *nuux* M387b, *lox* M336b. Dag *lauɣ*^{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*, **auškï*). 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 *norə*- ‘to be wet’, for which see **nor*- listed below.

MMo SH *na’ur* H114, HY *na’ur* M77, Muq---. WM *naɣur*, *nuur*. Kh *nuur* H371b. Bur *nuur* C333b. Brg *nʊ:r* U61. Kalm *nur* M386a ‘lake’. Dag *naur* E52. EYu *nu:r* B27, J97a. MgrH *no:r* X33, *nʊ:r* SM290, *norə* J97a. MgrM *nor* Z311:39. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *no* B31, *noər* MC296b. Mog---.

*__nayan__ ‘eighty’. In Bao and Kgj replaced by a new formation **naïman harban* ‘eight tens’, e.g. BaoD *nəimaraŋ* BL85a. Cf. **naïman* ‘eight’, which suggests that *nayan is from a root **naï*- + a decad suffix *-An*, cf. **jïran* ‘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*, *nayaŋ* 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 *nəː*- U58. Kalm *neex* M374a. Dag *nəː*- E56. EYu *niː*- B26, J97b. MgrH *neː*- J97b. BaoD *nəi*- BL85b, *ne*- BL71. BaoÑ *neː*- CN28. BaoX *ñe*- CN86:239. Kgj *ne*- S281b. Dgx *nie*- B29. Mog---.

***negǰi**- see ***neŋǰi**-.

***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 *lɛl*- 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 *nəːɣ*- Z95b, *nəɣə*- NK483b. EYu *neke*- B25, J97b. MgrH *nəkə*- J97b. MgrM (Sanchuan) *nike*- P420b. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *nokie*- B31. Mog *nɛkʌ*- 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 *nexï*, *nexey* C341a. Kalm *nekä* M374a 'untanned sheepskin'. Dag---. EYu *nəkəː* B24. MgrH *nəkiː* 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 *nəɣəl* E58. EYu---. MgrH *nikiliː* SM276, *nəkəliː* 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 Shirongol 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 *nymlh*] P239a ‘horse-blanket’. Kh *nemnee* H378b ‘horse-cloth, etc’. Bur *nemnee* C338a ‘horse-cloth, etc’. Kalm *nemne* M375a. Dag *nəmbə:* E58, *ləmbə:* E188 ‘grass for covering a house’, *nəmbəs* 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---.

***neŋǰi**- ~ ***negǰi**- ‘to search’. The form **neŋǰi-* is found in MMo and the Shirongol languages, **negǰi-* 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 *nengǰi-* M78, Muq---. WM *nengǰi-* L575a. Kh *negǰix* H337b. Ord *neŋǰi-* M491a, *negǰi-* M488b. Bur *negžexe* C336b. Brg *nəgǰ-* U59. Kalm *negǰ-dlx* M373a. Dag--- (see above). EYu *negǰə-* B25. MgrH *nenźi-* L372 ‘to collect, look for, hunt for’, *nemźi-* (sic) S503. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *nenźi-* CN28. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *nanźi-* 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 *nɛrʌ* 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 *nərɜ-* 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 *nirȧ-* 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, *nɔu-* W174a.

*__neüresün__ ‘charcoal’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *nü:resün* P262b, RH *nü:resün* 202B1. WM *negüresü(n)* L569b. Kh *nüürs(en)* H374b. Ord *nʉ:res(ʉ)* M504a. Bur *nüürhe(n)* C334b. Bur *nu:ru:* U61. Kalm *nüürsn* M390a. Dag---. EYu---.Mgr---. BaoGt *nərsï* C106. BaoJ *nərsɤ́* L129. Kgj *nʉrsʉn* S282b. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__nïa__- ‘to be sticky; to stick, paste, glue’. The element **ï* 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 *ni’a*- H116, HY---, Muq *ni’a*- P249b, *niya*- P258b, (reciprocal) *na’a-ldu*- (reciprocal) P244a. WM *naɣa*- L556a, *niɣa*- L578b. Kh *naax* H342a. Bur *nyaaxa* C347a. Brg *nʸa:*- U62. Kalm *naax* M365b. Dag *nʸa:*- NK489. EYu *na:*- B22. MgrH *nia:*- SM269, *na:*- X23. MgrM *nia*- JL465. BaoD---. BaoÑ *na:*- CN22 ‘to infect, be contagious’. Kgj *niğa*- ~ *niağa*- (caus.?) S282a. Dgx *nia*- B28. Mog *nio:-ldu*- (reciprocal) R34b.

*__nïdanï hon__ ‘last year’. Several MMo and modern forms suggest a form **nïdonï*, 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 **udanï hon*. Interestingly Ordos also features a form without *n-*. The *-r-* and *-dʸ-* in the MgrM form are unclear, and it is somewhat reminiscent of **urǰï hon* ‘the year before last’, q.v. The origin of the similar-looking Kgj *ninda* S27 ‘next year’ is unclear.

MMo SH *nidoni* H116, HY *nidoni* (*hon*) [ed. reads *nidöni*] M78, Muq---, RH *nidani hon* 201A4. WM *nidonon* L578a. Kh *nodnin*, *nodlin* H360b. Chakhar *nıdnăŋ* D189a. Ord *idonon* M379a, *nidonon* M492a. Bur *nyodondo(n)*, dial. *nyodonon* C326a. Brg *nɔdnıŋ* U61 (?←Kh). Kalm *nidn* M377a. Dag *nida:nʸ* E60. EYu *ɔdŏnɔn* B13, *odonon* J97b. MgrH *ʂdanoŋ* J97b. MgrM *ɔrdʸani xɔaŋ* (?=) C388, *wudani xuaŋ* DS261b. BaoD *ndanə hoŋ* BL85b. BaoÑ *nda:noŋ* CN34. Kgj *udanʉn ~ danʉn* S280b. Dgx *udani xoŋ* B22. Mog *nidɔni*, *nidɔ* W173b.

*__nïdurga__ ‘fist’. The form with **ï* only left traces in the Northeast; breaking had already taken place in MMo. Related to CT **yïdruk* ‘id’.

MMo SH *nodurqa*, HY *nudurqa* M80, Muq *nudurqa* P261a. WM *niduryа* L578a. Kh *nudraga(n)* H368b. Bur *nyudarga* C342a. Brg *nʸɔdrag* U64. Kalm *nudrm* M385b, cf. *nudrɣă* R280b ‘clenched fist’. Dag *nʸɔdruɣʷ* E64. EYu *nudurğa* B27, J97b. MgrH *nurdaġa* J97b, *nudurġa* X36, *ndaġa* L364, *andaġa* L17. BaoD *nudəraχ* BL85a, *nodəroġ* BL60. BaoÑ *nədġa* CN28. Kgj *nuduğa ~ nʉdʉğa* S282a. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__nïgursun__ ‘spinal marrow’ see *__nugursun__.

*__nïku__- ‘to rub, press, knead’. The Dag form without a trace of **ï* is unexpected.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *nuqu*- P316b. WM *niqu*- L586b, *nuqu*- L597a.

Kh *nuxax* H372a. Ord *nuχu-* M500b. Bur *nyuxax* C346a. Brg *nʸʊx-* U63. Kalm *nuxx* M388a. Dag *nɔɣʷ-* E62. EYu---. MgrH *nuġo-* X35. MgrM *nuġu-* DS232b. BaoD *nuɣə-* BL85a. BaoÑ *nөġө-* CN32. Kgj *nʉġe-* S282b. Dgx *nuqu-* MC300a 'to hit with force'. Mog *nuqu-* R35a 'to crush'.

***nïlbusun** '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 **nïmbusun*, others from **nïmusun* < **nïlmusun*. In the central languages, Kh and Kalm seem to indicate an earlier **nulïmusun*. The development **u > o* in Bur occurs occasionally in the vicinity of labial consonants. Cf. also the (less widespread) verb **nïlbu-* 'to spit': Dag *ñɔmb-* E65. MgrH *numpə-* X36. MgrM *linbi-* DS251b. BaoD *numəl-* BL85b. Dgx *nuğu-* B32.

MMo SH *nilbusu(n)* H117 'tears', HY *nilbusun* M79 'salive; larme', Muq *nilbusun* P253b. WM *nilbusu(n), nilmusu(n)* L583a. Kh *nulims(an), nulmas* H369a 'tear; mucus; spittle', *nyalmas* (sic) H383a. Ord *nulmusu* M501a. Bur *nyolboho(n)* C326a 'tears; saliva'. Brg *nʸʊlbʊ:* U63 'tear'. Kalm *nul'msn* M387b 'tears; saliva'. Dag *ñɔmbus* E65 'tear; saliva'. EYu *nulusun* B27 'tears', *nuləsən* J97b 'tears'. MgrH *nəmbuʒə* J97b 'tears', *nəmpəsə* X33 'tears; saliva'. MgrM *niŋpuʒï* JL477, *liŋpuʒï* JL470. BaoD *namsuŋ* BL85a 'tears', *namusuŋ* BL90a 'saliva'. BaoÑ *nimsөŋ* CN30 'tear; saliva'. Kgj *nʉrsʉn* S282b. Dgx *nuğusuŋ* B32, *niğusuŋ* B30 'tear; saliva', *nubusuŋ* L113b 'tear', *niubusuŋ* L118b 'saliva', *numbusun* T131 'saliva', *niɣusun* L130 'tear'. Mog *nilbusun* R34b.

***nïlka** 'the youngest (child of a family), baby'. The Monguoric forms may be the result of confusion between **nïlka* and **nïraï*. 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 **ǰalau* '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 *nilχa* M493a. Bur *nyalxa* C347b, *nilxa* C328a. Kalm *nilx* M378a. Dag *ñalk* E64. EYu *mulqa* [*məla*] B96, *mulġa* [*mula*] J58. MgrH *narġai* X27 'young and tender'. MgrM *nʸarġai* C371 'tender, delicate', MgrM *nierġai* DS255a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nïraï** 'newly-born'. Contrary to expectation, Bur lost the palatalisation in the first syllable. For MgrH *narġai*, MgrM *nierġai* see **nïlka* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *nirai* L585a. Kh *nyaray* H384a. Bur *naray* C322a 'child; newly-born (dom. animals)'. Brg *nʸarai* U62 'baby'. Kalm *nira:*, *nirɛ:* R277a. Dag *ñerʸe:* E65. MgrH (see above).

***nïruun** 'back'. The Bur and Kalm forms with *-g-* suggest a variant **nïrugun*, 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 **nïgursun*.

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 *niruɣu(n)* L585a. Kh *nuruu(n)* H370b. Ord *nuruu* M502a. Bur *nyurga(n)* C343b, cf. also *nyuruu* C344a 'surface; crest'. Brg *nʸʊrʊ:* U64 'back; purlin'. Kalm

nuryn M386b. Dag *nirɔ:* E61, *ñirɔ:* E65 ‘back; purlin’. EYu *nuru:n* B27, J97b. MgrH *nurə* J97a ‘back, waist’. MgrM *nuru* C376. Bao---. BaoÑ *nərəŋ* CN86:35 ‘slope’. Kgj *nuru* S282a. Dgx *nuruŋ* B33. Mog---.

nïs-**/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 **nïs-* 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 **hunïs-* 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 *hɔnəs-* B57, *hunəs-* J97a. MgrH *nesə-* H29, J97a. MgrM *mese-* (?to be read *məsə-*) T350, *musï-* DS224a. BaoD *musï-* BL85b, *məs-* BL12. BaoÑ *məş-* CN114, *mər-* CN86-76. Kgj *məsï-* S292a. Dgx *misï-* B108, *musï-* B111, L113a. Mog *nisa-*, *nisi-* R34b.

***nïsun** ‘snot, nasal mucus’. Perhaps related to **nii-* ‘to blow one’s nose’ (listed below), if this stems from earlier **nïï-*. Cf. also **nïsukaï* ‘runny-nosed (person)’, which developed differently in Bur *nyosxay* C326a (cf. Kh *nusgay/nusxay* H371a, Ord *nusu(ŋ)χä:* 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 *nʸʊxʊ:* U63. Kalm *nusn* M386b. Dag *ñɔs* E65. MgrH *nu:soŋ* SM291. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nïu-** ‘to hide’. The *-k-* in Mog is puzzling. The assimilation of the **ï* in Dag is unexpected.

MMo SH *ni’u-* H117, HY---, Muq *ni’u-* P257b, *nu:-* P262a, *niyu-* P258a, *nuyu-* P261b. WM *niɣu-* L579a. Kh *nuux* H372a. Bur *nyuuxa* C346a. Brg *nʸʊ:-* U63, *nʊ:-* 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.

***nïun** ‘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 *no’un* H119, HY *nu’un* M81, Muq---. WM *niɣun* L580a, *nuɣun* L595a. Kh *nugan* H368a, *nuguun* H368b. Bur *nugan* C333a (lit, obs). Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *nɔ:n* E61, *ñɔ:n* E65 ‘boy, man’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *noŋ koŋ* DS235b, *nun qun* (sic, ?=) P419b ‘man’ (for the second element cf. **küün* ‘person’). Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__nïur__ ‘face’. The Bur and Brg forms go back to **nïur*, 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 *niɣur* (sic) 198B21. WM *niɣur* L580a. Kh *nüür(en)* H374a. Ord *nʉ:r* M504a, *niġu:r* (in songs, ←WM) M492b. Bur *nyuur* C345a. Brg *nʸʊ:r* U63. Kalm *nür* M389b. Dag [*nʸadəm*]. EYu *nü:r* B28, J97b. MgrH *niu:r* J97b. MgrM *nur* JL470, *niur* T351. BaoD *nur* BL85a. BaoÑ *nər* CN29. Kgj *nʉr ~ nər* S282b. Dgx *nu* B32 ‘id’. Mog *nʉ: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 *nücgen* H375b. Ord *nʉčʉgʉn* M504b. Bur *nyusegen* C344b. Brg *nusgəŋ* U62. Kalm *nückn* M391a. Dag *nišk*w*ə:* E60, *nuškui* Z95a, *nʸʉšikʸe:* NK489b, *nušikʸe:* S521. EYu---. MgrH *nəćigo:r* J97a, X33, *nigućo:r* L387. MgrM *noćigər* DS238a. BaoD *nəsïgan* BL85a. BaoGt *nəşġɔŋ* C103. BaoÑ *niṣġaŋ* CN31. Kgj *nišiliʉ ~ nišliʉ ~ niʉšile* S282a. Dgx *muçuğuŋ* 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 *nədġa* ‘fist’, for which see **nïdurga*.

MMo *nodu-* H118, HY---, Muq---. WM *nidü-* L578a [Inner Mongolian spelling *nüdü-*]. Kh *nüdex* H373b. Bur *nyüdexe* [written *nyudexe*] C343a. Brg *nʸudəx* S521. Kalm *nüdx* M389a. Dag *nid-* E60. EYu *nodʉ-* B26, *nudu-* J97b, *nudə-* J88. MgrH *nədə-* J97b. MgrM *nedu-* JL470. BaoD *nodə-* BL85a. BaoÑ *nədə-* CN28 ‘to hit, strike’. Kgj *nʉde- ~ nʉdʉ-* 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 *nʸud* U64. Kalm *nüdn* M388b. Dag *nid* E60. EYu *nʉdʉn* B27, *nudun* J97a, *nödön* (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *nudu* J97a. MgrM *nudu* C373, T353. BaoD *nəduŋ* BL85b. BaoÑ *nədəŋ* CN33. Kgj *nʉdʉ* S282b. Dgx *nuduŋ* B32, *nuŋdu*, *nuŋduŋ* MC300a. Mog *nʉdʉn* R35a, *nudun* W174a.

*__nii__- ‘to blow one’s nose’. Perhaps from **nïï-*, if related to **nïsun* ‘snot’ above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq----. WM *nigi-* L582b. Kh *niyx* H358a. Bur *niixe* C327b. Kalm *niix* M378a. Dag *ñi:-* E65. Remaining lgs---.

***niǰiel** ‘one each’. Also **niǰied*, 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 **neǰeɣe:d*, but it is more likely that an earlier *neǰe:d* was changed in analogy with *neɣe* < **niken* ‘one’. Mongghul may go back to **niǰied*, as the *-r* is also found in Mongghul varieties that do not usually have the development *-r* < **-l*. Dgx *nieʑən* stems from **niǰiel*. Dgx *nieʑ́ia* B30 ‘one each’ may contain an unknown second element from Chinese (if from **niǰiel* it should have had *-ʑ-* rather than *-ʑ́-*).

MMo SH *niji'el* H117 ‘handful’, HY *niǰeget* (sic) M79, Muq *niǰe:t* [spelled *nyǰt*] P197a. WM *niǰeged* L587a. Kh *nij(g)eed* H355a, *nej(g)eed* H378a. Ord---. Bur *nežeed* C338a. Kalm *neǰäd* M374a, also *neǰäɣäd* M374a. Dag *niǰə:l* E61. EYu *neɣeǰe:d* BJ90:204. MgrH *nəʑ́e:r* X33 ‘some, a number of; very few, one or two’, *ni:ʑ́e:r* C88:571 ‘one or two’, also *nəʑ́u:dur* X33 ‘on some days; sometimes’ (**niǰiel üdür*). MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *niʑan* B31 ‘some’, *nieʑən* MC293a ‘very few, one or two’, also *nieʑən udu ~ niˈʑəudu* MC293a ‘(in) one or two days, in the next couple of days’ (**niǰiel 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 *nieğaŋ* 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 *neɣe* B25, *niɣe* J97b. MgrH *nəge* J97b. MgrM *nigi* JL479, *nigə* DS4. BaoD *nəgə* BL85a. BaoÑ *nəgə* CN27. Kgj *niɣe* S282a, *niχɔ* S282a. Dgx *nie* B29. Mog *nika*, *nikʌ*, *nikʌn* 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 *niŋgə:n* E59. EYu *neŋg^{w}en* B25, *neŋgön* S508, *nemgen* J97b. MgrH *nəŋgen* J97b, *nengen* X28, but also *meŋgən* X121. MgrM *meŋgen* JL475, *meŋgen* T42. BaoD *niŋgaŋ* BL85b. BaoÑ *niŋgaŋ* CN29. BaoX *niŋgaŋ* BC65. Kgj *niŋgɔ* S282a. Dgx *niŋkien* B30. MogM *nimgə̃:* L64:43.

***noasun** ‘wool’ see ***nogasun**

*__nogaan__ ‘green’.

MMo SH *noqo’an* H118 ‘green, fresh grass’, HY *noqo’an* M79, Muq [*nob*] *noɣa:n* P259a. WM *noɣoɣan* L588b. Kh *nogoon* H360a. Ord *noġo:n* M495a. Bur *nogoo(n)* C328b. Brg *nɔgɔ:ŋ* U60. Kalm *noɣan* M380a. Dag *nuwa:* E63 ‘vegetables’. EYu *nɔğɔ:n* B26, *noğo:n* J97a. MgrH *noġo:n* J97a. MgrM *noġʊaŋ* C372, *noġoŋ* T352. BaoD *noġoŋ* BL85a. BaoÑ *nʊġuŋ* CN32. Kgj *nuğun* S282a. Dgx *noğoŋ* B31. Mog---.

*__nogasun__, *__noasun__, *__uŋgasun__ ‘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 *nuŋğusun* is puzzling; rather than stemming from **nuŋgasun*, it may be an independent development from the other Kangjia form *nuğusun*, which is the normal development of Baoanic **nogasun*. Dagur and Moghol did not preserve any of the variants.

Agricultural term related to CT **yuŋ* ‘id’. The original PM form may have been **nuŋa-* 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 **nuŋgasun* then developed a dissimilated form **uŋgasun*. A form **uŋguasun* with ‘echo labial’ developed, perhaps independently, in EYugur, Monguor, and Ordos. For a similar set of variants *Ø ~ ŋg* resulting from earlier PM **ŋ* see CM **möersün ~ *möŋgersün* ‘cartilage’.

(1) *__noasun__ (< **nuasun* < **nuɣasun*): WM *noɣosu(n)* L589a. Kh *noos(on)* H363b ‘wool, etc’, *noors(on)* H363b ‘the down of birds’. Ord *no:s* M497a. Bur *nooho(n)* C331a. Brg *nɔxɔ:* U60. Kalm *noosn* M381b.

(2) *__nogasun__ (< **nugasun*): BaoD *noġosuŋ* BL85b. BaoÑ *nʊġsʊŋ* CN33. BaoX *noġsoŋ* BC61. Kgj *nuğusun* S282a. Dgx *noğosuŋ* B32.

(3) *__uŋgasun__ and *__nuŋgasun__: MMo SH *ungqasun* H164 ‘hair, wool’, *nungqasu* H120 ‘wool’, HY---, Muq *unqasun* P124b, (cf. Poppe’s reading *onqasun* P266b). WM *ungɣasu(n)* L876b, *ungɣusu(n)* L877a. Kh *ungas* H547a. Ord *uŋġ^{u}as(u)* M736b. EYu *ŋġwa:sən* B29, *uŋġuasən* J97a. MgrH *ŋġua:sə* J97a. MgrM *ŋġuasï* JL465. Kgj *nuŋğusun* 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 *noχta-* P259b. WM *noɣto* L588a. Kh *nogt* H360b. Ord *noġto* M495a. Bur *nogto* C329a. Brg *nɔxt* U60. Kalm *nogt* M380a. Dag *lɔnt* E190. EYu *nɔgtɔ* B26, *noġdo* J97a. MgrH *noġdo:* SM281, J97a, *noġsdo:* SM281. MgrM *nɔ(ğ)tɔ* C372. BaoD *loχtə* BL85b. BaoGt *loġdo* C119. BaoÑ *ləχta* CN105. Kgj *luġdu* S291a. Dgx *loto* B99. Mog---.

*__noïr__ ‘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. **hoï, *koïna, *noïtan* for other reflexes of **oï*). 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 *nuːr* B27, J97a. MgrH *noːr* J97a. MgrM *nor* T352. BaoD *nor* BL85a. BaoÑ *nər* CN34. Kgj *nʉr* S282b. Dgx *no* B31. Mog *noɪr* W173b.

***noïtan** '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 *nöötn* M384a. Dag *nɔitun* E61. EYu *nɔitɔn* B26. MgrH *neːten* J97a. MgrM *niuten* JL469. BaoD *nəitaŋ* BL85a. BaoGt *nitɔŋ ~ nɛtɔŋ* C107. BaoÑ *niːtaŋ* CN29. Kgj *neitɔ ~ nitɔ* S281b. Dgx *naićien* B25. Mog---.

***nokaï** '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, *noχġoi* J97a. MgrH *noxuai* J97a. MgrM *nʊqʊai* C372, *noġoi* T352. BaoD *noġoi* BL85a. BaoÑ *noġəi, nəχəi* CN32. Kgj *nuğuai* S282a. Dgx *noğəi* B31. Mog *noqɛi* R34b*, nɔqaɪ* W174a, MogM *noqqɛi* 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. **mïnaa* 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 *mɔːmɔː* 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 (*soχor*) *nomoŋ* M496b, (*soχor*) *numuŋ*, (*soχor*) *numuːn* M501b. Bur *mana hoxor* C291b. Brg *xɔxɔr nɔm* U108. Kalm *soxr numn* M456b, (*soχŏr*) *nomn* R279a, 329b. Dag *sɔɣur mɔːmɔː* (?=) E222. EYu *manan sɔġɔr* B89. MgrH *nəmoːn* X32, *ləmoːn* X113, *lumoːn* X115, *soġuor lumoːn* SM227. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *manaŋ* B102. Mog---.

***nomukan** 'gentle' see ***namukan**

***nor-** 'to become wet, soaked'. Perhaps related to **noïtan* 'wet' listed above. The Dag form with *-i-* is perhaps influenced by the adjective **noïtan*. 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 *nəir-* (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 *noġśʒi-* SM281. MgrM *noġči-* T352 ‘to pass the time’, *no:ći-* 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-sï* 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 *nuɣur* E63. EYu *nökör* B26, J97b. MgrH *nokor* J97b. MgrM *nukuar* C372. BaoD *nokor* BL85b. BaoÑ *nəkər, nəχgər* CN32. Kgj *nəχgʉ* 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:ʒə* J7, *nukuo:ʒə* SM289. MgrM *nogosï* 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 *nuɣasun* P261b. WM *nuɣusu(n)* L595b. Kh *nugas(an)* H368b. Ord *nuġus(u)* M500a. Bur *nugaha(n)* C333a. Brg *nɔgɔ:* U60. Kalm *nuɣsn* M385b. Dag *n^{w}aɣəs* E64. Remaining lgs---.

*__nugura__- ‘to be bent, to be folded’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *nuɣura*- L595a. Kh *nugarax* H368a. Ord *nuġura*- M499b. Bur *nugarxa* C333a. Kalm *nuɣrx* M385a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *nuġora:*- X35 ‘to become crooked’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *nuquru*- R35a.

*__nugursun__ ‘spinal marrow’. The **ï* suggested by the WM spelling is not confirmed by any modern language, unless Brg *nʸʊglʊ: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 *nɔkč*, cf. **möersün* ‘cartilage’, **kaïrsun* ‘scale’. The metathesis in EYu perhaps occurred under the influence of *nuru:n* < **nïruun* ‘back’ (listed below).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *muqursun* (sic, ?=) P241a. WM *niɣursu(n)* L580b, *nuɣursu(n)* L595b. Kh *nugars(an)* H368b. *nugas(an)* H368b, *nigurs* (sic) H354b. Ord *nugus(u)* M500a. Bur *nugarha(n)* C333a. Brg (see above). Kalm *nuɣrsn* M385a. Dag *nɔkč* E62. EYu *nurğusun* B27, *nurğusən* 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 *nɔm* U60. Kalm *numn* M386a. Dag *nəm* E58. EYu *nəmən* B24, J97b, but cf. *nɔmɔda*- BJ337 ‘to shoot an arrow’. MgrH *nəmu* J97b, *lumu* SM227. MgrM *lumu* JL471, *loŋmu* DS205a (s.v. arrow). Bao---. Kgj *nïmʉ* S282b. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__nura__- ‘to collapse, crumble’. The Dag form suggests an ancestral form **nurga-*; MgrH seems to suggest an older **nïura-*. 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 *nɔrɣʷ*- (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 **nïtug*, which in view of its regional character cannot be confirmed as the original form, even though a development of **nutug* from earlier **nïtug* 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 *nutuɣ* L596b. Kh nutag H371a. Bur *nyutag* C344b. Brg *nʸʊtag* U63. Kalm *nutg* M387a. Dag *nɔtɔg* (sic) T156. EYu *nutuġ* B27 ‘site’, J97b ‘countryside’. MgrH *nontoġ* J97b ‘countryside’. MgrM *nomtïk* P413a ‘courtyard’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *nuntuɣ* 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 *nuɣ*^{w} E63 ‘hole, cave, pit’. EYu *nökön* B26, *nöken* BJ200, *nö*^{h}*gö* J97b. MgrH *noko* J97b. MgrM *nuko* JL470. BaoD *nokuŋ* BL85b. BaoÑ *nəkuŋ* CN32 ‘cavern, hole’. Kgj *nʉχgʉ ~ nʉχgʉŋ* S282b. Dgx *nokieŋ* B31 ‘pit’. Mog---.

*__nümǰige__ ‘fat, oil’.

MMo---. WM *nümǰige* L597b. Kh *nümǰig ~ nünǰig* H373b (adjective). Ord---. Bur *nemžege(n)* (western) C338a, *nimžegen* (western) C328b, *ünžege(n)* C507a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *nönǰgə* B26 ‘oil, fat (general term)’, *nunǰig* S189 ‘grease stain’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

- O -

*__oačï-__ ‘to take a sip, drink’. If the central Mongolic forms with *o:* are correct, **oačï-* can not be related to **uu-* ‘to drink’. The Muq form *a’urči-* P108a ‘to take in the mouth’, if the same word as **oačï-*, may be influenced by its Turkic counterpart **avurtla-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *oɣočï-* L602b, *oočï-* 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:ći-* SM299, *ućə-* X20. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ućal-* CN8 (caus.) ‘to water’. Kgj *učï-* S280b. Dgx *oçï-* B15. Mog *ɔči-* W175a.

*__oalï__ ‘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 Uygur 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 *oɣoli* 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 *oboɣa(n)* L598b. Kh *ovoo* H386a, *obaɣa* L598a. Bur *oboo* C348b. Kalm *ova* M391b. Dag *ɔbɔ:* E37 ‘pile, heap; oboo’. EYu *ɔβɔ:* S523, *ɔβɔ* B13, *oβo* B15, *oβo:* J95a. MgrH *o:bo:* X14, SM296. MgrM *wobo* F11. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__obag__ ‘family name; clan’ See *__omag__

*__očï-__ ‘to go’ see *__ečï-__

***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 BaoÑ, all of Shirongol uses ***ečі*-** ‘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---. BaoÑ *ɵd*- ~ *ɵr*- CN18. Dgx---. Mog---.

***odua** ‘now’ See ***edüe**

***ogsï**- ‘to vomit, throw up’. Cf. the more common verb ***böelǰі*-** ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *oɣsi*- L601b, ?cf. WM *ogis*- L603b ‘to be nauseated; to belch’. Kh *ogšix* H388a. Ord *oġši*- M507b. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *xɔigsɔ*- (?=) NK559b, *xɔiwɔsɔ:*- (?=) E83:84b ‘id (‘of children’). EYu *oġšə*- J98a, *ɔgšə*- B13, BJ338. Mgr---. MgrM *oɻï*- JL464. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

oïn** ‘thought, intellect’. The NM languages point at a form ***oyun or ***oyuun***, the remaining forms could be from ***oïn***, or perhaps ***oyïn***.

MMo SH *oyi(n)* H130 ‘&feelings, love’, HY---, Muq *oin*- P262b, Ph *oyi-t^{h}u* 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, *oyn* M393b. Dag *ɔyin* E40. EYu *ɔin* B12, *öin* BJ338 ‘consciousness’, *öin* J5 ‘memory’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *oyin* B16. Mog---.

oïra** ‘nearby’. Note the inconsistent development of the Dag derivates *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, *oirʌ* W174b, MogM *ɔura*, MogMr *oĭrȧ* L62:59.

oǰagaï** ‘penis’. Possibly intentionally omitted from some dictionaries. Cf. ***kürǰaŋ.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *oǰaɣai* P263b, *oǰoɣai*- P191a, IV *oǰoqai* L62:59. WM *oǰuɣu*, *oǰuɣui* L626b. Kh *ozgoy* LC 3:462a. Ord *oǰoġö:*, *oǰoġo* M506b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *ozŏγɛ:* R292a (also *oza:* R292a). Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ʒoġʊi* X224, *ʒiġʊi* X221. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *oʐoği* 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 *oχo*- M508a. Bur---. Kalm *oχŏ*- R284a. Dag---. EYu *oqa*- Kot445. Mgr---. BaoD-?-. BaoÑ *ɵġə*- CN17. Kgj *ɔğɔ*- ~ *uğu*- S280a. Dgx *aoğo*- MC14b. Mog *ɔkʌ*-, *ɔku*- W174b.

***okïn** ‘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. EYu *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 *ɵl-* CN17. Kgj *uli-* S280a. Dgx *olu-* B14. Mog *ɔl-* W174b also ‘to hear’, MgrMr *ɒ: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. EYu *ɔlɔn* B13, *olon* J95a. MgrH *ulon* J95a. MgrM *ulaŋ* JL471. BaoD *oloŋ* BL83b. BaoÑ *ɵlɵŋ* CN17, *lɵŋ* CN104. Kgj *ulu* S280a. Dgx *oloŋ* B14. Mog---.

***olaŋ** ‘bellyband (of a horse)’. An alternative form in *-m* is found in Kh, Bur, and Dag. BaoD *ġolə* 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* (*?**kolaŋ*) ‘saddle-girth’ (cf. EDPT 622b).

MMo SH *olang* H122, HY---, Muq *olaŋ* [*olang*] P265a, LV *olan* P1260, IV---. WM *olong* L610b. Kh *olom*, *olon* H391b ‘the right-hand saddle girth’. Ord *oloŋ* M510b. Bur *ulam* C468a, *olom* (some dialects) C550a. Kalm *olŋ* M396a. Dag *ɔlɔ:n ~ ɔlum* E38. EYu *ɔlɔŋ* B13, *oloŋ* J95a. MgrH *uloŋ* J95a. MgrM---. Bao (see remark below). Kgj *ɔlu ~ lu* S280a. Dgx *oluŋ* 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 EYu-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. EYu *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 *oboɣ* L598b, *omoɣ* L611a. Kh *ovog* H385b, *omog* H392b. Ord *omoq* M511a. Bur *omog* C355b, *obog* C348a. Kalm *omg* (obs) M396b. MgrH *omɔġ* 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 *omoɣ* L611a. Kh *omog* H392b. Ord *omoq* M511a. Bur *omog* C355b. Kalm *omg* M396b. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *өmөġ* 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 *oŋqača* (*ongqača*) L62:59 ‘boat’, Ph *oŋqoč^{h}a.s* P128a ‘boats’. WM *ongɣoča* L613a. Kh *ongoc* H393b. Ord *oŋġočo ~ oŋġoči* M515a. Bur *ongoso* C356b. Brg---. Kalm *oŋɣc* M399a. Dag---. EYu *ɔŋġɔčɔ* BJ338 ‘trough’, *oŋġočo* J95a ‘boat’. MgrH *ŋgućɔġ ~ ŋgućaġ* X42 ‘trough’. MgrM *ɔŋkuʒo* C387 ‘horse’s trough’, *aŋquʒo* DS252a ‘stable’, *aŋɕïġo* F85:12 ‘trough’. Bao---. Dgx *oŋġoɕo* B13 ‘trough’. Mog---.

onï**/ona** (?***honï**) ‘notch on an arrow’. The **h-* suggested by Muq is unconfirmed. Cf. also **onubčï* (?) ‘knife for making notches in arrows’, MMo SH *onubci kituqai* H125. Kh *onovč* H394a. Kalm *onovč* M397b. Dag *ɔnč* 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 *ɔn^{y}* U31. Kalm *on* (obs) M397a. Dag *ɔnɔ* (*ɔn^{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 *ɔr* U34. Kalm *orm* M403a. Dag *ɔr* 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 *ɔrɔ-* B13, *oro-* J95b. MgrH *oro-* J95b, *uro-* X22. MgrM *oro-* JL480, *uro-* C370. BaoD *orə-* BL83a. BaoÑ *өr-* CN18. Kgj *uru-* S280b. Dgx *oro-* B16. Mog *ora-* R35b.

oraa** (?orïa**) ‘wild, untamed, undomesticated’. Cf. **emlig*.

MMo SH *oro’a* H127, *ora’a* H125, *ura’a* H165, HY---, Muq---. WM *oroɣa* 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, *orä:* R287b. Dag *ɔrɔ:* E41 ‘stubborn and unruly’. EYu *ɔrɔ:* B13. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***oraï** ‘evening; late’.

MMo SH *orai* H125, HY---, Muq---. WM *oroi* L621b. Kh *oroy* H397b. Ord *orö:* M522a. Bur *oroy* C361a. Kalm *ora* M400b. Dag *ɔr^{y}e:* E41. EYu *ɔrui* 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 *ɔr* E41 ‘place; bedding’. EYu *ɔrɔn* B14, *oron* J95b, *oro:n* S531 ‘place’, *ru:n* S339 ‘kennel’. MgrH *oron* J95b, *uran, uron, urɔŋ* X22. MgrM *uran* C370. BaoJ *roŋ* L147. Kgj *uru* S280b. Dgx *oroŋ* B16. Mog *ɔram* R35b ‘place’, MogM *orɒ:n* L68, No. 46 ‘bed’.

***orkï**- ‘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. **soŋgu-* 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 *orkʸ-* E41. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD *uaśialdə-* (recipr.) (?=) BL66. BaoJ *vuʂál-* L206. BaoÑ *wargə-* CN227, *waʂgə-* 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]qči* 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, *wɔyʌ-* W184a, MogM *oya:-*, MogMr *ɒ:yɒ:-* L68, No. 41.

?***oyun** ‘thought, intellect’ see ***oïn**

- 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 *kəčiɣ ~ kəčiɣ 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 *(ʉ)čʉgʉdur* M765b, *čʉg(ʉ)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 *ćigudur* J96b, *ćigu ~ ćigudur* SM449. MgrM *ɕugodur* JL464, *čugudur* T379. BaoD *gudər* BL84a. BaoÑ *ʂgudə* CN148. Kgj *šigʉdə ~ šgʉdə* S295b. Dgx *fuʑuğudu* B55, *ʂuʑuğudu* B134, *fuʑuğu* ‘last’ in compounds B55. Mog *ʉčko:n*, *ʉčko:n ʉdur* R41b, *uškɔn*, *uškɔdur*, *uškudur* W183b, *čikaʊdur*, *čikɔdur* 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* (**öǰken*). 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 *üdxe(n)* C494a, *üsxen* C515b. Kalm *ötkn* M427a. Dag *urkun* E50, Z94a. EYu *hʉtgwen* B58, *hödgön* J96a, *χödgön* S551. MgrH *ʂdogo:n* J96b, *dugo:n* C88:584. MgrM *ś(i)digen* JL473. BaoD *dəgaŋ* BL84b. BaoGt *dəgɔŋ* C118. BaoÑ-?- CN. Kgj *dagɔ ~ ʒïgɔ* S298b. Dgx *oćiğaŋ* B15, *oćiɣən* L112b. Mog *ʉtko: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 *ʂdəma* X167, *ʂdəme* J63. MgrM *(ʂ)diməi* C386, *diməi* C388, *šdime* T384. BaoD *damə* BL59. BaoÑ *ʂdemə* CN151.

Kgj *deme* S299a. Dgx *ičime* P421b. Mog (prob. recently borrowed) *ʉftàŋ* R41b, *ukmʌŋ* W182b, etc.

***ödür** ‘day’ see ***üdür**

***öede** ‘upwards, upstream; above’. In EYu-Mgr replaced by **ǰaka*. However, according to Bolčuluu & Jalsan (1991:175-176), **öede* has become a directive suffix *-i:d* in EYu, as in *ġadi: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 *ɵ:də* CN18. BaoX *odə* BC69. Kgj *ʉde* S281a. Dgx *oʑie* L112a. Mog *öädä* R35b, *udʌ* W182a, *ɔdʌ* W174a, MogM *ŭɵdə*, MogMr *ɵ: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 *goʑiə* BL35. BaoÑ *gɵ:ʑi* CN95. Kgj *gʉǰa ~ guǰa* S290a, Dgx *goʑia, goyə* B91. In EYu and Monguoric **eǰen* 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 *ɵrɵŋ* C18 ‘I’, cf. also *ɵrsə* CN19 ‘we’. BaoX *oroŋ* BC68 ‘I’, cf. also *osə* BC68 ‘we’. Kgj *ʉrʉ* S281a ‘he/she’, *ʉrʉsʉn ~ ʉrʉsï* S281a ‘they’, *ʉsï* S280b ‘they’. Dgx *oruŋ* B17 ‘I (myself)’, *oruntan* L53 ‘we (ourselves)’. Mog *öärini* R35 ‘he himself’, *ɔrin* W183a.

***öere** ‘other, different’. The form **öere* itself is rather poorly attested. However, EYu *gö:rö* J27, *gʉre* 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 *məčə*, *mərčə* T143. BaoÑ *əmərʑi* CN17 ‘other’, cf. also Bao (unknown locality) *ərʑi* CN87:129, Bao (unspecif dial) *moći* S529 ‘other’. BaoX *məčə* 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 *-ġ-* 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. *’ʷwl*) 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 *ukʷ-* E44. EYu *og-* B15, J96a. MgrH *oġo-* J96a, *uġʊ-* X17, *ġʊ-* X97. MgrM *uġu-* T368, *xu-* DS225b. BaoD *okə-* BL84a. BaoÑ *əχ-*, *ək-* CN16. Kgj *ʉɣ-* ~ *ʉ-* S280b. Dgx *ogi-* B13. Mog *ögu-* R36a.

***ökin** (~ ***okïn**) ‘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 **okïn* 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* > *ć* is a common development before **i*/**ï* (usually in initial position), but in Baoanic this is exceptional. Perhaps the forms with affricate are due to confusion between **ökin*/**okïn* ‘girl’ and the early loanword *füǰin* ‘lady’ (← Ch. *fūren*), cf. MMo SH *ujin* H161, Kh *üǰen* (obs.) H568b ‘lady’. On the other hand the modern meaning is clearly ‘girl’. That the Monguoric forms stem from **ökin* rather than **füǰin* 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 *uxiŋ* U48. Kalm *okn* M394a. Dag *uɣin* E44, *uyin* E49. EYu *hkon* B58, *hgun* J99b. MgrH *fuʑün* SM103, *śʑün* J99a. MgrM *fuʑiŋ* JL468, *śuʑiŋ* JL468, *(x)učin dyu* P419b ‘younger sister’ (cf. **deü*) and *kao-śuʑun* DS21 ‘children’ (cf. **keü* or **köbeün*). BaoD *okən* T145, but cf. *ko-ćüŋ* BL48 ‘children’ (cf. **keü* or **köbeün*). BaoGt *śindï* C117 ‘younger sister’ apparently from **ökin deü*. BaoÑ *əkuŋ* CN17. BaoX *xǰoŋ* BC63. Kgj *iχgɔ* S279b; *kʉnšüŋ* S287b ‘boys and girls, offspring’ may represent either **köbeün ökin* or **köbeün sïbaun*. Dgx *oćin* B15, L28. Mog *ukin* R41a, *ukin* etc W182a, MogM/Mr *əkin*, *ŭokin* L62:60, see further s.v. **sïbaun*.

***ölegčin** ‘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 *burɔgśźi:* < **bora-gčïn* ‘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 *ölögči(n)* L634a. Kh *ölögčin* H409b. Ord *ölögčin* M531b. Bur *ülegšen* C502a. Kalm *ölgčn* 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 *ölgiy* H408b. Ord *ölögi:* M531a. Bur *ülgï* C499b. Brg *ulgi:* U50. Kalm *ölgä* M414a. EYu *ölöɣö* B17, *ölöɣe* 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 BaoÑ *ɵlər-* to WM *ölber-* ‘to starve’, which is phonetically possible, but unlikely in view of the other Shirongol languages (BaoÑ *-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 *üldexe* C500a. Brg *ulʸd-* U50. Kalm *ölsx* M415a. Dag *xuns-* (sic, ?=) E124, *xʉnsʉ-*. EYu---. MgrH *losə-* J96b. MgrM *losï-* JL469. BaoD *olos-* BL84b, *olesï-* BL75. BaoÑ *ɵlər-* CN17, *ɵlər-* CN17. Kgj *ləsï-* ~ *lesï-* S290b. Dgx *oliesï-* B14, *oliesu-* L112b. Mog *ʉlàs-* R41b, *ɔlʌs-* W174b.

***örgü-** ‘to hang’ see **elgü-**

***ölmei** ‘instep’. MMo reflects a form **ölmi*, which may survive in Bur *ül’me*. 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 *ül’mï, ül’me* 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 wether 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 *undəg* U44. Kalm *öndgn* M416b. Dag *ənduɣ*^{w} E21. EYu---. MgrH *ndəge* J96a. MgrM *andige* JL479. BaoD *əndəgi* BL84b. BaoÑ *emdəge* CN14. Kgj *ndeɣe ~ əndeɣe ~ andeɣe* S282b. Dgx *endeɣi* B7, *endeɣei* 112a. Mog *ʉndəɣoːn* R41b, *ɔndʌgʌn* 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 *ʉndʉr* M757a. Bur *ünder* C505b. Brg *undər* U46. Kalm *öndr* M416b. Dag *xundur* E125. EYu *oŋdor* B15, *uŋdur* J96b. MgrH *ndur* J96a, X39, *undur* X16. MgrM *undur* JL479. BaoD *undər* BL84b. BaoÑ *undər* CN20. Kgj *ʉndər* S280b. Dgx *undu* B19. L112a. Mog---.

***önečin** ‘orphan(ed)’.

MMo SH *onecit* (pl) H124, *onocit* (pl) H125, HY---, Muq *önečin-* P107a. WM *önöčin*. Kh *önčin* H414a. Ord *önöčin* M534b. Bur *ünšen* C507b, *ünešen* C509b. Brg *unšiŋ* U46. Kalm *önčn* M417b. Dag *wənčin* E337, *unčin* E43. EYu *nöčən* B26. MgrH *noćin* X34, *nućün* X37. MgrM *wuniećin* DS240b, *miśʑin* (sic) Z329:238. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *onieçəŋ* B13, *olieçïn* MC304b. Mog---.

***öŋge** ‘colour; appearance’. Related to CT **öŋ* ‘colour’.

MMo SH *ongge* H124 ‘colour’, HY *öŋgö* M84 ‘colour’, Muq *önge* P277a ‘surface’, P306b ‘colour’. WM *öngge(n)* L637b. Kh *öngö(n)* H412a. Ord *öŋgö* M535a. Bur *ünge* C504a. Kalm *öŋg* M418a. Dag *uŋg*^{w} E43 ‘facial expression’. EYu *öŋgö* J96b ‘colour’, B17 ‘colour; appearance, look’, BJ338 ‘face’, *öŋge* J90 ‘face’. MgrH *ŋgo* J96a ‘colour’. MgrM *aŋgo* JL478. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *oŋgie* B13, *waŋgie* B191 ‘face, facial expression’. Mog---.

***öŋgere-** ‘to pass by’. The *h-* in MMo (Muq) in the causative form *höngere’ül-* P326a is incidental. Note the atypical loss of the initial syllable in Dgx.

MMo SH---, HY *öŋgere-* M84, Muq *öngere-* P277a. WM *önggere-* L638a. Kh *öngöröx* H412b. Ord *öŋgörö-* M536a. Bur *üngerxe* C505a. Kalm *öŋgrx* M418b. Dag *ungərə-* T171. EYu *öŋgere-* B17. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *gieru-* B90. Mog---.

***ör** ‘dawn’, often used with **čaï-* ‘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 če:-* ‘to dawn’. EYu *ö:r* B16, J34, *oyir* (sic) S686, perhaps also in *urćaġ* B20 ‘morning; tomorrow’ (cf. **čag*). MgrH *o:r* X15, *u:r će:-* X16. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ər gi:-* CN18. Dgx *o ği-* B13, *oɣəi-* 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 *ramaŋ* CN221 (+ **aman* ‘mouth, opening’) ‘chest; pit of the stomach’. Kgj *ʉramɔ* 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 **örečі*. 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*, **baïdal ~ *baïtasun* ‘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 *-ɣ-* 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’, *öräsn* M422b ‘one of a pair’. Dag *ərɣ^{w}lə:* E30 ‘hobble’, *ərɣulə: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 *əle* CN17 ‘half’, cf. *kuŋ əlenə* CN82 ‘some people’ (cf. the semantic

development of **ǰarïm* ‘half’). Kgj *ᵻle ~ ᵻli* 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 comfirmed 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 *rəmen* 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 *ŋ-* is unusual. Cf. the regional word **adaakaï* used in Bur *adaaxay* C30a and Dag *ada:ki:* E13 ~ *aduk^{y}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 *ᵻrgᵻsᵻ* M762a, *örgös(ᵻ)* M537b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *örgs* M424a ‘splinter; thorn’, *örgɛ:sn* Ram299a, *ürgəsn* Ram459b. Dag *urɣis* E50. EYu *orgwe:sən* B16, *örgösən* J96a also ‘bristle’, *rgü:sən* J57, *örgö:sön* S548, *örgösən* (Qinglong) BJ352. MgrH *rgo:sə* J96a also ‘bristle’, *rgo:ʒə* X239. MgrM *argo:sï* C395. Bao---. Kgj *ŋgᵻsᵻn ~ gᵻsᵻn* S282b. Dgx *əğəsuŋ* B8. Mog *urgʌsu* W183a ‘camel-thorn’, MogMr, MogM *ərgəsun* 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 *ᵻri* 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, *murgɜ* 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 *öröɣö* B17, *ruɣe* 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 *üdexe* C494b. Kalm *ösx* M427a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *o:sə-* (?=) J96b ‘to grow, to develop’. BaoD *osï-* BL84a. BaoÑ *wər-* CN230. Kgj *ʉsï-* S280b. Dgx *osï-* 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 reborrowings 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 *utigəl-* U51. Kalm *išklx* M276a. Dag *əšklə:-* (←Manchu/Tungus) Z93a, *pəšklə:-* (←Manchu) E91. EYu *sʉkel-* B103, *sgöl-* J95b. MgrH *sgolda-* J95b. MgrM---. BaoD *galə-* BL83a. BaoGt *sgȧl-* C130. BaoJ *sgal-* L158. BaoÑ *ʂgel-* CN147. Kgj *sïgerˌ-* ~ *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 *ʒɔŋəi* B151 ‘heel’ is probably unrelated. Cf. **ǰauǰaï.*

MMo SH *osügei* H128, HY *ösögö* M85, Muq *ösegei* P279a. WM *ösögei* L646a, *ösgei* L645a. Kh *ösgiy* H420b. Ord *ösögi:* M541b. Bur *hüyeï* C695a, *ühegï* C519b. Brg *xugi:* U123. Kalm *öskä* M426a. Dag---. EYu (see above). Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *oʂiğ̈i* 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 *üdxe(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’, *ötǒgə, ötkǒ* R302a ‘old man; bear’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ʂdo:gu* X167 ‘old’. MgrM (Sanchuan) *itigù* P420a. Bao---. Kgj *eteğai ~ өteğai* S279b ‘old’. Dgx *oćiau* B15 ‘old’. Mog *ᵻtäɣᵻ:* R41b ‘old man’, *wataga* Leech785 ‘bear’, MogM *ŭөtaga* ‘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 *ötlöx* H421b. Ord *ötöl-* M542a. Bur *ütelxe* C516a. Kalm *ötlx* M427b. Dag *utul-* E47 ‘to become old, to dry out (e.g. vegetables)’. EYu---. MgrH *ʂdo:lə-* X168. MgrM *śidier-* DS240a. BaoJ *dual(ə)-* L36. Kgj *ete- ~ eteʐ- ~ 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 *ögǰöge* (sic) L633a, *ögyöge* Cevel 432b. Kh *ög’yöö* [written *ög’eö*] Cevel432b ‘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 **saɣa-*.

MMo SH *sa'a-* H130, HY---, Muq *sa:-* P319b. WM *saɣa-* 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 *sɔ-* W179b, MogM *suɒ:-* 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 develeopment), 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 *saɣaral* 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---.

***saarï** '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 **sagïr* or **sagrï* (EDPT 815a). Kh *sayr* H433a 'cracked skin, chapping'. EYu *sa:r* S588, Bao *sirəġ* (?=) 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 **saarï* and **sarïsun*.

MMo SH *sa'ari* H130 'buttocks', Muq *sa:ri* P319b 'Russia leather', P140a 'hindquarters (of a horse)' (P: 'back'). WM *saɣari(n)* L657b 'horsehide, leather, shagreen'. Kh *sayr* H433a 'suede...'. Bur *haari* C660a 'red spots on the hands; skin of the spine'. Brg *xair*^{y} 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'.

***saaǰagaï** 'magpie' see ***saǰagaï**

***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 *tiɣ saw* E256 (*tiɣ* is a regional word). EYu *saβa* B97. MgrH *sava:* X134. MgrM *saba* JL467. BaoD---. BaoÑ *sawər* (?=) 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.

*__sačų-__ ‘to sprinkle, scatter, shed’. An assimilated form **čacu-* arose early, and prevails in the central languages. The *-ġ-* in MgrM may be a byproduct of devoicing. BaoÑ *sar-* is reminiscent of **sarnï-*, 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 *sačų-* L655a, *čačų-* L156a. Kh *cacax* H748b, *sacax* H443a. Ord *ǰačų-* M189b. Bur *sasaxa* C386a. Brg *sas-* U153. Kalm *cacx* M628a. Dag *čeč-* E297. EYu *saǰə-* B98, J50. MgrH *saʒ́ə-* J94a. MgrM *səġʒ́i-* DS217. BaoD---. BaoÑ *sar-* (?=) CN126. Dgx *sʒï-* B120, *ʂïʒï-* 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 *saʒ́ira:-* X132. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *ʂïʒïra-* MC363a, *sʒïra-ğa-* (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 *saġaq ~ saġat* M551b. Bur---. Kalm (see above). Dag---. EYu *sïgd(ï)* P398. MgrH *saġa* SM318. MgrM *ska* P398. BaoD *saġəd* BL77. BaoGt *səġədə* C117. BaoJ *səğ́də* L158. Dgx *sağa* B114.

*__saïkan__ ‘beautiful, good-looking’. Originally the diminutive of **saïn* ‘good’. The meaning in Muq is taboo-related, cf. Dag *ǰaryaːl* 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 *xaixaŋ* U87. Kalm *sääxn* M444a. Dag *saikən* E210. EYu *seiɣqan* B99, *saiɣqan* B97, *saiˇġan* J101b. MgrH *sġan* J101b, *sai:ġan* J102a, *saiġan* X130, *saixan* X129. MgrM *saixaŋ* JL476, *ʒaixaŋ* DS206b. BaoD *saiχan* BL89b. BaoÑ---. BaoX *seġaŋ* CN86:226. Kgj *sχɔ ~ sïχɔ* S294b. Dgx *səiğaŋ* B115. Mog---?

*__saïn__ ‘good’. The unexpected Baoan form *saŋ* and Kangjia *sɔ* 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 *xaiŋ* U87. Kalm *sän* M445a. Dag *sain* E209. EYu *sain* B97, J102b, *sein* B99. MgrH *sai:n* J102a. MgrM *śæn* (?) C384. BaoD *saŋ* (?=) BL90b. BaoÑ *saŋ* (?=) CN122. BaoX *saŋ* (?=) BC67.

Kgj *seini* S293b, alongside *sɔ* (?=) S294a. Dgx---. Mog *so:i:n* R38b ‘correct’, *soɪn* (~ sandhi form *soɪm*) W179b.

***saïnug** ‘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 *saχul ~ saχal* M553a. Bur *haxal* C679b, *haxuul* (Alar) C679b. Brg *xaxal* U90. Kalm *saxl* M443a. Dag *sayəl* E213. EYu *sagal* B97, J102b. MgrH *sgal* J102a. MgrM *sgar* JL478, *sïgar* C385. BaoD *sagal* BL90b. BaoÑ *saχal* CN124, *caχal* CN190 ‘pubic hair’. Kgj---. Dgx *sağaŋ* B114. Mog *sayal* R37b.

***sakï**- ‘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 *säkx* M445a ‘to keep watch; protect; etc’. Dag *say^{y}-* E213. EYu *sa:gə-* B96 ‘wait; keep watch’. MgrH *sgə-* X143 ‘protect; wait’. MgrM *ś(i)gi-* JL473, *ś(i)gə-* C385. BaoD *sa:gə-* T146. Bao (Gaser) *sa:ga-* CN86:227. BaoÑ *sa:ga-* CN121. BaoX *sa:gi-* CN86:180. Kgj *saχi-* S293a. Dgx *saği-* B114.

***sal** ‘raft’. The peculiar Buriat and Dagur forms suggest CM forms **sala*, **sula*, **salï*, 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^{w}al* 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---.

***salkïn** ‘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*^{y} U92. Kalm *sal'kn* M438b. Dag---. EYu *salġən* J102b 'wind', *salqăn* B98 '(soft) wind', corrected by BJ340 as *salqən* '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 *saŋ* JL463. BaoD *sam* BL90b. BaoÑ *sam* CN124. Kgj *san ~ saŗ* S293a. Dgx *saŋ* 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 *saŋbula-* DS212b. BaoD *samlə-* BL90a. BaoGt *sȧmȧl-* 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 (...)', *semʉr-* 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- ~ sïna-* S293a. Dgx *sana-* B113. Mog---.

sančïg** '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 **sanǰïg*, although weakening of **č* is possibly quite recent. Dag is perhaps related instead to *?saŋnaï* or **saŋmaï* 'forelock', cf. Ord *saŋmä: ~ saŋnä:* M560b, Bur *hambay* C671a, dial *hamnay* C671b, Kalm *saŋna* 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 *sanǰiq*] P318a 'curls'. WM *sančiɣ* L671a, *sanǰiɣ* 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 *sanǰïġ* M312a '(...) short hairs over the forehead'.

Dag *sannuɣ*^{w} (?=) E212 ‘hair in a bun’. EYu *sanǰəġ* 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 *särc* M446a ‘male of the saker falcon’ is from **sarïča* 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---.

***sarïmsag** ‘garlic’. The rounded vocalism in MgrH is peculiar. Baoanic seems to go back to a form **samsag*. Agricultural term related to CT **sarïmsak* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *sarimsaq* M93, Muq *sarimsaq* P179a. WM *sarimsaɣ*, *sarimsang* L676a. Kh *sarimsag* H440b. Ord *sarimsaq ~ sarmisaq*. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *särmsg* M445b. EYu *sarəmsaġ* B99, J102b. MgrH *sərəmsaġ* J103b, *surəmsəġ* X140, *surunsag* L537. MgrM *sanpəʒəġ* DS225b. BaoD *samsəġ* BL90b. BaoGt *samsəġ* C115. BaoÑ *samsəġ* CN125. Kgj *samasiğ ~ suamsiğ* S293a. Dgx *samusa* B114.

***sarïsun** ‘membrane, thin skin’. Apparently **sarïsun* 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 **saarï* 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*^{y}*ʊ: ərβəxi:* U100 ‘bat’ (lit. ‘membrane butterfly’, cf. **herbeekei*). Kalm *särsn* M446a. Dag---. EYu *sarəsən* B99. MgrH *sorosə buldu:* X136 ‘bat’ (lit. ‘membrane bird’, cf. **bïldïur*). 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 **amïn*, **öreme*). Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *sarisuŋ* 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 *sartaqcin, sartaqtai* H132, *sarta’ul, sarda’ul* H132, HY *sartaqčin* M93, Muq *sarta’ul* P319a ‘Sart (language)’. WM *sartayul* L677a. Kh *sartuul* (tribal name) Cevel 472a. Bur---. Brg. Kalm *sartul* M443a (tribal name).

EYu *saltu: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 *santïr* P419a ‘Salar’. BaoD [*ʒalər* 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 *saɣu*- 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 *sʌʊ*- W179a, *soʊ*- 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’ulɣa* P319b. WM *sayulɣa* L659a, *suul(a)ɣa* L740b. Kh *suulga* H457a. Bur *huulga* C692a. Brg *xʊ:lag* U112. Kalm *suulɣ* M463b. Dag---. EYu only in *saβa su:lğa* B97 ‘furniture, etc’. MgrH *sau:lġa* J102a. MgrM *sorgo* P411b. BaoD *solġo* BL90a. BaoÑ *sʊlġa* CN135. Kgj *sulğu* S294a. Dgx *soğo* B116, *soŋġo* B116. Mog---.

***saǰagaï** ‘magpie’. Many modern languages do not support this exact reconstruction. Dagur reflects **saaǰïgaï*, the central languages with *š*- suggest **sïaǰïgaï*, unless the *š*- is due to assimilation to the *-ǰ*-. EYugur suggests **saǰakaï*. The Shirongol forms could have developed from either **saǰagaï* or **saǰakaï*. In spite of the erratic correspondence probably related to CT **sagïzgan* ‘id’, apparently with remodeling of the ending.

MMo SH---, HY *saǰiqai* M92, Muq---. WM *šayaǰayai* L748a, *siɣaǰiɣai* L700a. Kh *šaazgay* H796a. Ord *ša:ǰaġä:* M601a. Bur *šaazgay* C710b, *šaažgay* (Khori) C710b. Brg *ša:ǰgai* U159. Kalm *šaazɣa* M657a. Dag *sa:ǰiɣ* E209. EYu *saǰaqai* B98, *saǰaχġai* J103b. MgrH *saʒaġai:* J103a. MgrM *saʒaġai* JL472. BaoD *śiaśiġəi* BL91a. BaoGt *sɛćiġi* C120. BaoÑ *ʂʒiġəi* CN152 (not from LT *skye-ka*). Kgj *saǰïğei* S293a. Dgx *saʒïğəi* B114, *saʒïğəi* 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 *səsəŋ* U154, *səcəŋ* (←Kh) U155. Kalm *cecn* M634a. Dag *čečin* E297 ‘diligent’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *šičen* P421a. Bao---. Dgx *ʂïʒan* 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 *-ʒi* 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 *čičі-* L176a, *čečі-* L168b, *sečі-* L680a. Kh *čičix* H791a. Ord *jičі-* M205a. Bur---. Brg *səs-* U154. Kalm *čičx* M654a. Dag *čuč-* (?=) E307, *čičі-* NK532a. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ɕuźi-* (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 *səχtə-* BL86b. BaoÑ *səgte-* CN128. Kgj *sïχte-* 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 **seŋir* 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. **nïruun*). 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. Zirni *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 *səimərk^{y}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. **arčï-*, **ügtee-*.

BaoD *səi-* BL10. BaoJ *si-* L158. BaoÑ *si:-* CN132, cf. also *ci-* CN191 'to thin out young plants'. Kgj *sei- ~ si-* S293b. Dgx *śi-* 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** ~ ***saïnug** '(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 **kaïnug* ‘yak’. Cf. **serke* and **teke*, other words for ‘billy-goat’, and the peculiar regional word EYu *səis* B99 ‘two-year-old billy-goat’, MgrH *śiäs* 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:nəg* U105 ‘castrated goat’. Kalm *si:nəg* R38b ‘two-year-old billy-goat’. MgrH *se:naġ* SM344 ‘wild yak’. MgrM *kuneġ* (?=) P414b ‘billy-goat’.

***seleme** ‘sword’. Perhaps an early loanword from Tungusic in view of Tungusic **sələ* ‘iron’ (P60:29, 125).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---, RH---. WM *seleme* L686b, *selme* L687a. Kh *selem* H467a. Bur *helme* C704b. Brg *xələm* U102, *sələm* (←Kh) U154. Kalm *selm* M449a. Dag *səlmi:* 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 *čəmu:r* E296 ‘silently, stealthily’ can hardly be related.

MMo SH *sem* H133, *semiyer* H133, HY---, Muq *sem* P320a. WM *sem, sem iyer, semeger* L687a, *semken* L687b. Kh *sem* H467a, *semxen* H467b, *semeer* H467b. Bur *hemeexen(eer)* C706a, *hemüüxen* (western) C705b. Brg *xəmə:rxəŋ* U102. Kalm *sem semɛ:r* R323b. Dag (see above). EYu *seme:r* B100. MgrH *sïməge:r* X135, *smuge:r* X145. MgrM---. BaoD *saŋkaŋ* BL76. BaoÑ *semkaŋ* CN131. Kgj *saŋkuda ~ caŋkuda* (?=) S293a. Dgx *śiemə* S598. Mog---.

***semeǰin** ‘fat (around the intestines)’. Possibly related to CT **semiz* ‘fat (adjective)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *semeǰi* P320a. WM *semeǰi(n), semeǰe* L687b. Kh *semǰ(in)* H467b. Ord *semeǰi* M571b. Bur *hemže* C705b. Kalm *semǰn* M449b ‘epiploon; fatty covering of the peritoneum, belly fat’. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. MogM *semaǰin*, MogMr *šemaǰin* 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 *sərʸ*- E220. EYu *ser*- B100, J103a. MgrH *serə*- J103b, *sarə*- X133. MgrM *śeri*- JL473. BaoD *serə*- BL90b. BaoÑ *ser*- CN132. Kgj *sere*- 294a. Dgx *śieri*- B123. Mog *serə*- 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 *seru̵:n* M576a. Bur *heryüün* [written *heryuun*] C708b. Brg *xəru:ŋ* U104. Kalm *serün* M451b. Dag *səru:n* E219. EYu *su̵ru̵in* B103, *surü:n* J103a. MgrH *sarən* J103b. MgrM *śerən* JL461. Bao---. Dgx *śieruŋ* 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 *sələk* (?=) NK513b. EYu *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, *sətlu̵:-* NK514a. EYu *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 *sətər-* E218. EYu *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 *su̵:der* M596a. Bur *hüüder* C699b. Brg *xu:dər* U120. Kalm *süüdr* M466a. Dag *səudər* E217. EYu *su:der* (only) S615 [the normal word is *kölöki* ←CT]. MgrH *su:dər* (only) L527. MgrM *śiudiar* C384. BaoD *ʒetər* BL90b, as well as *ʒəikə* (sic, ?=) BL9. BaoGt *ʒitər* C107. BaoJ *ʒitə́r* L39. BaoÑ *si:tər* CN133. BaoX *ʒikər* (sic, ?=) BC62. Kgj *su̵tər ~ səu̵tər* S294a, *su̵tu̵r* S21. Dgx *śiauʑ́ie* B121, *śiauʑ́iau* (sic) MC423a. Mog---.

*__seüǰi__ ‘hip, hipbone’. Perhaps related to **seül* ‘tail’, but both words are morphologically opaque.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *sü:ǰi* P219b. WM *següǰi(n)* L684a. Kh *süüǰ* H462b. Bur *hüüǰe* C699b. Brg *xu:ǰ* U120. Kalm *süüǰ* M466b. Dag *səuǰ* E217. EYu *su̵iǰə* B103, *sü:ǰə* J103a. MgrH *su:ʑ́ə* X138, *səu:ćə* J103b. MgrM *śauʑ́i* 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 **seüǰi* ‘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 *sʉ:l* M597b. Bur *hüül* C699b. Brg *xu:l* U120. Kalm *sül* M465a. Dag *səulʸ* E217. EYu *sü:l* B103, J102b. MgrH *su:l* X137, *səu:l* J103b. MgrM *sölʸ* ('pronounced *sör'*) P421b, *śier* DS254b, *śar* Z338:352 'tail', *śuər* DS32 'end'. BaoD *śiəńćiχ* BL90a. BaoGt *sańćï ~ śańćï* C133. BaoÑ *sel* CN130 'tail hair', *selćig* CN130 'tail'. Kgj *saᵩ ~ cer* S293a. Dgx *śien* B122 '&tail hair'. Mog *söʉl* 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:ʒə* SM365, *su:re:sï* L536, *səru:səle-* X135 'to sigh'.

***sïa** 'ankle' see ***sïgaï**

***sïba-** 'to plaster; to smear on'. Dagur *šaɣ-* combines the meanings of **sïba-* and **sïka-*, and since Dag *ɣ < 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 *šaɣ-* (?=) E229. EYu *šβa-* B110. Mgr---. BaoÑ *xiwa-* CN158. Kgj *šiva-* S296a. Dgx *ʂuwa-* B134. Mog---.

***sïbar** 'mud, loam'. Poppe derives this word from **sïba-* above.

MMo SH *šibar* H139, HY *šibar* M96, Muq *šibar* P332a. WM *sibar* L694a. Kh *šavar* H797a. Ord *šawar* M611a. Bur *šabar* C712a. Brg *šaβar* U160. Kalm *šavr* M659b. Dag *šaur* E228. EYu *šβar* B110, *šəβar* J103a. MgrH *śavar* J103b, *śævar* X149. MgrM *ʂbar* C386, *šabar* T381. BaoD *bă̆r* BL90b, *bar* BL13, *ʂbar* BL13. BaoGt *śibər* C123. BaoÑ *xiwar, xʊwar* CN158. BaoX *xbar* BL63. Kgj *šivaᵩ ~ šivɛ* S296a. Dgx *ʂuwa* B134. Mog---.

***sïbaun** 'bird'. In Mog this word seems to survive in *koʊ-šibʌ(n)* W170b 'boy' (for the first element cf. **köbeün*). A similar looking compound is present in Kgj *kʉnšüŋ* 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 *śindï* 'younger sister'. Cf. **bïldïur*, 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 **sïbaun*, 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 *sibaɣu(n)* L693b, *sibau* L694b. Kh *šuvuu(n)* H819b. Ord *šiwu:* M626a, (sporadically) *šuwu:* M636a. Bur *šubuu(n)* C731b. Brg *šʊβʊ:* U169. Kalm *šovun* M678a. Dag *šɔɣɔ:* E238, *šɔwɔ:* E240 'falcon'. EYu *šu:n* B109. MgrH *śau* X147, *śu:* X157. MgrM *ʂïbau* JL472. Bao---. Kgj (see above). Dgx *šiwaŋ* P418b, see above. Mog (see above).

*__sïbkara__- ‘to be squeezed out, to flow out, to lose fluid, to be emptied’. Apparently originally an intransitive form of **sïbka*- ‘to remove the fluid from sth’. This word seems to survive in Dag *šibk*- E234 (although the expected development of **sïbka*- would have been Dag **šark*-).

MMo---. WM *sibqar*- L696b. Kh *šavxrax* H798a. Ord *šiwχ^{u}ara*- M625b ~ *šibχara*- M612b. Bur *šabxarxa* C712b. Kalm *šavxrx* M660a ‘to scoop out’. Dag (see above). EYu *šəβqaru:l*- (caus) BJ342. MgrH *śüġɔra:*- X158, *ɻġura:*- SM378.

*__sïčua__ ‘whip’. Monguoric suggests a form **sïčau* 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 *-ɣ-*. Cf. also Manchu *šusiha*. Cf. **mïnaa*.

MMo SH *cicu’a* H27, HY---, Muq---. WM---. Ord *ǰičaġa* (?=) M204b ‘twisted thread or rope (...)’. MgrH *śʒau* X159. MgrM *śʒau* JL474, (Sanchuan) *rču* P418a. Remaining lgs---.

*__sïgaï__ ~ *__sïa__ ‘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 **sïa* may have developed from **sïgaa* (through intermediate stages **sïɣa* > **sïya*), but such developments normally belong to the PM period. Another possibility is that **sïa* represents the regular development of this etymon, whereas the forms with *-g-* are due to WM influence. This solution is unlikely, since both *śiġai* and *śa:* are used in MgrH, which language doesn’t seem to be influenced by WM. Kh *šagaa* seems to go back to a third variant **sïgaa* which is not in the old sources (note that Kalm *šaɣa* could be a regular development of **sïgaï*). It is also possible that Kh *šagaa* represents a reading pronunciation of the WM spelling *siɣa*. As to Dag *sak*, this could be one of a small set of Dagur words in which **s* failed to palatalize before **ï/*i*. However, *sak* could also represent yet another etymon, **saka(ï)*, which is found in the ‘central’ languages, cf. Kh *sax* H442a, Bur *haxï* C680a, *haxa* (dial.) C679b, *haxay* C679a, which all denote small bones used in games. It is unclear whether there is a relationship with **sïïra* ‘leg’.

MMo SH *ši’a* H138, HY *ši’a* M96 ‘ankle’, Muq *šiɣai*- P333a ‘ankle’, LV *šiɣai* P61 ‘ankle’. WM *siɣai* L699a, *šaɣa(n)* L747b, *siɣa(n)* L699a. Kh *šagaa* H798b, *šagay* H799a. Ord *ša:* M600a ‘ankle’. Bur *šagay* C713a. Brg *šagai* U161. Kalm *šaɣa* M661a ‘ankle; knucklebone’, *ša* M657a ‘small bones (used in fortune-telling)’. Dag *sak* (?=) E212 ‘anklebone’. EYu *šqai* B110 ‘anklebone’, *šəġai* J103b. MgrH *śa:* J103a, X147 ‘anklebone’, *śiġai* X152, *ɻġai* X163 ‘leg’. MgrM *ɻġai* JL478 ‘shin, shank’, *ɻïġai* C387 ‘leg’, *ɻaġe* Z333:283 ‘heel’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. MogM *šiɣɛi* L62:66 ‘ankle’.

*__sïgaï__- (~ *__sïgaa__-) ‘to peep at, spy on; to gaze at, to stare’. Dgx *ś-* is unexpected. MgrM *ćigə*- 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 *šiğara*- S295b ‘to look sideways at’ (of which the last part is unclear).

MMo SH---, HY *šiqaǰi üǰe*- M97, Muq---. WM *siqaɣa*- L721b, *siɣa*- L699a, *siɣayi*- L699a. Kh *šagaax* H799a, *šagayx* H799a. Ord *šaχa:*- M602a. Bur *šagaaxa* C713a. Brg *šıga:*- U167, *sagai*- U152. Kalm *šaɣax* M661a. Dag *šiɣ^{y}e:*-

E234. EYu *sġəi-* B104, J6. MgrH *sge-* X142. MgrM (see above). Bao---. Kgj (see above). Dgx *śiġəi-ʒï uʒə-* B125 (**üje-* 'to see'). Mog---.

***sïïra** 'leg'. The Dgx form with *-ğ-* 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 *-ğ-* could also be due to the influence of **sïgaï* 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 *seĭre*) 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 *śira:* SM397 (q.v.). Bao---. Dgx *ʂiğara* B130 'leg'. Mog---.

***sïka**- 'to squeeze, press, pinch'. Related to CT **sïk-* 'id'.

MMo SH *šiqa-* H140, HY *šiqa-* M97, Muq *šiqa-* P335b, *šiɣa-* P333a. WM *siqa-* L721a, *siɣa-* L699a. Kh *šaxax* H807b. Ord *šaχa-* M602a. Bur *šaxaxa* C724b. Kalm *šaxx* M668b. Dag *šaɣ-* E229. EYu *šəqa-* B105, *šəɣqa-* BJ302, *šġa-* J9. MgrH *śixa:-* X152, *śiġa:-* X152, *ʂġa:-* X163. BaoD---. BaoÑ *xiχa-* CN156. Kgj---. Dgx *ʂïğa-* B130. Mog---.

***sïluun** 'straight (literally); upright, honest'.

MMo SH *šili'un* H140 'noble', HY---, Muq---. WM *siluɣun* L708a. Kh *šuluun* H820b. Bur *šuluu(n)* C733b also 'quick'. Kalm *šulun* M683a 'quick'. Dag *šɔlun* E239. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ʂuluŋ* B134 'straight; honest'. Mog---.

***sïlǰa** '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 *salǰa* [Poppe reads *selče*] P389b, RH *šalǰa* (thus emended, *?salǰa*) 200A8. WM *silǰa* L708b, *šalǰa* L751a. Kh *šalz(an)* H802a. Ord *šilǰa* M616a. Bur *šalza* C716b. Kalm *šalz* M663a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *śa:lʑa* S704. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *saŋʒa* MC346a. Mog---.

sïmalï**- (?sïmal**-) 'to tuck up, roll up'. SH seems to suggest a CM form **sïmalï-*, 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 intransive counterpart **sïma-ra-* in Kh is not a recent invention, one would expect the transitive verb to be **sïma-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 *śima:lə-* X153. Remaining lgs---.

***sïmtara**- '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-*, *šiŋtara-* 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 *šindəre:-* X152. MgrM *ʂïntər-* C386, *ʂəntər-* JL472. BaoJ *šindər-* L23. BaoÑ *xumdara-* CN159, *ximdara-* CN157. Kgj *šintəri-* S295a. Dgx *šimičire-* P424. Mog---.

***sïmuul** '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, *ʂunbəŋ* B133 'fly' is related to this word. The following forms could be related as well: MMo LV *sinsa:wul* (thus Saitô) P58, RH *šišau:l* 200B12, MgrH *šimsu:l* X153, *šamsu:l* L634. MgrM *šumušer* T382 (the modern forms all meaning 'fly'). Cf. also MgrH *ćimsu* C88:586, MgrM *ćimsar* JL460, and BaoD *bəsmal* BL83b 'fly', which are similar to but hard to connect to **sïmuul*, 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 *simuɣul* L710b, *simaɣul* 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 *šɔmɔ:l* E239. EYu---. MgrH *śœmu:l* X149, *śimul* X153, *śimur* L643 all meaning 'mosquito'. MgrM *ʂïmər* DS224a, (Sanchuan) *šumul* P416b 'fly'. Bao (see above). Kgj *šimi/šimu ğurğei* (**korakaï*) S295b. Dgx (see above). Mog---.

***sïnaa** '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 *šančaɣ*, *šantuɣ* L751b, *siɣantaɣ*, *siɣantuɣ* L699a/b 'wedge', may be from the verb **sïa-* (WM *siɣa-*) 'to drive in' (?= CT **sïg-*).

MMo SH *šina'a* H141 'island, land surrounded by water', HY, Muq---, Ph---. WM *sinaɣa* L710b 'spur of a mountain', WM *sina, sinaɣa* 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 *śina:* X151 'wedge'. Remaining lgs---.

***sïnaga** 'spoon, ladle, scoop'. Baoan reduced the first syllable, and MgrM the second. Endemic and without obvious segmentation.

MMo SH *šinaqa* H141, HY---, Muq *šinaɣa* P333b. WM *sinaɣa* L710b. Kh *šanaga(n)* H803b. Ord *šinaġa* M618b. Bur *šanaga* C718b. Brg *šʸanag* U172. Kalm *šanɣ* M664b. Dag---. EYu *šənağa* B105, J103a. MgrH *śinaġa* J103b, *ʂnaġa* X162. MgrM *ʂəŋġa* JL462. BaoD *naġa* BL90b. BaoGt *niaġə* C110. BaoJ *niɛğə́* L131. BaoÑ *naġa* CN25. BaoX *ñiġə* BC62. Kgj *šiniğa* S295a. Dgx *ʂïnağa* B130, L118a. Mog---.

***sïndasun** '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 *šəndasən* B105, *šəldasən* (sic) S723. Remaining lgs---.

***sïra** 'yellow'.

MMo SH *šira* H141, HY *šira* M97, Muq *šira* P335b. WM *sira* L714b. Kh *šar* H805a. Ord *šara* M608a. Bur *šara* C720b. Brg *šʸar* U172. Kalm *šar* M665b. Dag *šar* E230. EYu *šra* B111, *šəra* J103b. MgrH *śira* J103a. MgrM *ʂïra ~ ʂa* JL472, *ʂa:* C387. BaoD *śira* BL90a. BaoÑ *xira* CN157. Kgj *šira* S295b. Dgx *ʂïra* B132, L118b. Mog *šıra* R39b, *širɔ* W180b, MogMr, MogM *širɒ:* L73:173.

***sïra**- '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 *śira:*- J103a, X154. MgrM *ʂïra*- JL471. BaoD---. BaoGt *ʂa*- C121. BaoÑ *xira*- CN157. Kgj *šira*- S295b. Dgx *ʂïra*- B132, *ʂïra*- L118a. MogM *širɒ:*- L63:173 'id'.

sïrau**/sïrua**/***sïroï** 'earth, ground, soil, dust'. The first two forms display metathesis of diphthong elements; the **sïroï* variant is probably from **sïruaï*, as Poppe (1955:43,80) suggests. The forms **sïrua* and **sïroï* are found in the North. The Shirongol languages all seem to stem from **sïrau*. 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, *siroɣa*, *siroɣai* L718b. Kh *šoroy* H818a, *šoroo* H818a. Ord *šoroo* M629a. Bur *šoroy* C730b. Brg *šɔrɔ:* U168. Kalm šora M680a. Dag *širɔ:* E237 'grit (in cereals)'. EYu *šəru:* J103b, BJ343, *šɔru:* B108, *šoru:* B108. MgrH *śirəu*: J103a, *śiru:* X155, *śüru:* X158. MgrM *ʂao* DS219a, *ʂïran* (?=) DS227a. BaoD *śirou* BL90b. BaoÑ *xiru* CN158. Dgx *ʂəura* B129.

***sïrga** 'certain horse colour, isabella, etc'. One would suspect a relationship with **sïra* 'yellow'.

MMo SH *širqa* H142, HY---, Muq *širɣa* P336a. WM *sirɣa* L716b. Kh *šarga* H805b. Ord *šarġa* M609b. Bur *šarga* C722a. Kalm *šarɣ* M666a. Dag *šarəɣ* E231 (and *širɣa*: E237 ←Manchu). EYu *šərğa* B106. Remaining lgs---.

*__sïrgolǰïn__ ‘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 *širqalǰin* (or rather *široqalǰin*) M98, Muq---. WM *sirɣolǰi(n)* L717a, precl. *sir(o)ɣolǰin* T565. Kh *šorgoolǰ(in)* H818a. Ord *šurġulǰi ~ šurġu:lǰi ~ šorġolǰi* M635b. Bur *šorgoolzon ~ šorgoolžon* C730a. Brg *šɔrgɔ:lǰ* U168. Kalm *šorylǰn* M142a. Dag *suiɣalǰin, suiɣalǰ* E224. EYu *šɔrğɔlǰən* B108. MgrH *śirġolʒ́in* X155, *śorġolʒ́in* X156. Remaining lgs---.

*__sïrgu__- ‘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 *šurğu-* B109. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *šuryu-* R39b.

*__sïrï__- ‘to stitch (usually the sole of a shoe)’. That this word belongs to the back vowel class is based on the Turkic cognate **sïrï-* ‘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 *šər-* B106, J103b, J35. MgrH *śirə-* J103a. BaoD *śirə-* BL90a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *širi-* S296a. Dgx *ʂïri-* L118a. Mog---.

*__sïrka__ ‘wound’. EYu suggests **sïrga*.

MMo SH *širqa-* H142 ‘to injure’, HY---, Muq---, LV---, RH---. WM *sirqa(n)* L719a. Kh *šarx* H806a. Ord *šarχa* M610a. Bur *šarxa* C723a. Kalm *šarx* M667a. Dag---. EYu *šərğa* B106, *šərğa* J103b. Remaining lgs---.

*__sïro__ ‘pointed stick; spit’. In Muq this word shows the same unrounding as **čïno* ‘wolf’. However, Ordos and EYugur behave differently here. In spite of the modern forms that suggest **šoro*, the original form must have been **sïro*, because modern *š-* owes its palatality to **ï*/**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 *šɔr* U168. Kalm *šor* M680a. Dag *šɔr* E239. EYu *šoro* J19. Remaining lgs---.

*__sïta__- ‘to catch fire, to burn (intr.)’, *__sïtaa__- ‘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 *xɛt-* (Chagankhad 1995:28; also see Sun 1990:710;), can not be incorporated into the reconstruction. CM **sïta-* and its caus. **sïtaa-* 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 **sïtara-* ‘to catch fire, burn (intr)’, and caus. **sïtaraga-* ‘to set fire to, to burn (tr)’: BaoD *darə-* BL90a. BaoÑ *hdara-* CN86:382, *ʂdara-* CN150, *ʂdarġa-* 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, *sitaɣa-* L720a. Kh *šatax* H807a, *šataax* H806b, cf. Chakhar *yatăn, yata:n* D186a. Ord *šita:-* M624a, *išta:-* M389a. Bur *šataxa* C724a. Brg *šat-, šata:-* U161. Kalm *šatx* M668a. Dag

šita:- E235, *xita:*- E114. EYu *šəta:*- B106, *šda:*- J103a. MgrH *ʂda:*- J103a, X164 also ‘to prepare a meal’. MgrM *śida*- DS209b, *šda*- T384. Bao (see above). Kgj (see above). Dgx (see above). MogM *šitɒ:*- L63:173 ‘to cook’.

***sïurgan** ‘storm’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *siɣuryа(n)* L701a, *šuuryа(n)* L758b. Kh *šuurga* H822b. Ord *šu:rġan* M635a. Bur *šuurga(n)* C735a. Brg *šʸɔ:rag* U173. Kalm *šuuryn* M684b ‘blizzard’. Dag *šɔ:rɔɣ* NK521a. EYu *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 historically incorrect. However, in EYu the loss of a high vowel after *r* is not unusual.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *siberi* L695a. Kh *šiver* H808b. Ord *šiwer* M625a. Bur *šeber* C741a. Brg *šiβər* U164. Kalm *šivr* M669b. Dag *šəur* E231. EYu *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 *šübge* C736b. Brg *šʉbəg* S723. Kalm *šövg* M681a. Dag *šəuɣʷ* E231. EYu *šəβɣe* B105, *šəβəɣe* J103a, *šʉɣe* BJ343, *šuɣe* J86. MgrH *śiu:ge* J103b, *śu:gɜ* X157, *ʂubuge* SM383, *ʂu:ge* SM384. MgrM *ʂubigi* JL472. BaoD *śibğu* BL90a. BaoGt *sïkə* C108. BaoÑ *xuke* CN159. BaoX *su:kə* BC62. Kgj *səʉki ~ sikəʉ* S293b. Dgx *sumuğə* B118. MogM *siβika* L68, No. 112.

***side**- ‘to sew, stitch, baste’. In Dgx *ś*- appears instead of expected *ʂ*-. Dag *šiǰ*- 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---. EYu---. MgrH *ʂde:*- X166 ‘to patch’. MgrM *šide*- T382, *ʂïdi*- DS248b. Bao---. BaoÑ *ʂde*- CN150. Kgj *šte*- ~ *šde*- S296a. Dgx *śiʒie*- 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 *šʉdʉ* M636a. Bur *šüde(n)* C737a. Brg *šud* U171. Kalm *šüdn* M685b. Dag *šid* E235. EYu *šdən* B110, J103b, *šədən* S728. MgrH *ʂdə* J103a, *śdi* L642. MgrM *ʂudu* JL472, *ʂdu* JL478. BaoD *ʂduŋ ~ duŋ* BL90b. BaoÑ *ʂdoŋ* CN151. Kgj *šidʉŋ ~ šdʉŋ* S295b. Dgx *ʂïduŋ* B131. Mog *sʉdʉn* 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 _śe:_- J103b. MgrM _ʂe_- J88. BaoD _śiə_- BL90b. BaoÑ _ɤ́e_- CN155. Kgj _še_- S295a. Dgx _ʂə_- 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 _šees(en)_ H825b. Ord _še:s(ʉ)_ M612a. Bur _šeehe(n)_ C752b. Brg _šixə:_ U165. Kalm _šeesn_ M669a. Dag _sə:s_ E216. EYu _ši:sən_ B107, J103a, _še:sən_ (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH _śe:sə_ J103b. MgrM _ʂesï_ JL472, _ʂərsï_ DS258b, _ʂarsï_ Z336:330. BaoD _śiəsuŋ_ BL90a. BaoÑ _ɤ́esoŋ_ CN155. Kgj _šesʉn_ S295a. Dgx _ʂəsuŋ_ B129. Mog _seisʉn_ 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 _šəlβə_ 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 _ʂəlie_ B129 is from Ch _shēlì_.

MMo SH---, HY _šile’ülsün_ M97, Muq---. WM _silügüsü(n)_ L708b, _silegüsü(n)_ L706a. Kh _šülüüs_ H823a, _šilüüs(en)_ H812a. Ord _šölʉ:s_ M630a. Bur _šelüühe(n)_ C744b. Brg _šulu:_ U171. Kalm _šilüsn_ M673a. Dag _šulu:s_ E240. EYu _šəle: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 _šurkud_- (?=) E241. EYu---. MgrH _śirgudi_- SM399, _śirgudə_- X155. MgrM _ʂukutu_- DS249a, _ʂugudu_- 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 _šlə_ 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 _sülen_ 205B44. WM _silö(n)_ L708a, _šülen_ L759b, _šölö_ L757a. Kh _šöl(ön)_ H818b. Ord _šölö_ M630a. Bur

šüle(n) C738a. Brg *šul* U170. Kalm *šöln* M681a. Dag *šil* E234. EYu *šelen* B107, *šölön* B109, *šəlen* J103b. MgrH *śilo:* J103a, *ʂulo:* SM385. MgrM *ʂuli* C380. BaoD *śile* BL91b. BaoJ *ʂlɛ* L170. BaoÑ *xile* CN157. Kgj *šile* S295b. Dgx *ʂulie* 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 *silütkü* (sic) 199A27. WM *silükei* L708b 'slobbery, etc'. Kh *šülxiy* H823b 'slobbery &c'. Ord *šölöki:* M630a. Bur *šülxï* C737b 'foot-and-mouth disease'. Brg *šulxi:* U171 'foot-and-mouth disease'. Kalm *šülkä* M686a 'foot-and-mouth disease; slobbery'. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *śolgo* X156, *śorgo* J103a 'saliva'. MgrM *ʂurkə* DS247a, *ʂurkɛ* Z337:335 'saliva'. Bao---. Dgx *ʂəŋki* B129 'saliva'. Mog---.

***silüsün** 'saliva'. See s.v. **sirbösün* for further possible cognates in MgrH and BaoÑ. Probably related to **silükei*, and possibly to **silön*. Mostaert and de Smedt instead compare MgrH *ʂuluʒə* 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(ʉ)* 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 *ʂuluʒə* 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 *śimə: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 **sïmuul*? Cf. also Dag *šɔmɔ:r* E239 'mouthpiece for pipe/cigarette holder', suggesting **sïmïul*.

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 *śimu-* X153, *šimə-* X153. MgrM *ʂumi-* JL464. BaoÑ *ximə-* CN157. Kgj *šimi-* S295b. Dgx *ʂïməi-* MC358b 'to sip, take in the mouth and taste'. Mog *simi-* R38a.

***simtere**- 'to melt' see ***sïmtara-**

***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^{y}un* U173. Kalm *šin* M673b. Dag *šiŋ-kən* E233, *šəŋ-kən* E231. EYu *šənə* B105, J103a. MgrH *śinə* J103b. MgrM *ʂïni* JL470. BaoD *śinə* BL90a. BaoJ *ʂnə* L170. BaoÑ *x́inə* CN156. BaoX *x́ənə* CN86:274. Kgj *šini* S295a. Dgx *ʂïni* B130. Mog---.

***siŋge**- '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 *šiŋge'e*- (caus.) P130b 'to absorb'. WM *singge*- L711b. Kh *šingex* H813b. Ord *šiŋge*- M620b. Bur *šengexe* C746b 'absorb; be digested; sink'. Brg *šiŋg*- U164 'to be digested; to set'. Kalm *šiŋgx* M675a 'to be digested, etc'. Dag *šiŋgə:*- (caus.) E234 'to digest, etc'. EYu *šeŋge*- J103a 'to digest'. MgrH *śiŋge:*- J103b 'to digest'. MgrM *ʂangə*- DS217a. BaoD *śiŋgə*- BL90a 'to digest'. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *siŋgä*- R38a 'to set (sun)'

***siŋgen** 'thin, watery'. Probably from **siŋge*-. 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 *šiŋgen* M621a. Bur *šengen* C746b. Brg *šiŋgəŋ* U164. Kalm *šiŋgn* M675a. Dag *šiŋgə:n* E234. EYu *šeŋgen* B106, J103a. MgrH *śiŋgen* J103b, *śæŋgan* X149. MgrM *ʂeŋgen* JL472. BaoD *śiŋgaŋ* BL90b. BaoÑ *x́iŋgaŋ* CN156. Kgj *šiŋgɔ* S295a. Dgx *śiŋgən* L118a, *ʂəŋgien* B129 'watery'. Mog *siŋgo:n* R38a.

sirbüsün** (?sirbösün**) 'tendon, muscle'. The Kh form requires an earlier **ö* in the second syllable. MgrH *śiu:lʒə* and BaoÑ *x́ilsəŋ* are perhaps rather related to **silʉsʉn* listed above, although this connection is semantically more difficult.

MMo SH *širbusun* H141, HY *širbüsün* M97, Muq *širbüsün* P130a, RH *sirbüsün* 199A23. WM *sirbüsün (?sirbösü(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 *šürüsn* M687a. Dag *širbəs* E237. EYu---. MgrH *śiu:lʒə* (?=) J103a, *śurbusə* S723, *ʂbuʒï* L502. MgrM *šyurpusï* P420a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *x́ilsəŋ* (?=) CN157 'tendon; ligament'. Bao *šinson benǰir* (?=) P415b, perhaps 'tendon bird' (cf. **bïlǰïur*). 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 *šiŋ-leb* 'table', cf. WYu *ʂïŋlep*.

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 *śire:* J103a, X154. MgrM *ʂïri* JL461. BaoD *śile* (?=) BL10. BaoÑ---. BaoX *x́əlɛ* (?=) BL66. Kgj *šire* S296a. Dgx *ʂïrə* 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, *sürüün* H823b. Ord *šʉrʉ:n* M638a. Bur *šerüün* C750a. Brg *šʸuru:ŋ* U173. Kalm *šürün* M686b. Dag *širu:n* E237. EYu *šorʉin* B108, *šürü:n* J103b. MgrH *śirən* J103a, *śürun* X158. MgrM *ʂuruŋ* JL464. BaoD *śiəruŋ ~ seruŋ* BL90a. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *śieruŋ* 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 *śu:-* X157, *ʂu:-* 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* < **čüüče* < **süüči*; Bur *hüüše* < **süüči*; Kalm *šüünč* < **šiü(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 *śu:ćə* X157. MgrM *ʂəući* JL465. BaoD---. BaoÑ *cəbćə* CN191. Kgj *šɔbɵ ~ šɔbər* (?=) S296a. Dgx *suʐï* B119, *suɕï* 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 **süider* with metathesized vowel sequence. Surprisingly Chakhar and Ordos also have *s-* instead of expected *s-* (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 *sʉ:der* M596a ‘hoarfrost’. Bur *šüüder* C739b. Brg *šʸu:dər* U173. Kalm---. Dag *suidur* E224. EYu *šudŭrum* B109, *šudurum* BJ343, *šöddöröm* BJ343, *šʉdtü:r* BJ343, *šugurum* (sic) J103a. MgrH *śiu:dərə* J103a. MgrM *ʂəuderi* JL472. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *ʂauʑieruŋ* B127, *śiaoʑieruŋ* L118b. MogMr *sitrum* L68, No. 66 ‘hoarfroast’, cf. also Hazara dialects *sʉdri*, *šʉdri* 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 [*suŋkʷ sannə* E224 ‘fine-toothed comb’]. EYu *šü:r sam* (only in this combination, cf. **sam*) B109 ‘fine-toothed comb’. MgrH *śu:(r)sam* X157 (only in this compound) ‘fine-toothed comb’. BaoD *śir* BL21 ‘fine-toothed comb’. BaoÑ *x́ir* CN157 ‘fine-toothed comb’. Kgj *šir* S295b ‘fine-toothed comb’. Dgx *ʂu* 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 *ʂu*- 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 *śu:*- X157, *ʂu:*- SM383. MgrM *ʂou*- DS254a. BaoD *śir*- BL62. BaoÑ *x́ir*- CN157. BaoX *x́ərə*- BL70. Kgj *šir*- ~ *šür*- S295b also ‘to strain’. Dgx *ʂu*- B133, *ʂuru*- 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 *šʉ:s(ʉ)* M638a. Bur *šüühe(n)* C740a ‘juice’. Brg *šu:* U170 ‘tree juice’. Kalm *šüüsn* M688a. Dag *ču:s* (?=) E306 ‘half-cooked meat juice, etc’. EYu---. MgrH *su:sən* SM366 ‘sheep cooked in its entirety (..)’.

sočï- ‘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, *čočix* H756a. Ord *ǰoči*- M211a. Bur *sošoxo* C394b. *šošoxo* (western/dial) C731b. Brg *sɔš*- U156. Kalm *čočx* M656a. Dag *čɔč*- E305. EYu *čɔčə*- BJ346. MgrH *saźə*- 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 **sïgun* ‘deer’, but this should normally have corresponded to a Mongolic **sïun*, which may in fact be reflected by Kh *šoo buga* H817b ‘spotted deer’, Dag *čɔ: bɔɣʷ* (sic) E301 ‘sika deer’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *soyo* L724b. Kh *sogoo* H444a. Ord *sugu* M590a. Bur *hogoo(n)* C681a ‘female of the (Siberian) red deer’. Kalm *soɣa* M453b ‘female reindeer’. Dag *suwa:* E227, *sʉɣʉa* NK517a. Remaining lgs---.

sogta- ‘to be drunk’.

MMo SH *soqta*- H135, HY *soqta*- M95, Muq *soqta*- P324b. WM *soɣta*-, *soɣto*- L723b. Kh *sogtox* H444a. Ord *soġto*- M580a. Bur *hogtoxo* C681a. Brg *xɔgt*- U109. Kalm *sogtx* M453b. Dag *sɔrt*- E223. EYu *sɔgtɔ*- B101, *soġdo:*- J5. MgrH

soġdo:- SM3515, *sdo:*- SM336, *soġdo:-ŋgi:* J103b ‘drunk’. MgrM *sɔğdʊ*- C384, *sodo*- DS218b. BaoD *soχtə-ʑigu* BL90b ‘drunk’. BaoGt *soğtə*- C105. BaoÑ *səχta*- CN135. Kgj *suqta*- ~ *suġta*- 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 *soχor* M581a. Bur *hoxor* C686a. Brg *xɔxɔr* U108. Kalm *soxr* M456a. Dag *sɔɣur* E222. EYu *sɔġɔr* B101, *soġor* J103b. MgrH *suġor* J103a, *sġʊr* X142. MgrM *sʊġʊar* C385, *suġur* DS207b. BaoD *soġor* BL90a, *soχur* BL90a. BaoÑ *səχər* CN135. Kgj---. Dgx *suğo* B118, *sugo* L118b. Mog---.

***solagaï** ‘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. **ǰeün* ‘left’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *soloɣai* L726a. Kh *solgoy* H446b. Ord *sologö:* M582a. Bur *halgay* C669a, cf. *holgoy* (?=) C682a ‘idler’. Brg *xalgai* U92. Kalm *solɣa* M454a. Dag *sɔlɣui* E222, *saulgui* Z101a. EYu *sɔlɔğɔi* B101, *soloğui* J103b. MgrH *solġuai* J103b. MgrM *sarġai* C384. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *soği* B116. Mog---.

***solaŋga** ‘rainbow’.

MMo SH---, HY *solaŋqa* M95, Muq---. WM *solongɣa* L726a. Kh *solongo(n)* H446b. Ord *soloŋġo* M582a. Bur *holongo* C682b. Brg *xɔlɔŋg* U109. Kalm *solŋɣ* M454a. Dag---. EYu *sɔlɔŋġɔ* B101, *soloŋġo* J103b. MgrH *soloŋġo* J103b, *slanġʊa* C385. MgrM (Sanchuan) *solongu* P418b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sona** ‘gadfly, horsefly’. Enkhbat convincingly derives Dag *sɔ:ni:kʲe:* E220 ‘wasp or bee’, *sɔ:nɔ:kʲe:* E220 ~ *sɔrɔ: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-* (*hʑ-*, *wʑ-* 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 *xɔn* U107. Kalm *sonŏ* M331a. Dag (see above). EYu *ʒu:na* B151, *ʒu:na:* J7 ‘fly’. MgrH *ʒɔŋna:* (?=) X228 ‘bee’. MgrM *ʒono* JL470. BaoD *ʒulaŋ* BL9 ‘gadfly’, BaoGt *ʒïlɔŋ* C119 ‘bee’. BaoJ *ʒɤláŋ* L40. BaoÑ *ʒina* CN205 ‘fly’. BaoX *julaŋ* BC64 ‘bee’. Kgj *zunna* ~ *zuna* S305a ‘bee’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sonas**- ‘to hear’. Cf. **čïŋla*- ‘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 *sɔns*- (←Kh) U155. Kalm *soŋsx* M455b. Dag *sɔns*- E221. EYu---. MgrH *sonosə*- J103a, *sunosə*- X139. MgrM *sonosï*- DS228a. Bao---. Kgj *sunsï*- S294a. Dgx *sonosu*- B117. Mog *sonus*- R38b.

*__sonïn__ ‘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 *xɔnɪŋ* U107 Kalm *son’n* M455a. Dag *sɔnin* E83:196a. EYu *sonoŋ* (only) S606. Dgx *soni* MC371a. Mog---.

*__sonǰï-__ ‘to mock; to imitate’.

SH---, HY *sonǰi-* M95, Muq---. WM *sonǰi-* L728b. Kh *sonǰix* (?=) H447b ‘to consider unfit or unworthy, etc’. Ord only *sori- sonǰi-* M582b ‘to interrogate’. Bur---. Kalm *sonǰĭ-* R331a ‘scharf kritisieren, etc’. Dag---. EYu *sɔ:nǰə-* B100, *so:nǰə-* J63 ‘to imitate, learn from’. MgrH *suænʑi-* (?=) SM356, *sonći-* C86:579. MgrM *sanʑi-* DS232 ‘to joke’. Bao *suanʑi-* S257 ‘to mock’. Kgj *sančï-* ???? S293a. Dgx *sonʑï-* Bökh1986:53 ‘to mock’. Mog---.

*__soŋgïna__ ‘onion’. Ord, as well as Mgr, MgrM and BaoD suggest a form **soŋgunag* 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-kïña* from **sogan* ‘onion’. The expected CM form would be **soankïna*, 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 *cɔğɔŋ* 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 *soŋgino(q)* M583b. Bur *hongino* C683b. Brg *sɔŋgɪn* (←Kh) U156. Kalm *soŋgĭn* R331b. Dag---. EYu (see above). MgrH *suŋgunɔġ* X139. MgrM (Sanchuan) *sangïnïg* P415b. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *sonoġ* S605. BaoD *soŋġonəġ* BL5. BaoGt *suŋġoluŋ* C102. BaoÑ---. Kgj *cuŋgulu ~ cuŋgulğu* S302a. Dgx *suŋġuna* B117. Mog---.

*__soŋgu-__ (~ *__suŋgu-__) ‘to choose, select, elect’. Bur-Kalm *-u-*. Cf. CM **ïlga-*.

MMo SH *so’ongqu-* H135, HY *songqu-* M95 (spelled as if *so’oŋqu-*), Muq *sonqu-* P324a. WM *songɣo-* L726b. Kh *songox* H447a. Ord *suŋġu-* M593a. Bur *hungaxa* C690a. Brg *soŋg-* (←Kh) U156. Kalm *suŋɣx* M462a, *soŋğăχă* R331b. Dag---. EYu *sɔŋġə-* BJ341, *soŋġo-* J103a. MgrH *sɔŋġʊ-* X137. Bao---. Kgj *cuŋgu-* (?=) S302a. Dgx *suŋġu-* B17. Mog---.

*__sorbï__ ‘cane, walking-stick’. Apparently a ‘regional’ survival in Bur-Dag. **sorbï* ‘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 *sɔrb*^{y} 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 *sɔrɔ-* B101. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__sorïsun__ ‘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 *sɔrs* 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 **sormïsun*. Dag *sarmilt* ‘id’ is from **sarmirt* < Tungusic **sarmikta*. Cf. **hanï-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 *xɔrmʊ:* U111. Kalm *surmsg* M463a, *sormsn* R332b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *sormu* L526. BaoD---. BaoÑ *semsoŋ* CN131 ‘eyebrow’. Kgj *samasun* S293a. Dgx *somosuŋ* B117. Mog.

*__soyaa__ ‘stalk, shoot; fang, tusk’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *soyoɣa* 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 ʂïduŋ* 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 *höөm* (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 *cuì*) 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. **karïa-*.

MMo SH---, HY *sökö-* M95, Muq *söge:-* (can also be read wirth 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 *sögɛ:-* R333a. Dag *suʍə:-* E227 ‘to refute, to criticize’. EYu *sɔiɣə-* B100, *söɣ-* S448 (?=) ‘to torment, maltreat’, *söɣə-* S203 (?=) ‘to oppress’. MgrH *sgo:-* X143, J99b. MgrM *sugo-* C385. Bao---. Kgj *sʉgʉ-* S294a. Dgx *sugie-* B118. Mog *sukʌ-* W179b, *suqʌ-* W180a.

*__söged-__ ‘to kneel’. With extended forms in Bao (?**sögedčile-*), and Dgx (?**söged(ü)le-*) which look like intensives. Kgj *gʉidele-* S289b is considered a Chinese loanword by Sečenčogt (presumably *guìdǎo*), but it may also be from

*?*söged(ü)le-*. The Kgj synonym *vəidela-* 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, *sʉgʉde-* 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 *ʂgerćila-* CN147. Kgj---. Dgx *śiaoʐie-* L119a, *śiaudulie-* 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 *sʉike* M597a. Bur *hiixe* C680b. Brg *xi:x* U105. Kalm *siik* M452a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *su:gɜ* X137. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *śiauğə* 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 **čösün*, Dag *čulč* suggests **čölsün*, EYu suggest **sösün*, MMo and Bur **sölsün*. Cf. also Kmg *sʉls* Kőhalmi 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 *ǰʉsʉ* 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 *śuarsï* JL473. BaoD *selsuŋ* BL91a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *čürsʉn* S54, *čürsa* (sic) S301b. Dgx *śiensuŋ* 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:ġa-* (new caus.) X141. MgrM *suni-* DS221b, *suniġa-* (new caus.) DS221b. BaoGt *ʂïnɛgə-* (new caus.) C109. BaoJ *sïné-* L160. Kgj *sïni-* S293b. Dgx *śinie-* 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 *səni* CN133. Kgj *sïni* S293b. Dgx *śieni* B122, *śieyi* MC429a. Mog *sʉni* R39a, *suni* 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 *subaɣ* L733a, cf. *ǰubaɣ* L1077a ‘irrigation channel, gutter, etc’, *čubuɣ* L203b [refers to *subaɣ*]. Kh *suvag* H452b. Ord *suwaq* (as well as *suwa:*) M595a. Bur *hubag* C687a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *sβaġ* B103. Mgr---. BaoD *ʒaġ* (?=) BL62. BaoGt *səġ* (?=) C126. BaoÑ *suwaġ* CN137. Kgj *suχu* (?=) S294a. Dgx *suwa* B119. Mog---.

*__subaï__ ‘barren (of livestock)’. Cf. **kïsuraŋ*.

MMo Muq---. WM *subai* L733a. Kh *suvay* H452b. Ord *suwä:* M595a. Bur *hubay* C687b. Brg *xʊβai* U114. Kalm *suwɛ:* R338b, [*suvrxa* M459b]. Dag *sɔɣui* 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 *xʊβad* U114. Kalm---. Dag *sɔr* (?=) 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*^{w}*abərəɣ*. From Sogdian, via Turkic. EYu, MgrH and Baoan use Tibetan *mčhod-rten*.

MMo SH---, HY *suburqan* M96, Ph *supuryan* P130a. WM *suburɣa(n)* L733b. Kh *suvraga* H453a. Ord *suwurġa* M595b. Bur *subarga* C395b. Brg *sʊ:rag* U157. Kalm *suvrɣn* M459b. Dag *sabərɣa:n* E212. MgrH *suburġa* (only) L527. MgrM *suburġa* JL481, *surbərġa* 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 *cuclax, cucrax* H766a. Ord *ǰučal- , ǰučara*- M221b. Bur *susarxa* C397a only in the derived meaning ‘to become tired’. Kalm *cuclx, cucrx* M643a.

Dag *čɔčlɔ:-*, *čɔčir-* 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 *xʊdal* U116, *sʊdal* (←Kh) U158. Dag *s*^{w}*adəl* E227. Dgx *sïdaŋ* L119a ‘vein, artery’.

***sudasun** ‘blood vessel, vein, artery’. Both the *-ǰ-* 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 *xʊdʊ:* U117, *sʊdʊ:* U158 (*s-* due to Kh influence). Kalm *sudsn* M460a. Dag---. EYu *sda:sən* B104, *hda:sən* J103a. MgrH *ʂda:sə* J103b, X165. MgrM (Sanchuan) *sutasï* P413b. Bao---. Kgj *sdasun ~ sïdasun* S294b. Dgx *sdasuŋ* B119 ‘&muscle’, *sïdasun* L118a ‘muscle’.

***sugul-** ‘to pull out a long thin object, to unsheath’, perhaps with a variant ***ǰugul-**. This variation with **s-* ~ **ǰ-* in initial position would be remarkable. However, the *ǰ* of SH and WM corresponds to *ʒ-* in Ord and EYu, languages that normally retain the palatal pronunciation of **ǰ*. The loss of the *-g-* in MgrH is peculiar.

MMo SH *juqul-* H94 and iterative *suquči-* H136, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *suɣul-* L735a, *ǰuɣul-* L1077b, *ǰiɣul-* (sic) L1051a ‘to pull out, pluck out, etc’. Kh *sugalax* H453b. Ord *ʒuġal-* M174b, *ʒuġul-* M175a. Bur *hugalxa* C688a. Brg *xugal-* U115. Kalm *suɣlx* M460a. Dag---. EYu *ʒuğul-* 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 *xʊl* U115. Kalm *sul* M460a. Dag *s*^{w}*al* 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 *sulɒ:* L64:35.

***sumal** ‘bag’. Note the vowel length shared by EYu and MgrH, whic 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* (folkl) C689b, *homo(n)* C683a ‘bullet, etc’. Brg *xɔm* U110. Kalm *sumn* M461a. Dag *sɔm* E222.

EYu *səmən* B99, J103a. MgrH *sumu* X140, *səmun* J103b. MgrM *sumu* JL471, *sïmu* DS205a. BaoD *sumu* BL91a, *səmu* BL24. BaoÑ *smɵ* CN137. Kgj *sïmʉ* 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 *xʊndald*- U114. Kalm *sundlx* M461a. Dag *sɔndla:*- E221. EYu *sundəla*- B102. MgrH *sundula*- X139. MgrM *suŋdala*- JL476.

***sun(u)**- 'to stretch, extend (intr)', ***sunïa**- 'to stretch oneself', ***suŋga**- 'to stretch, extend (tr)'. **sun*- is related to CT **su:n*- 'to stretch, extend', **suŋga*- (**sun-ga*-) is its causative. The morphological structure of **sunïa*- is unclear. Dag *sɔni:*- rather seems to suggest **sunaï*- instead of **sunïa*-. 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, *suni'a*- (intr) P328a, *sunu*- P176a. WM *sunu*- L738a, *sun*- L737b, *sung*- L738a, *suniya*- L738a, *sungɣa*- L738a. Kh *sunax* H455b, *suniax* H456a, *sunaax* H455b, *sungax* H455b. Ord *sun*-, *suna:*- M592b, *suŋġa*-, *suŋġu*- M593a. Bur *hunaxa* C689b, *hunyaaxa* C690a, *hunaaxa* C689b, *hungaaxa* (western) C689b. Brg *xʊmʸa:*- (intr.) U114, *xʊna:*- (tr.) U114 (also the borrowed forms *sʊŋg*-, *sʊŋga:*- U157). Kalm *sunx* M461b, *sunyax* M461b, *suŋɣax* M461b. Dag *sɔnə*- E221, *sɔni:*- E221, *sɔnɔ:*- E221. EYu *sun*- BJ342, cf. the new intransitive formation *sunara*- B102 'to stretch oneself'. MgrH *suna:*- X138. MgrM *sunia*- JL463. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *sumu*- MC375b, *sumuğa*- B118. Mog *suntu*- (?=) R39a.

***sur** 'strip of leather, leather strap'. The length and the *-au*- in the Dagur forms are inexplicable. Kmg *su:r* Kőhalmi 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 *sɔ:r* E221. EYu *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 *sʊrga:*- (←WM) U158 'to teach'. Kalm *surx* M463a. Dag *sɔr*- E223. EYu *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 **sɔr*-. 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 *xʊra-* U117. Kalm *surx* M463a. Dag *sʷar-* 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 *sïǰiğun* may have *ǰiğun* < **ǰakaun* 'between' as a second element; alternatively it could be a metathesis of a form related to Dgx *suğə ʒawa* '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 *suɣu(n)* L734b, *suu* L740b. Kh *suga(n)* H453a, cf. Chakhar *sʊ:* D182a. Ord *su:* M588a. Bur *huga* C687b. Brg *xʊg* U115, also *ʊla:ŋ xʊg* U39 (**hulaan* 'red'). Kalm *sü* M464a, *su:* R339a. Dag *sɔ:* 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 *soġo* BL91b. BaoÑ *cəχəi* CN191. Kgj *sïǰiğun* (see above) S65. Dgx *suğe* B118, cf. *suŋġo* 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 *sʉ:* Kőhalmi 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 theolder 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 *üsn* M555b. Dag *su:* E223. EYu *hsʉn* B60, *sun* J103a. MgrH *sun* J104b, L532, *su:* L527. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *sʉn* 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 *sʉwe* M599b, *söwö* M587b. Bur *hübe* C694b. Brg---. Kalm *süv* M464a. Dag *suɣʷ* E225. EYu---. MgrH *su:lie-* SM358 'to thread a needle' (**sübele-*). Bao---. Dgx---. MogMr, MogM *sʉba* 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) *xabʸrəɣ* E225 'false ribs'. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *subian* (?=) DS234b 'loin'.

*__süǰig__ ‘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, *süǰüg* L746b. Kh *süseg* H462b, *süǰig* H459b, *süzeg* H459b. Ord *sʉǰʉk* M596b. Bur *hüzeg* C695a. Brg *suǰig* (←Kh) U159. Kalm *süzg* M464b. Dag *suǰir* E226. EYu *sʉǰəg* B103, *suǰəg* J102b. Remaining lgs---.

*__süke__ ‘axe’.

MMo SH *suke* H137, HY *süke* M96, Muq *süke* P329a. WM *süke* L742b. Kh *süx(en)* H463b. Ord *sʉke* M597b. Bur *hüxe* C701a. Brg *xux* U122. Kalm *sük* M464b. Dag *suɣ*^{w} E225. EYu *sʉke* B103, *suge* J104a. MgrH *sgo* J103a. MgrM *sugo* JL478, *sgo* C167. BaoD *sïge* BL91a, *ge* BL91a. BaoÑ *ʂge* CN147. Kgj *sʉgʉ* 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 *səme:n* J103a, *sme:n* X144. MgrM *śime* JL462 ‘temple’, *śme* C385, *śimian* DS255a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *cïme* 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 *sʉnes(ʉ)* M598b. Bur *hünehe(n)* C697a. Brg *xunu:* U121. Kalm *sümsn* M465a. Dag *sums* E225. EYu *sönösən* B101, *sune:sən* J104a. MgrH *fune:sə* (sic) J103a, *sune:ʒə* X139. MgrM *sunisï* JL469. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__sür__ ‘grandeur, majesty, might, power’. Dag *sul*^{y} could alternatively be related to *_sülde_ or *_sülder_ (not listed here).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sür* L744b. Kh *sür* H461b. Ord *sʉr* M598b. Bur *hür* C697a. Kalm *sür* M465b. Dag *sul*^{y} (?=) E225, *sur* E83:199b. EYu *sʉr* 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-sï* JL484. BaoD *ta* BL91a. BaoÑ *ta* CN159, *ta-la* CN161. Kgj *ta-sï* S178. Dgx *ta* B135. Mog *to* (also *tod, tot*) R40b.

*__taa__- ‘to guess; to suppose’. Dagur does have the apparent derivation *taul*^{y} 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 *taɣa*- 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 *taɣala*- L763b. Kh *taalax* H472b. Bur *taalaxa* C406a. Kalm *taalx* M468b. Dag *ta:l*- E242. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *tala*- B137. MogM *tɒ:la˙*- L62:67.

*__tabï__- ‘to put’ see __talbï__-

*__tabïn__ ‘fifty’. In Bao and Kgj replaced by a new formation **tabun harban* ‘five tens’, e.g. BaoÑ *ta'waraŋ* 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*^{y} E246. EYu *taβən* B115. MgrH *tayin* 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 *tawøŋ* CN162. Kgj *tavun* ~ *tavuŋ* S297a. Dgx *tawuŋ* B137. Mog *tabun* R60.

taï- ‘to make an offering, to sacrifice’. In Mongghul this verb may not have been lost, but absorbed by **talbï-* ‘to put’. Related to CT **tap-* ‘to worship’, which indicates a PM form **tahï-* < **tapï-*. Cf. the unrelated but semantically overlapping **takï-*.

MMo SH *tayi-* H146, HY---, Muq *tayi-qči* P246a ‘worshipper’, IV---, LV---. WM *tayi-* L767b. Kh *tayx* H479a. Bur *tayxa* C410b. Kalm *tääx* M485a. Dag *tai-* E83:202a. EYu *tai-* BJ343. Shirongol see above. Mog---.

taïl- ‘to undo, untie, unwrap’. Note the loss of *-l* in Baoanic and Mangghuer, which is unexpected at least in Baoan. In Baoanic **taïl-* may have merged with **talbï-* ‘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 *taɣa* P134a, IV---, LV---. WM *taqa* L788b. Kh *tax* H489b. Ord *daχa* M112b. Bur *taxa* C418b. Kalm *tax* C482a. Dag *tak* E246. EYu *daqasən* (!) B125, *taka* P418a. Remaining lgs---.

takï- ‘to serve; to worship, to make an offering’. Cf. **taï-*.

MMo SH *taki-* H144, HY *taki-* M98, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *taki-* L770a. Kh *taxix* H490a. Ord *daki-* M113b. Bur *taxixa* C418b. Kalm *täkx* M486b. Dag *tak^{y}-* E246. EYu *dakə-* B125. Remaining lgs---.

takïa ‘chicken’. EYu, Bao, Kgj, and Dgx all stem from a form **takaa* with assimilation of the **ïa*. Deviating forms in Mgr, MgrM, Mog are borrowings from the related Turkic form **takagu* ~ **takïgu*. Front-vocalic Dag *dəɣi:* ‘bird’ is not related to **takïa* as Enkhbat suggests, but a Tungusic loanword.

MMo SH *takiya* H144, HY *takiya* M99, Muq *taqi’a* P341a, LV *taqiya* P1268, *taɣawut* (pl) P1269 (←Turkic), IV *taɣaqu* L66 (←Turkic), RH *daqaun* 200B9, *taqaqun* [in animal cycle] 199C16. WM *takiya(n)* L770b. Kh *taxia(n)* H489b. Chakhar *dɛx^{y}a:* D177a. Ord *daka:* M113b. Bur *taxyaa* C419a. Brg *tax^{y}a:* U176. Kalm *taka* M473a. Dag---. EYu *daɣqa* B125, *da^{ɣ}ġa* J104b, *daqa* S628. MgrH *taġau:* J104a, *təġau* X178. MgrM *taġaʊ* C388, *toqò* P415b, cf *taġa* Z340:372 ‘chicken’, but *tġɔ* Z400:1000 [in animal cycle]. BaoD *təχa ~ tχa* BL91b. BaoÑ *təχa* CN162. Kgj *taχa ~ tïχa ~ tχa* S296b. Dgx *tïġa*, *tïxġa* B139. MogMr *taχɒ:qu* L62:67.

talbï- ‘to put, lay down; to release, let go of’. The form **talbï-* 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 **tabï-* already appears in MMo Muq. It survives in the central languages and in the Shirongol languages. In Baoanic **tabï-* further developed into **taï-*; the MgrH form independently developed in the same way (cf. **kabïd-* for a similar phonetic history). Another simplified form **talï-* 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 **taïl-* 'to undo', in Mongghul perhaps with **taï-* '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 *tal^{y}-* E247, *tal^{y}- ~ t^{y}ala-* 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, *tʌli-* 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 *dalχa* M116a. Bur *talxa(n)* C411b. Kalm *talxn* M474b. Dag---. EYu *talğan* B115, J52. MgrH *talġa* X173. MgrM *tarxa* JL469. BaoD *talġaŋ* BL72. Dgx *tağaŋ* 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 *tandələ-* X172, *tandəra:-* X172. MgrM *taŋtər-* (tr.) DS26a, F55:178. Bao---. Kgj *tande- ~ tamdi-* (tr.) S296b, *tantəra-*, *tandəra-*, *tantra-* S296b (intr.). Dgx *tantura-* 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 **tomï-* seems to be suggested by one of the Kalm and one of the MgrM forms. Dag *tɔŋg^{w}-* 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 *tamăl-*, *toməl-* (originally intensive forms?) BL91b. BaoÑ *təm-* CN169. Kgj *tumu-* S297b. Dgx *tamu-* B137. Mog---.

***tana** 'large pearl'. In the central langages '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---.

***tanï-** '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 *tan'x* M477a. Dag *tan^{y}-* E245. EYu *tanə-* B114, 103b. MgrH *tanə-* J103a. MgrM *tani-* JL469. BaoD *tani-*

BL91b. BaoÑ *tani*- CN159. Kgj *tani*- S296b. Dgx *tani*- B135. Mog *tɔni*- W181b, MogMr, MogM *tɒ:niˑ*- 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 *taŋġalai*, *taŋġolai* MC382b ‘soft palate’. Mog---.

***tarag** ‘sour milk, clabbered milk, yoghurt, cottage cheese, etc’.

MMo SH *tarah* H145, HY *taraq* M99, Muq *taraq* P341a. WM *taraɣ* L779b. Kh *tarag* H484b. Bur *tarag* C414b. Kalm *targ* M478a. Dag---. EYu *taraġ* B116. MgrH *taraġ* X175. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Kgj---. MogMr *tarɒ:ɣ* L64:38.

***taragaï** or ***tarakaï** ‘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 **tarbaljï* ‘vulture’ (not listed here), which is there assumed to reflect CT *ta:z-baš* ‘bald head’; Cf. MMo Muq *tarbaǰi* 341a ‘name of a bird’, surviving in Bur *tarba(l)ža* C415a, Kalm *tarvǰ* M478a (names of eagle species).

MMo SH---, HY *taraqai* M77 ‘bald’, Muq *taraɣai* P341a ‘mange, scab (skin disease)’. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *tarxa* M479a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *tarġai* X175 ‘mange; empty, smooth, bare terrain’. Bao---. Dgx *taği* 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 *tarbaɣa(n)* L780a. Kh *tarvaga(n)* H484b. Ord *tarwaġa* M649a. Bur *tarbaga(n)* C415a. Brg *tarβag* U178. Kalm *tarvlɣn* (sic) M478a. Dag *tarbəɣ* E249. EYu *tarğwan* B116, *tarğuan* J104a, *taβarğan* (Qinglong dial) BJ352. MgrH *to:rġa* J104a, SM424, *tarbuġa* 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 *tarġun* J104b. MgrM *tarġoŋ* C388. BaoD *tarġuŋ* BL91a. BaoÑ *tarġəŋ* CN162. Kgj *tarğuŋ* S297a. Dgx *tağuŋ* B137. Mog---.

***tarï**- ‘to sow, plant’. Agricultural term related to CT **tarï*- ‘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^{y}*- U179. Kalm *tärx* M487a. Dag *tar^{y}*- 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---.

***tarïan** ‘crop; grain, cereal; agricultural field’. The QG languages all reflect a form **taraan* with assimilation of the **ïa*. Either derived in Mongolic from CM **tarïa* or directly related to CT **tarïg* ‘wheat’.

MMo SH *tariyat* (pl) H146, HY *tariyan* M99, Muq *tari’an* P341b, LV *tara:n* P1269, IV---, Ph *t^{h}ariyan* P131a. WM *tariya(n)* L781a. Kh *taria(n)* H485a. Ord *tara:* M647a. Bur *taryaan* C416b. Brg *tar^{y}a:* U179. Kalm *tärän* M486b. Dag *tar^{y}e:* E248 ‘crop; field’. EYu *tara:-laŋ* BJ344 ‘crop’, *tara:-ljən* B119 ‘farmer’ (with unclear suffix). MgrH *tara:* J104b. MgrM *tara* JL462. BaoD *taraŋ* T147. BaoÑ *taraŋ* CN161. Kgj *tarɔ* S297a. Dgx *taraŋ* B137. Mog---.

***tarïkï** ‘brain’. Kh, Chakhar and Bur derive from a form **tarkï*. The structure of the MgrH form is peculiar, cf. *taraġ* (sic) X175 ‘brain; skull’, *taraġ śi:* X175 ‘crown; brain’, *taraġ śʒi:* X175 ‘brain’; the latter forms are treated as compounds with *śʒi* ‘centre’ (from LT *dkyil*). Kalm *tarxa* is also puzzling; perhaps this form is due to confusion with **taragaï* ‘bald’ listed above. Cf. **heki(n)*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tariki(n)* L781a, *taraki(n)* L779b ‘&occiput’. Kh *tarxi(n)* H486a. Chakhar *dɛr^{y}x^{y}* D177a. Ord *tariki* M648a. Bur *tarxi* C415b ‘head; brain; Buriat sausage’. Brg *tarɪx* U178. Kalm *tarxa* (obs) M479a also ‘head’, *targ* M478a ‘brain’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *taraġśi:* 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 *darχa-* M121b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *tarχăχă* R381a. Dag---. EYu *tarqa-* BJ344. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *tağa-* 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 *təsma* X179. MgrM (Sanchuan) *tsma* P420b ‘ribbon’. Bao---. Dgx *sïma* S613, S1985:686 ‘strip of leather’. Mog *tasma:* R40a ‘untanned goatskin’.

***tasura**- ‘to break (intr)’. Several unexpected forms are found. The *-ġ-* in MgrH is intrusive, and may be a byproduct of the devoicing of the first syllable. The affricates in the MgrM form *cïʒïr-* 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 *dasăra-* B126, *dasər-* J104a. MgrH *dag̈səra:-* J104b, *tag̈səra:-* X173. MgrM *tasïr- ~ cïʒïr-* JL470, *cïsara-* P418b. BaoD *ʒarə-* BL91a. BaoÑ *dasar-* CN173. Kgj *cïra- ~ cra-* S302a. Dgx *cïra-* B156, L11, *sïra-* 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^{h}at^{h}a-* 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, *ćida-* SM444. MgrM *tida- ~ cïda-* JL470. BaoD---. BaoGt *g̈da-* C121. BaoÑ *g̈da-* CN149. Kgj *sta- ~ sda- ~ sïta-* S294b. Dgx *sda-* B119, *ćida-* MC328b. Mog *tata-* R40a, *tʌtʌ-* W181a, *tɔtɔ-* W181b.

***tau**- 'to drive (usu. animals)'.

MMo SH *ta'u-* H146, *tao'u-* H145, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tay̆u-* 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 *tï-* C117. BaoÑ *tu:-* CN169. Kgj *tu-* S297b. Dgx *tau-* B135. Mog---.

***taulaı** '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^{h}avlayi* P131a. WM *taulai* L788b, *tulai* L840b. Kh *tuulay(n)* H518a. Bur *tuulay* C438a. Kalm *tuula* M520a. Dag *taul^{y}* E244. EYu *tu:li:* B121, J103b. MgrH *to:li:* J103a. MgrM *taulai* JL469. BaoD *taoləi* BL91a. BaoÑ *təli* CN168. Kgj *tuli* S297b. Dgx *tauləi* B135. MogMr *taulȧi* 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 **taŋan* (EDPT 523a). The other Mongolic forms may be connected in some way as well. A variant Turkic form **tagan* may have existed, cf. **yaŋan ~ *yagan* 'elephant' as opposed to CM **ǰaan*. However, the Mongolic equivalent of CT **taŋan* should have been **taŋgan* 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 *tay̆an*) P341a. WM *tay̆u* L766a, *alay̆ tay̆u* 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. **sorbï*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tayaq* P346b. WM *tayaɣ* L769b. Kh *tayag* H491b. Ord *tayaq* M641a. Bur *tayag* C421a. Kalm *tayg* M472b. Dag *tayiɣ* [?←Kh] Z102b. EYu *tiyaġ* B118, *tʸa:ġ* B123, *tiaġ* J104a. MgrH *tiaġ* J104b, *teġ* X176. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *təiya* B138. Mog *tʌyʌğ* 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 *teβəg* 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 *təβən* 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 *təβər-* U180. Kalm *tevrx* M488a. Dag *təurʸe:-* E251. EYu *teβer-le-* B117, *töβer-le-* J22. MgrH *te:rə-* X175, *to:rə-* X181, MgrH *tüe:ri-* SM437. MgrM *tʸarbar- /terbar-/* C389, *tierbər-* DS229b. BaoD *te:re-* T148. BaoÑ *te:r-* CN164. BaoX *tɛrə-* BC62. Kgj *tər-* S297b. Dgx *ćiauru-* B151. Mog---.

*__tebsi__ ‘plate, dish’. With added *-g* in EYu. From Chinese *diézi*, perhaps via Turkic **tevsi*.

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 *diewśi* SM50 ‘small dish’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *debśi* CN176. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__tede__ ‘those’ see *__tere__

*__teeli__ ‘axle’ see *__teŋgeli(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^{h}egirmed* (pl.) P131b. WM *tegerme* L793b. Kh *teerem* H538a. Bur *teerme* C460a. Kalm *teerm* M489b. Dag---. EYu *termen* B118, J104b. MgrH *tərme* J104a. MgrM *t^{y}arme /terme/* C389. BaoD *tarmaŋ* BL92b. BaoÑ *termaŋ* CN166. Kgj *tɔmɔ ~ tɔrmɔ* S297a. Dgx *ćieman* B153a, *ćiemən* L119b. Mog *te:rmo: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 *boltuɣai* 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 *tamaiŋgə* H173 ‘a lot of’, *tamaingə* L553 ‘that much’. BaoD *təmiŋgə* BL75 ‘that much’. BaoÑ *temi:ngə* CN165 ‘that much’. BaoX *təmi: nəgə* CN86:179 ‘that much’. Kgj *teme* (?=) S297a ‘that way’, *teme niɣe* 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 *ćiŋ* 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 *činggi-* L190a. Kh *tegex* H530b. Bur *tiigexe* C421b, *tiixe* C422b. Brg *ti:g-* U182. Kalm *tiigx* M498a. Dag *ti:xi:-* Z102a, cf. the gerund *ti:ɣə:* E255, *tiɣə:* E256. EYu *təŋgə-* B116. Mgr *tiŋgə-* X176, *təŋgɜ-* X178. MgrM *tiŋgə-* DS32b. BaoD *təŋgə-* BL74. BaoÑ *təngə-* CN162. Kgj *teŋgi- ~ taŋgi-* S297a. Dgx *ćiŋ giə-* B154.

*__teǰie__- ‘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 *ɕ-*). The same irregularity occurs (alongside the expected form) in MgrH. Mostaert compares the MgrH form to Ord *čide:-*. Although theoretically the latter could represent another verb, it could be another odd alteration of **teǰie-*.

MMo SH *teji’e-*, *tejiye-* H147, HY *teǰe’e-mel* M100, Muq---, LV *teǰe:-* P1268, IV---. WM *teǰiye-*, *teǰige-* L808b. Kh *teǰeex* H531a. Ord *teǰe:-* M655a, *čide:-* (?=) M701a. Bur *težeexe* C453a. Kalm *teǰäx* M490a. Dag *təǰə:-* E254. EYu---. MgrH *təźe:-* J104a, *ćiźie:-* SM446. MgrM *teźe-* JL462. BaoD *ćiźiə-* BL91a. BaoÑ *ćiźe-* CN188. Kgj *čiǰe-* S301a. Dgx *ćieʒə-* 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 *təx* U180. Kalm *tek* M490b. Dag---. EYu *teke*, *tege* B117. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *tȧkȧ* R59.

*__temeče__- ‘to struggle, to strive for, to exert oneself, to compete’. Dagur suggests **temečie-*. Not to be confused with **teŋče-* (not listed here).

MMo SH *temece-* H148, *demece-* H36, HY---, Muq *temeče-* P345b, IV---, LV---. WM *temeče-* L799b. Kh *temcex* H532a. Bur *temsexe* C453b. Kalm *temcx* M493a. Dag *təmče:-* E253. EYu *temče-* J90. MgrH *tənźe:-* X178, *təmźe:-* L571. Bao---. Dgx *ćieməçə-* 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 *təmə:* U181. Kalm *temän* M491b. Dag *təmə:* E253. EYu *teme:n* B117, *temen* J104b. MgrH *təme:n* J104a. MgrM *teme* JL461. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *temɔ*, *temɔn* 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 *ə:* 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 *töŋkö-*). The irregular Mog form is reminiscent both of **temgü-* and **čömü-*.

MMo SH *temgu-* H148, *tenggu-* H148 ‘to pick up, to gather’, HY---, Muq---, IM *temgü-* P448a. WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *tuŋkə:-* (?=)

E262. EYu---. MgrH *tuŋgu*- J104a, X183. MgrM---. BaoD *tuŋgə*- BL91a ‘to pick up, gather’. BaoÑ *toŋgə*- CN168 ‘to pick up, gather’. Kgj *tʉŋgi*- S298a. Dgx *ćiauŋġu*- B151 ‘to pick up, collect, gather’. Mog *tɔmu*- 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 *təmʸe: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, *temtʉr*- 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 *tərmər* C389. BaoD *təmər* BL91b. BaoÑ *temər* CN165. Kgj *čimɔ* 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 *tendə* CN164, *təndə* CN162. Kgj *tende* S129. Dgx *təndə* B138. Mog *tendȧ* R40a.

teŋgeli(g) ‘axle’. An apparently related form **teeli* also exists: WM *tegeli* L793a, Kh *teel* H538a ‘pivot pin of tools such as scissors and pliers’, *degliy* 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 *töŋgölök* M674b ‘rings on the bit for the reins’, Kalm *töölg* M513b ‘iron (metal) ring’.

MMo SH *tenggeli* H148, HY---, Muq *töngelik modun* P358b (*modun* ‘wood’). WM *tengelig* L802b. Kh *tenxleg* H533b. Ord *teŋgel*, *teŋgelik* M658b. Bur---. Brg *təŋgələg* U180. Kalm---. Dag *təŋgəl* E251. Remaining lgs---.

teŋgeri ‘sky, weather; heaven; god’, in Shirongol ‘sky’. Note the added *-g* in Baoan. Potanin (424) gives Dgx *tengir*, 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) *tengrì* P416b. Bao *tengrì* P416b. BaoÑ *teŋgərəg* 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. **eǰen*, **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 *ć-*) 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 *tɔŋ* X182 'year after next', *tɔŋ ćina:dag̈* X182 'in three days' (cf. Ord *tʉ̈: nögö:dör* M498a 'in three days' in central Mongolic). The oblique stem may also be the source of Kgj *tʉn* 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 *tʉ:n* M686a. Bur *tüün* C448b. Kalm *tüün-* M525b. Dag---. EYu *tʉn-* 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 **bïda* '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 *tərəɣ* E254. EYu *terɣen* B118, J104b. MgrH *tərge* J104a, *tie:rge* SM417. MgrM *t^{y}argə* C389. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *ćiərgə* B154, *ćiərəiğan* 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 **tolagaï*. **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', *turu:* 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 tʉrʉ:n* B59 'gadfly' (**köke* 'blue'). MgrH *turu:* SM436, *turɔŋ* X186, *torɔŋ* X181 'for the first time', etc. BaoD *təruŋ* BL92b 'head'. BaoJ *troŋ* L181. BaoÑ *tərəŋ* CN169, also 'beforehand'. Kgj *tʉrʉ* S298a 'head; ear (of grain)'. Dgx *ćiauruŋ* 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 (*haŋġa*) *ćiau-* 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 *toɣa(n)* L813a. Kh *too(n)* H501a. Ord *to:* M663b. Bur *too* C428b. Kalm *to* M499a. Dag *tɔ:* E257, *tɔ:n* E257. EYu *tu:n* B121, J104a, *tɔ: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 *toɣala-* L814a. Kh *toolox* H501b. Dag *tʷa:l-* E266. EYu *tu:la-* B121. MgrH *to:la-* SM423, *to:rla-* SM426. MgrM *tolo-* C389. BaoGt *tolə-* C103. BaoÑ *tə:la-* CN167. Kgj *tula-* S297b. Dgx *təula-* 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 *tobaraɣ* 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 *tobaraɣ* L810a, *tobraɣ* L811b, *toɣuraɣ* L817b. Kh *toorog* H502a, *tovrog* H493a. Ord *[to:s] toworoq* M672a. Bur *toorog* C429b, *toborog* C423a. Kalm *toorm* (sic) M506b, *tovrg* M499b. Dag *tʷa:rəl* E266. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj *turu ~ turğu* S297b, cf. also *duṛ ~ durpa* (?=) S299b. Dgx *tura* B142 'earth'. Mog---.

***toarï-** ‘to turn around; to circle; to enclose’. In Kalmuck **toarï-* appears to have merged with **töeri-* ‘to get lost’. The meaning ‘to roam’ found in several Baoanic languages may have developed from **toarï-* ‘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 *ɵ* of *tərli-* normally suggests a front-vocalic CM form.

MMo SH *to’ori-* H151, HY *to’ori-* M101, Muq *to:ri-* P352a, IV---, LV---, Ph *t^{h}o’ori-* P131b. WM *toɣori-* L817b. Kh *toyrox* H497b, *toyrix* H497a. Ord *to:ri-* M670b. Bur *toyroxo* C425b, *toorixo* C429b. Brg *tɔir^{y}-* U183 ‘to wind’. Kalm (see above). Dag *tɔ:r^{y}-* 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 *tɵ:rə-* CN167 ‘to wind; to turn; to be dizzy; to surround; to roam’. Kgj *turi-* S297b ‘to go for a stroll, wander’, *tɔri-* ~ *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 *toɣosu(n)* L818b. Kh *toos(on)* H502b. Ord *to:s(u)* M672a. Bur *tooho(n)* C430a. Brg *tɔ:s* (←Kh) U183. Kalm *toosn* M506a. Dag *(t^{w}a:rəl) tɔ:s* E266 (first element from **toarag*). Remaining lgs---.

***tobčï** ‘button’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tobči* P350b, IV---, LV---. WM *tobči* L810b. Kh *tovč(in)* H493b. Ord *dobči* M146a. Bur *tobšo* C423a. Kalm *tovč* M499b. Dag *tərč* E261. EYu *təbčə* B119, *tobčə* J104b. MgrH *tebʑə* X176, *teśʑə* J104b, X177, *deśʑi* SM54. MgrM *tʊğʑi* C389, *toġči* T328, *təġʑi*, *tuʑi* DS210a. BaoD *tabćiə* BL92a. BaoÑ *dəbći* CN179. Kgj---. Dgx *təʑï* B138, *tïʑï* L119a. Mog---.

***togaan** ‘pot, pan, cauldron’. Cf. **kaïsun*.

MMo SH *toqo’an* H150, HY *toqo’an* M101, Muq *toɣa:n* P350b, *toqa:n* P351a, IV---, LV---. WM *toɣoɣa(n)* L817a, *toɣo(n)* L816b. Kh *togoo(n)* H494b. Ord *toġoo* M664b. Bur *togoo(n)* C423b. Kalm *toɣa:čï* R397a ‘cook’. Dag *tuwa:* E265. EYu *təğə:n* B119, *toğo:n* J104a. MgrH *toġo*: J104b, *tuġʊ:* X183. MgrM *tuġo* C389. BaoD *tuχuŋ* BL92b, *tχuŋ* BL13. BaoÑ *təχəŋ* CN162. Kgj *tuχuŋ* ~ *tχuŋ* S297a. Dgx *tuğoŋ* B141, *tuġon* 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 *sʉre:čə* B103, of unclear etymology.

MMo SH *toqora’u(n)*, *toqura’un* H150, HY---, Muq *tuɣra’un* P354a, LV *toqaraqaun* (sic) P1269, IV *toɣora’un* (spelled *toɣorwa:n*) L69. WM *toɣoruu* L818b, *toɣoriu* L818b, *toɣoriɣun* L818a. Kh *togoruu* H495a. Ord *tuġuru:* M677a. Bur *toxoryuu(n)* C432a. Brg *tɔgrʊ:* U185. Kalm *toɣrun* M501a. Dag *tɔɣ^{w}lɔ:r* E259. EYu *tuġuroŋ* [only] S638. MgrH *tuġorɔŋ* X183. MgrM *tuġurun* DS226a. BaoD *təχəraŋ* BL88b. Kgj---. Dgx *toŋġori* B139, *tonġori* L108, *toġoro* 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 *toɣta*- L815a, *toɣto*- L816b. Kh *togtox* H495b. Bur *togtoxo* C424a. Kalm *togtx* M501a. Dag *tərt*- E261. EYu *tɔgtɔ*- B119, *toġdo*- J79. Remaining lgs---.

tokaï ‘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 *doχö:* M149b. Bur *toxoy* C432a (and *toxonog* C432a). Brg *tɔxɔi* U184. Kalm *toxa* M509b. Dag---. EYu (*dɔqɔnɔġ* B129). MgrH *tuġui:* J104b. MgrM *tuġuai* DS219b. BaoD *toχəi ~ toġoi* BL92b. BaoÑ---. Dgx *toği* B139, *toɣəi* L119b. Mog *tuqɛi* 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 *doχo*- M149a. Bur *toxoxo* C432a. Brg *tɔx*- U183. Kalm *toxx* M510a. Dag *tɔɣ*^{w}- E259. EYu *tɔğə*- B119, *toğə*- J104b. MgrH *tuġu*- J104b. BaoD *taoġə*- BL92a. BaoÑ *tөχө*- CN168. Kgj *tuğu*- S297b. Dgx *toğu*- 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 *toɣum* P1270, IV---, RH *ţoqum* 205A19. WM *toqom* L830b. Kh *toxom* H506a. Ord *doχom* M149a. Bur *toxom* C432a. Kalm *toxm* M510a. Dag *tɔk*^{w} (sic) E259. EYu *tɔğɔm* B119 ‘sheep’s wool felt’, *toğəm* J104b ‘saddle-pad’. MgrH *tuġum* J104b ‘saddle-pad’. MgrM---. BaoD *tuχəm* BL92b ‘saddle-pad’, *tχum* BL32 ‘felt’. BaoÑ *təχөm* CN162 ‘felt; saddle-pad’. BaoX *təxom* BC62 ‘saddle-pad’. Kgj *tuğu* S297b ‘saddle-pad’. Dgx *tuğuŋ* B141, *toɣuŋ* L119b. Mog---.

tolagaï ‘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 *toloɣai* L822a. Kh *tolgoy* H498a. Ord *toloġö:* M665b. Bur *tolgoy* C425b. Kalm *tolɣa* M502a. Dag *tɔluɣ* only in *xək*^{y} *tɔluɣ* E4-491 ‘the main points of a matter’ (cf. **hekin*). EYu *tɔlɔğɔi* B119, *toloğui* J104a. MgrH *tolġөi* X181, *tolġuai* J104b. MgrM *tarġai* JL477, *torġui* T366 (and see above). Bao---. Kgj as such---, but perhaps preserved in *turğu(n)či* S297b ‘chieftain, tribal headman’. Dgx *toloğəi* 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 *tɔr* U185. Kalm *toor* M506a. Dag---. EYu *tɔr* B120 'net; wire; railing', *tor* J104b. MgrH *to:r* J104a. MgrM *tor* P420b, *xaxaitər* DS212b 'cobweb' (see **haakaï* 'spider'). Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *tor* R40b, *tɔr* 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 *toryа(n), toryu(n)* L826ab. Kh *torgo(n)* H503a. Ord *torġo* M670b. Bur *torgo(n)* C430b. Kalm *toryn* M507a. Dag *tɔrɣ*^{w} E261. EYu *tɔrğɔ* B120, *torğo* J104a. MgrH *torġɷ* 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 *tɔxɔ:* U184. Kalm *tosn* M508b. Dag *tɔs* E260. EYu *tu:sən* B121, J104a, *tɔ:sən* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *to:sə* J105b. MgrM *tosï* JL464. BaoD *tosuŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ *təsəŋ* CN169. Kgj *tusun* S297b. Dgx *tosuŋ* B139, *dosuŋ* B148. Mog *tusun* R40b, *tɔsun* W181b, *tusun* W182a, MogMr *tɒ:sun* L62:69.

***töbed** 'Tibetan'. In EYu **taŋgud* is used instead.

MMo SH *tobodut* (pl.) H150. WM *töbed* L831a. Kh *tövd* H507a. Ord *töwöt* M676a, cf. also the pl. *töwödʉ:t* used as a clan name. Kalm *tüw*^{ü}*d* R417b. Bur *tübed* C441b. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr *tever ~ teved* Khas177, *təver* Khas180. MgrM *t*^{y}*ebe* C389, *tiebie* DS9. BaoD *ted* BL65, BL66. BaoX *tɛ* BC71. Kgj *tər ~ tʉr* 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*^{w}*ə:* 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*^{w}*ə:-* (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 *t*^{w}*ə:r-*. See **toarï-* ‘to turn around, which may have been confused with **töeri-* in Baoanic. Cf. **ǰabka-*

MMo SH *to’ori-* H151, HY---, Muq *tö:ri-* P353b, IV---, LV---. WM *tögeri-* L832b. Kh *töörö́x* H510a. Ord *tö:rö-* M675a. Bur *töörixe* C433a. Brg *to:r-* U188. Kalm *töörx* M514a. Dag *t*^{w}*ə:r-* E267, *tu:r*^{y}- 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 *t*^{h}*ök*^{h}*örigeé-* P131b ‘circle’. WM *tögerig, tögörig* L832b. Kh *tögrög* H507b. Ord *tögörök* M673a. Bur *tüxeryee(n)* C449b, *tüxerig* C450a ‘ruble’. Brg *tugrəg* U189. Kalm *tögrg* M512a. Dag *tukr*^{y}*e:n* E263. EYu *tʉgreg* B122, *tögörög* S236, cf. *töyörögdə-* 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 *tʉrə̀-* R41a, *tɔrʌ-* W181b.

tugul ‘calf’. In view of the other bovine terminology shared by Turkic and Mongolic, this word is probably related to CT **toklï* ‘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 *tuɣul* P354a, IV---, LV---. WM *tuɣul* L838b. Kh *tugal* H512a. Ord *tuġul* M676b. Bur *tugal* C433b. Brg *tʊgal* U187. Kalm *tuɣl* M516b. Dag *tɔkul*^{y} E259. EYu---. MgrH *tuġul* J105b. MgrM *tuġur-la-* DS208 ‘to breed calves (sic, for to give birth to)’. BaoD *toχol* BL92b. BaoGt *təl-ćəġ* CN86:286 (dim. formation). BaoÑ *təl-ćəġ* CN169 (dim.). BaoX *toġla-* (sic, ?for **toġol-la-*) BC64 ‘to calve’. Kgj *tuğu* S297b, *tuğula-* S297b ‘to calve’. Dgx *tuğuŋ* B141, also *tuğunça* B141 (dim.); DgxL *tuğu* B53. Mog *tuɣul* R40b, *tuğul* W182a.

tuïla- ‘to buck; to kick with the hind legs’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tuila-* P354a. WM *tuyila-* L840a. Kh *tuylax* H513a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *tuul’x* 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 *tulə-* 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 *tulɣa* P354a, IV---, LV---. WM *tulɣa(n)* L840b. Kh *tulga(n)* H514a. Ord *tulġa* M679a. Bur *tulga* C435a. Brg *tʊlag* U187. Kalm *tulɣ* M517b. Dag *t^{w}a:ləɣ* E266. EYu *tu:lġa* BJ345, *tułġa* J105a. MgrH *tulġa* J104a, X184, *tʊlġa* X182. MgrM *turxa* JL475, DS242b, *tʊrxa* C390. BaoD *tolġa* BL92b. BaoGt *talxa* C118. BaoÑ---. Kgj *tulğa* 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 *tuluŋ* T367. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *tulun ~ tuluŋ* S297b. Dgx *tuluŋ* 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 *turu-qsan* 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) *turġan* X186 'lean'. Bao---. Dgx *turi-* B142, cf. *tuğaŋ, tuxaŋ* 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(ï)*, also supported by Ord. Neither form survives in the Shirongol languges (some of which use **kïmusun* '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 *turuɣu* L844b, *tuɣura, tuɣurai* L839a. Kh *tuur* H518b, *tuuray* H518b, *turuu* H516a. Ord *tu:rä:* M682a. Bur *turuu(n)* C437a. Brg *tʊrʊ:* U188, *tʊ:rai* (←Kh) U186. Kalm *turun* M518b, *turu:n* R412a. Dag *tɔrɔ:* 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^{w}as* 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 *tuturɣan* P356b, LV *tuturɣan* P1268, IV---. WM *tuturɣa(n)* L847a. Kh *tutraga* H518a. Ord *duturġa* M167b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *tutrɣ* M519b. Dag---. EYu *hturğan* B61, *hdurğan* J14. MgrH *tudorġa* X185. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *tuturğān*, *tuturğɔn* 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 *tuqulɣan* 205C21. WM *tuɣulɣa(n)*. Kh *tugalga(n)* H512a. Ord *tu:lġa* M679b. Bur *tuulga(n)* C438a. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *tuɣna:* E263. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *tolgay* P417b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***tuura(ï)** 'hoof' see sv **turuɔn**

***tübsin** 'flat, level, smooth; peaceful, quiet'. The Sino-Mongolian forms and Khalkha support this form, but Ord, EYu, and perhaps the Shirongol 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 *tübsi(n)* L849a. Kh *tüvšin* H520b. Ord *döbšin* M135b. Bur *tübšen* C441a. Kalm *tövšün* M511b. Dag---. EYu *dogšün* (sic) B130. MgrH *tebśin* X176, *teʂʑin* X177, *debśin* J104a. MgrM *tebšin* P418b. BaoD---. BaoGt *dàbʂuŋ* C114. BaoÑ *debśaŋ* CN176. Kgj *dešɔ* 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 *tüymer* H523a. Ord *tʉimer* M684b. Bur *tüymer* C443a. Kalm *tüümr* 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', **üǰe-* '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 *tülixe* C443b, *tülexe* C444b. Brg tul^{y}- U190. Kalm tülx M522b. Dag *tul-* 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. *amaŋ*). 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 *tul^{y}e:* E263. EYu *tele:n* B117, J104b. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *talaŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ *telaŋ* CN165. Kgj *čilɔ* S301a. Dgx *tulien* B141. Mog *tʉle:n* R41a, *tulʌn* W182a.

***tülki**- '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 *dʉlki-* M170a. Bur *tülxixe* C444a. Brg *tul^{y}x-* U190 'to lock'. Kalm *tülkx* M522b. Dag *tulk^{y}-* E263. EYu *tʉlkə-* B122, *tulgə-* J104b. MgrH *turgu-* J105a, X186. MgrM *turgo-* JL464. BaoD *tolgə-* BL92b. BaoÑ *təlgə-* CN163. BaoX *tolgə-* BC65. Kgj *tʉrgʉ-* S298a. Dgx *tuŋku-* B140. Mog *tʉlkʉ-* R41a.

***tülkiür** 'key'. Derived from **tülki-* '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 *tülxüür* H523a. Ord *dʉlkʉ:r* M170a. Bur *tülxyüür* [written *tülxyuur*] C444a. Brg *tulx^{y}u:r* U190. Kalm *tülkür* M522b. Dag *tulk-uŋk^{w}* E263 (new formation). EYu *tʉkü: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 *türii* C446a. Brg *turi:* U191. Kalm *türä* M523b. Dag *tur* E264, *turi:* T169. EYu *tʉre:* 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 *turɣun* E264. EYu *tʉrɣen* B123. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***türüün** 'at first' see s.v. ***teriün**

***tüsür**- '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. **čïdku*-, **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 *fuʒuru*- SM103, *fuʒuri*- L117, *suri*- L536, *sʒuri*- L544, *surə*- X140, *sʒurə*- 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 *tʉ:ki:* M685a. Bur *tüüxey* C449a. Brg *tu:xi:* U188. Kalm *tüükä* M525a. Dag *tuiɣun* E262. EYu *tü:kə:* B123, *tü:^{h}gə* J104b. MgrH *tu:gu* X182, *tiu:gu* J105a. MgrM *tugu* JL464. BaoD *tugu* BL92a. BaoÑ *tugu* CN170. Kgj *tʉgʉ* S298a. Dgx *tugu* B141. Mog---.

- U -

***ubuǰï** 'feeding horn' see ***ugǰï**

***učïr** 'reason; circumstance; occasion'. The Dagur form *wačir*, which would suggest an earlier **učar*, may owe its form to remodeling after the verb *wačir*- from **učïra*- (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 *hčʉr* B62, *ɬǰür-tə* J9. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *učur* (19:5b) 'time' (L68, No. 88).

*__učïra__- ‘to meet’. Possibly derived from CM **učïr* listed above. Perhaps related to a non-attested Turkic form **utïr-* ‘to meet’ (cf. EDPT 67b), the basis of the reciprocal *utruš-* (EDPT 69b). If this correspondence is correct, the PM form may be **utïra-*.

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 *śʒ́ürа:-* X161. MgrM *učura-* P412a. Bao---. Dgx *oçïra-* 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. *udaŋ* (**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 *ɔrk*^{w}- E42. EYu *qutġə-* (?=) B65. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

*__udurïd__- and *__udurï__- ‘to lead, guide’. Both variants are already attested in MMo, but the form **udurïd-* only survives in the central languages. The function of the added *-d* is unclear. The form **udurï-* 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, *ɸdur(ʐï)-* C391, *dur-* DS233. BaoD *durə-* BL88b. BaoGt *dor-* C139. BaoÑ *dər-* CN175. Kgj *utər-* ~ *utur-* S280b. Dgx *uduru-* B22. Mog---.

*__ugïa__- (> *__ugaa__-) ‘to wash’. With many unexpected phonetic developments. The *-ïa-* 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 *uɣa:-* P362a, LV *uɣa:-* P1260, IV---, Ph---. WM *ugiya-* L865b, *ukiya-* (misreading of the same spelling) L868a, *uɣa-* L863b, cf. precl. *uɣiya-* (Poppe 1924). Kh *ugaax* H539a. Ord *uġ^{u}a:-* M725a, *ġ^{u}a:-* M310a. Bur *ugaaxa* C461b. Kalm *uɣax* M528a. Dag *wa:-* E332. EYu *uğwa:-* B19, *ğua-* J95b. MgrH *ŋġua:-* J95b. MgrM *ŋġua-* JL478, *uŋġua-* T535, *ġua-* DS259. BaoD *ġua-* BL83a. BaoGt *ġua-* C111. BaoGm *waġa-* CN86:219. BaoÑ *waġa-* CN226. BaoX *ġua-* BC71. Kgj *uğua-* ~ *ğua-* S280a. Dgx *wağa-* B192. Mog *uɣa:-* R41a, *uğʌ-* W183a, *ɔğʌ-* W175a.

***ugǰï**, ***ubuǰï** ‘feeding horn, feeding bottle’. The form **ugǰï* is found in Kh and Bur and **ubuǰï* is found in Kalm and EYu, although the second vowel in WM and EYu is not confirmed by Kalm. Dag *ɔrǰ* must be from **ugǰï* or perhaps from a form **ubǰï*. Morphologically obscure, and therefore hard to connect to **uu-* ‘to drink’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---, RH *ubuǰi* 186C5 ‘nipple of the breast’. WM *uɣǰi* L865b, *ubuǰi* L859a. Kh *ugǰ(an)* H539b. Ord *uġǰi* M724b. Bur *ugža* C461b. Kalm *uvǰ* M526a, *ovǰ* M392a. Dag *ɔrǰ* E42 ‘feeding bottle’. EYu *βəǰə* B37. Remaining lgs---.

***ugulǰa** ‘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 *uqulǰa* H160 ‘ibex’, HY---, Muq---, RH *uɣulǰa* 186C18 ‘ibex’. WM *uɣulǰa* L864b, *uɣalǰa* L863b. Kh *ugalz* H539b also ‘spiral pattern’. Ord *uġ^{u}alǰi* 725b ‘argali; spiral pattern (..)’, *uġalǰi* M724a, *uġulǰi* M725b ‘spiral pattern’. Kalm *uɣ^{u}lzɒ*, (Torgut) *ġulzɒ* R447a. Bur *ugalza* C461b ‘embroidery, pattern’. Brg---. Dag *ɔwurǰin* (?=) E83:169a ‘antelope’. EYu *ğulǰa (?ġulǰa) xɔ:nə* B79 ‘argali’ (cf. **konï*), *ɣulǰa* Mannerheim 64 ‘wild sheep’. Shirongol lgs---. Mog---, cf. Zirni *ɣulǰa* [eds. read *-o-*] 20:11 ‘mountain goat’.

***ugur-** (?) ‘to throw’. The reconstruction of this word is problematic, especially since MMo -’- corresponds here to a fricative in EYu and Mog. The forms with -’- disagree on the CM vowel sequence: **oa*, **uu*, or **au*. The SH form seems to hint at a relationship with **orkï-* ‘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 *oɣur-* L603a, *uɣur-* 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 *ɔğɔr-* B13 ‘to throw’, *(u)ğur-* J49 ‘auxiliary (indicates that the action is performed completely)’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *uɣuru-* R41a ‘to pour into, to lay in’, *uğur-* W183a ‘to put, lay, etc’.

*__uïla__- ‘to cry’. The *h*- in Muq, unconfirmed by other languages, is secondary, perhaps onomatopoetically inspired. Given that it is not confirmed elesewhere, 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 *ŏail*- 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, *wəila*- B192. Mog *ui:la*- R41a, *uıla*- W182b.

?*__uïsun__ ‘birchbark’ see *__üisün__.

*__ukana__ ‘billy-goat’. Ord, Dag and Mog support the reconstruction **ukana*. MMo suggests **ukuna* (the *ɣ* in HY deviates). The forms in the central languages could be from either form. Cf. **seinüg*, **serke*, **teke*.

MMo SH---, HY *uɣuna* M105, Muq *uquna* P365b. WM *uquna* L892b, *uqana* L892b. Kh *uxna* H559b. Ord *uχana* M725b, *uχ^{u}ana* M726b. Bur *uxana* C483b ‘young billy-goat’. Kalm *uχŭnă* 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 *ulà* 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 **ulуš* ‘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 *ʊld* U40 ‘people (i.e. humans)’, *ʊlʊs* U40 ‘people (nation)’, the latter a borrowing. Kalm *uls* M532a. Dag *ɔlur* E38 ‘people, everybody’, *ɔrɔl-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 *umdaɣa(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', *undɔn* 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 *umdaɣas*- L874b. Kh *undaasax* H547a. Bur [*undarxaxa* C470a]. Brg---. Kalm *undasx* 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*- ~ *ndasï*- 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', *musùn* P421b 'yak hybrid'. BaoÑ *ɵmsə* CN71. Kgj *mʉsʉn* 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:*- B22, *na*- BJ336, J95b. MgrH *una:*- J95b, X16, *na:*- X23. BaoD *na*- BL83b. BaoÑ *na:*- CN22. BaoX *na:-ġə*- (caus.) BC73. Kgj *una*- S280a. Dgx *una*- B19. Mog *uno:*- R41a, *unɔ*-, 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 **kurïgan* 'lamb'.

MMo SH *unoqan* H165, HY *unuqan* M105, Muq *unaɣan* P364a, LV *unaɣan* P1258, IV---. WM *unaɣa(n)* L875b. Kh *unaga(n)* H546a. Ord *unaġa* M733a. Bur *unaga(n)* C469b. Kalm *unɣn* M532a. Dag---. EYu *nağan* B23, J95b. MgrH *naġa* J95b. Bao---. Kgj *nuğun* S282a. Dgx *unağaŋ* 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:*- X37. MgrM *nta:*- C373, *(u)nta*- JL478, *nuta*- DS234a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ta:*- 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 *ntəraː-* J95b ‘to sleep’. BaoD *təra-* BL83a ‘to sleep’. BaoÑ---. BaoX *təra-* BC72. Kgj *huntəra- ~ huntra-* S286b ‘to sleep’. Dgx *huntura-* B66, L111a, *funtura-* MC103b, *fintura-* MC97a, *untura-* MC406b. MogMr *nuntɒːra-* L64:37 ‘to become numb’.

***uŋgasun** ‘wool’ see ***nogasun**

***uŋsï-** ~ ***umsï-** ‘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 *ungši-* H164 ‘to call’, HY *uŋši-* M105, Muq *uŋši-* (*ungši-*) P364b, IM *humši-* P438b, LV *uŋši-* (*ungši-*) P1261, IV---. WM *ungsi-* L877a. Kh *unšix* H548b. Ord *omši-* M511b. Bur *unšaxa* C471b. Brg *oŋš-* U38. Kalm *umšx* M532b. Dag *ɔnš-* E37. EYu *ɔŋšə-* B13, *ɔnšə-* B13, *oŋšə-* J95b. MgrH *mośə-* J95b. MgrM *moʂï-* J88. BaoD *muśi-* BL83b. BaoGt *məʂ-* C121. BaoÑ *ɵmći-* CN18. Kgj *unči-* S280a. Dgx *oŋʂï-* B13, *waŋʂï-* B191, *oʂï-* MC310b. Mog *umši-* W182b, *ɔmši-* W174b.

***uran** ‘master, craftsman; skill; skillful’. Related to CT **uːz* ‘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 *ɔrɣʷ-* E42. EYu possibly in *uğarma* S679 ‘plant’ if this is < **urgu-ma*. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *uryu-* R41a ‘to grow’.

***urï-** ‘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 *ɔrʸ-* E42. EYu---. MgrH *urə-* J96b. MgrM---. BaoD *ur-* BL80. BaoGt *vuri-* C116. BaoÑ *ur-* CN21. Kgj *uri-* S280b. Dgx *uru-* B23. Mog---.

***urïda** ‘before, earlier’, **urïdu* ‘former, previous; front; south’. Cf. **urïǰï* 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 *ʊrʸd* U43, *ʊrɪd* U42. Kalm *urd* M536a. Dag *ward* E335, *ɔrdɔ:n* E42 ‘before, previously’ (cf. SH *urida’un* ‘in front’). EYu *urda* B20, J95b. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *urdɔ* W183a ‘vicinity; near’, MogMr, MogM *urdɒ:* L64:35.

***urïǰï üdür** ‘the day before yesterday’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *urïǰu ödür* P366b, LV *urǰi ödür* P1259 ‘the day after tomorrow (sic)’, IV---. WM *urǰi edür*, *urǰidur*, *urǰiɣdur* L887a. Kh *urǰdar*, also *urǰigdar* H551a. Ord *urǰidur* M739a. Bur *uržader* C475b. Brg *ʊrǰɪdər* U42. Kalm *urǰ ödr* M536a. Dag---. EYu *urʒudŭr* B20, *urǰüdur* J96b. MgrH *rʒudur* J96a, *uʒüdur* X21, *ʒüdur* X225. MgrM *urʒudur* JL478, *uʒudur* JL474. BaoD *nʒiudər* BL84a, *ˈnʒiudə* BL32. BaoÑ *ʕʒudə* CN237. Kgj *uǰide ~ uˌrǰide* S280b. Dgx *uruʓu du* B23, *uruʓudu* L112b. Mog *uǰaʊdur* W182a.

***urïǰï hɔn** ‘the year before last’. The forms represent several stages of contraction. Bur-Kalm *-z-* suggests that **a* or **u* not **ï* followed the *ǰ-*. Central Mongolic and EYu suggest that **hon* ‘year’ may have been incorporated in the stem twice.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *urǰi hon* 201A5. WM *urǰinan*, *urǰinon* L887a. Kh *urǰnan(g)* H551a. Ord *urǰinan* M739a. Bur *urzanan* C475b ‘... before last’. Brg *ʊrǰɪnʊŋ* U42. Kalm *urzn* M536b ‘... before last’. Dag *ɔrǰwɔ:n* E42, *ɔrǰɣɔ:n* Z94b. EYu *ɔrǰinɔn* B14, *urǰünɔ:n* J95b. MgrH *rʒɔŋ* J96a, *rʒɔŋ* X241, *urʒɔŋ* X23, *urʒixon* L619. MgrM *wuʒini xuaŋ* DS261b’year before last’, *ʊrdʸanixʊaŋ* C388 ‘last year’ (sic). BaoD *nʒiuhoŋ* BL84b. BaoÑ *ʕʒəŋ ~ ʕʒəŋ həŋ* CN237. Kgj *uǰun ~ uˌrǰun* S280b. Dgx *uruʓu xoŋ* B23. Mog *urǰãn* W183a ‘year before last’.

***urïǰïïn urïǰï üdür** ‘three days ago’. Apart from Ordos, only in the QG languages. In Shirongol the genitive ending of **urïǰïïn* was replaced by the Shirongol ending *-ni*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM---. Kh---. Ord *urǰi:n urǰidur* M739a, also the variant *urǰiduri:n urd udur* M739a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *urʒü:n urʒudŭr* B20. MgrH *uʒü-nə uʒüdur* X21, *ʒü-nə ʒüdur* X225. BaoÑ *ʕʒinə ʕʒudə* CN236. Dgx *uruʓuni uruʓu 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 *ʊrt* U42. Kalm *ut* M239a. Dag *ɔrt* E42, *ɔrtʷ* Z94b. EYu *hurtu* B58, *rdə* J95b, *hdur* Yu19. MgrH *ʂdur* J96a, *fudur* SM101. MgrM *ʂudur* DS234.

BaoD *fudə, futə* BL84a, *ftə* BL13, *fdu* T149. BaoGt *ftï* C129. BaoÑ *ʂdər* CN150. Kgj *šdu ~ štu* S296a. Dgx *fudu* B54, L112b, *fu̯du*, *fdu* BC85:45. Mog *urtu* R41a.

***urug** 'relatives by marriage'. Also in the combination **urug tarïg* (elsewhere in central Mongolic replaced by **urug törel*). CT **urug*, **urug tarïg*.

MMo SH *uruq* H167, HY *uruq, uriq tariq* M106, Muq *uruɣ, uruq* P367b. WM *uruɣ, uruɣ tariɣ* L885b. Kh *urag* H549a. Ord *uruq* M742b. Bur *urag, urag tarig* C472a. Kalm *urg* M535a. EYu *urəġ* J65, *ɔrəġ taraġ* B14. MgrH *urəġ* X22, *urəġ turəġ* X22. MgrM *wuro* DS231a 'inlaws', *ʊrʊğ* C371, *ʊrʊğ tarʊğ* C371. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *urəu* B23. Mog---.

***urugsï** 'forward'. In spite of the different vowel in the second syllable apparently related to the words with **urï-* listed above. Replaced by **emüne-gsi* in the QG languages.

MMo SH *uruhši* H67, HY *uruqši* M106, Muq *uruqši* P367b. WM *uruɣsi* 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 **urïldu-*. Like **kudaldu-* 'to trade' apparently a reciprocal verb of which the base has become extinct. Dagur *yɔll*^{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 *uruldu-* M742b. Bur *urildaaxa, urildaxa* C476a. Brg *ʊrıld-* 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 *ʊrd-* U42. Kalm *ursx* M537a. Dag *ɔrs-* 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 **sïra 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 *ɔxɔː* U38. Kalm *usn* M538a. Dag *ɔs* E39, Z93a. EYu *qusun* B65, J96a. MgrH *ʂʒu* J96b, *fuʒu* SM102, *sʒu ~ fuʒu* T359, *sʒu* X146. MgrM *fʒu ~ sʒu* JL468, *suʒu* DS259b. BaoD *sɵ*, *sə* BL83a. BaoÑ *sə* CN127. BaoX *sə* BC62. Kgj *sʉ ~ sü* S294a. Dgx *usu* B21, L111b. Mog *usun* R41a, *usun*, *ʊsʊ*, *ʊsun* W183b.

***uu**- 'to drink'. The etymological reality of the WM spelling *aɣu-* can not be confirmed. Cf. **ugǰï* 'feeding bottle' and **oačï-* 'to drink' (an etymological relationship with these words cannot be established).

MMo SH *ū-* H160, *u'u-* H167, HY---, Muq *uː-* P371b, LV *au-* P1258, IV---. WM *uɣu-* L864b, *uuɣu-* L889b, *uu-* L889a, *aɣu-* L15b. Kh *uux* H557b. Bur *uuxa* C481b. Brg *ʊː-* U35. Kalm *uux* M542a. Dag *ɔː-* E36. EYu *uː-* B18. MgrH *uː-* X15. MgrM *u-* JL463. BaoD *u-* BL83a. BaoÑ *uː-* CN19. BaoX *oː-* BC64. Dgx *u-* B17 'to drink (water in large gulps)'. Mog---.

***uuča** 'back; sacrum; crotch, hindquarters, rump'. The WM spellings *aɣuča* and *uɣuči* are certainly incorrect, but the *-ɣ-* in *uɣuča* is also unetymological, as this word corresponds to CT **uːča*. 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 *učа* (*uːča*) P371b 'back', LV *učа* P1255, IV *učа* L62:71 'back'. WM *uɣuča* L864b, *uɣuči* L864b, *aɣuča* L16a. Kh *uuc* H558a. Bur *uusa* C481b. Kalm *uuc* M543a. Dag *waːč* E332. EYu *uːča* B18 'sacral area'. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *učʌ* W183b 'back', MogMr, MogM *učа* L62:71 'id'.

***uur**- (?) 'to throw' see ***ugur**-

***uurag** 'biestings, colostrum'. The Muq form with unexpected *-ɣ-* 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) **aɣurag*. However, the **a* of the Turkic form is not found in any Mongolic form.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *uɣraq* (sic) P362a, LV---, IV---, RH u:raq 205B8. WM *uɣuruɣ* (sic), *uɣuraɣ* L865a. Kh *uurag* H557a. Ord *u:raq* M737b. Bur *uurag* C481a. Brg *ʊːrag* U37. Kalm *uurg* M542a. Dag *waːrəl* E332. EYu *uraġ* B20, J95a. MgrH *uraġ* J95a. BaoGt *orġə* 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 *uryа(n)* L881a, *uɣuryа* L865a. Kh *uurga* H557a. Ord *u:rġa* M739a. Bur *urga* C474a. Brg *ʊrag* U41. Kalm *uurɣ* (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 ~ ɣ* is not unique).

The Baoan words for ‘winter’, BaoD *ŋgun* 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. *ebülǰe-* P151a ‘to pass the winter’, RH *öbül* 201A21. WM *ebül* L290b. Kh *övöl* H403b. Ord *öwöl* M544a. Bur *übel* C489b. Brg *ugul* U49, *uβəl* U47. Kalm *üvl* M544a. Dag *uɣul* E44, *uwul* E50, *u:l* E43. EYu *βəl* B37, J94b. MgrH *rgul* J94b, X240, L464 (see remark above). MgrM *ugur* C395, *uġur* T355. BaoD *ul*^{y} P414a. BaoGt *vulə* C116. BaoJ *vul* L206. BaoÑ---. Dgx *un* B19, *uwən* B23, cf. *unça* L110b (+ čaɣ). Mog *ʉbʉl* R41b, *ebʉlå, ʉbʉlå* R27b ‘in winter’.

***üčüken** (?*öčüken) ‘little, small’. In view of the very numerous occurences (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 **bïčïkan* ‘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; EYu EYu *məla* B91, with equivalent in WYu, 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, *öčüüxen* H422b. Ord *öčö:kön*, *öčö:n* (= *čö:n*) M543a. Bur *üsööxen* C515a, *üsöö(n)* C515a. Brg *usə:ŋ* U51. Kalm *üčükn* M558b. Dag *uškən* E46, *uči:kən* E48, *učkən* E48. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *šǰiğaŋ* T152. BaoGt *śigɔŋ* C123. BaoGm *hʑiġaŋ* CN86:17. BaoÑ *ʑigaŋ* CN199. BaoX *ǰigaŋ* BC65. Kgj *šğɔ* S296a. Dgx---. MogMr *ʉčkɒ:n*, *ʉčkan*, MogM *ʉškɔ̃:* 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 *ʉdər*. 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:ćudə* CN61 ‘on the second day’ (first element **koïčï*), *kudu:d* CN83 ‘a couple of days’ (first element **kedün*), *tərə'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^{w}ainə* '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 *ᵾde* M747a. Bur *üde* C494b. Kalm *üd* M545b. Dag *udu* (?*ud*^{w}) T170 (see above). EYu *ᵾde:* B21, *ude* J96a. MgrH *dur* (sic, merged with *dur ~ udur* 'day') SM68. MgrM *dursuġo* DS239b 'noon' (the second element perhaps < Ch *shíhòu*). BaoD---. BaoÑ see above. Kgj *ᵾdər* (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-gsï* 'outwards', **dota-gsï* '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 koïgsï* '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 *ᵾdeši* M748a. Bur *üdeše* C495a. Kalm-?-. Dag *udiš* E47 'yesterday'. EYu *ödögšə* B17, J97a. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj *ᵾdəši ~ ᵾdeši* S280b. Dgx *uźieşï* 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 *gəşgəlaŋ* CN92 'last night', which should be from *şgudə(gu) śilaŋ*, cf. MgrM *çuguşulian* DS58 (cf. **öčügedür*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur *üdešelen* C495b. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *śuloŋ* J97b, *śiloŋ* X153, *śülɔŋ* X158, *şlɔŋ* X164. MgrM *šuloŋ* T389. BaoD *śilaŋ* BL84a. BaoGm *śilaŋ* CN86:302. BaoGt *şïlɔŋ* C108. BaoJ *şlɔŋ* L170. BaoÑ *śilaŋ* CN141. BaoX *šilaŋ* BC74. Kgj *šilaŋ* S65. Dgx *uźieşïlien* 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 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 *ʉdər* S281a. Dgx *udu* B22. Mog *ʉdʉr* R41b, *udur* W182a, *ɔdur, ɔdɔr* W174b, MogM *ʉdʉr*, MogMr *ɵdʉr* 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 *ʉɣe* 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 *ügï* C491a. Kalm *-go, uga:, uɣa:, ügæ:, ügɛ:* R446b. Dag *uwəi* E50. EYu *ʉɣʉi* B20, *ʉɣwei* B21, *ʉɣo* B20, *uɣui* J96b. MgrH *gui:, gua:* J96a. MgrM *ugui* JL465, *ugo* T368. BaoD *gi-* BL84b. BaoÑ *gi-* CN95. Kgj *ʉğı, ʉğua* (+ cop.) S280b. Dgx *ui-* L112b B. Mog *ʉgɛi* R41b, *ugɛı* 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* (Poppe: *öktebe*) which could be translated ‘s/he pulled out/plucked an eyebrow hair’. The equivalent Chagatay sentence seems inappropriate: *qašïŋ tüketi boldi* which Poppe 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’, *ömtɛ:-* R296a, *üntɛ:-* R458b. Mog *uptʌ-* 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 *kʉte-* B70 ‘to pull out (weed)’. MgrH *ʂde:-* X166, *sdie:-* SM334 ‘to pull out, weed, uproot’. MgrM *fʮdi-* C388, *ʂudi-* 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 *wəil* E336. EYu *ʉle* 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, *wəilie* B192. MogMr *hʉla*, MogM *ʉla* L62:72.

*__üisün__ (?**uïsun*, ?**uïlsun*) ‘birchbark’. In view of Dagur this word may have been back-vocalic originally, and later shifted vowel classes due to the *i* (cf. **nïur* > **niür*, and perhaps **saïnug* > **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 *ᠤᠭᠬᠢᠨ* 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 *ɔis* 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 *uʒ-* U52. Kalm *üzx* M547a. Dag *uǰ-* E48. EYu *eje-* B11, J97a. MgrH *uʑœ-* X20. MgrM *uʑi-* JL474. BaoD *nʑiə-* BL84b. BaoGt *nʑà-* C129. BaoJ *nʑa-* L126. BaoÑ *uʑi-* CN21. BaoX *njə-* BC71. Kgj *ᠤje-* ~ *ᠤji-* S281a. Dgx *uʐə-* B22. Mog *ᠤjà-* R42a, *uǰʌ-* W182a.

*__üjüg__ ~ *__üsüg__ ‘letter, character; writing’. Related to CT **üžük*, itself a loanword from an unknown source. For phonetic and semantic reasons difficult to compare to Dag *usuɣ*^{w} E46, *us*^{w} Z94b ‘word, speech’, *xuswulǰ-* Enk83:96b ‘to talk, chat, converse’. According to to Ramstedt (1935:460) **üjüg* and **üsüg* are originally unrelated words.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *üžük* 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). EYu *öjəg* J96b, B17. Dgx *urəu* [= *uʐəu*] B23, L112b, *užig* P418a, *užìg* 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 *uɣ*^{w}- E45, *u:-* E43. EYu *hkᠤ-* B59, *hgu-* J96b. MgrH *fugu-* J96a. MgrM *fugu-*, *xugu-* DS217. BaoD *fgu-* ~ *gu-* BL84b. BaoGt *fgə-* C129. BaoÑ *ʂgu-* CN148, *hgu-* CN70. BaoX *xgo-* BC63. Kgj *gᠤ-* S289b. Dgx *fugu-* B53, L112b, *fgu-* B55. Mog *ᠤkᠤ-* R41b, *uku-*, *ʊkʊ-* W182b.

*__üldü__ ‘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 **čïda-*). 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 *lʁ*, *lɛ*, *la* R33a, Mog, MogM *la*, *lɛ*, MogMr *ʁla, ʁl* L54b:138.

*__ündesün__ ‘root’. There is no *h*-less variant in Muq; nevertheless it seems unlikely that the **h-* is original. Peculiar distribution. Cf. **hïǰaur* ~ **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 derivates 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 *ʁne*, *ʁni* M757b. Bur *üne* C508a. Brg *un* U45. Kalm *ün* M551b. Dag---. EYu *ʁne* 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 **ünin*.

MMo SH *unen* H164, HY *ünen* M109, Muq *ünen* P381a. WM *ünen* L1009a. Kh *ünen* H579a, cf. Chakhar *unʸĩ* D173a. Ord *ʁnen* 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 **kanïa-* ‘to cough’. Kalm *üngn* 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 *uñe:* E44. EYu *ni:n* B26, J96b, (Qinglong dial.) *ne:n* BJ351. MgrH *une:* J96a.

MgrM *une* [*xuguar*] C370. BaoD *uniaŋ* BL84b. BaoGt *uniɔŋ* C111. BaoÑ *unaŋ* CN20. BaoX *ñaŋ* BC63. Kgj *ᵻniɔ* S280b. Dgx---. Mog *ᵻinȧ* R41b, *ᵻiɲʌn* W182b.

***ünügün** 'kid (goat)'. This word was lost in most central languages, perhaps because it phonetically merged there with **hünegen* 'fox'. In Kalm there is a word *üngn* '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 **ünegen*. 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* (Saitô reads *-r*) P1258, IV---, RH *ünügün* 199B26. WM *ünüg* (sic) LC 3:414b. Kh *ünüg* (sic) LC 3:414b. Ord *ᵻnᵻgᵻ* M759a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *unuk* S414. EYu *noɣon* B26, *nuɣun* J95b. MgrH *nugu* X36, *nəgu* J95b. MgrM *nugur* DS232b, *unyugur* P414a. BaoD *imaŋ nəguŋ* BL83b (*imaŋ* 'goat'). BaoGt *nogol* C117. BaoÑ *unġu* CN20. Kgj *nᵻɣᵻn* S282b. Dgx *unuğuŋ* B19, *nuğuŋ* MC300a. Mog *nɔku* W74, cf. Zirni *nᵻkᵻ: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 *ur^{y}ə:* D173a. Ord *ᵻre:* M760a. Bur *üryee* C512a. Kalm *ürä* M553b. Dag *ur^{y}e:* E49, and (erroneously?) *urə:* E83:221. EYu *ᵻre:* 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 Khorčin *itrəg* (Chagankhad 1995:200) and Dag *itləɣ ~ 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 derivates 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, *ʂdergɜ, ʂdərgɜ* X167. MgrM *śdərge* JL478, (Sanchuan) *iterge* P412b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *terġaŋ* CN166. BaoX *targaŋ* BC66. Kgj *tɔrğɔ ~ tarğɔ ~ tɔğɔ* S297a. Dgx *tuğoŋ* 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 *yoŋ* 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 *yaɣu(n)* L424b. Kh *yuu(n)* H869b, *yüü(n)* H870a, cf. Chakhar *yu:* D186b. Ord *yʉ:* M407a ‘what’, but instr. case *yu:ġa:r*, com. case *yu:tä:*, etc; also *yu:n* M406a, *yʉ: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, *yoŋ* T337. BaoD *iaŋ* Bl93b. BaoÑ *yaŋ* CN213. BaoX *yaŋ* BC65 ‘what’. Kgj *yɔ ~ yaŋ* S305b. Dgx *yaŋ* B185. Mog---.

***yaakï**- ‘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 *yaɣaki*- L423b, *yaki*- L425a, etc. Kh *yaaxi-n* H872a ‘how; why’. Bur *yaa geže* C787a ‘how; what’. Brg---. Kalm *ya:ɣă*- R213b. Dag (see above). EYu *ya:kə*- B152, *ya:ɣə*- J69. MgrH *ya:ġa*- X231. MgrM *yaŋgə*- DS23. BaoD *iaŋgə*- 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 *ǰa:ra*- P204a. WM *yaɣara*- L423b. Kh *yaarax* H871b. Bur *yaaraxa* C789a. Kalm *yaarx* M707b ‘to huddle together’. Dag *ya:r*- E325. EYu in *yara:ŋgʉi* 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 *yaβə*- 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 *yadrx* 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 *yämu* 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, *yœma* 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', *imʌ* W167b 'what (kind of)', *emʌ* W164b 'what', MogMr *yəmȧ*, *imȧ*, 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 ellement).

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 *yară* 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 *-ġ-* 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 *yaġsï* JL474, *yıġsï* C394. BaoD *iasuŋ* BL93a. BaoÑ *yasəŋ* CN215. BaoX *isəŋ* CN86:228. Kgj *yasun ~ yacun* S305a. Dgx *yasuŋ* B187. Mog *yo:sun* R30a, *yɔsud* (pl) W168b.

***yauma** 'something, thing'. Cf. **yama* 'id' listed above, which is used elsewhere.

MMo HY---, Muq---. WM *yaɣuma* 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:-* < **sïtaa-* 'to light', *x^{y}aŋkən* < **yaŋkan* 'prostitute'). A development **y* > **x́* > **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 čilaɣu(n)* 'boulder', *üker quluɣana* '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 *ʂge* J107a. MgrM *ʂugo ~ ʂgo* JL464, *xge* T384. BaoD *fgo ~ go* BL93a, *hgo* T150. BaoGt *fgo* C129. BaoÑ *ʂgɵ* CN147. BaoX *xgo* BC65. Kgj *gʉ* S318, cf. *gʉ-da-* S290a 'to become large'. Dgx *fugie* B52, L121b. Mog *ikȧ, ekȧ* 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 *xísən* B113, *šisən* J107b. MgrH *ʂʒən* J107a, X169, *sʒən* X146. MgrM *šʒeŋ* T384, *ʂïʒaŋ* (obs.) DS4. BaoD *iəsuŋ* BL93a. BaoGt *yəsuŋ* C142. BaoÑ *yirsəŋ* CN219. BaoX *isoŋ* BC67. Kgj *yasuŋ ~ yacun ~ yaʒuŋ* S305a. Dgx *yesuŋ* 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 *yʉ:le*- *~ yʉ:li*- M407b 'to empty', Bur *yüülexe* C738b, Kalm *yü:l*- R221b.

MMo---. WM---. Kh---. Ord *yʉ:*- 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 *yɔs* E331. EYu *yɔsɔ* B155, *yosə* J107b. MgrH *yos-la*- X236 'to respect; extend greetings'. Remaining lgs---.