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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
-lAη	V>N	
-lčA	V>V	reciprocal/cooperative
-ldU	V>V	reciprocal
-lgA	V>N	
-lgA	V>V	causative
-m	V>N	
-mA	V>N	
-mAl	V>N	
-nA	R>N	petrified formans
-r	R>N	petrified formans
-rA	R>V	forms intransitive verbs
-rA	N>V	forms intransitive verbs

-s	N>N	plural
-sA	N>V	desiderative
-sAr	N>N	
-sI	N>V	
-skA	R>N; N>N; V>N	
-sU(n)	R>N; N>N; V>N	partly petrified formans
-tA	V>V	passive
-tU	N>N	
-tAI	N>N	
-U	V>N	
-Ul	V>V	causative
-UIA	N>N	collective numeral
-Un	V>N	
-Ur	V>N	instrument

COMPARATIVE SUPPLEMENT

Alphabetical order:

a b č d e g h ĭ i j k l m n ŋ o ö s š t u ü y

Order of languages:

CM, MMo (SH, HY, Muq, LV, IV, RH, Ph). WM. Kh. Ord. Bur. Brg. Kalm. Dag.
EYu. MgrH. MgrM. BaoD. BaoÑ. Kgj. Dgx. Mog.

- A -

***a-** (?*a:-) ‘to stay, live’. In the central languages a defective verb ‘to be’. The Dagur vowel length is expected in monosyllables ending in a vowel, but the long vowel in the derived noun Dag *a:dal* E2, MgrH *a:dal* X2 ‘life’ may support an original long vowel.

MMo SH *a-* H4 ‘to be, stay, live’, HY *a-* M33 ‘to be, exist, stay’. WM *a-* L1a ‘to be, etc’. Kh *ax* H36b. Dag *a:-* E1. QG *lgs---*. Mog *Λ-* W158a.

***aarča** ‘curds from fermented milk’. MMo suggests **aarči*, but this is contradicted by Bur, Kh, and Kalm, as well as by the form in the Zirni manuscript.

MMo SH---, HY *a'arči* M33, Muq---, RH *a:rči* 188C3. WM *ayarča* L13a. Kh *aarc* H3a. Bur *aarsa(n)* C18a. Kalm *aarc* M19a. Dag *a:rč* E2. QG *lgs---*. Mog---, cf. Zirni *a:rča* (?) 15:5b ‘tuj’ (I could not find this Persian word, but the word is listed among ‘curds’, ‘cheese’, ‘milk’ and ‘water’).

***ab-** ‘to take, to get’. The final vowel in the QG and Mog forms is originally a connective vowel. The MgrM form *xəg-* probably originated in conjugated forms, first when the suffix started with a strong consonant, e.g. future *xəku* < **ab-ku*, perfect *xəsan* < **ab-san* < **ab-u-gsan*, imperfect converb *xəgži* < **ab-ču*, and then spreading to the other forms, e.g. imperfect *xəba* < **ab(-u)-ba*. The origin of the Dgx form is unclear, but it may be a further development of **abu-* > *abi-* found in Kangjia.

MMo SH *ab-* H1, HY *ab-* M31, Muq *ab-* P94a, LV, IV *ab-* (*abumu*) L14. WM *ab-* L1b. Kh *avax* H4a. Bur *abaxa* C21b. Brg *aβ-* U3. Kalm *avx* M23a. Dag *au-* E3, *aw-* E17. EYu *ab-* B2, J93a. MgrH *abu-* SM1, *awu-* SM16, *avu-* J93a, X11. MgrM *abu-* JL467, *xəg-* (?) DS225b, *xə-* C149. BaoD *apə-* BL57 ‘to buy’, BL80 ‘to take’. BaoGt *ap-* C114. BaoÑ *ab-* CN4. BaoX *ab(ə)-* BC70. Kgj *abi-* S278a. Dgx *agi-* (?) B2. Mog *ab-* R22a, *afu-* R22a, *Λb-* W158a, *ɔb-* W174a.

***abaga** ‘paternal uncle’.

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

Dag---. EYu *abga* P413b. MgrH *a:ga* SM2 (?=) ‘father’s younger brother’. Bao---. Kgj *aqā* (?=) S278b. Dgx *awuḡa* B6. Mog---, but cf. Hazara *abaga* (quoted from Ligeti in TMEN IV:370).

***abaldu-** ‘to wrestle’. The WM spelling *abuldu-* suggests that this was the reciprocal of **ab-* ‘to take’, which seems a reasonable etymology. However, both MMo and several QG languages suggest **abaldu-*, which cannot be dissected that easily.

MMo SH *abaldu-* H1, HY---, Muq *abaldu-* P93b, RH *abaldu-qčī* (?), unclear) 205C31 ‘wrestler’. WM *abuldu-* L6a ‘to seize or hold each other; (...) to fight each other’. Kh *avalḡax* (according to Lessing). Ord *awalḡa-* M36b ‘to come to blows’. Bur--- (only *abalḡaxa* as the reciprocal of **ab-*). Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *aḡaldā-* B2. MgrH *ba:ldā-* X42, *va:ldā-* X242 (there derived from **barīldu-*). MgrM---. BaoD *udā-* BL76. BaoJ *vud-* L206. BaoÑ *aude-* CN1. Dgx *amandu-* MC8a. Mog---.

***abčīra-** and ***ačara-** ‘to take/bring with one’. Form: The modern forms of these verbs are hardly separable. **ačara-*, although already found in early sources, may be a secondary development of **abčīra-*, which in its turn seems to derive from the converb **ab-ču* + **ire-* ‘to come’. EYu *hčəra-* could be the result of a form **pčīra-* < **abčīra-* (a parallel development is seen in EYu *hčəlḡa-* < **pčəlḡa-* < **bučəlḡa-* ‘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 *abcīra-* H1, *acīra-* H2, HY---, Muq *ačīra-* P95a, *ačara-* P122b, LV *abčīr-* Pop1254, IV *abčīra-*, *abčara-* L14. WM *abčīra-*, *abčīre-* L4a, *ačara-* L7b. Kh *avčīrax* H7a, *acrax* H38a. Ord *ačara-* M35a. Bur *asarxa* C63a. Brg *aḡšīr-* U4. Kalm *asrx* M53b, cf. *acrḡā* (obs) R18b. Dag *ačīr-* E14. EYu *hčəra-* BL62. MgrH *awuḡi re-* SM16. MgrM *xəḡīri-* (see **ab-*) DS24a. BaoD *apḡi rə-* B60. BaoÑ *awčīr-* CN86:230. BaoÑ *abčīr-* CN4. Kgj *ačīri-* S279a. Dgx *ačə-* MC2a. Mog *abčīra-* W158a, *əbčīra-* W174a, also *ačar-* R22a, *ḷčār-*, etc W159a, MogM/Mr *ačaru-* L62:14 (see above).

***ačī-** (< ***arčī-**) ‘to load’. Only the MgrM form reflects the earlier form **arčī-*, which is supported by the CT cognate **art-*. In view of CT, the original PM form may have been **artī-*. The *-t-* in the Dag form seems to be a relic of this form, but the *-r-* of the PM form was lost also in Dag. MgrH *śḡa:-* and MogM *v:čīya-* have been remodeled on the basis of the derived noun **ačīan*.

MMo SH *aci-* H2, HY---, Muq *ačī-* P95a. WM *ačī-* L8a. Kh *ačīx* H38b. Ord *ačī-* M35b. Bur *ašaxa* C68a. Brg *aš-* U13. Kalm *ačx* M59b. Dag *atʷ-* E13. EYu *ačə-* B6, J93b. MgrH *śḡa:-* J93b, *śḡīa:-* SM387. MgrM *arčī-* JL479. BaoD *ačī-* BL81a. BaoÑ *ačī-* CN8. Kgj *ačī-* S279a. Dgx *ačī-* B5, L109b. Mog *ačī-* R22a, *ḷčīd-*, *ḷčīt-* W159a (?sic), cf. MogM *v:čīya-* L62:15.

***ačīan** (< ***arčīan**) ‘burden, load’. From **ačī-* above. For the older form with *-r-* see above. The unconfirmed EYu *h-* (lacking in the verb) is secondary.

MMo SH *aci'an* H2, HY *ača'an* M34, Muq *ača'an* P94b, cf. *ači'atu* P95a, IV *ačiya* L15, RH *ača*: 201B26. WM *ačiya(n)* L8a. Kh *ačaa(n)* H38a. Ord *ača*: M35a. Bur *ašaa(n)* C67a. Brg *aša* (?*aša*:) U13. Kalm *acan* M58b. Dag *aʔe*: E13. EYü *hča:n* B62, *hjan* B62, *hja:n* J93b. MgrH *śža*: J93b, *śžia*: SM387. MgrM *arča* JL474. BaoD *áciaŋ* BL81b. BaoGt *ácɔŋ* C118. BaoÑ *áciaŋ* CN8. Kgj *ačɔ* S279a. Dgx *açaŋ* B5, *ačan* L109b. Mog---.

***adali** ‘similar, same, as’.

MMo SH *adali* H2, HY *adali* M34, Muq *adali* P95a. WM *adali* L9b. Kh *adil* H10a. Ord *adali* M3b, *adil* M3b, *adila*, *adili* M4a. Bur *adli* C31a. Brg *adil* U14. Kalm *ädl* M64b. Dag *adiʔ* E13. EYü *dalə* (only) S407. MgrH *dalə* J93b, *dali* SM42. MgrM *adaliŋ* (sic) JL468, *adali* T327. BaoD *adəli* BL81b, cf. *nəgtalə* BL11 (+ **nigen* ‘one’). BaoJ *adəli madəli* L1. BaoÑ---. Kgj *adali* S279a. Dgx *adali* T110. Mog *ado:li* R22a, *ədəli* W174b.

***aduun** ‘herd (usually of horses)’. The *a* of the second syllable suggested by one of the WM spellings cannot be confirmed by any language, but perhaps **ada-ska* ‘hide of emaciated livestock’ (not listed here) supports it.

MMo SH *adu'u(n)* H3, HY [*adu'uči* M34], Muq---, LV---, IV [*adu:nči* L145]. WM *aduyü(n)* L11b, *adayü(n)* L9b. Kh *aduu(n)* H10b. Ord *adu*: M4b. Bur *aduu(n)* C32a. Brg *adv* (?*adv*:) U14. Kalm *adun* M28b. Dag *adv*: E13. EYü---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***aduula-** ‘to tend livestock’. The EYü and Mgr forms derive from a shortened form **adula-*.

MMo SH *adūla-* H3, HY---, Muq *adu:la-qči* P377b. WM *aduyula-* L11b. Kh *aduulax* H10b. Ord *adu:la-* M4b. Bur *aduulxa* C32a. Kalm *adulx* M28b. Dag *adv:l-* E13. EYü *adla-* B6, J75. MgrH *dula:-* SM64. MgrM *adula-* J91. BaoD *adal-* BL73. BaoÑ *adala-* CN8. Kgj *adəla-* S279a. Dgx *adula-* B5. Mog---.

***aduusun** ‘livestock’. The Shirongol forms derive from a contracted form **a:sun*. Cf. **mal*.

MMo SH *adūsun*, *adu'usun* H3, HY *adūsun* M34, Muq *adu:sun* P96a, *adu'usu* P96a, cf. *adasun* P95b, Ph *adu'usun* P119a. WM *aduyusu(n)* L11b, *adayusu(n)* L9b. Kh *aduus(an)* H10b, *adguus* H10a. Ord *adagu:s(u)* M3a. Bur *aduuha(n)* C32b, *adaha(n)* (western) C31a. Brg *adgɔ:s* (←Kh) U14. Kalm *adusn* M28b. Dag *adus* E13, *adv:s* Z92b. EYü---. MgrH *a:sə* X7 also ‘bovine’. MgrM *asə* J91. BaoD *asuŋ* BL81b. BaoÑ *asəŋ* CN7. BaoX *asoŋ* BC64. Kgj *asun* S278b. Dgx *asuŋ* B5. Mog---.

***agsu-** ‘to borrow or lend’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *aqsu-qsan* P104a ‘loan’. WM *aysu-* (obs) L15a. Kh (?only) *agsan* H8a ‘borrowing or lending money at interest’. Ord---. Bur *agsaxa* C29a ‘to change, trade’. Brg *ags-* U5. Kalm---. Dag *ars-* E17. EYü *agsə-* B3, *əgsə-* J88. MgrH *asğu-* SM15, *asgö-* X8. BaoD *asxo-* BL77. BaoÑ *axsə-* CN5. Kgj *asği-* ~ *asiğ-* S278b. Dgx *asuğu-* B5. Mog---.

***agta** ‘gelding’, ***agtala-** ‘to geld, castrate’. The Mongghul form developed from a form *aχata* with epenthetic vowel or alternatively the strong *-t-* triggered the appearance of a secondary initial *h-*.

MMo SH *ahta* H3, HY *aqta* M36, Muq *aχtala-* P108b. WM *ayta* L15b. Kh *agt* H8. Bur *agta* C29a. Brg *aχt* U5. Kalm *agt* M26a. Dag *art* E17. EYu *agta*, *axta* B3, *agda* J93b. MgrH *χada* X70, J93b, *χadala-* X70. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *atala-* B5. Mog---.

***aïl** ‘camp, group of tents; village; neighbour(hood)’. Related to CT **a:gïl*; the Baoanic and Moghol forms are relatively recent borrowings from the same Turkic word.

MMo SH *ayil* H11, HY---, Muq---. WM *ayil* L20a. Kh *ayl* H13a. Ord *ä:l* M39a. Bur *ayl* C36. Brg *ail* U2. Kalm *ääl* M61b. Dag *ail* E2. EYu *ail* B1, J93a. MgrH *ayil* J93a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ağal* CN5 ‘village (of laypeople opposite a temple)’. BaoX *ağal* BC66 ‘market’. Kgj *ağa* S278b. Dgx *agəŋ* B2. Mog *avli* W159a ‘house’, MogMr *ayəl* L68, No.86 ‘flock of sheep, village of tents’.

***aïmag** ‘tribe, village’.

MMo SH *ayimaq* H11, HY *aimaq* M34, Ph *ayimaq* P119b. WM *ayimay* L21a. Kh *aymag* H13b. Bur *aymag* C37a. Kalm *äämğ* M62a. Dag *aimən* (← Manchu) E2. EYu---. MgrH *yi:mağ* X235, *imağ* X13. MgrM *imağ* C369, *yiməğ* DS259a. Bao---. Kgj *ima* S280a ‘peasant household’. Dgx---. Mog *aimağ* W158a (tribal name).

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

MMo SH *ajirqa* H4, HY *ajirqa* M34, Muq *ajïrya morin* Pop97a, LV *ajïrğa* Pop1255, IV *ajïrya* L15. WM *ajïrya(n)* L62b. Kh *azraga(n)* H12a. Bur *azarga* C35b. Brg *azrag* U14. Kalm *ajry* M30a. Dag *adʹrəy* E14, *ajrəy* E15, *adrəy* Z93b. EYu *ajərgə* B6, *ajïrğa* J93b. MgrH---. MgrM *ajïrğa* P413b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. MogMr *ajərya-du ira-* L62:15 ‘to mate (said of female animals)’.

***aka** ‘elder brother’. Some forms suggest **aga*, while others may be affective formations. In several languages it is only attested in the combination **aka deü* ‘brother(s)’, also used in the meaning ‘friend(s)’. The form with *-k-* seems to survive in EYu *həganar* B59 ‘man; husband’ (originally a plural in *-nAr*).

MMo SH *aqā* H3, HY *aqā* M36, Muq *aya dü:* P256a ‘brothers’, LV *aya* P1256. WM *aqā* L59b. Kh *ax* H36a. Ord *aχa* M8b, *ağa:* (Otok) M6b. Bur *axa* C65a. Brg *aχ* U5. Kalm *ax* M56b. Dag *ay* E7, cf. also *aka*: E7. EYu *ağa* B3, J93a. MgrH *ağa* SM2, X4. MgrM *ğa-dəu* C167, *ağa-di* Z326:204. BaoD *ağə-dəu* BL22. BaoÑ *ağa du* CN5, *adu* (contracted from the previous form?) CN8. BaoX *ağə* BC65 ‘elder brother’ (perhaps only in the combination *ağə du* ‘close friends’). Kgj *ağa* S278b, *ağa devu* S278b. Dgx *ağa* S126, *ağa jïau* B2. Mog---.

***ala** ‘crotch, groin; fork of trousers; hip’. EYu, MgrM, BaoÑ and Kgj display an inexplicable extra consonant (or morpheme), but all in different ways.

MMo SH *ala* H4, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *ala(n)* L26a. Kh *al*

H14. Ord *ala* M11a. Bur *ala* C39a. Kalm *al* M33a. Dag *al* E7. EYu *ala* J93a, *ala:d* S590, ?cf. also *olod* BJ337 ‘crotch of trousers’. MgrH *ala* J93b. MgrM *alaŋ* JL462. BaoD *alə* BL81b. BaoÑ *alar* CN6. Kgj *anla juğun* (*juğun* < **jakaun* ‘space between’) S278a. Dgx *ala* B2. Mog---.

***ala-** ‘to kill’. The *h-* of Mog *ha:la:* was emended by Ligeti from Leech’s spelling *kala-*.

MMo SH *ala-* H4, HY *ala-* M34, Muq *ala-* P97a, LV *alawul-* (caus.) P1257, IV---. WM *ala-* L26a. Kh *alax* H14b. Bur *alaxa* C39b. Brg *al-* U6. Kalm *alx* M37. Dag *al-* E7, Z91b. EYu *ala-* B3, J93b. MgrH *ala-* J93a, SM3. MgrM *ala-* T314. BaoD *ala-* BL81a. BaoÑ *ala-* CN5. BaoX *alə-* BC71. Kgj *ala-* S278b. Dgx *ala-* B3, L109a. Mog *ola-* R35b, *ala-* W158a, *əla-* W174b, MogMr *v:lv:-*, *hàlā-* (from Leech) L54b:134.

***alag** ‘multi-coloured, speckled, spotted’. The similar Turkic word found in Muq and Mog cannot be related if the *h-* of Khalaj *ha:la* is original.

MMo SH *alah* H4, HY *alaq* M34 [in *alaq ta’un* ‘white-necked crow’], Muq *ala* [←Turkic] P97a. WM *alay* L26b. Kh *alag* H14a. Bur *alag* C39a. Kalm *alg* M33b. Dag *ala:r* E8, Z91b. EYu *alag* B3, *alag* J93a. MgrH *alag* SM3, *alag* J93a. BaoD *alax* BL81a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *aləğ* S278b. Dgx---. Mog *alo:* [←Turkic] R22b.

***albīn** ‘demon, evil spirit’. Often used with **gal* ‘fire’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *albin* L28b. Kh *albin* H15a ‘evil spirit’, *albin gal* ‘will o’ the wisp’. Ord *albiy* M13b, cf. *albingī:* *gal* ‘will o’ the wisp’. Bur *al’ba(n)* C45b. Kalm *al’vn* M38b ‘naughty; playful’. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr *a:blu:* X1 ‘will o’ the wisp’, *abulu:* *gar* SM1 ‘will o’ the wisp’. MgrM *abulin* DS225.

***alčai-/ *alčala-** ‘to spread the legs’. The latter, surviving in MgrM and Dgx, may in fact reflect **alčaal-* (cf. Kh *alcaa* H19a ‘crotch, etc’). MgrH *x-* is due to the following *-č-*. Perhaps related to **ala* ‘groin’ above, but not in a morphologically transparent way.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *alčayi-* L28b. Kh *alcayx* H19. Ord *alčä:-* M18a. Bur *alsayxa* C44a. Brg *alsai-* U6. Kalm *alcax* M38b. Dag *alči:-* E9. EYu *alči:-* B4. MgrH *xalžai-* L168. MgrM *ərčala-* DS205b ‘q.v.’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *aŋcala-* B2, *alanə aŋči-* B3 (**ala* ‘crotch’). Mog---.

***alda** ‘fathom, armspan’.

MMo SH *alda* H5, HY---, Muq *alda* P98a, LV---, IV *alda* L16. WM *alda* L29a. Kh *ald* H15b. Bur *alda* C41a. Kalm *ald* M34a. Dag *ald* E9, *allə* E9. EYu *alda* B4, J94a. MgrH *alda* J94a. MgrM *arda* J88. BaoD *aldə* BL81b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *anda* S278a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***alda-** ‘to lose, to let go of, etc’. Cf. **gee-*.

MMo SH *alda-* H5, HY *alda-* M34, Muq---, IV---. WM *alda-* L29a. Kh *aldax* H16a. Bur *aldaxa* C42a. Kalm *aldx* M35b. Dag *ald-* E9, *allə-* E9. EYu *alda-* B4, J94a. MgrH *alda-* J94a. MgrM *ərda-* DS220b ‘to err’. BaoD---. BaoGt *andə-* C118. BaoÑ *alda-* CN6. Kgj *anda-* S278a. Dgx *anda-* B1. Mog---.

***ali** ‘which’. The Baoan and Kangjia forms (unexpectedly not in Dgx) may be due to the incorporation of the 3rd person possessive **inu* and subsequent contraction. Alternatively the *-n-* is a relic of the oblique stem **alin-*. Sečenčogt (1999:189) suggests that Kgj *ani* is a reduced form of *aniye* < **ali nigen* (a form *ani-ni* is also recorded). IV *ali* L62:16 ‘where’ may not be a mistake, as it is echoed by Dgx *alidədu* (sic) L85 ‘where’, Kalm *al’d* M38b, *äld* (Torgud) M65b ‘where’, *älin* (Torgud) M65b ‘from where’, Bur (Tunka) *alšaa* C45b ‘where’. Dag *anin* E6 ‘who’ may also be related, as well as the Monguor forms MgrH *anži*: ~ *anžæ* ~ *anžə* X3 ‘where’, MgrM *anži* J87 ‘where’.

MMo SH *ali* H5, HY *ali* M35, whichever, any’, Muq *ali* P98b. WM *ali(n)* L31b. Kh *al’* H19a. Bur *ali* C43a. Kalm *al’* M38b, *äl’* M65b. Dag *al’* Z91b. EYu *a:lə* B1, J93a. MgrH *ali* SM4, *alə* J93b, X5. BaoD *anə* BL81b. BaoÑ *anə* CN2. BaoX *anə* BC64. Kgj *ani* S278a. Dgx *ali* B3. Mog---.

***ali** ‘give me’, with several extended forms. Behaves like a verb and takes objects. The opposite of **maa* ~ **mai* ‘here you are’. Kgj instead uses *gere* S223, compared there to MgrH *gera* C306 ‘id’.

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

***alima** ‘fruit’. With *-n* in Kalm and part of Baoan. Agricultural term related to CT **alimla*, **alma* ‘apple’.

MMo SH---, HY *alima* M5 ‘pear’, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *alima* L32a. Kh *alim* H17b. Ord *alima* M16b. Bur *al’ma* C46a ‘apple’. Kalm *al’mn* M39a ‘apple’. Dag *alim* E8 ‘pear’. EYu *alma* B3, J93a ‘fruit’. MgrH *aləma* J93a ‘pear’, *alima* SM4 ‘name of several fruits’, *aləma* X5 ‘fruit’, *ləma* X113, *lama* L289, *ma:lə* (?=) L309. MgrM *amula* C369 ‘fruit’. BaoD *almanj* BL81a ‘fruit’. BaoGt *alməŋ* C119 ‘fruit’. BaoÑ *alma* CN6 ‘fruit; apricot’. Kgj *alima* S278a, *amila* S41 ‘fruit (general term)’. Dgx *alima* B3 ‘pear; fruit’. Mog---.

***alku** ‘step’. With secondary *h-* in Shirongol due to the strong consonant starting the following syllable. See the homophonous verb. Also **alkum*, derived from the homophonous verb listed below.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *alqu-* L34a. Kh *alxam*, *alxaa* H18b (new formations). Bur *alxa* (also *alxam*) C45a. Kalm *alx* (also *alxm*) M38a. Dag *alkud* (new form.) E100, Z91b. EYu---. MgrH *xalgu* J93a, *xalğv* X68, *χargu* SM161, *alğv* X5, *argu* SM13. MgrM *xargu-la-* JL476. BaoD *χalguŋ* BL81b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *halgu* S286b. Dgx *hayku* B64, *hanku* L109a, T139. Mog---.

***alku-** ‘to step’. See the noun **alku* ‘step’ above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *alqu-* P99a. WM *alqu-* L34a. Kh *alxax* H18b. Bur *alxaxa* C45a. Kalm *alxx* M38a. Dag *alkʷ-* E8, Z91b. EYu *alqə-* B3, *alğə-* J93a. MgrH *xalgu-* J93a, *xalğv-* X68, *argu-* SM13. MgrM---. BaoD *χalğə-* BL81b. BaoÑ *halğə-* CN65. Kgj *halgu-* S286b. Dgx *hanku-* L109b. Mog---.

***altan** ‘gold’. The *h-* in MgrH is due to the *-t-* starting the second syllable. Cf. CT **altun* ‘gold’.

MMo SH *altan* H6, HY *altan* M35, Muq *altan* P99a, LV *altan* Pop1257, IV *altat* L16 ‘piece of gold (money)’. WM *alta(n)* L33a. Kh *alt(an)* H18a. Ord *alta* M17a. Bur *alta(n)* C44a. Kalm *altn* M37a. Dag *alt* E9, Z91a. EYü *aldan* J94a, *altan* B4. MgrH *χaldan* J93a, *χardan* SM161, *χardam* SM160, *χaldan* T372, *χaldan* X68. MgrM *artañ* JL469. BaoD *altañ* BL81a. BaoGt *altəŋ* C103. BaoÑ *altañ* CN6. BaoX *andañ* BL63. Kgj *antə* S278a. Dgx *antaŋ* B4, *antan* L109a. Mog *Altān* W158b, MogMr *altv:n* L62:16 ‘silver piece (money)’, R---.

***aman** ‘mouth’ often also ‘opening’.

MMo SH *ama(n)* H6, HY *aman* M35, Muq *aman* P99b, LV *aman* P1257, IV *aman* L16. WM *ama(n)* L35a. Kh *am(an)* H19b. Bur *ama(n)* C46a. Kalm *amn* M40a. Dag *am* E10. EYü *aman* B4, J93b. MgrH *ama* X6, SM5, J93b. MgrM *ama* JL462. BaoD *aman* BL81b, *amaŋ* BL5. BaoGt *aməŋ* C101. BaoÑ *amaŋ* CN6. BaoX *amaŋ* BC63. Kgj *amə* S278b. Dgx *amaŋ* B3, *aman* L109b. Mog *aman*, *amun* R22b, *āmān* W158b, MogMr *v:mv:n* L62:17.

***amasar** ‘opening (usu. of a vessel)’. Apparently from **aman* ‘mouth’ above.

MMo SH *amasar* H6, HY *amasar* M35, Muq *amasar* P100a. WM *amasar* L36b, *amsar* L39a. Kh *amsar* H22b. Bur *amhar* C51a. Brg *amv:r* U11. Kalm *amsr* R10a. Dag *amsər* E10. EYü---. MgrH *amasar* SM5, *amusar* SM7 ‘cover, lid’; *amasar* X7 ‘cover; opening’. Bao---. Dgx *amasa* B4, *masa* MC256a. Mog---.

***amīn** ‘life; breath’.

MMo SH *ami(n)* H6, HY *amin* M35, Muq *amin* P100b, LV *amin* P1257 ‘soul’. WM *ami(n)* L37a. Kh *am’* (*amin*) H23b. Ord *ami* M20b. Bur *ami(n)* C49b. Brg *am’* U11. Kalm *ämn* M66a. Dag *am’* E11. EYü *amən* B5, J93b. MgrH *amun* J93b, *ami* SM6, *amən* X7. MgrM *ami* JL461. BaoD *amuŋ* BL81a. BaoÑ---. BaoX *aməŋ* BC61. Kgj *amin* S278b. Dgx *amiŋ* B4. Mog---.

***amītu**, ***amīdu** ‘alive’. Both derived from **amīn* above; the second apparently from the dat.-loc. case ending.

MMo SH *amidu* H7 ‘living being’, *amitu* H7 ‘alive’, HY---, Muq *amidu* P100a, *amitu* P101a, LV *amitu* P1258 ‘having a soul’. Dag *am’du*, *am’nun*. EYü only *amtan* B6 (originally pl.) ‘animal(s)’. MgrH *amutə* J93b. MgrM *amidu* T314. Bao *amtə* BL81b. Dgx *amitu* B4. Mog *amdun* R22b ‘living, alive’, *amdula-* R222b ‘to come alive’, *o:mudula-* R35b ‘id’, MogMr *amudun* L54:127 ‘alive’.

***amsa-/ *amta-** ‘to taste’ (the latter form influenced by **amtan*?). The *h-* suggested by one of the MgrH forms arose due to the *-s-* of the next syllable.

MMo SH---, HY *amsa--* M35, Muq *amsa-* P101a, LV *amsa-* P1257, IV---. WM *amsa-* L39a, cf. *amta-* L39a ‘to have a taste for, find tasty’. Kh *amsax* H22b. Ord *amsa-* M21b. Bur *amsaxa* C50b, *amhaxa* C51a. Kalm *amsx* M42b. Dag *ant-* E6, Z91b. EYü *amsa-* B6. MgrH *amusa-*, *amsa-* X8, *amasa-* X7, *amsa-* J93b, *amusa-* SM7, *χamsa-* C86:574, *amta-* X8. BaoD-?. BaoÑ *amsa-* CN7. Dgx *amusa-* B4, L109b. Mog *amsa-* R23a, *əmsə-* W174b.

***amtan** ‘taste, flavour’. The *h-* suggested by one of the MgrH forms arose due to the *-t-* of the next syllable. The final *-g* in BaoD is inexplicable.

MMo SH *amta-tai* H7 ‘tasty, delicious’, HY *amtan* M35, Muq *amta*, *amtan* P101a. WM *amta(n)* L39a. Kh *amt* (sic, no *-an*) H22b. Ord *amta* M22a. Bur *amta(n)* C50b. Kalm *amtn* M42b. Dag *ant* E6, Z91b. EYu *amtan* B6. MgrH *amuta*, *amtar* X8, *amuta* SM7, *amta* J93b, *χamta* C86:574. MgrM *añtu-don* DS254b ‘tasty’. BaoD *amtæg* (sic) BL81a. BaoÑ *amtā-tā* CN7. Kgj *antatu* S278a ‘fragrant’. Dgx *anda-tu* B1 ‘tasty, delicious’. Mog *amta* R23a, W---.

***amun** ‘rice; millet; rice gruel’, also used for other cereals, or as a general term. **narin amun* generally denotes ‘millet’. Note the erratic vowel lengths, the first vowel in Ord, Brg and MgrH, the second vowel in Kh. Missing both in Kalm and Bur.

MMo SH [*amicin* H6, *amucin* H7 ‘Reisverwalter’], HY *amun* M35, Muq *amun* P102a ‘millet’, Ph *amu* P119b. WM *amu(n)* L40a. Kh *amuu* (sic, no *-n*) H23a ‘cereal, grain’. Ord *amu* ~ *a:mu* M22b ‘millet à panicules’. Bur---. Brg *a:m* U1 ‘cereal’. Kalm---. Dag *am* E10 ‘grain, cereal’, cf. the amalgamated compounds *mañḡælām* E194 ‘broomcorn millet’ < **moñgal amun*, *nar’e:m* E55 ‘millet’. EYu *amən* B5, J44 ‘grain, cereal’, *narən amən* BJ337 ‘millet’. MgrH *a:mu* SM6, X1 ‘millet’. MgrM *amu* C390 ‘millet’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *amuy* CN7 ‘millet’. Kgj *amu* S278b ‘millet’. Dgx *aməḡ* B4 also ‘rice gruel’. Mog---.

***amusun** ‘name of several cereal dishes (not specified in the following); cooked rice’. Apparently derived from **amun* above.

MMo SH---, HY *amusun* M36, Muq---. WM *amusu(n)* L41b. Kh *ams* (sic, no *-an*) H22b. Ord---. Bur *amha(n)* C51a. Brg *amov*: U11. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *aməsən* B5. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *amusuy* MC10b. Mog---.

***ana-** (?*hana-) ‘to heal, get well, recover’. The **h-* suggested by MgrH is not confirmed elsewhere, but this word does not have the structure known to generate secondary *h-*.

MMo SH *ana-* H7, HY---, Muq---. WM *ana-* L42a. Kh *anax* H24b. Bur (only the caus ‘to cure’) *anaaxa* C51b. Kalm---. Dag *anə-* E5. EYu---. MgrH *χana-* J69, X68, *χana-* SM154, *ana-* X3, SM8. BaoÑ *ana-* CN2, (caus) *anaḡa-* CN2 ‘to cure, treat’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***anda** ‘sworn friend; friend’.

MMo SH *anda* H7, HY---, Muq *anda* P102b. WM *anda* L42b. Kh *and* H25b. Bur *anda* C52b. Kalm *and* (obs) M43b. Dag *and* E6. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *anda* B1. Mog---.

***andagar ~ andaga(i)** ‘oath’. The form **andagai* restricted to Mongol proper. The forms with *-m-* perhaps influenced by **aman* ‘mouth’. Related to CT **ant* (?*and) ‘oath’.

MMo SH *andaqar* H7, HY---, Muq *andayar* P102b, cf. LV *andaya:rad-* P1258 ‘to swear (an oath)’. WM *andayar*, *andayai* L42b. Kh *andgar* H26a, *andgay* H26. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *andyar* M43b. Dag---. EYu *ndaḡar* B28, *andaḡar* J88.

MgrH *ndəga* X38 ‘incantation’, *ndaga* SM261 ‘oath’, *amdaga* S624 ‘oath’, S625 ‘incantation’, *amdəga* L13 ‘incantation; wager; oath’. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *andərag* S624 ‘oath’. Kgj *andağa* S278a. Dgx *andağa* B1. Mog---.

***anjasun ~ *anjisun** ‘plough’. The form **anjisun* from PM **andisun*. The palatal element in Kh *andis* and some of the Ord and Kalm forms cannot be explained. Kalm apparently from **andaska*. Both Dag and the Shironjol languages derive from **anjasun*. The unique long vowel in Dagur cannot be explained.

MMo SH---, HY *anjasun* H36, Muq *anjasun*- P103b. WM *anjisu(n)* L47a. Kh *anjis(an)* H26a, *andis* H26a. Chakhar *en'dʷis* D168b. Ord *anjasu*, *anjus(u)*, *andüs* M23b. Bur *anzaha(n)* C53a. Brg *anʷjɔ*: B3. Kalm *andsx* M44a, *ancāsn* (*ancn*) R11a, *ändisn*, *āncn* R23b, etc. Dag *anja:s* E6. EYü **anjagsən* Man67. MgrH *nʒasə* J93a. MgrM *(a)nʒasī* JL478. BaoD *anʒisun* BL81a. BaoÑ *anʒisən* CN3. Kgj *anjasun* S278a. Dgx *anzasun* B2. Mog---.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *angyayi-* L43b. Kh *angayx* H24b. Bur *angayxa* C52a. Kalm *aŋyax* M45a. Dag *aŋgi:-* E6, *xaŋgai-* T173. EYü *aŋgai-*, *aŋgai-* B2, *aŋgi:-* J93a. MgrH *aŋgai:-* J93a. MgrM *aŋgai-* C373. BaoD *anyi-* BL81b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *aŋgei-* ~ *aŋga-* S278a. Dgx *aŋgai-* B2. Mog---.

***araki ~ *ariki** ‘alcoholic beverage’. Various forms within Baoan, including forms with an affricate from **k*, normally a Monguor development. Wanderwort found in numerous Asian languages. The MgrH form is likely to stem from Tibetan *a-rag*. Cf. **darasun*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *araki(n)* L48a, *ariki(n)* L53b. Kh *arxi(n)* H32b. Ord *ariki* M29a. Bur *arxi* C60a. Kalm *ärk* M69b. Dag *aryʷ* E16. EYü *arəkə*, *arakə* B7, *arəʰgə* J94a. MgrH *a:rəg* (only) L22. MgrM---. BaoD *raku* BL82a. BaoGt *ráci* C119. BaoÑ *rakə* CN221. BaoX *račə* BC73. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***aral** ‘island; river’.

MMo SH *aral* H8 (no translation), HY *aran* (sic) M36, Muq *aral* P104a. WM *aral* L48b. Kh *aral* H28b. Bur *aral* C55a. Brg *aral* U15. Kalm *arl* M50. Dag---. EYü *aral* (only) S116. MgrH *ara:l* X9 ‘river valley’, *ra:l* J93b ‘river’. MgrM *arur* DS209a ‘brook’. Bao *arəl* P419a ‘river’. BaoÑ *alar* CN6 ‘river valley’. Kgj *aran* S279a ‘floodland; small river’. Dgx *araŋ* B6 ‘river’. Mog---.

***aral** ‘shaft of a cart’.

MMo SH---, HY *aral* M36 ‘shaft’, Muq---. WM *aral* L48b. Kh *aral* H28b. Bur *aral* C55a ‘cart; shaft’. Brg *aral* U15. Kalm---. Dag *arəl* Z92b, *allə* E8 ‘shaft’. EYü *aral* J94b ‘axle’. MgrH *ara:l* X9, *ara:r* SM11, *ara:* SM9. Bao---. Dgx. Mog---.

***araljī-** ‘to exchange, trade’. In spite of its vague similarity to **araljī-*, Kalm *arcx* M52a ‘to trade’ rather stems from **arčə-* ‘to argue’. Both MgrM and Dgx have an unexpected *-u-*. In MgrH and EYü the vowel of the middle syllable was lengthened,

in Bao and Kgj the middle syllable was elided. Dag has a similarly compressed variant. This verb looks like a reciprocal, which makes semantic sense.

MMo SH *aralji-* H8, HY---, Muq *aralji-* P104a. WM *aralji-* L48b. Kh *ariljix* H31b. Ord *aralji-* ~ *arilji-* M27a. Bur *aralžaxa* C55a. Kalm---. Dag *alj-* E10, *aralji-* NK451a, *allji-* NK451a, cf. *arəlja:n* E15 ‘business, trade, exchange, etc. EYu *aralja-* B7, *ara:lja-* J21, *ra:lja-* J80. MgrH *ara:ži-* SM10, *ra:ži-* SM309, *ara:lži-* L19, *ra:lži-* L458. MgrM *arurži-* DS211a. BaoD *anjə-* T134. BaoÑ *alža-* CN6. BaoX *anjə-* C117. Kgj *anjə-* S278a. Dgx *arunža-* B6. Mog---.

***arasun/*arison** ‘skin; hide’. The latter form only in Kh. *Mittelsilbenschwund* in several languages, including Bur.

MMo SH *arasun* H8, HY *arasun* M37, Muq *arasun* P104b, IV *ara:sun* L17. WM *arasu(n)* L49a, *arisu(n)* L54a. Kh *ar’s(an)* H33b. Ord *arus(u)* M31b. Bur *arha(n)* C60a. Brg *arv* (?*arv:*) U15. Kalm *arsn* M51a. Dag *ars* E17. EYu *arəsən* ~ *arasən* B7, *arsən* J94a. MgrH *rasə* J94b, *arasə* (only) L20. BaoD *arsuŋ* BL82a. BaoÑ *arsoŋ* CN10. Kgj *arasun* S279a. Dgx *arasuŋ* B6 ‘&bran’. Mog *aro:sun* R23a, *arəsun* W175a.

***arbai** ‘barley’. Agricultural term related to CT **arpa*. In view of the CT cognate the PM form may have been **arpaï*, but the word is absent from Dagur, the only language that occasionally preserves postconsonantal **p*. Secondary *h-* in EYu is normally due to a following strong consonant; maybe WYu *harwa* (< CT **arpa*) has played a role here. The reason for the addition of *-i* in the CM form is unclear. The Bao-Kgj-Dgx forms and the Mog forms lacking the *-i* are more recent loans from CT **arpa*.

MMo SH---, HY *arpai* (sic) M37, Muq *arbai* P104b, IV *arpa* (←Tkc) L17. WM *arbai* L49b. Kh *arvay* H29a. Bur *arbay* C55b. Brg. Kalm *arwε:* Ram15b, *arva* (Derbet) M47a. Dag---. EYu *hrbai* B63, *rbai* J9. MgrH *šbai:* J9. MgrM---. BaoD *arpə* BL41/77. BaoÑ *arpa* CN10. BaoGt *aşbu* C120. Kgj *arpa* ~ *appa* S279a. Dgx *apa* B2, L9. Mog *arfa:* R23a, *arfēi* R23a, *arpa* W175a, MogMr *arpa* L62:17.

***arča** ‘cypress’. Cognate of CT **a:rtuč*.

MMo SH *arca* H8, HY *arča* M37 ‘thuya’, Muq *arči* (sic) P104b, *arčiin* *modun* P105a. WM *arča* L50b ‘juniper’. Kh *arc* H33a. Bur *arsa* C59b. Kalm *arc* M52a. Dag---. EYu *hrča* B63, *arča* BJ320. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoJ *arčí* L4 ‘incense’. BaoÑ---. Kgj *arja* ~ *ajja* S279a, *aja* S28. Dgx---. Mog---.

***arči-** ‘to wipe, to clean; to weed’. Related to CT **ari-t-* ‘id’. cf. **arčiur*, **aril-*, **ariun*.

MMo SH *arci-* H8, HY---, Muq *arči-* P104b. WM *arči-* L51a. Kh *arčix* H33a. Ord *arči-* M30a. Bur *aršaxa* C61b. Brg *arš-* U16. Kalm *arc* M52b. Dag---. EYu *arčə-* B7 ‘to wipe’. MgrH *a:rči-* (only?) L23. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *arči-* CN10 ‘to weed’. Kgj *ači-* S279a. Dgx *açi-* B5 ‘to weed with a hoe’. Mog---.

***arčiur** ‘rag, dust-cloth; towel; scarf’. The *h-* in MgrH is due to the following *-č-*. cf. **arči-*, **aril-*, **ariun*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *arči'ur* P178a. WM *arčiyur*, *arčiyul* L51a, *alčiyur* L29a. Kh *arčuur* H33a 'cleaning cloth, etc', *alčuur* H19a 'scarf, etc'. Ord *alču:r* M18a. Bur *aršuul* C61b, *aršuur* (western) C61b. Brg *aršo:r* U16, cf. *aʔšo:r* U8 'tobacco pouch'. Kalm *arčul* M52b 'cleaning cloth'. Dag---. EYu *alču:r* B4, J7. MgrH *xažir* (?=) SM149, *xa:žir* L164, cf. also *a:rčir* L23 'mop'. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *anču* MC11b, *anču* T111. Mog---.

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

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

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

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

***arilga-** 'to clean', in several languages also 'to castrate'. The caus. of **aril-* 'to clean' above. With shortened forms in several languages. Cf. **arči-*, **arčiur*, **ariun*.

MMo SH---, HY *arilqa-* M37, Muq---. WM *arilya-* L53b. Kh *arilgax* H31b. Bur *arilgaxa* C58b. Dag *alli-lya-* (newly-formed caus.) E9. EYu *alğa-* B3. MgrH *ariga-* SM14. MgrM *arərga-* JL462, *arurğa-* DS212a. BaoD *aləyasaŋ mori* BL81a 'gelding'. BaoÑ *alğa-* CN6. Kgj *alğa-* S278b. Dgx *aruluğa-* B6.

***arīa** '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 **azīg* 'id'.

MMo SH *ara'a* H8, HY *ara-tai* M37 'river deer', lit '(the one) with fangs', Muq *ari'a sidün* P105b, *?haria* (: *naria*) *šidün* P246a. WM *araya* L47b, *ariya* L53b. Kh *araa(n)* H27b. Ord *ara:* M26b. Bur *araa(n)* C54b 'molar; fang, tusk'. Brg *ara:* U15, but cf. *arʔa:-taŋ* U17 'wild animals'. Kalm *aran* M46b. Dag *ara:* (*šid*) E15. EYu *ura:* B19, J94b, *ara:* BJ320. MgrH *ara:* X9, SM9, *ra:* (*šdə*) J93b. MgrM---. BaoD *arə duŋ* BL82a, B19 (*duŋ* < **sidün*). BaoÑ *ariya* CN9 (perhaps *arə* + Ch *yá* 'tooth'). Dgx-?- . Mog---.

***ariun** 'clean; pure'. Related to **arči-* and **aril-* 'above'. The BaoÑ meaning 'completely' is echoed by Dag *aru:kun* E16 'all', MgrH *arən-də* X10 (originally 'until clean') 'completely'. It may also be present in Kgj *aχula* ~ *aχla* S278b 'all, everyone', Dgx *ašigala* B5 'everybody', which may be abraded forms of **ariu-kan* + plural ending. The final element may also be the comitative *-lUA* or the collective numeral ending *-lUA*.

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

J94b, *arin* SM14. MgrM *ariun* T315, *aroy*(-*široŋ*) DS212a. BaoD *aruŋ* BL82b. BaoÑ *aroy* CN10 ‘completely, totally’. BaoX *aroy* BC64. Kgj *arun* S279a. Dgx *aruŋ* B6. Mog *oru:n* R35b, *ɔrun* W175a, MogMr *v:run* L62:17.

***aru** ‘back, posterior side’. Dag *arkən* could be a diminutive of this, but is more likely to stem from neighbouring North Tungusic.

MMo SH *aru* H9, HY *aru* M37, Muq *aru-* P106a ‘back’. WM *aru* L54b. Kh *ar* H27b. Ord *aru* M30b. Bur *ara* C54a. Kalm *ar* M46a. Dag *arkən* (see remark above) E16 ‘back’. EYu *a:r* (for expected **a:rə*) B1, J94a. Remaining lgs---.

***arug** ‘pannier, basket (carried on the back)’, usu. a basket for collecting dung. Any connection with **aru* ‘back’ cannot be established.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *aruq* P113a. WM *aruq* L54b. Kh *arag* H28b. Ord *aruq* M31a. Bur *arag* C54b. Kalm *arəğ* R13a. Dag---, EYu---. MgrH *aruğ* SM14. MgrM *arog* C369. BaoD *aroug* BL50. BaoGt *arogun* C137. BaoÑ *arog* CN10. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *arogon* (sic) S115. Kgj *aruğ* ~ *arğu* S279a. Dgx *arəu* B6. Mog---.

***asara-** ‘to take care of; to bring up, raise; to adopt’. The EYu **h-* is secondary, and due to the devoicing triggered by the following *-s-*. In Bur-Kalm this verb was apparently associated and merged with **ačara-*. The MgrM form was incorrectly derived from *asī* < **aduusun* ‘livestock’.

MMo SH *asara-* H9, HY *asara-* M37, Muq *asara-* P107a, LV *asara-* P1256 ‘to defend’. WM *asara-* L56b. Kh *asrax* H34b. Ord *asara-* M32b. Bur *asarxa* C63a. Kalm *asrx* M53b. Dag *asər-* E12 ‘to nurse’. EYu *hsəra-* B60, *sra-* B104, *asara-* S122. MgrH---. MgrM *asīra-* Slater 2003:311. Bao---. Dgx---. Kgj---. MogMr *v:srp:-* L68, No. 124 ‘to look at; to guard’.

***aska-** ‘to pour out, sprinkle, spill, scatter’.

MMo SH *asqa-* H9 ‘to spit’, HY *asqa-* M37, Muq *asqa-* P107a, LV *asqa-* P1256. WM *asqa-* L57b. Kh *asgax* H34a. Ord *asxa-* M33a. Bur *adxaxa* C33a. Brg *atag-* U13. Kalm *asxx* M54b. Dag---. EYu *sqa-* BJ342, *sğa-* J93b, *sğa:-* S121. MgrH *sąga-* SM318, *sğa-* X143, *szağa-* L537. MgrM *siğa-* F119:39. BaoD---. BaoGt *sgə-* (?) C129. BaoÑ *asğa-* CN8, *ağsa-* CN5. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---, but it does have the derived intr. form *asqara-* R23a.

***au (& *auī)** ‘broad, wide, vast’. In some languages apparently supplanted by derivatives **audam* and **aujīm*. The forms with *-g-* in the central languages could normally be explained as borrowings from WM (reading pronunciations), but the Dgx and Mog forms also atypically display an intervocalic uvular.

MMo SH *a’ui* H10, HY *a’u*, *a’ui* M37, Muq *a’u* P108a, *u:* P371a. WM *uu* L889a, *ayuu* L18b, *ayui* L16b. Kh *aguu*, *aguy* H8b. Ord---. Bur *uu* C480a, *aguy*, *aguu* C29a great. Kalm *u* M526a, *ayu:* R3b. Dag *au* E3. EYu *ayui* (sic, only) S96 ‘huge’. MgrH *au:* J93a, *u:* SM462. MgrM---. BaoD *u* BL81b. BaoÑ *u:* CN19. Kgj *u:* ~ *u* S280a. Dgx *ağui* B2. Mog *ɔğui* W175a ‘spacious’.

***audam, *aujīm:** WM *ayudam* L16b, *ayujīm* L18b. Kh *uudam* Han555a, *uujīm* Han555b. Ord *u:jīm* M723b. Kalm *uujm* M541a. EYu *u:jəm* B19. MgrM *udan* C369.

***aula** ‘mountain’. The Mgr and Dgx forms unexpectedly point at **uula* > **ula*. The Bao and EYu forms may be either from **aula* or **uula*.

MMo SH *a’ula* H10, HY *a’ula* M37, Muq *a’ula* P189a, *u:la* P372a, LV *aula* P1260. WM *ayula(n)* L17a. Kh *uul(an)* H556a. Bur *uula* C480b. Kalm *uul* M541a. Dag *aul* E4. EYu *u:la* B18, J93b. MgrH *ula* J93a, SM469. MgrM *ula* JL463. BaoD---. BaoÑ *u:la* CN20. BaoX *o:lə* CN86:16. Kgj *ula* S280a. Dgx *ula* B20. Mog *avlə* W159, MogM *əula*, MogMr *aula* L54b:140.

***aur** ‘steam; anger’ see ***haur**

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

***auči-** ‘to sip’ see ***oači-**

***aus-** (tr.), ***austa-** (intr) ‘to smell, taste’. Actually **aus-* may have meant ‘to disperse, dissolve (intr)’ originally, and may in that case be derived from **au* ‘wide’.

MMo---. WM (suppl) *ayusta-* L1197a. Kh *uusax* ‘to dissolve, etc’. Ord *u:s-* M743b ‘to be perceptible (taste), etc’. Bur---. Kalm *u:s-* R455b ‘to have the right taste’. Dag---. EYu *usda-* B19 ‘to taste, smell’. MgrH *o:sə-* SM298b ‘to be enough to be tasted (e.g. of salt in a brew)’. Bao---. Dgx *suda-* (?=) MC372b, S109 ‘to taste’.

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

MMo SH *a’ušigi* (?*aušgi*) H10, HY *a’ušigi* (?*a’ušgi*) M37, Muq *a’uški* P108b, LV *awuski* P1259, *awusqi* P1261. WM *ayušgi(n)* L18b. Kh *uušgi(n)* H558a. Ord *u:ški* ~ *ušigi* M744b. Bur *uušxa(n)* C482a. Brg *o:tg* U36. Kalm *oošk* M400a. Dag *aurkʷ* E5. EYu *u:šgän* B18, *u:šgə* J93b. MgrH *o:sgu* J93b, *o:sgi* SM298. MgrM *oški* P415. BaoD *ošigəi* BL81a. BaoGt *ɔšgi* C100. BaoJ *ɔšgi* L138. BaoÑ *əχsə* CN16. Kgj---. Dgx *ušigəi* MC409a ‘heart, pit of the stomach’. Mog---.

***ayaga** ‘cup, bowl’. Several forms, including Kalmuck and most QG languages, derive from **aiga* < **ayiga*. Related to CT **ayak* ‘id’.

MMo SH *ayaqa* H10, HY *ayaqa* M38, Muq *ayaya* P108b, *ayaqa* P237b, LV *ayaqa* P1262, Ph *ayiqā* T138. WM *ayaya(n)* L23a. Kh *ayaga* H39a. Ord *ayağa* M10a. Bur *ayaga* C69a. Brg *ayag* U14. Kalm *aay* M17b. Dag *aiyə* E2 ‘the bowl of a pipe’. EYu *aiğa* B1, J93b. MgrH *yağa* J93b, *yæğa* X232. MgrM *yiga*, *ğa* DS208a. BaoD *aiyə* BL82a, *ayigə* BL23. BaoÑ *ayiga* CN9. BaoX *aiğə* BL62. Kgj *ayığa* S279a. Dgx *iğa* B11. Mog---.

***ayıl** ‘camp’ see ***aıl**

***ayu-** ‘to fear’. All modern forms derive from **ayi-*. P66 connects the (extinct) Old Turkic *ayin-* ‘to fear’, cf. EDPT (274b) where Clauson considers the resemblance

‘prob. fortuitous’.

MMo SH *ayu-* H11, HY *ayu-* M38, Muq *ayi-* P109a, *ai-* P96b, LV *ayu-* P1264, IV *ayu-* L17. WM *ayu-* L24b, *ayi-* L19b. Kh *ayx* H14a. Ord *ä:-* M39a. Bur *ayxa* C38a. Brg *ai-* U2. Kalm *äax* M63a. Dag *ai-* E2, *ay-* E15. EYu *ai-* B1, J94b. MgrH *ayə-* J93b. MgrM *ayi-* JL461. BaoD *ayi-* BL82b. BaoÑ *ayi-* CN9. BaoX *ai-* BC66. Kgj *ayi-* S279a. Dgx *ayi-* B6. Mog *ai:-* R22b, *ai-*, *ai-* W158a.

- B -

***ba** ‘we (exclusive)’. Some inflected forms survive in languages that lost **ba* itself, e.g. Bur *man-* C291a (oblique stem of *bide* < **bīda*) as well as *maanad(uud)* C289b ‘we’, Brg *man* U143. In QG the genitive and/or accusative survive, cf. EYu *manə* J21 (postnominal possessive) ‘our’, BaoD *manə* BL33 ‘our (incl.)’, Dgx *mani* ~ *mayi* (gen./acc.) B102/104, *mai* (postnominal possessive) L44 ‘our’. New nominatives were also formed, as in BaoD *mangə* BL33, Dgx *matan* B103, L49 ‘we (incl.)’, Kgj *mənə* S292a ‘we (incl.)’. Cf. **bīda* ‘we (inclusive)’ and **bī* ‘I’.

MMo SH *ba* H11, HY *ba* M38, Muq---, WM *ba* L64a. Kh *ba* (obs) H41 ‘we’. Ord---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *ma* M337a, *maanr* (pl.) M337b. Dag *ba:* E65. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***baa-** ‘to defecate’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ba:-* P115b, WM *baya-* L67b. Kh *baax* H42a. Bur *ba:-* U65. Brg *ba:-* U65. Kalm *baax* M72b. Dag *ba:-* E66. EYu *pa:-* B38, J97b. MgrH *ba:-* J98b. MgrM---. BaoD *ba-* BL85b. BaoÑ *ba:-* CN47. Kgj *ba-* ~ *bai:-* S282b. Dgx *ba-* B33. Mog---.

***baasun** ‘excrement; dung’. Possibly for **baa-asun*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ba:sun* P115b, IV *bayasun* (sic) L18. WM *bayasu(n)* L68b. Kh *baas(an)* H42a. Bur *baaha(n)* C72b. Brg *baxa:* U66. Kalm *baasn* M71b. Dag *ba:s* E66. EYu *pa:sən* B38, J96b. MgrH *ba:sə* J98a. MgrM *basī* DS221. BaoD *basuŋ* BL85a. BaoÑ *ba:səŋ* CN47. Kgj *basun* ~ *ba:sun* S283a. Dgx *basuŋ* B37. Mog---.

***baatur** ‘hero’. Wanderwort also found in Turkic, Persian, and Russian. The form in Muq may owe its *-d-* to Persian influence. In view of the shape and meaning, the Dgx forms may instead be connected to, or at least influenced by **batu* ‘strong’.

MMo SH *ba’atur* H11, HY *ba’atur* M38, Muq *ba:dur* P115b. WM *bayatur* L68b. Kh *baatar* H42a. Bur *baatar* C72a. Brg *ba:tar* U65. Kalm *baatr* Mun72a. Dag *ba:tur* E66. EYu *ba:tār* B29, *ba:tār* J98b. MgrH *ba:tur* J98a, *ba:tār* X43. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *baduru* ~ *baturu* ~ *batulu* B37 ‘young and vigorous man’. Mog---.

***baga** ‘small’. Cf. **bičikan*, **üčüken*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *baya* L67a. Kh *baga* H42b. Bur *baga* C73a. Brg *bag* U66. Kalm *bay* M74b. Dag---. EYu *bağa* B30, J97b. Remaining lgs---.

***bagta-** ‘to have the capacity of, to fit into, to suit; to sink’. Interestingly, MgrM, Kgj and Dgx share the same form *puda-*. However, Kgj has two forms, suggesting interdialectal borrowing. Note the metathesis in BaoGt (cf. **čidkör*, **sedki-* for the reverse).

MMo SH *baqta’aldu-* (caus. + reciprocal) H11, HY---, Muq *baqta-* P111b. WM *bayta-* L70a. Kh *bagtax* H44b. Bur *bagtaxa* C75a. Kalm *bagtx* Mun74a. Dag *bart-* E73 ‘etc’. EYu *bagta-* B30. MgrH *pağda-* X54. MgrM *puda-* JL467. BaoD---. BaoGt *vatğə-* C116. BaoÑ *wağta-* CN226. BaoX *əğtə-* CN86:283. Kgj *pağda-* ~ *pəğta-* S284a ‘to sink into’, *puda-* ~ *puta-* S284b ‘to fit into’. Dgx *puda-* B48. Mog *baχta-* R23b.

***bäi-** ‘to stand still, to stop, to pause’. **bäi-* ‘to be’, a semantic development of this verb (as in the verb **a-* listed above), is not included here. The auxiliary verb has often developed reduced shapes, e.g. MgrH *vai-*, *vi:-*, *i:-* X242/243/11.

MMo SH *baiyi-* H12, HY *bayi-* M39, Muq *bai-* P109b, *bayi-* P115a. WM *bayi-* L72b. Kh *bayx* H49a. Bur *bayxa* C80a. Kalm *bäax* M89b. Dag *bai-* E67. EYu *bai-* B30. MgrH *bai-* X43. MgrM *bai-* DS252. BaoJ *bi-* L14. BaoÑ *bi:-* CN51. Kgj *bei-* S283b. Dgx *bai-* B33. Mog *bēi-* R24a, *bäi-* W159b.

***bāidasun/*bāitasun** ‘mare’. An alternative form **bāital* 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 *bā:das(u)*, *bā:dus(u)* M59b ‘(..) mare of three, four, or five years that has not yet foaled’, cf. also *bā:tat* (pl.) M60b ‘young mares that have not yet foaled (..)’. Bur *baytaha(n)* C80a ‘not having had young for some years (of mares and cows)’. Brg *baito:ŋ* U65 ‘infertile female domestic animal’. Kalm *bäasn* M89b ‘three-year-old mare’. Dag---. EYu *baidasən* B30 ‘three- or four-year-old mare’. Remaining lgs---.

***baka** ‘frog’. It seems likely that **melekei* was the original Mongolic word for ‘frog’ and that this word is simply ←CT **baka* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *baqa* L92b. Kh *bax* H58b ‘toad’. Bur *baxa* C92a ‘frog; toad’. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *bağa* B30, J102b. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *paka* S284a. Dgx *bağa* B36. Mog---.

***bal** ‘honey’. Cf. CT **bal* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bal* P118a. WM *bal* L78a. Kh *bal* H49b. Ord *bal* M46b. Bur *bal* C83a. Brg *bal* U67. Kalm *bal* Mun78b. Dag---. EYu *bal* B30, J98b. MgrH *bal* J98a. X45. MgrM *bar* JL467, *bər* DS229. BaoD *bal* BL85b. BaoÑ *bal* CN48 (only in *bal bumbu* ‘honeybee’). Kgj---. Dgx *baŋ* B36. Mog---.

***bal(a)gasun** ‘wall; town’. The variant with four syllables seen in Sino-Mongolian can not be confirmed in the modern languages. CT **balik* ‘id’.

MMo SH *balaqasu(n)* H12 ‘town’, HY *balaqasun* M38, Muq *balyasun* P110a, *balqasun* P111a ‘wall; town’. WM *balyasu(n)* L80b. Kh *balgas* (sic) H50b ‘city, town, ruins or site of an ancient town’. Bur *balqaaha(n)* C83b ‘stable, pen’, *bulqaaha(n)* (sic, ?=) C111a ‘pen; hut’. Brg---. Kalm *balysn* M79b ‘town’. Dag---. EYü **balğasən* Her206. MgrH *balğasə* X45, *valğasə* X242. MgrM *barğasi* JL469. Remaining lgs---.

***bara-** ‘to finish, end’.

MMo SH *bara-* H13, HY *bara-* M38, Muq *bara-* P111b. WM *bara-* L82b. Kh *barax* H54a. Bur *baraxa* C87a. Brg *bar-* U69. Kalm *barx* M83b. Dag *bar-* E72. EYü *bara-* B31, J98a. MgrH *bura-* J98a, *bara-* X46. MgrM *bura-* JL463. BaoD *uärə-* BL86a. BaoGm *warə-* CN86:219. BaoÑ *wara-* CN227. BaoX *var-* BC70. Kgj *bəra-* ~ *bura-* S283b, *bura-* S19. Dgx *bara-* B38. Mog *baragda-* W160a (pass), MogMr *br:rv:* *yda-*, MogM *barayda-* L64:36.

***baraun** ‘right (hand side)’ Shortening of the expected contraction length in both Dag and Mgr.

MMo SH *bara'un* H13, HY *bara'un* M39, Muq *bara'un* [P: u:] P112a, *baran* [ʔbara:n] P111b. WM *barayun* L84a. Kh *baruun* H56b. Bur *baruun* C90a ‘right; west’. Brg *baro:ŋ* U69 ‘west; right’. Kalm *barun* M83b ‘right; west’. Dag *barən* E72 ‘right; west’. EYü *baru:n* B31, J98a ‘right’. MgrH *varon* J98a ‘right, west’, *baroŋ* X46, *varoŋ* X243 ‘right’. MgrM *baray* C396. BaoD---. BaoÑ *bayan* (?=) CN48 ‘id’. Kgj---. Dgx *boruŋ* B43. Mog---.

***bari-** ‘to grab, to hold, to take’ as well as, in several languages also ‘to build, make, do’

MMo SH *bari-* H13, HY *bari-* M39, Muq *bari-* P112a. WM *bari-* L85b. Kh *barix* H56a. Bur *barixa* C89a. Brg *barʷ-* U69. Kalm *bärx* M92b. Dag *barʷ-* E73. EYü *bar-* B31, J98a. MgrH *varə-* J98, *barə-* X46, *varə-* X243. MgrM *bari-* C396, *bari-* T316. BaoD *uarə-* BL86a, *uar-* BL34. BaoÑ *war-* CN227. Kgj *bari-* S283a. Dgx *bari-* B38. Mog *bari-* R23b, *bari-* W160a, *bar-* W159b.

***bars** ‘tiger’. An Iranian word that probably entered via Turkic. The ‘un-Mongolic’ final cluster *-rs* was simplified in several ways.

MMo SH *barus* (?=) H13 ‘q.v.’, HY *bars* M39, Muq---. WM *bars* L88b ‘tiger’. Kh *bar* H52b, *bars* H56b. Ord *bar* M50a. Bur *bar* C85a ‘panther; tiger’, (western) ‘lion’, *baras* (sic) C87b ‘tiger; panther’. Brg *bar* U69. Kalm *bars* M83a ‘panther’. Dag---. EYü *barəs* B31, J98a. MgrH *bas* J98a, *basə* X45, *pasə* X54. MgrM *barsə* JL469, *bar(s)* C374. BaoD *bas* BL86b. BaoÑ *basə* CN48. Kgj *basī* S283a. Dgx *basī* B37, *basī* L114a. Mog---.

***basa** ‘again; also’. The *p-* is due to the following *-s-*. Related to CT **bas-a*.

MMo SH *basa* H13, HY *basa* M39, Muq *basa* P113a. WM *basa* L90a. Kh *bas* H57b. Bur *baha* C92b. Kalm *bas* M84a. Dag *bas* E71. EYü *pəsə* B39, J98a. MgrH *pusa* J98a. MgrM *puzə* C390, DS204a. BaoD *sa* BL58. BaoÑ *sa* CN121. Kgj

basa ~ *basya* (sic) S283b, *basya* S219 ‘also; or; otherwise, or else’. Dgx *pasə* B46, *pusə* L113a. MogMr *bp:sa* L62:19.

***batu** ‘strong, sturdy, firm (of people and objects)’. The unexpected *-r-* in BaoGt may be a byproduct of the aspiration of *-t-*. The initial *p-* in Shirongol is also due to the following *-t-*.

MMo SH *batu* H13, HY *batu* M39, Muq *batu* P113b. WM *batu* L91a. Kh *bat* H57b. Bur *bata* C91a. Brg *bat* U68. Kalm *bat* M84b. Dag---. EYu *batə* BJ321, J86, *bat* B31. MgrH *padə* J99a. MgrM *batə* ~ *batu* C375. BaoD *batə* BL86b. BaoJ *baštɿ* L12. BaoGt *barti* C107. BaoÑ *batə* CN48. Kgj---. Dgx *pudu* B48. Mog---.

***bau-** ‘to descend, come down’.

MMo SH *bao'u-* H12, *ba'u-* H14, HY--- [*ba'ura'ul-* M39 ‘to diminish (tr.)’], Muq *ba'u-* P114a, *bu'u-* P126b, *bu:-* P126b. WM *bayu-* L71a. Kh *buux* H86b. Bur *buuxa* C118b. Kalm *buux* M124b. Dag *bɔ:-* E79. EYu *bu:-* B35, J98a. MgrH *bau:-* J98a, *bau-Khas*43, *bu:-* SM30. MgrM *bou-* C374, *bau-* JL482. BaoD *bu-* BL85a. BaoÑ *bu:-* CN53. Kgj *bu-* S283b. Dgx *bau-* B34. Mog *bu:-* R25a, *böu-* R24b.

***bayan** ‘rich’. Related to CT **ba:y* ‘id’.

MMo SH *baiyan* H11, HY *bayan* M39, Muq *bayan* P114a. WM *bayan* L76b. Kh *bayan* H60a. Bur *bayan* C93a. Brg *bayan* U68. Kalm *bayn* M77a. Dag *bayin* E72. EYu *bayan* B32, *bayan* J98a, *buyan* S255. MgrH *bayan* J98a, *baya:n* X45. MgrM *bayan* JL466. BaoD *bayan* BL85b. BaoGt *bayəŋ* C103. BaoÑ *bayan* CN48. BaoX *bayan* BC64. Kgj *bayə* S283a. Dgx *bayan* B37. Mog---.

***bayar** ‘joy, happiness’.

MMo---. WM *bayar* L77a. Kh *bayar* H60a. Bur *bayar* C93a. Brg *bayar* U68. Kalm *bayr* M77b. Dag---. EYu *bayar* 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 *bayasī-* JL467. BaoGt *bəs-* C108. BaoX *bes-* CN86:222. Kgj---. Dgx *bayasu-* B37. Mog---.

***bečīn** ‘monkey, ape; ninth in the Twelve Animal cycle’. The Kalm form *sar-möčn* M442b may be an attempt to make sense of the etymon also found in WM *sarbačīn* L675a, *sarmayčīn* L676b, Bur *harmagšan* C677b. An Iranian word that probably entered through Turkic **be:čīn* ‘id’.

MMo HY *bečīn* M40, Muq *bečīn* P115b. WM *beči(n)* L93b. Kh *bič(in)* H63a, *mič(in)* H312b, *meč(in)* H339b. Ord *meči* ~ *méči* M463b. Bur *meše(n)* C313b. Brg *məš* U145. Kalm *möčn* M361a (see above). Dag---. EYu *be:žən* B32. MgrH *mučīn* X127, *mīčīn* SM237. MgrM *mečīn* P417a, *mičīŋ* T345, *mišižun* (?=) DS237a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *bečan* CN51. Kgj---. Dgx *biečan* B40. Mog---.

***beke** ‘ink stick; ink’. A cultural word that probably entered from Turkic but is ultimately from Chinese.

MMo SH---, HY *beke* M40, Muq *beke* P115b. WM *beke* L95b. Kh *bex* H98b. Bur *bexe* C134b. Brg *bax* U70. Kalm *bek* M93b. Dag *bəy* E75. EYu *beke* B32. Remaining lgs---.

***belbisün** ‘widow’. Mog *beβa* W160a ‘id’ is from Persian, although the similarity raises the question whether the root of the CM word may be of Iranian origin.

MMo SH *belbisun* H14, HY *belbisün* M40, Muq *belbüsün* P116a. WM *belbesün* L96b. Kh *belbesen* (?stable -n) H95b, *belevsen* H96b. Ord *belbesen* M63b. Bur *belbehe(n)* C131a. Brg---. Kalm *belvsn* M94a. Dag *bəlibsən* E76. EYu *belβasən* B33, J98a. Remaining lgs---.

***belčier** ‘pastureland’. In view of the MMo forms the modern form may be due to dissimilation. The final -i in Bur is hard to reconcile with the other languages. In Kalm apparently merged with **belčir*.

MMo SH *belji’el* H14, HY---, Muq *belčil* P116a, *belče’el* P150b. WM *belčiger* L96b, *belčigir* L97a. Kh *belčeer* H96b, *bilčeer* H62a. Ord *belče:r* M65a. Bur *belšeeri* C131b. Brg *bəšə:r* U71. Kalm *belčr* M95a. Dag---. EYu *belče:r* B33. MgrH---. MgrM *bərče* DS250 ‘slope’, Slater 2003:61 ‘pasture’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *bañə* B35. Mog---.

***belčir** ‘delta; confluence of rivers’. Cf Turkic **beltir*.

MMo SH *belcir* H14, HY---, Muq---. WM *belčir* L97a. Kh *belčir* H96a, *bilčir* H62a. Bur *belšer* C131b. Brg---. Kalm *belčr* M95a. Dag---. EYu *belčir* B33. Remaining lgs---.

***belen** ‘ready; ready-made’.

MMo SH *belen* H14, *bolen* H17, HY---, Muq *belen* P116a. WM *belen* L97b. Kh *belen* H97a, *bilen* H62a. Bur *belen* C132a. Brg *biləŋ* U71. Kalm *beln* M95a. Dag *bələn* E75. EYu *belen* B33, *bəlen* J98a, *bele:n* S148. MgrH *bulen* J98a. MgrM---. BaoD *balan* BL86a. BaoÑ *bəlan* CN49. Kgj *beilian* ~ *bailian* S283b. Dgx *bəlien* B39. Mog---.

***beri** ‘daughter-in-law; bride’.

MMo SH *beri* H14, HY *beri* M40, Muq *beri* P118a. WM *beri* L99b. Kh *ber* H97a. Bur *beri* C132. Brg *bər* U71. Kalm *ber* M95b. Dag *bərʷ* E77. EYu *be:rə* B32, *bi:rə* J98a. MgrH *be:rə* J98a. X46, *ye:rə* X234. MgrM *beri* JL466. BaoD *uerə* BL86a, BL54 ‘wife’. BaoÑ *werə* CN228 also ‘wife’. Kgj *bere* S283b, *šinuri* (**sini* ‘new’) S295a. Dgx *bieri* B41 also ‘wife’. Mog *beiri* R23b, *bəiri* W160b.

***berigen** and ***bergei** ‘sister-in-law’. EYu perhaps from **bergei* as Bolčuluu suggests but one would expect a long final vowel.

MMo SH *bergen* H14, *berigen* H15, HY *bergen* M40, Muq *berigen* P118a. WM *bergen* L99b. Kh *bergen* H97b ‘wife of older brother’, cf. *bergey* H97a. Ord *bergen* M66b. Bur *berigen* C132b, *bergen* C132b. Brg *bərgəŋ* U71. Kalm *bergn* M95b. Dag *bəryə:n* E77. EYu *be:rge* B32, *bi:rge* J98a. MgrH *bergen* J98a, *vergen*

X243, *burgen* L55, *urgen* L616. MgrM---. BaoD *urgan* BL86b. BaoGt *vurgan* C116. BaoÑ *wergan* CN228. BaoX *organ* BC64. Kgj *bergə* S283b. Dgx *banğan* B35, *bənyən* L114a. Mog---.

***beye** ‘body; person; side’. The meaning ‘self’ known from several central languages, is also documented for EYu. However, EYu normally uses *ejen* < **ejen* ‘master’ in this function. Also compare **öer-*.

MMo SH *beye* H15, *be’e* H14, HY *beye* M40, Muq *beye* P118a ‘body’. WM *beye(n)* L94b. Kh *biye* H61a. Ord *bəye* M62b. Bur *beye* C129b. Brg *bəy* U71 ‘body’. Kalm *biy* M98a. Dag *bəy* E76 ‘body’, E77 ‘side’. EYu *biy* B33 ‘body; self’, *bəi* J98a. MgrH *beye* J98a, *be:* X46, *buye* X52 ‘body’. MgrM *bie* DS207b. BaoD *baiyə* BL6. BaoGt *bē* C108 ‘stature’. BaoÑ---. Kgj *be ~ bei* S283b ‘body’. Dgx *bəyə* B39, *bəiyə* L114b ‘body’. Mog---.

***bī > *bi** ‘I’. The original back-vocalic form is suggested by **ba* ‘we (exclusive)’ and **bīda* ‘we (inclusive)’; as well as the parallel 2nd and 3rd person pronouns **čī* and **ī*.

MMo SH *bi* H15, HY *bi* M40, Muq *bi* P118a. WM *bi* L101a. Kh *bi* H60b. Chakhar *bi:* D173b. Ord *bi* M67b. Bur *bi* C93b. Brg *bi:* U71. Kalm *bi* M97a. Dag *bi:* E78. EYu *bu* B35, *bə* J98a. MgrH *bu* J98b. MgrM *bi* C375. BaoD *bū*, *bə* BL86b. BaoÑ *bə* CN49. Kgj *bi* S283b. Dgx *bi* B39, L114a. Mog *bi* R24a.

***bīčikan** ‘small’. Kh and Ord suggest **bīčakan*, whereas the word became front-vocalic in Kalm. It is unclear whether Baoan *bədi*, *bədgən* belong here. See also **üčūken*; some of the Baoan forms listed there may instead belong here.

MMo---. WM *bičiqan* L102a. Kh *byacxan* H100b ‘small child; small, tiny; a little’. Ord *bičaxan* M71b. Bur *bišixan*, *bišayxan* (western) C95b. Brg *bišxan*, *biši:xan* U72 ‘immature’. Kalm *bičkn* M101a. Dag *bači:kən* E71 ‘small, a little bit’. BaoD *bəjiğon* T135. BaoX *bədi* (?=) BC64 ‘small’. BaoÑ *bədgən* (?=) CN50.

***bīda** (?and ***biden**) ‘we (inclusive)’. The original back-vocalic form was preserved in Ord, Dag, EYu and the Monguor languages. The three central standard languages have the front-vocalic form. Dongxiang and Kangjia, and perhaps all the Baoanic languages (as far as the extant Baoan forms are not simply due to reduction), also have the front form. Moghol is inconclusive. Cf. **ba* ‘we (excl)’ and **bi* ‘I’. New inclusive formations in Shirongol, apparently based on inflected forms of **ba*, include BaoÑ *mangə* CN110, Kgj *mənə* S292a, Dgx *matan* B103.

MMo SH *bida* H15, HY *bida* M41, Muq *bida* P118b. WM *bida/bide(n)* L102b. Kh *bid(en)* H60b ‘we’. Chakhar *bəd* D174a. Ord *bida* M67b. Bur *bide*, *bidener* C94a. Brg *bid* U72. Kalm *bidn* M97b. Dag *bed* E78, *bād* E73. EYu *buda* B35, J98b, J25 ‘we (exclusive)’, *buda-s* B36, J25 ‘we (inclusive)’. MgrH *buda* J26, *buda-sge* J26, *buda-ŋgula* J98b. MgrM *buda-ŋ* JL484, *buda-dan* C198, *da*, *da-si*, *da-tan* DS77a (cf. Slater 2003:84, who no longer documents forms with preserved first syllable. BaoD *bədə* BL86a. BaoGt *buda* CN86:389 ‘we (exclusive)’. BaoJ *budā ~ budá* L18. BaoÑ *bədə* CN50. Kgj *bəde* S283b ‘we (exclusive)’. Dgx *bižien* B41, L114a ‘we (exclusive)’. Mog *bidā*, *bidā-t* R24a ‘we’.

***bīlduur** ~ ***bīljūur** ‘small bird’ (cf. **sibaun*). The first variant survives in Dag, the second in EYu and Shirongol. Probably related as well are two sets of further bird names. An apparent diminutive **bīljūukai* is found in Kh *byalzuuxay* H99b ‘a general term for small birds’. Ord *bīlju:xä*: M69a. Bur *bilzuuxay* C94b ‘small bird’, *bilzuurxay* (*šuvuun*) C94b ‘small songbird’, *bolzuuxay*, *bulzuuxay* C111b ‘small bird’, Brg *boljɔ:xɔi* U74 ‘small bird’. A second set is even harder to reduce to a single CM form: WM *boljīmor* L119b ‘lark’. Kh *boljmor* H67b ‘lark’, *byalzuumar* H99b ‘lark’. Bur *bolžomor* (Kab.), *bulžamar*, *bulžamuur* C111b. Brg *boljmv:r* U77 ~ *boljmor* U74 ‘small bird’.

MMo SH *bilji'ur* H16 ‘small bird, sparrow’, *bildu'ur* H16 ‘lark’, HY---, Muq---, RH *bildu:r* [eds read short ü] 200.B7. Dag *b'yellur*, *b'yeldur* E77 ‘lark’, *b'yəldur* NK479b ‘lark’. EYu *χara βöljir* B46 ‘swallow’ (*χara* ‘black’), *belžɔr* Z342:399 ‘bird’, *bulyür* (sic) Her199 ‘sparrow’. MgrH see ‘bat’ s.v. **sarīsūn*. BaoD---. BaoGt *binžir* C106. BaoÑ *bəlžir* CN49 ‘sparrow’. BaoX *bənžir* BC62 ‘bird’. Kgj *binjir* ~ *binjiri* S283b. Dgx *bunzu* B43, *bənzu* B39 ‘small bird; sparrow’.

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

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

***bīsūn** ‘quick, lively, smart’. ?cf. CT **bišig* ‘mature’ (lit and fig).

MMo SH---, HY *biši'un* M41, Muq *bišu:n* P119b. WM *bisiyu* L106a, *busiyu* L140b. Kh *bušuu* H87b. Ord *bušu*: M100a. Bur *bušuu* C119b. Brg *bošov*: U78 ‘quick, nimble’. Kalm *bušu*: R63b. Dag *bəšov:n* E82 ‘(of a child) healthy and lively’. Remaining lgs---.

***biči-** ‘to write’. One of the most widespread loanwords in Eurasia, ultimately from Chinese (cf. Turkic **biti-*). In Dag *ki-* ‘to do’ is used instead, under the influence of the neighbouring North Tungusic languages, where *ɔ:-* is both ‘to do’ and ‘to write’, and/or Manchu/Sibe, where both ‘to do’ and ‘to write’ are expressed by *arambi/aram*. The Monguoric languages use **jiru-*.

MMo SH *bici-* H15, HY *biči-* M40, Muq *biči-* P118b. WM *biči-* L101b. Kh *bičix* H63. Kalm *bičx* M102a. Bur *beše-* C136a. Brg *biš-* U72. Dag---. EYu *pəčə-* B39. Mgr--- [see **bičig*]. BaoD *puči-* BL86b. BaoÑ *pəči-* CN54. Kgj *pəči-* S284a. Dgx *pizi-* B47, L114b. Mog *biči-* R24a, W160b.

***bičig** ‘book, writing, letter (epistle)’. Dag *bitəy* E78 is from Manchu. The irregular loss of *-g* in BaoÑ must be due to the verb **biči-*.

MMo SH *bicik* H15, HY *bičik* M40, Muq *bičik* P118b. WM *bičig* L101b. Kh *bičig* H63a. Bur *bešeg* C135b. Kalm *bičg* M101a. Dag---. EYu *pəčəg* B39.

MgrH *puʒig* X57. MgrM *puʒig* JL467. BaoD---. BaoÑ *pəci* (sic) CN54. BaoX *pəʒəg* BC66. Kgj *pəciu* S284a. Dgx---. Mog *bičik* R24a.

***bidüün** ‘coarse, crude’. The vocalism of the first syllable is unexpected in several languages. Dag *u* in the first syllable appears instead of expected *i*. Most, but not all, of the Shirongol forms suggest an earlier form **bedun*. Cf. **sirüün* ‘coarse’, which shows similar phonetic developments.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bidü:n* P119a. WM *büdügün* L144b, *bidügün* L103a. Kh *büdüün* H89a. Ord *büdu:n* ~ *büdi:n* M101b, *bidu:n* M68a. Bur *büdüün* C121b. Brg *büdu:ŋ* U82. Kalm *bödün* M113b. Dag *büdu:n* E87. EYu *bodü:n* B35, *büdü:n* J98b. MgrH *budən* J98b. MgrM *beduŋ* JL477, *bieduŋ* C375. BaoD *baiduŋ* BL86a, *beduŋ* BL37. BaoÑ *bedəŋ* CN51. BaoX *bedəŋ* BC64. Kgj *beduŋ* S283b, *bəduŋ* S19. Dgx *bieduŋ* B40. Mog *beidu:n* R23b, *bäidun* W160a.

***bileü** ‘whetstone’. Related to CT **bi:legü*.

MMo SH *bile’u-de-* H16 ‘to whet’, HY---, Muq---, IV *bile’ü* L20. WM *bilegüü* L104b, *bileü* L104b. Kh *bilüü* (and *bilüür*) H62a. Ord *bilu:* M70a. Bur *bülyüü* [written *bülyuu*] C123a. Brg *bul’u:* U81, *bilu:* S151. Kalm *bülü* M127b. Dag---. EYu *buləi* B36, *bulu:* BJ321, *bulü:* J98a. MgrH *buliu:* J98b. MgrM *biliau* JL465. BaoD *bülü* BL86a. BaoÑ *bəlu* CN49. BaoX *bəlu* BC64. Kgj *bəliau* ~ *buliau* S283a. Dgx---. Mog---.

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

MMo SH *bušire-* H24, HY *büšire-* M45, cf. *bišire’ül* M41 ‘good faith’, Muq---, Ph *bušire-* P121a. WM *bisire-* L106b. Kh *bišrex* H64a. Ord *bišire-* M70b. Bur *bešerxe* C136a. Kalm *biširx* M102b. Dag---. EYu *šüre-* (only) S152. MgrH *šüre:-* X158, *šžüre:-* X161. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *pišierə-* B47.

***boa-** ‘to tie up, bundle, wrap’. The EYu *p-* is unexpected in the absence of a strong consonant. Cf. CT **bog-*.

MMo SH *bo’o-* H19 ‘to block, obstruct’, HY---, Muq *bo:-* P122b, *bo’o-* P121a. WM *boyo-* L111a. Kh *boox* H71a. Ord *bo:-* M72a. Bur *booxo* C105a. Brg *bə:-* U73. Kalm *boox* M109b. Dag only in *bə:j uy^w*- E83:21 ‘to die by hanging’ where it is viewed as an expression with **bau-* ‘to descend’. EYu *pu:-* B40. MgrH *bo:-* J98b. X47. Remaining lgs---.

***boarsag ~ *boarčug** ‘name of various types of bread and pastry fried in oil’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH---. WM *boyorsoy* L113a, *boyorčoy* L113a. Kh *boorcog* H71a. Ord *bo:rsog* M81b. Bur *boorsog* C105a. Brg *bə:rsog* U73. Kalm *boorcog*, *boorsg* M109b. Dag---. EYu *bu:rsag* B34, J74. MgrH *bo:rʒog* X48. MgrM *borsok* P421b, *puʒigo* DS224b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *børseğ* CN52---. BaoX *barsag* BC67. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***boas** ‘pregnant; with foal, calf, etc’. Cf. CT **bogaz*, but the erratic Muq forms seem to indicate that there was a genuine Mongolic form with rhotacism.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bo'ar*- P120a, *boyar* P120a, *boyur* P120b, *bo'or*- P121a. WM *boyos* L113a. Kh *boos* H71a. Ord *bo:s* (~ *bo:sor*) M82b. Bur *bood* C104b. Kalm *boos* (obs) M109b. Dag *bɔ:r* E79. EYu *bo:s* S337. Mgr---, Bao---, Kgj---, Dgx *bosī* B42. Mog---.

***boda** ‘large livestock (collective term for horses, camels, and bovines)’. Possibly the same word as EYu-MgrH **boda* ‘deer’: EYu *bɔdɔ* B34 ‘deer, stag’, *bɔdɔ* J98b ‘deer’. MgrH *bodo* J98a ‘deer’.

MMo SH *bodo* H16, HY---, Muq---. WM *boda* L108b. Kh *bod* H65a. Ord *bodo* M72b. Bur *bodo* C96b ‘large (of livestock)’. Kalm *bod* M103b. Dag *bɔd* E83. EYu *bɔdɔ* B34. Remaining lgs---.

***boda-** ‘to count; to calculate; to think; to plan’. Cf. **sedki-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *bodo-* L109a. Kh *bodox* H65. Ord *bodo-* M72b. Bur *bodoxo* C97b. Brg *bod-* U75. Kalm *bodx* M104a. Dag *bɔd-* E83. EYu *bɔdɔ-* B34. MgrH---, MgrM *bodo-* JL487. Remaining lgs---.

***bogani** ‘low, short (not tall)’. There are several unexpected forms. A metathesized form **bogina* seems to underlie the Ord and Brg forms. MgrM and BaoD share another deviant form, which may represent a dissimilation of an earlier **bogonin*. Also note BaoÑ *bəgdə*. Perhaps cf. CT **bokay*.

MMo SH *boqoni-t-qa-* H17 ‘to lower’, HY *boqoni* M42, Muq *boyani* P120a. WM *boyoni* L113a. Kh *bogino* H64b. Ord *bogoni* ~ *boğono* M74a, *bogino* M73b. Bur *bogoni* C96a. Brg *bɔyɪnʸ* U75. Kalm *boynʸ* M103a. Dag *bɔyɪnʸ* E81. EYu *bəğɔnɔ* B34, *bəğɔnə* B33, *boğonə* J98a. MgrH *boğnə* J98b, *boğon* ~ *buğon* X48/49, *buğun* L51. MgrM *boğoliŋ* DS235a. BaoD *boɣoluŋ* BL86b. BaoJ *boğolúŋ* L17. BaoGm *bəğñəŋ* CN86:17. BaoÑ *bəgni* ~ *bəgdə* CN52. Kgj *bəğəni* ~ *bəğɔni* ~ *bağəni* S283a. Dgx *boğoni* B42, *boyoni* L114a. Mog---.

bogar** (?bogaar**) and ***bagaur** (the same etymon?) ‘buttocks; anus’. The form with *a* in the first syllable does not survive in modern languages. It may have been influenced by **baa-* ‘to defecate’. Kh and Ord suggest **bukuur* or **bukaur*. Interesting distribution in Kh, Dag, Baoanic and Mog. Cf. **böğse*, **kondalai*, **konñiasun*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *baqa'ur* P111a, *baya'ur-* P163a (could also be read with *-u-* in the unvocalised first syllable), also *asabaqu:r* P106b with unknown first element, IV *bayayur* (sic) L17, RH *bayayur* (sic) 199A13. WM *buqur* L143a. Kh *buxuur* H87a. Ord *buχu:r* M92a. Bur---, Brg---, Kalm---, Dag *bɔyɔ:r* E80. EYu---, Mgr---, BaoD *boğor* BL86a. BaoÑ---, Kgj *bəğɔr* ~ *bəğɔ* S283b ‘female genitals’. Dgx *boğo* B41. Mog *buya:r* R24b, MogM *boyp:r* L62:18.

***bokī** / ***mokīn** ‘resin’. The form with *m-* and *-n* in Bur-Kalm. The loss of the second syllable in EYu is irregular.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *boki* L114a. Kh *boxʸ* H73b. Bur *moxi(n)* C301a ‘tree resin’. Kalm *mokn* M354b. Dag *bɔkʸ* E80 ‘rosin, colophony’. EYu *pɔğ* B40 ‘gum of a pine; tree sap’. Remaining lgs---.

***bol-** ‘to become, to be; to be possible or allowed’. Cf. CT **bo:l-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *bol-* H18, HY *bol-* M41, Muq *bol-* P120a. WM *bol-* L114b. Kh *bolox* H69a. Bur *boloxo* C102a. Kalm *bolx* M107a. Dag *bɔl-* E81. EYü *bɔl-* B34, *bol-* J98b. MgrH *olə-* J98b, *o:li-* SM296. MgrM *boř-* T318, *bər-* DS210a ‘can’. BaoD *ol-* BL52 ‘to become’. BaoÑ *ol-* CN17 ‘to become, turn into’. Kgj---. Dgx *olu-* B14 ‘to be possible, to be proper’. Mog *bol-* R24b, *bol-* W161a.

***bol-** ‘to ripen, to be cooked’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bol-* P120b, LV *bolya-* (caus.) P1267 ‘to cook’. WM *bol-* L115a. Kh *bolox* H69a. Bur *boloxo* C102a. Kalm *bolx* M107a. Dag *bɔl-* E81. EYü *bɔl-* B34. MgrH *balə-* X45, *bɔlə-* X48. MgrM *bar-* T374, *boř-* T318. BaoD *bol-* BL13. BaoÑ *bol-* CN52 ‘to ripen (grain)’. Kgj *bər-* S283b. Dgx *bolu-* B42. Mog *bol-* R24b, *bol-* W161a.

***bolgan** ‘all, every’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *bolγan* L117a. Kh *bolgon* H67a. Ord *bolgon* M78a. Bur *bolgon* C99a. Brg *bɔlgɔŋ* U74. Kalm *bolγn* M105. Dag *bɔly^w* E82. EYü *bɔlgɔn* B34, *bolgon* J54. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *aliğay boğon* B3 ‘no matter which, whichever’, *kieğay boğon* B75 ‘whoever’ (cf. **alī* ‘which’, **ken* ‘who’). Mog---.

***bora** ‘grey’. Note also the feminine derivation **boragčīn*, as in MMo SH *boroqcin* H19 ‘chick’, MgrH *burəğsji:* X52 ‘hen’. Cf. CT **boz*.

MMo SH *boro* H19, HY *boro* M42, Muq *bora* P121b. WM *boro* L121a. Kh *bor* H71a. Ord *boro* M80b. Bur *boro* C106a. Brg *bər* U75. Kalm *bor* M110b. Dag *bər* (in compounds only) E83, *bər* Z96a ‘brown’. EYü *bərɔ* B34 ‘camel colour’, *boro* J98b. MgrH *boro* J98b. MgrM *boro* JL464. Bao *boro* P420b. BaoÑ---. Dgx *boro* B43. Mog *boro*: R24b.

***boraan** ‘rain’. As Ligeti explains (1974:302) Mog is likely to be borrowed from Persian *bârân*.

MMo SH *boro'an* H19, *boro'on* H19, *boroqan* H19 ‘snow storm’, HY---, Muq---. WM *boroya(n)* L121b. Kh *boroo(n)* H72a. Ord *boro:n* M81a. Bur *boroo* C106a, *boroon* (lit) C106b. Brg *bərɔ:* U75. Kalm *boraan* M110b. Dag---. EYü *bərɔ:n* B34 ‘precipitation, rain or snow’, *boro:* J89. MgrH *buro:n* X52. Bao *bora* [asxajī] P413a (cf. **aska-*). BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *boron* (?=) R161a.

***bos-** ‘to get up, stand up’. The BaoÑ reflexes are hard to separate from those of **ös-* ‘to grow’.

MMo SH *bos-* H19, HY *bos-* M43, Muq *bos-* P122a. WM *bos-* L122b. Kh *bosox* H73a. Ord *bos-* M82a. Bur *bodoxo* C97b, *bohoxo* (western) C107b. Brg *bɔd-* U75. Kalm *bosx* M111b. Dag *bɔs-* E82. EYü *pɔs-* B40, *pos-* J98b. MgrH *posə-* J98b, *bosə-* X48, *basə-* X45, *pasə-* X54. MgrM *bosi-* JL467. BaoD *osi-* BL86a, *os-* BL75. BaoÑ *əs-* ~ *əɣ-* CN18, *wər-* CN230. Kgj *bɔs-* S283b. Dgx *bosi-* B42, L114b. Mog *bos-* R24b, *bos-* 161a.

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

MMo SH *bosoqa* H20, HY *bosoqa* M43, Muq (*de:dü*) *bosaya* P141b ‘intel’, *bosaqa* P143b ‘door frame’. WM *bosoqa* L122b. Kh *bosgo* H72a, *bošgo* H73b. Ord *bošogo* M83a. Bur *bogoho* C96b. Brg *bogv*: U73. Kalm *bosg* M111b, *bosxa* M112a. Dag *basrəy* E71. EYu---. MgrH *bosgo* J98b, *posgv* X56. MgrM *bosgo* JL469. Remaining lgs---.

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

MMo SH *botoqan* H20, HY---, Muq *botayan* P122b, *botaya* P245a. WM *botoya*, *botoyo(n)* L123a. Kh *botgo* H73a. Ord *botoḡo* M83b. Bur *botogo(n)* C107a. Brg *botog* U74. Kalm *botxn* M112b. Dag---. EYu *botḡon* B34. Remaining lgs---.

***bödene** ‘quail’. Dag suggests final -i.

MMo SH---, HY *bödene* M43, Muq---, LV *bödene* P1266, IV *bödene* L62:21. WM *büdüne* L144b. Kh *büdne(e)* H88b, *bödnö* H74b. Ord *bödönö* M84a. Bur *büdne* C121a. Brg *budən* U82. Kalm *bödn* M113b. Dag *bədən*^y E76. EYu---. MgrH *puduri* ~ *puduru* (?=) SM305. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog: Hazara *bə:danā* (etc) L62:21.

***böe** ‘shaman, sorcerer’. Cf. CT **böḡü* ‘id’. Cf. **idugan*.

MMo SH *bo’e* H16, HY *bö’e* M42, Muq---. WM *böge* L123b. Kh *böö* H75b. Ord *bö*: M84a. Bur *böö* C107b. Brg *bo*: U79. Kalm *bö* M112b. Dag---. EYu *bö*: KotL455. MgrH *bo*: X47. MgrM *bo* P422a. Remaining lgs---.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bö’ölje-* P123b, *bö:lji-* P124a. WM *bögelji-* L124a. Kh *bööljix* H75b. Ord *bö:lji-* M86b. Bur *böölžexe* C107b. Brg *bo:lji-* U79. Kalm *bööljix* M114b. Dag *bə:lji-* E74. EYu *böljö-* B35. MgrH *bo:ljo-* J99a. MgrM *barže-* C374. BaoD *banži-* BL86b. BaoÑ *bəlža-* CN52. Kgj *berji-* S284a. Dgx *banžə-* B36. Mog---.

***böere** ‘kidneys’. The SH forms with -k- must be due to an erroneous transcription from the Uigur script. Is Todaeva’s form a loan from central Mongolic? All other Dag sources give *basərt* for ‘kidney’ (< Tungusic **boso-kto*). Cf. also Dag *tauļ’e: buə:r* NK502b ‘chestnut’, lit. ‘hare’s kidney’ as in Kh *tuulayn böör* ‘chestnut’. CT **böḡür(-ek)* ‘id’. The MMo IV form was influenced by Turkic.

MMo SH *bo’ere* H16, *bokore* H17, *bokorai* H17, HY *bö’ere* M43, Muq---, LV *bö:re* P1266 (‘waist region’), IV *bö:rek* L21. WM *bögere* L124b. Kh *böör* H76a ‘& testicles’. Ord *bö:rö* M88a. Bur *bööre* C108a. Brg *bo:r* U79. Kalm *böör* M114b. Dag *bə:r* (?←Kh) T18, and see above. EYu *pū:re* B41, *pö:rö* (Qinglong dial) BJ350, *pi:re* J99a. MgrH *bo:ro* J99a. MgrM */bori/* = *bozi* C375. BaoD *borə* BL86b. BaoÑ *bə:rə* CN52. Kgj *bore* S284a. Dgx *boro* B43. Mog *böärä* R24b.

***böesüg ~ *böesün** ‘testicle’. In EYu and BaoŃ in fact with the same shape as ‘louse’ below. The Ordos form is also more likely to stem from the variant with *-n*. Cf. **böldegen*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH---. WM *bögesüg* L125a ‘testicle(s)’, *bögesügey* LC 1:276a ‘penis’. Kh *böösgiy* LC 1:276a ‘penis’. Ord *bö:slö-* M88b ‘to castrate (usu. said of rams and billy-goats)’. Bur---. Kalm *böösg* M115a. Dag---. EYu *baisən* B32 ‘testicles’. BaoŃ *bə:səŋ* (?=) CN51 ‘spleen’.

***böesün** ‘louse’. MgrM *bəsīgə* F102:36 ‘lice’ seems to be *bāsī gə*, i.e. **böesün* followed by the modal adverb *gə* (< **nigen*). Possibly related to CT **bö:g* ‘spider’.

MMo SH *bo’esun* H16, HY *bö’esün* M43, Muq *böwesün* (P: *bö’e:sün*) P123a, RH *bö:sün* 200A7. WM *bögesü(n)* L125a. Kh *böö(s)ön* H76a. Ord *bö:s(u)* M88b. Bur *bööhe(n)* C108a. Brg *buxə:* U80. Kalm *böösn* M115a. Dag *bu:s* E84. EYu *baisən* B32, *bü:sən* BJ322, J99a. MgrH *bo:sə* J99a. MgrM *bo:sī* C169 (and see above). BaoD *bosun* BL86a. BaoŃ *bə:səŋ* CN51. Kgj *bəsun* ~ *bə:sun* S284a. Dgx *bosun* B42. Mog *busu* W161b, MogM/Mr *bə:su’n* L62:21.

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

MMo SH *bokle-* H17, HY---, Muq---. WM *bögle-* L125b. Kh *böglöx* H74a. Ord *bög* M84a, *bögle-* M84b. Bur *büglexe* C120b. Kalm *böglx* M113a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *bugəle-* X49. BaoGt *bugal-* C114. Kgj---. Dgx *buğulie-* B43. Mog *bug* R25a ‘stopper, cork’.

***böğse** ‘backside, buttocks’. Cf. **bogar*, **kondalaï*.

MMo SH *bokse* H17, HY---, Muq *bökse* P123b. WM *bögse(n)* L126a. Kh *bögs* H74a. Ord *bögsö* M85a. Bur *bügse* C120b. Brg *bugs* U81. Kalm *bögs* M113a. Dag *burs* E88 ‘hindquarters of an animal’. EYu *bəgse* S161, *böxsö* K447. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoŃ *bərke* (via **bəske*) CN52. Kgj *besge* S283b. Dgx---. Mog---.

böjən** (?böjeŋ**) ‘young hare’. Ord and EYu support **böjeŋ* with non-high vowel and *-ŋ*. Kh *-j-* indicates an earlier form **böjīn*; *-i-* is supported by Kalm, which also has a long vowel, probably a secondary development. EYu *p-* is unexpected in the absence of a following strong consonant.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *böjən* [P: *bučan*] P357a. WM *böjün* (*böjön*) L128b. Kh *böjīn* H74b. Ord *böjōŋ* M84a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *böjōŋ* M114b. Dag---. EYu *pejeŋ* B39. Remaining lgs---.

***böke** ‘strong; wrestler’.

MMo SH *boko* H17, HY *bökö* (in pers. name) M43, Muq *böke* P123a. WM *böke* L126b. Kh *böx* H76b. Ord *bökö* M85b. Bur *büxe* C127b. Brg *bux* U80. Kalm *bök* M113b. Dag *buk^w* E84. EYu *bö^hgö* S162. MgrH *buko* L52. MgrM *boko bari-* (Sanchuan) P411a ‘to wrestle’, *woko bari-* DS261b (cf. **bari-*). Remaining lgs---.

***böken** ‘hump of a camel’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bökün* P345b, RH *böke.tü* 204A18 ‘hunch-backed’. WM *bökö(n)* L127b. Kh *böx* H76b. Ord *bökö* M86a. Bur *büxe(n)* C128a.

Kalm *bökn* M113b. Dag *buk*^w E84. EYu *bögön* (only) S162. Shirongol lgs---. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *bökkan* 20:5.

bökene** (?bökeene**) ‘gadfly, horsefly’ with several unexpected variant forms.

MMo SH---, HY *bökö’üne* M43 ‘mosquito’, Muq---. WM *bököne* L127a, *bükügene* (so read) L145b. Kh *böxnö* H76b. Ord *bököŋ* M86a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *bökün* M114a ‘mosquito’. Dag---. EYu *bögdæg* (?) B35 ‘mosquito’. MgrH *pugunağ* X56. Remaining lgs---.

***böldegen** ‘testicles’. Shirongol and Moghol reflect disyllabic forms in *-g* and *-ŋ* respectively.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *böldegen* P123b, IV *böldöge* L21. WM *böldege(n)* L127b. Kh *böldögöö* H74a ‘testicles’. Ord *böldögö* M86b ‘penis; testicle’. Bur *büldege(n)* C122a ‘scrotum; testicles’. Brg *buldæg* U81 ‘penis’. Kalm *böldögn* R56a ‘female genitals’. Dag *bəlluɣ*^w ~ *bəlduɣ*^w E76. EYu---. MgrH *burdu*: SM35 ‘penis (of children and animals)’, cf. *bu:də* X49, L49 ‘boy’s penis’. MgrM *pərdæg* DS255, (Sanchuan) *purduk* P422a ‘testicles’. BaoÑ *bəldæg* (?) CN49 ‘ball’. Kgj---. Dgx *paoda* (?) MC316a ‘scrotum’. Mog *buldaŋ* R25a ‘penis’, cf. also Mog *buydot* (?) W161b ‘id’.

***böś** ‘(piece of) cloth, textile; cotton cloth’. Wanderwort (probably from Arabic *bazz*) that entered Mongolic from Turkic.

MMo SH---, HY *bös* M43, Muq *bös-* (reborrowing ←CT) P124a. WM *bös* L128a. Kh *bös* H76b (cf. *büs(en)* H92b). Ord *būs* M, *bös* M88b. Bur *büd* C121a. Brg *bud* U82. Kalm *bös* M115a. Dag *bur*^v E88. EYu *peś* B39, J12, *pös* J5. MgrH *bos* X48. MgrM *bosī* C374. Bao---. Kgj *bəsi* S284a. Dgx *‘bosī* B42. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *buz* (so read) 13:3 (*-z* suggests this is the Turkic form).

***bötege** ‘bird’s crop, gizzard’. The central languages display slightly changed forms. The first vowel was unrounded in Kh-Kalm, suggesting a form **betege*. Bur indicates **k* instead of **g* (the voiceless *-k* in Kalm may be due to the preceding *-t*). Ord *betege* M67b ‘name of a stomach disease’, *butege* M107b ‘disease of the heart caused by grief’, may be related. However the Buriat disease names *büd’xe* C121b, *bed’xe* C129a are phonetically different from *büdxe* listed below.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bötege-* (P reads *-k-*) P123b, RH *bötege* 186C26. WM *betege(n)* L100b. Kh *beteg* H98a. Ord (see above). Bur *büdxe* C121b. Kalm *betk* M96b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *podogo* SM303 ‘gizzard’. MgrM *pieđigər* DS252b ‘stomach of an animal’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***bučal-** ‘to boil (intr)’ and ***bučalga-** ‘to boil (tr)’. The Kalm *-s-* (instead of expected *-c-*) is irregular. BaoÑ *šžal-* has been compared to WM *sijala-* L722a ‘to boil until soft, etc’, but can also be derived from the present etymon. Kgj is too abraded to be certain, but could be from **bučalga-*.

MMo SH *bucalqa-* H20, HY---, Muq *bučal-* P124a, *bučalya-* P124a. WM *bučal-* L129a. Kh *bucalax* H87b, *bucalgax* H87b. Ord *bučal-* M100b. Bur *busalxa* C116a. Brg *bosal-*, *boslag-* U78. Kalm *buslx*, *buslgx* M122a. Dag *bačil-* E71, *bačilya-* E71. EYu *hčəlğa-* B53, *pəjalğa-* J17. MgrH *šžolə-* X160, *šžolga-* X160,

śźüeli- SM392, *śźieli-* SM389, *śźieliga-* ~ *śźierga-* SM390, *śźüeliga-* ~ *śźüerga-* SM392. MgrM *pućar-* C393, *bićilga-* P414b, *pićierga-* DS207. BaoD *źiale-* BL79, *źiale-* BL60. BaoÑ *śźal-* CN152, *hźal-* CN73 ‘to cook’. BaoX *źal-* CN86:222. Kgj *je-* ~ *jeř-* (?=) S302b, *jiğa-* ~ *jağa-* (?=) S303a. Dgx *puźalu-* B48, *puźaluğa-* B49, *puźağa-* B48. Mog *bućo:l-* R24b, *bićol-* W160b (and causatives).

***budaan** ‘grain, groats; porridge; meal’.

MMo SH *buda'an* H20, HY *buda'an* M43, Muq *buda:n* P247a. WM *budaya(n)* L129b. Kh *budaa* H77b. Ord *buda:* M89a. Bur *budaa* C109a. Brg *boda:* U78. Kalm *budan* M116a. Dag *buda:* E86, *bada:* E71. EYu *bəda:n* B32, J98a, *buda:n* S165. MgrH *buda:* J98a. MgrM *buda* C375. BaoD---. BaoÑ *badan* (‘Tongren’) T134. Kgj *budɔ* S284a. Dgx *budan* B44. Mog---.

***budan** ‘mist’. Cf. **manan*.

MMo SH *budan* H20, HY---, Muq *budan* P124a. WM *budang* L129b. Kh *budan(g)* H78a. Ord *budan* M89b. Bur *budan(g)* C109a. Kalm *budn* M116b. Dag---. EYu *budan* B35. Remaining lgs---.

***budu-** ‘to dye, paint’. Cf. CT **boda-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *budu-* P124b. WM *budu-* L130a. Kh *budax* H78a. Ord *budu-* M90a. Bur *budaxa* C109a. Brg *bod-* U78. Kalm *budx* M116b. Dag *bɔd-* E83. EYu *budu-* B36, *budə-* J98a. MgrH *budə-* J98a. MgrM *budu-* JL464, *buda-* T319. Remaining lgs---.

***budug** ‘dyestuff, paint’. Cf. CT **bodog*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *buduq-* P156a. WM *buduy* L130a. Kh *budag* H78a. Ord *buduq* M90a. Bur *budag* C109a. Brg *bodag* U78. Kalm *budg* M116a. Dag *bɔdɔ:r* E83. EYu *budug* B36, *budog* J98a. MgrH *budəg* J98a. MgrM *budag* T319. Remaining lgs---.

***bugu** ‘deer’.

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

***buila** ‘camel’s nose-plug’. Apparently not attested in the QG languages, but it is found in neighbouring WYu *pila*. Cf. **döre*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *buila* P124b. WM *buyila* L132a. Kh *buyila* H79a. Ord *buila* M92b, *bu:li* (?< Oir) M95a. Bur *buyila* C109b. Brg *boilag* U76. Kalm *buul* M123b. Remaining lgs---.

***buřar** ‘dirt; dirty’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *buřar* L143a. Kh *buzar* H79a. Bur *buzar* C109a. Brg *bɔřar* U78. Kalm *buzr* M116b. Dag *bajir* E72. EYu---. MgrH *buřira:-* X52 ‘to become dirty’. Remaining lgs---.

***buka** ‘bull’. Agricultural term related to CT **buka* (?**bu:ka*, ?**bukka*) ‘id’. BaoÑ *warɣan* possibly from an Amdo corruption of the Turkic/Mongolic word, but may also involve Tibetan *ba-* bovine. Dgx may represent an earlier (diminutive) **buka-čug*; the *a* in the first syllable is unexpected.

MMo SH *buqa* H21, HY *buqa* M43, Muq---. WM *buqa* L142b. Kh *bux* H87a. Bur *buxa* C119a. Brg *box* U76. Kalm *bux* M124. Dag *bay* E70. EYü *pəyqa* B39, *puğa* J98b. MgrH *puğa* J98b. MgrM *puğa* Z338:346, *pika* P411b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *warɣan* (?=) CN227 ‘whole yak bull’. Kgj---. Dgx *bağaçəu* B36 ‘bull’. Mog *buqa* R24b.

***bukaur** ‘buttocks’ see ***bogaar**

***bula-** ‘to bury’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bula-* P124b. WM *bula-* L133a. Kh *bulax* H80b. Bur *bulaxa* C110b. Brg *bol-* U77. Kalm *bul-* R60a. Dag *bal-* E70. EYü *bəla-* B32, *bula:-* J98b. MgrH *bula:-* J98a. MgrM *bula-* DS209b. BaoD *bula-* BL86a. BaoÑ *bəla-* CN49. Kgj---. Dgx *bula-* B44. Mog---.

***bulag** ‘(water) spring’. Cf. CM **kudug* ‘well’.

MMo SH---, HY *bulaq* M43, Muq *bulaq* P289a. WM *bulag* L133a. Kh *bulag* H80a. Bur *bulag* C110a. Brg *bolag* U77. Kalm *bulg* M117b. Dag *bula:r* E85. EYü *bulag* B35, J98a. MgrH *bulag* J98a. MgrM *bulag* JL477, *bulag* DS252b. BaoD *bulag* ~ *balag* BL86b. BaoGt *bäləxə* C101. BaoÑ *balag* CN49. BaoX *balag* BC61. Kgj---. Dgx *bula* B43. Mog---.

***bulagan** (?**bulugan*) ‘sable’.

MMo SH *buluqan* H22, HY *buluqan* M43, Muq *bulgan* P125b. WM *bulaga(n)* L133a. Kh *bulga(n)* H80b. Ord *bulğa* M93b. Bur *bulga(n)* C111a. Brg *bolag* U77. Kalm *bulyn* M118a. Dag *baləy* E70. EYü *balagan* B31, *bulagan* S168 ‘marten’. MgrH *bulğa* S168 ‘marten’. Remaining lgs---.

***bulanğır** ‘turbid, unclear’.

MMo SH---, HY *bulunggir* M43, Muq *bulanqir* P125a. WM *bulanggir* L133b, *bulunggir* L136b. Kh *bulingar* H81a, *bulangir* H80b. Bur *bulangir* C110b. Kalm *bul’nyr* M119b. Dag---. EYü---. Mgr---. MgrM *pelenkur* P416b. Bao---. Kgj *bəlanğar* ~ *bulanğar* S283a. Dgx *bulanğəi* B44. Mog---.

***bulčirkaï** ‘gland’. Perhaps related to **bulčün* ‘muscle’ (not listed here), unless the first vowel was really *i*, as suggested by MMo. The Dgx form lacks the ending *-kAi*. Alternatively it could be related to Kalm *buljır* R59b (not found elsewhere?), but the strong *-ç-* speaks against this.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bilčirqai* P119a, RH *bulčirğa* [unvocalised] 205B1. WM *bulčirqai* L134a. Kh *bulčirxay* H82a. Ord *bulčarxä*: M96b, *balčarxä*: M48b. Bur *bulšarxay* C112b. Brg *bolširxai* U77. Kalm *bul’črxä* M119b. Dag---. EYü---. MgrH *pažərgai* X54 ‘lymph node’. MgrM *barčigai* JL467. Bao (unmarked dial) *bəncīgi* S169. Kgj---. Dgx *binçi* (?=) MC39b ‘lymph node’. Mog---.

***buli-** / ***bulia-** ‘to snatch away, seize’. The latter form, found in central Mongolic and Dag, formally resembles a causative.

MMo SH *buli-* H22, HY---, Muq---. WM *buli-* L134b, *buliya-* L134b. Kh *bulaax* H79b. Ord *bula:-* M93a. Bur *bulyaaxa* C113a. Brg *boŋ'a-* U77. Kalm *bulax* M117b. Dag *bəŋ'e:-* E75, *bəŋ'e:-* Z96a ‘to snatch, seize’, cf. the reciprocal *bəŋ'e:lč-* E75, *bəŋ'e:lč-* E81 ‘to fight for sth, to contend, to try to be the first’. EYu *bulə-* B35, J98a, *bələ-* S167. MgrH *bulə-* X50. MgrM *buli-* JL461, *bili-* C375. BaoD *bulə-* BL86a. BaoÑ *bəl-* CN49. Kgj *bəli-* ~ *buli-* S283a. Dgx *bili-* B41. Mog---.

***buluŋ** ‘corner’. Cf. CT **buluŋ* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *bulung* L136 ‘corner; (...) bend of a river, etc’. Kh *bulan(g)* H80a. Ord *buluŋ* M96b. Bur *bulan(g)* C110b. Kalm *buluŋ* M118b. Dag---. EYu *buləŋ* J98a ‘corner’, BJ321 ‘river valley’. MgrH *buləŋ* J98a. MgrM---. Bao---, perhaps survives in BaoD *derəŋbəltə* BL92b ‘square (adj.)’ if from **dörben buluŋ-tu*. Kgj---. Dgx *buluŋ* B44 ‘side, edge (of a road, a field)’. Mog---.

***burčag** ‘pea, bean’. Note the vowel length in Kh. Agricultural term related to CT **burčak* (? < **burč-ak*).

MMo SH---, HY *burčaq* M43, Muq *burčaq* P125b. WM *burčay* L137b. Kh *buurcag* H86b. Ord *burčaq* M98a. Bur *buursag* C118a ‘seed, fruit (of a plant)’. Brg *boršog* U75. Kalm *burčg* M121b. Dag *bərčə:* (sic) E84. EYu *pərčag* B39, *pərjağ* J98a. MgrH *pužag* J99a. MgrM *pužig* C376 ‘bean/pea’. BaoD *pučiax* BL86a. BaoGt *pəciğ* C149. BaoÑ *pəčag* CN54 ‘bean; pea’. Kgj *pəjəğ* S284a. Dgx *puža* L114b, B48, *pīža* B47 ‘bean, pea’. Mog---.

***burgasun** ‘willow’. Cf. **hičesün*.

MMo SH *burqasun* H22 ‘elm bark’, HY---, Muq *buryasun* P234, P237, *buryasut* P113a ‘twigs’, P125b ‘leaves’. WM *buryasu(n)* L137b. Kh *burgas(an)* H82b, *burgaas(an)* ‘willow’. Ord *burğasu* M98b. Bur *burgaaha(n)* C113a ‘&c’. Brg *borğa:* U79 ‘willow twig, wicker’. Kalm *buryasn* M120a ‘pussy-willow’. Dag *barya:s* E73 ‘willow twig, wicker’, *barya:s mɔ:d* Z45 ‘willow’. EYu---. MgrH *burğa:sə* L56. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---, but cf. Hazara (Bēsut) *buryasu* L54:107.

***burkan** ‘Buddha; deity’. Wanderwort that probably entered via Turkic **burkan*.

MMo SH *burhan* (in toponym) H22, HY *burqan* M43, Muq---. WM *burqan* L139b. Kh *burxan* H84a. Bur *burxa(n)* C115a. Brg *borxaŋ* U79. Kalm *burxn* M121b. Dag *barkən* E73. EYu *pərqan* B39, *pərgan* J89. MgrH *purğa:n* X58. MgrM *purğay* JL467, C376. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***buruu** ‘wrong, false, incorrect; mistake’. EYu suggests the presence of a palatal element, apparently supported by the rare Kalm variant (cf. **huruu* for a similar case). An endemic word, unless it is somehow related to CT **buz-* ‘to spoil, ruin’.

MMo SH *buru'u* H23, HY *buru'u* M44, Muq *buru:* P126a. WM *buruyu* L138b. Kh *buruu* H83a. Ord *buru:* M99a. Bur *buruu* C114a. Brg *börö:* U79. Kalm *buru* M121a, *bürü:* (rare) R69a. Dag *börö:* E83. EYu *burui* B36, *börü:* J98b, *burü*

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

busi** (?bisi**) ‘(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 **bisi* is based on the assumption that **busi* and **busu* may be related. As the two words are morphologically opaque, it is difficult to say whether and how they are actually related, but the forms and meanings have influenced each other. However, the two words can usually be distinguished in the modern languages. In QG, **busu* only survives in Kgj and Dgx, whereas **busi* was preserved by all languages. The *p-* in the QG languages is due to the following strong consonant *-s-*. The *p-* in Dgx suggests that this is the native word rather than Chinese *bùshì*; however, the speakers may associate the two, as they use the Chinese borrowing *shì* as a copula as well. The variety of final vowels in the QG languages is due to the amalgamation with following copulas.

MMo SH *busu* H23 ‘other; (is) not’, *busi* H24 ‘other; not’, HY *busu* M44 ‘(is) not; other’, Muq *bisi* P119b ‘other’, Ph *busi* P121a ‘other’. WM *busu* L140b ‘other (...)’; not (...)’, *bisi* L106a ‘(colloquial form of busu)’. Kh *bus* H84a ‘other, etc’, *bis* H63b ‘not (...)’; other (...)’. Ord *busu* M99b ‘other; not’, *bisi* M70b ‘not (...)’; other (...)’. Bur *beše* C135a ‘other; (is) not’, *busa* (←Kh) C115b ‘other; un-’. Brg *bis* U72 ‘is not’, *busad* (←Kh) U78 ‘others’. *bəs* U74 ‘not’. Kalm *bis* M102b ‘(is) not; other’, *bus* (lit.) M122a ‘other’. Dag *bisın* E78 ‘other; not’. EYu *puš* B40, *puša* J98b ‘is not’, suffixed also *-šə*. MgrH *puši*-, *puša* J98b ‘is not’. MgrM *puži* JL467 ‘is not’. BaoD *ši/so* BL86b ‘is not’. BaoÑ *xi* CN155, *xo* CN159. BaoGt *ši* CN86:297. Kgj *busi* ~ *bəsi* S283a ‘is not’, (te) *busun* S283a ‘other’. Dgx *puši* B48 ‘is not’, *pəsədu* (pl) B46 ‘others’, *pu’sədu*, *pu’səzi* Na (1988:100). Mog *bisi* R24a ‘an other one’, W160b ‘no; not; other’.

***butara-** ‘to be scattered, to fall apart, etc’.

MMo SH *butara-* H24, HY *butara’ul-* (caus) M44, Muq *butara-* [written *bwtr’*] P126b. WM *butara-* L141b. Kh *butrax* H85a. Ord *butara-* M100a, *budxara-* (?=) M90a. Bur *butarxa* C117a. Kalm *butrx* M122b. Dag *bata:ra-* (sic) NK477a. EYu---. MgrH *pudəra-*: X57. MgrM *budərağa-* (caus.) DS215b ‘to damage’. Bao---. Kgj *pudəra-* ~ *pudara-* ~ *pudra-* S284b. Dgx *putura-* B48. Mog---.

***buudai** ‘wheat’. Agricultural term related to CT **bugday* ‘id’. Straightforward reflexes of the CM are in the minority. In view of the preserved *-g-*, the forms in Muq, EYu, Mog represent more recent borrowings from Turkic. Also the forms in Bao-Kgj-Dgx point to recent borrowing (as in the case of **arbai* ‘barley’). Further unexpected developments include the *-i-* and *-y-* in Ord and Mog, reminiscent of Kypchak Turkic forms of this word. In Bur this word may have been confused with **budaa* ‘groats, porridge’ above.

MMo SH---, HY *bu’udai* M44, Muq *buydai* P124b. WM *buyudai* L131a, *buudai* L142a. Kh *buuday* H85b. Ord *bu:dä*: M90a, *buidä*: M92a. Bur---. Brg *bə:dəi* U73. Kalm *buudya* M132a ‘grain’. Dag---. EYu *bogdii* P418. MgrH *bu:də* J98a. MgrM *bidi* C375. BaoD *baogdəi* BL86b. BaoÑ *bəgdi* CN52. BaoX *bogdi* BC64.

Kgj *bəḡdi* ~ *baḡdi* S283a. Dgx *baudai* B35, *baodai* L114a. Mog *buydai* R24b, *buydai* W161b, *bi:da:* R24a, etc.

***buurul** ‘grey-haired; certain hair colour of animals, usu. shades of grey’. Agricultural term related to CT **bogrul*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bu:rul* P127a. WM *buyurul* L132a, *buyural* L131a. Kh *buural* H86b. Ord *buural* M97b, *buurul* M99a. Bur *buural* C118a. Brg *bo:ral* U76. Kalm *buurl* M123b. Dag *bo:rul* E80. EYu *bu:ral* B35. Shirongol---.

***bū** (and ***bu**?) ‘do not’ (negative (‘prohibitive’) particle used with imperatives and the like). Possibly originally the stem of a negational verb like Tungusic **ə-*. The harmonic class is unclear. The long vowel is probably secondary (a phenomenon often seen in monosyllables ending in a vowel). The distribution of this word and **butegei* below is peculiar, especially the disagreement among the Shirongol languages. Bao and Kgj favour **butegei*, as does EYu.

MMo SH *bu* H20, HY *bu* M43, Muq *bū* (so read) P182b, Ph *bu* P121a. WM *buu* L141b, *büü* L153a. Kh *büü* H94a. Ord *bu:* (according to Mostaert ← WM) M88b. Bur *bū* C119b. Brg *bu:* U81. Kalm *bū* (obs.) M125b. Dag *bu:* E84. EYu---. MgrH *bi:* J98b. X47. MgrM *bu* T317. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *bu* B43. Mog *bi* R24a, MogM/Mr *bi* L62:22.

***būdūri-** ‘to stumble’. The WM spelling with *-l-* is supported by Dgx, and by Manchu *bulduri-* (~ *buduli-*). The Dgx form with *-ǰ-* rather suggests an earlier form **būdiri-* < **būderi-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *būdūri-*, *būdūre-* L144b, *būdūri-* L145b. Kh *būdrex* H88b. Ord *budur(e)-* M101b. Bur *būderxe* C122a. Brg *budər-* U82. Kalm *būdrx* M126a. Dag *budər-*, *budir-* E87. EYu *budur-* B36. MgrH *budərə-* X52, *pudərə-* X57. MgrM *buduri-* T319. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *buǰiri-* B44, *bīǰirai-* MC38b. Mog---.

***būǰi-** ‘to dance’, ***būǰig** ‘dance’. HY is the only form supporting **ö* rather than **ü*. Related to CT **bödi-* ‘id’. Kypchak developments of the Turkic form were reborrowed by Kalm *bi* M97a, Kh *biye-lex* H61.

MMo SH---, HY *bōǰi-* M43, Muq *bōǰi-* [so read] P123a. WM *būǰi-*, *būǰig* L153a. Kh *būǰig* H89a. Bur *būǰeg* C122a. Brg *būǰig* U83. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *buǰig* L51. BaoÑ *buǰi-gu* (nomen futuri) CN53. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***büküli** ‘all, every’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *bükü* P1265. WM *büküli* L145b. Kh *büxel* H94b. Ord *bukuli* M102b. Bur *büxeli* C128a. Kalm *bükl* M126b. Dag *buyulʷ* E85. EYu---. MgrH *pugəli:* X56. MgrM *pukule* P421b, *puguliŋ* JL467. Remaining lgs---.

***büile** ‘gums’. The Ord vocalism, the Bur *m-*, and the MgrH *o:* are all irregular.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---. LV---. WM *büyile* L145a. Kh *büyl* H89a. Ord *buīla* (sic) M92b. Bur *müyle* C305a. Brg *buil* U80. Kalm *büül* M131b. Dag *buil* E84. EYu *buile* B36. MgrH *bo:lə* X47. Remaining lgs---.

***būlien** ‘warm, lukewarm’. Vowel shortening both in Dag and EYu. The -g- in Ord and Bao, as well as one of the WM spellings is unexpected. EYu *bələmbər* stems from **būlien-bir* (or *-bür*) ‘warmish’; the Baoan forms could stem from another diminutive **būlieken*.

MMo SH *bule'en* H21, HY *būli'en* M44, Muq---, IV---, LV---, Ph---. WM *būliyen* L146b, *būligen* L146b. Kh *būleen* H90b. Chakhar *bul'ə:* D175b. Ord *bule:n* M102b, also *bulgen* M103b. Bur *būlyeen* C122a. Brg *bul'ə:ŋ* U81. Kalm *būlān* M126b. Dag *bulun* E85. EYu *bələmbər* B32, J98b. MgrH *bule:n* J98b. BaoD *bəlgan* BL86b. BaoÑ *belgəŋ* CN51. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***būljeg** ‘(finger) ring’. Loanword from CT **bilezük*, probably < **bilek yüzük* ‘wrist ring’. It appears in different shapes, possibly representing as many separate instances of borrowing. The Bur form, like that in Muq, suggests -s-; Kalm suggests -č-, whereas the EYu form with -z- apparently represents a more recent borrowing. BaoX resembles **bögeji* ‘ring, etc’, but this is not otherwise attested in QG.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bilesük* (←Turkic) P119a. WM *bilečüg ~ bilüčüg ~ biličeg ~ bilüčeg ~ bülečeg ~ bilüčüg ~ bilisüg* L105b. Kh *bölzög* H74b. Ord *bulejik, buljik* M102b, *bélejik* M64a. Bur *behelig* C135a. Brg *bul'ju:* (sic) U82. Kalm *bilcg* M100a. Dag---. EYu *pelezək* B33. Mgr---. BaoGm *bəljig* CN86:16. BaoÑ *belzəg* CN51. BaoX *bəgji* (?=) CN86:16. Remaining lgs---.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *bülteyi-* L147a. Kh *bültiyx* H90a. Bur *beltixe* C131b, *bültixe* C122b. Brg *bulti:-* U81. Kalm *bültix* M127a. Dag *bulti:-* E86. EYu *palti:-* (sic, ?=) B39. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *bəŋji-* B39. Mog---.

bürge** (?büürge**) ‘flea’. Found in MMo. Kh-Kal, and Shirongol. From CT **bürge*, but the long vowel seen in Kh, Kalm, and MgrH is not confirmed in Turkic.

MMo SH---, HY *bürge* M45, Muq---, RH *bürge* 200A5. WM---. Kh *büüreg* H94b ‘lice found on fur-bearing animals’. Ord---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *büürg* M132a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *bu:rgə* X49, *burgə* X52. MgrM *bargə* C375. BaoJ *bərgə* L14. BaoÑ *bərgə* CN50. BaoX *bərgə* BC65. Kgj *bərgi* S283b. Dgx *bəŋgə* B39. Mog---.

***büri** ‘every, all, whole’.

MMo SH *buri, burin* H22, HY *büri, būrin* M45, Muq *büri* P105a. WM *büri* L148a. Kh *bür* H90b, *büren* H92a, *büriy* H91a. Bur *büri* C124a. Brg *bur* U83. Kalm *bür* M127b. Dag---. EYu *buri* B36, *βurü* J54, cf. also ook EYu *burən* BJ322 ‘complete, intact’. MgrH *bur* (sic) X52, *bi:ri* (sic) L45. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *məra* CN118, *məta* CN119. BaoX *maru* BC69, *mərag* CN86:285. Kgj *buru* S284a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***bürkü-** ‘to cover; to become cloudy’. Dgx *pukutu-* may represent a denominal verb **bürkügtü-*.

MMo SH *burgu-* H22, HY *bürkü-* M45, Muq *bürkü-* P127b ‘to be closed’, cf Ph *burk^hig* P121a ‘darkness’. WM *bürkü-* L150a, *bürke-* L149b. Kh *bürxex* H91b.

Ord *burku-* M105b. Bur *bürxexe* C125a. Brg *burax-* U83. Kalm *bürkx* M129a. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD *bigə-* BL52 ‘to build (a house)’. Kgj *pəgri-* S284a ‘to become dark/overcast’. Dgx *pugu-* B48 ‘to cover up, to close the smoke-hole’, *pukutu-* B48 ‘(of the sky) to become overcast’. Mog *burku-* R25a.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bürkü:r* P128a. WM *bürkegöl* ~ *bürkügöl* L150a/b, also *bürkeger* L150a. Kh *bürxeer* H91b ‘a kind of cone-shaped headgear, etc’, *bürxüül* H91b ‘cover’. Ord *burke:r* M105a, *burku:l* M105b. Bur *berxeer* C134a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *puke:r* B40, *puger* J93b. MgrH *puger* X56. MgrM---, but cf. *bərgəsi* DS234a, *bergesi* P415b < **bürküesün*. Remaining lgs---.

***büse** ‘belt’. In QG the **b-* was strengthened to *p-* due to the following *-s-*. The EYu form suggests **büsei*, but this may merely be a diphthongisation of the secondary long vowel. At first sight MgrM *piži* is more reminiscent of **büči* ‘string, cord’ (not listed here), but *-ž-* here results from the weakening of earlier *-ś-*.

MMo SH *buse* H23, HY *büse* M45, Muq *büse* P128b. WM *büse* L151a. Kh *büs(en)* H92b. Bur *behe* C134b, *bühe* C128b. Brg *buxə:* U80. Kalm *büs* M130a. Dag *bəs* E76. EYu *pəsəi* B39, *pəse:* J98b. MgrH *puse:* J98b. MgrM *piži-li-* DS207a (to wear a belt). BaoD *se* BL86a. BaoGt *sue* C110. BaoJ *sue* L160. BaoÑ *se* CN130. BaoX *se* BC31. Kgj *puse* ~ *pəse* S284b. Dgx *pišie* B47. Mog---.

***büsegüi** ‘woman’ < **büse ügüi* ‘without belt’. Possibly originally a taboo-related term. The counterpart **büsetü* ‘man’ < ‘with belt’ also exists, e.g. Bur *behete* C135a, EYu *sötə* S264.

MMo SH--- H, HY---, Muq---. WM *büsegüi* L151a. Kh *büsgüy* H92b. Bur *behegüy* C135a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *pəsəyui* B40, *pəsəyui* J94b. Remaining lgs---.

***büte-** ‘to be covered or blocked, to be shrouded (in mist or smoke); to suffocate’. In Dagur and most central languages phonetically indistinguishable from **bütü-* below. The MgrH form could be the causative form as suggested by Khasbaatar.

MMo SH *bute-* H24, HY---, Muq---, Ph---. WM *büte-* L151b. Kh *bütex* H93a. Ord *bute-* M107a ‘to suffocate’, *butu-* (sic) M107b ‘to be covered’. Bur *bütexe* C126b. Kalm *bütex* M131b. Dag *but-* E86. EYu *püte-* B40, *pude-* J16. MgrH *pudə:-* X57 ‘to fill the air, to give off steam’. MgrM (Sanchuan) *bite-* P424. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

bütegei** (?bitegei**) ‘do not’ (negative particle used with imperatives and the like). Only MMo HY suggests **bütügei* with rounded second vowel. According to Poppe (1955:287) based on **bü-* ‘to be’ + concessive suffix. However, WM, Kh, Bur go back to a form **bitegei*, while EYu and Kgj could easily be due to secondary rounding. The similar-looking Chakhar, Ord and Kalm forms are irregular. The Baoan forms developed from a form with *p-*, which was due to secondary strengthening. The similarity between the shortened forms in EYu and Kgj is probably coincidental.

MMo SH---, HY *bütügei* M44, Muq---. WM *bitegei* L107b, *betegei* L101a. Kh *bitgiy* ~ *bitiy* H62b. Chakhar *biči*: D174a. Ord *bičige* M71b. Bur *betegey* C134b. Kalm *bičā* M100b, *bičkā* (?) M101a. EYu *putā* B41, *pudā* J99a. Mgr---. BaoD *tākā* BL86b. BaoÑ *tāgā* CN162. BaoX *tāgā* BC63. Kgj *bude* ~ *budegei* S284a. Dgx (only) *butāgi* Na (1988:100). Mog---.

bütēü** (?biteü**) ‘double handful’. Kmg *butu* Kōhalmi 187.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *büte’ü* P274a, *bütün* (?*bütü:n*) P129b. WM---. Kh *bitüü* LC 1:246b ‘handful’, cf. Chakhar *bitu*: D173b. Ord *bitu*: M71a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *butu*: E86 ‘double handful’. EYu *putü*: J98b ‘double handful’. MgrH *pudiu* X57 ‘double handful’. MgrM *pudiau* JL467 ‘double handful’, *bitö* P418b ‘handsful’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *pājie* L114b, *pišiu* (sic) B47 ‘double handful’, cf. *pišiulie*-, *pižiulie*- B47 ‘to hold in both hands’. Mog: cf. Hazara *butāu* (L68, No. 9) ‘that what can be held in the cupped hands’.

***bütü-** ‘to finish, succeed, to be formed, concluded, completed’. In most central languages and in Dagur phonetically indistinguishable from **büte-* above.

MMo SH *butu’e-*, but also *bute’e-* (caus.) H24 ‘to finish, i.e. to kill’, HY---, Muq *bütü-* P128b, Ph *bütü-* P121b. WM *bütü-* L152a. Kh *bütex* H93a. Chakhar *botōn* D175a. Ord *butu-* M107b. Bur *bütexe* C126a. Kalm *bütix* M131b. Dag *but-* E86. EYu *putā-* BJ339, *putā-* J98b, *pudā-* J76. MgrH---. MgrM *pudu-* DS253b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *pudu-* B48, MC323a. Mog *butu-* R25a.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bütün* P129a, cf. *bütü*: P99b ‘q.v.’. WM *bütün* L152b. Kh *büten* H93a. Ord *butun* M108a. Bur *büten* C126a ‘whole, etc’. Kalm *bütñ* M131a. Dag *butun*. EYu *putān* B41, *pātān* J98b. MgrH---. MgrM *puduñ* C375. BaoD *putuñ* BL86b. BaoX *putoñ* BC69. BaoÑ *putoñ* CN55. Kgj *putun* ~ *putō* S284b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***büürge** ‘pommel of a saddle; bow or hind-bow of a saddle’

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *bü’ürge* P154b. WM *bügürge(n)* L145a. Kh *büüreg* H94a. Ord *bü:rge* M104a. Bur *büürge* C127a. Brg *bü:räg* U80. Kalm *büürg* M132a. Dag *bü:ruy*^w E84. EYu *bü:rge* B36. Remaining lgs---.

- Č -

***čaa-da** ‘over there, on the other side’. Note the meaning ‘near’ in SH and Baoanic, and the meaning ‘yonder’ in the central languages. The Monguor languages have **tada* instead, which could be an aberrant development of the same word. In WM

the roots **čaa-* and **čina-*, q.v., have become confused and they are treated as spelling variant by Lessing. Cf. **čina-* ‘the other side’.

MMo SH *ca’ada* H24 ‘close, near’, HY---, Muq---. WM *čayadu* L157b, *čadu* L156b. Kh *caad* H734b. Bur *saada* C377b. Kalm *caad* M620a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ta:da* X170. MgrM *tada* DS238b. BaoD *tadə ~ tasə* BL28 ‘(in) there’, *ta:də* T147 ‘to, in the direction of’. BaoÑ *čada* CN183 ‘near’. BaoX *čataŋ* BC67. Kgj *čada* S300a. Dgx *čada* B158 ‘near’. Mog---.

***čaa-gsi** ‘to(wards) that side’.

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

***čaa-na** ‘farther, yonder’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čayana* L158a, *čiyana* L178a. Kh *caana* H735a. Bur *saana* C377b. Kalm *can*’ (=) M625a (**čaa ni*). Dag---. EYu *ča:nə* B132 ‘that side (somewhat remote)’. Remaining lgs---.

***čaalsun ~ *čaarsun** ‘paper’. The latter is a Northeastern variant found in Bur and Khamnigan. The loss of **-n* in EYu is unusual. As in the case of **mölsün* ‘ice’ and **sölsün* ‘gall bladder’, the preconsonantal *-l-* was lost in EYu but preserved in Shirongol. Apparently endemic although it belongs to the semantic field of writing technology (cf. the loanwords **nom* ‘book’, **biči-* ‘to write’, **üjüg* ‘character’, **beke* ‘ink’). Perhaps in some way related to a root **ča-* ‘white’ (see **čagaan*).

MMo SH *ca’alsun* H24, HY *ča’alsun* M45, Muq *ča:lsun* P131b, LV---, IV---. WM *čayasu(n)* L159a, *čayalsu(n)* L158a. Kh *caas(an)* H735b. Ord *ča:s(u)* M696b. Bur *saarha(n)* C378b. Brg *sa:rv*: U150, *sa:s* (←Kh) U150. Kalm *caasn* M621a. Dag *ča:s* E292. EYu *ča:sə* B132, J106a. MgrH *ča:lzə* J106b, X202, *ča:lsə* X202, *ča:zə ~ ča:rzə* SM441/443. MgrM *čarsı* JL473. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čabči-** ‘to cut, chop, split, fell’. Kalm *č-* has probably developed from *c-* due to assimilation to the *č* of the next syllable. Dissimilatory initial weakening in EYu and BaoÑ (as in Ord). The Dgx *i* from **a* is a rare development.

MMo SH *cabci-* H25, HY---, Muq *čabči-* P129a, IV---, LV---. WM *čabči-* L154b. Kh *čavčix* H737b. Ord *jabči-* M177b. Bur *sabšaxa* C380a. Kalm *čavčx* M644a. Dag *čerč-* E297, *čirč-* Z104a. EYu *jabčə-* B142, *jabčə-* J106a, *jabjə-* J75. MgrH *čabžə-* J106b, *čəb(š)žə-* X203. MgrM *čiabči-* T378, *čærži-* C167. BaoD---. BaoÑ *žabči-* CN195. Kgj *čeči-* ~ *čeři-* S300a. Dgx *čīgi-* B162 ‘id’. Mog---.

***čaču-** ‘to sprinkle’ see ***saču-**.

***čad-** ‘to have eaten one’s fill’. In some of the QG languages a connective vowel was added. In MgrM and Dgx this connective vowel may have caused the rounding of the **a*.

MMo SH *cat-* H26, HY *čat-* M45, Muq *čat-* P131a, LV *čat-* P1271, IV---, Ph *č^hadu-* P121b. WM *čad-* L156a. Kh *cadax* H740b. Bur *sadaxa* C382b. Brg *sad-*

U153. Kalm *cadx* M623b. Dag *čad-* E293. EYu *čad-* B133, J106a. MgrH *čadə-* J106b. MgrM *čudu-* C392. BaoD *čiadə-* BL93a. BaoÑ *žad-* CN197, *žar-* CN198. Kgj *čar-* ~ *čer-* S300a. Dgx *čudu-* B164 ‘id’. Mog *čat-qa-* (originally a caus.) R25b.

***čag** ‘time’. EYu *čeg* may alternatively be related to Ord *čig* M701a ‘amount of time, session’. The Dag *-y*^ʷ is unexpected, as is the *-u-* in Kgj. Chen Naixiong compares BaoD *čixaŋ* BL74, BaoÑ *čixa:zi* CN185, *čixa:ŋ* CN186, BaoX *čixaŋ* BC70 ‘while, during’; cf. also Dgx *nie čağaŋ* (~ *nie ča*) B29 ‘a little while’. If these words are derived from **čag*, the further elements in these words are unclear. The diminutive *-kAn* and (for *čixa:zi*) a petrified instrumental *-Ar* may be involved. Cf. CT **čag* ‘id’.

MMo SH *cah* H25, HY *čaq* M45, Muq *čaq* P130b, Ph *č^hak^h-* P121b. WM *čay* L156b. Kh *cag* H737b. Ord *čag* M690a. Bur *sag* C380a. Brg *sag* U152. Kalm *cag* M621b. Dag *čey*^ʷ E297. EYu *čag* B133 ‘time’, cf. also *čeg* (?=) B135 ‘hour’. MgrH *čag* J106b, X202. MgrM *čağ* JL473, *črğ* C391, *čr:* C385. Bao (see above). Kgj *čuq* S301a. Dgx *ča* L120a, also as in *un-ča* B23 ‘winter time’ (cf. **übül*). Mog---.

***čagaan** ‘white’. Probably related to **čai-* below. P60:97 compares CM **časun* (Poppe: **ča:-l-sun*) ‘snow’, as well as many other Turkic and Tungusic words which do not aid Mongolic reconstruction.

MMo SH *caqa'an* H25, HY *čaq:a:n* M45, Muq *čaya:n* P130a, *čaq:a:n* P131a, *čiya:n* P133a, *čiq:a:n* P251a, LV *čaq:a:n* P1271, P1272, IV *čaya:n* L23, Ph *č^haq'a'an* P121b. WM *čayan* L158a. Kh *cagaan* H738a. Ord *čaga:n* M691a. Bur *sagaa(n)* C381a. Brg *saga:ŋ* U152. Kalm *cayan* M622b. Dag *čiya:(n)* E300. EYu *čəğa:n* B134, *čğa:n* B139, *čağa:n* J106a. MgrH *čaga:n* J106b, X202, *čiga:n* X205. MgrM *čağaŋ* JL463, *čigaŋ* C392, *čigaŋ* T379. BaoD *čigaŋ* BL93b. BaoGt *čixəŋ* C142. BaoÑ *čixaŋ* CN186. BaoX *čixaŋ* BC67. Kgj *čixɔ* ~ *čɔxɔ* S300b. Dgx *čigaŋ* B160. Mog *čayo:n* R8, *čəğən* R161b.

***čai-** ‘to become white or bright’ (often used in combination with **ör* ‘dawn’). The BaoÑ form seems to be remodeled on the basis of **čagaan*. Probably related to **čagaan* (cf. the parallel pair **gei-* ‘to become bright’ and **gegeen* ‘bright’). The PM form may have been **čay-i-*.

MMo SH *caiyi-* H25, HY---, Muq *čai-* P130, LV---, IV *čai-* L23. WM *čayi-* L160b. Kh *cayx* H742a. Bur *sayxa* C383b. Kalm *cääx* M628b. Dag *če:-* E296. EYu *čai-* B133. MgrH *či:-* X204, *če:-* X204. MgrM *durčai-* (*dur* < **üdür* ‘day’) DS215b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *čixi:-* (?=) CN186. Kgj *či-* ~ *či:-* S300a. Dgx---. MogMr *čai-* L68, No. 78.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, WM *čakirma* L162a ‘orchid’, *čikirma* *čečeg* L182a ‘orchid’. Kh *čaxirmaa* H748a ‘orchid’. Ord *jakirmaq* M181a, *jarkimaq* M187b. Bur (see above). Kalm (see above). Dag *čikirm*^ʷ (?=) E300 ‘fringed pink’.

(medicinal herb)'. EYu *jaḡərmag* S565. MgrH *cižirma*: X208, *cižima* X208, *cižima:r* L446. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *camḡa* CN183. Kgj *camḡa* S300a. Dgx---. Mog---.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH *čaqu:r* 204B26. WM *čakiyur* L161b. Kh *caxir*, *caxiur* H748a 'flint, silica'. Bur *saxyuur* C387a 'flint'. Kalm *cäkür* M629a 'flint, etc'. Dag---. EYu *jaḡqu:r* B142 'flint'. MgrH *čügür* X211 'lightning'. MgrM---. BaoD *čüḡor* BL87b 'flint', *čiuḡur* BL51 'lightning'. BaoÑ *čaxər* CN183 'flint; lightning'. Kgj *čagər ~ čagur* S300a 'flint'. Dgx---. Mog---.

časun** (?čabsun**) 'snow'. The Mgr, BaoX, and Dgx forms stem from an earlier form with a consonant preceding *-sUn*, perhaps **b*. Cf. the development of **dabusun* which became Dgx *daḡsun* (possibly via **damsun*). MgrM *-g-* from **b* has a parallel in **nabčīn* 'leaf' and **tobčī* 'button'. However, the other languages and even the other Mgr, Bao, and Dgx forms make it difficult to consider a form **čabsun* as an early variant, let alone as the original form of this word. Perhaps there is a relationship with a root **ča-* 'white'. Poppe and Ramstedt compare **čai-* and **čagaan* q.v.

MMo SH *casun* H26, HY *časun* M45, Muq *časun* P131a, LV *časun* P1271, IV *časun* L24. WM *času(n)* L166b. Kh *cas(an)* H746b. Ord *jasu* M189b. Bur *saha(n)* C387b. Brg *saxa*: U151. Kalm *casn* M626b. Dag *čas* E293. EYu *jasən* B143, *časən* J106a. MgrH *časə* J106b. MgrM *čagsi* JL470, *čagzi* JL482, *čaxse* T378. BaoD *čiasuḡ* BL93b. BaoÑ *žasəḡ* CN197. BaoX *čabsəḡ* CN86:16. Kgj *časun* S300a. Dgx *zaḡsun* B177, *zasuḡ* B178, *časuḡ* B158. Mog *čo:sun* R25b, *čəsun*, *čəsu* W162b.

***čamča** 'shirt'. The unexpected Dag form with *-i-* is due to the two *č*'s in the vicinity; cf. also Manchu *cimci* 'id'.

MMo SH *camca* H25, HY---, Muq *čamčai* P130b, IV---, LV---. WM *čamča* L164a. Kh *camc* H743a. Bur *samsa* C384a. Kalm *camca* (obs.) M625a. Dag *činč* E299 'unlined garment'. Remaining lgs---.

***čarčaa(-kaī)** 'grasshopper, locust'. EYu suggests **čagčaaakai*, reminiscent of western forms like Dörbed *čagčä:xä*: (Vanduy 167a). The Shirongol forms stem from **čarčag*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čarča*, *čarčaya*, *čarčayai*, *čarčaqai* L185b. Kh *carcaa(n)* H746a, *carcaaxay* H746a. Ord *jarča:*, *jarča:ḡä*: M188a. Bur *sarsaa* (Kiaxta) C385b. Kalm *carcaxa* M626a. Dag *ča:rča:ki*: E83:174b 'cricket'. EYu *jaḡčaqai* BJ324, *jaḡjaḡqai* J106a. MgrH *ča:ržag* X202. MgrM---. BaoD *žiažiaḡ* BL93b. BaoÑ *čarčar* CN184. Kgj *jarja ~ jaḡča* S302b. Dgx---. Mog---.

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

***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 *sasag* U154. Kalm *cecg* M633b. Dag---. EYu *čečig* S568 (only). MgrH *čižag* X208. MgrM *čižig* C392, *čičeg*, *čijağ* T381 ‘flower’, *čeček* P417b ‘smallpox’. BaoD---. BaoGt *čiži* C107. Kgj *čičiu* ~ *čijiu* S301a ‘flower; smallpox’. Dgx *çižə* B161 ‘flower; painting; cowpox’. Mog *čečák* R25b.

***čečen** ‘intelligent’ see ***sečen**.

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

MMo SH *ce’ej* H26, HY---, Muq *če’ej* P238b, *če:ji* P132a, *če:jīn* P132b, *čijeji* P358b (different readings are possible). WM *čegeji(n)* L170a. Kh *ceej* H773b. Ord *če:ji* M699b. Bur *seeže* C405b. Kalm *čeej* M646b. Dag *čə:jil-* E294. EYu *čijə* B136 ‘human back’, *čijele-* B136. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *čeiји* R25b.

***čene-** ‘to measure’. The MMo *-e-* in HY, and the Kh *c-* support ***čene-**, but the derivates listed as the following entry has developed differently in the central languages. The EYu and MgrH forms could be from ***čene-** or ***čine-**. EYu *čen* B135 ‘time’, without equivalents in the other QG languages, may be related. Cf. also Muq *čen* [Poppe: *čin*] P353b, P378a ‘measure’.

MMo SH---, HY *čene-* M46, Muq *čene-* [Poppe reads *čine:-*] P134a. WM *čene-* L171b, *čine-* L188a. Kh *cenex* H771b ‘to evaluate, estimate, etc’. Ord *činek* M706b ‘measure (...)’. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *čene-* B137. MgrH *čine:-* X205. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čer** ‘phlegm’. Perhaps also related: Bur *ser* C403b ‘callosity, subcutaneous swelling, tumour’, Kalm *cer* M633a ‘callosity, swelling’. Dag *čər* E296 ‘swelling, lump in flesh’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *čer* P132b. WM *čer* L172b. Kh *cer* H771b. Ord *čir* M707b. Bur (see above). Brg *sər* U155. Kalm (see above). Dag (see above). EYu *čer* B136. MgrH---. MgrM *čər* DS242b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čerig** ‘soldier; army’. Dag *čəllə* has developed from *čərəl*, which in its turn is a dissimilation of **čərər* which is the regular development of **čerig*. Cf. CT **čerig* ‘id’, itself of Indic origin.

MMo SH *cerik* H26, HY *čerik* M46, Muq *čerik* P132a, LV *čirik/čerig-* P1272, IV---, Ph *č^herig*, *č^hérig* P121b. WM *čerig* L173a, *čirig* L192a. Kh *cereg* H772a. Ord *čirik* M708b. Bur *sereg* C404a. Kalm *cerg* M633a. Dag *čəllə* E295, *čərəl* E296. EYu *čerəg* B136, J105b. MgrH *čirəg* J105a, X209, *čirağ* X208. MgrM *čirəg* JL462. BaoD *čiarəg* BL31. BaoGt *čerī* C107. BaoÑ *čerəg* CN184. BaoX *čərəg* BC74. Kgj *čiriū* S301a. Dgx *čiri* B86:115. Mog---.

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

(pl.). Based on CM **ta* one may further assume that **či* goes back to an earlier (PM) form **ti*, compare **bi* ‘I’ and **ba* ‘we’.

MMo SH *ci* H26, HY *či* M46, Muq *či* P132b. WM *či* L174a. Kh *či* H783a. Chakhar *či*: D184a. Ord *či* M700a. Bur *ši* C725b. Brg *ši*: U163. Kalm *či* M647a. Dag *ši*: E232. EYu *čə* B133, J105b. MgrH *čə* J105a, X209. MgrM *či* C392. BaoD *čī* BL93b. BaoÑ *či* CN184. Kgj *či* S300a. Dgx *čī* B159. Mog *či* R25b.

***čibugan** (?* **čibagan**) ‘jujube’. EYu and Bao suggest *-k-*. For the development of the EYu form with *-yq-*, cf. **dabkur*. The Kh and Bur forms appear to have developed from a form **čibagan*, which may be the original form although the form with *-u-* is documented in MMo. Bao has *-m-* instead of *-b-*.

MMo SH---, HY *čibuqan* M46, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *čibaya(n)* L174a, *čibuya* L175a. Kh *čavga(n)* H775a. Ord *čiwağa* M709b. Bur *šabga* (in compounds, q.v.) C712a. Brg *šabag* U160. Kalm---, cf. Oirat *čabğa* (Čoyijungjab & Gereltü, 234). Dag---. EYu *čuyqan* B147. MgrH *čuğa* X211, *čauxa* L438, *čuğa* SM439. MgrM *čubuğa* JL481. BaoD---. BaoGt *čimuğɔŋ* C104. BaoÑ *čəŋxalma* (?< **čibugan alima*) CN189. BaoX *čəŋxan* BC73. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *čimxan* S554. Dgx *čuçuga* (sic, ?=) S554. Mog---.

***čida-** ‘to be able’. The long vowel in BaoX may be due to **daa-* ‘to be able to carry’ q.v.

MMo SH *cida-* H27, HY *čida-* M46, Muq *čida-* P132b, IV---, LV---, Ph *č^hida-* P122a. WM *čida-* L176b. Kh *čadax* H777b. Ord *čida-* M700b. Bur *šadaxa* C715a. Kalm *čadx* M644b. Dag *šad-* E230 (in derivations), Z104b. EYu *šda-* B110, J106b, *šəda-* S556, *hda-* S556. MgrH *šda-* J106a. MgrM *čida-* C388, *čida-* T384. BaoD *da-* BL56. BaoÑ *šda-* CN149. BaoX *da-*: BC66. Kgj *šida-* ~ *šda-* S295b. Dgx *šida-* B131. Mog *čida-*, *čidɔ-* W162a, MogMr *čidv-*: L64:35. Note its negation *la-šta-* R33a, hence MogM *v:šta-* L64:35.

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

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

***čüirag** ‘strong, sturdy, tight’. The *-g-* in the Dgx form, if related, would be irregular. However, the Brg form with the unexpected *-x-* is echoed by several other central Mongolic dialects (cf. S568). In Kh-Kalm the word changed vocalic class. Related to CT **tigrak*.

MMo SH---, HY *či'iraq* M47, Muq---. WM *čigiray* L179b, *čigiireg* L179b. Kh *čiyreg* H785a. Ord *či:raq* M708a, also *čiraq*. Bur *šiirag* C726b. Brg *ši:rəg* U164, *sax^yrag* (sic, ?=) U164. Kalm *čüirg* M648b. Dag---. EYu *čirağ* BJ345, J106b. MgrH *čirağ* X208. Bao---. Dgx *çiğara* (?=) B160 ‘tight; busy’. Mog---.

***čiki-** ‘to squeeze into, to stuff’. Traces of the back-vocalic origin of this word are preserved in the uvular consonants in EYu, Bao-Kgj-Dgx, and Mog. The CM form may go back to an earlier (PM) form **tiki-*, in view of related CT **tik-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *čiqi*- P266b. WM *čiki*- L181a. Kh *čixex* H791a. Ord *jike*- M196a. Bur *šexexe* C751b. Brg *šix*- U165. Kalm *čikx* M650a. Dag *čik^y*- E300. EYu *čəqə*- B134 ‘id’. MgrH *čigə*- J106a. MgrM *čigə*- DS253b. BaoD *čixə*- BL93b. BaoGt *čixə*- C122. BaoÑ---. Kgj *čixi*- ~ *čigi*- S300b. Dgx *čigəi*- B161, *čigū*- L121b ‘id’. Mog *čiqā*- R25b.

***čikīn** ‘ear’. Traces of the back-vocalic origin of this word are preserved in Mog, EYu and Bao-Kgj-Dgx.

MMo SH *ciki(n)* H27, HY *čikin* M47, Muq *čiqin* P134b, LV *čikin* P1272, IV *čikin* L25. WM *čiki(n)* L181a. Kh *čix(en)* H789a. Ord *jike* M196a. Bur *šexe(n)* C751a. Brg *šix* U165. Kalm *čikn* M649b. Dag *čik^y* E300. EYu *čkan* B139, *čqən* BJ346, *čəgən* J106b. MgrH *čigə* J106a. MgrM *čigi* JL474, *čigi* T378. BaoD *čixəŋ* BL93a. BaoÑ *čixəŋ* CN185. Kgj *čixɔ* ~ *čɔxɔ* S300b. Dgx *čigəŋ* B160. Mog *čekin*, *čikin* R25b, *čiqin* W162a.

***čila-** ‘to be tired’ see ***čile-**

***čilaun** ‘stone’. Interestingly the Shirongol languages use CT **ta:s* instead (usually viewed as an ancient cognate of the Mongolic word); EYu and Kgj have both the Mongolic and the Turkic word. For Mog see **gürü*.

MMo SH *cilao'un*, *cila'un* H27, HY *čila'un* M47, Muq---, Ph *č^hila'un* P122a. WM *čilayu(n)* L182a. Kh *čuluu(n)* H793b. Ord *čilu:* M704a. Bur *šuluu(n)* C733a. Brg *šolov:* U169. Kalm *čolun* M654b. Dag *čɔlɔ:* E304. EYu *člu:* B139, *čəlu:* J106b. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *čilɔ* S301a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čilbuur** ‘martingale, part of a horse’s harness, etc’. Kh-Kalm suggest **čilbuur*.

MMo SH *cilbur* H27, HY *čilbur* M47, Muq---, LV---, IV *čulbur* L25. WM *čilbuyur* L182b, *čulbuyur* L206b, *čirbuyul* L191b. Kh *culbuur* H761a. Ord *čulbu:r* M718b. Bur---. Kalm *culvur* M640b. Dag *šɔlbɔ:r* E239. EYu *čəlɬu:r* BJ345, *čəlbu:r* S581. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čimarkaï** ‘temple (anat)’. Bur suggests **čabirkai*, 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. **bulčirkai* ‘gland’, **herekei* ‘thumb’.

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

***čina-** ‘to cook’.

MMo SH *cina-* H27, HY *čina-* M47, Muq *čina-* P133b. WM *čina-* L186b. Kh *čanax* H779a. Ord *čina-* M705b. Bur *šanaxa* C719a. Brg *šan-* U159. Kalm *čanx* M645a. Dag *čanə-* E292 (‘children’s language’), *šanə-* E229. EYu *čna-* B139, *čəna-* J105b. MgrH *čina:-* J105a. MgrM *čina-* JL473, *čina-* T380. BaoD *činə-* BL93a. BaoÑ *čina-* CN185. Kgj *čina-* S300b. Dgx *čina-* B159. Mog---.

***činaida, *činar** (and other derivatives of ***čina-**) ‘the day after tomorrow’. MMo and Bao from **činaji*; Mog from **činaji-da*; EYu and MgrM from **činaida*, MgrH from **činaada*; Dgx from **činar*. Elsewhere derivatives of **čaa-* are used, often with **üdür* ‘day’ as a last element: Bur *saadder* C377b, *saada üder* (lit.) C377b. Brg *sa:dar* U150 ‘three days from now’. Dag *ča:ǰ* E292, *ča:ǰ udur* Z95b. Cf. also EYu *ča:ǰādār* B132 ‘three days from now’.

MMo SH *cinaji*, *cinaru* H27/28 ‘beyond’, HY---, Muq *činaji* [P reads *čina:či*] *ödür* P134a, LV---, IV *činaji ödür* L24. WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *čanida* B133, *čini:da* J97b. MgrH *čina:da* X205, *čina:dağ* SM451. MgrM *činaida* JL473. BaoD *činaǰia* BL86a. BaoÑ *čina:žā* CN184. Kgj *činaye* S300b. Dgx *činaər* B159, L113a. Mog *činǝžda*, *čənǝžda* W162a, MogMr *činn:šta* L62:24.

***čingga** ‘strong; tight’. The Dag and MgrH verbs from **čingga-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *čingya* L189a. Kh *čanga* H779b. Ord *čangga* M694b, *čingga* M707a. Bur *šanga* C719a. Kalm *čany* M645a. Dag *šanga:-* E229 ‘to pull tight’ (?). EYu *čəŋga-ra-* B134 ‘to be tightened’. MgrH *čangga* J106a ‘tight’, *čingga:-* X205 ‘to pull tight’. MgrM *čəŋga* DS256a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čino** ‘wolf’. Some of the QG forms are difficult to explain. EYu *čəna* and BaoÑ *čina*, which echo the form in MMo Muq, apparently unrounded the second syllable before palatal breaking could take place. However, the Monguor forms suggest that breaking did take place there, but the forms in *-a* instead of *-o* are unexpected. Cf. **jaurangai*/**jaurakai*.

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

***čijla-** ‘to listen’. The central languages developed from an assimilated form **čijna-*. Some of the QG forms suggest an earlier front version **čijle-*. Cf. CT **tiŋle-* ~ **tiŋla-* ‘id’, perhaps from Chinese *tīng*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *čingna-*, *čingla-* L190a. Kh *čagnax* H776b. Ord *čijna-* M707a. Bur *šagnax* C713b. Brg *šagn-* U161. Kalm *čijnx* M652b. Dag---. EYu *čəŋl-u:r* BJ345 ‘eavesdropper’. MgrH *čajla-* X202, *činla-* X205. MgrM *čijli-* J92, *čəŋle-* C384, *čənli-* DS228a. BaoD *čiaŋlǝ-* BL90b, *čəŋlǝ-* T151. BaoÑ *čəŋle-* CN182. BaoX *čəŋlǝ-* BC65. Kgj *čiauli-* ~ *čičli-* S300b. Dgx *čanlie-* B157. Mog---.

***čirai** ‘face; facial expression’. Kh *c-* suggests a form **čarai*, which would be supported by Ord. NB Dag *š-*.

MMo SH *cirai* H28, HY *čirai* M47, Muq *čirai* P135a. WM *čirai* L191a. Kh *caray* H744b. Ord *čarä:* M695b. Bur *šaray* C721a. Brg *šarai* U162. Kalm *čirä*

M652b. Dag *šar* E230. EYu---. MgrH *ćire*: X209. MgrM *ćiræi* C371. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog R.

***čirī-** ‘to pull, drag’. Ord and EYu suggest a monosyllabic **čir-*. The back-vocalic form is supported by the EYu caus. formation and by Dag. The Dag form, if related, suggests an older **čiru-* or **čiro-* (the *š-* is irregular but not unique). As expected, the central languages developed from a secondary front-vocalic form **čir(i)-*.

MMo SH *cir-* H28, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *čir-* L191a, *sire-* L716a. Kh *čirex* H789a. Ord *čir-* M707b, *šir-* M621b. Bur *šerexe* C750b. Brg *šir-* U167. Kalm *čirx* M653b. Dag *šor-* (?=) E240. EYu *čir-ğa-* (caus) B136, BJ78. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *čire-* ~ *čiri-* S301a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čisun** ‘blood’. Kh-Kalm *c-* seems to suggest **čusun* with palatal breaking, also supported by Dag, Ord, and EYu. In view of the MgrM and Dgx forms both Shirongol branches originally had forms with palatal breaking. The *-i-* in Mongghul, Baoan and Kangjia probably redeveloped later. Mogholi has contradicting forms. Only MMo and WM certainly have *-i-*. May contain the (?collective) suffix *-sUn*. The PM root may have been **ču-* or **či-*.

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

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

MMo SH *ci'ul-* H29, HY---, Muq---. WM *čiyul-* L178b. Kh *čuulax* H794b, *čuguulax* H793b. Ord *ču:l-* M718a. Bur---. Kalm *cu:l-* (obs) R435b. Dag---. EYu *čul-ğa-ra-ğda-* (probably <**čül-gan* ‘gathering’ + verbalizer + pass.) S581 ‘to gather, assemble, etc’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *čulu-* B163, S581. Mog---.

***čiči-** ‘to stab’ see ***seči-**.

***čidkör** ‘demon, devil’. Metathesis in Bao.

MMo SH---, HY *čitkör* M47, Muq---. WM *čidkör* L177b. Kh *čötgör* H793a. Ord *jödker* M212b. Bur *šüdxer* C737a. Brg *šutgər* U171. Kalm *čötkr* M656b. Dag *šurkul* E241. EYu *čüdger* (only) S579. MgrH *čidəgur* (only) S579. MgrM---. Bao *čixtir* P422a. BaoJ *čidör* L188. BaoÑ---. BaoX *čigtar* BC62. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čidör** ‘horse’s hobble; shackles’. Dag may be influenced by or reborrowed from Manchu *sideri* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *čider-le-* P305b. WM *čidör* L178a, *čider* L177a. Kh *čödör* H791a. Ord *čödör* M714b. Bur *šüder* C737b. Brg *šudər* U171. Kalm *čödr* M656a. Dag *šidər* E236. EYu *čüder* B138, *čödör* S577. MgrH *čüdor* X211, *čidor* J90. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čiiḡ** ‘moisture; moist, wet’. Perhaps related to CT **čī:* ‘moisture’ and/or **čī:g* ‘dew’. If related to the latter, this is one of the rare cases where a long CT vowel corresponds to a CM double vowel.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *čigig* L179a. Kh *čiyg* H784b. Ord *či:g* M701b. Bur *šiiḡ* C725b. Brg *ši:g* U163. Kalm *čig* M647b ‘dew, moisture’, *čiiḡ-tā* M648b ‘wet’. Dag---. EYu *čig* B136, *či:g* J97a. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čile-** (?*čīla-) ‘to be tired, exhausted; to become numb or stiff’. As in other cases where two variants exist, the back-vocalic form **čīla-* supported by the QG languages might be the original one. However, in this case it is contradicted by MMo and Ordos.

MMo SH *cile-* H27, HY---, Muq---. WM *čile-* L182b. Kh *čilex* H785b ‘to grow numb, lose feeling, etc’. Ord *čile-* M703b. Bur *šelexe* C744b. Brg *šil-* U166. Kalm *čilx* M650b. Dag *šil-* E234 ‘to be weary, tired; to feel numb’. EYu *čla-* B139, *čāla-* J65. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *čila-* CN187 ‘to ache, tingle’. Dgx *čila-* B161 ‘to be tired, to ache, tingle (e.g. of eyes or feet)’. Mog---.

***čilmö-** ‘to pick’ see ***čölbe-**.

***čilöe** (?*čölee) ‘free time’. Bur s- suggests **čölee*, which then represents an earlier case of breaking than in Kh and Kalm. The breaking in Ordos and Dagur is also atypical, and seems to support the Buriat form.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, Ph---. WM *čilöge(n)* L183a. Kh *čölöö(n)* H792a. Ord *čölö:* M715a. Bur *sülöö* C398b. Brg *šulə:* U171. Kalm *čölän* M656a. Dag *čulə:* E306. EYu *čölö:* B137, J106b. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *čөлө* CN190. Kgj *čөлө ~ čөлə:* ~ *čilə:* S301a. Dgx---. Mog (see under **čöäl-*).

***čimegen** (?*čimögen) ‘marrow; bone containing marrow’. Although all forms cited below are certainly related, the oldest form is hard to retrieve. Possibly the form **čimegen* suggested by MMo is indeed the original shape, and the second vowel was rounded to *ö* in the form ancestral to Kh and Kalm (before palatal breaking). Bur may represent **čemegen* or **čümege(n)*. The vowel rounding in Mgr and Dgx may have been recently triggered by the *-m-*. Dag *š-* is unusual.

MMo SH---, HY *čimegen* M47, Muq *čimegen* P388a. WM *čimöge(n)* L186a, *čömöge(n)* L203a. Kh *čömög* H792b. Ord *čömögö* M715b. Bur *semge(n)* C402b. Brg *suməḡ* U158. Kalm *čimgn* M651a. Dag *šiməḡ* E235, *šimug* T183. EYu *čengwen* B135, *čengön* J106b. MgrH *čimuge* J106a. MgrM *čumuḡai* C388 ‘marrow’, *čimeke* P419a ‘arm’. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *čuməḡə* B164 ‘marrow, spinal marrow’. MogM *čimkv:n* L64:41 ‘upper arm’.

***čimki-** ‘to pinch, nip’. Several of the modern forms suggest an original **čimkü-*, but the rounding may have been caused by the *-m-*. Brg *šimšu:r* U166 ‘tweezers’ supports **čimki.ür*. EYu suggests **čimke-*, but Shirongol supports the high final vowel. May be related to **čimö-*. The synonymous Dag *kimč-* E148 could be the result of metathesis, but could also be an independent development based on Dag *kimč* ‘nail’ from CM **kimusun* ‘nail’.

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

***čōal-** ‘to pierce, puncture, perforate, make holes in’, ***čōara-** ‘to be pierced, perforated, develop holes’. In BaoÑ **čōara-* may have become confused with **čuburi-* ‘to trickle, leak’ listed below. Even more confusion is caused by another pair of similar-looking verbs: **čaul-* ‘to tear into pieces’ and **čaura-* ‘to be torn into pieces’. This verb is attested in MMo SH *cao’ure-*, *cao’uru*- H25 ‘to crumble’, Kh *cuulax* (tr.) H764a, *cuurax* (intr.) H764b. The Muq forms display the form of **čaul-/čaura-* but are all translated ‘to pierce, puncture’ in the Turkic counterparts. Phonetically, the EYu forms could have developed from either set of verbs, and perhaps they represent both. Mog *čo:lo*: R25b ‘hole’ could belong with **čolo* rather than with **čōal-*.

MMo Muq *ča’ul-* P131a/344b, *ča’ura-* P131a, *ču:ra-* P137b (see above). WM *čoyol-*, *čoyora-* L195b. Kh *coolox* H753b ‘to pierce, puncture, perforate, etc’, *coorox* H753b. Ord *čo:l-* M711a, *čo:ro-* M713b. Bur *sooloxo* C392a, *sooroxo* C392a, *suuraxa* (western) C397a. Kalm *coolx* M637a, *coorx* M637a. Dag---. EYu *ču:l-* B138, J19 ‘to pierce’, *ču:ra-* B138 ‘to be broken, torn etc’. MgrH *čo:lə*- X210, *čo:ra-*- X210. MgrM *nuko čuar-* C372 (cf. **nōken*), *čur-* DS242b, *čoro-* F123:10. BaoD *čorə*- T151. BaoÑ *čəl-* CN189, *čə:ra-* CN189 ‘to pierce; to drip; to break’. Kgj *čura-* S301a. Dgx *čaura-* B159 ‘to be pierced’. Mog (see above).

***čōarga / *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 *čuyurya(n)* L206b, *čuurya* L208a, *čayurya(n)* L160a, *suyurya* (?Buriat spelling) L735b. Kh *cuurga* H764b. Ord---. Bur *suurga* C397a. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *čorğo* X210. MgrM *čorğo* JL473. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čogča** ‘heap, pile’. EYu reflects **čogčag*, which may also be the source of the MgrM and Dgx forms. In some languages only the derived verb in -la is attested. It cannot be entirely excluded that the QG forms are instead derived from **čug* ‘bundle’. The similarly-structured MgrH *sogsoğ* X136 ‘heap; flock’ is from Tibetan *chogs-chogs*.

MMo---. WM *čoyča* L194b ‘heap, pile; mass, etc’. Kh *cogc* H750a. Ord *jogčol-* M207b ‘to form a compact group’. Bur *sogso* C389b. Kalm *cogc* M635a. Dag *čəkc* (?=) E304 ‘pinch (of tobacco)’. EYu *jəgčəğ* B146. MgrH *čužog* L456, *čižog* L446 ‘herd’, elsewhere only the derived verb: *čužəğla-* X211 ‘to gather, assemble, collect’, *čužiolo-* SM460 ‘to pile up (tr); to gather (intr)’. BaoÑ *čəğžəğ* (?=) CN189 ‘full to the brim’. Dgx *čuzo* MC63a. Mog---.

***čogla-** ‘to gather’ Zie **čugla-*.

***čoki-** ‘to peck, pick’, in the central languages and Dagur also with more general meanings like ‘to strike’. The Kangjia form with unexpected nasal may have been influenced by **čimki-* ‘to pinch’ or **temgü-* ‘to pick up’.

MMo SH *coki-*, *šoki-* H143 ‘to drill’, HY---, Muq---. WM *čoki-* L196a. Kh *coxix* H755b. Ord *joki-* M208a. Bur *soxix* C393b ‘to strike, etc’. Kalm *cokx* M636a ‘to strike, etc’. Dag *čɔkʰ-* E304. EYu *čɔ:qə-* B136. MgrH *čugu-* X212, *čigu-* L444. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj *čunḡu-* (sic, ?=) S301b. Dgx *čugū-* MC61a. Mog---.

***čolban/*čolman** ‘Venus’. In view of the Dag -p-, probably < **čolpan*, also in view of the CT cognate **čolpan* ‘id’. The second variant in Ordos suggests an -u- in the second syllable.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *čolbon* [eds. read *čolban*] 198A12. WM *čolmon*, *čolman*, *čolbon* L197a. Kh *colmon* H751a. Ord *čolmon* ~ *čulmun* M711b. Bur *solbon(g)* C390a. Kalm *colvḡ* M636a. Dag *čolpun* E304. EYu *čɔlβɔn* B137. MgrH *čolban* (only) S575. MgrM *čorban* JL481. Bao--- Dgx---. Mog---.

***čola** see s.v. ***čilöc**.

***čöen** ‘few’. The relation between this word and **öčeen* is unclear. Cf. also **üčüken*.

MMo SH *joyen* H93, cf. *jo'ekan* H92, HY *čö'en* M47, Muq *čö:n* P136b. WM *čögen* L201a. Kh *cöön* H758b. Ord *čö:n* (= *öčö:n*) M716b. Bur---. Brg *usə:ŋ* U51. Kalm *cön* M639a. Dag *čʷə:n* E308. EYu *čü:n* B138, J106b, *čö:n* J17. MgrH *čo:n* J106a. MgrM *čon* JL473, *čuan* C393. BaoD *čüḡ* BL93a. BaoÑ---. BaoX *čon* BC72. Kgj *čun* ~ *čun* S301b. Dgx *čogon* B162 (from the dim. **čöe-ken*). Mog---.

***čögeče** (?*čögüčeg) ‘(wine) cup’. Dag *čɔkč* E304 ‘bowl for a Buddha lamp made of flour’ may also be related, although it is of the wrong harmonic class. The MMo form with -g may survive in MgrH; MgrM and Dgx may have lost -g recently (cf. **kürjeg* for a similar case).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *čögüček* P322b. WM *čögüče*, *čögeče*, *čöčige* L200b. Kh *cögc* H757a. Ord *čögöči* M314b, *jöčögö* M214b ‘cup’. Bur *sügse* (obs) C398a. Brg *sugč* U158 ‘bowl of an oil lamp (used to illuminate a Buddha effigy)’. Kalm *cögc* M638a. Dag (see above). EYu---. MgrH *čöğžöğ* X210 ‘handleless wine cup’. MgrM *čogžö* JL474. Bao---. Dgx *žogöči* MC462b ‘handleless cup’. Mog---.

***čölbe-** ~ ***čölme-** ‘to pick, peck’. Kalmuck suggests a form **čilmö-*. The -p- in Dagur may be old (cf. **čolban* ‘Venus’ above). For the preconsonantal -m-, cf. the Dagur development of *ñɔmbus* < **nilbusun* ‘tears’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *čölbe-* L202a, *čölme-* L202b. Kh *cölmöx* (?=) H757b ‘to requisition, to confiscate’. Ord *čölmö-* M715a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *čölmx* M656b ‘to peck’. Dag *čump-* E83:185b ‘to pick; to pinch’. EYu *čölβe-* B137 ‘to examine’. MgrH---. MgrM *čuanḡmu-* C391 ‘to pick’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čöümü-** ‘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 *čimo:-* X207 ‘to pick’. MgrM *čumu-* T379 ‘to gather’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***čösün** ‘gall bladder’ see ***sösün**.

***čuburī-** ‘to leak, drip’. The Bur *h-* (from earlier **s*) suggests that the development **č > s* took place earlier than usual. In some languages this word has become confused with **čoara-* ‘to develop a hole’.

MMo SH *cuburi’ul-* (caus.) H29 ‘to let flow, shed’, HY---, Muq---. WM *čuburi-*, *čubura-* L204a. Kh *cuvrax* H760b. Ord [*čuvvu:l-* M720a ‘cause to flow’]. Bur *hubarixa* (sic!) C687a. Brg---. Kalm *cüwr-* R436a, *cüvr̥x* M643b, *cövrül* M638a ‘tap, faucet’. Dag *čɔ:rʷ-* E302 ‘to leak, to flow, to trickle’. EYu *ču:ra-* J87. MgrH *ču:rə-* X210. MgrM *čuburi-* T381. BaoD *čiurə-* BL84b, *čur-* T151. BaoÑ *ču:r-* CN190, but this meaning also given for *čo:ra-* (see **čoara-*). Kgj *čiuri-* ~ *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 *čuy* L205b ‘together with, etc’. Kh *cug* H760b ‘together with, etc’. Ord *čug* M717b. Bur *sug* C395b ‘together’. Kalm *cug* M639b ‘all’. Dag---. EYu *čɔg* B137 ‘all’. MgrH *čɔg* X210. MgrM *čug* JL477. BaoGt *čog* C126. BaoJ *čoǵó* (sic) L192 ‘sheaf’. BaoÑ *čog* CN189. Kgj *čuqu* (sic) S301a. Dgx *čəu* B158. Mog---.

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

MMo SH *cula-* (sic) H29, HY---, Muq---. WM *čuy-la-* L205b ‘to gather, etc’. Kh *cuglax* H760b ‘to gather, assemble; to bundle or tie together’. Ord *čugla-* M717b. Bur *suglaxa* C396a. Kalm *cuglx* M640b. Dag---. EYu *čugla-* B138. MgrH---. MgrM *čugla-* C373. BaoD---. BaoÑ *čogla-* CN189. Kgj *čuqla-* S301a. Dgx *čəula-* B159. Mog---.

***čuul-**, ***čuura-** see s.v. ***čaul-**.

***čüče** ‘chisel’ see ***siüči**

- D -

***daa-** ‘to be able to carry or bear, etc’. The peculiar WM spelling perhaps serves to distinguish this word from **daga-* ‘to follow’, to which it would otherwise be identical in spelling. Some of the Bao forms may have been confused with forms of

**čida-* ‘to be able’.

MMo SH *da’a-* H30, HY---, Muq---. WM *dayaya-* L216a. Kh *daax* H148a. Bur *daaxa* C178a. Kalm *daax* M173b. Dag *da:-* E268. EYu *da:-* B123. MgrH *da:-* X186. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *da:-* CN170. Kgj---. Dgx *da-* B142. Mog---.

***daagan** ‘two-year-old foal; foal’. The strengthening of the *-g-* in MgrH and BaoD is unexpected. Agricultural term, which, as Poppe (1960:47, etc) noted, is probably related to Turkic **yapak* ‘foal’ (not attested early). Cf. also Turkmen *yabī* ‘horse’, which points at a shorter stem. Cf. **unagan*.

MMo SH *da’aqan* H30, HY---, Muq *da:yan* P139b. WM *dayaya(n)* L216a, *daya(n)* L216a. Kh *daaga(n)* H147a. Ord *da:ga* M111b. Bur *daaga(n)* C177aa. Kalm *daayn* M172a. Dag *da:γ* E268. EYu *da:ğan* B124, J105b. MgrH *da:xa* J105b. MgrM *tagir* P413b, *dağar* DS224. BaoD *daɣaŋ* BL83a/92a. BaoGt *daxaŋ* C116. BaoÑ---. Dgx *dağaŋ* B144. Mog---.

***daaki** ‘(lump of) shaggy hair’. Remarkably the sequence *kī* did not result in an uvular pronunciation of the *-k-* in EYu and Shirongol. Agricultural term related to CT **yapaku* ‘matted wool, etc’ (cf. EDPT 874b), or, as the correspondence CT **u* - CM **i* is irregular, to CT **yapak* (cf. **kumakī*).

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

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *da:ra-* P139b. WM *dayara-* L218a. Kh *daarax* H147b. Bur *daaraxa* C178a. Kalm *daarx* M173a. Dag *da:r-* E269. EYu *da:ra-* B124, J105a. MgrH *da:ra-* J105b. MgrM *dara-* DS212b. BaoD *darə-* BL92b. BaoÑ *da:rə-* CN170. Dgx---. Mog---.

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

MMo SH *da’ari* H30 ‘sore’, HY---, Muq *da:ri* P139b. WM *dayari* L218b. Kh *dayr* H155a. Bur *daari* C178a. Kalm *däär* M188a. Dag *da:r* E269. EYu *da:rə* B124, J105a. MgrH *da:rə* J105b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***daari-** ‘to pass by, drop in; to bump into, run over; to insult’. In spite of the wide variety of meanings this is a single verb. Poppe’s suggestion (P60:41,141) that WM *dabara-* and *dayari-* are ultimately the same etymon, is probably incorrect in spite of a semantic overlap between the two. The former seems to be an intransitive formation from **daba-* below. However, western dialects may have forms with *-w-* with the meanings mentioned above. The spelling variant *dabari-* may confirm the fact that the two etyma are no longer clearly distinguished. At any rate this is a problem the peripheral languages do not shed light on.

MMo SH *da’ari-* H30 ‘to pass by; to bump against; to offend [or ‘to

ridicule], HY *da'ari*- M48 'to pass by', Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *dayari*- L218a, *dabara*- L212a, *dabari*- L212a. Kh *dayrax* H155a 'to hit, brush against (..), to rush, charge (..), to pass by (..), to insinuate; to be stricken by an illness'. Ord *da:ri*- M122a. Bur *dayraxa* C182a. Brg *dair*- U192 'to charge, rush'. Kalm *dävr̥x* (?=) M189a 'to attack, etc', *dä:rx̥ə* R83a 'to hit, bump into, offend, etc', *däwr̥x̥ə* R82b 'to pass (by)'. Dag *da:r̥*- E269 'to pass by or through, to go via; (of lightning) to strike'. EYu *da:r*- J105a 'to rush, charge; to bump against, run into', *da:r*- B124 'to pass by'. MgrH *da:rə*- J105b 'to bump against, run into; to encounter'. MgrM *da:r*- C396 'to surpass'. BaoJ *dar*- L29. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***daba-** 'to cross, pass; to exceed'.

MMo SH *daba*- H30, HY---, Muq---. WM *daba*- L211a. Kh *davax* H149a. Bur *dabaxa* C179a. Kalm *davx* M175b. Dag *daw*- E277, *dau*- E270. EYu *daβa*- B125, J105b. MgrH *dava*:- J105a. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *dawa*- B146. Mog---.

***dabasug ~ *dabusag (~ *dabasuj)** '(urinary) bladder'. There is disagreement regarding both the final consonant and the quality of the second and third vowels. Even the QG languages reflect three different forms. EYu supports **dabasug*, while Monguoric suggests **dabsag* (possibly < **dabusag*). The forms in Baoanic seem to stem from a form **dabalag*. Although *-l* does not otherwise correspond to **-s-*, *-lag* can at this stage not be explained as an alternative ending. Bur-Brg have **čuuka*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *dabasun* P137a. WM *dabusay* L213b, *dabusang* L213b, etc. Kh *davsan*, *davsag* H150a, *davsnag* (sic) H150b. Ord *dawusaq* M130b, *dawusuq* M131a. Bur *dabsag* (western) C179b. Brg---. Kalm *davsg* M174a. Dag *daus* E270 'abdomen', *daus* Z103b 'bladder'. EYu *daβasäḡ* B125, *daβasəḡ* J105b. MgrH *dabsag* J105a, *daṣṣag* X191. MgrM *dabsag* JL466. BaoD *doləḡ* BL92a, *doläḡ* BL6. BaoJ *doləḡə* L34 'the crop of a bird'. BaoÑ *danlag* CN171, also 'fish's air bladder'. Kgj *dabələḡ* S298b. Dgx *dawala* B146. Mog---.

***dabkur** 'double; row; layer; folded'. The Dagur form *dabkur* (instead of **darkər* > **darkəl*), with unexpected *u* and retention of the syllable-final *b*, may indicate that it is a reborrowing from Manchu *dabkūri*. Cf. **dabta*- 'to repeat' (not listed here).

MMo SH *dabqur* H30, HY *dabqur* M48, Muq *dabqur* P304a. WM *dabqur* L214a. Kh *davxar* H214a. Ord *dawχur* M130a, *daχur* M113a. Bur *dabxar* C179b. Kalm *davxr* M175b. Dag *dabkur* (sic, see remark below) E272. EYu *daχqur* B125 'times', *daχguar* J105b 'double'. MgrH *tagur* J105a. MgrM *yigə təḡər* DS260 'for a while' (the first element from **nikən* and/or Chinese *yīge* 'one'), possibly also in *toḡor kəlie* Z335:317 'uvula', lit. 'double tongue'. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dabusun** 'salt'. All modern forms apparently developed from a form **dabsun*. However, the first *-ŋ-* in Dgx *daṅsun* is unusual; this Dgx form perhaps stems from an intermediate form **damsun*, although it is also possible that *daṅsun* developed from earlier **dasun* < **dabsun* (see **jabaan* for a similar 'intrusive' *ŋ*). Apparently contains the (?collective) suffix **-sUn*, so the PM root may have been **dabu-*.

MMo SH---, HY *dabusun* M48, Muq *dabusun* P137. WM *dabusu(n)* L213b. Kh *davs(an)* H150a. Ord *dawus(u)* M131a. Bur *dabha(n)* C180a. Brg *daβv*: U139. Kalm *davsn* M174b. Dag---. EYu *da:βsən* (*da:φsən*) B124, *da:bsən* J105b.

MgrH *dabsə* J105a, X190. MgrM *dabsi* JL466, *dapuzi* C390, *dabusī* ~ *dapuzi* DS247a. BaoD *dabsuŋ* BL92b. BaoGt *dāpsuŋ* C115. BaoÑ *dabsəŋ* CN172. Kgj---. Dgx *daŋsuŋ* B144. Mog *dabsan*, *dabsun* R26a, *dəbsun* W163b.

***daga-** ‘to follow’, in Bao and Kgj also ‘to resemble’.

MMo SH *daqā-* H30, HY *daqā-* M48, Muq---. WM *daya-* L216a. Kh *dagax* H153a. Bur *dagaxa* C180b. Kalm *daxx* M187a. Dag *day-* E273. EYu *dağa-* B125, *tağa-* (sic) J105b. MgrH *dağa-* J105b. MgrM *dağa-* DS224a. BaoD *dəğa-* BL2 ‘follow’, *ndəğa-* BL58, BL65 ‘resemble’. BaoÑ *dağa-* CN172. Kgj *dağa-* ~ *dəğa-* S298b, *dəğa-* S208. Dgx *dağa-* B144. Mog---.

***däin** ‘war’ and ***däisun** ‘enemy’. Related to CT **yagī* ‘enemy’ (cf. EDPT 868a).

MMo SH *dayin* H34, *daiyin* H31, *daiyisu(n)* H31, HY---, Muq *dain* P138a ‘enemy’. WM *dayin* L222b, *dayisun* L222b. Kh *dayn* H154a, *daysan* H155b. Bur *day(n)* C182a, *daysa(n)* (←Kh) C182b. Brg *daiŋ* U192, *daisaŋ* (←Kh) U192. Kalm *dän* M189b ‘war’, *dääsn* M188b ‘enemy’. Dag *dayin* E276 ‘war, chaos caused by war’. EYu *dain* B124. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***daku** ‘fur coat (with the fur outside), raincoat’. The Dagur form may be from Manchu *dakû*. Related to CT **yagku* ‘id’ (EDPT 898b), according to Clauson from **yag-* ‘to rain’.

MMo SH *daqu* H31 ‘fur-lined coat’, HY---, Muq---, RH *daqu* 205B42. WM *daqu* L237b. Kh *dax* H164b ‘coat with the fur outside’. Bur *daxa* C189b. Brg *dax* U193. Kalm *daxă* R72b. Dag *daw* E277 ‘cape, cloak’, *dayu* NK497a. EYu---. MgrH *da:xu* SM41 ‘short sleeveless garment worn in the past by Monguor women’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dalai** ‘sea’. Apparently related to CT **taluy* ‘id’, itself possibly a geographical name of Chinese origin.

MMo SH *dalai* H31, HY *dalai* M48, Muq *dalai* P138a ‘great’. WM *dalai* L224a. Kh *dalay* H156a. Ord *dalä*: M115a. Bur *dalay* C183a. Brg *dalai* U194. Kalm *dala* M178a. Dag *dali*: E274, *dalai* Z103a. EYu *dali*: B125, J105a. MgrH *dali*: X190. Remaining lgs---.

***dalan** ‘seventy’. Related to **dolaan* (< **daluan*) ‘seven’. In Bao-Kgj replaced by a new analytical form **dolaan harban* ‘seven tens’, contracted in BaoD *dolaran* BL92a, BaoÑ *də'laran* CN180.

MMo SH *dalan* H31, HY *dalan* M48, Muq *dalan* P138a. WM *dala(n)* L223b. Kh *dal(an)* H156a. Ord *dala* M114b. Bur *dala(n)* C183b. Brg *dal* U194. Kalm *daln* M180a. Dag *dal* E273. EYu *dalan* B125, J105a. MgrH *dalan* J105b. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dalu** ‘shoulder-blade, scapula’. The long vowel shared by EYu and MgrH is secondary. Some of the Shirongol languages feature forms suggesting an additional phoneme after **u*; MgrH and BaoD suggest a Shirongol form **daluī*; Dgx may support this form (cf. **maylai* ‘forehead’ for the treatment of **-ai*). MgrM does not share this possible Shirongol word shape. For the forms in a nasal, we may compare

WM *dalang* L224b ‘nape of the neck (of animals); withers (of a horse)’. Perhaps **dalu* and **dalaŋ* were confused.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *dalu* P138a. WM *dalu* L226b. Kh *dal* H155b. Ord *dalu* M116b. Bur *dala* C183a. Brg *dal* U194. Kalm *dal* M178a. Dag *dal* E273 ‘shoulder-blade’. EYu *da:lə* B124 ‘shoulder-blade’. MgrH *da:li*: J102b ‘shoulder’. MgrM *dalu* T327, DS249b. BaoD *daləi* BL90b ‘shoulder’. BaoÑ *dalaŋ* CN172 ‘shoulder-blade’. Kgj *dalian* ~ *dalen* S298b. Dgx *daləu* B145 ‘shoulder’, *dali* L118b ‘shoulder’. Mog *do:lu* R27a.

***damla-** ‘to carry on a carrying-pole, in a sedan chair, etc’. A Chinese word (modern Mandarin *dān* ‘shoulder pole’) that seems to be absent from MMo, but was adopted early enough to be represented widely in the modern languages. The antiquity is supported by the *-m*, which has since merged with *-n* in Northwest Mandarin. MgrH *dänla-* SM43, *danla-* X189 may represent more recent loans. Dgx *daŋla-* may also be recent. Kgj *dama-* must have developed via either **damna-* or **dalma-*. Dag *jenjla:-* E315 could stem from an unattested assimilated variant **jamjila-* < **damjila-*.

MMo---, WM *damna-* L228a. Kh *damnax* H159b, *damlax* H159a. Ord *damna-* M118a, cf. also *damjil(a)-* M117b. Bur---. Kalm *damnⁿ*- R75b. Dag (see above). EYu *damla-* B125. MgrH *damla-* X191, *darma-* SM46 (naast. BaoD *damələ-* BL32. BaoÑ *dabla-* CN172. Kgj *dama-* S298b. Dgx *daŋla-* B144. Mog---.

***daŋgal** ‘lump, clod’. Note the peculiar distribution. Mgr seems to suggest a form **daŋgol*. BaoD results from a recent metathesis. Apparently because the word is rare in the central languages, this word is often presented in the vocabularies of QG languages as a loanword of Turkic origin, and compared to NUyg *daŋgal*. However, the initial *d-* in NUyg rather indicates a non-Turkic word. It seems likely that Kashghari’s *deŋgel* (or *daŋgal*; it is read as a front-vocalic word in EDPT 520a because of the spelling of *-g-*) ‘knob or node’ is the same word, but this early occurrence also has the foreign-looking *d-*. Even if ultimately not an endemic Mongolic word, it was probably present in CM. The presence of this word in Dagur also supports its presence in early Mongolic. As it is reminiscent of, and largely in complementary distribution with, **deŋliül*, **deŋliüsün* ‘turf, sod; hillock’ found in the central languages, this may be an alternate form of the same etymon. Cf. also Ord *deŋgel-dongol* M139b ‘lumps and bumps in the soil’.

MMo SH *danglasun* H32 ‘clod of earth’, HY---, Muq---, IV *tanglasun* L62:67 ‘sun-dried brick’, RH *tanglasun* 202A5 ‘brick’. WM---. Kh---. Bur *dagnaha(n)* (western) C181a. Kalm---. Dag *daŋga:l* E272. EYu---. MgrH *daŋgol* X189. MgrM *daŋgvar* C390, *dongul* P421a ‘peat’, *daŋbulər* (?) DS237b ‘mound’. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. BaoX *dalgaŋ* BC66. Kgj---. Dgx (Longquan) *daŋga* B144. Mog---.

***darasun** ‘wine (from fruit or cereals)’. Bur seems to suggest **darsun* (perhaps also the origin of the Kh and Kalm forms), Mgr and Bao point at **durasun*. Apparently formed with the (?collective) suffix **-sUn*.

MMo SH *darasun* H32, HY *darasun* M48, Muq---. WM *darasu(n)* L232a. Kh *dars(an)* H163a. Ord *darasu* M120b, *darusu* M125a. Bur *darhan* (obs) C189a.

Brg *darv*: U195. Kalm *darsn* R78b. Dag *dars* Z39. EYu *dura:sən* (only) S203. MgrH *dəra:sə* J105b, *dura:sə* X201. MgrM *duruasī* C391. Bao *turasī* P412a. Kgj *dərasun* ~ *drasun* S299a. Dgx *darasuŋ* B146. Mog---.

***daru-** ‘to press, push down, suppress’.

MMo SH *daru-* H33, HY *daru-* M48, Muq *daru-* P138b. WM *daru-* L233b. Kh *darax* H161a. Bur *daraxa* C187b. Kalm *darx* M185a. Dag *dar-* E276. EYu *darə-* B126, J105a. MgrH *da:rə-* J105b. BaoD *darə-* BL92b. BaoÑ *dar-* CN173. Dgx *daru-* B146. Mog *daru-*, *do:ru-* R27a.

***daun** ‘sound; voice; song’.

MMo SH *dao'u(n)* H32, HY *da'un* M49, Muq *da'un* P139a, cf. *du:la-* P147b ‘to sing’. WM *dayu(n)* L219a, *dayuu* L221b. Kh *duu(n)* H183a. Ord *du:* M158b. Bur *duu(n)* C206a. Kalm *dun* M214a. Dag *dau* E270 ‘&thunder’. EYu *du:n* B130, J105a. MgrH *dau:* J105b. MgrM *dau* JL468. BaoD *duŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ *dəŋ* CN179. Kgj *duŋ* S299b, but cf. *daula-* S298a. Dgx *doŋ* B147 and *duan* B148 (both representing the same pronunciation), but cf. *dəula-* B146. Mog *döun* R27a, *daon*, *down*, *dov* W163a.

***dauria-** ‘to imitate, follow the example of’. The *n* in EYu is inexplicable.

MMo SH, HY---, Muq---. WM *dayuriya-* L219b. Kh *duurix* H184b. Bur *duuryaaxa* C206b. Kalm *du:ra:-* R104b, *dura:-* R102b. Dag *daur'e:-* E271 ‘id, etc’. EYu *du:ran-* J105a. MgrH *daura:-* X189, *dau:ra:-* J105b.

***daus-** ‘to be finished; to suffer, endure’.

MMo SH *dao'us-* H32, *da'us-* H33, HY---, Muq *da'us-* P139a, *du:s-* P326b. WM *dayus-* L220a. Kh *duusax* H184b. Bur *duuhaxa* C206b. Kalm *duusx* M218a. Dag *daus-* E270 ‘to pull in to shore; to end, finish, reach the end’. EYu *du:s-* J105a ‘to end, finish’. Remaining lgs---.

debis-** (>debüs-**) ‘to spread’. In the alternative form ***debüs-** suggested by SH the original ***i** was probably rounded because of the preceding *b*. Most modern forms may be either from ***debis-** or ***debüs-**, but Ord suggests the former, and Dag the latter.

MMo SH *debus-* H34, HY---, Muq *debis-* P139b. WM *debis-* L238b. Kh *devsex* H190b. Ord *dewis-* ~ *dewes-* M145a. Bur *debdixe* C213a. Brg *diβd-* U197. Kalm *devsx* M191a. Dag *dəus-* E279. EYu *des-* J88, *deβəsge-* (caus) B127. MgrH *de:sə-* X193. MgrM *debse-* T329. BaoD---. BaoÑ *der-* CN177, *deβər-* CN176. Kgj *desi-* S299a. Dgx *žiausi-* B165. Mog---.

***debisker** ‘mattress, bedding’. Derived from ***debis-** above; Dgx from ***debiskü**.

MMo SH---, HY *debüsger* M49, Muq *debisker* P139b. WM *debisker* L238b. Kh *devsger* H190a. Ord *dewisker* M145a. Bur *debdixer* C213b, *debisxer* (←?) C213b. Brg [ɔr] *diβtgər* U34. Kalm *devskr* M191a. Dag *dəurkul* E279. EYu *deβəsger* B127, *desger* J88. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *žiausiku* B165. Mog---.

***debse** ‘saddle cushion, undersaddle’. Probably related to **debis-*. The three literary central languages and Brg developed as if it was **debsün*; Ord and EYu agree with the WM spelling. Dag *dəbsəy* is peculiar: preconsonantal *b* should have become *r*, and the final *y* is unexpected. The expected form is **dərs*, i.e. this word would have merged with the reflex of **deresün*, q.v.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *debse* L239a. Kh *devs(en)* (obs. in this meaning) H190a. Ord *debse* M132b. Bur *debhe(n)* C214a, *debese* (?←WM) C214b. Brg *dəβu*: U196. Kalm *devsŋ* M191a. Dag *dəbsəy* (sic) E280. EYu *debse* B312, J105a.

***debte-** ‘to be soaked, to be steeped’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *debte-* L239b, *debtü-* L240b. Kh *devtex* H191a. Bur *debtex* C214a. Kalm *devtx* M191b. Dag *dərt-* E282. EYu *debte-* BJ322, *debde-* J105a. MgrH *təbde-*: J105b, *təde-*: X180, *tudie-*: SM427. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. MogM *defta-* L68, No. 58.

***deel** ‘clothes, garment, jacket, coat, gown’. A clear example of the interaction between WM and the spoken languages. The QG languages stem from CM **deel*. The Dag form with its *-lʰ* seems to suggest a CM **deeli*; or it may instead belong with **deelei* ‘jacket’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *de’el* H34, *degel* H35, HY *de’el* M49, Muq *de:l* P141b. WM *debel* L238a, K1698a, Ceval222b, *degel* K1740b, Ceval231a. Kh *deel* H199a. Ord *de:l* M136a. Bur *degel* C215a. Brg *də:l* U195. Kalm *devl* M190b. Dag *də:lʰ* E278 ‘fur-lined coat’. EYu *di:l* B128. MgrH *de:l* J105a. MgrM *der* JL468. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *žien* B166. Mog---.

***deere** ‘above, upper’. From a root **dee-*, whose other derivatives are less widespread in the peripheral languages. In view of the Muq spelling with *-h* perhaps from a PM root **depe-* > **dehe-*.

MMo SH *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 *žiarə* BL92b. BaoÑ *di:rə* CN177. Kgj *dere* S299a. Dgx *žierə* B169. Mog *de:ra*, *de:rə* R26b, *dəra* W163a, *dira* W163b.

***deesün** ‘rope, cord’. The similar forms with *ei* Kgj and Mog are probably a coincidence. Possibly related to the Turkic **yep*, a NE variant of **yip* ‘thread’.

MMo SH---, HY *de’esün* M49, Muq *de:sün* P142a. WM *degēsü(n)* L244b. Kh *dees(en)* H200a. Bur *deehe(n)* C220b. Brg *dəxə*: U196. Kalm *deesn* M195b. Dag *də:s* E278. EYu *di:sən* B128, J105b, *de:sən* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *de:sə* J105a. MgrM *desə* J87. BaoD *desuŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *deisun* ~ *desun* S299a. Dgx *žiesuŋ* B168. Mog *deisun* R26b, *deisun* W163a.

***del** ‘mane’. The second element of the Dagur form is unclear (it is reminiscent of **deelbüri* ‘covering’). Agricultural term related to CT **ye:l* ‘id’.

MMo SH *del* H35, HY *del* M49, Muq--- but cf. *del-tü-* P141a ‘hyena’ (lit. ‘with mane’), RH *deltü čina* 199C19 ‘hyena’ (lit. ‘wolf with mane’). WM *del* L247a. Kh *del* H193a. Ord *dél* M136a. Bur *del-he(n)* C216b. Brg *dil* U197. Kalm *del* M196a. Dag *də:lbur* E278, Z103b. EYu *del* B127, J105b. Remaining lgs---.

***delbi-** ‘to wave, to fan’, ***delbiür** ‘fan’. Preconsonantal *-l-* was lost in the central languages (cf. the development of CM **talbī-* ‘to put’ > **tabī-*). The EYu form is irregular; in view of the *-p-* it also could be a borrowing from Turkic **yelpi-* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *delbü-* P213b (and *yelbi-* P390b from Turkic). WM *debi-* L238a, *debigür* L238a. Kh *devex* H191b, *devüür* H191a. Ord *dewe-* M144b, *dewü:r* M145a. Bur *debixe* C213b, *debyüür* C214b. Kalm *dewü:r* R91a. Dag *dəlbür* E280 ‘fan’. EYu *lepə-* B87, *lepü:r* B87. Remaining lgs---.

***deled-** ‘to beat’. There is also a variant with ***deles-**, usually with different semantics, cf. WM *deles-* L249a, Kh *delsex* H194b, Kalm *delsx* M198a. Both forms may go back to a PM form **delej-*.

MMo SH *delet-* H35, HY *delet-* M49, Muq *delet-* P140a. WM *deled-* L248b. Kh *deldex* H194b. Ord *delde-* M136b. Bur *deldexe* C216a. Kalm *deldx* (obs) M197a. Dag---. EYu *deled-* B127. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *dilat-* W163b ‘to rain’, MogM *delat-* L62:27 ‘to beat, hit’.

***delenj** ‘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 *delj* M197b. Dag *dəlin* E280. EYu *delej* B127, J105b. MgrH *dələŋ* J105a, *dələŋ* X195. MgrM---. BaoD *dələŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *delio* S299a. Dgx *žielien* L120b. Mog---.

***delge-** ‘to spread’. For Dongxiang cf. **gee-*.

MMo SH *delge-* H35, HY *delge-* M48, Muq *delge-* P140b. WM *delge-* L249a. Kh *delgex* H194b. Bur *delgexe* C216b. Kalm *delgx* M197a. Dag *dəlyə:-* E281. EYu *delye-* B127. MgrH *dəlgə-* X196. MgrM *derge-* JL462. Bao---. Dgx *žieğə-* MC184b ‘to roll out (dough); to spread (grain on the threshing floor for threshing)’. Mog---.

***deliün** ‘spleen’. Dag *dəlkin* probably stems from Tungusic, cf. Manchu *delihun*. LV also has *-g-*.

MMo SH---, HY *deli’ün* M50, Muq *delü:n* P141a, LV *delgün* P56. WM *deligüü* L250a. Kh *delüü(n)* H195a. Bur *deliün* C216b, *delyüü(n)* C216b. Brg *dilu:* U198. Kalm *delün* M198a. Dag *dəlu:* E280, *dəlkin* E280 (latter form ←MT). EYu *dölü:n* B130, *dölön* J105b, *dölö:n* (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *dəliu:* J105a, *dəliu* X196. Remaining lgs---.

***dere** ‘pillow’. Dag *dərəb* E281 ‘pillow’ is from Tungusic, cf. Solon *dəbbu* < **dərbu*. This Tungusic word may well be related to Mongolic.

MMo SH *dere* H36 ‘etc’, HY *dere* M50, Muq *dere* P141a. WM *dere*

L253a. Kh *der(en)* H197a. Ord *dére* M140b. Bur *dere* C218b. Brg *dər* U197. Kalm *der* M199a. Dag [see above]. EYu *dere* B127, J57. MgrH *dəre* X196. MgrM *dere* JL462. Remaining lgs---.

***deresün** ‘name of several reeds and grasses; rush mat’. Probably related to CT **yez*.

MMo SH *deresun* H36, HY---, Muq---. WM *deresü(n)* L253b. Kh *ders(en)* H197b. Ord *déres(ʰ)* M141a. Bur *derhe(n)* C218b. Brg *dəru*: U197. Kalm *dersn* M200a. Dag *dərs* E282. EYu---. MgrH *dəresi* X196. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *žierəsun* B169. Mog---.

***deü** ‘younger sibling’. In many languages this word is not used independently. In Muq apparently only in the combinations **aka deü* and **egeči deü*; In Bur and Kalm also restricted to compounds.

MMo SH *de’u* H36, HY *de’ü* M50, Muq *de’ü*: P303b, *dü*: P256a. WM *degüü* L246a. Kh *düü* H188b. Bur *düü* C211b ‘younger’. Kalm *dü* M218a ‘younger’. Dag *dəu* E279. EYu *dü*: B132, J105b, *dö*: (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *diu*: J105a, *diu* X195, *du*: X199. MgrM *diau* JL465. BaoD *dəu* BL92a. BaoÑ *du* only in *aga du* CN5. Kgj *devu* S299a. Dgx *žiau* B165. Mog *döun* R27a.

***deüjile-** ‘to hang up, suspend, attach’. The *-ž-* in the Monguor languages is peculiar. Some of the Chinese authors derive this word from Chinese *diào*, but this is only phonetically compatible with the Dongxiang form. Cf. **elgü-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *degüjile-* L246a. Kh *düüjlex* H189a. Ord *du:žile-* M167b. Bur *düüželxe* C211b. Kalm *düüjlx* M221a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *diužəle-* X195. MgrM *diaožili-* DS227b. BaoÑ *du:žilga-* (caus) CN181. Kgj *dəužile-* ~ *daužile-* S298b. Dgx *žiaužilie-* B165.

***deüli-** ‘to jump, leap’. Cf. **hüsür-*.

MMo SH *duyal-* (?=) H40 ‘to jump for joy’, HY---, Muq *dü:li-* P148a. WM *degüli-* L245b. Kh *düülex* H189a. Bur *düülix* C211b. Kalm *dü:l(’)-* R106b ‘to strive for, try to get, etc’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *diu:lə-* J96a. MgrM *diauli-* JL471. BaoD *dulə-* BL84a. BaoÑ *dulə-* CN181. BaoX *dul-* BC71. Kgj *dauli-* ~ *dəuli-* S298A. Dgx *žiauli-* B165. Mog---.

***deür-** ‘to carry sb/sth in front or behind while riding a horse’. In spite of phonetic problems, possibly in some way related to the Turkic form **ünger-* (?**yünger-*). For the phonetic development compare CM **döree* - CT **yüzəngü* ‘stirrup’ below. Cf. **sundala-* which occurs in similar meanings.

MMo SH *de’ur-* H36. WM *deür-* L254a. Kh *düürex* H189b. Ord *du:r-* M171a. Bur *-?-*. Brg *du:r-* U203. Kalm *düürx* M221b.

***doa-ra** ‘under’. Note the fluctuations in vowel length. Kh, Ord, Brg do have a long vowel in other derivatives of the same root, e.g. Kh *dooš* ‘downward’, *dood* ‘lower’ etc. In BaoD this word may have dropped from use after its form has come to resemble **dotara* ‘inside’ too closely.

MMo SH *do:ro* H37, HY *dora, doro* M50, Muq *dora* P143a. WM *doora* L266a. Kh *dor* H171a. Ord *doro* M152b. Bur *doro* C196a, *dooro* C195b. Brg *dər* U200. Kalm *dor* M207a. Dag *d^war* E290. EYu *du:ra* B131, J105, *də:rə* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *do:ro* J105a. MgrM *do:ro* C376, *doro* C391. BaoD-?- BL. BaoÑ *də:rə* CN178. BaoX *dorə* BC65. Kgj *duru* S299b. Dgx *dəura* B147. Mog *dora* R27a, *dərə* W163b.

***dobtul-** ‘to gallop; to rush, charge, attack’.

MMo SH *dobtul-* H36, HY---, Muq *dobtul-* P142b. WM *dobtul-* L255a. Kh *dovtlox* H167a. Ord *dubtul-* M155b. Bur *dobtolxo* C193a. Kalm *dovtlx* M202b. Dag *dərtul-* E286. EYu *dobdəl-* J7. Remaining lgs---.

***dogal-** ‘to limp’ and ***dogal-aŋ** ‘limping, crippled’ (the latter not listed here for all languages where it survives). Bur suggests **-k-*. Most of Baoanic seems to have reinterpreted the verb as **dogla-*.

MMo SH---, HY *doqalaŋ* M50, Muq *doqul-* (or *doqol-*) P143a. WM *doyol-* L257b. Kh *dogolox* H167b. Ord *dogol-* M147b. Bur *doxolxo* C199a. Brg *dəgləŋ* U199. Kalm *doylx* M203b. Dag *dəy^wl-un* E284. EYu *dəğol-* B129, *doğol-* J105b. MgrH *doğolə-* J105a. MgrM *dərgo-* (?=) DS234a, *d^yəğol-aŋ* (sic) C391, *dogolan* P421b. BaoD *doyol-* BL92b. BaoÑ *dəğla-* CN180. Kgj *duğlu-* S299b. Dgx *doğolo-* B147. Mog---.

***dogsın** ‘fierce, cruel’. Note the metathesis in Kh, Ord, Bur.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *doysin* L256b. Kh *dogšin* H167b, *doşgin* H174b. Ord *dogšin* M148a, *doşkin* M154a. Bur *doşxon* C199a. Kalm *dogšn* M293a. Dag *dəršin* E285. EYu *dəğšin* B129. MgrH *dogšin* L91, also *dogšin* L91, *togšin* L580 ‘sour’. Remaining lgs---.

***dolia-** (> **dolaa-*) ‘to lick’. The form **dolia-*, now only present in Bur, must have been the oldest. The QG forms developed from a form **doli-* or **dol-* which can not be explained, unless the final part was mistaken for a causative, and removed. The QG form seems to be supported by Moghol. The length in EYu and MgrH may be due to the word structure (which is a common development), but perhaps the vowel length of the second syllable was transferred to the first. The assumed relation with CT **yalga-* ‘id’ is problematic, since an earlier Turkic form **yaluga-* has to be postulated in order to reconcile the actual Turkic forms with the CM **o* in the first syllable, but a Turkic form **yoliga-* would be required if one wants to explain the **ia* in the CM form.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *dola:-* P142b. WM *doliya-* L259b, *doloya-* L260a. Kh *doloox* H169a. Ord *dolo:-* M150b. Bur *dolyooxo* C194a, *žolooxo* (rare) C233a. Brg *dəl^yə:-* U199. Kalm *dolax* M205a. Dag *dələ:-* E284. EYu *də:lə-* B128, *do:l-* J105b. MgrH *do:lə-* X297. MgrM *dor-* JL468. BaoD *dolə-* BL92b. BaoGt *dual-* C110. BaoJ *dual-* L36, *dal(ə)-* L30. BaoÑ *dəl-* CN180. BaoX *do:lə-* BC62. Kgj *dər-* S299b. Dgx *dolu-* B148. MogMr *də:lu-* L64:45, Zirni *do:l-* 15:6b.

***dolaan** ‘seven’. In view of **dalan* ‘seventy’, **dolaan* may go back to an earlier (PM) **daluan*.

MMo SH *dolo’an* H37, HY *dolo’an* M50, Muq *dola:n* P142b. WM *doloʔa(n)* L260a. Kh *doloo(n)* H169a. Ord *dolo:* M150b. Bur *doloon* C194b. Brg *dɔlɔ:*, *dɔlɔ:ŋ* U199. Kalm *dolan* M204b. Dag *dɔlɔ:*, *dɔlɔ:n* E284. EYu *dɔlɔ:n* B129, *dolo:n* J105b. MgrH *dolo:n* J105a. MgrM *dolon* T330, *dolaŋ* (obs.) DS4, but *dolaŋ* DS260a ‘week’ is still in use. BaoD *doluŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ *dələŋ* CN180. Kgj *danlɔ* ~ *dɔlɔ* S298a. Dgx *doloŋ* B147. MogM *dv:lv:n* L54b:135 (rarely used).

***domag** ‘tale, legend, fairy tale’, in some languages ‘nonsense; mockery’. The EYu *l-* probably arose due to the influence of EYu *lɔm* from **nom* ‘book’. Related to CT **yomak* ‘fairy tale’.

SH *domoq-či* H37, HY---, Muq---. WM *domoʔ* L261a. Kh *domog* H169b. Ord *domoq* M151b. Bur *domog* C195a. Kalm *domg* M206a. EYu *lɔmɔg* B88.

***dota-r** ‘interior’, ***dota-ra** ‘in, inside’. Note the development of **d > t* from MMo onwards, and the dissimilations of the **d-t* sequence in QG. Other derivatives from the same root also feature irregular dissimilations, as in **dotaa* ~ **dočaa*: Buriat *dosoo* C197b, *zosoo* C258a, Brg *dɔsɔ:* U199, apparently shared by Khamnigan (Janhunen 91), as opposed to Kalm *dota* M208a.

MMo SH *dотора, dotore* H38, HY *dотора* M50, Muq *dotar* P143b, *dotura* P119b, cf. *dotara-qi* P143b, *totar* P142a ‘lining’, *totara* P209a. WM *dotor*, *dотора* L265a. Kh *dотор* H173a. Ord *dotor*, *dоторо* M154b. Bur *dотор* C198a. Brg *dɔtɔr* U200. Kalm *dotr* M208b. Dag *dʷatər* E290 ‘inside’, cf. *dɔtur* E285 ‘internal organs; heart (fig.)’. EYu *htɔr* B61, *hdɔr* B62, *htɔrɔ* B61, *hdoro* J105b. MgrH *tudor* X185, *čüdor* X211; *toro* J105a, X181, *turo* X185, *šduro* L512, *sduro* SM339. MgrM *tuduar* C390, *dotor* T367, *tudoro*, *čudoro* DS231a. BaoD *dorə* BL93b. BaoÑ---. BaoX *dərə* BC69, *hdər-sə* (abl.) CN86:164. BaoDt *hdərə* CN86:186. Kgj [*tuši* ~ *tuši* S297 < **dota-gsi* ‘inwards’], *dugu* S20 ‘the one on the inside’, perhaps < **dotar-kī*. Dgx *sudoro* B119, *tudoro* L120a, cf. also *ənə toro* B7 ‘in here’, *hə toro* B66 ‘in there’. Mog *doto:-na* R27a.

***döčin** ‘forty’. In Bao and Kgj replaced by a new form **dörben harban* ‘four tens’ (BaoD *deräraŋ* BL92b, BaoÑ *de’raraŋ* CN177). Probably from a root **dö-* and a suffix *-čln* (cf. **gučin* ‘thirty’, **dörben* ‘four’ and (not listed) **dönen* ‘four-year-old’).

MMo SH *docin* H36, HY *döčin* M50, Muq *döčin* P143b. WM *döči(n)* L266b. Kh *döč(in)* H177b. Ord *döči* M158a. Bur *düşe(n)* C213a. Brg *duš* U204. Kalm *döčn* M212b. Dag *duč* E287. EYu *döčən* B130, *döčin* J105a. MgrH *təžin* J105b. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dörben** ‘four’. The Shirongol forms go back to an unrounded form **derben*. Related to **döčin* ‘forty’ above and **dönen* ‘four-year-old’ (not listed).

MMo SH *dorben* H37, HY *dörben* M50, Muq *dörben* P143b. WM *dörbe(n)* L268b. Kh *döröv* (*dörvön*) H176b. Bur *dürbe(n)* C209a. Brg *durəβ*, *durβəŋ* U204. Kalm *dörvn* M211b. Dag *durbʷ*, *durbun* E288, *durəb* Z104b, *durub* Z47. EYu *dörβen* B130, J105a. MgrH *de:ren* J105b. MgrM *derbaŋ* T477, JL477. BaoD *derəŋ*

BL92a. BaoÑ *derañ* CN177. Kgj *derə* S299a. Dgx *žieron* B169, *žierwan* (Longquan) B170. Mog *durbən* W164a.

***döre** ‘nose ring, camel’s nose peg’.

MMo SH *dore-bci* H37 ‘ring’, HY---, Muq---. WM *dörö* L269a. Kh *dör* H175b. Ord *dörö* M157a. Bur *düre* C210b. Brg *dur* U204. Kalm *dör* M210b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *duro*: X201, *duro:l* (sic) L101. MgrM *dori* DS239. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***döree** ‘stirrup’. Dag *du:rə:ŋgi*: E288 is from Manchu. Agricultural term which in spite of phonetic difficulties seems to be related to CT **(y)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 point at a PM form **döreŋe* or **düreŋe*.

MMo SH---, HY *dörö’e* M51, Muq *döre*: P237b. WM *döröge* L269a. Kh *döröö(n)* H176b. Ord *dörö*: M157a. Bur *düröö* C209b. Brg *durə*: U204. Kalm *dörä* M210b. Dag (see above). EYu *düre*: B132, *dure*: J105a, (Qinglong) *döre*: BJ350.

***dösi** ‘anvil’. Ord and EYu share an unexpectedly lowered final vowel.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *döši* P144a. WM *dösi* L269b. Kh *dös* H177b. Ord *dösö* M158a. Bur *düše* C213a. Brg *duš* U204. Kalm *dös* M212b. Dag *duš* E287. EYu *tošo* S231. MgrH *do:ša* J105b.

***döte** ‘directly; nearby’. The connection between this word and MgrH *ta:da*, suggested by Khasbaatar, is unlikely.

MMo SH *dote-le-n* (converb of denominal verb) ‘directly’, HY *döte* M51 ‘directly’, Muq---. WM *döte* L269b. Kh *döt* H177a. Ord *dötö* M158a. Bur *düte* C210b. Kalm *döt* M212a. Dag *du:t* E286.

***dötüer** ‘fourth’. Replaced elsewhere by new formations from **dörben*, e.g. Kh *dörövdüger* (with reading pronunciation of the ordinal suffix). Cf. **dörben* ‘four’ and **döčün* ‘forty’ above as well as **dönen* ‘four-year-old’ (not listed).

MMo SH---, HY *dötü’er* M51, Muq *döte:r* P144a. WM *dötüger* L270a. Kh---. Ord *dötögö:r* M158a (also *dörwöduğa:r* M157a). Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *dutə:r* E287 (also *durubdə:r* E288). EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dulaan** ‘warm’. Cf. Dag *də:l-* E283 ‘to become warm (of the weather)’, Kalm *dul* ‘warm’, Ord *dul* M160b ‘without wind and not cold’.

MMo SH---, HY *dula’an* M51, Muq---. WM *dulayan* L272b. Kh *dulaan* H179a. Bur *dulaa(n)* C200a. Kalm *dulan* M214a. Dag *dula:n* E287. EYu *dula:n* B131, J105b, *dəla:n* S237. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***dumda** ‘middle’. Possibly from a root **dum-* + dat-loc ending.

MMo SH *dumda*, *dunda* H38, HY *dumda* M51, Muq *dumda* P211a, *dunda* P144b. WM *dumda* L273a, *dunda* L274a. Kh *dund*, *dumd* H179b. Ord *dunda* M161b. Bur *dunda* C201a. Brg *dond* U201. Kalm *dund* M214b. Dag *dʷand* E289, *dʷannə* E289. EYu *dunda* B131, J105b. MgrH *dunda* J105a. MgrM *dunda* JL468.

Bao---. Kgj *dunda* S299b. Dgx *dunda* B149. Mog *dunda* R27a.

***duran** ‘heart, mind; willingness; wish, desire; love, etc’. Monguoric unexpectedly preserved the stable *-n*, while EYu lost it.

MMo SH *dura*, *duran* H39, HY *dura* M51, Muq *dura* P145a, *duran* P145a. WM *dura(n)* L274b. Kh *dur* H180b, *duran* H181a (differentiated semantically). Bur *dura(n)* C202b. Kalm *durn* M215b. Dag *d^war* E290. EYu *dura* BJ323, J105b ‘hobby’. MgrH *dura:n* J105a. MgrM *duraŋ* T332. BaoÑ *dəraŋ* CN176, *deraŋ* CN177 ‘fondness, interest’. Kgj *durɔ* S299b. Dgx *duraŋ* B150. MogM *durv:n* L64:37.

***dusu-** ‘to drip, drop’. Cf. the caus. **dusaa-* < **dusua-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *dusu-* P146a, *tusu-* P99b, *dusa:-* (caus) P146a, *tusa:-* (caus) P355b. WM *dusu-* L276a. Kh *dusax* H182b, *dusaax* (caus) H182b. Ord *dus-* M164b. Bur *duhaxa* C207b. Brg *dod-* U202. Kalm *dusx* M216b, *dusax* (caus) M216b. Dag *dɔs-* E284. EYu---. MgrH *tusa:-* (caus) X184 ‘to sprinkle wine as an offering’. Bao---. Dgx *doso-ǵo-* (caus.) (?only) S240. Mog---.

***duta-** ‘to lack, to be insufficient’. Note the development of **d > t* from MMo onwards. Muq also has the derivate **dutau* in the variants *dutu*: P147a ~ *tutu*: P356b.

MMo SH *duta-* H39, *tuta-* H156, HY---, Muq *tuta-* P356a, cf. *duta’ul-* (caus.) P147a. WM *duta-* L277a. Kh *dutax* H182b. Ord *duta-* M167a. Bur *dutaxa* C204a. Kalm *dutx* M217a. Dag *d^wat-* E290. EYu *hta-* B60. MgrH *tədau* X179 ‘lacking’.

***duta-** ‘to flee’. Note the development of **d > t* (due to the following *-t-*) from MMo onwards as in **dotara* above. Cf. **horgu-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *tuda’a-* H153, *duta’a-* H39, *tuta’a-* H156. HY---, Muq *tuta:-* P356b. WM *dutaya-* L277b. Kh *dutaax* H182b. Ord *duta:-* M167a. Bur *-?-*. Brg *dota:-* U202. Kalm *duta:χǎ* R103b, a Kh loanword according to Ramstedt. Dag *duta:-* E287. EYu *hda:-* (only) S241. MgrH *tuda:-* X184, *čüda:-* X211. MgrM *təda-* C390, *čida-* DS223b. BaoD---. BaoGt *təta-* C117. BaoÑ *təda:-* CN163, *čida:-* CN188. BaoX *təda-* BC66. Kgj *sida-* ~ *sda-* ~ *sta-* S293b. Dgx---. Mog *duto:-* R27a, *dɔtɔ-*, *dutɔ-* W164a, *tutɔ-* W182a.

***düil-** ‘to shave’. A peculiar distribution in MMo, Kh, and Dgx. MMo and Kh support the form **düil-*, the form **düli-* suggested by Dgx may be secondary. Possibly irregularly related to CT **yilü-* ‘id’. Cf. **kīrga-*.

MMo SH---, HY---. Muq *düil-* P147b, *düyil-* P148a, IV *délbūr* (sic) L62:26 ‘razor’, RH *dülbūr* (? eds. read *delbūr*) 205A13 ‘razor’. WM *düil-* L279b. Kh *düyilex* (acc. to Lessing). Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *duli-* B150 ‘to have one’s head shaved, to have a haircut’. Mog---.

***dülei** ‘deaf’. The Dag form with *-b-* may be due to strengthening of the second *u* of the expected form of expected **dului* (see **kui* ‘sheath’ for a similar case).

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

H186b. Ord *duli*: M170a. Bur *dülii* C208a. Kalm *dülä* M218a. Dag *dulb'* E287 'hard-of-hearing'. EYu *duli*: J106a, *deli*: S244. MgrH *dəli*: J106a. MgrM *dulai* JL465, *dulei* T331. BaoD *duləi* BL93a. BaoGt *duəli* C110. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *duləi* B150. Mog---.

***düre-** 'to sell'. Note the peculiar distribution. Other languages use **kudaldu-*. The Dag words forms for to buy are from the reciprocal **düre-ldü-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *düreji ab-* P145a [read *dura-*] 'to buy', *dürekči* P262b 'salesman'. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *dur-* E288 'to sell', *duruld-* E288 ~ *dull'*- E287 'to buy'. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *durə-* J92 'to buy'. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *dura-* R27a, *dura-* W164a 'to sell'.

***dүүr-** 'to be(come) full'. The Bao forms are from the (caus.) form **dүүрге-*; the alternative BaoD form *dəger-* BL93b 'to fill' seems to be a peculiar case of metathesis.

MMo SH *du'ur-* H40, HY---, Muq *dü'ür-* P147b, *dü:r-* P148b. WM *dügür-* L278b, *degür-* L245b. Kh *düürex* H189b. Bur *düürex* C212b. Kalm *düürx* M221b. Dag *du:r-* E286. EYu *dü:r-* B132, J106a. MgrH *du:rə-* X199, *diu:rə-* J105b. MgrM *dur-* C391. BaoD *dər-ge-* (caus. 'to fill') ~ *dəger-* BL93b. BaoÑ *dər-gi-* (caus.) CN176. Kgj *dur-* S300a. Dgx *duru-* B150. Mog *dur-* R27a, *dur-* W164a.

***dүүreŋ** 'full'. From **dүүr-* above. The *-g-* in Mog probably involves a change of suffix (cf. *-gAn* in **yabugan*).

MMo SH *du'uren*, *du'ureng* H40, HY *dü'üren* M51, Muq *dü'üren* P147b, *dü:ren* P148b. WM *dügüreng* L279a, *degürin* L245b, etc. Kh *düüren(g)* H189a. Bur *düüren* C212a. Kalm *düürŋ* M221b. EYu *düreŋ* B132, *dü:reŋ* J87. Bao---. Dgx *duran* B150. MogMr *durgv:n* (sic) L64:41 'full; pregnant woman'.

- E -

***ebčëün** (~ ***ebčüün**) 'chest'. The rounding of the initial vowel is only found in the central languages. As to the second syllable, the form with *-č-* in Kh suggests a CM form **ebčüün*. Bur-Kalm, the Monguor languages and MMo suggest an original form **ebčëün*. Dag, EYu, Bao, and Mog could have developed from either form. The *-a-* in BaoÑ and Dgx is due to the following *-ŋ*. Perhaps related to **ebür* 'bosom'.

MMo SH *ebce'un* H40, HY *ebče'ün* M51, Muq *ebče'ün* P346a, LV *ebčewün* P1254, IV *ebčü:n* (L reads 'closed e') L62:28. WM *ebčigün*, *ebčigüü* L285a. Kh *övcüü(n)* H405a. Ord *öbčü:n* M526b. Bur *übsüü(n)* C488b. Brg *ušu:* U51. Kalm *övcün* M410b. Dag *ərču:* E31. EYu *pəjü:n* J94b, *pučü:n* BJ339. MgrH *šžau:* J94a, *šžiu:* SM391. MgrM *šžču* C387. BaoD *ebčüŋ* BL82a. BaoÑ *ebčan* CN13. Kgj *išjə* ~ *irčə* S280a. Dgx *əčan* B9. Mog *ebčü:n* R27b.

***ebde-** ‘to break, destroy’. In view of the *-r-* it is not certain that the Dgx form belongs here.

MMo SH *ebde-* H40, *obde-* H120, HY---, Muq *ebde-* P148a. WM *ebde-* L285a. Kh *evdex* H827a. Bur *ebdexe* C752b. Kalm *evdx* M689a. Dag *ərd-* E31. EYu *ebde-re-* B9 ‘to be damaged’. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj *ebde-* S279b ‘to take apart, dismantle’. Dgx *ərʒie-* (?=) MC89b. Mog *öftä-* (?=) R37b, *uftä-* R41b.

***ebečín** ‘illness, disease’. Related to, possibly derived from **ebed-* listed below. However, the form **ebedčín*, 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 *ebečín* M51, Muq *ebečín* P149b, RH *ebedči.tei* 204A11 ‘sick’. WM *ebedči(n)* L286b, *ebeči(n)* L286a. Kh *öväčín* H404b. Ord *öwöčín* M544b. Bur *übše(n)* C489a, *ebšen* C753b. Brg *uβšín* U48. Kalm *öväčín* M410b. Dag (see above). EYu *bečän* B38, J94a. MgrH---. MgrM *bečín* J90, *be:čín* C371. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *vəičə* 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 **ebečín*). Note the strong *-t-* in MgrM, BaoD, and Dgx, as well as in Mog (for which cf. **naad-*).

MMo SH *ebet-* H40, HY---, Muq *ebet-* P151a, *ebed-* P150a. WM *ebed-* L286a. Kh *övdöx* H403a. Ord *öwöd(ö)-* M543b. Bur *übdexe* C488a. Kalm *övdx* M409a. Dag *əud-* E20. EYu *bed-* B38, J94a, *βe:d-* B37. MgrH *idə-* J94a, X14, *udə-* X20. MgrM *betu-* JL469. BaoD *etə-* BL82b. BaoÑ *ebdə-* CN13. BaoX *vetə-* BC65. Kgj *vəide-* S307a. Dgx *otu-* B15. Mog *ebät-* R27b, *əbat-* W164b.

eber** (?heber**) ‘horn’. Rounding of initial **e* has taken place several times independently. The **h-* is only supported by Dag, as Muq is unreliable in this regard.

MMo SH *eber* H40, HY *eber* M52, Muq *eber* P150a, *öber* P272a, *heber* P131b. WM *eber* L286b. Kh *ever* H829a. Ord *ewer*, *éwer* M251b. Bur *eber* C753b, *über* C489b. Brg *əβər* U19. Kalm *övr* M409a. Dag *xəur* E108. EYu *eβer* B9, J94a, *βer* S249, *eber* (sic) S249. MgrH *ver* J94a, *ver* X234, *yer* X234. MgrM *yəbər/wəbər* DS229b, *yəbar* Z338:348, *ubür/obör* P419a. BaoD *uer* BL82b. BaoÑ *ewer* CN15. BaoX *və:r* BC62. Dgx *əwə* T144, MC91b, *uər* (Wangjiaji dialect) L5, *wor* (Wangjiaji) BC85:246, *əər* MC302b. Mog---, cf. Zirni *ebar* 20:8.

***ebesün** ‘grass, weed’. The rounding of initial **e* is only found in the central languages. As to the second vowel, the WM spelling *ebüsü(n)* is historically incorrect. Possibly from a PM root **ebe-* + the (collective?) suffix **-sUn*.

MMo SH *ebesun* H40, HY *ebesü*, *ebesün* M52, Muq *ebesün* P150b. WM *ebesü(n)* L287b, *ebüsü(n)* L291a. Kh *övs(ön)* H404a. Ord *öwös(ü)* M544b. Bur *übhe(n)* C488b. Brg *uβu:* U47. Kalm *övsn* M410a. Dag *əus* E20. EYu *βesən* B37, J94a. MgrH *vesə* J94a, X243, *usə* X19, *yesə* X234. MgrM *be:sə* C396, *bese* T321, *ebisī* P421a. BaoD *uesəŋ* BL82a. BaoGt *vesuŋ* C116. BaoÑ *ebseŋ* CN13. Kgj *vəisun* 307b. Dgx *osuŋ* B14. Mog *ebásun* R27b, *əbasu(n)* W164b.

***ebke-** ‘to roll up, wrap up, fold’. The χ - in EYu is triggered by the following strong -k-.

MMo SH---, HY *ebke-* M52, Muq *ebke-* P151a. WM *ebke-* L288a. Kh *evxex* H828b ‘to fold, etc’. Ord *ebke-* ~ *ebk^ue-* M228a, *ewk^ue-* M251b. Bur *ebxexe* C753b. Kalm *evkx* M689b. Dag *əbk-* E22, *əkk-* E23. EYu *χugue-* S251. Remaining lgs---

ebsie-** (?hebsie-**) ‘to yawn’. Various forms which nevertheless appear to be related. Bur goes back to an extended form **ebseele-* with assimilated diphthong. Brg stems from a similar form, but has a secondary initial x-, possibly of onomatopoeic origin. Dag x- may equally be of onomatopoeic origin. EYu has undergone metathesis. EYu *šelye-* has a causative suffix, which need not imply a semantic change (cf. WYu *ehsdet-*, also formally a causative). Dgx could be from a variant **emsee-* (cf. **dabusun* for the development **b > m*). Could Muq *šini’e:-* P335a ‘to yawn’ be a scribal error for the present word?

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ebsiye-* L289b. Kh *evšeex* H829a. Ord *ebše:-* M228a. Bur *ebheelxe* C753b. Brg *xəβi:l-* U101 ‘to yawn (of people)’. Kalm *evšäx* M691a. Dag *xəbšə:-* E109. EYu *šwe:-* B111, *šelye-* S250 (see above). Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ansie-* S250. Mog---.

***ebüdüg** ‘knee’. The QG languages lost either the first or the second vowel. These elisions took place quite recently in view of the differences, e.g. between the Bao dialects. The QG forms do not support the early rounding of initial **e-*, since the rounded vowels in these languages may be due to the contraction of the first two syllables. The rounding, already found in MMo, is supported by the central languages and by Moghol. The Mog form may owe its peculiar -n- to an assumed relation with **emüdün* ‘trousers’ listed below.

MMo SH *ebuduk* H40, HY---, Muq *öbüdük* P272a. WM *ebüdüg* L290a. Kh *övdög* H402b. Ord *öwödög* M543b. Bur *übdæg* C488a. Brg *uβdæg* U48. Kalm *övdg* M408b. Dag---. EYu *βədæg* B37, J94b. MgrH *vudæg* J94a, *udæg* X21, *idæg* X14. MgrM *podok* P414b, *bodo* DS232b. BaoD *ebdæg* BL82b. BaoGt *vedī* C116. BaoN *ebdæg* CN13. BaoX *vedæg* BC64. Kgj *vəidəu* S307a. Dgx *odəu* B15. Mog *unduk* (sic) R41b.

***ebügen** ‘elderly man’. Rounding of **e-* in the central languages.

MMo SH *ebugan*, *ebuge(n)* H40 ‘old man’, HY *ebüge* M52 ‘husband’s father’, Muq *öbügen* P272b ‘old man’. WM *ebüge* L290a ‘ancestor; grandfather’, *ebügen* L290b ‘old (man)’. Kh *övgön* H402a ‘old man; övög H403a ‘ancestor’. Ord *öwögö* M543b; *öwögön* M543b ‘ancestor’. Bur *übgén* C487a. Kalm *övgn* M408b. Brg *uβæg*, *uβə:* U47; *uβgəŋ* U47. Dag *əukə:* (?=) E19 (form of address), *əukə:n* (?=) E19. Remaining lgs---

***ebül/*öbül** ‘winter’ see ***übül**.

***ebür/öbür** it is not clear whether the following words of similar shape are etymologically of the same origin. It seems to be semantically possible, but the forms in the modern languages have developed differently, and therefore they are

listed here separately. In Lessing all meanings are listed under a single entry.

CM **ebür* can perhaps be analyzed as **ebü-r*, in which case it could be connected to **emüne* ‘front’. Compare parallel pairs like **gada-r* and **gada-na* ‘outside’ and **dota-r* and **dota-na* ‘inside’.

***ebür/*öber** (?*h-) ‘bosom’. The vocalism in the various languages is reminiscent of **üdür* ‘day’, but in the present word the unrounded initial vowel is actually attested. Most QG languages suggest **e* in the second syllable, perhaps pointing to an earlier form **öber* or **eber*. The unconfirmed Dag *x-* may be secondary, as in **ebür* ‘southern slope’ below. The two words may well have the same origin, but as they have resulted in different word shapes in some languages, they are listed separately. Possibly related to **ebčiün* ‘chest’ (cf. Poppe 1960:43).

MMo SH *ebur* H41, HY---, Muq---. WM *ebür* L291a, *öbür* L628b. Kh *övör* H403b. Ord *öwör* M544b. Bur *über* C489b. Brg *u:r* U45. Kalm *övr* M409b. Dag *xəur* E108. EYu *βer* B38. MgrH *yer* SM492. MgrM *ərbər* F115:221. BaoD *uer* BL20. BaoÑ---. Kgj *ver ~ ve(š)* S307b. Dgx *o* B13. Mog---.

***ebür/*öber** (?*h-) ‘sunny spot; southern slope; front’. As in the previous entry the unconfirmed Dag *x-* in this word may be secondary. EYu *xi:lβər* B113 ‘sunny spot’ is derived from **hee-* ‘to warm in the sun’, cf. Kh *eever* H866b, representing a form **heebür* (the *-l-* in EYu is unclear).

MMo SH *ebur* H41 ‘front’, HY *ebür* M52 ‘southern slope of the Hing’anling’, Muq---. WM *ebür* L291a, *öbür* L628b. Kh *övör* H403b. Ord *öwör* M544b. Bur *über* C489b. Brg *uβər* U47. Kalm *övr* M409b. Dag *xəur* Z94b ‘sunny spot’. EYu *βər* J96b ‘sunny spot’, *βer* B38 ‘bosom; mountain bosom (?)’. Mgr---. BaoD *ber* BL84a. BaoÑ---. Dgx *wo*, in: *ula nara wo mian* B20 ‘sunny side of a mountain’. Mog---.

***eči-** ‘to go’. The distribution is striking: only one occurrence in MMo (Muq) and absent in Bur-Kalm. It is found in both Shirongol branches, but EYu and BaoÑ favour **od-*. The unrounded form survives in Shirongol, Dagur and Ordos, as well as in Khorčin (Sun 1990:534). The history of **eči-* is unclear. It could be an irregular development **oči-* from **orči-* from **horči-* ‘to turn’ (q.v.). Cf. MMo Muq *orči-* P269b ‘to go’, P270a ‘to turn’, *horči-* P186a ‘to turn; to go’, WM *oči-* L599b ‘to go to a place’. Kh *oči* H402a. Bur *ošoxo* C366b. Brg *ᠠᠰ-* U33. Mog *orči-* R35b ‘to go’. Strikingly, Muq has both *eči-* and *(h)orči-*, while neither is found in the Sino-Mongolian sources, where one finds SH *yorči-* H171, HY *yorči-* M111 ‘to go’ which looks like **horči-* but cannot be connected to it. Another solution, suggested by the forms with *o*, may be that it is related to CM **od-* ‘to go’, perhaps an intensive formation **odči-* (Poppe 1955:30, 113).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *eči-* P102a, IV---, LV--- (and see above). WM *eči-* L292a. Kh *eči* H866a. Ord *iči-* M389b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *ič-* E35. EYu---. MgrH *śǰə-* J95b, X166, *śə-* J49, X156. MgrM *śi-* JL473. BaoD *či-* BL83b. Bao Gaser *hǰə-* CN86:232. BaoGt *śi-* C123. BaoÑ---. BaoX *xǰə-* BC64. Kgj *ji-* S302b, *śji-*, *hji-* S58. Dgx *əči-* B9, L111b. Mog---.

***ečige** ‘father’. This form in MMo and WM. The Central languages suggest **ečege*. The *i* in Dag and EYu could have been triggered by the *č*, and so neither supports nor undermines the reconstruction **ečige*.

MMo SH *ecige*, *eci'e*, *ecē* H41, HY *ečige* M52, Muq *ečige* P151b, LV *ečge* P1255, IV *ečige* (L reads ‘closed e’) L62:28. WM *ečige* 292a. Kh *eceg* H865b. Bur *esege* C776b. Kalm *eck* M705a. Dag *əčiγ* E28. EYu *čye* B139, *čīye* J93a. Remaining lgs---.

***ed** ‘thing; goods, merchandise; material; fabric’. Related to CT **ed*, originally probably a general term ‘goods’, in some modern languages also ‘fabric, textile’.

MMo SH *et* H47, HY---, Muq *et* P167a. WM *ed* L293a. Kh *ed* H831b. Bur *ed* C755a. Kalm *ed* M691b. Dag---. EYu *ed* B11, BJ327 ‘goods’, J87 ‘property’. Remaining lgs---.

***edege-** ‘to recover, heal, to come alive’. Chén also compares BaoGt *ge-* C125 and BaoÑ *ge-* CN93 from the present etymon, but these rather stem from **gee-* ‘to abandon’.

MMo SH---, HY *edege'ül-* (caus) M52, Muq---. WM *edege-* L293b. Kh *edgex* H832b. Bur *edegexe* C758b. Kalm *edgx* M692a. Dag *ədəγ-* E28. EYu---. MgrH *dəge-* J94a, X195 ‘to live’. MgrM *edige-* P423 ‘to get well’, *digə-* DS234b ‘to live’. BaoD *edəgə-* BL82b. BaoGt *dəgə-* C105,. BaoÑ (see above). Kgj *edege-* ~ *edge-* S279b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***edüe** (> **edee*) and ***odua** (> **odaa*) ‘now’. The distribution of the forms **edüe* and **odua* seem to be complementary, although BaoD appears to preserve both forms. The vocalism would normally exclude a relationship between the two forms, but it seems unlikely that they are totally unrelated. Kalm *ödge:* R293a ‘now’ is a reading pronunciation of the literary form WM *edüge*. Most languages now use a contraction of the back-vocalic variant. The front form survives in Dag, BaoÑ, and Dgx in forms that go back to an assimilated form **edee*. In Dgx the *-d-* resisted the usual palatalisation (as in **tere*). Whether the Monguoric forms represent the front or back form is impossible to determine. The Muq form could perhaps also be read **ödö:*. Both readings are surprising on account of the rounded non-high vowel in a non-first syllable.

MMo SH *edo'e* H41, HY *edö'e* M52, Muq *odo:* (so read) P262b. WM *edüge* L294b, *odo* L600b, *odoo-a* L601a. Kh *odoo* H388a. Ord *odo:* M506b. Bur *odoo* C350a. Kalm *oda* M393a, *ödge:* (dial). Dag *ədə:* E28. EYu *ədə:* B13, *odo* J95a. MgrH *do* J95a. MgrM *du* C391. BaoD *da* BL57 ‘now’, *de* BL57 ‘just now’. BaoÑ *ede* CN14, *de* CN176. BaoX *da* BC68. Kgj *da* S298a (cf. also Kgj *doğə?*). Dgx *ədə* B8, L111b. Mog---.

***edür/ödür** ‘day’ see ***üdür**

***egeči** ‘elder sister’. In several languages in the combination **egeči deü*, with **deü* ‘younger sibling’. Secondary strengthening of the *-g-* in Kgj.

MMo SH *egeci* H42, HY *egeči* M52, Muq *egeči* P151b. WM *egeči* L297a. Kh *egč* H830b. Bur *egše* C754b. Kalm *egč* M691b. Dag *əkč* E23. EYu *əyečə* B8,

yečə J94b. MgrH *gəćə* X104, *kaži diu*: SM194. MgrM *gəćidiau* JL462 ‘sisters’. BaoÑ *egči du* CN13 ‘sister’. Kgj *əkəči devu* S279a, *kəči devu* S125 ‘sister’. Dgx *əğəči* B8. Mog---.

***eimü** ‘such, this kind of’. From the pronominal (proximal demonstrative) root **e-*, cf. also **ene* ‘this’, **ende* ‘here’, **ein* ‘this way’ etc. Dagur may involve another suffix (as in **yamar*). In Baoanic mostly displaced by new formations with **metü*, q.v. The Baoan forms have now adopted the function of **edüi* ‘this much’ (not listed here). Kangjia *eme* has taken on the meaning of **ein* ‘like this’. MgrH *nəgi*: X32 and MgrM *niŋtai* DS10a ‘this kind of’ are also new forms based on the demonstrative **ene*.

MMo SH *eyimu(n)* H48, *eimu* H42, HY *eyimün* M56, Muq---. WM *eyimü* L303b. Kh *iyim* H272b. Bur *iime* C276b. Kalm *iim* M266a. Dag *əimər* E19 (new extended formation). EYu *omo* B15, *umə* J26 (possibly a new formation). MgrH *namainge* L350 ‘this much’. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *emi:ngə* CN14. BaoX *nəmi:nəgə* CN86:179 ‘this much’. Kgj *eme* S280b ‘this way’, *eme niye* S192 ‘this much’. Dgx *imi* BC85:127 ‘like this’, *imi nie* BC85:132 ‘as little as this’. Mog---.

***ein** ‘like this, this way’. Originated as a converb of **ei-* ‘to do this way’. See **eimü* above.

MMo SH *eyin* H48, HY---, Muq *eyin* P168b, *hein* P182b. WM *eyin* L304a. Kh *iyin* H272b. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *əi* E19. EYu *i:n* BJ332. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *iŋ* B10. Mog---.

***ein ki-** ‘to do this way’, with several contractions and alterations. The forms in the central languages and Dag are new formations based on **ei ki-*, cf. **ein* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *inggi-* L411b, *engge-* L318b. Kh *ingex* H276b. Bur *iixe* C277a, *iigexe* C276b. Kalm *iigx* M266a. Dag *əi xi:-* Z92a. EYu *əŋgə-* B8, J94b. MgrH [*nəŋgə-* J94b]. BaoD *əngə-ji* T152 [*nəntəgə-* BL83b]. BaoÑ *əngə-* CN12. Kgj *əŋgi-* ~ *aŋgi-* S280b. Dgx *ingie-* L110a. Mog---.

***ejen** ‘master, owner, boss’. In Dag, the central languages, and Mog **ejen* has largely retained its original meaning with some small shifts. In the QG languages this word has developed some pronominal functions. In EYu and Mgr **ejen* occurs in the original meaning, but has also become the word for ‘self’. In Baoan, which apparently lost the original meaning, **ejen* is a third person personal pronoun. Phonetically, the initial *n-* in MgrH is peculiar (in Bao the replacement of an initial vowel by *n-* is seen more commonly, e.g. in **eüden* above).

MMo SH *ejen* H42, HY *ejen* M53, Muq *ejen* 153b. WM *ejen* L336b. Kh *ezen* H835a. Bur *ezen* C759b. Kalm *ezn* M693a. Dag *əjin* E28 ‘emperor; master’. EYu *ejen* B11, J94a ‘master; self’, *-jen* (clitic) J27 ‘self’. MgrH *nže:n* ~ *nže:n-a*: J28 ‘self’, *nže:n* X40 ‘master; self’. MgrM *že:n-aŋ* (refl. poss.) C373 ‘self’, *že:ni* (gen.) C174. BaoD *nžan* BL34, *njan* T145 ‘he, she’. BaoGm *əžan* CN86:130. BaoGt *žəŋ* C179 ‘he, she’. BaoÑ *ažan* CN8, *əžan* CN18 ‘he, she’. BaoX *njan* BC66, 68 ‘he, she’. Kgj *ijə* S280a ‘master’. Dgx *əžən* B9, L110b ‘master’. Mog *ejan* R27b ‘lord, ruler’, *əjan* W164b ‘husband’.

***eke** ‘mother’. The *h*- in EYu is secondary.

MMo SH *eke* H42, HY *eke* M53, Muq *eke* P152a, LV *eke* P1256, IV *eke* (L reads ‘closed *e*’) L62:28. WM *eke* L305a. Kh *ex* H864a. Bur *exe* C779a. Kalm *ek* M693a. Dag *əy* E23. EYu *hke* B58, *hge* J94a. MgrH---. MgrM *eke-ner qun* P413b ‘woman’ (plural + **küün*). Bao---. Dgx *əkie* B8 also ‘dam’. Mog---.

***ekeyü-** ‘to bow, bend over, stoop’. Mostaert compares HY *e’inggü* M52 ‘sinueux, courbé’ to this, but this would involve a mistranscription of WM *-G-* as zero. The WM (Oirat) spellings *ökeyi-*, *öküyi-*, *üküyi-* given by Ramstedt and Čoyijungjab & Gereltü may have been devised to better reflect the present form, possibly influenced by the near-synonym **bökei-* (cf. MgrH *pugi-*: X56). EYu *h-* could be secondary (triggered by the following *-k-*).

MMo SH *eke’ul-* (tr.) H43. WM *eqiyü-* (so read) L300a, preclassical *ekeyü-* T384. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm *ökäx* M413a, *ükixə* R456b. EYu *xogui-* B51, *χugi-* S181, *hogi-* S303. Remaining lgs---.

***ekir** or ***ikir** ‘twins’. The final vowel in some WM spellings is not confirmed by MMo and the modern languages. Related to CT **ekkiz* ‘id’, from **ekki* ‘two’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ikir* P195b, IV---, LV---. WM *ikere* L401b, *ikire* L401b, *ekir* L306a. Kh *ixer* H281b, *ixir* H280b. Ord *éker* ~ *ékir* M233a. Bur *exir* C779a. Brg *ixər* U26. Kalm *ikr* M267a. Dag---. EYu *škar* B110. Remaining lgs---.

***elbeg** ‘abundant, superfluous’. The unexpected *-p-* in Dagur may be an instance of original *-p-* preserved in postconsonantal position.

MMo---. WM *elbeg* L306b. Kh *elbeg* H836a. Bur *elbeg* C760b. Kalm *elvg* M695v. Dag *əlpur* E24. EYu *elβeg* B9, *ebliq* J64. Remaining lgs---.

***elde-** ‘to tan (a hide)’. Perhaps this could be a metathesized form of an older **edle-*, which was apparently derived from **ed* listed above. However, this **edle-* (also?) survives in Mongolic: WM *edle-* L294a ‘to use, utilize, employ; etc’, Kh *edlex* H832b, Ord *edle-*, *elle-*, MMo Muq *edele-* (sic) P151b ‘to tan a hide’, EYu *edle-* BJ327 ‘to tan, to process’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *elde-* L307b. Kh *eldex* H837a. Bur *eldexe* C761a. Kalm *eldx* M696a. EYu *elde-* B10. Remaining lgs---.

***ele-** ‘to be worn down, to wear out’. Dag *əla-*: E24 ‘to torment’ may go back to a caus. of this verb, cf. Ord *ǰowoǰi ele-* M235b ‘to suffer’ (cf. **ǰoba-*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ele-* P152b. WM *ele-* L308a. Kh *ellex* H840b. Bur *ellex* C764b. Kalm *elx* M697b. Dag (see above). EYu *ele-* J87, *ölö-* (?=) BJ338. MgrH *ile-*: Khas12. MgrM---. Bao *elə-* (unspecif. dial.) S257, S258. Dgx *əlie-* MC84b. (?caus). Mog---.

***elesün** ‘sand’. Cf. **kumag* ~ **kumaki* ‘sand’ (not listed).

MMo SH *elet* (pl) H43, HY *elesün* M53, Muq---. WM *elesü(n)* L306b. Kh *els(en)* H838a. Bur *elhe(n)* C763b. Brg *ilu:* U27. Kalm *elsn* M697b. Remaining lgs---.

***elgü-** ‘to hang, suspend’. Rounding of the **e-* except in Dag (cf. **ergü-* below). The first vowel was rounded by the second except in Dag, where the second vowel is also unexpectedly lengthened. Cf. **deiǰile-*.

MMo SH *elgu-* H43 ‘to angle’, HY *elgü-* M53, Muq *ölgü-* P276a. WM *elgü-* L309a, *ölgö-* L633b. Kh *ölgöx* H408b. Ord *ülgü-* M755b. Bur *ülgexe* C499b. Brg *ulʰg-* U50. Kalm *ölgx* M414b. Dag *əlwə:-* E25. EYu *olyo-* B15. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***elǰigen** ‘donkey’. Dag *əiyə:n* E17 ‘id’ is from Manchu *eihen*, which is itself considered to be related to the CM word. Also related to CT **ešgek*.

MMo SH---, HY *elǰigen* M53, Muq *elǰigen* P152b. WM *elǰige(n)* L311a. Kh *ilǰig (ilǰigen)* H273b, *elǰig (elǰigen)* H837b. Bur *elǰege(n)* C761b. Kalm *elǰgn* M697a. Dag (see above). EYu *elǰiyen* B10, *əǰiyen* J94a, *əǰiyen* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *ǰige* J94b, *ǰigə* X221. MgrM *rǰige* T356, *ərǰigə* DS218a. BaoD *ənǰigə* BL82a, *nǰigə* BL12. BaoJ *ǰigə* L47. BaoÑ *elǰige* CN13. Kgj *nǰiye* S282b. Dgx *ənǰəǰə* B7. Mog *elǰiyo:n* R27b.

***em** ‘medicine, remedy’. Cultural term related to CT **em* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *em* M54, Muq *em* P152b. WM *em* L311a. Kh *em* H840b. Bur *em* C764b. Kalm *em* M697b. Dag *əm* E25. EYu *em* B10. MgrH---. MgrM *an* JL481, *əm* C385. Bao---. Dgx---. Kgj *an* S278a. Mog---.

***embüre-** ‘to fall apart, tumble down, collapse’. With a tr. counterpart **embül-* which is not attested in QG. Note the peculiar distribution: Kh, Dag, Dgx and Mog. Cf. **nura-*.

MMo SH *amburu* H6 ‘collapsing’, HY---, Muq---. WM *embüre-* L311a, *embüri-* L311b. Kh *emberex* H841a. Ord---. Bur---. Brg *umbər-* U50. Kalm---. Dag *əmbər-* E26. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *unbərə-* B19, *ənbərə-* MC86a. Mog *umburA-* W182b.

***emdege(i)** ‘egg’ see ***ömdegen**

***eme** ‘woman’.

MMo SH *eme* H43 ‘woman; wife’, HY *eme gü’ün* M54 ‘woman’, Muq *eme* P153a ‘woman; female’, LV *eme* P1263, IV *eme* (Ligeti reads *éme*) L62:29. WM *eme* L311b. Kh *em* H840b ‘woman; wife; female’. Bur *eme* C766a ‘woman; female’. Kalm *em* M698a ‘woman’. Dag *əmyun* E26 ‘wife; woman; female’ (< **eme* + **küün*), cf. *əryun* s.v. **ere*. EYu *eme* B10 ‘female’. MgrH *imu* X13, *yəmu* X233 ‘girl (term of endearment)’. BaoÑ *emə* CN14 ‘wife’. BaoX *imə* BC61, 73 ‘woman; wife’. Kgj *eme* S279a. Dgx *əmə* B8 ‘woman; wife; female’. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *emma* (9-6b).

***emegen** ‘elderly woman; grandmother’. Derived from **eme* ‘woman’, cf. **berigen* from **beri*.

MMo SH *emege* H44, HY *emegen* M54, Muq---, LV---, IV *emegen* L62:29. WM *emege* L312a, *emegen* L312b. Kh *emgen* H841a, *emeg* H843b, *emgee* H841b, *emeə* H844a. Bur *emgen* C764b. Kalm *emgn* M698b. Dag *əməy* E26, *əmə:yʷ*

Z92b. EYu *enḡwen* B9, *emḡen* J94b. MgrH *mugʒn* X125. Bao---. Kgj *mgɔ* S293a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***emeel** ‘saddle’. Consistently spelled *ʹyml* in MMo Muq (also on P139b where Poppe reads *eme:l* anyway), but a connection to the shortening in EYu-Mgr is unlikely.

MMo SH *emeʹel* H44, HY---, Muq *emel* (? see above) P154b. WM *emegel* L312a. Kh *emeel* H844a. Bur *emeel* C766b. Kalm *emäl* M698a. Dag *əmə:l* E26. EYu *emel* B11, J94b. MgrH *imel* J94b. MgrM *imer* JL461. BaoD *emäl* BL82b. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog *emo:l* R27b, *ʹamal* R168a, MogMr *yamv:l* L62:74.

***emkü-** ‘to hold in the mouth’. Although Poppe (1955:48) considers it original, the **h-* suggested by Mongghul is likely to be due to the following *-k-*.

MMo SH *omgu-* H124, *emgu-* H44 ‘to swallow’, HY---, Muq---. WM *emkü-* L313b, *ümkü-* L1007a. Kh *ünxex* H578b. Ord *üḡkü-* M759b. Bur *ümxxex* C503b ‘to hold between the teeth, to bite off’. Brg *uḡk-* U46. Kalm *ömxx* M415 ‘to bite (off)’. Dag *əḡkʷ-* E22, *əḡku-* Z92b also ‘to bite, eat’. EYu---. MgrH *ḡaḡgu-* SM157. Bao---. Dgx *uḡgu-* ~ *uḡgu-* (?=) MC406a ‘to gobble up’. Mog---.

***emlig** ‘wild, untamed’. The literary central languages have developed from an assimilated **emnig*. Ord and EYu feature metathesis. The Dag form could instead be related to Kh *emzeg* H841b, which has among its meanings ‘spoiled, willful, capricious’. Cf. **oraa* and **jerlig* (the latter not listed here).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *emlik* P154b. WM *emleg*, *emneg*, *emnig* L314a. Kh *emneg* H842a. Ord *elmek* M237a. Bur *emnig* C765a. Brg *imləḡ* U27. Kalm *emng* M698b. Dag *əmḡir* (?=) E27, *əmḡə:r* (?=) E26. EYu *elməḡ* 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 *məduḡ* BL84a. BaoÑ *emdəḡ* CN14. BaoX *mədoḡ* BC74. Kgj---. Dgx *məduḡ* B106. Mog *undun* R41b.

***emüne** ‘south; front, anterior’. Dag, EYu and the Baoanic languages have developed from **emüle*, in which the *-l-* apparently arose in order to dissimilate the sequence of two nasals. The *-m-* in **emüne* is probably a secondary nasalisation of **b*, assuming that this word is related to **ebür* ‘front’. This would have a parallel in other pairs like **gadar* - **gadana* ‘outside’. EYu developed from a form with rounded first vowel like that of the central languages. MgrH *muši* X126 and MgrM *meḡši* JL467 seem to be shortened forms of the directive **emüne-(g)si* ‘forward, to the front’.

MMo SH *emune* H44 ‘front’, HY *emüne* M54 ‘south’, Muq *emüne* P155a ‘front’, *ömüne-* P276b ‘front’, *ömüne* P276a ‘opposite’. WM *emüne* L314b. Kh *ömnö* H410b ‘south; front’. Ord *ömnö* M532a. Bur *ümene* C504a ‘front’. Brg *əmən* U21. Kalm *ömn* M415b ‘front; south’. Dag *əmäl* E26 ‘front; south’. EYu *ölmö* B17

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

***emüs-** ‘to put on, to wear (clothes)’. A paragoric vowel was added in some QG languages and MogMr. The initial vowel was lost in QG, even in Dgx. Cf. **emüdün* ‘trousers’.

MMo SH *emus-* H44, HY *emüs-* M54, Muq *ömüs-* P276b, *emüs-* P233b. WM *emüs-* L315b. Kh *ömsöx* H411a. Ord *ömös-* M539a. Bur *ümdexe* C503a, *ümedexe* C504a. Brg *umd-* U51. Kalm *ömsx* M416b. Dag *əms-* E26. EYu *mas-* B91, J94b. MgrH *musə-* J94b, *mosə-* X123, *umus-* (sic) X19. MgrM *musi-* C383. BaoD *musi-* BL82b. BaoÑ *məs-* CN114. Kgj *məsi-* S292a. Dgx *misī-* L110a. Mog *ömüs-* R36a, MogMr *umas-*, MogM/Mr *umus-* L62:29.

***ende** ‘here’ see s.v. **ene*

***ene** ‘this’. From the demonstrative root **e-*. **ene* had an oblique stem **eün-*, and a plural **ede*, whose modern equivalents are listed here as well. Both **eün-* and **ede* were lost in Shirongol. Cf. also **ende* ‘here’, and several compounds with **ene* listed as separate entries.

MMo SH *ene* H44, HY *ene* M54, Muq *ene* P155b, LV *ene* P1263, IV *ene* (L reads *éne*) L62:29. WM *ene* L316b. Kh *ene* H847b. Bur *ene* C768b. Kalm *en* M699a. Dag *ənə* E21. EYu *ene* B9, J94a. MgrH *ne* J94a. MgrM *ni* JL483. BaoD *enə* BL82a. BaoÑ *enə* CN12, *nə* CN27. BaoX *nə* BC66. Kgj *enə* ~ *eni* ~ *ene* S279b. Dgx *ənə* B7. Mog *enə* R27b.

The oblique stem **eün-* survives in the central languages and EYu. It may also be the source of Kgj *yün* S306a ‘this side’, if one assumes metanalysis from inflected forms like the dative **eündü*. Survives in its original function as follows.

MMo SH *e’un-* H47 (*e’un ece*, *e’un i*, *e’uber*), HY *e’ü-ber* M54, Muq *ü:n-e:se* P348a. WM *egün-* L301a. Kh *üün-* H583b. Bur *enüün* (lit, obs) C768a. Brg *u:n* U44. Kalm *enü-*. Dag---. EYu *ün-* B20, *un-* J26. Kgj (see above). Remaining lgs---.

The plural form ***ede** ‘these’:

MMo SH *ede* H41, HY *ede* M52, Muq---. WM *ede(n)* L293b. Kh *ed(en)* H831b. Bur *ede* C758a. Kalm *edn* M692a. Dag *əd(ən)* E27. Remaining lgs---.

***ene üdür** ‘today’. See **üdür* ‘day’. With unpredictable assimilations and reductions in most modern languages. Ord, Kalm and EYu share the same reduction of the middle part of the compound, while most of Shirongol lost the initial vowel.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ene ödür* P158a, IV *ene ödür* L62:29. WM *ene edür* L316b. Kh *ene ödör* H847b, *önöödör* H413b. Ord *undur* M757a. Bur *ene üder* C768b, cf. *ünöö üder* C507b. Brg [*mənə:dər* U144, *münə:dər* U148]. Kalm *en ödr* M699a, *endr* M699b, *öndr* R296b. Dag *ənə udur* E21. EYu *ondor* B15, *undur* J96b. MgrH *niu:dur* J96a, *niudur* X31, *nedur* X29. MgrM *nödudur* C373. BaoD *nudər* BL84b. BaoÑ *‘nudə* CN34. Kgj *niüde* ~ *nüde* S282a. Dgx *ənudu* B7, *niudu* L112a. Mog *enaodur* W164b.

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

MMo---. Central languages---. Dag *ənə xɔ:n* E21. EYu *ono:n* J49. MgrH *nɔŋ* X34. MgrM *n'e xuaŋ* C372. BaoD *nə-hoŋ* BL75, *nóhoŋ* L132. BaoÑ *nəŋ* CN32. Kgj *enun* S279b. Dgx *ənə xoŋ* B7. Mog *ənān*, *əno* W164b.

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

Ord *undeš* M757a. EYu *öndögšə* B17. MgrH *niušloŋ*, *niušloŋ* L396. MgrM *nɔu-šulen* C372. BaoÑ *nəxələŋ* CN27. Kgj *niuši*, *nuši* S282a. Dgx *ənušia*, *ənušiašilia* MC87 ‘tonight, this evening’.

***ende** ‘here’. Cf. **ene* ‘this’. MgrM uses a new formation *nindi* C201.

MMo SH *ende* H44, HY *ende* M54, Muq *ende* P155a, IV *ende* L62:29. WM *ende* L315b. Kh *end* H845b. Bur *ende* C767a. Kalm *end* M699a, cf. *enünd* M700a. Dag *ənd* E21. EYu *ende* B9. MgrH *nde*: X38. MgrM (see above). BaoD---. BaoÑ *endə* CN12. Kgj *ende* S279b. Dgx *əndə* B7. Mog *endā* R27b.

***enger** and ***engge** ‘front of a garment, flap of a garment’. Dag and Mgr go back to **eŋge*. The Dgx form may be from either variant. At any rate the BaoÑ form prevents us from deriving all Shirongol forms from **eŋge*. WM *enggede*- L318a (‘to open the flaps of one’s garment, etc’ also lacks the -r).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *enger* L318a. Kh *enger* H845a. Bur *enger* C766b. Kalm *eŋgr* R122b, *eŋgn* R122b ‘foot of a mountain’. Dag *əŋgə* E22. EYu *enger* B9 ‘collar’. MgrH *ŋge* X41. MgrM *ŋge* JL461, *angə* DS223b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *eŋgər* CN12. Dgx *əŋgie* B7.

***engeske** ‘blush; rouge’. Note the peculiar distribution. Possibly related to CT **eŋ* ‘cheek’ or ‘complexion’, to which the Mongolic suffix *-skA* was added. It is unclear how the rounded vowel in Mongghul arose.

MMo SH *engesge* H44 ‘red’ (used with *qacar* ‘cheeks’), HY---, Muq *engeske* P161a, LV---, IV *engeske* (L reads first *e* ‘closed’) L62:29. WM *engeske* L318a. Kh *engeseg* H845b. Ord *engeske* M241b, 331b ‘*Salsola soda* (plant name)’. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *eŋgesge* B9 ‘cheeks (?)’. MgrH *ŋgusge* SM294.

***erdem** ‘virtue; specialty; science, learning’. Cf. CT **erdem*.

MMo SH *erdem* H44, HY---, Muq *erdem* P161a. WM *erdem* L320a. Kh *erdem* H852a. Bur *erdem* C770b. Kalm *erdm* M702b. Dag *ərdəm* E31. EYu *ərdem* B8, *erdem* J95a, *rdem* J87 ‘knowledge, learning’. MgrH *rdem* J95a ‘knowledge, learning’. MgrM *ərden* C396. Bao---. Dgx *ərziən* MC89b. Mog---.

***ere** ‘man’. Possibly related to CT **er* ‘id’. This correspondence is problematic if the Khalaj **h-* is correct.

MMo SH *ere* H45 ‘husband; man’, HY *ere gü'ün* M55 ‘man’, Muq *ere* P161a ‘man; male animal’, LV *ere* P1262, IV *ere* (L reads first *e* ‘closed’) L62:29. WM *ere* L321a. Kh *er* H848b ‘man, husband; masculine, male’. Bur *ere* C775b ‘man; male’. Kalm *er* M701a ‘man; male’. Dag *ər* E28 ‘man’, *əryun* E30 ‘husband;

male' (< *ere + *küün, cf. *amyun* s.v. *eme). EYu *ere* B11, J94a 'male'. MgrH *re*: SM313 'male; male animal'. MgrM---. BaoD *erə* BL82b 'man'. BaoÑ *erə* CN15 'husband'. BaoX *irə* BC73 'husband'. Kgj *ere* S279b 'man; husband; male'. Dgx *ərə* B9 'man; husband; male'. MogMr *irrä* L62:29.

***ereün** 'chin'. Note the -g- in Bur-Kalm, which suggests a variant *eregün, unless this form represents a reading pronunciation of the WM spelling (cf. *kuruun 'finger', *niruun 'back'). SH suggests CM *eriün.

MMo SH *eri'un* H45, HY---, Muq *erü:n* P165b, LV---, IV *erü:n* (L reads 'closed e') L62:30. WM *eregüü* L322a, *ereü* L323b. Kh *erüü(n)* H855a, *ürüü* H581a 'chin, lower jaw'. Ord *eru*: M248b. Bur *ürge(n)* C511a. Brg *aru*: U24. Kalm *örgn* M424a. Dag *aru*: E29. EYu *oruin* B16, *orü:n* BJ337. MgrH *yeru*: X234, *iru*: SM192. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---, but cf. Kundur manuscript *urvu* (2:2a) 'cheek'.

***ergi** (?*hergi) 'shore, bank; cliff, precipice'. The *h- suggested by MgrH is not confirmed elsewhere, but secondary h- does not generally appear in words of this structure. Dag *ary*' E30 'side, direction' seems to be a loan from the unrelated Manchu word *ergi*.

MMo SH *ergi* H45, HY *ergi* M55, Muq---. WM *ergi* L323b. Kh *ereg* H859a. Ord *erge* M244b. Bur *er'e* C774b. Kalm *erg* M701b. Dag *ariy* E29. EYu *eryə* BJ327, J95a. MgrH *xerge* J95a, *χargi* SM162, T374, *yergi* SM492. MgrM *arge* JL461 'cliff, precipice'. Bao---. Dgx *əgi* B8, *əğai* MC83b. Mog---.

***ergü-** 'to lift, raise; to carry'. The unconfirmed h- in Muq is probably secondary. The development of this word looks less chaotic than that of other stems with the e-ü sequence. Central Mongolic, EYugur, Shirongol and Moghol can all be derived from a rounded form *örgü-. Rounding of the *e- did not occur in Dag, as in *elgü- above, which also has the same unexpected long vowel. Because of the meaning in Mongghul (also elsewhere in QG), Poppe (1955:48) assumed contamination with *üür- 'to carry on the back', as in MMo SH *ür-* H165, *u'ur-* H167. Cf. also BaoGt *urgə* C105 'backload'.

MMo SH *ergu-* H45, HY *ergü-* M55, Muq *örgü-* P94b, *hörgü-* P186b, LV *ergü-* P1256/1262, *örge-* P1259. WM *ergü-* L325b, *örgö-* L641b. Kh *örgöx* H417b. Ord *ürgü-* M762a. Bur *ürgexe* C511b. Kalm *örgx* M424a. Dag *arwə:-* E31, *əkuə-* E83:45b, *arkuə:-*, *əukuə:-* NK454b. EYu *oryo-* B16, *uryə-* J95a. MgrH *rgu-* J95a, *urgu-* X22. MgrM *argu-* JL479. Bao---. Kgj--- Dgx *uğu-* B20. MogMr *urgu-* L63:128.

***eri-** 'to look for; to want, wish for; to request'. There are some verbs that could easily be confused with *eri- phonetically and semantically. In the first place there is a verb *ere-: MMo SH *ere-* H45 'to hope', HY *ere-* M55 'to hope'. Lessing sees WM *ere-* as a spelling variant of *eri-*. Cf. Kh *eremgelzex* 'to wish, hope for, desire'. In the second place there is a verb *eere- or *eeri-: WM *egere-* L298b, *egeri-* L299a, Kh *eerex* H868b 'to seek, search, look for; to importune', and (reading pronunciation) *egeerex* H831b 'to wish, desire, etc', Kalm *eerx* M706b 'to strive for'. Finally note the forms written 'yr'- in Muq but read in different ways by Poppe:

e:re- P161a ‘to want’, *e:re*- P225a ‘to demand’, *ere*- P381b ‘to ask for’; *ere*- [ʔr^h] 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*^v- E31. EYu *e:r*- B9. MgrH *yarə*- J95a, *yerə*- X234. MgrM *yarrī*- C394, *yərri*- DS248a (i.e., -r^z-). Bao---. Kgj *ire*- S280a. Dgx *əri*- B9. Mog *eri*- R27b, *eri*- W165a.

***erte** ‘early; morning’. Dag *ərd* E31 with -*d*- is from Manchu or from Northern Tungusic. The EYu *h*- is secondary. Related to CT **erte* ‘id’.

MMo SH *erde* H44, *erte(n)* H46 ‘in the past, before’, HY *erte* M55 ‘early’, *erde* M54 ‘in the past, before’, Muq *erte* P164b. WM *erte(n)* L331b. Kh *ert(en)* H854a. Bur *erte* C772b. Kalm *ert* M704a. Dag (see above). EYu *hərte* B56, *rde* J95a. MgrH *šde* J95a, *šdie* SM372. MgrM *šide* C388, *šde* T384. BaoD *etə* BL83a. BaoÑ *erte* CN15. Dgx *əcie* B9 ‘morning’. Mog---.

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

erүүл** (?ereül**) ‘health(y)’. The Muq form with two *r*’s may in fact represent the original form, in which case the remaining forms are due to dissimilation and metathesis.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *erü:r(lik)* P165b, *ele’ür* P156b, LV *eleür* P1262, RH *eleür* 203B21. WM *eregül* L321a, *elegür* L1202b. Kh *erүүл* H855a. Ord *eru:l* M248b. Bur *elüür* C763a, *erүүл* C773a. Kalm *erül* M704a. Dag---. EYu *ülü:r* BJ347, *lui:r* S270. Remaining lgs---.

***ese** ‘not’. Only lost in EYu. A rare instance of initial vowel loss in Moghol. The defective negative verb does not otherwise survive in the QG languages.

MMo SH *ese* H46, HY *ese* M55, Muq *ese* P165b. WM *ese* L333a. Kh *es* H861b, cf. *esex* H863b (defective negative verb). Ord *ese* M249a. Bur *ese* (rare; ←Kh) C776b. Kalm *es* M704b. Dag *əs* E27. EYu---. MgrH *si*: X134. MgrM *se* T359. BaoD *sə* BL58. BaoÑ *esə* ~ *ese* CN14. BaoX *sə* BC75. Kgj *se* S141. Dgx *əsə* B8, L78. Mog *sa*, *sə*, *sö* R37b.

esergü** (?hesergü**) ‘opposite side’. With a long final vowel in several central languages. The **h*- suggested by Dag is not supported elsewhere, but on the other hand only contradicted by MMo.

MMo SH *esergu* H46, HY---, Muq---, RH *esergü* 205MC. WM *esergü* L333b. Kh *esreg* H862b. Ord *esergu*: M249b. Bur *üheryüü* [written *üheryuu*] C520a (and *esergüü* C776b ← Kh). Kalm *esrgü* M705a. Dag *xəsruy*^w E111. EYu---. MgrH *sargu* X134, SM327, *szargu* L540. MgrM *šergu* JL473. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***esige** ‘kid (young goat)’. Agricultural term, perhaps borrowed from CT **ečkü* ‘goat’. The unusual correspondence of Mongolic [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 *šeye* B107. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***eüden** ‘door’. Note the EYu-MgrH vowel shortening. Kgj and Dgx as well as Mog seem to suggest **üiden*.

MMo SH *e’uden* H47, *e’ute(n)* H48, HY *e’üden* M56, Muq *e’üden* P167b, *ü:den-* P249a. WM *egüde(n)* L300a. Kh *üüd(en)* H583a. Bur *üüde(n)* C516b. Brg *u:d* U44. Kalm *üüdn* M556a. Dag *äud* E20. EYu *üden* B22, J94b, *uden* J94b. MgrH *ude* J94b, X19, *den* (sic) X134, *rde* X241. MgrM *idi* C370, *yidi*, *di*, *dian* DS218a, *šuguaidi* DS225a ‘gate’ (**yeke eüden*). BaoD *ndaŋ* BL82a. BaoGt *dŋ* C132, cf. *fgindŋ* C132 ‘gate’ (**yeke eüden*). BaoÑ *ndaŋ* CN34. Kgj *idŋ* S280a. Dgx *uižien* B18, *wəižien* B192. Mog *ordān* W174b.

***eükün/*öekün** ‘fat, grease’. The central languages and Mgr suggest **öe* in the first vowel slot, the Sino-Mongolian sources and Dag suggest **eü*. In fact the pair of variants may be due to metathesis of diphthong elements, and go back to variants **eükün/*üekün*. EYu may have developed from either form. The *h-* in QG is probably due to the following *-k-*. The vowel of the final syllable is high in MMo, but some of the QG forms suggest **e*. The final *-m* in Baoan is inexplicable.

MMo SH *o’ukun* H129, *e’ukun* H47, HY *e’ükün* M56, Muq *ö:kün-* P279a, RH *ö:kün* [eds. read short *ö*] 199A4. WM *ögekü(n)* L631a. Kh *ööx(ön)* H416a. Ord *ö:kö* M530a. Bur *ööxe(n)* C368b, *üüxe(n)* C517b. Brg *o:x* U43. Kalm *öökñ* M420a. Dag *əuɣ^w* E19, *əuɣ* Z94b. EYu *ükun* B21, *ü:kön* J96b. MgrH *fo:ge*, *fo:ke* SM100, *o:ke* SM296, *o:ku* J96a. MgrM *oko* JL464, *o:ko* C370. BaoD *šgum* BL13, *gum* BL84b. BaoGt *šgəm* C129. BaoÑ---. Kgj *gun* S290a. Dgx *fugun* B54, *fgun* BC85:45. Mog---.

***eülen** ‘cloud’. The Monguor languages unexpectedly preserved the *-n*. The Donggou Mongghul forms *lŋ* ~ *ɟlŋ* ~ *rrlŋ* C382 seem to suggest an original form **eblen*, but these forms may also involve Tibetan influence (cf. LT *rluŋ* ‘air, breeze’).

MMo SH *e’ule(n)* H47, HY *e’ülen* M56, Muq *e’ülen* P168a, *ü:len* P383a, RH *üilen* (?), eds. *eüilen*) 198A15. WM *egüle(n)* L300b. Kh *üül(en)* H583a. Bur *üüle(n)* C516b. Brg *u:l^ʰ* U44. Kalm *üüln* M557a. Dag *əulən* E19. EYu---. MgrH *ulon* J94b (see above). MgrM *uolen* C382, *ulin* T368. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ə:lŋ* CN16. Kgj *ulio* S280b. Dgx *olien* B14, *wəilien* B192. Mog---.

***eün-** oblique stem of ***ene**

***eüs-** ~ ***eüd-** ‘to originate, arise, to be started’. MgrH *o:sə-* (?=) X14, MgrM *o:s-* C370 are more likely to stem from **ös-* ‘to grow’.

MMo SH *e’us-* H48, HY *eüsge-* (caus.) M56, Muq *e’üskel* P168b ‘base’. WM *egüs-* L302b. Kh *üüsex* H584b, *üüdex* H583a. Ord *u:d-* M747a, *u:s-* M764a. Bur *üüdxexe* (caus.) C516a, *üüsxexe* (caus., ←Kh) C517b. Kalm *üüdx* M556a, *ü:s-*

R462a. Dag *aus-* E20 ‘to set out, start off’. EYu *yü:s-* B155 ‘to grow up’ (?=, perhaps from **ös-*). Mgr (see above). Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

- G -

***gada-** ‘outside, exterior’. Derivates from this root include **gadaa*, **gadar*, **gadana*, **gadagsi*, as well as **gadaun* (cf. MMo SH *qada'un* H56, HY *qada'un* M86). The Mgr and Bao forms could represent **gada* or perhaps **gadaa*. Bur-Kalm display a form **gaʃaa* instead of **gadaa*, but Bur and Kalm also feature derivates with *-d-*. The vowel length in Dag may originate in the second syllable if we assume a development **gaada* < **gadaa*.

MMo SH *qada* (and derivates) H55, HY *qada-na* M85, Muq *yada:-du* P173a. WM *yadaya* L342a. Kh *gadaa* H104a, etc. Ord *gada:* M284a. Bur *gadaa*, *gadaada* C138b, *gazaa*, *gazaada* C139b. Brg *gaʒa:* ~ *gada:* U131. Kalm *yaza* M152a. Dag *ga:d* E163. EYu *gadana* B75, J101a. MgrH *gada* J101a. MgrM *gada* C189. BaoD *gadā* BL89b. BaoN *gadā* CN85. Kgj *ganna* ~ *gana* S288a. Dgx *gadanā* B80. Mog *yadana*, *yadaqši* R28b.

***gadasun** ‘stake’ and ***kadaasun** ‘nail’. In central Mongolic these two phonetically and semantically similar words exist separately, although there is some semantic interference in Khalkha. In the QG languages they seem to have become phonetically indistinguishable. Sun Zhu (1990:227) also confuses the two words. In most of MMo they cannot be distinguished either.

***gadasun** ‘peg, stake, pole’. Bur *gataha(n)* and Dag *gatās* point at **gatasun*. The ‘contracted’ Kalm form (cf. **gedesün* for a similar treatment) could be either from **gadasun* or **gatasun*. Dag also has a form without the (collective?) suffix *-sUn*, suggesting a PM **gata-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *yadasu(n)* L343a ‘stake, picket, pale; peg’. Kh *gadas* (sic, no *-an*) H105a ‘stake, picket; pole; peg’. Ord *gadás(u)* M285b ‘peg’. Bur *gadaha(n)* C138b, *gataha(n)* (eastern) C152a, *gahana* (western) C152a. Kalm *yasn* M161a. Dag *gat*, *gatās* E167 ‘wooden stake’.

***kadaasun** ‘nail’. Derived from the verb **kada-* ‘to nail’ listed separately under **k-*.

MMo SH *qada'asun* H55 ‘nail’, HY---, Muq (see below), RH (see below). WM *qadayasu(n)* L902b, *qadasu(n)* L903a. Kh *xadaas(an)* H595b ‘nail; spike; rivet; peg’. Ord *xada:s(u)* M321b ‘nail’. Bur *xadaaha(n)* C529b. Brg *xada:* (according to Uuda from **kadaa*) U96. Kalm *xadasn* M565b, also *xada* M565b. Dag---.

***gadasun** ‘stake’ and/or ***kadaasun** ‘nail’. The semantics of the QG forms listed below seem to indicate that they represent a merger of **gadasun* and **kadaasun*. The weakening of CM **k-* > *g-* is a common development in QG when the second syllable starts with **d*.

EYu *gadásən* B75, *gasən* B74 ‘wooden stake’, *gadásən* J99b ‘nail’. MgrH *gadasə* J99b ‘nail’. MgrM *gadasī* DS238a ‘nail’. BaoD *gadasuŋ* BL87b ‘nail’.

BaoÑ *ğadsəŋ* CN85, *ğarsəŋ* CN86 ‘nail; wooden stake’. Kgj *ğadasuŋ* S288a ‘wooden stake’. Dgx *ğadasuŋ* B80 ‘nail’, L115a ‘nail’. Mog---

In MMo Muq it is equally unclear whether the forms represent **ğadasun* or **kadaasun*. Long and short *a* may be written identically, and initial *y* and *q* are not systematically distinguished in MMo. Whenever a Turkic counterpart is given it is *qazuq* ‘stake, peg’; Poppe’s Russian translations are *kol* ‘stake’, *gvozd* ‘nail’, and *drevko* ‘arrow shaft’. The Muq forms are *qada(:)sun* P108b, *qada(:)su* P132a, *qatasun* P130a (there are several other occurrences). It is perhaps most likely that at least the forms with *-t-* belong to **ğadasun* ~ **gatasun*.

In RH the same problem exists, the form *qadasun* occurs twice, as *qadasun* 202A9 ‘tent peg’ (*al-watad*) and *qadasun* 205A29 ‘nail’ (*al-mismār*), in both cases with the same Persian equivalent *mīx* and the same Turkic equivalent *qazuq*.

***gagča** ~ ***gaŋča** ‘alone’. The form with *-n-* is largely restricted to the central languages and Dagur, but the Sanchuan (MgrM) form given by Potanin disturbs this picture. Some of the forms feature the instrumental and adverb suffix **-Ar/-GAAr* or the diminutive **-kAn*. The emphatic reduplication in Dag *gan gaška*: ‘all alone’ suggests that *gaška*: stems from **ganč-*. It may in fact be incorrectly back-formed from the instrumental *gaška:r* < **ganča-kAn-A:r*. The variation *n* ~ *g* is also found in other alternant pairs such as **neŋji-* ~ **negji-* ‘to search’. Róna-Tas (1966:93) derived the MgrH form *śzağna*: from Tibetan *gčig-na*, but this is not necessary for the forms listed below.

MMo SH *qahca* H56, *qahca’ar* H56, HY *qaqča* M88, Muq *yaqča* P175a, LV---, IV *qaqča* L62:41, Ph *qaqč^ha* P129a. WM *yaŋča* L343b, *yanča* L347b. Kh *ganc* H112b, *gagc* H104a. Ord *gağča* ~ *ganča* M287a. Bur *gansa* C145b, *gagsa* C138b. Brg *gans* U128. Kalm *yanč* M156a. Dag *ganč* E165, *gaška*: E167, *gaška:r* E167. EYu *qagča* B63, *qača* B63, *χja:r* J9, *qagča:ra:n* B63, *gakčar* P417a. MgrH *xažæ-ğa:r* X70, *śža-ğa:r* X159. MgrM *qaža-ğar* JL479, *qəzi-ğər* DS250a, *gančkar* (sic!) P417a. BaoD *χžia-χan* BL34 (**gagča-kan*) ‘alone, on one’s own’, cf. *χžia kun* BL13 (*kun* < **köbeün*) ‘only son’. BaoÑ [*śžanaŋ*] CN152 ‘alone’ ?< Tib]. BaoX *ja:χan* BC62. Kgj *qəjə-χəno* S287a. Dgx---. Mog---

***gaĵar** ‘land, earth, soil, place’. The Bao forms with *-i-* are peculiar, since **a* is usually palatalized in unaccented syllables only.

MMo SH *qajar* H57, HY *qajar* M86, Muq *yaĵar* P173b, *qajar* P288b, Ph *qajar* P128b. WM *yaĵar* L355b. Kh *gazar* H106a. Ord *ğajar* M285b. Bur *gazar* C140a. Brg *gazar* U131. Kalm *yazr* M152b. Dag *gaĵir* E167. EYu *gaĵar* B75, J101a. MgrH *gaĵar* J101a. MgrM *ğazar* JL472. BaoD *gaĵir* BL71, *gačir* BL89a. BaoÑ *gaĵar*, *gaĵir* CN86. BaoX *gaĵir* BC70. Kgj *gaĵar* ~ *geĵe* S288a. Dgx *gaža* B80. Mog *yaĵar* R28b.

***gakai** ‘pig’. In all QG languages there are forms with (aspirated) *q* < **g-*, which developed under the influence of the following *-k-*. In Mgr, Bao, Dgx the **a* of the first syllable was consequently devoiced or lost. The CM word may contain the formans **-kAi*, in which case the PM root may have been **ga-*.

MMo SH *qaqai* H56, HY *qaqai* M88, Muq *yaqai* P175a, LV *yaqai* P61,

qaqai P63, IV *qaqai* L62:41. WM *yaqai* L355a. Kh *qaxay* H117b. Bur *qaxay* C152a. Brg *qaxai* U129. Kalm *yaqa* M161b. Dag *gayə* E165. EYu *gayqai* B73, *qayqai* B63, *gaqai* B145, *qəgai* J101a. MgrH *xgai*: J101a. MgrM *qgai* JL478, *qəgai* DS242b. BaoD *gai* BL88b. BaoÑ *gəgai* CN84. BaoX *gai* BC62. Kgj *gəgai* ~ *gağai* S288a. Dgx *qīgəi*, *qīxəi* B70. Mog *yo:qei* R28b.

***gal** ‘fire’. One of the rare cases in which initial **g-* has been strengthened in Baoanic although it is not followed by a voiceless CM consonant (cf. **gar*, **gar-*). The unexpected palatalised *-lʲ* in Dagur has parallels in **gar*, **ger*, **seül*.

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

***galaun** ‘goose’.

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

***galjau** ‘mad, insane’, **galjaura-* ‘to go mad’. Original meaning probably ‘rabies’, as featured in Kh. The **au* diphthong suggested by WM is not confirmed, and on the basis of the modern languages a CM form **galjuu* would also be possible. The forms in Dag and QG could also stem from **galjiu*, but this form could not be reconciled with the central languages.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *yalju:ra-* P174b, LV *qalju*: P63, IV *qalja* L62:42. WM *yaljayu*, *yaljiyu* L346b. Kh *galzuu* H109b. Bur *galzuu* C143a. Brg *galʒv*: U130. Kalm *yalzu* M155a. Dag *galʒɔ*:, *galʒɔ:r-* E166. EYu *galju*: B74, *galju*: J101a. MgrH *galʒiu*: J101a, *galʒu*: X94, *galʒu:ra:-* X94. MgrM *garʒiu* JL464. BaoD *ganʒir-san* BL89b ‘insane’, BaoÑ *galʒəŋ* CN85, *galʒira-səŋ* (from the verb) CN85 ‘insane’, *galʒira-* CN85 ‘to go mad’. Kgj *ganʒira-* S289a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***gar** ‘hand’. One of the rare cases in which initial **g-* has become *q-* in Baoanic although it is not followed by a voiceless CM consonant (cf. **gal*, **gar-*). The Dag *-rʲ* is inexplicable, unless it is due to a false analysis of the genitive *gari*: as */gari-i/* instead of */gar + -ii/* (cf. similar cases s.v. **gal*, **ger*, **seül*).

MMo SH *qar* H60, HY *qar* M88, Muq *yar* P175b, *qar* P111b, LV *qar* P61, IV *yar-* L62:30. WM *yar* L350a. Kh *gar* H113a. Bur *gar* C146a. Brg *gar* U131. Kalm *yar* M157b. Dag *garʲ* E168. EYu *gar* B76, J101a. MgrH *gar* J101a. MgrM *gar* JL463. BaoD *χar* BL89b. BaoÑ *χar* CN58 ‘hand; arm’. Kgj *χar* 285a. Dgx *qa* B67. Mog *yar* R28b, *qar* R31b, *gar* W165a, *ğar* W178b, etc.

***gar-** ‘to come out, appear’. One of the rare cases in which initial **g-* has become *q-* in Baoanic although it is not followed by a voiceless consonant (cf. **gal*, **gar*). Cf. BaoÑ *ha:ʒir-* and *ha:ʒər-* CN66 < **garču ire-*, **garču od-*.

MMo SH *qar-* H61, HY *qar-* M88, Muq *yar-* P176b, Ph *qar-* P129a. WM *yar-* L350b. Kh *garax* H114b. Bur *garaxa* C148a. Brg *gar-* U133. Kalm *yarx* M159b. Dag *gar-* E168. EYu *gar-* B76, J101b. MgrH *garə-* J101b. MgrM *gara-* T325. BaoD *ǰärə-* BL89a. BaoGm *ǰar-* CN86:227. BaoÑ *ǰar-* CN59. BaoX *ǰarə-* BC62. Kgj *ǰar-* S285a. Dgx *qiri-* B71, L117b. Mog *yar-* R28b, *ǰar-* W165a, *ǰar-* W178b, *qar-* W176a.

***gasün** ‘bitter, sour’. Strengthening of the initial in most Shirongol dialects. The Dag form with *-s-* must stem from a form **gasuun* with assimilated diphthong (for which cf. MMo VI). In spite of the existence of Kh *gušuu* H136a ‘bitter taste’, the Shirongol forms with rounded first syllable are more likely to derive from **gasün*. The related verb ***gasil-** ‘to turn sour’ survives in Bur *gašalxa* C152b, Ord *gašil-* M297b, BaoÑ *gašil-* CN85. Dgx *qışulu-* B70, etc. In view of WM *yasila-*, Ord *gašila-* M297b, there also was a form ***gasila-**, which may also be present in Kgj *gašila-* (rare) S288a.

MMo SH *qasi’un* H62, HY *qasi’un* M89, Muq *yašu:n* P178b, IV *qasu:n* L62:43, RH *qasu:n* 202C27. WM *yasiyu(n)* L354a. Kh *gašuu* H118b. Ord *gašu:n* M298a. Bur *gašuu* C152b. Brg *gašo:ŋ* U130. Kalm *yašun* M162b. Dag *gasu:n* E167. EYu *gašu:n* B74, J101a. MgrH *xašin* J101b, X69, *gašin* X94. MgrM *qəzəŋ* DS251b. BaoD *χušūŋ* BL88b ‘sour’. BaoÑ *gašəŋ* CN85 ‘sour’. Dgx *qışuŋ* B70 ‘sour; bitter’. Mog *yašu:n* R28b, *qašu:n*, *qošu:n* R31b, *qəšun* W177b ‘annoyance, anger, bitterness’, MogMr *qv:šu:n* L62:43 ‘opium’, MogM *qv:šū* L62:43 ‘tea; bitter’.

***gauli** ‘copper, brass’. WM and modern central Mongolic, as well as Dag, support a final *-i*, but MMo (Muq) and EYu go back to a form with *-a*, perhaps **go:la* or **gu:la*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *yula* P179b ‘id’. WM *yauli(n)* L355a, *yūuli* L371a, *yaŋuli* L344a ‘brass, copper’. Kh *guul* H135b. Ord *gu:li* M313a. Bur *guuli(n)* C162a. Brg *gö:lʷ* U137. Kalm *yūul* M171a. Dag *gaulʷ* E164 ‘brass’. EYu *gɔlɔ* B78, *go:lo* S302 ‘brass’.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *yaŋursu(n)* L344a, *yuyursu(n)* L365a, *yūursu* L371a. Kh *guurs(an)* H135b ‘(.) quills, tubes, pipes, straws’, Kh *xuurs* H697a ‘(.) chaff, awn or beard of certain kinds of grasses’. Ord *gu:rsu* M315b. Bur *guurha(n)* C162a ‘shaft of a feather; pen’. Kalm *yūursn* M171b ‘feather’. Dag *gaurs* E164 ‘stubble’, cf. *xudusəi gaurs* S302 ‘shaft of a feather’. EYu *gu:rs* (sic) (only) S302 ‘shaft of a feather’. MgrH *χv:rʒə* SM185, *xaurzi* L188. Remaining lgs---.

***ge-** ‘to say’ see ***kee-**

***gedesün** ‘intestines, bowels; belly’. There are several interesting variants, reminiscent of the development of **gadasun* ‘stake’, **gudusun* ‘boots’. Bur-Dag and Muq stem from an older **getesün*. In case of Muq this may herald the reduced ‘western’ form now found in Kalm and Mog. The Bur-Dag *-t-* is also shared by Khamnigan *gətaxun* (Janhunen 90), and thus represents a northeastern feature.

However, it has to be kept in mind that this group of words may lose the vowel before *s* in Dagur and the central languages, e.g. Dag *gətsi*: (gen.-acc.), and this is where the strengthening may originally have taken place. Baoanic has developed from **gejesün*. As in the case of **gudusun*, BaoGt has a shortened form reminiscent of the one found in Kalm and Mog. This word probably contains the (collective?) suffix *-sUn*, so that the PM root may have been **gede-* or **gete-*.

MMo SH---, HY *gedesün* M56, Muq *getesün* P238b, LV *gesesün* (sic) P67, *gesüsün* (sic) P69, RH *gesesün* (sic) 199A2. WM *gedesü(n)* L373a. Kh *gedes* (*gedsen*) H141a. Ord *gedes(ʰ)*, *gödös* M268b. Bur *gedehe(n)* C168b, *getehe(n)* C174a. Brg *gətu*: U135. Kalm *gesn* M140b. Dag *kətas* E146, *gətas* E83:60a. EYu *gedsən* B82, *gedesən* J101b. MgrH *gədesə* J101b. MgrM *gedesi* JL461. BaoD *gaʒiasuŋ* BL89b. BaoGt *gasuŋ* C141. BaoÑ---. Kgj *gəjisun* S289a. Dgx *kizəsuy* B76. Mog *gesən* R28a, MogM *gesal* (sic) L68, No 3.

***gee-** ‘to lose; to let go of; to put down’. The Dgx form is a good match semantically, but the development of the initial consonant would be unique (there are however some cases where Dgx *č* stems from **k*).

MMo SH *ge-* H48, HY---, Muq---. WM *gege-* L373b. Kh *geex* H145b. Bur *geexe* C176b. Brg *gə:-* U134. Kalm *geex* M135b. Dag *gə:-* E169. EYu *gi:-* B83, *ge-* J49 (auxiliary). MgrH *ge:-* SM130, X101. MgrM *gi:-* C197, *gī-* C380. BaoD *ge-* BL50. BaoÑ *ge:-* CN93. Kgj *ge-* ~ *gi-* S289a. Dgx *ʒie-* (?=) B166, MC183b ‘to put down, to lay aside; to leave over’, in MC also ‘to abandon, give up (e.g. smoking)’. Mog *ge:-* R28a ‘to lose’.

***gegeen** ‘light, bright’. Related to the verb **gei-* below, parallel to the relation between **čagaan* ‘white’ and **čai-* ‘to become white’.

MMo SH *gegen*, *gegeyen* H48, HY *gege'en* M56, Muq *gege:n* P169a. WM *gegege(n)*, *gege(n)* L373b. Kh *gegee(n)*, *gegeen* H140b. Bur *gegee(n)* C167b. Kalm *gegän* M134b. Dag *gəʔə:n* E170; cf. *gəʔə:* E170 ‘dawn’. EYu *gegen* B82 ‘living Buddha’. MgrH *gəge:n* J101b. MgrM *gegen* JL461. BaoD *gəgaŋ* BL11. BaoÑ *gəgaŋ* CN93. Kgj *gigə* S289a. Dgx *giegaŋ* B89. Mog---.

***gei-** ‘to become light, to shine’. In QG normally in the phrase **ör gei-* ‘to dawn’. Cf. **gegeen* above.

MMo SH *geyi-* H50, HY---, Muq *gei-* P169b. WM *geyi-* L374b. Kh *giyx* H119a. Bur *giixe* C153b. Kalm *gi:-* R137b. Dag *gai-* E169. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *gi:-* CN94. Kgj *gi-* ~ *gi:-* S289a. Dgx (see s.v. **ör*). Mog---.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *geyičün* L374b. Kh *giyčün* H119a. Ord *gi:čün* M267b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *giuč* M143b. Dag---. EYu *ke:čən* B67, *ge:čən* J107a. MgrH---. MgrM *gečün* P412b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

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

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *gejige* P170a. WM *gejige* L381a. Kh *gezeg* H141b 'hair; pigtail'. Ord *gejige* M255b 'nape; braid, etc', cf. *gede*: M254b 'occiput'. Bur *gezege* C169a 'braid; (western) nape'. Brg *gəʒəg* U135 'braid'. Kalm *gijg* M142b 'nape; braid'. Dag *gəjiy* E172 'braid', cf. also *gədiy* ~ *gəjiy* E172 'back of a knife'. EYu *gejiye* B83, *gejeje* J81 'back of the head'. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *gieziği* B90 'back of the head', *gižiği* MC119b 'neck, nape'. Mog---.

***geli-** 'to follow, catch up with'. The Moghol meaning 'to sow' perhaps < 'to follow the furrow'.

MMo SH *geli-* H49, HY---, Muq *geli-* [P: *keli-*] P215a 'to drive (livestock)'. WM *geli-* K2477. Kh *gilex* H119b 'to round up livestock'. Ord---. Bur ?-. Brg *gil-* U136. Kalm---. Dag *gəʎ-* E171 'to drive (livestock)'. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD---. Dgx---. Mog *geli-* R28a 'to sow', *gəʎ-* W165b 'to drive', MogMr *geli-* L68, No. 126 'to sow; to take along, chase in front of oneself'.

***gem** 'defect, damage; disease; fault; trouble'. In spite of the unusual **g-* apparently related to CT **kem* 'illness' (cf. EDPT 720b).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, Ph *gem-* P123b. WM *gem* L375b. Kh *gem* H142a 'defect; damage, etc. Bur *gem* C170a 'fault, guilt'. Brg *gəm* U135. Kalm *gem* M136a. Dag *gəm* E171. EYu *gem* BJ328, J101b 'illness, disease'. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *gəm* BL89a 'illness, disease'. BaoÑ *gem* CN93. Kgj *gan* S288b. Dgx *gien* B89. Mog---.

***gendü** 'male (of certain carnivores)'.

MMo SH *gendu* H49, HY---, Muq---. WM *gendü(n)* L376b. Kh *gendüü* H142b 'male tiger or leopard'. Ord---. Bur (Tunka, Oka) *gende* C171a, *günde* C165b 'male of the sable'. Brg---. Kalm *gendn* M137. Dag---. EYu *ge:ndə* B82 'male dog'. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***genedte** 'by accident; sudden(ly)'. Several modern forms have replaced the ending by a more familiar suffix like *-tU* or *-tAI* or added the dim. *-kAn*.

MMo SH *genete* H49. Muq *genete* P208a. WM *genedte* L377a. Kh *gent*, *genet*, *gented*, *gentxen* H142b/143a. Ord *genedte*, *genete*, *gente*, *gentu* M259a/b. Bur *gente* C171a. Kalm *gent*, *gentkn* M138a. Dag *gənti:*, *gəntkə:n* E170, *gənt* E83:59b. EYu *geneti* BJ328, *genetele* (with attached particle) S292. Remaining lgs---.

***ger** 'dwelling, house; Mongolian yurt'. The Dag *-rʷ* is inexplicable, unless it is due to a false analysis of the genitive *gəri:* as */gəri-i/* instead of */gər-ii/* (cf. similar cases s.v. **gal*, **gar*, **seül*). MgrH *ges* X102 'family' may represent a contracted plural of this word.

MMo SH *ger* H49, HY *ger* M56, Muq *ger* P170b, LV *ger* P69, IV---. WM *ger* L377b. Kh *ger* H143a. Ord *ger* M259b. Bur *ger* C171b. Brg *gər* U135. Kalm *ger* M138b. Dag *gərʷ* E172. EYu *ger* B83, J101b. MgrH *ger* J101b. MgrM *ger* JL475. BaoD *gər* BL89a (influenced by Tibetan *gur?*), *gar* BL74. BaoÑ *ger* CN94. Kgj *ger* ~ *gar* S289a. Dgx *gie* B88. Mog *ger* R28a.

***gere** ‘brightness; torch; witness’. For the meaning ‘witness’ also see **gereči*. MgrH *gerie*: SM134 ‘light’ could be from **gerel*.

MMo SH *gere* H49 ‘brightness’, HY---, Muq *gere* P170b ‘witness’. WM *gere* L378a. Kh *gere* H144b ‘light, brightness; dawn; a torch’. Ord *gere* (*gére*) M260a ‘light; witness’. Bur *gere* (western) C173a ‘pine torch’. Kalm *ger* R134a ‘witness; testimony; torch, etc’. Dag *gar* E172 ‘torch, torch made out of willow twigs’, cf. *gar.d-* E172 ‘to fish by means of a torch’. MgrH (see above). Remaining lgs---.

***gereči ~ *gerečin** ‘witness; proof’.

MMo SH---, Muq---, IM *gereči* P437b ‘witness’. WM *gereči* L378b. Kh *gerč* H143b ‘witness; testimony, etc’. Ord *gereči* M260b ‘witness’. Bur *gerše* C173a ‘witness; testimony’. Brg *garš* U135 ‘testimony’. Kalm *gerč* M140a ‘witness; testimony’. Dag *garčin* E172 ‘testimony’. EYu *gerečə* BJ328 ‘witness’, possibly also related is *gerče* B83 ‘small scripture’ (with *-čA*). Mgr---. BaoÑ *geržan* CN94 ‘witness’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***gerel** ‘light, brightness’. There is some confusion in Mongghul, as well as disagreement between the sources. MgrH *gere* X102 ‘sunny’, *gerie*: SM134 ‘light, brightness, sheen, ray of light’ can be from **gerel* and/or **gere* (cf. *gurma* < **gürümel*, *ara*: < **aral*). There is also a form *gerəl* X102 ‘sunny side; southern side’, but this may be related to *gere* X102 ‘sunny’. Khasbaatar derives *gere* from **gerü*, but this is the word for ‘shady side of a mountain; north’. Possibly related to **gei-* and **gegeen*.

MMo SH *gerel* H49, HY *gerel* M56, Muq---, Ph *gerel* P123b. WM *gerel* L378b. Kh *gerel* H141a. Ord *gerel* M260a. Bur *gerel* C173a. Brg *garəl* U135. Kalm *gerl* M139a. Dag---. EYu *gerel* B83, J101b. MgrH *gare:l* J101b, X104 ‘light’. MgrM *garə* (?) DS234a. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *gieran* B90, *gierən* S292. Mog---.

***gerte/*gertü** ‘(at) home’. This word is simply the dative-locative case of **ger* ‘house’ listed above, although the Shirongol equivalents have been derived from **kotan* by several Inner-Mongolian authors. The Shirongol forms with *k-* are due to the following *t* which in its turn was originally triggered by the final *-r* of the stem.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *gertü*, *gerteki* P171a, LV---, IV *gerte* L62:30. Ord *gerte/gertü* M261ab. Dag *gar’t* > *gat* E88:167. MgrH *kudu* SM206. MgrM *garđu* DS12b. BaoD *kətə* BL62, BL78 ‘home(-wards)’. BaoDt *kətə* CN86:225 ‘(at) home’. BaoÑ *kətə* CN77 ‘(at) home’. Kgj *kete* S287a. Dgx *kidə* L78 ‘house (loc.)’, *giedə-du* B90, *kidə-du* B76 ‘being at home, i.e. wife’. Mog *gertü* R28a, MogM, MogMr *gértü* L62:31.

***ges-** ‘to melt, thaw’. The fluctuation in consonant strength in Khalkha is unusual. Cf. **siri-* ‘to melt’, and Baoanic **sümtara-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *gesge-* (caus.) H50, HY---, Muq *ges-* (or *kes-*) P171a. WM *ges-* (so read) L379b. Kh *gesex* H145a, *xesex* H726b. Ord *ges-* M262a. Bur *gedexe* C168b. Kalm *ges-* R134b ‘to become cheerful, etc’. Dag *gəs-* E171. EYu *kes-* B68, J35. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***gesiün** ‘branch’. The Dag form with -s- must stem from a form **gesüün* with assimilated diphthong. Bur-Kalm have an additional variant **gesiü-sün*. Cf. **salaa* ‘id’.

MMo SH *geši'ut* (pl) H50, HY *geši'ün* M56, Muq---, LV---, IV *geši'ün* L62:31, Ph *k^heši'un* P126a. WM *gesigün* L380a, *gesigüü* L380a. Kh *gišüü(n)* H120b. Ord *göšu*: M272a. Bur *gešüü(n)* C175b, also *gešüühe(n)* ‘id’. Kalm *gešü:n* R135a, *gešü:sn* R135a, *gišü:n* R137a. Dag *gəsu*: E171. EYu---. MgrH *kaši*, *kaši* L258, *keši* L260. Remaining lgs---.

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

MMo SH *getki-* H50, *geci-ki-le-* H48, HY---, Muq *gički-* P221b. WM *giški-* L384b, *gičgi-* L381b. Kh *gišgex* H120b. Ord *géški-* ~ *giški-* M262b. Bur *gešxexe* C176a. Brg *gitəg-* U136. Kalm *išx* (?-, cf. **öskel-* ‘to kick’) M276b, *giškəχə* R137a. Dag *gərk^y-* E172, *girk-* Z99a. EYu *kšgə-* B72, *kəšgə-* J101b. MgrH *gišgi-* SM137, *gišgi-* L148, *kišgi-* L267. MgrM *kəšgi-* JL472. BaoD *kəšigə-* BL89b. BaoGt *kəšgə-* C124. BaoÑ---. Kgj *keški-* ~ *keki-* S287b. Dgx *qəši-* (sic, ?=) S295. Mog---.

***geškiür** ‘stairs, (step of a) staircase, (rung of a) ladder’. From **geški-* ‘to step on’. Initial strengthening and rounding of the unaccented **e*.

MMo SH---, HY *gečgi'ür* M56, Muq---. WM *giškigür* L385a. Kh *gišgüür* H120b. Bur *gešxüür* C175b. Kalm *giškür* (rarely) M146a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *kəšgu:r* ~ *kəšgu:* X87, *kəšgu:r* X92, *gišgu:(r)* SM137, *kišgu:(r)* L267. MgrM *kugor* C379. BaoÑ *kurgur* CN83. Kgj *kurgi* ~ *kurki* S288a. Dgx *qışigəu* ‘stairs’ B70.

***getül-** ‘to cross, ford’ see **ketül-**.

***geün** ‘mare’. Cf. **baïtasun* ‘id’.

MMo SH *ge'u(n)* H50, HY *ge'ün* M57, Muq *ge'ün* P171b, *gü'ün-* P115a, LV *geün* P66, IV---. WM *gegün*, *gegüü* L374b. Kh *güü(n)* H139b. Bur *güü(n)* C167a. Brg *gu:* U139. Kalm *gün* M149a. Dag *gəu* E169. EYu *guin* B84, *gü:n* J101b. MgrH *gu:* SM138, J101b. MgrM *gu* [mori] P414b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***göl-** ~ ***gil-** ~ ***jöl-** ~ ***jil-** ‘smooth; glossy, shiny’. A large and complicated word family, with a strange distribution of derivations crossing the normal subgroup lines. The same *g* ~ *j* variation is found in **gīrakai* ~ **jīrakai* ‘clever, perceptive’. A form **jilman* survives in Kalm, EYu and Mog. The unclear Kgj form could be metathesized from **gilman*. A form **giluan* is found in Kh and Ord. MgrH may also be from this word, or from an alternant **jiloan* < **jiluan*. Dag and Dgx seem to represent the front-vocalic counterparts **gilöen* < **gilüen* and **jilöen* < **jilüen*, respectively. A selection of morphologically unclear but probably related words is also included below.

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

jəlman B144. MgrH *žilo:n* X221, *žulo:n* X225. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *gemiliɔ*, *gemiliɔ* (?) S289 ‘smooth’. Dgx *žilien* B172 ‘smooth’. Mog *žilmo:n* R42b ‘smooth’.

***gogal**, ***gogasun**, ***gogad** ‘Chinese chives and other bulbous plants’. The MgrH form most likely reflects the (plural) form **gogad*, but an irregular development of **gogal* cannot be excluded.

MMo HY *qoqosun* M90. WM *yoyod*, *yoyosu(n)* L358a/b. Kh *gogod* H121a ‘variety of wild leek’, *gogol* H121a ‘a variety of the *Liliaceae* Hall.’. Ord *gogot* M304a ‘kind of leek’. Bur *googol* (eastern), *googoho(n)* (western) C157a. Kalm *goy’sn* R149b. Dag *g’ayās* E183 ‘wild chives’. MgrH *gogor* X98. Remaining lgs---.

***goka** ‘hook, crook’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *yoya* P147a, P223a. WM *yoqa* L363a. Kh *gox* H127a. Bur *goxo* C158a. Kalm *yox* M167b. Dag *gɔɣʷ* E175 ‘hook-shaped pattern’, cf. also *gɔkɔ*: E175 ‘hook; hook (name of a wrestling hold)’.

***gol** ‘river, brook, streamlet, ditch’. Cf. **mören*.

MMo SH *qol* H65 ‘mountain brook’, HY---, Muq---. WM *yool* L362b. Kh *gol* H123a. Bur *gol* C155a. Kalm *ɣol* M165a. Dag *gɔl* T132. EYu *gɔl* B78 ‘mountain valley; river’, *gol* J62 ‘river’. MgrH *gol* J101b. MgrM *gol* P419a, (*ula*) *guar* C378 (cf. **aula*). BaoJ *gual* L152. BaoÑ *gəl* CN87. BaoX *gol* BC69. Kgj *gwr* (sic) S290a. Dgx *gōŋ* B82. Mog *yo:l* R28b ‘riverbed’.

***gorgi** ‘hook; buckle, clasp’. Only Kh and one Kalm form suggest **gorki*. The EYu forms seem to point at an older Mongolic form **gorgai*. Muq *yoya* P223a is from **goka* ‘hook’.

MMo SH *qorgit* (pl) (?) H67 ‘q.v.’, HY---, Muq---. WM *yorki* L361b, *yorgi* K1043a ‘buckle, ring or hook of a belt, clasp’ (different readings of the same spelling). Kh *gorxi* H126b. Ord *gorgi* M307a. Bur *gor’yo* C158a. Kalm *yor’k* M167a, *gor’gi* R151b. Dag *gɔɣɣʷ* E3:65a ‘ring for attaching a knot’. EYu *gor’gi*: S559, *gor’gui* S287 ‘ring, circle’, *gɔɣgɔi* B78 ‘hook; hunchback; winding, crooked’. MgrH *guorgi* SM126 ‘buckle’, *gurgi* L142 ‘slipknot’. Bao---. Dgx *guḡai* MC126a ‘knot on the door, door bolt’.

***göen** (?and **göin*) ‘shallow’. Very similar to its opposite **gun* ‘deep’ listed below. The structure of the Dagur forms (which also changed harmonic class) is unclear.

MMo SH---, HY *gö’en* M57 ‘shallow’, Muq---. WM *güi-ken* L390a, *güyü-ken* L390b. Kh *güyñ* 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 *guya:n*, *guya:-kən* (sic, ?=) E179. Remaining lgs---.

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

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

MMo SH---, HY--- (? cf. *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 *guly*^w E180. EYu---. MgrH *golgo* J102a. MgrM *kuł^yger*, *kulgar* P422b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***göre-** ‘to braid’ see ***gürü-** ‘id’

***göree** ‘hunting; game’, ***göreesün** ‘(wild) animal’. The *k-* in MgrH is unexpected.

MMo SH *gore’e* H51, *gore’esu(n)* H51, *goregesun* (sic) H51, HY---, Muq *göre:sün* P171a ‘roe deer’, LV *göre:sün* P68 ‘antelope’, IV---. WM *göröge(n)* L387, *görögesü(n)* L387b. Kh *görüö* H128b ‘hunting; wild animal’, *görüös(ön)* H128b ‘antelope’. Bur *görüöhe(n)* C166a ‘roe deer’. Brg *gurə:* U140 ‘hunting’, *gurə:* U141 ‘wild animal’. Kalm *göra* (obs) M147a ‘hunting’, *göraśn* M147a ‘saiga antelope’. Dag *gurə:s* E181 ‘(wild) animal’. EYu *gure:sən* B85, *görösən* J102a, *görü:sən* (Qinglong) BJ350 ‘(wild) animal’. MgrH *korosə* J102a ‘bear’. Remaining lgs---.

***gučĭn** ‘thirty’. With strengthening in EYu and MgrH due to the following č. In Bao and Kgj replaced by **gurbaŋ harbaŋ* ‘three tens’ (BaoD *guraraŋ* BL89a, *gubaraŋ* BL35, BaoŃ *guraraŋ* CN89). Cf. **gurbaŋ* ‘three’ below and **gunan* ‘three-year-old’ (not listed).

MMo SH *qucin* H70, HY *qučĭn* M91, Muq *yučĭn* P179b. WM *yučĭ(n)* L364a. Kh *guč(in)* H136a. Bur *guša(n)* C162b. Kalm *yučĭn* M171b. Dag *gəč*, *gəčĭn* E177. EYu *gučən* B80, *qujĭn* J101a. MgrH *xočin* J101a. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***gudusun** ‘boots’ see ***gutusun**

***gulir** ‘flour’ see ***güril**

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

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

***gurbaŋ** ‘three’. Cf. **gučĭn* ‘thirty’, **gutuar* ‘third’, and **gunan* ‘three-year-old’ (the latter not listed). A peculiar palatal element is present in a word for ‘hobble for three legs’: Dag *gərb^yla:n šidər* E177, Bur *gur’balaa (šüder)* C161b, in fact suggesting a stem **gurbĭ* (not supported by Kalmuck, EYu *gurbałəd* B30. Cf. also the *i* in Dag *gərbid* E177 ‘(constellation of) three stars’ < **gurbaŋ hodun*).

MMo SH *qurban* H72, HY *qurban* M91, Muq *yurban* P179b. WM *yurba(n)* L369a. Kh *gurav* (*gurvan*) H133a. Ord *gurwa* M316b. Bur *gurba(n)* C160b. Kalm *yurvn* M170a. Dag *g^warbə*, *g^warbən* E183, *g^warəb* Z100a. EYu *gurbaŋ* B80, J102a. MgrH *gura:n* J102a. MgrM *gurbaŋ* T326, *gurbaŋ^y* P422. BaoD *guraraŋ* BL89b. BaoŃ *guraraŋ* CN89. BaoX *goraraŋ* BC67. Kgj *gurə ~ gurə* S289b. Dgx *guraraŋ* B85. DgxL *gurwaŋ* B86. Mog *yurbo:n* R60.

***güril** ‘flour’. With metathesis in many languages. Although **gulir* has the earlier

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *γulir* P179b, *γulur-* P152b. WM *γulir*, *γuril* L367a. Kh *guril* H134a, *gulir* H132a. Ord *gulir* M313a, *guril* (rare) M315b. Bur *guril* C161a. Kalm *γuyr* M168a. Dag *gɔlʷ* E176. EYü *gülər* B79, J101b. MgrH *ğurəl* J101b. MgrM *ğurur* JL477, *ğuru* DS223b. BaoD *gülər* BL89a, *ğur* (sic) BL30. BaoÑ *ğölər* CN87. Kgj *guru* (sic) S290b. Dgx *ğurun* B86. Mog *γulur* R28b, *gulur* W165b, *ğulur*, *ğugul* W178b.

***gutar** ‘third’. In many languages replaced by **gurbaduar*. Cf. **gurban* ‘three’ and **gučīn* ‘thirty’ above.

MMo SH *quta’ar*, *qutu’ar* H73, HY---, Muq---. WM *γutayar* (lit) L370a. Bur *gutaar* (dial.) C161b ‘milk of the third milking’. Dag *guta:r* E180. Remaining lgs---.

***gutusun** and ***gutul** ‘boots’, as well as forms pointing at *-d-* rather than *-t-*. Kh-Bur stem from the form **gutul*. The *-t-* instead of *-d-* is also found in some of the MMo forms. The remaining MMo forms and the forms in the QG languages are from the variant **gudusun*. Kalm has a shortened form reminiscent of **gadasun* ‘stake’ (q.v.) and **gedesün* ‘intestine’ (q.v.). Kgj stands out among the Shirongol languages.

MMo SH *qudusu(n)* H71, HY *qudusun* M91 (but: HY *qudul-či* M91 ‘cobbler’!), Muq *γutusun-* P180a, *qudusun* (P: *qo-*) P272b, *qutusun* P313a. WM *γutul* L370b, Kow1029a, and *γutusun* Kow1029a. Kh *gotal* H134b. Ord *gutul* M318a ‘leather boot’. Bur *gotal* C161b ‘high fur boots’, *gutaha(n)* C162a, *godoho(n)* (western) C154a. Brg *gotal* U139. Kalm *γosn* M167a. Dag *gɔčɔ:r* (sic, ?=) E177. EYü *ğudəsən* B80, *ğɔdəsən* B78, *ğudusun* J101b, *gutusun* P419 ‘boot’. MgrH *ğudusə* J101a. MgrM---. BaoD *ğudəsən* BL89b. BaoGt *ğosson* C120. BaoÑ *ğədsən* CN87, *ğərsən* CN88. Kgj *ğudər* ~ *gudər* S288b. Dgx *ğudusun* B84, L117a. Mog---.

***guya** ‘thigh’.

MMo SH *quya* H73 ‘leg’, HY---, Muq *γuya* P180b. WM *γuya* L365b. Kh *guya* H136a. Ord *guya* M311b. Bur *guya* C162b. Kalm *γuy* M168a. Dag *gʷay* E183. EYü *ğuya* B80, J101a. MgrH---. MgrM *ğoya* C387 ‘leg’. BaoD *guya* BL89b. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *guya* L117a ‘thigh’, *guya* B85 ‘shin, shank’, *boya* (?=) MC44a ‘thigh’. Mog *γuya* R28b.

***guyu-** ‘to request, ask for, to beg’.

MMo SH *quyi-* H74, *quyu-* H74, HY *quyu-* M92, Muq *γui-* P179b, *γuya-* P180b, Ph *quyu-* P129b. WM *γuyu-* L365b. Kh *guyx* H131a. Bur *guyxa* C159b. Kalm *γuux* M171b, *ğu:χă* R156b. Dag *gɔi-* E174. EYü *ğɔi-* B78, *gui-* J101b. MgrH *ğoi-rla-* X98, cf. *ğoi-šžə* X98 ‘beggar’. MgrM *ğuai-čin* JL465 ‘beggar’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *gui-* CN89. Kgj *gui-* S288b. Dgx *ğoyi-* B83 ‘to borrow’, *ğuai-* MC124a. Mog---.

***gübi-** ‘to shake (off), to beat repeatedly, to thrash’. Unexpected *k-* in Baoanic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *gübi*- P172a. WM *göbi*- L386a, *gübi*- L388b. Kh *güvex* H136b. Ord *güwe*-, *güwi*- M281b, *göwö*- M273a. Bur *gübixe* C163a. Kalm *güvx* M148a. Dag *gub*^y- E179. EYu *gəβə*- B81. MgrH *guwu*- SM144, *gubu*- SM139. MgrM *kubi*- P421a. BaoÑ *kib*- CN79. Kgj *kui*- S287b. Dgx *kuyi*- MC230b. Mog---.

***güi-** ‘to run’. Cf. **haul-* ‘to run (mainly of animals)’.

MMo SH *guiyi*- H52, HY *güi*- M57, *güyi*- M59, Muq *güi*- P172a, *güyü*- P173b. WM *gü[y]i*- L389a, *güyü*- L390a. Kh *güyx* H138a. Ord *güi*- M275a. Bur *güyxe* C164b. Brg *gui*- U140. Kalm *güüx* M150b. Dag *gui*- E178, *guy*- E181 (‘of people’). EYu---. MgrH *guai*- J102b. MgrM *gui*- JL475. Bao---. Kgj *güi*- S289b. Dgx---. Mog *gui*:- 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 *güiči*- M278a, *güči*- M280b. Bur *güysexe* C164b. Brg *guis*- U140. Kalm *güücx* M151b. Dag *küičə*:- E154. EYu *güče*- B85, *güiče*- BJ328. MgrH *küjčə*- X91. MgrM *küiči*- JL475. BaoD---. BaoÑ *kiča*- CN80. Kgj *küiči*- S287b. Dgx *küiče*- B78. Mog---.

***güjeen** ‘belly, stomach’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *güje:n* P172b. WM *güjege* L393a. Kh *güzee* H137a ‘paunch’. Ord *güje*:- M274b. Bur *güzee(n)*, *güzöð(n)* C163b ‘&paunch, peritoneum’. Kalm *güzān* M148b ‘&paunch; peritoneum’. Dag *gujə*:- E180. EYu *güje:n* B85, *guje:n* J102a ‘rumen’, *guje:n* J78 ‘stomach’. MgrH *gužie*:- SM140, *guže*:- L155 ‘stomach’. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *gujan*, *gužan* W165b.

***gün** ‘deep’. There are several variant forms which can hardly be derived from a single original form. The long vowel in Kalm and Dag, which may be due to confusion with **göen* ‘shallow’ listed above. The *-m* in MgrM and Bao is also remarkable. The forms in MgrH an extra syllable at the beginning is inexplicable, and is not supported by any other source (cf. **nīs*-). Moreover, the *f*- in the variant *fugon* suggests an original form **öken*, as secondary *f*- is usually triggered by a following strong consonant. It is not clear whether BaoD *gudaŋ* BL89b ‘id’ belongs here.

MMo SH *gun* H52, HY *gün* M58, Muq---, Ph *gün* P124a. WM *gün* L391a. Kh *gün* H138b. Bur *gün* C165b. Brg *guŋ* U140. Kalm *gün* M149a (cf. adverb *güün-äär*), *gün* R139a, *gü:n* R140b. Dag *g^wə:n* E184. EYu---. MgrH *gom* J102a, *fuguæn* SM104, *fugon* X61, *gun* X105, *gu:n* T323, *go:n* C88:577. MgrM *guŋ* JL475, *gum* ~ *guŋ* C381. Bao *guŋ* P412a (see above). BaoJ *gum* L77. BaoÑ *gom* CN96. Kgj *gun* S289b. Dgx *gun* B93, L117b. Mog---.

***gürü-** ‘to plait, braid’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV *gür*- L62:31. WM *görü*- L387b, *gürü*- L392b [in fact these are two readings of the same spelling]. Kh *göröx* H128b, *gürex* H139b. Chakhar *gorön* D188a. Ord *gürü*- M279a, *güri*- M278b. Bur *gürex*

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

***güreen** ‘name of certain muscles, tendons, or veins’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *gürü:n sudusun* [*gürö:n?*] P172b ‘jugular vein’. WM *güree(n)* L392a. Kh *güree(n)* H139b ‘the area of the neck below and in front of the ears’. Ord *güre:* M278a ‘the sides of the neck’. Bur *güröö* C166a ‘carotid (artery)’. Kalm *gürä* M149 ‘vein’, *güre:n sudäsn* R139b ‘jugular vein’ (**sudasun*). Dag *gur’e:* *s^wadal* E83:68a ‘neck artery’, *gurə s^wadal* S309 ‘jugular vein’ (**sudal*). EYu *güre:n* BJ328 ‘the sides of the neck’, *güre:n xda:sən* S309 ‘jugular vein’ (**sudasun*). Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***gürü** (?**kürü*) ‘stone’. The *g-* is found in some central languages. MMo in Phagspa script, as well as Mog suggest *k-*. Initial *k-* can also be read in the sources in Arabic script, and also in SH *guru*, because words with *kü-* are often written with characters denoting *gu*. Cf. **čilaun* ‘stone’.

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

- H -

***haaga** ‘bran’.

MMo---. WM *aya* L12b. Kh *aaga* H1b. Ord *a:ğ* M6b. Bur *aagahan* C16b ‘crushed oatmeal; (Tunka dial.) roasted flour’. Dag *xa:γə* E96 ‘bran; roasted oatmeal’.

***haakaï** and ***haaljīn** ‘spider’. The Bur and Mgr forms could perhaps represent a pair of PM variants **habakaï* ~ **haakaï* from earlier **pabakaï* ~ **papakaï* (for a similar pair of variants see **hibee-*). The last syllable *-kaï* may be the same element which is found in **nokaï*, **gakaï*, etc. The form **haaljīn* may be the same root with a different formans also found in animal and plant names.

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

***haaljīn**: MMo SH---, HY *ha:ljin* H59, Muq---. WM *ayalja(n)*, *ayalji(n)* L12b. Kh *aalz(an)* H2b. Ord *a:lja* M15a. Bur *aalza* C17a, *abaalzay* (Sel.) C19a. Kalm *araljn* (sic, ?=) M46b.

***hača** ‘fork, bifurcation’. The EYu *h-* could have been triggered by the following strong consonant; it is however supported by Dagur. Ligeti mentions Tajik *hačča*; cf. also Azeri *hača* ‘forked branch’.

MMo---. WM *ača* L7a. Kh *ac* H37b. Ord *ača* M34b. Bur *asa* C62b. Kalm *ac* M58a. Dag *xač* E104. EYu *hača* (?=) BJ330 ‘rope for tying cows’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. MogM *ača* L68, No. 82 ‘(two times three) poles serving to support the tent (in front and back)’.

***hačī** ‘grandson; nephew/niece’. Related to CT **atī* ‘grandson’, which in fact may have been **hatī*.

MMo SH---, HY *hači kō’ün* M59, *ači* HY34, Muq---. WM *ači* L8a. Kh *ač* H38a. Bur *aša* C67. Kalm *ač* M58b. Dag---. EYu *hačəkon* B55 ‘niece’ (see **ōkin*), *hačəkiin* B55 ‘nephew’ (see **kōbeün*). MgrH *ači sunzə* SM15, *a:čə* X2. Bao---. Dgx *hači* B65, *hači* T140 ‘nephew’. Mog---.

***hadku-** ‘to grab, to hold in the hand’. There is also a noun ‘handful’ with the same phonetic shape.

MMo SH *hatqu-* H75, *atqu-* H10, HY---, Muq---. WM *adqu-* L12a. Kh *atgax* H35b. Bur *adxaxa* C33a. Kalm *atxx* M56a. Dag *xatk^w* E103 ‘handful’, *xatɔ:k^w* (sic) Z92b. EYu *adqə-m* BJ320. MgrH---. MgrM *atkò* P412b ‘handful’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***halagan** ‘palm of the hand’. The modern forms are not unanimous. Bur-Kalm suggest **aligan*, Kh **alaga*; EYu **halagan*; Mgr and Dgx **halga*. Mog **alakai* with remodeled ending. The Bao forms have surprisingly become identical to the forms of CM **heligen* ‘liver’. LV *halaqa* P76 (ms. *šalaqa*) is translated ‘hand’, but the ms. form is also reminiscent of **salaa*.

MMo SH *halaqan* H74, HY *halaqan* M59, Muq *alaqan* P97b, LV (see above), IV---. WM *alaya(n)* L26b. Kh *alga* H15a, Chakhar *alāğ* D170a. Ord *alaga* M11b. Bur *al’ga(n)* C46a. Brg *alag* U6. Kalm *al’xn* M39a. Dag *xaləy* E100, Z91b. EYu *halğan* B55, *halağan* J93a. MgrH *xalğa* J93a, X68, *χarğa* SM161, *χalğa* T372, *alğa* X5, *arğa* SM13; MgrM *xarğa* J88, *gar qarğa* (sic) C377 (+ **gar*), *gar qarğa* DS241. BaoD *χar həlgə* (?=) BL81b. BaoÑ *helge* (?=) CN67. Kgj---. Dgx *hanğa* B64. Mog *olaqei* R35b.

***haluka** ‘(small) hammer’.

MMo IM *haluya* [emended, vocalised *hulya*] P437b, RH *aluqa* 204C8. WM *aluqa(n)* L34a. Kh *alx(an)* H18b. Ord *aluğa ~ aluxu* M18a. Bur *alxa* C45a. Brg *alx* U6. Kalm *alx* M37b. Dag *xalluy^w* E102, *xalləy^w* Z91b. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *aluqa* R22b, W---.

***hamu-** ‘to rest’. Cf. the caus. **hamuul-* below. Also compare **hamura-*, although the development of **h* is different in that word, making the relationship between the two uncertain.

MMo SH *amu-* H7, HY *amu-* M35, Muq *amu-* P101b, LV *amu-* P1257. WM *amu-* L40a. Kh *amax* H21a. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *hambu-* (?=) B55 ‘to go out (fire)’, *hamə-* J75 ‘to go out (fire)’, *haməs gə-* J41 (converbium momentanei + **ki-*) ‘to rest’. Mgr---.

***hamuul-** ‘to put to rest, etc’. The caus. of **hamu-* above. The MgrH form may also represent **hamul-*, the transitive counterpart of **hamura-*. For the semantic development in EYu-MgrH cf. **untara-* ‘to lie down > to go out’.

MMo SH *amu’ul-* H7, HY---, Muq *amu’ul-* P102a, *amu:l-* P102a, Ph *amu’ul-* P119b. WM *amuyul-* L40a. Kh *amuulax* LC 1:95a. Ord---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *hambu:l-* B55 ‘to extinguish, put out’, *χamu:l-* J16 ‘id’. MgrH *xamuli-* SM153, *xambulə-* X69 ‘to extinguish, put out’. Remaining lgs---.

***hamura-** ‘to rest’. The *h-* is only found in Shirongol, but cannot be explained as a secondary development, at least no mechanism is known in the absence of strong consonants. Some of the Shirongol forms suggest an older form **hambura-*. The relationship with **hamu-* above is not clear; **hamura-* looks like an intransitive formation in *-rA* derived from **hamu-*, but in EYu the latter appears with *h-*. The related adjective also has vocalic onset in MMo Muq *amur* P102a, Dag *amər* E11, EYu *amər* B5, J93a (MgrH *xamur* L173 is contradicted by *amar* J93b).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *amura-* L40b, *amara-* L36a. Kh *amrax* H22a. Ord *amara-* M19b. Bur *amarxa* C48a. Kalm *amrx* M42a. Dag *amər-* E11, Z91b. EYu *aməra-* B5, *amura-* J93a. MgrH *xambura:-* J93b, X69, *χamura:-* SM154. MgrM *xanbura-* JL467. BaoD *hamar-* BL81b. BaoÑ *hamara-* CN65. Kgj *hambəra-* S286b. Dgx *hamara-* B65, *hamura-* L109b, T139. Mog---.

***haŋga-** ~ ***haŋka-** ‘to be thirsty’. Cf. **umdaas-* elsewhere.

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

***hanī-** and ***hanīi-** ‘to close one’s eyes’ (slight semantic differences are indicated in languages that have both forms). Bökh derives Dgx *xami-* from the synonymous **kamki-* (cf. EYu *χamḡə-* 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 *anʷ-* U2, *ani:-* U2. Kalm *ān ʷ* M68a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *xanə-* J93a, *χani-* SM156. MgrM *xani-* JL476. BaoD *hani-* BL81b. BaoJ *hon-* L81. BaoÑ *hani-* CN64. Kgj *hani-* S286a. Dgx *xani-* T139, *xami-* (?=) B57, L109b. Mog---.

***haniska** ‘eyebrow; eyelash’. Derived from **hanī-* above. Bur *nidxe* may be an altered form of this, perhaps influenced by **nidün* ‘eye’. Cf. also the problematic MgrH *senasḡa* SM344 ‘eyelashes’, MgrM *naosḡa* 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 *anʷsga* H27b ‘eyelid’. Ord---. Bur *nidxe* (?=) C326a ‘eyebrows’. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *χanasḡa* SM155 ‘eyebrows’, *xanəsḡa* J103b ‘eyelashes’. MgrM *xanisḡa* DS221, *xaniská* P411b ‘eyebrow’, *hanisḡa* Z331:256, 258 ‘eyebrow; eyelash’. BaoD *χamsəḡ* (?=) BL90b ‘eyelashes’. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***harban** ‘ten’. Perhaps **ha* + *-rban* or **har* + *-ban* in view of the similar structure of **gurban* ‘three’ and **dörben* ‘four’.

MMo SH *harban* H75, HY *harban* M60, Muq *harban* P181b, LV *harban* P75, IV *harba:n* L62:31. WM *arba(n)* L49b. Kh *arav* (*arvan*) H28a. Ord *arwa* M31b. Bur *arba(n)* C56a. Brg *araß* (*arbaŋ*) U15/16. Kalm *arvn* M48a. Dag *xarəb* E105, Z91b, *xarbən* E106. EYü *harβan* B55, J94a. MgrH *xaran* J94a, X71, *χaran* T374, *xarvan* J79, *χarwan* SM165, *xarvan* X73. MgrM *xarbaŋ* JL476. BaoD *harwaŋ* BL82b, *harən* (in compounds) BL35. BaoÑ *harwaŋ* CN66, *hawraŋ* CN67, *harən* (in compounds) CN66. BaoX *xabraŋ* BC74. Kgj *harɔ* S286b. Dgx *haron* L110a, B65 [the ‘variant’ *haruan* B65 represents the same pronunciation]. Mog *arbo:n* R23a ‘ten; several; some’, MogMr *arbo:n* L62:32 ‘ten’, MogM ‘ten kran coin’.

***hargal, *hargasun** ‘dung; dried cow dung (used as fuel)’. The MMo form *haryaul* also has equivalents in central Mongolic. Agricultural term related to CT **hark* ‘dung’. Cf. **baasun*, **komaul*, **korgasun*, **öteg* (?), **jundaul*.

MMo SH *harqasun* H177 (in a name), HY---, Muq *haryal* P182a, *haryaul* P182a, LV---, IV---. WM *aryal* L52a, *aryasu(n)* L52b. Kh *argal* H30a. Ord *arǵal* M28a. Bur *argal* C57b, *argaha(n)* (western) C58a, *argaahan* (Al., Barg.) C57a. Brg *argal* U16. Kalm *arysn* M49a. Dag *xaryəl* E106. EYü *harǵal* B55, J94a. MgrH *xarǵal* X72, *χarǵar* SM161; MgrM *xarǵar* J88, *qaǵər* DS218b. BaoD *χalǵar* BL19, *χalǵər* BL62. BaoÑ *hargal* CN66, *halǵar* CN65. Kgj *halǵa* S286a. Dgx *hanǵa* B64, *haǵa* B65, *hanya* L28. Mog---.

***hasag-** ~ ***hasagu-** ~ ***hasau-**, etc ‘to ask’. On account of the variants and their distribution in the old and modern languages, it is difficult to arrive at a single ancestral form. Several languages feature more than one of the variants. Apart from the number of syllables and the treatment of **-g-*, the development of **h-* also varies from the earliest sources. The forms in the peripheral languages represent several old forms. Dag goes back to **hasau-*. MgrH suggests an earlier form **asaga-*, perhaps **hasaga-*. MgrM suggests **asag-* or **arsag-*. The Bao forms go back to **asaga-* ~ **asag-*. Dgx could go back to **asag-*, but is also reminiscent of the short SH form *hasa-*. Mog goes back to **asug-*. For a similar set of early variants cf. **kulag-* ‘to steal’. If the **h-* is correct and the *-r-* in MgrM is original, the PM form may have been **parsag-*. The *-u* of some of the forms may stem from the connective vowel. Cf. **sura-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *hasa-* H75, *hasah-* H75, *asah-* H9, *asa’u-* H9, HY *asaq-* M37, Muq *asaq-* P106b, *asayu-* P106b, *asqa-* P107a, LV---, IV *hasaq-* L62:32. WM *asayu-* L55b. Kh *asuux* H35a, *asgax* (lit) H34a. Ord *asu:-* M33a. Bur *asuuxa* (sic, ←Kh) C63b. Kalm-?- . Dag *xasɔ:-* E102, Z91b. EYü---. MgrH *sǵa-* J94a, X141, *sǵə-* J80, *sǵa-* X145. MgrM *arsrǵ-* C384, *ərsǵ-* DS231a. BaoD *asǵə-* BL81b. BaoÑ *asaχ-* CN7, *asχa-* CN8. Kgj *asiǵ-* ~ *asǵi-* S278b. Dgx *asa-* B5, L109b. Mog *asuq-* (present *asuyuna*) R23a.

***haul-** ‘to run’. Note the distribution: **haul-* occurs in MMo, Dag, Mog, and Shirongol, but not in the central languages. EYü *hi:l-* S303 is a better match for CM

**heil-* ‘to leave’. In most other QG languages **au* has become *o* or *u*. Cf. **güi-* ‘to run’.

MMo SH *ha’ul-* H75, *hao’ul-* H74, HY---, Muq---, IV---; WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *xaul-* E97 (‘of animals’). EYu---. MgrH *xau:lə-* J82, *χu:li-* SM180. MgrM *xurli-* (?=) DS225a ‘to gallop’, *xolgo-* (caus.) P412a ‘to race (horses)’. BaoD *χolə-* BL89a, *hol-* BL40. BaoÑ *χəl-* CN72. BaoX *xolə-* BC65. Kgj *hər-* ~ *hur-* S286b. Dgx *xolu-* B59, L117a, T139. Mog *öul-* R36a ‘to walk’.

***haur** ‘air; steam; anger’. Within Mongolic, the modern evidence for **h-* is restricted to Baoanic, but loanwords in Turkic, such as NUyg *hor* ‘steam’, suggest that this word has also occurred with *h-* outside the QG region. The Baoanic languages also share the development of **au* > *o* in this word.

MMo SH *a’ur* H10 ‘air; anger’, HY *a’ur* M37 ‘air’, Muq *ha’ur* P270a, *hu:r-* P189a, *a’ur* P108a. WM *ayur* L17b. Kh *uur* H556b/557a. Bur *uur* C481a ‘anger’. Kalm *ur* M534b ‘steam; anger’. Dag *aur* E4/5 ‘steam; anger’. EYu *u:r* B19 ‘steam; anger’, J93b ‘steam’. MgrH *au:r* J93b, *u:r* J77 ‘steam’. MgrM *wər* DS208b (s.v. breath), DS204b ‘anger’, *orla-* JL481 ‘to get angry’. BaoD *χor* BL81b ‘steam’, *hor* BL20 ‘anger’. BaoÑ---. BaoX *xor* BC71, *hər* CN86:224. Kgj *hər* S286b ‘air; anger’. Dgx *xo* B58 ‘air, steam; anger’, L109b. Mog---.

***hayag** ‘(double) handful’, also used as a classifier, as in Dgx *niə xəiya sauçu* ‘a broom’. A Shirongol word of unclear etymology. Perhaps this is a foreign word related to Western Yugur *haya* ‘palm of the hand’ with unconfirmed *h-* from CT **a:ya*. This leaves the -*g* in Mongghul unexplained; it may have been a recent addition, or it may have been lost in the other languages, which is expected in Dgx, and not unusual in MgrM and Kgj. If Mongolic it may be a derivation from **huya-* ‘to tie’, but this is not supported by the modern vocalism, and an unattested meaning ‘bundle’.

EYu---. MgrH *ayağ* X9, SM16, *χayağ* X70. MgrM *xaya* C377, DS227b. Bao---. Kgj *χaya* S285a. Dgx *xəiya* B58. Mog---.

?***heber** ‘horn’ see ***eber**

?***hebür** ‘bosom’ see ***ebür**

?***hebür** ‘sunny slope’ see ***ebür**

***heče-** ‘to become tired or emaciated’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *heče-* P182b, *eče-* P151a, LV *heče-* P74. WM *eče-* L291b. Kh *ecex* H866a. Ord *eči-* M250a. Bur *esexe* C777a. Kalm *ecx* M705b ‘to become thin’. Dag *xəč-* E111 ‘to lose weight’. EYu *χje:-* S273, *hče-ηgə*, *hče-ηki*: B62 ‘emaciated’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *həçə-* B66. L121b. Mog *ečā-* R27b.

***hedke-** (~ **heske-* ~ **hečke-*) ‘to cut’. The original form may have been **hejke-*, perhaps from PM **pejke-*. The form with -*s-* is the central Mongolic form (Brg *ətəg-* derives from this, in view of the Brg treatment of **geški-*, **auški* ‘lungs’). It is

impossible to tell from which variant Dag derives. Mog, EYu, and MgrH all stem from **hedke-*.

MMo SH *etke-* H47, HY *etke-* M55, Muq *hečke-* P182b, *ečke-* P151b, LV *hečke-* P74, RH *hetküme* 187C22 ‘a kind of vermicelli’. WM *eske-* L334b. Kh *esgex* H862a. Ord *eske-* M249a. Bur *esxexe* C776b. Brg *ətag-* U22. Kalm *işkx* M276a. Dag *xərk-* E112. EYu *hətgə-* B55, *hədge-* J94a. MgrH *dəge-* X195, J94b. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *etqā-* R27b, *idkλ-* W167b, *itkλ-* W168a, MogM *yétka-* L74:301.

***hee-** ‘to warm; to dry in the sun; to bake, roast’. Several of the peripheral forms were incorrectly analysed as loans from Chinese. Cf. **hebür* ‘sunny spot’. A form **heelbüri* (the origin of the *-l-* is unclear) seems to be the origin of EYu *xi:lβar* B113 ‘sunny spot’. Bur instead uses the etymologically unclear verb *igaaxa* C276a ‘to dry in the sun’, *yagaaxa* (western) C795a. However, it may be a deviant form of **hee-*, in view of the parallel case **kegesün* ‘spoke’, which also became back-vocalic in Buriat.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ege-* L296b, *egege-* L297b. Kh *eex* H868b. Ord *e:-* M227a. Bur-?- . Brg *narand ə:-* U58 (*narand* ‘in the sun’). Kalm *eex* M706b. Dag *še:-* T183. EYu *xi:-* B113, *hi:-* J94b. MgrH *xə:-* X73, J94a, T375, *xe:-* SM166, *še:-* C580. MgrM *šie-* DS218b. BaoD *hi-*, *həi-* BL82b, *he-* BL90b, *hə:-* T150. BaoÑ *he:-* CN67. Kgj *he-* 286b. Dgx *šie-* B110a, L75. Mog---.

***heere-** ‘to choke from crying, to have a fit of crying or a tantrum’.

MMo---. WM *egere-* L299a. Kh *eerex* H868b. Bur *eerexe* C781b. Kalm *eerx* M706b. Ord *e:re-* M243a. Dag *xə:r-* E83:77b. Remaining lgs---.

***heil-** ‘to part, to leave each other’.

MMo SH *heyil-* H76. WM *eyil-* L303b. Ord *i:l-* M381a ‘to run (for fear)’. Dag *xəil-* E108. EYu *hi:l-* S303 ‘to run’. Remaining lgs---.

***hekin** ‘head’. A rare disagreement between MgrH and MgrM concerning the development of *-k-*. The Dgx form, if indeed from the present etymon, also has *-č-*. Cf. **teriün* ‘head’, **tolagaï* ‘head’, **tariki* ‘brain’.

MMo SH *heki* H75 (SH *eki(n)* H43 ‘brain’), HY *heki* M60, Muq *hekin* P183a, LV *hekin* P77, IV---, RH *heki* 199A29. WM *eki(n)* L305b. Kh *ex(en)* H864a ‘beginning, etc’. Ord *ekin* M233 ‘first’, *iki:n* M381 (postp) ‘before’. Bur *exi(n)* C779a ‘beginning, etc’. Kalm *ekn* M694a ‘brain’. Dag *xəkʷ* E109, Z102b. EYu *şkan* B110 ‘at first, originally; top, peak’. MgrH *χəgi* SM166 ‘source, beginning’, *xgə* X83. MgrM (*golni*) *işči* P411a ‘upper course (of a river)’. Bao---. Dgx *əćin* (?=) S531 ‘top, summit’, *oćin* (sic) MC308a ‘high point; top, peak, highest summit’, *ula ćin* MC403b ‘mountain top’ (cf. **aula*). Mog *ekin* R27b. *ekin*, *əkin* W164b, *ikin*, *iki* W167b.

***heli-** ‘to float; to soar’. Note the peculiar distribution. Chen Naixiong and Bökh compared the Bao and Dgx forms to CM **kalī-* ‘to float’ (not listed), which survives in the central languages, but this correspondence is phonetically unlikely.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ele-* Ceval 875b.. Kh *ellex* H840a ‘to soar, hover, skim over; to float in midair’. Ord---. Bur *elixe* C762b ‘to soar’. Kalm *elx*

M697b ‘to soar’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *he:lə*- CN67 ‘to float’. Kgj---. Dgx *həlie*- B66 ‘to float’. Mog---.

***helie** name for various birds of prey, usually ‘kite’. Possibly originally the nomen imperfecti of **heli-* above. Cf. also MMo Muq *ele*: P164a, RH *eliye* 198A6, MgrH *ile*: X12 ‘demon’, which may be a semantic development of the same stem.

MMo SH---, HY *hele’e* M60, Muq *el[e:]s* P288a, LV *hele*: P76. WM *eliye* L310a. Kh *elee* H840b ‘kite’. Chakhar *əʎə*: D169a. Ord *éle*: M236b. Bur *elyee* C761b ‘black kite’. Kalm *elä* M695a ‘black kite’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ile*: J94b. MgrM *xəliulu* (?=) DS219a/228a ‘eagle; hawk’. BaoD *heluŋ* BL82b. BaoÑ *he:lə* CN67. Kgj---. Dgx *həlie* B66, *hərliə* MC157a, *həliəwu* MC156a. Mog---.

***heligen** ‘liver’. Note the *-k-* in both Kalm and Mog. In Bao seemingly merged with **halagan* ‘palm of the hand’.

MMo SH *helige(n)* H75, *elige* H43, HY *heligen* M60, Muq *eligen* P52a, LV *helegen* P76, *helege* P77, IV---. WM *elige* L309b. Kh *eleg (elgen)* H839a. Ord *elege* M238a. Bur *el’ge(n)* C764a. Kalm *elkn* M697a. Dag *xələŋ* E110 also ‘purple’. EYu *heleyen* B56, *heleye* J94a. MgrH *χaliege* SM152, *χalige*, *χelige* T375, *xalgə* X68, *xelge* J84b. MgrM *xarge* JL476. BaoD *helgə* BL82a. BaoÑ *helge* CN67. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *elkan* R27b ‘liver’, *ilkan* W167b ‘heart’.

***herbeeki** ~ ***herbekei** ‘butterfly’. The MgrH form *χaliege* SM152 may be unrelated and be a corruption of CT **kelepi*, which has developed many irregular variants even within Turkic, cf. Western Yugur *kele^hge*, Salar *kegelex*. This word may contain the element *-kAi* also found in other animal names.

MMo SH---, HY *herbegei* M60, Muq *herbekei* (or *herbe:kei*) P184a. WM *erbegekei* L319a, *erbekei* L319b. Kh *erveexiy* H849b. Bur *erbeexey* C770b. Kalm *erväkä* M701b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *xerbuge* (only) L190, *xairbuğa* L163. MgrM *xərbigə* DS210a. Dgx *həbəği* ~ *həbuği* B66, *hənbəği* MC156a. Mog---.

***herekei** ‘thumb’. The EYu and Mgr forms are different formations but could derive from the same stem. Mgr may be from **hereke-bči* (properly ‘thumb covering’) as suggested by Mostaert. The EYu form may have the same origin, with metathesis. The Dagur form without the diphthong could perhaps be from Manchu *ferge/ferhe* (*x-* < Manchu *f-* is not unique). This word may contain the formans suffix *-kAi* also found in other body parts (see **bulčirkai* ‘gland’, **čimarkai* ‘temple’); in that case the PM root may have been **pere-* > **here-*.

MMo SH *heregai* H75, HY---, Muq---, LV *herekeyin* (gen.) P75, *erke* (?=) P1256 ‘finger’, RH *ereke.bči* 205A7 ‘thimble’. WM *erekei* L322a. Kh *erxiy* H856b. Ord *ereki*: M243a. Bur *erxi* C773a. Kalm *erkä* M703a. Dag *xərəŋ* E111. EYu *hermegčə* (?=) B57. MgrH *sgəčə xərə* (?=) X164. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hergi** ‘bank, shore’ see ***ergi**

***hergi-** ‘to turn, to move around’. The caus. **hergiül-* has developed differently from the stem in EYu *xorgü:l-* B51, and MgrH *furgulə-* X63, *xargulə-* X73.

MMo SH *hergi*- H75, HY---, Muq *hergi*- P184a. WM *ergi*- L323b. Kh *ergex* H851a. Ord *erge*- M244b. Bur *er'yexe* C775a. Kalm *ergx* M702a. Dag *xəry^y*- E112, cf. *əry^y*- E30 'to return'. EYu *hergə*- B78. MgrH *xergə*- X74, *xargə*- X72, *χergi*- SM167, *χargi*- T374. MgrM *xargx*- C377, *xərgə*- DS256b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *irgɿ*- W168a 'to spin'.

***herike** (?*herke) 'prayer beads'. If the disyllabic form existed early enough, the *h-* in the QG languages could have been triggered by the following *-k-*. However, the Dag form with *x-* independently suggests original **h-*. Enkhbat derives Dag *xərk* from Manchu, but this is unnecessary and indeed implausible in this case, since the Manchu form begins with a vowel. The etymology of Dag *əryis* E30 'pearl' is unknown. Although it looks like an extended form with *-sUn*, the stem differs from *xərk*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *erike* P163b, P239b, P292b 'necklace, tassel, beads'. WM *erike(n)* L328a. Kh *erx* H856b, *erxi* H856b, *erix* H852b. Ord *ereke* M243a. Bur *erxi* C773a. Kalm *erkn* M703a. Dag *xərk* E112. EYu *herge* B57, J95a. MgrH *χarge* SM161, *χargə* X72. Bao---. Dgx---. MogM *erka* 'pearl, mother-of-pearl' L68, No. 106.

?*hesergü 'opposite' see *esergü

***hesi** 'handle, grip'. Within Mongolic, the **h-* in this word has survived in Bao-Kgj and Dag. Theoretically Dag could have borrowed the word from Manchu *fesin* 'id' (similar cases are known), but Tungusic would at least confirm the antiquity of the **h-*. The *h-* in QG could be secondary development due to the following strong consonant.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, Ibn Muhanna written *hesti*, *hisni* P438a, RH *hesi* 205A11. WM *esi* L334a, *isi* L416b. Kh *eš* H866b, *iš* H282b. Bur *eše* C780a. Kalm *iš* M275b. Dag *xəš* E111. EYu *šə* B105, J80. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoGt *heš* C121. BaoÑ---. BaoX *exə* BC61. Kgj *heši* S286b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***heür** 'nest; grave'. The Shirongol forms seemingly derive from a form **hö:r* (?< **höer* ?< **hüer*). Khasbaatar connects *fo:r* in the meaning 'grave' to WM *kegür*, which is unnecessary in view of the MMo forms.

MMo SH---, HY *he'üt* (pl) M60, Muq *hü'ür* [P: *hu'ur*] P188a 'grave', *he'ür*- [P: *ha'u:r*] P182a 'grave', *e'ür* P168b 'nest', LV---, IV---. WM *egür* L301b. Kh *üür* H583b 'nest', but cf. Kh *xirgis-üür* H635b 'ancient grave mound' (lit. 'Kirghiz grave'). Bur *üür* C517a 'nest'. Kalm *ür* M553a. Dag *xəur* E108 'nest'. EYu---. MgrH *fo:r* J94b 'nest', SM100 'nest, grave', X59 'nest; lair, den; cave; grave'. MgrM *xor* JL476 'nest', *xuar* C376 'grave', *quar* ~ *hur* (sic) Z315:92 'grave'. BaoD *hor* BL82b. BaoÑ *hør* CN69. Kgj *hør* S286b 'nest, lair'. Dgx *xo* B58, L110a. Mog---.

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

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

?*hibčau ‘narrow, tight’. see *ibčau.

*hīlua ‘fly’. Most modern forms developed from an assimilated *hīlaa, but Ordos from *hīlo: < *hīloa. Bur-Kalm are from an extended form *īlaa-sun (cf. Kmg *ila:xun* Janhunen 91, but *ila*: Köhalmi 191). Cf. *sīmaul, *sona.

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

*hīra (?) ‘bottom part, underside’. This form suggested by the Baoanic languages. Perhaps related to the MMo form in spite of the absence of *h-* in that form. This word could be related to *hīraur ‘bottom’. The connection between the SH and modern forms was proposed by Bökh. The *-b* of BaoÑ *íirab* is inexplicable. The Kgj form with *χ-* (instead of *h-*) is also unexpected.

MMo SH *irada* H82 (?=) ‘downstream’, HY---, Muq---. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD *śira* BL92a ‘underside’, *śira-či* BL84b ‘downwards’, *śira-gu* BL79 ‘the one below’. BaoÑ *íirab* (?=) CN158 ‘foundation, base’. BaoX *íira* BC69 ‘bottom part; under’. Kgj *χara* S285b ‘underside’, *χarənda* ~ *χanda* S285a ‘lower part; lower reaches of river’, *ude χanda* S119, S308 (lit. ‘above below’, see *ōede) ‘about, approximately’. Dgx *śira* B126 ‘bottom part; under’. Mog---.

*hīruar ~ *hīraur ‘bottom, base, ground’. The evidence for the precise original form is conflicting. Both *au and *ua are already represented in MMo. *hīra above may support *hīraur as the original variant. The forms with *-l* are due to dissimilation. Kh *yoroal*, the Ord and Kalm forms, as well as Dgx, developed from *hīruar > *hīroar > *hīro:r. EYu *hru:r* could have developed from either *hīro:r < *hīruar or *hīru:r < *hīraur. Kh-Bur *oyoor* looks like another irregular development from an earlier *yoroar. The somewhat similar Dagur form with *-γ-* is also unexpected.

MMo SH *hiru’ar*, *hira’ur* H76, HY *hiru’ar* M60, Muq *hiru’ar* P185b, *hiro:r* [ʔhiru:r] P185b, *hira:r* P135a, LV---, IV---. WM *iruyar* [ʔ= iroyar] L415a, *iruyal* [ʔ=iroyal] L415a. Kh *yoroal* H205b, *yoroar* H205b, *oyoor* H388b. Ord *iro:l* M387b. Bur *oyoor* C350. Brg *γyɔ:r* U33. Kalm *yoral* M280a. Dag *xiγɔ:r* E114, *šiγɔ:r* E134. EYu *hru:r* B62, *horu:l* S740. Mgr---. BaoGt *holər* C140. Kgj *hulur* ~ *hurlu* S286b. Dgx *śiro* B126. Mog---.

*hīutan (~ *huītan) ‘narrow, tight’. The more common form with *ui survives in NM, Mog, EYu, MgrM, Bao, and Dgx. The MMo form *hīutan survives in Dag. In MgrH both variants seem to be represented. The Dag forms are the result of a kind of palatal breaking, which caused the *a of the second syllable to be inserted between the diphthong elements of the first. The *h- survives in Dag and MgrM, but was strikingly lost in the other QG languages. Perhaps related to *hibčau above?

MMo SH---, HY *hi’utan* M60, Muq *uitan* P362b, IV *hiyutan* (?=) L62:32 ‘darkness’. WM *uyitan* L867a. Kh *uytan* H542a. Ord *uitan* M727b. Bur *uytan*

C465b. Kalm *uut'xn* M542b. Dag *x^yaut* E131, NK558b, *šaut* NK519a. EYu *ūtan* B22. MgrH *yu:tæn*, *yu:tan* SM495, *wi:tæn*, *wi:tan* SM484. MgrM *xuitaŋ* JL469, cf. *φuitaŋ* C396 ‘poor’. BaoD *itaŋ* BL3. BaoÑ---. Kgj *uitə* S280a. Dgx *uitaŋ* B18. Mog *itān* W168a, MogMr *itv:n*, MogM *itv̄*: L64:38.

***hibee-** (~ ***ihee-**) ‘to protect, defend, to help’. One of the rare words with intervocalic *-h-* in MMo. In spite of the different forms this seems to be a single etymon. The PM forms may have been **pibee-* ~ **pipee-*, which resulted in CM variants **hibee-* ~ **hihee-*. The latter was then dissimilated > **ihee-*. The regular modern form of the variant **pipee-* > **hihee-* would have been **hiee-*, which is not actually attested (and in fact this vowel sequence is not otherwise known).

MMo SH *ihe'e-*, *ihe:-* H81, HY *ihe:-* M62, Muq *hibe:-* P347b, cf. ‘Phags-pa *ihe'en* 124b ‘protection’. WM *ibege-* L396b, precl. also *igege-* T412. Kh *iveex* H268b. Ord *iwēge:-* (← WM) M390a ‘traiter avec bonté’. Bur-?- Kalm *ivāx* (obs) M262a. Remaining lgs---.

***hiče-** ‘to be ashamed’ Dgx *ɣ-* instead of expected *ś-*. Sino-Mongolian and the QG languages support the reconstruction **hiče-*. The form **hiči-* suggested by one of the Muq forms and one WM spelling is supported by the central languages (because of the development of the preceding **-č-*). Dag *xič-* could be from either form.

MMo SH *hice-* H76, HY *hiče-* M60, Muq *hiči-* P184b, *iči-* P194a, *iče-* P194a. WM *iče-* L397b, *iči-* L398a. Kh *ičix* H282b. Ord *éči-* M250a. Bur *ešexe* C780b. Kalm *ičx* M275b. Dag *xič-* E115, *šič-* Z93b. EYu *hče-* B62, *hije-* J95b. MgrH *śje:-* J95a, X159, *ɣje:-* X169. MgrM *śje-* JL462. BaoD *žiə-* BL83a. BaoÑ *ɣje-* CN152. Kgj *šji-* ~ *hji-* ~ *ji-* S296a. Dgx *ɣižə-* B131, L111a, *šijə-* T143, *ɣižə-* ~ *ɣzə-* BC85:45. Mog---.

hičesün** (?hičöesün**) ‘willow’. The MMo forms could be read with long vowels. The vowel length in EYu and MgrH could be secondary, but on the other hand they are supported here by the Bur form. The unconfirmed *-r-* in EYu may be secondary. Monguoric, Kh and Bur suggest the presence of a rounded element. In view of the *-č-* and *-š-*, respectively, Kh and Bur are compatible with the form **(h)öčiesün* suggested by the WM spelling. However, this spelling, which I have not seen elsewhere, may have been introduced after ‘prebreaking’ **(h)ičöesün* > **(h)öčöesün* had taken place. The semantic generalisation ‘willow’ > ‘tree’ in MgrH and Kgj has also occurred in Salar *dal* ‘tree’.

MMo SH---, HY *hičesün* M60, Muq *ičesün* P194a, RH *ičesün* 202A20. WM *öčiyesün* LC49a ‘poplar’. Kh *öčöös* LC49a ‘poplar’. Bur *üšööhe(n)* C520b ‘purple willow’. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *hərči:sən* B56, *rči:sən* S666 ‘willow’. MgrH *śžo:sə* J102b, X166, *śüžo:zə* X158 ‘tree’. MgrM *śužuesi* DS260b ‘willow’. Bao---. Kgj *jasun* S302b ‘tree’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hildü** ‘sword’ see ***ildü** ~ ***üldü**

***hilidün** ‘tinea, ringworm (skin affliction)’.

MMo---. WM *ilidü(n)* L408a, *ilde* L403b. Kh *yüld* H869a. Ord *elede* ~ *eleji* (?=) M235b. Bur *eldin* C761a, *el'den* C764b. Brg *yuld* U224. Kalm *ildn* M268a. Dag *xild* E115. Remaining lgs---.

***hileü** ‘superfluous, etc.’ see ***hüleü**

***hinie-** ‘to laugh’. The ***h-** in the reconstruction is supported by Dag and the QG languages, but is absent in all attested old forms. The geminate in Mog probably reflects an earlier ***iñe-**, with the metathesis also seen in ***kania-** ‘to cough’, ***ünien** ‘cow’.

MMo SH *ine'e-*, *ine:-* H82, HY *ine'e-* M63, Muq *ine:-* P196b, LV *ine:-* P1263. WM *iniye-*, *inige-* L411b, *inege-* L411a. Kh *ineex* H277b. Ord *ene:-* M240a, *ine:-* M386a. Bur *enyeexe* C768a. Brg *in'ə:-* U26. Kalm *inäx* M270a. Dag *xinä:d-* (reformed on the basis of *xinä:d* ‘joke’) E113. EYu *ni:-* B28, J94b. MgrH *šine-* J95b. MgrM *šini-* JL472. BaoD *šine-* BL83b. BaoGm *šine-* CN86:17, *šene-* CN86:302. BaoGt *šine-* C108, *šne-* CN86:17. BaoGm BaoÑ *šene-* CN86:302. BaoÑ *šine-* CN156. BaoX *ñe-* BC64. Kgj *šine-* S295a. Dgx *šinie-* B124. Mog *inna:-* R29b, *inΛ-* W167b.

***hir** ‘edge of a knife’, with several unexpected developments. The final vowel in Bur and the *e* in EYu are both irregular. In the Mongghul form both the loss of the ***h-** and the preservation of ***i** are unexpected. Elsewhere in Shirongol ***kituga aman**, lit. ‘knife mouth’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *irte* 187C14 ‘sharp’ from ***hir-tei** ‘having an edge’. WM *ir* L412b. Kh *ir* H277b, Chakhar *ir* D168a. Ord *i:r* M386a. Bur *eri* (sic) C771b. Brg *ir* U29b. Kalm *ir* M272a. Dag *xir* E115. EYu *her* J95a, [*qutağa'i:n*] *her* B65 (***kituga** ‘knife’). MgrH *ir* X14. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *sidu* (?=) B126 ‘sharp’ if from ***hir-tü**. Mog---.

***hiröe-** ‘to wish well, to bless’. With palatal breaking in the three central standard languages, but with ‘prebreaking’ (without *y-*) in Ordos. In EYu no *y-* was expected in view of the fact that ***i** was not in initial position. No breaking in Dagur, and in view of the *ś*, the rounding in MgrH was relatively recent, as it took place after the development ***h** > *ś* before *i*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hire:-* P185a, LV *hire-* (?), could possibly be read instead of *har-*, *habar-*, *habur-* proposed by Poppe and Saitô P75. WM *irüge-* (?*iröge-*) L415b ‘to wish well, etc’. Kh *yöröox* H202a. Ord *örö:-* M538b. Bur *yüröoxe* C782b, *üryeexe* C512a, *ürööxe* C513a. Brg *yurə:-* U224. Kalm *yöräx* M281b. Dag *xirə:-* E115 also ‘to curse’, *xiruə-* NK559b. EYu---. MgrH *šüro:-* X158, SM402. Remaining lgs---.

hiröer**/hiröel** ‘wish; prayer; curse’. From the verb ***hiröe-** above. The form with *-l* due to dissimilation.

MMo SH *hiru'er* H76 ‘prayer &c’, HY---, Muq *hire:r* P185b. WM *irügel* (?*irögel*) L415b, *irüger* (?*iröger*) L416a. Kh *yörööl* (written *yerööl*) H202a. Ord

örö:l M539a. Bur *yürööl* (written *yurööl*) C782b, *üryeel* C512a, *ürööl* C513a. Brg *yurə:l* U224. Kalm *yöräl* M281b. Dag *xirə:l* E115. EYu *hörö:r* B58.

***hodun** ‘star’. This word features various phonetic peculiarities in the modern languages. The secondary vowel length in MgrH and BaoÑ is in this case not found in EYu. The *-t-* in MgrM-Bao-Kgj (for which compare **modun*) is unexplained. These two developments can not be used to emend the CM reconstruction. Perhaps most striking is the EYu *p-*, which may be a relic from the PM period. Perhaps **hodun* contains the (collective?) suffix **-dUn*, so that the PM root may have been **po-*.

MMo SH *hodun* H76, HY *hodun* M60, Muq *hodun* P185b. WM *odu(n)* L600b. Kh *od(on)* H388a. Ord *udu* M722b. Bur *odo(n)* C350a. Brg *ɔd* U33. Kalm *odn* M393b. Dag *xɔd* E119, *xɔdɔ* NK561b, *χɔd* Z93b. EYu *hɔdɔ̃n* B57, *hodən* J95a, *pɔdən* BJ339, *podən* Z308:5. MgrH *fo:də* J95a, MgrM *xotu* J88. BaoD *hotuŋ* BL83a. BaoGt *hoti* C107. BaoJ *hotɿ* L82. BaoÑ *hə:taŋ* CN68, cf. *taŋ* in *anʒisəŋ taŋ* CN3 ‘triple star’, lit ‘plough star(s)’. Kgj *futɔ ~ hutɔ ~ ɸutɔ* S285a. Dgx *xoduŋ* B60, L111a, *xodun* T139. Mog---.

***hogtal-** ‘to cut, harvest; to fell’. Note the Bur-Kalm form which lost the preconsonantal **-g-*. Could the Kalm form with *u-* be due to the influence of *utx* ‘knife’? The **h-* is not confirmed in the modern languages. Like the EYu *q-*, the *h*, *h*, *ɣ* in the Shirongol forms may only reflect the CM **-g-*; at an rate they may merely be the last remnant of the devoiced syllable without specifically preserving **h-*. The *-l* is the transitive suffix. There are also an intransitive **hogtara-* and an intensive **hogtačir-*, as in MMo SH *hohtoci-* H76 ‘to cut, mince’.

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

***hoi** ‘forest’. Preserved in all of Shirongol, but lost in Dag, EYu and Mog.

MMo SH *hoi* H77, HY *hoi* M61, Muq---. WM *oi* L603b. Kh *oy* H388b. Bur *oy* C350a. Kalm *ö* (obs) M408a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *fui:* J95a, *fui* X59, *fi:* X59, *fe:* SM99, *xvi* X75, *fri* C88:34. MgrM *χoi* T369, *xuai* DS224a. BaoD *hi* BL81a ‘mountain’. BaoÑ *hi:* CN67 ‘forest’. BaoX *fi* CN86:229 ‘forest’. Kgj *he* S286b. Dgx *xoi* P416a. Mog---.

***hokar** ‘short’. The *h-* is not well represented in MMo, and the QG languages may have developed it under the influence of *-k-*, so that the Dag form is the only unambiguous basis for the reconstruction. The relationship between this word and central Mongolic **akur* ‘short’ is unclear. If it were not for the Muq form, they could be taken to represent original variants **hukar ~ *hakur*.

MMo SH *oqor* H122, HY *oqor* M81, Muq *oqar* P267a, *oyar* P262b, *oyor* P262b [also *aqar* P103b], LV *hoqar* P76, IV *hoqa* (sic) L62:32, [Ph *aqar* T137].

WM *oqor* L626a. Kh *oxor* H401b [and *axar* H36b]. Ord [*aχur* M9b]. Bur *oxor* C366a [and *axar* C65b]. Brg---. Kalm [*axrxn* M58a]. Dag *x^wakər* E134, Z93b. EYu *hğər* B59, *χoğor* J95a. MgrH *χğuar* J95a, *χğar* J55, *χuğuor* SM179, *χuğor* T376, *χoğur* X77, *χğor* X82. MgrM *qoğvar* (sic) C379, *χuğor* T376. BaoD *gor* BL83a. BaoGt *gor* C142. BaoÑ *ğor* CN88. BaoX *gor* BC62. Kgj *χər* ~ *χuar* S285b. Dgx *oqo* B13, L111a. Mog *uqar* R41a, *ɔqar* W175a.

***hon** ‘(the duration of a) year’. Cf. **jil* ‘(calendar) year’, **nasun* ‘year (of age)’. The Dagur vowel length is not confirmed elsewhere.

MMo SH *hon* H77, HY *hon* M61, Muq *hon* P185a, LV *hon* P77, IV *hon* L62:32, Ph *hon* P124b. WM *on* L611b. Kh *on* H393a. Ord *on* M511b. Bur *on* C355b. Kalm *on* (obs) M397a. Dag *xɔ:n* E115, *χɔ:n* Z105a, *χɔ:ŋ* Z93a. EYu *hɔn* B57, *hon* J95a. MgrH *fon* J95a, *fæn* SM98, *χuæn* SM174, *fan* X58, *fon* X59. MgrM *xuan* C376. BaoD *hoŋ* BL83b, *xoŋ* T149. BaoÑ *hoŋ* CN68. Kgj *hon* ~ *huŋ* S286b. Dgx *xoŋ* B59, *xuan* B61 (these two notations represent the same pronunciation). Mog---.

***horai** ‘crown of the head; top, summit’. The *-b-* in BaoÑ and the *-əu* (instead of *ai*) in Dgx are unexpected.

MMo SH [*horaitala* H77 q.v.], HY---, Muq *horai* P183b ‘fontanel, skull suture’, LV---, IV---, RH *horai* 198B14. WM *oroi* L621b. Kh *oroy* H397b. Ord *orö*: M522a. Bur *oroy* C361a. Kalm *ora* M400a. Dag *xər* E120 (?←Manchu). EYu *hərui* B57, *horoi* J6. MgrH *fure*: C86:574, *uri*: SM475, cf. *so:ri*: (sic) X136. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *həbrə* (?=) CN69. Kgj---. Dgx *fərəu* B51. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *urai* 1:8a.

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

MMo SH *horci-* H77 ‘to encircle; to turn (intr)’, HY---, Muq *horčī-* P186a ‘to turn, to go’, *orčī-* P269b ‘to turn, to go’, LV *horčī-* P75 ‘to turn (intr.)’. WM *orčī-* L616b. Kh *orčix* H400a ‘to turn around, revolve, rotate’. Ord---. Bur--- [*oršoxo* (lit) (?=) C365a ‘to enter, etc’ is from **orasī-*]. Kalm *orčī-* (rare) R290b ‘to turn (intr)’. Dag *xərč-* E123. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *oçira-* (?=) B15. Mog *orčī-* R35b ‘to go way, leave’, *orčī-* W175a ‘to go’, *určī-* W183a ‘to go’.

***horčīul-** ‘to turn (tr.)’. Caus. of **horčī-* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *horča’ul-* P186a, *horčī’ul-* P186b, *horčil-* P186a, *orča’ul-* P269b, *orčī’ul-* P270b, LV *horču:l-* P75 ‘to turn (tr.)’. WM *orčiyul-* L616b. Kh *orčuulax* H400b ‘to rotate; to translate’. Ord *orču:l-* M522b ‘to translate’. Bur *oršuulxa* C365a ‘to translate’. Kalm *orčulx* M406b ‘to translate’. Dag [*xurča:-* E131 could represent an alternative caus. **horčīa-*]. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *əčəl-* CN18. Kgj *əčə-* S280b. Dgx *oçulu-* B16. Mog *orču:l-* R35b.

***horgi-** ‘to boil, to bubble, to gush forth’. According to SM, MgrH *śjola-* ‘to boil’ is the same word as **horgil-* (inchoat. *orgila-??*), cf. Kh *orgilox* H396b. It seems that **bučal-* is a better etymology for the MgrH verb. Dgx *xorolo-* MC163b ‘for water to make a noise before boiling’ was probably newly formed from an onomatopoeic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *orgi-* L618a. Kh *orgix* H396b ‘to spurt, gush forth, etc’. Bur *or’yołxo* C365a. Kalm-?- . Dag---. EYu *hōrgə-* B57 ‘to boil’. MgrH (see remark above). Dgx (see above). Remaining lgs---.

***horgu-** ‘to flee’. Absent in Mog and the QG languages, perhaps apart from Mangghuer. Cf. **dutaa-* ‘id’ used in a number of other languages.

MMo SH *horqu-* H77, HY---, Muq *horyu-* P186b, *horyuul-* (caus) P186b, *oryu-* P265b, RH *horyodasun* 204A27 ‘fugitive’. WM *oryu-* L617b. Kh *orgox* H396b. Ord *urgu-* M739b. Bur *orgoxo* C359b. Kalm *oryx* M402a. Dag *xəɣʷ-* E122 ‘to hide (oneself)’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *xorgo-* (?=) P419b ‘to gallop’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hora:-qčī* P238b (nomen agentis). WM *oriya-* L618a, *oroja-* L621a. Kh *oroox* H398b. Ord *oro:-* M520a. Bur *oryooxo* C360a, *oroyxo* C361b. Kalm *orax* M401a. Dag---. EYu *horo:-* J95b, *xəɣ:-* B50. MgrH *furo:-* J95b, SM111, *χuro:-* SM185. MgrM *xoro-* JL475, *xoro-* in *aqar xoroku xulusi* P421b (s.v. cevka) ‘spool for a loom’. BaoD *χorə-* BL83b. BaoÑ *həɣə-* CN70. Kgj *huru-* S286b. Dgx *xoro-* B60, L111b, T139. Mog---.

?***höčügedür** ‘yesterday’ see ***öčügedür**

***hödün** ‘feather’. The MgrH vowel length is secondary. The striking EYu form with *p-* was retracted by the authors. This word may contain the (collective?) suffix *-dUn*, in which case a PM root **pə-* may be assumed. In Dagur an additional ending *-sUn* was added.

MMo SH *odun* H121, HY *ödün* M83, Muq *hödün* P327b, LV *ödün* P327b, IV *ödün* L62:60 ‘feather of an arrow’, RH *ödün* 205A4. WM *ödü(n)* L630a. Kh *öd(ön)* H406b. Ord *üdü* M748a. Bur *üde(n)* C494b. Kalm *ödn* M412b. Dag *xudus* E129, *χudusʷ* Z94a. EYu *hodən* B58, J96a, *pədən* B40 (BJ339 instructs the reader to strike this variant). MgrH *fo:də* J96b. MgrM---. BaoD *hotuŋ* BL84a. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *xoduŋ* B60, L112a. Mog---.

***höeljin** (**böeljin*, **höbeljin*, **böbeljin*) ‘hoopoe’. This word owes some of its many variant forms to its obviously onomatopoeic nature, and some to the interaction between spoken and written forms. Nevertheless, most forms could ultimately go back to a PM form **pöpeljin* (as suggested by Ramstedt in his Kalmuck dictionary). Independent attempts to reflect the hoopoe’s call are present in Dag *əpɔ:pi:* E38 ‘hoopoe’, Dgx *xuma* ‘bubu’ B64 ‘hoopoe’, and possibly Dgx *‘binbinči’* (?=) MC38 ‘name of a kind of bird’.

MMo SH---, HY---, ZY *ü:göljin Kara333 ‘hoopoe’, *hübü’elčin Kara272 ‘cormorant, heron’, Muq hö’öljin sara P186b ‘jumāda ’l-’āḥīr (6th lunar month)’, LV---, IV---, RH hö:ljin [eds read short ö] 200B8 ‘hoopoe’, cf. öheljin 201A12 ‘the third month of spring’, Ph---. WM öbeljin L627a, ögeljin L631b, böbegeljin L123b, bübegeljin/bübügeljin (so read) L143b. Kh bövöölj(in) H74a, büveeljin H88a, övöölj H403b, övgöljinö H402a. Ord ö:ljin M530b, ö:lji: sara ‘twelfth month (last winter month)’. Bur büböölžen C120a. Brg uβə:lʃ U47. Kalm ö:ljin, öwä:ljin R304b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH barbaržin SM20 ‘hoopoe’, barbalžin X46 ‘woodpecker’ (sic). Kgj bebəçi S284a.

höesün** (höersün**) ‘pus, matter’. The word is found in the central languages, MMo, Dagur, and Shirongol, but absent in EYu. However, the identification of the Monguoric forms and the MMo forms in Arabic script is not entirely certain, some may involve a connection with *usun ‘water’ or *üsün ‘milk’. Enkhbat compares Dag x^wə:s to WM kögesün ‘foam, froth etc’. Indeed Dag x^wə:s is also attested with this meaning, suggesting that *höesün and *köesün have merged phonetically in Dagur. Cf. *idee ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IM hö:sün (?hü:sün) P438a ‘sperm’, LV he:sün P74 ‘pus’, RH hö:sün (eds. read husun) 186c12 ‘semen’. WM ögesü(n) L632a. Kh öörs H415b. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag x^wə:s E135. EYu---. MgrH (Danma dialect) sun DS248b ‘semen’. MgrM soŋ DS248b ‘semen’. BaoD hosuŋ BL83b. BaoJ hosuŋ L82 ‘seminal fluid’. Kgj husun 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 xəg- B50, xog- B51, hog- J21. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD ekə- BL62. BaoJ sgə- L168. BaoGm iχ- CN86:227. Baoŋ yiχ- CN218. BaoX xgə- BC70, xgə- CN86:173. Kgj i- ~ iŋ- S279b. Dgx əği- B8, ağə- L68. Mog uggh- R41b; note Leech’s hug- ‘heat’ corrected in ‘beat’ by Ligeti.

***höŋkeri-** ‘to roll, tumble’. Apart from the absence in MMo well attested. The character of the final vowel is unclear. Mgr, MgrM, BaoÑ favour **höŋkere-*; Dgx suggests *-i*; BaoD and BaoX suggest a disyllabic form. The *h-* could be secondary in Shirongol, but it is confirmed by Dagur. The preconsonantal *-m-* suggested by some of the WM spellings is not confirmed anywhere in modern Mongolic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *ömkere-*, *ömkeri-*, *ömköri-* L635b, *öŋkeri-*, *öŋköri-* L639a. Kh *önxröx* H414a. Ord *öŋkörö-* M536b. Bur---. Brg *uŋkär-* U46. Kalm *öŋkr-* R297b. Dag *xunkir-* E83:95b, *xunkir-* NK563b. EYu---. MgrH *ŋguro:-* X42 ‘roll; lie down’. MgrM *xoŋgur-* C374, *xongur-* P424, *ŋangere-* T373. BaoD *xəŋgər-* T150 ‘to lie down’, *ŋgər-* T145 ‘to lie; to sleep’. BaoGt *hoŋgär-* C137. BaoÑ *həŋgəra-* CN68 ‘roll, tumble; trip’. BaoX *xoŋgar-* BC71. Kgj *həŋgəre-* ~ *həŋgəri-* S286b ‘to roll; to lie down’. Dgx *hoŋgieri-* B66 ‘to fall, tumble’, *xuŋguri-* T139 ‘to trip, stumble’. Mog---.

***hörüm** ‘drill, auger’. The Ord variant *öröm* would normally represent **hörem*; the other Ord form agrees with the high vowel in MgrH.

MMo SH---, HY---, ZY **hörüm* (Kara 298), Muq---, RH *erim* [eds. read thus] 204C14. WM *öröm* L644a. Kh *öröm* H418b. Ord *öröm* M539b, *ürüm* M764a. Bur *ürem* C514b. Kalm *örm* M424b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ŋarin* SM163. Remaining lgs---.

***hötü ~ *hödü** ‘larva, maggot; worm’. Several older forms must have existed, apparently none of them attested in older sources. The literary central languages suggest **ötün*. Dag suggests **hödü*. The Baoanic forms suggest **hödüg ~ *hötüg*. MgrH suggests **höd*. Róna-Tas proposes a Tibetan etymology for this word (cf. RT 1966, No. 142), while Khasbaatar suggests a relationship with **korakai*, Čenggeltei derives it from a Chinese *fēng(r)* ‘wasp’, which are all unlikely. MgrM may stem from **hötü* or **hötüg*. EYu, if the same word, supports the monosyllabic form of Mgr. Cf. also the Zirni and Kundur manuscripts.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ötü(n)* L646b. Kh *öt(ön)* H421a, cf. Chakhar *ot* D172b. Ord *ütü* M765a. Bur *üte(n)* C516a. Kalm *ötn* M427b. Dag *xud* E129, *χud^w* Z94a, surprisingly also *ut* (perhaps from central Mongolic) E47. EYu *hö:d* (?=) B331 ‘penis’, *öt* [only] S550 ‘maggot’. MgrH *fod* J96b, *far* X59, SM99 ‘maggot in meat’, *fod ~ for ~ far* C86:573 ‘fly’. MgrM *xotu* JL476. BaoD *hodəg* BL84b. BaoÑ *xətəg* CN158 ‘maggot in meat’. Kgj---. Dgx *xodəu* B59, L112b, T139. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *wöd* (21:7), Kundur manuscript *höd* (24-6a) ‘worm’.

***huǰaur ~ *hiǰaur** ‘root; origin, source’. Both variants can be found in old sources and in modern languages. It is not clear which is older. In Shirongol, Mongghul seems to have developed from **hiǰaur*, while BaoÑ is in agreement with **huǰaur* (although it lost the initial). See also **ündüsün* for the literal meaning ‘root’. Not to be confused with **hüǰüür* ‘tip, end’ and **učir* ‘cause, reason’.

MMo SH *huja’ur* H78, HY *huja’ur* M61, Muq *hija’ur* P184a, *uǰa’ur* P163a, LV (?) *huǰawur* P76, IV *huǰaur* L62:33, RH *huǰaur* 202A17, Ph *huja’ur* P124b. WM *iǰayur* L418b. Kh *uzuur* H541b, *yoזור* H203b, *yazguur* H875a. Ord *iǰo:r* M579b ‘bottom, base, etc’, *iǰu:r* M580a ‘origin, etc’, *uǰu:r* M724a ‘once upon a time’. Bur *uzuur* C464a ‘root etc’, *izaguur* (←WM) C276a ‘origin etc’. Kalm *yozur*

M280a. Dag *xəjɔ:r* E120. EYU---. MgrH *śʒau:r* J96a, *śʒiu:r* SM392. MgrM *zor* JL472, *zur* DS206a (**hüjüür* has developed the same shape). BaoD---. BaoÑ *əʒər* CN18 ‘root’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hula** (?**huula*) ‘tinder, etc’. Kh, Bur, and Dag suggest a long vowel; the *h-* is based on both Dagur and Monguoric. Cf. **kete*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ula* L868b. Kh *uul* H556a. Ord *ula* M728a. Bur *uula* C480b (translation misprinted *trup* for *trut* ‘tinder’), *ula* C465b. Brg *ɔ:l* U35. Kalm *ul* M530a. Dag *x^wa:l* E132 ‘tinder grass, punk’. EYU---. MgrH *fula* SM105, J5 ‘mugwort/artemisia’, *fula* X61 ‘Chinese mugwort; tinder’. MgrM *xola* [xɔuzi] C376. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hulaan** ‘red’.

MMo SH *hula'an* H78, HY *hula'an* M61, Muq *hula'an*, *hula:n* P187a, *ula:n* P363a, LV *hula:n* P76, *hulaan* 77, IV---. WM *ulayan* L869b. Kh *ulaan* H543a. Ord *ula:n* M729a. Bur *ulaan* C466a. Kalm *ulan* M530b. Dag *xula:n* E126. EYU *la:n* B88, J96a. MgrH *fula:n* SM105, J96b. MgrM *xulan* J88, *χulan* T370. BaoD *fulan* BL83b, *fəlan* T148. BaoÑ *fulan* CN55. BaoX *fəlan* BL65. Kgj *fulɔ* S285a. Dgx *xulan* B63, *xulan* L111a, T139, *fulan* (Longquan) B54. Mog *ulo:n* R41a.

***hulai-** ‘to become red’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hulai-* P187a, LV---, IV---. WM *ulayi-* L870a. Kh *ulayx* H543b. Bur *ulayxa* C467b. Kalm *ulax* M531a. Dag *x^wali:-* E134. EYU *lai-* BJ335. MgrH *fulie:-* SM105, *fule:-* X61. BaoD---. BaoÑ *fule:-* CN56. BaoX *fəli-* BL62. Kgj---. Dgx *xuli-* B63. Mog---.

***huliasun** ‘poplar, aspen’. In Dag both the *-r-* and the absence of *h-* are surprising. Cf. also Dag *xɔlurda:n* E119 ‘poplar’, which stems from a Northern Tungusic form **holo-gda:n*.

MMo SH---, HY---, ZY *huliasun* Kara 299, Muq---, LV---, IV---, RH *huliyasun* 202A21. WM *uliyasu(n)* L873a. Kh *ulias(an)* H544b. Ord *ula:su* M729b. Bur *ulyaaha(n)* C468b ‘aspen’ (& *ulyaangir* ‘poplar’). Kalm *ulasn* M531a. Dag *ɔ^le:rs* E38 ‘poplar’, *ɔ^le:s* Z10 ‘old poplar’. EYU---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *xulasun* B63, *xulasun* L111a ‘poplar’. Mog---.

***humba-** ‘to swim’. The *-p-* in Dagur may well be a relic from PM (cf. **elbeg* for a similar case). If this is the case, the earlier **p* may have triggered the appearance of *h-* in QG. However, the Dagur *x-* can not be explained away like this. The final long vowel in Dagur is inexplicable.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *unba-* [Poppe: *onba-*] P266b, LV---, IV---. WM *umba-* L874b, *ombo-* L610b. Kh *umbax* H546a. Ord---. Bur *umbaxa* C469a. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *xunpa:-* E124, *xumpa:-* E128, *xɔmpa:-* (sic) Z93a, *umpa:-* E83:220b. EYU *mba-* B96, *umba-* J95a. MgrH *xomba:-* X78, *xumba-* J96a. MgrM (*u*)*mba-* JL467, *umba-* T377, *muba-* DS254b. BaoD *mba-* BL83a. BaoÑ *mba:-* CN120. Dgx *unba-* B19, L111a, *funba-* (Longquan) B52. MogMr, MogM *umbr:-* L64:37.

***hunin** ‘smoke’. The distribution is interesting: **hunin* is attested in MMo, Bur, Dag, and the Shirongol languages, but absent in Kh, Kalm, and EYu. There is a related form **huniar*, which is found in the central languages, and may also be present in Dag *xɔn^ye:tɔ-* NK560a ‘to be covered in mist’ from **huniartu-*. Cf. **hutaa* ‘smoke’.

MMo SH *huni* H79, HY *hunin* M61, Muq *hunin* P187b, LV---, IV *hunin* L62:34. WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur *uni(n)* C470b. Kalm---. Dag *xɔn^y* E117, Z94a. EYu---. MgrH *fune* J96b, *funi* SM107; MgrM *xuni* J88, *χuni* T371. BaoD *fune* BL84b, *fənə* T149. BaoJ *honé* L81. BaoÑ *funəŋ* CN55, *hunəŋ* CN70. Kgj *funi* ~ *funi* S284b. Dgx *funi* L111a. Mog---.

***hunu-** ‘to ride on horseback; to mount’. The **h-* is confirmed by MMo, EYu, Mgr, Bao; it can presently not be explained as a secondary development. A rare case of disagreement between Bao and Dgx.

MMo SH *unɔ-* H165, HY---, Muq *unu-* P365a, LV *unu-* P1261, IV---. WM *unu-* L877b. Kh *unax* H546b. Ord *unu-* M736a. Bur *unaxa* C470a. Brg *on-* U37. Kalm *unx* M534b. Dag *ɔnu-* E37, *ɔnə-* Z93b. EYu *hɔnə-* B57, *hunə-* J95b. MgrH *funə-* J95b, *funi-* SM107, *foni-* SM100, *χoni-* SM183. MgrM *uni-* JL461, T371. BaoD *χonə-* BL83b. BaoÑ *hənə-* CN68. BaoX *xonə-* BC62. Kgj *une-* ~ *uni-* S280a. Dgx *unu-* B19, L111b. Mog *uni-* R41a.

***hunɣu-** ‘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 *hunyu-* L62:34. WM *ungya-* L876b. Kh *ungax* H547a. Ord *unɣu-* M736b. Bur *ungaxa* C470a. Brg *oŋg-* U38. Kalm *oŋɣx* M399a. Dag *xɔŋg^w-* E118. EYu *hɔŋgə-* B57, *həŋgə-* J95b. MgrH---. MgrM *xunɣu-* DS222. BaoD *hunɣə-* BL83a. BaoÑ *həŋgə-* CN68. Kgj *hunɣu-* S286b. Dgx *hunɣu-* B67. Mog *unɣu-* W134a, MogM *unɣu-* L62:34.

***hungusun** ‘fart’. From **hunɣu-* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *hunqusun* P76, IV---, RH *hunyasun* 199B4. WM *ungyasu(n)* L876b, *ungyusu(n)* L877a. Kh *ungas* H547a. Ord *unɣus(u)* M737a. Bur *ungaha(n)* C470a. Brg *oŋgɔ:* ~ *oŋgor* (sic) U38. Kalm *oŋyāsɳ* R287b. Dag *xɔŋgus* E118. EYu *hɔŋgəsən* B57. MgrH *ŋgəsə* J95b. MgrM *xunɣuzə* JL470, *xunɣusi* DS222. BaoD---. BaoÑ *həŋgəsəŋ* CN68. Kgj *hunɣusun* S286b. Dgx *hunɣusun* B67. Mog---.

huraka** (?hurika**) ‘lasso, noose, snare, trap’. In spite of the phonetic and semantic similarity to **uurga* ‘pole for catching horses’, these are different words.

MMo SH *huraqa-la-* H79, HY---, Muq *uruqa* P367b, *uruqu* (sic) P351a. WM *uraqa(n)* L880a, *uriqa(n)* L884a ‘net, snare for catching birds’. Kh *urxi(n)* H552b ‘net, snare for catching birds’. Ord *uraxa* M737b. Bur *ur'xa* C478a. Brg *orix* U41. Kalm *urx* M537b ‘lasso’. Dag *x^wark* E135, *wark* E335. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hurba-** ‘to turn (around) (intr)’. In Dag the verb is missing, but the adjectives *x^warpa*: E83:91, *xurpa*: E83:96b ‘with sore, everted eyes’, *x^warpəγər* E83:91 ‘sore, everted (of eyelids)’ derive from it, in which case the original form of the verb may have been **hurpa-* < PM **purpa-*. The adj. **hurba-gar* also occurs in Kh and Bur with similar meanings.

MMo SH *hurba-* H79, HY *hurba-* M61, Muq *hurba-* P187b, *urba-* P366a, LV---, IV---. WM *urba-* L880a. Kh *urvax* H550a. Ord *urwa-* M743a. Bur *urbaxa* C473b. Kalm *urvx* M535a ‘to betray; to change’. Dag (see above). EYu *hurβa-* J78, *harβa-* BJ330. MgrH *fura-*: X62. MgrM *xurba-* DS221 ‘to fall’. Bao---. Dgx *fura-* MC104a, *fura-*: Ibr75. Mog---.

hurbī** (?hurbai**) ‘sling (for hurling stones), slingshot’. A word limited to Shirongol. It is difficult to reduce all of the documented forms to a single reconstruction form. Kgj *χ-* normally stems from **k-*, not from **h-*. The MMo form with its additional syllable and lack of **h-* may be unrelated to. Although absent in EYu, it is found in Western Yugur as *horve* (~ *horeş*) L222b/223a. The ultimate origin of this word is unclear. Both the MMo and the Shirongol forms are reminiscent of Kipchak *orbu* ‘ballista’ in the Codex Cumanicus (80v:26-1). Also semantically similar, but impossible to connect phonetically, is Central Mongolic. **karbuur* (from **karbu-* ‘to shoot’): Kh *xarvuul* H619b ‘a device for shooting projectiles, ballista’, Bur *xarbuur*, *xarbuul* C554a ‘toy arrow’. Given that the word is present in Dgx, a loanword related to LT **ur-rdo*, Amdo **ur-ča* (Roerich 159) is less likely.

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

***huruu** ‘downward; downstream’. The palatal element in the Kalm and EYu forms seem to suggest an older **hurüu* or **hurui*. Cf. **dɔara*, **hira* (s.v. **hira*ur).

MMo SH *huru’u* H79, HY---, Muq *huru*: P188a, *uru*: P368b, LV---, IV---. WM *uruyu* L886a. Kh *uruu* H552a. Ord *uru*: M742a. Bur *uruu* C477b, *oruu* C363b. Brg *orv*: U42. Kalm *ürü* M555a. Dag *xərc*: E121, Z94b. EYu *horui* B58, *xorui* B51, *həru* BJ331, *hurü*: J95b, *hörü*: S221. MgrH *furu* SM112, *furə* J95b. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *furu* B55, T138. Mog---.

***huruul** ‘lip(s)’. Bur-Kalm suggest an older form **hurul* with short vowel. Dagur has short and long forms. The length in HY and Muq was assumed on the basis of Kh, but can not be proven from the respective MMo spellings, so that these MMo forms may represent the variant **hurul* of Bur-Kalm. EYu *hɔrəl* B57 ‘dimple’, *χo:lor* S422 ‘inside of the cheek’ is unlikely to be related; the WYu equivalent *halvīr* L219b also points to a different phonetic history of this word. Cf. **kosīun* ‘beak, snout’, and **kirbei* ‘edge’ which are now used for ‘lips’ in some languages.

MMo SH---, HY *huru:l* M61, Muq *huru:l* P188a, LV *huru:l* P75, IV *huru:l* L62:34, RH *hurul* [eds. read *hürül*] 198B28. WM *uruyul* L886a. Kh *uruul* H552b. Ord *uru:l* M742b. Bur *ural* C472a. Brg *oral* U41. Kalm *url* M536b. Dag *xəllə* E119, Z94b, *xərul* E122, *xərc:l* NK560b. EYu (see above). MgrH *uro:l* C88:570. MgrM---.

Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *furun* B55, *furəu*, *furu* MC104b. Mog *ulur* R41a, MogM *ulu'r*, MogMr *uru'l* L62:34.

***hutasun** ‘thread’. In EYü easily confused with forms of **sudasun* q.v. EYü-MgrH share secondary vowel length. A rare case of Baoan-type secondary *n*- in Kgj.

MMo SH---, HY *hudasun* M61, Muq *utasun* P370b, IbnMuh *hutasun* P438b, LV---, IV *hutasun* L62:34, RH *hutasun* [eds. read *huta:sun*] 205C2. WM *utasu(n)* L888b. Kh *utas (utsan)* H554b. Ord *utas(u)* M745a. Bur *utaha(n)* C480a. Brg *otō*: U40. Kalm *utcn* M540b. Dag---. EYü *sda:sən* B104, *hda:sən* J96a. MgrH *şda:sə* J96b, *sda:zə*, *şda:zə* T358. MgrM in *lumune utasī* P420b ‘bowstring’. BaoD *ndasun* BL83b. BaoGt *ndasun* C130. BaoÑ *şdasəŋ* CN149. Kgj *ndasun* ~ *dasun* S282b. Dgx *utasun* B22, *utasun* L111a. Mog---.

***hutū-** ‘to emit smoke’. Not attested in MMo, but the modern distribution points at an old word. Dag suggests that the **h-* is old, but the QG forms could have developed it secondarily. Chén also connects BaoÑ *hta:-* CN71 ‘to lead into a trap’, but this is phonetically and semantically problematic (although WM *utu-* also means ‘to smoke out (animals)’).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *utu-* L888b. Kh *utax* H554b. Ord *utu-* M745a. Bur *utaxa* C479b. Kalm *utx* M540a. Dag *xət-* E119, Z94a. EYü *hdu-* J96a, BJ331, *χdu-* S683. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ (see above). Kgj *puta-* ~ *puda-* S284b. Dgx *fudu-* MC98b. Mog---.

***hutua** (> **huta*) ‘smoke’. Elsewhere **hunin* is used.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *utuya(n)* L889a, *utaya(n)* L888b. Kh *utaa(n)* H554b. Ord *uta:* M744b. Bur *utaa(n)* C479b. Brg *ota:* U40. Kalm *utan* M539b. Dag *xuta:* T180. EYü *hta:* B60, *hda:* J96b, BJ331. Remaining lgs---.

***huuta** ‘bag, sack’. If the HY form was indeed intended to be read *huhuta*, the PM form may have been **puputa*.

MMo SH---, HY *huquta* (or rather *huhuta*?) M61, Muq *u:ta* P372b, RH *hu:ta* 204C16. WM *uyuta* L865a, *uuta* L890b. Kh *uut* H557b. Ord *u:ta* M744b. Bur *uuta* C481b. Brg *ot:t* U36. Kalm *uut* M542b. Dag *x^wa:t* E132 ‘scrotum’. EYü *u:ta* B18, J95a. MgrH *fu:da* J95a, X59, *fu:da* SM101. MgrM *xuda* J87, *fuda* JL468, *φyta* CL390, *şuda* DS247. BaoD *fda* ~ *da* BL83b. BaoÑ *hda* CN71 ‘q.v.’. Kgj *puda* ~ *puta* S284b. Dgx *fuda* B54, L111b, *fda* B55. Mog---.

***huya-** ‘to tie, fasten’. The vowel length in Bur, Dag, and Mgr, seems to suggest a form **huyaa-* which is not supported elsewhere. In Kalm this word has apparently absorbed the verb **oya-* ‘to sew’. Kgj *fiya-* and Bao *ha-/χa:-* have both meanings ‘to tie; to sew’ as well. However, CN derives BaoÑ *xa:-* from **kaba-* ‘to stitch’ (not listed), also cf. **kaa-*.

MMo SH *huya-* H79, HY *huya-* M61, Muq *huya-* P188ab, *uya-* P113b, LV *huya-* P77, IV---, RH *huya-* 189C7. WM *uya-* L867a. Kh *uyax* H561b. Ord *uya-* M727b. Bur *uyaaxa* C487b. Brg *oy-* U41. Kalm *uyx* M530a. Dag *xuya:-* E130, *xəya:-* T94b. EYü *xa:-* B113, *hia-* J96a, *haya-* BJ330. MgrH *fuya:-* SM113, X62,

śa:- J96b, X147. MgrM *xuya*- JL474. BaoD *ha*- (?=) BL12, BL83a ‘to tie up; to sew’. BaoÑ *χα*:- (?=) CN56 ‘to tie up; to sew’. BaoX *ha*:- CN86:239. Kgj *fuya*- ~ *fiya*- ~ *śüa*- ~ *śüya*- 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 *udu*- M748a. Bur *üdexe* C495a. Kalm *üdx* M546b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *śde*:- X166, *śdie*:- SM334 ‘to patch’. MgrM---. BaoJ *de*- L31. Kgj---. Dgx *xudu*- B64. Mog---.

***hüdesün** (perhaps **hüdesün* < **hüdüesün*) ‘patch (on clothes)’. The meanings are quite diverse, but the meaning in Dgx matches the verb **hüde- (*hüdü-)* ‘to patch’ above. This makes other phonetically possible etymologies such as **hürtesün* ‘scraps’ and **öedesün* ‘rags’ less likely. However, it is remarkable that the development of this noun in Dgx differs from the verb, with *f*- and *-ž*- instead of *x*- and *-d*-. Cf. **kalaasun*.

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

***hügün** ‘deep’ see ***gün**

***hüjüür** (**üjüür*) ‘tip, end’. The **h*- suggested by Dag is not confirmed elsewhere, but cannot be explained secondarily. The preconsonantal *r*- in the MgrH variant *ržu:r* may be a secondary addition under the influence of the final *-r*, but it cannot be excluded that it is an old element (compare variants of **üje*- ‘to see’, **eüdün* ‘door’).

MMo SH *uju’ur* H161, HY *üjü’ür* M108, Muq *üjü’ür* P100a, *üjü:r* P214b, LV---, IV---. WM *üjügür* L1017a. Kh *üzüür* H568b. Ord *užu:r* M750b. Bur *üzüür* C496b. Kalm *üzür* M547a. Dag *xužu:r* E129. EYu *čü:r* B148, J97a, *učü:r* BJ125. MgrH *śžu:r* J97b, *užu:r* X21, *žu:r* X224, *ržu:r* X241, *ržu*:- SM312. MgrM *zur* DS220a. BaoD *užir* BL84a, *nžor* T145. BaoÑ *užir* CN21. BaoX *nžor* BC63. Kgj *užir* S281a. Dgx *uzu* B23, L112a. Mog---.

***hüker** ‘bovine; ox’. Surprisingly without *h*- in Muq. Most of the QG forms suggest an original form **höker*. Agricultural term related to CT **höküz* ‘ox’.

MMo SH *huker* H78, HY *hüger* M62, Muq *üker* P377b, LV *hüker* Pop76, IV *hüker* L62:35, RH *üker* 199B18. WM *üker* L1003a. Kh *üxer* H584b. Ord *uker* M754a. Bur *üxer* C518b. Kalm *ükr* M548a. Dag *xukur* E125, Z94b. EYu *hgor* B59, J96b. MgrH *fugor* J96a, X61, *xgor* X83. MgrM *xugor* JL475, *χukur* T370. BaoD *fgor* ~ *gor* BL84a. BaoÑ *əker* ~ *əxgər* CN16. BaoX *xgur* BL63. Kgj *gər* S289b. Dgx *fugie* B52, L112a, *fugə*, *fugər* MC99a, *fugiərəi* MC101a, Wangjiaji *fugər* L8, Sijiaji *fugieri* L5, Longquan *fugieri* B53. Mog *ukār* R41b, *okār* etc W182b.

***hülde-** ‘to drive; to chase, pursue; to expel, drive out’. The EYu form is reminiscent of WM *elde-* L307b ‘to drive, chase, pursue’. However, EYu *helde-* can also be from **hülde-*; cf. EYu *eje-* ‘to see’ from **üje-* for the same development of the vowels.

MMo SH *hulde-* H78, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *ülde-* L1004a. Kh *üldex* H576b. Ord---. Bur *üldexe* C500a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *helde-* B56. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *hunda-* BL91b, *honda-* BL40. BaoÑ *fulde-* CN75, *hold-* CN29. Kgj *hundi-* ~ *huandi-* S286b. Dgx *fənzje-* B50, *funzje-* L119b. Mog---.

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

MMo SH *hule-/hüle-* H78, H80, HY *hüle-* M62, Muq *hüle-* P281b. WM *üle-* L1004b. Kh *ülex* H577a. Ord *uli-* ~ *ule-* M756a. Bur *ülexe* C502b. Kalm *ülx* M550b. Dag *xul-* E126. EYu *hele-* B56, J96b. MgrH *fule:-* J96a, *fulie:-* SM106. MgrM *xuli-* DS246. BaoD---. BaoÑ (see above). Kgj *fule-* S285a. Dgx *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 *hüliwüle-* Pop76 ‘to remain’. WM *ilegüü* L405a, *ilegü* L404b, *ilügü* L408b, *ilüü* L408b, *ülegüü* L1005a, *ülügü* L1007a. Kh *ilüü* H274a, *ülüü* H577a. Ord *ilu:* ~ *ilgu* M384b, *ulgu:* M756a. Bur *ülüü* C500b. Brg *ilu:* U27. Kalm *ülü* M550a. Dag *xulu:* E127 ‘many, much’. EYu *holi:* B57, *höli:* BJ331, *həli:* J94b, *həli* J78. MgrH *fuliu:* J83a, *fuliu* X62, *xaliu* X67, *šiliu*, *xiliu* T382. MgrM *xeliau* JL476. BaoD *šilu* BL83a. BaoGt *šili* C137. BaoJ *šlx* L170. BaoÑ---. Kgj--- (*ulu* < **olan*). Dgx *šiliu* B126, *šiliu* T142. Mog---.

***hülie-** (~ ***hüile-**) ‘to blow’. Many languages display irregular developments or new onomatopoeic formations with *p-*, long vowels or diphthongs.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hüile-* P190a, *hüle:-* P190b. WM *üliye-* L1006a. Kh *üleex* H577b, but cf. Chakhar *u^lə:n* D173a. Ord *ule:-* M755a. Bur *ülyeexe* C500a. Brg *uilə:-* U45, *u^lə:-* U50. Kalm *üläx* M549a. Dag *xu:l-* E124. EYu *pi:le-* B39, J96a. MgrH *pi:le-* J96a, *pu:le-* X56. MgrM *xuili-* DS207b. BaoD *fəilə-* BL84b (with the mouth), *hil-* BL53 (of the wind); *filə-* T148. BaoGt *fil-* C106. BaoÑ *hilə-* CN67. Kgj *fəli-* ~ *fūli-* ~ *φuli-* S284b. Dgx *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)*durgi-* S300a, BaoÑ *‘dərgə-* CN234 ‘to cook to a pulp’ are from Tibetan *‘dur* + **ki-*.

MMo---. WM *ültüre-*, caus. *ültüregül-* L1006b. Kh *ültrex* H576b. Bur *ültirxe* C500b. Kalm *ültr-* R457a ‘to be compressed, bent down’. Dag *xultur-* E128. EYu *həltru:l-* (caus.) B55 ‘to boil to a pulp’. Remaining lgs---.

***hümekei ~ *hümükei** ‘stinking, malodorous’. Probably derived from **hüü-* ‘to rot’ and possibly also related to **höesün* ‘pus’. Note the unexpected loss of the first syllable in Chakhar and Ordos.

MMo SH *humegai* H79, HY-?-, Muq *hümekei* P191a, LV *hümkei* P76, IV---, *hümekei qoroqai* 200A10 (**korakai* ‘insect’) ‘dungbeetle’. WM *ömökei* L636a, *ömekei*, *ömöki* L636a. Kh *ümxiy* H577b, *ömxiy* H411b, also *ömx* H411b, also note Chakhar *mäxi*: D176a. Ord *ümüki*: M757a, *müki*: M477b, *umuki*: M732b. Bur *ümxei* C503b, *ümxi* C503b. Brg *umxi*: U50. Kalm *ümkä* M551a. Dag---. EYu *həmuki* J96a, *həmähgi*: J78, *xoməkai* B51. MgrH *fumugi*: J96a, X62, *xamugi*: X68. MgrM *xunbugai* DS250. BaoD *huŋgi* BL84b. BaoGt *fəŋgi* C118, *hoŋgi* C133. BaoÑ---. Kgj *fūgai* (perhaps an alternative formation from **hüü-*) S284b. Dgx *fumuği* B54, *fumuğai* L112b. Mog---.

***hümeri-** ‘to wrinkle, shrivel, contract’. Not very common, but a derivate **hümeriül* ‘drawstring’ survives in Kh *ümriül* H577b, Kalm *ümrül* M551b.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hümeri-* P191a, *ümeri-* P380b. WM *ümüri-* L1007b. Kh---. Ord---. Bur *ümerixe* C504a. Kalm *ömrχ* R296a. Dag---. EYu *həmər-* B55. MgrH *fumurə-* X62, *finburağa-* (dial., caus.) DS261b. Remaining lgs---.

***hünegen** ‘fox’. Brg, MgrH and Kgj seem to suggest **hünigen*.

MMo SH *hunegen* H79, HY *hünegen* M62, Muq *hünegen* P191b, *ünegen* P381a, LV *hüngen* P76, IV---. WM *ünege(n)* L1008a. Kh *üneg(en)* H578b. Ord *ünege* M757b. Bur *ünege(n)* C508a. Brg *unig* U45. Kalm *üngn* M551b. Dag *xunuy*^w E124. EYu *höneyen* B58 *heneyen* J96b. MgrH *funəge* J96b, *funige* SM108, *χunige* SM183. MgrM *xonəgə* C376, *xundegey* P415b, *xunduğai* DS224b. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *funigə* S284b. Dgx *funieğay* B51, *funieyən* L112b. Mog---.

***hünesün** ‘ashes’. Ord and Brg seem to suggest a form **hünisün*. Kalm and Bao (accidentally) share a development *n > m* preceding *s*.

MMo SH *hunesu* H79, HY---, Muq *hünesün* P191b. WM *ünesü(n)* L1009b. Kh *üns(en)* H578b, *ünes(en)* H579b. Ord *unisü* M759a, *unes ~ unis* M758b. Bur *ünehe(n)* C509b. Brg *un’u*: U46. Kalm *ümsn* M551a. Dag *xuns* E124. EYu *henesən* B56, J96b, *nesən* S695, *tesən* (sic) S695. MgrH *funesə* J96a, *funie:zə* SM107, *funie:sə ~ funie:zə* J7, X60. MgrM *xunisü* DS205a. BaoD *homsuŋ* BL84a. BaoGt *hoŋsoŋ* C102. BaoÑ *həmsu* CN69. Kgj---. Dgx *funiesuŋ* B51. Mog *unasun* W182a, MogMr *unasun* L62:35.

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

MMo SH *hunor* H79 ‘smell’, *hünir* H79 ‘breath’, HY *hünir-tü* M62 ‘having a smell’, Muq *hünir* P191b. WM *ünür* L1010a. Kh *üner* H579b. Ord *uner ~ unir* M758a/b. Bur *üner-dexe* C509b ‘to smell’. Brg *unir* U45. Kalm *ünr* M552b. Dag---. EYu *honor* B57, *honər* J96b, *hunər* J78. MgrH *funir* SM108, *funur* SM500, *funər* J96a. MgrM *xunir* JL471, T371, *xunti-* (?< **hünirte-*) DS250 ‘to smell; smell’.

BaoD *hundə-* (?< **hünirde-*) BL84a ‘to smell’, *humdə-* BL12. BaoÑ---. Kgj *funur* S284b. Dgx *funićia-* B51, *fəncía-* B50, *funiəćia-* MC103a, *fuñćia-* MC103b (< **hünirte-*) ‘to smell’. Mog---.

***hūnis-** ~ ***hūnūs-** ‘to smell (tr)’. In Kh-Kalm ‘to kiss’. Dag suggests **hü:nü-*. A similar short form seems to be suggested by some of the Kgj forms. Zirni *hunuy* 3:8b may also be related. However, the Dag form may be connected to Tungusic **pu:n* ‘smell’ (cf. SSTMJalI:349a). In EYu only the passive **hünüste-* ‘to smell (intr)’ survives.

MMo SH *hunos-* H79, *hūnis-* H80, HY---, Muq *hūnis-* P192a. WM *ünüs-* L1010b ‘to kiss; to smell (obs)’, passive WM *ünüste-* L1010b, cf. also WM *ünüri-* L1010b ‘to smell (intr)’. Kh *ünsex* H578b ‘to kiss’. Ord *unis-* M758b. Bur *ünedexe* C508a, *ündexe* C506a, *ünesexe* C509a, *ünhexe* C507b. Brg---. Kalm *ümsx* M551b ‘to kiss’. Dag *xu:nu-* (see above) E123. EYu *honosdə-* B57, *honəsdə-* J78. MgrH *funis-* SM108, *funəsə-* J96a, pass. *funisdie-* SM108. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *funə-* ~ *funu-* ~ *funur-* ~ *huni-* ~ *huñni-* S284b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hüngü-** ‘to crumple; to rub between the hands’. The Kalm form with *-m-* may be the original. Phonetically the Mog form could be an iterative of this verb, but it differs semantically. The vocalism of Dag *xing^w-* may have been influenced by *xin^{ki}-* E113, which is of Tungusic origin. However, it has an equivalent in Kh *ingex* H276b ‘to crush, make into powder, etc’, suggesting that there are separate Mongolic verbs **hüngü-* and **hingü-*. Cf. also Kh *ingüümel* H276b ‘a finely-powdered incense, etc’ which corresponds to Dag *xing^wmə:l* E113 ‘rubbed-down tobacco crumbs’. This verb **hingü-* is not found in Ord, Bur, Kalm. Mostaert & de Smedt further compare MgrH *ngulie-* SM293 ‘to rub down; to graze one’s skin’.

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

***hüre** ‘seed; pip; fruit’.

MMo SH---, HY *hüre* M62, Muq *hüren* P206b. WM *üre* L1011a. Kh *ür* H580a. Ord *ure* M760a. Bur *üre* C514a. Kalm *ürn* M554b ‘child’. Dag *xur* E130. EYu *hure* B58, *hure* J97a. MgrH *fure* J97a, *fure:* J70, *furie:* SM110. MgrM *xuru* JL476, *xorə* C376, *xurie* T371. BaoD *furə* BL84b. BaoÑ *fure* CN56. Kgj *fure* ~ *furi* S285a. Dgx *furə* B55, L112a. Mog---.

***hürgü-** ‘to be startled, frightened (typically of animals)’. Agricultural form related to CT **hürk-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *urgu-* H166, HY---, Muq *hürgü-* P192b, *ürgü-* P345b. WM *ürgü-* L1012b. Kh *ürgex* H580b. Ord *urgu-* M761a. Bur *ürgexe* C511b. Brg *urəg-* U54. Kalm *ürgx* M554a. Dag *xury^y-* E131. EYu---. MgrH *furgu-də-* X63. MgrM *kurga-* (sic, ?-) P418b. BaoD---. BaoGt *herəgə-* C107. BaoÑ *hergə-* CN67. Dgx---. Mog---.

***hürü-** ‘to rub (off) with the hands, to grind, etc’.

MMo SH *huru-*, *hur-* H79 ‘to sharpen’, HY---, Muq---, WM *ürü-* L1013a. Kh *ürex* H582a. Ord *uru-* M763a. Bur *ürex* C514b. Kalm *ürx* M555a. Dag---. EYu *horo-* B58. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *furi-* L57, B55, *furəu-* L119b, *furəi-* MC104b. Mog---.

***hüsün** ‘hair’. The EYu and Mgr forms do not confirm the **h-*, as it could have been triggered by the following *-s-*. Note the loss of **h-* in Dgx. This word may contain the (?collective) suffix *-sUn*, so that the PM root may be **hü-* (?**pü-*).

MMo SH *hüsu(n)* H80, HY *hüsün* M62, Muq *üsün* P382b, LV *hüsün* P76, IV *hüsün* L62:35, RH *hüsün* 198B15. WM *üsü(n)* L1013b. Kh *üs(en)* H582a. Ord *usu* M764a. Bur *ühe(n)* C519b. Brg *uxu:* U48. Kalm *üsn* M555b. Dag *xus* E128, *χus*^w Z95a. EYu *hsun* B60, *hasun* J96b. MgrH *szu* J96a, *fu3ə* SM102, *s3ə*, *fu3ə* T359. MgrM *szu* ~ *f3u* JL468. BaoD *suŋ* BL84b. BaoÑ *hsəŋ* CN71, *səŋ* CN134. Kgj *sun* S294a. Dgx *usuŋ* B22. Mog *usun* R41b.

***hüsür-** ‘to jump, leap’. Kalm and Dag seem to suggest **hesür-*. The Bur form, if related, would involve the unusual loss of the first syllable, as in **isegei* and **ösügei*. The Mgr forms traditionally associated with this verb by SM are listed under **tüsür-*. Cf. Shirongol **deüli-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *üsür-* L1014a ‘&to spout, squirt out’. Kh *üsrex* H582a ‘to jump, leap, skip; to squirt’. Ord *usur-* M764b. Bur *hürex* (?=) C698b ‘to jump, etc’. Brg *usər-* [←Kh] U51. Kalm *ösrx* M427a. Dag *xəsur-* E110. EYu *hsur-* B60, *husur-* J96a ‘to jump’. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog *usur-* R41b.

***hütügün** ‘vagina’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hütügün* P192b, LV *hütgün* P74, *ütügün* P1258, IV *hütügün* L62:35, RH *hütügün* [?, eds. read *hütkün*] 199A10. WM *ütügü(ü)* (‘vulgar’) L1014b. Kh [*ütree* H582b] *üteg* acc. to Lessing. Ord *utugū* M765a. Bur---. Brg *utəg* U51. Kalm *ütkn* M555b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *şdagū* X167, *şdugu* X169. MgrM *kutugu* (sic) P413b, *dugu* DS258. Bao---. Dgx *fuduğun* B54. Mog *utkun* W183b, MogM *utkü* L62:35.

***hüü-** ‘to stink’ and ***höe-** ‘to rot, fester’ (?). These two verbs may have existed separately, as suggested by SH, and by derivatives **höesün* ‘pus’ and **hümekei* ‘smelly’, but most of the QG forms could derive from either or represent both. The spellings in Muq could also represent both *hü:-* and *hö:-*. Both meanings can be found in modern languages. Some of the Shirongol forms have been incorrectly derived from Chinese.

MMo SH *hu’u-* H79 ‘to smell’, *ho’e-* (?=) H76 (translated ‘Schutt, Abfall sein’, but *mèn* is also ‘to boil over slow fire’, see Dag), HY---, Muq *hü:-*, *hü’ü-* P192b ‘to smell; to rot’. WM *ü-* L995a, *üü-* LC 3:433a. Kh *üüx* LC 3:433a. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *ö:-* R304a, *öw-* R303a ‘to rot, fester’. Dag *xu:-* E123, *xu:-* NK563a also ‘to become soft from overboiling’. EYu *hü:-* B58. MgrH *fu:-* SM101, J36. MgrM *xu-* DS216a ‘to decay’. BaoD---. BaoGt *fi-* C115. BaoÑ *fu-* CN55. Kgj *fu-* S284b. Dgx *fu-* MC97b. Mog---.

- ī -

***ī** (?) ‘(s)he, it’. The stem is extremely rare in the modern languages, but the genitive **īnu* (MMo SH *ino* H82, HY *inu* M63, Muq *inu* P143a) survives in all languages as the third person possessive. The Dag -*n* has been adopted from the oblique (genitive) stem **in-*. Cf. also the oblique stem **īma-* from which the other cases are formed, cf. SH *ima-* H82, HY *ima-* M63, Muq---, Dag *yam-* E327/328. Cf. the MMo plural counterpart **a* ‘they’, parallel to the pairs **bī* ‘I’ - **ba* ‘we’ and **cī* ‘you (sg)’ - **ta* ‘you (pl)’. The *h-* in Dgk would normally suggest CM **h-*, but it is not confirmed elsewhere. However, there is no alternative etymology for the Dgk form.

MMo---, WM---, Kh---, Bur---, Kalm---, Dag *in* E32, *i:n* Z51. EYū---, Mgr---, Bao---, Dgk *hə* (?=) B65. Mog---.

***ībčau** ‘narrow, tight’. The original form may have been **hībčau* when a connection with **hīutan* ‘narrow’ is assumed. It is unclear whether the Dag word is related (a form **xirčə* would have been expected). The Bur form with -*g-* is also unexpected.

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

***idugan** ‘shaman(ess)’. Cf. **böe*.

MMo SH---, HY *iduqan* M62, Muq---, WM *udayan*, *uduqan* L861a/b, *iduqan* L401a. Kh *udgan* H541a, *nyadgan* H382b. Ord *udaqan* M722a ‘obstetrician’. Bur *udagan* C463a, *od’ogon* (Western dial.) C350a. Brg *odgan* U41. Kalm *udyn* M528b. Dag *yadyən* E328. EYū---, Mgr---, Bao---, Dgk *yidoḡo* T122, *idoḡo* S160. Mog---.

***ilga-** ‘to choose, select, distinguish’. Cf. **songu-*.

MMo SH *ilqa-* H81, HY *ilqa-* M63, Muq---, WM *ilya-* L406a. Kh *yalgax* H876b. Ord *ilga-* M382b. Bur *ilgaxa* C278a. Kalm *ilyⁿ* R206b, *yilyx* M277b. Dag *yaləy-* E327. EYū *alḡa-* B3, *əḡa-* J94b, BJ327. MgrH *ləḡa:-* X113, *laga:-* X111. MgrM *aliḡa-* DS211b. BaoD---, BaoÑ---, Kgj---, Dgk *iṅḡa-* B10. Mog---.

***īmaan** ‘goat’. Agricultural term related to CT **(y)imḡa* ‘id’.

MMo SH *ima’at* (pl) H82, HY *ima’an* M63, Muq *ima’an* P153a, *ima:n* P234b. WM *imaya(n)* L409a, *nimaya(n)* L584b. Kh *yamaa(n)* H877b. Ord *yama:* M394b. Bur *yamaa(n)* C799a, *nimaa(n)* C328a. Brg *yama:* U220. Kalm *yaman* M709b. Dag *ima:* E33, *ima:rs* E34 ‘goat skin’, but cf. *yama:rs* E327 ‘goat skin’. EYū *ma:n* B89, J94b. MgrH *ima:* J94b. MgrM *ima* JL468. BaoD *imaṅ* BL83a. BaoÑ *yimaṅ* CN218. BaoX *imaṅ* BC64. Kgj *imə* S280a. Dgk *imaṅ* B11. Mog---.

***inagsi** ‘hither, to this place’. The loss of the initial vowel in some of the central Mongolic forms is unusual. Perhaps as compensation for the lost initial vowel, the

**a* is lengthened in some modern forms. From a root **ina-* ‘this side’ whose other derivatives include EYu *na:na* J53 ‘here’, *na:də* B23, J60 ‘that one there’.

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

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

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

***in̄garčag** ‘packsaddle’. The evidence for the quality of the middle vowel is contradictory. Some forms with *a-* in MgrM, Kgj, Dgx. MgrH and Kgj seem to have transferred the aspiration from the *-č-* to the *-g-*. There is also another form from the same root, as in WM *yanggiya* L427b.

MMo SH *inggircah* H82, HY---, Muq---. WM *yanggirčay* L427b. Kh *yangircag* H878b. Ord *yan̄garčaq*, *yan̄gurčaq* M396b. Bur---. Kalm *yan̄yrcg* M710b. Dag---. EYu *in̄garčag* B29, *in̄garjag* J9. MgrH *in̄karčag* X42. MgrM *an̄qəzəg* JL477b. *en̄qəči* Z370:716. BaoJ *gačig* (?=) L69 ‘a harness placed on the back of a beast of burden for pulling carts’. Kgj *an̄kəjij* S278a. Dgx *in̄gəča* MC175a, *an̄gača* MC12b. Mog---.

?***irada** ‘downstream’ see ?***hira** ‘bottom part’.

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

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

***iro** ‘omen, premonition, etc’. It seems impossible to connect EYu *χorḡor* B51, *χorḡor* J5 ‘omen’, *χo:rḡor* S721 ‘dice’, MgrH *šorḡol* ~ *šorgol* X156 ‘omen’, which seem to stem from a common form, perhaps **hīrgul*. However, this word may instead be a Tibetan loanword, an unknown compound of *šo* ‘dice’, which would be **xho* in Arik dialect. Possibly related to CT **irk* ‘id’, but the connection is morphologically obscure.

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

***isu** (?) ‘soot’ see ***is(ü)**

***itau** ‘hazel-grouse, partridge or other large member of the chicken family’. Interestingly, both Kh and Kalm seem to have split this word into two phonetically and semantically distinct words.

MMo IV *itaun* L62:37, LV *itaun* P1262. WM *itayu* L417b. Kh *yatuu* H882b ‘partridge’, *yotuu* H206b ‘hazel-grouse’. Ord *itu*: M389b. Bur---. Kalm *yotun* M281b ‘partridge’, *itü* M275a ‘hazel-grouse’. Dag *itɔ*: E35 (possibly reborrowed ←Manchu *itu*). EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *itv:n* L62:37, MogM *itau* L62:37.

- I -

ibil-** (?ibel-**) ‘to flow (of milk from the udder)’. Ord and Dag seem to support the form ***ibel-**, EYu supports ***ibil-**. Dgx probably < ***iyilu-** < ***ibil-u-**.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ibil-* L397a, *ibel-* L396b. Kh *ivlex* H268a. Ord *éwel-* M251a. Bur-?-. Brg *ibəlgə:-* (caus.) U26. Kalm *ivlx* M262a. Dag *yəul-* E329. EYu *βəl-* B37 ‘(of milk) to flow’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ilu-* T121 ‘to give milk’. Mog---.

***ide-** ‘to eat’. One of the words with unexpected *n-* in Baoan (cf. similar cases ***eüden**, ***uda-**).

MMo SH *ide-* H80, HY *ide-* M62, Muq *ide-* P194a. WM *ide-* L398b. Kh *idex* H270. Bur *edixe* C757a. Kalm *idx* M264b. Dag *id-* E35. EYu *ede-* B11, J95b. MgrH *de-* J95b, *ide-* X13, MgrH (Hongyazi dialect) *ɣdë-*, *ɣda-* C370. MgrM *idi-* JL460, *di-* C370. BaoD *nda-* BL83a. BaoGt *ndä-* C100. BaoÑ *nde-* CN35. BaoX *ndə-* BC64. Kgj *ide-* S280a. Dgx *iɟie-* B12. Mog *idä-* R29b, *ida-*, *idä-* W167a ‘to eat, drink’.

***idee** ‘pus’. Some forms suggest ***ideeri**. Possibly derived from ***ide-** ‘to eat’. Cf. ***höesün** ‘id’.

WM *idege* L399a, *idegeri* L399b. Kh *idee* (and *ideer*) H271b. Bur *edyeere* C756a. Kalm. Dag *idə*: E83:98a. EYu---. MgrH *ide*: X13, *rde*: X240. MgrM *idi* C395, cf. *de-le-* JL462 ‘to fester’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

ig** (?yig**) ‘spindle, spindle whorl’. The QG languages may all go back to a variant form ***yig**, and may represent a separate borrowing event from Turkic (original CT may have been ***i:k** ‘id’, but forms ***yik** and ***iyik** are also found in modern languages).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ig* L401b. Kh *ig* H268b ‘spindle’. Ord *i:g* M380a. Bur---. Kalm *ig* M263a. Dag---. EYu *yig* B154 ‘spindle’. MgrH *ig* X12. MgrM *yaχ* P411b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *yəu* B188. Mog---.

***iker** ‘twins’ see ***ekir**

***ilbi** ‘magic; sleight of hand, conjuring tricks’. The EYu form with *i-* (instead of **əlwə*) suggests that it stems from a variant with **y-*. According to Khasbaatar the MgrH form is related, but SM derive it from **helie*. Cf. Turkic **yelvi*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH---, Ph---. WM *ilbi*, *ilbe* L402b, *yelbi* L432b, *yilbi*, *yilwi* L433b. Kh *ilbe* H273a. Ord *ilbe*, *elbe* M381b. Bur *el’be* C763b. Kalm *ilv* M267b. EYu *ilwə* J5. MgrH *ile*: X12, *ilie*: SM191, *ulie*: (?=) SM470 ‘demon’. Remaining lgs---.

***ilbi-** ‘to rub; to smooth with the hand’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *yilbi-* P390a. WM *ilbi-* L403a. Kh *ilbex* H273b. Ord *ilbe-*, *élbe-*, *elbe-* M381b. Bur *el’bexe* C763b. Dag---. EYu *əlβə-* B8 ‘to stroke; to grope, fumble’. Remaining lgs---.

***ildü** ‘sword, sabre’, with an early ‘prebroken’ variant ***üldü**. Both forms survive. The *h-* in Muq is not confirmed by any other language, but is written systematically in this word. For the meaning ‘shuttle’ in MgrM, cf. CT **kilič* ‘sword’, also used for ‘shuttle’ in several Turkic languages.

MMo SH *uldu* H162, HY *üldü* M108, Muq *hildü* P184b, RH *ildü* 204C18. WM *ildü(n)* L403b, *uldu* (sic) L873a (see above). Kh *ild(en)* H273b, *yüld* H869a. Ord *uld#* M755a. Bur *yülde* [written *yulde*] (rare) C782a. Brg---. Kalm *üld* M549b. Dag---. EYu *oldə* B15 ‘tailor’s knife’, *uldə* J94b ‘sabre’, J80 ‘wooden knife used on a loom’. MgrH *uldə* X19. MgrM *u^ldu* [i.e., *urdu*?] P421b ‘weaver’s shuttle’. Bao---. Dgx---. MogMr *uld#* L62:35 ‘rifle’.

***ile** (?*hile) ‘clear, visible, obvious, evident’. Bur suggests **eli*, EYu suggests **hile* with *h-* unconfirmed elsewhere.

MMo SH *ile* H81, HY---, Muq *ile* P195b, *ilede* P377a. WM *ile* L404a, *iledte* L404b, *ilete* L406a, *ilerkei* L405b. Kh *il* H273a. Ord *ile* ~ *éle* M382a. Bur *eli* (sic) C761b, adv *elyeer*. Kalm *il* M267a. Dag *il* Z29 ‘clear, evident’ (but *il* E33 ‘lively, bustling’). EYu *hele* B56. Shirongol---. MogM, MogMr *ila* L74:305.

***ile-** ‘to go’, ***ilee-** (and newly-formed ***ile-ge-**) ‘to send, dispatch’. ***ilee-** was the causative of ***ile-** ‘to go’. The modern languages a new causative formed with the suffix *-GA*.

MMo SH *ile-* H81 ‘to go’, *ile-* H81 ‘to send’, HY *ile-* M62, Muq *ile-* [*ile:-*] P195b ‘to send, etc’, *hile-* P184a, 185a. WM *ile-* (obs) L404a ‘to send’, *ilege-* L404b. Kh *ilex* H276a ‘to send, dispatch’, *ilgeex* H273b ‘to dispatch, send, delegate’. Ord---. Bur *el’gexe* C764a. Brg *ilgə:-* U27. Kalm *ilgäx* M268a. Dag---. EYu *əlye-* B8, *ilye-* BJ105, *elye-* J49 (mostly used as an auxiliary). Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *ilğä-* W167a.

***irbis** ‘leopard, panther’. The equivalents in Turkic (with final *-z* or *-š*, *-l-* instead of *-r-*, sometimes with medial *-p-* or initial *y-*) are too diverse to contribute to reconstruction.

MMo SH---, HY, Muq---, RH---. WM *irbis* L413b. Kh *irves* H278a. Ord *erwis* M248b. Kalm *irws* R210a, *irvsg* (sic) M272a ‘tiger’. Bur *erbed* (dial) C770a. Brg *irβas* U29. Dag---. EYu *ərβas* B8. Mgr *rбузə* S411. Remaining lgs---.

***ire-** ‘to come’.

MMo SH *ire-* H82, HY *ire-* M63, Muq *ire-* P197a, *yire-* P390b. WM *ire-* L413b. Kh *irex* H279a. Ord *ire-* M387a. Bur *yerexe* C222b. Brg *ir-* U29, *yir-* U222. Kalm *irx* M273a. Dag *ir-* E35. EYü *ere-* B11, J95b, *eri-* B12, *ire-* B11. MgrH *re-* J95b. MgrM *ri-* [ʒi-] C395. BaoD *rə-* BL83b. BaoÑ *er-* CN15, *ər-* CN11, *rə-* CN222. Kgj *re-* S306a. Dgx *ire-* B12. Mog *irā-* R29b, *irē-*, *irā-* W168a.

***irge** ‘wether’. The **h-* that seems to be suggested by MgrH is not supported elsewhere. The second syllable cannot be the source of the *x-*, as all languages point at *-g-* rather than *-k-*. Agricultural term related to CT **irk*.

MMo SH *irge* H83, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *irge* L414a. Kh *ireg* H278a, *irgen* H279a. Ord *i:rge* (sic) M387a. Bur *er’e* C774b. Kalm *irg* M272a. Dag---. EYü *erye* B12. MgrH *xerge* X76, *yerge* SM492. MgrM *ergè* P417a ‘female sheep’ (sic). Bao---. Dgx *ingə* MC175a ‘wether’, *inyə* T121 ‘billy-goat’. Mog---.

***irgen** ‘people’. The original meaning was apparently ‘people’ in the sense of ‘ethnic group, nation’, although the general meaning ‘human beings’ appears already in Muq. In the QG languages **irgen* has become a personal pronoun of the third person (cf. the development of **ejen*). Although the *ŋ-* in Baoan and Kangjia is not a normal reflex of **r*, in view of the other regional forms it is probably the same etymon. The Dag meaning ‘Chinese’ is also attested (as obs.) in Kh. Cf. Manchu *irgen* H503 ‘subject(s), population, people’.

MMo SH *irge(n)* H83 ‘people’, HY *irgen* M64 ‘people’, Muq *irgen* P197b ‘people, persons’, *hirgen-* P185b, LV *irgen* P1256. WM *irgen* L414b. Kh *irgen* H278a ‘people; subject, citizen’. Ord *i:rgen* M387b ‘subject; Chinese’. Bur *ergen arad* (lit) C770b ‘people’. Kalm *irgn kümn* (hist) M272b ‘citizen’. Dag *iryən* E36 ‘Chinese’. EYü *eryen* B12, BJ327 ‘he, she, people (in the sense of persons, not nation)’, *ergen* J26. MgrH *rgən* X239 ‘(other) people’. MgrM *gən* C199 ‘he, she’. BaoD *ngan* BL34. BaoGt *gəŋla ~ gəla* (pl) C132 ‘others’. BaoÑ *ağan* CN5, *əğan* CN17 ‘others, people’. BaoX *ngan* BC63 ‘s/he’. Kgj *ngə* S33 ‘other; he’. Dgx *əgən* B8 ‘s/he’. Mog *irgān* W168a, *irgəd* (pl) W168a ‘people’, MogM *irgə:n ~ ergə:n*, MogMr *irgə:n* L64:42.

***is-** ‘to turn sour, ferment’, caus. **iske-*, and some further derivations. The Kgj verb formally looks like a caus. The Kgj verb and adjective may involve a garbled form of **sirke* ‘vinegar’ (not listed here).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *is-* L416a. Kh *isex* H280a, *esex* H863a. Ord *es-* M248b. Bur *ehexe* C780a, *ed’xexe* C758a. Brg *isgə:-* U27 ‘to become sour’ (sic). Kalm *isx* M274a, cf. *iškly* M276a ‘sour’. Dag---. EYü *hsə-* BJ331 ‘to ferment’, *səkə-mel* B99, *sgə-mel* J101b ‘sour’. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *gge-gər* CN147 ‘yeast’. Kgj *šilge-* S295b ‘to become sour’, *šilgei ~ širgei* 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. EYü-MgrH are probably from **isegei*. The Bur form *heyēi* 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 *heyēi* C703a, *ehēgi* C779b, *ešegī* (sic, ←?) C780b. Brg [*išgi*: U28 ←??]. Kalm *iškā* M276a. Dag *šisəy* E235, *šidəy* E236, *šidəg* Z92a. EYu *ski*: B103, *sgi*: J94b. MgrH *sgi*: J95b, X143, *šge*: ~ *sge*: T383. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *šixə* (?=) MC429b. Mog *sisgei* R38a, *diskei* W179b.

***iskir-** ‘to whistle’. HY and one of the WM forms suggest **siskir-*. Some modern dialects have an unexpected initial *x-* (cf. Sun 190:413). EYu, if related, could represent a back-vocalic version **iskar-*.

MMo SH---, HY *šiskir-* M98, Muq---. WM *iskire-* L417a, *iskerü-* L417a, *siskir-* L719b. Kh *isgerex* H279b. Ord *iskir-* M388b, also *iškir-*, *eskir-*, *geskir-* etc. Bur *ešxerxe* C780a. Kalm *iškrx* M276b. Dag---. EYu *sqər-* BJ342, *sqar-* B103, *sagar-* (sic) S413. MgrH *šžürje-* (?=) SM393. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***is** or ***isü** or ***isün** or ***isu** ?? ‘soot, lampblack’. Assuming the forms listed below are all related, they represent several old variants. Only Bur explicitly supports the front-vocalic form; the derived verb Kh *išlex* may have been fronted secondarily. The Muq and Dgx forms suggest additional variant with initial *s-*, for which compare **(s)isegei* ‘felt’ and **(s)iskir-* ‘to whistle’ listed above. Poppe translates Muq *sisu-tu* as ‘smelly’, but in view of the Chagatay Turkic equivalent *islik* a translation ‘sooty’ is warranted. Muq *susun* P328b ‘starch’ is semantically difficult to connect. The Muq forms may also be read as front-vocalic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *sisu-tu* (?=, see above) P323b. WM *isü* [or *isu*?] L417a. Kh *is* (sic) H279b. Ord---. Bur *ehe(n)* C779b. Kalm *iš* R210b. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *susuŋ* B119, *sisuŋ* MC369b ‘soot’ (?=).

***itege-** ‘to believe, trust’. Cf. **bisire-*.

MMo SH *itege-* H83, HY *itege-* M64, Muq *itege-* P198a, *itegü-* P198b. WM *itege-* L417b. Kh *itgex* H280a. Ord *etege-* M249b. Bur *etigexe* C778a. Kalm *itkx* M274b. Dag *itəy-* E35. EYu *həteye-* B55, *hde:* *ye-* S414, *ldeye-* J80. MgrH---. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***itelgü** ‘species of falcon’. The back variant **italgu* suggested by some Turkic languages does not seem to occur in Mongolic.

MMo SH---, HY *itelgü* H64, Muq *itelgü* P221a, RH *itelgü* 200A21. WM *itelgü* L418a, L1204b. Kh *idleg* H269a ‘saker falcon’. Ord *etelge* M250a, *ötölgö* M542b. Bur---. Kalm *itlg* M274b. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr *sdiergu* SM336. MgrM (Sanchuan) *ter’gè* P418b. Remaining lgs---.

- ǰ -

***ǰaa-** ‘to tell, announce, indicate’. The **ia* sequence suggested by WM spelling and one of the SH forms can not be confirmed.

MMo SH *ja’a-* H84, *ji’a-* H89, HY *ǰa’a-* M64, Muq *ǰa’a-* P199a, *ǰa:-* P204a ‘to promise’. WM *ǰiya-* L1049b. Kh *zaax* H221b. Ord *ǰa:-* M175a. Bur *zaaxa* C240a. Brg *ǰa:-* U209. Kalm *zaax* M234b. Dag *ǰa:-* E308. EYu *ǰa:-* B141 ‘to teach’, *ǰa:-* J106b ‘to index’. MgrH *ǰa:-* J106a. BaoD *ǰa:-* T139 ‘to complain’. BaoÑ *ǰa:-* CN194 ‘to accuse’. Kgj---. Dgx *ǰa-* B175 ‘to charge, accuse’, cf. *ǰala-* B178 ‘to point, to give directions’. Mog---.

***ǰaari** ‘musk’ see ***ǰiari**

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

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

***ǰaba** ‘gap; gorge, ravine’.

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

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ǰabaya(n)* L1018a. Kh *zavaa* H222a. Ord *ǰawa*: M190b. Bur *zabaan* C241a. Kalm *zava* M235a ‘unpleasant’, *zawa:n* R468a ‘smell or taste of herbs...’, *zama:n* R466a ‘meal eaten in the fasting period’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ǰava:n* X216. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *ǰawaŋ* MC456a ~ *ǰaŋwaŋ* MC453b. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *ǰaba:n* 14:8b.

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

MMo SH *ǰabaji(n)* H84, HY---, Muq---. WM *ǰabaji* L1018b, *ǰabji* L1021a. Kh *zav’j* H224a. Ord *ǰawaji* ~ *ǰawiji* M190b. Bur *ǰabža* C230a, also *ǰabžuur* C230b. Brg *ǰaβ’j* U206. Kalm *zebj’j* R469b, *ǰebji* R108b. Dag *ǰeb’j* E315. EYu *ǰaβaǰa* BJ234, *ǰaβaǰə* J106a. Remaining lgs---.

***ǰabīla-** ~ ***ǰamīla-** ‘to sit cross-legged’. Kalm suggests **ǰamīla-*, while Ord has both forms. The long final *a*: in Dag and the additional *-ǰ-* in the MgrH form are inexplicable. At first sight **ǰabīla-* looks like a verb formation from a noun **ǰabī* or **ǰamī*, which stem may survive in MgrH *ǰa:mi*: X214 ‘crack, crevice; groin’ (though both SM and Khasbaatar compare this Mongghul word to Kh *zaam* H221a ‘collar, lapel’). The MgrH word is reminiscent of CT **yamiz* ‘groin’ which was

borrowed by EYu and Dgx, and is also found in MMo Muq *jamiz* P201a ‘groin’. The form *jamir*- P130b ‘belly’, occurring once in Muq and not found in any other Mongolic language, is probably due to the omission of the dot on the *zayn*. However, if not a mistake it suggests a possible etymology **jamir-la-* for the present entry. MgrH *ža:mi* is also close to **čabi ~ *čami* ‘groin’ found in the central languages, but the strong initial of that item makes a connection less likely.

MMo SH *jabila-* H84, HY---, Muq *jabila-* P199a. WM *jabila-* L1019a. Kh *zavilax* H222b. Ord *jawila-* M190b, *jamila-* M184b. Bur *zabilxa* C241b. Kalm *zämlx* M244b. Dag *je:bla:-* E315. EYu---. MgrH *žabži:la-* S420, L220. MgrM *žabeila-* DS214. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jabka-** ‘to lose, be lost (esp. of animals)’. Cf. also ***jabkara-** ‘to get lost, disappear’ in Muq *jabqara-* P199b, Ord *jiwq^uara-* M206a, Kalm *zavxarx* M235b, etc., which seems to be (irregularly) related to MogM *apqara-* L68, No. 119 ‘to get lost’. The *y-* in Bao and Kgj is also unexpected, but not unique (also in **janči-* ‘to crush’, **jarim* ‘half’, **jasa-* ‘to make’ below). Cf. **gee-* ‘to lose’, **töeri-* ‘to stray’.

MMo SH *jabqa-* H84, HY---, Muq *jabqa-* P199a, *jabya-* P199a, LV *jabqa-* P1271, IV---. WM *jabqa-* L1020b. Kh *zavxax* H223b. Ord (see above). Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *čüga-* X211, *čuğua:-* SM439. MgrM---. BaoGt *yaxa-* C156. BaoÑ *yaxa-* CN214. BaoX *yəxa-* CN86:341. Kgj *yabxa-* S305a. Dgx---. Mog (see above).

***jabsar** ‘gap, crack; space or time between, interval’. P60:48 considers **jab*, **jaura*, and **jabila-* to be related. **jabsar* contains the same suffix as **amasar*.

MMo SH---, HY *jabsar söni* M64 ‘last day of the year’, Muq *jabsar* P199b. WM *jabsar* L1019b. Kh *zavsar* H223a. Bur *zabhar* C242a. Brg *žaβo:r* (sic, ?=) U211, *žaβsar* (←Kh) U211. Kalm *zavsar* M235a. Dag---. EYu *jaβsar* (*jaφsar*) B142, BJ324, *jabsar* J106a. MgrH *čabsar* J106b, X202, *žæsar* X217, *čæbsar* X203, *čarsar* X203. MgrM (Sanchuan) *čapsir* P425. BaoD---. BaoÑ *jabsar* CN195. Kgj---. Dgx *zasa* MC456a. Mog---.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *jayala-* L1022b. Kh *zagalax* H224b. Ord *jağatana-* ~ *jağatuna-* M179a. Bur *zoxolxo* (sic, ?=) C259a. Brg *zagal-* U211. Kalm *jayšix* M223b ‘to scratch’, *zayadāχă* (?) R463a. Dag *jaul-* E309. EYu *jağača-* B142. MgrH *žau-lğa-* X215. MgrM *zao-* DS231b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *žagde-* CN196, cf. *žagə žəgə* CN196 ‘itch’. BaoX *žaglā-* CN86:224. Kgj *jīu-* S302b. Dgx *zau-* B175. Mog---, but Zirni *jayal-* (23:9b).

***jagasun** ‘fish’. The central languages suggest a form **jagasun*, and none of the remaining modern languages is in conflict with such a form with **a* as the first vowel. One might reconstruct an extra consonant based on MgrM and Bao, either **jagalsun* or **jalgasun*, one of which may be a metathesized variant of the other. However, the MMo forms contradict the first syllable **a* and do not support the

extra consonant. Poppe (60:57, 61, etc) also reconstructs an extra consonant: **jirkasun*, but Poppe's -r- is based on comparison with WM *jirmayai* 'small fry, young fish' (L1060a 'fish roe, caviar'). Within Mongolic the reconstruction of this word is difficult; it is attested as follows: MMo SH *jiramut* (pl.) H90, Kh *zaram* H235a, Bur *jaraaxay* C231b, Kalm *jirmäxä* M231a. Dag *jarəm* E312. These forms suggest CM forms **jiram*, **jaram*, and diminutives **jiraa-kaï* and **jir(a)ma-kaï*. It is uncertain that this word is related to **jagasun*.

MMo SH *jiqasu(n)* H89, HY *jiqasun* M67, Muq *jīyasun* P205b, *jiqasun*-P206b, LV *jiqasun* P1274, IV---. WM *jīyasu(n)* L1050a. Kh *zagas(an)* H224b. Ord *jaḡas(u)* M179a, *jaḡus* M179b. Bur *zagaha(n)* C243a. Brg *zago*: U211. Kalm *zaysn* M236a. Dag *jaus* E309. EYu *jaḡasən* B142, J106b, *jaḡasən* B143. MgrH *jaḡasə* J106a, *jaḡasə* X217, *jaḡasə* X221. MgrM *jaḡarsī* P419a. BaoD *žilyasuŋ* BL93b. BaoJ *žal(ə)ḡasuŋ* L45. BaoÑ *žalgasəŋ* CN196. Kgj *jiḡasun* ~ *jaḡasun* S303a. Dgx *zaḡasuŋ* B177. Mog---.

***jaḡil-** 'to chew'. In Bur and Kalm the unexpected palatal initial is due to assimilation to the second **j*. Some of the Baoan forms probably from an earlier **jalḡil-* or **jalḡal-* with assimilation of the two syllables.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *jaḡil-* P200a. WM *jaḡil-* L1041b. Kh *zajlax* H226a. Ord *jaḡil-* M178b. Bur *žaḡalxa* C231a, *zaḡalxa* (western) C244b. Brg *zajil-* U213. Kalm *jaḡilx* M223b. Dag *jeḡil-* E316. EYu *jaḡəl-* B143, *jaḡil-* J106a. MgrH *jaḡilə-* J106b. MgrM *zaḡər-* DS211b. BaoD *žiaḡial-* BL93b. BaoGt *žinḡāl-* C117. BaoÑ *jaḡil-* CN197. BaoX *janḡal-* BC62. Kgj *jeḡi-* S302b. Dgx *zaḡulu-* B178. Mog *jaḡi-* (sic) R42a, *jaḡul-* W168b 'to eat'.

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

MMo SH *jaqa* H84, HY *jaqa* M65, Muq *jaqa* P201b, *jīya-* P205b, LV---, IV *jīqa* (sic?) L62:38. WM *jaqa* L1041a. Kh *zax* H237b. Bur *zaxa* C252a. Brg *zax* U211. Kalm *zax* M243b. Dag *jay* E311. EYu *jaḡa* B142. MgrH *jaḡə* X217, *jaḡa*: X220. MgrM *jaḡa* C189, *zaḡa* DS203a 'above'. BaoD---. BaoÑ *jaḡa* CN195. Bao (unspecif. dial) *jaḡa* S436. Kgj *jiḡa* S303a. Dgx *zaḡa* B177. MogMr *jaḡa* (etc) L62:39, *jaḡe* I108 '(river) bank', *jaḡa* W168b 'bank'.

***jakaun** 'space between'. This reconstruction inspired by MMo. The Baoanic forms could also reflect a form **jaugun*, which would be easier to connect to **jab*, **jaura*. Also compare MMo SH *dege'un* H35 'above', which may be a mistranscription for **deegün*. This is supported by MgrH *de:xəŋ* X192 'surface', and not contradicted by MgrM *dieḡoŋ* DS240a 'on', BaoD *deguŋ* BL60 'not only... but also', BaoGt *deḡoŋ* BC69 'upside', and Kgj *degun* S299a 'upside'. A third parallel formation is Kgj *duḡun* S299b 'underside' < **doagun*.

MMo SH *jaqa'un* H84, HY---, Muq---. BaoD *joyeŋ* T139, BaoDatong *žəḡeŋ* CN86:186. Kgj *juḡun* S303b.

***jalaa** ‘(red) tassel’. Perhaps related to CT **yalig* ‘cock’s comb’. BaoÑ *žala* is explained as a loanword from Tibetan *sgya-la*, but the latter is more likely to be an ill-spelled loanword from Mongolic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH--- (see s.v. **jele* ‘tether’). WM *jalaya* L1029b. Kh *zala(n)* H228a. Ord *jala*: M181b. Bur *zala* C246a. Brg *zala*: U211. Kalm *zala* (obs) M237a. Dag *žila*: E317. EYu *žala*: B142, J106a. MgrH *žala*: J106b, *žəla* X217 ‘type of hat’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *žala* CN196. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jalau** ‘young (person)’. Probably from a stem **jala-* related to CT **ya:s* ‘id’.

MMo SH *jala’ui* H85, HY---, Muq *jala’u* P200a, *jalau*: P200b, LV *jalawu* P1272, IV *jalau* L62:37. WM *jalayu* L1029b, *jalayuu* L1030a. Kh *zalu* H229b. Ord *jalau*: M184a. Bur *zalu* C247b. Brg *zalu*: U211. Kalm *zalu* M238b ‘man; husband; youth’. Dag *žalu*: E312. EYu *žalu*: B143, J106a. MgrH *žaliu*: J106b, *žəliu* X217. MgrM *žalau* JL466. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *jalau* S302a. Dgx *žalau* B178. Mog *žalau* W168b, MogMr *jalau* L62:37.

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

MMo SH *jalbari-* H85, HY---, Muq *jalbari-* P200a, Ph *jalbari-* P124b. WM *jalbari-* L1030b. Kh *zalbirax* H228a. Ord *jalbari-* ~ *jalbira-* ~ *jalbiri-* M182a. Bur *zal’barxa* C248a. Brg *zalbir-* U212. Kalm *zal’vrx* M239b. Dag *jelbir-* E315. EYu *jalbar-* B143, J80, *jalbar-* (sic?) J50. MgrH---. MgrM *žierbari-* DS244a. Bao---. Dgx *žawari-* B179. Mog---.

***jalga-** ‘to join, connect’.

MMo SH *jalqa-* H85, HY---, Muq *jalqa-* P200b, LV *jalqa-* P1272 ‘to reach’, IV---. WM *jalqa-* L1030b. Kh *zalgax* H228b. Bur *zalgaxa* C247a. Brg *zalgax* U211. Kalm *zalyx* M238a. Dag *žaləy-* E312. EYu *žalga-* B143. MgrH *žalga-lda-* (reciprocal) X216. MgrM *žalga-* T333, *žierga-* DS213b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *žalga-* CN196. Kgj *žalga-* S302b. Dgx *žangə-* B176, *žaga-* MC451a. Mog---.

***jalgi-** ~ ***jalki-** ‘to swallow’. MgrH (with consonant strength moved to the initial consonant), MgrM, BaoD, Dgx, and one of the EYu forms point at **jalki-*. 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 *jalgi-* P200b. WM *jalgi-* L1031b. Kh *zalgix* H229a. Ord *jalgi-* M182b. Bur *zalgixa* C247a. Brg *zal’ig-* U212. Kalm *zal’gx* M239b. Dag *žely-* E315. EYu *jalqa-* B143, *žalgə-* J106a. MgrH *čalgə-* J106b. MgrM *žərkə-* DS227b (s.v. gulp), *žəkə-* DS254. BaoD *žialχə-* BL93b. BaoGt *žəlxə-* C121. BaoÑ *žalgə-* CN196. Kgj *žalge-* S302b. Dgx *žəŋqəi-* B176. Mog---.

***jalkaï** and ***jalkau** ‘lazy’. In spite of the HY notation not the same word as **jalikaï* ‘shrewd’. Cf. **kašəŋ* ‘lazy’.

MMo SH---, HY *jalikai* M65 ‘laziness’, Muq---. WM *jalqayu(u)* L1032b. Kh *zəlxay* H230a, *zəlxuu* H230b (and *zəlxag* H230a). Ord *žalxu*: M183b. Bur *zəlxuu* C248a. Brg *zəlxu*: U212. Kalm *zəlxu* M239a. Dag *žalkə*: E312, also *žalkə*: *žalyai*

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

***janči-** ‘to beat, pound (usu. with an axe, hammer, etc)’. Bur-Kalm stem from a form with nasalized initial **nanči-*. Kalmuck according to Ramstedt displays *n ~ j ~ y*! The Baoanic and Ordos forms with *y-* are closer to the Turkic source form **yanč-* ‘id’. However, the disyllabic forms show that this variant is of some antiquity. The Mog form and meaning seem to be influenced by **čabči-* ‘to chop’.

MMo SH *janci-* H85, HY---, Muq *janči-* P201a, LV *janči-* P1273, IV---. WM *janči-* L1034a, *jangči-* L1034b, *nanči-* L564b. Kh *jančix* H209b, *zančix* H234a. Ord *yanči-* M396a. Bur *nanšaxa* C321b. Kalm *nančx* M368b. Dag *jinč-* E317. EYu *ja:njə-* B141, *janjə-* J51. MgrH *žanči-* L229. MgrM *zanči-* C393, DS224a. BaoD---. Bao Gaser *enče-* CN86:219 ‘to hit’. BaoÑ *yanči-* CN213 ‘to beat; to forge’. Kgj *yanči-* ~ *yenči-* S305a ‘to thresh’. Dgx *yanči-* B186 ‘to thresh grain (to husk with a roller)’. Mog *janči-* R42a, *čanči-* R25a ‘to chop’.

***janggi, *janggia** ‘knot’, ***janggid-, *janggila-** ‘to tie a knot’. Strengthening of the **-g-* is found in Bao and in one MgrH form.

MMo SH *janggi* H85 ‘agreement’, HY---, Muq *janqi* P204a. WM *janggiya* L1035b. Kh *zangia* H233b. Ord *janğa:* M185b, *jangid-* M185b. Bur *zangilxa* C250a. Kalm *zängä* (obs) M244b ‘kind of talisman, q.v.). Dag *jeŋg’e:* E315, *jeŋg’e:-* E315. EYu *janğäd-* B142, *janğad-* J106a. MgrH *žanğäd-* J106b, *žanğäd-* X216 ‘to tie a knot’, *žanğäd-* X216 ‘to get into a knot’. BaoD *zanğald-* BL93b. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jaria** ‘hedgehog’. The form with **ia* survives in Bur, Dag, and in metathesized form, in Moghol. The remaining languages go back to an assimilated **jaraa*.

MMo SH---, HY *jari’a* M65, Muq *jari’a* P201b, LV *jara:n* P1271, IV *jariasun* L62:37, RH *jaria* 200A1. WM *jaraya* L1037a. Kh *zaraa* H234b, Chakhar *jira:* D183a. Ord *jara:* M187a. Bur *zaryaa* C252a. Brg *zara:* (?←Kh) U213. Kalm *zara* M241b. Dag *jer’e:* E316. EYu *jara:* B143, *jara* J106a, *ja:ra:* S432. MgrH *žara:* L229. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. MogMr *žaira* (etc) L62:37.

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

MMo SH *jarim* H86, HY *jarim* M65, *jarimtuq* M65, Muq *jarim* P201b. WM *jarim* L1038a ‘some, etc’, *jarimduy* L1038a ‘one half, etc’. Kh *zarim* H235b ‘some, a certain’, *zarimdag* H235b. Ord *jarmin* (< **jarim inu*) M188a ‘some, certain’. Bur *zarim* C251b ‘some; part of’. Brg *zarim* U213 ‘some’. Kalm *zärm* M245a ‘some; part of’. Dag *jerin* (?=) E316 ‘not full’. EYu *jarəm* J31 ‘half’, *jarəmdag* BJ325 ‘defective; paralysed’. MgrH *žærən* X218, *žæmtəg* X217, *žæmtəg* X216. MgrM *zanıtuğ* JL476, *žyarim* P418a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *yarəm* (sic) CN216. Kgj *yarun* (sic) S305b. Dgx *zarun* B179 ‘half’, *zaruntu* MC456a ‘paralysed (person)’. Mog---.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *jarma* L1038b ‘groats, grits, bran; fine meal’. Kh *zaram* H234b ‘coarsely-ground grain; bran, grist’. Ord---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *zarm* (Derbed dial.) M242a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *jarma*: J102b, *žarma* X218 ‘hail’. MgrM---. BaoD *jarma* P412b ‘hail’. BaoÑ *jarma* CN198 ‘hail’. BaoGt *jar mu* C121 ‘grain from spring’. Kgj *cirima* (sic, ?=) S302a ‘small hail’. Dgx *zama zaṣsuṇ* B178 ‘hail’ (second element see **časun* ‘snow’). Mog---.

***jaru-** ‘to use; to employ; to slaughter’.

MMo SH *jaru-* H86, HY *jaru-* M65, Muq *jaru-* P202b. WM *jaru-* L1038b. Kh *zarax* H235a. Bur *zaraxa* C251a. Brg *zar-* U213. Kalm *zarx* M242b. Dag *jar-* E312. EYu *jar-* B143, J106a. MgrH *žarə-* J106a. MgrM *žari-* JL474. BaoD *žiarə-* BL93b. BaoÑ *žar-* CN198. Kgj *žari-* S302b. Dgx *žaru-* B178. Mog *žoru-* W1698a, MogMr *žp:ru-* L64:33.

***jasa-** ‘to regulate, bring in order’, in modern languages usually ‘to repair; to make, manufacture; to fix’. The verb *yasa-* occurring in many Turkic languages, but not in the earliest-sources, is probably from Mongolic. At any rate, some of the Bao forms with *y-* may represent the Turkic form. The abraded forms such as EYu *hsa-* and MgrM *sa-* may be from **jasa-* or **yasa-*. The variety of forms within EYu is remarkable. Dag *das-* is from Manchu *dasa-*, which itself may in some (irregular) way be related to CM **jasa-*.

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

***jau-** ‘to bite; to sting’.

MMo SH *ja’u-* H87, HY---, Muq *ja’u-* P203b, *ju:-* P211a. WM *jayu-* L1024a. Kh *zuux* H256b. Bur *zuuxa* C265b. Brg *zov-* U215. Kalm *zuux* M259a. Dag *jau-* E309. EYu *ju:-* B147, J106a. MgrH *žau:-* J106b, *žau-* X215, *žiū:-* SM94. MgrM *zau-* JL465. BaoD *žiū-* BL44. BaoGm *žu:-* CN86:227. BaoÑ *žu-* CN202. Kgj *jiū-* S302b. Dgx *zau-* B175. Mog *žöu-* R42b, *jaov-* W169a.

***jauči** ‘mediator, go-between, matchmaker’. Possibly related to **jaura* ‘space between’. The Bur form suggests that **jauči* may go back to **jaurčī*, whereas Kalm suggests **jaulčī*. However, similar forms with *-l-* in WM and Kh are semantically different: WM *jayulči(n)* L1024b, *jiyulči(n)* (sic) L1051a ‘traveler, guest, passer-by,

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *jaŋučī* L1024b, *jiŋučī* (sic) L1051a. Kh *zuuč* H256b, *žuuč* H219b, [*zuučlagč* H256b]. Ord *ju:či* M222a. Bur [*zuurša(-lagša)* C265ab]. Kalm *zu:lčī* R482a, *zu:čī* R483b. Dag *jauč* E309. EYu [*ju:rmačə* (< **jaurmači*) B147]. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *žaučī* B176. Mog---.

***jāugasun** ‘lily bulb’. Strange disharmonic form in Dagur.

MMo SH *ja’uqasu* H87 ‘lily root’, HY---. Muq *ju:yasunu čecek* [Poppe reads *čuyasunu*] P136b ‘kind of flower’. WM and central lgs---. Dag *jauwə:s* E310 ‘“lantern flower” [name used for several unrelated plants with bell-shaped flowers], lily; soft hoof of newborn calf’, *jauwə:s* NK524a ‘lily bulb; the soft part of the hoof’. Remaining lgs---.

***jaujai** ‘heel (of foot or footwear)’. The Dag form is unexpected, as *-ai* is normally either lost completely, or preserved with a palatal element as *e:*, *i:*, or *ai*. Cf. **ösegei* ‘heel’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV *jaufai* L62:38, RH *jaufa* 199A20. Kh *zuuzay* H255b ‘counter for boots or shoes’. Bur *zuuzay* C264b. Kalm *zuuza* M258a. Dag *jaufa*: E310. EYu---. MgrH *žaužə* X215. MgrM [*qur*] *žaožia* DS228b, cf. *ğər zoužia* (lit. hand heel’) DS219b ‘elbow’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jaun** ‘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 *go:r nžon* J32, BaoÑ *guar nžon*, BaoGt *guarān jün* C132, BaoX *guari nžon* CN86:152 ‘200’, BaoGt *nəgan žün* BL31 ‘100’, BaoX *nəgin jon* BC64 ‘100’.

MMo SH *ja’u(n)* H87, HY *ja’un* M66, Muq *ja’un* P203b, LV *jawun* P1271, IV *jawun* L62:38. WM *jaŋu(n)* L1024a. Kh *zuu(n)* H255a. Bur *zuu(n)* C264b. Brg *zɔ:* U215. Kalm *zun* M255b. Dag *jaun* E309. EYu *ju:n* B147, J106a. MgrH *žɔŋ* X224, *nžon* J106b. MgrM---. BaoD *žün* BL93a. BaoGt *jün* C132. BaoÑ *nžon* CN37, *žon* CN201. BaoX *jon* BC64. Kgj *jün* ~ *jün* S303. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jaura** ‘space between’. In the central languages ‘on the way, halfway; while’. Cf. **jaučī* ‘matchmaker’; possibly also related to **jab*, **jabsar* ‘interval’.

MMo SH *ja’ura* H87, HY *ja’ura* M66, Muq *ju:ra* P211b, Ph *ja’ura* P125a. WM *jaŋura* L1024b. Kh *zuur* H256a. Bur *zuura* C264b. Brg *zɔ:r* U215. Kalm *zuur* M258a. Dag *jaur* Z73, *jaur*, *jo:r* T143. EYu *ju:ra* B147. MgrH *žo:ro* X223, *žu:rə* X224. MgrM *žaura* JL466. BaoD---. BaoGt *žorə* C103. BaoÑ *žə:rə* CN201. Kgj *juru* S303b. Dgx *žəura* B179 ‘at the time that..’. Mog *jöuro*: R42b.

***jaurangai/*jaurakai** ‘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 **jau-* ‘to bite’ with the adjectival suffix *-rAkAi* denoting

habitual actions; alternatively from **jaura-* ‘to close the mouth tightly’ (not listed). Cf. **čino*.

MMo---. Bur (Khorī dial.) *zuurangi* C265a ‘(taboo) wolf’. MgrH *žiu:raŋge*: SM95. Kgj *jiurŋei* S303a. Dgx *žiranŋəi* B181, *žanŋəi* B177, *žiranqəy* P412a.

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

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

***jebe** (?*jebi) ‘rust’. The final vowel is uncertain. MgrH seems to indicate *-e* rather than *-i*, but MgrM does not support this. Ordos has two variants and cannot decide the matter. The first vowel is also uncertain: Kh-Kalm *z-* points at **e*, but Bur *ž-* suggests **jibe* or **jibi*. The Dag forms suggest a form **jebi* or **jibi*, since **-b-* is only preserved in Dag before **i/i*. Unfortunately this word is absent from the old documents (**jebe* in MMo SH, HY, Muq is ‘weapon, arm’)

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *jibe* L1048a, *jibi* L1048b, *jebi* L1042a, *jabi* (sic) L1019a. Kh *zev* H262a, according to Lessing also *živ*, *zav*. Ord *jiwe*, *jiwi* M206ab. Bur *žebe* C234b. Brg *jib* U207. Kalm *zev* M245b. Dag *jib* E317, *jib’* NK526a. EYu---. MgrH *že*: X219, *žue*: SM95, cf. *žo:-də-* X223 ‘to rust’. MgrM *žeb-de-* JL474 ‘to rust’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jee** ‘cousin’. The WM spelling with *-i-* is incorrect in view of the *z-* in the central languages, and the Turkic cognate **yegen* ‘id’. The complete absence of *-n* in Mongolic is surprising.

MMo SH *je’e*, *je* H88, HY *je’e* M66, Muq---. WM *jige* L1051b. Kh *zee* H266b. Ord *je*: M192a. Bur *zee* (in compounds) C275a. Brg *žə*: U213. Kalm *ze* M245a. Dag *žə*: E313. EYu *ji*: B145, J106b, *je*: (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *že*: J106a, X219. MgrM (Sanchuan) *čī* [*žə] P418a. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *žə* B179. Mog---.

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

MMo SH---, HY *je:ren* M67, Muq *je:ren* P205a, LV *jiyren* P1273, IV---. WM *jegere(n)* L1043b. Kh *zeer(en)* H267b. Bur *zeere(n)* C275b. Kalm *zeern* M246a. Dag *žə:rən* E312. EYu *je:ren* B144, J106b. MgrH---. MgrM *jer’ imà* P413a (**imaan* ‘goat’). Remaining lgs---.

***jele** (?*jelü) ‘long rope to which the tethers of cattle are attached’. Ord, Bur and EYu disagree on the final vowel. Agricultural term related to CT **yelü* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH *jele* [eds read *jala:*] 205A30. WM *jele* L1045a. Kh *zel* H263b. Ord *jile* M198a. Bur *zele*, *zeli* C272b, *zeeli* (?=) C275a ‘horse hair rope’. Brg *žəl* U214. Kalm *zel* M246b. Dag *jildə:s* (+ **deesün*) E318, *dillə:s* E88:103. EYu *jelə* B144. Remaining lgs---.

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

MMo SH---, HY *je'ü-* M67, Muq---. WM *jegü-* L1043b. Kh *züüx* H262a. Ord *ju:-* M222a. Bur *züüxe* C270a. Brg *zu:-* U217. Kalm *züüx* M262a. Dag---. EYu *jü:-* B148, J106b. MgrH *žo:-* J106a. MgrM *zo-* JL472. BaoD *žia-* BL93b. BaoÑ *žo:-* CN201. Kgj *jü-* S304a. Dgx *zo-* B181, *juei-* T120. Mog---.

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

MMo SH *jao'udun* H86, HY *je'üdüñ* M67, Muq *jü:dü* P212b. WM *jegüde(n)* L1043b, *jegüdü(n)* L1044a. Kh *züüd(en)* H261b. Ord *ju:de* M222b. Bur *züüde(n)* C270a. Brg *zu:d* U217. Kalm *züüdn* M261b. Dag *jəud* E313. EYu *jü:dən* B148, J106b, *jö:dən* (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *žiu:dən* J106a. MgrM *žauduñ* JL474, *jiuden* T334. BaoD *žünduñ* BL93a. BaoGt *žunduñ* C137. BaoJ *žündüñ* L52. BaoÑ *žudañ* CN202. BaoX *judon* BC64. Kgj *judun* ~ *jüdüñ* S304a. Dgx *žaužüñ* B176. Mog *jödu-la-* R42b ‘to dream’.

***jeün** ‘left; east’. Cf. ***solagai** ‘left’.

MMo SH *jao'un* H86, HY *je'un* M67, Muq *jü'un* P112a, *jö'en* P209a, LV *jöwen* P1271, IV *jüyün* L62:40. WM *jegün* L1044a. Kh *züün* H261b. Bur *züü(n)* C270a. Brg *zu:ñ* U217. Kalm *zün* M259b. Dag *jun* T145. EYu *jüñ* (‘obsolete’) B147, *jü:n* J106b. Remaining lgs---.

***jeün** ‘needle’.

MMo SH *je'u* H89, HY *jö'un* M69, Muq *je'un* P205a, *jü'un-* P297a, *jü:n-* P370b. WM *jegüü* L1044b, *jegün* L1044a, *jeü* L1047b. Kh *züü(n)* H261b. Ord *ju:* M222a. Bur *züü(n)* C270a. Brg *zu:* U217. Kalm *zün* M260a. Dag *ju:* E320, *jəu* NK525a. EYu *jü:n* B148, J106b. MgrH *žiu:* J106b. MgrM *žau* C393. BaoD *žüñ* BL93a. BaoÑ *žəñ* CN201. Kgj *jün* ~ *jün* S304a. Dgx *žun* B182. Mog *jöun* R42b.

***jäa-** ‘to announce, etc’ see ***jaa-**

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

MMo SH---, HY *jiqar* (or *ji-ha-r*) M67 ‘musk deer’, Muq *ja:r* P204a, RH *ja:r* 205D4. WM *jaqar* L1023b, *jiyar* L1050a. Kh *jaar* H221b ‘musk, etc’, *jaar'* H221b ‘musk, etc; gelded reindeer’, *zair* H227b (both meanings?). Ord *ja:r* M187a. Bur *jaar* C240a, *zaari* C240b both ‘strong smell’, cf. *zari* (Oka dial.) C251b ‘gelded

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

***jīda** 'spear, lance'. A widespread word in North Eurasia. Dag *g'ad* is from Manchu *gida* 'id'.

MMo SH *jida* H89, HY *jida* M67, Muq *jida* P205a, LV---, IV *jida* L62:38. WM *jida* L1049a. Kh *jad* H208b. Ord *jida* M193b. Bur *žada* C230b. Brg *jad* U206. Kalm *jid* M226b. Dag (see above). EYu *jəda* BJ325, J106b, *juda* B147. MgrH *ži:da* J106a, *žida*: X222. MgrM *žida* JL461. Bao---. Kgj *jida* S303b. Dgx *žida* B180. Mog---.

***jīgasun** 'fish' see ***jāgasun**

***jīlga** 'ravine, gorge, chasm, abyss'. The Kgj form may also be from ***jölke**.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *jilyas* (pl) P372a 'pad' - tiefe schlucht'. WM *jilya* L1055a. Kh *žalga* H209a. Bur *žalga* C231a. Kalm *jaly* M224a. Dag *jaləy* (?) E312 'marshland'. EYu *jalğa* B144. Mgr---. BaoD *žingə* (?) BL58 'Ganhetan (placename)'. Kgj *jirge* (?) S303b.

***jīloa** 'reins'. The Arabo-Mongolic forms see to involve a metathetic ***jīlau**.

MMo SH *jilo'a*, *jilu'a* H90, HY---, Muq---, LV *jilawu* P1272, IV---, RH *jilau* 187C13. WM *jiloya* L1055b. Kh *joloo(n)* H217b. Ord *jilo*: M198b. Bur *žoloo* C232b. Brg *jolə*: U208. Kalm *jola* M231a. Dag *dilə*: E283, *jilə*: ~ *dilə*: E88:116. EYu *jəlu*: B144, *julu*: J106b, *jolu*: S452. MgrH *žolo-čə* X224 'driver'. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jīlsun** 'glue, paste'. The distribution of this word is interesting. The Kgj form suggest a front form, but Kalm supports the present reconstruction. The *-l-* is preserved in Shirongol as in ***čaasun** 'paper', etc. The *-i-* in the Bao and Kgj forms may be due to secondary palatalisation, rather than represent an archaic form. Perhaps related to Kh *jiliy* H214b 'rosin, colophony', Bur *želii* C236a 'tree resin'. A relationship with CT ***yelim** 'id' is doubtful.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *jilsun* (P: *jilsün*) P206a, LV---, IV---, RH *jilsun* [eds.: *jalasun*] 204C28. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm *zun* M257b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *žülzə* X225. MgrM *zursi* JL473. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *žilsoŋ* S555. Kgj *jilesun* S303a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jīrga-** 'to be glad or happy'.

MMo SH *jirqa-* H90, HY *jirqa-* M67, Muq---, Ph *jirqa-* P125b. WM *jirya-* L1059a. Kh *jargax* H210a. Ord *jirga-* M202a. Bur *jargaxa* C231b. Brg *jarag-* U206. Kalm *jirγx* M230a. Dag *jarəy-* E312. EYu *jirğa-* B145, *jarğa-* J65. MgrH *žargal* (only) L230 'happiness'. Remaining lgs---.

***jīrguan** 'six'. The central languages reflect a shape ***jurga**an (the result of early breaking), Dagur and Shirongol derive from ***jirgo:n** < ***jirgoan**. The latter is also

likely to be the source of the EYu form (via an unattested **jǝrǝʝ:n*). Related to **jīran* ‘sixty’ which suggests a root **jīr-* with an unknown suffix (?-gUAn).

MMo SH *jirwa’an* H91, *jirqo’an* H90, HY *jirwa’an* M67, Muq *jiryu’an* P207a, *jīrya:n* P206b, LV *jīrya:n*, *jūrya:n* P1271, IV *jūryu’an* L62:39. WM *jiryuya(n)* L1059b. Kh *zurgaa(n)* H254a. Ord *jūrǵa:* M220a. Bur *zurgaan* C263b, *yorgoon* (Ekhirit) C228a. Brg *zǝrga:ŋ* U217. Kalm *zurǵan* M257a. Dag *jīryǝ:* E318. EYu *jīrǵu:n* B145, *jūrǵu:n* J107a. MgrH *ǵīrǵo:n* J106b. MgrM *jūrǵoŋ* T334. BaoD *ǵīrǵuŋ* BL93a. BaoÑ *ǵīrǵoŋ* CN200. BaoX *jīrǵoŋ* BC67. Kgj *jīrǵuŋ* ~ *jīrǵun* S303b. Dgx *ǵīǵoŋ* B180. MogMr *jūryp:n* (rarely used) L62:40.

***jīran** ‘sixty’. In Bao and Kgj replaced by a new formation **jīrguan harban* ‘six tens’, e.g. *ǵīrgaran* CN200. Related to **jīrguan* ‘six’ which suggests a root **jīr-* + decade suffix -An, for which cf. **dalan* ‘seventy’, **yeren* ‘ninety’.

MMo SH---, HY *jīran* M67, Muq *jīran* P206b, LV *jīran* P1274, IV *jīran* L62:39. WM *jīra(n)* L1058b. Kh *ǵar(an)* H210a. Ord *jīra* M200b. Bur *ǵara(n)* C231b. Brg *ǵar* U206. Kalm *jīrn* M231a. Dag *ǵar* E312. EYu *jīran* B145, J106b. MgrH *jīran* J106a. BaoD---, BaoÑ---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***jīroa** ‘amble; ambler’. The CM form **jōria*, expected on the basis of the Turkic cognate **yorīga* from **yorī-* ‘to walk’, is only attested in MMo sources in Arabic script. Vowel shortening in Mgr.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *jōriya* P1273, IV *jōrya* L62:39. WM *jīroya* L1061a. Kh *jōroo* H218b. Ord *jīro:* M203a. Bur *ǵoroo* C233a. Brg *jōrǝ:* U208. Kalm *jōra* M232b. Dag *jīrǝ:* E318. EYu *jōrǝ:* B146, *jōro:* J107a. MgrH *ǵoro* J106a, *ǵuro* L251. MgrM---, Bao---, Kgj *jūru* S303b. Dgx---, Mog *jīro:* R42b.

***jīru-** ‘to paint; to write’. The **i* in the first syllable is uncertain. The central languages go back to a form **jūru-* or **jūr-*. EYu as if from **jūra-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *jīru-qsan* P207a ‘drawn’, cf. Muq *jūri’a-tu* P211a ‘striped’. LV---, IV---. WM *jīru-* L1060b. Kh *zurax* H254a. Ord *jūru-* M220b. Bur *zuraxa* C263b, (western) ‘to write’. Brg *zǝr-* U216. Kalm *zurx* M257a. Dag---. EYu *jūra-* B147. MgrH *ǵiu:rǝ-* J98b ‘to write’. MgrM *ǵuri-* JL464 ‘to write’, *jūri-* T335 ‘id’. Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***jī-** ‘two’ see ***jītüer** ‘second’.

***jīi-** ‘to stretch, extend’. The original form may have been **jīi-*, 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 *jīgi-*, *jīgii-*, *jīgei-* L1052a. Kh *jīyx* H213b. Ord *jī:-* M192b. Bur *jīixe* C232b. Brg *jī:-* U206. Kalm *jīix* M227b. Dag *jī:-* E316. EYu---. MgrH *jī:-* J106a. BaoD *ǵi-* BL93b. BaoÑ *ǵi:-* CN198. Kgj---, Dgx *ǵi-* L121b, *ǵīǵa-* (caus.) B180. Mog---.

***jīl** ‘(calendar) year, year of the Twelve Animal Cycle’. The Turkic equivalent **yīl* ‘id’ suggests that this word was probably back-vocalic **jīl*, but there is no

confirmation for this in the Mongolic languages. The extra vowel in Baoan and Kangjia is a later addition, given that Dongxiang has the normal development *-l > -ŋ. Cf. **hon* ‘(duration of a) year’; **nasun* ‘(year of) age’.

MMo SH *jil* H90, HY *jil* M67, Muq---, LV *jil* P1274, IV---, Ph *jil* P125a. WM *jil* L1054a. Kh *jil* H213b. Chakhar *jil* D182b. Kalm *jil* M227b. Bur *žel* C236a. Brg *jil* U207. Dag *jil* E317. EYu *ǰəl* B144, J106b. MgrH *ǰil* J106a, X221, *ǰül* X225. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ǰilə* CN199. Kgj *ǰile* S303a. Dgx *ǰəŋ* B110, cf. also *ǰuŋtu* B110 ‘born in the ... year’ (**ǰil.tü* or **ǰil.tu*). Mog *ǰil* W169a ‘time’.

?**ǰir-* ‘to cut’. Apparently only present in Shirongol, but it may nevertheless be an old verb. Perhaps the base of **ǰirim* ‘bellyband’ (for which a verbal base is known in Turkic). The MgrH form was derived from **ǰor-* (listed below) by Khasbaatar, but there is also a MgrH *ǰo:rə-* which suits **ǰor-* better. BaoÑ *ǰir-* could also go back to **ǰisü-* ‘to cut’ listed below. ?cf. also Kh *ǰirgex* H216a ‘to cut into smaller pieces’, *ǰürmele-* L1085b ‘to cut into thin strips’.

MMo---, Central lgs---, Dag---, EYu---, MgrH *ǰi:ri-* SM93 ‘to cut into long strips’, *ǰi:rə-* X219 ‘to cut’. BaoD *ǰarə-* (?=) T139 ‘to cut’. BaoÑ *ǰir-* (?=) CN200 ‘to cut’ (could be from **ǰisü-*). Kgj *ǰiri-* S303b ‘to cut, to slash’. Dgx---, Mog (see ?**ǰor-*).

**ǰirim* ‘bellyband on the left side of the saddle’. The rounded vowels in the Dag form *ǰulum* may suggest a relationship with Kh *zürem* H260b ‘thin strips of something’. This would explain the rounded vowel forms but not the -l-. Perhaps related to Turkic **yirim* or **yerim* ‘a single fresh strip of anything’ (cf. EDPT 969a) from **yer-* or **yir-* (cf. EDPT 955a). Cf. **olaŋ*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ǰirim* P207a ‘thong’, LV---, IV---, WM *ǰirim* L1060a. Kh *ǰirem* H216b. Ord *ǰirim* M202b. Bur *ǰerem* C238b. Brg *ǰirəm* U207. Kalm *ǰirm* M231a. Dag *ǰulum* E324, *ǰilim* NK526b, *ǰulim* T145. EYu *ǰərəm* B144. Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx *ǰirəŋ* B181, *ǰiriŋ* L7, *ǰirun* MC462a. Mog---.

**ǰirüken* ‘heart’ see **ǰürüken*

ǰisü-* ‘to cut, slice, split’. The central languages have z- which rather suggests a CM **ǰüsü-*. Dagur and Ordos support this as well. It is phonetically possible that BaoÑ *ǰir-* CN200 ‘to cut’ belongs here, but cf. also ?ǰir-* listed above.

MMo SH *ǰisu-* H91, HY---, Muq *ǰisü-* P207b. WM *ǰisü-* L1064a. Kh *züsex* H261a. Ord *ǰusu-* M225b. Bur *zühexe* C271a. Brg *ǰuxu:-* U218. Kalm *züsx* M261a. Dag *ǰus-* E323 ‘etc’. EYu *čüsə-* BJ346 ‘to chop; to stab’, *čusu-* (?=) S579 ‘to tear to pieces’. Mgr---, BaoD---, BaoÑ *ǰir-* (?=, see above) CN200 ‘to cut’. Dgx---, Mog---.

**ǰisün* ‘colour (esp. of the hair of an animal); complexion; appearance, looks’. The forms with z- in the central languages suggest CM **ǰüsün*. This form is also supported by Dagur, where one would expect **ǰisün* to result in **ǰis*. Enkhbat compares Dag *ǰus* to WM *ǰisüm*, which is probably incorrect, although the loss of -m is also seen in other Dag words. Some of the EYu and MgrH forms also suggest **ǰüsün* rather than a disyllabic form.

MMo SH *jisu(n)* H91, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *jisü(n)* L1064a. Kh *züs(en)* H260b, cf. *züse*m. Ord *jusu* M225b. Bur *zühe(n)* C270b, *zühe(n)* C234b. Brg *juxu*: U209. Kalm *züs*n M260b. Dag *jus* E323, Z105a. EYu *jus* B148, *jüs* BJ113, *čösön* J106b. MgrH *žus* C88:587 ‘face’, *žusə* S469. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jitüer** ‘second; co-wife’ and ***jitüen** ‘competition’. Morphologically ***jitüer** is an ordinal number from the root ***ji-** ‘two’, also occurring in ***jirin** ‘two’, cf. MMo SH *jirin* H90 ‘two, both (feminine)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *jitö:r* [Poppe reads *jitür*] P207b ‘jealousy’. Kh *jötöör* H218a, *jötgör* H218b ‘wives of a polygamist; jealousy, envy’, *jötöö(n)* H218b ‘jealousy, envy’, *jitger* LC2:180a ‘(youngest) wife of a polygamist’. Ord *jötö:r* M214a ‘jealous’, *jötö:*, *ata: jötö:* M214a ‘jealousy, rivalry’. Bur *žütöö(n)* C234a. Kalm *atan jitään* M231b ‘envy, competition’. cf. Dag *xata: jütə:* E323 ‘aspiration, willpower’. Remaining lgs---.

***jüür** ‘wing’. The central languages go back to ***jibür**, the MMo sources stem from ***jüür** > ***jüür**. The forms with **-güü-** in Kh and Bur are reading pronunciations. Perhaps then from a set of PM variants ***jibür** ~ ***jipür**, of which the latter went on to become ***jihür** > ***jüür**. The MgrH forms are perhaps related in spite of the aberrant forms. In MgrM this word seems to be confused with ***ijüür** ‘tip, end’.

MMo SH *ji’ur* H91, HY *jü’ür* M67 (read *ji’ür* by Mostaert), Muq---, LV *jü:r* P1273, IV *jibür* L62:38, RH *jüür* 200B14. WM *jigür* L1053a, *jiber* ‘sometimes used instead of *jigür*’) L1048b. Kh *jiver* H211b ‘fin(s) of a fish’, *jigüür* H212a ‘wing’. Ord *jigü:r* (← WM) M195b. Bur *žeber* C234b ‘pinion, wing’, *žegüür* C235b ‘wing’. Kalm *jivr* M225a ‘wing’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ža:r* (?=) X214, *sa:r* (?=) X129. MgrM *jur*, *ujur* P415b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***joba-** ‘to suffer, to worry’.

MMo SH *joba-*, *jobo-* H91, HY *jobo-laŋ* M67 ‘suffering’, Muq *joba-* P207b. WM *joba-* L1065b. Kh *zovox* H239b. Bur *zoboxo* C255a. Brg *зəβ-* U215. Kalm *zovx* M250a. Dag *joγ^w*- E320. EYu *jo:-* B145, *jo:-* J91. MgrH *žoblŋ* X224, *žæblŋ* X217, *žærlŋ* X218 < **jobalaŋ*, and perhaps in *žo:rgo-* SM91 (caus.) ‘to thank’ < **joba-lga-*. MgrM *zobo-* DS256a ‘to toil’. Bao---. Dgx---. MogMr only in *jobo-lyə* L68, No. 18 ‘bad quality meat’.

***jočün** ‘guest’. Apparently from an older form ***jolčün** and related to a CT ***yo:l-čī** ‘traveller’ from ***yo:l** ‘road’. The form with **-l-** only seems to survive in one Baoan source, and in Kalm *zolčn* R476a ‘traveller’. Kalm *zuul’č* M258a ‘traveller, tourist, stranger’ and *zo:člχä* R477b ‘to be a guest (and give presents at the occasion), to ask a girl to marry’, *zu:lčī* R482a, *zulčī* R483a ‘mediator’ seem to involve a confusion between this word and ***jaučī** ‘mediator, matchmaker’. Two other Mongolic words for guest are similarly formed: ***ailčün** (not listed here) from ***ail** ‘camp, village’, and ***geičün**, perhaps < ***keidčün** from ***keid** ‘dwelling’. The partially overlapping distribution of these three words seems erratic. Ordos has all three words. The peripheral languages typically only preserve one each.

MMo SH---, HY *jočin* M67, Muq *jočin* P208a. WM *joči(n)* L1066a. Kh *zočin* H245a. Ord *jočid* (pl.) M211a. Bur *zošon* (some dialects) C259a. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *çućin* JL473. BaoD *žiaocüñ* BL93b, *žioćüñ* BL4. BaoJ *žolćuñ* L50. BaoÑ---. Kgj *jučə ~ jüčə* S304a. Dgx *zočəñ* B181. Mog---.

***jokī-** ‘to fit, to suit’.

MMo SH *joki-* H92, HY *jokiya-* (caus. form) M67 ‘to arrange’, Muq *joqi-* P208a, Ph *joqiya-* (caus) P125b. WM *joki-* L1068a. Kh *zoxix* H245a. Bur *zoxixo* C259a. Kalm *zokx* M251a. Dag *juyʷ-* (sic) E322. EYu *jəgə-* B146. MgrH *čugu-* X211, *čigu-* L444, *čugu-* SM440. MgrM---. BaoD *joyə-* T139. BaoÑ *žəgə-* CN201. Kgj *juğu-* S303b. Dgx *zoğu-* MC465b. Mog *joya:lya-* (double caus.) R42b ‘to cause to perform, to cause to do, to do’, *jəgə-* W169a ‘to prepare’.

***jolga-** ‘to meet; to visit’. The long vowel in MgrH, although in agreement with Turkic **yo:l-uk-* ‘id’, is unexpected here. The Turkic is from **yo:l* ‘road, path’, which is cognate to CM **jol* ‘good luck’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *jolqa-* H92, *joluqa-* H93, HY *jolqa-* M68, Muq *jolqa-* P208a. WM *jolya-* L1069b. Kh *zolgox* H241a. Bur *zolgoxo* C255b. Brg *zoləg-* U215. Kalm *zolyx* M251a. Dag---. EYu *jəlgə-* B146, *jəlgə-* J93b. MgrH *žio:rğa-*, *žio:rgo-* SM91, *žo:lğa-*, *žo:lgo-* X223. BaoD *zolyə-* BL81b. BaoÑ *žolğa-* CN201. BaoX *jəlgə-* BC71. Kgj *julğu-* S303b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***jor-** ‘to plane, shave, peel, pare off’. In spite of Poppe’s readings, the Muq forms probably belong here, which is supported by the Chagatai equivalent *yon-*. However, the disyllabic form *juru-qu* is unexpected. EYu-MgrH vowel length probably arose after the connective vowel *U* was incorporated into the stem. Cf. **jir-* and **jisü-* ‘to cut’ listed above for some further QG forms that may belong with the present etymon. Ramstedt’s Moghol form is hard to connect to either **jir-* or **jor-*, as *öu* normally reflects **au* or **eü*. Ramstedt’s etymology **jaura-* seems untraceable; Weiers’ suggestion to derive *juri-* from **jori-* ‘to point at’ is semantically problematic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *jor-* (Poppe: *jur-qu*, *juru-ba*) P211a, *juru-qu* P383a, the second *u* is only written in the last instance. WM *jor-* L1070b. Kh *zoroX* H243b. Ord *jor-* M210a. Bur *zoroXo* C257b. Kalm *zorx* M252a. Dag *joryʷ-* (apparently a caus. formation, but not semantically) E320. EYu *ju:r-* B147, S470, *jü:r-* S454. MgrH *žo:rə-* X223. Mog *jöurunä* (?=) R42b ‘cuts’, *juri-* (?=) W169b ‘to make’, but the context of the only occurrence (in fact the pass. *jurigda-* W64, No. 185) is compatible with ‘to cut’; cf. Zirni *juru-* 22:5a ‘to cut’.

***jori-** ‘to point at’, with derived meanings like ‘to aim’ and ‘to intend’. In some languages most clearly attested in derived forms, e.g. MMo HY *jorin* M68 ‘intentionally’, *joriq* M68 ‘intention’, Dgx *zoroğon* MC464a ‘intentionally’. The Dgx verb listed below is a semantically problematic match.

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

zorixo C257b ‘to aim at’. Kalm *zörx* M254b ‘to aim at’. Dag *ǰorʸ*- E320. EYu *ǰorə*- B146 ‘to aim at’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *zorəi*- (?=) MC464a ‘to begin (upwards or downwards)’ (?). Mog--- (see **ǰor*- above).

***ǰoraa** ‘ambler’ see ***ǰiroa**

***ǰöb** ‘right, correct, proper’. Perhaps Dag *ǰu:yu:* below and *ǰuyi(n)* T145 (derived from **ǰöb* by Enkhbat as well as Todaeva) are not related to **ǰöb*, but rather to Dag *ǰuyʸ*-, which seems to be an irregular development of **ǰoki*- ‘to be suitable’.

MMo SH *job* H91, HY *jöb* M68, Muq *jöbleldü*- P208b ‘to promise’ (**jöbleldü*-). WM *jöb* L1072b. Kh *zöv* H245b. Ord *jöb* M212a. Bur *züb* C265b. Brg *zuß* U218. Kalm *zöv* M252a. Dag *ǰu:yu:* (sic, ?=) E320, cf. *ǰubše*:- E322 ‘to support’ (**jöbsie*-). EYu *jöb* B146. MgrH *ǰob* X223, *ǰüb* X225, *ǰür* X225, *ǰod* X223. MgrM *zo* JL472. Bao---. Kgj *ǰübə-la* ~ *ǰubu-la* S304a ‘true’. Dgx *zo* B181. Mog---.

***ǰöe**- ‘to carry, transport’. For semantic reasons it is difficult to connect MMo SH *jo’e*- H92, *ju’e*- H94 ‘to set up, install, etc’, Muq *jö*:- P209a ‘to obtain’. The HY *-g*- may be a mistranscription from the Uigur script, but is also reminiscent of EYu *jöke*- B146 ‘to bring, deliver (betrothal gifts)’. This may have further equivalents in MMo SH *jugeli* H94 ‘sacrifice to Heaven with meat suspended from a pole’, Dag *ǰu:yu:*- E321 ‘to offer up a sacrifice’, cf also Manchu *juge*-. In some languages **ǰöe*- has phonetically merged with **ǰeü*- ‘to wear (gloves, jewelry, etc)’.

MMo SH (see above), HY *jögelge*- M68, *jöge’ül*- M69 (caus. forms), Muq (see above). WM *jöge*- L1074a, *jögege*- L1074b. Kh *zööx* H248b. Ord *jö*:- M212a. Bur *zööxe* C260a. Brg *zo*:- U217. Kalm *zööx* M253b. Dag---. EYu *jü*:- J107a. MgrH *ǰo*:- J107b. MgrM *jiu*- T334. BaoD *ǰo*:- T139. BaoÑ---. Dgx *jue*- T120, *čue*- T141 (sic), *zo*- MC462a ‘to apply/spread (dung)’. Mog *ǰuwa*- W169b ‘to bring out’.

ǰöelen** (?ǰeülen**) ‘soft’. The form **ǰeülen* (due to metathesis of diphthong elements) is suggested by Dag, and perhaps supported by MogM. The forms in the QG languages do not strongly favour the form with *-öe*-. Kalm *j*- is unexpected.

MMo SH *jo’olen* H93, HY *jö’elen* M68, Muq *jö’elen* P209a, *jö’ölen* P209a, *jö:’len* P209b, LV---, IV *jö:’len* L62:39. WM *jögelen* L1074b. Kh *zöölön* H247b. Bur *zööle(n)* C259b. Brg *zo:liṅ* U217. Kalm *jöölñ* M233a. Dag *ǰaulə:n* E313. EYu *jülen* B148, *jü:’len* B148, J107a, *jö:’len* (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *ǰo:lon* J107a. MgrM *zolen* JL464, *ǰiolon* T334. BaoD *ǰiuləṅ* BL93a. BaoÑ *ǰulaṅ* CN202. Kgj *ǰilo* S303a. Dgx *zolién* B181. MogMr *ǰo:lan*, MogM *ǰəulä* L62:39.

***ǰöen** ‘cold’. In central Mongolic ***ǰöeg** ‘lukewarm, cool’. In some languages only derived verbs **ǰöed*-/**ǰöes*- are attested.

MMo SH *ju’en* H94, HY *jö’en* M68, Muq *jö’öske*- P209a, *jö:ske*- P210a (caus.) ‘to make cold’, LV *jöen* P1273, IV *jöyen* L62:39. WM---. Kh *zö(g)ön xaluun* H248a/247a ‘humid and warm’, *zöög* H247b ‘lukewarm, etc’, *zöösǰöröx* H248a *zöötǰöröx* H248b ‘to cool down, become lukewarm, etc’. Ord *jö:s ge*- M214a ‘to diminish, decrease’. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *zö:g* R479a ‘lukewarm, no longer too hot’, *zö:dəxə* R479a ‘to become somewhat cooler or milder’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH

žio:di- SM89. MgrM *žosi-* DS214a. Bao---. DgX *žosiya-* S375 ‘to cool off’ (+ caus.). Mog---.

***jōriū** ‘transverse; askew; stubborn’.

MMo SH---, HY *jōriū* M69, Muq---. WM *jōrigiū* L1076b. Kh *zōriū* H249a. Bur *zūryūū* (written *zūryūū*) C269b. Brg *jiru:* U208. Kalm *zōriū:* R478b. Ord *jiru:* M203a. Dag *juri:* E323. EYu *jōriū:* S459. Remaining lgs---.

***jujaan** ‘thick; dense’.

MMo SH *juja'an* H94, HY *juja'an* M69, Muq *juja'an* P210a, *juja:n* P210b, LV---, IV *juja:n* P62:39. WM *jujayan* L1081b. Kh *zuzaan* H250b. Ord *juja:n* M215b. Bur *zuzaan* C261a. Brg *zɔza:ŋ* U216. Kalm *zuzan* M255a. Dag *juja:n* E323. EYu *juja:n* B147, J107a. MgrH *žužuan* L107b. MgrM *jujaŋ* T335. BaoD *žižian* BL93b. BaoÑ *žižan* CN200. Kgj *jijɔ* S303b. DgX *žužan* B184. Mog *jujɔn* W169b, MogM *jujɔ:n* L62:39.

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

MMo SH---, HY *jula* M69, Muq *jula* P210b, LV---, IV *jula* L62:39, Ph *jula* P125b. WM *jula* L1078a, *julaya* L1078a. Kh *zul* H251a. Ord *jula* M217a. Bur *zula* C261b. Brg *zol* U216. Kalm *zul* M255b. Dag *j^wal* E325. EYu *jula* B147, J107a. MgrH *žila:* J107b. MgrM *žula* JL464, *jula* T333. BaoD *žiula* BL93b. BaoÑ *žila* CN199. Kgj *jilağa* (sic) S303a. DgX *žula* B183. Mog---.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---, cf. IM *jola:* P439b ‘brain’. WM *julai*, *jula* L1078a. Kh *zulay* H251b. Ord *julä:* M217b. Bur *zulay* C261b; cf. also the phonetically aberrant Bur *žoloo* C232b ‘fontanel’, *yoloon* (Bokh. dial) C227a ‘id’. Brg *zolai* U216. Kalm *zula* M255b. Dag *jɔl* E320. EYu *jula* B147. MgrH *žiärge:* (?=) SM83. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *žila* CN199. DgX *žula* B183. Mog---.

***juljaga(n)** ‘young of an animal, offspring’. The *-n* found in MMo only survives in EYu. Kalm remodeled as if from a diminutive formation **juljiu-kaī* (cf. **injaga* for a similar treatment). MgrM has the final *-r* commonly added to names of young animals, probably under the influence of Chinese *-er*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *juljayan* P211a, LV *juljiqan* P1272, IV---, Ph *juljiqan* P125b. WM *juljayan* L1079b. Kh *zulzaga* H252b. Ord *juljaga* M218a. Bur *zulzaga* C262a. Brg *jɔljig* U208. Kalm *juljuxa* M233b ‘chick’. Dag *jeljij* E316. EYu *jəljəğan* B144, J107a. MgrH *žilžaga* J107b. MgrM *žužuğar* JL463, *jujuğar* T333. BaoD *žinjigə* BL93a. BaoÑ *žilžiga* CN199. BaoX *jinjəgə* BC61. Kgj *jinjiga* S303a. DgX *žunžuğa* e.g. in *qigəi žunžuğa* B70 ‘piglet’. Mog---.

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

MMo SH---, HY *jumuran* M69, Muq---, RH *jumran* (or *jumuran*) 200A2. WM *jurama*, *jurum* L1080a/b. Kh *zuram* H254a. Ord *jurma* M220a. Bur *zumbara*, *zumbaraa(n)* (lit) C262b, *zumara*, *zumari* (western) C262b, *zurman* only in the combination *xerme zurman* C649a ‘squirrel’ (**keremün* ‘squirrel’ not listed here). Brg *zumbara*: U216. Kalm *zurmn* M257a. Dag *jombor* S464, *jumbra*: T145 ‘suslik’. Remaining languages---.

***jun** ‘summer’. Cf. **najir* ‘id’.

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

***juruman** ‘suslik’ see ***jumuran**

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

MMo SH *ji'ure-* (sic) H91, HY---, Muq *ju:ra-* P234a, *jyura-* (sic) P224a. WM *jyura-* L1051a, *jyura-* L1077b. Kh *zuurax* H256a. Bur *zuuraxa* C265a. Kalm *zuurx* M258b. Dag *j'a:r-* E324. EYu *jüra-* B149, *jü:ra-* J106a. MgrH *jira:-* J106b, X222. BaoD---. BaoÑ *jira-* CN200. Kgj *jira-* S303b. Dgx *zuwa-* B184, *zura-* MC469b, *zurwa-* MC469b. MogMr *ju:rv:-* L64:36.

***jüg** ‘direction, side’. Also used as a postposition ‘towards, to’ (already in MMo), e.g. Chakhar *göl ju:* D93 ‘to the river’, Dag *ad:yi: jur* Z72 ‘towards the herd’, EYu *namin jug* J42 ‘to me’, MgrH *nda: ž* J51 ‘to me’. Probably also the source of the Monguoric directive ending found in lexicalised formations such as MgrH *do:roži* X197 ‘downwards’, MgrM *gadaži* DS241a ‘outwards’, *quainoži* DS205b ‘backwards’. Similar-looking Baoan forms like BaoGt *odəž* C121 ‘upwards’, *dorəž* C121 ‘downwards’ may have the same origin, but corresponding forms in other Baoan dialects suggest a different (unknown) final element, e.g. BaoD *sirači* BL84b ‘downwards’, BaoGT *yəc* C122 ‘hither’, BaoÑ *ə:dərc* CN16 ‘upwards’, *yərc* C219 ‘hither’, *tərc* C169 ‘thither’ BaoX *vočə* BC72 ‘hither’, *təčə* BC72 ‘thither’.

MMo SH *juk* H94, HY *jük* M69, Muq *jük* P211b, Ph *jüg* P125b. WM *jüg* L1082b. Kh *züg* H257a. Ord *jüg* M223b. Bur *züg* C266b. Brg *zug* U218. Kalm *züg* (obs) M259a, nowadays *üzg* (sic) M546a. Dag *ju:r* E321, *jur* Z105b, *jur* NK528a, cf. also *ju:yu:* E321 ‘direction’ with an additional final element. EYu *jäg* B143, *jug* J66. Mgr (see above). Bao---. Dgx *zəu* in *in zəu* B10 ‘on this side’, *čin zəu* B154 ‘on that side’. Mog *žuk*, *juk* W169b.

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

from **jürge(n)*. (Note the absence of initial strengthening in Monguoric). Final *-n* is atypically absent in Baoanic; it may never have survived into Shirongol. The MgrH and Bao forms with *-i-* are recently palatalized in view of MgrM and Dgx. The *-i-* in WM and SH may be a spelling mistake; an alternative explanation that it is a very early case of palatal breaking is in conflict with the Turkic cognate (cf. **jīar* ‘musk’, **jee* ‘nephew’). The trisyllabic forms in MMo could well represent a pronunciation that once existed, although a form **jüregen* with *-e-* would normally be expected on the basis of the Turkic cognate **yürek* ‘id’.

MMo SH *juruge(n)* H95, *jiruge(n)* H91, HY *jürüken* M69, Muq *jürüken* [?or **jürügen*] P211b, LV *jürke* P1273, IV---. WM *jirüken* L1062a. Kh *zürx(en)* H259b. Ord *jüreke* M225b. Bur *zürxe(n)* C268b. Brg *zurx* U218. Kalm *zürkn* M260a. Dag *jury*^w E324. EYu *jüryen* B149, J107a. MgrH *žirge* J106a, *žirgə* X222. MgrM *zurgi* JL461. BaoD *žirgə* BL93b. BaoÑ *žirge* CN200. Kgj *žirge* ~ *jirgi* S303b. Dgx *zuğə* B183 ‘heart; mood, thought, thinking’. Mog *jurkā* R42b.

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***kaa, *kaana** ‘where?’. In addition to the forms listed below, Dag has a Turkic-looking form *xaida*: E97 ‘where’. However, this has the same morphological structure as *aida*: ‘on/to this side’, *ti:da*: ‘on/to that side’. Note the *-l-* in Baoanic, not shared by Kgj in this case.

MMo *qa’a* H54, HY *qa’a* M85, Muq *qa:na* P297b. WM *qamiya* L923b, *qaya* L905a, *qa* L895a, *qana* L927a. Kh *xaa* H587a. Bur *xaa* C522a, *xaana* C523a. Brg. Kalm *xa* M559a, *xama* M573a. Dag *xa:nə* E95, Z97a. EYu *χana* J99a, J27. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *χalə*, *χali* BL87a, *halə* BL63. BaoGt *halə* C127. BaoÑ *hala* CN65. BaoX *xalə* BC69. Kgj *χana* S285a. Dgx *qala* B68, L115b. Mog *qana* R31b, *qana* W176a.

***kaa-** ‘to close, enclose; to block, shut off’. EYu *χa:-* J88 ‘to sew, stitch’ could be a semantic development of the present verb, but it may also belong with *χaβa-* B43 ‘to sew with long stitches’ (< **kaba-*, not listed here). Cf. also BaoX *xa:-* BC70 ‘to sew’, BaoD *ha-* BL12 ‘to sew; to tie’, but the latter meaning suggests these forms are irregular developments of **huya-*.

MMo SH *qa’a-* H54, HY *qa’a-* M85, Muq *qa:-* P297b. WM *qaya-* L905a. Kh *xaax* H588a. Bur *xaaxa* C524a. Kalm *xaax* M560b. Dag *xa:-* E95. EYu *χa:-* B42 ‘to cover’, J99a ‘to close’. MgrH *xa:-* J99a. MgrM *qa:-* C376, *qa-* JL463. BaoD *χa-* BL87a. BaoÑ *χa:-* CN56. Kgj *χa-* ~ *χa:-* S285a. Dgx *qa-* B67. Mog---.

***kaan** ‘khan, king, emperor’. Widespread Eurasian word (see TMEN 1161).

MMo SH *qa’an* H54, *qahan* H56, *qan* H59, HY *qan* M87, *qahan* M86, Muq *χa:n* P117b, *χan* P225a [but in fact these are spelled the same]. WM *qayan* L906b, *qan* L926b. Kh *xaan* H588a, *xan* (obs) H611b. Bur *xaan* C523a, *xan* C544b. Kalm *xan* M575a. Dag *xa:n* E95. EYu *xa:n* B42. MgrH *xa:n* X64. MgrM *qan*

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

***kaari-** ‘to roast, burn’, in some languages ‘to cauterize, to geld’. It is uncertain whether the phonetically and semantically deviating Kgj and Dgx forms belong here. There are some other words with *h-* < **k-*, notably **kamtu* ‘together’, but the vocalism is also problematic. Alternatively they may represent an intransitive formation **heere-* derived from **hee-* ‘to warm up in the sun’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qayari-* L907a, *qayira-* L913a (Khalkha-based re-spelling). Kh *xayrax* H600a. Ord *χa:ri-* M340a. Bur *xayraxa* C534b. Kalm *xäärx* M587a. Dag *xa:rʸ-* E96. EYu *χa:r-* B42, S97 ‘to geld’. MgrH *xaira-* (sic, unconfirmed by other sources) L163. BaoD---. BaoÑ *χa:-* (sic, ?=) CN56 ‘to geld’. BaoX *χa:rə-* BC62 ‘to burn, scald’. Kgj *here-* (?=) S286b ‘to become hot’. Dgx *həri-* (?=) B66 ‘to become hot’. Mog---.

***kaban/*kabaŋ** ‘wild boar’.

MMo SH---, HY *qaban* M85, Muq---. WM *qabang* L895b, *qaban* L895a. Kh *xavan(g)* H589a. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *xavŋ* M561b. Dag *xau gayə* (?=) E97 ‘boar’ (**gakai*). EYu *χaβaŋ* BJ347 ‘breeding boar (?)’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kabar/*kamar** ‘nose’. The distribution of the two variants is interesting. The forms in the QG languages and Mogholi are all developments of a form with *-b-*, resembling that in the MMo sources. In the central languages and Dagur the form with *-m-* is found. In view of the MMo forms the form with *-m-* looks like an (inexplicable) innovation. The Shirongol languages share the additional meaning ‘snot’; in EYu there is an additional meaning ‘front’ used in postpositional phrases, perhaps inspired by Turkic, where **burun* (also originally ‘nose’) performs the same function.

MMo SH *qabar* H54, HY *qabar* M85, Muq *qabar* P284a. WM *qabar* L895b, *qamar* L923b. Kh *xamar* H609b. Ord *χamar* M330a. Bur *xamar* C542a. Brg *xamar* U93. Kalm *xamr* M573b. Dag *xamər* E102. EYu *χwa:r* B54, *χaβar* J99a. MgrH *xavar* X73 ‘&snot’. MgrM *qabar* JL467. BaoD *χor* BL87b ‘nose, BL85a ‘snot’. BaoÑ *χawar* CN59 ‘nose; snot’. Bao dialects in CN86:16: Datong *χor*; Ganhetan *χor*; Xiazhuang *χor*; Gaser *χuar*; Gomar *χuar*. Kgj *χuar* S285b ‘&snot’. Dgx *qawa* B69 ‘&snot’, *qawar* (Wangjiaji?) B87:311. Mog *qabar* R31a, *qabar* W176a.

***kabīd- (*kabud-)** ‘to swell’. Shirongol (but not MMo) represents the form **kabīd-*. EYu *χaβəd-* could be from either variant. **kabīd-* is probably the older form, as an early development *ī > u* is more likely than the reverse. Also note the *-t-* from **d* in MgrM, Bao and Dgx (cf. **čad-*, **ebed-*, **naad-*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qabut-* P285b. WM *qabud-* L900a. Kh *xavdax* H589b. Ord *χawud-* M345a. Bur *xabdaxa* C526a. Brg *xaβd-* U90. Kalm *xavdx* M561b. Dag *xaud-* E97. EYu *χaβəd-* B43, J99b. MgrH *xaidə-* X65, *xe:di-* SM166 ~ *xawudi-* SM165. MgrM *qaputu-* DS254a. BaoD *χitə-* BL87b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *χər-* ~ *χur-* S286a. Dgx *qawitu-* B70, *qayitu-* B69, *kaitu-* (sic) L115a. Mog---.

***kabirga** ‘rib; side, vicinity’, also used as postposition. Although the *-rga* in **kabirga* is unclear, it has been assumed here that this word and **kabisun* are related (**kabi* is also attested independently in central Mongolic). The form **kabirga* features several metathetical forms in QG (cf. **tarbagan* and **kalbuga* ‘spoon’ for similar alterations). SH *qabirqar* EYü *χarǵuar* and BaoÑ *harǵal* contain an additional element, probably the same *-r* as in **dotar* ‘inside’ and **qadar* ‘outside’. Likewise, EYü *χarǵwara* and *χarǵwana* developed in parallel with **dotara* and **dotana*, etc. EYü *hərqwaǵ* B55 ‘vicinity’ is hard to connect for phonetic reasons (notably the *h-*, the strong *-q-* and the final *-ǵ*).

MMo SH *qabirqa*, *qabirqar* H54, HY *qabirqa* M85, Muq *qabirqa*, *qabirya* P285a, *qaburya*- P285b. WM *qabirya(n)* L898a. Kh *xavirga(n)* H590a. Ord *χawirǵa* M344a. Bur *xabirga* C526b. Brg *xaβʳrəǵ* U90. Kalm *xävry* M588a ‘side of the body; side in general’. Dag *xabʳrəǵ* E99 ‘rib’. EYü *χarǵwa* B49, *χarǵua* S313, *χaβərǵa* J98b ‘rib’, *χarǵuar* S316 ‘side’, cf. the postpositions *χarǵwara* B49 ‘side’, *χarǵwana* BJ348 ‘one’s side’. MgrH *xarǵa*: L181, *ǵarǵa*: S316 ‘side’. MgrM *qərǵa* DS60a ‘near’, DS205a ‘around’, F15:28 ‘beside’. BaoD *χalgə* BL86b, *xarǵa* P418b. BaoÑ *harǵal* CN66. Kgj---. Dgx *qaruǵa* B69 ‘rib’, *qarǵa*, *qarawa* MC208a, *qaruwa* MC208b ‘rib; side’, DgxL *qaruqa(də)* B69 ‘next door’. Mog *qoburya* R32a.

***kabisun** ‘rib; side’. One of the Mgr forms suggests **kabirsun*. Cf. **kabirga*.

MMo SH---, HY *qabusun* M85 q.v., Muq---. WM *qabisu(n)* L898a. Kh *xavis(an)* H590a, *xav’s(an)* H593a. Ord *χawis(u)* M344b. Bur *xabha(n)* C527b. Brg---. Kalm *xavsn* M562a. Dag---. EYü---. MgrH *xavuzə* J99b ‘rib’, *xairsə* X65 ‘rib’. MgrM *qapuzi* JL477. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

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

MMo SH *qabtaqai* H54, HY *qabtaqai* M85, Muq *qabtayai*, *qabtaqai* P285a. WM *qabtayai* L899a. Kh *xavtgay* H591a. Ord *ǵabtagä*: M282b. Bur *xabtagay* C527a. Brg *xaβtgai* U90. Kalm *xabtxa* M562 ‘q.v.’. Dag *kartyai* E142, *kabtyai* E138. EYü *ǵabtagai* B73, *ǵabdaǵai* J99b. Remaining lgs---.

***kabtasun** ‘board’, often the ‘sideboards supporting the saddle’. In Dagur the latter is expressed by the form **kabtal* (?**kabtaal*), which is rare in Mongolic, but commonly found in Turkic languages. Manchu *habta* also reflects **kabtal*. Cf. **kabtagai*.

MMo SH *qabdasun* H54, *qabtasun* H55, HY---, Muq *qabtasun* P295a. WM *qabtasu(n)* L899b. Kh *xavtas* (sic, not *-an*) H590b. Ord *ǵabtasu* M282b. Bur *xabtaha(n)* C527b. Brg *xaβtv*: U90. Kalm *xaptäsn* R167a, cf. *χaptäyāsn* R167a, *χapcä* R167b. Dag *kartəs* E142 ‘board’, *kabta:l* E138 ‘sideboards of the saddle’. EYü *ǵabtasən* B73. Remaining lgs---.

***kabturga** ‘bag, sack, (tobacco) pouch’. The Kh form and one of the Dag forms reflect a simplified form **kabtuga*. Perhaps in some way connected to CT **ka:p* ‘bag’, although there is no explanation for the *-turga* element.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qabturya* P285a. WM *qabtaya* L899a. Kh *xavtga* H591a. Ord *ǵabtarga* M282b. Bur-?-. Kalm *χaptryä* R167a ‘pouch’, *χaptäχä* R167a

‘bag’. Dag *kartrəy*, *kartəy* E142. EYu *gabtār^hqa* B73. MgrH *šdarğa* X166 ‘tobacco pouch’.

***kabur** ‘spring (season)’.

MMo SH *qabur* H55, HY *qabur* M85, Muq *qabur* P285b. WM *qabur* L900a. Kh *xavar* H589a. Bur *xabar* C525b. Kalm *xavr* M561b. Dag *xaur* E97. EYu *xaβər* B43, J98b. MgrH *xawur* (only) L188. MgrM *kabir* P411b. Remaining lgs---.

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

MMo SH *qacar* H55, HY *qačar* M85, Muq *qačar*, *yačar* P187a. WM *qačar* L901a, *qačir* L901b. Kh *xacar* H628b. Ord *gačar* M299b. Bur *xasar* C559b. Brg *xasar* U94. Kalm *xačr* (obs) M584b. Dag *kačir* E141. EYu---. MgrH *xačar* J99b. MgrM *kīča* (sic) P422b, *qəžər* DS211a, *qazar* Z331:262. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *qīža* B71. Mog---.

***kada** ‘rock; overhanging rock; ravine’. Initial weakening due to the following *-d-* in the QG languages.

MMo SH *qada* H55, HY---, Muq---. WM *qada(n)* L902a. Kh *xad(an)* H595a. Ord *xada* M320b. Bur *xada* C529a ‘mountain’. Kalm *xad* M565b. Dag *xad* E103. EYu *gada* B75, J99b. MgrH *gada*: J99b. MgrM *gada* J87. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *gada* T115. Mog---.

***kada-** ‘to nail down; to sew on (a button or a sole)’. Related to CT **kadu-* (some languages suggest **kadi-*). Cf. **kadaasun* ‘nail’.

MMo SH *qada-ul-* (caus) H56 ‘to have nailed down’, HY---, Muq *qada-* P350b ‘to sew on (a button)’. WM *qada-* L902a ‘to nail’, cf. *tobči qada-* L902a ‘to sew on a button’. Kh *xadax* H596a. Ord *xada-* 321a. Bur *xadaxa* C530b. Kalm *xadx* M567a. Dag *xad-* E103 ‘to sew on’. EYu *gadə-* J22 ‘to sew on a button’, *gada-* B75 ‘to nail; to settle’. MgrH *gada-* X94 ‘to sew on a patch’. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *gada-* CN85 ‘to nail’. Dgx *gada-* B80 ‘to nail’. Mog---.

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

***kadaasun** ‘nail’. this word derives from **kada-* ‘to nail’, but in the QG languages it has become indistinguishable from **gadasun* ‘peg’ (see there for the modern forms)

***kadku-** ‘to prick, sting, stab, pierce’. The BaoÑ form deviates semantically. The apparent pair of doublets in Mongghul is reminiscent of **kudku-* ‘to stir’. Contamination with MgrH *šdogov* < CM **kitoga* ‘knife’?

MMo SH *qatqu-* H63, HY *qatqu-ldu-* (reciprocal) M89 ‘to fight (with weapons) at close quarters’, Muq *qatqu-* P296b. WM *qadqu-* L904a, *qadqa-* L903b. Kh *xatgax* H626b. Ord *gatxu-* M284b. Bur *xadxaxa* C531a. Kalm *xatxx* M584a. Dag *kark^w-* E142. EYu *qatgə-* B63, *gadgə-* J8, *xadgə-* J57. MgrH *gasgə-* X94, *šdogov-* X168. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *xadgə-* (?) CN58 ‘to hang, put up’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kadu-** ‘to cut, harvest’. Initial weakening in QG. As Poppe suggests, perhaps related to CM **kadku-* ‘to stab’ above, and **kaĵa-* ‘to bite’ below.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qadu-* P286a. WM *qadu-* L903a. Kh *xadax* H596a. Ord *χadu-* M322a. Bur *xadaxa* C530b. Kalm *xadx* M567a. Dag *xad-* E103. EYu *ġadā-* B75. MgrH *ġadā-* J99b. MgrM *ġadu-* JL468. BaoD *ġadā-* BL87a. BaoÑ *ġada-* CN85. Kgj *ġade-* ~ *ġadi-* S288a. Dgx *ġadu-* B80. Mog---.

***kaduur** ‘sickle’. Derived from **kadu-* above. MgrH vowel shortening.

MMo SH---, HY *qadu’ur* M86, Muq---. WM *qaduyur* L903a. Kh *xaduur* H596b. Ord *χadu:r* M322a. Bur *xaduur* C530b ‘sickle’, but *xažuur* C532b ‘scythe’. Kalm *xadur* M567a. Dag *xadu:r* E104 ‘knife; kitchen knife; sickle’. EYu *ġadu:r* B75. MgrH *ġadər* J99b. MgrM *ġadur* C381. BaoD *ġadər* BL87b, BaoÑ *ġadər* CN85. BaoX *ġa:dər* BC65. Kgj *ġadər* S288a. Dgx *ġadu* B80. Mog---.

***kadum** ‘family-in-law’, and ‘-in-law’ as added to kinship terms. Initial weakening in QG. Similar to the synonymous CT **kadīn*, but the CM **u* and **m* are not normal correspondences of CT **i* and **n*.

MMo SH---, HY *qadum* (*eċige, eke*) M86 (father, mother) -in-law’, Muq *qadum* P286a. WM *qadum* L903b, *qadam* L903a. Kh *xadam* H596a. Bur *xadam* C530a. Kalm *xadm* M566b. Dag *xadəm, xadən* E103 ‘family-in-law’ (& several compounds). EYu *ġadam* B75 ‘family-in-law’ (& compounds). MgrH *ġadəm* J99b. MgrM *ġaduŋ* JL477. BaoD---. BaoÑ only in *ġadəm ana* CN85 ‘mother-in-law’, *ġadəm baba* CN85 ‘father-in-law’. Kgj---. Dgx *ġaduŋ* B80 ‘father-in-law’ (& compounds). Mog---.

***kagača-** ‘to separate; to part with, etc’. Probably related to **kagal-*, **kagara-*, below. The loss of *-g-* in the Monguoric forms is unexpected. However, a connection with **alĵia-* ‘to separate’ is also problematic, as secondary *h-* normally appears when the following syllable starts with a strong consonant.

MMo SH *qaqaca-* H56, HY *qaqača-* M88, Muq *qayača-* P286a, *qaqača-* P291b, *yaqača’ul-* (caus) P329b. WM *qayača-* L905a. Kh *xagacax* H594b. Bur *xaxasaxa* C563b. Kalm *xaycx* M565b. Dag---. EYu *xaġača-* B44. MgrH *xa:žä-* (?=) SM148, *xa:žä-* (?=) X64. MgrM *qəžia-* (?=) DS248b. Bao---. Dgx *ġaġača-* B80. Mog---.

***kagal-** ‘to break, split, burst (tr.)’. Bur and Mog suggest **kakal-*. The final long vowel in Dag is commonly seen in this suffix, although it only consists of *-l* in the remaining lgs.

MMo SH *qaqal-* H56, HY---, Muq *qaqala-* P291b. WM *qayal-*, *qayala-* L906a. Kh *xagalax* H593b. Ord *xaġal-* M323b. Bur *xaxalxa* C563a. Brg *xagal-* U91. Kalm *xaylx* M565a. Dag *xaulɔ:-* E97, *xaylɔ:-* E100. EYu-?. MgrH *xġalā-* J99a. MgrM *qġar-* JL480. BaoD *ġalā-* BL87b. BaoÑ *ġaġal-* CN84. BaoX *ġal-* BC70. Kgj *ġəġa-* S288a, S169. Dgx *ġaġalu-* B79. Mog *qaqala-* R31a ‘to cut up’.

***kagara-** ‘to break, split, burst (intr.)’. Bur and Mog suggest **kakara-*; EYu seems to have both variants.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qaqara*- P291b. WM *qayara*-, *qayar*- L907a. Kh *xagarax* H593b. Ord *xağar(a)*- M323b. Bur *xaxarxa* C563a. Brg *xagar*- U91. Kalm *xayrx* M565a. Dag *xayər*- E100. EYu *xağara*:- J99a, *hqara*- BJ331. MgrH *xğara*:- J99a. MgrM *qrgara*- C379, *qəğəra*- DS208b. BaoD *gar*- BL13. BaoÑ---. Kgj *ğəra* ~ *gara*- S288a. Dgx *ğağari*- L115b, *ğağara*-, *ğağarəi*- MC113b. Mog *qaqara*- R31a, *qakara*- W176a.

***kaiči** ‘scissors’. Probably related to a Turkic form **kapiti*, in which case the PM form may have been **kahiti* < **kapiti*.

MMo SH---, HY *qayiči* M89, Muq *qa’iči* P346a. WM *qayiči(n)* L912a. Kh *xayč(in)* H601b. Ord *χä:či* M347b. Bur *xayša* C535b. Kalm *xääch* M587b. Dag *kaič* E137. EYu *xaičə* B42, B98b. MgrH *xaižə* ~ *xaičə* X65, *xai:žə* J98b. MgrM *qaiči* JL474. BaoD *χaičiə* BL86a, *χiciə* BL21. BaoÑ *χi:ci* CN61. BaoX *χičə* BC65. Kgj *qaiči* ~ *qeiči* S286b. Dgx *qaiči* B67. Mog *qeiči* R32a.

***kaila**- ‘to make a noise; to shout; to cry’. The original meaning of this verb was probably very broad. In MMo Muq this verb was used to denote the shouting of humans and all kinds of animal noises except those of dogs, horses, cattle, etc, for which there are special verbs. In the QG languages **kaila*- is still used in a similar fashion, and even for more animals. However, in the literary central languages the meaning is narrowed.

MMo SH *qaila*- H57, *qayila*- H57, *qaiyila*- H64 ‘to call, shout’, HY---, Muq *qaila*- P287b (for semantics see above). WM *qayila*- L912b ‘to weep, cry, shed tears’. Kh *xaylax* H599a ‘to weep, cry’. Ord *χä:la*- M346a ‘to moo’. Bur *xaylaxa* C534a (used in comb. with *uylaxa* ‘to cry’). Kalm *xäälx* M586b ‘to cry’. Dag---. EYu *χaila*- B42 ‘to neigh’. MgrH *xaila*- X65 ‘to crow; to neigh; etc’. MgrM *qaila*- C377, *χeila*- T375 ‘(of animals) to make a sound’. BaoD *χil*- BL51 ‘to make a sound [of thunder]’, *χəila*- T150 ‘to shout, yell; to make a noise’. BaoÑ *χila*- CN61 ‘to call; to chirp; to crow, caw; to roar, howl’. Kgj *χaila*- S285a ‘to call, to crow, to shout’. Dgx *qaila*- B67 ‘to shout or call; to cackle, chirp’. Mog *qaila*- W176a ‘to call’.

***kailasun** ‘elm tree’.

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

***kainag** (?and **kaīnug*) ‘yak’. The *-u-* only occurs in WM spelling, but the MgrM, BaoÑ and Kgj forms would be compatible with a high vowel in the second syllable. In the central languages it denotes a hybrid animal, but in QG **kainag* is just ‘yak’. The QG languages use **umsu* (from Tibetan) for the hybrid.

MMo---. WM *qayinuy* L913b ‘a hybrid between a yak and a cow’. Kh *xaynag* H599b ‘a yak-cow hybrid’. Ord *χä:naq* M346a ‘yak cow’. Bur *xaynag* C534a ‘crossbreed of Tibetan yak and Mongolian cow’. Kalm *xääng* M586b ‘crossbreed of yak and domestic cow’. Dag---. EYu *xainag* B42, J15. MgrH *χe:nag*

SM167. MgrM *qainəg* P422b. BaoÑ *χi:nəg* CN60. Kgj *χeinəg* ~ *χainəg* S285b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kairan** ‘(what a) pity, mercy, care, affection’. In central Mongolic one typically finds a noun **kaira* ‘love, compassion, etc’ and an adjective/exclamation **kairan* ‘what a pity; pitiable, poor’; this is reflected in WM.

MMo SH *qayiran* H64, *qayirala-* H64, HY *qairala-* M86, *qayirala-* M89, Muq *qairala-* P288a. WM *qayira* L913a ‘love, etc’, *qayiran* L913b ‘pitiable, etc’. Kh *xayr*, *xayran* H600a. Bur *xayra* C534a, *xayran* C534b. Kalm *xäär*, *xäärn* M587b. Dag *xairan* E97. EYu *xairan* B42, *χair* (sic) S317. MgrH *χe:ran* SM167 ‘dear’, *χe:rğan* (**kairakan*) SM167 ‘pitiable, poor’. MgrM *qairan* C377b. Remaining lgs---.

***kairsun** ‘fish’s scale’. Interestingly, Bur and Kalm use **kačirsun* instead: Bur *xašarha(n)* C566a. Kalm *xačrsn* M584b.

MMo SH---, HY *qairsun* M86, Muq---. WM *qayirsu(n)* L914a, *qayirasu(n)* L913b. Kh *xayrs* H600b. Ord *χä:rsu* ~ *χä:rsa* M347a, *gä:rsu* M301b. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *xaič* E97. Remaining lgs---.

***kaĵa-** ‘to bite’.

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

***kaĵaar/*kadaar** (<**kadiar/*kadaar*) ‘bit of a horse’s bridle’. Haenisch’ translation of *pèitóu* reins, halter’ is incorrect, cf. **ĵiloa* ‘reins’, **čilbuur* ‘martingale’, **nogta* ‘halter’. At first sight the distribution seems to suggest that **kaĵaar* is a central Mongolic innovation, while **kadaar* was the old form, which is preserved both in Dagur and the QG languages. However, there are some problematic forms in Dagur, Mongghul, and Mangghuer. If the Muq form in *-l* is not a mistake, the Dagur form *xada:l* may have a long history in Mongolic. Alternatively it may have been adopted from Manchu *hadala*. The Mongghul variant with *-z-* is puzzling as this affricate usually goes back to **s*; there are no neighbouring central Mongolic donor languages from which it could have been borrowed. The same applies to Mangghuer *qazər*, in which both the strong initial and the medial affricate are unexpected. Probably related to **kaĵa-* ‘to bite’ above.

MMo SH *qada’ar*, *qada:r* H55, HY *qada’ar* M85, Muq *qada:r* P286a, *qada:l* (?sic) P342a, LV *qada:r* P62. WM *qajayar* L947b. Kh *xazaar* H597b. Ord *χaja:r* M323a. Bur *xazaar* C532b. Brg *xaza:r* U96. Kalm *xazar* M568a. Dag *xada:l* ‘bit (of a bridle)’ E103 (see above). EYu *ġada:r* B75 ‘bit (of a bridle)’, *ġadar* J99b. MgrH *ġadar* J99b, X95, note also *ġazar* X96. MgrM *qazər* DS207a. BaoD *ġadar* BL87b, *ġadər* BL23. BaoGt *ġadər* C117. BaoÑ *ġadər* CN85. Kgj *ġadar* ~ *garda* S288a. Dgx *ġada* B80. Mog *qada:r* R31a.

***kaka-** ‘to choke (intr), to be suffocated; for sth to be stuck in one’s throat’.

MMo SH *qaqa-* H56, HY---, Muq *qaqa-* P291a. WM *qaqa-* L946b. Kh *xaxax* H627b. Ord *gaxa-* M287a. Bur *xaxaxa* 563b. Kalm *xaxx* M584b. Dag *xay-* E100 ‘to choke’, ?cf. also *xak^w*- E100 ‘to be blocked’. EYu *hga-* B59 ‘to obstruct, to block’, *χga-* J9, *qaga-* S336. Remaining lgs---.

***kalaun** ‘hot’. From the verb **kala-* which is not well attested in the peripheral languages.

MMo SH *qala’un* H57, HY *qala’un* M87, Muq *qala’un* P288b. WM *qalayun* L916b. Kh *xaluun* H606a. Bur *xaluu(n)* C539b. Kalm *xalun* M570b. Dag *xalu:n* E100. EYu *χalu:n* B44, J99a. MgrH *xalon* J99a. MgrM *qalun* JL476. BaoD *χalun* BL87b, *χolon* BL62. BaoGt *xolon* C125. BaoÑ *χolon* CN62. BaoX *χolon* BC67. Kgj *χulɔ* S286a. Dgx *qalun* B68. Mog *qalu:n*, *qalōun* R31b, *qalɔn* W176a.

***kalbuga** ‘spoon’. Possibly **kalbaga* in spite of the earliest attestations, but the QG languages are indecisive. EYu and MgrH are based on (differently) metathesized forms, cf. **tarbagan* ‘marmot’ for a comparable case. BaoÑ *kağa* CN75 ‘spoon; ladle; fork’ is given as development of this word, which seems improbable; perhaps it is of Tibetan origin. Turkic **kašuk*. In Dagur it may survive as *xalbēy* E101 ‘hoe blade’, and in the combination *xalbēy šid* E101 ‘incisors’, as well as perhaps *čiki*: *xabləy* ~ *čiki*: *xa:ləy* E300 ‘tragus’ (**čikin* ‘ear’). However, the latter variant suggests **kaalga* (not listed here, but cf. **kaa-*), implying ‘gate of the ear’ rather than ‘spoon of the ear’.

MMo SH *qalbuqa* H57, HY *qalbuqa* M87, Muq *qalbuya* P289b, *yalbuya* P139b. WM *qalbayā(n)* L917b, *qalbuya* L918a. Kh *xalbaga* H602b. Ord *χalbaga* M327a, *χablağa* M320b. Bur *xalbaga* C537b. Brg *xalgaŋ š’anag* (?) U92 (cf. **sinaga*). Kalm *χalwǎǰǎ* R164a. Dag (see above). EYu *xalğwa* B45. MgrH *xaulğa* X65. MgrM---. Bao---. BaoÑ (see above). Dgx---. Mog---.

***kaliar, *kaliarsun** ‘wild onion and similar plants’.

MMo SH *qaliyarsun* H58, HY---, Muq---. WM *qaliyar* L920a ‘wild garlic’. Kh *xaliar* H604a. Ord---. Bur *xalyaar* C541b ‘species of wild garlic’. Kalm---. Dag *kal^{pe}:r* E139 ‘mountain leek’. EYu---. Mgr *χarir* SM163 ‘small wild (edible) onion’, *xaril* X72 ‘*Allium mongolicum* (plant name)’. Remaining lgs---.

***kalisun** ‘bark, rind, peel, outer covering, thin skin’. The EYu variant *χalasən* may be influenced by **kalaasun* ‘patch (on clothes)’.

MMo SH *qalisu korisu* H58 (cf. **kōrisün*), HY---, Muq---. WM *qalisu(n)* L920b. Kh *xal’s* (sic, no *-an*) H608a. Ord *χalisu* M329a. Bur *xal’han* C541a. Brg *xal^{pu}*: U93. Kalm *xal’sn* M572b. Dag *xal’s* E102. EYu *χaləsən* B44, *χalasən* J99a. MgrH *xalzə* J99a, *xalasə* X67. Remaining lgs---.

***kaltara-, *kaltari-** ‘to glide, slip’. The MgrH *-m-* (via *-n-*) is unexpected (cf. **malta-*).

MMo SH *qaltari’ul-* (caus) H58, HY---, Muq *qaltari-* P290a, *qaltara-* P290a. WM *qalturi-* L921b. Kh *xal’trax* H608a, *xaltirax* H606a. Ord *ğaltur(i)-* M290b. Bur *xaltirxa* C539b. Kalm *xal’trx* M572b. Dag---. EYu *χaldəra-* B45,

χaldər- S321. MgrH *xandəra:-*, *xanda:ri-* SM155, *xamdəra:-* X69. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *χandara-* B57. BaoX *handər-* CN86:228. Dgx *qantari-* B68. Mog---.

***kama-** ~ ***kaba-** ‘(of eyes) to be dazzled; (of teeth) to tingle or to feel rough (e.g. after eating sth. sour)’. The Monguoric variants with *-r-* may be influenced by **karbu-* ‘to shoot’, which is also used for ‘to sting or bite’ (of the sun, bees, snakes). Cf. CT **kama-*, also used in relation to unpleasant sensations of the eyes or teeth (cf. EDPT625b).

MMo Muq *qama-* (?=) P290b ‘to be blinded (eyes); to become blunt (teeth)’. WM *qabu-* LC 4:4b, also spelled thus in Inner Mongolia. Kh *xavax* LC 4:4b. Ord *χawa-* M343a (teeth). Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *nudun χumağa-* (caus.) S265 ‘to cause the eyes to be dazzled’. MgrH *χama:-* L169, SM152, *χarma-* L184, *xama:-* X68 (teeth), *χarmu-* SM164 (eyes), the latter viewed by SM as stemming from **karbu-*. MgrM *nudu qurmu-* (?=) DS216a ‘to be dazzled’ (from **karbu-*?). Bao---. Dgx *qama-* ~ *qamu-* MC205a (teeth).

***kamčui** ~ ***kamčun** ‘sleeve’. Kalm suggests **kančun*, Bur **kamčui*. One would expect that the *-m-* is original and the *-n-* due to later assimilation, but the MMo forms have *-n-*. Initial weakening in parts of Baoan, in Kangjia and Dongxiang, in spite of the following strong *-č-* (but this was also weakened itself).

MMo SH *qancu(n)* H59, HY *qančun* M87, Muq *qančun* P291a. WM *qančui*, *qanču* L927b, *qamčui* L923b. Kh *xancuy* H614b. Ord *χanču* M334b. Bur *xamsi* C543a, *xansi* C547a, *xanši* C547b. Brg *xamsai* U94. Kalm *xancn* M576a. Dag *kanč* E139. EYu *χančun* B43, *χanču:n* J99b. MgrH *xamžə* J99b, X69, *xančə* X66. MgrM *qanči* JL475. BaoD *ganžün* BL87a, *ganžün* (sic) BL4. BaoGt *xanžon* C121. BaoÑ *hanžu* CN64. Kgj *ganžün* ~ *ganžun* S288a. Dgx *ganžun* B79. Mog *qamči*, *qamču* R31b.

***kamtu** ‘together; at the same time’. In Ordos the initial was unexpectedly not weakened in spite of the following strong *-t-*. In Shironqol **kamtu* developed as if it were **hamtu*.

MMo SH *qamtu* H59, HY *qamtu* M87, Muq *qamtu* P290b. WM *qamtu* L925a. Kh *xamt* H610b. Ord *χamtu* M331b. Bur *xamta* C543a. Kalm *xamt* M573b. Dag---. EYu *χamdə* B45. MgrH *χamdə* J8, X69. MgrM *xaytu* JL469. BaoD *hamtə* T150. BaoGt *hamti* C127. BaoÑ *hamdə* CN65. Kgj---. Dgx *hantu* B64. Mog *qamtu* R31b.

***kamug** ‘all’. The Dagur form could stem from the genitive of this word. Cf. Turkic *kamug* < *kamag*, which is a Middle Persian loanword according to Clauson (EDPT 627b). Not related to MgrH *xane*, BaoD *hanə* BL77, BaoÑ *hani* CN64, which are ← LT *ha-ne*.

MMo SH *qamuh* H59, HY *qamug* M87, Muq---. WM *qamuy* L926a. Kh *xamag* H609a. Bur *xamag* C542a. Kalm *xamg* M573a. Dag *kamyi*: (?=) E140 ‘all kinds of, various’, S255 ‘every’. EYu *xamağ* B45 ‘every’. MgrH---. MgrM *qamu* C377. Remaining lgs---.

***kania-** ‘to cough’. A form **kanaa-* is reflected by EYu, MgrH, Bao, and Dgx, whereas Mog, and surprisingly MgrM, have retained a palatal element.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *qana:-* (emended), *qana:d-* P64, RH *qania-du* (emended) 204A9 ‘cough’. WM *qaniya-* L930a. Kh *xaniax* H614a. Ord *χana:-* M332b. Bur *xanyaaxa* C547b. Kalm *xanyax* M576b. Dag *xan^ye:d-* (new formation based on the noun *xan^ye:d*) E98. EYu *χana:-* B43, J98b. MgrH *xana:-* J99b. MgrM *qan ‘a-* C377, *qania-tu* JL465 ‘cough’. BaoD *χanə-* BL86a. BaoÑ *χana-* CN57. BaoX *χanə-* BC64. Kgj *χana-* S285a. Dgx *qana-* B68. Mog *qamλ-* W176a.

***kara** ‘black’. Related to Turkic **kara*.

MMo SH *qara* H60, HY *qara* M88, Muq *qara* P292a. WM *qara* L931a. Kh *xar* H615b. Ord *χara* M337b. Bur *xara* C547b. Kalm *xar* M576b. Dag *xar* E104, also *kara:* E142 ‘black (horse colour)’ from Tungusic. EYu *χara* B46, J99b. MgrH *xara* J99b. MgrM *qara* JL463. BaoD *χəra* BL87b. BaoGt *xsa* C121. BaoÑ *χara* CN59. BaoX *χəra* BC67. Kgj *χara* S285b. Dgx *qara* B69 ‘id, dark’. Mog *qaro:* R31b, *qλrɔ* W176a.

***kara-** ‘to look at’.

MMo SH *qara-* H60, HY *qara-* M88, Muq *qara-* P292b. WM *qara-* L932a. Kh *xarax* H618b. Ord *χara-* M337a. Bur *xaraxa* C552b. Kalm *xarx* M581b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *xarə-* X72. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *qara-* R31b.

***karbisun** ‘placenta, afterbirth (of an animal)’. Reminiscent of **karbin* ~ **arbin* ‘belly fat’ (not listed).

MMo SH *qarbisu* H61. WM *qarbisu(n)* L935b. Kh *xarvis* H619b ‘placenta’. Dgx *qayisun* MC209a ‘afterbirth of a sheep’.

***karbu-** ‘to shoot’. Monguoric **karmu-*; metathesized in some Baoan forms.

MMo SH *qarbu-* H61, HY *qarbu-* M88, Muq *qarbu-* P293a. WM *qarbu-* L936a. Kh *xarvax* H619a. Ord *χarwu-* M342b, *χarwa-* M342a. Bur *xarbaxa* C554a. Kalm *xarvx* M578a. Dag *xarəb-* E105. EYu *χarβə-* B48, J99b. MgrH *xarmu-* X73. MgrM *karmu-* P420a. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *χurə-* S331. BaoÑ *χabrə-* CN57, *hawər-* CN66. Kgj *χar-* S285b. Dgx---. Mog *qλrbu-xčī* W176b ‘bayonet’, MogMr *qarbuyčī* L62:43 ‘rifle’.

***karbuur** ‘ballista’ see ***hurbī**.

***kari-** ‘to return’. The BaoÑ form may be explained from the fact that this verb is usually combined with other verbs of movement, and appears then in the imperfect converb form *ha:ʒi*.

MMo SH *qari-* H62, HY *qari-* M88, Muq *qari-* P293b. WM *qari-* L937a. Kh *xarix* H622b. Bur *xarixa* C555b. Kalm *xārxx* M590b. Dag *xar^y-* E107. EYu *χarə-* B48, J99b. MgrH *xarə-* J99b. MgrM *qazī-* C377, *qari-* T375. BaoD *χarə-* BL87a, *χar-* BL15. BaoÑ *ha:-* (sic, ?=) CN63. BaoX *χa:rə-* BC62. Kgj *χari-* S285b. Dgx *qari-* B69. Mog *qari-* R31b, *qaril-* (caus.) W176b.

***karia-** ‘to abuse, swear, curse’. Most languages from the assimilated form **karaa-*. One of the few words in which (lit.) Bur and Dag do not preserve a palatal element. Related to CT **karga-* ‘id’. Cf. **sögee-*, **hiröe-*.

MMo---. WM *qariya-* L938b. Kh *xaraax* H617a. Ord *χara:-* M337b. Bur *xaraaxa* C549b. Brg *xar^va:-* U100. Kalm *xarax* M578a. Dag *xara:-* E105. EYu only in the noun *χara:r* S330. MgrH *xara:-* L178. MgrM---. BaoD *χəra-* BL87b. BaoGt *xša-* C138. BaoÑ *χara:-* CN59. Dgx *qara-* MC206b. Mog---.

***kariačai** ‘swallow’. MMo **kariača*, central languages from an assimilated **karaačai*. Reminiscent of Turkic **karliğač* ~ **kargılač* ‘id’, but hard to connect to it. In some modern languages now associated with **kara* ‘black’. Dgx *qarasuŋ* may go back to **kara sibaun* ‘black bird’ (cf. EYu *χara βöljir* B46 ‘swallow’, see **biļjūr* ‘small bird’). MgrH *anžigai* X3 ‘sparrow’, MgrM (Sanchuan) *amickay* P418b ‘small bird’, and even Bao *amiči* P418b ‘(domestic) bird’, Dgx *amičəu* MC8b ‘sparrow’ may have arisen through metanalysis of this word as *xara anžigai*.

MMo SH---, HY *qariyača* M89, Muq---, RH *qaryača* [spelled *q'ryj'*] 200B10. WM *qariyačai* L938b. Kh *xaraacay* H617a. Ord *χara:čä:* M338b. Bur *xaraasgay* C549b. Brg *xara:sai* U99. Kalm *xara:cä:* R168b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *xaračəgai* X72, *xarabčigai* X72, *xara(n)čige:* SM159/160. MgrM (Sanchuan) *karajyagay* P415b. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *qaranča* MC207b, *qarasuŋ* MC207b (see above). Mog---.

***kašan** ‘lazy, slow (usu. of animals)’. From Turkic **kašan* ‘id’. Cf. **jalkai* and **jalkau*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qašan* P295a. WM *qašang* L943a, *qasing* L942a. Kh *xašin* H629a. Ord *gašan* M296b. Bur *xašan* C565b. Kalm *xašŋ* M585a. Dag---. EYu *gašan* J106a. MgrH *xašan* J106b. Dgx *qišan* S90.

***katau** ‘hard’, also ‘difficult’. It has taken on the shape **kataun* in Shirongol, probably in imitation of the numerous adjectives in *-n*. From CM **kata-* ‘to be or become hard or dry’, cf. CT **katig* ‘hard’ from the verb **kat-*.

MMo SH---, HY *qata'u* M89, Muq *qata'u* P295a, *qatu:* P275a, *qadu:-* P379a. WM *qatayu* L943b. Kh *xatuu* H627a. Ord *gatu:* M298b. Bur *xatuu* C561b. Kalm *xatu* M583a. Dag *katu:* E141. EYu *gatu:* B75, *gadu* J99a. MgrH *χadoŋ* J99b. MgrM *qxdəŋ* C377, *qəgdən* DS227b. *qatoŋ* T372. BaoD *χotoŋ* BL87b. BaoÑ *hdəŋ* CN72. Kgj *χutuŋ* ~ *χuduŋ* S286a. Dgx *qiduŋ* B71. Mog---.

***katun** ‘empress; wife; woman’. Widespread in Asia, which means that some Mongolic languages reborrowed it from neighbouring languages. Note *χ-* in Muq. CT **ka:tun*.

MMo *qatu(n)* H63 ‘wife’, HY *qadun* M86, *qatut* (pl.) M89 ‘wives’, Muq *χatun-* P384a ‘woman’. WM *qatun* L946a. Kh *xatan* H625b. Bur *xatan* C560a. Kalm *xatn* M583a. Dag *katun*, *katɔ:* E141 ‘sister (form of address)’. EYu *gatan* B74. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *χutuŋ kuŋ* BL82b ‘woman’. BaoÑ-?- . BaoX *xdəŋ kuŋ* BC74 ‘woman’. Dgx---. Mog *χot(un)* R29b, MogMr *χv:tun*, MogM *χv:tũ* L62:43.

***kau** and/or ***koa** ‘all, everybody’. The modern languages do not clearly support either vocalism. The diphthong ***au** is only confirmed by Dagur. The Mongghul form seems to be absent from the others sources. As suggested by Poppe (1955:70), a CM form ***koa** could be related to CT ***kop** ‘all’ (EDPT 579b). Perhaps related to the structurally unclear MMo Ph *qot^hola* P129a ‘all, everything’, Kh *xotol* H656b ‘all, entire’, Ord *gotolo* M309a ‘all’, Kalm *xotl* (obs.) M601a ‘all; entirely’.

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

***kaučīn** ‘old’. The Baoanic form suggest a development from ***goičīn**.

MMo SH *qa’ucin* H63, HY *qa’učin* M89, Muq *qu:čīn* P313b. WM *qayučīn* L908b. Kh *xuuč(in)* H697b. Bur *xuušan* C607b. Kalm *xuučn* M616a. Dag *kaučīn* E137. EYu *xu:čən* B52, *xu:jən* J99a, *xo:čən* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *xau:žīn* J99a. MgrM *qaučīn* JL475. BaoD *xuičūn* BL87b. BaoÑ *xi:čān* CN61. BaoX *xuičōn* BC62. Kgj *xuaičō* S285b. Dgx *quaičōn* B72. Mog---.

***kaul-** ‘to peel, to skin’. Bur seems to suggest ***kaula-**. There is also an intr. form ***kaura-** ‘to shed (skin)’, cf. Ord *xu:ra-* M371a, MgrM *qaura-* J87. Cf. ***koltul-**.

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

***kauli** ‘law, rule’.

MMo SH *qa’uli* H64, HY---, Muq---. WM *qauli* L946a. Kh *xuul’* H695b. Bur *xuuli* C605b. Kalm *xuul’* (obs) M614b. Dag *kə:l’* E149. EYu *xu:lə* S379, *xulu* B84. Remaining lgs---.

***kaur-** ‘to stir-fry’. MgrH *kurgu-* does not belong here. Cf. CT ***kagur-**. Cf. ***kaari-**.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qa’ur-* P297b. WM *qayur-* L910a, *qayuur-* L911a, *quyur-* L982a. Kh *xuurax* H696b. Ord *xu:r-* M370a. Bur *xuuraxa* C606b. Kalm *xuurx* M615b. Dag---. EYu *xu:r-* B52, J99a. Mgr---. BaoD *xurə-* BL87a. BaoÑ *xər-* CN62. Kgj *xur-* S286a. Dgx *quru-* B73. Mog---.

***kaurai** ‘file (the tool)’.

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

***kaurai** ‘dry’ see ***kuurai**.

***kebeg** ‘chaff, bran, husks’. A widespread loan from Turkic ***kepek**. It seems impossible to connect the following Baoanic forms: BaoJ *ğuiğə* L153 ‘husks of wheat’, BaoÑ *ğəyөг* CN87 ‘chaff’, Kgj *ğuyag* S288b ‘wheat straw (left after

threshing)', Dgx *guyəu* MC129a 'covering of wheat'. Dgx has both this form, suggesting an original **guyVg*, and **kebeg*. Dgx *qəiya* B70 'kind of grass' is yet another word (from **kiag* 'couch grass').

MMo RH *kebek* 205B6. Kh *xeveg* H712b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *kevg* M287a. EYu---. MgrH *kavağ* X85, *kayağ* X84. MgrM *qəbəğ* DS208b, *kəbəğə* Slater 2003:370. Bao (see above). Kgj *kivü* S287b. Dgx *kəwə* B75, *kəwo* MC201a, and see above. Mog---.

***kebereg** and ***keüreg** 'fragile, brittle, crisp', usually with some semantic differentiation when both forms are found in a single language. Both seem to stem from Turkic **kevrek*, borrowed in different periods.

MMo SH---, HY *keberek* M70, Muq---. WM *kebereg*, *keberig* L439a, *keüreg* L462a. Kh *xevreg* H712a, *xüüreg* H708a. Ord *kewerek* M419a, *kü:rek* M439a. Bur *xebereg* C639b, *xebreg* C638b. Kalm *kewrəg* R229b, *küürg* M331b. Dag---. EYu *kebreg* (only?) S338. MgrH *ke:rəg* X85, ?cf. *kairan(g)* L253. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *kurəg* S338. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kebi-** 'to chew; to ruminate'. Dag *kəm^y*- may be influenced by **kemile-* 'to gnaw'. Cf. CT **kev-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kebi-* P212a. WM *kebi-* L439a. Kh *xevex* H713a, *xivex* H631b. Bur *xibexe* C569a. Kalm *kevx* M288a. Dag *kəm^y*- E146. EYu *keβə-* BJ333. MgrH *ke:yi-* SM199, *ke:-*, *kəyi-* X85. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kebid** 'shop' see ***keid**.

***kebte-** 'to lie down'. The strong *k-* in the Mgr, Kgj, and Dgx forms suggests that they stem from **kebte-* and not from **gedei-* 'to bend backwards, etc' (not listed here). It is not clear how these forms are related to Muq *kete-* P217b 'to lie down', unless this is a misspelling for *kebte-* (with *yā* instead of *bā*).

MMo SH *kebte-* H96, *kebde-* H95, *gebte-* H48, HY---, Muq *kebte-* P212b. WM *kebte-* L439b. Kh *xevtex* H712a. Ord *gebte-* M254a. Bur *xebtexe* C638a. Brg---. Kalm *kevtx* M288a. Dag *kərt-* E147. EYu *gebte-* B82. MgrH *kəde:-* X87. MgrM *kəde-* C379. Bao---. Kgj *kete-* ~ *kite-* S287a. Dgx *kižie-* B76. Mog *teftā-* R40a, *tebtā-*, *tebtā-*, *teftā-* W181a.

***keče** 'slope'. The QG forms possibly from **kiče*; MgrH atypically added *-n*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *keče* L440a 'steep'. Kh *xec* H727b 'steep'. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *kec* M297a 'slope'. Dag *kəč* (?) E146 'side', cf. *dali:kəč* E274 'seashore'. EYu *kəčə* (sic) B68 'cliff'. MgrH *kəže:n* X87 'slope'. MgrM *kiže* Z310:31. Bao---. Dgx [*ulani*] *kižə* B20 'slope, hillside' (cf. **aula*). Mog---.

***kedüi** and ***kedün** 'how much, how many'. The loss of *-n* in EYu is unexpected. Related to **ken* 'who' and **kejīe* 'when'.

MMo SH *kedui*, *kedun* H96a, HY *kedün* M70, Muq *kedün* P213a. WM *kedü(n)* L441a. Kh *xediy* H713b, *xed(en)* H713b. Bur *xedi* C640a, *xede(n)* C641a. Kalm *kedü* M289a. Dag *xəd*, *xədən* E111. EYu *ke:də* B67, J100a. MgrH *kədə* J100a.

MgrM *kedu* JL463, *kədu* C379. BaoD *kutuŋ* BL87a. BaoÑ *kutoŋ*, *kudoŋ* CN83. BaoX *kutoŋ* BC69. Kgj *gudɔ* ~ *gəɔ* S290a. Dgx *gieduŋ* B91. Mog *kedu*: R30a.

***kee-** ‘to say’. Modern languages suggest a form ***ge-**. Apart from literary forms, neither the *k-* nor the *-m-* are found in modern languages, nor is there a long vowel as is usually the case in contractions. Nevertheless it may once have been ***kee-**, and owe its reduction to its frequent position at the end of a quote.

MMo SH *ke'e-* H96, *kē-* H97, HY *ke'e-* M70, *kē-* M69, Muq *ge-* (or *ke(:)-*) P169a, Ph *k^he'e-* P126a, *ge'e-* P123b. WM *ge-* L372a, *keme-* (‘literary form’) L450b. Kh *gex* H145a, *xemeex* (according to Lessing). Ord *ge-* M253a. Bur *gexe* C174a. Kalm *gix* M145b. Dag---. EYu *gə-* B81. MgrH *gi-* SM135. MgrM *gə-* DS20a. BaoD-?-. BaoÑ *gə-* CN91. Kgj *gə-* S289a. Dgx *gie-* B89. Mog *ge-* R28a, *g^l-* W165a.

***keeli** ‘belly, abdomen’. The MMo *-h-* points at PM **keheli* < **kepli*, which is supported by Manchu *kefeli*. Kh *xevli* H711a ‘stomach, paunch; womb’ and Kalm *kevlä* (obs) M287a ‘belly, abdomen; womb’ strictly stem from a form **kebelei*.

MMo SH *ke'eli* H96, HY *ke'eli* M70, Muq *ke:li* P218a, IV *kehli* L48, LV *ke:li*, *keili* P66/68, RH *keheli* (eds. read *kehli*) 198C24. WM *kebeli* L438b, *kegeli* L442b (reflecting the semantic differences as in Khalkha). Kh *xeel* H728b ‘embryo, fetus (of an animal), *xewel* H713a ‘stomach, belly; womb’. Ord *ke:l* M410b ‘fetus’, *keweli* M419a ‘womb’. Bur *xeeli* C655a ‘&pregnancy’. Brg *xə:l* U101 ‘belly; fetus (of livestock)’. Kalm *keel* M289a ‘&pregnancy (of livestock)’. Dag *kə:l* E143. EYu---. MgrH *ke:le* X85. MgrM---. BaoD *kiələ* BL49. BaoÑ *ke:lə* CN77. Kgj *kele* ~ *kile* S287a. Dgx *kieli* B75. Mog---.

***keer** ‘animal colour (usu. varieties of brown)’. The MMo *-h-* may be an orthographical ‘trick’ to write the *e* or *e:* sound (as in the Zirni manuscript), but it cannot be excluded that it is an actual consonant, perhaps a vestige of earlier **p*. This seems to be supported by forms with *-h-* in Persian and Korean (P60:66). Bur *xeyer* and Dag *kəir* are reminiscent of Manchu *keire* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *keher* (sic, with *h*) P213b. WM *keger* L443a. Kh *xeer* H729a. Bur *xeer* C655b, *xeyer* (western) C641b. Kalm *ker* M294b. Dag *kəir* (?←Manchu) E144. EYu *ke:r* B67. Mgr. BaoD---.

***keere** (?*keer) ‘field, plain, steppe’. The final vowel in WM, Bur, EYu is not confirmed elsewhere. These forms may have reanalysed the old dative-locative *-A* as part of the stem. P60:48,127 compares Ewenki *kəwər*, which is the source of the Dag form *kəur* E144 ‘grassland, grassy marshland’. Perhaps the Arabic spelling with *-h-* and the Tungusic *-w-* point to the existence of PM variants **keper* ~ **keber*.

MMo SH *ke'er* H97, HY *ke'er* M70, Muq *ke:r* P218a, IV *keher-* L62:48. WM *kegere* L443a. Kh *xeer* H728b. Bur *xeere* C655b. Kalm *keer* M289b. Dag *xə:r* E107 ‘open country, wilderness’, cf. also *kəur* above. EYu *ki:re* B69, J99a. Remaining lgs---.

***kegesün** ‘spoke’. Although apparently related, it seems impossible to derive all languages from a single CM form. The change of vowel class in some of the Bur

forms is reminiscent of **hee-*, q.v.) The Kalm form with *-ii-* may go back to **üi* (as in one of the Buriat forms).

MMo SH *kekesun* H97, HY *kekesün* M70, Muq---. WM *kegesü(n)* L443a. Kh *xegees* H713a, *xigees* H631b (sic, no *-en*),. Ord---. Bur *xüygehe(n)* C615b, *xiigaha(n)*, *xiigadaha(n)* (the latter two forms are marked as ‘western’) C570a. Brg *xigə*: U105. Kalm *kiiys* M298b, *kigə:sn* R231a. Dag *xəiyə:s* E108. Remaining lgs---.

***kei** ‘wind’. In the central languages often ‘air’. In Dagur with *-n*. Cf. **salkin* ‘wind’.

MMo SH *kei* H97, HY *kei* M70, Muq *kei* P213b. WM *kei* L444b. Kh *xiy* H632a. Ord *ki*: M419b. Bur *xii* C569b. Brg *xi*: U105. Kalm *ki* M297b. Dag *xain* E107. EYu *ki*: B68, J99b. MgrH *ki*: J99a. MgrM *kəi* JL475, *ke* C379. BaoD *ki* BL87a. BaoÑ *ki*: CN79. Kgj *ke ~ ki* S287a. Dgx *kai* B73, *kei* L115a. Mog *kei* R30a, *kei* W170a.

***keid** ‘temple’ and ***kebid** ‘shop’. From CT **kepit*, which in its turn is from Iranian.

MMo SH *geyit* (?=) H50 ‘houses’, HY *kebit* M70 ‘shop’, Muq---, Ph *k^hebid* P125b ‘shops’, *geyid* (?=) P123b ‘dwellings’. WM *keyid* L444b ‘convent, monastery, temple’. Kh *xiyd* H632b ‘monastery, etc’. Ord *ki:d* M420a. Bur *xiid* C570a ‘monastery’. Kalm *kiyd* (obs) M300a ‘monastery’, *kivd* M298a (obs) ‘shop’. Dag---. EYu *ki:d* B68 ‘temple’. Remaining lgs---.

***kejie** > ***kejee** ‘when’. The reconstruction with *-ie* is based on MMo; the central languages, including Buriat, point at *-ee*; the other languages could be from either form. Related to **kedün* ‘how many’ and **ken* ‘who’.

MMo SH *keji’e* H97 ‘how far’, HY *keji’e* M69 [q.v.], Muq *kejiye* P213b, *keje*: P213b. WM *kejiye* L462a. Kh *xezee* H715a. Bur *xezee* C641b. Kalm *kezä* M290a. Dag *xəjə*: E111. EYu *keje*: B68. MgrH *kəje*: J100a. MgrM *keže* JL462. BaoD *kəciə* BL87a. BaoÑ *kəci* CN77. BaoX *kəjə* BC69. Kgj *gəje* S289a. Dgx *kiezə* B90. Mog---.

***kekere-** or ***kekire-** ‘to belch, burp’. Dagur suggests **kekerie-*, a pseudo-causative of a base **kekeri-*. Related to CT **ke:kir-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kekere-* [could be read *kekire-*] P213b. WM *kekere-* L446a. Kh *xexrex* H727b. Ord *gekir(e)-* M256b. Bur *xexerxe* C654a. Kalm *kekrx* M290b. Dag *kəkre:-* E145. EYu *ge:gəre-* B82. MgrH *kəgəre:-* X86. MgrM *kəgəri-* JL462. Remaining lgs---.

***kelen** ‘tongue; speech, language’.

MMo SH *kele(n)* H97, HY *kelen* M70, Muq *kelen* P214b. WM *kele(n)* L447a. Kh *xel(en)* H715a. Ord *kéle* M411a. Bur *xele(n)* C644b. Brg *xil* U105. Kalm *keln* M291a. Dag *xəl^ʰ* E110. EYu *kelen* B67, J99a. MgrH *kəle* J100a. MgrM *kəlie* DS256b. BaoD *kalan* BL87b. BaoÑ *kəlan* CN78. Kgj *kiliə* S287b Dgx *kielien* B75. Mog *kələn* R30a, *kəlan*, *kəlan* W170a.

***kele-** (< ***kelele-**) ‘to speak’. All peripheral languages have the shortened form.

MMo SH *kelele-* H98, HY *kelele-* M70, *kele-* M70, Muq *kele-* P213b, *kelle-* P215a. WM *kele-* L447b, *kelele-* L448b. Kh *xellex* H719a, *xellex* H716b. Ord *kéle-* M411b. Bur *xellex* C645a. Brg *xəl-* U102. Kalm *kelx* M292b. Dag *əl-* (sic) E24, *xəl-* E83:78b. EYu *kele-* B67. MgrH *kəle-* J100a. MgrM *kili-* JL475. BaoD *kalə-* BL84b. BaoÑ *kel-* CN78. BaoX *kəl-* BC70. Kgj *kele-* S287a. Dgx *kielie-* B75. Mog *kelä-* R30a, *kelä-*, *kelæ-*, *kelē-* W170a.

***kemile-** ‘to gnaw’. Probably derived from a noun **kemi* ‘soft bone’, cf. WM *kemi* L451b ‘marrow of bones’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kemile-* P215b. WM *kemeli-*, *kemele-* L451a. Kh *xemlex* H720b. Ord *kemele-* M413a. Bur *ximelxe* C572a. Brg *ximil-* U106. Kalm *kemlx* M293b. Dag---. EYu *kelme-* B67, *kemle-* J101a. Mgr---. BaoD *kaməl-* BL87a ‘to bite’. BaoÑ---. Kgj *kemle-* S287a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ken** ‘who’. Related to **kedün* ‘how many’ and **kejīe* ‘when’.

MMo SH *ken* H98, HY *ken* M70, Muq *ken* P216a. WM *ken* L453b. Kh *xen* H721b. Bur *xen* C647b. Kalm *ken* M293b. Dag *xən* E108. EYu *ken* B67, J99a, genitive *ke:nə* BJ73. MgrH *ken* J99a. MgrM *ken* JL475. BaoD *kaŋ* BL87b. BaoÑ *kaŋ* CN74. BaoX *kaŋ* BC69. Kgj *kə* S287b. Dgx *kien* B75. Mog *ken* R30a.

***keŋgerge** ‘drum’. With some oddly distributed variants: Bur, Ord and BaoÑ have an alternative form **keŋgerge* or **keŋgerig*, Kalm **keŋkereg*. EYu suggests **keŋgerkei*.

MMo SH---, HY *kenggerge* M71 ‘small drum’, Muq---. WM *kenggerge(n)* L454a. Kh *xengereg* (*xengergen*) H721b. Ord *keŋgerge*, *keŋgerik* M414b. Bur *xengereg* C648a ‘drum’, cf. *xengergee(n)* (western) C648a ‘thunder’. Kalm *keŋkrg* M294b. Dag---. EYu *keŋgerki*: S343. MgrH *kəŋgərgə* X85. MgrM---. BaoÑ *keŋgərag* CN78 ‘one-sided hand drum’. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kerči-** ‘to cut, mince’. Cf. CT **kert-* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *kerči-* L455a. Kh *xerčix* H724a. Ord *gerči-* M261b. Bur *xeršexe* C650a. Kalm *kerčx* M296b. Dag *kərč-* E147. EYu---. MgrH *kirži-* SM204. MgrM *kəžə-* C379. BaoD *kuči-* (?=) BL87a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *kečče-* ~ *keči-* S287b. Dgx *kizī-* B76, *kižia-* (sic) L115b. Mog ?cf. *kerči* R30b ‘large knife’.

***kereg** ‘need, necessity; matter, affair, business’. Cf. CT **kergek* > **kerek* ‘id’.

MMo SH *kerek* H99, HY *kerek* M71, Muq *kerek* P157a. WM *kereg* L455b. Kh *xereg* H724b. Bur *xereg* C650a. Kalm *kerig* M294b. Dag *kərag* (sic) E147. EYu *kereg* B68 ‘needs’. MgrH (only?) *kerig* L260, *kirig* L266. MgrM *kərag* JL475. BaoD *kər* T141. BaoÑ *kərag* CN77. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***keregle-** ‘to use, employ; to need, want’. The Baoanic forms seem to stem from a verb stem **kereg-* or **kerge-*, which may have secondarily lost the verbalizer -lA. The MgrH form was derived from Tibetan by Róna-Tas.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *keregle*- L456a. Kh *xereglex* H725a. Bur *xereglexe* C651a. Kalm *kerlǵ* M295b. Dag *kəryəl*- E147. EYu---. MgrH *xəgala*- X74, *xgale*- X83. MgrM *qarlı*- C378, *kərli*- DS204b ‘to apply’, DS212a ‘to claim’. BaoD---. BaoGt *kəsgə*- C124. BaoÑ *kər*- (sic, ?=) CN77. Kgj *ker*- ~ *kar*- ~ *keš*- S287b. Dgx *kərau*- B74, *kərə*- MC201a. Mog---.

***kereldü-** ‘to quarrel, have an argument’. Reciprocal of **kere-* ‘to fight’, which does not seem to survive in the peripheral languages.

MMo SH *kereldu*- H99, HY---, Muq *kereldü*- P216b. WM *kereldü*- L457a. Kh *xereldex* H725b. Bur *xereldexe* C652a. Kalm *kerldx* M295b. Dag---. EYu *kereldə*- B68. MgrH *kəre:də*- X88, *kəreldu*- L266. BaoÑ *keldə*- CN78. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *kandə*- S344. BaoGt *kandə*- CN86:282. Kgj *kandu*- ~ *karəndu*- S287a. Dgx---. Mog *kerālda*- R30b, *kerāldu*- W170a.

***kerie** ‘crow’. In this case Buriat supports **keree* with assimilated diphthong.

MMo SH *kere’e* H99, *keri’e* H99, HY---, Muq *keri’e* P220b. WM *keriye(n)* L458a. Kh *xeree(n)* H726a. Bur *xiree* C573b. Kalm *kerä* M294b. Dag---. EYu *kəräi* B67, *kəri*: J100a, BJ351, *kere*: BJ351. MgrH *kəre*: X88. Remaining lgs---.

***keseg** ‘part, piece’. Cf. **kes-ek* from **kes* ‘piece’, homophone of **kes-* ‘to cut’.

MMo SH--- (see **kesig*), HY *kesek* M71, Muq *kesek* P217a ‘piece’. WM *keseg* L459a. Kh *xeseg* H726b. Ord *gesek* M262a. Bur *xehēg* C564b. Brg *xəsəg* U103. Kalm *kesg* M296b. Dag---. EYu *kəseg* B66, J99a. MgrH *kəzəg* J100a. Bao---. Dgx *kišie* B76. Mog---.

***kesig** ‘part, share, lot, fate’. CT **kes-ig* from **kes-* ‘to cut’.

MMo SH *kešik* [emended by Haenisch as *kesek*] H99, HY---, Muq *kešik* P217b ‘part, share’. WM *kesig* L460a. Kh *xəšig* H728a, *xišig* H636b. Ord *gešik* M262b. Bur *xəšeg* C564b. Brg *xəšig* U103. Kalm *kišg* M303b. Dag *kəš* E146 ‘kindness’ (probably, as E suggests, reborrowed < Manchu *kesi*). EYu *kšəg* BJ334 ‘favour, kindness’, MgrH *kəšəg* SM199 ‘share of a sacrificed animal (...)’. Bao---. Kgj *kešiu* S287a ‘share, time(s)’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kete-** ‘to lie down’ see ***kebte-**

***kete** ‘steel for striking fire’. Cf. **čakiur*.

MMo SH *kete* H100, HY---, Muq *kete* P174b. WM *kete* L460b. Kh *xet(en)* H726b. Ord *gete* M263a. Bur *xete* C652b. Kalm *ket* M296b. Dag---. EYu *kede* B68. MgrH *kəde*: J100a. MgrM *kəde* JL475. Remaining lgs---.

***ketül-** ‘to cross, to wade across’. The initial is unclear, as the *k-* in Shirongol may be secondarily strengthened by the following *-t-*. Dag *xədul-* with its irregular *-d-* may be influenced by Tungusic **ədəl-* ‘id’. Bökh derives the Dgx form from **gatul-* ‘id’ (not listed here but found in central Mongolic) which is possible phonetically.

MMo SH *ketul*- H100, HY---, Muq *gütül-* P172b (can also be read *kütül-*). WM *getül-* L380b, *ketül-* L461a (different reading of the same spelling). Kh *xötlöx* H675b, *getlex* Cevél171b. Chakhar *gotlön* D188a. Ord *getul-* M263b, also *geltul-*

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

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

***kīdu-** ‘to kill, massacre’. An interesting spectrum of forms with respect to palatal breaking. Bur and Kalm feature breaking, with preserved palatality (note velar *k-* in the latter), while Ord features breaking without a trace of palatality. Kh has a recent type of breaking that took place after the second vowel was neutralised to *a*). EYU may represent the unbroken form, but strictly speaking it could be a development of a broken form **kudu-*.

MMo SH *kidu-* H101, HY---, Muq---. WM *kidu-* L464a. Kh *xyadax* H729b. Ord *χudu-* M363a. Bur *xyudaxa* C656a. Brg *šod-* U170. Kalm *kudx* M321b. Dag---. EYU *gədə-* B77. Remaining lgs---.

***kījaar** ‘side, edge, border’. Initial **k-* was weakened in QG, before it could become *č-* in Monguoric. Cf. also **kījaasun* in central languages and EYU. MgrM may also be related to **kija*, WM *qija*, and Mog *qiji(n)* W177a.

MMo SH *kija'ar*, *kiji'ar* H101, HY *kija'ar* M72, Muq *qija:r* P135a, *yija:r* P221a. WM *kijayar* L474b. Kh *xyazgaar* H729b. Ord *kijağa:r* (← WM) M420b. Bur *xizaar* C569a, *xizagaar* (lit.) C569b. Kalm *kizār* (obs) M298b. Dag *kija:r* E149. EYU *gəja:r* B77. MgrH *gəja:r* X104. MgrM *xaji-du* (?=) P418a ‘next to’. Bao---. Dgx *giža* B81, *gižira* B81. Mog---.

***kīlbar** ‘easy’.

MMo SH *kilbar* H101, HY *kilbar* M72, Muq *qilbar* P298a. WM *kilbar* L466a. Kh *xyalbar* H730b. Ord *kilbar* M420b. Bur *xilbar* C571a, *xyalbar* C657a. Brg *x'albar* U127. Kalm *kilwr* R231b, *kilvür* (different formation) M300b. Dag---. EYU---. MgrH *čirval* J99b, *čüro:l* X212. MgrM *čərbar* JL467, *čubar* C393. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *gəiwa* B81, *giwa* B81, *gəira* B81. Mog---.

***kīlgasun** ‘coarse hair’. Related to CT **kil*. Cf. **hüsün*, **noasun*.

MMo SH *kilqasun* H102 ‘(horse’s) tail hair’, HY---, Muq *qilyasun* P298a ‘horse hair’. WM *kilyasu(n)* L466a. Kh *xyalgas(an)* H730b ‘hair of the mane and tail, etc’. Ord *kilgasu* M421a. Bur *xilgaaha(n)* C571a ‘horse hair’. Brg *šalgv:* U161 ‘coarse hair’. Kalm *kilysn* M300b ‘hair (usu. of a horse)’. Dag *kilya:s* E148 ‘horse’s tail hair’. EYU *χalğasən* B45 ‘pubic hair’. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *galğasun* S288a ‘goat’s hair’. Dgx *imaŋ qağasun* (**imaan* ‘goat’) B11 ‘goat’s hair’. Mog *qilyasun* R32a (thick) hair, *qilğəsun* W176b ‘goat’s hair’.

***kīmda** ‘cheap’. The *k-* (instead of an uvular) in the unconfirmed EYU form is unexpected.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *kimda* L468a. Kh *xyamd* H731a. Ord *gimda* M266b. Bur *xyamda* C657a ‘easy; cheap’. Brg *š'amd* U172, *x'amd* U127. Kalm *kimd* M301a. Dag *k'and*, *k'annə* E160 ‘cheap; easy’. EYU *kəmda* (sic?, only) S352 ‘cheap’. Remaining lgs---.

***kīmusun** ‘nail, claw’, sometimes ‘hoof’. In Kh, Ord and Kalm the first-syllable **i* was assimilated by the following **u*, resulting in the uvular pronunciation of **k* in these languages. Palatal breaking took place in Bur and Brg, thus giving rise to forms with palatal consonants and *u*. In Mog the first syllable **kī* has become *qi*, suggesting an *ī*-like pronunciation of **i* in an earlier stage. It is not clear whether the EYü and Baoanic forms go back to a form with *qī*- or with assimilated *qu*-. In Monguoric, **i* developed into *i*, causing the palatalisation of **k*.

In Ord and EYü the initial became a fricative before it could undergo the expected weakening. The development of *-sun* into *-č* in Dagur is rare, but not unique (see **kairsun* ‘scale’, **nugursun* ‘spinal marrow’). The Monguor development **s > ʒ* is unrelated. The MgrM *-p-* was probably inserted as a byproduct of the devoicing of the middle syllable by *-s-*.

MMo SH *kimusun* ‘claw’, *kimul* ‘nail’ H102, HY *kimusun* M72, Muq *qimusun* P298b. WM *kimusu(n)* L469a, *qumusun* L986a. Kh *xums(an)* H687b. Ord *xumusu* M369a. Bur *xyumha(n)* C656a. Brg *šomv*: U170. Kalm *xumsn* M609b. Dag *kimč* E148. EYü *χəməsən* B49, J99b. MgrH *ćimužə* J99b, *ćimsə* X207, *ćimžə* X207. MgrM *ćimpəži* C392, *čənpuzi* DS238a. BaoD *gomusun* BL87a. BaoÑ *gəmsəŋ* CN87. Kgj *gemesun* ~ *gimesun* (sic) S289b. Dgx *gimusun* B81. Mog *qimsun* R32a.

***kīrau** ‘hoar-frost’. From CT **kīr-a-gu* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *qira’u* M72, Muq---. WM *kirayu(n)* L470b. Kh *xyaruu* H733b. Ord *kiru*: M422b as well as *girsu*: (sic, ?=) M267a. Bur *xyuruu* C656b. Brg *š’orov*: U173. Kalm *kirü* M302b. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *qirəu* B71. Mog---.

***kīrga-** ‘to shave, shear, scrape’. Cf. CT **kīrk-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *kirqa-* H102, HY---, Muq *qirya-* P298b. WM *kirya-* L471b. Kh *xyargax* H733b. Ord *kirğa-* M422a. Bur *xirgaxa* C572b. Kalm *kiryx* M302a. Dag---. EYü *χarğa-*, *χərgə-* BJ348, *χurğa-* S354. MgrH *ćirğa-* J100b. MgrM *ćarğa-* JL475. BaoD---. BaoJ *xarğə-* L210. BaoÑ *χarğa-* CN59. Kgj *qar-* ~ *qarğa-* ~ *qerğa-* S287a. Dgx *giğa-* B81 ‘to clip; to cut’. Mog *qirya-* R32a, *qi&rgə-* W177a.

***kīrguī** ‘name of some birds of prey’. As is seen often, Kh suggests **a* instead of expected **u*, which would be possible here if CM were **kīraguī*. Dgx *-ŋ* normally stems from *-l-* rather than *-r-*. Cf. CT **kīrguy*.

MMo SH---, HY *kirγui* M72, Muq---. WM *kirγui* L471b. Kh *xyarguy* H733b. Ord *χurgui* M372b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *kiryü* M302a. Dag *kiryɔ*: E149. EYü---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *giŋgi* B81. Mog---.

***kīrgaul** ~ ***kurgaul** ‘pheasant’. The form with *ī* survives in Kh, Kalm, Mgr. The MMo form in HY is puzzling in that the breaking (assimilation) to *u* is unexpected, since the following vowel is actually *a*.

MMo SH---, HY *qurqa’ul* M92, Muq---. WM *kirγuul* L471b, *kirayul* L470b, *γurγuul* L369b, *quurγuul* L993a. Kh *xyarguul* H733b, cf. *temeen xyaruul* H733b ‘ostrich’ (lit. camel pheasant). Ord *gurgu:l* M315a, *gurgu:li* (sic) M315b. Bur *gorgol* (?=). Kalm *kiryül* M3302a. Dag *xəryɔ:l* E122. EYü---. MgrH *ćirgöl* X209. MgrM---. BaoÑ *gulgur* CN89. Kgj *gulguar* ~ *gulğɔ* S288b. Dgx---. Mog---.

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

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

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

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

***kīsu-** ‘to scrape’. Apparently an assimilated variant **kusu-* developed quite early. Dagur lacks the verb, but has both *kisɔ:r* E83:124 ‘tool for fastening a skin with a hook’, and *kɔswɔr* [*?kɔsɣɔr*] E83:128 ‘knife for scraping skins’. The former phonetically matches **kīsuur* ‘scraper’, the latter is closer semantically, but has an unknown suffix. MgrH is peculiar, in that it has velar *k-*; **kī-* should have resulted in MgrH *či-*, while early breaking should have resulted in MgrH *xu-*. The -a- in Bao is also unexpected.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qusu-* L992a, *kisu-* L473b. Kh *xusax* H693b. Ord *gusu-* M317a. Bur *xyuhaha* C656b. Brg *šv:-* U168. Kalm *xusx* M614a. EYü *qasə-* B63. MgrH *kizə-* SM202, *kəsə-* L268. BaoD *χasə-* BL88b. BaoÑ *gasə-* CN85. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kīsuraj** ‘infertile, barren’. Agricultural term related to CT **kīsīr*, **kīsrak*.

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

***kītad** ‘Chinese’. All Shirongol languages except Mongghul use developments of **kītai*, apparently from Turkic **kītay* < CT **kītañ* (cf. WYü *qidey*, Sal *χadi*).

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

***kītuga(i)** ‘knife’. The final -i seen in SH only survives in Mog. In this case the EYü form resembles Kh rather than Kalm and Ord. The Shirongol forms seem to derive from a form **kītogo* < **kītoga* < **kītuga*. Dagur lost this word as such but may preserve it in the verb *kʹatəyla:-* E83:123a ‘to stab/prick (of a knife)’. This suggests an earlier form **kītuga*, which cannot easily be explained as a loanword

from central Mongolic. On the other hand, Dag *kwa:rt* E161 ‘hunting knife’ vaguely resembles **kituga* and Tungusic *kɔtɔ* ‘knife’.

MMo SH *kituqai* H102, HY---, Muq *qituya* P299a, *qutuya* P290b. WM *kituya* L474a, *qutaya* L992a, *qutuya* L992b. Kh *xutga(n)* H694a, Chakhar *gotāg* D187b. Ord *utaga* M744b. Bur *xutaga* C605a, *xotyogo* (western) C592a. Brg *xotag* U116. Kalm *utx* M540a. Dag (see above). EYu *qutağa* B65, *qudağa* J99b, *χudağa* J58. MgrH *cidoğ* J99b. MgrM *cidoğ* JL477. BaoD *dogə*, *doğ* BL87a. BaoGt *doğ* C117. BaoÑ *şdəğə* CN151 ‘id, pocket knife’. BaoX *xdogə* BC74. Kgj *duğu* S299b. Dgx *qudoğ* B72. Mog *qitqei* R32a.

***kürsun** ‘nit’. Many unexpected developments. In Kh, Kalm (and WM) this word has become confused with **kaursun* ‘chaff’ (not listed here) and **gaursun* ‘feather shaft’. The *iu* has developed in unexpected ways. In Dag the ending *-sUn* was dropped; the form *k’aur* suggests an earlier **kiura*. MgrM also dropped the ending (unless it is not related but a foreign word). EYu *-ai-* and MgrH *-i-* are also abnormal.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH---. WM *kiyurasu(n)*, *kiyurusu(n)* L464b, cf. also *qaurasun* L910b. Kh *xuurs* H697a ‘... nit; chaff, etc’, *xiurs* H636a ‘flea eggs’. Ord *gu:rsu* M316a. Bur *xyuurha(n)* C656b. Brg *şv:rar* (sic) U168. Kalm *xuursn* M615b. Dag *k’aur* E160. EYu *χairsən* B42. MgrH *čirzə* SM456. MgrM *çər* (?) DS239a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***ki-** ‘to do’, in Dag also ‘to write’, under Tungusic influence (e.g. Manchu *ara-* ‘to do; to write’). Initial **k-* was apparently weakened in QG before it could become *č-* in Mgr. The long vowel in Kh, Ord, and Dag may be due to the stem structure as in **a-* ‘to be’. This verb is also used as a verbalizer, in the QG languages especially on foreign nouns, e.g. EYu *laryə-* ‘to speak’ < *lar* ‘speech’. The verb is spelled with *q* twice in Muq (albeit against more than 100 times with *k-*), with equivalents in preclassical spelling. The *q*-spelling was seen as evidence for a connection to Turkic **kil-* ‘to do’ (P60:19,114). The peripheral languages do not provide support for a CM reconstruction **ki-*.

MMo SH *ki-* H101, HY *ki-* M71, Muq *ki-* P218a. WM *ki-* L462b. Kh *xiyx* H633b. Ord *ki:-* M419b. Bur *xexe* C653a. Kalm *kex* M297a. Dag *xi:-* E112. EYu *gə-* J100a. MgrH *gə-* J99b. MgrM *gr-* C380. BaoD *gə-* (used as verbalizer) BL21, *kə-* T141. Kgj *gi-* S89a. Dgx *gie-* B89. *gei-*. Mog *kə-*, *ki-* R30b.

***ki-** ‘to pour’. This could be a semantic development of **ki-* ‘to do’, via the meaning ‘to put into, insert’ as attested for MMo SH and Muq *ki-*. Whether or not this is the case, the two verbs now have different shapes in several QG languages. Cf. **čidku-*, **tüsür-*, **yeü-*.

Kh, Bur, Kalm have the same phonetic shapes listed under **ki-* ‘to do’. EYu *ki:-* B68. BaoD *ki-* BL51, BL74. BaoGt *ki-* C124. BaoÑ *ki:-* CN79. Dgx *kie-* B75, MC217b. Mog *ki-* R1 ‘to put into’.

***kirbei** ‘edge’. EYu suggests *g-*, Monguoric favours **k-*. Found only in Monguoric and EYu, but cf. WM *kirbegesü(n)* L471a. Kh *xirvees* H635b ‘fur trimming’, *xervees* H723a ‘trimmings’, cf. *xervix* H722b, Ord *kerwe-* ~ *kérwe-* M418b ‘to trim’,

Kalm *kirwä:sn* R233 ‘(..) shearings’. WM *i ~ e* variations usually are from **e*, but here the first vowel needs to be **i* in order to explain the *é-* in Monguoric.

MMo---, WM---, Kh---, Bur---, Kalm---, Dag---, EYu *aman gərβai* B5 ‘lip’ (lit. ‘mouth edge’), *čkən gərβai* B139 ‘helix’ (‘ear edge’). MgrH *ćire*: X208. MgrM *čaibai* C393, *čaibai ~ čəbie* DS208a. Remaining lgs---.

***kirüe > *kiröe** ‘saw’. The Shirongol forms may go back to a form **kireü*, a metathetic alternant of **kirüe* > **kiröe*. The *é-* in the Dgx form is unexpected and reminiscent of Monguoric.

MMo SH *kiru’e* H102, HY---, Muq *kirö*: P219a. WM *kiröge* L473a. Kh *xöröö(n)* H674a. Ord *körö*: M430b. Bur *xyüröö* [written *xyuröö*] C656a, *xüree* (western) C630b. Brg *šurə*: U171. Kalm *körä* M318b. Dag *kirə*: E149. EYu *kure*: B71, *kure*: J99b. MgrH *ćiru*: X209, *ćirəu*: J100b. MgrM *ćircu* C393. BaoD---, BaoÑ *kuru* CN83. Kgj *kiru* S287b. Dgx *ćirəu* B158. Mog---.

***koa** ‘all’ see ***kau**

***koa-** ‘to dry (intr), wither’. Initial weakening only in Dgx.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qo:-* P306a. WM---, Kh---, Ord---, Bur---, Kalm---, Dag *x^wa:-* E131. EYu *χu:-* BJ346, *χɔ:-* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *χo:-* SM168. MgrM *qo-* J86 ‘to dry’. BaoD---, BaoÑ *χə:-* CN61. Kgj *χu-* S285b. Dgx *go-* B81. Mog *qua-* R32b.

***koala(i)** ‘throat’ and ***koala(i)** ‘food’. EYu and BaoÑ suggest two words **koala* ‘food’ and **koali* ‘throat’.

MMo SH *qo’olai* H66 ‘throat’, HY *qowolai* M90 ‘throat’, Muq *qo:lai* P306a ‘throat’. WM *qoyolai* L952b ‘throat’, *qoyola(n)*, *qoyol* L952a ‘food, etc’. Kh *xooloy* H650a ‘throat’, *xool(on)* H649b ‘food’. Ord *χo:l* M349a ‘food’, *χo:lo* M350a ‘food; throat, etc’, *χo:lö*: M350b ‘throat, etc’. Bur *xooloy* C586a ‘throat’, *xool* C586a ‘food’, *xuul* (western) C605b ‘nutritiousness’. Brg *xɔ:l* U106 ‘food’, *xɔ:lɔi* U106 ‘throat’. Kalm *xol* M593a ‘throat; nutritiousness’. Dag *xɔ:lʰ* E116 ‘throat; neckband’, *x^wa:l* (?) E132 ‘goiter (disease)’. EYu *χula* B53, *χu:la* J100b ‘meal, food’, and in *la:n χu:lə* B88, J89 ‘oesophagus’ (*la:n* < **hulaan* ‘red’). MgrH *xv:la*, *xv:lo* X74 ‘throat; fodder’, *xo:lo* J100a ‘throat’. MgrM *qolo* J87 ‘throat’. BaoD---, BaoÑ *χələ* CN62 ‘breakfast’, but *fulaŋ gəli* CN56 ‘oesophagus’ (*fulaŋ* < **hulaan* ‘red’). Kgj *guli* (sic) S290b. Dgx *gələi* B82 ‘throat; fodder, feed’. Mog *qo:ləi* R32a ‘throat’, *kɔləi* 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, *xv:sən ~ xv:žən* X75 ‘dry’. MgrM *qɔsun* C378 ‘dry’. BaoD *χosun* BL87b ‘dry’. BaoÑ *χə:səŋ*, *χə:səŋ* CN59. Dgx *qosun* B71. Mog *qosun* W177a.

***koasun** ‘empty’. Although this is likely to be the same word as **koasun* ‘dry’ above, it is listed separately to show the different development and distribution.

MMo SH *qo’osun* H66, HY *qo’osun* M90, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *qoyosun* L953a. Kh *xooson* H650b. Bur *xooho(n)* C587b. Brg *xəxə:ŋ* U108, *xə:səŋ* (←Kh) U106. Kalm *xoosn* M597b. Dag *xə:sun* E116. EYu *χu:sən* B52, J100a. MgrH *xo:ʒən* J100a. MgrM *qəsun* C378. Bao---. Dgx *qusun* B72. Mog---.

***kočar-** ‘to remain’. Survives in EYu in reduced form as a perfective auxiliary (parallel to WYu *qal-*), as in *nda-čur-* B28 ‘to sleep’, *hku-čər-* ‘to die’, *marta-čər-* ‘to forget’ (BJ1990:233, with different etymology). MgrH *χuičira:-* C88:575 ‘to remain’, there connected to this etymon, rather stems from **koičira-*.

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

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

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

***koimar** ‘northern side; seat of honour’. Probably related to **koi-* ‘behind; north’, but the suffix is unclear.

MMo SH *qoyimar* H69, HY---, Muq *qoimar* P110b. WM *qoyimar*, *qoyimor* L954a. Kh *xoymor* H640b. Bur *xoymor* C577b. Kalm *xööm* M603b. Dag *x^wainə:r* E133 ‘north side of the kang (heatable brick bed)’. MgrH *xvimor* X76 ‘smooth floor indoors; floor’. Remaining lgs---.

***koïna** ‘back, posterior side, behind, later, etc’. The initial weakening in Kgj is unexpected. There are many other derivations of the same stem **koïgsi* ‘backwards’, **koitu* ‘posterior (adj)’ (not listed).

MMo SH *qoyina* H69, HY *qoyina* M91, Muq *qoïna* P299b. WM *qoyina* L954a. Kh *xoyno* H640b. Bur *xoyno* C577b. Kalm *xöön* M603b. Dag *x^wainə* E132 ‘north; back’. EYu *xəinə* B49, *χoino* J99b. MgrH *xuaino* J100b ‘north; back’, *xvino* X75. MgrM *quaino* JL465. BaoD *χuinə* BL82a, 87b. BaoÑ *χi:na* CN60 back side; behind, back’. Kgj *guaina* S288b. Dgx *quina* B72, *quŋna* MC216b. Mog *qoïna* R32a, *koina* W170b, *qavna* W176b.

***kola** ‘far’. Cf. **alus* ‘far’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *qola*, *qolo* H65, HY *qolo* M90, Muq *qola* P300a. WM *qola* L956b. Kh *xol* H642b. Ord *χolo* M350a. Bur *xolo* C580a. Brg *xəl* U109. Kalm *xol* M592b. Dag *xəl* E118. EYu *χələ* B50, *χolo* J100a. MgrH *xolo* J100a. MgrM *qolo* JL464, *qolo* C378. BaoD *golo* BL87b. BaoGt *xolo* C102. BaoÑ *χələ* CN62. BaoX *χolo* BC67. Kgj *gulu* S28b. Dgx *golo* B82. Mog *qolo*: R32a, *qələ* W177a.

***kolaŋsa** (?) ‘unpleasant smell, smell of sweat’. The precise form is difficult to establish. The *-a-* is supported by Muq, but Ord suggests **kolun̄su*. Bur suggests **kolimsun*, Dagur suggests a palatal element as well. A rare case of **s > Dag č* that does not involve the ending *-sUn*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qolanqsa* P301a. WM *qulungsu(n)*, *qulungyusu(n)*, *qulumsun* L985a, *qulmusu(n)* L984b. Kh *xulmas* H686b, *xulans* H685a. Ord *χulun̄su* ~ *χulun̄sa* M368a. Bur *xol'modoho(n)* C582a, *xol'moho(n)* (western) C582a. Kalm *χol̄ysă* R183a. Dag *kōlinč* E151 ‘body odour’. Remaining lgs---.

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

MMo SH (*qolba'ara-*, *qolbara-* H65 ‘to unite (intr)'), HY---, Muq *qolba-* P301a. WM *qolbo-*, *qolba-* L957b. Kh *xolbox* H643b. Bur *xolboxo* C579b. Kalm *xolvx* M593b. Dag *xōlb-* E119. EYū *χol̄bɔ-* 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 *xōl̄'* U109. Kalm *xol'x* M595a. Dag *xōl̄'e-* E116. EYū *χulā-* B53, *χolā-* J100a. MgrH *xolā-* 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 *kōltus* E151 ‘outer shell, outer skin’, etc. The reconstruction **koltul-* is supported by Ordos; Baoanic seems to suggest **koltal-*. Cf. **kaul-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qoltul-*, *qoltura-* L960a. Kh *xoltlox*, *xoltrox* H644b. Ord *ğultul-*, *ğultur-* M313a. Bur *xoltolxo* C581a, *xoltorxo* C581b. Kalm *xoltlx*, *xoltrx* M584a. Dag *kōltlɔ-* E83:126a, *kōltur-* E151. EYū---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoÑ *χōdal-* (sic) CN62. BaoGt *xundāl-* C118. Kgj *χundi-* S286a ‘to skin’. Dgx *qoŋtolu-* MC213a.

***kom** ‘saddle pad, felt under the packsaddle’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq only *qom-la-* P301b ‘to saddle (a camel)’, and *qom-u-nu* (sic, genitive) P302a ‘camel saddle’. WM *qom* L960b. Kh *xom* H645b. Bur *xom* C582a. Kalm *xom* M595b ‘&saddle; fat spot near a camel's hump’. Dag---. EYū *χom* B50. Mgr---. Bao---. BaoÑ *χom* CN62. Dgx---. Mog---.

***komaul** ~ ***komual** ‘horse dung’. Note the peculiar similarity of the Bur and EYū form. Cf. also the ‘standard’ Bur *tontogool*, *tontoxoodo(n)* C428b ‘horse dung’, Brg *tōntv:l* U183 ‘horse dung’. Cf. Turkic **komuk*. Cf. for a parallel case **jundaui* (as in SH) corresponding to CT **yundak*.

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

Brg. Kalm *xomył* M595b ‘humus’, *χomyāl* R184b, *χoma:l* R184b ‘round pellet of sheep or camel dung’. Dag---. EYu *χɔndu:l* (?=) B49. Remaining lgs---.

***konag** ‘millet’. The present distribution (as well as the fact that other cereal names have been borrowed from Turkic in QG) suggests that this word entered from Turkic in recent centuries.

MMo SH---, HY *qonoq* M90, Muq *qonaq* [P: *qunaq*] P302a. WM *qonoy* L964a. Kh *xonog* H648a. Bur---. Kalm *χonōg* R185a. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj *gūnəg* S288b. Dgx *gonaυ* B81, *gono* L80. Mog---.

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

MMo SH *qongqor* H66, HY---, Muq---. WM *qongyor* L962a. Kh *xongor* H647a. Ord *χonggor* M354a. Bur *xongor* C583b. Kalm *xoŋyr* M596a. Dag *kəŋgɔ:r* E150. EYu *χəŋgɔr* B49, *χəŋgɔr* J100b. Remaining lgs---.

***koŋka** ‘bell’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qongqo* L963a. Kh *xonx(on)* H648a. Ord *χonχo* M354a. Bur *xonxo* C584b. Kalm *xonx* M596a. Dag *kəŋgilja:r* ~ *kəŋgulja:r* (?=) E150 ‘small bell’. EYu *χəŋgɔ* B49, *χəŋgɔ* J100b. MgrH *xəŋgor* J100b, *xəŋgɔr* X81, *xəŋgɔr* X77. MgrM *qəŋgɔ* JL477, *qəŋgɔ* C378. BaoD *galalaŋ* (?=) BL87a. Kgj *gɔɔɔɔɔŋ* ~ *gɔɔɔɔɔŋ* (?=) S288a. Dgx *gūŋgūŋ* B83, *gəŋgəŋ* L115b. Mog---.

***konin** ‘sheep’. Note the loss of -n in EYugur and all of Shirongol. The weakening of initial **k* in Dongxiang and some Baoan dialects is probably due to the following nasal. Agricultural term related to CT **ko:ñ*.

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

***konjiasun, *kondasun** ‘colon; anus’. Cf. **anjasun* ‘plough’ for a similar set of variants. Dag and Bur point at an assimilated form **konjaasun*. There are many semantically similar words that may all share the same root: **kondalai*, **koŋ*, **koŋgäi*, **kondaska*; **kondarčag*, all with meanings like ‘buttocks, hindquarters’ (none of them listed here), some of which indicate that the -n- goes back to **ŋ*. EYu *gəŋgɔr* B78 ‘buttocks’ may also be from this root.

MMo SH *qonjiyasun* H66, HY---, Muq---. WM *qongjusu* L963b ‘the junction of the two thighs, crotch’. Kh---. Ord---. Bur *xonzooho(n)* C584a ‘anus’. Kalm *χondāsŋ* R185a ‘backside, etc’. Dag *kəŋjɔ:s* ~ *kəŋñɔ:s* E88:491 ‘colon’. EYu---. MgrH *gonjasə* J98b, *gəŋjəsə* ~ *gəŋjəsə* X98. MgrM *gənzusi* C381. Remaining lgs---.

***kora** ‘poison’. In WM and NM this word has become confused with **kor* ‘disaster’. The WM spellings *qoor*, *qoora* now both represent both original words. In this context also note Manchu *horon* ‘poison’, *koro* ‘sorrow, etc’.

MMo SH *qōro(n)* H68, HY---, Muq *qora* P302b, *γora* P135b. WM *qoor*, *qoora* L973b. Kh *xor(on)* H651a. Ord *χoro* M360a. Bur *xoro(n)* C590a. Kalm *xorn* M599b. Dag *kər* E153. EYu *χṛṛ* B51, *χoro* J99b. MgrH *xoro: sman* (*sman* ‘medicine’ ←Tib) X81. Remaining lgs---.

***korakaï** ‘insect/worm’. A general word for a variety of mainly invertebrates (like Chinese *chóng*). All Shirongol forms stem from a shortened **korgai*. Initial weakening in Baoanic may have occurred after weakening (itself unexplained) of the second *-k-*. The CM word may contain the (diminutive?) suffix *-kAi*, so that the PM root may be **kora-*.

MMo SH---, HY *qoroqai* M90, Muq *qorayai* P302b, *γorayai* P238a. WM *qoroqai* L970a ‘insects and worms in general’. Kh *xorxoy* H655a. Ord *χor(o)χö:* M358b, M360b, sporadically *gorχö:* M307a. Bur *xorxoy* C591a ‘worm, etc’. Brg *xərxəi* U111. Kalm *xorxa* M600a ‘worm; moth’. Dag *xəry*^w E122. EYu *χṛṛqəi* B51, *χoroχgui* J100a. MgrH *xorχuai* J100a. MgrM *qorχai* JL465. BaoD *gorχəi* BL87b. BaoÑ *gorχəi* CN88 also ‘maggot, shrimp; giant salamander, etc’. BaoX *gorχi* BC65. Kgj *gūrgei* ~ *gūrχai* S288b. Dgx *guχi* B84, *gūχəi* B83. Mog---.

***korgal**, ***korgasun** ‘sheep, goat, or camel dung’ The Ord and Bur forms contradict each other as to the quality and quantity of the vowel of the second syllable. The meaning ‘earwax’ in MgrM is reminiscent of **kulakī* ‘earwax’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *qorqosun* H67, HY---, Muq *qoryal* (*qorya:l* also possible) P346a ‘dung (of camel)’. WM *qoryal* L965b, *qoryol* L966a, *qoryusun* L966a. Kh *xorgol* H651b. Ord *χorgol* M358a, *χurğu:s* M372b. Bur *xorgooho(n)* C588a, *xorgool* C588a, *xorgol* (western) C588a. Brg *xərgəl* U111. Kalm *xorysn* M598b. Dag---. EYu *χorgol* (sic, only) S365. MgrH *xərgə:sə* X81. MgrM *xorgosī* P418a ‘sheep dung’, *qurğosī* DS219a ‘earwax’. Remaining lgs---.

***korian** ‘courtyard; enclosure (usu. for keeping livestock in)’. From **kori-* ‘to protect’. The *-n* was lost in parts of central Mongolic, but exceptionally preserved in MgrM. Kgj could be from **kürien* instead, on the other hand there are other unexpected cases of velar *g-* in Kgj.

MMo SH *quru’a* H73, *qoriya’an* H67, HY *qoriyan* M90, Muq---. WM *qoriya(n)* L967a, *qoroγa* L968b, *qoriγa(n)*, etc. Kh *xoroo(n)* H654a. Ord *χṛṛ*: M360a. Bur *xoryoo* C588b, *xoroy* (?) C589b. Brg *xəryə:* U112. Kalm *xora* M597b ‘room’. Dag *xərye:* E121. EYu *χṛṛ:n* in *qəša:* *χṛṛ:n* B64 (cf. **kasīa*). MgrH---. MgrM *qoray* JL471, *qu:ray* C395. Bao---. Kgj *gūrə* ~ *gūrə* S290b. Dgx *goroy* B83 ‘courtyard, winnowing area inside the courtyard’. Mog---.

***korin** ‘twenty’. In Kgj replaced by a new formation **koar harban* ‘two tens’, in MgrM by Chinese. Related to **koar*.

MMo SH *qorin* H67, HY *qorin* M90, Muq *qorin* P303a. WM *qori(n)* L966a. Kh *xor’* (*xorin*) H656a. Bur *xori(n)* C589a. Kalm *xörn* M604b. Dag *xəry*^v E123, *xərin* E121. EYu *χṛən* B50, *χorən* J100a. MgrH *xorən* J100a. MgrM---. BaoD *χoroy* BL87b, *χoruy* BL41. BaoGt *xoroy* C132. BaoÑ *χorəy* CN63. Kgj---. Dgx *qoruy* B72. MogM *qorī*: ‘20 kran coin’.

***kormaï** ‘skirt, lower hem’. Both Dag and MgrM lost the final *-i*. Initial weakening only in Dgx.

MMo SH *qormai* H67, HY *qormai* M90, Muq *qormai* P303a, also *qoimar* (sic, see **koïmar*) P340a. WM *qormai* L967b, *qormoi* L968a. Kh *xormoy* H653a. Bur *xormoy* C589a. Kalm *xorma* M599b. Dag *x^warəm* E135. EYü *χormai* B51, *χormi*: J100a. MgrH *xormi*: J100a. MgrM *qurmo* DS250, *qormo* Z358:599. BaoD *χurmi* BL88a ‘front of a Chinese garment’. BaoÑ---. Dgx *gomai* B82 ‘skirt’. Mog---.

***koš** (> ***kos**) ‘pair; double’, with many specialised meanings. Although probably adopted from Turkic **koš*, in the central languages this word has become part of the paradigm of **koyar*, especially the distributive **kosiad*. In Shirongol it is only attested in the combination **koš kelen* ‘uvula’ (lit. ‘additional tongue’).

MMo SH *qoš* H68 ‘house’, *qošiliq* [H: *qošilih*] H68 ‘tent’, HY *qoš* [M: *qošī*] M90 ‘pair’, Muq *qoš* P303a ‘pair’. WM *qos* L970b, *qoos* L974a, *qod* L951b. Kh *xos* H656a, but cf. *xošoy* ‘twice’. *xošood* ‘two each’. Ord *χos* M361b, *goši* M308a. Bur *xos* C591b ‘pair’, but cf. *xošoo* ‘paired’, *xošood* ‘two each’. Kalm *χos*, *χoš* R189b, *xoš* (obs) M602a ‘second yurt (near the main one)’, *xošad* ‘two each’. Dag---. EYü---. MgrH *ğos kəle* X98, L143. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *χoš kalaŋ* S396. BaoÑ *ğəža kelaŋ* CN87. Dgx *qošī kielien* B71.

***kosium** ‘bill, beak’. The Dag *-s-* suggests an early contraction form **kosuun*. The intervocalic affricate in the Monguor languages is unusual.

MMo SH *qošī’un* H68, HY *qošī’un* M90, Muq--- (P355b is an emendation of Poppe’s, q.v.). WM *qosiŋu(n)* L970b, *qusiŋu(n)* L991b (spelled identically!). Kh *xošuu(n)* H659a. Ord *ğušu*: M317a. Bur *xušuu(n)* C609b. Kalm *χošu*: R190a. Dag *kəɣɔ*: E152 ‘beak’. EYü *qušu:n* B65 ‘beak’, J95b ‘lips’, *qəšu*: S365 ‘snout’. MgrH *xošə* J95b ‘lips’, *xošə* X79, *xəžə* X80. MgrM *quzu* DS206b, *košu* P416b ‘snout’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ğəšəŋ* CN87 ‘lip’. Dgx *quşuŋ* B72 ‘beak’. Mog---.

***kotan** ‘enclosure; walled town’. Not to be confused with Shirongol **ketü* < **gertü* ‘(at) home’. Semantic developments comparable to that of **korīa*.

MMo SH *qoton* H68, pl *qotot*, *qotat* H68, HY *qoton* M90 ‘town’, Muq *qotan* P302a ‘enclosure’. WM *qota(n)* L972a, *qoto(n)* L972b. Kh *xot* (sic, not *-on*) H656a. Ord *ğoto* M308b. Bur *xoto* C592a ‘town’, cf. *xoto(n)* C592b ‘enclosure’. Brg *xət* U110 ‘town’. Kalm *xotn* M601a ‘settlement, village’. EYü [only S]. MgrH---. MgrM *qudan* DS242b. BaoJ *x(y)dün* L215. Kgj *χutuŋ* S286a. Dgx *qudon* B73. Mog---.

***koyar** (?~ ***koar**) ‘two’. The forms in the QG languages all seem to stem from **go:r* < **koar*. The latter variant may be related to **koarandu* ‘between’ in central Mongolic, as in Ord *χo:r(ğ)ondu* M358b/361a. Cf. **korin* ‘twenty’; perhaps related to **koï-* ‘after’. Endemic, unless in some way related to **kos*.

MMo SH *qoyar* H68, HY *qoyar* M90, Muq *qoyar* P303b. WM *qoyar* L955b. Kh *xoyor* H639a. Ord *χoyor* M348b. Bur *xoyor* C576a, *xoor* (Kachug.) C586b. Brg *χəyər* U111. Kalm *xoyr* M592a. Dag *xəir* E116. EYü *ğu:r* B79, J100a. MgrH *go:r* J100a, *ğu:r* X97. MgrM *guar* JL479, *ğə:r* C219, *gor* T325. BaoD *guar*

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

***kōbči** ‘bowstring’.

MMo SH---, HY *kōbči* M72, Muq *kōbči*, *kōbčin* P219b. WM *kōbči* L475b. Kh *xōvč* H661a. Ord *gubči* ~ *gōbči* M273b. Bur *xūbše* C611a. Brg *xuβš* U122. Kalm *kōvč* M310a. Dag *kurč* E159. EYu *gōbčə* J100a. Mgr---. BaoÑ *karžil* (?=) CN76. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kōbeün, *kōün, *keü** ‘boy, child’. In some languages hard to distinguish from **keü* ‘child’, which may be related (irregularly). Forms that preserve *-n* and/or *-b-* can be assumed to reflect **kōbeün* rather than **keü*. Some of the variants in Monguoric have a diphthong which seems more in agreement with **keü* (the loss of *-n* is regular in these languages). The form **kōbeün* is unexpectedly rare in MMo. In Bao and Kgj (but not in related Dgx) **kōbeün* and **küün* ‘person’ have merged phonetically. In Arabo-Mongolic they are also hard to distinguish.

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

***kōbeün ökin** and/or ***keü ökin** ‘children (sons and daughters)’. For the unexpected forms of the second element see ***ökin** ‘girl’. Perhaps some of the Shirongol forms go back to the form ***kōbeün sibaun** also found in MMo HY *kō'ün šiba'un* H73 ‘son’, Muq *kü'ün šiba'un* P228b ‘children’ (Chagatai equivalent *oylanlarī*), P230b ‘children’ (Chagatai equivalent *oylı uşaq*) and MogMr *kəu-šibv:n* L63:164, cf. also Ord *ku:ket šu:χat*, *ku:ket šiwu:* M436b ‘children’.

EYu *kü:n hkon* B72, MgrH *ko: šǰün* X88, MgrM *kau šuǰun* DS21b. BaoD *kočüŋ* BL48. BaoÑ *kuŋ ökuŋ-la* (with pl. ending) CN82. Kgj *kənšüŋ* S287b. Dgx *kəwaŋ očün* B74.

***keüken** ‘child’. Note the semantic development. Although it is merely the diminutive of **keü*, the word now denotes specifically the female child in central Mongolic, specifically the male child in EYu, Mgr, and Kgj.

MMo SH *ko'uken* H104, HY *keüken* [written with *kou*] M71, *kō'üket* (pl) M73, Muq *kü:ken* P231a, LV *kü:ken* P68, RH *küket* 200C18. WM *keüken* L461b, *kegüken* L443b, *keüked* (pl) L461b. Kh *xüüxen* H708b ‘child (..), girl, etc’, cf. the forms of address *xüüxee(n)*, *xüxee(n)* H709a. Ord *ku:ken* M435a ‘daughter; child in general’, *ku:ket* M436b ‘children’. Bur *xüüxen* C634b ‘girl, daughter’, *xüüge(n)*

C634a ‘child; girl, daughter’, *xüüged* C633b, *xüüxed* C634b ‘children’. Brg *xu:gəŋ* U119 ‘girl’. Kalm *küükn* M329b ‘girl’, *küükd* M329b ‘children’. Dag *kəkʷ* (sic, ?=) E145 ‘son’, *kəkur* (pl.) E145 ‘children’. EYu *küken* B72, *kü:ken* J101b ‘son’. MgrH *kugän* SM208 ‘small child, boy’. Bao---. Kgj *kugə* S287b ‘son, boy’. Dgx---. Mog *kökät* (pl) R30b, *kaoka*, *kaoka* W169b ‘boy’.

***ködee** (?) ‘hazel grouse’. This form (or **küdee* or **ködüe*) may be the source of the Dagur form. Kh and Bur suggest **kötüü* and **ködüü* (or possibly *-eü*), respectively. LC give a WM spelling <*gwdwgww*> which could be read *kötügüü* in accordance with Kh, or *küdügüü* in accordance with Bur.

MMo---. WM (see above). Kh *xötüü* LC4:149a. Ord---. Bur *xüdüü* C612b. Dag *xudə*: E129.

***ködel-** ‘to move (intr)’. Initial weakening in the QG languages.

MMo SH *kodol-* H103, *godol-* H50, HY *gödöl-* M57, Muq *ködel-* P219b. WM *ködel-* L477b. Kh *xödlöx* H663a. Bur *xüdelxe* C614a. Brg *xudlʷ-* U125. Kalm *ködlx* M312a. Dag *xudul-* E129. EYu *gudel-* B85, *gödöl-* J100b. MgrH *godolə-* J101b, *gudoli-* SM139. MgrM *guder-* JL475. BaoD *gudəl-* BL88a, *gudal-* BL74. BaoÑ *gudel-* CN98. Kgj *gudale-* S290a. Dgx *gožieli-* L116b. Mog---.

***köe** ‘soot (usu. on the bottom of a pan)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *köye* P224b. WM *köge* L478b, *kö* L475a, *kögege* L479a. Kh *xöö* H670b. Bur *xöö* C593b ‘charcoal; soot’. Kalm *kö* M308b. Dag *xʷə*: E135. EYu *kü*: B72, J5. MgrH *ko*: X88. MgrM *ko* C379. Bao---. Dgx-?. Mog---.

***köe-** ‘to foam; to swell’. Some of the QG forms may also represent **köb-* or **köbe-* ‘to float’ (cf. Ord *köwö-* M432b, and perhaps Dag *kʷə:bəd-* E162). The final consonant in Kgj *kur-* is peculiar, but the derived noun **köesün* displays an unexpected *-r-* in Mgr, and there is also an extended verb **köere-*. Cf. CT **köp-ük* ‘foam’, **köpür-* ‘to foam’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kö:-* P224b. WM *köge-* L478b, *kögege-* L479a. Kh *xööx* H672b. Ord *kö:-* M423b. Bur *xööxe* (some dialects) C595a ‘to swell’. Kalm *kööx* M318b. Dag *xʷə:-* E135. EYu *kü:-* B72, J69 ‘to rise (of water)’. MgrH *ko:-* X88. MgrM *ko-* JL464. BaoD *ko-* BL13 ‘to swell, bulge’. BaoÑ *kə:-* CN180 ‘to swell, etc’. Kgj *ku-* (~ *kur-*) S287b. Dgx *ko-* B75 (s.v. *kieli*). Mog---.

***köerge** (?*küürge) ‘bridge’. With similar uncertainty about the vocalism as in **köerge* ‘bellows’, but here the **öe* is supported by MgrH, but contradicted by Bur. Technological term related to CT **köprüg* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *ke'ürge* M71, Muq *kü'ürge* P231a. WM *köerge* L480a, *kögörge* L481b, *kegürge* L443b. Kh *xöörög* H671b. Bur *xüürge* C634b. Brg *xo:rəg* U119. Dag *xu:ruyʷ* E124. EYu *kü:rge* B72. MgrH *korgo* X89. MgrM *kuərgə* C380. BaoD---. BaoÑ *kurge* CN83. Dgx---. Mog---.

***köerge** (?*küürge) ‘bellows’. The vocalism is unclear. The SH form suggests **üü* (the Dag and EYu forms can be from **öe* or **üü*. Technological term related to CT

**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:ræg* U119. Kalm *köörg* M317b. Dag *xu:ruγ*^w E124. EYu *kü:rge* B72. BaoÑ *kurgəm* CN83 ‘bellows’ is derived by CN from LT *kholsgam*.

**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:rsu* M431b. Bur *xööhe(n)* C595a. Brg *xuxə:* U122. Kalm *köösn* M318a. Dag *x^wə:s* E135. EYu---. MgrH *ko:sə* J101a, *ko:rsə* X88. Remaining lgs---.

**kögsin* ‘old (animate)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *kögsin* L481a. Kh *xögşin* H662b. Ord *göşkön* M271b. Bur *xiügşe(n)* C612a. Kalm *kögşn* M311a. Dag *kurşin šəγɔ:* (?=) E158 ‘experienced (trained) falcon or eagle; male falcon or eagle’ (cf. **sibaun*). EYu *kögşən* J68, *kogşən* B69, *qogşən* (sic) S259. Bao *kokuşyun* P420a. Dgx---. Mog---.

**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(u)* ~ *kö:s* ~ *kuis* ~ *ki:s* M441b. Bur *xüy* C615b, *xüyhe(n)* C616b. Brg *xui* U120. Kalm *ki* (obs) M298a, *kiisn* M299b. Dag *kuis* E154. EYu *kü:* B72 ‘placenta’, *kü:sən* B72, J101b. MgrH *kui:ʒə* J101b. MgrM *kuaizǐ nudu* C380 (**nidün* ‘eye’). BaoD *kisun* BL88a. BaoÑ *kisəŋ* CN79. BaoX *kisəŋ* BC62. Kgj---. Dgx *kuaisuŋ* B77, *kuisun* L116b. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *kusun* 3:3b.

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

MMo SH *koyiten* H105, HY *köyiten* M73, Muq *küiten* P226a. WM *kü(y)iten* L498b, *kü(y)itün* L499a. Kh *xüyten* H701a, *xüyt* H700b. Chakhar *xi:tš* D188b. Ord *kü:tön* ~ *kuiten* ~ *ki:ten* M441b. Bur *xüyte(n)* C615b. Brg *xuitəŋ* U120. Kalm *kiitn* M299b. Dag *kuitun* E154. EYu *küten* B72, *kü:ten* J101b. MgrH *kui:den* J101b. MgrM *kuiten* JL469. BaoD *kitaŋ* BL88b. BaoÑ *kitaŋ* CN79. BaoX *kitaŋ* BC67. Kgj *kuitə* ~ *kučtə* S287b. Dgx *kuičien* B78. Mog---.

**köke* ‘blue, green’. Cf. CT **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 *kugə* CN82. Kgj *kuku* S287b. Dgx *kugie* B78. Mog *kukā* R31a, *kəka*, *kəko* W170b.

***köke-** ‘to suck the breast’. In spite of their peculiar forms Dag *mək* and *mək-* may nevertheless be related in view of their occurrence as noun and as verb. See ***köken**.

MMo SH *koko-* H103, HY---, Muq *köke-* P220b. WM *kökö-* L483a. Kh *xöxöx* H676b. Ord *gökö-* M269a. Bur *xüxexe* C637a. Brg *xux-* U122. Kalm *köcx* M313b. Dag *mək-* (?) E197. EYu *hkö-* B59, *hgö-* J101a. MgrH *kugo-* J101a. MgrM *kugo-* C380. BaoD *kugo-yo-* (caus) BL88a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *kuku-* S287b. Dgx *gogo-* B91. Mog *kökā-*, *kökāla-* (new formation from the noun) R30b.

***köken** ‘breast’. The *-n* was lost in Mohol and all of Shirongol. See ***köke-** above.

MMo SH *kokan*, pl. *kokot* H103, HY---, Muq *köken* P220b. WM *köke(n)* L482a, *kökö(n)* L483a. Kh *xöx* H676a. Ord *gökö* M269a. Bur *xüxe(n)* C636b. Brg *xux* U122. Kalm *kökn* M313a. Dag *mək* (?) E197. EYu *hkön* B59, *hgön* J101a. MgrH *kugo* J101a. MgrM *kugo* JL475. BaoD *kugo* BL88a. BaoÑ *kugə* ~ *kukə* CN82. BaoX *kuko* BC67. Dgx *gogo* B91. Mog *kökā* R30b ‘nipple’, *kəka* W170b, *qəqa* W177a.

***kökül** ‘forelock of a horse; braid of hair’. Ordos suggests ***kökül**, but the modern forms of EYu and MgrH seem to favour ***kökel**. Dag *gəkulən* looks like a loanword from Manchu, but the actual Manchu forms are *kukule*, *kukulu*.

MMo SH *keguli* (?*kögül*) H97, HY---, Muq *kakil* (←Ir) P239a, RH *ke:kül* 198B16. WM *gököl* L386a, *kekül* L446a, *kökel* L482b, *kököl* L483b. Kh *göxöl* H129a, *xöxöl* H676a. Ord *gukül* M76b. Bur *xüxel* (Kiaxta dialect) C636b. Kalm *kükl* M323b. Dag *gəkulən* (sic) E170. EYu *hkol* B59, *kogol* (sic) S290, cf. *kükül* P415a. MgrH *kugol* X92. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *qoqu:l* R32a, MogM, MogMr *kə:kul* L62:49.

***köküür** ‘leather vessel for liquids; snuffbottle’. MMo SH *go’ur* H51 ‘small leather bucket’ could be the result of a mistranscription from a WM spelling, but cf. Kalm *kü:r* R250a ‘small leather bag for fluids’. Cf. ***köerge**.

MMo SH (see above), HY---, Muq---, RH (emended) *kökür* 204B21 ‘leather container for liquor’, Ph---. WM *kökügür*, *köküür* L483b, Inner Mongolian spelling *kᠠᠭᠦᠷ*. Kh *xöxüür* H677a. Ord *guku:r* M276b. Bur *xüxüür* C635b ‘leather bag’. Kalm *kökür* M313b. Dag---. EYu *hkü:r* B59. Mgr---. BaoÑ *kəkər* CN80.

***köl** ‘foot’, often also ‘leg’. The palatalised final in Brg and Dag seem to suggest a form ***köli**.

MMo SH *kol* H103, HY *köl* M72, Muq *köl* P221b. WM *köl* L483b. Kh *xöl* H664b. Bur *xül* C616b. Brg *xulʰ* U123. Kalm *köl* M313b. Dag *kulʰ* E155. EYu *köl* B69, J100b. MgrH *kol* J100b. MgrM *koar* C379, *qur* (sic) DS224a. BaoD *kual* BL88a. BaoÑ *kəl* CN80. Kgj *kuar* ~ *kər* S287b. Dgx *kuaŋ* (i.e. /kon/) B77, *kon* L116b, *koŋ* MC222b. Mog *köl* R170b, *kol*, *kəl*, *köl*, etc W170b.

***köl-** (?) ‘to harness an animal (to a cart or plough)’. Both the central languages and Kgj suggest a form **kölle-* or **körle-*. Dag suggests a long vowel. In MgrH this verb appears to have merged with **küli-* ‘to bind’.

MMo SH *kol-* H103, HY *kölgen* H72 ‘team of horses’ Muq---, Ph *kölgen* P126a ‘vehicle’. WM *köl-* L484a, cf. *kölle-* L485b. Kh *xöllöx*, *xölöx* H666b. Ord *kölö-* M427a ‘to harness’. Bur *xüllexe* C618b ‘to harness’. Brg *xurəl-* U126. Kalm *köllx* (rare) M315a. Dag *k^wə:l-* E162. EYu---, but cf. *kölgö* J5 ‘mount of important person’. MgrH *kolə-* J101b, X89. Bao---. Kgj *gurla-* ~ *guarla-* S288b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kölberi-** ‘to roll’ see ***körbe-**

***kölde-** ‘to freeze’. Perhaps from the same root as **kör-*, **kösi-* (not listed here) ‘to freeze’, **köiten* ‘cold’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *köldö-*, *kölde-* L485a. Kh *xöldöx* H666a. Bur *xüldexe* C617b. Brg *xul^yd-* U124. Kalm *köldx* M315a. Dag *xuld-* E128, *xullə-* E127. EYu *kölde-* BJ334. MgrH---. MgrM *kuardi-* C380. BaoD *gondə-* BL74. BaoGt *gundə-* C112. BaoÑ *golde-* CN96. Kgj *guandi-* S289b. Dgx *gonžie-* B90. Mog---.

***kölesün** ‘sweat’. The *-r-* in the Monguor languages may be a secondary addition adopted from the related verb **köler-* ‘to sweat’.

MMo SH *kolesun* H103, HY *kölösün* M72, Muq *kölesün* P222a. WM *kölösü(n)* L486b, *kölesü(n)* L485b. Kh *xöls(ön)* H667a. Ord *kölös(u)* M427ab. Bur *xülhe(n)* C619a. Brg *xul^yu:* U124. Kalm *kölsn* M315a. Dag *xuls* E128, *xullə* E127. EYu *kulesən* B70, *kölösən* J100b. MgrH *konorɜə* J100b, *konorsə* X88. MgrM *kolesi* C379, *koliersi* DS254a, *kurliesi* DS242b, *kuarlisī* Z337:332. BaoD *kolsuŋ* BL88b, *komsuŋ* BL88b. BaoGt *kumsuŋ* C124. BaoÑ *kölsöŋ* CN81. Kgj *kulesi* S287b. Dgx *koliesuŋ* B76. Mog---.

***kölle-** (?) ‘to harness’ see ***köl-**

***kömeri-** ‘to put upside down; to overturn, topple’. Note the metathesized form in EYu (as if from **möker-*). Could there be a relation with MMo SH *mokori* ‘ul-’ ‘to decapitate, execute’? The added *-r-* in MgrM is triggered by the original *-r-* in the second syllable. Since the final vowel in MgrH and Dgx may be a recent addition, Bur is the only modern form to suggest a trisyllabic CM form. The Dag form seems to support this (the vowel length is unexplained).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *kömöri-* L487b, *kömeri-* L487a. Kh *xömröx* H668b. Ord *kömör(ö)-* M428a. Bur *xümerixe* C620b. Brg *xumər-* U124. Kalm *kömr^x* M316a. Dag *kumr^ye:-* E156. EYu *kömör-* J101a, *mökör-* BJ336, J5, *mögör-* S373. MgrH *kumorə-* J101a. MgrM *kurmər-* DS257b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *kömör-* CN81. Dgx *komoru-* B76, L116a. Mog---.

***kömeske** ‘eyebrow’. This vocalism suggested by Ord and MgrH, but not by MMo Muq. Dag *kurmult* E158 ‘eyelid’ was borrowed from a, possibly related, Tungusic form (dissimilated < **kurmurt* < **kurməktə* ~ **kuməktə*). Cf. **haniška*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kömüske* P250b ‘eyelid’. WM *kömösge* L487b ‘eyebrow(s). Kh *xömsög* H668b. Ord *kömöskö* M428a. Bur *xümedxe* C620b ‘eyebrow arches, eyebrows’. Brg *xuntäg* U121 ‘eyebrow’. Kalm *kümsg* M324b ‘eyebrow’. MgrH *komosgo* J101a ‘eyebrow’. Remaining lgs---.

***kömüldürge** ‘breast strap of a horse’s harness’. Agricultural term related to CT **kömüldürük* < **köñül-* ‘heart’ (cf. EDPT 722b). Ord suggests **kömeldürge*.

MMo SH *komuldurge* H103, HY---, Muq *kömüldürüg-ün* (gen.) P223a, LV *kömüldürge* P67. WM *kömüldürge(n)* L487a. Kh *xömöldrög* H668a. Ord *kömöldörgö* M427b. Bur *xümelderge* C620b. Kalm *kömlärgə*, also *köm^oräg* R239a. EYu *köndörge* B69.

***kömürge** ‘trunk, chest’. Metathesis in MgrM.

MMo SH---, HY *gümerge* M58, Muq *kömürgei* P108a, P189b, *kömürkei* P141b (but in fact all written *kwmwrki*, which may also represent *gümürgi*, *kömürgi*, etc). WM *kömürge* L487a. Kh *xömrög* H668, cf. *gömrög* H128a. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *kömrög* M316a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *komorgo* X89. MgrM *kuərməgr* C379. Bao---. Dgx *kumuğə* B79. Mog---.

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

MMo SH *kondelen* H104, *küdelen* (?=) H105, HY *köndölen* M72, Muq---. WM *köndelen* L488a, *köndölen* L488b. Kh *xöndlön(g)* H670a. Ord *köndölön* M429a. Bur *xündelen* C623b. Brg *xundləη* U121. Kalm *köndlḡ* M316b. Dag *xundul* E125 ‘horizontal’, E83:95b ‘rafter’. EYu *köndälen* J101a ‘horizontal’, *köndeleḡ* BJ334 ‘of a strange land’. MgrH *kondälen* J101a. MgrM *kondilen* JL468. BaoD *guandəlaḡ* BL88a. BaoÑ *gəndəlaḡ* CN95. Kgj *guandilə* S289b. Dgx---. MogM *kundalḡ*: L64:42 ‘kind of timber used in the construction of the (black) tent’.

***könerge** ~ ***köreḡge** ‘yeast, leaven’. Both variants are attested in MMo; the former survives in Dag and the QG languages; the latter in central Mongolic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *köreḡge* P224a, Ph *k^hönörge* P126a. WM *köröḡge(n)* L491a, precl. *könörge* T453. Kh *xöröḡgö* H673b. Ord *köröḡgö* M431a. Bur *xüreḡge* C629a. Kalm *körḡ* M319a, *körḡgə* R240b. Dag *xunuruḡ^w* E124. EYu *kunerge* S376. MgrH *konorgo* X88. BaoD---. BaoÑ *kunge* CN81 ‘distiller’s yeast’. Dgx *kunieḡə* B78 ‘distiller’s yeast’. Mog---.

***köñjile(n)** ‘blanket, quilt’. Ord and Bur suggest a disyllabic word, which is not contradicted by Kh and Kalm. The Shirongol languages and Moghol do confirm the third syllable. The distribution of the final -n is peculiar.

MMo SH *konjile* H104, *gonjile* H51, HY *könjile* M72, Muq *könjile* P223b. WM *könjile(n)* L490a. Kh *xönjil* H670b. Ord *könjil* M429a. Bur *xünzel* C624b. Brg *xunḡil* U121. Kalm *könjil* M316b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *konžilen* J101a. MgrM *guanžielie* DS245a. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *gonžəlie*, *gonžəlien* B91. Mog *könjilä* R30b, *könjilä* W170b.

***köŋdei** ‘hollow, empty’. EYu and MgrM suggest *-t-*; the presence of the *-t-* explains the preserved strong initial **k-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *köŋdei* P223a. WM *köndei* L487b, *köndöi* L488b. Kh *xöndiy* H669b. Ord *köndi*: M428a. Bur *xündi* C622b. Brg *xundi*: U121. Kalm *köndä* M316b. Dag *kʷə:nnʷe:*, *kʷə:ndʷe:* E162 (also ‘pelvis’). EYu *kuntü*: B70. MgrH---. MgrM *kuantey* P413a, *kuantay* DS229a. Remaining lgs---.

***köŋgen** ‘light(weight)’. It is unclear whether this is related to Bur *xüygen* (western) C615a, Kalm *giŋn* M143a ‘light’. Baoan features medial strengthening of *-k-*, which also enabled the initial *k-* to remain.

MMo SH---, HY *köŋgen* M72, Muq *köŋgen* P223a. WM *köŋgen* L489a. Kh *xöŋgön* H669a. Bur *xüngen* C621b. Brg *xuŋgəŋ* U122. Kalm *göŋgn* M147a. Dag *xuŋgə:n* E125. EYu *köŋgen* B69, *köŋgön* J101a. MgrH *köŋgon* J101a. MgrM *köŋgen* JL470. BaoD *kunŋan* BL88b. BaoGt *kunŋəŋ* C118. BaoÑ *kəŋkan* CN80. Kgj *guŋgə* S290a. Dgx *goŋgien* B91, *guanŋgien* B92 (in fact also */goŋgien/*). Mog *kunŋo:n* R31a.

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

MMo SH---, HY *kör-* M72, Muq---. WM *körö-* L490b. Kh *xöröx* H674b. Ord *kör-* M430a. Bur *xürexə* C630a. Brg *xur-* U126. Kalm *körx* M319b. Dag---. EYu *kör-* B70, J75, J101b. MgrH *korə-* X89. Remaining lgs---.

***körbe** (?*kürbe) ‘lamb’. The middle vowel in the WM spelling is not confirmed elsewhere. Unlike its Turkic counterpart **körpe*, Dagur unexpectedly does not feature *-p-*. Cf. also Sibe *kurvw* (not in Manchu), Solon *xəbbə* ‘lamb’. Cf. **kurigan*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *körbe* [so read] 199C25 ‘lamb born prematurely’. WM *köröbe* (*kürwöbe*) LC4: 145b, also spelled thus in Inner Mongolia. Kh *xöröv töl* LC4: 145b ‘young animal that has been separated from its mother early’. Ord *körwö* M431b ‘no longer very young’ (phase after **nılka*). Bur *xürbe* (Ekhirit dial.) C625b. Kalm---. Dag *kurbʷ* E158 ‘lamb’. Remaining lgs---.

***körbe-** ‘to roll on the back; to turn’. Dag suggests **körbi-*, mirroring one of the WM spellings, but it also has some derivatives without any suggestion of **i*. In Bur-Kalm this seems to have been replaced by a similar and possibly related verb **kölberi-*: Bur *xül’berxe* C619b, Kalm *kölvr̥x* M314b, which also has an equivalent in Kh *xölböröx* H666a.

MMo SH *korbe-* H104 ‘to turn’, HY---, Muq *körbe-* P224a [P reads long *e:*, probably based on Kalm]. WM *körbe-* L490a, *körbi-*, *körbö-* L490b. Kh *xörvöx* H673a ‘to turn, etc’. Ord *körwö-* M432a. Bur *xürbexe* C625b (always used in comb. with *urbaxa* < **hurba-*). Brg *xurəβ-* U126. Kalm *körwöχə* (sic) R241a. Dag *xurbʷ-* E130. EYu *körbe-* B70, *körwö-* S375. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *kəle-* (?=) CN81. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *kolər-* S375. Kgj *kurle-* S288a ‘to roll about’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***köreŋge** ‘yeast’ see ***könerge**

***kōrisūn** ‘crust’. The *-i-* is preserved in Bur only.

MMo SH *korisu* H104 ‘skin’, HY---, Muq---. WM *körösü(n)* L491b, cf. also *körödesü(n)* L490b. Kh *xörs(ön)* H674b. Ord *körös(ʉ)* M431b ‘upper layer, epidermis’. Bur *xür’he(n)* C628a. Brg *xuru:* U126. Kalm *körsn* M319a. Dag *kurs* E158 ‘sod, turf’, *ars kurs* E17 ‘hide, pelt’ (cf. **arasun*). Remaining lgs---.

***köskele-** ‘to mince, cut up’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM---. Kh *xöšiglōx* H677a. Ord *göškölō-* M271b. Bur---. Kalm *köšglx* M320b. EYu *kusgəle-* B70, *kösgölō-* J100a. MgrH *kosgo* X89 ‘half; piece’.

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

MMo SH *kotol-* H104, HY *kötöl-* M72, Muq---. WM *kötöl-*, *kötēl-* L493b. Kh *xötlōx* H675b. Ord *götöl-* M272b. Bur *xütelxe* C633b. Brg *xutl-* U125. Kalm *kötlx* M320a. Dag *kutlā:-* E157. EYu *kutēl-* B71, *kude:l-* J100b, *kudü:l-* J51. MgrH *kudolā-* J100b. MgrM *guder-* JL475. BaoD *kudal-* BL35. BaoGt *kudāl-* C124. BaoÑ---. BaoX *kudal-* BC66. Kgj *kutar- ~ kute-* S288a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kubčasun** ‘clothes’.

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

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

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

***kubīa-** ‘to divide’. Both MgrM and Dgx (independently) developed from an intermediate form **quḡa-* < **quba-*. From **kubī* above.

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

***kubīl-** ‘to change, turn into’. From a root **kubī-*, of which other derivatives survive in the central lgs. The MgrM form could alternatively be from **hurbaul-* ‘to cause to turn’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qubil-* L977b. Kh *xuvilax* H679b. Bur *xubilxa* C596b. Brg *xəβʷl-* U108. Kalm *xüvlx* (obs) M618a. Dag *xəbil-* E118. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *xuərbər-ḡa-* (caus.) (?) F134:61. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *ḡolu-* B82, *ḡuilu-* B83, *ḡuailu-* L80. Mog---.

***kuča** ‘ram’. Agricultural term related to CT **koč*, **kočnar*/**kočgar*.

MMo SH---, HY *quča* M91, Muq *quča* P307, *yuča* P150a. WM *quča(n)* L979a. Kh *xuc* H698a. Ord *guča* M318b. Bur *xusa* C604b. Kalm *xuc* M616b. Dag *kəč* E152. EYu *quča* B65, *quja* J100b. MgrH *xuža* J100b, *xoʒæ* X79. MgrM *qužia* DS249a, *kučà* P411a. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *quza* B73. Mog---.

***kuča-** ‘to bark’.

MMo SH *quca-* H70, HY *quča-* M91, Muq *quča-* P307a. WM *quča-* L979a. Kh *xucax* H698a. Ord *guča-* M318b. Bur *xusaxa* C604b. Kalm *xucx* M617a. Dag *kəč-* E152. EYu *quča-* B65, *quja-* J100b, *xuja-* J53. MgrH *xuža-* J100b. MgrM *qužia-* DS206a. BaoD *xəžia-* BL88a. BaoÑ *hža-* CN72. BaoX *xja:-* BC63. Kgj *quča-* S287a. Dgx *quza-* B73. Mog *quiča-* R32b.

***kuči-** ‘to cover, wrap up in’.

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

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

MMo SH *quda* H70, HY *yuda* M59, Muq---. WM *quda* L979b. Kh *xud* H682a. Ord *xuda* M362b. Bur *xuda* C597b. Brg *xod* U116. Kalm *xud* M607a. Dag *x^wad* E134. EYu *guda* B79, J100b. MgrH *guda:* J110b. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. MogM *quda*, *yuda* L63:153.

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

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *quduyui* L980b. Kh *xudguy* H683a. Ord *xuduḡ^{ui}:* M363b. Bur *xudagi* C597b. Brg *xodgai* U117. Kalm---. Dag *xəduy^w* E120. EYu *gudagai* B79. MgrH---. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *gudagi* B84. Mog---.

***kudal** ‘lie, falsehood’.

MMo SH *qudal* H70, HY---, Muq *qudal* P307b. WM *qudal* L979b. Kh *xudal* H682b. Bur *xudal* C597b. Kalm *xudl* M607a. Dag *x^wadəl* E134. EYu *gudal* B79, J100b. MgrH *gudal* J100b. MgrM *gudar* JL477. Bao---. Kgj *gudar* S288b. Dgx *gudaŋ* B84. Mog *qudo:l* R32b, *qudəl* W177b.

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

MMo SH *qudaldu-* H70, HY *qudaldu-* M91, Muq *qudaldu-* P308a, *yudaldu-* P231a. WM *qudaldu-* L980a. Kh *xudaldax* H682b. Ord *xudaldu-*, *xudalda-* M363a. Bur *xudaldaxa* C598a. Kalm *xuldx* M608a. Dag---. EYu *gudald-* B80. MgrH *da:ldə-* X187. MgrM---. BaoD *dandə-* BL18 ‘to sell’. BaoÑ *dalda-* CN172 ‘to sell’. Kgj *dandi-* S298a ‘to buy; to sell’. Dgx *gudandu-* B84. Mog---.

***kudku-** ‘to stir, mix, blend’. Surprisingly there are two different forms in Mongghul, and neither is an obvious loanword (compare the development of **kadku-* for the former, and **hedke-* for the latter).

MMo SH *qutqu-la-* H73, HY *qutqula-* (?=) M92 ‘to harass’, Muq *qutqu-* P312b. WM *qudqu-* L981b, *qudqula-* L981b. Kh *xutgax* H694b. Ord *ğudxu-*, *ğudxula-* M310b. Bur *xudxaxa* C598b. Kalm *xutxx* M614b. Dag *kərkw-* E153. EYu *qudqula-* B65, *qudgə-* J100b. MgrH *ğosğu-* X98, *şdoğu-* X168. MgrM *quduğö-* DS252b, *kotoga-* P416b. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. BaoX *xdagə-* (?=) BC63. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *doğə-* S394. Dgx *quduğu-* S394, MC215b. Mog---.

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

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

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

MMo SH *qudurqa* H70, HY---, Muq *qudurya* P308b. WM *qudurya(n)* L980b. Kh *xudraga* H683a. Ord *χudurğa* M363b. Bur *xudarga* C598a. Brg *xədrag* U117. Kalm *xudry* M607b. Dag *xədruy^w* E120. EYu *ğudurğa* B80. MgrH *ğudərğa* (only) L139. MgrM *ğudurğa* JL481. Bao---. Kgj *ğudağa* S288b. Dgx *ğuduğa* B84. Mog---.

***kugul-** (?*kukul-) ‘to break (tr.)’. Bur, EYu and Mog suggest *-k-*, but most languages could stem from a form with either *-g-* or *-k-*.

MMo SH *ququl-* H71, HY---, Muq *ququl-* P310a. WM *quyul-* L981b, *qayul-* (sic) L909b. Kh *xugalax* H681b. Ord *χuğal-* ~ *χuğul-* M364a. Bur *xuxalxa* C608a. Brg *xogal-* U115. Kalm *xuylx* M606b. Dag *xəy^wlə-* E118. EYu *huqul-* B58, *χuğul-* J100a, *hğəl-* (?=) B59. MgrH *xğulə-* J100a, *xəğulə-* X77. MgrM *quğur-* DS208b. BaoD *ğul-* BL88b, *ğol-* BL66. BaoÑ *ğəğəl-* CN86. Dgx *ğugulu-* MC126a, *ğugula-* B84, *ğulu-* (sic, ?=) S386. Mog *ququl-* R32b ‘to bend’, *qəqəl-* W177a ‘to cut up’, MogMr, MogM *ququl-* L62:46 ‘to break; to defeat’.

***kugura-** (?*kukura-) ‘to break (intr.)’.

MMo SH *ququra-* H71, HY---, Muq *ququra-* P372a, *quqara-* P309b. WM *quyura-* L982a, *quyara-* L981b. Kh *xugarax* H681b. Ord *χuğar(a)-* ~ *χuğur(a)-* M364a. Bur *xuxarxa* C608b, *xugarxa* C597b. Kalm *xuyrx* M606b. Dag---. EYu *huqura-* B58, *χuqura-* BJ42, *χu:ra-* (sic, ?=, perhaps **kaura-*) J99a. MgrH *xəğora-* X77. MgrM *quğura-ğa-* (caus.) DS23. BaoD *ğura-* BL87a. BaoÑ *ğəğora-* CN86. Dgx *ğura-* MC127a, *ğugura-* MC126a. Mog *ququru-* R32b ‘to be bent’, *qəqərl-* W177a.

***kuī** ‘sheath (of a knife)’ The Dag form *xəb^y* (instead of expected **xəi*) seems to suggest a form **kubī*, but the remaining languages could not have developed from such a form (cf. **dülei* ‘deaf’ for a similar case).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *qui* Pop299a. WM *qui* L982b ‘scabbard, sheath’. Kh *xuy* H684a. Bur *xuy* C599a ‘sheath’. Brg *xəai* U113. Kalm *xū* (obs) M617b, *χū:* R204a ‘sheath (of a sword)’. Dagur *xəb^y* E118 ‘sheath of a knife’. EYu *χui* B52.

MgrH *xoi* X75, *xui* L202. BaoD---. BaoGt *gui* C111. BaoJ *gui* L152. BaoÑ---. Kgj *guai* S288b. Dgx---. Mog---.

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

MMo SH *qulaqai* H71, HY *qulaqai* M91, Muq *qulayai* P309a. WM *qulayai* L983b. Kh *xulgay* H685b ‘thief; theft; etc’. Bur *xulgay* C599b ‘theft’. Brg *xolgai* U115. Kalm *xulxa* M608b ‘theft’, *xulxa-č* M609a ‘thief’. Dag *x^waləy* E134. EYu *χulāgai-čə* B53, *χulāgai-čə* J100a. MgrH *xulgai*: J100b, *xolgai* X78, *xolga* X78. MgrM *qvargai-či* C378. BaoD *gulgəi* BL88b. BaoÑ *gəlgəi* CN87. Kgj *gulgəi* S288b. Dgx *guği* B84, *guğəi* S388, *gulağəi* S388. Mog *qulayei* R32b, *qəlayei* W177a.

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

MMo SH *qulah-*, *qulaqu-* H71, HY---, Muq *qulaq-* P309a. WM *qulayu-* L984a, *qoləyo-* (?*quluyu-*) L960a. Kh *xulgax* H686a, *xuluux* H687a, *xulguux* H686b. Ord *χul(u)gu-* M366b. Bur *xuluuxa* C600b. Brg *xolgo-*: U115. Kalm---. Dag *xəlc-*: E118. EYu *χulag-* BJ348, *χuləg-* J90. MgrH *χolaga-* SM180, *xolga-* X78. BaoD *galəyə-* BL88a. BaoÑ *lağ-* (?) CN101. Kgj *gulği-* S288b. Dgx *gula-* B84. Mog *qulo:yu-* R32b, *qəlcəg-* W177a.

***kulugana** ‘mouse, rat’. The surviving QG forms are rather garbled, but doubtlessly all related. Possibly originally an *Ersatzwort* related to the verb **kulagu-* ‘to steal’ above.

MMo SH *quluqana* H71, HY *quluqana* M91, Muq *qulyuna* P309a. WM *quluqana* L984b. Kh *xulgana* H686a. Ord *χuluquna* M367b. Bur *xulgana*, *xulganaan* C600a. Brg *xolgana* U116, *xolgan* U115 ‘mouse (in the twelve year cycle); thyroid’. Kalm *xulyn* M608a. Dag---. EYu *χunlağ* B53, *χunaglağ* B52, *χunagla* J100b. MgrH *xənağla* X76, *xanağla* X66, *xulganağ* S388. MgrM *qvarğəvarna* C378. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

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

MMo SH---, HY *yulusun* M59, Muq *qulusun* P119a. WM *qulusu(n)* L985a. Kh *xuls(an)* H686b. Ord *χulus(u)* M368a. Bur *xulha(n)* C600b. Brg *xəlv-* U115. Kalm *xulsn* M608b. Dag *kəls* E151. EYu *χulusun* B53, *χulusən* J100b. MgrH *xuləzə* J100b, *xəlusə* ~ *xəluzə* X78. MgrM *qulusi* JL469. BaoD *gulasun* BL88b. BaoGt *gumsun* C149. BaoÑ *gəlsəŋ* CN87. Dgx *gulasun* B84. Mog---.

***kumi-** (?~ ***kumbi-**) ‘to fold, to bundle together, wrap up; to gather’. Dag from a pseudo-causative **kumbia-*.

MMo SH---, HY *yumbi-* M59 ‘to gather’, Muq---. WM *qumi-*, *qumbi-* L985b. Kh *xumix*, *xumbix* H687b, also *xumxix* H688a. Ord *χumi-* ~ *χomi-* M368a. Bur *xumixa* C601a. Kalm *xəmx* M603a. Dag *kəmb^ve-*: E152. EYu---. MgrH *χombu-* X79. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kura** ‘rain’.

MMo SH *qura* H72, HY *qura* M91, Muq *qura* P310a. WM *qura* L987a. Kh *xur* H689a. Ord *χura* M370b. Bur *xura* C601b. Brg *xor* U117. Kalm *xur* M610a. Dag *x^war* E135. EYu *χura* B53, J100b. MgrH *xura*: J100b. MgrM *qora* C378. BaoD *ğura* BL88b. BaoÑ *ğura* CN89. Kgj *gura* S290a. Dgx *ğura* B85. Mog---

***kurča** ‘sharp’. Cf CT **kurč* ‘tough, hard’.

MMo SH *qurča* H72, HY *qurča* M92, Muq *qurča* P311a. WM *qurča* L988a. Kh *xurc* H692b. Ord *ğurča* M316a. Bur *xursa* C602b. Kalm *xurc* M612b. Dag *kərčīn* (?=) E153 ‘fast; quick; strong (of taste)’. EYu *qurča* B65. MgrH *xoʒæ* X79. MgrM *quʒieğ* (sic) DS248b. Bao---. Kgj *χujja* ~ *χuča* S286a. Dgx---. Mog---

***kurdun** ‘fast, quick’.

MMo SH *qurdun* H72, HY---, Muq *qurdun* P311b. WM *qurdun* L989a. Kh *xurd(an)* H691a. Ord *χurdun* M372a. Bur *xurda(n)* C602b. Brg *xordəŋ* U118. Kalm *xurdn* M611b. Dag *xərdun* E122. EYu *ğurdəŋ* J100a. MgrH *ğurdən* J100a. MgrM *ğordun* C382. BaoD *ğurduŋ* BL88a. BaoÑ *ğərdəŋ* CN88. BaoX *ğordəŋ* BC65. Kgj *ğurdun* S288b. Dgx *ğuduŋ* B84, cf. *ğuzin* B85 (?=), L80. Mog *qurdun* R32b.

***kurīa-** ‘to gather (tr.)’. This is the caus. form of **kuri-* ‘to gather (intr.)’, which is not as common in the modern languages.

MMo SH *quriya-*, *quriya'a-* H73, HY *quriya-* M92, Muq *quri'a-* P311b, *qura:-* P358b. WM *quriya-* L989b, *quraya-* L987a. Kh *xuraax* H690a. Bur *xuryaaxa* C604b. Brg *xor'a:-* U118. Kalm *xurax* M610b. Dag *xər'e:-* E121. EYu *χura:-* J100b. MgrH *xura:-* J100a. MgrM *qura-* DS225b. BaoD-?- . BaoGt *ğuri-* C108. BaoÑ *ğəra-* CN88. Kgj *guru-* (sic) S289b. Dgx *ğura-* B85. Mog---

***kurīm** ‘banquet, feast; wedding (banquet)’. From **kuri-* ‘to gather’, for which see **kurīa-* above.

MMo SH *qurim* H72, HY *qurim* M92 ‘gathering’, Muq *qurim* P118a. WM *qurim* L990b. Kh *xurim* H691b. Bur *xurim* C602b. Kalm *xürm* M618b. Dag *xərin* E121. EYu *χərəm* B50. MgrH *xərəm*, *xərən* X80, *xurəm* J100b. MgrM *qurəŋ* J89. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *ğuruŋ* B86. Mog---

***kurigan** ‘lamb’. The forms in the old documents suggest trisyllabic **kurigan* or **kuragan*. The form **kurigan* is supported by Buriat. The remaining languages, including those of QG, may have developed through a disyllabic form **kurgan*. Initial weakening in Baoanic was enabled by this loss of the middle vowel. As in **bətagan*, the *-gan* may be a diminutive. Agricultural term related to CT **kozi* ‘id’, which supports a PM form with *-i-* not *-a-*.

MMo SH *quriqa(n)* H72, HY *quriqan* M92, Muq *qurayan* P111b, *qulayan* (sic) P309a. WM *quraya(n)* L987a, *qurya(n)* L989a. Kh *xurga(n)* H690b. Ord *χurğa* M372a. Bur *xur'ga(n)* C604a. Brg *xorag* U117. Kalm *xuryn* M611a. Dag---. EYu *χurğan* B54, J100b. MgrH *xurğan* J100b. MgrM *qoargəvar* C378, *qurğur* DS233a, (Sanchuan) *kurga* P422b. BaoD *ğurğan* BL88a. BaoÑ *ğurğan* CN89. Kgj *ğurğun*

S288b. Dgx *guḡaŋ* B84. Mog *quryana* R32b, *qurḡaŋ* W177b, *qərḡaŋ* W177a, MogM/MogMr *quryv:n ~ yuryv:n* L64:39 ‘sheep’.

***kuruun** ‘finger’. The Bur-Kalm forms may reflect **kurugun*, which possibly represents a reading pronunciation (cf. **eriün*, **niruun*). The unstable *-n* was lost in all of Shirongol. Initial weakening in Baoanic, without a clear reason.

MMo SH *quru’u(n)* H73, HY *quru’un* M92, Muq *quru:n* P312b, *χuru:n* P385b. WM *quruḡu(n)* L991a. Kh *xuruu(n)* H692a. Ord *χuru:* M372b. Bur *xurga(n)* C602a. Brg *xorv:-* (?←Kh) U118. Kalm *xuryŋ* M611a. Dag *xorv:* E121. EYü *χuru:n* B53, J100a. MgrH *xurə* J100a. MgrM *quru* JL463. BaoD *ḡur* BL88b ‘finger, toe’. BaoÑ *ḡurə* CN89 ‘finger; toe’. Kḡj *guru* (sic) S289b. Dgx *ḡuru* B86. Mog *quru:n* R32b, *qurun*, *quru* W177b.

***kuur** ‘lute, stringed musical instrument’. The *-h-* in RH may be a relic of *h < *p*; cf. the cognate CT form **kopuz* ‘id’. Kḡj *χuxuər* S286a, S64 looks more like a Northwest Mandarin reduplication form of Chinese *hú* than a cognate of **kuur*.

MMo SH *qu’urda’ul-* H73 ‘to have string music played’, HY---, Muq---, RH *quhurči* 205C29 ‘lute player’. WM *quḡur* L982a, *quur* L993a. Kh *xuur* H696a. Bur *xuur* C606a. Kalm *xuur* M615a, *xur* M610a. Dag *kɔ:r* Z98a. EYü *χu:r* B52, J100a. Remaining lgs---.

kuurai** (?kaurai**) ‘dry’. The presence of the diphthong *au*, as suggested by one of the WM spellings, is not confirmed elsewhere. The Dagur form agrees with the spelling with *uyu* and suggests **kuurai*. The other languages could stem from either form.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *qayurai* L910a, *quḡurai* L982a. Kh *xuuray* H696a. Bur *xuuray* C606b. Kalm *xüürä* M619a. Dag *x^wa:ri:* E132. EYü *xu:ri:* BJ348. Remaining lgs---.

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

MMo SH *quyah* H74, HY *quyaq* M92, Muq---. WM *quyay* L983a. Kh *xuyag* H698b. Bur *xuyag* C609b. Brg *xoyag* U117. Kalm *xuyg* M607b. Dag *k^wair* E161. EYü *χuyag* B53, *χayag* J91, 100b. MgrH *xuyag* J100b. Remaining lgs---.

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

MMo SH *gucu(n)* H51, HY *güčün* M57, Muq *küčün* P225a. WM *küčü(n)* L496a. Kh *xüč(in)* H709b. Bur *xüse(n)* C632a, *xüše(n)* C637b. Brg *xuś* U124. Kalm *küčn* M332b. Dag *kuč* E157. EYü *küčən* B71, *küjən* J101b. MgrH *kužə* J101b. MgrM *kuži* JL474. BaoD *kučiə* BL88a. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

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

***küji** ‘incense, incense stick, perfumery’. Cf. Turkic **küzi*, probably itself a loanword.

MMo SH---, HY *güji* M57, Muq---. WM *küji* L509b. Kh *xüj* H700a. Bur *xüže* C615a. Kalm *küj* M323a. Dag *küj* E157. EYü *güjə* B85, *güjə* J101a. MgrH

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

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

MMo SH *guju* ‘u(n), *gjuhun* (sic) H52, HY *küjü’ün* M73, Muq *küjü’ün*, *küjü:n* P226a. WM *küjügüü* L510b, *küjügün* L510a. Kh *xüzüü(n)* H700a. Bur *xüzüü(n)* C615a. Brg *xuzu*: U125. Kalm *küzün* M323a. Dag *xuʃu*: E129. EYu *guʃü:n* B85, *guʃü:n* J101a. MgrH *guʒə* J101a. MgrM *guʒi* C381. BaoD *guʒün* BL88b. BaoÑ *guʒun* CN98. Kgj *guʃun* S290a. Dgx *guʒəŋ* B85, *guʒun* L116b. Mog *kuʃu:n* R31a, *kuʃun*, *kuʒun* W171a.

***küli-** ‘to bind, tie, tighten’. In MgrH this verb appears to have merged with **köli-* ‘to harness’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *küli-* L499b ‘to bind, tie, tighten’. Kh *xülex* H702a. Ord *kuli-* M436a. Bur *xülix* C618b ‘to tie up, etc’. Brg *xulʷ-* U123. Kalm *külx* M324a. Dag---. EYu *kulə-* B70, *kulu-* J101b. MgrH *kolə-* X89. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *kuli-* R31a, *kuli-* W171a, *quli-* W177b.

***kümeli** ‘kind of onion’. Enkhbat connects this to Dag *xungə:r* E125 ‘*Allium mongolicum*’, but this is another word, also found in Kh as *xünxeel* H704a ‘an edible onionlike plant which grows in sandy soil’. Perhaps related to Turkic (NE) **kömürgeŋ*/**kövürgeŋ*.

MMo---. WM *kümel(i)* L501a, *kömel(i)* L487a (in fact the same spellings). Kh *xömöl* H668a, *xümel* H702b ‘wild onion’. Ord *kümel* M436a ‘kind of wild garlic (a bit larger than *ta:na*)’. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *kumbil* E156 (?=) ‘willow herb’, E83:132a ‘shoots of *Artemisia integrifolia* (can be prepared as a vegetable)’, *kumbilʷ* NK550b ‘variety of white goosefoot’. EYu *kumel* B85 ‘fragrant-flowered garlic, Chinese chives’, *tali:n kümelə* B115 ‘kind of wild chives’ (**tala* ‘steppe’). Remaining lgs---.

***kündü** ‘heavy’. The (itself inexplicable) *-t-* in Bao and EYu has helped to preserve initial *k-*. The surprising added *-n* in MgrH is probably due to the fact that numerous MgrH adjectives end in this sound, whereas nouns usually do not.

MMo SH *kundu* H105, HY *kündü* M73, Muq *kündü* P227b. WM *kündü* L501b. Kh *xünd* H703a. Ord *kündü* M437a. Bur *xünde* C622b. Brg *xund* U121. Kalm *künd* M325a. Dag *xund* E125. EYu *kunʒə* B70, *kundə* J101b. MgrH *kundun* J101b. MgrM---. BaoD *kuntə* BL88b. BaoGt *kunti* C107. BaoÑ *kuntə* CN81. Kgj *gundu* S290a. Dgx *gundu* B93. Mog *kundu* R31a, *kundu* W171a.

***künesün** ‘provisions’. Kalm has *-m-* < **n* as in **hünesün* and **sünesün*.

MMo SH *gunesu(n)* H52, HY *günesün* M58, Muq *künesün* P228b. WM *künesü(n)* L503a, *künüsü(n)* L503b. Kh *xüns(en)* H704a. Bur *xünehe(n)* C625a. Brg *xunʷu*: U121. Kalm *kümsn* M324b. Dag *xuns* E124. EYu *kunesən* B70. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***kür-** ‘to reach, arrive’.

MMo SH *gur-* H53, HY *kür-* M73, *gür-* M58, Muq *kür-* P229a. WM *kür-* L503b. Kh *xürex* H706a. Ord *kur-* M438a. Bur *xürexe* C629b. Brg *xur-* U126. Kalm *kürx* M328b. Dag *kur-* E158. EYu *kur-* B71, J101a. MgrH *kurə-* J101a. MgrM *kur-* JL475. BaoD *kurə-* BL88a. BaoÑ *kur-* CN83. BaoX *kor-* BC65. Kgj *kur-* S288a. Dgx *kuru-* B79. Mog *kur-* R31a, *kur-* W171a.

***kürge-** ‘to send, deliver’. Originally the caus. of **kür-* ‘to reach’ above, it has become an independent verb in many languages.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kürge-* P229a. WM *kürge-* L505a. Kh *xürgex* H704b. Bur *xürgexe* C625b. Kalm *kürgx* M327a. Dag *kuryə:-* E158. EYu *kürge-* B71, *körgö-* J101a. MgrH *kürge:-* J101a. BaoD *kurgə-* BL88a. BaoÑ *kürge-* CN83. Kgj *kürge-* S288a. Dgx *quǵo-* (sic) B72.

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

MMo SH *guregan*, *gurege(n)* H52, *gurigen* H53, HY *güregen* M58, Muq *küregen* P229a. WM *küregen* L505b. Kh *xüregen* H704b. Ord *kurgən* M438b. Bur *xür'ge(n)* C628a. Brg *xurgəŋ* U127. Kalm *kürgn* M327a. Dag *xuryun* E131. EYu *kürgen* B72, *kürgen* J101b. MgrH *kürge:n* J101a. MgrM *kurgæn* [bulai] C380. BaoD *kurgan* BL88b. BaoGt *kurgəŋ* C100. BaoÑ *kurgan* CN83. Kgj *kurgə* S288a. Dgx *quǵon* B72. MogM *kürvgö:* L64:42, *kürvgö:n* L62:52.

***kürien** ‘enclosure, etc’. The preserved *-n* in MgrH is unexpected. The Kgj form listed under **korïa* may in fact go back to **kürien*. Cf. **korïa*, **kotan*.

MMo SH *gure'e(n)* H52, *gureyen* H53, HY *güriyen* M58, Muq---. WM *küriye(n)* L506a. Kh *xüree(n)* H706b. Bur *xüryee* C626a. Kalm *kürä* M326b. Dag *kur'e:* E158, *kurə:* E158, cf. also *kurə:n* E83:133a ‘the old name of Ulaanbaatar’. EYu---. MgrH *kuran* L282. Bao---. Kgj (see above). Dgx---. Mog---.

***kürjeg ~ *kürje** ‘spade, shovel’. Assuming that MgrM and Dgx go back to forms with *-g* like their close relatives, the variant **kürjeg* is found in MMo survives in all QG languages, whereas the shorter form survives in central Mongolic. Dag *kullur* could have developed < **kuljür* < **kurjər* < **kürjeg*, but could also be related to Kalm *keldü:r* R223a ‘small shovel for removing the ashes from the hearth’ (< **küldeür*). Cf. CT **kürek* ‘id’ < **küre-* ‘to shovel; to row’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *kürjek* P230a, cf. also *kürek* (← Turkic) P175a. WM *kürje* L508a. Kh *xürz(en)* H705a ‘shovel, spade’. Ord *kürji* M438b. Bur *xürze* C626a. Brg *xurʒ* U127. Kalm *kürz* M327b. Dag *kullur* ~ *kuldur* (?) E155. EYu *gurjeg* J101a, *gurjig* S400. MgrH *gurʒig* J101a. MgrM *kurʒi* C381. BaoÑ *gurʒig* CN99. Kgj *gurjiu* S290b. Dgx *guzə* L117b.

***küse-** ‘to wish, desire’. CT **küse-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *guse-* H53, HY---, Muq *küse-* P230b. WM *küse-* L508a. Kh *xüsex* H707b. Bur *xüsexe* C633a, *xühexe* C637a. Brg *xud-* U125. Kalm *küs-* R248b. Dag---. EYu *kuse-* J35 ‘to hope for’. Mgr---. BaoD *kuse-* BL90a ‘to miss, long for’. BaoX *kuse-* BC64 ‘to miss, long to see again’. Dgx *kušie-* B79 ‘to admire, envy’.

***küün** ‘person, human being’. In several languages also used as an indefinite ‘somebody else’. In some languages this word has become phonetically indistinguishable from **keün* and **köbeün* ‘son’. Loss of stable *-n* in Dagur is unexpected, but it is preserved in some old compounds (see s.v. **eme*, **ere*). The *-m-* in some of the forms in the central languages was likely reintroduced from the WM spelling. Nevertheless it may represent an actual lost consonant, possibly *-m-* < earlier *-p-* (cf. **kee-* ‘to say’, WM *keme-*).

MMo SH *gu'un* H53, HY *gü'ün* M59, Muq *kü'ün* P231a, *kü:n* P114b, *küwü'ün* P385b. WM *kümün* L501a. Kh *xün* H702b, *xümüüs* (pl) H702a, *xöümüün* (literary form) H702b. Ord *kun* M436b, also *kumun* (lit.). Bur *xün*, *xümüün* (elevated style) C620b. Brg *xuŋ* U121. Kalm *kün* M324b, *kümn* (elevated style) M324b. Dag *xu:* E123, *-yun* in some compounds. EYu *kun* B70, genitive *kü:nə* BJ335, *kü:n* J101b. MgrH *kun* J101b. BaoD *kuŋ* BL88b. BaoÑ *kuŋ* CN82. BaoX *kuŋ* BC61. Kgj *kun* S287b. Dgx *kuŋ* B78. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *kü:* 10:7a.

- L -

***lauka** ‘secretion of the eye’ see ***nauka**

***lausa** ‘mule’. Loanword from Chinese *luózi* ‘id’. Most languages go back to a form **lausa* but the Dag form is a recent borrowing closer to the modern Mandarin pronunciation. The Bur form with final *-s* is contradicted by the final vowel in MMo, Ord, and QG.

MMo SH *laosa-s-ut* (double plural) H105, HY *lausa* M73, Muq *lu:sa* P232b. WM *luusa* L518a, *layusa* (sic) L515a. Kh *luus* H292b. Ord *l^ua:sa* M447b. Bur *luus* C288b. Kalm *lus* M337b. Dag *l^wə:s* E192. EYu *lu:sa* B88. MgrH *lausa* X109. MgrM *lusa* T343. BaoD *lusə* T142. BaoÑ *lusa* CN106. Kgj *lusa* S291a. Dgx *lausa* B95. Mog---.

***loŋka** ‘bottle’. Probably a foreign word; possibly a dissimilation of an earlier **nənka*.

MMo SH---, HY *loŋqa* M73, Muq---. WM *longqo* L517a. Kh *lonx(on)* H291a. Ord *loŋxo* M447a. Bur *lonxo* C288a. Kalm *loŋx* M336a. Dag *loŋk^w* E190. EYu *loŋqə* B87. MgrH *loŋxo* Khas115. MgrM *loŋxuo* Z368:690. Remaining lgs---.

- M -

***maa** ~ ***maï** ‘here, take it, here you are’. The modern distribution shows that this is an old word in spite of the absence in MMo. Apparently this word was originally an interjection, although some of the forms in Buriat and Kalmuck take verbal

suffixes which suggests that it was seen as an imperative of a verb stem. Most languages suggest an original form **maa*. The form **mai* as found in Kalm is also a less common variant in Kh. The CM forms can not be reduced to a single PM form. Cf. the opposite term **ali* ‘give me’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ma* L519a, *mai* L522a. Kh *ma* H293a, *maa* H293a, *may* H297a. Ord *mā* ~ *mä*: M456b, *me* M458a. Bur *maa* C289a, also *maa aba* C289a, *maatgi* C289a (pl). Brg *ma*: U142. Kalm *mā* M346a, *mātn* (pl, Torgut dial.) M346a. Dag *ma*: E192. EYu *ma* B89, *ma*: J60. MgrH *ma*: X116. MgrM *ma* DS225b. BaoÑ *ma* CN109. Kgj *ma* S291b ‘give (i.e. to hand or pass sth)’ (sic), S223 ‘here, take it, here you are’. Dgx *ma* B101. Mog---.

***maajī-** ‘to scratch’. The Bao forms feature -ʒ- instead of expected -ǰ-, but the derivate **maajīur* ‘rake’ does display the expected -ǰ- in BaoÑ. Not to be confused with **maču-* ‘to clamber, climb’ (not listed here), which survives in the central languages and EYu.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ma:ji-* P234b. WM *mayaji-* L519b. Kh *maajix* H293b. Ord *ma:ji-* M449a. Bur *maajaxa* C289a. Brg *ma:j-* U142. Kalm *maajx* M337b. Dag *ma:j-* E192. EYu *ma:jə-* B89 (also ‘to dig’), J102a. MgrH *ma:ǰə-* J101b. MgrM *maǰi-* JL463. BaoD *maǰi-* BL89b ‘scratch’. BaoÑ *ma:ǰə-* CN109, but *ma:ǰir* CN109. Dgx *maǰi* B104 ‘rake’. Mog---.

***maara-** see ***maïla-** ‘to bleat’

***magalai** ~ ***malagai** ‘hat, headgear’. There are several forms which show a peculiar distribution. The metathesized forms in some languages have probably developed independently. MMo and Kalmuck seem to reflect **magalai* or **makalai*. The occurrence of this form in MMo suggests that this consonant sequence is the original one, although it is not supported by a majority of the modern languages. The Dagur form may be from **magalai* or **makalai* as well (the loss of **-ai* is not unique), but may also be a reborrowing from Manchu *mahala*. The Manchu form itself may be a loan from Kalmuck or Dagur. Kh, Bur, EYu, and Mog forms suggest **malagai*. The Shirongol forms derive from **malaga*, with irregular simplification of the final diphthong. This form further developed into disyllabic **malga* in Mgr, MgrM and Bao.

MMo SH *maqalai* H106, HY---, Muq *maqalai* P233b. WM *malayai* L524a, *malaya* L523b. Kh *malgay* H299b. Bur *malgay* C291a. Brg *malgai* U144. Kalm *maxla* M344b. Dag *mayal* E194, *malgai* Z100a. EYu *malāgai* B90, *malaǰai* J101b. MgrH *malga* J102b, X120. MgrM *marǰa* C383. BaoD *malǰa* BL89b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *malǰa* S291b. Dgx *malaǰa*, *maǰala* B103. Mog *malǰeɪ* R33a, *malǰeɪ* W171.

***magta-** ‘to praise’.

MMo SH---, HY *maqta-* M74, Muq *maqta-* P233b. WM *mayta-* L520a. Kh *magtax* H296b. Ord *maǰta-* M449b. Bur *magtaxa* C290a. Kalm *magtx* M338b. Dag---. EYu *maǰda-* S476. MgrH *maǰda-* L306, *maxda-* S476. Bao---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***maïla-** and ***maara-** ‘to bleat’. At first sight this is not a reliable word for reconstruction purposes, but the form ***maïla-** survives quite well and must have been the original word in QG. The form ***maara-** may also be old, and perhaps developed from a PM form ***majara-**, in view of the possible cognate CT ***majra-** (?< ***bañra-**) (EDPT 770b). Dag *mʷa:r-* seems to represent yet another onomatopoeic form.

MMo SH---, HY *maila-* M73, Muq *ma:ra-* P234b. WM *mayila-* L522b. Kh *maylax* H298a. Bur *maaraxa* C289a, *maylaxa* C290b. Brg *ma:lʷ-* U142. Kalm *määlx* M346a. Dag *mʷa:r-* (?=) E207 ‘to bleat, low, mew, croak’. EYu *maila-* B89, J102a. MgrH *mai:la-* J102b, *maila-* X117. BaoD *mila-* T142. BaoÑ *mi:la-* CN116 ‘to low; to bleat’. Dgx [*mia gie-* T128]. Mog---, cf. Zirni *mailaqči* 20:4 ‘sheep’, *meilakči* 20:10 ‘goat’.

***maïrug** ‘crooked; slanted’. In QG, this adjective seems to be limited to Baoanic. Bökh and Chen Naixiong compared these forms with WM *murui-* and *murui*, which are semantically comparable, but unlikely cognates on phonetic grounds. The phonetically most similar Khalkha forms *mayrag*, *mayrdag* H298b ‘toothless; dull, blunt’ have unsuitable meanings. It is unclear if there is a relationship with other ‘central’ forms such as Kh *maytgar*, *mayga*, *mayjig*, *mayjgar* ‘crooked, askew, bow-legged, etc.’; Ord *mä:ruḡur* M457b; Bur *mayagar* C295b, *mayaa* C295a; Kalm *määyḡ* M346a ‘crooked, bow-legged’.

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

***makalai** ‘hat’ see ***magalai**

***mal** ‘domestic animals, livestock’. Wanderwort, ultimately probably from Arabic *māl*, also present in Iranian and Turkic languages, and probably borrowed by Mongolic from the latter. The narrowed meaning ‘livestock’ instead of ‘property’ in general is typical of Turkic and Mongolic. Cf. the endemic word **aduusun*, which exists alongside **mal* in the languages cited above, and is the normal word for livestock in Baoanic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *mal* P232b. WM *mal* L523b. Kh *mal* H299a. Bur *mal* C290b. Brg *mal* U143. Kalm *mal* M339a. Dag *mal* E194. EYu *mal* B90, J102a. MgrH *mal* L309, *mar* SM232. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog *mo:l* R33b ‘property’.

***malagai** ‘hat’ see ***magalai**

***malta-** ‘to dig, excavate’. The *-n-* in MgrH appears instead of expected *-l-* or *-r-*. The final *-l* in Baoan (also seen in other verbs, see s.v. **muški-*) is another deviation.

MMo SH *malta-* H106, HY---, Muq---. WM *malta-* L524b. Kh *maltax* H300b. Bur *maltaxa* C291b. Kalm *maltx* M340a. Dag *malt-* E195 ‘etc’. EYu *malta-* B90, *malda-* J103b. MgrH *manta-* J102b. MgrM *manta-* JL467. BaoD *malta-* BL83b, *mantal-* BL83b. BaoÑ *mantal-* CN111 ‘etc’. Kgj *manta-* S291b. Dgx *manṭa-* B102. Mog---.

***mana-** ‘to guard, keep watch’. Possibly from PM **bana-*. The Shirongol lgs use **eüden saki-* ‘to guard the door’ in this meaning.

MMo SH---, HY *mana-* M73, Muq---. WM *mana-* L525a. Kh *manax* H302a. Bur *manaxa* C292a. Kalm *manx* M342a. Dag *mana-* T153. EYu *mana-* B89. Remaining lgs.

***managaar**, ***margaasi**, etc ‘morning; tomorrow’. The modern forms listed here are very diverse, but they appear all to be related. The original form was probably **managaar* which developed into **mangaar* and > **margaar*. Dgx and Kgj seem to derive from this form **margaar*. The form **margaasi* found in many languages may represent **margaar-si*. Some forms have further endings or incorporate **erte* ‘morning’ or **üdür* ‘day’. There are also words incorporating **ene* ‘this’, such as MgrH *namağsə* X26 ‘this morning’ < **ene margaasi*, MgrM *naŋga* DS21 (if not from Amdo *naŋ-hka*), Kgj *na mağa* S281a ‘this morning’ < **ene managar*, BaoÑ *nəmguarte* CN28, Kgj *na mağade* S281a ‘this morning’, probably < **ene managar erte* ‘this morning early’. The origin of MgrH *malay* J102b ‘morning’ is unclear. **managaar* may be related to **maniar* ‘mist’ (not listed) and **manan* ‘mist’ (listed below).

MMo SH *manaqar* H106 ‘the next day, the next morning’, *manaqaru* H106 ‘early in the morning’, *manaqari* H106 ‘the next morning’, *manaqarši* H106 ‘on the next day/morning’, *manaqaši* H106 ‘the next morning’, HY *manaqar erte* M74 ‘early in the morning’, Muq *manayar*, *manaqar* P233a ‘tomorrow’. WM *manayar*, *manayarsi* L525a, *maryasi* L529a, *maryata* L529a. Kh *managaar* H301b ‘tomorrow’, *margaas* H305b ‘tomorrow’, *margaad*, *margaadar* H305b ‘tomorrow’. Ord *margā:ta* M455b. Bur *margaar* C293a, *margaasa* C293a, *malgaar* (‘western’) C291a ‘tomorrow’. Kalm *maŋyar* M342a ‘mist, mirage (in the morning)’, *maŋydur* M342b ‘tomorrow’ < **managar üdür*. Dag---. EYu *margā:šda* B91, *margāšda* J102b. MgrH *mağasi* X119, *mağasə* X119 ‘tomorrow’, *mağsi* X120 ‘next year’ (sic!), *mağzə* X120 ‘early morning’. MgrM *mağase* T343. BaoD *maχsiə* BL89a. BaoGt *māsgə* C120. BaoÑ *maχsi* CN112. BaoX *moχšə* BC62. Kgj *mağa* ~ *mağga* S29b ‘(early) morning, etc’, *mağasi* S291b ‘tomorrow’, *mağade* S291b ‘morning’. Dgx *mağa* B103 ‘(early) morning’, *mağasi* B103 ‘tomorrow’, *mağasi xoŋ* B103 ‘next year’, DgxL *mağudu* B103 ‘next year’. Mog---.

***manan** ‘mist, fog’. The -u- in EYu and the metathesis in MgrH are recent developments. Perhaps related to **managaar* ‘tomorrow’ listed above, as well as **maniar* ‘mist’, HY *moniyar* M75, etc. Kalm *manr* ‘misty’. Cf. **buday* ‘mist’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *manan* P233a. WM *manan*, *manang* L525b. Kh *manan* H301b. Bur *mana(n)* C292a. Brg *man* U142. Kalm *mann* (lit) M341a. Dag *manən* E193. EYu *munay* B96, *manay* J102a. MgrH *nama:n* J102b, X26, hence also *lama:n* X111. MgrM *manay* JL462. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***mangir**, ***mangir(r)sun** ‘wild onion (and similar bulbous plants)’. The existence of two clearly different Dagur forms is puzzling; both are possible developments from **mangisun* (?**mangiasun*), for *manč* cf. Dag *nəkč* ‘spinal marrow’ from **nugusun*.

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

(Ekhirit) C292b. Brg *maŋgır* U143. Kalm *māŋgrsn* M346b. Dag *maŋg^ye:s* E194 “‘mountain onion’”, *mañč* E193 ‘wild garlic’. EYu *maŋgarsən* 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 *mausumăğăci* B101 is likely to be related to this Turkic form, but the second part is obscure; it may involve **emegen* ‘old lady’ or **meke.či* ‘trickster’.

MMo SH *manggus*, *mangqus* H107, HY---, Muq---. WM *mangyus* L527a. Kh *mangas* H302b. Ord *maŋgus* M454b. Bur-?- . Brg *mangad* U143. Kalm *maŋys* M342b. Dag *maŋg^ye: (?=)* E194. EYu *ma:ŋğās* B89. MgrH *maŋguzə* X119, *məŋguzə* X124. MgrM *maŋguzi* JL470, *maŋquzi* DS237a. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx (see above). Mog---.

***maŋlai** ‘forehead’. The central languages developed from an assimilated form **maŋnai*. The peculiar *-əu* in Dgx normally reflects the loss of a **-g*. The Dag form is close to the Solon form *maŋg^ye:l*, but the loss of *-ai* is also seen in other Dag words. The Bur dialect form *maalay* may represent an early variant **maŋalai* with resolved cluster. The element *-lai* is also found in some other body parts (e.g. **koalai*, **koŋdalai*) and may be a suffix.

MMo SH *manglai* H107, HY *maŋlai* M74, Muq *maŋqlai* 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 *maŋlai* BL89a. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *maŋləu* B102. Mog---.

***margasī** ‘tomorrow’ see s.v. ***managar**

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

MMo SH *mara’a* H107, *mariya(n)* H108 ‘(human) flesh, the body’, HY---, Muq---. WM *mariya* L529b, *miriya* L540a ‘body, flesh; corpulence, pudginess’. Kh *maria* H306a ‘fatness, corpulence, obesity’. Ord *mira:* M465a. Bur *maryaa(n)* C294b. Brg *mar^ya:-tai* U144 fat (adj.). Kalm *merän* in *max merän* M350b ‘lean’, *merε:* R261b ‘flesh (esp. in the face)’. Dag---. EYu *maran* B90 ‘skin’, J81 ‘pork skin’. MgrH *mara* SM233 ‘flesh, corpulence; face’, L314 also ‘skin’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *mara* CN113 ‘fat, (of animals) fattened, well-fed’. Kgj *mara* S291b ‘fat (of an animal)’. Dgx *mara* B104 ‘flesh; fat’. Mog---.

***maria-** ‘to spy on, to peek; to stalk, approach stealthily’. Kh and Ord seem to stem from a form **mīraa-*. Baoanic seem to go back to **ma:ra-* with metathesis of length < **mara:-*. Dag *mar^ʷe:-* E196 ‘to have sex’ corresponds well phonetically, but the semantic connection is perhaps too far-fetched.

MMo SH *mariya-* H108, HY---, Muq---. WM *mariya-* L529b, *miriya-* L540a, *miraya-* L540a, *mira-* L540a. Kh *myaraax* H340b. Ord *mira:-* M465a. Bur *maryaaxa* C294a. Kalm *meræ-* R261b. Dag see above. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ma:ra-* CN109 ‘to hide, lie low’. BaoX *ma:r-* BC75 ‘to hide’. Kgj *mara-* S291b ‘to hide’. Dgx *mara-* B104 ‘to peek, spy on’. Mog---.

***marta-** (< **umarta-*) ‘to forget’. One of the very rare cases of initial vowel loss in the central languages.

MMo SH *umarta-* H163, HY---, Muq *marta-* P234a, IV *umarta-* L62:71, LV *umarta-* P1261. WM *umarta-* L874a, *marta-* L530a. Kh *martax* H306b, *umartax* H546a. Bur *martaxa* C293b. Brg *mart-* U144. Kalm *martx* M344a. Dag *mart-* E196. EYu *marta-* B91, J102b. MgrH *maşda-* J102b, *muşda:-*, *muşda:-* SM251. MgrM *marta-* T344. BaoD *martə-* BL89b. BaoÑ *marta-* CN113. BaoX *martə-* BC65. Kgj *marta-* S292a. Dgx *mata-* B103. Mog *mo:rta-* R33b, *mərta-* W172b.

***mau** ‘bad’. Bao may have added the *-ŋ* because the majority of adjectives end in it. Note the irregularity of the vocalism in the Dag derivations *mɔ:t-* E201 from **maud-* and *mɔ:l-* E200 from **maula-*, but cf. *maud-*, *maurka:-* E193.

MMo SH *mao'u(n)*, *mao'ui* H107, HY *ma'u* M74, Muq *ma'u* P234a, *mu'u* P321a, *mu:* P242a. WM *mayu* L520b. Kh *muu* H333a. Bur *muu* C302b. Kalm *mu* M361b. Dag *mɔ:* E200. EYu *mu:* B94, J102a. MgrH *mau:* J102b. MgrM *mɔu* C382. BaoD *muŋ* BL89b. BaoÑ *muŋ* CN119 ‘bad, ugly, etc’. BaoX *mu* BC73. Kgj *mau* ~ *mu* S291b. Dgx *mau* B101. Mog---.

***mede-** ‘to know’.

MMo SH *mede-* H108, HY *mede-* M74, Muq *mede-* P234b. WM *mede-* L531a. Kh *medex* H336a. Ord *mede-* M458a. Bur *medexe* C310b. Brg *məd-* U145. Kalm *medx* M348a. Dag *məd-* E198. EYu *mede-* B92, J102a. MgrH *mude-* J102a. MgrM *mide-* C383. BaoD *madə-* BL89b. BaoÑ *medə-* CN116 ‘etc’. BaoX *mədə-* BC70. Kgj *mede-* S292a. Dgx *məʒie-* B106, *məiʒie-* L117b. Mog *meda-*, *mede-* W172a, MogM, MogMr *médā-* L62:53.

***melekei** ‘frog’ see ***menekei**.

***mendü** ‘peace(ful), tranquil(ity); health, well-being; as usual’.

MMo SH---, HY *mendü* M75, Muq---. WM *mendü* L535b. Kh *mend* H337b. Ord *möndu* M469b. Bur *mende* C312a. Brg *mənd* U144. Kalm *mend* M349b. Dag---. EYu *mendə* B92, *me:ndə* J58, *mö:ndə* J5. MgrH---. MgrM---. Bao *mendu* P425. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***menekei** ‘frog’. MMo and QG point at **menekei*, Dagur and the central languages at **melekei*. The inexplicable *-d-* in MgrM and BaoD is probably secondary (cf. the development of **hünegen* ‘fox’). Historically the form with *-l-* may be due to

dissimilation of the two nasals. BaoD *lam(ən)dəgi* ‘frog’ is probably a corrupted compound with **menekei* as a second element, cf. BaoÑ *lamba mən̄gi* CN107 ‘toad’ (according to Chen Naixiong the first element is LT *lhan-pa* ‘patch’). It is phonetically possible but semantically unlikely that BaoD is the same compound as MMo HY *naq menegei* M77 ‘soft tortoise’, WM *lay melekei*, Ord *laḡ meleki*: M442b ‘turtle’. The *-kei* may be a suffix (cf. **no-kaï*, **herbee-kei*), in which case the PM root may have been **mene-* or **bene-*.

MMo SH---, HY *menegei* M75 ‘frog’, Muq *menekei* P235b [‘turtle’ according to Poppe], P287b [‘frog’]. WM *melekei* L534b, *menekei* L536a. Kh *melxiy* H337a ‘frog, toad’. Ord *meleki*: M462b ‘frog’. Bur *melxey* C311b ‘tortoise’. Kalm *meklä* M348b ‘frog; toad’. Dag *mäləy* E198. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *mandəgai* C385, *mendegei* T357. BaoD *lam(ən)dəgi* BL89a. BaoÑ *mən̄gi* CN113. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

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

MMo SH---, HY *mengge* M75, Muq *menge* P235b. WM *mengge* L536b. Kh *menge* H337b. Ord *menge* 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, *mänkə*, *mänkie* MC260a. Mog---.

***mergen** ‘smart, wise, talented; good marksman’.

MMo SH *mergan* H109, HY *mergen* M75, Muq---. WM *mergen* L537a. Kh *mergen* H338a. Bur *merge(n)* C312b. Kalm *mergn* M350b. Dag *məryən* E198. EYu *meryen* B93. MgrH *murgən* X128. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj *mergə* S292a. Dgx *məryən* T129, *məŋgən* MC260a ‘active, vigorous’. Mog *mirgan* W172a ‘hunter’.

***metü** ‘like, as... as’. The final *-g* in Baoan is probably a secondary addition (this not unique, see **teŋgeri* ‘sky’). However, in view of its accent and attributive usage, BaoD *mə'təgə* may represent **metü-ki*. **metü* is also preserved by Baoanic in a number of new formations, which are also present in BaoÑ: BaoD *əntəg* T152, *nəntəgə-nə* (+ poss3) BL82b ‘like this’, BaoÑ *əmtəg* CN14, *əmtəg* CN11, Kgj *əntu* ~ *əntu* ~ *əntu* S279b ‘like this, this kind of’ BaoD *təntəgə* BL91b, BaoÑ *yamtəg* CN163, Kgj *təntu* ~ *təntu* ~ *təntu* S297b ‘like that, that kind of’, BaoÑ *yamtəg* CN215 ‘what kind of’, BaoD *iantəg* BL72 ‘how much’ (sic), Kgj *matu* S291b ‘what kind of’, Dgx *matu-ni* B103 ‘what kind of’. These appear to stem from **ene metü*, **te(re) metü*, and **yaan* or **yama metü*. Dgx *imutu* BC85:132, *imutu-ni* B11 ‘this kind of’ and *ćimutu* B155 ‘that kind of’, in view of their vocalism, suggest **ein* and **tein* as a first element instead.

MMo SH *metu* H109, HY *metü* M75, Muq *metü* P261b, *mütü* P361. WM *metü* L538a. Kh *met* H338b. Ord *metu* M463b, *mötu* M472a. Bur *mete* C313a, *bete* C134b. Kalm *met* M351a. Dag *mut*^ʷ E88:420, *mut* NK474a. EYu---. MgrH *madu* X120. MgrM---. BaoD *mə'təgə* BL59. BaoGt *muti* C107. BaoGm *məsgə* CN86:282. BaoÑ---. BaoX *məti* BC73, *mətag* BC73, *məntəg* CN86:282. Kgj *mutu* ~ *muntu* ~ *mətu* S292b. Dgx *mutu*, *mutuŋ* B111. Mog *metu* W172a.

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

was also assimilated to the **a*. In Bur, Brg, and Dag *m*- remained palatalized, whereas in Kh and Kalm the palatal element has completely disappeared. In this word the unstable *-n* was lost in all of Shirongol.

MMo SH *miqa(n)* H109, HY *miqan* M75, Muq *miqan* P236b. WM *miqa(n)* L540b. Kh *max(an)* H308a. Bur *myaxa(n)* C314a. Brg *m^yax* U150. Kalm *maxn* M345a. Dag *m^yay* E207. EYu *mayqan* B90, *maxğan* J102b. MgrH *maxa* J102a, X119. MgrM *muqa* C383, *maqa* T344. BaoD *məğa* BL89b, *muğá* L121. BaoGt *muğa* C104. BaoÑ *mağa* CN113. BaoX *moğa* BC73. Kgj *mağa* S291b. Dgx *miğa* B107. Mog *miqo:n* R33b, *m^yəqān*, *m^yəqən* W172, MogMr *m^yaqo:n*, *m^ya:qv:n*, MogM *m^yaqqǝ*: L62:54.

***mīlaa** ‘whip’ see ***mīnaa**

***mīnaa** ‘whip’. The variants and their distribution appear rather chaotic; note the striking disagreement between the central languages and between Bao and Dgx. Some of the forms, such as EYu, are apt to be confused with **muna* ‘wooden club’, WM *muna* L551a ‘wooden club, stick, mallet’, Kh *muna* H331a, Dag *manə* ~ *mana*: E193, or with **bilau* ‘cudgel’, WM *bilayu* L103b. Kh *byaluu* H99b, Dag *bəlc*: E81.

The form **mīnaa* is probably the original form, which is supported by its occurrence in the old documents. The form **mīlaa* could then be the result of a dissimilation of the two nasals (as in **menekei* ~ **melekei* ‘frog’). The Kh and Kalm forms go back to a form with metathesized vowels **malia* < **mīlaa*. Kh *myalga* seems to be an incorrect reading pronunciation of WM *milaya*. If the original form was indeed **mīnaa*, the PM form may have been **bīnaa* (probably with a consonant between the two **a*’s). Cf. **sičua* and **tasiur* ‘whip’ (the latter not listed here).

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

***mīngan** ‘thousand’. Front-vocalic in Kalm, as a consequence of the absence of breaking. Both the *-x-* and the vocalism in MgrH is unexpected. Related to CT **biŋ* ~ **biŋ* ‘id’, on which one may base a PM form **biŋgan* (cf. P60:72 etc; RI:78 etc.) In the remaining languages replaced by Tibetan, Chinese, and Iranian words.

MMo SH *minqa(n)* H109, HY *minyan* M75, Muq *minqan* P236b. WM *mingya(n)* L539b. Kh *myanga(n)* H340. Ord *miŋga* M465a. Bur *myanga(n)* C314a. Brg *m^yang*, *m^yangay* U149. Kalm *miŋyn* M353. Dag *m^yangə* E207. EYu *məŋgan* B91, J102b. MgrH *meŋxan* J102a, *meŋxen* X121. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***modun** ‘tree; wood’. The aspirated *-t-* in MgrM and Baoanic is inexplicable. One might think of influence of Chinese *mùtou* ‘wood’, but there are other words with a similar development, e.g. **hodun* ‘star’. The origin of *-r-* in BaoGt and Kgj is also obscure. Furthermore this is one of the few cases in which an unexpected vowel

length appears in the same word in Dag, EYu, and MgrH. In EYu and MgrH the length seems to be triggered by word structure, whereas the length in Dagur form was perhaps influenced by Northern Tungusic *mɔ:* ‘tree’. **modun* may contain the (?collective) suffix **-dUn*, in which case the PM root is **mo-*. This is supported by MMo SH *moci* H109, MgrH *moči* X123 ‘carpenter’, apparently from **mo-čī*.

MMo SH *modun* H110, *mudun* H111 ‘tree; wood’, HY *modun* H75 ‘tree, wood’, Muq *modun* P237b. WM *modu(n)* L541a ‘tree; wood; etc’. Kh *mod(on)* H313b. Ord *mudu* M473a. Bur *modo(n)* C297b ‘tree; wood’. Brg *mɔd* U146 ‘wood’. Kalm *modn* M353b. Dag *mɔ:d* E201 ‘wood; tree’. EYu *mu:dən* B95, J102b, EYu (Qinglong) *mɔ:dən* BJ351. MgrH *mo:də* X122 ‘wood’, *mo:du* L325 ‘wood; tree’. MgrM *motu* C383, *mo:to* C166, *mutu* T345. BaoD *muton* T143. BaoJ *murtón* L121. BaoGt *murtuŋ* C104. BaoÑ *mətəŋ* CN117, *mədəŋ* CN118. BaoX *mətəŋ* CN86:298. Kgj *murtun* S293a. Dgx *mutuŋ* B111 ‘wood; tree’. Mog *modun* R33b ‘wood’, *mɔdu*, *mudun* W172b ‘wood, wooden stick’.

***mogai** ‘snake’. Dagur from a form **moga* which lost the *-i*, for which cf. **gakai* ‘pig’, **nokai* ‘dog’, etc.

MMo SH *moqai* H110, HY *moqai* M76, Muq *moyai* P238a. WM *moyai* L541b. Kh *mogoy* H313a. Bur *mogoy* C297a. Brg *məŋɔi* U146. Kalm *moya* M353b. Dag *mɔɣ*^w E202. EYu *məŋɔi* B93, *məŋui* J102b. MgrH *moŋuai* J102a, *moŋɔi* X122. MgrM *moŋai* JL465. BaoD *moŋai* BL89a. BaoGt *moŋui* C110. BaoÑ *məŋɔi* CN117. BaoX *moŋui* BC74. Kgj *muŋuai* S292b. Dgx *moŋai* B109, *moyai* L117a. Mog *mayo:i*: R33a, *məŋɔi* W172.

***mogadur** and ***mokudag** ‘blunt, dull’. These two adjectives are listed together because of the ambiguous Shironᡤol evidence. The latter could be the nomen usus of the verb **moku-/moki-* ‘to become blunt’. The nomen imperfecti of this verb also occurs in central Mongolic: Kh *moxoo* H319b, Bur *moxoo* C301a, Brg *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 *moyotor* L542a, *moqotor* L544b, *moqoday* L544a. Kh *mogotor* H313b, *moxdog* H319b. Ord *muxudaq*, *muxuduq* M474a, cf. also *muŋdu:*, *muŋduŋur*, *muŋduŋ* M473b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu--- *moŋgordəŋ* (only) S495. MgrH *moŋdər* J102a, *moŋordu*, *moŋordur*, *moŋodur* SM239. MgrM *moŋodo* DS207b. BaoD *moxtəχ* BL89b. BaoÑ---. Kgj *məŋdu* ~ *mɔdu* S292b. Dgx *muŋudu* B110, *muŋutu* L117b. Mog---.

***mokin** ‘resin’ see ***boki**.

***mona** ‘future-’. Only in the combinations below. The first element of Dag *bən^y udur* E75, *bən^y udur* E80, *bun^y udur* E84 ‘today’ is most likely to go back to an earlier **buni* and is therefore hard to connect to **mona*.

MMo SH *mona qoyina*, *mono qoyina* H110 ‘in the future’, HY *mono qoyina* M75 ‘in the future’ (cf. **koina*), Muq---. WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur---.

Kalm---, Dag---, EYu *mənən* B93 ‘the year after next’ (**mona hon*). MgrH *muno:n* SM248 (**mona hon*). MgrM---, Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

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

MMo SH *mangqol* H107, HY *moŋqol* M75, Muq *monɣol* P238a. WM *mongyol* L542b. Kh *mongol* H315b. Bur *mongol* C298b. Kalm *monɣyl* M355a. Dag *məŋgul* E202. EYu *məŋgul* B93, *moŋgol* J102b. MgrH *moŋgol* J102a. MgrM *moŋgor* JL464 also ‘Monguor’, *məŋgvar* C383. Bao (see above). Remaining lgs---.

***morin** ‘horse’. Note the loss of -n in EYugur and Baoanic (in the Monguor languages this loss is expected).

MMo SH *mori(n)* H111, HY *morin* M76, Muq *morin* P238b. WM *mori(n)* L543b. Kh *mor*’ (*morin*) H318a. Ord *mori* M467b. Bur *mori(n)* C300a. Brg *mər*’ (*iy*) U147. Kalm *mörn* M360a. Dag *mər*’ E204. EYu *mə:rə* B93, *mo:rə* J102b. MgrH *morə* J102b. MgrM *mozi* /*mori*/ C383. BaoD *morə* BL89b. BaoÑ *mərə* CN118. BaoX *morə* BC64. Kgj *məri* S292b. Dgx *mori* B109. Mog *morin* R33b, W172b, etc.

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

MMo---, WM *möčir* L545a ‘twig, etc’. Kh *möčir* H328a. Ord *möču:r* M472a. Bur *müšer* C309b ‘branch’. Brg *mušir* U149. Kalm *büčr* M132b ‘foliage, top, branch, sprout’. Dag---, EYu---, MgrH *mučir* L340 ‘branch’. MgrM *muču* T346 ‘stick’. Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***möer** ‘rim of a wheel’. Dag and Bur (some forms) suggest an additional final vowel.

MMo SH---, HY *mö'er* M76, Muq---, WM *möger* L545b. Kh *möör* H324a. Ord---, Bur *möör*, *mööri*, *mööre* C301b ‘wheel’. Brg *mo:r* U148. Kalm *mö:r* R268a. Dag *m^wə: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 *möörex* C301b. Brg *mo:r-* U148. Kalm *möörx* M358b. Dag *m^wə:r-* E208. EYu *mü:re-* B96, J102a. MgrH *mo:ro-* J102b. MgrM *mori-* JL468, *mo:r-* C383. BaoD---, BaoÑ---, Dgx *muri-* B112. Mog---.

***möersün** ~ ***möngersün** ‘cartilage, gristle’. The modern forms point at the existence of (at least) two CM variants, **möersün* and **möngersün* (cf. **noasun* for a similar set of old variants). MgrM may reflect another form **mögersün*. The Dag -m- is unexpected.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH---, WM *mögeresü(n)* L545b, *bögersü(n)* L125a. Kh *mögöors(ön)* H320a, *mögöös(ön)* H320b, *möörs* H324a.

Chakhar *mogo:rs* D176b. Ord *mö:rös(ʉ)*, *mö:rs* M471b. Bur *mengeerhe(n)* C312a, *müngöörhen* C306a, *möörhe(n)* (western) C301b. Brg *munḡa:ru:* U148. Kalm *möörsn* M358a. Dag *məməč* E198, *məməči* S489. EYu---. MgrH *munḡarʒə* J102b, X124. MgrM *məḡursi* DS227a, *mogursi xolo* P412b ‘windpipe’ (cf. **koalai*). BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***möjki-** ‘to trace’. Possibly in some way related to **mör* ‘track, etc’.

MMo SH *mocgi-* H109, *mutki-* H112, *morgi-* (?) H111, HY---, Muq---. WM *möski-* L550b. Kh *möšgox* H329a. Ord *möškö-* M471b. Bur *müšxexe* C309a. Kalm *möškx* M361b. Remaining lgs---.

***mölkü-** ‘to crawl, creep, clamber’. Dag *milk^w*- may be inspired by Tungusic, but it could represent the original CM form.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *mölkö-* L546a. Kh *mölxöx* H321b. Ord *mölkö-* M468b. Bur *mülxixe* C305b. Brg *muləx-* U149. Kalm *mölkx* M357a. Dag *milk^w*- E200, *mulk^w*- Z100b. EYu *molkə-* B94, *məlgə-* J102a. MgrH---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***mölsün** ‘ice’. Bur *mül’hen* seems to suggest a CM form **mölisün*, but unexpected palatalisations and added vowels appear more often in Bur, which may both be very recent. The Ordos *ö* instead of expected *ʉ*. This word may contain the (?collective) suffix **-sUn*, in which case the PM root may be **möl-*. If there is a relationship with **möndür* ‘hail’, it is morphologically unclear.

MMo SH *molsun* H110, HY *mölsün* M76, Muq *mölsün* p239a. WM *mösü(n)* L550b, *mölsü(n)* L546b. Kh *mös(ön)* H326b, *möls* H321a. Ord *mösʉ* M471b. Bur *mül’he(n)* C305b. Brg *mul’u:* U149. Kalm *mösn* M360b. Dag *məis* E197. EYu *mösən* B94, J75, *mesən* J102a. MgrH *molsə* J102b, *malʒə* X120. MgrM *mirsī* S12, *mərsī* DS230. BaoD *mišiu* BL90a, *minšiu* BL31. BaoGt *mišī* C107. BaoJ *miš’* L117. BaoÑ *melsoḡ* CN116. BaoGm *mincu* CN86:16. BaoX *mənsu* S12, CN86:228. Kgj *mərsun* ~ *məsun* S292b. Dgx *mansuḡ* B102, *mənsun* L118b, Dgx (Longquan dialect) *məsuḡ* B106. Mog-?-.

***möltül-** ‘to take off, undo’, ***möltüre-** ‘to fall off, come loose’. Ord suggests **möltel-* and **möltäre-*. However, based on MMo and the QG languages one would assume an original *ü* in the first syllable. Cf. also the back-vocalic parallel set **multul-*, **multura-*, which also survive in Buriat.

MMo SH *multul-* H111, *multüre-* H111, HY *mültül-* M76, Muq---. WM *möltöle-* L546b, *möltöre-* L546b. Kh *möltlōx* H321b, *möltrōx* H321b. Ord *möltöl-* M468b. Bur (see above). Kalm *möltlx*, *möltrx* M357b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *mutələ-* X127, *mutäre:-* X127. BaoD---. BaoÑ *məntəl-* CN114 ‘to take off, cause to fall off’, *məntərə-* CN114 ‘to come off, to fall off’. Kgj *mante-* S291b. Dgx *muturə-* B111 ‘to wither; to drop, fall off’. Mog---.

***mön** ‘real, true; the same, this very; it is so’.

MMo SH *mun* H111, HY *mün* M76, Muq *mön* P248b. WM *mön* L547a. Kh *mön* H322a. Ord *mön* M469a. Bur *mün* C306a. Brg *muḡ* U148, *mən*. Kalm *mön* M357b. Dag in *mətər* E198 ‘yes, right, that’s it, etc’ from **mön tere*. EYu *mən* B91.

Mgr *namba*: X32 (?*mön baïna), *nambi*: X32 (*mön büi). BaoD *mba* BL54 (?*mön baïna), *mbi* BL55 (*mön büi). BaoÑ *mba* CN120 (?*mön baïna), *mbi* CN120 (*mön büi). Kgj *mba* (?*mön baïna), *mbi* S293a (*mön büi). Dgx *ənbainə* L75 ‘is indeed’ (?*mön baïna). Mog *mun*, *mün* W173a.

***möndür** ‘hail’. The Dag and Brg forms with *-l* are unexpected. The *-əu* in Dgx is exceptional in that it normally appears when an original *-g* is lost, whereas *-r* usually disappears without a trace. Somehow related to **mölsün* ‘ice’? Cf. the Shirongol word **jarma*.

MMo SH---, HY *mündür* M76, Muq *möndür* (?*mündür*) P354b (form given as Turkic, see Poppe). WM *möndör* L547a. Kh *möndör* H323b. Ord *möndör* M469b. Bur *münder* C307a. Brg *məndəl* U145. Kalm *möndr* M357b. Dag *murtul* (small hailstones) E206. EYu *möndür* B94 (small hailstones). MgrH---. MgrM *mendur* P424. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *mandəu* B102; Mog---.

***möngersün** ‘cartilage, gristle’ see ***möersün**

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

MMo SH *munngu(n)* H112, HY *müנגgün* M76, Muq *möngü* P239a [ed. reads thus, but only once (p133) written with *wâw* in the first syllable]. WM *mönggö(n)* L547b. Kh *möngö(n)* H322a. Ord *möngö* ~ *müngü* M469b. Bur *münge(n)* C306b also ‘money’. Brg *mung* U148 ‘&money’. Kalm *möngn* M358a also ‘money’. Dag *mung*^w E205, *məng*^w E197. EYu *möngə* B94, *meŋgə* J102a. MgrH *meŋgu* J102b. MgrM *meŋgu* JL468. BaoD *miaŋgu* BL89a. BaoÑ *mengu* CN115. BaoX *miŋgo* BC62. Kgj *meŋgü* S292a. Dgx *miengu* B106. Mog---.

***mör** ‘track, trail; path, road’.

MMo SH *mor* H110, HY *mör* M76, Muq *mör* P239b. WM *mör* L548a. Kh *mör* H324a. Bur *mür* C307b. Brg *mur* U149. Kalm *mör* M358b. Dag---. EYu *mör* B94 (also ‘a Chinese mile’), J102a, *mer* J37. MgrH *mo:r* J102b, X122, *mo:r* L330, *mur* L340. MgrM *mor* T345, *mər* DS259b. BaoD *mör* BL90b. BaoÑ *mər* CN118. Kgj *mər* S292b. Dgx *mo* B108, DgxL *mo* B158. Mog *mür* R34a, *mər* W172, *mur* W173, MogM, MogMr *mər* L62:55.

***mören** ‘river’. Several modern forms suggest **müren*, so that the original first vowel can not be reconstructed with certainty.

MMo SH *muren* H112, HY *müren* M76, Muq *mören* (could also be read *müren*) P220a and many other occurrences, usually translated ‘sea’. WM *mören* L548b ‘large river or lake’. Kh *mörön* H326a. Ord *mörön* M471a. Bur *müre(n)* C309a. Brg *murəŋ* U149. Kalm *mörn* (obs) M360b. Dag *mur* E206, cf. *xar mur* E104 ‘Heilongjiang = Amur’ (**kara*). EYu *müren* B96, *mere:n* J101b. MgrH *muro:n* J102b, X127. MgrM *meræn* C383, *muren* T347, cf. *šukò muren* P413b ‘the Huanghe (Yellow River)’. BaoD *moruŋ* BL89a, BL51 ‘river; the Huanghe’. BaoÑ---. Kgj *murə* S293a. Dgx *morān* B109, *moron* L117b. Mog---.

***mörgü-** ‘to touch with one’s forehead; to bow; to pray; to butt; to run into sb’. MMo and the Shirongol languages point at a CM **mürgü-*.

MMo SH *murgu-* H112 ‘to touch the floor with one’s forehead’, *murgu-le-* H112 ‘to butt’, HY *mürgü-* H76 ‘to touch the floor with one’s forehead’, Muq *mörgü-* [can also be read *mürgü-*] P240a. WM *mörgö-* L549a. Kh *mörgöx* H325a. Ord *mörgö-* ~ *murgu-* M470a. Bur *mürgexe* C308a. Brg *murəg-* U149. Kalm *mörgx* M359b. Dag *mury^w-* E206, cf. also *mury^wlə:-* E207 ‘to butt’. EYu *moryə-* B94, *muryə-* J102a. MgrH *murgu-* J102b. MgrM *murgu-* JL475. BaoD *murgə-* BL90a. BaoN *mərgə-* CN115, *murgə-* CN120 ‘to run into; to bow’. Kgj *murgu-* 293b. Dgx *muğu-* B110 ‘to touch; to run into; to contradict sb’. Mog---.

***möri ~ *mörü** ‘shoulder’. The Muq form in *-i* may be supported by the palatalized *-r^y* in Brg. All other modern forms may be from either **-i* or **-ü*. However, the Ordos form rather suggests **möre*. In most Tungusic languages there is a word *mairə* (SMT) or *mi:rə* (Northern Tungusic) meaning ‘shoulder’. Dagur *mi:r* E199 ‘arm’ is probably borrowed from this Tungusic form. Cf. **dalu* ‘shoulder-blade’.

MMo SH *murū* H112, HY *mürü* M77, Muq *möri* P240a. WM *möri*, *mörö(n)* L549b. Kh *mör(ön)* H324b. Ord *mörö* M471a. Bur *müre* C309a, *mür* C308a. Brg *mur* U149 ‘shoulder’, also *mur^y* U149 ‘back’. Kalm *mörn* R267a ‘armpit, shoulder area’, cf. *mörg^ö* R266a ‘back; harrow’, *mörgn* R266b ‘back of an axe, knife, sword’. Dag *mur* E206. EYu *murə* B96, *murə* J102a. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoN---. Kgj *murū* S293a ‘back of a knife’. Dgx *morəi* MC269b ‘dorsal skeleton of a chicken’. Mog---.

***möški-** ‘to trace’ see ***möjki-**

***mukur** ‘blunt’. The lit. Kalm form, and EYu-MgrH suggest **mokar* or **mokur*. Cf. the verb **moku-* (not listed); see **mokudag* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *muqur* L553b. Kh *muxar* H334a. Ord *muḡur* M474b. Bur *muxar* C304a. Brg *moxar* U147. Kalm *moxr* M356b, *muḡä-* R268b. Dag *məḡər* NK473a ‘hornless’. EYu *məḡqər* B93, *moxḡur* J102b. MgrH *moḡor* X122. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***murui ~ *muriu** ‘crooked, slanted’. Cf. Baoanic **mairug* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *murū*: P241b, *murui* P357b, *mura* P241a, RH *murū*: 203C16. WM *murui* L552a. Kh *muruy* H332b, cf. *muriu* H332b. Ord *mur^ui*: M476a. Bur *muruyu* in *haryuu muruyu* C679a. Brg---. Kalm *mur^yu*: R269a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *muri*: J102b, X127. MgrM *muri* JL467, *muḡi* C384. Bao---. Kgj---, but cf. *mərlaḡai* S292b, from the derived verb *mər-la-* ~ *murla-* ~ *marlə-* S292b/S19 ‘to become slanted’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***muški-** ‘to twist’. The modern languages go back to a form **muški-*, but most likely to be a secondary development of either **muskī-* or **mujki-* > **mučki-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, IM *mučki-* [thus emended] P442a. WM *muski-*, *muški-* L552b. Kh *muḡix* H335a. Bur *muḡxaxa* C305a. Brg *motig-* U148. Kalm *moḡkx* M356b. Dag *mər^k’-* E203. EYu---. MgrH *muḡgə-* J102b, *muḡgi-* L344. MgrM *məḡkə-* C383, *mər^kə-* DS257b (ḡ ‘phonologised’ as /r/), *morki-*

JL475. BaoD *mušigə*- BL89a. BaoGt *mušgə*- C121. BaoÑ *məsal*- CN117, *məχsal*- CN117. Kgj *mesxe*- ~ *mesge*- ~ *mešxe*- S292a. Dgx *mušigə*- B111. Mog---.

***mürgü**- ‘to bow, etc’ see ***mörgü**-.

- N -

***naa**- ‘this side’ see ***ina**-

***naad**- ‘to play’. A connective vowel has been added in most of the Shirongol forms. The development **d > t* in Bao and Mog forms is inexplicable (cf. **ebed*-, **deled*-).

MMo SH---, HY *na’ad-um* M77, Muq *na:t*- P247a. WM *nayad*-, *nayadu*- L556b. Kh *naadax* H341a. Bur *naadaxa* C315b. Brg *na:d*- U55. Kalm *naadx* M365a. Dag *na:d*- E51. EYu *na:d*- B22, J97a. MgrH *na:də*- J97a. MgrM *nadu*- T347, *na:du*- C371. BaoD *nata*- BL85b. BaoÑ *na:d*- CN23, *na:tə*- CN22, *na:r*- CN23. BaoX *na:tə*- BC62. Kgj *nade*- ~ *na:di*- S281b. Dgx *nadu*- B27. Mog *nətu*- (i.e. *nət*-) W174a ‘to dance’.

***nabčīn** ‘leaf, foliage’. In spite of the different variants and their somewhat erratic distribution, all of these forms have a common origin. The form **nabčīn*, with **n*- and **b*- as attested in the old sources, survives in Kh and one of the Bur forms. Kalm and the other Bur form go back to **namčī*. Initial **n*- has been replaced by *l*- in the QG languages, in Dagur, as well as in some Inner Mongolian dialects not listed here. All QG languages and Dag do stem from a form with **b*- not **m*-. The Bur forms in *-ha(n)* and Brg *naβšv* go back to **nabčī-sun* ~ **namčī-sun* with the (?collective) suffix **-sUn*. The aberrant *-g* and *l*- in the EYu forms are inexplicable. For the MgrM *-g*- cf. **tobčī* ‘button’.

Likely to be related (although this relationship is morphologically obscure): CM **nabaa* ~ **namaa* ‘foliage’ Kh *navč namaa* H348b ‘foliage’. Bur *nabša namaa* C317a ‘foliage’. Brg *nama*: U57 ‘thin end of a twig’. Dag *lawa*: E188 ‘twigs, bunch of leaves’, *larč lawa*: E188 ‘branches and leaves’. Ramstedt’s suggestion that Mog *no:m* R34b is also related to **nabčīn* could be correct.

MMo SH---, HY *nabčīn* M77, Muq *nabčīn* P244a. WM *nabči(n)* L555a. Kh *navč(in)* H343b. Bur *nabša* C317a, *namša* C321b, *nabšaha(n)* C317a, *namšaha(n)* C321b. Brg *naβš*, *naβšv*: U56. Kalm *namč* M368a. Dag *larč* E188. EYu *labčäg* B86, *labjög* J97a. MgrH *labžə* J97a, X110, *labšji* SM218, *lašji* SM222, *laršžə* X112. MgrM *lağci* JL461, *ləğci* DS233b. BaoD *labčün* BL85a. BaoÑ *labčan* CN100. Kgj *lašjə* ~ *lařčə* S290b. Dgx *laçəŋ* B96. Mog (see above).

***nagaču** ‘maternal uncle’. The Dag form with the long final vowel may have originated as a form of address (cf. *aka*: ‘brother’, *əukə*: ‘old man’, *kato*: ‘sister’), but may also be a reborrowing of the Manchu form *nakcu*. The form *nağai* found in MgrH has equivalents in central Mongolic, e.g. Ord *nağä*-, also *nağan awä*: M480a.

MMo SH *naqacu* H112, HY *naqaču* M77, Muq---. WM *nayaču* L556a. Kh *nagac* H344a ‘maternal relative’. Ord *nağači*, *nağača* M480a. Bur *nagasa* C317a ‘(maternal) relatives’. Brg [*nagc* U56]. Kalm *naγc-nr* (pl) M366a ‘maternal relatives’. Dag *naučə*: E52, *nauč* E83:157. EYu *nağaçə* B23, J97a. MgrH *nağa* J97a, *nağai* (?=) X25 (see above). Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***naïman** ‘eight’. Cf. **nayan* ‘eighty’ below, which suggests that this is a root **nai-* + a suffix **-mAn*. perhaps a nasalized variant of the **-bAn* (or **-rbAn*) found in **gurba* ‘three’, **dörben* ‘four’, **harban* ‘ten’.

MMo SH *naiman* H113, HY *naiman* M77, Muq *naiman* P244b. WM *na(y)ima(n)* L559a. Kh *naym(an)* H345b. Bur *nayma(n)* C318b. Brg *naim*, *naimaŋ* U55. Kalm *näamn* M371a. Dag *naim*, *naimən* E52. EYu *naiman* J97a, *nəiman* B24, *neiman* B25. MgrH *naiman* X24, *ni:man* X29. MgrM *naimaŋ* (obs.) DS4a, (Sanchuan) *naiman* P422. BaoD *nəimaŋ* BL84a. BaoŃ *nimaŋ* CN30. Kgj *neimo* S281b. Dgx *nəimaŋ* B27. Mog---.

***nair** ‘harmony; joyous gathering, feast’. See **naira-* below.

MMo SH---, HY *nayir* M77 ‘intention, sentiments’, Muq---. WM *nayir* L559b. Kh *nayr* H346. Bur *nayr* C319a. Kalm *när* M372b. Dag---. EYu *nair* BJ336. MgrH---. MgrM *nir*^y P418a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***naira-** ‘to mix, combine (intr), to be in harmony’.

MMo SH---, HY *naira-qui* M77 ‘justice, decency’, Muq---. WM *nayira-* L559b. Kh *nayrax* H346b. Bur *nayruulxa* (caus.) C319a ‘to compose, etc’. Kalm *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---.

***naita-** ‘to sneeze’. Many languages suggest a pseudo-causative form **naitaa-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *naitaya-*, *naita-* L561a. Kh *naytaax* H347a. Bur *naytaax* C319b. Brg *naita:-* U56. Kalm *näätxx* (sic) M372a. Dag *nait-* E52. EYu *naita:-* B22, *naita-* J97a. MgrH *naita:-* X24, *nai:ta-* J97a. MgrM *naita-* DS251a. BaoD *nəitə-* BL84b. BaoŃ *ni:ta-* CN29. Kgj---. Dgx *naita-* B24. Mog---.

***naĵagai** ‘lazy’ see ***nasigai**

***naĵir** ‘summer’. Note the peculiar distribution of this rare word in Bur, Dag, and MgrM. LC (3:384b) list it as an obsolete word in Khalkha. Cf. the more common CM **jun* ‘summer’.

MMo SH---, HY---, ZY **naĵir* Kara311, Muq---. WM---. Kh---. Bur *nažar* (western and lit.) C317a ‘summer’. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *naĵir* E54 ‘summer’. EYu--. MgrH---. MgrM (Sanchuan) *naĵir* P416a, *nažər* DS254. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***namukan** > ***nomukan** ‘gentle, quiet; calm, tame; honest’. Some metathesis forms in QG. Related to WM *nam* L562b ‘low, calm’ and its many derivatives.

MMo SH---, HY *nomuqan* M79, Muq *nomuqan* P259a, *nomuyan* P259a, *namayan* P245a, *namuyan* P245b. WM *nomoqan* L591a. Kh *nomxon* H362b. Ord *nomoxon* M496b. Bur *nomgon* C330a, *nomxon* C330b. Brg *nomxəŋ* U61, *nomxəxəŋ*

U60. Kalm *nomyn* M381a, *namxn* M368a. Dag *nɔmu:n*, *nɔmu:kun* E62. EYu *nɔmɔǰɔn* B26, BJ337, *nəǰomon* S204. MgrH *nɔǰmu* L400. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***namur** ‘autumn, fall’.

MMo SH *namur* H113, HY *namur* M77, Muq *namur* P245a. WM *namur* L564a. Kh *namar* H349a. Ord *namur* M483a. Bur *namar* C320b. Brg *namar* U57. Kalm *namr* M367b. Dag *namər* E53. EYu *na:mər* B22, J97a. MgrH *namur* L352, *nam(b)ur* C86:570. MgrM *namir* P417b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***naran** ‘sun’.

MMo SH *naran* H113, HY *naran* M77, Muq *naran* P245b; WM *nara(n)* L565a. Kh *nar(an)* H351a. Bur *nara(n)* C322a. Brg *nar* U57. Kalm *narn* M368b. Dag *nar* E54. EYu *naran* B24, J96b (mistranslated). MgrH *nara* J97a. MgrM *nara* T348, JL462. BaoD *naraŋ* BL85b. BaoGt *närɔŋ* C112. BaoÑ *naraŋ* CN26. Kgj *narɔ* S281b. Dgx *naraŋ* B27. Mog *narān*, *nārān* W173a, *narɔn* W173b, *nɔrɔn* W174a.

***narin** ‘thin, fine (not coarse)’. The developments of *i in Baoanic are due to the -ŋ. Cf. the dim. forms with long vowel: Bur *nari(i)xan*, Dag *nari:kən*. Brg *n^y* 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 *n^yaraŋ* U83. Kalm *närn* M372b. Dag *narin* E55, *nari:n* E83:158a, *nar^y* (in some combinations) E56. EYu *narən* B24, J97b. MgrH *narən* J97b. BaoD *naruy* BL85b. BaoGt *nari* C112. BaoÑ *na:raŋ* CN23. Kgj *narɔ* S281b. Dgx *naruy* B27. Mog *no:rin* R34b, *nɔrin* W174a.

***nasigai** ‘slow, lazy’. With a variety of phonetical shapes which nevertheless appear related. The form **nasigai* is reflected by MMo, but Kh and Bur go back to **naǰagai* (? < **naǰigai*). Kalm suggests **nasün* with a different ending. Yet another ending is present in EYu *naja:n*, which is reminiscent of Northeastern Turkic **yašaŋ* and **yašik* ‘lazy’ (e.g. Khakas *čazaŋ*), of unclear origin and structure. Cf. the synonyms **jalkai* and **kašaŋ*.

MMo LV *našqai* P71, LI *našqa* L56, RH *našqai* 204B27 ‘slow, lazy (horse)’. WM *naǰayai* L567a, precl. *našiyai* T478, *načiyai* T475. Kh *nazgay* H344b, cf. also *naazgay*, *naadgay* H341a. Ord---. Bur *nazgay* C317b. Kalm *nošu:(n)* R279b. Dag---. EYu *naja:n* B24 ‘slow moving’. Remaining lgs---.

***nasun** ‘(year of) age’. The loss of -n in Bao is unusual. Ramstedt (I:75,110) compares this word (according to him < **nalsun*) to CT **ya:š* ‘id’. This correspondence will remain problematic until a form with -l- is actually attested in a Mongolic language. Cf. **hon* ‘(the duration of a) year’, **jil* ‘(calendar) year’.

MMo SH *nasu-tu* H114 ‘... years old’, HY---, Muq *nasun* P246b. WM *nasu(n)* L566b. Kh *nas(an)* H353a. Bur *naha(n)* C324b. Brg *naxa:* U56. Kalm *nasn* M369b. Dag *nas* E53. EYu *nasən* B23, J97a. MgrH *nasə* J97a. BaoD *nasə* BL85b. BaoÑ *nasə* (sic) CN26. Kgj *nasun* S281b. Dgx *nasuy* B26. Mog---.

***nau-** (?*no-) ‘to aim, to hit (a target)’. In Monguoric also ‘to see’. The form with the diphthong is suggested by Shirongol, and compatible with the long vowel of EYu and Dag. The central forms with initial vowel are puzzling and may have a different origin. Cf. also MMo SH *ono-* H125 ‘to count’, HY *ono-* M81 ‘to think over’, Muq *ona-* P266a ‘to understand, etc’.

MMo (see above), Ph *no'oqra-* (for *no'oqda-*) P127b ‘to come under (the influence of)’. WM *ono-* L615b, *no-* L587a. Kh *onox* H394b, *nox* H364a. Ord *ono-* M512b, also *onog-* (?=) M513a, *anuğ-* (?=) M24b ‘to take aim’. Bur *onoxo* C357b. Brg *ɔgɔn-* (?=) U32, *ɔnɔxɔ* S529. Kalm *onǒχ^p* R286b. Dag *nɔ:-* E61. EYu *nu:-* B27, J95a. MgrH *nau:-* J95a, *nau-* X24. MgrM *nau-* JL470. BaoD *noyǝ-* (caus?), *nu-* BL83a. BaoGt *nī-* C107. Kgj *nu-* ~ *nu-* S282a. Dgx *nau-* B25, *noya-* (caus.) L111a. Mog---.

***nauka** ‘rheum, mucus discharged by the eye’. The Dag form is unexpected since **n-* > *l-* is usually triggered by a following nasal. The *n^y*- in Brg suggests a form **niuka*. Kh and Kalm *nuux* could have derived from either **nauka* or **niuka*. It seems impossible to connect the synonymous Bur *nyaagaha(n)* C346b; this could be a derivation from **niā-* ‘to be sticky’ below.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *luuqa* L518a. Kh *luux* H292b ‘rheum discharged by the eyes’, *nuux* H372a ‘pus from the eyes’. Ord *nu:χa* M500b, *lu:χa* (rare) M447b. Bur---. Brg *n^yo:x* U63. Kalm *nuux* M387b, *lox* M336b. Dag *lauy^w* E185, hence (**lauw* >) *lau* Z26. EYu---. MgrH *nau:xa* J102a. MgrM *nauxa* JL476. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***naur** ‘lake, pond’. Some of the modern languages seem to go back to a form **no:r* (cf. **haur*, **auški*). The diphthong has been retained in Dag only. The final vowel heard in MgrH by Junast must be a secondary development, perhaps due to an assumed relation with MgrH *norǝ-* ‘to be wet’, for which see **nor-* listed below.

MMo SH *na'ur* H114, HY *na'ur* M77, Muq---. WM *nayur*, *nuur*. Kh *nuur* H371b. Bur *nuur* C333b. Brg *nɔ:r* U61. Kalm *nur* M386a ‘lake’. Dag *naur* E52. EYu *nu:r* B27, J97a. MgrH *no:r* X33, *nɔ:r* SM290, *norǝ* J97a. MgrM *nor* Z311:39. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *no* B31, *nǝr* MC296b. Mog---.

***nayan** ‘eighty’. In Bao and Kgj replaced by a new formation **naiiman harban* ‘eight tens’, e.g. BaoD *naimaray* BL85a. Cf. **naiiman* ‘eight’, which suggests that **nayan* is from a root **nai-* + a decad suffix *-An*, cf. **jiran* ‘sixty’, **dalan* ‘seventy’, **yeren* ‘ninety’.

MMo SH *nayan* H114, *naiyan* H113, HY *nayan* M77, Muq *nayan* P246b. WM *naya(n)* L561a. Kh *naya(n)* H354a. Bur *naya(n)* C325b. Brg *nay*, *nayan* U57. Kalm *nayn* M366b. Dag *nay* E54. EYu *nayan* B24, J97b, *neyan* B25. MgrH *nayan* J97a. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nee-** ‘to open’. The SH forms with *-g-* and *-k-* may be mistranscriptions from the spelling in Uigur script.

MMo SH *ne'e-*, *nege-*, *neke-* H114, HY *ni'e-* M78, *ne'e'ülge-* (caus.) M77, Muq *ne'e-* P247b, *ne:-* P175b. WM *nege-* L568b. Kh *neex* H382a. Bur *neexe* C342a.

Brg *nə*:- U58. Kalm *neex* M374a. Dag *nə*:- E56. EYu *ni*:- B26, J97b. MgrH *ne*:- J97b. BaoD *nəi*- BL85b, *ne*- BL71. BaoÑ *ne*:- CN28. BaoX *ñe*- CN86:239. Kgj *ne*- S281b. Dgx *nie*- B29. Mog---.

***negji-** see ***neŋji-**.

***neile-** ‘to gather, unite, join; to mix’. The *l*- in Baoanic is due to assimilation. The *ü*: in EYu is abnormal. Derived from **nei* ‘agreement, etc’, attested in the central languages.

MMo SH *neyile*- H116, HY---, Muq *neile*- P247b. WM *neyile*- L570b. Kh *niylex* H357a. Bur *niilexe* C327a. Kalm *niilx* M377b. Dag---. EYu *nü:le*- (?=) B28 ‘to mix, blend’. MgrH *ne:lə*- X27. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoJ *lel*- L106. BaoÑ *le:lə*- CN102 ‘to mix, blend, etc’. Kgj *lele*- S290b. Dgx *lailie*- B95 ‘to mix, mingle (intr)’. Mog---.

***neke-** ‘to weave’. The irregular Dgx form with *-o-* is reminiscent of **nöke-* ‘to patch’, q.v. But for ‘to patch’ **hüde-* is used in Dgx.

MMo SH *neke*- H114, HY---, Muq *neke*- P248a. WM *neke*- L572a. Kh *nexex* H381b. Bur *nexexe* C341b. Brg *nəx*- U58. Kalm *nekx* M374b. Dag *nə:γ*- Z95b, *nəγə*- NK483b. EYu *neke*- B25, J97b. MgrH *nəkə*- J97b. MgrM (Sanchuan) *nike*- P420b. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *nokie*- B31. Mog *nekə*- W173b.

***nekei** ‘(garment made of) sheepskin’.

MMo SH *nekei* H114, *nekei de’el* H114, HY *nekei de’el* M78 ‘fur-lined jacket’, Muq *nekei de:l* P248a. WM *nekei* L572b. Kh *nexiy* H381a. Bur *nexi*, *nexey* C341a. Kalm *nekä* M374a ‘untanned sheepskin’. Dag---. EYu *nəkə*: B24. MgrH *nəki*: X31. MgrM *nekei* T350, *nəkai* JL462 ‘fur coat’. Bao---. Kgj *neke* S281b. Dgx *nəki* B28 ‘fur-lined jacket’. Mog W---.

***nekelei** ‘illegitimate child’.

MMo SH---, HY *nekelei* (name) M78, Muq---. WM *nekelei* L572b. Kh *negliy* H378a, *nexliy* H381a. Bur---. Kalm *neklä* (obs) M374b. Dag *nəγəl* E58. EYu---. MgrH *nikili*: SM276, *nəkəli*: L387. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***neken** ‘one’ see ***niken**.

***nembe-** ~ ***nemle-** ‘to cover (with a blanket, etc)’. In spite of the large number of forms there seem to be some recognizable patterns. The form **nembe-* can be found in MMo, Dag, and the Shironjol languages, whereas **nemle-* is represented in the central languages and EYu.

MMo SH *nembe’e* H114 ‘cover’, HY *nembe-* M78, Muq---. WM *nemne*- L574b. Kh *nemnex* H378b. Bur *nemnexe* C338a. Kalm *nemnəχə* R275a. Dag *nəmb*- E58 ‘to cover (with a blanket &c)’. EYu *nelme*- B25, *nemle*- S515, *nembele*- J59 all ‘to drape over one’s shoulders’. MgrH *nemba*- X29, *nimba*- X31. MgrM *lianbie*- DS259. BaoD---. BaoÑ *menbə*- CN113, *nenbə*- CN28. Kgj *nambe*- S281b. Dgx *nienbə*- B30. Mog W---.

***nembee** ~ ***nemlee**, ***nembesün** ~ ***nemlesün**, etc ‘cover; blanket’. One of the spellings in Muq could represent *nemle*: (from **nemlee*). From **nembe-* ‘to cover’ above.

MMo SH *nembe’e* H114 ‘cover’, *nembule* H114 ‘hut’, Muq *nemele* [spelled *nmylh*] P238b, [spelled *nymhlh*] 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---.

***neŋji-** ~ ***negji-** ‘to search’. The form **neŋji-* is found in MMo and the Shirongol languages, **negji-* occurs in the central languages and EYu. The distribution of the **g* and **ŋ* variants differs from that of **gagča* ~ **gaŋča* ‘alone’. Dag *nərd-* E59 ‘to search’ may in some way be related (if from a form like **negdü-*). Perhaps also to be compared to MMo SH *nende-* H115 ‘unversehens fangen, etc’.

MMo SH *nengji-* H115, HY *nengji-* M78, Muq---. WM *nengji-* L575a. Kh *negjix* H337b. Ord *neŋji-* M491a, *negji-* M488b. Bur *negžexe* C336b. Brg *nəgj-* U59. Kalm *negj-dlx* M373a. Dag--- (see above). EYu *negjə-* B25. MgrH *nenži-* L372 ‘to collect, look for, hunt for’, *nemži-* (sic) S503. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *nenži-* CN28. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *nanži-* S503. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nere** ‘name’. Kalm added an *-n*.

MMo SH *nere* H115, HY *nere* M78, Muq *nere* P248a. WM *nere* L575b. Kh *ner* H379b. Bur *nere* C339b. Brg *nər* U59. Kalm *nern* M376a. Dag *nər* E58. EYu *nere* B25, J97b. MgrH *nəre* J97b. MgrM *nierə* DS238a. BaoD *narə* BL85b. BaoÑ *nerə* CN29. Kgj *nere* S281b. Dgx *nierə* L113a. Mog *nerə* W173b.

***nere-** ‘to press down, to fit into, to put sth on sth’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *nere-* L576a. Kh *nerex* H381a ‘to refine, distill; to fill a pipe’. Bur *nerexe* C341b. Kalm *nerx* M376b. Dag *nər-* E59 ‘to wear, carry; to install’. EYu *nəre-* (?only) S669. MgrH *nərz-* X33 ‘to distill; to find a place for; to install’. MgrM---. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *nalər-* (sic) S669. Kgj *nira-* ~ *nire-* S282a. Dgx *naira-* (?=) MC279b. Mog *nirə-* R34b.

***neü-** ‘to move, nomadize’. For MgrH cf. **yeü-*.

MMo SH *ne’u-* H116, *nou’u-* H119, HY *ne’ü-* M78, Muq *nü:-* P262b, *nü’ülge-* (caus.) P262b. WM *negü-* L569a. Kh *nüüx* H375a. Bur *nüüxe* C335b. Brg *nu:-* U61. Kalm *nüüx* M390b. Dag *nəu-* E56. EYu *nü:-* B28, J97b. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *nöu-* R35a, *nəu-* W174a.

***neüresün** ‘charcoal’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq nü:resün P262b, RH nü:resün 202B1. WM negüresü(n) L569b. Kh nüürs(en) H374b. Ord nü:res(u) M504a. Bur nüürhe(n) C334b. Bur nu:ru: U61. Kalm nüürsn M390a. Dag---. EYu---.Mgr---. BaoGt nər̥sī C106. BaoJ nər̥s̥ L129. Kgj nursun S282b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nīa-** ‘to be sticky; to stick, paste, glue’. The element **i* was preserved in all corners of Mongolic: Bur, Dag, Dgx, Mog (also Khamnigan *nie-* J30). It was lost (assimilated) in Kh-Kalm and EYu. Both Monguoric and Baoanic have forms with *-ia-* and assimilated forms.

MMo SH *nī'a-* H116, HY---, Muq *nī'a-* P249b, *niya-* P258b, (reciprocal) *na'a-ldu-* (reciprocal) P244a. WM *naya-* L556a, *niya-* L578b. Kh *naax* H342a. Bur *nyaaxa* C347a. Brg *n'a:-* U62. Kalm *naax* M365b. Dag *n'a:-* NK489. EYu *na:-* B22. MgrH *nia:-* SM269, *na:-* X23. MgrM *nia-* JL465. BaoD---. BaoÑ *na:-* CN22 ‘to infect, be contagious’. Kgj *niğa-* ~ *niğa-* (caus.?) S282a. Dgx *nia-* B28. Mog *nio:-ldu-* (reciprocal) R34b.

***nīdanī hon** ‘last year’. Several MMo and modern forms suggest a form **nīdoni*, but the *o* in the second syllable may also stem from **hon*. All of Shirongol supports the form with *-a-*. The EYu, Mgr, and Dgx forms appear to go back a form with initial vowel. The Baoan forms may also stem from a form with initial vowel, because *n-* can develop secondarily there (as in BaoD *nda-* ‘to eat’ < **ide-*). Perhaps all QG forms go back to a form **udani hon*. Interestingly Ordos also features a form without *n-*. The *-r-* and *-dʷ-* in the MgrM form are unclear, and it is somewhat reminiscent of **urji hon* ‘the year before last’, q.v. The origin of the similar-looking Kgj *ninda* S27 ‘next year’ is unclear.

MMo SH *nīdoni* H116, HY *nīdoni (hon)* [ed. reads *nīdōni*] M78, Muq---, RH *nīdanī hon* 201A4. WM *nīdonon* L578a. Kh *nodnin*, *nodlin* H360b. Chakhar *nīdnāy* D189a. Ord *idonon* M379a, *nīdonon* M492a. Bur *nyodondo(n)*, dial. *nyodonon* C326a. Brg *nōdnny* U61 (?←Kh). Kalm *nīdn* M377a. Dag *nīda:nʷ* E60. EYu *ōdōnōn* B13, *odonon* J97b. MgrH *šdanoy* J97b. MgrM *ordʷani xoy* (?=) C388, *wudani xuy* DS261b. BaoD *ndanā hoy* BL85b. BaoÑ *nda:noy* CN34. Kgj *udanun* ~ *danun* S280b. Dgx *udani xoy* B22. Mog *nīdōni*, *nīdō* W173b.

***nīdurga** ‘fist’. The form with **i* only left traces in the Northeast; breaking had already taken place in MMo. Related to CT **yīdruk* ‘id’.

MMo SH *nodurqa*, HY *nudurqa* M80, Muq *nudurqa* P261a. WM *nīdurya* L578a. Kh *nudraga(n)* H368b. Bur *nyudarga* C342a. Brg *nʷodrag* U64. Kalm *nudrm* M385b, cf. *nudryā* R280b ‘clenched fist’. Dag *nʷodruyʷ* E64. EYu *nudurğa* B27, J97b. MgrH *nurdağa* J97b, *nudurğa* X36, *ndağa* L364, *andağa* L17. BaoD *nudəraχ* BL85a, *nodəroğ* BL60. BaoÑ *nədgə* CN28. Kgj *nuduğa* ~ *nuduğa* S282a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nīgursun** ‘spinal marrow’ see ***nugursun**.

***nīku-** ‘to rub, press, knead’. The Dag form without a trace of **i* is unexpected.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *nuqu-* P316b. WM *niqu-* L586b, *nuqu-* L597a.

Kh *nuxax* H372a. Ord *nuxu-* M500b. Bur *nyuxax* C346a. Brg *n^yox-* U63. Kalm *nuxx* M388a. Dag *nɔɣ^w-* E62. EYu---. MgrH *nuḡo-* X35. MgrM *nuḡu-* DS232b. BaoD *nuɣə-* BL85a. BaoÑ *nəḡə-* CN32. Kgj *nuḡe-* S282b. Dgx *nuqu-* MC300a ‘to hit with force’. Mog *nuqu-* R35a ‘to crush’.

***nīlbusun** ‘tears’. Note the great variety of forms within Dgx. Also in the other peripheral languages this word has developed many surprising forms. Some seem to stem from an earlier development **nīmbusun*, others from **nīmusun* < **nīlbusun*. In the central languages, Kh and Kalm seem to indicate an earlier **nūlīmusun*. The development **u > o* in Bur occurs occasionally in the vicinity of labial consonants. Cf. also the (less widespread) verb **nīlbu-* ‘to spit’: Dag *ñɔmb-* E65. MgrH *numpə-* X36. MgrM *linbi-* DS251b. BaoD *numəl-* BL85b. Dgx *nuḡu-* B32.

MMo SH *nilbusu(n)* H117 ‘tears’, HY *nilbusun* M79 ‘salive; larme’, Muq *nilbusun* P253b. WM *nilbusu(n)*, *nīlbusu(n)* L583a. Kh *nulims(an)*, *nulmas* H369a ‘tear; mucus; spittle’, *nyalmas* (sic) H383a. Ord *nulmusu* M501a. Bur *nyolboho(n)* C326a ‘tears; saliva’. Brg *n^yolbu-* U63 ‘tear’. Kalm *nul’msn* M387b ‘tears; saliva’. Dag *ñɔmbus* E65 ‘tear; saliva’. EYu *nulusun* B27 ‘tears’, *nuləsən* J97b ‘tears’. MgrH *nəmbuzə* J97b ‘tears’, *nəmpəsə* X33 ‘tears; saliva’. MgrM *nīnpuzi* JL477, *liṇpuzi* JL470. BaoD *namsuṇ* BL85a ‘tears’, *namusuṇ* BL90a ‘saliva’. BaoÑ *nimsəṇ* CN30 ‘tear; saliva’. Kgj *nursun* S282b. Dgx *nuḡusuṇ* B32, *niḡusuṇ* B30 ‘tear; saliva’, *nubusuṇ* L113b ‘tear’, *niubusuṇ* L118b ‘saliva’, *numbusun* T131 ‘saliva’, *nīyusun* L130 ‘tear’. Mog *nilbusun* R34b.

***nīlka** ‘the youngest (child of a family), baby’. The Monguoric forms may be the result of confusion between **nīlka* and **nīrai*. The *m-* in EYu may be due to influence of EYu *mula* ~ *məla* ‘child’. Possibly in some way related to CT **ya:š* ‘young’, but CM **jalau* ‘young’ is a more likely cognate of this CT word.

MMo SH *nilqa* H117, HY---, Muq *nilqa* P253b. WM *nilqa* L584b. Kh *nyalx* H383a. Ord *niłxa* M493a. Bur *nyalxa* C347b, *niłxa* C328a. Kalm *niłx* M378a. Dag *ñalk* E64. EYu *mulqa* [məla] B96, *mulḡa* [mula] J58. MgrH *nargai* X27 ‘young and tender’. MgrM *n^yargai* C371 ‘tender, delicate’, MgrM *niergai* DS255a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nīrai** ‘newly-born’. Contrary to expectation, Bur lost the palatalisation in the first syllable. For MgrH *nargai*, MgrM *niergai* see **nīlka* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *nirai* L585a. Kh *nyaray* H384a. Bur *naray* C322a ‘child; newly-born (dom. animals)’. Brg *n^yarai* U62 ‘baby’. Kalm *nira:*, *nire:* R277a. Dag *ñer^ye:* E65. MgrH (see above).

***nīruun** ‘back’. The Bur and Kalm forms with *-g-* suggest a variant **nīrugun*, unless these forms are simply due to WM influence (cf. **eriün* ‘chin’, **kuruun* ‘finger’ for similar cases). Note the shortening of the contraction length in Mgr. For MMo HY *nirisun* see **nīgursun*.

MMo SH *niru’u(n)* H117 ‘back, backbone’, *niri’u(n)* H117 ‘id, mountain ridge’, HY (*ger-ün*) *niri’un* M56 ‘roof beam’, Muq *niru:n* P257a, RH *niryun* 199A7. WM *niruyu(n)* L585a. Kh *nuruu(n)* H370b. Ord *nuruu* M502a. Bur *nyurga(n)* C343b, cf. also *nyuruu* C344a ‘surface; crest’. Brg *n^yorv-* U64 ‘back; purlin’. Kalm

nuryn M386b. Dag *nirɔː* E61, *ñirɔː* E65 ‘back; purlin’. EYu *nuruːn* B27, J97b. MgrH *nurə* J97a ‘back, waist’. MgrM *nuru* C376. Bao---. BaoÑ *nəreŋ* CN86:35 ‘slope’. Kgj *nuru* S282a. Dgx *nuruŋ* B33. Mog---.

***nīs-/nis-** ‘to fly’. This word occurs in a number of strange variants, which are nevertheless all related. In most of the QG forms and in Mog the connective vowel has become part of the stem. The form **nīs-* is found in MMo, Kh-Kalm, Mog, and MgrH, although the back vowel is only hinted at by the caus. form in Muq and the enigmatic first syllable in EYu. In the central languages it changed harmonic class > **nis-*. In Bur the vowel was lengthened which is a rare phenomenon; in fact Khamnigan *neid-* suggests an early alternant **neid-*, which may also underlie the Bur form. In EYu one finds an inexplicable disyllabic form, as if from **hunīs-* or the like. The forms in Mangghuer and Baoanic suggest the existence of an early regional form **mis-*.

MMo SH *nis-(gu)* H117, HY *nis-* M79; Muq *nis-* P257b, caus. *nisqa-*. WM *nis-* L585b (and *nes-*?). Kh *nisex* H359a. Ord *nis-* ~ *nés-* M494b. Bur *niidex* C326b. Brg *nid-* U58. Kalm *nis-* M379b, *nis-* R277. Dag---. EYu *hənəs-* B57, *hunəs-* J97a. MgrH *nesə-* H29, J97a. MgrM *mese-* (?to be read *məsə-*) T350, *musi-* DS224a. BaoD *musi-* BL85b, *məs-* BL12. BaoÑ *məŋ-* CN114, *mər-* CN86-76. Kgj *məsi-* S292a. Dgx *misī-* B108, *musi-* B111, L113a. Mog *nisa-*, *nisi-* R34b.

***nīsun** ‘snot, nasal mucus’. Perhaps related to **nii-* ‘to blow one’s nose’ (listed below), if this stems from earlier **nii-*. Cf. also **nisukai* ‘runny-nosed (person)’, which developed differently in Bur *nyoxay* C326a (cf. Kh *nusgay/nusxay* H371a, Ord *nusu(ŋ)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 *nʷuxv*: U63. Kalm *nusn* M386b. Dag *ñɔs* E65. MgrH *nuːsoŋ* SM291. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nīu-** ‘to hide’. The *-k-* in Mog is puzzling. The assimilation of the **i* in Dag is unexpected.

MMo SH *ni’u-* H117, HY---, Muq *ni’u-* P257b, *nu:-* P262a, *niyu-* P258a, *nuyu-* P261b. WM *niyu-* L579a. Kh *nuux* H372a. Bur *nyuuxa* C346a. Brg *nʷo:-* U63, *nɔ:-* S517. Kalm *nuux* M387b. Dag *nɔ:-* E61. EYu *nu:-* B27, J97b. MgrH *niu:-* J97b. MgrM *niu-* T351. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *nu-* S517. BaoÑ *nu:-* CN34. Kgj---. Dgx *niu-* B30. Mog *niku-* W173b.

***nīun** ‘boy’. Only preserved in the central languages and Dag, unless the MgrM is really related (DS derive it from Ch *nán* ‘man, male’). The Kh and Bur forms with *-g-* are reading pronunciations of the WM form. Cf. **köbeün* ‘son’.

MMo SH *no’un* H119, HY *nu’un* M81, Muq---. WM *niyun* L580a, *nuyun* L595a. Kh *nugan* H368a, *nuguun* H368b. Bur *nugan* C333a (lit, obs). Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *nɔːn* E61, *ñɔːn* E65 ‘boy, man’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *noŋ koŋ* DS235b, *nun qun* (sic, ?=) P419b ‘man’ (for the second element cf. **küün* ‘person’). Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***niür** ‘face’. The Bur and Brg forms go back to **niür*, which is the original form if the WM spelling is historically correct. In Kh, Kalm, EYu, and apparently in Mog, this word goes back to a form **niür*. The harmonic class of the MMo forms can not be determined. The Mgr, Bao, and Dgx forms do not hold any clues as to their former harmonic class.

MMo SH *ni’ur* H117, HY *ni’ur* M79 ‘face’, Muq *ni’ur* P258a, *nu:r(tu)* P251a, RH *niyur* (sic) 198B21. WM *niyur* L580a. Kh *nüür(en)* H374a. Ord *nu:r* M504a, *niġu:r* (in songs, ←WM) M492b. Bur *nyuur* C345a. Brg *n^yo:r* U63. Kalm *nür* M389b. Dag [*n^yadām*]. EYu *nü:r* B28, J97b. MgrH *niu:r* J97b. MgrM *nur* JL470, *niur* T351. BaoD *nur* BL85a. BaoÑ *nər* CN29. Kgj *nur* ~ *nər* S282b. Dgx *nu* B32 ‘id’. Mog *nu:r* R35a, *nur* W174a.

***ničügün** ‘naked, bare’. The Monguoric forms apparently stems from the adverb **ničügüer*. The Dag and Kgj forms have altered the final part, without obvious morphological motivation. Some of the Dag forms are also surprising in that breaking of **i* by following **ü* is rare. The Dgx *m-* instead of **n-* is inexplicable.

MMo SH *nicugun*, *nicuhun* H116, HY---, Muq *ničügün* P221b, *nüčügen*, *nüčügün* P262a. WM *ničügün* L577b. Kh *nücgēn* H375b. Ord *nučugun* M504b. Bur *nyusegen* C344b. Brg *nusgəŋ* U62. Kalm *nückn* M391a. Dag *niškwə:* E60, *nuškui* Z95a, *n^yušik^ye:* NK489b, *nušik^ye:* S521. EYu---. MgrH *nəčigo:r* J97a, X33, *nigučo:r* L387. MgrM *nočigər* DS238a. BaoD *nəšigan* BL85a. BaoGt *nəšgəŋ* C103. BaoÑ *nišgəŋ* CN31. Kgj *nišiliu* ~ *nišliu* ~ *niušile* S282a. Dgx *mučuġuŋ* B111. Mog---.

***nidü-** ‘to pound, crush’. Surprisingly, Dag *nid-* seems to be more archaic than SH. A palatal element also survives in Bur. The meaning in BaoÑ may have become more general due to the influence of *nədgə* ‘fist’, for which see **nidurga*.

MMo *nodu-* H118, HY---, Muq---. WM *nidü-* L578a [Inner Mongolian spelling *nüdü-*]. Kh *nüdex* H373b. Bur *nyüdexe* [written *nyuden*] C343a. Brg *n^yudəx* S521. Kalm *nüdx* M389a. Dag *nid-* E60. EYu *nodu-* B26, *nudu-* J97b, *nudə-* J88. MgrH *nədə-* J97b. MgrM *nedu-* JL470. BaoD *nədə-* BL85a. BaoÑ *nədə-* CN28 ‘to hit, strike’. Kgj *nude-* ~ *nudu-* S282b. Dgx *nudu-* B32 ‘to crush (garlic); to build (a wall)’. Mog---.

***nidün** ‘eye’. May contain the (?collective) suffix **-dUn*, so that the PM root may have been **ni-*.

MMo SH *nidun* H116, HY *nidün* M78, Muq *nidün* P249b. WM *nidü(n)* L578a. Kh *nüd(en)* H372b. Bur *nyüden* [written *nyuden*] C342b. Brg *n^yud* U64. Kalm *nüdn* M388b. Dag *nid* E60. EYu *nudun* B27, *nudun* J97a, *nödön* (Qinglong) BJ350. MgrH *nudu* J97a. MgrM *nudu* C373, T353. BaoD *nəduŋ* BL85b. BaoÑ *nəduŋ* CN33. Kgj *nudu* S282b. Dgx *nuduŋ* B32, *nunđu*, *nunđuŋ* MC300a. Mog *nudun* R35a, *nudun* W174a.

***niü-** ‘to blow one’s nose’. Perhaps from **niü-*, if related to **nisun* ‘snot’ above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *nigi-* L582b. Kh *niyx* H358a. Bur *niixe* C327b. Kalm *niix* M378a. Dag *ñi:-* E65. Remaining lgs---.

***nijiēl** ‘one each’. Also **nijiēd*, 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 **nejeje:d*, but it is more likely that an earlier *neje:d* was changed in analogy with *neye* < **niken* ‘one’. Mongghul may go back to **nijiēd*, as the *-r* is also found in Mongghul varieties that do not usually have the development *-r* < **-l*. Dgx *niezən* stems from **nijiēl*. Dgx *niežia* B30 ‘one each’ may contain an unknown second element from Chinese (if from **nijiēl* it should have had *-z-* rather than *-ž-*).

MMo SH *niji’el* H117 ‘handful’, HY *nijeget* (sic) M79, Muq *nije:t* [spelled *nyjt*] P197a. WM *nijeged* L587a. Kh *nij(g)eed* H355a, *nej(g)eed* H378a. Ord---. Bur *nežeed* C338a. Kalm *nejād* M374a, also *nejāyād* M374a. Dag *nijā:l* E61. EYU *nejeje:d* BJ90:204. MgrH *nəže:r* X33 ‘some, a number of; very few, one or two’, *ni:že:r* C88:571 ‘one or two’, also *nəžu:du* X33 ‘on some days; sometimes’ (**nijiēl üdür*). MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *nizān* B31 ‘some’, *niezən* MC293a ‘very few, one or two’, also *niezən udu* ~ *ni’zəudu* MC293a ‘(in) one or two days, in the next couple of days’ (**nijiēl 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 *-ngə*.

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 *niχə* probably stems from an extended (diminutive) form **nige-ken*, cf. Dgx *niegəŋ* B30 ‘only one’. The loss of the velar in Dgx *nie* is unusual, although loss of **k* can be seen in some suffixes.

MMo SH *nike(n)* H117, *nikan* H117, HY *niken* M79, Muq *niken* (or *nigen*?) P251a. WM *nige(n)* L580b. Kh *neg(en)* H376b. Bur *nege* C336b, *negen* C337b. Brg *nəg*, *nəgəŋ* U58. Kalm *negn* M373b. Dag *nək*, *nəkən* E57. EYU *neye* B25, *niye* J97b. MgrH *nəge* J97b. MgrM *nigi* JL479, *nigə* DS4. BaoD *nəgə* BL85a. BaoÑ *nəgə* CN27. Kgj *niye* S282a, *niχə* S282a. Dgx *nie* B29. Mog *nika*, *nikə*, *nikən* W173b.

***nimgen** ‘thin, flimsy, fine’.

MMo SH---, HY *nimgen* M79, Muq *nimgen* P257a. WM *nimgen*, *nimegen* L584b. Kh *nimgen* H358b, *ningen* H359a. Bur *nimgen* C328a. Brg *nimgəŋ* S508, *nimi:xəŋ* U59. Kalm *nimgn* M378b. Dag *nimgə:n* E59. EYU *neŋg^wen* B25, *neŋgön* S508, *nemgen* J97b. MgrH *nəŋgen* J97b, *nengen* X28, but also *meŋgən* X121. MgrM *meŋgen* JL475, *meŋgen* T42. BaoD *nimgəŋ* BL85b. BaoÑ *nimgəŋ* CN29. BaoX *nimgəŋ* BC65. Kgj *nimgə* S282a. Dgx *ninkien* B30. MogM *nimgö*: L64:43.

***noasun** ‘wool’ see ***nogasun**

***nogaan** ‘green’.

MMo SH *noqo'an* H118 ‘green, fresh grass’, HY *noqo'an* M79, Muq [*nob*] *noya:n* P259a. WM *noyoyan* L588b. Kh *nogoon* H360a. Ord *noḡo:n* M495a. Bur *nogoo(n)* C328b. Brg *nəḡɔ:n* U60. Kalm *noyan* M380a. Dag *nuwa*: E63 ‘vegetables’. EYu *nəḡɔ:n* B26, *noḡo:n* J97a. MgrH *noḡo:n* J97a. MgrM *noḡoʷaŋ* C372, *noḡoŋ* T352. BaoD *noḡoŋ* BL85a. BaoÑ *noḡuŋ* CN32. Kgj *nuḡun* S282a. Dgx *noḡoŋ* B31. Mog---.

***nogasun, *noasun, *uṅgasun** ‘wool’. These three forms have different distributions. Most languages only have one of the three, but there is some overlap. The different forms are problematic, but it is still likely that all of them are related. In this case it is impossible to attribute a number of variants to literary influence, since the unwritten peripheral languages are also ambiguous. The Baoanic form **nogasun* is hard to explain as these languages are not known to have undergone WM influence. EYu and Monguoric agree. The Kangjia form *nuṅḡusun* is puzzling; rather than stemming from **nuṅgasun*, it may be an independent development from the other Kangjia form *nuḡusun*, which is the normal development of Baoanic **nogasun*. Dagur and Moghol did not preserve any of the variants.

Agricultural term related to CT **yʉŋ* ‘id’. The original PM form may have been **nuṅa-* to which the (?collective) suffix *-sUn* was added. After that two variants may have developed. In one variant the *-ŋ-* was lost, resulting in a form **nuasun* which further developed > **noasun*. In the other variant *-ŋ-* was rendered as *-ŋg-*. The resulting form **nuṅgasun* then developed a dissimilated form **uṅgasun*. A form **uṅguasun* with ‘echo labial’ developed, perhaps independently, in EYugur, Monguor, and Ordos. For a similar set of variants $\emptyset \sim \eta g$ resulting from earlier PM **ŋ* see CM **möersün ~ *möṅgersün* ‘cartilage’.

(1) ***noasun** (< **nuasun* < **nuyasun*): WM *noyosu(n)* L589a. Kh *noos(on)* H363b ‘wool, etc’, *noors(on)* H363b ‘the down of birds’. Ord *no:s* M497a. Bur *nooho(n)* C331a. Brg *nəxɔ:* U60. Kalm *noosn* M381b.

(2) ***nogasun** (< **nugasun*): BaoD *noḡosuŋ* BL85b. BaoÑ *noḡsəŋ* CN33. BaoX *noḡsəŋ* BC61. Kgj *nuḡusun* S282a. Dgx *noḡosuŋ* B32.

(3) ***uṅgasun** and ***nuṅgasun**: MMo SH *uṅqasun* H164 ‘hair, wool’, *nungqasu* H120 ‘wool’, HY---, Muq *unqasu* P124b, (cf. Poppe’s reading *onqasu* P266b). WM *ungyasu(n)* L876b, *ungyusu(n)* L877a. Kh *ungas* H547a. Ord *uṅḡas(u)* M736b. EYu *ŋḡwa:sən* B29, *uṅguasən* J97a. MgrH *ŋḡua:sə* J97a. MgrM *ŋḡuasi* JL465. Kgj *nuṅḡusun* S282a.

***nogta** ‘halter’. The Dag form is probably a recent loanword from Ch *lóngtou*. Any relationship between the the Mongolic and the Chinese word is unclear.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *noḡta-* P259b. WM *noyto* L588a. Kh *nogt* H360b. Ord *noḡto* M495a. Bur *nogto* C329a. Brg *nəxt* U60. Kalm *nogt* M380a. Dag *lont* E190. EYu *nəḡtɔ* B26, *noḡdo* J97a. MgrH *noḡdo*: SM281, J97a, *noḡsdo*: SM281. MgrM *nə(ḡ)tɔ* C372. BaoD *loḡtɔ* BL85b. BaoGt *loḡdo* C119. BaoÑ *loḡta* CN105. Kgj *luḡdu* S291a. Dgx *loto* B99. Mog---.

***noir** ‘sleep’, with the additional meaning ‘pancreas’ in Kh, Bur, Brg, Kalm, Dag, EYu. All QG forms seem to derive from a form **no:r*, which is an unexpected

development (cf. **hoi*, **koina*, **noitan* for other reflexes of **oi*). Perhaps the obscure MMo verb in HY *norus*- M80 ‘to take a nap’ is somehow related.

MMo SH *noyir* H120, HY---, Muq *noyur* P260a, *noyir* P382b, *noir*- P320b. WM *noyir* L589a. Kh *noyr* H361a. Bur *noyr* C329b. Brg *nɔir* U60. Kalm *nör* M384b. Dag *nɔir* E61. EYu *nu:r* B27, J97a. MgrH *no:r* J97a. MgrM *nor* T352. BaoD *nor* BL85a. BaoÑ *nør* CN34. Kgj *nur* S282b. Dgx *no* B31. Mog *noir* W173b.

***noitan** ‘wet’. Perhaps related to **nor*- ‘to become wet’, which (morphologically unclear) relationship could have a parallel in **kör*- and **köiten*, q.v.

MMo SH *noyitan* H120, HY---, Muq *noitan* P259a. WM *noyitan* L589b. Kh *noyt*, *noyton* H361b. Bur *noyto(n)* C330a. Brg *nɔitɔŋ* U60. Kalm *nöötñ* M384a. Dag *nɔitun* E61. EYu *nɔitɔn* B26. MgrH *ne:ten* J97a. MgrM *niuten* JL469. BaoD *nəitaŋ* BL85a. BaoGt *nitɔŋ* ~ *netɔŋ* C107. BaoÑ *ni:taŋ* CN29. Kgj *neitɔ* ~ *nito* S281b. Dgx *naicien* B25. Mog---.

***nokai** ‘dog’. If this word contains the (?diminutive) suffix **-kAi*, the PM root may be **no*-.

MMo HY *noqai* H118, HY *noqai* M79, Muq *noqai* P259a. WM *noqai* L592a. Kh *noxoy* H364a. Bur *noxoy* C331b. Brg *nɔxɔi* U60. Kalm *noxa* M382a. Dag *nɔɣ^w* E62. EYu *nɔyqɔi* B26, *noɣɔi* J97a. MgrH *noxuai* J97a. MgrM *noqɔai* C372, *noɣoi* T352. BaoD *noɣoi* BL85a. BaoÑ *noɣɔi*, *nɔxɔi* CN32. Kgj *nuɣuai* S282a. Dgx *noɣɔi* B31. Mog *noqei* R34b, *nɔqai* W174a, MogM *noqqei* L62:58.

***nom** ‘doctrine; religion; scripture, book’. The *l*- in Dag and EYu-Mgr is due to the dissimilation of the sequence of two nasals (cf. **mīnaa* and **menekei* for earlier cases). A foreign word, ultimately Greek.

MMo SH---, HY *nom* M79, Muq---. WM *nom* L590a. Kh *nom* H362a. Bur *nom* C330a. Brg *nɔm* U60 ‘book’. Kalm *nom* M380b. Dag *lɔm* E190. EYu *lɔm* B88, *lom* J97a. MgrH *lom* J97a. MgrM *luan* J89, *lan* C382.

***noman** ‘mole; vole; zokor’. Often used with **sokar* ‘blind’ (which is apparently the origin of the international name *zokor*). There is a wide variety of forms. Some forms, such as Dag *mɔ:mɔ:* and the **manan* form in Bur, EYu, and Dgx could be unrelated to **noman*. There are, however, no obvious alternative etymologies for these forms.

MMo SH---, HY *noman* M79, Muq---. WM *nomon* L591a. Kh *soxor nomin* H362b. Ord (*soxor*) *nomon* M496b, (*soxor*) *numuŋ*, (*soxor*) *numu:n* M501b. Bur *mana hoxor* C291b. Brg *xɔxɔr nɔm* U108. Kalm *soxr numn* M456b, (*soɣör*) *nomn* R279a, 329b. Dag *sɔyur mɔ:mɔ:* (?=) E222. EYu *manan sɔɣɔr* B89. MgrH *nəmo:n* X32, *ləmo:n* X113, *lumo:n* X115, *sɔɣuor lumo:n* SM227. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *manan* B102. Mog---.

***nomukan** ‘gentle’ see ***namukan**

***nor**- ‘to become wet, soaked’. Perhaps related to **noitan* ‘wet’ listed above. The Dag form with *-i*- is perhaps influenced by the adjective **noitan*. In Mgr and Dgx a connective vowel became part of the stem.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *nor-ma* [eds. read *norama*] 203C21 ‘moistened’. WM *nor-* L591b. Kh *norox* H363b. Bur *noroxo* C331b. Kalm *norx* M382a. Dag *nɔir-* (sic) E62. EYu---. MgrH *no:rə-* J97b. MgrM *nori-* T352. Bao---. Dgx *nuru-* B33, *noro-* T131, *noru-* S513. Mog---.

***noyan** ‘lord, chief’.

MMo SH *noyan* H119, HY *noyan* M80, Muq *noyan* P260a. WM *noyan* L589b. Kh *noyon* H360b. Bur *noyon* C329a. Brg *noyɔŋ* 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 *noğšži-* SM281. MgrM *noğči-* T352 ‘to pass the time’, *no:či-* C395. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nögee** (?*nökee) ‘other’. In view of its equivalents in Bao, Kgj *ŋgɔ* S33 ‘other; he’ probably stems from **irgen*, q.v. Also compare the functional development of **öer-* ‘self’.

MMo SH *noko'e* H118 ‘second, further, other’, HY *nökö'e* M80 ‘second’, Muq---. WM *nögöge* L592b. Kh *nögöö* H365b. Bur *nügöö* C334a. Brg *nugə:* U62. Kalm *nögä* M383a. Dag *nuwə:* E63. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *nugu-si* DS255b ‘they’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *nəgə* CN33 ‘that one, another one, other’. BaoX *nogə* BC68 ‘s/he’. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nöker** ‘friend; spouse’.

MMo SH *nokor* H119, HY *nökör* M80, Muq *nöker* P261a, *nökör* (P: *nökür*) P376b. WM *nökör* L593b. Kh *nöxör* H367a. Ord *nökör* M498a. Bur *nüxer* C335a. Brg *nuxər* U61. Kalm *nökr* M383b. Dag *nuyur* E63. EYu *nökör* B26, J97b. MgrH *nokor* J97b. MgrM *nukuar* C372. BaoD *nokor* BL85b. BaoÑ *nəkər*, *nəxgər* CN32. Kgj *nəxgə* S282b. Dgx *nokie* B31. Mog---.

***nöke-** ‘to patch’, **nöke-esün* ‘patch’. For Dgx see **neke-*. Cf. **hüde-* ‘to patch’, **kalaasun* ‘patch’.

MMo SH---, HY *nökö-* M80, Muq *nöke-* P217a. WM *nökö-* L592b. Kh *nöxöx* H367b. Ord *nökö-* M498a. Bur *nüxexe* C335b. Brg *nux-* U61. Kalm *nök^o-* M279b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *nəko:sə* ~ *nəko:zə* J7, *nukuo:zə* SM289. MgrM *nososi* JL470. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nugasun** ‘duck’. MMo SH, HY suggest **nogasun*. Muq could be read with *o*; Dagur could have developed from either **nogasun* or **nugasun*. Ord suggests **nugusun* or **nogusun*.

MMo SH *noqosu* H118, HY *noqosun* M79, Muq *nuyasun* P261b. WM *nuyusu(n)* L595b. Kh *nugas(an)* H368b. Ord *nuğus(u)* M500a. Bur *nugaha(n)* C333a. Brg *nəgɔ:* U60. Kalm *nuyšn* M385b. Dag *n^wayəs* E64. Remaining lgs---.

***nugura-** ‘to be bent, to be folded’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *nuyura-* L595a. Kh *nugarax* H368a. Ord *nugura-* M499b. Bur *nugarxa* C333a. Kalm *nuyrx* M385a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *nugora-* X35 ‘to become crooked’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *nuquru-* R35a.

***nugursun** ‘spinal marrow’. The **i* suggested by the WM spelling is not confirmed by any modern language, unless Brg *nʷoglov:r* U63 ‘id’ is a related word with different ending. The peculiar Muq form *muqursun* is also reminiscent of **möersün* ‘cartilage’ listed above. For MMo HY *nirisun* M79 ‘backbone’ see Mostaert’s remark. For the *-č-* in Dag *nəkč*, cf. **möersün* ‘cartilage’, **kairsun* ‘scale’. The metathesis in EYu perhaps occurred under the influence of *nuru:n* < **niruun* ‘back’ (listed below).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *muqursun* (sic, ?=) P241a. WM *niyursu(n)* L580b, *nuyursu(n)* L595b. Kh *nugars(an)* H368b. *nugas(an)* H368b, *nigurs* (sic) H354b. Ord *nugus(u)* M500a. Bur *nugarha(n)* C333a. Brg (see above). Kalm *nuyrsn* M385a. Dag *nəkč* E62. EYu *nurğusun* B27, *nurğusan* J97b. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***numun** ‘bow’. The *-l-* in the Mgr languages is due to nasal dissimilation. The *-ə-* in Dag and EYu is peculiar. The loss of *-n* in Kgj is unexpected. Bur *-o-* is caused by the *-m-*.

MMo SH *numu(n)* H120, HY *numun* HY80, Muq *numun* P261b. WM *numu(n)* L595b. Kh *num(an)* H369a. Bur *nomo* C330b. Brg *nəm* U60. Kalm *numn* M386a. Dag *nəm* E58. EYu *nəmən* B24, J97b, but cf. *nəməda-* BJ337 ‘to shoot an arrow’. MgrH *nəmu* J97b, *lumu* SM227. MgrM *lumu* JL471, *loɣmu* DS205a (s.v. arrow). Bao---. Kgj *nīmū* S282b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***nura-** ‘to collapse, crumble’. The Dag form suggests an ancestral form **nurga-*; MgrH seems to suggest an older **niura-*. Note the peculiar distribution. Cf. **embüre-*, **yeüre-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *nura-* L596a. Kh *nurax* H370a. Bur *nuraxa* C333a. Kalm *nurx* M386b. Dag *nəryʷ-* (sic, ?=) E62. EYu---. MgrH *nura-* J97b, *nu:ra-* X35, *niura-* X30. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *nura-* L113a. Mog---.

***nutug** (?) ‘camp; homeland, region’. Several languages suggest a different phonetic shape. Bur-Brg as well as Kmg suggest a form **nitug*, which in view of its regional character cannot be confirmed as the original form, even though a development of **nutug* from earlier **nitug* 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)uɣgasun* ‘wool’.

MMo SH *nuntuh* H120, *nutuh* H120, HY *nuntuq* M80 ‘camp’, Muq *nutuq* P261b ‘homeland’. WM *nutuy* L596b. Kh *nutag* H371a. Bur *nyutag* C344b. Brg *nʷotag* U63. Kalm *nutg* M387a. Dag *nətwg* (sic) T156. EYu *nutuḡ* B27 ‘site’, J97b ‘countryside’. MgrH *nontog* J97b ‘countryside’. MgrM *nomtik* P413a ‘courtyard’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *nuntuy* R35a ‘homeland’.

***nüken** ‘hole’. The QG languages mostly favour a CM **nöken*.

MMo SH *nukele*- H120 ‘to bore a hole’, HY---, Muq *nüken* P262a. WM *nüke(n)* L597b. Kh *nüx(en)* H375a. Ord *nüke* ~ *nükü* M503b. Bur *nüxe(n)* C335a. Brg *nux* U61. Kalm *nükn* M389a. Dag *nuy*^w E63 ‘hole, cave, pit’. EYu *nökön* B26, *nöken* BJ200, *nö^hgö* J97b. MgrH *noko* J97b. MgrM *nuko* JL470. BaoD *nokuṇ* BL85b. BaoÑ *nokuṇ* CN32 ‘cavern, hole’. Kgj *nuxgu* ~ *nuxguṇ* S282b. Dgx *nokieṇ* B31 ‘pit’. Mog---.

***nümjige** ‘fat, oil’.

MMo---, WM *nümjige* L597b. Kh *nümjig* ~ *nünjig* H373b (adjective). Ord---. Bur *nemžege(n)* (western) C338a, *nimžege(n)* (western) C328b, *ünžege(n)* C507a. Kalm---, Dag---, EYu *nönjgə* B26 ‘oil, fat (general term)’, *nunjig* S189 ‘grease stain’. Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

- O -

***oači-** ‘to take a sip, drink’. If the central Mongolic forms with *o:* are correct, **oači-* can not be related to **uu-* ‘to drink’. The Muq form *a’urči-* P108a ‘to take in the mouth’, if the same word as **oači-*, may be influenced by its Turkic counterpart **avurtla-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, WM *oyoči-* L602b, *ooči-* L625b. Kh *oočix* H396a. Ord *o:či-* M523b. Bur *oošoxo* C359a. Kalm *oočlx* (iterative) M400a. Dag---, EYu *u:čə-* B18 ‘take a sip’. MgrH *o:či-* SM299, *učə-* X20. MgrM---, BaoD---, BaoÑ *acal-* CN8 (caus.) ‘to water’. Kgj *uči-* S280b. Dgx *oči-* B15. Mog *oči-* W175a.

***oali** ‘adze’. The **h-* suggested by Muq and RH is contradicted by SH and Dgx. The *-q-* in SH is probably due to a mistranscription from the Uyghur script, unless it was supposed to indicate *-h-* rather than *-q-*, in which case it reflects a rare relic **-h-* (< PM **-p-*). MC mark the Dgx form as a borrowing from Chinese, without giving a source form.

MMo SH *uqali* H160, HY---, Muq *ho:li* P186b, RH *ho:li* [eds read *hu:li*] 204C10. WM *oyoli* L603a. Kh *ool’* (*oolin*) H396a. Bur *ooli* C358b. Kalm *ool’* M399b. Dag---, EYu---, Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx *uali* S522, *wali* MC414b. Mog---.

***obaa** ‘stone heap, shamanistic cairn’. The preserved *-b-* in Dag and Mgr is unexpected, as if the word was reborrowed from Chinese.

MMo SH---, HY *obo’o* M81, Muq---, WM *oboya(n)* L598b. Kh *ovoo* H386a, *obaya* L598a. Bur *oboo* C348b. Kalm *ova* M391b. Dag *ɔbo:* E37 ‘pile, heap; oboo’. EYu *ɔbo:* S523, *ɔbo* B13, *oβo* B15, *oβo:* J95a. MgrH *o:bo:* X14, SM296. MgrM *wobo* F11. Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***obag** ‘family name; clan’ See ***omag**

***oči-** ‘to go’ see ***eči-**

***od-** ‘to go’. Unexpectedly rare, and with a strange distribution. In EYu it is mainly used as an auxiliary verb, whereas the etymologically obscure verb *hanə-* is the normal verb for ‘to go’. Apart from BaoŃ, all of Shirongol uses **eči-* ‘to go’, which is also used in Dag.

MMo SH *ot-* H129, HY *ot-* M82a, Muq *ot-/od-* P209a/256a. WM *od-* L600a. Kh *odox* H388b. Ord---. Bur *odoxo* C350a. Brg---. Kalm *odx* M393b. Dag---. EYu *ɔd-* BJ338, (*o*)*d-* J50 (used as an auxiliary). MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoŃ *əd-* ~ *ər-* CN18. Dgx---. Mog---.

***odua** ‘now’ See ***edüe**

***ogsī-** ‘to vomit, throw up’. Cf. the more common verb **böeljī-* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *oysi-* L601b, ?cf. WM *ogis-* L603b ‘to be nauseated; to belch’. Kh *ogšix* H388a. Ord *ogši-* M507b. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *xɔigsɔ-* (?=) NK559b, *xɔiwɔsɔ-* (?=) E83:84b ‘id (‘of children’). EYu *ogšə-* J98a, *ogšə-* B13, BJ338. Mgr---. MgrM *oši-* JL464. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***öin** ‘thought, intellect’. The NM languages point at a form **oyun* or **oyuun*, the remaining forms could be from **öin*, or perhaps **oyin*.

MMo SH *oyi(n)* H130 ‘&feelings, love’, HY---, Muq *oin-* P262b, Ph *oyi-tʰu* P128a ‘endowed with intellect’. WM *oyun* L606b, also *oi* L604a. Kh *oy* H389a, *oyun* H402b. Ord *oyu:n* M508b. Bur *oy* C350b, *oyuu(n)* C367a. Kalm *oyun* M407b, *oyin* M393b. Dag *ɔyin* E40. EYu *ɔin* B12, *öin* BJ338 ‘consciousness’, *öin* J5 ‘memory’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *oyin* B16. Mog---.

***öira** ‘nearby’. Note the inconsistent development of the Dag derivatives *wair-ɔ:n* ~ *ɔir-ɔ:n*, *wair-kən*, *wair-t-*, etc. Cf. the (near) synonymous **čaada* in Baoanic, and **döte*.

MMo SH *oyira* H130, HY *oyira* M83, *oyiri* M83, Muq *oira* P263a, LV *oira* P1262, IV *oira* L62:59. WM *oyira* L605a. Kh *oyr* H389b. Bur *oyro* C352a. Kalm *öör* M421b. Dag *wair* E333. EYu *ɔirɔ* B12, *ö:rə* B17, *öiro* J95a. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *uira* B19. Mog *oiro:* R35, *oira* W174b, MogM *əura*, MogMr *oirə* L62:59.

***oĵagāi** ‘penis’. Possibly intentionally omitted from some dictionaries. Cf. **kırjaŋ*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *oĵayai* P263b, *oĵoyai-* P191a, IV *oĵoqai* L62:59. WM *oĵuyu*, *oĵuyui* L626b. Kh *ozgoy* LC 3:462a. Ord *oĵogö:*, *oĵogo* M506b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *ozöŷe:* R292a (also *oza:* R292a). Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ĵogövi* X224, *ĵigövi* X221. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoŃ---. Dgx *ozogöi* B16. Mog---.

oka-** (?hoka-**) ‘to have sexual intercourse’. This word is probably more common than shown here.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *oqa-* P266b, LV *hoqa-* P75. WM *oqo-* L626a. Kh *oxox* L626a. Ord *oxo-* M508a. Bur---. Kalm *oxö-* R284a. Dag---. EYu *oqa-* Kot445. Mgr---. BaoD-?. BaoŃ *өгə-* CN17. Kgj *ɔğɔ-* ~ *uğɔ-* S280a. Dgx *aoğə-* MC14b. Mog *ɔka-*, *ɔku-* W174b.

***okīn** ‘daughter, girl’ see ***ökin**

***ol-** ‘to find; to get, obtain’. Moghol and the Shirongol lgs have developed forms with paragogic vowels. Cf. MgrH *lo:lə-* X113, BaoD *lolə-* BL82b, 46 ‘to look for’ < ‘not to find’.

MMo SH *ol-* H123, HY *ol-* M81, Muq *ol-* P265b. WM *ol-* L607a. Kh *olox* H392a. Ord *ol-* M509a. Bur *oloxo* C355a. Kalm *olx* M396a. Dag *ɔl-* E38. EYü *ɔ:l-* B12, *o:l-* J95a. MgrH *olə-* J95a, *ulə-* X18, *o:li-* SM296. MgrM *olu-* T354, *lu:-* (sic) C394. BaoD *ol-* BL83a ‘to find’, *olə-* BL92a ‘to give birth’. BaoÑ *əl-* CN17. Kgj *uli-* S280a. Dgx *olu-* B14. Mog *ɔl-* W174b also ‘to hear’, MgrMr *v:lu-* L64:45.

***olan** ‘many’. Kgj *ulu* could also reflect **hüleü* ‘more than’, but the loss of **h-* would be unexpected.

MMo SH *olon* H123, HY *olon* M81, Muq *olan* P265a, *olon* P230b. WM *olan* L607b. Kh *olon* H391b. Ord *olon* M510b. Bur *olon* C354a. Kalm *oln* M395a. Dag *walən* E334. EYü *ɔlən* B13, *olon* J95a. MgrH *ulon* J95a. MgrM *ulay* JL471. BaoD *oloy* BL83b. BaoÑ *əloy* CN17, *loy* CN104. Kgj *ulu* S280a. Dgx *oloy* B14. Mog---.

***olanj** ‘bellyband (of a horse)’. An alternative form in *-m* is found in Kh, Bur, and Dag. BaoD *golə* BL83a may be from LT *glo*; BaoÑ *ʕlə* CN233 ‘bellyband’ is certainly from LT *glo*, cf. *sga-glo* ‘saddle-girth’. Kgj may (but need not) be from LT as well. Perhaps related to CT **kolan* (?**kolanj*) ‘saddle-girth’ (cf. EDPT 622b).

MMo SH *olang* H122, HY---, Muq *olay* [*olang*] P265a, LV *olan* P1260, IV---. WM *olong* L610b. Kh *olom*, *olon* H391b ‘the right-hand saddle girth’. Ord *oloy* M510b. Bur *ulam* C468a, *olom* (some dialects) C550a. Kalm *olj* M396a. Dag *ɔl:n* ~ *ɔlum* E38. EYü *ɔloy* B13, *oloy* J95a. MgrH *uloy* J95a. MgrM---. Bao (see remark below). Kgj *ɔlu* ~ *lu* S280a. Dgx *oluy* B14. Mog---.

***olusun** ‘hemp’. The evidence for the original vocalism is ambiguous. The forms with *o* in the second syllable found in MMo HY and EYü-MgrH support **olasun*. The Kh, Kalm and Brg forms could be from **olasun* as well, or from **olusun*. Ord *ulusu* points at **olusun* or **ulusun*. The Bur form, which in this rare case disagrees with Brg, also suggests **ulusun*. Dag *ɔls* suggests a form **olusun* or **ulusun*, since the expected Dag development from **olasun* would have been **wals*.

MMo SH---, HY *olosun* M81, Muq---. WM *olosu(n)* L610a. Kh *ols(on)* H392a. Ord *ulusu* M731b. Bur *ulha(n)* C468b. Brg *ɔlɔ:* U32. Kalm *olsn* M396a. Dag *ɔls* E39. EYü *losən* (only) S528. MgrH *losə* J95a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***omag** ~ ***obag** ‘clan, family; family name’. It is hard to determine which of the variants is the oldest.

MMo SH *oboh* H120, HY---, Muq---. WM *oboy* L598b, *omoy* L611a. Kh *ovog* H385b, *omog* H392b. Ord *omoq* M511a. Bur *omog* C355b, *obog* C348a. Kalm *omg* (obs) M396b. MgrH *omɔḡ* X15. Remaining lgs---.

***omag** ‘courage; arrogance, haughtiness’. The negative meaning appears in the modern languages.

SH *omoh* H124 ‘courage’, HY *omoq* M81 ‘power and influence’, *omoq-tan* M81 ‘courageous’, Muq---. WM *omoy* L611a. Kh *omog* H392b. Ord *omoq* M511a. Bur *omog* C355b. Kalm *omg* M396b. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *oməg* CN17. Dgx---. Mog---.

***oŋgača** ‘boat; trough’. In Muq, WM, Kh, Bur, Kalm, and EYu both meanings are attested. Added -*g* in Mgr. Transfer of consonant strength from -č- to -*g*- in MgrM.

MMo SH---, HY *ongqača* M81 ‘trough’, Muq *onqača* P266b, LV---, IV *onqača* (*ongqača*) L62:59 ‘boat’, Ph *onqoc^ha.s* P128a ‘boats’. WM *ongyoča* L613a. Kh *ongoc* H393b. Ord *ongočo* ~ *ongoči* M515a. Bur *ongoso* C356b. Brg---. Kalm *onyc* M399a. Dag---. EYu *onğəčə* BJ338 ‘trough’, *ongočo* J95a ‘boat’. MgrH *ηgućəğ* ~ *ηgućag* X42 ‘trough’. MgrM *onkužo* C387 ‘horse’s trough’, *anqužo* DS252a ‘stable’, *ançiğə* F85:12 ‘trough’. Bao---. Dgx *ongočo* B13 ‘trough’. Mog---.

oni/*ona** (?honi**) ‘notch on an arrow’. The **h-* suggested by Muq is unconfirmed. Cf. also **onubčī* (?) ‘knife for making notches in arrows’, MMo SH *onubci kituqai* H125. Kh *onovč* H394a. Kalm *onovč* M397b. Dag *onč* E37 ‘knife’.

MMo SH *ono* H125 (q.v.), HY---, Muq *honi* P186a. WM *oni* L614b, *ono* L615a. Kh *on*’ H395b. Ord *oni* M512b. Bur *oni* C357a, *onoo* C357b. Brg *on^y* U31. Kalm *on* (obs) M397a. Dag *onə* (*on^y*) NK461b. QG---. Mog---.

***ora** ‘track, trace, footprint, fingerprint’. In Mgr and Dgx one finds the forms **oraŋ* and **köl oraŋ* (**köl* ‘foot’). The forms in -*m* in the central languages may be influenced by **horum* ‘road’ (cf. SH *horim*, *horum*).

MMo SH *oro* H126, HY---, Muq---. WM *oro* L620a, *orom* L623a. Kh *or* H396b, *orom* H398a. Ord *oro* M518b, *orom* M521a. Bur *orom* C362a, *oro* (in expressions, q.v.) C360b. Brg *or* U34. Kalm *orm* M403a. Dag *or* E41. EYu---. MgrH *kurloŋ* L283. MgrM *uraŋ* C395, *kurruaŋ* DS224. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *koroloŋ* B76, *koloroŋ* MC222b, *kororoŋ* MC224a. Mog---.

***ora-** ‘to enter’.

MMo SH *oro-* H127, HY *oro-* M82, Muq *ora-* P269a, LV *or-* P1259, IV *ora-* L62:60. WM *oro-* L620a. Kh *orox* H399a. Bur *oroxo* C362b. Kalm *orx* M405a. Dag *war-* E335. EYu *orə-* B13, *oro-* J95b. MgrH *oro-* J95b, *uro-* X22. MgrM *oro-* JL480, *uro-* C370. BaoD *orə-* BL83a. BaoÑ *or-* CN18. Kgj *uru-* S280b. Dgx *oro-* B16. Mog *ora-* R35b.

oraa** (?orīa**) ‘wild, untamed, undomesticated’. Cf. **emliq*.

MMo SH *oro’a* H127, *ora’a* H125, *ura’a* H165, HY---, Muq---. WM *oroya* L621a. Kh *oroo* H398b ‘difficult to catch’, also ‘estrus, heat’. Bur *oryoo morin* C360a ‘agile horse’, cf. *oroo(n)* C362b ‘rut, heat; mating’. Kalm *ora* M401a, *orā:* R287b. Dag *orə:* E41 ‘stubborn and unruly’. EYu *orə:* B13. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***orai** ‘evening; late’.

MMo SH *orai* H125, HY---, Muq---. WM *oroi* L621b. Kh *oroy* H397b. Ord *orö:* M522a. Bur *oroy* C361a. Kalm *ora* M400b. Dag *or^ye:* E41. EYu *orui* B14,

öröi J95b. MgrH *urui*: J95b. MgrM *wurai* DS19, *orey* P411b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***oran** ‘place, spot; seat; throne; bed; country’. Ramstedt’s suggestion that this word be related to **horum* ‘road’ is incorrect because of the **h-* in this word. In later languages, the two words may have become confused (cf. the forms with *-m* in Kalm and Mog). Cf. CT **orun* ‘place’.

MMo SH *oro(n)* H126, H128, HY *oro* M81, Muq *oran* P269a, *orun* P325a, *ora* P269a. WM *oro* L620a, *oron* L623a. Kh *or* H396b, *oron* H398a (with semantic diversification). Ord *oron* M521b. Bur *oro(n)* C362a ‘bed’, *oron* C362a ‘country’, ‘place, etc’. Kalm *orn* M403b ‘land, state’; ‘bed’, *orm* M43a ‘place’, cf. *or-der* M402a ‘bed’ (cf. **dere*). Dag *or* E41 ‘place; bedding’. EYu *orən* B14, *oron* J95b, *oro:n* S531 ‘place’, *ru:n* S339 ‘kennel’. MgrH *oron* J95b, *uran*, *uron*, *urəŋ* X22. MgrM *uran* C370. BaoJ *roŋ* L147. Kgj *uru* S280b. Dgx *oroŋ* B16. Mog *oram* R35b ‘place’, MogM *orv:n* L68, No. 46 ‘bed’.

***orki-** ‘to throw, cast away; to abandon, release; to put’ The peculiar spelling in SH could be influenced by **hoara-* or **ugur-*, q.v. There is no evidence for a long vowel in the living languages. Cf. **songu-* which is spelled *so’onggu-* in SH.

MMo SH *o’orki-* H125, HY---, Muq *orki-* P270b, *orqi-* P271a. WM *orki-* L619b. Kh *orxix* H400a. Bur *orxixo* C364b. Kalm *orkx* M402b ‘to put down, etc’, cf. *okx* M394a ‘to put down’. Dag *orkʷ-* E41. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD *uašialdā-* (recipr.) (?=) BL66. BaoJ *vušál-* L206. BaoÑ *wargā-* CN227, *wašgā-* CN226. Dgx---. Mog---.

***oya-** ‘to sew’. In Kalm this verb has become indistinguishable from **huya-* ‘to tie up’. The same may have happened in Bao, where the shape *ha-* is used in both meanings. The fact that one of the verbs has *h-* seems to make this phonetically unlikely, but it is supported by Kgj *fiya-* which also seems to represent both **oya-* and **huya-*. Alternatively, Baoan *ha-* may represent a merger of **kaba-* ‘to stitch’ and **huya-* ‘to tie up’, although this is still irregular.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *oya-* P272a, LV *oyo-* P1261, IM *hoyu-* [ed. reads thus, in fact unvocalised] P438a. cf. RH *hoy[o]qč̣i* 205C28 ‘taylor’. WM *oyo-* L606a. Kh *oyox* H388b. Ord *oyo-* M508b. Bur *oyoxo* C350b. Brg *ɔy-* U33. Kalm *uyx* M530a. Dag *ɔy-* E40, *ɔi-* E36. EYu---. MgrH *yo:-* X235, J95b. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *oi:-* R35b, *wɔyɔ-* W184a, MogM *oya:-*, MogMr *v:ɔv:-* L68, No. 41.

?***oyun** ‘thought, intellect’ see ***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 *kəčiγ ~ kəčiγ udur* E146 ‘the day before yesterday’. Dag *udiš* E47, *udiš udur* Z94a from **üdesi* is used for ‘yesterday’. The loss of the initial vowel in most of the QG forms is not unusual, but a similar development is atypically seen in some of the Ord and Mog forms. Note the *-l-* in Bur-Kalm (also in Khamnigan).

MMo SH *ocigen udur* H121, HY *öčigen* M83 ‘recently’, Muq *öčüge ödür* P273a, LV *hečegen* P74, IV *höčken ödür* L62:33. WM *ečügedür* L292b, *öčögedür*, *öčögeldür*, *öčigeldür* L629a, and cf. *öčigen* L629a. Kh *öcögdör* H422a. Ord (*u*)*čugudur* M765b, *čug(u)dur* M720b. Bur *üsegelder* C515b, *üsegder* 515b, *üster* (western) C515a. Brg *usəgdər ~ usdər* U51. Kalm *öckldür* M427b. Dag---, see above. EYu *čogdor* B137, *čügdur* J96a. MgrH *čigudur* J96b, *čigu ~ čigudur* SM449. MgrM *čugodur* JL464, *čugudur* T379. BaoD *gudər* BL84a. BaoÑ *sgudə* CN148. Kgj *šigudə ~ šgudə* S295b. Dgx *fuzuğudu* B55, *şuzuğudu* B134, *fuzuğu* ‘last’ in compounds B55. Mog *učko:n*, *učko:n udur* R41b, *uškən*, *uškədur*, *uškudur* W183b, *čikaodur*, *čikədur* W162a, *čikun* W162a ‘last’.

***öčüken** ‘little, small’ see ***üčüken**

***ödken** ‘thick, dense’. The Shirongol languages go back to a form with an epenthetic vowel between the elements of the *-dk-* cluster. The **h-* suggested by the EYu form is not confirmed elsewhere, except perhaps Mgr. It may be due to the following *-k-*. In view of Kh *ötgön ~ ösgön* there may have been an old variant **ösken*; in that case both forms may go back to a PM **öčken* (**öjken*). The Bur variant *üsxen* may be a direct descendant of a form **öčken* but could also be borrowed from Kh.

MMo SH *otkan* H129, HY---, Muq *ötken* P279b. WM *ödken* L629b. Kh *ötgön* H421a, *ösgön* H421a. Ord *ödkön* M527a. Bur *üdxen(n)* C494a, *üsxen* C515b. Kalm *ötkn* M427a. Dag *urkun* E50, Z94a. EYu *hutgwen* B58, *hödgön* J96a, *čödgön* S551. MgrH *šdago:n* J96b, *dugo:n* C88:584. MgrM *š(i)digen* JL473. BaoD *dəgaŋ* BL84b. BaoGt *dəgəŋ* C118. BaoÑ-?- CN. Kgj *dagə ~ žīgə* S298b. Dgx *očiğəŋ* B15, *očiğən* L112b. Mog *utko:n* R42a.

***ödme** (and ***ödmeg**) ‘kind of bread or cake’. The emended ZY form agrees with HY, but it can also be read without the final consonant, as this variant is also attested in MMo. The Shirongol languages derive from a form ***öteme** with dissolved cluster. The Kalm form is the only certain survival of the variant ***ödmeg**. Cf. CT ***etmek** ‘bread’, which also has variant forms ***ekmek** and ***epmek** which were borrowed by Moghol.

MMo SH---, HY *ütmek* M109, ZY **üdme(k)* (wu-du-ma) Kara331, Muq *ötmek* P279a, *etmek* P167a, LV---, IV *ötüme* L62:61.---. Kh---, Ord---, Bur---. Kalm *ödmg* M412b. Dag *utum* E47. EYu---. MgrH *šdama* X167, *šdame* J63. MgrM (*š*)*diməi* C386, *diməi* C388, *šdime* T384. BaoD *damə* BL59. BaoÑ *šdemə* CN151.

Kgj *deme* S299a. Dgx *ičime* P421b. Mog (prob. recently borrowed) *uřtāŋ* R41b, *ukmΛŋ* W182b, etc.

***ödür** ‘day’ see ***üdür**

***öede** ‘upwards, upstream; above’. In EYu-Mgr replaced by **jaka*. However, according to Bolčuluu & Jalsan (1991:175-176), **öede* has become a directive suffix *-i:d* in EYu, as in *gadi:d* ‘up a cliff’ < **kada öede*. This has a parallel in Ordos, as in *gere:t* M260b ‘to(wards) the house’ < **ger öede*.

MMo SH *o’ede* H121, HY---, Muq---. WM *ögede* L630b, precl. also *öbede* T502. Kh *ööd* H414b. Ord *ö:d* M526b, *ö:dö* M527a. Bur *ööde* C367a. Brg. Kalm *ööd*, *ööden* M419a. Dag *wə:d* E336. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *odə* BL84a. BaoÑ *ə:də* CN18. BaoX *odə* BC69. Kgj *ude* S281a. Dgx *ořie* L112a. Mog *öädä* R35b, *udΛ* W182a, *ɔdΛ* W174a, MogM *üødə*, MogMr *ə:da* L54b:39.

***öer-** ‘self’. Kh *övsveen* H404a is a reading pronunciations of WM *öbersüben*. Used as a (first or third person) personal pronoun in Baoanic. This functional shift arose in, and is in some languages still restricted to use in indirect speech. The final element may represent a petrified genitive **öerün* or the reflexive possessive form **öerien*. Baoanic uses a Northwest Mandarin word in the meaning ‘self’: BaoD *gořia* BL35. BaoÑ *gə:ři* CN95. Kgj *guja* ~ *guja* S290a, Dgx *gořia*, *goyə* B91. In EYu and Monguoric **ejen* is used instead to express ‘self’. It is unclear whether EYu *ewer* ‘soul’ is related, as suggested by Kotwicz.

MMo SH *o’er* H121, *or* H125, *or-iyen* (with ref. poss.) H126, HY *ö’er* M83, *ö:r-* M84, Muq *ö:r* P279b. WM *öber* L627b, *öbesüben* L628a. Kh *öör* H415b. Ord *ö:r-i:n* M537b, *ö:r-ö:n* M539b, *ö:s* M541a, *ö:s-ö:n* M541b. Bur *öör-* C368a. Kalm *evr-än* M690a, *erv-ä:n* M701b. Dag *wə:r* E336. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD---. BaoÑ *əreŋ* C18 ‘I’, cf. also *ərsə* CN19 ‘we’. BaoX *oroŋ* BC68 ‘I’, cf. also *osə* BC68 ‘we’. Kgj *uru* S281a ‘he/she’, *urusun* ~ *urusı* S281a ‘they’, *usı* S280b ‘they’. Dgx *oruŋ* B17 ‘I (myself)’, *oruntan* L53 ‘we (ourselves)’. Mog *öärini* R35 ‘he himself’, *orin* W183a.

***öere** ‘other, different’. The form **öere* itself is rather poorly attested. However, EYu *gö:rö* J27, *güre* B85, *gu:rə* S529, MgrH *go:ro* X104, MgrM *gori* C381 may represent an aberrant form of this same word. The derived form **öermiče* is found in Bao. The disappearance of **öere* from Baoanic and Dag and the disappearance of **öer* from EYu and Monguoric are understandable since the two words developed similar or identical pronunciations, whereas their meanings are opposites. Possibly related to CT **özge* ‘other’, if one assumes a metathetic variant **ögze*.

MMo SH *o’ere* H121, *ore* H126, HY---, Muq *ö:re* P279b, *ö:rö* P283b. WM *ögere* L631b, *öbere* L627b, both spellings also preclassical. Kh *öör* H415b. Ord *ö:rö* M538b. Bur *ööre* C368b. Kalm-?. Dag---. EYu (see above). MgrH (see above). MgrM (see above). Bao (see **öermiče* below). Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***öermiče** ‘other’.

MMo SH *o'ermici-le-* H122, HY *ö:rmiče* M84 ‘different’. WM *öbermiče* L628b. Kh *övörmöc* [←WM] H404a. BaoD *măčă, mărčă* T143. BaoÑ *əmərži* CN17 ‘other’, cf. also Bao (unknown locality) *ərži* CN87:129, Bao (unspecif dial) *moči* S529 ‘other’. BaoX *măčă* BC69 ‘other’.

***ög-** ‘to give’. Moghol, some of the QG forms, and even Dagur, have developed a paragogic vowel. In Monguoric this verb changed vowel class, resulting in *-g-* rather than expected *-g-*. In Mangghuer the initial vowel was lost, after which the *g* was strengthened, probably due to the many inflected forms with strong consonants, such as conditional converb *xusa*, perfect *xusan*, future *xuku*.

MMo SH *ok-* H122, HY *ök-* M84, Muq *ög-* P274a, LV *ög-* P1256, IV *ök-* (ms. ^wl) L62:60. WM *ög-* L630a. Kh *ögöx* H405b, *öx* H422a. Ord *ög-* M527b. Bur *ügexe* C493a, *üxe* (coll.) C518a. Brg *ug-* U49. Kalm *ögx* M412a. Dag *uk^w*- E44. EYu *og-* B15, J96a. MgrH *oğo-* J96a, *uğv-* X17, *ğv-* X97. MgrM *uğu-* T368, *xu-* DS225b. BaoD *okă-* BL84a. BaoÑ *əχ-, ək-* CN16. Kgj *uy-* ~ *u-* S280b. Dgx *ogi-* B13. Mog *ögu-* R36a.

***ökin** (~ ***okīn**) ‘daughter, girl’. Not all forms can be reduced to a single ancestral form. The form **ökin* is found in Bur, Dag, EYu, BaoD, BaoÑ, and Mog. A back-vocalic **okīn* form survives in Kh-Kalm. The SH form could represent either variant. A completely unrounded variant **iken* is found in some central Mongolic dialects (see Sun 1990:396). The **h-* suggested by Mgr and EYu appears to be triggered by the following *-k-*.

The forms in Mgr, BaoD, BaoX, Kgj, Dgx which instead of **k* have a palatal fricative or affricate are problematic. In Monguoric, **k > č* is a common development before **i/*ī* (usually in initial position), but in Baoanic this is exceptional. Perhaps the forms with affricate are due to confusion between **ökin/*okīn* ‘girl’ and the early loanword *fūjin* ‘lady’ (← Ch. *fūren*), cf. MMo SH *ujin* H161, Kh *üjen* (obs.) H568b ‘lady’. On the other hand the modern meaning is clearly ‘girl’. That the Monguoric forms stem from **ökin* rather than **fūjin* cannot be decided on the basis of the modern pronunciations, but is likely based on the neighbouring languages.

MMo SH *oki(n)* [or *öki(n)*] H122, HY *ökin* M84, Muq *ökin* P275a, LV *ökin* P1260, IV *ökin* L62:60, RH *hökin* 202C13 ‘virgin’, *ökin* 200B24 ‘daughter’. WM *ökin* L633a, *okin* L607a. Kh *oxin* H401b. Ord *okin* M508b. Bur *üxi(n)* C518a. Brg *uxin* U48. Kalm *okn* M394a. Dag *uyin* E44, *uyin* E49. EYu *hkon* B58, *hgun* J99b. MgrH *fužün* SM103, *śžün* J99a. MgrM *fužin* JL468, *śužin* JL468, *(x)učin dyu* P419b ‘younger sister’ (cf. **deü*) and *kao-śužun* DS21 ‘children’ (cf. **keü* or **köbeün*). BaoD *okən* T145, but cf. *ko-čün* BL48 ‘children’ (cf. **keü* or **köbeün*). BaoGt *śindi* C117 ‘younger sister’ apparently from **ökin deü*. BaoÑ *əkuŋ* CN17. BaoX *xjoŋ* BC63. Kgj *iχgə* S279b; *kunšün* S287b ‘boys and girls, offspring’ may represent either **köbeün ökin* or **köbeün sibaun*. Dgx *očin* B15, L28. Mog *ukin* R41a, *ukin* etc W182a, MogM/Mr *ökin*, *üökin* L62:60, see further s.v. **sibaun*.

***ölegčīn** ‘female of carnivorous animals; she-dog’. In Bur homophonous with the feminine form of the colour name *üle* < **öle*. Perhaps this is originally a taboo-related term ‘the grey one’, cf. MgrH *burčǵǵi*: < **bora-gčīn* ‘hen’, lit. ‘the grey one’ (feminine). In spite of the similarity Dag may not be related, as the loss of the initial vowel is abnormal.

MMo---. WM *ölögčī(n)* L634a. Kh *ölögčīn* H409b. Ord *ölögčīn* M531b. Bur *ülegšen* C502a. Kalm *ölgčīn* M414b. Dag *lukčə:n* (?) E44 ‘she-dog’, however *ukčə:n* E83:44. EYu *lögčən* B88 ‘she-dog’. Remaining lgs---.

***ölegei** ‘cradle’. EYu goes back to a form **ölege*.

MMo SH *olegai* H123, HY---, Muq *ölegei* P275b, LV---, IV *ölöge* L62:60. WM *ölögei* L634a, *ölegei* L633b. Kh *ölgīy* H408b. Ord *ölögi*: M531a. Bur *ülgi* C499b. Brg *ulgi*: U50. Kalm *ölgä* M414a. EYu *ölöyö* B17, *ölöye* J86. Remaining lgs---.

***öles-** ‘to be hungry’. The initial **h-* suggested by Dag is not confirmed elsewhere. Could the *x-* in Dag be due to the influence of *xuns* < **künesün* ‘provision’? The *-n-* in the Dag form is also peculiar. Chen Naixiong compares BaoŃ *ələr-* to WM *ölber-* ‘to starve’, which is phonetically possible, but unlikely in view of the other Shirongol languages (BaoŃ *-r* < *-s* is common). Some of the meanings in Kh seem to point at an etymology **öl-se-* with the desiderative suffix ‘to want nourishment’. However, the MMo, Mog, and Shirongol forms are clearly incompatible with such a reconstruction.

MMo SH *oles-* H123, *olos-* H124, HY *öles-* M84, Muq *öles-* P275b, LV *ölüs-* P1260, IV *ölös-külen* L61 ‘hungry’. WM *ölös-* L634b. Kh *ölsöx* H410a. Ord *ölös-* M532a. Bur *öldexe* C500a. Brg *ul’d-* U50. Kalm *ölsx* M415a. Dag *xuns-* (sic, ?=) E124, *xunsu-*. EYu---. MgrH *losə-* J96b. MgrM *losi-* JL469. BaoD *olos-* BL84b, *olesi-* BL75. BaoŃ *ələr-* CN17, *ələr-* CN17. Kgj *läsi-* ~ *lesi-* S290b. Dgx *oliesi-* B14, *oliesu-* L112b. Mog *uläs-* R41b, *olas-* W174b.

***örgü-** ‘to hang’ see **elgü-**

***ölmei** ‘instep’. MMo reflects a form **ölmi*, which may survive in Bur *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’mi*, *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 whether the initial vowel was **e* or **ö* originally. An original **e* could have been rounded by an **ü* of the following syllable, or by the

**m*. Dagur and the Shirongol languages have unrounded first syllables. The Monguoric languages suggest **endege*, Baoanic **emdege* or **emdegei*. However, the Dagur -*u*- does suggest an original rounded second vowel, which is not confirmed in MMo.

MMo SH *ondegen* H124, HY *ömdegen* M84, Muq *ömdegen* P341a, *ömdögen* P136b, cf. *öndegele-* P276b. WM *öndege(n)*, *öndöge(n)* L636b, *ömdege(n)*, *ömdöge(n)* L635a. Kh *öndög* (*öndgön*) H413a. Ord *öndögö* M533b. Bur *ündege(n)* C505b. Brg *undäg* U44. Kalm *öndgn* M416b. Dag *ənduy*^w E21. EYu---. MgrH *ndäge* J96a. MgrM *andige* JL479. BaoD *əndəgi* BL84b. BaoÑ *emdäge* CN14. Kgj *ndeye* ~ *əndeye* ~ *andeye* S282b. Dgx *endeyi* B7, *endeyei* 112a. Mog *undäyo:n* R41b, *əndəgən* W175a.

***öndege** ‘egg’ see ***ömdegen**

***öndür** (?*höndür) ‘high’. The **h*- suggested by the Dag form is not confirmed elsewhere in Mongolic, but cf. Azeri *höndür*. The Middle Mongol vocalism seems to be confirmed by Shirongol, while EYu *ondor* sides with Khalkha and Kalmuck (cf. **üdür* ‘day’).

MMo SH *undur* H164, *untur* H165, HY *üntür* M109, Muq *öndür* (or *ündür*) P276b, Ph *ündür* P133a. WM *öndör* L637a. Kh *öndör* H413a. Ord *undur* M757a. Bur *ünder* C505b. Brg *undär* U46. Kalm *öndr* M416b. Dag *xundur* E125. EYu *oṅdor* B15, *uṅdur* J96b. MgrH *ndur* J96a, X39, *undur* X16. MgrM *undur* JL479. BaoD *undär* BL84b. BaoÑ *undär* CN20. Kgj *undär* S280b. Dgx *undu* B19. L112a. Mog---.

***önečün** ‘orphan(ed)’.

MMo SH *onocit* (pl) H124, *onocit* (pl) H125, HY---, Muq *önečün-* P107a. WM *önöčün*. Kh *önčün* H414a. Ord *önöčün* M534b. Bur *ünšen* C507b, *ünešen* C509b. Brg *unšiṅ* U46. Kalm *önčn* M417b. Dag *wənčün* E337, *unčün* E43. EYu *nöčən* B26. MgrH *nočün* X34, *nučün* X37. MgrM *wuniečün* DS240b, *mišžün* (sic) Z329:238. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *oniečəṅ* B13, *oliečün* MC304b. Mog---.

***öṅge** ‘colour; appearance’. Related to CT **öṅ* ‘colour’.

MMo SH *ongge* H124 ‘colour’, HY *öṅgö* M84 ‘colour’, Muq *öṅge* P277a ‘surface’, P306b ‘colour’. WM *öṅge(n)* L637b. Kh *öṅgö(n)* H412a. Ord *öṅgö* M535a. Bur *ünge* C504a. Kalm *öṅg* M418a. Dag *uṅg*^w E43 ‘facial expression’. EYu *öṅgö* J96b ‘colour’, B17 ‘colour; appearance, look’, BJ338 ‘face’, *öṅge* J90 ‘face’. MgrH *ṅgo* J96a ‘colour’. MgrM *aṅgo* JL478. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *oṅgie* B13, *wāṅgie* B191 ‘face, facial expression’. Mog---.

***öṅgere-** ‘to pass by’. The *h*- in MMo (Muq) in the causative form *höṅgere-ül-* P326a is incidental. Note the atypical loss of the initial syllable in Dgx.

MMo SH---, HY *öṅgere-* M84, Muq *öṅgere-* P277a. WM *öṅggere-* L638a. Kh *öṅgöröx* H412b. Ord *öṅgörö-* M536a. Bur *üngerxe* C505a. Kalm *öṅgrx* M418b. Dag *uṅgərə-* T171. EYu *öṅgere-* B17. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *gieru-* B90. Mog---.

***ör** ‘dawn’, often used with **čai-* ‘to become white’ or **gei-* ‘to become bright’. Note the vowel length in Kh, Bur, and EYu-Mgr, as if CM were **öer*. Dag could have developed from **ör* or **ür*. The Muq form could be read *ö:r*, *ür* or *ü:r* just as well.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ör* P382a. WM *ür* L1010b. Kh *üür* H583b. Ord *ör* M537b, *örö* M538a, but *určä:-* M741b. Bur *üür* C517a. Brg *u:r* U45. Kalm *ör* M422a. Dag *ur čē:-* ‘to dawn’. EYu *ö:r* B16, J34, *oyir* (sic) S686, perhaps also in *určag* B20 ‘morning; tomorrow’ (cf. **čag*). MgrH *o:r* X15, *u:r čē:-* X16. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ør gi:-* CN18. Dgx *o ği-* B13, *oyäi-* L37.

***öre** ‘(pit of the) stomach’.

MMo SH *ore* H126 ‘heart’, *oro* H126 ‘pit of the stomach’, HY *örö* M84 ‘pit of the stomach’, Muq---. WM *öri*, *örö* L643b, *öri* L642a ‘interior; heart; abdomen; coronary artery; pit of stomach, precordia’. Kh *örön* [*ör(n)*] H416b. Ord *ör(ö)* M538a ‘heart (fig.)’. Bur *üre* C514a ‘inner part, middle’. Kalm *ör* M422a ‘core, centre; chest, soul’. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD *orə* BL87a ‘stomach’. BaoÑ *raman* CN221 (+ **aman* ‘mouth, opening’) ‘chest; pit of the stomach’. Kgj *uramə* S281a (+ **aman*). Dgx *oro* B16 ‘(pit of the) stomach’, cf. also *oro amasa*, *oromasa* B16/17 (**amasar* ‘opening’). Mog---.

***öreče** ‘diaphragm’. Ord, Kalm and EYu suggest **öreči*. Probably derived from **öre*.

MMo---. WM *öröče* L643b ‘diaphragm, etc’. Kh *örc* H420a. Ord *öröči* M540a. Bur *ürse* C513a. Brg *urs* U54 ‘the bottom of one’s heart’. Kalm *örč* M425b ‘diaphragm’. Dag---. EYu *orečə* B16 ‘pleura’. Remaining lgs---.

***öreele** ‘type of hobble’ and ***öreesün** ‘half (one of a pair)’. Due to the final vowel of the first variant, the suffix alternation is not quite the same as the well known alternation *-l ~ -sUn* seen in **hargal ~ *hargasun*, **baidal ~ *baitasun* ‘mare’, **gudul ~ *gudusun* ‘boots’, although HY features *-l-sUn*. The QG languages developed from a shortened form **örle*; the *-ö:* in EYu was probably lengthened recently. The surprising Dag *-y-* may be a secondary development of earlier *-w-*. Dag initial *e-* is also unexpected in view of the MMo forms. The similarity to Turkic **örk* ‘hobble’ is probably fortuitous, as the Turkic word seems to derive from the verb **hö:r-* ‘to weave, plait’, which means that initial *h-* would be expected in CM as well. Cf. **čidör* ‘hobble’.

MMo SH *ore’ele* H126, *oro’ele* H127 ‘one (of a pair)’, HY *örö’elsün* M84 ‘one (of a pair)’, Muq *öre:le* P95a ‘one (of a pair)’, P277b ‘half’. WM *örögel* L643b ‘(..) hobble..’, *örögesün* L644a, *örögelsün* L643b ‘half of a pair, etc’. Kh *örööl* H419a ‘half of a whole; hobbles for the legs of only one side of a horse’, *öröös(ön)* H419a ‘odd, unpaired; unmatching’. Ord *örö:l* M539a (kind of hobble), *örö:sön* M539b ‘one of a pair’. Bur *ürööl* C513a ‘one of a pair’, *ürööle* C513a, *ürele* C512a ‘one of a pair, half; kind of hobble’, *ürööhe(n)* C513a ‘one of a pair; half’. Kalm *öräl* M422b ‘half’, *öräsın* M422b ‘one of a pair’. Dag *əry^wlə:* E30 ‘hobble’, *əryulə:n* S548. EYu *örlö* B18 ‘half; hobble for the legs on one side’, *örlö:* J96a ‘hobble’, *örlö:* S549 ‘one (of a pair)’. Mgr---. Bao *olər* Z387 ‘half’. BaoD *olə* BL84a ‘hobble’. BaoÑ *öle* CN17 ‘half’, cf. *kuñ olenə* CN82 ‘some people’ (cf. the semantic

development of **jarim* ‘half’). Kgj *ule* ~ *uli* S280b ‘half’. Dgx *olie* L112a ‘hobble’, *olie* B13 ‘half’, *wanlie* B191 ‘half’. Mog---

***örege** ‘skylight’ see ***erüke**

***öreme** ‘skin on boiled milk’. Bur, EYu suggest a form with final *-n*, which is surprisingly confirmed by Mgr, which usually eliminates final *-n*. Several forms lack the middle vowel.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *öreme* P329b. WM *öröme* L644a. Kh *öröm* H418b. Ord *örmö* M538a. Bur *ürme(n)* C513a. Kalm *örm* M424b ‘sour cream; skin on milk’. Dag *urum* E50. EYu *örmön* B18 ‘fat’. MgrH *rämen* J96b, *rme:n* X240, L467, *yermiæn* SM492. Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---

***örgen** ‘broad, wide, vast’.

MMo SH *orgen* H126, HY *örgen* M84, Muq---. WM *örgen* L641a. Kh *örgön* H417a. Ord *örgön* M537b. Bur *ürge(n)* C511a. Kalm *örgn* M424a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *rgon* X239. Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---

***örgeesün, *örgesün** ‘thorn’. Note the disagreement of the vowel quantity of the syllable preceding *-sUn*. The Ordos forms seem to reflect earlier variants **örgüsün* and **örgesün*. Kgj *η-* is unusual. Cf. the regional word **adaakai* used in Bur *adaaxay* C30a and Dag *ada:ki*: E13 ~ *aduk’e*: E14.

MMo SH *orugesun* H128, HY---, Muq *örgesün* P278a. WM *örgegüsü(n)*, *örgesü(n)* L641a, *örgösü(n)* L641b. Kh *örgös(ön)* H417b. Chakhar *orgo:s* D172b. Ord *urgusu* M762a, *örgös(ü)* M537b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *örge* M424a ‘splinter; thorn’, *örge:sn* Ram299a, *ürgäsn* Ram459b. Dag *uryis* E50. EYu *orgwe:sæn* B16, *örgösæn* J96a also ‘bristle’, *rgü:sæn* J57, *örgö:sön* S548, *örgösæn* (Qinglong) BJ352. MgrH *rgo:sə* J96a also ‘bristle’, *rgo:zə* X239. MgrM *argo:sī* C395. Bao---. Kgj *ηgusun* ~ *gusun* S282b. Dgx *əğəsuy* B8. Mog *urgasu* W183a ‘camel-thorn’, MogMr, MogM *örgäsün* L62:61.

***örgü-** ‘to lift’ see **ergü-**

***öri** ‘debt’. With *-n* in Kh and Kalm.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *öri* P278b. WM *öri* L641b. Kh *ör(ön)* H416b. Ord *örö* M538a. Bur *üri* C512b. Kalm *örn* M425a. Dag *ur* E49. EYu *ö:r* B17, J96a, *ö:rə* S546. MgrH *urə* X22. MgrM---. Bao---. Kgj *uri* S281a. Dgx *ori* B16. Mog---

***örmege** ‘kind of coarse fabric’. In EYu metathesized > **örgeme*; in Mgr and Dgx metathesized > **ömerge*. Related to CT **hö(:)r-mek* from the verb **hö(:)r-* ‘to plait’.

MMo SH *ormege, ormuge* H126 ‘woollen garment’, HY---, Muq---, IM *örmege* P443b ‘upper garment’. WM *ermüge(n)* L331b ‘coarse fabric made of hair of camel or sheep’s wool, etc’, *örmöge* L642b. Kh *örmög* H418 ‘gingham’. Ord *örmögö* M538a. Bur *ürmege* (Bokh. dialect) C513a ‘doormat’. Kalm *örmg* M424b ‘peasant’s cloth coat; overcoat’. Dag---. EYu *oryeme* B16. MgrH *mierge* SM236, *murgz* X128, *murge* L340. MgrM *merge* P411a. Bao---. Dgx *muğə* B110. Mog---

***örüke** ‘skylight, smoke-hole (of a yurt)’. The initial vowel is not certain. The **e-* is only confirmed by SH and the WM spelling; the round vowel in the other sources could be original or secondary. Ord rather suggests an original vocalism **öreke*, whereas EYu favours *-g-* rather than *-k-*. According to Enkhbat Dag *uryə*: E88:498 ‘felt tent, yurt’ also belongs here. Although Kh *örx* has also developed the meaning ‘household’, Dag *uryə*: is more likely to be related to Kh *örgöö* H417a ‘yurt’ (honorific), from **örgee* ‘palace’.

MMo SH *eruge* H46, *oruge* H128, HY---, Muq *örüke* P278b, RH *örüke* 186C29. WM *erüke* L322b, *örke* L642a. Kh *örx(ön)* H420a ‘smoke hole cover of a yurt’. Ord *örökö* M538b. Bur *ürxe* C513b. Kalm *örk* M424b. Dag (see above). EYu *öröyö* B17, *ruye* S206. MgrH---, MgrM---, Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***ös-** ‘to grow’. In MgrH perhaps confused with **eüs-* ‘to arise, develop’. In Bao this verb has become hard to distinguish from **bos-* ‘to get up’.

MMo SH *os-* H128, HY *ösge-* (caus) M84, Muq *ös-* P279a. WM *ös-* L645a. Kh *ösöx* H421a. Bur *üdexe* C494b. Kalm *ösx* M427a. Dag---, EYu---, MgrH *o:sə*: (?) J96b ‘to grow, to develop’. BaoD *osī-* BL84a. BaoÑ *wər-* CN230. Kgj *usi-* S280b. Dgx *osī-* B14. Mog---.

***öskel-** (?**hisköl-*) ‘to kick’. The evidence concerning the vocalism and initial *h-* is ambiguous. The first-syllable *-i-* as found in the WM spelling is only found in MMo and Kalmuck. It may be the original form, while the other central languages derive from an assimilated form **öskel-* (via **ösköl-*). The initial *h-* is only found in a single MMo source, and supported by the possible Manchu cognate *feshele-* (P60:11, 65 etc), but a CM **h-* is not confirmed by the modern Mongolic languages that normally preserve **h-*. The Dag forms appear to be reborrows from Tungusic. In the QG languages the first syllable is too abraded to provide evidence for or against **h-*. The MgrH form *sgolda-* seems to be a new formation based on the noun *sgol* X143 ‘kick’, which itself looks like a back-formation from **öskel-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *hiskel-* (*hisköl-*?) ms. 73a-04-7. WM *iskül-* (?*isköl-*) L417a, *öskile-* L645b, *ösköl-* L646a. Kh *öšiglöx* H422b. Ord *ösköl-* M541a. Bur *üd'xelxe* C494a, *üšxelxe* (Bokh.) C520b. Brg *utigäl-* U51. Kalm *isklx* M276a. Dag *əšklə:-* (←Manchu/Tungus) Z93a, *pəšklə:-* (←Manchu) E91. EYu *sukel-* B103, *sgöl-* J95b. MgrH *sgolda-* J95b. MgrM---, BaoD *galə-* BL83a. BaoGt *sgäl-* C130. BaoJ *sgal-* L158. BaoÑ *sgel-* CN147. Kgj *siger-* ~ *sge-* S293b. Dgx---, Mog---.

***ösegei** ‘heel’. SH and Bur suggest **(ö)sügei*, Dgx supports **ösegei*. The loss of the initial vowel in Bur is unusual (cf. **isegei* ‘felt’). The vaguely similar EYu *зэһэи* B151 ‘heel’ is probably unrelated. Cf. **jaujai*.

MMo SH *osügei* H128, HY *ösögö* M85, Muq *ösegei* P279a. WM *ösögei* L646a, *ösgei* L645a. Kh *ösgiy* H420b. Ord *ösögi*: M541b. Bur *hüyei* C695a, *ühegi* C519b. Brg *xugi*: U123. Kalm *öskä* M426a. Dag---, EYu (see above). Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx *ošiği* B14. Mog---.

***öteg** ‘dung’. This vocalism (rather than **ötüg*) suggested by Ord and EYu. The RH form is an emendation. Although it is not contradicted by other languages, EYu

h- is probably due to the following *-t-*. Cf. also Kh *ötgön* H421a, Bur *üdxen*(n) C494a ‘excrement (euphemism)’ (listed under *üdxen* < **ödken* ‘thick’. Possibly related to Turkic **ötük*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *hötük* [ms. *hwrwn*] 200A16. WM *ötög* L646b. Kh *ötög* H421b. Ord *ötök* M542a (with altered meaning). Bur *üteg* C515b (in compounds). Kalm *ötg* M427a. Dag---. EYu *hdög* BJ331 ‘sheep dung’ (the authors instruct the reader to strike the form *hərtög* B56; the *-r-* might have been intrusive rather than wrong, cf. the EYu treatment of **hičesün*). Remaining lgs---.

***ötege** (and ***ötegü**) ‘old, old man’, also used as an Ersatzwort for ‘bear’, usually in the form **ötege*. Note the disappearance of *-g-* in Bur and Dgx. The Kgj form was apparently newly derived from the related verb **ötel-* listed below.

MMo SH *otogu* H129 ‘old (person)’, HY *ötögü* (*gü’ün*) M85 ‘old person’, *ötögö* M85 ‘bear’. Muq *ötege* P279a ‘bear’, *ötegü* P279a, *ötöge-* P228a ‘old man’, LV *öt(e)ge* P1258 ‘bear’, *ötegü* P1258 ‘old man’, RH *ötege* 199C20 ‘bear’. WM *ötege* L646a ‘bear’, *ötegü* L646b ‘old man’. Kh *ötög* H421b ‘bear’, *ötgös* (pl.) H421b ‘elders, seniors’. Bur *ütöö* (folkl. & western) ‘grandmother’. Kalm *ötg* (obs.) M427a ‘bear’, *ötögə*, *ötkö* R302a ‘old man; bear’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *şdo:gu* X167 ‘old’. MgrM (Sanchuan) *itigü* P420a. Bao---. Kgj *eteğai* ~ *öteğai* S279b ‘old’. Dgx *oćiau* B15 ‘old’. Mog *utäyü*: R41b ‘old man’, *wataga* Leech785 ‘bear’, MogM *ütäga* ‘old man; bear’.

***ötel-** ‘to get old, to age’. Cf. **ötege*/**ötegü* above. Dgx *oćiaulu-* B15 seems to be newly form based on the latter.

MMo SH *otol-* H129, HY---, Muq *ötel-* P279a. WM *ötel-* L646b, *ötöl-* L647a. Kh *ötölöx* H421b. Ord *ötöl-* M542a. Bur *ütelxe* C516a. Kalm *ötlx* M427b. Dag *utul-* E47 ‘to become old, to dry out (e.g. vegetables)’. EYu---. MgrH *şdo:lə-* X168. MgrM *şidier-* DS240a. BaoJ *dual(ə)-* L36. Kgj *ete-* ~ *eteŋ-* ~ *erte-* S279b. Dgx *oćielu-* MC308a. Mog---.

***öyee** ‘feed, fodder’. Dag, Mgr and Dgx suggest a CM **üyee* or **öyee*. The Kh form suggests that this is a derivate ?**ögyee* of **ög-* ‘to give’, but this is not confirmed elsewhere, and does not make sense morphologically. Cf. MMo SH *oyese-* H129 ‘to be voracious’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ögjöge* (sic) L633a, *ögyöge* Ceval 432b. Kh *ög’yöö* [written *ög’eö*] Ceval432b ‘food for birds and rodents’. Ord---. Bur *üyee(g)* C496b ‘bait (esp. in a trap)’. Kalm---. Dag *uyə:* E48 ‘pig food’. EYu---. MgrH *uye* X21 ‘(pig-, dog-)food’. MgrM *uyi* JL474. Bao---. Dgx *uyə* B23 ‘food (for chicken, dog or bird)’. Mog---.

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***saa-** ‘to milk’. The peculiar MgrH and Mog forms, which seem to reflect a CM form **sua-*, are inexplicable. This variant is incompatible with the regular

reconstruction (and with Turkic). To assume that these have developed under the influence of **sün* ‘milk’ seems far-fetched. An agricultural term related to CT **sag-* ‘id’ (EDPT 804b), suggesting a PM form **saya-*.

MMo SH *sa’a-* H130, HY---, Muq *sa:-* P319b. WM *saya-* L656a. Kh *saax* H430a. Bur *haaxa* C660b. Brg *xa:-* U86. Kalm *saax* M434b. Dag *sa:-* E209. EYu *sa:-* B96, J102b. MgrH *sa:-* J102a, *sua:-* (sic) SM356. MgrM *sa-* JL469, *sa:-* C384. BaoD *sa-* BL90a. BaoÑ *sa:-* CN121. Kgj *sa-* ~ *ca-* S293a. Dgx *sa-* B112, cf. also *sayi-* MC348b with an unexpected final element, reminiscent of the verbalizer *yi* which is typically restricted to stems of Chinese origin. Mog *so-* W179b, MogM *sup-* L63:157.

***saaral** ‘name of several colours of horses’ coats (usu. shades of grey)’. The Dag form *sa:lla* developed the final vowel after the *r* and *l* were assimilated (cf. **huruul* for a similar development), unless this form is influenced by the Manchu form *sarla* H770. Agricultural term which, unlike other animal colour names, seems to lack a CT cognate.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *saral* 187C8. WM *sayaral* L657b, *saral* L675a. Kh *saaral* H429b. Bur *haaral* C660a. Brg *xa:ral* U87. Kalm *saarl* M434a. Dag *sa:rəl* E209, *sa:ral*, *sa:lla* NK87. EYu *sa:ral* BJ341, S584. Remaining lgs---.

***saari** ‘buttocks, hindquarters; names for types of leather’. The loss of the final vowel in EYu is irregular, as is the vowel shortening in Mgr. Related to CT **sagir* or **sagri* (EDPT 815a). Kh *sayr* H433a ‘cracked skin, chapping’. EYu *sa:r* S588, Bao *sirəg* (?) S588 ‘callus’ probably represents a development of the same etymon. The WM spelling *sayir* L660b seems to be a Khalkha-inspired innovation. There may have been semantic interference between **saari* and **sarisun*.

MMo SH *sa’ari* H130 ‘buttocks’, Muq *sa:ri* P319b ‘Russia leather’, P140a ‘hindquarters (of a horse)’ (P: ‘back’). WM *sayari(n)* L657b ‘horsehide, leather, shagreen’. Kh *sayr* H433a ‘suede...’. Bur *haari* C660a ‘red spots on the hands; skin of the spine’. Brg *xair* U88 ‘callus’. Kalm *säär* M444a ‘croup’. Dag *sa:r* E209 ‘leather bootstrap’. EYu *sa:r* B97 ‘buttocks (of livestock)’. MgrH *sari* SM328 ‘short-haired skin; fur’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *sairin* R37b ‘thin leather, shagreen’.

***saajagai** ‘magpie’ see ***sajagai**

***saba** ‘vessel, household container; utensil’.

MMo SH *saba* H130, HY *saba* M92, Muq *saba* P148a. WM *saba* L653a. Kh *sav* H430a. Bur *haba* C660a, *saba* (←Kh) C379b. Kalm *sav* M434b. Dag only in *tiy saw* E256 (*tiy* is a regional word). EYu *saβa* B97. MgrH *sava:* X134. MgrM *saba* JL467. BaoD---. BaoÑ *sawør* (?) CN127. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***saba-** ‘to beat’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *saba-* P314a. WM *saba-* L653a. Kh *savax* H430b. Bur *habaxa* C661a. Kalm *savx* M435a. EYu *sawa:-* S585. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *saba-* R37b.

***saču-** ‘to sprinkle, scatter, shed’. An assimilated form **čacu-* arose early, and prevails in the central languages. The -g- in MgrM may be a byproduct of devoicing. BaoŃ *sar-* is reminiscent of **sarni-*, but that verb is not attested elsewhere in QG. Related to CT **sač-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *sacu-* H131, HY---, Muq *sači-* P314a, *čači-* P129a. WM *saču-* L655a, *čaču-* L156a. Kh *cacax* H748b, *sacax* H443a. Ord *jaču-* M189b. Bur *sasaxa* C386a. Brg *sas-* U153. Kalm *cacx* M628a. Dag *čeč-* E297. EYu *saǰə-* B98, J50. MgrH *saǰə-* J94a. MgrM *səǰǰi-* DS217. BaoD---. BaoŃ *sar-* (?=) CN126. Dgx *sǰi-* B120, *ǰiǰi-* MC362b. Mog---.

***sačura-** ‘to be sprinkled, scattered, shed’. At first sight a Mongolic intransitive formation from **saču-*, the counterpart of the transitive **sačul-*, but cf. also CT **sačra-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *čačira-* P129b, *čačara-* P135b. WM *sačura-* L655b. Kh *cacrax* LC 4:255b. Bur *sasarxa* C386a. Kalm *cacr-* R423b. Dag---. EYu *saǰəra-* B98, *saǰira:-* J5. MgrH *saǰira:-* X132. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx *ǰiǰira-* MC363a, *sǰira-ǰa-* (caus.) B120. Mog---.

***sagad ~ *sagadaï ~ *sagag** ‘buckwheat’. The extant forms are rather diverse, and all of them are poorly attested (none of them in the old sources). The Dgx form could have developed from **sagag*, but in MgrH the loss of -g would be abnormal. Perhaps there was yet another variant **saga*. The vaguely similar-looking Kalm *saksa*: R308b ‘buckwheat’ may go back to a further variant **sagasaï*. The *sagadaï* form is structurally similar to **buudaï*. The phonetic variation within Mongolic could indicate that this is a loanword. Unlike other names of cultivated plants this word does not seem to have a cognate in early Turkic.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sayay* L656b, *sayada* L656b. Kh *sagag*, *sagaday* H431b. Ord *sagaq ~ sagat* M551b. Bur---. Kalm (see above). Dag---. EYu *sīgd(i)* P398. MgrH *saga* SM318. MgrM *ska* P398. BaoD *sagəd* BL77. BaoGt *səǰədə* C117. BaoJ *səǰədə* L158. Dgx *saga* B114.

***saikan** ‘beautiful, good-looking’. Originally the diminutive of **sain* ‘good’. The meaning in Muq is taboo-related, cf. Dag *ǰarya:l* E312 ‘smallpox’, lit. ‘joy’, EYu *χara pərqan* B46 ‘smallpox’, lit. ‘black Buddha’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *saiqan* P317b ‘smallpox’ (sic), Ph *sayiqan* P129b. WM *sayiqan* L661b. Kh *sayxan* H433b. Bur *hayxan* C666a. Brg *xaixan* U87. Kalm *sääxn* M444a. Dag *saiḱən* E210. EYu *seyiqan* B99, *saiyqan* B97, *saiḱḱan* J101b. MgrH *sḱan* J101b, *sai:ḱan* J102a, *saiḱan* X130, *saixan* X129. MgrM *saixan* JL476, *ǰaixan* DS206b. BaoD *saiḱan* BL89b. BaoŃ---. BaoX *seḱan* CN86:226. Kgj *sḱə ~ siḱə* S294b. Dgx *saiḱan* B115. Mog---?

***sain** ‘good’. The unexpected Baoan form *saṅ* and Kangjia *sə* could be borrowed from or at least influenced by LT *bzang* ‘id’.

MMo SH *sayin*, *sayi* H133, HY *sayin* M94, Muq *sain* P315a, *sayin* P96a. WM *sayin* L660b. Kh *sayn* H433a. Bur *hay(n)* C664a. Brg *xaiṅ* U87. Kalm *sān* M445a. Dag *sain* E209. EYu *sain* B97, J102b, *sein* B99. MgrH *sai:n* J102a. MgrM *śæn* (?) C384. BaoD *saṅ* (?=) BL90b. BaoŃ *saṅ* (?=) CN122. BaoX *saṅ* (?=) BC67.

Kgj *seini* S293b, alongside *sə* (?=) S294a. Dgx---. Mog *so:i:n* R38b ‘correct’, *som* (~ sandhi form *som*) W179b.

***sainug** ‘ox; billy-goat’ see ***seinüg**

***sakal** ‘beard’. Related to CT ***sakal** ‘id’.

MMo SH *saqal* H131, HY *saqal* M93, Muq *saqal* P318a. WM *saqal* L677b. Kh *saxal* H442a. Ord *saxul* ~ *saçal* M553a. Bur *haxal* C679b, *haxuul* (Alar) C679b. Brg *xaxal* U90. Kalm *saxl* M443a. Dag *sayəl* E213. EYu *sağal* B97, J102b. MgrH *sgal* J102a. MgrM *sgar* JL478, *siğar* C385. BaoD *sağal* BL90b. BaoÑ *saçal* CN124, *caçal* CN190 ‘pubic hair’. Kgj---. Dgx *sağan* B114. Mog *sayal* R37b.

***saki-** ‘to wait; to protect; to guard, keep watch’. Note the lengthening of the **a* due to word structure both in EYu and Bao, in this case contradicted by Mgr where the vowel was lost. Perhaps related to CT **sa:k-* ‘to think’. Cf. **mana-*.

MMo SH *saki-* H131 ‘to protect’, HY *saki-* M93, Muq *saqi-* P318a ‘to protect’, WM *saki-* L662b. Kh *saxix* H442b. Bur *haxixa* C679b. Kalm *säxx* M445a ‘to keep watch; protect; etc’. Dag *say^y-* E213. EYu *sa:ğə-* B96 ‘wait; keep watch’. MgrH *sgə-* X143 ‘protect; wait’. MgrM *ś(i)gi-* JL473, *ś(i)gə-* C385. BaoD *sa:ğə-* T146. Bao (Gaser) *sa:ğa-* CN86:227. BaoÑ *sa:ğa-* CN121. BaoX *sa:ği-* CN86:180. Kgj *saxi-* S293a. Dgx *saği-* B114.

***sal** ‘raft’. The peculiar Buriat and Dagur forms suggest CM forms **sala*, **sula*, **salī*, which are incompatible with the remaining languages. Related to CT **sa:l* ‘id’.

MMo SH *sal* H131, HY---, Muq---. WM *sal* L663a. Kh *sal* H434a. Ord *sal* M554a. Bur *hala* C669b. Brg---. Kalm *sal* M436b. Dag *s^wal* E227, *sal^y* E213. EYu *sal* B98 ‘boat’, J8 ‘raft made of inflated skins’. Remaining lgs---.

***sal-** ‘to loosen; to be divided; to part’. The final *-a* in MgrH is peculiar; original connective vowels that become part of the stem are normally *ə* or *u*.

MMo SH *salqa-* (caus.) H131, HY *salqaqda-* (caus. + pass.) M93, Muq---. WM *sal-* L663a, *salu-* L666a. Kh *salax* H434b ‘to separate, part with..’. Ord *sal-* M554a. Bur *halaxa* C667b. Kalm *salx* M438a. Dag *sal-* E213. EYu *sal-* B98 ‘to leave, depart from’, *salə-* BJ340. MgrH *sala-* (only) L475. Remaining lgs---.

***salaa** ‘branch; space between fingers’. Possibly derived from **sal-*. See **gesiün* ‘branch’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *sala:sun* (emendation) 202A19. WM *salaya(n)* L663b. Kh *salaa(n)* H434a. Ord *sala:* M554b. Bur *halaa* C667b. Brg *sala:* (←Kh) U153. Kalm *sala* M436b. Dag *sala:* E213. EYu *sala:* B98, *sala* J102b. MgrH *sala* J102a. MgrM *sala* JL471. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *sala* B114, L118a. Mog---.

***salkin** ‘wind’. The MgrH form with its long *i:* may be influenced by CM **kei* ‘wind’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *salki(n)* L665b. Kh *salxi(n)* H436a. Ord *salkin* M556b. Bur *halxi(n)* C669b. Brg *xalx'* U92. Kalm *sal'kn* M438b. Dag---. EYu *salgən* J102b 'wind', *salqān* 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* ~ *saŋ* 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 *sāmāl-* C115. BaoÑ *samla-* CN125, *sabla-* CN123. Kgj *sama-* S293a. Dgx *sanla-* B113. Mog---.

***samur-** 'to throw up in the air and scatter; to ladle; to stir'. In the first meaning reminiscent of CT **savru-* 'to winnow'.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. Kh *samrax* (?=) H437a 'to ladle up and pour back', cf. also *zamrax* H232b 'to ladle or pour liquid back into a boiling P'. Ord *samur-* M577a 'to stir with a ladle (...)', *semur-* M572a 'to throw (grains) up in the air (...)'. Bur *hamarxa* C670b. Brg *xamar-* U94. Kalm *samrx* M439a 'to stir'. Dag---. EYu *samər-* BJ340. MgrH *samurə-* X132.

***sana-** 'to think'. Cf. **bodo-*.

MMo SH---, HY *sana-* M93 'to calculate', Muq *sana-* P178a 'to consider as'. WM *sana-* L668b. Kh *sanax* H438b. Bur *hanaxa* C674a. Kalm *sanx* M441a. Dag *sanə-* E212. EYu *sana-* S593. MgrH *sana-* J102a. MgrM *sana-* DS210a. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *sana-* ~ *sina-* S293a. Dgx *sana-* B113. Mog---.

***sančig** 'hair on the temples'. It is not certain that all forms below are indeed related. Brg *samsag* (instead of expected **xanšag*) may have developed from an assimilated intermediate form with initial č-, but the -m- and the second -s- are also irregular. EYu seems to suggest **sanjīg*, although weakening of **č* is possibly quite recent. Dag is perhaps related instead to ?**saŋnai* or **saŋmai* '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 *sanjīq*] P318a 'curls'. WM *sančiy* L671a, *sanjīy* L673b (both forms spelled identically). Kh *sančig* H439b 'hair on the temples'. Ord---. Bur *hanšag* C676a 'hair on the temples'. Brg *samsag* U153, *sansag* U151 'hair in a bun'. Kalm *sanjīg* M312a '(...) short hairs over the forehead'.

Dag *sannuy*^w (?=) E212 ‘hair in a bun’. EYu *sanjəğ* B97 ‘hair on the temples’, BJ340 (?=) ‘corner’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sar** ‘bird of prey’ [several species]. Rather poorly attested. Absent in Bur and Kalm, but perhaps Kalm *sārc* M446a ‘male of the saker falcon’ is from **sariča* as Ramstedt suggests, although this suffix is otherwise unknown.

MMo SH---, HY *sar* M93 ‘buzzard’, Muq---. WM *sar* L674a. Kh *sar* H440a. Ord *sar* M561a. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *sar* B99. MgrH *sa:r* X129. BaoD---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sara** ‘moon; month’.

MMo SH *sara* H132, HY *sara* M93, Muq *sara* P318b. WM *sara, saran* L674a. Kh *sar* H439b. Bur *hara* C676a. Brg *xar* U100. Kalm *sar* M441b. Dag *sar* E214. EYu *sara* B99, J102b. MgrH *sara* J103b. MgrM *sara* JL469. BaoD *sarə* BL90a. BaoÑ *sara* CN126. Kgj *sara* ~ *cara* S293a. Dgx *sara* B114. Mog---.

***sarimsag** ‘garlic’. The rounded vocalism in MgrH is peculiar. Baoanic seems to go back to a form **samsag*. Agricultural term related to CT **sarimsak* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *sarimsaq* M93, Muq *sarimsaq* P179a. WM *sarimsaq, sarimsang* L676a. Kh *sarimsaq* H440b. Ord *sarimsaq* ~ *sarmisaq*. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *sārmsg* M445b. EYu *sarəmsəğ* B99, J102b. MgrH *sarəmsəğ* J103b, *surəmsəğ* X140, *surunsag* L537. MgrM *sanpəzəğ* DS225b. BaoD *samsəğ* BL90b. BaoGt *samsəğ* C115. BaoÑ *samsəğ* CN125. Kgj *samasığ* ~ *suamsığ* S293a. Dgx *samusa* B114.

***sarisun** ‘membrane, thin skin’. Apparently **sarisun* was lost as an independent word in Mgr. It developed the narrowed meaning ‘bat’ in Dgx; possibly via a compound word ‘membrane bird’ or the like. The rounding in MgrH is peculiar. In spite of a semantic and phonetic resemblance to **saari* these two words can hardly be related.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *sarisu* P319a ‘morocco leather’. WM *sarisu(n)* L676a. Kh *sar’s(an)* H442a. Ord *saris(u)* M563a. Bur *har’ha(n)* C679 ‘thin softly tanned skin’, cf. *har’han erbeexey* C679a ‘bat’. Brg *xar’v: ərbəxi:* U100 ‘bat’ (lit. ‘membrane butterfly’, cf. **herbeeki*). Kalm *sārsn* M446a. Dag---. EYu *sarəsən* B99. MgrH *sorosə buldu:* X136 ‘bat’ (lit. ‘membrane bird’, cf. **bildiur*). MgrM *ami sara* DS206a ‘bat’, *urmen sara* P415b ‘bat’ (if *sara* represents a garbling of the present entry, these compounds literally mean ‘fate membrane’ and ‘cream membrane’ respectively, see **amīn*, **öreme*). Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *sarisuy* B115 ‘bat’. Mog---.

***sarta-** ‘Muslim’. Many modern forms from **sartaul* > **saltaur*. On colour names *-gčIn* usually denotes females, but this is not the case in *sartaqčIn*. Foreign word related to Turkic **sart*. The *-n-* in MgrH, Bao and Dgx should normally go back to *-l-* rather than *-r-*.

MMo SH *sartaqčIn, sartaqtai* H132, *sarta’ul, sarda’ul* H132, HY *sartaqčIn* M93, Muq *sarta’ul* P319a ‘Sart (language)’. WM *sartayul* L677a. Kh *sartuul* (tribal name) Ceval 472a. Bur---. Brg. Kalm *sartul* M443a (tribal name).

EYu *salu:r* B98 ‘Hui (Chinese muslim)’. MgrH *santa* SM324 ‘name of a Muslim ethnicity (...) speaking a Mongolic dialect’. MgrM *sartur* P419a ‘Salar’, *sərtur* DS238a ‘Muslim’. Bao *santir* P419a ‘Salar’. BaoD [*jalər* BL55 ‘Salar’]. Dgx *santa* B113 ‘Hui; Muslim’. Mog---.

***sau-** ‘to sit (down); to settle down, to live’.

MMo SH *sa’u-* H133, HY *sa’u-* M93, Muq *sa’u-* P319b, *su:-* P328a. WM *sayu-* L658b. Kh *suux* H458b. Bur *huuxa* C693b. Kalm *suux* M464a. Dag *sau-* E211. EYu *su:-* B102, J102b. MgrH *sau:-* J102a, *su:-* SM355. MgrM *sau-* JL466. BaoD *səu-* BL90b, *sou-* BL56. BaoÑ *su:-* CN136. Kgj *su-* 294a. Dgx *sau-* B113. Mog *səu-* W179a, *soo-* W179b, MogM *səu-*, MogMr *sau-* L54b:141.

***saulga** ‘bucket, pail’. Possibly related to **saa-* ‘to milk’, cf. Turkic **sagu* ‘bucket’ from **sag-* ‘to milk’).

MMo SH *sa’uluqa* [or *sa’ulqa*] H132 ‘leather pail’, HY---, Muq *sa’ulya* P319b. WM *sayulya* L659a, *suul(a)ya* L740b. Kh *suulga* H457a. Bur *huulga* C692a. Brg *xo:lag* U112. Kalm *suuly* M463b. Dag---. EYu only in *saβa su:lğa* B97 ‘furniture, etc’. MgrH *sau:lğa* J102a. MgrM *sorgo* P411b. BaoD *solgo* BL90a. BaoÑ *solğa* CN135. Kgj *sulğu* S294a. Dgx *soğo* B116, *soṅgo* B116. Mog---.

***sajagai** ‘magpie’. Many modern languages do not support this exact reconstruction. Dagur reflects **sajigai*, the central languages with *š-* suggest **siajigai*, unless the *š-* is due to assimilation to the *-j-*. EYugur suggests **sajakai*. The Shirongol forms could have developed from either **sajagai* or **sajakai*. In spite of the erratic correspondence probably related to CT **sagizgan* ‘id’, apparently with remodeling of the ending.

MMo SH---, HY *sajiqai* M92, Muq---. WM *šayaṣayai* L748a, *siyaṣiyai* L700a. Kh *šaaṣgay* H796a. Ord *ša:jaḡä:* M601a. Bur *šaaṣgay* C710b, *šaaṣgay* (Khor) C710b. Brg *ša:jgai* U159. Kalm *šaaṣya* M657a. Dag *sa:ṣiy* E209. EYu *sajaqai* B98, *sajaxgai* J103b. MgrH *saṣagai:* J103a. MgrM *saṣagai* JL472. BaoD *šiaṣigai* BL91a. BaoGt *sečiḡi* C120. BaoÑ *ḡjiḡai* CN152 (not from LT *skye-ka*). Kgj *sajigei* S293a. Dgx *saziḡi* B114, *saziḡai* L119a. Mog---.

***sečen** ‘intelligent, bright’. The initial **č-* suggested by Kh *cecen*, as well as the Bur, Kalm, and Dag forms, is due to assimilation to the following *-č-*.

MMo SH *secen* H133, HY *sečen* M94, Muq---. WM *sečen* L680a, *čečen* L168b. Kh *cecen* H773a, *secen* H472a. Bur *sese(n)* C404b. Brg *səsəṅ* U154, *səcəṅ* (←Kh) U155. Kalm *cecn* M634a. Dag *čečin* E297 ‘diligent’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *šičen* P421a. Bao---. Dgx *ṣiṣan* B131. Mog---.

***seči-** ‘to poke, prod, prick, pierce’. Problematic. If all of these forms are indeed related, most of them show irregular developments. Kh and Kalm are from a form **čiči-*. The Dgx form may be from Ch *chuō* ‘id’, as the verbalizer *-ṣi* is commonly used with Chinese stems. The *-u-* in Dag is unexpected, but a Chinese borrowing is unlikely.

MMo SH *seci*- H127, HY---, Muq---. WM *čiči*- L176a, *čeči*- L168b, *seči*- L680a. Kh *čičix* H791a. Ord *jiči*- M205a. Bur---. Brg *səs*- U154. Kalm *čičx* M654a. Dag *čuč*- (?=) E307, *čiči*- NK532a. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *čuži*- (probably ←Ch) B164 ‘to poke, stab, prick’. Mog---.

***sedki-** ‘to think’. Many languages lost this verb, but see **sedkil* below.

MMo SH *setki*- H134, HY *setki*- M94, Muq *setki*- P321a. WM *sedki*- L680b. Kh *setgex* H471a. Bur *sed’xexe* (←Kh) C402a. Kalm (see below). Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. BaoD *səxtə*- BL86b. BaoÑ *səgte*- CN128. Kgj *sihte*- S293b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sedkil** ‘heart (fig), mind, thought’. Derived from **sedki*- above.

MMo SH *setkil* H134, HY *setkil* M94, Muq *setkil* P321b. WM *sedkil* L680b. Kh *setgel* H470b. Bur *hešxel* C709a ‘conscience’, *sed’xel* (←Kh) C401b. Brg *sətgəl* (←Kh) U154. Kalm *sedkl* M447a. Dag---. EYu *setgəl* B100, *sedgəl* J90. MgrH *sgəl* J102a. MgrM *ś(i)gər* JL462. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***seer** ‘backbone, spinal column’. Perhaps related to CT **sejir* in spite of the fact that this is usually ‘mountain ridge’ rather than an anatomical term.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *seger* L682a. Kh *seer* H472a. Bur *heer* C709b ‘end of rib bone, etc’, *nyurga heer* ‘vertebrae, spinal column’ (cf. **niruun*). Brg *xə:r* U101. Kalm *se:r* R328a. Dag *sə:r* E216. EYu *si:ra* ~ *sü:r* (?=, both only) S596. Shirongol---. Mog *se:r* R38a ‘back; neck’, cf. Zirmi *sehir* (sic) 3:3b ‘slender part under the short ribs’.

***sei-** ‘to pull out, to weed’. In this form and meaning in Baoanic. The meaning may originally have been ‘to make sth. more widely spaced’. If so, Kh *siyx* H443b ‘to become thin; to develop gaps’ should be related although it is an intransitive verb. A verb **sei-* is also the base of forms such as Kh *siymxiy* H443b ‘open-textured; with gaps or open spaces’. Ord *si:megi*: M579a ‘loose, transparent (of fabrics)’, Dag *səimər’k’e*: E216 ‘id’. CM **seire-* ‘to thin out (intr.)’, which survives mostly in the Central languages, may derive from this, but may alternatively be a borrowing from CT **sedre-*. The vague similarity of Dag *is-* E34 ‘to pull out’ is a coincidence; it is probably from **isü-* ‘id’ (cf. T419). A borrowing from Manchu *isi-* is less likely as the <s> should have been pronounced š. Cf. **arči-*, **üğtee-*.

BaoD *səi*- BL10. BaoJ *si-* L158. BaoÑ *si:-* CN132, cf. also *ci-* CN191 ‘to thin out young plants’. Kgj *sei*- ~ *si-* S293b. Dgx *ši-* B120, L71.

***seil-** ‘to carve, engrave’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *seyil-*, *seyile-*, *seyilü-* L684a/b. Kh *siylex* H443b. Bur *hiilexe* C680b. Kalm *siilx* M452a. Dag *səilə*- S603. EYu *si:l-* BJ341, S603. Remaining lgs---.

***seinüg ~ *sainug** ‘(kind of) ovid or bovid’. Semantically this term is peculiar as the languages do not even agree on the species, so perhaps the age group or castratedness provides a semantic link. It is also strange phonetically, in that it has back- and front-vocalic variants. There are no old forms to help establish the original

shape and meaning. Structurally similar to **kainug* ‘yak’. Cf. **serke* and **teke*, other words for ‘billy-goat’, and the peculiar regional word EYu *sais* B99 ‘two-year-old billy-goat’, MgrH *šiäs* SM395 ‘castrated billy-goat’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH---. WM *seyinüg* L684b ‘two-year-old goat’. Kh *siyneg* LC 3:103b ‘two-year-old billy-goat’. Ord---. Bur (Bokh) *haynag* C665b ~ *hiineg* C680b ‘ox, castrated bull’, (Ekhirit dial.) *haynag* C665b ‘two-year-old billy-goat’, (some dialects) *hiineg* C680b ‘castrated billy-goat’. Brg *xi:nag* U105 ‘castrated goat’. Kalm *si:nag* R38b ‘two-year-old billy-goat’. MgrH *se:nag* SM344 ‘wild yak’. MgrM *kuneg* (?=) P414b ‘billy-goat’.

***seleme** ‘sword’. Perhaps an early loanword from Tungusic in view of Tungusic **sälä* ‘iron’ (P60:29, 125).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---, RH---. WM *seleme* L686b, *selme* L687a. Kh *selem* H467a. Bur *helme* C704b. Brg *xäläm* U102, *säläm* (←Kh) U154. Kalm *selm* M449a. Dag *sälmi*: E218. EYu *seleme* Kot449. MgrH *slim* L521. Remaining lgs---.

***sem**, (diminutive) ***sem-ken** ‘silent’, (instrumental) ***sem-eer** ‘silently, secretly, stealthily’. Kalm *cem* M631b ‘quietly’, and Dag *čämu:r* E296 ‘silently, stealthily’ can hardly be related.

MMo SH *sem* H133, *semyer* H133, HY---, Muq *sem* P320a. WM *sem*, *sem iyer*, *semege* L687a, *semken* L687b. Kh *sem* H467a, *semxen* H467b, *semeer* H467b. Bur *hemeexen(eer)* C706a, *hemüüxen* (western) C705b. Brg *xämä:rxəŋ* U102. Kalm *sem semε:r* R323b. Dag (see above). EYu *seme:r* B100. MgrH *simäge:r* X135, *smuge:r* X145. MgrM---. BaoD *saŋkaŋ* BL76. BaoÑ *semkaŋ* CN131. Kgj *saŋkuda* ~ *caŋkuda* (?=) S293a. Dgx *šiemä* S598. Mog---.

***semejin** ‘fat (around the intestines)’. Possibly related to CT **semiz* ‘fat (adjective)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *semeji* P320a. WM *semeji(n)*, *semeje* L687b. Kh *semj(in)* H467b. Ord *semeji* M571b. Bur *hemže* C705b. Kalm *semjn* M449b ‘epiploon; fatty covering of the peritoneum, belly fat’. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. MogM *semajin*, MogMr *šemajin* L68, No. 60 ‘fat’.

***seri-** ‘to wake up, be awake’ (? and **sere-* ‘to notice, feel’). MMo distinguishes between these two verbs. Dagur and the QG forms all derive from **seri-* phonetically and mean ‘to wake up’. Moghol appears to stem from **sere-*. Both Mongolic verbs have been compared to CT **sez-* ‘to notice, be aware of’.

MMo SH *sere-* H134 ‘to doubt, notice, suspect’, *seri-* H134 ‘to notice, learn of, know’, HY *seri-* M94 ‘to wake up’ as well as *sere-* M94 ‘to notice’, Muq *seri-* P320b ‘to wake up’, *sere-* P320a ‘to feel, sense’. WM *sere-* L689a, *seri-* L690b (no semantic difference between both spellings). Kh *serex* H470a. Bur *herixe* C708a, *herexe* C708b. Brg *xər-* U104, *sər-* (←Kh) U155. Kalm *serx* M451b. Dag *sərʷ-* E220. EYu *ser-* B100, J103a. MgrH *serä-* J103b, *sarä-* X133. MgrM *šeri-* JL473. BaoD *serä-* BL90b. BaoÑ *ser-* CN132. Kgj *sere-* 294a. Dgx *šieri-* B123. Mog *serä-* R38a.

***seriün** ‘cool’. Note the vowel shortening in Mgr.

MMo SH *seri'ut-* H134 ‘to become cool’, HY *seri'ün* M94, Muq---. WM *serigün* L691a, *seregün* L689b. Kh *serüün* H469b. Ord *seru:n* M576a. Bur *heryüün* [written *heryuun*] C708b. Brg *xəru:ŋ* U104. Kalm *serün* M451b. Dag *səru:n* E219. EYü *suruün* B103, *surü:n* J103a. MgrH *sarən* J103b. MgrM *šerən* JL461. Bao---. Dgx *šieruŋ* MC428b. Mog---.

***serke** ‘castrated billy-goat’. The *-l-* in Dagur is peculiar.

MMo SH *serkes* (pl) H134, HY---, Muq *serke* P330b ‘billy-goat’, RH *serke* 199B29. WM *serke* L691a. Kh *serx* H469b. Bur *herxe* C708a. Kalm *serk* M451a. Dag *səlak* (?=) NK513b. EYü *serke* B100. MgrM *serkì* P414b ‘female goat’. Remaining lgs---.

***setel-** ‘to break, tear, crack open (intr)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, RH---. WM *setel-* L691b. Kh *setlex* H471a. Bur *hetelxe* C708b. Kalm *setlχə* R327a. Dag *sətlə:-* E219, *sətlu:-* NK514a. EYü *sedel-* B100. MgrH *sdieli-* SM335. Remaining lgs---.

***setere-** ‘to break, tear, crack open (intr)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *setere-* P321a. WM *setere-* L692a. Kh *setrex* H471a. Bur *heterxe* C708b. Brg *heterxe* C708b. Kalm *setrχə* R327a. Dag *sətar-* E218. EYü *sedere-* B100. Remaining lgs---.

***seüder** ‘shadow’. In spite of the *-t-* and the vocalism the Baoan forms must be related. The forms with *-k-* are very peculiar if related. MgrH, Bao and Kgj could stem from a form with high vowel in the final syllable, but MgrM and Dgx reflect **seüder*.

MMo SH *se'uder* H134, HY *se'üder* M94, Muq *se'üder* P322a, *sü:der* P267a, RH *seüder* 198A24. WM *següder* L683a. Kh *süüder* H462b. Ord *su:der* M596a. Bur *hüüder* C699b. Brg *xu:dər* U120. Kalm *süüdr* M466a. Dag *səudər* E217. EYü *su:der* (only) S615 [the normal word is *kölöki* ←CT]. MgrH *su:dər* (only) L527. MgrM *šitudiar* C384. BaoD *zetər* BL90b, as well as *zəikə* (sic, ?=) BL9. BaoGt *zitər* C107. BaoJ *zitər* L39. BaoÑ *si:tər* CN133. BaoX *zikər* (sic, ?=) BC62. Kgj *sutər* ~ *səutər* S294a, *sutur* S21. Dgx *šiaužie* B121, *šiaužiau* (sic) MC423a. Mog---.

***seüji** ‘hip, hipbone’. Perhaps related to **seül* ‘tail’, but both words are morphologically opaque.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *sü:ji* P219b. WM *següji(n)* L684a. Kh *süüj* H462b. Bur *hüüje* C699b. Brg *xu:ǰ* U120. Kalm *süüj* M466b. Dag *səuǰ* E217. EYü *suiǰə* B103, *sü:ǰə* J103a. MgrH *su:ǰə* X138, *səu:ćə* J103b. MgrM *šauži* JL473. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***seül** ‘tail; end’. Bao-Kgj-Dgx, as well as the modern MgrM form, seem to derive from a form **sel* (or **sel-čig*). May be related to **seüji* ‘hip’ and/or **seürel* ‘pubic hair’ (the latter not listed here).

MMo SH *se'ul* H134, HY *se'ül* M94, Muq *se'ül-* P322a, *sü'ül* P330b, *sü:l* P131b. WM *segül* L683b. Kh *süül* H462b. Ord *su:l* M597b. Bur *hüül* C699b. Brg *xu:l* U120. Kalm *sül* M465a. Dag *səulʰ* E217. EYu *sü:l* B103, J102b. MgrH *su:l* X137, *səu:l* J103b. MgrM *sölʰ* ('pronounced *sör*') P421b, *šier* DS254b, *šar* Z338:352 'tail', *šuar* DS32 'end'. BaoD *šianciχ* BL90a. BaoGt *šančĩ* ~ *šančĩ* C133. BaoÑ *sel* CN130 'tail hair', *selčig* CN130 'tail'. Kgj *sar* ~ *cer* S293a. Dgx *šien* B122 '&tail hair'. Mog *söul* R38b.

***seüresün** 'sigh'. Note the peculiar distribution of this word.

MMo SH *seo'urel-* H134 'to breathe, sigh', HY---, Muq---. WM *següresü(n)* L683b, *seür(e)sü* L692b, *sigüresü(n)* L703b. Kh *süürs* H463b, *šüürs* H824b. Ord---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *su:s* E83:200b. MgrH *su:re:sə* X138, *surie:zə* SM365, *su:re:sĩ* L536, *səru:səle-* X135 'to sigh'.

***sia** 'ankle' see ***sigaĩ**

***siba-** 'to plaster; to smear on'. Dagur *šay-* combines the meanings of ***siba-** and ***sika-**, and since Dag *y* < *w* < ***b** is not uncommon, the Dagur form most likely represents both CM verbs.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *suba-* (sic, ? ←Turkic) P326b, IV---, LV---. WM *siba-* L693a. Kh *šavax* H797b. Ord *šawa-* 610b. Bur *šabaxa* C712a. Kalm *šavx* M659b. Dag *šay-* (?=) E229. EYu *šβa-* B110. Mgr---. BaoÑ *xiwa-* CN158. Kgj *šiva-* S296a. Dgx *šuwa-* B134. Mog---.

***sibar** 'mud, loam'. Poppe derives this word from ***siba-** above.

MMo SH *šibar* H139, HY *šibar* M96, Muq *šibar* P332a. WM *sibar* L694a. Kh *šavar* H797a. Ord *šawar* M611a. Bur *šabar* C712a. Brg *šafar* U160. Kalm *šavr* M659b. Dag *šaur* E228. EYu *šβar* B110, *šəβar* J103a. MgrH *šavar* J103b, *šəvar* X149. MgrM *šbar* C386, *šabar* T381. BaoD *bār* BL90b, *bar* BL13, *šbar* BL13. BaoGt *šibər* C123. BaoÑ *xiwar*, *xəwar* CN158. BaoX *xbar* BL63. Kgj *šivar* ~ *šive* S296a. Dgx *šuwa* B134. Mog---.

***sibaun** 'bird'. In Mog this word seems to survive in *kou-šibλ(n)* W170b 'boy' (for the first element cf. **köbeün*). A similar looking compound is present in Kgj *kunšün* S287b 'sons and daughters, offspring', but the second element is perhaps more likely to be an irregular reflex of **ökin* 'girl', as is the first element of BaoGt *šindi* 'younger sister'. Cf. **bildiur*, which has become the generic name for small birds in Baoan and Dongxiang. The second element of Dgx *qarasuŋ* MC207b 'swallow' might be a contracted form of **sibaun*, although it differs considerably from the form recorded by Potanin.

MMo SH *šibao'un* H139 'small bird', HY *šiba'un* M96, Muq *šiba'un* P332b. WM *sibayu(n)* L693b, *sibau* L694b. Kh *šuvuu(n)* H819b. Ord *šiwu:* M626a, (sporadically) *šuwu:* M636a. Bur *šubuu(n)* C731b. Brg *šofu:* U169. Kalm *šovun* M678a. Dag *šɔɣɔ:* E238, *šɔwɔ:* E240 'falcon'. EYu *šu:n* B109. MgrH *šau* X147, *šu:* X157. MgrM *šibau* JL472. Bao---. Kgj (see above). Dgx *šiwaj* P418b, see above. Mog (see above).

***sibkara-** ‘to be squeezed out, to flow out, to lose fluid, to be emptied’. Apparently originally an intransitive form of ***sibka-** ‘to remove the fluid from sth’. This word seems to survive in Dag *šibk-* E234 (although the expected development of ***sibka-** would have been Dag ***šark-**).

MMo---. WM *sibqar-* L696b. Kh *šavxrax* H798a. Ord *šiwχ^uara-* M625b ~ *šibχara-* M612b. Bur *šabxarxa* C712b. Kalm *šavrxr* M660a ‘to scoop out’. Dag (see above). EYu *šəβqaru:l-* (caus) BJ342. MgrH *šügora:-* X158, *šgura:-* SM378.

***sičua** ‘whip’. Monguoric suggests a form ***sičau** with metathesized vowel sequence. The Ordos word may be the same word, but in that case it probably represents a misinterpretation of a spelling with *-y-*. Cf. also Manchu *šusiha*. Cf. ***mīnaa**.

MMo SH *cicu’a* H27, HY---, Muq---. WM---. Ord *jičaga* (?=) M204b ‘twisted thread or rope (...)’. MgrH *šžau* X159. MgrM *šžau* JL474, (Sanchuan) *rču* P418a. Remaining lgs---.

***siğai** ~ ***sia** ‘anklebone; bone used in games’. The forms are rather diverse and may have different origins. Some languages feature a form with *-g-* and a form without *-g-*. The form ***sia** may have developed from ***siğaa** (through intermediate stages ***siya** > ***siya**), but such developments normally belong to the PM period. Another possibility is that ***sia** represents the regular development of this etymon, whereas the forms with *-g-* are due to WM influence. This solution is unlikely, since both *siğai* and *ša:* are used in MgrH, which language doesn’t seem to be influenced by WM. Kh *šagaa* seems to go back to a third variant ***siğaa** which is not in the old sources (note that Kalm *šaya* could be a regular development of ***siğai**). It is also possible that Kh *šagaa* represents a reading pronunciation of the WM spelling *siya*. As to Dag *sak*, this could be one of a small set of Dagur words in which ***s** failed to palatalize before ***i/i**. However, *sak* could also represent yet another etymon, ***saka(i)**, which is found in the ‘central’ languages, cf. Kh *sax* H442a, Bur *haxi* C680a, *haxa* (dial.) C679b, *haxay* C679a, which all denote small bones used in games. It is unclear whether there is a relationship with ***siira** ‘leg’.

MMo SH *ši’a* H138, HY *ši’a* M96 ‘ankle’, Muq *šiyai-* P333a ‘ankle’, LV *šiyai* P61 ‘ankle’. WM *šiyai* L699a, *šaya(n)* L747b, *siya(n)* L699a. Kh *šagaa* H798b, *šagay* H799a. Ord *ša:* M600a ‘ankle’. Bur *šagay* C713a. Brg *šagai* U161. Kalm *šaya* M661a ‘ankle; knucklebone’, *ša* M657a ‘small bones (used in fortune-telling)’. Dag *sak* (?=) E212 ‘anklebone’. EYu *šqai* B110 ‘anklebone’, *šagai* J103b. MgrH *ša:* J103a, X147 ‘anklebone’, *siğai* X152, *šgai* X163 ‘leg’. MgrM *šgai* JL478 ‘shin, shank’, *šigai* C387 ‘leg’, *šage* Z333:283 ‘heel’. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. MogM *šiyei* L62:66 ‘ankle’.

***siğai-** (~ ***siğaa-**) ‘to peep at, spy on; to gaze at, to stare’. Dgx *š-* is unexpected. MgrM *čigə-* DS248a ‘to see’, and Kgj *čigi-* ~ *čiki-* S300b ‘to look’ may also be related in spite of the irregular initial. On the other hand, there is also a Kgj verb *šigara-* S295b ‘to look sideways at’ (of which the last part is unclear).

MMo SH---, HY *šiqaji üje-* M97, Muq---. WM *siqaya-* L721b, *siya-* L699a, *siyayi-* L699a. Kh *šagaax* H799a, *šagayx* H799a. Ord *šaxa:-* M602a. Bur *šagaaxa* C713a. Brg *šiga:-* U167, *sagai-* U152. Kalm *šayax* M661a. Dag *šiy^ye:-*

E234. EYu *sḡai-* B104, J6. MgrH *sge-* X142. MgrM (see above). Bao---. Kgj (see above). Dgx *šigai-ḡi uḡa-* B125 (**ijē-* ‘to see’). Mog---.

***sūra** ‘leg’. The Dgx form with -ḡ- is puzzling. In the central languages the appearance of such consonants can be explained as WM influence, but nothing is known about a WM writing tradition among the Dgx. The -ḡ- could also be due to the influence of **sigaī* but this word is now absent from Dgx.

MMo SH *šiyira* H143 ‘hoof’, HY---, Muq *ši:ra* (ed. reads *šira*) P335b ‘legs’, LV *si:ra* (ed. reads *seire*) P60 ‘shin’. WM *sigira* L702b, *sigere* L702a. Kh *šiyr* H811a ‘shank, leg (of animals), hoof &c’. Ord *ši:ra* M621b. Bur *šiire* C726b. Brg *ši:r* U163. Kalm *šiir* M671b ‘shank; leg (of furniture)’. Dag---. EYu *šira* B108 ‘leg’, *ši:ra* S713 ‘shank’. MgrH *šira:* SM397 (q.v.). Bao---. Dgx *šigara* B130 ‘leg’. Mog---.

***sika-** ‘to squeeze, press, pinch’. Related to CT **sik-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *šiqā-* H140, HY *šiqā-* M97, Muq *šiqā-* P335b, *šiya-* P333a. WM *šiqā-* L721a, *šiya-* L699a. Kh *šaxax* H807b. Ord *šaḡa-* M602a. Bur *šaxaxa* C724b. Kalm *šaxx* M668b. Dag *šay-* E229. EYu *šəqa-* B105, *šəyqa-* BJ302, *šga-* J9. MgrH *šixa:-* X152, *šiga:-* X152, *šga:-* X163. BaoD---. BaoÑ *xiḡa-* CN156. Kgj---. Dgx *šigā-* B130. Mog---.

***siluun** ‘straight (literally); upright, honest’.

MMo SH *šili’un* H140 ‘noble’, HY---, Muq---. WM *siluyun* L708a. Kh *šuluun* H820b. Bur *šuhuu(n)* C733b also ‘quick’. Kalm *šulun* M683a ‘quick’. Dag *šɔhun* E239. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *šuluḡ* B134 ‘straight; honest’. Mog---.

***silja** ‘sheep tick’. Sun’s Mongghul form is not confirmed by other vocabularies. The unexpected *s-* in Dgx agrees with the form in Muq.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *salja* [Poppe reads *selče*] P389b, RH *šalja* (thus emended, ?*salja*) 200A8. WM *silja* L708b, *šalja* L751a. Kh *šalz(an)* H802a. Ord *šilja* M616a. Bur *šalza* C716b. Kalm *šalz* M663a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *ša:lža* S704. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx *saṅza* MC346a. Mog---.

simali-** (?simal-**) ‘to tuck up, roll up’. SH seems to suggest a CM form **simali-*, although the Chinese notation may also be read without vowel. The vowel lengthening in EYu and MgrH, for which a following syllable is typically required, points at a trisyllabic form as well, but this need not be original. The WM form in *-a* may be historically incorrect. If the intransitive counterpart **sima-ra-* in Kh is not a recent invention, one would expect the transitive verb to be **sima-l-*. Ordos *šima-* may represent the original root.

MMo SH *šimaliqa-* (caus) H140, HY---, Muq---. WM *simala-*, *simali-* L709a. Kh *šamlax* H803a. Ord *šima-* M617b ‘tuck up’, *šimal-* ‘to graze the skin’. Bur *šamaxa* C718a. Kalm *šamlx* M664a. Dag *šaməl-* E230. EYu *šəma:l-* (only) S725. MgrH *šima:lə-* X153. Remaining lgs---.

***simtara-** ‘to become blunt, calm, weak’. This meaning occurs in the central languages and in Dagur. In Shirongol it has the meaning ‘to melt, thaw, dissolve’,

and in shapes suggesting an earlier form **simtere-* (BaoÑ excepted). Here we will assume that all these forms are indeed related, and that the back-vocalic variant is the older one. In the central languages there are further related forms, all semantically related. An early related form may be Muq *šimta-* (?) [Poppe reads *šimet-*] P333b ‘to melt’. Poppe’s reading agrees with LV *simed-* 73a-03 ‘to liquefy’, but the Muq form allows for the reading *šimta(ba)*.

MMo--- (see above). WM *sintara-* L713a, precl. *šintara-*, *šintara-* T564. Kh *šantrax* H804b. Ord *šintara-* M619b ‘to become blunt, calm, weak, etc’. Bur---. Kalm *šamtr-*, *šantr-* R348a ‘to become blunt, etc’. Dag *šantar-* (only) NK517b. EYu---. MgrH *šindare-* X152. MgrM *šintar-* C386, *šantər-* JL472. BaoJ *šindər-* L23. BaoÑ *šumdara-* CN159, *šimdara-* CN157. Kgj *šintəri-* S295a. Dgx *šimičire-* P424. Mog---.

***šimuul** ‘mosquito’. The WM form with *-ayu-* is not supported by the modern languages, except perhaps Ramstedt’s Kalmuck form with *-o-*. Note the different ending in Kalmuck. Reminiscent of CM **simi-* ‘to suck’, to which it can hardly be related because of the different vowel class.

According to Bökh, Dgx *sunbəŋ* B117, *šunbəŋ* B133 ‘fly’ is related to this word. The following forms could be related as well: MMo LV *sinsa:wul* (thus Saitō) P58, RH *šišau:l* 200B12, MgrH *šimsu:l* X153, *šamsu:l* L634. MgrM *šumušer* T382 (the modern forms all meaning ‘fly’). Cf. also MgrH *šimsu* C88:586, MgrM *šimsar* JL460, and BaoD *bəsmal* BL83b ‘fly’, which are similar to but hard to connect to **šimuul*, unless perhaps by assuming compounds with an unknown first element.

MMo SH---, HY *šimu’ul* M97 ‘fly’, Muq *šimu:l* P333b, RH *šimu:l* 200B11. WM *šimuyul* L710b, *šimayul* L709a. Kh *šumuul* H821a ‘&gnat’. Ord *šimu:l(i)* M618b, *šumu:l(i)* M634b. Bur *šumuul* C733b ‘insect’. Kalm *šumu:sn* R368a, *šomu:l* R364a. Dag *šomɔ:l* E239. EYu---. MgrH *šæmu:l* X149, *šimul* X153, *šimur* L643 all meaning ‘mosquito’. MgrM *šimər* DS224a, (Sanchuan) *šumul* P416b ‘fly’. Bao (see above). Kgj *šimilšimu gūrgei* (**korakaï*) S295b. Dgx (see above). Mog---.

***šinaa** ‘wedge; temple of the head; promontory’. It will be assumed here that the three main meanings belong to the same etymon. The modern WM spelling *sina* with single *a* may well be historically incorrect. Although reminiscent of Kh *šaantag* H769a. Ord *ša:nčaq*, *ša:nčik* M606b ‘wedge’. Bur *šaantag* C711a ‘wedge’. Kalm *šaancg* M657b, this word, written WM *šančay*, *šantuy* L751b, *siyantay*, *siyantuy* L699a/b ‘wedge’, may be from the verb **sĩa-* (WM *siya-*) ‘to drive in’ (?= CT **sīg-*).

MMo SH *šina’a* H141 ‘island, land surrounded by water’, HY, Muq---, Ph---. WM *sinaya* L710b ‘spur of a mountain’, WM *sina*, *sinaya* L710b ‘temple of the head’. Kh *šanaa* H803b ‘cheeks; (..) spur of a mountain’. Ord *šina:* M618b ‘spur of a mountain’. Bur *šanaa* C718a ‘temple’. Kalm *šana* M664b ‘temple; border’. Dag *šina:* E233 ‘wooden wedge’. EYu---. MgrH *šina:* X151 ‘wedge’. Remaining lgs---.

***šinaga** ‘spoon, ladle, scoop’. Baoan reduced the first syllable, and MgrM the second. Endemic and without obvious segmentation.

MMo SH *šinaqa* H141, HY---, Muq *šinaya* P333b. WM *sinaya* L710b. Kh *šanaga(n)* H803b. Ord *šinağa* M618b. Bur *šanaga* C718b. Brg *š^yanag* U172. Kalm *šany* M664b. Dag---. EYu *šanağa* B105, J103a. MgrH *šinağa* J103b, *šanağa* X162. MgrM *šəŋğa* JL462. BaoD *nağa* BL90b. BaoGt *niağə* C110. BaoJ *nieğə* L131. BaoÑ *nağa* CN25. BaoX *ñiğə* BC62. Kgj *šiniğa* S295a. Dgx *šinağa* B130, L118a. Mog---.

***sindasun** ‘tendon’. Only in the central languages + EYu.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sindasu(n)* L710b. Kh *šandas(an)* H804a. Ord *šindasu* M618b. Bur *šandaaha(n)* C720a. Kalm *šandsn* M664b ‘Achilles’ tendon’. Dag---. EYu *šandasən* B105, *šəldasən* (sic) S723. Remaining lgs---.

***sira** ‘yellow’.

MMo SH *šira* H141, HY *šira* M97, Muq *šira* P335b. WM *sira* L714b. Kh *šar* H805a. Ord *šara* M608a. Bur *šara* C720b. Brg *š^yar* U172. Kalm *šar* M665b. Dag *šar* E230. EYu *šra* B111, *šəra* J103b. MgrH *šira* J103a. MgrM *šira* ~ *ša* JL472, *ša*: C387. BaoD *šira* BL90a. BaoÑ *šira* CN157. Kgj *šira* S295b. Dgx *šira* B132, L118b. Mog *šira* R39b, *širə* W180b, MogMr, MogM *širə*: L73:173.

***sira-** ‘to roast’.

MMo SH *šira-* H141, HY *šira-* M97, Muq *šira-* P335b. WM *sira-* L714b. Kh *šarax* H805b. Ord *šara-* M608a. Bur *šaraxa* C721b. Brg *šar-* U162. Kalm *šarx* M667a. Dag *šar-* E230. EYu *šəra-* B106, J103b. MgrH *šira-*: J103a, X154. MgrM *šira-* JL471. BaoD---. BaoGt *ša-* C121. BaoÑ *šira-* CN157. Kgj *šira-* S295b. Dgx *šira-* B132, *šira-* L118a. MogM *širə-*: L63:173 ‘id’.

***siraui/*siruia/*sироi** ‘earth, ground, soil, dust’. The first two forms display metathesis of diphthong elements; the **sироi* variant is probably from **siruai*, as Poppe (1955:43,80) suggests. The forms **siruia* and **sироi* are found in the North. The Shironogol languages all seem to stem from **siraui*. The Dgx form represents yet another metathesis of that.

MMo SH *širo'ai* H142, HY *šira'u* M97, Muq *šira'u* P336a, *širu*: P336a, *široi* P336a, RH *široa* 201C17 ‘dust’ [or ‘earth’], *šira* 202A4 ‘clay’. WM *siroi* L719a, *siroya*, *siroyai* L718b. Kh *šoroy* H818a, *šoroo* H818a. Ord *šoroo* M629a. Bur *šoroy* C730b. Brg *šəru*: U168. Kalm *šora* M680a. Dag *širə*: E237 ‘grit (in cereals)’. EYu *šəru*: J103b, BJ343, *šəru*: B108, *šoru*: B108. MgrH *širəu*: J103a, *širu*: X155, *šuru*: X158. MgrM *šao* DS219a, *širan* (?=) DS227a. BaoD *širou* BL90b. BaoÑ *širu* CN158. Dgx *šəura* B129.

***sirga** ‘certain horse colour, isabella, etc’. One would suspect a relationship with **sira* ‘yellow’.

MMo SH *širqa* H142, HY---, Muq *širya* P336a. WM *sirya* L716b. Kh *šarga* H805b. Ord *šarga* M609b. Bur *šarga* C722a. Kalm *šary* M666a. Dag *šarəy* E231 (and *širya*: E237 ←Manchu). EYu *šərga* B106. Remaining lgs---.

***sīrgoljin** ‘ant’. Note the vowel length in Kh and Bur. In Dag the -ui- is unexpected, and so is the s- rather than š-.

MMo SH---, HY *širqaljin* (or rather *široqaljin*) M98, Muq---. WM *siryolji(n)* L717a, precl. *sir(o)joljin* T565. Kh *šorgoolj(in)* H818a. Ord *šurgulji* ~ *šurgu:lji* ~ *šorgolji* M635b. Bur *šorgoolzon* ~ *šorgoolžon* C730a. Brg *šorgo:lji* U168. Kalm *šoryljin* M142a. Dag *suiyaljin*, *suiyalj* E224. EYu *šorgoljan* B108. MgrH *širgolžin* X155, *šorgolžin* X156. Remaining lgs---.

***sirgu-** ‘to penetrate; to get through; to insert’.

MMo SH *širqu-* H142, HY---, Muq---. WM *siryu-* L717a, *šuryu-* L758a. Kh *šurgax* H821b. Bur *šurgaxa* C734a. Kalm *šuryx* M684a. Dag---. EYu *šurgu-* B109. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *šuryu-* R39b.

***siri-** ‘to stitch (usually the sole of a shoe)’. That this word belongs to the back vowel class is based on the Turkic cognate **siri-* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, RH---. WM *siri-* L717b. Kh *širex* H815b. Ord *šire-* ~ *širi-* M622a. Bur *šerexe* C750b. Kalm *širx* M677a. Dag *šir-* E236. EYu *šar-* B106, J103b, J35. MgrH *širə-* J103a. BaoD *širə-* BL90a. BaoN---. Kgj *širi-* S296a. Dgx *širi-* L118a. Mog---.

***sirka** ‘wound’. EYu suggests **sirga*.

MMo SH *širqa-* H142 ‘to injure’, HY---, Muq---, LV---, RH---. WM *širqa(n)* L719a. Kh *šarx* H806a. Ord *šarxa* M610a. Bur *šarxa* C723a. Kalm *šarx* M667a. Dag---. EYu *šərga* B106, *šərga* J103b. Remaining lgs---.

***sīro** ‘pointed stick; spit’. In Muq this word shows the same unrounding as **čino* ‘wolf’. However, Ordos and EYugur behave differently here. In spite of the modern forms that suggest **šoro*, the original form must have been **sīro*, because modern š- owes its palatality to *i/*i.

MMo SH *širo* H142, HY---, Muq *šira* P335b ‘spit’. WM *šoro* L756b, *siro* L718b. Kh *šor* H818a. Ord *šoro* M629a. Bur *šoro* C730b. Brg *šor* U168. Kalm *šor* M680a. Dag *šor* E239. EYu *šoro* J19. Remaining lgs---.

***sīta-** ‘to catch fire, to burn (intr.)’, ***sītaa-** ‘to light (a fire), to burn, set fire to’. The surprising variants Dag *xita:-* and Ord *išta:-*, with equivalents in other central dialects, such as Khorčin *xet-* (Chagankhad 1995:28; also see Sun 1990:710;), can not be incorporated into the reconstruction. CM **sīta-* and its caus. **sītaa-* probably merged phonetically in EYu and Mgr, but today only the transitive seems to survive there. In Baoanic the original forms were replaced by new forms **sītara-* ‘to catch fire, burn (intr.)’, and caus. **sītaraga-* ‘to set fire to, to burn (tr)’: BaoD *darə-* BL90a. BaoN *hdara-* CN86:382, *šdara-* CN150, *šdarga-* CN150. BaoX *darə-* BC62. Kgj *dəra-* S318, *dağa-* S298b. Dgx *sdara-* B120, *sdarağa-* B120. Bökh’s suggestion that the Dgx forms are related to Kh *sadrax* H432b ‘to spurt, etc’ is less likely.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *šita-* P336b. WM *sita-* L719b, *sitaya-* L720a. Kh *šatax* H807a, *šataax* H806b, cf. Chakhar *yatān*, *yata:n* D186a. Ord *šita:-* M624a, *išta:-* M389a. Bur *šataxa* C724a. Brg *šat-*, *šata:-* U161. Kalm *šatx* M668a. Dag

šita:- E235, *xita*:- E114. EYü *šəta*:- B106, *šda*:- J103a. MgrH *šda*:- J103a, X164 also ‘to prepare a meal’. MgrM *šida*- DS209b, *šda*- T384. Bao (see above). Kgj (see above). Dgx (see above). MogM *šitw*:- L63:173 ‘to cook’.

***sürgan** ‘storm’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *siyurya(n)* L701a, *šuurya(n)* L758b. Kh *šuurga* H822b. Ord *šu:rğan* M635a. Bur *šuurga(n)* C735a. Brg *šʷo:rag* U173. Kalm *šuuryn* M684b ‘blizzard’. Dag *šw:rəy* NK521a. EYü *šu:rğan* B109 ‘blizzard’. Remaining lgs---.

siber** (?siberi**) ‘sweat on the palms or feet’. In view of Ord and Bur, the *-i* in WM seems to be historically incorrect. However, in EYü the loss of a high vowel after *r* is not unusual.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *siberi* L695a. Kh *šiver* H808b. Ord *šiwir* M625a. Bur *šeber* C741a. Brg *šibər* U164. Kalm *šivr* M669b. Dag *šəur* E231. EYü *šəβer* B105. Mog---.

sibüge** (?sibege**) ‘awl’. As in case of **čimegen*, the original form is hard to determine due to contradictory evidence. The *s-* in BaoX and Dgx is unexpected, and the *-m-* in Dgx is irregular. The central languages suggest a form **siböge* with **ö* as the second vowel. This **ö* in its turn may have been rounded from earlier **e* by the preceding **b*, or lowered from **ü* due to the following **e*. If this word is related to **sibe-* ‘to perforate’, **sibege* is the most likely original form.

MMo SH *šibüge* H139, HY---, Muq *šibüge* P332b, RH *sibege* 204C2. WM *sibügen* (?*siböge(n)*) L696b. Kh *šövög* H818b. Ord *šöwögö* M630b. Bur *šübgə* C736b. Brg *šubəg* S723. Kalm *šövg* M681a. Dag *šəuyʷ* E231. EYü *šəβye* B105, *šəβəye* J103a, *šuyə* BJ343, *šuyə* J86. MgrH *šiu:ge* J103b, *šu:gə* X157, *šubuge* SM383, *šu:ge* SM384. MgrM *šubigi* JL472. BaoD *šibgu* BL90a. BaoGt *sikə* C108. BaoŃ *šuke* CN159. BaoX *su:kə* BC62. Kgj *səuki* ~ *sikəu* S293b. Dgx *sumuğə* B118. MogM *šibika* L68, No. 112.

***side-** ‘to sew, stitch, baste’. In Dgx *ś-* appears instead of expected *š-*. Dag *šij-* E236 is a borrowing from Manchu *siji-* (which could ultimately be the same word as CM **side-*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *side-* L697b. Kh *šidex* H810a. Ord *šide-* M613a. Bur *šedexe* C743a. Kalm *šidx* M671a. Dag---. EYü---. MgrH *šde*:- X166 ‘to patch’. MgrM *šide-* T382, *šidi-* DS248b. Bao---. BaoŃ *šde-* CN150. Kgj *šte-* ~ *šde-* S296a. Dgx *šijie-* B126. Mog---.

***sidün** ‘tooth’. Perhaps a collective form from a PM root **si-* (See **nidün* ‘eye’ for a similar formation).

MMo SH *šidu* H139, *sudu* H136, HY *šidün* M97, Muq *šidün* P332b, *sidün* P105b. WM *sidü(n)* L698b. Kh *šüd(en)* H823a. Ord *šudu* M636a. Bur *šüde(n)* C737a. Brg *šud* U171. Kalm *šüdn* M685b. Dag *šid* E235. EYü *šdən* B110, J103b, *šədən* S728. MgrH *šdə* J103a, *šdi* L642. MgrM *šudu* JL472, *šdu* JL478. BaoD *šduŋ* ~ *duŋ* BL90b. BaoŃ *šdəŋ* CN151. Kgj *šidun* ~ *šduŋ* S295b. Dgx *šidun* B131. Mog *sudun* R39a.

***sie-** ‘to urinate’. The Dag form suggests **see-*. See **siesün* ‘urine’.

MMo SH *ši’e-* H139, HY---, Muq *še:-* P331b, *šiye-* P337a. WM *sige-* L701b. Kh *šeex* H825b. Ord *še:-* M611b. Bur *šeexe* C752b. Brg *šə:-* U162. Kalm *šeex* M669a. Dag *sə:-* E216. EYu *ši:-* B107, J103a. MgrH *še:-* J103b. MgrM *še-* J88. BaoD *šiə-* BL90b. BaoÑ *še-* CN155. Kgj *še-* S295a. Dgx *šə-* 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(u)* M612a. Bur *šehe(n)* C752b. Brg *šixə:* U165. Kalm *šeesn* M669a. Dag *sə:s* E216. EYu *ši:sən* B107, J103a, *še:sən* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *še:sə* J103b. MgrM *šesi* JL472, *šərsi* DS258b, *šarsī* Z336:330. BaoD *šiəsuy* BL90a. BaoÑ *šesoy* CN155. Kgj *šesun* S295a. Dgx *šəsuy* B129. Mog *seisun* R38a.

***silbi** ‘shank, shin’. Note that Muq *šili* P333b is also translated ‘shank’ (cf. CM **sili* below).

MMo SH---, HY *šilbi* M97, Muq *šilbi-* P202a. WM *silbi* L705b. Kh *šilbe(n)* H811b. Ord *šilbi ~ šilbe* M615b. Bur *šelbe* C744a. Brg *šiləβ* U166. Kalm *šilv* M672a. Dag *širəm* (?=) E237, *šiləm* T183. EYu *šəlpə* 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 *šəlie* B129 is from Ch *shēli*.

MMo SH---, HY *šile’ülsün* M97, Muq---. WM *silügüsü(n)* L708b, *silegüsü(n)* L706a. Kh *šülüüs* H823a, *šilüüs(en)* H812a. Ord *šölü:s* M630a. Bur *šeliühe(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 *širgudi-* SM399, *širgudə-* X155. MgrM *šukutu-* DS249a, *šugudu-* 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, *šälen* J103b. MgrH *šilo*: J103a, *šulo*: SM385. MgrM *šuli* C380. BaoD *šile* BL91b. BaoJ *šle* L170. BaoÑ *šile* CN157. Kgj *šile* S295b. Dgx *šulie* B134. Mog---.

***silükei** ‘saliva; slobbering’. Ord and MgrH seem to suggest **silökei*. Related to **silüsün*, and possibly to **silön*. Cf. also MMo SH *šilemelce*- H140 ‘to salivate’.

MMo SH *šiluget* (?) H140 ‘who can’t keep their saliva in’, HY---, Muq---, RH *silütü* (sic) 199A27. WM *silükei* L708b ‘slobbery, etc’. Kh *šülxiy* H823b ‘slobbery &c’. Ord *šölöki*: M630a. Bur *šülxi* C737b ‘foot-and-mouth disease’. Brg *šulxi*: U171 ‘foot-and-mouth disease’. Kalm *šülkä* M686a ‘foot-and-mouth disease; slobbery’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *šolgo* X156, *šorgo* J103a ‘saliva’. MgrM *šurka* DS247a, *šurke* Z337:335 ‘saliva’. Bao---. Dgx *šəŋki* B129 ‘saliva’. Mog---.

***silüsün** ‘saliva’. See s.v. **sərbösün* for further possible cognates in MgrH and BaoÑ. Probably related to **silükei*, and possibly to **silön*. Mostaert and de Smedt instead compare MgrH *šulužə* to CM **silbüsün* ‘pine needle’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *šilusun* H140, HY---, Muq---. WM *silüsü(n)* L708b. Kh *šüls(en)* H823a, cf. also *aalzan šüls* H2b ‘spider web’. Ord *šölös(u)* M630a. Bur *šülhe(n)* C738a, cf. also *abaaxayn šülhe(n)* C738a ‘spider’s web’. Brg *šulu*: U171. Kalm *šülsn* M686a. Dag *šull*^w E240 also ‘spider’s silk’, cf. *ata:ki: šuls* E13 ‘spider’s silk’ (*ata:ki*: from Tungusic). EYu---. MgrH *šulužə* SM385 ‘thread, fibre (in meat, fruit, wood)’. Bao (see remark above). Dgx---. Mog---.

***sime(n)** ‘juice’. The *-n* in MgrH is unexpected. Perhaps related to CM **simi-* ‘to suck’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sime* L709b. Kh *šim* H812b. Ord *šime* M618a. Bur *šeme* C745a. Brg *šim* U166. Kalm *šimn* M673a. Dag *šim* E235 ‘nutritiousness; juice’. EYu *šəme* BJ343 ‘taste, flavour’. MgrH *šime:n* X153. Remaining lgs---.

***simi-** ‘to suck’. The form **simi-* with *-i* is supported by MMo, Mog and the QG languages, and not contradicted elsewhere. The spelling WM *sime-* may be historically incorrect, although Ordos seems to support this variant. Perhaps related to **sime* ‘juice’ listed above. In spite of the different harmonic class somehow related to **simuul*? Cf. also Dag *šəmə:r* E239 ‘mouthpiece for pipe/cigarette holder’, suggesting **simiul*.

MMo SH *šimi-* H141, HY---, Muq *šimi-* [P: *šime-*] P333b. WM *sime-* L709b, *simi-* L710a. Kh *šimex* H813a. Ord *šime-* M618a. Bur *šemexe* C745b. Brg *šim-* U166. Kalm *šimx* M673b. Dag *šim-* E235. EYu *šəmə-* B106. MgrH *šimu-* X153, *šimə-* X153. MgrM *šumi-* JL464. BaoÑ *šimə-* CN157. Kgj *šimi-* S295b. Dgx *šiməi-* MC358b ‘to sip, take in the mouth and taste’. Mog *simi-* R38a.

***simtere-** ‘to melt’ see ***šimtura-**

***sini** (?~ ***sine**) ‘new’. The QG languages all stem from **sini*. The form **sine* suggested by Muq and WM may be confirmed by Ordos and Khamnigan (J21). The

remaining modern languages are inconclusive (the *-e* in Bur and Kh spelling could stem from either variant). The rounding in Brg is unexplained.

MMo SH *šini* H141, HY *šini* M97, Muq *šine* P334a, *šini* P334b, Ph *šine* P130b. WM *sine* L711a, *sini* L713a. Kh *šine* H814a. Ord *šine* M619a. Bur *šene* C747b. Brg *š'un* U173. Kalm *šin* M673b. Dag *šij-kən* E233, *šəŋ-kən* E231. EYu *šənə* B105, J103a. MgrH *šinə* J103b. MgrM *šini* JL470. BaoD *šinə* BL90a. BaoJ *šnə* L170. BaoÑ *šinə* CN156. BaoX *šənə* CN86:274. Kgj *šini* S295a. Dgx *šini* B130. Mog---

***singe-** ‘to be digested’, and ‘(of the sun) to set’. Cf. CT **siŋ-*.

SH *šingge-* H141 ‘to set (sun)’, HY---, Muq *šinge-* P334a ‘to be digested; to set (heavenly bodies)’, *singe-* P194b ‘to be digested’, Ph *šingge'e-* (caus.) P130b ‘to absorb’. WM *singge-* L711b. Kh *šingex* H813b. Ord *šingge-* M620b. Bur *šengexe* C746b ‘absorb; be digested; sink’. Brg *šing-* U164 ‘to be digested; to set’. Kalm *šingx* M675a ‘to be digested, etc’. Dag *šingə:-* (caus.) E234 ‘to digest, etc’. EYu *šenge-* J103a ‘to digest’. MgrH *šingə:-* J103b ‘to digest’. MgrM *šangə-* DS217a. BaoD *šingə-* BL90a ‘to digest’. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *šingā-* R38a ‘to set (sun)’

***singen** ‘thin, watery’. Probably from **singe-*. Muq *šinqan* in *šinqan saqaltu* P335b ‘having a thin beard’ may also belong here in spite of the vocalism.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *singen* P323a. WM *singgen* L712a. Kh *šingen* H813a. Ord *šingen* M621a. Bur *šengen* C746b. Brg *šingəŋ* U164. Kalm *šingn* M675a. Dag *šingə:n* E234. EYu *šengen* B106, J103a. MgrH *šingen* J103b, *šəŋgan* X149. MgrM *šengen* JL472. BaoD *šingəŋ* BL90b. BaoÑ *šingəŋ* CN156. Kgj *šingo* S295a. Dgx *šingən* L118a, *šəŋgien* B129 ‘watery’. Mog *šingo:n* R38a.

sərbüsün** (?sərbösün**) ‘tendon, muscle’. The Kh form requires an earlier **ö* in the second syllable. MgrH *šiu:lʒə* and BaoÑ *šilsəŋ* are perhaps rather related to **silusun* listed above, although this connection is semantically more difficult.

MMo SH *širbusun* H141, HY *širbüsün* M97, Muq *širbüsün* P130a, RH *širbüsün* 199A23. WM *širbüsün* (?*sərbösü(n)*) L716a, *sirmüsün* (?*sirmösü(n)*) L718b. Kh *šörvös* H819a, *šörmös(ön)* H819a. Ord *šörwös(ʉ)* M630b. Bur *šürbehe(n)* C738b, *šürmehe(n)* C738b. Brg *šurmu:* U171. Kalm *šürüsñ* M687a. Dag *širbəs* E237. EYu---. MgrH *šiu:lʒə* (?=) J103a, *šurbusə* S723, *šbuzi* L502. MgrM *šyurpusi* P420a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *šilsəŋ* (?=) CN157 ‘tendon; ligament’. Bao *šinson benjir* (?=) P415b, perhaps ‘tendon bird’ (cf. **biljür*). Dgx---. Mog---

***siree** ‘table’. Only Kh treats this word as a stem with unstable *-n*. The Bao forms with *-l-* could perhaps be a corruption of LT *šij-leb* ‘table’, cf. WYu *šijlep*.

MMo SH---, HY *širi'e* M98, Muq *šire:* P166a. WM *sirege(n)* L716a. Kh *širee(n)* H816a. Ord *šire:* M622a. Bur *šeree* C750b. Brg *širə:* U167. Kalm *širä* M675a. Dag *širə:* E237. EYu *šere* B107, J103b. MgrH *šire:* J103a, X154. MgrM *širi* JL461. BaoD *šile* (?=) BL10. BaoÑ---. BaoX *šələ* (?=) BL66. Kgj *šire* S296a. Dgx *širə* B132. Mog---

***sirüün** ‘coarse’. The -e- in Bao-Dgx is unexpected, and suggests an earlier form **serun* (cf. **bidüün* ‘coarse’ for a similar case). MgrH vowel shortening.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *širü:*, *širü:n* P336b, *sirü:n* P323b, *sirü'ün* P323b, *sire'ün* P323a. WM *sirügün* L719b, *siregün* L716b. Kh *širüün* H815a, *šürüün* H823b. Ord *šuru:n* M638a. Bur *šerüün* C750a. Brg *š'uru:ŋ* U173. Kalm *šürün* M686b. Dag *širu:n* E237. EYu *šoruin* B108, *šürü:n* J103b. MgrH *širən* J103a, *šurun* X158. MgrM *šuruŋ* JL464. BaoD *šüruŋ* ~ *seruŋ* BL90a. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *šieruŋ* B123, L118b.

***sisegei** ‘felt’ see ***isegei**

***siü-** ‘to strain, filter; to skim off; to scoop out of a fluid’. In some languages impossible to separate phonetically from **siür-* ‘to sweep’.

MMo SH *ši'u-* H142, HY---, Muq *šü:-* P337b, *sü:-* P330b; cf. *ši'ü-kü* P336b ‘filter’. WM *sigü-* L702b, *šügü-* L759a. Kh *šüüx* H825a. Ord *šü:-* M636a. Bur *šüüxe* C740a. Kalm *šüüx* M688b. Dag *su:-* E223 ‘to scoop up’. EYu *šü:-* B109. MgrH *šu:-* X157, *šu:-* SM383. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***siüči** ‘chisel’. The variations in the initial consonant are due to the assimilation to the following -č- and to the assimilation in some languages of **iü* > **üü*. Kh *cüüc* < **cüüče* < **siüčē*; Bur *hüüše* < **siüčē*; Kalm *šüünč* < **šüü(n)či*. The BaoÑ c- and Dgx s- indicate an earlier form with *ü:* rather than **iü*. Kalm -n- is inexplicable. The Kgj form, if at all related, is also inexplicable. Perhaps in some way related to CM **sibege* ‘awl’?

MMo SH *ši'uci* H142, HY---, Muq---. WM *čüče* L209a. Kh *cüüc* H768a. Ord *čü:či* M721a. Bur *hüüše* C701a. Brg *su:s* (?←Kh) U158. Kalm *šüünč* M687b. Dag *ču:č* E306. EYu---. MgrH *šu:čə* X157. MgrM *šəuci* JL465. BaoD---. BaoÑ *cəbčə* CN191. Kgj *šəbə* ~ *šəbər* (?=) S296a. Dgx *sučē* B119, *sučē* MC372b. Mog---.

***siüderi(n)** ‘dew’. The many irregular variant forms are doubtlessly all related. The central languages, Dag, and one of the EYu forms, do not confirm the final -i. Dag points at **siüder* with metathesized vowel sequence. Surprisingly Chakhar and Ordos also have s- instead of expected š- (perhaps influenced by **seüder*). Dgx -ŋ may go back to -m as in EYu and Mog, or to -n as in HY.

MMo SH *ši'uder* H142, HY *ši'üderin* M98, Muq---, RH *sü:derin* [eds. read *seü-*] 198A20. WM *sigüder(i)* L703a. Kh *šüüder* H824a, Chakhar *su:dər* D182b. Ord *sü:der* M596a ‘hoarfrost’. Bur *šüüder* C739b. Brg *š'ü:dər* U173. Kalm---. Dag *suidur* E224. EYu *šudürum* B109, *šudurum* BJ343, *šöddöröm* BJ343, *šudtü:r* BJ343, *šugurum* (sic) J103a. MgrH *šiu:dərə* J103a. MgrM *šəuderi* JL472. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *šaužieruŋ* B127, *šiaožieruŋ* L118b. MogMr *sitrum* L68, No. 66 ‘hoarfrost’, cf. also Hazara dialects *sudri*, *šudri* L54:108.

***siür** ‘broom; fine-toothed comb’. For the etymology see **siür-* below. The Dagur form *suŋk^w* is a new derivation of *su:-* < **siü-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ši'ür* P336b ‘broom’. WM *sigür* L703b ‘broom’ (..) strainer (..) fine comb’. Kh *šüür* H824 ‘broom; comb with fine teeth; filter, etc’. Bur *šüür* C739a ‘sieve (..); broom’. Kalm *šür* M686b ‘sieve; strainer’, also *sam šü:r*

R372b ‘coarse comb’, R310b ‘comb and the like’. Dag [*suŋk*^w *sannə* E224 ‘fine-toothed comb’]. EYu *šü:r sam* (only in this combination, cf. **sam*) B109 ‘fine-toothed comb’. MgrH *šu:(r)sam* X157 (only in this compound) ‘fine-toothed comb’. BaoD *šir* BL21 ‘fine-toothed comb’. BaoÑ *xir* CN157 ‘fine-toothed comb’. Kgj *šir* S295b ‘fine-toothed comb’. Dgx *šu* B133 ‘(fine) comb’. Mog---

***siür-** ‘to sweep’. The central languages use **siürde-*, a new derivation of the noun **siür*. The Monguoric forms are likely to be from **siü-*. Dgx *šu-* may be either from **siü-* or from **siür-*. In Kgj these two verbs have merged. LV *sibir-* seems to be a recent borrowing of the Turkic cognate **sipür-* ‘to sweep’. The relationship with the central Mongolic verb **sirbe-* ‘to sweep’ is unclear.

MMo SH---, HY *ši'ür-* M98, Muq *ši'ür-* P336b, LV [*sibir-* P58]. WM---. Kh---. Ord [*šörwö-* ~ *širwe-* M630b]. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *šü:r-* B109. MgrH *šu:-* X157, *šu:-* SM383. MgrM *şou-* DS254a. BaoD *šir-* BL62. BaoÑ *xir-* CN157. BaoX *xərə-* BL70. Kgj *šir-* ~ *šür-* S295b also ‘to strain’. Dgx *šu-* B133, *şuru-* B134. Mog---

***siüsün** ‘juice; portion of meat allocated to a certain person’. Dag *ču:s* would be an irregular development of **siüsün*, if related.

MMo SH *ši'usun* H142 ‘ration’, HY---, Muq---, RH *süsün* 187C23 ‘provision for travelling’, Ph *ši'usu* P130b ‘food, provisions’. WM *sigüsü(n)* L704a, *šügüsü* L759b, *šüsü* L759b. Kh *šüüs(en)* H824b ‘sap, juice; food (usually meat) for offerings &c’. Ord *šu:s(ü)* M638a. Bur *šüühe(n)* C740a ‘juice’. Brg *šu:* U170 ‘tree juice’. Kalm *šüüsün* M688a. Dag *ču:s* (?=) E306 ‘half-cooked meat juice, etc’. EYu---. MgrH *su:sən* SM366 ‘sheep cooked in its entirety (...)’.

***soči-** ‘to be startled’. The variations in the initial consonant are due to assimilation to the following -č- (as in **saču-*, **seči-*).

MMo SH *soci-* H135, *coci-* H29, *šoci-* H143, HY---, Muq---. WM *čoči-* L193b, *soči-* L723a. Kh *sočix* H450a, *cočix* H756a. Ord *joči-* M211a. Bur *sošoxo* C394b. *šošoxo* (western/dial) C731b. Brg *səš-* U156. Kalm *čočx* M656a. Dag *čəč-* E305. EYu *čəčə-* BJ346. MgrH *sačə-* X133.

***sogaa** ‘doe, hind’. The Dagur form could be a borrowing from Manchu *suwa* H835b ‘small red deer’, or the Manchu form could be from Dagur. Ord suggests **sogu* instead. The word is reminiscent of CT **sigun* ‘deer’, but this should normally have corresponded to a Mongolic **siün*, which may in fact be reflected by Kh *šoo buga* H817b ‘spotted deer’, Dag *čə: bəy^w* (sic) E301 ‘sika deer’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *soyo* L724b. Kh *sogoo* H444a. Ord *suğu* M590a. Bur *hogoo(n)* C681a ‘female of the (Siberian) red deer’. Kalm *soya* M453b ‘female reindeer’. Dag *suwa:* E227, *şuyua* NK517a. Remaining lgs---

***sogta-** ‘to be drunk’.

MMo SH *soqta-* H135, HY *soqta-* M95, Muq *soqta-* P324b. WM *soyta-*, *soyto-* L723b. Kh *sogtox* H444a. Ord *soğto-* M580a. Bur *hogtox* C681a. Brg *xəgt-* U109. Kalm *sogtx* M453b. Dag *sərt-* E223. EYu *səgtə-* B101, *səğdo:-* J5. MgrH

sogdo:- SM3515, *sdo*:- SM336, *sogdo*:-*ngi*: J103b ‘drunk’. MgrM *səḡdo*- C384, *sodo*- DS218b. BaoD *soxtə-ḡigu* BL90b ‘drunk’. BaoGt *sogtə*- C105. BaoÑ *səxta*- CN135. Kgj *suqta*- ~ *suḡta*- S294a. Dgx *sudo*- B119. Mog---.

***sokar** ‘blind (person)’.

MMo SH *soqor* H135, HY *soqar* M95, Muq *soqar* P324b, *soqur* P255b. WM *soqor* L730a. Kh *soxor* H450a. Ord *soxor* M581a. Bur *hoxor* C686a. Brg *xəxər* U108. Kalm *soxr* M456a. Dag *səyur* E222. EYu *səḡər* B101, *soḡor* J103b. MgrH *suḡor* J103a, *sḡor* X142. MgrM *sogvar* C385, *suḡur* DS207b. BaoD *soḡor* BL90a, *soxur* BL90a. BaoÑ *səxər* CN135. Kgj---. Dgx *suḡo* B118, *suḡo* L118b. Mog---.

***solagai** ‘left, left hand side’. The Bur *-a-* and the Dag *-au-* are both unusual. Related to CT **so:l* ‘left’, **so:l-ak* ‘left-handed (person)’. Cf. **jein* ‘left’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *soloyai* L726a. Kh *solgoy* H446b. Ord *sologö*: M582a. Bur *halgay* C669a, cf. *holgoy* (?=) C682a ‘idler’. Brg *xalgai* U92. Kalm *solya* M454a. Dag *səlyui* E222, *saulqui* Z101a. EYu *sələḡci* B101, *soloḡui* J103b. MgrH *solḡuai* J103b. MgrM *sargai* C384. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *soḡi* B116. Mog---.

***solaŋga** ‘rainbow’.

MMo SH---, HY *solaŋga* M95, Muq---. WM *solongya* L726a. Kh *solongo(n)* H446b. Ord *solongö* M582a. Bur *holongo* C682b. Brg *xələŋg* U109. Kalm *solŋy* M454a. Dag---. EYu *sələŋḡ* B101, *solongo* J103b. MgrH *solongö* J103b, *slangva* C385. MgrM (Sanchuan) *solongu* P418b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sona** ‘gadfly, horsefly’. Enkhbat convincingly derives Dag *sə:ni:kʰe*: E220 ‘wasp or bee’, *sə:nə:kʰe*: E220 ~ *sə:nə:ki*: E223 ‘wasp’ from Manchu *sorokiyan*, but in view of the *-n-* in the Dag forms, they may at least be influenced by **sona*. The *ʒ-* in the QG forms is inexplicable. The Bao forms with *-l-* and *-ŋ* seem even further removed from the CM form. MgrH has been seen as a borrowing from LT *sbraŋ-ma* ‘bee’ (cf. RT 1966, No. 104), but *ʒ-* from Tib *sbr-* (*hḡ-*, *wḡ-* in the relevant Amdo dialects) would be phonetically equally problematic. Li derives his Baoan form from Chinese (without giving a source form).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *sona* P59. WM *sono* L727b. Kh *sono* H448a. Ord---. Bur *hono* C684a. Brg *xən* U107. Kalm *sonö* M331a. Dag (see above). EYu *zu:na* B151, *zu:na*: J7 ‘fly’. MgrH *ʒəŋna*: (?=) X228 ‘bee’. MgrM *zono* JL470. BaoD *zulaŋ* BL9 ‘gadfly’, BaoGt *ʒiləŋ* C119 ‘bee’. BaoJ *ʒrləŋ* L40. BaoÑ *zina* CN205 ‘fly’. BaoX *ʒulaŋ* BC64 ‘bee’. Kgj *zunna* ~ *zuna* S305a ‘bee’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sonas-** ‘to hear’. Cf. **čīŋla-* ‘to listen’.

MMo SH *sonos-* H135, HY *sonos-* M95, Muq *sonas-* P324a. WM *sonos-* L728a. Kh *sonsox* H448b. Ord *sonos-* M583a. Bur *sonosxo* (←Kh) C391a. Brg *səns-* (←Kh) U155. Kalm *sonsx* M455b. Dag *səns-* E221. EYu---. MgrH *sonosə-* J103a, *sunosə-* X139. MgrM *sonosī-* DS228a. Bao---. Kgj *sunsī-* S294a. Dgx *sonosu-* B117. Mog *sonus-* R38b.

***sonin** ‘news; new, newsworthy, interesting’.

MMo SH *sonin* H135, HY---, Muq---. WM *sonin* L727a. Kh *sonin* H447b ‘news, etc’, *son*’ H448b ‘interest in something’. Ord *soni:n* M582b. Bur *honi(n)* C683b. Brg *хони* U107 Kalm *son*’n M455a. Dag *sonin* E83:196a. EYu *sononj* (only) S606. Dgx *soni* MC371a. Mog---.

***sonji-** ‘to mock; to imitate’.

SH---, HY *sonji-* M95, Muq---. WM *sonji-* L728b. Kh *sonjix* (?=) H447b ‘to consider unfit or unworthy, etc’. Ord only *sori-* *sonji-* M582b ‘to interrogate’. Bur---. Kalm *sonji-* R331a ‘scharf kritisieren, etc’. Dag---. EYu *сo:нја-* B100, *so:нја-* J63 ‘to imitate, learn from’. MgrH *суенји-* (?=) SM356, *sonci-* C86:579. MgrM *sanji-* DS232 ‘to joke’. Bao *suanji-* S257 ‘to mock’. Kgj *sanči-* ??? S293a. Dgx *sonzi-* Bökh1986:53 ‘to mock’. Mog---.

***songina** ‘onion’. Ord, as well as Mgr, MgrM and BaoD suggest a form **songunag* with final *-g*. The Dgx form could also stem from such a form. BaoGt and Kgj involve further deviations. The CM word was probably borrowed from a CT diminutive **sogan-kiña* from **sogan* ‘onion’. The expected CM form would be **soankina*, which seems to be supported by the form in MMo HY, although there is no long *o* in the central languages. Turkic origin is likely since the names of cultivated plants are often of CT origin. EYu uses *сoгoн* B140, a new borrowing from Turkic **sogan*. The *c-* in Kgj may be due to the influence of Chinese *cōng*.

MMo SH---, HY *songgina* M95 (spelled as if *so’onggina*), Muq *sonqina*, *sonqinan* P324a. WM *songgina* L727b. Kh *songino* H446a. Ord *songino(q)* M583b. Bur *hongino* C683b. Brg *сoнгин* (←Kh) U156. Kalm *songin* R331b. Dag---. EYu (see above). MgrH *сунгунoг* X139. MgrM (Sanchuan) *sanginig* P415b. Bao (unspecif. dial.) *sonog* S605. BaoD *songonag* BL5. BaoGt *сунголу* C102. BaoÑ---. Kgj *cungulu* ~ *cungulgu* S302a. Dgx *сунгуна* B117. Mog---.

***songu-** (~ ***sunggu-**) ‘to choose, select, elect’. Bur-Kalm *-u-*. Cf. CM **ilga-*.

MMo SH *so’ongqu-* H135, HY *songqu-* M95 (spelled as if *so’onqu-*), Muq *sonqu-* P324a. WM *songyo-* L726b. Kh *songox* H447a. Ord *сунгу-* M593a. Bur *hungaxa* C690a. Brg *сонг-* (←Kh) U156. Kalm *сунyx* M462a, *сонгaxă* R331b. Dag---. EYu *сoнгo-* BJ341, *сонго-* J103a. MgrH *сoнгo-* X137. Bao---. Kgj *cungu-* (?=) S302a. Dgx *сунгу-* B17. Mog---.

***sorbi** ‘cane, walking-stick’. Apparently a ‘regional’ survival in Bur-Dag. **sorbi* ‘scar’ is probably unrelated.

MMo SH---, HY *sorbi* M96 [read *sörbi* by Mostaert], Muq---. WM *sorbi* K1416a, precl. *sorbi* T553. Kh *sorvi* LC 3:115a ‘stick, shaman’s staff’. Ord---. Bur *hor’bo* C685b, *horbi* C684b. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *сoрб’* 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 *сoрo-* B101. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sorisun** ‘edible flowers of wild leek’ and other bulbous plants.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH---. WM *sorisu* L729b. Kh *sor’s* H450a, *sors* H449b (different translations, the latter spelling not in LC). Ord *sorisu* M584b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *sorsn* R332b ‘spice, originally preserved leek flowers’. Dag *sors* E223 ‘flowers of leek’. EYu---. MgrH *sorosə* X136 ‘flowers of wild onion’. Remaining lgs---.

***sormusun** ‘eyelash’. The Bur form seems to recall the SH *surimusun*, but could also have developed from **sormisun*. Dag *sarmilt* ‘id’ is from **sarmirt* < Tungusic **sarmikta*. Cf. **hanī-ska*.

MMo SH *surimusun* (?=) H138 ‘hair’, HY *sormisun* M95, Muq *sorbisun* P325a. WM *sormusu(n)*, *sormuusu(n)* L729b. Kh *sormos*, *sormuus* (sic, not -on) H449a. Ord *sormu:s(u)* M584b, *surmu:s* M594b. Bur *hor’moho(n)* C685b. Brg *xɔrmɔ*: U111. Kalm *surmsg* M463a, *sormsn* R332b. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *sormu* L526. BaoD---. BaoÑ *semsoŋ* CN131 ‘eyebrow’. Kgj *samasun* S293a. Dgx *somosun* B117. Mog.

***soyaa** ‘stalk, shoot; fang, tusk’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *soyoya* L724b. Kh *soyoo(n)*, *soyoo* H445a. Ord *soyo*: 581a. Bur *hoyoo* C681a, cf. *hobyoo* (western) C681a, *hoboy* (rare, ?=) C681a. Brg *xɔyɔ*: U110. Kalm *soya* M457a ‘fang’. Dag *sɔyɔ*: E222 ‘branch of antler’. EYu *sɔyɔ*: B101, BJ343, *söyɔ*: B102, B141, *sio* J6. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *soyə ʃiduŋ* B117 (**sidün* ‘tooth’).

***söem** ‘small handspan, the space between thumb and index finger’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sögöm* L731a, *sögem* L730b. Kh *sööm* H451b ‘span’. Ord *sö:m* M596b. Bur *hööm* (obs) C686b. Brg *xo:m* U119. Kalm *söm* M457b. Dag *sum* E225. EYu *sö:m* BJ341, *siom* J13. Remaining lgs---.

***sögee-** ‘to scold, curse, blame’. Some of the forms deviate semantically and/or phonetically, so it is uncertain if they belong to this etymon. The EYu forms below may be an unidentified Tibetan or Chinese stem (perhaps Ch *cui*) made into a verb with **ki-*. EYu also has a vaguely similar-looking, but likely unrelated verb *usqa-* ‘to scold’. In spite of the long final vowel probably related to CT **sö:k-* ‘to scold’. Cf. **kariä-*.

MMo SH---, HY *sökö-* M95, Muq *söge:-* (can also be read with short e and/or with -k-) P325b, *sökü-* (can also be read *söge-* or *sök-*) P301a ‘to scold’. WM *sögege-* L730b ‘to blame, call names, curse, etc’, precl. *söke-* T554. Kh *söxööx* (?=) H452a ‘to disapprove, rebuke’. Ord---. Bur *hügexe* (?=) C695a ‘to hit with the fists; to lie’. Kalm *söge:-* R333a. Dag *suwə:-* E227 ‘to refute, to criticize’. EYu *sɔiɣə-* B100, *söy-* S448 (?=) ‘to torment, maltreat’, *söyə-* S203 (?=) ‘to oppress’. MgrH *sgo:-* X143, J99b. MgrM *sugo-* C385. Bao---. Kgj *sugu-* S294a. Dgx *sugie-* B118. Mog *suka-* W179b, *suqal-* W180a.

***söged-** ‘to kneel’. With extended forms in Bao (**sögedčile-*), and Dgx (**söged(ü)le-*) which look like intensives. Kgj *guidele-* S289b is considered a Chinese loanword by Sečenčogt (presumably *guidāo*), but it may also be from

?*söged(ü)le-. The Kgj synonym *vaidela-* S307a looks similar but derives from *ebüdüg ‘knee’. Reminiscent of Old Turkic *sök-* ‘id’.

MMo SH *sogot-* H135, HY *sögöt-* M95, Muq *söged-* P325b. WM *sögöd-* L731a. Kh *sögdöx* H450b. Ord *sögöd(ö)-* M586a, *sugude-* M596b. Bur *hügedexe* C695a. Brg *xugd-* S608, *sugd-* (←Kh) U158. Kalm *sögdx* M457a. Dag---. EYu *sögöd-* B102, J103a. MgrH *sgodə-* J104b. MgrM *sogodi-* C385. BaoD *gačialə-* BL91a. BaoGt *səgdi-* C133. BaoJ *sgədə-* L158, *skti-* L160. BaoÑ *şgerčila-* CN147. Kgj---. Dgx *şiaoşie-* L119a, *şiaudulie-* B121.

***söike** ‘earring’. With regard to the development of *öi, Ord and Bur behave differently compared to *köiten ‘cold’, q.v. The peripheral languages have little to offer to distinguish between the sequences *öi and *üi.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *süike* P328b. WM *süike* L742a. Kh *süyx* H460a. Ord *suike* M597a. Bur *hiixe* C680b. Brg *xi:x* U105. Kalm *siik* M452a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *su:gə* X137. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *şiauğə* B120. Mog---.

***sölsün** (~ *čölsün) ‘gall bladder; bile’. Although all listed forms are doubtlessly related, it seems impossible to derive them from a single CM form. Kalm, Ord, and one Kh form suggest *čölsün, Dag *čulč* suggests *čölsün, EYu suggest *sösün, MMo and Bur *sölsün. Cf. also Kmg *suls* Köhalmi 198. Bao and Dgx, but not Kangjia in this case, share a secondary unrounded form *selsün < *sölsün. The MgrH forms seem to indicate *seülsün, but the diphthong may be a development of the long vowel which is itself probably of a secondary nature. The variants have a curious distribution. The -l- is preserved in Bur and Shirongol as in *mölsün ‘ice’, but here Dagur also preserves it. The č- is supported by Kh, Kalm, Dag, and unexpectedly by Kgj. Dag *sus* may be from Kh; at any rate the existence of two divergent forms in Dag requires an explanation. Possibly from a root *söl-. A relationship with CT *söl ‘meat juice’ seems unlikely (RI:70).

MMo SH *sülsu* H138 ‘bile; courage’, HY *sölsün* M95, Muq *sölsün* (assuming that Persian *zire* is mistaken for *zähra*, 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 *jusü* M225b. Bur *hülhe(n)* C696a. Brg *xilu:* U106. Kalm *cösn* M639b. Dag *čulč* E307 ‘gall bladder’, cf. *sus* E83:200a ‘courage, guts’. EYu *sösən* B102, J103a, *sö:sun* S618. MgrH *səu:lʒə* J104b, *su:lʒə* X138, *su:rʒə* ~ *su:ʒə* SM364/357. MgrM *şuarsı* JL473. BaoD *selsun* BL91a. BaoÑ---. Kgj *čürsun* S54, *čürsa* (sic) S301b. Dgx *şiensun* L119a. Mog---.

***söne-** ‘to go out (fire)’. Dag *su:-* E223 ‘to extinguish’ could be a loan from Northern Tungusic (see Poppe60:30), unless this should be compared to MMo SH *sü’e-* H138 ‘to end, disappear’. In both cases it is not (at least not directly) related to the present entry. Related to CT *sö:n- ‘id’.

SH *süno’e-* (caus) H138, HY---, Muq *söne-* P325b. WM *sönö-* L732a. Kh *sönöx* H451a ‘to perish, etc’. Ord *sönögö:-* (reading pronunciation of caus.) M587a ‘to dispose of’. Bur *hünexe* C697a. Brg *xun-* U121. Kalm *sön-* R333b. Dag (see above). EYu---. MgrH *suno:-* SM361, *sne:ga-* (new caus.) X141. MgrM *sunı-* DS221b, *sunıga-* (new caus.) DS221b. BaoGt *şinegə-* (new caus.) C109. BaoJ *şiné-* L160. Kgj *şini-* S293b. Dgx *şinie-* B124. Mog---.

***söni** ‘night’. Khalkha and Chakhar have unexpected *š-*.

MMo SH *süni* H138, HY *söni* M95, Muq *söni* P326a. WM *söni* L732a. Kh *šönö* (sic) H819a, Chakhar *šon* D185b. Ord *sönö* ~ *söni* M586b. Bur *hüni* C696b. Brg *xun^y* U121. Kalm *sö* M457a. Dag *sun^y* E224. EYu *sö:nə* B101, J103a. MgrH *sonə* J103b. MgrM *soni* C384. BaoD *sonə* BL91b. BaoÑ *söni* CN133. Kgj *sini* S293b. Dgx *šieni* B122, *šieyi* MC429a. Mog *sun* R39a, *sun* W180a.

***sösün** ‘gall bladder’ see ***sölsün**

***subag** ‘ditch, canal’. Probably related to CT **suba-* ‘to water’, from **sub* ‘water’.

MMo SH---, HY *subaq* M96, Muq---. WM *subay* L733a, cf. *jubay* L1077a ‘irrigation channel, gutter, etc’, *čubuy* L203b [refers to *subay*]. Kh *subag* H452b. Ord *suwaq* (as well as *suwa:*) M595a. Bur *hubag* C687a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *sβag* B103. Mgr---. BaoD *zag* (?) BL62. BaoGt *səg* (?) C126. BaoÑ *suwaq* CN137. Kgj *suxu* (?) S294a. Dgx *suwa* B119. Mog---.

***subai** ‘barren (of livestock)’. Cf. **kisuraŋ*.

MMo Muq---. WM *subai* L733a. Kh *subay* H452b. Ord *suwä:* M595a. Bur *hubay* C687b. Brg *xəβai* U114. Kalm *suwe:* R338b, [*suvrxə* M459b]. Dag *səyui* E222. Remaining lgs---.

***subud** ‘pearl’. See **subusun*.

MMo SH *subut* H136, HY *subut* M96, Muq *subut* P327a. WM *subud* L733b, *subad* L733a. Kh *suvd(an)* H452b. Ord *suwut* M595b. Bur *hubad* C687a, *subad* (←Kh). Brg *xəβad* U114. Kalm---. Dag *sər* (?) E222. EYu *sβəd* B103. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***suburgan** ‘stupa, pagoda’. Buriat must be borrowed from Mongol proper because of the *s-*. Dagur instead of expected **s^wabərəy*. From Sogdian, via Turkic. EYu, MgrH and Baoan use Tibetan *mčhod-rten*.

MMo SH---, HY *suburqan* M96, Ph *supuryan* P130a. WM *suburya(n)* L733b. Kh *suvrəga* H453a. Ord *suwurgə* M595b. Bur *subarga* C395b. Brg *sə:rag* U157. Kalm *suvrən* M459b. Dag *sabərya:n* E212. MgrH *suburgə* (only) L527. MgrM *suburgə* JL481, *surbərgə* DS241a.

***subusun** ‘pearl’. Perhaps both **subusun* and **subud* are from a PM root **subu-*, **subud* originally being a plural, and **subusun* a collective form.

WM *subusu(n)* L735a. Kh *suvs* H453a necklace. Bur *huvha(n)* C687b ‘beads’, (Alar) *hobho(n)* C681a ‘pearl’. Kalm *suvsn* M460a ‘pearl’. Remaining lgs---.

***sučal-** ‘to unravel, undo, take apart, to make gaps’. with the intr. counterpart **sučara-*.

MMo SH *cucal-* H29, HY---, Muq---. WM *čučala-* (sic), *čučara-* L204b/205a. Kh *cucrax* H766a. Ord *jučal-*, *jučara-* M221b. Bur *susarxa* C397a only in the derived meaning ‘to become tired’. Kalm *cucx*, *cucrx* M643a.

Dag *čočlɔ:-*, *čočir-* E83:184b. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *sučul-* W35 ‘to remove’, *sučara-* W34 ‘to be released’, MogMr *sučul-* L68, No. 21 ‘to uproot’.

***sudal** ‘vein, etc’. See **sudasun*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sudal* L734a. Kh *sudal* H453b. Ord *sudal* M588b. Bur *hudal* C688a ‘pulse’. Brg *xodal* U116, *sodal* (←Kh) U158. Dag *sʷadəl* E227. Dgx *sidaŋ* L119a ‘vein, artery’.

***sudasun** ‘blood vessel, vein, artery’. Both the *-j-* and the complex vowel in the SH form are peculiar. The long vowel in EYu and MgrH has developed independently. Like **sudal* above apparently from a PM root **suda-*. Unlike in other cases, such as **gudusun* ‘boots’, several languages have both the form in *-l* and that in *-sUn*.

MMo SH *sujiʼasu*, *sujiyasu* (sic, ?=) H136 ‘neck vein’, HY *sudasun* M96, Muq *sudasun* P327a, *sudusun* P327a. WM *sudasu(n)* L734a. Kh *sudas* H454a. Ord *sudas(u)* M589a. Bur *hudaha(n)* C688a. Brg *xodv:* U117, *sodv:* U158 (s- due to Kh influence). Kalm *sudsn* M460a. Dag---. EYu *sda:sən* B104, *hda:sən* J103a. MgrH *šda:sə* J103b, X165. MgrM (Sanchuan) *sutasī* P413b. Bao---. Kgj *sdasun* ~ *sidasun* S294b. Dgx *sdasun* B119 ‘&muscle’, *sidasun* L118a ‘muscle’.

***sugul-** ‘to pull out a long thin object, to unsheath’, perhaps with a variant ***jugul-**. This variation with **s-* ~ **j-* in initial position would be remarkable. However, the *j* of SH and WM corresponds to *ɟ-* in Ord and EYu, languages that normally retain the palatal pronunciation of **j*. The loss of the *-g-* in MgrH is peculiar.

MMo SH *juqul-* H94 and iterative *suquči-* H136, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *suqul-* L735a, *juqul-* L1077b, *jīqul-* (sic) L1051a ‘to pull out, pluck out, etc’. Kh *sugalax* H453b. Ord *zugal-* M174b, *zugul-* M175a. Bur *hugalxa* C688a. Brg *xugal-* U115. Kalm *suylx* M460a. Dag---. EYu *zugul-* B151. MgrH *su:lə-* X138, *su:li-* SM358. Remaining lgs---.

***sula** ‘loose, lax; empty’.

MMo SH *sula-ra-* H137 ‘to loosen’, HY---, Muq *sula* P327a. WM *sula* L736a. Kh *sul* H454a. Ord *sula* M590b. Bur *hula* C688b. Brg *xol* U115. Kalm *sul* M460a. Dag *sʷal* E227 [*sula:* ←Manchu]. EYu *sula* B102, J103a. MgrH *sula* J103b. MgrM *sula* JL471, *sula:* C385. BaoD *sula* BL91b. Kgj *sula* S294a. Dgx *sula* B118. MogM *sulv:* L64:35.

***sumal** ‘bag’. Note the vowel length shared by EYu and MgrH, which cannot easily be explained as a secondary development.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *sumal* 204C15 ‘a small leather bottle’. WM *sumal* L737a. Kh *sumal* (according to Lessing). Ord *sumal* M592b. Kalm *suml* R337a. EYu *su:mal* B102. MgrH *su:mar*, *su:ma* SM358/359. Remaining lgs---.

***sumun** ‘arrow, bullet’. In EYu with the same unrounding as **numun* ‘bow’. With loss of *-n* in Bao and Kgj, but surprisingly not in Dgx.

MMo SH *sumu(n)* H137, HY *sumun* M96, Muq *sumun* P327b. WM *sumu(n)* L737a. Kh *sum(an)* H455a. Ord *sumu* M592b. Bur *human* (folkl) C689b, *homo(n)* C683a ‘bullet, etc’. Brg *xəm* U110. Kalm *sumn* M461a. Dag *səm* E222.

EYü *səmən* B99, J103a. MgrH *sumu* X140, *səmun* J103b. MgrM *sumu* JL471, *simu* DS205a. BaoD *sumu* BL91a, *səmu* BL24. BaoÑ *smə* CN137. Kgj *simu* S293b. Dgx *sumuŋ* B118 ‘id’. Mog---.

***sundula-** ‘to ride on a horse with a passenger or luggage in front or behind’. Bur from a cooperative form **sunduldu-*. Cf. **deür-*.

MMo SH *sundula-* H137, HY---, Muq *sundula-* P327b. WM *sundala-*, *sundula-* L737b. Kh *sundlax* H455b. Ord *sundala-* M593a. Bur *hundaldaxa* C690a. Brg *xondald-* U114. Kalm *sundlx* M461a. Dag *səndla:-* E221. EYü *sundəla-* B102. MgrH *sundula-* X139. MgrM *suṇdala-* JL476.

***sun(u)-** ‘to stretch, extend (intr)’, ***sunia-** ‘to stretch oneself’, ***suṅga-** ‘to stretch, extend (tr)’. **sun-* is related to CT **su:n-* ‘to stretch, extend’, **suṅga-* (**sun-ga-*) is its causative. The morphological structure of **sunia-* is unclear. Dag *səni:-* rather seems to suggest **sunai-* instead of **sunia-*. The *-m-* in Dgx and the *-t-* in Mog are both unexpected. Dgx *sumu-* is also reminiscent of the structurally obscure MgrH *sumba:-* SM359 ‘to alternately stretch and contract the limbs (...)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *suna:-* (P reads *suna-*) (intr) P327b, *sunī'a-* (intr) P328a, *sunu-* P176a. WM *sunu-* L738a, *sun-* L737b, *suṅg-* L738a, *sunīya-* L738a, *suṅgya-* L738a. Kh *sunax* H455b, *sunīax* H456a, *sunaax* H455b, *suṅgax* H455b. Ord *sun-*, *suna:-* M592b, *suṅga-*, *suṅḡu-* M593a. Bur *hunaxa* C689b, *hunyaaxa* C690a, *hunaaxa* C689b, *hungaaxa* (western) C689b. Brg *xon'a:-* (intr.) U114, *xona:-* (tr.) U114 (also the borrowed forms *soṅg-*, *soṅga:-* U157). Kalm *sunx* M461b, *sunyax* M461b, *suṅyax* M461b. Dag *sənə-* E221, *səni:-* E221, *sənə:-* E221. EYü *sun-* BJ342, cf. the new intransitive formation *sunara-* B102 ‘to stretch oneself’. MgrH *suna:-* X138. MgrM *sunia-* JL463. BaoD---, BaoÑ---, Dgx *sumu-* MC375b, *sumuḡa-* B118. Mog *suntu-* (?=) R39a.

***sur** ‘strip of leather, leather strap’. The length and the *-au-* in the Dagur forms are inexplicable. Kmg *su:r* Kōhalmi 198.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV *sur* P59 ‘animal skin’, IV *sur* L62:65. WM *sur* L738a. Kh *sur(an)* H456a. Ord *sur* M593b. Bur *hur* C690a. Kalm *sur* M462a. Dag *sə:r* E221. EYü *sur* B102. Remaining lgs---.

***sur-** ‘to learn’. Mog and some QG languages feature an added vowel. The resemblance to **sura-* ‘to ask’ is probably fortuitous, although the forms of both verbs have become indistinguishable in the central languages.

MMo SH *sur-* H137, HY *sur-qa-* (caus) M96, Muq *sur-* P328a. WM *sur-* L738b. Kh *surax* H456a. Ord *sur-* M593b. Bur *huraxa* C691a. Brg *soṛga:-* (←WM) U158 ‘to teach’. Kalm *surx* M463a. Dag *sə:r-* E223. EYü *sur-* B102, J103a. MgrH *surə-* J103b, *suru-* SM365b. BaoD *suru-* BL91b. BaoÑ *sə:r-* 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 **sə:r-*. Al of Shirongol uses the synonymous CM **hasa(g)u-*.

MMo SH *sura-* H137, HY---, Muq---. WM *sura-* L738b. Kh *surax* H456b. Ord *sura-* M593b. Bur *huraxa* C691a. Brg *xora-* U117. Kalm *surx* M463a. Dag *s^war-* E228 ‘to inquire, ask about’. EYu *sura-* B102, J93b.

***suu** (~ ***sugu**) ‘armpit’. Ramstedt compares Mog *suqa-* R38b ‘to embrace’, which is morphologically and phonetically problematic. The forms with *-g-* in Kh and Bur might be due to literary influence. However, this seems to be a strangely unliterary word for such borrowing from WM. Furthermore, an intervocalic consonant also appears in Bao-Dgx. Kangjia *sijigun* may have *jigun* < **jakaun* ‘between’ as a second element; alternatively it could be a metathesis of a form related to Dgx *suğə zawa* ‘armpit’. The Dgx form with *-ŋ-* is even more problematic (preconsonantal *-ŋ-* typically goes back to **n* or **l*).

MMo SH *su’u* H138, HY *su’u* M96, Muq *su:* P328b. WM *suju(n)* L734b, *suu* L740b. Kh *suga(n)* H453a, cf. Chakhar *so:* D182a. Ord *su:* M588a. Bur *huga* C687b. Brg *xog* U115, also *ola:ŋ xog* U39 (**hulaan* ‘red’). Kalm *sü* M464a, *su:* R339a. Dag *so:* E220, cf. *sau* Sun85:685. EYu *su:* B102, J103a. MgrH *səu:* (sic) J103b, *su:* X137. MgrM *su* JL469, *su:* *do:ro* (*do:ro* ‘under’) C384. BaoD *soğo* BL91b. BaoÑ *cəχəi* CN191. Kgj *sijigun* (see above) S65. Dgx *suğə* B118, cf. *suŋgo* MC376b. Mog---.

***sü(n)** ~ ***üsün** ‘milk’. The form **sün* is represented in MMo, Mog, Kh, Bur and Dag, whereas Kalm, Ord, and EYu go back to **üsün*. Cf. also Kmg *su:* Köhalmi 198. The *h-* in EYu indicates the former presence of a syllable, although it is probably secondary itself. MgrH *sun* could have developed from either variant. Of the two, **üsün* is probably the original form, since the loss of an initial vowel seems more likely than the later addition of a vowel in some languages. Admittedly one would have expected the older form to be reflected in MMo. If **sün* is indeed a secondary form, it is impossible to connect the CM word to CT **sü:t* ‘milk’, of which the *-t* was already problematic. (cf. P60:141).

MMo SH *sun* H138, HY---, Muq *sün* P329a, *sü* P328b, IV *sün* L62:65. WM *sün* L744a, *sü* H741a. Kh *süü(n)* H462b. Ord *üsü* M764b. Bur *hü(n)* C696a, *ühe(n)* (western) C520a, *süü* (Tunka) C399b, *sün* (←Kh) C399b. Brg *xu:* U119. Kalm *üsü* M555b. Dag *su:* E223. EYu *hsun* B60, *sun* J103a. MgrH *sun* J104b, L532, *su:* L527. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *sun* R37a.

***sübe** ‘small hole, eye of a needle’.

MMo SH *subes* (pl.) H136 ‘narrow passages’, HY---, Muq *sübe* P205a. WM *sübe* L741a ‘eye of a needle; small hole, etc’. Kh *süv* H459a. Ord *süwe* M599b, *söwö* M587b. Bur *hübe* C694b. Brg---. Kalm *süv* M464a. Dag *su^w* E225. EYu---. MgrH *su:lie-* SM358 ‘to thread a needle’ (**sübele-*). Bao---. Dgx---. MogMr, MogM *suba* L68, No. 104.

***sübee** ‘flank, side of the chest’.

MMo SH *sube’e* H136 ‘hollow of the back’, HY---, Muq *sübe* (*sübe:*) P328b. WM *sübege* L741a. Kh *süvee* H459a, *sövöö* H450a. Ord *söwö:* M587b. Bur *hübee* C694b. Kalm *süvä* M464a. Dag *subi:* (sic, ? ←Kh) *xab’rəy* E225 ‘false ribs’. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *subian* (?=) DS234b ‘loin’.

***süjig** ‘faith, belief’. From CT **süzüg* ‘pure’, from the verb **süz-* ‘to filter’. The Mongolic languages feature several solutions to adopt the alien consonant *z*.

MMo SH---, HY [cf. *südzülge-* M96 ‘to reform’], Muq---, IV---, LV---, Ph [cf. *süsul-* P130b ‘to revere’]. WM *süsüg* L745b, *süjüg* L746b. Kh *süseg* H462b, *süjig* H459b, *süzeg* H459b. Ord *sujuk* M596b. Bur *hüzeg* C695a. Brg *sujig* (←Kh) U159. Kalm *süzg* M464b. Dag *sujir* E226. EYu *sujæg* B103, *sujæg* J102b. Remaining lgs---.

***süke** ‘axe’.

MMo SH *suke* H137, HY *süke* M96, Muq *süke* P329a. WM *süke* L742b. Kh *süx(en)* H463b. Ord *suke* M597b. Bur *hüxe* C701a. Brg *xux* U122. Kalm *sük* M464b. Dag *suɣ^w* E225. EYu *suke* B103, *suge* J104a. MgrH *sgo* J103a. MgrM *sugo* JL478, *sgo* C167. BaoD *süge* BL91a, *ge* BL91a. BaoÑ *sgge* CN147. Kgj *sug^u* S294a. Dgx *sugie* B118. Mog---.

***süme** ‘temple; Buddha effigy’. Interestingly with an added *-n* in MgrH, where CM **-n* is usually lost. The EYu form may survive indirectly in Western Yugur *seme* (~*sume*) ‘temple’. For the origin see Rybatzki 2006:676b.

MMo SH *sume* H137 ‘Buddha (image)’, HY *süme* M96 ‘temple’, Muq *süme* P329a ‘temple’, P327b, P207a ‘portrait, picture’. WM *süme* L743b ‘temple, etc’. Kh *süm* H461a. Ord *süme* M598b, *sömö* M586b. Bur *hüme* C696a, *süme* (←Kh) C399a. Brg *sum* (←Kh) U158. Kalm *süm* M465a. Dag *sum* E225. EYu--- (see above). MgrH *säme:n* J103a, *sme:n* X144. MgrM *šime* JL462 ‘temple’, *šme* C385, *šimian* DS255a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ciime* CN191 ‘picture or statue of a deity’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sünesün** ‘soul’. The *-m-* both in Kalm and Dag is probably shared accidentally (cf. however the Kalm development of **hünesün* ‘ashes’ and **künesün* ‘provisions’). MgrH *f-* is inexplicable, unless due to **hünesün* ‘ashes’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sünesü(n)* L744a. Kh *süns(en)* H461b. Ord *sunes(ʉ)* M598b. Bur *hünehe(n)* C697a. Brg *xunu:* U121. Kalm *sümsn* M465a. Dag *sums* E225. EYu *sönösän* B101, *sune:sän* J104a. MgrH *fune:sə* (sic) J103a, *sune:ʒə* X139. MgrM *sunisi* JL469. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***sür** ‘grandeur, majesty, might, power’. Dag *suɣ^v* could alternatively be related to **sülde* or **sülde* (not listed here).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *sür* L744b. Kh *sür* H461b. Ord *sür* M598b. Bur *hür* C697a. Kalm *sür* M465b. Dag *suɣ^v* (?=) E225, *sur* E83:199b. EYu *sür* B103, *sur* J104a. MgrH *sur* J103a. MgrM *sur.dai* DS255a ‘terrible’, DS257b ‘ugly’. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

- T -

***ta** ‘you (plural and/or polite)’. In some forms in the QG languages suffix were added, such as the plural suffix **-s*.

MMo SH *ta* H143, HY---, Muq *ta* P337a. WM *ta* L760a. Kh *ta* H472a. Chakhar *ta*: D179a. Ord *ta* M639a. Bur *ta* C406a. Brg *ta*: U173. Kalm *ta* M467a. Dag *ta*: E242. EYu *ta* B114, J103b, *tas* J53, see also J25. MgrH *ta* J26 (usually in compound forms). MgrM *ta-si* JL484. BaoD *ta* BL91a. BaoÑ *ta* CN159, *ta-la* CN161. Kgj *ta-si* S178. Dgx *ta* B135. Mog *to* (also *tod*, *tot*) R40b.

***taa-** ‘to guess; to suppose’. Dagur does have the apparent derivation *tau^l* E244 ‘riddle’ (although related words in central Mongolic mean ‘tale’). Probably related to CT **tap-* ‘to find’.

MMo SH---, HY *ta'a-* M98, Muq *ta'aldul-* (coop + caus) P338a, IV---, LV---, WM *taya-* L763b. Kh *taax* H473b. Bur *taaxa* C407a. Kalm *taax* M469b. Dag see above). EYu *ta:-* B113, J104b. MgrH *ta:-* J104b. MgrM *ta-* JL469. BaoD *ta-* BL91a. BaoÑ *ta:-* CN159. Dgx *ta-* B135. Mog---.

***taala-** ‘to like, to love; to caress’. Related to CT **tapla-* ‘to be pleased’. WM *tab(a)la-* ‘to feel content, etc’ may be a different relative of the same Turkic word.

MMo SH *ta'ala-* H143, HY *ta'ala-* M98, Muq *ta:la-* P343b, LV *ta:la-* P1268, IV *ta:la-* L67. WM *tayala-* L763b. Kh *taalax* H472b. Bur *taalaxa* C406a. Kalm *taalx* M468b. Dag *ta:l-* E242. EYu---, Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx *tala-* B137. MogM *tv:la-* L62:67.

***tabi-** ‘to put’ see **talbi-**

***tabin** ‘fifty’. In Bao and Kgj replaced by a new formation **tabun harban* ‘five tens’, e.g. BaoÑ *ta'waray* CN162.

MMo SH *tabin* H143, HY *tabin* M98, Muq *tabin* P338a, LV *tabin* P1267, IV *tabin* L66. WM *tabi(n)* L760b. Kh *tav'* (*tavin*) H476a. Ord *tawi* M650a. Bur *tabi(n)* C408b. Kalm *tävn* M485a. Dag *tab'* E246. EYu *taβən* B115. MgrH *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 *tawəŋ* CN162. Kgj *tavun* ~ *tavuŋ* S297a. Dgx *tawuŋ* B137. Mog *tabun* R60.

***tai-** ‘to make an offering, to sacrifice’. In Mongghul this verb may not have been lost, but absorbed by **talbi-* ‘to put’. Related to CT **tap-* ‘to worship’, which indicates a PM form **tahi-* < **tapi-*. Cf. the unrelated but semantically overlapping **taki-*.

MMo SH *tayi-* H146, HY---, Muq *tayi-qči* P246a ‘worshipper’, IV---, LV---, WM *tayi-* L767b. Kh *tayx* H479a. Bur *tayxa* C410b. Kalm *täax* M485a. Dag *tai-* E83:202a. EYu *tai-* BJ343. Shirongol see above. Mog---.

***tail-** ‘to undo, untie, unwrap’. Note the loss of *-l* in Baoanic and Mangghuer, which is unexpected at least in Baoan. In Baoanic **tail-* may have merged with **talbi-* ‘to put’, but the Monguor languages continue to distinguish the two.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tayil-* P343a. WM *tayil-* L768b. Kh *taylax* H478a. Ord *tä:l-* M652b. Bur *taylaxa* C410b. Kalm *täälx* M484a. Dag *taila-* T165. EYu *tail-* B114, J103b. MgrH *tai:lə-* J103a. MgrM *tai-* DS258a. BaoD *təi-* BL91b. BaoÑ *ti:-* CN167. Kgj *te-* S297a. Dgx *tai-* B135. Mog---.

***taka** ‘horseshoe’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *taya* P134a, IV---, LV---. WM *taqa* L788b. Kh *tax* H489b. Ord *daḡa* M112b. Bur *taxa* C418b. Kalm *tax* C482a. Dag *tak* E246. EYu *daqasən* (!) B125, *taka* P418a. Remaining lgs---.

***taki-** ‘to serve; to worship, to make an offering’. Cf. **tai-*.

MMo SH *taki-* H144, HY *taki-* M98, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *taki-* L770a. Kh *taxix* H490a. Ord *daki-* M113b. Bur *taxixa* C418b. Kalm *täx* M486b. Dag *takʷ-* E246. EYu *dakə-* B125. Remaining lgs---.

***takia** ‘chicken’. EYu, Bao, Kgj, and Dgx all stem from a form **takaa* with assimilation of the **ia*. Deviating forms in Mgr, MgrM, Mog are borrowings from the related Turkic form **takagu* ~ **takigu*. Front-vocalic Dag *dəyi*: ‘bird’ is not related to **takia* as Enkhbat suggests, but a Tungusic loanword.

MMo SH *takiya* H144, HY *takiya* M99, Muq *taqi'a* P341a, LV *taqiya* P1268, *tayawut* (pl) P1269 (←Turkic), IV *tayaqu* L66 (←Turkic), RH *daqau* 200B9, *taqaqun* [in animal cycle] 199C16. WM *takiya(n)* L770b. Kh *taxia(n)* H489b. Chakhar *dex'a:* D177a. Ord *daka:* M113b. Bur *taxyaa* C419a. Brg *tax'a:* U176. Kalm *taka* M473a. Dag---. EYu *dayqa* B125, *da'ga* J104b, *daqa* S628. MgrH *tagau:* J104a, *təgau* X178. MgrM *tagaov* C388, *toqò* P415b, cf *taga* Z340:372 ‘chicken’, but *təɔ* Z400:1000 [in animal cycle]. BaoD *təxa* ~ *tɣa* BL91b. BaoÑ *təxa* CN162. Kgj *taxa* ~ *tixa* ~ *tɣa* S296b. Dgx *tigə*, *tixga* B139. MogMr *taxp:qu* L62:67.

***talbi-** ‘to put, lay down; to release, let go of’. The form **talbi-* itself does not survive. In the modern languages one finds two unexpected developments, one of which involves the loss of *-b-*, the other the loss of *-l-*. The distribution of the variants is peculiar. The form **tabi-* already appears in MMo Muq. It survives in the central languages and in the Shirongol languages. In Baoanic **tabi-* further developed into **tai-*; the MgrH form independently developed in the same way (cf. **kabid-* for a similar phonetic history). Another simplified form **tali-* seems to underlie the Dag, EYu, and Mog forms. There is no attested old variant without *-b-*,

but it would be quite a coincidence if *-b-* was elided in three peripheries separately. In Baoanic merged with **tail-* ‘to undo’, in Mongghul perhaps with **tai-* ‘to sacrifice’.

MMo SH *talbi-* H144, HY *talbi-* M99, Muq *talbi-* P339a, *tabi-* P338a, LV *talbi-* P1270, IV---. WM *talbi-* L772a, *tabi-* L760b. Kh *tavix* H475a. Ord *tawi-* M650a. Bur *tabixa* C409a. Kalm *tävx* M485b Dag *talʷ-* E247, *talʷ-* ~ *ʷala-* NK503b. EYu *tal-* B125, J104a. MgrH *tai:-* J104b, *te:-* SM413, *ti:-* SM415. MgrM *tebi-* JL487. BaoD *ti-* BL32. BaoÑ *ti:-* CN167. Kgj *te-* S297a. Dgx *tai-* B135. Mog *tali-* R40a, *ʷali-* W181a.

***talkan** ‘flour; roasted flour; bread’. Agricultural term related to CT **talkan*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *talqan* P339b ‘oat flour’, IV---, LV---. WM *talqa(n)* L773b. Kh *talx(an)* H480b. Ord *dalyxa* M116a. Bur *talxa(n)* C411b. Kalm *talxn* M474b. Dag---. EYu *talğan* B115, J52. MgrH *talğa* X173. MgrM *tarxa* JL469. BaoD *talğan* BL72. Dgx *tağan* B136. Mog---.

***tamtul-** ‘to smash, to rip, to tear to pieces’, ***tamtura-** ‘to be smashed, torn, ripped’.

MMo SH *tamtul-* H144, *tantul-* H145, HY---, Muq *tamtul-*, *tamtura-* P340a. WM *tamtura-* L775b. Kh *tamtrax* H482a, cf. *tamtax* H482a. Dag *tantlɔ:-*, *tantar-* E83:204b, cf. *tantɔ:-* NK503b. EYu---. MgrH *tandəla-* X172, *tandəra:-* X172. MgrM *taŋtər-* (tr.) DS26a, F55:178. Bao---. Kgj *tande-* ~ *tamdi-* (tr.) S296b, *tantəra-*, *tandəra-*, *tantra-* S296b (intr.). Dgx *tamtura-* B136.

tamu-** and ***tomu-** (toma-**) ‘to rub; ‘to twist or spin thread or rope’. It will be assumed here that these two forms are related (cf. **dalan* ‘seventy’ and **dolaan* ‘seven’ for a similar pair). As the two variants do not seem to have a meaningful distribution, and some languages have both, they are listed here together. Another variant **tomĩ-* seems to be suggested by one of the Kalm and one of the MgrM forms. Dag *tɔŋgʷ-* is from Tungusic **tɔmkɔ-* and replaces the CM word.

MMo SH *tamu-* H144, HY---, Muq *toma-*, *tomu-* P340b, *doma-* P142b, IV---, LV---. WM *tamu-* L776a, *tomo-* L823a ‘to twist or spin thread or rope’. Kh *tamax* H481a, *tomox* H499b ‘to twist or spin thread or rope’. Ord *tamu-* M644a. Bur *tomoxo* C427b. Brg *tɔm-* U185. Kalm *tomx* M504a, *tömχə* R407a. Dag---. EYu *tɔmɔ-* B120, *tomə-* J104a, *tomu-* J18. MgrH *tamu-* J104b, X174. MgrM *tomo-* DS257b, *tomi-* P411b. BaoD *tamäl-*, *toməl-* (originally intensive forms?) BL91b. BaoÑ *təm-* CN169. Kgj *tumu-* S297b. Dgx *tamu-* B137. Mog---.

***tana** ‘large pearl’. In the central languages ‘mother-of-pearl’. Cf. **subud* ‘pearl’.

MMo SH *tana* H145, HY *tana* M99, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tana* L776a. Kh *tana* H482b. Ord *tana* M644b. Bur *tana* C413a. Kalm *tan* M475b. Dag *tanə* E244. EYu *tana.čə* B114 (unclear suffix). MgrH *tana:* X172. Remaining lgs---.

***tani-** ‘to know, to recognize’.

MMo SH *tani-* H145, HY *tani-* M99, Muq *tani-* P340b, IV---, LV---. WM *tani-* L778b. Kh *tanix* H483b. Bur *tanixa* C414a. Kalm *tanʷx* M477a. Dag *tanʷ-* E245. EYu *tanə-* B114, 103b. MgrH *tanə-* J103a. MgrM *tani-* JL469. BaoD *tani-*

BL91b. BaoÑ *tani*- CN159. Kgj *tani*- S296b. Dgx *tani*- B135. Mog *təni*- W181b, MogMr, MogM *tv:ni*- L64:35.

***taŋlaï** ‘palate’. May contain a suffix *-laï* (cf. other body parts **maŋlaï*, **kondalaï*), in which case the PM root may have been **taŋ-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tanqlai* P341a, LV *tanglai* P1270, IV---. WM *tangnai* L777b, *tanglai* L777b. Kh *tagnay* H477a. Ord *taŋnä*: M646b. Bur *tangalay* C413b. Brg *taŋlai* U175. Kalm *taŋna* M477a ‘hard palate’. Dag *tannə* E245. EYu *taŋli*: B114, J103b. MgrH *taŋli*: J104a. MgrM *taŋlai* DS241b. BaoD *taŋləi* BL91a. Dgx *taŋləi* B136, NB *taŋləi* MC384a ‘hard palate’, but *taŋgalai*, *taŋgolai* MC382b ‘soft palate’. Mog---.

***tarag** ‘sour milk, clabbered milk, yoghurt, cottage cheese, etc’.

MMo SH *tarah* H145, HY *taraq* M99, Muq *taraq* P341a. WM *taray* L779b. Kh *tarag* H484b. Bur *tarag* C414b. Kalm *targ* M478a. Dag---. EYu *tarag* B116. MgrH *tarag* X175. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Kgj---. MogMr *tarv:y* L64:38.

***taragai** or ***tarakai** ‘mange; bald’. Apparently related to CT **taz* ‘bald’ to which an element *-GAi* or *-kAi* was added (the evidence is ambiguous). RI:111 compares CM **tarbalji* ‘vulture’ (not listed here), which is there assumed to reflect CT *ta:z-baš* ‘bald head’; Cf. MMo Muq *tarbaji* 341a ‘name of a bird’, surviving in Bur *tarba(l)ža* C415a, Kalm *tarvj* M478a (names of eagle species).

MMo SH---, HY *taraqai* M77 ‘bald’, Muq *tarayai* P341a ‘mange, scab (skin disease)’. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *tarxa* M479a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *targai* X175 ‘mange; empty, smooth, bare terrain’. Bao---. Dgx *tagi* B137 ‘bald person’. Mog---.

***tarbagan** ‘marmot’. Some EYu and MgrH forms are from metathesized forms **targawan* and **tawargan*. This word may contain a suffix *-GAN*, so that the PM ‘root’ may have been **tarba-*.

MMo SH *tarbaqan* H145, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tarbaya(n)* L780a. Kh *tarvaga(n)* H484b. Ord *tarwağa* M649a. Bur *tarbaga(n)* C415a. Brg *tarβag* U178. Kalm *tarvlyn* (sic) M478a. Dag *tarbəy* E249. EYu *tarğwan* B116, *tarğuan* J104a, *taβarğan* (Qinglong dial) BJ352. MgrH *to:rğa* J104a, SM424, *tarbuğa* S625. MgrM *tarbagà* P420a. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***targun** ‘fat (adj)’.

MMo SH *tarqut* (pl) H146, HY *tarqun* M99, Muq *taryun* P341b. WM *taryu(n)* L780b. Kh *targa(n)* H484b. Bur *targan* C415a. Kalm *taryn* M478b. Dag *taryun* E250. EYu *tarğan* B116, *tarğən* J104a. MgrH *tarğun* J104b. MgrM *tarğon* C388. BaoD *tarğun* BL91a. BaoÑ *tarğon* CN162. Kgj *tarğun* S297a. Dgx *tagun* B137. Mog---.

***tari-** ‘to sow, plant’. Agricultural term related to CT **tari-* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tari-* P341b, LV *tara-* P1269, IV---. WM *tari-* L780b. Kh *tarix* H485b. Ord *tari-* M648a. Bur *tarixa* C415b. Brg *tar^v-* U179. Kalm *tärx* M487a. Dag *tar^v-* E251. EYu *tarə-* B116, J104a. MgrH *tarə-* J104b. MgrM *tari-*

DS243a. BaoD *tarə*- BL91a, *tar*- BL76. BaoÑ *tar*- CN161. Kgj *tari*- S296b. Dgx *tari*- B137. Mog---.

***tarīan** ‘crop; grain, cereal; agricultural field’. The QG languages all reflect a form **taraan* with assimilation of the **ia*. Either derived in Mongolic from CM **tarīa* or directly related to CT **tarīg* ‘wheat’.

MMo SH *tariyat* (pl) H146, HY *tariyan* M99, Muq *tari'an* P341b, LV *tara:n* P1269, IV---, Ph *t^hariyan* P131a. WM *tariya(n)* L781a. Kh *taria(n)* H485a. Ord *tara*: M647a. Bur *taryaan* C416b. Brg *tar^va*: U179. Kalm *tārān* M486b. Dag *tar^ve*: E248 ‘crop; field’. EYu *tara:-laŋ* BJ344 ‘crop’, *tara:-lǰān* B119 ‘farmer’ (with unclear suffix). MgrH *tara*: J104b. MgrM *tara* JL462. BaoD *taray* T147. BaoÑ *taray* CN161. Kgj *tarə* S297a. Dgx *taray* B137. Mog---.

***tarikī** ‘brain’. Kh, Chakhar and Bur derive from a form **tarkī*. The structure of the MgrH form is peculiar, cf. *tarag* (sic) X175 ‘brain; skull’, *tarag ši*: X175 ‘crown; brain’, *tarag šǰi*: X175 ‘brain’; the latter forms are treated as compounds with *šǰi* ‘centre’ (from LT *dkyil*). Kalm *tarxa* is also puzzling; perhaps this form is due to confusion with **taragāi* ‘bald’ listed above. Cf. **heki(n)*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tariki(n)* L781a, *taraki(n)* L779b ‘&occurput’. Kh *tarxi(n)* H486a. Chakhar *der^vx^v* D177a. Ord *tariki* M648a. Bur *tarxi* C415b ‘head; brain; Buriat sausage’. Brg *tarix* U178. Kalm *tarxa* (obs) M479a also ‘head’, *targ* M478a ‘brain’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *taragši*: J104b, X175, see remark above. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***tarka-** ‘to scatter, spread, disperse’. Perhaps in some way related to the verb **tara-* (or **tar-?*) reflected by WM *tara-* L779b, Kh *tarax* H484b ‘to disperse, etc’, Ord *tara-* M646b, Bur *taraxa* C414b (intr). Kalm *tarx* M479a (intr).

MMo SH *tarqa-* H145, HY *tarqa-* M99, Muq---, IV---, LV---, *tarqa-* P131a. WM *tarqa-* L782a. Kh *tarxax* H486a. Ord *darḡa-* M121b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *tarḡāḡā* R381a. Dag---. EYu *tarqa-* BJ344. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *taḡa-* B136. Mog---.

***tasma** ‘strip of leather, thong’. Wanderwort that may have entered Mongolic from Persian. Perhaps Kh *tams* H481b ‘edging, bordering, etc’ and Bur *tamha(n)* C413a ‘small strip of textile’ go back to a metathesized variant of this word.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tasma* P342a ‘thong’, IV---, LV---. WM *tasama* L782b, *tasma(n)* L784a. Kh *tasam* H487a ‘border, edging’. Ord *dasma* M126a. Bur *tahama* C420a ‘leather thongs’. Kalm *tasm* M480a. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *tasma* X179. MgrM (Sanchuan) *tsma* P420b ‘ribbon’. Bao---. Dgx *sīma* S613, S1985:686 ‘strip of leather’. Mog *tasma*: R40a ‘untanned goatskin’.

***tasura-** ‘to break (intr)’. Several unexpected forms are found. The *-ḡ-* in MgrH is intrusive, and may be a byproduct of the devoicing of the first syllable. The affricates in the MgrM form *cǰǰir-* are caused by the reduction of the first vowel. In the BaoD and Dgx forms the **a* of the first syllable has disappeared completely, after which the **t* and the **s* formed an affricate. In EYu and BaoÑ the *t-* was

weakened (dissimilated) due to the following -s-. Cf. the peculiar development of **tata-*.

MMo SH *tasura-* H146, HY---, Muq *tasura-* P342a, IV---, LV---. WM *tasura-* L785b. Kh *tasrax* H487b. Bur *taharxa* C420a. Brg *taxa:r-* U175. Kalm *tasrx* M480a. Dag *tasər-* E248. EYu *dasāra-* B126, *dasər-* J104a. MgrH *dağsəra:-* J104b, *tağsəra:-* X173. MgrM *tasīr-* ~ *cījīr-* JL470, *cīsara-* P418b. BaoD *zarə-* BL91a. BaoÑ *dasar-* CN173. Kgj *cīra-* ~ *cra-* S302a. Dgx *cīra-* B156, L11, *sīra-* B116, L119b. Mog---.

***tata-** ‘to pull’ in many languages also ‘to grind, mill’, or ‘to smoke’. In the QG languages the first syllable was reduced and devoiced between the two strong consonants, which led to several unexpected developments which even affected the initial consonant.

MMo SH *tata-* H146, HY *tata-* M99, Muq *tata-* P342a, LV *tata-* P1268, IV---, Ph *t^hat^ha-* P131a. WM *tata-* L785b. Kh *tatax* H488a. Ord *data-* M127b. Bur *tataxa* C417b. Kalm *tatx* C481b. Dag *tat-* E248. EYu *hta-* B60, *hda-* J79. MgrH *təda-* X179, *cida-* SM444. MgrM *tida-* ~ *cida-* JL470. BaoD---. BaoGt *şda-* C121. BaoÑ *şda-* CN149. Kgj *sta-* ~ *sda-* ~ *sita-* S294b. Dgx *sda-* B119, *cida-* MC328b. Mog *tata-* R40a, *tata-* W181a, *təta-* W181b.

***tau-** ‘to drive (usu. animals)’.

MMo SH *ta’u-* H146, *tao’u-* H145, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *taɣu-* L766a. Kh *tuux* H519a. Bur *tuuxa* C438a. Kalm *tuux* M521a. Dag *tau-* E244. EYu *tu:-* B121, J104b. MgrH *tau:-* J104b. MgrM *tau-* T366. BaoD---. BaoGt *tī-* C117. BaoÑ *tu:-* CN169. Kgj *tu-* S297b. Dgx *tau-* B135. Mog---.

***taulai** ‘hare’.

MMo SH *taolai* H145, *ta’ulai* H146, HY *taulai* M100, Muq *ta’ulai* P343a, *tu:lai-* P357a, LV *taulai* P1270, IV *taulai* L68, *tu:lai* L70, Ph *t^havlayi* P131a. WM *taulai* L788b, *tulai* L840b. Kh *tuulay(n)* H518a. Bur *tuulay* C438a. Kalm *tuula* M520a. Dag *taul^ʰ* E244. EYu *tu:li-* B121, J103b. MgrH *to:li-* J103a. MgrM *taulai* JL469. BaoD *taolai* BL91a. BaoÑ *təli* CN168. Kgj *tuli* S297b. Dgx *taulai* B135. MogMr *taulai* L62:68.

taun** and/or ***tagan**/tagun** ‘jackdaw’. It is impossible to derive all forms from a single CM form. Vowel length in Brg and Dag. The MMo Muq form seems to be related to (or rather a borrowing from) the synonymous CT **taɣan* (EDPT 523a). The other Mongolic forms may be connected in some way as well. A variant Turkic form **tagan* may have existed, cf. **yaɣan* ~ **yagan* ‘elephant’ as opposed to CM **jaan*. However, the Mongolic equivalent of CT **taɣan* should have been **taɣgan* or **taan* and the Mongolic equivalent of **tagan* should have been **taan*.

MMo SH---, HY *alaq ta’un* M34 (see **alag* ‘multi-coloured’), Muq *taqan* (perhaps for *taɣan*) P341a. WM *taɣu* L766a, *alay taɣu* L26b. Kh *tuu* H518a, *alagtuu* H14b. Ord---. Bur *tuun* C438a. Brg *ta:g* U173. Kalm---. Dag *ta:wu* E243. Remaining lgs---.

***tayag** ‘stick, walking cane’. Loan from CT **tayak* ‘id’. Derived from the CT verb **taya-* ‘to support’. Cf. **sorbī*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tayaq* P346b. WM *tayay* L769b. Kh *tayag* H491b. Ord *tayaq* M641a. Bur *tayag* C421a. Kalm *tayg* M472b. Dag *tayiy* [?←Kh] Z102b. EYu *tiyağ* B118, *tʰa:ğ* B123, *tiag* J104a. MgrH *tiag* J104b, *teğ* X176. MgrM---, Bao---, Dgx *təiya* B138. Mog *tayag* W180b.

***te** see ***tende** and ***tere**

***tebeg** (?*tebüg) ‘shuttlecock’. Apparently borrowed from CT **tepük*, derived from **tep-* ‘to kick’. Cf. Salar *tiux* ‘id’. A late loan on account of the correspondence CT **-p-* = CM **-b-*. BaoÑ *te*: CN164 ‘id’ is from Amdo *tʰe-wu* (written *the-bug*) HL259b ‘id’, which is ultimately from the same Turkic word.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, WM *tebeg* L789b. Kh *teveg* H529b. Ord *tewek* M662a. Bur *tebeg* C451a. Kalm *tewg* R395a. Dag---, EYu *teβag* B117. Mgr---, BaoD---, BaoÑ (see above). Dgx *ćiau* B151, cf. *ćie-da-* MC328b ‘to kick about a shuttlecock’. Mog---.

***tebene** (?*temene) ‘large needle’. Note the *-m-* in Ord-Kalm-Dag, which may be older than the forms with *-b-* in view of the Turkic cognate. The Dag vowel length is unexpected, as is the *-nʸ*, which may suggest a CM form **teme(e)ni*. Related to CT **temen* ‘id’.

MMo SH *tebene* H147, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tebene* L790a. Kh *tevne* H528b. Ord *temene* M656b. Bur *tebene* C451a. Brg *təβan* U180. Kalm *temn* M492b. Dag *təmə:nʸ* E253. EYu---, Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx---, MogM *tēβana* L68, No. 111.

***teberi-** ‘to embrace’. EYu reformed from the noun **teber* ‘armful; embrace’. Dag ends in an inexplicable long vowel.

MMo SH *teberi-* H147, HY---, Muq *teberi-* P343b, LV *tebri-* P1268, IV---. WM *teberi-* L790a. Kh *tevrex* H529a. Ord *tewere-* M662a. Bur *teberixe* C451a. Brg *təβar-* U180. Kalm *tevr̥x* M488a. Dag *təurʸe:-* E251. EYu *teβer-le-* B117, *töβer-le-* J22. MgrH *te:rə-* X175, *to:rə-* X181, MgrH *tüe:ri-* SM437. MgrM *tʰarbar-* /*terbar-* C389, *tierbər-* DS229b. BaoD *te:re-* T148. BaoÑ *te:r-* CN164. BaoX *terə-* BC62. Kgj *tər-* S297b. Dgx *ćiauru-* B151. Mog---.

***tebsi** ‘plate, dish’. With added *-g* in EYu. From Chinese *diézi*, perhaps via Turkic **tevsī*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tepši* (so read) P239a, LV *tebšin* P1268, IV---. WM *tebsi* L790b, *debsi* L239b. Kh *tevš* H529b. Ord *debši* M132b. Bur *tebše* C451a ‘small trough; wooden dish’. Kalm *tevš* M488a ‘wooden trough, tub, oblong wooden tray’. Dag---, EYu *tebšəg* B117 ‘trough; a wooden implement used for winnowing’. MgrH *diewši* SM50 ‘small dish’. BaoD---, BaoÑ *debši* CN176. Dgx---, Mog---.

***tede** ‘those’ see ***tere**

***teeli** ‘axle’ see ***tengeli(g)**

***teermen** ‘mill’, in the QG languages **termen*, with unexpected vowel shortening also in EYu-MgrH. Technical term related to CT **tegirmen* ‘id’. In view of the Turkic cognate the loss of the *-n* in central Mongolic is an innovation of that subgroup. MMo Muq and Ph have borrowed the Turkic word again at a later stage.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tegirmen* (←Turkic) P344b, IV---, LV---, Ph *t^hegirmed* (pl.) P131b. WM *tegerme* L793b. Kh *teerem* H538a. Bur *teerme* C460a. Kalm *teerm* M489b. Dag---. EYu *termen* B118, J104b. MgrH *tərme* J104a. MgrM *t^harme* /*terme*/ C389. BaoD *tarmaŋ* BL92b. BaoÑ *termaŋ* CN166. Kgj *təmə* ~ *tərmə* S297a. Dgx *ciemān* B153a, *ciemān* L119b. Mog *te:rmə:n* R40a.

***tegsi** ‘level, even’. Cf. **tübsin*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tekši* P345b ‘fair, just’. WM *tegsi* L794a. Kh *tegš* H530a. Bur *tegše* C451b. Kalm *tegš* M488b. Dag *tərš* E255, *təkš* E252. EYu *degšə* B117, J104b, *tegšə* BJ344. Remaining lgs---.

***tegüs-** ‘to end (intr)’.

MMo SH---, HY *tegüs-ge-* (caus.) M100, Muq---. WM *tegüs-* L796a. Kh *tögsöx* H507b. Bur *tügesexe* (←Kh) C442b. Kalm *tögsx* M512a. EYu *dögəs-* BJ323.

***teimü** ‘such, that kind of’. From the pronominal (distal demonstrative) root **te-*, cf. **te(re)* ‘this’, **tende* ‘there’, **tein* ‘thus’. Dagur may involve another suffix (as in **yamar*). Kangjia *teme* has functionally replaced **tein* ‘thus’, the Baoan forms have replaced **tedüi* ‘that much’ (not listed). Most Shirongol forms include **nige* ‘one’. For new Baoanic formations replacing **teimü*, see s.v. **metü*. MgrH *təgi:* X178, MgrM *tiŋtai* DS30a ‘that kind of’ are other new formations based on **te-*.

MMo SH *teyimu* H150, HY---, Muq *ti:m* (probably < *ti:n* assimilated to *boltuyai* following it) P345a. WM *teyimü* L796b. Kh *tiym* H492a. Bur *tiime* C422a. Kalm *tiim* M498a. Dag *ti:mər* E255. EYu *tomo* [in compounds] B120, *tumə* J104a. MgrH *tamaingə* H173 ‘a lot of’, *tamaingə* L553 ‘that much’. BaoD *təmingə* BL75 ‘that much’. BaoÑ *temi:ngə* CN165 ‘that much’. BaoX *təmi: nəgə* CN86:179 ‘that much’. Kgj *teme* (?=) S297a ‘that way’, *teme niye* S192 ‘that much’. Dgx *ćimi nie* BC85:132 ‘as little as that’. Mog---.

***tein** ‘like that, so’. Cf. **teimü* above.

MMo SH *teyin* H150, HY *teyin* M101, Muq *teyin* P168b, *ti:n* P345a, LV---, IV *tein* L68. WM *teyin* L796b. Kh *tiyn* H492b. Bur *tiin* C422a. Kalm---. Dag *ti:* E255. EYu *ti:n* B118, BJ344, J53. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx *ćin* B154.

***teingi-** < **tein ki-* ‘to do that way’. The forms in the central languages and Dag are new formations based on **tei ki-*. The Dgx form takes any negation particles between the original components (cf. BC85:175). From the pronominal root **te-*, cf. also **tere* ‘that’, **tende* ‘there’.

MMo SH---, HY, Muq---. WM *tenggi-* L802b, *tege-* L792b, also *ćinggi-* L190a. Kh *tegex* H530b. Bur *tiigexe* C421b, *tiixe* C422b. Brg *ti:g-* U182. Kalm *tiigx* M498a. Dag *ti:xi:-* Z102a, cf. the gerund *ti:yə:* E255, *tiyə:* E256. EYu *təŋgə-* B116. Mgr *tiŋgə-* X176, *təŋgə-* X178. MgrM *tiŋgə-* DS32b. BaoD *təŋgə-* BL74. BaoÑ *təŋgə-* CN162. Kgj *təŋgi-* ~ *təŋgi-* S297a. Dgx *ćin giə-* B154.

***teĵie-** ‘to feed, nourish’. The *ć-* in Bao is irregular (in Kgj it is also a rare development but other cases are documented, see **temür* ‘iron’). But in view of the Dgx form this irregularity does not date back to Proto Baoanic (in which case Dgx would have had initial *ć-*). The same irregularity occurs (alongside the expected form) in MgrH. Mostaert compares the MgrH form to Ord *ċide-*. Although theoretically the latter could represent another verb, it could be another odd alteration of **teĵie-*.

MMo SH *teji'e-*, *tejiye-* H147, HY *teĵe'e-mel* M100, Muq---, LV *teĵe-* P1268, IV---. WM *tejiye-*, *teĵige-* L808b. Kh *teĵeex* H531a. Ord *teĵe-* M655a, *ċide-* (?=) M701a. Bur *teĵeexe* C453a. Kalm *teĵäx* M490a. Dag *täĵa-* E254. EYu---. MgrH *täĵe-* J104a, *ċiĵie-* SM446. MgrM *teĵe-* JL462. BaoD *ċiĵia-* BL91a. BaoÑ *ċiĵe-* CN188. Kgj *ċiĵe-* S301a. Dgx *ċieĵa-* B153, L119a. Mog---.

***teke** ‘billy-goat’. Agricultural term related to CT **teke* ‘id’. Cf. **ukuna* and **serke*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *teke* P267b, IV---, LV---. WM *teke* L797a ‘wild goat, ibex’. Kh *tex* H537a ‘wild goat, mountain goat’. Ord *deke* (in riddles) M136a. Bur *texe* C458a. Brg *täx* U180. Kalm *tek* M490b. Dag---. EYu *teke*, *tege* B117. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *takā* R59.

***temeċe-** ‘to struggle, to strive for, to exert oneself, to compete’. Dagur suggests **temeċie-*. Not to be confused with **teŋċe-* (not listed here).

MMo SH *temece-* H148, *demece-* H36, HY---, Muq *temeċe-* P345b, IV---, LV---. WM *temeċe-* L799b. Kh *temcex* H532a. Bur *temsexe* C453b. Kalm *temcx* M493a. Dag *tämċe-* E253. EYu *temċe-* J90. MgrH *tänĵe-* X178, *tämĵe-* L571. Bao---. Dgx *ċiemāċa-* MC329b. Mog---.

***temeen** ‘camel’. Agricultural term related to CT **teve* ‘id’. The CM *-m-* has apparently developed under the influence of the following *-n* of the element *-en* that was added after borrowing.

MMo SH *teme'en* H148, HY *teme'en* M100, Muq *teme:n* P345b, LV *teme:n* P1270, IV---. WM *temege(n)* L800a. Kh *temee(n)* H532a. Ord *teme:* M656b. Bur *temee(n)* C453b. Brg *tāmā:* U181. Kalm *temän* M491b. Dag *tāmā:* E253. EYu *teme:n* B117, *temen* J104b. MgrH *tāme:n* J104a. MgrM *teme* JL461. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *temə*, *temən* W181a.

***temgü-** ‘to gather, pick up’. Note the peculiar distribution of this verb and **teü-*. Only MMo and Dgx seem to preserve both verbs. **temgü-* appears in MMo, Shirongol, and perhaps in Dagur and Moghol; **teü-* is found in MMo, the central languages, EYu, and Dgx. It is unclear whether these two nearly complementary verbs are in some way related. Both the long *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 *töŋkō-*). The irregular Mog form is reminiscent both of **temgü-* and **čömi-*.

MMo SH *temgu-* H148, *tenggu-* H148 ‘to pick up, to gather’, HY---, Muq---, IM *temgü-* P448a. WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag *tunĵā:* (?=)

E262. EYu---. MgrH *tungu-* J104a, X183. MgrM---. BaoD *tungə-* BL91a ‘to pick up, gather’. BaoÑ *toŋgə-* CN168 ‘to pick up, gather’. Kgj *tunŋi-* S298a. Dgx *ćiaunŋu-* B151 ‘to pick up, collect, gather’. Mog *tomu-* W181b ‘to gather’, MogM/Mr *tomu-* L74:301 ‘to pick (flowers or fruits)’.

***temtel-, *temtere-** ‘to feel, grope’. Unlike other similar-looking verb pairs this is not a pair of transitive/intransitive counterparts. Central Mongolic has the form with *-r-*, Shirongol has the form in *-l-*. Dag *təm^ʷe:lə:-* E253 ‘to grope’ may be related to the latter, but the morphological relationship between the two shapes is unclear.

MMo SH *temtel-* H148 ‘to whet’, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *temteri-* L800b, *temtel-* (‘old form’) L800b. Kh *temtrex* H532a ‘to feel, grope’. Ord *temtere-* M657a, *temtur-* M657b. Bur *temterxe* C453b. Kalm *temtrx* M492b. Dag (see above). EYu---. MgrH *temdälə-* 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 *təmrər* C389. BaoD *təmr* BL91b. BaoÑ *temər* CN165. Kgj *ćimɔ* S301a. Dgx *ćiemu* B153. Mog---.

***tende** ‘there’. The same stem as **tein* ‘like that’, **tere* ‘that’, etc.

MMo SH *tende* H148, HY *tende* M100, Muq *tende* P346b. WM *tende* L801a. Kh *tend* H533a. Ord *tende*, *ténde* M657b, *te:nde* (emphatic) M657b ‘over there’. Bur *tende* C454b. Kalm *tend* M493a. Dag *tənd* E251. EYu *tende* B116, J104a. MgrH *təndai:* J104a, *tənde:*, *təndi:* X177. MgrM *tindu* DS42a, *tendekuni* P420b ‘from there’. BaoD *təndə* BL91b. BaoÑ *təndə* CN164, *təndə* CN162. Kgj *tende* S129. Dgx *təndə* B138. Mog *təndə* R40a.

***təngeli(g)** ‘axle’. An apparently related form **teeli* also exists: WM *tegeli* L793a, Kh *teel* H538a ‘pivot pin of tools such as scissors and pliers’, *degli* H192a ‘the pivot of scissors or thongs’, Bur *teeli* C459b ‘axle, pivot pin’. Not to be confused with MMo Muq *töngelik* P211b, 367b ‘ring of the bridle’, Ord *töngölök* M674b ‘rings on the bit for the reins’, Kalm *töölg* M513b ‘iron (metal) ring’.

MMo SH *təngeli* H148, HY---, Muq *töngelik modun* P358b (*modun* ‘wood’). WM *təngelig* L802b. Kh *tenxleg* H533b. Ord *təngel*, *təngelik* M658b. Bur---. Brg *təngələg* U180. Kalm---. Dag *təngəl* E251. Remaining lgs---.

***təŋgeri** ‘sky, weather; heaven; god’, in Shirongol ‘sky’. Note the added *-g* in Baoan. Potanin (424) gives Dgx *təngir*, in which both the preserved *t-* and the final *-r* are unexpected. Unfortunately the word is quoted in a sentence which does not specifically look Dongxiang, and may be mislabeled. Related to CT **teŋri* ‘id’.

MMo SH *tenggeri*, *tenggiri* H148, HY *tenggiri* M100, Muq *tengiri* (or *teŋri*) P347a, LV *tengri* P1270, IV *tengri* L68, Ph *déŋri* P122a. WM *tngri* L809b, *tenggeri* L802b, *tegri* (?misreading of *tngri*) L794a. Kh *tenger* H532b. Ord *teŋger* M658b. Bur *tengeri* C454a. Kalm *teŋgr* M493b. Dag *təŋgər* E251. EYu *teŋger* B116, B104b ‘sky’. MgrH *təŋgerə* J104a. MgrM *tiangərə* DS250a, (Sanchuan) *tengri* P416b. Bao *tengri* P416b. BaoÑ *təŋgərəg* CN164. BaoX *təŋgərəg* BC61. Kgj---. Dgx (see above). Mog---, but cf. Zirmi *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. **ejen*, **irgen*, **nögee*, **öer-*). The monosyllabic forms in Mgr, Bao, Kgj, and Mog are interesting, but it can not be determined whether these are older forms or recent reductions. In view of the oblique stem listed below, and related words such as **tein*, and **tende* discussed above, it is not impossible that the short forms are old. The retention of the **t-* in Dgx (instead of *č-*) is unexpected.

MMo SH *tere* H149, HY *tere* M101, Muq *tere* P348a. WM *tere* L804b. Kh *ter* H534b. Ord *tere* M660a. Bur *tere* C457a. Kalm *ter* M495a. Dag *tər* E254. EYu *tere* B118, J104b. MgrH *te* J104a. MgrM *ti* JL479 ‘that one; he’. BaoD *tə* ~ *tərə* BL34, *tər* BL91b. BaoÑ *terə* CN165, *tərə* CN163, *tə* CN162. Kgj *te* S297a. Dgx *tərə* B138. Mog *te* R40a, MogMr *te*: L62:68.

The oblique stem ***teün-**. As such lost in most peripheral languages, but it seems to survive in Dag *tu*: *ča:ǰ* E261 ‘day after next’, *tu*: *nuwə: xə:n* E261 ‘year after next’. MgrH *təŋ* X182 ‘year after next’, *təŋ čina:daǰ* X182 ‘in three days’ (cf. Ord *tū*: *nögö:dör* M498a ‘in three days’ in central Mongolic). The oblique stem may also be the source of Kgj *tün* S298a ‘that side’, in which case it was metanalysed from inflected forms like the dative **teündü*. Survives in its original function as follows.

MMo SH *te’u(n)-* H149, HY *te’ü-ber* M101, Muq *tü:n-* P360a. WM *tegün-* L795b. Kh *tüün-* H527a. Ord *tu:n* M686a. Bur *tüün* C448b. Kalm *tüün-* M525b. Dag---. EYu *tün-* B122, *tun-* J26. Remaining lgs---.

The plural ***tede** ‘those’. This old plural uses the same suffix as **ede*, the plural of **ene* ‘this’, and, apparently **bida* ‘we’.

MMo SH *tede(n)* H147, HY *tede* M100, Muq *tede* P344a, *teden-* P344b. WM *tede(n)* L791a. Kh *ted(en)* H530b. Ord *tede* M654a. Bur *tede*, *teden-*, *tedeen-* C452ab. Kalm *tedn* M489a. Dag *təd* E254 (gen. *tədni:*). Remaining lgs---.

***tergen** ‘cart’.

MMo SH *terge(n)*, *tergan* H149, HY *tergen* M101, Muq *tergen* P349b, IV---, LV---. WM *terge(n)* L805a. Kh *tereg (tergen)* H535b. Ord *terge* M660b. Bur *terge* C456a. Kalm *tergn* M495a. Dag *tərəy* E254. EYu *teryen* B118, J104b. MgrH *tərge* J104a, *tie:rge* SM417. MgrM *t’argə* C389. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj---. Dgx *čiarǰə* B154, *čiarəiǰan* MC331b. Mog---.

***teriün** ‘head’, with many derived meanings such as ‘chief’ and ‘beginning’. A phonetic variant **türüün* developed already in MMo, usually associated with the meaning ‘first’ as an adverb of time and as an ordinal number. Reading pronunciations with *-g-* can be found in central Mongolic. The peripheral languages

tend to preserve only a single variant. Dgx developed as if from **teürün* or **törün*. For ‘head’ in the anatomical sense also see **hekin* and **tolagäi*. **teriün* is also the base of the verb **teriüle-* ‘to begin’ (not listed here).

MMo SH *teri’u(n)* H149 ‘head’, *turun* H155 ‘at first’, HY *teri’ün* M101 ‘head’, *törün* M103 ‘at first’, Muq---, LV *terü:n*, *tirü:n* P1269, IV *térgün* L62:68. WM *terigün* L805b, *türügüü* L856a ‘head (of a group), etc’, *türügün* L856a. Kh *tergüün* H535a ‘head, chief; first; beginning; leading’, *türüü(n)* H525b ‘head of a group, etc’. Bur *türüü* C446a ‘first, head, main, etc’, *türüün* C446b ‘earlier, etc’. Brg *tərgu:ŋ* U182 ‘chief’, *туру:* U191 ‘chieftain; ear (of grain)’. Kalm *tergün* (obs) M495b ‘head, chief; first, etc’, *türün* M524b ‘first, head, main, etc’. Dag *turun* E264 ‘first; champion’. EYu *hkö tūru:n* B59 ‘gadfly’ (**köke* ‘blue’). MgrH *туру:* SM436, *турҗ* X186, *торҗ* X181 ‘for the first time’, etc. BaoD *təruŋ* BL92b ‘head’. BaoJ *troŋ* L181. BaoÑ *təreŋ* CN169, also ‘beforehand’. Kgj *туру* S298a ‘head; ear (of grain)’. Dgx *čiauruŋ* B151 ‘head’. Mog---.

***teü-** ‘to gather, pick up’ (e.g. dried dung or firewood). Cf. **temgü-* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tü:-* P359b. WM *tegü-* L794b. Kh *tüüx* H527b. Ord *tü:-* M683b. Bur *tüüxe* C449b. Brg *tu:-* U188. Kalm *tüüx* M525b. Dag---. EYu *tü:-* B123, J104a. MgrH---. MgrM *tiu-* F44:32. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Dgx (*hanğa*) *čiau-* B64 ‘to collect (manure)’. Mog---.

***teün-** oblique stem of **tere*

***toa(n)** ‘number, figure’. The *-n* was exceptionally lost in Kalm-Bur.

MMo SH *to’a* H150, *to’o* H151, HY *to’a* M101, *to’an* M101, *to’on* M101, Muq *to’an* P350a, *to:n-* P352a. WM *toya(n)* L813a. Kh *too(n)* H501a. Ord *to:* M663b. Bur *too* C428b. Kalm *to* M499a. Dag *tō:* E257, *tō:n* E257. EYu *tu:n* B121, J104a, *tō:n* (Qinglong) BJ351. MgrH *to:* J104b, SM422, *to:r* (sic) SM424. MgrM (Sanchuan) *to* P420a. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *toa* R40b.

***toala-** ‘to count’. From **toa(n)* ‘number’ above.

MMo SH *to’ola-* H151, *to’ula-* H152, HY---, Muq *to:la-* P352a, LV *to:la-* P1271, IV---. WM *toyala-* L814a. Kh *toolox* H501b. Dag *t’a:l-* E266. EYu *tu:la-* B121. MgrH *to:la-* SM423, *to:rla-* SM426. MgrM *tolo-* C389. BaoGt *tolā-* C103. BaoÑ *tō:la-* CN167. Kgj *tula-* S297b. Dgx *tāula-* B138. Mog *toala-* R40b.

***toarag** and ***tobarag** ‘earth; dust, dust cloud, speck of dust’. The latter form is found in the central languages. Both stem from the same Turkic word **toprak* ‘earth’. Dgx *tura* B142 is compared to WM *tobaray* by Bökh, but it could also be from **toarag*. Kgj *durpa* could represent a recent loan from Turkic (with metathesis). Cf. **toasun* ‘dust’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tobaray* L810a, *tobray* L811b, *toyuray* L817b. Kh *toorog* H502a, *tovrog* H493a. Ord *[to:s]* *toworoq* M672a. Bur *toorog* C429b, *toborog* C423a. Kalm *toorm* (sic) M506b, *tovrq* M499b. Dag *t’a:rəl* E266. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj *туру ~ turğu* S297b, cf. also *dur ~ durpa* (?) S299b. Dgx *tura* B142 ‘earth’. Mog---.

***toari-** ‘to turn around; to circle; to enclose’. In Kalmuck **toari-* appears to have merged with **töeri-* ‘to get lost’. The meaning ‘to roam’ found in several Baoanic languages may have developed from **toari-* ‘to circle’ or **töeri-* ‘to get lost’ or may be also due to confusion of the two. Strangely enough the two Kangjia forms seem to correspond to the single BaoÑ form. The *ø* of *tørli-* normally suggests a front-vocalic CM form.

MMo SH *to'ori-* H151, HY *to'ori-* M101, Muq *to:ri-* P352a, IV---, LV---, Ph *tʰo'ori-* P131b. WM *toyori-* L817b. Kh *toyrox* H497b, *toyrix* H497a. Ord *to:ri-* M670b. Bur *toyroxo* C425b, *toorixo* C429b. Brg *tɔirʷ-* U183 ‘to wind’. Kalm (see above). Dag *tɔ:rʷ-* E258 ‘to return on the same day’. EYu *tɔrɔ-* B120, *toro:-* (length metathesized) J104a. MgrH *to:rə-* J104b. MgrM---. BaoD *torə-* BL92a. BaoGt *tor-* C112. BaoÑ *tə:rə-* CN167 ‘to wind; to turn; to be dizzy; to surround; to roam’. Kgj *turi-* S297b ‘to go for a stroll, wander’, *təri-* ~ *turi-* S20 ‘to call at people’s homes’, cf. *turiğai* S297b ‘who likes to call at people’s homes’, but also *tərli-* (?=) S297b ‘to be dizzy, to lose consciousness’. Dgx *tori-* B140 ‘to stroll, roam’, *torəi-* MC392b ‘to stroll, roam, stroll about, go sightseeing’. Mog---.

***toasun** ‘dust’. Perhaps related to Turkic **tog* ‘id’ or **topa* ‘id’.

MMo SH *to'osun* H151, *to'usun* H152, HY *to'osun* M101, Muq---, LV---, IV *to:sun* L69. WM *toyosu(n)* L818b. Kh *toos(on)* H502b. Ord *to:s(u)* M672a. Bur *tooho(n)* C430a. Brg *tɔ:s* (←Kh) U183. Kalm *toosn* M506a. Dag (*tʷa:rəl*) *tɔ:s* E266 (first element from **toarag*). Remaining lgs---.

***tobčĭ** ‘button’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tobčĭ* P350b, IV---, LV---. WM *tobčĭ* L810b. Kh *tovc(in)* H493b. Ord *dobčĭ* M146a. Bur *tobšo* C423a. Kalm *tovc* M499b. Dag *tɔrč* E261. EYu *tɔbčə* B119, *tobčə* J104b. MgrH *tebjə* X176, *tešjə* J104b, X177, *dešjĭ* SM54. MgrM *toğjĭ* C389, *toğčĭ* T328, *təğjĭ*, *tuğjĭ* DS210a. BaoD *tabčĭə* BL92a. BaoÑ *dobčĭ* CN179. Kgj---. Dgx *təğjĭ* B138, *tĭğjĭ* L119a. Mog---.

***togaan** ‘pot, pan, cauldron’. Cf. **kaĭsun*.

MMo SH *toqo'an* H150, HY *toqo'an* M101, Muq *toya:n* P350b, *toqa:n* P351a, IV---, LV---. WM *toyoya(n)* L817a, *toyo(n)* L816b. Kh *togoo(n)* H494b. Ord *togoo* M664b. Bur *togoo(n)* C423b. Kalm *toya:čĭ* R397a ‘cook’. Dag *tuwa:* E265. EYu *təğɔ:n* B119, *toğɔ:n* J104a. MgrH *toğɔ:* J104b, *tuğɔ:* X183. MgrM *tuğɔ* C389. BaoD *tuχuŋ* BL92b, *tχuŋ* BL13. BaoÑ *təχəŋ* CN162. Kgj *tuχuŋ* ~ *tχuŋ* S297a. Dgx *tuğəŋ* B141, *tuğon* L120b. Mog---.

***togaraun** (?*toguraun) ‘crane (the bird)’. In Chinese sources often confused with ‘wild goose’. The EYu form in Sun is likely to be wrong; the normal EYu word for ‘crane’ is *sure:čə* B103, of unclear etymology.

MMo SH *toqora'u(n)*, *toqura'un* H150, HY---, Muq *tuyra'un* P354a, LV *toqaraqaun* (sic) P1269, IV *toyora'un* (spelled *toyorwa:n*) L69. WM *toyoruu* L818b, *toyoriu* L818b, *toyoriyun* L818a. Kh *togoruu* H495a. Ord *tuğuru:* M677a. Bur *toxoryuu(n)* C432a. Brg *təgrɔ:* U185. Kalm *toyrun* M501a. Dag *tɔyʷlɔ:r* E259. EYu *tuğuroŋ* [only] S638. MgrH *tuğorɔŋ* X183. MgrM *tuğurun* DS226a. BaoD *təχəraŋ* BL88b. Kgj---. Dgx *tonğori* B139, *tonğori* L108, *toğoro* L117b. Mog---.

***togta-** ‘to be steady; to stand still, to stop; to take shape’.

MMo SH *toqta-* H150, HY *toqto’a-* (caus.) M102 ‘to memorize’, Muq *toqta-* P351a. WM *toyta-* L815a, *toyto-* L816b. Kh *togtox* H495b. Bur *togtoxo* C424a. Kalm *togtx* M501a. Dag *tort-* E261. EYu *togto-* B119, *togdo-* J79. Remaining lgs---.

***tokai** ‘elbow’. The form **tokanag* in Bur and EYu may be based on the same root.

MMo SH---, HY *toqai* M101, Muq *toqai* P351a, LV *toqai* P1270, IV *toqai* L69. WM *toqoi* L829b, *toqai* L829a. Kh *toxoy* H506a. Ord *doxo-* M149b. Bur *toxoy* C432a (and *toxonog* C432a). Brg *toxci* U184. Kalm *toxa* M509b. Dag---. EYu (*doqonog* B129). MgrH *tuui:* J104b. MgrM *tuuai* DS219b. BaoD *toxai* ~ *togoi* BL92b. BaoÑ---. Dgx *toği* B139, *toyai* L119b. Mog *tuqi* R40b.

***toku-** (?*toka-) ‘to saddle, to cover with sth’. The form with *a* is suggested by Ord. the *-k-* was weakened in several languages.

MMo SH *toqu’ul-* (caus) H150, HY *toqu-* M102, Muq *toqu-* P351a, IV---, LV---. WM *toqo-* L829a. Kh *toxox* H506a. Ord *doxo-* M149a. Bur *toxoxo* C432a. Brg *tox-* U183. Kalm *toxx* M510a. Dag *toɣ^w-* E259. EYu *toğə-* B119, *toğə-* J104b. MgrH *tuğu-* J104b. BaoD *taogə-* BL92a. BaoÑ *toxo-* 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 *toyum* P1270, IV---, RH *toqum* 205A19. WM *toqom* L830b. Kh *toxom* H506a. Ord *doxom* M149a. Bur *toxom* C432a. Kalm *toxm* M510a. Dag *tok^w* (sic) E259. EYu *toğom* B119 ‘sheep’s wool felt’, *toğam* J104b ‘saddle-pad’. MgrH *tuğum* J104b ‘saddle-pad’. MgrM---. BaoD *tuğam* BL92b ‘saddle-pad’, *txum* BL32 ‘felt’. BaoÑ *taxom* CN162 ‘felt; saddle-pad’. BaoX *taxom* BC62 ‘saddle-pad’. Kgj *tuğu* S297b ‘saddle-pad’. Dgx *tuğun* B141, *toyun* L119b. Mog---.

***tolagai** ‘head’. The shorter form **tola*, as seen in Dgx *tolo*, is perhaps mirrored by MgrM *tolò* P420a ‘haystack’. See **hekin*, **teriün* ‘head’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---, RH---, Ph---. WM *toloyai* L822a. Kh *tolgoy* H498a. Ord *tologö:* M665b. Bur *tolgoy* C425b. Kalm *tolya* M502a. Dag *toluy* only in *xək^y toluy* E4-491 ‘the main points of a matter’ (cf. **hekin*). EYu *tolğci* B119, *toloğui* J104a. MgrH *tolğoi* X181, *tolğuai* J104b. MgrM *tarğai* JL477, *torğui* T366 (and see above). Bao---. Kgj as such---, but perhaps preserved in *turğu(n)či* S297b ‘chieftain, tribal headman’. Dgx *toloğai* 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 **haakai* ‘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 *torya(n)*, *toryu(n)* L826ab. Kh *torgo(n)* H503a. Ord *torgo* M670b. Bur *torgo(n)* C430b. Kalm *toryn* M507a. Dag *tɔɣ^w* E261. EYu *tɔɣɔ* B120, *torgo* J104a. MgrH *torgu* 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 *tosī* JL464. BaoD *tosuŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ *təsəŋ* CN169. Kgj *tusun* S297b. Dgx *tosuŋ* B139, *dosuŋ* B148. Mog *tusun* R40b, *tɔsun* W181b, *tusun* W182a, MogMr *tu:sun* L62:69.

***töbed** ‘Tibetan’. In EYu **tangud* is used instead.

MMo SH *tobodut* (pl.) H150. WM *töbed* L831a. Kh *tövd* H507a. Ord *töwöt* M676a, cf. also the pl. *töwödu:t* used as a clan name. Kalm *tüw^üd* R417b. Bur *tübed* C441b. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr *tever* ~ *teved* Khas177, *təver* Khas180. MgrM *t^ʷebe* C389, *tiebie* DS9. BaoD *ted* BL65, BL66. BaoX *tɛ* BC71. Kgj *tər* ~ *tur* S297b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***töe** ‘handspan’.

MMo Muq *töwe* P353b, IM *töhe* [Poppe reads *töhe:*] P448b. WM *töge* L832a. Kh *töö* H509b. Ord *tö:* M672b. Bur *töö* C433a. Kalm *tö* M511a. Dag *t^wə:* E267. EYu *tü:* J105a, BJ345. Remaining lgs---.

***töene** ‘cauterisation, moxibustion’, and the related verb **töene-*. Related to CT **tögün*, originally ‘brand’, and **tögne-* ‘to brand’. As Lessing notes, the first meaning in Bur is reminiscent of **töel(i)*, Kalm *tööl* M513b ‘white spot, blaze (on the forehead of domestic animals)’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tö'ene* P352a, *tö'e'üne* P352b, *tö:ne* P353b. WM *tögene*, *tögene-* L832a. Kh *töönö* H509b ‘cauterisation etc’. Ord *tö:n* (sic) M674b, verb *tö:nö-* M674b. Bur *töön* C433a ‘white spot; brand’. Kalm *töön* M513b ‘burn; brand’. Dag *tuənə* and *tuənə-* E3:216, also *t^wə:-* (sic) Z103b. EYu *tü:ne* B123, *tü:ne-* J105a ‘to apply moxibustion’. MgrH *to:no-da-* J104b ‘to apply m.’. Bao---. Kgj *tene-* S297a ‘to apply m.’. Dgx---. Mog---.

***töeri-** ‘to get lost’. EYu with *-e* as if from **töere-*, which variant is supported by the Dag form with breaking *tʷə:r-*. See **toari-* ‘to turn around, which may have been confused with **töeri-* in Baoanic. Cf. **jabka-*

MMo SH *to'ori-* H151, HY---, Muq *tö:ri-* P353b, IV---, LV---. WM *tögeri-* L832b. Kh *tööröx* H510a. Ord *tö:rö-* M675a. Bur *töörixe* C433a. Brg *to:r-* U188. Kalm *töörx* M514a. Dag *tʷə:r-* E267, *tu:rʷ-* E261. EYu *türe-* B123, *tü:r-* J54. Mgr---, Bao---, Kgj---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***tögerig** ‘circle or sphere; round, circular, spherical’. MMo also has a variant **töerig* and an extended form **tögerigei*. Bur and Dag suggest **tökerien*.

MMo SH *togorigai* H150, HY *tögörik* M102, Muq *tö'erik* P352b, cf. *naranu tögerik* P246a ‘solar disc’ (**naran* ‘sun’), IV---, LV---, Ph *tʰökʰörigeé-* P131b ‘circle’. WM *tögerig*, *tögörig* L832b. Kh *tögrög* H507b. Ord *tögörök* M673a. Bur *tüxeryee(n)* C449b, *tüxerig* C450a ‘ruble’. Brg *tugrag* U189. Kalm *tögrg* M512a. Dag *tukrʷe:n* E263. EYu *tugreg* B122, *tögörög* S236, cf. *töyörögda-* J48 ‘to become round’. MgrH *tuguri:* L589. MgrM *togori* DS211b. Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***töre-** ‘to be born or to give birth’. Cf. CT **törü-* (EDPT 533a).

MMo SH *tore-* H152, *toru-* H152, *dore-* H37, HY *töre-* M102, Muq *töre-* P353a, IV---, LV---. WM *törö-* L836a. Kh *töröx* H510b. Ord *törö-* M675a. Bur *türexe* C448a. Brg *tur-* U191. Kalm *törx* M515a. Dag *tur-* E264. EYu *törö-* B121, *törö:-* J104b. MgrH *turo-* J104a. MgrM *tur-* C390. Bao---, Kgj *tere-* S297a. Dgx---, Mog *turâ-* R41a, *tɔrɹ-* W181b.

***tugul** ‘calf’. In view of the other bovine terminology shared by Turkic and Mongolic, this word is probably related to CT **tokli* ‘id’, in spite of the flawed phonetic correspondence. Dag has *-k-*, but many documented cases of *-k-* < **-g-* occur in that language.

MMo SH *tuqul* H153, HY *tuqul* M103, Muq *tuyul* P354a, IV---, LV---. WM *tuyul* L838b. Kh *tugal* H512a. Ord *tuğul* M676b. Bur *tugal* C433b. Brg *togal* U187. Kalm *tuyul* M516b. Dag *tɔkulʷ* E259. EYu---, MgrH *tuğul* J105b. MgrM *tuğur-la-* DS208 ‘to breed calves (sic, for to give birth to)’. BaoD *toğol* BL92b. BaoGt *təl-čəğ* CN86:286 (dim. formation). BaoÑ *təl-čəğ* CN169 (dim.). BaoX *toğla-* (sic, ?for **toğol-la-*) BC64 ‘to calve’. Kgj *tuğu* S297b, *tuğula-* S297b ‘to calve’. Dgx *tuğun* B141, also *tuğunça* B141 (dim.); DgxL *tuğu* B53. Mog *tuyul* R40b, *tuğul* W182a.

***tuila-** ‘to buck; to kick with the hind legs’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tuila-* P354a. WM *tuyila-* L840a. Kh *tuyilax* H513a. Bur---, Brg---, Kalm *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 *tula-* J105b. Bao---, Dgx *tulu-* B142. Mog---.

***tulga** ‘support, pillar, column’. This meaning in MMo and the peripheral languages; in the central languages more specifically ‘cooking tripod, support for the

cooking pot over the fire’. Note the vowel length in Dag and EYu, which is unexpected in view of **tul-* above, from which it must be derived.

MMo SH---, HY *tulqa* M103, Muq *tulya* P354a, IV---, LV---. WM *tulya(n)* L840b. Kh *tulga(n)* H514a. Ord *tulga* M679a. Bur *tulga* C435a. Brg *tolag* U187. Kalm *tuly* M517b. Dag *t^wa:ləy* E266. EYu *tu:lga* BJ345, *tulga* J105a. MgrH *tulga* J104a, X184, *tolga* X182. MgrM *turxa* JL475, DS242b, *torxa* C390. BaoD *tolga* BL92b. BaoGt *talxa* C118. BaoÑ---. Kgj *tulga* 297b. Dgx *tuğa*, *tuğua* B141, *tuxua* L120b. Mog---.

***tulum** ‘animal skin used as a container, leather bag’. The Dag form is semantically and phonetically aberrant, but it is equally problematic to connect it with Bur *tuulmag* C438a ‘small bag’. Cf. CT **tulum*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tulum* P351b, IV---, LV---. WM *tulum* L841b. Kh *tulam* H513b. Ord *tulum* M86b. Bur *tulam* C434b. Kalm *tulm* M517a. Dag *tulma*: (?=) E263 ‘wooden bucket’. EYu *tulum* B122. MgrH *tulum* X184. MgrM *tuluṅ* T367. BaoD---. BaoÑ---. Kgj *tulun* ~ *tuluṅ* S297b. Dgx *tuluṅ* B142. Mog *tulum* W182a.

***tur-** ‘to be or become emaciated’. The stem shape is not entirely certain, but if it was disyllabic **turu-* is more likely than **tura-*. The caus. *turaax* would support a disyllabic base verb. Some languages only have the derived adjective **turukan*.

MMo SH *turu-* H155, *tura-* H155, HY *turuqan* M103 ‘lean’, Muq *turuqsan* P355b, IV---, LV---. WM *tura-* L843a. Kh *turax* H516a. Bur *turaxa* C436b. Kalm *tur-* R411b. Dag---. EYu *tur-* B122, J96a ‘to be hungry’. MgrH (only) *turḡan* X186 ‘lean’. Bao---. Dgx *turi-* B142, cf. *tuḡaṅ*, *tuxaṅ* B141 ‘lean’. Mog---.

***turma** ‘turnip’. This word may have been borrowed from CT **turma* (of IE origin) by MMo and the QG languages separately rather than representing a CM word.

MMo SH---, HY *turma* M103, Muq---. WM---. Kh *toorom* (?=) H502a ‘tuberous vegetable such as the carrot or turnip’. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *turma* J83. MgrH *tərma*: X180. MgrM *turma* C390, *turma*: J82. BaoÑ *terma* CN166. Kgj *turma* ~ *tumar* S297b. Dgx *tuma* B142. Mog---.

***turuun** ‘hoof’. This form is shared by MMo, Bur-Kalm, Dag, and EYu. The aberrant Kh forms *tuur* and *tuuray* suggest a form **tuura(i)*, also supported by Ord. Neither form survives in the Shirongol languages (some of which use **kimusun* ‘nail’ also in the meaning ‘hoof’). The relationship between the two forms is unclear.

MMo SH---, HY *turu’un* M103, Muq *turu:n* P239a, LV---, IV *turu:n* L70. WM *turuṅ* L844b, *tuyura*, *tuyurai* L839a. Kh *tuur* H518b, *tuuray* H518b, *turuu* H516a. Ord *tu:rä*: M682a. Bur *turuu(n)* C437a. Brg *torv*: U188, *to:rai* (←Kh) U186. Kalm *turun* M518b, *turu:n* R412a. Dag *tōrɔ*: E261. EYu *turu:n* B122, J105a. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***tusa** ‘assistance; benefit; profit’. Cf. CT **tusa* ‘id’.

MMo SH *tusa* H156, HY *tusa* M103, Muq *tusa* P355b. WM *tusa* L845a. Kh *tus* H516b. Bur *tuha* C439a. Kalm *tus* M519a. Dag *t^was* E267. EYu *tusa* J105a.

MgrH *tusa*: X184, *dusa*: J104a. MgrM *tusa* P424, T367. Bao---. Dgx *tusa* B142. Mog---.

***tuš** (> ***tus**) ‘straight, upright, vertical; opposite’. From CT **tuš* ‘equal; opposite’.

MMo SH *tus* H156 ‘rightful’, HY *tus* M103 ‘rightful, legitimate’, Muq---, Ph---. WM *tus* L844a ‘(...) opposite, face to face, in front of’. Kh *tuus* H519a ‘direct, straight’, *tuuš* H519a ‘straight, etc’, *tus* H516b ‘aforementioned (..) this very, etc’. Ord *tus* M683a ‘opposite’. Bur *tus* C437b. Kalm *tus* M519a ‘right in front, opposite’. EYu *toš* B120 ‘straight, etc’, *duš* J84, *tuš* J8 ‘straight’. MgrH *tus* X184, L595 ‘straight; equitable’, SM437 ‘opposite’, *tusu* SM437 ‘straight’. Remaining lgs---.

***tuturğan** ‘rice’. Agricultural term related to CT **tuturkan* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *tuturqan* M103, Muq *tuturyan* P356b, LV *tuturyan* P1268, IV---. WM *tuturya(n)* L847a. Kh *tutraga* H518a. Ord *duturğa* M167b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm *tutry* M519b. Dag---. EYu *hturğan* B61, *hdurğan* J14. MgrH *tudorğa* X185. MgrM---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *tuturğān*, *tuturğōn* 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 **tuulgai*.

MMo SH---, HY *tu’ulqan* M103, Muq---, RH *tuqulyan* 205C21. WM *tuyulya(n)*. Kh *tugalga(n)* H512a. Ord *tu:lğa* M679b. Bur *tuulga(n)* C438a. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *tuyna*: E263. EYu---. MgrH---. MgrM *tolgay* P417b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***tuura(i)** ‘hoof’ see sv **turuon**

***tübsin** ‘flat, level, smooth; peaceful, quiet’. The Sino-Mongolian forms and Khalkha support this form, but Ord, EYu, and perhaps the Shironol languages favour a reconstruction **töbsin*. The Kalm form as if from **töbsiün*. The EYu form with *-g-* may be due to the influence of **tegsi*.

MMo SH *tübšin* H153, HY *tübšin* M103, Muq *tübšin* P357a, IV---, LV---. WM *tübši(n)* L849a. Kh *tüvšin* H520b. Ord *döbšin* M135b. Bur *tübšen* C441a. Kalm *tövšün* M511b. Dag---. EYu *dogšün* (sic) B130. MgrH *tebšin* X176, *teşjin* X177, *debšin* J104a. MgrM *tebšin* P418b. BaoD---. BaoGt *dabşuñ* C114. BaoÑ *debşan* 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 *tüymēr* H523a. Ord *tuimer* M684b. Bur *tüymēr* C443a. Kalm *tüümēr* M525a. Dag *tuimur* E262. EYu *tü:mər* B123, *tü:mer* J104b. Remaining lgs---.

tüle-** (tüli-**) ‘to light, set fire to, burn’. For the vocalism in EYu cf. **hüle-* ‘to remain’, **ijje-* ‘to see’.

MMo SH *tulē-* (so read) H154, HY---, Muq *tüle-* P358a, LV *tüleül-* (caus) P1270, IV *tüle-* L70. WM *tüle-* L852a. Kh *tülex* H524a. Bur *tülixē* C443b, *tülexe* C444b. Brg *tu^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. *aman*). Kgj *čile-* (?=) S301a ‘to get hot’. Dgx *tulie-* B141. Mog---.

***tülien** ‘firewood’. Derived from **tüle-* (**tüli-*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tüle:n* P358b, LV *tüle:n* P1270, IV *tüle:n* L70. WM *tüliye(n)* L852a. Kh *tülee* H524a. Bur *tülyee(n)* C443b. Kalm *tülän* M522a. Dag *tu^ye:* E263. EYu *tele:n* B117, J104b. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *talaŋ* BL92a. BaoÑ *telaŋ* CN165. Kgj *čilə* S301a. Dgx *tulien* B141. Mog *tüle:n* R41a, *tulən* W182a.

***tüлки-** ‘to push’. All MgrH dialects have *-r-*, while normally only Narin Guol does.

MMo SH---, HY *tülki-* M103, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tülki-* L852b. Kh *tülxex* H523b. Ord *dülki-* M170a. Bur *tülxixe* C444a. Brg *tu^yx-* U190 ‘to lock’. Kalm *tülkx* M522b. Dag *tulk^y-* E263. EYu *tulkə-* B122, *tulgə-* J104b. MgrH *turgu-* J105a, X186. MgrM *turgo-* JL464. BaoD *tolgə-* BL92b. BaoÑ *təlgə-* CN163. BaoX *tolgə-* BC65. Kgj *turku-* S298a. Dgx *tuŋku-* B140. Mog *tulku-* R41a.

***tüлкиүр** ‘key’. Derived from **tüлки-* ‘to push’. HY *türiür* ‘key’ appears to be from **türi-* ‘to drag; to push’ (not listed).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *tülkigür* L852b. Kh *tülxüür* H523a. Ord *dülku:r* M170a. Bur *tülxyüür* [written *tülxyuur*] C444a. Brg *tu^yu:r* U190. Kalm *tülkür* M522b. Dag *tulk-uŋk^w* E263 (new formation). EYu *tükü:r* B122, *tülgü:r* S659. MgrH *turgur* SM433 ‘agricultural implement serving to push grain or straw on the threshing floor’. Remaining lgs---.

***tümen** ‘ten thousand; multitude’. Widely occurring Eurasian word related to CT **tümen* ‘id’.

MMo SH *tume(n)* H154, HY *tümen* M103, Muq---, LV---, IV *tümen* L70. WM *tüme(n)* L853a. Kh *tüm(en)* H524a. Bur *tüme(n)* C444b. Kalm *tümn* M523a. Dag *tum* E263. EYu *temen* B118, J104b. MgrH *tumun* X184, *tumie:n* SM432, *təme:n* J104a. Mog---.

***türei** ‘bootleg’. Dag *tur* could be a reborrowing from Manchu *ture* ‘id’, but there are several other Mongolic words that lost their final diphthong in Dagur.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, IV---, LV---. WM *türei* L854b, *türüi* L856b. Kh *türiy* H525b. Bur *türüi* C446a. Brg *turi*: U191. Kalm *türä* M523b. Dag *tur* E264, *turi*: T169. EYu *ture*: B122, *törö*: (Qinglong dial.) BJ350. MgrH *ture*:, *turi*: X185 ‘trouser leg’. BaoD---. BaoÑ *təri*: CN164. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***türgen** ‘fast, quick’.

MMo SH *turgen*, *turgun* H155 ‘fast, tight’, HY *türgen* M104, Muq *türgen* P359b. WM *türgen* L855a. Kh *türgen* H525a. Bur *türge(n)* C445b. Kalm *türgn* M524a. Dag *turyun* E264. EYu *turyen* B123. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***türüün** ‘at first’ see s.v. ***teriün**

***tüsur-** ‘to sprinkle, to pour, to cast (metal)’. In Dagur both the treatment of the initial and the final vowel length are unexpected. The Monguor forms are also unexpected, as they rather seem to reflect a form **üsür-*. However, the suggested connection with the intransitive verb **hüsür-* ‘to jump’ is problematic. Cf. **čidku-*, **ki-*.

MMo SH *tusur-* H156 ‘to pour’, HY *tüsür-* M104, Muq---. WM *tüsür-* L857b. Kh *tüsrex* H526b. Ord---. Bur (dial) *tüherxe* C450a ‘to dilute’. Kalm---. Dag *tusrə:-* E264, *susrə:-* E226, *surə:-* E226. EYu---. MgrH *fuzuru-* SM103, *fuzuri-* L117, *suri-* L536, *szuri-* L544, *surə-* X140, *szurə-* X146. MgrM *sur-* DS243b. Remaining lgs---.

***tüükei** ~ ***tüükü** ‘raw’. The QG forms apparently go back to the form **tüükü*. In Dagur the final *-n* and the *-ui-* are unexpected. EYu *tü:kə:* is also strange, as long *ə:* is a rare marginal phoneme. It is not a normal development of either variant.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *tü:küi* P359b, LV---, IV *tü'ükü* L70, RH *tüiküi* 205A37. WM *tügükei* L850b. Kh *tüüxiy* H527b. Ord *tu:ki*: M685a. Bur *tüüxey* C449a. Brg *tu:xi*: U188. Kalm *tüükä* M525a. Dag *tuiyun* E262. EYu *tü:kə:* B123, *tü.^hgə* J104b. MgrH *tu:gu* X182, *tiu:gu* J105a. MgrM *tugu* JL464. BaoD *tugu* BL92a. BaoÑ *tugu* CN170. Kgj *tugw* S298a. Dgx *tugu* B141. Mog---.

- U -

***ubuĵi** ‘feeding horn’ see ***ugĵi**

***učir** ‘reason; circumstance; occasion’. The Dagur form *wačir*, which would suggest an earlier **učar*, may owe its form to remodeling after the verb *wačir-* from **učira-* (see below).

MMo SH---, HY *učir* M104 ‘time’, Muq---. WM *učir* L859a. Kh *učir* H560a. Bur *ušar* C485b. Kalm *učr* M544a. Dag *wačir* E334 ‘opportunity’. EYu *hčur* B62, *ĵür-tə* J9. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---, but cf. Zirni *učur* (19:5b) ‘time’ (L68, No. 88).

***učira-** ‘to meet’. Possibly derived from CM **učir* listed above. Perhaps related to a non-attested Turkic form **utir-* ‘to meet’ (cf. EDPT 67b), the basis of the reciprocal *utruš-* (EDPT 69b). If this correspondence is correct, the PM form may be **utira-*.

MMo SH *ucira-* H157, HY *učira-* M104, Muq---, WM *učira-* L859b, *učara-* L859a, Kh *učrax* H561b, Bur *ušarxa* C486a, Kalm *učrx* M544b, Dag *wačir-* E334, EYu---, MgrH *šžūra-* X161, MgrM *učura-* P412a, Bao---, Dgx *oçira-* B15, Mog---.

***uda-** ‘to be late’. The *n-* in Bao is unexplained (cf. other cases **eüden*, **ide-*).

MMo SH *uda-* H158, HY---, Muq *uda-* P361b, WM *uda-* L860a, Kh *udax* H541a, Bur *udaxa* C463b, Kalm *udx* M529a, Dag---, EYu *uda-* B19, MgrH *uda-* X19, MgrM *wuda-* DS233b, cf. *uday* (**udaan*) JL477 ‘slow’. BaoD *nda-* (given as a noun) BL83a, BaoGt *nda-* C128, BaoÑ *nda-* CN34, Kgj *uda-* S280b, Dgx *uda-* B22, Mog---.

***udku-** ‘to scoop up’. The EYu form may belong here (cf. EYu *qusun* < *χsun* from **usun* ‘water’), but is more likely to be from **kudku-* ‘to stir’ (which can also have the meaning ‘to scoop up’ as it has in Khalkha).

MMo SH *utqu-* H167, HY---, Muq---, WM *udqu-* L863a, Kh *utgax* H555a, Bur *udxaxa* C464a, Kalm *utxx* M540b, Dag *ɔrkʷ-* E42, EYu *qutğə-* (?=) B65, Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***udurid-** and ***uduri-** ‘to lead, guide’. Both variants are already attested in MMo, but the form **udurid-* only survives in the central languages. The function of the added *-d* is unclear. The form **uduri-* survives in the Shirongol lgs Mgr, Bao, and Dgx. The **h-* suggested by the MgrM form is not confirmed by MMo or elsewhere in QG, but there may be a connection with the unexpected strong *-t-* in Kgj. On the other hand secondary *h-* does not normally appear before a weak consonant; the MgrH and Bao forms which lost the entire first syllable do not speak against **h-*. Apparently related to CT **uduz-* (EDPT 74b), a caus. formation of **ud-* ‘to follow’.

MMo SH *udurit-* H159, HY *udurit-* M105, Muq---, LV---, IV---, Ph *uduri’ul-* (caus) P132a, WM *udurid-* L862a, Kh *udirdax* H541a, Ord *uduri-*, *udurid-* M723a, Bur *udaridaxa* C463a, Kalm *udrdx* (obs) M529a, Dag---, EYu---, MgrH *durə-* X201, MgrM *χuduri-* T332, *φdur(zi)-* C391, *dur-* DS233, BaoD *durə-* BL88b, BaoGt *dor-* C139, BaoÑ *dər-* CN175, Kgj *utər-* ~ *utur-* S280b, Dgx *uduru-* B22, Mog---.

***ugäa-** (> ***ugaa-**) ‘to wash’. With many unexpected phonetic developments. The *-iä-* suggested by SH and WM is not supported by modern forms, not even in Bur which usually preserves this complex. The SH form with *-k-* appears to be a mistranscription from the Uygur script. The modern forms and their distribution are unexpected. The form **ugaa-* is found in MMo, the central languages, and Mog. EYu seems to go back to **ugua-*, in which the second *u* is an echo labial triggered by the first vowel (not uncommon, cf. also **uŋgasun* ‘wool’). This echo labial is also present in Ordos. A form **ugua-* may also be the origin of the BaoD and BaoX forms. The Mgr forms stem from a similar form with an ‘intrusive’ nasal. Yet

another form **uaga-* is found in BaoÑ and Dgx, possibly a metathesized form of **ugua-*. Dag *wa:-* may have developed from **uwa:-* < **ugaa-*.

MMo SH *ukiya-* (sic?) H161, HY---, Muq *uya:-* P362a, LV *uya:-* P1260, IV---, Ph---. WM *ugiya-* L865b, *ukiya-* (misreading of the same spelling) L868a, *uya-* L863b, cf. precl. *uyiya-* (Poppe 1924). Kh *ugaax* H539a. Ord *uḡa:-* M725a, *ḡa:-* M310a. Bur *ugaaxa* C461b. Kalm *uyax* M528a. Dag *wa:-* E332. EYu *uḡwa:-* B19, *ḡua-* J95b. MgrH *ḡua:-* J95b. MgrM *ḡua-* JL478, *uḡua-* T535, *ḡua-* DS259. BaoD *ḡua-* BL83a. BaoGt *ḡua-* C111. BaoGm *waḡa-* CN86:219. BaoÑ *waḡa-* CN226. BaoX *ḡua-* BC71. Kgj *uḡua-* ~ *ḡua-* S280a. Dgx *waḡa-* B192. Mog *uya:-* R41a, *uḡa-* W183a, *ḡa-* W175a.

***ugji, *ubuji** ‘feeding horn, feeding bottle’. The form **ugji* is found in Kh and Bur and **ubuji* is found in Kalm and EYu, although the second vowel in WM and EYu is not confirmed by Kalm. Dag *ɔrj* must be from **ugji* or perhaps from a form **ubji*. Morphologically obscure, and therefore hard to connect to **uu-* ‘to drink’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---, RH *ubuji* 186C5 ‘nipple of the breast’. WM *uyji* L865b, *ubuji* L859a. Kh *ugj(an)* H539b. Ord *uḡji* M724b. Bur *ugža* C461b. Kalm *uvj* M526a, *ovj* M392a. Dag *ɔrj* E42 ‘feeding bottle’. EYu *βəjə* B37. Remaining lgs---.

***ugulja** ‘ibex, mountain goat’, also used for ornaments in the shape of stylized spiralling horns. The loss of the initial vowel is not unusual in EYu, but unexpected in Kalm and Mog.

MMo SH *uqulja* H160 ‘ibex’, HY---, Muq---, RH *uyulja* 186C18 ‘ibex’. WM *uyulja* L864b, *uyaļja* L863b. Kh *ugalz* H539b also ‘spiral pattern’. Ord *uḡalji* 725b ‘argali; spiral pattern (...)’, *uḡalji* M724a, *uḡulji* M725b ‘spiral pattern’. Kalm *uyulzv*, (Torgut) *gulzv* R447a. Bur *ugalza* C461b ‘embroidery, pattern’. Brg---. Dag *ɔwurjin* (?=) E83:169a ‘antelope’. EYu *ḡulja* (?*ḡulja*) *xɔ:nə* B79 ‘argali’ (cf. **konī*), *ylja* Mannerheim 64 ‘wild sheep’. Shirongol lgs---. Mog---, cf. Zirni *ylja* [eds. read -o-] 20:11 ‘mountain goat’.

***ugur-** (?) ‘to throw’. The reconstruction of this word is problematic, especially since MMo -ʔ- corresponds here to a fricative in EYu and Mog. The forms with -ʔ- disagree on the CM vowel sequence: **oa*, **uu*, or **au*. The SH form seems to hint at a relationship with **orki-* ‘to throw’ (which is written *o’orki-* in SH). The WM form and Kalm *u:r-* seem to have absorbed **hoara-* ‘to abandon, neglect’. Kh *ogoorox* H387a ‘to abandon; to neglect’ is a reading pronunciation of the WM spelling.

MMo SH *o’or-* H125 ‘to throw away’, *ōr-* H126, HY---, Muq *u’ur-* P352b, *u:r-* P108b, *u:ra-* P372b, *u:ru-* P143a, *a’ur-* P94b ‘to let go of, to put (down), etc’, LV *u:ru-* P1259 ‘to throw’. WM *oyur-* L603a, *uyur-* L865a (see above) ‘to leave, abandon; to neglect’. Kh (see above). Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *u:r-* R455a ‘to throw away; to abandon; to stop (doing sth.)’ (see above). Dag---. EYu *ḡɔr-* B13 ‘to throw’, (*u*)*ḡur-* J49 ‘auxiliary (indicates that the action is performed completely)’. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *uyuru-* R41a ‘to pour into, to lay in’, *uḡur-* W183a ‘to put, lay, etc’.

***uila-** ‘to cry’. The *h-* in Muq, unconfirmed by other languages, is secondary, perhaps onomatopoeically inspired. Given that it is not confirmed elsewhere, Kh *uxila-* probably is a borrowing from WM. It is unclear how this spelling came about.

MMo SH *uiyila-* H161, HY---, Muq *uila-* P362a, *huilawul-* (caus.) P186b, LV *uila-* P1261, IV *uila-* L62:71. WM *uyila-* L866a, *ukila-* (?to be read *ugila-*) L868a. Kh *uylax* H542a, *uxilax* (←WM) H559b. Ord *uila-* M727a. Bur *uylaxa* C465a. Brg *ōail-* U37. Kalm *uul’x* M541b. Dag *wail-* E332. EYu *ü:la-* B21, J95b. MgrH *ula:-* J95b, X17, *la:-* X109. MgrM *ila-* C382, *yila-* T341. BaoD *la-* BL83b. BaoÑ *la:-* CN99. Kgj *ila-* S279b. Dgx *uila-* B17, *wāila-* B192. Mog *ui:la-* R41a, *uila-* W182b.

?***uisun** ‘birchbark’ see ***üisün**.

***ukana** ‘billy-goat’. Ord, Dag and Mog support the reconstruction ***ukana**. MMo suggests ***ukuna** (the *y* in HY deviates). The forms in the central languages could be from either form. Cf. ***seinüg**, ***serke**, ***teke**.

MMo SH---, HY *uyuna* M105, Muq *uquna* P365b. WM *uquna* L892b, *uqana* L892b. Kh *uxna* H559b. Ord *uxana* M725b, *ux’ana* M726b. Bur *uxana* C483b ‘young billy-goat’. Kalm *uxñā* R447a ‘young billy-goat’. Dag *wakən* E333. EYu---, Mgr---, Bao---, Dgx---, Mog *uqo:na* R41a.

ula** ‘sole of the foot (or shoe)’. The *h-* in MMo Muq is secondary. Related to CT ***ul** (?hul**) (EDPT 124a).

MMo SH *ula* H162, HY *ula* M105, Muq *hula* P186b. WM *ula* L868b. Kh *ul* H542b. Bur *ula* C465b. Kalm *ul* M530a. Dag *wal* E334 ‘&bottom’. EYu *ula* B19, J96a. MgrH *ula* J96b, *ula:* X17, cf. *kol la:* X89 ‘sole of the foot’ (***köl** ‘foot’). MgrM *ulā* P418a. BaoD *la* T142. BaoGt *vula* C116. BaoÑ---, Kgj *ula* S280a ‘&palm of the hand’. Dgx *ula* S671, cf. *xai-wula* L106 ‘sole of a shoe’ (*xai* ← Chinese). Mog *ulo:* R41a ‘&floor’.

***ulus** ‘people; state, country’. Related to CT ***ulus** ‘id’ (EDPT 152b). Unlike in other loans from Turkic ending in **-š*, none of the Mongolic languages has *-š* (cf. ***koš**, ***tuš**).

MMo SH *ulus* H163, HY *ulus* M105, Muq *ulus-* P204a, Ph *ulus* P132a. WM *ulus* L873b. Kh *uls* H545a. Ord *ulus* M731b. Bur *ulad* C467a. Brg *old* U40 ‘people (i.e. humans)’, *olos* U40 ‘people (nation)’, the latter a borrowing. Kalm *uls* M532a. Dag *olur* E38 ‘people, everybody’, *orol-sul* (pl.) Z32 ‘people’. EYu *ulus* S673. MgrH *lus* X115. MgrM---, Bao---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***umarta-** ‘to forget’ see ***marta-**

***umdaan** ‘drink, beverage’. In the central languages there is also a form ***umdan** with simplex vowel. Cf. ***umdaas-** ‘to be thirsty’.

MMo SH *undan* H164, HY---, Muq *unda’an* P364a ‘ayran’, *unda:n-* P364b, LV *umdaan* P1257, IV *umdaan* L62:71. WM *umdaya(n)* L874b, *umda* L874b, *unda* L876a. Kh *undaa(n)* H547a, also: *und* H547a, *umd* H546a. Ord *unda* M734a. Bur *unda(n)* C470a. Kalm *undn* M533a. Dag---, EYu *nda:n* B28 ‘sour cow

milk (from which the fat has been taken)'. Mog *undo*: R41a 'drink', *undən* W183a 'Sauermilch'.

***umdaas-** 'to be thirsty'. Derived from **umdaan* above. Dag uses **haŋka-*, q.v.

MMo SH *unda* 'as- H64, *undas*- H164, *umtas*- H164, HY---, Muq *unda* 'as- P364a, *unda*:s- P364b. WM *umdayas*- L874b. Kh *undaasax* H547a. Bur [*undarxaxa* C470a]. Brg---. Kalm *undax* M533a. Dag---. EYu *nda*:s- B28, *ndas*- J95a. MgrH *undasə*- J93a. MgrM *ndasə*- JL478. BaoD *ndasə*- BL81a. BaoÑ *ndar*- CN35. BaoX *nda*:sə- BC63. Kgj *ndasu*- ~ *ndasi*- S282b. Dgx *undasa*- B19, *undasu*- L109a. Mog---.

***umsu** (perhaps **ümsü* in view of the EYu and Kgj forms) 'yak hybrid'. A Tibetan word (*mdzo*, see Nugteren & Roos 1998:71), but already attested in MMo. The QG forms may represent independent borrowings, but there is no phonetic argument that suggests they must be recent. Cf. **kaīnag* 'yak'.

MMo Ph *umsu* P132a. Central lgs---. Dag---. EYu *omsə* B15. MgrH *musu* SM251, *musə* X126. MgrM *musun* DS261b 'yak', *musūn* P421b 'yak hybrid'. BaoÑ *omsə* CN71. Kgj *musun* S292b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***una-** 'to fall, to come down'. Cf. **bau-* 'to descend'.

MMo SH *una*- H164, HY---, Muq *una*- P363b, LV *una*- P1261, IV---. WM *una*- L875b. Kh *unax* H546b. Bur *unaxa* C469b. Kalm *unx* M534a. Dag *wanə*- E333. EYu *na*:s- B22, *na*- BJ336, J95b. MgrH *una*:s- J95b, X16, *na*:s- X23. BaoD *na*- BL83b. BaoÑ *na*:s- CN22. BaoX *na*:s-ğə- (caus.) BC73. Kgj *una*- S280a. Dgx *una*- B19. Mog *uno*:s- R41a, *unə*-, etc W183a.

***unagan** 'foal, colt'. The QG forms point at **unagan*; the SH and HY forms suggest **unugan*. The forms in the central languages could have developed from either form. May contain a (?diminutive) suffix as in **kurigan* 'lamb'.

MMo SH *unoqan* H165, HY *unuqan* M105, Muq *unayan* P364a, LV *unayan* P1258, IV---. WM *unaya(n)* L875b. Kh *unaga(n)* H546a. Ord *unağa* M733a. Bur *unaga(n)* C469b. Kalm *unyn* M532a. Dag---. EYu *nağan* B23, J95b. MgrH *nağa* J95b. Bao---. Kgj *nuğun* S282a. Dgx *unağan* B19. Mog---.

***unta-** 'to sleep'. The *-m-* in one of the WM forms is not confirmed elsewhere, but could be original. The *n-* in Mog (also in **untara-* below) seems to be recent, or at least a secondary development rather than a relic of an older form.

MMo SH *unta*- H165 'to sleep', HY *unta*- M105 'sleep', Muq *unta*- P365a, IV---, LV---. WM *umta*- L874b, *unta*- L877b. Kh *untax* H548a. Bur *untaxa* C471a. Kalm *untx* M534a. Dag *want*- E333. EYu *nda*- J95b, B28 ('to have intercourse'), *ndačur*- B28. MgrH *nta*:s- X37. MgrM *nta*:s- C373, (*u*)*nta*- JL478, *nuta*- DS234a. BaoD---. BaoÑ *ta*:s- CN159. Dgx---. Mog *nunta*- R35a 'to sleep'.

***untara-** 'to lie down; to sleep'. Derived from **unta-* listed above. The *h-* in Dgx and Kgj is probably due to the following *-t-*. The forms with *-m-* in WM, although not confirmed elsewhere, may represent earlier forms. For the *n-* in Mog cf. **unta-*). Cf. **hamu-* for similar semantic developments.

MMo SH *untara-* H165, *umtara-* H164 ‘to sleep’, HY---, Muq *untara-* P222a ‘to be numb (of body parts)’, IV---, LV---. WM *umtara-* L875a, *untara-* L877b. Kh *untrax* H548a ‘to be extinguished, etc’. Ord *untara-* M735b ‘to go out; to have a tingling sensation (e.g. in the leg)...’. Bur *untarxa* C471a ‘to be extinguished, etc’. Kalm *untrx* M533b ‘to be extinguished, etc’. Dag---. EYu *ndara-* B28 ‘to become numb’. MgrH *ntəra:-* 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 *nuntv:ra-* L64:37 ‘to become numb’.

***uŋgasun** ‘wool’ see ***nogasun**

***uŋsī-** ~ ***umsī-** ‘to read’. There are many variants in the modern languages and these show a peculiar distribution. Therefore evidence for the CM form is ambiguous. The central languages indicate initial **u-*. EYu, BaoÑ, and Dgx indicate initial **o-*. The *-m-* survives in many central dialects (cf. Sun 1990:676). Mgr and BaoD lost the initial vowel altogether, and seem to derive from a form **muši-* or **moši-*. This form apparently arose after the break-up of the original consonant sequence and the loss at a later stage of the initial vowel. The forms with *-ŋ-* seem to be original, *n* and *m* resulting from assimilation to the *š* and *u* respectively. BaoÑ and Kgj share a development of the *-š-* into an affricate.

MMo SH *uŋši-* H164 ‘to call’, HY *uŋši-* M105, Muq *uŋši-* (*uŋšī-*) P364b, IM *humši-* P438b, LV *uŋši-* (*uŋšī-*) P1261, IV---. WM *uŋsi-* L877a. Kh *unšix* H548b. Ord *omši-* M511b. Bur *unšaxa* C471b. Brg *oŋš-* U38. Kalm *umšx* M532b. Dag *ənš-* E37. EYu *oŋšə-* B13, *ənšə-* B13, *oŋšə-* J95b. MgrH *mošə-* J95b. MgrM *moši-* J88. BaoD *muši-* BL83b. BaoGt *məš-* C121. BaoÑ *əmči-* CN18. Kgj *unči-* S280a. Dgx *oŋši-* B13, *wanši-* B191, *oši-* MC310b. Mog *umši-* W182b, *əmši-* W174b.

***uran** ‘master, craftsman; skill; skillful’. Related to CT **u:z* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY *uran* M106, Muq *uran* P365b, IV---, LV---. WM *uran* L879b. Kh *ur(an)* H548b. Bur *uran* C472b. Kalm *urn* M537a. Dag *warən* E335. EYu---. MgrH *uran* J96b. Bao---. Dgx *uran* L111b. Mog---.

***urgu-** ‘to come up, appear (usu. of celestial bodies); to grow, sprout’. The *h-* in one Muq form is secondary.

MMo SH *urqu-* H166, HY---, Muq *uryu-* P366a, *huryu-* P187b. WM *uryu-* L881a. Kh *urgax* H220b ‘grow/rise(sun)’. Bur *urgaxa* C474a ‘grow’. Kalm *uryx* M535b ‘grow/come up’. Dag *ɔry^w*- E42. EYu possibly in *uğarma* S679 ‘plant’ if this is < **urgu-ma*. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *uryu-* R41a ‘to grow’.

***urī-** ‘to call; to invite’.

MMo SH *uri-* H166, HY *uri-* M106, Muq *uri-* P366a ‘invite’. WM *uri-* L881b. Kh *urix* H551b ‘invite’. Bur *urixa* C476a. Kalm *ürx* M555a. Dag *ɔr^v*- E42. EYu---. MgrH *urə-* J96b. MgrM---. BaoD *ur-* BL80. BaoGt *vuri-* C116. BaoÑ *ur-* CN21. Kgj *uri-* S280b. Dgx *uru-* B23. Mog---.

***urida** ‘before, earlier’, ***uridu** ‘former, previous; front; south’. Cf. ***uriji** below.

MMo SH *urida* H166, *uridu* H166, HY *urida* M106, *uridu* M106, Muq *urida* P366a, *uridu* P366a. WM *urida* L882a, *uridu* L883a. Kh *urd* H550b, *ur’d* H553a. Bur *urda* C474b. Brg *ur’d* U43, *urid* U42. Kalm *urd* M536a. Dag *ward* E335, *urdo:n* E42 ‘before, previously’ (cf. SH *urida’un* ‘in front’). EYu *urda* B20, J95b. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *urdo* W183a ‘vicinity; near’, MogMr, MogM *urdp*: L64:35.

***uriji üdür** ‘the day before yesterday’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *uriju ödür* P366b, LV *urji ödür* P1259 ‘the day after tomorrow (sic)’, IV---. WM *urji edür, urjidur, urjiydur* L887a. Kh *urjdar*, also *urjigdar* H551a. Ord *urjidur* M739a. Bur *uržader* C475b. Brg *urjidar* U42. Kalm *urj ödr* M536a. Dag---. EYu *uržudür* B20, *urjüdur* J96b. MgrH *ržudur* J96a, *užudür* X21, *žudur* X225. MgrM *uržudur* JL478, *užudur* JL474. BaoD *nžudär* BL84a, ‘*nžudä* BL32. BaoÑ *žudä* CN237. Kgj *ujide ~ urjide* S280b. Dgx *uružu du* B23, *uruzudu* L112b. Mog *ujavudur* W182a.

***uriji hon** ‘the year before last’. The forms represent several stages of contraction. Bur-Kalm -z- suggests that **a* or **u* not **i* followed the *j*-. Central Mongolic and EYu suggest that **hon* ‘year’ may have been incorporated in the stem twice.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---, RH *urji hon* 201A5. WM *urjnan, urjinon* L887a. Kh *urjnan(g)* H551a. Ord *urjnan* M739a. Bur *urzanen* C475b ‘... before last’. Brg *urjmonj* U42. Kalm *urzn* M536b ‘... before last’. Dag *urjwɔ:n* E42, *urjɔ:n* Z94b. EYu *urjinon* B14, *urjuno:n* J95b. MgrH *ržonj* J96a, *ržonj* X241, *uržonj* X23, *uržixon* L619. MgrM *wužini xuanj* DS261b ‘year before last’, *ord’anixuanj* C388 ‘last year’ (sic). BaoD *nžuhonj* BL84b. BaoÑ *žonj ~ žonj honj* CN237. Kgj *ujun ~ urjun* S280b. Dgx *uružu xonj* B23. Mog *urjān* W183a ‘year before last’.

***urijün uriji üdür** ‘three days ago’. Apart from Ordos, only in the QG languages. In Shirongol the genitive ending of **urijün* was replaced by the Shirongol ending -ni.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM---. Kh---. Ord *urji:n urjidur* M739a, also the variant *urjiduri:n urd udur* M739a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *urjü:n uržudür* B20. MgrH *užü-nə užudur* X21, *žü-nə žudur* X225. BaoÑ *žžinə žžudä* CN236. Dgx *uružuni uružu du* B23. Mog---.

***urtu (~ *utu ~ *utur)** ‘long’. The variants and their distribution seems rather chaotic. The MMo forms all indicate a form **urtu* without **h*-. This is supported by Kh and Dag. The standard Bur and Kalm forms go back to **utu*. The Shirongol forms go back to **utu ~ *utur*. The EYu forms may stem from the original form **urtu*. Both the EYu and the Shirongol forms apparently developed *h*- and the like due to the following -t-.

MMo SH *urtu* H166, HY *urtu* M106, Muq *urtu* P366b, *utu* P370b. LV *urtu* P1255, IV---. WM *urtu* L884b. Kh *urt* H552a. Ord *urtu* M741b. Bur *uta* C479a, *urta* (Selenga) C477a. Brg *ort* U42. Kalm *ut* M239a. Dag *ort* E42, *ort^w* Z94b. EYu *hurtu* B58, *rdä* J95b, *hdur* Yu19. MgrH *šdur* J96a, *fudur* SM101. MgrM *šudur* DS234.

BaoD *fudə*, *futə* BL84a, *ftə* BL13, *fdu* T149. BaoGt *fti* C129. BaoÑ *šdar* CN150. Kgj *šdu* ~ *štu* S296a. Dgx *fudu* B54, L112b, *fūdu*, *fdu* BC85:45. Mog *urtu* R41a.

***urug** ‘relatives by marriage’. Also in the combination **urug tarīg* (elsewhere in central Mongolic replaced by **urug törel*). CT **urug*, **urug tarīg*.

MMo SH *uruq* H167, HY *uruq*, *uriq tariq* M106, Muq *uruq*, *uruq* P367b. WM *uruy*, *uruy tariy* L885b. Kh *urag* H549a. Ord *uruq* M742b. Bur *urag*, *urag tarig* C472a. Kalm *urg* M535a. EYu *urəg* J65, *urəg tarağ* B14. MgrH *urəg* X22, *urəg turəg* X22. MgrM *wuro* DS231a ‘inlaws’, *oroğ* C371, *oroğ taroğ* C371. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx *urəu* B23. Mog---.

***urugsī** ‘forward’. In spite of the different vowel in the second syllable apparently related to the words with **urī-* listed above. Replaced by **emüne-gsi* in the QG languages.

MMo SH *uruhši* H67, HY *uruqši* M106, Muq *uruqši* P367b. WM *uruysi* L885b. Kh *uragš* H549a. Bur *uragša* C472a. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog *uruqši* R41a, *uruxš* W183a.

***uruldu-** ‘to race (horses)’. Some forms suggest **urildu-*. Like **kudaldu-* ‘to trade’ apparently a reciprocal verb of which the base has become extinct. Dagur *yoll^w*-E331, which was connected to this etymon by Enkhbat, is phonetically hard to derive from it, and may instead be from **yabuldu-*, the reciprocal of **yabu-* ‘to walk’ listed below.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *urildu-* P366b, *uruldu-* P238b. Kh *uraldax*, *uraldaax* H549b. Ord *urildu-* M742b. Bur *urildaaxa*, *urildaxa* C476a. Brg *orild-* U41. Kalm *urldx* M536b. Dag (see above). EYu *uruldə-* J37. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

***urus-** ‘to flow’. Dgx *usuru-* is also reminiscent of **hüsür-*.

MMo SH *urusqa-* (caus) H167, HY---, Muq *urus-* P368a, LV *urus-* P1256, IV *urus-* L62:71. WM *urus-* L886b. Kh *ursax* H551b. Ord *urus-* M743a. Bur *urdaxa* C475a. Brg *ord-* U42. Kalm *ursx* M537a. Dag *ors-* E42. EYu *urus-* B20, J95b. MgrH *orosə-* J96b. Bao---. Dgx *urusu-* L112a, B23, *usuru-* (?) B21. Mog---.

***usun** ‘water’. The *q-* in EYu is peculiar. It may have developed as a kind of hypercorrect form from **χusun* < **husun*, in the period when original *q-* was developing into *χ-*. See **udku-* for a possible similar development in EYu. The *h-* itself, like that in Mgr, is probably secondary and triggered by the following *-s-*. However, Ligeti (1962:72) points out that there is a single MMo form with *h-*: *husu* ‘water’ in the Hei-Da Shilüe. Ramstedt assumes, based on Kalm *šar usn* R452 ‘rheumatism’ that there was a word **husun* ‘pus’, which was not related to **usun* ‘water’ (or to front-vocalic **höesün* ‘pus’). This may be supported by the inclusion of <*usun*> in a list of ‘impurities’ in preclassical WM (The Twelve Deeds of Buddha, T117). However, combinations corresponding to Kalm *šar usn* elsewhere have meanings (e.g. ‘serum’ in EYu and Ord) that can easily be derived from **sira usun*, lit. ‘yellow water’. Cf. also Rybatzki 2006:177. The final *-n* in this word was atypically elided in all of Shirongol; in most words this only happened in the

Monguor languages. Perhaps derived from a root **u-* by means of the (?collective) suffix **-sUn*.

MMo SH *usu(n)* H167, HY *usun* M106, Muq *usun* P368b, LV *usun* P1259, IV *usun* L62:72. WM *usu(n)* L887b. Kh *us(an)* H553b. Ord *usu* M744a. Bur *uha(n)* C484a. Brg *oxv*: U38. Kalm *usn* M538a. Dag *ɔs* E39, Z93a. EYu *qusun* B65, J96a. MgrH *ʂzu* J96b, *fuzu* SM102, *szy* ~ *fuzu* T359, *szy* X146. MgrM *fzy* ~ *szy* JL468, *szy* DS259b. BaoD *sə*, *sə* BL83a. BaoÑ *sə* CN127. BaoX *sə* BC62. Kgj *su* ~ *sü* S294a. Dgx *usu* B21, L111b. Mog *usun* R41a, *usun*, *ovv*, *usun* W183b.

***uu-** ‘to drink’. The etymological reality of the WM spelling *ayu-* can not be confirmed. Cf. **ugji* ‘feeding bottle’ and **oači-* ‘to drink’ (an etymological relationship with these words cannot be established).

MMo SH *ū-* H160, *u’u-* H167, HY---, Muq *u:-* P371b, LV *au-* P1258, IV---. WM *uyu-* L864b, *uyu-* L889b, *uu-* L889a, *ayu-* L15b. Kh *uux* H557b. Bur *uuxa* C481b. Brg *o:-* U35. Kalm *uux* M542a. Dag *ɔ:-* E36. EYu *u:-* B18. MgrH *u:-* X15. MgrM *u-* JL463. BaoD *u-* BL83a. BaoÑ *u:-* CN19. BaoX *o:-* BC64. Dgx *u-* B17 ‘to drink (water in large gulps)’. Mog---.

***uuča** ‘back; sacrum; crotch, hindquarters, rump’. The WM spellings *ayuča* and *uyuči* are certainly incorrect, but the *-y-* in *uyuča* is also unetymological, as this word corresponds to CT **u:ča*. This is one of the rare cases where a CM double vowel corresponds to a CT long vowel (a similar case is **köerge* ‘bellows’).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *uča* (*u:ča*) P371b ‘back’, LV *uča* P1255, IV *uča* L62:71 ‘back’. WM *uyuča* L864b, *uyuči* L864b, *ayuča* L16a. Kh *uuc* H558a. Bur *uusa* C481b. Kalm *uuc* M543a. Dag *wa:č* E332. EYu *u:ča* B18 ‘sacral area’. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *uča* W183b ‘back’, MogMr, MogM *uča* L62:71 ‘id’.

***uur-** (?) ‘to throw’ see ***ugur-**

***uurag** ‘biestings, colostrum’. The Muq form with unexpected *-y-* may be due to WM spelling or to the Turkic equivalent. The Dag form, although strange looking, is a regular development. Note the vowel shortening in EYu-Mgr. An agricultural term related to CT **aguz* ‘id’, to which an element *-Ak* was added (cf. Yak *uohax*). In view of the Turkic cognate the Mongolic form may stem from earlier (PM) **ayurag*. However, the **a* of the Turkic form is not found in any Mongolic form.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *uyraq* (sic) P362a, LV---, IV---, RH *u:raq* 205B8. WM *uyuruy* (sic), *uyuray* L865a. Kh *uurag* H557a. Ord *u:raq* M737b. Bur *uurag* C481a. Brg *o:rag* U37. Kalm *uurg* M542a. Dag *wa:rəl* E332. EYu *urag* B20, J95a. MgrH *urag* J95a. BaoGt *orgə* C103. Dgx---. Mog---.

***uurga** (?**urga**) ‘urga, pole with a noose at the end used for catching horses’. The vowel length was lost in Bur. Not to be confused with **huraka* ‘lasso, snare’.

MMo SH *u’urqa* H165, *uqurqa* (sic) H160, HY---, Muq---. WM *urya(n)* L881a, *uyurya* L865a. Kh *uurga* H557a. Ord *u:rga* M739a. Bur *urga* C474a. Brg *orag* U41. Kalm *uury* (obs) M542a. Dag---. EYu---. Mgr---. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

- Ü -

***übül** (?*ebül) ‘winter’. The Muq form *ö:l-* could also be read *ü:l*, *ewül*, *öwül*, or *üwül*. In any case most forms are unexpected since *-b- is normally preserved as such in Muq. Although it seems certain that all the listed forms are related, they can hardly be reduced to a single CM form. Most languages, including MMo and Dag, indicate a CM form **übül*. The **e-*, as written in WM is only supported by one of the Moghol variants; Kh and Ord suggest **ö-*. The *-g-* in Brg and MgrM is puzzling (in Dagur the alternation *w ~ γ* is not unique).

The Baoan words for ‘winter’, BaoD *ɲgun* BL82a, BaoÑ *ʕgən* CN232, BaoX *ərgən* BC64 have been borrowed from Tibetan (cf. Amdo *rgən*, LT *dgun* Jä84b). The Monguoric forms seem to involve a contamination with the Tibetan form (cf. Róna-Tas 1966, No. 464).

MMo SH *ubul* H157, HY *übül* M107, ZY **üwül* (emended) Kara333, Muq *öbül* P272b, *ö:l-* P279a, cf. *ebülje-* P151a ‘to pass the winter’, RH *öbül* 201A21. WM *ebül* L290b. Kh *övöl* H403b. Ord *öwöl* M544a. Bur *übel* C489b. Brg *ugul* U49, *ußəl* U47. Kalm *üvl* M544a. Dag *uɣul* E44, *uwul* E50, *u:l* E43. EYü *βəl* B37, J94b. MgrH *rgul* J94b, X240, L464 (see remark above). MgrM *ugur* C395, *uğur* T355. BaoD *ulʔ* P414a. BaoGt *vulə* C116. BaoJ *vul* L206. BaoÑ---. Dgx *un* B19, *uwən* B23, cf. *unça* L110b (+ çay). Mog *ubul* R41b, *ebulä*, *ubulä* R27b ‘in winter’.

***üčüken** (?*öčüken) ‘little, small’. In view of the very numerous occurrences (the forms without *h-* each occur once) there is no doubt that the language of the Muq had a *h-* in this word. It is however not confirmed by any other source. The Bao and Kgj forms could also stem from **bičikan* ‘small’. The speakers of several languages also seem to associate this word with **čöeken*, **čöen* ‘little, few’. Cf. also **baga* ‘small’. Also note the regional word in MgrH *mula*: X125, MgrM *mula*: C383, Dgx *mila* B107; EYü EYü *məla* B91, with equivalent in WYü, means ‘small child’.

MMo SH *ucugan*, *ucugen*, etc. H157, HY *üčügen* M107, Muq *hüčüken* P189a, *iüčüken* P273a (P: *ö-*), *iüčü:n* P273a (P: *ö-*), LV *iüčken* P1258, IV---. WM *öčüken* L629a, *iüčüken* L995a (same actual spelling). Kh *öcüüxen* H422a, *öcüüxen* H422b. Ord *öčö:kön*, *öčö:n* (= *čö:n*) M543a. Bur *üsööxen* C515a, *üsöö(n)* C515a. Brg *usə:ɲ* U51. Kalm *iüčükn* M558b. Dag *uškan* E46, *uči:kən* E48, *učkən* E48. EYü---. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *šjiğəŋ* T152. BaoGt *šigəŋ* C123. BaoGm *hjiğəŋ* CN86:17. BaoÑ *žigaŋ* CN199. BaoX *jigaŋ* BC65. Kgj *šğə* S296a. Dgx---. MogMr *učkə:n*, *učkan*, MogM *uškb*: L64:43 ‘light; bad; lousy’.

***üde** ‘noon, midday’. In the Shirongol languages there is some confusion between **üde* ‘noon’ and **üdür* ‘day’. In Dgx they both have the word shape *udu*, in Kgj both are represented by *udər*. This suggests that the word shape of ‘day’ absorbed the meaning of **üde* ‘noon’. Cf. also the confusion in BaoÑ *udərgu* CN21 (adj.) ‘daytime; noon’, and also *xi:čudə* CN61 ‘on the second day’ (first element **koiči*), *kudu:d* CN83 ‘a couple of days’ (first element **kedün*), *təɾə'nudə* CN83 ‘that day’ (**tere nege*). Namcarai & Khaserdeni (p. 465b) translate Dag *udur* as ‘day; noon’,

suggesting the same confusion, which is however not confirmed by Enkhbat. Enkhbat does have *udur əməl* ‘before noon’, *udur x^wainə* ‘after noon’ based on **üdü* rather than **üde*. Mostaert and de Smedt derive MgrH *dur* in the meaning ‘noon’ from **düli* ‘middle’ (not listed here). This would be semantically fitting but not phonetically.

MMo SH *ude* H158 ‘evening, late’, HY---, Muq---, LV---, IV---. WM *üde* L995a. Kh *üd* H565b. Ord *ude* M747a. Bur *üde* C494b. Kalm *üd* M545b. Dag *udu* (?*ud^w*) T170 (see above). EYu *ude*: B21, *ude* J96a. MgrH *dur* (sic, merged with *dur* ~ *udur* ‘day’) SM68. MgrM *dursuḡo* DS239b ‘noon’ (the second element perhaps < Ch *shihòu*). BaoD---. BaoÑ see above. Kgj *udər* (sic, merged with ‘day’) S281b. Dgx *udu* (sic, merged with ‘day’) B22, L112b, (Longquan dial.) *uduru* B22 ‘noon’. Mog---.

***üdesi** ‘(in the) evening, (at) night’. Perhaps from the same root as **üde* above, although the function of the element *-si* is unknown. The *-g-* in EYu is reminiscent of the directives derived from spatial nouns with the suffix **-gsi*, such as **gada-gsi* ‘outwards’, **dota-gsi* ‘inwards’. Based on the meaning of **üde* in SH, there may indeed have been a form **üdeg-si* with the original meaning ‘towards the evening’, but the *-g-* in that word should have been reflected in the MMo forms. Alternatively, the EYu form is a contraction of **üde koḡsi* ‘after noon’.

MMo SH *udeši* H158, HY *üdeši* M107, Muq *üdeši* P373a, *hüdeši* P190a, LV *üdeši* P1259, IV---. WM *üdesi* L995b, *üdüsi* (sic) L996b. Kh *üdeš* H566b. Ord *udeši* M748a. Bur *üdeše* C495a. Kalm-?- . Dag *udiš* E47 ‘yesterday’. EYu *ödögšə* B17, J97a. Mgr---. Bao---. Kgj *udəši* ~ *udeši* S280b. Dgx *užieši* B22. Mog---.

***üdesilen** ‘(in the) evening, (at) night’. Derived from **üdesi* above. Note the interesting distribution of this word: Bur and the Shironḡol 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 **silen* 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 üdesilen* ‘tonight’, also BaoÑ *gəḡḡəlan* CN92 ‘last night’, which should be from *ḡgudə(gu)* *šilan*, cf. MgrM *ḡguḡḡulian* DS58 (cf. **öčügedür*).

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM---. Kh---. Ord---. Bur *üdešelen* C495b. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *šulon* J97b, *šilon* X153, *šülön* X158, *šlön* X164. MgrM *šulon* T389. BaoD *šilan* BL84a. BaoGm *šilan* CN86:302. BaoGt *šilön* C108. BaoJ *šlön* L170. BaoÑ *šilan* CN141. BaoX *šilan* BC74. Kgj *šilan* S65. Dgx *užiešilen* B22. Mog---.

***üdü/*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 Shironḡol languages indicate an ancestral form **üdü*. Kh-Kalm suggest **ödür*, which could also be the source of the Ord and Bur forms. The Dag and EYu forms are ambiguous; Dag may be from **ödür* or **üdü*; EYu *odor* would normally suggest **ödör* < **öder*. For a similar distribution of forms cf. **öndür* ‘high’. In Dgx and Kgj this

word has merged with **üde* ‘noon’, in Mgr and BaoÑ there is also some overlap or confusion between the two words.

MMo SH *udur* H158, HY *üdür* M107, Muq *ödür* (?or *üdür*) P273a. WM *edür* L295a. Kh *ödör* H407a. Ord *üdür* M748b. Bur *üder* C494b. Kalm *ödr* M412b. Dag *udur* E47. EYu *odor* B15, *udur* J94a. MgrH *dur* J94a, X200, *udur* X20. MgrM *udur* JL471. BaoD *udər* BL82b. BaoGt *udər* C100. BaoÑ *udər* CN21. BaoX *ndor* BC63. Kgj *udər* S281a. Dgx *udu* B22. Mog *udur* R41b, *udur* W182a, *ödur*, *ödör* W174b, MogM *udur*, MogMr *ödur* L54b:140.

***üge** ‘word; speech’.

MMo SH *uge* H159, HY *üge* M107, Muq *üge* P373a. WM *üge(n)* L996b. Kh *üg(en)* H561b. Bur *üge* C492a. Kalm *üg* M544b. Dag---. EYu *uɣe* B20. MgrH *ugo* J96a, *go* X104. MgrM *uge* T368. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog---.

ügei** (?ügüi**) ‘there is not; without; not’, in some languages also ‘poor’. In all Shirongol languages it can take verbal suffixes.

MMo SH *ugai* H159, HY *ügei* M107, Muq *ügei* P373b, LV *ügei* P1260, IV *ügei* L62:72. WM *ügei* L997a. Kh *ügüy* H564a. Bur *ügi* C491a. Kalm *-go*, *uga:*, *uɣa:*, *ügæ:*, *üge:* R446b. Dag *uwai* E50. EYu *uɣui* B20, *uɣwei* B21, *uɣo* B20, *uɣui* J96b. MgrH *gui:*, *gua:* J96a. MgrM *ugui* JL465, *ugo* T368. BaoD *gi-* BL84b. BaoÑ *gi-* CN95. Kgj *uǰi*, *uǰua* (+ cop.) S280b. Dgx *ui-* L112b B. Mog *uǰei* R41b, *uǰei* W182b.

***ügtee-** ‘to pull out, tear out’. The Dagur form appears instead of expected **urt-* or **urtə:-*. The *f-* in MgrM is also surprising. It may be a side-effect of the vowel devoicing. If original it suggests **hügtee-* which is not supported elsewhere. The Muq form occurs in the sentence *hanisqayin üsüni üktebe* (Poppe: *öktebe*) which could be translated ‘s/he pulled out/plucked an eyebrow hair’. The equivalent Chagatay sentence seems inappropriate: *qašın 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’, *ömtə:-* R296a, *ünte:-* R458b. Mog *upta-* W183a ‘to tear out’, *ufta-* W182. Cf. **sei-*.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *ükte-* P181a (?=; see explanation above). WM *ügtege-* L998b, *üdkege-* L996a. Kh *ügteex* H564a ‘to pull, tear at’. Ord *ügte:-* M751a, *üte:-* M764b. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm (see above). Dag *ut-* E47. EYu *kute-* B70 ‘to pull out (weed)’. MgrH *şde:-* X166, *sdie:-* SM334 ‘to pull out, weed, uproot’. MgrM *füdi-* C388, *şudi-* DS258b. Bao---. Dgx---. Mog (see above).

***üile** ‘work, deed, affair’. BaoD *le* ‘work’ could be either from **üile* or a loanword from Amdo Tibetan *le* (LT *las*). As in other cases the similarity between Dagur and Manchu (*weilen* in this case) may indicate borrowing in either direction. The *h-* in MogMr is secondary (CM **h-* was lost in Mog).

MMo SH *uiyile* H161, HY *üile* M108, Muq *üile* P375b, IV *üile* L62:72. WM *ü(y)ile* L999a. Kh *üyl* H572b. Bur *üile* C498b. Kalm *üül* M556a. Dag *wail* E336. EYu *ule* B21, *ule:* J93b, *ölö* J24, *ulö* S690. MgrH *ule* J96b, X17. MgrM *weilie* DS261a. BaoD *le* (?=) BL77. BaoGm *yile-gə-* CN86:302 ‘to work’. BaoÑ---. Kgj *ile* S280b. Dgx *uilie* B17, *wailie* B192. MogMr *hula*, MogM *ula* L62:72.

***üisün** (?*uīsun, ?*uīlsun) ‘birchbark’. In view of Dagur this word may have been back-vocalic originally, and later shifted vowel classes due to the *i* (cf. *niūr > *niür, and perhaps *sainug > *seinüg), although Dagur is outnumbered by the front-vocalic forms, the reverse development is less likely. WM spelling is ambiguous with regards to the harmonic class, as is MMo. The MMo *-l-* is not preserved in Bur in this case. Cf. also Kmg *uxun* Janhunen 49.

MMo SH *uyilsun* (?üyilsün) H168, HY---, Muq---, RH---. WM *üisün* L1001b (could be read *uyisun* or *oyisun*) ‘birchbark’, *uyilsun* L1213a ‘birchbark quiver’. Kh *üys(en)* H575a. Bur *üyhen* C499a. Brg *uxi*: U48. Kalm *ü:sn* R462a. Dag *ois* E36.

***üje-** ‘to see’. For the *n-* in BaoD and BaoX cf. **ide-*, **uda-*, etc.

MMo SH *uje-* H161, HY *üje-* M108, Muq *üje-* P377a, *hüje-* P190a, LV *üje-* P1258, IV *üje-* L62:72. WM *üje-* L1014b. Kh *üzex* H571a. Bur *üzexe* C498a. Brg *u3-* U52. Kalm *üzx* M547a. Dag *uj-* E48. EYü *eje-* B11, J97a. MgrH *u3æ-* X20. MgrM *u3i-* JL474. BaoD *n3ia-* BL84b. BaoGt *n3ä-* C129. BaoJ *n3a-* L126. BaoÑ *u3i-* CN21. BaoX *n3ä-* BC71. Kgj *uje-* ~ *uji-* S281a. Dgx *u3ä-* B22. Mog *ujä-* R42a, *ujA-* W182a.

***üjüg ~ *üsüg** ‘letter, character; writing’. Related to CT **üzük*, itself a loanword from an unknown source. For phonetic and semantic reasons difficult to compare to Dag *usuy^w* E46, *us^w* Z94b ‘word, speech’, *xuswulj-* Enk83:96b ‘to talk, chat, converse’. According to Ramstedt (1935:460) **üjüg* and **üsüg* are originally unrelated words.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *üzük* P383a ‘pen’. WM *üsüg* L1013b, *üjüg* L1017a the latter also ‘reed-pen’. Kh *üseg* H582b ‘letter, writing, script’, *üzeg* H569b ‘pen’. Bur *üzeg* C497a, *üseg* C515b. Kalm *üzg* M546a. Dag (see above). EYü *öjäg* J96b, B17. Dgx *urəu* [= *u3əu*] B23, L112b, *u3ig* P418a, *u3ig* P411b. Mog---.

***üjüür** ‘tip, end’ see ***hüjüür**

***ükü-** ‘to die’. The *h-* found in most QG forms was triggered by the following *-k-*. The single occurrence of *h-* in MMo is coincidental.

MMo SH *uku-* H162, HY *ügü-* M107, Muq *ükü-* P378b, LV *ükü-* P1260, *üküdel* P1260 graveyard, IV---, RH *ükü-* 204A25 ‘to die’, *hüküdel* 202A15 ‘grave’. WM *ükü-* L1003a. Kh *üxex* H585b. Bur *üxexe* C519a. Kalm *ükx* M549a. Dag *uy^w-* E45, *u:-* E43. EYü *hku-* B59, *hgu-* J96b. MgrH *fugu-* J96a. MgrM *fugu-*, *xugu-* DS217. BaoD *fgu-* ~ *gu-* BL84b. BaoGt *fgä-* C129. BaoÑ *sgu-* CN148, *hgu-* CN70. BaoX *xgo-* BC63. Kgj *gu-* S289b. Dgx *fugu-* B53, L112b, *fgu-* B55. Mog *uku-* R41b, *uku-*, *okv-* W182b.

***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 **čida-*). Cf. the other negative particles **bisi*, **bütegei*, **ese*, **ügüi*.

MMo SH *ulu* H163, HY *ülü* M108, Muq *üle* P379b, *ülü* P380b, IV *üle* L62:72, *ülü* L62:73. WM *ülü* L1006b. Kh *ül* H575a. Bur *üle* C502a, *üli* C500a. Kalm---. Dag *ul* E45. EYu *lə* J96b. MgrH *li:* J96a. MgrM *lai* JL465, *li* T342. BaoD *lə* BL84a. BaoÑ *elə* CN13. Kgj *ne* S281b. Dgx *ulie* B18. Mog *lu*, *le*, *la* R33a, Mog, MogM *la*, *le*, MogMr *ula*, *ul* L54b:138.

***ündesün** ‘root’. There is no *h*-less variant in Muq; nevertheless it seems unlikely that the **h-* is original. Peculiar distribution. Cf. **hiǰaur* ~ **huǰaur* ‘id’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *hündüsün* P238a. WM *ündüsü(n)* L1007a. Kh *ündes* (*ündsen*) H577b. Bur *ündehe(n)* C506b. Brg *undu:* U46. Kalm *ündsn* M552a. Dag *undus* E43. EYu---, Mgr---, Bao---, Kgj---, Dgx *undusun* S693, *untusun* P415a. Mog---.

***üne** ‘price’. MgrH and Bao apparently stem from a form **ünem*. Confusingly the same shape **ünem* occurs in derivatives of **ünen* ‘true’ in central Mongolic, such as Kh *ünemlex* H579b ‘to testify’.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *üne* P380b. WM *üne* L1008a. Kh *üne* H578b. Ord *une*, *uni* M757b. Bur *üne* C508a. Brg *un* U45. Kalm *ün* M551b. Dag---. EYu *une* B20, *une* J96a, S694; *u:ne* S550 ‘cost’. MgrH *nem* J96b. MgrM---. BaoD *nem* BL84b. BaoÑ *unəm* CN20. BaoX *ñəm* CN86:226. Kgj---, Dgx---, Mog---.

***ünen** ‘true’. Chakhar and Bargu seem to suggest **ünün*.

MMo SH *unen* H164, HY *ünen* M109, Muq *ünen* P381a. WM *ünen* L1009a. Kh *ünen* H579a, cf. Chakhar *un^yi* D173a. Ord *unen* M758a. Bur *ünen* C508a. Brg *uniŋ* U45. Kalm *ünn* M552b. Dag *unun* E43, *unəŋ* Z94. Remaining lgs---.

***ünien** ‘cow’. Moghol shows the metathesis of the palatal element also seen in **kanīa-* ‘to cough’. Kalm *ünŋn* M551b ‘female (of wild animals or birds); (obs) cow that has calved for the first time’ may be a contamination of **ünien* ‘cow’ and **iŋgen* ‘camel mare’ (the latter not listed here). Poppe (60:62,141, etc), and Ramstedt (I:89,114,157) compare CT **in(g)ek* ‘cow’. However, the expected CT cognate of CM **ünien* would have been **üni* or **ünig*.

MMo SH *uniyen* H165, HY *üne’en* M109, Muq *üneyen* P381b. WM *üniye(n)* L1010a. Kh *ünee(n)* H580a. Bur *ünyeen* C507a. Kalm (see above). Dag *üñe:* E44. EYu *ni:n* B26, J96b, (Qinglong dial.) *ne:n* BJ351. MgrH *une:* J96a.

MgrM *une* [xuɣuar] C370. BaoD *uniaŋ* BL84b. BaoGt *uniɔŋ* C111. BaoÑ *unaŋ* CN20. BaoX *ñaŋ* BC63. Kgj *uniɔ* S280b. Dgx---. Mog *uina* R41b, *uinaŋ* W182b.

***ünügün** ‘kid (goat)’. This word was lost in most central languages, perhaps because it phonetically merged there with **hünege* ‘fox’. In Kalm there is a word *ügn* ‘female’, with which **ünügün* could also be confused, see s.v. **ünien* above. The WM and Kh forms given by LC are unexpected; the latter should have been **üneg* or **ünege*. The loss of the initial vowel in Dgx and Mog is unusual. The final *-r* in MgrM is an addition this language usually has in designations of young animals. The *-l* in BaoGt may stem from the derived verb **ünügüle-*.

MMo SH *uno.gun* H165 ‘looking like a male lamb’, HY---, Muq *ünügün* P382a, LV *üngen* (Saitō reads *-r*) P1258, IV---, RH *ünügün* 199B26. WM *ünüg* (sic) LC 3:414b. Kh *ünüg* (sic) LC 3:414b. Ord *unugu* M759a. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag *unuk* S414. EYu *noyon* B26, *nuyun* J95b. MgrH *nugu* X36, *nəgu* J95b. MgrM *nugur* DS232b, *unyugur* P414a. BaoD *imaŋ nəguŋ* BL83b (*imaŋ* ‘goat’). BaoGt *nogol* C117. BaoÑ *unğu* CN20. Kgj *nuyun* S282b. Dgx *unuğuŋ* B19, *nuğuŋ* MC300a. Mog *noku* W74, cf. Zirni *nuku:t* (pl.) 20:10.

***ürie** ‘young stallion (of three, four, or five years)’.

MMo SH *uri’e* H166, HY---, Muq---. WM *üriye* L1013a, *ürege* L1011b. Kh *üree* H582a, cf. Chakhar *ur’ə*: D173a. Ord *ure*: M760a. Bur *üryee* C512a. Kalm *ürä* M553b. Dag *ur’e*: E49, and (erroneously?) *urə*: E83:221. EYu *ure*: B21. Remaining lgs---.

***üsün** ‘milk’ see ***süü**

***ütergen** ~ ***ütürme** ‘threshing floor’. The form **ütergen* (?**ütürgen*) that appears to be reflected by the Shirongol languages is also found in a number of Inner-Mongolian dialects. Forms like the synonymous Khorčīn *itrəg* (Chagankhad 1995:200) and Dag *itləy* ~ *itəl* E83:101a/b may also belong here in spite of the *i-* and the *-l-*. Cf. the Dagur verb *itəl-* E83:101a ‘to thresh grain’, and Solon *itulgə* D346a ‘threshing floor’. **ütergen* and **ütürme* seem to be two derivatives from the same stem, but the morphology is unclear. Perhaps a corruption of Turkic **örtgün* ‘id’?

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *ütürme* L1014b. Kh *ütrem* H582b. Ord---. Bur---. Brg---. Kalm---. Dag (see above). EYu---. MgrH *sdierge* SM335, *şdergə*, *şdärgə* X167. MgrM *şdäрге* JL478, (Sanchuan) *iterge* P412b. BaoD---. BaoÑ *tergaŋ* CN166. BaoX *targaŋ* BC66. Kgj *tərgə* ~ *tərgə* ~ *təgə* S297a. Dgx *tuğon* B141. Mog---.

***üye** ‘joint; generation’.

MMo SH *üye qaya* H167 ‘relative’, HY *üye üye* M109 ‘from generation to generation’, Muq *üye* P382b. WM *üye* L1001b. Kh *üye* H566b. Bur *üye* C495b. Kalm *üy* M547b. Dag *wəy* E337, *ui* Z11. EYu *ywe*: B156 ‘generation’. MgrH *uye* X21. Bao---. Dgx *uyə* B23. Mog---.

***üyee** ‘feed, fodder’. see ***öyee**.

- Y -

***yaan** and ***yaun** ‘what; what kind of’. Both formations are old. The form **yaun* seems to be extinct in the QG languages, although MgrM *yoy* may be a last surviving form. Cf. **yama*, **yamar*.

MMo SH *ya’u(n)* H169 ‘who, what, what kind of’, HY *ya’u* [ba] M110 ‘whatever’, Muq *ya:n* [Poppe reads *yan*] P387a, and an assimilation form *ya:m* [Poppe: *yam*] P386b. WM *yayu(n)* L424b. Kh *yu(n)* H869b, *yüü(n)* H870a, cf. Chakhar *yu*: D186b. Ord *yü*: M407a ‘what’, but instr. case *yu:ga:r*, com. case *yu:tä*:, etc; also *yu:n* M406a, *yü:n* M408a ‘which’. Bur *yüü(n)* [written *yu(n)*] B785a. Brg *yu*: U223. Kalm *yun* M707b. Dag *yɔ*: E33. EYu *ya:n* B152. MgrH *ya:n* J107a. MgrM *ya:n* C204, *yoy* T337. BaoD *iaŋ* B193b. BaoÑ *yaŋ* CN213. BaoX *yaŋ* BC65 ‘what’. Kgj *yɔ* ~ *yaŋ* S305b. Dgx *yaŋ* B185. Mog---.

***yaaki-** ‘to do what/how’ (interrogative verb). Apparently from **yaan* + **ki-*. In some QG languages we find **yama* + **ki-* instead or in addition. A verb **yaa-* is found in central Mongolic and Dagur: Kh *yaax* H872a, Bur *yaaxa* C789a, Kalm *yaax* M708a, Dag *ye*:- E329. Dag *yɔ*: *xi*:- E330 is an alternative formation **yaun* + *ki-*. See **yaan* and **yaun*.

MMo SH *yeki-* H170, cf. SH *yaki-n* H169 (gerund) ‘how’, HY---, Muq---. WM *yayaki-* L423b, *yaki-* L425a, etc. Kh *yaaxi-n* H872a ‘how; why’. Bur *yaa geže* C787a ‘how; what’. Brg---. Kalm *ya:yă*- R213b. Dag (see above). EYu *ya:kə*- B152, *ya:yə*- J69. MgrH *ya:ga-* X231. MgrM *yaŋgə*- DS23. BaoD *iangə*- BL49, *iangə*- BL63. BaoÑ *yaŋgə*- CN213. Kgj---. Dgx *yaŋ gie*- MC435a. Mog---.

***yaara-** ‘to be in a hurry’. The Muq form is unexpected but not a misspelling as it is very common.

MMo SH *ya’ara-* H168, HY *yāra-* M110, Muq *ja:ra-* P204a. WM *yayara-* L423b. Kh *yaarax* H871b. Bur *yaaraxa* C789a. Kalm *yaarx* M707b ‘to huddle together’. Dag *ya:r-* E325. EYu in *yara:ŋgui* B153 ‘slowly’ (< without hurrying). MgrH---, MgrM---, BaoD---, BaoÑ *ya:r-* CN231. Kgj *yara-* S305b. Dgx---. Mog---.

***yabu-** ‘to go; to walk’. The *-b-* was atypically lost in MgrM. In some MgrH sources confused with **yeü-* (?**yüü-*) ‘to transfer’.

MMo SH *yabu-* H168, HY *yabu-* M109, Muq *yabu-* P385a. WM *yabu-* L420a. Kh *yavax* H872b. Bur *yabaxa* C793a. Brg *yɔβ-* U222. Kalm *yovx* M279b. Dag *yau-* E326, *yaw-* E328. EYu *yafə*- B153, J106b. MgrH *yau:-* J107b, *yau-* X232, *yu:-* X236, *yævu-* X234. MgrM *yɔu-* C394, *yau-* JL474, T338. BaoD *iu-* BL93a. BaoÑ *yawu-* CN217, *yu-* CN220. BaoX *yu-* BC65. Kgj *yu-* S306a. Dgx *yawu-* B187. Mog *yobu-* R30a, *yɔbu-* W168b.

***yada-** ‘to be unable’.

MMo SH *yada-* H168, HY *yada-* M110, Muq *yada-* P386b. WM *yada-* L422a. Kh *yadax* H874b. Bur *yadaxa* C796a. Kalm *yadx* M709a. Dag *yad-* E328 ‘to

be scared, to be shy'. EYu *yida-* B155, *ida-* J48, cf. *ida-* J107b 'to become tired'. MgrH *ada-* J45, cf. *yada-* J106a 'to be tired'. MgrM *da-* T313. BaoD *edə-* BL56. BaoÑ *yada-* CN216. BaoX *idə-* BC70. Kgj *ada-* S278b. Dgx *da-* B143, L75. Mog---.

***yadara-** 'to be(come) tired'. Apparently an inchoative formation to **yada-* above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq---. WM *yadara-* L422b. Kh *yadrax* H874b 'to be tired; to become poor'. Bur *yadarxa* C796a. Kalm *yadrax* M708b. Dag *yadər-* E328. EYu *yidara-* BJ333 'to be weak, feeble', *yadara-* B153. MgrH---. MgrM---. BaoD *edər-* BL93b. BaoÑ *yadara-* CN104. BaoX *idar-* BC71. Kgj *yadəra-* ~ *yadra-* S305a. Dgx---. Mog---.

***yama** 'what; something; thing'. Apparently a semantic narrowing of the same word: MgrM *yama* JL474, *ya:ma* C391 'food'. BaoD *iamə* BL59, BL86a, *iamo* BL42 'food; meal'. BaoGt *yāmu* C123 'meal', Dgx *yama* P421b 'cereal (crop on the field)'. Note the distribution of this form in MMo Muq, Mog, and the QG languages (the remaining languages use **yauma*). Perhaps **yaa-ma* from **yaan* 'what' + (particle) *ma* 'whatever'. See **yaan* 'what' listed above.

MMo SH---, HY---, Muq *yama* P386b. WM---. Kh---. Bur---. Kalm---. Dag---. EYu *yima* B154, *ima* J106b. MgrH *ama* J107b, *yama* X232, *yəma* X233. MgrM *yama* T337. BaoD *iamə* BL35 'whatever'. BaoÑ *yama* CN215 'thing'. Kgj *yama* S305a. Dgx *yama* B187. Mog *yema* R30a 'what', cf. *yem* 'id', *ima* W167b 'what (kind of)', *ema* W164b 'what', MogMr *yəmə*, *imə*, MogM *yama* L62:73.

***yamar** 'what, what kind of'. Note **yambar* in Sino-Mongolian (and WM spelling). Unlike **yama* this form also occurs in the central languages and Dag. In Dgx, **yamar* has been lost or it has simply merged with **yama* phonetically. See further **yaan* 'what' listed above. In Baoanic replaced by **yaan metü* (see the latter element).

MMo SH *yambar* H169 'how; what', HY *yambar* M110 'which', Muq *yamar* P387a. WM *yambar*, *yamar* L426b. Kh *yamar* H877b. Bur *yamar* C799b. Kalm *yamr* M710a. Dag *yamər* E327 'what kind of'. EYu *imar* J107b, *yimar* B155. MgrH *amar* J107b, *yamar* X233. MgrM *yamar* C204. Bao---. Kgj---. Dgx---. Mog *yema:r* R30a 'how' (perhaps from **yamaar*, instr. of **yama* above).

***yara** 'ulcer, sore; syphilis', in MMo and Dag 'wound'. As in **yaara-* above, Muq has a form with *ɣ-*. The vowel length in EYu, MgrH and BaoÑ may be due to the *-r-*.

MMo SH *yara* H169, HY---, Muq *yara* P387b, *ɣara* P297a. WM *yara* L428b. Kh *yar* H879b. Ord *yara* M397b. Bur *yara* C801b. Brg *yar* U221. Kalm *yarä* 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 *-g-* is not confirmed elsewhere. Kgj *-c-* is also peculiar (cf. **yesün* 'nine'). Apparently formed with the (?collective) suffix *-sUn* from a PM root **ya-*.

MMo SH *yasu(n)* H169, HY *yasun* M110, Muq *yasun* P388a. WM *yasu(n)*

L430a. Kh *yas(an)* H881a. Bur *yaha(n)* C802b. Kalm *yasn* M711b. Dag *yas* E328. EYu *yasən* B153, J107b. MgrH *yasə* J106a. MgrM *yağsı* JL474, *yığsı* C394. BaoD *iasuŋ* BL93a. BaoÑ *yasəŋ* CN215. BaoX *isəŋ* CN86:228. Kgj *yasun* ~ *yacun* S305a. Dgx *yasuŋ* B187. Mog *yo:sun* R30a, *yəsud* (pl) W168b.

***yauma** ‘something, thing’. Cf. ***yama** ‘id’ listed above, which is used elsewhere.

MMo HY---, Muq---. WM *yayuma* L425a. Kh *yüüm* H869a, cf. Chakhar *yim* D185b. Ord *yum*, *yumu* M405b. Bur *yüüme(n)* [written *yuume(n)*] C783b. Brg *yum* U224, *yu:m* U223. Kalm *yumn* M707a. Remaining lgs---.

***yaun** ‘what’ see s.v. ***yaan**.

***yeke** (?) ‘large, big, great’. All these forms are apparently related, but it is impossible to reduce them to a single reconstruction form. The form ***yeke** as found in the old sources only seems to survive in Bur. Kh, Kalm, and Mog go back to a form ***ike**. Both Dag and QG seem to point at CM ***h-**, but in the QG languages the appearance of ***h**-like reflexes may be due to devoicing of ***y-** by the following **-k-**. Dag suggests an older form ***hike**. As there is some degree of confusion or variation between **š-**, **x-** and **y-** in Dagur (cf. also *xita:-* < **sītaa-* ‘to light’, *x’añkən* < **yanʃkan* ‘prostitute’). A development ***y** > ***x** > ***x** in Dagur is conceivable, but not common. The MgrM and Baoanic forms (but not MgrH) seem to represent a form like ***hüke**, with a peculiar rounded vowel. In Dgx, ***yeke** has come to be pronounced the same as ***hüker** ‘bovine’. This reminds of the collocations WM *üker čilayu(n)* ‘boulder’, *üker quluyana* ‘rat’, *üker ʔal* ‘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 *xiŋ* E113, *šiŋ* E234. EYu *šike* B107, *šge* J107b. MgrH *šge* J107a. MgrM *šugo* ~ *šgo* JL464, *xge* T384. BaoD *fgo* ~ *go* BL93a, *hgo* T150. BaoGt *fgo* C129. BaoÑ *šgə* CN147. BaoX *xgo* BC65. Kgj *gʷ* S318, cf. *gu-da-* S290a ‘to become large’. Dgx *fugie* B52, L121b. Mog *ikā*, *ekā* R29b.

***yeren** ‘ninety’. Related to ***ye(r)sün** ‘nine’ below. In Bao and Kgj replaced by a new formation ***ye(r)sün harban** ‘nine tens’, as in BaoÑ *yir’saraŋ* CN219.

MMo SH *yeren* H170, HY *yeren* M110, Muq *yiren* (?*yeren*) P390b. WM *yere(n)* L433a, *yire(n)* 434a. Kh *yer(en)* H201b, *ir(en)* H277b. Bur *yere(n)* C222a. Kalm *yirn* M278a. Dag *yər* E329. EYu *yeren* B154, J107b. MgrH *yerən* J107b, X234. Remaining lgs---.

***yesün** < ***yersün** ‘nine’. ***ye(r)sün** is the only numeral formed with **-sUn**. Only BaoÑ preserves the **-r-**, but it is confirmed by the corresponding decad ***yeren** ‘ninety’ listed above. The EYu and Mgr initials are devoiced due to the following strong consonant. The affrication of **-s-** is common in Mgr but less so in Kgj.

MMo SH *yesun* H170, HY *yesün* M111, Muq *yisün* (?*yesün*) P390b. WM *yisü(n)* L434a. Kh *yös(ön)* [written *yesö(n)*] H202b. Ord *yisʉ* ~ *yʉsʉ* M402b. Bur *yühe(n)* [written *yuhe(n)*] C787a. Brg *yuxu:* ~ *yus* U224. Kalm *yisn* M278a. Dag *is*

E34, *yis* NK568b. EYu *xisən* B113, *šisən* J107b. MgrH *gʒən* J107a, X169, *sʒən* X146. MgrM *šʒeŋ* T384, *šʒaŋ* (obs.) DS4. BaoD *iəsuy* BL93a. BaoGt *yəsuy* C142. BaoŃ *yirsoŋ* CN219. BaoX *isoŋ* BC67. Kgj *yasuy* ~ *yacun* ~ *yaʒuy* S305a. Dgx *yesuy* B188. Mog---

***yeü-** (?*yüü-) ‘to scoop or ladle out and transfer into another container; transfuse, transplant, etc’. The form with *e* is based on the assumption that this word is related to **yeüd-*. In MgrH the situation is complicated, as **yeü-* has also taken on the meaning of **neü-* ‘to migrate’, and in most sources it has merged phonetically with **yabu-* ‘to go’. Perhaps as a consequence of this, MgrH *yu:-* now has tr. and intr. meanings. MgrM *wei-* could instead be related to **üi-*, for which cf. MgrH *i:-* X11, Ord *ü:-* M765a, *yü:-* M408b, *i:-* M377a ‘to put sth. into a cooking pot which has water in it; to drop into the water’; see WM *üi-* L999a, *üyü-* L1002b.

In the central languages we also find a derived (?intensive) form **yeüle-* ‘to transfer a fluid’: WM *yegüle-* L431a, Kh *yüülex* H870b ‘to transfuse, etc’, Ord *yü:le-* ~ *yü:li-* M407b ‘to empty’, Bur *yüülexe* C738b, Kalm *yü:l-* R221b.

MMo---. WM---. Kh---. Ord *yü:-* M407b ‘to transfer into another container’. Bur---. Kalm *yü:-* R221b ‘to pour from one container into another’. Dag---. EYu---. MgrH *yu:-* SM494, *yu:-* X236. MgrM *wei-* (?=) DS208a ‘to put into a bowl’, DS247b ‘to scoop’, F41:175 ‘to dip water (with a bucket)’. BaoŃ *yu-* CN220.

***yeüdke-** ‘to move, shift (tr.)’. Caus. of **yeüd-*, which is not as widely attested. The relationship with **yeü-* (?*yüü-) ‘to transfer’ is not clear.

MMo SH *ye'ütge-*, *ye'ütke-* H170 ‘to change’, HY *ye'ütge-*, *ye'ütke-* M111 ‘to change’, Muq *ye'ü:tke-* P392a ‘to translate’. WM *yegüdke-* L430a. Kh *yüütgex* H870b. Ord---. Bur---. Kalm *yü:tkə-* R221b ‘to end, to die’. Dag *yəurkə:-* E329 ‘to plant, to transplant seedlings’. EYu *ü:tge-* B21 ‘to move’. Remaining lgs---.

***yosun** ‘custom, habit, rule’. The loss of the *-n* in EYu is a rare phenomenon. Appears to contain the (?collective) suffix *-sUn*, although it does not fit the category semantically, and the root is not known.

MMo SH *yosu(n)* H171, HY *yosun* M111, Muq---. WM *yosu(n)* L435b. Kh *yos(on)* H205b. Ord *yusu* M406a. Bur *yoho(n)* C228b. Kalm *yosn* M280b. Dag *yəs* E331. EYu *yəsə* B155, *yosə* J107b. MgrH *yos-la-* X236 ‘to respect; extend greetings’. Remaining lgs---.