

VOCABULARIES FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 20TH CENTURY FROM AFGHANISTAN

DAVID WING ÖZBEK AND MONGHOL MATERIALS*

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VOLKER RYBATZKI

Section for East Asian and Altaic Studies, Department for World Cultures, University of Helsinki
FIN-00014 University of Helsinki, Finland
e-mail: volker.rybatzki@helsinki.fi

In addition to the references to Mackenzie mentioned in the first part of this paper, I found another one in Schurmann (1962, p. 13) that reads as follows: “In the late 1940s, an American named Mackenzie, then teaching in Kabul, was reputed to have come across some Mongol settlements in the Turkestan region. He made some photographs and compiled a small vocabulary. However, although he communicated his discovery to a number of scholars, none of his material has been published, to my knowledge.” This statement is also cited in Doerfer (1971, p. 228). It is to be hoped that this series of papers might lead to the discovery of Mackenzie’s photographs. Their localisation would be of indispensable importance for the ethnography, history and culture of the Turkic, Hazara and Moghol people of the northern part of Afghanistan. After writing this short introduction in the middle of 2014, the work had to be put aside due to other obligations. Not much new can now, after about four years, be said about A. F. Mackenzie. His second name was Franklin as it is stated by Dupree (1973, p. 74) who knew Mackenzie from their common time in Afghanistan where both seem to have worked for or been in contact with an American organisation called *Meridian*¹.

(v) Analysis of the Özbek Vocabulary

The Özbek material collected by Mackenzie represents the *lingua franca* of Northern Afghanistan, Afghan Turkestan as it was called at that time. It is not clear, but prob-

* The first part of this paper, containing the Persian, Nuristani and Dardic materials, was published in *AOH* in Vol. 66, No. 3, pp. 297–348 (Persian), and Vol. 66, No. 4, pp. 443–469 (Nuristani and Dardic).

¹ Cf. www.meridian.org/in-small-things-remembered/the-first-american-expedition-to-afghanistan

able, whether the area of this *lingua franca* extended also further eastwards up to the western regions of Eastern/Chinese Turkestan (nowadays Xinjiang). In order to get an idea about the particularities of the vocabulary, I gave it for examination to Dr. Sabohat Hashimova, an Özbek teaching Özbek and Russian at Minzu University in 2013–2014, and Dr. Dilaram Veli, one of my Uyghur students at the same university. The conclusions of both of them were more or less the same. There are a number of words not common to, or not found in, Özbek. Furthermore, the vocabulary was considered old-fashioned, phonologically not always corresponding to “Standard Özbek”, cf. for this statement also Jarring (Ja37, pp. 5–20). The verbal forms given by Mackenzie as infinitives are mostly present or past tense forms.

(32, xxviii) Özb. *aba* [Haz. *abgha*] ‘uncle (father’s brother)’ – Mgh/L₂ *abānā* [Ar.] ‘unser Vater’ (W77, p. 110) – cf. Haz. vocabulary under *abgha* ‘id.’ and *aba* ‘mother’; Badghisi 1960, p. 34; MYYC p. 90; M38, p. 61*; Sevortjan i, pp. 57–58; TMEN §412; VEWT p. 1 (ursprünglich Lallwort) • Pe. *āb* ~ [Ar.] *ab* ~ [Ar.] *abū* ‘father’ (St pp. 3, 11); Taj. *ab* (lit.) ‘father, ancestor’ (Mir06, p. 23; →), *abu/l* [Pe.] ‘father (with proper names); owner, holder’ (id. p. 24); Dari *ab* ~ *ābā* ‘Vater’ (KiMi78, p. 20); Pšt. *ab* [Ar.] ~ *abā* [Ar.] ‘father [отец, бацюшка]’ (As85, p. 19) ~ *ab* [Ar.] ‘father, master, possessor’ ~ *abā* ‘a word of endearment to a father’ (Rav67, pp. 1, 2); Urd. *ab* [Ar.] ‘father (rare)’ ~ *abbā* [Hi.] ‘father, superior; a consummate knave’ ~ *abū* [Ar.] ‘(used, like *ibn*, in combination with a following substantive in the genitive, the final *ū* being shortened in pronouns if the Ar. article precede the substantive) father, originator, author etc.’ (Pl pp. 1, 2, 5) • Tu. (VIII) *aba* ~ *apa* ~ *ābā* ~ *āpā* words of this form, connoting various terms of relationship abound in modern Tu. languages with meanings as various as (1) ‘ancestor’, (2) ‘grandfather’, (3) ‘grandmother’, (4) ‘father’, (5) ‘mother’, (6) ‘paternal uncle’, (7) ‘paternal aunt’, (8) ‘elder brother’, (9) ‘elder sister’, (10) (presumably metaph.) ‘midwife’; some, e.g. *aba* ‘paternal uncle’, an abbreviation of Mo. *abaya*, and other words beginning with *ab*^o etc. are certainly foreign; others, often occurring in only one language group, are of unknown origin. The only early forms seem to be (VIII) *apa* ‘ancestor and (XI/Oghuz) *ābā* ‘mother’. In this early period it is often impossible to be sure whether the vowels are back or front and the consonant voiced or unvoiced (C72, p. 5). Differently Röhrborn states “Uig. *apa* ‘Großvater, Vorfahre männl. Geschlechts’; das Wort ist nur auf männl. Personen bezogen, steht also nicht für *ābā*” (Rö p. 167) – Trkm. *aba* (i) ‘father, dad/dy’, (ii) n. pr.’ (BaKaXa68, p. 15); Kir. ¹*aba* ‘Onkel; Anrede an einen älteren; älterer Bruder’ (Ju p. 17) < Mo. > Özb. > Taj. *avā* ~ *āvā* ‘Vatersbruder’, fehlt bei Bor59 [und CAHG], aus özb. Lokaldialekten aber schon Cag. belegt (Do67, p. 9); prob. not Mo. > Özb., but Mo. > Kir. > Özb. as there seem to be no direct l.-w.s from Mo. in Özb.; Trki *a:ba*: [Ar.] ‘fathers, ancestors’ (Ja64, p. 10) vs. *abu* [Ar.] ‘father’ (Ja80, p. 119); Lop. *ava* ‘father, ancestor’ (more common: *ata*) (Mal56, p. 79); Sal/Ili *aba* ‘father’ [OTu. *aba*] (Ya02, p. 31), /Qh *aba* ~ *aβa* ~ *aβā*: ~ *aβi* ~ *aβā*: ~ *aβā* ‘father’ ≈ *ava* ‘id.’, (folk.) *avan* ~ *avaŋ* ‘elder relative’ (Kak62,

p. 175; Ten76b, pp. 279, 297), forms with *-v-* < Mo.; YogW *ava* ‘father (in songs)’ – Mo. (Mal57, p. 11) ~ *awa* – Tu. ‘id’ (Ro00, p. 287), *avan* ~ *avaŋ* ‘elder relative [старший родственник]’, *avana* (← *ava* + *ana*) ‘older relatives [старшие родственники]’ (Mal57 id., Ten76a, p. 174) • ММо. Ø; MoL *abu* ~ *aba*, KhalL *aw* ~ *aaw* ‘father, grandfather, esp. applied to an old father (endearing)’ (Le60, p. 5); Ord. *āwu* ‘grand-père, père [surtout lorsqu’il est âgé]; terme de respect dont on se sert pour adresser la parol à in vieillard, ou pour parler de lui’ (Mos41, p. 37); Kalm. *āw^p* ‘Vater, Papa; (so nennen die Kinder und Hausgenossen den Vater)’, cf. *bāw^p* (Ra35, p. 21); YogE *aβa* ‘father’ (Ro00 id.) • Etymologically unclear. Structurally the Özb. word could be of Ar.-Pe., Tu. or Mo. origin, semantically only of Mo., the meaning is attested in Kir. that should be thus considered the origin of the Özb. word.

- (30, xxvi) Özb. *ana* [Haz. *aba*] ‘mother’ – Özb/Afgh. *ana* ~ *a:na* ~ *ena* ~ *ina* ‘mother’, *katta ina* ~ *ine* ‘grandmother’ (Ja38, p. 172; →) – Badghisi 1960, pp. 39, 224–225; M38, p. 38*; Ry06, pp. 126–127; Sevortjan i, pp. 278–281; TMEN §567; VEWT p. 19 • Pe. *an* ‘mother’ (St p. 102); Taj. *āna* ‘mama, mother; grandmother’ [< Özb.], *ānakalān* ‘grandmother, great-grandmother’ (Mir06, p. 449; →); Srq. *anā* [Tu.], Wx. *nān* ‘mother’ (Pa75, p. 226, Sh76, p. 96) ~ *nan* ‘mother, mama’ (St-Ka99, pp. 242–243); Pšt. *anā* ~ *nā* ‘grandmother’, Pšt/Waz. *nīō* ~ Pšt/Dial. *uyā* etc.; prob. *anā* is a children’s word, cf. Srq., Trki *ana* ‘mother’, Latin *anus*, Old High German *ana* ‘grandmother’ etc. (M27, p. 10; M03, p. 8) ~ Pšt. *ana* ‘grandmother’ (As85, p. 76) ~ *anā* ‘id.’ (Rav67, p. 50) • Uig. (VIIIff) *ana* ‘mother’. Like *ata*, first appears in Uig., where it is still rare and *ög* still common. C.i.a.m.l.g., except NE where it has been partially displaced by Mo. *ece* ~ *ice*; sometimes subjected to unusual deformations, e.g. *anne*, to make it a term of more intimate affection (C72, pp. 169–170) – Tr. *ana* ‘mother (the form *anne* is preferred in Istanbul); mother animal, dam; appellation of respect for elderly women or female saints (used after the name); etc.’ (Red p. 35); Trkm. *āne* ‘grandmother; mother; maternal’ (BaKaXa68, p. 789); Kzx. *ana* ‘mother’, *ana tili* ‘native language’ → *analīq* ‘motherhood, maternity’ (Shn66, p. 22); Kir. ²*ana* ~ *āne* ‘elderly woman; old (of females)’ (Ju p. 56); Özb/Buch. *ana* ~ *āna* ‘mother’, *kata āna* ‘grandmother’, *ata āna* ‘parents’ (O05, pp. 6, 7), /Qil. *ana* ‘mother’, *katta ana* ‘grandmother’, *ata ana* ‘parents’ (Ja37, pp. 46, 47), Özb. *āna* (formal) ‘mother, form of address for older woman’ ~ *ena* (dial.) ‘mother’ (CAHG pp. 208, 81; Bor59, pp. 304, 555), Özb. > Taj. *āna* ‘Großmutter (in der Rede einiger Vertreter der alten Intelligenzschicht)’ (Do67, p. 27); Trki. *ana* ~ *an’a* ‘mother’ (Ja64, p. 22; Ja67, p. 9; Ja87, p. 31; Ja96, p. 38), *anaka* ~ *aneka* (Guma) ‘mother, little mother’, *anekam* (Guma) ‘grandmother’ (Ja64, Ja67 id.), *ata a.* ‘parents’ (Ja80, p. 120; Ja87 id.); Uyy. *ana* ‘mother; female’, *a. tili* ‘mother tongue, native language’, *a. yurti* ‘birthplace, native place, hometown’, *a. härä* ‘queen-bee’, *ana-bala* ‘mother and child’ (Sch92, pp. 49–50); Lop. *ana* ‘mother’, *čoŋ a.* ‘grandmother’ (Mal56, p. 85); Sal/Ili *ana* ‘girl’, *anagu* ‘young girl’ [← *ana* + Ch. 姑 *gu*] (Ya02, p. 41), /Qh ¹*ana* ~ *āna* ‘girl, maiden [Ru. девушка]’ (Kak62,

- p. 175; Ten76b, p. 288); YogW *ana* ‘mother, stepmother’, *anaqim* (← *ana* + *qai* + *m*) ‘my mother’, *anay* ‘mother (my)’, cf. ¹*ačay* (Mal57, p. 15; Ten76a, p. 172), *ana* ‘mother’ → *anika* (~ *ayka*) ‘grandmother, old woman’, *ača-ana* ~ *ačana* ~ *ačana* ‘parents’, *pezik* (*pezik*^h) *ana* ‘aunt (father’s elder brother’s wife)’ (Ro00, pp. 279, 282) • Tu. > Mo. (TMEN id.) – MMoU, A *ana* [Cag. *ana*] ‘mother’ (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); Mgr. *ani* ‘id.’ (Smedt–Mostaert 1933, p. 8); YogE *ana* ‘id.’ (NuRo96, pp. 39_{3,4}; 50₇₅).
- (21, xixA) Özb. *at* [Haz. *boda*] ‘horse’ – Özb/Afgh. *at* ~ *a:t* ‘id.’ (Ja38, p. 174; →); Mgh/Bdx. *at* [Pe. *asb*] ‘id.’ (HeHiThe79, p. 200₉₄); Afš/Kbl *hat* ~ *at* ‘id.’ (DoHe89, p. 49); Trkm/Afgh. *āt*, Ar. *ḥail*, Mgh. *murīn*, Pšt. *as* (sic), Pe. *asp* ‘id.’ (W73, pp. 506_{63:3}, 516) – cf. Pe. vocabulary under *asp*, and (↓) Mgh. vocabulary under *morin*; Eren 1999, p. 24; Hauenschield 1998, p. 31; 2003, pp. 29–39; 2006, pp. 69–73; 2008, pp. 10–11 [Yak. ¹⁻⁴*at* ‘¹Pferd; ²Wallach; ³Esel; ⁴kastriertes Männchen]; M38, p. 30*; Sevortjan i, pp. 197–198; TMEN §413; VEWT p. 30 • Tu. (VIII) *at* ‘horse’; nearly always with the implication of ‘riding horse’; in a few modern languages *at* means ‘gelding’, as opposed to *adyir* ‘stallion’. C.i.a.p.a.l. (C72, p. 33) – Tr. *at* ‘horse’ (Red p. 51); Khlj. *ha-t* ~ *hat* ‘id.’ (DoTe80, p. 127); Trkm. *at* ‘id.’ (BaKaXa68, p. 55); Kzx. ¹*at* ‘horse (of any kind, or, specifically, a gelding)’ (Shn66, pp. 28–29); Kir. *at* ‘horse’ (Ju p. 77); Özb/Buch. *āt* ‘id.’, *āt ġalap* ‘horse dealer’ (O05, p. 7), /Qil. *at* ‘id.’, *su at* [Pe. *asp-i abi*] ‘water-horse’ (Ja37, p. 39:3), Özb. ¹*āt* ‘horse; knight (in chess)’ (CAHG p. 213; Bor59, p. 308); Trki ²*at* ~ *a:t* ~ *a:t* ‘horse’, *ayir a.* ‘stallion’, *aymaq a.* ‘kind of horse, trotter’, *java a.* ‘wild horse’, *a. jüki* ‘horse-load’ (Ja64, p. 29) ~ ¹*āt* ~ *at* ‘Pferd, Ross’, *āt ulay* ‘Rosse und Lastpferde’ (Ja67, p. 11) ~ *at* ~ *a:t* ‘horse’ (Ja80, p. 120); Uyy. ¹*at* ‘horse (*Equidae*)’ → *atči* ‘hired horsecart driver; horsedealer’ → *atčiliq* ‘horse trade (literal)’, → *atxana* ‘horse stable’, also *at qurisi*, → *at-ulaq* ‘draft animals, beasts of burden’, → *atlan-* ‘to mount (a horse)’, → ¹*atliq* ‘on horseback, with horse; (hist.) knight, cavalier’, → *atnali* ‘horseshoe’, also ¹*taqa* (Sch92, pp. 3, 6, 7); Trki/Ili ¹*at* ‘horse’ (Ha91, p. 37); Lop. ¹*at* ‘id.’ (Mal56, p. 87); Sal/Ili *at* ‘id.’ (Ya02, p. 47), /Qh ²*at* ~ *ac* ~ *ac* ~ ²*āt* ~ *až* ‘id.’ (Kak62, p. 176; Ten76b, p. 295); YogW *at* ‘id.’ (Mal57, p. 19), *a’t* ~ *hat* ~ *χat* ‘id.’ (Ten76a, p. 173), *a^ht* ~ *a^ht^h* ~ *hat^h* ~ *χat* ‘id.’ → *a^htčī* ~ *a^ht^hčī* etc. ‘horseherd’ (Ro00, p. 287).
- (31, xxvii) Özb. *ata* [Haz. *ata*] ‘father’ | Cf. Hazarāgī vocabulary
- (34, xxxiv) Özb. *ayagh* [Haz. *kari*] ‘shinbone’ – Özb/Afgh. *ayay* ‘foot, leg’ (Ja38, p. 170; →); Mgh/Bdx. *ayay* [Pe. *pā*] ‘Fuß’ (HeHiThe79, p. 199₆₉) – Eren 1999, p. 26; MYYC p. 93; M38, p. 50*; Sevortjan i, pp. 103–104; TMEN §1972; VEWT p. 5 • Tu. (VIII) *adaq* originally rather indefinitely ‘leg, foot’; in some contexts one meaning seems to be required to the exclusion of the other, in others *vice versa*. Became a l.-w. in Mo. as *adaq*, but apparently only in the metaph. meanings ‘the foot (of a mountain); the end, or mouth (of a river); end, final’. S.i.a.m.l.g., usually as *ayaq* or the like, in its original meaning; but in some languages *adaq* was reborrowed from Mo. with the meanings current in that language (C72, p. 45) – Tr. *ayak* ‘foot; leg; base, pedestral, footing; etc.’

(Red pp. 56–57); Khlj. *hada:q* ~ *hadaq* ‘Fuß’ (DoTe80, p. 123); Trkm. *ayak* ‘foot, leg’ (BaKaXa68, p. 61); Kzx. *ayaq* ‘foot, leg; end, consequence, result; last, latter’ (Shn66, p. 34); Kir. *ayak* ‘foot, leg; lower part of the leg; end, bottom; etc.’ (Ju p. 86); Özb/Buch. *ayak* ‘foot’ (O05, p. 4), /Qil. *ayay* ‘id.’ (Ja37, p. 46), /Urg. *ayaq* ‘foot’, *ayaqim* ‘my foot’ (Dob74, p. 85), Özb. ¹*âyâq* ‘leg, foot; end, limit, far end; place in the room closest to the door (i.e. farthest from the place of honour)’ (CAHG p. 215; Bor59, pp. 296–297); Trki ¹*ayay* ~ *ayaq* ‘foot, leg; the East’, *a. tam* ‘north, northern’, *igin a.* ‘clothes’ (Ja64, p. 16; Ja67, p. 8; Ja80, p. 119); Uyy. *ayay* lit. form of ¹*ayaq* ‘foot, leg; shoe; end’ → **ayaqla-* → *ayaqlaş-* ‘to end, finish, be over, conclude, wind up, close’ (Sch92, p. 35) vs. *adaq* ‘end’ < Mo. < Tu. (Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017); Lop. *ayaq* ‘end’ (Mal56, p. 82); Sal/Ili ¹*ayax* ‘foot’ (Ya02, p. 39), /Qh ²*ayax* ~ *ayax* ~ *ayex* ~ *ayax* ‘foot, leg’ (Ten76b, p. 284), *ayax* ~ *ayyâx* ‘pied’, *ayax pirmax* ‘doigt de pied’ (Kak62, p. 176); YogW *azaq* ‘foot, leg’ → *azaqtîy* ‘footed, having legs’ (Mal57, p. 12), *azaq* ~ *azaq* ‘id.’ (Ten76a, p. 174), *azaq* ~ *azaq^h* ~ *azak* ‘id.’, *k^hazaq* (← *k^hay* ‘kang’ + *azaq*) ‘the foot end of the kang’ (Ro00, pp. 288, 315) • Tu. > Mo. – MMo. Ø; MoL *aday*, KhalL *adag* ‘end, finish, extremity; estuary, lower part or mouth of a river; last; extreme, farthest (as a frontier, limit, or region); the worst, of the lowest quality’ (Le60, p. 9); Ord. *adaq* ‘fin, extrémité, dernier’ (Mos41, p. 3); Oir/D *aday* ‘rive, fin, extrémité’, OirL *adaq* (Ka58, p. 125); Kalm. *ad^vy* ‘der od. das Letzte; Ende; Mündung des Flusses’ (Ra35, p. 1) • Mo. > Tu. (Rybatzki id.).

- (35, xxx) Özb. *chader* [Haz. *kherga*] ‘tent’ < Ir. – Özb/Afgh. *čadar* [Pe.] ‘tent’ (Ja38, p. 181; →); Mgh/Bdx. *lâta* ‘Schleier’, *xayma* ‘Zelt’ [Pe. *čador*] (HeHiThe79, p. 214₄₄₁) – Badghisi 1960, p. 186; Bailey 1979, p. 34; Eren 1999, pp. 75–76 (with further literature); Me55, p. 29; Morgenstierne 1936, p. 660 [Mİr. > Khw. > Kal., Yd.]; 1957, pp. 451–452 (umbrella of mushrooms); M38, p. 57*; Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017; TMEN §1042; T N° 4972; Vasmer iii, p. 379; VEWT p. 101 | Khot. *kšatra* ~ *kšattra*, Skt. *chattra-* ‘sunshade, rule; umbrella’ (Konow 1949, p. 100; Bailey 1946, pp. 771–[775]); Pahl. *čādur* [c’twl] ‘sheet, veil’ (MacKenzie 1971, p. 21); Pe. *čādar* ‘tent, pavilion; a mantle, scarf; a veil; a sheet; a shroud, winding-sheet; a table-cloth’ (St pp. 383–384); Taj. *čādar* ~ *čādir* ‘chador, yashmak; cover, veil, canopy; tent, pavilion, marquee; (lit.) puppet show/theater; etc.’ (Mir06, p. 723; →); Dari *čādar* ‘kleiner Schleier, Umhang; Zelt’ (KiMi78, pp. 270–271) ~ *čāt^r* ‘Schutzdach (gegen Sonne und Regen), Vordach; offener Schuppen; Überdachung; Überzelt’ (KiMi78, p. 277); Wx. *čōdīr* ‘sheet’ (Pa75, p. 191), < Özb. or Taj.; Yd. *ča-dūr* ~ *čā-dūr* ‘turban’ ~ *čōdār* ‘veil’ – Khw. *ča’dūr* ‘turban’ fr. Pe. *čādar* ‘veil’ (M38, p. 201) vs. Yd. *čātīr* (*čātūr*) ‘tent’ – Khw. *ča’tūr*, in its turn is fr. Mİr. **čātēr*, cf. Pe. *čādar* ~ *čādir*, Ru. l.-w. *šater* (M38, p. 204, Morgenstierne 1936 id.); Pšt. *čhādar* ‘a sheet, a veil worn by women’ vs. *čhatr* ‘an umbrella, a canopy, a shade’ (Rav.67, pp. 351, 356), *čādār* ‘covering, veil; sheet; chador’ vs. ³*čat[ə]r* ‘umbrella, parasol; canopy’ (As85, pp. 307, 312); Urd. *čatrī* [Pe.] ‘umbrella, parasol; veil, canopy; tent, pavillion’ ~ *čatr* (coll. *čatar*) [Pe.] ‘um-

- brella, parasol' (Pl pp. 423, 424) • Ir. > Tu. – Tu. (XI) *čatir* l.-w. ultimately derived fr. skt. *chattra* 'a (royal) umbrella'; this meaning, for which *čowač* is an alternative, has survived sporadically but the usual meaning is 'a (canvas) tent'. S.i.a.m.l.g. with some phonetic changes (*č- ~ š-*, *-t- ~ -d-*), in some perhaps direct borrowings fr. Pe. or Ru. (C72, p. 403) – Tr. *çadır* 'tent' (Red p. 131); Khlj. *čâ:dur* 'id.' (DoTe80, p. 96); Trkm. *čadır* 'tent; marquee [uwarep]' (BaKaXa68, p. 716); Kzx. *šatir* 'tent, roof' (Shn66, p. 230); Kir. ¹*čatir* 'tent; roof, canopy; screen' (Ju p. 352); Özb/Buch. [Pe.] *čâđdir* 'a tent, a pall' (O05, p. 14), Özb. *čâdir* [Pe.] 'tent; bed curtain; chador; screen, curtain' (CAHG p. 60; Bor59, p. 526), Özb. > Taj. *čâdir*, Özb. or Taj. > Ar/Buch. *čödir* 'Zelt' (Do69, p. 303); Trki *čader* ~ *ča:der* ~ *čeder* ~ *čeder* ~ *čedir* [Pe.] 'tent' → *čaderga:h* ~ *čederga:h* [Pe.] 'camp' (Ja64, p. 63; Me55 id.); Uyg. *čedir* 'tent' (Sch92, p. 357); Lop. *čadır* '(wedding) tent' (Mal56, p. 187); Sal/Ili *ča:dar* 'shed, tent' (Ya02, p. 66), /Qh *čadır* 'tente' (Kak62, p. 177) • Tu. > Mo. (TMEN id.) – MMoM, A *cacir* [Cag. MTu. *čadır* ~ Cag. *čadur*] ~ P **cacacir* 'tent' → P *cacartan-a* [*cacacir-* + *-tAn-* + *-A*] 'to those having a tent' (Rybatzki, forthcoming b); MoL, KhalL *cacacir* 'large tent, open tent, awning tent, hut, stall' (Le60, p. 156); Kalm. *čacır* ~ *čäcır* 'offenes Zelt, Zelt aus Leinwand, Zelt-dach; /Dörböt (auch:) leichte, weisse Wolken, die über das Feld ihre Schatten werfen' (Ra35, pp. 437–438) • Tu. > Tib. (TMEN id.), according to Laufer (1916, p. 483) Pe. > Tib. • Mo. > Tung. (Rozycki 1994, p. 42; TMEN id.) – Jur. *čacari* 'tent' (Kane 1989, p. 258₆₂₀); Ma. *cacari* 'Sommerzelt' (Hauer p. 71).
- (16, xv) Özb. *khatun* [Haz. *kaini*] 'woman' ~ (17, xviA) *khatun* [Haz. *beri*] 'lady' | Cf. Moyolī vocabulary
- (22, xixB) Özb. *kablan* [Haz. *kablu*] 'leopard' | Cf. Hazarāgī vocabulary
- (11) Özb. *kahs* [read: *kash*] [Haz. *kash*] 'eyebrow' | Cf. Hazarāgī vocabulary
- (12) Özb. *kaisagh* [Haz. *kabagh*] 'eyelid' – Badghisi 1960, pp. 46, 100; M38, p. 21* (both sources have no forms resembling the Özb. word as given by Mackenzie) • Unclear; could this be a writing mistake for *kabagh*, i.e. *-is-* instead of *-b-*? For *kabagh* cf. Hazarāgī vocabulary
- (24) Özb. *ketkhoda* ~ (xx) *katkhodr* [Haz. *mir*] 'chief' < Ir. – Bailey 1979, p. 50; Me55, p. 66; M38, p. 30*; Ry06, pp. 547–548 • Pahl. *kdg-hwt'y* [kadag-xwadāy] 'householder, master of the house; <house-lord>, title of petty kings reigning before the Sassanian period' (MacKenzie 1971, p. 48; Nyberg 1974, p. 116); MPeM, PrthM *qdyxwd'y* [kadexwadāy] 'master of the house' (Boyce 1977, p. 52; Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, p. 204); Pe. *kadkḥudā* 'master of the family; a bridegroom, married man; anyone looked up to with reverence and respect; a magistrate; a king; an elderman, a sheriff' (St p. 1018); Taj. *kadxudā* '(lit.) verheirateter Mann; Hausherr; (hist.) wohlhabender Hauswirt; (hist.) Dorfältester' (Mir06, p. 268); Darī *kadxodā* 'Hausherr; Ältester der Generation; verheirateter Mann; Jungverheiratete; Bräutigam' (KiMi78, p. 580); Sgl. *katxudāi* 'houseowner', Šy. *katxudā'ī* [Pe.] 'the position of a houseowner, marriage', Srq. *kat-xudái* 'marriage' (M28, p. 58; M38, p. 36*); Pšt. *kadxudā* 'head man of a village or family; married man, master; marriage, the office of

- kadxudā*’ (Rav67, p. 783); Urd. *kat-kḥudā* ‘master of the house, head of the family or household; a married man; a bridegroom; a viceroy or *locum tenens*’ (Pl p. 812) • Ir. > Tu. – Tr. *kethüda* ‘(hist.) chief steward, majordomo’ (Red p. 421); Khlj. *kätxudā* [< Pe.] ‘Hausherr’ (DoTe80, p. 149); Trkm. *ketxuda* [ketxuda:] ‘(hist.) Ältester, Senior; *aqsaqal*’ (BaKaXa68, p. 396), Trkm/Khiva *ketkhüda* ‘chef de clan chez les Turkmènes, de même rang que les *atalik*, *beglerbegi*, soumis également au *hakim*’ (Baskakov 1992, p. 295); Trki *kedḥuda*: ~ *ketḥuda*: [Pe.] ‘householder, master of a family’ → *kedḥuda:čiliq* ~ *ketḥuda:čiliq* [Pe. Tu.] ‘the quality or functions of a householder, housekeeping’, → *kedḥuda:liq* ~ *ketḥuda:liq* ‘id.’ (Ja64, p. 168; Ja67, p. 34), *kät-xudā bol-* ‘sich verheiraten, einen eigenen Hausstand gründen’ (Me55, p. 66) • Ir. [Kurd. *kayxu*’a ‘Schöffe, Schulze’ ~ *kekhüa* [= *kexüa*] ‘headman’] > MMoU **kaiquva* → (pl.) *kaiquvas* ‘Schulze’ (Doerfer 1974, pp. 99–110; Ry06 id.) • Found in some Ir. and Tu. languages surrounding Özb., but not in Özb. itself.
- (lvii) Özb. *qil* [read: *qiz?*] ~ (53) *qiz* [read: *qil?*] [Haz. (53) *kach* ~ (lviii) *katch*] ‘bent, crooked’ – Haz. *kil* ‘curve, curved’; Pe. (Du73, p. 66) – Badghisi 1960, p. 191; M38, pp. 8*, 16* • (??) Pe. *kḥul* ‘bent, curved, crooked; mad; ashes; the fundament’ (St p. 469), *kāl* ‘bent, crooked; etc.’ (id. p. 1008) • Unclear, cf. (↓) *qiz*.
- (6) Özb. *kishkina* [Haz. *chuknai*] ‘small, little’ – Özb/Afgh. *kičik* ‘small, little’, *kčikkene* [i.e. *kičikkene* (VR)?] ‘very little, a small piece’, *kičkina* ‘small’ (Ja38, p. 205; →); Mgh/K *kičika* ‘klein’, /N *keček’at* ‘die Kleinen, Kinder’ < Tu. *kičik* + Mo. pl. -*t* (W72a, p. 170), cf. also Mgh/L₂ °*katkan* ‘ganz klein, winzig; Winzling’ (doppeltes Deminutivsuffix), *inakat kan* ‘dieser Winzling’ (W77, p. 152) – cf. (↓) *kuchi*; M38, p. 52*; Sevortjan v, pp. 75–77; TMEN §§1694–1695; VEWT p. 269 • Tu. (VIII) *kičig* ‘small’, with some extended meanings like ‘puppy’ [this is a different word (VR)]; s.i.a.m.l.g., with some phonetic changes (C72, p. 696) + *-KInA* (~ *-KIyA*) den. n. s. (diminutive) → Uig. *kičigkiyā* ‘minute, little’ (Erdal 1991, pp. 47–56) – Trkm. *kiči* ‘small, little; young, junior; less; youngest’ (BaKaXa68, p. 401); Kzx. *kışi* ‘younger, smaller, less’, *kışkene* ‘small, little; a little’, *kışkentay* ‘little, small’ (Shn66, pp. 128–129); Kir. *kičik* ~ *kičū* ‘small, little; (*kičik* also:) modest’, *kičinekej* ‘tiny’ (Ju p. 390); Özb/Buch. *kičik* ‘small, young’, *kičkantaj* ‘very small’ [< Kzx. →], *kiškina* ‘small (thing)’ (O05, p. 32), /Urg. *kičči* ‘small, little’ (Dob74, p. 93), Özb. *kičik* (lit., Pe.) ‘small, litte; young; minor’, *kičkina* ‘small, little, tiny’, *kičkintây* ‘junior, tot, small fry’ (CAHG p. 145; Bor59, pp. 214–215), the last word Özb. < Kzx. (←), Özb. > Taj. *kičkina* ‘klein’ (Do67, p. 23); Trki *kičik* ~ *k’čik* ~ *k’č’ik* ‘small, little, young, youngest’, *k. k.* ‘very small’, → *k.kene* ‘a little, a small quality, somewhat small’, → *kičiklik* ‘being small’ (Ja64, p. 172; Ja67, p. 34; Ja80, p. 132), → *kičikkine* (← *kičik* + *kine*) ‘a small quantity’ (Ja96, p. 41); Uyy. *kičik* ‘small’, *k. bala* ‘small child’, → *kičikkinā* ‘very little (endearing voice of *kičik*)’, → *kičiklä-* ‘to become small’ → *kičiklä-* ‘to narrow, reduce’, → *kičiklik* ‘childhood, youth’ (Sch92, pp. 725–726); Lop. *kičik* ‘small, little’, *kič(i) kenā* ‘tiny’ (Mal56, p. 136); Sal/Ili *kiča* ‘young, small’ *kiči* ‘little’ (Ya02, pp. 134–135), /Qh *kiči* ~ *qiči* ~ *q’iji* ~ *qiččia*, etc. ‘id.’ → **kičile-* → *kičilen-*

- ‘diminuer’ (Kak62, p. 183), *kiči* ~ *kici* ~ *kizi* ~ *kiz’i* ‘small, little, young’ (Ten76b, p. 381); YogW *kičig* ‘small, little; junior, young’ (Mal57, p. 68), *k’y’ziy* ~ *k’yčyγ* ~ *k’yž’ig* ‘id.’ (Ten76a, p. 190), *ki^hčiq* ‘small; young of age’ ~ *k^hič^hiy* etc., now mostly replaced by *miča*, *ki^hčiq qol* ‘fore arm’ (Ro00, pp. 309, 346) • Tu. > Mo. (←) – Oir/D *kičig* ‘chiot’, OirL *kičiq* (Ka58, p. 147); Kalm. *kičig* ‘Junges (des Hundes)’ → *kičiglyxə* ‘Junge werfen (Hunde, Wölfe etc.)’ (Kempff 2012, p. 141; Ra35, p. 233) [Oir. and Kalm. to (↓) *kuchi?* (VR)]; Mgh. (←).
- (53) Özb. *qiz* ~ (lvii) *qil* [Haz. (53) *kach* ~ (lvii) *katch*] ‘bent, crooked’ • (??) Pe. *qūz* ‘curved, crooked’ (St p. 994), *kūz* ‘hump, crooked back; sky’ (id. p. 1061); Pšt. *kōž*, Pšt/Waz. *kēž* ~ *kōž* ‘curved’; no clear etymology (M27, p. 35); Yd., Mj. *ku’žo* ‘crooked’ – cf. Sgl., Pe. *kūž* etc. (M38, p. 221) • Unclear, the form *qiz* might be a mistake for (↑) *qil*.
- (29, xxv) Özb. *kok* [Haz. *eshel*] ‘blue’ – Özb/Afgh. *kok* ‘sky; green, blue’ (Ja38, p. 206; →); Afš/Kbl *gēk* ‘id.’ (Li57, p. 124), /Q *gūk* ‘Himmel’, /FX *gūk* ‘grün’, /Kbl *gēk* ~ *gek* ‘blau’ ~ *gūk* ‘Himmel’ (DoHe89, pp. 26, 39); Mgh/Mrv *kūkā* ‘blau, grün’ (Ra05, p. 31), /Me *koka* ‘green, blue’ ~ /N *kokā* ‘grün’ ~ /B *kokó* ‘blau’ (W71, p. 170₅₄), /Le *kokā* ‘green’ ~ /Mr, M, MS *kōka* ‘bleu, vert’ (Li54, p. 136), /N *kōk’ā* ‘grün’ ~ /B *kōk’o* ‘blau’ (W72a, p. 170), /Bdx. *kōk* [Tu. (VR)] [Pe. *ābī*, *kabūd*] ‘hellblau, (himmel)blau’ (HeHiThe79, p. 218_{551, 552}), /Kd *kōkā bol-* [Pe. *šikūfa kardan*] ‘erblühen, ergrünen’ (DoHe93, p. 58), Mgh/L₁ *kūk* ‘Himmel’ [form and semantics are Tu. (VR)], *kūkahčī* ‘grünend’ (W75a, p. 143) ~ /L₂ *kūkuh* [Mo.] ‘grün’ (W77, p. 154) – Khabtagaeva 2001, pp. 159–160 (Index); Laude-Cirtautas 1961, pp. 77–85; Li65, p. 293; Li66, pp. 174–175; Mayrhofer 1960, p. 275; MYYC p. 378; M38, p. 9*; Nu11, pp. 424–425; Róna-Tas–Berta 2011, pp. 519–521; Ry06, pp. 543–545; Rybatzki 1994, pp. 238–239, *forthcoming* 2017; Sevortjan iv, pp. 66–68; TMEN §1677; VEWT p. 287 • Tu. (VIII) *kōk* basically ‘the sky’; hence ‘sky-coloured, blue, blue-grey’, etc.; for a similar range of colours cf. *yašil*. S.i.a.m.l.g. in both meanings except NE, where only the second (various sec. forms of *tānri* reborrowed fr. Mo. being used in the first) (C72, pp. 708–709) – Tr. ¹*gök* ‘sky, the heavens, the firmament; celestial, heavenly’, ²*gök* ‘blue, sky-blue, azure, aquamarine; (prov.) unripe, green (fruit)’ (Red p. 269); Khlj. *kī^ek* ~ *kī^ek* ~ *kū^ok* ‘grün’; in der Bedeutung ‘Himmel’ kommt *kī^ek* fast nur im Ausdruck *kī^ekkā hattī* bei einem Spiel vor, vgl. aber *hadaqī yerdä u kī^ekdä hizilmış* ‘sein Fuß ist <von Erde und Himmel>, d.h. <von Erde und Land> getrennt’ (DoTe80, p. 151); Trkm. *gök* ‘blue, azure; sky blue; green; unripe, immature, green; sky, heaven; green vegetables [Ru. *зелень*]’ (BaKaXa68, pp. 198–199); Kzx. *kök* ‘sky, heaven; blue (of sky, eyes, paper, etc.); green (of grass, leaves, hay); gray (colour of cattle and horses); grass, herb; vegetables; bluing’, *k. ala* ‘apple-gray (colour of horses)’ (Shn66, p. 133); Kir. *kök* ‘sky, heaven; blue; green, immature, green grass; (hist.) colour of mourning; gray’ (Ju pp. 417–418); Özb/Buch. *kök* ~ *kāk* ‘blue, green’ (O05, p. 34), /Qil *kök* ‘blue’, *k. at* ‘roan’ (Ja37, p. 50), Özb. *kok* ‘blue, azure, blue-grey; (animals) grey; the sky, the heavens; green plants, grass, verdure; greens, herbs’, *k. āt* ‘a grey horse’ (CAHG p. 148; Bor59,

- p. 228); Özb. > Taj. *kok* (Do67, p. 24); Chor. *gō̄k* ~ *gök* ~ *göy* ~ *gek* ~ *gey* ‘blau’ (DoHe89, p. 39); Trki *kök* (i) ‘sky, heaven’, (ii) ‘blue, green, roan (of horses and donkeys), bay (of sheep), <green> i.e. young’, *k. čibin* ‘horse-fly, bat-fly’, *k. pit* ‘dog-louse’, *k. taš* ‘blue vitriol’ (Ja64, p. 176; Ja67, p. 35; Ja80, p. 133; Ja96, p. 41), *k. beši* ‘der Aufseher über das Grün-Wasser’ vs. *kök* ‘schön’ ← *körk* (Me55, p. 69), cf. also *gejigā süyi* ‘water of convolution’ (phase during irrigation), called also *kök süji* ‘green-water’ < Mo. *gejige* ‘tail, plait, braid’ (Me55, pp. 43–44; Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017); Uyg. ¹*kök* ‘blue, green; sky; fresh bruise’ ~ ³*kök* ‘green grass; young crops; vegetable; lucerne, alfalfa; tassel, leaf’, (hist.) *kök beši* ‘water manager, one of the begs who was in charge of equitable distribution of irrigation water’, also *kökweši*, → *kökata* ‘paternal great-grandfather’, *kökana* ‘paternal great-grandmother’ (Sch92, pp. 705–706; on pp. 706–708 a large amount of botanical and zoological terms having *kök* as their first element); Trki/Ili *kök* ‘blue, bluish green’ (Ha91, p. 44); Lop. *kök* ‘green’, *kök ala darya* ‘river’ (Mal56, p. 136); Sal/Ili *gō^hx* ‘green, vegetable’ vs. ¹*gök* ‘sky’, ²*gök* ‘vegetable’ → *göger-* ‘to turn green or blue’ (Ya02, pp. 97–98), /Qh *küχ* ~ *güχ* ‘bleu, bleu d’azur, gris’ (Kak62, p. 183), *k’öx* ~ *köx* ~ *k’ön* ~ *k’u* ‘blue’ (Ten76b, p. 401); YogW *kök* ‘blue’, *kök ot* ‘green grass’ (Mal57, p. 68), *kök* ~ *kuk* ~ *kük* ~ *kük*’ ~ *k’ük* ~ *k’ü’k* ~ *k’ü’k* ‘blue’ (Ten76a, p. 187), *kük* ~ *kök* ‘blue’ ~ *kük^h* ~ *k^hü^hk^h* ~ *k^hök^h* ~ *kek* ~ *yek* ‘id.; green, gray (of a horse)’ ~ *kī:k* ‘blue’ ~ *kök* ‘grey’, *qara kük* ~ *qara kük^h* ‘dark blue, indigo’ (Ro00, pp. 313–314) • Tu. > Mo. – MMoA *kök* [MTu. *kün* ‘sun’] ‘sky, heavens’ vs. MMoM/S *kökö* ‘blue, (S also) green’ ~ U/A *köke* ‘blue, (A also) sky, heaven (last semantics < Tu.)’, M *kökö bicik* ‘blue script (on white paper)’, S *kükü burca[q]* ‘green peas or lentils’, S *kökö cilawun* ‘espèce d’épingle pour les cheveux faite de jade de couleur verte’ ≈ M *kökö gürü*, S *kökö ebesü* ‘green grass, lawn’ [MoL *köke ebesün* ‘green grass’], A *köke lähīša* ‘a kind of vermicelli’, S *kökö teri-ün* ‘taon’ [MoL *köke türüü* ~ *köke türü*] (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *köke* ‘blue’, *köke terigütü* ‘blue-headed or blue-bottle fly’ (Ka09, p. 156) MoL *köke*, KhalL *xöx* ‘blue, sky-blue; green; ash-coloured, dark (of face)’ (Le60, p. 482); Ord. *gō^kχö* ‘bleu, vert (végétaux); gris (chevaux, chèvres etc.); de couleur cendrée (bœufs); noirâtre; qui n’a pas encore perdu son humidité naturelle (végétaux); frais, cru, qui n’a reçu aucune préparation (peaux d’animaux tués)’ (Mos41, pp. 268–269); Oir/D *kökö*, /Dz *kökkö* ~ *kök* ~ *kök* ‘bleu’, /D *kök türgün* ‘mouche à viande’ (Ka58, p. 148); Kalm. ¹*kök^o* ‘blau; blaugrün; grün, aschgrau; etc.’ (Ra35, p. 236); Mgh. (←) • (Recent) Mo. > Tung. (MT §291; Rozycki 1994, p. 145; TMEN id.) – Ma. *kuku* (i) ‘grün, blau, grün’, (ii) ‘die *Amba Hiyān* genannten Weihrauchsorte’, *kuku fulan* ‘blaugraues Pferd’, *kuku ihan* ‘graues Rind’, *kuku ulhūma* ‘blaugrauer Fasan’ (Hauer p. 315).
- (13, xii) Özb. *koz* [Haz. *oqba* ~ *okra*] ‘eye’ – Özb/Afgh. *koz* ~ *ko:z* ‘id.’, *k. qapayi* ‘eyelid’ (Ja38, p. 207; →); Afš/Q *gu^oz* ~ /S *güs* ~ /Kbl *gez* ~ /A *göz* ‘id.’ (DoHe89, pp. 26–27); Mgh/Bdx. *köz* [Pe. *čašm*] ‘id.’ (HeHiThe79, p. 198₂₉) – Me55, p. 70 (in erweiterter Bedeutung ‘Gesicht’, fehlt in den Lexicis in dieser

Bedeutung); M38, p. 21*; Sevortjan iv, pp. 60–63; TMEN §§1015, 2109, 2110; VEWT p. 295 • Tu. (VIII) ¹*köz* ‘eye’, c.i.a.p.a.l.; *göz* in NW Kum.; SW Osm., Trkm.; with extended meanings like ‘a small aperture’, e.g. ‘the eye of a needle’, and used in many idiomatic expressions. There is obviously a very old etymological connection with *kör-* (C72, p. 756) – Tr. *göz* ‘eye; sight, vision; etc.’ (Red pp. 275–278); Khlj. *kez* ~ *köz* ‘Auge’ (DoTe80, pp. 149–150); Trkm. *göz* ‘eye/s’ (BaKaXa68, pp. 195–197); Kzx. *köz* ‘eye; eye (of a needle, etc.), eyelet, opening; spring, source; (fig.) supervision, care’ → *közsüz* ‘eyeless’ (Shn66, pp. 132–133); Kir. *köz* ‘eye’ (Ju pp. 414–416); Özb/Buch. *kyös* ~ *kus* ‘id.’, *kyös yaši* ‘tears’, *kyözin karazi* ‘pupil of the eye’ (O05, p. 33), /Qil. *köz* ‘eye’ (Ja37, p. 50), /Urg. *göz* ‘eye’, *gözzi* ‘his eye’ (Dob74, p. 90), Özb. *koz* ‘eye; glance, sight; hole, opening’ (CAHG p. 151; Bor59, pp. 226–228), **ala koz* > Ar/Buch. *alakúz* ‘grauäugig’ (Do69, p. 301); Trki *köz* ~ *köz* ~ *küz* ‘eye, eye of pipe (decoration)’ → *közsüz* ‘blind’, → *közlük* ‘seeing’, *k. yaš* ‘tears’, *k. qapaqı* ‘eyelid’ (Ja64, p. 178; Ja67, pp. 35–36; Ja80, p. 133); Uyy. *köz* ‘eye; opening; inlaid jewelry worn on a ring or other ornaments; (bot.) bud; the best of a kind; knack’ (Sch92, pp. 703–705); Trki/Ili *köz* ‘eye’ (Ha91, p. 44); Lop. *köz* ‘id.’, *közlük* ‘with eyes’, *širin közlük* ‘with nice eyes’ (Mal56, p. 136); Sal/Ili *göz* ‘eye’ (Ya02, p. 99), /Qh *qüz* ~ *γüz* ~ *qoz* ‘id.’, *quz malo* ‘globe de l’œil’, *quz qarasa* ‘pupille’ (Kak62, p. 189), ²*köz* ~ ¹*koz* ~ *küz* ‘id.’ (Ten76b, p. 394); YogW *köz* ~ *küz* ‘id.’ (Mal57, pp. 68, 70; Ten76a, p. 187), *köz* ~ *göz* ~ *küz* ~ *kioz* ‘eye; source, well, spring; opening, hole’ (Ro00, p. 311).

(33, xxix) Özb. *kuchi* [Haz. *kuta*] ‘dog’ • Mgh/Bdx. *kučük* (~ *kopāk*) [Pe. *sag*] ‘id.’, *γijil* [Pe. *čūče-sag*] ‘Welpe’ (HeHiThe79, p. 200_{99, 100}), *máyda* [Pe. *kücek*] ‘klein’ (id., p. 215₄₈₂) – cf. (†) *kishkina*; Golden 1991, p. 51; Me55, p. 71; M38, p. 45*; Ry06, p. 536; TMEN §§1620, 1664; Tryjarski 1979, p. 308; (??) VEWT pp. 286, 294 – As stated by Clauson (C72, p. 696), the Tu. forms with rounded vowels are probably not to be connected with (†) Tu. *kičig*, but are somehow related to Pe. *küčak* (→) • Pe. *küčak* ‘small, little; a musical mode or style; diminutive; younger, junior; a youngster, a child’ (St p. 1059); Taj. *kučuk* ‘dog’, *küčak* ‘small, little’ (Mir06, pp. 294, 298; →); Par. *kučuk* ~ *ku’čök* ‘dog’; cf. Badakhshi *küčük* ‘puppy’, Orm. *ku’čuk* ‘puppy, cub’ (M29, pp. 263–264, 398); Wx. *küček* ‘puppy’ – Pe. (M38, p. 525); Urd. *küčak* (coll. *kočak*) [Pe.] ‘small, little, diminutive; younger, junior (syn. *čhotā*)’ (Pl 860) • Pe. > Tu. – Tr. *küčük* ‘little, small; young, little; petty, small, small-minded; petty, minor, low-ranking; miniature, small-scale; petite, dainty’ (Red p. 461); Khlj. *kuči* ‘Hund (Kinderwort)’; vgl. Tr. *kuču*, ChorTu. *kuči*, Ir. dial. *kuču* ‘Hund’ (DoTe80, p. 156); Trkm. *güjük* [гүжүк] ‘puppy, whelp’ → *güjükle-* ‘to whelp’ (BaKaXa68, p. 217); Kzx. *küšik* ‘puppy; young animal’ → *küšikte-* ‘to whelp, cub, pup’ (Shn66, p. 132); Kir. *küčük* ‘puppy, wolfling, tiger cub’ → *küčüktö-* ‘to whelp, pup, cub’ (Ju p. 474); Özb. > Taj. *kučuk* ~ *küčük* ‘Hund’ (Do67, p. 24); Otü. *küčük* ‘Junges von Hund oder Wolf’ (Me55, p. 71), *kučik* ~ *küčük* ‘Ferkel, junger Hund’ (LC11, p. 96), Trki *küčük* ‘puppy, whelp’ (Ja64, p. 179), *kučuk* ‘Hünd-

- chen' (Ja67, p. 36) → *küçükle-* 'to whelp, to farrow' (Ja64, p. 179; Ja67, p. 36; Ja80, p. 133); Uyğ. *küçük* 'puppy, whelp' → *küçüklä-* 'to bear a whelp' (Sch92, p. 715); YogW *kitik* (*kitikki*) 'puppy, cub' ~ *kitik^h* ~ *qitiq* ~ *qidiq* ~ *ketik* ~ *kitik* (Ro00, p. 310) • Tu. > Mo. (Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017) – MMoS *gücük* 'Welp, junger Hund', A *cinayin küçük* [Cag. *böri balasi*] 'young of the wolf' (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*).
- (40, xxxv) Özb. *lambur* [Haz. (40) *taqim* ~ (xxxv) *takim*] 'calf (of the leg)' – M38, p. 12*; Sköld 1936, pp. 142–143/Nr. 125, 129^{a-b} (also of a goat) • Pe. *lambar* ~ *lumbur* 'strong, fat; buttocks' (St p. 1129) • The semantics given by Mackenzie do not seem to be exact, prob. 'buttock, buttocks; backpart of the leg from the knee upwards' is meant here. See the corresponding Haz. term *taqim* ~ *takim* < Mo. – MoL *takim*, KhalL *taxim* 'the ham, the hollow behind the knee joint' (Le60, p. 770); Kalm/Ölöt *takm* 'die Kniebiegung, die innere Seite des Knies, der untere Teil des Oberschenkels hinten' (Ra35, p. 375).
- (8) Özb. *maraka* [Haz. *maraka*] 'meeting, assembly' | Cf. Hazarägī vocabulary
- (2) Özb. *oti* [Haz. *darbaqad* ~ *dabacad* (*hastan*)] 'past, behind' – Özb/Afgh. *ot-* 'to pass, to move, to come over, to live' (Ja38, p. 214; →) – M38, p. 8*; Sevortjan i, pp. 554–555; VEWT p. 376 • Tu. VIIIff *öt-* the basic connotation is movement through or over; it is both trans. and intrans., in the latter case almost always with 'time' of some sort as the subject. S.i.a.m.l.g.; in SW only Trkm, and XX Anat. (C72, p. 39) – (??) Tr. *öte* 'the further side of, the other side of; other, yonder, far (side); the rest of; the other side' (Red pp. 550–551); Trkm. *öt-* 'to pass, pass over; pass by; to move, pass on; to cross, cross over; to pass, elapse; to expire (of time)' (BaKaXa68, pp. 507–508); Kzx. *öt-* 'to pass, to pass by, to go by; to elapse (time), to be over; to flow, to run (of water); to pass over, to pass through, to cross; to be converted, to turn into; to escape; to die; etc.' (Shn66, pp. 294–295); Kir. *öt-* 'id.' (Ju p. 102); Özb/Buch. *ut-* 'to pass; to forgive, exculpate, excuse' (O05, p. 58), /Qil. *öt-* 'to pass' (Ja38, p. 51), /Urg. *öt-* 'to pass', *ikki üç gün ötmîn* 'after a few days have passed' (Dob74, p. 94), Özb. *ot-* 'to pass (by, through, over, from, to), to go through; to pass by, to go by, to be over (time); to move (to, on), to go, to transfer; to travel; to cut through (knife); to cross; to surpass, to exceed; to be felt, to affect, to influence, to hurt', *otmiş* 'the past' (CAHG pp. 198, 199; Bor59, pp. 591–592, 589); Trki *öt-* ~ *üt-* 'to cross, to pass, to pass by, to pass through, to ford, to forgive, to pardon, to reach' → *ötil-* 'to be passed on, to be known', → *ötgän* 'verstorben' (Ja36, p. 36; Ja64, p. 220; Ja67, p. 42; Ja80, p. 137); Uyğ. *öt-* 'to pass, cross, pass through, traverse, ford; etc.' → *ötkän* 'past, previous', *ö. zaman* '(gr.) past tense', *ö. yıl* 'previous year', → *ötmüş* 'the past' (Sch92, pp. 442–443); Trki/Ili *öt-* 'to pass, go through; (aspectual verb:) successfully executed action' (Ha91, p. 47); Lop. *öt-* 'to pass by [проходить мимо], to pass (by), go [проезжать], to pass, be over, etc. [миновать]' (Mal56, p. 153); Sal/Ili *öt-* ~ *öt^ht-* 'to pass, cross' (Ya02, p. 148), /Qh *öt-* 'passer' (Kak62, p. 185), *öt-* ~ *öt-* ~ *ote-* ~ *ö'-* ~ *üt-* ~ *üt-* 'to pass, pass over/on, elapse; cross; etc. [проходить, переходить]' (Ten76b, p. 433).

- Özb. (36, xxxi) **oz** [Haz. *choku*] ‘cheekbone’² – Mgh/Mrv *yōsun* ‘Knochen’, Mgh/L₁ *yāsū/n* ‘id.’, (pl.) /N *jās’ud* (Ra05, p. 30; W72a, p. 168; W75a, p. 171) • Badghisi 1960, p. 42; Li62, p. 73; TMEN §405 • MMoM/S/A *yasu/n* [MTu. Cag. *süyük* (?*süyük*) ~ Cag. *süyük* ~ Cag. *süyek*] ~ U *yasun* ‘bone’, (pl.) A *yasunlar* (Mo. Tu.) [Cag. *süyükklär*] (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *yasun* ‘bone’ (Ka09, p. 329); MoL *yasu/n*, KhalL *yas/an* ‘(i) bone, skeleton; dead body, corpse, remains; dice; frame; (ii) race, family, clan; descent; (iii) kernel, stone of a fruit, pit; (iv) quality (usually of paper or textile)’ (Le60, p. 430); Ord. *yasu* ‘os; cadavre; dé à jouer; clan; ossature, charpente, carcasse, qualité, substance d’un objet’ (Mos41, pp. 398–399); OirD/Dz/U *yas* ~ *yaş* ‘os; clan, nationalité, OirL *yasun* (Ka58, p. 146); Kalm. *yaş* ‘Knochen, Geschlecht’ (Ra35, p. 217) • Mo. > Tu. (TMEN id., VEWT 194) – Cag. *yasun* [Osm. *ustuxan, kemik*] ‘Knochen’ (Kúnos 1902, p. 102).
- (48, lii) Özb. *solan* (read: *sholan*) [Haz. *qima*] ‘stew’ < (Tu.) < Mo. – (?) Mgh/L₁ *šīlān* ‘Decke, auf der das Essen serviert wird’ (W75a, p. 159) – Badghisi 1960, p. 165 [‘soft rice dish’]; Buell 1990; 1999, pp. 213, 216–218; Buell–Anderson 2010, pp. 654 (soup), 655 (šülen); Eren 1999, p. 390; EWAi ii, p. 632 [Skt. *šāli-* ‘Reis’]; MYYC p. 723; M38, pp. 46–47*; Ry06, pp. 692–693; T N° 12415; TMEN §246; VEWT pp. 446–447 [Cag. *šīlān* ‘öffentliche Festlichkeit’, *šōlān* ‘für das gemeine Volk bereitete Suppe’; Otū. (→) < Mo.] • Pe. *šula* ‘a dish called *šula pilaw*’ (St p. 758); Taj. *šavla* ~ *šūla* ‘rice porridge with meat and carrots [рисовая каша с мясом и морковью]; gruel [размазня] (Mir06, pp. 752, 772); Yd. *šulo* ‘rice and meat boiled together’ – cf. Pe. *šīla* (← **šālya*?) (M38, pp. 251–252); Wx. *šūla* ‘rice porridge with meat [каша рисовая с мясом]’ (Pa75, p. 264); Pšt. *šhola’h* ‘rice and pulse boiled together and given to the sick’ (Rav67, p. 664), ⁴*šola* ‘liquid rice porridge [жидкая рисовая каша], rice gruel [рисовая кашица]’ (As85, p. 537); Urd. *šola* ‘a dish of rice and pulse boiled together till quite soft’ (Pl p. 737) [< Ir./Tu.]³ • Tr. (?) *šōlen* ‘banquet, feast; big party; superb display of artistic skills’ (Red p. 661); Trkm. *šūle* [шүле] ‘шуле’ (BaKaXa68, p. 764); Kzx. *söl* ‘meat juice’ (Shn66, p. 187); Özb. *šulān* ‘hot food given to the poor (CAHG), gratuitous dish/food [даровое кушанье, даровая пища] (Bor59)’ (CAHG p. 285; Bor59, p. 548);

² For the explanation of this word I am in debt to Prof. Michael Weiers who wrote in an e-mail (02.12.2013) as follows: “Für Mackenzies *oz* bietet sich ausgehend von den im Moğolī ausgewiesenen Einzelwortbelegen <*yāsū*> [*jə’su*] und <*yāsūn*> [*jə’son*] in lautphysiologischer Hinsicht folgende Herleitung: <*yāsūn*> [*jə’son*] > [*jə’s^{off}*] > [*ɔzⁿ*] > [*ɔz*] = Mackenzies *oz*”.

³ ≠ Pe. *šālī* ‘rice in the husk’, *šāliyi ābī* ‘a kind of wild rice’ (St p. 724); Taj. *šolī* ‘brown rice; rice’ (Mir06, p. 768); Wx., Srq. *shāl* [Pe.] ~ Wx. *grünj* [Tu.] ‘rice in the husk (not grown in those valleys)’ (Sh76, p. 107); Pšt. *šōlē* ‘rice in the husk’, Pšt/Waz. *šēlē*, borr. fr. Ind., Skt. *šālī-*, Kati *šālī*; Pšt. *šālaī* ‘rice’ is borr. from Pe., itself a l.-w. from Ind.; also Par. *šēl* ← **šālī-* (M27, p. 73; M03, p. 78); Par. *šēl* ‘unhusked rice’; early l.-w. from Ind., Wai. *šeli-mai* (M29, p. 290); Orm. *šōl*, Orm/Kan. *šōl* ‘rice in the husk’ – Pšt. (M29, p. 407); Pšt. *shāla ī* ‘rice before it is reaped or threshed’ ≈ *shola’h* ‘rice in the husk, paddy’ (Rav67, pp. 639, 664), *šōle* ~ *šōli* ‘raw rice’ (As85, p. 537); Urd. *šālī* [Hi. *šālī*] ‘rice; a kind of white rice (growing in deep water); red rice (requiring only a moist soil)’ (Pl p. 718).

Otu. *šilān* ‘die für die Soldaten abgekochten Speiserationen’ ~ *šöllā* ‘ein Gericht aus Fleisch und Fett’ (VEWT id.), *šólā* ‘fettes Reisgericht mit eingekochtem Fleisch und Gemüse (*šula pilāw* [Pe.])’ (LC11, p. 93); Uyg. *šoyla* ‘a very thick porridge consisting mostly of rice, fat, carrots and meat’ (Sch92, p. 523) • MMoM/S *šülen* ~ A *šilen* ~ U/A *sülen* [Ar. *al-šurbā* ‘potage, soup’, Pe. *šurbā* ‘broth, soup, gruel’, Cag. MTu. *šorba*] ‘soup, bouillon’ ~ U *sülegen* ‘broth’ (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); MoL *silü/n* ~ *šülen*, KhalL *šöl* ‘soup, bouillon, broth’ (Le60, pp. 708, 759); Ord. *šölö* ‘bouillon de viande’ (Mos41, p. 630); Oir/D *šölün* ‘soupe’, OirL *šülün* (Ka58, p. 159); Kalm. *šülñ* (rarely /Ölöt *šilñ*) = /Dörbet *šölñ* ‘Bouillon, Suppe’ (Ra35, p. 371); Mgh. (←) • Mo. > Pe. > Šy. *šēlün* ‘feast on the occasion of a wedding or a circumcision’ (TMEN id.), Orš. *š^llaⁿ* ‘feast’, Wx. *šēilōn* ‘cooked food’ (M74, p. 77) • Mo. [> Ir./Tu.] > Tu. (←; Rybatzki, *forthcoming 2017*; TMEN id.; VEWT id.) • Mo. > Tung. (TMEN id.; Schmidt 1923, p. 32) – Ma. *sile* ‘helle Fleischbrühe, Bouillon’ (Hauer p. 414)

- (5) Özb. *tain* [Haz. *kucha (kardan)*] ‘to follow’ – Özb/Afgh. *tayin* ~ *teyin* ‘again, and then, but then’ (Ja38, p. 225; →) – VEWT 457 • Tu. (VIIIff) *taqī*. It is most often used in the early period as a conjunction at the beginning of a sentence meaning ‘and; furthermore’, or after one or two words meaning ‘also’, but there are other uses which need a special study. S.i.a.m.l.g., sometimes as *taqī* ~ *tayī* or *daqī* ~ *dayī* (in NC Kir.; NW Kkp. both *tayī* and *dayī* occur), sometimes (NE Tuv., SC Özb., NW Kaz.) in the extended form *tayīn*, sometimes as an enclitic *ta* ~ *te* ~ *da* ~ *de*. In SW Az., Osm. enclitic *da* ~ *de* is common; in Osm. two forms *daxi* ‘and, also’ and *daha* ‘more’ evolved; in Trkm. only *dagī* (C72, p. 466) – Tr. *da* ~ *de* ‘too, also; and (an intensive); both, and’, *daha* ‘so far, until now, still, yet, only; more, in addition; more, -er, a lot, -er; plus’, *dahi* ‘also, too, even’ (Red pp. 163, 164); Khlj. *ta* ~ *tā* (enklitisch) ‘auch’, *taqī* ‘noch, mehr, wiederum’ (DoTe80, pp. 197, 199); Trkm. *dagī* ‘other, otherwise; more, still, yet; except; and others, et cetera’ (BaKaXa68, pp. 242); Kzx. *da* ~ *de* ‘and, also, too; neither, nor; even, even if; -ever’, *tayī* ‘again’, *t. da* ‘again and again, more and more’, *tayīsīn t.* ‘id., and so forth’, *tayīsīn tayīlar* ‘etc., and so forth, and so on’ (Shn66, pp. 72, 197); Kir. *dagī* ~ *tagī* ‘more, still, yet; also, as well, likewise, either; again’ (Ju pp. 180, 188); Özb. *tayin* ‘further, more; (yet) again’ (CAHG p. 304; Bor59, p. 419); Trki *tæxi* ‘yet, still, furthermore’, *t. hem* ~ *t. ma* ‘even more, still more’ (Ja64, p. 299; Ja67, p. 55; Ja80, p. 143); Uyg. *taqī* (lit. obs.) ‘still, yet; even’ (Sch92, p. 164); Lop. *tayī* ‘still, yet, more’ (Mal56, p. 166); Sal. *tā* ~ *ta* ~ *dā* ~ *da* ~ *də* ‘aussi’ (Kak62, p. 191), ¹*ta* ~ *da* ~ ¹*de* ~ *tā* ‘and, again; because’, *taxi* ~ *tāyi* ‘also, too, as well, etc.’ (Ten76b, p. 498); YogW *da* ~ *ta* ‘same, again; and’, *taqo* ~ *taqī* ‘more, still, yet; again’ (Mal57, pp. 24, 108, 110), ²*ta* ≈ ²*taye* ~ *ta’qy* ‘more, still, yet; again; and’ (Ten76a, p. 211), *ta^hqī* ‘still, yet; also, moreover; or (in alternative questions) ~ *t^ha^hqī* ~ *taqī* ~ *taqo* ~ *ta^hqīya* (Ro00, p. 370) • Tu. > Mo. – YogE (Ro00 id.).
- (37) Özb. *tenogh* ~ (xxxii) *tenobh* [(read: *tenogh*)] [Haz. *shanggak*] ‘fingernail’; mistake for **ternoy* ~ *tirnoq*? Or is it a similar development as in Uyg. where

- rC- → -C- (but in this word the -r- is always preserved)? – Özb/Afgh. *tirnaq* ‘nail’ (Ja38, p. 229; →); Afš/Kbl *də:rnây* ‘ongle’ (Li57, p. 129), Afš. *dīrnax* ~ *tīrnax* ‘id.’ (DoHe89, pp. 36, 44); Mgh/Bdx. *tīrnay* [Pe. *nāhon*] ‘id.’ (HeHiThe79, p. 199₆₈) – Eren 1999, p. 407; M38, p. 39*; Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017; TMEN §1182; VEWT p. 479 • Tu. (VIIIff) *tīrjaq* (?d-) ‘a (human or animal) nail, or claw’. Survives in NE several languages *tīrjaq*, Tuv. *dīrjaq* [only ‘Kamm’ (← *taryaq*), not with the meaning ‘claw’, which is *dīrbaq* (← *tarmaq*) ‘(Finger)-Nagel, Klaue, Schramme, Harke’ (Ölmez 2007, p. 139)]; SE Trki *tīrnaq*; SC Özb. *tīrnâq*; NW most languages *tīrnaq*; SW Az., Trkm. *dīrnak*, Osm. *tīrnak* (C72, p. 551) – Tr. *tīrnak* ‘nail, fingernail, toenail; claw, hoof (refers only to the horny part of an animal’s hoof); etc.’ (Red pp. 704–705); Khlj. *tīrna-q* ‘Fingernagel’, *tīrnaq tīrna:q* ‘ganz klein, zerstückelt’ (DoTe80, p. 205); Trkm. *dīrnak* ‘(finger)nail; clutch; hook’ (BaKaXa68, p. 299); Kzx. *tīrnaq* ‘nail; claw, talon’, *t. otu* ‘hawkweed (*Hieracium pilosella*) → *tīrnaqtī* ‘sharp-clawed (of an eagle); (fig.) predatory’ (Shn66, p. 207); Kir. *tīrnak* ~ *tīrnak* ‘nail, fingernail; claw, talon’ → *tīrnaktū* ‘beast, predator’ (Ju pp. 294–295); Özb/Buch. *tinak* ‘a nail’ vs. *tīrnak* ‘a claw’ (O05, pp. 54, 55), Özb. *tīrnâq* ‘fingernail, nail, claw, talon; hoof; child, offspring; device used to climb telephone poles (CAHG p. 321; Bor59, p. 435); Trki *tīrnaq* ~ *tīrmaq* ‘claw, nail’ (Ja64, p. 307; Ja67, p. 56; Ja80, p. 143); Uyy. *tīrnaq* ‘(phys.) fingernail, toenail; (zool.) claw, talon; (gr.) parenthesis, angle bracket’ → *tīrnaqla-* ‘to claw, scratch’, → *tīrnaqliq* ‘having nails, claws, or talons; spiked’ (Sch92, p. 243); Lop. *tīrmaq* ‘clutches; hook, crook, etc. [кюгги, крюк]’ (Mal56, p. 179); Sal/Ili *dīrnaḡ* ‘nail’ (Ya02, p. 79), /Qh *tīrnaḡ* ‘ongle, griffe, sabot’ (Kak62, p. 192), *tīrnaḡ* ~ *c’īrnaḡ* ‘(finger)nail’ (Ten76b, p. 529); YogW *tarmaq* ‘(finger)nail, finger, claw’, *tīrvaq* (? *tīrjaq*) ~ *tīrmaq* ‘id., toe’ ~ *tīrjaq* ‘nail’ → *aramaq^h* ‘ring finger’ (perhaps ← *ara* ‘between’ + *tarmaq*), → *a^htemaq* (speech of old people) ~ *a^htīmaq* ‘little finger’ (perhaps ← *a^hti* ‘small’ + *tarmaq*), *o^hrtamaq* ‘middle finger’ (perhaps ← *o^hrta* ‘middle’ + *tarmaq*), *pa^hsīrmik* ~ *pa^hsīrmek* ‘thumb’ (perhaps ← *paš* ‘head’ + *tarmaq*) (Mal57, pp. 112–113, 128; Ro00, pp. 284, 330, 333, 370, 375; Ten76a, p. 211) • Tu. > Mo. – YogE (NuRo96, p. 50₇₆; Ro00, p. 370)
- (42, xxxviii) Özb. *tīrsak* [Haz. (42) *toqai* ~ (xxxviii) *tokai*] ‘elbow’ – Afš. *dī^rsāk* ~ *dīrsäy* ‘id.’ (DoHe89, p. 44) – M38, p. 20*; Stachowski 2007, pp. 335–343; VEWT p. 481 • Tu. (XI) *tīrsgäk* no obvious etymology, although it looks like a dev. n.; ‘elbow, a sty (in the eye)’. S.i.s.m.l. in all language groups, usually for ‘elbow’ but in some NE, NC languages ‘knee joint’ and in some ‘stye’; in NE Tuv. *dīskäk*; SW Az., Osm. *dīrsek* but Trkm. *tīrsek* (C72, p. 553) – Tr. *dīrsek* ‘elbow; bend, turn (in a line, road, or river); (pipe) elbow; prop, shore (placed at an angle)’ (Red p. 189); Khlj. *tīrsāk* ‘Ellenbogen’ (DoTe80, p. 205); Trkm. *tīrsek* ‘elbow, knee’ (BaKaXa68, p. 634); Özb. *tīrsak* ‘id.’ (CAHG p. 322; Bor59, p. 436); Otü. *tīrsäk* ‘Ellbogen’ (VEWT id.); Uyy. (Ø); Sal. *tīzek* ‘knee, elbow; lap’, cf. *²tüz* (Ten76b, p. 512); YogW *č^hikinik* ~ *č^hikenek^h* ~

- č^hik^henek^h* ~ *čikenek* ~ (mountain dial.) *tikenek* ‘elbow’ (Ro00, p. 297) – Tu. > Mo. – YogE (NuRo96, p. 40₁₁; Ro00 id.).
- (3) Özb. *turdi* [Haz. *bida* (*kardan*) ~ *bolda* (*kardan*)] ‘to jump’ – Özb/Afgh. *tur-* ‘to stand (up); to stay; to be’ (Ja38, p. 231; →); Afš/S *dur:miš-äm* ‘(auf)gestanden’ (DoHe89, p. 30); Mgh/Bdx. *turqārṡān* [Pe. *bar-hāstan*] ‘aufstehen’, *tipturrupti* [Pe. *īstādan*] ‘stehen’ (HeHiThe79, p. 220_{620, 621}) – Berta 1996, pp. 377–382; Erdal 1991, p. 865; M38, p. 32*; VEWT p. 500 • Tu. (VIII) *tur-* ‘to stand’, both in the sense of ‘to stand upright’ and ‘to stand still’; with various extended meanings (C72, pp. 529–530) – Tr. *dur-* ‘(i) to stop; (ii) to last, continue to exist, endure; (iii) to continue to to be in one’s possession, exist as a possession, to (still) have; (iv) to stand without doing anything; (v) to be or remain (at a place); (vi) to continue to be (in a specified condition); (vii) to suit, go, appear, look; (viii) to behave (in a specified way)’; *ayakta dur-* ‘to stand, remain standing’ (Red pp. 201, 56); Khlj. *tur-* ‘stehen, aufhören, bleiben’ (DoTe80, pp. 208–209); Trkm. *tur-* ‘to rise, get up, stand up; to start, begin; to arise, spring up’ (BaKaXa68, p. 645); Kzx. *tur-* ‘to not go further, to stop; to be present, to be located; to cost; to stand; to stay, to live, to dwell’ (Shn66, p. 205); Kir. *tur-* ‘to stand; to get up, stand up, rise; etc.’ (Ju pp. 268–269); Özb/Buch. *tur-* ‘to stand, to rise, to stay’ (O05, p. 56), /Qil. *tur-* ‘to stand, to be, to get up’ (Ja37, p. 53), /Urg. *dur-* ‘to stand’ (Dob74, p. 89), Özb. *tur-* ‘to stand, to get up, to rise up; to be, to be found; to live, to abide; to wait; to stop; to stay; to last; to cost (CAHG p. 334; Bor59, p. 453); Trki *tur-* ~ *tu-* ~ *tu-* ‘to be, to become, to stay, to stand, to abide, to remain, to keep fresh; to begin, to start, to rise, to stand up, to wait’ (Ja64, p. 316; Ja67, p. 58), Uyğ. *tur-* ‘(i) to stand, stand up; (ii) to arise, get up; (iii) to live, reside; (iv) to stop, wait, stay; (v) to survive; (vi) to be stored or kept; (vii) to stick, be stuck; (viii–xix) various aspectual meanings’ (Sch92, pp. 221–222); Trki/Ili *tür-* ‘to stand, dwell; (aspectual v.:) frequentive’ (Ha91, p. 50); Sal. *turu* ~ *türü* ~ *tirə* ‘clair, tranquille (eau)’ (Kak62, p. 192); YogW *tur-* ‘to stand; to be, exist, etc. [Ru. находиться]; to live, exist [Ru. жить]’ (Mal57, p. 125; Ro00, p. 378; Ten76a, p. 214) • Semantics recorded by Mackenzie are typical for Trkm., Özb., Kir. and Uyğ.
- (19) Özb. *uranam* ~ (xvii) *vranam* [read: *uranam*] (*kardan*) [Haz. *sabda* (*kardan*)] ‘to hit, strike’ – Özb/Afgh. *ur-* ‘to beat, strike’ (Ja38, p. 233; →); Mgh/Bdx. *urgān* [Pe. *zadan*] ‘schlagen’ → *uriškān* [Pe. *jangīdan*] ‘kämpfen’ (HeHiThe79, p. 221_{640, 642}) – cf. (↓) Mgh. vocabulary under *hugutun*; Berta 1996, pp. 408–414 (esp. pp. 411–412); Erdal 1991, p. 624; M38, p. 7*; Sevortjan i, pp. 599–601; VEWT p. 515 • Tu. (VIII) *ur-* from the earliest period it had two distinct meanings linked by the fact that both involve use of the arms; (i) ‘to put (something on something)’, (ii) ‘to strike (something or someone)’, from which, esp. the first, a wide range of meanings has developed → (dev. v. refl.) (XI) *urun-* wide range of meanings derived from the two basic meanings (C72, pp. 194–195, 235) – Tr. Ø; Khlj. *hur-* ‘spalten, zerschlagen, zerreißen’ (DoTe80, pp. 135–136); Trkm. *ur-* ‘to beat, hit, strike; to whip, flog, lace; etc.’ (BaKaXa68,

- pp. 662–663); Kir. *ur-* ‘to hit, strike, beat’ → *urun-* ‘to strike, hit, etc.’ (Ju pp. 306–307, 308–309); Özb/Buch. *ur-* ‘to strike’ → *uruš-* ‘to fight’ (O05, p. 58), /Qil. *ur-* ‘to beat, strike’ (Ja37, p. 54), Özb. *ur-* ‘to hit, to strike; to stab; to rush (away, up, etc.); to rain down hard; to beat (pulse); to destroy, to damage; to stuff into, to hide; to steal, to rob; to build (wall), to wall in, to close off; to put on, to bind with, to attach, to secure; to put down (food)’ → *urin-* ‘to throw or push about; to struggle, to strive (to do), to push, to try; to become worn out or dirty (clothing); to start to go bad (food)’ (CAHG p. 341; Bor59, pp. 479–480); Trki *ur-* ~ *uj-* ~ *u-* ~ *or-* ‘to beat, to knock, to strike, to hit, to throw, to mow, to reap, to shear, to cut (wheat, maize), to thrash’ (Ja64, p. 324; Ja67, p. 59; Ja80, p. 145) → *uruš-* ‘to fight with each other’ (Ja80 id.); Uyy. *ur-* ‘(i) to hit, strike beat, assault; (ii) to strike (of clock); (iii) to pulsate, throb; (iv) to go all out’ → *uruš-* ‘to fight, struggle, war’ (Sch92, pp. 581, 582); Lop. *ur-* ‘to beat, hit, strike, smash, etc. [бить]’ → *uruš-* ‘to fight’ (Mal56, p. 181); Sal/Ili *vur-* ‘to beat’ (Ya02, p. 178), /Qh *vur-* ‘frapper, battre’ → *vurəl-* ‘être frappé’, → *vurəš-* ‘se battre’, → *vuryusə* ‘battoir’ (Kak62, p. 192), ¹*ur-* ~ ¹*vur-* ~ ¹*vuř-* ‘id. [Ru. бить]’ (Ten76b, p. 534); YogW ¹*ur-* ‘to strike, etc. [спускать], to put, etc. [класть], to suppose, etc. [полагать]’ (Mal57, p. 130).
- (7) Özb. *yakhshi* [Haz. *mughol* (of man only); old form: *mongol*] ‘good, beautiful’ – Özb/Afgh. *yaχši* ‘good, agreeable, beautiful, excellent, well’ (Ja38, p. 198; →); Afš/Kbl *yāχčə* ‘bon, bien’ (Li57, p. 120); Mgh/Bdx. *yaxši* [Pe. *hūb*] ‘gut’, *yaxšikil* [Pe. *hoš-gel*] ‘angenehm, schön’, *yaxši kün* ‘angenehmer Tag’ (HeHiThe79, pp. 215_{464, 474}, 216₅₀₇) – M38, pp. 8*, 26*; TMEN §§1869–1870; VEWT p. 180 • Tu. (XI) *yaχši* [yaχšī] abbreviated dev. n. fr. ²*yaqiš-* w. sound change *-kš-* → *-χš-*; not noted before XI. Although all the authorities use much the same Ar. words to translate this word and *ädgū*, it is difficult to believe that they were originally syn. and it is likely that this word originally had some shades of meaning derived fr. ²*yaqiš-* which distinguished it fr. *ädgū*, ‘suitable, pleasing, good looking’ or the like. S.i.a.m.l.g. w. the usual phonetic changes, and largely syn. w. *ädgū*, some languages using only one or the other but most both; in the latter case *yaχšī* has some meanings like ‘good-looking’ which *ädgū* has not (C72, p. 908) – Tr. *yahşi* (prov.) ~ *yakşi* (prov.) ‘good, nice; handsome, pretty, beautiful’ (Red pp. 750, 751); Trkm. *yagši* ‘good, kind, gracious’ (BaKaXa68, p. 805); Kzx. *yaqsi* ‘good, well; beneficial; decent; (fig.) rich (abundant)’ → *yaqsiliq* ‘good; benefaction; goodness, virtue’ (Shn66, p. 97); Kir. *yakši* ‘good; (hist.) noble, honourable’ (Ju p. 218); Özb/Buch. *yakše* ~ *yakšə* ‘good’ → *yakšälək* ‘a blessing, good’ (O05, p. 34), /Qil. *yaχši* ‘good, all right’ (Ja37, p. 49), Özb. *yaχši* ‘good, fine; well’ (CAHG p. 363; Bor59, pp. 575–576); Özb. > Taj. *yaχši* ‘gut’ (Do67, p. 20); Trki *yaχši* ~ *yaqši* ‘good, nice, comfortable, excellent, beautiful, delicate, all right, well’, *y.raq* ‘better’ (Ja64, p. 146; Ja67, p. 29; Ja80, p. 130) → *yaχšiliq* ‘favour’ (Ja80 id.); Uyy. *yaxši* ‘good, kind’ → *yaxšičaq* ‘good old boy; somebody who tries never to offend anybody’, → *yaxšisi* ‘it would be best’, *yaxši-yaman* ‘good and bad; allsorts’, → *yaxšila-* ‘to improve’, → *yaχšiliq* ‘goodness; kindness’ →

yaxšiliqčā ‘graciously’ (Sch92, pp. 776–777); Lop. *yaqši* ‘good’ (Mal56, p. 117); Sal/Ili *yaqši* ‘good’, *yaqčux* ~ *ya^hčux* ‘beautiful, lovely’ → *yaqčuxliy* ‘beauty’ (Ya02, p. 122), /Qh *yaqši* ~ *yaqša*, etc. ‘bon, beau, bien’, *yaqši!*, *sen yaqšimu?* ‘bonjour!’ (Kak62, p. 194), *yaqfa* ‘good’, cf. *yaqšar*, *yaqfara* (Ten76b, p. 351); YogW *yahši* ~ *yaxši* ‘id.’ (Ten76a, p. 182), *ya^hš* ~ *yaxši* ‘id.’ (Ro00, p. 393) • Tu. (Özb.), or Taj. > Yagh. *yaxši* ‘klar, offenbar’ (Benveniste 1955, p. 160) • Tu. > Mo. – Bao. (Nugteren 1998, p. 692₂₆).

- (20) Özb. *yashundun* (read: *yashundum*) ~ (xviii) *yashundum (kardan)* [Haz. *tasha (kardan)*] ‘(to) hide’ – Özb/Afgh. *yešin-* ‘to hide oneself’, *yešinci* ‘in secret, secretly’ (Ja38, p. 200) – Eren 1999, p. 443; Erdal 1991, p. 866; M38, p. 29*; TMEN §1864; VEWT p. 192 • Uig. (VIIIff) *yaš-* ‘to hide (oneself)’; n.o.a.b. (→), in modern languages displaced by the refl. f. of *yašur-* (→), → (dev. v.; caus.) Tu. (VIIIff) *yašur-* ‘to hide (something)’ and the like. S.i.a.m.l.g. with the usual phonetic changes; in SW only Trkm. *yašir-* (C72, pp. 975, 979) – Tr. *yaşmak* ‘yashmak, yasmak, veil (tulle veil for a woman’s face which leaves only the eyes exposed to public)’ → *yaşmaklamak* ‘to put a yashmak on (a woman’s) face, veil (a woman’s) face with a yashmak’, → *yaşmaklı* ‘(woman) who is wearing a yashmak’ (Red pp. 762–763); Trkm. *yašir-* ‘to cover, shelter; to conceal, hide, veil’ → *yaširin* [яшыры:н] ‘secret, esoteric, hidden, occult’, → *yaširin-* ‘to hide, lurk’ (BaKaXa68, p. 823); Kzx. *yasir-* ‘to hide, conceal’ → *yasiril-* ‘to be hidden’, → *yasirin-* ‘to hide; hide oneself’, → *yasirin* ‘secret, confidential; mysterious, enigmatic; secretly, surreptitiously, confidentially’, *yasirin xabar ber-* ‘to inform confidentially’, *yasirinbaq* ‘hide and seek (play)’ (Shn66, p. 96); Kir. *yašir-* ‘to hide, conceal, hold back’ → *yaširin* ‘secret, private; secretly, privately; etc.’, → *yaširin-* ‘to hide’ (Ju p. 241); Özb. *yašir-* ‘to hide, to conceal, to keep secret’ → *yaširin* ‘secret, secretly’ (CAHG pp. 362–363; Bor59, p. 576); Trki *yašur-* ‘to conceal, to hide’ → *yašurun* ‘hidden, secret’ → *yašurunluq* ‘secret’, → *yašurun-* ~ *yašun-* ‘to hide oneself’, *yašunup yat-* ‘id.; to be hiding’ (Ja64, p. 151; Ja80, p. 131), Otü. *yošunmaq* ‘verbergen’ (LC18/19, p. 118); Uyğ. *yošur-* ‘to conceal, to hide, hold back’ → *yošurun*, also: *yošuruq* ‘secret; hidden, concealed, latent’ → *yošurunčā* ‘secretly, covertly’, → *yošurun-* ‘to hide, secrete, be concealed’ (Sch92, p. 798); Sal/Ili *yašin-* ‘to hide, conceal oneself’ (Ya02, p. 125); YogW *yas-* ‘to hide, go into hiding’ (Mal57, p. 37) ~ *ya^hš-* ~ *ya^hš-* ‘id.’ (Ten76a, p. 183), *ya^hs-* (~ *a^hs-*) ~ *ya^hš-* ‘to hide (oneself)’ → *ya^hšir-* ‘to hide somebody or something’ (Ro00, p. 393).



(vi) Analysis of the Moyolī Vocabulary

When Mackenzie was gathering his Moyolī materials in 1951, the language was not used any more in everyday life, but an old man could still remember some words, somehow known also to the rest of the community. Out of the 25 words thus collected,

the great majority are of Mo. origin. Within 20 or so years, when Weiers (W72b, W73) collected materials under similar conditions to those of Mackenzie, the language situation had changed dramatically. Some wordlists present a mixture of Mo. and Tu. words, others consist of Tu. words only. Thus, within 20 years the knowledge of Mo-yolī among certain parts of the Moghol population decreased greatly, some had forgotten the language altogether.

- (XIII) Mgh. *aman* ‘mouth’ – Mgh/Mrv *aman* ~ /Mrv *amun* ~ /N, K, B *āmān* ‘(Mrv, N) Mund; (B) Eingang, (B, K) Verschluss’ ~ /Mr *ā:mā:n* ~ /M *amā:/n* ‘bouche, ouverture’ [vs. Haz. *daxān* (W75b, p. 101)] (Li65, p. 277; Ra05, p. 22; W72a, p. 158), Mgh/L₁, *Zi āmān* ‘mouth’ (Iwa61, p. 85; W75a, p. 120) – Li62, pp. 16–17, Li64, p. 37; MYYC p. 105; Ry06, p. 117; Nu11, p. 269; TMEN §32 • MMoS/U/A *ama/n* [MTu. *ayiz*] ‘Mund, mündlich’ (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *aman* ‘mouth’ (Ka09, p. 10), MoL *ama/n*, KhalL *am/an* ‘id.’ (Le60, p. 35); Ord. *ama* ‘bouche, ouverture, orifice, passe dans une montagne, endroit ou deux objets se rencontrent, bord, environs, morceau carré d’étoffe dont chaque côté est égal à la largeur de la pièce dont le morceau est pris (unité de mesure); paroles proférées par quelqu’un’ (Mos41, pp. 18–19); YogE *aman* ‘mouth’ (Nu11, p. 269); OirL *aman* ‘mouth, opening’, Kalm/SiddhiKür *am cagān daxūl* ‘White Mouth the maid (of princess Mōndūguu)’ (Dzagdsüren–Tsolo 1982, p. 312); Oir/D/Dz/T *aman*, /U *āma/n*, /Dz *amman* ~ *āma*, /M *ām* ‘bouche, ouverture, vallée, porte de fourneau’, *am nurjun* ‘occiput’ (Ka58, p. 126); Kalm. *amṅ* ‘Mund (auch im übertragenem Sinn); Mündung, Öffnung, Loch; Bergtal’ (Ra35, p. 9) • Mo. > Tung. (Doerfer 2004, pp. 71–72, 74; MT §12; Rozycki 1994, p. 19).
- (III) Mgh. *arpa* ‘millet’ • Mgh/KSn, M *arfa* ~ /Le, Mr; Me, KI, SB *arpa* ~ /K, N *orpa* ~ /LM *arpā* ~ /Z₀ *órpa* ‘Gerste’ (DeHe93, p. 57; Li54, p. 128; W71, p. 164; W72a, p. 175; W72b, p. 577₂) ≈ /Mrv *arfei* ~ /Mrv *arfā* ‘id.’ (Ra05, p. 23), Mgh/Zi *arpa* ~ /Kun, L₁ *ārpah* ‘(Kun, Zi) barley’; (L₁) ‘Gerste’ (Iwa61, p. 87; W75a.121), Mgh/Bdx. *arpa* [Pe. *jou*] ‘id.’ (HeHiThe79, p. 204₂₀₇) – Doerfer 1993, p. 80; Hauenschild 1993, pp. 152–153 [KrimTat. *arpa* ‘Gerste, *Hordeum vulgare*’, Tr. *arpa* ‘id.’; *arpačiq soyan* ‘Schalotte, *Allium ascalonium*’, Tr. *arpacik soğanı* ‘id.’ – SW, NW]; 1994, pp. 30–31; 2006, p. 18; Joki 1952, pp. 69–70; Li62, p. 17; Li66, p. 130; (?) M27, p. 11; M03, p. 10 (?); Nu11, p. 272; Rö pp. 201–202; Róna-Tas–Berta 2011, pp. 77–79; Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017; Ry06, p. 144; StachK08, pp. 9–13; TMEN §445; VEWT p. 27 • Uig. (VIIIff) *arpa* ‘barley’; s.i.a.m.l.g. with minor phonetic variants; possibly an Indo-European (?Tocharian) l.-w. → Tu. (XI) *arpayan* ‘wild barley’, a plant of the wild oats type; s.i.s.m.l. (C72, pp. 198, 200) – Tr. *arpa* ‘barley; (slang) money’ → *arpacık* ‘sty (on the eyelid); front sight (of a gun)’, *arpacıksoğanı* ‘shallot’, → *arpalık* ‘barley field; barley bin, granary for barley; etc.’, *arpasuyu* ‘beer’ (Red p. 45); Khlj. *arpa* ‘Gerste’, *yuš-arpası* ‘Hafer; (wörtlich) Spatzengerste’, *arpa suvi* ‘Bier’ (DoTe80, p. 82); Trkm. *arpa* ‘barley’ → *arpagan* ‘a kind of grass?’ [мортук восточный] (BaKaXa68, p. 52);

- Kzx. *arpa* 'id.', *a. yarmasi* 'pearl barley', *a. talqani* 'fineground barley' (Shn66, p. 25); Kir. *arpa* 'id.' → *arpakan* 'id. [миртук восточный (read: мортук восточный)]' (Ju p. 69); Özb/Buch. *arpa* 'id.' (O05, p. 6), Özb. *arpa* 'id.', *arpabâdiyân* '(bot.) anise' → *arpayân* '(bot.) myrtle?', *arpapâya* 'barley-field, stalk of barley (CAHG p. 15; Bor59, p. 39); Trki *arpa* 'id., *Hordeum distichum*', *árpa bádyán* '*Anisum sativum*', *árpa khán* (*arpayán* ~ *arpayán*) 'eine wildwachsende Avena-Art (Unkraut)' (LC11, p. 81; LC22, pp. 118–119), *arpa* ~ *a:pa* ~ *a:pa* ~ *a:pe* ~ *a:pe* 'barley', *a:pa bedjan* '*Anisum sativum*' (Ja64, p. 26), *arpa* ~ *arpe* 'id.', *a. bedijan* 'anise' (Ja98, p. 67), *arpa* 'id.', *a. õni* 'Gerstenmehl', *a. topaç* 'Gerstenbrot' (Ja67, p. 10); Uyy. *arpa* 'id. (*Hordeum*)', *arpabediyân* 'sweet fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare*), used in Uyghur folk medicine', *arpamiwisi* 'Arbor vitae (*Biota orientalis*), used in Uyghur folk medicine', → *arpixan* ~ *apixan* 'wild barley' (Sch92, pp. 3, 21); Lop. *aïpa* ~ *arpa* 'id.' (Mal56, pp. 82, 86); Sal/Ili *afra* 'id.' (Ya02, p. 33), /Qh *arfa* 'id.', *ahrun* [← *arfa un*] 'farine d'orge' (Kak62, pp. 175, 176), *arfa* ~ *arf^a* ~ *arf^a* 'barley', *ax arfa* 'white barley' (Ten76b, pp. 292, 293); YogW *xarva* 'certain cereal grains [какие-то хлебные зерна]', *xarva darÿ* 'millet' (Ch. *çinxur*) (Mal57, p. 135), ¹*harva* 'cereal grains, oat', *harva vaš* 'oat grain [зерна овса]' (Ten76a, p. 180), *harwa* ~ *hîrwa* ~ *xarwa* ~ *xarba* 'highland barley (grown in Tibet and Qinghai)' [Tu.] ← **harpa*; initial *h* is only attested in YogW (Ro00, p. 301) • Tu. ?<>? Mo. – MMoM *arpai* 'barley' ~ U/A *arbai* 'id.', S *ar[bai]* 'rye' ~ [Tu. forms] P *arba* ~ A *arpa* 'barley' (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); MoL *arbai*, KhalL *arwai* 'id.' (Le60, p. 49); Ord. *arwā* 'id.' (Mos41, p. 31); YogE *hrbai* ~ *rbai* 'id.' (Nu11, p. 272); Oir/D *arwā* [OirL *arbai*] 'id.' (Ka58, p. 127); Kalm. *arwā* '(Ölöt, Torghut) Gerste, (Dörbed) Hafer' (Ra35, p. 15) • Tu. > Mo. – Bao.-Dgx. (Nugteren 1998, p. 687₃) • Tu. > Hung. (Róna-Tas–Berta id.) • Mo. > Tu. (Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 156; TMEN id.) • (Early) Mo. > Tung. (TMEN id., Rozycki 1994, p. 20) – Ma. *arfa* 'Korn, insbesondere Gerste und Hafer' (Hauer p. 31).
- (XXIII) Mgh. **bi*, in: *bikelata!* 'Don't talk!' ← *bi* + (↓) *kelata* – Mgh/Le *bey* ~ /Le *bī* 'non pas, ne pas, ne (particule prohibitive)' ~ /Mrv, Mr, M *bi* 'lat. *ne*' ~ /Z₀ *bī* 'Prohibitivpartikel' (Li54, p. 129; Ra05, p. 24; W72a, p. 160 [*be* Negation vor *Nomina* < Pe. *bi* vs. *bi* Negation vor *Verben als Prohibitiv* ← Mo. *bu*]; W72b, p. 577₁₂), Mgh/Zi *bikelan* 'mute, speechless', /L_{1, 2} *bi* 'Prohibitiv <nicht>' (Iwa61, p. 91; W75a, p. 124, W77, pp. 121–123) – Li58, pp. 210–211, 231–234₅₁; Li62, p. 22; MYYC p. 173; Nu11, p. 293; Poppe 1954, pp. 174–175; Rybatzki 2003a, pp. 79–80; 2003b, p. 384 • MMoM/S/U/P *bu* ~ S *bū* ~ A *bū* (*bu*) ~ U *buu* ~ A *bū* [Cag. *-mA-*] 'prohibitive part.; do not!' (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *buu* [= *bū*] '(prohibitive) do not, should not' (Ka09, p. 54); MoL *buu* ~ *büü*, KhalL *büü* 'prohibitive negation preceding imperatives' (Le60, p. 141); Ord. ²*bū* 'particule prohibitive (emprunt fait à la langue littéraire)' (Mos41, p. 88).
- (I) Mgh. *bogdai* 'wheat' – Mgh/Le, Me *bughdai* ~ /Mrv *buydei* (= *bīdā*) ~ /Mr, M *buydei* ~ /Mr *buydāi* ~ /KI *buydēi* ~ /LM *buydei* ~ /SB *buydai* ~ /K, N *buğdēi* ~

- /K *boğdei* ~ /KSn *buyday* ~ /Z₀ *buydei* 'id.' (DoHe93, p. 57; Li54, p. 130; Ra05, p. 24; W71, p. 164₅; W72b, p. 577₃), Mgh/Zi *buydai* ~ /Kun *b^wγd^ay* ~ /L₁ *buğdai* 'id.' (Iwa61, p. 93; W75a, p. 125), Mgh/Bdx *buyday* [Pe. *gandom*] 'id.', *buyday uramiz* [Pe. *derou*] 'die Ernte einbringen' (HeHiThe79, pp. 204₂₀₆, 205₂₂₃) || Doerfer 1992, p. 53; 1993, p. 80; Hauenschield 1993, p. 155; 1994, p. 40; 2006, pp. 23–24; Li62, p. 22; Nu11, pp. 292–293 [considers Mo. forms w. -G- as Tu.]; Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017; StachK08, pp. 89–96; VEWT p. 86 • Uig. (VIIIff) *buyday* 'wheat'. S.i.a.m.l.g. with some phonetic changes (C72, pp. 312–313) – Tr. *buğday* 'id.' (Red p. 113); Khlj. *buyda* ~ *boğda* ~ *buyda* (< Az.) 'id.', *buyda-biti* 'Weizenschädling, Kornwurm' (DoTe80, p. 94); Trkm. *bugday* 'id.' (BaKaXa68, p. 117); Kzx. *biday* 'id.' ~ *boydaq* (local E) 'wheat of second year's crop (of last year's sowing)', *küzdik biday* 'winter wheat' (Shn66, pp. 54, 55, 129); Kir. ¹*buuday* 'id.' (Ju p. 163); Özb/Buch. *boyday* ~ *buyday* 'id.' (O05, p. 10), /Urg. *būday* 'id.', *mayazinėti uña būday wārgän* 'the shopkeeper had given him wheat' (Dob74, p. 87), Özb. *buydāy* 'id.', *buydāy rang* ~ *buydāy mayiz* 'dark tan in colour' → *buydāyiq* '(bot.) couch grass', → *buydāykār* 'wheat farmer; wheat-growing' → *buydāy-kārlik* 'wheat growing; wheat-growing lands, wheat fields', → *buydāypāya* 'wheat field; stalk of wheat', → *buydāyzār* 'wheat field' (CAHG p. 48; Bor59, p. 93); Trki *buydāi* 'id.', *kök baš b.* 'eine Art Weizen', *yāzyrī b.* 'Sommerweizen' (LC22, p. 121), *buydaj* ~ (Guma) *boydaj* 'id.' → *buydajliq* 'wheat-field' (Ja64, p. 60; Ja98, p. 68), *buydaj drexti* 'the wheat tree' (Ja98 id.); Uyğ. *buyday* 'id.' → *buydayliq* 'wheat field' (Sch92, p. 88); Trki/Ili *būday* 'id.' (Ha91, p. 39); Lop. *boydai* 'wheat', different varieties: *qitai b.*, *aq b.*, *toımaq b.*, *küzgü b.*, *qaya* [← *qara* (VR)] *qiltiyek b.*, *ilā b.* (Mal56, p. 94); Sal/Ili *buyda* ~ *buydi* ~ *buydiy* 'id.' (Ya02, p. 664), /Qh *boyday* ~ *būday* ~ *poγtā* ~ *puγtā* 'id.', *būday čičəχ* 'bleuet' (Kak62, p. 177), *boyde* ~ *boydu* 'id.', *qyzył boyde* 'red wheat' (Ten76b, p. 303) ~ *poγce* ~ *poγci* ~ *poγde* ~ *poγzi* 'id.', *qysyl poγde* 'id.' vs. *pōγidi* ~ *pōγudu* 'id.' [< Mo.? (VR)] (id. 451) • MMoS *bu-udai* ~ S *būdai* ~ U/A *buydai* [Cag. *buydai*] (Tu. form; or read: *buy(u)dai*) ~ U *buyudai* 'id.' (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); MoL *buyudai* ~ *buudai*, KhalL *buudai* 'id.' (Le60, p. 131); Ord. *būdā* ~ *buīdā* 'froment, blé; petites taches rousses qu'on remarque sur la robe des chevaux qui de gris sont devenus blancs en vieillissant' (Mos41, p. 90); YogE *bugdūi* 'wheat' (Nu11, pp. 292–293); [Oir/D *budān* 'blé, froment; gruan' [OirL *budā*] (Ka58, p. 130) is confused with **budaa/n* 'groats, porridge', the same holds good for Bur. (Nu11, pp. 289, 292–293);] Kalm. *būd'ā* ~ *būd'ā* '(ursprünglich) Weizen; (jetzt) /Dörböt Same, Getreidekorn, Korn; /Ölöt Weizenkorn' (Ra35, p. 64) • Tu. > Mo. – Bao. YogE because of preserved -g- (Nugteren 1998, pp. 688–689₈) • Mo. > Tu. – Otū. Sal. because of trisyllabic structure (Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017).
- (VI) Mgh. *činagh* 'wolf' – Mgh/Le *čինà* ~ /Me *china* ~ /Mrv *činō* ~ /Mr, M *činā* (*činā*:) ~ /LM *čena* ~ /N, S *činó* 'id.' (Li54, p. 131; Ra05, p. 25; W71, p. 167₃₀; W72a, p. 163), Mgh/Zi *činā* ~ /Kun *čyna* ~ /L₁ *čīnā* ~ /L₁ *čīnā?* 'id.', /L₃ Ar. *di'b*, Trkm. *qūrt*, Mgh. *čīnā*, Pšt. *širmiš*, Pe. *gurg* 'id.' (Iwa61, p. 96;

- W73, pp. 509^{63,9}, 514; W75a, p. 127) – Doerfer 1965; 1992, p. 45; 1993, pp. 84–85; Li64, p. 35, Li65, p. 282; Li70, pp. 305–306; MYYC pp. 575; Nu11, p. 303; Poppe 1964, pp. 164–170, esp. pp. 164–166; Ry06, pp. 311–312; TMEN §191; Vovin 2007b, pp. 198–199 • MMoM *cinō* ~ S *cino* ~ A *cinā* [Cag. *bōri*, MTu. *qurt*] ~ U *cina* ~ A *canā* ‘id.’, M *gendū cinō* ‘Wolfsrude’, A *deltū canā* ~ A *deltū cinā* [MTu. *tālū qurt*] ‘hyena’, (pl.) M *cinōs* ‘Stammesname’ (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *cina* ‘wolf’ [Tib. *l/ce spyang* ‘jackal’] (Ka09, p. 69); MoL *cinu-a*, KhalL *čono/n* ‘wolf’, MoL *cinuncar* ‘jackal’ (Le60, p. 190); Ord. *čino* ~ *čono* ‘loup’ (Mos41, pp. 706, 712); YogE *čəna* ‘id.’ (Nu11, p. 303); Oir/D/Kho/U *čon*, /Dz *čon^a* [OirL *čonō*] ‘id.’, /U *čonon arsār dewel kīnē* ‘de la peau du loup on fait des vêtements fourrés’ (Ka58, p. 166); Kalm. *čono* ‘Wolf; auch vom Menschen: wild, unverschämt’ (Ra35, p. 444) • Mo. > Tu. (TMEN id.) – Sal. (Drimba 1976, p. 419; Kak62, p. 186) • Mo. > Tung. (TMEN id.).
- (IV) Mgh. *ghajar* ‘land’ – Mgh/Le *ghajar* ‘plain’ ~ /Mrv, M, Z *ɣajar* ‘Erde, Land (Mrv); terre, pays (M, Z)’ ~ /Mr *ɣazar* ‘terre, pays’ ~ /KI *ɣājār* ‘field’ ~ /LM *ɣājār* ‘field’ ~ /LM *ɣazar* ‘earth’ ~ /K, N *ğajār* ‘(K, N) Erde, Boden; (K) Landstück’ [vs. Haz. *zamīn* (W75b, p. 101), cf. Pe. part of the manuscript p. 339] (Li54, p. 133; Ra05, p. 28; W71, p. 168₃₆; W72a, p. 178), Mgh/Zi, Kun *ɣazar* ~ /L₁ *ğazar* ~ /L₂ *ğahzar* ‘Erde’ (Iwa61, p. 105; W75a, p. 135; W77, p. 135) – Li62, p. 41; MYYC p. 277; Nu11, p. 336; TMEN §253 • MMoM/S/U/P/A *qajar* [MTu., Cag. *yer*] ‘terre, (la) Terre, sol, terrain, territoire, pays, endroit; *li* (mesure de longueur)’ ~ S *qajir* ‘earth’ ~ A *qacar* ~ A *ɣajar* ‘Erde; Gegend, Ort, Landstrich’, (pl.) S *qajat* ~ U *ɣajad* (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *ɣajar* ‘earth, place; land, country’ (Ka09, pp. 108–109); MoL *ɣajar*, KhalL *gazar* ‘(i) ground, soil, earth, land, territory; (ii) locality, region, district, territory, country, place (physically and figuratively), point; room (possibility of admission); way; (iii) office, institution; department, bureau; (iv) distance; Chinese mile (1,889.76 ft.)’ (Le60, pp. 355–356); Ord. *ğajar* ‘sol, terre, place, endroit, terrain, champ, contrée; mesure de longueur = li chinois (environ 600 mètres); motif, raison, fait’ (Mos41, p. 285); YogE *ğajar* ‘land, earth, soil, place’ (Nu11, p. 336); Oir/D/Dz *ɣazar* ~ *ɣazr* [OirL *ɣazar*] ‘terre, place’ (Ka58, p. 138); Kalm. *ɣazr* ‘Erde, Land, Ort, Stelle’ (Ra35, p. 148) • Mo. > Tu. – YogW (NuRo96, p. 68₂₃₉) • (Recent) Mo. > Tung. (TMEN id., Rozycki 1994, p. 85) – Ma. (only) *gajaraci* ~ *gajarci* [Mo. *ɣajarci*] ‘Wegführer’ → [Mo. *ɣajarcilaqu*] *gajarcilambi* ‘den Weg zeigen, führen’ (Hauer p. 175).
- (XXIV) Mgh. *hugutun* ‘to strike’ – Mgh/Le *hug* ‘heat (correct: <beat>)’ ~ /Mrv *ūggūnā* ‘schlägt’ (*ūg* onom. für das Schlagen) → *ūggūlyanā* ‘lässt schlagen’, /Mr, M *ōgguna* ‘battre’ ~ /D, K, N, S, KM *ugu-* ~ *ogu-* ~ *ūgū-* ‘(D, K, N, S) schlagen, treten; (KM) werfen’ ~ /Z₀ *ūgutu* ‘schlage!’, /K *ugu ubda* ‘niederschlagen und zu Boden fallen (Lehnübersetzung von pe. *zadaš ḥabān daš*)’ (Li54, p. 134, Ra05, p. 41; W72a, p. 182; W72b, p. 577₂₁), Mgh/Zi, Kun *ūggū* ‘beat, hit’ ~ /L₁ *uggū* ‘schlage!’ → /L₁ *uggūḥči* ‘Schläger’, /L₁ *uggūkū* ‘schlagen’ ~ /L₂ *uggū-*

- ‘stoßen, besiegen’, /L₂ *uggū* ‘Schläge’ (Iwa61, p. 150; W75a, p. 165; W77, p. 187) – (↑) Özb. vocabulary under *uranam*; (??) MYYC p. 577 (Oir/KököNuur *χoy-* ‘to beat, hit, strike’) • MMoA *ügibe* [Cag. *urdi*]; the verb occurs two times in MA and translates Cag. *ur-*, more common translations of *ur-* in MA include *delet-*, *bula-uda-*, and *oki-* (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); (??) YogE *hokpé* ‘to beat, hit’ (Mannerheim 1911, p. 68) • According to Weiers (W72b id.) perhaps to be connected with Mo. *ög-*, but this is improbable because of the occurrences in MA. Prob., as first suggested by Ramsted (Ra05 id.) of onom. origin. The last opinion could also count for the Oir. and YogE forms.
- (IX) Mgh. *iljigan* ‘ass’ – Mgh/Le *eljigàn* ~ /Le *eljigan* ~ /Mrv *eljiḡōn* ~ /Mr, M *eljiḡân* (*eljiḡā:n* ~ /M *eljiḡā:*) ~ /M *eljiḡā* ~ /KS *eljigan* ~ /K, N *eljiā/n* ~ /N *eljiḡē* ‘ass’ (Li54, p. 132; Ra05, p. 27; W71, p. 165₁₁; W72a, p. 164), Mgh/Zi *eljiḡan* ~ /Kun *a’ljiḡn* ~ /L₁ *ilḡigan* ‘id.’, /L₃ Ar. *himār*, Trkm. *išak*, Mgh. *ilḡigan*, Pšt. *iḡrah*, Pe. *ḡar* ‘Esel’ (Iwa61, p. 101; W73, pp. 508_{62:11}, 514, 517; W75, p. 139) – Li57, p. 117; Li64, p. 42; MYYC p. 256; Nu11, p. 328; Ry06, p. 101; TMEN §68 • MMoS/A *eljiḡe/n* [MTu. *ešāk*] ~ U *eljiḡen* ~ A *ešigen* ‘donkey’; A *eme eljiḡen* [MTu. *tiši ešāk*] ‘female donkey’, A *keherin eljiḡen* ‘wild donkey’ (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *eljiḡen* ‘donkey, ass’ (Ka09, p. 97); MoL *eljiḡe/n*, KhalL *ilḡig* ~ *ilḡgen* ‘id.’ (Le60, p. 311); Ord. *eljiḡe* ‘âne’ (Mos41, p. 235); YogE *eljiḡen* ~ *eljiḡen* ‘donkey’ (Nu11, p. 328); Oir/D *eljiḡin*, /Dz *eljiḡen* [OirL *eljiḡe*] ‘id.’ (Ka58, p. 137); Kalm. *eljiḡnā* ~ *eljiḡnā* ‘id.’ [> Alt. *äljiḡän*] (Ra35, p. 119) • Mo. > Tu. (←; VEWT p. 40) – Sal. (Drimba 1976, p. 419), Tuv. (Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 161), YogW (NuRo96, p. 59₁₅₁; Ro00, p. 295; Ten76a, p. 634) • (Ancient) Mo. > Tung. (Grube 1900, p. 9; Rozycki 1994, p. 67; TMEN id.) – Jur. *ehe* [ʔread: e[i]xe or e[l]he] ‘donkey’ (Kane 1989, p. 222₄₃₆; Kara 1991, p. 151), Sib. *eixeN* ‘donkey, ass’ (Yamamoto 1969, p. 108₂₂₁₈), Ma. *eihen* ‘Esel’ (Hauer p. 124).
- (XVIII) Mgh. *khatun* ‘woman’; (16, xv) Özb. *khatun* [Haz. *kaini*] ‘woman’ ~ (17, xviA) *khatun* [Haz. *beri*] ‘lady’ – Mgh/Le *khātun* ‘woman’ ~ /Mrv *χot/un* ‘Weib’ ~ /Mr, M *χātun* ‘femme’ ~ /M *χātu* ~ /KSn *χatun* ‘Ehefrau’ ~ /B, K, D *χotun* ‘Frau’ (DoHe93, p. 60; Li54, pp. 133–134; Ra05, p. 29; W72a, p. 167), Mgh/L₁ *ḡātūn* ‘id.’, (pl.) /Zi *χatut* (Iwa61, p. 106; W75a, p. 137), Mgh/Bdx. *χatun* [Pe. *zan*] ‘id.’ (HeHiThe79, p. 197₁₇); Özb/Afgh. *χatun* ~ *χātun* ~ *χātun* ~ *χā:tun* ‘wife, woman’ → *χatunlik* ~ *χātunlik* ‘marriage’ (Ja38, p. 194; →); Haz. *xatun* ‘lady, woman’ (Du73, p. 85) ~ *χatun* [vs. Mgh. *zaiḡā*; *χotūn*] (W75b, p. 100) ~ /DZ *khatu/n* ~ *khātu/n* ‘wife’, *khatun-i-awwal* or *kalo* ‘elderly wife’ (Fe59, p. 48) – Doerfer 1992, pp. 43, 45, 48, 54; 1993, pp. 80, 82; 2004, pp. 464–465; Li62, p. 43; MYYC p. 335; Nu11, p. 405; Ry06, pp. 475–478; Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017; TMEN §1159; VEWT p. 157; Vovin 2007a, pp. 177–178 • Tu. (VIII) *χatun* ‘lady’, and the like. Survives in NE Tuv. *kaday*; SE Trki *xatun* ~ *xotun*; NC, NW *qatūn*; SC Özb. *xātūn*; SW Az. *ḡadūn*, Osm. *kadūn* meaning only ‘married woman, wife’ with a slightly honorific flavour (C72, pp. 602–603); Uig. *qatun* ~ *qadun* ‘Frau, Gemahlin’ (Yamada 1993, p. 274, Zieme 1992); UigS *qatun kiši* ‘femme’ (Li66, p. 165); CC *qatun* ~ *χatun*

‘Frau, besonders von Vornehmen; Ehefrau; Hausfrau, *domina* ‹Herrin, Gebieterin›, *qan qatunī* ‘Kaiserin, *imperatrix*’, *soltan qatunī* ‘Königin, *regina*’, *tul xatun* ‘Witwe, *vidua*’, *qam qatun* ‘Zauberin, *incantatrix*’ vs. *epči* ‘Frau, Ehefrau; *mulier* ‹Weib, ursprünglich als Gegensatz zur Jungfrau, später als Gegensatz zum Mann›; *evdegi epči* ‘Dienerin, *famula*’ (Grönbech 1942, pp. 89, 196, 225; Houtsma 1894, p. 78) – Tr. *hatun* ‘(i) woman; lady; (ii) a title meaning Mrs. or Miss (used after a first name); (iii) *khatun*, wife of a khan; (iv) wife’ (Red p. 304) vs. *kadın* ‘(i) woman; (ii) woman who has lost her virginity; (iii) (prov.) title used after the name of elder women; (iv) (coll.) cleaning woman; maid; (v) good at housekeeping (id. p. 380)’; Trkm. *xatın* [*xā*] ‘(hist.) woman, wife [Ru. женщина, жена]’ (BaKaXa68, p. 692); Kzx. *qatın* ‘wife, married woman’ (Shn66, p. 262); Kir. *katın* ‘woman, wife; elderly woman’ (Ju pp. 360–361); Özb/Buch. *katun* ‘woman, wife’, *k. al-* ‘to marry’ (O05, p. 31), /Qil. *χatun* ‘id.’ (Ja37, p. 49), Özb. *χâtin* ‘id.; no longer a virgin’ → *χâtinli* ‘married’ (CAHG pp. 356–357; Bor59, p. 505), Özb. > Taj. *χâtin* ~ *χâtun* ‘Frau, Dame’ (Do67, p. 37); Trki *χatun* ~ *χatün* ~ *χa:tun* ~ *χa:tün* ~ *χâtun* ~ *χotun* ~ *χotün* ‘wife, woman, lady’ → *χatunluq* ~ *χotunluq* ‘wifehood’ (Ja64, p. 126; Ja80, p. 129; Ja87, p. 33), *χatun* ‘Frau, Weib’ (Ja67, p. 26), *χatun al-* ‘to marry’ (Ja80 id.), *χatun kiši* ‘woman’ (Ja87, p. 33); Uyğ. *xotun* ‘woman, wife’, *xotun-bala* ‘wife and children; family’, → *xotuntalaq* ‘wretch, scoundrel; bastard’, → *xotun-qizlar* ‘woman, womenfolk’ [Özb. *xâtin-qizlar*], → *xotunluq* ‘of *xotun*; abstract n. of *xotun*’, *xotunluqqa al-* ‘to choose as a wife’ (Sch92, p. 380); Trki/Ili *χatun* ‘woman, wife’ (Ha91, p. 42); Lop. *xotun* ‘woman, wife [Ru. жена]; lady, madam; Mrs. [госпожа]’ (Mal56, p. 186); Sal/Ili *χadın* ‘woman’ (Ya02, p. 102), /Qh *qatun* ~ *qâten* ~ *qâton* ‘woman, wife’, *qatun kiš* ‘id.’ (Kak62, p. 187; Ten76b, p. 463); YogW *qatın* [Mo.] ‘noble woman, wife of an important official person [жена важного чиновного человека] (Mal); wife; wife of a high ranking person (khan, official, chieftain), lady, queen (Ro)’, cf. *səždiy*, *derbetsk* (Mal57, p. 57; Ro00, p. 344), *qatun* ‘wife of a prince; lady, madam, Mrs.’ (Ten76a, p. 200) • Tu. > Mo. – MMoM/S/U/A *qatun* [MTu. *qatun*] ~ M/S/U *qadun* ‘Frau, Gemahlin; angesehene, vornehme Dame’, (pl.) M/U/A *qatut* ~ U *qatud* ~ M *qadunt* ~ A *qatundun* (pl.-gen.) (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *qatun* ‘empress, queen; lady, noblewoman, gentlewoman’, *qatun eke* ‘the queen mother’, (pl.) *qatud* (Ka09, p. 232); MoL *qatun*, Khall *xatan* ‘lady, queen, princess; wife (hon.)’ (Le60, p. 946); Ord. ¹*ğatun* ‘dame, épouse de prince; nom du fleuve Jaune’ (Mos41, p. 299); YogE *ğatən* ‘empress; wife; woman’ (Nu11, p. 405); Kalm. ¹*χatıŋ* ‘Gemahlin, Edelfrau, Königin’ (Ra35, p. 172) • Mo. > Tu. – Yak. > Ewn. (Kałuźyński 1995, p. 151; TMEN id.) • (Recent) Mo. > Tung. (MT §568; Poppe 1966, p. 196; Rozycki 1994, p. 135, TMEN id.) – Ma. *katun* ‘Fürstin, Herrscherin, Königin, Kaiserin’ (Hauer p. 304) • Mo. > Tib. *k’at’un* ‘princess’ (Laufer 1916, p. 494).

(XVII, XIX) Mgh. *khushpas* ‘(XVII) son, (XIX) boy’ [i.e. ‘sons, boys’] – Mgh/Mrv *küşfat* ~ *küşpat* ‘Kind’ (Ra05, p. 31) [i.e. ‘children’, but not Pe. as considered by Ramstedt] ~ /D *kufb’ā* ‘Kind’ (W72a, p. 171), /Me *reza kushpan* ‘children’

- (W71, p. 175_{102, 103}) [all these shortened forms] ← /DŠ *kavfib'ʿan* ‘Junges’ ~ /K *kovfiba* ‘Junge, Page; Sohn’ ~ /DŠ, KM *kovfib'ʿan* ‘Kind, Junges’ ~ /K *qovfib'ʿan* ‘id.’ ~ /KS *köüşiban* ~ /KI *köüşiba* ‘son’, (pl.) /KI, LM *köüşibat* ~ /LM *köüşibad* ‘sons’, → /K *kavfib'ʿakan* ‘Jüngelchen’ (W71, pp. 164–165₈; W72a, pp. 170–171) ← Mgh. **kov/n* ‘Sohn, Kind’ ~ /Mrv *köün* ~ /Le *koun* ~ /Mr, M *kəun* ~ /KS, LM *köün* ~ /Kd *ka'ūⁿ* ~ /Me *kau* ~ /M *kəu* ‘Kind, Sohn, Knabe, Junges’ (DoHe93, p. 58; Li54, p. 137; Ra05, pp. 30–31; W71, pp. 164–165₈), Mgh/L₁ *kau* ‘Jungen, Buben (Kurzform von *kaunāt*)’, /L₁ *kaun* ‘Sohn’, (pl.) /L₁ *kaunāt* ‘Jungen, Buben’ (W75a, p. 142), → /N/K *kavk'a* ~ *kavk'a* ‘Junge’, (pl.) /Mrv *kökāt* ‘Kinder’ (Ra05, p. 30; W71 id.; W72a, p. 169) + Mgh. **fib'ʿan* ~ **fib'ʿa* ‘Vogel’ – Cleaves 1949, p. 116₁₃₀; Nu11, pp. 422–423, 488; Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017; W71, pp. 164–165₈ • MMoS *kö-ün šiba-un* ‘fils’ ~ A *kü-ün šiba-un* [Cag. *oylanlarī* ~ *oyli*] ≈ U *köbegün sibayun* ‘id.’ (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); MoL *keüked sibayut* ‘children’ (Le60, p. 693); Ord. *kū^kχet šiwū* ‘les enfants’ (Mos41, p. 435) ← MMoM/S *kö-ün* ‘fils; prince; grand prince’ ~ S *keü* (or *köü*?) ~ P *ke-ün* ‘son’ ~ A *keün* ~ A *köün* ~ A *kün* ~ A *kawun* ~ A *kü-ün* ‘fils, garçon; Säugling (IMR)’, (pl.) M/S *kö-üt* (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); MoL *keü* ~ *küü* (coll. form of *köbegün*), KhalL *xüü* ‘son; young boy; interest’ (Le60, p. 509); Ord. ²*kū* ‘fils, garçon; se dit aussi d’un homme adulte, par mépris; s’emploie comme mot de tendresse en caressant un animal mâle; intéret que rapporte une somme d’argent’ (Mos41, pp. 433–434); YogE (only in compounds) *hajə-kün* ‘grandson’, *kü:n hkon* ‘children’ (Nu11, p. 422) ≈ MMoU *köbegü/n* ~ P *kübe-un* ~ A *köbewün* ‘son’, (pl.) U *köbegüd* (Rybatzki id.); EMoL *köbegün* ‘son, boy’, (pl.) *köbegüd* (Ka09, pp. 155–156); MoL *köbegün*, KhalL *xübüün* ‘son, boy; pawn (chess)’ (Le60, p. 494); Ord. *köwögün* [!] ‘(emprunté à la langue litt. – dans un conte) fils’, *köwüt* ‘esclave du dernier rang’ [MoL *köbegüd*, cf. SH *ger-ün kö-üd*] (Mos41, p. 433); Oir/D/Kho *köwün* ~ /Dz *küwün* [OirL *kübüün* ~ *küböün*], /D *köwünēs yarsan köwün* ‘petit-fils’, (pl.) /Dz *küwüd* [OirL *küböüd*] ‘fils, garçon’ (Ka58, p. 149); Kalm. *köwün* ‘Sohn, Knabe; Bauer (im Schachspiel), Kopie, Abschrift; Zinsen (selten)’ (Ra35, p. 242) + [Khit. *šawā* ‘falcon’ (Doerfer 1993, pp. 84–85; Ligeti 1964, p. 288), <š.au.a>, (Liaoshi) **šauwa* ‘id.’ (Kane 2009, p. 97);] MMoM *sibawu/n* ‘bird, falcon’ ~ S/P *šiba-un* ‘oiseau’ ~ U *šibayun* ~ U *sibayun* ‘id.’ ~ A *suwān* ‘predatory bird’ ~ A *šibān* ~ A *šibawun* ~ A **sibau/n* (→ *sibauci*) ~ A *šibaun* ~ A *šibün* [Cag. MTu. *quš* ~ Cag. *tawuq*] ‘bird’, (pl.) S *šiba-ut* ~ U *šibayud* ~ U *sibayud* [Cag. *qušlar*] (Rybatzki id.); EMoL *sibayun* ‘bird, falcon’, (pl.) *sibayud* (Ka09, p. 258); MoL *sibayun*, KhalL *šuwuu* ‘(i) bird, fowl; (ii) child’ (Le60, p. 693); Ord. *šiwū* ‘oiseau’ (Mos41, p. 626); YogE *šu:n* ‘id.’ (Nu11, p. 488); Oir/D/Dz *šuwün* [OirL *šibuun*] ‘id.’, /D *šuwünā ūr* ‘nid’, /D *šar šuwün* ‘hibou’, /Dz *šuwūna χān* ‘Garuda’ (Ka58, p. 159); Kalm. *šowün* ‘Vogel’, *šar š.* ‘Ohreule’ (Ra35, p. 366).
- (XII) Mgh. *qabar* ‘nose’ – Mgh/Le *kabr* ~ /Me *qubar* ~ /Mrv, Mr, M *qabar* ~ /M *qabār* ~ /KI *kabar* ~ /K *qab'ʿar* ‘nose’ [vs. Haz. *bīnī* ~ *damāy* (W75b, p. 100)] (Li54, p. 135; Ra05, p. 31; W71, p. 172₇₃; W72a, p. 176), Mgh/Zi, Kun, L₁

- qabar* '(Zi, Kun) nose; (L₁) Nase, Schnauze' (Iwa61, p. 122; W75a, p. 149) – Li62, p. 40; MYYC p. 322; Nu11, p. 396 • MMoM/S/A *qabar* [Cag. MTu. *burun*] 'nose' (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *qabar* 'id.' (Ka09, p. 222); MoL *qabar* ~ *qamar*, KhalL *xamar* '(i) nose, muzzle, snout, trunk of an elephant; (ii) anything suggestive of the nose in shape or structure; spur of a mountain between valleys or ravines; cape; angle; partition (as in a room); adjacent' (Le60, p. 895); Ord. *χamar* 'nez, naseaux, narines, extrémitée pointue, pointe, anneau qu'on met au nez des bœufs vicieux, cheville qui traverse le nez des chameaux, museroles, piton' (Mos41, p. 330); YogE *χwa.r* ~ *χaβar* 'nose' (Nu11, p. 396); Oir/D/M/U *χamar* ~ /Dz *χammār* [OirL *χamar*] 'id.; (U) bout supérieure de la botte', /D *χamarā mōrsin* 'cloison du nez', /Dz *χamarč* 'courroie passant dans les naseaux du cheval' (Ka58, p. 142); Kalm. *χamr* 'Nase' (Ra35, p. 164) • (Recent) Mo. > Ma. ²*kabari* 'Auswuchs an der Nase von Maultieren und Pferden' (Hauer p. 298; Rozycki 1994, p. 129).
- (XX) Mgh. *qiz* 'daughter' – Özb/Afgh. *qiz* 'daughter, girl' (Ja38, p. 219; →); Afš/FX/S *qiz* 'daughter' (DoHe89, p. 42) – Golden 2001, p. 51; TMEN §1601; VEWT p. 269 • Tu. (VIII) ¹*qiz* basically 'girl, unmarried woman', but often used with a more restricted meaning 'daughter, slave girl', and the like. Although the main entry in *Kaš.* is *qiz*, the original form was certainly *qīz*, SW Trkm. still *qiz*; c.i.a.p.a.l. (C72, pp. 679–680) – Tr. *kiz* 'girl; daughter; virgin, maiden; (playing cards) queen' (Red p. 431); Khlj. *qīz* ~ *qiz* 'Tochter, Jungfrau' → *qizluq* 'Jungfräulichkeit' (DoTe80, pp. 176, 177, 178); Trkm. *giz* [гы:з] 'girl, female child; maid, maiden; daughter' (BaKaXa68, p. 227); Kzx. *qiz* 'daughter; girl, little girl, young girl', *q. bala* 'a little girl', *q. ūzatqandayī toy* 'wedding' (Shn66, p. 271); Kir. *kiz* 'girl, lady; maid, maiden; bride' (Ju p. 476); Özb/Qil. *qiz* 'girl' (Ja37, p. 52), /Urg. *qiz* 'girl, maid' (Dob74, p. 92); Özb. *qiz* 'girl, daughter; virgin, maiden' → *qizalâq* 'young girl' (CAHG p. 243; Bor59, p. 610), Özb. > Taj. *qiz* 'Mädchen' (Do67, p. 45); Trki *qiz* 'girl, maid, daughter', *qizbala* ~ *qizvala* 'girl, daughter', → *qizliq* 'daughterhood' (Ja64, p. 249; Ja80, p. 139), *qiz* 'Mädchen, Tochter, Jungfrau', *orda q.* 'Hofdame' (Ja67, p. 46); Uyy. *qiz* 'girl, unmarried woman; daughter' → *qizčaq* 'young girl' (Sch92, p. 666); Lop. *qiz* 'maid, maiden; daughter' (Mal56, p. 132); Sal/Ili *qiz* 'girl', *oγul qiz* 'boys and girls' (Ya02, p. 107), /Qh *qiz* ~ *qəz* 'jeune fille' (Kak62, p. 188), *quiz* ~ *qyz* ~ *q'yz* 'daughter; girl, lady' (Ten76b, pp. 466, 467); YogW *qiz* 'id.', *oγul qizdari* 'children' (Mal57, p. 62), *qyz* ~ *γyz* ~ ²*qys* 'girl, lady, maid, maiden; daughter', *qyz oγol* 'children' (Ten76a, p. 201), *qiz* 'girl; daughter; unmarried young woman', *q. oγul* 'children, daughters and sons', *eyin q.* 'niece', *kiⁿčiq q.* 'small girl, young girl', *pezik q.* 'elder girl, young woman', *sunzi q.* 'granddaughter', *qizaza* 'elder sister' (← *qiz* + *aza* 'elder brother'), *qiztar* 'girl, little girl', *qiztarqaš* 'little girl' (Ro00, pp. 347–348) • Tu. l.-w. in Mgh., otherwise not attested in Mo. languages, cf. TMEN (id.).
- (XIV) Mgh. *qol* 'hand', (XV) (↓) *pai-i qol* 'finger nail' – (MghL **qol* →) /Zi *qoltuq* ~ /Kun *q^wlt^wq* ~ /L₁ *qultuq* '(Zi, Kun) arm; (L₁) Oberarm, Arm; Tatze' (Iwa61, p. 127; W75a, p. 154); Mgh/Bdx. *qol* [Pe. *dast*] 'Hand', *qol* ~ *dastas* [Pe.

dastās] ‘Handmühle’ (HeHiThe79, pp. 199₆₁, 205₂₃₆); Mgh/Mackenzie < Tu., cf. Özb/Afgh. *qol* ‘hand, paw (wolf, in tales)’, *bər qolliq* ‘with one hand’ (Ja38, p. 219; →), otherwise Mgh. *gar* ~ *yar* ‘Hand’ [vs. Haz., Pe. *dast* ~ *dest* ~ *dist*] (DoHe93, p. 57; W71, pp. 166₁₅, 171₇₀; W72a, p. 165; W75b, p. 101); Afš/FX *γol* ‘Ärmel’ (DoHe89, p. 42) – Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017; TMEN §§1571, 1575; VEWT p. 276 • Uig. (VIIIff) *qol* properly ‘the upper arm’, as opposed to *ālig* ‘the forearm, hand’, but in some modern languages more generally ‘the arm’ and even ‘the hand’; also has various metaph. meanings, e.g. ‘a wing’ of an army [this < Mo. (VR)]. S.i.a.m.l.g. → Uig. (VIIIff) *qoltuq* ‘armpit’; s.i.s.m.l. (C72, pp. 614–615, 619) – Tr, *kol* ‘arm; sleeve; etc.’ → *koltuk* ‘armpit; armchair; etc.’ (Red pp. 438, 440); Khlj. *qol* ‘Arm’ → *qoltuq* ‘Achselhöhle’ (DoTe80, p. 178); Trkm. *gol* [гол] ‘hand, arm’ → *goltuk* ‘armpit’ (BaKaXa68, pp. 185–186); Kzx. *qol* ‘hand, wrist, arm; foreleg (of animals), gorge; army, (mil.) detachment [third group < Mo. (VR)]’ → *qoltiq* ‘gulf, bay; armpit’ (Shn66, pp. 265–266); Kir. ¹*kol* ‘hand [рука, кисть руки]; (og: *aldinki kol*) foreleg; finger; handwriting’ → *koltuk* ‘armpit, place under the armpits [место под мышками]’ (Ju pp. 395–396, 398–399); Özb/Buch. *kāl* ~ *köl* [!] ‘hand’, *kālkap* ~ *kālteri* ‘gloves’ → *kāltuk* ~ *koltuk* ‘bundle’ (O05, p. 34), Özb. *qol* ‘arm & hand; finger; writing, hand’, *qolqāp* ‘mitten, glove’, → *qoltiq* ‘(i) armpit, underarm; (ii) bay, gulf, inlet’ → *qoltiqbardār* ‘supporter, helper’ (CAHG p. 244; Bor59, pp. 635–636); Trki *qol* ‘Arm, Hand, Finger, Zehe’ (LC11, p. 95), *qol* ‘hand’, (Guma) *q. gošt* ‘meat of a front leg’ (Ja64, p. 251; Ja67, p. 47; Ja96, p. 43₁₁₅) ~ *qol* ‘Handknochen’ (Me55, p. 101) → *qolda-* ‘to care of, to lead by the hand’, → **qolla-* → *qollaš-* ‘to shake hands, to make a bet’, → *qoltoq* ‘arm-pit’, → *qolvay* ‘bundle’ (Ja64 id.), → *qollašlay* ‘Verlobte’ ~ *qollašliq* ‘Verlobte; Braut’ (Ja67, p. 47), *qol* ‘hand’, *q. ber-* ‘to give the hand, *q. idin tut-* ‘to take someone by the hand’ → *qoldaš* ‘companion’ (Ja80, p. 139); Uyğ. *qol* ‘hand, arm, finger; financial conditions; handwriting; free or spare time; cooking’ → *qoltuq* ‘armpit; bay, bend’ → *qoltuqla-* ‘to support with one’s hands; to tuck under one’s arm’, → *qoldaš* ‘attendant of bride or groom’, → *qolwaq* ‘small boat’ → *qolwaqçi* ‘sailor’, → *qolqap* ‘glove, mitten’, → *qol-qanat* ‘arms’, → *qolyazma* ‘manuscript’, → *qolyayliq* ‘handkerchief’, → *qolla-* ‘to approve, endorse, support’ → *qollan-* ‘to adopt, take’ → *qollanma* ‘handbook, guide’, → *qolluq* ‘finger, hand’, → *qolmu-qol* ‘in unison, simultaneously; with one’s own hands’ (Sch92, pp. 645–647); Trki/Ili *qol* ‘hand, arm’ (Ha91, p. 45); Lop. *qol* ‘hand’ → *qoltuq* ‘armpit; n. pr.’ (Mal56, pp. 128–129); Sal/Ili ¹*γol* ‘arm’ (Ya02, p. 108), /Qh *qol* ~ *γol* ‘id.’ (Kak62, p. 188), ¹*qol* ‘id.’ (Ten76b, p. 464); YogW ³*qol* ‘side, flank, hip [сторона, бок]; hand [рука]’, *sol γol* ‘left-hand side [левая сторона]’, *altı qollıy purqan* ‘six-armed Buddha [шестирукий бурхан]’ → *qoltiq* ‘armpit’ (Mal57, pp. 57, 58), *qol* ‘hand’ → *qoltyq* ‘id.’ (Ten76a, p. 200), ¹*qol* ‘arm’, *ki^hçiq q.* ‘fore arm’, *ya^hqa q.* ‘upper arm’ → *qo^hltiq* ~ *qo^hltiq^h* ~ *q^ho^hltiq^h* ‘id.’ (Ro00, p. 348) • Otherwise not attested in Mo. languages (Rybatzki, *forthcoming* id.; TMEN id.).

- (XXIII) Mgh. **kelata* ‘talk!’, in: *bikelata* ‘Don’t talk!’ ← (↑) *bi* + *kelata* – Mgh/Le *kela* ‘speech’ ~ /Le, Mr, M; B, S, K *kelan* ‘(Le) tongue; (Mr, M, B, S, K) langue, parole, mot’ ~ /Mrv *kelān* ‘Zunge’ ~ /M, MS *kela* ~ /KI *kelān* ‘mouth’ [vs. Haz. *zibū* ‘Zunge’ (W75b, p. 101)], Mgh/Mrv *kelānā* ‘sagt’ ~ /B, D, K, S *kela-* ~ *kelā-* ~ *kele-* ‘sprechen, reden’ (Li54, p. 136; Ra05, p. 30; W72a, p. 70), Mgh/Zi *kela* ‘tongue’ ~ /Kun *kʰlʰn* ‘id.’ ~ /Zi *kelan* ‘speech, saying’ ~ /L₁, L₂ *kilan* ‘(L₁) Zunge, Sprache, Wort, Rede; (L₂) Bericht; Geheiß’, (pl.) /L₁ *kilat* ‘Zungen, Sprachen’, → /L₁ *killahčī* ‘Sprecher’, /L₁ *killakū* ‘sprechen, sagen’ (Iwa61, p. 111; W75a, pp. 142–143; W77, p. 153), /Zi *bikelan* ‘mute, speechless’ (Iwa61, p. 91) [≈ MMoA *kelegei* [Cag. *kelegei*] (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*), Mo. *kelegei* ‘stotternd, stumm’ ← *kele* + *ügei* ‘sprachlos’ (MT §87)] – Clark 1977, pp. 136–138; Li62, pp. 49–50; Li70, pp. 292–293; MYYC pp. 340–341; Nu11, pp. 409–410; Ry06, pp. 553, 557; TMEN §335; VEWT pp. 248, 249 • MMoM/S/U/A *kele-* [Cag. *ayt-* ~ *sözle-*] ‘dire, parler’ (Rybatzki id.); MoL *kele-*, KhalL *xellex* ‘to utter words, express in words; to speak, say, tell, narrate’ (Le60, p. 447); Ord. *kele-* ‘dire, parler, raconter; dire du mal, faire des reproches, réprimander’ (Mos41, p. 411); YogE *kel-* ‘to speak’, **kele-* ← **kelele-* (Nu11, p. 410); Kalm. *kelʰχə* ‘(i) sagen, sprechen; (ii) versprechen, verloben (die Kinder)’ (Ra35, p. 223) • MMoM/U *kele/n* ‘(M) Zunge; Rede, Worte, Nachricht, Sprache; (U) Sprache’ ~ S/A *kelen* [Cag. MTu. *til* ~ Cag. *χaber*] ‘(S, A/VdI) langue; (A/IM) Erzählung, Geschichte; (A/AL, Ras) Zunge’ ~ A *kele* ‘parole’, A *kelene uran* [MTu. *tilavuz*] ‘eloquent’ (Rybatzki id.); EMoL *kele* ‘tongue, language’ (Ka09, p. 143); MoL *kele/n*, KhalL *xel/en* ‘(i) tongue; (ii) anything resembling a tongue; bell clapper, tongue of a buckle, etc.; (iii) language, dialect, speech’ (Le60 id.); Ord. *kele* ‘langue, langage, nouvelle’ (Mos41 id.); YogE *kelen* ‘tongue; speech, language’ (Nu11, p. 409); Oir/D/Dz/U *kelen* [OirL *kele/n*] ‘langue, langage’, /D *šin kelend ordžēn* ‘commencer à parler (petit enfant)’ (Ka58, p. 147); Kalm. *kelŋ* ‘Zunge, Sprache, Nachricht’ (Ra35, p. 224) → MMoM/S/U/A *kelele-* ‘to say, speak’ (Rybatzki id.); EMoL *kelele-* ‘to speak, talk’ (Ka09 id.); MoL *kelele-*, KhalL *xellex* ‘to speak’ (Le60, p. 448) ≈ Ord. *keledʰχe* ‘dire (action de courte durée)’ (Mos41 id.) • Mo. > Tu. (Schönig 2000, pp. 120–122, esp. 121–122; TMEN id.) – Özb. > Taj. (Do67, p. 32), Kzx. (Shn66, p. 123), Sal. (Drimba 1976, p. 420) • (Recent) Mo. > Tung. (MT §§87, 518; Rozycki 1994, p. 104; TMEN id.): Ma. *hele* ‘Sprachvermögen’ ~ *helen* ‘der Sprache des feindlichen Landes Kundiger, Agent, Spion; für *hele*’ (Hauer p. 225).
- (VIII) Mgh. *morin* ‘horse’ – Mgh/Le; Mrv; Mr, M *morin* ‘(Mrv, Mr, M) horse; (Le) horse, mare’ ~ /KSn, Me *mori* ~ /Le *morn* ~ /LM *murin* ~ /Kd *morin* ~ /B, D, K, N, S *morin/n* ‘horse’, /S *morinsowar* [Mo. Pe.] ‘Reitpferd’ ≈ /Z₀ *muri* ‘Esel’ (DoHe93, p. 58; Li54, p. 138; Ra05, p. 33; W71, p. 165₁₀; W72a, p. 172; W72b, p. 578₂₉), Mgh/Zi *murin* ~ /Kun *mwrʰn* ~ /L₁ *murīn* ‘horse’, /L₃ Ar. *ħail*, Trkm. *āt*, Mgh. *murīn*, Pšt. *as* (sic), Pe. *asp* ‘id.’ (Iwa61, p. 117; W73, pp. 509_{63:3}, 515, 516; W75a, p. 146) – Hauenschild 1996, p. 181; Janhunen 1996, 1998; Li62, pp. 54–55; Li65, p. 281; MYYC p. 487; Nu11, p. 446; Ry06, pp.

615–616; Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017; TMEN §374 • MMoM/S/A *mori/n* [MTu. Cag. *at*] ~ U/P *morin* ~ S *muri* ‘Pferd; Jahr des Pferdes’ (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *morin* ‘horse, steed’ (Ka09, p. 184); MoL *mori/n*, KhalL *moř* ~ *morin* ‘horse, equine; (chiefly in names of plants and animals) great, big, large (cf. *üker*); knight (in chess)’ (Le60, p. 543); Ord. *mori* ‘cheval’ – dans quelques expressions, *mori* a le sens de ‘grand’, cf. *temē, ū^kχer* (Mos41, p. 467); YogE *mɔ:rə* ~ *mo:rə* ‘id.’ (Nu11, p. 446); Oir/D *morin* ~ /Kho *mor* ~ /Dz *mör* ~ /U *mörŋ* [OirL *morin* ~ *mörin*] ‘étalon, cheval’ (Ka58, p. 151); Kalm/Darqat Ölöt ¹*mörŋ* ~ /Darkhat *mörŋ* ~ /Torghut *morŋ* ‘Pferd’ (Ra35, pp. 266–267) • Mo. > Tu. (Khabtagaeva 2009, p. 261; TMEN id.): Uyy. *mori* ‘(geo. n.) Mori (Mulei), Kazakh autonomous county in Xinjiang (43.49N 90.11E). Established in 1920, changed to autonomous county in 1958. Population (1982): 77299 (14335 Kazakhs)’ (Sch92, p. 895) • (Ancient) Mo. > Tung. (Castrén 1856, pp. 96, 134; Kałużyński 1971b, p. 28; MT §51; Rozycki 1994, p. 159; TMEN id.; Yin 1995, p. 192) – Jur. *muri* ‘horse’ (Kane 1989, p. 216₄₁₀); Sib/Ili *mori/n* ~ *moriñ* ~ *mörin* ‘Pferd’ (Kałużyński 1977, pp. 226–227), [*mörin* < Oir.-Kalm. (VR)] ~ *moriN* ‘id.’ (Yamamoto 1969, p. 107₂₁₈₂); Ma. *morin* ‘Pferd; das zyklische Zeichen wu (午)’ (Hauer p. 349) • For the semantics of Mgh/Z₀ cf. the remarks (↓) under *tiva*.

- (X) Mgh. *nokai* ‘dog’ – Mgh/Le *nokai* ~ /Me *nuqai* ~ /Mrv *noqei* ~ /Mr *noqai* ~ /M *noqqei* ~ /KI *noqēi* ~ /N *noqai* ‘dog’ (Li54, p. 139; Ra05, p. 34; W71, p. 169₄₇; W72a, p. 174), Mgh/Zi *noqai* ~ /Kun *n^vq^ay* ~ /L₁ *nuqai* ‘id.’, /L₃ Ar. *kalb*, Trkm. *it*, Mgh. *nuqai*, Pšt. *aspai* (*sic*), Pe. *sak* (*sic*) ‘id.’ (Iwa61, pp. 119–120; W73, pp. 511_{65:1}, 515; W75a, p. 148) – Doerfer 1992, p. 48; 1993, pp. 80, 84; Li62, p. 58; Li65, p. 282; MYYC p. 513; Nu11, p. 462; Poppe 1964, pp. 166–167; Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017; Ry06, p. 626; Thomas 2011; TMEN §386; VEWT p. 354; Vovin 2007b, pp. 199–200 • Kit. *ñi.go* ~ **nieho* ‘dog’ (Kane 2009, p. 93); MMoS/U/A *noqai* [MTu. *it*] ~ P *noqoyi* ~ S *nuqu* ~ A *noyai* ~ A *noqā* ‘Hund’, S/U *noqai jil* ‘11. Jahr des Zyklus’, U *bing noqai jil* (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *noqai* ‘dog’ (Ka09, p. 198); MoL *noqai*, KhalL *noxoi* ‘dog; for superstitious reasons substitutes for <wolf> (*cimu-a*) in certain contexts; one of the 12 animal of the animal cycle; swindler, cheat; crafty, cunning, tricky’, *noqai jil* ‘eleventh year in the animal cycle’, *noqai čay* ‘<Dog hour>, period between 7 and 9 p.m.’ (Le60, p. 592); Ord. *noχā* ‘chien, loup’, *noχā jil* ‘la onzième année du cycle de douze’, *noχā sara* ‘la neuvième lune (d’après les calendriers astrologiques)’, *noχā čay* ‘de 7 à 9 h. du soir’ (Mos41, p. 497); YogE *noχqoi* ~ *noχgoi* ‘dog’ (Nu11, p. 462); Oir/D *noχā* ~ /Kho *noχā* [OirL *noxoi*, Oir. *noχoi*] ‘id.’ (Ka58, p. 152); Kalm. *noχā* ~ *noχā* ‘id., auch n. pr.’ (Ra35, p. 278) • Mo. > Tu. (TMEN id.); (ethnic designation): Trkm. *nogay* ‘Nogai’, n. *dili* ‘Nogai language’ (BaKaXa68, p. 475); Kzx. *noγay* ‘Tartar’ (Shn66, p. 150); Özb. *noγay* ‘Tatar, Noghay’ (CAHG p. 190); Uyy. *noγay* ‘(i) Nogai, a Turcic nationality in the USSR; (ii) (his., n.) old name for Tatar’ (Sch92, p. 939) • Mo. > Tung. (Castrén 1856, p. 135 [Ewk. *ñókā* ‘Zobel’(?)] –

- Ma. *niohe* ‘Wolf’ (Hauer p. 370); Sib/Ili *ñuxe* ~ *ñuyu* ~ *yuh/u* ‘id.’ (Kałużyński 1977, p. 234, Menges 1971, p. 45).
- (XI) Mgh. *nudut* ‘eye [correct: (pl.) ‘eyes’]’ · Mgh/Le *nuddun* ~ /Me, KI, LM *nudun* ~ /Mrv, Mr *nüdü*n ~ /M *nüdü*n ~ /M *nüddü* ~ /B, K *nudün* ~ /Kd *nö-dün* ‘eye’ (DoHe93, p. 59; Li54, p. 139; Ra05, p. 35; W71, p. 166₁₇; W72a, p. 174), Mgh/Zi, Kun *nüdü*n ~ /L_{1,4} *nudün* ~ /L₂ *nüdün* ‘Auge; (L₄) Blick, Hoffnungsblick, Hoffnung’, (pl.) /L₂ *nüdüd*, → /L₂ (dimin.) *nüdükän* → /L₂ (dimin. pl.) *nüdükät* (Iwa61, p. 121; W75a, p. 148; W77, p. 166; W83, p. 573) – Li62, p. 57; Li65, p. 275; MYYC p. 520; Nu11, p. 459; Ry06, pp. 622–623 · MMoS/U/A *nidü*n [Cag. MTu. *köz*] ‘Auge’; A *nidün qälqa* [Osm. *göz qapayı*] ‘Augenlid’, (Tu. pl. s.) A *nidünlär* (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *nidü*n ‘eye’ (Ka09, p. 193); MoL *nidü*n, KhalL *nüd* ‘eye; anything resembling the eye in shape; meshes of a net, etc.’ (Le60, p. 578); Ord. *nüdü*n ‘œil’ (Mos41, p. 503); YogE *nüdü*n ~ *nudun* ~ /Qinglong *nödön* ‘id.’ (Nu11, p. 459); Oir/D/Dz/Kho/U *nüddün* ~ /M *nid* [OirL *nidü*n] ‘œil, yeux’ (Ka58, p. 152); Kalm/SiddhiKür *çar nüden* ‘Black Eye’; Möndülgüü’s younger sister’ (Dzagd-süren–Tsolo 1982, p. 312), Kalm. *nüdñ* ‘Auge’ (Ra35, p. 282) · Mo. > Tu. – Yak. (Kałużyński 1961, p. 44).
- (XV) Mgh. *pai-i qol* ‘finger nail’ · Haz. *pāi* ‘Fuß’ – cf. *pai* in the Pe. part of the vocabulary + (↑) *qol*; (lit.) ‘hand of the foot!’ But in Özb. and some Trki sources *qol* has also the meaning ‘finger’, thus ‘finger of the food’? But still it is not yet ‘finger nail’! Also considered by Weiers (e-mail 9.11.2013), especially what concerns the second part *qol*, as for the moment problematic and unclear.
- (XVI) Mgh. *saqal* ‘beard’ – Mgh/Le, Me *saghal* ~ /Mrv, Mr, M, KI, LM *sayal* ~ /D, KM, K *sağal* (Li54, p. 140; Ra05, p. 37; W71, p. 166₂₀; W72a, p. 179), Mgh/Zi *sayal* ~ /Kun *s^aγ^al* ~ /L₁ *sağal* ‘beard’ (Iwa61, p. 130; W75a, p. 156), Mgh/Bdx. *saqal* [Pe. *rīš*] ‘id.’ (HeHiThe79, p. 198₄₁); Özb/Afgh. *saqal* ‘id.’ (Ja38, p. 221; →); Afš/Kbl *saqal* ~ *saqqal* ~ /S/Q/F *sayyal* ~ /FX/A/P *saqyal* ~ /Š *sāqyāl* ‘id.’ (DoHe89, p. 42) – Li62, p. 62; Li65, p. 276; MYYC 595; Nu11, p. 481; Ry06, pp. 677–678; Rybatzki 2009, pp. 152–153; Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017; VEWT p. 396 · Uig. (VIIIff) *saqal* obviously cognate with *saqqaq*, and probably a dev. n. from **saqa-* in the sense of ‘something hanging down’, ‘beard’. S.i.a.m.l.g. (C72, pp. 808–809) – Tr. *sakal* ‘beard, whiskers’ → *sakalsız* ‘beardless, lacking a beard’ (Red p. 596); Khlj. *saqqal* ~ *saqyal* ‘id.’ → *saqqalluy* ‘bärtig’ (DoTe80, p. 184); Trkm. *sakgal* ‘id.’ → *sakgalli* ‘with a beard, bearded’, → *sakgalsız* ‘without a beard, beardless’ (BaKaXa68, p. 558); Kzx. *saqal* ‘id.’ → *saqaldı* ‘beard, bearded man; grown up, elderly man’ (Shn66, p. 171); Kir. *sakal* ‘id.’ → *sakalduu* ‘bearded; elderly man; a man of respected/venerable age’ (Ju p. 124); Özb. *sāqāl* ‘beard’ → *sāqālli* ‘bearded’, → *sāqālsız* ‘beardless’, → *sāqāltarāq* ‘a comb for the beard’ (CAHG p. 294; Bor59, p. 380), *sersāqāl* ‘having a large beard’ (CAHG p. 273; Bor59, p. 364); Trki *saqal* ~ *saq’al* ‘beard, hair of beard; the fibres which are at the top of the maize husk’, *ala s.* ~ *ča:* s. ‘beard shot with grey’, *aq s.* ‘white beard, old man, old Aqsaqal’ (Ja64, p. 265; Ja67, p. 50; Ja92, p. 87), *saqälturyúc* ‘Bartkamm’ (LC11, p. 92); Uyğ.

saqal ‘beard’ → *saqalsiz* ‘beardless’, → *saqalliq* ‘bearded’ (Sch92, p. 459); Trki/Ili *saqal* ‘id.’ (Ha91, p. 48); Lop. *saqal* ‘id.’ (Mal56, p. 158); Sal/Ili *sayal* ‘id.’, *xaɫuŋ* s. ‘big beard’, s. *yoɣɣan kiš* ‘adult man without a beard’ (Ya02, p. 155), *saɣal* ‘id.’ (Kak62, p. 189), *sayal* ‘sideburns, beard’ (Ten76b, p. 470); YogW *saqal* ‘beard, moustache’, *aq* s. ‘white-bearded (elder people)’ → *aq saqalliy aq attiy ošqa kep-tro* ‘a white-bearded old man came on a white horse [приехал белобородый старик на белой лошады]’, → *saqaltiq* ‘rope under the chin (to keep the cap on the head while riding in high winds) [веревочка под подбородком (для удержания на голове шапки при езде при сильном ветре)]’ (Mal57, p. 98), **saqal*’ → *saqal’iyq* ‘ribbon under the chin, holding the hat [лента на подбородке, удерживающая шляпу]’ (Ten76a, p. 205), *saqal* ‘id.’, *miča* s. ‘moustache, beard’, cf. *k^hič^hiy* s. ‘goatee’, *pezik* s. ‘beard’ ~ *pezik^h* s. ‘whiskers, full beard’ (Ro00, p. 357) • Tu. > Mo. – MMoM/S/A *saqal* [Cag. MTu. *saqal*] ‘id.’ (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); MoL *saqal*, KhalL *saxal* ‘beard; beard of grain; fibres of roots’ (Le60, p. 677); Ord. *saxal* ~ *saxul* ‘barbe, moustache, fibrilles (de racine), barbes (d’épi)’ (Mos41, p. 553); YogE *sağal* ‘beard’ (Nu11, p. 481); Oir/D/Dz/U *saxal* [OirL *saxal*] ‘barbe, moustache’, /D *dēr’k* s. ‘moustache’, /D *örgüne* s. ‘postiche’ (Ka58, p. 155); Kalm. *saxel* ‘Bart (an Menschen, Tieren und Gewächsen)’ (Ra35, p. 308) • (Early) Mo. > (Ma. >) Tung. (MT §300; Rozycki 1994, p. 173) – Ma. *salu* ‘Kinnbart’ (Hauer p. 400).

- (XXI) Mgh. *sauk* ‘cold’ – Mgh/Bdx. *so^uuy* ~ *yax* [Pe. *sard*, *honak*] ‘kalt; kühl, kalt’, *so^uuy šamal* ‘Gegend mit kaltem Klima’ [tr. Pe. *sard-sir* ‘Sommerweide’ (HeHiThe79, pp. 217₅₂₀, 522, 205₂₁₄) vs. Haz. *sard*, Mgh. *χunūg* (W75b, p. 101)]; Özb/Afgh. *savuuq* ‘cold’, s. *je-* ‘to feel cold’ (Ja38, p. 222; →); Ař/Kbl/A/F/FX/HA/P/Q/SA/Š *soxič* ~ /S *soxič* ‘id.’ (DoHe89, p. 43) – VEWT p. 425 • Uig. (VIIIff) *soyiq* dev. n. fr. *soyi-*; ‘cold’. S.i.a.m.l.g. (C72, p. 808) – Tr. *soğuk* ‘cold (as opposed to hot); cold weather, the cold; cold, frosty, unfriendly; (sexually) frigid’ (Red p. 630); Khlj. *sovuq* ~ *sovuuq* ~ *sowuuq* ‘kalt, Kälte’ (DoTe80, p. 191) Trkm. *sowuk* ‘(n., adj.) cold, chilly; (adj.) surly, unfriendly, cool, cold’ (BaKaXa68, p. 582); Kzx. *suwīq* [суық] ‘cold; (fig.) stern’ → *suwīqtau* [суықтау] ‘chilly’ (Shn66, p. 179); Kir. *suuk* ‘(n., adj.) cold; frost; cold, cool, unfriendly, surly’ → *suuktuk* ‘coldness, (n.) cold’ (Ju p. 168); Özb/Buch. *souk* ‘cold, frosty; cold, frosts’, s. *jē-* ~ s. *tiy-* ‘to catch cold’ (O05, p. 49), /Urg. *so(w)ūq* ‘cold’, *hawa sowūq ādi* ‘the weather was cold’ (Dob74, p. 95), Özb. *sāvuuq* ‘cold, chilly, chilling; loss of vitality from eating’, *qāra* s. ‘dry, clear cold weather’, s. *urus* ‘the Cold War’, → *sāvuuqčilik* ‘cold relations’, → *sāvuuqlik* ‘cold, coldness, coolness; foods low in calories (thin soups, milk, green tea, fruits and vegetables, etc.)’, → *sāvuuqqān/li* ‘cool-headed; cold, indifferent’, → *sāvuuqqānlik* ‘cool-headedness; cold, indifference’, → *sāvuuqxāna* ‘glacier; tepidarium (cooling room in a bath); refrigerator; special cold room in a dungeon’ (CAHG p. 295; Bor59, p. 375); Trki *sōq* ~ *sōyūq* ~ *sōyāq* ‘kalt’, *soyđunup qalmaq* ‘frieren’ (LC11, p. 92), *soyaq* ~ *soyaγ* ~ *sowuuq* ~ *souq* ~ *sawuuq* ~ *suwaq* ‘cold, cool; a cold, shivering’, *soyaq bolap qal-* ‘to

become cold', *suwaq yel* 'syphilis', *soyaq teg-* 'to catch a cold', *soyaqya toñ-* 'to feel cold' (Ja64, p. 276), *sawuq ~ soḡwaq* 'kalt' (Ja67, p. 51); Uyğ. *soyaq* '(i) cold; (ii) cold, frosty, indifferent' → *soyaqčan* (med.) 'having a cold', → *soyaqçiliq* 'animosity, ill will, grudge, enmity', → *soyaqqan* 'calm, cool, indifferent' → *soyaqqanlıq* 'coldblooded (animal); cool or calm disposition', → *soyaqliq* 'n. of *soyaq*; cooling agent for fever' (Sch92, p. 482); Lop. *suyaq* '(n.) cold' (Mal56, p. 164); Sal/Ili *soḡ ~ suḡ* 'id.', *suḡ jūdun* 'snowstorm', *so:-* 'to cool, chill', *neme so:ji* 'the food became cold' (Ya02, pp. 160, 161, 162), /Qh *souḡ ~ soḡ* 'froid' (Kak62, p. 190), *soḡ ~ sox* 'chilly, cold' (Ten76b, pp. 486, 487); YogW Ø, here e.g. *serjin* 'shade, cool', < Mo. or *t^hot* 'cold' (Ro00, pp. 359, 383) are used.

- (XXV) Mgh. *sutu* 'milk' – Mgh/Le *sùn ~ /Le sunu ~ /Me*; LM *sun ~ /Mrv, Mr, M sùn ~ /N, S su/n ~ /Kd, KSn sùn ≈ /Z_O üssu* 'milk' → Mgh/Mrv *süntü* 'mit Milch' (DoHe93, p. 59; Li54, p. 141; Ra05, p. 39; W71, p. 174₉₃; W72a, p. 180; W72b, p. 577₈), Mgh/Zi, Kun *sùn* 'milk' ~ /L₁ *sün* 'Milch; Brustmilch (von Mensch und Tier)', /L₁ *sün idaḡčē* 'Säugling' (Iwa61, p. 133; W75a, p. 158), Mgh/Bdx. *sut* [Pe. *sūr*] 'Milch', *ḡam sut ~ ḡam qaymaq* [Pe. *qāymāq*] 'Sahne, Rahm' (HeHiThe79, p. 210₃₆₀₋₃₆₁); Özb/Afgh. *sut ~ su-t* 'milk' (Ja38, p. 224; →); Afš/Kbl *sit ~ /A sīt ~ sūt* 'id.' (DoHe89, p. 29; Li57, p. 125) – Joki 1952, p. 277; Li62, p. 65; MYYC p. 614; Nu11, p. 507; Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017; VEWT p. 438 [MTu. *sūd* 'Milch', Trkm. *süjt*, Yak. *üt*, Osm. *süd*, Otü. etc. *süt*, Kzx. *söt*, Bšk. *höt*, Cuv. *sət ~ söt* 'id.']. • (i) Uig (VIIIff) *süt (-d)* 'milk'. C.i.a.p.a.l.; in SW Osm. *süt*, before vowels *süd-*; Trkm. *süyt, süyd-* (C72, p. 798) – Tr. *süt* 'milk; latex; milky juice (of some plants); (slang) gasoline, juice' (Red p. 648); Trkm. *süyt* [çyür] 'milk; milky, lactic, dairy' (BaKaXa80, p. 597); Kzx. *süt* 'id.', *s. ana* 'wet-nurse' → (adj.) *süttü* 'milk, milky, milch, producing much milk' (Shn66, p. 186); Kir. ¹*süt* 'id.' → *süttüü* 'id.' (Ju p. 175); Özb/Buch. *sūt ~ sūt* 'id.' (O05, p. 50), Özb. *sut* 'id.', → *sutak* '(zool.) nightjar, goatsucker; idiot, buffoon (cf. *sotak*)', → *sutči* 'milker, milkman or milkmaid' → *sütčilik* 'abstr. of *sutči*; dairy farming', → *sutli* 'containing milk; milky', → *sutqon* '(bot.) a poisonous species of euphorbia', → *sutsimon* 'milk-like', → *sutsiz* 'milkless' → *sutsizlik* 'lack of milk', → *sutxor* 'milk-loving, big milk drinker' → *sutxorlik* 'abstr. of *sutxor*; enthusiastic drinking of milk' (CAHG p. 300; Bor59, p. 389); Trki *süt* 'id.' (LC11, p. 92), *süt ~ sūt* 'id.', *oḡuz s.* 'biestings', *süt emme qonaq* 'unripe maize' → *sütči* 'milk-man', *s. ḡatun* 'milk-woman', → *sütlük* 'milkproducing, lactiferous', *s. ot* 'milk-thistle, sow-thistle' (Ja64, p. 282; Ja67, p. 52; Ja89, p. 82), *süt* 'id.' → *sütle-* 'to mix with milk, to prepare milk-tea' (Ja89, p. 31), *süt* 'id.', *s. jumyaq* 'coriander' → *sütlük* 'milky, milk-', *s. ot* 'a kind of thistle' (Ja98, p. 75_{10,21}); Uyğ. *süt* 'id.' → *sütči* 'dairyman' → *sütčilik* 'dairy industry', → *sütlä-* 'to admix milk', → *sütlük* 'milk', *s. çay* 'milk tea' (Sch92, pp. 492–493); Lop. *süt* 'id.' → *süttük çai* 'milk tea' (Mal56, pp. 165, 187); Sal/Ili *sut ~ sūt* 'id.', *süç ça* 'milk tea' (Ya02, pp. 162, 163), /Qh *sut ~ sūt* 'id.', *sut sayat* 'pot au lait' (Kak62, p. 190), *süt ~ sü't ~ sü'* 'id.', *süt'ça* 'milk with tea' (Ten76b, p. 490);

- YogW *sut* ~ *süt* ~ *sot* ~ *söt* ‘id.’ (Mal57, pp. 104, 106–107; Ten76a, pp. 207–208), *sut* ~ *sut^h* (*sutki*) ‘id.’ (Ro00, p. 364) • MMoM *sün* ~ A *sü/n* [MTu. Cag. *süt*] ‘Milch; rohe, frische Pferdemilch’ – a rare word, attested in MMo. only in the SH (3 times) and the vocabularies in Ar. script (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *sün* ‘milk’ (Ka09, p. 269); MoL *sü/n*, KhalL *süü* ‘id.’ (Le60, p. 744); Ord. ²*üsü* ‘id.’ (Mos41, p. 764); YogE *hsün* ~ *sun* (← **üsün*) ‘id.’ (Nu11, p. 507); Oir/D/Dz/Kho/T/U ¹*üs* ~ *üsün* [OirL *üsün*] ‘id.’, /Dz *üste: cãè* ‘thé au lait’ (Ka58, p. 168); KalmL (veraltert) *sün* ≈ Kalm. ²*üsñ* [cf. *sü*, Kh. *sü*] ‘id.’ (Ra35, pp. 340, 460) • Recent Mo. > Ma. *sun* ‘milk’ (Hauer p. 432, Rozycki 1994, p. 190); Sib/Ili *suñ* ‘id.’ (Kałużyński 1977, p. 252) • The vocabularies cited reflect two different words. Mackenzie’s word could be Tu. because of *-t-*, the other occurrences with final *-n* represent Mo. words. However, Mackenzie’s word is morphologically unclear and not transparent; probably not ‘with milk’, but perhaps the phonological structure with final vowel is influenced by Pšt. *šidey* ~ *šidi* ~ *šaudã* ~ *šawdã*, *šo/udã* ‘milk’ (Rav67, p. 666; Badghisi 1960, p. 166; M27, pp. 72–73; M03, p. 80)?
- (XXII) Mgh. *tiva* ‘camel’ – Özb/Afgh. *tiva* ‘id.’, [in Eastern Turki] *tiva tay* ‘Tiva Tagh’ ~ *tuya* ‘camel’ (Ja38, pp. 229, 231; →); Mgh/Bdx. *tüyä* [Pe. *šotor*] ‘id.’, *mačã t.* [Pe. *š.-e mãde*] ‘Kamelstute’, *uonajin t.* [Pe. *š.-e jawãn-e mãde*] ‘junge Kamelstute’, *barkeš t.* ~ *tüyä-i barkeš* [Pe. *š.-e sawãrî*] ‘Reitkamel, (Last-)’ (HeHiThe79, p. 201_{103, 105, 108, 109}) vs. Mgh/Z_O *timór* ‘Pferd’ (Mo. *temegen* ~ *temën*), cf. also (↑) under *morin* (W72b, p. 577₁₅) – Other Mgh. dialects use forms that go back to Mo. *temën* (→) – Hauenschild 1998, p. 36 [KrimTat. *deve* ‘Kamel’, *deve qušu* ‘Strauß’], p. 51 [KrimTat. *tüye* ‘id.’]; 2003, pp. 206–211; 2006, pp. 126–128; Li65, pp. 281–282; Li66, p. 264; Menges 1935; Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017; Stachowski 1993, p. 214; 1998, p. 226 [Dolg. Yak. *taba* ‘Rentier; Maral’]; TMEN §§1015; VEWT p. 468 • Tu. (VIII) *tävã* ~ (XI) *tävãy* ~ (/Oghuz) *dävãy* ‘camel’. There is real doubt about the original form of this word; the oldest recorded form is *tävã*, but it became an early, first period, l.-w. in Mo., as [*]*temeyen* ~ *teme-en* which presupposes a final *-y* [not really, the Mo. form could also go back to **teme* + *-*GAn* (VR)]. S.i.a.m.l.g., the NW Bšk., Tat. and SW Az., Gag., Osm., and Trkm. forms all begin with *d°*, which was probably the original initial (C72, pp. 447–448) – Tr. *deve* ‘camel’ (Red pp. 181–182); Khlj. *tävã* ‘id.’ (DoTe80, p. 202); Trkm. *düye* [дүе] ‘id.’ (BaKaXa68, p. 289); Kzx. *tüye* [түйе] ‘id.’ (Shn66, p. 214); Kir. *töø* ‘id.’ (Ju p. 259); Özb. *tüa* ‘id.’ (O05, p. 56), Özb. *teva* (zool./obs.) ‘id.’ ~ *tuya* ‘id.’ → *tuyaçi* ‘camel driver’ → *tuyaçilik* ‘camel-raising’, → *tuyaday* ~ *tuyadek* ‘camel-like; huge, gigantic’, → *tuyakaš* ‘camel driver’, → *tuyapaypoq* ‘(bot.) bindweed, convolvulus’, → *tuyaquš* ‘(zool.) ostrich’, → *tuyasandiq* ‘large trunk’ (CAHG pp. 318, 337; Bor59, pp. 420, 460–461), Özb. > Taj. *tuya* ‘id.’ (Do67, p. 34); Trki *tögã* ‘id.’ (LC11, p. 88), *tive* ~ *tüge* ~ *tüge* ~ *töge* ~ *töve* ‘id.’ (Ja64, p. 309), *tivã* ~ *tugã* ‘id.’ (Ja67, p. 56), *tive* ~ *töge* ~ *tuga* ~ *tüge* ‘id.’ (Ja81, p. 21₂₁; Ja92, p. 88); Uyğ. *tögã* ‘id. (*Camelus*)’, *ikki örkãšlik t.* ‘Bactrian camel (*Camelus bactrianus*)’, *nar t.* ‘dromedary (*Camelus dromedarius*)’ →

tögitanpan ‘(bot.) *Zygophyllum oxianum*, a kind of bean caper; (med.) flatfoot’, → *tögäči* ‘camel herder or driver, cameleer’ → *tögičilik* ‘camel herding or transport’, *tögiquš* ‘(zool.) ostrich (*Struthio camelus*)’ [Osm. *devecilik*] (Sch92, pp. 216–217); Trki/Ili *tüyä* ‘id.’ → *tüyäči* ‘breeder or herder of camels’ (Ha91, p. 51); Lop. *tögä* ~ *tögö* ‘camel’ (Mal56, p. 175); Sal/Ili *döwæ* (Ch. *döyæ*) ‘id.’ (Ya02, p. 81), /Qh *tüyä* ~ *düyä* ~ *töyi* ‘id.’ (Kak62, p. 193), *tövä* ~ *t’ovä* ~ *töve* ~ *töje* ~ *töje* ~ *töivä* ~ *tö^ovä* ~ *tüvi* ‘id.’, *ax tövä* ‘white camel’ (Ten76b, p. 521), *duj* ‘id.’, *kijiduj* ‘young camel’, *qıduj* ‘female camel’ (Ma–Ma–Ma 1993, p. 41); YogW *č^hi* ~ *č^he* ~ *č^hiy* ~ *če* ~ *t^hi* ~ *t^hiy* ~ *ti* ‘id.’ [Tu.] (Ro00, p. 297) • MMoM/S/A *teme-e/n* ~ M **temē/n* (→ *temēcin*) ~ S *temē* ~ A *temē/n* [MTu., Cag. *tevä*] ~ U/A *temege/n* [MTu. *devä*] ‘camel’, (pl.) M *teme-et* ~ U *temeged* ~ A *temēt* [Cag. *tevälar*] (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); MoL *temege/n*, KhalL *temee* ‘camel; bishop (in chess)’ (Le60, p. 800); Ord. *temē* ‘chameau; dans quelques expressions le mot *temē* a le sens de ‘grand’ (cf. *mori*, *u^kçer*)’ (Mos41, p. 656); YogE *teme:n* ~ *temen* ‘camel’ (Nu11, p. 517); OirD/Dz/U *teme:n* ~ /DzÜ *teme:n* [OirL *temēn*] ‘id.’ (Ka58, p. 161); Kalm. *teme:n* ‘(i) Kamel (besonders: verschnittene Lastkamele); (ii) Figur im Schachspiel’ (Ra35, pp. 390–391); Mgh/Le *teman* ~ /Mr, M *temân* ~ /M *temâ* ~ /Me *tema* [~ *urtu kuchutu* (lit. ‘with a long neck’)] ~ /LM *tēmān* ~ /B, N *temən* ~ /S *tem’o* ‘id.’ (Li54, p. 142; W71, p. 167₂₈; W72a, p. 181), Mgh/L₁ *timān* ‘id.’ ~ /L₃ Ar. *ibīl*, Trkm. *diyah*, Mgh. *timān*, Pšt. *uš*, Pe. *uštur* ‘id.’ (W73, pp. 508_{61.6}, 515, 516; W75a, p. 162; ←) • Mo. > Tu. > Tung. (Kałużyński 1961, pp.16, 42 [*täbiān*]; TMEN id.) • Mo. > Ru. (TMEN id.) • Mo. > Tung. (Grube 1900, p. 81; Kałużyński 1971b, p. 46; MT §202; Poppe 1966, p. 191; Rozycki 1994, p. 206; Schmidt 1927, p. 59), 1933, pp. 409, 410 – Jur. *temuge* ‘id.’ (Kane 1989, p. 214₄₀₉), Sib. *temāN* ‘id.’ (Yamamoto 1969, p. 108₂₂₁₅), Sib/Ili *temen* ‘zwei-höckriges Kamel’ (Kałużyński 1977, p. 260), Ma. *temen* ‘id.’ (Hauer p. 467) • With regard to the semantics of Mgh/Z₀, Weiers (W72b.578, under *muri*) rightly stated that “Bei dem substratartigen Sprachzustand sind solche Verwechslungen leicht möglich, vgl. auch N^o 15”. Mgh. < Tu., cf. e.g. (←) Özb./Afg., Özb., Uyğ.

- (VII) Mgh. *ukar* ‘cow’ – Mgh/Le *ukarr* ‘a bull’ ~ /Mrv *ükâr* ‘Ochs, Rindvieh’ ~ /Mr, M *úkar* ‘boeuf’ ~ /N, S *ukar* ~ *okar* ‘Rind, Tier’ ?~? /Z₀ *buqár* ‘Kuh’ [influenced by Ar. →? (VR)] (Li54, p. 143; Ra05, p. 41; W72a, p. 182; W72b, p. 577₁₆), Mgh/Zi *úkar* ~ /Kun *awkr* ‘ox’ ~ /L₁ *úkar* ‘(männliches) Rind’, /L₃ Ar. *baqar*, Trkm. *suqur*, Mgh. *úkar*, Pšt. *ğwaya* (*sic*), Pe. *gāu* ‘Rind’ (Iwa61, p. 143; W73, pp. 508_{62.1}, 515; W75a, p. 166) vs. Mgh/Bdx. *hokküz* [Pe. *gūsāle*] ‘Ochse’ (HeHiThe79, p. 201₁₁₁); Özb/Buch. *hokus* ~ *okus* ‘id.’ (O05, p. 21), /Urg. *öküz* ‘ox’ (Dob74, p. 94) – Hauenschild 2003, pp. 170–172; Li59, pp. 266–268; Li62, p. 35; Li65, p. 279; MYYC p. 698; Nu11, p. 367; Pinault 1997, pp. 201–203; Ry06, pp. 79–80; Rybatzki, *forthcoming* 2017; Stachowski 1993, p. 190 [Dolg. *ogus* ‘eine Stierfigur aus Holz, die der Schamane dem feindlichen Geist schenkt, damit er den Kranken verläßt’, **kihilāk ogus* [*kisilāx ogus*] ‘eine Stierfigur mit Reiter, die dem gleichen Zweck dient’]; TMEN §397;

- VEWT p. 370 • Common Tu. > MMoA *öküz* (←; Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*) – Tu. (VIIIff) *öküz* one of the several terms for bovines, best translated ‘ox’, since it is more specific than *ud* and *siyir* but not quite so specific as *buqa* ‘bull’. S.i.m.m.l.g., but usually meaning ‘castrated bull, bullock’. Almost certainly borrowed from Tokharian (C72, p. 120) • Bolghar Tu. > Mo. – MMoM/P/A *hüker* ~ P *huker* ~ S *üger* ~ S/P *hüger* ~ U/A *üker* [MTu. *siyir*, Cag. *uy* (← *ud*) ~ *öküz*] ‘bovine, cattle; also animal of the 12-animal-cycle’, (pl.) U *üked*, S/P *hüker jil* ~ U *üker jil* ‘2. Jahr des Zyklus’ [MTu. Uig. *ud yil*], A *keheriki hüker* ‘Antilope (wörtlich Steppenochse)’, ArmKir *okar* (= **üker*); Geor. *ükür* (Rybatzki id.); EMoL *üker* ‘ox, a bovine’ (Ka09, p. 315); MoL *üker*, KhalL *üxer* ‘bovine animal, ox, cow; large, big; the second of the twelve animals of the zodiac’ (Le60, p. 1003); Ord. *ük̄er* ‘böeuf’ (Mos41, p. 754); YogE *hgor* ‘bovine, ox’ (Nu11, p. 367); Oir/D *ükür* ~ /Dz/U *ükkür* [OirL *ükür*] ‘vache’, /D *ükürin nüd* ‘nom d’un baie’, /D/Dz *moŋyol ükür* ‘bête à cornes à l’exception du yak’, /Dz *ulān ükkür* ‘yak’ (Ka58, p. 167); Kalm. *ük̄* ‘Rindvieh; speziell Kuh’ (Ra35, p. 456) • Mo. > Tu. (TMEN id.) – Yak. (Kałużyński 1995, pp. 222–223 [‘part of plant names’; in other Tu. languages the use of the word as part of plant names is restricted to Cuv. (Hauenschild 1996, pp. 95–96₁₃, 138₃₄₈)], Yak. > Tung. (Castrén 1856, p. 129; Doerfer 2004, pp. 631, 632; Halén 1978, p. 175; Schmidt 1923, p. 28) • Mo. > Tung. (Kałużyński 1971b, p. 52; MT §156; Poppe 1966, p. 198; 1972, p. 99; TMEN id.).
- (V) Mgh. *usun* ‘water’ – Mgh/Le *ussun* ~ /Me, Mrv, Mr, M, Kd; KS, KI, LM *usun* ~ /M *usu* ~ /Me *oson* ~ /LM *su* ~ /N, S *usu/n* ‘water’ [vs. Haz. *āb* (W75b, p. 101)], /Me *usuni dotanakini* ‘duck’, *usuni nureki* ‘boat’, /K *usun ki-* ‘flüssig machen’ → /Me *usutu* ‘barley (lit. <having water>)’ (DoHe93, p. 60; Li54, p. 144; Ra05, p. 41; W71, pp. 164_{2,4}, 177₁₃₀, 178₁₄₃; W72a, p. 183), Mgh/Zi *usun* ~ /Kun *awsawn* ~ /L₁ *usūn* ‘Wasser’ → /Kun *a^wsa^wn^yr* ~ /L₁ *usunğar* ~ /L₁ *usūngar* ‘Handwaschung; rituelle Waschung vor dem Gebet’ (Iwa61, p. 142; W75a, p. 169) vs. Mgh/Bdx. *suw* [Pe. *āb*] ‘Wasser’, *suusiz* ~ *suusayan* [Pe. *tešne*] ‘durstig’, *su yoy* [Pe. *āb nīst*] ‘es gibt kein Wasser’, *bisuu* [Pe. *bī-āb*] ‘ohne Wasser’ (HeHiThe79, pp. 206₂₅₃, 216₅₀₅, 219₅₉₃); Özb/Buch. *su* ‘id.’ (O05, p. 51), /Qil. *su* ‘id.’, *s. at* ‘water-horse’ (Jar37, p. 52), /Afgh. *su* ~ *su-* ~ *su:* ‘id.’, *suvi* ‘his etc. water’ (Jar38, p. 223) – Doerfer 1993, p. 81; Li62, p. 72; Li65, p. 288; MYYC p. 682; Nu11, pp. 535–556; Ry06, pp. 179–181; TMEN §47; VEWT p. 517 [Šor, Koib., Kyz. *ustan* ‘Wasserratte’ < Mo. *us + -tAn*] • MMoM/S/P/U/A *usu/n* [MTu. Cag. *su*] ‘Wasser, Gewässer’ (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); EMoL *usu/n* ‘water’ (Ka09, pp. 301–302); MoL *usun*, KhalL *us* ‘water; body of water’ (Le60, p. 887); Ord. *usu* ‘eau; puits creusé pour en tirer de l’eau; sérosité’ (Mos41, p. 744); YogE *qusun* ‘water’ (Nu11, pp. 535–556); Oir/D *us/ŋ* ~ /Kho/U *usun* ~ /Dz *ussun* [OirL *usun*] ‘id.’ (Ka58, p. 167); Kalm. *usŋ* ‘id.’ (Ra35, p. 452) • Mo. > Tu. – YogW (NuRo96, pp. 80–81_{355, 358}; Ölmez 1998, p. 168).
- (II) Mgh. *utufang* ‘bread’ – Mgh/Le *ukpang* ~ /Me *uftang* ~ /Mrv *uftān* [Tu. (dial.) *etmek* ~ *ötmök* ~ *ötpök* ~ *öptök*] ~ /Mr *ök²maŋ* ~ /M *uftaŋ* ~ /M *uftaŋ^k* ~ /KS

ukmang ~ /KI *ukmäŋ* ~ /KQ, SB *otpang* ~ /K, N, S *ukmāŋ* ~ /N *ukméŋ* ~ /D *uftāŋ* ~ /Kd *hukmarŋgə* ~ /Z_N *utpāŋ* ~ /Z_O *utmaŋg* ‘bread; (N) Brot, Essen, Speise’ (Li54, p. 143; Ra05, p. 41; W71, p. 164₁; W72a, p. 182; W72b, pp. 576–577), Mgh/Zi *ükmaŋg* ‘bread, loaf, muffin’ ~ /L₁ *ukmaŋg* ‘Brot’ (Iwa61, p. 278; W75a, p. 166), Mgh/Bdx. *nan* ~ *ekmek* [Pe. *nān*] ‘id.’ (HeHiThe79, p. 210₃₅₂; →) – DoHe93, p. 58 [Mgh. < Tu. *hōtmāk*]; Buell–Anderson 2010, p. 631 ‘bread’; Joki 1952, pp. 138–139; Li54, p. 143; Li62, p. 61; Li65, p. 278; Li66, p. 190; MYYC p. 154 [cake, flat cake], Nu11, p. 470 [in modern Mo. languages only Dag. Kalm. and languages of Gansu-Qinghai, but not YogE]; VEWT p. 376 [Uig., MTu.; NE, NW (partly) and SW languages, missing in NW (partly), NC, SC and SE languages] • Tu. (XI) *ätmāk* ~ Uig. (VIIIff) *ötmāk* the oldest of three similar words for ‘bread’, the others being *äpmāk* and *äkmāk*, noted in NC, NW, and SW and prob. a recent secondary form due to the supposed connection with *äk-*. *Ötmāk* seems to be the earlier of the two forms. Although *-māk* is normally an infinitive s., it is not possible to connect the word semantically with any verb. Survives with initial *ö-* (occasionally *ü-*) in some NE languages, and NW KarT, and with initial *ä-* or *i-* (?*e-*) in other NE languages, NC, NW, and SW (C72, p. 60) – Tr. *ekmek* ‘bread; food, subsistence; livelyhood, job’ (Red p. 214); Khlj. *ätmāk* (← **pätmāk*) ~ *hikmāk* ‘bread’ (Do71, p. 293) ~ *hikmāk* ‘id.’, *hikmāk qatuqī* ‘Bouillon’, *hikmāk yapīli* ‘Bäcker’ (DoTe80, p. 132) • Tu. > Mo. – MMoS *ütme* ‘gerösteter Weizenkuchen’ ~ S *üdmek* [k] ‘cake’ ~ A *ötüme* [< Tu., cf. Cag. *ötme* ‘Weizenstengel, im Feuer gekocht’ (Kúnos 1902, p. 155)] ~ A *ötmek* [Ar., Pe. *nān*; MTu. Cag. *etmāk*] ~ A *etmek* [Cag. id.] ‘bread’; MMo., or MTu. > ArmKir *ötmek* ‘id.’ (Rybatzki, *forthcoming b*); Kalm. *ödmæg* ‘id.’ [Sol. *utuma*] (Kempff 2012, p. 147; Ra35, p. 293) • The Mgh. word is structurally not really clear. For ‘bread’, in the region under discussion, mostly the word *nan*, cf. Pe. vocabulary under *nun*, is used.

To be continued

Abbreviated References, Dialects, Languages and Symbols

A	= MMoA
abl.	ablative
abstr.	abstract
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
Ař.	Ařār
Ař/A	Ařār from Alī-Qūrī (Iran), collected by Doerfer–Hesche (DoHe89)
Ař/F	Ařār from Fīrūz-ābād (Iran), collected by Doerfer–Hesche (DoHe89)
Ař/FX	Ařār from Qal‘a-ye Farhād-Xān (Iran), collected by Doerfer–Hesche (DoHe89)
Ař/HA	Ařār from Ḥoseyn-ābād-e Sarmašad (Iran), collected by Doerfer–Hesche (DoHe89)

- Afš/Kbl Afšār from Kabul (Afghanistan), collected by Ligeti (Li57) and Doerfer–Hesche (DoHe89)
- Afš/P Afšār from Paradomba (Farādonba) (Iran), collected by Doerfer–Hesche (DoHe89)
- Afš/Q Afšār from Qorwa (Iran), collected by Doerfer–Hesche (DoHe89)
- Afš/Š Afšār from Šahrak (Iran), collected by Doerfer–Hesche (DoHe89)
- Afš/S Afšār from Sonqor (Iran), collected by Doerfer–Hesche (DoHe89)
- Afš/SA Afšār from Qal‘a-ye Soleymān-ābād (Iran), collected by Doerfer–Hesche (DoHe89)
- Alt. Altai (South Siberian Turkic language)
- Anat. Anatolian dialects of Turkish
- Ar. Arabic
- Ar/Buch. Arabic spoken in Buchara
- ArmKir Middle Mongyol in Armenian script (Li65)
- As85 Aslanov, M. G. (1985) [1966]: *Puštu–russkii slovarʹ*. Moskva.
- Av. Avestian
- Az. Azeri
- BaKaXa68 Baskakov, N. A. – Karryev, B. A. – Xamzaev, M. Ja. (1968): *Turkmensko–russkii slovarʹ*. Moskva.
- Bao. Baoan
- Bor59 Borovkov, A. K. (1959): *Uzbeksko–russkii slovarʹ*. Moskva.
- bot. botany, botanical
- Bšk. Baškir
- Cag. Cagatai
- CAHG The Central Asian Heritage Group (2006): *Uzbek–English Dictionary*. Samarkand.
- caus. causative
- CC *Codex Cumanicus*
- cf. compare
- Ch. Chinese
- Chor(Tu.) Choresmian (Turkic)
- c.i.a.m.l.g. common in all main language groups
- c.i.a.p.a.l. common in all periods and languages
- coll. colloquial
- Cuv. Chuvash
- C72 Clauson, Sir G. (1972): *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*. Oxford.
- den. denominal
- dev. deverbal
- Dgx. Dongxiang (Santa)
- dial. dialect, dialectal/ly
- Dob74 Dobos, É. (1974): An Oghuz Dialect of Uzbek Spoken in Urgench. *AOH* Vol. 28, pp. 75–97.
- DoHe89 Doerfer, G.–Hesche, W. (1989): *Südghusische Materialien aus Afghanistan und Iran*. Wiesbaden.
- DoHe93 Doerfer, G.–Hesche, W. (1993): Zwei moyoli Texte. *Festschrift für Raija Bartens*. Helsinki, pp. 53–60 (Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne 215).
- Dolg. Dolgan

- DoTe80 Doerfer, G. – Tezcan, S. (1980): *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch (Dialekt von Charrab)*. Budapest (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 26).
- Do67 Doerfer, G. (1967): *Türkische Elemente im Tadschikischen*. Wiesbaden (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXXVII/3).
- Do69 Doerfer, G. (1969): Die özbekischen Lehnwörter in der Sprache der Araber von Buchara. *Central Asiatic Journal* Vol. 12, pp. 296–308.
- Do71 Doerfer, G. (1971): *Khalaj Materials*. Bloomington (Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series 115).
- Du73 Dulling, G. K. (1973): *The Hazaragi Dialect of Afghan Persian*. London (Central Asian Monographs 1).
- e.g. for example
- EMoL Early Literary (Written) Mongolian
- esp. especially
- Ewk. Ewenki
- Ewn. Ewen (Lamut)
- f. form
- Fe59 Ferdinand, K. (1959) *Preliminary Notes on the Hazāra Culture (The Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan 1953–55)*. København (Historisk-filosofiske meddelelser udgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab 37/5).
- fig. figurative
- folk. folkloristic
- fr. from
- Gag. Gagauz
- gen. genitive
- geo. geography, geographical
- Geor. Georgian
- gr. grammatical/ly
- Haz. Hazārāgī
- Haz/DZ Hazārāgī of Dāy Zangī, collected by Ferdinand (Fe59)
- Ha91 Hahn, R. F. (1991): An Annotated Sample of Ili Turki. *AOH* Vol. 45, pp. 31–53.
- HeHiThe79 Hesche, W. – Hildenbrandt, W.-D. – Thermann, A. (1979): *Moyolī aus Badachschan (Afghanistan)*. *Central Asiatic Journal* Vol. 23, pp. 176–236.
- Hi. Hindi
- hist. history, historical/ly
- id. idem; same meaning; the same
- i.e. id est; that is/means
- Ind. Indic
- Ir. Iranian
- Iwa61 Iwamura, Sh. (1961): *The Zirni Manuscript. A Persian–Mongolian Glossary and Grammar*. Kyoto.
- Ja36 Jarring, G. (1936): *The Contest of the Fruits. An Eastern Turki Allegory*. Lund (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift N. F. 32/4).

- Ja37 Jarring, G. (1937): *The Uzbek Dialect of Qilich (Russian Turkestan) with Texts and Glossar*. Lund–Leipzig (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift N. F. 33/3).
- Ja38 Jarring, G. (1938): *Uzbek Texts from Afghan Turkestan with Glossary*. Lund–Leipzig (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift N. F. 34/2).
- Ja64 Jarring, G. (1964): *An Eastern Turki–English Dialect Dictionary*. Lund (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, N.F. 56/4).
- Ja67 Jarring, G. (1967): *Wörterverzeichnis zu G. Raquettes Ausgabe von Täji bilä Zohra*. Lund (Acta Universitatis Lundensis. Sectio I Theologica juridica humaniora 4).
- Ja80 Jarring, G. (1980): *Literary Texts from Kashghar*. Lund (Acta. Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund LXXIV).
- Ja81 Jarring, G. (1981): *Some Notes on the Eastern Turki (New Uighur) Munazara Literature*. Lund (Scripta minora. Studier utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 1980–1981/2).
- Ja87 Jarring, G. (1987): *Dervish and Qalandar*. Lund (Scripta minora. Studier utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 1985–1986/2).
- Ja92 Jarring, G. (1992): *Garments from Top to Toe*. Lund (Scripta minora. Studier utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 1991–1992/2).
- Ja96 Jarring, G. (1996): *The Moen Collection of Eastern Turki (Modern Uighur) Popular Poetry*. Lund (Scripta minora. Studier utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 1996–1997/1).
- Ja98 Jarring, G. (1998): *Agriculture and Horticulture in Central Asia in the Early Years of the Twentieth Century. With an Excursus on Fishing*. Lund (Scripta minora. Studier utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 1997–1998/2).
- Ju Judaxin, K. K. (1965): *Kirgizsko–russkii slovarʹ*. Moskva.
- Jur. Jurchen
- Kak62 Kakuk, Sz. (1962): Un vocabulaire salar. *AOH* Vol. 14, pp. 173–196.
- Kal. Kalasha
- Kalm. Kalmuck
- KalmL. Literary Kalmuck
- KarT. Karaim spoken in Troki (Trakai)
- Kaš. Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarī
- Kaz. Kazan-Tatar
- Ka09 Kara, Gy. (2009): (with the assistance of Marta Kiripolská) *Dictionary of Sonom Gara's Erdeni-yin Sang. A Middle Mongol Version of the Tibetan Sa skya Legs bshad. Mongol–English–Tibetan*. Leiden–Boston (Brill's Inner Asian Library 23).
- Ka58 Kara, Gy. (1958): Notes sur les dialectes oirat de la Mongolie Occidentale. *AOH* Vol. 8, pp. 111–168.
- Kh. Spoken Khalkha
- KhalL. Literary Khalkha
- Khit. Khitan
- KhIj. Khalaj
- Khot. Khotanese
- Khow. Khowar
- KiMi78 Kiseleva, L. N. – Mikolaičik, V. I. (1978): *Dari–russkii slovarʹ*. Moskva.
- Kir. Kirghiz
- Kkp. Karakalpak
- Koib. Koibal

KrimTat.	Krim-Tatar
Kum.	Kumück
Kurd.	Kurdish
Kyz.	Kyzyl
Kzx.	Kazax
Lat.	Latin
LC11	Le Coq, A. v. (1911): <i>Sprichwörter und Lieder aus der Gegend von Turfan</i> . Leipzig–Berlin (Baessler Archiv, Beiheft 1).
LC18/19	Le Coq, A. (1918–1919): Osttürkische Gedichte und Erzählungen. I. Die Texte des Mullā Yüz-bāschī aus Kutschā. II. Erzählung des in Kutscha ansässigen Qomulluq Seifullāh Achond. III. Erzählungen des Üsüp Achond, des Sohnes des Mir-ab von Qara-Chōdscha, Māmāsīt Tochoi. <i>Keleti Szemle</i> Vol. XVIII, pp. 50–118.
LC22	Le Coq, A. v. (1922): Eine Liste osttürkischer Pflanzennamen. <i>Baessler Archiv</i> Vol. VI, pp. 118–129.
Le60	Lessing, F. D. (1960): <i>Mongolian–English Dictionary</i> . Bloomington.
lit.	literary
Li54	Ligeti, L. (1954): Le lexique moghol de R. Leech. <i>AOH</i> Vol. 4, pp. 119–157.
Li57	Ligeti, L. (1957): Sur la langue des Afchars d’Afghanistan. <i>AOH</i> Vol. 7, pp. 109–156.
Li58	Ligeti, L. (1958): Deux tablettes de T'ai-tsong des Tsing. <i>AOH</i> Vol. 8, pp. 201–240.
Li59	Ligeti, L. (1959): Les mots solons dans un ouvrage chinois des Ts'ing. <i>AOH</i> Vol. 9, pp. 231–272.
Li62	Ligeti, L. (1962): Un vocabulaire mongol d’Istanbul. <i>AOH</i> Vol. 14, pp. 3–99.
Li64	Ligeti, L. (1964): Les voyelles longues en Moghol. <i>AOH</i> Vol. 17, pp. 1–48.
Li65	Ligeti, L. (1965): Le lexique mongol de Kirakos de Gandzak. <i>AOH</i> Vol. 18, pp. 241–297.
Li66	Ligeti, L. (1966): Un vocabulaire sino-ouïghour des Ming. Le Kao-tsch'ang-kouan yichou du Bureau des Traducteurs I–II. <i>AOH</i> Vol. 19, pp. 117–201, 257–316.
Li70	Ligeti, L. (1970): Le tabghatch, un dialect de la langue sien-pi. In: Ligeti, L. (ed.): <i>Mongolian Studies</i> . Budapest (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 14), pp. 265–308.
Lop.	Lopnor (Lobnor)
loc.	locative
l.-w.(s)	loan-word(s)
M	= MMoM
Ma.	Manchu
MA	Poppe, N. N. (1938): <i>Mongol'skii slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab</i> . Moskva–Leningrad.
Mal56	Malov, S. E. (1956): <i>Lobnorskiĭ jazyk</i> . Frunze.
Mal57	Malov, S. E. (1957): <i>Jazyk želtyx uġurov</i> . Alma-Ata.
med.	medical
metaph.	metaphorical
Me55	Menges, K. H. (1955): <i>Glossar zu den volkskundlichen Texten aus Ost-Türkistan II</i> . Wiesbaden (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1954, Nr. 14).
Mgh.	Moyolī
Mgh/B	Moyolī from Bedawi collected by Weiers (W71, W72a)
Mgh/Bdx	Moyolī from Badakhshan (Turkic speaking) (HeHiThe79)

- Mgh/D Moʻyolī from Du Rudi collected by Weiers (W71, W72a)
- Mgh/DŠ Moʻyolī from Deh Šeikh collected by Weiers (W71, W72a)
- Mgh/K Moʻyolī from Kundur collected by Weiers (W71, W72a)
- Mgh/Kd Moʻyolī from Kundur, published by Doerfer – Hesche (DoHe93)
- Mgh/KI Moʻyolī from Kundur, published by Iwamura – Schurmann (1954), quoted after W71
- Mgh/KM Moʻyolī from Kariz Mulla collected by Weiers (W71, W72a)
- Mgh/KQ Moʻyolī from Kata-qal‘a, published by Iwamura – Schurmann (1954), quoted after W71
- Mgh/KS Moʻyolī from Kārēz-i-Mullā, published by Iwamura – Schurmann (1954), quoted after W71
- Mgh/KSn Moʻyolī from Kārēz-i Sulṭān (province Herāt), published by Doerfer – Hesche (DoHe93)
- Mgh/Kun Literary Moʻyolī (Qundahar manuscript) according to Iwa61
- Mgh/Le Moʻyolī collected by R. Leech, published by Ligeti (Li54)
- Mgh/LM Moʻyolī of La‘l Muhammad from Kārēz-i-Mullā, published by Iwamura – Schurmann (1954), quoted after W71
- Mgh/L₁ Literary Moʻyolī according to W75a
- Mgh/L₂ Literary Moʻyolī according to W77
- Mgh/L₃ Literary Moʻyolī according to W73
- Mgh/L₄ Literary Moʻyolī according to W83
- Mgh/M Mangut dialect of Moʻyolī, collected by Ligeti (Li54)
- Mgh/Me Moʻyolī vocabulary of W. H. Merk (W71)
- Mgh/Mr Marda dialect of Moʻyolī, collected by Ligeti (Li54)
- Mgh/Mrv Moʻyolī collected by Ramstedt in Merv (Ra05)
- Mgh/MS Marda dialect of Moʻyolī, collected by Ligeti (Li54)
- Mgh/N Moʻyolī from Nau collected by Weiers (W71, W72a)
- Mgh/S Moʻyolī from Samanabad collected by Weiers (W71, W72a)
- Mgh/SB Moʻyolī from Bāylān, published by Iwamura – Schurmann (1954), quoted after W71
- Mgh/Z Mangut dialect of Moʻyolī, collected by Ligeti (Li54)
- Mgh/Zi Literary Moʻyolī (Zirni manuscript) according to Iwa61
- Mgh/Z_N Moʻyolī wordlist collected by Weiers in Zirni (W72b)
- Mgh/Z_O Moʻyolī wordlist collected by Weiers in Zirni (W72b)
- MghL Literary Moʻyolī
- Mgr. Mongour
- Mlr. Middle Iranian
- Mir06 Mirboboev, A. (2006): *Tadžiksko – russkii slovarʹ*. Dušanbe.
- Mj. Munja
- MMoA Middle Mongyol written in Arabic script
- MMoM Middle Mongyol from the “Secret History of the Mongols”
- MMoP Middle Mongyol written in hPags-pa script
- MMoS Middle Mongyol written with Chinese characters
- MMoU Middle Mongyol written in Uigur script
- Mo. Mongolic
- MoL Literary (Written) Mongol
- Mos41 Mostaert, A. (1941 – 1942): *Dictionnaire Ordos*. Peking.
- MPeM Manichean Middle Persian
- MT Doerfer, G. (1985): *Mongolo-Tungusica*. Wiesbaden (Tungusica 3).
- MTu. Middle Turkic
- MYYC Zhu Sun et alii (1990): *Menggu yuzu yuyan cidian*. Xining.
- M03 Morgenstierne, G. (2003): *A New Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*. Wiesbaden.

- M27 Morgenstierne, G. (1927): *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*. Oslo (Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1927, No. 3).
- M28 Morgenstierne, G. (1928): Notes on Shughni. *Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap* Vol. 1, pp. 32–84.
- M29 Morgenstierne, G. (1929): *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages I: Parachi and Ormuri*. (Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning) Oslo.
- M38 Morgenstierne, G. (1938): *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, II: Yidgha-Munji, Sang-lechi-Ishkashmi and Wakhi*. (Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning) Oslo.
- M74 Morgenstierne, G. (1974): *Etymological Vocabulary of the Shugni Group*. Wiesbaden.
- n. noun, note, name
- NC North-Central
- NE North-East
- n.o.a.b. noted only as below
- n. pr. (m./f.) personal name (masculine/femine)
- NuRo96 Nugteren, H.–Roos, M. (1996): Common Vocabulary of the Western and Eastern Yugur Languages. The Turkic and Mongolic Loanwords. *AOH* Vol. 49, pp. 25–91.
- Nu11 Nugteren, H. (2011): *Mongolic Phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu Languages*. Utrecht.
- NW North-West
- obs. obsolete
- Oir/D Oirat/Dörböt (Ulāngom)
- Oir/Dz Oirat/Dzakhačın (Kobdo)
- Oir/DzM Oirat/Dzakhačın (Mankhan sumun)
- Oir/DzÜ Oirat/Dzakhačın (Üyenč sumun)
- Oir/Kho Oirat/Khoton (Ulāngom)
- Oir/M Oirat/Mingat (Kobdo)
- Oir/T Oirat/Torghut (Kobdo)
- Oir/U Oirat/Uriankhaï (Bayan-Ölgiï)
- OirL Literary Oirat
- Ord. Ordos
- Orm. Ormuri from the Logar Valley south of Kabul
- Orm/Kan Ormuri from Kaniguram in Waziristan
- Orš. Orošori
- Osm. Ottoman Turkish
- Otü. Eastern Türki (= Trki Uyy.)
- Özb. (Literary) Özbek
- Özb/Afgh. Özbek from Afghanistan
- Özb/Buch. Özbek from Buchara
- Özb/Qil. Özbek from Qilich
- Özb/Urg. Oghuz dialect of Özbek from Urgench
- O05 Olufsen, O. (1905): *The Second Danish Pamir Expedition: A Vocabulary of the Dialect of Bokhara*. København.
- P = MMoP
- Pahl. Pahlavi
- Par. Parachi
- Pa75 Paxalina, T. N. (1975): *Vaxanskiĭ jazyk*. Moskva.

Pe.	Persian
phys.	physical
pl.	plural
Pl	Platts, J. T. (1884, 1988 ²): <i>A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English</i> . London.
prob.	probably
prov.	provincial
PrthM	Manichean Parthian
Pšt.	Pašto
Pšt/Dial.	Dialect/s of Pašto
Pšt/Waz	Pašto of Waziristan
Ras	Golden, P. B. (2000): <i>The King's Dictionary: The Rasūlid Hexaglot. Fourteenth Century Vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol</i> . Leiden–Boston (Handbuch der Orientalistik 8, Abt. Zentralasien, 4. Bd.).
Rav67	Raverty, H. G. (1867): <i>A Dictionary of the Puk'hto, Pus'hto, or Language of the Afghans: With Remarks on the Originality of the Language, and its Affinity to other Oriental Tongues</i> . Second edition, with considerable additions. London.
Ra05	Ramstedt, G. J. (1905): <i>Mogholica – Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Moghol-Sprache in Afghanistan</i> . Helsingfors (JSFOu Vol. XXIII, No. 4).
Ra35	Ramstedt, G. J. (1935): <i>Kalmückisches Wörterbuch</i> . (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae III.) Helsinki.
Red	Redhouse (2008): <i>The Larger Redhouse Portable Dictionary. English–Turkish Turkish–English</i> . İstanbul.
refl.	reflexive
Ro00	Roos, M. (2000): <i>The Western Yugur (Yellow Uyghur) Language. Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary</i> . Unpublished dissertation (Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden).
Rö	Röhrborn, K. (1977ff.): <i>Uigurisches Wörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden.
Ru.	Russian
Ry06	Rybatzki, V. (2006): <i>Die Personennamen und Titel der mittelmongolischen Dokumente. Eine lexikalische Untersuchung</i> . Helsinki (Publications of the Institute for Asian and African Studies 8).
Sal/Ili	Salar from the Ili region
Sal/Qh	Salar from Qinghai
s.	suffix
S	= MMoS
SC	South-Central
Sch92	Schwarz, H. G. (1992): <i>An Uyghur–English Dictionary</i> . Bellingham.
SE	South-East
Sgl.	Sanglechi
SH	“Secret History of the Mongols”
Sh76	Shaw, R. B. (1876): <i>On the Ghalchah Languages [Waxi and Sariqoli]</i> . [Separate, unchanged reprint of an article published also in the <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> Vol. 45, No. 1, pp. 139–278].
Shn66	Shnitnikov, B. N. (1966): <i>Kazakh–English Dictionary</i> . London–The Hague–Paris
s.i.a.m.l.g.	similar in all main language groups

Sib.	Sibe
Sib/Ili	Sibe from the Ili region
s.i.m.m.l.g.	similar in many main language groups
s.i.s.m.l.	similar in some main languages
Skt.	Sanskrit
Srq.	Sariqoli
St	Steingass, F. J. (1892): <i>A Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary, Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be Met with in Persian Literature</i> . London.
StachK08	Stachowski, K. (2008): <i>Names of Cereals in the Turkic Languages</i> . Kraków (Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia 11).
St-Ka99	Steblin-Kamenskii, I. M. (1999): <i>Etimologičeskii slovarʹ vaxanskogo jazyka – Etymological Dictionary of the Wakhi Language</i> . St. Petersburg.
SW	South-West
syn.	synonym
Šγ.	Šuyni
T	Turner, Sir R. L. (1962–1966): <i>A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages</i> . London.
Taj.	Tajik
Tat.	Tatar
Ten76a	Tenišev, E. R. (1976a): <i>Stroï saryg-jugurskogo jazyka</i> . Moskva.
Ten76b	Tenišev, E. R. (1976b): <i>Stroï salarskogo jazyka</i> . Moskva.
Tib.	Tibetan
TMEN	Doerfer, G. (1963/1965/1967/1975): <i>Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen I–IV</i> . Wiesbaden.
tr.	translate/s
Tr.	Turkish (Turkic language of Turkey)
Trki	Turki (= Otü., Uyγ.)
Trki/Ili	Turki spoken in the Ili region
Trkm.	Turkmen
Trkm/Afgh	Turkmen from Afghanistan
Trkm/Khiva	Turkmen spoken in Khiva
Tu.	Turkic
Tung.	Tungusic
Tuv.	Tuvinian
U	= MMoU
Uig.	(Old) Uighur
Urd.	Urdu
Uyγ.	(Modern) Uyghur (= Otü., Trki)
v.	verb
VEWT	Räsänen, M. (1969): <i>Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkssprachen</i> . Helsinki (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae Vol. XVII, No. 1).
vs.	versus
w.	with
Wai.	Waigali

Wx.	Waxi
W71	Weiers, M. (1971): Das Moghol-Vokabular von W. R. H. Merk. <i>Zentralasiatische Studien</i> Vol. 5, pp. 157–189.
W72a	Weiers, M. (1972a): <i>Die Sprache der Moghol der Provinz Herat in Afghanistan. Materialien zur Sprache und Literatur der Mongolen von Afghanistan, I.</i> Opladen (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 49).
W72b	Weiers, M. (1972b): Bericht über weitere Arbeiten bei den Moghol von Afghanistan, 1971. <i>Zentralasiatische Studien</i> Vol. 6, pp. 575–584.
W73	Weiers, M. (1973): Eine fünfssprachige Wörtersammlung aus dem Gebiet der Moghol von Herat in Afghanistan. <i>Zentralasiatische Studien</i> Vol. 7, pp. 503–523.
W75a	Weiers, M. (1975a): <i>Schriftliche Quellen in Mogolī. 2. Teil: Bearbeitung der Texte. Materialien zur Sprache und Literatur der Mongolen von Afghanistan, III.</i> Opladen (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 59).
W75b	Weiers, M. (1975b): Die Sprache der Hazara und der Mongolen von Afghanistan in lexikostatistischer Sicht. <i>Afghanistan Journal</i> Vols 2–3, pp. 98–102.
W77	Weiers, M. (1977): <i>Schriftliche Quellen in Mogolī. 3. Teil: Poesie der Mogholen. Materialien zur Sprache und Literatur der Mongolen von Afghanistan, IV.</i> Opladen (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 62).
W83	Weiers, M. (1982–1983): Aus der Poesie der Mogholen. <i>AOH</i> Vol. 36, pp. 563–574.
Yagh.	Yaghnobi
Yak.	Yakut
Ya02	Yakup, A. (2002): <i>An Ili-Salar Vocabulary</i> . Tokyo (CSEL Series 5).
Yd.	Yidya
YogE	Eastern Yogur (Mongolic)
YogW	Western Yogur (Turkic)
zool.	zoological > borrowed into
>	borrowed into
<	borrowed from
◇	direction of borrowing uncertain
→	(i) development, derivation into; (ii) look further in same entry
←	(i) development, derivation from; (ii) look below in same entry
↑	look above in different entry
↓	look below in different entry
/	or; after Tu., Mo. indicating language; after languages indicating dialects
=	same as
~	similar/equivalent to
≈	somehow similar/equivalent to
≠	not the same as, different from
†	ghostword, unattested word
?	questionable
*	reconstructed form
∅	no occurrence/s

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